

Lakota

Bruce Ingham

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All correspondence concerning *Languages of the World/Materials* should be addressed to:

LINCOM GmbH
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LINCOM.EUROPA@t-online.de
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Abbreviations

Grammatical terminology

App	apparitional -s'e
Ben	beneficial <i>kici-</i>
Caus	causative - <i>k'iya</i> , - <i>ya</i>
Coll	collective <i>wic'a-</i> , - <i>wic'o</i>
Cont	continuous marker - <i>haŋ/he</i>
Dat	dative <i>ki-</i>
Dim	diminutive - <i>la</i>
Ditr	ditransitive/reciprocal <i>ic'i-</i>
(excl)	exclusive (see 1st person pronoun)
Foc	focus marker <i>eya</i> , <i>iš</i>
Fut	future/intentional - <i>kte</i>
Hab	habitual - <i>sna</i>
Imp	imperative - <i>yo</i> , - <i>ye</i> , - <i>wo</i> , - <i>we</i> , - <i>po</i> , - <i>pe</i>
(incl)	inclusive (see 1st person pronoun)
Ind	indefinite prefix <i>wa-</i>
Inf	inferential - <i>sk'e</i>
Int	intensive particles - <i>hca</i> , - <i>hce</i> , - <i>hci</i> and - <i>hcaka</i> and suffixes - <i>s</i> , - <i>h</i>
Interr	interrogative - <i>hwo</i> , - <i>he</i>
Irr	past, irrealis <i>tk'a</i>
Iter	iterative - <i>s'a</i>
Juss	jussive suffix - <i>ni</i>
Loc	locative suffixes - <i>ta</i> , - <i>kiya</i>
Neg	negative - <i>sni</i>
NP	noun phrase
Plur	plural - <i>pi</i> , <i>a-</i> (with motion verbs)
(plur)	plural, to distinguish plurality in the 2nd person pronoun <i>niyepi</i> 'you (plur)'
Poss	possessive <i>t'a-</i> , <i>ki-</i> , <i>gl-</i> , <i>kp-</i>
Prob	probability - <i>nac'ece</i> , possibility - <i>sece</i>
Rec	reciprocal <i>kic'i-</i>
(Red)	reduplicated
Refl	reflexive - <i>ic'i-</i> , - <i>igl-</i> , - <i>ikp-</i>
Rel	relational <i>i-</i>
(sby)	somebody
(sing)	singular, to distinguish singularity in the 2nd person pronoun <i>niye</i> 'you (sing)'
(sth)	something
Top	topic
3rd	3rd person independent <i>iš</i> , <i>iŋs</i>

Sources used in the examples

B	Buechel, Eugene. 1939. <i>A Grammar of Lakota: The Language of the Teton Sioux Indians</i> . Rosebud SD: Rosebud Educational Society.
B&D	Boas, Franz and Deloria, Ella C. 1941. <i>Dakota Grammar</i> . Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.
BD	Buechel, Eugene. 1970. <i>Lakota English Dictionary</i> . Pine Ridge SD: Red Cloud Indian School.
BO	Bushotter Papers <i>Texts by George Bushotter 1887</i> . Manuscript 4800 Dorsey Papers: Dakota: Teton (3.1.1.3) <103>. Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

- BT Buechel, Eugene. 1978. *Lakota Tales and Texts*. Pine Ridge SD: Red Cloud Indian School.
- Col Rood, David S. and Taylor, Allan R. 1976. *Lakhota Grammar or Beginning Lakhota*, vol. 2. Boulder: University of Colorado Lakhota Project.
- Del Deloria, Ella C. 1932. *Dakota Texts* (Publications of the American Ethnology Society) Franz Boas [ed]. New York: G.E. Stechert & co. Also 1974 reprint. New York: AMS Press.
- DIF Dakota Indian Foundation Archives. Chamberlain SD.
- Hnbk Rood, David S. and Taylor, Allan R. 1996. Sketch of Lakhota, a Siouan Language. In Ives Goddard [ed] *Languages*. vol 17 of William, C. Sturtevant [ed] *Handbook of North American Indians*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution: 440-482.
- Kili Kili Radio Station. Porcupine SD.
- LE Starr, Ivan. 1996. *Lakota Eyapaha* Kendall Park NJ: Lakota Books.
- Pu Pustet, Regina. 2000. Lakota postpositions. *IJAL* 66 ii: 157-180.
- SDL Black Bear, Ben and Theisz, R. D. 1976 *Songs and Dances of the Lakota*. Aberdeen SD: North Plains Press.
- Stol Stolzman, William S.J., undated: A tape of a translation into Lakota of some pages of Stolzman, William, S.J. 1986. *The Pipe and Christ: A Christian-Sioux Dialogue*. Pine Ridge SD: Red Cloud Indian School.

0. Introductory remarks

Lakota is one of a group of closely related dialects spoken in and near the Northern Plains of America. By chance the name of the language involves a consonant which varies across the dialects and so there is no one name by which the speakers can refer to the whole group. Hence they refer to it as either Dak'ota, Nak'ota or Lak'ota depending on which dialect they speak. Linguists, however, often refer to the group as Dakotan. The speakers are referred to in general parlance as the Sioux or Dakota in the south and the Assiniboine and Stoney in the north. They refer to themselves as either Dak'ota, Nak'ota or Lak'ota depending on their dialect, although also using other tribal group names. The names Sioux and Assiniboine are derived from names used for them by their Algonquian neighbours to the east, Sioux being derived from *Nadwessiw* 'enemies, strangers' and Assiniboine from *Asiniy Pwat* 'Stone Sioux'¹ from which the name Stoney is also derived.

The distribution of the dialects is as follows. A group east of the Missouri, the Santee of Minnesota and the Yankton and Yanktonai to the south-west of them, speak Dakota. These were the first encountered by Europeans, the French reporting them west of Lake Superior from the mid 17th century, hence the common use of that name for the whole group and for the states of North and South Dakota. To the west across the Missouri live the Tetons who speak Lakota and to the north the Assiniboine and Stoney speak forms of Nakota. Traditionally the Santee, Yankton, Yanktonai and Tetons regarded themselves as one *oyate* 'nation', referred to as the 'Seven Council Fires' *Oc'et'i Šakowin* and often nowadays referred to in English as 'The Sioux Nation'. This concept did not originally include the Assiniboine and Stoney. Nowadays, however, many would include these last two also among the Sioux Nation.

Culturally the Lakota were part of the plains horse culture, which depended on the buffalo or bison for their livelihood and of which the Lakota were the most numerous and powerful member. This culture flourished from the mid 1700s with the acquisition by them of the horse, which led to a militarily organized society of great self confidence and with a marked tendency towards conspicuous consumption, display and adornment. As such they had more in common with other non-Siouan plains Indians such as the Cheyenne and Arapahoe, with whom they allied themselves, than they did with farming Indians of the Siouan stock who had been on the plains since an earlier time.

Dakotan is a member of the Siouan group of languages, which takes its name from the Lakota or Sioux, the largest group among them. This terminology goes back to J. Owen Dorsey who first used it in 1883². The branches of this family from west to east according to one classification³ are as follows (languages marked * are now thought to be extinct):

1. Crow, Hidatsa
2. Mandan
3. Dakotan
4. Chiwere (Oto, Missouri* and Iowa), Winnebago
5. Dheghiha including Omaha-Ponca, Osage, Kansa and Quapaw*
6. Ohio Valley including Ofo*, Biloxi*, Tutelo*, Saponi*, Occaneechi* and Moneton*
7. Catawba* and Woccon*

Geographically the group stretched originally from the Crow in Montana to the Ofo and Biloxi in Mississippi, the Tutelo in western Virginia, the Saponi, Moneton and Occaneechi in the Virginias and North Carolina, the Woccon in North Carolina and the Catawba in northern South Carolina. As a group they are thought to have originated in the east, some of them

¹ This would seem to be a reference to the practice of cooking with heated stones.

² Dorsey, J.O. (1883: 919-29)

³ The classification followed here is taken from Goddard (1996:9) itself being a modification of the early classification of Voegelin (1941).

from the Ohio valley. However the historical study of American Indian languages is a complex matter, hampered by the lack of historical records before the advent of the Europeans, and is outside the range of this brief account.

0.1. Present situation of the language and people

Nowadays members of the Sioux Nation live either on reservations or in other parts of the USA and Canada. The present reservation population are to a great extent distributed according to tribal band origin and this has had the effect of preserving the dialect divisions. Dakota speakers live mainly in Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Manitoba and Saskatchewan with a group also at Fort Peck in Montana. Lakota speakers are in North and South Dakota and also at Wood Mountain Saskatchewan, and Nak'ota speakers are divided into the Assiniboine in Montana and Saskatchewan and North Dakota and the Stoney in Alberta.

It is difficult to give an accurate estimate of the number of speakers of Lakota, although one recent survey gives them as around 20,000. In fact monolingual speakers are probably very few and most fluent speakers are of the older generation. However strenuous efforts are in progress to preserve the language. It is taught in schools and local universities and the Sinte Gleska University at St. Francis on the Rosebud Reservation is a main centre for its preservation and teaching. Two radio stations also exist, which broadcast in English and Lakota, Kini Radio on the Rosebud and Kili Radio at Pine Ridge.

Lakota has been written since the 19th century, when missionaries began to work among the Dakota of Minnesota. Religious texts and a newspaper were produced and later the practice of writing was introduced to the Lakota in the west. These early efforts are associated with John Williamson and Stephen Return Riggs among the Dakota and Eugene Buechel among the Lakota, who also produced early dictionaries and grammars. In the earlier period and during the early 20th century when the telephone was not widespread and when fewer Indians knew English, the language was regularly used in letter writing.

Different systems have been used in the past to represent sounds not occurring in English or for which English did not have a separate letter. Earlier systems were based on usages in other languages. Thus the letter 'j' was used as in French and -g- was represented by 'r'. The use of 'x' for -s- in some cases was perhaps based on Spanish and the use of 'q' for -k- is seen in the orthography of some Bantu languages. More recently linguists and Indian scholars have evolved different systems and the system used in this book is close to, but not identical with that used by such writers as Albert White Hat, Jerome Kills Small and the Sinte Gleska University.

0.2. Introduction to this grammatical sketch

The arrangement of the material in this sketch follows the conventional arrangement of phonology, morphology and syntax and is then followed by a section on semantics and lexical usage, which seeks to explain aspects which would not be accountable under the earlier sections. However, because Lakota is typologically very different from a European languages, certain word types may not be found in the expected place. Thus for instance there are no adjectives, since the function of English adjectives is served by stative verbs in Lakota. Also the interrogative pronouns or wh- words are found partly under pronouns and partly under the system of circumstantial stems in chapter 10. Therefore, where the contents page does not yield an item sought, the reader should consult the index.

Wherever possible, example sentences are taken from published texts and their source indicated, so that their authenticity can be checked. This is important in a language, which does not have an extensive literature and where native speakers are not easy to find outside the language area.

1. Phonology

The Lakota phonological system is composed of vowels, consonants and stress, although the latter can be regarded as predictable from an underlying structure in all but a few cases. The vowels and consonants are presented below with their phonetic description and a key to their pronunciation via English, where this is thought useful. The system of notation used here is very close to that of Buechel (1939) and reflects a fairly well known system which can be regarded as a 'spelling system' as it is one often so used. Other systems are also used however and in particular the distinction between plain and aspirated obstruents shown under 2.2. below is not often represented in normal spelling as used in letter writing, books, articles, public notices and more recently e-mail.

1.1. Vowels

There are five plain and three nasalized vowels in Lakota

a	open central vowel	like American English 'o' in <i>hop</i>
e	half open front vowel	like English 'e' in <i>bed</i>
i	close front vowel	like English 'y' in <i>city</i>
o	half open back rounded vowel	like American English 'o' in <i>hope</i>
u	close back rounded vowel	like English 'oo' in <i>boot</i>
añ	nasalized open vowel	like French <i>un</i> 'one'
in	nasalized close front vowel	no real equivalent, but nearest to English (in) in <i>link</i>
un	nasalized close back rounded vowel	close to French <i>on</i> 'one'

Note the convention that the final sequence [-án] is represented in the orthography as -añ]. This occurs in the stem *-hañl* occurring in many time expressions.

1.1.1. Vowel juncture. Sequences of vowels can occur in Lakota, but are not regarded as diphthongs and are treated as occurring in separate syllables. In the majority of cases they will belong to different morphemes. Certain vowel sequences are regularly separated by a glottal stop -' as are a-uñ in *wañ* 'I live' and o-i in *oie* 'word', pronounced [wa'uñ], [o'iyel]. In fact all vowel sequences except i-e and i-a are separated by -'. Examples showing -' include *op'eunt'unpi* [op'e'uñt'unpi] 'we buy', *ouñ* [o'uñ] 'culture', *eunt'ipi* [e'uñt'ipi] 'we encamp'. Examples without -' are those where -i- precedes -a- or -e- as in *iapi* [iyapi] 'language' and *ie* [iyel] 'he spoke', where a glide -y- occurs between the two vowels. As both of these are predictable and can be regarded as surface juncture features, they are not represented in the spelling of words here.

Another environment where a glottal stop occurs is where a vowel initial stem like *op'et'un* 'buy' follows a consonant final stem like *wol* 'food' as in *wol'op'et'un* 'buy food'. In cases like these the glottal stop will be represented in the spelling because the reader would not otherwise know that two stems were involved and would not be able to correctly supply the -'.

1.2. Consonants

The Lakota consonants include obstruents, fricatives and continuants.

Obstruents

These include plosives and affricates. They may be voiced, voiceless, voiceless aspirated or voiceless ejective. However the voiced plosives are confined to consonant clusters and to initial position in a few onomatopaeic words and to final position in truncated stems (see 1.5.3. **Stem final change** below). The plain voiceless types are tense and have short vowel

onset time. The voiceless aspirate type has a longer vowel onset time and marked aspiration. The aspiration may appear as a voiceless uvular fricative in some cases, particularly when preceding the back vowels (see below under 1.2.1. **Aspirated plosives**). The ejective type is followed by a glottal release. They are as follows:

b	voiced bilabial plosive	like 'b' in <i>blue</i>
p	voiceless bilabial plosive	like 'p' in <i>peak</i>
p'	voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive	like 'p' in <i>peak</i>
p'	voiceless bilabial ejective	like 'p' followed by the glottal stop -'
t	voiceless dental plosive	like 't' in <i>still</i>
t'	voiceless aspirated dental plosive	like 't' in <i>till</i>
t'	voiceless dental ejective	like 't' followed by the glottal stop -'
g	voiced velar plosive	like 'g' in <i>glue</i>
k	voiceless velar plosive	like 'k' in <i>skin</i>
k'	voiceless aspirated velar plosive	like 'k' in <i>kin</i>
k'	voiceless velar ejective	like 'k' followed by the glottal stop -'
c	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate	like 'ch' in <i>rich</i>
c'	voiceless aspirated palato-alveolar affricate	like 'ch' in <i>chin</i>
c'	voiceless palato-alveolar ejective	like -ch followed by the glottal stop -'

The difference between -c- and -c'- is hard to perceive and some speakers have said to me that they cannot really distinguish the two.

Fricatives

These may be voiced, voiceless or voiceless glottalized

z	voiced alveolar fricative	like 'z' in <i>zoo</i>
s	voiceless alveolar fricative	like 's' in <i>so</i>
s'	voiceless glottalized alveolar fricative	like 's' followed by the glottal stop -'
j	voiced palato-alveolar fricative	like 'j' in French <i>jaune</i> 'yellow'
š	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative	like 'sh' in <i>ship</i>
š'	voiceless glottalized palato-alveolar fricative	like 'sh' followed by the glottal stop -'
g	voiced uvular fricative	like the northern French or German 'r'
h	voiceless uvular fricative	like Spanish 'j' in <i>Jerez</i> or German 'ch' in <i>Bach</i>
h'	voiceless glottalized uvular fricative	like 'h' followed by -'

Voiceless continuant

h	voiceless cavity friction	like 'h' in <i>hat</i>
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Voiced continuants

w	voiced labio velar continuant	like 'w' in <i>wasp</i>
y	voiced palatal continuant	like 'y' in <i>yet</i>
l	voiced lateral continuant	like 'l' in <i>lap</i>
m	voiced bilabial nasal	like 'm' in <i>map</i>
n	voiced alveolar nasal	like 'n' in <i>not</i>

1.2.1. Aspirated plosives. Where the aspirated plosives -p', -t' and -k' occur preceding the vowels -a-, -aŋ-, -uŋ-, -o- and sometimes -e- the aspiration may be in the form of a uvular voiceless fricative [h]. Thus *p'a* 'head' is pronounced [pha], *p'eji* 'grass' is pronounced [pheji], *p'ogo* 'counsel man' is pronounced [phogo], *t'ate* 'wind' is pronounced [thate], *t'eca* 'be new' is pronounced [theca], *t'oka* 'enemy' is pronounced [thoka], *t'unpi* 'he was born' is pronounced [thuŋpi], *k'ata* 'be hot' is pronounced [khata], *k'angi* 'crow' is pronounced [khanggi], *k'e* 'turtle' is pronounced [khe] and *k'o* 'also' is pronounced [kho].

1.3. Syllabics

The Lakota syllabic system allows syllables to begin with a vowel, a consonant or a consonant cluster. Syllables in the basic form of the word must end in a vowel. However truncation of stems (see 2. **Morphological processes**), which results in the elision of the final vowel -a, can produce consonant final syllables, which are mainly non final components of complex words. The consonants involved are s, š, h, l, b and g. Examples include *mas-* 'iron', *ektuŋs-* 'forgetting', *maŋ-* 'earth', *k'al-* 'hot', *sab-* 'black' and *waš'ag-* 'strong'.

Consonant clusters involve the following types: voiceless plosive + plosive/affricate pt-, pc-, tk-, tk'-, kp-, kt-, voiceless plosive + fricative ps-, pš-, ks-, kš-, voiceless fricative + plosive st-, št-, sk-, šk-, ht-, voiceless fricative + continuant sw-, sl-, sn-, šm-, šl-, šn-, hl-, hn-, voiced plosive + continuant bl-, gm-, gw-, gn-, gl- and voiced continuant + continuant mn-. Examples are *pte* 'buffalo', *pcelyela* 'for a short time', *tke* 'be heavy', *tk'a⁴* 'but', *kpaŋla* 'be small, ground up', *kte* 'kill', *psiŋ* 'rice', *psiŋ* 'onion, leak', *ksapa* 'be wise', *ksupi* 'embroidered', *sto* 'be smooth', *štela* 'admire', *ska* 'be white', *škaŋ* 'move', *htalehaŋ* 'yesterday', *swula* 'be small, fine', *sla* 'grease', *snasna* 'ring', *sma* 'be deep', *slo* 'melt', *sni* 'not', *hleca* 'tear', *hna* 'grunt', *ble* 'lake', *bleza* 'be clear', *gmuz* 'be closed', *gwu* 'be curdled', *gnašká* 'frog', *gleska* 'be spotted', *mni* 'water'.

1.4. Stress

Word stress in Lakota is very regular. The stress of a word normally occurs on its second syllable as in *wic'áša* 'man'. In certain generally specifiable conditions it will occur on the first syllable. Often the merger of two prefixes or prefix with stem causes the stress to move to an initial syllable, when its original syllable has been elided as in *wówapi* 'book' « *wa-ówapi*, *wíp'e* 'weapon' « *wa-i-ap'e*, *t'ókic'uŋze* 'his kingdom' « *t'a-wókic'uŋze*. In these stress will be marked by an acute accent -'.

Some other examples also occur of initial stress associated with particular morphological elements. These include words involving the demonstrative elements *le-* 'this', *he-* 'that' and *ka-* 'that yonder' and the indefinite prefix *to-/t-* as in *léc'el*, *héc'el* 'thus', *kátu* 'it is there', *tók'el* 'somehow', *táku* 'something'.

An important set of exceptions to the main rule are disyllabic stems ending in -a and preceded by a voiceless obstruent or cluster or a voiced fricative. These mainly have initial stress as in:

sápa 'be black', *c'áp'a* 'beaver', *sáta* 'pole', *óta* 'be many', *síca* 'be bad', *sáka* 'be stiff', *t'óka* 'stranger, enemy', *bláza* 'burst open', *máza* 'iron', *bléza* 'be clear', *mnája* 'wolverine', *kága* 'make', *mága* 'field', *c'éga* 'kettle', *t'ŋza* 'be hard, firm', *t'ŋga* 'strain', *hmúnga* 'bewitch', *bláska* 'be flat', *háŋska* 'be long', *gléska* 'be spotted'.

Therefore disyllabic stems, which do not follow this rule and have second syllable stress, will have their stress marked as in *t'oká* 'first', *sutá* 'be firm'. Words which are disyllabic, but which involve a prefix, follow the second syllable stress rule or, in another way of looking at it, they stress their stem syllable as in *wa-sté* 'be good', *o-sté* 'be strange, deformed' from the stem -ste- appearing in *štelá* 'admire'. Certain suffixes and enclitics to the end of the word

⁴ *tk'a* is possibly a contraction from *tuk'a* 'but'. It is the only cluster involving an aspirated plosive.

such as *-pi* 3rd plural animate, *-kta/e* Fut. and *-sni* Neg. do not effect the stress and these words are stressed on the appropriate stem vowel, as in *tī-pi* 'they dwell', *ū-sni* 'he did not come', *ūŋ-kte* 'he will be', *kága-pi* 'they made', *káge-sni* 'he did not make', *kágŋŋ-kte* 'he will make'.

A number of other miscellaneous lexical exceptions occur, which cannot be explained in any of the above ways. These include *wiŋyaŋ* 'woman', *ógle* 'shirt'. Stress will therefore be marked in these also by the acute accent ´ - only where the normal rule of second syllable stress or the rule of initial syllable stress in disyllabic stems of the type mentioned above does not apply.

Stress will only be marked for these exceptions in earlier sections of this description. Normally in writing Lakota the stress is not marked as it can be widely predicted by someone with a knowledge of the language.

1.5. Phonological processes

1.5.1. Velar fronting. Fronting effects the velar plosives *-k-*, *-k'-* and *-k'-* in the environment of the front vowel *-i-* which become *-c-*, *-c'-* and *-c'-* if preceded by *-i-*. Thus *c'ekiya* 'address', *k'a* 'mean' and *k'u* 'give' become *c'eciya-*, *-c'a* and *-c'u* when the prefix *ni-* 'you' is involved as in *c'eniciyapi* 'they address you', *nic'api* 'they mean you' and *nic'upi* 'they give you'.

1.5.2. Nasalization. Nasalization can spread progressively in a word from an early nasal consonant or nasalized vowel. Hard consonants such as obstruents and fricatives have the effect of blocking this, while soft consonants such as continuants do not. Thus the verb *waŋyaŋka* 'see' loses nasalization in the second syllable of the 1st person singular *waŋblake* 'I see', because of the effect of the hard consonant *-b-*. The 1st singular patient prefix *ma-* and the 1st person plural prefix *uŋ-* are influential in this and can introduce nasalization into non nasal stems as in *ya* 'he goes', *uŋyaŋpi* 'we go' and *icaŋya* 'rear, bring up', *icaŋmayanpi* 'they brought me up'. In some cases the nasalization can appear in a later syllable after being blocked in an earlier one, as in *waŋuŋkic'iyankapi* 'we see each other'.

Nasalization may spread to effect the the consonant *-l-* and the sequence *-bl-* in some words. As mentioned below under 1.5.4. **Stem final vowel ablaut**, a final vowel *-a-* or *-aŋ-* changes in certain positions to *-iŋ-* i.e. where it precedes the future marker *-kta* or the word *na* 'and' as in *ap'a* 'he hit', *ap'iŋ kte* 'he will hit'. If such a verb contains the consonant *-l-* or the sequence *-bl-* in its final syllable, this will change to *-n-* or *-mn-* in such circumstances; compare *ap'a* 'he hit', *ap'iŋ kte* 'he will hit', *le* 'you go', *niŋ kte* 'you will go', *bla* 'I go', *mnŋ kte* 'I will go', *ihaŋbla* 'he dreamt', *ihaŋmnŋ kte* 'he will dream'. Note however *iblable* 'I went away', *iblamnŋ kte* 'I will go away', where only the second *-bl-* sequence, which is near to the *-iŋ* is effected.

Nasalization of a vowel is often deleted in certain stems when a nasal consonant is introduced. Stems such as *iyuŋka* 'sleep', *yaŋka* 'sit' may become denasalized with the introduction of the *m-* prefix 'I' as in *imuŋke*, *imuke* 'I sleep', *maŋke*, *make* 'I sit'.

1.5.3. Stem final change. Stem truncation, which is a morpho-syntactic process concerned with sentence embedding and noun incorporation and involves the elision of the final vowel *-a*, can result in a change in the consonant which preceded it in the full form. This involves devoicing of fricatives and voicing of plosives as follows: *z* » *s*, *j* » *š*, *g* » *h*, *t* » *l*, *c* » *l*, *p* » *b* and *k* » *g*. This is illustrated by the following pairs *maza* 'iron, metal', *maswaksica* 'tin plate, metal plate', *éktuŋja* 'forget', *oektuŋs wašte* 'easy to forget', *c'aga* 'ice', *c'ah'ot'ila* 'ice dweller, Eskimo', *k'ata* 'be hot', *k'alya* 'heat, make hot', *sica* 'be bad', *sil'awac'iŋ* 'intend evil towards', *t'apa* 'ball', *t'abskatapi* 'ball game', *waš'aka* 'be strong', *waš'ag'ic'iyá* 'make oneself strong'.

1.5.4. Stem final vowel ablaut. Certain verbs have a final vowel *-a* or *-aŋ* which changes to *-e* in final position or preceding certain other elements such as the negative marker *-sni* and

and the topic marker *-ki/k'uŋ* and changes to *-iŋ* preceding the future marker *-kta* or the words *na* 'and' and *naiŋs* 'or'. Thus if we take the verb *ap'a/awap'e* 'hit', we find *ap'api* 'they hit', but *ap'e* 'he hit', *ap'e sni* 'he did not hit', *ap'iŋ-kte* 'he will hit'. This alternation is shown when citing a verb item by citing the 3rd person in the non-final form and the 1st person in the final form as *ap'a/awap'e*. Otherwise, where there is no 1st person form, it is cited as *-a/e-* or *-aŋ/e-* as in *haŋ/e* 'be in a place' (of tall objects) or *yuk'aŋ/e* 'exist'.

1.6. Phonological variants

The consonants *-h-*, and *-g-* vary freely in some words and are seen with both spellings in such examples as *yugica*, *yuhica* 'arouse, awake' and *huhnağa*, *guğnağa* 'burn up'. Variations with regard to nasalization also occur, with nasalized and non-nasalized vowels as in *uŋma*, *oma* 'other', *uŋna*, *ogna* 'perhaps', *lenaŋs*, *lenaos* 'both', *oget'uŋ*, *oğŋt'uŋ* 'put a cover or wrapping on something', *ec'amuŋ*, *ec'amu* 'I do', *muŋ*, *mu* 'I use', *nuŋ*, *nu* 'you use'.

The consonant *-h-* when medial is sometimes omitted or changed to *-y-* in some words as in *wak'aŋheja*, *wak'aŋyeja* 'child' and *it'ahanuŋg*, *it'aanuŋg*, *it'ayanuŋg* 'on both sides', *uŋgnahehci*, *uŋgnayehci* 'perhaps'. Here alternative forms are mentioned as variants where I have noticed them.

In some compound words deliberate and relaxed pronunciations are possible often involving the stem final change mentioned above. These involve variants which treat the compound as either having or not having a syllable boundary between the two elements of the compound. Thus one finds *c'ah'ot'i* and *c'agot'i* 'ice house' « *c'aga* 'ice' and *ot'i* 'dwelling', *p'el'ijaŋjaŋ* and *p'etiŋjaŋ* 'lamp' « *p'eta* 'fire' and *ijaŋjaŋ* 'light'. In these the first is the deliberate form and the second a fast speech form.

1.7. Sound symbolism

The fricative consonants participate in a system of sound symbolism, where certain members of the group can be regarded as 'stronger' for semantic function than others. In this system the uvulars are stronger than the palato-alveolars and the palato-alveolars stronger than the dentals as follows: *s* » *š* » *h* and *z* » *j* » *g*. This is not a freely productive process, but a significant number of examples occur. In some cases the relationship of relative semantic 'strength' is obvious. In others it is not and the process produces only semantically related items. Related items include:

ka-sleca 'split', *ka-šleca* 'split (of wood)', *ka-hleca* 'split'; *hec'eš* 'thus', *hec'eh* 'thus'; *ka-sloka* 'knock off', *ka-hloka* 'knock a hole in'; *sapa* 'be black', *sapa* 'be dirty'; *sla* 'be oily', *šla* 'be bald'; *sota* 'be clear', *šota* 'smoke', *hota* 'be grey'; *wašte* 'be good', *wašte sni* 'be bad'.

2. Morphological processes

Lakota relies heavily on morphology for all grammatical functions. It concentrates its morphology on the verb, as the relationship of the verb to its arguments, such as agent and patient, is encoded on the verb rather than on the noun itself and there is no noun case marking. The processes of affixing, reduplication and stem truncation are employed. Affixing includes prefixing, suffixing and infixing. Some of the infixes can be regarded as earlier prefixes which have then been enclosed by later prefixing, though in some cases the infixes are infixes in what one can call 'splittable' stems, which cannot be analyzed into separate morphological elements.

An example of the first type is *nahtaka* 'kick', which infixes the personal pronoun prefixes as in *nawahtaka* 'I kick (him)' and *namahtaka* 'he kicks me'. Here the element *na-* is a prefix signifying action by the feet. However the stem *mani* 'walk' also infixes them, as in *mawani* 'I walk', but here the stem *mani* cannot be analyzed any further morphologically. Thus we can refer to it as a 'splittable' stem.

2.1. Stem Reduplication

Verbal and adverbial items are frequently reduplicated to give distributive, repetitive, intensive or plural meaning. Postpositions and nouns show this more rarely, though note the word *halhate* 'magpie', which involves reduplication of a non-existent stem *hate* and may be onomatopoeic. The reduplication occurs usually on the originally stressed syllable of the stem. Stress then follows the normal second syllable stress assignment. Reduplication is not entirely regular, but the majority of examples can be accounted for in the following way.

Monosyllabic stems, simply reduplicate the whole stem as in *ska/skaska* 'be white', *sa/sasa* 'be red'. With the initial stressed disyllabic words mentioned above under 1.4. and others ending in *-aŋ*, the first syllable of the stem is reduplicated without its final *-a* or *-aŋ* as in *c'epa/c'epc'epa* 'be fat', *hapa/haphapa* 'rustle' and *t'oka/t'okt'oka* 'be different', occasionally showing voicing assimilation to the second element of the resulting consonant sequence as in *zuka/zugzuka* 'be drenched', *puza/puspuza* 'be dry'.

Where the second consonant of such stems is *-t-* or *-c-*, this changes in the reduplicated stems as follows. If the first consonant of the stem is dental or palato-alveolar, the resulting reduplication shows *-k-* or *-g-* as in: *sica/siksica* 'be bad', *luta/lugluta* 'be scarlet' and *titaŋ/tiktitaŋ* 'pull'. If the first consonant of the stem is not dental or palato-alveolar, the resulting reduplication shows *-l-* as in: *k'ata/k'alk'ata* 'be hot', *óta/ol'óta* 'be many'. The last of these consonant changes *t > l* is also reflected in the **Stem final change** (see 1.5.3.) shown above. Note also *t'éhaŋ/t'ekt'éhaŋ* 'be long'.

Cluster initial stems delete the second consonant or consonant cluster of the first syllable when reduplicated as in *bleza/blebleza* 'be clear', *gleska/glegleska* 'be spotted' and *glega/gleglega* 'be striped'. Stems involving affixes reduplicate the basic stem and not the affix. Examples are shown here with a hyphen to indicate stem affix boundary: *cik'a-la/cikcik'a-la* 'be small', *he-nake-ca/he-nagnake-ca* 'be this many', *hu-ste* 'be lame'/*anahu-stešte-yakel* 'limping', *i-ha/i-haha* 'laugh', *ka-hwoka/ka-hwohwoka* 'drift on the wind', *ka-ksa/ka-ksaksa* 'chop up', *o-ste/o-stešte* 'be strange', *ptéce-la/pteptéce-la* 'be short', *t'óke-ca/t'okt'óke-ca* 'be different', *yu-hleca/yu-hlehleca* 'tear in pieces', *yu-hmiŋ/yu-hmiŋhmiŋ* 'twist', *yu-sna/yu-snasna* 'miss', *wakuŋta/wakuŋkuŋta* 'cut into', *wa-ste/wa-stešte* 'be good'.

Multisyllabic stems usually reduplicate the stressed syllable as in: *c'aŋzeka/c'aŋzegzeka* 'be angry', *ilega/ilehlega* 'shine'. Irregular reduplications include *háŋska/háŋskaska* 'be long', *inyaŋka/inyáŋgyaŋka* 'run', *t'áŋka/t'aŋkiŋkiŋyaŋ* 'be large', *witko/witkotko-ka* 'be mad'.

Certain stems are, for semantic reasons perhaps, more often seen in the reduplicated form than not, such as *š'eš'e* 'drip', *ayuš'eš'e* 'cause to drip on', *t'aŋt'aŋt'a* 'be numb' (*t'aŋ* 'body', *t'a* 'die').

2.1.1. Stem reduplication in adverbs. Adverbs reduplicate along the same lines as verbs, usually reduplicating the stem which is itself usually verbal in origin. In some cases the reduplicated adverb is the most usually seen. Examples include *átaya/al'átaya* 'completely', *c'aŋkoyet'uŋt'uŋyaŋ* 'in rows', *hec'ekcel, hec'ekcekel* 'thus in many places, here and there', *ócikpaniyaŋ, ócikpakpaniyaŋ* 'in different degrees', *ohitiya/ohilhitiya* 'bravely', *okašpet'uŋyaŋ/okašpet'uŋt'uŋyaŋ* 'in groups', *numnum, numkaskaska* 'in twos', *wita/wilwita* 'together'.

2.1.2. Stem reduplication in postpositions. Postpositions can reduplicate as with *ekta/ektakta* 'to, at', *etaŋhaŋ, etaŋtaŋhaŋ* 'from'. Here the reduplication indicates plurality or distributiveness in the object of the postposition as in *tohaŋ Wak'aŋ T'aŋka yeksuye, ektakta taku ki le iyacu kte* 'whenever you remember God, you must take this thing to (those places)' DIF.

2.2. Stem truncation

An important morpho-syntactic process which is associated with the subordinating or embedding of verbal or nominal stems is that of truncation. By this process verbs as sentences are embedded in higher sentences and nouns as verb arguments are incorporated into verbs (see 13. Noun incorporation) and nouns may be subordinated to other nouns in compounds. Certain stems, which end in the vowel *-a*, can drop the final *-a*. This will then lead to **Stem final change** (see 1.5.3.) where voiced fricatives become voiceless and voiceless plosives become voiced as follows: *z > s*, *j > š*, *g > h*, *t > l*, *c > l*, *p > b* and *k > g*. Thus the noun *maza* 'iron, metal' can be joined to the noun *waksica* 'plate' to give *maswaksica* 'tin plate, metal plate', the verb *éktuŋja* 'forget' can occur with *áya* 'become' to give *éktuŋš aya* 'it became forgotten', *c'aga* 'ice', can be joined to the verb *ot'i* 'live in' to give *c'ah'ot'ila* 'ice dweller, Eskimo', *c'aje* 'name' can be joined to the adverb *t'aŋiyaŋ* 'clearly' to give *c'ašt'aŋiyaŋ* 'famously', *sica* 'be bad' can be joined to the verb *awiyukcaŋ* 'think about' to give *šil'awiyukcaŋ* 'intend evil towards', and *t'apa* 'ball' can be joined to *škata* 'play' to give *t'abskatapi* 'ball game'.

This produces compound words with the stress occurring on the second syllable of the compound. However in the conventional spelling they are sometimes written as two words and sometimes as one.

As will be seen from the above examples, stem truncation occurs in the production of compound verbs or compound nouns. It can also occur in the formation of complex words involving suffixes. Most suffixes will have this effect on the relevant stem types including *-t'uŋ* verb formative, *-ic'i* Refl, *-c'o* 'without' and *-ya* Causative as in *c'ašt'uŋ* 'be famous' (« *c'aje* 'name'), *waš'ag'ic'iyá* 'make oneself strong' (« *waš'aka* 'be strong'), *Itazibc'o* 'Sans Arcs, Without Bows' (« *itazipa* 'bow') and *k'alya* 'heat, make hot' (« *k'ata* 'be hot').

