TUTELO VERBS OF MOTION

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    In a 1976 article Taylor reconstructed the Proto-Siouan system
of motion verbs, showing the relationships between stems and
attempting to reconstruct their exact shapes and meanings. Only
isolated reconstructions had been previously proposed, with no
attempt at understanding the system of motion verb stems. Taylor's
study included most Siouan languages, but not Tutelo because it was
"too poorly recorded to permit its inclusion" (Taylor 1976:287).
The present paper will show however that the available Tutelo data
include information on these basic motion verb stems and that the
Tutelo system is, with an Ohio Valley Siouan twist, a reflex of the
Proto-Siouan system proposed by Taylor. It will also be shown that
Tutelo can contribute to the reconstruction of these Proto-Siouan
morphemes and of their vertitive forms.

    The Proto-Siouan system of motion verbs reconstructed by
Taylor is shown in table 1. The system includes four stems
depending on type of motion: arriving motion or motion prior to
arrival, and destination: here or there.

Table 1: Siouan basic motion verb stems (Taylor 1976:289, table 2,
with modifications)

Destination	arriving motion	motion prior to arrival
here	Stem 1 'arrive here'	Stem 2 'motion towards here'
there	Stem 3 'arrive there'	Stem 4 'motion towards there'

    The reconstructed Proto-Siouan stems are given in table 2:
stem 1 *rhí 'arrive here'; stem 2 *hú 'motion towards here'; stem
3 *hí 'arrive there'; stem 4 *rA 'motion towards there'. The form
in parentheses for stem 1, *srahi, is an hypothetical
reconstruction based on Ofo only; the capital A in stem 4
represents an ablauting vowel, a feature found all across Siouan.

Table 2: Proto-Siouan basic motion verb stems (from Taylor 1976)

Destination	arriving motion	motion prior to arrival
here	*rhí (*srahi)	*hú
there	*hí	*rA

As mentioned above, Taylor did not use Tutelo in his study for
lack of data. However I have been able to find information on
these motion verb stems in the data collected on Tutelo in the late
nineteenth century when the Tuteloes were already in their new home
in Ontario, Canada. There is also one instance of one of these
motion verbs in a short list recorded in the eighteenth century in
Virginia, the Tuteloes' original homeland. The nineteenth century
data were recorded by Horatio Hale, James Owen Dorsey and J. N. B.
Hewitt; the eighteenth century word list is from John Fontaine.

For reasons that will become clear later, I will first look at
stems 2 and 4 in Tutelo, that is verbs denoting 'motion prior to
arrival'.

For stem 2, 'motion underway towards here', Proto-Siouan *hú
should have the reflex hú in Tutelo. And there is indeed a stem hú
in Tutelo, shown in examples (1) through (8).

(1) hu   wa   'come' (Hale)
     come real

(2)   wi-hú   ta   'I will come' (Hale)
     1sgP-come pot

(3)   ki-hú -na   'he came not' (Hale)
     neg-come-neg

(4) ya-hú   wa   'come', 'he is coming' (Hale)
     ?-come real

(5) ya-hu   wa   'one is coming' (Hewitt)
     ?-come real

(6)   ki-ya-hú -na   'he is not coming' (Hale)
     neg- ?-come-neg

VERTITIVE:

(7) "ki-hoe"   'come here' (Fontaine)
     vert-come   (Saponi dialect)

(8)   ki-hu   wa   'come here', 'one coming home, one on
     vert-come real   his way home' (Hewitt)

(7) and (8) are instances of the vertitive form of the stem
hú. A vertitive form is -- after Hollow (1965) and Taylor (1976) --
- a form that "relate[s] the motion to one's home or to an earlier
location" (Taylor, 1976:288).

In the first six examples, the stem is translated as 'come',
a continuous action similar to the Proto-Siouan meaning, and in
'come' the direction of motion, i.e. 'here', is usually implied.
The glosses given for the vertitive form of hú in examples (7) and
(8) verify this analysis as 'here' is explicitly given.

