

**A CROW TEXT, WITH GRAMMATICAL
NOTES**

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

A	Anthropos.
I'A	L'Anthropologie.
AA	American Anthropologist.
AAA-M	American Anthropological Association, Memoirs.
ArA	Archiv für Anthropologie.
AES-P	American Ethnological Society, Publications.
AGW-M	Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien, Mitteilungen.
AJPA	American Journal of Physical Anthropology.
AMNH	American Museum of Natural History—
-AP	Anthropological Papers.
-B	Bulletin.
-M	Memoirs.
-MA	Memoirs, Anthropological Series.
-MJ	Memoirs, Jesup Expedition.
BAE	Bureau of American Ethnology—
-B	Bulletins.
-R	(Annual) Reports.
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology.
CU-CA	Columbia University, Contributions to Anthropology.
FL	Folk-Lore.
FMNH	Field Museum of Natural History—
-M	Memoirs.
-PAS	Publications, Anthropological Series.
IAE	Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.
ICA	International Congress of Americanists (Comptes Rendus, Proceedings).
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics.
JAFPL	Journal of American Folk-Lore.
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
MAIHF	Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation—
-C	Contributions.
-IN	Indian Notes.
-INM	Indian Notes and Monographs.
PM	Peabody Museum (of Harvard University)—
-M	Memoirs.
-P	Papers.
-R	Reports.
PMM-B	Public Museum (of the City) of Milwaukee, Bulletin.
SAP-J	Société des Américanistes de Paris, Journal.
SI	Smithsonian Institution—
-AR	Annual Reports.
-CK	Contributions to Knowledge.
-MC	Miscellaneous Collections.
UC-PAAE	University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
UPM-AP	University of Pennsylvania (University) Museum, Anthropological Publications.
USNM	United States National Museum—
-R	Reports.
-P	Proceedings.
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology.
ZE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	155
Text	158
Translation	159
Notes	160

INTRODUCTION

The Crow Indians of eastern Montana and the Hidatsa of North Dakota form a distinct branch of the Siouan family. Neither language has been adequately treated in the published literature. Washington Matthews¹ has given us a brief sketch of Hidatsa grammar, together with a vocabulary, but no texts. I have at different times published Crow material in my ethnographic papers² but without grammatical commentary, and so far as I know there is no printed grammar of the language. For this reason it seems desirable to present at least one specimen of Crow prose with notes sufficiently full to be of use to students of comparative Siouan philology. The sample chosen is not a myth, but a modern droll related by a village wag. It satirizes a well-known character and former policeman, who is represented as duping an aged and innocent couple by a pretense of supernatural power. The text was read to a number of Crow Indians and hugely enjoyed by them.

¹ Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, Washington, 1877.

² AMNH-AP, vols. 9, 11, 21, 25.

Certain details of transcription may be briefly indicated here. I was not consistent in the use of ä, ɛ, and e, and should have liked an opportunity to check the words containing them with an informant. The o and u vowels are closely related. The stops are often medial in point of sonancy, and here, too, there has not been complete consistency. There certainly is a series of fully aspirated stops. I have represented the palatalized stops by "gy" and "ky" here—though often as "dy" and "ty" in the field—because Hidatsa, which lacks the palatalization, invariably substitutes "g" or "k"; and also because my interpreter definitely felt the phonemes as "k" sounds. The glottal stop strikes me as very weak—like the German stop before initial vowels.

The linguistic material secured among the Crow was the by-product of ethnographic work under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History and is published by permission of that institution.

SYMBOLS USED

The symbols used for phonetic transcription and requiring explanation are as follows:

a	as in "father"
e	close
ɛ	open
ä	approximately as a in English "man"
o'	long, close
o	short, open
u'	long, close
u	short, open
ə	obscure vowel, related to a
ai	as English i in "bite"
au	as in German "Haus"
b, d	weakly nasalized at the beginning of words, related to m, n
c	approximately English "sh," but not always easily distinguishable from s
gy, ky	palatalized stops really intermediate between the palatalized g-k stops indicated and palatalized d, t
r	untrilled fricative, produced by breaking d closure ³
x	velar fricative, German ch in "acht"
k, t, p	medial in sonancy (see below)
'	aspiration
'	weak glottal stop

³ See Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, 39, 1904.