3. The Noun

Nouns have in essence only one form as there is no separate form for the plural. Thus the word *wówapi* stands for 'book' or 'books'. Nouns can be divided into primitive, complex and compound depending on their morphological make-up.

Primitive nouns are those in which there is only one stem, with no affixes. These include such nouns as *t'oka* 'stranger, enemy', *k'ola* 'friend', *paha* 'hill', *mila* 'knife'. Complex nouns show added derivational morphology as in *wówapi* 'book' (*wa*-indefinite object', *owa*-write' *-pi* '3rd plur. actor'), *wóuŋspe* 'knowledge' *wó*- 'abstract noun', *uŋspe* 'know how to'), *oc'aje* 'type' (*o*-locational', *c'aje* 'name'), *t'at'anġka* buffalo bull' (*t'a*- 'ruminant', *t'anġka* 'be large'). Compound nouns involve more than one stem. In most cases one of the stems is in a truncated form (see also 13. Noun incorporation below). Examples include *wólak'ol-kagapi* 'peace treaty' (*wólak'ol*- from *wólak'ota* 'friendship', *kaga* 'make' *-pi* '3rd plur. actor'), *mniawic'akastapi* 'baptism' (*mni* 'water', *a*- 'on', *wic'a*- 'them', *kastapi* 'pour', *-pi* '3rd plur. actor').

3.1. Primitive nouns

These may be monosyllabic or disyllabic and more rarely multisyllabic. Most nouns of more than two syllables, however, involve some morphological augmentation, such as affixing or reduplication. Some of them also are thought to be borrowings from European and neighbouring Indian languages. Examples of monosyllabic and disyllabic nouns include the following:

i	'mouth'	wáta	'boat'
a	'armpit'	míla	'knife'
ha	'skin'	máza	'metal'
he	'horn'	šúnġka	'dog'
he	'mountain'	gnáška	'frog'
šij	'fat, grease'	wakpá	'river'
p'i	'liver'	pahá	'hill'
p'a	'head'	napé	'hand'
we	'blood'	istó	'arm'
mni	'water'	istá	'eye'
c'aŋ	'tree, wood'	iŋyaŋ	'stone'
hiŋ	'hair'	hohú	'bone'
su	'seed'	mak'á	'land'
si	'foot'	maká	'skunk'
hi	'tooth'	nacá	'chief'
		nasú	'brain'

Multisyllabic primitive nouns include the following:

itazipa	'bow'	zuzeca	'snake'
wahac'anġka	'shield'	wahuk'eza	'spear'
wahiŋkpe	'arrow'	wak'anġeja	'child'
wablenica	'orphan'		

Of the above however, some, although now from a synchronic point of view unanalyzable, look as though they may have had a previous multimorphemic stage. *Itazipa* 'bow' for instance is thought to be related to a root meaning 'pierce', appearing in Lakota now as *-jipa* as in *pajipa* 'sting', while *wahac'anġka* 'shield' has the elements *wa*- 'indefinite', *ha* 'skin', *c'aŋ* 'wood' *-ka* 'noun formative' and may refer to the hardening of skins to wood-like consistency to be used as shields. *Wahuk'eza* contains the elements *wa* 'indefinite', *hu* 'bone, branch', *k'eza* 'be pointed'. *Wahiŋkpe* contains the element *wahiŋ* 'arrow head' which occurs elsewhere as *waŋhi* 'arrow tooth, point' and *kpe*, which resembles *p'e* 'sharp'. Loans from

other Indian languages and European languages include *cuwaculuza* 'scarecrow' (Pawnee), *k'uk'use* 'pig' (French 'cochon'), *kuŋkuŋla* 'pickle' (English 'cucumber' or French 'comcombre'), *Šaglaša* 'British' (French 'Les Anglais').

3.2. Complex nouns

Complex nouns consist of a stem and affixes. Some of these affixes occur also in verbal and adverbial words, in which their meaning can be said to be in essence the same. They are, in the main prefixes, but also include a limited number of suffixes. The suffixes include the following:

- ka deverbial suffix. Nouns indicating human attributes formed from verbal stems often have this suffix as in the following examples: *witkotkoka* 'fool, foolish person', *wagluhahaka* 'greedy person', *iš'os'oka* 'one who obeys cheerfully'.
- la diminutive marker. This suffix occurs widely, sometimes with diminutive meaning and other times as an inseparable part of the word, with no particular diminutive significance. Examples include: *wakpala* 'creek, river', *wic'iŋcala* 'little girl', *wakiŋyela* 'pigeon' (compare *wakiŋyaŋ* 'thunder being'), *t'ahcala* 'fawn', *igmula* 'kitten', *hit'uŋkala* 'mouse', *šunġpala* 'puppy', *ziŋtkala* 'bird'. Very often this suffix bears the meaning of endearment rather than diminutiveness as in *wiŋuŋhcala* 'old woman' and *wic'ahcala* 'old man'.
- pi deverbial suffix⁵. This suffix can form verbal nouns or nouns denoting the object of the action of the verb. Examples include: *iapi* 'language', *ipuzapi* 'thirst', *k'uġapi* 'illness', *wac'ipi* 'dance' and of the second type *wak'alyapi* 'coffee' (thing made hot), *aguyapi* 'bread' (thing baked), *kap'opapi* 'pop' (thing made to explode), *wówapi* 'book, letter, writing' (thing written), *t'ipi* 'lodge, house' (thing lived in).
- (t)ku, -cu kinship noun 3rd person possessor marker. This occurs on all nouns of the class defined as kinship nouns. Examples include *atkuku* 'his, her father', *inaku* 'his, her mother', *c'uŋwitku* 'his, her daughter', *c'iŋksitku* 'his, her son', *hiŋgnaku* 'her husband'. With one word, *t'awicu* 'his wife', it also carries over into 1st and 2nd persons as in *mit'awicu* 'my wife', *nit'awicu* 'your wife'.

Prefixes

Prefixes occurring on nouns are in some cases also seen on verbs. Common nominal prefixes are the following:

- o- locative, abstract or general concept marker. This prefix often occurs with time and space concepts such as *oap'e* 'hour', *oblaye* 'plain, prairie', *ómak'a* 'year', *onap'e* 'place of refuge', *onase* 'buffalo chase', *onat'ake* 'cage, pen', *ošungwote* 'manger', *ot'i* 'residence, hostel', *ot'okaheya* 'beginning', *ot'uŋwahe* 'town', *owac'ekiye* 'church', *owak'uje* 'hospital'. Other purely abstract or general examples are *oc'aje* 'name', *oglakinyan* 'breadth', *oni* 'life', *oniye* 'breath', *oš'e* 'drop', *ošme* 'depth', *oyate* 'people, nation'.
- wó- verbal noun or abstract concept marker. This prefix which is derivable from *wa*-*o*- is the most general verbal noun marker, very often forming doublets with other forms from the same root with the suffix *-pi* with a slightly different meaning. Examples include the following: *Wóawaŋyaŋke* 'Bureau of Indian Affairs' (care, protection), *wóc'ekiye* 'religion', *wók'uje* 'illness', *wógnaye* 'deception', *wóyuha* 'possession', *wówiŋyukcaŋ* 'thought', *wójice* 'riches', *wóop'e* 'law'.
- t- noun of instrument marker. Examples include *iyuša* 'scissors', *iyušloke* 'key'.

⁵ But see below 12.2.2. Sentence embedding as a nominalization on the possible verbal characterization of these forms.

- wi-* noun of instrument marker. This prefix, which is derivable from *wa-* plus *i-* mentioned above regularly produces nouns of instrument. Examples include: *wicalu* 'fan', *wic'ap'e* 'fork', *wicasto* 'brush', *wic'azo* 'marker, pen', *wip'e* 'weapon'.
- wic'a-* noun involving human beings as the object or subject of the verb or possessor of the referent. It can also indicate specifically male human involvement. Examples include: *wic'anasu* 'human brain', *wic'asote* 'extinction, dying of many people', *wic'at'ansna* 'batchelor', *wic'at'oka* 'male captive'. In some cases the *-a* of *wic'a-* merges with a following vowel as in *wic'ista* 'human eye' (*ista* 'eye').
- wic'ó-* collective action marker. This prefix sometimes indicates the involvement of large numbers of people or groups of people in the action. In other cases it purely indicates the involvement of human beings. Examples include: *wic'ok'uje* 'plague, illness', *wic'ookagnige* 'understanding', *wic'ota* 'crowd, multitude', *wic'oic'age* 'generation', *wic'oie* 'word', *wic'onawizi* 'jealousy', *wic'oni* 'life, spirit', *wic'ot'i* 'encampment, village'.
- t'a-* nouns involving a ruminant or grazing animal: *t'at'an̄ka* 'buffalo bull', *t'ahca* 'deer', *t'aha* 'buckskin', *t'alo* 'fresh meat', *t'aniga* 'buffalo paunch' (used as a receptacle), *t'ap'i* 'buffalo liver'.
- hol-* nouns involving fish: *hoipate* 'fish-net', *hoic'uwa* 'fish hook', *howiwotka* 'fish drying rack', *honaḡila* 'tadpole', *hoc'ěspu* 'fish scale'.
- ho2-* voice: *hokagapi* 'flute'.
- wi-* female: *wic'in̄cala* 'little girl', *wisaḡ* 'vagina', *winuḡhicala* 'old woman'.
- waḡ-, wa-, wi-*
'arrow': *waḡhi* 'arrow head', *waḡsaka* 'arrow shaft', *Wawak'aḡ* 'Sacred Arrow', *wiwoštaka* 'blunt headed arrow'.

A third prefix *ho-* also occurs, indicating connection with the camp circle. Though this normally occurs in adverbial expressions.

3.3. Compound nouns

Compound nouns are those formed from more than one nominal stem, from a noun and a verbal stem, from a noun plus an adverb or rarely a noun plus an impersonal verb in *-tu*. In these compounds the meaning of the compound is often specialized and constitutes more than the sum of the two components. Thus *istamaza* 'eyeglasses' is composed of *ista* 'eye' and *maza* 'metal', *mniša* 'wine' is composed of *mni* 'water' and *ša* 'red'. In some cases the first stem in the compound is in the truncated form. The distinction between compound and complex nouns is not entirely clear-cut since some of the prefixes occurring in the complex type are themselves reduced forms of nouns. Examples are given below showing also for comparison the original form of the shortened stem where relevant:

(formed of two nouns or noun and verbal stem)

c'ahsu 'hail' (*c'aga* 'ice', *su* 'seed'), *istamaza* 'eyeglasses' (*ista* 'eye', *maza* 'metal'), *maswiyokataḡ* 'nail' (*maza* 'metal', *wi-* 'instrument', *iyokataḡ* 'drive in'), *sunḡbloka* 'stallion', *sunḡwiyela* 'mare' (*sun̄ka* 'horse', *wiyela* 'female'), *wal'icaske* 'anchor' (*wata* 'boat', *i-* 'instrument', *kaška* 'tie, fix'), *walsiḡte* 'helm, rudder' (*wata* 'boat', *siḡte* 'tail').

Many proper names are compounds of this kind:

Itazibc'o 'Sans Arcs' (*itazipa* 'bow', *c'o* 'be without'), *Mnik'aḡwoju* 'Minneconjou, Planters by the Water' (*mni* 'water', *k'anyela* 'near', *woju* 'plant'), *Sic'angu* 'Brule, Burnt Thighs' (*sic'aḡ* 'thigh', *gu* 'burn').

(formed of noun and adverb)

In this structure the adverb modifies the noun, and may follow or precede it. In some cases the two words have merged and share one stress. They can also involve truncated stems as in *K'ul* « *K'uta* 'below' and *sal-, sat-* « *sata* 'pole' below. Examples:

wic'aša lehaḡketa, 'foreigner' ('man far away'), *Ouḡ Lec'ala* 'New Deal' ('way of life recently'), *Wiyohiyapataḡhaḡ T'ehaḡ* 'Far East' ('from the east far away'), *K'ul wic'aša* 'Lower Brule' ('below man'), *sat-glakiḡyaḡ, sal-glakiḡyaḡ* 'meat drying rack' ('pole crossways'), *Wic'aḡpi Owaḡjila* 'Pole Star' ('star in one place'), *Anuḡ Ite* 'Double Face' ('on both sides face'), *ehaḡni wic'oh'aḡ* 'old time customs' ('long ago custom').

(formed of noun and impersonal verb in *-tu*)

Here an impersonal verb with the suffix *-tu* follows the noun as a modifier. The verb expresses the location of the noun. There are very few examples of this type of compound. Examples:

wic'aša akaḡtu 'human being' (lit. man being upright), *sunḡ manitu* 'coyote' (lit. dog being in the prairie), *wamnitutu* 'whale' (lit. indefinite being in water).

Nouns can be further subdivided on semantic-syntactic grounds where certain semantically definable groups consistently show particular formal characteristics. Such noun classes include inalienable nouns, kinship nouns and attributive nouns, which are dealt with below.

3.4. Inalienable nouns

Group a)

Words which denote parts of the body and certain others such as *oie* 'words', *oh'aḡ* 'deed', *c'aje* 'name' are inalienable and as such are thought to always have a possessor. Therefore *nape* means inherently 'his, her hand'. They will almost always occur with a possessor indicated either by a possessive prefix or by being in construction with another noun as possessor. Body part nouns do not normally show the 3rd person possessive prefix *t'a-* perhaps because of their obviously inalienable nature, perhaps also because of the possibility of confusion with the ruminant marking prefix *t'a-*. Examples are the following:

<i>minape</i> 'my hand'	
<i>ninape</i> 'your (sing) hand'	<i>ninapepi</i> 'your (plur) hand'
<i>uḡkinape</i> 'our (excl) hand'	<i>uḡkinapepi</i> 'our (incl) hand'
<i>mioie</i> 'my words'	
<i>nioie</i> 'your (sing) words'	<i>nioiepi</i> 'your (plur) words'
<i>uḡkioie</i> 'our (excl) hands'	<i>uḡkioiepi</i> 'our (incl) words'
<i>t'oie</i> 'his words'	<i>t'oiepi</i> 'their words'

Examples with a noun possessor are of the type *atkuku nape ki* 'his father's hand'. If no possessor is known they are marked as human by the prefix *wic'a-* or animal by the prefix *t'a-* i.e. *wic'anape* means 'a human hand, someone's hand' *t'aha* 'animal's skin' and *wic'aho* 'someone's voice' or *wic'anata* 'someone's skull' when disembodied as in *wic'aho waḡ nah'uḡpi* 'they heard a voice (someone's voice)', *wic'anata seca waḡ ista okpakpasyela t'iyokagmigma hiyu ke* 'a human skull dried and blanched, with the eye sockets like caves of blackness rolled into the room' Del 191.

Words occurring with these prefixes include *oh'aḡ* 'deed', *c'aje* 'name', *oie* 'word', *t'awac'iḡ* 'intention, mind', *wóksape* 'wisdom', *wówiyukcaḡ* 'thought'. Note that words beginning with the prefixes *wó-* or *o-* merge this with the *t'a-* prefix to give *t'ó-* as in *t'óie* 'his word', *t'óksape* 'his wisdom', *t'ówiyukcaḡ* 'his thought'.

Group b)

A further set of inalienable nouns take the prefix set *mit'a-*, *nit'a-*, *uŋkit'a-*. They occur as follows:

<i>mit'ak'ola</i>	'my friend'		
<i>nit'ak'ola</i>	'your (sing) friend'	<i>nit'ak'olapi</i>	'your (plur) friend'
<i>uŋkit'ak'ola</i>	'our (excl) friend'	<i>uŋkit'ak'olapi</i>	'our (incl) friend'
<i>t'ak'olaku</i>	'his friend'	<i>t'ak'olakupi</i>	'their friend'

These are items regarded as being not inalienable, but of a particular close relationship with the owner as in *mit'ak'ola* 'my friend', *mit'amak'oc'e* 'my country', *mit'aakic'ita* 'my soldier(s)', *mit'asunŋka* 'my horse', *mit'ac'anunpa* 'my pipe'. The suffix *-ku* occurs with the 3rd person combinations with the word *k'ola* 'friend' shown above, which falls partially into the kinship group shown below under 3.5. Kinship nouns. Other items such as *mak'oc'e* 'country' would not show it as in *t'amak'oc'e* 'his country'.

Some words such as *oie* 'word' can show both patterns occurring as *mioie* and *mit'oie* 'my words'.

3.5. Kinship nouns

Kinship nouns are those which refer to human relationships. These will also inherently always be involved with a co-relative, marked either by the possessive prefixes or by being in construction with another noun. In these cases they will show the possessive prefixes *mi-* 'my', *ni-* 'your', *uŋki-* 'our' as above or a 3rd person possessive suffix specialized for kinship nouns *-ku* (or *-tku*) 'his, her' as in:

<i>mic'iŋksi</i>	'my son'		
<i>nic'iŋksi</i>	'your (sing) son'	<i>nic'iŋksipi</i>	'your (plur) son'
<i>uŋc'iŋksi</i>	'our (excl) son'	<i>uŋc'iŋksipi</i>	'our (incl) son'
<i>c'iŋksitku</i>	'his, her son'	<i>c'iŋksitkupi</i>	'their son'
<i>wic'aša c'iŋksitku ki</i>	'the man's son'		

The only time when these occur without a co-relative is when used as a term of address where the understood co-relative is 'I' as in *cunŋks* 'Oh my daughter', *ate* 'Oh my father' and occasionally when referring to one's own relative as in *ate omakiyake* '(my) father told me'.

Note however that verbs meaning 'to have as a relative' are used as often and perhaps more often than these. These involve the causative suffix *-ya* as in *c'iŋksiya* 'have as a son', *inaya* 'have as a mother', *huŋkaya* 'have as an ancestor', which can occur in phrases like *c'iŋksiwaye ki* 'he whom I have as a son, my son', *inawaye ki* 'the one I have as a mother, my mother', *huŋkawic'unyanpi ki hena* 'those we have as ancestors, our ancestors'.

Items of this class are listed below showing 1st singular and 3rd singular affixes. Those marked with the asterisk * do not show the expected affix for that person. The words for 'husband' and 'wife' do not occur in isolation, but only with a relational affix. The word *wiŋyaŋ* 'woman' and *wic'aša* 'man' can be used for the unrelated concept as in *wic'aša yuha sni* 'she has no husband' or *wiŋyaŋ num wic'ayuha* 'he has two wives'.

relationship	basic form	'my'	'his/her'
'grandmother'	<i>uŋci</i>	<i>uŋci*</i>	<i>k'uŋsitku</i>
'grandfather'	<i>t'uŋkašila</i>	<i>mit'uŋkašila</i>	<i>t'uŋkašitku</i>
'mother'	<i>ina</i>	<i>ina*</i>	<i>h'uŋku</i>
'father'	<i>ate</i>	<i>ate*</i>	<i>atkuku</i>
'child'	<i>c'iŋca</i>	<i>mic'iŋca</i>	<i>c'iŋca*</i>
'son'	<i>c'iŋks</i>	<i>mic'iŋksi</i>	<i>c'iŋksitku</i>
'daughter'	<i>c'uŋks</i>	<i>mic'uŋksi</i>	<i>c'uŋwitku</i>
'grandchild'	<i>t'akoja</i>	<i>mit'akoja</i>	<i>t'akojakpaku</i>

'father in law'	<i>t'uŋkaŋsi</i>	<i>t'uŋkaŋsi*</i>	<i>t'uŋkaŋku</i>
'mother in law'	<i>uŋciš</i>	<i>uŋciš*</i>	<i>k'uŋku</i>
'husband'	---	<i>mihingna</i>	<i>hingnaku</i>
'wife'	---	<i>mit'awicu</i>	<i>t'awicu</i>
'elder brother of a man'	<i>c'iy</i>	<i>c'iy*</i>	<i>c'iyeku</i>
'elder brother of a woman'	<i>t'iblo</i>	<i>t'iblo*</i>	<i>t'ibloku</i>
'younger brother'	---	<i>misuŋ</i>	<i>suŋkaku</i>
'elder sister of a man'	<i>t'aŋke</i>	<i>mit'aŋke</i>	<i>t'aŋkeku</i>
'elder sister of a woman'	<i>c'uwe</i>	<i>c'uwe*</i>	<i>c'uweku</i>
'younger sister of a man'	<i>t'aŋksi</i>	<i>mit'aŋksi</i>	<i>t'aŋksitku</i>
'younger sister of a woman'	<i>t'aŋka</i>	<i>mit'aŋka</i>	<i>t'aŋkaku</i>
'brother in law of a man'	<i>t'aŋhaŋ</i>	<i>t'aŋhaŋ*</i>	<i>t'aŋhaŋku</i>
'brother in law of a woman'	<i>šic'e</i>	<i>šic'e*</i>	<i>šic'eku</i>
'sister in law of a man'	<i>haŋka</i>	<i>haŋka*</i>	<i>haŋkaku</i>
'sister in law of a woman'	<i>scep'aŋ</i>	<i>scep'aŋ*</i>	<i>scep'aŋku</i>
'male paternal cousin of a woman'	<i>šic'eš</i>	<i>šic'eš*</i>	<i>šic'ešitku</i>
'male maternal cousin of a man'	<i>t'aŋhaŋsi</i>	<i>t'aŋhaŋsi*</i>	<i>t'aŋhaŋsitku</i>
'female paternal cousin of a woman'	<i>scep'aŋsi</i>	<i>scep'aŋsi*</i>	<i>scep'aŋsitku</i>
'female maternal cousin of a man'	<i>haŋkaš</i>	<i>haŋkaš*</i>	<i>haŋkašitku</i>
'maternal uncle'	<i>leks</i>	<i>mileks</i>	<i>leksitku</i>
'paternal aunt'	<i>t'uŋwiŋ</i>	<i>mit'uŋwiŋ</i>	<i>t'uŋwicu</i>
'fraternal nephew of a woman'	<i>t'oška</i>	<i>t'oška*</i>	<i>t'oškaku</i>
'sororal nephew of a man'	<i>t'uŋška</i>	<i>t'uŋška*</i>	<i>t'uŋškaku</i>
'fraternal niece of a woman'	<i>t'ojaŋ</i>	<i>t'ojaŋ*</i>	<i>t'ojaŋku</i>
'sororal niece of a man'	<i>t'uŋjaŋ</i>	<i>t'uŋjaŋ*</i>	<i>t'uŋjaŋku</i>

For the items marked with an asterisk the prefix for 'my' does not occur. The prefix for 'you' does, however, in *nik'uŋsi* 'your grandmother', *nihuŋ* 'your mother', *niate* 'your father', *nit'uŋkaŋsi* 'your father in law', *nik'uŋ*, *nik'uŋsi* 'your mother in law', *nic'iy* 'your elder brother' (to a man), *nit'iblo* 'your elder brother' (to a woman), *nic'uwe* 'your elder sister' (to a man), *nit'aŋhaŋ* 'your brother in law' (to a man), *nišic'e* 'your brother in law' (to a woman), *nihanka* 'your sister in law' (to a man), *nišcep'aŋ* 'your sister in law' (to a woman), *nišic'eš* 'your male paternal cousin' (to a woman), *nit'aŋhaŋsi* 'your male maternal cousin' (to a man), *nišcep'aŋsi* 'your female paternal cousin' (to a woman), *nihankaš* 'your female maternal cousin' (to a man), *nit'oška* 'your fraternal nephew' (to a woman), *nit'uŋška* 'your sororal

nephew' (to a man), *nit'ojaŋ* 'your fraternal niece' (to a woman), *nit'unjaŋ* 'your sororal niece' (to a man).

In the case of the relatives given here, when referring to 'my...', one would either use the topic marker *ki* or the relation naming verb using the suffix *-ya* as in *t'aŋhaŋsi ki* 'the male cousin' or *t'aŋhaŋsiwaye ki* 'the one I have as a male cousin', both of which mean 'my male cousin' (of a man). For *c'iŋca* 'child' no suffix occurs for the 3rd person as in *wic'asa c'iŋca ki* 'the child of the man'.

Note that the Lakota kinship system counts mother's sisters as 'mothers' and father's brothers as 'fathers'. Similarly the children of both of these are counted as 'brothers' and 'sisters', while a woman's sister's children and a man's brother's children are counted 'sons' and 'daughters'. Hence there are no specific terms for 'paternal uncle' or 'maternal aunt' or the cousins and nieces and nephews who would result from them.

3.6. Attributive nouns

Certain nouns are formed directly from the verb stem. These are often a type of occupational noun such as *pteyuha* 'cattle rancher' from the verb *pte yuha* 'keep cattle,' or express attributes such as *t'iwic'akte* 'murderer' from *t'i-* 'house', *wic'a-* 'them', *kte* 'kill', *waoka* 'marksman' from *wa-* 'something', *-o-* 'wound', *-ka* 'nominal formative'. Many names are like this, such as *Tat'aŋka Iyotake* 'Sitting Bull, Bull that Sits', *Waanataŋ* 'Charger, He Who Charges'.

These nouns differ from other nouns like *Lak'ota* 'Lakota' and *wašicu* 'white man' in that they cannot take the prefixes *ma-* 'I', *ni-* 'you', *uŋ(k)-* 'we' to indicate a subject as in such sentences as 'I am a cattle rancher', 'I am Sitting Bull'. Occupational nouns can only take the verb *hec'a* 'be of a certain type'. So although we can say *wamašicu* or *wašicu hemac'a* 'I am a white man' we can only say *pteyuha hemac'a* 'I am a cattle rancher'.

The actual interpretation of these words as having nominal function depends to some extent on their use with the verb *hec'a/hemac'a* 'be of a type'. However note that *Pteyuha hemac'a* could also be thought to mean 'I am the sort of person who keeps cattle'. The verb *uŋ/wauŋ* 'be, live' can also occur with these stems as in *pteyuha wauŋ* in which case the meaning is more 'I live, exist keeping cattle' and indicates an occupation rather than an identity.

In using a name one cannot use the prefixes *ma-*, *ni-*, or the verb *hec'a*, but would use the independent pronoun as in *Tat'aŋka Iyotake he miye* 'I am Sitting Bull', *le Mahpiya Luta eciyapi wanji waŋlaka yac'iŋ k'uŋ he le miye yelo* 'I am the one called Red Cloud whom you wished to see' BT 356.

3.7. Nouns formed with the 3rd plural animate suffix *-pi*

A verbal stem with the suffix *-pi* can appear in nominal syntactic position. These are mentioned briefly under 3.2. **Complex nouns** above. These either denote the action of the verb with an impersonal agent 'they, someone, anyone' or the inanimate patient on which the action is performed by an animate actor ie 'a thing....-ed'. These words are referred to also under 12.2.2. **Sentence embedding as a nominalization** and, as with attributive nouns, mentioned above under 3.6., they are in a transitional stage between verbal and nominal function⁶. The equivalents of many English abstract verbal nouns are of this kind such as *hoyeya wiyop'eyapi* 'auction' and *k'olakic'iyapi* 'friendship, society'. Here the word *hoyeya* means 'calling out', *wiyop'eyapi* means literally 'they sell' and *k'olakic'iyapi* is a reciprocal verb and means literally 'they make friends with each other'. These can be followed by *waŋ* 'a' and the topic marker *ki* or *k'uŋ* and are considered nouns by some writers, but they may in fact be verbs in a noun clause, meaning something like 'the fact that they sell by auction' and 'the fact that they make friends with each other'.

⁶ For a detailed discussion of this see Ingham 2001b.

The second type is represented by such words as *kagapi* 'model, copy, idol', *aguyapi* 'bread' and *wak'alyapi* 'coffee' formed from the verbs *kaga* 'make', *aguya* 'bake' and *k'alya* 'make hot'. Here the semantic derivation of these words is 'they made it, thing made', 'they baked it, thing baked' and 'they made it hot, thing made hot'. Note that the 3rd person singular agent or patient is unmarked in Lakota, so that any transitive verb is taken to have such an agent or patient if no other is marked. Examples of these two types are given below.

Type 1. Impersonal action

waiyap'epi 'ambush' (*ap'e* 'wait'), *k'olakic'iyapi* 'society' (*k'olakic'iya* 'befriend each other'), *kic'izapi* 'fighting' (*kic'iza* 'fight with'), *wac'ipi* 'dance' (*wac'i* 'dance'), *mniakaŋtaŋpi* 'baptism' (*mni* 'water', *akaŋtaŋ* 'pour on'), *waŋsilapi* 'kindness' (*waŋsila* 'be kind'), *wójiyut'api* 'acre' (*wóju* 'plant', *iyut'a* 'measure'), *paŋwiyop'eyapi* 'auction' (*paŋ* 'cry out', *wiyop'eya* 'sell').

Type 2. Result of a 3rd person action

wic'agnakapi 'burial scaffold' (*wic'a-* 'them', *gnaka* 'put'), *maswic'ak'upi* 'annuities' (*maza* « *mazaska* 'money', *wic'a-* 'them', *k'u* 'give'), *c'aŋpagmiŋyaŋpi* 'wagon' (*c'aŋ* 'wood', *pagmiŋyaŋ* 'roll (sth) along'), *t'ipi* 'dwelling' (*t'i* 'dwell').

Certain nouns referring to natural phenomena also show the *-pi* suffix as in *haŋhepi* 'night'. These are also in a transitional state between verbal and nominal function.

4. The Verb

The Lakota verb is morphologically complex. It exhibits affixation encoding the agent and patient, modal suffixes expressing a variety of meanings connected with speaker attitude such as intention and probability, instrumental prefixes which denote the instrument used in the action or its physical mode of action and a set of mainly locative prefixes positioning the action relative to other linguistic or extra linguistic items in physical or notional space. A further set of affixes encodes valency or the exact nature of the relationship of the verb to its various arguments, producing causative, reflexive, reciprocal forms and others of this type. Stem reduplication is common in verbs, as mentioned above under 2.1. and can indicate repetitiveness as in *hot'uŋt'uŋ* 'he called repeatedly' or *c'ap'ap'a* 'he stabbed repeatedly', distributiveness as in *najinjipi* 'they stood here and there' or plurality as shown below under 4.1.1.

Verbs can be classified in terms of the type and number of arguments that can be associated with them. Initially verbs can be distinguished as *va* 'active verb', *vs* 'stative verb', *vcoll* 'collective verb' or plain *v* 'verb'. The division into *va* 'active verb' and *vs* 'stative verb' is between verbs which show minimally an agent having control over the action such as in *hi/wahi* 'come' and verbs which show minimally a patient having no control over the action as in *t'a/mat'e* 'die'. This morphological and semantic correlation is consistent, with a few exceptions such as *napca/nawapca* 'sneeze', which is an active verb, where one would have expected it to be stative. Collective verbs *vcoll* occur only with 3rd person plural animate subjects as in *emniciya/e* 'they met'. The class of plain verbs *v* are mainly those which appear only with a third person singular argument such as *magaju* 'rain'. Some of these also are verbs whose status is indeterminate as far as the available texts. Others are verbs with inanimate 3rd person arguments such as *hiqhaŋ/e* 'fall as rain or snow'. Some of these latter verbs can also show a patient, and are then grouped with the stative verbs although they still minimally show a 3rd person argument. With these verbs the presence of the prefixes will denote the patient as in *vn ahiqhaŋ/amahiqhe* 'to fall on as rain on' where *amahiqhe* denotes that 'it (rain) falls on me'.

Certain morphological sub-types of verb exist characterized by the behaviour of the stem initial consonant. These involve stems in initial *y-*. We will begin the description here with the majority type, which we will call Class I.

4.1. Personal pronoun prefixes

4.1.1. Class I verbs. For most verbs the knowledge of two principal parts will enable us to decline the whole verb. These are the 3rd person singular such as *hi* 'he comes, came' and the 1st person singular such as *wahi* 'I come, came'. Certain verbs are irregular in that more forms are necessary in order to predict the full declension, such as for instance the verb 'to use' where one has to learn separately *uŋ* 'he uses', *muŋ* 'I use', *nuŋ* 'you use', *uŋk'uŋpi* 'we use'. The following show the affixation possibilities of the two main verb types, active verb and stative verb. The basic pronoun affixes are the following:

agent marker	patient marker
wa- 'I'	ma- 'me'
ya- 'you'	ni- 'you'
uŋ(k)- 'we' ('you and I')	uŋ(k)- 'us' ('you and me')
	wic'a- 'them' (animate)
composite pronoun prefix	
c'i- 'I (agent)-you (patient)'	

Of the above the agent markers occur only with the active verb class, while the patient marker can occur with the active and the stative type. The stative type of verb will only show a patient, while the active type may show both agent and patient. The 3rd person

singular 'he, she, it' is unmarked. For 'you' agent and patient and for 'they' (agent) plurality is marked by a suffix *-pi*. The same suffix is used with the 'we' prefix to give the so called inclusive 'we' mentioned under 9. **Pronouns.** The forms for 'we/us' are *uŋ-* before a consonant and *uŋk-* before a vowel. These affixes are in origin prefixes, but in some cases now appear as infixes, because of being prefixed after other derivational prefixes or infixed within certain stems which may also originally have been polymorphemic, but are now morphologically unanalyzable. Both of the above cases we may term 'splittable stems'. An unanalyzable stem is *c'ap'a* 'stab' which yields *c'awap'e* 'I stab'. An example of an analyzable stem is *ognaka* 'put in', composed of *o-* 'in' and *-gnaka* 'put' which yields *owagnake* 'I put in'. Notice that the 3rd plural pronoun is mainly only used for animate referents i.e. people and animals. Inanimate plural 'things' are not normally distinguished for plurality in the pronoun, though note that they may be marked by reduplication of the verb stem as in *hena wasteste* 'those (things) are good'. Reduplication may also be used in combination with the suffix *-pi* for animate referents as in *hena wastestepi* 'those (people or animals) are good'. The following illustrates their occurrence with various types of verb.

a) Active verb prefixing *u* 'to come'

sing, exclusive		plur, inclusive	
wau	'I come'		
yau	'you (sing) come'	yaupi	'you (plur) come'
u	'he, she, it comes'	upi	'they (animate) come'
uŋku	'we (excl) come'	uŋkupi	'we (incl) come'

b) Active verb infixing *ole* 'seek'

Note that in these examples an unmarked patient 'him, her, it' is understood.

sing, exclusive		plur, inclusive	
owale	'I seek'		
oyale	'you (sing) seek'	oyalepi	'you (plur) seek'
ole	'he, she, it seeks'	olepi	'they (animate) seek'
uŋkole	'we (excl) seek'	uŋkolepi	'we (incl) seek'

Where agent and patient prefixes occur, the patient prefix normally precedes, with the exception that *uŋ(k)-* always precedes the 2nd person prefixes whether it marks an agent or patient. Furthermore, if the verb stem begins with a vowel, the prefix *uŋ(k)-* will normally come in initial position before the stem, while other prefixes may come within the stem. Some variation occurs with regard to the position of *uŋ(k)-* with vowel initial stems, so that one finds such examples as *op'eun't'uŋpi* or *uŋkop'et'uŋpi* 'we buy'. These are occasionally shown later in the description. The following gives examples of the use of agent and patient prefixes occurring together:

owic'awale	'I seek them'		
owic'ayale	'you (sing) seek them'	owic'ayalepi	'you (plur) seek them'
owic'ale	'he seeks them'	owic'alepi	'they seek them'
uŋkowic'ale	'we (excl) seek them'	uŋkowic'alepi	'we (incl) seek them'
oc'ile	'I seek you (sing)'	oc'ilepi	'I seek you (plur)'
onile	'he seeks you (sing)'	onilepi	'they seek you (sing), he seeks you (plur), they seek you (plur)'
		uŋkonilepi	'we (incl) seek you'
omayale	'you (sing) seek me'	omayalepi	'you (plur) seek me'

omale	'he seeks me'	omalepi	'they seek me'
uṅkole	'he seeks us (excl)'	uṅkoyalepi	'you (pl) seek us (incl)'
		uṅkolepi	'they seek us (excl)'

Notice that the following forms have two possible interpretations: *onilepi* 'they seek you (sing) or (plur)' or 'he seeks you (plur)', *uṅkole* 'he seeks us (excl)' or 'we (excl) seek him', *uṅkolepi* 'we (incl) seek him', 'he seeks us (incl)' or 'they seek us (incl) or (excl)'. Certain interpretations would be semantically impossible i.e. *uṅkoyalepi* cannot mean 'you (plur) seek us (excl)', since the exclusive 'we' implies 'you and I'. The same form however could stand for 'you (sing) seek us (incl)' or 'you (plur) seek us (incl)', since here 'us' could mean 'me and others'. With the non-splittable stems, if *wic'a-* 'them' co-occurs with *uṅ(k)-* 'we', it can produce a merged form *wic'uṅ-* as in *wic'uṅyuzapi* 'we hold them'.

