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A Relic of Proto-Siouan *rp/nc 'one' in Mississippi Valley Siouan
Robert L. Rankin

Proto-Siouan 'one' is reconstructed in two versions from two separate cognate sets, both of which are defective in that each has been entirely lacking from one or another of the major Siouan subgroups.1

One of the sets for 'one' is found only in Mississippi Valley Siouan (and possibly Mandan). It contains the same root as the indefinite article that is found in the same subgroup. The reconstruction *wį'ỹg is based on the following cognates:
- Dak. Weżɨ, węći, węćą: Winn. hįžq; Chiw. ỹg-ki; Bheg. *wįg-xqj; and perhaps Mand. máxąnas (i.e. węćqą). Except for Mandan, the sound changes and other alterations that yield the attested forms are relatively well understood.2 In the same languages the indefinite articles have a form based on *wɨ (Winn., Chiw., Bheg.) or *wɨ (Dak.), depending on whether or not the language has metathesized the vowels of *wį'ỹg.

The elder of the two reconstructible words for 'one' is the less well attested, found until now only in Ohio Valley (South-eastern) Siouan with a probable cognate in Hidatsa.

<table>
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<th>Ohio V.</th>
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<td>Cfo: nů fha</td>
<td>ru-waća</td>
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<td>Biloxi: sq-s a</td>
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<td>Tutelo: nq's a</td>
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The OVS forms yield *ng:sa, internally reconstructible to *rp:sa. The Hidatsa cognate retains only the first syllable (morpheme?), compare Crow haw'ā 'one', and it undergoes the usual Crow/Hidatsa denasalization. At the moment, it seems best to reconstruct the root as *nų or *rp, that portion which is attested in all of the above mentioned languages.

It would be nice to find confirming evidence in Mississippi Valley Siouan for this reconstruction, and we find it in Quapaw, hidden away in the construction for 'once, one time'. The term is ḥį miŋtįj. Iterative numeral words in Quapaw are formed by preposing ḥį 'times, amount' to the number and suffixing a nasal vowel, -j, which often collapses with the stem-final vowel. The result was probably a compound at one time composed of the numeral stem and the verb 'do, use', whose form is *p (cf. the Osage cognates with -p, below).

The expected Quapaw form, if it were based on miŋtį 'one', would be ḥį miŋtįj contracted to *Ḥi miŋtį. Compare Quapaw ḥį nąpį-j 'twice', ḥį dahnį 'thrice', ḥį lōwi 'four times', and the Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics. Vol. 13, 1988. pp.122-126.
Osage cognate iteratives (Al) wiáxí-é 'once' (and the morph- 
emically similar Omaha term), (Al) tópí-ó 'twice', (Al) lábi-ó 
'thrice', (Al) töpi-ó 'four times', etc. The actually occurring 
Quapaw form, fi náxti is clearly composed of preposed hi 'times', 
suffixed -í (probably from the earlier ñó 'do, use', cf. Osage), 
and the numeral stem ño-xti 'one', which is in turn composed of 
the intensifier -xti 'real, very' (attested throughout Siouan, 
cf. Quapaw måxti 'one') and the root ño-, which can only mean 
'one' in this context. 4 As far as I can determine ño-, then, is 
a relic, isolated in this unique Quapaw derivational construc- 
tion, although now that it is known to occur in the Mississippi 
Valley subgroup, perhaps other instances will be discovered. 4

If this discovery adds nothing to the phonological shape of 
our reconstruction, it does at least add considerable substance 
to the cognate set from which the proto form was posited. The 
Mississippi Valley Siouan subgroup is the connecting link between 
the two subgroups in which ño- is otherwise attested.

I mentioned above that ño- is probably the more archaic of 
the two reconstructible forms. One justification for this view 
is the fact that ño- is the more widely distributed of the two 
forms; it is found in the subgroups that are most distant from 
each other, both linguistically and geographically. Another is 
the fact that it is ño- that has cognates in the more distantly 
related Catawan.

Our knowledge of Catawan comes from the remnants of several 
languages once spoken in the Carolina piedmont. In early histo- 
rical times these Catawan speaking remnants banded together with 
the Catawba proper forming a poly-dialectal community whose 
linguistic divisions are only poorly known. The only other inde- 
pendent Catawan language of which we have knowledge is Woccon.