Examples (1) through (8) thus show that the Proto-Siouan stem
*hú, 'motion underway towards here', has the reflex hú in Tutelo,
with a vertitive form *ki-hú*, as shown in (9).

(9) hú   'come here'
     ki-hú   'come back here/home'

The Tutelo reflex of the Proto-Siouan stem 4 *rÅ, 'motion
underway towards there', should be lÅ in Tutelo, with an ablauting
vowel. Examples (10) through (17) show that such a stem with the
ablauting vowel is found in Tutelo, with the meaning 'go' or 'go
towards a location', i.e. a motion towards there.

(10) *la*   'go' (Hale)

(11) *wi-lé ta   i-at^hí*   'I am going to the house' (Hale)
     1sgP-go pot dir-house

(12) *ki- wi-lé-pi   -na*   'I do not wish to go' (Hale)
     neg-1sgP-go-desid-neg

(13) *a-lé wa*   'he is going' (Hale)
     loc-go real

(14) *ya-lé wa*   'walk' (Hale)
     ?-go real

VERTITIVE:

(15) *wa-   k-le wa*   'I going homeward' (Hewitt)
     1sgA-vert-go real

(16) *wa-   k-le ta*   'I will go home' (Hewitt)
     1sgA-vert-go pot

(17) *ki-le ta-se*   'one will go home' (Hewitt)
     vert-go pot-quot

Proto-Siouan stem 4 thus gives (18) in Tutelo:

(18) lÅ   'go there'
     ki-lÅ   'go back there/homeward'

For stems 1 and 3, 'arriving here' and 'arriving there',
Tutelo seems to have only one stem. Examples (19) through (21) are
the only instances referring to arrival in the non-vertitive form.
The Tutelo verb stem hí is a reflex of Proto-Siouan stem 3 *hí. In
the vertitive forms shown in (22) and (23) however, the Tutelo verb
stem is lí, a reflex of Proto-Siouan stem 1 *rhí as Proto-Siouan *r
yields /l/ in Tutelo and the cluster *liquid-/h/* is not possible in
this language.

NON-VERTITIVE:

(19) *hí*   'come' (Hale)

(20) *wi-hí -ok^ha*   'I came' (Hale)
     1sgP-come-past

(21) *ni-hi   wa*   'one has arrived here' (Hewitt)
     ?-come real

VERTITIVE:

(22) *wa-   k-li   wa*   'I come back' (Hewitt)
     1sgA-vert-come real

(23) *nąka- wa-   k-li   ta*   'reach there or home, again' (Hewitt)
     sit-1sgA-vert-come pot

    (24) shows how Proto-Siouan stems 1 and 3, 'arrive here' and
'arrive there', collapsed in Tutelo, with different morphemes in
the non-vertitive and the vertitive forms. For the non-vertitive,
stem 3 was retained from Proto-Siouan *hí, whereas for the
vertitive stem 1 was retained from Proto-Siouan *rhí.

(24) hí   'come/arrive'
     k-lí   'reach/arrive home'

    The fact that both stems 1 and 3 occur in this alternation
demonstrates however that the four Proto-Siouan stems reconstructed
by Taylor had reflexes in Pre-Tutelo. The Tutelo system of basic
motion verb stems was thus as shown in table 3. And the later
collapse in the forms denoting an arriving motion yielded the
system summarized in table 4.

Table 3: Pre-Tutelo basic motion verb stems

Destination	arriving motion	motion prior to arrival
here	*lí*	*hú*
there	*hí*	*lА*

Table 4: Tutelo motion verbs and vertitive forms

Destination	arriving motion	motion prior to arrival
here	*hí/klí*	*hú/kihú*
there		*lА/kilА*

This reconstruction of the Tutelo system of motion verbs sheds some light (a) on subgrouping in Siouan, (b) on the shape of the vertitive prefix, and (c) on an additional prefix.