Certain verbs of motion and verbs expressing collective action do not use the plural suffix *-pi* for the third person plural when expressing an action carried out by a group. These add the prefix *a-* which merges with initial *i-* stems to give *é-*. Examples include *au* 'they are coming', *ahi* 'they arrive', *agli* 'they arrive home', *éyūṅke* 'they lie down, stay the night' (from *iyūṅka*), *éyuweḡe* 'they cross over' (from *iyuweḡa*), *émnicīye* 'they assemble' (from *mniciya*, perhaps earlier *imniciya*)

c) Stative verb *k'uja* 'be ill'

sing, exclusive		plur, inclusive	
mak'uje	'I am ill'	nik'ujapi	'you (plur) are ill'
nik'uje	'you (sing) are ill'	k'ujapi	'they are ill'
k'uje	'he is ill'	uṅk'ujapi	'we (incl) are ill'
uṅk'uje	'we (excl) are ill'		

4.1.2. Class II verbs. This class, which involves mainly, but not exclusively, verbs of active meaning, includes stems in initial *y-* where the 1st and 2nd persons show *bl-* and *-l-*. In these verbs the *y-* element may be initial or preceded by other prefixes. Examples:

With initial *y-*, *yuza* 'hold'

sing, exclusive		plur, inclusive	
bluze	'I hold'	luzapi	'you (plur) hold'
luze	'you (sing) hold'	yuzapi	'they hold'
yuze	'he holds'	uṅyuzapi	'we (incl) hold'
uṅyuze	'we (excl) hold'		

With non-initial *y-*, *ayuta* 'look at'

sing, exclusive		plur, inclusive	
abluta	'I look at'	alutapi	'you (plur) look at'
aluta	'you (sing) look at'	ayutapi	'they look at'
ayuta	'he looks at'	uṅkayutapi	'we (incl) look at'
uṅkayuta	'we (excl) look at'		

Object prefixes precede the subject prefixes in the normal way giving such forms as *mayuze* 'he holds me', *niyuze* 'he holds you', *wic'abluz* 'I hold them', *amayuta* 'he looks at me', *awic'abluta* 'I look at them'. With the 2nd person forms, if a 1st person patient is involved, a complex type of form involving two separate realizations of the 2nd person marker occurs, giving forms such as *mayaluz* 'you hold me', *uṅyaluzapi* 'you hold us (incl)', *amayaluta* 'you look at me' and *uṅkayaluta pi* 'you look at us (incl)'.

4.1.3. Class III verbs. This class, which involves mainly, but not exclusively, verbs of stative meaning, includes stems in initial *y-* where the 1st and 2nd persons show *m-* and *n-*. In these verbs also the *y-* element may be initial or preceded by other prefixes. Examples:

With initial *y-*, *yanka* 'sit'

sing, exclusive		plur, inclusive	
maṅke	'I sit'	naṅkapi	'you (plur) sit'
naṅke	'you sit'	yaṅkapi	'they sit'
yanke	'he sits'	uṅyaṅkapi	'we (incl) sit'
uṅyanke	'we (excl) sit'		

With non-initial *y-*, *iyūṅka* 'lie, sleep'

sing, exclusive		plur, inclusive	
imuṅke	'I lie'	muṅkapi	'you (plur) lie'
muṅke	'you lie'	iyūṅkapi	'they lie'
iyūṅke	'he lies'	uṅkiyūṅkapi	'we (incl) lie'
uṅkiyūṅke	'we (excl) lie'		

As with Class II above, object prefixes precede the subject prefixes in the normal way, although they are rarer as these verbs are mostly of stative meaning. However because of the fact that Lakota often encodes the object of a postposition in the verb, some cases do occur such as *akaṅl mayanṅke* 'he sits on me', *el maye* 'he goes to me', *ob uṅniyanpi* 'we go with you (plur)' and *akaṅl mayanṅke* 'you sit on me', *akaṅl c'iyāṅke* 'I sit on you', showing the postpositions *akaṅl* 'on', *el* 'to', *kic'i* 'with' and *ob* 'with (plur)'.

4.1.4. Irregular verbs. A number of verbs are irregular in not falling into one of the three main classes exactly, sometimes showing characteristics of more than one class. These are treated below grouped as far as possible with reference to the main classes. Only the 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular and 1st inclusive forms are shown for brevity.

4.1.4.1. Sub types of Class III. A number of verbs resemble Class III in having *m-* and *n-* as realizations of 1st and 2nd persons, but show a vowel initial rather than *y-*. These include:

muṅ	'I use'	miṣtiṅme	'I sleep'
nuṅ	'you (sing) use'	niṣtiṅme	'you (sing) sleep'
uṅ	'he uses'	iṣtiṅme	'he sleeps'
uṅk'uṅpi	'we (incl) use'	uṅkiṣtiṅmapi	'we (incl) sleep'

The verb *uṅpa* 'smoke a pipe' is of this type, but normally occurs in a compound *c'aṅnuṅpa* 'to smoke':

c'aṅnuṅmuṅpa	'I smoke'
c'aṅnuṅnuṅpa	'you (sing) smoke'
c'aṅnuṅpa	'he smokes'
c'aṅnuṅk'uṅpapi	'we (incl) smoke'

The verbs *ec'uṅ* 'do' and *ec'iṅ* 'think' and derivatives of both of these suffix rather than affix some of the person markers:

ec'amuṅ	'I do'	ec'aṅmi	'I think'
ec'anuṅ	'you (sing) do'	ec'aṅni	'you (sing) think'
ec'uṅ	'he does'	ec'iṅ	'he thinks'
ec'uṅk'uṅpi	'we (incl) do'	uṅkec'iṅpi	'we (incl) think'

Also *awac'an̄mi/awac'iq/awaun̄kec'in̄pi* 'think about', *hec'an̄mi/hec'iq/heun̄kec'in̄pi* 'think that', *wac'an̄mi/wac'iq/un̄wac'in̄pi* 'intend to'.

4.1.4.2. Other irregular verbs. The verb *in̄yan̄ka/e* 'run' shows the prefixes of Class I and prefixes resembling those of Class II:

waimn̄an̄ke	'I run'
yain̄an̄ke	'you (sing) run'
in̄yan̄ke	'he runs'
un̄kin̄yan̄kapi	'we (incl) run'

The verb *yuta* 'eat' shows the prefixes of Class I in the 'I' and 'you' forms and *y-* for the 3rd person characteristics of Classes II and III:

wate	'I eat'
yate	'you (sing) eat'
yute	'he eats'
un̄yutapi	'we (incl) eat'

The verb *eya* 'say' and its derivatives *heya* 'say that', *leya* 'say this' and the verb *hiyu* 'come out' are truly irregular showing their own specific infixes for 'I' and 'you' while showing *y-* in the 3rd person. *Hiyu* show prefixes of the Class I type in addition:

ep'e	'I say'	wahibu	'I come out'
ehe	'you (sing) say'	yahilu	'you (sing) come out'
eye	'he says'	hiyu	'he comes out'
un̄keyapi	'we (incl) say'	un̄hiyupi	'we (incl) come out'

4.1.5. The imperative. The imperative is formed in the same way with all verbs. There are suffixes marking singular and plural with forms appropriate to male and female speakers. The following scheme shows these with the verb *inahni* 'hurry'.

	male speaker	female speaker
singular	inahni yo	inahni ye
plural	inahni po	inahnipi ye, inahni pe

The negative suffix *-sni*, when involved, precedes them, as in the following forms for 'do not hurry!'

	male speaker	female speaker
singular	inahni sni yo	inahni sni ye
plural	inahni sni po	inahnipi sni ye

Note that with verbs with stems in final *-u*, *-un̄* or *-o*, the form of the suffixes is *-wo* and *-we* as in *k'u wo* 'give him!' (male), *k'u we* 'give him!' (female).

4.2. Valency

The verb shows prefixes and suffixes which mark the valency of the verb i.e. the type and relationship of the arguments associated with it. The arguments include 'agent', 'patient', 'possessor' and 'instigator' and notions such as 'reflexive', 'reciprocal', 'benefactive', 'causative' and 'ditransitive'. Verbs are specialised very often for animate vs inanimate agents and patients. Thus verbs which are marked as reflexive such as *oskiskic'iya* 'become confused', can only be used with an animate agent. So this verb for instance can only mean 'a person

becomes confused'. On the other hand certain verbs can only have an inanimate agent 'it' such as *osni* 'become cold', or *oskiska* 'become complicated' which can only refer to 'it' i.e. 'the weather' or 'the world' or 'it' i.e. 'the problem, the matter'. Similarly verbs with the dative and benefactive prefixes *ki-* or *kici-* meaning 'for, for the sake of' can only have an animate patient. So *kiciyuwot'an̄la* 'straighten for' can only mean 'straighten for someone' and never 'for something'. The various valency possibilities are illustrated in the following:

4.2.1. Reflexive. For Class I verbs the prefix *ic'i-* occurs, as with the verb *gnayan̄* 'deceive':

mic'ignaye	'I deceive myself'		
nic'ignaye	'you deceive yourself'	nic'ignayan̄pi	'you deceive yourselves'
ic'ignaye	'he deceives himself'	ic'ignayan̄pi	'they deceive themselves'
un̄kic'ignaye	'we (excl) deceive ourselves'	un̄kic'ignayan̄pi	'we (incl) deceive ourselves'

Verbs which infix the personal pronouns such as *ap'a* 'to hit' would infix the *-ic'i-* segment as in *aic'ip'e* 'he hits himself', *amic'ip'e* 'I hit myself', *anic'ip'e* 'you hit yourself', *aun̄kic'ip'api*, *un̄kac'ip'api* 'we hit ourselves'.

Class II verbs and occasionally verbs with the instrumental prefix *ka-* show a marker *-igl-*. Thus the verb *yuza* 'hold' yields the form *igluza* 'hold oneself' and *kaska* 'bind' yields *iglaška* as follows

migluzē	'I hold myself'		
nigluzē	'you hold yourself'	nigluzapi	'you hold yourselves'
igluze	'he holds himself'	igluzapi	'they hold themselves'
un̄kigluzē	'we (excl) hold ourselves'		
		un̄kigluzapi	'we (incl) hold ourselves'

miglaška	'I bind myself'		
niglaška	'you bind yourself'	niglaškapi	'you bind yourselves'
iglaška	'he binds himself'	iglaškapi	'they bind themselves'
un̄kiglaška	'we (excl) bind ourselves'		
		un̄kiglaškapi	'we (incl) bind ourselves'

Verbs with the instrumental prefix *pa-* show a prefix *ikp-* so that *patitan̄* 'push' gives *mikpatitan̄* 'I push myself', *nikpatitan̄* 'you push yourself', *ikpatitan̄* 'he pushes himself', *un̄kikpatitan̄pi* 'we push ourselves'.

4.2.2. Reciprocal. The reciprocal form is used only with plural agents. It involves a prefix *kic'i-* which fuses with the 2nd person prefix *ya-* to form *yéc'i-*. Examples are:

un̄kic'ignayan̄pi	'we deceive each other'
yéc'ignayan̄pi	'you deceive each other'
kic'ignayan̄pi	'they deceive each other'

wan̄un̄kic'iyankapi	'we see each other'
wanyec'iyankapi	'you see each other'
wankic'iyankapi	'they see each other'

4.2.3. Dative and benefactive. Two prefixes *ki-* and *kici-* produce these forms. The first indicates an indirect object and may or may not indicate an action to the benefit of the person involved, the second indicates an action performed for the benefit of or in place of another participant. The prefix *kici-* is very similar to the reciprocal marker *kic'i-* except

for its characteristic stress and in some cases verbs showing these two are almost indistinguishable in form. The prefix *ki-* is also homophonous with the possessive prefix *ki-* mentioned below under 4.2.4. These prefixes may in some cases merge with the agent marking prefixes *wa-* 'I', *ya-* 'you' and the patient marking prefix *ma-* 'me', producing initial syllable stress in some forms. Also the *kici-* element may appear as *ci-* in fronting environments, as is shown below:

<i>Dative</i> (oyaka 'tell')		<i>Benefactive</i> (kiciyuštaŋ 'finish for')	
owakiyake	'I tell to'	wéciyuštaŋ	'I finish for him'
oyakiyake	'you (sing) tell to'	yéciyuštaŋ	'you (sing) finish for him'
okiyake	'he tells to'	kiciyuštaŋ	'he finishes him'
uŋkokiyakapi	'we (incl) tell to'	uŋkiciyuštaŋpi	'we (incl) finish for him'

Here the verb *okiyaka* 'tell' shows no mergers, whereas *kiciyuštaŋ* 'finish for' does. More complex forms of the latter include *miyeciluštaŋ* 'you finish for me', *uŋyeciluštaŋpi* 'you finish for us', *wic'ayeciyuštaŋ/wic'ayeciluštaŋ* 'you finish for them'. Some dative verb forms also show these mergers as with *kic'o* 'invite, summon.'

wéc'o	'I invite'	yéc'opi	'you (plur) invite'
yéc'o	'you (sing) invite'	kic'ópi	'they invite'
kic'ó	'he invites'	uŋkic'opi	'we (incl) invite'
uŋkic'ó	'we (excl) invite'		

Also *míc'o* 'he invites me', *níc'o* 'he invites you', *miyec'o* 'you invite me'. In some cases the *ki-* prefix merges with a following *k-* initial stem as with *kicaga* 'make for' from *kaga* 'make', which produces *micage* 'he makes for me', *nícage* 'he makes for you', *miyecage* 'you make for me', *c'icage* 'I make for you.'

The verb *okiyaka*, shown above, being from *oyaka* 'relate, tell' and a few other verbs derived from initial *y-* stems may also show forms with both Class I and Class II prefixes indicating 1st and 2nd persons as in *owakiblake* 'I tell to' and *oyakilake* 'you tell to'. More complex forms include *oniciyake* 'he says to you', *uŋkoniciyakapi* 'we tell you', *omayakiyake/omayakilake* 'you tell me', *uŋkoyakiyakapi/uŋkoyakilakapi* 'you tell us', *uŋkowic'uŋyakapi* or *uŋkowic'ayakapi* 'we tell them'.

4.2.4. Possessive. Verbs may indicate possession of the typically inanimate patient of the verb by its animate agent. This is marked by a prefix *ki-* or with Class II verbs *gl-*. The mergers mentioned above with dative and benefactive forms are also sometimes seen with the possessive usage. Examples:

(op'et'uŋ 'buy')		(iyop'eya 'sell')	
op'ewakit'uŋ	'I buy my own'	iyop'ewakiye	'I sell my own'
op'eyakit'uŋ	'you buy your own'	iyop'eyakiye	'you sell your own'
op'ekit'uŋ	'he buys for himself'	iyop'ekiye	'he sells his own'
(yuza 'hold')		(oyuspa 'grasp')	
wagluze	'I hold my own'	owagluspe	'I grasp my own'
yagluze	'you hold your own'	oyagluspe	'you grasp your own'
gluze	'he holds his own'	ogluspe	'he grasps his own'

Other examples include *akit'o/awet'o* 'have a birth mark, tattoo', *gluha/wagluha* 'have one's own', *gluta/wagluta* 'eat one's own', *iyekiya/iyewakiye* 'find one's own, recognize' or 'send one's own', *nagiyekiya/nagiyewakiye* 'tempt one's own (relative)', *okile/owakile* 'seek one's own'.

4.2.5. Ditransitive/reciprocal. A prefix *ic'i*, not to be confused with *ic'i-* the reflexive marker, denotes one of two things, either that an animate agent performs an action with one, usually inanimate, patient involving it with another or that two inanimate arguments are involved together, usually as a result of an action of the first type by an animate agent. The prefix *ic'i-* always precedes the verb stem even if the personal pronoun prefixes are infixes as shown below:

<i>ditransitive</i>	
(iyop'eya 'sell')	
ic'iiyop'ewaye	'I exchange for (sth)'
ic'iiyop'eyaye	'you (sing) exchange for (sth)'
ic'iyop'eye	'he exchanges for (sth)'
ic'iyop'euyayapi	'we (incl) exchange for (sth)'

<i>reciprocal</i>	
ic'ik'oyake	'be connected with (sth), be connected together'
ic'icakiŋza	'creak by rubbing together'

Examples include *ic'icaska* 'be tied to', *ic'ik'oyaka/e* 'be connected with', *ic'iiyop'eya/ic'iiyop'ewaye* 'exchange (sth) for (sth)', *ic'ik'oyagya/ic'ik'oyagwaye* 'connect (sth) with (sth)', *ic'iwanŋaŋka/ic'iwanŋblake* 'compare (sth) with (sth)' (*wanŋyaka* 'see'), *ic'icahi/ic'iwakahi* 'mix (sth) with (sth)', *ic'icagnuŋ/ic'iwakagnuŋ* 'tangle (sth) up with (sth)', *ic'icahaphapa* 'rustle against each other (of blades of grass)'.

4.2.6. Causative. The causative function is indicated by the suffixes *-ya* and *-k'iya*, which are preceded by the personal pronoun prefixes. There seems to be no consistent difference in meaning or co-occurrence between these two except that *-k'iya* occurs with animate patients more than with inanimate patients and more often has the element of volition in the instigator and is used with verbs of active meaning as in *uŋspek'iya* 'teach', *ec'uŋk'iya* 'cause to do', *inyang'k'iya* 'cause to run, operate, organize', while *-ya* can be used more often with stative verbs such as *sabya* 'cause to be black', *lulya* 'cause to be red', *ic'ahya* 'cause to grow, raise, bring up', *okahnihya* 'cause to understand', *ihangya* 'cause to perish, destroy'. The suffix *-k'iya* can also sometimes take the meaning of 'allow' as in *yuhak'iya* 'allow to have', *uŋk'iya* 'allow to wear'. The suffix *-ya* may take the extended meaning 'consider as' or 'have as' particularly with kinship terms as in *ateya* 'consider as a father, have as father'. A possessive causative is formed by a combination of *-ya* and *ki-* as *-kiya*.

Examples:

(yuha 'have')	(akisni 'recover')
yuhawak'iyé	'I cause to have'
yuhayak'iyé	'you (sing) cause to have'
yuhak'iyé	'he causes to have'
yuhaŋk'iyapi	'we (incl) cause to have'
	akisniwaye
	'I cure'
	akisniyaye
	'you (sing) cure'
	akisniye
	'he cures'
	akisniuyayapi
	'we (incl) cure'

More complex forms include *yuhamayak'iyé* 'you (sing) cause me to have', *mayuhanik'iyapi* 'they cause you (sing) to have me', *niyuhamak'iyé* 'he causes me to have you (sing)', *asniuyayapi* 'we cure you', *asniuyayapi* 'you cure us', *asni'iyé* 'I cure you'.

Forms combining the causative suffix *-ya* with the possessive suffix *-ki* also occur as in *sabkiya* 'blacken one's own', *t'ebkiya* 'eat up one's own'.

4.3. Instrumental prefixes

The instrumental prefixes indicate the manner in which an action is carried out. They include *ka-* 'by striking or chopping', *pa-* 'by pushing or slow sustained pressure', *na-* 'by the foot or, with inanimate things, of its own accord', *yu-* 'by the hand, by twisting or general causative', *ya-* 'by the mouth, teeth or by speaking', *wa-* 'by cutting as with a blade', *wo-* 'by shooting or punching as with a pointed instrument'. Of these *pa-*, *ka-*, *yu-* and *ya-* follow the personal pronoun prefixes, while *na-*, *wa-* and *wo-* precede them. With the verbs in *ya-* and *yu-* this only applies to the prefix *uŋ(k)-* 'we' since the pronouns for 'I' and 'you' merge with the *y-* as shown above under 4.1.2. **Class II verbs.** Examples are the following:

basic stem	'I' form
kaksa 'chop off'	wakaksa
paksa 'break off by pressure'	wapaksa
naksa 'break off by stamping on'	nawaksa
waksa 'cut off with a knife'	wawaksa (2nd sing. wayaksa)
woksa 'break off by shooting'	wowaksa
yuksa 'twist off by the hand'	bluksa
yaksa 'bite off'	blaksa

The prefix *ka-* often occurs to indicate rapid motion or natural phenomena as in *kašlog iyaya/e* 'it accelerated away', *kaska iyaya/e* 'it cleared up' (weather), *kawaŋkal iyaya/e* 'it flew upwards'. Although not freely productive, these prefixes are often used in words for new concepts such as *paec'eca* 'operate by pushing' as of a flashlight, *yuile* 'turn on' as of a light. The prefix *yu-* often passes into the meaning of a general causative as in *yuwaste* 'make good, improve', *yuota* 'make more, multiply', *yut'okeca* 'make different, change'.

4.4. Locative prefixes

A set of prefixes occurs which can be thought to be originally of locative meaning. These are *o-* 'in', *a-* 'on' and *i-* 'beside', of which *i-* has the more frequent meaning of 'by means of, with, in association with'. The suffix *a-* also often acquires more abstract meanings such as 'in addition to', 'to the detriment of' and 'for a purpose'. As examples one has *yuslohaŋ* 'drag along' and *ayuslohaŋ* 'drag along on', *t'i* 'live' and *ot'i* 'live in', *wašte* 'be good', *iwašte* 'be good by means of, benefit from', *owaste* 'be good in, feel well', *t'aŋka/e* 'be big', *ot'aŋka/e* 'be big in, be wide', *ocik'ala* 'be small in, be narrow', *at'aŋka* 'be bigger than' *akaga* 'do in addition to, add to', *ac'ebya* 'fatten for a purpose'.

Verbs with the prefixes *i-* 'by, with', and *o-* 'in' more usually have inanimate patients, so that words like *iwoglaka* 'talk about' will usually refer to a thing as in 'talk about a thing', *iwatuk'a* 'be tired of' can only mean 'be tired of a thing'. The prefix *a-* 'on' on the other hand can take an animate patient as in *amamaŋaju* 'it rained on me'.

A prefix *k'i-*, often combining with *o-* and *a-* to give *ok'i-* and *ak'i-*, is associated with the meaning of action from two sides into the middle or cutting in half as in *k'iwaksa* 'cut in half', *ok'icaħa* 'tighten a knot', *ok'icaska* 'tie a knot in', *ok'iju* 'to unite, join together', *ok'isapa* 'be black surrounded by white' (as of a bare patch surrounded by snow). When combined with *o-* it can also have the meaning of dividing in half or cutting down the middle as in *ok'icaksa* 'cut in two', *ok'ijata* 'be forked', *ok'inablaza* 'be burst open', *ok'inahleca* 'split down the middle'. When combined with *a-* it produces words meaning action from two sides, often, but not exclusively, denoting a reciprocal action such as *ak'icaska* 'tie two things together', *ak'ihenakeca* 'be as many as each other', *ak'ilec'eca* 'be the same as each other', *ak'iyuha* 'pick up and carry from both or all sides', *ak'iyuza/e* 'hold from all sides'. The meaning 'each other' is in fact confined to the set of circumstantial stems which are referred to in **Chapter 10**. Note also *ak'iyuksa* 'stab into' as in *omaŋpapi ki hecela k'iyukse c'eyas t'ez i ak'imayukse šni* 'she only stabbed into where I was wrapped up, but did not stab into my stomach' BO 101

The prefix *i-* is also very widely used in a variety of abstract functions with the meaning of association of another argument with the verb not as a direct patient, but as an 'obliquely' involved argument as in *ic'ajeyata* 'name because of', *icakija* 'suffer because of, be in want of', *ic'epa* 'be fat because of', *itok'a* 'be concerned because of, be worried by', *iwanyanka* 'see in relation to, compare with'. Its physical location function can be seen in *icaħtaka* 'come in contact with, brush against', *iwotħtaka* 'hit against, collide with', *iwoto* 'knock against, *iyap'a* 'collide with'.

The complex forms *iya-* and *iyō-*, which may be combinations of *i-* and *a-* and *o-*, also occur with meanings which are not very different from the original meaning of *a-* and *o-* as in *ot'inza* 'be tight in', *iyot'inza* 'be tight in, fill up', *iyoto* 'bump against', *oyaza*, *iyoyaza* 'string beads, thread a needle'. In some cases a difference can be perceived as in *akaska* 'fix straight on to', as in *ac'aŋkaska* 'affix wood to, make a fence around', but *iyakaska* 'attach to' (as of a tying or rope).

4.5. The indefinite patient prefix

As mentioned above all transitive verbs are presumed to have a patient. If no patient marking prefix or noun acting as a patient is apparent, it is presumed to have a 3rd sing patient. However some verbs have within them the concept of an indefinite patient, 'people' or 'things'. This is shown by a prefix *wa-*. Thus a verb such as *wakamna/wawakamna* 'earn things, money' cannot take a specific object, but only the general concept of 'things' expressed in the verb itself. In contrast a verb such as *kamna/wakamna* 'earn (sth)' will occur in sentences like *mazaska kamna* 'he earns money'. Examples include:

wóp'et'uŋ/wówap'et'uŋ 'buy things, go shopping' from *op'et'uŋ* 'buy',
wak'uwa/wawak'uwa 'hunt animals, go hunting' from *k'uwa* 'hunt',
wiyop'eya/wiyop'ewaye 'sell things' from *iyop'eya* 'sell', *wayušica/wablušice* 'spoil things' from *yušica* 'spoil'.

Note that with *wiyop'eya* 'sell things' and *wóp'et'uŋ* 'buy things', the prefix *wa-* merges with the initial *i-* and *o-* of the two stems to give *wi-* and *wó-* respectively. Note also at this point that there are three *wa-* prefixes: one in *wakamna* meaning 'I earn (sth)', one in *wakamna* meaning 'he earns money or income in general' and one instrumental in *waksa* meaning 'he cuts with a knife'.

4.6. Non-finite verb forms

A number of forms occur which have a similar function to English participles in not showing agent or patient pronoun marking. These differ from English participles in not having an exclusive morphological form. They are the *-pi* form and the plain stem.

4.6.1. *-pi* form usages. Words with the suffix *-pi* marking the 3rd person plural animate agent or patient 'they' can correspond to English passive participles such as *akšupi* 'beaded', though the literal meaning of this word is 'they beaded it'. These differ in their syntax from other words of an adjectival nature, which are in Lakota stative verbs, such as *waste/mawaste* 'be good' in that they do not take the personal pronoun prefixes. They can occur in combination with another verb as in *opi glicu* 'he came home wounded', or as a modifier of a noun as in ...*ite ki ataya sayela yuh'eyayapi c'a...* 'with his face all red and scratched...' BO 1., *t'alo c'eunpapi* 'roast meat', *t'alo yukpappi* 'meat cut up for sale', *C'aŋkpe Opi* 'Wounded Knee', *haŋpa kšupi* 'beaded mocassins'.

4.6.2. Plain stem usages. The plain unaffixed stem form can occur especially in combination with another verb to function in the same way as an English active participle. The plain stem may be in its full or truncated form almost in free variation for those stems which can truncate. In fact the truncated form is more natural in this position and the full form may be the result of deliberate speech or hesitation. Full form examples include *iglaka* 'migrate'

in *iglaka unkinap'api kte lo* 'we will go out moving camp' i.e. 'we will go from here on a migration'. Truncated form examples include *naslog* from *nasloka* 'slip off' as in *naslog iyaye* 'he rushed away', *ok'iciyag* from *okic'iyaka* 'talk to each other' as in *okic'iyag aupi* 'they transmitted it orally', and *wanyang* from *wanyanka* 'see' in *hec'es wanyang mahel yunka he* 'thus he was lying inside looking' BO 1. Many active verb stems can occur in combination with the verb *han/e* 'stand, be' as functional equivalents of English passive expressions, while they are in Lakota purely stative. The verb *han/e* is impersonal and can only be used with 3rd person reference as in *wega han/e* 'be broken', *sleca han/e* 'be split', *sloka han/e* 'be peeling off, loose', *hla han/e* 'be peeling off'.

Note that, when the plain stem is used before a verb of movement and physical attitude, like *ya/ble* 'go', *inyanka/waimnake* 'run', *iyotaka/iblotake* 'sit', *omani/omawani* 'walk, travel' and *najin/nawajin* 'stand', and where a prefix marks the patient of the verb from which the plain stem is derived, the prefix may precede either verb as in *wanwic'ayang wai, wanyang wic'awai* 'I went to see them', *wanmayang hipi, wanyang mahipi* 'they came to see me' B 233.

4.7. Mode-aspect suffixes

A number of suffixes of various types of function occur with the verb. These suffixes are usually written as separate words in the standard orthography, but some writers join them to the word they precede. Their suffix-like nature lies in their close juncture with the word they follow often effecting ablaut, although they have no effect on stress as Lakota stress occurs towards the beginning of the word. Their relative order when occurring in combination is discussed at the end of this section. They cover various functions including some which would normally be classed as modal in indicating speaker attitude to the action of the verb, others which have aspectual functions having to do with the internal temporal constituency of the action involved in the verb and others which are of miscellaneous function and are included here purely because of their positional occurrence. The modal type include both what are referred to as 'deontic' indicating the attitude of the speaker as a responsible human being and those referred to as 'epistemic' indicating the speaker's degree of commitment to the truth of the proposition.

These suffixes will be grouped here under modal, aspectual and miscellaneous types for the sake of ease of reference, but they do not particularly differ from each other in the way they function. The epistemic modals indicating speaker attitude to the truth of the statement will be grouped separately to the deontic modals which indicate more the speaker's emotional attachment or intention towards it.

Epistemic modal suffixes

4.7.1. Possibility and probability *-seca/e* and *-nac'eca/e*. These suffixes also produce ablaut in a preceding suffix. Although their basic form is in final -a, they are more commonly seen with final -e. These both follow *-sni* and *-kta/e* below. Examples:

<i>hingnaye hi sece</i>	'perhaps she has come to marry him' Del 65
<i>lena wana sparj nac'ece</i>	
	'they are probably cooked now' Del 54
<i>wau kte sece</i>	'I may come'
<i>wau kte sni sece</i>	'I may not come'
<i>t'ebmakiye sece lo</i>	'he might eat me up'

4.7.2. Apparitional *-s'e, s'ekse*. The suffixes *-s'e* and *-s'ekse* imply an appearance, but not necessarily a true appearance as in *slolyamaye sni s'e hiyaye* 'he went past as if he did not know me', *hmu s'e -Hoye- eyapi* BO 10 'as if in a buzzing (excited) manner they said Hoye (thank you)', *taku ikceka s'e* 'as though it was a normal thing' BO 106, *wiyaka ki okatanpi s'ekse p'egnakapi* BO 106 'they put feathers in their hair as if they had nailed them down' (lying flat), *wakunpi s'e* 'as though they desired it' BO 108.

The suffix *-s'e* often occurs in combination with the verb *lec'eca* 'be like this' to mean 'it is as though' as in *inyanke se lec'eca* 'it is as though he is running' and also with the element *-nun* to give *-nuns'e* meaning 'almost' as in *ktepi nun s'e* 'they almost killed him'.

4.7.3. Inferential *-sk'a/sk'e*. This suffix marks the content of the verb as being not guaranteed to be true by the speaker, but reported from another person. It occurs commonly in story telling as in *Iktomi tok'iya omani han sk'e* 'it is said that Iktomi was off travelling somewhere'. It is also heard in reporting events thought to be true as in *k'eyas nakun hanhepi c'anke owic'akhipi sni han tok'iyot'an iyayapi sk'e* 'now it became night and so they were not equal to them and, it seems, they went off somewhere' BO 106.

4.7.4. Resemblative *-kel*. The suffix *-kel* is related to the circumstantial stem *-k'eca, -k'el* 'be like' and can be translated as 'sort of', 'kind of' as in *ap'e-kel u* 'he came kind of waiting'. It often makes a subordinated adverbial form from the verb as in *manikel* 'walking, on foot', *oihat'eyakel yahanpi* 'they went on sort of laughing, laughingly' BO 108.

Deontic modal suffixes

4.7.5. Future/intentional *-kta/e*. This suffix indicates futurity, intention or wish. It can also have the jussive meaning associated with the auxiliary 'let' in English when used with 1st plural and 3rd persons. With ablauting stems it produces the stem ending *-in*. It precedes *-sni*, as seen below. Examples:

<i>wau kte</i>	'I shall come, I want to come'
<i>wau kta keyapi</i>	'they say I shall come'
<i>ap'in kte</i>	'he will hit him'
<i>glipi kte</i>	'they will come home'
<i>glipi kte sni</i>	'they will not come home'
<i>unyanpi kte</i>	'we shall go, we want to go, let us go'
<i>hi kte</i>	'he will come home, let him come home'
<i>wau kte sni</i>	'I shall not come, do not wish to come'

The suffix *-kta/e* can be followed by the verb *iyec'eca* 'resemble, be suitable' to mean 'should, must' as in *iyayin kte iyec'eca* 'he must, should go away', *omayakiyin kta iyec'eca sni* 'you should not help me' BH 31, *hehanj mayuha kte sni iyec'eca* 'at that time she should not have born me' BT 393. It can also be followed by the intensive suffix *-hici* to give the meaning 'try to', 'strive to' as in *wayawa kte hici* 'he really wants, tries to study', *ohitikin kte hici kic'ipatanpi* 'they vied with each other in trying to be brave' BO 110.

4.7.6. Past/irrealis *-tk'a, -k'a, -t'a*. This suffix, which is a development of the appositive conjunction *tuk'a* 'but', can be used to give a past imperfect function indicating an action which used to happen before the present state, but no longer does. It can also indicate a situation which was intended to occur, but did not, and thus often occurs with the main clause of an unfulfilled condition. Examples include: *wahi sni tk'a* 'I would not have come', *wac'injka yunkans...winyan ki lena iyuha wayaka wic'unyuzapi kta tk'a* 'if I had wanted to, we could have taken all these women captive' Del 249, *Iya t'akpe ipi sni yunkans oyate ki lehanhuniyan t'ebwic'ayahin kta tk'a sk'e* 'if they had not attacked Iya⁷, he would by now have been eating up all the people it is said' Del 5, *hec'unpi sni yunkans, mis'eya op'eya p'a naksemayanpi kta tk'a* 'if they had not done that, they would have hung me along with them' BO 107. An example of the past use is *le mak'oc'e el unpi tk'a* 'they used to live in this country'.

⁷ Iya is an ogre figure of Lakota mythology who was said to eat people.

4.7.7. Iterative -s'a. The suffix *-s'a* indicates repetitive action, and can also indicate irritation on the part of the speaker at the repetition as in *osiceca-s'a* 'it (the weather) is always bad', though this feature may not necessarily be present as in *u s'a* 'he comes often', *waiglamnawic'ak'iyapi s'a* 'they often allow them to earn things for themselves' BO 109, *he uŋ waol'ota kamna s'a* 'by this means he often earns much' BO 109.

4.7.8. Jussive -ni. The suffix *-ni* marks a wish and often occurs with the sentence initial particles *tok'i* or *tok'inj*. Examples are often seen in prayers and religious imprecations as in *mak'a ki tok'e naoko na etanhan Wanik'iyeye ki oic'ahya ni* 'may the earth somehow split open and make the Saviour grow out of it' BH 167, *nit'awokic'unze u ni* 'may your kingdom come', *hu makawege sni ni* 'I hope I don't break my leg' Hnbk 475, *tok'i mastinjala wanji el wanblaka ni* 'I hope I see a rabbit there' BO 34.

4.7.9. Intensive-emotional -lah, -lahcaka. This suffix marks a strong emotional attachment to the content of the verb translatable as 'really' as in *imapuza-lah* 'I'm really thirsty', *osiceca s'a lah* 'it is really bad weather'.

4.7.10. Dismissive -ka/e. This suffix has the opposite effect to *-lah* above, in that it marks unconcern or non involvement on the part of the speaker or the same transferred to the actor of the verb as in *ole ka* 'he looks for it any old way, casually', *he pte bloka ki oc'injsica ke* 'that bull is kind of angry' Hnbk 474. With the verb *waste* 'be good' it changes the meaning to 'not good' as in *wasdeka* 'it was not very good'.

