Comparative Siouan Dictionary

1st inclusive actor prefix

1

1st inclusive actor prefix

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wąk- ~ *wą•k- , *ų- RR

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wą(•)k-

Proto-Dakota *ųk-

Lakota yk- ~ y- ’12Act’

Dakota yk- ~ y- ’12Act’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere hį- ’12Act’ RR

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

Proto-Dhegiha *qk- /_V; *q- /_C RR

Omaha-Ponca og- ~ q-.

Kanza/Kaw og- ~ og- , q- ~ q- ’12Act’ RR

Osage o’y- , o’- , ṭqk- , ṭq ’12Act’ LF , qk- , q- , ṭq- , ṭq- ’12Act’ CQ

Quapaw ṭq- ~ qk- , ṭq ~ q ’12Act’ RR, JOD

Proto-Southeastern *wąk-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ąqk-

Biloxi ūqk- , ūk- , ṭqk- [with plural marker -tu] D&S:239a

Ofo ṭq- , ṭq-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo maŋįk- , maŋ- , ṭwąqk- ‘incl. actor’ H

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

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

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

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

ʰj- is actually probably cognate with mj in other languages < *wą. It is strictly 'dual' in Hooçak. It is an actor pronominal, whereas wą gpu is a patient pronominal. (RR) (Helmbrecht, PC)

1st inclusive disjunctive pronoun

*pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wąk-?

Proto-Dakota ʔukíʔe or: ʔukíʔe

Dakota ʔkîye

Proto-Dhegiha ʔq̱ḵe < *ʔq̱ḵ-ʔe (?) RR

Omaha-Ponca ogó JEK

Kanza/Kaw ogó RR

Osage o'g'é, ʔq̱ḵ-e ‘we’ LF:122a

Quapaw o'kowne (possibly plural with -we) JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ʔkóxtu, ʔq̱ḵx̱tu ‘we’ D&S:239a

General comment
Quapaw may be analyzed as showing the plural -we or the w may analyzed as a late glide replacing the ? of the demonstrative, ?e. Given the other DH forms, we tend toward the latter explanation, but cf. Biloxi, Tutelo min (cf. 1Act) (also maesdi H.) is not cognate but is comparable to Chiwere hi•ne. General lack of close agreement among the subgroups strengthens our belief that inclusive person represents an innovation which spread within Siouan.

Biloxi -tu marks ‘pl’ here. Mandan r? may be non-cognate and related to one of the Catawba inclusive affixes (which also has a Yuchi analog).

1st inclusive patient prefix

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wa- -wa

Proto-Hoocak-Chiwere *(wa-) -wa

Chiwere wa•w? RR

Hoocak -(h)a- *(h)a- portion of *wa•g- -ha AEM, AS, WL, -(h)a-

Proto-Dhegiha *wa- -a RR

Omaha-Ponca wa- -a

Kansa/Kaw wa- [as OP?]

Osage wa-

Quapaw wa- [as OP?]

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wa-, wae-, mai-, mae-, ?wa?e ‘us, we’ H

General comment

DH/Chiwere share an isogloss, but the pattern is defective elsewhere. Crow may be cognate, but there seems to be no Hidatsa parallel; Tutelo may be cognate or may have diffused from DH. Note that both the Crow and the Tutelo forms suggest an extension with the form ?e or *(r)e This is likely demonstrative?e and it recurs with the disjunctive form of this pronominal. The Chiwere bipartite morpheme is attested as a unit by RR but as discontinuous by Whitman. It is probably discontinuous only with certain other prefixes. The Omaha-Ponca bipartite form is found with locatives. (Discontinuous: wa- gi-/ṭ/- -a; a-wa- when there is a preverbal element.) Dakota uses uk-. Hoocak wą•ga may be a composite of forms partly analogous to the discontinuous Omaha-Ponca wa- -wa grafted to *wą•k- i.e., *wa•k-wa > *wą•g-ha > wą•ga.
1st inclusive possessor, alienable

*pronoun* n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *ųk-í-

Lakota ųkí- alienable

Dakota ųkí- alienable

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ʰɨ- [alienable]

Proto-Dhegiha *ǫkó- alienable* RR

Omaha-Ponca ągó- [alienable]

Kanza/Kaw ągó-, ǫgó- [alienable] RR

Quapaw ǫkó- [alienable] JOD

Proto-Southeastern *wáŋ- (?)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi 𒄷Naming, ʰɨktá-tú, alienable, ʰɨktá-tú 'our, ours' D&S:239a

Ofo ʰɨt- , ʔɨt-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo mąk- ? H

General comment

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

*pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *rų

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rų-, r-V ‘1st inclusive’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo mīwa-nu-hūkān, †nų- ‘we are Indians’

Proto-Catawba

Catawba -nǫ-, -nų-, do- ‘1 pl. obj.’ PV:4, KS

General comment

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

*pronoun* n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wa

Crow ba-, baa-: (b-./V or - by foot); ba-/_hći, _ by pushing or force; aw-/Vą [RG

Hidatsa wa-, ma-

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wa- ‘1st person actor’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wa-

Proto-Dakota *wa-

Lakota wa-

Dakota wa-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ha-

Chiwere ha- [RR

Hoocąk ha- KM, WL:22, AS:104, ha-

Proto-Dhegiha *a-

Omaha-Ponca a-

Kanza/Kaw a-

Osage a-

Quapaw a-

Proto-Southeastern *wa-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi

Ofo ba-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wa-

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

*pronoun* n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *w-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow ba- / l- la ‘by mouth’ [pitch accent shifts to stem from instrumental], bu- / l- lu ‘by hand’ [pitch accent shifts to stem from instrumental]

Hidatsa wu- / ru- / ra- [accent shifts to stem from instrumental]

Pre-Mandan *w- < *wu-

Mandan w- / r- [and addition of a Dorsey’s Law V]

Proto-Mississippi-Valley w- < *wu-

Proto-Dakota *w- (plus assimilation)

Lakota b- / r- , p- / h- , m- / n and replacing: *ʔ or: *w-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

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

Proto-Dhegiha *w-

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

Kanza/Kaw (as in Omaha-Ponca)

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

Proto-Southeastern *wa- (restored ?)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo a-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wa-

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

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

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

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *wí•-ʔe• ~ *wį́•-ʔe•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wɛ̀re

Crow bíléen, bílaa RG , bIn
Hidatsa wiwra , miwra

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wi-ʔe•

Proto-Dakota

Lakota miyé

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere mî’e , ŋmî’e ‘I’ JGT:167

Proto-Dhegiha *wi-e

Omaha-Ponca wi

Kanza/Kaw wîe RR

Quapaw wiè RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo mî’ni , ŋmî’ni JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo mîm H

General comment

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

Perhaps the sibilant Lakota miš and Tutelo mísj ‘emphatic’ forms belong together in a set related to this one, although if the sibilant goes back to *š it should have become ċ in Tutelo. There are other instances of Tutelo corresponding to š in MVS though—although some of them are clearly diffused forms like ‘nine’.
1st singular patient (1)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wą

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wą- '1st person stative' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wą-

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ma- RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hį́•- (?)

Chiwere

Hoocąk hįį- (?) WL:22, hį- AS:104, hį', hį- , hį, hį-

Proto-Dhegiha *q-

Omaha-Ponca q-

Kanza/Kaw q-

Osage q-

Quapaw q-

General comment

The more pervasive pronominal is '1st singular patient (2) (clitic)', q.v., and it is entirely possible that this represents a replacement for Proto-Siouan

*wį- that diffused to Mandan from areas in MVS where it was innovated by nasalizing the 1agt pronominal, *wa-. JEK suggests that Hoocąk and Chiwere

forms match the Omaha-Ponca dative paradigm form i- and may be taken from an older dative paradigm. Typologically, accusative markers frequently
develop from dative markers, but this does not normally apply to pronominals. In any event, the Chiwere/Hoocąk cases are certainly aberrant and there
is widespread homophony between these forms, those of the inclusive person and several possessive prefixes. The semantics of the changes would have
to be explained in a satisfactory fashion in order for this scenario to be taken at face value. At the moment it seems equally likely that the

Chiwere/Hoocąk forms are really cognate with '1st singular patient (2) (clitic)' (where we have cross listed them) and have replaced the

pronominal-initial w- with the usual h-.
1st singular patient (2) (clitic)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wį-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa wį-

Crow bii-

Hidatsa wį ‘(perhaps from independent pronouns)’ J , mį-

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *mį-

Proto-Dakota

Lakota mį-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

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

Hoocąk hįį-, hį-

Proto-Southeastern *wį-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo i ~ yi-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wį, mį, mį-
1st singular possessor

*pronoun* n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wą (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wa-

Crow ba-

Hidatsa *wu-, ma-

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *mq*

Lakota *ma-

Dakota *ma-

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ba-

**General comment**

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

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wį• ~ *wi•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow bii [with some body parts ?]

Hidatsa mi• [with some body parts ?]

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wį• [with most body parts] RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *mj•, *wi-

Proto-Dakota *mj-

Lakota mi-

Dakota mi-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere hį•-’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha *wį-

Omaha-Ponca wį-

Kanza/Kaw wį-

Osage wį-

Quapaw wį-

Proto-Southeastern *wį-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo mj-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wį• ~ mi• ~ mj-

General comment

Variability in nasality of these prefixes remains unexplained just as in the independent pronouns. The variability extends to second and third persons also. In Catawba, Siebert (1945) found nasality to correspond to noun/verb classes. It is not phonologically conditioned in any observable sense.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Mandan</td>
<td>ra-</td>
<td>‘2nd person active’ RTC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Mississipi-Valley</td>
<td>*ra-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Dakota</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere</td>
<td>*ra- ~ *ra-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoocąk</td>
<td>ra-</td>
<td>[R = /r-/n/ (Marten-7), but /n/ only before a nasal vowel] W1:22, AS:104, ra- ~ ra, ru- ru-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Dhegiha</td>
<td>*ra-</td>
<td>RR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaha-Ponca</td>
<td>da-</td>
<td>RR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanza/Kaw</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td>RR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osage</td>
<td>da-</td>
<td>RR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quapaw</td>
<td>de-</td>
<td>RR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Southeastern</td>
<td>*ya- ~ *ay-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Biloxi-Ofo</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ofo</td>
<td>ča-</td>
<td>ača-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Tutelo-Saponi</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td>ye- H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Proto-Catawba

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

General comment

There is consensus that the glide here was Proto-Siouan *y* rather than *r*, i.e., Proto-Siouan *ya(•)*-, with *ra-* developing only in MVS. The Dakota ‘I-you’ portmanteau contracts to a *y* product, (čhi-), not an *r* product (*bli*). So there are relics of *y*, even in MVS. Additionally, the obstruentized allomorphs, q.v., are all palatals also. Note the parallel metatheses in Biloxi and Crow/Hidatsa by which *ya > *ay / __-V. In Crow/Hidatsa, both first and second person pronouns metathesize before the locative prefixes. This suggests a (synchronic?) reanalysis of an older infixing formation. However, if Proto-Siouan or Proto-Siouan-Catawba were *qyd*, the otherwise aberrant second person stress and length are explained.
2nd singular actor, syncope product (allomorph)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *š-

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *š ~ *ž-

Proto-Dakota *š-

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

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *š-

Chiwere š- RR

Hoocąk š-, žV [where V is Dorsey’s Law product] AS:69, WL:23, š, žV-

Proto-Dhegiha *š- / _-y-, *h-, *p-, *t-, *k- / _-šV, *w- RR

Omaha-Ponca š- ~ h-

Kanza/Kaw š- ~ h-

Osage š- ~ h- ~ -0/

Quapaw š- ~ h- ~ -0/ [h > t]

Proto-Southeastern *š- ~ *i-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi i- ‘you go’, i-da, š- in: joⁿ from oⁿ, †ž- ‘make, do’

Ofo š- D&S:330, JSS, c- ~ ch-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

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

Proto-Catawba

Catawba č- FS

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

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

Second person prefix development in DH is a bit messy here but essentially regular.
2nd singular disjunctive pronoun

**pronoun n/a**

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan 'yí•-ʔe• ~ 'yį́•-ʔe•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rivre*

Crow *diilēen; dilaa* RG, dih

Hidatsa réra J, níra J, ré, ní

Proto-Mississippi-Valley 'rį́•-ʔe ~ 'rį́•-ʔe

Proto-Dakota 'niré

Dakota níyé

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

Chiwere rére, rį́•-ʔe ~ ríe

Hoocąk nįʔé ~ nį'e ~ neʔé 'I or you' KM:2299, nį'e ~ nee ~ ne'e 'I or you or we' WL:29, ne, nee

Proto-Dhegiha *rε-e

Omaha-Ponca ɓí

Kanza/Kaw yé

Osage ɓíe

Quapaw ɗé

Proto-Southeastern *(a)yį-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *(a)yį́ri

Biloxi ayóndi, ayíndí, hayónd, ayínt, ṭayfídi

Ofo tcí’ti, ṭč̃í JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo yín, yisái [emph.] H

**General comment**

**Proto-Siouan** 'yí•-ʔe often > 'yį́•-ʔe > 'yį́•-ʔre with a V of variable nasality. The vast majority of these forms appear to be composite of 'yį́ (MVS 'rį́) + ʔe• 'you + demonstrative'. It is possible that virtually all second person forms may best be reconstructed with initial 'e•, i.e. 'ayd•, 'ayí•, 'ayį́•, etc., but outside of the agent pronouns, only Biloxi shows any evidence of such a vowel. The necessity of reconstructing a deictic base for all of the disjunctive pronouns dovetails with the notion that the verb prefixes really are the underlying (pro)nominal arguments in languages like Siouan. The peculiar Hoocąk forms, esp. with their first person translations, are not explained here and are very strange indeed.
2nd singular patient clitic

*pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *yi- ~ *yį-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ri-

Crow diii-

Hidatsa ri- j, ni-

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rį- ‘2nd person stative’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ri- ~ *rį-

Proto-Dakota ni-

Dakota ni (all forms and comb. with -ki, -i)

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ri- RR

Hoocąk nj- MM:103, nj-

Proto-Dhegiha *ri- RR

Omaha-Ponca δi-

Kanza/Kaw yi-

Osage δi-

Quapaw δi-

Proto-Southeastern *yi- ~ *yį-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *yi-

Biloxi yi-

Ofo či- [written ‘sci-’, not ‘*tchi’ by Swanton]

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo yi, hi-, yį- H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba yV- [vowels are various]

General comment
The ‘yi-’ variant in MVS appears as a relic in Dakota čhi- ‘I/you’, q.v. So the Proto-Mississipi-Valley reconstruction here is an artifact of the decision to reconstruct the allomorphs separately. The fact that the patient pronominals do not undergo syncope suggests that their status as true prefixes in the proto-language is questionable; they show a more clitic-like behavior generally. Compare the behavior of the actor prefixes which undergo syncope regularly in certain environments. A thorough study of the variable nasality of these prefixes is needed. The nasality extends to all three persons and is found in virtually all subgroups. Siebert (1945) believed it related to particular noun classes in Catawba.
**2nd singular possessor**

*pronoun* n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *yi(•)-*

Proto-Siouan *yi- ~ *yp-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ri-

Crow *di- ~ Çi- / __ C JEK

Hidatsa *ri- ~ ni- / __ V

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *ri- '2nd possessive' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ri(•)-*

Proto-Dakota *ni-

Dakota *ni-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *ri- RR

Proto-Dhegiha *ri- 'inalienable' RR, *ri-tta 'alienable' RR

Omaha-Ponca *di- ~ ði-tta 'alienable'

Kanza/Kaw *yi- ~ yi-tta

Osage *ði- ~ ði-hma

Quapaw *di- ~ ði-tta

Proto-Southeastern *yi- ~ *yį

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *hi- ~ ḷ (w. spouse), *ay- ~ V (w. father, mother)

Ofo *ča-, čį-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *yi-, *hi-, *yį- H

Proto-Catawba

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

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

a

above

adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan 'á(o)ka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa 'á[k]a

Crow éká RG, GG:1, RGG:63

Hidatsa éká 'top, upper region, upper surface' [cf. LA usage as locative prefix] J , dk- 'at, on, unto, onto' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley éká

Proto-Dakota éká ~ 'á[k]a

Lakota aká 'on, on top' [aspiration?] RTC , akápatáhhay 'on the outside, from above' EB:69a

Dakota ákapata 'on the outside, on top, from above' [aspiration?] SRR

Sioux Valley aká PAS

Proto-Dhegiha 'ákaha

Omaha-Ponca agaha JOD

Kanza/Kaw dagha 'top, up on top, up' RR

Osage dikaha RR

General comment

Cf. -ha 'adverbializer', 'across > over, beyond, above', and 'teen formative'.
absolutive

prefix n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow ba(•)-

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

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wa(•)- ‘absolutive’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *wa-

Lakota wa- ‘absolutive’ RTC

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

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wa(•)-

Chiwere wa(•)- ‘absolutive’

Hoocąk wa(•)- ‘absolutive’, wa(a)-

Proto-Dhegiha *wa-

Omaha-Ponca wa- ‘absolutive’ RR

Kanza/Kaw wa- ‘absolutive’ RR

Osage wa- ‘absolutive’ RR

Quapaw wa- ‘absolutive’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wa- ‘absolutive’ RR

General comment

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

verb physical_somatic_disease

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *-re

Proto-Siouan *Ré-ʔE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *areʔ

Crow aaleʔ ‘ache’ RG, RGG:100
Hidatsa arÉʔ ‘ache’ J

Pre-Mandan *rąʔ-

Mandan rąʔroʔš ‘it hurts’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *nį́-ʔE, *Ré

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ištániyą ‘have sore eyes’ EB:236b, ištániyaŋ ‘have a sore mouth inside’ EB:236b, ińiyą́ ‘I feel sore (from sitting too long)’, iniyą́ ‘have sore (from sitting too long)’, mapániyą́, samániyą́

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ñį́•čʔe, ñį́•čhe RR

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

Proto-Dhegiha *nię RR

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

Kanza/Kaw nę [< nię?] RR

Osage nie, nię LF:107a

Quapaw jde RR, jte JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *rehé(-ri), *(i-)ré

Biloxi ne, nedli, nedli, nedí, nédi D&S:234b

Ofo iťe, i’e, été, źięřé ‘suffer’ D&S:324b, ISS, ápbaute, ńięřé ‘headache’

Proto-Catawba

Catawba warepa KS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ú•te

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ú•te

Proto-Dakota *úta

Lakota úta ‘acorn’ RTC

Dakota úta SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-ú•te (?)

Chiwere bú•ǰe RR

Hoocąk háuč KM:1602, huuc

Proto-Dhegiha *púte RR

Omaha-Ponca búde hi ‘red oak’ MAS:128

Kanza/Kaw mbůje ‘sumac’ RR

Quapaw ppíde ‘acorn’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *u•ti(-hu)

Biloxi ut D&S:283a

Ofo ū`tu, ū`tu ‘oak’ D&S:331b, JSS

General comment

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

acre

noun abstract_amount

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

**across > over, beyond, above**

*adverb physical\_spatial*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *‘ake*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *‘aki-*, *‘ake*


Hidatsa *dókì* [\-haa adverbializer] *dókì* [\-haa adverbializer] *dókì’e* ‘harnessed; a team horse’ J, *dókì- in: dókìpe* ‘to lay sth. over or across sth.’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *dókì* ‘over, on top’ RTC, *dókìha- ‘over, on top, above’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere


Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo


Proto-Catawba


**General comment**

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

suffix n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-ha•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-ha•

Crow -aa RG

Hidatsa -ha• ‘adverbializer’ J

Pre-Mandan

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

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-ha

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-ha

Chiwere nūhan/nūhan, ṭnūhaq ‘twice; adv. num.’ JGT:51

Hoocąk nūdēhą ‘twice’ KM:2382, nūgahą

Proto-Dhegiha *-ha ? RR

Omaha-Ponca -ha (?)

Kanza/Kaw -ha ‘in N places’ RR

Osage -ha ‘in N parts’ LF:153a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo -h2 [cf. ‘one, two’]

General comment

We reconstruct length on the basis of Crow and Hidatsa. Nasality in Chiwere/Hoocąk is unexplained.
again (1)
adverb time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo


General comment

Cf. ‘again (2)’.

again (2)
adverb time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ši

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ši

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk žigé ‘again’ KM:4014 , žigé

Proto-Dhegiha *ši

Kanza/Kaw ši ‘again, and’ JOD, RR , šič ‘again’ RR

Osage shi , ši ‘again; and’ LF:131a

Quapaw ši ‘again, and, also’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tc- in: tčámnà ~ tčámnà , ṭči ‘again, long ago’ D&S:259b , -tc- in: kši’tcmǔnda , ṭči ‘the second time’ D&S:259b

General comment

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

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(i-)htą́•(-rį)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *(i)htą́-rį

Proto-Dakota

Lakota taŋpila ‘ahead of others’ EB:480a

Proto-Dhegiha *ihtį́j

Omaha-Ponca *ito’biš, ťitaį́j ‘ahead’ MAS:4

Kanza/Kaw ītsōmitaša ‘in or towards the front’ RR

Osage *iō’bį’, ťiō’bį́ ‘go ahead’ LF:80a, *ido’hią́ta, ťiō’hią́tah ‘to the front’ LF:80a

Proto-Southeastern *tá•hnį

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ta’ni, tąńya’, kitó’ni, ťqni ‘be ahead, be first’ D&S:272a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo etą́hnį, ťetą́χńi ‘the first’ DSF

General comment

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

Nasalization has spread leftward from -rį. It may be possible to reconstruct Proto-Siouan stem-final *-he since the Tutelo form suggests an earlier *-he with *rį, referring to movement, postposed. Cf. -rį in ‘run (1),’ *hauf, ‘shake > move (1),’ ‘walk (1).’
ahead (2)

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-hto

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa Ɂúkə- 'front of a group or series' J, Ɂúkəɾu 'in front of sth.' J, Ɂúkəha- 'by way of the front' J, Ɂúlθə- 'forward; in the future' J, Ɂúlθə- 'further forward' J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hto(-)

Proto-Dakota

Lakota toká 'at the first' [cont. of tokapa] EB:494b, tokáhe 'the first, the beginning, go ahead' EB:494b, tokáb 'before' EB:494b, tokápa 'the first, first born, eldest' EB:495b, tokápataʔq 'ahead, before' EB:495b, tokáníʔq 'from another source, place or person' EB:495b, tokáta 'in the future, in future, yet to dome; the future' EB:496a, tokátaʔq 'ahead, future' EB:496a, itókeʔq 'at the first, formerly' EB:497b, itókeʔq 'formerly, of old' EB:497b, tokéya 'the first, in opposition to others following' EB:497b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thó~

Chiwere tîlé, thîlé 'before, in front of, ahead, first, chief' GM

Hoocąk coowé 'front part' KM:270, coowe 'up ahead, in front; in the future' KM:271, coowęja 'walk ahead, lead' KM:261, coowęja, čoonj, coonj

Proto-Dhegiha

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

General comment

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

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-rĩ́•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *irĩ́

Crow ìlì ‘escape, survive, get by’ [active] RG, GG:87
Hidatsa ìrē ‘be alive’ [stative] J

Pre-Mandan *ir̥s-

Mandan wɛʃɬsòʔ ‘I’m alive’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ni

Proto-Dakota *ni

Lakota ni ‘alive’ RTC
Dakota ni ‘to live’ SRR:340b
Stoney ni PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ní•

Chiwere ni ‘breathe’ LWR
Hoocąk ni’hdi ‘breathe’ KM:2320, ni’hdi ‘be alive’ KM:2298, MM:342, niʔ̃p, ni’p

Proto-Dhegiha *ni RR

Omaha-Ponca ni’settabi ‘they would let him live’
Kanza/Kaw ni ‘alive’ RR
Osage ni LF:105a
Quapaw ni JOD

Proto-Southeastern *ni̯•

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi iní ‘get well’ D&S:200a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo iní H, ini, enti, inina

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

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

all, intact

abstract_amount

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *za•nį́

Proto-Dakota *zaŋš

Lakota zaŋš ‘well, not sick’ RTC

Dakota zaŋš ‘well’ WM:258b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere zaŋš LWR

Proto-Dhegiha *zaŋš

Omaha-Ponca zaŋš ‘all’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw zaŋš ‘all’ RR

Osage zaŋš , tzaŋš ‘all’ LF:29b

Quapaw zaŋš, tzaŋš ‘all’ RR

General comment

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

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hų́•ka

Pre-Mandan

Mandan hį́ka ‘parent’ H:83

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hų́•ka

Proto-Dakota *hų́ká

Lakota hų́ká ‘ancestor, chief, elder, relative’ RTC

Dakota hų́ká, řhų́ká ‘parent, ancestor’ SRR:157b

Stoney hų́gd ‘chief’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hų́•ke

Chiwere hų́•ge ‘chief’ RR

Hoocąk hų́•k ‘chief’ KM:1617, hų́k

Proto-Dhegiha *hą́ka

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

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

Osage ho’ga, thį́ka ‘eagle, sacred one, moiety name’ LF:65b

Quapaw totáhąka ‘war captain’ JOD

General comment

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

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

noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hta•thó

Proto-Dakota *thaθʰókə

Lakota thaθʰókə 'antelope' EB:484a

Dakota tatókadaŋ, ṭθathókadaŋ 'antelope' WM:7b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Otoe thá•tho 'antelope' JDH, thar-thó 'antelope' JDH

Proto-Dhegiha *thačhóke < **htathóke

Omaha-Ponca tauχhókə 'antelope' RR

Kanza/Kaw τταχόκε 'antelope' RR

Osage ṭatsúge, ṭhtachóke 'antelope' LF:231b

Quapaw tačhóke 'antelope' JOD

General comment

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

*noun* physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(i-)ų́•še*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ú•ši*

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

Hidatsa ú•ši ‘anus, buttocks’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wiži ‘buttocks’ H:307

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(i-)ų́•še*

Proto-Dakota *ųzé*

Lakota ązé ‘anus, buttocks, vagina, passage’

Dakota oğzé, źązé ‘buttock’ SRR:379b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *űžé or: *űži*

Chiwere úye ‘vagina’ RR

Hoocąk úži ‘buttocks; rectum; anus’ KM:3150, uadži

Proto-Dhegiha *(i-)užé*

Omaha-Ponca ŋže ‘vagina’ JOD, Ŧže ‘vulva’

Kanza/Kaw ũže ‘pudendum’ RR

Osage šhemakóko”, Ŧže- ‘laxative’ LF:82a

Quapaw ňže, ňže ‘vagina’ JOD, Ŧŋže ‘anus’

**General comment**

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

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

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

Pre-Mandan *rhu

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

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota hiyo ‘go/come to fetch’ [hiyo + V of motion; he + Verb of motion ‘go/come to fetch’ in hehi ‘take it (of a pipe)’] EB:181a

arise (1)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ihki

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ikihi ‘wake up’ JDH

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage ikihe, tikihe ‘be awake’ LF:74a

General comment

The Osage form looks like the causative of the root that appears in Chiwere.
arise (2) > get up
verb physical_motion
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *ki-rahÉ
   Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ki-rahÉ
      Crow čilÉ ‘rise, get up’ RGG:31, GG:38
      Hidatsa (h)kirahÉ ‘get up’ , kirahl
Proto-Southeastern *ki-krÉ•- < *ki-r-hra•
Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ki-Re
   Biloxi kíne, kínedí, kíné ‘arise, get up’ D&S:235a
   Ofo akálewa , ŋakálewa ‘stand up’ D&S:319a
Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
   Tutelo kiklése ‘awake’ H:36

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

arise (3)
verb physical_motion
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *kitá(-re) or: *kiktá(-re)
   Pre-Mandan *kitu-
      Mandan kitdr , ṭkitu- ‘awaken someone’ H:338 , kituroyi , ṭkitu- kitdr ‘awaken someone’ H:112
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kíkta
   Proto-Dakota
      Lakota kiktá ‘arise, get up’ RTC
   Proto-Dhegiha
      Quapaw kíkta ‘arise, get up’ ASG

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

arm

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *á•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *á•re, *á•

Crow ŏnali ‘arm, foreleg’ GG:2, RGG:68

Hidatsa ŏnu ‘his, her arm’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ŏre ‘arm’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *á

Proto-Dakota á

Lakota á ‘armpit’ RTC

Dakota a ‘armpit’ WM:9b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere áągőčhe ‘arm’ RR

Hoocąk da ÿM:2, aá

Proto-Dhegiha *á

Omaha-Ponca á ‘arm’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw á ‘arm’ RR

Osage á ‘arm’ LF:5a

Quapaw á ‘arm’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi asa’hi, tásají ‘his or her arms’ D&S:251b

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

classification: physical_somatic_body_part

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

Proto-Siouan *Rokši

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rohcÉ

Crow daččuá 'armpit' RG, GG:43

Hidatsa rohcÉ 'his, her armpit' J, rohč

Pre-Mandan

Mandan aksóxaráre 'armpit' H:59

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Roksí

Proto-Dakota *Roksí

Lakota alóksobą 'armpit, put under the arm; to carry under the arm' EB:78a

Dakota doksí 'armpit' SRR:109a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere róθe 'armpit' [old] JDH, róθi JGT, roqći, ṭroxbi

Otoe roći, ṭroxbi

Proto-Dhegiha *Rosú RR

Omaha-Ponca nosí

Kanza/Kaw dosú 'armpits' RR

Osage thuçí, ṭhosú (sg.), ṭhosú (pl.) 'armpit' LF:232a

Quapaw tosi JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi naksí D&S:281b

Ofo táfhe, ṭáfhe D&S:329b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba hinjksu 'his armpit' FS

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

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

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

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *re-hí*

Pre-Mandan *zi < *rhi
Mandan thíš ‘he arrived here’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *rhí*

Proto-Dakota *hí*
Lakota hi ‘arrive here’ RTC
Dakota hi ‘arrive’ WM:9b
Stoney hi PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ti-

Chiwere jíkhi, jř ‘he’s arriving’ RR
Hoocąk jìi ‘arrive coming’ KM:1702, jìi

Proto-Dhegiha *thí*

Omaha-Ponca thí ‘arrive here’ RR
Kanza/Kaw dhe ‘arrive here’ RR
Osage chí ‘arrive here’ RR
Quapaw thí ‘arrive here’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *hí (?)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ithí”, ithí ‘have come here for the first time’ D&S:197a
Ofo othahí, othahí ‘arrive here, come in (?)’ D&S:327a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo hí, thí ‘arrive’ hitsa ‘to have come hither (?)’ JOD

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

‘arrive there’, ʰɨ, shows the unmarked form. Note that the compound is truly confirmed only in Mandan, Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH; all other languages may be showing reflexes of simplex ʰɨ.
arrive here vertitive

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ki-rhí*

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

Mandan krí ‘to arrive back here’ H:180

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *krf

Proto-Dakota *krf

Lakota glí RTC

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

Stoney hnif PAS

Sioux Valley hdl PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *krf

Chiwere glf W:246b

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

Proto-Dhegiha *krf RR

Omaha-Ponca gdí RTC

Kanza/Kaw li, lì RR

Osage gdì ‘to come home; to return home’ LP:55a , gdì

Quapaw kdi ‘have come back here’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *ki-rl

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

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

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wdgriwa , ṭ-krí ‘I have come back’ HW , ṭ-gli- , ṭ-kirí ‘go home’ ES, LJF

General comment

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

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hí

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hí

Crow hí ‘arrive, meet, get close to’ RG, GG:48
Hidatsa hí ‘arrive (here or there)’ J

Pre-Mandan *hi-

Mandan híʔš ‘he arrived there’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hí

Proto-Dakota *í
Lakota í ‘arrive there’
Dakota í ‘to have gone to, have been at’ SRR:169b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hí

Chiwere hí
Hoocąk híí ‘arrive going’ KM:868, híí

Proto-Dhegiha *hí

Omaha-Ponca hí ‘arrive there’ RTC
Kanza/Kaw hí ‘arrive, reach there’ RR
Osage hí ‘arrive at a place’ LF:59b
Quapaw hí ‘arrive there’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *hí

Biloxi hí ‘reach, arrive at’ D&S:197a, l’hí, ḳ’hí ‘arrive here’ D&S:197a
Ofo ofthahi, te-fthahi ‘arrive (here), come in’ D&S:327a

General comment

Tutelo kweya hukte’n’he is most likely not cognate. A partial analog of the Ofo form would have to be assumed, with -hę derived from *-hi with nasalization from the preceding vowel. In fact, Tutelo ę virtually always comes from ‘q, very rarely ‘j. In Hidatsa the simplex appears uninflected (3s only). Full inflection is found with the verteitive and other prefixes. Note that Lakota ąp is ąkpí with no glottal stop or aspiration.
arrive there vertitive

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ki-hí

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

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

Pre-Mandan *kihi

Mandan ki ‘to arrive back there’ H:72

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kVhí

Proto-Dakota *khi

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

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *kí

Chiwere gí ‘arrive going back’ JGT:19

Hoocąk gí ‘arrive returning there’ KM:349, gí

Proto-Dhegiha *khí RR

Omaha-Ponca khí PG:68

Kanza/Kaw khí ‘return home’ RR

Osage kshí, tkhí ‘reach home’ LF:90a

Quapaw khí RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kʰNí, ṭkʰí D&S:197a

General comment

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

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *psį* < *wu-ʃė*

Proto-Dakota *psį* ~ *pši*

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


Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *sįįporo* ‘arrowhead lily’ KM:2858, *sįįporo*

Proto-Dhegiha *sʃ* RR

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

Osage *ʃ* , ṭʃ* ‘Sagittaria latifolia’ LF:30b

General comment

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

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hpą́•xi

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pę́xÉ ‘wild potato’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpą́•γi

Proto-Dakota *phaγi

Lakota phąγi ‘Jerusalem artichoke’ RTC

Dakota paŋγi , ṭphaγjı́ ‘artichoke’ WM:9b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *phaγi

Chiwere phąxe ‘Indian turnip’ RR

Hoocąk paŋγi ‘ground cherry’ KM:2443 , paŋγi

Proto-Dhegiha *hpą́xe ~ *hpą́xi

Omaha-Ponca pa′he , ṭhpąxe ‘Jerusalem artichoke’ MRG:95 , pd̆̄xı́ , ṭhpą́xi ‘parsnips’

Kanza/Kaw ppą́xe ‘small gourd’ RR

Osage poⁿ′xe , ṭhpą́xe ‘artichoke’ LF:129b

General comment

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

noun physical substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ayú•si

Biloxi ayud, hayud D&S:296a

Ofo əčú•fi D&S:321b, JSS, atců̂fi

Proto-Catawba

Catawba yáči

General comment

Cf. Yuchi yae (GW). Catawba/Yuchi similarity may be due to borrowing, but the meaning is rather basic. Ofo should show aspiration in the accented syllable. The term is limited to the SE. Pre-Proto-Biloxi-Ofo could be either *ayú•si or *wa-yú•si, since both Biloxi and Ofo lose initial labial resonants.
ashes (2)

*noun* physical substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *čhaxóta*

Lakota čhaxóta 'ashes' RTC

Dakota caȟóta, tȟhaxóta 'ashes' WM:10a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ḏxohǰe 'ashes' RR

Hoocąk raaxóč 'dust, powdery ashes' KM:2536, raaxoc

Proto-Dhegiha *-xóte 'gray'*

Omaha-Ponca mญาšđe 'ashes' RTC

Kanza/Kaw nįxóǰe 'ashes' RR

Osage nixóde, ḧnįxóče 'ashes' LF:111a

Quapaw nįxóte, nįxóte 'ashes' RR

*General comment*

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

Little is really reconstructible here outside the root for 'gray', but the set may be of derivational interest.
ash (tree), Fraxinus

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wépd

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

Hidatsa wépd ‘ash’ , miúpd

Pre-Mandan *taspák (?) , *taspák (?)

Mandan taspák ‘ash’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *poé

Proto-Dakota *póé

Lakota póéxte ‘ash’ EB:446b , póéxtį EB:784, EJ

Dakota psey-pi , ?pse-ydipi ‘the water ash, so called because used for making snow shoes’ SRR:425b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk sée ‘snowshoes’ KM:2809 , see

General comment

There are many irregularities in this set which will ultimately require explanation. The initial sequence pC in MVS ordinarily implies an earlier *wi-C animate or a *wa-C absolutive form. The prefix in Crow/Hidatsa would then be secondary and the metathesis irregular, if these forms are cognate at all. Fricative symbolism would also have to be assumed. All in all, this looks like a diffused form to us. Proto-Dhegiha *thaŋ ‘ash’, Quapaw tañ ‘ash’ bear a striking resemblance to Dakota thaŋdheča ‘striped ground squirrel’ B-483a, but we are unable to make anything of it. Cf. ‘hawthorn, red haw’.
ask

verb social communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *wų

Proto-Siouan *wą xe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wąccwx < *wuxcx


Hidatsa ḥkiwąccxu ‘ask a question, ask for something’ J, kiwąccxu

Pre-Mandan *-wąxe-

Mandan kiwąxɛʔš ‘he asked him’ [pres. prefixed to ki-, all regular] RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *iwą xe

Proto-Dakota *iwą A

Lakota łyąya SRR:240b, EB:265b, RTC, EJ

Dakota iwąŋga, łyąya ‘ask’ WM:10a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *iwą xe

Chiwere iwąxe ‘ask’ JDH

Hoocąk hiwąx KM:1122, hiwąx

Proto-Dhegiha *iwą ye

Omaha-Ponca ímą xe ‘ìyą xe ‘ask’ JEK

Ponca ımą xe JOD

Kanza/Kaw ỳyą xe ‘ask’ JOD

Osage ımą xe ‘inquire’ LF:74b, ỳyą xe ‘ask, question’ LF:80a

Quapaw ımą xe ‘ask’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi hąyı’ nąxe’, Ɂnąxe ‘ask a question’ D&S:195b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba mıhare, mɔ ‘ask for’ FGS:15, KS

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

W-stems have unusual conjugations. Here are some details for the present form: Lakota 1Act imýga; 2Act imýga (all dialects). Hoocąk 1Act hipóx. Omaha-Ponca 1Act (wawe) mąɣe. Quapaw 1Act ámngwe; 2Act ámngye; 3Act plural ámngawna. In Kansa/Kaw ʼaskʼ is conjugated as an r-stem; in Osage it is conjugated as both r- and f-stem In Biloxi ʼhytʼ is conjugated, while ʼnazʼ is invariant.
augmentative (1)

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xti

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xti

Proto-Dakota *xti ~ *xtį


Dakota xčį ~ xči; -xče

[Yanktonai -xči [upper YA] WDR

Stoney højđá ‘great’ [+ ablaut] PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-xti

Chiwere -xji ‘very’ JOD, -hi ‘very; very much; true’ JGT:270, -xchį in: étasjehge/ étaxchidthke (DOR), *-xči ‘more than’ JGT:868, -xchį in: -hį ‘while: a great while ago (referring to past time)’ JGT:3627, DOR, -xchį in: th’róbja/ th’róbjaidhe/ th’róbjaidthke, *-xči ‘long time; enduring a very great while to’ DOR, -xchį in: -hį, *-xči, *-hį in: th’róbja (dahá)/ th’róbje / th’róbchi, *-xčį


Proto-Dhegiha *-xti

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

Kanza/Kaw -xči ‘very, real’ RR

Osage -xči ‘very, real’ RR

Quapaw -xti ‘very, real’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *-xti

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi -xti D&S:224a, ewaxtxį, т’hį ‘further, still further’ D&S:189a, *-xti in: é‘xtį, т’hį ‘far’ D&S:192a, *-xti in: éxtįk, т’hį ‘far off’ D&S:192a

Ofo ndahhi, т’hį ‘true, real’ D&S:326b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo paqir, pąxtę ‘none (sic), nose’ H
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

General comment

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

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

augmentative (2)

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xtE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow -iša ‘very’ [augmentative] RG

Pre-Mandan *xt-

Mandan xťiši ‘it’s big’ [2nd element of many compounds] RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xtE

Proto-Dakota *xtA

Lakota -xčA ‘augmentative’ RTC

Dakota -xčA ‘augmentative’ [R. Totten Wahpeton; Minnesota] PAS, -xčA − -xče, -xčə

Stoney htįjága − xtįjága ‘great’ [+ ablaut] PAS

Sioux Valley -xčA − x PAS

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo paqti, pāxtē, †pa•xte• ‘none (sic), nose’ H

General comment

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

*noun* social_kin

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *i-htų́•wį*

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa**

Hidatsa ín‘ ‘mother’s brother’s wife, sister-in-law’ J

Pre-Mandan *tu•wįrk*

Mandan ptųwįrįks ‘my aunt’ RTC

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *i-htų́•wį*

**Proto-Dakota** *thųwį*

Lakota thųwį RTC

Dakota togwį, rthųwį ‘aunt’ WM:11b

Stoney thųwį PAS

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** *i-thų́•wį*

Chiwere ithúmį ‘aunt’ GM

Hoocąk cų́ųwį KM:287, cųųwį

**Proto-Dhegiha** *i-htımį*

Omaha-Ponca itímı ‘father’s sister’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw icčímį ‘father’s sister’ RR

Osage ihcímį ‘father’s sister’ RR

Quapaw itímį ‘father’s sister’ RR

**Proto-Southeastern** *tömį*

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi tō’ni, tō’niya”, to’ni (vocative), ḥäft ’aunt’ D&S:279b

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo tomin, ḥtomį ‘aunt’ H

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

**autumn**

*noun* time phase

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *wahtą́•(-re) RR*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *watá•*

Crow *baidá ‘autumn’* RG, GG:28, RGG:37

Hidatsa *watá ‘autumn’, matá•*

Pre-Mandan *ptąpre*

Mandan *ptą́ ~ ptą́re ‘autumn’* H:156, *ptąroʔš, †ptą•- ‘it’s autumn’ H:156

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ptąφ-

Proto-Dakota *ptą-

Lakota *ptęyɛtu RTC*

Dakota *ptanyetu , ṭyptęyɛtu ‘autumn’* WM:11b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thą́•ŋį*

Chiwere *čanį ‘winter’* LWR, *thį́ŋį* RR

Hoocąk *čaanį KM:130 , caanį, çoŋni*

Proto-Dhegiha *thą́•*

Omaha-Ponca *tnę́ gę́q ‘fall’* RR

Kanza/Kaw *náq ‘mid winter’* RR

Osage *θo“, ḯı́q ‘Fall of the year’* LF:155b

Quapaw *pádetq ‘winter’* MS

**Proto-Southeastern**

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *tąį́yį , ḮĮ , Ḯŋyį H*

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

**awaken**

verb psychosomatic

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ra-ɣikE*

Proto-Dakota *-xičA*

Lakota oθkpxičA ‘wake up’ EJ, kʊjīča ‘wake up by striking’ EB:272a, kaxičA ‘wake one up with the foot, or by making a noise with the feet’ EJ, naxičA ‘waken one, arouse with the mouth or by talking’ EB:342b, naaxičA ‘arouse one, wake one up’ EJ, yayiča EB:618b, yaaxičA EJ, yajča EB:636a, yuaxičA EJ

Dakota yuńica, ṭyuńiča ‘awaken’ WM:12a

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

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

**Proto-Dhegiha** ‘ðuχį́’

Omaha-Ponca thiíc, ṭðuχį́ ‘arouse from sleep’ MAS:7

Kanza/Kaw yuχį́ ‘rouse’ RR

Osage thiíc, ṭðuχį́ LF:151a

Quapaw dixį́ JOD

**General comment**

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

noun physical_artefact_tool

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *sį́pe

Proto-Siouan *-sepe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow baččipi 'axe, hatchet' GG:22, RGG:66

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-ape

Proto-Dakota *-spé

Lakota nazų́spe RTC

Dakota oŋspe , ŋų́spe 'axe' WM:12b , ŋmazų́spe 'axe' WM:12b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ŋowe W:236a

Proto-Dhegiha *-ape

Omaha-Ponca mo'če pe , ŋmápe MAS

Kanza/Kaw mdhįpe RR

Osage mo'hi'ape , ŋmáhipe LF:98b

Quapaw ŋpe RR

Proto-Southeastern *-sēpi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ęsēpi

Biloxi a'seep , a'sępi , a'sęwi , ŋsiępi D&S:253a

Ofo a'yěpi D&S:322b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo nišę́p; hišę́p, hisę́p, hisę́p'; hicę́p' N, H, JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba sį̄́pe 'knife' FGS , sepaʔ MS

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

back

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-rą́•he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ra-J

Crow annáakku 'saddle' GG:11, RGG:106, RG, anne'-ko, anné'-ko 'saddle' L:16

Hidatsa náxukhe 'saddle' J, náxukhe 'middle of horse; back under saddle', da

Pre-Mandan *rı́he

Mandan rı́he, rı́hē 'back' RTC, rı́hü'-re 'spine' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i-rı́h-ka

Proto-Dakota *čhąkhá-hu

Lakota čhąhkáhu 'spine' EB:119a, EJ

Dakota caŋkahu, čhąkháhu 'back' WM:12a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ńą́•khe

Chiwere ną́khe RR

Hoocąk ną́kę́ 'back part of anything, back of human body' KM:2185, ną́kę

Proto-Dhegiha *ńą́kka

Omaha-Ponca ną́kka, ną́kka RR

Kanza/Kaw ną́kka 'back' RR

Osage ną́kka, ną́kka 'back' LF:114b

Quapaw ną́kka 'back of an animal'

Proto-Catawba

Catawba -ı́h; jı́ak 'someone’s back' [dependent stem] KS

General comment

Mandan rąhú•re < rą́h 'back' + hú•re 'bone'; Crow dáula Hidatsa nōr̓i < *r(ah+h)uuri. Dakotan shows the same sequence of elements with an intervening -ka. Mandan nı́he shows lexical accent.
back, returned
physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xára

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere haxda, hahda 'back, returning' GM

Proto-Dhegiha *xáru

Omaha-Ponca xídu 'back again' JEK

Kanza/Kaw xíya 'back to starting point' RR

Osage xatha, ṭʰaḍa 'backward' LF:218a

Quapaw xída 'back to starting point' RR
bad (1)

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(i-)š•(-ke)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa šič ‘bad’ J, šihe ‘spoil sth. (caus.)’ J, šihe•´

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šīke

Proto-Dakota *šičA

Lakota šičA ‘bad’ RTC

Stoney sǐja PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šike

Chiwere sik, shik ‘incredible’ [interjection] LWR:27

Otoe šiʃe ‘ashamed’ JDH

Hoocąk šišik ‘be bad, be spoiled (of food)’ KM:2950, šišik

Proto-Dhegiha *šike

Omaha-Ponca tőšge ‘bad one’ F&LF:604

Kanza/Kaw šige ‘bad, evil, injury’ RR

Osage ḏału shige, ḏiške ‘compulsion, force one to yield’ LF:11a

Quapaw šike ‘bad’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *(i-)š•(-ke)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo tcįfhehi, ḏųfhehi ‘dangerous’ D&S:329b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo mąmpá isi, ḏųʃ ‘devil, evil spirit’ H, papacič, ḏųšik ‘Devil’ FGS:121

General comment

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

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xí•(-ke)

Pre-Mandan *xík-

Mandan xíkoʔš ‘it’s bad’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi xíyá ‘bad, cunning’ D&S:221a

General comment

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

noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xó•ka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xúhke

Crow xuđče• ‘skunk’ GG:62, RGG:4, RG, xuđčhee

Hidatsa xúhke ‘skunk’, xóke ‘skunk’

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xó•ka

Proto-Dakota *xokd

Lakota xokd ‘badger’ RTC

Dakota ḥoka, ṭxoka ‘badger’ WM:13a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xó•ge

Chiwere xóge ‘badger’ GM

Hoocąk yôk ‘badger’ KM:501, ḡook

Proto-Dhegiha *xó•ga

Omaha-Ponca xó•ga ‘badger’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw mąxóga ‘badger’ RR

Osage xóga ‘badger’ LF:219a

Quapaw xóka ‘groundhog’ RR

General comment

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

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

*noun physical_artefact_container*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *pq-

Proto-Siouan *ʔpʰɛʔ*

Proto-Mandan *pʰɛh-


Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ʔpʰɛ*

Proto-Dakota *pʰɛ*

Lakota *pʰɛ ‘bag’ D:229, EJ

Dakota pąʰbótsułka, *pʰɛq- ‘an Indian woman’s bag’ SRR:410a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere


Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw *ąqąpʰɛq ‘tree stump’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *pʰɛʃɛ*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pʰɛh*, *pʰɛ ‘bag, sack’ D&S:243b

Ofo *ąqąpʰɛsh’tuska, *ąqąpʰɛhtuska ‘basket’ D&S:322b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *pąʰɛqgyáa, pąʰɛqgyá’, *pʰɛ- ‘basket’ HW

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *pɛʔ ‘hold, contain, be full of’ KS

*General comment*

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

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

noun physical artefact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *htá•pe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wa-ú•tapi

Crow báupči ‘ball’ RG, GG:35, RGG:38
Hidatsa waʔú•tapi ‘ball’ J, maʔú•tapi

Pre-Mandan *wį•tpo (?)
Mandan wį•pto- ‘ball’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *htá•pe

Proto-Dakota *thápa
Lakota thápa RTC
Dakota tápa, thápa ‘ball’ WM:13a
Stoney thabábanąke PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thá•pe

Chiwere thá•we RR
Hoocąk čaap ‘top of head’ KM:134, caap ‘lacrosse stick’ KM:113, čaabŋį, caaŋŋa

Proto-Dhegiha *htapé

Omaha-Ponca tábé ‘ball’ RTC
Kanza/Kaw tábé ‘ball’ RR
Osage tábé, ṭhtapé ‘ball’ LF:135a

Proto-Southeastern *tá•pi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi nitápi, nitawí, nitawi** D88:237b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tápi, ṭá•pi ‘ball’ HH, tá•pi’, ṭá•pi ‘ball’ HW
Saponi tabike ‘powder horn (sic?), shot bag?’ F

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

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

ball joint > shoulder

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *-re•t

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hį•rète ~ *irète ~ *įrète

Proto-Dakota *hįyète

Lakota hįyète ‘shoulder’ RTC

Dakota hįy̆ète , thîyète ‘shoulder’ SRR:148a , hîyète , t’hîyète ‘shoulder’ SRR:149b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hịrète ~ *irète ~ *įrète

Chiwere ilêje ‘shoulder’ GM

Hoocąk hịnèč ‘shoulder’ [< *si + *k- + *ret + *-ka ?] KM:1155 , hįi-rec , hįi-nec ‘heel’ KM:2840 , sıkèrège , sîkèrèce

Proto-Dhegiha *-réte

Omaha-Ponca çithéde , ṭsibîde ‘heel’ F&LF:109

Kanza/Kaw siyéǰe ‘heel’ RR

Osage çithédse , ṭsîbîce ‘heels’ LF:31a

Quapaw sidétte ‘heel’ JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba hîrît ‘his shoulder’ FS

General comment

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

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *Sr̄a, *Sr̄a

Proto-Siouan *Sr̄a RR

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow dashdashi 'smooth' RGG:108, GG:42, dalddášši

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Sr̄d

Proto-Dakota *Sr̄d

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

Dakota šdá 'bald' SRR:441b

Assiniboine šdá PAS

Sioux Valley šdá

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Sr̄d

Chiwere sra LWR:28


Proto-Dhegiha *Sr̄d

Omaha-Ponca šdá RR

Kanza/Kaw šdá 'smooth' RR

Osage štâd, -šdana, štâd 'hairless, destitute of hair' LF:134b, LF:2134b

Quapaw šdá 'smooth' RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba šat̄eʔ? 'husked' FGS:110
bark of tree (outer)

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *yą́•-ha

Proto-Dakota *čhą́-ha

   Lakota čhą́ďa ‘bark’ RTC
   Dakota čąha , čha ‘bark’ WM:14a

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

   Chiwere ná•xúha RR
   Otoe náha, náxúha
   Hoocąk nąqáhí KM:2152 , nąqáhá

Proto-Dhegiha *žą́•-ha ~ *žą́•-xüha

   Omaha zhóⁿha RTC
   Ponca žąha ‘bark’ RR
   Kanza/Kaw žą́xüha ‘bark’ RR

Osage žóⁿha , žóha ‘outer bark’ LF:225b , noⁿ´ha , ṭ nóña ‘bark of a tree’ LF:114a

Quapaw žóha ‘bark’ RR

General comment

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

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hútE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ú•tE

Crow úš+e 'at the root' [ < úš + -e (postpositional suffix) 'along'] L:323 , ú•ceta

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

Pre-Mandan

Mandan manahuta ‘stump’ Will

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *húṭE

Proto-Dakota *hútA

Lakota húte, ohúte, ohúta ‘base, root’ RTC , ohuta ‘shore’ RTC , wihúta ‘base of tent’ RTC

Dakota húte ‘base’ WM:14a

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

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *húte

Chiwere húže ‘base, stump’ JGT:28

Hoocąk húč ‘base (n.) ; foot (of tree)’ [ archaic ] KM:1595 , húic

Proto-Dhegiha *húṭE

Omaha-Ponca hidé JOD

Kanza/Kaw hážë ‘bottom, lower part’ RR

Osage udsé , ḥúčé ‘the base or lower part of a hill, mountain, stream or tree’ LF:167a , húṭe , ḥúčé JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi udf ‘trunk, roots’ D&S:283a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ñě ‘root’ KS

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

**basket**

*noun* physical_artefact,container

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hḑika*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ‘thḑike-hu’

Chiwere thḑíku ‘burr oak’ GM

Hoocąk ćaałgégu ‘oak’ KM:146, caałgégu

Proto-Dhegiha ‘hḑíka’

Omaha-Ponca tdḑíká hi ‘oak’ [Quercus macrocarpa] RTC

Kanza/Kaw tdḑíká hú ‘burr oak’ RR

Osage tḑíká hi, ṭhḑíka ‘burr oak, white oak’ LF:138b

Quapaw nståká hi JOD

Proto-Southeastern *tavška*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *-taška*

Biloxi a’tašká, ndášk, ndásk, ‘basket’ [a’tašká seems the better word, and was obtained later than ndášk] D&S:178b, ndáska?, ṭq̃tasqa ‘basket’ MRH, ndáska?, ṭq̃tasqa ‘basket’ MS

Ofo ʔatıp‘ruska, ṭatip̃kuska ‘weave’ D&S:322, ʔatuphó‘ruska, ṭatip̃kuska ‘basket’ D&S:322

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tskah’ūt; nskahōi, ṭskah’ūri ‘oak’ N, H

Proto-Catawba *tus*

Catawba tus, itus ‘pot, kettle’ FGS

Woccon Tooseawau, ṭusawq ‘kettle’ JL

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

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

basswood, inner bark?

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hį́te

Proto-Dakota *hį́ta

Lakota hį́ta ‘basswood’ EB:177b, EJ

Dakota hį́tacay , ṭį́ta- ‘basswood’ WM:14b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hįįšgé ‘basswood’ KM:1148 , hįįšge

Proto-Dhegiha *hį́te

Omaha-Ponca hį́de hi ‘basswood’

Kanza/Kaw hį́ ‘inner bark’ RR , hį́ ‘kind of elm’ RR

Osage hu’n’dse , ṭį́če ‘linden tree and its bark’ LF:60b

Quapaw hį́te nąbéhi ‘slippery elm’ RR, JOD

General comment

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

verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hi•-rá

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

crow hílappēe ‘ford a river’ RG, GG:48

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hi•-rá

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ʰhí•-ru

Chiwere híru ‘bathe, wade, swim’ JDH

Hoocąk híra ‘bathe’ KM:876 , híra

Proto-Dhegiha ʰhi•rá

Omaha-Ponca hiðá ‘swim’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw hiyd ‘swim’ RR

Osage híhdá , thi•dá ‘bathe in a stream’ LF:61b

Quapaw hídd ‘swim’ OM

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo mìni ínase ‘swim’ HW

General comment

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

verb existence

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *rį

Proto-Siouan *rį

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-rį

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

Hidatsa -ri in: xupa‘rì ‘medicine’ J

Pre-Mandan

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

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *rį

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *nį

Chiwere nį ‘be, neutral’ GM

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

Proto-Dhegiha *rį

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

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

Quapaw nį ‘be in a location, be’ JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ri ~ ni ‘be, location’ KS

General comment

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

The Crow/Hidatsa forms are derived from Crow baàpda ‘holy’ and Hidatsa xupa ‘holy’.

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

noun physical_artefact, dress, jewelry

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *pca, *paca


Pre-Mandan

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

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota pšihó ‘beads’ EB:447a, EJ

Dakota šiptó, ŋiptó ‘beads’ SRR:445a

Proto-Dhegiha

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

Osage wapšúška ‘beads’ LF:198b

General comment

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

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *omnį́ča

Lakota omnį́ča RTC

Dakota omnča, tommiča 'beans' SRR:374b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ąŋį́ke

Chiwere ąŋį́ge 'bean' RR, ąŋį́ge 'beans'

Otoe ąŋį́ge 'bean(s) dimin.' JDH, bean(s) 'slow' JDH, ąŋį́ge

Hoocąk ąŋį́ŋe KM:1618, huunį́

Proto-Dhegiha *hǫbrį́ke

Omaha-Ponca hįbðį́ge 'beans' RTC

Kanza/Kaw hǫblį́ge 'beans' RR, hįbðį́ge 'beans' RR

Osage hǫbrį́ke 'beans' RR

Quapaw hǫbnį́ke 'beans' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ąkunakí, ąkunņi, ṭkunakí 'beans' D&S:323a

General comment

Cf. Uto-Aztecan forms in Miller PUA#29 *muutii; HP mōri; Pg muuñ; Tr muñ; Vr muñ; My muñ; Yq muñ; Cr moom; Hch moom. These forms probably do not reflect a UA prototype, but rather an early borrowing." Miller (personal communication) also points out that Yuman also has numerous look-alikes for this set. One such is Yavapai merik (Kendall, Martha B., Selected Problems in Yavapai Syntax, 80). These terms are most likely borrowings in Siouan also, since beans are not attested archaeologically in the upper midwest until about A.D. 1000, long after the breakup even of MVS. Although these terms look very much alike, the set contains numerous irregularities that tend to confirm diffusion. The prototype for borrowing seems to have been analyzed by Siouan speakers as containing at least three elements: (h)ą•- present without the second element in one of the Chiwere forms and in Ofo, wrj present in most of the remaining forms, and -ke a common noun forming suffix present in most but not all forms. Mandan and Dakota have #o-, other languages show y. The word appears to have gone from Mandan to Dakota.
bear > black bear (1)

noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wasápe

Proto-Dakota

Stoney waθáben ‘black bear’ [-n diminutive (?)] PAS

Proto-Dhegiha *wasápe

Omaha-Ponca wasíbe ‘black bear’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw wasábe ‘black bear’ RR

Osage waçábe, ōwasípe ‘black bear’ LF:185a

Quapaw wasd JOD

General comment

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

bear > black bear (2)
noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wi-hų́te, *wa-hų́te

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow buushí ‘black bear’ RG, GG:35, RGG:2

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Dakota húte ‘bear’ RR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(wa-)hų́te

Chiwere mų́je ‘bear, black bear’ JDH

Hoocąk hų́ųč ‘bear’ KM:1612, hųųc

Proto-Southeastern *mų́•ti

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi oⁿṭí, óⁿṭi, †ǫti ‘bear’ D&S:242b, JOD

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo műnti; mōnti, moñdi; †mų•ti N, H

General comment

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

noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wąthó

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wątóʔ 'bear' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *mąthó

Proto-Dakota *mąthó

Lakota mąhó 'gray or polar bear' EB:334a, RTC, EJ
Dakota mató , ?mąthó 'the gray or polar bear' SRR:309a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *mąthó

Chiwere mąthó 'grizzly' RTC
Hoocąk mąčó 'grizzly bear' KM:2058 , maqco

Proto-Dhegiha *mąthó

Omaha-Ponca mąčhó 'bear' RTC, mąthó 'grizzly' RR
Kanza/Kaw mičhó 'polar bear, white bear' RR
Osage mičhó 'grizzly' RR
Quapaw mąthó — mąčhó 'grizzly' RR

Proto-Southeastern *mį́čhi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ú́čhi, ū́nthi , ū́čhi 'bear' [cf. 'bear'] D&S:331b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo hamı́čhih 'bear' MMI

General comment

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

noun animal,mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wi-yá•pe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wirápa

Crow bildpa ‘beaver’ RG, GG:31, RGG:2

Hidatsa wirápa ‘beaver’ J, mirápa

Pre-Mandan *wrip

Mandan waráp ‘beaver’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *yá•pe

Proto-Dakota *čhápa

Lakota čhápa ‘beaver’ RTC

Dakota čápA, tčhápa ‘beaver’ WM:15b

Stoney čháb(a) ‘beaver’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *rā•pe

Chiwere rāwe ‘beaver’ RR

Hoocąk rāp ‘beaver’ KM:2528, raap

Proto-Dhegiha *žá•pe

Omaha-Ponca žábe ‘beaver’ RR

Kanza/Kaw žábe ‘beaver’ RR

Osage žábe, Žápe ‘beaver’ LF:221a

Quapaw žáwe ‘beaver’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo yāop ‘beaver’ H

Saponi yapa, yoap ‘beaver’ Byrd

Proto-Catawba

Catawba chauppee, ?čapi ‘beaver’ Gallatin

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

bed

noun physical artifact, furniture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *o-wų́ke, *o-ʔų́ke RR

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *u•wakí

Crow uuwačí ‘bedding, quilt’ RG, GG:58, RGG:43

Hidatsa u•wakí ‘bedding, quilt’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ówąke ‘bed’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *o-wų́kE

Proto-Dakota *o-wų́kA

Lakota oyų́ke RTC

Dakota ową́ka, źową́ka ‘bed’ WM:15b

Yanktonai ową́ka B&D:33

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hoomį́k ‘bed’ KM:1449, homį́k

General comment

A common construction, *o- in locative’ and *wų́kE ‘lie, be lying, positional’, Chiwere oyį́ ‘bed, couch, lie in’ (JGT92:105) and Proto-Dhegiha ‘ąį́q ‘bed, lie on’ are cognate in their root portions but lack the suffixed root extension of the other languages.
bedding, covering

noun physical artefact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *owį́že

Proto-Dakota *owį́ža

Lakota owį́ža ‘something spread to light down or sit on; a bed; a floor’ {thowį́že his bedding} EB:415b, B&D:33, EJ

Dakota owį́ʒa, towį́ža ‘bed’ WM:15b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *omį́že

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

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

Proto-Dhegiha *omį́že

Omaha-Ponca umίšhe, tomίšhe MAS:15

Kanza/Kaw omί́že ‘bedding’ RR

Osage umίšhe, tomίšhe ‘mattress, bedding, pallet, carpet’ LF:173b

Quapaw omί́že ‘bed, couch’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo miqaiʔhotʔ ‘blanket’ HW

General comment

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

This is a very common derivational pattern. The *ʔ in the underlying
bee (1)

noun animal, insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *he•źíke (?)

Chiwere heðíge , thędíge ‘bee’ JGT:105 , hejige , thędíge ‘bee’ JGT:105

Otoe heßíge ‘wasp’ JDH

Hoocąk heezík KM:797 , heezík

Proto-Dhegiha

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

Quapaw hezíka ‘bee’ RR

General comment

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

Comparing Osage and the other languages it seems clear that *he- and *-źíkV are being treated as separate morphemes. Algonquian could be the source for he-. In any event, this is a diffused term, found up and down the Mississippi, and is not directly reconstructible within Siouan except perhaps for Chiwere/Hoocąk.
bee (2)

animal, insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *awáko•xE

Crow awáko•xa 'spider' RG, GG:58, RGG:43

Hidatsa awáko•xE 'spider' J , awáko•xi

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kox 'buzz' H:115 , síkox 'bee, wasp' RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *akąxi

Biloxi kaⁿx, kaⁿxi, †kąxi 'bee' D&S:206a

Ofo əkoⁿ´si ,  święt 'bee' D&S:320a

General comment

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

verb social, communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *Ráhe

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(wa-)Rá

Proto-Dakota *Rá

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

Dakota da ‘beg’ WM:16a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Rá-

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

Hoocąk watátí KM:3502, watata

Proto-Dhegiha *(wa-)Rá

Omaha-Ponca wana MAS:16

Kanza/Kaw ka, wadda ‘ask, beg, pray, demand’ RR

Osage da, ṭa ‘ask for, beg, request, solicit’ LF:32b

Quapaw watá ‘pray’ MS, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ha_dí, ṭha神州 ‘beg’ D&S:192b, kahádlhúni, ṭkaháadhí ‘not to beg’ D&S:192b

General comment

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

Quapaw watá would be expected. Biloxi suggests final ‘-he, if it is cognate.
behind, in back
adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *RásE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *őrv acE

Crow álitchia , álítccia ‘back, on the other side’ GG:9

Hidatsa őrvici ‘back of, at one side’ J, HWM

Pre-Mandan *nůh + ū + tů

Mandan nůhšit ‘in back of, behind’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Raze-

Proto-Dakota *Raza-

Lakota lazāta ‘by the side of, behind’ EB:322b, -laza- in: ilâsata ‘from the side of, perhaps’ EB:223

Dakota dazāta ‘back of, back from’ SRR

Proto-Dhegiha *Ráze-hta

Omaha-Ponca (a)mačata , řanasatta ‘in rear, behind’ MAS:6

Kanza/Kaw dasēta ‘back, backwards’ RR

Osage dâçetaha , řâzehtha ‘in rear, behind’ LF:33b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *rVs

Biloxi daswā , řdaswā ‘back (body part)’ D&S:180b

Ofo išá ṭiska , řdāṭiska ‘back (body part)’ D&S:324b, JSS , yd‘išē ṭiska , řdāṭiska ‘back of chair’ D&S:331b, JSS

General comment

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

verb physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi psûkî, psûki , ṭpsûki (?) ‘belch’ D&S:248b

Ofo ápshusĕ , ṭápshuse 'belch' D&S:321a

General comment

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

*noun physical_somatic_body_part*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *‘i-hté•si*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hté•si*

Proto-Dakota *thezí*

Dakota tezi , *thezí ‘belly’* WM:16b

Proto-Dhegiha *hté•ze*

Omaha-Ponca té•çe , *tté•ze ‘waist’* F&LF:108

Osage té•çe , *thezí ‘abdomen, belly’* LF:157b

Quapaw ozísti ‘belly, pubic region’ RR

**Proto-Southeastern *‘(i-)thér•si’***

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ihfí , *thé•fi ‘belly’* D&S:324b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo té•si ‘body’ H

**General comment**

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

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-hpi(-)ra

Pre-Mandan *í-hpvra

Mandan íhparak ‘belt’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ihpi(-)ra

Proto-Dakota *ihpi_yakA

Lakota ihpayake ‘belt’ RTC , ihpayaka ‘belt’ EJ , ihpayakiyA ‘to belt’ EB:232a , EJ , ihpayaka ‘gird one’s self’

Dakota ihpayaka , īhpayaka ‘belt’ WM:16b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ihipi-rake

Chiwere ihpireha ‘belt’ JOD , ipireha ‘belt’ RR , pheiy̯uaŋe − pheiy̯uaŋe

Hoocąk hipirak ‘belt’ KM:984 , hipirak

Proto-Dhegiha *íhipi-ra

Omaha-Ponca īp̣i dúge ‘belt’ JOD , ęp̣i dúge

Kanza/Kaw ęp̣iúya ‘belt, girdle’ RR , ęp̣iúya ‘belt’ JOD

Osage ęp̣iúha , tōp̣iúda ‘belt’ LF:78a , ęp̣iúda , tōp̣iúda ‘belt’ JOD

Quapaw īp̣iidāțč ‘belt’ RR , īp̣iidāțč ‘belt’ JOD , īp̣iđa ‘put on a belt’ JOD

General comment

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

bend (1)
verb physical_contact_manipulation
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Southeastern
Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *keči

Biloxi kêteč, ḵkeči ‘crooked’ D&S:207b, k’éči, ḷkeči ‘bent like a hook’

Ofo itcaⁿkĕ̅či, ḷkeči ‘crooked stick’ D&S:325b, JSS, abóki kë́dʒi, ḷkeči ‘river bend’

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

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

bend (2)
verb physical_contact_manipulation
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hkó-, *hkó-ša ~ *hkó-ɣa

Proto-Dakota
Lakota yaáṗako, ḷ-kho, yaápa- ‘bend or twist with the mouth’ EB:617b, VC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
Hoocąk kooɣáɣa ‘be veil-like, like curtain material’ JWE:65, kooğāa

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

Osage a’thikusha, ḷáthokkoša ‘a tine in an elk’s horn; brow antlers’ LF:15b

Quapaw -kkó, ba- ‘bent’ RR

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

**bend (3)**

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *š(V)kópE RR

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *š(V)kúpE

Crow šikópi 'curved, bent' RGG:98, xókupa, ala- 'bend in a stream' RG, GG:8, xákúpa 'ravine' RG, GG:60, RGG:19


Pre-Mandan *:skop-

Mandan skópọʔš 'it’s bent over, rounded, crooked' H:213, -skopoʔš, ka- 'he bends it by striking' H:213, -skopoʔš, rá- 'he bends it' H:214

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *škópE

Proto-Dakota *škópa

Lakota škópa 'crooked, warped' also = person who’s never serious' EJ, -škópa, ayá- 'make crooked or twisted by biting on' EB:103a, EJ, -škópa, ka- 'make crooked or twisted by striking, but not to curve; to dent by hitting; result is a bend or dent, but object stays straight' EB:291a, EJ, -škópa, na- 'twist with the foot; to twist or become crooked of itself' EB:359a, EJ, -škópa, wapá- 'make twist or become warped; make twist or become warped with the palm, or by pushing' EB:547a, EJ, -škópa, yu- 'hollow out e.g. a trough' EB:291a, EJ, -škópa, ku- 'hollow out, make concave, cut out as a trough; make a pit' EB:291a, EJ, -škópa, na- 'indent, make a hollow place with the foot' EJ, -škópa, pa- 'make a cavity or ditch by pressure with the hands, or by sitting' EB:434b, EJ, -škópa, yu- 'bite out and make concave' EB:262a, EJ

Dakota yuškopa, ḥyuškópa 'warp' WM:256b

Proto-Hoocák-Chiwere

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

Proto-Dhegiha *škópe

Omaha-Ponca škóbe, ŗškóbe MAS:56

Kanza/Kaw Škówe 'deep' RR

Osage škóbe, ŗškópe 'deep' LF:132a

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

bend (4)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-SókE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow xóhkapi ‘bent over’ RG, GG:62, RGG:98

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-zókE

Proto-Dakota

Dakota yazóka ‘stretch out from’ SRR:647b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk huruzók ‘bend by pulling’ KM:691, huruzok ‘be springy, spring-like’ KM:728, hawozók, hawazok

Proto-Dhegiha

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

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo shóki ‘burst’ D&S:329a, JSS, sxó’ki

General comment

Proto-Mississipi-Valley would presumably have *s, but it should have become z only post accentually. Crow illustrates a different ablaut grade and in addition has an unexplained h cluster that raises questions about cognacy. Ofo may be cognate, but here the meaning is a problem. If it is cognate, Proto-Siouan may have had a long vowel. Outside of MVS this set is not very secure.
bend (5)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *sʔį́

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -ʔį́, ʔų́ ‘the outside of a bend or curve, as in a river’ EB:233b, EJ , ʔą́ʔį́ ‘the outside of a bend or curve, as in a river’; also ‘depressed, of a person’ EJ , -ʔį́, ʔą́ ‘a curve, as of the outer side opposite the string of a bow.’ EB:403b, EJ , ʔą́ʔį́ ‘bend backwards, to be bent toward the inside (concave), like the back of a sway-back horse, or a pug nose’ EJ , ʔą́, ko- ‘strain in the peak of copulation’ EB:292a, EJ , ʔą́ʔį́, ya- ‘tickle by saying something’ EB:629a, EJ , yaʔį́ʔį́ ‘tickle someone with the hand’ , yaʔį́ʔį́

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere -sʔį́

Chiwere wuʔį́ ‘bend’ JDH

Hoocąk -sʔį́, wu- ‘bend over, v.intr.’ [ = wakú] KM:3464 , was’į́

Proto-Dhegiha ‘paʔį́

Kanza/Kaw bacʔį́ ‘stoop over, headlong head first’ MR, JOD, RR , bacćį́ ‘buck, as a horse’ RR , babćį́ ‘push over, upside down’ RR , būbćį́ ‘stoop over, make, push down’ RR , gabćį́ ‘stoop, force by striking’ RR , nābćį́ ‘stoop, cause one to stoop by action of foot’ JOD , yūbćį́ ‘bend or deflect something, force to stoop’ RR

Osage baʔį́ʔį́, ṭpacʔį́ ‘bend the top of stick or pole’ LP:24b

Quapaw dibacı́ ‘hold gun muzzle downward’ RR

bend (6)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kšé•kE

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kškoʔš ‘it’s crooked’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kšé•kE

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk kšekšék ‘be crooked’ KM:1907 , kšekšék

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

bend (7)
verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *SiSi-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow šhįšįš ‘curly’ RG, GG:56

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi sőf ‘wrinkled’ D&S:256a

General comment

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

bend (8)
verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šohe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-šu-to < *-šu-he


Hidatsa -šu, ara- ‘bend by feet’ J, -šu, nd- ‘bend with teeth’ J, -šūa, nu- ‘bend by hand, twist; turn in a vehicle’ J, -šūa, pš- ‘bend by pushing’ J, -šu, nak- ‘bend by hitting, dent’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-šo

Otoe wo-yó ‘something that’s sticking out, bent out; an erection’ JDH

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

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

Cf. *SokE 'bend (4)'.

bend (9)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kšą

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kšą-kšą

Proto-Dakota *kšą

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

Dakota kšą ‘crooked’ SRR:298

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *kšą-kšą

Chiwere waʔšą́ʔšą ‘zig zag’ GM

Hoocąk -kšąkšą ‘wavy (hair)’ KM:1899, -kšąkšą

Proto-Dhegiha *šą

Omaha-Ponca ba’šo’sho’ ‘crooked’ (44) MAS:51, pa sho’sho’, ṭbaššą ‘zigzag’ MAS:192

Kanza/Kaw besą ‘zig zag pattern’ RR, yibąššą RR

Osage basho’, ṭpašį ‘crooked, incurred, river bend’ LF:23a, basho’sho’, ṭpaššą ‘in a zig zag way’ LF:23b

Quapaw ni bąshąkną ‘bend in a stream’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ktaca’, šuktca’hí, šuktcd’hí, ı’kčą ‘next to, next one’ D&S:214a

General comment

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

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *kóže

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kó-, *kózE ~ *kóžE

Proto-Dakota *ko, *kózE


Dakota kóza ‘swing’ WM:240a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Otoe góye ‘bent, like wire’ JDH , rigóye ‘bend it’ JDH

Hoocąk góoš ‘be crescent-shaped’ KM:457 , gooš

Proto-Dhegiha *kóže

Omaha-Ponca thíguzhe , †-gože, ði- ‘crooked’ MAS:51

Quapaw kóže ‘crooked’ JOD , dikóže ‘bend something’ RR , dikókože ‘zigzag’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi takótcĕ, takótcĕ , †takóčl ‘turning somersault’ D&S:269a

General comment

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

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ke-ś-IE  RR

Pre-Mandan
Mandan -ksísoʔš, pa- 'he folds it' H:121

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-kšíE

Proto-Dakota *-kšíža

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

Dakota yukšiža, fyuksíža 'bend' WM:16b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-kšíža

Chiwere luʔšiye 'joint' GM

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

Proto-Dhegiha *-šíže ~ *-šį́že

Kanza/Kaw yüšįže RR

Osage thishízhe, ḏíšįže 'crooked' LF:148b, LF:246b

General comment

Cf. 'bend (7)' Quapaw diběśį 'bend something backwards' shows clearly the morpheme boundary between *k-šį- and *-że in common Dhegiha, i.e., only part of this Quapaw form is cognate. Cf. *-ś-IE and Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ke(•)či 'bend', which suggest that all of the Siouan terms for 'bend, crooked', etc. with root-initial kš probably possessed the Proto-Siouan initial CVC sequence *keš-. This would account for the accentual pattern in the daughter languages also.
bend > limp, be lame
verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *škó•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-škó•

Crow alačkú 'limp' GG:7, RG

Hidatsa aškó• 'limp, be lame'.J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tckókí, tckukí, ţčkoki ‘lame; to be lame, to limp’ D&S:265b

General comment

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

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *há•sE ~ *há•s-hu

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wa•cu

Crow báčču ‘chokecherry’ RG, GG:18, RGG:13
Hidatsa wá•cu ‘berry’ J, má•cu

Pre-Mandan *hâšE

Mandan hâš ‘bullberry’ RTC, hâšE ~ hâš ‘grapes’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *há•se

Proto-Dakota *háša

Lakota háš ‘grapes’ RTC
Dakota hastąŋhayka , ṭhastąŋhayka ‘grape’ WM:77a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *há•se

Chiwere hášE RR
Hoocąk háš ‘berry, fruit’ KM:534 , haas

Proto-Dhegiha *hásü

Omaha-Ponca háš ‘grape’
Kanza/Kaw háš ‘grape’ RR
Osage háš ~ háš ‘grape’ RR
Quapaw háš ‘grape’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *háši

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *dáši

Biloxi ášī , ṭasi ‘berry, berries’ D&S:174a , ášatáč, ṭášatáčka ‘mayhaws’ D&S:174a , ášatáčko ṭoká , ṭášatáčax ‘strawberries’ D&S:174b
Ofo iyá•fhu , ṭiyá•fhu ‘blackberry’ D&S:325a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo hasisįl , ṭhasi- ‘raspberry’ H , ṭhaspahĩnuk , ṭhas- ‘strawberry’ H

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

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

between

adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *o-h₃₄-q-rq

Proto-Dakota ‘ō-tha-q-nq

Lakota ñhahená ‘on this side’ EJ, iyóthahena ‘between’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *othá-q-nq

Chiwere otánáta, ñothánáda ‘between’ LWR:43

Hoocąk hočakéená ‘in the middle’ KM:1177, hocakená

Proto-Dhegiha ‘ohtánq

Omaha-Ponca ottána ‘in between’

Kanza/Kaw ottánq ‘the space between’ RR, ottánáče ‘between’ RR

Osage ottánoNSE, ñothánq-che ‘lying between two objects’ LF:175b

Quapaw ottána ‘interval, space’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘locative (5)’
bewitch

psychic_emotion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kwų́(-xe)

Proto-Dakota *xmų́ɣa

Lakota xmų́ ‘buzz, hum’ EJ, xmų́ɣa ‘bewitch, sorcerize’ RTC, thxmų́ɣa ‘bees, flies’, thxmxų́ɣa ‘horseflies’

Dakota hmxąŋa, ṭxmų́ɣa ‘bewitch’ WM:17b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wa-kwų́(-xe)

Chiwere grún, wagrún, ṭgrų́, ṭwagrı́ ‘curse’ JGT:126

Hoocąk waƙqwą́x, waƙą́x ‘witch, witchcraft’ KM:3348, waƙqwx, waƙqą́x

Proto-Dhegiha *hki-krǫ́(-ɣe)

Omaha-Ponca kيثóⁿxe F&LF:106

Kanza/Kaw kkilǫ́ɣe ‘sorcery’ RR

Osage kį́ghó’xe, ṭhkiłę́je ‘practice magic upon each other’ LF:86a, kį́ghó’xe umǫ, ṭhkiłę́je umǫ ‘the bee’ LF:86a

Quapaw knǫ ‘curse, revile’ JOD

General comment

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

For parallel dissimilations, see ‘lie’, ‘ask’.
beyond > other, across (1)

particle physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ko*

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ko*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ko*

Proto-Dhegiha *ko*

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

Kanza/Kaw ḣgó- in: gōda ‘yonder’ RR, go- in: gojí ‘far off, remote, long way off’ MR, RR, ḣgó- in: gágūha ‘over that way, over yonder’ RR, ḣgó- in: gágúje ‘then, at that time’ JOD, RR


Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

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

Ofo -khó- in: akho’tça” -- akho’tcą, ḣ-khó- ‘out, outside’ D&S:319

Proto-Catawba


beyond > other, across (2)

particle physical_spatial
big (1)

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ihtą́•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow isáa RG, GG:89

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hta(-ka)

Proto-Dakota *thą́ka

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

Dakota tą́ka, ṭthą́ka ‘big’ WM:17b

Stoney thą́ga ‘big’ PAS

Sioux Valley thą́ka ‘big’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thą́(-ka)

Chiwere kʰéθą́ ‘turtle’ GM , nį́thą́ ‘Mississippi R.’ GM

Hoocąk hoočą́k ‘Winnebago; Ho-Chunk’ KM:170 , Hoocąk ‘turtle’ KM:170 , keečį́k ’praise’ KM:170 , keecą́k ‘sacred, holy; be spiritually good, sacred, holy’ KM:3338 , -čą́k, ra-, racą́k , wakąčą́k , wakącą́k

Proto-Dhegiha *htą́(-ka)

Omaha-Ponca tą́ga — tą́ga ‘big’ RR

Kanza/Kaw tą́ga ‘big’, -tą́ga ‘augmentative’ RR , -tą́ge, yū- ‘enlarge, make sth. big’ MR, RR , -tą́ga, ya- ‘speak of sth. as great or large’ JOD, RR

Osage toⁿgá , ṭtaŋká ‘big, large’ LF:155b

Quapaw tą́ka, ṭajá ‘big’ RR , hóta ‘roar’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *ihtę́(-rt)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ihtę́(-rt)

Biloxi tə́, nitáni, nitáni , ṭniátemi ‘big’ D&S:270b , nitarnę́ʔ , ṭniátemi ‘big’ MRH , nitarnę́ʔ , ṭniátemi ‘big’ MS

Ofo ihtə́, ihtə́n , ixvə́ , ixvə́ , ihtę́ ‘big’ D&S:324b , tə́n , ihtę́ ‘big’ D&S:324, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo itáni , itáni , ḥtáʔ , ṭniátemi H, DSF
General comment

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

big (2)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *x̂ʷẗe

Proto-Dakota

Dakota ḥxį́ča ~ ḥxį́ ‘very’ SRR:165a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere xą́ñe ‘big’ RR

Otoe xą́jé ‘big’ RTC, xą́jé ‘very big’ JDH, xą́jɪ́-ɗaŋa JDH

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

Proto-Dhegiha

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

General comment

Cf. ‘augmentative (2)’. Hoocąk t is a reflex of *R, whereas the other languages appear to have reflexes of ‘r. Chiwere, Otoe, Omaha-Ponca are the only true matches, so this term may represent an innovation that diffused regionally.
bile (1), gall

*physical_somatic_liquid*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpiːți*  
Proto-Dakota *phizí*

Lakota *phizí* ‘gall’ RTC

Dakota *pizi* , *phizí* ‘bile’ WM:18a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere phi•ðí RR

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

Proto-Dhegiha *hpizí*

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

Kanza/Kaw *ppüzú* → *ppüzí* ‘gall, bile’ RR

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

Quapaw *ppizí* ‘gall’ JOD

**General comment**

This term may be a compound of *‘liver’* and *‘yellow’*, q.v.
bile (2)

verb physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa•sí•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow baashíi ‘bile’ GG:22

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wa•zi

Chiwere wddhi , ʔweddhí ‘bile, gall’ JOD

Otoe waðhí ‘bile, gall’ RR

Hoocąk waazí ‘stomach acid’ KM:3233 , waazí

General comment

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

bird (1)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *awą́•-xe

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota ‘mąɣá’

Lakota mąɣá ‘duck’ RTC

Dakota maŋaksica , ḥmaŋaksciča WM:55a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *awą́•-xi ~ *awą́•-xi

Biloxi maŋ , máŋ ‘chicken, chickens’ D&S:226b , maŋxeʔ ~ maŋxeʔ , ḥmaŋaxiča ‘chicken’ MRH, MS

Ofo abási , aɓási , ḥaɓási ‘chicken’ D&S:319a, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘duck, waterfowl’, ‘bird > game bird, turkey’.
bird (2)
noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ré•ska

Biloxi kûdêská, kûdêškí, ỹkûdêská ‘bird, birds, flea’ D&S:216a, kûdêská? – kûdêska? , ỹkûdêska ‘bird’ MRH, MS

Ofo týchka, deská, tékška ‘bird’ D&S:330b, tculéská , ỹtculéská ‘Carolina wren’ D&S:329b, těřka , těřka ‘bird, flea’ D&S:329a

General comment

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

bird (3)
noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *síh-ka

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk sîkáksík ‘partridge’ KM:2838, sîkáksík

Proto-Dhegiha *sîhka

Kanza/Kaw sîhkka RR

Osage sîhka ‘chicken’ RR, çîųka ‘turkey’ LF:348a

Quapaw sîhka ‘chicken’ RR

General comment

Presumably the MVS sîh and sîk stems for ‘bird’ are in some convoluted way doublets. sîh- may in fact be from an earlier *sîk- . The medial -c- in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa probably reflects a reduplicated form “cêcika.”

Osage rounding is unaccounted for. Initial syllable accent suggests a lost initial syllable. Although DH hk appears superficially to match tk of Lakota sîktá etc., such a cluster ought to yield ht in DH by regular metathesis, cf. ‘drink’, ‘fork’.
bird (4)
noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wayį́ka

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ʔ̱eʔčala ‘fledgling’ EB:506b, EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wayį́ke

Chiwere wayį́ŋe

Hoocąk wanį́k KM:3408 , wanį́k

Proto-Dhegiha *wažį́ka RR

Omaha-Ponca wažį́ga RR

Kanza/Kaw wažį́ga RR

Osage wažį́ka RR

Quapaw wažį́ka RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo māyį́ñk , †má•yį•k ‘bird’ H

General comment

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

Mandan suk = ‘child’.
bird (5)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sí•ka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cí•cka

Crow čička 'prairie chicken' RG, GG:37, RGG:2, chiichkd
Hidatsa čička 'prairie chicken' J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *zí•ka

Proto-Dakota *zí•ka
Lakota zizíka 'turkey' SK
Dakota zí•ka; zí•ka thąka 'partridge; turkey' SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
Hoocąk ziizíke 'turkey' KM:3982, ziizike

Proto-Dhegiha *zí•ka
Omaha-Ponca čóⁿçiga, żą́żiga 'flicker' LF:269b, ziizíkka, żą́żiga 'turkey' RTC
Kanza/Kaw żą́żiga-tąga 'a bird (species unknown)' RR, żą́żiga 'flicker' RR
Osage čóⁿçiga, żą́żika 'flicker' LF:31b

General comment
Presumably the MVS sih and zí•k stems for ‘bird’ are somehow related.

The medial -č in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa probably reflects a reduplicated form *cí•cka.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

bird > game bird, turkey

*noun animal.bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *awá•-re

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa wé•ra itá•khupe ‘dove’ [X + ‘owl’] J , mé•ra• itá•khupe

Pre-Mandan *wq-

Mandan wény ‘turkey’ H:275 , wé•rek ‘large bird’ RTC , wé•reksuk ‘bird’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *mq

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere woyjkʔímq ‘bird’s nest’ JDH

Hoocąk mqą ‘to nest; nest (of birds); place, nest’ KM:1930 , mqą

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw mq ‘crow’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *amqíni

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *amqι(-nl)

Biloxi ma, mani , ṭmd(nav) ‘turkey, turkeys’ D&S:226a , maneʔ , ṭmd(nav) ‘turkey’

Ofo ama’ , ṭamq ‘turkey’ D&S:320b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo mändāhkái, mändāhkái , ṭmaq-dahkar ‘turkey’ H , manēasēi , manēasān , ṭmaqne asq ‘duck, goose’ H

Saponi maostí ‘turkey cock beard’ JM

General comment

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

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

also ‘dove, pigeon’.
bison

noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *wité*

Proto-Siouan *wihté*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *witē*

Crow bištē ‘buffalo’ RG, GG:33, RGG:2

Hidatsa witē ‘cow’ J , mitē ‘buffalo’ J , witēkítī

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ptē ~ ptē ‘cow’ RTC , ptē tkúš ‘buffalo’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ptē*

Proto-Dakota *ptē*

Lakota ptē ‘bison’ RTC

Dakota pte- ‘buffalo’ WM:25a

Sioux Valley pte ‘bison’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *čē*

Chiwere čē ‘bison’ RTC , čhemf ‘buffalo cow’ RR

Hoocąk čē ‘bovine, cow’ KM:183 , cce

Proto-Dhegiha *htē*

Omaha-Ponca ttē ‘bison’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw ččē ‘bison’ RR

Osage hcē ‘bison’ RR

Quapaw ttē ‘bison’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba widē FS

General comment

bison, reddish yellow buffalo

noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *Róxe — *róxe

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

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

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

Quapaw toxè 'reddish yellow buffalo' JOD

General comment

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

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

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

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hpá•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa arapéviʔ? 'bile' J

Pre-Mandan *por-

Mandan pʰəroʔ 'it's bitter' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpá

Proto-Dakota *phá

Lakota phá 'bitter' RTC

Dakota phá 'bitter' SRR:402 , p’a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere phá 'bitter' RR

Proto-Dhegiha *hpá

Omaha-Ponca ppá 'bitter' RTC

Kanza/Kaw ppá 'bitter' RR

Osage hpá 'bitter' RR

Quapaw ppá 'bitter' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *pha(-ri)

Biloxi padí , tpadí 'bitter' D&S:243a , anípa , tánípa 'whiskey' D&S:243a

Ofo alaphá , t-phá 'whiskey' D&S:320b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo -pa- 'strawberry' H , haspahinuk

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

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

black (1)

verb perceptual, visual, color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *isá•pE

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *sdpE

Proto-Dakota *sdpA

Lakota sdpA ‘black’ RTC, EJ, -sdpA, yu- ‘blacken’ EB:649a, EJ

Dakota sdpA ‘black’ WM:18b

Stoney ólogo ‘black’ PAS

Sioux Valley sdpA ‘black’ PAS

Proto-Dhegiha *sá•pe

Omaha-Ponca sá•be ‘black’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw sábe ‘black’ RR

Osage sápe ‘black’ RR

Quapaw sápe ‘black’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *isápi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi sápi, sīpi, súp, ṭsápi ‘black’ D&S:258b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo asáp, ṭasáp ‘black’ N, H

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

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

**black (2)**

*verb perceptual_visual_color*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley ‘šāpE’**

**Proto-Dakota ‘šápa’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lakota</td>
<td>šápa</td>
<td>RTC, EJ, ‘soil, blacken, defile with the feet’ EB:358a, šápa, wakíd- ‘make black or dirty by smiting’ EB:527b, šápE ‘soil, blacken, to defile anything’ EB:551a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakota</td>
<td>šápa</td>
<td>‘dirty’ WM:50a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux Valley</td>
<td>šápa</td>
<td>‘dirty’ PAS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Proto-Dhegiha ‘šápe’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Omaha-Ponca</td>
<td>číshabe</td>
<td>‘brown’ MAS:26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanza/Kaw</td>
<td>šábe</td>
<td>‘dark colored’ RR, ogé- ‘blow darkness, make dusk, as the night does’ RR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osage</td>
<td>šábe</td>
<td>‘dark in color’ LF:130a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
black (3)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *š(i)pí-

Crow šipíta 'black' RG, šipíta 'black' RG, GG:56, RGG:85

Hidatsa šipí- 'black' J, šípíša 'black' J, -špía, ard- 'charred' J, špía, nu- 'slander' J

Pre-Mandan *spi-

Mandan psíʔš 'it’s black' RTC

General comment

Mandan shows regular metathesis of the cluster. Hidatsa -ša reflects an earlier *ihe. Hidatsa -ša, Crow -ta are a similitive suffix. Note that this set and ‘black (2)’ are in complementary distribution as to subgroups.
black > dark (1)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *isé•pE

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *sépe

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere 'sépe

Chiwere ðé•we 'black' JDH

Missouria sa wa, Sa wa , †sewe

Hoocąk séep 'be black' KM:2811 , seep

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw séwe 'black' RR

Proto-Southeastern *isé•pi ~ *isté•pi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *isé•pi

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

Ofo ifthëpi, ifthé•pi, iftí•pi, iftë•pi , †ifthëpi 'black' D&S:324a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

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

General comment

Both Ofo and the Tutelo form collected by Mithun might argue for *st in Proto-Southeastern, but Biloxi and the earlier Tutelo recordings show no trace of the t. While we do not pretend to understand the mechanisms involved, we believe these developments are independent in the two languages, so that the similarity represents convergence. (Note that Ofo shows a similar intrusive t in other forms, cf. ‘brother (5) BrYo’, however Mithun’s Tutelo form may have been contaminated from Iroquoian, where words for ‘black’ contain an st cluster.)
black > dark (2)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *išé•pE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa šéhpE ‘dark in color’, šéhpI

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šé•pe

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šé•pe

Chiwere ðéšéwe ‘brown’ RR

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

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo itçe•pi´, itchı´pi´, tiče•pi ‘dirt, dust’ D&S:324b

General comment

Hidatsa preaspiration is unaccounted for. Perhaps cf. the comments on h-augment at ‘yellow’.
blade, edged tool

noun physical_artefact_tool

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wą́•hį́

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa wą́•ʔį́‘arrowhead’ J , maʔį́

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wą́•hį́‘knife’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wą́•hį́

Proto-Dakota *wą́•hį́

Lakota wą́•hį́ , twą́•hį́‘flint’ EB:517b , wą́•hį́kpe , twą́•hį́‘arrow’ RTC

Dakota wą́•hį́kpe , twą́•hį́kpe‘arrow’ WM:9b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *mą́•hį́

Chiwere mą́hį́ ~ mą́hį́‘knife’ RR

Hoocąk mą́hį́‘knife’ KM:1960 , mą́hį́‘arrowhead’ KM:2075 , má♬su , mą♬su

Proto-Dhegiha *mą́hį́

Omaha-Ponca mą́hį́‘knife’ RR

Kanza/Kaw mą́hį́‘knife’ RR

Osage má♬hiⁿ , tmana’hį́‘knife’ LF:98b , mo’hį́sí , tmana’hį́‘arrowhead’ LF:98b

Quapaw mą́hį́‘knife’ RR , má♬hį́sí‘arrowhead’ JOD

General comment

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

*noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wəʔį́-he

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wəʔį́ 'blanket' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *mŋ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere mŋ 'blanket' RR

Hoocąk wuž 'shawl, blanket' KM:3170, wəʔį́

Proto-Dhegiha *wəʔį́

Omaha-Ponca wəʔį́, ṭwəʔį́ 'blanket' MAS:19

Kanza/Kaw mŋ 'blanket' RR

Osage mŋ 'a robe' LF:91b

Quapaw máŋtə 'blanket' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo míquihor', ṭmíxajoxot 'blanket' DSF

General comment

This is a nominalization of *ʔį́he 'wear about the shoulders', q.v. Although Mandan apparently lacks the verb root, the form given is the perfectly regular derivation product. The coexistence of Omaha-Ponca wəʔį́ and other DH mŋ suggests temporally independent derivation with Quapaw showing an intermediate stage. The relatively recent Omaha-Ponca form is morphemically transparent and simply means 'what you wear'. The same argument applies to Quapaw and Hoocąk (vs. Chiwere).
blanket (2)

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *qči

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wašį < *wa-ašį

Crow bicí 'blanket' L:197, isoce 'his blanket' L:197

Hidatsa wašį 'blanket' J, itošį 'his blanket' J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota šįnd 'blanket, shawl, robe' RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *qči

Biloxi tcipúxi, tcipāxi, tcputwá, ṭčɪ 'blanket' D&S:266a, tcúkđéxį́, ṭčɪ 'handkerchief, cap' D&S:267a, tcúkđéxį́ nitaní, ṭčɪ 'shawl, big handkerchief' D&S:267a

Ofo o'cicphá'ska, τčipáhó'ska 'blanket' D&S:328, JSS

General comment

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

blink

verb physical_somatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pʔį́zε

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -pʔį́z, hįįdıįįjįį 'blink once' KM:1082, hįįjįį gįp'ts 'gather to a pucker, like top of bag, or car disappearing in the distance' KM:2701, -pʔį́z, ru-, rap'įts

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw -pʔį́pʔį́zε, yūį- 'blink repeatedly, bat or flutter eyelashes' RR, -pʔį́zε, yūį- 'blink, wink the eyes' RR
**blister**

verb physical_somatic_disease

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley** *-tâže

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** *-tâže

Chiwere nantaye , ṭ-taye, nág- ‘blistered on the feet’ LWR , ṭ-taye, nág- , ṭ-taye, nág- ‘blistered on the feet’ GM


**Proto-Dhegiha** *-tâže

Omaha-Ponca -dáže, ga- ‘blister’ MAS:20 , gadazhe

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

Osage gadazhe , ṭ-tâže, ka- ‘blister from use of tools’ LF:44b , badašhe , ṭ-tâže, pa- ‘blister hands by hard work’ LF:20a

Quapaw -tâže , di- ‘blister’ JOD , -tâže , di- ‘snap the fingers, blister, chafe’ RR

**General comment**

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

**blizzard**

noun natural_force_weather

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan** húhi

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa** húhe

Crow awutušhua ‘blizzard’ GG:70

Hidatsa húhe ‘blizzard’ J

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley**

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Hoocąk -húhi , tâ- ‘blizzard’ KM:3051 , taahuhi ‘blizzard’ KM:3051 , húhi , waa- , waa huuih

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

Crow hua is the regular development.
blood

noun physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *t-

Proto-Siouan *(wa)-ʔí•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *érí

Crow ʔili ‘blood’ RG, ʔí-re ‘blood’ L:198
Hidatsa ʔí-re ‘blood’ J, ʔí-ri

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ʔí-re ‘blood’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(wa)ʔí ~ *(wa)-ʔí

Proto-Dakota ʔé < *(wa)-í
Lakota ʔé ‘blood, to bleed’ RTC
Dakota ʔé ‘blood, bloody, to bleed’ SRR:563b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere waʔíge ~ wa•báge ‘blood’ RR
Hoocąk waʔí ‘blood, bleed’ KM:3165, wa’í

Proto-Dhegiha *(wa)Wį́ < **wa+waʔį́
Omaha-Ponca waŋį́ ‘blood’ RR
Kanza/Kaw waŋį́ ‘blood’ RR
Osage wahl, ṭwapi ‘blood, bleeding’ LF:184a
Quapaw wápį́ RR

Proto-Southeastern *(wa)-í•(-ri)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *a-í•(-ri)
Biloxi hai, ai, haidi, haidí, ṭhai(-di) ‘blood, bleed’ D&S:193a
Ofo ah’hí, ṭah’hi ‘blood’ D&S:319a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ṭōyí, ṭōyí ‘blood’ N, H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ʔir ‘blood’ FS
General comment

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

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

blow (1)

verb natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pex

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-pixi

Crow chilappíxi ‘float’ GG:84
Hidatsa naxapíxi ‘flutter, flap, float’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wápexoʔš ‘it’s floating’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wéxą ‘blow’ RR
Hoocąk howeʔį ‘blow, blow at’ [1s hopeʔį] KM:1575 , howeʔį

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo beqų́, ḩpexąq ‘blow’ HW

General comment

The -xx- for expected -x- in Hidatsa is unexplained.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

blow (2)

verb natural, force, weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *puxahas
  Pre-Mandan *puxahas
    Mandan puxahas ‘he blew on it’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *poyah
  Proto-Dakota *poyah
    Lakota *poyah ‘blow on something’ RTC
    Dakota ipogah, ippoyah ‘blow’ WM:19b
    Stoney boypah ‘blow’ PAS

Proto-Dhegiha *piyah
  Omaha-Ponca biyaj ‘blow’ MAS:20
  Kanza/Kaw biyad ‘blow, fart’ RR
  Osage bixoo, ippoyah ‘make a fire burn by blowing’ LF:27b
  Quapaw biyaj ‘blow on something’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *puxah (?)
  Biloxi apixi ho’ni, tapuxi ho’ni ‘blowgun’ D&S:249b, puxahi’, tapuxi ‘blow a fire’ D&S:249b
  Ofo puxahi, tapuxahi ‘blow’ D&S:328b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba pu- ‘blow’ FS, KS, pu-su- ‘shoot with blowgun’ FS

General comment

DH bi- may reflect unrounding of *pi- preaccentually. This u plus those in Biloxi, Ofo, and Mandan leads us to reconstruct Proto-Siouan *pux. In Dakotan, the *pu- has been reshaped under influence of the (archaic) po- ‘by blowing’ prefix. There is a strong element of phonosymbolism in this set; the archetype pu(S) is common for ‘blow, puff’, etc. worldwide. There are several ‘blow’ sets in Siouan that are related by such symbolism. Cf. ‘foam, boil’. There is a possibility that this set represents a fused compound of Proto-Siouan *puxE ‘blow’ and *ʔų́ ‘do, make’. This is clearly the case for Biloxi tapuxi ho’ni ‘blowgun’.
blow (3)

verb natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *Sį́kE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow xiičí 'snort, blow nose' GG:61

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Zį́kE

Proto-Dakota *yužį́kA

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

Dakota yužiŋca , ōyužiŋca 'blow (the nose)' WM:19b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk ďįk, gi- 'blow one's nose' KM:338 , paara giįk

General comment

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

Reconstruction is tentative. Kanza/Kaw gežį , giįdį 'blow one's nose' has the same root but lacks the root extension.
blue, green

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(i-)htó•he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *(t)óhe < *(t)óhe

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

Hidatsa tóʔhi ‘blue, green’ J, tóʔohi ‘green, grass color’ J, túa

Pre-Mandan *toh-

Mandan tóhžs ‘it’s blue’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *htó

Proto-Dakota thó

Lakota thó ‘green, blue’ RTC

Sioux Valley thó PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(thó)

Chiwere thó ‘blue, green’ RTC

Hoocąk čóo ‘green, blue’ KM:258, coo

Proto-Dhegiha *(htó(-hV))

Omaha-Ponca tó ‘blue, green’ RTC, tó ‘blue, green’ RR

Kanza/Kaw tóho ‘blue, green’ RR

Osage hóho ‘blue’ RR

Quapaw tó, tóho, tohí ‘blue, green’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *(íhó•hi)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *(íhó•hi)

Biloxi tohí, tóhí D&S:277b

Ofo íhóhi, tóhi, tóhí D&S:324b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo otó; otolakó: otólakhó’o”, ṭotó N, H, HW

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

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

*noun* physical artefact vehicle

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *Wá-, *WáHt (?)

Proto-Siouan *Wá•te (?)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wá•hte- (?)

Crow báshee ‘boat’ GG:21, RGG:99

Hidatsa wóhtí ‘boat, car’ J , mó•hti

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wáta ‘shell’ H:278

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Wá•te

Proto-Dakota *wáta

Lakota wáta RTC

Dakota wáta SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Wá•te

Chiwere bá•ǰe RR

Hoocąk wáč KM:3182 , waac

Proto-Dhegiha *Wáţe

Omaha-Ponca mádē JOD

Kanza/Kaw bojē ‘boat’ RR

Osage badé , ťacé ‘any kind of boat’ LF:20a

Quapaw mážē ‘boat’ CS, RR , máčë ‘boat’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *-há•ti

Biloxi náháti, nahdíli, nahdí, nahád , ?nahdí D&S:231b

Ofo iyá•ti , iyá•ti ‘boat’ D&S:325a

Proto-Catawba

Woccon Watt , řwat ‘boat’

General comment
There are many phonological problems in this set: (1) Nasal vowels in DH are not accounted for. (2) The hati of the SE languages is very difficult to relate to central Siouan. (3) Quapaw nasality is unexpected, since the reflex of *W should be b (unlike Omaha-Ponca where the normal reflex is m). (4) DH generally shows an irregular shift in accent. (5) Hidatsa preaspiration (not attested in Crow) is difficult to account for even from hati since h should not have been lost in Crow. (6) Mandan should have -E rather than -a.

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

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

**body**

* noun physical_somatic

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Siouan</td>
<td>*i-xú•ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Crow-Hidatsa</td>
<td>*xúə &lt; *xú•ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>axúa ‘body’ GG:16, RGG:68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidatsa</td>
<td>xú(a) ‘body’ J, ixú ‘his body’ J</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Mississipi-Valley</td>
<td>*xú•ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Proto-Dakota**

- Lakota xuhá ‘hide scrapings’ EB:196a

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

- Chiwere xù•ha ‘skin, person/animals’ RR
- Hoocąk xùu ‘skin’ KM:3949, xuu ‘hide (of animal); skin or hair (human)’ KM:514, hđa, haa

**Proto-Dhegiha**

- Omaha-Ponca xįhá ‘skin’ MAS:309, xį’há

**Kanza/Kaw**

- xuihd ‘skin’ RR

**Osage**

- xúha, źxiúha ‘skin’ LF:221a

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

boil, cook

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(o-)hą́

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-úa < *-úha

Crow bulúa ‘boiling’ [caus.] RG, GG:34, *buliahche RGG:103

Hidatsa wírua ‘boiling, bubbling’ J , mirua ‘make fire’ J , íua

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ohą́

Proto-Dakota *ohą́

Lakota ohą́ ‘boil’ RTC

Dakota ohą́pi ‘boiled’ SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ohą́

Chiwere uhą́ RR

Hoocąk hohą́ MM:264, hohą́

Proto-Dhegiha *ohą́

Omaha-Ponca öha ‘broil, cook’ JOD, MAS:284

Kanza/Kaw öha ‘boiling’ RR

Osage õho”, ŋoá ‘boil, stew, cook’ LF:170b

Quapaw ohą́ RR

Proto-Southeastern *-hą́, *-haa

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi haor, paspahor”, paspáŋko”, paspá hayo”, ŋhaoq ‘cook, fry, cook flat’ D&S:195a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

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

**bone**

* noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa-hú(-re)

Pre-Mandan *wahú-re

Mandan wahú, wahú-re ‘bone’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wahú

Proto-Dakota ‘huhú

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

Dakota huhú ‘bone’ SRR:156b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wahú

Chiwere wahú, warí, wahí ‘bone’ RR

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

Proto-Dhegiha *wahú

Omaha-Ponca wahí ‘skeleton, bones’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw wahú ‘bone’ RR

Osage ṛwahú ‘bone’ RR

Quapaw wahú ‘bone’ RR

Proto-Southeastern ‘wahú(-ri) – *wahó(-ri)

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

Biloxi aho, ahú, hahú, ahudí ‘bone’ D&S:170b

Ofo do ‘bone’ D&S:319a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wahóí, wahúí, ṛwahú H

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

**botch, fail, miss**

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan ‘kq-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa ḵʔuχť ‘make a mistake’ J , ḵʔuχť

Pre-Mandan

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

Proto-Mississipi-Valley ‘kqż’

Proto-Dakota ‘kají

Lakota kají , ẗkají ‘do a thing poorly’ EB:283a , kají , ẗkají ‘do a thing poorly’ EJ

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

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere


Proto-Dhegiha ‘kʕəška

Kanza/Kaw gąšga — gąšga ‘not to know how’ RR

Osage go’zh’ga , ẗkəʃka ‘be unskilled’ LP:53b

Quapaw kęška ‘not to know hową’ JOD
bow

noun physical, artefact, tool, weapon

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *mą́•tku

Chiwere mą́hdu RR

Hoocąk mą́hdu ‘bow (for shooting)’ KM:1942 , mą́ćgu

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca mą́de ‘bow’ RR

Kanza/Kaw mį́ǰe ‘bow’ RR

Osage mą́ce ‘bow’ RR

Quapaw mą́tte ‘bow’ RR

General comment

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

noun physical_artefact_container

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hkó•ke

Proto-Dakota *khöká

Lakota khöká ‘barrel, keg’ EB:314a

Sioux Valley khöká ‘box’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *khó•ke

Chiwere khó•ge ‘box’ RR

Hoocąk kóok ‘box, barrel’ KM:1879, kook

Proto-Dhegiha *hkóke

Omaha-Ponca kkgé ‘box’ RR

Kanza/Kaw kkgé ‘box’ RR

Osage ḕkóge, ḕhkóké ‘sound of drum’ LF:88a

Quapaw bakkóke ‘drum on sth.’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo okú-ŭq ‘a box?’ HW, okúq ukhúse ‘put an object into a box’

General comment

*Tutelo* has the same root but a different extension. The reconstructible term with this particular meaning is probably restricted to MVS. The root itself is phonosymbolic with the generalized meaning ‘make a hollow sound’, hence the Osage and Quapaw meanings. Quapaw also has the root alone in bakkókko ‘drum repeatedly’. It recurs in other terms surrounding drumming and, presumably, in ‘cucurbit, gourd’, etc. Cf. also ‘hollow sound > stamp, stamp’. 

140 of 1128
brain (1)

**noun physical_somatic_body_part**

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ràt-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ahtú

Crow aahū ‘head’ GG:3, RGG:69, aššōo ‘place of honor opposite Tipi entrance’ GG:13

Hidatsa òhți ‘head’ J, ahtúka ‘place of honor in earthlodge; Hidatsa Earthlodge’ GLW, ahtú ‘rear of the house’ H&V

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ną́țų ‘brain, spine’ H:174, ną́țų, ną́țų ‘brain’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ną́d ‘head’ RTC, nátuhu ‘whole skull’ EJ

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo náthắ, ṭáşắ ‘brain’ D&S:326b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba műtu ‘brain’ KS

**General comment**

Several of the reconstructible words involving the upper body begin with the syllable nga, cf. ‘brain (1)’, ‘brain (2)’, ‘ear (1)’, ‘ear (2), external opening’, and ‘hair of head’. Where Crow or Hidatsa show cognate forms, the initial syllable is a and following (unexplained) preaspiration, not the expected cognate, ra. It is possible that the syllable is historically a classificatory prefix, and that the compound structure of these words was still evident in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa when the (irregular) loss of r(a)- affected the initial morpheme. (Alternatively, the r may be epenthetic between the possessive pronominal prefixes and the vowel-initial morpheme.) The medial cluster of Mandan is unexplained. Crow/Hidatsa long prefixes are possessed forms (body parts); short prefixes are unpossessed. Reduction of the regular geminate in Crow ‘head’ is probably due to contamination from ‘horn’.
brain (2)

_noun_ physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(rą•-)sú

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa cuáta ‘brain’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rąšuta ‘brain, spine’ H:170

Proto-Mississippi-Valley ‘nąsú

Proto-Dakota ‘nasú

Lakota nasú ‘brain, upper head’ RTC, nasúla ‘brain’ EJ

Dakota nasú ‘brain, upper head’ SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ‘nąsú

Chiwere nąθu ‘head’ JDH, nąθúxli ‘brain’ RR

Hoocąk nąsú ‘head (body part)’ KM:2224, nąsu

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wasūt, wasōti, †wasu•ti H

General comment

Cf. ‘brain (1)’. Hidatsa and Tutelo show forms without *rą•. Chiwere/Hoocąk unaccented long vowel makes this a transparent compound in that subgroup and, presumably, in MVS. Other languages split the roots. *rą• clearly had a long vowel, since it is preserved even when accent shifts to the second member of the compound. Tutelo suggests that *su• should also be long, but that length may be secondary, since it is not supported by Hidatsa. This may be an old compound of Proto-Siouan *rą• (used with numerous upper body parts) and ‘su• ‘kernel, seed’.
brant

*brant*

**noun animal bird**

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo** *q-sąŋq*

Biloxi aⁿsəna, aⁿsúnd, aⁿsúnd ‘generic: a duck, ducks’ D&S:178a, q-súnaʔ, q-súmaʔ MRH, q-súmaʔ MS

Ofo óⁿfəna, óⁿfəna ‘duck’ D&S:328a

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo manėsān, ṭọqə-ne-asq*

**Proto-Catawba**

Catawba kəsq ‘duck’ ASG

**General comment**

*Biloxi/Ofo* normally lose *#m-, so OVS languages all seem to form compounds with *wą ~ *awą́• ‘bird > game bird, turkey’ or ‘nest’. *Tutelo* shows the compounding most clearly. The other common element here seems to be *asą• ‘white (1)’, q.v., or alternatively a phonosymbolic element of the same shape representing a duck call. The match between DH and the southeastern languages may simply represent parallel derivation. The term may also have spread areally as there is a Yuchi look-alike, šaʔane (LB) as well as a *Catawba* form.
brave (1)

verb psychic_temperament

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(wa-){\ddot{s}a}kE

Proto-Dakota *wa\ddot{s}\ddot{a}ka

Lakota wa\ddot{s}\ddot{a}ka 'strong' RTC , \ddot{R}\ddot{a}ka 'strong' EB:471b , \ddot{R}\ddot{a}k\ddot{a} 'strong' EJ

Dakota wa\ddot{s}\ddot{a}ka 'strong, brave' [pronouns after wa-] SRR

Stoney wa-\ddot{s}\ddot{a}ga 'strong' PAS

Proto-Hooc\ddot{a}c\ddot{k}-Chiwere *\ddot{s}\ddot{a}ke

Chiwere w\ddot{a}\ddot{g}d 'old man' [w\ddot{a}g + \ddot{s}\ddot{a}ge]

Hooc\ddot{a}c\ddot{k} g\ddot{a}\ddot{t}ak 'respect' KM:403 , g\ddot{a}\ddot{t}ak 'hold a surprising amount' KM:3474 , wa\ddot{a}\ddot{t}ak , wa\ddot{a}\ddot{t}ak

Proto-Dhegiha *\ddot{s}\ddot{a}ke

Kanza/Kaw c\ddot{g}\ddot{a}geh\ddot{i}ga 'a tribal elder' RR

Quapaw wa\ddot{s}\ddot{a}k\ddot{e}(hi) 'really big' RR

General comment

Cf. Biloxi sa\ddot{h}\ddot{d} 'strong' (DS-251).
brave (2)

verb psychic_temperament

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sihe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-cičči-E

Crow ičča ‘strong, powerful’ RGG:97

Hidatsa ichía ‘strong, powerful’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan sį́hoʔš ‘he’s strong’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca řąši ‘jump’, řąsi- ‘jump over’

Osage daωiçi , řadowis ‘jump over’ LF:285b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dyi’sdři”, řdyjįšį ‘be a coward’ D&S:255b

General comment

Cf. ‘jump’; also cf. ‘side (1)’ for a parallel to the Crow/Hidatsa developments here. Mandan has a different fricative grade but retains the h apparently also reflected in Biloxi (if the Biloxi forms are cognate). The Crow/Hidatsa -a reflects earlier *-ihe, also indicative of an h-final root. Reduplication is the key to understanding the Crow/Hidatsa forms: *-cičči-E > *-ččia. The cluster chc simplifies to ch in Hidatsa and to hc > hč before i in Crow. Crow čč reflects the preaspiration.
brave (3)

verb psychic_temperament

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wašóše

Proto-Dakota *wašóše

Lakota wašóše ‘brave warrior’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wəsōse, wəsōše ‘brave’ RR

Hoocąk wəsōše ‘be brave’ KM:3491, wašóše

Proto-Dhegiha *wašóše

Omaha-Ponca wəšúšhe, ṭwašóše MAS:24

Osage wəšúšhe, ṭwašóše ‘dauntless, courageous, brave, gallant’ LF:199b

bread, cornball

noun physical_consumption

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wa- (Wo-)ske

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wəbúθke ‘be inflated’ RR, JOD, wa-po-shke

Proto-Dhegiha *wáske

Omaha-Ponca wamóske, wáske ‘pounded corn with honey and buffalo marrow’ RR, wáske ‘pounded corn with honey and buffalo marrow’ RR

Kanza/Kaw wábósìki, wábóske ‘cornball, bread’ RR

Quapaw wáske RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi apátkun, ṭapáčkun ‘corn dumplings’ D&S:265b, paska, ṭapáčkun ‘bread’ D&S:265b

General comment
Forms with the instrumental *-Wo- refer to the swelling or rising of dough and so may postdate contact. Cf. Choctaw and Chickasaw paska ‘bread’, palaska ‘bake’. Initial syllable accent and restricted distribution make diffusion a possibility here.

break (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xóke

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere giógo , giógo ‘break in’ JGT:21

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *xókí

Biloxi xaxóki ‘broken here and there’ D&S:222a

Ofo káshoki , káshoki ‘break’ D&S:325b

break (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *še

Pre-Mandan *seʔ-

Mandan sédraʔ ‘it fell apart’ H:204 , -seʔr, ka- ‘to knock down, cut down’ H:204 , -seʔr, pa- ‘to push over’ H:204 , -seʔr, ra- ‘to open with the foot’ H:204 , -seʔr, ru- ‘to open’ H:204

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

break brittle things > smash, crush

verb physical contact deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xuxE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa


Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-xú•ɣE

Proto-Dakota *xú•ɣA

Lakota xú•ɣą ‘broken in’ EB:196a , xú•ɣA ‘dent e.g. a kettle so there is a hole in it’ EJ , xú•ɣA, na- ‘crack e.g. a nut with the foot or by knocking’ EJ , xú•ɣA, pa- ‘break or push a hole in e.g. a kettle; to crack by pushing e.g. an egg’ EB:426b , xú•ɣA, wu-‘break e.g. the skull, kettles etc.’ EB:525a , xú•ɣA, ka- ‘smash e.g. eggs, a head, anything brittle’ EB:276a , xú•ɣE, way-‘crush with the teeth’ EB:563a , xú•ɣA, xu-‘crack something, using the hand’ EB:639a , xú•ɣE ‘something that is broken in’ EJ

Dakota hú•ɣa , xú•ɣE ‘broken in’ SRR:167b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere


Proto-Dhegiha *-xú•ɣe

Kanza/Kaw daxú•ɣe ‘cracklins, to make’ RR , gaxú•ɣe ‘break in by striking’ RR , yaxú•ɣe ‘crush with the teeth’ RR

Osage xi-gúe

Quapaw dá-xú•ɣe ‘crack nuts, nutcracker’ RR , tka-xú•ɣe ‘crack s.th., as an egg’ JOD

General comment

Gemination of x in Hidatsa is unexplained. Chiwere gúxīče ‘break glass’ (Marsh) shows the same root but lacks the extension; cf. also Chiwere xo-ye JOD-CP. Given that only DH shows vowel length, its status in Proto-Siouan is unknown. Ordinarily Hidatsa and/or Hoocąk would also preserve reflexes of it. Crow alxuxshú ‘crush with foot’ (DEC) perhaps represents Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xuxtí and does not belong here.
break cord

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-psákE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-hcakE < *-CcakE

Crow -ttachi, aĉ- ‘be cold’ RG, GG:8 , -ttachi, ḗdi- ‘break with mouth; brk. off by biting’ RGG:26, GG:43 , -ttachi, ḗdi- ‘break apart’ RG, GG:45 , -ttachi, ală- ‘break with foot’ RG, GG:8 , -ttachi, ḗdo- ‘break by shooting, by projectile’ RG


Pre-Mandan


Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -psag, ka- ‘break violently’ EB:287b, EJ , kapsäkA ‘break a rope or string; for a string to break’ EJ , -psaka, kʰwō- ‘shoot off in the middle e.g. a cord’ EB:355b , -psaka, na- ‘break e.g. a cord with the foot, to break something in two with the foot’ EB:355b , -psaka, na- ‘break in different places e.g. a string’ EB:355b , -psaka, pa- ‘break or tear in two by pressure or by sitting e.g. in a swing’ EB:432b , -psaka, wa- ‘cut off, e.g. string or cord with a knife; to saw or cut something in two with a saw or knife’ EB:548b , -psaka, ya- ‘tear a thing, e.g. a string, in two with the mouth’ EB:626a , -psaka, ya- ‘break or pull in two e.g. a string.’ EB:648a, EJ

General comment

The Crow and Hidatsa forms may go with ‘break cord > break long things’ rather than here. Mandan rapsak ‘chew sth.’ (H) shows this root in more than one fricative grade.

DH merges both *ks and *ps clusters to s, so the many DH verbs of breaking ending in -se may be cognate with either or both Proto-Siouan sets. It may be possible to determine cognacy by semantics alone in these cases. Here however DH lacks the root extension, *ke that might render some of the forms clearly cognate. Ordinarily sets with initial ps clusters in Mandan and/or Lakota are from Proto-Siouan *wV+sV, i.e., the p- is the reflex of earlier w- which probably marked an indefinite (transitive) object and has undergone the usual syncope. Here, evidence from OVS, which often retains the a- but loses the *w- is lacking.
break cord > break apart

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-páxe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow paxí, dap- ‘chop, split across the grain’ RG, GG:42, RGG:31, ppaxí, pd- ‘cut up’ RG, GG:53, paxí, diů- ‘drill’ RG, GG:45

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pax, ko- ‘to break by striking’ H:138, pax, pa- ‘to break s.t.’ H:138, pax, ru- ‘to break by kicking’ H:139, pax, pa- ‘to pull s.t. apart’ H:139, pə̝xoxʔ ‘it’s broken (thread)’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-páɣe

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-wáxe

Chiwere waxe, na- ‘To break something with the foot or with a machine’ LWR:20

Hoocąk wáx, boo- ‘shoot string or rope in two’ KM:97, bootaw ‘break string or rope by striking’ KM:422, wáx, gi- ‘cut string or rope’ KM:2035, giwax ‘break string or rope with the foot’ KM:2254, wax, mąą ‘bite string or rope in two’ KM:2576, maqwax ‘break string or rope by pulling’ KM:2756, wax, maq- ‘burn string or rope in two’ KM:3090, maqwax ‘break string or rope by pressure or pushing’ KM:3511, wax, ru- , rawax , wáx, ru- , rawax , wáx, ta- , tanawax, wax, wá- , wawax

Proto-Dhegiha *-báɣe

Kanza/Kaw báɣe, ba- ‘chop sth. up’ RR, báβye, ba- ‘cut to shreds’ JOD, RR , báye, ba- ‘push apart; pull’ MR , JOD, RR , báβye, ba- ‘push apart, into pieces’ JOD, RR, báye, ba- ‘shoot a cord in two’ JOD, RR, báye, bu-, xe ‘break a cord from weight’ JOD, MR, RR, báye, dá- ‘burn in two, as a rope’ RR, báye, na- ‘break something like a rope by foot’ RR, báye, ya- ‘bite in two’ RR, báye, ya- ‘break or snap a cord by pulling’ RR, báβye, ya- ‘tear something up’ RR

Osage báβaxe, ṭ póβaye ‘cut a cord or rope with a knife’ LF:18a

Quapaw dibáxe ‘break by pulling’ RR, báβye ‘break by thrusting’ RR, dabáxe ‘bite in two’ RR, káβye ‘cut (a cord) in two’ RR, náβye ‘break a cord w. the feet’ RR, póβaye ‘cut in two, as a cord’ RR, póβaye ‘shoot a rope, cord in two’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi paxü, ṭ paxü ‘punch, stab, gore, thrust at’ D&S:246a
break cord > break long things

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-ksakE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-hcakE < *-CcakE


Hidatsa *-hcakE, ara- ‘severed, broken off by fire or intense cold’ J, *-hcakE, nā- ‘chew sth. off’ J, *-hcakE, nū- ‘snap, break by pulling’ J, *-hcakE, ara- ‘break with foot, e.g. a string’ J, *-hcakE, pā- ‘slice, cut’ J, *-hcakE, nak- ‘chip, chop, split’ J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi uksáki ‘cut with axe or knife’ D&S:213a, aya‘” dasĕ´ daksú´ki, ņdaksú´ki ‘bite a stick in two’ D&S:213b, aś naksú´ki, ņnaksú´ki ‘break (a string) with the foot’ D&S:213a

General comment

The Crow and Hidatsa forms may go with ‘break cord’ rather than here.
break long things

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šíšE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-šíšE


Hidatsa -šíší, ha- ‘cut through with knife’ J, -šíśli, nái- ‘turn meat in pot with stick’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šíše

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -ší, boo- ‘break something in two leaving a ragged break, by shooting, bumping or hitting’ KM:92, booší ‘break in two something having length, not leaving a clean break’ KM:415, -ší, gi- ‘cut something having length, not making a clean cut’ KM:2025, gíí ‘break with the foot, something having length, not making a clean break’ KM:2240, -ší, nqq- ‘bite in two something long, not leaving a clean break’ KM:2573, nqqšíí ‘pull in two something long, not leaving a clean break’ KM:2733, -šíí, nqq- ‘break something having length by pressure or pushing, not leaving a clean break’ KM:3487, nqqšíí, -šíí, ra-, rašíí, rašííí, -šíí, wa-, wašíí

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca gaxixe ‘crack’ MAS:49, gashishe, †gašiše ‘crack’ MAS:49

General comment

Gemination in Crow and Hidatsa is unexplained. Crow xʃ forms reflect the x grade of the fricative. Kanza/Kaw yüřye ‘catch someone’ fits phonologically but is not relatable semantically at present. This root evidently has forms in more than one fricative grade, but ʃ is the only one reconstructible.
break loose > dislocate

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-pšų́

Proto-Dakota *-pšų́

Lakota -pšų́, no- ‘break by kicking, to dislocate the foot or leg; to put out of joint e.g. a foot or leg’ EB:432b , -pšų́, wa- ‘put out of joint or dislocate e.g. one’s arm; to sprain one’s own’ EB:432b , -pšų́, wa- ‘cut round a joint, to joint with a knife, to cut or saw asunder, as when two bones are tightly joined’ EB:548b , -pšų́, awd- ‘unjoint with a knife on anything’ EB:98b , -pšų́, ya- ‘cast off or shed e.g. teeth; to pull and break with the mouth’ EB:626b , -pšų́, yu- ‘pull out sideways, to pull and break, i.e. not by the roots which is yuju’n.’ EB:648a , -pšų́, ka- ‘break something by striking, as a ball hitting a tooth to knock out, as a tooth; to dislocate, as a joint, by striking;’ EB:287b , -pšų́, wó- ‘break something by dropping, or by falling’ EB:607b , iwópšų ‘bend e.g. a knee sideways and dislocate it’ EJ

Dakota papśúŋ ‘put out of joint’ SRR:412a

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw -xǫ́, bÁ-, báxwǫ́ ‘saw, cut across the grain’ MR, JOD, RR , -xǫ́, ba-, báxwǫ́ ‘push on and break or crack’ MR, JOD, RR , -xǫ́, go-, gaxwǫ́ ‘break, as a stick, nail, ear of corn’ RR , -xǫ́, nǫ- naxwǫ́, naxǫ́ ‘step on sth., as a stick, and break it’ RR , -xǫ́, ya- ‘break with the teeth’ RR , -xǫ́, yú- ‘break or crack sth. pulling on it’ RR

Quapaw -šǫ́, nǫ- ‘dislocate, trip and break’ RR , -šǫ́k, pd- ‘cut into small pieces w. knife’ RR , -xǫ́, ok- ‘break by striking upon sth.’ RR , -xǫ́, pd- ‘cut apart, disjoint’ RR , -xǫ́, pd- ‘shoot in two, break punching’ RR , -xǫ́, bi- ‘break, crush’ RR , -xǫ́, da- ‘break by biting’ RR , -xǫ́, di- ‘break, as a stick w. the hands’ RR , -xǫ́, ka- ‘break sth. by hitting it’ RR

General comment

More than one fricative grade is attested for this root, but š is the only one reconstructible at present. Normally initial clusters with apparent Proto-Siouan *pC would go back to pre-Proto-Siouan *wa-C- (where ‘wa- is an indefinite transitive object), with p developing via initial syllable vowel syncope. It is possible that this is the case here also.
break off (1)

verb physical contact deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-ksá

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-ksá

Proto-Dakota *-ksA´

Lakota -ksA, pa- ‘break something with the hand by pushing or pressure; sitting e.g. on a board and breaking it; measure and cut cloth or buckskin with a machine at the factory’ EB:429a, EJ, -ksA, we- ‘cut off e.g. a stick with a knife or saw; to separate anything by cutting crosswise; cut meat’ EB:533a, EJ, -ksA, wo- ‘break off by punching or shooting e.g. a stick, limb etc.; to break while running, as a team running against a tree and breaking the neck-yoke, etc.’ B-604a; ‘cut by punching or pulling’ EB:604a, -ksA, wo- ‘pull e.g. corn’ EJ, -ksA, ya- ‘harvest, pull ear off stalk’ EB:623a, -ksA, yu- ‘bite off e.g. a stick’ EB:623a, -ksA, akd- ‘break off e.g. a stick with the hand’ EB:68a, -ksA, na- ‘cut off on something, cut off in addition to’ EB:350a

Dakota yuksá ‘break off’ SRR:630b

Proto-Dhegiha *-sa

Omaha-Ponca δéš ká- ‘cut with scissors’ RTC

Quapaw íkása dédé ‘throw sth. down from above’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ksâ, ḥksa ‘broken’ D&S:213a

General comment

If the Lakota forms are cognate here, rather than with ‘break (2)’, then they have been drawn irregularly into the productive class of ablauting roots. Apparent Proto-Siouan *ks initial clusters are frequently reconstructible to pre-Proto-Siouan *ki-s- with a reflexive/possessive or vertitive meaning. It is not clear that this is possible here, so the cluster is reconstructed. Biloxi kso ‘broken’ (D&S-213a), although not cognate with either kse or ksA, is related by vocalic sound symbolism.
break off (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-ksE

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ksE

Proto-Dakota *-ksA

Lakota -ksA’, pa- ‘break something with the hand by pushing or pressure; sitting e.g. on a board and breaking it’ EB:429a , -ksA’, wa- ‘cut off e.g. a stick with a knife or saw; to separate anything by cutting crosswise’ EB:533a , -ksA’; wo- ‘break off by punching or shooting e.g. a stick, limb etc.; to break while running, as a team running against a tree and b’ EB:604a , -ksA, wo- ‘pull e.g. corn’ EB:604a , -ksA’, ya- ‘bite off e.g. a stick’ EB:623a , -ksA’, wa- ‘break off e.g. a stick with the hand’ EB:642a , -ksA, akA- ‘cut off on something, cut off from, cut off in addition to’ EB:68a , -ksA’, wa- ‘break off e.g. a stick in two with the foot’ EB:350a , kse ‘behave unacceptably’ EJ

Stoney -kθa PAS

Proto-Dhegiha *-se

Omaha-Ponca thiçe , ḫiše ‘break’ MAS:53

Kanza/Kaw basé ‘break, as bread, etc. pushing’ RR , báse ‘slice, cut bread, meat, etc.’ RR , bóse ‘break a cord by shooting’ JOD , búsé ‘break off from weight or pressure’ JOD , gasé ‘cut, sever’ RR , náse ‘cut, mow with a mowing machine’ RR , yáse ‘bite off, bite the tongue’ RR , yúsé ‘break, as bread, with the hands, to pick’ RR

Osage báče , páse ‘cut hair, rope or cord with a knife’ LF:18b

Quapaw díase ‘intercept, head off’ RR , dísé ‘pick, harvest corn’ RR , páse ‘cut off with a knife’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ksé´di , ḫkse ‘break by hand’ D&S:213a , naksé´di , ḫkse ‘break (a stick) with the foot’ D&S:213a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba sę ‘cut wood’ KS

General comment

Unless the Omaha-Ponca form cited under ‘ksa ‘cut off’, q.v., can occur separately from ḫiše, there are no (other) DH confirmations of a -sa root. This would mean that Biloxi really provides the only evidence for two separate roots *ksE/*ksa. If this is the case, it might be best to look upon the Biloxi case as a language-specific lexicalization of the two vocalic ablaut grades.
break off (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-šipē

Proto-Dakota


Dakota yužīpa , yužīpa ‘break off close’ SRR:641b , kașīpa , kašīpa ‘knock out, cut off close; to slip past the joint or bearing’ ART, SRR:268a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere gisīwe gisīwe ‘slip, get away, escape’ JGT:20

break off pieces (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern *spe

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ófpakì, ófpakì ‘split, chop, cut’ D&S:327, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo òlispēwà, òlaspē ‘cut off a piece’ JOD

General comment

The Tutelo form is a reflex of the s grade, as *š should become č in Tutelo. Tutelo š/s do not contrast. Ofo a could be the reflex of an ablaut variant of this root with a.
break off pieces (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan špé

Pre-Mandan *pe•- (7)

Mandan rēpepe•š ‘he broke it (by foot)’ RTC, rēpepe•š ‘he broke it (by mouth)’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-špé

Proto-Dakota špá

Lakota špahA ‘peel off’ EJ, -špá, wayú- ‘break off pieces; pull off a piece e.g. skin after sunburn, or scab after healing’ EB:573a, RTC, EJ, -špá, ya- ‘bite off a piece, to break off a piece with the mouth’ EB:628b, -špá, pa- ‘cut or break a piece off with a knife pressing hard’ EB:435a, -špá, wo- ‘punch or shoot off a piece, knock off a piece by shooting or punching’ EB:609b, -špá, wu- ‘cut off a piece, cut up, to scalp; to cut off a piece, cut up, to scalp with a knife’ EB:552b, EJ, -špá, na- ‘break off anything with the foot’ EB:359b, -špá, ka- ‘separate, cut loose from; to strike off a piece, perhaps’ EB:291b, košpápi ‘dime’ EJ

Dakota -špá, yu- ‘break off’ SRR:642b

Proto-Hooçák-Chiwere

Chiwere -šwe, la- ‘bite off’ GM, bašwe ‘cut off a part’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha *-špé

Omaha-Ponca špašpa ‘fragment’ MAS:81

Kanza/Kaw gašpášpa ‘chip off many pieces’ RR, bašpá ‘push off a piece of something’ JOD, RR, bašpá ‘cut something off w. a knife’ RR, bóspe ‘shoot off a piece from the surface’ JOD, RR, bašpá ‘rub or knock a piece of sth. off’ JOD, RR, gašpá ‘cut in two, cut loose from, cut a piece.’ RR, našpá ‘kick or scrape off, as sth. stuck to the foot’ RR, yašpá ‘bite off a piece from the surface of sth.’ RR, yašpá ‘pinch off, pull off a piece’ RR

Osage špêšká, tšpêška ‘fragment’ LF:134b, thispá, tššpá ‘break off’ LF:149a


Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo őlapéwa, őlašpe ‘cut off a piece’ JOD

General comment

The Mandan root, if cognate, is irregular; we would expect *pe•-, with prelengthening from syncope of an earlier vowel. Loss of the initial s is thus unexplained. The Tutelo form is a reflex of the s grade, as *š should
break off pieces (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-špí

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *špí


Hidatsa -špí, na- ‘finish talking (cut it off?)’ [striking prefix] J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *-špí

Lakota -špí, no- ‘break off e.g. fruit with the foot’ EB:359b, -špí, wo- ‘shoot off e.g. fruit’ EB:609b, wóšpi ‘pick berries; take gifts from a Christmas tree, > give gifts’ EB:628b, -špí, yu- ‘pick off, as do birds berries’ EB:652b, -špí, yu- ‘pick or gather e.g. berries, to pull off, pick off e.g. cherries from a tree’ EB:652b

Dakota yušpí ‘pick or gather’ SRR:642b

General comment

Lakota -špí larger things; -špí smaller things. Kanza/Kaw gašpúwe ‘shell corn’ could be related, but there is an alternate root, špú alone, q.v., which is found in other DH languages with the same meaning. Thus, rounding is likely organic here.
break off pieces (4)

verb  physical\_contact\_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-špú

Proto-Dakota *-špú

Lakota  -špú, waná- ‘break off, as in trampling on pumpkins’ EB:539a ,  -špú, ya- ‘bite off anything stuck on; to pull something off with the teeth’ EB:628b ,  -špú, wa- ‘cut up, cut into pieces; to rip e.g. a seam, to rip up, cut as in ripping; to cut off a piece’ EB:552b ,  -špú, akdi- ‘cut off a piece by striking, cut off on’ EB:70a ,  -špú, wapdi- ‘break off; push with the hand and break off something attached’ EB:547a, EJ ,  -špú, hiľpa- ‘pick the teeth’ EB:175a ,  -špú, kpa- ‘toothpick’ EJ ,  -špúšpu, pa- ‘loosen one’s own’ EB:317b ,  -špúšpu, wo- ‘break off or cut in pieces e.g. a cake’ EB:435a ,  -špúšpa ‘punch to pieces, as a cake of tallow’ EB:609b

Dakota  yuśpú ‘pick off w. the hands’ SRR:642b

Proto-Dhegiha *-špú

Kanza/Kaw -špú, ba- ‘push grains off the ear, shell’ RR ,  -špú, yū- ‘shell dried corn with the hand’ RR ,  -špú, ga- ‘shell, hull, strike off (as corn)’ RR

Quapaw -špú, di- ‘shell corn’ RR

break to pieces

verb  physical\_contact\_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-pótE

Proto-Dakota *potA

Lakota  -potA, agld- ‘beat in pieces one’s own upon; to float upon’ EB:56b ,  akápotA ‘soften down in a blanket’ EJ ,  potE ‘fluff a pillow’ EJ ,  -potA, awó- ‘something that’s cushion-like; sponge’ EJ ,  -pótA, wa- ‘cut in pieces on, destroy on anything by cutting with a knife’ EB:98b ,  -potA, awó- ‘cut to pieces’ EB:548b ,  -potA, oyú- ‘shoot to pieces on anything’ EB:100b ,  -potA, wakdi- ‘tear to pieces in, as a cat sticking her paw into a hole and grabbing a mouse, or an eagle grabbing a rabbit’ EB:420a ,  -potA, wayú- ‘pound to pieces’ EB:527a ,  -potA, ko- ‘wear out, cut up’ EB:571b ,  -potA, pa- ‘tear by striking, as clothes hung out and torn by the wind’ EB:287a ,  -potA, na- ‘pierce and open up, as with a knife’ EB:823b ,  -potA, ayú- ‘to wear out’ EJ

Dakota  yápotá ‘wear out, tear to pieces’ SRR:636b

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw -bōbojė, ga- ‘litter, make by chopping with a dull axe’ RR ,  -bôfe, ba- ‘root up the ground as hogs’ JOD, RR ,  -bôfe, ya- ‘bite out chunks and drop them’ MR, RR
break to small pieces

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-ptúxE

Pre-Mandan

Mandan -ptux, pa- ‘make small cuts’ H:158, -ptux, ka- ‘cut up fine’ H:158, -ptux, ru- ‘break into little pieces’ H:159

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *-ptúxA

Lakota -ptúɣA, ka- ‘break off a piece by striking; e.g. piece of china breaks off, chips; chisel’ EB:288a, EJ, -ptúɣA, na- ‘break off with the foot a piece; to break off of itself, as a piece of ice’ EB:356a, naptúɣa ‘break off with the foot a piece; to break off of itself, as a piece of ice’ EJ, -ptúɣA, pa- ‘break off a piece by pressure’ EB:433a, -ptúɣA, wa- ‘cut or saw off a piece’ EB:549a, -ptúɣA, wo- ‘cut or saw off a chip’ EJ, -ptúɣA, ya- ‘shoot off a piece’ EB:607b, -ptúɣA, yu- ‘push off; chip off with an instrument’ EJ, -ptúɣa, wayú- ‘bite off a piece’ EB:626b

Dakota yapátúɣa, ṭyúptúɣa ‘pick in pieces’ SRR:637b

General comment

Other instances of apparent Proto-Siouan *pC clusters often turn out to be morphemically resolvable into a sequence of *wa- and a root beginning in the pertinent C. That may be the case here, but it is not clear with so few cognates.
breast (female)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *áši

Proto-Siouan *áši

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *áči

Crow áči ‘breast, teat, udder’ RG, GG:1, RGG:68

Hidatsa áči ‘her breast’ [3s; inalienable] J , áčiša ‘udder’ [cf. hiša ‘like, similar’]

Pre-Mandan *wį́p-:

Mandan wį́pša ‘breast’ H:277

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(Wá-)áze

Proto-Dakota azé

Lakota azé ‘breast’ [← as ‘breast’ + hą́pi ‘juice’] RTC , aą́piti ‘milk’ RTC

Sioux Valley ds– as ‘breast’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(Wá-)áze

Chiwere báθe ‘breast’ JDH , báθį́ ‘nurse, suck’ JDH , báθe, báše GM

Hoocąk wáas ‘woman’s breast’ KM:3220 , waas

Proto-Dhegiha *(Wá-)áze

Omaha-Ponca mazé ‘breast’ RR

Kanza/Kaw bazé ‘breast’ RR

Osage hą́p , ṣpazé ‘woman’s breast’ LF:18b

Quapaw mazé ‘breast’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *táši

Biloxi tásí , tásiyaw’

Ofo ną̃ktą́jī , ṣnàktą́fį́ ‘milk’ D&G:326b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba hą̀r ‘breast’ KS , wītaz , wiwą́ ‘milk’ KS , tą́ ‘breast bone’ FGS:71 , wǐ́dzs ‘milk’

General comment
Osage moⁿčé ‘woman’s breast’ (LF-96a) has been influenced by the word for ‘chest, breast’. All derivations from ‘breast’ are from baçé. The same remodeling may have affected Quapaw, which shows the reflex of ‘w, not the expected ‘W, even in derived forms. Nasalization in Mandan may also show the influence of ‘chest, breast’ historically, though ‘chest’ has apparently not survived into present-day Mandan. Given the short vowel in Hidatsu ‘udder’, we believe that long vowel forms in Crow/Hidatsa are possessed (body parts). However, Hoocak also shows vowel length here, even in compounded forms. Thus we tentatively reconstruct a long vowel. Though Crow/Hidatsa sometimes loses initial w after possessive prefixes, the absence of w in Lakota and Proto-Biloxi-Ofo is strong evidence that w has been added where it appears. It is presumably the de-possessivizing absolutive. The t which appears in Proto-Biloxi-Ofo is unaccounted for unless it, too, is the remnant of an old word for ‘chest’ or ‘breastbone’ (cf. Catawba) or perhaps possessive ‘hta. Final i is supported by Proto-Crow-Hidatsa and Proto-Biloxi-Ofo.
breathe

verb physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rylic•h(e)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *iri•he < *iri•(h)a•he

Crow il•a•h RG, GG:87
Hidatsa ir•i•he 'breathe' J, ir•i•ahi

Pre-Mandan

Mandan r•he•S 'he's breathing' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *r•-i•ha

Proto-Dakota *n(y)A

Lakota niy•d 'breathe' [waniya 1st singular] RTC, niy•A 'rescue' [waniye 'I breathe'] EJ, niy•d [waniya 'I rescue']

Dakota niya 'breathe'

Stoney nj PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *n•ha

Chiwere n•ha, n•h•q RR
Hoocąk n•h•d 'chant, breathe; v.; breathing, n.' KM:2320, n•h•a

Proto-Dhegiha *n•j• < **n•j + ʔ• 'do' RR

Omaha-Ponca niu MAS:24
Osage ni•ô•, n•j• 'breath' LF:109b
Quapaw oni•hid•e ~ oni•h•ide 'breathe' JOD, oni•k•d• 'sigh' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *n•x-

Biloxi n•x•a 'breath' D&S:237a, n•xta•d 'breathe'
Ofo n•x•hi , n•x•h• 'breathe' D&S:326b, JSS

General comment
Cf. ‘alive’. Crow/Hidatsa initial i- may have been added after the model of ‘alive’. MRS and Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere differ for length in both this set and ‘alive’. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo is definitive for length in ‘alive’; thus we reconstruct length in both sets.

That h survives in Hoocąk/Chiwere indicates that it is not from -he, a supposition supported by the fact that Crow/Hidatsa have added -he after the -ha of ‘breathe’. That Chiwere/Hoocąk have oral ha and that Lakota has y rather than n as a replacement for h argue that the second syllable was indeed oral, not nasal. Nasalization in Dakotan and DH seems to have spread from i, with the resulting final q subsequently reinterpreted as ŋ (‘do’), a commonly postposed auxiliary particle in verbs. Biloxi/Ofo are opaque beyond the root nj, Mandan verb forms with final e often signal old compounds with monosyllabic roots, suggesting that the -he might be separable.

brother (1) mBrel

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Mississipi-Valley “tįřre

Proto-Dakota čhįyę

Lakota čhįyę RTC

Dakota čgįyę , ũthįyę SRR:101

Stoney čį- PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere “hį-įįra

Chiwere hįyónq RR

Hoocąk hinįrd JWE , hinį

Proto-Dhegiha ‘i-įřre

Omaha-Ponca ish’the , řųže ‘male’s elder brother’ [voc] MAS:195 , ʔp̥haw , řųže RTC

Kanza/Kaw ʔl̪yɛ ‘man’s elder brother’ RR

Osage ʔl̪yɛ , ʔl̪če ‘man’s elder brother’ RR

Quapaw ʔl̪če ‘man’s elder brother’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ʔt̪, inįya “his elder brother” D&S:200a

General comment
The Biloxi form may not be cognate since, instead of the n, we would expect the medial glide to be *y. In that case this is only a MVS cognate set, and any Proto-Siouan reconstruction is questionable. However, if the pre-Biloxi form were *i-yiŋi and y were lost between i's, then Biloxi could be regular and cognate after all.

**brother (2) mBrel**

*noun* social kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *iʔVka (?)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ʔVká*

Crow *ʔká* 'man's older brother' RG, GG:77, RGG:23

Hidatsa ʔʔaká 'man's older brother' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ʔʔka 'elder brother' H:262

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wahīik, †wahi•ik 'elder brother' H, ewahyeék, †wahí•ik 'elder brother' HW

**General comment**

Paucity of cognates here makes full reconstruction difficult. This term may be related to the birth names given male children in MVS. We have tentatively reconstructed two distinct terms for 'man’s elder bro.', but it is entirely possible that neither was really a Proto-Siouan kinship term, since both are only marginally attested in more than one subgroup. Note that Biloxi seems to preserve one of the terms while Tutelo keeps the other. The Tutelo *-i* may correspond to the *ʔV* found in the northern languages.
brother (3) wBrel

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *i-tą́ru

Crow isalí ‘woman’s older brother’ RG, GG:89, RGG:22

Hidatsa itą́ru ‘woman’s older brother’ J

Proto-Southeastern *(i-)tą́ro

Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tandó, tándo, tą́pó ‘woman’s younger brother’ D&S:269b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wital ‘my elder brother’ H

General comment

The reconstructible meaning of this term in Proto-Southeastern depends on the sex of Hewitt’s Tutelo informant. If it was a woman, the meaning ‘woman’s elder bro.’ is justified. Any Proto-Siouan reconstructions must be done by comparing both variants of the term. (Cf. ‘brother (4) wBrel’). The two entries taken together suggest something like Proto-Siouan *i-hťəwRo or *i-hťə-wRo, where ‘wRo is ‘male’, q.v. Support for this analysis comes from the irregular treatment of wr in DH and Chiwere/Hoocak in just these kin terms and ‘male’, suggesting that the kin terms were transparent compounds at the time ‘male’ was reshaped.

The *-htə- ~ *-htį- alternation might arise from an earlier construction of the form ‘i-hťə-wRo, where the second morpheme represents a fused ‘alienable’ prefix and the third morpheme is the actual root for ‘elder brother’. The long vowel in Crow/Hidatsa can derive from loss of intervocallic w, cf. ‘basket’. Thus pre-Hidatsa *i-tą-waro, with normal raising of short o to u.
brother (4) wBrel

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i-htį́-wro ~ *i-htí-wro

Proto-Dakota *thiwró

Lakota thib³ó ‘brother, woman’s elder’ [this is probably Dakota rather than Lakota] RTC, thimdó ‘a woman’s elder brother, my elder brother’ EJ, thib³ó ER:487

Dakota timdó ‘woman’s elder brother’ SRR:468

Stoney thimndó PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(i-)thí-Ro ~ *(i-)thį́-Ro

Chiwere ihđdo RR

Hoocąk čitó ‘older brother (woman sp.)’ KM:215, hicito

Proto-Dhegiha *(i-)htí-Ro ~ *(i-)htį́-Ro

Omaha-Ponca ttinuhá ‘woman’s elder brother vocative’ RTC, itín MAS:195

Kanza/Kaw lečido ‘woman’s elder brother’ RR

Osage iṣṭo, tiheńo ‘woman’s elder brother’ LF:80

Quapaw itítto ‘woman’s elder brother’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo thʰto, tʰto, ixtʰto, thį́to ‘husband’ D&S:330

General comment

Cf. ‘brother (3) wBrel’ for variant with á. Since both Biloxi and Tutelo show the á variant of this term, the Ofo term may have collapsed the vowels in the opposite direction, or may be a borrowing.
brother (5) BrYo

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(i-)sų́•(-ka)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *i-cu•kd

Crow iču•kd 'younger brother' RG, GG:73, RGG:22

Hidatsa icu•kd 'younger brother, man’s or woman’s' J

Pre-Mandan *-šų•ka

Mandan košų́ka 'his younger brother' H:238, wįšų́•ka 'my younger brother' RTC, nįšų́•ks 'our younger brother' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i-sų́ka

Proto-Dakota *sų(-ka)

Lakota misų́ 'my younger brother' RTC, sųkáku 'his younger brother' RTC

Stoney sugd PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hisų́ke

Chiwere hiθų́ŋe 'younger brother' RTC

Hoocąk hisų́k, híisųk 'younger brother (man or woman speaking)' KM:1076, hisų́k

Proto-Dhegiha *i-sų́ka

Omaha-Ponca isǫ́ga 'younger brother' RTC

Kanza/Kaw isą́ga, isą́gá 'younger brother' RR

Osage isą́ke 'younger brother' RR

Quapaw isą́ke 'younger brother' RR

Proto-Southeastern *(i-)sų́t-ka

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *sǫtk

Biloxi ao’tkáka, sútkáka, tsǫtkáka 'male’s younger brother' D&S:257b, name só’tká, tsǫtkáka 'Saturday' D&S:232

Ofo akifhá’ku, ḥakifhá’ku 'Saturday' D&S:320a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wisūtik; sun’ka (in paradigm), ti-sų́ška 'my younger brother' H, esoŋk’, ti-sų́ška HW, ecų́tk’, micų́tk’, ti-sų́ška JOD

General comment
The intrusive -t- in Tutelo, Biloxi and Ofo is one of the relatively few isoglosses that can be used to define OVS or SE Siouan. The Ofo term for ‘Saturday’ most likely refers to ‘(Sunday)’s little brother’, clearly the etymology of the Biloxi term for ‘Saturday’ and a Choctaw calque. The possessive, underlying *kik, provides the syllable final consonant that explains the fh cluster. Here, as elsewhere in Ofo, fh < an older *hs. OVS -tk- in this word has never been explained. It is not reconstructed to Proto-Siouan because, as noted above, none of its expected reflexes appears in languages outside of OVS. Given the vowel length in Crow/Hidatsa, we would expect to find the same in Chiwere/Hoocąk, but we do not. We would expect length here in the second syllable, and -- finding what we expect in Crow/Hidatsa -- we reconstruct it to Proto-Siouan, Mandan ko-, probably related to Lakota ku and to Ofo -ku, is used as an apparent possessive with several kin terms. Its use is not fully understood at this time.

brother-in-law (1) mWiBr, mSiHu

noun social kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-táhą́

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(i-)tahą́

Proto-Dakota *thąhą́

Lakota thąhą́ ‘man’s brother-in-law’ RTC

Dakota thąhą́ SRR:452

Stoney thąhą́ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thąhą́

Chiwere thąhą́ RR

Hoocąk híičąą ~ híičąwą́ [man speaking] KM:872, híćaqu ~ híćquą́

Proto-Dhegiha *ihtáhą́

Omaha-Ponca itahoⁿ, †itáhą́ F&LF:317

Kanza/Kaw itáhą́ RR

Osage itáhoⁿ, †itáhą́ LF:238a

Quapaw itáhą́ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *(i-)tahą́-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tahaⁿi, tahaⁿ*’niyą́, tahaⁿ’i, †tahą́ni ‘voc. brother-in-law’ D&S:268b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo i-tahą́ HW, etahę́’e

General comment
Cf. other in-law terms. Variability in the placement of accent in the subgroups suggests that this term may not originally have been a dependent noun and may have been assimilated into the inalienably possessed set of nouns after Proto-Siouan times. At this point possessive *i- would have tended to shift accent leftward. Thus Proto-Siouan may have been either *i-há:htá or simply *táhtá.

**brother-in-law (2)** wHuBr, wSiHu

*noun* social _kin_

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *(i-)ší•kʔe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *i-šíkša*

Crow išíš̲á̂ 'woman’s brother-in-law' RG, GG:91, RGG:23

Hidatsa išíš̲á̂ 'woman’s brother-in-law' J

Pre-Mandan *šík*

Mandan kosíke ‘woman’s brother-in-law’ H:206

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *(i-)šíkʔe*

Proto-Dakota *šíkʔé*

Lakota šíčʔé ‘woman’s brother-in-law’ RTC

Stoney šíčhe (possessed) PAS, šíčhe kču PAS

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** *šíkʔe*

Chiwere šíkʔe LWR:44

Otoe išíkhe RR

Hoocąk šíkš, híšíkš [woman speaking] KM:1079, šíkše, híšíkš

**Proto-Dhegiha** *(i-)šíkʔè*

Omaha-Ponca šíkè JOD

Kanza/Kaw šíkʔè BR

Osage išíkšè, tšíkšè ‘her brother-in-law’ LF:78a

Quapaw šíkʔè JOD

**General comment**
Biloxi yį́kə yį́kí ‘husband’s brother’ DS-293b is superficially similar, but most probably represents a mishearing of yį́kə yį́kí = ‘little husband’. Such expressions are widespread in societies with the levirate, a custom common in other Siouan groups. Although vowel length is justified and expected in MVS, the Crow/Hidatsa cognates lack it. As in several other cases, Mandan has the possessive in ko-. Here, as in ‘brother-in-law (1) mWiBr, mSiHu’, inalienable possessive -i may be Proto-Siouan, or the term may not have been a dependent noun in the proto-language. The lack of matching for vowel length along with parallel problems with the man’s equivalent (and the semantics of in-law terms) makes this a possible scenario.

brush (vegetation)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xrå•pe

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xrå•pe

Chiwere xrå•we ‘brush, bushes’ JDH

Hoocąk xatáp ‘brush, growth’ KM:3861, xutap

Proto-Dhegiha *xråpe

Omaha-Ponca xδábe RR

Kanza/Kaw xδábe ‘brush, tree’ RR

Osage xzhabè, ?xδápe ‘topmost branch of a tree’ LF:219b
bulrush, cane (plant)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *wasá, *wasá

Proto-Siouan *wasá

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *psá

Proto-Dakota *psá

Lakota psá ‘rush, water grass’ EB:446

Dakota psa ‘rush, water grass’ SRR:425b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk sáa ‘woven reed mat, rug’ KM:2782, saa ‘reed’ KM:3229, waaxsá, waaxsa

Proto-Dhegiha *sá

Omaha-Ponca sa

Kanza/Kaw sa ‘rush, mat material’ RR

Osage sa ‘rush, mat material’ JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wąsa ‘reed’ KS

General comment

Here we are in the enviable position of being able to reconstruct a Proto-Siouan form when the cognate set itself is restricted to one subgroup. The Catawba term implies that the Proto-Siouan form must have existed. The only imponderable is nasality in the initial syllable.
**bungle**

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šrą́-he*

Pre-Mandan *srąh-

Mandan srą́h ‘abandon, leave behind’ H:215, rusąrą́hįrį ré•hoʔš ‘he left it behind’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *šrą

Proto-Dakota *-šrą

Lakota kašná ‘strike (in baseball)’ EJ, pašná ‘miss while thrusting or pushing’ EJ, wošná ‘miss in shooting, miss the mark’ EJ, yašná ‘miss while trying to catch with the mouth; to blunder in speaking’ EJ, yašná ‘miss while trying to catch’ EJ, wayúšna ‘to sacrifice, offer sacrifice’ EB:572

Dakota óśna ‘a piece that is dropped, a scrap, a crumb’ SRR:386b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk gisąną́ ‘remove sth., get sth. off (surface of)’ KM:390, gisąŋq ‘miss in shooting, blowing’ KM:86, boošą́ŋq ‘let sth. fall from one’s mouth; make a mistake in talking; misinterpret’ KM:2570, boošą́ŋq ‘drop’ KM:2726, rašąŋq, rašąŋq, rašąŋq, rašąŋq

Proto-Dhegiha *šną́

Omaha-Ponca shna ‘shed hair’ MAS:266

Quapaw dašną́ži ‘talk correctly’ RR, dašńńąži ‘eat w.out dribbling’ RR

**General comment**

-(a)ži in Quapaw is the negative. The older meaning, still preserved in simplex forms, would appear to be ‘drop’.
burn (1)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *aRé

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *are-

Crow alée ‘be warm, weather’ RG, GG:9

Hidatsa are ‘be warm, weather’ J , aré

Pre-Mandan *ître- (?)

