

forms to express the "momentaneous iterative" aspect, *-a'* being used in corresponding "durative iterative" forms (e. g. *'mutl'mutl-c* "to rain repeatedly by brief spells," *'m'itl-'m'itl-a'* "to rain continuously time after time").

The *-c* of *nan't'-c*, *'ma''m'-c*, and *'yu'kw'-c* is apparently a form of diminutive. The normal diminutive suffix is *-'s* (*-'uts-*). Perhaps *-c* is a baby-form of the normal *-s*.

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BLACKFOOT NOTES

1. ARROW. — Closer akin to Fox *-ip'* arrow, *nīp'* my arrow, Ar. *nētc'* my arrow than Bl. *āpssi* arrow, *nōypssi* my arrow are the following Blackfoot words: *ēpiu* he had arrows (A new series of Blackfoot texts, p. 17), *mátopiū* he had also an arrow (*op. c.*, p. 46), *imaykópiinai* he (fourth person) had a big arrow (*op. c.*, p. 89), *ómaykópinni* his big arrow (*op. c.*, p. 82, cf. also p. 80, 89). A difficult word to analyze is *ponópáni* quiver with arrows (*ninópánists* my arrows in the quiver, *únnópánists* his arrows in the quiver). Does it contain an element *-op-* (*-nop-*) arrow and belong to the group of words cited above? Setting this question aside, I state only that in *ēpiu*: *mátopiū* we have a clear case of the vocalic intermutation *e(i)*: *o*.

2. WIDOW AND WIDOWER. — For "widow" and "widower" Blackfoot uses, respectively, *népōmi(ua)* and *népoykémi(ua)*. As to the second members of these compounds cf. *ómiu* (a woman) marries (or: is married), *ixkémíu* (a man) marries (or: is married), and also *nóma* my husband, *ómi* her husband, *nitoykéman* my wife, *otoykéman* his wife. The first member of *népōmi(ua)* and *népoykémi(ua)* belongs to Oj. *nibō*, Cree *nīpiw* dies (is dead).

3. INTERMUTATION *i*: *a*. — VKAWA., Afd. Letterk., N. R., XIV, No. 5, p. 12 I have given some cases of the vocalic intermutation *i*: *a* in Blackfoot. Here are some more of them: *nitáuàmi* I smell, *áuàmiu* he smells: *imó*, *imú* it smells; *ksásiu* he hides: *nitáiksi-satoyp* I hide it, *nitáikisatáu* I hide him; *nánixkiásiu* (*ki nánixkiasiuá ómi otsipisini'a* and there was a song for it, when she was going in, A new series of Blackfoot texts, p. 94): *matsinixkiásiu* (*ki itákaupisi'a*, *matsinixkiasiuá* and when she was going to sit down, there was another song for it, *l. c.*), cf. *nínixkiu*, *áinixkiu* he sings. As to *ánisau* (*op. c.*, p. 110) I am in doubt, whether it is an intermutation-form to *ínisau* he comes down, or a variant of (misheard for?) *áinisau* (contraction of **ái-inisau*).

4. HAPLOLOGY. — Here are two cases of haplogy in Blackfoot: *anáukitsis* little finger, from **anáuk-okitsis*, properly "half-finger"; *sépisto(a)* owl, from **sépi-pisto(a)*, a compound of *sépi-* (*sipi-*) in the night, and *pistó(a)* night-hawk.

5. ABUNDATIVE NOMINAL SUFFIX. — As I have pointed out VKAWA., Afd. Letterk., N. R., XIV, No. 5, p. 17, a great number of

collective nouns in Blackfoot are formed by means of the abundative denominative suffix *-sko*, *-skui*, *-skuyi*, e. g. *akáitapisko* many people together : *akáitapi(ua)* many people, *ksisisko* thorn-bush : *ksisiis* thorn. This suffix seems to be akin to the abundative denominative verbal ending Oj. *-ka*, Cree *-skaw* (e. g. Oj. *nibika*, Cree *nipiskaw* there is plenty of water).

6. NOUNS IN *-opi* AND *-otspi*. — Blackfoot abounds in deverbative nouns in *-opi*, which is, no doubt, a verbal ending of the first person plural inclusive. Part of them, *nomina loci*, have the prefix *it-* in a certain place; others, *nomina instrumenti*, contain the instrumental prefix *ixt-* by means of, with. I have given many examples of both kinds in my paper "Nieuwe woorden in het Blackfoot" (Meded. KAWA., Afd. Letterk., Deel 59, Serie A, No. 9), where I have considered and translated them as non-relative verbal forms, simply used as nouns. Now the usual inclusive verbal ending in non-relative forms is *-op* (*-opa*), not *-opi*. So we may put the question, whether the relation between *-op* (*-opa*) and *-opi* is not the same as that between the non-relative verbal ending of the first person plural exclusive

-nan (*-nana*) and the relative exclusive verbal ending *-nani*. If this question is to be answered in the affirmative, then the proper meaning of, e. g., *itaudtsimoixkàupi* church, is "where-we-pray," not "we-pray-there," and of, e. g., *ixtáxpumàupi* money, not "we-buy-with-it," but "what-we-buy-with" (both in *itaudtsimoixkàupi* and *ixtáxpumàupi* the diphthong *au* has resulted from contraction of the stem-vowel *a* with the ending *-opi*). The same question arises with regard to the nouns in *-otspi*, e. g. *itásksinimatsòtspi* school : *nitásksinimatsau* I teach him, *ísksinimatsiu* he teaches him. The inclusive verbal ending in non-relative forms of the indefinite passive is *-otsp* (by the side of *-ots*, cf. *ákoχtoχkuskinòts* we shall be known by means of him, Original Blackfoot texts, p. 16), and it would seem that *-otspi* is the corresponding relative ending. Then, e. g., *itásksinimatsòtspi* school, is properly "where-we-are-taught", not "there-we-are-taught."

7. RECIPROCAL SUFFIX. — The reciprocal conjugation of Blackfoot is characterized by a suffix *-tsi-* (*-tse-*). This formative element is doubtless identical with the equivalent Fox suffix *-ti-*.

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