TEXT

1. ba'pd^ok Du'pi.ue kyo'r^ok. awa'td^ok datsi'ts^oruk.
 2. batse'r^ok u^o icta'reta'ts^oruk. 3. na'mna a'su^o bire'ru'ts^oruk.
 4. hira'ke' ba'wiri'su'm, dis bu'o'k'. 5. sa'pa? he'ts^oruet.
 6. baeba'rau ra'mni.apirek^ok i^oxpi'rawa tsu'sam xapi'wuk,
 hu'ts^oruet; k'o' ritsitsi'm ba'tse'wiawuk. 7. hin'e' ba're
 ts^oxu'k du'ta, hu'ts^oruet. 8. biedapi'r^ok ku k'u'o'ts^oruet;
 bickietsiki'c^orek ku k'u'o'ts^oruk. 9. ba'rec da'kurutsi'r^ok
 pirike'm bara'ku'k hu'ts^oruet. 10. e he'ts^oruet; a'kbikyotse'
 watsi'r^oc, mi rari'ok'. 11. k'o't'd^ok. 12. di'cbarau k'o'ra'se
 bir^oxba'kd^ok k'o'n du'tsiky diri'atu? he'ts^oruet. 13. e,
 micgyeci're k'o'n du'tsiky bari'atu'k hu'ts^oruet. 14. ma're'td^ok
 tsi'rup-k'o'tsi't^oc k'o'n du'tsiima'tsiet. 15. k'o'td^ok akdu'tse
 e'wa'tse'r^ok ma'wira'kua be'wiky, he'ts^oruet. 16. u' awa't^ok
 datsi'ts^oruet. 17. di'o, e'ky bi^oxba'ri^oc du'ta he'ts^oruet;
 u'oc dutsi'ts^oruet. 18. i'wira'.u-o'sau i'wire'e o'sak; bire'e
 ico'tsen du'usak. 19. mara'ka'pe'ts^oruk. 20. mara'ka'pe mar'e
 i'tsi^om awa'ko'ts^oru'ok. 21. hupu'me i'wari'ewa k'o'k'. 22. di'
 wats^ockya'tuk hir'a'ke' mawara'xbiky. 23. di'sbarau awo'tsikya'tbiky,
 he'ts^oruk. 24. ba'wara'xd^ok bi'ct^ono'p di'ewa'wiky. 25. karak'o'
 ictse' ba'o'ru'ok i'sambice' hupu'miri'ok. 26. kamawara'xbiky,
 i'ipuxec hu'wa. 27. ma.isa'kupe' ba'ihirituebe. 28. hira' bu
 ri'at ko'ta't^ok. 29. bara'x^ok. 30. icu' wara'sace:

u'ti'et itma're batbiti'mbi'owak mitati're t'o'n du'tim e'wa'tuk
 mawatu'a be'wit'.

31. mara'xe ko'wa'hi^ok a'bara'xtitsi'ky: hm, hm, hm, hm,
 he'ts^oruk. 32. mahä'ri'a wa'kurutsi'ndet^ok. 33. a'bara'xtitse'
 i'ictsice' hi'ri'ts^oruk. 34. karako'wict.

TRANSLATION

1. One day Dupiuc was there, sitting he was. 2. A man and his wife were blind, it is said. 3. They came along, his house they entered, it is said. 4. "Now we are suffering, to you we have come." 5. "What is the matter?" he said, it is said. 6. "Our money—\$32.50—we have lost," they said, it is said; "that you to seek we wish to make. 7. This dollars five take," they said, it is said. 8. A shawl also they gave him, it is said; a little beaded pouch also they gave, it is said. 9. "If the money you get back, ten we will give," they said, it is said. 10. "Yes," he said, it is said; "one who me would thus treat I have been looking for, me you have come to. 11. It is well. 12. Your money that which is missing any person that took, do you think?" he said, it is said. 13. "Yes, Yellow-dog that took, we think," they said, it is said. 14. "If not, Bull-all-the-time that must have taken." 15. "Very well, the thief if I find out, what you give me I'll own," he said, it is said. 16. His wife was sitting there, it is said. 17. "Come, that medicine of mine take," he said to her, it is said; his wife took it, it is said. 18. With the fire shovel he shoveled coals, the fire in front of himself he put. 19. He made incense. 20. The incense when we scented it, it was ground-moss. 21. "The whirlwind by it I work, that is it. 22. You are miserable, now I am going to sing. 23. Your money I am going to find," he said, it is said. 24. "When I sing, my eyes open I'll make." 25. Then his hand he incensed, in front of his face he made a whirlwind sign. 26. "Now I shall sing, the rattle give it to me." 27. Tricky people are good actors, you know. 28. Though he made a song on the spur of the moment, it was just like a real one. 29. He sang. 30. The words-of the song were:

"Little-anus his money I'll seek, Yellow-dog took it, we know. What has been given to me, I'll own."

31. His song as soon as it was done, a ghost-like sound he made: "Hm, hm, hm, hm," he said, it is said. 32. Notwithstanding all that, he got back nothing. 33. Like a ghost he sounded, after all that he had done. 34. This is the end.

NOTES

ba'pd^ok

From ba'pé', day, daytime. This word is nowadays employed also in designating days of the week and holidays, e.g., ba'pari'netε, Sunday, from hi'ri, to work, and net(ε), not; ba'pari'netε ise', Fourth of July, i.e., big Sunday.

d^ok, (in intervocalic position changed to r^ok)

A suffix often denoting vagueness in contrast to the suffix *c* (see below), also doubt and contingency. Affixed to the verb in the protasis of a conditional sentence, it signifies "if."

du'pi.uc

Abbreviated from Naxpitsé'ru'pi.uc, where the *d* becomes *r* in intervocalic position.