Mandan oîtreś ‘prairie fire’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *i-Ré

Proto-Dakota *iRé

Lakota ilé ‘blaze’ RTC

Dakota idé ‘burn, blaze’ SRR:182b

Stoney idé PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere phéjé aǰé ‘prairie fire’ JDH

Proto-Dhegiha *(i-)Ré

Omaha-Ponca ine ‘fireplace’ JOD , unédé MAS:77

Kanza/Kaw ije ‘light a fire’ JOD , iféye RR

Osage DSéthe, tséthe , Tćéde ‘kindle the fire’ [sic?] LF:39b, LF:160a

Quapaw téde ‘light a fire’ JOD , idé ‘strike, as lightning’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi adé, aďé ‘burn’ D&S:169a , adeyé ‘make burn’

General comment

It is conceivable that in Proto-Siouan-Catawba times there was a relationship between this root and *aRá- ‘heat/cold, instrumental’, which became the corresponding instrumental prefix. In numerous instances R seems to be from *r in a consonantal or laryngeal environment, hence the Mandan form is of interest in this regard. Cf. ‘cranberry’. The Mandan is a deverbal noun, from a root like -ore-. The ʔ is intrusive in such forms.
burn (2), prairie fire

physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *rą

Proto-Siouan *rą

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *oną

Proto-Dakota *oną

Proto-Dakota oną́ ‘fire on ground, prairie fire’ EB:395a, EJ

Yanktonai óna ‘a flame, a blaze’ SRR:375a

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca undhe, řonđhe ‘conflagration’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Dhegiha unáhe, řonáhe ‘conflagration’

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi náñ, řnə́-ǫ ‘set grass afire’ D&S:232a, nowúde, řnə́-ǫ ‘burnt bare’ D&S:287a, unási, řnə́-ǫ ‘to parch, as corn; fry meat’ D&S:284a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo inausį́ña, řinausį́ka ‘burn’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wə́ŋ ‘burn’ KS

General comment

Biloxi is probably náñ < *rą-ʔų ‘fire + do, make’.
burn (3)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xú•-re

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa šaru-he•, ard- 'scald sth.' J

Pre-Mandan *-xu-

Mandan dázœwəʔ 'it's burning' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ýú

Proto-Dakota *ýú ~ *ýų́

Lakota ýú 'a place where a prairie fire burned everything; cook until black, to burn while cooking; completely burned wood' RTC , ýu, ond EB:395a, EJ

Stoney ýų́ PAS

Sioux Valley ýú ~ ýų́ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Ráxúū

Chiwere daxúhi 'burn, caus.' GM

Otoe dákú-burned' JDH

Hoocąk xú, tao- 'be burned; conflagration, n.; burn, v.tr.' KM:3100, WL:20.20 , taaxu

Proto-Dhegiha *Ráɣúɣe

Omaha-Ponca naylýike JOD

Kanza/Kaw dáɣúɣe 'burn to a crisp; cracklins' RR , waddýúɣe 'crackers' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dázœný policemen , tó-dó xu-nį́-ye-tu 'they burnt her' D&S:169b

General comment

Languages other than Lakota appear to require the heat instrumental. If Pre-Dakota also required this instrumental, then the initial ý may have been produced by intervocalic voicing. In DH the same root, ýú, appears to be used with other instrumental prefixes with the generalized meaning 'crack'. Both Dakotan dialects and Biloxi show alternate forms with nasality, as Biloxi -ni < *-re following a nasal vowel. Hidatsa šaru < *šúra by rightward vowel exchange; note that Hidatsa has a different fricative ablaut grade.
burn (4)

_noun_ physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *wira*

Proto-Siouan *wirá*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wírd*

_Crow_ bída ‘fire’ RG, GG:30, RGG:49

_Hidatsa_ wírd? ‘fire’ J, mirí?

_Pre-Mandan_ *:wru*

_Mandan_ wíra, wíraʔ ‘fire’ RTC

Proto-Catawba

_Catawba_ wírq ‘burn’ KS

General comment

Final *ʔ* might be reconstructible on the basis of _Hidatsa_ and _Mandan_ forms, but final ʔ is not otherwise a feature of _Proto-Siouan_, and present day _Mandan_ speakers also know _Hidatsa_, so the precise status of ʔ is unclear. _Mandan_ often places a nondistinctive ʔ at the end of citation forms ending with a short vowel, and _Hollow_ recorded the form without ʔ. The _Catawba_ form, because of its nasality, fits better with ‘burn (3), prairie fire’. It is possible however that at some point both sets were related formally along with the ‘heat/cold, instrumental’ instrumental prefix.

burn (5)

_physical_condition_change_

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *yé*

Proto-Dakota *ché*

_Lakota_ čhethí ‘build a fire’ RTC, čeóŋpa ‘roast, as meat’ EB:130a

_Dakota_ če_óŋpa ‘roast, as corn on the cob, or potatoes in ashes’ SRR:99a

Proto-Dhegiha *-žé*

_Omaha-Ponca_ washe sží ‘to fry’ MAS:82, sžégtho* ‘bake, fry, roast’ MAS:311

_Kanza/Kaw_ žélą ~ žéla ‘fried’ RR, ožéčči ‘fireplace, council fire’ RR
burst

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-tóɣE

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-tóxe

Otoe ridóxe 'hit and burst' JDH

Hoocąk -ǰóx, gi- 'break something pulpy by striking' KM:358, WI:19.13, giǰox 'burst with knife' KM:1970, -ǰóx, mąąq- 'burst of own accord (e.g. boil)' KM:2175, mąąqox 'break in the mouth' KM:2553, -ǰóx, mąąq- 'pull trigger, fire a gun' KM:2679, mąąqox 'shoot off firecrackers' KM:3225, -ǰóx, ra-, rajox, -ǰóx, ru-, rujox, -ǰox, waatá-, ų́ų, watájox ų́ų

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw -dóɣe, nąq- 'crack ice by stepping on it' MR, RR, -dódoɣe, nąq- 'crack ice by walking or stepping on it' MR, RR
bury
verb social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xé

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ḏwąxe ‘grave’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xé

Proto-Dakota *xú

Lakota xú ‘bury’ RTC, EJ

Dakota xú ‘bury’ SRR:160a

Proto-Hooçák-Chiwere *xé

Chiwere xé ‘bury’ RR

Hoocák xè ‘bury’ [ + astweb] KM:3878 , xè

Proto-Dhegiha *xé

Omaha-Ponca xé , ṭxé ‘bury’ MAS:29

Kanza/Kaw xé ‘bury’ RR

Osage xé , ṭxé ‘bury, inter’ LF:218a

Quapaw xe ‘bury’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi amaxí , ṭamaxí ‘grave’ D&S:227a

General comment

In Mandan and Biloxi the root has been compounded with ‘mud, dirt, earth’, q.v. In fact, it is likely in both cases that the compound has been reanalyzed to a new root. Data on vowel length here are, unfortunately, marginal. We cannot say that the Proto-Siouan vowel was short and cannot be certain it was long. The root, being a monosyllable, should and apparently does, have organic *-e, not the unaccented stem forming -E.
butcher

verb person_professional

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hpáte

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa -páte, ha- ‘to saw or file’

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpáte

Proto-Dakota *pháta

Lakota pháta ‘butcher’ RTC

Stoney pháda ‘butcher’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk pąač ‘use scythe, mow’ KM:2421, paac

Proto-Dhegiha *hpáte

Omaha-Ponca pąđe ‘butcher’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw pąđe ‘butcher’ RR

Osage pąđe, ḱhpáce ‘butcher, dissect’ LF:125a

General comment

Initial ha- in the Hidatsa form is the ‘cutting instrumental’ prefix and not a reflex of aspiration in the root. There are not enough data here to be certain of the status of vowel length in this set. MVS aspiration implies a missing initial syllable.
buttocks (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *gíte

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa ipé‘í ‘buttocks’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ríta ‘buttocks’ H:184

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *gíte

Proto-Dakota *níte

Lakota nite ‘lower back, rump’ EB:363b

Dakota nite ‘lower back, rump’ SRR:341b

Proto-Dhegiha *níte

Omaha-Ponca níde

Kanza/Kaw níje RR

Osage nídse , nísce ‘haunch, hips, rump, lower back’ LF:106b

Quapaw níte RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi níndí, níndiyu‘í , níndi D&S:237b

General comment

In Hidatsa compare only -i•ti. If Hidatsa is cognate, the form has been compounded with ɨpi ‘tail > bird tail’. The Mandan final vowel is unexplained.
buttocks (2)

**noun** physical_somatic_body_part

__Proto-Siouan-Catawba__

Proto-Siouan *i-šį́tE*

__Proto-Crow-Hidatsa__

Crow išša ‘buttocks’ GG:94

__Proto-Mississippi-Valley__

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šį́te*

Chiwere šį́je ‘whole bottom, rump’ JDH

Hoocąk šįˈž ‘buttocks, rear’ KM:2962 , šįˈže

**General comment**

This form bears a superficial similarity to, and may have mixed with, ‘tail (1)’, q.v.

**buy**

**verb** social_transfer

__Proto-Siouan-Catawba__

Proto-Siouan *wį́he*

__Proto-Mississippi-Valley__ *-wį́*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ruwį́*

Chiwere -mj. irú- ‘sell’ LWR:12 , -mi, ru ‘buy something’ LWR:26 , -mi, wiú- ‘Money’ LWR:36

Hoocąk -wį́, ru ‘buy, v.tr.’ KM:2761 , ruwį́ ‘do one’s shopping’ KM:3457 , -wį́, warú- híi , waruwį hii

__Proto-Dhegiha__ *rü-ų̥-wį́*

Kanza/Kaw yümį́ ‘buy something’ RR

Osage *thiwíⁿ* , *ðü-wį́* ‘buy’ LF:151a

__Proto-Southeastern__

__Proto-Tutelo-Saponi__

Tutelo -miha, klu- ‘buy s.t.’ H , wąglumińhítua, ‘he buys’ H , kilomíha

**General comment**
This is an important set. Although marginally attested, it appears to confirm that *w remains oral in several languages preceding a nasal vowel if that vowel was followed by *h, cf. ‘chert, flint’ and ‘female, woman’. It is the establishment of this conditioning environment that permits us to analyze *Proto-Siouan as a language with distinctive nasality in vowels but not in consonants.

**buzzard (1)**

_noun_ animal_bird

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

*Proto-Siouan *hé•-

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa**

Hidatsa hé•wí ‘buzzard, vulture’

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley *he•ká**

**Proto-Dakota *hečá**

Lakota hečá RTC

Dakota †hečá ‘buzzard’ SRR:140b

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hé•ke**

Chiwere hé•ge ‘buzzard’ JDH, hé•gora ‘buzzard’ JGT:25

Hoocąk heegé ‘buzzard’ KM:786, heeg ‘swan’ KM:792, héex, heex

**Proto-Dhegiha *heká**

Omaha-Ponca hegd ‘buzzard’ RR

Kanza/Kaw hegd ‘buzzard’ RR

Osage hekd ‘buzzard’ RR

Quapaw hekattōka ‘buzzard’ RR

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *hé•ska**

Biloxi é•ska, hé•ska, †hé•ska D&S:191b

Ofo éskha, †é•skha ‘buzzard’ D&S:323a, JSS

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Saponi Hickōto–, †hik– ‘buzzard (creek)’ Byrd

**General comment**
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Cf. ‘buzzard (2)’ and ‘buzzard (3)’. Hidatsa vis-à-vis MVS suggests a morpheme he• with different suffixes. In MVS the suffix was presumably the -ka which turns up in so many nominal derivations. Hoocąk is interesting in that it suggests two, possibly related, forms: he• beside he•x. The latter seems to appear with the -ka suffix in Proto-Biloxi-Ofo. Mandan wŋąk kahęk ‘green heron’ (H-292) means literally ‘sun-looking bird’, from the root he• ‘to see’, and thus would not belong here.

buzzard (2)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hé•-ka

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *heká

Proto-Dakota *hečá

Lakota hečá RTC

Dakota *hečá ‘buzzard’ SRR:140b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hé•ke

Chiwere hégɛ ‘buzzard’ JDH, hégara ‘buzzard’ JGT:25

Hoocąk heegé ‘buzzard’ KM:786, heeg

Proto-Dhegiha *heká

Omaha-Ponca hegá ‘buzzard’ RR

Kanza/Kaw hegd ‘buzzard’ RR

Osage hekd ‘buzzard’ RR

Quapaw hekattoka ‘buzzard’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Saponi Hickooto- ‘buzzard (creek)’ Byrd

General comment

Cf. ‘buzzard (1)’.
buzzard (3)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hé-x(-ka)

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk héex 'swan' KM:792, heex

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *hé-xka

Biloxi ȅ́xka, hȅ́xka, ṭéxka D&S:191b

Ofo é̄skha, ṭé̄shkha 'buzzard' D&S:323a, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘buzzard (1)’.
c

**cache**

*noun* physical_artefact_container

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *ó-xe*

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa**

Hidatsa wó-xu-he' 'to cache' H&V, ma-xu-

**Pre-Mandan**

Mandan wį́x, wį́xe 'cache' H:307, wį́x 'cellar' RTC

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley** *(wa-óxe*

**Proto-Dakota** *wóxu*

Lakota wóha, Ṝwóxu 'a place to bury in, a place of deposite [sic] in the ground; a cellar, a pit; something buried' EB:598a

Dakota wóha, Ṝwóxu 'a place to bury in, a corn-hole or other place of deposit in the ground, a cache; a cellar, a pit; something buried' SRR:587b

**Proto-Hooçak-Chiwere**

Chiwere wóxe 'cellar, storage pit, grave' JDH

**Proto-Dhegiha** *óxe*

Kanza/Kaw óxe 'cache' RR

Osage óxe, Ṝóxe 'cellar' MAS:36

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi mdx hoⁿį́f, Ṝmdx 'a cache; to bury in a cache or grave' D&S:227a

**General comment**

The Hidatsa form, vis-à-vis the Mandan, shows rightward vowel exchange. In both languages, the transitive verb 'to cache' is formed from the stative (noun) by way of the causative. The obvious synchronic analysis suggested by R and B ('something buried in') does not account for the nasalization in Biloxi and Mandan or the u attested in Hidatsa and Mandan. Rather, an inherited form seems to have been folk etymologized. Biloxi ma- is a dissimilation from *wą́. The Biloxi initial m suggests the prior existence of a preceding protective vowel.

Alternatively, this may be the same root in Biloxi as we find in 'bury, grave' in which apparently a term for 'earth' has been incorporated. Similarly in Mandan, we may be dealing with a fused reflex of Ṝmq + Ṝóxe > wį́xe. In any event this appears to be a nominalization from xe 'dig, bury'.
calf of leg

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *yá•se

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rá•ca

Crow ddata 'calf of leg' RG, RGG:70, GG:40

Hidatsa rá•ca 'calf of leg 3s.' J , ná•ca

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rášE 'calf of leg' RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo tčíha¹he , tčíhąhe 'calf of leg' D&S:329b
call, shout

verb social communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pą́he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *pa• < *pahe

Crow pad ~ pda 'shout' RG, GG:53, RGG:51

Hidatsa pa• 'shout, holler' [s. impv] J, pah 'holler' H&V

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *pq

Proto-Dakota *(ki-)pq

Lakota pq, kipq RTC

Dakota kipay, *kipq 'call' EB

Stoney gbq PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(ki-)wą́•

Chiwere wą́, giwą́ LWR, GM

Hoocąk wą́, giwą́ 'call, v.tr., call for' KM:3586, wą́, giwą́

Proto-Dhegiha *(ki-)pq

Omaha-Ponca gbq JOD, MAS:103

Kanza/Kaw gbą́, bą́ 'call' RR

Osage bo', *pq 'call; shout' LF:28a, kipq, *pq 'call, invite' BR

Quapaw bą́ 'call' JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wǫ• 'cry out' KS

General comment

The Hidatsa imperative form shows this to be an old h-final and supports our claim that *ahe becomes a• as *ihe becomes ia and *uhe becomes ua. That Hidatsa also has the (unrelated ?) verb póhe 'sing', however, indicates that loss of h is not an unconditioned process.

Catawba may be related, but a w/p correspondence is not yet verified, much less understood.
call someone by name, to name

verb social, communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ra•tE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ra•ša•tE

Crow dāasa‘aši ‘call by name’ GG:40

Hidatsa raša•tE ‘call (on) someone by name; to name’ J, naša•ti

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *rá•tE

Proto-Dakota *-yata

Lakota čhažé_yata ‘call by name’ RTC

Dakota čaš‘iz_yata, ṛ-yata ‘call by name, speak the name of’ SRR:97a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ráte

Chiwere ráǰe ‘call by name’ JGT:189

Hoocąk ráat ‘be named, call by name’ KM:2520, raac ‘promise’ KM:2520, maqȟáč’, maqraq

Proto-Dhegiha *ra•tE

Kanza/Kaw yaǰé ‘call by name’ RR

Osage ḏa•cé ‘call on s.o.’s name’ CQ, wa-ghté-če tha-dse ‘read’ LF:190

Quapaw daté ‘call by name’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘name’; the related noun for a related fuller set. Several languages apparently compound (contract?) the noun, q.v., with a verb meaning variously ‘call by name, speak aloud, read (aloud)’. This is transparent in Dakota, with medial inflection. Crow shows correct vowel length in the ‘name’ portion of the compound where Hidatsa has shortened the vowel. Both Crow and Hidatsa inflect this normally, not medially. Length of the second syllable in Crow/Hidatsa apparently reflects loss of r- of the verb.
call to, invite

verb social communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ki-(ki-)ó•he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa kíkúhd ‘invite’ WM

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ki-k-ó (?) , *ki-khó RR

Proto-Dakota *kičhó

Lakota kičhó ‘call, invite’ RTC

Dakota kičó , ḥkičhó ‘call to a feast, invite’ SRR:284b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(ki-)kó

Chiwere kigo , ḥgigo ‘hold a feast, get together’ JGT:142

Hoocąk góo ‘invite, give a feast; with object: invite to a religious feast’ KM:453 , goo ‘call, beckon to’ KM:451 , gígo , gigo

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage gíko , ḥkíkho ‘invite to a feast’ LF:51a , gíkó , ḥkíkó ‘a formal invitation’ LF:284b

Proto-Southeastern *ki-(ki-)ó•he

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ki-o•hi (?)

Biloxi kíyohí , ḥkiyohí ‘call or halloo to’ D&S:294b

Ofo akóhi , ḥakóhi ‘shout, call out’ D&S:320a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo kíkóha , gíkóha ‘call’ H

General comment

Omaha-Ponca we’ku may be < wa + ki + kho SW-103. Cognacy is hard to determine. JOD writes the form with upright k suggesting the aspirate. Osage likewise may have a post-aspirated stop, as one of the entries has the unmodified k. There are too many transcription problems here to be certain what we are dealing with, although the forms seem cognate. We have analysed the Chiwere/Hoocąk initial consonant as aberrant, most likely a reflex of an older prefixed *ki- rather than the more common *hki-. Biloxi y is most likely an epenthetic glide. If organic, it would have yielded the usual variety of consonantal reflexes in other languages. The final syllable in OVS may be from either the common suffix -he or from -ha. In the former case, the -a in Hidatsa and Tutelo is unexplained; in the latter, Biloxi will have reanalysed the form as -he. Hidatsa ḥá is probably not from *-he, since it has not collapsed to -ua.
calm

psychic temperament

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *w-rāke

Proto-Dakota *awrdāke-

Lakota ablākela EB:54a

Dakota amdākedāŋ, ?amdākedāŋ 'a calm' SRR:32a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hatak, ?hatak 'calm' MM:239, hadak, hadakdji, ?hatak

Proto-Dhegiha *-brake

Kanza/Kaw oyágable 'calm, windbreak' RR

Osage uthúbthage, ṭóðóbrake 'a calm' LF:178b

General comment

The Hoocąk correspondence is irregular, but the semantic match is exact.

This root is uncommon in that it appears to show evidence of MVS-internal derivation of a *wr cluster, most likely from earlier *wa-Rāke.
carry > pack on back

verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kʔį́(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *kʔį́

Crow čií RG, GG:37

Hidatsa kʔį́ 'pack, carry on the back' J

Pre-Mandan *kʔį́ ~ *ki-

Mandan kʔį́ 'he packs it' H:110 , kíʔroʔš 'he packs it' H:110 , kíʔroʔš 'he carried it' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kʔį́

Proto-Dakota *kʔį́


Sioux Valley kʔį́ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *kʔį́

Chiwere kʔį́ ‘carry another’s property for him’ W:244a , kʔį́, gi- ‘pack, carry’ LWR:7 , -kʔį́, ra- LWR:24

Hoocąk kʔį́ ‘bag, v.tr. put into a bag’ KM:1728 , kʔį́ KM:2682 , -kʔį́, ru- , ruk’į́

Proto-Dhegiha *kʔį́

Omaha-Ponca ʔį́ ‘carry on the back’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw kʔį́ RR

Osage kʔį́ LF:86b

Quapaw kʔį́ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ki, kidí; kitú (pl.) D&S:207b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba kida ‘carry, go’ KS

General comment

The Mandan form kíʔroʔš has layered ki- prefixes.
cat

*noun* animal, domestic

**General comment**

This is a widespread borrowing across North America, and the forms listed here are probably not cognate. The fricatives do not match. For the Hidatsa form, at least, compare *Hidatsa pú•šE* ‘striped, spotted’.

catfish, bullhead

*noun* animal, fish

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

Proto-Mississipi-Valley `hó•zi`

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere `thó•zike`

Chiwere `thódíge` GM

Hoocąk coozik ‘bullhead (fish)’ KM:276 , coozik

**Proto-Dhegiha`hó•zë`**

Omaha-Ponca ttóze `catfish` MAS:35 , tৣce

Quapaw ttóze RR, JOD

**General comment**

This set appears to be restricted to the central Mississippi drainage area and may not have a Proto-Mississipi-Valley reconstruction at all. The final vowels do not match between the DH and Chiwere/Hoocąk subgroups, but this is not uncommon. Since -e is the productive stem forming vowel, and therefore the most common analogical development, ^-i is the lectio difficilior here. With catfish so common it is a little strange not to find a more widespread term in use.
chase

verb physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ruxé

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ruxé

Proto-Dakota *khíyúxa

Lakota khíyúxa ‘copulate as animals’ [- ablaut] EJ

Dakota takíyúха , Ḟkhíyúxa ‘rut’ WM:188

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ruxe

Chiwere takíduxe , Ḟthakhíruxe ‘October’ LWR:64

Hoocąk ruxé ‘chase, run after’ KM:2764 , ruxe

Proto-Dhegiha *rüxé

Omaha-Ponca díxe ‘chase after’ MAS:37

Kanza/Kaw yúxé ‘chase, mate (of animals)’ RR

Osage thixé , Ḟðüxé ‘pursue, chase’ LF:240b

Quapaw dixé ‘chase, pursue, hunt’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *nušxe

Biloxi noxé’, náxé , Ḟnoxé ‘chase, pursue’ D&S:237b

Ofo nušše , Ḟnšše ‘chase’ D&S:327a

General comment

Cf. ‘copulate (3)’. Chiwere ‘October’ < ‘when the deer mate’; khíruxe ‘mate’. The southeastern and MVS forms are quite close phonetically but do not quite match for either nasality or accent. Some sort of historical relationship other than strict cognacy is nonetheless probable. Cf. also ‘paw the earth’.
cherry, chokecherry

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wirápu• (?)

Crow balápua 'chokecherry tree' RG, balápua RGG:11

Hidatsa wirápú• 'bush, shrub' J, mirápú•

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ńḥ̌pha

Proto-Dakota

Lakota čhapȟí RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ńḥ̌pha

Chiwere náȟpha 'chokecherry' JDH

Hoocąk nąąpáȟ 'cherry tree' KM:2205, nąąpak

Proto-Dhegiha *ńḥ̌pha

Omaha-Ponca ną̣pa RR

Kanza/Kaw ną̣pa 'cherry' RR

Osage ghtoⁿ´p̣a, tlı́hp̣a 'cherry' LF:56a

General comment

The etymology, or possibly folk etymology, for chokecherry appears to be ‘wood’ + ‘bitter’. The MRS forms appear to contain ‘tree, wood’ and Dakota and Hoocąk can be analyzed this way. The usual DH reflex of this root is *žą́, rather than ną́, however LF-114a lists ną́ noⁿ as ‘archaic word for wood’; it occurs in ‘bark’, ‘board’, ‘charcoal’ and other compounds. Crow -ua suggests earlier *-uha.
chert, flint

*noun* physical material

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba** *wą́h-

**Proto-Siouan** *wą́•he*

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa** *d*

Crow *isad* 'his arrow' RG, GG:89, RGG:20

Hidatsa *tad*, *td* 'arrow' J, *wa•ʔí•*, *td* 'his arrow' J, *ma•ʔí•*, *td* 'arrowhead' J

**Pre-Mandan**

Mandan *w>{h}, *wą•he* 'arrow' RTC

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *wį*

**Proto-Dakota** *wą*

Lakota *wą*, *wą* 'arrow' EB:540b

Dakota *wą*, *wą* 'arrow' WM:9b

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** *mą́*

Chiwere *mą́* RR

Hoocąk *mą́* KM:1931, *mąq*

**Proto-Dhegiha** *mą́* RR

Omaha-Ponca *mą́* RR

Kanza/Kaw *mą́* RR

Osage *mą́*, *fmą́* 'arrow' LF:95a

Quapaw *mą́* RR

**Proto-Southeastern** *mąksi•* RR

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo** *qksi* RR

Biloxi *akši, atkšapi, ʔakši* 'arrow, gun, carbine, lead' D&S:177a, *qk(ə)sarpe?, ʔakši* MRH, *aŋšarpe?, ʔakši* MS

Ofo *onfha•pi, oʃfhp?, ʔą́fhi* 'arrow, gun' JSS, *oʃfhi, ʔą́fhi* 'bullet' D&S:328a

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo *mą́nkōi, mą́nksı́, maŋkcík*, *ʔmąksı́* 'arrow' H, JOD

Saponi *mankey, ʔmą́kï* 'shot' F

**Proto-Catawba**
Catawba wą FGS:102 , wanhd, wanhf G:545, KS

Woccon Worssh-shee , ṯwąši (?) 'awl, needle' JL

General comment

Cf. 'sharpen, grind' for related verbal forms. Cf. 'blade, edged tool' for derived forms. The southeastern languages show compounds with *-ksi• for 'arrowhead(?)' N.B. Oto ōh < *hs < *ks, a series of sound changes which recurs in other cognate sets. On loss of initial w- after prefixes, compare Crow and Hidatsa possessed forms of 'blanket', Hidatsa *itaš < *ita-waši.
chest, breast

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *awą́•ke or: *i-wą́•ke

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *éwaki

Crow íwa’kurúv ‘breast-bone’ L:135

Hidatsa ñwaki ‘chest’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *mą́•ke; mą́ke

Proto-Dakota *mą́k-

Lakota makhú ‘chest’ RTC

Stoney mą́khdí PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *mą́•ke

Chiwere mą́ge RR

Hoocąk mą́k ‘chest (of the body)’ KM:1971, mą́k

Proto-Dhegiha *mą́•ke

Omaha-Ponca mą́ge ‘chest’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw mą́ge ‘chest’ RR

Osage mą́·ge , tı́mą́ge ‘chest’ LF:97b

Quapaw mą́·ke, mą́ke, moį́ke ‘chest’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *amą́ki

Biloxi mą́k, amą́gą́iyáⁿ , tı́mą́ki ‘chest’ D&S:229a, má́ngiá’hória , tı́mą́ki ‘sternum’, tı́mą́k , tı́mą́ki ‘deer brisket’

Ofo amą́́k, mą́́́k , tı́mą́ki ‘breast, ribs’ D&S:321a

General comment

Lakota forms are compounded from mak- ‘chest’ and hu ‘bone’. Proto-Siouan is difficult to determine here, since Crow/Hidatsa and Biloxi/Ofo disagree on the initial syllable. Proto-Siouan may be *awą́•ke, following Proto-Biloxi-Ofo. It cannot be *wawą́•ke, even though Biloxi and Ofo typically lose initial *w/*m, because such a form would have given W rather than w in MVS. Following Crow/Hidatsa and the general pattern for body parts, which are usually dependent nouns, Proto-Siouan could be *i-wą́•ke, in which case Biloxi and Ofo have innovated. However, because possession is the expected pattern, innovation is easier to motivate in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa than in Proto-Biloxi-Ofo. Accent placement in Crow/Hidatsa is not accounted for here.
**chew**

verb physical_contact_deformation

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *ra-thé (?)*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ra-thé*

Proto-Dakota *yuahd*

Lakota *yuahd* ‘chew; gossip about’ EB:629a, EJ

Stoney *yuahd* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *račé* ‘bite off a piece (of a soft substance)’ KM:2540, race

Proto-Dhegiha *rathé*

Omaha-Ponca *wađđhe* ‘food’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw *yačhé* ‘eat’ RR

Osage *daché* ‘eat’ RR

Quapaw *dathé* ‘eat’ RR

**Proto-Southeastern**

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *dadĕ´* ‘chew’ D&S:183a

**Proto-Catawba**

Woccon Noccoo Eraute ‘have you got anything to eat? (?)’

**General comment**

This is a perplexing set. Superficially it appears to be transparently Proto-Siouan *ra- ‘mouth, instrumental’ and a verb root *-thé. The usual source of DH th is Proto-Mississipi-Valley *rh, but the regular outcome of *rh (itself normally a secondary cluster) in MVS is Dakotan h, Chiwere/Hoocąk ŕ and DH th. There is no regular sound correspondence set with th throughout (but cf. ‘bear > black bear (2)’), and Proto-Siouan/Proto-Mississipi-Valley *th is virtually one-of-a-kind. Also, Biloxi should have *dáte; although this could be either an irregular assimilation or a case of contamination by *rute ‘eat, dip’. There is still much to explain here.
child > boy

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *hokší

Lakota hokši; hokšiła ‘child; boy’ RTC

Dakota hokšiáŋ , ’hokšídaŋ’ WM:22a

Yanktonai hokšína WM:22a

Stoney hokši ‘child’ PAS

Sioux Valley hokšída PAS

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw hósťa ‘something small’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo hócka , ‘hóčka ‘child’ D&S:323b , aɪk-hóshka , ṭhóška ‘baby’

General comment

Kanza/Kaw hósťa ‘something small’ and a possibly related Hoocąk form, hočįčį́(nįk) ‘boy’ (KM-1179) suggests that hoš- may be segmentable and that a metathesis has occurred in Dakotan. Cf. Tunica ṣaʔi ‘child + male’ (Haas), a possible diffused form.
child > female child

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *šěmį

Omaha-Ponca cemiⁿjiŋa, ʔěmį́jį́gą JOD

Osage shimiⁿ' , ũšimį 'baby girl, damsel, maiden, lassie' LF:131b

Quapaw šěmį RR

General comment

Cf. ‘child > boy’; ‘child > male child’. This term parallels ‘child > male child’ exactly and may well have been innovated independently several times. A Proto-Siouan reconstruction may not be possible, although the pattern is transparently reconstructible. Note the same irregular reflex of ‘ś’ in Chiwere that is found in ‘child > male child’.

child > male child

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *šį-Ro•

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere Chíyóįţe, Chíyóįţe GM

Proto-Dhegiha *šíRo

Omaha-Ponca cemįjiŋa , ʔěmį́jį́gą JOD

Kanza/Kaw šidōhįŋa ‘boy + dim.’ RR

Osage śi'și , ũši'so ‘youth’ LF:131b , cf’ųnu’ʔhů , ũši'so ‘bachelor’ JOD

Quapaw šēťo ‘boy’ RR , šĕťo ‘boy’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi sì’to, sì’t , ũši'so ‘boy’ D&S:256b

General comment
This term is a compound of reflexes of *šika ‘child’ and *Ró• ‘male’ in the languages where it is represented. Chiwere čh is irregular as it is normally derived from dental stops, in this case *th or *ht. It is most likely a result of borrowing from Dakotan čhįča ‘child’. Biloxi initial s shows this word is either subject to fricative ablaut or is a borrowing.

Cf. ‘child > boy’, ‘child > female child’. The original root, *ši, has apparently been replaced by še, ‘this’ in some DH dialects. The compound seems to center on DH and may have originated there, spreading to both north and south into Chiwere and Biloxi. There are too many irregularities here to consider this a Proto-Siouan term.

child > youth

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šî-ka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *šïkó-ka < *šïkV+ rû-ka

Crow šïkdaka ‘boy’ RGG, GG:55, RGG:88

Hidatsa šïkóka ‘young man’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan sûk, sukte ‘child’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hooćąk-Chiwere *wąʔ-šiike

Chiwere wąʔši, wąʔšige ‘person, people’ GM

Hooćąk wąʔšik KM:3610, KM:2952, wąʔšik

Proto-Dhegiha *šiika ~ šįka

Omaha-Ponca nikkašiga ‘man’ RTC, nišîga ‘clan’ RR

Kanza/Kaw nikkašiga ‘clan, people’ RR

Osage nikkašiga, Ńihkašika ‘a people (ritual term)’ LF:108a

Quapaw nikkašiga ‘person, people’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wakasĩk ‘child’ N, H, wakasĩk ‘infant’ HW

General comment
The nasalized DH forms may be contaminated from the diminutive žįka.

We cannot account for the Mandan u, if the form is cognate. The Crow/Hidatsa forms appear to be compounded with the term reconstructed ‘little, young, child’. Tutelo has š instead of the expected č. Cf. ‘child > male child’.

chin

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *íh-hku

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *íhka

Crow íhka RG, GG:76, RGG:75

Hidatsa íhka ‘chin’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan íhku ‘chin’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *íhku

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ikhú ‘chin’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere íhku ‘chin’ JDH

Proto-Dhegiha *íhkü

Omaha-Ponca íki, tíkki ‘chin’ MAS:39

Kanza/Kaw íkkü ‘chin’ RR

Osage íki, tïkkü ‘chin’ LF:73a

General comment

A plausible etymology in Dakota might be i ‘mouth’ + khu ‘below, under’.

Khuyí is also ‘below’ in Chiwere (JDH). The Mandan etymology is similar, with root šhe ‘mouth’. This etymological explanation is not available in Crow/Hidatsa, however.
chinquapin, lotus, cattail

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hté-wape

Proto-Dakota

Lakota thwápha ‘chinquapin, lotus, cattail’ EJ, tewape ‘Nelumbo lutea’ MRG:90

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thérape

Chiwere tcerawe , tčherawę JOD

Hoocąk čeráp ‘lotus’ KM:194, MRG:90 , ceerap , tšerape

Proto-Dhegiha *htérawį/e

Ponca tčdawį RR

Kanza/Kaw ččéwaye ‘lotus’ RR

Osage šéwathe , thčéwaθe ‘lotus’ LF:160b

General comment

There is much irregularity in this set. Any Proto-Dhegiha reconstruction depends on external comparison. Here it appears that DH and Chiwere/Hoocąk have lost the initial w of the second stem. Kanza/Kaw/Osage and Chiwere/Hoocąk have epenthetic r here.

Omaha-Ponca has apparently done a more complete reanalysis, and much there remains unexplained. The MVS form seems to be a compound of a common Siouan form also found in Hidatsa, Mandan, etc., and a preposed *hte-, meaning unknown. Mandan ṭ suggests involvement of some sort of laryngeal in this root. Hidatsa aspiration suggests an earlier *-pʰَا, though the Hidatsa/Crow disagreement in vowels makes reconstruction uncertain. The root may well be reconstructible ultimately, but there are too many imponderables, and there has been too much reanalysis for us to attempt Proto-Siouan reconstruction at present. The Crow form is < bili ‘water’ + waapee.
choke

verb physical_somatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-tkÉ

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow daxčí ‘choke’ [ < daC- ‘by force’] RG

Hidatsa rāhkáhka• ‘gulp, gobble down food’ J, nāhkáhka•

Pre-Mandan

Mandan -tké, ka- ‘choke on something’ H:104, H:351

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-tkÉ

Proto-Dakota ‘katkA´’

Lakota -skA´, ka- ‘choke or be choked, as in eating; to stick in the throat’ EB:293a, EJ

Dakota karzh ‘choke, be choked’ SRR:270b

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage gátse , ṭkahce ‘choked’ LF:205b , wátse , ṭwahce ‘choke, strangle’ LF:205b

General comment

This root most frequently occurs with the ‘striking’ instrumental.

Metathesis and assimilation *tk > *kt > ht/tt in DH is regular. Most initial stop clusters in Siouan can be seen to have lost a vowel. In this instance the vowel is not preserved in any language. t in this context can come from virtually any dental stop, or *r or a Proto-Siouan syllable beginning with any of those consonants and any intervening vowel (which would normally disappear by initial syllable syncope). It is not clear that the Crow/Hidatsa forms belong. Crow suggests an earlier -xki/E, not tkī/E, while Hidatsa suggests and earlier -Cka•.
circle, hoop, camp circle

*noun* perceptual_visual_shape

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ho-yoka ~ *ho-roka

Proto-Dakota *hočhoka

Lakota ho- ‘camp circle’ RTC, hočhoka ‘center of camp’ EJ, hočhokab ‘center of camp’

Dakota hočōka ‘courtyard, an area surrounded by tents or houses’ SRR:151b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ho-

Chiwere howékuǰe ‘hoop game’ LWR, horaga ‘camp circle’ WW:8

Hoocąk horók ų́ų ‘participate in, join organization’ KM:1484, horok ųų

Proto-Dhegiha *ho-

Omaha-Ponca húztu ga, thumbnails ‘camp circle’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw hówega gíŋ ‘figure drawn on the ground when Kaws go to war’ RR

Osage hóega, thumbnails ‘bare spot (dual symbolism)’ LF:63a

General comment

This seems to be a primarily MVS term. ‘ho- certainly seems to be the common element meaning ‘circle’. It is commonly compounded with 'middle; inside', q.v.

clavicle

*noun* physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wds- (?)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa wáchiru ‘collar bone, clavicle’ [1s. poss.] ʃ, máchiru, mawáchiru

Pre-Mandan *wə-tiřihe

Mandan wáčiru ‘clavicle’ H:278, tawáčiri ‘his clavicle’ H:278

General comment
The Hidatsa form ends in the word for ‘bone’, leaving wáč. The Mandan form is apparently unanalyzable. Hidatsa may well have borrowed the term from Mandan and folk etymologized the end.

**clear**

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan (*old reconstruction only*)

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wré•se*

Proto-Dakota *wré•sa*

Lakota blé•za ‘clear’ RTC

Dakota mdé•za SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *pré•se*

Chiwere bre•ðe RR

Hoocąk perés ‘clear’ KM:2475, peres

**General comment**

This form is restricted to the northern group of MVS languages. Without more cognates it cannot be reconstructed further with any certainty. The Proto-Mississippi-Valley reconstruction here would presume an earlier, perhaps Proto-Siouan, term with the probable shape *wa-ré•sE.*
climb

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *aRí*

Pre-Mandan *rį-

Mandan rį‘óS ‘he’s climbing’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *a-Ri

Proto-Dakota *aRí*

Lakota af ‘climb’ RTC

Dakota adí SRR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ho-Ri

Chiwere a-hó-čí(•) RR, ahóí GM

Hoocąk hotí ‘climb’ [tree + climb] KM:1533, hot’ ‘climb a tree’ KM:2249, naqį́, naqti, naq hoti

Proto-Dhegiha d-Re

Omaha-Ponca dne ‘climb’, dγine ‘climb one’s own’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw dje ‘climb’ RR

Osage dó ‘climb’ LF:7b

Quapaw dte, dte JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *arí*

Biloxi adí ‘climb, climbing’ D&S:170a

Ofo atíśna, taśkna ‘climb’ D&S:322a, JSS

General comment

The intrusive -ho- of Chiwere/Hoocąk is unexplained. The final vowels of the DH reflexes have been regularized to the most common stem formative, -E.

Mandan ordinarily moves glottalization over the vowel to its right, so that, in this instance *R may stem from an earlier *ʔʔ, although this cluster is otherwise unattested and may itself be secondary.
cloud

noun natural, force, weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mą́•xpi

Proto-Dakota *mąxpí

Lakota mąxpíya 'clouds, sky' RTC

Sioux Valley mąxpíya PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere mąxúwe, mąxówe 'clouds, sky' RR

Hoocąk mąxáwi 'clouds, be cloudy' KM:2044, mąxpi(wi)

Proto-Dhegiha *mąxpú

Omaha-Ponca mąxpi RTC

Kanza/Kaw mąxpú RR

Osage mo*xpi, ṭmąxpú 'cloud' LF:103b

Quapaw mąxpí RR

General comment

Comparisons with other MVS languages suggest that DH rounding is secondary. Cf. 'sky'.

clumsy

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *woxap-

Mandan wáxapoh2 'he's clumsy' H:283

General comment

We may be dealing with a borrowing here. Additionally, there is a widespread DH root xọ́ which means 'break' that is used with the usual variety of instrumentals. It would fit with Mandan xọ́ perfectly, but it lacks any root extension outside of Mandan. Cf. 'break loose > dislocate'.
coals (1)

verb physical material

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xrį́

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow -xii, ald- ‘burned’ RG, GG:8, RGG:49

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xrį́

Proto-Dakota *čhaxrí

Lakota čhaxlī ‘coal, gunpowder’ RTC

Dakota čahdi, ṭčhaxdlī ‘charcoal, gunpowder’ SRR:84b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xrį́•

Chiwere ǔxrį•ge ‘coals, embers’ JDH


Proto-Dhegiha *xrį́-že

Omaha-Ponca naxthi’n ‘flame’ MAS:249

Kanza/Kaw gaxlį́xlįže ‘sparkle’ RR , -xlį, dd- ‘burned, be’ RR , -xlįxlį, dd- ‘burned repeatedly’ JOD, RR

Osage xthi’nzhá , †xlįžá ‘sparks of a fire’ LF:220b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo “aphè-xenį (?)

Biloxi pĕ´xĕnoⁿní, pĕxĕnoⁿ´ , †péxe-nį ‘live or red coals’ D&S:245a

Ofo aphé̄cni, aphèsni , †əpholleyError ‘coals’ D&S:321a, JSS

General comment

This root is usually compounded with a root for ‘fire’ or ‘tree, wood’, q.v.

Omaha-Ponca ngáxe (JOD), Kanza/Kaw ngáxd (RR) ‘coals’ are not listed as cognates as their vowels do not match properly. This may be due to assimilation into the productive stem class (in -E). In DH ng- is found in numerous terms referring to wood or boards and is a doublet for ñg. In Quapaw táxe ‘coal’ (JOD) and in Hoocąk, the ‘heat/cold, instrumental’, ta- and te- respectively, appears to have replaced ng ‘wood’. Dakotan irregularly has an oral vowel. In Biloxi the j was apparently replaced by the of ግን‘ make, do’. However Biloxi, if cognate, may have reflex of a Proto-Siouan vowel between the two consonants. If this is the case, a Proto-Siouan reconstruction *xerį́ becomes a possibility. Words with SR clusters in Siouan behave accentually as if there were a vowel between the fricative and resonant, but that vowel is seldom clear, and several Siouan languages have introduced epenthetic vowels in the sequence.
coals (2)

physical_material

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *šŋį́

Proto-Dakota *phe-šnį́žą

Lakota pešńžą ("fire + sparks") EB:442a

Dakota pešńžą 'sparks of fire' SRR:420

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -šŋį́žį́ŋį́, gi- 'shine, v. intr. (FW)' KM:414 , gišŋį́žį́ŋį́
cold

verb natural, force, weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *səɾį́-he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cirίa < *ciríhe

Crow čilía ‘cold (weather)’ RG, GG:38, RGG:6

Hidatsa ciría ‘cold’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ṣįʔhőʔš ‘it’s cold out’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *snį(-hi)

Proto-Dakota *sní

Lakota sní ‘be cold out, cold to touch’ RTC, -sní, aká ‘extinguish on, as fire’ EB:69b, -sní, iyá ‘become still, as a noise ceasing; to recover from, as from anger or sickness; to die down, as a fire with only coals left’ EB:252b, -sní, őlő ‘make cool, as hot coffee by pouring it to and fro from one cup to another’ EB:204a, -sní, na ‘put out a fire with the foot’ EB:357b, osní ‘be cold out’ EJ, -sní, wo ‘put out, as rain does fire’ EB:608a, -sní, yu ‘blow, cool by blowing’ EB:627a, -sní, yu ‘put out, extinguish e.g. a fire, to turn out a light, lamp; to make cold.’ EB:650a, -sní, yud- ‘quiet down, soothen e.g. a person excited or sad’ EB:633b

Sioux Valley sní PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *snį

Chiwere nįʔ scrolls


Proto-Dhegiha *snį

Omaha-Ponca osnį ‘cold’ RR

Kanza/Kaw snį, hnį ‘cold’ RR, hnıčče ‘be cold as a person is’ RR, hnįhi ‘be cold, as an object is cold to the touch’ RR

Osage hnįfẹ, ẞhnîfèce ‘cold’ LF:63a

Quapaw snį ‘cold’ RR, -snįshi, ka- ‘autumn, blows cold on and off’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *sanį

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi snỹhixṭi ‘be cold’ D&S:256b, snỹxtėći ‘feel cold’, sní dusi ‘catch cold’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo sną, François ‘cold’ H

Proto-Catawba
Catawba čičʔ KS, čiʔ FGS, čihi FGS, čihα FGS

General comment

Crow/Hidatsa and Tutelo either preserve or innovate an initial syllable vowel.

Note however that they are different. The Tutelo version is the lectio difficilior as it cannot be explained by assimilation. If the Tutelo vowel is organic, a Proto-Siouan reconstruction *sarį́•-he would be justified. Ofo o’techi ‘it is cold’ (DS-328a) is most likely non-cognate, though note the resemblance to Catawba. The Proto-Crow Hidatsa -he is to be compared with Biloxi -hi-, but not with the hi/hį of MVS. Reflexes of Proto-Siouan -he are not preserved in MVS except where they are protected. So the -hi in these instances must be thought of as an MVS innovation. It may be some sort of partial reduplication or, at least in Quapaw, a separate morpheme, -hi ‘very’.

collective (motion verbs)

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *a-

Proto-Dakota

Lakota a- [3rd person; no additional plural]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *a-

Chiwere a- [motion and positional verbs]

Hoocąk ha- , ha-

Proto-Dhegiha *a-

Omaha-Ponca a- JOD

Kanza/Kaw a- RR

Osage a- RR

Quapaw a- RR

Proto-Southeastern *a-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi a- [Motion verbs, no suffixed plural] PFE:75b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo a- in: alewa ‘be going’ JOD

General comment
The prefix is sometimes lacking in conjugated forms in DH, but is usually present. It occurs in 3rd singular and all plural forms of the verb.

The prefix is not found in Sioux Valley (Sioux Valley) Dakota (PAssiniboine).

**collective suffix**

*particle n/a*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-sa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-ca

Crow *-ta ‘both’ RG, *duapta ‘specifier, the one(s)’ RG, -ta ‘in every direction’ RG, *éko

Hidatsa *-ca ‘both’ J, *nopáca ‘every, all of a group’ J, *é-ca

Pre-Mandan *-Ja

Mandan *-sa in: rígíinta ‘twins’ H:192

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *za* (?)

Proto-Dakota *-za

Lakota áza ‘both’ EB:421b

Proto-Dhegiha *za*-

Kanza/Kaw zanį ‘all’ RR

Osage zanį ‘all’ RR

Quapaw zanį ‘all’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *-sa, *-xa

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi é’xa, *-sa ‘that is all’ D&S:218b, éťxya, *-sa ‘this is all’ D&S:257b, *so’sa, sós’d, *-sa ‘one, once’

Ofo nūfha, nū’fḥa, ṃf’h-a ‘one’ D&S:327a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo notaźa, *tnoza ‘one’ H

**General comment**

Cf. ‘all, intact’. For Ofo *fh* cf. ‘two’. 
comb

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xwé

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-xwé

Chiwere gixwé, graxwé ‘comb or brush one’s own hair’ LWR:47, xwa, gi- ‘comb hair of someone besides oneself’ LWR:8, xwa, gra- ‘comb hair of one’s own child’ LWR:8, xwe, gra- LWR:8

Hoocąk hígițéwek, hígițéek ‘comb, v.tr.; comb, n.’ KM:854, hígițéwek, hígițéek

Proto-Dhegiha *-phé

Omaha-Ponca mikkáhe ‘comb’ JOD, gahé ‘comb, verb’

Kanza/Kaw nikkáphe ‘comb’ RR, gaphé ‘comb’ RR

Osage mīkáphe, ṭmīkáphe ‘hairbrush grass’

Quapaw kaphé ‘comb’ JOD

General comment

One source of DH aspiration is partly cleared up here: *xw > DH ph.

The ḱ of a possible Ofo cognate, ḱwa (DS-327b), is irregular and the form is doubtfully related.
**comb** > **ravel out**

verb physical_contact_manipulation

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *swé (?)

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley**

Proto-Dakota *-swa (?)

Lakota -swá, ka- ‘make lint; to curry’ EB:290a, -swá, na- ‘the word is used to denote what is done when one steps e.g. on a silk dress and it stretches partly, i.e. the thread tears one way’ EB:358a, -swá, na- ‘rip, tear into fringe, to fray’ EB:816b, -swá, ya- ‘pick in pieces with the teeth’ EB:627b, -swá, ya-; yaswíka ‘pick in pieces with the teeth’ EJ, -swá, ya-; yaswíka ‘pick in pieces with the teeth’ EB:816b, -swá, ya- ‘ravel out e.g. a stocking, to pick to pieces e.g. wool’ EB:650b

Dakota yusbd ‘ravel out; to pick to pieces, as wool’ SRR:638a

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi psúdahí, ḷpsúdahí or: ḷpsúdahí ‘a comb’ D&S:248a

**General comment**

For these forms to be cognate, we must assume a metathesis in Biloxi.

Cf. ‘comb’
come

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hú•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hú

Crow húu RG, GG:49, RGG:32
Hidatsa hú J

Pre-Mandan *hú.

Mandan hú•roš ‘he’s coming’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hú

Proto-Dakota *hú

Lakota ú ‘I am coming; an old word meaning |waú|’ RTC, p-hú EB:449b
Dakota u ‘come’ WM:35b
Stoney ú PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hú

Chiwere há W:246b
Hoocąk háu ‘start coming’ KM:1601, huu

Proto-Dhegiha *hú

Omaha-Ponca há ‘come’ RTC
Kanza/Kaw hú ‘come’ RR
Osage há ‘come’ RR
Quapaw há ‘come’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *hú•(-ri)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *hú•(-ri)

Biloxi hu, u, huv, hádi, údi ‘come’ D&S:198b
Ofo kiú•kna, kiú, úkú•kna ‘come’ D&S:325b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo yahúa, howa, tyahur(w)a ‘come’ HW, kihóta, tyahur(w)a ‘he came not’ HW, wihúta, tyahur(w)a ‘I will come’ JOD, yahurw, tyahur(w)a, húwa, tyahur(w)a
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Saponi kihoë, ῥkihu "come here" F

Proto-Catawba

Catawba huʔ- FS

General comment

Catawba ḥ suggests some final consonant if it is not an artifact of pre-vocalic morpheme boundary.

It has been noted that the ḥ- is missing in all the vertitive forms of this verb in MVS. But cf. comment on 'come vertitive'. Reconstructing "u" with the assumption that huʔ forms are by analogy with "hi' arrive there" might be tempting except for the fact that all the languages but Ofo show at least traces of the h and even Catawba has huʔ.

In DH this verb behaves like a full-fledged H-stem, taking the obstruentized allomorphs of the actor person-number prefixes. Omaha-Ponca 1Act phi; 2Act ši; 3Act hi. Kanza/Kaw 1Act phi; 2Act ši; 3Act hi. Quapaw 1Act phi; 2Act ši; 3Act hi.

While Crow and Hidatsa forms suggest nothing unusual about initial h, the conjugation is part of a special pattern found only in a core group of motion verbs. Crow 1Act boó; 2Act dalóo; 3Act húu (GG-49, DEC-32). Hidatsa: 1Act waʔhi', 2Act. ῥdahú', 3p. raʔhuʔa. The conjugation is modeled on regular forms of 'go' Crow 1Act oó shows assimilation and the rising pitch pattern of lost intervocalic h, cf. 'hair, fur, feathers' and other forms.

The w which appears in some Tutelo forms (imperatives?) may be comparable to the w which appears in the Lakota imperative (B&D para. 135) -- presumably an epenthetic glide.
come vertitive
verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kíhú* ART

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *kVhú*
Crow kuú RG, GG:5
Hidatsa kú J

Pre-Mandan *kuh-
Mandan kuhóš ‘he came back’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley kú
Proto-Dakota *kú*
Lakota kú RTC
Dakota ku ‘return’ WM:179a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *kú*
Chiwere gú W:241b, GM, -gu- RR
Hoocąk gúu ‘leave returning’ KM:464, guu

Proto-Dhegiha *kú*
Omaha-Ponca gí JOD
Kanza/Kaw gú RR
Osage gí, ŋkú ‘he approaches, he comes’ LF:49b
Quapaw kí

Proto-Southeastern *ki-ú ~ *kihú RR

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *kí-u*
Biloxi kú nedí, tku ‘be returning hither’ D&S:199a
Ofo kú kña, kiu, tku kña D&S:325b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Tutelo kíhawd ‘on his way coming home’ HW
Saponi kihoe ‘come here’ F

Proto-Catawba
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Catawba kowa KS

General comment

MVS shows no trace of the expected aspiration in the 3rd person citation form. Biloxi/Ofo seem to lack reflexes of h also, but Tutelo, Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan seem to show them. If Catawba is cognate, it too lacks any reflex of the consonantism of the corresponding plain verb, hiʔ. The DH conjugated forms can be derived from forms with or without *h, since aspirates can never occur as the second members of clusters. The forms are: Omaha-Ponca 1Act ppi, 2Act ški, 3Act gi; Kanza/Kaw 1Act ppi, 2Act ški, 3Act gi; Quapaw 1Act ppi, 2Act ški, 3Act ki. First and second person forms would regularly lack any trace of the h, and this may have spread to the third person as well in DH and possibly throughout MVS.

confused, mistaken, ignorant

verb psychic_emotion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *nů́ŋį́

Proto-Dakota *nů́ŋį́

Lakota nů́ŋį́ ‘become lost; go astray (in a religious sense)’ EJ

Dakota nuni ‘wander’ WM:256b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *nů́ŋį́

Chiwere ną́nyin , ṭnů́ŋį́ ‘mistake’ JGT:51

Hoocąk ną́nį́ ‘ignorant of’ KM:2391 , ną́nį́

Proto-Dhegiha *nǫ́ðį́

Omaha-Ponca mo’ño’thi’ , ṭmąńqą́łį́ ‘mistake’ MAS:121

Osage mo’thi’ , ṭmąńqą́łį́ ‘misunderstand, be in a quandary, perplexity’ LF:117a

General comment

Cf. ‘forget’. The second consonant of this word is probably epenthetic, since it has not yet undergone nasalization in DH.
**contrastive**

*particle n/a*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *\( ^h \)a*

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa**

Hidatsa ha- in: haš 'but' J, ha-, -d in: haššē ‘but’ J

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley**

**Proto-Dakota**


**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi ha, ḋha ‘or’ [placed after the second of two nouns] D&S:192b

**General comment**

A speculative set. Cf. *emphatic, contrastive, but* Initial h- is most often lost in Biloxi, and most apparent instances are from Proto-Siouan *ʔ*

**cook**

*verb physical condition change*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *\( ^h \)đəkē*

Pre-Mandan *\( ^t \)ak-

Mandan dą́takoʔš ‘it’s ripe, cooked, done’ RTC

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley**

**Proto-Hoocą́k-Chiwere**

Hoocą́k -cök, wę́- ‘ parch, scorched over fire’ KM:3243, wucök

**General comment**

A few t forms seem to group with spirant ablaut sets, i.e., s ~ t ~ š ~ x occasionally, not just s ~ š ~ x. While this is most evident in MRS, it is not limited to that subgroup.
copulate (1)
verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *í•pi
Crow í•pi 'cohabit, copulate' RG, GG:79
Hidatsa í•pi 'copulate' J

Pre-Mandan
Mandan ñpo'íš 'he copulates with someone' H:262

General comment
From the limited data it is not possible to determine what causes the initial vowels to differ here.

copulate (2)
verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *rhù
 Proto-Dakota *hù
        Lakota hú RTC
        Sioux Valley hú PAS
 Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *tú
        Chiwere wąnùhta, ɪwadíhta GM
        Hoocąk jau, ṭi'í MM:217, ọju, ṭi'í
 Proto-Dhegiha *thù
        Omaha-Ponca čhì 'copulate' JÉK
        Kanza/Kaw čhù 'copulate' RR

General comment
Marsh always writes aspiration in Chiwere. Here he writes only “t”, presumably an allophone of d. At an earlier stage the vast majority and probably all of the Proto-Mississipi-Valley *rh clusters go back to a disyllable, v. ‘arrive here’ and other examples. The earlier shape of this root is not easily recovered in this instance. Cf. also ‘copulate (3)’, ‘chase’.

copulate (3)
verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hki-rúxE

Proto-Dakota *khyúxa

Lakota khyúxa ‘copulate as animals’ EB:313a

Dakota *khyúxa ‘copulate’ WM:39b, kiyuhu

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *khiruxe

Chiwere kiruxe, ḥkiruxe ‘breed’ JGT:40

Hoocąk kirúxe ‘mating’ KM:3353, kiruxe

Proto-Dhegiha *hkirúxe

Omaha-Ponca kithixa, ḥkidiха ‘mate’ F&LF:111

Kanza/Kaw yüxe ‘mate’ RR

Osage káhixa, ḥkidiха ‘mating of birds’ LF:88a

General comment

Cf. ‘chase’. The form with meaning ‘copulate’ is derived with a reciprocal prefix.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

cord, sinew, vein (1)

*noun physical_somatic_body_part*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan** ‘*i-hką́* RR

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa**

Crow íka ‘support’ RG, GG:77

**Pre-Mandan**

Mandan áka ‘string’ H:86, ȟįką́rq ‘string’ RTC

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** ‘*hką́*’

**Proto-Dakota** ‘*khą́*’

Lakota ȟį́ ‘sinew, vein’ RTC, ᱁kı́ ‘cord-like lead for a horse, string, rope’ EJ, RTC, wdbhą́ ‘cord, string, rope’ EJ, RTC

Dakota kaŋ, ᱁kı́ ‘sinew’ WM:207a

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** ‘*khą́*’

Chiwere ᱁kı́qwą́ ‘blood vessel’ GM, JGT:228, kan, ᱁kı́ ‘blood vessel, sinew’ JGT:228

Hoocąk kwą́ ‘cord, vein’ KM:1759, kwą́ ‘bowstring (?)’ MM:255, híką́, híką́

**Proto-Dhegiha** ‘*hką́*’

Omaha-Ponca żąkką́ ‘root’ RR, ṭmađe kwą́ ‘bowstring’ JOD:13

Kanza/Kaw kwą́ ‘sinew’ RR

Osage ko‘, ᱁kı́ ‘roots of trees or plants, vein, blood vessel’ LF:88b

Quapaw kwą́ ‘cord, sinew’ RR

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi ᱁́kdą́, ᱁́kdą́, ᱁́dą́, ᱁́dą́, ᱁́kí ‘cord, line, muscle, sinew’ D&S:202a

**Proto-Catawba**

Woccon Wee-kau, ṭwįką́ ‘belt’ JL

**General comment**
Aspiration in MVS argues for an initial syllable. However, lack of affrication in Dakotan suggests either that this vowel was not the i- attested elsewhere or that the i- was lost early and sporadically replaced. Deverbal instrumental nouns normally show wa+i rather than i- by itself. Thus i- is almost certain to have been the inalienable possessive prefix so often found with body parts. This prefix normally disappears in MVS except with kinship terms, so the i- in the MVS languages illustrated here (variable in Dakota, Chiwere and Hoocąk) must represent reapplication of one of the prefixes of this shape. Late reapplication would account for lack of the expected affrication in Dakota (where the form should be a non-occurring *ičhą́ if the prefix were old). Since even the forms occurring without the prefix have reflexes of aspiration, the prefix must be reconstructed to Proto-Mississipi-Valley and probably Proto-Siouan. In MVS the prefix was systematically lost and then selectively reapplied.

The single language here that suggests a Proto-Siouan form without aspiration is Biloxi.

Dorsey fairly consistently transcribes the form with the diacritic for unaspirated i. He even does this when there is an initial syllable however, so it is impossible to know how much credence to place in his transcription. Cf. ‘cord, string (2)’, which may have influenced the Biloxi form.

The Mandan form íká has lost nasalization in the second syllable, providing yet another example of sporadic nasalization changes in this language. It is possible that there has been some blending of the two forms; cf. ‘cord, string (2)’.

cord, string (2)

noun physical_artefact_part
Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *qką

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa ak’d ‘string, cord’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ñká ‘string’ H:86, hįką́rą ‘string’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi aṭkada, aṭqada, etc., ṭqkada ‘cord, string, thread’ D&S:202a

General comment

Mandan and Biloxi agree in reflecting a final syllable -ra and nasalization of the first syllable. Hidatsa and Biloxi agree in the quality of the initial vowel. Vowel quality in Mandan has presumably been influenced by ‘cord, sinew, vein (1)’, q.v.
corn (1)

* noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *wakwų́ ~ *wakwą́

Lakota wagméza ‘corn’ [< wagmų́ héza] EJ, wagmíza, mayí

Dakota wamndheza SRR:515b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk wţiwpwá > wţiıpí KM:3632, wćiwpwá ~ wćiwpis

General comment

Cf. other corn terms for commentary on the diffusion and naming of ‘corn’. JEK has shown that this is in all likelihood derived from one of the cucurbit terms with origins in Algonquian. What we have reconstructed as Proto-Dakota here is more likely a borrowing archetype, not actually a Proto-Dakotan form.

The actually occurring forms for ‘gourd > squash’, q.v., may have originated in several different Algonquian dialects, where the reconstructible PA form is *e•mehkwa•ni. Compare also Kickapoo eemehkwaani ‘spoon’ (Voorhis 1988), Menomini ɛ•mɛhkwan ‘squash, melon, seed’ (Goddard p.c.). Note that *kw, Dakotan gm, mn, Chiwere/Hoocąk dw, čw is not a native cluster in Siouan. These terms virtually have to be loanwords, and Algonquian provides an attractive source.

corn (2)

* noun plant

General comment

Cf. other terms for corn and corn parts and products. The Mandan term seems to be a compound of ‘gourd > squash’, q.v., and ‘grass (4)’, q.v.

It is this older term that is reconstructible from this set. The present Mandan word for grass is xąhe, and the Mandan glottal in the ‘grass’ part of ‘corn’ is unattested in the rest of Siouan. Though ‘grass’ may not have been transparent in this compound in Mandan, ‘gourd’ clearly was; whereas nothing about the compound would have been transparent in Hidatsa where the ‘gourd’ word is kakuuí. Thus it seems likely that the word was transmitted from Mandan to Hidatsa and thence to Crow, where a look-alike form seems to involve an assimilation of initial k to the following x. The number of different terms, their phonological irregularities, and the clear similarities to terms for corn or related cultigens in neighboring languages all tend to confirm what archeologists already know, namely that maize was introduced long after the break up of Proto-Siouan. Note that three of the four corn terms are based on local, earlier terms for cucurbits, the only other generally cultivated vegetable at the time. Cucurbits precede corn in the archaeological record by hundreds of years. The portion of the Mandan and Catawban terms that is alike phonologically is the portion that refers to cucurbits, probably ‘gourd’. The use of gourds is quite ancient, and the morphemes may be cognate (although they contain an element of sound symbolism). Earliest corn in southern Wisconsin is circa A.D. 1000, north and west of there, later. There could have been an old compound but it cannot have referred to corn. The Catawba forms, if they signal anything at all, would have had to have developed independently from some more ancient term with a distinct but related meaning.
corn (3)

*noun* plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *wathą́se*

Omaha-Ponca *wathų́ži* RR

Kanza/Kaw *wuhzą́zi* RR

Osage *watoχči* , †*wathą́žat* LF:204b, LF:205a

Quapaw *wathą́ža* RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tańsi* , †*tași* ‘grass’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *mātāqē* , †*mą•ta•xé•* N, H , *mandazéi* , †*mątasé•* H

General comment

Cf. ‘cucurbit (1)’ for related terms and a fuller lexical set. As with the other Siouan terms for ‘corn’, we are dealing with borrowing here. This seems to be the most prominent Mississippi Valley term for ‘corn’. MRS derives its ‘corn’ words from *ko- ‘gourd’. OVS (Biloxi, Ofo only) have a third distinct term that is similar to some of the Caddoan corn terms. It seems clear that the introduction of corn into Siouan-speaking areas postdates the split of the major subgroups and several of the minor ones.

There is evidence for diffusion of terms within these subgroups as well. The Tutelo form suggests an association with MVS at the time of borrowing, but the archetype for this term appears to be very widespread, possibly spreading out of Meso-America with the cultigens themselves, cf. Choctaw and Chickasaw *tańni* < *tą + aći* ‘corn’, Yuchi *θęq* ‘gourd’ and possibly even Keresan (Proto Keresan *dēni* ‘squash’ Miller and Davis) for analogs. Ultimately linguists and archaeologists working together may be able to trace the routes of spread.
**corn (4)**

*noun* plant

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Southeastern**

*Proto-Biloxi-Ofo* *aʔé•ki*

Biloxi yek, yékɨ, ayeki, ayekɨyaʔ, ayək, təyé•ki D&S:291b, yə•keʔ, aya•keʔ, təyé•ki MS

Ofo aʔək, aʔək, itəkɨ, tətəkɨ D&S:321b, JSS

**General comment**

This Biloxi/Ofo root is strikingly similar to the Caddoan form. Once more it is likely that widespread borrowing is involved, c.f. Pawnee re•ksu, Arikara ne•šuʔ, Wichita ta•ʔ (ART-120), Caddo kišáʔ (Chafe). The interesting element here is the geographical spread of the form from a probable southeastern origin. The third OVS language, Tutelo, has a term that matches DH and Chiwere/Hoocąk words more closely.

**corn > corn mush**

*noun* plant

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley**

*Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere* *waʔúte*

Chiwere wadúje 'corn ears' LWR:47

Hoocąk waɾuc, twaɾuc 'corn' HS, MS, wadútc, twaɾuc

**Proto-Dhegiha** *waʔúte*

Omaha-Ponca waŋđe 'mush'

Kanza/Kaw waŋđe 'mush' RR

Osage wadúsde, twaɾúc 'gravy, corn gruel' LF:187b

**General comment**

This root is also found with the meaning ‘ripe, cooked’, q.v., in several languages and is reconstructible under that meaning. Modern Hoocąk has collapsed ‘corn’ with reflexes of ‘eat’, v. Hoocąk waɾuc ‘eat, food, corn’ (KM-3443). ‘Corn’ has *R-, while ‘eat* has *r- etymologically. Hoocąk preserves the difference only in the ethnobotanical notes of Huron Smith.
corn ear

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *wahú-apa

Lakota wahúwapa ‘ear of corn’ RTC

Dakota wahúwapa ‘corn’ WM:49b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wa-hą́pa

Chiwere wahámą ‘ear of corn’ GM

Hoocąk wohą́p ‘ear of corn’ KM:3784, JWE , wohą́p

Proto-Dhegiha *hápa

Omaha-Ponca wahába ‘ear of corn’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw hába ‘corn, corn ear’ RR

Osage hápa ‘corn’ RR

General comment

Hidatsa hú•pa•ti ‘corn ear’, warhú•pa, marhú•pa ‘corncob’ (J) are not directly cognate. They appear to be derived from Crow/Hidatsa hú•pa ‘handle, stem’, q.v.; likewise Mandan hú•patka ‘ear of corn’ (H). Their superficial similarity to the MVS term hápa is seductive, but corn only penetrated the northern Mississippi Valley about A.D. 1000, rendering real cognacy unlikely even if the phonological match were exact (which it is not). Since corn was most likely introduced into Mandan, Crow and Hidatsa from areas to the South, it is also possible that there has been borrowing from a Dakotan archetype *wahúapa, the dissimilar vowels falling together as long u• in the northern languages.

The term is not demonstrably cognate in MVS either however. Hoocąk, Chiwere nasalization is not expected, and Dakota h should not be lost. Several explanations for the MVS terms are possible, and it is hard to choose among them (v. Rankin 1990). (a) The MVS form may be related to Crow/Hidatsa apérti ‘grow, sprout’ which would evolve regularly into ‘apa in MVS.

Incorporating an object noun ha ‘covering, skin’, it would be MVS ‘hápa ‘(it) grows a covering’ or with a noun forming prefix, waháapa ‘what grows a covering’, i.e., ‘corn’ with its husks. (b) The Omaha-Ponca cognate, wahába is also used to refer to the seed bearing part of cattails, and this may be the older meaning of the term in MVS with ‘corn’ a later semantic extension. (c) The term may be a loanword from Muskogean. Note the Choctaw: habali ‘tassel, as corn’ and habani ‘be about to tassel’. The Choctaw root is haba. Any of these explanations is plausible, but cognacy across Siouan is not because of the timing of the introduction of corn. It should be noted that other terminology relating to the cultivation, preparation and consumption of corn is normally specific to particular subgroups in Siouan betraying its late origin or specialization.
correct

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ra-sú

Proto-Dakota *ye-sú

  Lakota sú, ya- ‘make right by speaking; to judge, to decree’ EB:627b , sú, yu- ‘make right; to make things ready’ EB:650b

  Dakota wayasu ‘judge’ WM:94b

  Yanktonai yasu ‘judge’ WM:94b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk sú, ra- ‘say correctly’ KM:2566 , rasu
**cottonwood, poplar**

*noun* plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wawá•xE*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wá•xE, wá•x ‘cottonwood’ RTC, wá•xxoxE ‘poplar’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Wá•ɣE*

Proto-Dakota *wáɣu*

Lakota wáγažha ‘cottonwood’ RTC, wáγhča ‘poplar’

Dakota wáγaččay, wáγažha ‘cottonwood’ WM:40a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Wáx(-ʔe)*

Chiwere bá•xʔe RR

Hoocąk waax ‘cedar’ KM:3227, waax

Proto-Dhegiha *Wáxʔa*

Omaha-Ponca máʔa ‘cottonwood’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw bákʔa ‘cottonwood’ JOD

Osage bdźʔa, ṭpákʔa ‘cottonwood tree (sacred tree)’ LF:21b

Quapaw bdźʔa RR, ṭdźʔa JOD

**General comment**
Crow báhkuhpa ‘cotton, cottonwood’ (GG-25) and Hidatsa wáhku, máhku ‘cottonwood’ reflect Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wahku. The Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form is potentially the result of rightward vowel exchange, implying the existence of an earlier **wuhka.

But this form is unlikely to derive from a yet earlier **wuxka since Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xk clusters which become hk in Hidatsa are preserved in Crow. Rather, the postulated earlier form implies **wuC-ka where C is a stop consonant, cf.

the sitting and lying positionalss for parallel phonological development.

Preaspiration is thus unaccounted for by the postulated earlier form with x. If we do not appeal to rightward vowel exchange, then the final u is unaccounted for and the disappearance of x remains a mystery. Thus it is not clear that the Crow/Hidatsa forms are even cognate here.

Like Crow/Hidatsa, Biloxi †maxǫ́tka, maxóⁿtka ‘palmetto’ (DS-229a) and Ofo †amašúpka, amashû´pka ‘palmetto’ DS-320b appear superficially similar to the central Siouan forms. Biloxi, however, may be a compound with ‘grass (4)’ (not independently attested otherwise in Biloxi), and Ofo may be a compound with ‘soft’ (Ofo sxû´pka DS-329a), leaving only *ama- for Proto-Biloxi-Ofo.

In all the instances of *W that we have seen so far, it derives from a succession of syllables containing simple *w, e.g. *wVwV with subsequent loss of the initial syllable vowel via the usual syncope. This leaves *w-wV, which gives *W. This solution appears to work well here too. Note the initial accent, which, along with the reflexes of W, signals the lost initial syllable. Various subgroups and individual languages have modified the term with the common -ka or the mysterious ʔe or ʔa. Note that ʔe is a root for ‘elm’ in some languages, so the ‘cottonwood’ term may be a compound.

The probable cognate forms appear limited to MVS and Mandan only. The fact that there exist look-alikes in the more northerly and southerly Siouan languages and forms such as Proto-North-Caddoan *wusap (Allan R. ART) strongly suggest that we are dealing at least partly with a diffused term here.
cough

verb physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa həxəphí ‘sneeze’ J

Pre-Mandan *xpí-

Mandan poki RTC, he sneezed

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hóxpe

Proto-Dakota *hó_xpá

Lakota hó_xpá ‘cough’ RTC

Dakota hoȟpa, thọxpa ‘cough’ WM:40a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere hóxwe RR

Hoocąk hooxíwi ‘cough’ KM:1460, hooxíwi

Proto-Dhegiha *hó-_xpe

Omaha-Ponca hůxpe, thóxpe ‘cough’ MAS:48

Kanza/Kaw hóxe ‘cough’ RR

Osage hůxpe, thóxpe ‘hawk, clear one’s throat’ LP:68b
Quapaw hóxpe ‘cough’ RR

General comment

The MVS form is a noun-verb compound, the noun being the Proto-Siouan root *hó ‘voice’. Conjugation precedes the second element. The term seems relatively reconstructible even though there are evidently imitative elements.

Note that the Hoocąk vowel matches the Hidatsa vowel. Perhaps cf. ‘weak’.
count

verb social, education

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ra-wé

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *(hki-)ruwÉ

Crow čimmí 'count' GG:38, RGG:80
Hidatsa (hki)ruwÉ 'count' J , (ki)rawí

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *rawé

Proto-Dakota *yawá

Lakota yawá 'say over, to read; to count; to consider' [kį lila waką yawapi] EB:630b
Dakota yawá 'count, say over, read' SRR:617b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ráwe

Chiwere ráwe, rāwa, rawáwe 'count' JGT:124
Hoocąk gikarp 'count' KM:362 , gikarp

Proto-Dhegiha *rawá

Omaha-Ponca wá¢awábiamá , wáðawá- ‘they counted them, they say’
Kanza/Kaw wéyawa 'counting stick' RR
Osage thawá , ṭáwá ‘reckon, compute, count’ LF:142a

General comment

The root is presumably always combined with *ra- 'mouth, instrumental'. Hidatsa ru- would seem to be an assimilation of ra- to the following w. Chiwere/Hoocąk and Crow/Hidatsa indicate that the form could be prefixed by ki-.
cover (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *Sųhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-xua < *xuhe

Crow iaxud 'hide; cover' GG:71, RG, aaxud 'hide something' GG:3, RGG:24

Hidatsa ñaxua 'hide sth.' J, añaxua 'hide sth.' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-ƛį

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk šų́, horu- 'cover, v.tr.; pitch (tent); put canvas over poles of tipi' KM:1508, horų́y

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw bažį ‘fold shut’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi soⁿni, atŭk- (atŭkse'oⁿni), †atęksǫ́hǫ ‘put a lid on a kettle, etc.’ D&S:175a, soⁿ’hoⁿ, aduk-, †atuksǫ́hǫ (shes) covered it up’ D&S:175a

General comment

Crow/Hidatsa forms suggest earlier *-xuha ~ *-xoha; perhaps compare the -soⁿ in Biloxi. The Biloxi terms are hard to analyze. The “u” of the second entry may be a typo for “ų” as in the first entry. And unfortunately it makes a big difference in the analysis, as “ų”, phonetically (phonemically?) [ə], generally denotes *a while u is from *u. If there is really u, then the prefix is dak- from Proto-Siouan *raka- ‘by striking’ with a root sǫ. Otherwise the prefix is du- ‘by hand/pulling’ and a root kaŋ. The initial prefix is the locative in either event. The remainder of the stem presents other problems. If the parenthetical (atĭksǫse'oⁿni) is a correct analysis, then the forms are not cognate at all. If it is D&S’s incorrect analysis, cognacy is still possible. The problem is that *soⁿni can come from *sǫ-re or from *se-(h)ǫ-re where *(h)ǫ-re is the auxiliary ‘do, make’. Either is possible, but the second of the two entries suggests that -se- is an incorrect analysis, so we may have cognates here.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

cover (2)

noun physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa ía ‘covered; covert, obscure’ J

Pre-Mandan *ahe

Mandan òh ‘be covered’ H:54 , òha, òhe ‘skin’ H:54 , wôra ‘bark of tree’ H:54 , îda ‘hoof’ RTC , ýkîhe ‘fingernail’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *-ha

Lakota iha ‘lid, cover’ EB:215b , òha ‘stick to, adhere to, as do feathers or paint’ EB:372a

Dakota iha ‘cover, v.’ WM:40b , ó ha ‘stick to, adhere, as feathers’ SRR:349b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wôrahe ‘cover, n’ JGT:124 , arđhe ‘cover sth.’ JGT:124

Proto-Dhegiha *-hē

Kanza/Kaw dphe ‘cover over, as a lodge with skin’ MR

Quapaw òtihé ‘roof’ RR

General comment

The Hidatsa and Mandan entries, as well as the Kanza/Kaw form, suggest that the original meaning of the root was ‘cover, be covered’. Mandan and Hidatsa have reanalyzed the form as an h-final root, suggesting that it may have had a Pre-Mandan form ‘ahē. In Kanza/Kaw dphe ‘cover over, as a lodge with skin’ (MR) the uncommon aspirate is a reflex of earlier ‘wa-he ‘to place sth.’ after initial syllable syncope. Initial a- is the locative prefix, probably throughout. Dakota íha, has a different locative prefix, while Chiwere only has the verb in compounds. he is a common root of placing or putting in DH; general Siouan ahē may be nothing more than this verb with the locative prefix ‘on’, or it may be a separate etymon.
cranberry

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(wa-)hó•h-rąh-ka

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hó

Proto-Dakota

Dakota potkáŋka ~ potpáŋka SRR:425a

Stoney potonka 'cranberry (low bush only)' Laurie:41

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere hothą́ŋe 'cranberry' [informant uncertain] JDH

Hoocąk hoočą́ke, hoocąke

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw ołgő 'cranberries'

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo hohnùñk, hohnąk 'cranberries' H:38

General comment

Cf. 'hawthorn, black'. This set is too poorly attested to insure a secure reconstruction, although the berry is fairly widespread and native to North America. The Dakota form, if cognate, should begin with ph and would be the syncope product of earlier *w-hó- < *wa-hó. Numerous of these fossilized absolutive prefixes are preserved elsewhere in Dakota (cf. 'bison', 'onion', 'wild rice', etc.). Hoocąk preserves the bare root with a modifier which at first glance appears to be 'big', but which cannot be that because of the final vowel and aspirated k. The Tutelo forms clarify this somewhat and yields other valuable phonological information. Cf. also Tutelo *strawberry* has-pa-hńą́ŋk. Assuming cognacy of the Hoocąk and Tutelo forms we can see that the full form of the basic stem was *hó•-he and that the oldest recoverable form of the modifying element was probably *rąh-ka. We already know that the cluster h-k gives kh, spelled “k” in Hoocąk, and final -a > -e after velars in that language. The cluster h-r or h-n remains hn in Tutelo but becomes “ht” in MVS. This regularly becomes ‘th in Dakota, Chiwere and Hoocąk, later affricating everywhere in Hoocąk, where aspirated čh is regularly spelled “č”.

So a poorly attested set can nonetheless provide interesting new information. Proto-Siouan *(wa-)hó•h-rąh-ka is made up of *wa- + hó•he + rąhe + -ka. *rąhe remains an unidentified modifier.
crane

noun animal bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ahpé•-(rhą)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *apíca

Crow apíta 'whooping crane, heron' GG:12, RG

Hidatsa apíca 'crane' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hpé•rhą

Proto-Dakota *phehą́

Lakota phehą́ 'crane' RTC

Dakota pehaŋ , ṭphaŋ 'crane' WM:41a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *phé•tą

Chiwere péchan , ṭphaŋ 'crane' JGT:125 , peta", ṭphaŋ

Otoe phé•šą ‘a kind of bird’ JDH

Hoocąk peeją́ ‘crane (fowl)’ KM:2454 , peeją

Proto-Dhegiha *hpéthą

Omaha-Ponca ppéthą́ ‘crane’ RR

Kanza/Kaw bēkha ‘crane’ RR , pēkha ‘crane’

Osage hpēkha , ṭhpēćą́ ‘crane’

Quapaw ppēthą́ ‘grayish blue crane’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘fold > wrap’ for a very similar form. This lexeme appears to be morphemically complex. All known instances of ‘rh’ thus far are historically bimorphemic with the boundary in the middle. Note that Crow/Hidatsa argues for ‘s’ in this position, a fact that may be explained by compounds like Dakota phehaŋ where -ą́g is ‘white (1)’. The Crow/Hidatsa forms seem to lack any reflex of the rhą portion of the MVS forms. Thus the MVS forms are likely put together from at least three morphemes historically. And since initial MVS preaspirates normally signal a missing initial syllable, (preaspirates being a second syllable phenomenon) a prefix may also have been present in Proto-Siouan or pre-Proto-Siouan.
crayfish

noun animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mą́ška

Proto-Dakota *mą́thiška

Lakota matiška 'crayfish' EB:334a, mą́thiška 'crayfish' EJ

Dakota matsuša, ṭmą́thiška 'crayfish' WM:41b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wątúške

Chiwere hį́dágsé 'crawdad, crayfish' JDH, mandű́ńse, madű́ńuge, ṭmą́dą́jse 'crawfish' JGT:125

Hoocąk wą́jų́gę́ 'crab, crayfish' KM:3331, wą́jų́gę́ 'crab, crayfish' KM:3456, waruwówį́gé, waruwiwį́gé

Proto-Dhegiha *mą́ška

Omaha-Ponca mą́ška 'crayfish' RR

Kanza/Kaw mą́ška 'crayfish' RR

Osage moⁿ´shkoⁿ, ṭmą́ško’n 'crawfish' LF:101b

Quapaw mą́ška, mό́ška 'crayfish' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi a’shkí, a’āskí, ṭąskí–qąskí 'bivalves, including oysters and mussels' D&S:178a

General comment

Two alternants: Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mą́ška and *mą́tuška. Lakota and Hoocąk may show contamination from Proto-Mississipi-Valley *tuki 'clam, shellfish'. The Chiwere/Hoocąk forms clearly suggest an unaspirated t. This set presents another interesting case in which *wą́ is being replaced by Chiwere hį́. The same change characterizes 'we, 12Act' in Chiwere and perhaps one of the 1poss prefixes as well, q.v. It seems to be a semi-regular and perhaps diffusing sound change.
creak, squeak

verb perceptual, auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley ‘kį́ZE

Proto-Dakota *kį́za

Lakota kį́za, ka- ‘make creak by rubbing, as two trees do that rub against each other, or as door hinges that are not well oiled’ EB:280b, EJ , kį́za, na- ‘make one’s shoes or so creak’ EB:349b, EJ , kį́za, pa- ‘make creak by rubbing’ EB:428b , kį́za, wa- ‘violin’ EJ , kį́za, ya- ‘make a scraping, squeaking noise with a knife or saw’ EB:532b, EJ , kį́za, yu- ‘make a grating or creaking noise with the teeth, to gnash’ EB:622b, EJ

Dakota kį́azor , ʔkį́za ‘creak’ WM:41b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere gį́xe ‘creak; tree spirit’ JGT:239

Hoocąk gį́š, gi- ‘be squeaky, like shoes’ KM:332 , gį́š, gigįš ‘make crunching or squeaking noise when walking’ KM:2144 , gį́š, naą , nąągįš

General comment

Quapaw bakį́tte ‘play the violin, fiddle’ shares the same root, *kį́, with this set but has a different root extension.

creek, branch

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley ‘kų́yá

Proto-Dakota

Lakota čhąkáyá ‘drift log’ EB:119a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk wáixa ‘rivulet, tributary; branch of a tree’ KM:3320 , wáixa

Proto-Dhegiha ‘kaxá

Omaha-Ponca nígaxa MAS:24

Kanza/Kaw gaxá ‘creek’ RR

Osage gaxá , ʔkaxá LF:48a

General comment

240 of 1128
The Hoocąk form is historically *wa-gi-xa and the associated changes are semi-regular with gi typically replacing *ga as a prefix. In this instance there is no real evidence that it was historically a prefix however.

cross

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pte

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pte

Proto-Dakota

Lakota kačiępteya ‘crosswise, intersecting’ EB:276b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere če, arú- ‘across, crosswise, wide, broad’ LWR:2 , ruché , ṛučhé ‘cross’ JGT:125

Proto-Dhegiha *-hté

Kanza/Kaw ččé, yu- ‘cross, as a stream’ RR

Quapaw tté, di- ‘cross a stream’ RR , tté, dikkidé ‘criscrossed’ RR , tté, bi- ‘hands, extended to person addr’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo aluptese ‘go across, as a stream’ JOD
crow > blackbird

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wą

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *mq (əkrʃxta)

Omaha-Ponca mo'ĝhi'ʃxta , ŋmqö̱į̑šxta 'red winged blackbird' MAS:18

Kanza/Kaw məĺ̦x̂ta 'crow, blackbird' JOD

Quapaw mą ‘crow’ RR, JOD, mąkdįxtą ‘blackbird’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *q̂čka

Biloxi a'tcká , a'tćka , ṭąq̂kd ‘crow’ D&S:178b

Ofo o¢čka , ṭą̱čka ‘crow’ D&S:328a

General comment

The Kanza/Kaw term is shared with the other DH languages where it refers to the red winged blackbird. Quapaw alone among the DH languages permits mą as a free standing word. Since Biloxi and Ofo typically lose initial labial resonants, given the semantics and the DH cognates, reconstruction of initial *w here seems well justified.
crow > raven

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hká•xi

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hká•ɣi

Proto-Dakota

Lakota khą́ɣí ‘crow’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *khá•ɣí

Chiwere khá•xe RR

Missouria car ka, kar ka, ?kharxe, ?khavke RR

Hoocąk kaaɣí ‘raven’ KM:1738, kaaʃį

Proto-Dhegiha *hká•ɣe

Omaha-Ponca kká•xe ‘crow’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw kká•ye ‘crow’ RR

Osage kkáxe, ?hká•ye ‘crow’ LF:83b

Quapaw kká•xe ‘crow’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo káhi, ?ka•xį H

General comment

An irregular set, influenced by onomatopoeia. Mandan kék’a ‘raven’ is probably not cognate. KM glosses kaaɣį as ‘raven, Menominee’.
crunch

verb perceptual, auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wrų́ɣE

Proto-Dakota *mnų́ɣA

Lakota mnųɣA, wayd- ‘grind, as in eating parched corn’ EB:564a, EJ, mnúmnuɣA, yu- ‘crunch, crush, grind, champ, or make noise with the teeth, as in eating; pepper’ EB:624a, EJ, númnuɣA, yu- ‘make a noise, as in handling corn; To make a noise, as in handling corn or crepe paper’ EB:644, EJ

Dakota mnúɣa ‘crunch, as a horse does in eating corn’ SRR:318b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere brůšxe, þbrůšxe ‘make a crunching sound’ JGT:126

Proto-Dhegiha ‘brůýe’

Kanza/Kaw bůółeye ‘crunching sound, make by pressure on ice’ JOD, nəbłəye ‘crunch something’ JOD, nəbłəye ‘crunch something’ JOD, nəbłəbłəye ‘make crunching sounds, kick’ JOD, MR, RR, yəbłəye ‘crunch in two, bite in two’ RR, yəbłəbłəye ‘crunch while eating, as in eating ice.’ RR

Quapaw dabnənəye ‘crunch food when eating’ RR

General comment

Ordinarily stems of this general shape would descend from a Proto-Siouan stem of the probable shape *wa-(r)ų́ɣE where wa- is ‘indef. obj.’, and in which the parenthetical r could be either organic or epenthetic historically.

Lack of cognates outside of MVS makes such a reconstruction too insecure here however.

crush (1)

verb physical_contact, deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(p)uSE (?)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa pucoxe, ara- ‘stomp and break in small pieces’ J, pucoxe, na- ‘grind up with mouth’ J, pucoxe, na- ‘crush, break small’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan puł, ra- ‘chew s.t.’ H:160
crush (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *Sú•SE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow dáššuši ‘break with mouth’ RGG:25, GG:42 , -sshushi, dá- ‘break with mouth; bring down verbally’ RG , -sshushi, dá- ‘break’ RG

Hidatsa -cu•xE, ara- ‘break up fine by stepping on’ J , -cu•xE, nd- ‘grind up fine in mouth, chew up’ J , -cu•xE, nak- ‘hammer it fine, crush’ J , -cu•xE, ná- ‘grind up fine, crush’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *SúžE

Proto-Dakota

Lakota nasúša ‘snap, as ice forming’ [ ablaut] , yusúšuze ‘noise made when rubbing two pieces of ice together’ EJ , kašúžA ‘bruise, batter; to mash, crush by striking’ EB:292a, EJ , nalúžA ‘bruise or crush with the foot’ EB:359b, EJ , pašúžA ‘crush with the hand; to break or mash by punching’ EB:435b, EJ , yušúžA ‘crush, as a dog does a bone; to mash up’ EB:629a, EJ , pašúšužA ‘mash up, break in pieces e.g. bones’ EB:435b, EJ , wešúžA ‘crush by punching; to crush or mash up’ EB:610a, EJ , yušúžA ‘crush e.g. bones; to break in slivers’ EB:653a, EJ

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw wadáɣüže ‘cracklings’ MR, RR

General comment

The listed Kanza/Kaw wadáɣüže may really be wadáɣüže and thus related to the yu of ‘Brulé’ in Dakota meaning ‘burnt’, rather than to the present set.
cry

verb psychic_emotion_expression

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xa•kE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa cō•kE 'grieve, mourn' J, cō•ki

Pre-Mandan *-jōk-

Mandan ō•k̂ašakoXi 'he shouted' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ɣa•ke RR

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ɣá•ke

Chiwere xa•gé, xá•ge RR

Hoocąk ydak 'cry (as child); crow (rooster)' KM:477, ḡaak

Proto-Dhegiha *ɣakE

Omaha-Ponca xage, ḡaγe JOD

Kanza/Kaw xagé 'cry' [hux̂aγe, γa•γe] RR, hux̂aγe, yē•- 'cry, make by rubbing, weight, etc.' [gux̂aγe, γuγe] JOD, RR, gux̂aγe, γuγe 'cry, cause by striking' [gux̂aγe, x̂aγe] MR, JOD, RR, npx̂aγe 'cry, cause by kicking or stamping on' [yvx̂aγe, x̂eγe] MR, RR, ḡyax̂aγe 'cry, cause from cutting' JOD, RR, ḡyax̂aγe 'cry, cause from pushing' JOD, RR, ḡyax̂aγe 'whine, verb or noun, ricochet' JOD, RR, ḡyγaγe, xγe 'cry or to make cry by biting' JOD, SRR, RR, yuŷaγe, x̂aγe 'cry, make by holding, squeezing, pinching' MR, JOD, RR

Osage xagē, ḡaγe 'weep, cry' LF:217a

Quapaw yaked 'cry' JOD, yde, di- 'cry, cause by squeezing' RR

Proto-Southeastern *xak-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ḡox̂oγe, ḡox̂ak- 'be poor', ḡox̂ak-γe, ḡox̂ak-γe 'make one poor, treat ill' D&S:219a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo qąγiše, ḡxâ•ka 'cry' ḡi, qąka, ḡxâ•ka 'weep'

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ake 'weep' KS

General comment
This is one of the rare roots that consistently shows initial ɣ in MVS. Even in Kanza/Kaw and Osage it is recorded with initial ɣ by JOD. In all probability this indicates an initial element now missing in MVS. Hidatsa and Mandan show a different ablaut grade. Crow číaxi ‘mourn’ and corresponding Hidatsa kóxi ‘whimper, whine’ do not line up phonologically.

**cucurbit (1)**

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wa•wą́

Chiwere wa•wą́ ‘squash’ RR

Hoocąk wičąwą́ ‘squash’ KM:3637, wicąwą́

**General comment**

Cf. ‘cat’ and ‘corn’ for similar Dakota, Chiwere, Hoocąk clusters. JEK finds good analogs for these in Algonquian, and there is every indication that they are loanwords in Siouan. The cluster *kw* is not found in Siouan, and the sequence *wą́* is also extremely rare. The Dakota/Chiwere/Hoocąk terms suggest a source with the approximate shape wa•kwon-. Cf. *ʔmą* ‘corn’. In this instance, the prefixes differ, and Lakota ɣ: Hoocąk q is also irregular. While we have found a number of cases in which the two back nasal vowels have partially merged, the above factors, plus the rare (historically non-existent in Proto-Siouan?) cluster lead us to believe that these are borrowings in their respective languages, presumably Algonquian. The variation of the prefix in this form between wa- and wi- is also found in corn and cat, as is the alternation between ɣ and q, and it could be argued that this variation is part of the behavior of the medial cluster. In fact, the probable source of variability in the vowel is accommodation of AL -me- to SI phonological and morphological norms. me is not a permitted sequence in most of the contemporary languages. The reconstructible PA form is *e•mehkwa•ni. Compare also Kickapoo eemehkwaan ti ‘spoon’ (Voorhis 1988), Menomini e•mehkwani ‘squash, melon, seed’ (Goddard p.c.).
cucurbit (2)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *wah*'

Omaha-Ponca wah*' Pepo pepo' RR

Kanza/Kaw wah*' RR

Osage wah*' ~ wah*' RR

Quapaw wah*' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo qoh*'

Biloxi ta*, *ta 'melons', a*tdni, *ta*tdni 'pumpkin, squash' D&S:271b

Ofo o*tho**, *tha* 'pumpkin' D&S:328a, o'ta*fhəhi, *ta*fhəhi 'watermelon'

General comment

The geographical distribution of *cucurbit (2) + (3)* suggests that this vegetable diffused in the areas where the languages were spoken after the breakup of MVS. Cf. Yuchi thʌ̨pʔænẽ 'gourd' LB. Cf. *corn (1)* and the other cucurbit terms.
cut (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-ká (?)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley -ká

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ká, pa- ‘push down or break down e.g. ribs of an animal’ [nasalized A] EB:427b, ka, ipd- ‘draw back, as meat from ribs when cooked, or as husks of corn when ripe; prop up (with a stick)’ EB:230b, EJ , ká, pa- ‘split or cut a slit in for an arrowhead’ EB:427b, ká, wa- ‘cut or strip, as the feather from a quill; to cut off e.g. the ribs of an animal; to split a quill in the middle’ EB:523b, ká, wa- ‘split, as the feather end of a quill’ EB:524a, ká, ya- ‘split with the mouth, as the feather end of a quill’ EB:622a, ká, ya- ‘strip off e.g. the feather part of a quill’ EB:641a

Proto-Dhegiha *-ka

Omaha-Ponca ága- ‘cut into slices’

Kanza/Kaw wédge ‘cut off in strips’ RR , gá, yu- ‘husk corn, hull nuts’ RR

Osage ága , ták ‘slice meat for drying’ LF:7b

Quapaw dka- ‘cut, slice on something’ JOD , ká, di- ‘strip off, as leaves’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi aké ‘use a knife, (i.e., to cut with it)’ D&S:170b

General comment

This is one of a number of verbs we would expect to show aspiration, as it is normally used with prefixes that place the root in second syllable position. Cf. ‘see (2)’, which also lacks expected aspiration. The putative Biloxi cognate, while possibly related, should have -a, not -e. The semantics makes the match attractive, but it is nonetheless irregular. Cf. ‘tear’
cut (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kipE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *kipE

Crow chípi, dat- ‘carve, whittle, peel, slice, pare’ RG, GG:42

Hidatsa kípE, naka- ‘cut off a chunk of meat’ J, kípE, ná- ‘bite off’ J, kípE, nú- ‘scrape meat from a bone, cut in strips, whittle’ J, kípE, nd- ‘straight cutting’ J

Pre-Mandan *-kip-

Mandan kíp, ka- ‘sharpen, trim’ H:109, kíp, ru- ‘shave s.t., hone’ H:109

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota wúkipi ‘shave’ WM:201

General comment

Restricted to the most northerly subgroups. Hidatsa and Mandan agree in calling for Proto-Siouan *-E, while Lakota suggests *-i. The Wm ref. lists this as Teton.
cut (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *kąʔ

Proto-Siouan *-kⱼ

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-kⱼ

Proto-Dakota *-kⱼ

   Lakota -kⱼ, wo- ‘punch or shoot off’ EB:601b , -kⱼ, na- ‘thresh out e.g. corn etc. with the feet by treading’ EB:347a , -kⱼ, ka- ‘hew, as a log; to adze; to knock off, as fruit from a tree’ EB:279b , -kⱼ, ko- ‘make marks, notches into something hard’ EB:279b , -kⱼ, pa- ‘rub off dirt, rub clean e.g. a dirty window’ EB:428a

   Dakota ḥkakⱼ ‘hew (log), adze, knock off (fruit)’ SRR:255a

Proto-Dhegiha *-kⱼ

   Kanza/Kaw -gⱼ, bⱼ- ‘whittle, cut wood lengthwise’ RR , wégagⱼ ‘sword’ JOD

   Quapaw -kⱼ, di- ‘hissing or cutting sound’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba kⱼ? MS, KS

General comment

Assuming cognacy of the Catawba root, a Proto-Siouan form is, of course, presumed. It is not reconstructible internally within Siouan however, since it is represented only in MVS.
cut > open
verb physical_contact_deformation
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ru-káwa
Proto-Dakota *kawá
Lakota kawá ‘open, as a flower’ EB:295a, káwa, ku- ‘make open by striking, i.e. to strike something off and thus open it partly e.g. a tin can’ EB:279b, -káwa, na- ‘spring open; also, to shrink, as a door and so does not stay closed; to kick open; open, as a flower’ EB:347b, EJ, -káwa, po- ‘make a split, split’ EB:428a, -káwa, yu- ‘open or push back anything with the mouth’ EB:622a, -káwa, yu- ‘open e.g. a wound, a sore, or somebody’s mouth; implying effort being made in so opening; e.g. looking into a horse’s mouth’ EB:641b, EJ
Dakota yu-káwa ‘open’ WM:121a
Proto-Dhegiha
Kanza/Kaw -gáwa, bù- ‘open sth., cause to spread out from pressure’ [yù-, -gáwà] JOD, RR, gáwa, yù-, -gáwe ‘pull open a bundle, box, open sth. up.’ JOD, SRR, RR

cut strips (1)
verb physical_contact_deformation
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississippi-Valley *só
Proto-Dakota
Lakota só ‘cut into strings’ [redup] EB:458a, sóso ‘cut many strings’ EJ, só, wa- ‘cut a strip or string, as from a hide’ EB:550a, sóso, wa- ‘cut into strips or strings’ EB:550a, só, yu- ‘cut in strings or strips e.g. a hide’ EB:650b, sóso, wó- ‘meat cut in strips or strings’ EB:608b
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *só
Proto-Dhegiha *só
Kanza/Kaw só ‘cut in strips’ RR, so ‘cut thong’ RR
Osage ču, so ‘cut or slit a hide’ LF:32b
Quapaw so ‘cut lengthwise’ JOD

General comment
Restricted to MVS, but cf. ‘cut strips (2)’

cut strips (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šó

Proto-Dakota

Lakota šō, awd- or: awdšō ‘cut off a string from, cut a string on anything’ EB:99a , awdšō ‘pull off one string by tugging upward’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk šō, mąą- ‘whittle’ KM:2027 , mąąšō ‘whittle, break off thin strips’ KM:2976 , šō; mąąšō , mąąšo

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw -šō, nibá- ‘wave in water’ RR

General comment

Restricted to MVS. Cf. ‘cut strips (1)’
cut strips > chop, tear

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-sá•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa -ca•, ná- 'break with teeth' J , -ca•, nú- 'crumble' J , -ca•, nák- 'break to pieces, shatter, pulverize' J , -ca•, jad- 'break with a stick, poke, jab' J , -ca•, aza- 'trample' J , -ca•, ha- 'cut out of flat material, cut in strips' J

Pre-Mandan *-so-

Mandan kásáʔš 'he cuts meat from bone' H:200 , rasáʔš 'he eats meat from bone' H:200

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *-zá

Lakota zazáhA 'ragged' [nasalized cap. A] EB:658a , -zá, ka- 'stringy; hangs do wn unevenly; screen with tears in it' [- ablaut] EJ , -záa, yu- 'pick to pieces e.g. the takaj or sinew, tearing off one string after another and twisting it for use in sewing; n. a job' EB:296a , -záa, ka- 'make fringes by cutting with scissors' EJ , -záa, wa- 'pick to pieces e.g. sinew or a piece of cloth' EB:657a

Dakota kásá 'pick to pieces' SRR:273a

Proto-Southeastern *-sá•(-ri)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dakáddi , ńdakáddi 'cut with knife' D&8:250b , dusá' hupé', ńdakáddi 'tear a hole through' , dűkáasá , ńdakasá 'cut often w. a knife, making many splinters' D&8:262a , dusádi , ńdakasá 'tear anything' D&8:250b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo lakasáše , ńtakasáše 'chop' H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba șę 'cut wood' KS

General comment

Cf. 'break (2)'
cutting instrumental

*instrumental prefix* physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Ww-

Proto-Dakota *Ww-

Lakota waw- [wawa-, waya-, wa-, waʔi(-)]

Dakota ba- [baa-, etc.]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ba- GM

Hoocąk mqa-, mąq-, maq̱rå-, maq- WL, PV

Proto-Dhegiha *Ww-

Omaha-Ponca ma- [mía-, mía-, ma-]

Kanza/Kaw bá- [báa-, báya-, bá-] RR

Osage pá- [páa-, páda-, pá-] RR

Quapaw på- [páa, pàda, på-] JOD, RR

General comment

This is an outer instrumental in MVS. It seems to be quite restricted and shows the peculiar set of *W* initials. Elsewhere *W* seems to be derived from an earlier “*w(V)wV*” sequence in which the first V has been lost by initial syllable syncope. That is, *W* seems usually to come from secondary geminate *ww*. Here we lack evidence for the sequence, but the analogous instrumental in Crow and Hidatsa shows at least that ‘by cutting’ is probably morphemically complex at least. We cannot be certain that the form was Proto-Siouan. The Hoocąk form is irregular and shows contamination from ‘knife, chert’, q.v.
d
dance

verb social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ri•h-śi

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *riššÉ

Crow dišší ‘dance’ RG, GG:44, RGG:61

Hidatsa riššÉ ‘dance’ J , nišši

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wahši

Proto-Dakota *wa_čhí

Lakota wa₂čhí ‘dance’ RTC

Dakota wací , ṭwa₂čhí ‘dance’ WM:44a

Stoney wačhí ‘dance’ PAS

Sioux Valley wačhí ‘dance’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *waši

Chiwere wor₂śi ‘dance’ RR

Hoocąk waši ‘dance’ KM:3485 , waši

Proto-Dhegiha *wa_čhí

Omaha-Ponca wachtį́ ‘dance-make’ MAS:55

Kanza/Kaw wa₂čhi ‘dance’ RR

Osage wachtį́ ‘dance’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *-čhí

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ričhi

Biloxi dite , ṭdiči ‘dance’ D&S:183b

Ofo ḷičhi , ṭičhi ‘dance’ D&S:326a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wagtį́ , ṭworke-čhóyi ‘dance’ ES , wagići; keći , ṭworke-čhóyi N, H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba bari ‘dance’ PV:19
General comment

We believe that we may be dealing with a compound in this form, perhaps something like **ří•he + **ši, with meanings of the constituents unknown, although the Catawba form suggests that the meaning of the first element may have been 'dance'. This compound would produce *ří•hši in Proto-Siouan, similar to the forms found in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa and Proto-Biloxi-Ofo, assuming that **hš > *čh in Proto-Biloxi-Ofo. Prefixing *wa- 'absolutive' in Proto-Mississipi-Valley would have produced the trisyllabic *warí•hši, simplification to the preferred disyllabic structure of lexical roots (with subsequent loss of r from its initial position in the resulting cluster) could have produced *wahší, with further reductions in the descendant languages.

Osage/Kanza/Kaw nasalization is irregular, but may be explained in terms of the cognate Omaha-Ponca form. Numeral terms meaning 'do once, do twice', etc., in DH are formed by suffixing š, a reflex of Proto-Dhegiha řʔ 'do, make', to the basic number. In the process, the š frequently fuses with the final vowel of the number so that, e.g., ṣàµbà + řʔ > ṣàµběj 'twice', but ṣàµbáj + řʔ > ṣàµběj 'thrice'. The same process may have taken place here, ṣwačhi + řʔ giving wačhi. Omaha-Ponca uses ḡeγe, the modern verb 'make' to form dance and may be thought of as a modern calque of the historical form with reflexes of an analogous calque occurring in Kanza/Kaw/Osage. Of all the Siouan languages for which the term is attested, only Mandan and Quapaw have replaced it (with rą́ʔpE and ožá respectively).

danger, difficulty, hardship

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *htéxi

Proto-Dakota *thexi

Lakota thexi 'difficult' RTC

Dakota teḣxike , ṭhext 'difficult' WM:49b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-théxi

Chiwere wočhéxi 'difficult' GM

Hoocąk woočéxhi 'be difficult' KM:3770 , woocexi, wooseexi 'dangerous' MM:186 , wutceξi , wuceξi

Proto-Dhegiha *htéxi

Omaha-Ponca téxi , ṭnëxi 'difficult' MAS:58

Kanza/Kaw waččéxi 'hard, difficult' RR

Osage ńtxi , ńčexi 'hardship, dangers' LF:161b

Quapaw óṭtexti 'difficult to do' JOD
darkness (1)
noun perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hą́•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hahpV-

Crow chihpashí ‘darkness’ GG:36

Hidatsa ʰą́•ʰəšša ‘pitch dark’ J, ʰa’hęša, ʰahpəša ‘dark, devoid of light’ WM

Pre-Mandan *hą́• (?)

Mandan ʰą́xurare ‘bat’ H:70

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hą́•

Proto-Dakota *hą́•, ʰą́hępi

Lakota hą́, hą́hępi, hą́yōtu ‘night’, hą́ʔyoto ‘late at night’

Dakota haŋ ‘night’ SRR:123a

Yanktonai hą́hępi ‘night’ SRR:123a

Stoney hą́ ‘last night’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ʰą́•he

Chiwere hę́he ‘night’ RR

Hoocąk hą́he ‘be night’ KM:752, hą́qihe

Proto-Dhegiha ʰą́

Omaha-Ponca hą́ ‘night’ RR

Kanza/Kaw hą́, hą́, hą́ye ‘night’ RR

Osage hoⁿ, ʰə’hą́ ‘night’ LF:63b

Quapaw hą́, hą́ ‘night’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo usiša, ohsiša ‘darkness’ H

General comment
The Mandan etymology (*hą ‘night’ + *xura•re ‘eagle’) was suggested by JEK. This root is most often found in compounds, and in some languages only occurs there. The -(hi)šV found in Crow/Hidatsa forms is a similitive. Crow has prefixed ki-. The Proto-Crow-Hidatsa may be comparable to Dakotan hąhep-; alternatively it may represent a compound of ‘darkness (1)’ and ‘darkness (2)’.

**darkness (2)**

*noun perceptual_visual*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kpa•*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-hpa• < *-Cpa•

Crow áhpaa ‘evening’ GG:4, RGG:36

Hidatsa óhpa• ‘evening’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kpd-žE*

Proto-Dakota *kpážA ~ *tpážA

Lakota kpáza, ókpaza ‘dark, darkness’ RTC

Dakota kpáza, ókpaza ‘dark’ SRR:480a, ókpaza WM:44a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hokawás ‘be dark, darkness’ KM:1364, hokawas ‘get dark, darken’ KM:1365, hokawas’, hokawas hii

Proto-Dhegiha *hpáze*

Omaha-Ponca pdče , ḣpdže ‘evening’ MAS:70

Kanza/Kaw ppdže ‘evening’ RR

Osage pdče , ḣpdže ‘evening, close of the day’ LF:124a

Quapaw ppdže ‘evening’ RR

**General comment**

The Hidatsa and OVS forms (under *sih ‘darkness’) show clearly that this is historically a compound. There is nearly always a prefix, locative a- or o-, which may be used with either part of the compound separately, as Hidatsa and Tutelo show most clearly.

The initial stop cluster found in MVS may also resolve itself into more than one morpheme, as the precise source of the *k* portion of the cluster is unclear. Analysis of this set is far from complete. Chiwere has substituted hą• ‘night’ for kpa in this word.
darkness (3)
noun perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *si(-he)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ó•kcicē

Crow óotčia 'darkness' GG:78
Hidatsa ókcia 'darkness, night' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-zE

Proto-Dakota *-zA
Lakota kpōza, ókpaza 'dark, darkness' RTC
Dakota ıpōza, ópaza 'dark' SRR:480a, ókpaza WM:44a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *o-q-zi

Chiwere uhdånhe, ṭu-hə-dē 'evening time' JGT:138
Hoocąk hokawás 'be dark, darkness' KM:1364, hokawas 'get dark, darken' KM:1368, hokawas, hokawas hii

Proto-Dhegiha *-ze

Omaha-Ponca pâçe, tipdze 'evening' MAS:70
Kanza/Kaw pōdže 'evening' RR
Osage pâče, ṭhpdze 'evening, close of the day' LF:124a
Quapaw ṭhpdze 'evening' RR

Proto-Southeastern *o-sì

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo pVsi
Biloxi psì, pāsì, pūsì, psì, ṭposì ‘night, night time’ D&S:247b
Ofo upōjì, ṭpōjì, ṭupōjì ‘night’ D&S:331b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo usì, osì: ohsìha, usìhā, ṭosì ‘night’ H
daughter

*noun* social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan ʼi-yų́•ke

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa ʰhɛ́d ‘daughter’ J

Pre-Mandan *rų•hąkE ~ rų•hįkE (?)

Mandan rų́hąk ~ rų́hįk ‘daughter’ H:191, korų́hįke ~ korų́hąke ‘his daughter’ H:191, korų́•hąks ‘his daughter’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley ʼi-yų́•ke

Proto-Dakota *(i-)čhųkši

Lakota čhųkši ~ čhųkš ‘daughter’ RTC

Dakota *(i-)čhųkši ‘daughter’ WM:44b, (mi-)cuŋkṡi

Assiniboine čhųkš PAS

Stoney čhųksi PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ʼi-yų́•ke

Chiwere hjų́nįŋge ‘his daughter’ RR, iyų́•ñe GM

Otoe iyų́•ñe ‘woman’s daughter’ JDH

Hoocąk hinų́k ‘woman; queen (at cards)’ KM:973, hinų́k ‘daughter’ JWE, hinų́k, hinų́k

Proto-Dhegiha ʼižǫ́•ke

Omaha-Ponca ižǫ́•ge ‘daughter’ RTC

Ponca ižę́ge

Kanza/Kaw žę́ge RR

Osage izhṓ•ge , tįžǫ́•ke LF:82b

Quapaw ižą́ke ‘someone’s daughter’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi yûñḳi, yûñḳí, ʼiyǫ́ki ‘his/her daughter’ D&S:296a

General comment
Mandan is not well explained here, but it looks parallel to Chiwere, which is diminutivized. The Hidatsa is even less well understood but seems to reflect an earlier *i-hVe, perhaps comparable to the Mandan. This word has become homophonous or nearly so in several languages with reflexes of ‘female, woman’, which differs only in vowel quality, e.g., Biloxi *yąki ‘woman’, yųki ‘daughter’. In addition, reflexes of ‘ŋ and ‘ŋ have fallen together in several languages, so there appears to be quite a bit of contamination here.

daughter, first

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wį-ny

Proto-Dakota

Dakota winona, twín napisa SRR:45

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hi•nų, *hiŋų

Chiwere híŋų•ŋe ‘first born girl’ RR, híŋų GM

Hoocąk hiŋų ‘first daughter’ KM:875, hiŋų, hinų

Proto-Dhegiha *winų ~ *winą́

Omaha-Ponca winō, ?winą́ RR

Kanza/Kaw miŋą́ ~ miŋą́ RR

Osage mina, ?miŋą́ ‘first daughter (special kinship term used by parents)’ LF:92a

Quapaw winą́ žika JOD

General comment

*wį ‘female’ + *rų• ‘one’ (+ Dak. -la ‘diminutive’), q.v..

*rų• is also the root of OVS ‘her/his elder sister’ for which there are both Biloxi and Tutelo cognates, q.v. These sets are difficult to untangle because of the (near) homophony of *wį: ‘female’ and *wi- ‘my’ in the nasal environment provided by two other (near?) homonyms *rų• ‘one’ and *rų ‘grow up, older’. The compound is more or less transparent in most subgroups of MVS, and with only Tutelo representing this lexeme outside of MVS (and the possibility of borrowing in that instance), this is not a secure Proto-Siouan kinship term. This term is presumably the prototype for the common English name ‘Winona’ or ‘Wynona’. 
daughter, youngest

noun social kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hák-sí•ka

Chiwere háʔθiga 'youngest daughter' GM

Hoocąk haksíiga 'third daughter' KM:619, haksíiga

Proto-Dhegiha *así

Omaha-Ponca así 'third daughter'

Kanza/Kaw así, ašíhiŋa

Osage ašį́jį́ka, açį́ga, řašį́ka 'fourth daughter' LF:249a

General comment

This may be a compound of *hak- 'youngest child' and *sí or *sįkV 'sister's daughter' or *sikV 'third daughter'.

Loss of initial h- in DH is unexpected, but DH s is the usual reflex of *ks. The MVS languages, in particular DH, seem to innovate the numbered daughter birth names, and that system seems to diffuse northward across DH and into Chiwere/Hoocąk from there. The prototype for this term (not reconstruction) would be something like *hak-sí•(ka) 'third daughter' with an added -yį́ka 'dimin.' with 'youngest daughter'.
day

noun time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hą́pe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wa•pE

Crow baapí 'day, daytime' RG, GG:21, RGG:37
Hidatsa wépi 'day' J, mápi 'today' J, wópehe, mápehe

Pre-Mandan

Mandan hą́p ~ hąpé 'day' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hę́pE

Proto-Dakota *ą́pa
Lakota ą́pa 'dawn' RTC, apétu 'day'
Dakota aŋpí 'day' SRR
Yanktonai aípa 'day, daylight' SRR
Stoney ą́ba PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hą́pe

Chiwere hą́we 'day' RTC, ą́we 'day' RR
Otoe hą́we, hą́•we 'day' RR
Hoocąk hą́p KM:762, ḥą́p

Proto-Dhegiha *hą́pa

Omaha ą́ba 'day' RR
Ponca ą́•ʔba 'day' FH
Kanza/Kaw hńba, hńba 'day' RR
Osage hńba, ḥńpa 'day' LF:63b
Quapaw ń́ha, ń́pa 'day' RR, JOD

Proto-Southeastern *nąhą́pi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ńpí

Biloxi nd'pi, nápi, nąp, na’p, nowe, náwi, ḥńápi 'day' D&S:232a
Ofo nó'pi, ḥńápi 'day' D&S:327a, nó'pi shñu*, ḥńápi 'Sunday' D&S:329a
Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo nahambe, nahamp, nahatipe, ṣnąhąpe ‘day’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba yep ‘day’ FS

General comment

MRS loses -h- and fuses the (innovated) prefix with the root. The sporadic loss of #h- in MVS is unusual. The Omaha-Ponca and Chiwere forms without initial h- may well be borrowings from Dakota, since of the remaining MVS languages, these are the two most closely associated with Dakota speakers. The Ponca form is from Frida Hahn’s correspondence with Franz Boas (via JEK).

(Hahn, a native speaker of German, had no trouble distinguishing long vowels from short in Omaha-Ponca, and her transcriptions are especially valuable for that reason.) The semantics of the OVS prefix, ną-, is not understood, but cf. onąq ‘prairie fire’ as well as the ‘by heat’ instrumental for possibilities. If the prefix were Proto-Siouan the MVS languages should have an initial reflex of *r-h (the product of syncope), but they do not, so we must look upon *ną- as a southeastern innovation. The correspondences here are not those that we reconstruct as *rh in, e.g., ‘stand’ or ‘arrive here vertitive’. This suggests that Tutelo may have remained most faithful to the original with Biloxi and Ofo losing -h- and collapsing the vowel sequence. This is another term in which we have OVS unity opposed to the rest of Siouan.

An alternative hypothesis also has its attractions. If the Proto-Siouan form were *ą́•pE the lack of *h in Crow, Hidatsa, Dakota, Omaha-Ponca, IO, Biloxi, Ofo would need no explanation, and its presence in the other languages could be fairly convincingly ascribed to analogy with ‘night’, q.v., which does have the initial h. Some evidence for this is provided by the term for ‘lightning, sheet (?)’, q.v., in which even more of the languages lack the h.

Catawba also lacks h. Unfortunately loss of h could be regular anyway in Crow/Hidatsa, Biloxi and Ofo, so the hypothesis only aids us in analysis of IO (as opposed to Otoe) and Omaha-Ponca (as opposed to the rest of DH). But these are the languages most influenced by neighboring Dakota, so this counter proposal does not explain as much as one would hope. Dakota is the language that really needs to be explained. One possibility is that the noun is deverbal, as Dakotan appears to lose root-initial h in verbs. Use of this root in various ‘sunrise’ expressions suggests that this hypothesis bears further investigation.

deceive
verb psychic_cognition_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *rükrį̀

Proto-Dakota *-krą́

Lakota wayignayaj ‘miss, to deceive’ EB:568b, wógnaye ‘deceit, delusion’ EB:597a, yigndyį̀ ‘miss, fail to grab’ EJ

Dakota woñhaye ‘deceit’ WM:45b, yunhdyaj ‘miss, as in attempting to grasp a.t.’ SRR:624b

Proto-Dhegiha *rükrį̀

Kanza/Kaw yülǫ́yį̀ ‘confuse, distract, bewilder’ RR

Osage thígȟu’o”, ṭólną̀ ‘court, woo’ LF:146b
deer, ruminant

noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *wité (?)

Proto-Siouan *wi-hdá•

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hdá

Proto-Dakota *thá

Lakota thá, tháxča ‘deer’ RTC
Dakota tášįŋča, ?tháxča ‘deer’ WM:46a
Stoney thá ‘moose’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thó•

Chiwere thó• ‘deer’ JDH
Stoney thá ‘moose’ PAS

Proto-Dhegiha *hdá RR

Omaha-Ponca tdá ‘deer’, táxši ‘deer’ RR
Kanza/Kaw tdá ‘deer’ RR
Osage hdá ‘deer’ RR, táxši, ?tháxči ‘deer’ LF:139b
Quapaw tdá ‘deer’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *withá•

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *itha•

Biloxi ita•ʔ MRH, MS, itá, ħa D&S:268a
Ofo ħtxá•, ħtxa, ḣ̃thá• D&S:320b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wišáli, wišári ‘deer’ H, wišda, wišári HW, wišáli, wiša•ʔ, wišári JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba widáboye ‘cow’ FGS, wi-te FS
defecate, dung (1)

physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-yé ~ *-rē

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *érti

Crow éela RG

Hidatsa érti ‘defecate’ J, pérti ‘excrement’ J

Pre-Mandan *-ere

Mandan ehde ‘defecate’ Will , wéroṣ H:284

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *yé

Proto-Dakota *čhé-

Lakota čhe_slí ‘defecate’ RTC

Dakota tacesdi , tčesdl ‘dung’ WM:55b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *yé

Hoocąk reesíri ‘defecate’ KM:2599 , reesíri

Proto-Dhegiha *é

Omaha-Ponca ḝé

Kanza/Kaw ḝé ‘excrement’ RR

Quapaw ḝé ‘excrement’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *jre

Biloxi ḍá’dé , ḍá’dá , ṭjádé ‘dung, manure, feces’ D&S:202a

Ofo ṭ’kündé , ṭ’kjite ‘manure, dung’ D&S:322b

General comment

Cf. ‘defecate, dung (2)’, which preserves this root elsewhere in the possessive construction. MRS and Mandan *e- is evidently a separate morpheme whose presence seems to attract accent. This set suggests *y in MVS and *r in OVS with MRS and Mandan, having merged the two, indeterminate.
defecate, dung (2)

physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(wa-)į́-ki-ye ~ -re

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *(wa-)į-kye

Proto-Dakota į́_kče

Lakota į́kče ‘fart’ RTC, į́kčẹ́päqmiŋma ‘tumble bug’ RTC

Sioux Valley į́kče PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-kre

Chiwere mį́gre ‘manure’ JDH

Hoocąk wakeré ‘feces’ KM:3354 , wakere

Proto-Dhegiha į́kré

Omaha-Ponca į́gže

Kanza/Kaw iléha ‘anus’ RR

Osage ɨ́ghe , ɨ́lé ‘dung, excrement’ LE:75b

Quapaw ɨ́kdé ‘dung, manure’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ɨ́kde ‘dung, manure’ D&S:322b , d’kindé

General comment

The DH and Chiwere/Hoocąk forms suggest that Dakota ɨ́- here may be an irregular reflex of *(wa + į-. The syllable structure here has collapsed in different ways and at different times in the several languages. Accent placement should, by the second syllable rule, fall on į́ but it has been shifted variously in accordance with the alterations in syllable structure.

Cl. ‘defecate, dung (1)’. 
demonstrative (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *'ha

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa ḥd- in: ḥdwɑ̀ ‘then, again, there, and’ H&V , ḥd- in: ḥdɑwɑ̀ ‘thereupon, and then’ H&V , ḥɑ- in: ḥɑrɑkwɑ̀hɪ, ḥɑrɑkw ḥè ‘therefore; then’ H&V, J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *'ha

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ḥá- in: ḥáʔe ‘that one, invisible’ GM , ḥá- ‘that (it) is/ and it is’ JGT:1259 , ḥá- in: ḥá ḥɛrɛ / ḥɑrɛ ‘then it is’ JGT:1260 , ḥá- ‘the/ it is the’ JGT:2537 , ḥá- in: ḥɑdɑré ‘that one: it is that one’ JGT:2540 , ḥá ‘it is he/she’ JGT:2542 , ḥá in: ḥɑdɑ/ ḥɑnɑdɑ ‘this is’ JGT:2022 , ḥá- ‘from’ JGT:3206, LWR , -há- in: nɑhɑ’e , -hã- , -há- in: nɑhɑrɛ , -hã- , -há in: jɛhɑ́ , -hã- , -há- in: rοhɑdɑ; rοhɑtɑ

Proto-Dhegiha *'ha

Omaha-Ponca ḏɛgighɑ

Kanza/Kaw yɛgɑhɑ

Osage ḏɛkɑhɑ

Proto-Catawba


General comment

Many instances of suffixial ha/hɑ in Siouan languages appear to be an adverbializer, a different morpheme. Also cf. indefinite/interrogative ha.
demonstrative (2)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ʔa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow a- in: *akil ‘beyond’ J


Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota a- in: aktulakeci ‘in a little while’ [cf. ‘beyond’] EB:56 , a- in: aktulake el ‘after a little while; rather at that time; very soon’ EB:56 , a- in: aktulake ‘across’ J

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere a- ‘and then it is’ JGT:22 , a- in: adáre ‘that; and then; he/ she/ it is’ JGT:175 , a- ‘close by; near’ JGT:221 , a- in: aré ‘more; in addition; beyond measure’ JGT:870 , a- ‘near without touching’ JGT:1839 , a- in: ašgi/ aško/ aški ‘this one right here’ JGT:923 , a- ‘nearby: speak of s.t. as near, when really is distant’ DOR, JGT:3001 , a- in: étax’a , a- , a- in: iró’t’ú ‘this one right here’ JGT:639 , a- , a- in: gínah’a , a- , a- in: ra’ášgi/ ra’áško/ ra’áškí

Hooćąk- a in: ga’a ‘that (near him)’ KM:305 , a in: ga’a ‘near’ KM:15 , a- in: ašgé , a- in: ašge

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca a- in: dāq ‘therefore’ [nominative direct singular postpositive article, pronoun, relative, copula] JEK , a- in: titáti ‘in the tent, house’ [nominative direct plural postpositive article, pronoun, relative, copula] JEK , a- in: titáti ; tití ‘to, towards the tent, house’ JEK , a- in: tákú ‘the’ , a-ka ‘the’ , a- in: a-má

Kanza/Kaw a- in: abá ‘the an/mv sg or pl’ RR , a- in: akhá ‘the, sg. or coll., subj.’ RR , JOD , a- in: ámọtta , ámọtta ‘other side, to be’ MR , RR , a- in: ámọtta ‘other side, to be’ JOD , a- in: dáká ‘near, nearby’ RR

Osage -a- ‘these’ LF:143a , a- in: thé-a-ba ‘who is it?’ LF:40a , -a , -a in: e-béa

Proto-Catawba

Catawba a- ‘far away’ KS:98 , a- in: akf ‘he’ KS:125 , a- , a- in: ata ‘then’ KS:226 , a- in: ané , a- ‘so; that certainly is so’ KS:206 , a- in: ańe kádyir , a-}

General comment

Evidence for the initial glottal stop appears in Chiwere, Hoocąk only.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

demonstrative, locative (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-ši

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa


Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-ši

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-ši

Chiwere -shi in: gósí/ goší / gósída , †ši ‘yonder; yon; there’ JGT:1146 , -shí- in: gósída/ gósída , †ši ‘over there’ JGT:1148 , -ší- in: gósí , †ši ‘this way; (come) this way’ JGT:1151


Proto-Dhegiha *-ši


Osage ašı́ha , †ašı́ha ‘outside’ LF:301a

Quapaw -ši- in: dšíti ‘outside’ RR , -ši- in: dšı́ıhe ‘outside’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo


Proto-Catawba

demonstrative, locative (2)

*enclitic* n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere in: *tandáwa/tanwá*, †-wa ‘whence/whither’ DOR, JGT:3783

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *wá- in: wáde*, †wá- ‘toward’ [cf. wa] D&S:285a, *wu- in: wabe*, †wá- ‘to go into’ D&S:285a, *-wu-, -wo*, †-we- ‘locative ending; toward, in that direction, into’ D&S:285a, *-wu- in: ewaxtí*, †wá- ‘further, still further’ D&S:189a, *wu- in: éwá or ewd*, †wá- ‘to that place, in that direction; beyond; farther’ D&S:285a, *-wá in: dowd*, †wá- ‘in this direction this way, to this place’ D&S:183b, *-wá in: héwá*, †wá- ‘to that place, that way’ D&S:196a, *-wá in: téwd*, †wá- ‘this way, in this direction’ D&S:273a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *-wu in: héwá*, †-wa ‘that’

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *-wu ‘that one, those ones, he, she, they (refers to persons and other animate objects)’ KS:125, *-wu in: ólwa ‘that one, those ones, he, she, they’ KS:125, *-wu , -wa in: òwá*

General comment

Cf. ‘interrogative (3)’. 
demonstrative > that, the aforesaid

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan-Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Proto-Dakota


Proto-Hoocąć-Chiwere

Chiwere ée, tēte 'he/she/it' JGT:789, é-, tēte 'then; and then' JGT:782, LWR, é- in: éda/ éta, tēte 'around' JGT:849, é-, tēte 'near; around; in the vicinity' JGT:854, é- in: ésan/ éshun, tēte 'close; soon (in time)' JGT:855, é-, tēte 'beyond; farther away' JGT:858, é- in: ésun/ éshun, tēte 'over; beyond; on the other side; far off; before; on that side', é-, tēte 'beyond; past (hour); over' JGT:863, é- in: éshwena/ éshwena, tēte 'over' JGT:865, é-, tēte 'more; in addition; beyond measure' JGT:870, é- in: étada, tēte, é-, tēte, é- in: étage/ étagi, tēte, é-, tēte, é- in: étageun, tēte, é-, tēte, é- in: étan, tēte, é-, tēte, é- in: étux/a, tēte

Hoocąć ée 'it, this', that' KM:296, ee 'and; here; then' KM:297, é- in: éegi 'there' KM:298, ee- in: eegi 'about there; about that time' KM:300, é- in: éjya 'ever since then, from that point in space' KM:301, ee- in: ejeja 'himself, herself, itself (emph)' KM:302, éjyxjy, éjyxjynjyjyge, éjyxjyjyge, ejyxjyjyge, ejyxjynjyjyjyjyge, épa, eepa, eexj, éexj

Proto-Dhegiha 'that'

Omaha-Ponca e 'that, aforementioned' [relative pronoun] JEK, e- in: edádaq 'what' JEK, e- in: édi 'there' JEK, e- in: edáh 'from there' JEK, é- in: égq 'so, like that; he's like that' JEK, é- in: émq 'so many' JEK, é- in: éta 'there, thither' JEK, é- be 'who', e-dá-da-q'what?', e-gq 'forms indefinite pronoun', e- 'forms demonstrative pronoun', e-ki 'forms relative pronoun', é-na 'that much', é-na-ska 'that large', é-ta 'that long, of that length', e-ta-ha 'that high, of that height, or depth', e-ki-na 'as much as that one', e-ki-ta-ha 'as high as that one'

Kanza/Kaw é 'that, aforementioned' [æk, æk] RR, é- in: édq 'so, therefore' RR, é- in: égo 'like, as, so' RR, e- in: égj 'there, in that place' MR, RR, e- in: ešk 'too, that's it, him too' MR, JOD, RR, é- in: éta 'there, towards that place (?)' MR, RR

Osage e 'those, as those apples; those things' [This term is frequently found in rituals.] LF:40a, e 'he, she, it, or that' LF:40a, e- in: e-béwa 'who is it?' LF:40a, e- in: e-çka 'in truth' LF:40a, é- in: é-de 'one that is' LF:40a, é- in: é-di 'indefinite article' LF:40a, e- in: e-do 'when' LF:40a, e- in: e-do 'therefore' LF:40a, é- in: e-di 'there' LF:40a, e- in: e-di-ti 'when that happens; when I get there' LF:40a, e- in: e-di-ti 'thence; from that place' LF:40a, e- [and] e- in: e-ta 'it is' LF:40a, é- in: é-gi-o 'to do so' LF:40a, e- in: e-go 'very; very' LF:40b, e- in: e-go 'xte' 'exact; precise;

273 of 1128
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

downright; real; in reality' LF:40b, é- in: énoⁿ-ha ‘as many as there are’ LF:41a, e- in: e-shóⁿ ‘near; close to’ LF:41b, e- in: e-tó ‘thitherward; toward the person’ LF:41b, é- in: éthóⁿ-xha ‘even though this be true; nevertheless’ LF:41b, é- in: é-tóⁿ ‘even to them’ LF:41b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo


General comment

The following forms indicate the existence of an initial glottal stop: Hidatsa heʔe, šeʔe; Chiwere eʔe, haʔe, jaʔe, kaʔe, sheʔe; Hoocąk šeʔe; Kanza/Kaw beʔeʔé ‘who is that?’; Osage e-e tho.

Clearly, še- was commonly compounded with other demonstratives.
demonstrative > that, this

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *he

Proto-Siouan *he ~ *he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *he ~ *he•

Hidatsa hé- in: héʔerí ‘that one’ H&V , he- in: héʔeruk ‘then’ J , he- in: héʔeša ‘that, thus, like that’ J , -he- in: méraheři, néraheři ‘I (emph), you (empf)’ J , -he ‘this (suff. to noun)’ H&V , -he in: hihé ‘now’

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *he ~ *he•

Proto-Dakota *he

Lakota he ‘that’ [same as hęč] EB:169 , he e ‘that is’ [this, along with héč, includes the substantive and demonstrative pronoun] EB:136 , hé- in: héč ‘thus, so, in this way; hence, therefore’ [cf. kʔų he, kʔų hena.] EB:169 , hé- in: héč ‘in or at that place, there or away from the speaker’ EB:170 , hé- in: héč ‘that is it, it is he’ EB:171 , hé- in: hęčta ‘that behind, what is passed or last, as applied to time and space’ EB:172 , he- in: hęč ‘those there’ EB:169 , he- in: hęč , hęčq ‘from that place, from that time; therefore, on that account’ EB:173 , hé- in: hęč ‘towards that place’ EB:174 , hé- in: hęčtu ‘at that place, there’ EB:174 , -hé- in: thahéna ‘on this side, in ref. to time and place’ EB:473 , -he in: töhe ‘his place, his camp; his office or position’ EB:494 , -he in: yhé , yhéna ‘that’ EB:506

Dakota he ‘that’ [cf. he ~ he]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *he

Chiwere hé ‘also, in addition, and besides’. JGT:1344 , hé- in: héduan , héduare ‘and then’ JGT:1353 , hé- , hé- in: hęjare / hędare

Hoocąk hee- in: heegų ‘so, thus’ KM:468 , he- in: heegų ‘thus, be thus’ KM:791 , hee- in: heegų = žeegų , he- in: heege; žeegə = že + heegę

Proto-Southeastern *he

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *he

Biloxi he , the ‘that, there’ D&S:196a , he , the ‘that’ D&S:196b , ya‘ he , the ‘and (and too?)’ D&S:289b , he- in: hęwd , the ‘to that place, that way’ D&S:196a , hé- in: hęyá , the ‘there, in that place’ D&S:196a , -he ‘this’ D&S:287b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo he in: hęwa , the ‘that’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba he ‘this’ [seems always to be suffixed and attrib.] J , KS:224
dew

noun natural force, weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(wa-)yú

Pre-Mandan *wɔŋy

Mandan warq ‘vapor’ H:275, wɔŋyxtuk ‘fog’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(wa-)yú(-tą)

Proto-Dakota *čhu

Lakota čhu ‘dew’ EB:134a

Dakota cu, čhu ‘dew’ WM:49a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *rútą

Chiwere rúdą ‘dew’ JDH

Hoocąk haruǰi ‘be covered with dew’ KM:676, haruǰą

Proto-Dhegiha *šūq

Osage shido’, šíddą ‘dew’ MAS:58

Omaha-Ponca shido’, šíddą ‘dew’ codensed moisture, dew’ LF:222b

 Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ayu ~ ayudí ‘dew’ D&S:176b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ūmanotihwa ‘fog’ GRO

General comment

*-tą is added in southern MVS. -di in Biloxi usually matches Mandan -re. Mandan nasality is not accounted for here, but there are numerous instances of Mandan nasalization that are not reflected in any of the other languages.
die

verb psychosomatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *tʔe•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *tEE

Crow tEE RG, GG:55

Hidatsa "die, be dead" J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan țiʔoʔš 'it's dead' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley țiʔé

Proto-Dakota țiʔA

Lakota țiʔA 'die' [ ablaut when reduplicated] RTC , țiʔA , įgli- 'kill one's self' EB:214b, EJ , țiʔA ; ka- 'kill or stun by striking; to die by hitting an object' EB:294a , EJ , țiʔA ; na- 'kill by kicking' EB:361a , EJ , țiʔA ; pa- 'kill by pressure, as by lying on' EB:436b , EJ , țiʔA ; we- 'kill with a knife' EB:555a , EJ , țiʔA ; wo- 'kill by punching or shooting; to strike so as to endanger life, to stun' EB:611b , EJ , țiʔA ; ya- 'bite to death' EB:630a , EJ , țiʔA ; yu- 'choke to death.' EB:655a , EJ , tārʔa , pa- 'be numb; to be asleep, as a limb' EB:436b, EJ , tārʔa , yu- 'be numb' EB:655a

Dakota ța , țiʔA 'die' WM:49a

Stoney țiʔA 'PAS

Sioux Valley țiʔA 'PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *tʔe

Chiwere ċʔe 'die' RR

Hoocąk tʔe 'hurt by shooting, blowing, great force' [syncopating conjunction] KM:3027 , JEK , ċ'ee 'hurt with knife' KM:94 , ċ'ee , bōo- 'hurt with the foot' KM:2032 , bōo' 'hurt' KM:2245 , ċ'el , mqq- 'hurt by pressure or pushing' KM:2738 , WL:8.9 , mqqte 'eclipse; new moon' KM:3495, WL:19.2 , ċ'el , mqq- KM:3682 , mqqte , ċ'el , ru- , ru' , ċ'el , wa- , wat'e , ċ'el , wiir' , wiirat'e

Proto-Dhegiha *tʔe

Omaha-Ponca ći'te 'die' RTC , RR

Kansa/Kaw ċi'te 'die' RR , būč'e 'numb, dead from sitting on, as a limb' JOD , RR , gac'ĉe 'kill, strike down, to stun' RR , bac'ĉe 'kill by rooting up' MR , RR , nāč'ye 'trample to death' MR , RR

Osage ći'te 'die' RR

Quapaw ći'te 'die' RR , ći'te, ti- 'withered from heat or cold' RR , bartat'e 'kill, cause to wither' RR , bittat'e 'press to death' RR , diitáte 'uproot a plant, pull up' RR , kattat'e 'kill, cut off, cause to wither' RR , nagtat'e 'trample to death' RR , pōtatt'e 'wither, cause by cutting' RR , pētatt'e 'kill vegetation by punching' RR , titatt'e 'wither from exposure to heat' RR

Proto-Southeastern *tʔe•(-ri)
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *De(-ri)

Biloxi ṭe, ṭédi, ṭé-di D&S:273b

Ofo ạthě, æth, thě, txe, ạthě 'die' D&S:330b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ạ, ạθə, ạθə, ạθə H

General comment

In OVS the set consisting Ofo #Ch: Biloxi #C is from proto-OVS *Ch < Proto-Siouan *hC, while the set consisting of Ofo #əCh: Biloxi C is from Proto-Siouan *Cʔ. There is, of course, no direct evidence within OVS for the glottalization; the aspirated and glottal sets are simply distinct. Ofo initial ə- ~ a- is unsupported in MRS and elsewhere in OVS and so is not reconstructible. Further investigation is desirable in cases like these.

The lone vowel in Ofo seems to have something to do with glottalization. The theory that #Cʔ > #ạCh in Ofo holds at least for ‘die’, ‘give’ and ‘dig > scratch’ thus far. Hoocąk preserves length in compounds (contrast ‘dig > scratch’). Cf. ‘wilt’ for a derived form.

different

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-r-ha-he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *iθa- < *iθahe

Crow iθa GG:73

Hidatsa iθa- ‘foreign, strange, different, enemy’ J

Pre-Mandan *tθ-

Mandan tθoʔš ‘different, strange’ H:243

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *itą

Chiwere ıddıda ‘different’ LWR:11

Hoocąk ıʔą ‘be different; be other’ KM:899 , ıʔą

General comment

In other sets the sequence rh always has a (historical at least) morpheme boundary between the two phonemes. Such is very likely the case here.
dig out

verb physical contact manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-kóte

Proto-Dakota

Lakota kóta, pa- ‘dig or take out marrow from a bone, to probe’ EB:429a, kota, wapé- ‘probe or dig out’ EB:546a

Proto-Dhegiha *-kóte

Kanza/Kaw -goje, bá- ‘probe, pick, as the teeth’ MR, RR, -goje, ba- ‘pick, probe, pick the teeth’ RR, -goje, ogé- ‘inside, far from the front, inside corner’ RR

Quapaw -kótte, di- ‘dig out, probe’ RR
dig > scratch

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kʔé(re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *kÉ?

Crow čikÉÉ ‘scratch’ [<< *ki + x ‘possessive’] RG

Hidatsa kÉ’dig, scratch’ J , keʔe

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kéʔroʔš ‘dig’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kʔé

Proto-Dakota *kʔA´

Lakota kA´ ‘dig’ RTC

Dakota ká , Ḳʔá ‘dig’ WM:49b

Stoney ká ~ Ḳhd PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *kʔé

Chiwere kě W:240a

Hoocąk kʔé ‘dig’ KM:1724 , k’ee

Proto-Dhegiha *kʔé

Omaha-Ponca Ḳé ‘dig’ RTC , baʔé ‘dig’ RR

Kanza/Kaw Ḳe ‘dig, hoe’ RR

Osage Ḳe , Ḳké ‘dig’ LF:84b

Quapaw Ḳe ‘dig with a grubbing hoe’ JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *kʔè(-ri)

Biloxi Ḳè , Ḳdá , Ḳke ‘dig’ D&S:207b

Ofo Ḳkè , Ḳké ‘to plant’ D&S:319b, JSS , Ḳhèwé , Ḳhèwé ‘to plow’ D&S:325b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wízìk’áre ‘dig potatoes’ FGS , -ʔáre ‘dig’ KS

General comment
Here again Ofo shows an initial vowel that is unsupported in MRS and Biloxi, and once again it seems to be part of the Ofo reflex of Proto-Siouan *Cʔ. Here, the expected ə is obscured by the presence of the apparent locative prefix, a-. An additional problem here is that DS (i.e. JOD) do not mark the initial stop in the Biloxi reflex as lenis. Cf. ‘die’, ‘give’, which have the expected lenis stops. Vowel length is indeterminate because there are questions about its reflexes in the languages that show it. Hidatsa and Mandan, for example, level glottal paradigms so that sometimes inherited glottalized stops (regular only in third person) appear throughout the paradigm, sometimes are absent throughout the paradigm, and (rarely) are preserved in their regular distribution. This verb in contrast with ‘die’ suggests that, when the glottal is lost, the vowel is lengthened in both Mandan and Hidatsa.

Glottals are always lost in Crow, with lengthening and usually with rising pitch. The two roots *kʔa ‘scrape’ and *kʔe ‘dig’ have merged phonologically in Dakotan. Cf. ‘scrape > dig, scratch’
directional locative

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *í•-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *í•

Crow í•

Hidatsa í•- ‘at, towards, into’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan í•- H:437

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *í•-

Proto-Dakota *i-

Lakota í•

Dakota í• ‘to, for, of, about, etc.’ SRR:169a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *í•-

Chiwere í•

Hoocąk hi-, hi-

Proto-Dhegiha *í•-

Kanza/Kaw í•- ‘into, towards’ [numerous instances] RR

Osage í•

Quapaw í•- ‘towards, possibly away from’ JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern *í•-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi í•

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo í•- ‘into, towards’
dirty

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ṣnį́-

Proto-Hoocą́k-Chiwere

Hoocą́k haišą́nį́ ‘be dirty’ KM:2924 , haišą́nį́

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca shná́be ‘dirt, dirty, filthy’ MAS:266

General comment

Hoocą́k and Omaha-Ponca have different root extensions. Perhaps cf. ‘bundle’

dive

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *krų́kE

Proto-Dakota *kikniţa

Lakota kigňiká ‘dive’ EB:306a

Dakota kihmuká ‘dive’ WM:52a

Proto-Dhegiha *krắke

Omaha-Ponca gehó’ge , Ɂgőká ‘dive’ MAS:61

Kanza/Kaw lę́ge ‘dive’ RR

Osage gehó’ge , Ɂlę́ge ‘dive’ LF:257a

General comment

Chiwere Ɂgőge , Ɂgőge ‘dive’ (JGT92:23); Hoocą́k ką́wį́k ‘dive, duck under water’ (KM-1925), ką́wį́k ‘dive’ (Marino-310) look superficially as though they should be related to this set, but they contain intractable sequences that, for the moment, remain unexplained. Also, with the exception of apparent borrowings w ų r in clusters of this kind.
dog

noun animal, domestic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wašų́ke, *wi-šų́ke

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wašūka

Crow bišká ‘dog’ RG, GG:33, RGG:2
Hidatsa wašūka ‘dog’ J, mašūka

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *šų́kE

Proto-Dakota *šų́kA
Lakota šų́ka ‘dog’ RTC
Dakota šų́pka, ſų́ka ‘dog’ SRR:450a
Stoney sų́go ‘dog’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šų́ke

Chiwere šųkheñį, šųkheñįj ‘dog + common’ RR, šų́ge ‘horse’ GM
Hoocąk šų́k ‘dog, horse’ KM:300S, šų́k ‘puppy’ KM:3002, šų́ŋe, šų́ŋek, šų́ŋik

Proto-Dhegiha *šǫ́ke

Omaha-Ponca š́go ‘horse’ RTC
Kanza/Kaw š́go ‘horse’ RR
Osage shó́ge, ſ́že ‘dog, wolf’ LF:133a
Quapaw š́ke RR

Proto-Southeastern *ačhų́•ki

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ačhǫ́ki
Biloxi tçoñki ‘dog’ D&S:267b, čeko? ‘dog’ MRH, čų́kiʔ ‘dog’ MS
Ofo acelongas nashú’sita’, ṭačų́pas ‘mule’ JSS, atchú’ki, ṭačų́ki ‘dog’ [scratched out by Swanton in his slip file] D&S:321b, tchuʔ’ki, ṭačų́ki

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ṭłu’jqac, ṭlu’qac, ṭlu’qac, ṭlu’qik, ṭlu’qik ‘dog’ N, H, ṭu’qik, ṭlu’qik ‘dog’ LJE, ṭu’qik, ṭlu’qik ‘dog’ ES, tšu, ṭlu’qik ‘dog’ MMI, tsuqgo’we, ṭlu’qik ‘wolf’ MMI

Saponi chunke, ṭlu’qik- ‘horse (head)’ F

General comment
This ancient term has been adapted in historical times to refer to the horse. 'dog' and 'wolf' vie for the original meaning and one or the other or both are often derived terms. Vowel length is attested sporadically in this set, v. Chiwere/Hoocąk, Ofo, Tutelo, Crow (and possibly Ofo) suggest a prefix *wi-* ‘animate’.

dogwood, cornus sp.

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *čʰâšá

Lakota čʰâšá ‘kinikinik, Cornus stolonifera’ RTC

Dakota čʰâšá , čʰâšá ‘bark for mixing with smoking tobacco, may be dogwood or willow’ SRR:92a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk mąąsixocgejaja ‘clusters of red willows’ KM:2016 , mąąsixocgejaja

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca ma’sahtihī’ ‘Cornus asperifolia’

Kanza/Kaw mąśa hü ‘dogwood, arrow shaft bush’ RR

Osage mo’tsa hi , tmąśa hü ‘arrowwood’ LF:95b

Quapaw mąśa (hi) ‘dogwood, Cornus’ RR , mąśa šitte ‘bark used for kinikinik’ RR

General comment

Although similar, the Mandan and Dakota forms are not fully cognate. Both terms contain the root for ‘tree, wood’, q.v. The remainder, ša, cannot be cognate because the fricatives fail to show the proper match. The Dakota form is transparently ‘red wood’ and the Mandan term may be a loan blend. Both terms are influenced by ‘tobacco’, q.v. Note Lakota čʰąšwóžu (B-123a) or čʰąšwóžu (EJ) ‘a growth of trees in a bottom’ in which the proper fricative match for the Mandan form may appear (depending on which form is historically correct).

In DH mąśa is the term for ‘arrow shaft’, so this dogwood term is not cognate with its Mandan or Dakota analog, although dogwood bark is mixed with tobacco to make kinikinik among the DH tribes too. It is probable that Hoocąk goes together with DH here. The two distinct sets are kept together here for their ethnobotanical interest only.
do, make
verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(ʔ)ų́*

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(ʔ)ų́*

Proto-Dakota *(ʔ)ų́*

Lakota ʔų́ ‘do’ RTC

Sioux Valley (ʔ)ų́ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(ʔ)ų́*

Chiwere ʔų́ ‘do; aux.’ RR

Hoocąk ʔų́ ‘do; make; be; wear, be dressed in’ KM:3154, ʔų́

Proto-Dhegiha *(ʔ)ų́*

Omaha-Ponca ʔų́ RR

Kanza/Kaw ʔų́ RR

Osage ʔų́ RR

Quapaw ʔų́ RR

Proto-Southeastern *(ʔ)ų́*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ʔų́, ʔǫ́, hoⁿni, t(ʔ)ų́ ‘do, make, use; wear’ D&S:240b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo aōma, aōñ, ʔa-ǫ• ‘do, make’ H, ioⁿ¨ə < o’, ʔa-ǫ• ‘wear’ JOD, ono•i, ʔa-ǫ• H:1883

Saponi Honis ‘stockings’ F

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ʔǫči ‘do’ KS

General comment

This is one of the oldest and most widely used auxiliaries in Siouan.

When unaccented, as is often the case when suffixed to other verb roots, it sometimes has the allomorph -(ʔ)ą. It has a distinctive conjugation in many Siouan languages. In DH generally the conjugation runs: 1Act mǫ; 2Act žǫ; 3Act ʔǫ-; 12Act ǫkǫ́-. In Dakota 12Act is ʔǫkǫ́. Tutelo 1Act ʔa-ǫ• ə; 2Act ʔa-ǫ• ə.
do, make, work; to cause

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hiː E

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hre, *-hiː E

Crow -hiː ‘do, work’ [not found as an independent stem] RG

Hidatsa hre ‘do, make, work’ , hiː ‘causative suffixes’

Pre-Mandan

Mandan -here ‘causative’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-hi(r)E

Proto-Dakota *(r)yA

Lakota *(r)yA

Dakota *(r)yA

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere -hi – -re

Proto-Dhegiha *(r)iyete

Omaha-Ponca *(r)eye

Kanza/Kaw *(r)yeye

Osage *(r)eye

Quapaw *(r)eye

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi -ha-(r)ye PFE

Ofo -ti

Proto-Catawba

Catawba če ‘cause’ KS

General comment
The causative in Mandan is a transparent serial verb construction, both an independent verb and a cliticized auxiliary verb in Hidatsa, and strictly a cliticized auxiliary in Crow and the rest of the Siouan language family.

Historically it seems to have been a verb with medial inflection for person *hi-E. Mandan and Hidatsa have both normalized inflection in the independent verb by moving person markers to the left of the initial element. When the Hidatsa auxiliary is suffixed to verbs in final -E, however, the original order of elements is preserved and indicated by the -hi- which appears between the final consonant of the root and the suffixed causative person markers. The historical order is also reflected in Dakota and DH, where aspiration appears with the possessive reflexive ahead of the personal pronouns, and in the hi element which appears ahead of the pronouns in Biloxi.

The glide which appears in many of the languages between the person markers and -E is epenthetic everywhere but not reconstructible to a single Proto-Siouan glide. Here, we represent it as *(r) because that fits every language but Biloxi. This is a notational convention only, however. Except in the reflexive possessive, Dakota and DH have lost initial ‘hi’. In contrast, Chiwere/Hoocąk seem generally to have lost *(r)E, retaining it only in fossilized (unconjugated) form with some verbs (cf. ‘hard > cane, walking stick’, ‘fall > lie down’). In modern Chiwere/Hoocąk the pronouns follow ‘hi’ as if the remainder of the causative were still present. In all probability, *(r)E has simply been absorbed by the pronouns. This is clearly the case in Hidatsa, where the short vowels of the pronominal prefixes are long in the causative. Reconstruction is facilitated by considering the ordinary and the reflexive causatives together.

Catawba če may be related to Proto-Siouan *(r)E, but the sound correspondences are not well understood. It would be much easier to relate the Siouan form if it were historically *ye.

**door (I)**

* noun physical_artefact_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hti-ópa

Proto-Dakota

Lakota thiyópa ‘door’ RTC

Dakota tiyopa , thiyopa ‘door’ WM:53a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk čiiróp KM:241 , cirop

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw ni öabe

**General comment**

Glides in Lakota and Hoocąk are apparently epenthetic. Cf. ‘dwell, dwelling, house’.
door (2)
noun physical_artefact_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wiyé(-pe) ~ *wiyé(-he)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wirëhe

Crow bilia ‘door’ GG:31, RGG:42

Hidatsa wiré ‘door’ J, miré

Pre-Mandan *:wrehe

Mandan wërehe ‘door’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hti yepe

Proto-Dakota *thiyépa

Lakota thiyépa ‘the door of a tent, consisting of a piece of leather’ EB:490b

Yanktonai týepa , tthiyépa ‘door’ WM:53a

Proto-Dhegiha *thí ñepe

Omaha-Ponca ttf ñëbe ‘door’ MAS:61 , ttf ñëbe

Kanza/Kaw čči šëbe ‘door’ RR

Osage tfi šëhe , tfci šepe ‘door’ LF:164b

Quapaw tfí ‘door’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *yépi

Biloxi (o)yête? MRH , yepe? MS , yeipi, ayéwi D&S:176b

Ofo ñçëpi , tíçépi ‘door’ D&S:324b, JSS

General comment

The first syllable of the reconstructed form looks like *wi- unless there is consistent raising of *wa > *wi before a palatal in both Ofo and Crow, cf. ‘dog’. The MRS, Mandan, and Quapaw forms, along with the variation of final syllables, suggests that *wi-ye-pe consists of at least two and probably three morphemes. At least -pe/i appears to be separate. Cf. ‘enter (2)’. The Lakota compound consists of thi ‘house’ and a second morpheme in which Proto-Siouan *y was reinterpreted as epenthetic. Otherwise the *y should have yielded ñh in Dakotan in parallel with DH þ. If Proto-Siouan was *wiyéhe and MVS and OVS added -pe later, then the sequence h-pe does not work the same way as *h-ka, which yields Dakotan -kha. The fact that we do not get -phe strongly suggests that -pe is suffixed directly to *wiyë, not the derivational stem *wiyéh.

