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# The Adverbial and Prepositional Prefixes in Blackfoot.

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## PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN DEN GRAAD VAN

Doctor in de Nederlandsche Letterkunde

AAN DE RIJSUNIVERSITEIT TE LEIDEN,

OP GEZAG VAN DEN RECTOR-MAGNIFICUS

**Dr. G. KALFF,**

HOOGLEERAAR IN DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE,

VOOR DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE  
TE VERDEDIGEN

op Donderdag 18 October 1917, des namiddags 2 uur

DOOR

**GERARDUS JOHANNES GEERS,**

GEBOREN TE DELFT.



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AAN MIJNE OUDERS.



Bij het verschijnen van dit proefschrift wil ik de dankbaarheid uitspreken, die ik gevoel jegens de Hoogleeraren BLOK, UHLENBECK, KALFF, VOGEL en den oud-Hoogleeraar VERDAM, voor hetgeen zij tot mijne vorming hebben bijgedragen; dat ik deze betuiging slechts tot de nagedachtenis van wijlen Prof. BUSSEMAKER kan richten, smart mij.

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STELLINGEN.



## STELLINGEN.

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### I.

Kroeber (Arapaho Dialects p. 92) ziet niet scherp, en dwaalt althans, voorzoover het Blackfoot betreft, als hij beweert: „it seems possible that we may ultimately be justified in speaking of Algonkin as truly „holophrastic” or „polysynthetic”. But if so these terms will essentially be only a convenient designation for the linguistic process which allows two verbs to consolidate into a single one.”

### II.

Kroeber (Arapaho Dialects p. 91) dwaalt als hij zegt: „that in „incorporating” languages noun and verb can be combined to form verbs, whereas in other idioms they combine only into nouns.”

### III.

Als Kroeber (Arapaho Dialects p. 92) beweert dat „the principles of Algonkin verb-formation are in some respects conspicuously different from those of Indo-European”, toont hij te weinig inzicht in het oudere Indogermaansch.

## IV.

In het Blackfoot komt een parasitische spirant voor, zooals Kroeber (Arapaho Dialects p. 82) die aanneemt voor het Arapaho, Cheyenne en Yurok.

## V.

Dr. W. Jones' opmerking over de „stress” (Algonquian Word-formation; Am. Anthropol. N. S. VI p. 375), waaruit blijkt, dat deze klemtoon die syllabe op den voorgrond brengt, die in de combinatie het meest de aandacht moet trekken, gaat niet op voor het Blackfoot.

## VI.

De verbale uitgang stempelt in het Blackfoot eventueel elk taalelement, hetzij dit al of niet samengesteld is, tot een verbaalvorm.

## VII.

H. Gering's vertaling van Atlakviþa 32, 4 (holkve hvīlbeþjar) „beim Schlafgemach” is te verwerpen.

## VIII.

Bij de etymologie van „*sprokkelmaand*” dient men aan oud-germaansche vruchtbaarheidsgebruiken te denken. Noch de verklaring van J. Grimm (Deutsche Mythologie p. 749), noch die van Weinhold (Deutsche Monatsnamen p. 57), Bilfinger (Zeitschr. f. D. Wortf. V p. 264) en Ehrismann (P. Br. B. XX p. 64) voldoen.



## IX.

D. *durchbrennen* moet in semantisch verband gebracht worden met oostvl. *inbranden*.

## X.

De verklaring van den titel van Vondels *Geusevesper* is te zoeken in den toon en de bedoeling der Roomsche Katholieke Vesper.

## XI.

Het taalgebruik van sommige primitieve volken en dat van moderne (realistische en impressionistische) woordkunstenaars vertoonen opmerkelijke punten van overeenkomst, die nog te weinig bestudeerd zijn.

## XII.

De door Prof. Kalff terecht gelaakte gewoonte van Huyghens (Studiën p. 364): een sneldicht met een rijm als b.v. *wonderboeck* te besluiten met een vers op *onderbroeck*, is te verklaren uit het betrekkelijk argelooze van dien tijd, die nog niet de uit zelf-analyse geboren schaamte over een dergelijken lust tot onkiesche taal kende.

## XIII.

In Schrijnen's opmerking (Nederl. Volkskunde I p. 288) naar aanleiding van het volksrijmpje:

„Een bloem buiten den tijd  
Is een bruid of een lijk”.

„Ook hier de verwantschap van dood en huwelijk als het telkens wederkeerend refrein” moet *huwelijk* vervangen worden door *conceptie*.

## XIV.

Ten onrechte eischt J. de Meester (de Gids, Nov. 1916 p. 373—377) sprookjesachtigheid bij de opvoering van een Indisch drama als de *Mṛcchakaṭikā*. Even onjuist is zijn qualificatie „kinderlijk” voor dit stuk.

## XV.

Oldenberg's geringschatting voor het Hindoedrama, speciaal voor de karakters daarin (Literatur des alten Indien p. 262—275) is te eenzijdig Westersch.

## XVI.

Rinclus vs. 460—464:

Hier vormaels brachtmen altoes  
dien wive, die haren man verloes,  
enen hoet van wilgen groene geloeft.

De dichter maakt hier gebruik van de omstandigheid, dat de wilg het symbool was van onvruchtbaarheid en kuischheid.

## XVII.

Ten onrechte vertaalt v. d. Bosch (Zwolsche Herdrukken, Granida vs. 311):

„(het Hof) jaecht de lusten voor, u zijn se toeghe-  
[smeten,  
het w.w. *voorjaghen* door: *wegjagen*. Beter is: *najagen*.

## XVIII.

Bij de verklaring van 't ndl. *beunhaas* dient men althans te denken aan „bastardierte Lehnübersetzung” (cf. Mauthner, Die Sprache p. 58) van gr. *βάναιστος*.

## XIX.

Dr. E. C. Godée Molsbergen (N. R. C. 16 Sept. 1916 Ochtend) kan niet bewijzen, dat Plaatje (Native Life in South Africa, before and since the European War and the Boer Rebellion) zijn stam- en landgenooten misleidt, als hij spreekt van de wreedheid der Boeren tegenover de oude bevolking.

## XX.

Dr. Jac. v. Ginneken in zijn brochure „Als ons moedertaalonderwijs nog ooit gezond wil worden” (p. 18) verwaarloost bij zijn overwaardeering van het „moedertaalonderwijs” vooral de paedagogische waarde van dat in de Geschiedenis.

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## PART I.

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### General remarks.

With reference to the title of this monograph I first of all wish to declare candidly, that it has been chosen from the standpoint of modern Indo-European languages, i. e. that I have in view those prefixes which agree most with our prepositions (praeverbia) and adverbs, and that for the moment I will not and dare not decide, whether these Indo-European grammatical categories represent as many logical categories in Blackfoot, in short, that I am not sure, whether these grammatical distinctions ought to be made in Blackfoot. Cf. F. Misteli, Typen des Sprachbaus, p. 16\*).

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\*) „Im Siamesischen (sich hinterind. Abschn. 3 fin.) nimmt die den präpositionalen Begriff enthaltende Verbalwurzel öfters die zweite Stelle ein: au mā „herbeibringen“, kh<sub>in</sub> mā „heraufsteigen“, kháu mā „hereinkommen“, aber: pai mā „gehen, kommen, besuchen“ (mā „kommen her, herbei“; kh<sub>in</sub> „steigen, auf“; kháu lat. „intrare“ und „intra“); pen kh<sub>in</sub> „aufleben“, luk kh<sub>in</sub> „sich erheben“; kháu pai „hineingehen“; ein klarer präpositionaler oder adverbialer Begriff existiert auch hier nicht, weil man nicht genau weiss, welche Verbalwurzel die andere bestimmt und ob nicht vielmehr beide gleichwertige Bestandteile der Verbindung sind.“

I have not tried to register all the prefixes which might be called prepositional or adverbial, confining myself to only the most obvious of them, and leaving aside all more or less dubious matter, as also the prefixes of a markedly nominal and adjectival character.

In Blackfoot, in Algonkin in general, and in other North American languages the prefixes to be dealt with have already often drawn the attention of students of language. Still, an extensive and I hope a sound treatment of this matter in Blackfoot may not prove superfluous, may even deepen our insight into the structure of Algonkin. But I emphatically declare that I draw conclusions only as far as Blackfoot is concerned, and that I do not wish to follow the example of Jones \*) and Michelson \*\*) who both talk of „Algonquian” word-formation, etc., whereas they only deal with material from Fox, one of the dialects of the so-called Central-Algonkin. In this respect Kroeber \*\*\*), whose publication on Arapaho dialects has been of great service to me, expresses himself much more guardedly, or perhaps I had better, say much more scientifically.

One passage, surely, from this article of Kroeber's I might have placed as a motto above my treatise scil.: „In short the undetermined and, in the writer's mind, fundamental problem of Arapaho, Fox, and Algonkin in general is, whether these languages say „he enters-looks”, „he enters-lookingly”, or „enteringly he looks.”

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\*) W. Jones, Some Principles of Algonquian Word-formation. *American Anthropologist. N(ew) S(eries) VI* (1906) p. 369 sqq.

\*\*) W. Jones and T. Michelson, Algonquian (Fox) in *Handbook of American Indian Languages I*.

\*\*\*) A. L. Kroeber, *Arapaho Dialects* (Un. of California Publications, etc. Vol. XII. No. 3, June 28, 1916).

And indeed this question is also for Blackfoot of the greatest importance and the solution of the problem which I think I have found, and which is suggested by the material handled in Part II. I will try to work out in the next pages.

The fact that Kroeber and the present author look upon this problem as the basis of the study of Algonkin, tallies with the inference already drawn by Powell: „Thus it is that the study of an Indian language is, to a large extent, the study of its verbs” (Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol. I, p. 11). By the side of these words of one of the earlier Americanists, which by their generality sound almost classical, I will, with special reference to Blackfoot, quote the words of one of the latest in this branch of science, namely Uhlenbeck (Some General Aspects of Blackfoot Morphology \*) p. 33): „When treating the nouns and other parts of speech, we have seen already how marked a predilection Blackfoot has for verbal constructions, and the knowledge of kindred languages has prepared us to meet also in this dialect with a complicate verbal system absorbing and incorporating all kinds of elements.” So Uhlenbeck calls Blackfoot holophrastic or polysynthetic (see: *Conjunctief-achtige Modi van het Blackfoot. Versl. Meded. der Kon. Akad. van Wetensch. Afd. Lettk. 4e Reeks. Deel XII. Amsterdam 1913. p. 244.*)

Also Jones, Michelson and Kroeber use these terms when speaking about Algonquian dialects which they seem to take for representatives of Algonkin in general. As Blackfoot is therefore also included in their inferences

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\*) Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen Amsterdam. Afd. Letterk. N. R. Deel XIV. No. 5. Juni 1914.

we must of necessity examine their opinions on this point more closely. That Jones is thinking of holophrasis, becomes evident from these words: „Some of the dialects, like the Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, are disintegrating. The breaking up is not uniform throughout a dialect; it is faster in the regions where civilized influences predominate or play a controlling force, while the purer forms are maintained in the places where ideas of the old-time life and associations have a chance to live and survive” (Algonquian Word-formation. Amer. Anthr. N. S. VI. p. 370) and from p. 384 of the same article: „It would perhaps be more correct to use the term *sentence* instead of *word*; because the combined effect of all the elements in a combination is really that of a sentence or an approach to something more like a sentence.” Expressed in this general way no objection can be raised to the opinion of Jones, as concerns Blackfoot. But let us now consider what he thinks of the essential point of holophrasis or polysynthesis, in other words, what his idea of the composition of verbal forms really is. In his treatise on Fox (Handbook of American Indian Languages I) edited and in some places enlarged by Michelson, we read: „The principal process used for grammatical purposes is composition of stems. The stems are almost throughout of such character that they require intimate correlation with other stems, which is brought about by a complete coalescence of the group of component elements. These form a firm word-unit. Excepting a number of particles, the word unit in Algonquian is so clearly defined that there can be no doubt as to the limits of sentence and word.” (A modern linguist not forgetting that language itself is something living would probably have worded that first sentence somewhat



differently). Then we read (op. cit. p. 759): „Most of the elements that enter into composition are so nearly of the same order, that we can not properly speak of prefixes or suffixes”, and a little farther: „The extended use of composition of verbal stems is particularly characteristic of the Algonquian languages. These stems follow one another in definite order. A certain differentiation of the ideas expressed by initial stems and by those following them, which may be designated as secondary stems, may be observed, although it seems difficult to define these groups of ideas with exactness.” And then we get, notwithstanding this „difficulty”, a somewhat vague philosophizing about these two groups, the latter of which is once more divided into two classes — to clear up the „difficulty”, probably!

Let us consider what, according to Jones and Michelson, is to be stated about these stems.

A. The so-called „initial stems”:

1<sup>o</sup>. they are capable at times of standing alone, with the function of adverbs.

2<sup>o</sup>. an initial stem can enter into composition with only a formative and express an independent statement, though not always with a sharply defined meaning.

3<sup>o</sup>. many „initial stems” occur in combination with each other, sometimes followed by so-called secondary stems, sometimes not.

N.B. Amongst the 123 „initial stems” which Michelson adds to the examples of Jones, only a few stand in „initial” position.

B. The „secondary stems”:

1<sup>o</sup>. they never occur alone.

2<sup>o</sup>. they are rarely found in conjunction with only a formative.

3°. they sometimes occupy the first place, even in a nominal form like *tcī'mānī* canoe (Handbook, p. 793).

4°. some of them are frequent in nominal forms (ib. p. 794), and look more like „incorporated” nouns than like verbal stems.

5°. according to Jones the so-called „secondary stems of the second order” show a general similarity with „initial stems” in the ideas they express.

6°. Michelson remarks (ibid. p. 802): „that at present there is no reason why the so-called second class of the second order should not be relegated to oblivion and the entire body merged with the stems of the first class of the second order. The proposed division of stems of the first class of the second order into two subdivisions strikes me as sound in principle; but too few secondary stems have been thus far pointed out to make the division feasible at present.”

I will not follow Michelson in his use of subjective, uncritical expressions and say that the whole conception of Jones and himself „strikes” me as forced and doctrinary. Without, for the present, pronouncing my private opinion on this head, which would in any case necessitate a thorough study of the Fox material, I leave it to the reader to weigh and compare the statements made sub A and B. Only I should like to draw the reader's attention to the fact that according to Michelson himself the stems of the second order practically form one whole; — that some noun-incorporations proper should be left out of consideration; — further, that amongst these „secondary stems” there are a number which in meaning strongly resemble initial stems; — that, moreover, initial and secondary stems have some common characteristics after all; cf. Kroeber's remark,

cited on p. 11. Only one more statement of Jones I should like to insert here (Algonquian Word-formation, p. 402): „The components seem to stand toward each other in the position of qualifiers, the sense of one qualifying the sense of another with an effect of directing the meaning toward a particular direction. But whatever be the influence at work, the result is a specialization of meaning, not only of the single member in the group but of all the members as they stand together with reference to one another. The stems seem charged with a latent meaning which becomes evident only when they appear in certain relations; out of those relations they stand like empty symbols. It is important to emphasize the fact that the order of stems in a group is psychologically fixed.” Put side by side with the remarks mentioned sub A 1 and 2, B 2, 3 and 4 it is not easy to see how Jones has come to the conclusion worded in the last sentence but one. As to the last sentence, we shall see later on that this „psychologically fixed place” does not necessarily lead to the making of such a psychologically lifeless classification into initial and secondary stems.

In his „Arapaho Dialects,” p. 90 sqq. Kroeber expands on the Arapaho verb and that of Algonkin in general, following Jones-Michelson. Kroeber starts from „the more conservative premises of prefix, stem, and suffix.’ His main conclusions are as follows:

1<sup>o</sup>. „Word-forming prefixes, in turn, are often difficult to separate from independent words. Thus, *täs-i-* and *teän-i-* mean „on” and „under” in verbs; but provided with the locative suffix *-i-hi'* they are adverbs which stand alone. Just so *xou-wu-hu'*, „straight”, and *xanou*, „immediately”, are employed, in the forms *xou-* and

xanou-, as prefixes to verbs. Verbs themselves, like tcäsis, „to begin”, and ʒa<sup>n</sup>ku-h, „to follow”, are used as prefixes to other verbs” (p. 90).

2<sup>o</sup>. „It is true that even when these elements are themselves verbs they are not used merely with the personal suffixes, but that second elements such as -hi-, -ni-, -ku-, -xa-, -h- are added to them. Now these added elements, which are frequent on indubitable verb stems, have all been listed as suffixes. But the possibility is by no means precluded that these „suffixes” whose significance usually is of the vaguest and most general, are themselves the real stem of the verb; in which case the preceding element, which is so much more specific in meaning as usually to carry the principal idea conveyed by the complete word, would after all be a prefix of the adverbial or prepositional type familiar from so many other languages” (p. 90).

3<sup>o</sup>. „That Arapaho, like Shoshonean and some other American languages, possesses true compound verbs — verbs functioning as such and composed of two verbs — is thus probable” (p. 91).

4<sup>o</sup>. „In short, it would seem that the Arapaho verb is frequently, perhaps normally, compounded of elements which themselves either are, or can become, verbal in force” (p. 91).

5<sup>o</sup>. „In fine, the Algonkin verb, so far as Arapaho is representative of it, can not in any off-hand manner be broken up into the usual elements of „prefix”, „stem”, and „suffix”; and any attempt to apply such a procedure leads quickly to contradictions and inconsistencies that reveal the arbitrariness of the method” (p. 92).

More politely than truthfully Kroeber continues: „The late Dr. William Jones reached exactly the same con-

clusion as regards the Fox dialect" (p. 92). For Jones, it is true, says: „Most of the elements that enter into composition are so nearly of the same order, that we can not properly speak of prefixes or suffixes" (Handbook p. 759), but as we have seen, instead of those old categories he uses the new names „initial stems", „secondary stems of the first order", „secondary stems of the second order", and „secondary co-ordinative stems", to which he wishes to give a fixed place in the word-compound, which is the very characteristic of prefixes and suffixes.

Still greater is Kroeber's deviation from the truth when he says: „That the principles of Algonkin verb formation are in some respects conspicuously different from those of Indo-European Dr. Jones has made very clear; and a realization of this fact is the first requisite to a true understanding of Algonkin structure" (p. 92). This mistake may perhaps be due to Kroeber's warm sympathy with and admiration of Jones, whose true merits are, however, great enough to enable him to dispense with that erroneously ascribed to him here. Uhlenbeck (*Internationales Archiv f. Ethnographie*, Bnd. XXIV 1916, p. 37), when reviewing this pamphlet of Kroeber's, has already referred to this passage and has made the following remarks on this head:

1°. „What do we know, after all, about Indo-European verb-structure? . . . . As I take it, the Indo-European verb-formation is just as enigmatic as the Algonquian verb-structure."

2°. „that the students in that field [scil. of American Indian linguistics] have some more or less erroneous ideas about Indo-European, and that for that reason they had better leave the Old World languages alone, when

discussing the fundamental traits of the aboriginal languages of America".

3°. „we can expect more light to be thrown on Indo-European or Semitic by a thorough study of phenomena of relatively „primitive" languages than vice-versa".

This is surely sufficient to put Kroeber's implicitly pronounced assertion on Indo-European simply aside, but we might even make a positive attack on his contention that „the principles of Algonkin verb-formation are in some respects conspicuously different from those of Indo-European" by pointing to such works as: P. Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation* 1891 and P. Persson, *Indogermanische Wortforschungen* 1912. See, moreover, some articles and notes of R. M. Meyer (*Indogermanische Forschungen* XII, p. 46), K. Brugmann (*I. F.* XII, p. 150), Johansson (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* XV, p. 227 and *Zeitschrift f. Deutsche Philologie* 31, p. 296) and others, all of which point to the fact that there are undoubtedly Indogermanists who admit the possibility of polysynthetic verbal structure or at least of the composition of verbal stems in Indo-European and are fain to show some traces of this phenomenon.

In conclusion Kroeber contends: „there seem to be only three possible descriptions of the Algonkin verb that have a usable meaning" (p. 93) scil.:

„The *first* interpretation is that of the verb as the result of a process of composition similar to that of noun composition, but extended in Algonkin also to verbs. This essentially is the conclusion of Dr. Jones; and it is also the inference of the present writer. But it cannot be too clearly recognized that even if this explanation is in substance the correct one we do not

yet really know anything as to the rules and conditions and limitations of this verb-compounding.

The *second* interpretation of the Algonkin verb is that of a stem followed by a greater or less number of suffixes. In this case the „initial” stem of Dr. Jones would be the only true stem, his „secondary stems” the suffixes. In support of this explanation is the fact that the initial elements of verbs come nearest to having the power of forming words by themselves, in both Arapaho and Fox; and the statement of Dr. Jones (*Am. Anthr. N. S. VI, p. 401*) that on the whole initial stems more definitely perform the function of verbs. If this view is correct, the type of Arapaho verb-building would be somewhat analogous to that of Eskimo.

The *third* possible interpretation is also that of a verb stem with affixes, the word-forming ones, however, being chiefly or wholly prefixes, the stem coming last, except for grammatical endings. In favour of this last view is the fact that practically all the „secondary stems of the second order” given by Dr. Jones are naturally translated by words which in most other languages are verbs, whereas substantially all his cited „initial stems” and „secondary stems of the first order” can actually be rendered, without much distortion as adverbs, nouns, auxiliary verbs, or modal particles. It is not certain how far Dr. Jones’s examples of each class are fully representative of that class, his list obviously aiming at well translated instances rather than at fullness; but it is clear that his own presentation of evidence leaves the interpretation of the „secondary stems of the second order” as being true verb stems defined by prefixes, in a position where it cannot be summarily dismissed.”

In special reference to Dr. Jones's sketch of Fox revised and enlarged by Dr. Michelson for the „Handbook”, Kroeber gives his view on the Fox verb. He says (p. 95): „The secondary stems of the first order are clearly not the principal stems of the verb-complexes. The „initial stems” may be verbs. If they are, the „secondary stems of the second order” are either suffixes or other verbs compounded with the „initial stems”. That they are suffixes does not seem likely from the character of the examples given. If their number is substantially limited to those quoted, their suffix nature might be conceived of; but if their number is indefinitely large they cannot well be anything but true verb stems. The evidence of quantity, then, becomes as decisive on this point as that of quality; and this evidence must be awaited with interest from Dr. Michelson or some other authority competent to carry on Dr. Jones's analysis. Meanwhile the strong probability is that if the „initial stems” are truly verbal in nature, the normal Fox verb is a compound binary verb. [*Why „binary” ? or, in other words, what has become of the poor „secondary stems of the first order” ?*] If, on the other hand, the „initial stems” are essentially adverbial, prepositional, or modal in quality, they deserve only to be ranked as prefixes, even if some of them may have reached this condition by the way of once having been subsidiary verbs; and in that case Fox, and with it no doubt Algonkin in general, possesses verbs that are built up around a kernel of a normal verbal stem or root, as in most languages, and these stems or roots are the „secondary stems of the second order”.

In my opinion we have now given sufficient space to Kroeber which, to be sure, he fully deserves on ac-



count of his careful and critical way of reasoning, and we now know his view. So we had better summarize at once what we have to find fault with in his conclusions and what inferences may be drawn on this head by an investigation of the Blackfoot material.

On p. 3 we already quoted Uhlenbeck when he deals with the „marked predilection of Blackfoot for verbal constructions”. The words, e. g., which have an independent form in -u a are verbal: they have the function of a 3 prs. sg. (Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects*. p. 9 and 16); nomina loci with prefixed *it-* and ending in -*opi*, and nomina instrumenti with prefix *ixt-* and ending in -*opi* are 1 prs. plur. inclusive; many personal names are verbal forms e. g.: *suyéniki Kills-in-water* etc. sub *sui-* Part II; an adjective used attributively is generally an inseparable verbal prefix (loc. cit. p. 18); used predicatively it is an intransitive verb. The majority of pronouns are often verbalized; the independent cardinals (animate and inanimate) occur with verbal endings just like different other series of numerals (e. g. to count days and nights, or one's age, the ordinalia). Pure verbal forms (and with these I mean those forms which, looked upon from the point of view of modern English, we should call verbal) possess, moreover, an almost unlimited capacity to absorb all sorts of elements. Local and instrumental case-suffixes and postpositions, e. g., do not exist in Blackfoot, but the language incorporates local and instrumental prefixes into the verb. Also noun-incorporation plays a rather important part (loc. cit. p. 58—59). With special regard to the compositional power of the Blackfoot verb, we may, starting like Kroeber from „the more conservative premises of prefix, stem, and suffix”, state the following:

1<sup>o</sup>. Prefixes have sometimes arisen because a verbal root was very often used as the first part of a compound (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects*, p. 59, who also mentions some suffixes of similar origin). See in Part II e.g.: *amat-*, *mat-*, *omat-*, *aumatap-*, *kot(s)-*, *askak-*, *apam-*, *tap-*, *uchs-*, etc. Also compare the results of Kroeber, p. 8 sub 2.

2<sup>o</sup>. Many prefixes also occur as independent adverbs, although they have always a suffix *-ochts(i)*, *-achts(i)*, *-ists(i)*, in this function, e.g.: *akimochts*, *akochts*, *amítochts*, *anáukochts*, *apámochts*, *aptóchtsik' spóchts*, *námists*, *ksistóchtsi*, etc. (cf. the similar results of Kroeber, p. 7 sub 1).

3<sup>o</sup>. Many prefixes may acquire verbal force (cf. p. 8 sub 4, where Kroeber draws the same conclusion); examples are to be found Part II *passim*.

4<sup>o</sup>. The elements referred to sub 3<sup>o</sup> may be turned into verbal forms by means of a verbal ending, occasionally preceded by a verbalizing suffix or incorporated noun.

5<sup>o</sup>. Probably this verbalizing suffix does not even deserve that name and may *also* turn out to be a compositional element with a very vague general meaning. Cf. the notes of Kroeber on suffixes (loc. cit. p. 105—106): „What at first appears to be the stem preceding this suffix is in most cases an element which itself is normally a prefix. Whether the „prefix” *tcäbi-* or the „suffix” *-xa* is the true verbal „stem” remains to be determined as in so many other cases”.

As such apparent suffixes seem, e.g., to occur *-ap(i)-*, *ixk(-ochk-)*, *-ixp(-ochp-)*, *-ixt(-ocht-)*, though they also occur as so-called prefixes, sometimes even as independent verbs, e.g.: *ixtó*; see Part II *ap-*, *ixk-*, *ixp-*, *ixt-*.