The suffix *c* has the force of a definite article and occurs in most personal names (cf. el Dante). It may serve to bind together the elements of a whole phrase or clause, e.g., itsi'rε da'ko'c, the horse you gave; basak'apupé'cdεc, my people who to the Nez Perce went. The *c* at the end of the word 'apupé'c is a different, directional suffix, meaning "to," "toward."

du'pi.u

Plural of du'pi.^o, to scold. The unabbreviated name is currently rendered Scolds-the-bear, but I should rather construe "Scolded-bear," i.e., "They scold the bear." Bears-scold-him seems an alternative possibility since the plural ending *u* or *o* is not necessarily affixed directly to the noun to be pluralized. On the other hand, the accepted translation cannot be definitely rejected, because the Crow do sometimes use the plural with a singular meaning.

kyo'r^ok

kyo is the palatalized form of ko, k'o', which it supersedes after *c*, *e*, or *i* (but not after ^o). ko' is a demonstrative denoting especially locality and numerical identity. E.g., di' kyo'ra'? Are you there (di', you; ra', to be)? ko'ra'suk, they were not there (su, plural of negative particle sa; k, the oral stop). In answer to the question

whether the Crow used bird quills for decoration, I was told "k'o' ts'e' suk," that they do not. In a myth a boy discovering his ostensible brother-in-law to be his father ejaculates: hi'n'e' wara'ac miru'pxe k'o'k', This my brother-in-law my father identical-with-is. Crane-bear, once wanting me to get spectacles for him, said to me: ihe'm.ko' hu'tse hiri'ata'rem ko' hu'tsegye, Another like this send (cause to come), just like this the same make him send. Correlatively, ko' occurs doubled in a common expression; arako'tse'c ko'tse'ky, what he had done, the same he did [again].

The expression kyo'r^ok is not used initially to present all heroes, but preferentially or exclusively in Old-Man-Coyote myths. Its use in the present tale may have been suggested by the hero's trickster-like character.

awa'td^ok datsi'ts^oruk

The last two syllables constitute the quotative particle, here used because the narrator knew the story only by hearsay, even though it was of recent occurrence.

awa'td^ok, also heard awa't^ok, is probably the participial form of awa'tsi'ky, he sits, of which the first and second persons are a'matsiky, a'mnatsiky. Before the initial letter of d^ok, the ts of awa'tsiky would change to t and the final vowel would be dropped in composition on Crow phonetic principles.

I suspect that awa'tsiky is compounded of awe', ground, and da'tsiky, to remain, to be at rest. This latter immediately follows in this sense as an independent word. According to my interpretation, then, the whole sentence basically means: Resting on the ground he continued.

da'tsiky cannot, so far as I know, be used to express continued *motion*. Suffixed, with loss of voice in the initial sound, it sometimes assumes adjectival meaning, e.g., a' pa tatse', every evening, from a' pa, evening; tsira'ke-tatse', every morning, from tsira'ke, morning.

In the first and second person baka'k and da'kak are used with meaning corresponding to datsi'ky, and their plural is formed by suffixing the usual u to the second a without formation of a diphthong; e.g., bari' waka'.uk, we kept on talking, i.e., we talked we continued. For the third plural I have recorded awa't^ok kawa'ts^oruk, they remained sitting, it is said.

A similar auxiliary is da'kuk. With the verb du'ci to eat (participial form: du's^ok) the continuative forms are: 1st person, bu's^ok

ba''ka'ku'k; 2d p., diru'sək da''ka'kuk; 3d p., du''sək da'ku'k. Compare with this last form the proper name Awu'cda'kuc, He-sweats-often, where the definite article c is merely substituted for the oral stop k. In the plural the verb retains the singular forms given above, while the auxiliary becomes a''wa'ku'k, a''ra'ku'k, a''a'ku'k. However, the third person plural is also recorded identical with the second: apsa''ruke i'tsikya'ta a''ra'kuk, the Crow well were faring.

batsɛ''rək

The rək corresponds to the dək of ba''pdək. batsɛ' is the usual word for an adult male. It may be used adjectivally for "manly." The word for chief, batsɛ'tsɛ is evidently derived from it. Compare also batsa''tsi, powerful (also often used in a general superlative sense). I suspect that the word commonly used for "poor," "miserable," batsekya''t, is derived from it by affixing the negative sa(ca) and the adjectival (often, but not always, diminutive) ka't. The palatalization of the k is a result of preceding c, and that in turn is intelligible from the preceding front vowel. The form batsɛ'ci for "poor" occurs.

u'ə

His wife; bu'ə, my wife; du'ə, your wife; u'o', their wives.

icta'reta'tsəruk.

icta', his (her) eyes; usually heard ictɛ'; bictɛ', my eye (s); di'ctɛ, your eyes; ictu'ə, their eyes; di'ctu'ə, your (pl.) eyes. "Our eyes" is either bictu'ə or barɛ' ictɛ'; barɛ', the first person plural intransitive pronoun, eliminates the plural affix. ret is the absolute negative; a' is merely connective.

na''mna

This is evidently a variant form of the word for "to go," de' (da'). na''wi commonly occurs in the sense of "go on," and da''wək is a continuative or participial form of the verb; na''wi plus na would yield na''mna by customary rules of elision and assimilation.