Crow has treated the inherited *-ehe (see Mandan) the way that both Crow and Hidatsa treat *-ihe, i.e. > -ia. Hidatsa -e suggests that *-ehe and *-iha may have been kept distinct in pre-Hidatsa. Cf. ‘enter (2)’
dove, pigeon

noun animal bird

General comment

Hidatsa shows rightward vowel exchange of u. Biloxi may show traces of an older root without -ka, or it may not be properly cognate. OVS argues for Proto-Siouan *wayú•t-ka, while MVS argues for Proto-Siouan *warú•t-ka. Mandan wráwit ‘dove, wild pigeon’ (H-300) may not be cognate; cf. wráwi ‘elm’. This term shows a generally regular development but probably incorporates a healthy degree of phonosymbolism, as do several Iroquoian, Keresan, etc. look-alikes. Cf. ‘bird > game bird, turkey’.
dream
verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hąqwre, *ihą́wre ‘dream, dream of s.t.’
Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hirdwe, *ihówE
Crow bídème, bídème ‘sleep’ L:61 , hiráwi ~ iháwi ‘sleep’ GG:48, GG:73
Hidatsa hiráwi ~ iháwi ‘sleep’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(i-)hąqwre
Proto-Dakota *(i-)hąqrA
Lakota hąblé RTC , ihąblé EB:216a , iháblé EJ
Dakota hąmndé , ḥąmde ‘to fast and dream’ SRR:124a , wȟąmna , wȟąmna ‘dream’ WM:54a
Stoney hąmnąq ‘dream, have vision(s)’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(i-)hąRe
Chiwere hą́te GM
Hoocąk hąqé ‘dream’ KM:772 , hąqte ‘dream about’ KM:862 , hihąqé , hihąqé

Proto-Dhegiha *hąbre
Omaha-Ponca hoⁿbhe , ḥąbde ‘dream’ MAS:62
Kanza/Kaw hąblé ‘dream’ MR, RR
Osage hoⁿbhe , ḥ(̕-)hąbre ‘dream’ LF:65a , hoⁿbhe , ḥ(̕-)hąbre
Quapaw hąbde ‘dream’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
Ofo ọghaiy’ẹ ‘a dream’ D&S:319

Proto-Catawba
Catawba cf. hímbare ‘sleep’

General comment
Cf. ‘sleep’. Crow and Hidatsa have conflated the roots for ‘sleep’ and ‘dream’. Third person conjugated forms reflect ‘sleep’, while first and second person conjugated forms are based on ‘dream’. ‘sleep’ *hiyą has been extended with the *-wE < *-wre of ‘dream’ *ihą́wre. The Ofo form superficially resembles other OVS reflexes for ‘sleep’, q.v., but Proto-Siouan *y > čh normally in Ofo, so the y here is most likely epenthetic.

h- is very frequently lost in both Biloxi and Ofo, so Ofo -(y)ąte most closely matches MVS/MRS ‘dream’, the Ofo reflex of Proto-Siouan ‘sleep’ should be *(h)ičhąti, but this word is not found in Ofo. The phonological and semantic similarities between Proto-Siouan *(i-)hą́•wre ‘dream of X’; and Proto-Siouan *hiyą•(-re) ‘sleep’ are so great that the two terms may, in fact, be doublets from a single Proto-Siouan stem that would be cognate with Catawba hə̀mbare ‘sleep’. On the hą of ‘dream’ perhaps cf. ʰhą ‘night’.

dress, skirt, etc.

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *rhé

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wa-rhé

Proto-Dakota *he

Lakota nítȟépi ‘woman’s skirt; the kind that stands out from the hip’ [náž] EJ

Dakota heyake ‘dress’ WM:54a

Yanktonai heyake ‘dress’ WM:54a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *waté

Chiwere wajé ‘dress, skirt’

Hoocąk hafé ‘wear as a skirt’ JWE, haje ‘skirt, dress’ JWE, wajé, waje

Proto-Dhegiha *wathé

Omaha-Ponca wathé ‘dress’ RR

Kanza/Kaw wažhé ‘skirt’ RR

Osage watsé, ṫwaché LF:205b

Quapaw wathé ‘woman’s skirt, long skirt, dress’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi awodé ‘skirt’ D&S:175a

Ofo áthé – ɗáthé, ʔarhé ‘dress’ D&S:322a, JSS, ünwaṭé, ʔiŋuwaṭe ‘trousers’ D&S:331b, JSS

General comment
Wichita rhincʔa ‘clothing from the waist down’ (DSR) suggests possible borrowing into that language.

drink
verb physical_consumption

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *rukq

Proto-Dakota *yatkq

Lakota yatkq ‘drink’ [-ablaut] RTC, -dq, wópu- ‘dip in’ EB:607b, opútkq ‘what you dip, e.g. soup’ EJ

Stoney yatkq [-ablaut] PAS

Sioux Valley yatkq [-ablaut] PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ratkq

Chiwere rahuq RR

Hoocąk račgq ‘dip in, v.tr.’ KM:2542, racgq KM:1539, -cgq, howa-, howacgq

Proto-Dhegiha *rahtq

Omaha-Ponca datq ‘drink’ RR

Kanza/Kaw yattq ‘drink’ RR

Osage wathọp*, ṭwaðhtq ‘imbibe, drink’ LF:200b

Quapaw datq ‘drink’ RR, JOD

General comment

The first syllable is the ‘mouth, instrumental’. Chiwere and DH share the *tk > *kt > ht metathesis; it recurs in numerous other forms.
drink, inhale smoke
verb physical_consumption
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *hɨp
Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hɨ
Crow išši RG, išbi, RG, GG:95
Hidatsa hɨ ‘drink, smoke’ J
Pre-Mandan
Mandan hɨvoʔs ‘he’s drinking, smoking’ RTC
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hɨ
Proto-Dakota
Dakota ?az l. ‘to suck the breast’ EB:109a
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hɨp
Chiwere hɨ, nq ‘to swallow’ LWR:20, hɨn, ɨhɨ ‘smoke (pipe)’ JGT:232, rádyihɨ, ranehi, ḋranɨhɨ ‘smoke tobacco’ JGT:232
Proto-Dhegiha *ʔɨp
Omaha-Ponca ninɨʔɨ ‘smoke’ [< tobacco + smoke] RTC, ninɨ l”, ḋnɨjɨ ʔɨ ‘use tobacco’ [1Act a] (expect ml), 2Act ʔɨ (expect ʔa]
Kanza/Kaw yahnɨ ‘swallow (?)’
Osage baʔéʔɨ, ḋbaʔéʔɨ ‘suckling’ LF:18b, l”, ʔɨ ‘suckle’ LF:74b
Proto-Southeastern *hɨp
Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
Biloxi hɨn, ḋnɨ, l”, ḋhɨnɨ ‘drink’ D&S:201a
Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Tutelo yehšτik; ḥtštik, ḥtštšok, ḋyehšτik ‘pipe’ N, H

General comment
Biloxi -ni is the common separable suffix -ni ~ -di. The DH forms, if cognate, should show some trace of initial h. They may, instead, be formed from Proto-Dhegiha *ʔɨ ‘to use’, which becomes ʔɨ when suffixed to forms ending in front vowels.
drip (1)

verb physical_condition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *sʔe

Proto-Dakota

Lakota yunʔé ‘drip involuntarily’ B&D:18

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere rusʔé ‘drop (as of medicine, water)’ LWR:26

General comment

These terms are not directly cognate. Chiwere s always comes from *š, not *s, and this pair of terms is related by the common fricative symbolism.
drip (2)
verb physical condition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *xʔéhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xß'
Crow xeé ‘leak’ RG, GG:61, RGG:65
Hidatsa xß’ ‘drip, leak’ J

Pre-Mandan
Mandan xéʔhoʔ ‘it's raining’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xʔé

Proto-Dakota *xʔé

Lakota xʔéxʔé ‘little pieces dangling down, ragged; person with palsy or uncontrollable shaking’ B&D:18, EJ; xʔéxʔé, yu- ‘drippings, droolings, drivel; tear down something and make it ragged, e.g. cloth tacked to wall which is torn when pulled off’ EB:832b, EJ

Dakota ḡ'eḡ'e, *xʔéxʔé ‘dangling, ragged’ SRR:163b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xʔe

Chiwere ęxęxe, ḡ’exʔexʔé ‘drip’ JGT:133
Hoocąk xʔée ‘drip (used of rather thin liquids)’ KM:3846, x’e

Proto-Dhegiha *kʔe < **xʔe

Omaha-Ponca gae’e, ḡgoʔe ‘dribble’ MAS:62
Kanza/Kaw obd’k’e ‘dangle strips cut from something’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern
Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi xéʔheye’, ḡxeheye ‘cause to sit, cause to hang up (as a hat, a coat...)’

General comment
On Dakotan and Kanza/Kaw ‘dangling’ meanings cf. ‘hang down (2)’. The extant DH forms provide evidence only for a glottalized velar obstruent. Only Quapaw would retain evidence for its fricative nature.
**drip (3)**

verb physical condition

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

*šʔehe*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan aʔʔoʔ ‘it’s dripping’ RTC

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *šʔe*

Lakota -šʔe, oyá ‘make drop in, e.g. into a glass when pouring medicine’ ER:421a, -šʔé, yu ‘cause to fall in drops, to make drip e.g. drops of medicine’ ER:653a, EJ

**Proto-Dakota**

Lakota -šʔe, oyá ‘make drop in, e.g. into a glass when pouring medicine’ ER:421a, -šʔé, yu ‘cause to fall in drops, to make drip e.g. drops of medicine’ ER:653a, EJ

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** *šʔe*


**Proto-Dhegiha** *šʔe*

Kanza/Kaw cʔácʔa- ‘drip’ RR

Osage ágaṭs’e, ŭakacʔe ‘drop water on’ LF:8b

Quapaw akačʔéčʔe ‘drip onto’ RR, ditsʔétsʔe ‘drip’ RR, baš’e ‘scrub, bear down washing’ RR, dišʔé ‘wring dry’ RR, akačʔéčʔe ‘drip onto an object’ RR, ditsʔé ‘drip liquid’, tsʔétsʔe, di- ‘drip periodically’

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi dútčēčéhi, ŭdúčèčèhi ‘he let it drip often’ D&S:262b, tčeč, ŭdúčèčèhi ‘ooze out’ D&S:262b
dry (1)  

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *úxE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *úxE

Crow úxj ‘dry’ RG, GG:58, RGG:98

Hidatsa úxč ‘dry’ J , úxči

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *púxE

Proto-Dakota *púzA

Lakota púza ‘dry’ RTC , púzA, ka- ‘make something dry by shaking it in the wind; to become dry by being shaken by the wind, as wash’ BT, ER:288a, EJ , púza, pu- ‘rub dry, wipe dry’ ER:433a , púza, ya- ‘dry with the mouth’ ER:626b , púza, yu- ‘make dry, to wipe dry’ ER:649a , wapuyu ‘dry e.g. clothes’ EJ

Dakota púza ‘dry’ SRR:429b

Stoney búda PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *púxe

Chiwere būd ‘dry’ RR

Hoocąk wūus ‘dry’ KM:3841 , wūus ‘be dried’ KM:3091 , wūs, taa- , taaus

Proto-Dhegiha *būsE

Omaha-Ponca būsE ‘dry’ RR , RTC

Kanza/Kaw būsE ‘dry’ RR , būsE, ba- ‘brush dry, brush off dry’ JOD, RR , būsE, bu- ‘dry by rubbing, wring out’ JOD, RR , būsE, dā- ‘dry from exposure to heat or air’ RR , būsE, go- ‘dry as the wind does, brush off.’ RR

Osage būs, būsE , tūsE ‘dry, withered’ LF:26b, LF:27b

Quapaw būs, būsE ‘dry’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ūxi

Biloxi úxwí, úxwí , tūxwí ‘dry’ D&S:283b

Ofo ūsí ‘dry’ D&S:327b , ūsí , tūsí ‘dry’ JSS

General comment

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa and Proto-Biloxi-Ofo suggest that this was a vowel-initial root. The p/w/b of MVS is unexplained. In other instances such labial consonant correspondences are reflexes of an earlier wa-, wi-, but conditioning factors here are entirely wanting. Cf. ‘sand (1)’.
**dry (2)**

_verb perceptual_

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xé(-ka)***

**Proto-Dakota**

Lakota _xeya, oyd_- ‘to cause to boil away or evaporate’ EB:417

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Chiwere _xége_ RR

**Proto-Dhegiha ‘xéka**

Omaha-Ponca _xég_ JOD

Osage _xéga_ , _txéka_ ‘dead, as gras or tree’ LF:218a

Quapaw _xéga_ ‘dry out from breaking (limbs)’ JOD , _dxéka_ ‘dried up, dead from heat/cold’ RR , _txé_ RR

**General comment**

The extended form appears in Omaha-Ponca, Osage, Quapaw, and Chiwere. The unextended form is in Quapaw and Lakota.
dry (3)

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šéka

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šéka

Proto-Dakota *šēku

Proto-Dakota 'šēku

Lakota šēča ‘dry’ [ ablaut] RTC , śēča, ka- ‘make dead or dry by striking, to deaden by cutting around, as around a tree; to cause to deaden’ EB:290, EJ , śēča, na- ‘make wither by trampling on e.g. grass’ EB:358 , śēča, yu- ‘deaden; to make dry.’ EB:651

Dakota šéča , ʔéča ‘dry, dead’ SRR:442a

Stoney ʔéča PAS

Sioux Valley šēča PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šéke

Chiwere sége RR

Hoocąk šéek ‘be dead (said of trees, standing or lying); be withered, dying (of plant life)’ KM:2928 , ʔéek ‘destroy by trampling’ KM:2237 , śēk, nąą̱̱̱ , nąą̱̱̱ek

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tcēčka , ʔčēčka ‘dead tree’ D&S:263a

General comment

DH shows a different fricative ablaut grade, also attested in Chiwere.
duck, waterfowl

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wį́•xa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wį́•x-ka

Crow bįxaaka RG, GG:29, RGG:1

Hidatsa wí•x-ka 'duck' J, mí•x-ka

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wį́•x

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wį xe

Chiwere mį xe 'duck' RR

Hoocąk wįįx KM:3754 , wįįx

Proto-Dhegiha *mįɣa

Omaha-Ponca mį xa 'duck' RR

Kanza/Kaw mį xa ~ mįɣa RR

Osage mį xa , ñįɣa 'the white swan (see legend)' LF:93b

Quapaw mį xa 'duck' RR , ñįɣa JOD

General comment

The Dakota mąŋ 'duck' represents a contamination of this root by Proto-Siouan 'bird (1)', q.v. The final vowel was reanalyzed in Chiwere/Hoocąk. Cf. 'goose'.
dwell, dwelling, house
physical_artefact_shelter

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ahtí*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *atē*

Crow ašt RG, GG:12, RGG:42
Hidatsa atē ‘house’ J , at ‘his house’ J , áti

Pre-Mandan

Mandan tī ‘house’ RTC , atī ‘house’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hta*

Proto-Dakota *thí*

Lakota thí ‘dwell’ RTC
Stoney thi- PAS
Sioux Valley thi- PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thí*

Chiwere čhi RR
Hoocąk čhí ‘house; dwell’ KM:217 , cii ‘roof of house’ KM:224 , čhīhk , ciihak ~ cii hihak

Proto-Dhegiha *hta*

Omaha-Ponca tī RTC
Kanza/Kaw čhi RR
Osage hcí LF:162f
Quapaw tī RR

Proto-Southeastern *athí*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *athí*

Biloxi ati, at, tī D&S:274b
Ofo athí, ət̠i , ṣəthi D&S:322a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ati , ṭatí N, H

General comment
Proto-Crow-Hidatsa seems to have replaced the inherited vowel with the more productive -ɛ.

e

eagle (1)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xurá•

Pre-Mandan *xura•re

Mandan hą́xurare 'bat' H:70

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xurá

Proto-Dakota *xuyá

Lakota xuyá 'eagle' RTC

Dakota ḡuyá , †xuyá 'eagle' SRR:168b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere xra•gré•ye 'golden eagle' RR

Hoocąk xorapása ~ xorepása 'bald eagle' KM:3935 , xorapasa

Proto-Dhegiha *xürá

Omaha-Ponca xidá 'eagle' RTC

Kanza/Kaw xiyá 'eagle' RR

Osage xidi , †xüdí 'eagle, golden eagle' LF:218b

Quapaw xidd 'eagle' RR

General comment

Hoocąk < ‘eagle’ + ‘head’ + ‘white (1)’ (sic for -są). The Mandan form appears to be an old compound of hą́ ‘night’ and xura•re ‘eagle’; both roots are preserved only in this compound.
eagle (2)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *wąwrí

Lakota wąblí ‘eagle’ RTC

Dakota wąmdí, ṭwąmdí ‘eagle’ SRR:526a

Sioux Valley wąbdí PAS

General comment

Cf. ‘bird > game bird, turkey’
ear (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rą́•tpa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ahpá

Crow ahpá 'external ear' RG, GG:4, RGG:67
Hidatsa ahpá 'animal's ear, external ear' J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ną́•tpa

Proto-Dakota *natpá

Lakota nakpá 'ear' RTC
Dakota natpá, nakpá SRR:338a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ną́•twa

Chiwere ną́dwa, ną́•dwa RR
Hoocąk naqćáwa KM:2125 , nąqcawa

Proto-Dhegiha *ńqhtá

Omaha-Ponca niṭa , ḋński JOD
Kanza/Kaw ḋntă RR
Osage noⁿṭá , ḋńqhtá 'lobe of the ear, ears (term used in rituals)' LF:117a
Quapaw ḋntá RR

General comment

Absence of the initial resonant in MRS is unexplained; cf. 'ear (2), external opening', and especially 'hear'. The medial cluster is subject to Dakota dissimilation and Dhegiha metathesis, both regular.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

ear (2), external opening

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *رةx-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ahkūxe (?)

Crow ahkūxa RG, GG:4, RGG:67

Hidatsa ahkūxə ‘human ear, organ of hearing’ J , ahkūxi

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ṛkóx, ṛkóxEx ‘ear’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *naxüte

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere naxi ‘ear, hear’ JGT:135 , naxüxe ‘ear, inner ear’ JGT:135

Proto-Dhegiha *naxüte

Omaha-Ponca naxide RR

Kanza/Kaw niýüxe, niýüfe ‘ear, the external, sense of hearing’ RR

Osage no'xudse(?) , ṛnaxüde ‘internal ear, that which holds the hearing orifice’ LF:119a

Quapaw naxüte ‘ear, external opening’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *naxuxi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *naxuxi

Biloxi nišofeʔ MRH , nišoфеʔ MS , nixuxwi, nišuxwi, nixuxwi D&S:237a

Ofo n'nišūjí , ṛnashiújí ‘ear, earlobe’ JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo naqōq; nahūh , ṛnaqox N

General comment

There is a possible prefix *رة- here that frequently appears (except in MRS) with numerous parts of the body. Dakotan and Hoocąk preserve this root but only in ‘hear’ q.v. Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan are clearly not cognate but show interesting similarities. Cf. ‘brain (1)’. Cf. also Catawba naniré ‘hear’ (AssiniboineG/Kanza/Kaw). The Crow and Hidatsa forms with (h)k cannot match the x of the other languages.
ear (3), inner; hearing

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley níye RR

Proto-Dakota *níye

Lakota níye ‘ear’ RTC

Dakota níže, ʔníye ‘ear, sense of hearing’ SRR:342b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk níux ‘ear, act or power of hearing’ KM:2397, nąx

Proto-Dhegiha *nį́ŷẗe

Omaha-Ponca nąxíde ‘inner hearing organ’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw nį́xú́je, nį́ŷẗe

Osage nį́xídse, ʔnį́ŷẗe

Quapaw nį́ýnte ‘inner ear’ JOD, RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba -dakusʔ ‘ear’ FS, KS, ʔdksu ‘ear’ ASG, KS

General comment

Omaha-Ponca ǫ may be from either *ą or *ų, so cognacy is uncertain. *nixíde is the expected form.
earth, ground, land

noun natural phenomenon

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *awá•-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *awá

Crow awá ‘land’ RG, GG:13, RGG:19

Hidatsa awá ‘earth, ground, land’ J

Pre-Mandan *aw¬-

Mandan wiŋ‘íŋk ‘ground’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mq¬-

Proto-Dakota *mqh-ka

Lakota makh RTC

Dakota mako, maká, ṭmakhá ‘earth, ground’ SRR:305b

Stoney mqh- PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk mqá ‘earth, ground; year’ KM:1929, mqá

Proto-Dhegiha *mq-ðį́hka RR

Omaha-Ponca mqį́kka ‘soil, earth’ RR

Kanza/Kaw mqį́kka ~ mqį́kka ‘earth, clay’ RR

Osage maš-šį́-ka ‘earth, soil, clay, mud’ LF:102b, mqį́kka ‘soil, ground, earth, clay, mud, dirt’ CQ

Quapaw mqį́kka ‘earth, soil, ground’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *amq¬(-ri)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *amq

Biloxi ma”, ma, am, hama, Ḫamq ‘ground’ D&S:226b

Ofo á‘ma”, Ḫéṃq ‘land, country, ground’ D&S:320b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo amáñí, amáí, Ḫamq-(-ni) ‘land, earth, world’ H, amé”, Ḫamq-(-ni) HW

Saponi Massa-moni ‘paint creek’ Byrd

Proto-Catawba
Catawba mánu• ‘ground’ FS

General comment

Phonetically similar forms are found in Algonquian, Caddoan, Iroquoian, Hokan, etc. The Proto-Siouan post-accentual consonant is difficult to determine.

Several subgroups suggest -r, while only MVS shows clear reflexes of -h. Instances of -r could be epenthetic between the root and suffix-initial vowels (as is frequently the case), or -re could be an instance of morpheme replacement and generalization of a common suffix. The Proto-Dakota *h is unexplained. Cf. ‘mud, dirt, earth’.
eat

verb physical consumption

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rú•tE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *nu•tE
Crow dusłi 'eat' RG
Hidatsa nu•tE 'eat' J , nu•tl

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *rú•te

Proto-Dakota *yúta
Lakota yúta 'eat' RTC
Stoney yúda PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *rú•te

Chiwere warú•jé RR
Hoocąk ruńč KM:2743 , ruuc

Proto-Dhegiha *rüte

Kanza/Kaw yújé 'eat in small pieces, dip' RR
Osage thídse , ĺdüčé 'scoop' LF:145b , thudhé , ĺdıčé 'scoop food' LF:154a

Proto-Southeastern *warú•ti

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *årú•ti
Biloxi dáté , adaté 'eat' D&S:275b
Ofo qahtú, ţ-årú•ti 'I am going to eat' JSS , anúti , ţ-årú•ti 'eat' D&S:330b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo láti , tlu•ti H , walār•th , tlu•ti MMI , wálār• , tlu•ti ES , wálār , wálāt , tlu•ti LJF , wálāt , tlu•ti HW

Proto-Catawba

Woccon Eraute (?) JL
**edge**

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hēte*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *mathēte* 'side, rim' EB:334a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *chéje, †čhéǰe* 'edge, border' JGT:136
egg

noun animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *itká

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ibkd

Crow ibkd ‘egg’ RG, GG:74

Hidatsa ibkd ‘egg’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *itká

Proto-Dakota *(wَا-)itká

Lakota itká ‘egg, testicle’ RTC, wítka ‘egg’ RTC

Stoney wíkta ‘egg’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ítke

Chiwere ṭóje ‘egg’ RR

Hoocąk hiičgé ‘egg’ KM:873, híicge

Proto-Dhegiha *(wَا-)íhta

Omaha wíntá ‘egg’

Ponca wíhtá ‘egg’ RR

Kanza/Kaw íntá ‘egg’ RR

Osage ḥdža, ḥdžta ‘egg’ LF:24a

Quapaw sikkwintá ‘hen’s egg’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ʃt-


Ofo iⁿtu, iⁿtu, iⁿtu ‘egg’ D&S:325a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wizk ‘chicken’ KS, FGS

General comment
Chiwere and DH show reflexes of the usual *tk > kt > ht. The forms with initial w may reflect addition of the absolutive wa- or an old word for ‘bird’ wą which appears in ‘swallow (bird)’, ‘crow > raven’, ‘bird (1)’, and ‘bird > game bird, turkey’. The latter term may also account for sporadic nasalization of the first syllable.

eight
abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *hpe-rəmęj
Omaha ppedbhį RTC
Ponca ppedbhį RR
Kanza/Kaw ppeydbį
Osage pehabthį, *hpedbhį LF:85
Quapaw ppedbhį

Proto-Southeastern *pa-ranį

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo pàtanî D&S:328b, pA lAnî

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo pālán, paltni, paltili, paltniq N, H, pōlan’ HW, peli’k* ES, balai’n LJF, bilaak:kh, bilaq:kh MMI

General comment

The Chiwere pattern is almost certainly borrowed from DH, as the basis for this numeral is ‘three’, which, in Chiwere, has undergone normal development to dō-įį, not ŵar-įį. This term is probably not Proto-Siouan in origin as it occurs in the proper phonological form (*hpV + ‘three’) only in OVS and DH.

Its presence in Illinois Algonquian (Rankin, 1985) shows that it spread from an OVS dialect. No actual Proto-Siouan term for ‘eight’ is currently reconstructible.
elbow (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ɨ̱pá̱

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ɨ̱paxxé•

Crow ɨ̱paxxa ‘elbow’ RG, GG:81 , ɨ̱baxxxe `elbow’ RGG:72 , ɨ̱x xpé `wing’ L:376

Hidatsa ɨ̱paxxé• ‘elbow’ H&V , ɨ̱pá ‘wing’ WM, J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ɨ̱pa

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ɨ̱pá ‘elbow’ RTC

Dakota ɨ̱pá , ɨ̱pá ‘lower part of the arm’ SRR:209a

Stoney ɨ̱pá PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk aicawagera , ɨ̱ila-fa- MM:268

General comment

The Crow/Hidatsa forms for ‘elbow’ proper may have been influenced by Hidatsa paxxa ‘corner, angle’ and its Crow correspondent.
elbow (2), forearm

*noun* physical_somatic_body_part

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *istó*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *istó*

Proto-Dakota *istó*

Lakota istó ‘lower arm’ RTC

Dakota istó ‘forearm, foreleg’ SRR:207b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ůhúdége W:236a

Proto-Dhegiha *istó-huí*

Omaha-Ponca astúhi RTC

Kanza/Kaw istóhú RR

Osage ıstúhi, ıstóhú ‘elbow’ LF:70a

Quapaw istóhí RR, ıstóhí ~ ıstóhí JOD

**Proto-Southeastern** *istó ~ ıstó*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ĭnstódí, ĭnstódi, nstódi, ĭnstotu, nstótu, ıstódi D&S:200a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo hiṣto, hiṣto, ıḥiṣto ‘arm’ N, H

**General comment**

The initial i- is presumably the inalienable possession prefix.

The Biloxi forms with -t-u are the reflex of a compound of ĭstódi with hu ‘bone’.
elk

noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ų́•phą

Pre-Mandan

Mandan įgu ‘elk’ H:262

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ų́•phą

Proto-Dakota *ųphą

Lakota upāŋ ‘cow elk’ RTC

Dakota upay, řupąŋ ‘female elk’ WM:57b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hų́wą

Chiwere hų́mą ‘elk’ GM

Hoocąk hų́wą ‘elk’ KM:1622, hų́wą

Proto-Dhegiha *ǫ́phǫ

Omaha-Ponca ǫphą ‘elk’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw ǫphą, ǫphę ‘elk’ RR

Osage ǫphą ‘elk’ RR

Quapaw ǫphą, ḫpha ‘elk’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo mampai̇dahkai, ŋmọphą ‘buffalo’ H, mą́p’eŋį̃gę̃k, ŋmọphą ‘cow’ ES, noⁿ’Tayd, noⁿ’Pai̇, mą́p’oyeⁿ, ŋmọphą ‘cow’ LJF

General comment

The Tutelo form is unique in showing an initial w-, possibly the reflex of wo- ‘absolutive’ or wi-, a classifier for animals.
elm

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pʔé < *wa-ʔé•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa wiraʔí• 'elm' J, miraʔí•

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wráwi 'elm' H:300

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *pʔé < *wa-ʔé• RR

Proto-Dakota *pʔé

Lakota pʔéčhą

Dakota pe , tpʔé 'elm' SRR:429a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere a•wé•grąŋe RR

Proto-Dhegiha *e-

Omaha-Ponca eaŋ JOD

Kanza/Kaw ehǘ ~ éhü 'elm' RR

Osage éhü 'elm' RR

Quapaw ehí 'elm' JOD

General comment

Most of the languages compound 'elm' with 'wood' or 'tree': 'tree + elm' in Hidatsa and Mandan; 'elm + tree' elsewhere. Elm appears to be from *wa-ʔé•. *wa- loses its vowel as usual in this context leaving *w-ʔe or *w-ʔi, which > pʔe/i. Note, however, that this development is different from the 1Act forms of verbs whose roots begin with * and where the prefix also takes the form wa-. This may ultimately aid in seriation of nominal and verbal morphologies.
emphatic, contrastive, but

enclitic n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šV

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa


Pre-Mandan

Mandan -š ‘definite article’ H:478

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota


emphatic topic

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ya

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota čha ‘emphatic topic’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ya ‘emphatic topic’ GRO

General comment

An enclitic to nouns or noun phrases. There is an otherwise unidentified Biloxi particle, yq, that may be related, although nasalization would be unexplained.
end, finish > last (1)

time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *há•ka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ha•ka

Crow ha•ka ‘last’ RG, GG:48

Hidatsa há•ka ‘last in a series’ J, harkha ‘after, at the last’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan híka ‘last in a series’ H:73

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ha•kE

Proto-Dakota *hakA

Lakota hákáb ‘afterwards, in the meantime’ EB:164b, hákātki ‘last, the last; the youngest child, boy or girl’ EB:164b, eháke ‘the last one; yet, yet to come, a last time’ EB:139

Dakota eháke ‘last one’ SRR:114a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk háak ‘last’ KM:520, haak ‘rear, back part of anything’ KM:520, hāak ‘afterward’ KM:516, haak, haageja, haakeja

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi akiyá ‘last, the last one’ D&S:171b

General comment

Cf. ‘son, third or younger’
end, finish > last (2)

time phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-hą́ke

Proto-Dakota *-hą́ke

Lakota ihą́ke ‘to end, the end’ RTC, ihą́keta ‘at the end, at the last’ EB:216a

Dakota ihą́ŋke, ți’hą́ke ‘end, termination’ SRR:184b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ihą́gita ‘end’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha *ohą́•ke

Omaha-Ponca uthó’ge, utoháge ‘end’ MAS:69

Kanza/Kaw ǫhǫ́•ge ‘end of something’ RR

Osage uthó’ge, utoháke ‘end of anything, head of stream, borders, edges’ LF:170b

Quapaw ohájke ‘end’ JOD

General comment

The Kanza/Kaw form suggests vowel length here. Data for the other languages represented come from sources that do not record length.
end, point, tip (1)

noun physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *-tpE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *uhpE

Crow uhpá RG, GG:58

Hidatsa ihpú ‘tip’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *tpE

Proto-Dakota ḳ̄pá

Lakota ḳ̄pá ‘end’ RTC, wálkippe ‘arrow’ RTC

Dakota ḹká ~ ḹpá ‘end, small end, source’ SRR:201a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere udwáxe ‘tip, end, source’ JGT:260

Proto-Dhegiha *ihtá-

Kanza/Kaw bazé ittáxe ‘nipples of breast’ RR

Osage ihtáxe , ihtáxe ‘tip, top’ LF:78b

General comment

DH metathesis is regular. Hidatsa shows rightward vowel exchange. The u of Chiwere and Proto-Crow-Hidatsa, the oral i of Proto-Dhegiha, Dakota nasalization and accent on the first vowel -- together these suggest that this form is bimorphemic. Biloxi pú, púdyá‘‘tip, end’ (DS-250a), if cognate, represents a metathesis. x in the MVS forms may in fact be γ.
Englishman

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca sau2k-a3n-a3sh, ṭaskanaš, ṭatqdaš [not a proper Omawhaw word]

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo áŋglif, áŋglíf, áⁿglífhi, ṭaklíśhi 'another, different, foreign, sometimes 'English' or 'American''

General comment

A loan, presumably < M.F. 'les anglois' lezglwɛ(z). Ofo source and meaning are uncertain. The form looks as if it were borrowed from French.

Its phonology is very un-Ofo, but the meaning is quite divergent from the French form, if that is what it is, and the f ~ fh from *s suggests either an older form or a very recent sound change in Ofo. Not only would the *s > f change be recent, but the Ofo aspiration rule would have to have been applicable still during the colonial period. That alone makes this an interesting and controversial form. It should be noted that the initial portion, ak-, would be the expected Biloxi and Ofo reflex of Proto-Siouan ‘man, person (1)’, so the status of this term as a loanword in Ofo is not at all well established and may be more apparent than real.
enter (1)

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-kpE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rahpE

Crow dahpi ‘get in (boat, car, etc.)’ RG, GG:41, RGG:31
Hidatsa rahpé ‘get in’ , nahiáp

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *okpé

Proto-Dakota
Lakota hůkpá ‘entrance to a camp’ EB:695b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *okwé
Chiwere ugwé GM
Hoocąk hokewé ‘go in, enter’ [cf. hoikéwe] KM:1368 , hokewe

Proto-Dhegiha *ohpé

Omaha-Ponca up̣á-bi , ṭoppé-bi ‘enter’
Osage up̣é , ṭohpé ‘enter’ LF:175a
Quapaw ṭoppé ‘enter, as a lodge’ JOD

Proto-Catawba
Catawba hůkapá ‘inside’ AS, KS
enter (2)
verb physical motion
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
  Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wiré•ri
    Crow biléeli ‘enter’ GG:31, RGG:30
    Hidatsa wiré•ri ‘enter’ J , miré•ri
Proto-Southeastern
Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
  Biloxi njusé ndédi ‘I went in’ D&S:285ab , wódédi ‘entrance to a lodge’

General comment
See ‘door (2)’
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

enter (3)

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *o-phē

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rōpērekēʔš ‘they went in’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *o-phē

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ḍhA ‘follow, go with’ EB:400b
Dakota ḍpa ‘go with, follow, go in’ SRR:380b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere -owe ‘pass’ GM, uwé ‘pass through’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw ophē ‘enter’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *o-phē

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ophē ‘come inside’ D&S:327b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo opē ‘go’ JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba peʔ ‘step’ BAR

General comment

In DH there are other derived forms. The root appears, not unexpectedly, to be -phe with an approximate meaning of ‘tread, step’. Cf. ‘follow’. The cluster *ph was very rare in Proto-Siouan, and there is evidence in other forms that it may result from syncope of an earlier **pVh or **wVh sequence. Cf. ‘follow’, ‘comb’. The Catawba form, however, renders the syncope hypothesis suspect.

Crow būhpī ‘falling snow’ (GG-29, DEC-6), Hidatsa wōhpī ‘to snow’, Hidatsa wōhpī, ‘bathe’ and Hidatsa ṃpūhpī ‘sink into mud’ imply a verb -hpī with a meaning like ‘be immersed in’. If that form is to be compared here, we must explain the reverse order of presumed ‘w’ and ‘h.

No explanation is forthcoming.

The Lakota ‘go with, follow’ meanings may indicate that we have homophonous forms here. Speculatively, ‘go with’ might be derived from o-he ‘follow’, q.v., with an otherwise unattested (in Lakota) prefix ‘p- meaning ‘with’. Cf. Hidatsa ḍpi ‘with’.
erect

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sį́he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ičhe- ‘*ičVhe-’

Crow ičČÉE ‘wake up’ RG

Hidatsa ičhé ‘wake up’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ㄜ]

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ㄜ ‘erect’ RTC

Dakota ʔㄜ ‘stand erect, stiffen up’ SRR:651b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ʔín , ʔyį ‘erection, stiffen (up)’ JGT:137

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ʔí’h’i”, ʔí’h”i”, ʔį’h’i ‘stand’ D&S:255a

General comment

Crow and Hidatsa agree with Biloxi in reflecting an older h-stem and s-grade of the spirant. Biloxi shows progressive nasalization. The rest of MVS has this root as the second member of the compound *ʔnį-ㄜ], q.v.
even (1)
perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *

Pre-Mandan

Mandan tkúš ‘real, true’ H:254

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *

Proto-Dakota *

Lakota tkúša ‘even, just, square with’ RTC , yutkúša ‘cut off even’ EB:654 , katkúša ‘cut off square’ EB:293 , tkúša, ya- ‘bite off even’ EB:630 , tkúša, pa- ‘press in full, make even full; to strike off level, as in measuring grain’ EB:432

Dakota tkúšá , tkúšá ‘even, just, exactly’ SRR:472a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hakirucgus ǰį́i ‘be even in length, coincide with’ KM:606 , hakirucgus, hakirucgusji (= hakirucgus + xįį)

Proto-Southeastern *

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kóhē , kóbē , tikohi , tikobē , dikohē , tkóhi ‘just, entirely, altogether, sure enough’ D&S:211b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tıkóš ‘straight edged’ JOD , lakatkóša ‘cut with knife’ H , dikóša, laka- ‘to cut with knife’ H , tkóšiel, laka- ‘he cuts it off with an axe’ H , tkóšiel, nq- ‘he breaks it off with the foot’ H , tkóšiel, la- ‘he bites it off’ H , lakatkóša, lakatkóshiš ‘cut with axe’ JOD , tkuša, wila- ‘I break it’ D , tkuša, igla- ‘to break one’s own’ D , tkuša, ila- ‘to break’ D , tkuša, laka- ‘to cut with an axe’ D , tkuša, nq- ‘to break with the foot’ D

General comment

Dakotan nasalization is unexplained.
even (2)

perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *tkúxE

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *tkúxE

Proto-Dakota


Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *cgúx, boo- ‘trespass, cut across; offend ceremonially or religiously‘ KM:45, boocgux ‘cut through; take a short cut’ KM:323, *cgúx, gi- , gícgux

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo *ukúsi ‘cut with scissors’ D&S:331b
exist > born

verb existence

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *htų

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *watú

Crow bišt’ ‘be born’ [native] RG

Hidatsa w国家战略 ‘there is’ J, matú ‘be born’ J, *watú

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *tu ‘be born’ [transitive formed with causative] RTC, *tu ‘birthday’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hṭų

Proto-Dakota *ṭhų

Lakota ṭhų ‘give birth to, have, possess, acquire’ EB:499b

Dakota ṭų , ṭhų ‘possess, acquire, give birth to’ SRR:477b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ṭhų

Chiwere ṭhų ‘have inalienably’ GM

Hoocąk čyų ‘be plentiful, available, exist’ KM:291 , čyų ‘bear child, give birth’ KM:290 , čyų , čyų

Proto-Dhegiha *htą

Omaha-Ponca *tu , *ṭą́ ‘have’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw tü ‘have’ RR

Osage ṭą , ṭą́ ‘possess’ LF:155b

Quapaw ṭą , ṭą́ ‘possess, have’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ġtį̃ntę́, ḳį̃tų́ ‘theirs’

Saponi mihu mima mikito , ƙ-to ‘my dear wife’ F

General comment

Lack of nasalization in Mandan is unusual, unless the term has been borrowed from Hidatsa, Crow i is unexplained. This verb is active in most languages but stative in a few.
eye

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ištá

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ištá

Crow ištá RG, GG:92, RGG:74

Hidatsa ištá ‘eye’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan istá ‘face’ RTC, istáwį ‘eye’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ištá

Proto-Dakota *ištá

Lakota ištá RTC

Sioux Valley ištá PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ištá

Chiwere ištá, ištá RR

Hoocąk hišǰá ‘face, eye’ KM:1080, hišja

Proto-Dhegiha *ištá

Omaha-Ponca ištá ‘eye’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw ištá ‘eye’ RR

Osage išštá, išštá ‘eye, eyes’ LF:77a

Quapaw ištá, išštá ‘eye’ RR

General comment

DH nasalization is unexplained. The following SE languages exhibit forms that are not cognate but which share certain phonetic resemblances: Biloxi tütčá”, tšéč”, tešč’”, lovtčá” ‘the eyes’ (DS-282a), Biloxi tatcoe (MRH 1968), Ofo o’tsóhi, ò’tó ‘eye’ (DS-323a), Tutelo tasúi, tasíye, Cf. Catawba ŋiʔ? (Kanza/Kaw).
f

face

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *í•te

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *í•tÉ

Crow iisá ‘face’ RG, GG:79, RGG:76, í•te L:237

Hidatsa íte ‘face’ J, íte, íte ‘face’ WM:97

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *í•té

Proto-Dakota íté

Lakota íté ‘face’ RTC

Sioux Valley íté PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ĭ́•ǰe ‘face’ RR, ĭ́ǰe ‘face’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha ĭté

Omaha-Ponca jdí ‘face’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw ĭté, ĭté RR

Osage ṭ’sé, ṭće LF:75a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi íté, te, ṭité ‘face, forehead’ D&S:200b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba nen ‘face’ FS

General comment
Cf. ‘forehead (1)’. These roots are distinct in Dakota, but may have merged in other languages. Swanton was aware of this distinction, but found no difference in Biloxi. Matthews ignored the distinction in his reconstruction.

Lack of aspiration suggests earlier accent on leftmost syllable. Chiwere length and accent and Kanza/Kaw length support this analysis. It is a very odd accentual pattern however. Chiwere and DH sporadic nasalization are unexplained. Proto-Siouan may represent ‘i-ite’ here, i.e. a possessive prefix before a vowel-initial form. No glide is inserted, perhaps because the vowels were identical. This supposition would account for accent and vowel length. Cf. also Catawba ḢItuʔ ‘eye’ (Kanza/Kaw).

fail

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley šʔa

Proto-Dakota

Lakota šʔa, wó- ‘overloaded’ EB:610

Proto-Dhegiha šʔa

Quapaw ṣǎd, do- ‘fail to finish eating’ RR , ṣǎd, di- ‘fail, fall short’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘feeble’
fail, be unsteady
verb physical_action
Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kyą́-
Proto-Dakota *kčą́ka
Lakota kćąŋka ‘one who fails in doing what he said he would’ EB:297a
Dakota kćąŋka ‘one who fails in doing what he said he would’ SRR:274b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
Hoocąk kąąn̆n̆a ‘sway back and forth’ KM:1762 , kąąrere

Proto-Dhegiha *-krąra
Kanza/Kaw gaḻy̱a ‘fail chopping’ RR
Osage thîg̱hó’ṯha , thîḻq̱a ‘fail holding’ LF:146b
Quapaw dikdîdá ‘fumble, let slip’ JOD

fall (1)
verb physical_motion
Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley
Proto-Dhegiha *hîp̱e
Kanza/Kaw hîp̱e ‘fall’ RR
Osage hîp̱e , thîp̱e ‘stumble and fall, trip’ LF:61b

Proto-Southeastern
Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Tutelo hîmp̱ewa , thîp̱e ‘fall down’ HW

General comment
There are too few forms here to give us a secure reconstruction; however, the forms that do exist suggest a Proto-Siouan compound *hi•phe. Quapaw hide ‘drop, cause to fall’ probably contains the initial root of this form.

fall (2)

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-ši•pe

Pre-Mandan

Mandan -ši•p, ru• ‘push down on’ H:207 , -ši•p, po• ‘push down on’ H:207 , -ši•p, ra• ‘be burnt’ H:207

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -ši•p, boo• ‘shoot down; knock down’ KM:91 , booši•p ‘strike down’ KM:413 , -ši•p, gi• ‘pull down, take down (from hook, shelf, etc.), v.tr.’ KM:2732 , giši•p ‘knock down by pressure or pushing away from body’ KM:3486 , -ši•p, ru• , ruši•p , -ši•p, wa• , waši•p
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

fall > lie down
verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan ‘xapÉ

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ‘xap-

Crow xapí ‘lie down, fall’ RG

Hidatsa xápí ‘lie down, recline’ J , xphé, ara- ‘kick sth. off of sth.’ J , xphé, na- ‘knock down from a high place’ J , xphé, nú- ‘take down’ J , xphé, pd- ‘push off, knock down, knock off’ J

Pre-Mandan -*xpe-

Mandan wakípxeʔš ‘I fell in’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley ‘xpa-

Proto-Dakota ‘xpA

Lakota xpíya ‘lie down’ RTC , xpíháʔ ‘thrown down’ RTC , xpA- ‘drop’ RTC , xpá- ‘be kicked off or out.’ EB:815 , xpa, oká- ‘make fall into by striking’ EB:383 , xpáxpá, ká- ‘strike and make pieces fly off, as from wood or ice’ EB:275 , xpá, wo- ‘cut off anything and let it fall’ EB:519 , xpá, wo- ‘make fall by shooting, to shoot down, as a bird on the wing’ EB:598 , xpá, yu- ‘pull something with the mouth so as to make it come down, as a dog jumping at a piece of beef. to throw anything down with’ EB:620 , xpá, yu- ‘pull something, so as to make it fall; to loosen the bow string after use; to throw down e.g. one’s load, to shake off’ EB:633 , xpa, apá- ‘throw down on’ EB:88

Dakota ḥpa ‘thrown down’ SRR:166b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere oxwą́ñe ‘fall down’ JOD

Proto-Dhegiha ‘xpare

Omaha-Ponca xpathe , ṣxpádé MAS:74

Kanza/Kaw xapdyé ‘fall off’ RR , obápapaye ‘push off, shove sth. off’ RR , obápapaye ‘push somebody off (old fused causative?)’ RR , ogápapaye ‘knock somebody off of a horse, perch, etc.’ RR , onápapaye ‘kick something off its platform.’ RR , obápapaye ‘shoot down, shoot and cause to fall’ RR , onápapaye ‘burn down, cause to fall by burning’ RR , oyápapaye ‘fall from the hand, let, to lose.’ RR

Osage xapdáhe , ṣxpádé ‘grope, feel around with hands in dark’ LF:181b

Quapaw oxdáde ‘fall from a height’ JOD , obédápade ‘push off and cause to fall’ RR , obédápade ‘fall, cause by pressure/weight’ RR , oxdápade ‘pull off and cause to fall’ RR , oxdápade ‘knock off, cause to fall off’ RR , oxdápade ‘knock something down’ RR , opóxápade ‘shoot down’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi xapká ‘flat, low’ D&S:225a

General comment
Hidatsa, Lakota, Chiwere, and DH show forms with a relic, fused causative which is no longer conjugated as a causative. Mandan wάxpe ‘nine’ (one laid/hangs down?) may also belong here, although it is a rather peculiar form, being exceptional with regard to the normal Mandan constraint against clusters with $p$ as second element.

**fan**

verb  physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Rú

Proto-Dakota *kaRú

Lakota kalú ‘to fan’ RTC

Dakota kadú ‘blow or brush away a little w. the hand’ SRR:247a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Ru

Chiwere kíbru ‘fan’ JGT:141

Hoocąk túu ‘fan (to make cool)’ [v root] KM:3143 , tuu

Proto-Dhegiha *(ka-)Rú

Kanza/Kaw gojú ‘use a fan’ RR

Quapaw Ḏikiddtí ‘fan’ [noun] RR

General comment

Quapaw -tti is regular, from posttonic *-tu < *Ru.
far, other, across

*particle* physical, spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *gé*, †ge- ‘other (not visible)’ JGT:961, *gé* in: *géhändge*, †ge- ‘another’ JGT:962, *gé*, †ge- ‘the other of the two’ JGT:963, *gé* in: *géhändge*, †ge-

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw -ge- in: *gé-gejīk̮hę* ‘from there, from that place’ RR, -ge- in: *géyįgeji* ‘there, not visible, over there’ RR, -ge- in: *géyįgetta* ‘over there, to that place’ RR

Osage †-ke in: *hó-wa-t'-ge* ‘where; in what place’ LF:67b, †-ke in: *hú-wä-ge* ‘where’ LF:68b

Proto-Catawba


General comment

Cf. ‘across > over, beyond, above’
fart

physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *.pihe, *pihe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *pihe

Crow pia ~ pipia ‘fart’ RG

Hidatsa ph ~ pla ‘fart’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pih ‘break wind’ H:144

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk wi ‘break wind’ KM:3757, wi

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo lakpiʔi ‘smell, emit an odor’ JOD

far, towards, into

particle physical_spatial

General comment

Cf. ıkǝ.
father (1) (referential)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-á•ti

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa á•t̪ ‘father’ WM:155 , á•tu ‘father (ref.)’ J

Pre-Mandan *at̪E

Mandan wóʔE; ró’ts ‘my father; our father’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *di

Proto-Dakota á•t̪

Lakota á•t̪ ‘father’ RTC

Assiniboine á•t̪ PAS

Stoney á•t̪ PAS

Sioux Valley á•t̪ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-ą́te

Chiwere áq̂ ‘father, his father’ D&S:170a

Hoocąk hiʔą́č KM:808 , hi’ąc

Proto-Dhegiha *iráti

Omaha-Ponca ibódì RTC

Kanza/Kaw ŋóddì, ṭyjìe RR

Osage ihóddsi , ŋóddì ‘his or her father’ LF:78b

Quapaw ŋóddìe RR , ṭóddìe JOD

Proto-Southeastern *-á•ti

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *atì

Biloxi adiyâ‘ , âdyâ‘ D&S:170a

Ofo atì ‘father, his father’ D&S:322a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ŋôdì edî N , H , dî JOD

General comment
This noun is dependent in DH; the glide between the obligatory prefix and the initial a of the root was reinterpreted as part of the root.

Aspiration in Ofo was conditioned by stress-shift. In Kanza/Kaw and Quapaw it appears that a merger of the referential and vocative terms has occurred. Hidatsa -u forms, which are so far unexplained, seem to have replaced the older term recorded in WM; final -š = -ʃ is the definite article.

father (2) (vocative)

social kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *tä-ti

Proto-Siouan *tä-ti

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa nati ‘father’ HWM, tate ‘father (voc.)’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan tät RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *tä-ti

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *tä-ti

Chiwere hindje ‘father’ JGT:142

Otoe jëdëje ‘daddy’ RR

Hoocąk jàqlí, jàqji ‘daddy’ [cf. hi’ąc] KM:1676, jàqji, jàqji

Proto-Dhegiha *ì-tä-ti

Omaha-Ponca dadih ‘father, female vocative’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw jàqlí, jëdje RR

Quapaw jadte RR, jàdte JOD

Proto-Southeastern *tät-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tata ‘father, male vocative’ D&S:170a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tàr N, H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba tät ‘grandfather’ Sp&S, nane ‘father’ KS

General comment
MVS moves stress to the final syllable in vocatives; this was probably not the case in Proto-Siouan. In the Hidatsa form recorded by HWM, final -ś = -š is the definite article.

fat, stout

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *yépE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa írípi

Crow ílëpi ‘fat’ RG, RG:96

Hidatsa írípi ‘be fat, stout’ í, írípi

Pre-Mandan

Mandan répoZ ‘he’s fat’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *čhépa

Lakota čhépa ‘be fat’ RTC

Dakota čépa, čhépa ‘be fat’ SRR:99a

General comment

The Crow/Hidatsa initial vowel is not explained; nor is the vowel difference under accent. If initial *i- signaled, for example, stative status a Proto-Siouan stem-initial *r would become Dakotan čh. If this is the case Proto-Siouan may have had *r instead of *y.
fat, tallow

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šį•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *šiwí

Crow šiwí ‘fat of meat’ GG:56, RGG:104
Hidatsa šawí ‘fat, tallow’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan šį•re ~ šį• ‘fat, tallow’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *šį

Proto-Dakota *šį

Lakota šį ‘fat, tallow’ RTC
Dakota šiy , šį ‘fat part of animals, fat meat’ SRR:444b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šį

Chiwere šį W:244b
Hoocąk šį ‘be fat; be fatty (of food)’ KM:2961 , šį

Proto-Dhegiha *šį

Omaha-Ponca shį , šį ‘fat’ MAS:75
Kanza/Kaw šį ‘fat’ RR
Osage shį , šį ‘be fat’ LF:131b
Quapaw wašį ‘fat’ RR , šį ‘fat’ JOD , šįhį ‘fat’ OM, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *Včhį•(-ri)

Biloxi tč’tį , atč’ni , tčff(-ni) D&S:264b
Ofo ščhį , ščhį ‘fat, oil, grease’ D&S:324b, JSS
feather

noun physical_somatic_body_part_animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *`(w)`šų́

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-šu

Crow bdašu ‘feather’ RG

Hidatsa išú ‘wing feather’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan sʔ ‘feather’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šų́

Proto-Dakota *šų́

Lakota šų́ ‘quill feather’ RTC

Dakota šag , ř agré ‘large feather of birds’ wings’ SRR:449b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *mą́•šų́

Chiwere mą́sų́ W:239a , mą́šų́ RR

Hoocąk mqą́šų́ KM:2030 , mqą́šų́

Proto-Dhegiha *mǫ́šǫ́

Omaha-Ponca mǫ́šǫ RTC

Kanza/Kaw mošó RR

Osage mo”šo’”, ṭmǫšǫ́ ‘feather, plume, plumage’ LF:101b

Quapaw mǫ́šǫ́ RR

General comment

Cf. the various (game) bird names with *`(a)`wp-, Crow bdaší ‘plume’, which might seem to go here, should be compared with its Hidatsa cognate ṭıotəta ‘plume’ from the root tıotə ‘shake’. Neither belongs in this set.
feeble
verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šʔákE

Proto-Dakota *-šʔákA

Lakota -šʔákA, ka- ‘strike with too little force to penetrate’ EB:292a, -šʔákA, pa- ‘push or strike with too little force to penetrate’ EB:435b, -šʔákA, ya- ‘make no impression with the mouth’ EB:629a, -šʔákA, yu- ‘be heavily laden, have much as one can carry’ EB:653a, -šʔagya, ñka- ‘prevented, hindered, as by having too much clothing on’ EB:386a

Dakota kaš'áka ‘strike w. too little force to penetrate’ SRR:267b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -šʔák, nu- ‘fail at, be incapable, unable to do something’, nuš'uk

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw yacʔáge ‘be unable to eat’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘fail’.
female, woman

person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wi-he or: *wihe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wa < *wiHV J


Hidatsa wâ ‘female’ J, wihka J, mîhka

Pre-Mandan w̍ihe

Mandan wįhe ‘woman’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wi-q ~ *wį

Proto-Dakota w̍iyq

Lakota w̍iyq ‘woman’ RTC

Dakota w̍iyq SRR:577

Assiniboin w̍iyq [Sak.] PAS

Sioux Valley w̍iyq PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hįnį́ke ~ *wį

Chiwere hįńge ‘woman’ [as a suffix in names] GM, -mį̃ RR

Hoocąk hįńįk, hîńįk ‘woman, queen (playing cards); daughter’ [in compound for ‘wife’, part of proper name marker for females (> -wįga)] KM:973, hîńįk , -wį̃ , -wį

Proto-Dhegiha *wį-ka ~ *wį

Omaha-Ponca -wį ‘female (suffix)’ F&LF:177, mîga ‘female’ MAS:76

Kanza/Kaw -mį ‘female (suffix)’ RR

Osage mîgă , mįṅkąd ‘female’ LF:90b, -wį̃ , mįṅkă ‘woman’ LF:91a, -wį̃ , mîŋkă

Quapaw -mį ‘female’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *mįhą

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ilą́

Biloxi ąłści, yâłči, yâłki , ąłkı̃ D&S:177b

Ofo ɑłći ‘female’ JSS, ɑłčı ‘woman’ D&S:325a, ɑł , ɑłđ

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Comparative Siouan Dictionary


Proto-Catawba


General comment

Cf. 1st, 2nd daughter. There seem to be two patterns here, a primary, exemplified in Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan and Tutelo, and a secondary, represented in the other, geographically more central, languages. The older form, with the more diverse distribution and doublets in Tutelo, would appear to have been ‘whe’ or possibly ‘wįhe (Catawba, if cognate, suggests the latter). The secondary form adds -ą, meaning unknown, as a postclitic. It became fused to whatever stage of development had occurred in the subgroups. The root extension -h(e) is typically lost in MVS languages, and in these cases the resultant form is from *ωe-q. Chiwere, Hoocąk, Dakota, Ofo glides are probably epenthetic. The numerous entries in Riggs, (kin) terms for females that begin with non-nasalized ω-, along with the nasality variation throughout MVS suggest that the initial syllable was not originally nasalized, and that nasalization spread from the second syllable, phonologically where possible, analogically elsewhere, perhaps at different times. The Catawba suggests that initial w- in this set may be a reflex of ‘w- ‘animate’.

field (1)
noun physical_spatial_area

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *o-e

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere uwе ‘field, rows of plants’ JDH

Hoocąk horе ‘place’ [ho + ree ‘where one goes to’], hore

Proto-Dhegiha ’őwe

Omaha-Ponca ūwe– ūwe, ūwe ‘field, cornfield’ MAS:47

Osage ūwe , ūwe ‘field’ LF:181a

Quapaw ūwe ‘corn, (corn)field’ JOD

General comment

This reconstruction is probably incorrect as a V1V2 root would be highly irregular. It was more likely either ‘owe or ‘oʔe. Only the Hoocąk form prevents reconstruction of medial w, and Chiwere does not confirm the Hoocąk glide.
field (2)

noun physical spatial area

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota maća, ṯmaća ‘field, cultivated area’ EB:327, maćahu, ṯmaća ‘cornstalk’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *mą́•xe

Chiwere mą́xe ‘cornfield’ GM

Hoocąk mą́x ‘field, tract, garden’ KM:2039, mą́x

General comment

Chiwere, Hoocąk, and Dakota have one term; DH another. The prototype, whatever its source, was probably something like *mą́•xe, apparently < ‘earth, ground, land’ (q.v.).
fight

verb social war

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-hki-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wakíς < *wakíhe

Crow bačíya ‘fight’ GG:24
Hidatsa wakíya ‘make war’ J , makíya

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hki-

Proto-Dakota *khíza

Lakota khíza ‘fight’ RTC
Dakota kíza , ḥkhíza ‘fight, quarrel’ SRR:293

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *khízaa

Chiwere khíqa RR
Hoocąk kiiz K_M:1842 , kíza

Proto-Dhegiha *-hki-Ra

Omaha-Ponca kikína , ḥkína ‘fighting’ MAS:77 , ukíte , ōkkíte ‘fight’ MAS:77
Osage ąkídha , ḥkíída ‘to contend as in a fight’ LF:12a
Quapaw ąkkída ‘attack in return’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo kíthé , ąkíthé , kíthéhe , ḥkíthé ‘fight’ D&S:325b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wɛkarkí ‘fight’ [KS]

General comment

This root suffers greatly from homophony with the reciprocal, with which it is often combined. The variety of final syllables suggests frequent renewal. Cf. ‘soldier’ for additional possibilities. The Ofo may be from *kíh-te < *kíh-Re and thus parallel to the DH forms.
find by chance
verb physical action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ó•rapE

Crow ódapi ‘find by chance’ RG, GG:52, RGG:29

Hidatsa órapE ‘find by chance’ J, órapi

Pre-Mandan

Mandan orəʔpoʔš ‘she found it’ RTC
find by seeking

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ire

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *kóre
Crow číili 'look for' RG
Hidatsa kóre 'look for, search, hunt' J, kírl

Pre-Mandan
Mandan kíkard̲roŋš 'he looks for it' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *íre

Proto-Dakota iyé-
Lakota iyé.ya 'find' RTC
Stoney ye.ya PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
Chiwere iné•gre 'find' RR, uglé GM

Proto-Dhegiha *íre
Omaha-Ponca ñe RR
Kanza/Kaw yé 'see, discover' RR
Osage íthe, yíšd̲e 'see, find, discover' LE:79a
Quapaw íde 'see, find' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
Biloxi ŋ̲ád̲hi, ŋ̲ád̲dí 'hunt, seek' D&S:201b, da, dadi, ŋ̲ád̲dí 'gather, collect, pick up' D&S:180a
Ofo ą́kde, ą́kde 'find' D&S:319b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Tutelo inéwa, ŋ̲íné•wa 'see, find' H

Proto-Catawba
Catawba néni 'see, find' KS, karní? FS

General comment
The Ofo and Chiwere forms may belong to ‘hunt, seek’, q.v., rather than this, since the *r/*R distinction is neutralized after *k. The Chiwere form here may be a compound: *ire + okRe. MRS, Ofo, and Mandan show dative-reflexive prefixes. Tutelo n must be a reflex of an earlier cluster also.
fire

verb natural phenomenon

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(wa-)hpé•te* RR

Pre-Mandan *-pte-

Mandan rápteʔš ‘it’s burning’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpé•te*

Proto-Dakota *phéta*

Lakota phéta ‘fire’ RTC

Sioux Valley phéta PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *phé•te*

Chiwere phé•ǰe RR

Hoocąk pēč ‘fire, n.; stove’ KM:2453, pec

Proto-Dhegiha *hpé•te*

Omaha-Ponca pēʔde RR, ppé•de RTC

Kanza/Kaw ppéʔje RR

Osage hpé•ce ‘fire’ RR

Quapaw ppé•te RR

Proto-Southeastern *aphé•ti*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *aphé•ti*

Biloxi pɛʔteʔ MRH, pɛʔtiʔ MS, pɛʔ, pɛʔ, pɛʔ, pɛʔ D&S:244b

Ofo aphē•ti, apē•ti ‘fire’ D&S:321a, JSS, apē•ni, τaphē•ti ‘coals’ D&S:321a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo pätç, pēti, pätç, τpē•ti ‘fire’ N, H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ḫpēʔ ‘fire’ FGS:9

General comment
The Vʔ sequences found in Omaha-Ponca and Biloxi represent the reflex of the long falling pitch characteristic of long accented vowels in many Siouan languages. Extreme pitch drop results in creaky voice or phonetic ʔ at the end of the syllable. In DH such a sequence always betrays a long vowel, and the same was probably true in Biloxi. This term has numerous look-alikes in Uto-Aztecan. Syllable restructuring, if that is what it is, in Mandan is unexplained.

**firm (1)**

verb perceptual tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *tį́he

Pre-Mandan *tį́- (?)

Mandan ʔhοʔ2ʔ ‘show, stick out’ H:251, ʔώʔ-ʔt ‘outside’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *tį

Proto-Dakota *-tį

Lakota paʔ ‘stiff’ EB:436a, kaʔ ‘straight’ EB:293a

Dakota ką́ʔy, ḻkaʔ ‘straight, straightened out’ SRR:270b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk jįįjį , ḻjį́jį ‘be hard (penis)’ MM:215, djį́djį , ḻjį́jį

Proto-Dhegiha *tį

Omaha-Ponca dį́dį́ , ḻdį́dį́ ‘stiff’ MAS:164

Kanza/Kaw ḻfeito ‘firm, hard against, stout’ RR

**General comment**

This is a set in which aspiration would normally be expected as it has a second syllable beginning with a stop, at least when used with an instrumental prefix. Hoocąk shows an extended form. Kanza/Kaw has reformed the second syllable so that the term falls into the productive -e paradigm.
firm (2)

verb perceptual, tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *tʔɪza

Proto-Dakota *tʔɪSa

Lakota tʔɪSa ‘hard, stiff, firm, strong’ RTC, pa+tʔɪSa ‘stiffen by kneading’ EB:436b, tʔɪSa, ayu- ‘squeeze’ EB:108, tʔɪSa, ka- ‘pound tight, make tight or firm’ EB:294, tʔɪSa, na- ‘press hard with the foot’ EB:361, tʔɪSa, pa- ‘make stiff by kneading, as in mixing up bread, to press down tight’ EB:436, tʔɪSa, wo- ‘tighten make tight by punching; to blow up tight e.g. a bladder’ EB:611, tʔɪSa, ya- ‘make firm with the mouth, to affirm’ EB:630

Dakota ᥇ɪ, ᥇ɪ ‘stiff, firm, hard, brave’ SRR:483b, pa+tʔɪSa, ᥇ɪt ‘make stiff by kneading, press down tight’ SRR:416a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk tʔís, nąą- ‘be swollen; swell up’ KM:2246, nąąt’is ‘shrink’ KM:2247, tʔíx, nąą-, nąąt’ix

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca ṭągátʔį́ɣe ‘blows thick’, ṭąnį́’h ‘green scum on water’

General comment

Probably related by sound symbolism to ‘firm (1)’.
fish

noun animal_fish

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wi-hó-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wuia < *wiha < *woho (?)

Crow buá RG, GG:34, RGG:2
Hidatsa wúa ‘fish’ J, múá

Pre-Mandan

Mandan póʔ ‘fish’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hó

Proto-Dakota *ho-

Lakota ho- ‘fish’ RTC, hoŋf ‘catfish’ RTC, howdsapap ‘to fish’ RTC, hokhúwa
Sioux Valley hóŋf PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hó

Chiwere hó ‘fish’ RTC

Hoocąk hó ‘fish’ KM:1429, hoo ‘minnow’ KM:1438, hooŋf, hooŋg

Proto-Dhegiha *hó

Omaha-Ponca huhú ‘fish’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw hó RR
Osage hó LF:63a
Quapaw hó RR

Proto-Southeastern *wihó-(ri)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *hó-(ri)

Biloxi ő, odi D&S:239b
Ofo ho D&S:323b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wihó H, wihóq gupsud, ṭwihó- ‘fishy smell’ [raised ø] HW
Saponi o- ‘fish’ Byrd

General comment
The sole evidence for the Proto-Siouan initial vowel is from Tutelo, which suggests i. Cf. 'bison', 'dog' and other animates. Mandan initial p is a reflex of Proto-Siouan initial *w after initial syllable vowel syncope and a presumed intermediate stage with p-h. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa may be cognate, though just how is not clear. The postulated developments represent the reverse of rightward vowel exchange. Other speculations are, of course, possible.

five (1)

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kiSų́•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *kixxú

Crow čiixxú ‘five’ RG, GG:36, RGG:80

Hidatsa kixxú ‘five’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kōxī ‘five’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern *kisą́(-ri)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *kisą(-ri)

Biloxi ksá, ksáni, ṭksa(-ni) ‘five’ D&S:213a

Ofo kifaⁿ, kifáⁿ’, ṭkifá ‘five’ D&S:325b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo kisā; kisāhi, kisāi, kisāhöi, ṭkisā ‘five’ N, H, gis’n’, ṭkisā ‘five’ HW, kisēn, ṭkisą ‘two (sic)’ LJF

General comment

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa gemination is unexplained.
five (2)

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *isá•ptą

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *sáptą

Proto-Dakota *záptą

Lakota záptą ‘five’ RTC

Dakota záptąŋ, ṭáptą ‘five’ SRR:649a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sd-thą

Chiwere Өd-thą ‘five’ RTC, RR

Hoocąk saačą́ KM:2783, saacą

Proto-Dhegiha *sá•tą

Omaha-Ponca sá•taq RR

Kanza/Kaw sá•taq RR

Osage çá•to”, ṭá•taq LE:29b

Quapaw sá•taq RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ḋá•taq”, ṭí•taq ‘ten’ D&S:323b, ḋá•pta, ṭí•pta ‘hundred’

General comment

Only Ofo has both roots, ‘five (1)’ and ‘five (2)’. The intrusive ṭ which appears in Ofo can also be seen in ‘black (2)’, q.v. The Ofo meaning may reflect a shift from a quinary system to a decimal system. Ofo’s initial vowel explains accent placement in MVS and may explain voicing in Dakotan.
flat (1)

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *špi-*

Mandan pšíʔRTC , it’s flat

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo sāp’ , ṭądęp ‘flat’ HW

General comment

Biloxi tāpka ‘flat (as a cap)’ (DS-270b) provides additional evidence for a marginal t-grade in the Proto-Siouan fricative ablaut system.

flat (2)

perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *źipe-

Lakota ziŋela, ogŋuŋi ziŋela ‘thin, pancake’ EB:658b

Dakota ziŋedąŋ , źiŋedąŋ ‘thin, fine’ SRR:649b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Saponi sēp , ṭiŋp ‘shallow’ Byrd

General comment

Cf. the a ~ i variation in ‘peel (3)’. Also cf. ‘shallow’.
flat (3)
verb perceptual
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ʾxá•pi
Crow ḥxāpi ‘flat, thin’ RG, GG:60, RGG:98
Hidatsa ḥxāpi ‘thin’ J
Proto-Southeastern
Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
Biloxi xapká ‘flat, low’ D&S:225a

General comment
For other possibilities, cf. ‘fall > lie down’, and ‘peel (4) > skin’.

flee, run away, take refuge
verb physical motion
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley ʾhdzē
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ʾhdzē
Chiwere ḥdže ‘flee’ GM
Otoe ḥdže ‘flee, run away’ JDH
Hoocąk waház ‘chase’ KM:692, waház
Proto-Dhegiha ʾhdzē
Kanza/Kaw ḥdže ‘run away’
Osage ḥ dział ‘flee’ LF:269b
Quapaw ḥdže ‘flee’ JOD

General comment
Crow basas 'run', presumably from Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wata*, does not seem to be cognate. Biloxi aïdhle 'leap' (DS-174a) may be related if it's a compound.
flesh

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *yó•

Proto-Siouan *i-yó•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *írü


Hidatsa íru ‘flesh of, meat of’ J, íruka ‘dried meat, jerky’ J, íruklití ‘(fresh) meat’ J, íruklití

Pre-Mandan

Mandan óro ‘fruit, seed, nut, meat, acorn’ H:129

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *yó

Proto-Dakota *čhó

Lakota čhó ‘kernel, core’ RTC

Dakota čó, tčhó ‘kernel, meat of seeds, etc.’ SRR:102a

Sioux Valley čhó ‘kernel, core’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ró

Chiwere író ‘body’ RR, író, ró ‘body, flesh, self’ JGT:110

Hoocąk róo ‘body’ KM:2626, roo

Proto-Dhegiha *žó•

Omaha-Ponca žó•ga ‘body’ RTC, tázhu, tťažó ‘lean meat’ MAS:119

Kanza/Kaw žó RR

Osage žů, tťo ‘flesh, body’ LF:228a

Quapaw žó RR

Proto-Southeastern *-yó

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *-yó

Biloxi yó ‘body, fruit’ D&S:294b, ţiksiyó ‘meat’, wakyo ‘beef’

Ofo lᵗço, lᵗćó, ţće ‘body, flesh, corpse’ D&S:325a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo yáŋtěkí, wáŋtuŋtěkí, wáŋtuŋtíkí, yáŋ-xtekí H

Proto-Catawba
Catawba ᵐyú• wí•dyo ‘meat’ KS, FGS:6

**General comment**

Cf. Yuchi šo (LB). This is one of a number of roots in which Proto-Siouan-Catawba *y* appears to match š in Yuchi. Cf. *beaver*, *sacred (2a), snake*, *fish*, *water* also have Yuchi look-alikes with this apparent match.

**flicker (bird)**

*noun* animal bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Sųzika

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ṣųʑíča ‘northern flicker’ EB:471a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk xųųwą́zik ‘flicker (woodpecker)’ KM:3958, xųųwą́zik

Proto-Dhegiha *zą́zika

Omaha-Ponca zą́ziga ‘flicker’ JOD

Osage zo’čiga, ṭąźika LF:31b

Quapaw zą́zikka ‘red shafted flicker or yellow ringed woodpecker’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tca’ctd’hayí, ṭąqčd’hayí ‘sapsucker, genus Sphyrapicus’ SRR:262b

**General comment**

MVS is composed of *Sų + *zika ‘bird (5)’. On *Sų, perhaps cf. *‘feather*. All three fricative symbolism grades are evident here.
**float (1)**

**verb physical motion**

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *'ha*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *'ruhe*

Crow dúa 'lift up' RG, GG:44, RGG:31

Hidatsa rúhe 'lift', núhi 'rise, get up', l-ruhe, l-ruí

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley *'-há***

Proto-Dakota *'-há***

Lakota pahá 'raise' EB:424b, yuhá 'lift' EB:637a

Dakota yuhá 'lift, be able to carry' SRR:623b

Proto-Hoocăk-Chiwere *'-há***

Chiwere uhá 'raise the hand' RR, wahá GM

Hoocăk wahá 'show' KM:327, waha 'float' KM:341, gihá, gihahá, giha, gihaha

**Proto-Dhegiha *'-há***

Omaha-Ponca baha 'exhibit' MAS:72, baha MAS:79, ugdáha

Kanza/Kaw gahá 'blown along' JOD, yuhá 'move a short distance' MR, RR, baha 'hold up, show' RR

Osage bahá, ýpahá 'show, display' LF:21a, gahdáha, ýkaháha 'swinging up and down to the rhythm of waves' LF:45b

Quapaw kahá 'float' [verb] JOD, há, ka-, kaha 'float' RR, dihátta 'lift' JOD

**General comment**

Cf. 'light in weight'. Omaha-Ponca thiho (SW-113), Kanza/Kaw yuuh 'lift or pull up', Kanza/Kaw bahá 'push up' (JOD), and Osage ýduhá thiho '“lift” (LF-147a) may reflect contamination from hú 'standing, continue, standing positional' or compounding with há 'do, make' as an auxiliary. Crow and Hidatsa have reinterpreted the root as containing *'-E*, the ablauting vowel.
float (2)

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pixi

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-pixi


Hidatsa -pixii, raka- ‘flutter, flap, float’ J, nakapíxxi

Pre-Mandan *-pex-

Mandan wépexoʔ ‘it’s floating’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi pxiyí ‘float’ D&S:246a

General comment

Final *i of the reconstructed form may actually be *-E. The available forms are indeterminate. Gemination in Hidatsa is unexplained.
flower (1)

*noun* plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xyéhe*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan srēh ‘to bloom, open’ H:216, waʔósere ‘flower’ H:216, wąʔpéʔ ósere ‘sunflower’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hoxeré ‘blossom’ KM:1586, hoxere

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *-xyé•hi*

Biloxi áxiyehí, axiyé, xyēhi, xayehí, ?x(i)yēhi ‘blossoms, flowers’ D&S:221a

Ofo akĭktcéhi ‘a flower’ D&S:320a, ktcéhi, tkčé•hi ‘rose’ D&S:326, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba serak ‘grass’ KS, serak FGS:88

General comment

Cf. ‘flower (2)’. Mandan shows a different fricative symbolism grade. Biloxi xy before a front vowel is the normal reflex of *x*; here, however, the intervening vowel suggests an original cluster. Ofo k should not correspond with Biloxi x. Ofo suggests possible Proto-Siouan length.
flower (2)
noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xyá

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xyá

Proto-Dakota *xčá

Lakota xčá ‘bloom’ RTC, waxčá ‘flower’ RTC
Sioux Valley xčá ‘bloom’ PAS, waxčá ‘flower’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere xrdųxra ‘flower’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha *xrd

Omaha-Ponca waxčá ‘flower’ MAS:120, waxtha RTC, waxčá
Kanza/Kaw xčá ‘flower, blossom’ RR
Osage xčá ‘blossoms of any kind’ LE:219b, xtha
Quapaw waxčá RR

General comment

Omaha waxčá is probably a borrowing from Dakota. Cf. ‘flower (1)’
fly (1)

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kiʔą́

Proto-Dakota *kiyą́

Lakota kiyą́ 'to fly' RTC

Stoney gıyą́ PAS:1069

Sioux Valley kıyą́ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-tʔą́

Chiwere gi•tʔą́

Otoe gi•thą́ RR

Hoocąk tʔą́ą 'fly' KM:3021, t’ąą

Proto-Dhegiha *kią́

Omaha-Ponca gą́ ~ gıyą́ RR

Kanza/Kaw gıyą́ 'butterfly' RR

Osage giöⁿ', ṭkią́ 'fly' LP:51b

Quapaw kią́ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kiyaⁿská, ṭkiąšká ‘marsh hawk’ D&S:209b, kio’n, ki’nusá, ṭkiąšká ‘bat’ D&S:208b, kį́psa, ṭkiąšká ‘bat’ ASG, D&S:203b

General comment

The frequent -y- must be epenthetic. The Chiwere, Hoocąk forms appear non-cognate but may possibly be explained with -t- a reflex of the epenthetic glide, -r- preceding ʔ. The problem here is there should be no epenthetic glide if ʔ was still present, so the development must be explained analogically, i.e. the glide is present in the first and second persons where the glottal stop is normally lost, while the glottal stop is maintained only in the third person. (Cf. 'jump over', 'lay' for comparable Hoocąk/Chiwere forms.) JOD and A.S. Gatschet apparently recorded forms of 'bat' in Biloxi both with and without the epenthetic glide (DS 1912).

Cf. ‘fly (2)’ for possible Algonquian influences.
fly (2)

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi niye, niyedí, niyédi, †niy(-d)i ‘to fly’ D&S:237b

Ofo léyi, leyí, †leyi ‘fly’ D&S:326a

General comment

Biloxi/Ofo -y- is apparently epenthetic (Ofo would have “tc” otherwise).

Cf. Algonquian forms with -ʔle- (Aubin 478, 1014). Biloxi n before an oral vowel and Ofo I suggest that r was in contact with a laryngeal articulation, possibly ʔ. For further discussion, cf. ‘ache’. If this SE hint is to be taken at face value, the Biloxi and Ofo forms relate reasonably well with the Hidatsa and Mandan forms, which also associate r and ʔ in this form. For a possible explanation not involving borrowing, cf. ‘fly (1)’. The two verbs differ in the final vowel -- and differ enough that we currently consider them separate Proto-Siouan derivations.

fly (insect)

noun animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *hą́ʔeka (?)

Omaha-Ponca hą́ʔega RR, ho’yega MAS

Kanza/Kaw hą́ččega RR

Osage ho’pega, ḥą́hceka ‘common house fly’ LF:66b

Quapaw hą́ʔeka, ʰʕɛʔɛka ‘blow fly’ RR, JOD, ḥą́ʔeka tiš’ka JOD

General comment

Cf. Shawnee hoče ‘fly’ (Voegelin, 1937-40 p.445) and N.B. Shawnee ḥ. This makes a Shawnee-like Algonquian dialect, with its prothetic ḥ, perhaps the most likely source language for this DH term. DH splits on glottalization, with Quapaw having doublets, signaling that this is probably not an inherited term even within DH.
foam, boil

physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *púxE, *pí•xE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *puxahe

Crow puxa ‘foam’ RG

Hidatsa puxi ‘foam’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wiŋj puxté ‘beer’ RTC, pí•xoš ‘it’s boiling’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *púxE

Proto-Dakota *pûA

Lakota pûA ‘foamy’ RTC, EJ

Sioux Valley pûa PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere pûxi ‘foam’ JGT:146, abûxe ‘boil, be bubbly’ JGT:110

Proto-Dhegiha *dûye

Omaha-Ponca abîxe, ṭîbîxe ‘boil’ MAS:21

Kanza/Kaw dbûye ‘boil, as water’ RR

Osage abîxe, ṭápûye ‘the boiling of water’ LF:6b

Quapaw dbîxe JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ané pûpûxi, ṭıpûpûxi ‘foam’ D&S:250a

General comment

Of course pu/o + fricative is practically universal for “foam, puff up” etc. The Dakota, Mandan vowel is unexplained. Cf. ‘blow (2)’
focus marker

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ri

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa -ri in: hé’eri ‘that one’ J, -ri in: hirí ‘this; subject marker; now’ J, -ri- in: hiráhka ‘this size’ J, -ri in: hírhá ‘this way’ H&V, -ri in: kúari ‘that one (emphatic)’ J, -ri in: še’eri ‘that one, subject marker’ J, -ri- in: to’tickha ‘in every direction’ J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ṭădi ‘when’ D&S:183b, -di in: ṭădi ‘what is the town’s name (Banks)’ D&S:186b, -di in: ekédi, ṭ-di ‘that is why’ D&S:206a, -di in: tcidiškikèdi, ṭ-di ‘why?’ D&S:263b, -di in: héunédi, ṭ-di ‘that one’ D&S:196a

General comment

Note that Biloxi collapses final *i and *e, so these may or may not be cognate with the Hidatsa entries.

fog (1)

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *awəší

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *awəší

Crow awəší ‘fog’ RG, GG:14

Hidatsa awəší ‘dusty, foggy’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan weŋ’ ‘fog’ H:276

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo abashi’ska, ťabashi’ska ‘fog’ JSS

General comment

Note that Ofo sh is the expected reflex of the *x fricative grade.
fog (2) > smoke

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pʔohe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *puhʔe

Crow půʔē• ‘smoke, steam’ RG, GG:54, RGG:49

Hidatsa puʔē• ‘steam, vapor’ J, piʔē• ‘smoke’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan píʔhe ‘smoke’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pʔó

Proto-Dakota *pʔó

Lakota pʔó ‘fog’ RTC, pʔó, ka- ‘raise dust, as in sweeping’ EB:288, pʔó, na- ‘raise dust with the feet, as horses do walking etc.’ EB:356, pʔó, ya- ‘make steam with the mouth, as in breathing in cold air’ EB:626

Sioux Valley pʔó PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-pʔó

Chiwere lapʔó ‘to smoke’ GM

Hoocąk rapʔó ‘puff smoke from mouth’ KM:2413, rap’o

Proto-Dhegiha *pʔó

Omaha-Ponca pˀu’thoˀ*, ˀpʔóðǫ ‘steam’ MAS:164

Kanza/Kaw pʔó ‘steam’ RR

Osage p̣ʔót hız, ˀpʔóðǫ ‘steam’ LF:129b

General comment

Mandan péʔoʔ ‘it’s steaming’ does not seem to belong with this set as Mandan i is not accounted for. The Hidatsa form with pi- is probably a borrowing from Mandan.
fold > wrap

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pe-rhą́

Pre-Mandan *-pe•ta

Mandan kíp kèdE ‘to bundle, wrap up’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *perhą́

Proto-Dakota *pehĄ́

Lakota pehą́ ‘fold up’ RTC, opęhe ‘a fold’ EB:252, pehą́, yį́d ‘fold up with, to wind on, as the thread on a spool, to wrap around’ EB:811, pehą́, kukiči ‘wave, form waves, in water.’ EB:548, pehą́, we- ‘fold’ EB:625, pehą́, ya- ‘fold up with the teeth’ EB:647, pehą́, yu- ‘fold up’

Dakota pehą́ ‘fold up a.t.’ SRR:419a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wetą́

Chiwere owetaⁿ, †uwedą́ ‘wrap’ JOD, †uwétdą́, †uwēdą́ JGT

Hoocąk weį́ ‘fold; fig. overcome easily, e.g., in wrestling’ KM:3622, weį́

Proto-Dhegiha *pethą́

Omaha-Ponca bethą́ RR

Kanza/Kaw bekį́ ‘bend sth. double while pushing w. it.’ RR, bekį́, ba- ‘blow over on itself, fold’ RR, bekį́, ga- ‘fold sth. up’ RR, bekį́, ya- RR

Osage †bežą́ – †bekhą́ JOD

Quapaw obéthą́ ‘wrap something’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘twist (1)’. Mandan ki + k + pe•ta, with the normal metathesis, and reanalysis of a to E.
follow
verb physical motion caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *o-he

Proto-Dakota *o-he

Lakota ókíhe ‘follow’ EB:388b
Dakota ókíhe ‘next to, following’ SRR:367b

Proto-Dhegiha *o-hé

Omaha-Ponca uhu he ‘follow a trail’ MAS:79, ohé
Kanza/Kaw óhi; oyáha ‘follow’ JOD
Osage uhiha, tóhóha ‘following’ LF:179a
Quapaw óhó ‘follow, go with’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘enter (3)’
food

noun physical_consumption

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ʔé

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *eʔ

Crow eʔ ‘food’ GG:47

Hidatsa eʔ ‘food’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-ʔé

Proto-Dakota *-é-

Lakota o'wéya, ṭqweya ‘provisions’ EB:399b

Dakota waqúya, ṭwqúya ‘provisions, what is prepared for eating on a journey’ SRR:525a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere uwé ‘fill traveling’ JGT:79

Hoocąk ḥotaʔé ‘some, be left over (usually of food)’ KM:1526, ḥota’e

Proto-Dhegiha *owé ~ *o-ʔé

Omaha-Ponca ḥo=qe

Kanza/Kaw owé ‘food, corn/squash in bags for travel’ RR

Osage uwéwahustsa, ṭowé- ‘a lunch, take lunch, alight lunch’ LF:181b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ṭyé, ṭye ‘food’ D&S:233b

General comment

Chiwere initial *o- > u- regularly, but the Lakota initial vowel remains unexplained, as does the Biloxi, Omaha-Ponca internal ʔ strongly suggests a compound. Note local variation in epenthetic glides.
foot

does not have a unique Proto-Siouan root, but is found in various branches.

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-sí

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *icí

Crow icí 'his foot' RG, GG:72, RGG:71

Hidatsa icí 'his foot' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan śí 'foot' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *si

Proto-Dakota *sí

Lakota sí ‘foot’ RTC

Dakota sí ‘foot’ SRR:433b

Stoney thí/or ‘foot’ [ < sí ‘foot’ + ha ‘skin’] PAS, sihd PAS:88

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sí

Chiwere thí/or ‘foot’ RTC, RR

Hoocąk sí ‘foot (of body)’ KM:2833, sí

Proto-Dhegiha *sí

Omaha-Ponca sí ‘foot’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw sí ‘foot’ RR

Osage sí ‘foot’ RR

Quapaw sí ‘foot’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *isí

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *isí

Biloxi isí, así 'the feet' D&S:254b, sí, tísí ‘foot’ D&S:254b

Ofo tʃ́thí, tʃ́hí, tʃ́hí ‘foot’ D&S:329b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ići, ści, tísí ‘foot’ N, H

General comment
La Flesche LF-32b reports an Osage form with the shape çu-e and the gloss 'foot, archaic'. The apparently rounded vowel cannot be accounted for but v. 'bird (2)' for a clear parallel. This is a form in which we would have expected Proto-Siouan vowel length, but there is no overt evidence for it except in Tutelo (Hoocak monosyllables are always long). The initial *i- probably marks inherent possession.
foot, instrumental

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *ra-.

Proto-Siouan *rq-.

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ara-.

Crow ala-, baa-, dda, ala- RG

Hidatsa ara-, waʔa-, ḥaʔa, ara- J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ra-

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *rq-.

Proto-Dakota *naq-.

Lakota na-, nawa-, naya-, na-

Dakota na-, nawa-, naya-, na-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *naq-.

Chiwere naq- ~ naq- [when slow, 1Act band-] RR

Hoocąk nqq, nq-, ? nqq-, nqq-

Proto-Dhegiha *naq-

Omaha-Ponca nq, anq- ḏanq-, nq-`

Kanza/Kaw nq, anq- yamq- nq-`

Osage nq, anq- ḏanq-, nq-`

Quapaw nq, anq- ḏanq-, nq-`

Proto-Southeastern *rq- ~ *ra-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi na, oⁿna, ina, na-, ḏna- D&S

Ofo la-, bala, tcala, la-, ḏla- D&S

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo nq-, ḏnq- ‘by foot’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba de- ‘action by foot’ [mutating inner root] FS
General comment

The prefix is an inner instrumental in every language but Dakotan.

Perhaps Dakota is conservative and all the others have given in to the strong analogical pressure to regularize pronoun and instrumental prefix order. More likely the majority of languages preserve the original position and the instrumental has been reanalysed in Dakotan, perhaps because Dakota has a number of outer instrumentals which might form a model for the reanalysis. Catawba indicates that the instrumental is quite old and was inner in that language, the pronominal prefixes fusing with the initial consonant.

We cannot account for the initial vowel and the ? in Hidatsa, though the latter might be related to the Ofo l where n is expected (l frequently indicating r in association with a laryngeal articulation). Except for Ofo (a single example) and Mandan, which may be influenced by Hidatsa, nasalization is general in Siouan but lacking in Catawba. Length is attested only in some subgroups.
force, instrumental

physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *raka-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *raka-

Crow dak; bak, dãak, dak-
Hidatsa raka; wa•ka, ra•ka, raka, naka etc.

Pre-Mandan *:ka- < *rka-
Mandan ka- RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ko- ~ *ra-

Proto-Dakota *ka- ~ *ra-
Lakota ka; waka, yaka, ka; ki+X = gla-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ki-

Chiwere gi-

Hoocąk gi, hai, rai-, gi- (hai, rai-)

Proto-Dhegiha *ka- ~ *ra-

Omaha-Ponca ga; da, bda, ga- RR
Kanza/Kaw ga; da, yda, ga- RR
Osage ga-, ḥka- LF
Quapaw ka; da, dða, ka- RR

Proto-Southeastern *ra-ka-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *raka-

Biloxi daka; ndáka, ñáka, dáka-, rdáka- D&S
Ofo ka, (a)baka, (a)taka, ṭka- D&S

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo láká-, r láka- ‘cut with axe’ [cf. lákatkúca] JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba kaʔ ~ Ka- ‘cut’ MAS, KS, SS

General comment
In DH, the *k of *ka- is normally lost in 1Act and 2Act. E.g., in Kanza/Kaw, galü ‘shave’ is conjugated dalü, ydalü, galü. The full form of ga- is preserved in the 1st and 2nd persons if a locative prefix is also present. Loss of -g- in prefixes may have something to do with stress placement, (e.g., 1Act d-a-ga-lü; 2Act d–ya-ga-lü, 3Act ḡalü ‘shave off hair from the head’).

In Dakotan, Mandan, and DH, relic traces of Proto-Siouan *ra- are preserved in irregular dative-possessive constructions, as noted above. In Mandan, at least, this r cannot be epenthetic. Mandan ki+X = kara-.

*ra- may have been a morphemically distinct instrumental that could be compounded with *ka. Forms like Tutelo o-la-cpewa ‘cut’ suggest this, particularly when placed beside forms like lakatkáco ‘cut with axe’.

Chiwere, Hoocąk have simply replaced *ka- with ki- everywhere for reasons unknown.

**ford, wade**

**physical motion**

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *yo_phe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow híllappee ‘ford a river’ RG, GG:48

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *yo_phe

Proto-Dakota *čho_phá

Lakota copá, ṭčophá ‘wade, go in the water’ EB:133b

Dakota čopá ‘wade, go in the water’ SRR:103b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *yowe

Chiwere nyüzwe ‘wade’ JOD, yöwe GM

Hoocąk njowé < njį howe JWE, njowe < njį howe

Proto-Dhegiha *žóphe

Omaha-Ponca jūhe, ṭžóhe ‘ford’

Kanza/Kaw žophé ‘ford’ RR

Osage žúshe, ṭžó_phe ‘to wade, as in water’ LF:228b, opshé, ṭophé ‘a ford’ LF:123a

Quapaw dnuštöhe ‘ford a stream’ RR

**General comment**

This is an old compound. The bare root occurs in the Osage nominal, and possibly in Winnebago. Cf. ‘enter (3)’, ‘water’. Omaha-Ponca ṭžóhe ‘ford’ (JOD), Osage ṭžó he ‘to ford’ (LF:228b), and Quapaw řuštöhe ‘ford a stream’ (JOD) do not match the other forms (as do the expected forms in phe), but nonetheless seem to be related. On the Crow form, cf. ‘bathe’.
forehead (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-hté

Pre-Mandan

Mandan jaʔike ‘forehead’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *ihté

Lakota ihté ‘forehead’ RTC, ɨṯe̱ḻẖe , ɨṯẖe̱ḻẖe ‘forelock’ B&D, EB:239a

Dakota it’e , ɨṯẖe SRR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *i̱thé

Biloxi i̱ṯe , ɨṯe , ɨṯe ‘face, forehead’ D&S:200b

Ofo i̱ṯẖe , ɨṯẖe ‘forehead’ D&S:325a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ta̱p ‘forehead’ FS

General comment

Cf. ‘face’. These roots are distinct in Dakota, but may have merged in other languages.
forehead (2)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpe

Proto-Dakota *phē

Lakota phē ‘top of head’ RTC

Dakota pe ‘top of the head’ SRR:418b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *phē•

Chiwere phē• ‘forehead’ JDH

Hoocąk pē ‘forehead’ KM:2451, pē

Proto-Dhegiha *hpē

Omaha-Ponca ppe ‘forehead’ RR

Kanza/Kaw ppe ‘forehead’ RR

Osage pe, ʔhpe ‘forehead’ LF:126b

Quapaw ʔppe JOD
**forest**

*noun* physical_spatial_area

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley** *hpáte*

**Proto-Dakota**

Lakota *pháta* ‘grove of timber’ EB:435b

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** *pháte*

Chiwere *pháče* ‘forest’ JDH

Hoocąk *pdač* ‘woods, forest’ KM:2422, *paac*

**Proto-Dhegiha** *hpáte*

Kanza/Kaw *ppáčje* ‘forest’ RR

Quapaw *ditá ppattáho* ‘forest-dwelling dove’ RR
forget

verb psychic cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *krų́rį*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota gnų́nį́ ‘lose oneself, wander’ ART, EB:162b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *krų́nį́

Chiwere églųñį́ GM

Hoocąk wakíkųnųnį́ KM:3359, wakíkųnųnį́

Proto-Dhegiha *krǫ́rį́

Omaha-Ponca ghoⁿthiⁿ ‘be ignorant, drunk’ MAS:100

Kanza/Kaw lǫ́yį́ ‘bewildered’

Osage ḡhoⁿthiⁿ, ṭliḍį́ LF:270b

Quapaw ḏkdaŋi JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘confused, mistaken, ignorant’. The second consonant of this word is probably probably epenthetic, since it has not yet undergone nasalization in DH. The set is restricted to MVS.
four

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *tó•pa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *tó•pa

Crow šoopá 'four' RG, GG:56, RGG:82
Hidatsa tó•pa 'four' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan tó•p, tó•pa 'four' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *tó•pa

Proto-Dakota *tópa

Lakota tó•pa 'four' RTC
Dakota tópa 'four' SRR:478b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *tó•pe

Chiwere dó•we 'four' RR
Hoocąk jóop 'four' KM:1716, joop

Proto-Dhegiha *tó•pa

Omaha-Ponca dó•ba 'four' RTC, RR
Kanza/Kaw tó•ba 'four' RR, dó•ba 'four' JOD
Osage tó•pa 'four' RR
Quapaw tó•wa 'four' RR

Proto-Southeastern *tó•pa

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *tó•pa

Biloxi topá, tó•pa, tó•pa 'four, four times, in four places' D&S:279a
Ofo tó•pa, tó•pa 'four' D&S:331a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tó•p: tó•pa, topáì, toba, topah , tó•pa 'four' N, HH , tó•p , tó•pa 'four' JNBH , tū , tó•pa 'four' ES , tōp , tó•pa 'four' LJF

General comment
The initial consonant of the modern Kanza/Kaw form is not regular but very definitely is tt-. In instances where Chiwere has generalized -e < Proto-Siouan *a and Hoocąk has lost the final vowel entirely, we have reconstructed the vowel as in modern Chiwere. Saponi Jow ‘four’, attested in Fontaine, looks superficially similar but is almost certainly borrowed from Algonquian. Catawba parp(ə)re resembles somewhat Capt. John Smith’s Virginia Algonquian paranske ‘four’ and could conceivably be borrowed. Note however that the Algonquian paranske (also written “parance”) should mean ‘five’, not ‘four’. Cf. also Catawba dawosa ‘eight’ (Kanza/Kaw).
fox

noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *tVx-

Proto-Siouan *ahtóx-ka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *èxohka

Crow fawukha ‘fox’ RG, GG:71, RGG:3

Hidatsa èxohka ‘kit fox, swift fox’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *htóhka (?)

Proto-Dakota ‘thokhå-

Lakota thokhala ‘fox’ RTC

Dakota tokdáŋ ‘a small wolf, swift (fox)’ SRR:473b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere tákia xóje , ṭhůkha ‘fox, gray fox’ JGT , thůkha xóda , ṭthůkha ‘fox, gray fox’ JDH

Proto-Dhegiha *htókha (?)

Omaha-Ponca tīkaqade , ṭitkaxode ‘gray fox’ JOD

Quapaw tūkâ xōtte ‘gray fox’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *athókka

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *athókka

Biloxi tawká , táxka , tóxka ‘fox , tóxka ‘fox’ D&S:277b

Ofo atxóska , ṭathóska ‘skunk’ D&S:322a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tohkaí , tóxkaí ‘fox’ H , múñktogun , múñktókáí , maktukai , tóxkaí ‘wolf’ N, H

Proto-Catawba *tqse ~ *tqxe

Catawba tqse ‘dog’ KS

Woccon Tauh-he ‘dog’ JL

General comment
Cf. *antelope, goat*, *badger*. Mandan ó•xaʔ 'fox' is probably not cognate. The MRS forms are problematic if cognate: the first syllable is unexplained, and the *x* is not regular. Proto-Siouan *xk* normally yields *kh* in DH, Proto-Siouan *xk* remains in Crow, becoming *hk* only in Hidatsa. The DH forms cited here are from Dorsey’s slip files, in which he commonly failed to distinguish aspirates from geminates. Omaha-Ponca -i - matches Chiwera -â- here. Neither form with ú is accounted for. Comparison of Catawba and Woccon suggests Proto-Catawba *tʃs - *tʃɔx ‘dog’. Perhaps the Proto-Siouan form is *wə- + *tʃɔx + -ka ‘attributive’?

friend (1)

noun social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hkota, *hkoRa, *hkora

Proto-Dakota *khota, *khoRa

Lakota la_khóta ‘Lakota’ RTC , khóla ‘friend’ EB:315a

Dakota kodá ‘the particular friend of a Dakota man’ SRR:293b

Sioux Valley khotá-ye PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hičakóro ‘friend’ KM:825 , hicakoro

Proto-Dhégiha *hkóra, *hkóRa

Omaha-Ponca endakutha , ḥ-kkoða ‘archaic, friend’ MRG

Kanza/Kaw kkóya ‘friend’ RR

Osage kkóta , ḥkkóda ‘friend’ LF:90b , kkówa , ḥhkóda ‘friend’ RR

Quapaw kkóda ‘friend’ RR , kkóta ‘friend’ JOD

General comment

Cf. Mobilian trade jargon: mogula, mukula ‘friend’, Crawford p. 85. It appears that look-alike forms have diffused widely, cf. also Choctaw ‘kana’ ‘friend’ (Swanton and Byington 222b), ikhana ‘know’ (RR) and Algonquian nihkaa na ‘my friend’, *n-iit-kan-a ‘brother, fellow’ (Callander 1962:121). The Mobilian form shows that Siouan languages contributed to the diffusion stock. There are three different intervocalic consonants represented here, and we have no idea how this situation arose.
friend (2)

noun social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ‘i-ha-(ko)-ro


Hoocąk hicakóro KM:825, hicakoro

Proto-Dhegiha ‘róta

Osage thódathe, ᵇóta- ‘be on friendly terms with, peaceful relationship’ LF:152b

Quapaw wádašádi ‘friend (of another tribe?)’ JOD

General comment

These forms may be derivationally related but are not clearly cognate.

friend (3)

verb social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tēnaxí, tenáx, tēnaxiyd”, ᵇtēnaxi ‘friend’ D&S:274a

Ofo aktā•ći, ᵇaktá•či D&S:320a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo watăhe, wițaqá H, etaqé, hıtaqé, wițaqé; aʰtaq, ᵇitaqé ‘his, your, my friend; o friend’ HW

General comment

These strikingly similar SE forms are not obviously cognate. The set suggests diffusion.
friend (4)

noun social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *warųka, *wrųka

Mandan koto wąrąku, kota wąrąku ‘his friend’ , kotomanaku ‘man’s friend’ RTC , kotāwįrųka H:276 , wą́rųkaʔš

General comment

The Hidatsa form, when compared with the Mandan, seems to derive by rightward vowel exchange from an earlier *‐ruka‐. The inalienable possession of the form in Hidatsa may result from the homophony of uninflected *waraku‐ < *waruka‐ = Mandan warų-ka to the first person inalienable form of a putative *‐ruk‐.
frog (1), toad

noun animal, amphibian

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *θápixʔa

Lakota mápixʔa, mthápixa, withápixa, witápixʔa ‘toad’ EB:664a, natápixa ‘toad’ SRR:337b

Dakota natapeha ‘toad’ WM:246a, natápexa ‘toad’ SRR:337b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *θ̆éwaxʔu

Chiwere čhéwaxʔú ‘toad (lit. warty buffalo)’ GM

Hoocąk keewąxgu ‘toad’ [cf. Chiwere čhéwaxʔú] KM:1788, keewąxgu

Proto-Dhegiha *θépüxʔa

Omaha-Ponca ṭéb’é, ṭtěbíʔa ‘frog’ JOD, ṭébía, ṭtěbíʔa MAS:81

Kanza/Kaw čěbıkʔa ‘frog’ RR

Osage ṭč.cbık’a, ṭč.cbıkʔa ‘frog’ LF:157a

Quapaw ṭeđaxʔa ‘toad’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *(h)é•mu

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ṭému ‘bullfrog’ D&S:330b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo hěmǫ ‘frog’ ES:295, hē’mo ‘frog’ LF

General comment

Proto-Dhegiha is clearly *θépüxʔa. While the various Lakota words for ‘toad’ clearly derive from the same source, none is regular in comparison. Ofo and Tutelo must also derive from this source, but also do not compare regularly.

Given the complexity of the forms, these may be either compounds or borrowings. Chiwere has created a transparent, folk etymology, which Hoocąk apparently takes a step further, cf. ‘hear’. Some languages have replaced ‘toad’ with a descriptive expression leaving this etymon with the meaning ‘frog’ (Omaha-Ponca).
frog (2)
noun animal, amphibian

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(w)ahpeSka

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pheška

Proto-Dakota *phešká

Lakota phešká ‘air bladder of a fish’ EB:442a
Dakota pešká ‘air bladder of a fish’ SRR:420a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere pége, ṭheske ‘a small green tree frog’ JGT:55

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi pĕská, apĕska, ṭapeska ‘small frog species’ D&S:244b

General comment

pes- refers to a high pitched sound. The tree frog says pês, pês, pês; cf. Biloxi pěsdoti ‘flute’.

frog (3)
noun animal, amphibian

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wašą́•ka, *wi-šą́•ka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ṣá•ka

Crow sá•ka ‘frog’ RG, GG:55, RGG:3
Hidatsa ṣá•ka ‘frog’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan puš•ka ‘frog’ RTC

General comment

There is no evidence for a specific prefix vowel here. The prefix may have been *wi- as with most other animals or *wa- the general absolutive.
from

enclitic n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *rhą

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -hą in: etą́ 'from; on account of, concerning' [abbrev. of etą́hą] EB:143b , -hą in: hehą́tąq 'from that time; therefore' EB:171 , -hą in: tēhą́tąq 'from afar' EB:486 , -hą in: tukétą́ŋtąq 'from where' RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -ǰą́ in: éepareją́ 'from that time' KM:1692 , ḳą in: epareją

Proto-Dhegiha -ṭą́

Omaha-Ponca -ṭą́ in: edíṭą́hą 'from there' JEK , -ṭą́ in: ettáṭą́hą 'from there' JEK

Kansa/Kaw -khą́ in: ejį́khą́ 'there, from, thither, from that place' RR , -khą́ in: ejį́khą́qą́ 'since then' RR , -khą́ in: gę́RETURN€́jį́khą́ , gą́ 'from there, from that place' MR, RR , -khą́ in: gayį́jį́khą́ 'from that time or place' RR

Osage -ṭą́ in: e-dál-ťoⁿ , ᖃ́cį́ṭą́hą 'thence; from that place' LF:40a , -ṭą́ in: gą́-tə-ťoⁿ , †ká́hBatmaną́ 'from that direction' LF:47b , -ṭą́ in: the-gą́-təⁿ , †ðeká́tį́hą 'from this place' LF:143b

Quapaw -ṭą́ 'from' JOD

General comment

Chiwere -da 'from' lacks the expected nasalization and is presumably not cognate.

frost (1)

noun natural, force, weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wąxо•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wąxо•rąki

Crow bixóolichi 'frost'

Hidatsa wąxо•rąki 'frost' J , maxо•rąki

Pre-Mandan

Mandan xṓvę RTC , ice

General comment
The MRS forms are a compound: *xé-ice* + *sitting*, q.v. Cf. *frost (2)*.

**frost (2)**

* noun natural, force, weather

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *waxé-(re)

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xé-wųke

Proto-Dakota *xewjká

Lakota xewį́ká ‘frost’ RTC  

Dakota xewų́ke, xewį́ká ‘frost, hoarfrost’ SRR:164b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere xępíra ‘frost’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha *xé-wųke

Omaha-Ponca quewį́já, qewą́já ‘frost’. JOD, xewų́já, qewą́já ‘frost’ MAS:52

Kanza/Kaw xźewą́ ‘frost’ RR

Osage xɛ́moⁿge, ̣xɛ́mą́ra ‘frost’ LF:218a

Quapaw xə́į́ké ‘frost, killing frost’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *(w)axé-(re)

Biloxi xēı́f, ̣xəı́f D&S:220a

Ofo ašé, ̣ašé ‘frost’ D&S:321b, ašító, ̣ašé ‘big frost’

**Proto-Catawba**

Catawba męhe ‘ice’ KS

**General comment**

The MVS forms are a compound: *xé-‘frost’* + *wųke ‘lie’*, q.v. Cf. also *ask* for a similar treatment of the proto sequence *wų-, cf. also ‘1st inclusive actor prefix’. The DH forms represent fossilized forms of PS *wųke ‘be lying’; verbal reflexes of *wųke are otherwise lacking throughout DH. In order to reconstruct a Proto-Dhegiha form with confidence the labial resonants should match. Koontz suggests that the *w* in many, if not all, of these *wų* stems is actually epenthetic. Presumably it would have appeared after Proto-Siouan *w* > *m* preceding nasal vowels in many languages.

This might provide a principled reason for the lack of match in the modern correspondences. Cf. also ‘rain (2), ‘drip (1)’. 
**Comparative Siouan Dictionary**

**frozen**

*verb* physical condition

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan** *atá•he*

**Pre-Mandan**

Mandan *ktah* ‘to be frozen’ H:123

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley** *tá*

**Proto-Dakota** *ta-

Lakota *tasđka* ‘freeze’ RTC , *tasđka* ‘stiff, hard, frozen, hardened by cooling’ SRR:461b

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** *tá-

**Chiwere** dů-khari ‘freeze’ RR, GM

Hoocąk *ǰáa* ‘freeze, be frozen’ KM:1665 , *jaa*

**Proto-Dhegiha** *tá*

Omaha-Ponca *dá* ‘freeze’ RR

**Kanza/Kaw** *dá* ‘freeze’ RR

Osage *da* , *tád* ‘freeze, frozen’ LF:32a

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo** *atahe*

Biloxi *atxé, atxɛ’* , *tathɛ* D&S:175a

Ofo *át’hahi, tadhahi* ‘frozen’ D&S:322a, JSS

**Proto-Catawba**

Catawba *tap* ‘frozen’ KS

**General comment**

Initial Mandan *k* is unexplained. Dakotan < ‘freeze’ + ‘hard, stiff’. MVS clearly goes back to *tá*, one of a very few roots with initial *t.*

OVS argues for final *h*, the latter trait shared with Mandan. Since ordinary aspiration was not consistently distinguished by Gatschet and Dorsey in Biloxi, the heavy aspiration recorded in this form probably represents a cluster. Ofo aspiration may simply represent a recent application of the demonstrably active Ofo aspiration rule. If our reconstruction of the Ofo initial vowel to Proto-Siouan is correct, there is no explanation for the failure of *t* to aspirate in the MVS languages. Accent and length in Ofo may signal the presence of a locative prefix rather than the reflex of a Proto-Siouan initial vowel however. Or perhaps there has been contamination from the *heat/cold, instrumental* prefix.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

full

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-hpi

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-hpi

Proto-Dakota *-phi

Lakota ỹi ‘full, satisfied’ EB:232a, ỹi’hpi ‘full of food, satisfied’ EB:589a, kiphí ‘hold, contain; carry as a vessel, cart, etc.; be large enough for’ EB:309b

Dakota ỹi ‘full, satisfied’ SRR:204b, kipí, ỹi’pí ‘full of food, satisfied’ SRR:578a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Ciwere gipí, ṭọgipí ‘good for, good to, it’s okay by’ JGT:20

Proto-Dhecgiha ṭokíhpi

Omaha-Ponca ugi’pi, ṭọgíppi

Kanza/Kaw ogíppi ‘full, filled’ RR

Osage ugi’pi, ṭokíhpi LF:170a

Quapaw okóppi JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kin’pi, kínepi, ṭọkínepi ‘be glad, satisfied’ D&S:245b

General comment

Cf. ‘good (1)’. The root with various prefixes takes on the sense of ‘good or sufficient for, full, satisfied’. Biloxi ṭ preceding oral e indicates an earlier Cr cluster that has simplified.
future (1)

enclitic time phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ktE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-htE-
  Crow -ishi 'want to, be ready to' GG:64
  Hidatsa -htE 'inclined to, about to: indirect desiderative' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan -kt 'future' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ktE

Proto-Dakota *ktA
  Lakota ktA 'future, potential' RTC

Dakota ktA 'future' SRR:298b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere -hñe 'will, shall, going to, about to' JGT:281
  Hoocąk -kje, †-kǰe 'intentive' WL:36, -kjene, -kjane, -kjenehe, †-kǰane 'future' WL:36

Proto-Dhegiha *-hte

Omaha-Ponca -tte 'future, potential, optative' RR
  Kanza/Kaw -tte 'future, potential, optative' RR
  Osage -hte 'future, potential, optative' RR
  Quapaw -tte 'future, potential, optative' RR

Proto-Southeastern *tE

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
  Biloxi †tE 'a sign of desire, uninflected' D&S:272b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ta 'future' H
future (2)

enclitic time-phase

gamble

verb social game

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hkiʔų

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa wakíʔ ‘compete, gamble’ J , makiʔi

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hkiʔų́ > *kʔų́

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *khiʔų́

Chiwere kį́ʔ , kį́ʔų́ ‘gamble, try’ LWR , kį́ʔ , kį́ʔų́ GM

Hoocąk kiiʔų́, wa_kiʔų́ ‘gamble’ KM:1810 , kį́ʔų́, wakíʔy

Proto-Dhegiha *kʔǫ́

Omaha-Ponca wakoʔ ? MAS:84

Kanza/Kaw ŋ kʔǫ́ ~ ikʔwy ‘gamble, contend in a race’ JOD

Osage ḥoʔ , ḥkʔǫ́ ‘gamble, bet’ LF:88b

Quapaw ḥtʃhe ‘lay something down, lay out’ JOD

General comment

The conjugation is prefixed to ki- in Hoocąk and DH. Lakota ḥyŋq (1Act waŋibla, 12Act ḥʔŋyŋpi) ‘lose’ may be derivationally related, but does not appear to be directly cognate. The construction appears to be a reciprocal in Hidatsa at least, and perhaps in Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere. The Quapaw form may simply be a homophone ‘lay’, or ‘gamble’ may somehow be related to ‘lay’.
gather (1), pick up

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pahí-he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *pVhe

Crow čilakappí ‘choose, select, pick out’ GG:37

Hidatsa *pȟé, raka- ‘pick up, pick out, select’ J, nakaphí

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wípahíhó ‘he selected something’ H:73

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pahí

Proto-Dakota *pahí

Lakota pahí ‘gather, pick up, collect’ EB:425a

Dakota pahí ‘gather, pick up, gather together’ SRR:404a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-hí

Chiwere wehí ‘gather up, pick up from the ground’ JGT:150

Hoocąk ghi ‘gather and put into container’ KM:342, ghi ‘gather from ground (individual objects, like acorns)’ KM:3621, wehí ‘gather’ KM:2870, wehi, stoohí, stoohi

Proto-Dhegiha *bahi (?)

Omaha-Ponca bahí, ṭbahi ‘pick’ MAS:136

Kanza/Kaw bahí ‘pick up, gather’ RR

Osage bahí, ṭbahí ‘pick, select, gather from ground’ LF:21a

Quapaw bahí ‘grab’ JOD, wabáhi ‘pick up food as birds’ JOD

General comment

It appears that the pa- in this form was an organic part of the root in Proto-Siouan, but has been reanalyzed as the pa- instrumental prefix in some MVS languages. DH languages clearly treat the word as though it contained this prefix; however, the uniform b- is unusual. Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere has taken this process to the point that the “new” root -hí can be used with other prefixes. Cf. ‘gather (2), assemble (intransitive)’. 
gather (2), assemble (intransitive)

verb social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(ki-)stó*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(gi-)stó*

Chiwere gixdóhi ‘gather’ LWR , gihtó, gihdó ‘a lot, many’ GM , gihdó , ṭgiḥdó ‘crowd’ LWR:8

Hoocąk stooḥi ‘gather’ KM:2870 , stoohi (= sto + hii) ‘gather v.intr., party, organized group’ KM:2871 , stookį , stookį ( = sto + kįį)

Proto-Dhegiha *(ki-)stó*

Kanza/Kaw ǵísťo ‘assemble’ [intransitive] RR

Osage ցուդէ stú , Ղուդէ ‘gathered them together’ LF:32b , ʨtō , ܉isContained ‘council, assemblage, meeting’ LF:85a

Quapaw Kístó ‘assemble, gather’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘gather (1), pick up’. 
gather (3)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ruwē

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa rū ‘go berry picking’ J , nū

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *rüwē

Osage ðuwe , ḗðüwe ‘pick (fruit)’ LF:89a

Quapaw diwē ‘pick, gather, as berries’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo dikwa ‘gather, collect’ D&S:320b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba dikwa ‘gather’ KS , akiá’hruwe ‘gather going’ KS
general deictic (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *í-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa


Pre-Mandan


Proto-Mississippi-Valley *í-

Proto-Dakota


Proto-Hoocaka-Chiwere


Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo


Proto-Catawba

Catawba í ‘it’s true’ KS:206, í- in: ímar

General comment
There is good evidence for a 3rd person prefix with the form *i- in Siouan relic morphology. That form may be related to this more general element. The Hidatsa ia- forms perhaps reflect earlier *-iha.

**general deictic (2)**

*particle n/a*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

*Proto-Siouan *o*

*Proto-Crow-Hidatsa*

- Hidatsa o- in: ó•kavu ‘there’ J, o- in: ó•kavu ‘there’ J, o- in: ó•kavu ‘beyond, on that side’ J

*Proto-Mandan*

- Mandan ó•a ‘facing’ H:128

*Proto-Mississippi-Valley*

*Proto-Dakota*

- Lakota o- in: óká ‘in the direction of’ EB:371b, o- in: otóñyá ‘for a short time or distance’ EB:409, o- in: otóñyo ‘each one, every one’ EB:409
  , o- in: ḥe̱čñaq ‘in that direction’ EB:170, o- in: iyóhi ‘each, every one’ EB:256

*Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere*


*Proto-Catawba*

- Catawba ó- ‘himself; he, she, it, they alone’ KS:125, ó- in: ómá ‘that one, those ones, he, she, they’ (refers to persons and other animate objects) KS:125, -ó- ‘that one, those ones, he, she, they’ KS:125, o- in: ówa ‘that one, those ones, he, she, they’ KS:125, -ó- ‘he’ KS:125, o- in: ó-a ‘he’ KS:125
gesture

verb social_communication_gesture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-tʔápE

Proto-Dakota

Lakota tȟáŋtiŋapi, ka- ‘to signify by a certain gesture of the head (sic) that expresses contempt, dislike, hatred etc.; it consists in opening one’s closed fist and moving it toward the object disliked and thus making the fingers outstretched; or in snapping one’s finger in the sign of contempt.’ EB:294

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk tȟáp, gği- ‘give someone the evil gesture; make sign of disapproval’ KM:331 , gği’tap ‘beckon with the finger’ KM:2120 , tȟáp, naŋbú- ‘spring, n. (mechanical)’ KM:2244 , naŋ rut’ap , tȟáŋt’ap, naŋ- , naŋ’at’ap
ghost

noun spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa-rą́•xi*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wąrų́•xik ‘ghost’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wa-ną́•ɣi*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota wanáɣi ‘ghost’ RTC

Dakota waną́gi ‘soul when separated from body; a ghost’ SRR:519b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wo-ną́•ɣi*

Chiwere wąnadxwe ‘ghost’ RR, wąndxi JDH

Hoocąk waną́gi ‘ghost, corpse’ KM:3388, waną́gi

Proto-Dhegiha *wanáŋye*

Omaha-Ponca wanąxe, ṭwanáŋye JOD

Kanza/Kaw wanąxe RR, wanáŋye JOD

Osage wano’xe, ṭwanáŋye ‘soul of man, spirit (used in rituals), ghost’ LF:197b

Quapaw wąndxe – wanąxe RR, wanáŋye JOD

Proto-Southeastern *wa-ną́či*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi anatcī, ṭ(a)nači ‘ghost, spirit’ D&S:233a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wanāntçī, ṭwanąčči ‘ghost’ HH

General comment

Cf. ‘shadow, soul’.
gills, palate

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *i-råke

Proto-Dakota *čhaká

Lakota čhaká 'palate' RTC

Dakota čåká 'the palate, roof of the mouth, gills' SRR:84b

Proto-Dhegiha *i-råke

Kanza/Kaw ho yáge ‘gills’ RR

Osage ho íthage, ñho íðake ‘(fish) gills’ LF:63b

Quapaw táka ‘gills’ JOD

General comment

Lakota čh, DH *r betray the presence earlier of an inalienable possessive prefix, *i-, on this body part term. Osage alone among the daughter languages has kept (or restored?) the prefix. There has been a (not uncommon) accent shift rightward in Lakota after loss of the old prefix. The identity of the final vowel is unclear here. Lakota stress placement indicates that the final vowel is not the ablauting vowel, an interpretation supported by the final vowel in Quapaw, but since -E is a feature of verbs in Siouan, spreading to nouns only analogically, this noun could have had *-e. The Quapaw form also shows an unexpected reflex of *R instead of *r.
give

verb social_transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *kʔú ~ *kʔʔ

Proto-Siouan *kʔu(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *kʔʔ

Crow kui RG, GG:51, RGG:28

Hidatsa kuʔ 'give; benefactive' J, kuʔu

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kʔʔroʔš 'he gave it to him' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kʔú

Proto-Dakota *kʔú

Lakota kʔū 'give' RTC

Dakota ku , ʔkʔú 'give anything to one' SRR:302b

Stoney kʔū ~ kʰu 'give' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *okʔų́

Chiwere okʔų́ 'give' RR

Hoocąk hokʔų́ 'give, pay(?)' KM:1360 , hokʔy

Proto-Dhegiha *kʔǘ

Omaha-Ponca ʔl 'give' RTC

Kanza/Kaw kʔǘ 'give' RR

Osage kʔú 'give' RR

Quapaw kʔí 'give' RR

Proto-Southeastern *əkʔú-(re)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo əkʰú-(re)

Biloxi kádi , ʔkudi D&S:215b , ku , ʔkudli D&S:215a

Ofo əkhú , ʔakhú D&S:319b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ʔɡo , ʔŋu H , ʔgo , ʔŋgu

Proto-Catawba
Catawba kų́həre ‘gave it’ [before ‘he gave him’; kų́rəre ‘gave it may have’] KS

General comment

As in several other cases, Ofo shows a preposed ạ in conjunction with an aspirate in cases where other languages have a following Cʔ.

Reconstruction of the set Biloxi k : Ofo əkʰ : Tutelo (n)g as *kʔ is, admittedly, taking advantage of knowledge gained only from other subgroups, but this correspondence set is distinct from both the plain and aspirated sets, and would otherwise require the use of some arbitrarily chosen velar symbol for the reconstruction. Here Tutelo also has a peculiar reflex with initial nasalization of some sort. In Dorsey’s Biloxi work an apparently syllabic n- always varied with q. This may be the case in Tutelo also. However we do not think the Tutelo nasality is related to the intrusive nasality in Chiwere and Hoocąk, which occurs in numerous other forms. We cannot consider the nasality explained though, since there seems to be variable nasalization of this root in Catawba. This is a transitive verb with only two arguments across Siouan, with the recipient marked as direct object.

give away

verb social_transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ka-hi E

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ‘kahe’

Crow kée ‘give away’ RG, GG:50, RGG:28

Hidatsa kaher ‘give away’ J , kahé

Pre-Mandan

Mandan káʔhereʔš ‘give away’ RTC , káʔ- ‘have, possess’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ka-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk woogá ‘gift’ KM:304 , wooga

Proto-Dhegiha *ka-ré

Osage dado* gathe , ḫače ‘donate, give away, contribute’ LF:34b

Quapaw kadé ‘give away one thing’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kaye, kdye, kayí , ḫkaye ‘give away’ D&S:205a

General comment

This is a causative construction in Proto-Siouan. This is the only Crow stem beginning with ke-; it must be a contracted causative, cf. Hidatsa, which is clearly causative.
glance off

verb physical contact manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-khį́E

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-kitE

Crow ápchishi ‘rub, spread on’ GG:11, diùchisi ‘tan hide’ GG:45, aláchishi ‘be cold, freezing’ GG:7

Hidatsa nakkitE ‘scrape off water from hides’ AWJ, árkitE ‘singed, on fire, prairie fire’ AWJ, nukitE ‘pluck, pull off, pull out’ AWJ, pakitE ‘scrape by pushing along’ AWJ, ţkitE ‘smear on’ AWJ, árkitE ‘smash, squash with foot, step into sth. soft’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-khį́E

Proto-Dakota *-khį́A

Lakota pakḥį́ta ‘clean by wiping’ EB:428b, apdɪkhį́ṭa ‘wipe or rub off on anything’ EJ, nakḥį́ṭa ‘brush or wipe one’s feet on sth.; brush off with the foot’ EJ

Dakota pakȫnta ‘wipe, as dishes’ SRR:408a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-khį́te

Chiwere rukhį́ǰe ‘slip (hand, while pulling)’ JGT:61

Hoocąk bookį́c ‘hit at with a glancing blow; rub with a hard object’ KM:61, bookį́c ‘rub with a hard object’ KM:3363, wakį́c, wakį́c

Proto-Dhegiha *-khį́te

Kanza/Kaw bōkhį́je ‘fail in trying to cut’ RR, bokḥį́je ‘miss, slip with a spear’ RR, bōkhį́je ‘miss in shooting, punching or blowing’ RR, būkį́je ‘miss in chopping, cutting’ RR, nąkhį́je ‘miss kicking at sth.’ RR, yakhį́je ‘miss in shooting, punching or blowing’ RR, yakhį́je ‘miss in chopping, cutting’ RR, nąkhį́je ‘miss kicking at sth.’ RR, yakhį́je ‘miss in speaking’ RR, yakhį́je ‘miss in speaking’ RR

Osage pakič’e, ṭpokkį́te JOD

Quapaw pōkį́t’e ‘cut at sth. and miss it’ RR, pōkį́t’e ‘graze sth. while shooting’ RR, bokį́t’e ‘miss, slip pushing sth.’ RR, bòkį́t’e ‘rub a slippery surface’ RR, dəkkį́lte ‘bite at and miss’ RR, dəkkį́lte ‘lose grip, slip over’ RR, kəkį́t’e ‘strike at and miss’ RR, nąkį́t’e ‘kick at and miss, pass by’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *-khį́t

Biloxi (du)khį́t’i, ṭdıkį́t’e ‘slip off, vt’ D&S:209b

Ofo nąkhį́t’i, ṭnokkį́t’i ‘slide’ D&S:326b

General comment
Cf. ‘rub (1)’. The Ofo cognate has lost nasalization irregularly. This is an interesting set in that *-khįte should by all rights have a long vowel. Í was the second syllable vowel and was accented in most contexts, especially in the third person. Most etyma should lengthen in precisely this context if we are right about Proto-Siouan lengthening, and most do, yet in this case neither Hoocąk nor Proto-Crow-Hidatsa shows any trace of a long vowel. Sets such as this one appear to establish length as distinctive in Proto-Siouan. Note, however, that for some purposes (e.g. vowel syncope) we are forced to consider instrumental prefixes to be clitics.
go

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *re(he)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *réhe

Crow dÉE ‘go’ RG, GG:43, RGG:31

Hidatsa rehe ‘go’ J

Pre-Mandan *rehe-

Mandan ré-ho3 ‘he’s going’ RTC, ordnu-huř-tořq ‘Are you pl. going to go?’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ré:

Proto-Dakota ‘yA’

Lakota yA ‘go’ RTC

Dakota ya ‘go’ SRR:601a

Sioux Valley yA ‘go’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ré-

Chiwere lé, *tré ‘go’ W:246b

Hoocąk rée ‘go, start going; go outside’ KM:2589 , ree

Proto-Dhegiha *ré

Omaha-Ponca dÉ ‘go’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw yÉ ‘go’ RR

Osage the , tÉ ‘go’ LF:273a

Quapaw dÉ ‘go’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *ré(-re)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ré(-re)

Biloxi dÉ, dédi, dÁ dÉ , tÉ(dí) [ + ablaut] D&S:181a

Ofo tékna , tÉ- D&S:330, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo álëwa, la, qala , t-ré- [ + ablaut] H

Saponi ire ‘to go towards’ F
Proto-Catawba

Catawba daʔ- 'go on foot' FS, ra 'go' KS

General comment

Mandan preserves the final *-E of the root only in some (not all) ablauted forms, like the one given, where the root appears as ra-ha-. The root appears as re-h- in non-ablauted forms. It seems likely that this root was one of the first in Proto-Siouan where the ablaut spread from an unaccented final E to an accented root vowel; i.e., the sequence of changes may have been *re-he > *re-he. Catawba has a variety of motion verbs: daʔ- behaves like a Siouan instrumental prefix.

go around, coil

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-kýE

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk gį́x, hogi- 'extend around' KM:1182, hogigįx 'go around something' KM:2699, gį́x, ni-, ngi̍x

Proto-Dhegiha *-kýe, *-kį̀e

Kanza/Kaw gýe, bđ- 'cut around with a knife' RR, gýe, go- 'chop, chip as on the trunk of a tree' RR, gýe, yí- 'tie something up' RR

Quapaw kį̀e, dka- 'wind, as a road' RR, kki̍xe, di- 'coil' RR, kį̀xe, okį̀- 'go around sth. at a distance' RR

General comment

Quapaw shows an additional spirant grade.
good (1)

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *pí•

Proto-Siouan *ühpi•

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpí

Proto-Dakota *phí

Lakota phí ‘good’ RTC

Proto-Hooçąk-Chiwere *phí•

Chiwere phí(•) ‘good’ RR

Missouria Wau pe ur, Wau pe ır , ṭwaphíʔų ‘expert’

Hoocąk píʔ ‘be good; be possible’ KM:2488 , píją

Proto-Dhegiha *hpí

Omaha-Ponca ppí ‘good’ RR

Kanza/Kaw ppí• ‘good’ RR

Osage hpí ‘good’ RR

Quapaw ppí• ‘good’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *iphí•

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *phí

Biloxi pi; náphí, ṭpi ‘good, smell good’

Ofo náphíhi , ṭnáphíhi ‘smell good’ D&S:326b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ebí; bi, pi, ipí, biwa, epísel , ṭipí• N, H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba pêrez; pêhore MS, KS

General comment

Cf. *full*. Missouria (Missouria) is from Lewis and Clark’s Journals.

waphíʔų is a characteristic ioway-Otoe proper name, so the transference or sharing with Missouria seems likely.
good (2)
verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *Sté

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Sté

Proto-Dakota wasté

Proto-Dhegiha *xtá-re

Omaha-Ponca xjákithe , ?xjá- ‘love’ MAS:115
Kanza/Kaw xtáye ‘love’ RR
Osage xtáhe , ?xtáhe ‘love’ LF:219b
Quapaw xtadé ‘love’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo yandostéka , ?sté- ‘love’ H

General comment

Lakota ‘love’ < ‘good’ + -laka ‘consider, regard’. Tutelo ‘love’ < yäti ‘heart’ + ostéka ‘good’ (1Act yandowastéka). The putative DH cognates, although they fit semantically, show á where they ought to have é. These could be frozen ablauted vowels, but the expected forms with é are missing entirely from DH in this instance, so only the Dakota and Tutelo forms are reliably cognate here.
good (3)

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *tǭ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *tq

Proto-Dakota *tq


Dakota yaną́, ýatqę́ ‘speak well of, praise’ SRR:616a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ʔ-ʔ-DAQ

Chiwere ńant’uđak, ńatʔúdą́ ‘pity’ [< ‘heart’ + X ] JGT:48

Hoocąk ṇaŋɡiŋoŋ ‘pity, take pity on; give a blessing to, in response to vision quest’ KM:2165, ṇaŋc hirojq

Proto-Dhegiha *(ʔ-)DAQ

Omaha-Ponca ūdo’, ūʔdo ‘good’ MAS:86

Kanza/Kaw dąje, na- ‘strut, walk with an important air’ RR, dąje, yu- ‘praise, to praise someone’ RR

Osage odo’, ōtq ‘military honors’ LF:120b
good (4), heal

verb psychosomatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ki-sí

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa kiši 'heal' , nahkši 'rest one's head on sth.'

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kišíhere 'heal, get well' H:227

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *zi

Proto-Dakota

Dakota okái 'heal up, recover' SRR:371a , dúi 'rest' SRR:400b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk xgąązi gíi 'rest, take a rest' KM:3898 , xgąązi kįį

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca zéawádhé-ta , ṭzi: 'I will heal them' , ṭági-gő́dê , ṭzi: 'let us rest'

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ótsiə 'recover, get well'

General comment

Spirant grade suggests that Hidatsa is a borrowing from Mandan.
goose

noun animal, bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan-Crow-Hidatsa *wǐ́•-

Proto-Siouan *wǐ́•

Crow bílaa 'goose' GG:29, RGG:2

Hidatsa wǐ́rə 'goose' J, mí́rə

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wǐ́hə, wǐ́h 'goose' RTC

General comment

Cf. Hidatsa apáariʔ 'porcupine' Crow apdiri(a) 'porcupine' Mandan pdʰiʔ 'porcupine' Dakota pahiŋ 'porcupine' Osage pd-hiʔ 'porcupine' for another instance of MRS r corresponding to h elsewhere. Since 'goose' is attested in only two subgroups and they differ on the status of what appears to be a root extension the second syllable is not reconstructible with certainty. Cf. 'ducks, waterfowl'.

gourd > rattle

noun plant part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *Vhpé•xe

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpéye

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk péex 'gourd, bottle' KM:2470, peex

Proto-Dhegiha *hpéye

Omaha-Ponca péxe, ḫpēye 'gourd' MAS:22

Kanza/Kaw ppēye 'gourd rattle' RR

Osage péxe, ḫpēye 'gourd rattle' LF:128a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo taphēsə, ḫtaphēsəu 'rattlesnake' JSS

General comment
The Ofo form may well contain this root. The initial ta- may be the possessive root, *hta-, but Ofo r can also come from *r, and the final vowel is unaccounted for. None of the languages that normally would show reflexes of the expected initial syllable of this noun is represented in the data. Note that the putative Ofo cognate also occurs in 'centipede' (DS-330) and may refer to biting rather than rattling, either originally or by folk etymology. Cf. ra-phé ‘bite’ in several languages.

Presumably the connection between ‘gourd’ and ‘rattlesnake’ lies in the use of gourds for rattles.

gourd > squash

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ahkó•(re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *kakúwi

Crow kakúwi ‘squash, pumpkin’ RG, GG:51, RGG:14

Hidatsa kakúwi ‘squash, pumpkin, cucumber, watermelon’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kór – kó•re ‘squash’ RTC, kó• xté ‘pumpkin’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *hkohkó-

Omaha-Ponca kkokkómį ‘cucumber’ RR

Osage kokómá, ţhkokómá ‘cucumbers’ LF:88b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kɔ•čkúyɛʔ ‘watermelon’ [cf. tőkőye ‘sweet’] MRH, kɔ•čkúyɛʔ MS, ko, ţako•(d) ‘gourd’ D&S:171b, ko tckúyɛ, ţako•(d) ‘watermelon’, akodi, ţako•(d) ‘gourd cup’

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Some linguists have postulated that some of these forms may be borrowings from French. This is doubtful, however, since Mandan and Biloxi have nearly identical forms. There is the additional possibility of contamination of native terms from French and English. The DH forms, for example, should not differ as they do. We seriously doubt, however, that all the ko forms are borrowed, at least from a European language. Rather we suspect a relationship with onomatopoeic forms based on the hollow sound of gourds, the sort of thing that underlies *hkó-ke ‘hollow sound > stamp, stomp’ (‘make a hollow sound’).

The accentual and vowel length patterns suggest an old prefix, here partially preserved, as usual, in some of the Biloxi forms. Mandan and Biloxi share *-re, and if, as C postulates, this -r- was an epenthetic glide, then DH, Crow and Hidatsa *-w- might be similarly epenthetic, and all the forms would more or less match. It is also possible that the Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form was *koko- with the standard raising of short o > u; *-w- might be an assimilation product from *r after round vowels. The various ko- forms for cucurbits outside of Siouan, however, suggest that this etymology will never be completely secure.
go vertitive

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ki-ré*-he

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kré ‘go back’ H:175

Proto-Mississippi-Valley kré

Proto-Dakota krá

Lakota gá ‘go back’ RTC

Dakota hdá SRR

Stoney hna (+ ablaut) PAS

Proto-Hoocá-K-Chiwere *kré

Chiwere glé ‘arrive back home’ JGT:22

Hoocák keré ‘start going back’ KM:1790, kere

Proto-Dhegiha *kre

Omaha-Ponca gbe, ţgę ‘go home’

Kanza/Kaw lé ‘go back to a place, go home’ [< *gle] RR

Osage ghe, ţlé ‘go home’ LF:53b

Quapaw kdé ‘go home, start homeward’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *kiré*-re

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kādá, kiđá, k să, řkádi ‘go homeward, have gone home’ D&S:182b, xkādá-deʔ, řkádi-di ‘I’m going’ MRH

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo gléwa, gile, řkilé-da ‘go home’ HW, gil’dá, gili’da, řkilé-da ES, gel’dá, kilédá, řkilé-da LIF
grandfather (1)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-htúq

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i-htúq

Proto-Dakota *thúqá

Lakota thúqá ‘father-in-law’ RTC, thúkdíla ‘grandfather’ RTC

Stoney thūqd- PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ı́thúgua ‘grandfather’ RR

Hoocąk čooká, čookága ‘grandfather, father-in-law’ KM:260, cooka ‘paternal or maternal grandfather; father-in-law’ KM:832, híóké, hí Cooke

Proto-Dhegiha *i-htíkó < *i-htúkó

Omaha-Ponca itígó ‘grandfather’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw iččígo ‘grandfather’ RR

Osage išígo, ¡bicóko ‘grandfather’ LF:80b

Quapaw itíkó ‘grandfather’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tukaní, takani, tukaní ‘mother’s brother’ D&S:281b

General comment

Cf. ‘grandfather (2)’. The DH terms should show traces of earlier ‘ú, at least in Kanza/Kaw and Osage. Osage ú is preserved after hc in ‘shell’, for example. The Hoocąk vocalism is also a problem and should show o. And, although final vowel denasalization is commonly found in Kanza/Kaw, for example, it is not common in Hoocąk. Biloxi suggests that this word may have had ‘(-re), but lack of a Mandan cognate leaves us without confirmation. Proto-Siouan reconstruction here represents one possible form, but there are many problems with this set. It is possible that this term represents, or has been contaminated by, *híjka ‘ancestor’ with a syncopated reflex of the *hta- ‘alienable’ prefix; this would account for the preaspiration in Hidatsa (see below), and offer some rationale for the term’s usage in referring to respected male ancestors.

Unfortunately, Crow íísahkaní ‘woman’s father-in-law’ (DEC-124), Crow íísahka ‘woman’s grandfather’ (DEC-124), Crow idípoxahke ‘man’s grandfather’ (DEC-124), and Hidatsa ṣ̀rūtahka ‘grandfather, woman’s father-in-law’ (J) do not seem to fit here, though they are superficially similar. The problems are length (in Crow) and quality of the root vowel and preaspiration of the final consonant.
grandfather (2)

*noun* social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern *-kə xo

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *i-ka xo

Biloxi ka’ xo, ika’ xo, ti’ ko xo D&S:206b

Ofo etik’ so, tetik’ s ‘grandfather’ D&S:323b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo etoko’ ’e’η, ṭetoka’ xo ‘his grandfather’ HW

General comment

Cf. ‘grandfather (1)’ which is partly similar.
grandmother
noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-hkį́

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa i-kw ‘grandmother, woman’s mother-in-law’

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i-hkį́

Proto-Dakota *khį́

Lakota khį́ ‘mother-in-law’ RTC , khį́į́ ‘grandmother’ RTC

Stoney khį́kį́ju ‘his grandmother’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *i-khų́-nį́

Chiwere ikhį́, ikhų́į́ ‘grandmother; mother-in-law’ GM

Hoocąk kunį́ka, kunį́kága ‘grandma’ KM:1918 , kunį́ka

Proto-Dhegiha *iḥkő́

Omaha-Ponca ikkő́ ‘grandmother’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw ikkó́, ikkó́ RR

Osage ikó́, tikhő́ ‘grandmother’ LF:74a , ikko’, tikhį́ ‘his mother-in-law’ LF:74a

Quapaw įkką́, įkkǫ́, ikkǫ́ RR

Proto-Southeastern *i-kį́-nį́

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *i-kį́-nį́

Biloxi kó-nį́ , ṭkį́kį́ ‘grandmother, mother-in-law’ D&S:217b , eku, ʰigū́n , ṭkį́kį́ ‘grandfather’

Ofo ikdė́ , ʰikė́nį́ ‘grandmother’ D&S:324a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ʰigū́n , ṭ(ʰ)ikų́p(-nį́) ‘grandmother’ H , ʰą́ką́k , ṭ(ʰ)ikų́p(-nį́) ‘grandfather’ ES , ko’ke’k , ṭ(ʰ)ikų́p(-nį́) LJF , ʰůką́ , ṭ(ʰ)ikų́p(-nį́)

General comment

The increment *-nį́ is common in both the Southeast and in Chiwere/Hoocąk. It is unidentified unless it is the nasalized allomorph of *-re; it recurs in the same languages in ‘mother (1) (referential)’, q.v. Lack of expected aspiration in the SE is a more serious problem. All transcribers clearly marked the k as lenis or wrote it as g. Proto-Southeastern *k and Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hk simply do not match, so, although we are convinced that these terms are all related, their phonological development is irregular.
grasp
verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šihe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-šia < *šihe


Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk šé, hiwa- ‘be well-supplied; be plentiful’ KM:1119, WL:8.12 , hiwaše ‘take away from’ KM:2236 , šé, nq'- , nq'še

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw dišwe in: mią́pa dišwe ‘eclipse of the moon’ JOD , mi díši ‘eclipse of the sun’ JOD

General comment

The Quapaw forms fit both phonologically and semantically in the expression cited. Dorsey however translates dišwe generally as ‘open up’, so it may not be cognate at all.
grasp > hold, take
verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rú•E

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-hE < **-cE < ***-cVcE (redup.)

Crow tchi, ddá-‘grab, get, take’ RG, GG:44, RGG:26, tchi, ddá-‘grab with teeth; fight (as do dogs)’ RG, GG:42, RGG:53
Hidatsa -hE, nú-‘take, pick up’, -hE, nú-‘bite’

Pre-Mandan
Mandan -še, ru-‘grasp, pick up, fetch, pump water’ H:225, -še, ru-‘hold in the teeth’ H:226, írušėʔš’he caught it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *rú•E

Proto-Dakota *yúzA
Lakota yúzA ‘grasp, hold, take, pick up’ RTC, yúsyúzA ‘grasp, hold, take, pick up (a multitude)’ RTC
Dakota yúzA ‘take hold of, grasp, hold, catch, take a wife’ SRR:647b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *rú•E

Chiwere líde GM, lúde RR
Hoocąk rús ‘take, get, obtain’ KM:2755, rús

Proto-Dhegiha *(a)rú•E

Omaha-Ponca ṭūzé ‘take’
Kanza/Kaw yúzé ‘get, take, accept’ RR
Osage ṭuqé, ṭúzaf ‘take, receive, accept’ LF:154a
Quapaw ṭúšáza ‘hold, grasp sth., for holding as pliers’ RR, ṭúžé ‘get, take, receive’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *(a)rú•si

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *(a)rú•si
Biloxi dusaf, ṭudusaf ‘bite, as a dog does; to be in the habit of biting’ D&S:253a, dusé, ddusé, ṭudusaf D&S:169a
Ofo atusí, tüsí ‘trade’, ṭusí ‘buy, sell, trade’ túsíkopí, ṭúsíkopí ‘pinch’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Tutelo lóca, lúca ‘take, steal’ JOD

General comment
Initial *ru here appears to be part of the root and not the instrumental prefix of the same shape. The Ofo forms fit well, as f is the expected reflex of *s. The Tutelo also fits, since JOD's Tutelo always substitutes ſ for s of the other workers. Tutelo has no independent phoneme ſ.

Perhaps JOD's primarily Cayuga-speaking informant only had the one fricative.

Tutelo normally generalizes the -a form of *E also. Only Ofo shows an initial vowel. The a is irregular here (unless it is a locative prefix), as it normally signals glottalization was present on the following stop. Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan, and Biloxi have reanalyzed the form as instrumentally prefixed and extended it by using another of the prefixes. Accent and Quapaw reduplication argue that the same reanalysis occurred in Proto-Dhegiha.

glass (1)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpéží

Proto-Dakota ṃhežída RTC

Lakota ṃhežídá 'grass' RTC

Dakota ṃhežídá 'grass' PAS

Sioux Valley ṃhežídá 'grass' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk peešį́ 'hair of the head (as collectively)' , peešį́ JOD

Proto-Dhegiha *hpéže

Omaha-Ponca ppéže 'weeds, hay' RR

Kanza/Kaw ppéže 'weeds, hay' RR

Osage ṃpéže 'weeds, hay' RR

Quapaw ppéže 'wheat, flour' JOD
grass (2)

noun: plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *mąhį́

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ma’įįje ‘milkweed’ JGT:155

Hoocąk mąąhį́č ‘milkweed’ KM:1961, mąąhįč

Proto-Dhegiha *mąhį́

Omaha-Ponca mo’hi”tu, ʔmąhį́to MAS:87

Kanza/Kaw mąhį́ ‘grass’ RR

Osage mo’hi”, ʔmąhį́ ‘grass’ LF:98b

Quapaw mąhį́-nį ‘tea’ RR, mąhį́ ‘grass’ JGD

General comment

Cf. ‘grass (4)’, ‘grass (3)’ which is much more widespread. Cf. Cheyenne moe ‘grass’ Aubin 1180. If this were a borrowing from Algonquian the apparent discrepancy between apparent Chiwere medial ʔ and the h found elsewhere might be accounted for. Alternatively the Chiwere transcription might be mistaken; JGT normally uses the circumflex for ʔ. The seeming accentual disagreement between Chiwere/Hoocąk and Proto-Dhegiha may be due to reanalysis flowing from folk etymology: viewing the form as a compound of *mą ‘earth’ + *hį́ ‘hair’.
grass (3)
noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xą́•he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xahe

Crow baaxē ‘cockleburr’ RG, RGG:11

Hidatsa wο•xα•xα• ‘cockleburr’ [ < xάλαa ‘rough, scratch’ ] J , mο•xα•xα•

Pre-Mandan

Mandan xą́h, xąhé ‘hay, grass’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley xą- 

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xą́wį́

Chiwere xą́mę̃, xą́me ‘hay, grass’ [ioway] JGT:94

Hoocąk xą́ąwį́ ‘hay, grass’ KM:3864, LWR:38 , xą́wį́

General comment

Cf. ‘grass (4)’. In more than one instance roots with final (or suffixed) -he have lost the h and gained an epenthetic glide between the vowels left in hiatus. If the root vowel is rounded, the glide is usually w. The replacement in MVS appears to be w here even after the low, unrounded vowel. Quapaw xą́įke ‘frost’, although possibly cognate, is most likely part of the ‘frost’ set, q.v. It is probably xe ‘frost (2)’ + a- ‘on, locative’ + (n)įke ‘lie, be lying, positional’ with subsequent nasal spread to a- and the expected collapse of e+ą to ą.
grass (4)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xá•te

Pre-Mandan *-xąʔTE

Mandan kóxąte, kóxąʔte 'corn' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xá•te ~ *xą́te

Proto-Dakota

Lakota haŋié pepe ąyececa, ḥaŋié 'Illinois mimosa, a legume' EB:192a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere xáǰe 'grass, herb' [Otoe] JGT:94

Proto-Dhegiha *xá•te

Omaha-Ponca xá-de 'hay' [Southern Ponca] RR

Kanza/Kaw xáǰe 'hide in tall grass' JOD

Osage xádxé, ḥaŋdé 'grass' LF:217a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi satúti, ḥaŋ-útį 'cocoa grass' [cf. uti 'root'] D&S:251a

General comment

There appear to be two closely related sets for ‘grass’, one with and one without nasalization. The Biloxi form above is doubtfully cognate as fricative symbolism is generally limited to verbs (including stative verbs/adjectives) and adverbs, i.e., semantically gradable terms. Finding it among nouns is suspicious but possible. It is likely that the Lakota term has been contaminated by ‘juniper, red cedar’, q.v.; ‘grass (4)’, q.v., may also have contaminated Lakota and Mandan forms of this word.
grave

noun social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *awą́•xE

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ṣwɔ̃xe ‘grave’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *mǐ́•xe

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Otoe mǐ́•xe ‘grave’ JDH

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw mǐ́xe ‘grave’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi amaax ‘grave’ D&S:227a

General comment

In ‘grave’ the root xE has been compounded with that for ‘mud, dirt, earth’, q.v. In Mandan it is likely that the compound has been reanalyzed as a single root. Mandan ṣwɔ̃x from *awą́• + xE. The MVS vocalism is unexplained. Cf. ‘cache’
gray (1)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xó•tE < **axó•tE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xótα

Crow -xó•tα in: awaxó•tα 'salt' RG, GG:14, RGG:13

Hidatsa xó•tα 'moldy gray’ J , awaxó•tα 'salt' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan xóøS ‘it’s gray’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xó•te

Proto-Dakota xó•tα

Lakota xó•tα ‘gray’ RTC

Stoney xó•tα ‘gray’ PAS

Sioux Valley xó•tα ‘gray’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xó•te

Chiwere xó•ţe ‘gray’ RR

Hoocąk xó•ţe ‘be gray’ KM:3933 , xóoc

Proto-Dhegiha *xó•te

Omaha-Ponca xó•ţe ‘gray’ RTC , xó•tē ‘gray’ RR

Kanza/Kaw xó•ţe ‘gray’ RR

Osage xó•ţe , xó•ţe , ţxó•ţe ‘gray’ LF:218b

Quapaw xó•ţe ‘gray’ RR

General comment

Part of a full consonant ablaut set; cf. ‘hazy, bluish, cloudy’, ‘gray (2)’. Accent suggests a missing Proto-Siouan initial syllable. Judging from ‘hazy, bluish, cloudy’, q.v., only OVS preserves the expected initial syllable in this ablaut set. We have reconstructed all three related fricative symbolism grades together, taking into account the features of all.
gray (2)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šó•tE < **ašó•tE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa šóta ‘gray’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šó•te

Proto-Dakota

Lakota šóta ‘smokey’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šó•te

Chiwere šóje ‘smoke’ RR

Hoocąk šōöt ‘be hazy, clouded (of liquid)’ KM:2979 , šooc

Proto-Dhegiha *šó•te

Omaha-Ponca šóde ‘smoke, muddy’ RR

Kanza/Kaw šóje ‘smoke, muddy’ RR

Osage šóđse , šóce ‘smoke’ LF:132b

Quapaw šōtte ‘smoke’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Woccon tooshe ‘smoke’ JL

General comment

Part of a consonant ablaut set; cf. ‘hazy, bluish, cloudy’, ‘gray (2)’. Accent suggests a missing Proto-Siouan initial syllable. Judging from ‘hazy, bluish, cloudy’, q.v., only OVS preserves the expected initial syllable in this ablaut set. We have reconstructed all three related fricative symbolism grades together, taking into account the features of all.
grease (1)
noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sará*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cará•

Crow taláa ‘grease, oil’ RG, GG:57, RGG:14

Hidatsa cará• ‘grease, lard’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *srd

Proto-Dakota srá

Lakota slá ‘grease’ RTC

Dakota sda ‘grease, oil, ointment, salve’ SRR:432a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *srá

Chiwere ḩhra , ḩhra ‘grease, oil, lard, gasoline’ JOD

Hoocąk sárd ‘be oily’ KM:2792 , sara ‘to oil’ KM:2793 , saraří , sara hií

Proto-Dhegiha *sRá-re (causative)

Omaha-Ponca çndé , çndé ‘lubricate’ MAS:115

Kanza/Kaw stáye ‘to grease something’ RR

Osage çndáhe , çndáhe ‘to grease a wagon or oil machinery’ LF:31b , kćiđahe , ḩćiđahe ‘grease for hair’ LF:69b

Quapaw stáde ‘grease something’ JOD

General comment

Generally, this is an inedible grease, as opposed to ‘grease (2)’.
**grease (2)**

*noun* physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i•kri*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan íkri ‘grease, lard’ H:87 , ikri ‘grease’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(wa)-íkri*

Proto-Dakota *ikrí*

Lakota íglí, wígú ‘grease’ RTC

Dakota ihdí, wíhdi ‘the soft fat of animals, grease, oil’ SRR:186a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wí•kri*

Chiwere mí•gri ‘grease’ RR

Hoocąk wíkį́ŋį́ ‘fat; oil; lard; automotive oil’ KM:3739 , wíkį́ŋį́, wakį́ŋį́

Proto-Dhegiha *wa-íkri*

Omaha-Ponca wégthi , ṭwégði ‘oil, lard’ MAS:305

Kanza/Kaw wélli, wélli ‘grease’ RR

Osage wégthi , ṭwelí ‘grease, oil, kerosene’ LF:213b

Quapaw wéktli, wékį́ ‘grease’ RR

**General comment**

Generally, this is an edible grease, as opposed to ‘grease (1)’. 
grind

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-htó•pe

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-htó•pe

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-thó•pe

Proto-Hoocąk-Čiwere wari•thó•we ‘grind’ RR , ra•thó•we ‘chew’ RR


Proto-Dhegiha *-htópe

Omaha-Ponca dátóbe ‘grind’ MJS:38 , thatóbe

Kanza/Kaw battóbe; battóbe ‘grind, pound fine’ EB, RR , dátóbe ‘cook until it falls apart battóbe’ RR , yuttaóbe ~ yuttówe ‘plow, break virgin ground’ RR

Osage gatóbe , ṭkahtópe ‘shatter, pulverize’ LF:47b

Quapaw kattówe ‘break in pieces’ JOD , dattówe ‘chew to pieces’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *-thóp-ka

Biloxi nitépka , nitépka ‘pestle’ D&S:200b

Ofo ñcathópka , ñcathópka ‘pestle’ D&S:324b , pathópka , pathópka ‘red-headed woodpecker (?)’ D&S:328, JSS

General comment

The Kanza/Kaw term ya(tóxe) ‘crack sth. between the teeth’ is related but carries a different root extension.
grind, pound

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pVhé*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa pʰé ‘dig, grind’ J , phi

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pʰé ‘to grind’ H:140 , pʰé ‘he grinds it’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *phe*

Proto-Dakota *phá*

Lakota kápʰá ‘pound’ RTC
Dakota ka-p’úʔ , ?kapʰá ‘beat, thresh off, pound up’ SRR:262b
Sioux Valley phá ‘pound’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere flapha – flapha ‘grind stone’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha *phé*

Omaha-Ponca flapha ‘corn crusher’
Kanza/Kaw pʰé ‘grind’ RR
Osage pshe , ?pʰé ‘pound corn into fine meal’ LF:129b
Quapaw pʰé ‘pound something in a mortar’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *pahé*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi apéhé , pêhé , ?pêhe ‘pound, as corn’ D&S:244b
Ofo pʰé , ?pʰé ‘pound’ D&S:328a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo pahé , ?pahé ‘pound’ H , wába-hé , ?warþahé ‘powder, flour’ HW

Proto-Catawba

Catawba pædzew ‘we powder’

General comment
The Hidatsa form seems to entail ‘motion up and down’; hence derived forms meaning ‘digging stick’, ‘pump’, and ‘tattoo’ as well as the obvious ‘cornball’. Hidatsa aspiration is secondary, from earlier *pVhe. Cf. *hit, pound* for possible doublets that developed from the a ablaut form of this verb. Tutelo length suggests that the second syllable was not the common verb suffix *-he; lack of aspiration in Tutelo is also indicative of our Proto-Southeastern form. Biloxi has assimilated the vowels; Ofo has irregularly syncopated the unstressed short vowel. Some languages have reinterpreted the final vowel as ablauting.