6<sup>o</sup>. At first sight the last element to which the verbal ending is joined, looks very much like the verbal stem proper; but that they are by no means always original verbs and that, indeed, the verbal ending as such turns the whole combination into a verbal form is proved by forms like:

iksáχkuspiniū *she had earth on her cheeks* nbt. 73, 16 (cf. ksáχkum *earth*; motstsípina *cheek*; -iu is verbal ending).

ki mátopiu *and he had also an arrow* nbt. 46, 1 (*mat-again, also*; cf. ápssi *arrow*).

iiksímiko *the snow was deep* nbt. 120, 8 (*ik(s)- very*; imi- *deep*; kóni, rarely used for kóniskuyi *snow*).

aiksistsínikinau *then she had done skimming* (lit.: *then she had completed the legbones-soup*) nbt. 11, 16 (*ai-* see Part II; *ksist-* *done*, Part II; *nitsínikinàni* *my soup of the legbones*).

7<sup>o</sup>. It surely follows from the Blackfoot material in Part II, that in every form every element has its „psychologically fixed place”, but this place may be quite different in another combination and depends entirely on the order in which the elements of thought rise before the speaker’s mind, owing to their greater or lesser importance or to the association of ideas. Thus the element, which in one case heads the compound and might be called a prefix, has in another combination changed places with what in the first case might have been called stem or even suffix.

8<sup>o</sup>. Besides, owing to their vagueness, some elements may occur more than once in one complex e. g.: ai-, it(s)-, ixt-.

As we see (especially sub 1<sup>o</sup>, 2<sup>o</sup>, 3<sup>o</sup>, 5<sup>o</sup>) there is indeed a remarkably great similarity between the facts in Ara-

paho and Blackfoot and also between Fox and Blackfoot, as became evident from the careful examination by Kroeber and ourselves of Dr. Jones's results. And if the present author draws a conclusion from these facts, which does somewhat differ from that of Jones and Kroeber, this is mainly due to some of the other characteristics, noted about Blackfoot verb-structure (sub 6<sup>o</sup>, 7<sup>o</sup>, 8<sup>o</sup>). For on account of these, there can be no question in Blackfoot of the even for Fox very doctrinary stem-classification of Jones, the weak points of which are brought forward by the characteristics noted on p. 5-6.

Nor should I like to say with Kroeber (see above p. 12) that „the verbs are built up around a kernel of a normal verbal stem or root”, nor speak of „compound *binary* verbs”. And for this very reason I cannot agree with Kroeber when he says about holophrasis and polysynthesis: „these terms will essentially be only a convenient designation for the linguistic process which allows two verbs to consolidate into a single one.” The less because we may get a quite different conception of holophrasis, as it is found in Blackfoot and perhaps in Algonkin in general, if we consider what Jespersen (A Modern English Grammar II Syntax I. p. 6) says on the verb in modern English, scil. that it is especially sentence-building. As we stated already, any word or group of words may be a verb in such languages; or, what is equally true, any word there can be sentence-building. So, we can not, as a rule, find a kernel (the verb) and other parts, but the whole sentence is a verb, cf. Jones's statement quoted on p. 4. E. g.: *aukanáiksistsipuyisi* when they all stood in a circle nbt. 73, 13; *itápaisauàkstsitsikiòp* then we began

to put on other moccasins nbt. 29, 2; áitamauksoyiau they ate the raw entrails, being happy nbt. 166, 1; tãm-anistsipitotsauχkyapiksiuaie then he suddenly threw up his head out of the water right in front nbt. 79, 33. But we must not lose sight of the fact that, supposing the present view, nowadays taken by grammarians of modern European languages, — starting from the sentence as being a unit, and the expression of one thought or feeling — to be the right one, the difference with Blackfoot c. s. is not great. It is really only a gradual difference, in so far that the unit of sentence in such „primitive” languages as the Algonquian is much stronger (in consequence of which, e. g., incorporated nouns are frequently as it were only represented by an index), and on the other hand it is more capricious and unsystematical and consequently more difficult, because the order of words, which in a language such as modern English has even made inflexion of forms superfluous, is much less fixed. Interesting on this point is also the following remark of Jespersen: „Very often such a verb form [in the old Arian (Indogermanic) languages, as well as in some languages belonging to other groups] was sufficient in itself to express a whole composite thought; what could not be incorporated into the verb form, stood more or less isolated, outside the sentence proper, in what may be called *extraposition*. In course of time, the tendenz has been to strip the verbal idea or root idea of these accessory notions; but though in a form like *must* there are no longer any indications of person, number, tense, or mood, most other verb forms still retain some or all of these accessory ideas . . .” (O. Jespersen. op. c. 1. 44). Another student of Indo-European linguistics, therefore, who accepts for the ancient Indo-

European, as well as for some other languages a holophrasis differing somewhat from that meant by Kroeber. The more reason for me, not to consider myself bound down to the three interpretations of the Algonkin verb proposed by Kroeber, although he remarks in a somewhat prophetic tone: „until the science of language is revolutionized by entirely new methods of thinking about it, there seem to be only three possible descriptions of the Algonkin verb that have a usable meaning” (see above, p. 10). And I will make bold to propose a fourth interpretation which I consider documented and explained in the material dealt with in Part II:

„The Blackfoot verb and, — seeing the apparent agreement with the facts given by Jones and Kroeber — the Algonkin verb in general, is a compound of various elements (verbal, adverbial, nominal, etc.) characterized as a verbal form by means of a verbal ending”.

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## PART II.

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### List of prefixes.

#### ai-, au-.

Monophthongizations of a i- (scil. a-, *u*-) are frequent immediately before -s- and perhaps also before -a- (cf. *s a i*-) e. g.:

*ixtástuyimiu* (*the people*) *wintered with* nbt. 8, 11.

*áaxkaiin* *he was on his way home* nbt. 77, 9.

*áaxkyapipiksiu* (*the war-party*) *ran home* nbt. 18, 2.

In many other cases we have to do with a prothetic i- and not with a rest of a i- (as it seemed a moment to the present author) e. g.:

*iskaxkósii* *they stretched their hands back* (i. e. *they went back to help*) nbt. 24, 9.

*isksáxkuspinù* *she had earth on her cheek* nbt. 73, 16.

*istúisòiau* *it was winter, when they went on the raid* nbt. 23, 13.

*iskunátaxkumìks* *those that shot hard* nbt. 12, 14.

*isikátoiiksistsikùyi* *Monday* nbt. 231, 1.

*ísikotuyìks* *Black-tails* nbt. 7, 20.

As far as I can see, a i-, a u- is the only prefix that is also used as an infix in the strict sense of the word, e. g.:

kaiíx̄tsipiniki *Spotted-kills* (woman's name).

paióta *Fly(ing)* (woman's name).

káiiiskstakip̄x̄p̄aukau *he had had a beaver-dream* nbt. 84, 10.

ámaie paískiua *over there is somebody corralling* nbt. 120, 19.

kaiístoχ̄s̄inai *he stuck himself* nbt. 21, 21 (cf. *ibidem*:  
ix̄tsiks̄istoχ̄s̄inai *he stuck himself with*).

paískiua (*the people*) *was corralling* obt. 18, 1.

ánnoχ̄k káiok̄ùix̄k *this night* obt. 13, 11.

káikitotoχ̄paipiñnai maíáii *she just jumped to her robe*  
nbt. 138, 17.

káukoχ̄tòkiaiks *they had only their cars left* nbt. 18, 1.

áikaukoχ̄tzskunàkiuaie *he just shot with it* nbt. 183, 12.

The prefix ai-, au- (just like it-) may be found more than once in the same form; e. g.:

áitsauaip̄x̄skaii otoχ̄kémaiks *his wives were the only ones that did not dance* nbt. 73, 1.

ki áiaianikapimatsiuaie *and he had him for a single man with him* nbt. 84, 8.

itauáuaakoàu *we would chase* nbt. 1, 22.

aiaiaikapotsiu *then he began to pack his meat (on a horse)* nbt. 2, 8.

Syntactical.

1<sup>o</sup>. ai-, au- has a durative force (in contrast to it- that expresses perfectivity as well as „being defined as to place or time or circumstances”). So ai-, au- is frequent in forms of the temporal conjunctive, and of the indicative used as such, to express the unlimited space of time, out of which one special moment is pointed at by a form with it-.

Examples:

áip̄x̄skài *they were dancing* nbt. 72, 1.



autúsi *in spring (when it is spring)* nbt. 76, 23.

In other words we can say that with ai-, au- the situation of things is summarized, and that with it- forms the narrative proceeds. E. g.:

áipixtsiu *she was far away* nbt. 125, 26.

áupokaxkaiimiuaie *she went home with her* nbt. 124, 12.

áukxnaiokaiau; omá kipitákeu itsipúau *all of them slept; that old woman got up* nbt. 128, 17.

2<sup>o</sup>. ai-, au- is also iterative and then it may be rendered by the English verb „to use”. E. g.:

kaiístoxsìnai *he stuck himself (scil. the father of each married man who was killed)* nbt. 21, 21.

auánit *say every time* obt. 2, 2.

aipáskasi... áuaksipuyiau *when they danced... they stood in a circle* nbt. 72, 4.

itauákimau *then (the people) chased the buffalo* nbt. 3, 6.

áuauaxkisixk *they were shaking their heads (= dancing)* nbt. 85, 4.

ánni nitáinausìnai *that way he used to dress* nbt. 73, 34.

áístamsatapiksixp ótokoàuaists *then they would throw out their kidneys* nbt. 1, 29.

asótsimàni itaisínàkiauaists *they made marks on the parfleches (N.B. it- is local)* nbt. 2, 19.

itauámiaupiu = *(the people) began to get on their horses* nbt. 3, 6.

**aini-** cf. sub in- *below; down.*

**aip(i)stsik-** *a little; scarcely;* cf. sub ipistsik-.

**aist(s)-, ast(s)-** (cf. ai-, sai-) *close, near to.*

1<sup>o</sup>. frequent as independent verbal stem, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

aistsísi *when they are close by* nbt. 77, 3.

áiikaistsiu (*the time*) *is getting very near* nbt. 85, 24.

aistsísi *when it is close to the time (that...)* nbt. 77, 6.

itstsíxki áistòyi *if some one comes* nbt. 175, 19.

2<sup>o</sup>. combined with the verbal stem -áχk-, -oχk- „to go, to come”. E. g.:

áistoχkìma moyísts *he got near the lodges* nbt. 81, 5.

máχkaistoχkòyis *that he might get closer to him* nbt. 80, 6.

otáistoχkokoaiuaie *when she came near them* nbt. 110, 6.

otsitsíikaistokokoaiuaie *she was very close to them* nbt. 110, 12\*).

áistoχkimiau omím otápimanoài *they came near their lodge* nbt. 24, 7.

áiistoχkoyìu omí únnasini *she got near the men* nbt. 168, 28.

áiistáχkixk *when we were near to* nbt. 7, 2.

áistoχkìm *he got near it* nbt. 79, 32.

akomátaistoχkixp *we shall get close there* nbt. 26, 27.

3<sup>o</sup>. combined with various prefixes:

áχkaistsaipiskoχtoaiiks *let us charge on them close (i. e. when they are close by)* nbt. 17, 7.

mátsitoχkænauaistomaxkàii *they all ran again to him* nbt. 208, 9.

4<sup>o</sup>. aistsíkai-Pekàniua *the Peigan tribe of not long ago (lit.: near-old)* nbt. 203, 9.

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\*) -aistok- stands for -aistoχk. Examples of such inconstant aspiration are numerous.

1<sup>o</sup>. **ak(s)**- *nearly, about to, soon*; cf. *autxm-ak-*  
*almost, about to.*

1<sup>o</sup>. seldom as independent verbal stem:

*nitáiak I shall*; cf. *nitoχkót I can.*

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix with the meaning *nearly, soon*:

*áksikoko it was nearly night* obt. 58, 1.

*itáksinetsiu he was nearly drowned* obt. 64, 20.

*áksimiu he was about to drink* obt. 64, 10.

*itákotoyiuáie he was nearly taking it* nbt. 158, 22.

*tautzmákotoàu I am nearly taking it* nbt. 158, 24.

*ákanetòyiau they were going to separate* nbt. 2, 30.

*ákapinàko towards morning* nbt. 27, 8.

3<sup>o</sup>. nearly as a tense-prefix of the future:

*ákamistutsòp we shall move up* nbt. 1, 15.

*ákopakìop we shall move* nbt. 1, 18.

*ákitakàuop we shall make a circle (to chase the buffalo)* nbt. 3, 1.

*nitáksipzsk I shall dance* nbt. 73, 8.

*mátakoztotakixp I will not take from them* nbt. 78, 2.

*nitáksam I shall hunt* obt. 7, 9.

*kitákàuatoχpinan we shall eat you* obt. 8, 26.

4<sup>o</sup>. The next future seems to be expressed by the combination *ai-ak-*; e. g.:

*annóχk áiáksikòkuixk now this coming night* nbt. 119, 6.

*áiáksistuyiu it will be cold* obt. 13, 16.

*ánnoχkaie nitúkska aiáksipzskàu now it is (only) one (night more) they will dance* obt. 21, 30.

*kitaiákoχkot I shall give it to you* obt. 59, 8.

5<sup>o</sup>. In connection with the adverbial meaning of *ak(s)*- *about to, almost*, the sense of a future in

the past is rather intelligible. These forms often have nearly the same value as those with iterative ai- (cf. ai- sub 2<sup>0</sup>):

ákanistsuiaie *he would tell her* nbt. 1, 33.

otsitákaxkaiixp *when he was to go home* nbt. 77, 26.

áutòsaie ákitanistsuiaie *when she came back, he would say to her* nbt. 2, 1.

átàkskunakìnai *he was going to shoot again* obt. 30, 28.

áktzmxsíkomoaiaie *it would be broken for him* nbt. 2, 3.

ákitomonimaie *he would roll (the marrow) in (the manifold)* nbt. 2, 5.

ákitaipzksimsaie *he would burst it by chewing it* nbt. 2, 6.

akáutsim *they would take it* nbt. 3, 9.

áismoyixk atáksamìixk *after a long while he was going to hunt* obt. 23, 6.

N.B. omí einíua túkskzmi áukâxtsènikioip *we shall kill one of the buffalo* nbt. 165, 32.

2<sup>0</sup>. **ak(s)-** *round*. For different forms see: uχsok-, uχsoχk-.

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verbal stem, only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

támitapzksinìnai *then it circled around to* nbt. 156, 25.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a prefix in nominal forms:

akókatsists *the circle-camp* nbt. 18, 12.

Perhaps also in: amói akaxkó itóto *he came to a round hill* nbt. 198, 1, although this form may be regarded as verbal like:

itakítsoaskuyiu *the Round-forest* nbt. 14, 25.

3<sup>0</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

ákakàuhop *we shall go in a circle after buffalo* nbt. 90, 23.

aitakópiiaw *they sat in a circle* nbt. 45, 22.

áuaksipuyiaw *they stood in a circle* nbt. 72, 4.

itauáksipuyimiauie *they were all standing around them* nbt. 41, 11.

N.B. aukanáksistsipuyisi *when they all stood in a circle* nbt. 73, 13. It is doubtful whether „in a circle” is expressed here by ak- (c. q. to be found in auk-) or by -ksist- (cf. 1<sup>o</sup>. ksist- sub 3<sup>o</sup>).

**ak(ai)-, ak(au)-, (i)kai-**; cf. ik-.

These prefixes are to be divided in two rather different semantic groups with the meanings *much, many* and *already*. A similar expansion of use and sense is to be noted by the prefix amai- (omai-, umai-, imai-) which besides replaces akai- *already* after a negative, e. g. sauumai-, matomai-; cf. amai- and Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 49. Especially for this reason I did not hesitate to identify akai- *much* with akai- *old, already*.

So we have the following meanings:

1<sup>o</sup>. *many, much, plenty of*.

a) as an element of nominal forms or as an indefinite pronoun, animate and inanimate (when used predicatively this is verbalized):

akáitapisko *many people together (= town)*.

akáitapì *many people* nbt. 121, 1.

íkakauoyi auáuaxsists *there is plenty of food* nbt. 76, 19.

skí'miks akaiími *many mares* nbt. 224, 14.

mátakauòà istuyísts *it was not many years* nbt. 224, 16.

Kyáiakàiimmi *Many-bears* (name of a Blood-Indian man).

akaiimmixki *they were many* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 11.

itakáimi nótasinàniks *then were many our horses*  
nbt. 224, 17.

akauóyi *many (were)* nbt. 224, 38.

b) as an independent adverb ending in -oχts;  
sometimes used in a verbal form:

akóχtsi apátoχsoχtsi *very far north* obt. 5, 1.

aká'χtsiaie otoká'ni *far down was her hair* nbt. 137, 6.

c) as a prefix of verbal forms:

itakáutotau *he made plenty of fire (a big fire)* nbt.  
176, 8.

nimátaikautsipa *I do not often swim.*

2<sup>o</sup>. *old, already.* On account of the latter meaning we might call akai- a prefix of the perfect tense („ein perfektisches Praefix“, as German philologists would say), just like ksist- (N.B. they are often found together).

a) with substantives *former, ancient*:

ákai-Pekàniua *the ancient Peigan tribe* obt. 5, 1;  
nbt. 1, 1; nbt. 51, 6.

ákai-tapiua *the ancient people* obt. 57, 1.

b) as a verbal prefix *already*:

ákauksikìnakìminai *she had already turned into bones*  
obt. 25, 12.

ákaitautsiksistopìn (*the people*) *was already sitting* nbt.  
199, 11.

nikáumotsaiiau *I have killed (all those)* obt. 48, 1.

kikátoχkoχkemi *you have got another wife* obt. 38, 19.

ákatoχkoχkemìnai *he has got another wife* obt. 38, 16.

ákainim omík apáuk *he had seen there a flint-knife*  
obt. 47, 18.

kikáuχkoi *you have got something to eat* obt. 37, 3.

íkaumatapakìmiu *she was already hammering* nbt. 11, 21.

nikáinitau *I have killed him* obt. 46, 25.

ákaumitauàsiu *he had turned into a dog* obt. 11, 6.

ákaitaiksistsauyiau *they had already done eating* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

ákáinauàsiu *he has become a chief* obt. 53, 28.

ákainim *he had seen it* obt. 46, 13.

ákaiokau *he has fallen asleep* obt. 22, 16.

ákainii *they were dead already* obt. 46, 9.

okáinokai *he was already seen by him* obt. 20, 8.

nikáinitànan *we have killed her* obt. 28, 16.

kikáipχtsàn *you have said wrong* obt. 54, 27.

áikaistapaipyàspainai *he kept looking about farther away* nbt. 143, 9.

ákaisàmomatò *it is already a long time that she started* obt. 39, 23.

ákaisàmo *it is already a long time* obt. 26, 22.

kaiiksípixtsiau *they went already very far off* nbt. 130, 1.

mí'nists ákaitsii *the berries are ripe already* nbt. 4, 13.

kikáisksinok *he already knows you* nbt. 120, 20.

íkaiistsapu *he was going away already* nbt. 73, 24.

ákauomαksimiau *they had already got big* obt. 25, 13.

c) From the meaning mentioned sub *b* may be also derived the use of this prefix with the value of *still* which is found to be in some cases the best suitable translation for the combination *ok-anist-* (cf. *manist-* sub 8<sup>o</sup>). The single variant *ok-* occurs: *okáinokai he was already seen by him* obt. 20, 8.

Here follow the places where *okanist-* has been met with:

okánistaiixtsixpiaiks *they were still there* obt. 64, 14.

okánistsitaixtsixp *they were still there* nbt. 198, 17.

ki okánistaiaχkítspiaie *and it was still smoking* obt. 19, 15.

okánistauamotsiixpi *they still invite each other* nbt. 54, 8.

okánistaixtsixpi *they (inan.) are still there* nbt. 54, 19.

okánistaixtsixp (*his lodge*) *was still there* nbt. 153, 26.

d) Remarkable is a k a i- with imperatives:

ákaitòpik *sit down!*

ánni ákaitaupit *sit there for a moment!* obt. 20, 12.

If we may recognize in these forms the perfectic a k a i-, we may compare constructions like Dutch *nu flink doorgeloopt! nu den lofzang aangeheven!*

(a)kap- *often*; from a k - (a k a i-) + a p- (cf. a p-).

Compare for similar formation and meaning a m a p-.

The form i k a p- is also noted:

mátaksikàpoχtskùnakiòpa *we will not often shoot with it* nbt. 183, 5.

Examples: áikapisimianistutsimaie *he does it often secretly.*

áikapisimiitapaumixkau *he is often fishing alone secretly.*

nitsikákapanistutsixp *I often do it.*

(a)kim- ikim- *at (to) the upper end of the lodge.*

The independent adverbial form is often met with:

akimóχts stámitakaupiu *at the upper end he sat down* obt. 45, 1.

akimóχts *at the upper end* nbt. 22, 14.

akimóχtsim *in the upper part of the lodge* nbt. 156, 32.



1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verbal stem only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

itsikímau *he went to the upper part of the lodge* nbt. 124, 4.

támikimò *he went to the upper end of the lodge* nbt. 136, 15.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix:

nánauaikimàuoynai *he finally went to the upper part of the lodge* nbt. 125, 3.

etsekímaixtsenea otséuanoàie *their gambling-wheel was lying in the west-end of the lodge.* de J. de J. bt. 43, 23. About this place Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes \*) p. 27 says: „= itsikímaixtsinai('a). The prefix kim- refers to the upper end of the lodge”. Indeed the interpretation of de J. de J. is supported by no other place.

**aχk-** is untranslatable.

Etymologically aχk- may be connected with the relative ending -aχk(s), cf. sub II (-pi).

Syntactically aχk- is in the first place the characteristic of the final conjunctive. Moreover it is not only prefixed to a conjunctive, but also to indicative forms, and forms of the so-called false final conjunctive (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Conjunctief-achtige Modi* p. 17). Another false conjunctivus finalis is found with intransitive verbal stems in -a-; from these stems abstracta are formed with the suffix -ni and to these aχk-, naχk-, etc. is prefixed (ibid. p. 18). The

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\*) C. C. Uhlenbeck. *Philological Notes to Dr. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong's Blackfoot Texts.* Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen. Afd. Letterkunde. N. R. Dl. XVI. No. 1. Amsterdam, Juni 1915.

a  $\chi k$ - forms are made negative by means of *stai-*, *stau-*, perhaps a phonetical secondary variant of *sai-*, *sau-* in the proximity of the *k*.

In a polysynthetic language like Blackfoot, where it is so difficult to distinguish between the syntactic and the morphologic, and where e. g. a firmly maintained characterization of modes and tenses hardly could be pointed out, it will prove best to consider a  $\chi k$ -morphologically. a  $\chi k$ - stands in 3 morphologically different constructions and in each of them it may perform various syntactic functions.

I. a  $\chi k$ - c. indicativo.

a) purely relative (to translate by our adjective clauses):  
*ánnik kokúyik naχksók when I sleep during the nights* obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 6.

*ómiaie kinnuna aχkauánistsiu there is the one, our father told us about* obt. 28, 22.

b) with final, sometimes consecutive meaning:

*áχkoχtsitokopstai (give them) that she might make soup with them* obt. 38, 22.

*aχkítsoyiu (tell him) that he may eat* obt. 32, 23.

*púχsapuk, kitoχkémauauks kaχkitsáipiauau come here, that you take your wives out* obt. 43, 28.

*aχkítsoatai (make haste) that we may eat it* obt. 37, 9.

*kaχkótomoki (there will be none) that will take (this backfat) from you* obt. 42, 16.

*áχkítsipim (tell her) that she should enter* obt. 18, 23.

N. B. The verbal abstracta in *-ani* may also find here a place:

*káχkstatakàatskâni (I told you) that you should never have a partner* obt. 53, 17.

*maχkâχkúitskâni (he was always thinking) that he might have a fight* obt. 4, n<sup>o</sup>. 19.

kéka, náχkipitapaiakàni *wait a moment, that I may have a chance to confess.*

c) with potential meaning:

káχkstzmoχtòki *they might hear you* obt. 44, 15.

áχkautzràkotapòtsiu *he might soon be here with the pieces of the carcass* obt. 27, 3.

káχksistskòkixpinan (*I am afraid*) *that you might make us dirty* obt. 33, 19.

sàksíst káχksistskòki *go out, you might make us dirty* obt. 56, 21.

naχksínauayìsitoki *he might hit me* obt. 40, 8.

káχkoχtòki *they might hear you* obt. 41, 32.

aχkítsitokìokìmoki (*if it is a long time*) *he may get angry with us* obt. 60, 11.

d) to indicate a great probability, a modestly expressed certainty (Eng. auxiliary, „must”).

máχkaukoχtsok ùsi *it must have been given to him by his son-in-law* obt. 37, 4.

aχkáumainitàyii *they must be crazy* obt. 46, 11.

áχksistsinikatakanistaistutoyìuatsiksaie *it must be a long time, that he has treated him that way* obt. 40, 12.

e) as imperative (adhortative), cf. above sub c.

áχksikamàuopi *let us walk fast* obt. 62, 13.

kaχkitsápitsìm *you had better fill your pipe* obt. 45, 14.

káχkotaxkòspuaiixk (*he would say*.) *you are wanted to stretch your hands out* obt. 35, 10.

kaχkitápaiksìma *you might go and touch!* obt. 42, 3.

àχkaχkápiàiiks *let us take them home* obt. 53, 24.

áχksikakòtoaii ki áχkitaxkaiop *let us only take (the backfat) and let us go home* obt. 44, 24.

àχkstaisámoyi *let it not be a long time* obt. 60, 8.

The same may also be expressed by forms without a  $\chi k$  -, but in the conjunctive:

iiksópoχsisà *let it blow harder* nbt. 176, 25.

f) some particular cases:

kenník kitsím áχkstaiaiâpiua *there is the door, does he not see?* obt. 23, 20.

áχkakitsàkaiainit̂siaie *he will never be able to kill it* obt. 30, 10.

kaχkstáyinomòki *there is nobody to prevent me from killing you* (lit.: *that you may not die for me*) obt. 39, 34.

## II. a $\chi k$ - c. indicativo with -pi.

To the relative idea expressed by -pi a  $\chi k$  - adds a modal one.

a) final and consecutive; also with only -pi:

áχkstaiẑmoyi áχkit̂apistutsixpi *let it not be a long time (before, that) we shall fix (these lodges)* obt. 60, 9.

máχksoatòχpiau (*he would not give them*) *something that they might eat* obt. 35, 16.

máχksoat̂áχpi (*they were nearly all dead*) *for something that they might eat* obt. 12, 16.

káχkakχosixpixk (*these are*) *that you can boil* obt. 38, 26.