a'su'ə

The form is plural instead of singular acɛ', possibly to convey the sense of home rather than of mere dwelling in a conical lodge; basu'ə, my home; na''su'ə, your home, whence na''suam-bice', your people, i.e., those owning your camp.

birɛ'ru' tsɛruk

The u before the rough breathing marks plurality; the absence of an expressed pronoun, the third person; bi, a prefix here, presumably means "into." I have recorded birɛ'm bi'ɔk, he wished to enter, i.e., he enters he wished. The third person singular corresponding to the plural in the text is, however, birɛ'rɔk, with bi'mariky, bi'nariky for the first and second persons. The simple forms for to go would be (in the same order) de'ky, bare'ky, dare'ky. Why, then, the intercalary r^o and the change from e' to i? Some expression of aspect is indicated. The protean "r^ok" sometimes denotes a state of becoming, and "(h)i" instantaneous action. Perhaps the intention is to stress the moment of entering.

hira'ke'

Derived from hira', just now. E.g., a'c(h)ira'ri'o, Newly-made lodge (a clan name) from acɛ', lodge; hira', just now; ri'o (equals ri'u, di'u), they made.

ba'wiri'su'm

The suffix m often indicates a causal connection between two predications. It may be likened to an oral comma contrasting with the oral stop, k. The sentence means "Since we are suffering, we have come to you." Compare, di' i'ɔxuxkɛm di' wurupi'ɔk, you are a Fox, so I dislike you.

The verb stem is iri'ce; cf., icte' ba. iri'ce' tsɛruk, his eyes suffered, it is said, ba' wiri'ce'ky, I suffered. The word for "he is hungry," ari'ce'ky, is doubtless related. ba' is a prefix of wide meaning,— "something," "somebody." Examples: ac ba' ihe', enemy; from ac(ɛ), lodge, ba', some, ihe', other, different; ba'pa'tatsi^o, wagon, i.e., something rolling; ba'rape'ky, he kills something.

dis (dic)

The final s(c) is directional: bic, to me; kue, to him.

bu'o'k'

This irregular verb is conjugated as follows, the terminal k being the oral stop: 1st person, bo'k'; 2d p., daro'k'; 3d person, huk'. Plural forms: bu'ok', daru'ok', du'ok'. By prefixing a' and making phonetic adjustments we get the conjugation of the verb for "to bring": awo'k', araro'k', o'k', awu'ok', araru'ok', aru'ok'.

sa'pa

Usually means "what?" Various interrogatives are derived from the same stem, e.g., sa'pe, who?; sa' we, how many?

he'ts^oruct

The quotative is here changed from ts^oruk to ts^oruct, the reason being obscure. According to a native explanation it indicates that the authority for the quoted statement himself did not witness the event.

Since indirect discourse does not occur in Crow, the verb "to say" follows the verbatim quotation. With the oral stop the conjugation is as follows: ba'k', da'k', he'ky; bu'k', du'k', hu'k'. The shortening of the e and the rough breathing always occur in such combinations as that in the text. For the third person singular I have occasionally recorded ha'k'.

bacba'rau

bac (bas) is the first person possessive pronoun. Plurality, as often, is expressed ambiguously from our Indo-European point of view, by affixing the u to the noun, ba'ra, ba're, a phonetic variant of ma'ne, from English money, used either for money or specifically a dollar.

ra'mniapirek^ok

The initial r is changed from n owing to the intervocalic position. na'mnia means "thrice," being derived from na'wi, three; pirek^o(k) is the word for ten.

i^oxpi'rawa

i is the general instrumental prefix, but also has ordinal and partitive meaning. axpi' means "to remain," e.g., i're ar-axpe', the blood that remained. In counting it indicates addition to or subtraction from ten or its multiples according to whether it is prefixed or suffixed. E.g., axpi'rupe, 12; nu'paxpe, 8; nu'pe, 2; axpi'ra'wi, 13; axpi'sa'pu^o, 17; hawa'taxpe, 9.

tsu'sam

Here used for half a dollar, but applied to "half" generally, whether of things or persons.

The amount designated in the text is \$32.50. Compare German "dritthalb."

xapi''wuk

1st person plural, plurality in the usual way being denoted by the u before the oral stop. The singular would be xapi''wak.