**groin**

physical_somatic_body_part

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Rdną

Proto-Dakota *čhaná

Lakota čhand ‘groin, inside of thigh’ EB:115b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Rdną

Chiwere rdna, ḙı́nq ‘crotch’ JGT:57

Hoocąk dana ‘groin’ MM:166, taanŋ

**General comment**

The now-lost inalienable third person possessive prefix which generally marked kin terms and body parts in Proto-Siouan would account for the shift of *R* > reflexes of *y* in Lakota.
groove

verb physical_contact deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-skí•tE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa -čki•tE, na- ‘cut, clip off’ [ka] J, -čki•tE, pd- ‘tightly fitting, constricting’ J, -čki•tE, ná- ‘tightly fit, tightly fastened’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-skita

Proto-Dakota

Lakota skíta ‘tied, bound, fastened, as a child on a board’ EB:456, -skíta, wa- ‘make notches, to cut across, gash’ EB:552, -skíškíta, wa- ‘cut much, gash; to make an edge toothed, as a feather’ EB:552, -skíta, ičá- ‘cut a little gash in, to cut notches’ EB:203, -skíškíta, ka- ‘mark in equal lengths for cutting’ EB:291

Dakota kaskíta ‘press, clasp, embrace’ SRR:266b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wáhgiige ‘groove by rubbing, bearing, pressing’ DOR, JGT:156

Proto-Dhegiha *-skíta

Kanza/Kaw báskída ‘cut or saw a groove around sth.’ RR, báskída ‘plane a groove around a surface.’ RR, báskída ‘groove, to press around edge’ JOD, RR, gaskída ‘notch, cut a notch in sth.’ RR, náskída ‘bind tightly, e.g. splints, machine grooves’ JOD, RR, yrískída ‘mark, make a mark with the hands.’ RR

Osage čki-da, tskíta ‘gap in a ridge’ LF:31b

Quapaw -skíta, di- ‘dent, tie tightly leaving mark’ RR
grouse

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-hpú•ska

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ápú•ška ‘prairie chicken’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *(a)mą-phú•ska

Biloxi apuská, řapuská ‘partridge’ D&S:174a

Ofo amąphó̄ska, amąphû´ska, *amąphú•ska ‘partridge; drum’ D&S:320b, D&S:334a, JSS

General comment

The first part of this compound term incorporates different roots for ‘bird’ (‘bird (1)’ etc.), q.v. Only the adjectival portion of the term (‘spotted (1)’) is reconstructible here. Probably refers to barred feathers, clearly the etymology of the Mandan form.

growl, bellow

verb perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *tá•xe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa néxe ‘growl, grunt’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan táx ‘make a loud noise, bellow’ H:246

General comment

None of the languages represented here has reflexes of Proto-Siouan aspiration, so that feature is indeterminate at present. Chiwere pëxe ‘moan, groan, straining noise to ease pain’ (JDH) may not be cognate. In the absence of a Crow form with the appropriate meaning (not ‘knock’), it is also possible that Hidatsa has simply borrowed the term from Mandan.
growl > grunt (1)

verb perceptual auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xrą́

Pre-Mandan

Mandan xrą́hah ‘growl’ H:322

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xrą́

Proto-Dakota *xną́

Lakota xnd ‘growl, grunt’ RTC

Dakota Khá , ḥna ‘snort’ SRR:165b

Proto-Dhegiha *xrą́

Osage xhọ́ , xlą́ ‘sulk, pout, peeved’ LF:220b

Quapaw óxną́ ‘angry, irritated, cross’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘thunder (2)’.
growl > grunt (2)

verb perceptual, auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xrį́

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xrį́

Proto-Dakota *xnį́

Lakota ḥnįywų́ŋ, ḥnįywq ‘have stomach ache, afraid, quivering, be troubled’ EB:194b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere xríŋę̀ ‘growl, snarl’ JGT:156

Hoocąk xńį́ ‘growl (as an animal)’ KM:3923, xńį́

Proto-Dhegiha *xrį́-

Kanza/Kaw xľį́ ‘growl’ RR

Osage xhiⁿ, ᥅xį́ LF:220b

Quapaw xńį́ke, xdlį́ke JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi xųδę́, ᥅xų́f ‘growl, as a bear’ D&S:226a, xųδę́ nedį́, ᥅xų́f ‘make a sawing noise’

General comment

The Biloxi forms for both ‘wind (3)’ and ‘growl > grunt (2)’ suggest an initial ‘xy’ rather than ‘xr’, if they’re cognate.
growl > snore, snort

verb perceptual auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xró-

Pre-Mandan *xro-

Mandan xró ‘rattle, ring’ H:325

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xró-

Proto-Dakota *xro

Lakota xlö ‘growl as a dog’ EB:194a
Dakota ḥdo, ḥdo ‘growl as a dog’ SRR:163a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xróde

Chiwere xlóje ‘snore’ GM
Hoocąk xoró ‘snore’ KM:3936, xoró ‘choke on something’ KM:3938, horaxoroč, horaxoroc

Proto-Dhegiha *xróte

Omaha-Ponca xhude, xhóde ‘snore’ MAS:160, thaxhude, thóde, thó ‘choke on food’ MAS:39
Osage xhoxhóde, xhóde ‘snort’ LF:220b
guts, intestines

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(i-)ší•pe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ší•pa

Crow ši̱pa ‘intestines’ RG, GG:55, RGG:104

Hidatsa ši̱pa ‘intestines’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ši̱pe ‘guts’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ši̱pe

Proto-Dakota *šu̱pé

Lakota šu̱pé ‘guts, intestines’ RTC

Dakota šu̱pé , řu̱pé ‘guts, intestines’ SRR:450b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ši̱be

Chiwere ši̱we ‘intestines’ RR

Hoocąk ši̱p ‘intestines’ KM:2948 , ři̱p

Proto-Dhegiha *ši̱pe ~ *šú̱pe

Omaha-Ponca ši̱be ‘guts’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw šu̱we ‘guts’ RR , ši̱ be JOD

Osage shībe , řu̱pé ‘guts’ LF:131b , shiu̱ be , řu̱pé ‘intestines’ LF:132a

Quapaw ši̱we ‘guts’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *čhípi

Biloxi tciwí , tciwí , tciwíya* , řčiwí D&S:264b

Ofo tčhípi , řčhípi D&S:329b

General comment
The -u- in Dakota, Kanza/Kaw, and Osage presumably results from contact with the following labial. Cf. ‘tail (2) > bird tail’, where the sporadic rounding before a labial is separately attested. Ofo aspiration and the accentual and length patterns in other languages suggest a missing initial syllable. None of the languages shows one, but since ‘intestines’ is a body part, it may have been a dependent noun with initial *i-, though there is frequently a difference in the possessive treatment of internal and external body parts.

**h**

**hackberry**

*noun* plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley


Kanza/Kaw *góbê* ‘hackberry’ RR

Osage *goⁿbé, *kópe* ‘hackberry’ LF:53a

**General comment**

Hackberries proper are found as far south as the mouth of the Ohio River. All other Siouan territory is covered. Other varieties of the fruit extend further south however. So far this set exists only in DH and Chivere, and we suspect borrowing as the source. The most similar form is found in Tunica.

Haas records the following entry for ‘hackberry’: *kómeli < kó ‘tree’ (only hackberry and hawthorne) + meli ‘black’. (p.224). Since Haas analyzes kó as ‘tree’ only in two words (there is another word for tree in all other contexts), we suspect a folk etymology here, i.e., instead of kó being essentially unanalyzable, it may be -li that is unanalyzable. In any event, it appears that *kóme* ‘hackberry’ was borrowed into DH and spread northward losing phonological features as it progressed. This analysis is marred by the fact that Dorsey never recorded a Quapaw term. Words with vaguely similar shapes are common up and down the Mississippi Valley and eastern plains, but the only other reasonably close form phonetically is Western Muskogean (Choctaw) *ka*pko (Byington and Swanton).
hail

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-Wá•su

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Wá•su

Proto-Dakota *wasú

Lakota wasú ‘hail’ RTC

Dakota wasú ‘hail’ SRR:535b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere bo-θú ‘hail’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha *Wásü

Omaha-Ponca ma’či, ṭmáši MAS:91

Kanza/Kaw bósú RR

Osage ḥáči, ṭpáši ‘hailstones’ LF:19a

Quapaw páši RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wasa- ‘hail’ ASG, KS

General comment

If the term is a compound made up of ‘snow (1)’ and ‘kernel, seed’, then the initial *W is explained. It stems from the earlier sequence, secondary *ww, that we find in ‘snow (1)’. The long syllable here is the originally accented one and the Chiwere and Lakota forms have moved accent to conform with their predominant pattern, i.e., we have reconstructed the exceptional rather than the productive pattern from among the cognates on the assumption that the term does incorporate ‘snow (1)’.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

hail > freeze

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *aRá•-hkara or: *aRá•-hkarą

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ወቀንዮን ‘hail’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ዋንከላ ‘freeze’ GM

General comment

This term incorporates the prefix usually translated ‘by extreme temperature (heat or cold)’ (= ‘heat/cold, instrumental’). All the languages for which we presently have cognates lack the initial vowel of that prefix, q.v.
hair, fur, feathers

noun physical_somatic_body_part_animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan "i-hį́• ~ *i-hį́"

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa "if < "ihí"

Crow if 'hair' RG, GG:75
Hidatsa if 'hair, fur, body hair' [rising pitch] J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan hį́ 'hair, fur' H:72, pohį́ʔ 'head hair' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley 'hį́'

Proto-Dakota 'hį́'
Lakota hį́ 'hair, fur, down' RTC
Dakota hį́ 'hair, fur, down' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere 'hį́•'
Chiwere hį́ W:235
Hoocąk hį́ 'hair (of body)' KM:1141, hį́

Proto-Dhegiha 'hį́'
Omaha-Ponca hiⁿ 'body hair' MAS:91
Kanza/Kaw hį́ RR
Osage hiⁿ, thį́ 'hair, fur' LF:60a
Quapaw hį́ RR

Proto-Southeastern "i-hį́•

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo "i-hį́•
Biloxi hiⁿ, tihi 'hair, feathers' D&S:198a, ihi•'ya', tihi 'fur' D&S:198a, dnahi•, tihi 'head hair' D&S:198a, anaheʔ, tihi MRH, MS
Ofo thį́, thį́ 'hair, wool' D&S:324a, apxā'hi, tihi ~ ṭį́hi 'head hair'

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Tutelo yehi, istihiōi, ṭį́hi 'beard' H

General comment
We are unable to resolve the contradictory testimony of Mandan and Tutelo for length. The other languages are not diagnostic for this feature in this entry. Rising pitch in Hidatsa results from loss of intervocalic -h-; contrast îʔ 'his mouth', with 3s possessor as in 'hair, fur, feathers', but with no intervocalic h in pre-Hidatsa. The second i should have received pre-Proto-Siouan length via the putative second syllable lengthening rule. Swanton's Ofo slip file doesn't show length here either.

**hair of head**

*noun* physical_somatic_body_part_human

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *råtų́*

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley**

Proto-Dakota

Dakota natú 'cornsilk, hair on side of head' SRR:338b

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** *ńátu*

Chiwere nȩ-du 'hair' RR

Hoocąk nąg lã̀ ‘hair (of head)’ KM:2176, naʃju

**Proto-Southeastern** *ńą́tų́*

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi nątọ̀ ‘brain’ D&S:233a

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo natṓwe; natő́i, natṓi, ṭə́ńą́tį́- ‘hair’ N, H

Saponi -neto ‘hair {in} wig’ F

**General comment**

Cf. ‘brain (1)’.
hand (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rąpé > *i-rąpe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *i-rąpá

Crow ilapá ‘right hand’ RG, GG:87
Hidatsa īrapá ‘right hand’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ńápē

Proto-Dakota ‘ńápē
Lakota nápe ‘hand’ RTC
Dakota nápe ‘hand, fingers, forefoot’ SRR:330b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ńáwe

Hoocąk ną́we ‘hand’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha ‘ńáwe

Omaha-Ponca nąbé ‘hand’ RTC , nąbé ‘hand’ RR
Kanza/Kaw nąbé, nąbé ‘hand’ RR
Osage nąpé, nąpé ‘hand, fist’ RR
Quapaw nąpé ‘hand’ RR

General comment

This is a difficult set. The term replaced *i-ša•ke as the word for ‘hand’ mostly in MVS. The Crow and Hidatsa term possibly may preserve the original meaning. If the term spread in MVS at about the time the inalienable morphology was ceasing to be used with body parts (a purely MVS phenomenon), the different length and accentual patterns (Lakota and DH vs. Chiwere and Hoocąk) might be explained. It appears that *rąpé may have been adopted into the list of inalienable body parts late, retaining its original accentual pattern in Crow and Hidatsa even so. Chiwere/Hoocąk accent and length behave as if *i-, the possessive prefix, were present, while the rest of the languages behave accentually as if it were not, even though the term is inalienable in Lakota.
hand (2)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ų́•ke (?)

Pre-Mandan *ųkE

Mandan ɨk, ɨkə ‘hand’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo hāg, hāgi, ək, ṭ(ə)ək ‘hand’ N, HH

General comment

Although the vowels fail to match (perhaps the fault of the quality of our Tutelo data or by contamination from *-šá•ke in that language), this is an interesting set. Given the inherent problems with the Tutelo sources, one should probably reconstruct the Mandan vocalism if anything at all.
hand > claws, nails

deprecated noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-šá•ke

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *(i-)ša•kE

Crow *iš É 'hand' RG, GG:91, RGG:73

Hidatsa ša•kE 'hand' J , wašaki 'my hand' J , mašaki

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šá•ke

Proto-Dakota šaké

Lakota šaké 'claws, nails' RTC

Dakota šaké , ţšaké 'nails, claws, hoofs' SBR:440b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šá•ke

Chiwere šärge, šärge 'fingernail' RR

Hoocąk šaak 'claw, nail (cf. finger or toe)' KM:2901 , šaak

Proto-Dhegiha *šá•ke

Omaha-Ponca šärge 'claws, nails' RTC

Kanza/Kaw šärge 'claw' RR

Osage šäke 'claw' RR

Quapaw šärke 'claw' RR

Proto-Southeastern *i-čá•ki

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *i-čá•ki

Biloxi ča•keʔ MRH, MS , tcuk, tcuké, tcúke, tcwáxé, tcawaxé , ţčawki 'hand, claws, nails' D&S:260b

Ofo itcáki , ţčáki 'hand' D&S:324a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tsūañki, tsútçàp , ţču-čarki 'fingernails' H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ikṣa 'hand' KS

General comment
In MVS this term is restricted to ‘claws, nails’, while in MRS it means ‘hand’. In OVS the situation is more obscure: in Biloxi/Ofo the term means ‘hand’, while the Tutelo form is a compound meaning ‘nails’. Cf. ‘hand (2)’.
hand, instrumental
physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *ru

Proto-Siouan *ru-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ru-

Crow du-, bulu-, dilu-, du-
Hidatsa ru- j , nu-

Pre-Mandan
Mandan ru- RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ru-

Proto-Dakota yu-

Lakota yu-, blu-, lu-, yu, *ki + yu > glu-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ru(•)-

Chiwere ru- ~ ru- ~ ri-, hadu ~ haįi, šlu- ~ šli, ru [ru- (slow)]
Hoocąk ru-, tuu-'; šuru, ru- , ru, tuu, šuru-

Proto-Dhegiha *rü-

Omaha-Ponca di-, bdi', šni', dį-' Kanza/Kaw yį- (~ yi-) bli', hnu', yui-' Osage dį- [ ~ n-]
Quapaw di-, bdi', ti', di-' Proto-Southeastern *ru-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ru-

Biloxi du-, ndu-, idu, du-
Ofo tu-, batu-, tcatu-, tu-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo lu- JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba du- ‘action by hand/arm’ [mutating conjugation] FS, KS

General comment
handle, stem

noun physical_artefact_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(i-)hú•pa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hú•pa

Crow hú•pa ‘handle’ RG, GG:49

Hidatsa hú•pa ‘handle’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hú•pa

Proto-Dakota *hú•pa

Lakota shú•pa ‘handle, stem, shaft’ EB:217a

Dakota shú•pa ‘bail, handle, stem, shaft’ SRR:190b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk húuną ‘handle’ KM:1606 , húną

Proto-Dhegiha *ʔpa < **ihú•pa (?)

Omaha-Ponca ʔba thq

Kanza/Kaw ʔba ‘handle’ RR

Osage ʔba , řípa ‘haft, handle, pipestem’ LF:68a

Quapaw ʔba JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo álí ‘handle’ D&S:331b

General comment

Cf. ‘corn ear’. It is possible that there was a DH shift of *i-hú > í. This would account for the otherwise aberrant vowel in DH. MVS accent suggests a missing initial syllabic. Cf. *hú- ‘tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk’. Potentially, this term seems to contain up to three common parts, *i- ‘its, possessive’ or ‘instrumental’, *hú- ‘stem, trunk, etc.’, -pa meaning unknown. Ofo -álí is unidentified; Hoocąk -ną may be ‘wood’.
hang down (1)

physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sese

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa cece 'be hanging'.

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *-zeze

Lakota -zeze, kaó- 'swing, dangle, as by the wind' EB:286b , -zeze, paó- 'swing, dangle, hang, as berries' EB:432a , -zeze, waó- 'cut nearly off with a knife and let swing' EB:543a , -zeze, woó- 'shoot almost off and let swing' EB:606a

Dakota zséya 'swinging' SRR:649b , kaosese 'swing' WM:240a
hang down (2)

verb physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xehe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xe•xehe

Crow xe•exaxxi 'hanging down from' RG, RGG:98, GG:61, xe•exia 'dangling' GG:61, RGG:98

Hidatsa xe•x• 'hang, sag, dangle' J, xe•xe•

Pre-Mandan

Mandan xe• 'be hanging' H:311

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ɣe

Proto-Dakota ɣéɣeya

Lakota ɣéɣeya, ɣéɣeya 'swinging, dangling' EB:148a

Dakota ɣéɣeya, ɣéɣeva 'swinging, dangling' SRR:120b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xe

Chiwere luxé 'lift' GM, giwįxe 'swing'

Hoocąk ruɣé 'rescue from drowning, pull out of water' KM:483, ruŋe

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi xeheyé, xeheyé 'cause to sit, cause to hang up (as a hat, a coat...)' 

General comment

Cf. 'drip (2)’
hard (1)

verb perceptual, tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sá•ki

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow tatâči ‘hard’ [saC- + ___ η] RG, GG:57, daštači ‘heavy’ GG:42

Pre-Mandan

Mandan sak, rû- ‘to dry by heating’ !H, sâkoʔs ‘it’s dry, hard’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *sá•ki

Proto-Dakota *sâka

Lakota sâka ‘hard’ RTC

Dakota sâka ‘raw, uncooked; hard, dried’ PAS, SRR:430

Sioux Valley sâka PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sá•ki

Chiwere tha•ke , †θâke ‘hard, unripe’ JODv

Hoocąk sâak ‘be dried, hard; dry’ KM:2785, saak ‘hard’ JWE, saag í

Proto-Dhegiha *sá•ki ~ *sa•kí

Omaha-Ponca saBgí, Sâgi , †sâgi ‘hard’ , nasđge , †sâgi ‘baked hard’

Kanza/Kaw sâoi ‘hard, firm, tight’ RR , sâgi ‘firm, solid, lasting, hard, tough’ LF:29a

Osage čâGe , †sâki ‘firm, solid, lasting, hard, tough’ LF:29a

Quapaw saBgí ‘hard, firm’ RR , sâki, di- ‘hard, moulded with the hands’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi șâhdámí, sa’hd* , †sâhd(-n) ‘strong, hard’ D&S:251b

General comment
Cf. ‘raw’, especially Dakota. Biloxi may fit better with ‘brave (1)’, q.v.

The final vowel is *-i in Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere/Proto-Dhegiha, the ablauting vowel in Lakota/Mandan. Here we reconstruct *-i because the ablauting class is productive, *-i not.

However, cf. ‘hard > cane, walking stick’. Cf. Shawnee θaki (C.F. Voegelin, personal notes on Shawnee/Siouan, especially Tutelo loans, MS.). This Algonquian form could explain some of the variability in the DH accent and final vowels where one seldom finds such problems. Voegelin’s note is in pencil and contains no explanation. This root is translated ‘get hold of, secure, fasten’ in Voegelin 1939:320. He gives a Miami variant sak-, and the root appears to have a good Algonquian pedigree (v. Aubin 1975:137 #1939 ff.).

hard (2)

verb perceptual tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *suki

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cVcukE

Crow čičúči ‘hard’ RG, GG:36, RGG:95

Hidatsa cacúkE ‘hard’ J , cacúki ‘hard’ J , čó·ki

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi susukí, †susukí ‘stiff’ D&S:259a

General comment

In both Hidatsa nominal prefixes aku- ‘relativizer, agentive’ and aru- ‘partitive’ the following reduction applies: aC1uC1 -> oC1.

Perhaps analogically, the same rule seems to relate cacuki and cooki. We cannot determine from the cognates available whether the final V was -i or -E.
hard > cane, walking stick

noun perceptual tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan (*i-) *sakE (*hi_E)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *i•cakÉ

Crow ihēl’ ‘cane, crutch’ RG

Hidatsa i•cakÉ ‘cane, walking stick’ J, i•cakí

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(i-)sak-re

Proto-Dakota ‘sak-yA

Lakota sogvé ‘cane’ [< sîka ‘dry, hard, firm’ + ya ‘causative’] RTC

Dakota sogvé ‘sth. used in walking, a staff’ SRR:430a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sakre

Chiwere sègre ‘cane, staff’ JGT:64

Hoocąk sàkere, sàkeré ? ‘war-bundle’ KM:2787, hisakere, saakere

Proto-Dhegiha *í-sakre

Kanza/Kaw šale ‘cane, crutch’ RR

Osage ʃəq̪etę, ʃıšale ‘post planted in the ground, walking stick, cane’ LF:69b

General comment

This is a causatively derived noun in MVS, often with the instrumental nominalizer *i-. Cf. ‘hard (1)’. The Crow and Hidatsa forms are not analyzable as causatives. Their initial i is an instrumental prefix. Note that the derivation has problems, e.g., the length of the root vowel and the final vowel (here, the ablauting vowel).
harden by fire

verb physical condition change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Rá•-ksís

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk tąakís ‘harden by fire’ KM:1894, tąakís

Proto-Dhegiha *Rá•-sįze ~ *Rá•-sįze

Kanza/Kaw ddązį, ṭđę-sįze ‘harden by fire’ JOD

Osage ddćiçe, ṭđę-sįze ‘harden by scorching’ LF:33b

General comment

Chiwere ðθe ‘hard’ (Marsh) appears to show the root but lacks the prefix.
hard > strong, ripe

verb perceptual, tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *suta (?)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *súta

Proto-Dakota *sudá


Dakota sudá ‘hard, strong’ SRR:439b

Stoney suda — ḍuda PAS

Proto-Dhegiha *súta

Kanza/Kaw wasúda ‘hard, firm, as corn’ RR

Osage čída, čsúta ‘ripe corn’ LF:30a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo soti, ṭsoti ‘strong’ H

General comment

The Tutelo form may not be cognate: both vowels fail to correspond to those seen elsewhere. Vowel length is indeterminate here since none of the languages that preserve it faithfully is represented.
hat

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *akupE

Mandan ąkupE ‘it covers the head’ H:57, wáʔkupe ‘cap, war-bonnet’ H:58

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota nątā akáḣpe ‘hat (archaic)’ EB:360

Dakota akáḣpe ‘a covering’ SRR:20b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi akú ‘hat’ D&S:172a

General comment

It is not clear that these forms are cognate.
haul

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley "hto-

Proto-Dakota

Lakota thokšú, ṯhokšú ‘transport, carry, draw, go back and bring’ [1s thówákšú] EB:499a, EJ

Proto-Dhegiha "htókrq

Omaha-Ponca tugthoⁿ, watugthoⁿ ‘haul’ MAS:93

Kanza/Kaw ttólą, watttólą ‘haul’ RR

Osage tógthoⁿ, ṯtólą ‘haul, carry’ LF:155a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi Ḉkitúpé, Ḉkitúpé ‘carry on the shoulder’ D&S:209b

General comment

This is not a particularly satisfying set since so many different elements are compounded.
have

verb possession

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *a-_rį́

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *a-_nį́

Proto-Dakota *a-_nį́ča

Lakota anįča ‘withhold, keep back from, retain’ EB:82a

Dakota anį́ča ‘withhold, keep back from, retain’ SRR:36b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *a-_nį́

Chiwere a-ñį́ ‘have, hold’ LF

Hoocąk hanį́ ‘own, have, take along’ KM:634, hanį́

Proto-Dhegiha *a_-rį́

Omaha-Ponca aei’, ŭa_-òį́

Kanza/Kaw aį́ ‘have’ RR

Osage ahi’, ŭa_-òį́ ‘have’ LF:15b

Quapaw aŋ ‘have, keep’

Proto-Southeastern *ani (?)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo áni , ŭání ‘take’ D&S:321a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tahothanę́ki ‘have’ H

General comment

*a-_rį́ ‘move’ and *a-_rį́ ‘be’ (along with *a-_rį́ ‘have’) are conjugated differently from one another. Either ‘move’ has been analogically restructured or, more likely, its *r- is the epenthetic glide; both verbs should logically behave identically, as R-stems, but only ‘have’ and ‘be’ do.
hawk (1), falcon

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kye-tą́he ~ *kye-tų́he

Pre-Mandan

Mandan titą́he 'hawk' H:252

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kyetą́ ~ *kyetų́

Proto-Dakota čhetą́

Lakota čhetá́ 'hawk' EB:130b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *gredą́

Chiwere gretũʹ 'hawk' LWR:8

Hoocąk kerejISP 'Black Hawk (name)' KM:1796, kereISP, kereIŞ

Proto-Dhegiha *kretá́

Omaha-Ponca ghedo'ı', ḡdédá 'sparrow hawk' F&LF:105

Kanza/Kaw ledą́ 'hawk' RR

Osage ghedo'o', ḡetą́ 'hawk, falcon' LF:54b

Quapaw kdetą́ 'smallest variety of hawk' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kyeto'hé, ḡyetoná 'duck hawk' D&S:218a

General comment

Ofo nať 'hawk' (DS-331b) looks related, but is from 'cat' instead.

Variability between *ą and *ų in MVS is not uncommon, the two having merged at least partially in DH. This noun is interesting for other reasons however. It appears to be composed of three elements *kye-, specific meaning unknown (but cf. *kyq- 'Buteo'), which is segmentable only by comparing Mandan with the rest, *-tą́/ų́, the second part the root, and *-he, a very common final syllable and probable Proto-Siouan suffix.

Root-initial t should be aspirated if its position as second syllable initial goes back to Proto-Siouan, but it is not, so initial k- may well be the reflex of an additional syllable. Nor is the second syllable vowel lengthened. There are several unanswered questions here.
hawk (2), Buteo

noun animal bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kyąSká

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kyąSká

Proto-Dakota *čhaSká

Lakota čhaSká ‘large hawk’ EB:123b

Dakota čagSká ‘hawk’ SRR:92b

Proto-Dhegiha *krąSká

Omaha-Ponca geho’seqSká, ṭuhaSká F&LF:105

Quapaw xnaSká ‘largest species of hawk’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kiySká, ṭkįySká ‘marsh hawk’ D&S:209b, tcoŋktona, ṭčokčona ‘a mythic hawk’ D&S:265b

General comment

The two roots for ‘hawk’ both have a *ky cluster, very uncommon, suggesting they may be derived forms of a single root. Quapaw initial is irregular. Biloxi may be cognate but may also be derived from earlier *kįʔ ‘fly’, q.v. The Biloxi sibilant should be č if this word is entirely cognate. The rarity of Proto-Siouan *ky as a cluster may indicate that this term did indeed incorporate ‘fly’ at an earlier period and that initial syllable syncope is responsible for the cluster. Cf. ‘hawk (1), falcon’.
hawthorn, black

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa-wóha or: *wa-wúha

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa wawuá 'haw, thorn bush' J, mawúa

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Wo, *Wu

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk wawu 'black haw'

Proto-Dhegiha *Wo

Kanza/Kaw bo 'black haws' RR

Osage pu, ñpo 'black haws' JOD

Quapaw po, bo 'black haws' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ðho, ðho 'haw, black or red' D&S:319a

General comment

Cf. ‘cranberry’. This set contains irregularities no matter how it is viewed, but it is interesting nonetheless, since it is one of rather few *W sets. We believe that *W developed when *wa 'absolutive' underwent regular initial syllable syncope preceding a root with initial *w: *wa-wóha > *w-wóha > *Wóha. *snow (1)* provides a parallel example of this process. Hidatsa implies an older, pre-Hidatsa *wa-wuha. One would have to appeal to irregular vowel assimilations to account for the differing vowels in the daughter languages. Areal similarities may have played a role in the development of this root also, cf. Fox popokímínits 'black haw' (perhaps borrowed from, or contaminated by, Siouan) Smith 1928, p. 256, also Miami papakínidjákwí 'black haw tree' (Voegelin p.79).
hawthorn, red haw

*noun plant*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Pre-Mandan *taspuk (?)

Mandan *taspök* ‘ash tree’ RTC

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *htaspq* ~ *hti-ó•spq (?)

Proto-Dakota *thaspq*

Lakota *thaspq* ‘red haw, apple’ EB:482b, RTC

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Hoocąk čoosą́ ‘thorn apple, hawthorn, haw tree’, coosą́, coosąqwą́?, †čoosą́wą́

**Proto-Dhegiha** *htaspq* (but cf. QU)

Omaha-Ponca *taspa*”, *ttaspq* ‘Crataegus sp.’

Kanza/Kaw *taspa* ‘red hawthorn’ RR

Osage *taço*”, *ttaspq* ‘red haw, thorn apple’ LF:136a

Quapaw *t táspotỳ́* ‘red hawthorn tree’ JOD

**General comment**

The Hoocąk and Quapaw forms suggest internal structure that so far resists analysis and reconstruction. This may represent developments internal to those languages, but the Hoocąk form could virtually be derived phonologically from the Quapaw, so the two apparently aberrant forms probably share the same underlying morphological structure and should be taken seriously. Cf. ‘ash (tree), Fraxinus’.
hazelnut

d **noun** plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ų*

Proto-Dakota

   Lakota ума

   Dakota úma 'hazelnuts' SRR:484a

Proto-Dhegiha *ǫ*

   Omaha-Ponca oⁿzhinga, ũ-žįga F&LF:106

   Osage oⁿ, ũḥ 'hazelnut' LF:121b

**General comment**

Chiwere kwaiñe (Ioway), kwaiŋe (Otoe) (LWR:56) do not appear to be cognate, although they could incorporate *ų*. Hoocąk huksík (KM-1597) is also non-cognate but may represent a widespread borrowing, cf. Choctaw oksak 'hickory nut'. Cf. 'hickory nut' for additional forms that may incorporate this root.
hazy, bluish, cloudy  
verb perceptual, visual, color  
Proto-Siouan-Catawba  
Proto-Siouan *(a)só•tE  
Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *có•ta  
Crow čoosa ‘bleached, faded, pale’ RG, GG:39, RGG:85  
Hidatsa có•ta ~ cóʔota ‘gray’ J  
Pre-Mandan *šó•t  
Mandan šótoš ‘it’s white’ RTC  
Proto-Mississippi-Valley *só•tE  
Proto-Dakota *só•t  
Lakota só•t ‘hazy, bluish white’ RTC  
Sioux Valley só•t PAS  
Proto-Dhegiha *só•nte  
Omaha-Ponca gasúda-balži, ṣgasóde ‘not clear (of branches)’  
Kanza/Kaw sóje ‘a light color of broadcloth’ RR  
Proto-Southeastern  
Proto-Tutelo-Saponi  
Tutelo asó•ti, ṣasó•ti ‘blue’ H, sotyē, ṣasote ‘blue’ HW  
General comment  
cf. ṣo 0.t, ṣo 0.t ‘gray (2)’, ‘gray (1)’. The existing Tutelo forms and the accentual pattern throughout suggest a lost initial syllable. The other two related fricative symbolism forms (with s and x) are more productive, but this is the only grade with an OVS cognate. It seems probable that the other two forms had initial Proto-Siouan *a also.
head, back of, hair

*noun* physical\_somatic\_body\_part

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *rą-ıšú*

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa**

Crow ᬇū ‘back of the neck’ RG, GG:93, RGG:74

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *ną-ıžú*

**Proto-Dakota** ᵁⁿᵃžú

Lakota ᵁⁿᵃžú ‘back of head’ EB:347a

Dakota ᵁⁿᵃžú ‘occipital bone, base of skull’ SRR:340a

**Proto-Dhegiha** *ną-ıžú*

Omaha-Ponca noⁿžíha ‘hair of the head’ MAS:91

Kanza/Kaw ᵁⁿžíha ‘hair’ RR

Ocape ᵁⁿžíha, ᵁⁿžíha ‘hair of the head’ LF:112a

Quapaw ᵁⁿžíha ‘hair of the human head’ JOD

**General comment**

Cf. *‘brain (1)’, ‘spine (1)’* and other terms relating to the head and upper body that show the element *rą-. V. also *hörn*. Itočóti ‘neck, throat’, which might appear to belong here, is unquestionably influenced by ‘i-ročé ‘throat’ but ṭe may regularly < ᳧ but not from ᳧, so there may have been contamination or conflation here.
head, nose (1), front end

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *pa

Proto-Siouan-Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *apá

Crow apá ‘nose, beak, bill’ RG, GG:11, RGG:65

Hidatsa apá ‘nose’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan páʔ ‘head’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpá

Proto-Dakota *phá

Lakota phá ‘head’ RTC

Sioux Valley phá ‘head’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *phá

Chiwere phá ‘nose, head’ GM

Missouria pá há, paha, ʔpha hα [head + skin?] L&C

Hoocąk phá ‘nose, front end of anything’ KM:2419, paa

Proto-Dhegiha *hpá

Omaha-Ponca ppá ‘head, nose’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw ppá ‘head, nose’ RR

Osage pa, ʔhpá ‘head’ LF:124

Quapaw ppá ‘head’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *ahpá

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ahpá

Biloxi pd, ṭpá ‘head, his or her head’ D&S:243, yupaɾdeʔ, ṭpáɾ ‘head’ MRH, yupaɾdeʔ, ṭpáɾ ‘head’ MS

Ofo apxáhi, ṭapháhi ‘head hair’ D&S:324a, ʔpha lę, ṭaphá lę ‘headache’ D&S:324b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo paasqé, paqti, ṭpáxxti ‘none (sic)’ [xti ‘real, genuine’] H

Saponi pósse, ṭpasí (?) ‘head’ F
Proto-Catawba

Catawba dopeșuʔ ‘my nose’ MAS, KS, pịsuʔ ‘nose’ FS, KS

Woccon Poppe ‘head’ JL

General comment

Cf. ‘nose (2), end, point, tip (2)’. Regarding the Biloxi forms collected by Haas

hear

verb perceptual, auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *nǫx-ų́

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *nεxų́

Proto-Dakota *naxʔų́

Lakota nąxʔų́ ‘hear, listen to, attend to, obey’ [1s nawáxʔų́ RTC

Dakota nāhóŋ ‘hear, listen, attend to, obey’ SRR:323a

Stoney na_xų PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *naxʔų́

Chiwere nąxʔǫ́ ~ nąxʔų́ ‘hear’ RR

Hoocąk nąąxgų́ ‘hear, understand’ KM:2266, naąxgų

Proto-Dhegiha *nąxʔǫ́

Omaha-Ponca nąų́ RTC

Kanza/Kaw nąkʔą́, nąkʔǫ́, nǫkʔǫ́ ‘hear, listen’ RR

Osage nąkʔoⁿ, ʔnąkʔą́ ‘hear’ LF:115a

Quapaw nąxʔų́, ďąxʔų́ ‘hear, listen’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *naxxe (?)

Biloxi naxxe, náxe, ʔmáxe ‘hear’ D&S:231b

Ofo nashē, ʔnashē; ʔnašé ‘listen’, ʔàxé, ʔáshe ‘hear’ D&S:321b

General comment
There is an obvious derivational relationship among the terms for ‘hear’ and ‘ears’. The form given here might be *\( rąx \) ‘ear, hearing’ plus *\( iʔų́• \) ‘use, do with’, q.v. Ofo and MRS also show forms without the *\( r \); perhaps this is an old derivational morpheme as well. Dakota *\( na_xʔų́ \) is perhaps an ‘instrumental prefix’ reanalysis of earlier *\( nax•ʔų́ \); Winnebago might be from *\( nąąx \) + *\( k- \) ‘dative, possessive’ + *\( (ʔ)ų \) save that Hoocak does not regularly lose *\( ñ \). Cf. ‘frog (1), toad’ for another case of *\( x \).
heart

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-yą́•te ~ *i-rą́•te

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ra•tá

Crow daasá 'heart' RG, GG:40, RGG:70

Hidatsa na•tá 'heart' J, na•tá

Pre-Mandan *rą́t-

Mandan rą́tka 'heart' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *i-rą́•te ~ *i-rą́•tke

Proto-Dakota čhąté

Lakota čhąté 'heart' RTC

Dakota čą́pté 'heart' SRR:92b

Sioux Valley čhąté PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ną́•t-(ke)

Chiwere ną́įje 'heart' RR, GM, ną́įje 'heart' W:236a, RR, GM

Hoocąk ną́ąč 'heart' KM:2123, ną́ąčge, ną́ąčgé

Proto-Dhegiha *ną́•te

Omaha-Ponca no°dje 'heart' RTC

Kanza/Kaw ną́įje 'heart' RR

Osage no°dse, ჋çe 'heart' LF:113a, ჋ce 'heart' LF:153a

Quapaw no°dte 'heart' [also ną́ıde] RR, JOD

Proto-Southeastern *i-yą́•ti

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *i-yą́•ti

Biloxi yandlí, yándiya, yantí, ჌yqti 'heart' D&S:288a

Ofo ჋ćdmatí, ჋d́qti 'heart' D&S:324b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo yášíti: yantí, ჌yqti 'heart' N, H

General comment
Chiwere/Hoocąk show doublets, with and without the ‘ke suffix. Mandan has only rą́tka for ‘heart’, but Hollow derives this from a root *rą́t ‘be in the middle’ that appears in several other constructions. The Proto-Siouan root was probably *yą́t, with frequent suffixation of *-ka. Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH all show reflexes of what should be *rą́t rather than the expected *yą́t.

Dakota, although it appears at first glance to have a reflex of *y, would have čh < *´r following inalienable *i- anyway (i.e., would merge the reflexes of *y and *´r), so in effect all of MVS may well descend from a form with initial *´r. Mandan, Crow and Hidatsa merge *´r and *y in all environments, so it could just as easily be the southeastern languages that have developed differently with *ı-yą́t rather than *ı-rą́t. In essence we are prevented from knowing for certain what the root-initial glide was, and, in fact if that glide was epenthetic, merely separating the possessive prefix from the root-initial vowel. If so, the proper reconstruction might be *ı-ą́-te. Derivational *-ka is only found in MVS and Mandan (Carter’s Central Siouan subgroup). Length is variable in Hidatsa, cf. ıs warga’d Cf. ‘middle’ for a possible source of MVS contamination.

heat

verb natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *aRá•-są
Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk taaś ‘fade due to heat’ KM:3079 , taaś

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi sa”ye, adař , țadasđye ‘heating it’ D&S:169b
heat/cold, instrumental

natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan aRá•-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ard-
Crow aRá•- RG
Hidatsa ard- J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rd-

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Rd-

Proto-Dakota *na-
Lakota na; nama-, nami-, na-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Rd-
Chiwere dR-
Hoocąk taa-, tda-, taard-, taa-, taa-, taara-, taa-

Proto-Dhegiha *Ra-
Omaha-Ponca na-
Kanza/Kaw dR-
Osage ṭRá-
Quapaw tR-

Proto-Southeastern *ard-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ard-
Biloxi add-
Ofo ata-, bata-, ata-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ala- in: alapōk, ṭala- ‘ashes’ H, na- in: inausiqga, ṭala- ‘burn’ H

Proto-Catawba


General comment
There seems to have been a good deal of morphological restructuring here. In DH, at least, this instrumental has fused with several verbs to form new stems that may themselves take other instrumental prefixes from the inner or outer sets, e.g., Kanza/Kaw *gadásage* ‘dry in the wind’ (< *ságé* ‘hardened, stiffened’); *nądáskxage* ‘thaw by walking on, as a path’; *nądákkaje* ‘heat up from running, as tires or a person’. Unlike the other instrumental prefixes, which transitivize, the ‘heat/cold’ prefix forms statives which can only be transitivized and inflected for person through causative derivations. Note different Catawba etymologies may help explain *R* in MVS. < ‘t’ ~ ‘r’ in stem conflation.

**heavy**

**verb** perceptual tactile

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *tké* or: *tiké*

Pre-Mandan *tke*

Mandan *tkeʔ* ‘he’s heavy’ H:253 , *tkéːkt* ‘it was heavy (Sub.)’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *tke*

Proto-Dakota *tké*

Lakota *tké* ‘heavy’ RTC

Dakota *tké* ‘heavy’ SRR:471b

Stoney *kta* PAS

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw *dbíuta* ‘hold down’ JOD

Quapaw *bbitàʔe* ‘press to death’ JOD

**Proto-Southeastern**

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *tké* or: *tiké*

Biloxi *tiké, tıkéʔ*, *tıké* ‘weigh something’ D&S:276a

Ofo *nákhé, ŋákhé* ‘heavy’ D&S:326b

**General comment**

OVS suggests a vowel between t, k. The diacritics seem to indicate epenthesis of a very short or neutral V in OVS, but it could also be etymological. The DH consonants are regular, but the final vowel should be e rather than a. Thus, it is not certain that these forms are cognate. The Ofo form suggests that the *t* in these forms may have originated as a resonant *r* which became *t* as the first member of a voiceless cluster. RR: *tk* would normally become *hk* > *kh* in Ofo, so *na*- is most likely a prefix here.
heel  

*noun*  *physical_somatic_body_part*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley** *si-réte*

**Proto-Dakota** *siyéte*

Lakota *siyéte* 'heel' RTC  
Dakota *siyéte* 'the heel' SRR:435b  

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Hoocąk *síkerečge* 'heel (of foot)' KM:2840 , síkerečge  

**Proto-Dhegiha** *síréte*

Omaha-Ponca *ciṭheđe* , *tsihöđe* 'heel' F&LF:109  
Kanza/Kaw *siyéči* 'heel' RR  
Osage *cištēđe* , *tsiböče* 'heels' LF:31a

Quapaw *sïdētė* 'heel' JOD

**General comment**

This appears to be a noun-verb compound of Proto-Mississipi-Valley *si* 'foot' + *rét* '?'. The dative/possessive form in Hoocąk *si• + *k- + *ret + *-ka* suggests that the second root is a verb. *foo̱t* probably had a long vowel since Hoocąk keeps length even in the unaccented variant.

help  

*verb*  *social*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa** *hkuxtÉ*

Crow *kuxshí* 'help' GG:88  
Hidatsa *hkuxtÉ* 'help' , *kuxř*

Pre-Mandan *-kute-*

Mandan *kikų́tē* 'help someone' H:109 , *kikúteʔš* 'he helped him' RTC

**General comment**
The forms may not be cognate.

**here, now**

*particle time*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

*Proto-Siouan *ko•*

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa**

Crow koo in: kootáa ‘just then; everywhere; as soon as; at same time’ *GG:66*

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ko•***

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Chiwere goʔó- in: goʔóch’i, Ḳgoʔó- ‘soon; immediately; in the near future’ *JGT:1142*, goʔó- in: goʔógi, Ḳgoʔó- ‘recently (within a year)’ *JGT:1143* , goʔó- ‘this way; (come) this way’ *JGT:1151*, gó- in: gósígi, Ḳgoʔó-

**Proto-Dhegiha**

Kanza/Kaw -go in: yego ‘here’ *JOD, RR*, -gó- in: yegóji ‘now, at this time or place’ *RR*, -gó- in: gégóji ‘now, just now’ *RR*

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi ko- in: kode , ṭko- ‘now’ *D&S:211a*
heron, crane

noun animal bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ó•xka

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ąxká ‘seagull’ H:62

Proto-Mississippi-Valley ʰó•kha

Proto-Dakota ʰokhá

Lakota hokhá, hokhát’o ‘heron’ [‘tho ‘blue’] RTC

Dakota hoká ‘heron’ SRR:152b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(h)ó•khV

Chiwere okxa, †okha ‘heron, crane’ LWR:57

Hoocąk hookéčo ‘blue heron’ KM:1443, hookeco (= hooke + coo)

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw hokáxeka, †hokháyekka ‘type of crane’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ó•xka

Biloxi oxká, óxka, oo’xk, †ó•xka ‘crane’ D&S:240b

Ofo óskha, óskxa, †óskha ‘crane’ D&S:327b

General comment

MVS initial h is unexplained. Cf. Choctaw uskāp (By-360a), Sixtowns Choctaw oskau ‘white crane’. The Choctaw forms may be borrowed from Ofo. The Quapaw was written with an unmarked k by JOD. It could represent either the aspirated or geminated variety. *ó•k should yield Quapaw (and DH generally) kha. Biloxi xk is the third distinct reflex of *ó•k that we have, cf. ‘shake (1), ‘shoulder’. Furbee (personal communication) suggests that the initial h may be from the compounding of *ó•xka with *ho ‘fish’. This is certainly plausible. Similar forms may be fairly widespread in North America.
hickory

*noun plant*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *yą-su

Proto-Dakota *čhašú

Lakota čąŋšú, ṭčhašú 'hickory nut, hickory wood' EB:123a

Dakota čąŋšú 'hickory nut, hickory tree' SRR:92a

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca nōⁿči, ṭnáši 'hickory'

**General comment**

Not related to the DH žązi 'yellow wood' words. Cf. 'hickory nut'.

-su perhaps < *sutá* (B-459a) 'hard, enduring, unyielding'. Omaha-Ponca is interesting because it uses the old doublet for žą- 'wood', namely ną-, to form this compound. The same doublet is found in Kanza/Kaw and Osage at the very least.
hickory nut

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ẖp̱o̱* or: *ẖp̱o̱ (?)

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ẖp̱o̱-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk p̱q̱j̱águ 'hickory tree' KM:2445, p̱q̱j̱águ 'nut' KM:2444, p̱q̱j̱a

Proto-Dhegiha *ẖp̱j̱

Kanza/Kaw p̱p̱̃̃̃̃̃̃ṯp̱'ga 'walnut' RR, p̱p̱ḏ̃̃̃̃̃̃c̱̃̃̃̃̃̃ẽ̱̃̃̃̃̃f̱ẽ̱̃̃̃̃̃ 'pecan' RR

Osage p̱ḏ̃̃̃̃̃̃ō̱̃̃̃̃̃̃g̱'a, ṭ̱̃̃̃̃̃̃p̱̃̃̃̃̃̃ẖ̃̃̃̃̃̃ḏ̃̃̃̃̃̃õ̱̃̃̃̃̃ḵ'a 'nut of the hickory tree' LF:129b

Quapaw pp̱̃̃̃̃̃̃ö̱ 'hickory nut' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi p̱ṯ̃̃̃̃̃̃ẖ̃̃̃̃̃̃ḏ̃̃̃̃̃̃i, ṯṯ̃̃̃̃̃̃ẖ̃̃̃̃̃̃u̱ḏ̃̃̃̃̃̃i 'hickory' D&S:246a, p̱ṯ̃̃̃̃̃̃tx̱̃̃̃̃̃̃õ̱̃̃̃̃̃g̱'o, ṯp̱ṯ̃̃̃̃̃̃ṯ̃̃̃̃̃̃x̱̃̃̃̃̃̃ḵ̃̃̃̃̃̃ḵ̃̃̃̃̃̃õ̱̃̃̃̃̃ 'pecan' D&S:246a, p̱ṯ̃̃̃̃̃̃ẖ̃̃̃̃̃̃u̱ a̱ỹ̱̃̃̃̃̃ḏ̃̃̃̃̃̃i, ṯṯ̃̃̃̃̃̃p̱̃̃̃̃̃̃ẖ̃̃̃̃̃̃u̱ a̱ỹ̱̃̃̃̃̃ḏ̃̃̃̃̃̃ 'hickory wood' D&S:246a

General comment

Cf. 'artichoke, edible root'. The two groups of cognates represented here are irreconcilable. Comparison of the Biloxi with the southern MVS terms is attractive even though the vowels do not match. Choice of either vowel in the reconstruction is arbitrary within this set, but 'artichoke, edible root', q.v., leads us to choose *ą•*. 
hide

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-axua < *-uxawa (?)


Pre-Mandan *texuwe- (?)

Mandan é•xweš ‘he hid it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *nų•xwą, *nį•xwą

Proto-Dakota *naxwá

Lakota na•xmd ‘hide sth.’ [1x nawáxma] RTC

Sioux Valley na•xwum ~ na•xbe PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *nįxwą

Chiwere náwp ‘conceal’ GM

Hoocąk náxwą ‘hide sth.” KM:2401, náxwą

Proto-Dhegiha *náxŋį

Omaha-Ponca iki náxŋįe MAS:95

Kanza/Kaw nąxmlį ‘hide something’ RR, nąxmlę ‘hide something’

Osage náxŋįe, nąxmlę ‘privacy, retirement, secrecy, underhand, have a private consultation’ LF:119a

Quapaw nąxŋį ‘hide something’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo u’sha, nu’sha, inu’sha, ŋu’sha, ŋinu’sha D&S:331b

General comment

A very confusing set, probably due to varying degrees of derivational accretion. The MVS clusters show the same m ~ w ~ ð (Dakota, Chiwere, DH) set as ‘cat’, ‘corn (1)’, ‘gourd > squash’, all of which are borrowings. DH does not permit xw or xm clusters, so replacement with xr is expected here.
hide, skin, cloth

noun physical_material

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *roxpe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *nuxpé

Crow daxpe ‘hide, skin’ RG, GG:43, RGG:103

Hidatsa raxpě ‘hide, skin’ J, nuxpě

Pre-Mandan -*roxpi-

Mandan ḥropxi ‘hide, leather’ H:130

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi doxpě, ṭoxpě, ṭóxpě, ṭuoxpě, ṭuoxpě, ṭōxpě ‘cloth, clothing, a robe of skins’ D&S:184a
hill

noun physical_spatial, mountaneous

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-hé*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *(a)hé

Proto-Dakota

Lakota pahé ‘hill’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ahé ‘hill’ GM, JGT:52, òhe ‘hill, mound’ JGT:52

Proto-Dhegiha *-ahé

Omaha-Ponca pahé , òppahé ‘hill’ LF:125a

Kanza/Kaw bahésta ‘hill’ RR

Osage pahé , òppahé ‘(archaic) hill, mountain’ LF:125a

Proto-Southeastern *he•ki

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *éki

Biloxi ékta’ní, ékta’nhythye , ōktaⁿti ‘hills, peaks’ D&S:191b

Ofo éki , ōkta ‘hill, cliff’ D&S:323, ōkta’, ōkta ‘mountain’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo òhe•ki , òhe•ki H

General comment

Chiwere suggests *hpa + ahe are compounded here, and OVS confirms it.

Initial h- is normally lost in Biloxi, Ofo. The Kanza/Kaw form seems to be the equivalent of the Lakota form, while the remainder of the DH languages seem to have reanalyzed the initial syllable as ‘hpa ‘tip’. Even so, the exact relationship with the attested forms in the remaining subgroups is opaque.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

hiss (1)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *sʔá

Proto-Dakota

Lakota sʔá ‘hiss like a snake’ RTC, sʔá, ka; kas’a ‘strike and make hiss as a snake; to sail or glide in the air, as birds’ EB:290, sʔá, na- ‘simmer, make a slight noise, as water before boiling it is also said of a fast horse’ EB:358, sʔá, oná- ‘begin to boil, simmer in, as water in a pot.’ EB:396, sʔá, tatéka- ‘whistle, as the wind’ EB:484, sʔá, ya- ‘make a ringing or roaring noise in speaking’ EB:627, šʔayapi, íya- ‘the war-whoop’ EB:252

Proto-Dhegiha *wésʔá

Omaha-Ponca wésʔá ‘snake’ RR

Kanza/Kaw wécʔá ‘snake’ RR

Osage wécʔá ‘snake’ RR

Quapaw wésʔá — wesʔá ‘snake’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘whoop’.

hiss (2)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *siríhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ciría < *siríhe

Crow čilía ‘rattle, sound of chain’ RG

Hidatsa ciría ‘jingle, rattle, tinkle’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *sri

Lakota slýd ‘hissing, the sort made by a rapidly moving switch’ EB:457a

Dakota adi ‘to hiss, as wet wood on the fire, a snake, etc.’ SRR:432a
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

hiss (3)

perceptual auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *širíhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *širía < *širíhe

Crow shílla ‘hissing sound’ GG:55, RGG:93

Hidatsa širí ‘rustle, be hoarse’ J , ardxířá ‘frying, sizzling’ J , xíříši ‘a tearing sound’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *šří

Lakota šlí ‘hissing, fizzing, as two persons whispering to each other’ EB:465a

Dakota šdí , šdí ‘hissing, fizzing, said of the noise sometimes made by fish in water’ SRR:441b

hit

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-škápe

Proto-Dakota

Lakota škápa, gła- ‘clap, make strikes together’ EB:151, škápa, we- ‘make a noise, as with a pop-gun or toy pistol; to miss fire, as when the cap explodes but does not ignite the charge’ EB:626, škápa, yu- ‘crack a whip, without striking’ EB:649, škápa, pa- ‘make a noise with one’s hands in water’ EB:358, škápa, ya- ‘make a noise in kissing’ EB:434, škápa, na- ‘?’; the word is used of two tops which while spinning run against each other’ EB:358

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk šgáp, boo- ‘knock over by running into’ KM:89, boōgøp ‘run into; run over (as with car); hit (as in baseball)’ KM:409, šgáp, gi- ‘catch, v.tr.; catcher (in baseball)’ KM:2729, giōgøp , šgáp, ru-, ruūgøp

General comment

Cf. ‘pinch (1)’
hit, pound

verb physical contact, impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *aphá

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *aphá

Proto-Dakota ‘pha

Lakota aphá ‘hit’ RTC

Stoney aphá ‘hit’

Sioux Valley aphá ‘hit’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-phá

Chiwere ḥpha ~ ḥpha ‘grind stone’ GM

Hoocąk ḥaphá ‘hit’ JWE, ḥapa ‘hit the mark or target (as missile)’ KM:527, haapó, ḥapa

Proto-Southeastern *pá-he or: *pá-hi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi pəwehi, ṭpəwehi ‘he knocked them’ D&S:244b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo pahee, ṭpahee ‘pound’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba kuspáʔ ‘corn (kus-) meal’ [paʔáwe ‘we powder’] FGS

General comment

It is difficult to separate completely the reflexes of Proto-Siouan *phe ‘grind’ and *pha ‘hit’, as they differ only by the vowel, which normally alternates between e and a in any event. The two verbs may indeed be doublets. Division of the forms differs depending on how much weight one assigns to phonology and how much to semantics. There remains some mixture.
hoarse
verb physical_somatic_disease
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ra-ɣí•tE
Proto-Dakota
Lakota yaŋťa , ḫyaŋťa ‘become hoarse’ EB:618b
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
Hoocąk yįč ‘be hoarse (voice)’ KM:493 , ḡįč, hoora ḡįč
Proto-Dhegiha *ra-ɣı́te
Kanza/Kaw ho yďįʃe ‘hoarse’ JOD
Osage thaxďı́se , ḡayį́ce ‘hoarse’ LF:278b

General comment
Vowel rounding in the Kanza/Kaw term is probably explained by folk etymology; the expected ɣíʃe has no obvious meaning while the actual form, ɣūʃe, means ‘red’, ho ‘voice’.

hold back
verb psychic_volition
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *tʔo
Proto-Dakota
Lakota tʔo, ētįyapa ‘sit against one heavily’ EJ , tʔo, paʔıyapa- ‘be pushed by’ EB:427
Proto-Dhegiha *tʔo
Omaha-Ponca ɨmbatʔo ‘pressing against’
Osage ʔbaʔu , ḡaparʔo ‘prevent from moving, hold back’ LF:6a
Quapaw ḡaʔʔo ‘stop, impede progress’ RR
hold in mouth
verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley ‘ra-phé’

Proto-Dakota

Lakota pha, wayd- ‘hold in the mouth’ EB:564

Proto-Dhegiha ‘phé’

Kanza/Kaw phé, ya- ‘hold in the mouth, between the teeth’ RR

Quapaw phé, da- ‘hold in the mouth’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘grind’

hole
noun physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley ‘hpóɣe’

Proto-Dakota ‘phóɣe’

Lakota phóɣe ‘nostril’ RTC

Dakota póɣe ‘nose, nostril’ SRR:423b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk póox ‘have a hole in it’ KM:2497, pöox
hole, dig
physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ho•pi

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hopī

Crow hopī ‘hole’ RG, GG:49

Hidatsa hopī ‘hole’, hōhips ‘hollow, open’, wa•hōhips ‘rawhide box for berry picking’, ma•hōhipi

Pre-Mandan *ho•p-

Mandan hōpak ‘since it had a hole’, hōpoʔš ‘it came open’, wō•ho•p ‘a hole’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo hūpi, ūhupi ‘dig’ D&S:323b

General comment

Attestation is a bit scanty for an authoritative Proto-Siouan reconstruction; the final vowel may be *e, and the u/o correspondence sets, although fairly common are not yet completely understood.
hole, hollow

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *xʔote
Proto-Mississippi-Valley *o-xʔote
Proto-Dakota *oxʔót-pa-ya
Lakota oʰɬɨkˈpaya, ɬoxʔókˈpaya ‘as said when the eyes are sunk in deep’ EB:376b
Proto-Dhegiha *o-xʔote
Omaha-Ponca oʔóde ‘hollow’
Kanza/Kaw okʔóǰe ‘hole’ RR
Osage ukˈˈʔadse, ṭokʾóce ‘hole, perforation, orifice’ LF:173b
Quapaw ooʔóte ‘hole’ RR

Proto-Southeastern
Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
Biloxi xoʔká, ṭxoʔká ‘hollow, empty’ D&S:222b
hollow, a hole
verb physical_spatial
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xrōkE
Proto-Dakota *xrōkA
  Lakota xlókA 'hollow' RTC, oxlóka 'a hole'
  Dakota ḥdóka 'a hole' SRR:163b
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xrōke
  Hoocąk honąxörök 'make foot go right through' KM:3941, honąxorök
Proto-Dhegiha *xrōke
  Omaha-Ponca paqéigué, ḡxédgé, ppa 'nostrils'
  Kanza/Kaw xłóge 'puncture' RR
  Osage xthúge, ḡxłóke 'spaces in the air passages extending throughout the roots of the American lotus' LF:220b

hollow, concave
verb physical_spatial
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *swą-
Proto-Dakota
  Lakota smdíka 'hollow, concave' EB:457b
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
  Hoocąk hoisą́wą ‘valley’ KM:2806, hoisąwą
hollow, empty (1)

verb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xaró(S)*- (?)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa xarúxxE ‘wide, roomy’ J , xarúxxa

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xró-S-(ka)

Proto-Dakota

Lakota xloɣéča ‘poor, thin, hollow’ EB:194

Stoney oʔnóʔa ‘a hole’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere xló•ske, xró•ske ‘empty, hollow’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha *xróxʔa

Omaha-Ponca xthu’a , ṭxóʔa ‘empty’ MAS:68

Kanza/Kaw xloκʔa ‘empty’ RR

Osage xthók’a, xthú’a, xthúʔa , ṭxókʔa ‘empty, emptiness’ LF:220b

Quapaw kdóxʔa ‘empty’ JOD

General comment

This stem is too poorly attested for a really secure reconstruction.

hollow, empty (2)

verb physical_spatial

General comment

Cf. ‘box’.
hollow sound > stamp, stomp

verb perceptual, auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rą-hkó•kE

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *nąhkóke

Proto-Dakota

Lakota nakóka, ŋnahkóka 'knock with the foot and thus producing a noise' EB:349b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *nųkhóke

Chiwere nakóge, ŋnahkőge 'stamp (the ground)' JGT:240

Hoocąk kók, nąą- 'stomp with foot; tap' KM:2193, WL:18.12, nąąkok

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage no'kóge, ŋnahkóke 'a thud, as of stamping the foot' LF:115a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo natkókisek, ŋnahkókisek 'stamp with the foot' H

General comment

Cf. 'box'
hook

noun physical artefact tool

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hí

Chiwere wahíkho ‘hook’

Hoocąk hírhi ‘belt buckle, button, hook’ KM:806, hírhi

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi híhkáhi, híhkáhi ‘to hook on or in anything’ D&S:198a

General comment

A very weak cognate set.
horn

noun physical_somatic.body_part.animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ahé

Pre-Mandan *ahe 'covering'

Mandan ąkáʔhe 'fingernail' RTC, ąhíʔhe 'hoof' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hé

Proto-Dakota *hé

Lakota hé 'horn' RTC

Dakota hé 'horn' SRR:140b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hé•

Chiwere hé 'horn' GM

Hoocąk hée 'horn (of animal)' KM:781, hee

Proto-Dhegiha *hé

Omaha-Ponca he 'horn' MAS:97

Kanza/Kaw hé 'horn' RR

Osage hé 'horn' LF:59a

Quapaw he 'horn' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ahé ~ *ahí

Biloxi ahé, ahí, ahé', he, ṭahé 'skin, nails, horn, hooves, scales, bark' D&S:170b

Ofo ahé, ahí, ṭahé 'horn' D&S:319a, aláhi, alahí, ṭahé 'skin, bark, also the shell of a turtle, etc.' D&S:320b

General comment

Biloxi appears to have collapsed 'horn' and 'skin', q.v. The result was apparently homophonous with 'cover (2)', also q.v. Homophony of 'cover' and 'skin' is also found in Mandan.
horn, spoon, shell

noun physical_somatic_body_part_animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ą•šé

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *a•šE

Crow a•šxa•wí 'antler, buck' RG, GG:3
Hidatsa a•šé 'horn, spoon' J, a•šl 'antlers, elk antlers' J, a•šixa•wí

Pre-Mandan *ąšé

Mandan qé ‘horn’ RTC, wį́ʔe ‘spoon’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi aⁿski´, aⁿsŭki´, ṭq(ə)kí ‘shell’ D&S:178a

General comment

The semantic link between ‘horn’ and ‘shell’ is through ‘spoon’. Since Proto-Siouan *hnu•ki ‘shell > spoon’ probably meant only ‘shell’ originally, the present form was probably ‘horn’ originally.
**Comparative Siouan Dictionary**

**hot, warm**

*verb perceptual*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *ahká•tE ~ *aRá•-hkatE

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(Rá•)-hkatE

Proto-Dakota *khátA

Lakota khátA ‘hot’ RTC

Dakota káta ‘warm, hot’ SRR:269b

Stoney kháda PAS

Sioux Valley kháta PAS

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Hoocąk taakáč ‘be hot, warm’ KM:3053, taakac

**Proto-Dhegiha** *Rákáte

Omaha-Ponca nádkade ‘hot’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw dákkaǰe ‘hot, as a person, stove’ RR, badákkaje ‘heat by pushing something’ RR, bódákkaje ‘heat up from shooting’ RR, badákkaje ‘heat something by rubbing, warm under one’ RR, gadákkaje ‘heat something by pounding on it’ RR, ndákkaǰe ‘heat up, as an engine from running’ RR, yídákkaje ‘heat something by holding it near fire’ RR

Osage dákadse, tàhkace ‘hot’ LF:36a

Quapaw tàhkátte ‘hot, to be hot’ RR

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo akáteka, akatégia, takáβte- ‘shine hot on’ H, akáta, takáβte- ‘kettle < water + instrumental + hot’ JOD, meniiʔiigaat’eeʔa, takáβte- ES, menii’kate’o”, takáβte- LJF

**General comment**

Both the root and the stem formed with aRá• ‘heat/cold, instrumental’ are attested. The prefix has fused in several languages to the point that in at least several languages other instrumental prefixes can be compounded with it. The Kanza/Kaw forms illustrate this clearly. What is not clear is how far back the fused stem occurred.
**hot weather**

natural_force_weather

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *wąšte*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mąšte*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *mašté* ‘warm weather’ RTC

Stoney *mastá* ‘it’s warm, sunny’ PAS

Sioux Valley *mašté* PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *mąšje* ‘warm, summer’ JGT:41, W:236a

Proto-Dhegiha *mąšté*

Omaha-Ponca *mo’shté*, *ʔmąšté* ‘sunshine’ MAS:167

Kanza/Kaw *moččé* ‘hot, summer, Democrat’ RR

Osage *mo’stse*, *ʔmąšce* ‘hot weather, hot day’ LF:102a

Quapaw *mošté* ‘hot’ RR

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo *maste, mište*, *ʔmaste* ‘spring’ H

**General comment**

The accentual differences between Tutelo and Chiwere on the one hand and most of the other languages on the other could be explained if the proto-form were bimorphemic, nominalizing *absolutive* *wu*- and *qite* the root. The second mora accentuation rule would then assign accent on the first syllable of those languages which maintain vowel length more or less faithfully, but accent would shift to the second syllable in those languages which have tended to lose length. Unfortunately there is no independent evidence for *qite* at present. Additionally, the Tutelo fricative does not match as expected.
household, home

noun physical_artefact_shelter

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *htir-ke

Proto-Dakota *thi-kré

Lakota thiglé ‘have a family, be married, make a home’ EB:488a

Dakota thhdé ‘have a family, make a home’ SRR:468a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk číikeré ‘housekeeper’ KM:227 , ciikere

Proto-Dhegiha *htir-kre

Omaha-Ponca tigthe , ttighe ‘home’ MAS:96

Osage tšigthe , tȟcële ‘reside, dwell, keep house’ LF:163a

Quapaw tnikdé ‘set up housekeeping’ JOD

General comment

A compound of Proto-Mississipi-Valley *htir ‘house’ + *kre ‘set upright’.

how

pronoun modal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *tsa-ška

Pre-Mandan

Mandan taškd- ‘how’ H:483

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *tsa-ške

Chiwere dahgé/ddhke (old) ‘then it was; it was thus; is that right?’ JGT:632 , ddhge/ dđhke , tddhge ‘how is it? what’s the matter? I don’t know and don’t care!’ JGT:687, DOR

Hoocąk jaasgé ‘how?; general question introducer’ [jaasgé can inflect for 1st and 2nd person Undergoer] KM:1682 , jaasge ‘what kind?’ KM:1683 , jaasgešáq ‘what kind?’ KM:1683 , jaasgešáq , jaasgéra , jaasgera

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Cf. ‘indefinite/interrogative (3)’, ‘near’.

howl

verb perceptual, auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wohé

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa wî’ة ‘howl, bellow’ J, mú’a

Pre-Mandan ‘woh-

Mandan wohôʔ ‘it’s howling’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi wâhe, wohé’, ñwohé ‘bark, barking’ D&S:287a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wë•wë•sere , ñwë• ‘I start to howl (?)’ KS, SS, wu’wâhë’re , ñwë• ‘to bark’ KS, G:531 , wotdre , ñwë• ‘cried out’ KS, SS

General comment

humpbacked

verb physical_somatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota t'ū́́́ɡa , ṭhúɣA 'hunchbacked; a hump or hunch' EB:501a, EJ

Proto-Dhegiha ṭhóxa

Omaha-Ponca diʔúxá-bi , ṭhóxa 'raised in a hump'

Kanza/Kaw cNóxa ‘humped, bent, humpbacked’ RR

Osage aʔako usage, ṭhóxa ‘humpback’ LF:5b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tiʔ-xka’, ṭʔox-kd ‘humped, broken backed’ D&S:279b

General comment

While there is nothing directly reconstructible here, there is clearly a sound-symbolic relationship between the forms found in the represented subgroups. One is reminded of Sapir’s famous paper on abnormal speech types in Nootka.
hunt, seek
verb social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-_Ré@

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-_re• (?)
Crow óoli ‘wait for’ GG:52, RGG:29
Hidatsa êre• ‘fall trap for buffalo’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Ré

Proto-Dakota *Ré
Lakota čhą lé ‘gather firewood’ EB:120b, o lé ‘hunt’ RTC
Dakota o,dé ‘seek for, hunt for’ SRR:348a

Proto-Hoocač-Chiwere
Chiwere ajé , ṭajé ‘gather’ JGT:2, ḫajé , ṭajé LWR:31, ujé , ṭajé

Proto-Dhegiha *Re
Omaha-Ponca a’ne , ṭa’ne ‘embrace’ MAS:68, u’ne , ṭa,ne ‘look for, seek’
Kanza/Kaw dje ‘hug’ RR, o,Jé ‘look for’ RR
Osage adse , ṭoće ‘embrace’ LF:7b, udse , ṭo,cé LF:167a
Quapaw otte ‘look for’ [unmarked t in JOD, possibly ost]

Proto-Southeastern *Ré

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
Biloxi hâne , ané , ṭ(h)ane ‘find’ D&S:194b
Ofo âkde , ṭâkde ‘find’ D&S:319b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Tutelo inéwa , ṭinéwa ‘see, find’ H

Proto-Catawba
Catawba naini ‘see, find’ KS, karni? FS

General comment
Cf. ‘find by seeking’. The Ofo forms may belong to that set rather than this, since the ‘r/*R’ distinction is neutralized after ‘k’. Biloxi and Tutelo n before an oral vowel suggest an earlier cluster. If Crow and Hidatsa are cognate forms, the length difference is unexplained, although forms with R frequently have a Mandan ʔ (ʔr is a possible source of *R) that could have yielded length.

husband

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kirą•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *kirá•

Crow čiláa ‘husband’ RG, RGG:22

Hidatsa kirá• ‘husband’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(i-)krą(-ke)

Proto-Dakota *hikrą́

Lakota hígnd ‘husband’ RTC, hígnd ‘husband’ EB:175a

Dakota hínd ‘husband’ SRR:145b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(i-)krą́(-ke)

Chiwere ḡląŋa, mį́gląŋe ‘marry’ [Cf. ḡląŋa, mį́gląŋe ‘marry’] GM

Hoocąk hiką́ŋ ‘husband’ KM:911 , hikan ‘woo, court (boy-girl or girl-boy)’ KM:2686 , rukan, rukaŋ

Proto-Dhegiha *e-krą́ke

Omaha-Ponca egthuⁿge , ḡegđğa ‘your husband’ F&LF:317 , ḡegđğa ḡegđğa ‘her husband’ , ḡegđğa , ḡegđğa

Kanza/Kaw ġaľe ‘man to marry’ RR

Osage ghéⁿge , ḡéñe ‘take a wife, marry’ LF:55b

Quapaw eknį́ge , ekĎą́ge , eknį́ge ‘husband’ JOD

General comment

The apparent prefixes in Proto-Dakota and Proto-Dhegiha are unexplained.
husk, pull off (1), flay

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xáhe

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ruxá

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-yá

Proto-Dakota *-yá

Lakota yuɣá 'husk corn' RTC, -gd, yu- 'peel off with the teeth; to husk with the mouth' EB:618

Dakota yuɣá, yiɣá 'to husk' SRR:622b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ruɣé 'husk corn, open by pulling' JGT:166

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw diɣá 'flay, skin with a knife' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *-xáhi

Biloxi pdxaxahí, ṭpdxaxahí 'pull or roll up sleeves' D&S:219a

Ofo tusháhi, dusdáhi, ṭrusdáhi 'pull' D&S:331a

General comment

Cl. ‘peel (1)’ for same root with the suffix -pe. ‘spread out’ for a homonym.
I

I (agt.) on You (pat.) contraction

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa + *yi

Pre-Mandan *wrį- < **warį-

Mandan wįrį- ‘1st active on 2nd patient’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley w + yi < *wa + *yi

Proto-Dakota (w+)yi < *wa + *yi

Lakota čhi- ‘1st active on 2nd patient’ RTC

Dakota čhi-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk nįį- [nį- in Lipkind-27] , nį-

Proto-Dhegiha *wi- RR

Omaha-Ponca wi-

Kanza/Kaw wi-

Osage wi-

Quapaw wi-

Proto-Southeastern *wa + *yi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi nyi- [(< ak + yi] D&S:1846

Ofo ači- [(<wa + *yi]

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo mżyi- JOD

General comment

The contracted form often co-occurs with an (analogue) more regular 1st sg. actor prefix. So far, contraction appears to be an MVS phenomenon.

OVS either never contracted these pronoun prefixes or has restored them analogically throughout.
ice

noun physical substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa[r]oxe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wVrúxV

Crow buláxa ‘ice’ RG, GG:35, RGG:65

Hidatsa warúxi – wírúxi ‘ice’ J, marúxi – mínúxi

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *nų́xe, *Rų́xe

Proto-Dakota *čháɣa (?)

Lakota čháɣa ‘ice’ RTC

Stoney čháɣa PAS

Sioux Valley čháɣa PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *nų́ye

Chiwere nų́xe GM

Hoocąk nų́x ‘be icy’ KM:2398, nų́x KM:2383, nų́xaládá, nų́x haš̱ara

Proto-Dhegiha *Rǫ́ge ~ *Róge

Omaha-Ponca nų́xe ‘ice’ MAS:100

Kanza/Kaw nų́xe ‘ice’ RR

Osage nő’xe, ṅőye ‘ice’ LF:117b

Quapaw tógáte ‘ice’ RR, tőye ‘ice’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo nōthi, ṅux̱i ‘ice’ H, nų́y̱ y̱, ṅų́̀y̱ ‘ice’ H, náñ-qa-b’ , ṅałépá ‘icy’ H, nören, ṅąry ‘hail’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba mòph ‘ice’ KS, MAS, mòtł’ KS, SS

General comment
Dakota is possibly cognate, although the initial consonant and the first vowel are irregular. Pre-Dakota secondary clusters *wy’, *wr’, and *wR’ may all become čh’. This may be the regular set for *R preceding a nasal vowel. The Quapaw form recorded by JOD is a denasalized version of the expected *nǫ́ɣe. Catawba suggests a possible dissimilation here, cf. ‘sitting, be; sitting positional’. Tutelo nātqłub ‘icy’ (Hw.) and nōy ‘hail’ (H) may contain the root for ‘ice’, and if so suggest that the form is bimorphemic.

indefinite/interrogative (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ha

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa


Hidatsa -ha- in: táhawia ‘how many times?, several times’ H&V, -ha- in: tohara ‘somewhat, surely’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan -ha ‘what thing’ H:483, -ha in: táha

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ha-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere -ha ‘which; which?’ JGT:651, -ha in: dândha/ dándhaje ‘which one?’ JGT:3776, -hd-, -hd- in: tánhá’dé


Proto-Dhegiha *ha-


General comment

Osage forms in ho- seems to represent ha- followed by o- ‘inside’ or before a w-. Omaha-Ponca loses the initial h- irregularly, but the examples certainly seem to be cognate.
indefinite/interrogative (2)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-pa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow -paa in: sdaapaa ‘what’ GG:66

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Dakota apd ‘some, a part, as of a mass of anything’ SRR:41b

Proto-Dhegiha *tópa

Omaha-Ponca dóba RR

Kanza/Kaw dóba ‘some’ RR

Osage dîba , ńópa ‘some’ LF:40a

Proto-Catawba


General comment

The variety of first syllables in Catawba constructions with indefinite sense suggests that -pa is indeed a suffix. This hypothesis is supported by the observation that “some” formations from ‘Ro show both suffixial -pa and suffixial -wa. See ʔtoʔ and ʔRo.
indefinite/interrogative (3)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-tq

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -tq in: etį́ 'some, somewhat' EB:143b

Proto-Dhegiha *-tq

Omaha-Ponca -dą in: dąĎą 'what, something' JEX , -dą in: edąĎą 'what' JEK , -dą in: jįĎą 'what' JEK

Kanza/Kaw dą- in: dąΑą 'something, thing' RR , -dą in: hągą'y, how come, for what reason' RR , -dą in: dąĎą 'what, something' RR , -dą in: šąĎą 'probably, about, possibly' RR , -dą in: šiĎą 'even, notwithstanding' RR

Osage do*, źtą 'a' LF:38a , źtą do* 'such a place' LF:38a
in, locative

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *o-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *o-

Crow ọ- RG

Hidatsa ọ- ‘in, into’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ọ-

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *o-

Proto-Dakota *o-

Lakota o RTC

Stoney o PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *o-

Chiwere u-

Hoocąk ho- PV

Proto-Dhegiha *o-

Omaha-Ponca o- JEK

Kanza/Kaw o- RR

Osage o- RR

Quapaw o- RR

Proto-Southeastern *o-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *o-

Biloxi o – u , ṭo-

Ofo o , ṭo-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo o- DSR

General comment
In Chiwere *o > u / #_, at least unstressed. Accent here is not entirely understood. In DH an accented initial - is normally from *wo < wo+o. 

interrogative (1)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *to

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *to


Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota


Tonkota? How is it with you, how are you? ER:493 , to- in: tóhá 'When, when?' (also, tómgá, tómgaké, of tonaké) ER:493 , tó- in: tóhxci 'some time'


interrogative (2)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tu- in: nudá , ūtu- 'that way; in that direction' D&S:28b1 , tū- in: káwa tūpeša , ūtu- 'whose?' D&S:204a, D&S:282a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba taw', j' híne , ūtu- 'who's that' KS:249 , tū- in: taw', kanye' , ūtu- 'who's his father' KS:249
**Comparative Siouan Dictionary**

**interrogative (3)**

*enclitic n/a*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan *-wa**

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa**

Hidatsa *wa* in: tapé•wa ‘who could it be?’ J, *-wa* in: tapé•ʔawa ‘who are they?’ J, *-wa* in: to•še•wa ‘why is it’

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-wa**

**Proto-Dakota**

Lakota *-wa* in: tűwá ‘who’ EB:503, *-wa* in: tűwa tawá ‘whose?’ EB:503

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**


**Proto-Dhegiha *-wa**

Omaha-Ponca d’-wa-) ‘which?, where?’ [interrogative of place where; prefixed or preposed to article pronouns (classifiers)]

Kanza/Kaw -wa- in: hówa ‘where is the X shaped obj.?’ [+ positional art.] RR, hówaджи ‘where, to what places’


**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**


**General comment**

In *Hidatsa* tapéʔawa ‘who are they?’, note position of plural -ʔa-, suggesting separability of -wa. All DH forms in which the -wa follows a rounded vowel are in danger of being epenthetic; alternatively, an earlier *hawa-* might have rounded to howa-. Cf. *demonstrative, locative (2)*.
interrogative (4)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *we*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan -we in: †tewé ‘who’ H:483 , tawé ‘which one’ H:483 , -we in: †kótewé ‘where’ H:483 , kótawé , -we in: †tewéta , tawéta

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *we*

Proto-Dakota


Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere we ‘what?’ [old] JGT:4643

Proto-Catawba


General comment

Nasalization in Catawba unaccounted for. See ŋu, ŋa, and ŋRo for the Catawba stems. Cf. ‘who’
interrogative, indefinite > something, what

*pronoun* n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ta*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ta J*


Pre-Mandan


Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ta(•)*

Proto-Dakota


Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ta*-


Proto-Dhegiha *td*- 


Kanza/Kaw *dádq ‘what, something’ RR

Osage *dádq*, *tpréq* ‘what, interrogation’ LF:34a

Quapaw *táq* ‘what?’ RR

Proto-Catawba

General comment

*tɑ̃* appears uncompounded in Hidatsa, Mandan, and Chiwere, in all of which it also appears with a variety of suffixes. That derivation from *tɑ̃* was early is evident from cognate derivations in Catawba, Hidatsa and others. Chiwere variation is transcriptional only.

island

doctrine

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wíte*

Pre-Mandan *wík-

Mandan wíktar ‘island’ RTC, wíktak H:293

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wíte*

Proto-Dakota *wíta*

Lakota wíta ‘island’ RTC, wíta EB:590a

Dakota wíta ‘island’ SRR:579a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ėlomįǰe [ē lake] GM

Hoocąk wilč ‘island’ KM:3645, wilč

General comment

The Chiwere form is presently unanalysable but certainly resembles the Hoocąk form plus nasalization. The Mandan form observed by Carter appears to be a recent metathesis, with the -ta ‘locative (6)’ suffix. Proto-Siouan vowel length may be justified.
 itch (1)
verb physical_somatic_disease

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xa-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow xafi’d ‘itch’ GG:60, RGG:102

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -ga, apá- ‘beset with prickles’ EB:87

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo


General comment
Crow -ia suggests earlier *-ihe, possibly to be aligned with Biloxi through **xayêhe (?).

 itch (2)
verb physical_somatic_disease

General comment
The Hidatsa form may represent an assimilation from *xarî; cf. ‘itch (1)’. 
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

j

jaw

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *répa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ró•re•pa

Crow dūulepe 'jaw' RG, GG:45, RGG:70
Hidatsa rórǫ•pa 'jaw' J, nó•ró•pa

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ró•hu•pa 'jaw' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(i-)re•pa

Proto-Dakota *čhehúpa

Lakota čhehúpa 'jaw' RTC
Dakota čhehúpa 'the under jaw' SRR:98b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *rá•pe

Chiwere hí ląwe GM, teeth holder
Hoocąk raap 'lower jaw' KM:2527, raap 'chin' JWE, hiráp, hiiráp

Proto-Dhegiha *répa

Omaha-Ponca theba, ñë́ba F&LF:107
Kanza/Kaw yéba, yešahų, yeba wahlų RR
Osage theba, ñë́pa 'under jaw, jaw' LF:143a
Quapaw ñįba wahi 'chin' JOD, dibdíj 'beard' JOD

General comment

Dakotan čh is the reflex of *r after *i, here the inalienable possessive prefix often applied to body parts. Kanza/Kaw shows hu 'bone' compounded with 'jaw'. Mandan and Dakota have seemingly incorporated the root for 'bone': e.g., Dakota *čhípahu > čhehúpa, perhaps under the influence of hupa, 'stem, stalk'. Crow/Hidatsa seem to show additional changes from a form like that reflected in Mandan: first, the assimilation of *-h- to the preceding r; secondly the swapping of vowels (Crow) or the assimilation of *e• to *u• (Hidatsa). Chiwere/Hoocąk are not properly cognate as they appear to have been reanalyzed (?) as 'holder' and compounded with 'teeth'.

520 of 1128
**jealous**

verb psychic_emotion

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley**

Proto-Dakota *na*_wizi

Lakota nawízi ‘jealous’ EB:362b

Dakota nawízi ‘jealous’ SRR:339b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ną́ąʔį́zį*

Chiwere ḥįyę́jį LWR, ḥįlți, niyẹ́nbiń

Hoocąk naqįįįįįįįį KM:2114, naqįįįį

Proto-Dhegiha *nantwįzi*

Omaha-Ponca no´wo´çi, ḳنقوئسي ‘jealous’ MAS:105

Osage no´wo´çi, ḳنقوئسي, ḳنقوئسي [1 ano´wo´çi]

**General comment**

Chiwere q + i > i. The relationship between the epenthetic (?) w and ʔ has yet to be explained. These forms certainly appear to be cognate, but they have undergone some interesting assimilations that make reconstruction difficult. This appears to be a MVS form.
juice, liquid

noun physical_consumption

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hųpV

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hųp-

Crow hųppii ‘soup’ RG, GG:49, RGG:14

Hidatsa hųpa ‘soup’ J

Pre-Mandan *hąpřihe

Mandan hąpřihe ‘soup’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *hąpí

Lakota hąpí ‘milk’ [ > azé ‘breast + hąpí’ RTC , asą́pi

Dakota hąpí ‘broth, soup, gravy’ SRR:124b

Sioux Valley hąpí PAS

General comment

The Mandan ‘soup’ term appears to be an old compound, since nasality is marked twice. This is one of numerous terms in which irregular ą/ų correspondences are found.
jump

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *psí-kE

Pre-Mandan *psí (7)

Mandan pšík ‘to push’ H:154, rąpškoʔíš ‘he pushes away by foot’ H:154

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *psíkE

Proto-Dakota *psíčA

Lakota psíča ‘jump’ RTC, pópsíča, po- ‘push and make fly as chips’ EB:432, psíča, akó- ‘make jump etc. on by striking, as by splashing water on one’ EB:69, psíča, na- ‘skip, hop, jump around’ EB:555; psíča, we- ‘make chips fly’ EB:548, psíča, wayá- ‘make jump’ EB:571, psíča, ya- ‘cause to skip or jump by biting’ EB:626

Stoney pə́ʔa ~ pəłya PAS

Sioux Valley psíča PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk nąąsík ‘use feet to control something, stop something rolling with the foot’ KM:2222, nąąsík ‘be agile, energetic’ JWE:92, wasísik ‘any active game’ KM:1836, wasísik, klúik, klúik

Proto-Dhegiha *síke, *wasísike

Omaha-Ponca ḥwasísige ‘active’

Kanza/Kaw wasísige ‘active, as a warrior’ RR, ḥwasísige ‘dare rapidly’ RR, ḥwasísige ‘kick aside’ RR, ḥasíge ‘knock aside, make fly as water’ JOD, RR, ḥasíge ‘press, as the sap from wood’ RR, ḥásísige ‘sparks, give off, spit coals’ RR, ḥásísige ‘sparks or coals, to give off frequently’ MR, RR, ḥsísige ‘walk on gravel and kick it’ JOD, RR, ḥasísige ‘move or dart rapidly at short intervals’

Osage nočíge, nąsíke, ḥwasísige ‘lift or kick aside with foot’ LF:113a, waçíçige, ḥwasísike ‘brave, valorous, valiant, active; prowess’ LF:186a

Quapaw ḥwasísike ‘brave’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi pẹce, pitàč, pćedí, pitàč-di ‘jump, leap, as a grasshopper, sturgeon, etc.’ D&S:248b, pćedí, pćedí, ḥpčedí-di D&S:249

General comment

Biloxi may be related via fricative symbolism. Cf. the ‘snowshoe’ words, also ‘brave (1)’, ‘brave (2)’, ‘brave (3)’. MVS shows that this form was typically reduplicated. As with ‘hard > strong, ripe’, MVS has added a root extension -ke. Biloxi, assuming relatedness, suggests that a reconstruction with an initial syllable vowel may possibly be justified, e.g., *psí-kE.
jump over

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *tʔąpe

Hidatsa aʔə ‘climb’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *aʔɬ

Proto-Dakota

Lakota aʔɬ ‘pass over’ EB:97a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere atʔą́we ‘jump over’ LWR:2, LWR:59

Hoocąk tʔą́p ‘jump’ KM:3022, t’ą́p ‘come into a village suddenly, as a war party’, hotʔą́p, hot’ą́p

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca aáⁿsi, †o-ą́si ‘jump’, aáⁿsu-, †a-ą́su- ‘jump over’

General comment

Cf. ‘fly (1)’, ‘lay’ for similar consonantism. Hoocąk and Chiwere t is apparently a reflex of epenthetic *r that was inserted to separate vowels in 1st and 2nd person forms of these verbs. In these forms ʔ is not ordinarily present. The citation/3rd person forms seem to contain the organic *ʔ plus the analogical r, which, as elsewhere, > t when in a cluster with a laryngeal (h or ʔ). Omaha-Ponca dəsi could be a compound of dəp + (p)əsi (both meaning ‘jump’).
juniper, red cedar

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xąte

Pre-Mandan *oxtą•re

Mandan óxtą•re — ótxq ‘cedar’ H:134, oxtą́ ‘pine tree?’ RTC, oxtą́• ‘sage?’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xąte

Proto-Dakota *xąté

Lakota xąté ‘cedar’ RTC

Dakota ḥaŋté, ṭxąté ‘cedar’ SRR:162a

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca áxoⁿdepa, ṭxąle ‘wrist guard’ F&LF:225

Kanza/Kaw xą́ǰe ‘cedar’ RR

Osage xoⁿ´dse, ṭxące ‘red cedar’ LF:219a

Quapaw xątté ‘cedar’ RR, xǫttéhi ‘cedar’ JOD

General comment

The Omaha-Ponca term refers to a packet strapped to the sacred (cedar) pole: a- ‘on, upon’, xąle ‘cedar’, -pa ‘locative (?)’. (Analysis from JEK).

The Biloxi term for ‘cedar’ is borrowed from Western Muskogean. Quapaw stress has shifted; it must have been initial earlier in order for the *t to geminate.

The Mandan root appears to exhibit an irregular syncope. Cedar has sacred properties among all or most of the Siouan-speaking peoples.
k

kernel, seed

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sú-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cu-

Crow badchu'kaata ‘cherry’ GG:74, baď'uu ‘chokecherry’ GG:18, RGG:13

Hidatsa čuí ‘seed, pit’ J, tsúwa ‘seeds’ HV, wóću ‘berry, chokecherry’ J, máću

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *su

Proto-Dakota

Lakota sú ‘seed’ RTC

Sioux Valley su PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *su-

Chiwere tů ‘seed’ RR

Hoocąk suů ‘seed’ KM:2878, súu

Proto-Dhegiha *sú

Omaha-Ponca sít ‘seed’ RR

Kanza/Kaw sú ‘seed’ RR

Osage uçú, ṭ-sú ‘grain, seed’ LF:167a, wutó’çu, ṭ-sú ‘squash seed’ LF:205a

Quapaw sít ‘seed’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *iů-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *isú

Biloxi sú, súya, ṭsú D&S:258b

Ofo tʃhu, tʃhu D&S:323b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tasúye, tasúi, ṭ-sú ‘eye’ H, N, pasúye, pasúi, ṭ-sú ‘head’

General comment

Cf. ‘hail’.
kettle

noun physical_artefact_container

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *yeSE 'kettle'

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wiráxa

Crow bídx̂á 'bucket, pail, drum' RG, GG:31

Hidatsa wiráxa 'kettle, pot, pail' J, miráxa

Pre-Mandan *:wrexE

Mandan wérexE, wérex 'bucket, container' [lengthens previous vowel] RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *čhéɣa

Lakota čhéya 'kettle' RTC

Dakota čéga 'kettle, pot, pail, bucket' SRR:97

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Ré•xe

Chiwere dêxe 'kettle, bucket' JGT:13

Hoocąk téex 'kettle' KM:3117, teex

Proto-Dhegiha *Ré•ye

Omaha-Ponca néye 'kettle' RTC

Kanza/Kaw jëye 'kettle' RR

Osage jëxe, jëye 'kettle, pot for cooking' LF:161a

Proto-Southeastern *yes-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi yěškásə, yěskasə 'tin, a tin bucket' D&S:292a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo yesə́k, yesə̀k 'kettle' H:1878, yesiyk, ŋyesik H:1879

Proto-Catawba

Catawba yaskuʔ 'bucket' KS

General comment
**Comparative Siouan Dictionary**

Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH forms in ‘R are phonologically irregular and perhaps due to the falling together of ‘ketōle’ and ‘shine (1)’, q.v. Biloxi sq ‘white’.

**kill (1)**

*verb psychosomatic_caus*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *kité*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kté ‘to kill’ H:123

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *kté*

**Proto-Dakota** *kté*

Lakota kté ‘kill’ RTC

Dakota kté PAS

Stoney kté PAS

Sioux Valley ktré PAS

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Hoocąk kiikjé ‘kill an enemy in warfare’ KM:1818, kiikje

**Proto-Southeastern** *kité*

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo** *kithé*

Biloxi kse, kité’, kité’, kithé ‘hit, shoot at’ D&S:214b

Ofo kse’, kté, kithé ‘kill’ D&S:326a

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo kitē, ktē, kitēse ‘kill, shoot, beat’ H

**General comment**

Proto-Siouan *kté ‘kill’ could possibly be derived from *tʔére ‘die’ by some very old process. This root was contaminated by that meaning ‘shoot at’ in OVS. Since Ofo and probably Tutelo had an active second syllable aspiration rule, a Proto-Southeastern kitē may be justified.
kill (2)

verb psychosomatic_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *tʔé•-hi_E

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa tēhe ~ tēhe ~ tēhe ‘kill’ [all causative] J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan tēhereʔš ‘he killed it’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *tʔé_re

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *tʔé-hi

Chiwere čʔéhi ‘kill’ GM

Hoocąk tʔeehi ‘kill’ JWE , t'eehi (= t'ee + hi)

Proto-Dhegiha *tʔé_re

Omaha-Ponca t'ee/e , tt'é, -de ‘kill’

Kanza/Kaw cʔéye ‘kill’ RR

Osage ts'ēhe , rćē, -de ‘sly, destroy by killing, dispatch’ LF:160a

Quapaw tőđđe , rćē, -de ‘kill’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ţęyě’ , ţe_ye ‘kill, cause to die’ D&S:273b

General comment

This is a compound of ‘die’ and ‘do, make, work; to cause’, q.v.
knee, lap, thigh

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ši-(r)-ą́te ~ *ši-(r)-ų́te

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *širú•tE < **išrútE (?)

Crow išúuši ‘knee’ RG, GG:94, RGG:74

Hidatsa išú•tE ‘lap’, išú•ti

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šíŋte

Proto-Dakota *šíyóte

Lakota šíyón ‘muscle on front part of leg’ EB:464a, šíyótE ‘front part of legs, lap’ EB:464a, šíyóte ‘knees, lap’ SRR:445b

Dakota šíyótȯ ‘knees, front part of legs, lap’ SRR:445b

Proto-Dhegiha *šíną́te

Omaha-Ponca shinoⁿ’de, šiną́je ‘knee’ F&LF:109

Kanza/Kaw šyą́je, šyą́je ‘knee’ RR

Osage shinoⁿ’de ~ shithoⁿ’de, šíną́ce ~ šíŋđe ‘knee’ LF:131b

Quapaw šíną́te, šíŋšte ‘knee’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tcinátkí, tčiną́tki ‘knees’ D&S:264a, tcintá waxhé’, tčintá ‘patella’ D&S:264a

General comment

This appears to be an old compound. Cf. ‘thigh’. The medial *-r- may be epenthetic. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa and Dakota have irregular vowels in the second root. On the postulated Proto-Crow-Hidatsa development, cf. ‘slip (3)’. It is also possible that Proto-Crow-Hidatsa merely merged the vowels without having to deal with an epenthetic glide.

Chiwere šágé ‘knee’ may be at least partially cognate ultimately if the compound can be analyzed. The *-r- in MVS and OVS may be epenthetic; this might best account for the long vowel of MRS.
knife

physical_artefact_tool

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sąhi (?)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-chí < *cVhi

Crow bíččii ‘knife’ RG, GG:34, RGG:42

Hidatsa wéʔchi ‘knife’ J, méʔechi

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi


Proto-Catawba

Catawba sępaʔ [Cf. also CA pαséʔ ‘axe’] MS, KS, sipę FGS

General comment

Cf. ‘blade, edged tool’, ‘axe’, ‘chert, flint’, ‘sharp (1)’, ‘sharp (2)’.

knob > taper

perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *sri

Lakota sli ‘tapering’ EB:457a

Dakota sdi ‘tapering’ SRR:432b, sdikd ‘tapering, rounded off’ SRR:432b, sdikdika ‘knobbed, having knobs or grooves running round’ SRR:432b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hawuﬁri ‘be at a dead end’ KM:2954, hawuﬁri ‘fungus’ KM:2954, nǝq caaﬁri, hoﬁri ‘knot in tree’ KM:2954, nǝq caaﬁri, hoﬁri, nǝocakﬁri, noocakﬁri

General comment

Dakota and Hoocąk show different spirant ablaut grades.
knock (1)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *

Crow *táxe 'make loud noise, bang (stative)' RG, tattaxé 'rattle' GG:57

Hidatsa táxxE 'tap' [case] J, táxxE, pd- 'pouch, pick at' J, táxxE, ndka- 'knock, hammer, cut little pieces of wood, pound' J, táxxE, nd- 'gnaw' J, táxxE, nd- 'shake door knob noisily; chip; tamper' J, táxxE, ha- 'notch, whittle, get all meat out by knife' J, táxxE, ara- 'prance, stalk, walk with short, fast steps' J, táxxahe 'make a cracking noise'

Pre-Mandan *

Mandan táxoʔš 'he bellows, makes a loud noise' H:246, ratáxoʔš 'he cries' H:246, katáxoʔš 'he knocks' H:246

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere waddye 'tap' JGT:251

Hoocąk jax 'splash' KM:1691, jax

Proto-Dhegiha *

Kanza/Kaw gaddāye 'knock repeatedly, woodpecker' RR, daye, bo- 'flip' JOD, RR

Osage gaddaxe, ḫatadaye 'knock' LF:44a, hithiddaxaye, ḫhidtanaye 'chatterer, screech owl'

Quapaw pōtaye 'flip, w. forefinger/thumb' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tax, tatāxẽdí, ḫaxkỹe, ḫax-di 'patter, drumming sounds' D&S:269a

General comment

This root probably involves sound symbolism. Hoocąk has a complete fricative ablaut set, cf. 'knock (2)'. Crow/Hidatsa gemination is not explained unless it represents an earlier reduplication pattern.
knock (2)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *htašE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa taššE, ara-‘step in mud and get sucking noise; slap with foot’ [cf. taššah ‘a slap’], taššE, nd-‘nibble and make eating noise’, taššE, maka-‘pat’, taššE, ná-‘stick hand in mud and get sucking noise; erotically massage woman’

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *htašE

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk cācaš, boo-‘type (on typewriter); tap’ KM:43, boocacaš ‘chatter’ WLI:47.1, KM:985, cācaš, hira-‘tap with the foot in time to music; make noise walking’ KM:2124, hiracacaš, cāš, nqč-, nqćaš

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw tāxe, ga-, -xi ‘tap, make a tapping noise’ [ga-, -xi] MR, JOD, RR, tāntaxe, ga-‘tap repeatedly’ RR, tāxi, ba-‘grating sound of knife against bone’ JOD, RR

Quapaw tāxe, ba-‘dry up, root up the soil’, tāxe, bi-‘dry up, press dry’ RR, tāxe, da-‘gnash the teeth’ RR, tāxe, da-‘dry up from being gnawed’ RR, tāxe, di-‘dry out by pulling up, uproot’ RR, tāxe, ka-‘crack and die from being cut v as corn’ RR, tāxe, nq-‘stomp, trample, thump w. feet’ RR, tāxe, pō-‘cut and dry up, e.g. cornstalk’ RR, tāxe, pō-‘dry up from punching, cause to’ RR, tāxe, ši-‘dry up and die v as vegetation from the sun’ RR, tāže, ba-‘popping sound from pushing’, tāže, bi-‘popping sound from pressing’, tāže, da-‘popping sound, make w. mouth’, tāže, ka-‘clap the hands’, tāže, nq-‘pop by stepping on’, tāže, pō-‘thrust and cause popping sound’, tāže, tā-‘popping sound, to make a’

General comment

Cf. ‘blister’. In this set the geminate šš of Hidatsa is not explained.

Cf. ‘knock (1)’.
knock over, lean

verb physical_contact/impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(a)kʰą

 Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

 Crow íkaxxi ‘lean on’ [t’ directional] RG, GG:86

 Hidatsa ḫkaxE ‘lean against’ [stative inflection] J , ḫkax

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-kʰą

 Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

 Hoocąk -ką, boo- ‘push or knock over with a quick blow, as with a car or bow and arrow’ KM:57, booką ‘knock over by striking’ KM:363, -kį, gi- ‘push over, v.tr.’ KM:3336, gıką ‘tip over by pulling; cover’ KM:2685, -kį, wu-, woką, -kį, nw ~ hiruką , ruką, ~ hiruką

Proto-Dhegiha *-kʰą

 Omaha ako*, ɾákhą ‘lean on’

 Omaha-Ponca ɾáddukhą ‘leaning’

 Kanza/Kaw yúkʰą ‘lean as a door, shift as the wind’ RR, bdyúkʰą ‘lean, cause by cutting, as chair legs’ JOD, RR, bayúkʰą ‘lean, cause by pushing over’ RR, bdyúkʰą ‘lean over, cause by punching, shooting’ RR, bayúkʰą ‘lean, to cause by weight or pressure’ JOD, RR, gayúkʰą ~ -yį ‘shove, push, knock to a leaning pos.’ MR, RR, JOD, ngýúkʰą ‘lean, cause by pushing or lifting with the foot’ JOD, RR, yóyúkʰą ‘make sth. lean by pulling on’ RR

Osage ako*, ɾákhą ‘lean on’ LF:12b

Quapaw akʰą ‘lean on’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

 Biloxi aká”, Ḳak(h)ą ‘topple, lean against’ D&S:205a
know (1)

verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ų-spé

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *ų-spe

Lakota ųspé ‘know’ RTC

Stoney ųspe PAS

Proto-Southeastern *ų-spé

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *į-spé

Biloxi ąpe, ępi, ųįspé ‘know how to’ D&S:257b, ąśpė’xtitu, ųįspé ‘they know very well how to do it’

Ofo afpėni ‘forget, not know’ D&S:319a, i’įrpē, ųšpē ‘know’ D&S:325a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo košpēwa, ųųspē ‘think, remember’ [< ki + ųspe + na bipartite negative] H, káko’crēwa, ųųspē ‘remember’ JOD, klo’crēna, ųųspē ‘not know’ JOD

General comment

Our reconstruction of length is based solely on a) Tutelo, where it is attested and b) position in the word, where it is expected.
know (2), recognize
verb psychic cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *í-ʰų
Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ípahų
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
Chiwere iwáhųŋe ‘know, recognize’ GM
Proto-Dhegiha *ípahų
Omaha-Ponca íbaho’ ‘know’ MAS:108
Kanza/Kaw íbahŋ ‘know’ RR
Osage íbahó, ṭípahó ‘know’ LF:69a
Quapaw íbahó, íbahŋ ‘know how, recognize’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern
Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
Biloxi ye̤ho’, ye̤ ho’ni, ṭyéhó-ni ‘know, recognize’

know (3)
verb psychic cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan
Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *éhke
Crow éhče ‘know’ GG:47, RGG:90
Hidatsa éhke ‘know’ J
Pre-Mandan *(’éhke
Mandan ñhēkoʔš ‘he knew it’ RTC
lace, lace up

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pazų́tE

Proto-Dakota *pazų́tA

Lakota pazų́tA 'lace, sew' EJ

Dakota pazą́ŋta , ṯpazą́ŋta 'sew' SRR:418a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere waθų́ǰe 'sew' GM

Hoocąk wąaŋč 'be enveloped with a feeling' KM:3997 , wąanzę́

Proto-Dhegiha *pazǫ́te

Omaha-Ponca ṭgazǎ́de 'plait'

Kanza/Kaw ḷąazą́ǰe 'lace up' RR

Osage ḷbaçoⁿdse , ḷapazą́ce 'lace up' LF:5a

Quapaw ḷbaζʃte 'lace up a pack' JOD

General comment

Chiwere θ may be a transcription error. It should be voiced.
lake, water

noun physical, spatial, aquatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *waRé~ye•

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wRé < *wayé (?)

Proto-Dakota *wré

Lakota ble ‘lake’ RTC

Dakota mdé ‘lake’ SRR:312b

Stoney mné PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Ré•

Chiwere jé ‘lake’ RR

Hoocąk jé ‘lake’ KM:3109 , tee

Proto-Dhegiha *Ré

Omaha-Ponca né ‘lake’ RR

Kanza/Kaw jé ttą́ŋa ‘ocean’ RR

Osage cé ‘lake’ RR

Quapaw té ‘lake’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo yeítį́, yetàni ‘sea’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba yq, yghye ‘water’ KS

Woccon yuŋ:se ‘rum’ [< ‘water’ + ‘bitter (?)’] JI.

General comment

Cf. ‘water’.
laugh

verb psychic_emotion_expression

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xahe ~ *-xehe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *khá•

Crow káa RG, GG:50, RGG:51
Hidatsa khá• ‘laugh’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ́kkxh ‘tease, laugh, smile’ H:126

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(k)xá

Proto-Dakota ́(k)xá

Lakota ́xá ‘laugh’ RTC
Dakota ́ká ‘laugh’ SRR:190b
Stoney ́xá PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *išá

Chiwere ́xá ‘laugh’ LWR, 月至 RR
Hoocąk hikšá ‘laugh, smile’ KM:947, hikšá

Proto-Dhegiha *(k)xá

Omaha-Ponca ́xá ‘laugh’ RR
Kanza/Kaw ́xá ‘laugh’ RR
Osage ́xá, ́xá ‘laugh, titter’ LF:81b
Quapaw ́xá ‘laugh’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *axēhe ~ *ıkxehe (?)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi háxahé, iłkxihé, ilkxihi ‘laugh’ D&S:218b
Ofo ashehi ‘laugh’ D&S:321b, tshehi, tshehi ‘laugh at’ D&S:321b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ́iškè, inšēha, ́iękserha ‘laugh’ N, H, ́iškèìha, ́iękserha JOD

Proto-Catawba
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Catawba haha KS, kaha

General comment

Doublets in Ofo/Biloxi suggest Proto-Siouan *-xahe ‘to laugh’ and *i- ~ í- plus *k plus *-xahe ‘to laugh at’, where the root is made transitive by the prefix. MRS shows only *k-xahe, Dakota and DH *i-xahe, Mandan and Chiwere/Hoocąk the full derivation. Biloxi/Ofo had both derived and simplex forms; Tutelo has only the full derivation. The variation in vowels in OVS is not accounted for. Hidatsa kh is from earlier *kVh or *kVx.

lay

verb physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ʔų́pE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa ákipi ‘harnessed; a team horse’ J, ákiphe ‘to lay sth. over or across sth.’ J, makípihe, twakípihe ‘cross, crisscross (logs, one’s arms, etc.)’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ʔų́pe

Proto-Dakota *-ʔųpa

Lakota aʔų́pa ‘lay, place wood on fire’ EB:97a, EB:85b

Dakota a-oŋ´ ‘lay, place wood on fire’ SRR:40b, a-oŋ´-pa ‘lay, place wood on fire’ SRR:40b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-tʔųpe

Chiwere atʔą́we ‘lay’ LWR:2

Hoocąk -tʔųp ‘place sth. long crosswise, lengthwise’, tʔųp

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ñpí, ñpí, f(h)ípí ‘put down large horizontal object’ D&S:202b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba pi• ‘lie, be lying’ KS

General comment

Cf. ‘jump over’ for similar consonant set, also ‘fly (1)’. Cf. also ‘lay down, lay on’. Hidatsa ákipi ‘harnessed; a team horse’ is from synchronic aki- ‘across’ + pE ‘lying’. Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-t- < epenthetic *-r- in first and second person forms, extended to third. In Biloxi h often is found as a reflex of Proto-Siouan autonomous *ʔ. The Biloxi first vowel is probably due to assimilation, as is (historically) the first i in the Hidatsa forms. Cf. ‘copulate (1)’ The DH stem (k)-ʔųpe ‘lay’ may be related to this set.
leaf (1)

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *á•pe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *á•pa

Crow dápa ‘leaf’ RG, GG:2, RGG:11

Hidatsa á•pa ‘leaf’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan dpe ‘leaf’ H:58, wʊ̃r̥̂̃p̥e ‘leaves, tea’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ápe

Proto-Dakota *apé

Lakota apé ‘leaf’ RTC

Dakota apé ‘leaf, leaves, blade of grass, fin of fish’ SRR:45b

Proto-Hooçąk-Chiwere *ápę

Chiwere náwe ‘tree leaf’ [< ná + áwe] W:235b, ná•we RR

Hoocąk dáp ‘leaf, n.; scale, n. (of fish)’ KM:12, aap ‘leaf; tea (not brewed)’ KM:2109, nq̥̃ap, nq̥̃ap

Proto-Dhegiha *ápę

Omaha-Ponca zhoⁿábe, †žǫʔábe ‘tree leaf’ MAS:111

Kanza/Kaw žą́yabe ‘tree leaf’ RR

Osage dbe, tábę ‘foliage, leaves, leaf’ LF:6a

Quapaw apé ‘leaf’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *á•phi

Biloxi hąpi, hapí, hapí, thąpi ‘leaf’ D&S:195a

Ofo á’ıp, áphi, tą́ęphi ‘leaf’ D&S:321a, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ha ‘tree leaves’ KS, yípʰáh FGS

General comment
Ofo aspiration may result from contamination of 'leaf (1)' and 'leaf (2)'.

The Mandan form 'leaves, tea' is a compound: :wrq 'tree' and apé 'leaf'.

leaf (2)

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *waxpé

Proto-Dakota *waxpé

Lakota waxpé 'leaf' RTC

Dakota waxpé PAS

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ā'pē, aphí 'leaf' D&S:321a, JSS

General comment

Cf. 'leaf (1)'
leech

*noun* animal, worm

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-srá*

Proto-Dakota *thusrd*

Lakota thusrd ‘leech’ RTC

Dakota tusd ‘leech’ SRR:481b

Proto-Dakota

Omaha-Ponca kiṣnd , ḏkiṣnd ‘leech’ MAS:112

Kanza/Kaw kkistá ‘leech’ RR

Osage kiṣdá , ḏkistá ‘leech’ LF:85a

General comment

Omaha ḏkiṣnd (also) means Anser gambelli ‘a small black goose’. Quapaw kkisnd ‘same’. Biloxi poxoṇ ‘snail’ (DS-247a) is not related.
left (side or hand)

verb, noun physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(i-)rátka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *(i-)rāhkša

Crow iláhčisa ‘left hand or side’ RG, GG:87, RGG:64
Hidatsa iruhkša ‘left side or hand’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *rátka

Proto-Dakota čha_tkd
Lakota čhask ‘left hand’ RTC
Dakota čask , čča_tkd ‘left handed’ SRR:96b
Stoney čakta RKH

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *rādkė

Chiwere aŋrahje ‘left, left hand or arm’ RR
Hoocąk (hoi)ráčge ‘the left, n.’ KM:1318 , (hoi)račge

Proto-Dhegiha *ráhta

Omaha-Ponca thdta , ṭdāhta ‘left handed’ MAS:112
Kanza/Kaw ydta ‘left’ RR
Osage thdta , ṭdāhta ‘left-handed’ LF:288b
Quapaw dātta ‘left hand or side’ JOD

General comment

Dakotan forms suggest the influence of *(i- possessive in ‘left hand’; thus *r > *y.
leggings

*noun* physical artefact, dress

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *ʰų́•si*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ʰų́•hacd* < *ʰų́•hac•i*

* *Crow* issaachí ‘leggings’ GG:92, RGG:17

* Hidatsa *ʰų́•hacd* ‘his leggings, pants’ J

**Pre-Mandan**

Mandan *ʰų́•ši* ‘pants’ RTC

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *ʰų́•ská*

Proto-Dakota *ʰų́•ská*

* *Lakota* ʰų́•ská EB:189a

* *Dakota* ʰų́•ská ‘leggings’ SRR:158b

**Proto-Dhegiha**

Osage ʰisioⁿ•ćka, ʰ-oska ‘legging straps’ LF:81a
leg, thigh

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *yeka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *i-rikÉ

Crow išči 'hind quarter of animal' RG, GG:87, RGG:104
Hidatsa ĭrikÉ 'his/her/its leg' J, ĭrikÉ

Pre-Mandan *rokÉ
Mandan rokÉ 'leg' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *yeká

Proto-Dakota *čheká
Lakota čečd 'thigh' RTC
Dakota čecá 'thigh' SRR:97b
Stoney čečđ 'leg' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(i-)re•ke
Chiwere re•ge 'hind leg, upper leg' RR
Hoocąk reek 'thigh' KM:2598, reek

Proto-Dhegiha *žẹká
Omaha-Ponca zégá 'leg' RR
Kanza/Kaw zégá 'thigh' RR
Osage zégá, ŋžẹká 'upper part of the leg' LF:222b
Quapaw ŋžẹká 'leg, hind leg' RR

Proto-Southeastern *yek-sa(-hi)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
Ofo tcəfhahi, tcəfhâⁿhe 'leg, calf of leg' D&S:329a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Tutelo yeka; šeka, yeksái, ŋyẹka-N, H

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Cf. *shin*

let's see, well, um

*interjection n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hį-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *‘um’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hį + (ta)

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *jšk‘a ‘um’ RTC, hīnda ‘women’s interjection of surprise’ EB:175b, hīŋ ‘interjection of disappointment, whoops’ EB:175b, hinúu ‘women’s interjection of happiness’ EB:175b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *hį-ada ‘we see’ [conjugated verb form (?)]

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca hīnda ‘let us see’ JOD:63.9

Kanza/Kaw *hče ‘question marker’ JOD

Osage hīnda, ḥīp‘a ‘now, let me see, let me (think)’ LF:60b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi rīdd, ṭįdd ‘well!’ D&S:201b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ehĮ ‘nową, hortative’ GRO

General comment

V. also Lakota hīyąŋka ‘wait, hold on, imperative’ (B-177b). *hį-ta appears to be one of numerous interjections based on *hį. Cf. also Tunica hīntu, hīnto ‘come on!’ “not a Tunica word” according to informant (Haas-215).
lick

verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *srípE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-cipE

Crow chipi, dda- ‘lick’ RG, GG:40, RGG:25

Hidatsa -cipE, ra- ‘lick’ J , nacipí

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *srípE

Proto-Dakota *srípA

Lakota slípA ‘lick’ RTC , slípa, wa- ‘lick with the tongue’ EB:549

Dakota sdípa ‘lick’ SRR:432b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk siríp, ra- ‘lick, v.tr.’ KM:2564 , rasirip

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca gisníbe ‘licked his own’

Kanza/Kaw sčúwe, sčúbe ‘lick’ RR

General comment

Kanza/Kaw ü, while not regular, represents a common outcome of *i next to a labial consonant. In Crow/Hidatsa loss of r without even so much as lengthening of the vowel is unexplained. *srútE ‘slip’ undergoes similar treatment in Crow/Hidatsa.
lids, covers

noun

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-há

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ihá

Proto-Dakota *ihá

Lakota ihá ‘cover, lid’ EJ

Dakota ihá ‘cover, lid, stopper’ SRR:184a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk ihá ‘lid’ KM:1630, ihá (> ii + haa)

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw ñuže ‘on top’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘cover (1)’. Possibly *i- ‘instrumentive’ + *há ‘be covered’.
lie, be lying, positional

verb physical, somatic posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wų́kE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wó•kí, *wuk-ke

Crow baaž ‘be in a position involuntarily’ RG

Hidatsa wókE ‘be lying’ J, mó•kí ‘exist, be, positional’ J, wódkú , múdkú

Pre-Mandan wók, wókáhe

Mandan ówók ‘bed’ RTC, wókóží ‘be, be lying’ RTC, wókáhe ‘these lying’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wókE ~ *yókE

Proto-Dakota *wóká ~ *yókí

Lakota yókí [1s múká] RTC

Dakota ?wóká [1s múká] SRR

Stoney yóka PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wóke ~ *háŋe ~ *yókí

Chiwere ?háŋe GM, JGT:104, yádiyan, ýóyáq ‘be lying’ JGT:104, -máhe in: qemanc/a, -máhe ‘frost’ JOD

Hoocąk boowók ‘knock down by running into or pushing over’ KM:3616, boowók ‘cut down’ PV, giwók ‘positional’, giwók, -(h)ák, = (h)ók, = wók, = aak

Proto-Dhegiha *wóke ~ *žá

Omaha-Ponca -weg in: gewų́gę, -weg ‘frost’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw -mage in: xémą́nge ‘frost’ RR, žá ‘lie, be lying’ RR

Osage máke in: xémo’ge, -máke ‘frost’ RR, žá, ri-máke ‘lie, be lying’ RR

Quapaw žá ‘lie, be lying’ RR, xújke ‘frost, killing frost’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *máki

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *máki

Biloxi mókí, mákí D&S:227a

Ofo mókí, mákí D&S:326a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo máhameŋi jíše, -máki [máki-] D&S
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wąʔ 'sit' FGS, mųri 'dwell' PV:67

General comment

Positionals *wų́kE 'lie' and *hą́kE 'stand' were partially merged in Chiwere-Winnebago through replacement of *w- by h-, although the full form appears to be preserved in the compound ‘frost’. The Proto-Siouan sequence *wų is an unacceptable cluster in most Siouan languages, and it always dissimilates in one of two ways. Either *w > r or *ų > q.

Dakotan, Chiwere and DH all preserve at least two differently dissimilated reflexes of ‘be standing’. Proto-Siouan *rą•kE ‘sit’ has conjugated forms in which q > j, mįj-, nįj-, etc. in DH, Chiwere (?) and dialectally in Dakota (Assiniboine). It appears that Proto-Siouan *wųkE ‘lie’ may have undergone a parallel (perhaps analogical) development illustrated by Quapaw xą́-įkE ‘frost’ and Stoney wį́ga (PAssiniboine) ‘stay overnight’. Koontz suggests that the w in many, if not all wų stems is actually epenthetic. This might provide a principled reason for the lack of match in the modern correspondences. Biloxi, Ofo forms are exceptional in retaining initial labial resonants normally lost in those languages. This may be what led Wolff to reconstruct an initial *a-. As classifiers, these positionals are postposed to nominals and often become clitics, a fact that may better account for the retained labial resonants in the Southeast. Cf. also important note under ‘be sitting’.

light in weight

verb perceptual tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hdha

Proto-Dakota ‘hahá-

Lakota hahála ‘loose, easily moved’ EB:164a

Dakota haháddq ‘easily moved, light in weight’ SRR:122a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ‘háha

Chiwere háha ‘light, not heavy’ JGT:24

Hoocąk hahą-nį́k, hahą́-įk ‘be light in weight’ KM:564, hahąįk

Proto-Dhegiha *hdha

Omaha-Ponca hahada ‘light’ MAS:113

Kanza/Kaw hđha hijja ‘light in weight’ RR

Osage hđha, ḥđha ‘light, not heavy’ LF:SSa

Quapaw hđha ‘light in weight’ RR

General comment
Cf. ‘float (1)’. The Omaha-Ponca form may have been borrowed from Dakota. The Dakotan suffix is the diminutive, as are the (calqued?) suffixes in Kanza/Kaw and Hoocąk.

lightning, forked (?)

noun natural_force,weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-karí-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *karíhk-

Crow kalíhčii ‘lightning’ RG, GG:50, RGG:7

Hidatsa karíhka ‘lightning’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ru-krí

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere lúgli, lúgli ‘lightning’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha *-kríze

Omaha-Ponca đízhíe-mišájí ‘Forked Lightning Walking’ [name]

Quapaw dikdíze ‘lightning’ JOD, čikǰíze ‘lightning’ OM, RR

General comment

There is contamination from *kres- ‘marked > spotted, striped (1)’. Kanza/Kaw ttolíli ‘rainbow’ (JOD) and Osage †ðilíe, thígthí-é ‘sparkle’ (LF-146b) appear to illustrate the simplex form of this root. Cf. also Hidatsa karíčka ‘glisten, sparkle, gleam’.
lightning, sheet (?)

noun natural_force.weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ąpV

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *dpV

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk jaaǰą́p ‘lightening (sic)’ KM:1675, jaujap ‘lightning’ KM:1694, hooǰą́p ‘lightning bolt’ KM:3342, hoojap, waką́jóoǰą́p, wakąjoojap (= wakąja hoojap)

Proto-Dhegiha ‘ri-ąqą

Omaha-Ponca thióⁿba ‘sheet lightning’ MAS:113

Kanza/Kaw yū́ba ‘sheet lightning’ RR

Osage thiho’ba, ṇū́hdą́pa ‘lightning’ LF:147a

Quapaw dićíba ‘sheet lightning’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ąmtélyaho, ṣaptčyaho ‘it thunders’ D&S:321a, amtca’ki, ṣaptčëki ‘it lightens (sic)’ D&S:321

General comment

In Ofo Swanton refers to lightning, but he does not use the word. In the Ofo MS -ing is written above lighten’s with a caret. Given Swanton’s assimilated nasal transcription with m, the p must be underlying. The Ofo form may contain an incorporated form of ‘daylight’ amp- minus the OVS ną- prefix that yields nąp- in isolation. The other terms, meaning ‘lightning’ rather than ‘thunder’, pretty clearly incorporate reflexes of ‘daylight’, whether historically or by folk etymology. Lakota tąwą́pi in wakhį́yą tąwą́pi refers to the “Thunderbirds’ glance”; the term consists of tąwą́ ‘to look at’ and the -pi pluralizer. Thus the form does not belong with this set.
**lip**

*noun* physical_somatic_body_part

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *išti*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota išti ‘lower lip, under lip’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi


Proto-Catawba

Catawba hístak ‘his jaw, cheek’ KS

**lip (upper), snout**

*noun* physical_somatic_body_part

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *ahpú•ti*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *apú•ti*

Crow ḋapúši ‘nostril, area between nose and upper lip’ GG:12, RGG:68, apúsíshi

Hidatsa ḋapúši ‘upper lip’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hpúte*

Proto-Dakota *phuté*

Lakota phuté ‘upper lip, beak of mosquito’ RTC

Dakota puté ‘upper lip, snout’ SRR:429a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk ḋiŋcič ‘depressed area between upper lip and nose just under nose; snout (of animal, or in jest, of person); area of upper and lower jaw, from under nose down to chin’ KM:2514, ḋiŋcič

**General comment**
Cf. 'nose (3), nostril'. The meanings of the Crow form suggest that *apú•ti 'upper lip' and **apú•Si 'nostril' may have become homophonous through regular merger of t and l before i. It is possible that this form consists of Proto-Siouan *ahpá 'head, nose (1), front end' plus Proto-Siouan *hú•te 'base, root, stump'.

little, young, child

verb person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *yį́kE

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *yį́kɑ

Proto-Dakota *čhįkɑ RTC

Lakota čhįčɑ ‘child’ RTC

Dakota čhįdɑ ‘child, young of animals’ SRR:101a

Stoney ḣίia ‘offspring’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-yįkE

Otoe -yįñe ‘diminutive’ JDH

Hoocąk -nįk ‘diminutive’ KM:1157 , -ŋk, -k

Proto-Dhegiha *-įkɑ

Omaha-Ponca ێکا ‘little’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw ێکا ‘little’ RR , -hiŋa ‘diminutive’ RR

Osage ێکa ‘little’ RR

Quapaw ێکa ‘little’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *yįkI

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo ێکI

Biloxi ێکı , ێکı , ێکıya ‘*, yįkI ‘small, young, son’ D&S:294a

Ofo tći̱kI , tći̱kI ‘little, small’ D&S:329b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ێکI , ێکI ‘young’ H

General comment
Proto-Mississipi-Valley argues for a final \(^{-a}\) in this root, while Proto-Southeastern argues for \(^{-E}\).

Cf. ‘son’. Tutelo \(e\) is normally a reflex of \(q\), but here seems better normalized as \(i\).
liver

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *pí•

Proto-Siouan *ahpí•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *qíi•d

Crow aqíd ‘liver’ RG, GG:12, RGG:68

Hidatsa qíi•d ‘liver’ J

Pre-Mandan *pí•rē

Mandan pí•rē, pí• ‘liver’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpí

Proto-Dakota *phí

Lakota phí ‘liver’ RTC

Dakota pf ‘liver’ SRR:421b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *phí•

Chiwere phí, wa phí ‘liver’ GM

Hoocąk pf ‘liver’ KM:2476, píi

Proto-Dhegiha *hpí

Omaha-Ponca ppí ‘liver’ RTC, tteppí ‘animal liver’ RR

Kanza/Kaw ppí ‘liver’ RR

Osage hpí ‘liver’ LF:128b, phí

Quapaw ppí ‘liver’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *pí•(-yą)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi pí, pí ‘the liver, his or her liver’ D&S:245b, píya”, píya”, ʔpiyą [A liver cut out of a body would be called pí, not píya”.] D&S:245b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo täπi, tä•pí• ‘heart’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba hpíyąq ‘his liver’ FS

General comment
N.B. Biloxi and Catawba -yą. This and other cases in which the southeastern Siouan languages match Catawba in very precise ways may turn out to be the result of borrowing rather than inheritance. In this instance, however, Mandan -ʔ- in conjunction with the Biloxi and Catawba -y- may indicate that -ʔ- and -y- mark juncture. On the basis of the comment in Dorsey and Swanton we speculate that the final -ą may be a fossilized correlative marker of inalienable possession. The Omaha-Ponca and Tutelo forms are compounded with ‘bison’ and ‘deer, ruminant’ respectively.

**locative (1)**

*particle* n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi -ki in: tēk, or teki, ř-ki ‘here’ D&S:273a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba -ki in: mon kf, ř-ki ‘near the ground’ KS:164, -ki in: impi kf, ř-ki ‘fireplace; lit. fire here’ KS:164

**locative (2)**

*particle* n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley -ra

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -ya in: héciya ‘at that place, there’ EB:170, -yą in: tēhą́yą́ ‘far away’ EB:486, -yą in: tohą́yą́ ‘as long as, as far as; for how long?’ EB:493, -yą in: toką́yą́ ‘having ref. to another place’ EB:495b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere -rǻ ‘this one; here it is’ JGT:2009, -rǻ in: jard

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw -ya in: yēgą́yą́ ‘here, in this place’ RR
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

locative (3)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dį, †di ‘when’ D&S:183b, ani knewłf, †-dl ‘in, in the water’ D&S:205a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba tcębdrįna, †-ri- ‘there he was’ [†-rl- in ‘tcębdrįna’] KS:53

locative (4)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ro

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa


Pre-Mandan

Mandan -ɛro ‘strict locative’ H:433

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *ro

Omaha-Ponca -ðo in: ḏdu ‘here’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw ṣyo- in: ḡyo ‘there (unseen), yonder, then, and’ RR , -yo- in: ḡyoje ‘then, at that time or place’ RR

Osage -thu in: ǧé-thu , ḏo ‘at that time and place’ LF:47b , -ðo in: ʃé-thu , ḏo ‘yonder, there where you are’ LF:131a

Quapaw dėdo ‘yonder, there’ RR

General comment

Vowel length in some of the MRS forms is not accounted for.
locative (5)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rq

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-nq

Proto-Dakota


Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere


Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi nq in: tókana’, t-nq ‘when?’ D&S:265b
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

**locative (6)**

*particle n/a*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan *-ta**

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ** *ta**

Crow sá‧ 'soon' RG

Hidatsa -ta in: tá‧ 'early' J , -ta in: hkiya ‘into’ J , -ta in: ro‧ 'this side' J , notá

**Pre-Mandan**

Mandan -ta in: tewé‧ta , †tewé‧ta 'where' H:483 , təwé•ta , †tewé•ta 'it's far away' H:483 , té•hąta 'on the ground' H:484 , -ta , †tí•hąta 'in his mouth' H:484 , -ta , †té•hąta , -ta in: wą́ʔąkta , †té•hąta 'in the water' H:484 , -ta , †tí•hąta , -ta in: tewé•ta , †tewé•ta 'where' H:483 , təwé•ta , †tewé•ta , -ta in: té•hąta , †té•hąta 'on the ground' H:484 , -ta , †tí•hąta 'in his mouth' H:484 , -ta , †té•hąta , -ta in: ro‧ 'this side' J , notá

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley ** *ta**

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ** *-ta**


**Proto-Dhegiha ** *-ta**

Kanza/Kaw -da in: mą́da 'at length, in the course of time' JOD, RR , -da in: góda 'yonder' RR , -da- in: gōduha 'over there, thither' RR

Osage -da in: dō‧da , †tńta 'in this direction' LF:37b , -da in: hō‧dá , †thį́t 'now; at this moment; at once' LF:60b , -da in: góda , †tkńta 'ahead' LF:53a , -da in: gō‧dá to † , †kọ́ntahq 'that person standing yonder' [ritual term] LF:53a

Quapaw imá‧ta 'other side, at or on' RR

**Proto-Catawba**

Catawba tak †[deté‧ca hok'kánu? = where will I go sit down at?] KS:48 , †dé‧ in: deté‧ca 'where' KS:248

**General comment**

Other instances of -ta locative in Mandan appear on H-484. -ta locative may be derived from or at least contaminated by ťta 'other side'. Cf. -ša locative.
locative (7)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-tį

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *tį


Kanza/Kaw -ji in: eji ‘there, in that place’ [q̑ep RR] MR, RR, -ji in: ejihą ‘there, from, thither, from that place’ RR, -ji in: goji, goji ‘across’ RR, -ji in: goji, goji ‘towards the sc/in objs, or the place or land’ RR, -ji in: gojį, gojį ‘now, just now’ RR, -ji in: goji, goji ‘far off, remote, long way off’ RR, -ji in: gojį, gojį ‘now, at this time or place’ RR, -ji in: yegį, yegį ‘somewhere, not far off’ RR


Quapaw énti ‘there’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi -tka in: ếti, -tį ‘there, this is it’ D&S:192a, -tį in: ếti, -tį ‘here’ D&S:192a, -tį in: ếtike, -tį ‘so, thus, as’ D&S:192a

General comment

Cf. ‘locative (9)’.

locative (8)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo


Proto-Catawba


General comment
Cf. ‘far, towards, into’.

locative (9)

adverb n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Southeastern
Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi  nip , tū ‘here’ D&S:281a

General comment
Cf. ‘locative (7)’.
locative, demonstrative

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-ka

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -ka in: lāxcaka ‘very’ [suff. particle] EB:322a , -ka in: tōk̡a ‘why? how is it? what is up?’ [this usually ref. to space; cf. lēh̡k̡eča, hahy̡k̡eča] EB:494a , -ca in: ec̡eča ‘to be so, be affected with, as with a cold or disease, to be like’ [tokeča inatōk̡eča; perhaps better, atōk̡eča] EB:137 , -ca in: hēča ‘such, such like; belonging to such a clan, or such a description’ EB:169 , -ca in: kāk̡heča ‘in this manner, thus’ EB:279 , -ca in: léča ‘such as this’ EB:323 , -ca in: lêec̡a ‘like this, such as’ EB:323 , -ca in: sêc̡a ‘as, though, seemingly’ EB:453a , -ca in: toh̡k̡eča ‘How long?’ EB:493 , -ca in: uōk̡eča ‘to be altered, changed; to be affected by in any way’ EB:241 , -ca in: tōnakeča ‘some, a few. also, interrog. how many, how much?’ EB:499

Proto-Hoocą́k-Chiwere


Proto-Dhegiha -ka


Osage -ka in: ts̡e-ga , ŧ-ka ‘recently; anew; early; new, as a new blanket, a new robe’ LF:158b

Quapaw -šeka ‘there’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi -kd in: yańk̡a , ŧ-kd ‘when’ D&S:290a , -kd in: tuk̡d , ŧ-kd ‘that way; in that direction’ D&S:281b

Proto-Catawba


General comment

The Catawba entries appear to be quite flexible morphotactically and are listed with both the prefixed and suffixed Siouan forms which are best considered distinct morphemes.
long (1)

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *srét

Proto-Siouan *srēPE

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *srēPE

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *srēTE

Chiwere ṭāje ‘long’ W:236a

Hoocąk serēč, serečj ‘be long; be tall’ KM:2813, serec, serečj (> serec + xjį)

Proto-Dhegiha ‘srēTE

Omaha-Ponca snedé ‘long’ RTC, snu-dē – snē-dē ‘long’ RR

Kanza/Kaw sčēđē ‘long’ RR

Osage sstedé, sscéčé ‘long; tall; a tall man’ LF:134b, sce-, sscéčé ‘long’ RR

Quapaw sčēTE ‘long’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo sčēča, sčēčka ‘long’ D&S:323b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba səret- ‘pull’ FGS:87, FGS:88a

General comment

Cf. ‘slide (4)’ for the Catawba root, also.
**long (2)**

verb perceptual, visual

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *ʰą́skE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ʰáckE*

Crow ḥáčka ‘tall, long’ RG, GG:48

Hidatsa ḥáckE ‘long’ J, ḥácki

Pre-Mandan *ʰáška*

Mandan ḥáškaʔ ‘it’s long, tall’ RTC

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley**

Proto-Dakota *ʰáska*

Lakota ḥáska ‘long, tall’ RTC

Dakota ḥá̱ska ‘long, tall’ SRR:124b

Sioux Valley ḥáska PAS

**Proto-Southeastern**

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi naskė́, ṭŋəkɛ́ ‘long, tall, as a tree’ D&S:232b

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo yapóske, yawpatākatska ‘long’ H

**General comment**

Status of the OVS forms is uncertain, but compare with the reflexes for ‘day’, ‘louse’, where we also have h corresponding to n in the SE.

Perhaps a combination of ‘long (2)’ and the similitative ska (see ‘near’), following Boas and Deloria. This would explain the partial cognacy of the SE terms.
long ago, far away

time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hte•-hą

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *tia < *tıhe

Crow šía ‘a long time’ GG:63 , šia ‘long after’ GG:66 , šíasaa ‘shortly, not long’ GG:66

Hidatsa na ‘to be late, take a long time’ [~the~’not’] J , tia- in: tıathac ‘not long ago’ H&V , tı- in: tıš ‘distant, far, long’ J , tı- in: tıša ‘far away’ J

Pre-Mandan *te-hą-

Mandan ṭe-hąʔš ‘it’s far away’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *θęhą

Lakota thęhą ‘far, long in ref. to time and place’ EB:486a , thęhąq ‘from afar’ EB:486 , thęhątu ‘far off, to or at a great distance’ EB:486b , thęhąq ‘far away’ EB:486

Dakota tęhan ‘far’ , tęhątu ‘distant’

General comment

We cannot tell with certainty whether Dakotan -hą is ‘from’ or ‘long, extended in time or space > distant, then’, though we incline towards the latter, which is clearly reflected in Crow/Hidatsa and Mandan.
long, extended in time or space > distant, then

particle perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hą

Crow šia ‘a long time’ GG:63 , šía ‘long after’ GG:66

Hidatsa ha- in: hak ‘then’ H&V , ha- in: hakha ‘this time’ H&V , ha- in: haruk ‘and then, when’ J , ha- in: hâwa ‘then, again, there, and’ H&V , -a- in: tâ ‘to be late, take a long time’ J , -a- in: tíatha•c; -tha• ‘not long ago; not’ H&V , -a- in: tíaruk šíakha ‘after a long time’ J

Pre-Mandan


Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-hâ

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -hâ in: ehâ ‘then, at that time; then, at that place; to, thus far’ [word is used when one is pointing at the same time, as in saying: He emp (please check the content of this field)] EB:139 , -hâ- in: ehâñ ‘already, ever since, from the outset’ [of tohâ] EB:140 , -hâ in: ehântqa ‘from, from that time or place’ [cf. lehântka, lehântkwa] EB:140 , -hâ in: ehântu ‘at that time’ EB:140 , -hâ in: ehântu ‘just then, then; indeed’ EB:140 , -hâ in: ehântu ‘so far, as far as, up to a certain mark, as in filling a bottle’ EB:140 , -hâ in: hêhâq ‘at that time, then’ EB:171 , -hâ- in: hêhâqx ‘then and not until then’ EB:171 , -hâ in: hêhâq ‘from that time; therefore’ EB:171 , -hâ- in: hêhântaq ‘from that time, therefore’ EB:171 , -hâ- in: hêhântu ‘at that time, then’ EB:171 , -hâ- in: hêhântu ‘so far, in ref. to places; so long, in ref. to time; from that time at that time, then’ EB:171 , -hâ in: kâhâ ‘to this, thus far’ EB:273 , -hâ- in: kâhâ ‘to this, thus far’ EB:273 , -hâ in: kâhântyu ‘only so far, only so long’ EB:324 , -hâ in: lehâ ‘now, thus far; at this place’ EB:814 , -hâ- in: lehâkata ‘Hither, from far away’ EB:324 , -hâ- in: lehâkata ‘so long, so high, so short’ EB:324 , -hâ- in: lehântaq ‘from this’ EB:324 , -hâ- in: lehântu ‘to this, thus far; now’ EB:324 , -hâ- in: lehântu ‘to this extent, on this wise’ EB:324 , -hâ in: lehântu ‘so far, in space; so long, in time’ EB:324 , -hâ in: letâh Î ‘from this place or this time’ EB:486a , -hâ in: tehâq ‘far, long’ EB:486 , -hâ in: tehântu ‘far from afar’ EB:486 , -hâ- in: tehântu ‘from afar’ EB:486b , -hâ- in: tehântu ‘far off, to or at a great distance’ EB:486b , -hâ in: tehântu ‘far off, to or at a great distance’ EB:486 , -hâ- in: tehântu ‘far off, to or at a great distance’ EB:486 , -hâ- in: tehântu ‘far off, to or at a great distance’ EB:486 , -hâ- in: tehântu ‘far off, to or at a great distance’ EB:486 , -hâ- in: tehântu ‘At what time? At what time, places? How far?’ EB:493 , -hâ- in: tohântu ‘How long? this usually ref. to space’ EB:493 , -hâ in: tehântu ‘some time’ EB:493 , -hâ- in: tohântu ‘When?’ EB:493 , -hâ- in: tohântu ‘some other time in the future perhaps’ EB:493 , -hâ- in: tohâq ‘as long as, as far as; for how long?’ EB:493

Dakota -han , tehâ ‘far’ [‘-han’ in sihant] , -han-, tehâ ‘distant’ [‘-han’ in sihantus]

Proto-Dhegiha *-hâ

Kanza/Kaw -hâ in: dkkîhâ ‘beyond, in the distant past’ RR

Osage dkkîhâ ‘to go beyond’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ha’tc’d , tehâq ‘implies uncertainty’ D&S:196a , ha∗ , tehâd ‘and or when: always follows immediately after some verb’ D&S:195b , ha in: eka‘ha∗ ( = eka‘Ha∗, eka‘ha∗, ekîha∗, ekëha∗) , tehâd ‘and then, whereupon’
General comment
Boas and Deloria (p. 119, para. 155, nmbr. 13) compare -hąkeca ‘it is of that length’ with hąska ‘long’. Their observation is highly suggestive, though presumably hąska is bi-morphemic, from hą and ske/a ‘near’ > ‘like, similar’.

look at (1)
verb perceptual_visual
Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xát-
Pre-Mandan *-xat-
Mandan *xat ‘look at’ H:311, oxatoʔs ‘he watched it’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Tutelo ohāta, waqēta, oxá•ta ‘see’ H, ohda, oqda, oxá•ta ‘see’ JOD

look at (2)
verb perceptual_visual
Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *oruɣutE
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
Hoocąk horuɣuíč, horuɣuíč, horuɣúč ‘look at, see’ KM:1493, horuǧoc, horoǧoc
Proto-Dhegiha *orüɣüte
Omaha-Ponca uthixide ‘look’ MAS:115
Kanza/Kaw ȳdý昔日 ‘survey, watch over’ RR
Osage uthíxidse, ȳdý昔日 ‘look around to see something’ LF:177b
look into, peek
verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-sʔį

Proto-Dakota *okásʔį

Lakota okásʔį ‘look into, peek in’ RTC
Dakota ókasiŋ, ūkásʔį ‘look into’ SRR:363a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-sʔį

Chiwere óθʔin , ūθʔį ‘peep at’ JGT:199
Hoocąk hoisʔį́ ‘look in while passing by; peek in’ KM:1324 , hois’y

Proto-Dhegiha *okásʔį

Omaha-Ponca ṭogátsįʔ ‘peeped’
Kanza/Kaw ogácsįʔ ‘look in upon’ RR
Osage ogátsįʔ, ṭu_kácsįʔ ‘peep, stealthily look into something’ LF:168b
Quapaw okásʔį ‘peep, peek at’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ákú dusáye , ṭákudúsáye ‘peeping through a crack’ D&S:216b
loon
noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wróze

Proto-Dakota *wróza

Lakota móza ‘pelican’ EB:111b

Dakota mdóza ‘loon’ SRR:314a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Ros-

Chiwere tóthi, tóši, tóshi, tódóhi ‘loon’ JGT:179

Hoocąk toos, ʔòso-ʔa JOD

Proto-Dhegiha *Róze

Omaha-Ponca ṭóže ‘cormorant’ KS

Kanza/Kaw dože sabe ‘black loon’ RR

Osage doče čabe, ṭóže ‘black loon’ LF:37a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ituse ‘dove, hawk’ FGS
loose, knock loose

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-hó*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow hóhpi ‘loose’ GG:48

Pre-Mandan *kaho-

Mandan kahóroši ‘he falls down’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kahó

Proto-Dakota *kahóho

Lakota kahóho ‘loosen by striking’ EB:247a

Dakota kahóho ‘strike and knock loose’ SRR:250a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk giho ‘be suspended’ KM:345, giho

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage gahóšə’uha, ʃkahóšəpə ‘strike and cause to fall forward’ LF:46a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kahó, ʃkahó ‘hit and topple’ D&S:214b
lost

verb psychosomatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xapÉ

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xapehe, *xapahe

Crow xapÉ ‘be lost’ [CAUS] GG:61, xapíia ‘lose’ GG:61

Hidatsa xapēr ‘be lost’ [CAUS] J, xapíhee ‘lose something’ J

Pre-Mandan *xwó-

Mandan xaw̱oʔs ‘it’s lost’ RTC, mįhų́pe xawa•wahereʔre ‘I can’t find my shoes’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk xawq ‘be lost, secret’ MM:433, xawŋiy ‘be lost, missing; disappear from sight’ KM:3862, xawŋiy, xawŋiy
louse

noun animal, insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(w-)hé* < *(wa-)hé*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *weé* < *wehé*

Crow beé RG, GG:28, RGG:1

Hidatsa wé ‘head louse’ J, mé

Pre-Mandan

Mandan péʔ ‘head louse’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hé*

Proto-Dakota *héya*

Lakota héya ‘louse’ RTC

Dakota héya ‘louse’ SRR:144b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hé*

Chiwere he ‘louse’ RR

Hoocąk hée ‘louse’ KM:782, hee

Proto-Dhegiha *hé* RR

Omaha-Ponca hé ‘louse’ RR

Kanza/Kaw hé ‘louse’ RR

Osage hé ‘louse’ RR

Quapaw he ‘louse’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ané, anedi, ṭanéd ‘louse, lice’ D&S:173a

Ofo ṭyti, ṭyťi ‘louse’ D&S:328

General comment
Once again OVS shows n for h elsewhere; cf. ‘day’, ‘long (2)’.

Cf. also ‘bee (1)’. Biloxi frequently loses root-initial h-. If that happened here, the n could be the reflex of *r, an epenthetic glide inserted between the vowels. The problem in this instance is that Biloxi n preceding an oral vowel usually results from a former cluster in which r was the second member.

Root-initial *h- is quite generally lost in Ofo and replaced with y intervocally (cf. ‘blackberry’, ‘boat’, ‘female, woman’). Final unaccented -e raises to -i in OVS languages, leaving the Ofo form as we have it here.

The initial ą́ of Ofo is unexplained however.

love

verb psychic_emotion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *kiras-

Mandan kikrósoʔ ‘he loves someone, is stingy with something’ H:111

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kíyasi ‘like it’

General comment

Crow daášdee ‘pity, love, be compassionate’ (GG-40, DEC-89) seems to be a compound from ‘heart’ Crow daasa, Hidatsa ra•ta. The spirant mismatch between Hidatsa, Mandan, and Biloxi is as complete as it can be. Consequently, these forms -- though suggestive -- are not reconstructible.
lungs

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *yá•xu

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rá•xø

Crow dÁ•xø ‘lung’ RG, GG:41, RGG:70

Hidatsa rá•xø ‘lungs’ J, ná•xu

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *i-rá•yu

Proto-Dakota čhaɣú

Lakota čhaɣú ‘lungs’ RTC

Dakota čgaɣú ‘lungs’ SRR:84a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *rá•ɣ-

Chiwere lAXu ‘lungs’ GM

Hoocąk raagó ‘lung’ KM:2524, raagó

Proto-Dhegiha *rá•ɣ, *rá•ɣį

Omaha-Ponca t̥eÁ•xį ‘animal lungs’ RTC, thu’xį, ṭeÁ•xį ‘lung’ MAS:116

Kanza/Kaw yádxu ‘lungs’ RR

Osage ṭháxį, ṭáŋyi ‘lungs of a man or an animal’ LF:142b, ṭháxį, ṭáŋyi ‘lungs’ LF:142b

Quapaw dÁ•yi ‘lungs’ JOD, dÁ•yi ‘lungs’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *yá•xu

Biloxi yÁ•khu, yá•xu ‘lungs’ [g] D&8:288a

Ofo tcÁ•su, ṭÁ•su ‘liver’ D&8:329a

General comment

The Biloxi entry is attributed to Gatschet by Dorsey, so the normalization here may not be reliable.
m

make hole

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ko•PE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ko•PE


Hidatsa ko•PE, ara- ‘work stick into wall by foot’ J, ko•PE, dra- ‘burn’ J, ko•PE, ná- ‘chew or gnaw through’ J, ko•PE, naka- ‘nick, blaze, mark a log as yours for cutting’ J, ko•PE, nú- ‘drill by auger’ J, ko•PE, pás- ‘try to pry in’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk gogóp, gi- ‘peck at with the beak’ KM:335, gígop ‘pick up with the beak’ KM:334, góp, gi- ‘take, dig something out of something else (e.g., knife out of sheath, cork out of bottle)’ KM:2664, gígop ‘pry out, v.tr.’ KM:3256, góp, rí-, rugop, góm, wa-, ragop
make marks > mark, scratch

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ká•xE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-ka•xE

Crow kaaxi, dúu- ‘scratch, make marks’ RG, pđukaaxi ‘scratch’ RGG:97

Hidatsa kαxE, ara- ‘scratch with toe’ J, kαxE, nů- ‘make single scratch, mark off, measure’ J, καxE, pd- ‘make mark by dragging’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kax, ra- ‘to eat corn from cob’ H:104, frukaxka ‘willow rake’ H:106

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ká•ɣE

Proto-Dakota ‘kdyA

Lakota kdy ‘make’ RTC

Stoney gēfa PAS

Sioux Valley kdy ‘make’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ká•xE

Chiwere gάxe ‘make marks’ GM

Hoocąk gάx ‘plan’ (Vroot only) KM:311, gαax ‘write; draw; owe’ KM:3251, gđx, wa- ‘write, draw’ KM:3251

Proto-Dhegiha *ká•ɣe

Omaha-Ponca gάxe ‘make’ [ɣ ?] RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw gάɣe ‘make sth., do sth., pretend, cause’ RR

Osage kάɣe ‘make’ RR

Quapaw kάɣe ‘make, cause’ RR, wakάkάɣe ‘picture, movie’ JOD, RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba kače ‘make’ [< ka + caus.] KS, FGS

General comment

Since Proto-Siouan ‘do, make’ appears to have been *ʔų•, which became an opaque element in numerous compounds, we suspect that this term originally meant ‘make marks’ (cf. MRS and Chiwere) and has been broadened in several languages to mean ‘make’. The Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan forms may actually belong with ‘scrape > scratching noise, scraping noise, sweep’ q.v. All these terms may be related by sound symbolism in any event.
male

verb person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(waro•(-ka), *wi-ró•(-ka))

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *(waró)
Crows bulá 'male' RG
Hidatsa waró•ka 'elk' J, mwaró•ka

Proto-Mandan *(wrok)
Mandan weró 'bull' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(wro•ka)

Proto-Dakota *(wroká)
Lakota boká 'male' RTC
Dakota moká 'male' SRR:313b
Stoney mnogá RS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(Ró•ke)
Chiwere döge 'male' RR
Otoe čhédo 'male bison' JDH
Hoocąk tcedok 'buffalo bull' MM:171, ceetok, ceetos 'male' JOD, toga, -tok

Proto-Dhegiha *(Roka)
Omaha-Ponca nüga , ŋóga 'male' EST
Kanza/Kaw dogá 'male' RR
Osage dogá , ŋoká 'male (ritual expression)' LF:38a
Quapaw tóka 'male' JOD

Proto-Southeastern *(ro-)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *(iro(-ki))
Biloxi ŋóđeké, ŋotkí, a’yátó , ŋó(ki) 'man' D&S:200a
Ofo ama”* ŋó’ki , ŋótó•ki 'male turkey' D&S:320, JSS , ló , ŋótó•ki D&S:325a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Tutelo nōma , ŋō•ma 'man' H
General comment

Note OVS forms with and without final syllable. For the Mandan form, Hollow suggested the analysis *wör ‘husband’ + -ka ‘nominal suffix’. This should produce *wör-ka, however. Tutelo and Mandan may match for postvocalic -r.

On the postulated Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form, cf. the discussion under ‘brother, woman’s elder (1)’. Hidatsa has inexplicably lengthened the vowels and added the common suffix -ka. Crow has inexplicably transposed a/o, counter to the usual rightward vowel exchange. Ofo, but not Hidatsa as one might expect, suggests a Proto-Siouan prefix *w-, which is normal with animal terms and also apparently occurs with ‘female animal’.

man, person (1)

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow bache ‘man’

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *wóŋ ‘man’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *

Chiwere *wóŋ ‘man’ W:236b

Hoocąk w祚# ~ w祚 ‘man’ JWE, 祚

Proto-Southeastern *

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *ʔaŋ ‘person, man’ MRH, aya ‘MS, a’ya, ha’ya, d’ya, a’ya, hayad D&S:178b

Ofo ᵃʔkwə, ᵃʔkwa ‘person, someone’ D&S:323a, a'k-háska, ᵃʔkwə ‘baby’ D&S:323a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ᵃʔkpi ‘husband’ GO, H:1879, mą̈gan’kait, ᵃʔkpi ‘negro’ ES, mą̈kkanak ‘sit’, ᵃʔkpi ‘negro’ LIF, wa’kkanaka – wąkkanaka, ᵃʔkpi ‘whiteman’ LIF, wahtahka, waiyua; waiaq, ᵃʔkpi N, H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ye ‘man’ FGS

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Cf. 1st inclusive actor prefix, which is apparently derived from, or remodeled on the basis of, this noun. The Catawba term is doubtfully related, but if the Proto-Siouan form had the initial sequence Ṽų rather than Ṽą dissimilation would be in order and Catawba might be related. Additional segmentation is possible, as the initial syllable may be absolutive "wa-. In Crow bacheč the consonants and vowels match except for V length and accent.

man, person (2)

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ryḥka

Proto-Dakota "wičhd

Lakota wičhd 'person' RTC

Dakota wičhášta 'man' PD:92

Assiniboine wičhášta 'man' PD:92

Yanktonai wičhdía 'man' PD:92

Stoney wičhá 'man' NOL, wičhásta 'man' NOL

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk ware-ŋį́ka ‘worker, wageman, slang for white man’ [N.B. ware ‘work’] KM:3432, wareŋį́ka, wareŋą́ka (> ware-ŋį́k-ga)

Proto-Dhegiha *ńį́hka

Omaha-Ponca ńį́hka 'man' RR

Kanza/Kaw ńį́hka, ńį́kka 'man' RR

Osage ńį́hka 'man'

Quapaw ńį́hka 'man' [Cf. onį́ 'gens']

General comment

Since discovery of the Hoocąk cognate, we tend to look upon the Dakota forms as perhaps influenced by Caddoan (Cf. Parks 1979 #14 'man' (does not = person) Arikara wčta, Pawnee pčta, Kitsai wčtu, Wichita wčč). These Siouan forms are apparently related to each other, but not to ‘man, person (1)’.

Distribution of the Dakotan forms suggests that wičhášta is the older variant. JEK suggests -štą is related to the intensifier, -xťą, -xčą ‘real, true’. This would make wičháša ‘red man’ a folk etymology in the geographically central dialects, Teton and Yankton-Yanktonai.
many, much

verb abstract_amount

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ahu* — *ahuŋ*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ahu*

Crow ahu ‘many’ RG, GG:4, RGG:80

Hidatsa áhu — ahu ‘many’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan hų ‘many’ H:79

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hu* — *huŋ*

Proto-Dakota *hux*

Lakota húx ‘some, a part of’ RTC

Dakota húŋȟ , ñhūx ‘some, a part’ SRR:157b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere hų ‘article of emphasis’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha *hú*

Omaha-Ponca dhígi ‘abundant, plenty, many’ MAS:208

Kanza/Kaw hú ‘much’ RR

Osage hú ‘much’ RR

Quapaw hi- ‘times, -fold’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ohú, oḥóⁿ , ʔohúʔ [H. (under ‘marry’)] HW , oḥōⁿ , oḥōteha , ʔohúʔ H

General comment

Vowel length may be affective rather than phonologically distinctive here. The Quapaw form is used with numerals as a multiplier.
maple

*noun* plant

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley**

**Proto-Dhegiha**

Osage *weshabethe hìu, ṭwešapeṭe hì* ‘maple sugar’ LF:292a

Quapaw *wésade hì* ‘black dye tree; soft maple’ JOD

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi *tôhuyidi, ṭôhuyidi* ‘blue wood tree, maple’

**General comment**

Frequent rendering by descriptive terms such as ‘black dye tree’, or ‘blue dye tree’, etc. is common. Parallel derivation here is high but cognacy is low to nonexistent.
marked > spotted, striped (1)

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kré•E

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kréř ‘be dirty, streaky’ H:118

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kréE

Proto-Dakota *kréA

Lakota gléA ‘striped’ RTC, -gélzélA, ka- ‘mark across or around by cutting; to make in stripes or figures’ EB:272, -gélzelA, ka- ‘stripe, make striped’ EB:272, -gélzA, pa- ‘make spotted or ringed by rubbing.’ EB:423

Dakota hdéza ‘striped, in ridges or rows’ SRR:131b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *krézE

Chiwere gléže ‘spots, patches’ GM

Hoocąk hokerész ‘color’ KM:1802, hokeréž

Proto-Dhegiha *krézE

Omaha-Ponca ghëše , ṭgëše ‘striped’ MAS:166

Kanza/Kaw léže ‘striped’ RR

Osage ghëše , ṭléže ‘striped’ LF:54a

Quapaw kdéze ‘striped’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *kréši

Biloxi nde•zë ‘snake (striped)’ MRH, nde•zë MS

Ofo o’kéétì , ṭ-ktéétì ‘snake’ (sniped) D&S:328a

General comment

On Ofo ‘snake’ v. also ‘sacred (2a), snake’.