Cf. the purely relative idea of -pi alone:

itsínitaxpi (*it is a long time*) *that she was killed* obt. 26, 23.

nitsksínixpists (*things*) *which I know* nbt. 217, 29.

b) in the equivalents of our dependent questions:

kitákanik káχkitapòχpi *she will tell you, where you can go* obt. 51, 31.

nitáksksinixp káχkanistspùmmoχpi *I shall know the way I shall help you.*

káχkanistsitap̂ixpi (*he will tell you*) *how you can live* obt. 52, 22.

Cf. without a  $\chi k$  -: *otsitóχkotàχpi* (she heard there some one singing) where (while) she cut wood obt. 12, 19.  
*otsítaupixp* (they would get to the place) where he used to sit obt. 35, 23.

### III. a $\chi k$ - c. conjunctivo.

a) final; also without a  $\chi k$  -:

*aχkstáminakxtaxs* (why did our father say) that we should not roll it eastward? obt. 27, 12.

*maχkstátsaks* that they must not go out obt. 10, 29.

(may be also a false conjunctive, for the verbal root is *saks*-).

(o)*máχksoyis* (they put by him) that he might eat obt. 44, 11.

*naχkótakòaxsau* (they told me) that I must give them a drink obt. 15, 11.

*náχkotomoàipiksistaxs* (she told me) that I should gather up (these pieces) obt. 42, 26.

*máχksinisaie* (they wanted to stop it) that it might die obt. 27, 15.

*máχksksinoaxsaie* (he is thinking) that he may know it obt. 38, 15.

Without a  $\chi k$  -:

*otsúmmaxs* (he tried hard) that he rubs obt. 54, 24.

*anistsís ixtsísakaxs* tell him that he must make a sweat-lodge obt. 56, 6.

*anis(ts)ísau inítaxsauaie*; *akékoänàsisaie*, *máksitaxsauaie* say to them, that they kill him; if it is a girl, that they wrap her up obt. 38, 1.

b) in cases, corresponding with our dependent clauses with „that”, e. g., noun clauses, imperatives in the oratio indirecta, etc.:

*máχksinitaxsàuaiks ki máχksitsòataxsaùauiks* (they said) that they should kill and eat them obt. 10, 30.

káχkainoαχs (*it is not good*) that you see him obt. 6, 19.  
 káχkitòmisi (*it is all right*) that you (fem.) get married.  
 αχksínitαχs (*I don't think*) that he is killed obt. 53, 20.  
 áχksuyisksânóiàs (*he says*) that he wants curly arrows  
 to be made for him obt. 30, 14; cf. suyisksánoidkit  
 make a curly arrow for me.

máχkitsipiksìstsis (*she says*) that she will show the people  
 that I am a warrior nbt. 76, 1.

c) in sentences, which we would render by adjective  
 clauses, with a potentialis:

ámom nínauyìs káχkitsipìsi that one is a man's-lodge,  
 where you ought to go in obt. 41, 24; cf. kipitáuyis  
 omím otsítipixp the lodge he went into was an old-  
 woman's-lodge obt. 41, 23.

káχkitapotàkis (*with some stick there*) that you can look  
 about for obt. 33, 30.

**αχk-, αχky-, αχkyap-** home.

Probably αχkya p- is compounded with -(t)ap-,  
 see tap-.

Once an independent adverbial form is noted:

omám αχkyáποχtàm âkéuzm a woman over there at  
 home nbt. 26, 10.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verbal stem followed by a verb-  
 alizing suffix:

αχkúnαχkaiop let us go home nbt. 102, 19.

áχkitαχkaiòp let us go home obt. 44, 25.

kitákitaχkài you will go back (scil. home) nbt. 76, 24.

táμαχkapiuaie then he took (his wife) home nbt.  
 150, 12.

áχkapiuaie he brought it home nbt. 186, 8.

N. B. In the last two forms we recognize the causa-  
 tive suffix -pi-.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix. Properly speaking the form a χ k- only once has been met with:

itαχkénikatsimâu *she ran home for help* nbt. 145, 10.

itαχkyápukskasiu *she ran home* nbt. 90, 2.

itαχkyápasainikyâyayiu *he ran home crying* nbt. 126, 16.

itαχkyápistsipatakayayiu *she ran home fast* nbt. 109, 30.

itauáχkyapapòtsiu *they (lit. he) would go home with the carcasses* nbt. 3, 10.

itαχkyápautsimaiau *then they went home to get their things* nbt. 22, 34.

itauáχkyapαχpummau *then (the people) would go home after buying* nbt. 14, 15.

áχkiapapòtsinai *he came home with the pieces of the carcass* nbt. 124, 18.

nitsítαχkyàpistotspinan *we moved over to our ranch* nbt. 238, 17.

itαχkyápapotsiau *they came back with the pieces of the carcasses* nbt. 113, 2.

**aχkun-**; as to the form and the functions cf. a χ k- (I e and e).

It stands always at the beginning of a word-complex, and the two initial sounds a χ - often are subject to aphaeresis.

1<sup>o</sup>. adhortative in the 1 prs. plur. imperative (cf. a χ k - I e):

ómixk áχkunaχtápauàuaχkau *let us travel that way* obt. 53, 10.

aχkúnâχpòkaχkaiop *let us go home together* obt. 6, 15.

áχkunâχkitapàuop níinna *let us go to my father* obt. 9, 20.

aχkúnistapàuop *let us go away* nbt. 1, 26.

kúnαχkaiòp *let us go home* nbt. 9, 17.

kunitapáuop *let us go (to)* nbt. 8, 34.

2<sup>o</sup>. with potential meaning (cf. aχk - Ic):

aχkúnauotòì *he might come* obt. 37, 9.

aiáu aχkúnauaipokakiau annám nínauæm ... *mis-kátsàksist oh, before that man wakes up (lit. he might wake up) ... you had better go out* obt. 45, 3.

**aχtso-** *instead.*

soτάmαχtsoamitapaupìnai *then he just stayed around instead (of Round-cut-scabby-robe)* nbt. 90, 35.

áuaχtsauaikimmatàpsiu *he became poor instead (of the ancient Peigans)* nbt. 166, 16.

**amai-, omai-, umai-, imai-** *very, much*; as to functions cf. a k a i -.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verbal stem, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

itótsòtau; ikúmaidtau *it then began to rain; it (rained) hard* nbt. 231, 34. It is not quite impossible that here we have to do with another stem for „to rain”.

2<sup>o</sup>. in substantives:

amáitsoàskuists *thick forests* nbt. 60, 13.

stámitotòiau, tsiskáie amáipitàkein *then they came to that, which was a very old woman* obt. 62, 15.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix.

a) *very, in a high degree:*

amáistuyiù *it is very cold* nbt. 23, 23.

imakúmaistuyis *even if it was very cold* nbt. 12, 8.

stamátamaiiksaiitsimau *then she denied it hard* nbt. 150, 6.

ímakomaiskumatàpsis *even if it is a bad case (i. e. a bad wound)* nbt. 57, 9.

maiáii támiamαχsìn *her robe then was very fine* nbt. 137, 7.



nitúmaistuyis *because I am very much ashamed* nbt. 73, 42.

netómayaχtùyeuaie (nít-omai-oxtoyuaie. Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 21) *he plainly (entirely, very well) heard her (say so)* de J. de J. bt. 34, 24.

netúmaisoaskàkanika *he energetically did not consent to say („yes”) to me* de J. de J. bt. 31, 21. Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 19 says about this form: „= nitómai-sauzskàkanika. The prefix nit-, which is the compositional form of nitúkska *one*, emphasizes the strengthening value of -omai- (= amai- „in a high degree”).” Cf. sub nit-.

nítumiainoγiuaiks *he saw them plainly* nbt. 189, 14.

mikskúmaiikòtsisiu *he smoked harder instead* obt. 28, 11.

b) as a verbal prefix *still*; cf. akai- (3<sup>o</sup>):

imáitskamiu *he is still fighting (him)* obt. 49, 4.

ki ánoχk anáukoχt áχkumitopzmapaitapiu ákai-Pekàni *and now half of the ancient Peigans is still living about across* obt. 5, 29.

imáinanaitsiuaaiks *they still own those (things)* nbt. 91, 15.

imáinixkáχtoyiauaie *they still sing to (the moon)* nbt. 92, 19.

c) as a characteristic prefix of the perfect, like ksist- and akai-. Only combined with the negative prefixes mat- and sau-, which combinations are best of all rendered by *not yet*:

nimátomaisksinipa auaxkáutsisists *I do not know yet about wars* nbt. 75, 26.

mátomapixtsiuaaiks *they had not gone far yet* nbt. 200, 8.

mátomaismòats *it was not yet a long while* obt. 46, 4.

sauumáipuausi *before (all the people) got up* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

sáuumaisòpuyìnakus *before day-light* obt. 13, 14 (lit. may-be: *when there is yet no wind and day-light*).

sauumáísopuyìnakus *before day-light* obt. 39, 7.

**(amap-) umap-** *always*; amai- + ap-; cf. akap-.  
isáists otáumâpipuxpùχsimatoχs *as they were always melting fat* obt. 1, 3.

**amat-** *to try*.

ámatoχtoχkònimat *try to find (a piece) from it* nbt. 138, 30.

(místaputamìnasoχtsi) amátseptòtot *try to get (down on the other side of it) during the night* obt. 52, 12.

amátâχkusksinòs, omâχtâkâχkuinixpì *try to find out from her, what will cause her death* nbt. 104, 35.

**ami-** *up, on high*.

1<sup>0</sup>. *up, on a horse*:

anátæmiâupik *sit up again* nbt. 31, 14.

itauámiaupiu *then (the Peigan tribe) would sit up* nbt. 3, 6.

mátsitauamiâupiu *then (the party) sat on their horses (lit. up) again* nbt. 30, 31.

nítsitsitamiâ`χpauau *I jumped on him (scil. on the horse)* nbt. 219, 23.

2<sup>0</sup>. *up to the prairie, away from the river*:

itapáuæmiâksistutsiù *(the Peigan tribe) turned back and moved up* nbt. 14, 28.

tâmamistutsiu *then (the Peigan tribe) moved up* nbt. 1, 16.

ákamistutsòp *we shall move up (away from the river)* nbt. 1, 15.

tâmamísamiu *then (the tribe) went up (to the prairie) to hunt* nbt. 12, 5.

itauámistutsiu *then (the tribe) moved up (on the prairie)*  
nbt. 14, 16.

matsítskamistutsopa *we moved back (towards the prairie)*  
nbt. 5, 29.

3<sup>o</sup>. *in sight of* (esp. *of a camp*); nearly always the combination *ot - a mi -* was noted. Cf. *ot -*.

páuaχkùyì tótαmiàupiu *he sat in sight on a hill* nbt. 83, 6.

ákotamiàtaiayàu *they would come in sight of the camp in a circle* nbt. 32, 8.

itαmiátayayiu *he came up going in a circle* nbt. 126, 5.

tátmotamiòpiu *then (the people) sat in sight (of the enemy's camp)* nbt. 79, 16.

N.B. otótomiomaχkàiau *they came in sight of* nbt. 79, 11.

N.B. N.B. atámipùχsaput *come up (to my camp) after a while* nbt. 226, 30. Perhaps we have to see in this form haplology for: *at α m - † a mi -*.

4<sup>o</sup>. *up* in general.

itsitápamisòyinai *she went up to them* nbt. 110, 18.

ipisóαχs áutamiskapìu *the morning-star was coming up*  
nbt. 27, 9.

mískstαmamiàpiksatsiuaie *he jumped at him in spite (of his shooting)* nbt. 17, 14.

**amiskap-** *south*. As to the derivation it is not clear, whether it contains the prefix *ami-* and the verbal stem *skap-* *to pull*; or perhaps the prefixes *ami-*, *sk-* and *(t)ap-*. Cf. óμαχtapàutamiskapi *where (the sun) rises* obt. 51, 2.

ipisóαχs áutamiskapìu *the morning-star was coming up*  
nbt. 27, 9.

It is taken down among the prefixes on account of

its meaning, entirely fitting in this list, though it has been only noted as independent verb and adverb:

amiskápoχtsk (*they went*) *south* obt. 48, 5.

nitákæmskàpo *I shall go south* obt. 48, 3.

amiskápoχtsi *in the south* nbt. 167, 17.

**amit-** *up the river* (especially used of the rivers east of the Rocky Mountains). Perhaps combination of ami- + it- *up ... there* (*there* means: that generally known place, the river). In the examples -it- has nowhere been found, which is an indication the more, that we have to see in the t of amit- a form of -it-. Often amit- has been conceived as, and so may be rendered by, *westward*, cf. pinap- *down the river, eastward*.

The independent adverbial form is also noted:

amítóχts *higher up the river* obt. 44, 2.

amítóχtsk *higher up the river* obt. 41, 19.

amétâχtsk (*up the river*) *westward* de J. de J. bt. 44, 23.

ákoχtamitapaukèkaup *we shall camp about along the river* nbt. 6, 23.

ákametsistutskixtsip *we shall move up* nbt. 6, 21.

nisótæmâχtamìtomaxk *I then went higher up (up the river or up the prairie?)* nbt. 241, 10,

**amotap-** *all over, all about*.

Probably consisting of the elements: amai- + mot(ui)- + ap-; cf. motui-, motap-.

Three times the form omotap- was noted.

áistæmamotapìpoχtoχpi *that were all carried about* nbt. 3, 38.

áistæmamotapìpiaii itapótsopiks *the horses that had meat on them would be taken all over (the camp)* nbt. 3, 36.

áikakitomantapauâukiu *they moved about just a little* nbt. 5, 18.

áitomotapâxpokyâxpiinai *while he was jumping about, the arrow was going in the same direction* nbt. 182, 22.

íkatomotapaiaksistapiksìu *he began to be ready to jump about* nbt. 182, 21.

ninóχkomotapaiâkstsip *I kept trying to steer the ears of the lodge about* nbt. 138, 15.

**an-** *now*; cf. the demonstrative *an no this one right here* and the relative pronoun *an no χ k*, nearly always used as temporal adverb *now* (Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects of Blackfoot Morphology*, p. 22—23). Only noted as first prefix at the beginning of imperative forms; variants to be found are *α n-*, *an(n)i-*, *α n(n)i-*, *n-*:

αnsákapuxs *let him come out* obt. 53, 5.

ánnisaksist *come out* nbt. 104, 17.

ánikakitaupit *just sit there* obt. 39, 17.

anikípuχksìkiakoki *quickly make a trap for me* obt. 31, 14.

annáitsinomòkit *make me moccasins* nbt. 22, 1.

annopakíit *now move* nbt. 165, 17.

ànskót *go back* nbt. 180, 22.

ànsámik *go and hunt* nbt. 23, 23.

αnátàsámik *go again and hunt* nbt. 107, 24.

αnátxmiàupik *get on your horses again* nbt. 31, 14.

αnisóminít *now take off your clothes* nbt. 47, 16.

anínisau(o)k *now get off!* obt. 10, 24.

annoχtótakitàu *now take from them* nbt. 77, 30.

annápaiinimàt *now begin to catch your horses* nbt. 3, 5.

nápanisàu(o)t *begin to get off about* nbt. 31, 2.

Sometimes *an no χ k* - is found as a prefix :

annóχkanìt *you must say now* nbt. 111, 24.

annoχkókit *give me her now* nbt. 147, 28.

annóχkoχpotòmitsit *now you must take the lead* nbt. 171, 14.

annóχkotaxkòsit *go and get the carcass*.

Perhaps also the form *annauk-* in:

náukitxχkànaisaksìau *now they all came out (of their holes)* nbt. 117, 15.

**anauk-** *half; one (of a pair).*

Independent adverbial forms:

anáukoχtsi támomyanistàinimiàu *they cut one side in different pieces* nbt. 31, 13.

anáukoχtsi otokísi *half of the hide* nbt. 25, 10.

kænauánaukoχtsi *the half of it* nbt. 80, 26.

As a prefix:

1<sup>o</sup>. in substantives:

omí otánnaukotokèmi ánnimaie itotátsipòtsim *she put (them) down on her half of a hide* nbt. 11, 4.

2<sup>o</sup>. in verbs:

noχtókisi tákauanaukùpistokiáχs *I will keep down one of my ears* nbt. 141, 22.

áiáχkanaukùpistokiáχsìau *they all kept one ear down* nbt. 141, 24.

tákauanaukitòmikáχs *I will throw one of my legs out in front* nbt. 141, 25.

áiáχkænaukitomikáχsìau *they all throw one of their legs out in front* nbt. 141, 26.

ánaukapinù *he was one-eyed* nbt. 198, 13.

**anau-, ani-**

Only noted in some names of months:

aniotsítaisisksemokuχpi *when the grass grows* = April.

anauotsítaisaisuyòpokskoχpi *when the leaves come out* = *May*.

anáuotsistsinistsotsitaiitspi *when the strawberries get ripe* = *June*.

anáuitapoχkiakiopi *when we are cutting hay* = *September*.

anáuotsitauapipitsχkoχpi *when the leaves dry up* = *October*.

**anist-** cf. **manist-**.

**anit(s)-** *separately, all separately.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal stem, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

ákanètoyiau *they were about to separate* nbt. 173, 21.

ítánetòiau *they separated* nbt. 232, 8.

Several times in a formula used by raconteurs to finish their stories:

ki ánetoyi imitáiks *and the dogs have separated (after having had their meal)* nbt. 186, 32.

kénnyaie ánetoyi imitáiks *and now the dogs have separated* nbt. 41, 16.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix = *all separately* with only a slight stress on „separately”:

itánitχkàiiu *then all of them went home* nbt. 73, 35.

áukanauanitotuipstosiu *all of them went to enter their holes* nbt. 122, 19.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix *to pieces*:

anátsiniòtsika *tear them up* nbt. 49, 15.

mátakanitsiniòtsìma *he would not tear them* nbt. 49, 16.

òtsitánnitsiniautomòk *he tore his clothes to pieces* nbt. 43, 3.

áiakχnaitsiniotakli (read: áiakχnitsini...) *they would tear them to pieces* nbt. 48, 20.

Prof. Uhlenbeck himself supposes that he has misheard ai for i, but contamination in the Indian mind of kanai- with anit- is possible as well.

N. B. anákoχtsi támomyanistàinimiâu *they cut one side in different pieces* nbt. 31, 13. One is led to think that here too anit- would fit much better than -anist-.

4°. *separately; in different directions:*

itánetomaχkàiau *and they ran away separately* nbt. 173, 16.

itauánitsistutsiu *then (the people) separated (by bands)* nbt. 5, 23.

okóauaists itauánitsitapaχkaiâu *they separated going home to their lodges* nbt. 32, 18.

itánutsaumaχkàiaiks *then they ran out separately* nbt. 192, 23.

sotámanitsipiksiu *then it (the buffalo-herd) ran all in different directions* nbt. 142, 17.

5°. *always.*

anitsipótapoχkistau *he would always lay one of them pointing to (the moon)* nbt. 77, 25.

**ap-** *about, round.*

Once at the end of a substantive:

máksiniapì *the carcasses about* nbt. 4, 4.

The combination itap- which occurs rather frequently seems to mean *to begin*, and so it is to be analysed as it- + tap(o), cf. tap-. Indeed there are many cases in which it is difficult to decide, whether we have to do with ap- or tap-.

1°. *about:*

áistámitsinapapaukunàiiu *there (the people) would be camped about* nbt. 7, 26.



kitápsàmmok *he is looking about for you* nbt. 76, 26.  
 támoχtsapàpauauaχkàiinai *walking about, he then fol-  
 lowed (the road)* nbt. 143, 4.

ápasàtsimiau *they began to look about* nbt. 30, 5.

ákoχtamitapaukèkaup *we shall camp about along the  
 river* nbt. 6, 23.

áχsa kímáχtapauàuaχkaup *what are you travelling about  
 for?* nbt. 75, 23.

ápaistaukàtskàt *go about to get lodge-pins!* nbt. 1, 15.

itápaisaistoyiàu *they went crying about the camp* nbt.  
 1, 14.

támatapàisaisto *then again he cried about the camp* nbt.  
 2, 23.

sótámapsàmmokaie *then he looked about for him* nbt.  
 73, 36.

támoχtapauàuaχkau *he then walked about* nbt. 79, 8.

2<sup>o</sup>. In many cases a p- apparently has lost its literal  
 meaning referring to space and has become a colour-  
 less suffix to other prefixes, cf. a kap-, aχkyap-  
 (tap-?), ksisap-, ksistap-, manistap-,  
 nitap-, pinap-, satap-, etc. E. g.:

mánatáχkàpinausiu *those that had a new way of dressing*  
 nbt. 73, 14.

einí ómáχtapautsatsìxp *where the buffalo would come  
 the nearest* nbt. 7, 27.

N.B. ómaie apáipuyiuàie *over there is (a man) standing  
 up* nbt. 79, 24.

apáiksimatsìmmotseiauaie *they were happy to meet one  
 another* nbt. 77, 2.

itápáχpatskòtsiu *(the people) made a rush (crowding one  
 another)* nbt. 81, 14.

**apam-** *across (the river, the water).*

After other elements we find in compounds also:

- o p a m -, - u p a m -.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, that is to say only immediately followed by verbalizing suffixes:

áupæmo *he crossed* obt. 5, 11.

áupæmò *she crossed* nbt. 129, 29.

noχkopámipiokinan *take us across* nbt. 129, 8.

amóm psóaupæmìpiok *why does not this one take me across?* nbt. 129, 31.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix:

áχkumitopæmapaitapiu *is still living about across* obt. 5, 29.

autæmákopæmistàiua *he was nearly diving across* nbt. 88, 16.

aíisopæmotototàiau *they went on ahead across the river to build a fire* nbt. 23, 7.

3<sup>o</sup>. The adverb a p á m o χ t (s i) is rather frequent. N.B. tápopomáχtsi *towards the other side of the river* nbt. 88, 14.

**apæt-** *behind; back.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

nínitapâtau *I was the last one* nbt. 232, 22.

2<sup>o</sup>. in substantives:

otapátoχkatsists *his hindlegs.*

3<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix of verbal forms:

nisótæmitapataupi *I sat behind it* nbt. 229, 26.

itapátskapìnai *then he pulled back* nbt. 168, 23.

minapátsapìt *do not look back* nbt. 207, 12.

Combined with - u χ s - (- á χ s -, - o χ s -) *back* (cf. sub u χ s -) a p æ t - occurs several times with the meaning (*to the*) *north*, e. g.:

áp̄xtoχsais̄piu *he was looking north* nbt. 66, 19.

óμαχ̄kauk áp̄xtoχsò *they went north over that way* nbt. 167, 33.

The adverbial form of this combination is ap̄xtoχsoχtsi (*it is over north* nbt. 187, 3), not to be confounded with the adverbial form of a p̄x t- scil. ap̄xtoχtsik (*long ago* obt. 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 2) which is often verbalized: paχtsikáp̄atoχtsikàukin *he was just a little behind her* obt. 19, 18.

ap̄xtoχtsikàukinai *he was coming behind* obt. 43, 9.

paχtsikáp̄at̄aχtsikàukinai (*his partner*) *was right behind him* nbt. 82, 1.

#### apokap- reversed.

Cf. makap- *bad*, ikokap- *very bad*.

apók̄ap̄itap̄iū *he is a person with whom everything is reversed* nbt. 49, 24.

ixtapók̄ap̄inixkatau *he was called the reverse of it* nbt. 67, 14.

otáp̄ok̄ap̄inixkakoaiē (*people*) *reversed their name* (lit. *called them reversed*) obt. 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 2.

istoχkanáupok̄ap̄itap̄iū *he is the person with whom everything is most reversed* nbt. 49, 25.

#### asi- just.

Usually noted with an imperative and often combined with -kip- *just, for a moment* (cf. sub kip-).

kás̄ikip̄sk̄etso *I just scare you for a while* obt. 40, 15.

sís̄ikit (from: asi-sík̄it) *just break it* nbt. 2, 3.

N. B. asóp̄atsis *chair* (lit. *a thing to sit upon for a moment*).

Perhaps a si- may be connected with a s- *little, young*, which has only been noticed in substantive forms

(see: C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Het identificeerend karakter der possessieve flexie in talen van Noord-Amerika*, p. 18)\*).

**aso-** *covering* (?)

soksistsíkui *cloud*; cf. ksistsikúi *day*.

sokásimi *shirt*.

asókaiis *trunk*, cf. káiis *dried meat*.

**askak(s)-** *consent, will, can*.

1°. as an independent verb:

nitáskak *I consent*.

2°. as a verbal prefix, most times, but not always, with a negation:

áskàkaniu *he consents*.

mátáskàksipuauats *she would not get up* nbt. 103, 29.

mátáskaksapìksiàua (*the buffaloes*) *would not run in* obt. 13, 25.

mátáskàksauatòm *he refused to eat them* obt. 6, 29.

mát(α)skàkspummoyiuaiksauaie *they did not want to help him* nbt. 213, 24.

mátáskaksoàa *she did not consent to go in* nbt. 151, 2.

**αskαs-** *always*.

In the forms recorded it is always the first element of the compound, at least if we leave out of account the personal prefixes and the prefix *mat-* *not* by which it is preceded.

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\*) Versl. en Meded. d. Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen. Afd. Letterkunde. 5e R. Dl. II. 1916. Amsterdam.

ánnaxkaie askxsaípiskiu *those were the people (that) were always corralling* nbt. 37, 19.

áskxsaiksindòksiu *he had always plenty of food to eat with delight* nbt. 200, 15.

áskxsaikoanimiuaie *she is always playing with him* nbt. 102, 23.

áskxsaístainai *he was always thinking* obt. 4, n<sup>o</sup>. 19.

askxkspaumóksàkiuae *always he had it under his arm* obt. 11, 7.

áskxsauàsainiu *he always cried* nbt. 74, 11.

**asok-** *about, across one another.*

I have only noted it in combination with a u-:

áístmauasokòyiau *they would go about* nbt. 3, 15; nbt. 3, 39.

itauásokòmaxkaup *we began to run across one another* nbt. 18, 16.

1<sup>o</sup>. **at(s)-**, cf. 2<sup>o</sup>. **mat(s)-** *again.*

2<sup>o</sup>. **at(s)-** *around, in a circle.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, scil. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

áuautsiau *they made a circle* nbt. 16, 24.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix:

uskáni átsistoxkinatsiuaie *he had his younger brother round his neck* nbt. 79, 29.

támatsistoxkinatsiuaie *he then wore him round his neck* nbt. 79, 4.

itatsótopatòm *(the people) sat all around it* nbt. 119, 8.

itótamiatâyaiiua *(the war-party) came in a circle in sight of the camp* nbt. 89, 22.