Pronouns are usually suffixed to give a causative meaning. E.g., cipi^o, to be black; cipi''wak, I blacken; xatsi^o, it is shaking; xatsi''wak, I shake it. The stem of the verb in the text is xapi'', to be lost, whence mi' xapi''ky, I am lost (once used figuratively by my interpreter to express bewilderment at an informant's statement).

ritsitsi''m ba'tsɛ'wɪawuk

ba'tsɛ'wɪawuk, "We wish to make," literally means "we make we wish" and is the usual Crow mode of combining two verbs in such a combination; ri (di), you, is thus the object of ts, and the preceding k'o, that [money], is the object of tsitsi''m.

tsɛ is an independent verb for "to make, cause." Its conjugation is as follows: ba'tsɛ''ky, da'tsɛ''ky, tsɛ''ky; ba'ku'k, da''kuk, ku'k. This change from ts to k is puzzling but not uncommon. That these phonemes are closely related in this Siouan subdivision appears from comparison with Hidatsa. There the oral stop is ts instead of Crow k, and on the other hand initial Crow ts becomes k, e.g., tsi''rupe (Crow), ki''rupe (H.), buffalo bull.

wi^o (bi^o) to wish; di^o, to do, like causative verbs, take the pronouns as suffixes.

tsitsi''m, by normal assimilation from tsitsi''rɛ, to hunt, look for. Cf. itsi''rɛ, horse, itsi''n-disu^o, Horse dance; awawa''wɛ, mountain, awax''m-bir^ox ba''kɛ, mountain people. The unreduplicated form of the verb is common: arace'-tsi''ric, He-hunts-to-die (final e as a sort of definite article with proper names).

hin'ɛ'

Demonstrative to express proximity to the speaker, also used adverbially for "here."

ts^oxu''k

In counting 5 is called ts^oxo''. The k probably is the oral stop, yielding the following meaning: "Here are five dollars. Take them!"

du'ta

The imperative, as frequently, presents the stem in simplified form. The first syllable, du (nu, ru) is an instrumental prefix indicating seizure with the hand. Cf. du'xtsiky, he stuffs; du'tsire'ky, he

touches; du'eiky, he puts; duxa'eiky, he seizes; du'ekyapiky, he presses with the hand; du'kapiky, he scratches; du'ek, he lifts.

Verbs with this prefix form a distinct conjugation. The shift in accent in the first and second persons is noteworthy. The verb in the text is conjugated as follows: burutsi'ky, diru'tsiky, du'tsiky; burutu'k, diru'tu'k, du'tu'k.

bicdapi'r^ok

From bici', robe (doubtless related to bice', bison), and dapi'a, fringe, tassel; hence, shawl.

The particle r^ok conveys a greater measure of uncertainty than the suffix m, which also serves as an indefinite article. The sense is: "a shawl, I have heard, but I am not sure."

k'u'o'ts^oruct

The verb is somewhat irregular and this, together with its phonetic weakness, may lead to confusion with similar words. Thus, baku'k, I gave him, might also mean "I for him." The following are some common forms: da'ku, Are you giving him?; maku', Give me (imperative); bari'kyu, Give us (imper.); maku'k, He gave me; bak'bi'ewak', I want to give him; bara'kuk, I give you (cf., baraku'k, I for you); ma-k'u-ret-u-k, Me they gave not any.

bickietsiki'c^or^ok

The type of bag indicated here was small and beaded. The suffix r^ok is again the indefinite article. The word itself is bickietse', parfleche, plus the suffix ki'ce here meaning something like our English-Greek suffix "oid." Cf. acki'ce, toy lodge; icteki'ce, spectacles, from i'cte, eye; baraki'ce, tally-sticks, from bara', wood, stick. The plural form of the suffix occurs, e.g., batsi' kisu'a, hoop-and-pole game from batsi', to hunt, i.e., mock-hunting; i'wara'xi-ts-kisu'a, phonograph (by means of it to sing they make, as it were).

bickietse', parfleche, seems itself compounded of bice', robe, skin, and the suffix kic(e'); tse' may be the verb "to make," yielding "made into the semblance of a skin."

ba'rec

The suffix c is used because the money in question is that already referred to, hence the definite article is called for.

da''kurutsi'r^ok

Here the indefinite suffix converts the statement into the protasis of a conditional sentence. The "ku" adds the meaning of taking *back* and the conjugation accordingly becomes regular, ba''kurutsiky, I take back, with tsi changed to tu in the plural.

The verb is used in the sense of harvesting, e.g., i'tsikya'ta o'pe da''kurutu'k, Well the tobacco you (pl.) harvested.

pirik'e'm

The m probably conveys the idea of a ten-dollar note.

bara'ku'k

The present, or rather absolute, tense is here used to express a future meaning, which might be formally conveyed by bara'k'-bu'oma'tsiky, where bu'o would be the first person plural and ma'tsiky the suffix of futurity. But my interpreter thought this would indicate a lesser degree of certainty than the word in the text.

akbi kyotse''

This is the object of what follows. The prefix ak expresses the actor and may precede a whole clause, e.g., akbi''ce, the liar, from bici', he lies; ak-bara-kure'', the stick-bearer; ak-daxpitsε-kuc-die', those who-the bear-towards-dance.

bi is the first person subject of an intransitive verb and object of a transitive one, here the object of tse'', which here means to treat. kyo'(ko') has its usual significance, so that the expression as a whole may be rendered "One who should thus treat me."

watsi''r^oc

From tsi''ri, to look for (see above). The final c is not clear.

mi' rari''ok'

"You (plural) have reached me." The verb is irregular. It expresses not mere coming but arrival and is thus also used for meeting, e.g., ba''wiky, I shall meet him; acba''ihe' ba''r^ok, if I meet an enemy; batbi''uk', we met each other. The conjugation with oral stop is: bak', dara''k', hi'ky; bi''ok' (bi''uk'), dari''ok', di''ok'.