The suffix *-ka/e* can also occur in combination with the suffixes *-nuŋ* seen above under 4.7.2. in *-nuŋs'e* meaning 'almost' and the past/irrealis suffix *-tk'a* to indicate indecision or panic as in *c'anke tok'el owak'uwa ka nuŋ tk'a* 'I was a loss as to what to do with it' BO 108. This also occurs as *-ca nuŋ tk'a* as in *tok'i ye ca nuŋ tk'a* 'he was at a loss as to where to go' Del 84.

4.7.11. Diminutive -la. This suffix, which is originally a diminutive marker, takes on the meaning of endearment expressed to the agent or patient of the verb as in *nit'awicu na igmu ki wastepila* 'your wife and the cat are nice', *Anung-Ite hec'a wan t'anjala-hcaka* 'a really big Double Face' BO 1, *it'o yuha munjela* 'so I will lie [here] and hold it' BO 1, *mit'an, unjsimakila* 'little sister, have pity on me' BO 1, *tanyanjs wawatela kte* 'I want to eat well' BO 34, *c'apala k'unj he tanyan yuhapila* 'they looked after that little beaver well'. Note that in the last example the diminutive suffix *-la* also occurs on the word *c'apa* 'beaver'. In some cases the suffix *-la* also occurs in names, where it does not necessarily indicate endearment as in the name *Miwak'anj Yuhala* 'Sword Owner, He has a Magic Sword'.

4.7.12. Intensive -hca/e and -hcaka. These suffixes, which are also seen on nouns and adverbs intensify the meaning of the verb. They can often be translated as 'very' or 'much', but in other cases can modify the meaning of the verb to the extent where a different translation would appear in English. Examples include *iyuskinj hca gli* 'he arrived being very delighted', *Anung-Ite hec'a wan t'anjala hcaka* 'a really big Double Face'⁸ BO 1, *t'at'anjka ota opi lahca* 'they shot many buffalo' BD, *Lak'otiyapi hce sni* 'they do not speak Lakota well' Stol, *winyan waste hca wan* 'a very beautiful woman' BO 1, *wanijetu osni hca* 'it was a very cold winter' BO 101, *ohitikapi hcaka sk'e* 'they were said to be very brave' BO 110. In the second example note also the presence of the diminutive suffix *-la* applied to *Anung Ite* without the meaning of endearment.

⁸ The 'Double-Face' *Anung Ite* is a mythological figure who has faces on both sides of his head'

4.7.13. Expletive, interrogative or inferential -lak'a, -yalak'a, -yelak'a. This suffix is difficult to assign a uniform meaning to in all its uses. It expresses surprise or exasperation at the content of the verb in interrogatives, or possibly a purely hypothetical question especially in the forms *-yalak'a* and *-yelak'a*, but can also express an inference from the speaker's knowledge of the context. Examples include: *tok'el owak'uwa kte lak'a* 'how on earth shall I handle him?', *sunjmanitu ki ohinji iyap'e unpi sni yelak'a* 'is not the wolf always waiting?', *ho c'a Bel ni unj sni yalak'a he; anpetu iyohila tok'el wotin na wayatke ki hena wanlake sni yelak'a?* 'is Baal then not alive; do you not see how every day he eats and drinks?' BH 151, *takuwe miye hec'i wai kte lak'a* 'how on earth could I go so far?' BD, *yugnaye lak'a* 'he must have missed him' BD, *t'ate wan iyosniyanj u ye lo. Wasu hinhinj kte lak'a* 'a wind is blowing coldly. It is going to hail' BD.

4.7.14. Admonishment -ki(lo), -ci(lo). These suffixes, often occurring in company with the preverbal particle *ungna* gives the meaning 'beware', 'do not' as in *ungna ekta le ci* 'beware of going there, do not go here' BO 1, *nijahtake kilo* 'beware he doesn't bite you' Hnbk 476, *ungna hayektapi kilo* 'beware not to look back' BH 22.

4.7.15. Familiar request -yet'o, -nit'o, -ijt'o. These suffixes occur following the plain stem to indicate a polite request as in *tohinjanke yet'o* 'please wait a minute', *wic'ahpi ki yawa wac'inj yet'o* 'please try to count the stars' B 209.

4.7.16. Contemplative -yanke. This suffix, often occurring in company with the presentential particle *it'o* and only with 1st person forms, implies that the speaker is contemplating or planning an action imminently. Examples include *it'o el bla yanke* 'what if I were to go there' BO 1, *it'o t'akpe bla yanke* 'what if I were to attack him' BO 1, *it'o Anung Ite wakte na hokscala ki wak'i yanke* 'what if I were to kill Double Face and take the child' BO 1.

4.7.17. Emphatic past -k'unj, -c'unj. Where strong emotional involvement is attached to an action, usually in the past time, the suffix *-k'unj* is attached, changing to *-c'unj* following a front vowel. This is in origin the past/actual topic marker (see 12.1.4.). Examples include *he t'oka ekta nic'inj yes wahteyala sni k'unj* 'he wanted you there before, but you did not like him' BO 1, *t'at'anjka ota nawah'unj ep'e c'unj* 'I said I heard many buffalo' BO 10, *ec'el ec'amunj hanjanhanjs wani kta heye c'unj* 'he said that if I did accordingly, I would live' BO 107.

Aspectual suffixes

4.7.18. Continuative -hanj/e. This suffix, which is a form of the verb *hanj/wahe* 'stand', follows verbal forms, but precedes the plural suffix *-pi*. It gives present or past continuative meaning as in *najinhanpi* 'they are, were standing', *wanwic'ayang najinhe* 'he stands, stood watching them'.

4.7.19. Relative recent past -laka c'anj and -pilaka tk'a. These complex suffixes convey the meaning 'as soon as, no sooner...than'. Examples include: *kak'el ihunji pilaka tk'a.* as soon as he arrived there' Del 104, *ic'imanu k'unj el i laka c'anj ayastan iyeye* 'as soon as the traveller reached him, he stopped shouting' Del 83.

Miscellaneous suffixes

4.7.20. Negative -sni. This suffix is related to the element *-ni* also marking negation, but which is of more restricted occurrence, occurring most often in adverbs. The suffix *-sni* negates predicates and thus only occurs following verbs or nouns when the latter occur as predicates. This suffix triggers ablaut change on those *-a* and *-anj* stems which can ablaut. Examples:

wau sni	'I did not come'	ap'e sni	'he did not hit him'
glipi sni	'they did not come home'		

The suffix *-sni* can also be followed by a second verb stem in a compound verb expression as in *tanyanšnila* 'consider not good'.

4.7.21. Interrogative *-hwo, -he, -so, -sel, -heci*. These suffixes produce open questions. They are also used with *wh-* question words like *taku* 'what'. The suffixes *-hwo* and *-he* produce the unmarked question type, though *-hwo* is used by men in formal speech, while *-he* is used by men in informal speech and by women generally. The suffix *-so* produces a polite enquiry, while *-heci* and *-sel* are almost equivalent to the English phrase 'I wonder' as in *tok'aš mayut'iq kte sel* 'I wonder if she will strangle me' BO 14, *bloketu ayataya ena unpi kte sel* 'I wonder if they will be there all summer' Col 17-1, *it'okab tohanhci le iyec'el owah'añ heci* 'have I ever, I would like to know, done anything like that before?' BD, *hoksila ki le wanyetu tona ilukcañ so* 'how old do you think that boy is?' BD, *tok'a c'a Bel c'eyakiye so?* 'how is it that you worship Baal?' BH 151.

4.7.22. Order of the modal, aspectual suffixes in sequence. Many of these suffixes are mutually exclusive. Thus the possibility suffix *seca/e* 'perhaps' cannot occur with the reportative suffix *šk'a/e*. However forms with sequences of suffixes are found, such as *t'ebwic'ayahiq kta tk'a šk'e* 'he would have been eating them up it is said' seen in 4.7.6. above. Here the the suffixes *-hañ/e* 'continuative', *-kta/e* 'future intentional', *-tk'a* 'past/irrealis' and *-šk'a/e* 'inferential' all occur together.

Examples of commonly occurring sequences are: *nagiyeye s'a šk'e* 'he often annoyed them, it is said' BO 102, *wic'aunškilowanpi hce selec'eca* 'it seemed that we were really singing to them' BO 106, *wic'ac'eya hañ šk'e* 'it is said they were all crying together' BO 107, *hipi kte sni sece* 'perhaps they will not come', *hi kte sni tk'a* 'he would not have come', *ohitikapi hcaka šk'e* 'they were very brave, it is said' BO 110.

The potential order of the suffixes, although they would never all occur together, is shown in Table 1. adapted from Hdbk 473. Not all variant forms of specific suffixes are shown. Thus the admonishment suffix is shown in the form *-kilo*, but not *-cilo*. In fact some of these suffixes, especially some of those in column 11, often only occur alone so far as I have observed. I have for instance never seen *-yanke* or *-laka c'añ* in combination with other suffixes.

Table 1 Post verbal suffixes, potential occurrence

1	2	2	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
hañ	pi	la	ka	kte	sni	s'a	yet'o	seca	lah	hwo	s'e
								nac'eca		he	sni
										so	šk'a
										sel	
										heci	
										s'e	
										k'uñ	
										ki	
										hca	
										hcaka	
										tk'a	
										šk'a	
										ka	
										kilo	
										ni	
										yanke	
										laka c'añ	
										lak'a	

Notice that the intensive suffix *-hca* can occur after the negative suffix *-sni* and also before it, giving examples like *Lak'otiyapi hce sni* 'they do not speak Lakota well' Stol and *osni sni hce* 'it's not really cold' Hnbk 475.

Table 2. shows examples of actual sequences recorded, though without noting some of the more obvious ones, since almost any possible combination can also be pluralized with *-pi*. In fact the main reason for including *-pi* is to show that it occurs after *-hañ* and before *-la*. The actual form of each suffix is shown in each case as it occurs in the combination i.e. indicating ablaut changes as with *-ktehci* from the sequence of *-kta* and *-hca*.

Table 2 Post verbal suffixes, recorded occurrence

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
haŋ	pi	la									
hiŋ				kte	sni					tk'a	sk'e
haŋ								sece			
haŋ											sk'e
				kte	sni			sece			
				kte	sni			nac'ece			
				kte	sni					tk'a	
				kte				sece			
				kte				nac'ece			
				kte						hci	
				kte						sel	
				kte						lak'a	
				kte							sk'e
					sni					k'uŋ	
					sni					ni	
						s'a			lah		
						s'a				hcaka	sk'e
										hcaka	sk'e
										hca	s'e
										laka c'aŋ	

4.8. Motion verbs

The basic motion verb system consists of four stems covering motion to and from the speaker and the process of motion contrasted with the fact of arrival. These stems are the following:

4.8.1. Basic motion verb

	motion	arrival
to the speaker	u 'be coming'	hi 'arrive here'
from the speaker	ya 'be going'	i 'arrive there'

The verb *ya* 'be going' declines as a regular Class II verb giving *ye* 'he is going', *ble* 'I am going', *le* 'you are going', *uŋyanpi* 'we (incl) are going'. This stem is an ablauting one and the change of the vowel ending from *-a* to *-iŋ* with for instance the addition of *-kte/e* 'future intentional' produces nasalization of the *-i-* of the stem giving *mnij kte* 'I will go', *nij kte* 'you will go', but *yij kte* 'he will go'.

To these verbs can be added derivatives of the possessive prefix *ki-* which then indicate motion towards a place, object or person associated with the speaker. These therefore usually indicate 'motion towards home' or 'returning to a known place'. These are as follows:

4.8.2. Possessive motion verb

	motion	arrival
to the speaker	ku 'be coming home'	gli 'arrive home here'
from the speaker	gla 'be going home'	k'i 'arrive home there'

From these verbs of bringing and taking can be produced by the addition of a prefix *a-*. This gives the following:

4.8.3. Basic bringing verb

	motion	arrival
to the speaker	au 'be bringing'	ahi 'bring here'
from the speaker	áya 'be taking'	ai 'take there'

4.8.4. Possessive bringing verb

	motion	arrival
to the speaker	aku 'be bringing home'	agli 'bring home here'
from the speaker	agla 'be taking home'	ak'i 'take home there'

These verbs infix the personal pronoun prefixes as in *awau* 'I am bringing', *awahi* 'I bring here', *abla* 'I am taking', *awai* 'I take there', *ayau* 'you are bringing here', *awaku* 'I am bringing home', *awagli* 'I bring home here', *ayagla* 'you are taking home'. To them may also be added a prefix *k-*, a derivative of the dative prefix *ki-*, to give verbs meaning 'bring to a person' and 'take to a person'. This gives the following:

4.8.5. Basic dative verb

	motion	arrival
to the speaker	kau 'be bringing to'	kahi 'bring here to'
from the speaker	kaya 'be taking to'	kai 'take there to'

4.8.6. Possessive dative verb

	motion	arrival
to the speaker	kaku 'be bringing home to'	kagli 'bring home to'
from the speaker	kagla 'be taking home to'	kak'i 'take home there to'

The prefix *k-* undergoes fronting to *c-* whenever preceded by a front vowel giving such forms as *c'icagli* 'I brought it home to you', *nicauc* 'he is bringing it to you'.

4.8.7. Possessed patient bringing verb. A further set of verbs can be formed by the use of a second possessive prefix *glo-*, which indicates possession of the object being taken. This gives the following verbs: *glou* 'be bringing one's own here', *glohi* 'bring one's own here', *gloaya* 'be taking one's own there', *gloi* 'take one's own there', *glouku* 'be bringing one's own home', *glogli* 'bring one's own home', *glogla* 'be taking one's own home there', *glok'i* 'take one's own home there'.

4.8.8. Fetching verb. Yet a further set of verbs is formed by a prefix *hiyo-* and its possessive counterpart *gliyo-* which mean 'to go to fetch' of non-possessed and possessed items respectively. These include the following: *hiyou* 'be coming to fetch', *hiyohi* 'arrive here to fetch', *hiyoya* 'be going to fetch', *hiyoi* 'arrive there to fetch', *hiyoku* 'be coming home to fetch', *hiyogli* 'arrive home here to fetch', *hiyogla* 'be going home there to fetch', *hiyok'i* 'arrive home there to fetch', *gliyou* 'be coming to fetch one's own', *gliyohi* 'arrive here to fetch one's own', *gliyoya* 'be going to fetch one's own', *gliyoi* 'arrive there to fetch one's own', *gliyoku* 'be coming home to fetch one's own', *gliyogli* 'arrive home here to fetch one's own', *gliyogla* 'be going home there to fetch one's own', *gliyok'i* 'arrive home there to fetch one's own'.

These combination verbs can either take two sets of personal pronoun prefixes or only one giving such alternatives as *hiyoble* or *wahiyoble* 'I go to fetch'. When a patient is involved, the prefix marking it will precede the verb complex even if a further agent marking

prefix occurs between the two stems as in *c'iyomniŋ kte* 'I will come to fetch you', *wic'awagliyomniŋ kte* 'I will go to fetch those which I own'.

4.9. Combination verbs

A number of compound verbs are formed by combinations of the set of motion verbs with each other and with verbs of other types. These combinations include:

4.9.1. Combinations of different motion verbs. A set of verbs exists combining the arrive verb with the corresponding motion verb which produce a verb meaning 'to set out'. These are [i+ya+ya] giving *iyaya* 'set out in that direction', [hi+u] giving *hiyu* 'set out in this direction', [k'i+gla] giving *k'igla* 'set out for home in that direction', [gli+ku] giving *glicu* 'set out for home in this direction'. The verbs *hi* 'arrive here' and *gli* 'arrive home here' are also combined with [ya+ya] and *gla* to produce *hiyaya* 'pass by' and *gligla* 'pass by on the way home'. The verb *iyaya* 'set out in that direction' is reduplicated throughout, while *hiyaya* 'pass by' has reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms as follows:

sing, exclusive		plur, inclusive	
iblable	'I go away'	ilalapi	'you (plur) go away'
ilale	'you (sing) go away'	iyayapi	'they go away'
iyaye	'he goes away'	uŋkiyayapi	'we (incl) go away'
uŋkiyaye	'we (excl) go away'		
sing, exclusive		plur, inclusive	
wahiblable	'I pass by'	yahilalapi	'you (plur) pass by'
yahilale	'you (sing) pass by'	hiyayapi	'they pass by'
hiyaye	'he passes by'	uŋhiyayapi	'we (incl) pass by'
uŋhiyaye	'we (excl) pass by'		

Notice that the reduplicated verbs *iyaya* 'go away' and *hiyaya* 'pass by' show more than one marking of the 1st sing and 2nd person agent and that *hiyaya* can, as above, show three markings i.e. for 'I' *wa-*, *bi-* and *bi-*. Alternative forms for the latter do occur, only marking the pronoun once, namely *wahiyaye*, *yahiyaye*, *yahiyayapi*. The possessive verbs of this set *glicu* and *k'igla* add a vowel *-ya-* between the two stems with the 1st and 2nd persons giving such forms as *wak'iyagle* 'I set out for home in that direction', *yagliyacu* 'you set out for home in this direction', *uŋgliyacu* 'we set out for home in this direction'.

All of the above combinations may also show the causative prefix *a-* to produce 'bringing' verbs such as *ahiyu* 'set out bringing in this direction', *ak'igla* 'set out bringing homeward in that direction'.

4.10. Verbal formatives

A number of formative suffixes are used to produce verbal stems. These do not have specific lexical meanings and the meaning of the verbal stem produced cannot be predicted necessarily. These are *-t'uŋ*, *-kit'uŋ*, *-kicat'uŋ*, *-c'uŋ* and *-kic'uŋ*, of which the first three are associated with the verb *t'uŋ* 'be born, grow'. The pronoun prefix usually precedes the formative directly. Examples are the following:

1. *-t'uŋ* general formative. This usually produces intransitives, but also produces some transitives such as *op'et'uŋ* 'buy'. Examples are: *c'iŋcat'uŋ/c'iŋcawat'uŋ* 'bear children', *op'et'uŋ/op'ewat'uŋ* 'buy', *hot'uŋ/howat'uŋ* 'cry, sound', *okot'uŋ* 'be a space', *t'awicut'uŋ/t'awicuwat'uŋ* 'have a wife, be married', *hiŋgnat'uŋ/hiŋgnawat'uŋ* 'have a husband, be married', *wasut'uŋyaŋ* 'bring forth fruit', *het'uŋ* 'have horns', *wahpet'uŋ* 'have leaves', *oc'ast'uŋ/oc'aŋmat'uŋ* 'become famous', *ogeic'it'uŋ/ogemic'it'uŋ* 'clothe oneself', *wac'iŋt'uŋ/wac'iŋwat'uŋ* 'be understanding'.

2. *-kit'uŋ* intransitive/reflexive formative: *hakit'uŋ/hawet'uŋ* 'be dressed', *wip'ekit'uŋ/wip'ewet'uŋ* 'be armed', *sagyekit'uŋ/sagyewet'uŋ* 'use a walking stick'.
3. *-kicat'uŋ* transitive formative: *wak'oyagkicatun/wak'oyagwecat'uŋ* 'clothe, dress (sby)', *ak'iŋkicat'uŋ/ak'iŋwecat'uŋ* 'saddle (a horse)'.
4. *-c'uŋ*, *-kic'uŋ* general formative *wat'okic'uŋ/wat'owec'uŋ* 'take vengeance'.

4.11. Impersonal verbs in *-tu*

A number of verbs are formed with the suffix *-tu*. Many of these can only take a 3rd person argument, though a few can also be marked for a patient. A number of them have meanings associated with astronomical time and some are derivatives of the group of circumstantial stems mentioned under 10. Not all possible verbal items from the circumstantial stems are shown here. For more details see 10. Such verbs include the following:

aŋpetu 'be day', *bloketu* 'be summer', *ec'etu* 'be correct, be in order', *haŋyetu* 'be night', *hec'etu* 'be correct, be actual, happen', *hehaŋtu* 'be that time', *hetu* 'be there', *hitayetu* 'be evening', *iyehaŋtu* 'be time for (sth)', *kātu* 'be over there', *lec'etu* 'happen thus', *letu* 'be here', *ptaŋyetu* 'be autumn', *tók'etu* 'happen somehow', *waniyetu* 'be winter', *wétu* 'be spring'.

Some of the time indicating verbs can take the locative prefix *a-* 'on' to transform it into a transitive verb and may also show a patient prefix indicating the experiencer of the time period. These include:

awaniyetu/amawaniyetu 'it became winter upon', *ahanyetu/amahanyetu* 'become night upon', *ahtayetu/amahtayetu* 'become evening upon'.

The time indicating verbs are often translated into English as nouns. However they seem to be syntactically verbs as indicated by their syntactic behaviour, occurring in embedded sentences with *ki/k'uŋ* as in *haŋyetu ki* 'when it becomes night (fut)', *hanyetu k'uŋhaŋ* 'when it was night', *hanyetu c'aŋnaŋna* 'whenever it is night'.

4.12 Auxiliary verbs and other elements

A number of verbs and other elements exist, which do not occur in isolation, but only in construction with a preceding verb stem. These include *-kapiŋ/makapiŋ*, *wakapiŋ* 'be loathe to, reluctant to', *-kinica/wakinica* 'strive to, need to, have to', *-kuŋza/wakuŋze* 'pretend', *-la/wala* 'consider, count', *-p'ica/map'ica* 'be possible', *-si/wasi* 'ask, bid, tell' and *-wac'iŋ/wac'aŋmi* 'try'. The truncated stem may occur in these constructions as in *yulp'ica* 'be edible' below from *yuta* 'eat'. In this connection the verb *t'a/mat'e* 'die' can also be mentioned, since, when occurring with a preceding verb stem, it takes on the derived meaning of 'do to the extreme'. Of these *si/wasi* 'ask, bid, tell' is the most productive and can potentially be used with any other verb. Examples are the following:

- a) *-kapiŋ/makapiŋ* 'be loathe to, reluctant to': *ie kapiŋ/makapiŋ* 'be reluctant to speak', *igluŋkaŋskaŋ kapiŋ/wakapiŋ* 'be immobile, unable to move', *skaŋ kapiŋ/makapiŋ* 'be loathe to work, lazy'.
- b) *-kinica/wakinica* 'strive to, need to, have to, almost do': *iha kinica/wakinica* 'have to laugh', *kiŋyaŋ kinica/wakinica* 'long to fly', *omani wakinica* 'I long to roam', *t'e kinica/wakinica* 'almost die', *wac'i kinica/wakinica* 'long to dance'.
- c) *-kuŋza/wakuŋze* 'pretend': *nah'uŋ sŋi kuŋs hiyaye* 'he went past, pretending not to hear' Del 20, *slolyeŋni mayakuŋziŋ⁹ kte* 'you will pretend not to know me' BH 281.

⁹ Notice the position of the prefix for the patient 'me', preceding the verb *kuŋza* 'pretend'. See above under 4.6.2. Plain stem usages.

- d) *-la/wala* 'consider, count': *hec'etula/hec'etuwala* 'consider correct, approve', *uqsila/uqsiwala* 'consider pitiful, be kind to', *waŋkaic'ila/waŋkamic'ila* 'consider oneself quite the thing, consider oneself important'.
- e) *-p'ica* 'be possible: *ec'uŋp'ica* 'be possible, doable', *iyauŋpep'ica sni/iyauŋpemap'ica sni* 'be blameless, innocent' (*iyauŋpa/iyawaŋpe* 'blame'), *ištiŋmep'ica* 'be sleepable in', *t'ip'ica* 'be inhabitable', *wac'inyep'ica/wac'inyemep'ica* 'be reliable', *wanyangp'ica/wanyangmap'ica* 'be visible' (*wanyanka/waŋblake* 'see'), *yulp'ica* 'be edible' (*yuta/wate* 'eat').
- f) *-si/wasi* 'ask, bid, tell': *el iyukcaŋ si/wasi* 'ask to think about', *u si/wasi* 'ask to come'.
- g) *-t'a/mat'e* 'die, do something to the extreme': *hanit'a/hanimat'e* 'have a rash', *iŋat'a/iŋamat'e* 'laugh loudly, die laughing', *t'ansagt'a/t'ansagmat'e* 'be terrified', *t'ehilait'a/t'ehilaimat'e* 'love to distraction', *t'emnit'a/t'emnimat'e* 'sweat profusely'.
- h) *wac'iq/wac'aŋmi* 'try': *ye wac'aŋmi* 'I tried to go', *tok'el h'aŋ wac'iq yo* 'try to do something' Del 186, *wówapí k'uŋ he yawapí na yuieska wac'iqpi* 'they read the writing and tried to interpret it' BH150.

4.13. Auxiliary verbs of time/manner reference

Certain verbs can occur following another verb with an auxiliary meaning expressing the manner in which the action happens particularly with reference to speed or time. These are *au/amau* or *au/awau* 'bring', *aya/amaye* 'become', *hingla/mahingle* 'be turned into, transformed suddenly', *iyaya/e* 'go away' and *iyeya/iyewaye* 'take away'. They give the following auxiliary meanings *au/awau* or as a stative verb *au/amau* 'continue over time', *aya/amaye* 'begin, continue', *hingla/mahingle* 'do suddenly', *iyaya/e* 'happen quickly or extensively'¹⁰, *iyeya/iyewaye* 'do quickly or suddenly'. Here again the truncated verb stem may occur as in *k'uš aya/amaye* 'become ill' from *k'uja/mak'uje* 'be ill'. Examples are the following:

ec'uŋ au/awau 'carry on doing as a tradition', *okic'iyag au/awau* 'pass on a tradition over time' (*okic'iyaka* 'tell each other'), *ec'el aya/amaye* 'recover, return to the proper state' (*ec'eca/emac'eca* 'be all right'), *k'uš aya/amaye* 'become ill' (*k'uja/mak'uje* 'be ill'), *ie sni hingla/mahingle* 'be struck dumb', *t'aŋiŋ sni hingla/mahingle* 'become invisible, disappear', *kaksa iyeya/iyewaye* 'suddenly cut off', *kala iyeya/iyewaye* 'scatter', *kaska iyaya/e* 'clear away' (of clouds).

4.14. Complex verb structures with *o-*

The plain stem can occur preceded by the prefix *-o* and followed by a stative verb, frequently the verbs *waste/mawašte* 'be good' or *sica/mašice* 'be bad'. These latter will often have the meaning 'be good to...' or 'be bad to...', but may also mean 'be easy to...' or 'be difficult to...'. These are not freely productive, but many such complex verb structures exist. Here again the truncated verb stem may occur as in *oyul waste* 'be good to eat' from *yuta* 'eat'. Examples are:

oc'iq sica/mašice 'be vicious, ill disposed', *oh'aŋ sica/mašice* 'be ill natured', *oh'aŋ t'okeca/mat'okeca* 'be queer, strange in one's actions', *oh'aŋ waste/mawašte* 'be good natured', *oihuŋni waste* 'be easy to reach, accessible', *oniya haŋska/mahaŋske* 'be long winded', *oniya ptecela/maptecela* 'be short of breath', *oniya sica/mašice* 'breathe with difficulty, suffocate', *ookahnih sica/e* 'be difficult to understand', *ouŋspe sica/e* 'be difficult to learn', *owanyang sica/mašice* 'be bad to see, ugly', *owanyang waste/mawašte* 'be good to see, beautiful'.

¹⁰ In the words of Buechel (1939: 163) 'the whole action expressed in the verb is performed and completed swiftly by one move or effort.'

5. Demonstratives

The Lakota language is extremely rich in demonstrative elements. These can be described under two headings, under demonstrative pronouns and under combinations with the circumstantial stems in verbal or adverbial elements of specific reference. The demonstrative pronouns will be referred to here, while their use with the circumstantial stems can be seen in Chapter 10.

5.1. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are used either independently standing as an NP, or in the company of a noun. They also occur fused with following verbs, postpositions and circumstantial stems, the latter of which will be treated under 10. They distinguish singular and plural and, in some cases, dual with no distinction of animate/inanimate. They distinguish three deictic points: near the speaker, neutral and far from the speaker, as follows:

	singular	dual	plural
near	le	lenaos	lena
neutral	he	henaos	hena
far	ka	---	kana

When occurring with a noun, they will usually be associated with the topic marker *ki/k'uŋ* and may occur before or after the noun. When occurring fused with verbs and postpositions they may produce a form with initial stress. The demonstrative *ka* is found less often in these combinations than the other two. When in isolation they are often translatable as 'it' in English. Examples of their use are the following:

a) In isolation

he le e sni 'that is not it'
hena wac'iq sni 'I don't want them, those'
Mahpiya Luta he miye 'I am Red Cloud' lit. 'Red Cloud that is me'
ka icu wo 'bring that thing yonder'
lenaos 'these two'
henaos 'those two'

b) With a noun

le wic'asa ki, wic'asa ki le 'this man'
wic'asa ki lena, lena wic'asa ki 'these men'
ka wic'asa ki, wic'asa ki ka 'that man'

c) With a verb

hec'uŋpi 'they do that'
lec'uŋpi 'they do this'
lec'amun 'I do this'

d) With a postposition

lel 'in this, here', *hel* 'in that, there', *kal* 'in that yonder, over there', *logna* 'by this means, by this way', *letaŋhaŋ* 'from here', *lec'iya* 'in this direction', *hec'iyot'aŋ* 'in that direction', *hec'etkiya* 'in that direction'.

6. Postpositions

Lakota has no prepositions, only postpositions. These follow nouns and may also follow pronouns. However, if there is no noun present in the sentence and the object of the postposition is a pronoun, it may actually be shown by a patient marking prefix on the postposition or on the verb. This will be illustrated below. Many postpositions can be shown to be derived from verbal stems and there is an almost limitless facility for deriving postpositions from adverbs by means of the prefix *i-*, which we have also seen in the context of verbal morphology under 4.4. This also has the form *iy-* before a vowel. Some postpositions have two forms, one with *i-* and one without. It is possible to regard the postpositions without the prefix *i-* as basic, although even some of these can be regarded as derived from verbal stems.

The use of a postposition with a noun makes it less likely that the indefinite pronoun *wan*, *wanji* 'a, one' or the topic marker *ki/k'un* will also be used, as also mentioned under 12.1.4.1.2. Therefore a phrase such as *mila un* could mean 'with a knife' or 'with the knife'. Note also that a postposition can also occur with no preceding noun where it refers to some previously mentioned noun as in *un amape* 'he hit me with it', *kic'i wau* 'I came with him', *wanji ekta hoši iyaye* 'one went to him/it as a messenger' BT 157. Here the postposition *un* has an understood object 'it', *kic'i* has an understood object 'him' and *ekta* could have the object 'it' or 'him'.

6.1. Basic postpositions

These are the following:

aglagla	along the side of
akanl	on, on top of
-c'o, -c'ola	without
égna	among [with animate plural objects]
ekta	to, at
el	in, at
etanhan	from
étkiya	towards
kic'i	with, in company with [with singular objects]
mahel	in, inside
ob	with, in company with [with animate plural objects]
ogna	in, through, according to, by means of
ognayan	according to
óhan	among [with animate plural objects]
óksan, aoksan	around, surrounding
op'aya	along [as of a road or river]
op'eya	with, in company with
ópta	through [of topographical features]
ohlat'e	under
un	because of, by means of, about

Of the above *un* with the meaning 'by means of' is thought to be related to the verb *un/mun* 'use' and *ob* may be derived from *óp'a/owap'a* 'join (a group of people)'. Even *el* 'in' can be related to the verb *étu* 'be in a place'. However with these words it is not easy to state whether historically the postposition is derived from the verb or vice versa. A number of other postposition-like elements occur, which may also be truncated stems in a participle like function. Note that the item *-c'o, -c'ola* listed above is joined to the preceding noun as a suffix, sometimes with attendant stem truncation, as in *Itazibc'o* 'Sans Arcs, Without Bows' « *itazipa-c'o*.

6.2. Derived postpositions

The largest number of these are postpositions showing the prefix *i-*. These can be derived from an adverb of related meaning. Thus *ik'owakatanhan*, *ik'owakatan* 'beyond', as in *wakpala ik'owakatanhan* 'across the river', is relatable to an adverb *k'owakatan* 'over the seas, abroad', which occurs in *k'owakatan najin* 'it stands across the seas'. Some of these are also alternative forms to the basic postpositions given above such as *imahel* 'inside' and *iyohlat'e* 'under', relatable to *mahel* and *ohlat'e* of the same meanings. In some cases the *i-* prefix is stressed and in others not. I have marked the stress as I most usually found it. Examples include the following:

icatkayatanhan 'on the left of', *ihakab* 'behind, after', *ihinhan* 'on the morrow of, on the day after', *ihuk'ul* 'below', *ihutab*, *ihutawab* 'down stream of', *iheyab* 'away from', *iheyata* 'away from', *ik'iyela*, *ic'iyela*, *ik'anyela* 'near to', *ik'owakatanhan*, *ik'otanhan* 'beyond, across', *ilazata* 'behind', *isak'ib* 'beside', *isanp'a* 'beyond, more than', *islayatanhan*, *isleyatanhan* 'on the right of', *it'ab* 'straight after, directly after', *itaglahwetanhan* 'downwind of', *itohanyan* 'some distance from', *itokagatanhan*, *iyokagatanhan* 'to the south of', *it'ahena* 'on this side of' [in time or space], *it'ankal* 'outside', *it'ehanyan* 'far from', *it'okab* 'in front of, before', *iwanqab*, *iwanqal* 'above', *iwaziyatahan* 'to the north of', *iwiyohtyanpatahan* 'to the east of', *iwiyohtpeyatahan* 'to the west of', *iyaglagla* 'along the side of', *iyagle* 'up till, up to', *iyakanl* 'on', *iyaza* 'between, among, from one to the other', *iyec'el* 'like, resembling', *iyehan*, *waiyehan* 'at the time of', *iyehanyan* 'as far as, as much as', *iyena* 'as many as', *iyohlat'e* 'under', *iyohlogya* 'through (of a narrow passage), by means of', *iyokogna* 'between [with animate plural objects, derivable from *oko* 'space'], *ogna* 'through', *iyopteya* 'through, past'.

In a sense this type of postposition is infinitely derivable, since potentially any adverb, especially one relating to time or space, can form a postposition by means of the prefix *i-*.

Two other postpositions occur, which are derivatives of *etanhan* 'from'. These are *ec'iyatanhan* 'according to, from the point of view of' and *tantanhan*, or *un tantanhan* 'for the sake of'.

A further set of words, which are basically plain stems of verbs, being used in a participle like construction, can be regarded as in a transitional state to postpositional status. These include:

iyuweh 'across' (of a river, sea) « *iyuwega/ibluwega* 'cross over', *ohomni*, *aohomni* 'around' « *ohomni/owahomni*, *aohomni/aowahomni* 'go around', *aoptel* 'less than' « *aopteca* 'be less than', *únyan* 'without, leaving behind' « *únyan/wauñble* 'mislay, leave behind', *yuha* 'with, having', « *yuha/bluha* 'have'.

6.3. Use with the personal pronouns

There are a number of ways of marking a personal pronoun object of a postposition. As the 3rd person singular pronoun is unmarked this concerns only the other persons. The independent pronoun may be used in the same way as a noun preceding the postposition. So parallel to *mila un* 'with a knife', we have *miye un* 'about me'. Other strategies are for the person marking to be shown by a patient marking prefix on the postposition itself or on the verb. Items which follow the independent pronoun are *etanhan* 'from', *un* 'about', *étkiya* 'towards', with' as in *miye un* 'about me', *miye etanhan* 'from me', *miye étkiya* 'towards me'.

The majority take the patient marking prefixes *mi-* 'me', *ni-* 'you', *un(k)-* 'us' and *wic(a)-* 'them'. The form of the 1st person prefix is basically *mi-* and that of the 2nd person *ni-*. However the *-i-* vowel merges with the initial *i-* occurring in some postpositions, as in *mic'iyela* « *mi-ic'iyela* 'near to me', while a *-y-* glide is interposed between the *-i* of the prefix and initial *a-*, *e-* and *o-* vowels as in *niyop'eyapi* « *ni-op'eya-pi* 'in company with you (plur)', *miyak'anl* « *mi-akanl* 'on me'. The postpositions concerned include *égna* 'among', *ogna* 'through, by way of', *op'eya* 'in company with' and all those showing the prefix *i-*, if they take

an animate object. Note that the 1st plural prefix *uŋ(k)-* occurs without its attendant *-pi* suffix to mean 'we' inclusive or exclusive. Examples include *mic'iyela* 'near to me', *wic'egna* 'among them', *mihakab* 'behind me', *uŋkogna* 'by way of us', *wic'iyohaŋ* 'among them', *miyohomni* 'around me', *niyop'eyapi* 'in company with you (plur)', *misak'ib* 'beside me', *mit'okab* 'in front of me', *miyakaŋl* 'on me', *miyohlat'e* 'under me'.