ákotamiâtaiayîau *they would come in sight of the camp in a circle* nbt. 32, 8.

**aumatap-, omatap-.**

A compound of 2 verb-stems, scil. a u m a t(o)- and t a p(o)- with the respective meanings of *to start* and *to go*; cf. 3<sup>o</sup>. m a t-, and t a p-.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

áístæmomatapòiau *they then went* obt. 34, 20.

stámsepìomatapòiau *then they started in the night* obt. 39, 9.

ikiómatapòyinai *they all were going on a raid* nbt. 79, 7.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix *to begin*:

itáumatapasàiniu *he began to cry* nbt. 75, 6.

áumatapiitsimâu (*the people*) *began to skin* nbt. 3, 8.

mátsitomatapìksisàu (*the buffalo-herd*) *had started again to run* obt. 15, 24.

otáumatapsekotsisàuaists *when they began to gather them up* obt. 26, 15.

stámatomatapipæskau *then (the buffalo-herd) began to dance again* obt. 21, 10.

itomátapitàχsiu *and then (the Peigan tribe) began to have the scalp-dance* nbt. 82, 24.

áumatapòtsim *he started to swim* nbt. 79, 30.

A peculiar form has o m a t a p- in:

nitsítomataployì *I began to eat* nbt. 226, 8.

totamátapinòkit *begin holding me* obt. 38, 30.

N.B. a u m a t a p-, o m a t a p- may not be mistaken for a m o t a p-; see there.

**aut-**, cf. ot-, otami-, otsat-, otak-.

**a(u)tæmi-** *after a while*. It is most times found in imperatives; in other forms it nearly always occurs in combination with futural a k(s)- (cf. a u t æ m a k -); but we find also:

itautaministutsiu (*the people*) *moved down after a while* nbt. 14, 24.

1<sup>o</sup>. with the obvious meaning *after a while*:

atámipùχsaput *come up (to my camp) after a while* nbt. 226, 30 (possibly haplology for a t æ m i - a m i -, cf. a m i -).

atáminoksatòk *after a while you must own them* (inan.) obt. 44, 27.

atáminoksatot *after a while be owner of them* (inan.) obt. 41, 4.

2<sup>o</sup>. This meaning is weakened to *then*:

atámoχtakaiùt *then you must go from* obt. 48, 31.

atámanistsisau *say then (to your pets)* obt. 19, 26.

atámikstsìnixtsit noχtókisi *bite then the end of my ear!* nbt. 128, 16.

**autæm-ak-**

1<sup>o</sup>. *on the very verge of, on the point of, about* :

autamákixtàtsikaiksistsiku *it was about noon* nbt. 231, 1.

nitautæmáksinìsi *I was about to fall off* nbt. 232, 25.

áutæmatàksàχpi(u) (*the rope*) *was just about to come off* nbt. 228, 7.

2<sup>o</sup>. *soon*.

autæmákotò *she will soon be here* obt. 33, 14.

autæmákomàtapò *he will soon go* obt. 52, 26.

3<sup>o</sup>. *nearly*.

kitautæmsauatàksino *I nearly don't see you any more* obt. 29, 8. Cf. kitátamisauatsina (= kit-áutæmi-sau-ats-

ino; Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 29) *I nearly do not see you any more now* de J. de J. bt. 47, 10.

autzmáksikoχpatsiuaie *he nearly felled it* obt. 17, 15.

autzmáksèniua (*the people*) *nearly died (for something to eat)* nbt. 131, 16.

autzmáksàkutsiu (*the pot*) *is nearly boiling over* obt. 26, 30.

autzmákàχkxnàiniu (*the people*) *were nearly all dead* obt. 12, 15.

autzmákopxmistàiiua *he was nearly diving across* nbt. 88, 16.

áutzmáksikoko *it was nearly night* obt. 57, 16.

áutzmaksiksistsipxskàup *we have nearly done dancing* nbt. 192, 20.

áitamakitsuyinipitsiau *they were nearly frozen in the water* nbt. 23, 12.

annóχk autzmáksapanístsoyi nitótokānimists *now I have pretty near enough of my scalps* nbt. 108, 13.

taùtzmáksipuxsòixpinnan *we are nearly smothered from smoke* obt. 28, 3.

N.B. moksíks nitákotzmoχtsèni *I can only die by awls* (cf. nbt. 106, 14: *I would die by awls*) nbt. 106, 5.

### ik(s)- *very*.

ik(s)-, which may be cognate with ak- *much*, occurs in different combinations, e. g.: ikskai- (from: iks-ikai-), iik(s)- („Zerdehnung” as German philologists would say, ergo this form is not a „combination”) and even: ikskaiik(s)-.

íkakauoyi auaúaxsaists *there are very many foods* nbt. 76, 19.

íkakauoiau mí'nists *there are very many berries* nbt. 5, 3.

iikátosatom *he became a great medicine-man* obt. 63, 9.

áiiksiksístuyiu *it got very hot* obt. 37, 11.

áiiksiszmdò *after a very long time* obt. 15, 17.



1<sup>o</sup>. ikəm- *quick*.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

ikámsin *he was fast* nbt. 189, 2.

iksíkəmo *he is very fast*.

ikamó *get up!* (talking to horses).

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix:

itsíkamistutsiu *then (the people) moved fast* nbt. 7, 5.

itákkəmoχkanaupaistutòaii imoiániks *then they all began quickly to make robes* nbt. 13, 4.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix with a somewhat different, though undoubted, derived meaning, scil. *eventually, perhaps*.

a) c. subjunctivo:

kamóχkitstsixki *there might be some one* nbt. 73, 5.

b) c. conjunctivo:

ikəmáχsitakisàie *if he is pleased* obt. 6, 9.

kəmítatsàpsis *if she was foolish* nbt. 33, 23.

ikəmítsaiisínias *if he does not hit it* nbt. 242, 27.

íkəmitakiasi *if he hits (the ball)* nbt. 242, 10.

ikəmípixtsii *if (the buffalo-herd) is far away* nbt. 68, 29.

c) with a χ k -:

áχksikəmsksìnimaie *perhaps she will know it* obt. 51, 10.

áχksikəmatsinii *some more may die yet* nbt. 114, 7.

áχksikəməipiau *just about ten* nbt. 236, 37; cf. áχkai-stokàmi nitomíxkàniks *I catch about two fishes* nbt. 236, 27.

d) with a k - (futurum conjunctivi, see Uhlenbeck, *Conjunctief-achtige Modi* p. 19):

káksikəmitotànik *he will perhaps go and tell you* obt. 6, 10.

náksikəmoχkoàimau *I shall perhaps have use of him* obt. 6, 13.

e. with the irrealis, see Uhlenbeck, *Conjunctief-achtige Modi* p. 27.

2<sup>0</sup>. **ikαm-** *straight, right.*

Perhaps cognate with 1<sup>0</sup>. ikαm-, although it has secondary forms, which never occur with the meaning of 1<sup>0</sup>. ikαm-, scil. -okam- and mokam- (cf. itom-, otom-, matom-). The prefix mokam- always and ikam- nearly always take the first place in a word-complex; -okam- never except in:

okámipuyisaâmists *the war-bonnets standing straight up* nbt. 19, 23.

Examples:

mokámanàukoxt *right half (of the buffalo-herd)* nbt. 139, 23.

stámaukamòtspuxpàipiixk *he just jumped straight up* obt. 46, 17.

stókamotspuxpiis *if it goes straight up in the air* nbt. 242, 28.

áukamipàpiksistaiau *they were put straight up* nbt. 1, 25.

sotámokamòtaitapò *then he went straight (to)* obt. 11, 25.

**ikit-** *over, across.*

ponoká'mitaiks itáikitatsìmaiau *they (the dead) were laid across on horses* nbt. 21, 4.

(i)**kin-** 1<sup>0</sup>. *soft, in substantives:*

ikináuksisakùì *soft meat* nbt. 145, 1.

2<sup>0</sup>. *slowly, as a verbal prefix:*

kináutamisò *he went slowly up* nbt. 180, 1.

nisótαmikinauαkαχpinan *we then went slowly* nbt. 231, 35.

3<sup>0</sup>. *easy, gently, as a verbal prefix:*

ikináikainimiâu *they opened it easy* nbt. 204, 5.

otsítsikinanáχkimokàie *she gently laid his head down*  
nbt. 197, 9.

átsikikinautəmíòχkiàkiu *then he again very gently looked*  
*over the hill at him* obt. 63, 19.

**ikin-** *all (together).*

ikiómatapòyinai (*the Peigan tribe*) *were all going on a*  
*raid* nbt. 79, 7.

ikiuókunaiiu (*the people*) *was all camping together* nbt.  
112, 1; 126, 11.

ikiómatapò (*the Peigan tribe*) *all went* obt. 57, 2.

N.B. itáukiotăχpummàu (*the people*) *all went on to*  
*buy* nbt. 14, 1.

**ikyai-** *finally.*

ikyáiaainitsiuaie (*the Peigan tribe*) *killed him after a*  
*hard fight* nbt. 103, 3.

nitsíkyaiaiskotăχkaiixpinan *we finally got back home*  
nbt. 231, 36.

ikyáiaupitsisòè *he had a hard time to get out of the*  
*water* nbt. 170, 34.

itsíkyaiaiskistauăχkautsèiau *then they finally stopped*  
*fighting* nbt. 213, 3.

ikyáiaăχkònimìu *he finally found (the enemy)* nbt. 83, 18.

ikyáiaăχkonoyiuaie *she finally found him* nbt. 159, 7.

1<sup>0</sup>. **ixk-** becomes -oχk- in itoχk-; cf. moχk-.

See as for this change: -ixp-, and -ixt-, also:

ápekoχkùminimàu „*Round-cut-scabby-robe*”, and ixk-  
umínitsiuaie *she had cut it around* nbt. 73, 20; ixk-

otsíuaie *she gave him those* nbt. 82, 23 and kítoχkot

*I give it to you.* Cf. also Uhlenbeck, *Flexion of substantives in Blackfoot* p. 29.

It is best translated by: *on, on top of*; e. g.:

áitoχkitòpiuaie *she sat on top of it* nbt. 202, 31.

ixkitòpisodò (*the party*) *went to war on horseback*  
nbt. 16, 13.

tsánistsinami kitákixkitopixp *and what color (of horse)*  
*will you ride on?* obt. 1, 17.

ixksksínoyiu *he knows about them* nbt. 43, 22.

2<sup>0</sup>. **ixk-** *gone, ended.*

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

áketsinixkaiiaiks *they were nearly all gone* nbt. 172, 7.

itsítsinixkauaie *then it was all gone* nbt. 178, 28.

mátakètsinixkàua *all of them will not be gone* nbt.  
208, 28.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a prefix:

ánnnyauk ixkixtsíu *there was the end of the smoke* nbt.  
157, 12.

kénnimaie ixkakútsiu *and now the boiling is ended*  
nbt. 92, 21 (one of the many formulas used by story-  
tellers to conclude their narrative).

ixksinóyia otákai *it was the last he saw of his partner.*

**ixp-**. Sometimes -oχp-, e. g.: mátoχpitomatapoχkoka-  
kiniàpiks(iu) *he began to buck with me again* nbt. 233,  
4; cf. -ixk-, -ixt- and moχp-.

The general meaning of **ixp-** is: *with, accompanied by.*  
ixpitsínapistàiiua *he dived with him down the river*  
nbt. 89, 15.

ixpítχχkayiuiaie *she went home with it* nbt. 103, 13.

íxpαχκànauαχkaiiau *they went home with them all*  
obt. 58, 13.

ixpítisùiotshimaie *then he swam in the river with him*  
nbt. 80, 17.

ixpisústuyímiau *they were four years with it.*

kénni otákài ánnixpitotsáχkyàpiksuaie *and there close to his partner he threw his head up out of the water with him* nbt. 80, 24.

N.B. the very real meaning of *ixp-* in:

kixpitómatapòyinai (= ki ixpitómatapòyinai) *and then (the wolf) started off (scil. with the magic trick)* nbt. 170, 18.

**ixt-** cf. *moxt-*.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

ixtó *he went along* nbt. 182, 1.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix with the meaning: *from*. In some cases it may be translated by *along*. Often it is used to emphasize another local prefix:

anná támisokixtsisò *there was one that came forward*  
nbt. 73, 16.

itáixtsisàuyi *then they came forward* nbt. 73, 13.

ixtsítsapauaniauaie *then they flew along after (him)* nbt. 190, 21.

áχkéyi ixtsóyinai *he was walking along on the water*  
nbt. 74, 15.

ixtsitámisò *he came up from* nbt. 172, 1.

ixtsístapitstsiu (*this it is*) *it started from* nbt. 101, 15.

ixtsínapapauàuaχkaiixk *he was walking about along down the river* obt. 63, 12.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix *for, for the sake of*.

ixtoχkúmiu *he makes noise for* nbt. 175, 24.

ixtápaiokaiixk *he therefore slept about, (that he might have a dream)* nbt. 85, 7.

nistóyi ixtsóyiua *I cause him to eat* (lit. *he eats because of me*).

4<sup>o</sup>. as an instrumental prefix :

íxtsinauàsia *he became a chief by it* nbt. 122, 18.

ixtáupimiskàupiau *it was made into ropes* nbt. 6, 7.

ixtáisokinakii *they doctored with it* nbt. 53, 9.

**imak-** *even.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms :

imaksíkapseks *even hard-seed-berries* nbt. 7, 16.

imaksínakâxtsì átsinaiiu *even a small piece of fat* obt. 13, 4.

imaksínakstsimiks *even the young ones* obt. 2, n<sup>o</sup>. 7.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix :

imakétokuyitoχkònimàsau notokâ'ni *if they find only one hair of my head* obt. 19, 27.

imaksínokapis *even when they had supplies* obt. 1, 4.

imakúmaistuyis *even if it was very cold* nbt. 12, 8.

**imat-** *nearly.*

imatâχkanainèpitsiu (*the people*) *nearly all froze* nbt. 76, 10.

áumatsipuàuyaiks *they nearly got up* nbt. 111, 8.

imatâχkanaisòpokokâpsiau *they were nearly all bad* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 11.

nitsímatoytâukitsk *I nearly vomit from you* obt. 33, 18.

otsímatayìsitokaie *he was nearly hit by him* obt. 40, 7.

nitsímatoytsinèts *I was nearly drowned* obt. 65, 4.

**in-** *down, off.*

Now and then the forms *ini-*, *aini-*, *an(i)-* are found.

1<sup>o</sup>. in the combination in-is- to go down, to get off.

ítsksinisò then she went back down nbt. 168, 25.

áikaksinisàu he only got off nbt. 33, 17.

πάχtsikάχkokinisàu (the war-party) all got from their horses just for a moment nbt. 30, 30.

tázminisò then he went down nbt. 163, 6.

nápanisau(o)t begin to get off about nbt. 31, 2.

ki áinisixk and he got thrown off nbt. 241, 2.

stsíkiks áinisii some of them fell off nbt. 209, 13.

anisáu(o)t come down nbt. 158, 23.

noχkáztsisínisòiauanìu he also jumped off in front nbt. 17, 12.

itáznisòauaniàiks they jumped off their horses nbt. 17, 11.

2<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

kánáinipiòk bring them all down nbt. 169, 5.

stázminièpiuaie okóaists then she took him down to their lodges nbt. 168, 33.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

stázminoχpatsistuyiaie he then shot her down nbt. 110, 30.

kénnaie itsitáznnoyiu from there (the people) shot down nbt. 40, 5.

ínásinai she was stuck (in the snow) nbt. 135, 1.

otsítsinisokotakaie it spat down on him nbt. 186, 18.

tsitsinápsàsèpiu he looked down all round obt. 57, 13.

άχké inamátsuiepyiu he stood down in the water nbt. 146, 7.

máχksinistàts that they moved down nbt. 7, 25.

nisoóyi otsínixtanists four were the things he put in the pot nbt. 155, 13 (?)

itáutamínístutsiu (*the people*) moved down nbt. 14, 24.  
 itsénnaukimíuàie *she put his head down* nbt. 125, 23.

**inni-, ino-** long.

1<sup>o</sup>. as predicative adjective; see: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 19.

2<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

inúiskínètsimàni *long sacks* nbt. 2, 20.

Inokímists *Long-lakes* nbt. 5, 25.

inoksíaists *they were long sticks* nbt. 34, 20.

Inóyisoχtsani *Long-ass-John* (nickname).

Inyókakinyàχtso *Long-back-Joe* (nickname).

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

mátsinoaipuyòatsiks (i. e. mátsinoaipuyùatsiks) *he did not say anything for a long time* de J. de J. bt. 20, 7.

**in(i)-?**

nitsínâχkâχkokaie *he has already given it to me* nbt. 187, 20.

inátsitomâtsou *then he went on another raid* nbt. 83, 17.

nitsínôχkokaie *he has already given it to me* nbt. 188, 5.

ómâχkskimiks ínâχkòtâχpiaú *what has been given to big rocks* nbt. 188, 12.

kímauksiniokâχks *why do you sleep?* obt. 45, 13.

itsiniánístutoyiuaiks *he did the same thing to them* nbt. 115, 4.

**inipit-** 1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb *to be cold, freeze*:

mínipitsiâu *they could stand much cold* (lit. *they were strong being cold*) nbt. 12, 17.

auotásaininipitsiu *the (people) cried for cold* nbt. 12, 20.

imátâχkanainèpitsiu (*the people*) *nearly all froze*.



2°. in composition with other verbs, and then it is sometimes almost a prefix :

itomátapeneṗitáχkumiua *he then started to cry as if he were cold.*

**ip-**. The form *-ipi-* also occurs (cf. *ap-*, *tαm-*), fortuitously just in cases where the first *i-* has disappeared, because of which some compounds are more or less difficult to analyse, e. g.:

aitspyóμαχkàs *when he ran into the camp* nbt. 19, 2.

ítsπiυχtòm ápskotok *he put a white stone among them* nbt. 162, 28.

eíní ítζmsokitspiàupiiau *they suddenly sat among the buffaloes* obt. 14, 20.

1°. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes *to enter*.

πίk *come in!* nbt. 156, 32.

áupitsipìmaie *she entered with it* nbt. 165, 26.

áupipimaie *she entered with it* nbt. 160, 9.

mátsitsitsipimats *she did not go in.*

2°. as a verbal prefix *in(to)*, *to*.

ítsίpinixtsiuaie *he put him in (the pot).*

ixtsítsipszɔpomaxkau *she followed* nbt. 110, 4.

aitspyóμαχkàs *when he ran into the camp* nbt. 19, 2.

noχkítsipistutsisau ákai-Pekàni *when they moved to the ancient Peigans* obt. 3, n°. 12.

3°. in combination with other prefixes:

a) very often with *-ist-*, e. g.: *ipist-*, *ipst-*, cf. *ist-*; nearly always with the meaning: *in(to)*, *within*:  
anátsipstòμαχkàt *run in again* obt. 35, 25.

áipstòμαχkàii *they then would start for a run* nbt. 41, 12.

áipstsokapistutsixp *it was fixed up inside* nbt. 53, 28.

áipstsiskapiau einí *they would lead out the buffalo*  
nbt. 41, 13.

nitsítsipstauptákdmaxk *I was running around inside*  
obt. 19, 1.

Here has to be mentioned the adverb pistóχts  
(i p - i s t - o χ t s):

pistóχts ki sauá'χts *on the inside and the outside* obt.  
59, 9.

pistóχtsi *inside* nbt. 167, 12.

b) i p - combined with - o t -:

ipotóχtsim *near the door* nbt. 160, 9.

itsípotapiksistsiuaie *she threw him towards the door*  
nbt. 108, 4.

ipotóχtsiks *those standing in the lower part of the circle*  
nbt. 46, 4. Cf. akimóχtsiks *those at the upper end*  
nbt. 45, 24.

? misksíppotapòiau *they went in the opposite direction*  
nbt. 213, 21.

c) i p - combined with - i x k; nearly always adverb:  
píxkoχts *in front of (the first lodge)* obt. 59, 18.

áskχksaitsitaipuyiu píxkáχtsim nápioyis *he is always*  
*standing alone before the house.*

píxkoχtsim tázmitsoχkoχplinaí *it fell down near the*  
*door, just in front of it* nbt. 156, 26.

itsípíxkaipuyiu nápioyis = itsáχkáipuyiu nápioyis *he*  
*is standing before the house.* Cf. its o χ k -.

**ipistsik-** *a little, scarcely*; cf. aipistsik- (with the  
durative prefix ai-).

áipstsikàinoau *it is scarcely seen* nbt. 111, 36.

áipstsikaiszmspikaaí (*the people*) *would rub them a little*  
(scil. *their knives*) nbt. 1, 26.

áksipstsikapauàkiuaie *she would hit it (the tree) lightly*  
nbt. 10, 5.

nisótzmìpistsikitàupi *I stayed there a while* nbt. 230, 37.  
oápsp áipistsikasapìnai *he looked a little out of one of*  
*his eyes* nbt. 181, 15.

The combination with -s  $\alpha$  m - is too frequent to need  
many examples:

aipstsíksisizmòs *after a short while* nbt. 29, 16.

**ip(u)-** *standing, up*; see: n i p u -.

**is-** *ahead, in front.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by  
verbalizing suffixes:

itsísóiau *they went ahead* obt. 58, 19.

itáixtsisàuyi *then they came forward inside (of the circle)*  
nbt. 73, 13.

itsísó *he went ahead* obt. 53, 25.

itsíniso *he went down to* nbt. 79, 18.

itápauasainisòiau *they began to go about crying* nbt. 15, 16.

2<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

otsísosχkàtsists *his front-legs.*

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

itsísanistsiu *he said ahead* obt. 37, 2.

áiisapàsapii *they went ahead to look about* nbt. 16, 16.

itsísosomaxkàiau *they went ahead* nbt. 79, 10.

otsítsis $\alpha$ skunak $\alpha$ k *he was shot at from a distance by*  
*him* obt. 40, 6.

isátsit *look ahead* nbt. 75, 11.

otsítaiisipuyìmokaie *then she would stand in front of*  
*him* nbt. 198, 8.

N.B. the adverb isóχtsik *in the future* nbt. 51, 24;  
44, 8; 215, 12.

4<sup>o</sup>. *is-* combined with *-so-* (*sui-*) *near the shore*:  
 ómim áχkunitapisoàuo*p* *let us go over there near the*  
*shore* nbt. 103, 19.

Also as an independent adverb, e. g.: *isoóχtsi* *near the*  
*edge of the water* nbt. 74, 8.

N.B. *potáni isoóχtsim* *right near the fire* nbt. 153, 1;  
 cf. the two meanings of *sui-*.

1<sup>o</sup>. *ist-* *in(to)*.

*matáistokitoà*uats *he would not be shot through the*  
*body* nbt. 57, 22.

*autómitsistanià*ipiksim *otsísts* (*the people*) *first stuck their*  
*hands in (the snow)* nbt. 12, 10.

*itsístà*piksiu *he ran into (a hole)* nbt. 189, 9.

*áistsχkapià*iks *they crawled in* nbt. 195, 16.

*itsístχkapi*ixk *he then went in there (in a hole)* nbt.  
 195, 8. Cf. however *st(aχt)* -.

*amóm atsiuá*skui *aitàχká*naistsokèkàm *all of them were*  
*camping in the forest there* nbt. 186, 2.

*istsinoχ*totàua *put them in (your beaver-rolls)* nbt. 99,  
 2; cf. however *it(s)* -.

A special meaning of *ist(s)* - is *in(to) the forest, the*  
*brushes*; perhaps we had better speak of a second  
 prefix *ist(s)* -. The examples are numerous (as well  
 of the independent as of the prefixed form):

*itsístso* *she went into the forest* nbt. 103, 15.

*àistsístó* *he entered (a forest)* nbt. 195, 20.

*otáistsì*piokaie *he was taken into the forest by her* nbt.  
 196, 27.

*itsístsà*piksiau *they fled into the brush* nbt. 211, 13.

*itsístsà*piu *he is sitting in (this bunch of timber)* nbt.  
 102, 28.

istsíppiksiu *fled into the brushes* nbt. 213, 23.

2<sup>o</sup>. **ist-** *two*. The independent numeral is: **n a t o k a**.

nitsámistsitapiâu *they were only two* nbt. 79, 9.

Cf. noχkátsistòkæmi *also two (horses)* nbt. 30, 17.

Properly we have to do with the compositional form of **nist-**; see there.

3<sup>o</sup>. **ist-**. A prefix to denote the superlative; usually combined with **-k a n a i-** (**-k a n a u-**), which standing by itself has the same function.

istómaχksim = kanáumaχksim *is the biggest (oldest) of all*.

In general, prefixed to **-k a n a i-**:

istoxkanáukapsiu *he is the worst of all*.

spóχtsim istoxkanáitapiua *all the people on high* obt. 68, n<sup>o</sup>. 9.

See: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 19.

**it(s)-**, see: **a i-**, **a u-**; and: Uhlenbeck, *Vormen van het Blackfoot* p. 35; *Some General Aspects* p. 49.

The meaning of **it(s)-** is: *in a certain place, at a certain moment, under certain circumstances*. So it often has a perfective character; e. g.:

Nápi itáiokau, niétæχtai itáiokau *Napi was sleeping, near a river he was sleeping\**.

áutòsaie ákitanistsuiaie *when she came back, he would say to her* nbt. 2, 1.

ki ítstuyiu *and then it was cold* nbt. 30, 22.

See also: nbt. 21, 6—26.

\*) Uhlenbeck, *Festschrift Thomsen*, p. 75, Leipzig 1912.

In the 2 prs. sg. and plur. of the imperative *it(s)-* is changed into *ist(s)-*:

*istsínoc̣totâua* put them in (your beaver-rolls) nbt. 99, 2; cf. however 1<sup>o</sup>. *ist(s)-*.

*annó stáupit* stay right here! nbt. 79, 26.

*ánistaupit* sit there obt. 15, 5.

*istsipít* then enter nbt. 75, 18.

Also twice in the conjunctive:

*istáupisi, saiiáupisi* (you will know) if she is there or if she is not there nbt. 139, 28.

*stókamotspuçpiis* if it goes straight up in the air nbt. 242, 28.

Remarkable is *it-* in verbal forms of the 1 prs. plur. inclusive to define *the place where*:

*itsipútsimaup* the Battle-coulee nbt. 1, 6.

Cf. also: *itsitáutðaie* then (the war-party) came near to nbt. 17, 1.

*otáitotoçsi'a* when he came to it nbt. 97, 13.