k'o't'd^ok

Often heard k'o't'^ok. Literally, "Thus it is," i.e., "Very well," "All right," k'ot is derived from the demonstrative k'o' and con-

stantly occurs in idiomatic phrases. E.g., k'o't'-ba'wiky, Thus I shall do; k'o't'-da'riky, Thus you will do.

d° is here used in the sense of a copula. See below, k'o'ra'se.

di'cbarau

The plural form of "your money."

k'o'ra'se

"Here it is not," i.e., "which is not here." The demonstrative k'o' is followed by ra' (da, d°), to be, and the negative particle, changed from its usual form sa. The expression in the text is sometimes euphemistically applied to dead people.

bir°xba'kd°k

The indefinite particle d°k here seems to have interrogative force: *what* person?

bir°x ba'k, the usual word for person, is evidently a compound, but I am unable to analyze it. In a text occurs the word biricε', dead people, from cε, dead.

diri'atu

The absence of the oral stop, as usual, indicates a query. The form given is that of the second person plural. The singular with the stop is: bari'atsiky, diri'atsiky, hiri'atsiky.

micgyε-ci'°re

A personal name; the adjective regularly follows its noun in Crow.

mi'cgyε', dog, is the absolute form of the noun, which changes irregularly with the possessive pronouns: masa'cgyeka`cε, my dog; disa'cgyeka`cε, your dog; isa'cgyeka`cε. The suffix ka`cε usually denotes the superlative, here evidently genuineness, for without it the words would, in modern Crow, signify "my horse," etc. Incidentally, the absolute form for horse, itsi're, is quite unrelated. It seems to be formed of the instrumental i prefix, the stem tsi, to pack, and a nominal suffix. I once recorded the sentence: micgyε' k'o' itsi'rum, Dogs these they [anciently] would pack with, i.e., They used dogs for packing.

mare'td°k

Here the d°k is conditional, ba (ma) is a nominal prefix of wide meaning, indicating either a thing or person and especially used in making nouns of adjectives or expressing the indefinite object of an

active verb (see p. 163). Ex.: ba'watsa'tsk, something powerful; ba'ru'eiky, he is eating (if the food is specified, the prefix disappears).

The suffix *ret*, *det* (*ret*, *det*) is the particle of absolute negation, thus differing from *sa*, *se*, which refers to particular cases. Thus, awa'kdεtk, I have never seen him; awa'kesak, I have not seen him. From one point of view *re't* is sometimes oddly combined to render simple adjectival meanings, e.g., the regular word for "no" is *mare'tk*, analyzable into the above-mentioned nominal prefix *ma* (*ba*), and the absolute negative: something—not at all. Similarly, empty is rendered *awu'retk*, from *awu'ε*, inside.

tsi'rup k'o'tsi'tεc

The name is officially rendered Bull-all-the-time from *tsi'rup*, buffalo bull; *k'o'*, demonstrative of identity; *tsi'tε*, evidently related to the stem *datsi'* explained above, expresses continuance. Thus, the word designates eternity. Cf., *bak'o'tsi'tε* *awa'xε* *awe'rεk*, eternal are the heavens and the earth.

du'tsiima'tsiet

This is a combination of the future third person ending with the future particle. The sense is "he must have taken it," German "er wird es genommen haben."

While the absolute tense used for our present and past does not usually express the third person at all, the future designates it by suffixing *i*, with suffixed *bi* (*mi*, *wi*) and *ri* (*di*) for the first and second persons *in addition to the pronouns regularly prefixed to the verb stem*. The plural endings are *bo'*, *ro'*, *o'*. Thus we find such forms as: *du'ci'o'*, they will eat; *ham-niru'tsiri* (ham, something; *diru'tsi*, do you take?), Shall you take some?

The precise shade of meaning conveyed by *ma'tsiky* I do not know, but it is not essential to the expression of futurity, for which the suffixed pronouns given above suffice, e.g., *awa'kawiky*, I shall see; *bari'mbiky*, I shall walk; *ba'tbiky*, I shall carry; *ba'wiky*, I shall own. On the other hand *ma'tsiky* sometimes expresses necessity, obligation. Ex.: *e'ky du'ε e'risak*, *k'u' bare' asu'ε bire'risa.ima'tsiky*, That wife of yours is pregnant, our lodge she must not enter. Here, the verb is readily analyzed: *bire'ri*, to enter; *sa*, not; *i*, 3d person future suffix; *ma'tsiky*, auxiliary particle. Compare, *a'para'axi-ma'tsiky*, it must be a ghost, where, as in *dutsiima'tsiet*, there is simple inference indicated.

akdu'tse

The one who took it, from ak, he who, and du'tse, du'tsi, he takes.

e'wa'tse`r^ok

Here r^ok is conditional again. This very common verb seems to have infixation, for it is conjugated as follows: e'wa'tse'ky, e'ra'tse'ky, e''tse'ky; e'wa'kuk, e'ra'kuk, e''kyuk. But I suspect that initial e' (ε) is a prefix put before the stem tse; to make, cause. Without the e', the conjugation would be identical.