A number of the basic postpositions denoting very fundamental locative and directional meanings may also show their object by a patient marking prefix on the accompanying verb. This usually only happens with verbs of movement and physical attitude like *ya/ble* 'go', *iŋyaŋka/waimnake* 'run', *iyotaka/iblotake* 'sit', *omani/omawani* 'walk, travel' and *najiŋ/nawajiŋ* 'stand'. The postpositions concerned are *kic'i* 'with' (of one person), *ob* 'with' (of more than one person), *ekta* 'to', *akaŋl* 'on', *el* 'in' and *mahel* 'in'. Examples are *kic'i mauŋ* 'he was with me', *ob niuŋpi* 'they were with you (plur)', *akaŋl mayanke* 'he sat on me', *ekta mauŋ* 'they came to me', *el mahipi* 'they arrived near me', *kic'i uŋniuŋpi kte* 'we will be with you', *ekta c'iu kte* 'I will come to you'. Note that *ob*, which only takes a plural object, does not always show its object in the verb as in *ob iyaye* 'he went away with them'. See also 4.6.2. for a parallel placing of the prefix with the plain stem.

With the items shown, the above is the preferred construction. With certain others, however, both constructions are used in parallel as in *wic'ik'iyela uŋpi*, *ik'iyela wic'auŋpi* 'they are near to them', *wic'ohaŋ iyaye*, *ohaŋ iwic'ayaye* 'he went among them' BG 273-4, *egna wic'awahpaye*, *wic'iyegna wahpaye* 'I am lying among them' Pu 171. Items like *ohomni*, *aohomni* 'around' and *yuha* 'with' mentioned above, which are transitional between verbal and postpositional status, when marking their object with a prefix, show the more typically verbal prefix *ma-* for 1st singular as in *omahomni iyaye*, *aomahomni iyaye* 'he is going around me' and *mayuha omani* 'he is travelling with me' Pu 164.

The postposition *etanhaŋ* is idiosyncratic in its behaviour in that it takes the verbal prefixes *ma-* and *ni-* to refer to a referent, which is not the object of the postposition as in *Waŋbli ematanhaŋ* 'I am from Wambli', *Waŋbli enitanhaŋ* 'you are from Wambli'. For this reason it is possible to regard it as being partially a verb. However its use with the independent personal pronouns is unlike most verbs as in *miye etanhaŋ* 'from me'.

The above should not be regarded as an exhaustive account of the postpositions, since Lakota provides the possibility of using the plain stem in a way which makes it very similar to a postposition, especially when the prefixes *i-* and *a-* are present. A more detailed account is given in Pustet (2000), especially as regards the marking of the object.

7. Adverbs

Adverbs are an important word class in Lakota with a very wide application. There are two types of adverb, primitive and derived. Primitive adverbs are words of adverbial function, which cannot be derived from verbs. Derived adverbs of general manner meaning are derived mainly from verbal stems, but in some cases also from nominal stems, either by the addition of the suffixes *-ya*, *-ye*, *-yela* or *-yakel*, also *-kiya*, *-s'e* and *-kel* or by the use of the plain stem, either in its truncated or non truncated form. The suffixes *-ya* and *-yakel* show the variants *-yaŋ* and *-yaŋkel* in nasal environments. The form with *-ya*, *-yela* is often used in places where English would use adjectives (see below 7.10.).

The plain stem can also occur in places where it qualifies a verb and as such resembles an adverb. However here it is in fact a subordinated verb and is more akin to a participle. For more detail on this point see 4.6.2. **Plain stem usages** and 12.2.1. **Plain stem embedding**. Nevertheless illustrative examples will be given here. Note that many time phrases in Lakota are not adverbs, but embedded sentences such as *hiŋhaŋŋa ki* 'when it is morning, in the morning', *wetu k'uŋ hehaŋ* 'when it was spring, last spring'.

Adverbs of location are formed from words denoting locations by the suffixes *-ta* and *-takiya*, the first for location at, the second for direction towards. The intensive suffixes *-s* and *-h* commonly occur with adverbs as in *átayaš* 'at all', *héc'es* 'thus', *t'aŋniš* 'already', *t'oeyas* 'first, before', *héc'ehci* («*héc'el*») 'thus', *šogyehi* («*šogya*») 'strongly, severely'.

There is no specific place for the adverb in the sentence, though it will often precede the verb, which will usually be in final position as with *mni hmuyaŋ* and *mak'op'oya* below:

<i>ec'el Lak'ota ki</i>	<i>Mnišoše op'aya</i>	<i>mni hmuyaŋ ku-pi</i> BO 106
so Lakota Top	Missouri along	water buzzing come-Plur
'so the Lakotas came along the Missouri splashing through the water.'		

<i>taku waŋ</i>	<i>mak'op'oya</i>	<i>nauŋ u</i> BD
something one	dust cloudingly	gallop come
'something came galloping in a cloud of dust.'		

7.1. Primitive adverbs

These include many time and place adverbials such as:

átaya 'entirely', *átayaš* 'at all', *ece*, *ecee* 'habitually, constantly', *ecela* 'only', *ehaŋkec'uŋ* 'definitely', *inila* 'quietly', *kaabeya* 'in all directions', *kaiyuzeya* 'a way off', *k'iyela*, *k'anyela* 'nearby', *kitaŋla* 'a little, somewhat, barely', *lila* 'very, very much, energetically', *t'ahena* 'on this side', *takomni* 'definitely, obligatorily', *tanyaŋ* 'well', *t'éhaŋ* 'far away', *toksa* 'soon, in good time', *uŋnahela* 'suddenly', *uŋnayehci* 'possibly', *wana* 'now', *wáŋcag* 'straight away, immediately'.

7.2. Manner adverbs formed with *-ya*, *-ye*, *-yaŋ*, *-yela*

-ya *ahec'elya* 'fairly, middling', *ahwayela* 'quietly', *ak'oketkiya* 'in the opposite direction', *amašteya* 'warmly', *anahmeya* 'secretly', *átayela* 'entirely', *áwicak'eya* 'truly, really', *...c'oya* 'lacking...', *hiŋyaŋsya* 'sternly', *icahtaŋya* 'in touch with', *ic'ic'uwa* («*ic'ic'uya*») 'sincerely', *inahmeya* 'secretly', *ituya* 'in vain', *...kaŋya* 'in the form of...', *katiŋyeya* 'directly', *mak'op'oya* 'in a cloud of dust', *napiyusya* 'controlling', *ocosya* 'warmly', *oh'aŋk'oya* 'quickly', *nup'inqaskaya* 'together, jointly', *šicaya* 'badly', *úŋsiya* 'poorly, wretchedly', *waipaweŋya* 'improperly', *waŋkatuya* 'high up', *waš'agya* 'strongly', *wašteya* 'well', *wiŋyeya* 'ready', *witaya* 'together, as a group', *wóc'et'uŋglaya* 'marvellously, miraculously'.

-ye *ic'it'ogyey* 'differently, diversely', *t'ogyey* 'in a different way'.

-*yaŋ* Note that many of these involve the negative suffix *-sni*: *ec'iŋsniyaŋ* 'thoughtlessly', *ec'uŋp'icasniyaŋ* 'impossibly', *glakiyaŋ* 'transversely', *hohop'icasniyaŋ* 'immovably', *inahniyaŋ* 'quickly, hurriedly' *it'ac'anyaŋ* 'in a chiefly manner', *iyec'ecasiyaŋ* 'unfittingly', *katiyaŋ* 'directly', *kic'ošniyaŋ* 'uninvited', *kiksuyesniyaŋ* 'thoughtlessly', *mak'a maniyaŋ* 'on foot', *ohiŋniyaŋ* 'always, for ever', *okošniyaŋ* 'without spaces', *slolyesniyaŋ* 'unknowingly', *sniyaŋ* 'coldly', *tók'ašniyaŋ* 'unconcernedly', *t'aŋiŋsniyaŋ* 'invisibly', *waektašniyaŋ* 'improperly', *wak'aŋyaŋ* 'in a sacred manner', *wap'et'ogt'uŋyaŋ* 'miraculously', *yasupišniyaŋ* 'illegally', *yuasnip'icasniyaŋ* 'incurably', *yuk'ešniyaŋ* 'being without, lacking', *yuonihanyaŋ* 'with all due ceremony'.

-*yela* *haakabyela* 'superficially', *hmuyela* 'hummingly' (as of people talking excitedly), *igluhuk'uc'yela* 'modestly', *kiŋsyela* 'whizzingly' (of rain, bullets), *mahetuya* 'deeply', *p'oyela* 'mistily', *skayela* 'whitely', *šiyela* 'whizzingly' (of rain, bullets), *t'oyela* 'bluely', *wasagyela* 'easily, cheaply'.

-*yakel* *s'agyakel* 'strongly, steadily', *wap'et'ogyakel* 'miraculously'.

-*yaŋkel* *it'ac'anyaŋkel* 'in a chiefly manner'.

7.3. Manner adverbs formed with *-kel*

inahnikel 'quickly', *lilakel* 'very', *nahmakel* 'secretly'.

7.4. Manner adverbs formed with *-kiya*

it'ac'aŋkiya 'in a chiefly manner', *nunpakiya* 'in two ways', *otakiya* 'in many ways'.

7.5. Manner adverbs formed with *-s'e*

ataŋ s'e 'silently, motionlessly', *inahma s'e* 'secretly', *winuŋhcala s'e* 'in the manner of an old woman', *wotoka s'e* 'immovably'.

7.6. Other forms

Some adverbs, which may or may not be relatable to verbal stems, do not show any of the above affixes and are not formed from the plain stem. Examples:

áwicak'ehaŋ 'truly, really', *ec'aŋni* 'soon', *ehaŋni* 'long ago', *inahmeyahaŋ* 'secretly', *iwaštela*, *iwaštegla*, *iwaštelaŋci* 'slowly, easily', *k'ohaŋ* 'meanwhile', *lec'ala* 'recently', *nahmala* 'secretly', *t'aŋkal* 'outside', *t'aŋniš* 'already', *t'oeyas* 'first, before', *tóhaŋni*, *túŋweni* 'never', *uŋnahaŋsna* 'occasionally', *waŋkal* 'high up'. The items *ec'aŋni* 'soon', *ehaŋni* 'long ago', *k'ohaŋ* 'meanwhile', *tóhaŋni* and *túŋweni* 'never' are derived from the circumstantial stem *-*haŋ* Time.

7.7. Locational adverbs with *-ta*, *-takiya*

These can refer to location in space or time.

Space: *c'okata* 'in the middle', *hec'etkiya* 'in that direction', *hektakiya* 'backward', *hoc'okata* 'in the camp circle', *heyata* 'in the mountains, away', *itokagata* 'in the south', *K'aŋgi Wic'ašata* 'in the land of the Crows', *mahpiyata* 'in heaven, in the sky', *mak'ata* 'on the earth', *Mnišošetakiya* 'towards the Missouri', *t'ahenakiya* 'in this direction', *t'iyata* 'at home', *t'iyatakiya* 'towards home', *wazyata* 'in the north', *wiyohiyapata* 'in the east', *wiyohpeyata* 'in the west', *wazyatakiya* 'northwards'.

Time and space: *hékta* 'behind, in the past', *ohaŋketa* 'finally', *t'ahenakiya* 'in this direction, since then', *t'okata* 'ahead, in the future'.

7.8. Plain stem usages resembling adverbs

Full form

ehake 'finally', *inahni* 'quickly, hurriedly', *inihaŋ sni* 'fearlessly', *itok'a sni* 'unconcernedly', *jo* 'whistling'.

Truncated

hec'el 'like this', *hel* 'there', *hehaŋl* 'then', *ic'iak'ilehanyaŋ* 'equally with each other', *ic'icawiŋh* 'crosswise', *iŋyaŋ* 'running', *kaiteb* 'diagonally', *kinil* 'almost', *lehanyaŋ* 'far away, in a foreign land' (possibly from the circumstantial stem **-hanyaŋ* Extent), *manil* 'on the prairie, away from camp', *nauŋg* 'galloping', *paslal* 'standing upright', *tóhuŋwel* 'sometime', *waipaweŋ* 'improperly', ...*wanil* 'lacking, without...', *woslal* 'standing upright', *yupsil* 'jumping'.

7.9. Complex phrase adverbs

Some adverbs involve phrases or embedded sentences followed by the suffix *-ya*. Examples are:

c'aŋte waštaya 'well in the heart, happily', *c'aŋte kic'uŋyaŋ* 'sincerely', *šungmanitu oyašmiŋyaŋ* 'with wolves gnawing at one's bones' (as when killed in battle), *woc'aŋte iyap'aya* BT 105 'with the heart beating', *yuwegapi iyec'ecasiyaŋ* 'unbreakably' as in *yuwegapi iyec'ecasiyaŋ kagapi* BT 346 'they made it unbreakably, to be unbreakable'.

7.10. A note on adverb usage

Adverbs in *-ya*, *-yela* are often used in a construction with the existential verbs *-haŋ/he* or *-yaŋka/e* 'be in a place' to describe an object. Here they are, in terms of usage, equivalent to English adjectives. This is particularly common with colour expressions. Examples are:

paha ki waŋkatuya he 'the mountain stands highly' i.e. 'the mountain was high', *taku waŋ skayela he* 'something stood whitely' i.e. 'there was something white there', *enana taku k'eya sapsabya hiyeya* 'things were scattered blackly here and there' i.e. 'there were black things scattered here and there' Del 223, *mak'op'oya he* 'dust cloudly it stood' i.e. 'there was a cloud of dust'.

Adverbs can also occur with nouns as in *taku waŋkatuya* 'something high up' i.e. 'important', *t'ipi ipasotkaya* 'a house high up' i.e. 'a conspicuous, tall house'. It may be that the true interpretation of these phrases is that a verb has been omitted so that they are derivable from 'a house (standing) high up'.

8. Conjunctions

Two types of conjunction can be distinguished: conjoining and subordinating. The first type joins main sentences together, while the second type comes at the end of a subordinate clause and joins it to a following main clause. Certain types of subordination are also signalled by the topic marker *ki/k'uŋ* (see 12.2. Complex sentence). Generally in Lakota main clauses are always joined to each other by a conjunction. However there is some difficulty in some cases in deciding whether a conjunction is a conjoiner or a subordinator. For instance in the passage

mioh'aŋ ec'etu ŋni eša, mioh'aŋ waŋji oc'ic'u kte BT 387
'although my deeds are not very useful, I will lend you one of my deeds'

The two main parts are joined by *eša* after which there is a slight pause. If we put a comma to mark the pause and treat the whole as one sentence, *eša* is treated as a subordinator with adversative meaning equivalent to 'although'. However, even with the pause, we could treat both halves as main clauses and regard *eša* as an adversative conjoiner equivalent to 'nevertheless'. I have taken the first course in the description, but feel that the division is not as plain as in many languages. This is also true in the case of causal connections between sentences as mentioned below.

8.1. Conjoining conjunctions

Common conjoining conjunctions and conjoining phrases are:

c'a, c'aŋke 'so, consequently', *he uŋ, he uŋ etaŋhaŋ* 'for that reason', *hec'eca eša, hec'ac'uŋš*, 'in spite of it being thus, nevertheless', *hec'eca uŋ, hec'el uŋ* 'because it was thus, therefore', *ho, iho, hoh* 'so, then', *it'o, it'oš* 'so, then', *k'ohaŋ* 'meanwhile', *k'eyaš, eyaš* 'but', *na* 'and', *nak'uŋ* 'also', *ška* 'however', *tuk'a, tk'a* 'but', *yuŋk'aŋ* 'then, subsequently'. Combinations occur such as *ho c'a* 'so, consequently', *ho yuŋk'aŋ* 'so then', *ho eyaš, hoh eyaš* 'so but'. Certain adverbs are also used to join sentences such as *hec'el* 'thus, so', *hehaŋl* 'then, at that time', *ohaŋketa* 'finally', *wana* 'now'.

Lakota has two constructions used to link sentences with a causal relation, corresponding to English 'because'. Both of these resemble conjoinings rather than subordinations, since the cause sentence follows, whereas in Lakota a subordinate clause would normally precede. In Lakota the two elements *ic'iŋ* 'because' and *c'aŋke, c'a he uŋ, he uŋ, c'a hece* 'so, because of this, therefore' are used either alone or in combination. Consider the following examples:

- taku ki le* *wašteyela iyacu kte...* *c'a he uŋ c'icahi ye*¹¹ DIF
something Top this peacefully you-take Fut so that for I you-bring
'you will take this thing peacefully...so therefore I have brought it to you.'
- tuktel euŋpa-pi* *t'aŋiŋ ŋni* *c'a hece* BH 296
where put-Plur be plain Neg so therefore
'because I do not know where they have put him.'
- wak'anyeja waŋ* *t'oká t'uŋ-pi ki lel* *lila c'eye* *ic'iŋ loc'iŋ*
child one first bear-Plur Top this-in much cry because be hungry
ki he uŋ Stol
Top that for
'when a child is first born, it cries much because it is hungry.'
- Wasicuya na Lak'otiya* *owa-pi c'iŋ-pi* *ic'iŋ lehaŋ wak'anyeja*

¹¹ *ye* declarative sentence particle. For this and other particles of similar function see 11.4 below. These occur in the examples below occasionally, but will not be given a gloss.

English and Lakota write-Plur wish-Plur because now child
uŋ-pi ki lena ota *Lak'ota ia-pi hce ŋni* Stol
live-Plur Top these many Lakota speak-Plur Int Neg
'they wanted to write it in English and Lakota, because many of the children who live now do not speak Lakota properly.'

In the above 4. shows only *ic'iŋ* 'because' joining the two sentences, while 1. shows one of the expressions meaning 'therefore' joining them. Sentence 3. shows *ic'iŋ* joining two sentences, while *ki he uŋ* 'for this reason' comes at the end of the whole construction. Finally in 2. the sentence is in isolation, but shows *c'a hece* 'for that reason' at the end. Sentences which end with *c'aŋke, c'a he uŋ, he uŋ, c'a hece* and the like seem to imply a further element such as *hec'etu* 'it is thus' i.e. *c'a he uŋ hec'etu* 'it is for this reason that it is thus'. These different types of construction seem to be freely variable with no difference in meaning. It is however difficult to decide whether they should be regarded as subordinations or conjoinings.

8.2. Subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions introduce conditional clauses, time clauses and certain other miscellaneous types. As stated earlier the task of distinguishing a structure consisting of main plus subordinate clause from one of two conjoined main clauses is not as easy in Lakota as it is in English. This is because the subordinating conjunction type element, which links the preceding subordinate clause to the following main clause, in some cases looks very similar to a sentence initial adverbial. Thus of the following sentences 1., 2. and 3. are equivalents of 'when they arrived, we went away', while 4. is more strictly 'they arrived and then we went away'.

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | <i>tohaŋ u-pi</i> | <i>k'uŋ hehaŋ</i> | <i>uŋkiyayapi</i> |
| | when come-plur | Top then | we-go away |
| 2. | <i>u-pi</i> | <i>k'uŋ hehaŋ</i> | <i>uŋkiyayapi</i> |
| | come-plur | Top then | we-go away |
| 3. | <i>u-pi</i> | <i>hehaŋ</i> | <i>uŋkiyayapi</i> |
| | come-plur | then | we-go away |
| 4. | <i>u-pi</i> | <i>na hehaŋ</i> | <i>uŋkiyayapi</i> |
| | come-plur | and then | we-go away |

All four of the above are functionally the same and function more like 'when they arrived, we went away'. Note also that, not being primarily a written language, the subordination or lack of it is not made clear by punctuation as it would be in English. This is partly due to the fact that *hehaŋ* is both an adverb meaning 'then' and also a component of the subordinating element *k'uŋ hehaŋ* the equivalent of 'when'.

8.2.1. Conditional clauses. Conditional clauses can be formed with the topic marker *ki/k'uŋ* as shown in 12.1.4.2. **Conditional clauses formed with *ki/k'uŋ*.** They are also formed with the conditional particles *ehaŋtaŋš* 'if' in open conditions and *yúŋkaŋš, yuŋš, kayuŋš, k'es* 'if' in counterfactual conditions. Counterfactual conditional sentences often show the irrealis particle *tk'a* in the main clause and may then show one of the open conditional particles. The irrealis marker *tk'a* may be preceded by the future marker *-kta/e*.

Open conditions
is eya *wóglaka-pi c'iŋ-pi* *haŋtaŋhaŋš* *ec'uŋ-pi* BO 120
3rd Foc speak-Plur wish-Plur if do-Plur
'if they themselves wish to speak, they do'.

Counterfactual conditions

wac'in̄ka un̄kaŋs hehaŋni hci un̄nikte-pi ...kta tk'a Del 249
I-wish if then Int we-you-kill-Plur Fut Irr
'if I had wanted to, we would have killed you all right then.'

Iya t'akpe i-pi s̄ni yun̄kaŋs oyate ki lehaŋhuŋniyaŋ
Iya attack come-Plur if people Top till now
t'ebwic'aya-hiŋ-kta tk'a Del 5
them-devour-Cont-Fut Irr
'if they had not come to attack Iya, he would have devoured all the people by now.'

8.2.2. Time clauses. These involve subordinating conjunctions, and also time adverbials. They distinguish general time, habitual repetitive occurrences, future and past time. Conjunctions include the T-words¹² *tóhaŋ* 'when' (past, actual), *tohaŋl* 'when' (future, potential), *tohaŋyaŋ* 'until', *ic'un̄haŋ* 'while', *ca'ŋna (s̄na)* 'whenever', *(e)haŋtaŋ* 'since' and the adverbs *haŋ*, *hehaŋl* and *héhaŋ* 'then', *hcehaŋl* 'right then', *hehaŋtaŋ* 'since then', *hehaŋyaŋ* 'up till then'. All of these follow the verb of the subordinate clause. Examples:

With conjunctions

tuwa t'a ca'ŋna iyec'ala hektakiya gli BO 102
someone die whenever straight after [it] back come
'whenever someone dies, immediately afterwards he comes back.'

wana un̄ taku kte kta iyukcaŋ ic'un̄haŋ... BT 145
now with [it] what kill Fut think while
'now while he was thinking what to kill with it...'

oyate wic'icaga haŋtaŋ Lak'ota ki witayela un̄-pi Del 253
people Coll-grow since Lakota Top together are-Plur
'since the Lakota people originated, they have lived together.'

With adverbs

na wana aŋpao hcehaŋl... BO 104
and now dawn right then
'as soon as it became dawn...'

suŋkawak'aŋ k'u-pi s̄ni haŋ it'okab awic'ap'a-pi na hehaŋl
horse give-Plur Neg when before them-strike-Plur and then
wic'ak'u-pi BO 110
them-give-Plur
'before they gave the horses, they counted coup on them and then they gave them (the horses).'

With conjunctions and adverbs

tohaŋl yau kta he-hanyaŋ le-l maŋkiŋ kte lo
when you-come-Fut that-till this-in I-sit Fut
'I will stay here until you arrive.'

8.2.3. Miscellaneous types. These include the adversative conjunctions *yes* and *esa* 'although' and the indirect question marker *heci* 'whether'. The latter can occur with the wh-questions and statements as well as with the open question, as shown in the first three examples below. Examples

¹² For further details on the T-words see 10.1.

ot'un̄waheta yiŋ kta heci iyun̄ga-pi BT 367
city-Loc go Fut whether ask-Plur
'they asked him whether he would go to Washington.'

tok'esk'e wa-eyiŋ na ec'etu heci hena okiyake BH 39
somehow Ind-say and be thus whether those tell
'he told him how he had spoken and how it had become true.'

tona c'aŋte pahloka-pi wo-igl-aka-pi heci hena BT 217
some number chest pierce-Plur Refl-speak-Plur whether those
'those many people who had made a vow to perform the Sundance...'

woyute k'un̄ hena tuwa t'ebya heci he omayakilaka-pi
food Top those somebody eat whether that you-me-say-Dat-Plur
s̄ni ki, nit'api kte lo BH 151
Neg Top you-die Plur Fut
'if you do not tell me who ate that food, you will die'

he-s nila yes wahteyala s̄ni k'un̄ Del 204
that-Int you-ask for although you-like Neg Top
'although he asked for you (in marriage), you did not like him'.

aŋpetu tona ap'e-pi esa hec'ena t'e BT 113
day some wait-Plur although straight away die
'although they waited some days, he soon died.'

9. Pronouns

Lakota has personal, interrogative and demonstrative pronouns. The latter are dealt with under 5.1. The personal and interrogative pronouns will be dealt with here.

9.1. Personal pronouns

Lakota has independent and prefixed personal pronouns. The independent pronouns are used for emphasis in most cases, but also preceding some postpositions as in *miye akaŋl* 'upon me'. The pronoun system distinguishes number, but not gender and the first person plural distinguishes exclusive and inclusive. The exclusive is dual and refers to speaker and addressee only, while the inclusive indicates speaker and others without restriction, whether 2nd or 3rd person. The animate plural suffix *-pi* marks plurality in the 2nd and 3rd persons and inclusivity in the 'we' forms. The personal pronouns are indicated within the verb by prefixes and the suffix *-pi* (see 4.1.). There are two independent pronoun sets, of which one is a true pronoun, while the other has something of the characteristics of a verb stating the pronoun as a predicate. The true pronoun does not show the animate plural marker *-pi* and thus does not strictly distinguish plurality/inclusiveness. These are shown below.

True pronoun

<i>miš</i>	'I'
<i>niš</i>	'you'
<i>iš</i>	'he, she, it, they' (sometimes pronounced and written <i>iŋš</i>)
<i>uŋkiš</i>	'we'

Predicative pronoun

sing, exclusive		plur, inclusive	
<i>miye</i>	'it is I'	<i>niyepi</i>	'it is you (plur)'
<i>niye</i>	'it is you (sing)'	(<i>hena</i>) <i>epi</i>	'it is they'
(<i>he</i>) <i>e</i>	'it is he, she, it'	<i>uŋkiyepi</i>	'it is us (incl)'
<i>uŋkiye</i>	'it is us (excl)'		

The 3rd person members of the set, *e* and *epi*, occur frequently in company with the demonstrative pronouns such as *he* 'that' and *hena* 'those'.

The difference of these two sets lies in their usage. The true pronoun is used in a contrastive function with other pronouns and often occurs in company with the focus marking particle *eya* as in *miš eya* 'I on the other hand'. Other examples include *niš tok'el eniciya hwo* 'what did he say to you', *niš* or *niš tog* 'how about you'¹³, *tuktel niŋapi kte ki miš eya hel maŋapi kta wac'iŋ* 'where they bury you, I wish them to bury me' B 252. The sequence *iš eya* often introduces a new participant as in *c'aŋke iš eya Jacob ihakab h'aŋhiya kupi* 'so they in turn followed Jacob slowly' BH 32.

The predicative pronoun on the other hand can occur as a predicate as in *he miye yelo* 'it is me', *he miye c'a wahi yelo* 'it is me that has come', *wic'aša waŋ waŋlaka yac'iŋ ki he miye* 'I am the man you wanted to see', *Ate miye c'a umaši yelo* 'Father requests me to be the one to come', and commonly occurs when a person tells his name as in *Hiphaŋ Hota he miye* 'I am Grey Owl'. It also occurs when wishing to emphasize the personal pronoun, although it is already represented in the verb as in *miye wac'iŋ ŋni yelo* 'I don't want it' and with the enclitic *k'o* 'also' as in *miye k'o* 'me too'. The 3rd person member occurs more frequently than the others and will often be equivalent to the word 'is, are' in English as in *le mit'aŋksi e yelo* 'this is my little sister'.

The use of these two sets is shown by the following examples from White Hat (1999: 164-5): *Duane miye nahaŋ niye uŋkič'opelo* 'Duane invited me and you', *Missionta mniŋ ktelo*

¹³ Most of the examples in this section are taken from White Hat (1999) especially pp 164-5.

'I'm going to Mission', *Miš eya* 'Me to', *Missionta mniŋ ktelo*. *Niš ?* 'I'm going to Mission. What about you?', *Haŋ, miš eya* 'Yes, me too', *Missionta mniŋ ktelo* 'I'm going to Mission', *Miye hok'uwa mniŋ ktelo* 'I'm going fishing'.

Note also the usage *niš niye* 'it's up to you', *miš miye* 'it's up to me'.

Further emphatic pronouns are formed with the emphatic suffixes *-š*, *-hci*, *-ha*, as in *miyeš* 'me by contrast' and *niyeš* 'you by contrast', *miyecuhci* 'I at least', *niyecuhci* 'you at least', *miyeha* 'I instead', *niyeha* 'you instead', *iyeha* 'he instead'. Example:

it'o miyeš le bluha kte 'I, on the other hand, will marry him' (if my sister won't) BO 1

9.2. Interrogative and interrogative-indefinite pronouns

There are three interrogative pronouns in Lakota, of which two are in fact interrogative-indefinite pronouns. The interrogative-indefinite pronouns are used in statements with indefinite meaning and in questions with *wh-* meaning. These have been termed *T-* words by Rood and Taylor (1976: 3-15 and *passim*) as they all show an initial *t-*. In most cases they show initial stress. They are shown below glossed with both the interrogative and indefinite meaning, where applicable. They are similar to the non-specific function of the non-verbal type of the circumstantial stems described under 10.1. below. Note that the items *táku* and *túwa* would in English often be translated as 'thing' and 'person', though there is no such distinction in Lakota.

1. <i>táku</i>	'what, something, thing'
2. <i>túwa</i>	'who, someone, person'
3. <i>tukte</i>	'which'

The pronouns *táku* and *túwa* also show derived plural and negative forms *takuku* 'things' and *tuwepi*, *tuweweka* 'persons, people', *tákuni* 'nothing', *tuwéni* 'nobody'. Examples are given below showing their use as *wh-* words or interrogative pronouns on the one hand and as indefinite pronouns on the other. In their *wh-* function they are used with the interrogative sentence marker *-hwo*, *-he*. Examples:

Interrogative *wh-* use

taku yac'iŋ hwo 'what do you want?', *tuwa t'awa hwo* 'who does it belong to?', *tukte waŋji yac'iŋ hwo* 'which one do you want?'

Indefinite use

taku zi cistila waŋyaŋke 'he saw something small and yellow' BT 16, *takuku ota* 'many things', *taku ki obluspe* 'I have caught the thing', *taku ki hu ki kahuhuppi* 'they gashed the thing's legs' BO 3, *na ak'e tuwa kic'i bla* 'and again I came with someone' BT 293, *lena tuwepi ki c'aje wic'ablatiŋ kte eyaš...* 'I would name these persons, but...' LE 18, *yuŋk'aŋ tuweweka wana Oglala el mac'iŋpi ŋni* 'then some people did not want me to be among the Oglalas' LE 18, *tuweweka ota anic'ip'epi eyaš yahi ŋni* 'many people waited for you, but you did not come'.

Negative use

takuni bluha ŋni 'I have not got anything', *tuwéni waŋblake ŋni* 'I did not see anyone'.

When an open question i.e. one involving the answer 'yes' or 'no' involves one of the pronouns *taku* or *tuwa*, slightly different forms are often used, namely *takuŋl*, *taku waŋji*, *tuwa waŋji* and *tuwehci* as in *takuŋl yac'iŋ hwo* 'do you want something?', *taku waŋji waŋlaka hwo* 'did you see something?', *tuwa waŋji waŋlaka hwo* 'did you see someone?' The above sentences involve in Lakota a distinction between 'actual' and 'potential' meaning referred to under 15.1. below.

10. Circumstantial stems

Lakota shows a set of stems, which are basically verbal in nature, occurring in two forms, a full form and a truncated one. They are of wide application in the language occurring in a number of different word classes. As a group they involve reference to time, place, quality, number, extent and other areas which are less easy to label and correspond to what have been called 'circumstantials' by some linguists (see Fillmore 1994). They occur in three functional types connected with a set of preformatives which determine the relationship of the stem to the rest of the sentence. These are (i) a prefix *to-*, with less frequent form *tu-*, denoting non-specificity, (ii) a prefix *iyē-* denoting function as a relator to a noun and (iii) the demonstrative pronouns *le*, *he* and *ka* mentioned above denoting specificity. Not all of these stems show an equally elaborate array of functions, but the system in its full form can be shown as below:

<p>to- Non-specific</p>	<p>iyē- Relational</p>
Circumstantial Stem	
he-, le-, ka-, (e-)	
Specific	

The elements *to-*, *iyē-* and *he-*, *le-*, *ka-*, *(e-)* have the following functions.

(a) The non-specific marker *to-* produces elements, which in English would have the preformative 'some-' or 'any', either as adverbs, pronouns or as verbs and which in interrogatives can produce wh-questions.

(b) The relational marker *iyē-* produces relators which take a noun phrase or nominalized element as their anchor and may be either postpositions or verbs.

(c) The specific markers *he-*, *le-*, *ka-* produce either adverbs or verbs involving the concept of deixis. The element *e-* is a generalized demonstrative meaning 'the/that aforesaid' and is no longer productive. It appears below in a number of items such as 10.1.3.2. *ec'etu* 'happen thus' and 10.1.8.3. *etu* 'be there'.

The verbs formed from these stems are a specialized type of stative verb which do not have the capabilities of forming related words such as verbal nouns with the prefixes *wo-* and *o-* to the same extent that other stative verbs do. The intimate relationship of these items with the relational element *iyē-* and with the deictic elements *he-*, *le-*, *ka-* and the fact that they span the different word classes of verb, adverb and postposition in a kind of morphological "constellation" (see Jones 1979 *passim*) makes them part of a specific sub-set of stems rather than of the general verbal lexical stock. Because of their intimate relationship with the demonstrative pronoun set, they are often treated under the heading of demonstratives (see Boas & Deloria 1941: 114-24 and Ingham 1998 *passim*).

In each of the three main functions of specific, non-specific and relational, the non-truncated stem produces a verb, while the truncated stem produces the more periphery sentence functions. The periphery function of the truncated form of the non-specific and specific member is, for the majority of stems, adverbial. However for stem 4. **-nakeca*, *-nakca* Number, the function of the truncated form is glossed here as pronominal, since it can stand as an argument of the verb 'so many'. It may be however that the English translation of these forms makes them look more different than they are, as *tona* 'so many' can also

mean 'so many times'. Nevertheless I will retain the designation of 'pronoun' for the sake of simplicity of description. From the point of view of syntactic analysis the truncated form appears in subordinate clause position or in positions of adjacency¹⁴, while a non-truncated form appears in main clause position. This means that these pairs are parallel in function to other similar pairs of stems which may be verbal such as *skata/skal-* 'play' or nominal such as *c'ante/c'anj-* 'heart'. In these the truncated form occurs when the verb is subordinated to another verb or when the noun is incorporated into a verbal expression.

10.1. Meaning of the stems

The stems occurring are given below, showing basic and truncated stems where these occur and noting the most common denominator of their meaning. The truncation in the case of 2., 3. and 8. involves the consonant changes *t* » *l* and *c* » *l* observed in the truncation process with verbs, as in *skata/skal-* 'play', *hleca/hlel-* 'tear', *kaleca/kalel-* 'split'. Variant forms of the stems are also noted.

	Basic stem	Truncated stem	Meaning
1.	-k'a	--	quality, occurrence of a problem
2.	-k'eca	-k'el ¹⁵	quality, occurrence of a problem
3.	-k'etu, -ktu	-k'el	occurrence
4.	-nakeca, -nakca	-nake, -na	number
5.	-han'eca	-hanyar, -hanyela	extent
6.	-han'tu, -han'wetu	-han, -hun, -hin	time
7.	-k'iyetu	-k'iya	direction, undefined location
8.	-ktetu, -etu	-ktel, -el	defined location

The circumstantial stems in the non specific function, when showing the prefix *to-*, become members of group of words mentioned earlier, known in Lakota studies as T-words, which can be described as interrogative-indefinites. There are, however other T- words which are not treated as members of the circumstantial group since they do not show either the basic and truncated forms or the same range of functions as the latter. These are *taku* 'what, something, thing', *tuwa*, *tuwe* 'who, some one, person', *takuwe*, *takole* 'why' and *tukte* 'which', of which *taku*, *tuwe* and *tukte* are referred to earlier under 9.2.