In combination with other prefixes *it(s)-* often has only an emphatic force. Hence one can find it more than once in one form: *itsítóçkitopiuaie okakíni* he lighted down on her back nbt. 100, 8.

Combinations as *itsit-*, *itsin-*, *itsoçk-*, *itsoçk-*, *itap-*, *itαm-*, *itsip-*, a. o. are frequent:

*máçkitsitakaikamotâniaks* that many of them might have escaped him nbt. 180, 29.

*ítskitapò* he then went back to nbt. 198, 15.

*nikáitaiksítóçkitsok æksín* I have slept on a bed.

**itαm-**, cf. *tαm-*, *s(o)tαm-*, *autαm-*.

**itsoçk-** = *it-* + *ixk-* on (top); cf. *ixk-*:

*itsoçkítaupiu* he sat on it obt. 55, 23.

itoχkítauiaiaki *Strikes-on-top* (name of a woman).

itoχkítóχsinàμαχα *Takes-good-gun-on-top* (name of a man).

itoχkítsipuyiauaie *they stood on it* obt. 63, 6.

**itom-** = it- + om-; cf. aumatap-, omatap-.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

ítomo *he went first* obt. 5, 9.

omá itamóa *that leader* nbt. 23, 22.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix:

ítomaipiksiu *he struck first* nbt. 4, 23.

ítomauaiàki *Strikes-first* (name of a woman).

ítòmipùyiu *the first runner* nbt. 242, 7.

itomápauàuaχkau *he was on the lead* nbt. 200, 7.

ítomainitsiuaie *he kills him first*.

itom- always takes the first place in verbal forms, in contrast with two cognate prefixes: -ot-om-, and -at-om- (twice -otαm-):

atotámakutsisau *when they once start to boil* nbt. 25, 33.

atotámokoxpotàsi *when it snowed first in the fall* nbt. 7, 24.

matómautstuyiu *in the beginning of the winter* nbt. 7, 31.

matómsotsikat *you must slide first* obt. 47, 9.

áistámatòmipiksiu *he takes the first strike* nbt. 242, 5.

moyísts mátotomoxkùsksinim *he also first found out the lodges* nbt. 81, 7.

áistámotomapauauaniu *he would be ahead and fly about* nbt. 96, 15.

áutomouaàkoaiuu *they were chased first* nbt. 1, 23.

stámotomitàpuχpaipiu *he first jumped to* obt. 43, 11.

nitákotòmapiksistau *I shall throw it first* obt. 47, 28.

The question is, how these forms -otom-, -atom- and a third matom- (cf. 3<sup>o</sup>. mat-) are related to each other. Are the first two only compositional forms of matom- or stands -otom- by itself as one of the numerous combinations of prefixes with the element -ot-? See sub ot-.

1<sup>o</sup>. **itsin-** *all.*

áketsinixkaiiaiks *they were nearly all gone* nbt. 172, 7.  
itsítsinixkauaie *then (his earth) was all gone* nbt. 178, 28.

2<sup>o</sup>. **itsin-** *among.*

támitsinàpauàuaχkau otápi'sìsin *he then travelled about among the wolves* nbt. 117, 17.

nimátaitinspaiksau *I am not with them* nbt. 175, 8.

tsá kanístá pitsinapauàuaχkaχpa apí'siks *how did you come to travel about among the wolves?* nbt. 119, 24.

ótsitsinauàuaχkàni znník matápiin *(they saw) a person walking with (the wolves)* nbt. 119, 11.

**itsistoxk-**; serves to indicate that the subject of the verb is in a lying position; e. g.:

nítsitsistoxkàipuyi *I talk while lying.* See: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 59.

N.B. nitákitsts *I shall lie* nbt. 154, 22.

**itsoχk-, itsaχk-** *before, by.*

itsítsá'χkipuyiau *they stood in front of it* nbt. 22, 30.

kemáuketsáχkapuixpuàuaisks == kimáukitsoχkaipuixpuauaisks *why are you standing before (the hole)?* de J. de J. bt. 28, 15.

itsóχkopìu *he sat by (a creek)* obt. 20, 4.



**itsk-**. Perhaps = *i t - s k -* (cf. *s k - back*).

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

nitsi'tsko *I went on the prairie* (scil. *from the river back*) nbt. 218, 6.

áipitskòiau *they had got far on the prairie* nbt. 187, 8.

àitskó *he went on the prairie* nbt. 196, 18.

támoxtsitskòaie *he just went past them* nbt. 180, 13.

autsitskóaie *he went past them* nbt. 180, 12.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

a) with the meaning *on the prairie*:

aχkitsíkoχpitskitau *we shall leave (our game) out on the prairie* nbt. 109, 6.

itauámistutsiu; áitsksistutsiu *then (the people) moved up on the prairie; (the people) had moved on the prairie* nbt. 14, 16.

b) combined with *i x t - (- o χ t -)* past:

támoxtsitskoχsokuyìnai *her tracks went past them* nbt. 147, 16.

ákoχtsitskixpìu *he will dance by* nbt. 141, 19.

ixtsitsitskokskasiuaiks *then he ran past them* nbt. 189, 13.

sotámoxtsitskokskasiuaie *he then just ran past him* nbt. 173, 17.

támāχkanoχtaitskokskasìnai *then they all ran past him* nbt. 207, 30.

c) forming the comparative:

itsitskaχsiu *it was better* (lit. *it was good past it*) obt. 33, 3.

There is also a form *utsitsk-*.

**kak-** *just, only*; *ai-* (*au-*) is often infix:

kakatósi *star* (lit. *just a sun?*).

káksistomiu *he was just naked* (lit. *he just had a body*)  
nbt. 45, 6.

kákitsinim *he just saw it* obt. 61, 22.

kaúyui kaksáixtsis *that you are sticking out with your  
mouth only* obt. 52, 16.

kakókasatòminai *he just picked it up* obt. 9, 1.

kákoχpomòksakin *he just pressed it under his arm*  
obt. 9, 2.

kákitaixtsii *were just there* obt. 49, 20.

áikakauoyiu (*the people*) *only ate* nbt. 5, 17.

káukoχtòkiaiks *they had only their cars left* nbt. 18, 1.

áikaukoχtzskunàkiaie *he just shot with it* nbt. 183, 12.

**kαm-**, see *ik α m-* (1<sup>o</sup>. and 2<sup>o</sup>).

**kanai-, kan(au)-** *all*.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of substantives:

kanáunistaxs *all the calves* obt. 20, 5.

spóχtsim istoχkanáitapiua *all the people on high* obt.  
68, n<sup>o</sup>. 9.

With the help of *kanai-* *each, all* distributive numerals are formed from the animate and the inanimate genders; their value is *one to each, two to each*, etc. (Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 32).

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

áukanaipìmiau *they all came in* obt. 13, 1.

kanáisaièpitsiu *all of them tell lies* obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 8.

kánistapiaùtomo *he was far ahead of the others* nbt.  
81, 5.

aukanáiksistsipuyìsi *when all of them stood in a circle*  
nbt. 73, 13.

Often *kan(a)i-* is preceded by *ix-* (*ixk-*?) at

the beginning, by -oχ- (-oχk-?) in the interior of a compound:

kítóχkanòχkot *I give you all* obt. 11, 3.

otâχkánanik *all of them said to him* obt. 30, 21.

ixtsítâχkanauyiauaie *all of them ate* obt. 8, 1.

ki ámoistsi itxχkánaisìnikiu *and on these raids he each time counted a coup* nbt. 90, 14.

itâ'χkánaisòyâχsatau *all of them were yelled at* nbt. 72, 9.

Frequently kanai- is affixed to several words of the sentence for the sake of congruence:

kanáipim kanáiniua *all of the buffalo went in* nbt. 164, 23.

kanáitapìua tzmâχkánaisksinìm *then all the people knew it.*  
kánáuχsoχtsi nitâ'χkánaiپuyàu *they were all standing behind* nbt. 72, 6.

About kαn(a i)- denoting a superlative, see 3<sup>o</sup>.  
i s t -.

### 1<sup>o</sup>. kat(ai)-

a) a negative prefix:

katáimiks *Not-laughers* (name of a clan) obt. 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 2.

kikátaukitskatâχpists *these that you did not vomit up* obt. 8, 11.

omá kxtáukemìua *the unmarried man.*

kátaisokàsimi *No-coat* (name of a man).

kátaukyàio *No-bear* (name of a man).

kátáisepìsto *No-owl* (name of a woman).

katáiataxsi (properly katáiitaxsi) *No-really-good* (name of a man).

b) an interrogative prefix:

kikátainokixpa *did you see me?* obt. 59, 15.

kikátaitaiàpixpa *don't you see something?* obt. 58, 26.

kikátaikimmoka *who does not pity you?* obt. 68, n<sup>o</sup>. 11.  
kátatauaniuats *is he used to tell?* obt. 17, 10.

2<sup>o</sup>. **kat(ai)-** *that is why*; e. g.:

kátaisàmiàua *that's why they wear the war-bonnet* nbt. 91, 8.

katsauáuiiau *that's why they don't eat* nbt. 174, 9.

ki autoiátsis kátoχtautoanisòyi'a *and that is why they use the forked stick as a cane* nbt. 91, 9.

kátaisàikimii *that's why they are short-furred* nbt. 191, 15.

kátautsìnaiau *that's why they are fat* nbt. 174, 1.

**kixkixt-** *now and then, in different places.*

áikixkixtòpiu *(the war-party) would sit down now and then* nbt. 27, 5.

sotámitsìkixkixtaukunàiiu *then (the people) camped in different places* nbt. 7, 30.

itsìkixkixtaukunàiiu amó Pekániua, *this Peigan-tribe camped along in different places* nbt. 32, 5.

akáχtsìxkixtsiksìsau *(the buffalo) were running far* nbt. 166, 15.

itáikixkixtsòkau *then he would sleep at times* nbt. 192, 18.

**kip-** 1<sup>o</sup>. *for a moment*:

kipínisau(o)t *get off for a while* obt. 5, 16.

áχkipitoxpòksotsikau(o)p *let us slide together for a while* obt. 47, 2.

kipipúχsaput *come here for a while* obt. 47, 24.

túskau ákipoxpokòtsisop *only one time we shall smoke together for a while* nbt. 157, 3.

kipotónaukit *look for a while on my head for lice* nbt. 149, 22.

ákipsimiop *we will have a drink for a moment* nbt. 35, 21.

áχkunikìpstsìmotsèiop *let us wrestle for a while* obt. 47, 17.

2<sup>o</sup>. *within a moment, soon:*

náχksikipinòαs *that I may see him soon* nbt. 202, 19.  
kipánistsi *in a hurry!* (adverb belonging to the verb ánistsiu *he does*).

kipátsàmit *soon hunt!* obt. 7, 16.

kipóχksistàuatòmòkit *quickly raise him for me* obt. 25, 5.  
anikípuχksìkiakòki *quickly make a trap for me* obt. 31, 14.

3<sup>o</sup>. *falsely, by accident:*

támikipaniu *then he falsely said* nbt. 145, 30.

aikípanistau *she was told it just for fun* nbt. 106, 10.

káχkipαχtoχpuau *I might shoot you by accident* nbt. 111, 4.

kitáikipan *you are fooling* nbt. 221, 16.

sá, kimátaikipanixpa *no, I don't fool* nbt. 221, 17.

N. B. kixpitsítakotòyinai *he was just about to get to*  
obt. 40, 9; perhaps we must analyse: ki i xp....

### **kot-** *can.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

nitoχkót *I can.*

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix:

mátatoχkòtskìtsipìmats *(the buffalo) could not go back into* obt. 11, 20.

kimátoχkòtsinikixpuaua *you can never kill me.*

mátoχkòtsãχpauanìuatsiks *he could not get out of the water.*

### **ksik-**

1<sup>o</sup>. *away, out:*

áuksiksisò *he had just gone out of sight* nbt. 196, 6.

sótæmiksikskàakaie *she then walked away from him* nbt. 168, 30.

otáistamiksikskàakaiks *they would just walk away from him* nbt. 169, 7.

itsáiksikâχpaipiñai *then she jumped out* nbt. 138, 18.  
 ákoχtaksiksaumaχkâiñai *it would run out by (him)* nbt. 166, 14.

2<sup>o</sup>. ksik-sk- (with infixed -ai- becomes kaiiksk-) *on one side*. On account of this form with the infix, it is evident that ksiksk- is assibilated from kiksk-; cf. ksist- and kaiist-.

kaiikskâtsuiaie *he went on one side of them* nbt. 180, 11.  
 ksíkskoχt kénnauk itáiskixtsiù *there on one side he hid himself lying low* nbt. 145, 32.

Cf. otsípsksistoχtsi *on one side (of them)* nbt. 79, 8.

**ksisap-** *down, to the river*; from: ksis- + (t)ap-.

ákitsiksisapistutsop *we shall move down over on (Little Creek)* nbt. 2, 25.

itáiksisapistutsiù *(the people) used to move down (to the river)* nbt. 37, 26.

Twice found as an independent verb:

áiksisapòiau *they went down alongside the river* nbt. 190, 1.

amóia einíua omoχtáiksisapòχp *where the buffalo would come down (to drink at the creek)* nbt. 140, 2.

**ksiskan-** *early*:

ksiskænépuaus *when they got up early* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

itapínako ksiskænáutunì *then it was early in the morning* nbt. 27, 12.

1<sup>o</sup>. **ksist-** *done, complete*.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

itáiksistsiaiks *then they were completed* nbt. 9, 6.

otsóχsoaists áikâχkanaiksistsii *their food would all be ready* nbt. 107, 15.

2<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

tátsiksistokuyi *midnight*; cf. kokúyi *night*.

N.B. tátsikaiksistsikúyi *noon*; cf. ksistsikúyi *day*.

3<sup>o</sup>. as the usual prefix of the perfect tense, often combined with a kai-; see there.

ákatsitaiksistòpiu *he was already sitting down again* nbt. 185, 5.

áitsiksistapauyiuai'e'a *he had done eating* nbt. 98, 30.

áksistaiksistòtsisop *we shall quit smoking* nbt. 157, 19.

itáiksistsipóχksiaiks *they had done shedding their hair* nbt. 1, 11.

áiksistanistsiaua *they had done this* nbt. 97, 16.

sotámiksistsipuyiáiks *then they stood in their places* nbt. 181, 2.

aukanáiksistsipuyisi *when all of them stood in a circle* nbt. 73, 13.

áiksistapaiksistoχsoiau *they had done warming themselves* nbt. 23, 15.

itáiksistauaχkautseiau *then (the people) quit fighting* nbt. 21, 2.

támiksistsipæskau *then the people had done dancing* nbt. 73, 34.

áiksistapìmau *he had done making a lodge* nbt. 172, 14.

aiksistsínikinau *she had done skimming* nbt. 11, 16;

cf. nbt. 11, 21: nitsínikinàni *my soup of the leg-bones*.

2<sup>o</sup>. **ksist-**, **ksistap-** out of: ksist- + (t)ap-; with infixed -ai-, kaiist(a)p-.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb:

nitsítsiksistapo *then I lost my way* nbt. 218, 18.

2<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms *wild, false, of no account*.

ksistómita *wild dog*.

ksístoxpu's *wild cat* (pú'sa *cat*).

ksistápiapikoan *Dutchman* (lit. *false, or not real, white man*).

mátsiksistapitapiuats *he is not a person of no account*  
obt. 30, 17.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

a) *for nothing, without purpose*:

ponoká'mita kaífstuitapuyiu *the horse is standing without use*.

nimátatsiksistoxkokinànats *they did not give us any more for nothing* nbt. 225, 5.

Cf. the adverb: ksistóxtsi *for nothing*.

b) *false(ly)*:

máuikaiksistàpanistsiuaie *why does he tell him something false?* nbt. 133, 10.

kitáiksistàpauàniksi *that you falsely said to me* nbt. 100, 18.

c) *to an unknown place*:

tákstæmiksistapanistapu *I shall go to an unknown place*  
nbt. 73, 41.

áksiksistàpanistapauop *we shall go somewhere to an unknown place* obt. 34, 9.

**ksistak-** *over, across*:

itsíksístakáxpaiþiù *(the horse) jumped over him* nbt. 205, 16.

áístæmiksistakoxpapiþinai *he would just jump over (the fire)* nbt. 176, 14.

ksistækáþiksistsis pokúni niétaxtai *throw the ball across the river*.



**man-, manisk(s)-** *young, new(ly).*

Frequent as an element of nominal forms:

mánisksistæmiki *young buffalo-bulls* nbt. 189, 11.

manótapòtsists *the new pieces* obt. 7, 29.

ománokoauaiima *their new home.*

manókini *New-breast* (name of a man of the Fat-melter clan).

manáke *New-woman* nbt. 234, 36.

omáznnòmi *her new husband* nbt. 94, 13.

manáisto *New-crow* (name of a man).

manákitapiua *the new-grown-up people.*

But also in verbal forms:

mánatâχkâpinausiks (*those*) *that had a new way of dressing* nbt. 73, 14.

mánokìmiua *he has a new lodge* nbt. 42, 28.

omá túskæm manáukin mánoto *there was a young wolf* (lit. *a new-breast*) (*that*) *had just come* nbt. 117, 19.

**man(ist-),** *according to, in proportion to, how.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

matsikióaists nitúyi ænistápii *their moccasins were of the same* nbt. 167, 7.

ænistápsin amóksisk mokákiapakèin *she was such as these (that are) wise women* nbt. 216, 27.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix; together with the interrogative particles tsá(a), etc. it is often found in questions: tsá tákanistsipixpa *how shall I enter?* nbt. 75, 16.

tsá kanistápæpauàuaχkaχp *what do you travel about for?* obt. 51, 26; cf. áχsa kímoχtápauàuaχkaχp *what do you walk for?* obt. 51, 4.

tsáa kanistápapauànixpa *what are you talking about?*  
obt. 18, 26.

tsá kanistápapaiàkstsimaχpa *how did you steer the  
ears of the lodge about?* nbt. 138, 14.

tsáχtau tákanistòχpaxtau *how shall I be able to go there?*  
nbt. 74, 16.

N.B. tsá áχkanistapsòp *what shall we be?* nbt. 111, 13.  
3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix.

a) after demonstratives:

kénnyaie kanístoxkot *that way I give it to you* obt.  
59, 12.

ánni ná'χkanistàχtsimàtau *that way I heard about it*  
nbt. 84, 12.

ki ánnyaie kanístoxkòtoχpinan *and then this is all we  
have to give you* obt. 55, 10.

ánnyaie anistápitapiau *that kind of people they were all*  
nbt. 49, 26.

N.B. annáχkaie ánniànistàpakeu nitoχpokáupimau,  
ánnaχkàie nimoχtáksini *such kind of woman I was  
living with, that I shall die through her* obt. 61, 31.

b) after nit(uyi)- *the same*:

nitúyi matánistàutsim *in the same way he stuck arrows*  
nbt. 154, 9.

nitúyi ákanistaχsii *they were just as good* nbt. 51, 18.

nitúyi ixkənánistaikimatoχkoyìmi *they all suffered in  
the same way* nbt. 21, 26.

manistápomaχksìpiaiu, nitópiiau *as they were big (i. e.  
according to their sizes) they sat* nbt. 110, 13.

N.B. imaksínakstsimiks anistátsokìnakii *even the young  
ones doctored* obt. 2, n<sup>o</sup>. 7.

c) to state a duration:

nanistsísæmitòpixpi (3 months) *I stayed there.*

4<sup>o</sup>. as a relative verbal prefix to form distributive

numerals, which, in the same way as the ordinal numbers, have the ending -pi in the animate, and -χpi in the inanimate gender (Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 32); also with nouns:

ánnistápinàkuists mánistoxkòkaie *every morning he would give him* nbt. 78, 5.

anistsíkokuists *every night* nbt. 107, 19.

anistsíksistsíkuists áisamìixk *he hunted every day* obt. 23, 5.

5<sup>o</sup>. as a correlative prefix:

manistsínomàtapuxs támanistsìppiautomò *when they had started down, he was far ahead of the others* nbt. 81, 16.

manistápikauaxkùskoχpi, ixtáuanistápauàuaχkaiaiu *where the coulees were about, they went that way* nbt. 16, 17.

manistótaspinan, ánni nanistáitzskimaχpinan *as we owned horses separately, so we drove them separately* nbt. 223, 26.

6<sup>o</sup>. prefixed to verbal forms ending in -pi, to form relative clauses.

manistápakanàpixpi *where they were hidden from view* nbt. 16, 14.

annóm Pekániua mátsitstsìxp áχssi manistáχsp Okoésau *of these Peigans there was none as good as Belly-fat* obt. 33, 2.

kátánistàiaχsp àké *there was no such fine-looking woman* nbt. 168, 27.

anistáinauspi *the way he dressed* nbt. 85, 6.

manistáuauaxkautsìixp *how they fought in war* nbt. 1, 4.

maníststokimixp *because the water was so cold* nbt. 23, 12.

manistápiszmistuyixp *as it was far in the winter* nbt. 13, 9.

7<sup>o</sup>. with the conjunctive:

manístsapsi *when he looked* nbt. 87, 11.

omá Mékyäksiua anístãχkiäpiksatãs amóm mistsisãm *every time Red-scar butted that tree* obt. 17, 13.

manistsínomàtapuçs *when they had started down* nbt. 81, 15.

8<sup>o</sup>. to emphasize other prefixes, e. g. kak-, moçt-, nit-, nit-oçk-, ok- (cf. akai-), etc.:

okánistauamotsiixpi *they still invite each other* nbt. 54, 18.

okánistaixtsixpi *they are still there* nbt. 54, 19.

okánistaiaiaçkìtspiaie *it was still smoking* obt. 19, 15.

okánistaixtsìxp (*his lodge*) *was still there* nbt. 153, 26.

okánistaiixtsìxpiaiks *they were still there* obt. 64, 14.

áitanistutsinaiau *they were fat like (dog-ribs)* nbt. 6, 27.

mátsikakanistapoçkyakanapiua akópists *one never turned his head away from the soup* nbt. 7, 15.

aiisoísts kákanistauaiitsistànim *he just cut the meat down to the ends of the boss-ribs* nbt. 25, 22.

nímoçtanistàpauàuaçk *therefore I am travelling* nbt. 76, 22.

Ponákiksi ányaie nitóçkanistoçtaikàkimau *it is Cut-bank river, where they always cut lodge-poles from* nbt. 7, 7.

1<sup>o</sup>. **mat(s)-** is a negative prefix, which in certain cases is replaced by sau-(sai-) and kçtai- (see: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 38—41). It always stands in the first place, only the personal prefixes precede.

màtsisãmóa *after a short while* nbt. 73, 10.

matspiotoisuaiks *they did not go far for picking berries*  
nbt. 6, 15.

mátokuskusinoauats *he was not known* nbt. 74, 2.

2<sup>o</sup>. **mat(s)**- *again, another, too.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal and pronominal forms  
omá mátsstiki *that is another one.*

kókit matokós = matokókit kós *give me another cup.*

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix *again, also:*

mátsitokkanitautaiuiu *all the people also ran up to him*  
nbt. 81, 1.

matótsiminai *he took it also* nbt. 80, 27.

mátaisaiiin *he too went stretching* obt. 43, 9.

nitúyi mátanistsiu *he did it the same* obt. 16, 1.

mátáxkanàukapsiixkiau *they were also all bad* obt. 3,  
n<sup>o</sup>. 11.

itámsokàtsinoyiu *he suddenly saw again (a person)* obt.  
47, 15.

átsisxmdò *again after a long while* obt. 15, 27.

mátsipiskiop *they had another buffalo-corralling* obt. 18, 11.

otátanikaie *he was again told by him* nbt. 75, 7.

támatsòkau *then he slept again* nbt. 74, 18.

átomatapàpaskunakataiau *they commenced again to be*  
*shot* nbt. 6, 26.

motúinaiks matáxstínixkàsímiau *they got All-chiefs as*  
*another name* obt. 2, n<sup>o</sup>. 7.

kikátokokkemi *you got another wife* obt. 38, 19.

ákátokokkemìnai *he has got another wife* obt. 38, 16.

sotámátokkuikaxtsiau *then they had another game* nbt. 35, 1.

matsiskót *go back again* obt. 56, 5.

N.B. The combination of this *mat-* with a negative  
prefix is best rendered by *not any more* or *no more:*

mátatsitapiuasiusinai *he was not living any more* nbt. 79, 4.

mátatsikopumats; mátatoχkòtskitsipì mats *he was not afraid any more; (the buffalo) could not go back into (the lake) any more* obt. 11, 24 and 20.

3<sup>0</sup>. In many cases we might neglect *mat(s)-* in the translation, its meaning being very much weakened: *ánnistsiaie matoχtáináuàsiu from those (coups) (too) he became a chief* nbt. 83, 22.

*áχkoχkatsitsìnoau that we can see them (too)* nbt. 73, 11.  
*mánatáχkàpinausiks (those) that had (also) a new way of dressing* nbt. 73, 14.

*noχkáztoχskunáχtsìuaie he (too) shot him with it* nbt. 80, 14.

*atáksamìixk he was going to hunt again* obt. 23, 6.

*mátatapistutsìuaiks they did not move about (any more)* nbt. 5, 16.

*mátatoχkapitsixtàuats then there was nothing to think about (any more)* nbt. 9, 7.

Especially in connection with *sk-* back:

*nitáistzmatksinisáχpinan we go right back down* nbt. 240, 9.

*matsksázpozpiik fall back in the same place!*

*mátsitskòmaχkaiau they ran back again* nbt. 79, 12.

In the same way:

*omátsitotoχsaie when he came back to her* (cf. *uχs-back*).

3<sup>0</sup>. **mat-** = **omat-**; cf. *aumatap-*.

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

*otsítàkomatoχp that they will start* nbt. 77, 6.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a verbal prefix. The form *mat-* only occurs at the beginning of imperative forms.

*itomátsàmiu then (the people) went on a hunt* nbt. 3, 5.

mátsekakomatoχpatskoyiuats *he could not fell it by kicking it* nbt. 101, 1.

stázmomatauaniu *he then started to fly away.*

matánistsis *go and tell!* nbt. 100, 33.

matázsisstot *take and wash it!* nbt. 2, 1.

matótakos *go and give him a drink* obt. 33, 16.

matsáiakstsit *go out and steer!* obt. 19, 14.

matótos *go and take him!* nbt. 9, 22.

mátotoχkotatsístatos *go and persuade him* nbt. 9, 7.

N.B. matúisámis *go and see it (an.)* obt. 37, 38.