Catawba 'one' is transcribed in a variety of ways by the 
various researchers who attempted field work on the language. 
All show variation between initial oral and nasal stops however.

<table>
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<th>Catawba:</th>
<th>(\text{dápå} ) (Susan)</th>
<th>(\text{dápø} ) (Swadesh, Speck)</th>
<th>(\text{nápå} ) (Speck)</th>
<th>(\text{nápø} ) (Gatsche+)</th>
<th>(\text{dåpan} ) '7 (Swadesh)</th>
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<td>Woccon:</td>
<td>(\text{nópønne} ) (Lawson in Carter 1980)</td>
<td>(\text{tøne} ) (Lawson in Carter 1980)</td>
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Taken together, the Catawba and Woccon forms reproduced 
above (there are numerous other variant transcriptions) 
illustrate two important points. First, the initial syllable of 
the Catawban forms appear to be the proper match for Proto-Siouan 
'nö' 'one' reconstructed above. 4 Second, the alternation or 
(more probably) variation between initial oral and nasal stops 
preceding nasal vowels is as common (and ancient) in Catawban as 
it is in Siouan, making this phonological characteristic of 
Siouan-Catawan very old indeed.
The discovery of a Quapaw reflex of *ŋ̂o* - 'one' strengthens our etymology for Proto-Siouan-Catawban 'one' appreciably.

NOTES

1 The cognate sets that I refer to here were assembled in part at the Comparative Siouan Workshop organized by David Rood and held in the Summer of 1984 at the University of Colorado. Specifically, data were contributed by Randolph Gracyzk (Crow), A. Wesley Jones (Hidatsa), Richard Carter and Patricia Shaw (Ponca), and the author's field notes (Kansa, Quapaw, Osage, Omaha and Ponca). John Koontz also provided Omaha data, read a draft of this paper, and provided a number of very useful comments and suggestions.

Other (i.e. published or otherwise available) sources are listed in the bibliography and include Hollow 1970 (Handan), Vanrime 1962 (Cherokee), Miner 1964 (Winnebago), Swetland 1977 (Omaha), Dorsey and Swanton 1912 (Biloxi and Ofo), and Dorsey 1882, Hale 1883, Sapir 1913 and Frauentenberg 1913 (Tutelo), Shea 1984 (Catawba) and Carter 1980 (Moscot). Zeyrek 1982 discusses the Siouan and Catawban counting systems generally. The 1984 Comparative Siouan Workshop was supported by the National Science Foundation under grant #BNS-8406236 and by the National Endowment for the Humanities under grant #FD-20477-84.

2 I do not mean to imply that the sound correspondences for this lexical set are all regular. The reflexes of what Koontz and I have reconstructed tentatively as *ŋ̂o*(y) are, in fact, irregular, and there are some problems with the initial labial. Koontz suggests that the *ŋ̂* may be epenthetic. Presumably it might then postdate common Mississippi Valley Siouan, and this might explain its phonetically plausible but historically irregular development.

Since sequences of V-VV are not normal in MVS, *w̃j(y)̃g* is probably bisemphonic. *w̃j* - g. The only suffix with the shape ̃g that I am aware of is the iterative suffix (discussed above) used with numerals in Ojibwe and Omaha-Ponca. It, in turn, may be derived from the PS verb *go* (although we would expect *ŋ* rather than ̃g). If we reconstruct *w̃j + ̃g*, we may, in turn, be reconstructing an iterative form with the meaning 'once' rather than 'one'.

3 The phonologically similar Biloxi word with the translation 'eldest, elder', noxti, found in Dorsey and Swanton (1912, 238) probably exemplifies a different but homophonous PS root *t̃e*- 'to grow, age', cf. Ioway *ŋ̂ay* 'grow up' or Osage *n̂̄bį* 'reach mature age', *ŋ̂̄h̄o* 'older person'.

4 Koontz has suggested that the common Siouan birth name for the first born daughter (usually written Winona in Dakota) should be analyzed *w̃j* 'female', *-ŋ̂* 'first' and *ŋ̂* 'diminutive'.

Yet another relic may occur in Quapaw dng (e 'that' + np 'one') meaning 'only that' as opposed to dnpa i.e that + npa 'two' meaning 'both'. La Flesche (1932) has eme' 'ksi 'he, she, it alone.'

'This means that the Catawban forms for the numerals 'one', 'two' and 'three' all match corresponding Proto-Siouan forms well.

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