As an illustration of how the system works, let us consider the Stem 2. *-k'eca*, *-k'el* having reference to quality: This reveals the following system:

(a) Non-Specific	(i) Verb <i>tok'eca</i>	'be like something, somehow'
	(ii) Adverb <i>tok'el</i>	'like something, somehow'
(b) Specific	(i) Verb <i>hec'eca</i>	'be like that, be thus'
	(ii) Adverb <i>hec'el</i> ¹⁶	'like that, thus'

¹⁴ See 2.2. Stem truncation and 12.2.1. Plain stem embedding.

¹⁵ In the truncated form the distinction between stem 2. and 3. is no longer maintained.

¹⁶ I subsume under the use of *he-* all three of the productive deictic markers *he-*, *le-* and *ka-*, of which *he-* is the most general.

- (i) Verb
iyec'eca 'be like, similar to...'
- (c) Relational
- (ii) Postposition
iyec'el like..., similar to...'

Notice here velar fronting of *k'* following *-e-* to *c'* as in *tok'el* 'somehow', *hec'el* 'like this', *iyec'el* 'like, similar to' etc.

The non-specific item, the T-word, such as *tok'el* given here, can in certain interrogative sentences have the wh- function so that *tok'el* can bear the meaning 'how' as in *tok'el eniciyapi hwo* 'how are you called'. However the meaning of the T-word is somewhat less simple to define than that of the specific and relational forms when in interrogative structures. This is because, with the latter, the addition of the interrogative elements *-hwo* and *-he* gives a yes/no question as in *hec'eca* 'he is like that', *hec'eca hwo* 'is he like that', while the T-form occurring in an interrogative structure produces a wh- question as in *tok'ia iyayapi hwo* 'where did they go off to'. In contrast, the function of yes/no question with 'some-' or 'any-' is in some cases served by an entirely different set of T- forms such as *takuŋl*, *taku waŋji* 'something, anything', *tuwehci*, *tuwa waŋji* 'someone, anyone', *tok'iyetu c'a*, *tuktetu c'a* 'somewhere anywhere', *tohaŋhci* 'sometime, anytime, ever.'

The prefix *iy-* occurring here can be related to the locative prefix *i-* of instrumental or relational meaning and the generalized demonstrative *e-* separated by an epenthetic *-y-*. The locative prefix *i-*, as is mentioned under 4.4., relates one entity to another often being translatable as 'about' when accompanying verbs as in *i-woglaka* 'talk about'. It is important to note that, although the relational function implies an item for the relational verb or postposition to relate to, there may not always be an NP present in the sentence. In these cases there will be an understood 3rd person, 'him, her, it', which is always unmarked in Lakota. These are represented within square brackets in the gloss as for instance '[it]'.
 In certain examples it will be noticed that Lakota employs a correlational structure in which the main and subordinate clauses each show one of the stem derived elements. Either the first is non-specific and the second specific as in the example under 10.1.5.4. *tohaŋyaŋ ista yeyapi hehaŋyaŋ pte au* 'as far as the eye could see, thus far the buffaloes were coming' or the first non-specific and the second relational as under 10.1.2.6. *tok'el ec'uŋ c'isipi ki iyec'el ec'uŋ po* 'as I have ordered you to do, so shall you do'.

The basic set of circumstantial stems in their three functions is shown below, giving examples of the usage of each.

10.1.1. **-k'a* quality, occurrence of a problem. The stem **-k'a* occurs only in the non-specific and specific functions and mainly has verbal function, although specific adverbial function occurs rarely as shown in 10.1.1.3.

10.1.1.1. Non specific verb. Generally the non specific *tok'a* will mean 'something is wrong, something happens' in statements and 'what is wrong' in questions. Examples:

tok'a c'a *ate ihpeya* *uŋgniŋ kta he* BT 90
 something wrong so father leave we-go-Fut Interr
 'how can we go and leave father behind'.

Here the element *tok'a* combines with the conjunction *c'a* 'so' to produce the meaning 'how' or sometimes 'why'. *Tok'el* can similarly be combined with the postposition *uŋ* 'for, because of' to mean 'why, for what reason'.

ena *glakiŋyaŋ* *najiŋ c'a* *lila* *k'ute-pi* *eša*
 there crosswise stand so very shoot-Plur although

i-tok'a sni BT 209

Rel-be the matter-Neg

'he stood right there cross wise and although they shot at him many times, he was unaffected.'

In this example *tok'a* is combined with the relational prefix *i-* meaning here 'because', to mean 'be somehow because of something' i.e. 'be effected by'.

Hiya, owekis *tok'a kte sece* BT 25.

No lest

something happen-Fut-Poss

'No, I hope nothing will happen perhaps.'

10.1.1.2. Specific verb. The specific verb has the meaning 'be of this kind or class of thing'. Examples:

uŋjiŋjiŋtka-hu ki *hec'a* *waŋ uŋ* *ite opta* *iyuh'eyaya* BO 1
 thorn-branch Top be of this kind one by face across scratch
 'with a sort of thorn branch he scratched her across the face.'

zuzeca *mnimahel uŋ-pi k'uŋ* *hec'a* *i-yataŋhaŋ*
 snake water in live-Plur Top be of this kind mouth-from

hiyu BO 109

come out

'a snake of the type which lives in water came out from his mouth.'

10.1.1.3. Specific adverb. The specific adverb means 'in this manner, thus'. Examples:

hec'ekc'e *wic'a-k'u-pi* BT 174
 thus them-give-Plur

'they gave to them thus and thus, ie 'different things to different people.'

This form *hec'ekce* is one of various reduplicated or augmented forms, here showing an element *-ka*. It is probably derivable from the alternative form of *hec'el* namely *hec'e* 'thus', giving *hec'e-ka-c'e*, with elision of *-e-* producing *hec'ekc'e*. BD gives the following relatable forms: *hec'ecaka* 'such a one', *hec'ehci* 'just so', *hec'ekc'eca* 'of such a sort', *hec'ekc'ec'eka* 'always such, bearing such a character', *hec'ekc'el* 'in this manner, just as', *hec'ekc'ekel* (reduplicated form of *hec'ekc'el*), *hec'ela* 'that alone, only that'.

10.1.2. **-k'eca*, **-k'el* quality, occurrence of a problem. The stems **-k'eca* and **-k'el* occur in all three functions. Generally *tok'eca* like *tok'a* above will mean 'something is wrong, something happens', although *tok'eca* can also have the meaning 'what kind' as in *he oowa tok'eca* 'what colour is it or 'what is wrong with its colour' (Col 19-11) and *he tok'eca he* 'what kind is it or 'what is wrong with it'. The forms *tok'el* and *tok'esk'e* occur in many contexts without any discernable difference in meaning with the meaning 'how or 'somehow'. The form *tok'esk'ekel* also occurs as shown under 10.1.2.2. below.

10.1.2.1. Non specific verb. The non-specific verb has the meaning 'be somehow, be the matter, be wrong' in statements and 'be how' in questions. Examples:

na eya *huŋh* *tok'eca-pi na* *gnaškiŋyaŋyaŋ-pi*
 and Foc some be the matter-Plur and rage-Plur

na *t'a* *hpaya-pi* BT 278

and die fall-Plur

'and some of them were effected and went into a mad rage and fell as though dead.'

wanjigjila t'i-ma awic'ai-pi c'a tok'eca-sni
 singly tipi-in them-bring-Plur so be the matter-Neg
glinap'a-pi na k'igla-pi BT 237
 come out-Plur and go home-Plur
 'one by one they took them into the tipi then they came out with nothing the matter with them and went home.'

hec'el nataŋ aglinajiŋ ki el tok'ece-la glihuŋni BT 154
 thus attack they-arrive Top at somehow-Dim he arrived
 'so when they arrived at the attack, he arrived coming slowly as one wounded.'

In the penultimate example *tok'eca sni* lit 'there is nothing the matter with' has the meaning of 'not ill, cured' and the last example shows a specialised use of the non-specific form *tok'eca-* with the diminutive suffix *-la* and implies either something being wrong with the person i.e. 'in some way so that one would suspect a weakness or injury' or purely that the event happened slowly. The base form, *tok'eca*, is that of the verb, but I take it here to be adverbial in function, as it cannot occur with the personal pronoun affixes. Notice that both of these are examples of the non-truncated stem in a subordinate clause, as referred to in 4.6.2. above. Both of them are, in a sense, 'frozen forms' occurring in specific meanings with the suffixes *-sni* and *-la*.

10.1.2.2. Non specific adverb. The non specific adverb means 'somehow', when in a statement and 'how' when in a question. Examples are shown giving first the use in statements and then in interrogative sentences when its *wh-* function is shown.

tk'a tok'el mak'oce ki isi cola wic'ak'i-pi kta
 but somehow country Top pay without them-take-Plur Fut
ik'owa-pelo BT 364
 fear-Plur
 'but they were afraid that somehow they might take the country from them without payment.'

k'eyas tok'esk'ekel ak'e naic'ispiŋ Del 67
 but somehow (Red) again free Refl
 'but somehow again he freed himself.'

wh- function

tok'esk'e wiyop'ewayiŋ kta hwo Del 106
 somehow I-deceive Fut Interr
 'how should I deceive him.'

10.1.2.3. Specific verb. The specific verb has the meaning 'be like this'. Examples:

anpetu lec'eca c'anna wic'asa okic'ize el uŋ welo BT 156
 day be like this when man battle in be
 'on a day such as this a man would go into battle.'

na unyaŋ-pi ki slolya-pi s'elec'eca BT 156
 and we-go-Plur Top know-Plur be as if
 'and it was as though they knew that we were going.'

In the last sentence *lec'eca* is combined with the suffix *-s'e* meaning 'like' to give the meaning 'be as if':

he-taŋhaŋ suŋkak'aŋ yamni ak'iyec'eca-pi c'a
 that-from horse three be like each other-Plur as

woc'et'unŋlaya c'a icu-pi Del 258
 miraculously as take-Plur
 'from then on they received miraculously three horses which were identical to each other.'

10.1.2.4. Specific adverb. The specific adverb has the meaning 'in this manner, thus'.

Examples:

he le hec'el slolwaya BT 249
 that this thus I-know
 'this thing I know thus.'

kahwoke ki lec'el iŋyaŋka-pi Del 150
 waft Top thus run-Plur
 'like a thing blown by the wind, thus they ran.'

ho Ikce Wic'asa kiŋhaŋ Wašicu ki nup'iŋ ak'ilec'elya
 so Indian Top Whiteman Top both like each other
oniwanjila-pi kta okihi-pi sni yelo DIF
 live the same-Plur-Fut be able-Plur Neg
 'so the Indians and White People cannot live both together in the same way.'

The prefix *ak'i-* which precedes *lec'elya* gives reciprocal meaning 'like each other', seen also under 4.4. **Locative Prefixes.** The suffix *-ya* is an adverb forming suffix (see 7.2.) which is superfluous in this case. Also occurring is *ak'iyec'ekc'elyakel* 'in about the same manner as each other'.

10.1.2.5. Relational verb. The relational verb has the meaning 'be like, resemble'. Examples

na p'a ki sunkawak'aŋ p'a ki iyec'eca hca tk'a nakpa ki ee
 and head Top horse head Top be like Int but ear Top in contrast
t'okeca, t'uki ha ki iyec'eca s'elec'eca BT 133
 be different shell skin Top be like be as if
 'and its head was just like a horse's head but the ears were different, and it was as though they were like the surface of a shell.'¹⁷

Here *iyec'eca* occurs again in combination with *s'elec'eca* mentioned above meaning 'seem':

huŋhuŋhe he uŋci si iyec'ekc'eca yelo Del 55
 ho this Grandma foot be like (Red)
 'ho this looks like Grandma's foot.'

Here the reduplicated form *iyec'ekc'eca* occurs with no apparent change of meaning if Deloria's translation is correct. However it may imply intensity i.e. 'this really seems to resemble grandma's foot'.

10.1.2.6. Relational postposition. The relational postposition has the meaning 'like, resembling'. Examples:

tok'el ec'uŋc'isi-pi ki iyec'el ecuŋ-po BT 191
 somehow do-I, you-bid-Plur Top like do-Imp Plur
 'do as I have ordered you to do.'

¹⁷ This interesting passage comes in an account of a discovery of the body of a prehistoric animal, probably a mastodon, which had been uncovered by heavy rain.

<i>c'ahli</i>	<i>ecela</i>	<i>oksu-pi ki</i>	<i>iyec'el</i>	<i>uwata na</i>
powder	only	load-Plur Top	like	I-shoot and

takuni-sni BT 210

nothing-Neg

'I shot like one who had only loaded the gun with powder (ie no ball) and nothing happened.'

10.1.3. *-k'etu, *-k'el occurrence. This element can be seen to be cognate with 10.1.2. *-k'eca, *-k'el shown above with the suffix *-tu* giving punctual or action significance rather than the state significance of the former. For this reason the non specific adverb function 1., specific adverb function 4. and relational postposition function 6. served by *tok'el*, *hec'el* and *iyec'el* shown above under 10.1.2.1., 10.1.2.4. and 10.1.2.6., could also be said to be part of this stem. In fact the pairing of the final *-tu* with *-el* is the more likely as it is also shown with stem 8. *-ktetu* and *-ktel*. So as to avoid repetition they will not be shown again here, but in fact *tok'el* 'somehow', *hec'el* 'like that' and *iyec'el* 'like, similar to' could be thought to refer to either quality or occurrence.

10.1.3.1. Non specific verb. The non-specific verb has the meaning 'happen somehow'.

Examples:

<i>he le wic'asa ki</i>	<i>lila wak'anj</i>	<i>taku</i>	<i>tok'etu kte</i>
that this man Top	very sacred	something	something happen-Fut

ci iyuha *slolya* BT269

Top all know

'this man was very sacred. He knew everything that was going to happen.'

<i>omnica ki</i>	<i>toktu hwo</i> WW 143
beans Top	something happen Interr

'how are the beans?'

<i>toniktuka</i>	<i>hwo</i>
something-you-happen	Interr

'how are you, how is it with you?'

In the example above *tok'etu* has the reduced form *toktu* and also shows a suffix *-ka*, which adds no difference of meaning. This is the normal way of asking after a person's health.

10.1.3.2. Specific verb. The specific verb has the meaning 'happen like this'. Examples:

<i>le</i>	<i>hec'etu na</i>	<i>oyate ki</i>	<i>wanyanjka-pi na</i>	<i>lila</i>
this	happen thus and	people Top	see-Plur and	very

it'unj-pi BT 249

be amazed-Plur

'it happened thus and the people saw it and were amazed.'

<i>tok'esk'e waeyinj na</i>	<i>ec'etu heci hena</i>	<i>wic'asayatapi ki</i>
somehow Ind-say and	happen thus whether those	king Top

iyuha okiyake BH 39

all tell

'he related to the king all the ways in which he had said things and they had all come true.'

In the last example and also under 10.1.3.3. below the form *ec'etu* occurs which shows the generalized demonstrative *e-* referred to above under 10. The forms with *e-* are difficult to distinguish semantically from those with *he-*.

10.1.3.3. Relational verb. The relational verb has the meaning 'happen like, happen as...'. Examples:

<i>tok'inj</i>	<i>mic'injksi</i>	<i>kak'el na kak'el</i>	<i>yuha ni</i>	<i>eya</i>
would that	my-son	thus and thus	have Juss	say

c'a iyec'etu Del 122

so happen like [it]

'he said- I wish that my son had this and that- and it happened in that way.'

The elements *iyec'etu* relational verb, *hec'etu* and *ec'etu* specific verb also bear the extended meaning 'to happen as is right, be correct' as also does *iyec'eca* above and can also take the meaning 'must, should'. The following examples illustrate this meaning:

wak'anj h'anj iyekicic'etu sni Del 102

sacred deed happen like-[it]-Ben Neg

'his sacred deeds did not turn out right for him.'

iho oh'anj emac'etu sni *eša* BT 342

so deed I-be correct Neg although...

'so although my skills are not perfected....'

hehanj iyukcaj-pi kta iyec'etu Col 117

now think-Plur Fut happen like [it]

'now they must think.'

winic'a c'a omayani kte ci hec'etu Del 109

man-you so walk-you Fut Top happen thus

'you are a man so it is right for you to go on a journey.'

10.1.4. *-nakeca, *-nakca, *-nake, *-na number. The feature of number is specifically mentioned in many cases in Lakota where in English it would not be i.e. a phrase like 'those people who...' would be rendered as 'those many people who...' since the element *tona* occurring in these expressions explicitly refers to number. Equally in a phrase referring to a number of years the element *-na* will be present as in *waniyetu 75 henamakeca* '75 those many years old I am' (10.1.4.3. below). In many cases *tona* can be translated simply as 'a few, a number of' as in *tona c'anj* 'a few days'. This *-na* plural marking element also occurs in the plural demonstrative pronouns *hena* 'those', *lena* 'these', *kana* 'those yonder' mentioned under 5.1. above. The verbal members *tonakeca* and *henakeca* can in some cases also function in the same way as the pronoun *tona*, whereas in others they are quite definitely verbal as shown by the use of the verbal plural suffix *-pi* and the personal pronoun affixes *-ma-* 1st person singular, *-ni-* 2nd person and *-un(k)-* 1st. person plural. Notice that forms with *-nakca* such as *tonakca* are fast speech forms of those with *-nakeca* such as *tonakeca*.

10.1.4.1. Non specific verb. The non specific verb in a statement has the meaning 'be of a certain number', while in the interrogative it has the meaning 'be how many'. Examples:

ho wana hoksila ki waniyetu tonakeca na... BT 27

so now boy Top winter be some number and

'so now the boy was a certain number of years old and...'

p'ejuta waj icu na tonakeca-pi owas'inj

medicine one take and be some number-Plur all

wic'ak'u BT 249

them-give

'he took some medicine and gave some to how ever many of them there were.'

Wh- function

<i>mazaškaŋskaŋ</i>	<i>tonakca -hwo</i>
clock	be some number-Interr
'what is the time.'	

We have here an example of *tonakca* as the equivalent of English 'how many', since the literal meaning of the sentence is 'how many is the clock', while under 10.1.4.2. *tona* serves that purpose. There is a certain freedom of choice between these two, which often obscures the verbal and pronominal distinction.

10.1.4.2. Non specific pronoun. The non specific pronoun has the meaning 'some number, several' when used with an accompanying noun or in the place of a noun. In the interrogative it will mean 'how many'. Examples:

<i>hec'el</i>	<i>wic'aša</i>	<i>tona</i>	<i>wak'aŋ-pi ki</i>	<i>owas'iŋ el</i>
so	man	some number	be sacred-Plur Top	all in
aya BT 190				
they-go				
'thus those many people who were sacred all came there.'				

<i>tona</i>	<i>c'aŋte</i>	<i>pahlōka-pi</i>	<i>woiglaka-pi heci</i>	<i>hena</i> BT 217
some number	chest	pierce-Plur	Refl-speak-Plur whether	those
'those many people who had made a vow to dance the Sundance....'				

<i>oyate</i>	<i>eya</i>	<i>tona-kiya</i>	<i>uŋ-pi ki</i>	<i>owas'iŋ</i>
people	some	some number-Loc	live-Plur Top	all
ok'iju... BT 250				
join up				
'the people who were living in different areas all joined together...'				

Here *tona* receives the locative suffix *-kiya*, which has the meaning of 'ways, directions' as shown also in the example *oŋpaye yamni-kiya* 'in three herds' under 10.1.4.3. below.

Wh- function

<i>waniyetu</i>	<i>nitona hwo</i>
winter	you-some number Interr
'how old are you'	

10.1.4.3. Specific verb. The specific verb has the meaning 'be this many'. It is used often when a specific number or amount of things is mentioned. Examples:

<i>na wana</i>	<i>lehaŋl</i>	<i>waniyetu 75</i>	<i>henamakeca</i> BT 198
and now	this time	winter 75	be this many-I
'and now at this time I am seventy five years old.'			

<i>oŋpaye</i>	<i>yamni-kiya</i>	<i>wic'ayuha-pi keye</i>	<i>gleskaska</i>	<i>eya</i>
herd	three-Loc	them-have-Plur say	dappled (Red)	some
<i>e-pi na</i>	<i>hiŋsaša</i>	<i>hena e-pi na</i>	<i>hiŋpahiŋ</i>	<i>henakeca-pi</i> BT 98
be-Plur and	sorrel (Red)	those be-Plur and	mousy	be this many-Plur
'they had three types of herd they say-there were dappled and sorrel and mouse coloured, there were those many.'				

10.1.4.4. Specific pronoun. The specific pronoun has the meaning 'this many'. It is used with an accompanying noun or in place of a noun. Examples:

<i>taku</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>iyeya</i>	<i>c'aŋke</i>	<i>el</i>	<i>etuŋwaŋ</i>
something	scatter	he send	so	in	he looks
<i>yuŋk'aŋ</i>	<i>henake hci</i>	<i>winawizi</i> Del 108			
then	this many Int	cockelbur			
'he scattered something, and when he looked at it, lo there were this many cocklebur'					

Here and in the next example *henake* bears the enclitic *-hci* giving intensive meaning.

<i>yuŋk'aŋ</i>	<i>henake hci</i>	<i>siyopi c'a</i>	<i>yup'iyela</i>	<i>wac'i-pila</i>	<i>sk'e</i> Del 19
then	this many-Int	teal as	nicely dance-Plur	Dim	Inf
'and then there were this many teals who were dancing nicely, it is said.'					

10.1.4.5. Relational verb. The relational verb has the meaning 'be as many as...' Examples:

<i>na ak'e</i>	<i>hiŋhaŋna el</i>	<i>ake ec'uŋ-pi na</i>	<i>ak'e</i>	<i>iyenakeca</i>
and again	morning in	again do-Plur and	again	be as many as [it]
<i>nac'eca</i>	<i>wic'ao-pi</i> BT 193			
probably	them-shoot-Plur			
'and again in the morning they did the same thing and again probably they shot the same number.'				

Here the free translation reflects a pronominal function. If, as I suppose, the function is really that of a verb, a more formally accurate and literal translation would be 'it was probably the same number as it that they shot.' Notice that under 10.1.4.6. below the same content from the same text is rendered with the relational postposition. Note also the prefix *i-* occurring in *iyena* and *iyenakeca* implying relation to some earlier mentioned item, in this case the unmarked 3rd person pronoun so that the literal meaning involves the pronoun [it] as shown in the gloss.

<i>ipahiŋ ki</i>	<i>el</i>	<i>p'ahiŋ</i>	<i>ak'iyenagnakeca</i>
pillow Top	on	quill	be as many as each other (Red)
<i>yuhaunŋk'iya-pelo</i> Del 195			
have-us-Caus-Plur			
'they caused us to have pillows in which the rows of quill embroidery were equal in number to each other.'			

In the above example the prefix *ak'i-* denoting reciprocity is the same as mentioned under 4.4.

<i>mak'a</i>	<i>okaŋwoke ki le</i>	<i>iyenanikeca-pi ktelo</i> BH 30
earth	drifting Top this	be as many as-you Fut
'you will be as many as the sands of the desert.'		

10.1.4.6. Relational postposition. The relational postposition has the meaning 'as many as...'. Examples:

<i>na wana</i>	<i>yamni caŋ</i>	<i>wac'i-pi na</i>	<i>iyena c'aŋ</i>	<i>mni</i>
and now	three day	dance-Plur and	as many as [it] day	water
<i>yatkaŋ-pi ŋni</i> BT 220				
drink-Plur Neg				
'and now they danced for three days and for the same number (of days) they did not drink water.'				

<i>na ak'e</i>	<i>iciyamni</i>	<i>ai na</i>	<i>ak'e</i>	<i>iyena</i>
and again	third	they-come and	again	as many as [it]
<i>wic'ao-pi na</i>		<i>agli</i> BT 193		
them-shoot-Plur and		they-go home		
'again they came a third time and again they shot the same number and went home.'				

10.1.5. **-haŋk'eca*, **-hanyaŋ*, **-hanyela* extent. With this stem the functions non specific verb, specific verb and relational verb occur, also non specific, specific and relational adverb. The diminutive suffix *-la* here adds no further meaning. Compare however *tok'eca* 'be somehow', *tok'ecela* 'slowly'.

10.1.5.1. **Non specific verb.** The non specific verb *tokaŋk'eca* has the meaning 'be of some distance, some length' in statements and in questions has the meaning 'how long is..., how far is...'. Examples:

tohaŋkeca *nic'u he* B&D 119
be some length you-give Interr
'how much in length did he give you?'

tohaŋmakeca *he* B&D 119
be some length-I Interr
'how tall am I?'

Notice that in the first example the Lakota sentence has a verb *tohaŋkeca*, whereas the English sentence has an interrogative adverb. This is often the case, where what would be a subordination in English is a main clause in Lakota. A more literal translation of the example might be 'how much in length is what he gave you?'

10.1.5.2. **Non specific adverb.** The non specific adverb has the meaning 'some distance, some length, some amount, to some extent' in statements. In interrogatives it has the meaning 'how far, how much'. Examples:

i-tohanyaŋ *ahinaŋiŋ* *t'ipi ki* *ohomni*
Rel-some distance they-come-stand tipi Top around
ataya BT 226
all
'some way off from it they came and stood all around the tipi.'

The prefix *i-*, here attached to *tohanyaŋ*, gives the meaning 'to some extent relative to a preceding referent.'

wana tohanyaŋ ya haŋ yuŋk'aŋ... Del 146
now some distance go-Cont then
'now he went on for a while and then...'

Wh- function

he le-taŋhaŋ tohanyaŋ t'i he Del 139
he this-from some distance live-Interr
'how far from here does he live?'

10.1.5.3. **Specific verb.** The specific verb has the meaning 'be this far, this long, this much, to this extent'. Examples:

uŋk'aŋ taku eya lehaŋhaŋk'eca, wic'iŋpa
then something some be this long (Red) cubit
hehaŋhaŋk'eca ik'oyaka keya-pi BT 20
be that long (Red) stick to [it] say-Plur

'and now they said that there were affixed to it some things which were this long, of a cubits length.'

The above forms are reduplicated from *lehaŋk'eca* and *hehaŋk'eca*. The reduplication marks the plurality of the objects referred to. No examples of the non-reduplicated form occurred in my material.

10.1.5.4. **Specific adverb.** The specific adverb has the meaning 'this far, this long, this much, to such an extent'. Examples:

yuŋk'aŋ tohanyaŋ ista yeya-pi hehanyaŋ
then some distance eye send-Plur that far
pte ki au BT 204
buffalo Top they-come
'then as far as the eye could see, thus far were the buffaloes coming.'

lehanyaŋ Pte Saŋ He Uŋyaŋpi eciya-pi BT 188
this far buffalo white horn we-go call-Plur
'until now it (the ceremony) is called 'We go to the White Buffalo Horn.'

yuŋk'aŋ huc'aŋ c'okaŋyaŋ hehanyaŋ ataya we
then shin in the middle that far all blood
ohaŋ BT 203
in-stand
'then his shin, as far as the middle (of it) was covered in blood.'

In the above we see an example of the correlational structure mentioned above under 10.1., where the specific adverb is used in the same way as the relational postposition, the more accurate translation being something like 'at the middle, that far.'

hehanyela owihaŋke
that far end
'this is the end.' (the conventional ending of story)

10.1.5.5. **Relational verb.** The relational verb has the meaning 'be as far as, as long as, as much as'. Examples:

iyemahaŋk'eca
me-be as long as' B&D 119
'I am as tall as he is.'

iyehaŋk'aic'iya DIF
be as long as-Refl-Caus
'he made himself the same length as him.'

10.1.5.6. **Relational postposition.** The relational postposition has the meaning 'as far as..., as long as..., as much as...'. Examples:

magaju mni waŋ cik'ala apsica-pi iyehanyaŋ c'a
rain water one be little jump over-Plur as far as as
yaŋka BT 246
sit
'there was a little rain pool small enough to jump across.'

takuni niyehanyaŋ t'aŋka ŋni BD 255
nothing you-as far as be big Neg
'nothing is as big as you.'

10.1.6. **-haŋtu*, **-haŋ*, **-haŋl*, **-huŋ*, **-hiŋ* time. The stem **-haŋtu* shows all functions expected. Two main forms are found of the stem, *-haŋ* for actual events and *-haŋl* for potential ones. This distinction is also marked by the two forms of the topic marker *k'uŋ* and *ki*. In the case of this stem, the stem *-haŋl* occurs mainly with future time reference and the stem *-haŋ* mainly with past time, though this is not always followed and the stem *-haŋ* is in some ways the unmarked member of the pair occurring in a wider set of

environments. A number of different vowels occur in the truncated stem, showing the effect of the vocalic environment.

10.1.6.1. Non specific verb. The element *tohaŋtu* 'be at some time, at a certain time', produces a considerable number of combinations such as *watohaŋtu waŋ el* 'at some time which was...'; *tohaŋtuka yuŋk'aŋ* 'there was a certain time then...'; *tohaŋtu c'aŋnašna* 'whenever there was a time'; *tohuŋwetuka c'a* 'there was a certain time when...'; *itohaŋtu yuŋk'aŋ* 'there was a time relative to what went before and then...'. Examples:

tohaŋtuka waŋ *lila* *t'i-yata* *gla* *c'iŋ* Del 60
be sometime sort of one very home-Loc go back wish
'so after a time she longed for home.'

tohuŋwetuka c'a *Lak'otata* *hi* *t'aŋiŋ šni* Del 159
be sometime sort of which Lakota-Loc come be clear Neg
'it is not known just when it (the story) came to the Lakota.'

ak'e i-tohaŋtu *yuŋk'aŋ* *houyiŋ na...* Del 254
again Rel-be sometime then call and...
'some time later the other called again.'

10.1.6.2. Non specific adverb. The non specific adverb has the meaning 'at some time, at a certain time' in statements and 'when' in questions. Examples:

na wana ungnahaŋšna *haŋwatohaŋl šna* *wac'i-pi* BT 220
and now occasionally night-Ind-sometime Hab dance-Plur
'and now from time to time they would dance sometime in the night.'

tohiŋni taku *hec'eca* *waŋyaka-pi šni* BT 19
never something be like that see-Plur Neg
'never had they seen anything like this.'

Lak'ota oyate ki *tohaŋ-taŋhaŋ ki* *itaziŋa na* *wahiŋkpe ki hena*
Lakota people Top sometime-from Top bow and arrow Top those
wowac'iŋ *yeya-pi* Del 106
trust send-Plur
'for some time the Lakota people have relied on the bow and arrow.'

Wh- function

tohaŋl *lec'etkiya* *yau kta hwo*
sometime here to you-come Fut Interr
'when will you be coming here?'

10.1.6.3. Specific verb. The specific verb has the meaning 'be at this time'. Examples:

na wana *wic'okaŋ saŋp'a* *hehaŋtu* *wana hoc'okam* *t'ipi waŋ*
and now noon more be that time now camp centre tipi one
el *kaga-pi* BT 248
in make-Plur
'and now it was the afternoon (and) now they made a tipi in the middle of the camp.'

ehake ya-hi ki *hehaŋtu* *c'a taŋyaŋ* *woniciyakiŋ kte* BT 294
finally you-come Top be that time so well speak-Dat-you Fut
'finally now is the time when you will come, so he will speak to you well.'

lehaŋtu ki na *huŋka ik'oze ki hena* *bluha yelo* BT 234
be this time Top and hunka wand Top those I-have
'at this time I now have the Hunka wands.'

wana eyaš *heuŋhaŋtu-pelo c'a* *wakpala ki el* *ku-po* BT 325
now so us-be that time-Plur so river Top at come-Plur Imper
'now it is our turn, so come down to the river.'

10.1.6.4. Specific adverb. The specific adverb has the meaning 'at this or that time, now, then'. Examples:

na lehaŋl *oc'aŋku ki oŋna* *hiyaya* BT 349
and this time road Top through pass by
'and now he passed along the road.'

hec'el hehaŋl *p'ejuta waŋ* *p'e-gnake k'uŋ he e* *c'a* *slolya* BT 375
thus that time medicine one head-put Top that is as know
'so then he realized that it was the medicine that he had put in his hair.'

10.1.6.5. Relational verb. The relational verb has the meaning 'be time for, be the right time, be due'. Examples:

na wana *aŋpetu waŋ el k'i-pi kte ci* *iyehaŋtu* *wic'okanyaŋ*
and now day one in come-Plur Fut Top Rel-be time at noon
t'oeyas *asniŋiya-pi* BT 187
first rest-Plur
'and now it was the time for the day when they should come, first they rested at noon.'

hec'el tohaŋl *iyehaŋtu ki* *oyate ki* *ataya ekta* *lapi kta* BT 197
so some time Rel-be time Top people Top all to you-go-Plur Fut
'so when it is the right time let all you people go there.'

hec'el wana *iyehaŋtu*
so now Rel-be time
'thus now it is time for [it].'

10.1.6.6. Relational postposition. The relational postposition has the meaning 'time for, the right time for...'. Examples:

wana k'ihuŋni *waiyehaŋl* *hiŋhaŋ hot'uŋ-pi* Col 103
now arrive Ind-Rel-time owl call-Plur
'and now when it was about time for them to arrive, they called like owls.'

10.1.7. *-k'iyetu, *-k'iya direction, undefined location. This stem shows only the functions non specific verb, non specific adverb and specific adverb.

10.1.7.1. Non specific verb. The non specific verb means 'be somewhere, be in some direction'. However it does not seem to be used in the phrase 'be from somewhere'. Here the truncated stem *tok'iya* is used as under 10.1.7.2. below. It is also used in the combination *tok'iyetu c'a* to mean 'somewhere' in questions. Examples:

tok'iyetu *c'a* *ilala-hwo*
be somewhere as you go away-Interr
'have you gone somewhere.'

10.1.7.2. Non specific adverb. The non specific adverb has the meaning 'somewhere, in some direction' in statements and 'where' in questions. Examples:

na el *wic'asa waŋ* *hi* *tok'iya-taŋ* BT 183
and at [it] man one come somewhere-from
'and there a man arrived from somewhere.'

tok'iya *iyaya* *t'aŋiŋ ŋni* Del 145
somewhere go away be clear Neg
'it was unclear where he went.'

Wh-Question

tok'iya *la-hwo*
somewhere you go-Interr
'where did you go.'

tonik'iya-taŋhaŋ hwo BD 498
you-somewhere-from Interr
'where are you from.'

10.1.7.3. Specific adverb. The specific adverb has the meaning 'in this place, here, in this direction'. Examples:

hec'iya *uŋ-pi*
in that place live-Plur
'they lived there.'

10.1.8. *-ktetu, *-ktel, *-etu, *-el defined location. This stem has the functions non specific verb, non specific adverb, specific verb and specific adverb, but lacks the relational functions. In the non specific functions the stem **-ktetu* occurs, while the stem **-etu* occurs for the non specific functions. The *-kt-* element in the non specific functions looks as though it may be a secondary development following the non specific formative *tu-*.

10.1.8.1. Non specific verb. The non specific verb has the meaning 'be somewhere'. Examples:

tuktetu ki *iyuha* *ole-pi* Del 157
be some place Top all seek-Plur
'they searched everywhere.'

Wh- function

wac'i-pi ki *tuktetu hwo*
dance-Plur Top be somewhere Interr
'where will the powwow be?'

10.1.8.2. Non specific adverb. The non specific adverb has the meaning 'in some place, somewhere'. Examples:

ak'e *tuktel* *istiŋma* BT 46
again in some place sleep
'again he slept somewhere.'

le he ki *egna* *tuktel* *mastiŋcala* *waŋ luta*
this mountain Top among in some place rabbit one be red
c'a uŋ we Del 158
as live
'and among those mountains somewhere a red rabbit lived.'

tukteni *ya-pi ŋni* Del 148
nowhere go-Plur Neg
'they went nowhere.'

Wh- function

tuktel *yaŋka-hwo*
in someplace sit-Interr
'where is it?'

10.1.8.3. Specific verb. The specific verb has the meaning 'be in this place, be here'. It only occurs in the 3rd person and refers to situations and events rather than objects. Forms without the demonstrative pronoun elements *le-*, *he-* and *ka-* also occur. Examples:

lel yau ki *letu ŋni ye* BT 297
here you-come Top be here Neg
'where you are coming is not the right place.'

mak'oc'e waŋ *t'okeya el* *wai k'uŋ he* *etu ŋni* BT 302
land one first in I-come Top that be place Neg
'the land which I came to first is not here.'