### mauk- *why?*

The forms of the 2 prs. end in -s, -sks, -(χ)ks; those of the first and third persons have no particular ending.

kimáuksésàps *why did you look out?* nbt. 132, 10.

kímaukanisks *why did you say (that)?* obt. 42, 12.

kímauksipisks *why did you come in?* obt. 45, 4.

kímauksiniðkaχks *why do you sleep?* obt. 45, 13.

kimáukáskχsàipisks *why do you always come in?* obt. 56, 24.

kímauksàuoχtauisks *why don't you eat from?* obt. 7, 3.

kimáukstóχmauànisks *why do you say that?* obt. 14, 11.

kimáukitspiaistámsiskòkixpuàiisks àkssís *why do you give me then to eat (meat) with round fat (fat of the guts)* obt. 41, 29; obt. 44, 12.

kímaukstámitàutsipuyisks anníksi osákiks *why do you just stand by those pieces of back-fat?* obt. 42, 24.

kimáukauasàinisks *why do you weep?* obt. 50, 15.

kimáuksauχkaipáskaxks *why don't you go and dance?* nbt. 73, 4.

kímaukàtoχkiskataisks natséks *why do you have my leggings for pillow?*

kimaukstámitokyàupimachks *what is the reason you are making one shelter after another?*

máukaniu *why did he say?* obt. 27, 12.

nímauksauanists *why did not I do it thus?*

N. B. kimáumaisχmitapínakuyiks *why were you seen about during such a long time?* obt. 36, 25.

kimáumaisoχkanisks *why do you say (that) aloud?* obt. 41, 31.

**mi-** *strong(ly).*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

myápakèks *careful* (lit. *hard*) *women* nbt. 7, 18.

míkoχponìks ótàsìks *their long-winded* (lit. *hard-winded*) *horses* nbt. 16, 11.

miikítapì *brave men* nbt. 16, 15.

2<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb:

otáìsau *because they were hard* nbt. 223, 33.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

mínipitsiàu *they could stand much cold* (lit. *they were strong being cold*) nbt. 12, 17.

mískapiu *he is strong.*

miauánsakit *cook them hard!* nbt. 133, 30.

mátóxtaiopimiskàupiau *they were also made into hard ropes* nbt. 6, 9.

**misk(s)-, mi(s)ksk-, mikskaχtsiu-, -ksk-** *instead, notwithstanding, opposite.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

mískkapayini *biscuit* (lit. *instead of bread, napayíni*).

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:



miskskftomatò *then (the war-party) went instead (of going in day-time)* nbt. 27, 4.

miskáistzmopakiau *they moved notwithstanding (the cold)* nbt. 12, 20.

miskkúmaiikòtsisiu *he smoked harder* obt. 28, 11.

sotámmisketàkaupiiu *then instead of running off they sat down* nbt. 214, 25.

misksíppotapòiau *they went in the opposite direction* nbt. 213, 21.

miskátsàksist *you had better go out* obt. 45, 6.

mískstzmamiàpiksatsiuaié *he jumped at him in spite (of his shooting)* nbt. 17, 14.

miskskítsinisokotàiiixk *nevertheless she spat at him* obt. 16, 15.

miskítskunakatsiua *he shot it (an.) in spite of (his partner who forbade him)* nbt. 158, 17.

miskxáχtsiuaumatò *he went instead.*

nitákskoχpùmmatop *I shall buy it instead.*

**min-** see: pin-.

**(m)ist(ap)-** *away.* The simple form (m)ist(s)- also occurs, so we have here a compound of mist-t a p (o) -.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

támmistapòiau *then they went away* nbt. 79, 22.

aχkúnistapàuoop *let us go away* nbt. 113, 8.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix *away, on one side*; cf. paχk- (4<sup>b</sup>): áutsistapskàpiu *it was afternoon* nbt. 146, 19.

ánistápapiksit *throw it on one side.*

ítsístsipuχtuyiuaie otoχkémaniaii *he ran away with that other's wife* obt. 1, 11.

itsístapukskàsiau *they ran away* nbt. 213, 16.  
 íkaistapotoyìinai *he had already taken away* nbt. 161, 8.  
 ixtsístapinok`àmitaisko *they are from those horses* nbt.  
 209, 19.

stámistapomaxkàiinai *he then ran off* obt. 20, 13.  
 áiistapuxpàpiksìnai *then he was jumping away from  
 him* nbt. 80, 13.

3<sup>o</sup>. almost without a sharply distinguished meaning  
 it serves to emphasize other prefixes; especially often  
 it is combined with *saksiu* *to go out*:

stámistapsaksiu *then she went out* obt. 6, 20.

místxpsaksist *go outside* obt. 6, 18.

místxpsàksik *go out* obt. 43, 21.

nisótxmoxtsistapamitoxpìnan *then we went higher up*  
 nbt. 229, 32.

místxpukitòxts *on the other side of a hill (or a mountain)*  
 nbt. 234, 7 (adverb).

místxpamitòxts *higher up* nbt. 231, 12 (adverb).

místaputamìnasoxtsi *on the other side of a hill (or a  
 mountain)* obt. 51, 29; obt. 52, 12 (adverb).

místxpupxmoxtsi *on the other side (of a water)* nbt.  
 218, 17 (adverb).

There are some questionable forms, which I will  
 place here :

kóniskuyì ákoχkanistapainokatòm (*the war-party*) *would  
 clear the snow* nbt. 27, 10.

tχmatáuatomaists; tχmistsistamaists *then he ate them;  
 then he ate them up* nbt. 178, 15.

itsístsapomàχk *it would not go straight* nbt. 227, 22.

**mokam-**, see: 2<sup>o</sup>. i k α m -.

**mokak-** *wise, careful.*

mokákit *be careful* nbt. 28, 1.

itáiiokokakiu *then (the people) was very careful* nbt. 15, 11.

mokákiàke *the wise woman* nbt. 101, 5.

Enlisted for the sake of analogy though for the moment I have no examples of its use as a verbal prefix.

**moχk-**, cf. i x k-.

Rarely noted in this full form:

nímoχksksinoau *I know of (Belly-fat)* obt. 34, 11.

Cf. ixksksinoyu *he knows about them* nbt. 43, 22.

**moχp-**. Properly speaking moχp- is a hypothetical form; only -oχp- is taken down, so we can not decide whether we have to do with a compositional form of i x p- or of moχp-:

támoχpsàksiuaiks *then he went out with them (scil. those hoofs)* nbt. 207, 2.

tsánistapi kitákoχpakitopixpa *what is it you will ride with?* obt. 1, 4.

N.B. áupipimaie *she entered with it* nbt. 160, 9 (perhaps a secondary form without χ).

**moχt-**, máχt-, -oχt-, -χt-; cf. i x t-.

1<sup>o</sup>. with a local meaning *along, from, of*:

ákoχtamitapaukèkaup *we shall camp about along the river* nbt. 6, 23.

sákiáχtauàuaχkau *he was still walking along (that river)* nbt. 170, 5.

ákaxtaszmiuàie *(the war-party) would look at him from (where they sat)* nbt. 29, 20.

itámsokoχtásaininai *something suddenly cried from (the water)* obt. 37, 12.

- ákoχtsikàkimaup *we shall cut our lodge-poles from (Cut-bank river)* nbt. 7, 1.
- stámoxtsoyiu *then he ate of (the black alcali)* obt. 6, 26.
- mátóχtsoyiauaists *they did not eat of them* obt. 7, 29.
- nitâχtáuyiauaists *they ate of them alone* obt. 7, 28.
- mátóχtsitsisoyiu *he gave them again to eat of (those last pieces)* obt. 8, 3.
- kímoxtotâm *I invited you to take one of them* nbt. 76, 8.
- támoxtapauàuaχkau *he then walked along* nbt. 79, 8.
- ánnóχk kímâχtsinixp nokóai *now that you have seen my lodge* obt. 59, 7 (here the prefix has a temporal meaning).
- áistχmoxtotóχkznâinotataiau *they were all skinned from the back down* nbt. 1, 28.
- amók nimoxtótó *over that way I came* nbt. 81, 13.
- sótχmoxtapauàuaχkau *he went travelling along about* nbt. 98, 26.
- 2<sup>o</sup>. *for, on account of:*
- ámoksaxks nitsímatoχtsinèts *for these I was nearly drowned* obt. 65, 4.
- ánnistsiaie matóχtáinauàsiu *from those (coups) too he became a chief* nbt. 83, 22.
- mâ'χtstuyisop *we are ashamed of him* obt. 9, 9.
- nímoxtstuyis *I am ashamed of (what that woman said)* obt. 50, 16.
- nímoxtsipi *I entered on account of* obt. 18, 20.
- áχsa kímoxtâpauàuaχkaxp *what do you walk for?* obt. 51, 4.
- ánnixkaie nímoxtsisàms *that's why I stayed a long time* obt. 36, 29.
- nímoxtápo *I am going for (my scar)* obt. 51, 6.
- áχsa kimâχtáimixpuai *why are you laughing?* obt. 66, 1.

nimáχtáimixpínan *we are laughing at (him)* obt. 66, 3.  
 nímoχtaístunnðanànì *we are afraid of (wolverines)* obt.  
 61, 34.

nímoχtanistàpauàuaχk *I am travelling for (my poverty)*  
 nbt. 76, 22.

3<sup>o</sup>. denoting instrumentality:

ákoχtsitapìop *we shall live by means of (him)* obt. 37, 15.  
 ánnì ákakχtsinitsiuaiks *he would just kill them with  
 that* nbt. 56, 17.

nimoχtáksini *I shall die through (her)* obt. 61, 32.

náχtsìpχχpákixpa *with (which) shall I brush?* obt.  
 33, 28.

ákoχtaiiniu *(the buffalo) will die by (flints)* obt. 12, 1.

ákoχtaiiitau *(the buffalo) will be skinned with (flints)*  
 obt. 12, 2.

kímoχtsitsiksìskaχkòki *you then touched me with (your  
 arrow)* obt. 19, 2.

### (m)ot(ui)-.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

motaiá'χke *ocean* (lit. *all-over-water*).

motómaχksikimi *everywhere-lakes; lakes-all-over*.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix.

a) *all, every*:

motúiekàkimàk *try hard, all of you* nbt. 210, 3.

áumotapàistutsìminai *she did everything she could* obt.  
 19, 12.

sotzmótèpuyiu *then all of them stood about* nbt.  
 207, 5.

nimótsipitàkeixpínan *we are all old women* obt. 41, 25.

b) *very, in all respects, every bit*; especially combined  
 with -sap- to express the idea of *imitation*:

nistói nitotúisapinausiu *she dressed like me* nbt. 75, 25.

itáitotùisapinàusiau *they dressed like (their lovers)* nbt. 72, 2.

stotùisapinàusòkiau *that they were imitated in dressing (by the women)* nbt. 72, 8.

maxkáitotuisapinàus *that they must dress like (their lovers)* nbt. 72, 23.

tæmótuikæmikùnamaiaiu *then they began to make roasts in a hurry* nbt. 24, 15.

c) *all over*; cf. a m o t a p -:

mótapomaxkàii *they were running all over* nbt. 226, 1.

mótuixtsii máksiniks *the carcasses were scattered all over* nbt. 3, 7.

imitáiks mótuiaioii *the dogs howled all over* nbt. 132, 6.

aistæmótosikskiu *he blacked his face all over* nbt. 18, 11.

1<sup>o</sup>. **nam-** *east(ward)*.

pináminakatòk *do not roll it eastward* obt. 27, 10.

aχkstáminakàtaxs *that we should not roll it eastward* obt. 27, 12.

aiámistsipatakayayìn *he was running east* nbt. 66, 6.

Adverb: námists *on the eastside*.

2<sup>o</sup>. **nam-** *only, just*. See the numerals (Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 33).

namítsitapiâu *they were just lonely people* obt. 23, 4.

nitsámmistsitapiâu *they were only two* nbt. 79, 9.

namóχkitàisaièpitsit *you can just tell lies* obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 8.

namóχkitàipuyit *you just can talk* obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 8.

námipaupìinai *then she sat just up* obt. 27, 1.

námapikauaniàiks *they just shook their legs* nbt. 111, 5.

**nano-**, **nanau-**, **nanai-** *finally*:

nánayitautòyinai *he got there finally* obt. 23, 16.

áinoáχkonoyiu einí (*the people*) finally found the buffalo  
nbt. 15, 1.

nánauaiksistotsisiua *he ended his smoking.*

nánauauanikaie finally he was told by (him) nbt. 78, 8.

nánauaitapòaie *he went finally* obt. 47, 8.

nánauauàtsistotoyiuiaie *he finally persuaded him* obt.  
26, 7.

nánoaikòko finally it was night nbt. 30, 28.

otáipαχksìmisaie, nánootoxtàinixkataiaiu *because they  
smelt bad, (from that) they were finally called (Skunks)*  
obt. 3, 23.

nánoainitsiu *he finally killed her* obt. 28, 12.

**nap-** see nipu-.

1<sup>o</sup>. **nats-** *last, farthest.*

Also used as ordinal numeral, scil. nátsauχts *the last.*

As a prefix:

nátsaupiu tázmoχkotauaists *they were given to the last  
one (the man sitting on the end)* nbt. 26, 5.

As an adverb: ki omí nátsauχts *and over there on the  
farthest end* nbt. 181, 14.

2<sup>o</sup>. **nat(s)-** *just:*

nínátasau *I am just wiping him* nbt. 129, 18.

nátáχtanists (Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 14 interprets:  
(ni)nátotχtanists(i)) *therefore I am just doing it* de J.  
de J. bt. 22, 7.

kenátáχkanist (Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 14: ki-nát-  
oχk-anist) *I will just tell you* de J. de J. bt. 22, 1.

kenátáχkànästo (Uhlenbeck, ibid. p. 32: ki-nát-oχk-  
anisto) *I will just tell you* de J. de J. bt. 53, 21.

**nim-** *west*:

itsfmsɔpiu *he looked west* nbt. 66, 5.

As an independent adverb: nímists.

**nipu-** *standing, up*; see: ipu-, and nap-.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

áipuaú *she got up* nbt. 100, 29.

itsipúau *he stood up* nbt. 83, 7.

itáipuyiu *he stands there*.

nipuáut *get up!*

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix, sometimes modified by the old Algonquian „change” and by reduplication (see: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 59 sqq.):

itsipúsapiu *then he looked up* nbt. 74, 15.

aipókoyis *when his lodge was finished* (lit. *was standing up*) nbt. 42, 25.

nipúisoyàuanit *jump up!* nbt. 156, 3.

nipúɔpaipiit *jump up!* obt. 40, 9.

áitsipàipuyiu *he was standing up alone* nbt. 169, 10.

áksipuyimikiá`ɔsataiau *we shall push the grass up* nbt. 127, 4.

ixtsitáipuimikiàkiua *he pushed the grass up with* (the lodge-pole) nbt. 127, 7.

itsipúisuiàuanu *he jumped up* (from his bed) nbt. 199, 22.

nitapáipuxpàipiiau *they jumped up at the same time* nbt. 39, 21.

nápaipuyiu *he talks while standing*.

nápopuyisimiu *he drinks while standing*.

nitsipáisìnaki *I write while standing*.

**nist-** *two*; see: -ist-.



**nit(s)-, nitap-, nitui-, nito-** *one*; cf. the cardinal numeral *nitúkska*. It is not difficult to understand the rather differentiated functions of *nit(s)-* etc. out of this fundamental meaning.

1°. *alone, only*:

*annóχk áskχsaitsitàupop* *now we are always living here alone* nbt. 106, 2.

*nitoχkémiu* *he had one wife* obt. 13, 23.

*ki áitsitapainauàsiu* *and he became the only chief* nbt. 84, 9.

*nitáinitsiu* (*the people*) *only killed (those)* nbt. 40, 8.

*nităχtáuyiauaists* *they ate of them alone* obt. 7, 28.

*áistămitsitàpaukunaiixk* *he camped about alone* nbt. 123, 2.

*nitsísoyìsoau* *he is fed with only four things* nbt. 2, 14.

*nitsámistsitapiâu* *they were only two* nbt. 79, 9.

*áitsauaipăskaii* *they were the only ones that did not dance* nbt. 73, 1.

*kitáitsauàipăsk* *you are the only one that does not dance* nbt. 73, 7.

*imakétokuyitoχkònimàsau* *if they find only one hair* obt. 19, 27.

2°. Semantically most akin to the meaning *one* is that of *the same, alike*. The independent adverb *nitúyi* is met with:

*nitúyi nitáχsii* (*their things*) *were fine the same* nbt. 167, 14.

*nitúyi nitáixtsau* *she is laid down in the same way* nbt. 54, 3.

Often *nit(s)-*, etc. is combined with (m)anist- (which in many cases has a similar function) or with (m)ot-. See *manist-* and *mot-*.

*áitanistsinatsiaists* *they looked like* nbt. 20, 5; cf. *ánni*

nitoá piksimàists *this way they threw them* nbt. 34, 12.

itsitótosapinausìnai *she dressed like him* nbt. 85, 6.

itàitotùisapinàusiau *they dressed alike* nbt. 72, 2.

nitúianistxpsi *they are the same* nbt. 53, 21.

áitanistutsinaiaiu *they were fat like (dog-ribs)* nbt. 6, 27.

áitanistsiàiks ánni àπορχpokúyi *they would be like as if their hair were brushed* nbt. 8, 12.

nítanistsinatsiau ánni áskàkχkuyi *they looked like a short-back butte* nbt. 24, 17.

The meaning *at the same time* belongs here:

nítóχpiksistaxkùmiuaie *he shot at the same time with him* obt. 30, 30.

ki nitapáipuxχpàipiiau *and they jumped up at the same time* nbt. 39, 21.

3<sup>o</sup>. Derived from the meaning sub 1<sup>o</sup>. *only, alone* is that of *real*:

nitápskinetsimàni *the real sacks* nbt. 2, 20.

áitapsuiinisì *when it was real warm weather* nbt. 12, 22.

nínitsàpìxpinan *we really saw* nbt. 28, 17.

nitápoauàποχsiau *(their horses) were really fat* nbt. 1, 10.

nitápìpitàkèsin *the state of being a real old woman.*

kanáitsitapiua *all Indians (lit. all the real people)* obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 8.

4<sup>o</sup>. *always, still*:

kinétoχkanìstoχkot *I still give you* nbt. 28, 3.

kinétoχkanistaiàkàinoàu *you will always see him* obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 8.

ánnyaie nitóχkanistoxtaikàkimau *there it is they always cut lodge-poles from* nbt. 7, 7.

áistxmitapotsìminai *he would always swim to (the beaver-den)* nbt. 75, 4.

For the combination *nit-oχk-anist-* cf. *akai-* (2 c).

5<sup>o</sup>. emphasizing; best rendered by *self*:

*áitsitsòyãχsiu* *all of them yelled* nbt. 79, 32.

*áitaχpùimiau* *their bodies were oily* nbt. 1, 24.

*nitsitótòaiē* *he walked right up to him* nbt. 80, 13.

*nistóa nitákotomitâpamiso* *I shall go up there first* nbt. 168, 14.

*nítaχtsakoàumaxkau* *he was the last one running* obt. 16, 11.

*nítsisæmauâksiksísau* (*the buffalo-herd*) *had made a long run around* obt. 16, 19.

*nínitapâtau* *I was the last one* nbt. 232, 22.

*noχketsítotoiau* *they came at last there* nbt. 173, 21.

**nãχk-, noχk-** *to be sure, it is true, though.*

1<sup>o</sup>. prefixed to imperative forms, to mitigate the command:

*noχkátsimât* *give an invitation!* nbt. 2, 16.

*nãχksísokik* *give me to eat!* obt. 38, 34.

*noχksikímmokit* *pity me!* obt. 68, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

*noχkóχtokit* *hear me!* obt. 68, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

*noχkspúmmokit* *help me!* obt. 68, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

*nãχksíkiatskòkit* *make me a trap!* nbt. 161, 30.

2<sup>o</sup>. after interrogative particles:

*tsá kinã'χkanistapsp* *which kind of being are you?* obt. 7, 1.

*tsimá kinã'χkitapaiitapiixp* *where are you roaming about?* obt. 8, 18.

*nãχkátóχtâpoyiskò* (*which way*) *are there any more lodges?* obt. 44, 1.

*kinã'χkakimmok* (*which of these your children*) *pities you?* obt. 41, 7.

nâχkâitapòaxtau (*where*) *is she going to?* obt. 62, 17.  
 noχkáttoyisko (*where*) *are there more lodges?* obt. 46, 28.  
 noχkoχtápítapiskoá (*which way*) *are there any people?*  
 obt. 41, 17.

3<sup>o</sup>. Combined with prefixes, mitigating their strict meaning :

a) with nit- *only*:

noχkitáutsinaiau (*there*) *is the only place they have fat*  
 nbt. 174, 8.

b) with (m)anist-:

ninâ'χkanistâχtsimàtaxpi *the way I heard about them*  
 nbt. 1, 6.

ninâ'χkanistsksìnoau *what I know about them* nbt. 169, 19.

ninâ'χkanistsksìnoaiáiu (*that is all*) *I know about them*  
 nbt. 111, 39.

c) with (m)at- *also, the same*:

noχkátâχkânâisoo *they came also all to the shore of the*  
*river* nbt. 79, 20.

nâχkátakapinausiu *whoever has a new way of dressing*  
 nbt. 73, 11.

âχkoχkatsitsinoau *that we can see them* nbt. 73, 11.

noχkáttoχskunakatsiuaie *he shot him with it* nbt. 80, 14.

noχkâtsistokæmi *he had also two*.

nâχkâtanistsinokètakiu *he the same was very glad* nbt.  
 144, 14.

d) after demonstratives; cf. sub b :

ânni nâ'χkanistâχtsimàtau *that way I heard about it*  
 nbt. 84, 12.

kénniaie nâ'χkokamâatsimaie *that one was her lover*  
 nbt. 73, 33.

ânniaie kinóχkopâu *I give her to you in payment* nbt.  
 82, 28.

e) with kanai- (see kanai- 2<sup>o</sup>).

4<sup>o</sup>. in general as an expression of doubt and caution:

kamóχkitstsixki *there might be some one* nbt. 73, 4.

ánnoχka pázskàuki, nitákoχksipàsk *now when we have a dance, I shall dance* nbt. 73, 9.

ninà'χkainoki *they can see me* obt. 66, n<sup>o</sup>. 4.

mátàχksipìdats *he did not go far* nbt. 185, 3.

nenà'χksəpapàuk *it is true, I had a dream* de J. de J. bt. 44, 1 (Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 27: „ninóχksipapauk. The prefix n o χ k (s) (i) - is often concessive and then it might be rendered in German by „freilich”).

kenátàχkanist *I will just tell you* de J. de J. bt. 22, 1. (Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 14: The value of -oχk- (= n o χ k -) in this form is concessive, wherefore I rendered it by „will”).

**noχkets(i)-, noχkits(i)-** different.

1) in nominal forms:

noχkétsitapì *the enemy* nbt. 79, 20.

2) as a verbal prefix:

noχkétsipuyiau *they stood separately* nbt. 181, 7.

noχketsítotoiau *they came there at last* nbt. 173, 21.

**omat-**, see 3<sup>o</sup>. m a t -.

**omoi-** together:

itomoóyi Mátokeks *the Women-society gathered* nbt. 19, 6 (independent verb).

kákskapaumoàikinaiu *he just went back gathering them up* nbt. 179, 28.

áumoiiskapàtsiu *he pulled them together* nbt. 111, 1.

**omóχt-**, see: m o χ t -. O m o χ t - is formed by means

of the personal prefix o- about which Uhlenbeck, (Some General Aspects p. 50) says: „The prefix o- (ot-, otoχ-, ots-, otsi-) is used to indicate the 4 prs. in centripetal forms, but in the conjunctive it also often denotes the subject of the 3 prs.”

Examples:

omâχtâ'χpauânis *that (the buffalo) were jumping off* obt. 13, 21.

ómâχtâkoχkùienixpi *what he will die with* obt. 17, 10.

ómâχtauâuaxkaxp *where they used to go* obt. 25, 18.

ómâχtaksisapsîmixpi *where (the buffalo) used to drink* obt. 20, 3.

ómâχtapîtsikîmaxpi *the direction she was in* obt. 9, 14.

ómâχtoχpi *the way they went* obt. 11, 18.

ómâχtsipâskâni *that she danced for* nbt. 73, 31.

ómâχtapâutamiskapi *where he rises* obt. 51, 2.

âχkéyi omoxtâutsisaie *that he was swimming in the water* nbt. 75, 2.

omâχtâuyospists *the things they cooked with* nbt. 1, 2.

ómâχtapakièpi *where there were many (buffalo)* nbt. 15, 3.

### opit-, apit-.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. followed only by verbalizing suffixes or incorporated nouns = *to loose*:

âikaxkapitsîuaie *he cut (the horse) loose* nbt. 30, 12.

otâpitotoksksaûaiks *they peeled the bark from them* nbt. 10, 17.

âkitaupitotoksksiaie *she would knock off the bark of it* nbt. 10, 4.

manistsîkaxkapitâkixpiau *how they cut loose the horses* nbt. 32, 25.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a modifying prefix, usually combined with other prefixes:

aupítsískapατχχς *when he was pulled ashore* nbt. 192, 36.

a) combined with -so- *ashore, from the fire*; see sui-, so-:

ákitopítsosimáie *then she would pull it from the fire* nbt. 11, 11.

áupítsòtsimiau *they pulled it ashore* nbt. 23, 13.

itopítsotoyiuaiks *he pulled them from the fire* nbt. 175, 15.

b) with is-(s)o-:

sótαmapítsisò *I then went ashore* nbt. 219, 12.

sótαmopítsisoo *then she went ashore* nbt. 94, 11.

itopítsisòð *then he came out of the water* nbt. 190, 29.

pinápoχts nάχtápopítsisòðάχσι'a *that I will come out of the water below* nbt. 88, 12.

ostóyi ikýáiaupítsisòð *he himself had a hard time to get out of the water* nbt. 197, 21.

ixtopítsasoo *he came out of the water* nbt. 210, 19.

c) with sai-, sat-:

kákopítsaipiksistsiuaie *she just pulled it ashore* nbt. 145, 21.

ákaitopítsaipuyiuà *he was standing out of the water (on the bank)* nbt. 87, 12.

mάχkopítsάχpauànisaiie *that she might jump out (of the snow)* nbt. 135, 3.

itáupítsatapiksistsèiaiks *then they threw each other out (of the ashes)* nbt. 174, 26.

d) some forms cannot be analysed sufficiently:

itopítsiaχkìmiau *they pulled (a charcoal) from the fire* nbt. 29, 5.

noχksístapopítsikanìksisinai *she (the crow) started for the shore with her wings spread* nbt. 151, 8.

opítsauâχksinòka *he was seen (by the Snake Indians)*  
*(that he dived in)* nbt. 88, 14.