584 of 1128
**marked > spotted, striped (2)**

**verb perceptual visual**

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *kré•xE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kré•xE*

Proto-Dakota *kré•A*

Lakota glé•A ‘spotted’ RTC , ̣glé•A, ̣ká–‘mark across or make stripes or figures, to make rough’ EB:272 , ̣glé•A, pa–‘mark off e.g. names on a list’ EB:423

Dakota hdé•A ‘spotted, figured’ SRR:131a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *kré•ye*

Chiwere gre•gre•ye ‘spotted’ RR


**Proto-Southeastern**

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *kré•xI*

Biloxi ̣ká•XI, ̣ká•XYI, ̣ká•dëX, ̣ká•dëXI , ̣ká•dëXI ‘spotted, striped’ D&S:206b

Ofo k’adési , k’adési ‘spotted’ D&S:325b

**General comment**

**Ofo** *x > š normally, but occasionally it surfaces as s, cf. ‘chase’, Ofo nūvê. Proto-Siouan *š normally becomes š in Ofo, while Proto-Siouan *s is Ofo f, so it is doubtful that attested Ofo s and š contrast. Tutelo does not contrast s and š (Oliverio 1996). Ofo k’ also appears in the Ssf, but what it might represent phonologically remains unknown.**
marked > spotted, striped (3)

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *krֿE

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *krֿE

Proto-Dakota *kreš-ká

Lakota glešká 'spotted, speckled' RTC

Dakota hdešká 'speckled, spotted' SRR:131b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *krֿe

Chiwere grֿye 'spotted' RR

Hoocąk -kereš, kerekereš 'be spotted' KM:1799, kereš, kerekereš 'brand, v.; be branded' KM:58, -kureš, boo-, bookereš

Proto-Dhegiha *krֿe

Omaha-Ponca gheshe, ḏheše 'spotted' MAS:162

Kanza/Kaw ležé 'spotted, striped' RR

Osage gheshe, ḏežé 'spotted' LF:55a

Quapaw -kdéže 'spotted' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kdečkú ičdětu, ḏdeš 'striped'
mark, scratch > score, mark

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xohe

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-ɣó

Proto-Dakota *-ɣó

Lakota -ɣó, ka- ‘draw a line, i.e. on land, as a Reservation line to mark, make marks, cuts or gashes, to vaccinate’ EB:273, -ɣó, owá- ‘score’ EB:411, -ɣó, pa- ‘carve, engrave; to mark e.g. by a line for a race, to pace ground’ EB:424, -ɣó, yu- ‘make a mark with the teeth’ EB:619, -ɣó, yu- ‘make scratches’ EB:636b, -ɣóɣo, na- ‘make scratches, as on the floor by walking, with the shoes etc.’ EB:343

Dakota †kaɣó ‘mark, make marks, etc.’ SRH:248b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-ɣó

Chiwere wexó, †twógy ‘mark with something’ JGT:182

Hoocąk -ɣó, gi- ‘grind, sharpen’ KM:339, giǧo

Proto-Dhegiha *-ɣó

Omaha-Ponca wabaxú, †wabaɣó ‘make marks, write’ MAS:190

Kanza/Kaw -ɣó, yu- ‘make marks, scratch’ RR

Osage thixu, †ðüɣo ‘make marks, lines’ LF:152a

Quapaw -ɣó, da- dé ‘decrease, lower’ RR, -ɣó, di- ‘mark, scratch, draw line’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dăkxohí, tũkxohí, t-xohí, dak- ‘make smooth with a knife, scrape, shave’ D&S:222a

General comment

Cf. ‘make marks > mark, scratch’ ‘point at’ for further fricative grades.
marrow

*noun* physical_somatic_body_part

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *yúpe ~ yúrpa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *yúrpa*

Crow dúupa ‘marrow’ RG, GG:45, RGG:104

Hidatsa núrpa ‘marrow’ J, nírpa

**Pre-Mandan**

Mandan rípe ‘bone marrow’ H:182

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *yúpe*

Proto-Dakota *čhúpe*

Lakota čapé ‘bone marrow’ RTC

Dakota čápé ‘marrow’ SRR:105a

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Chiwere wayíwe ‘marrow’ GM

**Proto-Dhegiha** *žúpe*

Omaha-Ponca žžibe ‘lower leg’

Kanza/Kaw žíwe ‘marrow’ RR, žūbe ‘marrow’ JOD

Osage wažžibe, žwažípe ‘animal’s leg bone’ LF:210a

Quapaw žíwe ‘marrow’ JOD
mean, intend
verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kahÉ

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *khÉ < *kVhÉ

Crow -hče ‘mean’ RG

Hidatsa khÉ ‘mean, intend’ J, khl

Pre-Mandan

Mandan woke

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(wa-)kVhÉ

Proto-Dakota ‘khA’

Lakota khA ‘to mean’ RTC

Dakota kd ‘to mean, signify’ SRR:245a

Stoney khd PAS:473

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *waké

Chiwere wage ‘to mean’ JGT:183

Hoocąk wage ‘mean (intend to convey)’ KM:3252, wage

Proto-Dhegiha *wakhé

Omaha-Ponca waké, ṭwakhé ‘to mean’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw wakhé ‘to mean’ RR

Osage waké, ṭwakhé ‘mean’ JOD, ṭwakhu, ṭwakha ‘mean, have in mind’ LF:42

Quapaw waké, ṭwakhe ‘to mean’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kahd, ṭkahd ‘to mean’ D&S:204b

General comment

The correspondence of Proto-Dhegiha *kh and Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *g indicates that Proto-Mississippi-Valley had *kVh. Hidatsa and, more directly, Biloxi confirm this.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

**medicine**

*noun* social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wąhką*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pąkahkan ‘unidentified medicine plant’ H:136

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mąhką*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *mąkʰą*

Chiwere mánka, mánkan, ḥmąkʰąq ‘medicine’ JGT:42

Hoocąk mąkʰąq ‘medicine’ KM:1975, mąkqąq

Proto-Dhegiha *mąkʰąj*

Omaha-Ponca ḥmąkkąq ‘medicine’

Kanza/Kaw mąkkąq ‘medicine’ RR

Osage mo’kó’, ḥmąkkąq ‘drugs, any kind of medicine except poisons’ LF:100

Quapaw mąkkąq ‘medicine’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *mąk- ‘snake’

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ąk + ‘krēši ‘snake + spotted’

Biloxi nDɛ•seʔ, nde•seʔ, ndĕ´si, indesí, ṭndĕśi ‘serpentm snake’ D&S:234b, MRH, MS

Ofo o’ktéfi, ṭŋkëf ‘snake’ D&S:328a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Saponi Moka, ṭmŋka ‘snake’ F

**General comment**

This term, apparently originally meaning ‘medicine’, has been specialized in OVS to mean ‘snake’. This parallels the cooption of *wąhką* ‘sacred’, q.v., to mean ‘snake’ in Chiwere/Hoocąk and probably DH and Tutelo as well. In late prehistoric and/or early historical times these languages all shared a geographical location at the peripheries of the Ohio Valley and adjacent areas in which Mississippian culture and religion presumably penetrated.

Diffusion of the meaning ‘snake’ could possibly have something to do with that fact. Biloxi and Ofo lose initial labial resonants but seem clearly related to the rest of this set. See further discussion under *wąhką* ‘sacred (2a), snake’.

590 of 1128
meet

verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ki-hi(-hpa)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hi

Crow hi ‘meet’ RGG, GG:48

Hidatsa wukhi ‘meet, assemble’.J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kahiš ‘they meet, gather together’ H:107

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ahkihpa

Proto-Dakota *akhípha

Lakota akhípha ‘meet’ RTC

Dakota akípa ‘meet, come upon one’ SRR:28b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-khípha

Chiwere akhípha ‘meet, encounter’ GM

Hoocąk hi:kid ‘meet; run into, collide with’ KM:928, hi:kípa

Proto-Dhegiha *áhkihpa

Omaha-Ponca akípa ‘meet’ MAS:119

Kanza/Kaw ákkìppa ‘meet’ RR

Osage ákìpa, ḋákhílìpa ‘meet’ LF:12a

Quapaw ákìppa ‘meet’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *o-khi(-pa)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ókxípa, ḋókxípa ‘meet’ D&S:209b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo oaki, ōaki ‘I met’ H

General comment
Comparing MRS and OVS it looks as though "hí•" (\textit{arrive there}) is originally compounded with "ki" (probably 'reciprocal') and when this contracted to "k-hí•" and became opaque a new stem "hpa" was added. Now this augmented stem can be "reciprocalized" in DH by prefixing yet another "hki. DH kh rather than hk is predicted, so analogy has played a role here; the earlier "khi has been reinterpreted as a simple 'reciprocal'.

\textbf{Hidatsa} wak- is reciprocal.

\textbf{melt (1)}

\textbf{verb physical\_condition\_change}

\textbf{Proto-Siouan-Catawba}

\textbf{Proto-Siouan *sire (?)}

\textbf{Pre-Mandan *šre-}

\textbf{Mandan rášereʔš 'it melted' RTC}

\textbf{Proto-Southeastern}

\textbf{Proto-Biloxi-Ofo}

\textbf{Biloxi ⽩nḗ, 𝐭stǻnḗ 'melted, thawed' D&S:256a}

\textbf{General comment}

Ordinarily \textit{n} in an oral environment, as here, in \textit{Biloxi} represents the reflex of an earlier cluster, often *hr or *\textit{ʔr}. There is insufficient information here to allow us to determine its function.
melt (2)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *skór

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa cúkE ‘melt’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *skór

Proto-Dakota *skór

Lakota skAJ ‘melt (like snow)’ RTC, skĄ, opd. ‘melt by lying on’ EB:401, skĄ, wo- ‘cause to melt and flow off, as rain does snow’ EB:608, skĄ, ya- ‘let dissolve in one’s mouth’ EB:626

Dakota skąy ‘dissolve, disappear, melt away’ SRR:436a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *skór

Chiwere daθgą́ JOD


Proto-Dhegiha *Rá-ską

Omaha-Ponca načkoⁿ, ḋásqą́ ‘melt’ MAS:119

Kanza/Kaw dásqą́ ‘melt’ RR, dásqą́, duska ‘melt’ RR, butdásqą́ ‘melt sth. by sitting or lying on it’ JOD, RR, nąddásqą́ ‘thaw ice or snow walking on it’ RR, yaddásqą́ ‘melt in the mouth, as an icicle’ JOD, RR

Osage dáskoⁿ, ḋásqą́ ‘melt, liquefy’ LF:34a

Quapaw tásqą́ ‘melt’ RR, dísqą́ ‘melt sth. w. the hands’ RR

General comment

Biloxi, if related, is of a separate fricative ablaut grade. Cf. ‘soft (2)’, ‘wet’ for s/ʃ grades.
metal, copper, iron

noun physical_material

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *awá•se

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ú•waca

Crow ú•wata ‘iron, metal’ RG, GG:58, RGG:92
Hidatsa ú•waca ‘iron, metal’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *má•ze

Proto-Dakota *má•za
Lakota má•za ‘metal’ RTC
Dakota má•za ‘metal’ SRR:309b
Sioux Valley má•za PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *má•že

Chiwere mą•že, mą•že ‘metal’ RR, mą•dë́ʔka, mą•dë́ʔka ‘money’ RR
Otoe mą•že - RR
Hoocąk mą•že ‘metal, axe’ KM:2008, mą•že

Proto-Dhegiha *má•že

Omaha-Ponca má•že ‘metal’ RTC
Kanza/Kaw má•že ‘iron, metal’ RR
Osage má•že , má•že ‘iron, any kind of metal’ LF:96a
Quapaw má•že, má•že, má•že ‘iron’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *amá•si

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *amá•si

Biloxi má•sa, má•si, má•si, amá•si, hamsá•, má•sa ‘iron, metal’ D&S:229b
Ofo amó’ ‘jl, amó•fi, tامó•fi ‘iron, a pot, pottery’ D&S:320b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo má•si, má•s, má•síqórak , má•si ‘metal’ H

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

The original meaning of this form is presumably ‘metal’, probably with specific reference to copper. This raises the possibility that in pre-Proto-Siouan this root was actually bimorphemic, a compound of *amą́ ‘earth’ with *Sá ‘red’. It is interesting that all of the daughter languages show a common semantic drift to the meaning ‘iron’, frequently forming a new compound with ‘red’ to denote copper, as in Lakota mază-ša ‘copper, penny’.

The Proto-Crow-Hidatsa initial *ú- is unexplained, as is the absence of length in the second syllable.

middle

noun physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rą́ta

Pre-Mandan *ńf-

Mandan *ńf-ha ‘in between two’ H:170, *ństa ‘between, in middle’ H:171

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ństa

Biloxi nata, ndaaxi, ṭństa ‘middle’ D&S:233a

Ofo ṭtta, ṭtta, ṭtto ‘middle’ D&S:330a

General comment

Cf. ‘heart’ for a Mandan homonym and a possible source of contamination in MVS. Ofo ą frequently is the denasalized reflex of *ą.
middle; inside
adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *yó•ka ~ *ró•ka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ró•ka AWJ

Crow bíilukaa ‘our people; we Crows’ GG:29 , apsdalooka ‘Crow’ GG:12, RGG:15

Hidatsa ro•ka:, no•ka ‘people of one’s clan or family’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan *rokE

Mandan wêroke ‘sack’ RTC , têroke ‘in the house’ RTC , wêrophyta ‘in the woods’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ró•ka:

Proto-Dakota *čhoká:

Lakota hóčhoka: ‘center of camp’ RTC , čhoká ‘middle’ RTC , čhokáta ‘in the middle’ RTC , čoká ‘in the midst, central’ EB:132b , cokápa ‘in the midst, in the center’ EB:133a , cokdl ‘in the midst cont. of cókata’ EB:133a , cokáq ‘the middle; in the middle’ EB:133a , icókab ‘before’ micókab, ákicókab EB:203 , icókabya ‘before; between’ EB:208 , icókáq ‘in the middle, between’ EB:208

Dakota ?čhoká, čoká: ‘middle’ SRR:103a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere lóta ‘inside’ GM

Hoocąk róok ‘inner, interior;inside’.JWE , rook ‘inside’ JWE , roogéjá ‘indoors’ KM:240 , rookeja ‘inside, n.’ KM:2638 , čiírok , ciírok (> cii + rook) , nóok , rook

Proto-Dhegiha *-roka

Omaha-Ponca hódoga ‘camp circle’

Osage taáthuga , thci-óoloka ‘interior of house’ LF:164a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo točóka , tóóka ‘in, under’ D&S:329b , tóóktata , tóóktata ‘in the middle’ D&S:329b

General comment

Hidatsa ro•ka ‘people of one’s clan or family’ contrasts with Hidatsa ruzw•ka ‘people in general’; similarly, Crow bíilukaa ‘our people’ contrasts with bíilapdáka ‘people; person’. The *rok form seems to refer to camp or village organization by clans. This term may well have been inalienably possessed to the extent that it refers to one’s kin. If this is true, a Proto-Siouan *i-rov•ka is implied and the Lakota form is explained, as čh is the normal reflex of *r following 3s inalienable possessive prefix. This leaves Ofo forms with apparent *y unexplained, however. If Proto-Siouan was *i-yó•ka then the DH forms remain unexplained.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

mire (1)

verb physical, spatial, aquatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *SatakE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow alaxsacht ‘step in (soft matter)’ RGG, důxsacht ‘squeeze through fingers’ RG

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw kaståke ‘be soaked’ RR

General comment

This is derived from *sata• ‘mire (2)’ with the common -kE root extension. The vowel has shortened. Cf. ‘stick (6)’

mire (2)

verb physical, spatial, aquatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sati•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa nícata• ‘put hand in mud, sth. soft, sth. sticky’ AWJ, pícata• ‘put stick in mud’ AWJ, aracáta• ‘get foot in mud, sth. soft’ AWJ, nacáta• ‘chew sth. sticky’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw dásta ‘melt’ MR, RR, dêsta ‘melt’ MR, RR, ḏqastásta ‘step into water and mud’ JOD, RR, yastásta ‘resin chewed by the Kaws’ JOD, RR

General comment

We have reconstructed the initial syllable vowel from Hidatsa, since the vowel length suggests it was there. Cf. ‘stick (7)’ for derivations; Cf. ‘strike (3)’ for a homonymous root. Mandan rútdhoʔš ‘he sinks into mud’ (H-243) may reflect this root minus the s pre-extension, or may reflect a contamination from ‘shake (3).’
miss

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-krąra

Proto-Dakota *-krą́yA

Lakota kagnáyĄ ‘miss partly while striking’ EJ, pagnáyĄ ‘miss sth. partly trying to rest on sth. and thus fall down e.g. from a chair; miss in pushing’ EJ, wagnáyĄ ‘miss in attempting to strike with a knife’ EJ, wundgnaįĄ ‘slip, slide; deceive’ EJ, wognáyĄ ‘miss partly in shooting or striking with end of a stick, i.e. not hitting e.g. an animal well so that it can get away’ EJ, yagnáyĄ ‘miss sth. partly with the mouth in attempting to catch; tell a falsehood’ EJ, yuŋnáyĄ ‘miss, as in trying to grasp sth.’ EJ, yuŋnáŋgnaįĄ ‘to take a loose hold of; you don’t quite have control over it yet’ EJ

Dakota yuhnáyaŋ, †yuhnáyą ‘miss, as in attempting to grasp’ SRR:624b

Proto-Dhegiha *-kraŋ

Kanza/Kaw bőląya ‘fail cutting, sawing, to miss’ RR, bōlęya ‘miss a thrust with stick, spear’ RR, bōlęya ‘make a mistake in shooting, or blowing’ RR, bōlęya ‘miss while trying to jump upon’ RR, dōlęya ‘miss, as sparks’ RR, gōlęya ‘fail to knock down or in chopping’ RR, nąlęya ‘miss one’s footing, miss kicking or jumping’ RR, yulęya ‘deceive, call names, snap at’ JOD, RR, yulęya ‘miss or fumble in trying to grasp’ JOD, RR

Quapaw póknǫda ‘miss cutting sth. elusive’ RR, póknǫda ‘miss in shooting or thrusting’ RR, baknǫ́da ‘miss when thrusting at’ RR, biknǫ́da ‘miss, slip from under’ RR, daknǫ́da ‘snap at and miss’ RR, dikdǫ́da ‘fumble, let slip, fail to hold’ RR, kaknǫ́da ‘fail in hitting at sth.’ RR, naknǫ́da ‘kick at and be evaded’ RR
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

mix (1)
verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wrą

Proto-Dakota *mnA

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw díkkidíbną ‘mix together’ RR
mix (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-hihe

Pre-Mandan *حياة

Mandan *حرف ‘mix’ RH:89, *حرف ‘mix’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *i-hi

Proto-Dakota *(i-)*كا-حي

Lakota *kahi* ‘stir, mix’ EJ, *كداحي ‘stir, mix’ EJ

Dakota *kahi* ‘stir, rummage’ SRR:249b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *i-hi

Chiwere *كي ‘stir, mix sth.’ LWR:11


Proto-Dhegiha *(i-)كا-حي

Omaha-Ponca *گا ‘mix’ MJS:121

Kanza/Kaw *گا ‘mix tobacco, make kinnikinick’ RR

Osage *گا, *كا ‘mixing of several ingredients’ LF:71b

Quapaw *ككدا ‘mix together, mixed’ JOD

General comment

The root is *-hihe typically used with the prefix *-i- with frequent addition of *raka ‘by striking’ in MVS.
moccasin (1)

\textit{noun} physical\_artefact\_dress

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan \textit{ʰų̱pE}

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa \textit{ʰu̱p̪d̪}

Crow \textit{hu̱p̪d̪} ‘shoes’ RG

Hidatsa \textit{hu̱p̪d̪} ‘moccasin, shoe’ AWJ, \textit{watahpa, matahpa} ‘my moccasin’ AWJ

**Pre-Mandan**

Mandan \textit{hų̱p̪e} ‘shoes’ RTC

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley** \textit{ʰúp̪E} – \textit{ʰdı̱p̪E}

**Proto-Dakota** \textit{ʰdí̱p̪A}

Lakota \textit{dí̱p̪A} ‘moccasin’ RTC

Dakota \textit{dí̱p̪a, řdí̱p̪a} ‘moccasins’ SRR:124a

Sioux Valley \textit{dí̱p̪-a pas}

**Proto-Dhegiha** \textit{ʰǫ̱pé}

Omaha-Ponca \textit{híⁿbe, řhíⁿbe} ‘moccasin’ MJS:121, \textit{híⁿbe, řhíⁿbe} ‘moccasin’

Kanza/Kaw \textit{hǫ̱b̪é} ‘moccasin’ RR

Osage \textit{hǫ̱p̪é} ‘moccasin’ RR

Quapaw \textit{hǫ̱p̪é} ‘moccasin’ RR

**General comment**

This may have been an inalienably possessed, or, at least, typically possessed noun, and as such would normally have carried a prefix that would explain its behavior with regard to accent. Both the Dakota accent and Crow/Hidatsa vowel length suggest proto-accent on the penultimate vowel, which in turn suggests such a monosyllabic possessive prefix. Differences in the final vowel are not as easily accounted for, and the fact that the vowel ablauts in Dakota is not really explicable. Nor are differences in reflexes of the accented proto-vowel easy to explain. DH frequently undergoes merger of \textit{ʰų} and \textit{ʰą} to \textit{ʰą} but Dakota does not normally follow this pattern.

The Omaha-Ponca vowel is simply irregular, and the peculiar behavior of Mandan accent and the Hidatsa possessed form round out the roster of interesting irregularities. It might be worth noting that syncope in the Hidatsa possessed form parallels syncope of the analogous vowel in Crow dog, q.v., another ablauting noun.
moccasin (2)

noun physical_artefact,dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *a•kúte

Chiwere ḍogóle 'moccasin' RR, agúţha ‘legging’ GMsf

Hoocąk waguje 'shoe' KM:1695, waguje 'moccasin' KM:120, caahá-waguje, caaha waguje (> caa + haa waguje)

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ḍōgere, ḍōdē, ḍōghdē, ḍōrokes 'moccasin' H

General comment

Paucity of data makes a secure reconstruction very difficult. The subgroups appear to agree on the length of the initial vowel, which may represent the locative prefix. Accent would lengthen the second vowel, which we find in Tutelo if not in Chiwere, but we would expect it to have caused aspiration of the second consonant also. Alternate forms with differing suffixes show clearly that these are highly derived forms in both subgroups. They may, in fact, represent parallel innovations or borrowings and the term may not really be reconstructible at all. If ‘shoes’ follows the pattern set by terms such as ‘trousers’, it may well be based on an expression meaning essentially, ‘stand within’, in which case Ofo (a)kóle ‘stand’ may be related. Cf. ‘cranberry’ for a possible parallel treatment of *h+r.
moist (1), soft, wet
verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *Ró(-he)(-ka)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *irú(-ka)

Crow ilúka 'meat' RG, GG:88, RGG:104, irúššiši 'meat, fresh' GG:88, ilússhishi

Hidatsa íru 'flesh of, meat of' AWJ, írúka 'dried meat, jerky' AWJ, írúkšíšë 'fresh meat' AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan òró 'fruit, seed, nut, meat, acorn' RH:129

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Róh-ka

Proto-Dakota *Ró

Lakota thaló 'fresh meat' RTC, ločhį́ 'be hungry' RTC, lo 'soft, tender, moist stuff' EJ

Dakota do 'food, moist, soft' SRR:108b, dó

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Ró(-khe)

Chiwere tókhe 'damp' RR

Otoe dór-khe 'damp' RR, ulőče 'damp' GMsf

Hoocąk tooke 'be wet' KM:3133, tooke

Proto-Dhegiha *Róhka

Omaha-Ponca nókka 'wet' RR

Kanza/Kaw dókka 'wet' RR

Osage dōkka, ṭōkka 'damp, wet, moist' LP:38a

Quapaw tókka 'moist' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kádotcí, kádotci, ṭkudócí 'wet, muddy' D&S:216a

General comment

Cf. 'flesh' for a possible doublet. Vowel length, accent and the presence of *R all suggest a missing initial syllable that is not represented in any of the reflexes. There is clear evidence for the presence of *-he in MVS, and equally clear evidence for its absence in Crow/Hidatsa and Mandan. We suspect that the *-he was absent in the noun ('meat') but present in the stative verb ('damp'), as Proto-Siouan *-he is predominantly a verbal suffix.
moist (2)

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *takį́ (?)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow tatassači 'damp' RG

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *tkį

Proto-Dakota

Lakota otkį́ 'become damp in' EB:409a , otkŋ́

Proto-Dhegiha *htį

Omaha-Ponca tiⁿ , ttį́ 'moist' MJS:121

Osage ṭsiⁿ , ṭčį́ 'moist, damp' LF:163a

General comment

*tk > *kt > *ht regularly in DH. If the Crow is cognate, then -ssaki = -taki except that gemination is unexplained. Note the reduplicating preceding syllable; this looks like *šašataki -- at best a compound.
moist, thaw, soft

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xpą́he

Pre-Mandan

Mandan xəwə̃h ‘small’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xpą

Proto-Dakota *xpą

Lakota xpą́ ‘softened; (has to be in water) waterlogged’ EJ, yuxpą́ ‘moisten or soak in the mouth, dissolve in the mouth’ EB:620, yuxpą́ ‘soak and make soft (e.g. a piece of leather)’ EB:639, nuxpą́yą́ ‘moisten with the foot’ EB:345, wuxpą́yą́ ‘soak anything; soak and take the hair off’ EB:520

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wixwūn, ʔwixwū JGT:254

Hoocąk hoxąwą́ ‘be humid, damp’ KM:3874, hoxąwą́ ‘soften, v.tr. (by heat?)’ KM:3094, taaxąwą́, taaxąwą́

Proto-Dhegiha *-xpą

Kanza/Kaw dąxpą́ ‘thaw (by heating)’ RR

Osage daxpoⁿ, ṭaaxpą́ ‘thaw out’ LF:219b

Quapaw dąxpą́ ‘thaw in the hands’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘soft (2)’. The Chiwere vowel is irregular here. The Mandan semantics renders our reconstruction less secure than it would otherwise be.
moon, sun, orb

noun physical celestial body

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wırq

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wir


Hidatsa wiri – wiri, miri – miri ‘orb, sun, moon, month’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan *wir

Mandan wírik ‘sunc, moon’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wir

Proto-Dakota *wí

Lakota wí ‘sun, moon’ RTC

Dakota wí ‘sun, moon’ SRR:564a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Wír

Chiwere bi ‘sun’ RR, bi- ‘in star’ RR, (m)pí ‘sun’ CFV

Hoocąk wí ‘sun; moon; month’ KM:3640, wíi

Proto-Dhegiha *mi(-ǫpa)

Omaha-Ponca mi ~ mi ‘moon, sun’ RR

Kanza/Kaw mišba, mišyba ‘moon, sun, month’ RR

Osage mi ‘moons (from a ritual)’ LF:90a, mío’ba, ñmíupa ‘the moon’

Quapaw mídpa, mídha, ñmíupa ‘moon’ JOD, ñmi ‘sun, moon, orb’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *mi-rą

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *irą

Biloxi índ, índ ‘sun’ D&S:200a

Ofo íla, íla ‘sun or moon’ D&S:324a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo mi, ñmi ‘sun’ H, mínósá, ñmí-no-saʔ ‘moon’ N, H, mínahëi, jñmí-naheʔi ‘moon’ H, minhaʔi, jñmíŋhip ‘moon’ HW

Saponi mi ‘sun’ F, My

Proto-Catawba
General comment

Cf. ‘sun’, ‘star (1)’. Nasalization of the initial syllable vowel and preceding consonant in this set is due to nasalization in the second syllable that spread across the glide to the first. The second syllable may be a suffixed reflex of *rą(ke) ‘be sitting, dwell’. Chiwere may argue for initial *W which represents a conflation of a root-initial *w with a prefixed *wV, usually the syncopated reflex of absolutive *wa- or *wi-. So there may have been an initial syllable, at least in some subgroups, arguing for Proto-Siouan *wa-wí•rą The long vowel in Chiwere supports this also, as does the intriguing cluster recorded by Voegelin. MRS would then be expected to have a long vowel, but it does not. The Fontaine Saponi form may represent either †mi or †mai, the latter corresponding to the last two syllables of the attested Tutelo forms. In languages which have both mi and miǫ́pa the former may mean either ‘sun’ or ‘moon’, but the latter always means ‘moon’.

mortar

defined as noun physical artefact tool

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hó-

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hó-

Proto-Dakota *hópe

Lakota hópe ‘digging stick’ EJ

Dakota hópe, *hópe ‘digging stick, pestle’ SRR:154

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hoonį́ ‘large wooden mortar and pestle’ KM:1450, hoonį

Proto-Dhegiha *hó-e

Omaha-Ponca uhe, ṭóhe ‘mortar’

Kanza/Kaw hophé ‘mortar of gouged out wood’ RR, hówe ‘mortar’ JOD, howé ‘mortar’ RR

Osage hówe ‘mortar, coffee mill, grist mill’ LF:67b, hówe ‘mortar’ LF:63a, hóe, hóe

Quapaw hóte, ṭóde ‘mortar for pounding corn’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi o, xo, ṭho ‘break to pieces’ D&S:222a

General comment

Cf. ‘pound, mortar’, ‘grind, pound’. The Dakota forms may possibly be a recent compound of *hó- with *ʔų ‘do’ and *phe ‘grind, pound’. Cf. also Kanza/Kaw. DH forms generally reflect ho-e with a variety of epenthesized glides. The second element here might be ‘food’, q.v.
mosquito

noun animal, insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *apá•ka

Crow apáka ‘mosquito’ RG
Hidatsa apá•ka ‘mosquito’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan háparaka ‘fly’ RH:67

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ra•phąke ~ *ya•phąke (?)

Proto-Dakota *čhaphų́ka

Lakota čhaphų́ka ‘mosquito’ RTC
Dakota čapų́ka, ?čhaphų́ka ‘mosquito’ SRR:96b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *rawą́ke

Chiwere dawįįje ‘mosquito’ RTC,ídaįįje ‘mosquito’ GMsf, rąwįįje ‘mosquito’ JDH
Otoe rąwįįje ‘mosquito’ RR
Hoocąk raawą́k ‘mosquito’ KM:2533, raawįįje

Proto-Dhegiha *raphąke (?)

Omaha-Ponca náhǫga ‘mosquito’ RTC, náhǫge ‘mosquito’ JOD
Kanza/Kaw yáphąįge, yáphoįge ‘mosquito’ RR
Osage ḏáphąke ‘mosquito’ [sg] RR, laphųįje [sg] RR, lapxaįje, laphąke, lapxanke
Quapaw dąphąke ‘mosquito’ JOD, dąphąke ‘mosquito’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *yamąki

Biloxi yamąkį, tyamąkį ‘mosquito’ D&S:288a
Ofo tcá’mąkį, ?čá’mąkį ‘mosquito’ D&S:329a, JSS

General comment
Lack of an initial consonant in MRS is not accounted for and the consonant that does occur here in the other subgroups is not regular (often even within subgroups), although its irregularity is of a somewhat familiar sort (*r ~ *y). Osage is the only language in which initial δ ~ l (< *kr?), although Omaha-Ponca n is irregular also. Chiwere and DH both show reflexes of q ~ ŋ medially here. DH shows variation in final vowels in both Omaha-Ponca and Osage. This word appears to be a widespread form, perhaps an old compound that has undergone folk reanalysis several times. Note these look-alikes in Algonquian and Muskogean: Miami sakimia (pl. -aki) (cf. Osage sg and pl). Choctaw sapóntuk, Chickasaw sapóntaki, with no Eastern Muskogean cognates. Choc./Chick. s may be < earlier *c. Unlike the other language families however, Siouan appears to have reflexes of this noun in every major subgroup. All the same, the term has no completely secure reconstruction in which all of the sound correspondences are understood and followed.
mother (1) (referential)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan ‘i-hų́•’

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa ihır ‘mother’ J

Pre-Mandan ‘hų́•

Mandan kohų́‘we ~ kohų́‘re ~ kohų́‘s ‘his mother’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley ‘i-hų́•’

Proto-Dakota ‘hų́-ku

Lakota hų́ku ‘his mother’ RTC

Stoney hų́gu ‘mother’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ‘i-hų́•’

Chiwere ihų́, ʔihų́ RR

Hoocąk hų́, hų́ʔ PAS

Proto-Dhegiha ‘i-hǫ́’

Omaha-Ponca ihǫ́ ‘his mother’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw ihǫ́ RR

Osage ihǫ́, ʔihǫ́ ‘mother’ LE:295b

Quapaw ihδ́ ~ ihǫ́ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi–Ofo *qŋ já

Biloxi ônì, ônìya”, ô ñyə*, qŋ já ‘mother (referential)’ D&S:284b

Ofo o’nì, oñá, qŋ já ‘mother (referential)’ D&S:328a

Proto-Tutelo–Saponi

Tutelo e’há, e’hó, tihó ~ tihá LIF, e’hè”e”, ëhè”e”, tihó ~ tihá

General comment
The problem of the third person inalienable prefix is not easily resolved. Numerous transcribers noted both *i- (usually) and *e- (sometimes) for this prefix in OVS and DH languages. The Tutelo forms are hard to interpret in that they show potential length and accent on both syllables. Tutelo e in the later transcriptions of JOD, Sapir and Frachtenberg is the consistent reflex of *ą. Hoocąk hiʔų́nį́ ‘mother’ (KM-814) probably belongs to this set as well, although we are unable to account for the loss of root-initial h.

**mother (2) (vocative)**

_noun_ social _kin_

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-rą́

Pre-Mandan *rą

Mandan ዴሱ ‘mother (vocative)’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i-ną́

Proto-Dakota ‘iną́

Lakota ind ‘mother’ RTC

Assiniboine ind PAS:659

Stoney ind PAS:659

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ṭiŋəq RR

Proto-Dhegiha ‘i-ną́

Omaha-Ponca ṭiŋəq, ṭiŋəq ‘my mother’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw ṭiŋəq ‘mother’ RR

Osage ṭiŋəq ‘mother’ RR

Quapaw ḳá ‘mother’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo hǐnd’, ṭ(h)ıpəŋq JF, ṭiŋəq, ṭiŋəq, ṭ(h)ıpəŋq H, ṭiŋəq e’, ṭ(h)ıpəŋq HW

**General comment**

Accent and length are uncertain in this reconstruction. Both Tutelo (length) and Chiwere suggest initial syllable accent, and Tutelo also suggests that the root vowel was long. Quapaw inexplicably has an oral consonant.
mountain

noun physical_spatial,mountaneous

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xé

Proto-Dakota *xé

Lakota xé ‘mountain, badlands’ RTC

Dakota ḥé , ḥxé ‘high hill, ridge of hills, mountain’ SRR:163b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk xée ‘mountain’ KM:3878 , xee ‘mountain’ KM:3882 , xexexe , xexe(xe) (> xee + xete)

Proto-Dhegiha *xéhki

Osage xéki , xéhki ‘foothills’ LF:218a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi e’kta’nihícyë , -híxe ‘hills, peaks’ D&S:191b

General comment

The Dhegiha forms are probably from Proto-Dhegiha *xé + *hkü ‘under, beneath’. Mandan óxaxare, wáxáxara — wáxáxa ‘mountain’ (H-310) may be related via ablaut in reduplication. Alternatively it may belong with Hidatsa awaxa-‘mountain’, Crow awaxaawé ‘mountain’. Chiwere ahé ‘mountain’ is listed with *híx, q.v.
mourn

verb psychic_emotion_expression

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kikhą́

Proto-Dakota *kičhą́

Lakota kičhą́ 'call on the dead' EB:299b, kicáŋ

Dakota kičáŋ, *kičhą́ 'call on the dead' SRR:277b

Proto-Dhegiha *kikhą

Omaha-Ponca gíkhą́ 'to condole with her', gıką́

Kanza/Kaw gikhą́ 'condole with sone.' RR

Osage gíkoⁿ, *kíkhą́ 'mourn, lament' LF:51a
mouse

*noun* animal rodent

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *i•tůha*

Crow *isuuka* 'mouse' RG

Hidatsa *i·tůhú* 'mouse' AWJ

**Pre-Mandan**

Mandan *wɨštik* 'mouse' RTC

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hɨthɨkə***

**Proto-Dakota *hɨthɨkə***

Lakota *hɨthɨkala* 'mouse' RTC, *i·thɨkala* 'mouse' EJ

Dakota *hɨthɨkədą* 'mouse' SRR:148

Yanktonai *hɨthɨkana* 'mouse' SRR:148

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Chiwere *hɨdəŋpe* 'mouse' GMsf

Hoocąk *wijukxe* 'rat' KM:3723, *wijukxe*

**Proto-Dhegiha *įčhǫ́ka* < *įthǫ́ka***

Omaha-Ponca *i·čhǫ́ga*, *įčhǫ́ga* 'mouse' MJS:123

Kanza/Kaw *i·čhǫ́ga* 'mouse' RR

Osage *i·čhó·ga*, *įčhóka* 'mouse' LF:75a

Quapaw *įčhɵka*, *įčhɵka* 'mouse' JOD

**General comment**

If the proto-form had *rh* Lakota should have *h* rather than *th*. On Crow -suə = Hidatsa *tahu*, cf. Thunder; Hidatsa shows rightward vowel exchange. All in all, this is not a satisfying set. Many animal names are diffused widely and this may well also have been borrowed and passed from language to language. Many animal terms had the prefix *wi*, but it is unclear whether this was one of them.
mouth

*noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ʔí•he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ɨ

Crow ɨ ‘mouth’ RG

Hidatsa ɨ ‘mouth’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ʔh ~ ɨhe ‘mouth’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ʔi(ha)

Proto-Dakota *ɨ

Lakota ɨ ‘mouth’ RTC

Dakota ɨ ‘mouth’ SRR:169b

Sioux Valley ɨ pas

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ʔɨ

Chiwere ʔɨ ‘mouth’ RTC, RR

Hoocąk ɨ ‘mouth’ KM:1625 , ɨ ‘mouth’ JWE , ʔɨ , ɨ

Proto-Dhegiha *ʔ(ɨ-ha)

Omaha-Ponca ʔ ‘mouth’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw ɨ ‘horse’s mouth’ RR , ɨha ‘mouth, top of mouth’ RR

Osage ɨ , ɨ ‘mouth’ LF:68a

Quapaw ɨha ‘mouth’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *ʔhi ~ *ʔɨh

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ʔɨh ~ *ʔɨh

Biloxi ḥh , ɨh , ɨh ‘mouth’ D&S:199b

Ofo ɨh , ɨh , ɨh ‘mouth’ JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ɨh , ɨh ‘mouth’ H , ɨh , ɨh ‘mouth’ H

General comment
Cf. ‘tooth (1), edge, point’, ‘lip’. Kanza/Kaw and Quapaw perhaps come from *ih + *ha, mouth + skin, as in the Lakota iha ‘lips’. Since this is an external body part, it presumably would have been inherently possessed and would have carried the prefix *i-. This would yield a reconstruction *iʔi-(ha) with ʔ possibly inserted to mark the boundary at some point giving *iʔ-(ha). This might account for the glottal stop that surfaces in several languages and for the long (initial) vowel in languages that typically preserve length (Tutelo, Chiwere, Hoocąk, Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan). This does not explain why a ʔ is inserted here when the more common epenthetic glide is r, however. Cf. ‘chin’.
mouth, instrumental

*instrumental prefix* physical somatic body part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ra-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ra-

Crow da- ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s bala-, 2s dal-, 3s da-]

Hidatsa rd- ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s wara-, 2s éina-, 3s rd-]

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ra- [1s waré-, 2s daré-, 3s ra-]

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ra-

Proto-Dakota *ra-

Lakota ya- ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s bła-, 2s laa-, 3s ya-] EJ

Dakota ya- ‘mouth instrumental’ [1st bda-, 2s da-, 3s ya-, sua gle-]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ra-

Chiwere ra- ‘mouth instrumental’

Hoocąk ra- ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s taa-, 2s šara-, 3s ra-], ṭa-

Proto-Dhegiha *ra-

Omaha-Ponca da- ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s bła-, 2s šná-, 3s da-]

Kanza/Kaw ya- ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s bła-, 2s ša-, 3s ya-]

Osage da- ‘mouth instrumental’

Quapaw da- ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s bía-, 2s tiá-, 3s da-]

Proto-Southeastern *ra-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ra-

Biloxi da- ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s ndá, 2s idá, 3s da-]

Ofo ta- ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s ta- ta- ta-ba, 2s ta- šita- šita, 3s ta- ta- ta- šita- šita]

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo la- ‘mouth instrumental’ [1s wala- wala, 2s yala- yala, 3s la- la-]

Proto-Catawba

Catawba rq ‘eat’, rq ~ ng ‘eating’, ya"
General comment

An inner instrumental. A Proto-Siouan-Catawba form may ultimately be reconstructible.

mucus

noun physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xrį́

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere păxringe , tphdį́rxį́ge ‘snot’ JGT:232

Proto-Dhegiha *hpa-xrį́

Omaha-Ponca paxthiŋ , ṭpaxdį́ ‘snot’ MAS:160 , ṭθxđį́ , ṭpapaxdį́ ‘semen’

Kanza/Kaw ṭpapaxį́ ‘snot’ RR , xľį́ ‘mucus’ RR

Osage paxthiŋ , ṭpapaxį́ ‘snot’ LF:126b

Quapaw ṭpapaxį́ ‘snot’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘ooze’
mud, dirt, earth

noun physical substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mą́•ha

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *mą́•ha

Chiwere mą́ha ‘earth, muddy’ RR

Hoocąk mą́ha ‘mud, be muddy’ KM, mąha

Proto-Dhegiha *mąha

Omaha-Ponca šódemą́ha ‘fog’, cùdemą́ha

Kanza/Kaw mą́há ‘land’ JOD

Osage nímoⁿhoⁿ, nį́mą́ha ‘marsh, marshy land’ LF:109a

General comment

This is one of a large number of terms apparently incorporating reflexes of *wą́ ‘earth, ground, land’. This and other composite terms may be recently derived in various subgroups.
muskrat, prairie dog (1)

noun animal, rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sįṭpe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cįhpa

Crow čihpá ‘prairie dog’ RG

Hidatsa cįhpa ‘prairie dog’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan šopkáʔ ‘groundhog, prairie dog’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *sįt-pé

Lakota sįkpé ‘muskrat’ EJ, sįkpé ‘muskrat’ RTC

Dakota sįppé, şįšîpe ‘muskrat’ SRR:435a

Stoney sųkpe [Sask.] PAS, sopte [Alta.] PAS, supte RV

General comment

A phonetically similar term is reconstructible in Algonquian which may have provided a morphologically opaque loanword. The Algonquian analogs include: Miami sakwa, Shawnee hoθaškwá ‘muskrat’; PA *waʔšaškwá Aubin:2143. A loan based on forms like this might have been reinterpreted by Dakotan speakers as a compound of sįt- ‘tail’ and phe ‘sharp’, but Stoney forms would reflect a certain lack of uniformity in the spread of the folk etymology. An Omaha form, sįsnéde wágiđe ‘muskrat’ (JOD1890:168), does not seem to be truly cognate but also refers to the animal’s long tail. Mandan *kp > pk normally, so Algonquian could still be the source, but Hollow (p. 232) analyzes the term as being derived from šop ‘whistle’. This could represent a different folk reanalysis. Crow and Hidatsa match the Lakota form. The Lakota form with aspiration definitely represents reanalysis as ‘tail’ + ‘sharp’.
name
	noun social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *yṟe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rrőši

Crow ddaší ‘name’ GG:40
Hidatsa rrőši ‘name’ AWJ, narší

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rásé ‘name’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *yṟe

Proto-Dakota čhažé

Lakota čhažé ‘name’ RTC
Dakota čažé ‘name’ SRR:97a
Stoney čhažé PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *rṟe

Chiwere rřye ‘name’ RR
Hoocąk raφ ‘name’ KM:2530, raφ

Proto-Dhegiha *̀dzhe < *i-̀dzhe:

Omaha-Ponca ̀dzhe ‘name’ RTC, l̀dzhe ‘name’ JEK
Kanza/Kaw ̀dzhe ‘name’ RR
Osage ̀dzhe ‘name’ RR
Quapaw ̀dzhe ‘name’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi yático, yatcê, yatcê, t̄yático ‘name’ D&S:288b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba yadi ‘name’ RKH

General comment
Evidence for possessive *i*- here is weaker than in the case of kin terms and body parts. Semantically it is not uncommon for name to be inalienable. Morphologically, the prefix actually occurs here only in Omaha-Ponca, where it may have been restored. Phonologically, the accented long vowel of the initial syllable suggests that a vowel has been lost to the left. The Catawba form is invitingly similar, but we cannot yet account for the Proto-Siouan *š*: Catawba d correspondence.

**narrow, small**

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kísóke*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kšukóʔš ‘it’s narrow’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk ksuksik ‘small, skinny’, ksuusikí ‘fine, narrow’ KM:1893, suaksik, suaksik

General comment

Biloxi ŋmsik, Ofo ŋkíška, and Tutelo ŋkuska, all glossed ‘little’, do not appear to be cognate.
navel

*noun physical_somatic_body_part*  
Proto-Siouan-Catawba *i-pa(t) (7)

Proto-Siouan *i-ré•tpa*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-rē̃pa*

Crow ištéhpa RG

Hidatsa rễpa ‘navel’ J , nē̃pa

Pre-Mandan *nē̃pa*

Mandan rễta ‘navel’ H:179

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i-ré•tpa*

Proto-Dakota *čhekpá*

Lakota čhekpá ‘navel’ RTC , čhekpá ‘navel, twins’ EJ

Dakota cekpaḣdoka , čhekpá ‘navel’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *rē̃twaa*

Chiwere retwa ‘navel’ LWR:24

Hoocąk reecáwa KM , reecawa(šų)

Proto-Dhegiha *rē̃tśaño*

Omaha-Ponca thē̃tašo* , thē̃tśaño F&LF:108

Kanza/Kaw yē̃tśaño ‘navel’ RR

Osage thē̃tašo* , thē̃tśaño ‘navel, umbilicus’ LF:143b

Quapaw déttašo ‘navel’ JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba hipat ‘his navel’ FS

*General comment*
The options in reconstructing *i + é•tpa > yé•tpa would leave Chiwere/Hoocąk, DH unexplained as they have reflexes of Proto-Siouan *r. The better solution *i + é•tpa > i + r + é•tpa (with *r epenthetic) accounts for all but the OVS forms (that have numerous other irregularities). Lakota typically shows ch < *y < *r following this prefix. Here *i is 3sg. inalienable possessor; the rest is 'navel'. The Biloxi/Ofo forms Biloxi ?čį́•pu, tečį́•pu (DS-329b, Ssf) may be related, but it is still uncertain how. There are several other problems with this set. Apart from the initial resonant, Crow and Hidatsa should normally inherit a long, accented vowel. The Catawba form, assuming it is cognate, suggests that the word is morphologically complex with a boundary between *-re•t- and *-pa. Any Proto-Siouan-Catawba reconstruction is always extremely tentative. This entry also shows that in DH, Proto-Siouan *tp > *pt > *ht just as *tk > *kt > *ht. In Lakota *tp > kp. Cf. also 'tongue', 'kettle'. Inherited Crow/Hidatsa e > i unless the magic of glottalization preserves it. The fact that we've got an (irregular) short e here could be explained by shortening.
near
adverb physical, spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *argv

Pre-Mandan

Mandan askar, ṭaskaʔ ‘near’ Will, -ska in: ḍeka, ṭaskaʔ ‘that’s right’ H:60

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *argv

Proto-Dakota *argv


Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *argv


Proto-Dhegiha ‘argv’

Omaha-Ponca dška ‘near’

Kanza/Kaw dška ‘near’ JOD, RR, -ska- in: dškaha, ṭ IPA ‘nearby, pretty close, closer’ JOD, RR, -ska- in: dškaxci ‘nearby, very close’ JOD, RR, -ska- in: ṭkaxdáci ‘time, a very short space of’

Osage ṭška, ṭška ‘near, close by, short distance’ LF:14b

Quapaw argv ‘near’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *argv

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo argv

Biloxi deka, atkdaya’, dikxati, ṭdška ‘close by, near’ D&S:174b

Ofo aškπ, ṭaškπ ‘near’ D&S:320a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ṭska, ṭasak HH

General comment
Tutelo lacks the expected č perhaps due to MVS influence.

However, there are several sets in which Tutelo shows s instead of č as the reflex of *š, cf. ‘neck (2), side of neck (?)’, ‘nine’. Ofo appears to have metathesized *šk. Most Siouanists have analyzed the initial d- as locative.

**neck (1), nape**

*noun* physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-htá•-hu*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow ḭú‘u ‘back of neck’ RG

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ḭáhuyu ‘neck’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hta•hu*

Proto-Dakota *tahú*

Lakota *tahú* ‘back of neck’ RTC

Dakota *tahú* ‘back of the neck’ SRR:453a

Proto-Dhegiha *htáhú*

Omaha-Ponca *tai, ḯtai ‘nappe’* MJS:125

Kanza/Kaw *tāhú* ‘neck’ RR

Osage *hāhú* ‘nappe’ RR

Quapaw *atăttā ‘neck’* JOD, RR

**General comment**


If indeed ‘neck (2), side of neck (?)’ shares this root, then the *-hu is segmentable, with the possible meaning of ‘bone’, q.v.
neck (2), side of neck (?)

*noun physical_somatic_body_part*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-htá•-še*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thздраве*

Chiwere thздраве ‘neck, throat’ RR

Hoocąk čaаше ‘neck (n.), body part’ KM:144 , caаше

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo таше , тасе ‘neck’ HH

**General comment**

Cf. ‘neck (1), nape’ which shares *hta•. Tutelo, having lost Poss3 *i- has length on the new second syllable.

This is another set in which Proto-Siouan *š* apparently becomes Tutelo s rather than the expected č.
neck (3)
noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ą́•pe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *á•pE

Crow dapa ‘neck, fore’ GG:2, dape ‘neck’ RGG:89a

Hidatsa ḏ̣pa ‘neck’ J, (m)apiu, ḏ̣piru ‘back of the neck’ HWM

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *waną́pʔį

Proto-Dakota *waną́pʔį

Lakota waną́pʔį ‘necklace’ RTC

Dakota waną́pʔį, ḏ̣waną́pʔį ‘medal, necklace, anything worn around the neck’ SRR:522b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *waną́pʔį

Chiwere waną́pʔį ‘necklace’ JDH

Hoocąk waną́pʔį ‘necklace’ KM:3396, waną́pʔį

Proto-Dhegiha *waną́pʔį

Omaha-Ponca waną́pʔį ‘necklace’ RR

Kanza/Kaw waną́pʔį ‘necklace’ RR

Osage waną́pʔį, ḏ̣waną́pʔį ‘necklace’ LF:197b

Quapaw waną́pʔį ‘necklace’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi oʔp̣ń, ḏ̣p̣ń ‘necklace’ D&S:178a, oʔp̣ń, ḏ̣p̣ń ‘necklace’ D&S:176b

General comment

Cf. ‘wear around the neck’, ‘neck (3)’ in Proto-Mississipi-Valley and Biloxi the root for ‘neck (3)’ is preserved only in a fossilized form with meaning ‘necklace’, q.v.
necklace

noun physical_artefact_dress_jewelry

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa(-r-)pe-ʔį́*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *dpeʔe*

Crow *dapi* 'necklace' RG

Hidatsa *dpeʔe* 'necklace' J, *dpeʔe*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan *warpiŋįʔ* 'necklace' RTC, *ripįrįre* 'necklace, collar' H:150

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *waną́pʔį́*

Proto-Dakota *waną́pʔį́*

Lakota *waną́pʔį́* 'necklace' RTC

Dakota *wānpiŋ* , *wāną́pʔį́* 'medal, necklace, anything worn around the neck' SRR:522b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *waną́pʔį́*

Chiwere *waną́pʔį́* 'necklace' JDH

Hoocąk *waną́pʔį́* 'necklace' KM:3396 , *waną́pʔį́*

Proto-Dhegiha *waną́pʔį́*

Omaha-Ponca *waną́pʔį́* 'necklace' RR

Kanza/Kaw *waną́pʔį́* 'necklace' RR

Osage *wānpiŋ* , *wānį́pʔį́* 'necklace' LF:197b

Quapaw *waną́pʔį́* 'necklace' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *a⁷pDİ́ , ŋapis* 'necklace' D&S:178a , *a⁷pDİ́ , ŋapis* 'necklace' D&S:176b

General comment
This term is polymorphemic and appears to refer to 'sth. worn around the neck': *wa-*‘indef. obj.’; *ą•pe-*‘neck (3)’; *ʔį•(he) ‘wear’. The last two morphemes form a compound meaning ‘wear around the neck’, q.v. The n < *r between *wa- and *ą•pe- is the expected epenthetic glide that breaks up vowel clusters. The 3s and citation form of wear is *ʔį, but Biloxi appears to have lost *ʔ and replaced it with the reflex of another epenthetic r from one of the conjugated non-3s forms of the verb. This phenomenon is found elsewhere, and in Chiwere and Hoocąk analogical forms combining both r and *ʔ even yield synchronic tʔ. So morphemically the Proto-Siouan form is most likely *wa(-r-)ą•pe-ʔį. The expected Hoocąk and Chiwere long ą• appears in ‘wear around the neck’. The Mandan form is included because of its phonetic similarity, but it is probably not cognate: it appears to derive from *ra-, possibly referring to the head, plus the root prį• ‘to hang something up’.

negative (1), dubitative

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ku

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-kū-

Chiwere š-kū-ąį ‘not’ RR

Hoocąk š-gų́-nį ‘weak dubitative’, šgųnį, gųnį

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ku- ‘part of many negative sentences’

General comment

Cf. ‘negative (2)’, ‘negative (3)’. *ku is clearly a correlative, similar to Tutelo ki- (HH:28,30), and Hoocąk ke- cf. Lk.. These various correlative prefixes are functionally the same, but derive historically from various sources, presumably deictics or demonstratives which have come to mark off clauses.

Hoocąk/Chiwere forms are clearly segmentable historically. Cf. Dakota š-ni neg, Biloxi bipartite negative and the DH sibilant negative. Hoocąk nasalization is probably a product of long association with -nį Assiniboine/Stoney show similar aberrant nasalization in the semantically related šį Lack of attestation in most languages makes it unclear the extent to which *ku was associated with negation.
negative (2)

**enclitic n/a**

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *aši

Pre-Mandan

Mandan -xį– -rį– 'negative' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ašE

Proto-Dakota *-šE

Lakota -š 'adversative' RTC, -šį– 'negative' RTC

Assiniboine -dí– 'negative'

Stoney -dí– 'negative'

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ži

Chiwere ž– [ž- in the compound š-ku-žį neg] RR

Hoocąk -žį 'at least; focus marker' WL, -žį 'weak dubitative (neg 1)', šgų́-nį, šgųnį, gunį

Proto-Dhegiha *aži

Omaha-Ponca ažį ‘neg.’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw aži ‘neg.’ RR

Osage aži ‘neg.’ RR

Quapaw aži ‘neg.’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi atcf , ṭači ‘oh, no!’ D&S:174b

**General comment**
Biloxi maintains this root as an independent interjection. In DH aži usually functions as a conjugated negative auxiliary. Mandan, Lakota, Dakota and Chiwere/Hoocąk have reanalyzed (resegmented) the initial a- of the enclitic as a verb stem-final ablauted vowel. This morpheme has undergone additional reduction like most of the negative morphology in several of the subgroups. Mandan shows the x fricative symbolism grade. In Mandan the negative has two allomorphs, -xį after vowels, and -rįx after consonants. The first of these is a reflex (in the x-grade) of Proto-Siouan *aši the second is a complex of Proto-Siouan *-rį 'negative (3)' and *aši. Lakota also combines ‘adversative’ -š- (Boas and Deloria’s term), the local reflex of *aši, with -ni the reflex of ‘negative (3)’, to form the most common Dakotan negative. Assiniboine and Stoney nasalization is probably a product of long association with *-rį cf. Lakota and Dakota šni ‘negative’; the nasalization is found nowhere else in Siouan. However, although ‘adversative’ requires the -a ending of a preceding verb stem, the general negative requires the -e ending. This leads some Siouanists to suspect that -š ‘adversative’ and the initial š- of the general negative have different etymologies. Cf. *emphatic, contrastive, but*. 
negative (3)

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ry

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *har < *ry-thar < *ry-ry-thar

Crow -səən 'not' GG

Hidatsa -thar 'not' J

Pre-Mandan *ry-

Mandan -xi- ~ -rhy- 'negative' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *nj

Proto-Dakota *nj

Lakota -ni 'negative (narrow scope)' RTC, -šni 'negative (clausal scope)' RTC

Dakota tâkuni, t-ni 'nothing' SRR:455b, -šni, t-šni 'adverb of negation; no, not' SRR:447a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *nj

Chiwere t-nj škúñiy 'negative' RR

Hoocąk -nj, t-nj šgūñiy 'negative' RR

Proto-Southeastern *nj

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ni

Biloxi ni 'negative' PFE:86

Ofo ni 'not' D&S:326b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo k-š-na ~ -ni 'negative' GO

General comment

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *har is the adverbializer.
nephew (1), male’s sister’s son

*noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-htų́•-

Pre-Mandan *-tųhq-

Mandan kotųhąka ‘female’s sister’s child’ H:258

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *i-htų́•ška

Proto-Dakota *tuŋšká

Lakota tuŋšká ‘nephew male speaker, sister’s son; Oglala also for brother’s son’ RTC , tuŋšká EJ

Dakota toŋšká , ṭuŋšká ‘nephew, male speaker’ SBR:478

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk čų́ųšge , hičųšgé ‘grandson, nephew’ [< mother’s brother] KM:833 , čųșge , hicųșge

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw itnįška ~ ittįška ‘nephew, cousin, son of female’s brother or female’s sister’ JOD

General comment

*i-htų́•- may have been Proto-Siouan, but with a distribution only in Mandan and MVS this is hard to prove. The sibilant present in the MVS forms may well represent an analogical development based on ‘nephew (2), female’s brother’s son’.
nephew (2), female's brother's son

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-htó•S- (?)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *i-htó•ška

Proto-Dakota *thošká

Lakota thošká ‘nephew, both male and female speaker’ RTC, thošká EJ

Dakota tošká, *thošká [female speaker] SRR:478

Assiniboine thošká ‘female’s sister’s son’ [Sak.] PAS

Stoney thošká ‘female’s brother’s son’ PAS:674

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere hí-thóškémį ‘niece’ RR

Otoe hįthó•ške ‘nephew (male speaking)’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha *ihtóška

Omaha-Ponca ítška RR

Kanza/Kaw iččóška ‘man’s sister’s son; his or hers’ RR

Osage thcóška ‘nephew’ RR, hcošką́ ‘vocative’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *itoska- — *itoski (?)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi nǔ́ksíki, nǔksíkiya’, *ńúksíki ‘male’s sister’s son, etc.’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo etoskañ’, ħetoskañ-”

General comment

DH affrication may be conditioned by a combination of the preceding i- and the following š. Cf. *ihtóšpa. The only other instances of such affrication preceding a non-front vowel in Kanza/Kaw/Osage involve (other?) diminutives, e.g., ‘some, short’. This term, like many other kin terms, is polymorphemic. Inalienable possession accounts for *i- and the root seems reconstructible to Proto-Siouan, but OVS disagrees on the sibilant and on aspiration, and Biloxi on the ending generally, making reconstruction of this lexeme insecure outside of MVS. It seems likely that there has been considerable analogical restructuring throughout the developments in the kinship systems.
new (1)

verb time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rą́•-ka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hi-rá•-ka

Crow hilda ‘just now’ RG, hilaakd ‘new’ RG, ddaka ‘offspring’ GG:40, RGG:22

Hidatsa hirá• ‘new, recent, fresh’ AWJ, rą•ka, na•ka ‘the young of sth.’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rą•-kaʔš ‘it’s new’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo náksha, nákasə, ṃənáksə ‘young, fresh’ D&S:326b
new (2)

verb time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hté•ka

Proto-Dakota *théča

Lakota théča ‘new’ RTC

Dakota téća ‘new’ SRR:465b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thé•ke

Chiwere čhé•ge ‘new, clean’ RR

Hoocąk čēk ‘the first, the beginning’ KM:188, ceeł ‘at first’ KM:185, čéegoja, ceekeja (> ceeł + eeja)

Proto-Dhegiha *hté•ka

Omaha-Ponca tté•ga ‘new’ RR

Kanza/Kaw ččéga ‘new’ RR

Osage tséga, thćeka ‘recently, anew, early, new’ LF:158b

Quapaw tté•ka ‘new’ JOD
niece (1), male’s sister’s daughter

* * *

General comment

Quapaw and Dakota preserve both ‘niece’ terms. Shaw notes no nasalization in the Saskatchewan Assiniboine form. J RTC has noted that speaker differences in ‘nephew’ and ‘niece’ involve nasalization. I would only add that nasalization correlates with same sex: ‘woman’s niece, man’s nephew.’ Only MVS has a male, female speaker distinction.

RR: ‘i-hą́p’ may have been Proto-Siouan, but with a distribution only in Mandan and MVS this is hard to prove. The sibilant present in the MVS forms may well represent an analogical development based on ‘nephew, female speaker?, sister’s son (1)’.

JEK The morpheme żą in the MVS forms is from Proto-Siouan *yį́kə − “yį́kE ‘daughter’. DH hį́ may be by analogy with DH *ų́hį́pro (?) ‘woman’s elder brother’. The Mandan term also occurs in ‘nephew (1), male’s sister’s son’.
niece (2), female’s brother’s daughter

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *i-hó•šq < *i-htó•šq JEK

Proto-Dakota *thažá

Lakota thažá ‘female’s brother’s daughter’ EJ

Proto-Hooccak-Chiwere

Chiwere hỳrù•škemj ‘niece, Otoe male speaking’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha *htó•ške, *íhtó•ške

Kanza/Kaw kó•šáegge ‘niece, woman’s brother’s girl’ RR

Osage ítú•žo•ge, ċító•šáge LF:81a

Quapaw ittó•šáke ‘niece, woman’s elder brother’s daughter’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *ito-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tásə̨́ki, tásuŋkya, ṭuŋkayi ‘his elder sister’s daughter’ D&S:282a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo eτoʊlák, ṭetosjk ‘his sister’s daughter’ HW

General comment

This is yet another term that does not really seem to be reconstructible outside of MVS. The OVS forms seem clearly to involve compounding with a similar but non-corresponding second root. The second root, žąke ~ žą, in the MVS forms is from Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ižą́ke ‘daughter’.

The root, tó•š, evidently loses its sibilant in compounding. The Biloxi form appears to be an exact parallel, though the forms are not cognate. The form means something like ‘junior female member of an i-htáš lineage’. N.B. Quapaw and Dakota preserve both ‘niece’ terms. Only MVS has the male-female speaker distinction?
nine

noun abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kšą́hka (?)

Proto-Hoocą́k-Chiwere

Chiwere źą́khe ‘nine’ RR, ḧą́khe ‘nine’ RTC

Proto-Dhegiha *šą́hka

Omaha-Ponca šą́kka ‘nine’ RR, šő́kka ‘nine’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw šį́kka ‘nine’ RR

Osage šą́kka ‘nine, archaic, card game’ RR

Quapaw šą́kka ‘nine’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *kišą́•hka (?)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tekáné’, źę́kán ‘nine’ D&S:265

Ofo kiš'ą́•hsa, źę́ todaśka ‘nine’, kičťą́cga, źę́ todaśka ‘nine’ D&S:325b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tça; są, są́ň, ksą̑ńk, ksą̑ńkai, kasankai, ksą́ńkai, źę́kisą́•hkarai ‘nine’ N, HH, ksą̑ńk, źę́kisą́•hkarai ‘nine’ HH, ksą̑ńk, źę́kisą́•hkarai ‘nine’ D&S:325b, kse’k, źę́kisą́•hkarai ‘nine’ LIF, kisę́g, kisę́n, źę́kisą́•hkarai ‘two’ LIF

General comment

The recorded Chiwere forms imply different underlying sibilants. Proto-Siouan *ş
none, be/have, lack

verb abstract_amount

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-į́kE

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wįkóʔš ‘none, have none’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *rįkE

Proto-Dakota *nįkA

Lakota wannA ‘there are none’ RTC, EJ, nįżA ‘to be destitute of, have none of’

Dakota nįčA ‘be destitute of, have none of’ SRR:340b

Stoney nįža pas

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *nį́ke

Chiwere nį́je – nį́ge ‘none, be without’ RR

Missouria ning ga, níng g’, nega, neeg’, ṭį́nį́ge ‘blind’ L&C

Hoocąk -nį́ľ ‘blind’ KM:1090, hišjara nį́k

Proto-Dhegiha *rįke

Omaha-Ponca -đįgé ‘be none’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw -yįge ‘be nothing’ RR

Osage ṭį́įge, ṭį́jįke ‘have none, nothing’ LF:148a

Quapaw nį́ľ ‘have none’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *nį́ki

Biloxi nį́ki, nāki, ṭį́nį́ki ‘be without, have none’ D&S:236b

Ofo aʔonį́ki, ṭ-nį́ki ‘blind’ D&S:323a, abdihe ṭį́ńį́ki , ṭ-nį́ki ‘I have no dress’ D&S:324b

General comment

The DH forms show varying consonant nasalization and accent that are not regular. Biloxi and Ofo in turn lack any indication of vowel nasalization that should have been reinforced by a preceding n (we might have expected Biloxi *nį́ńį́ki). So there are some interesting irregularities here that may have something indirectly to do with the Mandan initial. We suspect that the *r here is one of those inserted to break up clusters of vowels, in this case, a late pronominal prefix vowel and a root-initial *i. What we are suggesting is that *wį, *rį́ 1sg, 2s patient were separate clitics, not prefixes, in Proto-Siouan (and there is much independent evidence to support this analysis). We suppose the Mandan w could come from wą absolutive with collapse of V1V1.
nose (2), end, point, tip (2)
noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hpasú*

Pre-Mandan
Mandan pèoxu ‘nose’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpasú*

Proto-Dakota *phansú*
Lakota phású ‘nose, beak’ RTC
Dakota pasú ‘nose, snout, beak’ SRR:413b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
Chiwere pháθu ‘nose’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha *hpasú*

Omaha-Ponca hopsí ‘gar’ MJS:84, hupáçi çnedɛ
Kanza/Kaw ppsá ‘tip, point, corner’ RR
Osage paçî, ḥпасí ‘point, top of tree’ LF:124a
Quapaw hó ppósi stéte ‘gar’ RR, mazéppasí ‘nipples (of breast)’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *pasú•*

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
Biloxi (?) psohé‘ having corners or angles’ D&S:248a, ó psahedí ‘corner fish’ D&S:248a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Tutelo pasúyè, pasúi, ḥpasu‘ ‘head’ N
Saponi posse, ḥpasí ‘head’ f

Proto-Catawba
Catawba hípšúʔ ‘his nose’ FS, daŋšúʔ ‘my nose’ MAS, KS:166

General comment
Cf. ‘head, nose (1), front end’. This shows an old compound of *ahpá ‘head, nose’ and *sú• ‘kernel, seed’. Mandan has altered the fricative grade. The Catawba form may go with ‘nose (3), nostril’, q.v. Note that, in this compounded form, ‘head’ does not show the initial vowel which it displays in the simplex.

Interestingly there is also no trace of (inalienable) possessive morphology with this body part term.

nose (3), nostril

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere  ‘phų́-

Chiwere phų́xa ‘nose’ RTC, phų́glaje ‘nostril’ GMSf

Hoocąk pųšopox, pųšopox ‘nostrils; holes-in-nose’ MM:364, pųšje hopox

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw ppąkd dét ‘palate, roof of mouth’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi putco*, pårću*, pctő*, pće*, ṭṟućo ‘nose’ D&S:248

Ofo apî́ntcu, ṭărču ‘nose’ D&S:321a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ṭıpšąʔ ‘his nose’ FS

General comment

This form shows a pervasive nasalization, and differences in fricative grade. Aspiration of the initial consonant is to be expected, but is missing in Ofo. If, as JOD’s transcription suggests, Quapaw conflates Proto-Siouan *ṭ and *q, the above Quapaw form may fit here. All in all, however, this is a very insecure set due to differences in vowel quality and nasalization. This is also one of several places in which Catawba and either Ofo, Biloxi or both, (Ofo and Catawba in this instance) coincide in ways that would seem to be beyond coincidence. We believe that contact and borrowing have played a role, although given the historical locations of the Biloxi, Ofo and Catawba, it is hard to see just how. Because the sound correspondences between Siouan and Catawban are so poorly understood, the Catawba entry is listed under two distinct ‘nose’ terms. Cf. also Yuchi tə̨pʔi ‘nose’ (LB).
**now**

*adverb time*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *rḥą*

**Proto-Dakota** *hą*

Lakota *lehą́ ‘next’* EJ, *lehą́yą́ ‘(used in story telling)’* EJ

Dakota *dehą́ ‘now, thus far’* SRR:107b

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Hoocąk *jaǰą́ną́ ‘when’* KM:1673, *jaǰą́ną́

**Proto-Dhegiha** *į́thą́*

Omaha-Ponca *i’chu’*, *į́thą́ ‘now’* MJS:127, *į́thą́, į́thą́ JOD

Osage *į́chą́ ‘modern, new’* LF:78a, *į́co*

Quapaw *į́cho’* JOD

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi *naxáxa, naxáx , ʰnaxáxa ‘just now’* D&S:231b

**General comment**

The MVS cluster *rḥ is virtually always secondary as far as we can tell, and the normal syncope of the initial, short unaccented syllable in that subgroup would yield the correct sequence, *rVhą́ > *rḥą́.*
nudge
verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rihe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *kirhe

Crow alachilee ‘push with the foot’ RG, diauchilee ‘nudge’ RG, ddachilee ‘draw, attract toward’ RG, pdachilee ‘push’ RG

Hidatsa arakiria ‘push with foot’ AWJ, nükiria ‘pull on rein and make horse turn, steer’ AWJ, pkiria ‘push away’ AWJ

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ŋį

Proto-Dakota *-ni

Lakota épąni ‘to nudge someone, to get his attention’ EJ, wópaniŋ ‘nudge, give a signal or sign’ EJ, paníni ‘push or jog with the elbow or hand; to wake out of sleep by jogging’ EJ, napi ‘touch or jog with the foot, rouse up’ EJ, wunu ‘shake in cutting, as jelly; cut off; to rip’ EJ, yunu ‘touch one, so as to call his attention to sth.’ EJ

Dakota yunu ‘touch one, so as to call his attention to sth.’ SRR:633a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk nį kere ‘to fondle (handle?), baby-talk, sweet-talk’ MM:347, njikere
oak (1)
noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *htaška hu

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thǝ́ške hu

Chiwere thǝ́šku 'burr oak' GMsf

Hoocąk čaašgégu 'oak' KM:146 , caašgegu

Proto-Dhegiha *htaška hu

Omaha-Ponca tǝ́ška hi ‘white oak’ RTC , tǝ́ška MRG , tashka

Kanza/Kaw tǝ́ška hu ‘burr oak’ RR , tǝ́shká ‘hog acorns; acorns of burr oak’

Osage tǝ́ška hi , tǝ́sha hu ‘buckeye, white oak’ LF:138b , tǝ́shká čkiue , tǝ́shká skiwe ‘sweet acorn’ LF:138b

Quapaw tǝ́shká hi ‘burr oak’ JOD , tǝ́shká ‘acorn’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *ta•Ska hu• (?)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tǝ́xk-ǝ́ ‘oak’ D&S:261b , tǝ́xkudí , tǝ́txkudí , tǝ́xk-ǝ́ D&S:261b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tǝ́skahǝ́i , tǝ́skahǝ́i , tǝ́skahǝ́-hi ‘oak’ HH, N

General comment

Cf. ‘basket’, ‘tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk’. This may be a southeastern Sprachbund form. Two possible etymologies: 1. ‘acorn + tree’ 2. ‘basket + tree’. The Biloxi word may be an independent borrowing. Only Kanza/Kaw and Osage have the meaning ‘acorn’ with this root, perhaps from a folk etymology? The wide usage of white oak splints for basketry in the southeast makes the second etymology plausible: note Catawba wǝ́tká ‘white oak’, Seneca -(h/-)wǝ́tk(a) ‘basketry splint’.

The oak term appears to have been widely borrowed, so the fact that Tutelo has s instead of š or č may simply indicate that the word is a loan. There are a number of other instances in the data in which Tutelo appears to have s for Proto-Siouan š however. Compare these other strongly resemblant southeastern forms: Yuchi yʔǝ́ntʔaškǝ́ ‘post oak’ Crawford; Creek tcoska ‘white oak’ JRS; Alabama tǝ́sha ‘post oak’ JRS; Hitchiti tǝ́ski ‘white oak’ JRS; Tunica tǝ́shki ‘oak’ MRH.
oak (2)
noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ú•te-hu

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ú•tehu

Proto-Dakota *útahu

Lakota útahu, títahu ‘oak tree’ EB:508b, útahu caŋ, títahu čhą ‘burr oak’ EB:508b

Dakota útahu ‘oak tree’ SRR:487a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere báthugajje ‘burr oak’ GMsf, bút hu ‘oak’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ú-ti(-hu)

Biloxi tcúdăxkuki, tčučăxkuki [Q. nigra] D&S:261b, utí, tčutí ‘mast, acorns’ D&S:283a, údli, tčidi ‘oak’ D&S:261b

Ofo ū´tšu, tči ‘oak’ D&S:331b, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘oak (1)’, ‘acorn’, ‘base, root, stump’. Here the evident meaning is ‘acorn tree’, though this is an irregular set. The Biloxi and Ofo forms look as though they may have been influenced by western Muskogean terms for chestnut: Choctaw oti, uti ‘chestnut’ (By:307b). Obviously this term has been widely borrowed from some unidentified ancient source and may not be SI at all.

oak (3)

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *

Pre-Mandan

Mandan itáhu ‘oak’ RH:95

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *ithá-hu

Lakota itháhu ‘black oak’ RTC

Dakota unthú ‘black oak’ SRR:487b

General comment
Cf. ‘oak (2)’. This term, apparently restricted to Proto-Dakota and Mandan, has no transparent meaning for the first root, although it is clearly a compound with ‘hu ‘tree’.

**offering**

spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *wo-pəšE

Mandan wópaše ‘offering to corn’ H:225

**General comment**

This is an extremely small sample on which to base a reconstruction, however the fricative correspondence seems to indicate that the Mandan term is a cognate, not a borrowing from Hidatsa. The aspiration status of *p here is unknown and Hidatsa hC normally implies an old obstruent cluster or geminate s. It appears that locatives o- ‘in, locative’ and a- ‘on, locative’ may both have been possible with this term.
old

time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xʔó•he

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xʔo•h-

Proto-Dakota

Lakota xʔokhá ‘sing with the drum, a singer’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk xʔoóke ‘adult of parent type, no sex distinction’ JWE, x’ooke ‘parent’ MM, x’oke, x’oke

Proto-Dhegiha ‘waʔó

Omaha-Ponca waʔó ‘woman’ RR

Kanza/Kaw wakʔó ‘woman’ RR

Osage wakʔó ‘woman’ RR

Quapaw waχʔó ‘woman’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *xó•hi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *xohí

Biloxi xohí, txohí ‘old’ D&S:222a

Ofo shohí, txohí ‘old’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo hoakai, hōhka, thOHhka ‘old’ HH:41

General comment

The Dakota form is of doubtful cognacy; cf. DH xokká ‘sing’ without ʔ. This is one of several roots (cf. ???) in which Ofo shows ʔ as the regular correspondent of *xʔ. Whatever glottalization represented, it seems to have separate reflexes from ordinary consonants in Ofo. Although DH has xokká ‘sing’ without ʔ, the Dakota and DH forms may be partially cognate via fricative symbolism.
old, Ancient of - (Suffix)

suffix time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-ŋ

Proto-Dakota

Stoney ʔ̥izʔgawı́nu 'old man' PAS

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw wexʔéng 'old woman' SRR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi skákanę́ 'Ancient of Possums' D&S:230b

General comment

This is probably a contraction of (or root from) *rą- old, mature. Apparently always unstressed, -ŋ would represent a grammaticalization whatever its source.
old man

noun person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *įšʔá•ke

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *įšʔdr(-ke)

Proto-Dakota

Stoney ḳįʔagwį́ná ‘old man’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *įšʔőke

Chiwere τʔá•ge ‘old, elderly, aged’ RR

Otoe šőge JGT

Hoocąk gítâu ‘to respect’ KM:403 , gít’uk ‘be old, parent’ KM:2890 , ʔőak , ʔ‘aak

Proto-Dhegiha *įšʔőke

 Omaha-Ponca ıšʔáge ‘old man’ JOD , ıʔ'age ‘elder’ MJS:67 , ıʔ’age

Kanza/Kaw cʔágehį́ŋa ‘tribal elder’ RR

Osage ḳʔáge , ḳʔáge ‘little old man, sister-in-law’s father’ LF:80b

Quapaw ʔəɗę́h ‘elder, an old man’ JOD , ʔəɗę́h ‘aged’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi hayasáhi i’tcyá , ṭʔcyá ‘old Indian man’ D&S:203b , i’tcyá , ṭʔcyá ‘old’ D&S:203b , i’tcyá , ṭʔcyá ‘old man’ D&S:203b , ha’yé ḳ’cyá txa , ṭʔcyá ‘the ancients’ D&S:203b
old, mature
time
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *rų́•
Proto-Mississipi-Valley
Proto-Dakota *-nų́-
   Lakota wináxča 'man’s mother-in-law, old woman' RTC
   Yanktonai wınóȟča, ṭwínóxča 'old woman' SRR:577a
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
   Chiwere nú, nú, ṭnúj 'grow up, be growing' JGT:51, náŋyeği, ṭnáŋyeği 'adults, after they are grown up' JGT:51
Proto-Dhegiha
   Osage náŋq, ṭnáŋq 'older person' LF:114b
   Quapaw náŋq 'old, grown up, mature' JOD
Proto-Southeastern *nǫ́-n-
Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
   Biloxi noxtí, ṭnọxtí 'the eldest' D&S:238a
Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
   Tutelo enō'oq, ṭinōx 'his elder sister' HW, mino'ong, ṭinōx 'my elder sister' JOD, HW
old, mysterious (?)

time

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xʔihe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa xʔihe ‘old’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan xihọš ‘he’s old’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *xš < *xih

Biloxi xi, xidl’, txidi ‘chief’ D&S:221a

Ofo shihs’, ṣihs ‘holy (?)’ [cf. nóʔpi shihs ‘Sunday’] D&S:329a

General comment

Cf. ‘old’ *xʔo, also ‘wrinkle (1), ruffle’, ‘wrinkle (2)’. The Ofo may be a compound of ših < *xih and *ʔų ‘do, make’; h in this instance, then, could be interpreted as either the Ofo reflex of *ʔ (as it is in Biloxi) or of the h that appears in Mandan. This is a questionable set at best because of its lack of semantic cohesion and because of lack of proper matches among the post vocalic laryngeals.

Unfortunately, this latter problem is not uncommon in this lexicon.
one (1)

numeral abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *rų-

Proto-Siouan *rų-sa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow hawdá ‘one’ RG

Hidatsa nwáca, nwáca ‘one’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw ṣaxį ‘once, one time’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *nų-sa

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *nǫ́sa

Biloxi ǫx-ša, ǫx-da, ṣxua ‘one’ D&S:257b

Ofo nû-fha, nû-fhá, ṣnôfhá ‘one’ D&S:327a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo nòxį, nòxų, nòxša, ṣnòxša, ṣnòxšd, etc. ‘one’ N, HH:20, blįs, ṣnòxša, ṣnòxšd, etc. ‘two (sic)’ ES:296; ṣnòxša, ṣnòxšd, etc. ‘one’ ES:296, no’s, ṣnòxša, ṣnòxšd, etc. LJF:16

Proto-Catawba

Catawba nàpè, dàpè ‘one’ KS:171, FGS

Woccon tómm ‘one’ JL, soone noponne ‘one ten’ JL

General comment

Hidatsa nwáca probably includes the -ca ‘all of’ suffix.

However, this analysis is not transparent to speakers. In both Crow and Hidatsa, one appears to be related to some Crow hawd; Hidatsa nwád. In connection with this, cf. the similarity of Catawba dàpè ‘one’, dàpè ‘something’ (Voorhis). We seem to have evidence for an ancient association between the numeral and the indefinite. Perhaps Crow and Hidatsa (and perhaps Catawba) are not really cognate here, but reflect an old process.

Alternatively, Crow may have replaced the cognate portion of the root. Biloxi initial s- is presumably due to assimilation at a distance, but it is not regular. Cf. ‘collective suffix’.
one (2)

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *wą-

Lakota wąži, wąči ‘one’ RTC, EJ

Dakota wąži, wąča PAS

Sioux Valley wąži, wąča PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *i(•)žą-khi

Chiwere Ḣyą́khi RR

Hoocąk hišą ~ hišąkíra KM:1133 , hišą ~ hišąkíra

Proto-Dhegiha *wį-xti

Omaha-Ponca wį ‘one’ RTC , wįxti RR , wįaxči RR

Kanza/Kaw mįčči ‘one’ RR , mįtxč ‘once, one time’ JOD

Osage wįxči ‘one’ RR , wį’txtsc-ọ , ńwį’txč-ọ ‘once’

Quapaw mįčči ‘one’ RR , mįaxči ‘one’ RR

General comment

There are numerous problems with this set, and, although a fair amount of reconstruction is possible within subgroups, matches are only very partial among them. This set represents the replacement term for ‘one’ in the MVS languages. It coincides with the indefinite article in the respective subgroups, but usually shows some sort of augment. Cf. also ‘quantifier (2)’.
one of a pair, another

abstract

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ųmą

Proto-Dakota *ųmá

Lakota ųmá ‘one of a pair, the other’ EJ

Dakota uy’má , ṭį’ma ‘the one, the other’ SRR:486

Proto-Dhegiha *ǫmą

Omaha-Ponca ámá ‘other’

Kanza/Kaw ǫmá ‘other one’ RR

Osage o*’mo’ , ṭį’mò ‘one of two things’ LF:122a

Quapaw ʔmá ‘other’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kiyówowo , ṭkiyówowo ‘other, another’ D&S:287a
onion

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šį́•

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pšį́• < *w-šį́•

Proto-Dakota

Lakota pšį ‘onion’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šį̊p

Chiwere špx̱įje ‘onion’ RR

Hoocąk šį̊pų ‘onion’ KM:2965, šį̊gop

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw škä ‘onion’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ūšktćiⁿ sayí, ū-čį́ ‘onions’ D&S:284b

General comment

The Lakota form suggests a Proto-Siouan reconstruction *wa-šį́•.
on, locative

locative prefix physical, spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *á•-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *á•-

Crow á•-

Hidatsa a(a)k- [saw]}

Pre-Mandan

Mandan d- ‘locative’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *a-

Proto-Dakota *a-

Lakota a- ‘locative on’ [EJ]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *a-

Chiwere a-

Hoocąk (h)a-, ha-

Proto-Dhegiha *á•-

Omaha-Ponca d-

Kanza/Kaw d-

Osage d-

Quapaw d-

Proto-Southeastern *a-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *a-

Biloxi a-

Ofo d-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo a-’

General comment
This locative prefix is accented or long in enough subgroups to make us believe that it was probably accented in Proto-Siouan. It appears to be quite productive except in the far North, but its analogical syntactic adjustments vis-à-vis the actor pronouns have obscured the original accentual patterns. This prefix precedes actor pronouns except in Mandan and MVS languages. In Crow it is non-productive; in Crow/Hidatsa the actor pronouns metathesize to VC form before it. It is also non-productive in Mandan, where it acts like a preverb.

**ooze**

verb physical_somatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xřpE*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wuxřwe ‘mash’ JGT:88

Hoocąk ruxrip ‘squeeze sth. soft, like mud, so it oozes through fingers’ KM:2720 , ruxrip

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw dixdixwe ‘dip hand into sth.’ RR , dixdixdixwe ‘make sticky from handling’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘lick’. This is derived from *xri ‘squeeze (9)’ with the common -pE root extension.

**open**

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ru-šé-

Pre-Mandan *séʔ-

Mandan sěʔroʔ3 ‘it fell apart’ H:204 , raseʔr ‘open with the foot’ H:204 , raseʔr ‘open sth.’ H:204 , kaseʔr ‘knock down, cut down’ H:204 , paseʔr ‘push sth. over’ H:204

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere rušé ‘open sth.’ JGT:62

Otoe rušé ‘open sth.’ JGT:62

General comment
Chiwere also has the \( xé \sim γé \) fricative grade with the meaning ‘open sth. thin or light’ (JGT92-196). If this followed the general Siouan pattern, it should have a long vowel in those languages that preserve length. Neither the addition of a \( ? \) in Mandan nor its loss in Chiwere is regular.

open > break open

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-paSE

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kapas ‘to cut sth. open’ H:137, kapásaʔ ‘it fell apart’ RTC, rapas ‘to kick open’ H:137, rapas ‘to break open’ H:137

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dupaxí, *-paxí [used by men and boys; eyéwi dupaxí GL open a door] D&S:243, dupaxkaʔ ‘to open a door (used by females)’ D&S:243

open up

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xotE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xutE


Hidatsa àruxutE ‘have shoes all worn out; disembowel with feet’ AWJ, nàxutE (ra) ‘disembowel by teeth’ AWJ, ardxutE ‘explode’ AWJ, haxútE ‘cut open with knife’ AWJ, naxxtútE (rka) ‘break it by dropping, open sth. sealed (e.g. a can)’ AWJ, puxutE ‘bust open sack’ AWJ, nuxxtE ‘disembowel by hand; open up a package’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan puxótoʔš ‘it hatches’ H:322, nuxótoʔš ‘he unties it’ H:322
order > control

verb social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šī

Pre-Mandan

Mandan aʔši 'he hires, gives orders to' RH:205

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ši — *ži

Proto-Dakota *-ši

Lakota -ši 'tell to, command to' RTC

Stoney -ši 'command'

Sioux Valley -ši PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wayį́ 'command' GMsf

Hoocąk ši 'tell someone to do sth.' KM:2945, ši

Proto-Dhegiha *ákaži

Omaha-Ponca ágazi 'dictate, command, order' RR

Kanza/Kaw ágazi 'order' RR

Osage ágazi, ákazi 'dictate, command, order' LF:9a

Quapaw ákazi 'command' JOD

General comment

If this set is really cognate throughout, it is one of the few in which there is any actual variation between voiced and voiceless fricatives within MVS, cf. 'price, wages'. These are probably two derivations from a single root.
General comment

Cf. ‘brave (2)’. This may have been a Proto-Mississipi-Valley clan name; Ponca, Kanza/Kaw and Osage have Osage clans, and Lakota has an Osage band. The Hoocąk and first Chiwere words suggest *wara(i)že or *wayáše rather than the otherwise obvious proto-MVS *wažáže. There would be no reason for Chiwere/Hoocąk to have this form unless it were a relic; Proto-Dakota probably borrowed the DH term. JOD claims this term is/was connected with snakes, q.v. It has been borrowed outside of Siouan, cf., among others, Tunica wð̓aše ‘cry of a captive’ MRH; Yuchi wð̓aláha Osage (LB).
other, distant

Particle Physical_Spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-kq

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -kq in: toká, tokháł ‘in another place, elsewhere; another way, another; as another person’ EB:495b, -kq- in: tokáł ‘in another place away from; opposed to sakib’ EB:241, -kq- in: tokáłtaháq ‘from another source, place or person’ EB:495b, -kq- in: tokályq ‘having ref. to another place’ EB:495b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere


Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo


General comment

This is not a secure set. The Lakota and Chiwere forms should be compared with ‘beyond > other, across (1)’, ‘beyond > other, across (2)’ and perhaps also with ‘long, extended in time or space > distant, then’.

Otoe

noun Social_Nation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *watókta

Chiwere wátóhta, twathóhta (archaic) LWR:64, wadóhda, twathóhta JGT:196

Hoocąk wajokjaja ‘Otoe Indian’ KM:3330, wajokjaja

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca wothúta, ṭwathótta ‘Otoe’ MJS:130

Kanza/Kaw wadótatta ‘Otoe’ RR, wadóttaq ‘Otoe’ RR

General comment
Probably a loanword. The Hoocąk and Lakota/Dakota clusters do not match. If one is to be reconstructed, it should be the stop cluster ‘kt, cf. DH tt, not xt (which would have remained in DH). We would suggest that the Dakota form has been contaminated by the other term for Otoe, Kanza/Kaw wažóx̱a, Osage wažóx̱a, etc., which has x. Omaha-Ponca should have d in place of š, so there is indeed quite a bit of borrowing evident here, even though it is not always possible to discover the direction.

\n
\section*{otter}

\textit{noun} \textit{animal, mammal}

\section*{Proto-Siouan-Catawba}

\section*{Proto-Siouan}

\section*{Proto-Mississippi-Valley ‘Rošt̓n̓-ke (?)}

\section*{Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ‘Rošną́ke}

\textit{Chiwere dostáŋe} , †\textit{dostáñe} ‘\textit{otter}’ JGT:196 , \textit{dostáŋye} , †\textit{dostáñe} ‘\textit{otter}’ JGT:196

\textit{Hoocąk toošą́ŋk} ‘\textit{otter}’ KM:3137 , toošą́ŋk

\section*{Proto-Dhegiha ‘Rošt̓-ke}

\textit{Omaha-Ponca \textit{nužho”}, †\textit{nošŋ} ‘\textit{otter}’ F&LF:104

\textit{Kanza/Kaw dohṉe} – \textit{tohṉe} ‘\textit{otter}’

\textit{Osage ţohṉe’}, †\textit{hošt̓ṉke} ‘\textit{otter}’ LF:155a

\textit{Quapaw tošt̓ṉk} ‘\textit{otter}’ RR

\section*{Proto-Southeastern ‘mo-šrųke}

\section*{Proto-Biloxi-Ofo}

\textit{Biloxi xanaxka} , †\textit{xanaxka} ‘\textit{otter}’

\textit{Ofo o’fnaťa} , †\textit{ofnutka} ‘\textit{mouse}’

\section*{Proto-Tutelo-Saponi}

\textit{Tutelo munaxka} , †\textit{munaxka} ‘\textit{beaver}’

\textit{Saponi Mosnukhe} F

\section*{Proto-Catawba}

\textit{Woccon chaunoc} JL

\section*{General comment}
Cf. Tunica húhki (MRH); Mohawk onuckote ‘weasel’ Bonvillain; Tuscarora chaunoc ‘otter’ (Lawson). The -nu/ahk- root turns up for various kinds of (mostly) Mustelidae all over eastern NA, probably via diffusion. The Kanza/Kaw π variant and the listed Osage form may represent a conflation of *ptq- with *-Ro•šrą́ke. Cf. the non-cognate Lakota ptq ‘otter’ (EB:664a). Cf. ‘beaver’.

outside

adverb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *tq-

Proto-Siouan *hṭq-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa atšli ‘outside’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hṭkE

Proto-Dakota

Lakota thąqk̲a ‘outdoors’ EB:479b, taŋ̲k̲a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thąq̲k̲e

Chiwere thąg̲lida ‘outdoors’ GMsf, tąng̲ı ‘out/out of doors’ JGT:3785

Hoocąk čąąk ‘outdoors’ KM:175, čąąk ‘outside’ KM:172, čąąg̲eja ‘outside the house’ KM:175, čąąkoja, -čąk in ččąčk̲, čąąk

Proto-Catawba

Catawba tq ‘outside’ KS:173
owl (1), moth

*noun animal bird*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(wa-)ąhpó•ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa 'pó•ka (?)

Crow pó•pahta ‘owl’ GG:53

Hidatsa apó•ka ‘butterfly’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wąpákokoka ‘butterfly’ RH:270, pǝ-šóko•kka ‘butterfly’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *(wa-)hpó•ka (?)

Proto-Dakota

Lakota pǝ pó•ká ‘screech owl’ EB:445a, pǝ pó•ká

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ‘phó-

Chiwere phóxliįñe ‘screech owl’ GMsf

Hoocąk hąąpók ‘owl’ KM:768, hąąpok ‘moth’ KM:767, hąąpôgįk, hąąpok, hąąpokįk

Proto-Dhegiha *wahpǫ́ka*

Omaha-Ponca wągahahada, ṭwappóga ‘barred owl’ LF:105, F

Kanza/Kaw wąpóga ‘small owl’ RR, giyį wąpóga ‘owl moth’ JOD

Osage wąpóga, ṭwahpóka ‘gray owl’ LF:198b

Quapaw wąpópóka ‘Bogey Man’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ąphó-

Biloxi poddë́, pódadi, poći, pà’di, ṭpodadi ‘swamp owl’ D&S:247a

Ofo aphó, ṭaphó ‘owl’ D&S:321a, aphó nagé, a’phónąkį, ṭaphónąkį ‘screech owl’ D&S:321a

General comment
Hidatsa regularly changes aku to o before k- in the prefix aku-. Should the same rule have operated here, Hidatsa apoka would reflect earlier *apakuka. Since at least some Proto-Siouan short o's rise to Hidatsa u, *apakuku might reflect an even earlier *apakoka. Compare the Mandan form. On the other hand, Hidatsa closely resembles Hoocąk, and a simpler explanation of both Crow and Hidatsa would postulate an earlier *po-ka with Crow irregularly assimilating the k to the preceding p and adding a suffix (meaning unknown). The extension to ‘butterfly’ is through ‘moth’, q.v. The Lakota may be an old loan, as it should show aspiration. It is similar to Ofo naph’ika ‘butterfly’. This term has widespread look-alikes in unrelated languages. Chickasaw, for example, has (h)o(•)pa ‘short-eared owl; a kind of large moth’ with the same semantic breadth encompassing both ‘owl’ and ‘moth’ (Munro 1988:256), and there are cognates in other Muskogean languages. The word has obvious sound symbolic connections in the case of ‘owl’ and has pretty clearly undergone a certain amount of diffusion and remodeling. The ‘moth’ terms are typically derived from ‘owl’ by means of a diminutive suffix.

owl (2)

noun animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hįrhą

Proto-Dakota *hįhą

Lakota hįhą ‘owl’ RTC

Stoney hįhą PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ‘hįta’ (?)

Chiwere hįda ‘owl’ JGT

Hoocąk hįhąha ‘short-eared owl’ KM:1144, hįhąhą ‘duck species?; great horned owl?’, hį́dą , hį́ja

Proto-Dhegiha *į́thą

Omaha-Ponca iⁿ´chuⁿçuⁿ, †į́čhǫ ‘snowy owl’ F&LF:105

Kanza/Kaw iñha ‘owl’ RR

Osage òhą ~ òha ‘owl’ RR

Quapaw òhą ‘owl, nighthawk’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi txiti’mi hayí , txiti’mi hayí ‘horned owl’ D&S:277a

General comment
Loss of DH $h$- is unexpected. *Hoocąk* $ßįį$ją́ exists but seems related to $įį$ją́ 'goose'. It refers to a species of duck (wood duck?), v. (KM:1145,3661). Wood ducks nest in holes in trees.

Homonymy between ‘owl’ and ‘wood duck’ may have forced replacement of the ‘owl’ word. ‘Short eared owl’ would have to be a borrowing from Dakotan where $\mathbf{rh} > h$. The *Biloxi* term may be related, but we have so few OVS sets to match the DH aspirates that the potential correspondences are not well understood yet. The accentual pattern suggests that there was an initial syllable that has been lost.

**P**

**Paddle, swim**

*verb physical motion*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *wąhi ~ *wąyi

Proto-Siouan *i-wą́he*

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *iwą*

Proto-Dakota *niwą̊*

Lakota $nuwą̊$ , $tnuwą́'swim'$ EB:365b

Dakota $niwą$ SRR:341 , $niwą́$

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *i-wą̊*

Chiwere bačhimą́ ‘paddle a boat’ GMsf

*Hoocąk* $nįį$wą́ ‘paddle’ KM:2355 , $nįį$wą

Proto-Dhegiha *nį-į́wą*

Omaha-Ponca $nįwą$ , $tįwą́'swim'$ , $niw owa$ , $tįni ową́'swim'$ MJS:167

Kanza/Kaw $ńįma$ ~ $ńįmą́ 'swim' , $niu woⁿ$ , $ńį ową́ 'swim' MJS:167

Osage *nįmoⁿ* , $tŋįmą́ 'swim' LF:109a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *imahį́*

Biloxi *imahį́* , *imahį́ 'paddle' D&S:199b

Ofo $máţí 'paddle'$ D&S:326b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *yamo* ‘boat’ PV:113

**General comment**
The Chiwere term baje 'boat' provides the clues for proper segmentation of the other cognates. The Omaha-Ponca term contains locative o- and refers to paddling 'in', i.e., inside, nį́ 'the water'. This set shows incomplete nasalization of *w to m in MVS and should probably be considered a recent derivation for that reason. It is possible that the nasalization may originate with water, q.v., but note that Dakotan forms have nį́ rather than the expected mnį́. The Catawba ye- is probably 'water'.

P

Padouca

noun social_nation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha ḥpáʔokka

Omaha-Ponca pdduʔka, ḥpáʔokka 'Comanche' F&LF:102
Kanza/Kaw pddokka 'Comanches or Paducah Indians' JOD
Osage pdd̠ʔka, ḥpáʔokka 'Comanche Tribe' LF:125a

General comment

This set may well be made up entirely of loanwords. Padouca was a name used by Prairie groups to refer to more than one tribe of High Plains people (mostly Apachean and Comanche) to their west and southwest. Nothing is reconstructible except perhaps at the lowest subgroup level. Hoocąk vowels do not match those in DH for example.
past (suffix or post clitic)

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan -rq < *ʔų (?)

Proto-Mississippi-Valley -rq < *ʔų

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere -nq 'it is' GMsf

Proto-Dhegiha -rq < *ʔų

Omaha-Ponca ʔq 'up to now, heretofore, past'

Kanza/Kaw -na JOD

Osage no, ŋṃq 'does' LF:112a

Quapaw -na 'past action; imperfective \quso JOD; RR'

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi naxó, ŋṃq 'sign of past time' D&S:232a, ndiŋi, ŋṃq- 'a sign of past action (?)' D&S:234b, nani, naŋi, ŋṃq- 'can, might' D&S:232a

General comment

Care must be taken here to exclude particles which are homophones, e.g.

in some languages the ŋṃq 'habitual' loses its fricative. Some of these forms are derived from *ʔų 'do', as in Quapaw ŋq is conjugated mŋ, ŋq, ŋq. The initial n of the citation form would be the epenthetic glide, r, in a nasal environment. This explains 2nd and 3rd person homophony in Quapaw. In Omaha ʔq cooccurs with ŋṃq 'habitual', so the situation there appears to parallel Quapaw grammatically.
Pawnee, Arikara

noun social_nation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hpá•-rį (?)

Proto-Dakota

Lakota phaláni ‘Pawnee, Arikara’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk paanį ‘Pawnee’ KM:2429, paanį

Proto-Dhegiha *hpárį

Omaha-Ponca p̣á̄thiⁿ’, ñp̣á̄thiⁿ’ ‘Pawnee’ F&LF:102

Kansa/Kaw p̣á̄dyį ‘Pawnee’ RR

Osage p̣á̄thiⁿ’, ñp̣á̄thiⁿ’ ‘Pawnee’ LF:126a

General comment

This ethnonym presumably diffused throughout MVS as there is no reason to believe that Proto-Mississipi-Valley speakers were in contact with Caddoans, which archaeologists identify with sites in Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas before their movements northward.
paw the earth

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *mąndye ~ *mq inaye
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thamį́nąɣe

Chiwere tamínaxemodha, ʔthamį́nexemąda ‘September’ WW
Hoocąk čaa-mą́įnąɣowíra ‘October’ KM:128, caa mqą́ híną́g̕ọ́-wií = ra
Proto-Dhegiha *mąndye
Omaha-Ponca ma’no’xa ike, ṭmaŋqai ḭe F&LF:111
Kanza/Kaw mąndyabe ‘(when the deer) are in rut’ RR
Osage ma’no’xa-bí, ṭmaŋqaypi ‘June’

General comment

Cf. ‘earth, ground, land’, ‘foot, instrumental’, ‘bury’. These examples are mostly taken from the names of months when the deer, buffalo, etc. are in rut, so most forms are 3rd singular verbs. In Chiwere, Omaha-Ponca and Osage x is most likely really ů, as most workers have missed this distinction. A pseudo-Proto-Siouan form could be reconstructed, since the constituent morphemes of this compound are individually reconstructible, but the lexeme appears for the moment to be restricted to MVS. In this compound: *wą ‘earth, ground, land’ *raq ‘foot, instrumental’, *xe ‘bury’.

Cf. ‘chase’.
peek

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sʔį́•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *c饬िं

Crow datchich’é ‘peek’ GG:3, chîidee ‘to scout’ GG:37
Hidatsa økciši ‘peek’ AWJ, c饬िं ‘scout’ AWJ

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *o-(ka)-sʔį

Proto-Dakota *o-kd-sʔį

Lakota éyokasʔį ‘peek in, look in by stealth’ EB:146, okásʔį ‘look into’ EB:385, wásʔį ‘covet’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sʔį

Chiwere ôtxiiN, ôθʔį ‘peeping’ JGT:199
Hoocąk heišį ‘look in while passing by; peek in’ KM:1324, heišį

Proto-Dhegiha ‘okásʔį

Omaha-Ponca ugorT, ṭogásʔį ‘(she) peeped’
Kanza/Kaw ogdcʔį ‘look in upon, as through a window’ RR
Osage u-gd-ts’T, ṭokdcʔį ‘peep into’ LF:168b
Quapaw okásʔį ‘peep, peek at’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dkidâkdyé, ṭ-dak-sd-ye ‘peeping through a crack’ D&S:216b
peel (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-sku(he)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-sku

Proto-Dakota *-sku

Lakota kaskú ‘peel off (e.g. bark with an ax)’ EB:289, waskú ‘pare or shave off (as the skin of a potato or apple and as flesh from a hide)’ EB:549, yuskú ‘bite off or peel off with the teeth’ EB:627, yuskú ‘peel off the skin with the hand; pare’ EB:649, hdnaskusku ‘crack and peel off as the skin of potatoes do by boiling’ EB:165

Dakota kaskú ‘to peel off, as bark with an axe; blaze’ SRR:266

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wathgu ‘shell off (corn)’ JGT:86, wahgu

Otoe gθkú• ‘break off, break loose’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi díkkuhi´, díkkuhi ‘to shell’ D&S:221b, aye kídíkkuhi•, díkkuhi ‘to shell corn’
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

peel (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šku

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-šku

Crow dášku ‘draw out by mouth, suck out’ RG , dáškú ‘cut’ RG , pőšku , pőškú

Hidatsa nášku ‘open by mouth or teeth’ AWJ , nášku ‘knock out of place’ AWJ , nášku ‘open (by hand?)’ AWJ , pőšku ‘pry out, open by force, pushing; dislodge, break free, break out’ AWJ , araškú ‘open by feet, dislodge, break loose’ AWJ

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-šku

Proto-Dakota *-šku

Lakota hípašku ‘pick the teeth’ EB:178 , kaškú ‘scrape off, as scales from a fish, corn from a cob’ EB:291 , waškú ‘cut off (e.g. corn from the cob)’ EB:552 , yuškú ‘shell off (e.g. corn with the hand)’ EB:652

Dakota yuškú ‘to shell off, as corn with the hands’ SRR:642a , yuškú

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-šku

Chiwere wasgú ‘shell off (corn)’ JGT:85 , wašgu

Hoocąk gišgú ‘clear off’ KM:411 , gišgú ‘to shell (corn, anything with kernels)’ KM:3484 , wašgú , wašgu

General comment

The š forms appear to refer to the removal of particulate matter, scales, kernels, pieces, etc. rather than peel per se.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

peel (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-sápE

Pre-Mandan

Mandan šápoʔ ‘it’s chipped’ H:224, kašáp ‘to chip sth.’ H:224, rušáp ‘to peel tripe’ H:224

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hírúzp ‘take a thin layer off’ KM:1070, hírúzap

Proto-Dhegiha *zaza

Omaha-Ponca hegázaza ‘Split Horns’ [proper name]

Kanza/Kaw bázásabe ‘cut to slivers with a knife’ RR, bazásabe ‘push apart, into slivers’ RR, gádzásabe ‘beat a stick into slivers’ RR, yazázabe ‘chew into slivers’ JOD, yuzázabe ‘twist to pieces yuzazabe’ RR

Quapaw bazázatte ‘cut, stab to shreds’ RR

General comment

Cf. "peel (4) > skin", "peel (5) > skin". These verbs certainly appear to be cognate, but there is still no really clear principled way to derive the modern forms with the voiced fricatives given that we also reconstruct one of the roots for ‘black’, *sápE and this root, *-sápE with the same shape. The only major difference is the fact that this root typically takes an instrumental prefix; the fricative is voiced whether or not the root is reduplicated. Quapaw has a different root extension from that appearing in Mandan and Kanza/Kaw. Omaha-Ponca shows the unextended (but reduplicated) root.
peel (4) > skin

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šá-pE

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rusápoʔš 'he peels it' RH:199, patap 'to peel, slice' H:244, rutap 'to peel' H:244

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-žape

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk ružáp 'strip' [i 'mouth'] KM:4001, ružap 'be open-mouthed' KM:4001, ůšáp 'shine, v.tr.; slip, slide, v.intr.' KM:4001, ůšáp 'go beyond, go all the way through' KM:4001, gišáp 'slip, v.intr.' KM:4001, gižáp 'slip, v.intr.' KM:4001, hibotšáp, hibotšap, niqšáp, niqšap, wažáp, wažap

Proto-Dhegiha *-žape

Omaha-Ponca tjábe, ŧdižábe JOD

Kanza/Kaw bážábe 'skin, pare, strip bark from' RR, bažábe 'peel, whittle bark off' RR, yižábe 'peel sth.' RR

Osage thizábe, ŧdišábe 'peel bark off' LF:152a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tcútcapi 'slippery' D&S:267a, tûtcápí 'slippery' D&S:267a, tūtcápíxtyê 'make very slippery' D&S:267a

General comment

Cf. 'peel (3)', 'peel (5) > skin'. Quapaw díšáke 'peel, pull open' (JOD) is only partially cognate; the root matches, but the root extension is different.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

peel (5) > skin verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xapE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-xapE

Crow duxapí 'peel off, tear down' RG, pídxapí 'break, tear' RGG

Hidatsa ráxapí 'peel, husk, open' AWJ, náxaxapí 'peel by axe or fist' AWJ, náxapíE 'peel by hand, husk, uncover, skin' AWJ, aráxapí 'peel (e.g. bark off with feet)' AWJ, náxapíE 'peel by teeth' AWJ, pídxapíE 'peel with stick' AWJ

Pre-Mandan *-xap-

Mandan ruxdpóš 'he peeled it' RTC, kaxdpóš 'he peeled it' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-yapE

Proto-Dakota *-yapA

Lakota yapápa 'skin sth.' RTC, kypópa 'cut, spread open by cutting, to spread open' EB:272, kajópa 'strip off the skin with the foot' EB:342, nayápa 'push off with the hand (e.g. the skin of an animal)' EB:423, náyópa 'bite off (e.g. the skin or bark from anything)' EB:618, payápa 'skin animals, be in the habit of taking off skins' EB:556, payópa, yayópa, yángópa, wayúpapu, wayáguapu

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-yápe

Chiwere nuxáwe 'skin' RR

Hoocąk náyap 'to skin' KM:479, náyap 'turn up earth with shovel' KM:3262, wáyáp 'scorched in places' KM:3047, wáyap, tayóyap, tayógápap

Proto-Dhegiha *-yápe

Omaha-Ponca wádíyabé 'sacred bag', wáéxábe

Kanza/Kaw báýábe 'skin' JOD, báxábe 'skin' RR, MR, yáýábe 'skin, flay' RR, wááyábe 'sacred bag'

Osage thixábe, tóýábe 'to flay, strip off the skin' LF:151a

Proto-Southeastern *-xá•pi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi duxa•pi, duxápi, duhúapí, ḏuxapí 'skin, pull off' D&S:223a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo qa•pi, ṭáxápi 'bark'

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

'peel (3)', 'peel (4) > skin', 'peel (6)', 'husk, pull off (1), flay' shows this same root minus the -pe root extension. The Kanza/Kaw forms with γ are probably correct. Tutelo shows vowel length, but reconstruction of it is not supported by Proto-Crow-Hidatsa, Pre-Mandan, or Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere. Perhaps cf. the Tutelo form (a noun) and the Crow/Hidatsa words for 'thin', listed under 'flat (3)' q.v. Cf. also 'hide, skin, cloth'.

peel (6)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *raka-xipE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *raka-xipE

Crow Daxxípi 'to skin' RG

Hidatsa NaaxxípE 'to skin' AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kaxípoʔš 'he skins it' RH:315, kašípoʔš 'he skinned it' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota kážípa 'shave with a knife or drawing-knife, plane' EB:279

Dakota kázípa, ṭkážípa 'shave w. a knife, plane' SRR:274b

General comment

Cf. 'peel (5) > skin'.

679 of 1128
pelican
animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wrēye

Proto-Dakota *wrēya

Lakota błęha , ʔbléya ‘loon’ EB:669b

Dakota mdéga , ḥmdéya ‘pelican’ SRR:312b

Proto-Dhegiha *brēye

Omaha-Ponca bthexe , ʔbðeɣe ‘pelican’ MAS:213

Quapaw bdéya ‘pelican’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘loon’. The disagreement in final vowels between Omaha-Ponca and Quapaw is unexpected.
penis

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-yé

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *i-ré

Crow iré 'penis' GG:87
Hidatsa irí 'penis' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan re 'penis' RH:175

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ye

Proto-Dakota *če
Lakota čhé 'penis' RTC
Dakota čhe 'penis' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ré•

Chiwere re 'penis' RR
Hoocąk rée 'penis' KM:2590 , ree

Proto-Dhegiha *žé

Omaha-Ponca žé 'penis' RTC
Kanza/Kaw žé 'penis' RR
Quapaw žé 'penis' RR
permit

verb social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *i-hó + causative

Proto-Dakota *iyó + causative

Lakota iyōwįkhiyA ‘permit, allow’ EB:261a, EJ , iyōkišši ‘forbid’ EB:258b

Dakota iyōwįkhiyA ‘permit’ SRR:238a , iyōwįkhiyA

Proto-Dakota *iyó + causative

Lakota iyōwįkhiyA ‘permit, allow’ EB:261a, EJ , iyōkišši ‘forbid’ EB:258b

Dakota iyōwįkhiyA ‘permit’ SRR:238a , iyōwįkhiyA

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ihó

Chiwere iwó- ‘allow, let’ GMsf , ith- ‘allow, let’ GMsf

Hoocąk hihó, híi ‘ask permission’ KM:867 , hího híi

Proto-Dhegiha *í-hó

Omaha-Ponca wahu the , wahoðe ‘permission’ MJS:136

Osage íhuthabi , íhoðapi ‘From-whom-permission-is-obtained (personal name)’ LF:73a

Quapaw ñoðe ‘ask, consult’ JOD

General comment

Proto-Dakota *y and Chiwere w are epenthetic following loss of Proto-Mississipi-Valley *h.
persimmon

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *sta(r)įke

Kanza/Kaw stęįge ‘persimmon’ RR, stęįge ‘persimmon’ RR

Osage stąįįke ‘persimmon’ JOD, čťąįįge, čťųįįke ‘persimmon preserving’ LP:32b

Quapaw stąŋįke ‘persimmon’ RR, stąŋįhi ‘persimmon tree’ JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi stįiŋkí, stįiŋki ‘plum’ D&S:258a

General comment

The DH doublets and Biloxi suggest that MVS -r- may be epenthetic and the original construction *sta + įke (with neither portion of the compound identified semantically). The Otoe analog must have been borrowed after *s > θ and *š variably > s in that language. The numerous irregularities and geographic distribution of this term suggest that it diffused across the more southerly Siouan languages from an original compounding in one of them or from some unrelated and, as yet, unidentified language. The chronology of borrowing and sound change in Otoe suggest that movement was from South to North at a relatively late period. This probably corresponds to the time when the Otoes moved southwest and encountered DH speakers.

pick fruit

Verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ru-wē

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk ruwė ‘pick/snap (e.g. corn off stalk )’ KM:2758, ruwe

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw diwė ‘pick fruit, berries, etc.’ RR
pierce

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xlōkE

Proto-Dakota *xlōkA

Lakota waxlōkA ‘shoot or punch a hole, by shooting to make a hole’ EB:598, yuxlōkA ‘bite a hole in, to bite open, to gnaw.’ EB:620, yuxlōkA ‘make a hole, using the hand’ EB:638, waxlōkA ‘cut a hole in anything with a knife’ EB:519, naxlōkA ‘make or wear a hole with the foot; as by walking’ EB:345, apaxlōkA ‘pierce or make a hole in, on anything’ EB:88, wakdxlōkA ‘make a hole in’ EB:524

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wxróge ‘pierce hole in with sth. sharp’ JGT:200

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw baxlége ‘pierce, impale, hold w. a fork’ RR, baxlége ‘pierce by pressing w. a pointed object’ RR, gaxlége ‘holes, make in an object’ RR, naxlége ‘wear a hole in moccasins’ RR, yuxlége ‘bite a hole in sth.’ RR, yuxlége ‘pinch, grasp in the claws’ RR
pinch (1)

physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-skápE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-ckapE

Crow dáchkapi ‘squeeze, clamp with teeth’ RG, dáchkapí ‘pinch, bind’ RG, alachkapi ‘walk stealthily, cautiously’ RG, alashkapí ‘step on’ RG, dáchkapí ‘press, squeeze, hold’ RG

Hidatsa níckapE ‘pinch’ AWJ, píckapE ‘press with stick to hurt’ AWJ, arackápE ‘pinch with toes, walk along edge’ AWJ, nackápE: ‘pinch with teeth, nibble, gnaw’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan *-škap-

Mandan ruškáp ‘to pinch someone’ H:230, ruškop ‘to pinch between the toes’ H:230, ruškop ‘to nibble on’ H:230, waškap ‘to prick, pin sth.’ H:230, wiwaškap ‘a fork (eating utensil)’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *skápe

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere withgáwe, †wiθkáwe ‘press, bear down on sth.’ JGT:205

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo tífkopi ‘to pinch’ D&S:331a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo lutckep, ţlučkep ‘to twist, wring’ HW

General comment

Cf. *hit* ka s.p where we are dealing with a homonymous set. The Tutelo form looks like a contamination. It looks as though we have mixed fricative grades in Crow and Tutelo. The Ofo vowel is unexplained and the form looks generally non-cognate. In Tutelo final stops are aspirated where a final vowel was lost.
pinch (2)

verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-wįS

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kawįšoʔš ‘it hurts’ RH:293

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

pine tree

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *Wá•si

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wá•ci

Crow báčii ‘pine tree’ RG

Hidatsa wá•hci ‘pine tree’ AWJ, má•hci

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Wí•zi

Proto-Dakota *wa•zi

Lakota wa•zi ‘pine’ RTC

Dakota wa•zi ‘pine’ SRR:563a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Wá•zi

Chiwere báðí ‘cedar’ RR, bdí ‘cedar’ RR, bdí ‘cedar’ JGT:118, bdí

Hoocąk waazi ‘pine tree’ KM:3232, waazi

Proto-Dhegiha *Wá•zi(-hü)

Omaha-Ponca méré ‘cedar, pine’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw báṣqíhú ‘pine’ RR

Osage páṣq ‘spruce or pine’ LF:19b, báçó

Quapaw páṣq ‘pine’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *wá•si(-hü)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi a’sadí, a’sádlí, a’ṣu, ṣu ‘pine’ D&S:178a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wásti, wástí, wáste, ṭwásti ‘pine’ HH

General comment
The first syllable is strikingly long in Omaha. The second vowel of Quapaw, Osage and Kanza/Kaw is unexplained, as are the q of Biloxi, t of Tutelo, and the hc cluster of Hidatsa, Osage s may be a mistranscription by JOD, or it may somehow be related to the cluster found in Hidatsa, Osage has been normalized with ñ but may follow Quapaw, Omaha-Ponca mēsči may be from earlier *mēsq hi, i.e., its unique (for DH) final i may be a reflex of *hi ‘tree’. Biloxi ñ – ñ is a reflex of *hu ‘tree, stalk’. Tutelo t- appears to be intrusive; cf. ‘black (1)’. Length on the final vowel in Tutelo is unexplained. If the various problems with the putative cognates can be resolved, a Proto-Siouan reconstruction with initial absolutive *wa- is likely, as *W normally evolves from a geminate ww that has undergone verschärfung: **wa-wá•si > **w-wá•si > *Wá•si. This scenario would at once account for W-, accent and length. It is not out of the question for the prefix to have been applied only within MVS however, since direct evidence for *W is wanting outside this subgroup. H-WM explains ‘pine’ as ‘yellow wood’, no doubt a folk etymology but an instructive one.

Cf. ‘red (1a)’ for Hidatsa híxci ‘pink’ with preaspiration matching that in ‘pine tree’. Cf. also ‘yellow’ and ‘yellow > tawny’ for a discussion of h augmented color terms and an association between ‘yellow’ and ‘pink’. If there were an augmented ‘yellow’ in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa (whether folk etymology or not), then we might propose alternate reductions: *wéšihi > wéšii in Crow vs.

play (1)

verb social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *warʃxE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wVrda-

Crow aláxshi ‘tease; tickle’ SFS, GG

Hidatsa wírdxatihkE ‘play’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wiʃx ‘to play’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ani•xi

Biloxi ánx, dáxcy , tániixi ‘play’ D&S:173b, antxyd , tánxii ‘play ball’ D&S:173

Ofo antiši , tániixi ‘play’ D&S:321a, JSS , tániisi , tii•nisi ‘make fun of, joke, play with’ D&S:325, JSS

General comment

Biloxi and Ofo lose initial labial resonants, ‘w- and ‘m- while the northern languages lose the vowel via regular syncope and retain the labial. There are numerous other examples of this, e.g., ‘water’.

Unfortunately the vowel is wrong in the putative Crow/Hidatsa cognates, so we are left with many uncertainties.
play (2)

verb social

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šká•tE

Proto-Dakota *šká•tE

Lakota šká•tE 'play' RTC
Dakota šká•tE 'play' PAS
Sioux Valley šká•tE 'play' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šká•te

Chiwere šká•te 'play' RR
Hoocąk šgáač 'play' KM:2936, šgouc

Proto-Dhegiha *šká•te

Omaha-Ponca šká•te 'play' RR
Kanza/Kaw šká•te 'play' RR
Osage šká•te 'play, sport' LF:132a
Quapaw šká•te 'play' RR

General comment

‘play (1)’ is found in Mandan and Proto-Southeastern; ‘play (2)’ is found only in MVS.

This is an excellent example of the periphery effect, with a central replacement.
plum

noun plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *aką́te

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa wó-kata, mó-kata ‘plum’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wó-kta ‘wild plums’ RTC, katék ‘chokecherries’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hką́tE

Proto-Dakota

Lakota khą́ta ‘plums’ RTC

Dakota ka’tε, ḥką́tε ‘prunus americana’ , kaŋ’-ta , ḥką́ta ‘plums’ SRR:260b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *khą́te

Chiwere khą́je ‘plum’ RR

Hoocąk kąǝč ‘plum’ KM:1760 , kąqq

Proto-Dhegiha *hką́te

Omaha-Ponca kąǝče ‘plum’ RR

Kanza/Kaw kąǝče ‘plum’ RR

Osage hą́č ‘plum’ RR

Quapaw kąáče ‘plum’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo aků̂ ’t, aků̂ ’γ, aků́ʾγ , ḥakůʔi ‘peach, plum’ D&S:320a

General comment
In Mandan (a) nasalization is wanting and (b) vowel syncope in medial syllables seems irregular. The former suggests the word is a borrowing from Hidatsa. The final vowel in Hidatsa and Mandan is unexpected as is the Dakotan variation, but cf. ‘wing (1)’, ‘ball’, ‘fire’. Ofo, interestingly, lacks aspiration here even though the k begins a second, stressed syllable and Swanton transcribed it several times. The length and accentual patterns in Mandan, Crow and Hidatsa might explain the apparent irregularity in Ofo in terms of a post-Proto-Siouan accent shift, but this is suspicious because the Ofo aspiration rule was synchronically active quite late. Post-Proto-Siouan accent shift could also explain the lack of length of the accented vowels in DH and Chiwere (Hoocak lengthens all monosyllables) however, but if this is the case, terms like ‘plum’ will force us to interpret vowel length as distinctive in Proto-Siouan. Biloxi tkã’ná, tokondá ‘peach, apple’ (DS:276b) is clearly either borrowed from, or contaminated by, a phonetically similar form found in slightly different shapes in a variety of southeastern languages, cf.

Choctaw tãkkondó: ‘plum’; tãkkon ‘peach’ (RR) (also Chickasaw and Alibamu); Tunica tēkhêhlă (stem for several fruits) (MRH); Shawnee t̪ikana ‘plum’ (Pentland).

plural

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-(a)pi ~ *-(a)pe

Proto-Dakota *-pi

Lakota -pi

Dakota -pi

Proto-Dhegiha *-(a)pi ~ *-(a)pe

Omaha-Ponca -(a)bi

Kanza/Kaw -(a)be

Quapaw -(a)we

General comment

This marker of plurality in predicates can refer to either agent or patient if both are animate. In DH languages it also apparently marks 3 sg. non-continuative verb forms. The presence of initial *(a)- is controversial, since it would be identical with the “ablaute” *(a)- of many verb forms. The analysis depends on diachronic segmentation, which may not be agreed upon. Crow dāppaa ‘with’ (GG-63), Hidatsa aapí ‘with’ may shed some additional light on developments here. Crow reflects ţāp-haa, where the second morpheme is the common adverbializer. Cf. also Lakota ob ‘with, together with’ (C), Lakota obtu ‘with (more than one)’ (B-367b).
point at

verb social, communication, gesture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sohe

Pre-Mandan

Mandan šōhoʔš 'it's pointed' H:231, šōhe 'be pointed' H:232

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-zo

Proto-Dakota

Lakota épazo 'point at' EJ, pazó 'show' EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-zo

Chiwere -dó 'point with long object' GMsf, wilaño 'pointer'

Hoocąk hogítóso 'line' KM:3991, hogítóso

Proto-Dhegiha *dó-zo

Omaha-Ponca ḏbaçu, ḏbazo 'point at'

Kanza/Kaw ḏbazo 'point at' RR

Osage ḏbaçu, ḏpazo 'indicate, point at' LF:5a

Quapaw ḏbazo 'point at' JOD, ḏkazo 'write, draw' RR, ḏzd 'feel, palpate' RR
pole(s), lodge

* noun physical Artefact: part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ht$h$u

Proto-Dakota

Lakota thaś$h$u 'tent poles that cross at top; cross pole when tent is square' EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *tha$h$u

Chiwere č$h$a, č$h$u 'tipi poles' GMsf

Hoocąk č$h$a 'lodge pole, camp post, stud' KM:246, č$h$u

Proto-Dhegiha *ht$h$u

Omaha-Ponca ṭ$š$i 'tent poles', ṭ$ič$i

Kanza/Kaw čč$h$a ~ čč$h$u 'tipi pole(s)' RR

Osage ṭ$c$iš$h$, ṭ$h$c$iš$h' 'poles that support roof/sides of house' LF:163a

Quapaw ṭ$š$i 'tent pole' JOD
porcupine

noun animal, rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *‘ahpá•hi

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa qá•rít

Crow apalii ‘porcupine’ GG:11
Hidatsa qá•rít, qá•rítii ‘porcupine’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pá•hį ‘porcupine’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *‘hpá•hį

Proto-Dakota

Lakota pá•hį ‘porcupine’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere hi pá•hį ‘porcupine’ RR, hi pháhį ‘porcupine’

Proto-Dhegiha *‘hpáhį

Omaha-Ponca ba ʰị́ ‘porcupine’
Kanza/Kaw ppáhį ‘porcupine’ RR
Osage pąhį, ṭpďhį ‘porcupine’ LF:125a
Quapaw ppáhį ‘porcupine’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘sharp (2)’. Internal analysis of this term is difficult because of the possible independent meanings of the apparent constituent elements, ‘ahpá•hi ‘sharp (2)’ and ‘hi ‘hair, fur, feathers’. The order here is wrong for an original compound however, so the form seems to be the product of folk etymology. Omaha-Ponca ṭp < b is not a regular pattern; we would expect pa ʰị́ in the Swetland entry. MRS -r- is unexplained but also occurs in goose.

Many animal terms bear the prefix ‘w-’, but there is no evidence for it here.
portative, comitative, have

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ʔa-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *Eʔ-k-

Crow aʔk- ‘with (comitative)’ RG, eʔ ‘have’ GG:47

Hidatsa aʔuk- ‘portative, comitative (with motion verbs)’ J, eʔe ~ aʔa, ʔEʔ ‘have’ AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan d- ‘portative (with motion verbs)’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley a-

Proto-Dakota a-

Lakota d- ‘portative (with motion verbs)’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere aʔyi, ʔaʔi ‘have, hold’ JGT:3

Hoocąk hanį ‘own; have; take along’ KM:634, hanį

Proto-Dhegiha ‘a-

Omaha-Ponca a-dį ‘have’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw a-ųį ‘have’ RR

Osage a-ʔį́, ʔa-ʔį́ ‘have’ LF:15b

Quapaw a-ŋį́ ‘have’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo a-

Biloxi a-, ʔa- ‘transitivizer’ PJE:111

Ofo dńi, ʔa- ‘to take’ D&S:321a

General comment
Hidatsa and Chiwere suggest that the notion 'portative' developed out of the notion 'having'. The DH forms cited mean have with a- but be without the prefix. The innovated verbs ‘to have’ of Chiwere and DH are used with motion verbs as portative-comitative coverbs in a fashion paralleling the Crow-Hidatsa portative-comitative participial construction. The Omaha-Ponca reflexive possessive qála‘to have one's own’ (JOD1890:183.17) and the cognate Chiwere égrañį ‘to take care of one’s own’ (JGT92-249), plus the lack of expected stress on a- in Hoocąk/Chiwere and DH show that this a- is not the locative a-. Lakota verbs with this element have irregular possessive and dative forms prefixed to the 'portative', making it look as though 'portative' may once have been an independent verb. The Lakota form is also unusual in that it is inherently stressed when used with yá ‘go’ (but not with ú ‘come’); when we compare this fact with the length in Mandan and the Vʔ of Hidatsa, it suggests that the inherent accent may be a trace of old vowel length. Cf. EB:94-95.

In Crow and Hidatsa -k marks subordination. The Crow aá-, Hidatsa aʔa are the verb Eʔ ‘have’ in participial form. Thus the construction is having, q. The ‘have’ forms in Crow/Hidatsa are clearly independent verbs.
possessive root

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hta(-we)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-ta

Crow PRO-š-N, PRO-s-N 'alienable possession' [vowel -a- surfaces in some irregular possessive forms] RG, PRO-š-N, PRO-s-N SSi, C, š/-V: RG

Hidatsa PRO-ta-N 'alienable possession' [1s wata-N; 2s rita-N; 3s ita]

Pre-Mandan ta- 'alienable possession'

Mandan PRO-ta-N 'alienable' [1s pta-N; 2s rita-N; 1du rita-N] RTC, PRO-ta-N

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hta

Proto-Dakota *tha(-wa)

Lakota PRO-tha-N RTC 'alienable possession' [1s miθha-; 1du uθθa- RTC] , N PRO-thawa , PRO-tha-N ~ N PRO-thawa:

Stoney -tha 'alienable possession' PAS

Sioux Valley -tha 'alienable possession' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere N PRO-tha 'alienable possession' RR, N PRO-tha: ~ -θáwe , ṭ-θáwe [1s miθθáwe, miθθáwe, miθθáwe] JGT:188

Proto-Dhegiha *hta

Omaha-Ponca N (PRO-)PRO-tta 'alienable possession' JEK

Kanza/Kaw -ttta 'alienable possession' RR

Osage -hta 'alienable possession' RR

Quapaw -ttta 'alienable possession' RR

Proto-Southeastern *tha(-we)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *tha

Biloxi -ta, itd , ṭ-td 'have' D&S:268a

Ofo N PRO-txa ~ PRO-txa-N 'have, own, possess' D&S:324b, txa, itxa

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo kitawi, kitowe, kitom- /p, ṭki-ta-we 'alienable possession'

General comment
Tutelo, Lakota, and Chiwere all show reflexes of -we so this particle, to which we can assign no meaning at present, may have played a role in alienable possessive constructions.

**potato, ground nut**

*noun* plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *wVto-

Proto-Siouan *waRó•, *wiRó•

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wRó•

Proto-Dakota *wro

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Ró•

Chiwere †dó• 'Indian potato, Indian turnip' JDH

Hoocąk ádo 'potato' KM:3127, too

Proto-Dhegiha *Ro

Omaha-Ponca nu, †no 'potato' RR

Kanza/Kaw do 'Indian potato' RR

Osage do, †no 'potato' LF:37a

Quapaw to 'potato' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *əro'

Biloxi adəj 'potato' MBH, adóʔ 'potato' MS, aqó, adó 'potato' D&S:175a

Ofo qaʔ, ʔató 'potato, sweet potato' D&S:322a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wizəʔ 'potato' KS:181, wizaiʔ 'potato' PV:102

**General comment**

Cf. *turnip, Psoralea (2)* to justify reconstruction of [Proto-Siouan](#) vowel length.
pound

physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ški

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow daschí ‘pound; bead, do beadwork’ GG:42

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota kaškí ‘to pound, grind (e.g. cherries)’ EB:291, woškí ‘to pound e.g. corn not well dried’ EB:609

General comment

Cf. ‘squeeze (4)’ which may have the same root with the extension -ke.
pound, mortar

classified as physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-htą́

Proto-Dakota *ka-thą́

Lakota kautȟáŋ ‘pound meat’ RTC

Dakota ka-taŋ, ſ̂kautȟáŋ ‘pound on’ SRR:270a

Proto-Hoocą́k-Chiwere

Hoocą́k hobočą́ ‘pound on sth.’ KM:1171, hobočą́

Proto-Dhegiha *ka-htą́ha (?)

Kanza/Kaw gatáŋ ‘break sth. up’ RR, gatáŋ ‘pound’ RR

Osage gatóⁿhe, ſ̂katáŋhe ‘pound into a fine powder’ LF:48a

Quapaw kattáŋha ‘pound, pulverize’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *i-thą́

Biloxi ita, itaní, iťáⁿ, iťáⁿni, haitáni, iťáñ ‘mortar’ D&S:200b

Ofo ɨtca.tópka ‘pestle’ (D&S:324b) confirms that ſ̂ti- is separable.

General comment

Ofo ɨtca.tópka ‘pestle’ (D&S:324b) confirms that ſ̂ti- is separable.
powder

verb, noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *prú, *wrú

Proto-Dakota *wrú

Lakota blú ‘fine, powdered’ EB:111, nablí ‘pulverize with the foot; become dry and fine, as sugar stirred up’ EB:341, pablú ‘crush, pulverize by pushing, as hogs do running their snouts through the ground; to flatten’ EB:422, woblú ‘pound up fine, crush’ EB:595, yablú ‘make fine by chewing’ EB:617, yublú ‘make mellow; to pulverize, plough’ EB:634, kablí ‘pound fine, pulverize’ EB:270b

Dakota mdú

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *bru

Chiwere blup’e ‘flour, fine’ GMsf, wabrú ‘powder’ JGT:205

Hoocąk ru purú ‘plough, v.’ KM:2712, ru purú

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca bhípe, ṭbdípe ‘powder’ MJS:140, níbei, ṭnbíi ‘you pulverize it’

General comment

With rightward vowel exchange, Hidatsa pirapu•ri might be derived from an earlier *pirapa•ri in which *piru- might reflect yet earlier *pru-. However, the remnant of the word is then unexplained. The Chiwere form is taken from GMsf, who got it from JOD, whose exact notation we have not seen. His p’ does not always represent pʔ.

prairie

noun physical.spatial_area

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi takohó, ṭakohó ‘prairie’ D&S:269a

Ofo akhóhi, ṭakohó ‘prairie’ D&S:319b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo latāhkói, ṭatūhkói ‘prairie’ HH:1883

General comment
The Shawnee term makes this set interesting, cf. Shawnee laataʔwilktote (First ʔ here may be CFV’s accent.) (C.F. Voegelin's notes on Shawnee/Tutelo loans, ms.)

**precipitate**

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hįhe

Proto-Dakota *hįhą́

Lakota ŭhą́ ‘to fall, as rain or snow’ EB:176b

Dakota ŭhą́ ‘to fall, as rain or snow’ SRR:146b

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw oyóghį́he ‘blow hard, as the wind’ RR
press
verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šípE

Pre-Mandan
Mandan *-sípoʔš, ru- ‘he pushes it down, squeezes air out’ H:207, *-sípoʔš, pa- ‘he pushes it down, squeezes air out’ H:207

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-žípE

Proto-Dakota *-žípA

Lakota ayážípa ‘pinch upon with the teeth’ EB:101, yužípa ‘pinch’ EB:640, nažípa ‘prick or pinch with the toes; punch or touch with the foot’, pažípa ‘prick with a pin, press against and make penetrate; sting’ EB:427, anáɣípa ‘clamp, hold fast, pin, as the spring of a trap does a mouse’ EB:79b, EJ

Dakota yuz´ípa, †yužípa ‘pinch’ SRR:648b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere


Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw nagžíwe ‘flush out with the foot’ RR

General comment

Hoocąk has a different fricative grade.
press down
verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-sų́te

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *awásų́te

Chiwere awáθųǰe ‘press on sth.’ GMsf

Hoocąk hawasų́c ‘press down, hold down, be on top of’ KM:722, hawasų hectic ‘be near, be approaching’ KM:1127, hiwusų́c, hiwusų́c

Proto-Dhegiha *-są́te

Omaha-Ponca dabaco’de, ḋbasqle ‘push against’

Kanza/Kaw ḋbasqle ‘press down on, wrestle’ RR, ḋgasqle ‘stamp on sth.’ RR, ḋysqle ‘clamp sth., hold firmly’ RR, ḋbasqle ‘push against sth., have sex with’ RR, ḋgasqle ‘nail down tight’ RR, ḋysqle ‘hold firmly with the teeth’ RR

Osage dabaco’dse, ḋpasqce ‘push against’ LF:5a

Quapaw ḋbasqte ‘hold down on one’s back, pin’ JOD

General comment

Chiwere/Hoocąk generally preserve the *ų/q distinction faithfully, whereas DH has merged the two in some languages. Therefore *ų is reconstructed here.
press, instrumental

_prefix physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pu-

Proto-Dakota

Lakota pu- [1s wapu-, 2s yapu-, 3s pu-]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere wu-

Chiwere wi- ‘by pressing’ JGT:206

Hoocąk wu- [1s pu-, 2s šuwu-, 3s wu-] , wu-

Proto-Dhegiha *pü-

Omaha-Ponca bi- [1s ppí-, 2s špí-, 3s bi-]

Kanza/Kaw bůi- — bi- ‘by pressure’ [1s ppů-, 2s špů-, 3s bů- ~ bi-] RR

Osage pü-, pi-, tpi-

Quapaw bi- [1s ppũ-, 2s špũ-, 3s bi-]

General comment

 Cf. ‘shooting instrumental’. 
price, wages
verb social transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wači

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wači

Crow ōwishi ‘price’ GG:86, bdaši ‘hire’ RG

Hidatsa ōwawi ‘price’ AWJ, wu•ši, mu•ši ‘to hire, buy’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wači

Proto-Dakota *(wa-)či

Lakota či ‘to pay wages’ EJ, wči ‘wages’ EJ

Dakota či ‘to pay wages’ SRR:208a, wči ‘wages’ SRR:578

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hiwaci, ṭhiwali ‘tell’ MM:151, hiwali?, ṭhiwali

Proto-Dhegiha *wači

Omaha-Ponca waweshi, ṭwaweshi ‘wage’ MJS:184, ṭwawesli ‘employ’, washi, ṭwali ‘employ’

Osage washi, ṭwali ‘employ’ LF:199a

General comment

Cf. ‘order > control’. These may be two derivations.

from a single root, or they may be homophones.
pull, push (1)

physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-tíze

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk wojís ‘shove away’ KM:1708, wojís

Proto-Dhegiha *-tíze

Kanza/Kaw baǰíze ‘push’ RR

Osage thidsíče, †ðücíze ‘remove’ LF:145b

Quapaw †dittíže ‘pull’ JOD

General comment

RR: The putative Quapaw cognate may have been mistranscribed by JOD.
pull, push (2)

verb physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ru-tí

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ru-tí

Proto-Dakota *yu-tí-tq

Lakota yunčą ‘pull’ RTC

Assiniboine badidą ‘push’ PAS

Stoney yudidą ‘pull’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ru•ǰíge ‘pull’ RR

Hoocąk rať ‘pull’ KM:2739, ruti

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ludıt’, ruři ‘pull’ HW

General comment

Lakota is a compound of this form + tq 0.0. Hoocąk -t- is not entirely regular here; it would normally reflect *R. Chiwere is ambiguous; hence no Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere form is possible.
push (2)

verb physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ʰhtáj*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-hṭáj*

Proto-Dakota *-zháj*

Lakota patháj ‘mash up’ EB:435b, patháyq ‘pushing against’ EB:436a

Dakota par’ta’, ṭpathá ‘push against with the hand’

Proto-Dhegiha *ʰtq*

Omaha-Ponca okkóppattá ‘roll self’, uḵ̣ópata*

Osage okkópaháty ‘Rolls himself (personal name)’ LF:172a, Uḵ̣ópato*

Quapaw dítáj ‘pull a bowstring’ JOD, RR, díltáj ‘aim at sth.’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘touch’ (*tq h.0*).
push instrumental

prefix physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pa-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *pa-
Crow pa- RG
Hidatsa pa- AWJ

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pa- ‘push instrumental’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pa-

Proto-Dakota *pa-
Lakota pa- ‘push instrumental’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wa-
Chiwere wa- ‘push instrumental’
Hoocąk wa- ‘push instrumental; by downward pressure’ KM, WL, wa-

Proto-Dhegiha *pa-

Omaha-Ponca ba- ‘push instrumental’
Kanza/Kaw be- ‘push instrumental’ RR
Osage pa- ‘push instrumental’ LF
Quapaw ba- ‘push instrumental’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *pa-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *pa-
Biloxi pa- ‘push instrumental’
Ofo pa- ‘push instrumental’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo pa-, ṭpa- ‘push instrumental’ HW

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wawe ‘rub on’ KS:190

General comment
An inner instrumental prefix. The morphophonological behavior of these instrumental prefixes suggests that they were, in fact, separate verb roots at least in pre-Proto-Siouan and perhaps also in Proto-Siouan. This is corroborated by the independent status of several of them in Catawba. Their phonological development is still not entirely understood. They fail to undergo the generalized Siouan aspiration rule in instances where it should surely apply. At the same time, the fused pronoun allomorphs found with the instrumental prefixes are the same as those found in the most conservative verb morphology. Chiwere/Hoocąk show reflexes of what would normally be postaccentual p in those languages.
**push (pull)**

**physical_motion_caus**

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan **-ta**

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa**

Crow *padasas* ‘push through’ GG:53

**Proto-Mandan **-ta**

Mandan *pan̪roʔi* ‘pushes along the ground’ RH:244, *kat̪roʔi* ‘he pushes it’ H:244, *n̪at̪roʔi* ‘he drags it’ RTC

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley **pa**

**Proto-Dakota**


**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere **-wa**

Chiwere *awáদą* ‘push down on’ RR

Hoocąk *hawąją* ‘push’ KM:714, *hawąjq*

**Proto-Dhegiha **-ta**

Omaha-Ponca *baďą* ‘pull the bow’ RR, *diďą*, *etiďa*


Osage *baď*”, *patą* LP:20a

Quapaw *okáń* ‘drive in, as nails in a board’

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi *paxta*ni”, *paxtań* ‘push with a stick’ D&S:223b

**General comment**
This set and the next one may be doublets: Proto-Siouan *pa-tą́• and *pa-htą́•. The second presumably developed after instrumentals became true prefixes rather than clitics.

**put**

verb physical_contact_manipulation

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *k-rą́(-kE)

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *krą́(-kE)

Proto-Dakota *krą́kA

Lakota gną́kA ‘lay, place’ EB:162a, ogną́kA ‘place in’ EB:371b

Dakota hna´-kA ‘day or place’ SRR:150b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *krą́ke

Chiwere glą́ŋe ‘lay, hang’ GM

Hoocąk hokąŋč ‘wear on the head’ [‘to wear a feather on the head’ is hokere] KM:1366, hokąŋč

Proto-Dhegiha *kŋ̈

Omaha-Poncaʔéadigdą́ ‘breech cloth’

Kanza/Kaw old ‘put a sitting object into or on’ RR

Osage ughóⁿ, ṭoláj ‘put in, inclose’ LF:170a

Quapaw okną́ ‘put a sitting object into’ JOD

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Ofo őktasfigi, ṭóktasfigi ‘shoe (what (you) put (your) feet inside)’ D&S:327b

**General comment**

This is derived from *rą́•-kE ‘sitting, be: sitting positional’.
put (2)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *re-he + *hre 'go + causative'

Mandan réhere, tréhere 'put' H:175

General comment

Hollow analyzes the Mandan form as a derivation from 'go'. However, one might also consider a derivation from Mandan and Proto-Siouan re, 'this, here, now', in the sense 'cause to be here'. Cf. also 'put, set upright'.
put in, fill, plant

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ó-šu

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ó-še-

Crow óši ‘dip, scoop’ GG:52
Hidatsa óše ‘plant, pour’ J

Pre-Mandan *ó-su + hre ‘pour + causative’
Mandan óshereš ‘he pours it’ H:219

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ó-šu

Proto-Dakota *ó-šu

Lakota oši ‘plant’ RTC, šu ‘put, place’ RTC
Dakota oši ‘plant, put in ground’ SRR:401a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(wa)-óžu

Chiwere óyu, wóyu ‘container’ RR
Hoocąk hežú ‘plant, put in’ KM:1591, hežu

Proto-Dhegiha *óžü

Omaha-Ponca uži, ōži ‘planted’
Kanza/Kaw óži ‘plant, put many small objects into’ RR
Osage ūžhu, ōži ‘to plant’ LF:306b
Quapaw óži ‘fill, plant’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi utcú, ū-čú ‘plant’ D&S:266b, tcu, tcudi, ū-čú ‘put, plant’ D&S:266a

General comment

The problematic Crow/Hidatsa forms may derive from Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ó-šu-hre, i.e. a formation with the causative directly comparable to that found in Mandan.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

**put, set upright**

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kré* < *k-rhé*

Proto-Dakota *kré*

- Lakota glé ‘put, place, stand on end’ RTC
- Dakota hdé ‘put, place, make stand’ SRR:131

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *kré*

- Chiwere glé ‘put’ GM
- Hoocąk keré ‘put sth. long, place upright’ KM:1791 , kere

Proto-Dhegiha *a-kre*

- Omaha-Ponca agđe ‘erect’
- Kanza/Kaw ále ‘stand sth. up’ RR
- Osage ágđhe , ále ‘place on top of another in an upright position’ LF:9b
- Quapaw akdé ‘set upright upon’ JOD

**General comment**

These MVS verbs reflect *rahÉ* > *rhé* ‘standing, inanim. classifier’ with a ki- prefix. The sequence *k-rhé* > *kré* in MVS. These verbs of placing are routinely used with the locative prefixes i-, o-, a-. DH forms show a locative prefix.
q

quail, prairie chicken

animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ši-o

Proto-Dakota *šiyó

Lakota šiyó ‘grouse, prairie hen’ EB:403b

Dakota šiyó ‘grouse, prairie hen’ SRR:445b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere šo xą́ñe ‘prairie chicken’ GM

Hoocąk kšoo ‘prairie chicken’ KM:1912 , kšoo

Proto-Dhegiha *šiyó

Omaha-Ponca šyu , řyó ‘prairie chicken’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw šûttaŋa ‘prairie hen’ JOD , šútta ‘quail’ RR

Osage ushišité , ṭaličide ‘startler, the quail (because of its sudden noisy and startling flight)’ LF:175a , špédže , ṭaličide ‘quail, bobwhite’ RR

Quapaw šštta ‘quail’ RR , šštta ‘quail’ JOD

General comment

The DH forms are somewhat irregular, but all clearly descend from something like *šiyó, the attested Lakota form. This is not a possible Proto-Mississippi-Valley reconstruction, however, because *y is obstruentized (ž, čh) in all MVS dialects. *ši-o seems the most likely reconstruction here, though VV clusters usually generate an epenthetic r, the reflexes of which do not occur here. This has to be a word which entered the vocabularies of all of the subgroups represented here after the normal sound changes described above had run their course. Cf. DH *súhka ~ *šůka ‘chicken, turkey’. For another example of unexpected Hoocąk kš, v. red (1b), red hawthorn’ (‘apple’).
quantifier (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-rą

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-ną

Proto-Dakota


Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-nça

Chiwere -na ‘so many it is’ JGT:653 , -na in: dínahẹ/ dídnahẹ ‘so many; great many; a lot’ JGT:636 , -na , -na in: dídnahẹ/ dídnahẹ


Proto-Dhegiha *-nų

Omaha-Ponca -nų in: ánta ‘how many’ JEK , -ną in: énta ‘so many’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw -nų in: hànq ‘how many, how much?’ [yéną, yéńą] RR , -nų in: gálęńq ‘enough, that is enough’ RR , -nų in: góna ‘equal, even in number or quantity, even nr.’ JOD, RR , -nų in: šégoną, šégoną ‘enough, just that number’ MR, RR , -nų in: yéną ‘this many, this much, this number’ MR, JOD, RR

Osage -nų in: énoⁿ-ha , t-nąq ‘as many as there are’ LF:41a , nąq in: gd nó’, t-nąq ‘this much; this or that many’ LF:46a , -nų in: há-no’, t-nąq ‘how much or how many?’ LF:58a , -nų in: thè-no’, t-nąq ‘this much’ LF:143b

Quapaw -nų in: dêlnęq ‘quantity, this much, many’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi -nų in: tenną, tečnāni , t-nąq ‘this many; so many’ D&S:273a , -nų in: tečna , t-nąq ‘that many’ D&S:264a , tečnāni, tečnāni (1) , t-nąq ‘how much? how many?’ D&S:264a , tečnāni, tečnāni (2) , t-nąq ‘some’ D&S:264a
**quantifier (2)**

n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *wi*

Proto-Siouan *wi*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wi*

Crow -we in: sd-we ‘how many, so many, several’ L:159


Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha ‘wi-

Omaha-Ponca ʔwiʔwəʔta ‘in which place?’ , ʔwiʔwa ‘which one?’

Kanza/Kaw wi- in: wąʔma ‘which, which one?’ JOD, RR , wi- in: wąʔmaʔkʷa ‘whichever, whichever one’ JOD, RR , wi- in: wąʔmaʔta ‘whose is it? which one are you going to’ JOD, RR

Proto-Catawba


**General comment**

All DH examples occur in nasalizing contexts but appear to be cognate.
quiet; rustle

verb perceptual, auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *-hap-

Mandan *hapinista 'Be quiet!' [imperative plural] RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xápE

Proto-Dakota *xápA

Lakota xápA 'rustle, make a rustling noise' EB:192a

Dakota ṮxápA 'make a rustling noise' SRR:162a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xa•p-

Chiwere xap'are 'Sh!' LWR:38

Hoocąk xaapγąį 'be still, quiet' KM:3853 , xaapγųį

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi xý'wahē'di, xyuwđedį , ḥxówahē'di 'make rustling noise' D&S:226a

General comment

If Mandan is really cognate, it should have a long vowel and x instead of h. Biloxi -wahē'di means 'make a noise, cry out'.
quiver (for arrows)

noun physical_artefact_container

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *wą́žu

Lakota wą́žu ‘quiver’ RTC
Dakota wą́žu , ṭwą́žu ‘quiver’ SRR:527a

Proto-Dhegiha *mą́-ožü RR

Omaha-Ponca mo*žiha , ṭmą́žiha ‘quiver’ MAS:143
Kanza/Kaw mą́ži ‘quiver’ RR
Osage mo*žhu , ṭmą́ži ‘quiver’ LF:104b
Quapaw mą́oží ‘quiver’ JOD

General comment

A compound of ‘chert, flint’ (=‘arrow’) and ‘put in, fill, plant’, q.v. Chiwere ṭwą́kʔį is not cognate beyond ‘arrow’. Since the bow and arrow were not introduced until ca. a.d. 500, these DH and Dakota terms are most likely separate coinages, just as the term for ‘bow’ was borrowed separately in the several MVS subgroups.
rabbit

noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wašetįka (?)

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wić-xtik ‘rabbit’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *maʃį́ke ~ *maʃį́ka

Proto-Dakota *maʃį́ka

Lakota maʃį́ča ‘rabbit’ RTC

Dakota maʃį́ča, ṭmaʃį́ča ‘rabbit’ SRR:309a

Stoney maʃį́q ‘rabbit’ PAS

Sioux Valley maʃį́ča ‘rabbit’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-šį́ke

Chiwere miščį́ŋe; miščį́ʔxą́ñe ‘jackrabbit’ GM

Hoocąk wašį́k ‘rabbit’ KM:3480, wašį́k

Proto-Dhegiha *maʃį́ka ~ *maʃį́ke

Omaha maʃį́ga ‘rabbit’ RTC

Pomca maʃį́ge ‘rabbit’ [So. Ponca] RR

Kanza/Kaw maʃį́ge ~ maʃį́ge ‘rabbit’ RR

Osage maʃį́ka ‘rabbit’ RR, mo’bį́tį́ge, ṭmaʃį́ge ‘cottontail rabbit’ LF:102a

Quapaw maʃį́ke ‘rabbit’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ačhěkə

Biloxi čəkəʔ ‘rabbit’ MRH, MS, tcɛtkə, ṭčɛtkə ‘rabbit’ D&S:262b

Ofo ačhěkə ‘rabbit’ D&S:321b, ačhěkə, ačhěkə

General comment
There is considerable variation in the precise form of this trickster term including quality/nasalization of initial V, the following fricative, and the suffix and its vowel. Outside of MVS the variation is more extreme.

The lack of nasalization of the Hoocąk initial syllable vowel as well as Chiwere initial syllable j are not accounted for. The final syllable of the Stoney form is not accounted for. If the Mandan and MVS forms, on the one hand, are cognate with the Proto-Biloxi-Ofo, on the other, then Proto-Siouan might have been something like *węšetįka with different vowels lost in the different subfamilies. Crow iischí ‘jack rabbit’ (GG-80, DEC-3) is cognate with Hidatsa mətka ‘jack rabbit’ and does not belong to this set.

raccoon

noun animal,mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wi-he(-ka)

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wihkd

Proto-Dakota wižd

Lakota wižd ‘raccoon’ RTC

Dakota wižd ‘raccoon’ SRR:565a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere mįkhé ‘raccoon’ RR

Hoocąk waké ‘raccoon’ KM:33S1, wuke

Proto-Dhegiha *mįhká

Omaha-Ponca mikká ‘raccoon’ RR

Kanza/Kaw mikká — mįkká ‘raccoon’ RR

Osage mįhka ‘raccoon’ RR

Quapaw mijká ‘raccoon’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *wižd•

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo łyd ‘raccoon’ D&S:325a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wižd-‘, *wižd• ‘raccoon’ HW, mįká, fwižd• ‘raccoon’ HW

General comment
Ofo apparently has lost the h and an epenthetic y appears in its place, cf. ‘berry, grape’ for a parallel case. MVS -ka is presumably suffixal, i.e. *wįh-kd, but nasalization and the treatment of d are still unexplained. In this regard however, cf. ‘raw’. Hoocąk presumably has reformulated a term similar to that in Chiwere, cf. ‘rabbit’. A non-cognate Biloxi form may have spread areally. Compare Biloxi atuká ~ atukí < *watuka/i with Creek wó•tka ‘raccoon’ (other Muskogeans is distinct). Tutelo mika could be the inherited form plus ka, as found elsewhere, or could be a borrowing.

**rain (1)**

natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ŋį́žú

Proto-Dakota *mąɣá́žu

Lakota mąγážu ‘to rain’ RTC

Dakota maγážu, ʰmaγážu ‘rain’ SRR:304a

Stoney maγážu PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *nį́•žū

Chiwere ñį•yu, ñí•yu ‘rain’ RR

Hoocąk nįįžú ‘rain’ KM:2365 , nįįžu

Proto-Dhegiha *nįžǘ

Omaha-Ponca no”shii’ ‘rain’ MAS:144

Kanza/Kaw nůžú ‘rain’ RR

Osage nůzhii, ʔnůzhii ‘rain’ LF:111b

Quapaw nůž ‘rain’ RR

General comment

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere and Proto-Dhegiha show a compound of ‘water’ with ‘put in, fill, plant’, here in the sense ‘pour’. Dakota is aberrant in its first root, which might be Dakotan mąγú ‘field’ or Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mą́•xi ‘cloud’.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

rain (2)

verb natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xo•he

Pre-Mandan *xeʔh-

Mandan xéʔhoʔ 'it’s raining' RTC

Proto-Southeastern *wa-xó•-hi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *(wa-)xóhi

Biloxi xóhi, xohí, †xohi 'rain' D&S:222a

Ofo ashóhi, ashóí, áshohi, †ašóhi 'rain' D&S:321b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo qawōi; qawōqa, ħawōhā, qawō, †xawo- N, HH

General comment

Cf. ‘frost (1)’. This is a relatively insecure reconstruction, which hinges on assuming that the Mandan is contaminated by seʔh, šeʔh ‘drip (3)’. It looks as though there has been a simple metathesis of consonants in Tutelo.
rattle (1a)

perceptual auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sawúhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *sawúa

Crow sawú ‘ring, sound of bell’ GG:57, RGG:93

Hidatsa sawú ‘ring, jingle, rattle’ J, sawía ‘jingle, clang’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *swú

Proto-Dakota *swí

Lakota swí, po- ‘push into, bury, as in a barrel of corn; cut into strings’ EB:434, swói, po- ‘rattle by pushing’ EB:434, swí, ya- ‘take in small bead-like pieces with the mouth’ EB:627, swí, yu- ‘make a rattling noise, as in taking hold of shelled corn’ EB:651

Dakota yusbú ‘make a rattling or rustling’ SRR:638a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -suwu ‘feel a grainy thing’ [Vroot only] KM:2284, -suwu

General comment

The Hidatsa t- form is another example of t patterning with the spirant series. Crow t is the expected reflex of *s.
rattle (1b)

perceptual, auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šawúhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa šawú 'jingle'. J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk šawú ‘itch’ KM:2996 , šuwú ‘make itchy or scratch’ KM:2997 , šawú , šuwú

Proto-Dhegiha *-špú

Omaha-Ponca bəkə ‘sliced’

Kanza/Kaw bəkə ‘shell corn’ RR

Osage thišpi’, ᥙbəkə ‘shell corn’ F&LF:149a

Quapaw dišpi ‘shell corn’ JOD

rattle (1c)

perceptual, auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xawúhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xawúa

Crow xawú ‘roar, growl (as stomach)’ GG:61, RGG:93

Hidatsa xawú ‘to rattle’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota xwú, ya- ‘make a noise, as in chewing snow or ice, make crunching noise’ EB:621

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi xwú understandable, xwúdike ‘loose, loosely’ D&S:225a
**rattle** (2a)

*noun perceptual_auditory*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *surJessica

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *snad

Lakota *snad ‘ring, rattle, rustle’ RTC, *snad ‘tinkle’ EJ

Dakota *snad ‘to ring, rattle’ SRR:437a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *sunawí, sunahé, sunahé ‘dressed in silver and rattling with it, rattling’ D&S:258b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba *sásorejha ‘rattle’ FGS:88b, *sásorejhowe ‘rattling may make’ FGS:92

rattle (2b)

*perceptual_auditory*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *širJessica

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *širJessica ‘with a rattling noise’ EB:204b, *širJessica ‘strike each other and ring’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tündsèl, tündse-dl ‘make a rattling sound (chain)’ D&S:264b, *tündsèyé, *tündse-dl ‘make a chain rattle’ D&S:264b
rattle (2c)

perceptual, auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xirehe

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *xrd

Lakota xíd ‘rattle’ RTC

Dakota ḡáda ‘rattle’ SRR:162b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi xyidé nedí, *xíde ‘make the sound heard in sawing’ D&S:226a
rattle, rumble

perceptual auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kʔó•he

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kʔo

Proto-Dakota *kʔóɡA

Lakota kʔóɡA ‘make grating noise with a knife against metal’ EJ

Dakota kóɡa, ḳkʔóɡa ‘to rattle’ SRR:302a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *kʔó

Chiwere kó ‘thunder’ RR

Hoocąk kʔó ‘thunder’ KM:1731, k’o

Proto-Dhegiha *kʔó

Omaha-Ponca kʔó ‘sound of wings’

Kanza/Kaw dákʔokʔo ‘blaze’ JOD

Osage k’ok’o, ḳkʔók’o ‘commotion, disturbance’ LF:88a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kokó sèdî, ḳkoko ‘give forth a cracking sound’ D&S:212a, kokohe, ḳkokohe ‘making rattling sounds’ D&S:212a
raw

verb physical condition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sá•he(-ka)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa cá• ‘raw, uncooked, unripe’ J, cdhco• ‘raw’ J

Pre-Mandan *šáʔh-

Mandan šáʔhoš ‘it’s raw’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *sá•hka

Proto-Dakota *sá•ká

Lakota sá•ká ‘hard, dried’ EB:452a

Dakota sá•ká ‘raw, uncooked, hard, dried’ PAS

Sioux Valley sá•ká ‘raw, uncooked, hard, dried’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sá•khé

Chiwere ṣá•khé ‘raw’ RR, ṣá•khë ‘raw meat’ RR

Hoocąk saakë ‘be raw’ KM:2786, saake

Proto-Dhegiha *sá•hka

Omaha-Ponca sá•ká, ṣá•kká ‘watermelon’ MAS:186

Kanza/Kaw sá•kká ‘raw’ RR, gišákká ‘fresh, virginal’ JOD

Osage čá•ká, ṣá•kká ‘raw, uncooked’ LF:29a

Quapaw sá•kká ‘raw’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi sá•hi, ṣá•hi ‘raw, wild, uncivilized’ D&S:251a

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Cf. ‘hard (1)’. Kanza/Kaw -q remains unexplained. This bimorphemic set contains further evidence that there was an active Siouan rule that converted preaspirated stops into post aspirates (‘hC > Ch’). It is another case of a root with apparent -h and an affix with an unaspirated stop in which the sequence ‘hk > kh’ in the languages which have post-aspirated rather than preaspirated stops, here, v. Hoocąk and Chiwere, and cf.