Wounded Knee District School gymnasium etu kta *keya-pe lo* Kili
Wounded Knee District School gymnasium be place Fut say-Plur
'they say it (the game) will take place at Wounded Knee District School gymnasium.'

le hiŋhaŋna ki *wouŋnic'u-pi kta* *c'a le paha ki* *ak'otaŋ*
this morning Top food we-you-give-Plur Fut so this hill Top beyond
ya-po, *hetu kte lo* BT 198
go-Plur-Imper be there Fut
'in the morning go to the other side of that hill so that we can give you food, it will be there.'

10.1.8.4. Specific adverb. The specific adverb has the meaning 'in this place, here'. Examples:

lel *yaŋke*
in this place sit
'he is sitting here.'

10.2. Further morphological elements occurring with the circumstantial stems

Certain affixes occur frequently with these stems. Many of these are basically verbal affixes which are explained in the description above and also referred to in 4. Verbs under 4.4., 4.5., 4.7.10. and 4.7.11. Very common ones are not mentioned here. Certain others are mentioned, because their meaning is different to that when used with other verbs or because they are not met with under verbs.

Prefixes

10.2.1. *ak'i-* a reciprocal prefix, mentioned under 4.4. above, producing items such as *ak'i-(y)ec'el* 'like each other', *ak'i-lehaŋyaŋ* 'as long as each other'.

- 10.2.2. *-ka/-ke* fronting also to *-ca/-ce* a formative of very general function as in *tohuwewetuka* 'some time', probably identical with the widely occurring verbal suffix *-ka/-ke* 'sort of, in a non-serious manner' mentioned under 4.7.10. above, as in *waste-ka* 'be all right, not bad'. This occurs in combination with Stem 1. **-k'a/-k'e* above to give Stem 2. **-k'eca/-c'eca*.
- 10.2.3. *wa-* an indefinite specific prefix which with verbs has the function of increasing the valency of an item (see 4.5. above) and with some circumstantial stems gives a more general or undefined meaning as in *wa-iyehaŋl* 'at about the time of' and *watohanyan* 'for some time'.

Suffixes

- 10.2.4. *-ni* a negative suffix occurring in such forms as *tohaŋ-ni* 'never', *tukte-ni* 'nowhere'. It combines also with the emphatic suffix *-s* (below 10.2.5.) to form the verbal negative suffix *-sni*.
- 10.2.5. *-s* an intensive suffix from which, by the Lakota process of sound symbolism mentioned under 1.7., a stronger form *-h* is also made, which itself combines with an element *-ca* or *ci* perhaps identical with the *-ca* of 10.2.2. to form a further intensive suffix *-hca, -hci*. The form *-s* occurs in many combinations such as *tok'e-s-k'e* 'somehow', *hec'e-s* 'thus'. The form *-hci* occurs in such items as *tok'e-hci* 'somehow', *hec'e-hci* 'just like that'.
- 10.2.6. *-yan/-ya* with its diminutive form *-yela* an adverbial suffix occurring often with no distinct addition of meaning with other already adverbial items as in *hec'el, hec'el-ya* 'thus', *hehanyan, hehanyela* 'this far' mentioned in 10.1.2.4. and 10.1.5. above.

Reduplication

Reduplication of these stems occurs frequently. Sometimes the function of the reduplication is plain, often signifying distributive or intensive meaning and at other times it seems to add little to the meaning. Examples include *tok'esk'ekel* 'somehow' and *hec'ekc'el* 'thus'.

10.3. Other derivations from the stems

Various other derivations are possible from the eight stems given above by the addition of further affixes and reduplication. The possible combinations are multitudinous and I will not attempt to account for them all here. The following is a selection of items of the specific adverb type involving the general deictic *he* 'that':

hec'egnala, hec'eglala 'just immediately after', *hec'egla, hec'eglala* 'only so far', *hec'ekcetuya* 'sort of this way here and there', *hec'ena* 'immediately after', *hec'etkiya* 'in that direction', *hec'etuya* 'approximately, sort of this way', *hec'iyap'ataŋhaŋ* 'further over in that direction', *hec'iyot'aŋ* 'over there, in that direction', *hehanyuŋniyan* 'up to that time', *hehantula hci, hcehaŋl, hec'antula hci* 'at just that very time', *hena* 'right there', *henagnakeca* 'this many of each', *hénana* 'here and there'.

10.4. Other formations from **-hanŋtu, -huŋwetu, haŋ(l), -huŋ, -hiŋ* Time

Numerous items occur related to this stem. I have not always explained the function of each constituent morph here, as most of them can be worked out by reference to what precedes. Many of them include the indefinite-particular prefix *wa-* and the general demonstrative element *e-*.

ehaŋni 'a long time ago', *ehaŋk'uŋ, ehaŋk'ehaŋ* 'in olden times' (showing the definite marker *-k'uŋ*, reduced to *-k'-* in the second item), *ehaŋtaŋ* 'already', *haŋwatohaŋl*, 'sometime at night' (*haŋ-* 'night'), *haŋwatohaŋtu* 'it was at a certain time at night', *haŋwahehaŋtu* 'it was the fixed time of the night', *hcehaŋl* 'at just that time' (*hce-* 'absolutely, exactly'), *hehanyagleya* 'even up till then', *hehantaŋhaŋ, kahaŋtaŋhaŋ* 'since that time', *iwatohaŋ, iwatohaŋtu waŋ* 'sometime later', *ohiŋniyan* 'for ever

always' (*o-* locative prefix), *owatohanyan* 'for some time now' (showing locative *o-* and *-yan* adverbial suffix), *tohaŋtaŋ* 'from a long time back, since the beginning' (both showing *-taŋ* a contraction of *-taŋhaŋ* 'from'), *tohaŋtu c'aŋna sna* 'every so often', *wahehaŋ* 'about then', *watohaŋsna* 'occasionally', *watuktehaŋ* 'suddenly', *watuktehaŋtu* 'now and then'.

The forms *ec'aŋl* 'at just that time', *ec'aŋni* 'soon' and *ec'antulahci* 'it was just at that time' also occur, which would seem to have a connection with this stem, but the significance of the *c'*-element is not plain.

10.5. Negative forms of the stems

As noted under 10.2.8. above a suffix *-ni* produces negative forms from the stems. These occur either in isolation or as components of a sentence, in which case the verb will bear the negative verbal suffix *-sni* mentioned under 4.7.20. The negative forms are *tóhaŋni, tóhiŋni, túŋweni* 'never', *tók'ani* 'in no way', *tók'iyani, tók'iyeni* 'in no direction, nowhere', *tukteni* 'nowhere', *tuktognani* 'in no manner'. Examples in sentences are: *tók'enis kic'izapi waŋjini el Lak'ota ki hec'el skaŋpi sni* 'the Lakota in no way behaved in this way in any battle' BO vii-1. The item *tók'ani* 'in no way' often has the implication of inability as in *tók'ani ec'uŋpi sni* 'they were in no way able to do it'.

11. Miscellaneous particles and affixes

Lakota is rich in particles, which introduce sentences and are of a modal type, in expressing the attitude of the speaker to the truth value of the sentence or the expectation of the speaker¹⁸. Some of them resemble adverbs in their meaning, but are not specifically tied to the verb in the way adverbs are. These elements are not cognate with any verbal or nominal stems, but often contain elements which resemble other bound or semi-bound morphemes such as pronouns or demonstratives. Some of these do not have direct equivalents in English and can only be understood in context. The intensive suffix *-hca/e/i* seen with verbs under 4.7.12. also occurs with nouns and adverbs, with meanings, which it is often difficult to find an exact description for. These can be treated under the headings of: a) exclamations, b) modal/attitudinal elements and c) the intensive suffix *-hca/e/i*.

11.1. Exclamations

The exclamations are elements, which stand in a sense as a whole utterance expressing an emotional state, although they are usually followed by a sentence indicating the reason for the exclamation. These include the following:

- 11.1.1. *ic'uwiŋskayaš, iyuwiŋskaš, iyuwiŋskaŋš* This adds emotional force and perhaps surprise and admiration to the sentence as in *ic'uwiŋskayaš wic'asa waŋ lila wiyukcaŋ lah* 'what a really thoughtful man' Col 61.
- 11.1.2. *waŋk'eya* This is an exclamation of surprise or derision as in *he wic'asa iteke lo...hoh waŋk'eya he t'ahca yelo* 'that looks like a man...oh really, no it's a sheep' Del 29.
- 11.1.3. *huhhuhhe*. An exclamation of surprise or regret as in *huhhuhhe le uŋci si iyec'ekc'eca ye lo* 'oh my, this seems to resemble grandma's foot' Del 55.
- 11.1.4. *hoh, hoh'eyas*. An exclamation which introduces a statement or question to which emotional weight is added as in *hoh tase wamablenica kac'as?! 'what, do you suppose that I am an orphan?!'* Del 109.
- 11.1.5. *sehaŋleš* 'too bad, what a shame' as in *sehaŋleš wana t'ak'olakupi ki ókiyapi c'a anaptep'ica šni* 'too bad now his friends help him, he cannot be stopped' B 347.

11.2. Modal/attitudinal elements

The modal attitudinal elements are syntactic components of a sentence, which can occur at different places in the sentence, although often showing a preference for one position. They include:

- 11.2.1. *sehaŋštuk'a, iyeštuk'a* 'on the contrary' as in *ho k'eyas maštiŋkiŋ iyeštuk'a lila wac'iqksapiŋ* 'but the rabbit, on the contrary, became very alert' BO 32.
- 11.2.2. *eš eš eš* 'on the contrary' as in *ho c'aŋnašna oŋna kignapi šni na eš eš eš tuktel yušnapi* 'occasionally they did not comfort them (the children) and on the contrary, left them alone' Stol; *eš* also occurs singly as a mild reinforcer 'indeed'.
- 11.2.3. *tase...kac'aš*. This indicates derision or dismissal of a ridiculous implication as in *tase le wac'icio kta waŋ kac'aš* 'do you suppose that I am the sort of person who will hunt for you' Del 119.
- 11.2.4. *ec'a...lak'a*. This introduces a rhetorical question and as such resembles 11.2.3. above as in *ec'a mišŋkala awaŋlag waŋ welak'a* 'am I my brother's keeper?' BH 11.
- 11.2.4. *tok'aš* 'probably'. This particle usually precedes the sentence and may combine with the suffix *-seca* as in *tok'aš k'igle sece* 'probably he has gone home' B 358.
- 11.2.5. *tók'inš, tók'ináš, tók'inahaš* 'I supposed, I thought' as in *tok'inš he wap'ostaŋ s'elec'eca, yuŋk'aŋ hec'a šni* 'I supposed it was a hat, but it was not' B 358.
- 11.2.6. *...huhše, ...huhšeca, ...iŋše* 'evidently, it appears'. This particle indicates that the information conveyed in the sentence has become apparent recently as in *anpetu lec'ecaka c'a mat'iŋ kte huhše* 'evidently I will die on a day something like this' Del 1,

¹⁸ These elements are dealt with in great detail in B 345-372.

wanik'aŋ šni tk'a iŋše t'at'aŋka p'izi waŋ ota latkaŋ 'you are not sacred, but apparently you have drunk deeply of buffalo bile' BT 190, *it'ac'aŋ ki wic'asa akaŋtu ia huhšeca* 'the leader (of the wolves) could apparently understand the language of human beings' Del 182.

11.3. The intensive suffix *-hca/e/i*

The three variants of this suffix occur occasionally as freely occurring suffixes adding a new meaning component to the word they follow and sometimes occur joined with stems, particularly nominal ones, or other suffixes in stable compounds to produce new words, where the stem, if standing alone, would have a quite different meaning. Examples of the latter include such items such as *nahaŋhici* 'still, yet' (from *nahaŋ* 'now'), *wic'ahcala* 'old man' (from *wic'a-* 'male human'), *winuŋhcala* 'old woman' (from *wi-* 'feminine', *nuŋ-* 'unidentified formative', *-la* 'diminutive'), *wanaŋhca* 'flower' (possibly *wa-* 'something', *na-* 'movement of its own accord'), *istaŋhca* 'have a sty' (*ista* 'eye'), *t'ahca* 'deer' (*t'a-* 'ruminant'). Other stable compounds are of a more expected type such as *waziŋhca* 'Black Hills spruce' (from *wazi* 'pine'), *p'iŋkpaŋhca* 'peak, tip' (*p'iŋkpa* 'end, top'), *hiŋhaŋna hci* 'in the early morning' (*hiŋhaŋna* 'morning'). Note also *-kte hci* a modal suffix meaning 'try' formed from the intentional future verbal suffix *-kta/e*.

They are particularly common with certain stems of a demonstrative nature and many combinations can be found which can be regarded as 'frozen forms' such as *hecaŋl* 'as soon as', *ec'uŋhici* 'at least'. In some cases where they occur with these stems, they seem to add nothing in particular to the unaffixed form as in *tok'el, tok'e hci* 'how'.

The variant *-hci* occurs more commonly with function words and common adverbs and postpositions such as *cik'ayehci* 'very slightly', *ehakehci* 'the very last time', *ektaŋhici* 'right there, genuine', *hec'ehci* 'exactly like this', *h'aŋhiyehci* 'very slowly', *ik'aŋyelaŋhici* 'very closely', *iyec'ehci* 'exactly like', *iyuhaŋhici* 'absolutely all', *mahetuyaŋhici* 'very deeply', *ognayehci* 'very closely', *otaŋhici* 'very many, most', *s'agyehci* 'very strongly, severely', *tanyehci* 'very well', *uŋgnayehci* 'very possibly'.

The variants *-hca* and *-hce* occur more commonly after content words and particularly after nouns, *-hca* being by far the most common. It is not possible to attribute a consistent meaning to this suffix in these cases, though often it gives the meaning 'real, genuine', 'important' or even 'very'. The following section shows sentence examples of the occurrence of *-hca* and *-hce*.

11.3.1. *-hca*

Lak'ota taku woec'uŋ-hca: wowakšupi naiŋš wowapi ki iyowic'apastakapi 'certain important Lakota customs, such as beading and painting they encouraged them in' Stol, *waŋspe-hca ki lena taku waŋ lila pasipi ki he...* 'one thing which these experts examined very much...' Stol, *t'atiye topa ki lena Lak'ota oyate ki wic'oh'aŋ-hca yawapi na wic'oh'aŋ-hca c'a oŋna manipi* 'the Lakotas considered the Four Directions to be an important custom (i.e. 'belief') and lived according to it as such' (lit 'as an important custom') Stol.

11.3.2. *-hce*

Lak'ota-hce pi ki huhŋ C'aŋnuŋpa t'ouŋ ki le atayaš gnuŋipi 'some real Lakotas (i.e. 'full bloods') had completely forgotten the way of the Pipe' Stol, *taku waŋ lila t'aŋka-hce ki le waŋyaŋkapi na hec'etulapi kte* 'they will see this to be a very great thing and will approve of it' Stol.

Note the following example, which gives incidence of all three variants in one sentence *takomni Lak'ota-hce ki le C'aŋnuŋpa t'awic'oh'aŋ ekta-hci ki lena ik'aŋyelaŋ-hce* 'certainly the real (full blood) Lakotas are very near to the genuine ritual of the Pipe' Stol.

An important use of *-hca/e* is with the verb *e* 'be', when it renders the meaning 'real, genuine' or sometimes 'main, important' as in: *taku waŋ e-hca yawapi ki he...* 'one thing which they considered important was...' Stol, *C'aŋnuŋpa e-hca waŋ el yaŋke sni ki he...* 'the fact that the real Pipe was not there...' Stol.

11.4. The declarative sentence markers *-ye, -yelo, -we, -welo* and *-ksto*

The Lakota declarative sentence can be marked by the sentence final particles *-ye* and *-we* for women and *-yelo* and *-welo* for men, with both men and women using the particle *-ksto*. The alternatives *-we* and *-welo* occur following the rounded vowels *-o, -u* and *-uŋ*. These particles are a feature of formal speech and may be dropped in informal speech, although *-ksto* is slightly less formal. They stand in contrast to the interrogative markers *-he* and *-hwo* and the imperative markers *-ye, -pe* and *-yo, -po*. The whole system can be shown as follows

	male speaker	female speaker
declarative	<i>-yelo, -welo, -ksto</i>	<i>-ye, -we, -ksto</i>
interrogative	<i>-hwo</i> (-he informally)	<i>-he</i>
imperative	sing <i>-yo, -wo</i>	<i>-ye, -we</i>
	plur <i>-po</i>	<i>-pe</i>

When the particles *-ye* and *-yelo* follow the animate plural marker *-pi*, they merge with it to produce the forms *-pe* and *-pelo*. Examples of the use of these suffixes are: *he miye yelo* 'it is me' (male), *he miye ye* 'it is me' (female), *hec'amun welo* 'I did this' (male), *hec'amun we* 'I did this' (female), *hipelo* 'they have arrived' (male), *hipe* 'they have arrived' (female), *he waste ksto* 'it is good' (male or female).

12. Sentence structure

The main division of sentences in Lakota is into verbal and non-verbal sentences. The verbal sentence contains a main verb, while the non-verbal type, which we will call an 'equational sentence' is composed of two nominal phrases which are semantically co-referent and where one is identified with the other. The translational equivalent in English would contain the verb 'be'. Sentences may then be described as simple or complex. A simple sentence has only one verb, if verbal, and only one equational structure, if equational. A complex sentence will have other sentences embedded in it as subordinate clauses. In Lakota the form of the subordinate clause is not very differentiated from that of the main clause and the subordinating elements are often postpositions rather than true subordinating conjunctions, although examples of the latter do exist.

12.1. Simple sentence

The definition of 'simple' is based on the presence of verbs or equational structures in the sentence and is not effected by the presence of periphery elements such as adverbs or conjunctions. The simple one clause sentence consists, if verbal, of a verb, which is the syntactic core of the sentence. The verb may encode arguments, which are represented by affixes on the verb and these may in addition be represented by noun phrases in the sentence. If equational, there will be only the two noun phrases involved in the equational structure. Examples of this first type are the following:

12.1.1. Equational sentences

Equational sentences are translatable into English with the verb 'be', while however there is no equivalent of the verb 'be' in the Lakota sentence. In these sentences there is no verb, only two nominal nodes which are semantically co-referent. Examples:

he Sic'angu Col 3-14
that Brule Sioux
'he is a Brule Sioux.'

hena k'anta Col 3-14
those plum
'those are plums.'

Esau mahkic'anye wic'asa nakuŋ wantanyeya BH 26
Esau farm man also marksman
'Esau was a farmer and hunter.'

hena mit'a-woyuha B&D 132
those my-possession
'those are my possessions.'

he mit'a-c'anunpa B&D 132
that my-pipe
'that is my pipe.'

le pte B&D 114
this buffalo
'this is a buffalo.'

hena Lak'ota-pi
those Lakota-Plur
'they are Lakotas.'

Note the presence of the animate plural marking suffix *-pi* in the last sentence. This only follows a noun if it is the second part of an equational sentence. Not all sentences translatable with 'be' are of the equational type. In fact there are a number of other equivalents of the verb 'be' in Lakota. These are described under 15.2. below.

12.1.2. Verb only structures

Sentences exist containing only a verb, with no nominal argument to the verb present in the sentence. Here the verbal arguments, which may be agent or patient, are indicated by the verb morphology as in the following examples:

1. *wana waŋc'iyāŋke*
now I-you-see
'now I see you.'
2. *toksa waŋmayalakiŋ kte*
soon you-me-see Fut
'soon you will see me.'
3. *nape kic'iyuswic'awak'iyē*
hand Rec-hold-them-I-Cause
'I caused them to hold hands with each other.'

In the above examples, the infix *c'i-* indicates 1st singular agent and 2nd person patient in 1., the infix *ma-* indicates 1st singular patient, while the complex infix *yala-* indicates 2nd person agent in 2. In 3. *kic'i-* indicates reciprocity, *wic'a-* indicates 3rd plural patient and *wa-* indicates 1st singular agent.

12.1.3. Verb plus argument structures. A more extended type of this same structure shows a verb and also nominal elements as arguments, which are encoded in the verb.

1. *oyate waŋ wic'o-t'i¹⁹*
people one Coll-encamp
'a people were encamped.'
2. *ehaŋni wic'asa waŋ t'a-wicu kic'i-la t'i* BO 3
long ago man one his-wife with-Dim live
'long ago a man lived with his wife.'
3. *atkuku-pi ki nup'iŋ anuŋnuŋ ihewic'aya-pi* BO 103
father-his-Plur Top both both sides them-shoot-Plur
'they shot each other's fathers from either side.'

In 1. the agent *oyate* 'people' is encoded by the prefix *wic'o-* indicating collective action by many. In 2. the agent *wic'asa* is unmarked in the verb, as is the rule with 3rd person singular, while in 3. *atkukupi* 'their fathers' is encoded in the verb as patient by *wic'a-*.

12.1.4. Topic and comment structures. Certain sentences can also be analyzed in terms of elements called topic and comment. This level of analysis sees the sentence in terms of information structure. In it the topic, represents given information, already known to the hearer. In the simple one clause sentence the topic will be a nominal element, while however in a complex sentence the topic may be a phrase containing a verb (see below 12.2.). The sentence may have more than one topic, as is shown below under 12.1.4.1.4. The comment, on the other hand represents information new to the hearer and may be either

¹⁹ This is the customary opening phrase to a story.

verbal or nominal. The normal order of the sentence is topic-comment. However, especially where the comment is verbal, the reverse order is sometimes found.

The topic is marked by a topic marker *ki* or *k'uŋ*, these also appearing in the alternative forms *kiŋ*, *ciŋ*, *kiŋhaŋ*, *ciŋhaŋ* and *hec'iŋhaŋ* for *ki* and as *'uŋ*, *k'uŋhaŋ* and *c'uŋhaŋ* for *k'uŋ*. The difference in the function of these two will be explained later. However for the moment note that *k'uŋ* and its alternative forms often mark a topic in the past time, whereas *ki* and its alternants can mark future time. The analysis into topic and comment makes the more traditional analysis of subject and predicate unnecessary in Lakota as the verb encodes agents and patients, both of which can stand in the traditional subject place in the sentence, as in *miš eya wak'u* 'I gave it to him' and *miš eya mak'uje* 'I am ill'. In the first *wa-* in *wak'u* encodes the agent 'I', while in *mak'uje*, *ma-* encodes the patient again translated as 'I' in English.

The comment may be either a verbal or a nominal element. In the examples in this section, the comment and its translational equivalent are underlined.

Verbal comments

tuŋwel anpetu wi ki ok'ise waniŋl aye BO 23
sometimes sun Top half not there become
'sometimes the sun becomes half invisible.'

oyate ki lila oiyokip'iyā t'i-pi BO 12
people Top very contentedly live-Plur
'the people were living very contentedly.'

suŋkak'aŋ ki ak'iŋkicat'uŋ-pi BO 11
horse Top saddle-Plur
'they saddled the horses.'

Nominal comments

wic'asa wap'iyā ki owe nuŋpa-pi BO 11
man cure Top kind two-Plur
'medicine men are of two kinds.'

le paŋa kī ak'otaŋhaŋ lila pte ota-pi BT 192
this hill Top beyond much buffalo be many-Plur
'beyond this hill there are many buffalo.'

In the above two sentences the comments are the noun phrases *owe nuŋpa* 'two kinds' and *pte ota* 'many buffalo'. They are followed by the animate plural marker *-pi*, which can follow nouns in the second part of an equation.

12.1.4.1. Types of simple phrase topic structure Topics may consist of simple phrases or embedded sentences. The second type, which is one of the type of subordinate clauses will be dealt with below under 12.2. **Complex sentences.** Simple phrase topics may be noun phrases or postpositional phrases. The topic will usually precede the comment, but there are examples of the opposite order. It is also possible to have more than one item in the sentence marked as a topic, though this is generally uncommon, except in argumentation or analytical discourse. In narratives and normal conversation this is less common. Examples are given below under these headings:

12.1.4.1.1. Nominal phrase topics

ha hehaŋl c'iŋca ki t'i-yata agli-pi
and then child Top home-Loc bring home-Plur
'and now they brought the son home.'

he-taŋhaŋ wanaŋi ki t'ateyaŋpa iyec'el aŋpetu c'aŋ omani-pi BO10
that-from spirit Top wind like day when walk-Plur
'from that time the spirits moved like the wind every day.'

In the above sentence the topics are the nouns *c'iŋca* 'son' and *wanaŋi* 'spirit'.

12.1.4.1.2. Postpositional phrase topic

le paha ki ak'otaŋhaŋ lila pte ota-pi BT 192
this hill Top beyond much buffalo many-Plur
'beyond this hill there are many buffalo.'

waepazo ki uŋ epazo ŋni; nap'ahuŋka ki he uŋ
index finger Top by show Neg thumb Top that by
ec'uŋ-pi BT 167
do-Plur
'they do not point at it with the index finger; they do it with the thumb.'

wana ihuŋhaŋna ki el oyas'iŋ iglaka-pi BO 10
now next morning Top in all move camp-Plur
'now on the next morning everyone moved camp.'

Here the topics are *le paha ki ak'otaŋhaŋ* 'beyond this hill', *waepazo ki uŋ* 'with the index finger', *nap'ahuŋka ki he uŋ* 'with the thumb' and *ihuŋhaŋna ki el* 'on the next morning'. Note that postpositional phrases, even when notionally definite, will often occur without *ki/k'uŋ*.

12.1.4.1.3. Topics in non initial position

lila woc'aŋte ŋica ak'ip'a-pi t'a-oyate ki BT 368
much sadness suffer-Plur his-people Top
'his people suffered much sadness.'

Here *t'aoyate* 'his people' is topic, but does not occur in initial position and follows the comment. This is not the most frequent order, but occurs with sufficient frequency to be regarded as a minor type.

12.1.4.1.4. Sentences with two or more topics. A sentence may also have two topics marked with *ki* as in

wana wic'ahcala ki le isnala wic'ot'i ki i-t'ehanyaŋ t'i
now old man Top this alone Coll-live Top Rel-far live
'now this old man lived far from the village.'

hehaŋ John Bride ki le... Lak'ota wouŋspeic'ic'iyē ki le ec'uŋ Stol
then J.B. Top this Lakota self teaching Top this do
'then John Bride...carried out the study of Lakota.'

Here both *wic'ahcala* 'old man' and *wic'ot'i* 'village' are marked as topic in the first sentence, while both *John Bride* and *Lak'ota wouŋspeic'ic'iyē* 'the study of Lakota' are marked in the second. Notice that in the second 'John Bride', although a proper name, does take the topic

marker in this example. This is not always the case with proper names, which, although they are notionally definite and can stand in the same position as a topic, will in most cases occur without it, as in *Miwak'aŋ-Yuha nignaye lo* 'Sword Owner has deceived you'. Names of tribal units or nations can however show them as in some of the examples below.

12.1.4.1.5. Notionally definite items not marked as topic. Often even where there is more than one noun in a sentence, which is definite in a semantic sense, only one is marked as the topic as in the following:

le Lak'ota ki ehaŋni Šahiyela iwakte a-gli BO 103
this Lakota Top long ago Cheyenne in triumph they-come
'the Lakota long ago triumphed over the Cheyenne.'

Lak'ota ki tohuŋwel K'ulwic'asa t'ipi ki el Omaha
Lakota Top once below man live-Plur Top in Omaha
wahowic'aya-pi BO 103
them-summon-Plur
'once the Lakota sent word to the Omaha in the land of the Lower Brule.'

Lak'ota ki ehaŋni Šahiyela na Sapa Wic'asa
Lakota Top long ago Cheyenne and black man
ob kic'iza-pi BO 103
with fight-Plur
'long ago the Lakota fought with the Cheyenne and the Utes.'

Lak'ota ki omak'a t'eca ihuŋni-pi c'aŋsna...SDL 90
Lakota Top year new reach-plur when...
'when the Lakota reached the new year...'

In the above, of the nation names, only *Lak'ota* is marked as topic. *Šahiyela* 'Cheyenne', *Omaha* 'Omaha', *K'ul Wic'asa* 'Lower Brule' and *Sapa Wic'asa* 'Ute' are not, although they are all equally definite in being names of Indian nations well known to the Lakota. The word *t'ipi* meaning 'home' is in this case marked.

12.1.4.2. Conditional clauses formed with *ki/k'uŋ*. The topic marker can present a clause as a topic. This topic is usually a nominalization and can be the agent or patient of a verb or be followed by a postposition. These types are dealt with below under 12.2.2. **sentence embedding**. However it is possible for a clause to occur in a sentence, usually at the beginning of the sentence, where it sets the conditions under which the proposition contained in the main clause can obtain. In this case it corresponds to a condition or a future time clause. In fact in these cases Lakota does not distinguish between the two functions. Examples:

wic'asa ki he hinguŋayaye ciŋhaŋ hehaŋyela ihpeuŋniyaŋ -
man Top that you-marry Top then we-you-cast out-
-pi kte lo BO 115
-Plur Fut
'if you marry that man, then we will cast you out.'

he heye ŋni kiŋhaŋ, wowanica tk'a na pte wanice tk'a BT 10
that say Neg Top shoot to nothing Irr and buffalo be none Irr
'if he had not said that, he would have shot them to extinction and there would be no buffalo.'

<i>t'okata</i>	<i>T'uŋkasila ekta</i>	<i>wai ki</i>	<i>iyaniŋlatiŋ kte</i> BT 356
later	Grandfather to	I-go Top	you-be found out-Fut
'later, when I go to the President (lit 'Grandfather'), you will be found out.'			

These sentences illustrate the wide use of the topic marker *ki/k'uŋ* as outlining the area over which a predication applies. In this case the predication in the main clause is outlined by the conditional clause marked by *ki/k'uŋ*.

12.1.4.3. General order of other elements in the sentence. As regards the position of other elements of the sentence, generally in Lakota the verb is final and is preceded by its arguments. Sentences are joined to each other by connecting particles or conjunctions. The most common of these are *na* 'and', *k'eyas* or *tk'a* 'but', *yuŋk'aŋ* 'then' and *hec'el* 'thus, so'. Time adverbials will often come in the next position followed by the topic and then by other noun phrases or a second topic as in the following:

<i>K'ulwic'asa ki</i>	<i>Mak'at'ipi</i>	<i>el iyuweh-taŋhaŋ</i>	<i>kaŋmi</i>	<i>waŋ el</i>
below man Top	earth home	in across-from	bend	one in
<i>wic'o-t'i</i> BO 103				
they-dwell				
'the Lower Brule lived across the river from Chamberlain at a bend in the river.'				

<i>yuŋk'aŋ hehaŋni</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>wana nake</i>	<i>wik'oŋkalaka</i>	<i>keye</i> BO 103
then at that time	mother now still	young girl	say	
'then at that time mother was now still a young girl she said.'				

12.2. Complex sentence

The complex sentence consists of a main clause with subordinate clauses. The structure of the main clause and subordinate clause are not markedly different from each other. A clause is only regarded as subordinate because it cannot stand on its own without a main clause. There are two methods of subordination used in Lakota. These are i) embedding and ii) the use of a subordinating conjunction. Embedding is done in three ways: i) the plain stem of the verb, identical in form to the 3rd singular, or sometimes a truncated form of this stem precedes another verbal form or a noun as a type of active participle, ii) a sentence is embedded as a nominalization in a higher sentence as an argument of the verb or the object of a postposition, very often followed by the topic markers *ki/k'uŋ*, ii) a sentence is embedded as a modifier of a noun phrase in a type of relative clause. Subordinating conjunctions introduce time clauses, conditional clauses and certain other miscellaneous types. These are dealt with above under 8.2.

12.2.1. Plain stem embedding. Where the basic stem of the verb, equivalent to the 3rd person singular, precedes a finite verb, it has a similar function to an English present participle in 'he came running' or 'we walked along talking together'. This type of usage is seen commonly, but not exclusively, with verbs of motion as in the following examples: *taku waŋ k'uwa k'uŋ ecela awac'iŋ iyotiyekiya omanipi* 'they travelled with difficulty thinking only of what they were following' BO 9 (*awac'iŋ* 'think about'), *wanasa uŋkiyayapi* 'we went away hunting buffalo' (*wanasa* 'hunt buffalo'), *suŋg ole omanipi* 'they went looking for horses' (*ole* 'seek'), *suŋg manuŋ omanipi* 'they went stealing horses' (*manuŋ* 'steal'),

Examples with non motion verbs include *yuzil okataŋ* 'he nailed it down stretched out' (*yuzica* 'stretch (sth)'), *c'eya yaŋkapi* 'they sat crying' (*c'eya* 'cry'), *yugug églaku* 'drawing it out, he took it' (*yuguka* 'draw out, unsheath'), *nah'uŋ imac'age* 'I grew up hearing it' BT 395 (*nah'uŋ* 'hear').

Plain stems can also precede a noun in which case they qualify it, producing a compound noun expression. Some of these are a type of occupational noun as in *wap'iya wic'asa* 'healing man, healer' (*wap'iya* 'heal'), *zuya wic'asa* 'warrior, raider' (*zuya* 'go on a raid').

Stems which end in the vowel *-a* preceded by a voiceless obstruent *-p*, *-t*, *-c* or *-k* or a voiced fricative *-z*, *-j* or *-g* form truncated stems in *-b*, *-l*, *-l* and *-g* and *-s*, *-s* and *-h* respectively in accordance with the rules mentioned under 1.5.3. **Stem final change.** These truncated stems are usually used when embedded. The following examples illustrate this: *iglag yapi* 'they went away on a migration' (*iglaka* 'migrate'), *yuslog icupi* 'they snatched it away' (*yusloka* 'pull out'), *naslog iblable* 'I dashed away' (*nasloka* 'flee quickly'), *maŋpiya gígíya kahwohwog ahiyaye* 'the clouds went drifting by brown in colour' BO 18 (*kahwohwoka* 'drift by'), *oc'iciyag wahi yelo* 'I came to tell you' BO 18 (*okiyaka* 'tell to (sby)'), *oglag lowaŋ* 'he sang relating ...' BO 104 (*oglaka* 'relate'), *wól-yuŋtaŋpi* 'they finished eating' Del 248 (*wóta* 'eat'), *t'alo yul uŋpi* 'they were meat eaters' BO 114 (*yuta* 'eat'), *ob kic'is uŋpi* 'they were at war with them' BO 103 (*kic'iza* 'fight').

These plain stems can often stand on their own, in which case they function as headless relative clauses i.e. *wic'asa wap'iya waŋ* 'a man who heals' can also occur as *wap'iya waŋ*, without the head word *wic'asa*, and mean 'one who heals'. In the plural the relative clause *wic'asa wap'iyapi eya* 'men who heal' would become *wap'iyapi eya* 'those who heal'. Of these two the first is indistinguishable in form from a noun phrase i.e. *wap'iya* could be a noun meaning 'healer', or a relative clause 'he who heals'. The second *wap'iyapi eya* is still a relative clause distinguished by the presence of the suffix *-pi* which occurs on verbs, but not on nouns unless they are occurring as the second part of an equational structure as in the example of *Lak'otapi* under 12.1.1. above. Where these stems occur frequently in this position they can occasionally begin to drop the *-pi* suffix in the plural, at which point it is difficult to tell if they are verbs or nouns and may gradually become attributive nouns of the type mentioned under 3.6. **Attributive nouns.**

12.2.2. Sentence embedding as a nominalization. Here a sentence is embedded as an argument of the verb or object of a postposition. This occurs in sentences which in English would often involve a verbal noun or the conjunction 'that' or the usage 'the fact that'. Here we will initially deal with those types of embedding which can involve the topic marker *ki/k'uŋ* and certain associated types necessarily dealt with for contrastive purposes. Other types are dealt with under 8.2. **Subordinating conjunctions.**

<i>wawahteuŋlapi sni</i>	<i>ki le</i>	<i>uŋgluska-pi kta</i>	<i>iyec'eca</i> Stol
like-we Neg	Top this	cleanse-we-Plur Fut	must
'we must cleanse this dislike which we have.'			

<i>anpetu waŋ el</i>	<i>wop'ila</i>	<i>luha ki le</i>	<i>waŋte ye lo</i> DIF
day one in	thanks	you-have Top this	be good
'it is good for you to have gratitude one day.'			

<i>taku otuyac'iŋ</i>	<i>ep'iŋ kte ki</i>	<i>ot'ehike</i> DIF
what in vain	I-say Fut Top	be-difficult
'it is difficult for me to say something in vain.'		