For stems 1 and 3, the same collapse is found in the Biloxi and Ofo systems of motion verbs. These are reproduced in tables 5 and 6:

Table 5: Biloxi basic motion verb stems with vertitive forms (from Taylor 1976: table 12, with modifications)

Destination	arriving motion	motion prior to arrival
here	*hi/kidí*	*hu/ku*
there		*dE/kidE*

Table 6: Ofo basic motion verb stems (Taylor 1976: table 12, with modifications)

Destination	arriving motion	motion prior to arrival
here	*ofthahi*	*kiu* (vert.)
there		*te*

The Biloxi forms for 'arriving motion' in table 5 not only show the same collapse of the Proto-Siouan system but also the same pattern, basing the simplex verb on stem 3 and the corresponding vertitive on stem 1. This innovation shared by Biloxi and Tutelo (and probably Ofo) thus supports the hypothesis that Biloxi, Ofo, and Tutelo belong to the same subgroup within Siouan, the Ohio Valley Siouan branch.

Concerning the shape of the vertitive prefix, examples (7), (8), (15) through (17), (22), and (23) show that its shape in Tutelo is *ki-*, sometimes reduced to *k-* when the unstressed *i* is lost. With the other instances from Biloxi in the forms for 'arriving motion' *kidí* and 'motion underway towards there' *kidE*, and from Ofo in the form for 'motion underway towards here' *kiu*, the Tutelo examples show that the vertitive prefix should be reconstructed **ki-* in Proto-Siouan, and that the other Siouan languages have permanently lost the vowel.

Taylor also mentions in his study that in most Siouan languages the basic motion verb stems can be combined in order to obtain finer distinctions in types of motion. No such compounding is to be found in the Tutelo data however. It is thus doubtful that Tutelo developed such compounds, although the limited information on the language may be misleading.

There is in Tutelo however a prefix *ya-* attached to motion verb stems only, shown in examples (4) through (6), and (14). The latter are reproduced in (25), with the corresponding forms lacking the prefix.

(25) stem 2:

Ø	ya-

(1) *hu   wa*
    come real
    'come' (Hale)

(4) *ya-hú   wa*
    ?-come real
    'come', 'he is coming' (Hale)

(5) *ya-hu   wa*
    ?-come real
    'one is coming' (Hewitt)

(3) *ki-hú -na*
    neg-come-neg
    'he came not' (Hale)

(6) *ki-ya-hú -na*
    neg- ?-come-neg
    'he is not coming' (Hale)

stem 4:

Ø	ya-

(10) *la*
     'go' (Hale)

(13) *a-lé* wa
     loc-go real
     'he is going' (Hale)

(14) *ya-lé* wa
     ?-go real
     'walk' (Hale)

The prefix *ya-* seems to add a continuative or progressive meaning to the stems: from 'come' to 'be coming', and from 'go' to 'be going' or 'walk'. Furthermore, *ya-* is only prefixed to stems 2 and 4, the stems referring to a motion underway compatible with the idea of continuity/progressiveness. Stems 1 and 3 refer to arrival, a discrete point in time and are thus incompatible with such a progressive prefix. I shall then tentatively call this prefix *ya-* a 'progressive prefix'.

The origin of this prefix is uncertain but it does not seem to be a Tutelo innovation as a similar prefix is found in Crow and Hidatsa, with some verbs of motion only (Jones, personal communication). Examples from Hidatsa are given in (26).

(26) Hidatsa

    wa:-hú: 'I come'
    1sg-come

    rá-ra-hu: 'you come'
     ?- 2-come

    ra:-hu-?a   'they come'
      ?-come-?

The extra prefix *ra-* in the second and third persons of the Hidatsa verb *hu* 'come' is probably cognate with the Tutelo morpheme, although its meaning in Hidatsa has not been identified. These prefixes would then be reflexes of a Proto-Siouan morpheme *ya.

In conclusion, this study has shown that Tutelo has inherited, like all other Siouan languages, the Proto-Siouan semantic division of motion verbs where both type of motion and direction are relevant. For the stems denoting arrival however, the distinction in direction of motion was altered in identical ways in the Southeastern Siouan languages, an innovation which offers new support to Voegelin's (1941) Ohio Valley Siouan subgroup. The Proto-Siouan prefix *ya-* was preserved with some Tutelo verbs of motion as a progressive marker.

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