ma'wira'kua

For the verb stem, ku, to give, see above on k'u'o'ts^oruk. The object of this verb is mi (bi), here wi because intervocalic; and ma' (ba') is the general nominal prefix already noted. Hence, "whatever to me you give."

be'wiky

Also noted elsewhere as ba'wiky. This is the future 1st person singular of e', to have, own. This verb stem is thus conjugated in the present: be', de', e'; ba'u, da'u, a'u. Possibly because of the phonetic weakness of the word and consequent possibility of confusion with similar words, the idea of possession is often expressed by the invariable particle, bici', (French *il y a*,) suffixed to the noun denoting the possessed object. E.g., du'a wici, have you a wife? Literally, this means, "Your wife, is there one?"

The following forms of e' are interesting: be'suk, we have not (the negative particle *sa* being pluralized, instead of the verb itself); i'ikye e'sak, his elder brother disowned him; be'r^otk', I have not any; itsi'r^e an de'r^oracde, the horse which you like to own (from an, that *or* those which, rara'cdε, you like).

u'

Doubtless abbreviated from the more usual u'^o because of the following vowel.

di'^o

The stem of the verb for "to do," here imperative, in which case it often means "Well, then," "Come now."

The conjugation follows that of causative verbs, i.e., the pronouns are suffixed: di'^owak, di'^orak, di'^ok; di'^owuk, di'^oruk, di''uk (also di''.ok).

bi^oxba'ri^oc (bi^oxpa'ri^oc)

My medicine, i.e., my sacred objects. The Crow possessives exhibit considerable variation that is not readily reduced to rules. The form here found might be interpreted as the short possessive customary where there is an intimate relationship between possessor and possessed, e.g., biru'pxε, di'rupxε, iru'pxε, my, thy, his father. On the other hand, we find the longer form maeba'pi'tε, di'eba'pi'tε, icba'pi'tε, for my, thy, his grandchild.

^oxpa'ri^o, from xapa'ri^o, medicine, connected with maxpε', maxpa', holy, where the ma is again the generic nominal prefix. The stem "xp" for "holy" is evidently an old Siouan one; cf. Omaha qube, Winnebago qopine, Mandan xopini, Hidatsa xupa', Biloxi xi.

i'wira'.u-o'sau

The initial i' is instrumental, wira'.u is the plural of birε' (birä'?), fire, coal; o'sau, they shovel. Hence, fire-shovel.

At one time I thought a mere difference in tone distinguished the words for fire (falling) and water (rising). I am now convinced that this was accidental and that the final vowel is lower, more open, for "fire," higher for "water." This appears in composition, e.g., bira'kce, match; biriky'o'ce, Whistling-water clan. But I have also recorded bire' isi'εk, fire big they made, where the vowel is long and close.

ico'tsen

In front of himself; baco'tsen would be "in front of me."

du"^usak

In my notes I originally had du'ciky, the ordinary form of completed statement. My interpreter changed it to what I interpret as a participial form in order to indicate closer connection with what follows.

marε' i'tsi^om

The final m has the force of an oral comma, "when we scented it," marε' (barε') is the first person plural—subject with intransitive, object with transitive verbs. I recorded: bi' i'tsi^om, I scented it; u'uxe barε' i'tsi^ok, the deer scented us.

hupu'mε

I cannot analyze the word, but the initial syllable recalls hutse', wind; hu'tbiciky, windy (wind there is).

i' wari'owa

Here i' is the instrumental prefix; the first wa (ba) the indefinite object; ri' (di') the stem for "to do"; final wa, the *suffixed* pronoun (see above).

ba'ri'wa, to do something, is regularly used in the sense of "to work."

watsɛkya'tuk

Plural of watsɛkya'tuk (batsɛkya'tuk), poor, miserable. The suffix again has general adjectival significance. As already noted, the shorter form, watsɛc(i) occurs; e.g., batsä'cisu "tsɛruk, they were not poor, it is said. The longer form is regularly used in prayer by prospective visionaries to describe their miserable plight.

mawara'xbiky

Here, my interpreter explained, the use of ma'tsi—mawara'xbi-ma'tsiky—would help convey the idea "I *must* sing," or "I'll *force myself* to sing," whereas the simpler form indicates the singer's willingness to help.

The ma is the pronoun "he sings" being bara'xiky (wara'xiky). Note the elision of the final i of this stem in composition.

awo'tsikyatbiky

Certain verbs beginning with vowels prefix "aw" and "ar" for the first and second persons respectively. Thus, "Will you find it?" would be aro'tsikyatdi, where the double expression of the second person, already noted for the future generally, appears.

The verb used in the text expresses the idea of finding as the result of search, otherwise o'rapiky of the same conjugation would be employed.

ba'wara'xdok

The conditional dok here assumes temporal meaning.

bi'et'no'p di'owa'wiky.