**ot-, aut-;** certainly cognate with *oto* *to come to*, cf.:  
 ki ómaχkauk autžkiakiu *and over there he went to*  
*trap* nbt. 161, 3.

1<sup>o</sup>. combined with *stuyi* *winter* with the meaning  
*to approach, to begin*:

itótstuyiu *then the winter came on* nbt. 164, 25.

áitapòtstuyis *when they had real winter* nbt. 10, 24.

ákotstuyiua *it was near winter* nbt. 94, 4.

átotstuyiù *it was winter again* nbt. 12, 5.

matómautstuyiu *in the beginning of the winter* nbt.  
 7, 31.

itsitsitsáutstuyiu *in the beginning of the winter* nbt.  
 8, 14.

2<sup>o</sup>. *near, to, close by*:

itáutàupiuaiie *(the war-party) sat near by them* nbt. 17, 2.

támitotoχsokuyìnai *her tracks went up to him* nbt.  
 147, 16.

itsitótáuaniau *they flew to him* nbt. 124, 19.

támitotsòkuaie *then he slept near her* nbt. 208, 16.

itsitotátsimiuaiks *she met them* nbt. 104, 23.

itótáuaniu *he flew to (where there were many elks)*  
 nbt. 100, 5.

támitotsipuyiuaie *he stood by (the buffalo-head)* nbt.  
 116, 12.

itótsisàtsiuaie *then he went in front of her* nbt. 168, 31.

itótáuanii *they came flying home* nbt. 190, 10.

tótokèkasaie *when he was camped near* nbt. 114, 16.

támitotòpiuaie *he then sat by him* nbt. 136, 15.

káχkitotsàpinakumis *that you may be close by in the*  
*morning* nbt. 205, 6.



nítáutskoaxsàu *when I had driven them back to camp*  
nbt. 230, 13.

3<sup>o</sup>. ot- often occurs in regular combination with certain prefixes:

a) with a k-, scil. otak-, autak- nearly always with the meaning *in a circle, around*:

áitotakixpísau *when they are dancing in a circle* nbt. 141, 18.

stázmautzkâtominai *then he went around it* obt. 23, 17.  
nisoóyi otótakoxsists *four times he went around* (lit. *four were his goings-around*) nbt. 152, 6.

itáutakaníau *they went round saying* nbt. 1, 18.

itsitáutzkauaniua *he flew around* nbt. 96, 26.

itótzksoyauanìn *he jumped around* obt. 64, 2.

itáutzkomaxkau *then he would run around* nbt. 16, 3.

ixtáutaksaistoiauaie *they went through the camp crying*  
nbt. 34, 3.

áutakatsiuaiks *he began to go around them* nbt. 117, 9.

tázmitotautakòyinai *then he was going around* nbt. 152, 5 (independent verb).

ómæχksikimists otækóχtsi *around the lakes* nbt. 37, 22 (adverb).

Here belong also:

itótzkaupiuaiie *he sat by him* obt. 18, 15.

mátsitotakaupínai *he sat down by him again* nbt. 136, 24.

áitotakaupiu *he sat by (his partner)* obt. 59, 14.

b) with -ami-; the meaning will appear from the examples:

itótzmiàupiau *they were sitting on the edge (of the cliff)*  
nbt. 135, 8.

itáutamianù *he said from where he was on high* nbt. 39, 10.

itáutamiatáii *they came up in sight in a circle* nbt. 32, 11.

ipisóaxs áutamiskapiu *the morning-star was coming up* nbt. 27, 9.

ómáxtapáutamiskapi *where (the sun) rises* obt. 51, 2.

páuaχkùyi tótzmiàupiu *he sat in sight on a hill* nbt. 83, 6.

tzmótamiòpiu *then (the war-party) sat in sight (of the enemy's camp)* nbt. 79, 18.

otótamisooχsau *when they came in sight (of the place where the lodges had been)* nbt. 127, 26.

ákotamiatáiaiop *we shall have a circle in sight* nbt. 18, 13.

kináutamisò *he went slowly up (to a lake)* nbt. 180, 1.  
c) with -s a t-; meaning *to be near, to come near*:

áiiikotsatò *he is very close* obt. 40, 2.

itótstsiu *he came* nbt. 191, 6.

áutsztoχkím moyísts *(the war-party) came near the camp* nbt. 18, 5.

ámom otsátâχtsim *here, close by* nbt. 156, 17 (adverb).

áutsatstsisaiks *when they were close by* nbt. 17, 8.

einí ómâχtapautsatsìxp *where the buffalo would come the nearest* nbt. 7, 27.

**pan-** *during the night, before day-light; often with infixed -ai-, scil. paian-:*

paiánnauapiksiu *he made his flight all night* nbt. 30, 26.

panáuamisòk *go before day-light on high* obt. 42, 1.

paiánnauatòiau *they travelled all night* nbt. 213, 5.

paiánnauapiksiàu *they were running all the night* nbt. 146, 15.

N.B. áipznnixtsii *they laid (the bullberries) over night (they kept them through winter)* nbt. 10, 23.

**παχτ(s)-, παχκ-**. As for the different meanings is to be compared 2<sup>o</sup>. **ksist(a p)-**.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

παχτςόπισδαχς *False-morning-star* obt. 54, 29.

παχκἀ'χkeyi *Bad water (a lake)* nbt. 3, 1.

παχτςίκακαχτάναι *false-roots* nbt. 10, 11.

παχτςίκςιστςικὺμι *false-thunder* nbt. 210, 6.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix *wrong, bad*;

ομά παχκἀ'χςινικαι *a bad death to her* nbt. 103, 6.

κικαίπαχτςάν *you said wrong* obt. 54, 27.

κένnyaie μάτανιστςίπαχτςάψιου *and that was another mistake he made* nbt. 170, 35.

μάτςιστςίπαχτςιστςιτότδχςιου *he had made again a mistake for himself* nbt. 183, 17.

νιτςίπαχτςοχτδχπιναν *we put (one bone) wrong* obt. 27, 8.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix *by accident* (the independent adverb is **πάχτςαπί**):

παχτςίςαϊςκςινιςαϊε *if he happened to forget* nbt. 35, 23.

πάχτuyiuaie *he shot him by accident*.

4<sup>o</sup>. combined with other prefixes:

a) with **-ik**, *not much, a little, for a while*:

παχτςικάπατοχτςικἀυκιν *he was just a little behind her* obt. 19, 18.

πάχτςικἀχκκινιςαὺ *all of them got off their horses for a while* nbt. 30, 30.

πάχτςικἀχκδμαχκδ *it was a little bigger* nbt. 143, 23.

πάχτςικαμινακτςιαυ *by little and little they rolled it eastward* nbt. 156, 23.

πάχτςικἀχκκικςιμιναι *she just touched it* nbt. 151, 8.

παχτςικάπατἀχτςικἀυκιναι *he was right behind him* nbt. 82, 1.

όμαμαυκ πάχτςικαϊταπιου *there he is hardly living*.

b) with (m)ist- it means: *aside*, cf. mistap- (sub 2):

omí mistsísi itsitsípαχksistspìniuaiks *he hit them with that stick alongside of their necks* nbt. 181, 18.

ponoká'mitaiks páχksistsepuyiau *the horses are standing aside.*

**pi(o)- far (away).**

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb:

piíxtsis einíua *when the buffalo-herd was far* nbt. 1, 15.

zkaípixtsìi *they were far already* nbt. 110, 3.

mátsipiòats *he did not go far* nbt. 83, 2.

αχkaípiuòiau *they must be far away* nbt. 108, 7.

aipstsíksipiuòs *when she had gone a little way* nbt. 109, 17.

μαχksípixtsis *that he might get far away* nbt. 30, 28.

ki áipiuò *and he went far away* nbt. 83, 18.

mátsiksipiòats *it was not far* nbt. 74, 5.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

kαnist síppiotòmipuyiù *she was standing far ahead* nbt. 82, 18.

taistzmitapipìnapo *I then go long ways down* nbt. 235, 30.

aipístosisì *when (the people) have moved far* nbt. 131, 9.

nató'siua áipispskapìu *the sun was rising high* nbt. 31, 1.

pyóμαχkau *he went far* nbt. 4, 12.

támanistsíppiautomò *then he was far ahead of the others* nbt. 81, 16.

N.B. aipíixtsisoiau *they came later than others* nbt. 72, 12.

The independent adverb is: πιοόχτ.

**pin-**; negative prefix of the 2 and 3 prs. imperative, often replaced by **min-**:

*pinsámis don't look at him* obt. 23, 12.

*annám ksikunístauzm pinápanàs (take care) that that white buffalo-calf may have no blood on it* obt. 32, 25.

*minstúnnit don't be afraid of (arrows)* nbt. 55, 10.

**(p)inap-** *down, down-stream, east(ward)*; cf. **a mi-** *up (the river)* the fundamental meaning of which occurs much more frequently than that of **pinap-** (*down*).

Properly it is only once noted:

*kyotsítsinápotaikai (= ki-ots-its-inap-otokaie) and he was let down by him* de J. de J. bt. 60, 21.

1<sup>o</sup>. *down-stream*:

*tákáχpitsinâpistai I will dive down-stream with him* nbt. 88, 10.

*ixtsínapapauâuaχkâiixk he was walking about down the river* obt. 63, 12.

*âistæmitsinapapaukunâiiu there (the people) would be camped about down on the river* nbt. 7, 26.

*ixtsínapautsimma he is swimming along down the river* de J. de J. bt. 6, 22.

*nitáksikaupinikipainapistai I shall feign to dive down-stream with him* nbt. 79, 27.

*nisótæmatsksinapoxpinan then we went down (afoot)* nbt. 229, 34.

The independent adverb:

*pinápoχts below (= down-stream)* nbt. 88, 12.

*piúnapoχts far down (the river)* nbt. 210, 19.

2<sup>o</sup>. *east(ward)*, scil. *down-stream the rivers east of the Rocky Mountains*; e. g.:

*Pinápitsaikatoyis Eastern Sweetgrass hills* nbt. 214, 16.

ánnamaie ítomaipinapo *he was the first that went east*  
nbt. 218, 2.

Adverb: pinápuχtsk *eastward* de J. de J. bt. 43, 4  
(Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 27: „the proper meaning  
of pináποχtsi is „down the river”. Nevertheless  
Dr. de Jong is right in translating pinápuχtsk =  
pináποχts-k by „eastward”. The prefixed form of  
pináποχtsi is pinap-, but after another prefix  
the initial p is lost”).

N.B. itâχkánainâipsaiπiu *they all charged down the river*  
nbt. 80, 22.

**pok-** *right after, with.*

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb:

itoxpókíuaie *he followed her* obt. 61, 18.

stâmoχpokòmiaie *then he went together with him* nbt.  
96, 8.

âχkunoχpokisòp *let us be together* nbt. 123, 14.

N.B. otoχpóksìmiks *his companions* nbt. 83, 22; nbt.  
21, 25.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a modifying prefix; the forms pak- and  
poki- are also met with:

ki itoxpókistsoaie *and she entered the forest after her*  
nbt. 102, 11.

itâ'χpokyapauauatutsiu *then (the people) moved about that*  
*way (where the buffalo were many)* nbt. 15, 3.

tsánistapi kitákoχpakitopixpa *what is it you will ride*  
*with* obt. 1, n<sup>0</sup>. 3.

áitoxpokiapâipuyit *you must repeat right after him* obt.  
39, 32.

matoχpókèpuyit *talk back to him* obt. 40, 4.

ixpókíuâuaχkâiinai *then he walked after him* nbt. 80, 8.

âkoχpokotsisìmau *we shall smoke with (her)* obt. 27, 24.

itoχpóksokaminaie *then he slept with her.*

istuyí máχkoχpokàupimaχs *that he should stay with him during the winter* nbt. 76, 14.

ánnaie tákoχpokαχkaiimmau *with him I will go home* nbt. 78, 3.

áχkitoχpoksistapausi'a *so that I might go away with you.*

**pot-** *in the direction of, towards, together:*

sotámiamipotàupiu *then (the war-party) just sat there facing the other party* nbt. 79, 21.

anitsipótapoχkistau *he would always lay one of them pointing to (the moon)* nbt. 77, 25.

itáipototoχtomiauaists *they put them together* nbt. 35, 8.

imakóχksipotàuotsìnikaiks *even if they were shooting back at him* nbt. 56, 14.

Sóatsixpotamiso *Came-up-over-the-hill-with-the-eagle-tail-feathers* (name of a man).

itsipótanistsiuaie *he said back to him* obt. 39, 35.

**pum-** *good, strong:*

áksipummòaiiau *they would be initiated* nbt. 43, 4.

mátsipummàpi *it is not good* nbt. 76, 12.

matsipúmapiu *it is not good* nbt. 210, 8.

katáipumotàsiaua *those that had not good horses* nbt. 13, 18.

**puχs-** *hither.* Perhaps we may see in this prefix a combination of an element p- (cf. Fox pyä *hither*) with the prefix uχs- *back*. Often puχs- is combined with -(t)ap-. Examples:

áistαmipuχsapìstutsiu *then (the tribe) would move this way* nbt. 5, 23.

támatsipupuχsaput *then come here again* nbt. 77, 7.

itapáipuxsapistutsiu *then (the tribe) was moving this way* nbt. 14, 29.

kénni nisótzmipuxsapaiaχsaupixpinan *and then we lived together allright till now* nbt. 222, 13.

nitsipúχsotasàm *I come here to see you* obt. 15, 4.

mátsipuxsapakauò ksistsikuísts *a few days later* nbt. 212, 31 (N.B. in the past, ergo: *nearer to the speaker*).

ixkanáipuxsàpsaksiau *they all came out to me* nbt. 216, 24.

1<sup>0</sup>. **sai-** *out*. Other forms are: sα - (cf. ai-) before s, sε- also before s; s-. E.g.:

pinsászmis *don't look out at him* obt. 23, 10.

itsésapiau *they looked out* obt. 13, 18.

áitásakutsiu *it boiled over* nbt. 25, 28.

itsáskapatsiuàie *he pulled him out* nbt. 117, 13.

ixtsászmiuaiaie aχkánnixkàie *they looked out at him through a hole in the lodge* nbt. 116, 10.

pinátseszpit; matsápèniki *don't look out; if you look out again* nbt. 132, 12.

otáukanaisàumaχkàni *when all of them ran out* obt. 11, 19.

nítsautòkiaiu *they pulled me out* nbt. 119, 28.

ákstzmsautoyiu otožn *then he would take out his knife* nbt. 29, 25.

sáχpàipit *jump out!* nbt. 154, 11.

itáisaikimiskàiaiu *then (the water-bags) leaked* nbt. 46, 11.

sainikiu *he killed (one) out (of the enemies)* nbt. 89, 26.

N.B. itsástzχkapiu *he crawled out from the lodge* nbt.

108, 21; cf. sáiistzχkapìn *one crawled out* obt. 45, 21.

The independent adverb is to be found in:

amói saá'χtai *the people on the outside* nbt. 138, 20.

saá'χtsim *outside* nbt. 121, 2. '

The prefix sai- has only one meaning, scil. *out*.



Some remarkable cases however are to be mentioned:

1<sup>o</sup>. doubling of *sai-*:

*ki itá'χkinaisaisaipiau* and then all the people ran out on a charge to them nbt. 32, 14.

2<sup>o</sup>. Several forms wherein *sai-* seems to function as an independent verb, only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

*itáumatapsaixpiu* then (the people) made a rush out nbt. 18, 14.

*kaχkitsáipiauaii* that you take them out obt. 45, 25.

2<sup>o</sup>. *sai-*, see *sau-*.

**sak-** out; perhaps = *sai-* + *ak-*.

At all events *sai-* and *sak-* are related to each other.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb with the suffix *-s-*.

*stámsaksiua* he then went out nbt. 99, 5.

*otsáksai* that he went out nbt. 85, 26.

*itoχkánaiszksii'a* then they all went out nbt. 86, 1.

*akítsísaisaksíu* then he will go out nbt. 59, 11.

*sepísaksisì* when he goes out in the night nbt. 59, 4.

*sàksíst* go out! nbt. 76, 26.

*ánnisaksìst* come out! nbt. 104, 17.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

*áisakayayìu* they ran out fast nbt. 20, 11.

*omáχkanistapsakapomàχkaniai* that one of them might run out on the prairie nbt. 17, 2.

*áisaksistutso* then we had moved away (from the river) nbt. 6, 24.

a) Besides *sak-* also a form *sok-* occurs:

*áisokxtanitsiuaie* each time he would cut out a piece of it nbt. 190, 25.

itomátapsokoχsayiù *it boiled over* nbt. 155, 20.

b) Frequently sak- is connected with (t)ap-:

ansákapuxs noχkóa *let my son come out* obt. 53, 5.

mátsitsksakapo *she came back out of the forest* nbt. 102, 13.

támsákapò *then he went out on the prairie* nbt. 77, 1.

sákapòt *go out on the prairie!* nbt. 76, 26.

sákapùs *when she came out* nbt. 101, 26.

**sat-** *out*; cf. sai- and sak-.

itsátapiksimaie *then he pulled it out* nbt. 80, 12.

ixtáisatsíkataiaiu *with them they cut their backs open* nbt. 1, 27.

áistαmsatapiksixp ótokoàuaists *then (the people) would throw out their kidneys* nbt. 1, 29.

The adverb: satóχtai *(the people) on the other side of the mountains* nbt. 113, 22.

**saki-** *still*:

sákiàupii *they still sat there* obt. 43, 20.

sákiaitapii *they were still alive* obt. 46, 10.

mátsakiaistuyiù *it is cold no more.*

sakiáupisi *when he was still at home* nbt. 3, 40.

sákiaiokau *he is still sleeping* obt. 31, 33.

sákiauàuaχkau *(the war-party) was still travelling* nbt. 28, 9.

sákiitautstsiu ápsii *the arrow is still there* nbt. 199, 24.

otsákiaiokanì *while he was asleep* nbt. 74, 12.

sákiautsisìiau *they were still smoking* obt. 18, 12.

**sako-** *last*.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

Sakóàke *Last-woman* (name given to Mrs. Uhlenbeck).

sakóapòtsists *the last pieces* obt. 8, 2.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a modifying prefix :

sákoipim *he came in the last* nbt. 125, 2.

nítaxtsakoàumaxkau (*that*) *was the last one running*  
obt. 16, 11.

sákoap`axkumi *Last-howls-about* (name of a Blood  
Indian man).

The independent adverb :

sakóaxtsim otáuaksini *later on his corralling* (i. e. *now*  
*comes the story of his corralling*) nbt. 162, 17.

Cf. sakóoxtsists *the latter* (*pieces*) obt. 8, 6.

**sxm-** *a long time.*

1<sup>o</sup>. often as an independent verb, i. e. only followed  
by verbalizing suffixes :

ákaisàmo *it is a long time* obt. 26, 23; etc.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix :

kitáksisxmainoki *you will see me a long time* obt. 67,  
n<sup>o</sup>. 8.

áisxmikòko *it was late in the night* nbt. 199, 8.

áisxmòtsisìau *they had smoked a long time* obt. 27, 27.

áisxmipxskâu (*the buffalo*) *danced a long time* obt. 21, 11.

áisxmitàupiu *he would sit a long time* obt. 19, 30.

áisxmotonàiuaié *a long time she was looking for lice on*  
*his head* obt. 15, 13.

itáisxmaukunàiiu *they camped a long time* nbt. 4, 4.

manistápisxmistuyixp *as it was far in the winter* nbt.  
13, 9.

Very often it is combined with aip(i)stsik- *a*  
*little*; e. g. : aipstsisxsmòs *after a short while* nbt. 29, 16.

1<sup>o</sup>. **sap-** *into; in the tracks; following; like.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb :

ánnixkaie áutsapò *he followed it (the trail)* nbt. 143, 11.

moχsokúyi tsapók *follow my trail!* nbt. 193, 19.  
 sotámoχtsapòiaiu *they followed it (the trail)* nbt. 127, 30.  
 támoχtsapòiaie *then he followed him* nbt. 153, 9.

itsápau áinakasi *he got into the wagon.*

2<sup>o</sup>. as a modifying prefix:

a) *in(to) (the fire, the boat, a pot, etc.):*

támitsapàχkim *he put it in the pot* nbt. 25, 25.

nikáitaisapìnitaui *I have killed him in there* nbt. 195, 14.

matsksápèpumæki *back-in, spring-bird!* nbt. 195, 25.

stáisapiksikaiit *step in it! (one of my steps)* nbt. 75, 11.

oχtókisi itsitsápstaixp *she drove it into her ear* nbt. 149, 28.

itáisapoχtomiàuaists *they put them in* nbt. 6, 17.

itsítsapuçpaipiùuaie *he jumped in into it* obt. 46, 7.

áχkéyi itsísapasoyìnai *he poured water (on the hide)*  
 nbt. 25, 21.

sotámsapotoksinùuaie *she stuck her hands in near (her  
 elder sister's) kidneys* nbt. 104, 2.

stámitsapòpuaie *then he sat down in (the boat)* de J.  
 de J. bt. 66/67.

b) *on the trail; after; following:*

tsítsapòmáχkàt *then follow up* nbt. 131, 10.

moχsokúyik áutsapòmáχkau *he was going back on the  
 trail* nbt. 199, 14.

támoχtsapàpauauaχkàiinai *walking about, he then fol-  
 lowed (the road)* nbt. 143, 4.

ixtáχkánaisapùkskàsiau *all the people followed (that way)  
 running* obt. 11, 18.

ixtsítsipsapomáχkau *she followed* nbt. 110, 4.

mátoχtsitaisapokskasìnai *then she would run after them*  
 nbt. 146, 18.

c) *(to follow) to act like a person, only taken down with  
 the verb -inausiu to dress:*

nistóí nitotúisapinausiu *she dressed like me* nbt. 75, 25.

oná'χkitotuisapinàus *whom she dressed like* nbt. 73, 29.  
itáitotúisapinàusiau *they dressed like* nbt. 72, 2.

2<sup>0</sup>. **sap-** *on each side; complete; right.*

1<sup>0</sup>. One example of that meaning which seems to be the fundamental one:

nistóí sapánisì *let (buffalo) fall down on each side of me* nbt. 184, 8; cf.: ki einíí omí áitsistotanislinai *and buffalo fell down on each side of him* nbt. 184, 9 (mist- 2<sup>0</sup> + (m)ot-?).

2<sup>0</sup>. *completely:*

sáisapænnistsiiks *they did not do it completely* nbt. 174, 13.

áisapænistsoiaists *the nights were complete = this was the last night* nbt. 174, 13.

ki sápanistsau *and (now) it is completed = the story is at an end* obt. 60, 18.

aisapænnistsèpiksis *if he has completed his strikes* nbt. 242, 32.

sapistútoaxk *if he was satisfied* nbt. 55, 20.

aisapænnistsosáists *when (the dances) were completed* nbt. 46, 7.

ánnauk sapanístsim *there he (i. e. his body) was completed* nbt. 143, 26.

áisapanístsuaie *he had completed it* nbt. 183, 16.

áisapænnístsimi natósiks *all the moons were in* nbt. 77, 27.

ki áisapænistsoyi otsínixksoaists *and (when) their four songs were finished* nbt. 232, 7.

ákoχtsapanistsotokāniiu *she will complete her scalp-robe with (our scalps)* nbt. 109, 4.

3<sup>o</sup>. *right*:

mátaisapistutsìmatsaie *she could not fix it (the lodge)*  
nbt. 138, 8.

sapɔnístsitsinàiniki *if you catch him right* nbt. 141, 3.

**sau-, sai-** *not*. Besides mat(s)-, stai-, kətai-, in certain cases sai- (sau-) is used as a negative prefix:

1<sup>o</sup>. always in the subjunctive:

saiókainiki *if you don't sleep* obt. 21/22.

aisauáuotòieniki *if I do not come (back)* obt. 19, 25.

saiitáiapìniki *if you do not see anything* nbt. 26, 19.

2<sup>o</sup>. in conjunctive forms, except when these are preceded by a χk- which is always followed in the negative by -stai- (-stau-):

saiépixtsis *when they were not far* nbt. 1, 20.

pɔχtsísaisksinísàie *if he happened to forget* nbt. 35, 23.

sauumáipuausi *before (the people) got up* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

aisauátsinakùs *when it is seen no more* obt. 50, 17.

otáisauòtoχs *when she did not come* obt. 14, 21.

otsauásaks *when she would not come out* obt. 24, 20.

3<sup>o</sup>. in the negative irrealis of the main clause; see: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 47—48; *Conjunctief-achtige Modi* p. 25—27.

4<sup>o</sup>. in the negative imperative 1 prs. pl. incl. after a χkun-, and in the forms of this mood which properly belong to the conjunctive system; see: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 42—44.

5<sup>o</sup>. in some indicative forms after certain modifying prefixes:

kímauksàuoχtauisks *why don't you eat (from these bark, etc.)* obt. 7, 3.

kimáuksauχkàipzskaxks *why don't you go and dance*  
nbt. 73, 4.

máuksaietapiskoiau *why are there no people about them*  
nbt. 104, 25.

itsáuatstunnoyiàuaiks *then they were not afraid of*  
*them any more* nbt. 72, 20.

stzmsauatâχkèuasiu (*and this lake*) *was then no water*  
*any more* obt. 49, 18.

itsáuataχsliu *they* (inan.) *were not good* nbt. 13, 11.

itsáitapiu *he became not a person = he became sick*  
obt. 61, 28.

aitsáitapisoχkðaiiau *no one went ahead of them* nbt.  
4, 2.

stzmátamaiiksaiitsimau *then she denied it hard* nbt.  
150, 7.

kitáutzmsauatàksino *I nearly do not see you any more*  
obt. 29, 8.

áistzmsoksaitoχkonoyiuaie *he would not find her* nbt.  
96, 20.

itsáuazskaksaiiua (*the smoke*) *will never clear out.*

annóχk nímoχtsaunakiotoχpi *now, why I did not come*  
*soon* nbt. 172, 3.

áikaitsauapotoyü (*the people*) *would not turn them loose*  
nbt. 15, 8.

zkaisauainakuyi *they* (inan.) *have disappeared* (lit. *they*  
*already not have been seen*) nbt. 127, 15.

**sauk-**, see **sok-**.

**sekun-** *continually*. Properly never met with but com-  
bined with -(m)at- *again* + -ak- *in the future* or  
with -ak- alone. Examples:

sekunátakaniu *he kept on saying* nbt. 196, 14.

otsékunaksekak *he went on kicking him* obt. 22, 12.  
 sekunákoχkumsoyiau *they kept on squealing* nbt. 175, 13.  
 sekunátakoχkumínai (*his anus*) *kept on making noise*  
 nbt. 175, 24.  
 sekunákstatsíauaie *they continually wanted to stop it*  
 obt. 27, 14.