‘raccoon’. The suffix vowel is difficult to pin down because so many of the languages have altered the term. Dakota and DH dialects show contamination from saku ‘hard’; Dakota lacks the expected aspiration while both Dakota and DH have altered the final vowel. Mandan nasalization is irregular. The Hidatsa reduplicated form preserves the final h and short vowel. The long vowel is from ‘a’ > ‘a’.

red (1a)

perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan ‘se’

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ‘hí•c(V)hi

Crow hiíchi ‘pink’ GG:48

Hidatsa hihci ‘pink’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan hi? ‘pink’ RTC

General comment

Cf. the discussion of the h augment under ‘yellow’ and the citation of DH ‘pink’ forms (with the augment) under ‘yellow > tawny’.

Crow/Hidatsa hi- is perhaps a pronominal stem (and a red herring in the analysis of the color term). The pre-Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form would seem to have been ‘aVhV > ‘shV’. If so, Hidatsa has metathesized to hs. Cf. also ‘pine tree’.
red (1b), red hawthorn

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hišE

Crow hišši ‘red’ RGG:85, GG:48

Hidatsa hišė ‘red’ J

Pre-Mandan *se

Mandan séʔ ‘red’ RTC , ræsæʔ ‘it’s red hot’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *še

Proto-Dakota *šá

Lakota šá ‘red’ RTC , šá, pa- ‘make red by rubbing’ EB:434 , šá, yu- ‘make red by rubbing or touching’ EB:651

Dakota šá ‘red’ SRR:440a

Sioux Valley šá ‘red’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šé•

Chiwere se, še ‘red haws, apple’ RR

Hoocąk kšée ‘apple’ KM:1900 , kšee

Proto-Dhegiha *še

Omaha-Ponca šé ‘red haws’ MRG

Kanza/Kaw šé ‘red haws, apple’ RR

Osage she , *šé ‘red haw (archaic)’ LF:131a

General comment

Cf. ‘quail, prairie chicken’ in which Hoocąk also has kš for the epected *š. Cf. also *nine’. Crow/Hidatsa initial hi- may be a pronominal stem. Crow gemination of the spirant may reflect an h augment; Cf. ‘red (1a)’ for discussion and additional references. There is some areal distribution of similar fruit terms. Cf. Choctaw šháŋfíla ‘black hawthorn’ (By-328a); šáŋkúláp ‘crabapple’ (By-325b), also a Choctaw variant čhúŋfile in which čh (=č) would have undergone the normal change in that language from an older *š, a change shared with Biloxi, Ofo, Tutelo. Cf. also šímina, A.S.

Gatschet Peoria-Miami dictionary file, NAA, Catawba sɨkþ ‘red’ (Kanza/Kaw-185) is vaguely similar, but not clearly related, Yuchi ša (LB) even less so.
red (2)

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan  (*ašú•te)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley  (*šú•te)

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere  (*šú•če)

Chiwere šú•če 'red' RR
Hoocąk šuuc KM:2993 , šuuc

Proto-Dhegiha  (*šú•te)

Omaha šú•čde 'red' RTC
Ponca šú•če ~ šú•čte [So. Ponca] RR
Kanza/Kaw šú•če 'red' RR
Osage šú•čce 'red' RR
Quapaw šu•čte 'red' RR

Proto-Southeastern  (*ačhú•ti)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo  (*ačhú•ti)

Biloxi atcu•ka, tcú• , tçe•w·k , 'red' D&S:266a
Ofo atcu•ti, tcú• , tçe•w·k , 'red' D&S:321b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo atcu•ti, atcu•t , atcu• , tçe•w·k , 'red' H , 'tcuṭq , tçe•w·k HW

General comment

Dakotan shows a total merger of 'red' and 'ripe' through contamination.

Thus Lakota lúta 'red' and Dakota dúta 'red, scarlet' (R-109) have the meaning of comparable forms in this entry, but the phonemic shape of entries in the 'ripe, cooked' entry. The Biloxi forms šú•č and (a)ču•ti are both frequently attested, and may reflect a canonical rule in that language. The DH forms should have initial š rather than ž, so there are interesting initial irregularities in two of the three MVS subgroups.

734 of 1128
remember

verb psychic cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ki-ksú(-re)

Proto-Dakota kiksúyA

Lakota kikašyA ‘remember’ RTC

Dakota kiksúyu ‘remember’ SRR:287b

Sioux Valley kiksúyA PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere gíʔθu, gláʔθu ‘remember, think about’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha *kisíre

Omaha-Ponca kičőte, ʔgísőte ‘remember’ MAS:146

Osage gíčőte, ʔkísőte ‘remember, recollect, memorize’ LF:50a

Quapaw kíside ‘remember’ JOD

General comment

This root, not attested outside of MVS, looks at least superficially as though it already incorporated *ki- ‘dative, reflexive’ at an earlier time. An original Proto-Siouan *ki-sú would have undergone normal first syllable syncope to a more opaque *ksú- and then undergone a second cycle of reflexivization in pre-MVS.
rib

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-rú•te ~ *i-rú•ta

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ni•ta

Crow dùusa 'ribs' GG:45, RGG:70

Hidatsa ní•ta 'rib' J , ní•ta

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rú•te, rút 'ribs' H:194

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i-rú•te-(hu)

Proto-Dakota čhuté

Lakota curí•čin < čhut-i-ščiŋ 'carry at the side, as a powderhorn strapped over the shoulder and coming down under the arm' [t. goes over q EB:135a

Dakota čuté 'side under arms' SRR:105a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ní•ru • 'rib' [-hu 'bone'] RR

Proto-Dhegiha *rú•c-(hu)

Omaha-Ponca thíte , ṭhítet 'rib' MAS:148 , te-šiti‘, ṭtečtíŋ 'buffalo ribs'

Kanza/Kaw yúčču 'rib' JOD , yúččukhe ‘rib’

Osage thítsi , ṭbùhc̮i 'ribs' LF:150b

Quapaw ṭdóti 'rib' JOD

General comment

For other examples of MVS *r : Dak. čh v. ‘ice’, and other body parts having the inalienable possessor prefix, *i-. Dakota and Omaha-Ponca match for final -V, so Omaha may be borrowed. The final V remains a problem in any event however, since Proto-Crow-Hidatsa appears to have -a rather than -e. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa accentual pattern suggests a missing initial syllable, no doubt the marker of inalienable possession indicated by the palatalized Dakota initial consonant. The overall reconstruction in DH is clear despite the variant forms and transcription problems. Osage tx would normally represent čh but is probably an error for hc. LF made many such mistakes.
rib; back, lower

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ru•hi

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rú•rV

Crow múula ‘back’ GG:45, RGG:70
Hidatsa níiri ‘back, spine’ J, níri

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i•ru•hi

Proto-Dakota *čhuwí

Lakota čuwí ‘lower back’ RTC
Dakota čwé, čhuwí ‘side, pleura’ SRR:105b, č'awódu, čhuwódu ‘ribs’ SRR:105b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk ruuhí ‘rib, side’ KM:2749, ruhi

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw ččú•be ‘ribs’ RR, yúččühe ‘ribs’ JOD

General comment

The Kanza/Kaw forms are problematic. The expected form would be yúhi or yúwí.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

**rice, wild, Zizania aquatica**

*noun* plant

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *wa-sį́*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pį́•x̂́• *sage* RTC

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *pšį́*

**Proto-Dakota** *pšį́*

Lakota pšį́ *rice* RTC

Dakota pšį́ *rice* SRR:425b

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** *sį́*

Chiwere thį́ngą́gye, ʔį́ ḥį́ *wild rice* JGT:216

Hoocąk sį́ *rice* KM:2856 , sį́

**Proto-Dhegiha** *sį́*

Omaha-Ponca sîn, ʔsį́ *wild rice* JOD:256.15

Kanza/Kaw sį́ *wild rice* RR

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi soⁿyití, ṭąp- *rice* D&S:257b , soⁿpxóⁿni , ṭąp- *wheat, flour, dough* D&S:257b

**General comment**

Cf. *onion*, *arrowleaf (Sagittaria latifolia)* for similar initial cluster. Without Crow or Hidatsa cognates it is very hard to know whether to reconstruct the cluster or absolutive *wa-. Virtually all known MVS #pC- clusters go back to bimorphemic Proto-Siouan *wa-C* sequences in which *wa-* is either *absolutive* or *1st singular actor prefix (underlying)*. The Biloxi vowel is aberrant, however, and the form may not be cognate.
right (hand)

_noun_ physical, spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *išró

Proto-Dakota

Lakota i-šło’-ya , ůšló-ya ‘the right hand’ SRR:208a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(o-)išró

Chiwere ušdó ‘right (hand)’ JGT:78

Otoe ušlo — uršlo ‘right’ RR

Hoocąk hošoro ‘right’ KM:1336 , hošoro

Proto-Dhegiha *i-šróke ~ *i-šrǫ́ka

Omaha-Ponca ištóga ‘right side’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw ištóga ‘right side’ JOD , ištóge ‘right side’ RR

Osage ištōka ‘right side’ JOD , ištōge , ištōke ‘right side’ LF:320b

Quapaw šįka ‘right side’ JOD

General comment

š ~ s /_t_ sporadically in La Flesche’s Osage dictionary. This set shows a certain amount of internal variation. Nasalization appears in those forms having the suffix -ka in DH. The Kanza/Kaw/Osage subgroup of DH have variant forms with -ke but no nasalization.
right (side)

noun physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rati(-ke) or: *Rati(-ke)

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rątí ‘right’ H:173

Proto-Mississippi-Valley ‘Rat-ké

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere u-rāhǰe ‘on the right side’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw tatté ‘right’ JOD, taté-tta ‘on the right’ JOD

General comment

There are other instances of sporadic nasalization in Mandan but none of denasalization in both Chiwere and DH, so we have chosen tentatively to reconstruct the oral vowel. Chiwere shows a reflex of *r, Quapaw of *R.
rim, bottom of kettle

noun physical_artefact_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(i-)ré•te

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ré•ta

Crow dëesa 'on the bank, edge' GG:65
Hidatsa re•ta 'edge, rim' J , ne•ta 'lips' J , bne•ta

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(i-)rete

Proto-Dakota *(i-)čheté

Lakota čheté 'bottom of vessel' EJ , ičhete 'lip or rim of vessel' EJ
Dakota ćeté , ičheté 'bottom of a vessel' SRR:99b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(i-)réte

Otoe iréǰe 'bottom of a kettle' JDH
Hoocąk réč 'bottom' KM:2591 , reec

Proto-Dhegiha *(i-)réte

Omaha-Ponca lihede , riide 'corner of mouth' MAS:123
Kanza/Kaw yéǰe 'peninsula, inside bend of a stream' JOD
Osage thédswaçpe , théce- 'dregs, sediment' LF:143a

General comment

This term behaves phonologically as if it were an inalienably possessed noun in Dakotan, Proto-Siouan *r > *y > čh following possessive *i-. In this instance however, the *i- may actually be derived from mouth', q.v., as in Hidatsa.
**rip (1)**

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *parásE (?)

Pre-Mandan *praš- (?)

Mandan párašoʔš ‘it’s pointed’ H:148

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-wrázE

Proto-Dakota *-wrázA

  Lakota blázhą ‘ripped open’ RTC , bláza, ka- ‘make rip open or burst by striking, throwing down; burst something open, as a ball by striking’ EB:270 , bláza, na- ‘kick open, make burst by kicking e.g. a football; burst, as a kettle by freezing; burst open, as hominy by boiling’ EB:341 , bláza, pa- ‘burst open, tear open, e.g. a bag by sitting on it’ EB:422 , bláza, wa- ‘rip open lengthwise, as in butchering an animal’ EB:511 , bláza, wo- ‘tear open by shooting, e.g. the bowels of an animal’ EB:595 , bláza, ya- ‘tear open with the teeth’ EB:617 , bláza, yu- ‘burst open’ EB:634

  Dakota mdazáhą ‘ripped open’ SRR:312b

Proto-Hooçąk-Chiwere

  Chiwere lubláðe ‘tear by hand’ GM , bráðe, na- ‘tear open, e.g. one’s foot’ LWR:19

Proto-Dhegiha *-bráze

Omaha-Ponca b¢azĕ , †bðáze ‘torn’ JOD

  Kanza/Kaw bldăse ‘torn’ RR , babldăse ‘cut, tear, puncture sth.’ RR , bblăaze ‘split open with a knife’ RR , bblăaze ‘shoot open, tear open by shooting’ RR , bblăaze ‘split, tear, as clothes that fit too tightly’ RR , dăblăze ‘burst from heat’ RR , găblăze ‘burst open, cut a gash, from impact’ RR , năblăze ‘tear or split with the foot’ RR , yăblăze ‘tear with the teeth’ RR , yăblăze ‘tear, rip open, break open’ RR

  Osage btháçe , †bđăse ‘tear paper or cloth’ LF:342a

  Quapaw dibldăse ‘tear, rip, rupture’ RR , kăblăaze ‘burst’ RR , năbdăze ‘tear, rip one’s shoes’ RR

**General comment**

Forms here appear to be in complementary distribution, semantically, with forms found under ‘spread > flat (2)’. If Mandan is a prelengthening root, then the Proto-Siouan reconstruction to ‘pa is justified.
rip (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-wrážE

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk párás, nąąq- ‘explode, v.intr.; burst of own accord, e.g., a balloon’ KM:2210 , nąąparaš ‘tear apart with the teeth, especially at the seam’ KM:2559 , párás, ra- ‘rip seam on a garment’ KM:2705 , raparaš , párás, ru- , ruparaš

Proto-Dhegiha *-braže

Omaha-Ponca gabábláže ‘wide apart’

Kanza/Kaw bábláže ‘split open with a knife’ RR , babláže ‘split using a pointed object, puncture’ RR , gabláže ‘straddling an obj., legs apart’ RR

Quapaw ákabdaže ‘straddle’ JOD

General comment

Forms here appear to be in complementary distribution, semantically, with forms found under ‘spread > flat (5)’
rip (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-paráxE

Pre-Mandan *-prax (?)

Mandan pdrax0'8 'it's pointed, standing upright' H:149

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *bráye

Proto-Dakota

Lakota blago, okhína- , †-b jána 'burst open, as corn in boiling' EB:389

Proto-Dhegiha *bráxe

Kanza/Kaw bláxe 'edge of something' RR

Osage bháxe , †bráxe 'spread out' LF:28a

Quapaw bdáxa 'wide, as a road' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo lubl’q’, †lublax 'rip, tear by pulling' HW

General comment

Forms here appear to be in complementary distribution, semantically, with forms found under ‘spread > flat (3)’. If Mandan is a prelengthening root, then the Proto-Siouan reconstruction to *pa is justified.
ripe, cooked

verb physical condition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *aRú•tE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa %ó•tE (?)
Crow óoši ‘ripe; cooked; burnt; dyed’ GG:52
Hidatsa ó•tE ‘ripe, cooked, burnt, done’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley Rú•te

Proto-Dakota ‘Rúta
Lakota láta ‘red’ RTC
Dakota dáta ‘red’ SRR:109

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Rú•te

Chiwere dú•ǰe ‘ripe’ RR
Hoocąk tūč ‘ripe, cooked’ KM:3144 , tūc

Proto-Dhegiha *Rú•te

Omaha-Ponca ní·de ‘ripe’ KS
Kanza/Kaw júįį ‘burned (cooking)’ RR
Osage DSiúdse , ḋečče ‘ripe, mature’ LF:39b
Quapaw ḋiίte ‘ripe, cooked’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *atúti or: *arúti
Biloxi atátí , ḟatutí ‘ripe’ D&S:277b
Ofo atátí , ḟatátí ‘ripe, cooked, done’ D&S:322b

General comment
If the Crow/Hidatsa forms are cognate, they suggest that the *R of this term is one of the epenthetic glides. On Hidatsa ó•ti (Crow óoli compare Hidatsa aru > or/__; aku > or/__). If the Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form were *atuti (cf. Biloxi) and if the aru/aku rules were more general, then Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *atuti > *óti. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo is difficult because the two attested forms suggest different sources. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *atuti should give Biloxi atuti but Ofo athuti; Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *atuti should give Biloxi aduti but Ofo anuti. The evidence that Ofo was t and not th is strong, whereas there are several examples where Biloxi forms are recorded with both r and d. We therefore conclude that Biloxi may be a transcription error, and posit *r. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *r for Proto-Siouan *R is regular. If BO actually is *r, however, the Proto-Crow-Hidatsa comment no longer applies and Crow and Hidatsa are not cognate.

river

physical_spatial_aquatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *awá•tahi (?)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *awá•tVhi

Crow dali ‘river valley, river’ GG:3, RGG:65

Hidatsa awá•thi ‘river’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wę•ta, wę•tahi ‘river’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *waṭšika

Omaha-Ponca waṭšika ‘creek’ RR, waṭška, ṭwaṭšika ‘creek’

Kanza/Kaw waḥį́ška ‘small river, stream, creek’ JOD

Osage waṭšį́ška, ṭwaṭšį́ška ‘brook’ LF:206b

Quapaw waṭšį́ška ‘creek’ RR

General comment

This is one of the relatively rare instances of both DH and Hidatsa aspiration. The Mandan term, if it is cognate, may represent an older stage. If this is true, the other languages have undergone irregular syncope (and other unexpected modifications) creating the aspirate secondarily, i.e., *wą•tahe-(ška) > *wątheška > wathiška. The Hidatsa aspiration is clearly secondary. Crow seems to lack the h shown in Hidatsa.
road (1), path

physical spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *yą-

Proto-Siouan *yą́•ku

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rą́•ku ‘road’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *yą́•ku

Proto-Dakota *čhąkú

Lakota čhąkú ‘road’ RTC

Dakota čą́gkú ‘road, way, path, trail’ SRR:90a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ną́•-

Chiwere ną́•wų ‘road’ RR

Hoocąk najgů ‘road, path’ KM:2146, nąqgu

Proto-Dhegiha *ožą́ke

Omaha-Ponca ožą́ge ‘road, path’ RR

Kanza/Kaw ožą́ge ‘road, path’ RR

Osage uzhóⁿge, ḋožą́ke ‘trail, path, road’ LF:182b

Quapaw ožą́ke ‘road, path’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba yąʔ ‘trail, road, path’ KS

Woccon yaub JL

General comment

Cf. ‘road (2)’. DH has generalized the common nominal suffix -ke.

Chiwere ną́•wų apparently contains a different suffix (or perhaps it is a second root), with only the first half cognate with Hoocąk. JGT92-216 contains several competing Chiwere forms which he transcribes ndwun, naː̀un, ndˈun, ndun, ndwo, where ‘ is ordinarily used for both ‘ and . In this instance it probably represents a glottal stop. The w of the form is probably a replacement glide.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

road (2)

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern *(n)ątkhó•hi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *nǝtkhó•hi (?)

Biloxi nǝkohi, natkohi, naktkohi, nǝtkkohi, nǝtkkohi, *nǝtkkohi ‘path, road, street’ D&S:235b

Ofo nǝkohi, *nǝtkkohi ‘trail, road’ D&S:326b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo hǝ̪ŋkóq, ʰhǝ̪ŋkóq ‘road, path’ JOD, hǝ̪ŋkóq, ʰhǝ̪ŋkóq HW

Saponi hodke ‘way’ F

roast (1)

Verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan ʰy̆-kʔį

Pre-Mandan ʰrök̓x-

Mandan ʰrök̓xroʔš, ʰrök̓xr̥roʔš ‘she roasted’ H:188

Proto-Mississipi-Valley ʰy̆-kʔį

Proto-Dakota ʰo̝ kʔį́

Lakota ʰo̝ kʔį́ ‘roast’ RTC

Dakota ʰo̝ kʔį́, ʰo̝ kʔį́ ‘roast’ SRR:103a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ʰr̥ kʔį

Chiwere r̥kʔį ‘fry, bake’ LWR:25

Hoocąk roo kʔį́ ‘roast, bake, cook in oven’ KM:2639 , roo kʔį́

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dyakũni, dyukũni, *dyukũni ‘roasted’ D&S:296a

General comment
This form appears to be a compound of *(i)yo• 'flesh' and an unidentified second element. Mandan and Biloxi seem reasonably close and the treatment here is reminiscent of clusters in 'wear around the neck' or 'necklace'. Biloxi Ḫ quite generally corresponds to MVS kʔ. The MVS forms may be cognate but the complex morphology here is not yet well understood. Initial syllable accent ordinarily presumes a missing initial vowel. In this instance it would be inalienable i-, but there is no trace of the inflectional prefix in this loosely incorporated form. This suggests that, even though accent is very largely predictable in Proto-Siouan on the second vowel, there were instances in which it was distinctive.

Predictability was not complete.

roast (2)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pa-smį́

Proto-Dakota *pasnį́

Lakota smį́, pa- 'to roast e.g. meat on a spit or stick' EB:434

Dakota pasnį́g 'to roast, as meat on a spit or stick' SRR:413b, pasnį́g 'to roast, as meat on a spit or stick' SRR:413b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wa-smį́

Chiwere wathrun, wathrún, wathnún, ṭwathnį́ 'roast meat over fire' JGT:217, DOR

Hoocąk sńų́, wa- 'roast on a spit' KM:3473, wasų́nų́ 'roast, v.tr.' KM:3494, šų́nų́nų́, wa- , wašų́nų́

Proto-Dhegiha *pa-sńų́

Omaha-Ponca bas.náⁿ , ṭbasńų́ 'stuck on sticks to roast' [underdotted s]

Kanza/Kaw hnį́, ba- 'roast, spit a piece of meat' RR
robin
	noun animal bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Dakota *šišóka

Lakota šišóka ‘robin’ EB:463b

Dakota šišóka ‘robin’ SRR:445a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk šįįkókok ‘robin’ KM:2965 , šįįkokok

Proto-Dhegiha *šį́hkohkoke

Osage šį́kakjuge , šį́hkohkoke ‘robin, redbreast’ LF:131b

Quapaw šį́kkokkoge ‘robin’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi šį́kukí , šį́kukí ‘robin’ D&S:256a

General comment

This is a widely borrowed/imitated term. Chickasaw škonkok; Choctaw šíkohkok, bůkonołko; Tunica wiškʔohku (MRH); numerous Iroquoian tsisko(:)ko or the like, (Mithun 1984). The Hoocąk and DH forms are technically reconstructible to *šį́hkohkoke, but the word is too widespread in various forms to represent a good etymology.
rock (1)

*noun* physical, spatial, mountaneous

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *į*-  
Proto-Siouan *(wa-)į•(-re)*  
Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wiʔ*  
Crow bií ‘rock’ GG:29, RGG:92  
Hidatsa wiʔ ‘stone’ J , mǐʔ  
Pre-Mandan *wįʔre (< **wa-į•re)**  
Mandan wiʔ ‘stone’ RTC  
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *į*-  
Proto-Dakota *įya*  
Lakota įyą ‘stone’ RTC  
Dakota įyay , įyiq ‘stone’ SRR:201a  
Stoney iyd PAS  
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *į*-  
Chiwere įno ‘rock’ RR , įro JOD  
Hoocąk įnį ‘rock, stone’ KM:1636 , įnį  
Proto-Dhegiha *į*  
Kanza/Kaw į ‘rock’ RR  
Osage į ‘rock’ RR , į , įʔ , įʔ ‘rock’ LF:74  
Quapaw į ‘rock’ RR  
Proto-Catawba  
Catawba ỹi ‘stone’ KS

**General comment**

Cf. ‘blood’ in Catawba, where t also seems to match Proto-Siouan *r*. In Mandan synchronically, prefixes before long vowels regularly trigger inserted ʔ as here: V1-V2> V2. Saponi wicco ‘rock’ (Byrd) is probably not Siouan. Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan may have *wu-ʔį*; the MVS languages seem to favor (different) suffixes. Chiwere -o or -ro remains unexplained, but may be related irregularly to Lakota -ya. Apart from basic *ʔį*, the Proto-Siouan reconstruction is still a problem. Independent *-ʔE* seems more widespread here than normal. It’s usually found only in Mandan and Biloxi. In verbal inflection, at least, Proto-Siouan sequences of *wu-ʔV* surface as *m-V*. 
rock (2)

*noun* physical, spatial, montaneous

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley**

Proto-Dakota *θųŋkáŋ*

Lakota *θųŋkáŋ* ‘sacred stone’ RTC

Dakota *ŋųŋkág, ṣθųŋkáŋ* ‘in the sacred language, a stone’ SRR:481a

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Ofo *túk, ḥtúk* ‘stone’ D&S:331a, JSS

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo *nistēk; histēki* ‘stone’ N, H

**General comment**

Cf. ‘shell > spoon’, ‘rock (1)’. The vowels here are all bad matches, but the set is worth calling attention to. The first part of the Tutelo form matches yet another root represented in Hoocąk *ŋįįs* (KM-2341), cf. ‘rock (3)’.

rock (3)

*noun* physical, spatial, montaneous

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan** *rį́•sV*

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley**

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Hoocąk *ŋįįs* ‘rock’ KM:2341, *ŋįįš*

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo *nistēk, histēk, ḥtistēk* ‘rock’ H

**General comment**
Cf. ‘rock (1)’, ‘rock (2)’. Tutelo -tē presumably goes with Ofo tuk, leaving Hoocąk and Tutelo nį•s- as a match. Hoocąk characteristically loses final unaccented e and most Siouan languages lose them in compounds, so there are some indeterminacies here, and any reconstruction remains quite tentative. There is also the possibility that this set is derived from ‘rock (1)’, q.v. Any prefix might have generated the common glide *r to separate the affix-final and stem-initial vowels: *CV- + ŋ- > *CV-r- > CV- n-ŋ- with subsequent loss of the prefix and reanalysis of the root.

rock (4), pebble

noun physical_spatial_mountainous

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *į́xʔe

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *į́xʔe

Proto-Dakota *ixʔé

Lakota į́xʔé ‘pebble, small rock’ RTC

Dakota į́x, ŋį́xʔé ‘gravel, a stony place’ SRR:191b

Proto-Dhegiha *į́xʔe

Omaha-Ponca ḟjέ ‘rock’ BR, RTC

Osage *į́xe shʈoŋa, ḟjxe ‘soft stone’ LF:78a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dʰá xu, a’xudí, ḟá xu ‘stone’ D&S:178a

General comment

In order to be properly cognate Osage should have *įkʔe, Lakota should have nasalization and Biloxi should have different vowels throughout. This, in other words, is a very tentative set. Nevertheless, it appears, at least superficially, that this may be another derived term < *ʔį́• + *xʔe? based on ‘rock (1)’, q.v.
roll

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-rąhe

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocą́k-Chiwere

Hoocą́k waginę́ ‘string; rope; n.’ KM:3254, waginę́, waging ‘roll, v.’ KM:717, hawanę́, hawaną́

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kidúnahí, ŋnáhi ‘turn around, roll over’ D&S:231a, dunahí, dunahí* ‘ŋnáhi ‘to turn’ D&S:236a, kidúnahí, ŋnáhi ‘turn round and round’

General comment

This set and reconstruction are extremely tentative, but interesting since it would be another *-he.
rough (1)

perceptual, tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xá•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xó•

Crow xaxó• ‘rough to the touch’ GG:61, RGG:98, -xaxxó•, a- ‘file’ GG:15

Hidatsa xaxó• ‘rough’ J, háxaxó• ‘file sth.’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xó•

Proto-Dakota *xa

Lakota -xa, anó- ‘rough, roughened up’ EB:80, -xá, pa- ‘make rough by rubbing’ EB:425, -xá, ka- ‘curl, knot; make rough or notch by striking; a curl, a knot’ EB:274, -xá, yó- ‘curl, branch out’ EB:638

Dakota ħá, ṭxa ‘curled, rough’ SRR:160a, náḥá, ṭnáxda ‘become rough’ SRR:322a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xá•reke

Chiwere xálege ‘rough like tree bark, sandpaper’ RR

Hoocąk xáarék ‘rough to the touch’ KM:3854, xaarek, xerexerek

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi xáhi, xaxáhi, ṭxa hi ‘rough, rough here and there’ D&S:219a, daxká, ṭdaxká ‘rough’ D&S:215a
rough (2)

perceptual_tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *yaʃE

Proto-Dakota *-yaːtA

Lakota waɣáta 'hack, carve, etc.' EB:515a

Dakota paȟáda 'make rough, rub against the grain' SRR:405b

Proto-Dhegiha *paŋdaθe

Kanza/Kaw baŋdéje 'Mohawk haircut, roach' RR

Osage baxddse, fpaŋdóce 'roached, a style of haircut' LF:24b
rough (3)

perceptual tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xá•ka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xá•ka

Crow xá•ka ‘rash, sores, measles’ GG:60, RGG:102

Hidatsa xá•ka ‘have sores’ J

Pre-Mandan *xá•koh- (?)

Mandan xá•kohʔš ‘he itches’ H:309

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota yá•ka ‘bushy’ EB:148a

Proto-Dhegiha *xá•ka

Omaha-Ponca xaxága ‘rough’ MAS:149, xá•ga ‘rough’

Kanza/Kaw wuxága ‘thorns’ RR

Osage xá•ga, ṭxá•ka ‘bristling, rough in appearance’ LF:217a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dáxká, ṭdáxká ‘rough’ D&S:215a

General comment

Introduction of Mandan -ohe, presumably a locative as it is in DH and other dialects, complicates reconstruction.
rough (4)
perceptual,tactile
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *xá•pE
Proto-Crow-Hidatsa
Crow xá•pí‘rough (complexion)’ GG:60
Pre-Mandan *xap-
Mandan xáxápoʔš ‘have rough skin’ H:310

General comment
J On Crow and Mandan ‘rough skin’, compare Hidatsa xá•pE ‘wrinkled’.
There may be contamination here.

round (1)
perceptual,visual,shape
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *pC-
Proto-Dakota *-pșú
Lakota pșúŋqā, yu ‘roll into a wad.’ EB:648, pșúŋqala, pe- ‘rub and make smooth and round, as an arrow shaft’ EB:432, pșųkhá ‘round, short, and thick’ B&D:447a, pšúk’a ‘

Dakota yuŋpšúŋka, ŧuŋpšúŋka ‘double up in a round bunch’ SRR:637b
Proto-Hoočąk-Chiwere
Chiwere urú’shan, ŧuɾúšqá ‘round, circle around’ JGT:218
Proto-Dhegiha
Quapaw ŧšó, di- ‘mould spherical hands’ RR, ťšó ‘round, like pills’ RR

General comment
Most if not all Proto-Mississipi-Valley *pC- roots are reflexes of Proto-Siouan *wa-C-, and this is probably no exception. Note that Chiwere often retains ŧS reflexes of both earlier kS and pS clusters in careful transcription. Earlier workers often omitted ŧ. Aspiration in Lakota pșųkhá suggests that the Proto-Mississipi-Valley root may have ended in -he.
round (2)

verb perceptual, visual, shape

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wró*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa póhorowE — póhorawE — póharawE ‘spherical’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wró-(ka)

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *pró(-ke)

Chiwere bróge ‘round’ RR

Hoocąk porók ‘round’ KM:2501, poroke ‘be spherical’ KM:2502, poropóró, poroporo

Proto-Dhegiha *bró-ka

Omaha-Ponca bðóga ‘round’ RR

Kanza/Kaw bólóga ‘whole dollar’ RR

Osage bhóga, tbróga ‘a whole, dollar’ LF:28a

Quapaw bdóka, bdóka ‘all, round’ RR, JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo plócka, plóka, -plóska — †plóška ~ †plótka ~ †plóska ‘round’ D&S:328b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba warup- ‘round’

General comment

Cf. similar Muskogean terms: Choctaw boloka ‘round’ (CB); Alabama boloka — bonotka ‘round’ (KJL); Mikasuki wolo’kii ‘round’ (JDW) wolooki ‘round’ (RG). All of these terms in Siouan and Muskogean involve sound symbolism to a considerable degree. We take the ones with clear reflexes of *wró* to be cognate but suspect all the others because of the near-universal tendency for ‘round’ to include labials, rounded vowels and liquids the world over. If Proto-Siouan *w- is a reflex of absolutive’, the reconstruction would be *wa-ró*. Cf. Catawba, Hidatsa might fit, if from earlier *porohawí, with metathesis of r and h.
round (3)

verb perceptual_visual_shape

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *poska

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota tapóposka, †thapóposka ‘ball shaped thing; anything nicely round’ [dot over both p's] EB:482a, EB:760b, tapóposka, †thapóposka ‘tadpoles’ SRR:461a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi poská, potcká, †poská ~ †počká ‘rounded, globular, curvilinear’ D&S:247a

Ofo plócka, plóka, plóska, †plóška ~ †plótka ~ †plóska ‘round’ D&S:328b

General comment

Ofo is probably contaminated by ‘round (2)’.

rub (1)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-hį́te

Proto-Dakota *-hį́A

Lakota hį́A, ka- ‘sweep or brush up, as a floor’ EB:273, hį́A, na- ‘scrape or wipe off with the foot’ EB:344, hį́A, pa- ‘rub, brush or wipe off’ EB:425, hį́A, wo- ‘sweep off by shooting as men in a battle field; blow away’ EB:597, hį́A, ya- ‘brush away with the mouth, to eat all up’ EB:619, hį́A, yu- ‘rake away, to rake a field, yard’ EB:637

Dakota kahį́nta, †kahį́nta ‘sweep or brush up, as a floor’ SRR:249b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-hį́te

Chiwere wahį́ńje, †wahį́ńje ‘rub on something’ [Otoe] JGT:218

Hoocąk hć, wa- ‘rub with the hand’ [= wahį́ć] KM:3278, wahį́ć ‘rub with hand’ KM:3840, hć, wu- , wuhć

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Cf. ‘glance off’

rub (2)
verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *štútE

Proto-Dakota
Lakota -štúţA, pa- ‘rub, as the feet with snow’ EB:435, -štúţA, yu- ‘rub or soak the feet, as with snow’ EB:653

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
Chiwere šástuţje ‘smooth, even’ GM, áwastuje ‘rub on something’ JGT:218

Proto-Dhegiha *-štüte
Omaha-Ponca ñástide ‘make comfortable’

Kanza/Kaw ūščičje ‘push on one side of something’ JOD, bástičje ‘cause to be comfortable by pressing on’ JOD

Osage dástsudse, šáščictse ‘radiate, shimmer’ LF:36b

Quapaw distítte ‘pull out, milk, pull open’ JOD

General comment

This root shows every sign of having a long, accented vowel in Proto-Mississipi-Valley, *štúţE normal with secondary shortening /ÇÇ/ in Chiwere, the only one of the languages represented here for which length was transcribed reasonably faithfully. Note that LaFlesche frequently wrote Osage šc as sc, so that the Osage form here may be fully cognate or, like the Quapaw, represent a second fricative symbolism grade.
run (1)

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *rą́kE

Proto-Dakota *i-yą́kA

Lakota ḣą́kA ‘run’ RTC

Dakota ḣą́ka ‘run’ SRR:201b

Sioux Valley ḣą́ka ‘run’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ńą́ke

Chiwere ną́je ‘run’ RR

Hoocąk ną́j ‘run’ KM:2178 , ną́k

Proto-Dhegiha ną́ke

Omaha-Ponca ną́ge ‘run’ RR

Kanza/Kaw ną́ge ‘animal or machine to run’ RR

Osage ną́ge , ną́ke ‘run, 4-legged, gallop’ LF:114a

Quapaw ną́ke ‘run as an animal’ JOD

General comment

The Dakotan forms could arise from a prefixed locative i- ‘toward’, with nasal spreading in Lakota and Dakota. The Sioux Valley form would support this.
run (2)

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa-hų́he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow basáa ‘run’ GG:28

Pre-Mandan *ptÉh-

Mandan péhtóõ ‘he’s running’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha ‘huq-.rį

Omaha-Ponca tốthi̊’, tốthų́ ‘run’ MAS:150

Kanza/Kaw tó̊ye – tó̊yį́ ‘human to run’ RR

Osage tốthi̊’, tốthų́ ‘run (two-legged)’ LF:156a

Quapaw tốnį́ ‘run’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *aṭhį́hi

Biloxi aṭhį́hi, aṭhį́hi, aṭhį́ ‘run’ D&S:271b

Ofo aṭhį́hi , aṭhį́hi ‘run’ D&S:322a, JSS , abaxa’abē , abatxaxabę́ ‘I am going to run’ D&S:322a

General comment

The Mandan, Biloxi, and Ofo forms look like he-final roots. Biloxi seems to have spread the nasalization to the final syllable. Loss of nasalization in Mandan, though frequently paralleled in other words, is not as yet accounted for. Although there are irregularities in this set, it does appear that DH may have lost post tonic *he, as it normally does, and reanalysed the verb as a compound with Proto-Dhegiha *_(r)į ‘be in motion’. This was a natural reanalysis because *mą-_(r)į ‘walk’ presented such a close parallel.

It should be noted however that the presence here, whether as an innovation or retention, of ŋ is an areal feature found only in the South. There are still many unanswered questions about this set. Cf. ‘walk (1)’. The Crow vowel length here is probably due to syllable collapse, which obscures possible evidence for vowel length in Proto-Siouan.
run (3), get out
verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hąṱá

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *hą́ta

Lakota hą́t‘a ‘get away, begone, make way (imperative only)’ EB:167b

Dakota hą́t‘a, ťhą́t ‘get away, get out of the way (imperative only)’ SRR:124b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo hantá; hinda, ťhą́t ‘run’ N, H , ťhą́t‘a–he–se , ťhą́t‘ahe–se ‘the running man’ HW

General comment

Attested only in Lakota and Tutelo. Cf. ‘road (2)’ for possible cognates in other languages.
s

sacred (1a)

verb spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xópE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xapdi < **xopíhe (?)

Crow baxxpda, ṭaxxpdi ‘holy, sacred’ GG:24, RGG:84

Hidatsa xapd ‘holy, sacred’ J

Pre-Mandan *xoprį

Mandan xopři ‘it’s holy’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xópE

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere waxóbe ‘consecrated, blessed, holy’ JGT:87, waxóbrį ‘person with supernatural power’ JDH

Proto-Dhegiha *xópe

Omaha-Ponca qubė, ṭxobė ‘sacred’, ṭwaxóbe ‘sacred thing’

Kanza/Kaw waxóbe ‘sacred bundle’ JOD, RR

Osage xúbe, ṭxópe ‘holy, supernatural power, sanctity’ LF:221a, waxóbe, ṭwaxópe ‘talisman’ LF:208a

Quapaw wužka xówe ‘eagle, holy bird’ RR

General comment

Mandan and the second Chiwere form look like a compound of *xop and *rį, the latter possibly being ‘live, exist’. Cf. *sacred (1b) for further cognates with the Mandan forms. Very frequently, Crow/Hidatsa forms in -a• correlate with *-he forms in other languages or with doublet -ia < *ihe forms in Crow/Hidatsa. Thus our Proto-Crow-Hidatsa suggestion here. It is impossible to tell whether the postulated form represents a Proto-Crow-Hidatsa innovation or an inherited form (with loss of -he and reanalysis in Proto-Mississipi-Valley).
sacred (1b)

verb, noun spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xoE-rį

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xupá•ri

Crow xupá•lia ‘medicine’ GG:61

Hidatsa xupá•ri ‘medicine’ J

Pre-Mandan *xupá•ri

Mandan xopá•ři ‘it’s holy’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *waxóprį

Chiwere waxóbrin , ‡waxóbrį ‘blessed, sacred, holy’ JGT:87

Hoocąk waxóprį́ʔš ‘spirit’ KM:3528 , waxóprį́ʔ

General comment

The evolution of the vowels and accent in this compound is not really understood. The Crow/Hidatsa long vowel is due to the influence of the simplex root. Cf. ‘sacred (1a)’. 
sacred (2a), snake
verb, noun spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *wahqį́

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wahqį́

Proto-Dakota *wahqį́
Lakota wahqį́ ‘spirit, sacred’ RTC
Sioux Valley wahqį́ ‘spirit, sacred’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wahqį́
Chiwere wahqį́ ‘snake’ RR, wer-kį́jda ‘god’ RR
Hoocąk wahqį́ ‘snake’ KM:3337, wą́qį́ ‘holy’ KM:3338, wą́qį́jį́ ‘witch’ KM:3348, wą́qį́čą́k, wą́qį́x, wą́qį́wx

Proto-Dhegiha *wahqį́-
Omaha-Ponca wą́qį́jda ‘sacred, god’ RR, wą́kį́jį́jį́ ‘water monster’
Kanza/Kaw wą́qį́jda ‘holy, god’ RR
Osage wą́kį́jda ‘holy, god’ RR
Quapaw wą́qį́jda ‘spirit, god’ RR

Proto-Southeastern
Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
Tutelo wą́gį́nį́, wą́gendį́, †wa•kį́nį́ ‘snake’ H:1878, H:1883a, H:1879

General comment
This term, meaning ‘sacred’ originally, acquired the meaning ‘snake’ in several languages. The ‘snake’ extension of the term is found in Chiwere/Hoocąk with possible further intrusion into DH shown by the derived ‘water monster’ form in Omaha-Ponca (medicine man’ in other DH languages.) All of DH may once have been included since (a) the simple form *wahką́ is lacking, and (b) ‘snake’ has been systematically replaced with *wesʔá ‘one that drips or hisses (?)’ throughout DH. Possible extension of this ‘snake’ term to Virginia Siouan may ultimately tell us something about the chronology of movements of Tutelo and Saponi into the East. Tutelo apparently has a reflex of the present term while Saponi has a reflex of ‘medicine’ like Ofo and Biloxi. Proto-Siouan *wąhką, ‘medicine’, q.v., with its initial-syllable nasal vowel, is not derivationally related to wahką́ in any obvious way. Nevertheless, the two terms, perhaps because of their superficial similarity, have become intertwined semantically. Each has undergone specialization to ‘snake’ in certain languages. Ives Goddard (p.c.) reports that the sacred/snake mixture is found in adjacent Algonquian languages also. Paul H. Voorhis (p.c.) suggests that this mixture may be just euphemism. Snakes obviously have a large dose of mystic power, and one refers to them by this, rather than by their proper names so as not to attract them. Fox and Kickapoo have also merged ‘god’ and ‘snake’ in manetoowa, and then created new expressions to distinguish them, Fox (manetoowa) kiyooota ‘crawling manitou’ for ‘snake’, and Kickapoo (manetoowa) kiishiaata ‘creating manitou’ for ‘god’. Throughout central Algonquian ‘bugs’ are literally ‘little gods’, a similar euphemism? Anyway, wakhą́ ‘snake’ and wakhą́ ‘sacred’ are surely the same word in origin. Chiwere and DH forms in *-ta are included to indicate the presence of the root *wahką́ in those languages. They properly occur in sacred (2b), god’ q.v.

The DH replacement forms are to be found at ‘hiss (1)’ etc., q.v.

sacred (2b), god

daheid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wąkhąta

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wąkhąta

Chiwere wokhą́da ‘god’ RR

Hoocąk w awką́dá ‘thunder; Thunderbird; battery’ KM:3340, waką́ja

Proto-Dhegiha *wąkhąta

Omaha-Ponca wakkką́da ‘god’ RR

Kanza/Kaw wakkką́da ‘god’ RR

Osage wakkką́da ‘god’ RR

Quapaw wakkką́nta ‘spirit, god’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘sacred (2a), snake’; ‘medicine man’.
salt (1)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mnį•-skú•(-re)
Proto-Dakota *mniskúya

Lakota mniskúya ‘salt’ RTC
Sioux Valley mniskúya ‘salt’ PAS
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *nį•skí
Chiwere nįškú, níhku ‘salt’ RR
Hoocąk nįjígu ‘salt, be salty’ KM:2344, nįjígu
Proto-Dhegiha *nįskú•e RR
Omaha nįskó•e ‘salt’ RR
Ponca niskó•e ‘salt’ RR
Kanza/Kaw nįskó•we ‘salt’ RR
Osage niskí•we ‘salt’ RR
Quapaw niskó•de ‘salt’ RR

General comment

A compound of ‘water’ and ‘sweet (1)’, q.v. ‘sweet (1)’ may be too narrow a translation here, but it is the unmarked rendering of the term in all of the languages. Muskogean: Creek-Seminole and Hitchiti-Mikasuki derive ‘salt’ from ‘water’ and ‘sweet’. Cherokee ama ‘water’ and ‘salt’.
salt (2)

dictionary entry

noun physical substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *awaxó•ta

Crow awaxó•sa 'salt' GG:14, RGG:13

Hidatsa awaxó•ta 'salt' [lit. 'gray earth'] J

Proto-Southeastern *amq-šikú-e

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo amşkú’we, ŋamaskú•we ‘salt’ D&S:320b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo matcigoⁿyóⁿ, ŋmačikǫ́yǫ ‘salt’, matsiqgóyǫ, ŋmačikǫ́yǫ ‘salt’ ES

General comment

This is one of those interesting conundra. Proto-Siouan speakers must have had a word for ‘salt’. However in the subgroups, Crow/Hidatsa and OVS have ‘earth, ground, land’ in common but the adjective is different; OVS and MVS (Cf. ‘salt (1)’) have ‘sweet (1)’, the adj., in common, but the noun is different. This particular term is actually not reconstructible. Many of the terms for ‘salt’ in Siouan and sundry southeastern languages incorporate one of about four roots, sometimes compounding them. The compounds were often made up of the predictable items: ‘sweet, gray, water, earth’ with ‘sweet’ and ‘water’ predominating. Such terms seem to be fairly widely diffused.
sand (1)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hpú•sahe

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pūšak ‘coarse sand’ H:160

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpu•zá(h-ke)

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere phu•θá-khe ‘sand’ RTC, RR

Hoocąk puµ̂zake ‘sand’ KM:2515, puµ̂zake

Proto-Dhegiha *hpü•zá

Omaha-Ponca ppēzd ‘sand’ JOD, RR

Kanza/Kaw ppū•zd ‘sand’ RR

Osage piçá, ḥpūzād ‘sand, silt’ LF:128b

Quapaw ppíza ‘sand’ RR, JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘dry (3), ‘sand (2)’ for possible related ablaut series. Chiwere suggests that this was a *-he final root. The Hoocąk and Chiwere forms present some phonological problems. The unexpectedly nasal vowels are a common feature of this subgroup and, while irregular, are no surprise. The voicing distinction in the fricative is much less common.
sand (2)

noun physical substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hpu•xáh-kE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *pu•xaka

Crow puuxkd ‘dirt, dust’ GG:54, RGG:92

Hidatsa pu•xaka ‘sand’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pu•xak ‘fine sand’ H:161

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi pxaki’, ñpxaki ‘sand’ D&S:246a

General comment

Cf. ‘dry (1)’; ‘sand (1)’. We reconstruct an anomalous accent/length pattern.

‘sand (1)’ appears to be an -he final stem. ‘sand (2)’ may also be. The Hidatsa form appears to be an old nominalization (with suffixal -ka) from pu•xE ‘crush fine, grind’ (see ‘crush (1)’). At the very least, we should suspect contamination from this verb of an inherited noun.
say

verb transitive social communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *heʔ (?)

Proto-Siouan *e-he(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *he

Crow he ‘say’ L, he ‘quotative’ RG, shed ‘say’ RGG:51
Hidatsa he ‘say, quotative’ J, še ‘say’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan éhe- ‘say’ [1s épeʔš, 2s éteʔš, 3s éheroʔš, 3p éhekereʔš 3p éhekereʔš] RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *e-he

Proto-Dakota *e_hA

Lakota eyd ‘say’ [1s ēthé, 2s ēthé (vowel ablauts)] RTC
Dakota éya ‘say’ SRR:118
Stoney eyd ‘say’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *e-hé ~ *i-hé

Chiwere e ‘say’ [1s ihé, 2s ie, 3s e] RR
Hoocąk é ‘say’ [1s ihé, 2s ihé, 3s ee, 3p aie] KM:295, ee

Proto-Dhegiha *e-hé

Omaha-Ponca e, é ‘say’ [1s ehe, 2s eše, 3s e, 1p ohe] JOD
Kanza/Kaw é ‘say’ [1s ephé, 2s ešé, 3s e] RR
Osage e, é ‘say’ [1s ephé, ephé, 2s ešé, 3s e] LF:40a
Quapaw ë, iyé, ë ‘say’ [1s ihé, 2s išé] RR

Proto-Southeastern *e-he(-ri)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *e-he(-ri)

Biloxi e, é, é’di, ëdï, ëdï (di) ‘say’ D&S:189a, he, hedi, hë-di, hë(di) ‘say it or that’ [1s ë (ihé)ádi, 2s ë (ihé)ádi, 3p ë (ihé)] D&S:189b
Ofo (l)éhe, (r)ëhe ‘say’ [1s béhe, 2s tehe, 3s lehe, 1p o’ehé, 3p lehetu] D&S:326a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo haʔwα, ñθa-hé- ‘say’ [1s hawhéwa, 2s hawhéwa, 1p hamaʔhēwα; the final -we is an aspect suffix] H

Proto-Catawba
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Catawba -eʔ ‘quotative’ KS

General comment

Conservative conjugation. Cf. ‘think (1), speak, talk’. Most MVS languages contract the citation form to e- but reintroduce *e-he in the 1st and 2nd person forms. Our reconstructions in MVS are internal, based on the inflected forms. The y in the Dakotan third person is an epenthetic glide, breaking up the vowel sequence that was created by loss of the h. The basic root compounds freely with demonstratives, and part of the confusion we see in the Southeastern languages has been produced by this; in particular, the initial l in Ofo comes from this. Similarly, the Crow and Hidatsa forms in š show demonstrative še - šeʔe. Though Ofo now prefixes the agreement markers, Biloxi and Tutelo both retain the kind of infixing we see elsewhere. This argues in favor of Proto-Biloxi-Ofo having gone through the same type of contraction process that we see in MVS. Mandan and Biloxi have evidence for final r, although its appearance in Mandan is irregular. The reconstructible demonstrative preverb was e-, but Chiwere, Hoocąk, and Quapaw suggest i-, a possible contamination from le ‘speak’.

scar (1)

verb, noun physical_somatic_disease

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *srą-

Proto-Dakota *sną́zA

Lakota sną́za, sną́za ‘draw up, as burnt skin; to be scarred; a scar’ [o- is a nominalizing prefix] EB:457b , osnáze ‘scar’ EB:404b

Dakota sná-za ‘a scar’ SRR:437b , sná-za ‘be drawn up, as burnt skin; be scarred’ SRR:437b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk šąną́ ‘a trace (still to be visible)’ KM:2924 , šąńq?

Proto-Dhegiha *sRá

Omaha-Ponca čna , čnd ‘scar’ MAS:152

Osage usuď , usuď ‘top of the head bared with age, bald’ LF:175a

Quapaw stų ‘scar’ JOD

General comment

Varying nasality is problematic here. Cf. ‘scar (2)’. 

774 of 1128
scar (2)

physical_somatic_disease

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *širá• (?)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere pha•stá•kha ‘scar’ [ < h final] RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tÇiddá, tÇêstÇiddá, tÇêiddé ‘scar, be scarred’ D&S:263b

General comment

Cf. ‘scar (1)’. This is not a secure set.

scatter (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-hi

Proto-Dakota *-hí


Dakota yuhí ‘drive off, as game’ SRR:624a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk cf. wehí ‘sort out’ KM:806 , wehí ‘spread out (e.g., corn kernels to dry); stir’ KM:1116 , -hí, hiwa- , hiwahi

Proto-Dhegiha *-hí

Osage thihi , ðuíhi ‘flush out’ LF:147a

Quapaw dihí dede ‘scare an animal’ JOD , dðahi- ‘spill out and scatter’ RR , dihí-dede ‘scare off (an animal)’ RR
scatter (2)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan  *sirihe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa  -círia, nak- ‘he cracked it, it’s cracked’ J,  -círia,  íru- ‘cracked’ J,  -xiria, ará- ‘frying, sizzling’ J

Pre-Mandan  *širih-

Mandan  širíhoʔš ‘it’s spread out, scattered’ RTC,  širíhe ‘spread’ RTC,  širíhoʔš, ká- ‘he scatters it by striking’ RTC,  širíhoʔš, ra- ‘he scatters it by kicking’ RTC,  širíhoʔš, ru- ‘he scatters it’ RTC,  íปาširíhoʔš ‘he thought about it’ RTC

General comment

This root is apparently restricted to the northern languages. The forms that are there suggest Proto-Siouan  *Sirihe. Without more information we are unable to reconstruct accent and vowel length.

scrape (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan  *-sképE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa  -ckípE, na- ‘peel, slice, pare’ [striking prefix] J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere  withgewe,  withkéwe ‘mark an object’ JGT:91,  withgewe,  withkéwe ‘scrape right/left suddenly’ JGT:222,  awáhgewe,  awáhkewe ‘scrape onto’ JGT:222
scrape (2)
verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *-tké
Pre-Mandan *-tke
Mandan -tk̪E 'touch, poke, scrape' H:253, ìke 'flesher' RTC, -tk̪eʔš, w̪- 'he scrapes hair from hide, pokes with pointed object' H:253, -sk̪eʔš, ra- 'he pokes with the foot' H:253, -tk̪eʔš, ru- 'he touches s.t., pokes s.t.' H:253

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-tkÉ
Proto-Dakota *-tkA
Lakota -tk̪A, w̪- 'scrape as one does hides' EB:554a
Dakota -tk̪d, w̪- 'scrape' SRR:559a

General comment
Cf. ‘scrape (4)’.

scrape (3)
verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *-k̪oʔ xoE
Pre-Mandan *-k̪ox-
Mandan -k̪ox̪iʔ, ka- 'shave a pig' H:116

Proto-Mississipi-Valley
Proto-Dakota *-k̪oʔ yaA
Lakota -k̪oʔ a, ya- 'bite or gnaw off e.g. something hard' EB:623, -k̪oʔ a, yu- 'scratch up, make rough with the nails' EB:643, -k̪oʔ a, kaʔpa- 'scoop up taking everything along' EB:802, -k̪oʔ e, ičá- 'a scraper' EB:201
Dakota yak̪óga, ṭyak̪óga 'bite or gnaw off' SRR:609a, yak̪óga, ṭyak̪óga 'scratch up, make rough with the nails' SRR:631b

General comment
The absence of glottalization in Mandan is not predictable. And with so few cognates, the etymology is not well established, but cf. other fricative symbolic extensions of this same root, at least one of which appears to have had vowel length.
scrape (4)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *tká

Pre-Mandan *tka-

Mandan *tkröʔi ‘he scrapes it’ H:252

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *tká

Proto-Dakota *tká

Lakota *tká‘, wa- ‘scrape as one does hides’ EB:554a

Dakota *tká, wa- ‘scrape’ SRR:539a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -čgá, gi- ‘try, dig for’, higicga

General comment

The fact that Lakota shows ablaut yet the vowel appears to have been Proto-Siouan *a in the other languages strongly suggests that Lakota ablaut is analogical here and not reconstructible. On the other hand, the Lakota form here may go with the reflexes of Proto-Siouan *tká. The Mandan form suggests that the Proto-Siouan root may have had a long vowel, but in the absence of independent confirming evidence from a second language, we prefer not to reconstruct length to Proto-Siouan.
scrape clean > scrape up, scrape off, clear off

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xąhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-xɔ < *-xuhe


Pre-Mandan *-xəh-

Mandan -sə̆hɔʔ, ka- ‘he clears it off’ H:198

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-γą

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -γą, nąą- ‘scratch like chicken’ KM:2148 , nąąγą ‘uncover’ KM:2670 , γą, ru- , ruγą

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw γą, di- ~ dįγą ‘gather up in the hands’ RR

General comment

Some of the Hidatsa forms may go with ‘spread out’, q.v. There are not enough data here to make vowel length reconstruction easy. Hidatsa, assuming it is cognate, and Hoocąk disagree. Proto-Siouan may have been either *-xąhe or *-xuhe, as Hidatsa length can be a reflex of the loss of h. Cf. also ‘rough (1)’.
scrape clean > wipe clean, clear off

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-Suhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-xua < *-xuhe

Crow -xua, pda- 'scrape' GG:53, RGG:29, -xua, ahd 'fry' GG:9

Hidatsa -xua, p- 'tan hides, clean hides' J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota ñúza

Lakota ñúza 'whetstone' ER:266

Dakota ñúza 'whetstone' SRR:244a

Proto-Dhegiha *-sühü

Omaha-Ponca -sǐhi, go- 'clear' MAS:40

Kanza/Kaw -sühü, ba- 'clean out, brush clean' RR, -sühü, bó- 'blow out sth., as the muzzle of a gun' RR, JOD, -sühü, bö- 'wipe clean, rub clean' RR, JOD, -sühü, dó- 'burn off, burn bare as a prairie fire' RR, -sühü, nq- ~ nádughü 'wipe the feet clean, wear grass from a path' RR, -sühü, yù- 'clean, to pick clean or wash clean' RR

General comment

Proto-Siouan he sequences normally have this relex in Hidatsa. In DH and MVS generally reflexes of he are most often lost. The partial reduplication shown here in the vocalism is paralleled in several color terms, cf.

'white (1)', 'yellow', 'blue, green'.
scrape > dig, scratch

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kʔá(-re)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-kʔá

Proto-Dakota *kʔA´

Lakota -kʔA´, wa- ‘dig’ EB:534

Dakota ʔa, ʔkʔá ‘dig’ SRR:301a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -kʔá, nąą- ‘scratch with the foot’ KM:2179, nąąk’a ‘scratch with the fingers’ KM:2681, -kʔá, ru- , ruk’a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ʔdí , ʔkyddlí ‘scrape, paw the ground’ D&S:207b

General comment

This form is most likely related derivationally to the similar term with e in place of a.

scrape > peel

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xıkÉ (?)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow -xží, pÉ- ‘poke or stir by prodding (eg a fire)’ RGG:29, dáxchi ‘dig with hands or claws’ RGG:27, -xží, dí- ‘stop suddenly’ GG:8, dáxchi , -xží, ała- , alaxíchí

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dăkăxké´ , ʔ-xke, ada:ka- ‘peel vegetables’ D&S:221b, dăxké´ , ʔ-xké, du- ‘bark a tree; to flay or skin an animal’ D&S:221b, tcımúk adəxké´ , ʔ-xké, ada- ‘make a gnawing sound, as a mouse does; to gnaw on a bone, as a dog does’ D&S:221b
scrape > scrape around, heap up

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-kʔo

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -kʔo, iyú- 'enlarge a hole by reaming' EB:808

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-kʔo


Proto-Dhegiha *-kʔo

Kanza/Kaw -kʔo, ába- ‘push up, heap over and cover’ RR, -kʔó, ga- ‘hoe, scrape off, paw away’ RR, -kʔó, nq- ‘scrape dirt, snow with the feet, paw the ground’ RR, JOD, -kʔó, yyi- ‘scrape clean, dig up’ RR

Osage ábako, ṭápáko ‘cover with a spade’ LF:5b

Quapaw -kʔó, di- ‘dig with knife, spade or paws’ RR, -kʔo, wakó- ‘paw the ground, as dog/horse’ RR, -kʔo, wéba- ‘scaper or fleshers for hides’ RR
scrape > scratch, grate, rake

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kʔéxE

Pre-Mandan *-kEx-

Mandan kÉx ‘scrape, rake’ H:106 , -kéxoʔš, pa- ‘he scrapes it, rakes it’ H:106 , -kéxoʔš, ka- ‘he rakes it clean’ H:106 , -kéxoʔš, ra- ‘he scrapes it with feet’ H:106 , -kéxoʔš, ru- ‘he scrapes, rakes, cleans it’ H:106

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kʔéɣE

Proto-Dakota *kʔéɣA

Lakota kʔéɣa ‘grate, scrape’ EB:320b , -kʔéga, ya- ‘make a grating noise with the teeth’ EB:623 , -kʔéga, ka- ‘make a grating noise’ EB:281 , -kʔéga, pa- ‘scrape with the hand and with glass’ EB:429 , -kʔéga, wa- ‘butcher; also, to choke or strangle’ EB:534 , -kʔéga, na- ‘scratch, using the spurs upon a horse’ EB:350 , -kʔéga, ya- ‘scratch, as after itching’ EB:643

Dakota ke’ga , tkʔéɣa ‘grate, scrape’ SRR:301a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -kʔex ‘scrape, scratch’ [Vroot only] KM:1726 , -k’ex ‘slip, as on ice’ KM:2182 , -kʔéx, nąą- , nąąk’ex

General comment

Cf. also ‘make marks > mark, scratch’ and ‘scrape > peel’.
scrape > scratching noise, scraping noise, sweep

verb perceptual, auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kʔá•xE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-ka•xE


Hidatsa -ka•xE, ara- ‘scratch with toe’ J, -ka•xE, ní- ‘make single scratch, mark off, measure’ J, -ka•xE, pd- ‘make mark by dragging’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kax, ra- ‘eat corn from cob’ H:104, írukuxka ‘willow rake’ H:106

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *kʔoxye

Kanza/Kaw yukʔákʔaɣe ‘scratching or rattling sounds’ RR

Osage koxe ‘sound of dishes scraping together’ RR

Quapaw kakʔoxe ‘make scraping sound’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo dūkhá´fĕ, †du•khá•fe ‘scratch’ D&S:323b, JSS

General comment

Here the Ofo vowel matches, but the fricative is different, cf. ‘scrape > smooth, shave (1)’. It appears that within a given subgroup either *kʔa- or *kʔe forms predominate. Cf. ‘dig > scratch’. This root may be secondarily derived from ‘scrape > scratch, grate, rake’ q.v. The Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan forms may actually go with ‘make marks > mark, scratch’ q.v. Catawba kūkása ‘scratch’ (Sp-8) (analysis obscure) is phonetically similar.
**Comparative Siouan Dictionary**

**scrape > smooth, shave (1)**

*verb* physical_contact_manipulation

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *kʔēsE*

Pre-Mandan *-kes-

Mandan kakésoʔš ‘he scraped it’ KTC, -késöʔš, ru- ‘he shovels it, gathers it by scraping’ H:106

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kʔēsE***

**Proto-Dakota *kʔēzA***

Lakota kíža ‘hard, smooth, trodden down’ EB:320b, -kíža, and- ‘make smooth with the foot by treading on’ EB:80, -kíža, apa- ‘make smooth by scraping on’ EB:88, -kíža, ku- ‘leave hard and bare, as wind does the ground’ EB:281, -kíža, wa- ‘smooth over by shaving’ EB:534, -kíža, ya- ‘make smooth with the teeth, making a grating noise’ EB:623, -kíža, yu- ‘shear, clip off close e.g. the hair of the head; also, perhaps, to make hard and smooth’ EB:643

Dakota ke‘za, tkíža ‘hard, smooth, trodden hard’ SRR:301b

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-kʔéze***

Chiwere -kíže, gi- ‘scrape off (leeches)’ GM

Hoocąk -kʔēs ‘scrape, shave’ (root only) KM:1725, -k’es ‘scrape with knife’ KM:1972, -kʔēs, mąą- ‘ice skate; move foot so as to separate grass blades’ KM:2181, mąąk’es ‘shave one’s beard; scrape’ KM:3332, WL:19.7, -kēs, nąą- , nąąk’es , -kēs, wa- , wak’es

**General comment**

Mandan has unpredictably lost glottalization.
scrape > smooth, shave (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-kʔósE

Pre-Mandan *-koʃ-

Mandan -kóšoʔ, ka- ‘scrape, cut’ H:115

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kʔózE

Proto-Dakota *-kʔóza

Lakota -kʔóza, ka- ‘make the ground bare and thus harden it, to make hard, to leave hard and bare as the wind does the ground, or by sweeping, etc.’ EB:281, -kʔóza, ond- ‘trample on and make hard’ EB:396, -kʔóza, pa- ‘rub and make smooth and hard’ EB:429, -kʔóza, yu- ‘make smooth with the mouth; to eat all off smooth’ EB:623, -kʔóza, yu- ‘make smooth and hard by taking off the grass or hair, etc.’ EB:643

Dakota yuʔóza, řuʔkóza ‘to make smooth and hard by taking off the grass’ SRR:632a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk kʔóos ‘be concave (kettle, dome, inside of cave)’ [root only], k’oos

General comment

The absence of glottalization in Mandan is not predictable. The Hoocąk form is semantically questionable, and with so little to go on, this etymology is insecure at present. Proto-Siouan may have had a long vowel, but Hoocąk is the sole attesting language at present.
**scratch**

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xrátE

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-xratE

Proto-Dakota *-xratA

Lakota -xláta, na- ‘scratch with the toes’ EB:344, -xláta, pa- ‘scratch or scrape along’ EB:425, -xláta, ya- ‘speak as one dying; to bite or peel off the skin or rind of anything with the teeth; to tell a lie’ EB:620, -xláta, yu- ‘scratch, as does a cat’ EB:638

Dakota naḣdáta, ṣ₇nax-xláta ‘scratch with the toes’ SRR:322b

Proto-Dhegiha *-xrate

Kanza/Kaw -xláʃe, ga- ‘peck’ RR

Quapaw -xdátte, di- ‘catch in the claws, scratch’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo konaxlōtisel, ṣ₇-xlo•ti- ‘scratch with the foot’ [sil is aspectual or evidential] H:31

**General comment**

Although the **Tutelo** form appears to be an otherwise good cognate, the vowel does not regularly correspond with that attested in the MVS languages. Riggs lists numerous **Dakota** derivations (R-405b, R-605b, R-625b).
**scratch > dig, dig out**

*verb physical_contact_manipulation*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *-škE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-škE*

Crow *-škE, dâ ‘take out, open’ [< ški] GG:41, dúšchi ‘snatch, steal’ RGG:33, -škhi, dû-, dúšchi

Hidatsa *-škE, -škhi ‘poke; poke sth. out, push sth. out’ [< ški] J, -škE, mu- ‘open, pull out’ J

**Proto-Southeastern *-ške**

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dutcké, ṛuške ‘dig it up’ D&S:207

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ṛašké ‘scratch with the foot’ JOD, ṛušké ‘bite’ JOD, ṛaškese ‘to claw’ JOD

**General comment**

*Tutelo* ș and ṟ do not contrast, so two of these are just pronunciation variants from *Proto-Siouan* ș. *Ofo* q-țu-țké ‘knife’ may contain the x fricative symbolism grade of this root.
second daughter

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wí•hą

Chiwere mȟ-hą ‘second born daughter’ RR

Hoocąk wi•hą, wi•hą ‘second daughter’ KM:3639 , wi•hą

Proto-Dhegiha *wihé

Omaha-Ponca wihé ‘fourth daughter’ , wihé ‘younger sister’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw wihé ‘second daughter’ RR

Osage wihé ‘name by which the second daughter is called’ LF:216b

Quapaw wi•he•žika ‘third daughter’ JOD

General comment

The offspring numbering system, which shares several look-alikes with ‘man’s sister’ (e.g., DH wihé ‘second daughter’), seems to center on MVS and represents an innovation in that subgroup. Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere and Proto-Dhegiha are analogous responses to similar cultural stimuli -- not necessarily cognates.
see (1)

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *arą́wE(-he) (?)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa drawE 'notice' J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *țaw- (?)

Proto-Dakota *təwA`

Lakota təwə́ ‘see, look at, sorcery power’ RTC

Dakota toŋwáŋ , ṭəwə́ ‘look, see’ SRR:478a , ṭəwéya , ṭəwéya ‘go to see’ SRR:478a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *təpe

Chiwere də́wə́ ‘open one’s eyes, wink’ GM

Hoocąk ḳąp ‘look, sight; have eyes open’ KM:1693 , ḳąp

Proto-Dhegiha *təpe

Omaha-Ponca də́bə́ ‘see’ RR

Kanza/Kaw də́bə́ ‘see’ RR

Osage tə́pe ‘see’ RR

Quapaw tə́we ‘see’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ə́rə́hi

Biloxi də́ɹə́hi , də́ɹə́i , ṭə́ɹə́hi ‘see, look at’ D&S:184a , də́ɹə́də́hə́ , yίdə́ɹə́də́hə́ , ṭə́ɹə́hi ‘look at them; he saw you (pl.)’ D&S:185a

Ofo atə́rə́hi , atə́rə́i , ṭə́rə́hi ‘see, look’ [2a ə́rə́hi]

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wə́swə́g̩é ‘watch’ KS

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Biloxi dòⁿdạhá etc. suggest that the first syllable of these forms is separable from the variable elements which follow in the several languages.

This set is problematic for several reasons. (a) The stressed vowels do not match. It is possible to reconstruct ‘d’ (thus matching Catawba) and derive the rounding from a following ‘w’, or reconstruct ‘i’ and explain the q’s, especially in Chiwere/Hoocąk, in terms of contamination from the second root (doublet?) ‘see (2)’, q.v. (b) OVS consistently shows reflexes of ‘r’ in this set whereas MVS seems to have reflexes of ‘t’, but this verb is unique in DH (and possibly throughout MVS) in that it is the only T-stem (i.e. unaspirated) in any of the languages; the vast majority of Siouan verbs beginning with a dental stop would, and do, show an aspirated th initially. It seems possible therefore that the original consonant was indeed an ‘r’ with secondary, and irregular, development to t in MVS. Ofo and DH show parallel conjugated forms in the 2s that suggest ultimate cognacy, but at the moment the initial consonants are irreconcilable in this set. These interesting irregularities may derive from contamination between ‘see (1)’ and ‘see (2)’. We would tend to reconstruct *ą́ with secondary addition of the -he root extension, w+h yielding p postaccentually in MVS. This last is speculative however. Riggs’ compound form shows that nasalization of the final syllable in Dakotan is secondary. Cf. ‘town (1)’ for a similar form which also argues for rounding assimilation in Dakotan.

see (2)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *atá•(-re)

Pre-Mandan *ta•-

Mandan ḥaruʔ ‘he peeks’ H:244

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *atá

Chiwere wą́•da, wa•da, adá ‘see, watch’ RR

Hoocąk haǰá ‘see, watch’ KM:586, haja

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *atá

Biloxi watá, ṭɔw’ét ‘watch, watch over’ D&S:286b, waṭyé, ṭwą́tλé ‘cause to watch’ D&S:286b

Ofo akθá, ṭaθá ‘watch’ D&S:320a

General comment

Cf. ‘see (1)’. There are irregularities with the OVS forms. Biloxi should have no initial inherited labial resonants; Ofo -k- is unexplained, presumably a reflexive or possessive. Ofo -th- is a product of the synchronically active Ofo aspiration rule. (And this set is one of those that shows clearly that there is indeed a separate OVS aspiration rule.)
separate (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sąhe

Pre-Mandan *šąhe

Mandan šą́hoʔš ‘he divides it in half, cuts piece by piece, trims it’ H:222, šąhe ‘half, part, price’ H:222, šą́hoʔš, ka- ‘he sorts, separates, divides them’ H:223

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-ąq

Proto-Dakota *-ąq

Lakota -ąq, pa- ‘part or separate e.g. the hair; to hurt or kill by striking’ EB:438, -ąq, yu- ‘part or separate e.g. tall grass, to push aside; to raise up e.g. a curtain’ EB:657

Dakota -ąq, yu- ‘part or separate e.g. tall grass, to push aside; to raise up e.g. a curtain’ SRR:647b

Proto-Dhegiha *-ąq

Kanza/Kaw gakkíąz ‘scatter by striking’ RR

Quapaw -ąq, di- ‘pull open, pull apart’ RR, -ąqąq, ba- ‘comb, run fingers through hair’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘separate (1)’ and ‘separate (4)’
separate (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-wesE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa -wicE, pe- 'tear to pieces with sharp inst., mince' J, -wicE, maka- 'cut down brush or weeds with a scythe' J, -wicE, nu- 'tear to pieces; make change from a dollar' J

Pre-Mandan *-weš-

Mandan pwēšoʔš 'he cut it' RTC, -wēšoʔš, ku-'he chops it, picks it out, selects it' H:284, -wēšoʔš, ru-'he cuts it with teeth' H:284, -wēšoʔš, ru-'he cuts it' H:284

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -wés, ru-'a pinch (amount, e.g., of salt)' KM:2759, rwes

separate (3)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xa•-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xa•wi

Crow xaawí 'forked; pronged' GG:60, RGG:98

Hidatsa xa•wi 'branching overhead' J, xa•wi, ki- 'messed up' J, xaʔwi 'tousled, disheveled' J, xaʔwi, aru- 'branching' J

Pre-Mandan *xa-

Mandan xároʔš, †xá•roʔš 'they are spread apart' H:310, óxaxa, †xá•roʔš 'tree branch' H:310

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *xa-

Lakota xáka 'branching, having many prongs' EB:191b, yuxd 'to curl or branch out' EB:638a, yuxdža 'to ruffle, e.g. the hair or feathers' EB:638a

Dakota †xáka 'branching, having many prongs' SRR:161a

General comment
At the moment this root is attested only with different extensions, -re in Mandan, -we in Crow and Hidatsa, and -ka in Dakotan.

separate (4)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xǝhe

Pre-Mandan *-xǝh-

Mandan -xǝhǝʔ, ru- ‘reach for’ H:309

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-qǝ

Proto-Dakota *-qǝ

Lakota -qǝ, ko- ‘open, make an opening in, come through, as the wind does through one’s clothing; open by itself, or by the wind’ EB:272 , -qǝ, na- ‘gape open, as a wound’ EB:342 , -qǝ, pa- ‘be able to spare, i.e. for the giving away; part with, give away, spare; open by pushing, open up e.g. land’ EB:423 , -qǝ, ya- ‘open with the mouth’ EB:618 , -qǝ, yu- ‘open e.g. a door’ EB:635

Dakota ʔkǝqǝ ‘open’ SRR:248a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -qǝ, wa- ‘raise by pressure or pushing’ KM:3263, WL:19.6 , waǧǝ ‘open, uncover’ KM:482 , -qǝ, ru- , ruqǝ

Proto-Dhegiha *-qǝ

Kanza/Kaw -qǝ, ob- ‘thrust into the belt’ RR

Quapaw -qǝ, di- ‘gather up in the hands’ JOD

General comment

Although the meaning of the Mandan form is not particularly close to that of other entries in this set, the correspondences work very well, particularly when compared with related sets.
separate (5)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-žu

Proto-Dakota *-žužu

Lakota -žúžu, ka- ‘knock off; blot out, efface; pay off, as one’s debts’ EB:279 , -žúžu, wo- ‘quarter, cut up, e.g. beef; cut in pieces, cut up, e.g. an animal’ EB:523 , -žúžu, na- ‘kick to pieces; come to pieces of itself’ EB:347 , -žúžu, pa- ‘rub out, cross out, erase; get out of joint by pressure, as a box loosening where the nails hold the corners’ EB:427 , -žúžu, wo- ‘break to pieces or destroy by shooting; knock or punch to pieces; break, as the rain does ice, or as a flood does’ EB:601 , -žúžu, wo- ‘take to pieces; demolish; unpack’ EB:601 , -žúžu, ya- ‘tear down; tear to pieces with the mouth; refute or demolish an argument’ EB:622 , -žúžu, ya- ‘tear down, destroy, deface; pull in pieces, undo, open e.g. a bundle; make void, e.g. an agreement, etc.’ EB:641

Dakota yuа′u̯u´ , yuа′u̯у′ ‘tear down, destroy, deface; pull in pieces, undo, open e.g. a bundle; make void, e.g. an agreement, etc.’ SRR:648b

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw -žú, go- ‘flail’ RR , -žúžü, yd- ‘bite off the hull or skin, eat corn on the cob’ RR, MR
separate > forked

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šąh + ka < *šą́he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *SahkV

Crow sāhka ‘opening, gap’ RGG:98

Hidatsa šahki ‘gap’ J, cahki ‘full of holes’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw ošā́jkka ‘fork in a road or stream; mouth of a stream’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *čąk-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tcáⁿkoⁿni, kutcáⁿkoⁿni , źčą́k- ‘be forked’ D&S:262b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ogíteńkai, ogítcíńkai , źčą́k- ‘forked, branching, spreading out’ HW

General comment

Tutelo nasal ħ in its various guises, e*, eḥ, etc., is the twentieth century reflex of what was written by Hale and Dorsey as nasal q with a*, aḥ, etc. Apparently the bilingual Cayuga speakers used by Hewitt, Sapir and Frachtenberg as Tutelo informants simply substituted the nearest Cayuga equivalent. It is quite consistent. As far as we know it does not vary or alternate with ķ. Note that the Crow and Hidatsa sets recorded for the non-nasalized equivalents may, of course come from either the nasal or non-nasal set; there is no way of knowing which. (Cf. ‘split (7)’.) The Kanza/Kaw form bears a suffix o-čą́k-ka, which accounts for the geminate in that language. Biloxi k > x before k. The Biloxi form would have to be analyzed as čąx- ‘forked’, k( têm) ‘reflexive’, onj ‘do’ also apparently a past tense auxiliary in Biloxi. Preaspiration in the Crow and Hidatsa forms is also presumably due to a k-initial suffix. Hidatsa cahki represents the s grade of the root.
set upright

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan -hsa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa -hcE

Crow päche ‘stick in ground, set up’ GG:53, RGG:29

Hidatsa -hcE, pa- ‘set upright, offer to holy things’ J

Pre-Mandan -še-

Mandan -šeʔš, pa- ‘he offers it ceremonially’ H:225

Proto-Mississipi-Valley -za

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -zá, pa- ‘put up sticks or bushes’ EB:437b, pázá

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -zá, boo- ‘drive into the ground, as stake or pole’ KM:106, booza

Proto-Dhegiha -za

Kanza/Kaw béo‘a ‘plant a post or stick in the ground’ JOD

Quapaw néza ‘fence’ RR, pôza ‘plant a post in the ground’ RR, kazd ‘whip’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi pázá, þpázá ‘stuck in’ DS:246b

General comment

The Mandan, Crow, and Hidatsa roots appear to be that found in rušE ‘grasp, hold’, which corresponds with Lakota yúza, same meaning. Convincing evidence of cognacy may involve the semantics (and mechanics) of making offerings in these northern societies. The Hidatsa and Mandan forms certainly look good, and, although borrowing is not uncommon between these two languages, it cannot be presumed. The ‘stick upright’ sets match well. The Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hc Proto-Mississipi-Valley *z equation is an interesting and uncommon one but support from the semantics of these forms is strong. Our Proto-Siouan reconstruction is provisional.

Cf. ‘grasp > hold, take’.
seven (1)

numeral abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šá•kú•pa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *šáhpua < possible *šákpVhV

Crow šáhpua 'seven' GG:55, RGG:82

Hidatsa šáhpua 'seven' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kí época 'seven' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *šákówij

Lakota šákwį́ ~ šákwį́ 'seven' RTC

Dakota šákwį́ ~ šákwį́ 'seven' SRR:440

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šáʔk-:


Hoocąk šágoowį́ 'seven' KM:2900 , šágoowį́

Proto-Southeastern *sa•ků•mį́

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo fákumį́ , fákumį́ 'seven' D&S:323b , fa ŋumį́ , tfákumį́ 'seven' MAS:485

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo saqом , saqомį́ , šagомį́ , šagомί́ńk , šakówij ~ šakówij 'seven' N , H , s'gům , šakum 'seven' H , saqį̂ , šakúm 'seven' ES , saqом , šakům 'three, seven' LJF

General comment
Like several other numbers, ‘seven’ is difficult to reconstruct with certainty. The available forms may represent two stages of development. The less transparent found in Crow/Hidatsa, Mandan, Chiwere (three subgroups) may be older. An approximate reconstruction might be *[ša•ku•pa]* or *[ša•ku•pą]*. Dakota and Hoocąk show an apparently remodeled late form clearly based on *[ša•k- ‘hand’ and -wį ‘one’]*, based in turn on the hand signal for ‘seven’ in the sign language. The second fist (closed) represents *[ši]</span> <span class="number">six</span>* and the same with the index finger extended ‘seven’, i.e., ‘fist + one’. The -o- is interpretable as ‘locative’ but may just be a relic of an original, unanalizable -u-, folk etymologized as ‘locative o-’. The reanalysed form would presumably have diffused through parts of MVS. DH and Biloxi innovate, using an entirely non-cognate, quinary term. The OVS forms look primitive, not remodeled, for two reasons: a) OVS quite regularly shows *[č]* < *[š]* in ‘hand’, while ‘seven’ has only *[s]*, and b) the *[wį]* root, ‘one (2)’, seems to be restricted to MVS (and possibly Mandan); OVS shows only ‘one (1)’. Also, shared remodeling in the neighboring Dakota and Hoocąk seems quite ordinary; if the OVS forms are following the same pattern, then it would presumably be a convergence, rather than a shared innovation, and we find that more exceptional. Another possible argument has to do with the *[wį]* root itself: this root is one of those where the *[w]* does not nasalize to *[m]*. In Chiwere and OVS, however, the word for ‘seven’ does exhibit this nasalization. We think the Dakota alternants with first syllable stress are due to contamination with *[ši]*, presumably from serial counting. This is one of the terms in which Tutelo t, instead of the expected *č*, corresponds to Proto-Siouan *[č]*. The two long vowels plus the Mandan form suggest that the word was morphemically complex to begin with. We know that Crow/Hidatsa -ua represents loss of an intervocallic glide -- typically h, possibly w. We also know that Crow/Hidatsa hp results from a cluster, here most likely *kp*. That enables us to back up from the attested forms to something like *[šakpuha]*. The last steps come from the reasonably well-attested rightward vowel transposition, which generally swaps a u for some vowel in the succeeding syllable. The exchanged vowel has evidently been lost. Restoring it gives us *[šakwpuh]</span> <span class="number">seven</span> <span class="number">2</span>*</span>. The nasality of the Proto-Siouan final vowel remains unresolved.

seventy (2)

term abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *[hpe•-rǫpa]*

Omaha-Ponca *[ppēδha]* ‘seven’ RTC

Ponca *[ppēδba] ~ ppēδha (fast) ‘seven’ [So. Ponca] RR

Kanza/Kaw *[ppēγθa]* ‘seven’ RR

Osage *[hpēru]* ‘seven’ RR

Quapaw *[ppēŋθa]* ‘seven’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *[nd•pahudí] , ṭndpa-hudí ‘two + stem, bone’ D&S:238b

General comment
Cf. ‘eight’. In DH and Biloxi the counting system has shifted independently to a partial quinary pattern (similar to neighboring central Algonquian and Muskogean systems). DH *hpe*- is unidentified, and apparently unattested outside the counting words. Initial hc always indicates a lost initial syllable in DH, so the stem might conceivably be nqē ‘hand (1)’ (i.e., the ‘second hand’ in counting, cf. the use of ḟăk ‘hand’ in ‘seven (1)’), or it might be some other term; at this point it is impossible to recover the missing syllable. Biloxi ṇałpahudí ‘two’ + ‘stem, bone’ (DS-238b) shows a morpholexically dissimilar but semantically parallel quinary development.

The Proto-Dhegiha and Biloxi forms are not cognate.

**sew**

verb physical\_contact\_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan \(^{-hta}\)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow -taa, pda- ‘hem a garment’ GG:53

Proto-Mississippi-Valley \(^{-hta}\)

Proto-Dakota \(^{-tha}\)

Lakota -tha, pa- ‘cut out and sew up’ EB:435b, patá

Dakota patá , ṭ-thá, pa- ‘cut out and sew up’ SRR:415a

Proto-Hoocą̱k-Chiwere

Hoocą̱k -χak, ru- ‘sew up’ KM:2653, rucak

**General comment**

The following Dhegiha forms: Omaha-Ponca bathé ‘sew’, Kanza/Kaw bačhé ‘sew’, Osage ṭpaché , batsé ‘sew’ (LF-24b). Quapaw pathé ‘sew’ may be related, but DH post-aspiration in this set would be unique.
shadow, soul

noun spiritual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rą́•xi

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-ráaxE

Crow iláaxe ‘spirit’ GG:87, iláaxaxee ‘shadow’ GG:86, aahpaldaxa ‘ghost’ RG, GG:1

Hidatsa iráoxi ‘his ghost, spirit, soul’ J, iráoxixit ‘shadow’ J, iráoxixi

Pre-Mandan *nŋx

Mandan nṛxīk ‘shadow’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *nŋyi

Proto-Dakota *nayģ

Lakota nayğer ‘soul, spirit, shadow’ RTC

Dakota ną́ɣ ‘soul, spirit; shadow’ SRR:320b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk nąąɣırak ‘shadow, ghost; soul’ KM:2150, nąąɣırak

Proto-Dhegiha *nŋye

Omaha-Ponca kkį́nąxe ‘shadow’

Kanza/Kaw kkį́ñy ‘faint’ JOD, ndjyeska ‘be wise’ JOD

Osage noⁿ´xe, ḋą́ŋye ‘spirit, sanity’ LF:117b

Proto-Southeastern *nŋći

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *nŋći

Biloxi nąći , ḋmaći ‘cloud’ D&S:233a , tūnchè , ḋmaći ‘shadow’

Ofo i’tcond ‘te, ḋ-nŋći ‘ghost, spirit, soul of the dead’ D&S:325a

General comment

The bare root means ‘soul, shadow’; the prefix *wa- with this root produces the meaning ‘ghost’, q.v. The Mandan words are now seen by native speakers as compounds of rų’ ‘spirit’ + xik ‘bad’, a folk etymology; i.e., *nŋx + xik > nŋx + xik.
shake (1)
physical_motion
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *h uzE
Proto-Dakota *huhúza
Dakota hu-hú-za ‘shaking, trembling’ SRR:157a, yu-hú-hu-za ‘shake with the hand’ SRR:625a
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
Chiwere hudhe, ᥔ Hague JGT:28

shake (2)
verb physical_motion
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-hų́hų
Proto-Dakota *-hų́hų
Lakota hųhų́ ‘shake, tremble, as a tree in the wind’ EB:188a, hųhų́za ‘shaking, trembling’ EB:188b, -hų́hų, wa- ‘make loose by cutting, to cut off, e.g. ropes in different places’ EB:518, -hų́hų, yu- ‘move, shake something not firm’ EB:637
Dakota yu-hup-ka, ᥔyuhį́kwa ‘shake, rock from side to side’ SRR:625a
Yanktonai yuhóŋhoŋza, ᥔyuhų́hųza ‘shake’ [i.q. yuhuhuza] SRR:625a
Proto-Dhegiha
Quapaw -hį́hį́, di- ‘shake something’ RR
shake (3)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-tahe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow tanná́hi ‘stagger, trip, stumble’ [redupl] GG:57

Pre-Mandan

Mandan -táhoʔš, pa- ‘he shakes something’ H:243

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-tdu

Proto-Dakota *-tata

Lakota -títa, ka- ‘shake off, e.g. dust from a blanket; perhaps to brush off with the hand or with a brush’ EB:293, -tda, na- ‘shake off, e.g. dust from one’s feet or blanket’ EB:360, -tda, yu- ‘shake off, e.g. dust from a garment; to scrape or brush off with the hand’ EB:654

Dakota -títa, ka- ‘shake off, brush off’ SRR:270a, katu’ta

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage bamo’ndada, þamą́tata ‘rub the hands with joy; satisfaction’ LF:22a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *tahi

Biloxi diáktahi’, ṭ-tahi, dak- ‘shake, as a blanket’ D&S:269a

Ofo tátá’hi, ṭatá’hí ‘shake, tremble’ D&S:329b, JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘knock (2)’, ‘strike (6)’ It is curious that the Ofo reduplication form shows no aspiration. In fact, this stem should show reflexes of aspiration up and down the line. Cases like this show that, however predictable aspiration appears to be, even in Ofo it was not phonologically conditioned in its entirety. In all languages but Ofo this root seems to require an instrumental prefix. We are not sure aspiration worked in that environment, at least in Lakota. In MVS, the root seems to occur only in reduplicated form.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

shake (4)

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *yąyą́•he, *rąrá•he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rará•

Hidatsa rará• 'tremble' J, nará•

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *yąyą́

Proto-Dakota čhąčhą́

Lakota čhąčhą́ 'shake, tremble' EB:115b, čhąčhą́, na- 'to shiver, tremble; to make shake with the foot' EJ, čhąčhą́, pa- 'push someone gently to wake him up' EJ, čhąčhą́, pu- 'pass under, stooping' EJ, čhąčhą́, wo- 'be very much attached to one' EJ, čhąčhą́, yu- 'make shake with the mouth, as a dog does its prey; to get people’s attention in a meeting' EJ, čhą́, yu- 'to sift, shake in a sieve; fig., not to have, be without' EJ, čhąčhą́, yu- 'make shake, in sifting' EJ, čhą́, iká- 'sift or shake as in sifting' EJ

Dakota čaŋćáŋ, čhąčhą́ 'shake, tremble, have the ague' SRR:86b

Proto-Dhegiha ąq

Kanza/Kaw ąq, ḟa- 'sift, as flour or sand' RR, ḟášę́, yū- 'shake something, rock a cradle' RR

Quapaw ḟądį́ 'shake' JOD, ḟąšį́, ellido- 'shake, as a person or tree' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi nana’yę́, ṭnądyę́ ‘loosened, as teeth’ D&S:231a, nana’yę́, ṭnądągyę́ ‘shake a tree to get fruit’ [causative] D&S:231a, duna’ñayę́, ñųdągyę́ ‘shake a person’ [causative] D&S:231a

Ofo tądd’hı́, ṭądd’hı́ ‘shake, tremble’ D&S:329, JSS

General comment

This is an irregular set as MVS forms uniformly suggest *yą; Biloxi has a reflex of *ąq. Double M’s in Crow seem to be from nw after loss of an intervening vowel. Thus double N is most likely from rr, probably the cognate part here. The unexplained Crow ḟą- is perhaps the first element of a compound. If ḟą > n early in Ofo, or in Proto-Biloxi-Ofo or even earlier, there should be Ofo n rather than Ofo ḟą here. This tends to argue against interpreting a-dot as a reflex of ‘q in this instance. Catawba čind ‘shake’ (St/Sw in Kanza/Kaw) is vaguely similar.
shake > move (1)

verb physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xak•he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xakd•

Crow xakda ‘move’ [xakda/ə] RG, xačí ‘shake’ GG:60, xachí

Hidatsa xak• ‘move, shake’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan xkáhoʔš ‘he moves’ H:316, in¡xkáhoʔš ‘it’s moving’ RTC, -xkáhoʔš, po- ‘he pushes s.t. away’ H:317, -xkáhoʔš, ka- ‘he shakes s.t.’ H:317, -xkáhoʔš, ru- ‘he shakes s.t., moves it away’ H:317

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xkd•

Proto-Dakota

Lakota yukan’, ṭ-khá, yu- ‘shake off’ EB:641a, -khá, čaglá’, ṭ-khá, yu- ‘shake off, as a tree shaking (from the wind) off snow, ice etc., or dew (ču)’ EB:134

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xkd•

Chiwere gikán, ṭ-khá, gi- ‘shake s.t.; shake out/up’ JGT:20

Hoocąk hxgδ ‘move’ KM:1130, hxgá ‘be energetic, be a fast mover’ KM:3897, xgášák, xgášak

Proto-Dhegiha *-khá

Kanza/Kaw -khá, ga- ‘shake, shake off something’ RR

Osage gaḵóⁿ, ṭkakhád ‘shake or rug a blanket’ LF:46a

Quapaw -khá, ḏdi- ‘pull over’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kō’kxahe’ni, ṭkó-kxahem ‘not to move’ [< kV- + okxahe + -ni] D&S:240a

General comment

Cf. ‘shake > move (2)’. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-a may reflect earlier *ahe, parallel to the reduction of *-uhe to -ua and of *-ihe to -ia. Alternatively, the inherited vowel should have been long anyway from second syllable stress. Mandan and Biloxi both preserve the final h. Here the usual pattern of development of Proto-Siouan *xVk- is broken by Hoocąk, which shows xg instead of the expected *k. This Hoocąk form may not be cognate. Biloxi should have q. It is now fairly clear that Mandan xk corresponds to DH kh, at least when Mandan is not merely the juxtaposition of -ka to a root ending in -x. The La Flesche Osage entry probably represents a transcription error.
shake > move (2)

verb physical_motion_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *škǫ

Proto-Dakota *škǫ

Lakota škǫ, škay- ‘get one to talk’ EB:229, škay, na- ‘jostle, jolt’ EB:3116, škaykiškay, ko- ‘be shaking, being shaken up, as when sitting on a heavy wagon, i.e. bumping or hitting’ EB:290, škaykiškay, ya- ‘make move about by talking to’ EB:628, škaykiškay, yu- ‘cause to move about, to shake up somebody or something’ EB:651

Dakota škǫ ‘do, act, move about’ SRR:445b

Stoney škay ‘energetic movement’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *škay

Chiwere škay ‘be active, diligent’ GM

Hoocąk hoísgare ‘sum total of a man’s activities’ [lacotic over a] KM:1331, hoísgare

Proto-Dhegiha *škay

Omaha-Ponca škay ‘move’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw škay ‘move around’ RR

Osage shko*, škay ‘move, stir, be active’ LF:132a

Quapaw škay ‘move’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘shake > move (1)’. The x-grade has a final -h, and we might expect the same here. Lacking cognates in languages which regularly preserve -h, we seem to have an indeterminacy.
shake > tremble

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *psąpsą́

Proto-Dakota *psąpsą

Lakota psąpsą́ka 'vacillate' EB:446a

Dakota yapą́psą́ŋ 'wag, as a tail' SRR:637a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sqąq

Chiwere witháŋhanje , ʔwitháŋhanje 'shake (vegetation)' JGT:225

Hoocąk gisą́sq 'shake nervously' MM:385 , gisą́sq

Proto-Dhegiha *sąsq

Omaha-Ponca ço' ço', ʔąsqą́ 'tremble' MAS:176

Kanza/Kaw wá¹́sqą́ 'shake, chatter as the teeth' RR

Osage ço' ço', ʔąsqą́ 'tremble' LF:31b

General comment

Cf. 'unstable' for a very similar form with q̱ rather than q.

Chiwere shows a *tE root extension. Proto-Mississipi-Valley *psąq would normally imply Proto-Siouan *wa-są́q, but there are not enough attested forms to be certain here.
shallow
verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xépE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xépi

Crow xépi 'shallow' GG:61, RGG:98

Hidatsa xépi 'shallow (of water)' J

Pre-Mandan *spí-

Mandan piêkaʔ RTC, it's shallow

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xépE

Proto-Dakota *-xépA

Lakota -xépA, ka- 'bail out, throw out, as water with the hand or a cup, until it is all gone' EB:274, -xépA, yo- 'drink up, to empty, e.g. water' EB:620, -xépA, yu- 'empty a vessel by lading out' EB:638

Dakota -xépA, yo- 'drink up' SRR:605a, -xépA, yu- 'absorb, empty, exhaust, as a fluid, by lading out' SRR:626a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ɣépe

Chiwere xéwe, ghéwe, ɣéwe 'shallow' JGT:225, xéwe, ɣéwe 'shallow, very shallow' JDH

Hoocąk yéep 'be shallow' KM:485, ɣeep 'boil down' KM:3885, horaxép, horaxep

Proto-Dhegiha *xépe

Omaha-Ponca xèbe 'shallow' MAS:154

Osage xèbe, ɣèbe 'shallow, not deep' LF:218a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi xyépi, ɣépi 'shallow, dry (emptied of water)' D&S:225b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo Mony shap, ɣép 'ford' Byrd

General comment

Hoocąk and Chiwere y is unexplained, but the active verb form has the expected x. Mandan shows the š-grade, rather than the expected x-grade; perhaps cf. Tutelo.
sharp (1)

perceptual-tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pusa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *apcd

Crow atta ‘sharp’ GG:105

Hidatsa apcd ‘sharp’ J, wiʔpcd ‘axe’ J, miʔpcd ‘axe’ WM, maʔptsa

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi pú’tsa, pútsa, pútsú, pútsé, ʔpútsa ‘sharp, sharp-edged’ D&S:250a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba pasé ‘axe’ FGS

General comment

Cf. ‘axe’. The modern Hidatsa form is from wiʔ ‘stone’ + pca ‘sharp’.

The form recorded by Washington Matthews is wa- ‘absolutive’ -i- ‘instrumental’ -pca ‘sharp’. In uncompounded form, Hidatsa has apca.
sharp (2)

verb perceptual, tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hpá•hi

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpá•hi

Proto-Dakota *phè

Lakota phè ‘sharp’ RTC
Sioux Valley phè ‘sharp’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *phè•hi

Chiwere phá•hį ‘sharp’ RR
Hoocąk paahi ‘sharp’ KM:2426 , paahi

Proto-Dhegiha *hpá•hi

Omaha-Ponca ppde ‘sharp’ RR
Kanza/Kaw ppá•hi ‘sharp’ RR
Osage pahí , ḟpahἵ ‘sharp’ LF:125a
Quapaw ppohį́ ‘sharp’ MR, RR , ppot ‘sharp’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo .TextChanged [10 chars] , ṭ-phí ‘sharp’ D&S:328a

General comment

The sporadic nasalization seems to be attested in widely separated languages. It is possible but speculative that the form has been contaminated by ‘porcupine’, q.v., but see also the ḟh of ‘knife’. It appears that in Dakotan the intervocallic h was irregularly lost (cf. Omaha-Ponca), with subsequent vowel coalescence. Aspiration in the Ofo post-accentual syllable can only have come from syllable collapse pVh > ph. Possibly derived from this form are Biloxi ṭpui , psá‘hí , psu ‘sharp pointed’ (DS-248b) and Ofo ḟpohɨ , psfxú ‘a point’ (DS-328b). This may be a compound of *hpá•hi ‘sharp’ and Biloxi sòti ‘pointed’; cf DS-257a.
sharpen, grind

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-mq

Proto-Dakota *-mq

Lakota pamq ‘file’ EB:430b, yumq ‘sharpen by grinding’ EB:643b

Proto-Dhegiha *-mq

Omaha-Ponca we bamo* ‘a file’ MAS:77

Kanza/Kaw bamoq ‘rub, file’ RR

Osage bamo*, ṭpamq ‘file’ LF:22a, ṭhimo*, ṭmimq ‘whet, sharpen’ LF:148a

Quapaw kamq ‘sharpen’ JOD

General comment

Cf. *chert, flint*. 
shell > spoon

*noun* physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *watő•ki*

Crow bišó•či ‘musselshell, seashell’ GG:34, RGG:9

Hidatsa watő•ki ‘clam, musselshell, seashell’ J, *matő•ki*

Pre-Mandan

Mandan tő•ki ‘shell’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *thú•ki*

Proto-Dakota *thukí*

Lakota thukí ‘clam’ EB:501b

Dakota tuki‘hasąŋ, ṭhukhasąŋ ‘mussel shells’ SRR:480b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thú•ki*

Chiwere ñuuge ‘horn (!) spoon’ GM

Hoocąk čuugí ‘spoon; shell’ KM:282, cuugi ‘clam, oyster’ KM:285, čuugíšaŋ, cuugíšaŋ

Proto-Dhegiha *tiúke*

Omaha-Ponca tihaba, ṭatihaba ‘clam (shell)’ MAS:40

Kanza/Kaw čičhóba ‘clamshell spoon’ RR

Osage šuage, ḥčuuke ‘spoon, shell spoon’ LF:163b

Quapaw tiúke ‘horn (!) spoon’ [in missa tiúke ‘metal spoon’] RR, tůkemani ‘clam’ JOD, tiúke ‘spoon’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Öfo tők, ṭurk ‘stone’ [v. ‘rock’] D&S:331a, JSS

**General comment**
The initial aspiration in MVS implies an earlier but now missing initial syllable. There is evidence that this term is widely borrowed, cf.

Choctaw *sha'nha toba ‘oyster shell’ (toba) < Proto-Musk. *tokwa.

Iroquoian Moh. atókwə; Onei. atókwə; Onon.

ْتةَکْوَنَتْ; Huron estoqua, Mithun, p.277. All are ‘spoon, ladle’. So the missing initial may simply have been a-. The word may represent a relatively early borrowing throughout Siouan. The vowels do not match properly, nonetheless, it does seem to be reconstructible at the subgroup level.

shin

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ɪ-rą́kpe
  Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ɪ-rą́kpe
  Proto-Dakota *čhąkpé
    Lakota čhąkpé ‘knee, tibia’ RTC
    Dakota čąŋkpé, čhąkpé ‘the tibia’ SRR:89b
    Yanktonai čąŋkpé, čhąkpé ‘the kneepan or the knees’ SRR:89b
  Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
    Chiwere nǻgwə ‘shin’ GM
  Proto-Dhegiha *nǻxpe
    Omaha-Ponca no*xpehi , ṇąxpéhi ‘shin’ MAS:155
    Kanza/Kaw nåxpé ‘leg below knee’ JOD
    Osage no*xpehi , ṇąxpéhi ‘shin’ LF:118a
  Proto-Southeastern
    Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
      Biloxi yukpē’, yukpeya’n’ , ʔ-kpē ‘legs’ D&S:296a
  Proto-Catawba
    Catawba iške ‘leg’ FS

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

_Dakota_ -kp- and DH -xp- do not regularly correspond, and the DH forms cannot therefore be considered properly cognate. This term appears to be trimorphemic however. Prefixal *i- marks inherently possessed body parts and accounts for _Dakota_ čh < *r, accent and vowel length. The prefix is generally lost throughout MVS, but can be reconstructed through comparison with other body part terms. *-r紧密 is not identified but is segmentable comparing the DH forms in which the last morpheme is non-cognate and the Biloxi form in which the middle morpheme is non-cognate. _Catawba_ tends to confirm this analysis to the extent that _Catawba_ can be said to confirm anything in Siouan.

**shinbone**

* _noun_ physical_somatic_body_part

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *i-chú•pa < *i-cVhú•pa

_Crow_ ichú•pa ‘shinbone’ GG:96 , itchú•pa

_Hidatsa_ ichú•pa ‘shinbone’ J

_Pre-Mandan_

_Mandan_ šú•pa ‘shinbone, ankle’ RTC

**General comment**

_J Crow_ and _Hidatsa_ aspirated c suggest that this form is bimorphemic, with the second morpheme beginning in h. This morpheme may be *hu•pa ‘stem’ q.v., here with its original (?) sense ‘(long) bone’ q.v also. This etymology is far from secure, and may represent nothing more than a folk “correction” of the form attested in _Mandan_.

814 of 1128
shine (1)
perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *réxe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *réxi, *réxe

Crow déaxi ‘clear, transparent, light in color’ RG, GG:43, RGG:85
Hidatsa reʔexi ~ re•xi ‘light in color, clear, off-white’ J , neʔexi ~ ne•xi

Pre-Mandan


Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota léya ‘glittering’ EB:323 , léléya ‘shine, glitter’ RTC , léya , ka- ‘to fan, perhaps; to make shine by striking’ EB:282 , léya , na- ‘make shine or sparkle, as in pushing up or kicking the fire with the foot; to sparkle, scintillate’ EB:350 , léxega, na- ‘kick or punch up the fire with the foot’ EB:350 , lěga, po- ‘encourage during an intermission, as fighting between two other conflicts, or poking and stirring a fire. Thus, to thre’ EB:823 , léxegá, po- ‘poke the fire’ EB:430

Dakota yéγa, iyéγa ‘shine, glitter’ SRR:620a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere réxe ‘kettle’ RR , réxe ‘kettle, bucket’ JDH
Hoocąk réex ‘bucket, pail’ KM:2601 , reex

Proto-Dhegiha *réɣe

Omaha-Ponca déγe ‘kettle’
Quapaw déγe ‘pot, kettle’ JOD , déγe zi ‘brass’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi awodéx , ʔawodéx ‘sunshine’ D&L:287a

General comment
Lakota forms with \( l \) are irregular and presumably a secondary development.

Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH forms reflect confusion of ‘shine’ and ‘kettle’, q.v. Quapaw accentual patterns suggest that perhaps ‘kettle’ originally had a prefix which has vanished leaving accent on the initial syllable while ‘shine’ did not. Crow, Hidatsa and Mandan seem to confirm this pattern. In Quapaw ‘\( r \)’ and ‘\( R \)’ fall together as \( d \), although in Dorsey’s notes ‘\( R \)’ is also found as ‘\( t \)’. Quapaw ‘brass’ may show the original accentual pattern of ‘shine’, if it is not due to compounding.

**shine (2)**

verb perceptual visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xą•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-xaxa•tE ~ *-xaxa•tE

Crow áxxa•ši ‘sun’ GG:16, RGG:6, áxxa•shi

Hidatsa awáxa•tE ‘light (lux)’ J, óxxa•tE ‘white, sunlight’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan xŊt ‘explode’ H:311

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ɣąɣą

Proto-Dakota *ɣąɣą

Lakota ɣąɣąyela ‘clearing, as clouds’ EB:147b, ɣąɣąyela

Dakota ɣąɣąŋa , ɣąɣąŋa ‘thin, open, full of small holes’ SRR:120a

Proto-Dhegiha *ɣąɣą

Omaha-Ponca wandəx’oⁿ, ṭwandaŋγγγ ‘lightning bug’ MAS:113

Kanza/Kaw wazdąŋγŋ ‘lightning bug’ RR, xČxχ ‘shine’ RR

Osage xoⁿxoⁿ’moⁿiⁿ, ɣąɣąŋaŋ ‘Shines-as-he-moves’ [personal name] LF:219b

General comment

‘shine (4), ‘white (1)’. Some of the DH forms are probably mistranscribed. Most likely all are \( ɣą \). The Mandan may not be cognate. We consider here the possibility that an older (unattested) sense of ‘flash’ (cf. DH lightning bug) was more recently associated with explosions. The Crow and Hidatsa xx may result from earlier reduplication of the root ‘\( xaxa• \)’ with subsequent syncope. Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan all show the root with a \( t \) extension.
shine (3)

perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *žažá

Proto-Dakota *žažá

Lakota žažáyela 'clearly, distinctly' SRR:651b

Dakota žažáyu 'exposed; clearly, plainly' SRR:651b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hatažáša 'be shiny; light' KM:3998, hatažáša; hataša

General comment

Cf. also 'shine (4)'

shine (4)

verb perceptual_visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šą•

Pre-Mandan *są•si-

Mandan aşįš 'it’s smooth, shiny, slick' H:199, kašįšiŋ ‘he polished it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *žąžą́

Proto-Dakota *žąžą́

Lakota žąžą́, ožąžą́ ‘glass’ RTC, žąžą́la ‘clear, transparent’ EB:267a, ja’jo*la

Dakota z’ąŋ-z’ą́y, ḥąąžą́ ‘a vial, bottle, glass’ SRR:651a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere waddýanyan, ḥwaddýaqq ‘shine, (made to) glitter by filing’ JGT:226

General comment

Cf. also ‘shine (2), shine (3)’ and *-są• ‘white (1)’. The second syllable of the Mandan form is not explained but may be an old reduplication pattern. (Cf. Mandan pą•pi ‘thin’.) Crow sáašii ‘shining’ (GG-55, DEC-48) presumably reflects Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *tá•ti or *t autoFocus. The former looks possible as a t-grade spirant ablaut form here.
shoot

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rįʔ*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *riʔ*

Crow dií ‘shoot at’ GG:44, RGG:53

Hidatsa riʔ ‘shoot at’ J, niʔi

Pre-Mandan *ŋʃʔ*

Mandan nįʔroʔš ‘he shot it’ RTC

General comment

This root is apparently restricted to the northern languages, where *hkuʔte* kept its original meaning of ‘throw’. This is is nice additional confirmation of the diffusional nature of shooting in Siouan.

Generally Hidatsa VʔV = Crow VV with rising pitch in monosyllables.
shooting instrumental

_instrumental prefix_ physical_artefact_tool_weapon

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Wo-

Proto-Dakota *Wo-

Lakota wo- ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ RTC

Dakota bo- ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ SRR:73a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *po-

Chiwere bo- ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ RR

Hoocąk boo- ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ KM , boo-

Proto-Dhegiha *Wo-

Omaha-Ponca mō- ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ RR

Kanza/Kaw bō- ‘by shooting, poking, blowing (pronouns precede if locative, follow otherwise)’ RR

Osage bō- , ṭo- ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ LF:27b

Quapaw pō- ‘by shooting, poking, blowing’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *apūx-

Biloxi apūx hoⁿni , ṭapūx ‘blowgun, use a blowgun’ D&S:249b

Ofo pāsuhi , ṭaśuhi ‘to blow’ D&S:328b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo opata’sel , ṭopatapsel ‘shoot off’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba pu- ‘blow’ FS, KS , pu-suʔ- ‘shoot with blowgun’ FS

General comment

Cf. ‘wound’, ‘blow (2)’, ‘press, instrumental’. The OVS forms are only very doubtfully related. They are perhaps related only via the universal pu/o- ‘blow, puff’ symbolism. This prefix may be compounded of ‘pa- or *Wa- ‘by pushing or cutting’ plus verb stems that already had the ‘o- ‘into’ locative. Vowel length in Chiwere/Hoocąk supports this, as does the Tutelo form. The Ofo and Catawba forms here are only one pair out of numerous in which there is close similarity between OVS and Catawba languages.
short
verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *tápE

Proto-Dakota

Lakota katáptapA ‘hew off small pieces’ EB:292, kaîtreppa

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk giǰáp ‘break off’ JWE, giʔap

Proto-Dhegiha *táhpa < *tap + *ka

Omaha-Ponca dą́ppa ‘short’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw dą́ppa, ħą́ppa ‘short’ RR

Osage táhpa, tą́ppa, cáhpa ‘small’ RR

Quapaw táppa ‘short’ [Dorsey says it is an Os loan] JOD

General comment

The DH forms derive from *tap + *-ka ‘qualifier’, with the usual DH *pk > *kp > hp = pp. Note the use of palatalization to create diminutive variants. The root is restricted to MVS.
shoulder

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(a)-į-xkéte

Pre-Mandan
Mandan ąxkít 'shoulder' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *įkhéte
Omaha-Ponca įkhéde 'shoulder' JOD
Kanza/Kaw įkhéde 'shoulder; 2 parts of a tent' JOD, RR
Osage įkšeče 'shoulder' JOD, RR
Quapaw įkhéte 'shoulder' RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
Biloxi axé', ṭaxé 'shoulder' D&S:172b, axe'ya, kūdēsk axe', ṭaxéya 'wings' D&S:172b

General comment

Cf. 'ball joint > shoulder', 'arm'. Mandan (and perhaps Biloxi) a- likely is a compounded reflex of *(a)-(re) 'arm'. Mandan ąk corresponds to DH kh frequently. The relationship of the Biloxi form, if any, is unclear. Note especially that two of the terms for 'shoulder' have an irregular *(h)į-. This suggests that this may not be merely an irregular form of the possessive *i-. More specifically, it suggests that the other term for 'shoulder' in Dakotan, hį-yete, q.v., is probably not borrowed from Hoocąk but rather also contains this older, prefixed portion that refers to the shoulder. While we have no doubt that Mandan and the DH forms are (irregularly) cognate, we are dubious about the cognacy of Biloxi, as Proto-Siouan /*xk/ is usually preserved there.

While Mandan ąk can be organic, it can also derive from a morphologically produced k + k.
shoulder > scapula

*noun* physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *â•wro

Proto-Dakota *awró

Lakota abló ‘shoulder, scapula’ EB:54b

Dakota amdó ‘shoulder, scapula’ SRR:32b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere á•bro ‘shoulder’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha á•bro

Kanza/Kaw abló ‘shoulder’ RR

Osage ábtho ‘shoulder (scapula, upper arm)’ LF:6b

Quapaw ábdo ~ abdó ‘shoulder’ JOD

**General comment**

In Proto-Mississipi-Valley this may be a compound of Proto-Siouan *â•re ‘arm’ and *wro ‘round (2)’. The variation in accent placement suggests various degrees of loss of distinctiveness in vowel length.

shout

*noun* social_communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *srekE

Pre-Mandan *šrek

Mandan šrēk ‘warhoop (sic), noise’ H:235

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw sdeké ‘bawl’ JOD

**General comment**
This term may be considered to involve sound symbolism, cf. English ‘shriek’. This is true of dozens of Siouan terms with the shape *SrV*.

**show**

verb perceptual, visual, caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *owį́he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ó•wia < *ó•wihe

Crow óowia 'show' GG:52, óowee 'point out' GG:52

Hidatsa ó•wia 'point at, teach, show' J

Pre-Mandan *owį́h-

Mandan owį́hoʔš 'he pointed at it' RTC
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

side (1)

adverb physical, spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *są́•he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *a-cahcah-E

Crow d̄hka ‘near’ GG:64
Hidatsa aχ̄a ‘near’ J

Pre-Mandan *są̄he

Mandan ą̄ph ‘be on the other side, across’ [ą̄ph d̄-həʔš ‘he went across’] RTC, ą̄he ‘half, part, price’ H:222

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *sɪp(ʃ)̌

Proto-Dakota *sq̌í

Lakota sq̌í ‘on one side, sideways’ RTC, saŋnica, ṭaŋnica ‘on one side, sideways’ EB:452b

Dakota saŋ-ní, ṭaŋní ‘of one side, on one side’ SRR:431a, saŋ-ní-ća, ṭaŋnica ‘on one side’ SRR:431a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sáŋįk-

Chiwere ḧáñikhe JOD, ḧ̂a’taŋñyigun, ṭ-･･･q ‘on that side’ JGT:869

Hoocąk saanįk ‘side; direction’ KM:2788, saanįk, sąąnįk?

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw dią́ ‘side, edge’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi sa’hí’, sa’hí’ya”, ṭaŋį ‘on the other side’ D&S:251b, sa’hí’xa, ṭaŋįxa ‘one of a pair’ D&S:251b, ı̄s’ha”, ṭaŋį ‘at one side or end’ D&S:251b

General comment

The following Lakota forms may be related but lack nasalization: sakhíb ‘together’ B-452 ı̄s’khíb ‘on the side of, along side of’ mısakhíb ‘at my side’ B-233 ı̄s’khíbya ‘on the side of, beside’ B-233 Cf. ‘brave (2)’ for a parallel to the Crow/Hidatsa developments postulated here. In Proto-Crow-Hidatsa the final -ahe would reduce to the a still attested in Hidatsa. Reduplication is the key to the internal developments: *a-cahcah-E > *a-c’hca. The cluster chc simplifies to ch in Hidatsa and to h> ht before a in Crow.
side (2)

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *su

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cua < *cūhe

Crow čúa ‘other side, other of a pair’ GG:39 , chúa ‘half dollar’ GG:39 , chúa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa cu ‘one side of’ J , cí ‘on other side, across’ J , cíhka ‘across, directly across’ J , cíhka ‘across to’ J , cíkta ‘half’ J , itáhcu ‘half, one side, one of a pair’ J

Catawba sude%a , šudeʔa ‘at the side of’ PV:122 , hisuyi , šudeʔa ‘his side’ PV:122

similar

particle evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *se

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow -či in: -či/-ači ‘kind of, sort of, like that’ GG:64

Hidatsa -ci in: -rači/-ači ‘similative’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan -š in: -raš ‘typifier’ H:467

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

similitive

enclitic n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ska

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa -cki in: hicki ‘it must be’ J , -cki in: ëcki ‘to fit; approach perfection’ J , -ck- in: ëckhar ‘accurately; (to go) straight to’ J

Pre-Mandan


Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ska

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-ske

Chiwere ëbhg; ëbg, ūbkg, ūbk ‘like that; be thus’ JGT:1661 , dagbë/dëbhke (old) , ūbk ‘then it was; it was thus; is that right?’ JGT:632 , ëtaxjebhe/ëtaxchébhe , ūbkg ‘more than’ DOR, JGT:868 , se ëdrebë/ she ëdrehke , ūbk ‘like that/ be like that’ DOR, JGT:3392 , sebhg/ shëbhkë , ūbk ‘like that/ be like that’ DOR, JGT:3423 , xg-, ūbk ‘like that; it’s like that; about’ LWR, JGT:188 , xge- in: arëcgédë/ ærcégéda , ūbkg Hoocąk -sge in: ëjajëgí’sge ‘about there; about that time’ KM:300 , -sge in: ëjajëgí’sge ‘thus, be thus’ KM:791 , -sge in: ëësge ‘be correct, true; truely’ KM:1074 , -sge in: ëësge = ëësge ‘be correct, true; truely’ KM:4009 , -sge in: hësge ‘surely’ KM:4010 , -sge in: hësge , -sge in: ëësge , -sge in: ëësge , -sge in: ëësge

Proto-Dhegiha *-ska

Omaha-Ponca ëh-nska ‘that large’ , ëh-nska ‘that large’ , ëh-nska ‘that large’ , ëh-nska ‘as large as that one’

Kanza/Kaw -ska in: hëyşka ‘how big, what size?’ RR , -ska in: hëyşka ‘of a certain size, it’s that big’ RR , -ska in: hëyşka ‘size, this size, this large’ RR


Quapaw denaská ‘size, of this size’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi -ska in: ténaska , ūska ‘this large’ D&S:273a , -ska in: tcénsaka ko énaska , ūska ‘as large as’ D&S:211a
sinew

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-sihe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wacua < *wacuhe

Crow bachua ‘sinew’ GG:24

Hidatsa wacua ‘sinew’ J, macua

Pre-Mandan

Mandan šihé ‘sinew’ RTC

General comment

This term may have been inherently possessed and borne the prefix i-. This would account for position of the accent but should have produced vowel length.
sing

verb social,culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *rą-

Mandan waxkaną́•roʔš 'he is singing' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *Rową́

Lakota lową́ 'sing' RTC

Dakota dową́ 'sing' [- ablaut] SRR:109

Assiniboine nową́ 'sing' PAS:374

Stoney nową́ 'sing' PAS:374

Sioux Valley dową́ 'sing' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere yą́•we 'sing' RR

Otoe yą́•we 'sing' RR

Hoocąk nakwą́ 'sing; song' KM:2256 , ną́kwaŋ

Proto-Dhegiha *waʔą́

Omaha-Ponca wą́ŋ ‘sing’ RKH , wą́ŋ

Kanza/Kaw wą́ŋ ‘sing’ RR

Osage waʔą́ ‘sing’ RR

Quapaw wą́ŋ ‘sing non-dancing songs’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *(ya ~ wa)-ų́hi

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ų́

Biloxi yaoŋ , yaoŋni , tyap-ni ‘sing’

Ofo atö́hi , atö́hi ‘sing’ D&S:322b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo yą́mų́ŋyę́m (ə = a or α) , tyamų́ŋyę́m ‘sing’ H

Proto-Catawba

828 of 1128
Catawba mǫʔ- ‘sing’ FGS:9a

General comment

A very difficult set. Chiwere and Hoocąk frequently, but not always, collapse the reflexes of Proto-Siouan *y and *r. Here they differ in their treatment, so Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere is not directly reconstructible. We suggest an ancient derivational relationship between ‘song’ (q.v.) and ‘sing’: the original *wų having been reinterpreted as Proto-Siouan *ʔų ‘make, do’ in many languages in the verbal form. Preposing an onomatopoeic syllable ya ~ wa followed this reinterpretation in several languages as an opacity-reducing measure. Tutelo appears to preserve the ‘song’ root as -mdį < *-mįhi, while Ofo seems to have dissimilated the root to ‘-rįhi. Cf. Mandan muhe ‘song’. Such dissimilation of Proto-Siouan *wų is not uncommon. Clearcut reconstruction of either the verbal or nominal with this meaning is made more difficult due to constant interference from sound symbolism. Some languages make a distinction between ‘sing’ (as here) and ‘sing dancing songs’, which is ‘xóhka.

singe

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Rá•-sote

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk taasóč ‘singe’ KM:3083, taasoc

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw oðásoje ‘burn up, singe’ JOD, MR, RR, dásotta ‘burn bare’ RR

General comment

The geminated Kanza/Kaw term is derived from †sor-ka with the usual DH metathesis and subsequent assimilation. The prefix is a reflex of Proto-Siouan *aRá•- ‘heat/cold, instrumental’.
sink > drown
verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sipE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cipE

Crow čipí ‘drown’ RG, GG:38, őhčipi ‘dive’ RG, GG:52, daššipí ‘sink, cave in’ RG
Hidatsa cipE ‘drown’ J, kícipE ‘dive back’ J

Pre-Mandan *(−)š-

Mandan kšíp ‘go under water’ H:121, kšíp ‘drown, go under water’ H:122

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *spé(-CAUS)

Proto-Dakota

Lakota aspE ya ‘cause to sink’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk sawaré ‘sink, drown’ KM:2799, saware

Proto-Dhegiha *spe

Kanza/Kaw dgespe ‘cover completely’ RR
Quapaw spe ‘sink’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kíduspé’yé, ḋkiduspéye ‘cause to sink in’ D&S:208, kídaspe’, ḋkíduspeye ‘it sank in the water’ D&S:208a

General comment

Crow daššipí ‘cave in, sink’ GG-42, DEC-96 shows 5 grade of the root, which may be paralleled in Mandan kšíp. Hoocąk shows a reflex of *spe-re, which may be a frozen ablaut variant of this root.
sister (1) mSiEl

social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wį́he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-wía < **-wíhe

Crow išblá 'his sister' RG, GG:90, RGG:22

Hidatsa itawía 'his elder sister' J

Pre-Mandan *tawį•he

Mandan wį•he 'woman' RTC, kótawį•he 'his sister' H:285, ptawį•'my sister (male speaker)' RTC

General comment

The offspring numbering system, which shares several look-alikes with 'man’s sister' (e.g., DH wihé 'second daughter'), seems to center on MVS and represents an innovation in that subgroup. Proto-Siouan *he is lost in MVS; thus the two forms must be historically separate. In fact, this form is the pan-Siouan root for 'woman', with the alienable possessive prefix. Matthews (1959) has argued that those forms that are transparently alienably possessed represent innovations, in which case this is probably a replacement for an earlier term. Tutelo ḫkomilhčə̇, kómqáñ (N) 'girl' (H.) may be related.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

sister (2) mSiEl
	noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-hą́•ke

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *i-htą́•ke

Proto-Dakota *thą́•ke

Lakota thą́•ke ‘man’s elder sister’ RTC
Dakota thą́•ke ‘man’s elder sister’ SRR:458a
Assiniboine thą́•ke ‘man’s elder sister’ PAS
Stoney thą́•ke ‘man’s elder sister’ PAS:693

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ithą́•ke

Chiwere ithą́•ke ‘male’s or female’s younger sister’ RR
Hoocąk hičą́•k ‘female’s younger sister’ KM:829 , hicą́k

Proto-Dhegiha *ihtą́•ke

Omaha-Ponca ittá•ge RR
Kanza/Kaw ittá•ge ‘his sister, her younger sister’ RR
Osage ihtą́•ke RR
Quapaw ittá•ge RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tą́•ke topí , tą́•ke ‘his younger sister (rare form)’ D&S:272a , tą́•ki , tańk , tańkiya’ , tą́•ki ‘man’s older sister’ D&S:272a

General comment

This appears to be the prototype of various sister terms, others being derived from it by several distinct means. It seems to have been originally a term used by male speakers to refer to their sisters; it was later extended to use by female speakers in a few instances. The “elder than Ego” versus “younger than Ego” distinction was seemingly less strong for sisters than for brothers, given the wide variety of sister terms derived from this prototype.

Crow isähkd ‘mother’ (GG-89, DEC-22), although superficially similar, does not match phonologically or semantically. Cf. ‘sister (3) mSiYo’, ‘sister (5) wSiYo’.
sister (3) mSiYo

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-htaŋ-

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *thąk-šį̀

Lakota thąkšį̀ ‘man’s younger sister’ RTC
Dakota thąkšį̀ ‘man’s younger sister’ SRR:458a
Assiniboine thąkšį̀ ‘man’s younger sister’ PAS:680
Stoney thąkšį̀ ‘man’s younger sister’ PAS

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage ḫó’e zihiŋa , ḫáthį́xe ‘younger sister’ LF:80a

Proto-Southeastern *i-thą́ska

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *i-thą́ska

Biloxi táska , táska ‘female’s younger sister’ D&S:272a
Ofo ihtóⁿfka , ihtāŋfka ‘sister’ D&S:324b , mo’ní táŋfka , źuńfka ‘my mother’s sister’ D&S:328

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo witsānk, witsąsk , ź-tą́šk ‘my elder brother’ H

General comment

This term is seemingly derived from ‘sister (2) mSiEl’, but by different means in the different subgroups. It typically refers to younger sisters, and is typically used by a male Ego. Although the Tutelo gloss is surprising, even casual inspection reveals that the kinterms recorded from that language were mixed, confused, and poorly remembered by its last speakers; hence we feel justified in including it here. Given the distinct patterns of derivation, these forms are not truly cognate; only the root of ‘sister (2) mSiEl’ is common to all.

Crow isiḥčī’tsa ‘his younger sister’ (GG-89, DEC-22) and Hidatsa itāhk’sta ‘his younger sister’ (J) seem to be derivatives from the form mentioned in the note to ‘sister (2) mSiEl’. Crow isiḥk’á ‘mother’. Like that term they do not fit phonologically with forms found elsewhere in Siouan. Specifically, the preaspirated hk suggests an earlier Ck which we cannot explain through comparison. The final Proto-Crow-Hidatsa -štə is also unexplained.
sister (4) wSiEl

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *i-yų́•(-ʔi)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa írub 'her older sister' J

Pre-Mandan *-rųk

Mandan wįrų́k 'my elder sister, female speaker' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *i-yų́•ʔi

Proto-Dakota *ćų-

Lakota čhuı́wé 'woman's elder sister' RTC

Dakota čų

Assiniboine čhugu [saa.] PAS

Yanktonai čhů́wi

Stoney čhū́wi - PAS:670

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *i-yų́•ną

Chiwere hiyúną 'my older sister' RR

Otoe iyiŋŋų 'woman's sister' JDH

Hoocąk nų́ųnų 'man or woman's older sister' KM:2392 , nų́ųnų

Proto-Dhegiha *ižǫ́re ~ *ižǫ́ʔe

Omaha-Ponca žǫðihą 'woman's elder sister (voc.)' RTC , izhúⁿthe F&LF:316

Kanza/Kaw žółwe RR

Osage izhóⁿthe , žółšę́ 'her elder sister' LF:82b

Quapaw žółšę́ , ežölde RR, JOD

General comment

Since Hoocąk, Mandan and MRS merge *y/*r, mixing with 'old' is possible. Cf.

*rų 'old, mature'. Loss of post accentual ʔ leads to insertion of the usual intervocalic r glide in several languages, w in others. Final -i rather than -e is the lectio difficilior here and therefore may be the reconstruction.
sister (5) wSiYo

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-htą́•ke-aka

Pre-Mandan *tą•ka

Mandan Kotą́•ka ‘her younger sister’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i-htą́ka

Proto-Dakota *thąka

Lakota thąká ‘woman’s younger sister’ RTC

Dakota ą́gka, ą́hą́ka ‘a woman’s younger sister’ SRR:457b

Assiniboine thąga [sas.] PAS

Stoney thąg PAS:694

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hicą́kara ‘her younger sister’ JWE, hicą́k

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca itą́gə RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tanį́kàkà, taʔkàkà ‘male’s younger sister’ D&S:272a

General comment

Here the root htą́ke of sister (2) mSiEl’ is extended to younger sisters, and the derived form is typically used by a female Ego. The nature of the derivation is best shown in Biloxi, which has a transparent compound: tąk-aka = ‘sister (2) mSiEl’ + ‘younger’. The second root aká is encountered in several other kinterms, where it always designates younger members of a category.

This scenario requires postulating haplology in MVS: -kaka > -ka.

Crow iso•ká ‘her younger sister’ (GG-94, DEC-23) Hidatsa itą́ku ‘her younger sister’ (J) do not fit phonologically with forms found elsewhere in the family. The pre-Crow form was *to•ka, pre-Hidatsa perhaps *tə•ka with rightward vowel exchange and length fixed as a syllable feature. Vowel exchange typically affects u, not o. In addition, only short o’s raise to u in Hidatsa. Thus it is difficult to be certain of the Proto-Crow-Hidatsa form.
sister (6)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(i-)rų́(-rį)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa ırú 'her older sister' J

Pre-Mandan *(rųk

Mandan wįrų́k 'my elder sister, female speaker' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *inų́(-nį)

Chiwere ínų́ñį 'sibling of same sex' RR

Hoocąk hinų́ 'older sister, male or female speaker' KM:966, hinų́

Proto-Southeastern *inų́•-(ni)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi inóⁿni, ūnóni 'her elder sister' D&S:200a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo minōn, ũniŋ 'younger brother' H

General comment

OVS shows a possible reflex of *rų́ 'old, mature'.
sister-in-law (1) mWiSi, mBrWi

noun social kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *'i-hą́ka

Pre-Mandan *-hą́k

Mandan tarōhą́k ‘his sister-in-law’ H:244

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *'iḥą́ka

Proto-Dakota *'hą́k

Lakota hą́k ‘man’s sister-in-law’ RTC

Stoney ḥəgå PAS:699

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ḥą́ga GM, ḥą́ha GM

Hoocąk hı́iwaŋe ‘sister-in-law of male’, hı́iwaŋe

Proto-Dhegiha *'iḥą́ka

Omaha-Ponca ḥòga , ḥı́ha ‘wife’s sister’ F&LF:317

Kanza/Kaw ḥı́ga ‘his potential wife, sister-in-law’ RR

Osage whį́gę ‘my sister-in-law’ RR

Quapaw ḥį́ka, ḥį́ka JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tahą́ńk ‘sister’ H , etahę́ńk ‘his sister’ HW

General comment

In Hoocąk *w is normally replaced by h, not the other way around, so this Hoocąk form is not directly cognate. Mandan and Tutelo both have initial τ-, possibly from the old ‘man’s sister’ term or perhaps from the alienable possession base.
sister-in-law (2) wHuSi, wBrWi

*noun social_kin*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-šičhą*

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *išičhą*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ščépʰą — ačépʰą ‘woman’s sister-in-law’ RTC

Dakota ščepʰą ‘woman’s husband’s sisters’ SRR:176

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *išiḳą*

Chiwere ḳišiŋą GM

Hoocąk hišiŋą ‘sister-in-law of female’ KM:1078, hišiŋą

Proto-Dhegiha *išičhą*

Omaha-Ponca wišičhą ‘my sister-in-law’ RR

Kanza/Kaw išičhą RR

Osage šičhą RR, šišhą RR

Quapaw išičhą JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ičkáŋ’, ḥčkáŋ’ D&S:265a

General comment

RR *Biloxi* has undergone syncope. The Dakotan forms are not directly relatable at present < šike + hą.
sitting, be; sitting positional

verb physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *wų

Proto-Siouan *rų̞-kE < **wų̞-ke

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rṑkE , *rṑhku < **ruk-ka

Crow da-čí 'remain voluntarily' GG:40 , dahká 'stay, live at' GG:41 , awd-chi 'sit' GG:107

Hidatsa rṑkE 'be sitting, be there (sitting)' (beside wákku, hákku, pl. ḥákku) J , ṭōhkú 'continue, stay, remain' J , awd-kE 'sit down' J , wṑkE 'lie, be reclining, stay' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rą̞k 'in a sitting position, hanging' H:164 , rõ̀ke 'be alive, sit, hang from' H:165 , rą̞kóʔš 'he's sitting' RTC , ṭōkçu̞ 'sit on something, ride horseback' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *rű́kE

Proto-Dakota *yą́kə́

Lakota yą́k 'be sitting, exist' [+ ablaut] RTC

Dakota yaŋ-ká , ḥą́k 'be, exist' SRR:610a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ną́ge

Chiwere ną́ge 'be sitting' GM , mį́nà 'sit' RR

Hoocąk mį́nà̞k 'sit' KM:2091 , mį́nà̞k

Proto-Dhegiha *rå̞

Omaha-Ponca dą̞ 'sitting object, definite article' RR

Kanza/Kaw yąq 'sitting object, definite article' RR

Quapaw ną́q 'the singular sitting inanimate' JOD

Proto-Southeastern *ną́k-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ną́kí

Biloxi nańkí , ṭńkí 'sitting object, curving object' D&S:233b

Ofo ną́kí , ṭńkí 'be sitting, live in a place, stay' D&S:327a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo mahán'ńka , ṭmahą, ną́ká 'sit down' (pronoun infix) H , nańká , ṭńká 'stay, remain' H , nań'ke , ṭńké 'put down' DSF

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wų́ 'sit' KS
General comment

DH has doublets from Proto-Siouan *rą-ke (1) the above definite articles and (2) positional auxiliaries based on *rį- with vowel mutation. Cf. ‘be lying’. We propose a single Proto-Siouan-Catawba root *wų•- ‘stay, be in a place’ that gave rise to doublets in Proto-Siouan, *wą•- ‘lie’ and rą•- ‘sit’ via the independently documented dissimilation of *wų to wą ~ rų ~ rą (cf. ‘ask’, ‘lie’, ‘sing’, ‘song’). This has the advantage of explaining three things via a known process: (1) the fact that Catawba wą(ʔ) means ‘sit’, not ‘lie’, (2) the fact that Dakotan ‘sit’ is conjugated in the first and second persons like a W-stem, and (3) the fact that Hidatsa ‘sit down’ and ‘lie’ differ only by a transitivizing prefix. In addition, while Crow and Hidatsa reflect earlier *wa in these forms, they reflect a co-existent *ru in the positional forms in -hku. These are from *ruk + ka > *ruhka > *rahku by the usual Crow/Hidatsa rightward vowel exchange. It is interesting to note that Mandan and Biloxi have ‘hanging’ as a possible gloss for this root. We doubt that such a shift is convergent, and suspect that this is an old positional meaning. On this point, we note that ‘be hanging’ is the fourth ‘positional’ in Muskogean languages, although it isn’t derivationally related to ‘sit’. 

840 of 1128
six

numeral abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *aká•we

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *akə•wa

Crow akaawd’six’ GG:4, RGG:80

Hidatsa ok•wa ‘six’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kəwq’six’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley (*šāk +) *akwe

Proto-Dakota *šākpe

Lakota šākpe ‘six’ RTC

Dakota šāk-pe , ṭākpe ‘six’ SRR:440b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *akwe

Chiwere šākwe — sākwe ‘six’ RR , ṭāwęwe ‘six’ RTC

Hoocąk hakewé ‘six’ KM:597 , hakewe

Proto-Dhegiha *šāhpe

Omaha-Ponca šāppe ‘six’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw šāppe ‘six’ RR

Osage šāhpe ‘six’ RR

Quapaw šāppe ‘six’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *akďpe (?)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi akąxpē’ , ṭaκąxpé ‘six’ D&S:172b

Ofo akąpē’ , ṭaκąpē ‘six’ D&S:319b , akApē’ , ṭaκąpē ‘six’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo agās , akās , akąsp , akąspē , akąspē , akąspē , agās , ṭaκąs-pe ‘six’ N, H , āg’sp , ṭaκąs-pe ‘six’ HW

General comment
This set, like the other second quine numerals, exhibits considerable irregularity, the Mandan being especially problematic. OVS and MRS clearly represent the older structure. Hoocąk, too, seems to preserve an old form, but it, like the other MVS language, has undergone syncope, the pre-Hoocąk being *akwe with the lost vowel subsequently replaced by Dorsey's law. If we assume that this syncopated form was the old form in Pre-Proto-Mississipi-Valley, then MVS has reanalyzed the numeral as ‘šok- ‘hand’ plus the remainder of the original form, perhaps in accordance with sign language symbology. Cf. ‘seven’ and Lakota šaglóɣą ‘eight’. Though the change from Proto-Siouan *akìwe to Proto-Mississipi-Valley *akwe is not motivated, such syncope is attested elsewhere in the family. In Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kw was not a permitted cluster. Its replacement is evidently ‘kp’; the clusters of Chiwere and Hoocąk resulted from the secondary development of post-accentual p to w generally in those languages.

Just as with the numeral ‘three’, there has been interaction between Tutelo and the Illinois Algonquian dialects. Proto-Algonquian ‘six’ is reconstructed as *nekwerwa-li, but Miami-Illinois has a basically unrelated /kakawaatswi (Costa MS 1991), which is clearly comparable to Tutelo ťaka-ẹpe. The interaction may have been mutual however, as the Algonquian ending is necessary to account for Tutelo -s-. We are unable to account for the x (preaspiration?) in Biloxi.

skim (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-se(-re)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-ze

Proto-Dakota *-ze

Lakota -žë, ka- ‘ladle or dip out with a spoon or ladle’ EB:296, -ze, wīna- ‘a gravy strainer’ EB:587, -žë, ya- ‘take out with the mouth from something, as food from a kettle the way a dog does, or a killed duck from a pond’ EB:631, -žë, yu- ‘dip, ladle out, e.g. food from a kettle; to skim’ EB:657

Dakota yužë ‘dip, lade out, as food from a kettle; to skim’ SRR:647b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk wiģíze ‘ladle’ KM:3969, wićiže (> wa-hi-gíže)

Proto-Dhegiha *-žëze

Kanza/Kaw áttazéze ‘fill out, fill up, raise level’ RR

Quapaw ákkizéze íthëde ‘pile up many flat objects one on another’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi adékse’, ḋadakše ‘she spread over him’ D&S:213a, dákse ka”, ḋakṣéka ‘sweep it!’ D&S:205, dákseći, dákse’i1, ḋakṣéći ‘sweep a room’ D&S:213a

General comment

Cf. ‘skim (3)’ for evidence of the possible relatedness of these meanings.
**skim (2)**

verb physical contact manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ptÉ*

Proto-Dakota *ptA*

Lakota *ptA*, ka- ‘ladle or bail out’ EB:288a, *ptA*, *ka- ‘fill up’ EJ

Dakota *kaptÉ* ‘lade or bail out’ SRR:264a

Proto-Dhegiha *ka-hatÉ*

Omaha-Ponca *gatÉ*, *gatÉ* ‘lump (of blood)’

Kanza/Kaw *ccÉ*, *ga- ‘skim a liquid, skim grease’ JOD, RR

Osage *gaṭsÉ*, *kaḥce ‘skim grease off’* LF:48a

Quapaw *né*, *ka- ‘dip or ladle out, as food’* RR
skim (3)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan -xe•(re)

Pre-Mandan -xe•r-

Mandan -xéroʔš, ru- ‘he grabs it with his mouth’ H:312, -xéroʔš, ru- ‘he grabs it’ H:312

Proto-Mississippi-Valley -ɣé

Proto-Dakota -ɣé

Lakota -ɣé, ka- ‘skim off, e.g. cream from milk’ EB:272, -ɣé, yu- ‘take out with the hand’ EB:636, -ɣéye, yu- ‘gather up in the hand, to take up by handfuls’ EB:636, -ɣéye, yu- ‘gather with the mouth, as cattle do grass’ EB:618

Dakota yu-ɣé ‘to take out with the hand’ SRR:623a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere -ɣé

Chiwere gixé, ʰgiɣé ‘to skim milk or cream, lift a blanket’ JGT:21

Hoocąk -ɣé, gi- ‘bring out, as fish with net’ KM:337, giɣe ‘fish out of a liquid with the mouth’ KM:2547, -ɣé, ra- ‘rescue one from drowning; pull out of water’ KM:2671, raɣe, -ɣé, ru- , ruɣe

Proto-Dhegiha -ɣé

Kanza/Kaw -ɣé, ga- ‘sweep up, scrape together’ RR, -ɣé, yú- ‘dip’ RR

Quapaw -xe, di- ‘rake, sweep litter away’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘Skim (1)’. This set complements the s grade of the root.
skin

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ha

Proto-Dakota *ha

Lakota há ‘skin’ EB:164

Sioux Valley há ‘skin’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ha

Chiwere ha ‘skin’ RR

Hoocąk hda ‘skin (non-human); bark of tree’ [usu = skin of a human] KM:514 , haa ‘hide (of animal); skin or hair (human) ?’ KM:514 , hda , haa

Proto-Dhegiha *ha

Omaha-Ponca ha ‘skin’ RR

Kanza/Kaw ha ‘skin’ RR

Osage ha ‘skin’ RR

Quapaw ha ‘skin’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘cover (2)’ and ‘horn’. It is possible that these three are derivationally related.
skinny, thin

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xaráhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xaráxxi

Crow xaláxxi ‘skinny’ GG:60, RGG:98
Hidatsa xaráxxi ‘thin, skinny’ H&V

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xra

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xra

Chiwere xláįį ‘hunger’ GM
Hoocąk -xara ‘thin’ KM:3858 , -xara

Proto-Dhegiha *xra

Kanza/Kaw xls ‘skinny’ RR
Osage xha , xld ‘emaciate, loss of flesh, waste away’ LF:219b
Quapaw xdd ‘skinny’ ASG, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi snáhi , ñndhį ‘slim, slender’ D&S:256b

General comment

Biloxi shows a different fricative grade. Biloxi also provides evidence for final *h, which might explain the Crow -xx- < *xhî (?) . Then again, the inexplicable Proto-Crow-Hidatsa may simply be some archaic version of reduplication. If this term is like others with the Proto-Siouan shape *Sará-, the second a should be long, with evidence for the length retained in Crow and Hidatsa. Here Crow/Hidatsa have closed syllables which may have served to shorten the vowel. This would imply Proto-Siouan *xará-he.
skunk

noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *awą́ka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *awakv

Crow awačil *badger* GG:14, RGG:1

Hidatsa awaká• *badger* J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wąhték *badger* RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mą́ka

Proto-Dakota *mąkd

Lakota mąkd *skunk* EJ

Dakota maŋ-ká, ḥmąkd *skunk* SRR:308b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere mą́kha *skunk* GM

Proto-Dhegiha *mąka

Omaha-Ponca mą́ga *skunk* RR

Kanza/Kaw mą́ga ~ mą́ga *skunk* RR

Osage mą́ka *skunk* RR

Quapaw mą́ka ~ mą́ka *skunk* RR

General comment

The Chiwere first-syllable vowel is irregular, and Chiwere aspiration is also unexplained, but cf. *dog*. Mandan and Chiwere both suggest an old -h final stem, but such a reconstruction is not supported by the other languages. The Mandan appears to be an old compound with an unknown second root. The northern languages have *badger* as the meaning, while it was *skunk* in Proto-Mississipi-Valley. Since both animals have white stripes, the semantic shift seems quite reasonable, whichever way it went. Kanza/Kaw and Quapaw also show one form with ǫ, which would match the Chiwere ą. In DH there is a common tendency to round reflexes of ą to ǫ following a bilabial. Cf. also *badger*. 
sky

*noun* natural phenomenon

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

*wę́•xi*

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa** *ahpá•xE (?)


*Hidatsa* ahpá•xE ‘cloud’ J, *ahpáxxi*

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *mą́•xi*

**Proto-Dakota** *mą́•x-pí*

*Lakota* maxpíya ‘cloud, sky’ RTC

*Sioux Valley* maxpíya PAS

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

*Hoocąk* mą́xí ‘sky, clouds (collectively)’ KM:2041, *mą́xí*

**Proto-Dhegiha**

*Osage* moⁿ´xe, †mą́xe ‘sky’

**Proto-Southeastern** *mą́xí*

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

*Ofo* očigwĕ, †ōšikwe ‘cloud’ D&S:328a

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

*Tutelo* maqōsi ‘cloud’ N, HH

**General comment**

The final vowel here seems to vary between the very commonly attested -E found in **Proto-Dhegiha** and **Crow/Hidatsa** and the less common -i from **Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**. We have chosen the latter for **Proto-Siouan** simply because it seems to be the lectio difficilior here. The **Proto-Siouan** form could just as easily have been *wę́•xEE*. In addition, this accentual pattern presumes a missing initial syllable. The MRS case is peculiar: the regular cognate appears in **Crow** awáxa. The form *ahpáaxi* looks like a prefixed version of the same root. **Ofo** ɨ is the reflex of **Proto-Siouan** *x* and labial resonants are lost, so the **Ofo** form only lacks nasalization to be a good candidate for cognacy. Cf. ‘cloud’.
sleep

verb psychosomatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *hiwų́• (?)

Proto-Siouan *hiyą́•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hîrdwE, *îhāwE

Crow hîrdwî ~ ìhâwî ‘sleep’ GG:48, GG:73

Hidatsa hîrdwî ~ ìhâwî ‘sleep’ J

Pre-Mandan *hraq?-

Mandan haq¿roʔs ‘he’s sleeping’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *yą•

Proto-Dakota čhą

Lakota čhą ‘day, sleep’ [used in counting days (sleeps) as in OM, B] EB:115b

Dakota čąq , čhąq ‘a night or day’ SRR:86a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *yaŋ

Chiwere ƛį(q) ~ ƛįŋ ~ ƛįŋ ‘sleep’ [Iowa] RR , ƛįŋ ‘sleep’ [Otoe] RR

Hoocąk nąŋ ‘sleep’ KM:210s , nąŋ

Proto-Dhegiha *ąį

Omaha-Ponca ąį ‘sleep’ RR

Kanza/Kaw ąį ‘sleep’ RR

Osage ąį ‘sleep’ RR

Quapaw ąį ‘sleep’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *(hi-)yą́•(-ri)

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *yąq(-r) (?)

Biloxi ya”ni , ty’dni ‘sleep’ D&S:290b , ya”te , ty’dte ‘be sleepy’ D&S:290b , ya” , ty’d ‘a sleep, a day’ D&S:290b

Ofo ćä”ftu , ćä”ftu ‘go to bed, lie down’ D&S:329a , bâca”ftu , bâca”ftu ‘I go to bed, lie down’ D&S:329a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo getc’h; hianta, hiankapewa , getc’h ‘sleep’ N, H , getc’h , getc’h ‘sleep’ DSF

Proto-Catawba

Catawba him”qre ~ ituŋ ‘sleep’ [numerous other transcriptions] SS , cf. himb”qre ‘sleep’
General comment

Cf. 'dream'. Crow and Hidatsa have conflated the roots for 'sleep' and 'dream'. Third person conjugated forms reflect 'sleep', while first and second person conjugated forms are based on 'dream'. 'sleep' *hiyą has been extended with the *-wE < *-wre of 'dream' *ihą́wre. In Ofo q is very frequently the reflex of earlier *q. Evidently vowel centralization occurred before denasalization. Chiwere once again has y where r is expected. Chiwere y is a reflex of earlier ž and should only come from Proto-Siouan *ž. This suggests either that the merger of *y and *r in Chiwere was not as complete as we had thought or that these terms are borrowings from DH. We have a number of examples of this. Catawba may also be cognate as *-wų- dissimilates in Siouan. The correspondence is not regular however, as the dissimilation product is normally r, not y.

slide (1)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xróte

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wawróje, †wawróje 'push off a scab' JGT:208

Proto-Dhegiha *xróte

Omaha-Ponca †xðóde 'pull out'

Kanza/Kaw gaxlóǰe 'skin, abrade some part of the body' RR

Osage thixthúdse, †ðüxlóce 'peel bark' LF:152a
slide (2)

physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xro

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -xoró, ru- ‘husk, peel off in a layer’ KM:2766, roxoró

Proto-Dhegiha *-xoró

Omaha-Ponca ba xthu, ṭađó, ba- ‘pierce’ MAS:136

Kanza/Kaw baxló ‘crawling, stooping while pushing through’ RR, ogáxlo ‘chip or cut out the inside’

Quapaw baxdó ‘pierce, stab, perforate’ RR, odíxdo ‘take food from a cache’ RR, póxdo ‘ooze, penetrate, as water from the ground’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *-xro

Biloxi dixdó, ṭáxó ‘hull beans or green nuts’ D&S:219b

Ofo atɛ́k tu´sto, ṭásto ‘husk (corn)’ D&S:329a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba stoʔ, šu, šíy ‘husk’ KS
slide (3)

physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šrókE

Pre-Mandan

Mandan srók ‘bare, bald’ H:218

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *-šroka

Lakota yušlóka ‘pull off’ EB:652 , wanášlogya ‘hull corn’ EB:539

Dakota kašdóka ‘knock off or out’ SRR:267b , pošdóka ‘push or shove off, as one’s coat sleeve’ SRR:414a , po-šdo’-ka

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tcdópi, tcdópt , ṭčdo- ‘smooth’, tcdoyέ , ṭčdo- ‘make smooth’

General comment

Cf. ‘slide (1)’ for possible related forms, contaminations, etc.