Literally, my eyes holes I'll make, i.e., I'll open my eyes. The n may have locative meaning or may be purely connective. The stem for hole varies slightly: ap-upɛ', Nez Perce' (apɛ', nose); masa'pɛ' hupi(ky, my moccasin has a hole in it; a'pano'p' ise', Arikara, lit. Big-Ear-Holes (a'pɛ', ear; n, locative; o'p, hole; ise', big, i.e., In-the-ear big-holes).

ictse'

Note the following forms: bactse', my hand; di'ctse, thy hand; bactu'o, our hands; ictu'o, their hands.

i'sambice'

Probably from i's, his face; am (an, ara), where; bice', il y a. Hence, in front of him; bi'sambice would be "in front of me" (bi's, my face).

kamawara'xbiky

Probably the m should be marked as long.

kam (kan, kara) is a frequent but puzzling temporal prefix. It sometimes clearly expresses completed past experience or action: kan miratsi'we'ky, you have already told me; karace'ky, he is dead. But it also occurs with the future and then seems to have inceptive force, as in the text. Cf., kambakara''a'wo'k, now we shall run.

i''ipuxεε

This may be connected with pu'x, po'x, inflated, foamy. (Cf. birepuxε', beer).

hu'wa

The meaning is "Give it to me." Literally, the expression seems derived from hu, to come; but wa in this context is not clear.

ma. isa'kuppe'

The first syllable is the generic nominal prefix; isa'kuppe' I am unable to analyze, but it is the word regularly used to describe Old-Man-Coyote, the mythological trickster.

ba'.ihi'ritueε

"They [tricksters] are good actors." The implication is: "and so is Scolds-the-bear."

ba' is again the indefinite nominal prefix; i (omitted in one version of the text) may be instrumental; hi'r(i) means "to do" (o'ce hi'riky, she does cooking); i'tu is the plural of i'tsi, good; "εε" indicates that the hearers are reminded of something already known to them.

hira''

Just now, i.e., he improvised the song.

bu ri'at

Suffixed t or ta is often disjunctive, corresponding to "but" or "though." E.g., di'warasa'cita mirikyu'kusak, "I called you, but you did not hear me."

bu', bu'm is used for "a song." It does not seem to occur with possessive pronouns; instead we find: icu', icu'o, his song, songs; bacu'^o, my song. This suggests that the stem may be u, u'^o, and that the b represents the curtailed generic nominal prefix.

k'o'tä't^ok

k'o't^ok' would be "It was thus," the second t indicates "It was like one" (Cf., di' micgy^etk, You are like a dog, from micgy^e, dog).

bara'x^ok

The obscure vowel seems to give a participial flavor to what would be a completed statement in the usual form bara'xiky.

wara'sace

Related to da'ase, name, and da'saciky, he calls.

u'ut'-i'^ot

The trickster is made to sing with a mincing pronunciation in quasi-Hidatsa, hence t is twice substituted for c (s), the equivalent Crow form being u'uc-i'^oc, from u'uce, anus, i'^o, little, young.

itma're

For Crow isma're.

batbiti'mbi'^owak

For Crow batsitsi'mbi'^owak, I will hunt.

mitati're

For Crow micgy^eci're.

t'o'n

For Crow k'o'n.

du'tim

For Crow du'tsim, he took.

e'wa'tuk

For Crow e'wa'kuk, we know, probably used with singular meaning.

mawatu'a

For Crow mawaku'a; ma, indefinite objective; wa used with this verb as first person pronoun indirect object; ku to give.

be'wit

For Crow be'wiky

maraxε k'o'wa'hi^ok

I construe this to mean: "He was singing; as soon as he had ceased. . . ."

k'o'w is the stem for "to be done." Its combinations admirably illustrate Crow phonetic principles: karak'o'wiky, now it is done; k'o'mbak, I have finished; k'o'mnak, you have finished, k'o'mn^oti'iruk (net, negative; i'ruk, 3d person plural, indicating habitual action), they would never cease.

The suffix (a')hi lends the meaning of instantaneous or sudden action.

a'bara'x titsi'ky

"He made a noise like a ghost." The verb stem usually begins with a sonant: k'a'rikyate ditu^o (plural of ditsi'ky) watsa'tsk', the old women cheered lustily; naka'k di'tsi'ky, a bird is crowing. The verb coincides with that for "to strike" and may be identical with it. The word ditsi' is usually applied to women and birds, not to men; ghosts, however, are said to hoot like owls, whence probably the extension of the term here. The corresponding noise by men is designated by a compound of the same stem, i'tsiritu^o, lip-slapping; bi'wa'tsiritu'k, we slapped our lips.

a'bara'ax(ε), ghost, is doubtless derived from the same stem as ira'axε, soul, ira'xaxε, shadow.

Possibly the word "like" is merely to be understood with ghost, the change of ditsi'ky to titsi'ky being due merely to the preceding surd fricative. But it occurs to me that there may have been a combination of a'bara'axε'te, like a ghost, with ditsi'ky, the final vowel of the preceding word being eliminated in customary fashion and the t and d merging.

wa'kurutsi'n(d)ε t^ok

Literally, "something he got back not at all."

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