**sepi-, sipi-** *in the night.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms :

sépisto *owl* (pistó *night-hawk*).

2<sup>o</sup>. in personal names :

sépisoiàke *Cuts-in-the-night-woman.*

sépinamaχka *Takes-gun-at-night* (name of a man).

sépioto *Comes-in-the-night* (name of a man).

sépainixki *Sings-in-the-night* (name of a Blood Indian man).

sepísepistá'χkumi *Owl-yells-in-the-night* (idem).

sepiómotstàke *Night-massacre-woman* (Blood).

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix :

itsípiotoisimlu *he went in the night to get a drink* nbt. 199, 10.

áisepiomatòiau *they started during the night* nbt. 23, 1.

amátsepitòtot *try to get (down on the other side) during the night* obt. 52, 13.

kokúyi . . . sépiapainixkiuòiau *in the night they were going about singing* nbt. 203, 10.

annóχk kokús áksepiauàuaχkaup *this night we shall travel on during the night* nbt. 27, 1.

**sik-** *to stop; done.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb :

áiskò *he stopped running* nbt. 189, 22.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a modifying prefix :



áisæmo itsíksopu *after a long while the wind stopped blowing* nbt. 177, 1.

Cf. sikatóiksistsikùì *Monday* (lit. *holy-day-past*).

**sikχks-** *separate(ly)*; cf. ksik-sk- (2<sup>0</sup>) *on one side*:

áisikχksauyiau *they ate by themselves* obt. 3, 15.

**simi-** *secretly, on the sly*:

otsisimyánik *he was secretly told by him* obt. 21, 9.

sotámisimioχkotsiu *he just gave secretly (the dog to his father)* obt. 11, 8.

itsiksíminixkatau *he was secretly called* obt. 65, 10.

tæmítaiisimiksisatsiua *she was secretly jealous of her* nbt. 149, 17.

**sini-**

siniksístsauylks *Eat-before-others* obt. 3, n<sup>0</sup>. 10.

**sisapok-** *through*:

stámsisapòksistæχkapiu *he then crawled through the hole* nbt. 194, 32.

ixtápsisæpoksaxtsiua (*his leg*) *went clear through* nbt. 97, 15.

otáisisæpokoχpisi *that (his food) fell through* nbt. 152, 29.

sesipúkaukskauaie (*the pole*) *came out elsewhere* de J. de J. bt. 28, 10 (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Philol. Notes* p. 18).

stámoχsisapòksæksoàiea (= stámoχsisapòksæksiaie'a) *he passed through out* de J. de J. bt. 28, 11.

**sk-** *back*.

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

itomátapsko *then they started back* nbt. 82, 17.

axkitskóyi *that he must come back* nbt. 99, 12.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix :

matsítskamistutsopa *we moved back (towards the prairie)*  
nbt. 5, 29.

stámitskitau *then he was left there* obt. 9, 10.

itsksipím *she came back into the lodge* obt. 38, 3.

tákskitoto *I shall come back here* nbt. 88, 9.

iskaxkósii *they stretched their hands back (i. e. : they  
went back to help)* nbt. 24, 9.

itáskomaxkáiau *then they ran back* nbt. 16, 19.

matsksápèpumæki *back-in, spring-bird!* nbt. 195, 25.

itáskauaniu *the he would fly back* nbt. 96, 16.

nimátakatskitapòxp *I shall not go back* obt. 12, 8.

ómàpists matsítsksapokekaçs *let them come back and  
camp again in their old camp-grounds* nbt. 133, 17.

**soat-** cf. sui-, so-.

Once noted :

nitsitsoátâxpinan *we crossed it (scil. a creek)* nbt. 219, 8.

**sokap-** *good, fine, well.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb :

sokápsiu (an.), sokápiu (inan.) *is good, is fine.*

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix *well :*

sokápiłtaçsaie *that he may skin it well* obt. 32, 10.

áksokapsàtsim *(the people) would carefully look* nbt.  
7, 29.

áipstsokapistutsixp *it was fixed up inside* nbt. 53, 28.

**sok-, sauk-** *straight; suddenly; aloud.*

a) The original meaning is perhaps to be found in :  
itsáukokskàsiu *she ran straight on* nbt. 104, 14.

b) *suddenly* :

sóksinim *he suddenly saw* nbt. 75, 20.

támsokitotòyin *then suddenly (one) came to him* nbt. 74, 12.

támsokátoχtoyiu *he then suddenly heard him* obt. 25, 1.

itámsokomatápiksisàu *then (the buffalo) suddenly started to run* obt. 32, 16.

itámsòkàχtsaksiaiu *then they suddenly came out (of the lake)* obt. 9, 23.

itámsoksinim *then (the people) suddenly saw* obt. 5, 7.

itámsoksinoyiu *then he suddenly saw him* nbt. 77, 1.

áistámsoksaitoχkonoyiaie *and he would suddenly not find her* nbt. 96, 20.

áisokátsàksiu *she would go out ever and again* nbt. 138, 9.

anná támisokixtsisò *there was one that came forward* nbt. 73, 16.

einí itámsokitspiàupiaiu *they suddenly sat among the buffalo* obt. 14, 20.

itámsoksinisiin *then he suddenly fell* obt. 30, 31.

támsokoχtsimiu *then she suddenly heard* obt. 23, 14.

otáutámsòksinokòaiiau *they were suddenly seen by them* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

c) *aloud*; specially with the verb *ani-* to say:

áisokaniu *he would say* nbt. 8, 1.

áisokanistsiu *he always said to him* obt. 34, 18.

áisokanistsiuaie *he always said to him* obt. 22, 10.

áisokanì *they would say* nbt. 3, 42.

àisokaníaiu *they would say* nbt. 35, 20.

áistámsokaníaiu *then they would say* nbt. 3, 4.

áisokátanistsiuaie *he ever and again said to her* obt. 19, 13.

N.B. itsá'χkàuasainiu *he then wept aloud*.

kimáumaisoχkanisks *why do you say (that) aloud?*  
obt. 41, 31.

**sotαm-, stαm-;** see: Uhlenbeck, *Conjunctief-achtige Modi van het Blackfoot* p. 3—4.

1<sup>o</sup>. *after a little while; just; cf. a u t α m -*, which is also found with imperative forms:

sotámitaupit *just stay* obt. 48, 23.

ókì sotámipit *now, come right in!* nbt. 75, 17.

sotámauyit *just eat!* obt. 39, 28.

sotámikakòtsit *just take it* obt. 41, 3.

tákstαmiksistapanistapu *I shall go to an unknown place*  
nbt. 73, 41.

2<sup>o</sup>. *then*. Uhlenbeck l. c. says: „althans wanneer men het verloop beschrijft van regelmatig terugkeerende gebeurtenissen.” E. g.:

àutakúsi táistαmoχtò... nitáistαmoχpoχtàua *in the afternoon I am going (I take my traps and a cow-head) I carry them along* nbt. 236, 1—3.

Cf. the description of base-ball: nbt. 242.

3<sup>o</sup>. *then (in the past)*, especially frequent in narratives told by youthful, unskilled raconteurs:

nisótαmoχtsinapò, nisótαmoχtsoau áχké; nisótαmitoto nokúnan; nisótαmapàszαmau ponoká'mitaiks *I then went down, I then went through the water; I then went to our ranch; I then was looking for the horses* nbt. 243, 11 sqq.; also nbt. 227; nbt. 225 (all boys' experiences told by themselves).

sotámotapòtsiu *then he came home with the meat* nbt. 2, 9.

áistαmamotapìpiaii itapòtsopiks *then the horses that had meat on them would be taken all over (the camp)* nbt.

3, 36.

sotámokòsimiuaie *then he had him for a child* nbt. 33, 11.

stámínisau(o) *then she got off* obt. 5, 17.

áistámaniau *then they would say* nbt. 1, 14.

stámaukàsiu *then he picked up* obt. 8, 31.

stámitskitau *then he was left* obt. 9, 10.

stámitoto *then he came* nbt. 79, 6.

osótámoχkokaie *he was then given to him by* nbt. 76, 13.

sotámsùyistùtsiu *he then moved on (on the ice)* obt. 5, 10.

4<sup>0</sup>. *presently, just now:*

nisótámsst, aχkspumáuos *I think just now, that we should go up.*

kimáuksotámauanisks *why do you say that just now?*

Cf. sotáminoγlau *they suddenly saw* obt. 10, 25.

### sp- *high, above, up.*

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb, specially as a predicative adjective :

spítau *is high, is tall* (of persons).

spímiu *is high* (of animals).

spiksím (an.), spiksíu (inan.) *is high* (of trees).

spíu *is high* (of things that are considered as inanimate). Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 19.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a verbal prefix :

itáspskunakatsiua *then he shot up at it* nbt. 161, 24.

támisspiuáuaχkau *then he went in deeper* nbt. 80, 8 ;

cf. lat. mare altum.

itspániu *he said upwards* obt. 56, 28.

itspápiu *he looked up* obt. 16, 17.

manístspàsps *when he looked up* obt. 65, 3.

támitspìnuaie *then he lifted him up* nbt. 153, 12.

N.B. nitsfstsispi *I have head-ache.*

Adverbial forms are :

spóχts(i) *on high* obt. 57, 13.

spóχtχk *above* obt. 66, n<sup>o</sup>. 3.

spóχtsim *on high* obt. 68, n<sup>o</sup>. 9.

spóχtm *on high* obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 7.

**st(aχt)-** *under* (especially: *under the water*):

Perhaps we have the kernel of this prefix in the verb-stem for „to dive”; e. g.:

itsúistaiiu *he dived in (the water)* obt. 64, 12.

itsístaiiu *he dived under the water* nbt. 79, 33.

Otherwise these forms may be compounds with *ist-in*. Probably also the following forms contain an element akin to *st a χ t-*:

stámatsistaxkapiinai *he crawled in again* nbt. 108, 5.

itsázstaxkapiu *he crawled out from the lodge*.

áistaxkàpiu *the sun went down* nbt. 27, 4.

áistaxkapiâiks *they crawled in* nbt. 195, 16.

stámssisapòksistaxkapiu *he then crawled through the hole* nbt. 194, 32.

itsístaxkapiu *he crept in among it* nbt. 107, 28.

Examples:

istáχtsikokùto *it (the creek) was frozen under (the surface)* nbt. 219, 8.

âχké itzstáχtaupi *he stays under water* obt. 10, 15.

itázstapiniuaie *she pulled (the crow's) head under the water* nbt. 151, 19.

The adverbial form in:

istáχtsim âχké *under the water* nbt. 93, 22.

**stau-, stai-** *not*. It seems to be a secondary form of *sau-, sai-*, e. g., after *aχk-*, produced by phonetical influences.

**sui-, so-** *in(to), close by (the water, the fire).*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

itâχkânaisoðiau *they all went in (to the water)* nbt. 23, 9.

niétχtaii tâmisoo *then he went into the river* nbt. 79, 25.

2<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

annfisk suiétapîisk *that person of the water* obt. 49, 5.

suiéstχmik *water-bull* obt. 8, 24; obt. 10, 12.

suyâiksini *Hog-in-water* (name of a woman).

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix; frequently as the last member of combinations, e. g. -opits-is-(s)o-, -opitso-, and -is-(s)o-; cf. opit(s)- 2a and 2b; and is- 4:

itsúiapâutsim *she swam about in the water* nbt. 151, 2.

itsitâpsuiâχpâipiuaie *he jumped into the water towards him* nbt. 80, 2.

óχkotokî âkaitaisuyixtakiðp *they have already a stone in the fire* nbt. 59, 22.

noχkítsuièpètòkit *you must put me into the water* obt. 12, 11.

otsúiauuskàsau *when they ran into the water* obt. 10, 23.

suiésapiu *he looked into the water* obt. 58, 24.

itsóyiâχkimaie *he paddled them (the logs which were tied together) in* obt. 57, 10.

itsúistaiiu *he dived in* obt. 64, 12.

ixpîtsùlotsimaie *then he swam in the water with him* nbt. 80, 17.

omâtsuyîsaps *when he looked in again into the water* obt. 64, 14.

itsúyâχkumi *Yells-in-the-water* (name of a man).

itsúinokáχkumi *Elk-yells-in-the-water* (name of a woman).

suyéniki *Kills-in-the-water* (name of a woman).

sotámsùyistùtsiu *he then moved on (across the frozen water)* obt. 5, 10.

itáutsuistùtsuiaie *they used to move to the water* obt. 5, 4.

ánnimaie itsúitomo *there was a butte right close to the creek* nbt. 214, 17.

Adverb: potáni isoóχtsim *right near the fire* nbt. 153, 1; cf. however the adverbial form of is-: isoóχtsik *in the future* nbt. 51, 24; 44, 8; 215, 12.

**tαm-**, cf. a u t α m -, s (o) t α m -.

1<sup>o</sup>. *after a while, later on, with imperatives:*

támanikit *tell me later on* nbt. 73, 25.

támapsàmmokit *look for me later on* nbt. 74, 3.

2<sup>o</sup>. *after that; then:*

otámisksinòkaie *then she was known by him* nbt. 73, 29.

támitaupiu *then he stayed* nbt. 76, 24.

támitoto *then they got to* nbt. 3, 5.

támαχkàiiu *then he went home* nbt. 79, 2.

támipìm *then he entered* nbt. 77, 10.

támiksistsìpæskau *then (the women) had done dancing* nbt. 73, 34.

tzmótapaχkaiiau *then they started home* obt. 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 3.

támitapò *then he went* nbt. 77, 9.

támsàkapò *then he went out on the prairie* nbt. 77, 1.

Often t α m - is combined with s o k - (see there sub *b* for examples).

1<sup>o</sup>. **tap-** *to go; to(wards).*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, e.g.: áitapo *he starts*; cf. a u m a t a p - sub 1<sup>o</sup>.



2<sup>0</sup>. as a verbal prefix (N.B. in most of the following examples it is not easy to make out whether we have to do with (t) a p- or with a p-):

itsitápsuiáχpàipiaie *he jumped into the water towards*  
nbt. 80, 2.

itápaisumistsim *he began to lick (his arrow)* nbt. 110, 27.  
ámoxk amítóχts tápipíksik *run that way higher up*  
nbt. 201, 7.

tápopómáχtsi *towards the other side of the river* nbt.  
88, 14.

itsitápsooi *he went into the water towards him* nbt.  
88, 19.

itsitápsuyistàii *then he dived into the water (towards)*  
nbt. 88, 13.

itápoχpatskòtsiu (*the people*) *then began to rush* nbt.  
79, 17.

itápaisauàkstsitsikiòp *then we began to put on other*  
*moccasins* nbt. 29, 2.

tápaisiníkimatsiuaie *then (the people) began to make*  
*coups on him* nbt. 81, 2.

matsitápskomaxkàt *run back again* nbt. 187/188.

anápàutsimàt *take quickly* nbt. 146, 10.

anápaiàkòt *be prepared to go quick* nbt. 122, 15.

annápaiàkitapiit *now prepare yourself* nbt. 140, 4.

annápaiinimàt *now begin to catch (your horses)* nbt.  
3, 5.

2<sup>0</sup>. **tap-**. Only once noted in an adverbial form:

ki amóksi tapóχtsik otsinánoaii *and (the stick) of those*  
*on the other side* nbt. 34, 26.

**tatsik-** *in, to the middle; between:*

áupixtátsikiotsimaie *he swam to the middle (of the*  
*river)* nbt. 80, 20.

nítstxtsikistòkioko *I am hit between the ears* nbt. 184, 13.

osáutatsiksiketán *his saddle-blanket* nbt. 36, 9.

The independent adverb is rather frequent:

tátsikaχtsim *in the centre* nbt. 181, 8.

omím ómααksikimìu tátsikaχtsim *there in the middle of a lake* nbt. 74, 7.

**uχs-**, **âχs-** *back(wards), behind* (perhaps akin to (m)οχ-soyís *tail*).

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

itâ'χso *they moved back (to the north)* nbt. 8, 17.

otótoχsaii *when they came back* nbt. 49, 5.

2<sup>o</sup>. in adverbial forms:

kxnáuχsoχtsi *behind* nbt. 72, 6.

âχsókápòχtsi *on the back-side* nbt. 35, 4.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

a) in the combination οχso(χ)k - (cf. 2<sup>o</sup>. ak(s)-round):

nisótzmiksàs, nitsítóχsoko, nitáutzmixsæmmau *I then hid myself, I went around him (being out of sight), I looked up at him* nbt. 216, 15.

matsítóχsoχkatòkskàsimiuaie *he ran again around after him, being out of sight* nbt. 178, 10.

mátsitoχsoχkatàtsiuaie *he again went around to him, being out of sight* nbt. 179, 1.

b) combined with a p a t - *back*:

ápχtoχsàisχpiu *he was looking north* nbt. 66, 19; see a p a t - sub 3<sup>o</sup>.

c) See p u χ s (a p) -

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

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- P. 2, l. 7 from beneath. Read: I had better say, (instead of: I had better, say).
- P. 3, l. 4. The full stop is to be cancelled.
- P. 11, l. 4 from beneath. Read: „secon- (instead of: „secon).
- P. 14, l. 11. Read: apxtóχtsik, (instead of: apxtóχtsik’).
- P. 14, l. 5 sq. from beneath. These lines are to be cancelled. There are many verbal forms ending in -ixk, but there we have the relative suffix -χk in its palatalized form. The forms ending in -ixp(i) and -oχp(i) are compounded with the relative suffix -pi.
- P. 36. Before **axtso-** ought to have been mentioned the nominal and verbal prefix **axs-** *good, well*, belonging to áχsi *good*. Examples:  
kénni nisótχmipuxsapaiaχsaupixpinan *and then we lived together all right till now* nbt. 222, 13.  
áχsapistùtsitau *take good care of (my partner’s clothes)* nbt. 159, 11.  
áχsauàuaksisàt *run well!* obt. 14, 4.
- P. 36, l. 12. Read: **-omai-, -umai-** (instead of: **omai-, umai-**). Reference ought to have been made here to

- Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 19, as to the use of this prefix in adjectives.
- P. 40, l. 23. The words „or up the prairie?” are to be cancelled.
- P. 44, two last lines. The correct translation of the form is: *there down the river (the people) would then be camped about.*
- P. 45, l. 7. Read: kímâxtapauàuaχkaxp (instead of: kímâxtapauàuaχkaup).
- P. 52, l. 11—7 from beneath. Read: ik(s)-, or iik(s)- (with „Zerdehnung”, as German philologists would say), is also found in the combinations ikskai- (from iks-ikai-), and ikskaiik(s)-. Perhaps ik(s)- is cognate with ak- *many, much*. Cf. for its use in adjectives: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 19.
- P. 53, l. 20. The form ikæmípixtsîi is morphologically an indicative. It might be called a „false” conjunctive, like the indicative-forms with a χk-.
- P. 54 sq. The articles **ikit-** and **(i)kin-** ought to change places.
- P. 55, l. 6 from beneath. The comma after -ixp- is to be cancelled.
- P. 61, l. 6 from beneath. Read: as (instead of: e.g.).
- P. 62, l. 17 sq. This form does not belong here (cf. pot-).
- P. 63, l. 17. The form itsíniso belongs together with those mentioned sub in- 1<sup>0</sup> (p. 59). The opposite of in-is- is am-is- (i. e. ami- + is-), e. g. áuàmiso *he is going up*, itsitápamisòyinai *she went up to them* nbt. 110, 18 (cf. p. 39, l. 20).
- P. 66. Before **itæm-** ought to have been mentioned the verbal prefix **itam-** *happy*, belonging to the verb itamftakiu, e. g.:

áitâmiksistsikùì *it was a fine day* nbt. 25, 6.

áitâmauauaxkâiiâu *they went happy about* nbt. 25, 7.

P. 71, l. 12 from beneath. Read: *kátáimiks* (instead of: *katáimiks*).

P. 73, l. 5 from beneath. Read: *he could not jump out* (instead of: *he could not get out of the water*).

P. 75, l. 8. Read: *tátsikaiksistsikùyi* (instead of: *tátsikaiksistsikùyi*).

P. 75, l. 7 from beneath. Read: *then (the people) had done dancing* (instead of: *then the people had done dancing*).

P. 77, l. 3. Besides the example given here there are many other nominal compounds with *manisk(s)*-, e. g. *manisksínokâmita* *young horse*, *mániskomaxkstoki* *young mule*, *mániskòmità* *young dog*, *maniskáiksini* *young hog*, *mániskoχkyàio* *young bear*, *maniskéini* *young buffalo*, etc.

P. 77, l. 13 from beneath. Add: An extended form of *manist-* (*anist-*) is *manistαp-* (*anistαp-*).

P. 78, l. 5. *tákanistòχpaxtau* is a dependent interrogative form from the verbal stem *anisto*, and so it belongs sub 1<sup>0</sup> (p. 77).

P. 78, l. 16. *αnistápitapiau* is a verbalized nominal form.

P. 81, l. 1. Read: *berries* (instead of: *berrie*).

P. 81, l. 5. Read: *forms*: (instead of: *forms*).

P. 85, l. 5. The translation ought to be: *he smoked harder instead*.

P. 89, l. 4 from beneath. *nimótsipitâkeixpinan* is, of course, a verbalized nominal form.

P. 91, l. 3. The correct translation is: *he finally ended his smoking*.

P. 93, l. 4. Reference ought to have been made here to Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 19, as to the use of *nit(s)*- in adjectives.

- P. 94, l. 4 from beneath. Read: (*the people*) (instead of *they*).
- P. 99, l. 5. Read: combined with -s o- it has the meaning *ashore, from the fire* (instead of: combined with -s o- *ashore, from the fire*).
- P. 104, l. 18. Read: *very far* (instead of: *far*).
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## ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

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- obt. = C. C. Uhlenbeck, Original Blackfoot Texts. Verhandelingen Kon. Akad. van Wetensch., Amsterdam; Afd. Letterk. N. R. Deel XII n<sup>o</sup>. 1. 1911.
- nbt. = C. C. Uhlenbeck, A New Series of Blackfoot Texts. Verhandelingen Kon. Akad. van Wetensch., Amsterdam; Afd. Letterk. N. R. Deel XIII n<sup>o</sup>. 1. 1912.
- de J. de J. bt. = J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, Blackfoot Texts. Verhandelingen Kon. Akad. van Wetensch., Amsterdam; Afd. Letterk. N. R. Deel XIV n<sup>o</sup>. 4. 1914.

As to the numbers which are placed after these abbreviations, the first denotes the page, the second, after the comma, the line.

I have also made use of materials in manuscript collected by Dr. Uhlenbeck and by Dr. de Josselin de Jong.

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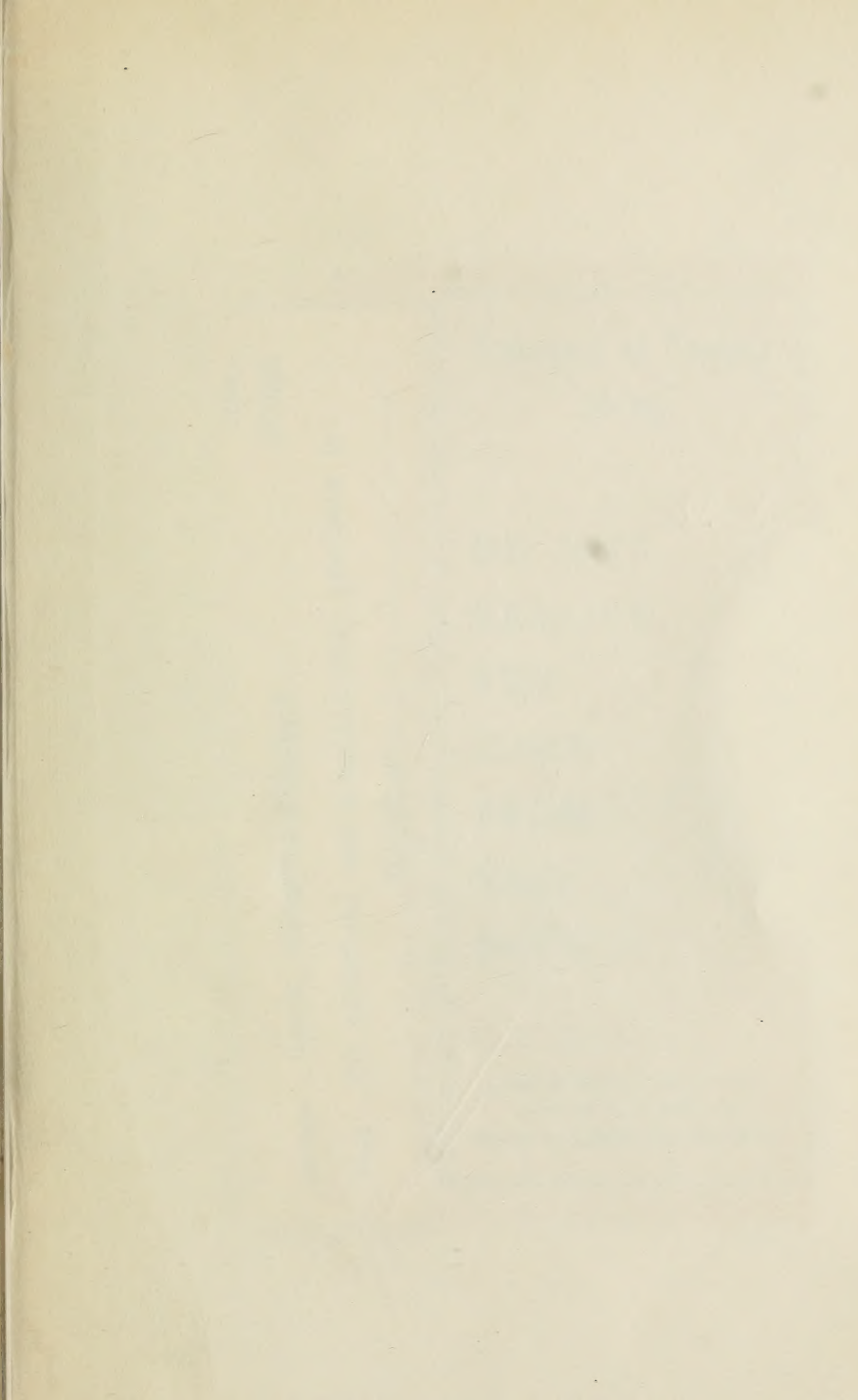
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