Omaha-Ponca gaçnu, baçnu ‘slide’ (SW-158) -snó is related via fricative symbolism.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

slide (4)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *siróhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ~Sirua < ~Siruhe


Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *srohį́

Lakota slohį́ ‘crawl’ [note ablaut] RTC, -slohe, wó- ‘a drag, a sled’ EB:608, -slohą, ka- ‘make something or somebody slide by striking’ EB:289, -slohę, na- ‘make slide by kicking, e.g. a dog’ EB:357, -slohią, pa- ‘push or shove along, e.g. a sled’ EB:433, -slohią, wó- ‘crawl’ EB:549b, -slohią, wayd- ‘drag along with the mouth, as a wolf or other animal does his prey’ EB:565, -slohią, wó- ‘make slide by shooting’ EB:608, -slohią, yu- ‘pull a sled, to drag or draw along’ EB:650, -slohiąą, twé- ‘to fly over the ground, as snow in a blizzard’ EB:247

Dakota sdo-hąŋ, ṭsdohį́ ‘crawl’ SRR:432b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere -θlı́ų, li- ‘lead pulling’ GM, -θlı́ų, gi- ‘slide, as in baseball’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca gaçnu, ṭsno, ga- ‘crawl’ MAS:158

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi siduhi´, ṭsiduhį́ ‘worn smooth’ D&S:262b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba kus sarhiʔ? ‘corn husked’ FGS:110

General comment

Chiwere and Dakotan may have both lost Proto-Siouan *-he, then compounded the root with (different) -h-initial elements. Alternatively, Chiwere and Dakotan may have compounded the root with a nasal vowel (morpheme) which preserved the h. The quality of the Biloxi and Crow/Hidatsa vowels argues for a short accented vowel here, even though most of these phonesthemic S(V)r roots have long vowels. We reconstruct first syllable -i- based on Crow and Biloxi. Crow shows lowering to -a- under the influence of an adjacent velar. Hidatsa may have extended -a- to all spirant grades of the root.
slip (1)

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-šrótE

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-šróte

Chiwere lišlóǰe ‘pull out, off’ GM, lišče

Hoocąk -šróč, ru- ‘pull loose, take off clothes’ KM:2987, rušoroc

Proto-Dhegiha *-šróte

Omaha-Ponca ṣ-šnode, ná- ‘slip off of its own accord’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw -štője, yü- ~ yüščóǰe ‘pull up’ RR

Quapaw -štţote, di- ‘pull off’ JOD

slip (2)

physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-srúkE

Proto-Dakota

Lakota paslúka ‘masturbation, onanism’ EB:433

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hiwasúruk ‘push sth. through so it appears on the other side’ KM:1118, hiwasuruk ‘be soaking wet, wet through and through’ KM:85, nįį boosúruk ‘push all the way through, v.tr.’ KM:819, nįį boosuruk, hibosúruk, hibosuruk
slip (3)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *srútE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa -cuarti ‘slip, slide’ J, cu•cu• ‘slippery’ J

Pre-Mandan *-ʃrut-


Proto-Mississippi-Valley *srútE

Proto-Dakota *-srutA

Lakota -slútA, ya- ‘pull out with the mouth’ EB:627, -slútA, na- ‘kick out with the feet, as from one’s bed; to slip out, as a foreign object from an ulcer’ EB:357, -slútA, ok- ‘hit the center, as in shooting and knocking out a piece perhaps’ EB:385, -slútA, pa- ‘push out of, as dirt from a pipe stem’ EB:433, -slútA, ya- ‘pull out, to draw out from under, as a splinter from under a fingernail, or a book from a shelf’ EB:650

Dakota yu-sdú-ta, †yusdúta ‘pull out, to draw out from under’ SRR:638b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk suruǰré ‘slide down slowly’ KM:2875, surucre ‘be naked’ KM:2877, surusúruč, surusuruc

Proto-Dhegiha *-stůte

Kanza/Kaw gaščačüče ‘fringe’ MR, RR

Osage thissu’dse, ɬiščúče ‘draw off, pull off’ LF:149b

Quapaw disšúte ‘pull out, milk, pull open’ JOD

General comment

The Hidatsa form without r but with long vowel may reflect earlier reduction of the *sr cluster. Cf. ‘lick’ in Hidatsa for a similar development. Cf. also Catawba sərɛ́ ‘pull off’.
slip (4)

verb  physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley  *šrúkE

Proto-Dakota

Lakota pašlúka ‘masturbation, onanism’ EJ

Proto-Hooçąk-Chiwere

Hooçąk wašurúk ‘push back foreskin’ KM:3492, WL:48.13, wašuruk ‘accomplish by cutting’ KM:2047,  mąąxuruk ‘step on and go all the way through; fig. be good at fancy dancing; accomplish’ KM:2272, WL:18.7, mąąxuruk ‘be able to do sth.; earn, v.tr.’ KM:2769,  nąąxuruk, ruxurúk, ruxuruk

General comment

The languages with cognates do not show reflexes of vowel length, so that feature cannot be reconstructed. But cf. -xru ‘push through’, which lacks vowel length in Hooçąk.

slip (5)

verb  physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan  *-šrútE

Pre-Mandan  *-šur- (7)

Mandan -šruːtəʔ, ra- ‘he slips’ H:218, rusnuːtak ‘it slipped (sub.)’ RTC,  šrumitoʔš, šrumutoʔš ‘it’s slippery’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota  *šruta

Lakota šīluta ‘slippery, as a road; smooth, as ice’ EB:465b, šiːtə, ayː- ‘have the teeth slip on anything’ EB:103, šiːtə, wa- ‘glance, as a bullet’ EB:609, šiːtə, ka- ‘strike and make glance off’ EB:291, šiːɬuta, na- ‘slip often; to make smooth with the feet’ EB:359, šiːɬa, pa- ‘loom up thence coming up and into sight’ EB:435, šiːɬa, yu- ‘slip out, to let slip from one, as a fish’ EB:652

Dakota šdúta ‘slipping’ SRR:442a
slip (6)

verb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šutE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-šutE

Crow dásshishi ‘break by hand’ GG:44, RGG:26, dísshishi ‘break with mouth’ GG:42

Hidatsa -šutE, ara- ‘lose footing, climb and slip’ J, -šutE, nú- ‘drop from teeth’ J, -šutE, nak- ‘glance a blow off, slip out of place and drop suddenly’ J, -šutE, nú- ‘drop out of hand’ J, -šutE, nú- ‘drop out of hand, lose one’s grip’ J, -šutE, pi- ‘drop a stick, push and glance off’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota -šuta

Lakota -šúta, we- ‘shoot and miss’ EB:553

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi nacûpĭ´, ṭačûpĭ´ (her) foot slipped’ D&S:267a, datcepí, dacçUPI´, ṭačçUPI´, dačçUPI´ ‘miss with the mouth, lips, teeth, etc.’ D&S:267a, dutçUPI´, dacçUPI´, dacçUPI´, dačçUPI´, dačÇUPI´ ‘miss, as in trying to catch a ball; it falls, because it slips from his grasp’ D&S:267a, dacçUPI´, rãnačUPI´ ‘kick an object and miss it’ D&S:267a, dacçUPI´, dacçUPI´, da- ‘miss an object in grasping after it, or in reaching out to an object’ D&S:267a, dûkuçUPI´, dûkuçUPI´ ‘miss in pushing or punching; to let a knife or an axe slip by the object without hitting or cutting it’ D&S:267a, kiducepí, ṭiducûpĭ´, ṭiducûpĭ´ ‘drop another’s property from the hand’ D&S:267b, natçUPI´, natçUPI´, ṭačûpĭ´ ‘let the foot slip’ D&S:267b

General comment

Both Crow and Hidatsa show dissimilation of the root u to i following the ru- instrumental prefix. Biloxi shows a different root extension in šup. The Biloxi špi forms may or may not belong with the Biloxi šup forms. Gemination of Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *š in Crow is not explained.
slow

verb evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *srátE

Proto-Dakota *srátA

Lakota sládA ‘slow, feeble’ EB:456b, -sláa, na- ‘go softly up to something, crawl up to’ EB:357a, -slátA, aná- ‘make one’s way slowly by foot’ EB:820, -slátA, wayú- ‘do a thing slowly’ EB:572

Dakota add-á, ?addá ‘slow, feeble’ SRR:432a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sráte

Chiwere thráje, ?θráðje ‘straight, upright’ JGT:70

Hoocąk -sdráč, nąą- ‘walk on tiptoe’ KM:2795, nąąsarac ‘do slowly and carefully’ KM:2795, -sdráč, hiðu-, hirusarac

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw nqádi ‘step lightly, quietly’ RR

General comment

Cf. the homophone ‘upright, insert’.
slowly

adverb physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *srúte

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere θlíǰe ‘leisurely’ GM, ðhní’e ‘slow, taking time, softly, easily’ JOD, JGT:71

Proto-Dhegiha *srúte

Omaha-Ponca snıde ‘slow’ MAS:158, çnide

Kanza/Kaw sčǘǰe ‘straight, correct, exact’ RR

Osage waçtu’dse, ťwashúc’e ‘slow walking or moving’ LF:186b

Quapaw óstitte ‘slowly’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘slow’. Chiwere i does not correspond to u. However, the Dorsey form ðhní’e, with its impossible Chiwere cluster thn suggests that the Chiwere form may have been borrowed from Omaha-Ponca.
smell

verb perceptual, olfactory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-wrą

Proto-Dakota *-mna

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-prą

Proto-Dhegiha *-brą

Omaha-Ponca blą́, brą́, bą́ń, bną́ ‘smell’ RR

Kanza/Kaw bablą́ ‘spoil, puncture and give off an odor’ RR, bōblą́ ‘smell of gunpowder, cause by shooting’ RR, JOD, bāblą́ ‘smell, cause to rise from lying on grass’ RR, JOD, ddbłą́ – ddblą́ ‘smell, give off a burning odor’ RR, JOD, gablą́ ‘smell, give off an odor’ RR, yūblą́ ‘smell, make the hands, make smell handling’ RR

Osage uthíbthoⁿ, †oðǘbrą́ ‘to smell’ LF:176b

Quapaw -bną́, di- ‘smell (hands)’ RR, -bną́, di- ‘to smell of sth. burning’ RR, -bą́ń, di- ‘smell (hands)’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo nąphíhi, †nąphíhi ‘smelling good’ D&S:326b

General comment

Biloxi pa’ni ‘inhale, smell’ (DS-244a) and Tutelo uwalah’ha ‘to smell’ (Hw.) are apparently not related. If Ofo ną́- is the cognate, then Proto-Siouan would be *wa-rą́.
smoke tobacco, pipe

noun social_culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *ųpa

Proto-Siouan *ųpa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ọpV

Crow ópa 'tobacco' GG:52
Hidatsa ọpi 'tobacco' J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ųpa

Proto-Dakota *įpA

Lakota ṣ̱pa 'to smoke' RTC, ḍhanápą 'pipe < tobacco + smoke'

Dakota ųpa, ṣ̱pa 'to smoke (tobacco)' SRR:86b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ʔ̱ḏ̱mąpẹ 'pipe' GM

Proto-Dhegiha *-ǫpa

Omaha-Ponca niniba 'pipe' MAS:137
Kanza/Kaw qnpréba 'pipe' RR

Osage no'nišóba, ḋnprépa 'pipe' LF:116a

Quapaw taniha 'pipe' RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ąpa 'tobacco' KS, ASG, ḋępa 'tobacco' KS, MAS, ḋpa PV:11

General comment

Cf. Iroquoian terms (under 'tobacco'), where kw substitutes for p. This is another term with look-alikes found all the way to the Pacific coast, although it may have arrived in Siouan-Catawban early enough to be reconstructible. It generally no longer means 'tobacco' in most of Siouan. The DH initial vowel correspondences are explained by the fact that this term is only found compounded with *Ranį́-hü 'tobacco'. Cf. also 'drink, inhale smoke'. Mandan is not represented among the cognates here as the term would be homophonous with 'copulate (1)', q.v. Terms of roughly this shape are common loanwords in much of North America, so it is not at all certain that this is a native Siouan-Catawban etymon; it may well have been a very early loan.
smooth (1)
verb perceptual, tactile
Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *štųká

Proto-Dakota *štųka

Lakota štųka 'soft, of something that should be hard' EJ
Dakota štųg-kó, štųká 'unripe, as fruit' SRR:449a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wistográf, ōwistígge 'soften by pressure' JGT:234

Proto-Dhegiha *štǫká

Omaha-Ponca shotóga 'soft' MAS:160
Kanza/Kaw štògá 'soft' RR
Osage štòka 'soft' RR
Quapaw štökd 'soft' JOD

smooth (2)
verb perceptual, tactile
Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xó•he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xohxE (?)

Crow daxxtóxí 'peel, rasp' GG:43
Hidatsa eraxoxóF 'erase with foot, wipe off with foot' J, pdxoxóF 'smooth a hide after tanning' J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dákoxhí, tûkxohí, ṭ-xohí 'make smooth with a knife, to scrape' D&S:222a , kîtã kxohí, ṭ-xohí 'scrape for another' D&S:222a , paxaxí , ṭ-xohí 'scrape an object by pushing' D&S:222a

General comment
The Biloxi form with x may be a transcriptional variant of h. Cf. ‘skinny, thin’ for another form in which Biloxi -h matches Crow xx when Crow and Hidatsa show a possible *-he suffix or extension. Cf. ‘scrape clean > scrape up, scrape off, clear off’ for other Crow and Hidatsa forms.

**sneeze**

verb physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota pša

Lakota pšá ‘sneeze’ RTC

Sioux Valley pša PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hé•pšį

Chiwere héʔšį RR

Hoocąk heepšį KM:789 , heepšį

Proto-Dhegiha *hečhį

Omaha-Ponca hechi" MAS:160

Kanza/Kaw hečhį RR

Osage hétsi" , ṭheiχi ‘sneeze’ LF:59b

Quapaw héšį JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *amísę

Biloxi mísé , ṭmjį D&S:230b

Ofo amifę , ṭamifę D&S:320b

**General comment**

Phonologically there are at least two, and probably three or four, roots here, most involving at least some irregularities and all onomatopoeic. Cf. ‘cough’.
snipe (sandpiper, killdeer)

noun animal bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *htǫ́(w)į

Omaha-Ponca τóįj ~ τóįwį RR

Kanza/Kaw τóįj ~ τóįwį RR

Osage ṭoʔi’, ṭhaŋį ‘curlew’ LF:155b

General comment

Cf. Tunica ṭawén ‘plover (killdeer, roadrunner)’ (MRH). Since in this environment DH o is generally [u] phonetically, the fit with Tunica is nearly exact, although it is of course not possible to prove borrowing with such an imitative term. Crow čuudawil and Hoocak čweek are separate attempts to imitate, but Crow č does not equal Hoocak č historically.
snot

noun physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-pxíta

Crow axbíxa ‘snot, mucus’ GG:15

Hidatsa šíkaxíta ‘algae (lit. frog snot)’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpa-xrį

Proto-Dakota

Lakota pháxí ‘snot’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere pháxrįje , ṕháxrįje ‘snot’ JGT:232

Proto-Dhegiha *hpaxrį́

Omaha-Ponca ṕaxthį́ , ṕpxaxļį́ MAS:160

Kanza/Kaw ṕpxaxļį́ ‘snot’ RR

Osage ṕaxthį́ , ṕpxaxļį́ ‘mucus from the nose’ LF:126b

Quapaw ṕpxaxļį́ JOD

General comment

Here we group the forms which compound ‘head, nose (1), front end’ with either *xrį ‘mucus’ or *xri ‘ooze’ to generate the meaning ‘snot’. The Crow and Hidatsa forms are probably not cognate since Crow *x, Hidatsa r do not correspond to Proto-Siouan *r. The p in the Crow and Hidatsa forms might have come from ‘head, nose (1), front end’, though not through known sound changes.
snow (1)

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(wa-)wá•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wá•

Crow bí ‘fallen snow’ GG:29, RGG:6
Hidatsa wá• ‘fallen snow’ J , má•

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wáïthe ‘snow’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Wá•

Proto-Dakota *wá
Lakota wá ‘snow’ RTC
Dakota wá ‘snow’ SRR:487a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Wá•

Chiwere ba ‘snow’ RTC, RR, JGT
Hoocąk wáa KM:3179 , wáa

Proto-Dhegiha *Wa

Omaha-Ponca ma RR
Kanza/Kaw ba RR
Osage ba LF:17a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *(a-)Wahú

Biloxi wahú , ṭahú D&S:285b
Ofo abahú , ṭahahú ‘hail’ D&S:319a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wá; waʔwa, wáʔ FGS, SS, KS:206
Woccon wawawa JL

General comment
Cf. ‘snow (3)’. Biloxi #w- indicates (as Ofo suggests) that there was an initial syllable in the word earlier, since actually initial *w is lost in Biloxi. *wa-‘absolutive’ + wa-‘snow’ with the usual vowel syncope in ‘absolutive’ is the most likely source of *W, i.e., *w-wa > *w-wa > *Wa. We take Mandan -he to be a root extension peculiar, in this instance, to that language. Cf. ‘spring (season)’, ‘sun’, ‘hail’. As regards Proto-Siouan *(-hu): there seems to have been a distinction between ‘fallen snow’ and ‘snow which is in the air, or in a storm’. The form with *(-hu) refers to the latter. Cf. ‘blizzard’. The Woccon form probably corresponds with Catawba waʔwo we < waʔwə + we ‘future, potential’, and means ‘it’s going to snow’.

snow (2)

verb natural, force, weather

Proto-Siouan–Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-hpi

Crow bíihpi ‘falling snow’ GG:29, RGG:6

Hidatsa wa• + hpi ‘to snow’ J , ma•hpi

Pre-Mandan *-kpe (?)

Mandan kapkéʔ ‘to snow’ RTC

General comment

If Crow and Hidatsa reflect *kp, Mandan may have metathesized the cluster.

However, with Hidatsa wa•hpi ‘to snow’ compare Hidatsa wirhpi ‘bathe’ and tipihpi ‘sink into mud’. Evidently, -hpi is separable, with a meaning like ‘be immersed in’. Here, perhaps cf. Proto-Siouan *spe ‘cover’, implying a possible x grade in Hidatsa -hpi. This, however, leaves Mandan unrelated. On Crow vocalism, cf. ‘snow (1)’.
snow (3)
verb natural, force, weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(wa-)wá•-hu(-re)
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Wa•-(hu)(-re)
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Wá•hu
Chiwere bá•hu RR
Hoocąk waahúhi KM:3198, waahúhi

Proto-Dhegiha *Wa-(hü)-re
Omaha-Ponca máthé, †máđé
Kanza/Kaw bahúya RR
Osage bahúthe, †bahúde ‘snow’ LF:21a
Quapaw pođé RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *(a-)Wahú(-ri) (?)
Biloxi wahudí, †wahudí D&S:285b
Ofo abahó, †babahó ‘hail’ D&S:319a

General comment
Cf. ‘snow (1)’. Forms with -hu occur frequently in both the noun and the verb. Doubtless there has been a lot of mixing and we find it difficult to decide which forms are basic. Incorporation of the root *hu•(-re) ‘come’ is certainly one possibility, in which case the noun has been reanalyzed in terms of the verb. For another possibility, cf.

*huruhi ‘blizzard’.
snowshoe

noun physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pse* (o-hųpe)

Proto-Dakota *pse-ohapa

Lakota psohapa EB:446b

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

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk sée ‘snowshoes’ KM:2809, see

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca sé hihe

General comment

To the extent that this is analyzable, it seems to be a compound of a root *pse* and, apparently, locative *o-* and local reflexes of *hų́pe* ‘shoe’. Parallel instances of #ps- clusters point to an older *wa-sé•* where *wa-* is ‘absolutive’. Riggs’ explanation of ‘water ash’ perhaps reverses the direction of derivation. That is, rather than the tree being named for the snowshoe, the snowshoe is probably an ‘ash shoe’.

soak, spill (1)

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xtŋ*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota xtŋ, ka- ‘soak up, to soak in, as does grease in wood’ EB:275

Proto-Dhegiha *xtŋ*

Kanza/Kaw xtŋ, ba- ‘spill, push over a container’ RR, xtŋ, ga- ‘pour out, throw out dirt’ RR

Quapaw xtŋ, di- ‘pull at, pull over, upset’ RR, xtŋ, ka- ‘pour out, empty sth.’ RR, xtŋ, na- ‘kick over, spill’ RR, xtŋ, bi- ‘rub onto’ RR, xtŋxtŋ, dka- ‘sprinkle’ RR
soft (1)

verb perceptual, tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *tapá•-he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *tapá• < *tapàhe; *tapía < *tapihe


Hidatsa sapá• ‘soft’ [nose soft] J, apatapa• ‘moose’

Pre-Mandan


Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ṭqą

Proto-Dakota

Lakota paⁿpaⁿ´la ‘soft, as a deerskin; tender, like meat’ EB:431a, kpą́, kpą́la ‘fine, soft’ EB:317a, kpą́yá ‘tan a skin’

Dakota ąq‘soft, as dressed leather; or fine, as flour’ SRR:479b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere hdą ‘rotten (vegetable)’

Proto-Dhegiha *rühtą́hą

Kanza/Kaw yüttą́ttąhą ‘soften by working with the hands’

Quapaw dittą́hą ‘soften by pulling’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi qa’hį́, *ṭpąhį́ ‘any soft part of the body’ D&S:280a

General comment

Whether primary or secondary, *ṭp is unstable and dissimilates in different ways even within Dakotan. There are so few cases that we are not certain of the expected outcome in Chiwere. The Crow -ia fits the Biloxi form and suggests that in Crow/Hidatsa the common loss of post accentual -h- has taken place with subsequent vowel transposition. The DH final syllable represents an innovation, as reflexes of -he are not normally preserved in MVS languages. Mandan vocalism is irregular.
soft (2)

verb perceptual, tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *špą

Proto-Dakota

Lakota špą ‘cooked, burnt or frozen’ EB:467a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šwą́

Chiwere šwą́la ‘soft’ GM


Proto-Dhegiha *špą́

Omaha-Ponca usłpọ́ , ṭọ́lpọ́ MAS:160

Kanza/Kaw ṭpọ́ye ‘soak something in water’ RR

Osage špọ́ , ṭpọ́ ‘sodden, softened by soaking in water’ LF:134b

Quapaw ſpọ́ ‘be wet’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘moist, thaw, soft’
soft (3)

verb perceptual, tactile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šró

Pre-Mandan *šro-

Mandan šëroʔ 'it’s mushy, loose' H:237

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *šro

Lakota šlo ‘soft’ RTC

Dakota šdo ‘soft’ SRR:442

Sioux Valley šdo ‘soft’ PAS

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tdó, tcdópi, tdó ‘smooth’ D&S:262b

soldier

noun social, war

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *a-hkíta

Proto-Dakota

Lakota akíčhita ‘soldier’ RTC

Proto-Dhegiha *áhkita

Kanza/Kaw ákkida ‘soldier, policeman’ RR

Osage áḳida, áhkíta ‘officer; soldier’ LF:11a
some, a little

*particle abstract_amount*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *tu-

Mandan níʔš 'there are some, he has some' H:258

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *to-

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere dokhíla 'few, less, a little' GM

Hoocąk čoowéjį 'just a little' KM:274 , coowexį

Proto-Dhegiha *tópa

Omaha-Ponca dóba RR

Kanza/Kaw dóba 'some' RR

Osage dúba , trúpa 'some' LF:40a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *tu

Biloxi -tu 'pluralizer, evidential' D&S:281a

Ofo tu 'pluralizer'

Proto-Catawba

Catawba nʔ? 'little in size' FGS:2

General comment

The Hoocąk initial consonant does not match; it should be ŋ. It is also hard to reconcile the vowels. Mandan and OVS clearly support u while MVS has o or o•. The clitic status in OVS might possibly have affected the vowel, but the Mandan form has the same lexical status as the MVS cognates. Cf. the DH forms w. 'indefinite/interrogative (2)'.

something (1)

*particle abstract*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Dakota


**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Chiwere *dagú* ‘what; something; what?’ JGT:614, *dagú* ‘something; whatever (is)’ JGT:620, *dagú* in: *dagūre*


something (2)

*pronoun abstract*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *t̑apa*

Crow *s̑apa* ‘what’ GG:66

Hidatsa *t̑apa*- in: *teʔap’oʔ* ‘what could it be?’ [-ʔ question marker] J, *t̑apa*- in: *t̑apaʔ* ‘what is it?’ J

**Proto-Catawba**

Catawba *tɑ̌p̊ o* ‘something’ KS:208, *t̑pa* ‘something’ KS:208

**General comment**

Cf. ‘*indefinite/interrogative (3)*’, ‘*indefinite/interrogative (2)*’.

The Catawba forms appear in a very muddled set of forms meaning “something”, some of which probably reflect *t̑opa* or *t̑opa* ‘something’. Thus the existence of this form in Proto-Siouan-Catawba is uncertain.
son

noun social kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-yį́ke

Pre-Mandan
Mandan korį́ks ‘his son’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i-yį́ke

Proto-Dakota čhįkší
Lakota čhįkší ~ čhį́kš ‘son’ RTC
Assiniboine čįkš (Sak.) PAS
Stoney čhį̑kki

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *iyį́ke

Chiwere iyį́če GM
Otoe iyį́če
Hoocąk hįŋk KM:1157, hįŋk

Proto-Dhegiha *ižį́ke

Omaha-Ponca ižį́ge ‘son’ RTC
Kanza/Kaw ižį́ge ‘son’ RR
Osage izhíⁿge, ižį́ge ‘son’ LF:82a
Quapaw ižį́ge ‘son’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi yįñkı́, yįñkı́yáⁿ, yįki ‘his or her son’ D&S:294a

General comment

Chiwere again shows incomplete merger of Proto-Siouan *r and *y here, while Hoocąk merges the two completely. This term is a possessed extension of ‘little, young, child’, q.v.
son, first or eldest

text

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(i)-krį́

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *(i)-krį́

Chiwere hįgrų́ ‘1st son’ RR , hį́glų ‘1st son’ GM

Hoocąk kǔnuča JOD

Proto-Dhegiha *(i)-krį́ ~ *(i)-krı́

Omaha-Ponca īgδǫ́ ‘birth name of first son’ JOD , īgδǫ́ ‘grown son’ MAS

Kanza/Kaw īlölįŋa

Osage ỹɡbó‘, ỹló ‘first son (special kinship)” LF:75b

Quapaw ỹkdá žíka ‘first born son’ JOD

General comment

Nasalization of the possessive prefix is irregular but apparently widespread, occurring as it does in both subgroups in which the term is attested. Some sort of assimilation at a distance, while possible, is not an explanation. The restricted nature of this term suggests an areal origin.
song

noun social, culture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *wünsche

Proto-Siouan *wünsche

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wui

Crow bui ‘song’ GG:35

Hidatsa itir ‘his song’

Pre-Mandan *wui

Mandan wui ‘song’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi yo’ni , ŋyo’ni ‘song’ D&S:288b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba mọʔ ‘sing’ FGS:9a

General comment

Cf. ‘sing’. Catawba, Crow, and Hidatsa suggest *wünsche, from which Mandan may have dissimilated to *wünsche. Cf. ‘ask’. Cf. several DH terms in -mą referring to ringing sounds. Biloxi appears to be derived from ‘sing’ via contraction. Had Biloxi dissimilated *wünsche, one would expect ọdị rather than ŋo.
son-in-law (1)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-hta-ite, *i-ha-ite (?)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow bucé, tbuđé 'my son-in-law' L:339, ushí, tbuđé 'his mother-in-law, her son-in-law; relative with whom one does not speak' GG:58

Hidatsa itúți 'son-in-law' HWM

Pre-Mandan *nutE

Mandan kotús 'his son-in-law' H:259, ptúts ~ ptúte 'my son-in-law' H:259

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ithúte

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere udwą́ǰe [only in texts] LWR:31, udwą́čhi GM

Proto-Dhegiha *ihtǫ́te

Omaha-Ponca ittdé RR

Kanza/Kaw ittdje RR

Osage ittdše, ţiţuʃe 1E:332b

Quapaw ittdšte JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tōndiyu", ţudiyu 'son-in-law (= daughter's husband)' D&S:279b

General comment

Cf. 'cat', 'pumpkin' (and Algonquian terms borrowed into Chiwere in which Algonquian kw is adapted as Chiwere dw). Chiwere apparently has doublets. Both Chiwere terms have apparently been contaminated from some outside source. One of the Algonquian terms for son with kw may be involved, but cf. also Tunica -éti-kumāśi 'son-in-law' (any in-law) Haas-208, éti 'kin'. According to JGT92-235, the Chiwere doublet terms udwą́ǰe ~ udwą́čhi represent "cat in the house", an informal, colloquial term for son-in-law. This folk etymology accounts for je > čhi 'house'.

Comparative Siouan Dictionary
son-in-law (2)

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *Róqá

Pre-Mandan *rohąka

Mandan tarōhąkas ‘his son-in-law’ H:185

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *waRó(hą) ~ *wąRó(hą)

Chiwere wəndōhan, ʔwaʔtōhą ‘son-in-law’ JGT:235

Hoocąk watohóocí KM:3505, watohooci

son, second born

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(ki)-hé•

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *(ki)-hē

Proto-Dakota

Dakota he- in ‘second son’ SRR:45, heŋdàŋ ‘third son’, he- in, heŋ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hënaq

Chiwere hënaq ‘second son’

Hoocąk hënaq, heenāq ‘second son’ KM:787, heenq

Proto-Dhegiha *(į)-khé

Omaha-Ponca ikhe ‘last son’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw khéga ‘second son’ RR, ikhé ‘birth name, 2nd boy’ RR

Osage kshō’ga, ḳẖéqɨka ‘second son (a special kinship term used by members of a family only)’ LF:90b

Quapaw ḳẖéžika ‘second son’ JOD

General comment
RR DH combines ‘ki- ‘ones own’ with ‘he. The common initial syllable syncope yields the aspirate. Note that once again the DH possessive prefix is nasalized irregularly, cf. other birth names for sons. This needs explanation. Perhaps there were only two roots for ‘sons’ in Proto-Siouan/Proto-Mississipi-Valley: one for ‘first’ and one for ‘last’. As additional sons are born, the ‘last’ term is moved down to the new child, and a derivational process modifies the name of the penultimate son.

son, third or younger

*noun* social_kin

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *‘há·ka*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *(i-)(ki-) hake , *(ki-)*há·ka

Proto-Dakota

Lakota hake ‘fifth son, last child’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *há·ka*

Chiwere há·ga ‘3rd son’ [also bagáyįŋe] RR, bagáyįŋe ‘5th boy’ RR

Otoe ikháge ‘brother, of a sort’ RR

Hoocąk há·ga, haágé ‘third son’ KM:515, haágé

Proto-Dhegiha *khá·ka , kháke*

Omaha-Ponca khá·ga ‘third son birthname’ JOD, khágé ‘4th son, birthname’ JOD, ikháge ‘friend’ RR

Kanza/Kaw khá·ga ‘third son’ RR, khágé ppahié·le ‘1st khage’ ‘3rd son’ RR, kháhdį́ga ‘5th son’ JOD, RR

Osage khážį́ ‘4th, 5th son’ [check gloss] RR, kháke ‘third son’ RR

Quapaw kháke ‘third son’ [check gloss] RR, khážį́ ‘4th, 5th son’ RR

**Proto-Southeastern**

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dáká, táka ‘youngest’ [cf. wa‘táká] D&S:170b, dákayá, táka ‘her youngest brother’

**General comment**

The third, fourth, and fifth son terms, while equivalent in that they share the same root and postpose ‘little’, are not properly cognate. DH is derived from k(ō) ‘ones own’, hake/a ‘birth name of one of several sons’ and ʒ(ka) ‘little’. Chiwere is likewise made up of haka and iyke ‘little’. Note that there are alternants hake and haka for this root. Semantics, distinct truncations and morph replacements make these parallel innovations. DH terms with final-syllable accent are vocative. Cf. ‘end, finish > last (1)’
so, thus
verb n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *

Proto-Dhegiha *

Omaha-Ponca -gq in: égq ‘so, like that; he’s like that’ [where X is any dem.] JEK , -gq in: X -gq ‘like X; he’s like X’ JEK


Osage -kɔ in: e-go*, ṭ-kɔ ‘verily; very’ LF:40b , -kɔ in: gá-go*, ṭ-kɔ ‘in this manner’ LF:45a , -kɔ in: thé-go*, ṭ-kɔ ‘like this, this kind’ LF:143b , -kɔ in: shé-go*, ṭ-kɔ ‘that kind or sort’ LF:130b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba kún , ṭkú ‘this one, he, she, it’ KS:224 , kú- , ṭkú ‘this one, he, she, it’ KS:225 , kú- in: kúnké , ṭkú

General comment

Loss of nasalization in Kanza/Kaw is unexplained, but cognacy is precise.

Cf. ‘that (2) > demonstrative, reference marker, relative’ and ‘beyond > other, across (1)’ and ‘beyond > other, across (2)’. Some of these entries are compounds of a particle ki with the verb ʔų ‘be, do’ as they are conjugated *m-ų, *ž-ų So this may not be a proper cognate set, or, it may represent more than one.
soup

*noun physical consumption*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hṭanį́ (?)

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere tāñį́, ṭhāñį́ [oi], čāñį́, ṭhāñį́ W:237b

Proto-Dhegiha *hṭanį́

Omaha-Ponca ttnā RTC

Kanza/Kaw tṭnā ‘meat + water; soup’ RR

Osage ṭnā, ṭhanį́ ‘soup, broth’ LF:138a

Quapaw ttnāhό, ttnāhόde [u < i + a] RR

General comment

This is presumably *hta ‘meat’ < ‘deer’ + *nį́ ‘liquid’. It could have been innovated separately in Chiwere and DH. Quapaw -oh-де refers to ‘causing it to boil in it’. Cf. ‘juice, liquid’.

sour (1)

*verb perceptual taste*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *sʔu

Proto-Dakota *sʔu

Lakota sʔamná ‘smell (mná) sour’ EB:469b

Proto-Dhegiha *sʔáže

Omaha-Ponca čʔáthe, tsʔáthe ‘sour’ MAS:161

Kanza/Kaw čtάye ‘sour, bitter’ RR

Osage tsʔáthe, čʔáthe ‘sour’ LF:157a

General comment
Kanza/Kaw, Osage cʔ could be a reflex of either *tʔ or *sʔ, but Omaha-Ponca is a certain cognate. Cf. ‘sour (2)’, which has *tʔ.

sour (2)

verb perceptual taste

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley tʔa-

Proto-Dakota *tʔáɣA

Lakota tʔáɣA ‘lukewarm; to have a puckery or bad taste in the mouth’ EJ

Dakota ṭáɣa , ṭʔáɣa ‘rough: bitter, astringent, as oak bark’ SRR:482a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere tʔa ‘bitter’ LWR:30

Hoocąk ṭéek ‘be rotten’ , ṭeek

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw cʔáye ‘bitter’ RR

Osage ṭšʔáthe , ṭcʔáðe ‘sour’ LF:157a

General comment

Kanza/Kaw, Osage cʔ could be from either *tʔ or *sʔ or they may represent a conflation of both Proto-Siouan forms. Cf. ‘sour (1)’. This is another set arguing that t participated marginally in the spirant ablaut series.
sour (3)

verb perceptual_taste

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley * Seka

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -zeca ‘bitter (words)’ EB:671a

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw waxěka ‘blackberry’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi jxká, ✡-xká ‘sour’ D&S:243b

General comment

Cf. ‘bitter’, ‘dry (?)’

south

adverb physical_spatial_region

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ákʔa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow bulúaka ‘downstream; south’ GG:34

Pre-Mandan ✡-kó-

Mandan ḏkahqńt ‘south’ H:54

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha ḏkʔa

Kanza/Kaw ḏkʔa ‘south wind and deity’ RR

Osage ḏkʔa ‘south wind’ LF:332b, LF:136b

Quapaw ḏkʔa ‘west wind’ JOD

General comment
Cf. ‘south’. The Mandan form is a compound of áka ‘south’ + hąk ‘stand’ + ta ‘locative’. All Mandan direction names are formed in this way.

**south > downstream**

*adverb, physical, spatial, region*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *(o)-káɣ-(pa)*

Proto-Dakota *-okaɣ-

Lakota íyok̇aɣa , íyok̇aɣa ‘south’ EB:257a , ítůk̇aɣa , ítůk̇aɣa ‘south’ EB:241b , ítůk̇aɣwapa , ítůk̇aɣwapa ‘towards the south’ EB:241b

Dakota ók̇aɣa , ók̇aɣa ‘the south; southwards, downstream’ SRR:359b

**Proto-Dhegiha** *o-káxpa*

Kanza/Kaw ogáxpa ‘Quapaw’ RR

Osage okáxpa ‘Quapaw’ RR , ṭáx̂pa ‘the east, where the sun rises’ LF:49a

Quapaw káxpa ‘south, wind or quarter’ JOD , okáxpa idé ‘south, wind or quarter’ JOD, RR

**General comment**

The distribution of meanings of this set suggests that it does refer to the south. It is often translated ‘downstream’ in both Dakota and DH, particularly Quapaw, but, while this may be its meaning, the translation more likely derives from a combination of (a) the fact that the Mississippi flows south and, (b) the fact that ‘tree branch, creek, stream’ is kaxá, and folk etymology has connected it with okáxpa. A second folk etymology has affected the semantics of the word in Osage, where kax-pa has been reanalyzed as ka- ‘by striking’ and -xpa ‘fall’, cf. o-xpá-ðe, ka-xpa ‘cause to fall, strike down’. Identification of the term with the rising/setting (falling) of the sun may have caused the meaning to be reinterpreted along an east-west axis (v. discussion LF:49a and cf. xpa ‘fall, go down’). Cf. ‘towards (2)’ for the suffix here.
speak, talk
verb social communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-(r)ʔe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ireʔ

Crow ilili ‘talk’ GG:87, RGG:51
Hidatsa ireʔ ‘speak, talk’ J

Pre-Mandan *kirqʔ-

Mandan kirqʔroʔš ‘he told it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *i-(r)ʔe

Proto-Dakota *i=kA
Lakota i-yA´
Dakota id ‘speak’ SRR:169b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *itʔé

Chiwere itʔá LWR:13, utʔá, učʔé GM
Hoocąk hi-čę KM:1099, hit’e

Proto-Dhegiha ye

Omaha-Ponca ie, ēye ‘speak, talk; language’ RR
Kanza/Kaw ie ‘speak, talk; language’ RR
Osage ie ‘speak, talk; language’ RR
Quapaw ie, ēye ‘speak, talk; language’ RR, JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *i-(r)é

Biloxi käyę, ṭe ‘say that to or about him’ D&S:189a, EB, a dét, ṭadé ‘to talk, speech, language’ D&S:190a
Ofo ilé’, tél ‘speak’ D&S:324a

General comment
Here, presumably, the *(r)* would have been epenthetic in those first and second person forms in which *ʔ* normally disappears (cf. 'use, do with'). The *(r)* is then extended analogically to 3rd person forms where *ʔ* normally remains, and the resultant cluster *(r)* > *(ʔ)* in Chiwere, Hoocąk in parallel with *(r)h* > *(ʔ)*. For other examples of the same phenomenon cf. 'jump', 'lay', 'fly (1)'; v. also 'do, make', 'say'. The Hidatsa form conjugates with what appear to be inalienable possessive pronouns. This verb is the only example of this odd inflectional pattern.

**spider**

*noun* animal, arachnid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(kox)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *awáko•xV*

Crow *awáko•xa* 'spider' GG:14, RGG:1

Hidatsa *awáko•xi* 'spider' J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *koxodé niká*, *koxodé* 'spider' D&S:212a

**General comment**

Cf. 'bee (2)'. Because of general lack of cognates, this is a very difficult set to do any reconstructive work with. *(kox)* is only a skeletal suggestion.

**spill**

*physical_contact, manipulation*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(waxų́-he)*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *(waxúa < waxúhe)*

Crow *bixúa* 'spill' GG:108

Hidatsa *maxua* 'spill' J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere *waxũn*, *waxų* 'spill, pour out' LWR:36

**General comment**
Cf. ‘turn over (3)’

spine (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rą́xa-hu

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rąxa-

Crow alaxaaló ‘spine; backbone’ GG:8, RGG:67, annáakku ‘saddle’ GG:11, RGG:106, RG, ara’xará ‘his spine’ L:341

Hidatsa rə-xukhe ‘saddle’ J, nə-xukhe ‘vertebral processes’ WM:76, daʤaḥa

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(i-)rą́xa-hu

Proto-Dakota

Lakota taćtyahaka, ?tačhį́xaxaka ‘1st bones of buffalo’s spine’ EB:472b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ną́xathu GM

Proto-Dhegiha *ń́xa hü

Omaha-Ponca nō’xahi, ḥnáxa hi ‘spine; backbone’ F&LF:108

Kanza/Kaw ną́xax hü ‘backbone’ RR

Osage nō’xahí, nō’xahi, ḥnáxá ‘spine, backbone’ LF:117b

General comment

The Lakota cognate is analyzed čhą́xa < *i-rąxa, with the possessed body part prefix. Cf. ‘back’, ‘rough (1)’, etc.
spine (2)

noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rą-hú•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rú•ri

Crow dúuli ‘back’ GG:45

Hidatsa rú•ri ‘spine’ J. nu•ri

Pre-Mandan

Mandan rą•hú•re ‘spine, backbone’ RTC

General comment

Cf. ‘back’, ‘spine (1)’. Hidatsa nu•ri < na (see HWM 74-75 da ‘middle of horse’s back under the saddle’) + *huri ‘bone’.
spit (1)

verb physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šó•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *šua < *šuhe

Crow šu 'spit' GG:56

Hidatsa šua 'spit' J

Pre-Mandan *kso-

Mandan ksoši 'he’s spitting' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šo•

Proto-Dakota

Lakota thašóšA, thayóša 'spit' RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk šoo KM:2978, šoo

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi rúččá, řuččá 'to spit' D&S:282a

General comment

This is not a secure reconstruction, given the number of putative cognates. One problem of course is the onomatopoeic nature of the set. The vowels do not match. With regard to the Biloxi, Cf. tcu 'spill' (DS-266b) (?)
Comparator Siouan Dictionary

**spit (2), foam**

*noun* physical_somatic_liquid

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *htá•Se

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *htá•ɣe

Proto-Dakota

Lakota *thāya, thayé* ‘saliva’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *čaax* ‘foam, saliva’ KM:155, *caax*

Proto-Dhegiha *htáxe

Omaha-Ponca *taxe chū, †ttaxe čhó* ‘spit’ MAS:162

Quapaw *ni tāxe* ‘foam’ JOD

**Proto-Southeastern**

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *takche*, †tačkē* ‘saliva’ D&S:282a

Ofo *kčhe*, †ōkče* ‘to spit’ D&S:320a

**General comment**

*Biloxi* and *Ofo* disagree on the order of k and č; they agree, however, in showing reflexes of *š* rather than *x.*
split (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *sré-kE

Proto-Dakota *srékA

Lakota -sleča ‘split, e.g. wood with an ax’ RTC, -sleča, ka- ‘crack or split; to crack or split of itself, as a board or the earth in winter’ EB:289, -sleča, na- ‘split, e.g. a hide, sack, etc., with a knife’ EB:357, -sleča, pa- ‘saw, to slit or rip up by sawing; to split something with a knife’ EB:433, -sleča, wa- ‘split by shooting or punching’ EB:549, -sleča, wo- ‘split with the teeth’ EB:608, -sleča, ya- ‘split with one’s hands, to tear, e.g. meat’ EB:627, -sleča, yu- EB:649

Dakota sdéća SRR:432

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sréke

Chiwere wábiθé GM

Hoocąk serék ‘be long and thin’, serek ‘cut long and thin’ KM:2015, -séreserek, maq-, mąąsereserek

Proto-Dhegiha *sRé-ke

Omaha-Ponca ugaçne, ṭogáñne ‘split’ MAS:162

Kanza/Kaw sčége ‘split’ RR

Osage sčége, ṭscéke LF:135a

Quapaw disté ‘split, pull off string’ JOD

General comment

Dakota has a complete Ablaut set -sleča, -sleča, -xléča B&D-17. Some languages have the -ke root extension but others do not. Note that the i grade in Quapaw does show -ke. Wolff reconstructed Proto-Siouan on the basis of MVS forms alone; there are no cognates outside of that area.
split (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xré-kE

Proto-Dakota xrékA

Lakota xléča ‘cracked’ B&D:17, xléča, ka- ‘tear open by striking to split open, to fracture’ EB:275, xléča, na- ‘rend or tear open with the foot’ EB:344, xléča, yu- ‘tear in pieces with the hands’ EB:638, xléča, pa- ‘tear to pieces, pull to pieces; to tear something by pushing or leaning against it’ EB:42, xléča, wa- ‘cut or break in pieces with a knife, rend in cutting’ EB:519, xléča, awó- ‘split by shooting or punching on anything’ EB:100, xléča, ya- ‘tear with the mouth something from something else, as a piece from a newspaper’ EB:620

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere xléxlege ‘jagged’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha ‘xré-ke

Kanza/Kaw xlége ‘jagged, serrated’ RR, xlége, ba- ‘crack sth., break an egg’ RR, xlége, bo- ‘crack or shatter by shooting’ RR, xlége, ga- ‘crack, smash, break a solid, hard obj.’ RR, xlége, ya- ‘crack with the teeth, as a nut’ RR, xlége, yu- ‘crack something’ RR, xléxlege, ya- ‘crack with the teeth, as eating ice’ RR

Osage gaxthége, †kaxléke ‘crack something brittle’ LF:49a

General comment

Cf. the other two fricative symbolism grades. Morphemic segmentation is done on the basis of the s forms, q.v.
split (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *šré-ke

Proto-Dakota

Lakota šléča ‘split’ B&D:17

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk gišerek ‘have hurt feelings’ KM:2932, gišerek

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw šléča ‘split in two’ JOD

General comment

RR Cf. the other two fricative symbolism grades. Morphemic segmentation is done on the basis of the s forms, q.v.

split (4)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-sēdē

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa cēdi, pē ‘poke at, stab at’ J, cēdē, ara ‘climb’ J, ḍopćēdi ‘thread a needle’ J, maʔhəpçačtē ‘a fork’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *zaza(-te)

Omaha-Ponca ada ‘split’, ədzade ‘jagged’ MAS:104

Kanza/Kaw yaudžabe ‘chew into slivers, chew to pieces’ RR, basazabe ‘cut to slivers with a knife’ RR

Quapaw -zəsətte, bi- ‘split from pressure’ RR, -zəsətte, pə- ‘split, shred, cut to splinters’ RR, -zəsətte, bə- ‘cut, stab to shreds’ RR, -zəsətte, di- ‘pull to shreds’ RR, -zəsətte, da- ‘chew something to slivers’ RR, -zəsətte, ka- ‘chop to pieces, slivers’ RR, -zəsətte, na- ‘kick to pieces, splinters’ RR, -zəsətte, pə- ‘punch, shoot to pieces’ RR

General comment
The following Hoocąk forms show the root with a different extension: hiruzák ‘split (wood) lengthwise; pull limb down and off tree; make into slivers’ KM-1069, waazák ‘spread apart’ KM-3967. The Kanza/Kaw root is unquestionably cognate but occurs with a different root extension. In Omaha-Ponca the root is also found without extensions.

split (5)
verb physical_contact_deformation
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ɣák

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere


Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw ɣaga, ba- ‘cut or break sth.’ RR, ɣaga, ba- ‘saw or file sth.’ RR, ɣaga, gúya- ‘bite in two for someone’ RR, ɣaga, yú- ‘smooth sth. by pulling it along, as arrows’ RR

split (6)
verb physical_contact_deformation
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ɣáV

Proto-Dakota *ɣá

Lakota gála, ya- ‘make forked with the mouth, prevaricate’ EB:618, gála, ku- ‘spread out, as the hands or fingers’ EB:272, gála, na- ‘stretch out the foot’ EB:342, gála, wa- ‘make marks, mark or cut with a knife; carve or hack’ EB:515, gála, yu- ‘stretch out the hand and arm upwards, swear’ EB:636

Dakota gála, ɣá ‘forked, pronged’ SRR:120b

Proto-Dhegiha ɣáta < *ɣát-ka

Kanza/Kaw wahúkka yátta ‘fork’ RR

Quapaw -yánta, dl- ‘stretch apart’ RR

General comment
Quapaw nasalization is probably a grammaticalized reflex of Proto-Siouan *ʔų ‘do, make’ which makes an active verb of this stative stem: Proto-Dhegiha *yá-dá ʔǫ with the normal *tk > *kt > ht – a development common to DH and Chiwere.

The final vowel of the independent stem was probably *-E, but since Dakotan extends -a analogically and the form is always suffixed in DH, it is impossible to know for certain.

split (7)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šakE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *šakE


Hidatsa šakE, nd- ‘split by teeth’ J , šakE, arđ- ‘split from intense cold’ J , šakE, ndě- ‘cut, split’ J , šakE, ara- ‘split by foot’ J , šakE, pd- ‘crack in two with a stick’ J , šakE, hd- ‘cut and saw in middle, slice, split w. knife’ J , šakE, mú- ‘shell corn, split by hand, break apart e.g. an orange’ J , šakE, op- ‘dip, dunk’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-žákE

Proto-Dakota *-žákA

Lakota žáka, ya- ‘pull open or strain open somebody’s eyes’ EB:640 , žáka, ka- ‘squeeze open, as a wound; strain or knock open’ EB:279

Dakota záka , žáka ‘rolling or straining, as the eyes’ SRR:651a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wayáke , wayáge ‘forked; enlargen’ JGT:88

Proto-Dhegihe *-žáke

Kanza/Kaw buggest ‘split, as with a knife’ RR , bagůže ‘split, ream out, punch apart’ RR , bůžáge ‘split sth. by pressure or weight’ RR , důžage ‘split, enlarge a hole by burning’ RR , gažáge ‘split, as with an axe’ RR , yůžáge ‘open the mouth wide’ RR , yůžáge ‘split something, tear a larger hole’ RR

Quapaw dižáke ‘pick, pull open, peel’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kdatc’ka, kdatc’ ktcákd, ayd’ kdatc’d ktcákd , t-čáka ‘cut notches in wood with a knife’ B&D:261

General comment
In Crow, both ţ and s are possible reflexes of Proto-Siouan *š before a low vowel.

It may be that these Crow forms are derived from two different verbs.

Gemination in Crow is not explained.

**split (8)**

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šátE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cáhtE

Crow šáhta ‘forked, pronged’ GG:55

Hidatsa ḗatsa’ti, ḗācahti ‘fork’ WM

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *žátE

Proto-Dakota *žáA

Lakota žáta ‘forked’ RTC, žáñata, pa- ‘make forked by punching or thrusting something into’ EB:427, žáta, awá- ‘make a split on’ EB:98, žáta, gla- ‘bite and make forked’ EB:149, žáta, ko- ‘make forked by cutting with an ax’ EB:279, žáta, na- ‘make forked by kicking, to split’ EB:346, žáta, wa- ‘make forked by sawing or cutting, as one end of an arrow notched for the string; to cut into a fork’ EB:523, žáta, wo- ‘make forked by punching as is done to a turnip digger’ EB:601

Dakota žáta ‘forked, as a stick, stream, etc.’ SRR:651b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -žac ‘spread out at the top like a bucket’ KM:4000, -žac

Proto-Dhegiha *žáte ~ *žáte-ka

Omaha-Ponca žhata, žháta MAS:80

Kanza/Kaw žáta ‘forked’ (ţa, ţa:’) RR, žánta, bı-, bu- ‘split, make forked by pressing’ JOD, MR, RR, žánta, go- ‘straddling, spraddle legged’ RR, žánta, bd- ‘cut a notch to brand animals’ JOD, RR, žánta, ba- ‘notch by pushing or punching’ RR, ţďe, go- ‘straddle, spraddle legged’ RR

Osage žáhta, ţáhta ‘cloven, parted as the foot of deer, buffalo or cow’ LP:222a

Quapaw -žátte, ko- ‘straddle, (stand) astride’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ţáncat’, ţ-čati, ţáto- ‘split, as wood, with an ax; split by cutting with a knife’ D&S:262a, dutcat’, ţ-čat, du- ‘split an object by pulling apart with the hands; make a splinter by cutting’ D&S:262a

General comment
Most of the DH forms of this root have suffixed *-ka: the resulting geminate cluster develops regularly; i.e. *žār + ka > *žákti > žāhta > žāta. **Proto-Crow-Hidatsa** shows an earlier CC, though we cannot tell that it was tk.

**split (9)**

verb physical_contact_deformation

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

*ša

**Proto-Siouan**

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa -ša, kirak- ‘break up dirt clods in garden’ [striking prefix] J , šáša ‘fork, divide’ WM

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *žá

Lakota žá, yawá- ‘split fork-like with the mouth. to make a noise with the mouth; something squeaks against your teeth’ EB:630b , žá, ka- ‘split a little, to make gape to hit and split’ EB:278b , žá, na- ‘crush by trampling on e.g. rice’ EB:346b , žá, wayá- ‘stir up; to make mush or hasty pudding’ EB:569b , žáhá, ka- ‘make open out by striking, to press open; open out by striking, to press open; be opened out’ EJ , kažáyA ‘be Y-shaped’ EJ

Dakota kaz´á ‘split a little, make gape’ SRR:274a

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi dŭkútci soⁿ´sa dutcatí, †daka-čá ‘cut in two at one blow; split’ [given as meaning ‘cut in two at one blow’, but it should be rendered ‘split’] D&S:214a , dŭkútci tuháhó , †daka-čá ‘fell, as a tree’ D&S:214a , dukútci , †daka-čá ‘chop wood, etc.’ D&S:214a , dukútci hupét’ , †daka-čá ‘cut a hole through with an ax’ D&S:214a

**General comment**

Cf. ‘separate > forked’; ‘split (7)’
spotted (1)

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(a-)pų́•E

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow puuchí 'striped, corrugated' GG:54, RGG:97

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pųš 'spotted' H:160

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi aapsúⁿ´, †apsǫ́ 'smallpox' D&S:248b, †sipí, †sipí 'a pustule, as in small pox' D&S:256a, †sipí, †sipí 'pitted' D&S:256a

General comment

Although poorly attested and with irregular phonological developments, this set is supported by both the $x$ and $ʃ$ grade fricative symbolism. All meanings are 'spotted' or 'striped'. Nevertheless, doubts about cognacy remain. The Mandan form in Hollow occurs only in the word sǐpųška 'prairie chicken', literally "spotted feathers". More recent informants say sǐpu•ška, no nasalization and long vowel.

spotted (2)

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pų́•xE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *pu•xi

Crow puuxí 'spotted, speckled, freckled' GG:54, RGG:97

Hidatsa pu•xi ~ puʔxi 'spotted, freckled, speckled' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pų́xəʔš 'it's spotted' H:161

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tcipúxi, tcpúxi, tcpuxwi, †tcpuxí 'blanket' D&S:266a

Ofo †umphũska, †umphũska 'partridge' D&S:320, JSS

General comment
Cf. 'marked > spotted, striped (1)' s and 'marked > spotted, striped (3)' š grades. Mandan form is probably pųšoštš. Cf. 'blanket (2)'. The Ofo form may also be influenced by 'drum', Ofo tulphós-tka.

**spotted > striped**

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pųšE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *pušE*

Crow pȗšE ‘multi-colored’ GG:54, RGG:97

Hidatsa pȗšE ~ pušE ‘multicolored, speckled, striped’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pȗsoštš ‘it’s striped’ H:159

**General comment**

Mandan form is probably pȗsoštš.

**spouse**

noun social kin

 Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-rarį* or: *i-rarį*

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *naj (?)*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere hinnage, ḫįnąge ‘wife’ JGT:281

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca ḩanfhau ‘spouse, m.voc.’ JEK, ḩaŋ

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo tilhá-nani, tā-nani, ḩiňhá-nani ‘his wife’ D&S:324b

**General comment**
If Ofo t is from PS *r, as it would have to be in order to be cognate with Omaha-Ponca ð, then it should not be aspirated. So Ofo should probably be analyzed as ithá ‘his, someone’s’ and inani ‘spouse, wife’. This analysis would not only explain the aspiration but would account nicely for the otherwise very peculiar vowel that Swanton recorded: ð + i > å.

**spread (1)**

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wra-re

Proto-Dakota “wráA

Lakota bláya ‘level, plane’ [šina wą yuha hinapa na - egnaka] RTC, bláya, yu- ‘open, spread out, unfold, make level’ EB:634, bídáláya, yu- egnaka ‘lay out and spread e.g. a blanket’ EB:634, bláya, ku- ‘make level by beating, e.g. a holy place; to open, as the eyes of a young dog for its first sight’ EB:270, bláya, na- ‘make level or smooth with the foot; to become level, spread out’ EB:341, bláya, pa- ‘spread out, e.g. dough; to make level; to iron e.g. clothes, to make smooth.’ EB:422, bláya, we- ‘make flat with a knife, to have off lumps etc.’ EB:511, bídáya, wo- ‘spread out by blowing or punching’ EB:595, bídáya, ya- ‘make level with the teeth’ EB:617

Dakota mdáya ‘level, plain’ SRR:312a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ‘prara

Chiwere brára ‘level, spread out’ JOD, JGT, gibrára ‘level’ JGT:175

Hoocąk póra ‘wide’ JOD, parara?

Proto-Dhegiha ‘brára

Omaha-Ponca břọa , třdáda ‘wide’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw bláya ‘level’ RR, bláya, ba- ‘level out by pushing’ RR, bláya, ną- ‘spread out or level by treading on sth.’ RR, bláya, yći- ‘open out, unfold, pull open’ RR

Osage bθátha , řbráda ‘broad, wide’ LF:28a

Quapaw bddáda JOD

General comment

Comparison of this with the several forms meaning ‘spread’ strongly suggests that this term had vowel length.
spread (2)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-wra

Proto-Dakota *-wrA

Lakota bla, óka- ‘spread out on or perhaps over; enlarging, as the foot of a stand’ EB:381 , bla, wapd- ‘spread out, make level; iron e.g. clothes’ EB:544 , bla, wípa- ‘a sadiron, flatiron; anything to flatten things with, or to smooth with’ EB:588

Dakota okáma ‘a piece cut off, broad and flat, as meat cut for drying; a slice’ SRR:361b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-prá

Chiwere brá, ru- ‘level something; to spread’ LWR:25 , bla ‘separated’ , rubrábra ‘separate by hand’ JGT:224

Hoocąk pard, ra- ‘unravel with the teeth’ [Vroot only] KM:2558 , rapara ‘unravel, untangle’ KM:2436 , -pard , -para

Proto-Dhegiha *(rü)-brá

Kanza/Kaw bla, dga- ‘blame someone’ RR , blá, gs- ‘open, as the eyes or a bird’s tail, spread’ RR , blá, ng- ‘spread out or level by treading on sth.’ RR , blá, yú- ‘spread out or hang up to dry, corn/clothes’ RR , blábla, yú- ‘spread out pieces of corn or meat to dry’ RR , blá ‘spread out, as dishes’ RR

Osage thibeá , thábrá ‘spread a rope or a blanket’ LF:144b

Quapaw dibá ‘pull apart, separate’
spread (3)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pari(-he), *pari(-he)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa pàpəre ‘spread out something’ J, pàpari ‘spread out to dry’ J, pəri

Pre-Mandan *prih-

Mandan rupiríhoʔš ‘he spread it out’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley ‘wrį́

Proto-Dakota ‘mnį́

Lakota mnį́ ‘spread out to dry’ [Noun] RTC, mnį́, pa- ‘divide, distribute’ EB:430a, mnimni, oñá- ‘be on one’s way’ EB:396a, mnį́, wa- ‘dry by spreading out e.g. shelled corn’ EB:536a, mnį́pi, wa- ‘fruit etc. spread out thinly’ EB:536a, kpanmi ‘distribute’ EJ, opdımni ‘flatten the contents of a bag’ EJ, owě́kpanmi ‘lit. distribution place; agency’ EJ, wannmŋąpi ‘fruit’ EJ

Dakota wannį́ ‘dry by spreading out’ SRR:519a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk warupį́nį́ ‘scatter; put out to dry’ KM:2494, warupį́nį́

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw blį́ ‘scatter things about’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo tukbā´ti ‘spread cloth’ D&S:331a

General comment

This is one of several entries in which Hidatsa, Biloxi, and/or Ofo forms suggest an initial Proto-Siouan *p(•)rV- sequence. MVS, Mandan (and perhaps Biloxi) evidently shift the accent rightward one syllable, undergo the usual initial syllable vowel syncope, and produce the cluster that is a conflation of earlier *pr- and *wr-. Compare ‘spread > flat (2)’, ‘spread > flat (5)’, ‘spread > flat (3)’, ‘spread (3)’, ‘sprout’. In this set however there is a lack of matching between MVS and the other subgroups for nasalization, so the MVS forms may not be cognate even though the meanings are similar.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

spread > flat (1)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *parás-ka

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wráska

Proto-Dakota *wraská

Lakota blaská ‘flatten by beating, to make flat by striking, as a leaden bullet, or as done with an axe to hew’ RTC, -bláska, ka- ‘flatten with the foot’ EB:270, -bláska, na- ‘press out flat, to flatten’ EB:341, -bláska, pa- ‘make dull or flat on the edge, as a knife by shaving’ EB:422, -bláska, wa- ‘flatten by shooting, as in shooting a bullet against a stone’ EB:511, -bláska, wo- ‘flatten with the mouth’ EB:594, -bláska, ya- ‘talk about unimportant things per longum et latum, to make much of a little thing, to add details; to thrash out’ EB:617, -blaskaska, wayd- ‘make flat’ EB:656, -bláska, ya- EB:634

Dakota mdaská SRR

Stoney mnaθká PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere bráθge, †bráθge ‘flat; broad; lid; plate; flat dish’ JGT:8

Proto-Dhegiha *bráska

Omaha-Ponca bðáska RTC

Kanza/Kaw bláska ‘cut straight, straighten by cutting.’ RR, bbláska ‘plane even, flat or straight’ RR, babláska ‘straighten or even the edge of sth.’ RR, babláska ‘flatten, mash flat, knock flat’ JOB, RR, gabláska ‘flatten by treading on sth.’ RR, nabláska RR

Osage gahbáčka, †kabráska ‘flatten out by hammering’ LF:43a

Quapaw bdáska ‘flatten, fold flat’ [st btbdáska mbdáska dθbáčka] RR, bdáska, di- RR

General comment

Comparison of this with the several forms meaning ‘spread’ strongly suggests that this term had vowel length.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

**spread > flat (2)**

*verb physical_contact_manipulation*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *parásE*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

    Hoocąk parás ‘be flat, be wide’ KM:2439, paras ‘flatten out with the fingers’ KM:2704, ruparás ‘flatten, v.tr.’ KM:3420, ruparas, waparas

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *parasi*

    Biloxi ptçasí, †pdasí ‘wide, broad, flat’ D&S:249a
    Ofo pđádfi, †padaryl ‘flat’ D&S:328b, JSS, pđájf, †padaryl ‘flat’ D&S:323, JSS

**General comment**

This is one of several entries in which Hidatsa, Biloxi, and/or Ofo forms suggest an initial Proto-Siouan *pá(•)rV-* sequence. MVS, Mandan (and perhaps Biloxi) evidently shift the accent rightward one syllable, undergo the usual initial syllable vowel syncope, and produce the cluster that is a conflation of earlier *pr- and *wr-. Forms here appear to be in complementary distribution, semantically, with forms found under ‘rip (1)’. 
spread > flat (3)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *paráxe

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wrawe

Proto-Dakota *-wraɣa

Lakota bláɣa ‘wide at one end, tapering’ RTC, bláɣa, áká- ‘spread out over, as one’s wings; to open e.g. the armpits or underparts of the wings for’ EB:67, bláɣa, yu- ‘spread out e.g. an umbrella, or the toes, as of a duck’ EB:634

Dakota mda Granite, řmdaxá ‘broad at one end; tapering’ SRR:312a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ébraxe, řébraye ‘spread; open out on’ JGT:238

Proto-Dhegiha *bráxe

Omaha-Ponca b¢axe, †bðáxe ‘wide at one end’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw bláxe ‘edge of something’ RR

Osage bthaxe, b¢axe, †bðáxe ‘spread out’ LF:28a

Quapaw bdáxa ‘wide, as a road’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *parax-

Biloxi ptçaxé, ptçaxi, ptçax, řptdaxi ‘wide, broad, flat’ D&S:249a

Ofo ako*ř pal’ska, †palaska ‘orange, lemon’ D&S:320

General comment

The various ‘spread > flat’ (e.g. ‘spread > flat (1)’) terms (several related derivationally by fricative symbolism) apparently differ systematically from the many instances of br, bl, etc. clusters in which the b is a reflex of Proto-Siouan *wa-. The present cases go back to a Proto-Siouan initial syllable *pa.

The evidence is found in the OVS languages and in Mandan, but all the terms must be examined in order for this to become clear. Since, in Proto-Siouan the modern instrumental prefixes were not subject to initial syllable syncope and so are probably best thought of as having been proclitics, the *pa of these terms cannot be identified with the instrumental prefix of the same shape. Vowel length is also reconstructed examining the entire set of related terms. The Ofo term supplied here shows the additional derivational suffix common to many of these related roots. Forms here appear to be in complementary distribution, semantically, with forms found under ‘rip (3).”
spread > flat (4)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wráška

Proto-Hooçų-Chiwere

Chiwere brášge, *ýbrúšge ‘flat; broad; lid; plate; flat dish’ JGT.8

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw -bláška, ba- ‘stretch’ RR, -bláška, bu- ‘flatten something by pressure’ RR, -bláška, yu- ‘stretch sth., undo sth.’ JOD, MR, RR

General comment

Comparison of this with the several forms meaning ‘spread’ strongly suggests that this term had vowel length.
spread > flat (5)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *par-E

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wraidE

Proto-Dakota *-wraža

Lakota kabláža ‘spread wide, straddle’ RTC

Dakota kamdáža †, kamddáža ‘spread open, as the legs; straddle’ SRR:258b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere brášge , brášge ‘flat; broad; lid; plate; flat dish’ JGT:8

Proto-Dhegiha *ka-bráže

Kanza/Kaw gabláže ‘straddling’ JOD

Osage gabtházhe †, kabráže ‘sit Turf fashion, as a tailor’ LF:43a

Quapaw kabddáže ‘stand with knees apart’ JOD , bdáže, ka- ‘spread, stand with knees apart’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo pala'tci , ?paldći ‘wide’ D&S:328b, JSS

General comment

The only clue as to whether this reconstruction should have Proto-Siouan initial *wa- or *par- comes from Ofo. Normally unaccented *wa- leaves a- in both Ofo and Biloxi where initial labial resonants were lost, so the reconstruction should be with *pa-. This is not the homophonous instrumental prefix, as that prefix would never have undergone syncope in MVS. Forms here appear to be in complementary distribution, semantically, with forms found under ‘rip (1)’. 
spread out

verb physical contact, manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xā

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-xa

Crow -xā, dúu- ‘spread out’ GG:45, -xad, dax- ‘cut from group, hedge along’ GG:43

Hidatsa -xā, na- ‘bite sth.’ [sa] J, -xā, ara- ‘push away with feet’ [sa] J, -xā, dra- ‘burning, burnt’ J, -xā, ná- ‘sweep, scrape’ J, -xā, ná- ‘spread out flat, e.g. blanket on floor’ J, -xā, pd- ‘push away with both hands with palms outspread; drive herd; iron clothes’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-ɣā

Proto-Dakota *yugā

Lakota -gā, na- ‘spatter or fly out, as grease on the fire’ EB:342, -gā, wo- ‘shoot out in different directions, as rays of light or the branches of a tree’ EB:596, -gā, na- ‘gape open, as a wound’ EB:342, -gā, yu- ‘spread out, open out, display’ EB:635

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -ɣā, gi- ‘clear away’ KM:336, giǧa ‘be in such a position that legs, horns, twigs, etc. protrude chaotically’ KM:51, -y, boō-, boogə

Proto-Dhegiha *-ɣa

Kanza/Kaw ywádyə ‘uncover’ RR, ccɪboɣa ‘tipi, tent with poles tied at the top’ JOD

Quapaw dixé ‘rake, sweep litter away’ JOD

General comment

Some of the Hidatsa forms may go with ‘scrape clean > scrape up, scrape off, clear off’, q.v. Cf. ‘husk, pull off (1), flay’ for a homonym.
spring (season)

noun time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(wa-)wé•he ~ *(wa-)wé•h-ʔų

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cawé•

Crow tawē‘hot’ GG:57

Hidatsa cawé‘warm, summer, fever’ J

Pre-Mandan *wé•hrų•re (?)

Mandan wéhirų ~ wéhirųre ‘Spring’ H:283

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Wé•

Proto-Dakota *wé-

Lakota wént ‘spring’ RTC , wéhq ‘last spring’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Wé•-

Chiwere béhu ‘spring’ GM

Hoocąk weenq ‘spring’ KM:3624 , weenq

Proto-Dhegiha *We

Omaha-Ponca me ‘spring’ MAS:162

Osage be , ñpe ‘spring’ LF:26b

Quapaw pe ‘spring’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *(a-)wé•h-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *amį́•h-

Biloxi mihi’n, amîi’hı, ŏamîf ‘be warm, warm (as weather)’ D&S:229b , amîhibi’yę, ŏamîf ‘to warm something’ D&S:230a , amîhı’, ŏamîf ‘fever’ (< amîh + ǫ̂ni) D&S:230a , amîhi’, amî’hı, amî’hı, amî’x, amî’ı’, ŏamîf ‘summer, year’ D&S:230a

Ofo amî’hı, amî’hu’, ŏamîf ‘fever’ (< amî’h + u) D&S:320b , amîshu , ŏamîf ‘to fan, a fan’ D&S:320b , amîhi’pi , ŏamîf ‘parasol, umbrella’ D&S:320b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo weahempē, wehaȟimpē , ŏwe•ha ‘spring’ H , wēhē pîwa , ŏwe•he ‘summer’ H

General comment
The Mandan form is probably wé•hįnų•re. Proto-Biloxi-Ofo has nasalized and raised the vowel of the first syllable, the nasalization then spreading to the theme vowel. The initial *a in Proto-Biloxi-Ofo argues for an old cluster here, as does the *W in Proto-Mississipi-Valley. The first syllable in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa probably arises from an old compounding with ‘sq ‘heat’, q.v. Proto-Crow-Hidatsa and Proto-Southeastern meanings seem to cluster around ‘warm weather, feel warm, fever’, which may have been the earlier gloss, with semantic extension to ‘spring’. ‘Snow’ and ‘sun’ provide a similar phonological sequence. Since initial labial resonants, w- and m-, were lost in both Biloxi and Ofo, it is probable that the initial syllable was absolutive *wa-. This reduces through the usual syncope to *w-wé- and thence to *Wé-. We suspect the Ofo amį•hų and Biloxi amihǫ forms are cognate with the MVS forms from *We•hą in Dakota and perhaps Hoocąk. Whether these go back to a compound of *(wa-)Wé•h-ʔų in which *ʔų is ‘do, make’ (‘past’ auxiliary in the SE and in Chiwere), is very difficult to say. The cognates here are obviously morphemically complex, but a definitive analysis of the postposed morphemes is elusive. A nasalized suffix is required in order to account for nasalization of the accented vowel in Biloxi and Ofo. This is also another clear instance in which Ofo hC clusters surface as Ch, illustrating once again how Siouan aspiration really works historically.

spring (water) (1)
noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *nįsnį (?)

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ncpyhrinhoji, ṇįθrįhji ‘spring’ JGT:238

Proto-Dhegiha *ŋį-ŋį

Kanza/Kaw ṇįŋį ‘well, pump’ JOD, MR

Osage ni-ći’, ṇįńąį ‘spring of cold water’ LF:106

Quapaw ni-ŋį ‘spring’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi aní snihí, ṇįńį ‘spring’ D&S:173a

General comment

‘water’ + ‘cold’. May be an areal feature here, or might be simply a parallel innovation. Omaha-Ponca niŋąŋ is partly cognate.
spring (water) (2)

noun physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley "wi"

Proto-Dakota "wiwī"

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere "wiwíxa"

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage "ui, †owi" 'spring of water and its flows' LF:171a

General comment

Cf. "blood".
sprout

noun physical_space aquatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *apá•re

Crow apdali ‘grow’ RG, GG:11, RGG:24

Hidatsa apá•re ‘grow’ J , apá•ri

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ya wrį́

Proto-Dakota *čhamní

Lakota čammí , ñťhamní ‘sprout, bud, germ’ EB:115a

Dakota čammí , ñťhamní ‘a sprout’ SRR:85a

Proto-Dhegiha

Osage shabbį’ga , ñźabrį́ka ‘a sprout, a shoot from a plant’ LF:222a

General comment

Cf. ‘spread (3)’, ‘beans’.
squeeze (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-škı́•tE

Pre-Mandan *-skat-

Mandan -sklóʔ, ra- ‘he bites it’ H:211, -sklóʔ, ru- ‘he squeezes it firmly in the fist’ H:211

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoochă̱k-Chiwere

Chiwere wí-thgwe̱, ŵwiθkáwe ‘squash sth.’ JGT:239

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tckáⁿti, du- , ŵdučká̱ti ‘mash fruit, etc., in the hands’ B&D:265a , tcká̱ti, dů ká- , ŵdůkəčká̱ti ‘mash fruit, etc., by sitting on it or hitting’ B&D:265a , tcká̱ti, na- , ŵnačká̱ti ‘mash, as fruit, by kicking or treading on’ B&D:265

General comment

Nasalization is irregular in either the Mandan or Biloxi cognate. Without further cognates it is impossible to know which because the two languages should agree for this feature, but v. ‘squeeze (4)’ in which both nasal and oral variants are common. Cf. ‘play (2)’ The Chiwere form shows a p or w post-extension. Cf. ‘squeeze (3)’. It fits phonologically with the other set but semantically with this one. Derivational suffixes differ.
squeeze (2)
verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-skẹpE
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-skẹpE
Proto-Dakota *-skẹpA

Lakota skẹpa, ka- ‘empty something, as a bucket, gradually by drinking from it; bail out, empty e.g. a pond etc.’ EB:289, skẹpa, na- ‘leak out, be empty’ EB:357, skẹpa, pu- ‘pour all out, empty’ EB:449, skẹpa, ye- ‘drink up’ EB:626, skẹpa, yu- ‘cause to escape, drain off, evaporate’ EB:649

Dakota naskẹpa ‘leak out’ SRR:334b

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw baskẹbe ‘scrape by pushing or punching, sponge off’ RR, būskẹbe ‘wipe a substance from another, scrape off’ RR, gaskẹbe ‘scrape, shave’ RR, naskẹbe ‘scrape mud off the moccasins’ RR, yūskẹbe ‘scrape, as the fat from a hide’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi daskẹpí, †daskipí ‘get the juice out of sugar cane by chewing’ B&D:213b

General comment

There are some notable irregularities here. The Biloxi form should have e rather than I.
squeeze (3)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šképE

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *-šképA

   Lakota šképa, ka- ‘strike and press out, as water’ EB:291, šképa, ya- ‘suck dry, as a calf does all the milk’ EB:832, škéškepa, ya- ‘suck and spit out’ EB:832, šképa, yu- ‘wring out e.g. water from wet clothes’ EB:651

   Dakota kašképa, †kašképa ‘strike and press out, as water’ SRR:268b

Proto-Southeastern

   Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

   Tutelo †lučkep ‘twist, wring’ D

General comment

Cf. ‘choke’
squeeze (4)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-skíkE ~ *-skį́kE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow chkichi, dú- ‘wring out; milk a cow’ GG:44, RGG:26

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *skikE ~ *skįkE

Proto-Dakota *-skičA

Lakota kaskíča ‘press’ RTC , skíča, ka- ‘settle down, as does a haystack; press, press down on by striking’ EB:289 , skíča, na- ‘press down with the feet, as a man walking on a hay wagon to get it down; go down or become less of itself’ EB:357 , skíča, pa- ‘press down on with the hand; slang: swipe, i.e. steal’ EB:433 , skíča, pu- ‘be very heavily burdened’ EB:824 , skíča, wo- ‘press down tight by pounding’ EB:608 , skíča, ya- ‘press with the mouth, to suck or lick e.g. bones’ EB:626 , skíča, ya- ‘press, make tight’ EB:649 , skíča, wa- ‘press out with a knife’ EB:549

Dakota naskíča , †naskíča ‘press down with the foot’ SRR:334b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk gisgį́k ‘wring out’ KM:396 , gisgį́k ‘strike something saturated with water to wash it (“old time method”)’ KM:81 , sgį́k, boo- ‘beat laundry to wring out dirt’ KM:396 , hoosgį́k ‘press with foot to wring out’ KM:2220 , sgį́k, gi- ‘chew (as gum) to get liquid out’ KM:2562 , gisgį́k ‘wring out by hand’ KM:2718 , sgį́k, nąą- ‘press down to get liquid out, e.g., mop’ KM:3471 , nąąsgį́k , sgį́k, ra- , rąąsgį́k , sgį́k, ru- , rąąsgį́k , sgį́k, wa- , wasgį́k

Proto-Dhegiha *skíke

Omaha-Ponca skíge ‘heavy’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw skíge ‘heavy’ RR

Osage čkíge , ñskíge ‘heavy’ LF:277b

Quapaw skíke ‘heavy’ RR , skíge, di- ‘clench, pack in the hands’ RR , skískíke, di- ‘pack, e.g. snowballs, with the hands’ RR

General comment

Note that sporadic nasalization of this root is fairly pervasive not only here but in the other fricative grades as well. Crow dăčkichi ‘wring out; milk a cow’ (GG-44, DEC-26) may belong to this set or may be cognate with Hidatsa nuckițE ‘wash, squeeze juice out’ (J), Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-ckišE.
squeeze (5)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xk̀tE ~ *-xkį́kE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa


Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk xgį́k, wa- ‘use pump handle, draw water’ KM:3521, wąxgį́k

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo tuckĭ´kĭ, †tuškíki ‘wring as clothes’ D&S:331a

General comment

Cf. the other two fricative grades of this root. Crow may or may not fit; see comment under ‘squeeze (4)’.
squeeze (6)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-škíkE ~ *-škį́kE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow schichi, ala- ‘step on, press down w. foot’ [< *-skíkE, *-skį́kE · ga- · crush in hands’ GG:44

Pre-Mandan *-skik-

Mandan -skíkoʔš, pa- ‘he squeezes it’ H:213 , -skíkoʔš, ka- ‘he squeezes juice from berries’ H:213 , -skíkoʔš, ra- ‘he squeezes it between the teeth’ H:213 , -skíkoʔš, ru- ‘he squeezes it in the hands’ H:213

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-škíkE

Proto-Dakota *-škíča

Lakota škíča, waká- ‘press, pound’ EB:527 , škíča, waqá- ‘press, squeeze’ EB:547 , škíča, ya- ‘press with the teeth or mouth’ EB:628 , škíča, na- ‘press with the foot, press out by trampling on’ EB:358 , škíča, ya- ‘press out, as juice from grapes’ EB:420 , škíča, wa- ‘squeezes by cutting; to press out e.g. water from a cloth with a knife; to scrape out’ EB:552 , škíča, wo- ‘squeezes out by ramming’ EB:609 , škíča, pu- ‘press or rub out with the hand’ EB:450

Dakota kaškíća , ṭakaškíća ‘press by striking, pound or batter out’ SRR:268b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *škį́ke

Chiwere sgį́k, shgį́k ‘squeeze’ JGT:239 , dočąmuşgį́k ‘give someone’ JDH , ruškį́k , škį́k RR

Hoocąk šgį́k, ḥoo- ‘take a poke at (so you can hear the bump)’ KM:90 , bašgį́k ‘chew to obtain juice (as, tobacco, to get juice out to apply to cut) KM:2572 , šgį́k, ra- ‘twist in hog to extract juice’ KM:2731 , rašgį́k ‘rub on a washboard’ KM:3483 , šgį́k, ru- ‘press down on’ KM:410 , rašgį́k , šgį́k, wa- , wašgį́k , šgį́k, gi- , gišgį́k

Proto-Dhegiha *ka-škíke

Kanza/Kaw škíge, bü- ‘rub clothes on a washboard, bear down on’ RR , škíge, yá- ‘wring out’ RR , škíge, ya- ‘chew something’ RR , škíge, bó- ‘shoot and nearly penetrate’ RR , škíge, ga- ‘dent a surface, beat laundry’ RR

Osage gashkíge , ṭkaškíke ‘make a indentation by striking’ LF:47a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo lučkį́k , ṭlučkį́k ‘wrench’ HW

General comment

Cf. the other two grades of this root. Several languages show this root both with and without the extension -ke, cf. ‘pound’. Crow may or may not fit; see comment under ‘squeeze (4)’.

919 of 1128
squeeze (7)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ru-ški

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *(r)i]-ški

Omaha-Ponca *thiški , *tiški MAS:190
Kanza/Kaw *yūški ‘wring out’ RR
Osage *thiški , *tiški ‘wash, wring’ LF:149a
Quapaw *daški ‘chew’ RR , *iški ‘apply substance like salve’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

squeeze (8)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *srí

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *srí

Proto-Dakota *slí

Lakota *slí 'ooze out' EB:457a , *slí, ìndi- 'crush with the feet' EB:226 , *slí, ípú- 'be close to, press upon, touch anything' EB:232 , *slí, ka- 'strike and force something out, as water from a bladder or rubber ball, or grease from the same' EB:289 , *slí, pa- 'squeeze out by pressure' EB:433 , *slí, wa- 'press out with a knife or by cutting' EB:549 , *slí, wo- 'push down in, as in churning; to squirt' EB:608 , *slí, ya- 'bite and press out, as grease from a bag' EB:627 , *slí, ya- 'squeeze out, as matter from a sore; to milk.' EB:650  

Dakota ka-*slí 'strike and force some out' SRR:265b  

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *srí

Chiwere waθríθri 'thrust in mud' JGT:86 , waθríθrí 'ooze (out); muddy ground' GM , ðlíli  

Hoocąk -siri 'ooze out' [var. hokiwáširí] KM:2853 , -siri 'vomit' KM:2563 , -síri, ra- 'squeeze out, e.g., toothpaste from tube' KM:2719 , -síri, ru- , -rusíri , -síri, hokiyú-, hokiwusíri

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw distítte 'milk (a cow)' JOD  

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi sî'niho', sî'hu'nu', sî'niho'nî', stibáini , ?ișnî- 'mush' D&S:256a

General comment

Quapaw contains a te post-extension.
squeeze (9)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xrí

Proto-Dakota

Lakota xlí ‘break out in sores, running sores’ EB:194a, kaxlí ‘get stuck’ EJ, naxlí ‘step into mud’ EB:344, opúxli ‘stuff anything into’ EB:403, paxlí ‘stick in the ground (e.g. a stake or stick)’ EB:426, yuxlíxli ‘make dirty, slimy, slippery’ EB:638

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xrí

Chiwere xlí ‘be sore’ GM

Hoocąk xří ‘be festering’ KM:3917, xiri ‘mash by shooting, blowing, great force’ KM:100, booxří ‘squash sth. smeary by hand (harder substance than horuxří)’ KM:1510, booxří ‘melt metal; cook sth. thick’, horuxří ‘smash with pressure or pushing away from body’ KM:3522, horuxří, taaxří, taaxří, waxří, waxří

Proto-Dhegiha *xrí

Omaha-Ponca xthi, ḥξí ‘pus’ MAS:142

Kanza/Kaw xõxli ‘mirey, mud with water oozing up through it’ RR, -xli, -xļi ‘running sore’ RR

Osage xthi, ḥξī ‘fester, suppurate’ LF:220b

Quapaw xdf ‘mucus, pus’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘mucus’
squirrel (1)

noun animal rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *sį́•ka ~ *zį́•ka
Proto-Dakota *zičá
Lakota zičá ‘squirrel’ RTC
Dakota zičá, ʔzičá ‘squirrel’ SRR:649b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ʔŋże GM
Hoocąk zíik ‘squirrel’ KM:3977 , zík

Proto-Dhegiha *sį́ka
Omaha-Ponca sį́ga ‘squirrel’ RR
Kanza/Kaw sį́ga ‘squirrel’ RR
Osage ʂíŋga , ᵖsį́ka ‘squirrel’ LF:30b
Quapaw sį́ka ‘squirrel’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘squirrel > flying squirrel’. We note that entries with j have s while those with oral i have z. ‘squirrel (2)’ shows a nasal prefix that would, if cognate with ‘squirrel (1)’, provide a nasalized and/or intervocalic environment for voicing of the above fricatives. Otherwise, it looks as if this is a diffused form more than a collection of cognates. Look-alikes in Tunica and Keresan would tend to confirm this latter analysis. Even the subgroup reconstruction should be considered insecure and extremely tentative.
squirrel (2)
noun animal, rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi nsũkí, nasũkí, našũ k, nsũk, ṭnasũkí ‘squirrel’ D&S:238b, ṭнецęʔ, ṭnasũkí MRH, ṭнятскеʔ, ṭnasũkí MS

Ofo ṭósãkí, ṭósãtkí D&S:331a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ńístãŋkí, ṭńįstαŋkai ‘squirrel’ H

General comment

This may be a case of the intrusive -t- in both Ofo and Tutelo or loss in Biloxi. Cf. ‘squirrel (1)’. The various irregularities plus the geographical distribution of this form make this a likely diffused form.

squirrel > flying squirrel

noun animal, rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šíka

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šíka = *šį́ka

Proto-Dakota *pšičá = *pšįčá

Lakota pšičá ‘flying squirrel’ EB:447a

Dakota pšįčá, ṭpšįčá ‘flying squirrel’ SRR:426b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šį́ke

Chiwere singe, ṭنغе ‘squirrel’ JGT:239, shíñye, ṭšį́ñe ‘squirrel’ JGT:239

Hoocąk kįįk ‘flying squirrel’ KM:1911, kįįk

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tsẽká, ṭsẽká ‘flying squirrel’ D&S:264a

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Cf. ‘squirrel (1)’. This term too shows as much evidence of diffusion as inheritance. The reconstructions should be considered extremely tentative.

Dakotan suggests a fused prefix, possibly Proto-Siouan *wi-, found with many anaimate absolutive animal terms, i.e., Proto-Siouan *wthska is a possibility.

squirrel > ground squirrel

noun animal, rodent

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hé•t-ka

Proto-Dakota ‘hekđ-

Lakota hetkda ‘ground squirrel’ EB:173b

Dakota hetkdaj, thekdja ‘ground squirrel, Sciurus’ SRR:144b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk héćge(nįk) ‘chipmunk’ KM:784, heecge(nįk)

Proto-Dhegiha *héxrį ~ *hétka

Omaha-Ponca héxthi ‘ground squirrel’ MAS:163

Kanza/Kaw héxlį žią ‘ground squirrel’ RR

Osage héxti ‘lůy, a small ground squirrel’ LF:59b

Quapaw héta ‘ground squirrel’ RR

General comment

Cf. Osage hexti ‘mink, ermine, weasel’ LF-59b. Hoocąk héeraǰóx ‘monkey’ KM-790. Within DH only Quapaw preserves reflexes of *hé•t-ka (with the usual metathesis and assimilation).
stab (1)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *yá•phe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-ráhpE

Crow aláhpi 'stab, puncture' GG:7

Hidatsa íráhpE 'stab' J

Pre-Mandan *rápe-

Mandan dápeʔš 'he stabbed it' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *yá•phe

Proto-Dakota

Lakota čha_phá 'stab' RTC

Sioux Valley čha_phá 'stab' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere žá•we 'stab'

Otoe yá•we 'stab' RR

Proto-Dhegiha *žáphe

Omaha-Ponca gi•žahe 'stab' RR, žahe 'stab' JOD

Kanza/Kaw žáphe 'stab' RR

Osage zhápshe, †žáphe 'stab' LF:222a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi pōwé'dit, †poxawédi 'stab, punch, gore, thrust at' D&S:246a

General comment

Cf. 'stab (2)'. It is possible that these forms with postaspiration in DH were formed by syncope, i.e., from something like *pVxe or *pVhe in which we might expect to find the vowel still preserved in Crow and Hidatsa.

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa preaspiration is unexplained.
stab (2)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *póxE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *puxE

Crow puxE, a- ‘bite into, cut into, vaccinate’ GG:12

Hidatsa puxE, na- ‘bite and leave mark’ J , puxE, ná- ‘bruise’ J , púxE, ha- ‘slit, lance’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere


Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi pxu, pxwe, pxo, pxwe’di, †pxwe ‘punch, stab, thrust at, gore’ D&S:246a

General comment

Cf. ‘stab (1)’. The Biloxi forms are doubtfully cognate as there is little evidence of the vowel between p_x.

stagger

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *tékE

Proto-Dakota ‘čeka

Lakota čeka, čekčéka ‘stagger’ EB:129b , čekčéka PAS

Dakota čeka , čćeka ‘stagger’ SRR:98b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk gjéječok ‘trot, jog’ KM:1699 , gjéjok
stand

verb physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ndaŋ- ŋi

Proto-Dakota *ndaŋ ŋi

Lakota nažį ‘stand’ RTC

Dakota ndąį ‘stand, rise up; stand still, stop; stand on the ground, get down, alight as from a horse’ SRR:340a, nąžį

Stoney ną̤į PAS

Sioux Valley nažį PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ndaŋ- ŋi

Chiwere ndąį W:242b, nąyį RR

Hoocąk nąqžį KM:2279, nąqžį

Proto-Dhegiha *nqžį

Omaha-Ponca nąqžį RTC, nąqžį RR

Kanza/Kaw nąqžį RR

Osage no'qžį, ḥąqžį ‘rise, stand’ LF:119a

Quapaw nąqžį RR

General comment

na- does not appear to be the ‘foot, instrumental’ here.

Cf. ‘erect’ for the simple root.
standing, continue, standing positional

verb physical_somatic_posture

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hâq(*kE)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hâhkù

Crow dâhkù ‘remain’ RG

Hidatsa hâhkù ‘remain’ J

Pre-Mandan *hâk-

Mandan hâk ‘in a standing position’ H:65

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *r-hâq

Proto-Dakota *(r)hâq

Lakota hâq ‘stand upright’ EB:165b

Dakota hâq, ṭhâq ‘stand, stand upright or on end; remain’ SRR:123a

Stoney hâq [+ ablaut] PAS

Sioux Valley hâq [+ ablaut] PAS

Proto-Hoocâk-Chiwere

Hoocâk ḟâq ‘nearby standing position’ WL, ḟâq

Proto-Dhegiha *ṭhâq

Omaha-Ponca thâq ‘standing animate def. art. and continuative aux.’ RR

Kanza/Kaw khâq ‘standing animate def. art. and continuative aux.’ RR

Osage thâq ‘standing animate def. art. and continuative aux.’ RR

Quapaw thâq ‘standing animate def. art. and continuative aux.’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *hâq

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi hânde, ṭhâdâ ‘be (sign of continuous or incomplete action)’ D&S:193b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo -he’g, ṭ-hâk LIF, ṭ-hâk, ṭ-hâk ES

General comment
In Chiwere and Hoocąk Proto-Siouan *hąке ‘standing, continue, standing positional’ and *wųke ‘lie, be lying, positional’ have fallen together with loss of #w- and replacement with #h-, cf. the 1st person pronoun prefixes. *hąке has apparently yielded doublets in DH, the classificatory auxiliary and definite article t-hą on the one hand and DH forms using the root -hą with the meaning ‘raise’ or ‘rise’ on the other: Omaha-Ponca díhą ‘raise’ RR; Kanza/Kaw dąhą́ ‘rise, of bread’ RR; Osage tahą́ , dahóⁿ ‘rise, of bread’ LF-320b. In Hidatsa the continuatives are wahku, rahku, hahku. On the development of wahku, rahku, cf. ‘lie, be lying, positional’. An inherited ‘hą + kE has presumably been reshaped to fit the sitting/lying pattern with preaspirated -hku. Also in Hidatsa, the plural stem for all three positionals is ahku, with which compare the Crow form. Tutelo and Mandan show the ‘kE suffix.

standing, inanim. classifier

verb n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rahÉ

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa nahí́ , ţrahÉ ‘stand’ J

Pre-Mandan *te < **rhe

Mandan te ‘it’s there, stands there, exists’ H:246 , te EK , tɛ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *rhe

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *te

Chiwere je ‘in a standing position’ JGT:241

Hoocąk je ‘distal st. positional’, jee JEK, WL , je , jee

Proto-Dhegiha *the

Omaha-Ponca the ‘standing, inan. classifier’ RR

Kanza/Kaw čhe ‘standing, inan. classifier’ RR

Osage che ‘standing, inan. classifier’ RR

Quapaw the ‘standing, inan. classifier’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *rhe

Biloxi ne, nɛ , nédli , ţne ‘standing an. or inan.’ , ‘this’

Ofo akaléwa , jəkaléwa ‘stand up’ D&S:319a

General comment
The expected initial syllable syncope explains most of the cognates here. DH aspirated stops seem clearly to be a secondary development from syncope. Biloxi *ntka before an oral vowel reflects the earlier *rh cluster. The same explanation may account for Ofo *ntka for expected t̪. In Mandan, the development of underlying rh to surface t̪ is explained by Hollow, p. 42. Synchronically, Lakota he has become connected to h̪q, cf. ‘standing, continue, standing positional’. Tutelo nē ‘stand, trans.; lean, trans.’ is probably related.

**star (1)**

* noun physical, celestial body

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *įtkā

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *īhka

Crow ibkā ‘star’ GG:74, RGG:6

Hidatsa īhka ‘star’ J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ṭītkā, ṭīkā, ṭītkā D&S:203b

Ofo oⁿtaskē’, oṁtaskē’, oⁿtaske , oṁtaske D&S:328a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tabunîtkai; tapniśkai , ṭapniśkai N, H

**General comment**

The Ofo and Tutelo forms resemble the established cognates here, but contain numerous irregularities. The similarities between *egg* and *star (1)* led Matthews (1958:125) to consider them a single etymon. We have chosen to regard *egg* and *star (1)* as a case of homophony rather than polysemy.
star (2)

_noun_ physical_celestial_body

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Wi•hkáx(-ʔe/-pi)

Proto-Dakota *wičháxpi

Lakota wičháxpi 'star' RTC

Dakota wičháxpi, †wičhą́xpi 'a star, the stars' SRR:568a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere bëkháxʔe 'star' RR

Proto-Dhegiha *mihkáxʔe

Omaha-Ponca mikkáʔe 'star' RR

Kanza/Kaw mikkákʔe 'star' RR

Osage mihkákʔe 'star' RR

Quapaw mikkáxʔe 'star' RR

General comment

The first vowel of Mandan kéxe does not correspond to the a found elsewhere in this set. Nasalization of the initial syllable vowel and preceding consonant in this set is explained by the fact that this term incorporates the term for ‘moon, sun, orb’, q.v., in MVS. The latter term apparently had nasalization in a second syllable that spread across the glide to the first. This accounts for the nasalized reflexes of Proto-Mississippi-Valley *W in DH. See ‘moon, sun, orb’ for a fuller discussion of *W here and the long vowel in Chiwere.
star (3)

noun physical_celestial_body

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *Ske (?)

Pre-Mandan

Mandan xkēk — xkēke 'star' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk wūrogu'ge 'star' KM:3674 , wūrogu'ge

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo o'taske', ontaskē', o'taske , ūtastase D&S:328a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tabunitčkai; tapniinskai , ūtaburįčkai N, H

General comment

Basically a set of leftover but possibly related forms.
steal (1)

verb social_transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *-nɨ

Proto-Siouan *wa-rɨ

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ašəriv

Crow ataall 'steal' GG:13

Hidatsa ašəriv 'steal' J

Pre-Mandan *rɨ-

Mandan wərɨ ‘steal’ RTC , rɨrə ‘steal’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *mq-ɨnɨ

Proto-Dakota *ma-nɨ

Lakota manɨ, mawdnɨ RTC

Sioux Valley ma-nɨ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *mɨnɨ

Chiwere (wa)mynɨ GM

Hoocąk mɨnɨ KM:2001 , mɨnɨ

Proto-Dhegiha *mq(r)ɛ < *mq-ʔɛ (?)

Omaha-Ponca wamə̱tho* MAS:164

Kanza/Kaw wamə̱yo ‘steal pl. an. objects’ RR , gəməyə ‘steal something from someone’ RR

Osage ma-tho“, tmaqθ ‘steal, filch, rifle’ LF:102b

Quapaw madd, mədd JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo manəi, manóma ɬ; manóma, manə“, manu“, tmaqɨ- JOD

Proto-Catawba

Catawba himɨ-, inɨ- ‘steal’ FGS

General comment
Comparing the most conservative Siouan conjugational patterns and Catawba, the oldest form of the root appears to have been -rų. It then seems likely that the initial morpheme, *mą(•) -, is the object prefix, we-, which has assimilated nasalization from the root and in some cases undergone a little irregular vowel harmony. In such cases its identity became opaque, and we see the same prefix reapplied in MVS. Frequent reaplication of wa- ‘something’ leaves the old initial syllable in second position, and vowel length has naturally shifted to it in MVS. The DH forms look as though they have been additionally restructured recently. They should have uniform reflexes of the final syllable *-nǫ. The oral consonant, falling between two nasal vowels, betrays the reanalysis that has occurred here. Evidently the initial syllable, mǫ (the older incorporated object), was interpreted as the root, and the final syllable was reinterpreted as an instance of Proto-Dhegiha *ʔǫ ‘do, make’, the original n was dropped and the common intervocalic glide, r inserted. The Crow and Hidatsa forms may be compounds of ‘travel’ (Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *aši) and ‘steal’ (with reference, perhaps, to stealing by war parties). If so, ‘steal’ has lost its initial w intervocally and the final vowel has been reshaped. The Crow and Hidatsa terms may not be cognate at all.

Catawba appears only to have the second root.

steal (2)

social transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ašo-rı

Crow ataal ‘steal’ GG:13

Hidatsa ašo-rı ‘steal’ J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kisión , ḳisín ‘steal from another’ D&S:256a

General comment

The Biloxi form may explain the Crow and Hidatsa forms in -rí, though Biloxi has a different spirant. To explain the long a in Crow and Hidatsa, one might appeal to a folk etymology along the lines suggested in the comments to ‘steal (1)’.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

**stick (1)**

verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *skapE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa kādītskapa , ḥkarīckapa ‘stick to, adhere as a glued or pasted surface’ WM:99b

Pre-Mandan *skdp-

Mandan ḥdpoʔ ‘it’s dirty’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *skapE

Proto-Dakota *skapA

Lakota óskabya , ḥúsakabya ‘sticking to, adhering’ EB:404a

Dakota škapa ‘to stick to or on, adhere to’ SRR:48a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *skápe

Chiwere arádhgawe – arádhgawe , ḥardtōkwaye ‘stick, adhere, be fast’ JGT:242

Hoocąk ṣqoagāp ‘be sticky’ KM:2819 , ṣqoagap ‘be stuck on something; have something adhere to one’ , ṣqdp , ḥara- ‘ride on someone’s back’ KM:689 , ḥaraxgap , ṣqdp , ḥaru- , ḥaruxgap

Proto-Dhegiha *skape

Omaha-Ponca čkdàkabe , ḥskàdàkabe ‘be sticky’ MAS:164

Kanza/Kaw bskdàkbe ‘thrust a stick into the mud’ RR , bskdàkabe ‘thrust in mud many times’ RR , būskdàkabe ‘make sticky by kneading’ RR

Osage čkdàkabe , ḥskàdàkabe ‘sticky, miry, muddy’ LF:316b

General comment

Mandan skap ‘be wet’ has a different spirant grade. The Chiwere and Hoocąk forms represent a compound with ‘stick (5)’ as the first element.
stick (2)

verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-ska

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk sge, hokirú- ‘be stuck together’ KM:1378, hokirusge ‘be solidified, curdled, caked’ KM:394, sgé, gi- gisgesgé, gisge, gisgesge

Proto-Dakota

Lakota sge, oká- ‘bunch or lump of things sticking together as candy, sugar etc.’ EB:384

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk sge, hokirú- ‘be stuck together’ KM:1378, hokirusge ‘be solidified, curdled, caked’ KM:394, sgé, gi- gisgesgé, gisge, gisgesge

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw ʔdaška ‘stick on’ JOD

General comment

Hoocąk forms may also be from ska

stick (3)

verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-ske

Proto-Dakota

Lakota sge, oká- ‘bunch or lump of things sticking together as candy, sugar etc.’ EB:384

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk sge, hokirú- ‘be stuck together’ KM:1378, hokirusge ‘be solidified, curdled, caked’ KM:394, sgé, gi- gisgesgé, gisge, gisgesge

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw ʔdíske ‘mix sticky substance with the hands’ RR

General comment

Osage ʔdískepe ‘to scrape’ shows this root with the -pe extension.

Likewise Kanza/Kaw yúskebe ‘scrape, as the fat from a hide’. Hoocąk forms may also be from ska
stick (4)

Verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *a-rakE

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Dakota ik’óyaka ‘adhere to, stick to’ EB:222a, ikóyaka ‘adhere to, stick to’ SRR:195a

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw dyege ‘glue feathers on a shaft’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *a-raki

Biloxi daki, dag, tákí, tág: aốksi adaki, ṭ(a)daki ‘be glued, stick, adhere; glued on arrow = arrow feathers’ D&S:180a

Ofo atákíti, ṭaskíti ‘a lock’ D&S:322a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo masìgorak, ṭmaṣèkorak(i) ‘iron’ H:1878

General comment

Cf. ‘stick (5)’
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

stick (5)

verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *a-ra

Proto-Dakota -ra

Lakota o-ya ‘stick to’ EB:417a
Dakota o-ya ‘stick to’ SRR:396b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere aláha ‘stick on’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha *ára-

Kanza/Kaw dyaha ‘stick to one, to wear’ RR
Osage áthaha, tádaha ‘to stick to one as does mud.’ LF:15a
Quapaw áda ‘glue feathers on arrow’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘stick (4)’
stick (6)

verb physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *stakE

Proto-Dakota *stakA

   Lakota okástaka ‘throw on or in, make stick on, as in daubing a house’ EB:385, okástaka ‘throw or daub on e.g. plaster, to bespatter’ EB:69b, okástaka ‘throw on or in, make stick on, as in daubing a house’ SRR:363a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *awástake


   Hoocąk hawasták ‘patch’ KM:721, hawastak

Proto-Dhegiha *stäke

   Kanza/Kaw iyáyüstáge ‘binding for cradleboard’ RR, stáge, dyü- ‘tie together’ JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *staki

   Biloxi ṭstaki, ṭstaki ‘adhere or stick to’ D&S:180b, ṭstaki, apástako‘mi, ṭstaki ‘stick’ D&S:257b, kiptükɨ, ṭstaki ‘sewed together; a seam’ D&S:249, kiptükɨ̞, ṭstaki ‘sewed together’ D&S:249, apástki, apástık, ṭstaki ‘sew habitually’ D&S:249

   Ofo ṳstaki, ṭstaki ‘tie’ D&S:326b

General comment

   Chiwere *st > ṭt ~ ht ~ t, so these are not aberrant forms. Cf. *mire (1)"
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

stick (7)

verb physical contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-sta

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hirustą ‘be plastered with’ KM:2869, hirustą

Proto-Dhegiha *sta

Omaha-Ponca dıkhaçta, ṭäkkiðasta

Kanza/Kaw dyasta ‘stick together’ RR, iyūsta ‘stick, tie to’ RR, sta, ába- ‘patch, put on a patch’ RR, sta, dya- ‘adhere, (one object), stuck’ RR

Osage dıkhaçta, ṭäkkiðasta ‘the sticking of one object to another’ LF:12a, dhaçta, ṭápasta ‘patch’ LF:302b, dhaçta, ṭáñusta ‘bind’ LF:235a

Quapaw sta, ába- ‘patch’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘mire (2)’
stiff

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ṣda

Proto-Dakota *ṣda

Lakota ʂda 'drying pole, kettle pole' RTC

Dakota ʂda 'the horizontal stick on which the kettle is placed' SRR:431b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sata

Chiwere wawddà, ṛwawddà 'straighten out' JGT:86

Hoocąk ksáč 'stiff' KM:1889, ksaac

Proto-Dhegiha *ṣda

Kanza/Kaw ʂdda 'stiff, straightened out' RR

Osage ʂdda, ʂadda, ṛsda 'stiff, rigid, stiff-jointed' LF:29a

General comment

There are at least three other instances of kS- in Hoocąk matching initial sibilants elsewhere. Cf. ‘nine’, ‘quail, prairie chicken’, ‘apple’ (under ‘red (1b), red hawthorn’). If the k were inherited, it would presumably have been preserved in Lakota. This would not seem to be a case in which *ki- ‘dative, possessive’ would explain the Hoocąk form. The Proto-Mississipi-Valley form probably had a long accented vowel.
stink (1)

noun perceptual_olfactory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kwų́ze (?)

Proto-Dakota *kmų́za

Lakota gmų́za ‘strong or fishy smell’ EB:162a

Dakota hmuŋ´za , ṭhmų́za ‘slimy, fish-like, smelling strong, like spoiled meat’ SRR:150b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk čųwų́s ‘fishy smell or taste’ KM:288 , cųwųs

Proto-Dhegiha *krǫ́ze

Kanza/Kaw lǫ́ze, lóze ‘smell of food or smoke’ JOD

Osage gthóⁿće , ṭhḑće ‘smell of spoiled food’ LF:55b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi yaⁿxí , ṭyqi ‘having a fishy odor’ D&S:290b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wihóoq gupsuá , ṭkupsuá ‘fishy smell’ HW

General comment

Cf. ‘cat’ for correspondences. Cf. also ‘stink (3)’. While it is possible that these, primarily MVS, kw clusters may turn out to have Proto-Siouan sources, they do not occur in really basic vocabulary, and it seems much more likely that they represent early borrowings. the Tutelo analog is clearly related historically in some way, but it has undergone irregular syncope or metathesis, showing that it is not a cognate in the accepted sense of the word. It may represent a borrowing from a different but related language or adoption at a different time. Biloxi may have been contaminated from yaⁿxí ‘strong odor’. The dissimilation product should be n rather than y, but the semantic match is so exact that the Biloxi word must be related to this term in some way. All of the forms taken together suggest something like kwų́sa, kmusua, kmusua or the like, but we do not suggest them as Proto-Siouan reconstructions, rather they may represent a shape to search for in a potential source language.
stink (2)

verb perceptual_olfactory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(i)xu-

Pre-Mandan

Mandan xį́pe ‘stink’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xo•wį

Proto-Dakota xų̦wį̂

Lakota xų̦wį̂ — xwį̂ ‘stink, become putrid, as does meat’ RTC
Dakota xų̦wį̂ — xwį̂ ‘stink, become putrid, as a dead body’ SBR:168

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xį̦wį̂

Chiwere xį̦pį̂ ‘stink’ RR
Hoocąk xų̦wį̂ ‘have pungent odor or stink’ KM:3959, xų̦wį̂

Proto-Dhegiha xowį̂

Omaha-Ponca xuí̂n MAS:164
Osage xwį̂, ã̄xwį̂ ‘fetid, offensive smell’ LF:221b
Quapaw xowį̂, xwį̂ ‘stink’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ixúhi

Biloxi xúhi, xyyí, xuhí, ã̄xúhi ‘omit a bad odor, stink’ D&S:197b
Ofo ã̄shúhi, ã̄xúhi ‘stink, smell bad’ D&S:324a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba sį́wo ‘smell’ FGS:105, sų̦wį̂tcúwe ‘stinks much will’

General comment

This root seems clearly a product of symbolism, although it may also be partially inherited in some cases. There are too many w's between nasal vowels for these to be cognates. The w's should have all become m's long ago in most of the languages represented here. We suspect that there is an inherited portion of the form that is related historically to the Catawba forms, but we would not propose a Proto-Siouan reconstruction because of the obvious intervention of sound symbolism.
stink (3)

*noun* perceptual olfactory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *yą́ɣe

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *yą́ɣe

Proto-Dakota

Lakota wačhą́ɣa ‘sweetgrass’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ną́xe

Chiwere ną́xe ‘be stinky, acrid’ GM

Hoocąk ną́nx ‘smell of urine, bad smell’ KM:2262, ną́nx

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw mažą́ɣe ‘onion’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi yą’ʃí, ʔą’ʃí ‘strong odor from a goat’ D&S:290b, nto yą’ʃí, ʔą’ʃí ‘the odor from a negro’ D&S:290b

General comment

Cf. ‘stink (1)’, also ‘ice’ for correspondences. Kanza/Kaw ‘onion’ is sometimes analyzed as nąžd ‘earth’ and an unidentified derivational suffix -ɣe, but comparison with Dakota here shows that to be a folk etymology. It now seems clear that Lakota ‘sweetgrass’ is cotate, and the earlier meaning was not ‘earth-something’ but ‘that which smells (strongly)’. Nasalization of the initial syllable in Kanza/Kaw either took place via the usual nasal spread before *y > ž*, or represents a native attempt to justify the folk analysis.
stomach, paunch
noun physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *a-į́•xe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *í•xi
Crow į́•xá ˇtripe’ GG:71, RGG:104
Hidatsa į́•xi ˇtripe, paunch, first stomach of a ruminant’ J

Pre-Mandan
Mandan é•xi ˇstomach’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ŋį́•ya – ŋf xe

Proto-Dakota *niɣé
Lakota niɣé ˇstomach’ RTC
Dakota niγé , ɣniγé SRR:340b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ŋf xa
Chiwere ŋf xa ˇupper stomach’ RTC, RR, JDH
Hoocąk niγxd KM:2359 , niγxa

Proto-Dhegiha *ŋį́ya
Omaha-Ponca niŋxa RTC, RR
Kanza/Kaw niŋya ˇanimal’s stomach’ RR
Quapaw ɣnjiŋya ˇanimal’s belly’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxiγ yáxya", ayixí, ayixya", ɣayixí ˇstomach, paunch’ D&S:293a

General comment

Another instance of initial n- in MVS that is wanting in MRS and OVS. The most likely analysis is that it represents the epenthetic glide that is inserted preaccentually between a prefix vowel and vowel-initial stem. If the prefix is the bound inalienable possessor prefix, i-, Dakota would have modern initial čh in place of n however. The prefix vowel was probably the a still reflected in Biloxi. Crow and Hidatsa evidently reflect the form without the a prefix or epenthetic glide. Crow ia is from ı before x. Mandan initial e might reflect collapse of an earlier a-ı; however, the Mandan final vowel is wrong and suggests a possible borrowing from a Crow or Hidatsa dialect. The final vowels vary widely throughout the set and cannot really be accounted for at all.
stop (1)

physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ståhe

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-stå

Proto-Dakota *-stå

Lakota *-stå

Dakota -stå ‘stop’

Stoney -stå ‘stop’ PAS

Sioux Valley -stå ‘stop’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hakurustą́ ‘go to sleep (said of arm/leg, etc.)’ KM:2869 , hakurustą

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw ádistą ‘stop, cease’ CS, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi -sta’hə̃, ʔsta’hį ‘enough, reach, sufficient’ D&S:258a

General comment

The Hoocąk form is truly anomalous; it should have šj rather than st. St should not even be admissible in Hoocąk. The remaining DH languages have the š form of this root. The Stoney form here is probably also reflects the š form as the expected reflex of the s form would be -θtą.
stop (2)

verb physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *štą́

Proto-Dakota *štą

Lakota yuštą́ ‘finish’ RTC, štá, ya- ‘finish speaking, to keep quiet’ EB:629, štą́, yu- ‘finish anything, to perfect; to settle e.g. a question in a meeting; to have decreed.’ EB:653

Dakota yuštą́ ‘finish’

Stoney yuštą́ ‘finish, stop’ PAS

Sioux Valley yuštą́ ‘finish’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *štą́

Chiwere rustą́, †rustą́ ‘let go, stop, cease’ LWR, rustą́, †rustą́ ‘stop’ LWR:26, rustą́, †rustą́ LWR:71


Proto-Dhegiha *štą

Omaha-Ponca thistōⁿ, †düštą́ ‘finish’ MAS:77, düštą́, †düštą́ ‘stop’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw düštą́ ‘stop’ RR, štą́, bi- ‘stop cutting or sawing’ RR, štą́, ba- ‘stop pushing sth.’ RR, štą́, bó- ‘stop shooting, blowing, etc.’ RR, štą́, bu- ‘stop, cease rubbing, pressing’ RR, štą́, dì- ‘stop burning, as a fire’ RR, štą́, ga- ‘stop hitting, stop blowing’ RR, štą́, ga- ‘stop moving and stand still’ RR, štą́, ya- ‘stop eating, drinking, talking, crying’ RR, štą́, yu- ‘stop, be finished, let go’ RR

Osage thistoṯ, †düštą́ ‘stop, finish’ LF:149a, düštą́, †düštą́ ‘stop’ JOD

Quapaw düštą́ ‘stop’ JOD, štą́, dda- ‘stop oral activity’ RR, štą́, di- ‘finish, complete’ RR
store away

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *tku-

Proto-Dakota

Lakota tkuga, paó- ‘push and thereby lock, e.g., a door with a night latch’ EB:432, tkuga, yuó- ‘lock a door with a key or by hand’ EB:646

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk cgús, waru- ‘be stored away’ KM:3445, waruegus ‘do a work completely’ KM:1540, cgús, howa- ‘store away’ KM:2658, howeugus, cgús, ru- , nacgus

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw wattíxe ‘cache, cellar’

General comment

The expected Quapaw form from *tku would be ttí via the normal metathesis and assimilation of the cluster and fronting and unrounding of u.
straight

verb perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ru-ohtą*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota yna namedtuple ̣ ‘make straight’ EB:646b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ro•thą́*

Chiwere lothą́ GM

Hoocąk roočą́ ‘be straight, be in a straight line’ KM:2627 , roocą

Proto-Dhegiha *rohtą*

Omaha-Ponca thuto”, †dohtą́ ‘beeline or straight’ MAS:278

Kanza/Kaw yōttą́ ‘straight up’ RR

Osage -thuto”, †-dohtą́ ‘in a straight line, cut across’ LF:80a

Quapaw dotį́ – dotį́ JOD
strawberry

*noun* plant part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Dakota wažúšteća, †wažúšteća ‘strawberries’ SRR:563b

Yanktonai wážušteča, †wažušteča ‘strawberries’ [prob. Yankton]

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ‘hdš-te-(ke)

Chiwere hásče ‘strawberries’ GM, RR

Hoocąk hasjék, haasjék ‘strawberries’ KM:536, haasjék, haascek

Proto-Dhegiha ‘paštè-(ka)

Omaha-Ponca balét ‘strawberries’ RR

Kanza/Kaw ppaščéga ‘strawberries’ RR

Osage paščéka ‘strawberries’ JOD

Quapaw paštéka ~ mastéka ~ wasteka ‘strawberries’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tástepáx kotká, †tástepáx ‘strawberries’ [kotká ‘wild’] D&S:174b

General comment

This term shows all the earmarks of a borrowed and adapted form. There have been different reanalyses in the different subgroups. Chiwere and Hoocąk show possible contamination from ha•s- ‘berry, grape’. Kanza/Kaw folk etymologizes the initial syllable as ppaš ‘nut’. And cf. Dakota wašte ‘good’. Quapaw has competing forms, some with s. The Biloxi form (also with s) is analyzed by Dorsey and Swanton as consisting of asi ‘berry’ and an unidentified, compounded element, (like the Chiwere/Hoocąk forms), but it could just as well be yet another restructuring of the same elements found in MVS. Lakota †wažúškeca, wažúškeca ‘strawberry’ B-575a represents yet another folk etymology.
stretch (1)

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-ra-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ra*, *ra

Crow ihkalad 'stretch oneself' GG:74

Hidatsa íra- 'yawn' J

Pre-Mandan *wre-

Mandan őhweŋoʔ 'he yawned' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-ra

Proto-Dakota

Lakota iyóya 'yawn, gape' [1s iy-o-wa-ya] RTC

Dakota iyówa 'yawn' [1s iy-o-wa-wa] SRR:237

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere i^ára 'yawn' JGT:29

Hoocąk ʔiyadra JWE, iyaara

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw idda 'yawn' JOD

General comment

Cf. 'yawn'.
stretch (2)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-zíkE

Proto-Dakota *-zičA

Lakota zíča, ka- ‘stretch out, straighten’ EB:296, zíča, na- ‘over-stretched, as a machine belt that becomes too wide; to stretch e.g. a rope by means of the knees or feet’ EB:362, zíča, pa- ‘roll out or stretch with the hand, to stretch by pressing against’ EB:438, zíča, yu- ‘stretch, make pliable.’ EB:657, zíča, ya- ‘stretch anything with the teeth’ EB:632

Dakota pazíča, ṭazăča ‘rub, roll out or stretch with the hand; stretch by pressing against’ KR:417b

Proto-Dhegiha *-zíke

Omaha-Ponca ḥízi ‘stretch’

Osage baqi’ge, ḥpazíke ‘spiked’ LF:19

Quapaw zíke, bi- ‘stretch from pressure/weight’ RR, zíke, da- ‘stretch with the mouth’ RR, zíke, di- ‘stretch by pulling’ RR, zíke, ná- ‘stretch sth. by treading on it’ RR

General comment

Omaha-Ponca ḥízi, garzé ‘stretch’ (JOD1890:166) shows this root without the extension.

stretch (3)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šį́he

Pre-Mandan *-sį́h-

Mandan -sįhóʔ, ka- ‘he stretches s.t. out’ H:206

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk žį́, howa- ‘stretch (e.g., skin) out to dry, put in a form to dry’ KM:1566, howažį
strike (1)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(o)-rį́

Proto-Dakota *hį́

Lakota hį́hē — hį́há ‘fall, as rain or snow’ EB:176b, hįxpéya ‘fall’ EB:176b, hįxpéya ‘throw down’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *oʔį́

Chiwere oʔį́ ‘strike’ RR

Hoocąk hoʔį́, ruʔį́ ‘hit’ KM:1709, hoʔį́, ruʔį́

Proto-Dhegiha oʔį́

Omaha-Ponca oʔį́ ‘hit’ RR

Kanza/Kaw oʔį́ ‘hit’ RR

Osage útsiⁿ, ṭóčhį́ ‘maul, beat, pound’ LF:180b

Quapaw oʔį́ ‘hit’ JOD, RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ŋiʔháde ‘beat it up do’ FGS:109
strike (2)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *t̄pa

Proto-Dakota

Dakota kāp̄d ‘strike’ SRR:271b

Proto-Dhegiha *hñé

Omaha-Ponca no’té, ŋuqté ‘kick’ MAS:107
Kanza/Kaw wáččé ‘count coup; victory’ RR, ččé, nq- ‘kick up the heels, animal kicks, man dances’ JOD, RR
Osage wáñ̄se, ŋwahnčé ‘victorious returning with a large war party’ LF:205b
Quapaw nñ̊e, nq- ‘kick (said of animals in KS)’ RR

strike (3)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-satá•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa núcata• ‘squash sth.’ AWJ, púcata• ‘press down hard, flat; smash, mash, crush’ AWJ, aracáta• ‘mash w. foot’ AWJ, nakcáta• ‘smash flat, crash’ AWJ

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *-stá

Omaha-Ponca nástá ‘step lightly’ JOD
Kanza/Kaw sta, ŋbo- ‘punch at with, nudge with’ RR, std- nq- ‘kick someone, as a human, not as an animal’ RR, std- go- ‘hammer flat, beat until flat and long.’ RR, std- ya- ‘chew on, flatten by chewing’ RR
Quapaw std- ka- ‘strike, fall on’ RR

General comment

Osage ŋuqátke ‘trample down’ (LF-113) shows this root with an extension.

 Cf. numerous partial cognates in the s and š forms. Cf. *mire (2)* for a homonymous root.
strike (4)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xtakE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xtakE

Crow xsachi, pd- ‘massage, knead’ GG:53
Hidatsa xtaki, ná- ‘fumble around in, e.g. a purse’ J , xtaki, pd- ‘poke, nudge’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-xtakE

Proto-Dakota *-xtákA

Lakota xtaka, iwó- ‘hit or strike against, bump’ EB:247 , xtaka, na- ‘kick anything’ EB:345 , kóxtataká, na- ‘kick one’s own e.g. horse’ EB:349 , xtaka, waxó- ‘be easily hurt, touchy, nervous’ EB:525 , xtaka, wó- ‘pound, punch or knock with the end of anything’ EB:598 , xtaka, yá- ‘bite, to take a hold of with the mouth’ EB:620
Dakota yaxtáka , tyaxtáka ‘bite’ SRR:606a
Sioux Valley yaxtáka ‘bite’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-xtáke

Chiwere raxdáge ‘bite’ RR
Hoocąk xják, nąą- ‘kick, v.tr. (person)’ KM:2268 , nąąxjak ‘bite (as, animal)’ KM:2582 , xják, ra- , raxjak

Proto-Dhegiha *ra-xtáke

Kanza/Kaw xrdáge, ya- ‘bite, as dogs, horses, etc.’ RR
Osage thaxdáge , ?axtáke ‘bite’ LF:142b
Quapaw daxtd ‘bite’ RR

General comment
The following Lakota forms show š grade of this root: Lakota štaka, šyapa- ‘be taken by surprise’ B-251; Lakota štaka, šyopa- ‘excite, incite, encourage, actuate, urge’ B-259; Lakota štaka, šyá- ‘soften, make soft, press’. B-809; Lakota štaka, ka- ‘strike, beat, whip’ B-292; Lakota štaka, awó- ‘rebound, as an arrow on something hard not going in’ B-101 The following Hoocąk forms show š grade of this root: Hoocąk sták, boo- ‘dent by shooting, blowing, great force’, Lk-20.2fb) KM-84; Hoocąk sták, gi- ‘pound flat, dent’, Lk-19.18fb) KM-400; Hoocąk sták, nqq- ‘step on someone’s foot’ KM-2223; Hoocąk sták, ra- ‘dent with the mouth’, Lk-19.13fb) KM-2565; Hoocąk sták, wa- ‘flatten by pressing with palm’ KM-3472
strike (5)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šta•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-šta•

Crow -schii, ddá ‘chew’ GG:42, RGG:31
Hidatsa štor, ara ‘trample’ J, štor, ndá ‘chew’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha

Kanza/Kaw šca, ogdá ‘flatten by action of the water’ RR

General comment

Quapaw xnd, da- ‘bite sth.’ shows the x grade.
strike (6)

verb physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-htÉ

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa (x) the ‘pound, grind’.J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan -teʔ, ka- ‘he pounds it, shoots a gun’ H:247

Proto-Mississippi-Valley ka-htá, ‘ka-hÉ

Proto-Dakota ‘kath̪a

Lakota kath̪a ‘blunt by striking’ EB:293a, ED

Dakota kat’á’a, ḥkath̪a ‘make blunt by striking’ SRR:270a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk gíče ‘strike, knock off a piece’ KM:321, gice

Proto-Dhegiha ‘ka-hdt(-hta)-ra

Kanza/Kaw gatáya, gatátaya ‘knock to pieces’ RR

Osage gatáha, ḥkatháda ‘crumble or ruin’ LF:138b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ụ́thę́, ḥų́thę́ ‘fall’ D&S:331b

General comment

Cf. ‘shake (1)’, ‘strike (2)’. The DH forms may well be cognate if they are back formations from the reduplicated form, which typically requires the a-grade. This set is aberrant in that there is no Dakotan ‘kathé or kath. These do seem to be reduplicated forms though, because both r’s are aspirated.
struggle
verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *(o-ną-)šaša (?)
Proto-Hooçąg-Chiwere

Chiwere sása, oną- ‘be kicking around’ LWR:22
Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw šaša, oną- ‘struggle kicking’ RR

General comment
This modest set may be from Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kša, cf. Lakota kšįkšį ‘wiggle, as a fish’ B-318b.

stuff
verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xíhe
Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa xía, o•p- ‘stuff sth. in a hole’ [pa] J
Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *-ɣį

Lakota -gį, ka-, ʔ-ɣį ‘stop one’s progress, to be in one’s way, as a river; not to be able to proceed; to hold in esteem to respect’ EB:272, -gį, opú-, ʔ-ɣį ‘push into, as hay into moccasins; to stuff, fill, as with hay’ EB:403

Dakota opúgį, ʔopúŋį ‘push into, as hay into moccasins; to stuff, fill, as with hay’ SRR:384a

General comment
Cf. Lakota pazį ‘push into, as a stick into the sand in hunting for turtle eggs’ (B-438).
stun, kill

verb psychosomatic_caus

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-sáki

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-sdke

Chiwere githđée , orgetown 'knock down, possibly kill' JGT:245

Hoocąk sd, gi- 'sock, hit, beat up' [kill, knock unconscious, Lk:19.13] KM:386 , gisak 'ramrod' KM:1044 , sak, hirowd- 'kill with the mouth' KM:2561 , hirowasak , sd, ra- , rasak

Proto-Dhegiha *-sáki

Kansa/Kaw sdǧi, ba- 'stun, strike dead, stab to death' RR , sdǧi, bő- 'stun or kill by shooting or punching' RR , sdǧi, bū- 'stun, knock down, knock over' RR , sdǧi, ga- 'stun by striking, be stunned by a fall' RR , sdǧi, nq- 'stun or kill by kicking, stamping' RR , sdǧi, ya- 'stun or kill by biting' RR , sdǧi, yū- 'stun or kill by squeezing, choking' RR

Osage gaça’gi , ʔkasáki 'give a stunning blow' LF:43

Quapaw disáki 'hard, moulded with hands'

General comment

We reconstruct *-i since -e is the most common unaccented ending and the class into which many verbs are regularized.
suck (1)

verb physical action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-xoke

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-xukE

Crow xuchi, dda- ‘suck in (eating)’ GG:41, xūchi, kulu- ‘comb, spur’ GG:51

Hidatsa xukE, nd- ‘suck up’ [(ra); also -xoki1 J, xukE, (h)kiri- ‘comb hair’ [also ra-] J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-zókE

Proto-Dakota *yažókA

Lakota -žókA, ya- ‘sip’ RTC

Dakota yažoka ‘sip’ WM:207b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk yók, hora- ‘siphon, v.’ KM:1474, horaŋok

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw ádazokka ‘point with the lips; close the lips and stick out the mouth’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘suck (2)’. Cf. ‘slip (6)’ for another instance in which Crow or Hidatsa seems to have altered a root vowel u following the ru- prefix. Lakota and Quapaw show a different spirant grade, and the Quapaw form has a -ka root extension.
suck (2)

physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ra-xópE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa ráxupE ‘drink it all up’ J , ndxupi

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-ɣópE

Proto-Dakota *-xépa ~ *-ɣópA

Lakota yaxépa ‘drink up’ RTC , yagópa ‘sip, suck up’ RTC, EJ

Dakota yahépa , ḣyaxépa ‘drink up’ SRR:605a , yahópa , ḣyaxépa ‘suck up’ SRR:603a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-ɣópe

Chiwere rágwówe , ḣrágwé ‘suck’ JGT:245

Hoocąk ydp ‘gift of healing’ KM:502 , ḣgoop ‘cure by traditional means’ KM:563 , ḣayop , ḣaŋop

Proto-Dhegiha *raxó(-we)

Omaha-Ponca thaxu , ḣdaxo ‘suck’ MAS:166

Kanza/Kaw yaxówe ‘make a tearing or sucking sound’ RR

Osage thaxie , ḣdaxówe ‘dragged with the teeth’ LF:143a

Quapaw daxówe ‘draw into the mouth’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi oxpá , ḣoxpá ‘eat up’ D&S:240b , yu*’xklyóxpa , ḣoxpá ‘they drink up for me’

Ofo ạshópi , ḣshópi ‘drink’ D&S:321b , utaci’pi , ḣtaci’pi ‘suck’ D&S:331b

General comment

Omaha-Ponca may show the unextended root, though all of DH is problematic because post-accentual *p is generally retained. Dakotan -e- is unexplained, though note the correlation of e with x and o with ŋ.

Lakota ŋ is not explained since x > ŋ only postonically. DH probably has ŋ, mistranscribed as x by most workers because, unlike the other pairs of fricatives, this one does not involve voicing. DH has a different root extension. Ofo seems to show the same two vowels that we find in Lakota.

s and š apparently do not contrast in Ofo, and both are reflexes of Proto-Siouan x.
suck (3)

physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *o sop-

Mandan osópoʔ 'he sucks it' H:215

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi utč́kpı́, źuččıpı́ 'kiss, suck' D&S:284b

sudden action (1)

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *rhi-krÉ (?)

Proto-Dakota *hį́-krA (?)

Lakota hį́gła 'sudden action' EB:175b

Dakota hį́hda, ʔhį́hda 'become, commence (implying suddenness)' SRR:146b, hį́hđa, ʔhį́hđa [variant of hį́hda] SRR:145b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere -jigre-, źjigre 'suddenly become' JGT:245

Hoocąk ħikeré 'start' KM:1707, jikere

Proto-Dhegiha *thi-kré

Osage tșigeʔ, tçilé 'sudden action, suddenly' LF:163a

Quapaw tȟukđé 'become suddenly' JOD

General comment

Dakota sporadic nasalization is unexplained.
sudden action (2)

verb physical action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *rhi-rē'

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ūřē, uřē 'begin' JGT:76

Proto-Dhegiha *tha-řē

Omaha-Ponca řiθē

Kanza/Kaw čhiyé 'sudden action in this direction'

Osage tsíthē (sic) , tchiθē 'denoting, sudden action' LF:163a

Quapaw thīdē 'start, passby, come forth at birth' JOD

General comment

Osage "ts" clearly should be ts = ch. La Flesche often makes mistakes with the tense vs. aspirated affricate. See ‘sudden action (1)’, which complements this set. These *rḥ clusters are all generally secondary products of syncope from an earlier Proto-Siouan *rVh-.
**summer**

*noun* time phase

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

*waRó•ke*

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley** *wRó•ke*

**Proto-Dakota** *wrokétu*

Proto-Dakota *blokénu*; *blokéhý* 'summer; last summer' RTC

Dakota *mádokeťu* 'summer' SRR:313b, *bdókeťu* 'summer' SRR:73a

Stoney *mnogédu* PAS, *mnogéťu-xti* DR

Sioux Valley *bdókeťu* PAS

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** *Ró•ke*

Chiwere *to-* 'ke, *toke*, *tdóge* 'summer'

Hoocąk *tóok* KM:3132, *took*

**Proto-Dhegiha** *Roké*

Omaha-Ponca *nogé* 'summer' RR

Kanza/Kaw *dogé* 'summer' RR

Osage *dogé*, *toké* 'summer' LF:38a

**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo** *ató•ki*

Biloxi *toke* 'calm, no breeze stirring' D&S:279a, *toke*

Ofo *ató̄k(i), atók*; *ató•ki* 'summer, spring, south, year' D&S:322a, JSS

**General comment**

Cf. *loon*, *male*. This is one of the few nice, polysyllabic sets containing clear reflexes of Proto-Siouan *R*. 
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

**sun**

*noun* physical, celestial body

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**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *(wa-)wërq

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wër


Hidatsa *wër* – *wër* ‘sun, moon, orb’ J, *mir* – *mir*

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**Pre-Mandan**

Mandan *wį̀į́k, wį́į́k* ‘sun, moon’ RTC

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**Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Wi*”

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**Proto-Dakota**

Lakota *w* ‘sun’ RTC

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**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Chiwere bį, bį’ ‘sun’ (bį’ as ‘sun’) RTC, RR, *(m)pį’ CFV

Hoocąk wii ‘sun, moon, month’ KM:3640, wii

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**Proto-Dhegiha *mi**

Omaha-Ponca *mi* ‘sun’ RR

Kanza/Kaw *mi* ‘sun’ RR

Osage *mi* ‘sun’ RR

Quapaw *mi* ‘sun’ RR

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**Proto-Southeastern *miwį́q**

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**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *iįq**

Biloxi *iį**, *tįį* D&S:200a

Ofo *iį*, *tiį* D&S:324a

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**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo *mi*, *mie, mi, mi*”, *tįį* ‘sun’ N, H, JOD

Saponi *Mi*, *mįį* ‘sun’ F, RR

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**Proto-Catawba**

Catawba *mįʔ* ‘rise’ PV
Woccon Wittapare ‘sun’ Jl.

General comment

Cf. ‘moon’ (‘moon, sun, orb’), generally the same as ‘sun’; cf. also ‘star (1)’. The apparently sporadic nasalization of the initial syllable comes from the second syllable via the expected nasal spread. The original accentual pattern of this term is difficult to reconstruct, but this very difficulty, plus the clear reflex of *W or an initial cluster in Chiwere provides a hint of the solution to the problem. *W seems always to represent a conflation of a root-initial *w with a prefixed *wV, usually the syncopated reflex of absolutive *wa-. Thus there was an initial syllable. The long vowel in Chiwere, Mandan and Tutelo (expected on the second syllable) supports this analysis also, as does the intriguing cluster recorded by Voegelin. Crow/Hidatsa would be expected to have a long vowel, but they do not. Hidatsa at least shows variable accent. Cf. ‘snow (1)’ and ‘spring (season)’ for similar phonological sequences.

sunflower
	noun plant

General comment

The Mandan form occurs in maʔpéʔ ðëser, which may derive from wa- ‘absolutive’ + ap ‘day, dawn’ + ḍ ‘nominalizer’ + are ‘to bloom’, meaning ‘dawn flower’. The word is unusual, in that it has third-mora accent. The Hidatsa formation is similar: waʔp ‘day’ plus -ha ‘plant’ (compare Hidatsa wacu ‘cherry’, wacw ‘cherry tree’). The sunflower is attested archaeologically all up and down the eastern plains as a common food source. There is strong evidence that it was domesticated fairly early. The fact that there do not appear to be cognates in most of the languages may suggest further refinement in our chronologies for subgroup development and/or may point to development outside the plains area. However, cf. ‘chinquapin, lotus, cattail’.

surround

verb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ‘xa

Crow hasəzda ‘socks, men’s’ GG:49, daxa ‘around’ GG:3

Hidatsa ḇxa ‘net’ J, ḇxaxhe ‘corral’ J, Daxa ‘surround’ J, hasəzda ‘socks, stockings; lining of shoe’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hasd ‘fasten’ WL:16.6, KM:693, hasa

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi aʃ , ʳaʃ ‘they swarmed on’ SRR:172b, aʃd , ʳaʃd ‘to kill many’ SRR:259b

Ofo oⁿ’sxa, ţaʃhe ‘hunt for game’ D&S:328a

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Cf. ‘surround, head off, intercept’.

surround, head off, intercept

verb physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(a-)ąSE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *axa
Crow ąxaa ‘around’ GG:3
Hidatsa ąxaa ‘surround’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(a-)nąSE

Proto-Dakota *nąsd
Lakota ąnx ‘surround and kill, hunt buffalo’
Dakota ąnx ‘hunt buffalo, surround and kill’ SRR:334a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *dnąse
Chiwere nathé , ŋąθé ‘close’ JGT:48 , andhė , nanth’é , ŋandθé ‘close, impede’ JGT:48
Hoocąk hąnqę ‘shut off from doing sth.; lock in; cover’ KM:630 , hąnqę ‘fasten’ WL:16.6 , hąsd , hąsa

Proto-Dhegiha *dnąse
Omaha-Ponca ŋąn gå ‘obstruct’
Kanza/Kaw dnąsa ‘cut off, surround’ RR
Osage dno’çę , ŋdnąse ‘surround’ LF:13b
Quapaw dnąse ‘intercept, head off’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
Ofo oⁿ’axa , ŋš’ha ‘hunt for game’ D&S:328a

General comment

Ofo exhibits the x-grade, as does Proto-Crow-Hidatsa. Assuming cognacy of the Ofo and Proto-Crow-Hidatsa forms for the moment, the lack of initial ’r before the vowel in Ofo/Proto-Crow-Hidatsa suggests that this is the older form and that MVS has inserted a glide between the locative prefix and stem that has been reanalyzed as a stem-initial consonant. All three fricative grades appear to exist in this set. Cf. ‘surround’.
swallow (bird)

noun animal bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *
aw̃-šo(-kE)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa awašōʔriša ‘swallow (bird)’

Pre-Mandan *
wą•sok (?)

Mandan wą́sok ‘swallow’ H:276

General comment

Cf. Hidatsa aʔriša ‘crow (bird)’. The reconstructed term is a compound of ‘bird’ (q.v.) and an adjective. Kanza/Kaw has a vaguely similar descriptive term for this bird: áke źąkku ‘forked tail’. Biloxi tcokδ ‘(to have) a piece broken out at the top’ suggests that the reference in Hidatsa/Mandan may also be to the swallow’s distinctively forked tail. (Biloxi č < Proto-Siouan *š regularly).

sweat

verb physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *
wrį

Proto-Dakota *
mnį

Lakota the_mnį ‘sweat, pant’ EB:487

Dakota themnį ‘sweat, pant’ SRR:466b

Proto-Dhegiha *oRábrį

Omaha-Ponca undbhi’ , źondbįj ‘sweat’ MAS:167

Osage udabhi’ , źotabri ‘sweat, perspire, perspiration’ LF:167a

General comment

Cf. Dakota int thi ‘sweat lodge’. Several Dakotan forms with -ni- suggest this stem is bimorphemic, probably ‘wa-rį’ originally. It seems likely that this form arose in MVS though, since if it were Proto-Siouan it should be treated exactly like ‘water’, with which it would have been homophous.

Note that nasalization is complete only in Dakotan.
sweet (1)

verb perceptual taste

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sikú•-e

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cikua < *cikúhe

Crow čikúa ‘sweet’ GG:37
Hidatsa cikú ‘sweet’ J , xikua ‘sour’

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *skú•(-re)

Proto-Dakota *skúyA

Lakota skúya ‘sweet’ RTC , kiskúyA ‘go sour’ RTC

Stoney skúya – skúwa ‘sweet’ [+ablat when derived nominal] PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *θkú

Chiwere θkú ~ hkú ‘sweet’ RR
Hoocąk sgúu ‘sweet’ KM:2832 , ąguu

Proto-Dhegiha *skú•re

Omaha-Ponca skiče ‘sweet’ RTC , skéche ‘sweet’ RR
Kanza/Kaw skí•we ‘sweet’ RR
O sage skí•we ‘sweet’ RR , čki’the , ḥskíbe ‘sweet’ LF:31b
Quapaw skide ‘sweet’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘sweet (2)’ for the corresponding ŝ-forms. Both ‘sweet’ terms must be reconstructed together, and by and large they jibe. There are three interesting questions. (a) Was there a vowel separating S from k? We reconstruct one, as it appears in several languages and renders accent and length in the second syllable completely regular. (b) What accounts for the Mandan and Tutelo nasalization? We have no answer, except to point out that this is not the first time we have found aberrant nasalization. Mandan and Chiwere are the usual offenders. (c) The toughest and most interesting question obviously involves the final syllable and the glide or consonant that introduces it.

It has generally been the case that Proto-Siouan did not allow vowel sequences. So Proto-Siouan presumably had a phonetic glide preceding -e, which probably had morphemic status. We are unable to reconstruct the glide. The second element itself might be ‘food’, q.v. As both Lakota and Hidatsa indicate, an earlier gloss for this series might be ‘strongly flavored’; cf. also the ‘salt’ meanings with the ŝ-grade.
sweet (2)

verb perceptual_taste

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šikú•-e

Pre-Mandan *škųhe

Mandan skųhoʔ 'it’s sweet’ H:214, qskų ‘wild anise’ H:214, węskųhe ‘sugar’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern *čikú•-e

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *čikú•-e

Biloxi kɔ•čkúyeʔ ‘watermelon’ [‹ kɔ• ‘gourd’ + čkú•ye ‘sweet’] MRH, kɔ•čkúyeʔ ‘watermelon’ MS, tckuyė’, tckúyė’, ḋčkúye ‘sweet’ D&S:265b, tckúyixti’ , ḋčkúyixti’ ‘very sweet’ D&S:265b

Ofo amạskúwĕ, ŋamaskúwe ‘salt’ D&S:320b, JSS, atk am askúwĕ, ŋamaskúwe ‘sugar’ D&S:320b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo matsiggyo, ṭmačiköyọ ‘salt’ ES, matcigo’yọ’, ṭmačiköyọ ‘salt’ LJF

Proto-Catawba


General comment

Cf. ‘sweet (1)’ for the corresponding s-grade, and for comments on the reconstructions.
swell (1)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan -pá•he

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pá•hoʔš ‘it’s swollen’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-pá

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere w̃w̃d ‘swell’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha *ípa

Omaha-Ponca iba ‘swell’ MAS:167

Kanza/Kaw iba ‘swell’ RR

Osage iba , ȓípa ‘swell, become swollen’ LF:68a

Quapaw ípa ‘swell’ JOD
swell (2)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *phó

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *póSSV-

Crow póosee ‘pop; crinkle’ GG:54 , póttée ‘plop’ GG:54, RGG:93 , poppazáhi ‘popping sound’ RGG:93

Hidatsa póšlahi ‘a popping sound’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *phó

Proto-Dakota *phópa


Proto-Dhegiha *phohki

Omaha-Ponca gaphókki ‘make sound by hitting’ , gápúkki

Kanza/Kaw dápʰohkke ‘pop’ RR , phokke, bó- ‘smacking sound’ RR , phokke, bů- ‘make a popping sound from bursting’ RR , phókkí, bo- ‘pop, give off a popping noise (also causative)’ RR , phókkí, ga- ‘popping sound made when hitting’ RR , phophokke, dů- ‘popcorn, be continually popping’ RR

Osage dápʰóki (sic) , ṭdápʰohkkí ‘explode’ LF:36a , pókité (sic) , ṭphohkité ‘a sound like the report of a gun or a popgun’ LF:129b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *phó

Biloxi tūpó , ṭ-tú ‘burst’ D&S:282a

Ofo pophů́tí , ṭphohú́tí ‘swell, puff out’ D&S:328b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba boʔ ‘shoot, explode’ KS , puʔ-teʔ ‘shoot with blowgun’ KS

General comment

The Catawba forms are presumably not both cognate with the Siouan forms, but out understanding of Siouan/Catawban sound correspondences does not permit us to determine which properly fits. Sound symbolism is evident here also.
swell (3)

verb physical_condition_change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *poh

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *púra < *pó•he J

Crow púa ‘rotten’ GG:54

Hidatsa púra ‘rot, spoil, be swollen’

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pó

Proto-Dakota *pó

Lakota pó RTC

Dakota po ‘swell’ SRR:423b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk nąąwó ‘swell’ JWE, nąąwo ‘rise, as bread’, nąąwó, nąąwo

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi po ‘swell’ D&S:246b

Ofo pophú´ti, †pophúti ‘swell up’ D&S:328

General comment

See ‘swell (1)’, also the ‘shooting instrumental’ prefix.

Virtually every language in the world has a word meaning ‘swell, blow up, inflate’, etc. with the canonical form PUH where H is zero or nearly any fricative. Cf. English puff. Sound symbolism plays an important if not predominant role here. Compare howl for *o•he > Hidatsa u•a.
swell (4)

verb physical condition change

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pox-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-poši


Hidatsa puši, naka- ‘swell, puff up, inflate’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota poxya, oná- ‘swell out, puff up’ EB:396, poxya, wann- ‘leaven, cause to rise’ EB:538

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi pópxóxi, ṭópxóxi ‘swelling medicine’ D&S:246b

General comment

It is always difficult to distinguish cognacy from sound symbolism with these po ~ pu ‘puff’ words since every language has them. Crow and Hidatsa also show ŋ grade. Crow seems to preserve an earlier long vowel which in some derived forms shortens and raises in both Crow and Hidatsa.
sycamore ? (birch, maple)

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(wa)-yą́• są 'white wood/tree (?)'

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wir'haci

Crow biliicht 'willow' GG:32, RGG:11

Hidatsa wirahaci 'shrub willow' J, mirahaci

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *(yaq-(ha)-są (?)

Proto-Dakota *čhą-há-są

Lakota caŋhásaŋ , tčhaŋđąq 'sugar maple', 'white birch' EB:116a

Yanktonai cha'hasaŋ', tčhaŋđąq 'sugar maple'

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ŋą-są

Chiwere nąθą 'sycamore' LWR:20

Hoocąk nąqąŋk 'sugar maple' KM:2218 , nąqąŋk

Proto-Dhegiha *ʒą-są

Omaha-Ponca żą sq JOD, D&S:176a

Kanza/Kaw žąsq 'sycamore' JOD

Osage sho'  coercion , żą sq 'sycamore' LF:225a

Quapaw żą sq 'sycamore' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ayų' sa'hđaŋ , ŋąqąŋk 'sycamore' D&S:176a

General comment

These forms mean either 'white tree' or 'white-barked tree'; such descriptive constructions are very apt to have developed independently, and we really have no way of knowing whether they are cognate or not. The Kanza/Kaw form at least has compound stress; other DH languages simply have a descriptive phrase. The Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH forms could, in principle, be contractions of the fuller Lakota form with dropping of the intervocalic -h-. If the Hidatsa is cognate, it must be a relic form; neither 'ha 'skin', nor 'są 'white (1)' being preserved in Hidatsa. Cf. 'willow, Salix sp.'
t

tail (1)

noun physical_somatic_body_part,animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(i-)sį́•te

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cί́tna

Crow čίša GG:37, RGG:2
Hidatsa čί́tna ‘tail’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan šį́t ‘tail’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *sį́•te

Proto-Dakota *sį́tę
Lakota sį́tę RTC
Stoney sįčtəlata ‘Red Tail’ PAS
Sioux Valley sį́tę PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sį́•te

Chiwere  đò́jče ‘tail’ RR
Hoocąk sį́če ‘tail’, sį́jc

Proto-Dhegiha *sį́•te

Omaha-Ponca sį́•de ‘tail’ RTC
Kanza/Kaw sį́je ‘tail’ RR
Osage čį́dag, ḋį́sį́je ‘tail’ LF:30b
Quapaw sį́tłe ‘tail’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *i-sį́tį

Biloxi sį́tį, sį́ntiyą, si’, sί́tų, išntį, sί́nt , tį́sį́tį ‘tail’ D&S:255b
Ofo fxį́tę, fxį́ti, fxį́tę , tį́sį́tų/e ‘tail’ D&S:323b

General comment
Mandan rounding is unexplained, but this is not the only example of such rounding. Mandan rounding occurs before a labial in ‘copulate (1)’, ‘clumsy’, and ‘soupy’ (this last supported by a round vowel in Hidatsa). Mandan rounding occurs before non-labials in this word as well as ‘hand’ and ‘five (1)’ (the last again supported by a round vowel in Hidatsa). ‘lay’ suggests that there may have been some rounding variation already in Proto-Siouan. The accentual and vowel length pattern here is best explained in terms of a prefix of inherent possession, even though such prefixes are normally found with parts of the human body (and kin terms). Chiwere and Hoocąk have a related form *šį́•te ‘whole bottom, rump, rear end (all animals, birds, etc.)’ (JDH). It is fairly common for fricative symbolism to relate groups of nouns in this fashion. Stoney may have a reflex of ś, as otherwise θ would be expected.

### tail (2) > bird tail

**physical_somatic_body_part_animal**

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan** *épi (7)

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa** *épi

Crow lēpi ‘bird’s tail feathers’ GG:79, RGG:3

Hidatsa ēpi ‘bird’s tail’ J

**Pre-Mandan**

Mandan īp ‘bird tail, tail feather’ H:89

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *ēpi

**Proto-Dakota** upí

Lakota sitúpi ‘tail feathers’ RTC

Dakota upí ‘bird tail’ SRR

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Hoocąk hiwi KM:1126 , hiwi?

**Proto-Dhegiha** *(hį)-ųpe

Omaha-Ponca xitha iⁿbe , iᵗpe ‘tail feather’ [eagle + X] MAS:75

Kanza/Kaw ñbe , ñbe ‘bird’s tail’ RR

Osage iⁿbe , iᵗpe ‘the tail of a bird’ LF:74b , oⁿbe , iᵗpe ‘buttocks; tail of a bird’ LF:121b

Quapaw ñbe JOD

**General comment**
In Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan this root is in homonymic clash with ‘copulate (1)’. There has been compounding with, or contamination from, hį ‘hair, fur, feathers’ in DH and possibly other languages. The final vowel in DH has undergone analogical change to join the widespread set of -e stems. The back vowel in various forms is unexplained, but cf. ‘tail (1)’. We reconstruct *i• in Proto-Siouan under the assumption that sporadic rounding before a labial obstruent is the more likely reformation. Cf. ‘guts, intestines’.

**tear**

*physical_contact деformation*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *-káE*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-kacE*

Crow -kači, rak- ‘emerge, come into the open’ GG:41 , dakkachi ‘slash, slit, gash’ GG:4 , -káči, a- , akáchi

Hidatsa -kácE, ha- ‘butcher’ J , kaci-re• ‘go hunting’ J

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley**

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -gás, boo- ‘cause paper or cloth to tear by shooting’ KM:49 , boogas ‘tear paper or cloth by striking’ KM:328 , -gás, gi- ‘cut paper or cloth with tearing motion’ KM:1949 , gígas ‘tear paper or cloth with the foot’ KM:2137 , -gás, mąą- ‘tear paper or cloth with the teeth; make a faux pas’ KM:2546 , mąągas ‘cause paper or cloth to tear by heat’ KM:3048 , -gás, nąą- ‘tear paper or cloth by pressure or pushing’ KM:3250 , nąągas , -gás, ra- , raagas , -gás, taa- , taagas , -gás, wa- , wagas

**General comment**

The forms here all typically accent the root but have neither aspiration nor vowel lengthening. This, then, is the sort of stem that causes us to interpret those phenomena as at least marginally phonemic. Cf. ‘cut (1)’.
teen formative

enclitic n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ake

Pre-Mandan *e-k-

Mandan d-k- ‘over; teen formative’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota akhé ‘again; teen formative’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo age-, aki-, agi- , ḥaki- ‘teen formative’ H

Proto-Catawba

Woccon Tonne hauk pea , ḥak ‘eleven’ JL

General comment

This seems to be a specialization of ‘across > over, beyond, above’. In Lakota the inherited, unaspirated teen formative has merged with (been replaced by) the near homonym akhé ‘again’. Chiwere and DH use reflexes of *a-krį ‘sitting upon’ to form numerals between ten and twenty.
tell

verb social communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(o-)_rá•ke

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *o_ráke

Proto-Dakota *o_ráka

Lakota o_yáka ‘tell’ RTC , o_gláka ‘tell one’s own’ RTC

Dakota o_yáka ‘relate, tell’ SRR:397a , o_hdáka ‘tell one’s own’ SRR:350b

Stoney o_yaga ~ e_yaga PAS:591 , o_hnága PAS:591

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *o_ráke

Chiwere uláge ‘tell about something, tell to’ W:244a , uráge ‘news, story’ LWR:32 , worage ‘tell stories, tell about something’ LWR:37 , worage LWR:37

Hoocąk ha_rák ‘tell, relate’ KM:1476 , horak

Proto-Dhegiha *o_rá(-ke)

Omaha-Ponca uha , yođa ‘tell’ MAS:170

Kanza/Kaw oydá ‘tell’ RR

Osage uhdáge , yođáke ‘tell a tale or a story’ LF:175b , ukódáhe , tóhkdáke ‘speak of oneself’ LF:171b

Quapaw ođáke ‘tell about something’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *o-ki-rá•ki

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *oktaki

Biloxi ká’ítki’, tókátki ‘tell what one has perceived himself’ D&S:217a

Ofo oktáki , tókátki ‘tell’ D&S:327b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo oaktlaka , toklaka ‘speak’ H , geláki , tókeláki ‘call’ H , očaxá , okdáka”, toklaka ‘speak, tell’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘speak, talk’. The derivational morphemes, *o- and *-ke are so widespread that we suspect that the one or two cases in which they are lacking represent instances of loss, not independent constructions. The last of the Tutelo forms shows a suffixed reflex of ʔọ ‘do, aux.’. The Biloxi forms are not technically cognate since they have t and i where they should have d and a. The case for the end reconstruction is just as strong without them however.

Overall, this verb appears to be a doublet of ‘ro- the mouth, instrumental’ prefix with the requisite derivational paraphernalia. This would match Siebert’s analysis of the Catawba cognates for Siouan instrumental prefixes according to which all were active verbs which participated in serial verb constructions in Catawba.
temporal subordination

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi čá in: hańtcá, ŋčá ‘implies uncertainty’ D&S:196a, -tca in: kańťca, ŋčá ‘when (for some time)’ D&S:196a

General comment

compare -ta ‘locative (6)’.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary


ten (1)

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan {old reconstruction only}

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kyé•wrą

Proto-Dakota *wikčémną

Lakota wíkčémna RTC

Dakota wíkčémna ‘ten’ SRR:575b

Stoney wíkčémna ‘ten’ RTC

Sioux Valley wíkčémna ‘ten’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *kré•prą

Chiwere głéblą ‘ten’ RTC, gré•brą ‘ten’ RR

Hoocąk kerepą́ną ‘ten’ KM:1800, kerepą́ną

Proto-Dhegiha *krébrą

Omaha ɡdébọ́ ‘ten’ [v. below] SAY

Omaha-Ponca ɡdêbọ́ ‘ten’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw lēblą ‘ten’ RR

Osage ɡdēbhoⁿ, řlébrą ‘ten’ LF:54a

Quapaw kdébną ‘ten’ RR

General comment

James 1823:lixii, lxviii. 10 kra1-ba3-ra2 fa1te; fa3ll; fa2r ɡrebbo 20 kra1-ba3-ra2-no2m-ba3 mo2ve These show that in 1823 Omaha still had the final syllable cluster. Biloxi is doubtful as Proto-Siouan *wr usually > d there. Ofo is equally doubtful. As for the Lakota, we already have a number of instances of *r > čh when preceded by possessive i-. It is possible that the i of the preceding syllable here has had the same effect. Then, barring any evidence of a Proto-Siouan *y in other languages, the best reconstruction might be Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kréwrą rather than *kyéwrą.
ten (2)

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba "pi-

Proto-Siouan "piraka (?)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa "piraka

Crow pilaká GG:53, RGG:82

Hidatsa pilaká 'ten' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pirág 'ten' RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo pōtsk; putçk, būšk'; putskai, putçka, etc., ʔpu(•)čka N, HH, putçk, putckai", ʔpu(•)čka JNBH, būšk', ʔpu(•)čka ES, butsk', ʔpu(•)čka LJF

Saponi -bosque F

Proto-Catawba

Catawba pičanə FGS:106 , pica PV:77

Woccon ñpí ~ ñwi-; Tonne hauk pea; Wilnopp 'eleven; twenty (?)'

General comment

At the moment we can only be certain of the northern forms. Tutelo may not be related. This may be an ancient root however, as there are potentially Catawba and even Woccon cognates.
testicle (1)

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ašų́•t-ka

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ḋuhka

Crow ḍuhka 'testicles' GG:3, ȧxuhka 'kidney' GG:3

Hidatsa ḍ-šūka — ar-šāka 'testicles', ȧxūka — ȧxuhka 'kidney'

Pre-Mandan *aąqt-

Mandan ašį́kə 'testicle' H:59

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ašų́•t-ka

Proto-Dakota ašį́kə

Lakota ašį́kə 'kidney' EB:93a, ašį́kə EB:67a

Yanktonai źį́kə 'kidney' SRR:64b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ašį́pke

Chiwere ar-šį́jče 'kidney' RR, šųį́hje, tšį́hje 'testicle' JGT:171

Hoocąk źųį́gi 'testicle' KM:2999, źųį́ge

Proto-Dhegiha ažǒhta

Omaha-Ponca ṭ-dzo’taud 'kidney'

Quapaw ḍį́pə 'kidney' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tco’tkúsi, ṭčǒktusi 'castrated cattle' D&S:265b

General comment

The Chiwere clusters are unexpected; šč is probably secondary < hǰ. The Omaha-Ponca, one Dakota, and MRS forms show different fricative symbolism grades. The vowel length pattern in Hoocąk suggests that initial a- was once present in this language. Ordinarily, all MVS languages agree on fricative voicing. This is a rare exception. This term seems to have undergone multiple derivations and meaning shifts. The reconstruction seems fairly secure however with the original meaning 'kidney'.
**testicle (2)**

*physical_somatic_body_part*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *'i-šų́•te*

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *'i-šų́•te*

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šų́•te*

Proto-Dhegiha *šòte*

Omaha-Ponca sho'de, šođle 'testicles' MAS:267

Kanza/Kaw šįjė 'testicles' RR

Osage sho'dé, šōcé 'scrotum' LF:133a

Quapaw šóþe 'testicles' JOD

**Proto-Southeastern**

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tco'dití, tčodití 'penis'

**General comment**

Cf. *'testicle (1)'*, the same root with the addition of *-ka*.

The patterns of length and accent suggest a missing initial syllable, almost certainly the inalienable possession prefix typically found with external body parts.
thank you

social communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hahó

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hahó

Crow aho• ‘thank you’ GG:4

Hidatsa hahó ‘thank you’

Pre-Mandan

Mandan hahó ‘thank you’ H:65

General comment

The DH forms Omaha-Ponca ḏahą́-bi ‘thanked him’ (JOD1890:194), Osage ḏahό ‘thank you’ do not really match phonologically. ṛa- is most likely ‘by mouth’, the instrumental prefix here.
that (1)

*pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ka*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow kaka ‘again (repetition)’ GG:63, kado, káno ‘ago’ L:138, kan, kar ‘then; already’ L:138, kan, kam, kar ‘when; as’

Hidatsa ka ‘to be there’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ká- in: kář ‘and’ H:102

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ko*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ka ‘there, that yonder’ [it is used when the thing spoken of is not quite close, when we use le] EB:269, kan ‘the plural’ [of ka?] EB:269, ká- in: káde ‘that is he’ [this word is used when one is pointing at the same time, as in saying: His empl.] EB:271, ká- in: kahu ‘this, thus far’ EB:273, ká- in: kahu ‘to this, at this, thus far’ EB:273, ká- in: kahu ‘to that, so far, so long’ EB:280, ká- in: káki ‘there, yonder’ EB:293, ká- in: káki ‘that way, over yonder (pointing) somewhere’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ka*

Chiwere go ‘that one over there’ JGT:18, go- in: go’i ‘that (one) over there’ DOR, JGT:905, go/ go’e/ ká ‘at’ JGT:906, LWR, go ‘at last; that’s the last’ JGT:913, go- in: gádu/ káta ‘just then; there; in that place’ JGT:915, go ‘at that time’ JGT:924, go- in: gahédan ‘now; all right; enough’ , go ‘that; those’ JGT:928, go- in: gádu/ gádu ‘there; in that place’ JGT:928, go- in: gahédan ‘now; all right; enough’ , go ‘that; those’ JGT:928, go- in: gádu/ gádu ‘there; in that place’ JGT:928, go- in: gahédan ‘now; all right; enough’

Hoocąk go- in: go’a ‘that (near him)’ KM:305, go- in: go’a ‘this way’ KM:309, ga’ in: gaqgu, go’a ‘this way’ KM:309, gaqgu, go’a ‘this way’ KM:309

Proto-Dhegiha *ko*

Omaha-Ponca ga ‘yon, that (out of sight)’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw ga ‘that (unseen)’ JOD, ga ‘that’ MR, RR, go-

Osage ga , tka ‘thus, him, that’ LF:42a

Quapaw ka ‘that not visible’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo


Proto-Catawba

General comment

The Catawba entries appear to be quite flexible morphotactically and are listed with both the prefixed and suffixed Siouan forms which are best considered distinct morphemes.

that (2) > demonstrative, reference marker, relative

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ko

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa


Hidatsa kuh ‘that one’ [X + e ‘clause final’] J, kua ‘it’s that one’ [m’kuhá ‘by yourself’] J, ku- in: kúari ‘that one (emphatic)’ J, -ku in: akú(-) ‘relativizing prefix; agentive’ J, -kuhá in: m’kuhá ‘(I did it) by myself’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ko- ‘agentive, relative’ H:451, EK:15a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ko, ŧko ‘a demonstrative; used in several ways’ D&S:210a

General comment

Cf. ‘so, thus’ ŧkʔų ~ kʔǫ, and ‘beyond > other, across (1)’ and beyond > other, across (2). Hidatsa kua reflects an earlier *kuha. Note the final -h in Hidatsa kuh. Final -n in Crow should be compared with Hidatsa -r focus marker and -ru locative.
that (3)

pronoun n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *še*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa


Proto-Mississippi-Valley *še*

Proto-Dakota

Lakota še- in: šehleš ‘how much more; how much less’ EB:461 , -še- in: ềš ‘it indicates finality and a mark of contrast in judgment or fact’ EB:143

Stoney še ‘that’ ART

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šē*


Proto-Dhegiha *šē*

Omaha-Ponca še ‘that’ JOD, MAS:265 , šē-na ‘that much, enough’, šē-ta’, šē-ha ‘that long, of that length’, šē-ta’-ha , šē-ha ‘that high, of that height, or depth’

Kanza/Kaw še ‘that (visible)’ RR , šē- in: šéga, šégà ‘yonder, in that vi. place’ JOD, RR , šē- in: šéjó ‘there in the distance, yonder’ RR

Osage šē, šē ‘that one; there’ LF:130b , šē- in: šē-go’, šē- ‘that kind or sort’ LF:130b

Quapaw šē ‘that’ RR, JOD

Proto-Catawba


General comment

Hoocąk and Stoney have voiced fricatives; all others are voiceless and the discrepancy is unexplained.
the

_particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *kį•

Proto-Siouan *-kį

Pre-Mandan

Mandan -ki ‘subordination marker’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota kį, ki ‘def.art.; subordination marker’ EB:308b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ᦕacd ‘the’ D&S:315b

Proto-Catawba

Catawba kį ‘the’ PV:55f, -kį• ‘the little one’ KS:223, -kį• in: ᦕkį• ‘the’ KS:223, -kį• ‘the’ KS:223, -kį• in: -kįye ‘the’ in: ᦕkįye ‘the dove’, ᦕkį•, ᦕkį• in: ᦕkį’t’

General comment

The Mandan form may be a switch-reference marker. There is a Tutelo cognate for the article.
thick

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šókE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa šó-ki ‘dull edged’ J

Pre-Mandan *suʔk-

Mandan suʔkoʔš ‘it’s dull, not sharp’ RTC, siʔkoʔš ‘it’s dull’ H:221

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šó-ka

Proto-Dakota *šóka

Lakota šóka ‘thick’ RTC, -šóka, na- ‘thicken, swell, as a piece of wood in water; to get a thick skin on one’s feet from walking’ EB:359, -šóka, wo- ‘puffed out, enlarged, ending in a knob’ EB:609

Dakota šóka, šóka ‘thick, of solids’ SRR:447a

Stoney sóga ‘thick’ PAS:142

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *šó-ka

Chiwere sórga, sogá ‘thick’ RR

Hoocąk sóogá ‘be thick’ KM:2980, sóoga ‘cut thick’ KM:2028, -šóga, mqq- , mqqšoga

Proto-Dhegiha *šoká

Omaha-Ponca sóogá ‘thick’ RR

Kanza/Kaw sóga, sogd- ‘thick’ RR

Osage shogá, šoká ‘thick’ LF:132b

Quapaw šoká ‘thick’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tółkí’, ʔókí ‘thick’ D&S:261b

General comment
It appears we may have a little phonosymbolism here in the vocalism. We may also have mixed sets. Swanton describes “â” (as in Biloxi) as “like the o in stop” (DS-4). Haas (1968) recorded Biloxi o often as very open, so the Biloxi form cited here could have either an o or an a.

The vowel length and accentual pattern suggest that this lexeme normally had an initial syllable or prefix (as most stative verbs). Crow shûk’a ‘wide (strip)’ GG-56 is comparable to Hidatsa cuhka ‘flat, bottomland’, forms which do not belong in this set. The final vowel here is problematic. MVS shows non-ablauting o, but Biloxi and Hidatsa suggest Proto-Siouan *i or possibly *E. We cannot be certain which groups have reanalyzed the form.

**thigh**

*noun* physical_somatic_body_part

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan ˀôte ~ ˀôte

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ˀóřt + ˀhure

Crow ddâsshuli ‘thigh’ GG:40

Hidatsa náʔhîru ‘thigh, flank’ J

**Pre-Mandan**

Mandan ʔatóh ‘thigh’ H:173

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley**

Proto-Dakota ˀ-őte

Dakota ˀčćeˀáŋte, ˀčhëháŋte ‘thigh bone’ SRR:97

**Proto-Southeastern**

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo nàkhóⁿti, ˀnəkhóʔti ‘knee’ D&S:326

**General comment**

The Dakota form is related to DH ˀzeká ‘leg, thigh’, which matches the Dakota čhëh-. This implies a Proto-Mississipi-Valley ˀyek-, which is in another set. If the part we consider cognate here is -őte, the initial r of the northern languages needs to be accounted for. Here we suggest that the r is the epenthetic glide that we normally find between inalienable *i-, which occurs with most body parts, and vowel initial stems. The difference in quality of the nasal vowels is still not accounted for in this analysis, although we have many other apparent q/q matches.
thin

verb perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *warēhe

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *wrēh-(ka)

Proto-Dakota *wrečō

Lakota blečō ‘get poorer and poorer from sickness’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere ‘preh(ka)

Chiwere brekhē ‘thin’ RR

Hoocąk pere ‘be thin’ KM:2473, pere

Proto-Dhegiha *brēhka

Omaha-Ponca bōēka ‘thin’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw blēkka ‘thin’ RR

Osage brēhka ‘thin’ RR

Quapaw bdēkka ‘thin’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *habrēh-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi hadēhi, ḥadēhi ‘thin’ D&S:192b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo hablēha, ḥablēha ‘thin’ HW

General comment

In MVS we see suffixing of derivational -*ka*. Note also that Proto-Dhegiha gemination and Chiwere aspiration are being produced across a morpheme boundary from the older *hk* cluster. Therefore Lakota aspiration is also expected here.
think (1)

verb psychic cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *e_yeh

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *(h)iríha-cE

Crow hilicli GG:48

Hidatsa iríacE ‘think, opine’ J , iríaci

Pre-Mandan *ê_reh-

Mandan ērehoš ‘he wanted it, thought about it’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ê.re ~ *e_yé

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ečd ‘think’ B&D:102

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *i_ré

Chiwere ilé ‘think’ GM

Hoocąk hi_giré ‘think of’ KM:845 , hígire (hi<gi->re) ‘think, hope?’ KM:1016 , hi_ré , hire

Proto-Dhegiha *ê.re

Omaha-Ponca e_dgéy ‘think’ JOD, MAS:58

Kanza/Kaw hâ_ye ‘think, suppose’ [cf. ‘dream’] JOD

Osage e_the , têbe ‘think’ [conj. dif,be as an R-stem] LF:41b

Quapaw :init ‘think what precedes’ [ = ‘idi + ʔa’] JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi yîhí , yuhí , yû hi , tûhí ‘think’ [regular conjugation] D&S:292a, EB

Ofo hêšani , ñhêšani ‘think’ [regular conjugation] D&S:323b

General comment
There have been several restructurings of this interesting verb. Hoocąk and Quapaw have replaced *e- with what appears to be instrumental í-. In Kanza/Kaw the verb has been contaminated by the semantically related ‘dream’, q.v.

Dakota and Biloxi suggest a reconstruction with *y, the other languages show reflexes of *r. Dakota in particular has a relic conjugated form, 1s epčá (defective), which makes *y the more attractive reconstruction. In Crow, Hidatsa and Mandan *r and *y normally fall together as r, and since, in the more southerly languages *r and *y seem to fall together in certain consonant clusters (those created in 1st and 2nd person conjugated forms), the neutralization product, *r, may have been generalized to 3rd person forms. So the most probable reconstruction is with the more exceptional *y. Cf. ‘think (3)’. The Ofo form may simply have lost the main portion of the verb stem, leaving only the extension shown elsewhere in Mandan and Biloxi.

think (2)
verb psychic_cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(ru-ki-yį́)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *rucky$q

Proto-Dakota *yukčą́

Lakota yukčą́, *tyukčą́ ‘comprehend, know, guess, have an opinion’ ER:841b, iyǔkčą́, *tyukčą́ ‘know’ RTC, kčį́ntepte, *tyukčą́ ‘seemingly occupied with one’s thoughts’ EJ

Dakota yukčą́, *tyukčą́ ‘comprehend’ SRR:629a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-rukra

Chiwere ₋rukgra, wıṟuŋra ‘think’ RR, ruqrən ‘consider, judge, think on’ JGT:61

Hoocąk waruką́ṇą ‘go into a trance to recover something lost’ KM:3451, waruką́ṇą ‘manage; control’ KM:2686, ruką́ṇą́, ruką́ṇą́

Proto-Dhegiha *-rükrą

Omaha-Ponca wathiggoⁿ, ṇwaθiggoⁿ ‘mind’ MAS:120

Kanza/Kaw lyūlq ‘decide, form an opinion, judge’ RR

Osage ṇiθiggoⁿ, ṇiθulaq ‘think, consider, study, contemplate’ LF:79b, wathi´ggoⁿ, ṇwaθulaq ‘intellect, sense, sound judgment, reverence, daydreaming, meditate’ LF:201b

Quapaw Ḏionq “think” JOD, diknáj ‘try, make effort, decide’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ƙikna‘ni, ƙikndni ‘perhaps (I think)’ D&S:208b

Ofo Ḏknta, Ḏknta ‘love’ D&S:320a

General comment
*ky > *kr; *xy > *xr in Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH. Cf. ‘hawk (1), falcon’, ‘flower (1)’, ‘ten (1)’. Only Dakota and Biloxi tend to preserve independent reflexes of *Cy and *Cr clusters. If the Biloxi is cognate, then it suggests *kr rather than *ky, and shows no trace of the MVS *ru-. The root extension *-re is found only in Biloxi where it is productive. Without further attestation we hesitate to reconstruct it. Mandan most frequently provides examples, but the cognate is missing here. Cf. also ‘think (1)’, ‘think (3)’, ‘dream’, ‘hawk (1), falcon’.

**think (3)**

verb psychic_cognition

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

in Chiwere/Hoocąk and DH. Cf. ‘hawk (1), falcon’, ‘flower (1)’, ‘ten (1)’.

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *ʔį*

Lakota ečhá_į ‘think something’ [1s ečháį, 2s ečháį, 1du ečháį] RTC

Dakota ečhá_į, ṛečhá_į ‘think’ SRR:113a

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** *-į*

Chiwere iráyį, †iráyį ‘think’ JGT:256

Hoocąk wewį́ ‘think about; ponder’ [1s pewį, 2s wewį́, 1s peewį́]

**Proto-Dhegiha** *áža-ʔį*

Kanza/Kaw ážį́ ‘think, suppose’ [1s ážamį, 2s ážažį] JOD

Osage ážį́, ṛážį́ ‘think, suppose’ [1s ážamį, 2s ážahzi] LF:17b

Quapaw ážį́ ‘think’ [1s ážamį́, 2s ážah (mixed conjugation)] JOD

**Proto-Southeastern** *-(h)į*

Biloxi yandíhiⁿ, †-hį́ ‘think of him or it continually’ [yandi = ‘heart’] D&S:288a

Ofo hɛ’lami, ṛhɛ’lami ‘think’ D&S:323b

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo opeñba, ṛ-mí- H

**General comment**
*-ʔį is conjugated as a glottal stem, cf. ‘wear about the shoulders’; Hoocąk/Tutelo suggest a W-stem, cf. ‘ask’. There is evidence for an initial vowel throughout MVS. If, as some feel, Chiwere/Hoocąk are closer to DH than to Dakota, and both Chiwere/Hoocąk and Lakota show e-, then it seems likely that DH has replaced this vowel with á-. The spatially least marked demonstrative has the form e- and this demonstrative is the most likely source of the prefix here. Reflexes of Proto-Siouan *ya are found in other constructions with demonstratives and an approximate meaning of ‘thus, in that way’, cf. Lakota ež-ʔ ‘do, work’, which is conjugated analogously. This is one of a number of Biloxi forms in which Proto-Siouan *ʔ has the reflex h, cf. *ʔų ‘do, make’. Cf. ‘think (2)’

third daughter

noun social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *síke

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *haksí•ka

Chiwere haʔθíga ‘third daughter’ RR

Hoocąk haksíga, haksígá ‘third daughter’ KM:619, haksíga, haksígaga

Proto-Dhegiha *síke

Omaha-Ponca sigé ‘second daughter’ [voc?] RR

Kanza/Kaw sigé RR

Osage çíge, tsíke ‘third daughter (special kinship term)’ LF:30a

Quapaw síke ‘second daughter’ JOD

General comment

Within the groups cognacy seems likely, although this may be a diffused term in Chiwere/Hoocąk where the final sequence *-ka normally (but not here) becomes -ke with great regularity. Forms which accent the rightmost syllable are vocatives. For the final V, see also ‘daughter, youngest’, which has -a consistently. Cf. Omaha-Ponca isño (JOD) ‘son’ (PLF wičinu) which, taken with the Hoocąk term, shows that the root here is *sí-.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

this, here, now (1)

particle n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hi

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow hilá ‘just now’ [progression toward goal] GG:65, hilaaké ‘now’ GG:65, hileelik ‘this’ GG:65, híné ‘these’ GG:65, hileén ‘here; there; thither; these; hither’ GG:65, híré, hírén, híré, híréén ‘off there, this way’ L:101, híré-kyo ‘at the same time, meanwhile’ L:101, hiliko ‘like this, in this way’ GG:66, hílla ‘here’ GG:63, híllhté ‘thus; this kind; like’ GG:65, hírá(te), híráste ‘just so far’, hírákaka’ta ‘this way, in this way’ L:102, híráste, hírícé ‘here they are’ L:102, hírók ‘nearly’ L:101, híríse, híríce ‘here they are’ L:102


Pre-Mandan

Mandan -hi- in: híčki ‘time, occasion’ H:65

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-hi

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -hi in: iyóhi ‘each, every one’ EB:256, -hi- in: iyóhila ‘each one’ EB:256, -hi- in: otóyohihi ‘some of each, perhaps’ EB:409

Proto-Hoochák-Chiwere *hi

Chiwere hi- ‘here and there; become’ JGT:2044, hi- in: jírára/ hírára


Proto-Dhegiha *-hi

Omaha-Ponca -hi in: gá-hi ‘in that place’, -hi in: shé-hi, ŋdéhi ‘in that place’ [= DA hé-chi], -hi in: dhé-hi, ŋéhi ‘in this place’ [= DA de-chi]

Quapaw -hi in: híphpúhi ‘then, at length’

Proto-Catawba


General comment

It is not unusual in Siouan languages for a single word or morpheme to be translated ‘this, here, now’. Thus the DH locative suffixes may be cognate with the more northerly demonstratives.
### Comparative Siouan Dictionary

**this, here, now (2)**

*pronoun n/a*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan *Re***

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley *Re***

**Proto-Dakota**

Lakota *le- in: le 'this' [it may be placed before nouns or after articles] EB:323, *le- in: léča 'such as this' [this, and also hee and ee, contain the substantive verb] EB:323, *le- in: léči 'here, in this place' EB:323, *le- in: léči 'this is' EB:323, *le- in: lehči 'now, thus far; at this place' EB:324, *le- in: lehči 'to this, thus far; now' EB:324, *le- in: léna 'these' EB:324, *le- in: letči 'from this place, from this time; after' EB:324, *le- in: léniyá 'this way, pointing towards one's self' EB:324, *le- in: lénu 'here, at this place or time literally, now' EB:324

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Re***

Chiwere *je- in: jehd , *je- 'this is' JGT:2022, *je- in: jehddan , *je- 'far; this far' JGT:2023


**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *Re***

Biloxi *ně́čka , źně́čka 'right here' D&S:236a

Ofo *lékhati , źlékhati 'now' D&S:326, JSS, *lemči , źlemči 'here, this' D&S:326, JSS

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo *nč- 'this, here' GRO

**General comment**

There are clear doublets for this set, one with *R and one with *r. Generally, but not always, only one of the forms is found in any one language. Vowel length is clear only in *Hoocąk and Tutelo.*
this, here, now (3)

pronom n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *re

Pre-Mandan

Mandan re ‘this’

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *re

Omaha-Ponca ðē- in: ðēðu ‘here’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw ye ‘this, here, hither’ RR, ye- in: yegd ‘here, right here’ RR, ye- in: yegdha ‘here, to this place, hither’ RR

Osage the , ðe ‘this’ LF:143a, thega , ðe ‘here, at this place’ LF:143b

Quapaw de ‘this’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi te, de, dé , ðe ‘this, here, now’ D&S:273a, de- in: dehēda”, tēhēda”, ðē- ‘this high, as high as this’ D&S:273a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo lé ‘this, here’

General comment

Compare ðRe ‘this, here, now (2)’ and ðte ‘this, here, now’
this side (1)
physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ro-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow do- in: doosá ‘on this side, on the near side’ GG:65

Hidatsa ro- in: roťá ‘this side’ [< X + Dom. †ta] J , roťá

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ró- ‘side (of body, house, tree)’ JGT:3203 , ró- in: róri

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dowá , ṭdowá ‘in this direction this way, to this place’ D&S:183b , ṭówó , ṭdowá ‘this way’ D&S:234a , ndókú , ṭdowá ‘back hither’ D&S:234a , ndo- in: ndóra “hit” — ndóra “ya” , ṭndo- ‘on this side of’ D&S:252a

General comment

The Biloxi nasal is not accounted for in our analysis or reconstruction. In numerous instances Dorsey transcribed [ə̨], the centralized variant of q as a syllabic nasal, so its identity here is hard to determine. Cf. the analogous particle, *to- in MVS languages.
this side (2)

particle physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley ‘to

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere dó ‘side; on this side’ JGT:728, dó- in: dórig ‘side; on this side’ JGT:730, dó- in: dórigu/ dórikö/ doriku

Proto-Dhegiha ‘to

Omaha-Ponca dū- in: dū-a, †dō ‘nearer to me than that place, closer to speaker than to another; on this side’ [adverbial prefix], dó- in: dó-a-hi, †dō ‘on this side of the place’

Kanza/Kaw dū- in: dóda ‘this way, the one on this side’ RR

Osage tū- in: dó-da, †tō ‘in this direction’ LF:37b

Quapaw tōhįįį ‘that sg/mv/an object that arrived on this side’ JOD
three

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *röwrį

Proto-Siouan *rő-wrį

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rö-wি
d Crow dđawii GG:40, RGG:81
 Hidatsa ró-wi ‘three’ J

Pre-Mandan *rő-wrį
Mandan rń-wrį́ ‘three’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *rö-wrį

Proto-Dakota *yámnį
 Lakota yámnį ‘three’ RTC
 Sioux Valley yámnį ‘three’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Róŋį
 Chimere dąnį ‘three’ RTC, dńį́ ‘three’ RR
 Hoocąk taanį ‘three’ KM:3062, taanį

Proto-Dhegiha *rö-ðį
 Omaha-Ponca dđ-ðį́ ‘three’ RTC, RR, dđʔabį́ ‘three’ RR
 Kanza/Kaw yé-ðį́ ‘three’ RR
 Osage dę-ðį́ ‘three’ RR
 Quapaw dąbnį́ ~ dápnį́ ‘three’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *rö-į

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *rő-į
 Biloxi dăni, dαnį́, ðđđą́ni ‘three’ D&S:180b
 Ofo tąnį́, ṭąnį́ ‘three’ D&S:330a, t’ńį́, ṭąnį́ JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi
 Tutelo nán; lą́, ną́ni, lą́ni, lą́niq , ńlanį́ N, H, ná , ńlanį́ ES

Proto-Catawba *ná-mnįV
 Catawba némmaʔ ‘three’ FS
Woccon Nam-mee ‘three’ JL

General comment

This is one of the few really good Siouan-Catawban sets. The accentual pattern suggests that this word was originally a compound, since initial syllable accented long vowels should not be possible in polysyllabic words.

It is strange that nasalization has not reached the initial resonant except in Catawban.
throat

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-Ró•te

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ro•tiška

Crow dééšiška GG:44, RGG:70
Hidatsa ro•tiška ‘throat, windpipe’ J , no•tiška

Pre-Mandan *ŋí-.

Mandan ŋíška ‘throat’ H:195 , ŋíške ‘throat’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *Ró•te

Proto-Dakota *Roté

Lakota loté ‘throat’ RTC
Dakota doté ‘throat’ SRR:109

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Róte

Chiwere dője ‘throat’ JGT:257
Hoocąk tooc , tőč ‘throat’ MM:171 , dotc , tőčč

Proto-Dhegiha *Ró•te

Omaha-Ponca nó•de ‘throat’ RR
Kanza/Kaw dó•je ‘throat’ RR
Osage tóce ‘throat; gullet’ LF:37b , dódse
Quapaw tôtte ‘throat’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *i-ró•ti

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *i-ró•ti

Biloxi dódí, dotí , tóátí ‘throat’ D&S:183b
Ofo ćiščí , ćižórti ‘throat, neck’ D&S:324b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo lótí , ńorotí H

General comment
Stress shift in Dakota probably postdates loss of initial syllable in MVS.

This is a particularly interesting form because normally a stem initial Proto-Siouan *r becomes Lakota/Dakota čh following possessive *i; there are many instances. Here we have a clear instance of *R rather than *r, and it does not affricate (except in Ofo where it is totally unexpected). R here behaves like a former cluster Cr, where the identity of C remains unknown. C has the action here of protecting r from being affricated in Lakota (i.e. showing an apparent reflex of *y). This is an attractive solution to the problem of R because in various known *Cr clusters *r has R-like reflexes, i.e., we are not proposing an absolutely neutralized phoneme without specific motivation. It remains to determine the identity of the missing C. Most obstruent consonants already cluster with r; the laryngeals ʔ and h remain the best bets. If h, it would have to precede, because *rh > DH th, Lakota k, Chiwere d. In summary, R may be from a Proto-Siouan cluster, perhaps *r or *hr.

**throw away**

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ʔų̀•-re

Pre-Mandan *ʔkute-

Mandan ʔkuteʔ 'he threw it' RTC, ʔwakuteʔ 'I threw it' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ʔų̀-re

Proto-Dakota *ʔų́-yu

Lakota ʔyq 'lose!' EB:508a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk ʔų́le hii 'throw, trans.' KM:3158, ʔyreqhi, ʔyreehhi 'discard, abandon' KM:3038, ʔyqni, ʔyqre

Proto-Dhegiha ʔ̕- re

Omaha-Ponca oⁿtha 'discard' MAS:59

Kansa/Kaw ʔye [R-stem] RR, MR, ʔye JOD, qye

Osage ʔ̕θha, ʔ̕θa 'throw away, dispense' [double conj.] LF:122b

Quapaw ʔ̕de – ʔ̕de déde 'throw' [q, de, R-stem] JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *n̕ri, *n̕pri

Biloxi n̕dë́, n̕dë́, n̕dë́ dedë́, ʔno̕n̕de-(d) 'throw away something, lay’ [prefixed conj] D&S:238a

Ofo n̕pœ́, ʔn̕pœ́ 'throw away' [prefixed conj] D&S:327a, JSS

**General comment**
Cf. ‘fly (1)’, ‘lay’, ‘jump’ for other sets with Hoocąk (and Chiwere) <tʔ (r-ʔ), Dakota ʔ, and sometimes a velar in Mandan. This looks both phonologically and semantically like a relic causative, i.e., *ʔų ‘fly (or jump?)’ + *r(e) ‘causative’. The causative has been reanalyzed as an ordinary derivational suffix in Mandan, Proto-Biloxi-Ofo and Hoocąk but has remained a (relic) R-stem in the other languages.
throw dart

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hkú•te

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow kussshichi ‘throw at; throw in’ [< kuss + shíichi] GG:51

Pre-Mandan *:kų•te

Mandan ťky•teʔš ‘he threw it’ RTC, ťwukų•teʔš ‘I threw it’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hkú•te

Proto-Dakota *khuté

Lakota khuté ‘shoot’ RTC

Stoney khudé ‘shoot’ PAS

Sioux Valley khuté ‘shoot’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere huêu ‘shoot’ GM

Hoocąk gudé ‘shoot’ KM:465, guuc

Proto-Dhegiha *hkú•te

Omaha-Ponca kkí•de ‘shoot’ RR

Kanza/Kaw kkuêu ~ kkú•je ‘shoot’ RR

Osage kuɗse, ḥkúxe ‘shoot’ LP:90b

Quapaw kkítte ‘shoot’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *kité

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kte, kité, kité, kitédi, ḥkité(di) ‘hit, shoot at’ D&S:214b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo kité, kte, kitése, ḥkité ‘kill, shoot’ H

General comment
This root has interesting irregularities, Mandan nasalization, Hoocąk voicing and the possible partial conflation with ‘kill’ in OVS, q.v. Either it was used with the meaning ‘throw’ with atlatl darts, as in Mandan, or it represents a lexical innovation, as the bow and arrow diffused to the Mississippi Valley and adjacent areas long after the breakup of Proto-Siouan. Diffusion would have affected different subgroups at different times. V. ‘bow’ for some evidence of diffusion. The verb may have been borrowed, then diffused and mixed with ‘kill’. In fact, there may have been two roots that were confused by the early linguists. In Biloxi, the root occurs with and without final -di, as we have come to expect. However, if the -di is there, the gloss is always ‘hit’; if the gloss is ‘shoot’ it is never there.

(This may, of course, be purely accidental.) In Tutelo, we see variable recording of vowel length.

thunder (1)

natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-krų

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *krų

Proto-Dakota wiṃųŋke

Lakota wignų́ke ‘rainbow’ EB:755a

Dakota wiṃųŋke, ʔwĭmųŋke ‘rainbow’ SRR:574b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere grongron, ʔgrųŋų ‘thunder’ JGT:259

Proto-Dhegiha *krŋ

Omaha-Ponca i’gehų’ huto*, ʔiğbų hotq ‘thunder’ MAS:173

Kanza/Kaw glo — lo ‘thunder’ JOD, lo ‘thunder’ RR

Osage gthoⁿ, ʔlǫ ‘Thunder deity’ LF:55b

Quapaw kany ʔike, ʔkŋ ‘thunder’ RR, OM

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tąnųŋą a, ʔtųŋųŋą ‘thunder’ H

General comment

Tutelo and Kanza/Kaw fail to preserve nasalization.
thunder (2)

natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *tú•ha

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *tú•ha

Crow súua RG, suú GG:56, RGG:7

Hidatsa tähú ~ táhu ‘thunder’ J

Proto-Southeastern *tú•ha ~ *tú•he

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ṭuabbé, ṭúhe, ṭuábé ‘thunder’ D&S:281b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo tāi, tahangrūa, ṭuabh- ‘thunder’ H

General comment

Cf. ‘thunder (1)’. Tahu shows rightward vowel exchange. From PSI t we would expect Crow š/_, u; however, Crow s is regular for pre-Crow t /_. This suggests a series of developments like the following: *tahu > *sahu > *sau > *sau. -au is the stem vowel in Crow; -ua is the citation form -- with added -a (?). The implications are that rightward vowel exchange occurred in Proto-Crow-Hidatsa (not just in Hidatsa) and its product was reduced in Crow. Cf. ‘visible’.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

tie (1)

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-šké

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-škhe

Crow schí, da- ‘bead, do beadwork’ [saa; < saa] GG:42


Pre-Mandan

Mandan skE ‘tie, twine, braid’ H:211 , -skéʔš, po- ‘he builds a fence’ H:211 , kaskéʔš ‘he tied it’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-šké

Proto-Dakota *-ška

Lakota -ška ‘tie, untie’ RTC , šká, ko- ‘tie, bind; imprison’ EB:290 , šká, pa- ‘loosen by pressure, as in untieing a knot’ EB:434 , šká, ya- ‘untie with the mouth’ EB:628 , škákeke, ya- ‘untie with the teeth.’ EB:832 , šká, yu- ‘loosen, to untie.’ EB:651

Stoney -ška ‘tie, untie’ PAS

Proto-Hoočak-Chiwere *ru-šké

Chiwere irĕške ‘tie or untie a knot’ RR , ske, ru- LWR:26


Proto-Dhegiha *-šké

Osage gáshee , ṭáshee ‘untie’ MAS:181

Kanza/Kaw gašké ‘tie a knot’ RR , yišké ‘untie’ RR , ške, bé- ‘untie by punching, shooting’ JOD, RR , šké, bi- ‘untied, cause to come undone from weight’ RR , šké, ya- ‘untie, undo with the teeth’ RR , šké, yi- ‘untie something’

Quapaw ksáške , ṭsáške ‘tie the cat’ RR , dišké ‘loosen’ JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi–Ofo *-ške

Biloxi dákunké , ṭdálunké ‘tie any object’ D&S:265a

Ofo atpištsaka , tatpištsaka ‘weave’ D&S:322a

General comment
Aspiration in Hidatsa and the Ofo final vowel remain unexplained, and the Ofo seems to be a reflex of -xka. The following Mandan forms show s grade of this root: Mandan škE 'weave, twine, braid' H-230 Mandan paškéʔš 'he builds a fence' H-230 Mandan kaškéʔš 'he braided it, tied it up' C Mandan ruškéʔš 'he weaves it' H-231. Tutelo lakački•hA 'kill by force/striking'; kački•hA 'kill by hand' fit phonologically, but the meanings make cognacy questionable.

tie (2)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *skíta

Proto-Dakota *skítA

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-skite

Proto-Dhegiha *rü-skítA

Osage thi-çki´-da , ñiskíta 'tie something tightly, to make an indentation' LF:145a

Quapaw diskÍta 'tie tightly leaving mark' RR
tie (3)
physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xtE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xtE

Crow daxčí ‘tie up’ [dak; ?] GG:43, RGG:26
Hidatsa paxtE ‘plug up’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xtE

Proto-Dakota *-xtA

Lakota pa_xtá ‘tie up’ EB:426b , xta, apd- ‘bind or tie on anything’ EB:88 , xtáxta, pa- ‘tie and make into bundles’ EB:426

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk waxǰaxǰá ‘embroider’ KM:3925 , woorucak waxjaxja yy

Proto-Dhegiha *-xte

Omaha-Ponca wapdxte ‘bundle’ MAS:28

Kanza/Kaw baxčé ‘tie up a bundle’ RR

Osage wabáxtse , ḯwopdxce ‘portable shrine, pack, bundle’ LF:184a

General comment

At least in MVS, reduplication of verb roots seems most frequently to be in the -a ablaut grade. There may be exceptions. This could be one source of back formations in which *-e apparently > -a. Cf. ‘tie (1)’. 
time reference

adverb n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sʔi

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sʔi

Chiwere ð̂_i , ṭ̂ʔi- ‘time: enduring for a long time’ JGT:3617 , tĥ_i wέ ŝa , ṭ̂ʔi- ‘time: a very long time’ JGT:3618 , tĥ_i lά n̂ a , ṭ̂ʔi- ‘time: a very long time’ JGT:3619 , tĥ_i dά , ṭ̂ʔi- ‘ago: long ago’ JGT:3620 , tĥ_i yά n̂ e (dά hά) , ṭ̂ʔi- ‘while: a little while’ JGT:3630, DOR

Hoocąk sʔi ‘be a long time; for a long time’ KM:2780 , sʔi

Proto-Dhegiha

Omaha-Ponca ćidά, ṭ̂sidά ‘yesterday’ MAS:192

Kanza/Kaw 𒊁dόʃi – sidόʃ ‘yesterday’ RR

Osage ɕidόʃi , ṭ̂stόci ‘yesterday’ LF:30a

Quapaw siόti ‘yesterday’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo setoŋle , ṭstό•le ‘yesterday’ , sʔi , ṭstό ‘yesterday’ H:1883a , ɕitόre , ṭstό JOD:1882 , citόre , ʔsʔi•
tipi, conical tent

physical_artefact_shelter

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *ti + *šohe 'pointed'

Mandan tīōhe 'tipi' H:250

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk čidbokýąke 'tipi, teepee' KM:212, ciabokiǧake, cii habokiğiake

Proto-Dhegiha *htí-poɣV

Kanza/Kaw ččíboɣa 'tipi, tent with poles tied at top' RR

Osage ṭsíboxe, ṭccípoxe 'conical tent, tipi' LF:162b

General comment

Cf. ‘dwell, dwelling, house’. Chiwere čhiboθraǰe ‘upright house’ (JGT) is a different descriptive term. These are apparently all terms innovated during the plains occupation period. There are separate forms in the northern languages and southern languages. Little can be reconstructed with certainty.
tobacco

noun plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wraʔ [old reconstruction only]

Pre-Mandan *wraʔ

Mandan wraʔ ‘tobacco’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *čhaʔlí

Lakota čhaʔ ‘tobacco’ RTC, čhanúpa ‘pipe < tobacco + smoke’

Dakota čajdí, čhajdí ‘tobacco’ SRR:86, čaj-đú-hu-pa, čhajdí-hupa ‘a Dakota pipe’ SRR:87a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere náŋį ‘tobacco’ [in ‘pipe’, q.v.] RR, lђhn- GM

Hoocąk taanį ‘tobacco’ KM:3062, taanį

Proto-Dhegiha *Ranį́-hú

Omaha-Ponca nini, ninihi ‘any kind of tobacco’ MAS:174

Kanza/Kaw nąnú, nąni, nąnú ‘tobacco’ RR

Osage nąnúhú ‘tobacco’ RR

Quapaw tuńı, tuńį́ ‘tobacco’ JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *yáŋį

Biloxi yáŋi, yaní, źyaní ‘tobacco’ D&S:288b

Ofo itcá’ni, źčénį́ ‘tobacco’ D&S:324b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo yeñį́, yëni, źyeñį́ ‘tobacco’ II, nąni, źnąni ‘tobacco’ ES, nonė’, źnąni ‘tobacco’ LJF

General comment
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Cf. ‘smoke tobacco, pipe’, also ‘ice’, which has the same pattern of initial consonants in DH. Proto-Dakota *čhąRÍ is from an earlier **čhaRĮ, by shift of the nasal feature across the intervening glide. The compound form in ‘pipe’, i.e., was developed prior to this shift, hence the absence of nasalization on its first syllable (i.e., čha nų́pa). A Chiwere variant láhm- found in ‘smoke tobacco, pipe’, q.v., may be borrowed. The Tutelo form yēhni, yihnū is pretty clearly borrowed from or at least modeled on Tuscarora or modern Cayuga, among whom the Tutelo lived. The second of the Hale forms seems to be a compound of ‘tobacco’ and hr- ‘tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk’. Sapir and Frachtenberg probably recorded the more native Siouan term. Look-alikes for ‘tobacco’ occur far afield in North America from Iroquoian to Uto-Aztecan. Cf. PUA *yena ‘smoke tobacco’ (verb) Miller #394. Cf. also Iroquoian (Mithun-274) Oneida and Mohawk oý:kwaʔ; Susq. ojengqua; Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca oý:kwaʔ; Tuscarora əcuý:kweh ‘smoke’, all others ‘tobacco’. It seems possible that this term is not really reconstructible in any of the families. The Proto-Dakota, Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere, and Proto-Dhegiha correspondences are too irregular to permit a Proto-Mississippi-Valley or Proto-Siouan reconstruction.

This may be due to taboo or other affective avoidance forcing irregular distortions, but diffusion is the most likely source of the irregularities.
tongue

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-rêší

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rêší

Crow déši GG:44, RGG:70
Hidatsa réší ‘tongue’ J, nêší

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ré-sike ‘tongue’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *

Proto-Dakota *čeží

Lakota čeží RTC

Dakota čezí, čeží ‘tongue’ SRR:100a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *rêši

Chiwere ré-be ‘tongue’ RR

Hoocąk reesi ‘tongue’ KM:2606, reesi

Proto-Dhegiha *rê-ze

Omaha-Ponca dèsi, dëzi ‘tongue’ RR, déze JOD
Kanza/Kaw léze ‘tongue’ RR, yeze ‘tongue’ JOD
Osage dèze ‘tongue’ RR
Quapaw dèze ‘tongue’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *iré-čí

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi yëtcí, ṭyečí D&S:292a
Ofo dëtcí, ñletcí, ṭñletcí ‘tongue’ D&S:324a, álëtcí, ṭarë-le-čí ‘to lap’ JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo netći, nêsí, letći, nêcí, nêsí, lifsci, ṭreći JSS

General comment
There are clear reflexes of *y- in those cases (Dakota, Biloxi) where stress is final (assuming Hoocąk accent shift to be recent). Dakota/Lakota, however, normally shift *r to *y (>čh) following inalienable possessive *i- so Biloxi is the only language whose form can only come from *y.

The better reconstruction, then, is probably with *r. Chiwere/DH shift *ʃ > s > z. Accent, vowel length and the Lakota/Dakota initial consonant all suggest that this was one of the inherently possessed body part terms, so it is appropriate to reconstruct that prefix. Ofo tends to confirm this classification. This term has been assimilated into the common class of -e stems in DH, but recent field work suggests that Dorsey may have mistranscribed the form.
tooth (1), edge, point

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-hí•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *i(h)i

Crow ií GG:75, RGG:75

Hidatsa hi’ [or i] ‘a sharp point, the point of an instrument’ [commonly suffixed] WM:85a, i ‘point, edge, tooth’ [same as hi] WM:89a

Pre-Mandan

Mandan hiʔ ‘tooth’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hí•

Proto-Dakota ‘hi

Lakota hi ‘tooth’ RTC

Dakota hi ‘tooth; bit or edge; point of anything’ SRR:145a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hi•

Chiwere hi• ‘tooth’ RTC, RR

Hoocąk hi• ‘tooth’ KM:870, hi

Proto-Dhegiha *hi

Omaha-Ponca hi• ‘tooth’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw hi ‘tooth’ RR

Osage hi ‘tooth or teeth’ LF:59b

Quapaw hi ‘tooth’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ihi N, H

General comment

The Hidatsa form hi’ ( = hiʔ ?) is probably from Mandan. Rising pitch in Crow indicates an earlier *ihi’ (cf. ‘hair, fur, feathers’). Thus both Crow and Tutelo preserve evidence that this term is a member of the inherently possessed body part class.
tooth (2)

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *í•h-Sa (?)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *íhšá

Crow ihtá ‘molar, eye tooth’ GG:75, RGG:72

Hidatsa ñšá ‘tooth’ J

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *í•hsa (?)

Biloxi iⁿsu, iⁿ’su, ḫsu ‘tooth’ D&S:203a

Ofo ǧfha, ḫfha ‘tooth’ D&S:323b, JSS

General comment

Although the fricatives do not correspond properly, and true cognacy of this set therefore remains in question, this appears, at least superficially, to be another *hs > fh case in Ofo. The southeastern languages lose initial h- routinely, so this form could be related to ‘tooth (1), edge, point’.
touch

physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-htą́•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa *ta•tE, ara- ‘nudge with foot, kick in’, *ta•tE, nd- ‘grab hold gently by teeth’, *ta•tE, nú- ‘massage, apply pressure with hand’, *ta•tE, nd- ‘nudge, poke, tap’

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-htą

Proto-Dakota *-thą́

Lakota thĄ, na- ‘touch with the foot, feel with the foot’ EB:360, thĄ, ya- ‘touch with the mouth, to pull as in sucking’ EB:629, thĄ, yu- ‘touch, to feel’ EB:653, thĄ, épa- ‘touch with the hand’ EB:142

Dakota yut’áŋ, řyuthį́ ‘touch, feel up’ SRR:643a

Proto-Dhegiha *-htą

Omaha-Ponca thi’torọ*, řdotątąq ‘feel’ MAS:277

Kanza/Kaw tąq, dąya- ‘bite sth. that is underneath’ RR, tąq, ba- ‘feel for something, poke into’ RR, tąq, bü-/bi- ‘feel sth., feel for in the dark’ RR, tąq, nąq- ‘feel the way with the foot’ RR, tąq, yu- ‘touch, feel with the hands’ RR

Osage batoŋ, ṭohtąq ‘feel by poking the ground’ LF:267b, nōṭoŋ, ṭońŋaŋ ‘feel in the water with foot’ LF:267a

Quapaw tąq, di- ‘feel, touch sth.’ RR

General comment

The Hidatsa forms show a root extension *-tE.
toward

particle physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-pa

Proto-Dakota


Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw okázpa ‘Quapaw, downstream, southward’ RR

General comment

Other languages have the Quapaw ethnonym, but these may not be cognates.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

towards (1)

particle  physical spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-kta•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hta•

Crow kussá ‘towards’ RG, *ssad ‘towards’ RG


Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-kta

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -ktá in: ekta ‘at, to, into’ EB:141, -ktá• in: ekta•ya ‘to, towards’ EB:141, -ktá• in: ekta•na ‘there behind, after’ EB:142

Proto-Dhegiha *-hta

Omaha-Ponca -tta• in: ettáthą ‘from there’ [ti- house] JEK, -tta in: étta ‘thither’ JEK, -tta in: tóttana ‘to, towards the tent’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw -ta• in: étta ‘there, towards that place (?)’ MR, RR, -ta• in: étta•ha ‘there, over there, thither’ MR, RR, -ta in: háltta ‘behind, in the rear’ RR, -tta in: gáyįgetta ‘over there, to that place’ RR, -tta• in: gójettaha ‘far off, remote in time or space’ JOD, RR


Quapaw étta tētta lālōq ‘direction, around in that’ RR

General comment

Lakota preserves the original cluster, the source of Hidatsa preaspiration and DH *ht. There has almost certainly been some contamination of ‘towards’ *hta and ‘side, other’ *ta. Compare *tká *tki
towards (2)

particle physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hpa

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk -pa in: épa 'ever since then, from that point in space' KM:301, -pa- in: espa 'from that time' KM:1692, -pa- in: éepa 'to or from that extent or point in time or space' KM:981, -pa- in: espa 'from that time' KM:1692, -ppa- in: éeparejá ‘to or from that extent or point in time or space' KM:981, -pa- in: espa 'from that time' KM:1692, -pa- in: espa

Proto-Dhegiha


General comment

There may be a derivational connection (or contamination) between 'towards' *hpa with 'forehead (2)' *hpe and 'head, nose (1), front end' *hpa. Compare the seeming relationship of 'towards' *hta and 'face' *te or 'forehead (1)' *hte.
town (1)

physical_spatial_place

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *htą́wą

Proto-Dakota *thųwą

Lakota othą́wą́khe ‘town’ RTC, EJ , *thųwą́ ‘clan name suffix’ EJ

Dakota o-toŋ´-we , ṭoṭą́wé SRR:389

Sioux Valley o-tą́wé ‘to live, dwell’ PAS , ṭųwą

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk Tomah ‘Wisconsin town (?)’

Proto-Dhegiha *htą́wą (?)

Omaha-Ponca ṭųwą ‘town’ RTC , ṭųwą ‘town’ JOD

Kanza/Kaw ṭą́wąq ‘town’ RR

Osage ḏō’wo’, ṭą́wąq ‘town, city’ LF:156

Quapaw ḏō, ṭą́wąq ‘town’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *a, a’ya”, tą”, ṭąyąq ‘town, village’ D&S:271a

General comment

Given its use in clan/band name compounds in Dakotan, this may well be an old term, albeit a widely diffused one, in and outside of Siouan. The term may not be reconstructible in any of the major Siouan subgroups. It is possible that it diffused into the later subgroups like Dakota or DH in time to be reconstructible there if the correspondence sets match. Note that this term apparently had the sequence *-wą at a time when most of the languages which assimilate the sequence to mą had already done so, thus creating wą/mą contrasts. This is a widespread form with look-alikes in several language families in the eastern part of North America. Cf. Arikara ituúnu Parks; Choctaw: tomaha ~ tamaha (RR); Mobilian: tamaha (JMC-93); Chitimacha: namu Swadesh. Cf. ‘town (1)’. Cf. ‘see (1)’ for a similar form which also argues for rounding assimilation in Dakotan.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

town (2)

physical_spatial_place

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan ŭty- (?)

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ŭty- ‘village’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo i’uña, i’uńti ‘town’ D&S:325a

Proto-Catawba

Catawba we-, wi ‘town’ KS

General comment

The Mandan form looks as if it might simply be the old, inherently possessed word for ‘my house’ or ‘our house(s)’. The Ofo form could possibly be the same. (No separate inclusive or plural possessive prefix is reconstructible for the inalienable paradigm in Siouan.) With so few purported cognates, chance resemblance could be a problem here.

trade

social_transfer

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *(ka?-

Mandan wíkaroʔš, ŭwíkaroʔš ‘he sells, buys, trades something’ [root is probably -kaʔ- ‘have, possess’] H:102, RTC
trap

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kų

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa waʔ-ikiku ‘trap; lit. sth. w. which to trap sth.’ J , ma-ʔ-ikiku ‘fishhook’ J , ikikua ‘fishing tackle’ J , mua ikikua

Pre-Mandan

Mandan kąʔ-ik ‘he trapped it’ RTC , pąʔ-ik ‘fishing tackle’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kə̂ν, kə̂ ‘noose, trap’ D&S:202a , kə̂kə̂ , kə̂ ‘trapping, trap’ D&S:202a , aʔ-ə̂kə̂ , kə̂ ‘fishhook’ , okə̂ ‘to fish’

Ofo okhóʔkì , ḋokhóʔ ‘to fish’

General comment

Lakota ṭmųʔka ‘trap’ (B-162a) and Dakota ṭmųʔka ‘set a trap, to trap’ (R-150b) probably do not belong to this set. Dakotan gm- clusters usually turn out not to have cognates elsewhere in Siouan, and often seem to be from borrowed Algonquian kwVn clusters, cf. ‘cucurbit (1)’ and ‘cucurbit(2)’. In this instance, compare Miami kimiha ‘trap’, ‘deadfall’; kokimikotakani ‘spring or steel trap’ (Voegelin 1939:305) and Shawnee nakwaaka ‘steel trap’ (ibid. p. 378) for suggestive similarities. In addition, cf. the following Ojibwe (and related dialect) forms (Rhodes 1985: 295-6): ngwaagan ‘rainbow, trap, spider’s web’ (n.i.) (p. 296) pl. ngwaagnan; n’gwaadang (vti) ‘snare’ (p. 295); n’gwaanaad (vta) ‘snare s.o.’ (p. 296). The Biloxi ‘trap’ terms may be derived from ‘cord, sinew, vein (1)’ and thus not be cognate.

travel

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-si

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ašE

Crow aashl ‘hunt’ GG:3

Hidatsa ašE ‘travel, wander’ J , así

Pre-Mandan *si-

Mandan aš ‘he travels’ H:205
tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk

physical_somatic

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *huri J

Crow huri ‘bone’ GG:49, RGG:71, iuhuri ‘leg’ GG:76
Hidatsa hiru ‘bone’ J, watuhiru ‘my legs, foundation’ J, maturhiru ‘table (four legs)’ J, iiri-hirutop
Pre-Mandan *

Mandan huir, rhir ‘bone, stem, stalk’ H:82, dokhirwe top, rhir ‘table, lit. four legs’ RTC
Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hir

Proto-Dakota *hu

Lakota hu ‘leg, stalk, tree trunk, bone’ RTC
Dakota hu ‘bone, leg, stock, stem, bone’ SRR, wiçahu ‘leg’ SRR:156b
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hu

Chiwere hu ‘leg’ RR
Proto-Dhegiha *hu

Omaha-Ponca hi ‘leg’ RTC, hi ‘stalk’ F&LF:106
Kanza/Kaw hu ‘tree’ RR
Osage hu ‘tree trunk’ RR
Quapaw hi ‘tree’ RR
Proto-Southeastern *

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *hu-re

Biloxi udl, thu ‘stalk, trunk, stem, root’ D&S:283a, pi’thudl, thu ‘hickory tree’ D&S:246a, pi’hu aya’in, thu ‘hickory wood’ D&S:246a
Ofo g’li, nu’dl ‘a handle’ D&S:331b, JSS
Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo taskahū, tāskahō, Ḟu ‘oak’ H

General comment
Cf. 'bone' for an important derivation from this form. The Mandan forms are probably hur and < rok 'leg' + hur 'stalk' and top 'four'. The Hidatsa form, vis-à-vis the Crow, shows rightward vowel exchange together with raising of short e to i. Crow and Hidatsa differ in showing vowel exchange in this form and in 'sister (5) wSiYo'. Such differences suggest that rightward vowel exchange was spreading lexically at about the time of the Crow/Hidatsa split. Initial syllable accent and vowel length suggest that there was a missing initial syllable. Since this term has a variety of related meanings, it is possible that when it referred specifically to 'bone' or 'leg' it was inherently possessed and required possessive 'i- 'someone's, his, her'. In MVS 'bone' takes the absolutive wo- today.
tree, wood

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *yq

Proto-Siouan *wįyį́•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wVrd

Crow bald GG:25, RGG:11

Hidatsa wírd ‘tree, wood’ J, mind

Pre-Mandan *wːŋq

Mandan wǐr? ‘wood’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *yq

Proto-Dakota ‘čhą́

Lakota čhą́ ‘wood’ RTC

Stoney čhąq ‘wood’ PAS

Sioux Valley čhąq ‘wood’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *nʤ”

Chiwere nʧ ‘wood’ RR

Hoocąk nʤ ‘wood’ KM:2104, nŋq

Proto-Dhegiha *ţi’ ~ *nʤ-(ha)

Omaha-Ponca tʃ ‘wood’ RTC, ʤ-ha is: (zho”) tho’ha, ʧq-ha ‘bark’ MAS:13

Kanza/Kaw tʃ ‘wood’ RR, nʤ-ha is: nsha blakʔa ‘board’ RR

Osage zho”, ʧq ‘tree, wood, fuel’ LF:224b, nʤ-ha, nʤ-ha ‘board’ LF:114a

Quapaw ʤ, ʧq ‘wood’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *wįyį́•

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi aŋd”, ŋayį́ ‘tree, trees, wood, a stick’ D&S:175b

Ofo icō”, icō”, tičq ‘tree, stick, wood’ D&S:324b, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wiéčéii, miéčh, miéčh, miyéti, ?wįyį́• ‘lacrosse stick’ N, HH, yîhʔ, ?wįyį́• ES, ye’hė’, ?wįyį́• LJF

Proto-Catawba *yeqne (?)
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

Catawba yanapís ‘tree bark’ FGS

Woccon yonne

General comment

Doublets žą ~ ną occur in DH. žą is the general term; ną is found only in fossil compounds. ną is missing so far in Osapaw. Forms with reflexes or at least possible reflexes of ‘y are found in all subgroups, so this is probably the best reconstruction. Recall however, that in Dakota *r > *y if preceded by prefixal *i-, so the prefix vowel may have had a role in the development of this term even though it does not mark inalienable possession here. Both Crow/Hidatsa and Proto-Southeastern show reflexes of both *w- and *wa-. The prefix may have been *wr- which marks Proto-Siouan animates.

turn (1) > roll

physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba ̲parqʔ

Proto-Siouan ̲parq(-he) (?)

Proto-Mississippi-Valley ̲wrų-

Proto-Dakota

Stoney mnuya ‘twisted, gnarled’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere rubrin, ̲rubrų́ ‘twisted’

Proto-Dhegiha ̲brǫ

Kanza/Kaw büblı́ıłbłı́e ‘roll paper/cord between hand/knee’ JOD

Osage ikı́šų́bı́bı́ho’, ̲ríkí́díbrą́ ‘mix together, intermixing’ LF:74a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo ̲nuhi (?)

Biloxi panu, kıpánuhi, kipandhi, ̲nuhi ‘turn back, hand over’ D&S:243b

Ofo atá́nuhi, ̲tańvānhi ‘turn back’ D&S:322b, JSS

Proto-Catawba

Catawba diksitóparą́ʔsere ‘my back turn I’ FGS:6, ̲parą́ʔ; parą́ʔhure ‘turn; roll away’ FGS:69

General comment

Reconstruction and even cognacy here are problematic. MVS forms all suggest ̲wr (from probably earlier ̲wu-ʁ) here. The following vowels are also poor matches. Such a cluster in the present nasal environment would yield n in both Biloxi and Ofo (cf. ‘three’). If the MVS clusters go back to Proto-Siouan ̲pa-ʁ however, the Biloxi form may be conservative, thus matching the Catawba (cf. ‘spread (1)’). In order for the Ofo to be properly cognate in this latter scenario, the proto form would have to be analyzed as bimorphemic, with Ofo retaining only the second half.
turn (2)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-wįɣE

Proto-Dakota

Lakota yawį́xA ‘turn around, back’ EB:656a, yawį́zA ‘bend (e.g., wire)’ EJ

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-wį́xe

Chiwere ławį́xeną ‘turn’ GM

Hoocąk wawįx ‘hour’, wawį́x

Proto-Dhegiha *hkówįɣe

Omaha-Ponca kkówį́yε ‘wandering about’

Kanza/Kaw bakkómįɣε ‘turn something, spin’ RR

Osage baƙúwi xe, ṭpakhówį́yε ‘turn something by pushing’ LF:22a

Quapaw taƙkowį́yda ‘turn in circles by fire’ JOD

General comment

The various combinations of morphemes found under ‘turn’, ‘twist’ suggest a compound root in DH. The elements seem most frequently to be *hko and *wį, or both, with the extension ‘Se, and they seem to be relatively independent. Cf. ‘twist (1)’ for more of the same. In addition, this root is peculiar and probably recent in several languages in that the w has not nasalized. There may be a Catawba cognate, -woče ‘twist’ (Kanza/Kaw-235) although the sound correspondences are poorly understood at best.
turnip, Psoralea (1)

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa-ąhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ahí

Crow ihí ‘wild turnip’ GG:74, RGG:12

Hidatsa ahí ‘turnip, tipsin’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan wachi ‘wild turnip’ RTC

turnip, Psoralea (2)

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Ró-kwe-(hi)


Hoocąk tookéwehi ‘be hungry’ [cf. tóo ‘potato’] KM:3134, tookéwehi

Proto-Dhegiha *Ró-kre

Omaha-Ponca noyé ‘turnip’ RR

Kanza/Kaw dóle ‘turnip, carrot’ RR

Osage dógthe, tóo-le ‘Psoralea esculenta (turnip)’ LF:38a

General comment

This compound is derived from the much older and better attested term for ‘Indian potato’. The discrepancy between Chiwere/Hoocąk with *kw and DH with *kr cannot be accounted for.
turn over (1), roll (1)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ptą•(-he)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hta•


Hidatsa hta•, pa• ‘tip over, roll over’ (ha) J, tahteiß, na• ‘bite down on a hidden bone or something hard’ J, htăhtē, ara• ‘step on sth. and rock, twist ankle’ J, tahtē, nak• ‘shaky, unstable’ J, tahtē, pă• ‘roll, roll over’ J

Pre-Mandan *-ptąh-

Mandan kiptāhoʔ ‘he turned back’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ptą

Proto-Dakota *ptą

Lakota ptą ‘turn’ EB:785b, ptąŋ, ka• ‘turn over and over’ EB:288, ptą, pa• ‘turn over’ EB:433, ptąŋaŋ, pa• ‘wallow about, roll over, to writhe’ EB:433, ptąŋaŋ, yu• ‘turn or roll back and forth with the hand, to rock’ EB:648, ptą, ų́na• ‘sidling, inclined toward one side’ EB:507

Proto-Dhegiha *-htą́(-ra)

Omaha-Ponca patoⁿ, ţbattą ‘roll’ MAS:149

Kanza/Kaw ttą, ga• ‘throw the lead to measure depth’ RR, ttąȟą, yù• ‘pull around, make turn by pulling’ RR

Quapaw tąní, di• ‘spin someone around, whirl’ RR

General comment

Normally pC clusters in Lakota and Mandan and their various reflexes in the other languages come from Proto-Siouan *wa-C- sequences. Here, however, even Hidatsa has a reflex of *pt in ht, so the cluster must at least provisionally be reconstructed. Here the DH cognates show a variety of different root extensions.
turn over (2), roll (2)

physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley \*ptą́-ra

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ptą́ya, pa- ‘cause to turn over, upset or turn over by pushing’ EB:433 , ptą́yo, wo- ‘make glance off, as in shooting; to make turn over by shooting e.g. a boat’ EB:607 , ptą́yo, yo- ‘turn over with the mouth’ EB:626

Proto-Dhegiha \*htą́-ra

Kanza/Kaw ṭąya, obó- ‘roll something, roll over, like a tumblebug’ RR , obąntyá ‘roll something, roll over’ RR

Osage ḥįť’ßha , ḥįńtaţda ‘roll’ LF:150b

Quapaw obąntąţda ‘roll over and over’ JOD , ṭąţda, obó- ‘turn something, pull around’ RR , ṭąţąţda, obó- ‘roll something repeatedly in something’ RR , ṭąţąţda, obó- ‘roll something over and over’ RR

General comment

This form is derived from ‘ptą́’, q.v., with a root extension and appears to be restricted to MVS.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

turn over (3)
physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Pre-Mandan *šųh-

Mandan -šųhoʔš, pɗ- ‘he spilled it’ RTC, -šųhoʔš, kd- ‘he spills it by striking’ H:238, -šųhoʔš, rɗ- ‘he spills it by kicking’ H:239, -šųhoʔš, rɗ- ‘he empties it, dumps it out’ H:239

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-sų

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere thányige, †θą́yige ‘tipping over, leaning’ JGT:70


Proto-Dhegiha *-sq

Omaha-Ponca ną́sq ‘legs stretched out’

Quapaw są́, di- ‘side, edge, on its side’ RR

General comment

Cf. ‘spill’ for the x-grade. The following Kanza/Kaw and Quapaw forms show ʃ grade of the root: Kanza/Kaw ʂą́, bakkícula- ‘turn upside down, push over’ RR; Kanza/Kaw ʂą́, bakkícula- ‘knock upside down by shooting or water’ RR; Kanza/Kaw ʂą́, bakkícula- ‘turn upside down, overturn by pressure’ RR; Kanza/Kaw ʂą́, gakkícula- ‘knock upside down, turn “summersets”’ RR; Kanza/Kaw ʂą́, nąkkícula- ‘kick over, to upset’ RR; Kanza/Kaw ʂą́, yūkkícula- ‘flip over, turn upside down with the mouth’ RR; Kanza/Kaw ʂą́, yūkkícula- ‘roll over, turn upside down, tr. or intr.’ RR; Quapaw ʂą́, kkikddá- ‘lie on ones stomach’ RR; Quapaw ʂą́, kkkidá- ‘roll over, turn upside down, pull over a vessel’ RR; Quapaw ʂą́, di- ‘spill, pull over and spill’ RR; Quapaw ʂą́, di- ‘spill, pull over and spill (liquid)” RR; Quapaw ʂą́, dikkidá- ‘turn upside down’ RR; Osage ṭaščōda, bashōⁿtha ‘spill’ LF-23 Kanza/Kaw

baśọ́ ‘close a knife blade, fold shut’ RR
turn over (4)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kxįhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ^-xxua < ^-xxuhe

Crow iluxxua ‘rest, lie down’ RG, GG:88


Pre-Mandan ^-kxųh-

Mandan įฏkxųhoʔš ‘he lay down’ RTC , kxųhoʔš ‘he lays [sic] down v.I.’ H:126 , -kxųhoʔš, ka- ‘he knocks it over’ H:127 , -kxųhoʔš, ra- ‘he kicks it over’ H:127

Proto-Mississippi-Valley ^-köš

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk köš, nąą- ‘tip over something standing; spill with foot’ KM:2196, WL:18.8 , nąąkšų ‘tip over; bend down without breaking, tr.’ KM:3372 , köš, wa- ‘shed (as, deer his antlers)’ KM:3373 , wakšų , köš, wa- , wakšų

Proto-Dhegiha ^-šǫ́

Kanza/Kaw bašǫ́ ‘close a knife blade, fold shut’ RR

Quapaw dišǫ́ ‘pull over and spill’ RR

General comment

The MVS forms show a different fricative symbolism grade from the rest.
turtle (1)

animal, reptile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa-hké, *wi-hké

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow ddakko ‘snapping turtle’ GG:40, RGG:2

Hidatsa nwakáka ‘snapping turtle’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan pkéʔ ‘snapping turtle’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hke

Proto-Dakota *khe(-ya)

Lakota khé ‘large turtle’ RTC, kheyá ‘large turtle’ RTC

Dakota kéya, tkhéya ‘large tortoise’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *khé

Chiwere hke ‘turtle’ GM

Hoocąk këe ‘turtle’ KM:1778, këe; këecąk

Proto-Dhegiha *hké

Omaha-Ponca kké ‘turtle’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw kke ‘turtle’ RR

Osage ke, ḳhe ‘turtle’ LP:84b

Quapaw kke ‘turtle’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba kayáʔ ‘terrapin’

General comment

Cf. ‘turtle (2)’. The two terms are doubtfully related. Vowel development, especially in Mandan where it should be uniform, is divergent. Proto-Siouan most likely had the long vowel by position, even though direct evidence is found only in Hoocąk, where length is neutralized in monosyllables. Although there are look-alikes in Algonquian, the Proto-Siouan aspiration can be accounted for by Carter’s Law. On Catawba kaoméʔ ‘stink turtle’ (Sa-12) cf. Choctaw kosoma ‘stink’. Other animal terms show reflexes of the prefix *wi-.

There is no direct evidence of the prefix vowel here, but *i seems likely although the prefix *we- is possible.
turtle (2)
animal, reptile

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wa-hkí-(se)

Pre-Mandan *kis-pq (?)

Mandan kípsą ‘painted turtle’ H:110

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk kiizų́č ‘soft shelled turtle’ [archaic] KM:1843, kiizų́c

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo akhi’si, aksi ‘turtle’ D&S:319b

General comment

Cf. ‘turtle (1)’.

twin, pair

person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rųSká

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rucka

Crow dašká ‘twins’ GG:41

Hidatsa nícka ‘twins’ J, nícka

Pre-Mandan

Mandan níčka ‘twins’ H:196
twins (2)

person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ŋpá-ita (?)

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere muxéda, ṣəmpúdea ‘twins’ JGT:265

Proto-Dhegiha *ŋpá-ita

Omaha-Ponca noⁿba ida, noⁿbeda, ṣəmpba ida MAS:178

Osage noⁿbëda, ṣəmpáta ‘twins’ [2 + born] LF:112a

Quapaw nąpáta ‘twins’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘two’. This pattern does not extend beyond DH and Chiwere and is transparent. The terms consist of ‘two’ and ‘born’ and could have been innovated separately.
twist (1)

verb physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pe + *wrį

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *péwrį

Proto-Dakota

Lakota pemni ‘warped, twisted’ EB:441b , pemni, iyd- ‘wrap around, wind up in’ EB:252 , pénmi, na- ‘twist of itself’ EB:353 , pémmi, wa- ‘make crooked or twisted by shaving’ EB:548 , pemni, wakd- ‘twist, to swing e.g. a lasso’ EB:526 , pemni, wo- ‘turn aside or twist by blowing or shooting’ EB:607 , pemni, ya- ‘twist, turn or make crooked with the mouth’ EB:625 , pemni, yu- ‘twist, make warp, as a board.’ EB:647 , pêmmînu, yu- ‘warp, crook, twist.’ EB:647

Dakota pemni ‘warp, twist’ SRR:419b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere anáwebrin , †anáwebrį ‘twisted together’ JGT:266

Otoe anáwedhin , †anáweðį ‘twisted together’ JGT:266

Proto-Dhegiha *pébrį

Omaha-Ponca thiithiⁿ , †ðibeðį ‘twisted’ MAS:178 , bébį , †ðibeðį

Kanza/Kaw yübéblį ‘twist until coarse between hand and knee’ RR , béblį , bü- ‘twist something with the hands’ JOD, RR , béblį, yu- RR

Osage thiibethi , †ðüpébrį ‘twist’ LF:144b

Quapaw bibēbni ‘twist, roll with the palms’ RR , dibēbni ‘twist with the hands’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi apēnî , apēni , †apenį ‘go around’ D&S:174a

Ofo anaban‘icl , †-banį- ‘twist, wrap up’ JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo waqisqen , †-penį ‘twist, as a cord’ HW

General comment

Tutelo waxu- ‘string, cord’.
**twist (2)**

*physical_contact_deformation*

 Proto-Siouan-Catawba

 Proto-Siouan *ru-ɾ*

 Proto-Mississipi-Valley

 Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

 Hoocąk hikurunį́ *be tangled* KM:948, hikurunį

 Proto-Dhegiha

 Omaha-Ponca thi bethi", ṭðibįć MAS:178

 Proto-Southeastern *ru-nį́*

 Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

 Biloxi dunį́, ṭdunį́ *twist* D&S:236a, dunį́ ta" ṭhęxti, ṭdunį́ *roll up very tightly, as a bundle* D&S:236a, duninti, ṭdunį́ *roll or fold up an object, as a blanket, etc., several times* D&S:236a, duninti xwā ṭiŋkēdį́, ṭdunį́ *roll up loosely, as a bundle* D&S:225a

 Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

 Tutelo lu•nį́, ṭlu•nį́ *twisted* HW

**General comment**

The Omaha-Ponca form shows an intervening be- but the rest seems cognate.

Cf. *twist (3)* for a compound form of this root.
twist (3)

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wirį́, *wí•rį

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-wi•re

Crow mmillí, dü- ‘turn, twist, braid’ GG:44, wílī, düu- ‘turn, twist, braid’ GG:45, ímmiili ‘circle’ GG:88

Hidatsa,wíre, ná- ‘twist, wind, wring’ J, wíre, nd- ‘turn it with teeth, mouth’ J, wíre, pé- ‘turn by pushing’ J, wíre, ara- ‘has heels twisted, twist with heel’ J, wíre, naka- ‘bend by leaning against, stagger, slant, set off center, sway’ J

Pre-Mandan *-wrik

Mandan ikáwirį, †ikáwįrį ‘be twisted’ H:303, irúwirį, †irúwįrį ‘to wind, twist’ H:303

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-wrik

Proto-Dakota

Lakota mní, na- ‘turn back when going on a journey it is used with verbs’ EB:350, mnímni, na- ‘swing, e.g. one’s blanket’ EB:351, mní, yu- ‘turn round e.g. a crank’ EB:644, mnímni, yu- ‘turn round and round, to whirl’ EB:644, mnímni, wa- ‘a whirlwind, a hurricane; a whirlpool; a small worm or pupa, a cocoon’ EB:536, mnýeya, yu- ‘turn or change the course or plan of one by speaking to or with’ EB:624, mnímni, ko- ‘hang loosely, dangle; to swing, as a blanket in the wind’ EB:283

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *prį́

Chiwere ubrį́ ‘twist’ JGT:265, ubrín


Proto-Dhegiha *rů-brį

Kanza/Kaw blį́, yį́- ‘twist or turn something around’ RR

Quapaw bdį́, óči- ‘spiral motion’ JOD
twist > curly (1)

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wrį́xE

Pre-Mandan

Mandan răwirįšʔoš ‘fold up, roll up, etc.’ H:303, pdwirįšʔoš, ṭ-mpįñjšoʔš, pď- ‘he folded it up, rolled it up’ H:305, rűwirįšʔoš, ṭ-mpįñjšoʔš, rű- ‘he goes around in circles’ H:305, -mnįñjšoʔš, pkď-‘he folded it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk pírís, ru- ‘wrinkle, v.tr.’ KM:2707, rupíris ‘be opening and closing, like mosquito larva or measuring worm’ KM:2706, pírís, ru- ‘shrive up in heat’ KM:3074, rupírís, pírís, taa- , taapírís

twist > curly (2)

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wrį́xE

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota mnąga, na- ‘shrink, draw up, as cloth by washing’ EB:350, mnąga, ya- ‘make shrink by biting, as some big bite of food through chewing’ EB:624

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk pírīx, ru- ‘coil up, v.intr.’ KM:2709, rupírx
twist > curly (3)

physical_contact_deformation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wɾįʃE

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *-wɾįža

    Lakota -mnįža 'curled, ruffled' RTC, mnį[m]niža, yu- ‘to curl’ EB:644
    Dakota yumníža, *yumníža ‘curled, not straight, as hair’ SRR:633a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

    Hoocąk -piɾiš ‘curly’ KM:2485, -piɾiš ‘curl, v.tr.; be curly’ KM:2708, piɾiš, ru-, ruπiɾiš

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

    Ofo atabanći ‘wrap up, twist’ D&S:322b
**Comparative Siouan Dictionary**

**twist > wrap, fold**

verb **physical_contact_deformation**

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *apé***

Crow *ápália* ‘wrapped around’ GG:11

Hidatsa *apé* ‘wrap, coil, wind’ J

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pe-***

**Proto-Dakota *pe-***


Dakota *penni* ‘warp, twist’ SRR:419b

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere**

Chiwere *andwebrin, ṭandwebrį* ‘twisted together’ JGT:266

Otoe *andwedhin, ṭandwedį* ‘twisted together’ JGT:266

**Proto-Dhegiha *-pe-***

Omaha-Ponca *thibethiⁿ*, ṭđībēthic ‘twisted’ MAS:178, ṭđībēthic

**Proto-Southeastern *aphe•ni***

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *aphé•ni***

**Proto-Tutelo-Saponi**

Tutelo *waqópenĭ, ṭ-penį* ‘twist, as a cord’ HW
General comment

*Tutelo* waxu ‘string, cord’.
two

abstract_number

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *rup-, *rap-

Proto-Siouan *rųp-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *nųp-

Crow dúpa GG:45, RGG:8

Hidatsa núp ‘two’ J, nųp-

Pre-Mandan

Mandan núp ~ nųp ‘two’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *nųp-

Proto-Dakota *nųp-

Lakota núp RTC

Dakota núp ‘two’ WM:250b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *nųpe-

Chiwere nųpe RTC, RR

Hoocąk núp KM:2343, núp-

Proto-Dhegiha *nųp-

Omaha-Ponca nób ‘two’ RTC, núb ~ núb RR

Kanza/Kaw nób ‘two’ RR

Osage no’b ‘two’ LF:112a, dəp ‘two’ RR

Quapaw no’b ‘two’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *nųp-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *níp-

Biloxi no*’p, no’p , ṇıp D&S:238a

Ofo nu’m’pha, núp , ṇıp- D&S:327a, núp- ha , ṇıp-

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo nömp, nömbi, nömbi, nömba, nömpa, nömbäh , ṇıp ‘two’ N, H, no’p , ṇıp ‘two’ HW, no’p , ṇıp LIF

Proto-Catawba *nap-

Catawba nápre, nápre ‘two’ FGS
Woccon *Num-perre, *Nupau, *Winnop ‘eight, twenty’

General comment

The Ofo aspirate is unexpected, since accent is on the initial syllable. Ofo -ha could well be a suffix, cf. Kanza/Kaw *nöðba ‘in 2 places’ where -ba is a locative. The reason that n reverts to a reflex of oral r in certain DH forms is not understood either. Cf. Omaha-Ponca *ppěðba ‘seven’. Proto-Siouan clearly has *-r but Proto-Catawba is unclear. Catawba itself has q, while Woccon -o- can be interpreted as either [u] or [ə ~ a].

u

uncle, mother’s brother

social_kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *i-Ré•ki

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *(i-)Ré•ki

Proto-Dakota *Rekši

Lakota lĕkši RTC
Dakota dekši SRR:108
Stoney nekši PAS:665

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *i-Ré•ka

Chiwere iǰegą GM
Hoocąk téega, tegá KM:3110 , teega, hitek

Proto-Dhegiha *iRéki

Omaha-Ponca inégi RTC
Kanza/Kaw iféji ‘uncle, mother’s bro.’ RR
Osage idégi , tícéki ‘uncle’ LF:70a
Quapaw ittéke ‘man’s mother’s brother’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo mi nēk’, ūk-nek V H , eněk’, ūk-nek V HW

General comment
We do not believe that Biloxi tukáⁿni, tukaní ‘man/woman’s mother’s brother’ and Ofo toknítha ‘my brother’ are cognate. Biloxi should have d, not t, and, of course, the vowels do not even match within the subgroup.

The Quapaw form should not have tt or final -e, but these may have been mistranscribed by Dorsey.

unstable

perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *psų

Proto-Dakota

Dakota pagsq -‘face down, bendable, rounded, teeth on edge’ SRR:426a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sq

Chiwere ʔθą ‘curved, bent’, akíruʔθą, ṭakíruʔθą ‘bend over to meet’ LWR, akíluʔθą, ṭakíluʔθą GM

Hoocąk nqąsq ‘with legs outstretched’?, nqąsq

Proto-Dhegiha *sq

Kanza/Kaw ᵃlį́ sąį́yaya ‘rocking chair’ RR, ᵃlį́ ‘fall’

Osage ço’nthá ithatha, ᵃtqąd ‘rock to and fro’ LF:32a

General comment

The DH and Chiwere vowel does not match perfectly with the expected ū, but there are numerous instances of q/ū matches that are still poorly understood. Biloxi psuⁿti, psoⁿti ‘sharp pointed’ (DS-248b) fits phonologically and may be the proper Biloxi cognate. Cf. ‘shake > tremble’, ‘spill’.

This form is not found beyond MVS, but Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pC cluster would go back to Proto-Siouan *wVC, in this instance *wu-št.
untie, untwist
physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *krá
Proto-Dakota *krá

Lakota gľá, ná- ‘uncoil of itself; loose, not tied tight; untied’ EB:343, gľá, yá- ‘untwist, unroll, uncoil; to stretch’ EB:636, gľá, wa- ‘take off, as tallow from entrails, with a knife; to shave off with a knife; fig., to sicken one’ EB:515, gľá, wawd- ‘make uncoil by cutting’ EB:556, gľá, wo- ‘shell off by shooting or punching’ EB:596, gľá, yá- ‘bite off, as a dog does the fat from entrails with the mouth’ EB:618

Dakota -hda SRR:126

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ru-krá

Chiwere rugráge ‘rattle, loosen something’ LWR:26
Hoocąk rukará ‘unravel’ JWE, rukara

Proto-Dhegiha *rü-kra(-ra)

Omaha-Ponca thigtha, †dígda ‘untie’ MAS:181
Kanza/Kaw layá RR

Osage gtha ‘untie, untie’ LF:53b

Quapaw káa, ba-‘open (the hand)’ RR, káa, bi-‘press out, push/blow loose’ RR, káa, da- ‘undo with the mouth, teeth’ RR, káa, da ‘undo, untie, pull loose’ RR, káa, ka- ‘swing’ RR, káa, na- ‘loosen, come undone’ RR, kda, pa ‘cut along the edge of sth.’ RR

General comment

Dakota kča ‘loose, disentangled, straight’ (B-296b) may be a doublet for this set. Chiwere/Hoocąk/DH would have *kra*. If this is a separate set, then its reconstruction would be *kya*. Cf. *wrá ‘unravel’
upright, insert

physical_contact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-srE

Proto-Dakota *-srata (+ ablaut ?)

Lakota slata, oká- ‘stick in, as a splinter’ EB:385, slata, pa- ‘set up a pole in the ground, to drive in as a stake’ EB:433, slata, yuwó- ‘set upright e.g. a flag pole.’ EB:656

Dakota pasdara ‘stick into the ground’ WM:227b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk sdrac, boo- ‘be standing erect, as church spire, dog, pyramid’ KM:75, boosarac ‘walk on tiptoe’ KM:2217, sdrac, nsq- ‘screw, n.’ KM:3696, nsqarac, sarac, wiird- ‘screw, n.’

General comment

Cf. the homophone ‘slow’.
upstream, upwind

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mąhą

Proto-Dakota

Lakota omđha ‘Omaha Indian’ EB:394a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *mąhą

Chiwere iromđha ‘upstream’ LWR:12 , umđha ‘upstream’ JGT:268

Hoocąk mąhą ‘go against the medium’ KM:1958 , mąhą ‘at the upper part of a river’ KM:1036 , hiromđjį ‘hiromđjį , hiromđjį

Proto-Dhegiha *mąhą

Omaha-Ponca umo’hó’ , ŷomđhą ‘against the current’

Kanza/Kaw kkįmąhą ‘against the wind or current’

Osage kįmohó’ , ŷkįmąhą ‘face the wind, against the wind’ LF:86b

Quapaw kįmąhą ‘Quapaw upriver village name’ JOD , ţmaha

General comment

This term is opposed to kąxpa ‘south > downstream’, q.v., from which the name of the Quapaws, okąxpa is formed. Both terms seem to be restricted to MVS.
up, upwards, upper

physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wąŋ-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wáŋ-ku


Hidatsa móku ‘high’ J, mókuka ‘way up’ J

Pre-Mandan *wáŋke (?)

Mandan hiwáke ‘upper lip’ H:75

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wąŋ-

Proto-Dakota *wąkhá

Lakota wąká, wąkapá, ḇwąkñá wąkdá ‘above’ EB:788a, EB:546b, wąkápanya, ḇwąkñá wąkdá ‘high, up in a high position’ EB:541, wąkánaŋ, ḇwąkñá wąkdá ‘from above’ EB:542, wąkákiya, ḇwąkñá wąkdá ‘upward’ EB:542, wąkátu, ḇwąkñá wąkdá ‘up above, high up’ EB:542, wąkániya, ḇwąkñá wąkdá ‘high up’ EB:542

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wąŋ-

Chiwere máŋlí ‘upward’ GM

Hoocąk wąąg ‘upper region’, wąąŋ, wąąŋ, -wąąŋ, wąąŋ

Proto-Dhegiha *mąŋ-

Kanza/Kaw máŋle ‘extending upwards’

Osage máŋle ‘vertical, the beginning’ LF:98a, máŋle ‘plant a pole upright’ LF:13a, ámo’shi, máŋli ‘up, upstairs’ LF:13a

Quapaw máŋli ‘upper, upward’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *mąŋ-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ḏád, ḏád ‘hold the head up’ D&S:178b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo matoi, matot, ma’tö’o, ḏáqal ‘sky’ JOD

General comment

Biloxi, Tutelo lack expected reflexes of -k and so may not be cognate. DH would lose -k normally in a cluster. The presence of Hoocąk w rather than m preceding a nasal vowel is strange here. For phonological treatment of an apparently parallel form, v. ‘chert, flint’, etc.
urine (1), urinate (1)

physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley ‘Réže

Proto-Dakota ‘Réza

Lakota léža, ležé [léža (verb); ležé (noun); + ablaut] RTC

Dakota déža (verb); déžé (noun) PAS

Proto-Dhegiha ‘Réže

Omaha-Ponca néže JOD

Kanza/Kaw jéže RR

Osage céženi ‘urine’ RR

Quapaw téže, déže ‘urine’ RR

General comment

We reconstruct length from the x-grade set, ‘urine (2), urinate (2)’, q.v.
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

urine (2), urinate (2)
physical_somatic_liquid

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *Ré•xE, *haréxe RR

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *eraxE

Crow eelåxi RG

Hidatsa éœxE ‘urine, urinate’ J, éxi

Pre-Mandan *-xœE

Mandan òrexe ‘urine’ H:180

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Réye

Chiwere féye ‘urinate’ RR

Hoocąk téex KM:3118, teex

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi dixí, ṭ̠dixí ‘urinate’ D&S:183b, ḥadixí, ṭ̠dixí ‘urine’

General comment

Crow seems to show the older MRS form, with expected $e > a$ perhaps before $x$. Hidatsa has lost intervocalic $r$. Initial $e$ is perhaps due to the influence of ‘excrete’, q.v. Two Ablaut grades are preserved in what is probably a deverbal noun. Cf. ‘urine (1), urinate (1)’. Biloxi initial $h$, if also Proto-Siouan, would provide the *hr cluster in Proto-Mississipi-Valley that would yield *R from Proto-Siouan *r.
use, do with

physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *iʔų́

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ʔį́kə ‘be along, to be with’ H:262

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *iʔų́

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ʔų ‘by means of, using’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *iʔų́

Chiwere ʔų̈j GM

Hoocąk híʔų́ ‘do with, by means of, use’ KM:813, hiʔų́ (> hi + ʔų́)

Proto-Dhegiha ʔíʔ

Omaha-Ponca j ~ q ~ qj ‘use’

Kanza/Kaw weą́ ‘eat with’ JOD

Quapaw iq ‘with, instrumental’

Proto-Southeastern *iʔų́•

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi yoⁿ, ʔi-q ‘by means of, with’ D&S:242b

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ʔo ‘use’ JOD

General comment

Where ʔ is lost a glide is often inserted in the vowel cluster.

This term is a composite of *ʔų́ ‘do, make’ and *i- ‘instrumental’ Dakotan has evidently lost the crucial initial element, so ‘use’ is homophonous with ‘do, be’ but the two verbs are conjugated differently. Crow ʔdilhečhe ‘eat along with’ GG-52 and Crow ʔdol ‘foods eaten with meats’ DEC-104, cognate with Hidatsa ʔdri ‘be complete’, do not appear to be cognate, but cf. the Kanza/Kaw form.
vagina, vulva

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *šą́•-re

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa
Hidatsa -ša ~ -šara 'vulva' J

Pre-Mandan *soʊre (?)
Mandan sá ~ sáre 'vulva' H:200

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xą

Proto-Dakota
Lakota šą RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
Hoocąk šą KM:2802, šąq

General comment
Although strong evidence is lacking, this may well be one of the inherently possessed body parts and the reconstruction correspondingly *i-šą́•-re. This term may have become a victim of homonymic clash in some languages where šą means ‘Dakota Sioux’. Cf. ‘anus, buttocks, vagina, passage’.

vermin (1)

animal_insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *-puS-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *we-ruS-

Crow baqúxta ‘insect’ GG:21, RGG:1, baqúxçiipi ‘ant’ GG:21, RGG:1

Hidatsa we-ruklła ‘insect, snake’ J, me-ruklła ‘ant’, we-ruckakari’ti, me-ruckakari’ti

Proto-Mississipi-Valley
Proto-Dhegiha

Osage zhábiuçka, †žápüska ‘ant’ LF:222a

General comment
The first syllable in Osage may be related to žą 'wood'; Gilmore (1919) lists a number of DH terms in which žą has apparently denasalized, although RR has not personally encountered them. The various Indo-European terms for ‘ant’ are complex and messy also. As the largest ants of the Osage region are carpenter ants, genus Camponotus, a compound “wood-bug” makes good sense. The first syllable of Proto-Crow-Hidatsa is the absolutive.

Different root extensions appear.

**vermin (2)**

*noun* animal, insect

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

Proto-Siouan *wa-krúS-ka*

Pre-Mandan wó-kruzka

Mandan wó-kruzka? RTC, *snake, worm, snail*

**Proto-Mississipi-Valley**

Proto-Dhegiha *(wa)krúška* RR

Omaha-Ponca žągðiška 'wood bug' F&LF:106, wagðiška 'bugs' F&LF:106, wagríška RR

Kanza/Kaw walúška

Osage wagthúshka, twalúška ‘bug, worm, insect’ LF:190b

Quapaw wakdíška RR

**General comment**

This root occurs with the absolutive prefix and the qualifier suffix.

The Dakotan form Lakota wa-blúška ‘insect’ (C), Dakota wam dúška ‘snake’ (R) appears to be a blend with ‘vermin (1)’: *-pus- > *-prus- *-krús-
vermin (3)

noun animal, insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kreśka

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *(hta)-kréśka

Proto-Dakota *-kreska

Lakota thanišgęška ‘intestinal worms’ EB:484a, agléška ‘lizard; alligator’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere tagréske, ḥthagréske ‘flea’ LWR:52

Proto-Dhegiha *htakréška RR

Osage ṭagðéshka, ṭhaléška ‘(deer) tick’ LF:137a

Quapaw nakdéska ‘flea’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *reska

Biloxi kúdĕskạ́, kútštak ‘flea’ D&S:217a

Ofo têfka, ṭéfka ‘flea’ D&S:330b

General comment

La Flesche notes that the Osage word refers to ‘deer tick’ and to ‘grubs that burrow beneath the skin’, presumably the larvae of bot-flies. The Lakota gloss may simply extend this to ‘internal parasite’. MVS always compounds with *hta- ‘ruminant’.
vermin (4)
noun animal, insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ką́škV

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *w(ə)-ką́ška

Proto-Dakota *ką́ška

Lakota ɣnašk RTC
Dakota hnašká, našká ‘frog’ SRR
Sioux Valley hnašká PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wə-ką́ške

Chiwere wą̃gəške ‘frog’ RR

Hoocąk wąkąŋdège ‘frog’ KM:3344, wąkąŋdège

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw wąmό́ška ‘frog’ JOD, wąmό́ška RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kanatčí, źkanačí ‘wood tick’ D&S:204b

General comment

This set is quite irregular; each subfamily suggests a different Proto-Siouan form: Mandan *krVʔaši•t; Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kəš-. Biloxi ‘wood tick’ comes from *kəš-, thus looking like Proto-Mississipi-Valley.
vermin (5)

noun animal; insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan-Proto-

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Proto-Dhegiha

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

General comment

The root vowel in Dakotan is irregular, as is the k > p in the Riggs form (but cf. ‘vermin (2)’ for a similar change). The final syllable in Dakotan is the diminutive. This set, like several of the ‘vermin’ sets, contains several minor irregularities that call the reconstruction somewhat into question.
vermin (6)

animal, insect

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi kátcĭdĭktĕ´, kasdĭktĕ´, ṣkáčidikte ‘ant’ D&S:204b

Ofo naxăška , ṣnašăška ‘ant’ D&S:326b

General comment

This set is quite irregular; each subfamily suggests a different Proto-Siouan form. Mandan *krVʔaši•t; Proto-Mississipi-Valley ‘kraš; Proto-Southeastern ‘kătrăt with a metathesis between Mandan and Proto-Southeastern. Biloxi ‘wood tick’ comes from ‘kraš, thus looking like Proto-Mississipi-Valley. Ofo ‘ant’ comes from ‘rășrit, while ‘wood tick’ comes from ‘krašClt, rather like Mandan.

vine

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-tuhu

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa náa ‘ripe, as grass; green’ J

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota saŋtuhu , ṣaŋtuhu ‘species of red grass’ EB:452

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tôhu , ṣôhu ‘rattan vine’ D&S:258b , tôhu sůpka , ṣôhu ‘black rattan vine’ D&S:258b , mםtuhu , ṣmɑqhû ‘leather vine’ D&S:229b , tohudi , ṣtohudi ‘rattan vine’

Ofo dąnbhï, ṣrōbhi , ṣeŋ-dk̂hî ‘vines, creepers’ D&S:321a, JSS

General comment
The second u may represent an assimilation product since final u is relatively rare, cf. ‘tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk’. If this is the case, the reconstruction may be *tuhe. If Lakota is correct, this form did not have Proto-Siouan aspiration. Ofo aspiration then would have to be due to the synchronically active Ofo second syllable aspiration rule. Moreover, Biloxi initial m- is irregular as initial labial resonants are lost in both Biloxi and Ofo. Hidatsa tua may also reflect ‘blue, green’, q.v.

visible
perceptual, visual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ahtáʔį(-he)
Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *atáʔi·he
Crow aşžă ‘appear’ GG:13, RGG:94
Hidatsa atÉʔ ‘appear, come out, manifest self’ J

Pre-Mandan
Mandan ḟhoʔ ‘it shows, sticks out’ H:251

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *tháʔį

Proto-Dakota “thąį
Lakota thaŋj ‘show’ RTC
Dakota taŋiŋ, †thąį WM:255a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *tháʔį
Chiwere thaŋj ~ thąį GM
Hoocąk čąąk’į KM:177, čąąk’į KM:176, čąąk’į, čąąk’į

Proto-Dhegiha *htąį
Kanza/Kaw ttį́ ‘visible’ RR
Osage ṭóⁿiⁿ (pronounced ṭiⁿ)’, †htąį ‘visible’ LF:155b
Quapaw taŋj ‘visible’ JOD

General comment

The unexpected t~k in the Hoocąk forms is from the epenthetic glide –r- that develops between the vowels in parts of the paradigm of this verb; it is extended analogically to those forms which already had a glottal stop, thus rʔ often > tʔ in Chiwere/Hoocąk. For other Chiwere/Hoocąk forms with ʔ ~ tʔ ~ (kʔ) cf. ‘fly (1)’, ‘jump’, ‘lay’. Crow s corresponding to Hidatsa t shows that Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *t was followed by *a. Crow -iia reflects the loss of intervocalic *h. Hidatsa has assimilated *-iE to *E. Cf. ‘thunder (2)’. The Kanza/Kaw/Osage cognates show the relative chronology of the vowel cluster collapse and the dental assimilation/palatalization rule. The sequence of a dental stop and a front vowel is not normally possible in Kanza/Kaw or Osage.
voice (1)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *hó•(-he)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *huhe, ‘wahu

Crow hrə ‘cough’ GG:48, bahú ‘howl, bark’ GG:25
Hidatsa hrə ‘cough’ J, wahú ‘bark’ J, mahú

Pre-Mandan

Mandan hóʔ ‘voice’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *hó

Proto-Dakota *hó
Lakota hó RTC

Sioux Valley hó PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *hó•

Chiwere ho ‘voice’ GM
Hoocąk hó ‘voice’ RM:1428, hoo

Proto-Dhegiha *hó

Omaha-Ponca ho ‘voice’ RR
Kanza/Kaw ho ‘voice’ RR
Osage ho ‘voice’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ho•he

Biloxi hohe, ṭhohe ‘bellow, as a bull does’ D&S:198a
Ofo hohe, ṭhohe ‘bellow, howl’ D&S:323b

General comment

Biloxi/Ofo normally lose #h-, so either there was an initial syllable which protected the initial consonant or sound symbolism reinforced the original form here. Ordinarily both inalienable *i- and absolutive *wa- have overt reflexes in OVS, so the former explanation is lame.

Crow/Hidatsa show the absolutive prefix. Cf. *howl*; Hidatsa irú ‘his voice’ does not seem to be cognate.
voice (2), bellow, howl

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *hohtų

Proto-Dakota *hothų

Lakota hoř’η, ṭhothų́ ‘cry out’ EB:185b

Dakota hotų́, ṭhothų WM:42b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Ciwere hóthų́ ‘shout’ GM

Proto-Dhegiha *hóhtą

Kanza/Kaw hóttą ‘howl’ RR

Osage hóṣpọ́, ṭhóhta ‘cry of animals or birds’ LF:67a

Quapaw hóta ‘cry out, roar’ JOD

General comment

Cf. Dakota hotaƞke ‘Ho-Chunk, Winnebago’, which contrasts q/q, so ḭų would not seem to be related to ‘big’, although it appears to have been reanalyzed as ‘big’ in DH. Unless ḭŋ becomes analyzable, this term may break down historically as either ‘ho ‘voice’ + ḷu or as ‘hoh ‘voice’ + tu, since ‘voice’, q.v., preserves evidence for a root extension -he in OVS and Hidatsa, and ‘hC > Ch in Lakota and Chiwere/Hoocąk is a synchronic rule.
vomit

physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan karé•, ‘karé•(-pE)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *karé•

Crow kałë‘vomit’ GG:50, RGG:34

Hidatsa karé• ‘vomit’ J

Pre-Mandan *keʔwįʔ- (?)

Mandan keʔwįʔroʔš ‘he threw up’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *kré•pE

Proto-Dakota *krépA

Lakota glépa RTC

Dakota hdépa SRR:131

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere gré•we RR

Proto-Dhegiha *kré•pe

Omaha gðébe ‘vomit’ RTC

Ponca gðébe ‘vomit’ RR

Kanza/Kaw lēbe ‘vomit’ RR

Osage gðhebe , tãhe ‘vomit, retch, spew’ LF:53b

Quapaw kãwe ‘vomit’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ūtkńe‘, ūtkńedi , ūtkńe D8&S:210a

General comment

The Mandan form is not clearly cognate, but cf. Yuchi kʔwæ̨ (LB) for an interesting look-alike.
w

wait for

verb physical_action

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *a(-ki-)phe

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk pe, hagi- ‘wait for someone’ KM:559, hagipe (ha < gi> pe)

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw phe, idá- ‘wait for someone not in sight’ RR
walk (1)

physical_motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rį•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *rĕre

Crow dīlī GG:44, RGG:31

Hidatsa rĕre J, nĕri

Pre-Mandan *rį-

Mandan rįroʔ ‘he’s walking’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *mą́•-rį

Proto-Dakota *mą́_nj

Lakota mą́_ni ‘walk’ RTC

Dakota mą́_ni PAS

Stoney mą́_ni PAS

Sioux Valley mą́_ni PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *mą́•nį

Chiwere mą́•nį ‘walk’ RR

Hoocąk mąqqį́ KM:1991 , mąqqį́

Proto-Dhegiha ‘mąq̄_ř̄j

Omaha-Ponca mąq̄_į́ ‘walk’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw mąq̄_į́ ~ mąq̄į́ ‘walk’ RR

Osage mąq̄_į́ ‘walk’ RR

Quapaw mąq̄_į́ ~ monį́ ‘walk’ RR

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *nį

Biloxi nį́x , ḋnį́h ‘walk’ D&S:236a , nį́i , ḍnį́h ‘walk, frequentative’

Ofo nį́kna , ḍnį́kna D&S:327a

General comment
cf. ‘run (2), ‘walk (2)’.

walk (2)
physical motion

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *əwą́•

Proto-Siouan *wą́•

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mą́•_rį

Proto-Dakota *mą́ŋį

Lakota mdįŋį RTC

Dakota mdįŋį PAS

Stoney mdįŋį PAS

Sioux Valley mdįŋį PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *mą́ŋį

Chiwere mą́ŋį ‘walk’ RR

Hoocą́k mąŋį KM:1991 , mąŋį

Proto-Dhegiha *mą́ŋį

Omaha-Ponca mą́ŋį ‘walk’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw mą́ŋį ~ mą́ŋį ‘walk’ RR

Osage mą́ŋį ‘walk’ RR

Quapaw mą́ŋį ~ mą́ŋį ‘walk’ RR

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ʔəwą́ ‘walk’ [ɔ both accented and nasalized; first ə] KS, MAS , ʔəwą́-səʔərÉ D&S:1236a

General comment

cf. ‘walk (1)’. If the Catawba form cited meant ‘walk’ primarily, the term found in many Siouan languages is indeed an old compound, but the initial element is not the awą́• ‘ground’ root that some Siouanists had thought.

The Catawba form also clarifies vowel length and accent in some of the languages, e.g., Hoocą́k and Chiwere, in that reconstruction of the initial syllable regularizes placement of the suprasegmentals. It is not clear why *r is not nasalized completely in DH.
walnut

plant_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *htá•ke

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thá•ke

Chiwere thá•ge RR

Hoocąk caak, †čá•k ‘black walnut (dye)’, chak, †čá•k KM:162, čaazúke, †čá•k, caazuke; caazike, †čá•k

Proto-Dhegiha *htáke

Omaha-Ponca táge hi, †ttáge ‘walnut’ MAS:184

Kanza/Kaw ttági ‘black walnut’ RR, ttágihii ‘walnut tree’

Osage táge hi, †ttáke hi ‘black walnut’ LF:137a

Quapaw ttáke ‘walnut’ RR, ttaké ‘walnut’ JOD

General comment

For a possible areal term cf. Proto-Muskogean *okcakí ‘hickory’; (ok- probably ‘water’).

want (1)

psychic_volition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ʔi•he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa waʔi•he ‘want’ J, maʔi•he

Pre-Mandan

Mandan ġ rehoʔi ‘he wants it’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi oyixí; náwiyihí, ḋnd_ihi ‘to want’ [náwiyihí ‘I want’] D&S:292b
want (2)

psychic volition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kṹ•he

Pre-Mandan *-kũh-

Mandan d'o:kũhoʔš 'he wanted it, chose it' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kṹ•

Proto-Dakota *kũ

Lakota kũ 'want' RTC

Dakota koŋ, ŋkũ 'covet' WM:41a, wakoŋ's'a, ŋkũ 'covetous' WM:41a, wakoŋpi, ŋkũ 'covetousness' WM:41a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk roogų KM:2634, roogų

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo koⁿ 'cause, influence' [also (?) koʔa (?)]
want (3)
psychic_volition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *kį́•-ra

Proto-Dakota

Lakota kį́la ‘desire; covet’ EB:315b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere gį́la GM , gį́-nq RR

Proto-Dhegiha *‐kį́•-ra

Omaha-Ponca gį́da ‘want’ RR

Kanza/Kaw gį́ya ‘want’ RR

Osage kį́da ‘want’ RR

Quapaw kį́da ‘want’ RR

General comment

This is a compound verb. In DH, but not Lakota/Dakota, both parts not only require actor pronominal prefixes, but have preserved synchronically irregular, fossilized allomorphs of these prefixes. Proto-Dhegiha 1Act *k-‐kį́-b-‐ra, 2Act š-‐kį́•-‐š-‐ra. Lakota kį́la B-315b analysed as dim. ‘desire; covet’; 1Act wakį́la. Lakota ‐la is not a match for the second root in DH. The Lakota from does not palatalize (PAssiniboine 1980:94).
warm (1)
perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

 Proto-Siouan *štákē
 Proto-Crow-Hidatsa
 Crow óoštači ‘sticking to; crowding around’ GG:52

 Proto-Mississipi-Valley *štákē
 Proto-Dakota
 Lakota šáka ‘soft, as ice, mushy’ EB:467b, štagyá ‘mash up, make preserves’ EB:467b

 Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
 Hoocąk šǰáak ‘warm, e.g. water’ KM:2968, šjaak

 Proto-Dhegiha *štáke
 Osage štág , štäke ‘tepid, slightly warm, stagnant’ LF:134b
 Quapaw štäke ‘warm, as weather’

 Proto-Southeastern

 Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
 Ofo átćachá, atćachá, ŋt-o-đha ‘warm, hot’ D&S:322a

General comment

We cannot relate the Ofo term at present. So many stative verbs in MVS have initial syllable accent and vowel length that, although the accentual pattern may have spread analogically in this category, Accent may best be explained by the regular presence of a prefix. Ordinary person/number prefixes should not have produced this pattern, as the patient prefixes used with stative verbs have been shown to have been clitics rather than affixes.
Cf. ‘stick (1)’. 
warm (2)

perceptual

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *štútE

Proto-Dakota

Lakota štúta ‘thawed, warmed’ EB:468a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *štúte

Chiwere stuğe ‘warm and well fed’ LWR:28, štústuğe ‘smooth’ GM

Hoocąk tuaččišč ‘warm, warm up’ KM:2926, šjuuc, tuašjuc

Proto-Dhegiha *štúte

Omaha-Ponca štiđe, štiđde MAS:184

Kanza/Kaw ščúčje ‘comfortable’ JOD

Osage štiđe, ščúčše ‘warm in the hands’ [stative] LF:134b

Quapaw štiđe ‘warm, comfortably’ JOD

General comment

Osage should have -ds-; -d- is presumably La Flesche’s native Ponca interfering. Cf. Dakota štunya, stata ‘thaw out the frost’ (Wm 243-a) which shows variant derivations and are related indirectly. Biloxi ic’tcóké ‘a comforter’ (DS-200b) is not clearly relatable at present.
war, warpath

social war

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(wa-)Róta

Pre-Mandan *rót-

Mandan rókíš ‘he hits it’ H:190, wótiroki ‘war club’ H:190

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wRo•ta

Proto-Dakota

Lakota błoá húŋka ‘leader of a war party’ EB:111b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *Ró- ṭhą

Chiwere töháŋ ‘manhunt, be on warpath’ GM, totháŋ ‘be leading’ GM

Hoocąk toóč ‘war party’ (Eng. tooquaŋ) KM:3129, tooč

Proto-Dhegiha *Rotą́

Omaha-Ponca nudō’, ūnodaŋ ‘war’ MAS:185

Kanza/Kaw dodá RR

Osage dodō’, tōtōŋ ‘go to war’ LF:37b

Quapaw tōt ‘war’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ērutoáŋe ‘warrior’ [ŋ do, make] JOD, ērutošőle, ūerutoaŋe ‘warrior’ H

General comment

This is an interesting stem. It looks as if it might incorporate ‘male’ in MVS, but OVS and MRS suggest that this may be an MVS reanalysis. We believe that nasality of the final syllable in MVS comes from compounding with the verb *ʔų ‘do, make’, as clarified by the Tutelo entry. Chiwere, Hoocąk aspiration may be by analogy with ‘to lead’, but we cannot consider it explained at present. Cf. ‘male’. With regard to MVS, note Hidatsa maceří ‘warpath, warparty’, which is transparently compounded of ‘man’ (rather than ‘male’) and ‘walk’. The MVS might be compared with ‘run (2)’ -- except that aspiration is lacking here. Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere seems to have made the link, however.
wash

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *rušá(-re)

Pre-Mandan *-rusaʔ-

Mandan kirúsəʔ-roʔ ‘he washed it’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ružá

Proto-Dakota *yužá-

Lakota yužá ‘stir’ RTC , yužáša ‘wash’ RTC , šáša, ka- ‘wash away, as a bridge by a flood; to wash away by pulling back and forth’ EB:278 , šaša , waká- ‘wash by drawing back and forth in the water; to see well’ EB:525 , šáša, wänd- ‘wash by boiling, as clothing’ EB:537 , šáša, pa- ‘wash e.g. a floor, to mop’ EB:427 , šáša, na- ‘wash out with the feet, trample out; R. gives To wash out by boiling, which is a bit doubtful’ EB:346 , šáša, wo- ‘wash, as rain does the road. also, a wash-tub.’ EB:601 , šáša, ya- ‘lick or wash with the mouth, as does a cat’ EB:621 , šáša, yu- ‘wash e.g. clothes’ EB:640 , wölša, wa- ‘wash out by punching’ EB:560

Dakota -šaša PAS

Stoney -šaša PAS

Sioux Valley -šaša PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-ruža

Chiwere wo-rú•ya ‘wash sth.’ RR , ruya ‘wash’ JDH


Proto-Dhegiha *ružá

Omaha-Ponca džá ‘wash’ RR

Kanza/Kaw yužá ‘wash’ RR

Osage džá ‘wash’ LF:155a , thužá

Quapaw džá ‘wash’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ručhá(-ri)

Biloxi dutád, dutádi , ᵀ’hudá(-di) D&S:260a

Ofo tůčha , tüčha D&S:331b, JSS

General comment
The Ofo aspirate shows two things: (a) stress was formerly on the second syllable, and (b) Ofo had its own, broader and more recent aspiration rule, since OVS *č from *š would not receive aspiration from the common Siouan rule. There is evidence from Sapir’s transcriptions that Tutelo too had the extended aspiration rule which affected affricates secondarily derived from fricatives (v. his transcription of ‘dog’). The source of Mandan ʔ is unexplained at present.

**water**

_water_

_physical_substance_

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *yq

Proto-Siouan *yo

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *yo-

Proto-Dakota *čho-

Lakota ćopá, ččo phá ‘wade, go in the water’ EB:133b
Dakota ćo pd ‘wade, go in the water’ SRR:103b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *yo-

Chiwere yówe ‘wade’ GM

Hoocąk njowé < njj howe HWE, njjowe < njj howe

Proto-Dhegiha *žo-

Omaha-Ponca juhe, žšohé ‘ford’ JOD
Kanza/Kaw žophé ‘ford’ RR

Osage žhú••he, žhú••pše, žžo he ~ žžo phe ‘ford, wade a stream’ LF:228b, opšhé, Žophé ‘a ford’ LF:123a
Quapaw Žanžižhe JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi yohi, ayohí, ayohí, hayóha, ayo, ayox, Žayohí ‘lake, pond’ D&S:295a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo yētāi, yētāi, Žye- ‘sea’!

Proto-Catawba

Catawba yg, yq̓hiy̓e ‘water’ KS

Woccon yq̓̓pše ‘rum’ (< water + bitter (?)) JL

**General comment**
Tutelo źą́ ‘big’. Cf. ‘ford, wade’, ‘enter (1)’. 
water, liquid

physical_substance

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wir

Crow *bi ‘water’ GG:31, RGG:65

Hidatsa *wi, *wi ‘water’ J

Pre-Mandan *

Mandan *wir ‘water’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *

Proto-Dakota *

Lakota *ni RTC, PAS

Stoney *ni PAS

Sioux Valley *ni PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *

Chiwere *i ‘water’ RTC, RR

Hoocąk *i ‘water’ KM:2309, RJ

Proto-Dhegiha *

Omaha-Ponca *ni ‘water’ RTC

Kanza/Kaw *i ‘water’ RR

Osage *i ‘water’ RR

Quapaw *i ‘water’ RR

Proto-Southeastern *

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi aneʔ, aineʔ ‘water’ MRH, aineʔ, aaniʔ ‘water’ MS, aii, aii, ni ‘water’ D&S:173a

Ofo a ʔi, ani ‘water’ D&S:321a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *ni, *ni ‘water’ H, mini, *ni ‘water’ HW

Saponi money ~ *ni ‘water’ Byrd
General comment

Possibly some sort of vowel harmony operated on the initial syllable vowel. Cf. ‘deer, ruminant’. Alternatively there may have been prefixes ‘wá-‘absolutive’ and ‘wí-‘animate absolutive’, which also marked certain nominals. Vowel length is not well represented here and may not be reconstructible.

weak
evaluative

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *xpe

Proto-Dakota *xpe

Lakota xpéla ‘weak’ EB:195a

Dakota ḥpéča, ṭxpéča ‘faint, exhausted’ SRR:167a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xwé

Chiwere xwége ‘weak, feeble’ LWR:38

Hoocąk taaxéwe ‘all in from heat’ KM:3096, taaxewe

Proto-Dhegiha *xpéka

Kanza/Kaw xpéga ‘weak’ RR

Osage xpega, ṭxpéka ‘languid, drooping’ LF:219b
wear about the shoulders

physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ʔį•he

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ʔa < *ʔhe

Crow ʔa 'put over shoulders' GG:71

Hidatsa ʔa 'put on or over like a blanket' J

Pre-Mandan *ʔhe

Mandan wʔhe 'blanket' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ʔį

Proto-Dakota *ʔį

Lakota ʔį 'wear around the shoulders' RTC

Sioux Valley ʔ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ʔį́•

Chiwere kʔį RR

Hoocąk kʔį [1sg. haʔį] KM:1658 , ʔį

Proto-Dhegiha *ʔį́•

Omaha-Ponca j JOD

Kanza/Kaw jʔį 'wear about the shoulders' RR, giʔį 'wear for another' JOD

Osage iʔį, ʔįʔį 'wear, as a robe or a blanket' LF:74b

General comment

The Chiwere term may mean 'wear one's own about the shoulders' or it may represent the 'carry on the back' set. Cf. 'wear around the neck', 'necklace' for compounds with ʔį. The Mandan form is < wa-h ‘Abs. + wear’ Lakota 1pl. ʔąkʔį confirms the presence of root-initial ʔ.
wear around the neck

physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(r-)ápeʔį*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ápeʔi*

Crow dapi 'necklace' GG:2

Hidatsa ápeʔ 'her necklace' J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *nápʔį*

Proto-Dakota *ngápʔį*

Lakota ngápʔį 'wear around the neck' RTC

Dakota wáŋápey 'a medal; a necklace of beads; a handkerchief; anything worn around the neck' SRR:523a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *nápʔį*

Chiwere nápʔį 'wear around the neck' RR

Hoocąk nápʔį 'wear around the neck' KM:2204, nápʔį\n
Proto-Dhegiha *nápʔį*

Kanza/Kaw wáŋápʔį 'necklace' RR

Osage nápʔį, ʔángápʔį 'wear around the neck'

Quapaw nápʔį 'wear around the neck' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi a'pángų, ḣángáŋ 'necklace' D&S:178a, a'páŋ, ḣángáŋ 'something worn around the neck' D&S:176b

General comment

Quapaw *pʔ ñ>* regularly. Presumably the *r* is an inserted glide in initial position in these terms, perhaps a backformation from ‘necklace', q.v.

Similarly it must be an inserted glide in Biloxi between *p* and *j*, implying a stem-final vowel that has been lost. Cf. ‘necklace’, ‘wear about the shoulders'.
wear on the feet
physical_artefact_dress
Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *o-r-hą́

Proto-Dakota

Lakota oḥą́ ‘put on socks, wear’ EB:388a
Dakota oḥą́ŋ, ṭoḥą́ ‘stand in; put on socks or moccasins, wear’ SRR:350a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk hoǰą́ ‘wear on foot or feet’ KM:1353, hoǰą́

Proto-Dhegiha *oṭhą́

Omaha-Ponca oṭhą́ JOD
Osage uṭo*, ṭoṭhą́ ‘put on moccasins’ LF:65a
Quapaw oṭhą́ ~ oṭhʊ́

Proto-Southeastern *uṭų́ (?)

General comment

Cf. ‘wear pants, wear on legs’. These two terms, *o-thą́ ‘wear pants, wear on legs’; *o-r-hą́ ‘wear on the feet’ are one of the few scraps of evidence for a Proto-Mississippi-Valley *th/*rh opposition. Both are suspect of being late compounds. Cf. Kanza/Kaw oḥą́ŋ ‘wear (generally)’. The root, ḥą́, may be ‘stand’, q.v.
wear pants, wear on legs

physical_artefact_dress

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *o-thą́ ~ o-thų́

Proto-Dakota *o-thą́

Lakota oθų́ ‘put on and wear, leggings, pantaloons’ EB:409b

Dakota oθą́, oθų́ ‘put on and wear, as leggings or pantaloons’ SRR:389b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *o-thą́

Chiwere oqoθą́ ‘leggings’ JGT, JEK

Hoocąk hoćį́ ‘wear on legs’ KM:1178, hoćį́

Proto-Dhegiha *o-thą́

Omaha-Ponca utṓ toŋa ‘leggings’ MAS:112

Osage oθą́ ‘leggings’ JEK, MW

Quapaw oθą́ ~ oθǫ́ ‘leggings’

General comment

Certainly looks derived from ‘stand inside’ except for the aspirates in Chiwere/Hoocąk and Dakota. Cf. Kanza/Kaw oną́žį́. Cf. also Kanza/Kaw obδhą́ ‘wear (generally)’, which may contain the root that is seen here in compound and ‘wear on the feet’ (which has *rh as opposed to *th here).
weave (1)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *-sų́-tE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *-cutE

Crow cháší, dat- ‘whip’ RG

Hidatsa cutE, pd- ‘sew’ J, cutE, nak- ‘whip, braid’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *-zų́-tE

Proto-Dakota *-zų́A

Lakota zų́ta, pa- ‘sew or run up at the sides some distance from the edge e.g. of leggings, to lace’ EB:438, zų́ta, yu- ‘make honest; to make them better men.’ EB:657, zų́ta, ayá- ‘connect or weave together, as in talking’ EB:103, zų́ta, wukí- ‘weave’ EB:528

Dakota kážóta, †kážáta ‘weave, twist in as in making baskets or snowshoes’ SRR:274a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wa•θų́ǰe ‘sew’ RR

Proto-Dhegiha *-zą́te

Omaha-Ponca ŋaza̱de ‘plait’

Kanza/Kaw záje, íba- ‘lace up with, fasten shut’ RR, záje, ína- ‘shelter in, take refuge in, flee to’ RR

Osage gačó̱dse, ŋaza̱ce ‘braid, weave, plait’ LF:43b

Quapaw zátte, ka- ‘weave, braid’ RR, zátte, íba- ‘lace up, as a pack’ RR

General comment

The root *sų occurs in MVS with both voiceless and voiced fricatives, cf. Chiwere wa•θų́ǰe ‘sew’ RR, ŋišá̱uje, mášunje ‘weave a web’ JGT92-277. Chiwere wa•θų́ǰe ‘weave’ JDH/RR.
weave (2)

noun physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *su ~ *šų

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *sų

Proto-Dakota *su

Lakota su ‘plait, braid’ EB:458a , wasų ‘braid in strings, as corn or hair’ EB:550a , ondušu ‘braid together, sew or weave’ EB:820

Dakota soŋ ‘plait or braid, as hair or corn’ SRR:438a , wasóŋ , †wasų ‘braid in strings, as corn or hair’ SRR:535b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere wéθą ‘weaving’ JDH

Hoocąk hakisų ‘braid’ KM:609 , hakisų

Proto-Dhegiha *są

Omaha-Ponca dkhibêsą ‘fold’

Kanza/Kaw są ‘plaited’

Osage Hoço*, ḥṭosą ‘Braided-fish’ [personal name]

Quapaw nąxʔésą ‘scalp lock plaited’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tcö*, natcó*, Ųnāqčɬ’ ‘plait’ D&S:265b

General comment

Note the rare occurrence of doublets distinguished only by fricative voicing in MVS. *su and *šų have nearly identical meanings and must have developed in different phonological contexts. This constitutes important evidence that there really was a voicing rule and that Proto-Siouan only had voiceless fricatives. The Biloxi form shows a reflex of the *š grade.
**weigh**

*physical_action*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *(ka-)ʔų́ or: *(ka-)ʔą́*

**Proto-Dakota**

Lakota kąjkąka ‘be jolted or bounced up and down’ EB:295

**Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere** *(ʁuʔą́)*

Chiwere ṭąq, ru- ‘lift together and weigh; to heft’ LWR:25

Hoocąk ʔą́, hawą́ ‘put on one’s shoulder’ KM:711, hawą́ʔq ‘weigh out a portion, v.tr.; weigh a certain amount, v.intr.’ KM:2112, ṭąq, ṭą́q- ‘carry; lift up; hold’ KM:2649, ṭą́q, ruq ‘bounce up, bounce up and down’ KM:316, ṭą́q, ruq, ruq, ṭą́q, ṭą́q, ṭą́q, ṭą́q, ṭą́q, ṭą́q

**General comment**
The Lakota form may be related, at least in part, to the Chiwere/Hoocąk forms, but much of the term is non-cognate.

**what size**

*particle* physical_spatial

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan** *(ʁ)ą́*

**Proto-Mississippi-Valley** *(ʁ)ą́-

**Proto-Dhegiha** *(ʁ)ą́-

Kanza/Kaw -yąśka ‘size, this size, this large’ RR, -yą́śka ‘of a certain size, it’s that big’ RR, -yą́ in: héą́yąśka ‘how big, what size?’ RR, -yą́ in: goze éyąśka ‘equal in size, as large as, same size’ JOD, RR, -yą́ in: šéyąśka ‘that size; it was that big’ RR


**Proto-Southeastern**

**Proto-Biloxi-Ofo**

Biloxi -ŋą in: téńaska , ṭ-ŋą- ‘this large’ D&S:273a

**General comment**
Cf. ‘quantifier (1)’. Resonant behavior in Kanza/Kaw and Osage is different from that reflected in ‘quantifier (1)’, suggesting that the resonant is/was an intrusive glide. If organic, the resonant should be n.
when

pronoun time

General comment

Hidatsa *na* is from earlier *tuha*, presumably reflecting inherited ***tohą** with regular raising of o and reduction of *uha* to *ua*.

whip

physical_contact_impact

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *psį́E*

Proto-Dakota *psį́A*

Lakota *psjte, šúkča* - 'a horse whip' EB:469 , *psjía* , *yu* - 'whip' EB:548 , *psjá*, ka - 'whip, flog; to correct, as a child by whipping' EB:287

Dakota *lúpsjáŋ* 'something to whip with, a whip' SRR:174b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk *psjč, gi* - 'whip, v.; spank, v.' KM:373 , *giṣjč*
whistle (1), chirp

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *so*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cópE*

Crow čópė́ 'chirp' GG:39, RGG:93

Hidatsa cópE 'chirp' J

Pre-Mandan *šop-

Mandan šopkáʔ 'prairie dog, groundhog, gopher' RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dhegiha *sóte

Omaha-Ponca zude, ţzode MAS:187

Kanza/Kaw máqóče 'flute' RR

Osage thaçúçue, ţnasósoe LF:140a, Moⁿço´tse gaxa, ţmaqóče 'Whistle Creek' LF:97b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *soti (?)

Biloxi sâde, sâdedí, sâdedí, ţsoti 'whistle as a man or boy' D&S:250b, ţsotí, ţsoti 'type of cricket (green, long-legged)' D&S:251a

Ofo ţafate, ţafate 'to whistle' D&S:323b

General comment

Omaha-Ponca and Kanza/Kaw disagree on fricative voicing. Osage voicing is unmarked in LaFlesche. Different subgroups show different extensions.
whistle (2)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šo•

Pre-Mandan *sop-

Mandan sópoʔš 'it squeaks, chirps, whistles' H:214 , sópsope 'sparrow, cricket' H:214

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *šo(-te)

Proto-Dakota *šo

Lakota šo 'whistle as a man does' EB:267b
Dakota ṣô 'whistle as a man does' SRR:652b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-žóte

Chiwere łyőte LWR:76
Hoocąk wižóloč KM:3718 , wižóloc

Proto-Dhegiha *žote

Osage šhodsé , źločé 'whistle' LF:224b
Quapaw džotté 'whistle shrilly' JOD

General comment

Proto-Siouan vowel length is reconstructed on the basis of the more widely attested š grade.

whistle (3)

perceptual_auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *šó-pE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *cōpE

Crow čōopí 'squeak' RG
Hidatsa cōpE 'chirp' J

Pre-Mandan *Sop-

Mandan šopikdž 'prairie dog, groundhog, gopher' RTC , súpoʔš 'it squeaks, chirps, whistles' H:214 , sópsope 'sparrow, cricket' H:214

General comment
The accentual pattern and vowel length here are unexplained and would normally imply an old initial syllable.

white (1)
perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *asą́•(-hą)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow tά́achi ‘clear, bright’ GG:57
Hidatsa drakE ‘white, pale, bleached, clear’ J , draki

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *asą́•(-hą)

Proto-Dakota *sq
Lakota sq ‘whitish’ RTC
Dakota sq ‘whitish’ PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *sq
Chiwere θą ‘bright, clear’ GM
Hoocąk sq ‘white, pale’ KM:2801 , sqq

Proto-Dhegiha *asą́(-hą)

Omaha-Ponca sq ‘whitish’ RTC
Kanza/Kaw sq ‘distant white’ RR
Osage ćö*p’ho’, ṭąśįhąq ‘whitened animal skins, resembling white’ LF:32a
Quapaw są́ ~ sqįhąq ‘white in the distance’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *asą́

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *asą́

Biloxi asąʔ MRH, MS , są́, asą́ D&S:251a
Ofo ańfndą́ , ṭąśįhąq D&S:319a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo asą́ńi; asą́li, ḋasal, asę́, asę́į, ḋasą́li, ḋasą́li , ṭąśįľı́ N, H

General comment
Cf. ‘shine (2)’, ‘shine (4)’ *šą•, *xą•. Mandan šąši ‘smooth’ may ultimately be related to this set. If Crow fits here (Proto-Siouan *s > [Crow t/_,o]), then Hidatsa must be a borrowing from Crow. Proto-Siouan *s appears as Hidatsa c. The borrowing, if it occurred, happened prior to the change k > č in Crow.

white (2)
perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *skd

Proto-Dakota *skd

Lakota skd ‘bleach by striking or dragging; to become clear, to clear off, as clouds, smoke etc.’ RTC, ská, ka- ‘bleach, get white’ EB:288, skd, na- ‘bleach; to rub and make white’ EB:356, ská, pa- ‘wash off, as rain does whitewash’ EB:433, skd, wo- ‘make clean with the mouth’ EB:607, skd, ya- ‘whiten, cleanse, to gather with the fingers.’ EB:626, skd, ya- EB:649

Stoney θká PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ská

Chiwere θká ‘white’ [IO and OT] RR

Hoocąk sgá ‘white’ KM:2818, sgaa ‘light (in color)’ KM:2529, sgá, raa-, rasa

Proto-Dhegiha *ská

Omaha-Ponca skd ‘white’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw skd ‘white’ RR

Osage skd ‘white’ RR

Quapaw skd ‘white’ RR

General comment

This seems to be the newer of the terms for ‘white’, partially replacing *asą́• in MVS, where, for example, in Kanza/Kaw skd is translated ‘white’, while sq(ha) is translated ‘distant white, whitish, hazy white’.
white man

person

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *wašíču

Lakota wašíču ‘white man’

Dakota wašíču ‘white man’

General comment

This is presumably a diffused form, found only in the north country, origin uncertain.
who

*pronoun n/a*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *pe*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Crow *-pē* in: sapē ‘who’ GG:66

Hidatsa *-pē* in: tarpēʔ ‘who is it?’ [q question marker J], *-pē* in: tarpēri ninkiʔēʔ ‘who told you?’ [q question marker J], *-pē* in: tapēwa ‘who could it be?’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *pe*

Proto-Hooçąk-Chiwere


Proto-Dhegiha *pe*

Omaha-Ponca *be* in: ebē ~ ebē ‘who’ JЕК

Kanza/Kaw *bē* in: bēški, *bē* ~ *bēʔe* ‘who’ RR


Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *pē* in: kāwa tūpēta, *pē* ‘whose?’ D&S:204a, D&S:282a

Ofo *bēkoⁿ*, *pēkā* ‘who is it? who?’ D&S:323a

Proto-Catawba


General comment

The Catawba forms may be spurious; they are muddled by ‘something’ forms, see *Ropa*. Crow and Hidatsa have reinforced *pe* by suffixing it to the indefinite/interrogative stem *tav*, q.v. Omaha-Ponca and Osage have done likewise, using the demonstrative stem e. Cf. *interrogative (4).*
whoop
perceptual auditory

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ʔʔd

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ʔʔʔyēlê ‘making a noise as hail’ EB:197a , ʔʔʔhapsulation ‘long-winded’ EB:197a , ʔʔʔhapsulation ʔoxpapi ‘whooping cough’ EB:197a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere ugrāxʔa ‘yell’ JGT:286

Proto-Dhegiha *okrāxʔaxʔa

Omaha-Ponca okdāʔaʔaʔa ‘give the scalp yell’

Kanza/Kaw iolákʔakʔá ‘whoop, war, or scalp yell’

Quapaw ʔʔa , okdā- ‘whoop vi’ RR , ʔʔaxʔʔ , okdā- ‘whoop, give the scalp yell’ RR

General comment

Hoocąk hookārahospi ‘make warwhoop’ (KM-1440) is parallel in construction but not precisely in form. Cf. ‘hiss (1)’.

wife

social kin

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan ʔʔhe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa ʔʔd

Crow ʔʔ ‘wife’ GG:58, RGG:23

Hidatsa ʔʔ ‘wife’ J

Pre-Mandan ʔʔhe

Mandan ḫʔʔhe ‘his wife’ RTC

General comment

Mandan < ko-ʔʔhe.
wild cat (1)

noun animal, mammal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *itapu* (?)

Crow *iishpiwishka* ‘cat’ GG

Hidatsa *itapu* ‘wild cat, tiger, lion’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *ikmų́*

Lakota *igmų́* ‘cat’ EB:215a, *igmų́* ‘cat’ EJ

Dakota *itmu* ‘cat, generic’ [inn- in compound] SRR:200b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-twą

Chiwere *udwą́* GM

Hoocąk *wilčą́wą* KM:3648, *wicą́wą*

Proto-Dhegiha *įkró*

Omaha-Ponca *įgę́hų́*, *įgę́hų́* F&LF:103

Kanza/Kaw *išyga* ‘bobcat’, *išyga* ‘domestic cat’

Osage *įgeho’ga*, *įlika* ‘puma’ LF:75b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi *tmotcká, tûmótcka, tûmotck*, *tmų́*– ‘wildcat’ D&S:277a, *tmōτe kāxī*, *tmų́*– ‘spotted wildcat’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo *dalęgį́k*, *tàlįskik* ‘cat’ ES

General comment
Technically it might be possible to reconstruct a Proto-Siouan term for ‘bobcat’ from this set. In fact, this is almost certainly a diffused form and a widely diffused one at that. Given the ‘squash, pumpkin’ set, q.v., which certainly appears to contain a borrowing from an Algonquian sequence something like -kwą•n-, this set might potentially be reconstructed approximately *kwų́* with the usual dissimilation of the unacceptable *wų* cluster. In this instance however, the apparent *tyų* of Yuchi šatyone ‘fox’ or šatʔanę – šatyone ‘wildcat’ (LB) and the Iroquoian forms cited below cause us to favor a prototype (i.e., not a reconstruction) with a dental rather than a velar stop. Thus the form that has diffused in Siouan would have likely been something like †twų́. Cf. also Iroquoian: Moh.

*tyų*; Oneida atičha; H. tiron; Wy. atCro`; Tusc. nēʔnych.

(Mithun, Extending the Rafters, p.265). V. also ‘raccoon’ (p. 266, same entries). Also cf. Hoocąk -kųŋk ‘bobbed, cut off clean’ KM-1922. If Hidatsa belongs in this set at all, it suggests rightward vowel exchange from an earlier ŋtapu, where length is a syllable feature, not a vowel feature.

This in turn may correspond to our proposed diffused form. The Crow form, if it is cognate with the Hidatsa, might reflect loss of ŋ and assimilation of ŋ to the following i of the compound. Tutelo has reflexes of t, r and u, but little else can be said about it. The prefix i- suggests that this may be a term that was once marked with a reflex of the the Proto-Siouan animate classifier, *wi- in some of the languages, but this is uncertain.

**wild cat (2)**

*noun* animal, mammal

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

*Proto-Siouan*

*Proto-Southeastern*

*Proto-Biloxi-Ofo* *(a)thą́tǫ*

Biloxi taʰto’ (archaic); taʰta , ṭęʔŋ ‘panther’ D&S:272b , taʰto sóc , ṭęʔŋ ‘Ancient of Panthers’ D&S:272b

Ofo aʔʔtā , ṭaʔhta ‘wildcat’ D&S:322a , ṭęʔčį́kki , ṭųqčį́kki ‘little cat’

**General comment**

*Quapaw* may represent a borrowing from *Biloxi* or *Ofo*. Phonologically *Dakota* paŋ ‘otter’ matches this set, v. ‘otter’. Michael Nichols (personal communication) finds resemblant forms elsewhere in North America, so this is most likely a widely diffused form and a borrowing in most or all of the languages included here.
willow, Salix sp.

plant

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ayú•xi ~ *arú•xi (?)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *rú•ɣi

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere rú•ɣi

Chiwere luxi GM, rúxi JGT:281

Otoe loxwé• RR

Hoocąk runy ‘willow’ KM:2746, ruŋi

Proto-Dhegiha ‘rú•ɣe

Omaha-Ponca thúxe, ?díye ‘Salix sp.’

Kanza/Kaw yú•ɣe, yú•ɣe ziga ‘willow, hard willow’ RR

Osage thúxe , ?díye ‘willow tree’ LF:150b

Quapaw dýe ‘willow’

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ayuxú, dyuxúl, ṭōyux ‘sweet gum tree’ D&S:296a

General comment

There may be two sets here, ‘pith’, with *o (Lakota čhoŋį́ ‘pith’ C Lakota čhoŋwą́žiča ‘willow’ Otoe loxwé•), and ‘willow’, with *u. Dakota suggests this. Biloxi, with a different meaning, has a reflex of Proto-Siouan ‘y’ while most MVS languages have reflexes of ‘r’. Biloxi compounds with -hu ‘tree’.

This term may have diffused like many tree terms. There are Iroquoian and Tunica look-alikes. Cf. ‘ycamore ? (birch, maple)’
**will, purpose**

*psychic_volition*

**Proto-Siouan-Catawba**

**Proto-Siouan**

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *wayaʔ*

Proto-Dakota *waʔjaʔ*

Lakota wačhį́ ‘think, purpose’ EB:512b

Dakota wačhį́, *wačhį́ ‘think, purpose’ SRR:495a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *wažąį́*

Chiwere wąyį́ ‘to command’

Hoocąk wažą́ ‘purposeful, be important’ MM:408, wažą

Proto-Dhegiha *wažąį́*

Omaha-Ponca wazhí, *wažą ‘will’ MAS:188

Kanza/Kaw wazí ‘will’ RR

Osage wazhí, *wažą ‘own will, volition’ LF:210b

Quapaw wažą́ ~ wážǫį́ ‘will, patience’ JOD

**General comment**

Cf. *‘think (3)’*. The Lakota form as a verb 1sg. is wačhį́mqį́. This term probably arises in Proto-Mississippi-Valley, Proto-Siouan *wa-* would have lost its vowel and collapsed with the following syllable.
wilt

Comparative Siouan Dictionary

win
social game

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *o-hi

Proto-Dakota *ohi-ya

Lakota ohi ‘win’ [+ causative]

Dakota ohi-ya ‘get the better of, overcome, gain, win, acquire in a game’ SRR:352a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ohi

Chiwere wohi ‘win something’ JGT:281, uhi ‘win’ JGT:281

Hoocąk hohi ‘win; cheat’ KM:1196, hohi

Proto-Dhegiha *ohi

Omaha-Ponca uhi, tho hi MAS:188

Kanza/Kaw òhì ‘win a game or prize’ RR

Osage uhi, tho hi ‘win, defeat, overcome, prevail’ LF:170b

General comment

‘win’ is not conjugated as an H-stem.
wind (1)

noun natural, force, weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan [old reconstruction only]

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *htá•te

Proto-Dakota *thaté

Lakota thaté ‘wind’ RTC

Dakota taté, ṭthaté ‘wind’ SRR:462b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thd•te

Chiwere ḥđže ‘wind’ RTC, ḥđže ‘wind’ RR

Hoocąk mįįjįį ‘wind, storm, air’ KM:2076, mįįjįįjewihi – mįįjįįjewihi ‘air’ KM:118, čaač, caac

Proto-Dhegiha *htate

Omaha-Ponca tadé MAS:118

Kanza/Kaw ūtaǰ ‘wind’ RR

Osage ṭadsé, ṭhacé ‘winds, air’ LF:136b

Quapaw ṭtárioshé JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘wind (2)’. The accent shift in Dakota is regular; the DH accent shift is problematic but may be tied to the loss of vowel length in some DH dialects.
wind (2)

noun natural_force_weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *se ~ *xe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *hučí
  Crow hučí ‘wind’ GG:48, RGG:6
  Hidatsa húči ‘wind’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan šéʔ ‘wind’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *axu•xe
  Biloxi xuxwe’, xuxwe’di, xuxé, *raxe ‘wind’ D&S:225a

General comment

Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan match for *se; OVS shows *-xe. The constructions are probably sound-symbolically related. On MRS h- ~ *hučeʔ ‘blizzard’ and -huče ‘move air’ in *náhuče ‘inhale’, nákuhure ‘to fan’, Crow ashučeʔ ‘blizzard’. Cf. ‘wind (3)’
wind (3)
natural, force, weather

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xųwe

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa xazoːrì ‘sickly, coughing, breathing noisily’ J

Proto-Mississippi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *-xwe

Lakota itáglaxwe ‘with the wind, the wind in the back’ EB:237

Dakota itahdaḣbe ‘with the wind’ SRR:211a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi xyrʷe, ixyiiʷe, ḡ(̓)xyį́we ‘roar or whistle, as the wind does’ D&S:226a, ciʔwe, niʔwe ‘whistle, as the wind does’ D&S:226a

General comment

For other instances of Lakota xʷ < xVw, cf. ‘rattle (1c)’ and ‘stink (2)’. Hidatsa may have dissimilated w > r after u, if it is cognate.
wing (1)

physical_somatic_body_part_animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xupa ~ *xųpa

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *ixpd
  Crow ixi̞pd ‘wing’ GG:71, RGG:3
  Hidatsa i̞xpd ‘wing’ J

Pre-Mandan *ę̞x̦pa

Mandan ę̞x̦pa ‘wing’ RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota *xi̞pá-
  Lakota xi̞páhu ‘wing’ RTC
  Dakota ḡu̞páhu, ḡxi̞páhu ‘arm; wing’ SRR:168b

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo tcísȟ́o’pka ‘wing’ D&S:329a, só’pka, ḡsáŋpka ‘fish fin’ D&S:329a, násó’pka, ḡnasáŋpka [unglossed] JSS

General comment

Cf. ‘five (1)’, ‘plum’, ‘hall’ Ofo is internally reconstructible to *-xąp- or *-xǫp-, so major subgroups disagree on which vowel(s) was/were nasal in Proto-Siouan. The -a- in Crow is from “breaking” of i before x; Hidatsa shows the Proto-Crow-Hidatsa state.
wing (2)

physical_somatic_body_part.animal

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *á•hu

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *á•hu

Chiwere á•hu ‘wing’ RR

Missouria aho ‘wing’

Hoocąk aahú KM:7 , aahu

Proto-Dhegiha *á•hü

Omaha-Ponca á•hí ‘wing’

Kanza/Kaw áhü, áhü hį ‘wing’

Osage áhí , ṭáhü-hį ‘wings’ LF:10b

Quapaw áhi ‘wing’ JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘arm’, ‘bone’, ‘wing (1)’. This appears to be a lower MVS replacement term for ‘wing (1)’, which is reconstructible to Proto-Siouan. hį refers to feathers.
winter
time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *wá•rą•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *wá•rą•

Crow bdalaa ‘winter’ GG:20, RGG:37

Hidatsa wá•rą• ‘winter’ J

Pre-Mandan *wɔrŋ

Mandan wɔrŋ? ‘winter’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *má•rįh ~ *má•-įh

Proto-Dakota *waníyetu

Lakota waníyetu ‘year; winter’ RTC

Dakota waníyetu ‘winter, a winter; year’ SRR:524b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *má•rį

Chiwere bá•ñį, bá•ñį• ‘year, winter’ RR

Hoocąk máŋį KM:1992 , máŋį

Proto-Dhegiha *omáŋįkka

Omaha-Ponca omáŋįkka ‘year’ JEK

Kanza/Kaw omáŋįkka ‘year’ RR

Osage umoⁿʔika , ŋomáŋįkka ‘year’ LF:173b

Quapaw omáŋįkka ‘year’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern *wɔmŋ

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi and’, anaʔid’, tɔŋ [‘ke ‘when’] D&S:173a

Ofo ánŋ , tɔŋ D&S:321a, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo wëleñi , wënë , ṭwɔmŋ’i

Proto-Catawba

Catawba wéra FGS:8 , wáya FGS:105 , wayq, we’ŋu, we’ŋu SS
Comparative Siouan Dictionary

General comment

Cf. ‘snow (1)’. Dakotan waníyetu has perhaps been influenced by ‘snow (1)’ and thus is not the expected mą-. The Chiwere form also incorporates ‘snow (1)’, as may Tutelo. The several attested Catawba forms only sometimes show the requisite nasalization. All may be related derivationally or they may be doublets from different dialects. Cognacy of the Catawba term(s) is uncertain.

wipe, rub, scour

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *-kha

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *-khá

Chiwere khála ‘solid, hard’ [cf. dákhala ‘freeze’ (?)]

Hoocąk wáká ‘scour, shine’ KM:3335 , waka

Proto-Dhegiha *pá-khá

Omaha-Ponca bıká , ḥíkha MAS:189

Kanza/Kaw bükhdé [B-stem]

Osage bikhá , ḩúkhdá ‘efface, erase, obliterate, wipe out’ LF:27a

Quapaw bikhá ‘rub smooth’ JOD

wipe > rub, sweep

verb physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *kįSE

Pre-Mandan *-kif-

Mandan -kifXi , pa- ‘he wiped it off’ RTC , -kifXi , ka- ‘she swept it’ RTC , -kifXi , ra- ‘he brushes it with foot’ H:112 , -kifXi , ru- ‘he rubs it’ H:112 , akakiná ‘broom’ H:112

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Dakota

Lakota -kįA , ip- ‘rub, as one’s eyes with the hands’ EB:230

General comment
The roots have a surface similarity, but note that Mandan and Lakota disagree for the fricative grade and nasalization.

**wise, smart, mature**

psychic cognition

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ksá•-pE*

   Pre-Mandan *kšt-

      Mandan kšťoʔš ‘he’s alert, smart’ H:121, wukšťoʔš ‘Watch out!’ H:121

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ksápE*

   Proto-Dakota *ksápA*

      Lakota ksápa ‘wise, prudent’ EB:318a

      Dakota ksápa ‘wise, prudent’ SRR:298a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ksape*

   Chiwere θabéda ‘smart, wise’ LWR:30

   Hoocąk booksáp ‘sober up, come to’ KM:1891, booksap

Proto-Dhegiha *sape*

   Omaha-Ponca çábe, ṭsabe ‘be careful’ MAS:34

   Kanza/Kaw sabáži ‘suddenly’ JOD

   Osage çábé, ṭsapé ‘be cautious’ LF:29a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ksa•-

   Biloxi aksápi, aksápta, ṭaksápi ‘look sharp!’ D&S:172a, ksápi, ṭaksápi ‘grow (a human being)’ D&S:213a

   Ofo kfá•hi, ṭkfá•hi ‘old’ D&S:325, JSS

General comment

Vowel length is obscured by the transcriptions available for consultation here, but Ofo indicates its presence. Kanza/Kaw -aži is ‘negative’.
within, inside
physical_spatial

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *mą̱̱he

Proto-Dakota *mą̱̱hé

Lakota mą̱̱hé ‘within, in, into' EB:327b, mą̱̱hétu ‘within, inward; deep' EB:328

Dakota ma-ḥéh ‘within, into, in' SRR:304b

Proto-Dhegiha *mą̱̱he

Omaha-Ponca moʔte, ḫə̱̱he ‘in, inside' MAS:101

Kanza/Kaw mą̱̱če ‘under' RR, mą̱̱chέ́́ta ‘under, within' JOD

Osage moʔtse, moʔtse’, ḫə̱̱če LF:103a

Quapaw ḫə̱̱he ‘inside, under' JOD, ḫə̱̱chéha ‘down into' JOD

General comment

As is the case in other *rh clusters, this term is probably bimorphemic with a division between the r and the h.
with, instrument
n/a

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *í-

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *i-

Crow ií- RG

Hidatsa i-

Pre-Mandan

Mandan í- ‘instrumentive’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i-

Proto-Dakota *i-

Lakota i- ‘instrumental’

Dakota i- ‘instrumental’

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *i-

Chiwere i- ‘instrumental’

Hoocąk hi- ‘instrumental’, hi-

Proto-Dhegiha *í-

Omaha-Ponca í- ‘instrumental’

Kanza/Kaw í- ‘instrumental’

Osage í- ‘instrumental’

Quapaw í- ‘instrumental’

Proto-Southeastern *í-

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *í- ~ *į-

Biloxi ḳi - i ‘instrumental’

Ofo ḳi - i ‘instrumental’

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo í- ‘instrumental’
woodpecker

animal_bird

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *htó•ska

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa nó•ška ‘woodpecker’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan tóška ‘woodpecker’ H:255

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *htó•ska

Proto-Dakota *thóská

Lakota thaskála ‘downy Woodpecker, red spot on head’ EB:500b

Dakota ñóskádą ‘the common woodpecker’ SRR:478b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thó•ske

Chiwere thóhgléglede ‘blue-speckled all over’ GM , chóhgléglede GM

Hoocąk čoosgé ‘blue jay, tattletail’ KM:265 , coosge ‘red headed woodpecker’ KM:266 , čoosge pasúč , coosge pasčuc ~ coosgepašuc

Proto-Dhegiha *htóska

Omaha-Ponca ṭóška F&LF:105

Osage tiťka , ṭóška ‘woodpecker, sapsucker’ LF:165b

General comment

The Kanza/Kaw form, mọškαt(h)gα ‘type of sparrow’, has been reanalysed or is simply not cognate. The Dorsey entry reads “of the woodpecker family”.

The Hidatsa form has ʃ where a reflex of ‘s would have been expected. We propose that Hidatsa has borrowed from Mandan, hence the reconstruction with ʃ.
worm

noun animal_worm

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *htáwą

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *htamą

Proto-Dakota *thama-


Dakota támaka ‘poor, lean’ SRR:456a, támahača, tamahača ‘poor, lean’ SRR:456a

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *thámkhazí

Chiwere thámq khaðí ‘nape of the neck’ GM

Hoocąk camąkazi ‘back of the neck’, camąkazi

Proto-Dhegiha *htamą

Omaha-Ponca tamoⁿ, *ttamą MAS:70

Osage tamoⁿ, *ttamą ‘angleworm, earthworm’ LF:138a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi tamokí ‘worm, worms’ D&S:269b

General comment

These forms appear consistently to contain ‘deer, ruminant, bison’, etc., and may refer to parasites that lay their eggs beneath the skin at the nape of the neck, e.g. the bot fly. *ihtáwą if based on Proto-Siouan ‘neck’; *wa-htáwą if based on ‘deer’. Crow bisheeči ‘worm’ (GG-33, DEC-2) and Hidatsa witēki, mitēki ‘worm, maggot’ are based on ‘bison’, q.v., and are structurally parallel but not cognate.
wound

verb transitive physical, somatic, disease

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *(ó-)ʔo

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *úʔ

Crow uuí 'hit target' GG:58

Hidatsa úʔ 'shoot and wound' J , úʔu

Pre-Mandan *:u-

Mandan úʔš 'he wounded it' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ʔo

Proto-Dakota *ʔo

Lakota ʔó 'wound sth.' RTC

Dakota ʔó 'shoot and hit' SRR:344a

Sioux Valley o 'shoot' PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ʔo

Chiwere ò 'wound' JGT:285

Hoocąk óo 'hit the mark' KM:2405 , oo 'hit the mark' KM:2404 , hiʔó ?' MM , hi'o , ʔo , oo

Proto-Dhegiha *ʔo

Omaha-Ponca oo , ʔʔo 'shoot, wound'

Kanza/Kaw ó ~ óʔ 'shoot, wound' RR

Osage u , ʔʔo 'wound, hurt' LF:165a

Quapaw ʔyo , ʔʔ-o 'shoot, wound' JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi ʔdí , ʔdí 'shoot' D&S:239b , kiyó , ʔdí 'shoot for one [benefactive]' D&S:239b

General comment

Glottalization of the inclusive prefix in Dakotan argues for the initial laryngeal. The accentual pattern in Osage suggests the former presence of a segment before the laryngeal, possibly the locative prefix *ó-. Thus, perhaps, from ‘shoot into’ > ‘wound’.
wrap

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan
Proto-Mississipi-Valley *šį
Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere
Hoocąk šį, haru- ‘put in a bag or sack’ KM:684, harušį ‘bow tie, n. (as in shoestring)’ KM:850, šį, higi-, higišį
Proto-Dhegiha *šį
Kanza/Kaw šį, oyū- ‘bundle something up, cover by surrounding’ RR
Osage béši”, ṭpēšį ‘flared’ LP:26b, beţo”, ṭpethą́ ‘fold goods’ LP:26b
Quapaw šį, oďį- ‘wrap, fold in a bundle’ RR

General comment

Probably the final element of bešį ‘bend’; cf. ‘twist > wrap, fold’.

wrinkle (1), ruffle

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba
Proto-Siouan *xi
Proto-Mississipi-Valley
Proto-Dakota
Lakota paʔįŋ ‘make wrinkles by rubbing’ EB:423a
Dakota paȟįya, ṭpaxįya ‘roughly, not smooth’ SRR:406a
Proto-Southeastern
Proto-Biloxi-Ofo
Biloxi xixiká, ṭxixká ‘ruffle up the feathers as birds’ D&S:221a

General comment

Cf. ‘wrinkle (2)’, ‘bend > fold, curl’, also Biloxi sįį ‘wrinkled’ DS-256a
wrinkle (2)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xʔį́ (?)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *xʔį́ (?)

Proto-Dakota yuḣí, †yuxʔí ‘pimpled, rough’ SRR:626b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *xʔį́

Chiwere xʔiχʔį́ ‘wrinkled’ GM

Hoocąk ruχʔį́ ‘wrinkle, e.g., one’s nose’ KM:2763, ruχʔį́ ‘mess up (e.g., bed)’ KM:3517, waxʔį́xʔį́ híi ‘be wrinkled’ KM:3848, waxʔį́xʔį́ híi, hoχʔį́, hoχʔį́

Proto-Dhegiha *sʔįra

Kanza/Kaw cʔį́ya ‘wrinkle’ MR

Osage ṭsʔiⁿthá, †cʔįðá ‘wrinkle, wrinkles’ LF:163a

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi xixiká, †xixiká ‘ruffle up the feathers, as birds do’ D&S:221a

General comment

Osage cʔ can be a reflex of *sʔ or *ʃʔ, so two fricative ablaut grades help fill out the set. Cf. ‘wrinkle (1), ruffle’. Glottalization of fricatives is lost in Biloxi, and OVS generally, so the above form may be cognate with either the glottalized or non-glottalized set, q.v.
wrinkle (3)

physical_contact_manipulation

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xí•pE

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xí•pE

Crow xíipi ‘wrinkled’ GG:62

Hidatsa xí•pE ‘wrinkled’ J , xíipi

Pre-Mandan

Mandan xí•poʔš ‘it’s wrinkled’ RTC

General comment

Cf. ‘wrinkle (1), ruffle’, ‘wrinkle (2)’ for unextended forms.

wrist (1)

physical_somatic_body_part

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *okšų́kšų

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere uʔšų́ʔšų GM

Proto-Dhegiha *ošǫšǫ

Omaha-Ponca ušhoⁿšhoⁿ MAS:190

Kanza/Kaw dožšoⁿ RR, JOD

Osage aushoⁿšhoⁿ , taoljoⁿ LF:358b, LF:17a

Quapaw dožšoⁿ JOD

General comment

Chiwere ʔS < *kS. Cf. *ši-šE and Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *ke(•)či ‘bend’, which suggest that all of the Siouan terms for ‘bend, crooked’, etc. with root-initial kš probably possessed the Proto-Siouan initial CVC sequence ‘keš’. This would account for the accentual pattern in the daughter languages also.
wrist (2)

physical_somatic_body_part

General comment

Seemingly another example of rightward vowel exchange in Hidatsa, if Mandan has the inherited form. Alternatively, Mandan may have subjected the form to folk etymology, as the current structure is a compound of ‘hand (2)’ plus some unknown element. Body parts are frequently inherently possessed and marked with inalienable *i-, so there may be more than meets the eye to the vowel exchange here.

y

yawn

physical_somatic_function

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ʔí•- -ra•

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa í•ra• ‘yawn’ J

Pre-Mandan *þhe + wra-•

Mandan íwhere•roʔš ‘he yawned’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *i-(loc.)-ra

Proto-Dakota

Lakota iyóya ‘yawn’ [1s iyo-wa-ya] RTC

Dakota iyówa ‘yawn’ [1s iyo-wa-wa] SRR:237

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere i^ára ‘yawn’ JGT:29

Hoocąk iyadra JWE , iyaara

Proto-Dhegiha

Quapaw idda [1sg. idda] JOD

General comment

Cf. ‘mouth’.
yellow

verb perceptual, visual, color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba *sí•ri (?)

Proto-Siouan *sí•(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa cí•ri — cíʔiri ‘yellow’

Pre-Mandan *sí•re

Mandan ší•re ‘tawny colored, light brown’ RTC, sí•re ‘yellow’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *zí

Proto-Dakota *zi

Lakota zi ‘yellow, pale’ RTC

Dakota zi ‘yellow’ SRR:649b

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *zí•

Chiwere dz• ‘yellow’ RTC, RR

Hoocąk zi• ‘yellow’ KM:3975, zi

Proto-Dhegiha *zí

Omaha-Ponca zi ‘yellow’ RTC, RR

Kanza/Kaw zi•h ‘yellow’ RR

Osage zi ‘yellow’ RR

Quapaw zi ‘yellow’ RR

Proto-Southeastern (wa-)*zí

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo *sí

Biloxi si; sidí, sidíc, sibiyê’, tsí ‘make yellow’ D&S:254a

Ofo ñdí, tñdí ‘yellow’ D&S:323b, takfür fní ‘yellow bead’ D&S:319, JSS

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo stí ‘yellow’ H, wäs ‘yellow’ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba siri ‘clear (as water)’ KS, MAS

General comment
 Cf. ‘yellow > brown’. The aspiration in Ofo may be due to vowel syncope *sihi > *fihi > fhi. Several languages seem to have reflexes of *sihi. An analogous augment is found with some other color terms, sq ~ saha ‘white (1)’, to ~ toho ‘blue, green’. Normally the extension is formed with -hV where the V copies the preceding one. This sort of partial reduplication appears to be unique to color terms. It may be derived from an intensifier, -hi, found in some languages, e.g. Quapaw. The same augment may explain the Hidatsa doublet with and without glottalization.

yellow > brown

verb perceptual_visual_color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *xih(-re)

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *xíre

Crow xíř ‘gray’ GG:62, RGG:85

Hidatsa xíre ‘faded yellow or brown’ J

Pre-Mandan *xíre

Mandan xíre, ŋxíre ‘brown’ H:316

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *ɣí

Proto-Dakota ɣi

Lakota ɣi ‘rusty, brown’ RTC

Sioux Valley ɣi PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Hoocąk ɣi ‘light brown’ KM:489, ḡi

Proto-Dhegiha ɣi

Omaha-Ponca ṁqʰó-ɣi ‘prob. brown bear, personal name’

Kanza/Kaw ṁqʰiɣa ‘colored ɣi from the earth’ JOD
yellow > tawny

verb perceptual visual color

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ší-re

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *šëre

Crow šëli ‘yellow’

Hidatsa šëre ~ šërë ‘brown, tan, tawny’ šëri ~ šërë

Pre-Mandan *šëre

Mandan šëre ‘yellow’ RTC

Proto-Mississippi-Valley *ží

Proto-Dakota

Lakota ží ‘golden, rusty’ RTC

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere *ží

Chiwere yi RR

Hoocąk ží ‘brown’ KM:401S, žii

Proto-Dhegiha *ží ~ *žíhi

Omaha-Ponca ží ‘pink’ MAS:137

Kanza/Kaw ží, žíhi RR

Osage žíhi, žíhi ‘reddish, pink’ LF:222b

Quapaw žíhi ‘reddish yellow’ [ži] JOD

General comment

Proto-Siouan had fricative ablaut: cf. ‘yellow’ and ‘yellow > brown’. The Mandan form given here corresponds regularly, but the semantics assigns the meaning ‘yellow’ and ší is assigned ‘tawny’. Fricative symbolism for this set of roots evidently does not occur in OVS. This fact plus the Catawba form may imply that *ší was original and the others derived.
yes (1), to be so

particle social communication

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *ahą́*

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa

Hidatsa ho 'yes' J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan hų́ 'yes' RTC

Proto-Mississipi-Valley *(o)hą́*

Proto-Dakota *(o)hą́

Lakota hą́, oħą́ 'yes' RTC

Dakota hą, ho

Sioux Valley hą PAS

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere hų́če [no aspiration] GM

Hoocąk hą́, hą́ą 'female exclamation' KM:776, hą́, hą́ą 'male exclamation' B&S:935, ěhą́, ěhą́ą?, ěhą́, ahą́?

Proto-Dhegiha *ąhą́

Omaha-Ponca ąhą́ 'yes'. JOD

Kanza/Kaw hą́ 'yes, female speech' RR, qḣá RR

Osage o*, ṭą́ LF:121b

Quapaw hǫ́, ṭhą́ [Cf. hą́ži 'no, not so' where ći is 'negative'] JOD, RR

Proto-Southeastern *ahą́

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Biloxi a*, ṭą́ [female speaker], a’hą́*, ṭą́hą́ [male speaker] D&S:177a

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo ahą́, ahą́ń, ṭahą́ H

Proto-Catawba

Catawba  hợ́ʔ J O S, MAS

General comment
These terms are interestingly similar, but it is hard to be sure what part of them is cognate and what part involves phonosymbolism. There seems to have been a Proto-Siouan male/female speech distinction that needs to be clarified and considered both here and among the postverbal modal particles.

**yes** (2)

*particle social communication*

 Proto-Siouan-Catawba

 Proto-Siouan *é*

 Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *é*

 Crow é RG

 Hidatsa é ‘yes’ J

 Proto-Mississippi-Valley *é*

 Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

 Hoocąk ḥIQ ‘female exclamation’ B&S:935 , ḥIQ ?

 Proto-Dhegiha

 Kanza/Kaw howé ‘female speech’ RR

 Osage howé , ḥowé LF:67b

 Quapaw é ‘yes, used by children’ JOD , hawé ‘hello, greeting’
yesterday (1)

*adverb time_phase*

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan *sitó* (?)

Proto-Mississipi-Valley

Proto-Hoocąk-Chiwere

Chiwere θʔída ‘long ago’ JGT:69

Proto-Dhegiha *sitóti*

Omaha-Ponca çidadi , ṭsidadi ‘yesterday’ MAS:192

Kanza/Kaw ṭidōfī – sidōfī ‘yesterday’ RR

Osage çidódsi , ṭsitóci ‘yesterday’ LF:30a

Quapaw sitóti ‘yesterday’ JOD

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Tutelo-Saponi

Tutelo setógle , ṭsitó-le ‘yesterday’ , sitō , ṭsitō ‘yesterday’ H:1883a , sitōre , ṭsitō JOD:1882 , citōre , ṭsitō

Proto-Catawba

Catawba ṭddō KS, G

*General comment*

This is quite evidently a morphemically complex form; a string of deictic particles that includes a temporal plus one or more locatives. If there was a Proto-Siouan *sitó* it should have received aspiration by rule, but it did not. The Chiwere form might help explain the strange θ in Kanza/Kaw, but glottalization is irregular here in any event. All in all this is not a very satisfying analysis or reconstruction. Cf. ‘time reference’.
yesterday (2)

adverb time_phase

Proto-Siouan-Catawba

Proto-Siouan

Proto-Crow-Hidatsa *húri-

Crow húli- ‘yesterday’ RGG:38
Hidatsa húríširu ‘yesterday’ J

Pre-Mandan

Mandan hóraʔke ‘yesterday’ RTC

Proto-Southeastern

Proto-Biloxi-Ofo

Ofo ʔó•wati ‘yesterday’ D&S:328, JSS

General comment

Cf. *yesterday (1).*