Here *wawahteuŋlapi sni* is the verbal form 'we dislike each other', *luha* is the verbal form 'you have' and *ep'iŋ kte* means 'I will say'. All of these are followed by the topic marker *ki* to make them nominal phrases. Where no particular agent or patient is involved in the verb, the animate plural suffix *-pi* can be used as an impersonal marker, which then means 'people do' or 'they do' as in:

<i>wauŋsila-pi waŋ</i>	<i>yuha</i>	<i>icaŋmayan-pi</i> LE 18
be kind-Plur one	have	me-rear-they
'they brought me up with kindness.'		

wetu wahehaŋl k'okic'ip'a-pi...k'uŋ he okablaja hiyu Stol
be spring when fear Rec-Plur...Top that clearly come
'in the spring that mutual fear cleared up.'

waayuta he sni ye; hec'uŋpi c'aŋna glugluka-pi ksto LE 4
look stand Neg; that-do-Plur when be rude-Plur
'don't stand staring: it's rude behaviour to do that.'

ec'el wana wokini-pi ki hec'etu welo BO 23
accordingly now shoot to life-Plur Top be-real
'accordingly the shooting back to life (of the sun) was realized.'

In the above the words *wauŋsilapi*, *k'okic'ip'api*, *gluglukapi* and *wokinipi* here equivalent of 'kindness', 'mutual fear', 'rude behaviour' and 'shooting back to life' could in other sentences mean 'they are kind', 'they fear each other', 'they are behaving rudely' and 'they shoot back to life'.

These noun phrases may also be followed by a postposition, in which case some are the equivalent of English time clauses with 'when', 'before', 'after' or the like. These postpositions are sometimes preceded by the topic markers *ki* or *k'uŋ* and sometimes show no intermediary. The postpositions *el* 'in, at', *uŋ* 'by means of', *ogna* 'through, by way of', *ekta* 'to, at', *akaŋl* 'on', *it'okab* 'before', *ahokab* 'after' and *etaŋhaŋ* 'from' are commonly used, though potentially any postposition could be used.

Examples

(without the topic markers *ki/k'uŋ*)

uŋt'i-pi el hi-pi
we-live-Plur in come-Plur
'they came to where we lived.'

c'aŋke he wic'asa ki k'ute-pi uŋ woile-pi
so that man Top shoot-Plur by shoot flame-Plur
keya-pi BO 23
say-Plur

'so they said that they had shot it (the sun) into life by these men shooting at it.'

(with the topic markers *ki/k'uŋ*)

muyka k'uŋ he-l etuŋwaŋ-po BT 266
I-lie Top that-in look Imp Plur
'look at where I was lying.'

u-pi k'uŋ oŋna ak'e gla-pi kta t'awac'iŋ-pi BH 180
come-plur Top by again go-plur Fut intend-Plur
'they intended to go home again by the way which they had come.'

wic'asa waŋ hpaye k'uŋ hel it'okab
man one lie Top that-in before
'in front of where a man was lying.'

Lak'ota uŋ-pi ki ekta u-pi sni BO 110
Lakota be-plur Top to come-plur Neg
'they did not come to where the Lakotas lived.'

As with the relative clauses dealt with below, one of the non-specific adverbs or T-words *tuktel* 'somewhere', *tuktektel* 'somewhere' (distributive), *tohaŋl* 'sometime', *tok'el* 'somehow' may precede the subordinate cause. The whole complex sentence is in this case bracketed by the T-word and the following postposition or subordinating conjunction, topic marker or demonstrative in the subordinate clause sometimes followed by a demonstrative, postpositional phrase or adverb referring back to it in the main clause. See the following:

na [tuktel lehanyak iyuŋke c'uŋ²⁰he-l] hehaŋl
and where far away lie Top that-in then
ohiŋni mni u BO 28
always water come
'at that place far away where it lies, then always water comes out.'

[tuktektel wic'ao-pi ki el]..... c'uwigŋaka akataŋhaŋ
where (Red) them-wound-Plur Top in... dress upon
we áhahaya kic'aga-pi BO 110
blood flowing Poss-make-Plur
'where they (the men) had been wounded...on their dresses they (the women) painted blood flowing.'

[tohaŋ t'oka etaŋ ob olak'ol kaga-pi sni haŋtaŋhaŋs]
when enemy from with friendship make-Plur Neg if
hehaŋ kic'iza-pi BO 110
then fight-Plur
'when they had not made peace with some foreign Indians, then they fought with them.'

[tok'el kic'iza-pi ki hena] taŋyaŋ iyec'iŋka uŋspe-pi BO 110
how fight-Plur Top these well at will know-Plur
'these ways of fighting they learnt themselves automatically.'

[tohaŋl el hi kiŋhaŋ] he-l k'ul iyuŋsiwic'asi BO 115
when in come Top that-in down lie-tell-them-tell
'when he came to her, they told her to tell him to lie down.'

[tohaŋl c'iŋ-pi c'aŋna]is eya óp'a-pi BO 175
when want-Plur when 3rd Foc join-Plur
'when they wanted to, they themselves could take part.'

In the above examples, the clauses are bracketed together by *tuktel...hel*, *tuktektel...el*, *tohaŋ...haŋtaŋhaŋs*, *tok'el...ki hena*, *tohaŋl...kiŋhaŋ* and *tohaŋl...c'aŋna*. Note that in the fourth example we have a different structure showing *ki hena* 'those'. If the corresponding postposition *iyec'el* 'as' had followed it, the meaning would have been different: *tok'el kic'izapi ki, iyec'el taŋyaŋ iyec'iŋka uŋspepi* 'as they fought, so did they also learn well automatically'.

12.2.2.1. Time clauses. Many equivalents of English time clauses are in Lakota only a sub-type of the nominalization type involving a postposition of the same pattern as *uŋt'ipi el hi* 'they came to where we lived' shown above, where *uŋt'ipi* 'we live' is followed by the postposition *el* 'at, to'. In the time clause type the postposition refers to time rather than

²⁰ Referring to the Water Spirit. Such a being might shift his position under the earth and if he did that, water would no longer come up from where he was before, but, where he moved (far away) to, water would come again.

place. Postpositions which can occur in this way are *el* 'in, at', *it'okab* 'in front of, before', *ihakab* 'behind, after', *etanhan* 'from, since', *iyehanyan* 'as far as, until', and *ik'iyela* 'near to'. The postpositions *etanhan* 'from' and *iyehanyan* are often preceded by the demonstrative *he* 'that' to give *hetanhan* 'from that (time)', *hehanyan* 'up till that (time)'. As with the postpositional phrase type shown under 12.2.2. above the phrase may also show the topic marker *ki/k'uŋ*.

<i>wana iyeye k'uŋ he-tanhan</i>	<i>anpetu</i>	<i>ake nunpa</i>	BT 115
now find Top that-from	day	more two	

'now it was twelve days since he had found him.'

<i>k'oŝkalaka ki te ŝni it'okab</i>	<i>t'ipi ki oksan</i>	<i>wanagi</i>
youth Top die Neg before	tipi Top around	spirit

ota-pi BO 11
be many-Plur
'before the youth dies there will be many spirits around the tipi.'

Note that, when the postposition *it'okab* 'in front of, before', is used to mean 'before in time', as in the above, the preceding verb is put in the negative with *-ŝni*. Other types of embedded sentences involving subordinating conjunctions are referred to under 8.2. **Subordinating conjunctions.**

Time clauses with *ki/k'uŋ* can also involve an adverb *hehan* 'then' (past, actual) or *hehanl* 'then' (future, potential), the former occurring with *k'uŋ* and the latter with *ki*.
Examples:

<i>mak'a ki</i>	<i>le kaga-pi k'uŋ</i>	<i>hehan...</i>	Del 103
earth Top	this make-Plur Top	then	

'when this earth was made...'

<i>oap'e nunpa ki</i>	<i>hehanl Bob</i>	<i>hi kte</i>	Col 15-23
hour two Top	then Bob	come Fut	

'in two hours time Bob will come.'

<i>htayetu ki</i>	<i>hehanl...</i>	Col 15-21
be evening Top	then	

'when it is evening.'

12.2.3. Sentence embedding as a modifier of a noun phrase. A noun can be modified in two ways in Lakota. It can be preceded by another modifying noun, either as an appositional structure as in *ŝunka wak'an oyate* 'horse nation', *Maza Oyate* 'Iron Nation', *inyan waksica* 'stone plate' or in a possessive construction as in *wasicu t'-oh'an* 'the way of the white men' [lit 'white man his-way'] (see 14. **Noun Phrase structure** for more examples) or alternatively it can be followed by a verb phrase as relative clause.

Relative clauses involve the topic marker *ki/k'uŋ*, the indefinite markers *wan* and *eya* and a conjunction *c'a* which can be translated 'as'. These occur in a variety of different combinations, which generally signify the degree of intimacy of the connection between the noun head and its modifying verb. A definite relative clause is formed by embedding a sentence followed by the topic marker *ki* or *k'uŋ* after an antecedent noun or pronoun, the latter being often followed by the indefinite article *wan* singular or *eya* plural. An indefinite relative clause shows *c'a* 'as' in place of the topic marker. If no noun is mentioned then the T-words *tuwa* 'who', *tona* 'some, those many', *taku* 'which, what' may be used as in 12.2.3.1. The antecedent noun or pronoun is referred to within the relative clause by a pronoun affix unless it is 3rd person singular, which is unmarked in Lakota.

The range of alternative structures available for modification by an embedded sentence as a relative clause is shown below. The construction associated with the most

expected collocations is the first of those shown, (a) noun + verb modifier, while that associated with the least expected collocation is the last, (f) noun + *wan/eya* + verb modifier + *ki/k'uŋ*. In relative clauses with both definite and indefinite antecedents, the construction with *wan/eya* between noun and modifier denotes a less expected collocation than the one without, while in those with indefinite antecedents, construction d) noun + *wan/eya* + verb modifier + *c'a* denotes the least expected collocation.

The difference in meaning of the different structures as regards the degree of intimacy of the connection between head and modifier or, to put it in another way, the degree of expectation of the combination, cannot be rendered in English. Note, however, that Type a) noun + verb modifier often occurs with compound expressions, which have been lexicalized and can be followed by *ki/k'uŋ* or *wan* depending on context. These include such items as *ŝunghanitu t'anika* 'big coyote, wolf', *igmu t'anika* 'big cat, lion, puma', *wic'ahpi hihpaye* 'star which falls, shooting star', *wic'ahpi ŝintet'uŋ* 'star which grows a tail, comet'. Many proper names and names of Indian nations and tribes are of this kind such as *Mahpiya Luta* 'Red Cloud', *Wic'asa Sapa* 'Black Man' i.e. 'Ute Indian', *Mahpiya T'o* 'Blue Cloud' i.e. 'Arapahoe Indian.' In fact the verbs which correspond in translation to English adjectives are those which are more expected to occur as modifiers of nouns. They often occur in the construction which is appropriate to the more intimate relationship between noun and modifier. Note also that in some cases, the English translation does not have a relative clause, but a noun adjective combination.

a) Noun + verb modifier

<i>takuku</i>	<i>wak'anla-pi</i>	<i>k'es</i>	<i>wakagi ŝni</i>	BO 101
something (Red)	consider holy-Plur	although	I-take heed-Neg	

'I took no heed even of things regarded as holy.'

<i>aguyapi ŝanyan-pi</i>	<i>etan</i>	<i>le-l</i>	<i>han</i>	BO 35
bread bake-Plur	from that-in	stand		

'there was some baked bread there.'

<i>inyan t'anikinkyay</i>	<i>etan</i>	<i>hu el</i>	<i>iyaweglaskin</i>	BO 37
stone be big (Red)	from leg in	I-attach		

'I will tie some big stones to my legs.'

<i>wap'aha</i>	<i>obleca</i>	<i>uŋ-pi</i>	BO 110
headdress	be square	wear-Plur	

'they wore square head dresses.'

<i>wanji iyotanla</i>	<i>lila</i>	<i>t'ehila...</i>	<i>he e c'a</i>	<i>kipan</i>	BO 102
one most	very	hold dear	that is as	Dat-call	

'the one whom he held most dear...called to him.'

b) noun + verb modifier + *wan/eya*

<i>ate t'okeca wan</i>	<i>Ina</i>	<i>hingnaya</i>	BO 101
father be different one	Mother	take a husband	

'Mother married another father.'

<i>mni ŝni eya</i>	Hnbk 459
water be cold some	

'some cold water.'

ziṅkala t'aṅka waṅ yaṅke BT 116
bird be large one sit
'a large bird sat.'

c) noun + *waṅ/eya* + verb modifier

mila waṅ t'aṅka yuha BO 101
knife one be big have
'she had a big knife.'

hokšicala waṅ uṅšika ite ki... BO 1
child one be poor face Top
'the face of a poor child...'

t'ipi waṅ śicela hcaka hiṅ BO 32
tipi one be wretched-Dim Int stand
'there was a very wretched looking tipi.'

d) noun + *waṅ/eya* + verb modifier + *c'a*

t'ipi waṅ isnala mak'oskaṅ-l haṅ c'a el i BO 1
tipi one alone plains-on stand as in come
'he went to a tipi which stood alone on the plains.'

wic'aša waṅ ptecela c'a... hinajiṅ BO 37
man one be short as stand
'a man of short stature...stood (there).'

winuṅhcala waṅ lila t'amaheca c'a t'i-ma glicu BO 32
old woman one very be thin as tipi-in come
'a very thin old woman came into the tipi.'

itazipa waṅ lila haṅska c'a yuha BT 202
bow one very be long as have
'he had a very long bow.'

e) noun + verb modifier + *ki/k'uṅ*

Ikce Wic'aša iye nakic'ih'uṅ-pi śni ki hena... BO 103
normal man speak hear Rec-Plur Neg Top those
'those Indians whose language they did not understand...'

iṅyaṅ t'aṅkiṅkiṅyaṅ ki uṅ... BO 37
stone be big (Red) Top with
'...with the big stones.'

t'iikceya mit'awa t'eca k'uṅ hleca he B&D 132
tipi mine be new Top tear stand
'my new tipi is torn.'

f) noun + *waṅ/eya* + verb modifier + *ki/k'uṅ*

it'uhu waṅ k'e ki he ...
oak one mention Top that
'the oak tree which he had mentioned...'

wiṅyaṅ wašte hca waṅ t'okap'a ki he yuziṅ kte BO 1
woman be good Int one first born Top that take Fut
'he wanted to marry the elder beautiful young woman.'

ka paha waṅ t'oyela yaṅke ciṅ he aohomniyaṅ uṅgliyaku kte BO 37
yonder hill one bluey sit Top that around we-go Fut
'we will come back around that blue hill.'

wic'aša waṅ kiha-pi k'uṅ he ekta i BO 35
man one bury-Plur Top that to go
'she went to the man whom they had buried.'

suṅka wak'aṅ waṅ t'aṅka k'uṅ he e c'a owale B&D 135
horse one be large Top that is as I-see
'I am looking for a certain big horse.'

wiṅyaṅ mit'awa waṅ wašte k'uṅ he wayazaṅ B&D 132
woman my one be good Top that be ill
'my good wife is ill.'

Combinations of these various types of constructions may occur, particularly with the verb *hec'a/hemac'a* 'be of a certain kind' as in: *Anuṅg Ite hec'a waṅ t'aṅkala hcaka* 'a really big (being) of the type of a Double Face' BO 1, where we have noun + modifier (*hec'a*) + *waṅ* + modifier, *uṅjiṅjiṅka hu ki hec'a waṅ uṅ* 'with a branch of the thorn type' BO 1, *wic'aša waṅji ohitikapi ki hec'a* 'a man of the courageous type' BO 101, the last two having respectively the structure noun + *ki/k'uṅ* + modifier (*hec'a*) + *waṅ* and noun + *waṅji* + modifier-Plur + *ki/k'uṅ* + modifier (*hec'a*).

Where the antecedent of the relative clause is an animate plural which is the patient of an active main verb or the object of a postposition in the relative clause, it is referred back to in the relative clause by the prefix *wic'a-* or *wic'-*. If it is a singular noun it is unmarked, exactly as is the case when it is the agent. See the following:

wic'aša tona wic'ayuha k'uṅ hena wītaya wic'akic'o BO 18
man some them-have Top those together them-invite
'those men he had, he summoned together.'

wic'ahcala waṅ eyapaha yuha-pi ki he iyayiṅ BO 10
old man one announcer have-Plur Top that go away
'the old man whom they had as an announcer, went away.'

12.2.3.1. Relative clauses showing the T-words. Where there is no noun antecedent shown in the sentence, the T-words *tona* 'some number', *taku* 'something', *tuwa* 'some one' may stand in place of the antecedent as in the following:

tona c'iṅca wic'akte-pi ki hena wac'i-pi śni BO 110
some number child them-kill-Plur Top those dance-Plur Neg
'those whose sons had been killed did not dance.'

tona t'ewic'ahila-pi śni ki hena wic'aha-pi BO 11
some number them-love-Plur Neg Top those them-bury-Plur
'those whom they did not love, they buried' (rather than building a burial scaffold).

tona owic'ayuspa-pi k'uṅ hena awic'agli-pi
some number them-sieze-Plur Top those them-bring-Plur
'those whom they had captured they brought home.'

tuwa *oyuspa-pi k'uŋ he* *agli-pi*
 someone sieze-Plur Top that bring-Plur
 'he whom they had captured, they brought home.'

tona *k'ute-pi k'uŋ hena* *iwoglaka-pi* BO 23
 some number shoot-Plur Top those Rel-speak-Plur
 'those who had shot at it spoke about it.'

tona ob *wic'uŋhipi* *ki hena...*
 some number with them-we-come Top those
 'those who we had come with...'

taku uŋ *i-woglaka-pi* *k'uŋ he...*
 something about Rel-talk-Plur Top that
 'what they had been talking about...'

tuwa etaŋ *icu kta* *c'aŋ* *it'okab* *c'ekiye śa* BO 29
 someone from take Fut when before pray 1ter
 'whoever wanted to take some of it, would always pray first.'

12.2.3.2. Headless relative clauses. An alternative construction to that with the T-word occurs, which is a headless relative clause, where the head is understood from the context as 'the one who...' or 'those who...'. Here the topic marker *ki/k'uŋ* is frequently followed by the demonstratives *he* 'that', *hena* 'those' etc. This serves to distinguish these constructions from the type shown under 12.2.2. **Sentence embedding as a nominalization**, where the verb phrase would be taken to be not a relative clause, but a nominalization. The embedded sentence in the first example below for instance could occur in a sentence without the demonstrative, where it would be taken as a nominalization, *owic'ayuspapi k'uŋ wanyanŋke* 'he saw that they captured them'. Examples of the headless relative clause construction are the following:

owic'ayuspa-pi k'uŋ hena *awic'agli-pi*
 them-sieze-Plur Top those them-bring-Plur
 'those whom they had captured, they brought home.'

oyuspa-pi k'uŋ he *aglipi*
 sieze-Plur Top that bring-Plur
 'he whom they had captured, they brought home...'

uŋ i-woglaka-pi *k'uŋ he...*
 about Rel-talk-Plur Top that
 'what they had been talking about...'

le ia-pi *ki lena oyas'iŋ* *Galilee wic'aśa-pi* *kcama* BH 205
 this speak-Plur Top these all Galilee man-Plur I-think
 'I think all those who are talking are Galileans.'

13. Noun incorporation

An important syntactic feature of Lakota, which allows the production of compound words and more specifically compound verbs is noun incorporation. The production of compounds of noun and noun, which is a morphologically similar process, is dealt with under 3.3. **Compound nouns.** Incorporation will typically involve truncation (see 2.2.) of the incorporated element. Noun incorporation produces a compound concept where the patient of the verb is compounded with it as in 'baby sit' in English. These are produced for activities which are frequently performed. However not all nouns are found in these combinations. Noun incorporation is in fact only one, and that the most intimate, way of forming compound expressions. A less intimate compound type is where nouns may be compounded with verbs as two word expressions, where the noun is "stripped" of all qualifying elements such as topic markers, indefinite articles, demonstratives, modifiers and possessive elements, which might accompany it.

The three ways in which compounds can be made are the following a) a stripped noun can precede a verb with each word maintaining separate stress, b) a stripped noun can precede a verb under one main stress occurring on the noun and c) a noun in truncated form can precede a verb, producing a one word unit²¹. Examples of the above three types include a) *mak'a amani* 'walk the land on foot', b) *mak'a amani* 'walk the land on foot', b) *mahkásla* 'hoe land, clear weeds'. In a) and b) the word *mak'a* 'land' is an independent word which is the patient of *amani* 'walk upon', while in b) the word *maga* 'field' occurs in the truncated form *mah-* in a compound with the verb *kaśla* 'strip'. The first of these, where both noun and verb are stressed, consists of two words used in a commonly occurring collocation. In the second, where they share one stress, they have become more intimately connected, but still constitute two separate words, while in the third they have now fused as a new word. All of these differ from sentences like *mak'a ki akaŋl mani* 'he walked upon the earth' or *magá ki kaśla* 'he hoed the field', where possibly a specific plot of earth or a specific field is implied.

13.1. Noun incorporation in verbs

The clearest case of noun incorporation is where the process of stem truncation (see 2.2.) produces a form of a stem which only occurs in combination with another stem and that in a subordinate role. Stem truncation effects typically stems which end in the vowel -a and less commonly -e, which is then deleted and leads to stem final change. (see 1.5.3.) where voiced fricatives become voiceless and voiceless plosives become voiced as follows: z » s, j » ś, g » h, t » l, c » l, p » b and k » g. Certain other stems which are not of this type can also be joined intimately with a following stem under one main stress. Examples of this are words ending in a vowel other than -a and monosyllabic words in -a, such as the word *mni* 'water' and *p'a* 'head' in words such as *mniakaśtaŋ/mniawakaśtaŋ* 'baptise' (*mni* 'water', *akaśtaŋ* 'pour upon'), *mniot'a/mniomat'e* 'drown' (*mni* 'water', *o-* 'in', *t'a* 'die'), *p'akaksa/p'awakaksa* 'behead' (*p'a* 'head', *kaksa* 'chop off'), *p'anakseya/p'anaksewaye* 'hang, execute' (*p'a* 'head', *naksa* 'break of its own accord', -ya Caus). These will not be treated here as noun incorporations.

The classic form of noun incorporation is where a noun stem is found joined to a following verb in a particular dependent form, in which it never occurs in isolation. The implication of this is that the stem is used in this context with enough frequency for it to warrant being grammaticalized. This stem has then passed into the realm of morphology and has thus become part of 'grammar' rather than 'lexicon'. A parallel of this in English is the use of the abbreviated form of words in chemistry terminology such as 'carbo-' for 'carbon', 'hydro-' for 'hydrogen', 'oxi-' for 'oxygen'.

²¹ The discussion in this chapter owes much to De Reuse 1994, from which many of the examples also originate.

Truncated noun stems occurring in incorporations, as recorded in De Reuse (1994: 204-5 and 246-7) with some additions and modifications, are shown below, giving also the independent stem from which they are derived. In all except *c'uŋ*- 'tree, wood' these also involve stem truncation. In some cases, such as *hoksi*- 'child' and *t'i*- 'dwelling', these may not have originally involved truncation and appear as truncations today only in comparison with the more usually used form, which has additional morphology. The first, *hoksi*-, involves, in the non truncated form *hoksila* 'child', the diminutive suffix *-la* and the second, *t'i*, is an independent stem meaning 'dwell', although commonly associated with the word *t'ipi* 'they dwell, a dwelling'.

aŋb- « *aŋpa* 'dawn, daylight', *blog*- « *bloketu* 'summer', *c'ab*- « *c'apa* 'beaver', *c'ah*- « *c'aga* 'ice', *c'as*- « *c'aje* 'name', *c'aŋl*- « *c'aŋte* 'heart', *c'eh*- « *c'ega* 'kettle', *haŋ*- « *haŋhepi*, *hanyetu* 'be night', *haŋb*- « *haŋpa* 'shoe', *ho*- « *hogaŋ* 'fish', *hoksi*- « *hoksila* 'child', *hta*- « *htayetu* 'be evening', *Lak'ol*- « *Lak'ota* 'Lakota', *lol*-, *lo*- « *t'alo** 'meat', *mah*- « *magá* 'duck, goose', *mah*- « *maga* 'field', *mas*- « *maza* 'iron, metal', *nab*- « *nape* 'hand', *nunh*- « *nunge* 'ear', *owaŋg*- « *owaŋka* 'floor', *owiŋs*- « *owiŋja* 'bed', *ohlog*- « *ohloka* 'hole', *p'el*- « *p'eta* 'fire', *sag*- « *sake* 'claw, nail', *sol*- « *sota* 'smoke', *suŋg*- « *suŋka* 'dog, horse', *t'a*- « *t'aŋca** 'deer', *t'ab*- « *t'apa* 'ball', *t'ah*- « *t'aga* 'saliva, spit', *t'aŋ*- « *t'ac'aŋ* 'body', *t'i*- « *t'ipi* 'dwelling', *t'og*- « *t'oka* 'foreigner, enemy', *waksil*-, *waksi*- « *waksica* 'dish', *wani*- « *waniyetu* 'be winter', *waŋ*- « *waŋhiŋkpe* 'arrow', *wic'a*- « *wic'asa** 'man, human', *wiŋ*-, *wi*- « *wiŋyaŋ* 'woman', *wo*- « *wóyute* 'food'.

Items marked above with the asterisk * are those where the incorporation may be better regarded as a prefix also occurring in the related noun rather than a truncation of a noun. Hence in *t'alo* 'meat' we have the prefix *t'a*- 'ruminant' and a stem *lo*- 'meat', which however also occurs as prefix. Also the item *wic'a*- 'man, human' is identical with the 3rd plural patient marking prefix. Hence these may not be examples of noun incorporation, but rather of polysynthesis.

Note also that the process of noun incorporation is not essentially different from the process of plain stem embedding (12.2.1.) with truncation as in *iglag yapi* 'they went away on a migration' from the stem *iglaka* 'migrate'. The distinction is rather that the incorporations occur very frequently as units. The following section gives examples of commonly occurring verbs involving the above incorporated elements.

aŋbwašte 'be a nice day', *blogyaŋka/blogmaŋke* 'stay at home in summer, be non-nomadic', *c'abk'uwa/c'abwak'uwa* 'hunt beaver', *c'ahkat'a/c'ahmakat'e* 'be stunned by falling on ice or by a fall of ice', *c'ast'uŋ/c'aswat'uŋ* 'make a name for oneself', *c'aŋlyuha/c'aŋbluha* 'be good natured', *c'eh'olol*- 'borrowing a kettle' (*c'ega* + *olota* 'borrow'), *haŋmani/haŋmawani* 'walk at night', *haŋbohaŋ/haŋbowahaŋ* 'put on mocassins', *hok'uwa/howak'uwa* 'fish, hunt fish', *htaiyokpaza* 'grow dark at evening', *Lak'ol'ia/Lak'ol'iwaye* 'speak Lakota', *lol'op'eic'it'uŋ/lol'op'emic'it'uŋ* 'buy meat or food for oneself', *mahk'ute/mahwak'ute* 'shoot or hunt ducks', *mahkašla/mahwakašla* 'hoe', *mas'ap'a/mas'awap'e* 'telephone, telegram', *nabkicoza/nabwecoza* 'wave the hand to', *nunh'ic'aŋ/nunh'mac'aŋ* 'be deaf', *owaŋgkaga/owaŋgwakage* 'prepare a place', *owiŋst'uŋ/owiŋswat'uŋ* 'make a bed of', *ohlogkaga/ohlogwakage* 'make holes', *p'el'iskaŋ/p'el'imaskaŋ* 'draw near to the fire', *sag'oyazaŋ/sag'omayazaŋ* 'have a pain under the nails from cold', *sol'asapa/e* 'be dirty from smoke', *suŋgmanuŋ/suŋgmawanuŋ* 'raid horses, steal horses from an enemy', *t'akahloka/t'awakahloka* 'cut the meat of a deer in a particular way', *t'ab'iyeya/t'ab'iyewaye* 'throw a ball', *t'ahglahota/t'ahwaglahota* 'swallow the wrong way', *t'aŋzani/t'aŋmazani* 'be healthy in body', *t'iglujuju/t'iwaglujuju* 'fold up one's tent', *t'iwic'akte/t'iwic'awakte* 'commit murder', *t'og'ia/t'og'iwaye* 'speak a foreign language', *waksiyujaja/waksiblujaja* 'wash the dishes', *wanit'ipi/waniuŋt'ipi* 'camp for winter', *waŋkaga/waŋwakage* 'make arrows', *wiinahma/wiinawahme* 'seduce a woman', *wók'u/wówak'u* 'give food to'.

13.1.1. **Adverbs containing incorporated elements.** Many noun incorporations in verbs can then produce adverbs by the regular process of the suffixing of *-ya*, *-yaŋ* or *-yela* see 7.2. Others can be produced by combining a truncated stem with a postposition. These are shown below, listed under the incorporated element and giving its meaning. Note that although the English translation is in the form of an adjective in some cases, these are adverbs syntactically and morphologically in Lakota.

Formed from verbs

c'ah- 'ice': *ac'aŋslaya* 'smooth and covered with ice', *c'ah'agleylela* 'standing on ice'; *c'as*- 'name': *c'astaŋiŋyaŋ*, *oc'ast'uŋyaŋ* 'famously, prominently'.

Formed with postpositions

c'ah- 'ice': *c'ah'op'aya* 'over the ice' (in travelling), *c'ah'owaŋcaya* 'all over the ice', *t'iyokawiŋh* 'around a circle inside the tipi', *t'iwohaŋ* 'among the tipis', *t'iyok'itahena* 'between the tipis' (i.e. 'homeless'), *t'ianuŋg* 'on the opposite side of the tipi.'

14. Noun Phrase Structure

The noun phrase can be simple or complex. A simple noun phrase consists of a noun, a pronoun or one of a group of modifiers which can also stand in place of a noun. The noun may occur in isolation or be accompanied by the topic marker *ki/k'uŋ*, a demonstrative pronoun or the indefinite markers *waŋ*, *waŋji*, *eya*. The demonstratives generally occur with the topic marker, but may occur alone. A complex noun phrase consists of a noun plus modifiers. The modifier may be a modifying noun or a quantifier. The modifying noun may either occur in an attributive structure or a possessive structure. These constructions are freely productive.

In this connection it is important to remember that the noun phrase consisting of a noun plus an adjective does not occur in Lakota as there is no adjective word class. The adjective function is covered by the stative verb word class in Lakota and what would be noun plus adjective in English is noun plus relative clause in Lakota (see 12.2.3. **Sentence embedding as a modifier of a noun phrase**).

14.1. Simple noun phrase

wic'asa	'man, men'
wic'asa waŋ, wic'asa waŋji	'a man'
wic'asa eya, k'eya	'some men'
wic'asa ki, wic'asa k'uŋ	'the man, men'
le wic'asa, wic'asa ki le, le wic'asa ki	'this man'
oyate lena, oyate ki lena, lena oyate ki	'these people'

14.2. Attributive structure

In the attributive structure the second noun is the head and those preceding modify it. This type includes many proper names. Examples:

Iŋyaŋ Hoksila 'Stone Boy', *iŋyaŋ waksica* 'stone plate', *K'aŋgi wic'asa* 'Crow Indian' (lit. crow-man), *Maŋtiŋcala wic'asa* 'Cree' (lit. 'rabbit man'), *Maza Oyate* 'Iron Nation', *Nacá Ok'olakic'iyé* 'Council of Elders', *Ptehiŋcala Hu C'anuŋpa* 'Buffalo Calf Pipe' (lit. buffalo calf- leg bone- pipe), *ptehiŋsma sina* 'buffalo hide robe', *suŋka wak'aŋ oyate* 'horse nation', *Wahiŋkpe Wakpala* 'Arrow River', *wakpa c'uŋsoke* 'a river bank wood', *wamak'aŋkaŋ onajiŋ* 'zoo' (lit. animal standing place), *waniyetu wowapi* 'winter count'.

14.3. Possessive structure

Here the second noun is represented as the possession of the first and marked by the prefix *t'a-* which appears in the form *t'-* before a vowel initial noun (see also 3.4. **Inalienable nouns** for this prefix). Examples:

Hohe T'amahpiya 'Northern Lights' (lit. 'Assiniboine cloud'), *Wanagi T'ac'aŋku* 'Milky Way' (lit. 'spirit road'), *waŋicu t'oh'aŋ* 'the way of the white men', *zuzeca t'awoyute* 'wolf berry' (lit. 'snake food').

Possessive meaning can also be expressed by the independent possessive marker *-t'awa* which takes the same pronoun prefixes as group (b) of the inalienable nouns mentioned under 3.4. Possessed nouns will in most cases show the topic marker *ki/k'uŋ*. Examples:

wówapi mit'awa ki 'my book', *wówapi nit'awa ki* 'your (sing) book', *wówapi t'awa ki* 'his book', *wówapi uŋkit'awa ki* 'our (excl) book', *wówapi uŋkit'awapi ki* 'our (incl) book', *wówapi nit'awapi ki* 'your (plur) book', *wówapi t'awapi ki* 'their book'.

In older texts the possessive pronoun *-t'awa* can occur in isolation, but with an implied head *suŋka wak'aŋ* 'horse' as in *t'awa ki lena luzahaŋpi* 'their (horses) were fast' BT 166, *wana*

mit'awa kic'i tehiya waku welo 'now I have come home with my [horse] with great difficulty' BT 154. Such examples emphasize the centrality of the horse in traditional Lakota culture.

14.4. The quantifiers

A class of elements occurring as modifiers within the noun phrase are the quantifiers. These include the numerals and the items *áyataya*, *átaya* 'all, all together', *cóna*, *cónala* 'a few, a little', *etaŋ* 'some, any', *haŋke* 'part', *huŋh*, *huŋge* 'some', *iyohila*, *otoiyohi* 'each', *iyuha*, *oyas'iq* 'all, every', *tona* 'several', *waŋjigji*, *waŋjigjila* 'occasional, several' and also the negative items *etaŋni* 'none of', *haŋkeni* 'not any part', *huŋgeni*, *uŋgeni* 'not any part', *waŋjini* 'not one'. The quantifiers follow the noun, which may also show the topic marker *ki/k'uŋ*. Examples:

Oohe Nunpa 'Two Kettles', *wójapi ki áyataya* 'all of the berry pudding' Col 16-5, *oie cónala* 'a few words', *t'ipi iyohila* 'each house', *wic'asa ki huŋh* 'some of the men', *wiŋyaŋ ki iyuha* 'all of the women', *oyate oyas'iq* 'all people', *aŋpetu waŋjigjila* 'occasional days', *t'ipi ki haŋke gluŋtaŋpi* 'they finished part of the house' Col 15-7, *wóyute ki haŋke* 'part of the food', *aŋuyapi blu ki etaŋni uŋ ŋni* 'she did not use any of the flour' Hnbk 458, *haŋkeni wac'iq ŋni* 'I don't want any of it' Col 15-9, *asaŋpi ki uŋgeni oŋice ŋni* 'none of the milk is sour' Col 16-4, *waŋjini iyewaye ŋni* 'I found not one.'

14.5. Other elements as noun phrases

The quantifiers and demonstrative pronouns mentioned above can stand alone as noun phrases and thus as an argument of a verb or object of a postposition. Examples:

lena ob yauppi kte 'you will live with them' BT 282, *lena hec'etu hca slolwaye* 'I know those (things) to be true' BT 198, *waŋji ekta hoŋi iyaye* 'one went there as a messenger' BT 157, *huŋh tok'ecapi na gnaŋkiŋyaŋyaŋpi* 'some were overcome and went into a rage' BT 278, *waŋjini waŋblake ŋni* 'I saw not one.'

15. Semantic features

In this chapter certain topics are covered, which cannot easily be placed under the grammatical structures and categories dealt with in earlier chapters. In general these are aspects of the language, which involve the Lakota cognitive system and taxonomies.

15.1. Actual versus potential meaning

In Lakota a distinction between actual and potential events is apparent in a number of areas. It correlates to some extent with the distinction between future and past, since future is potential, having not yet occurred, while past is actual, having already occurred. Similarly conditional clauses and imperatives are also potential. The use of the variant forms *ki* and *k'uŋ* of the topic marker can in many cases be attributed to this distinction. However the distinction is not always strictly observed, since in many cases the form *ki* is used as the unmarked variant. In texts *k'uŋ* occurs much less frequently than *ki* and can mark a switch from one topic to another mentioned earlier. The following examples are, however, representative of its operation.

15.1.1. Future and past collocating with *ki* or *k'uŋ*. The topic marker *ki/k'uŋ*, whose function is described under 12.1.4. commonly shows *ki* for future and *k'uŋ* or *'uŋ* for past events when used as a subordinator in time clauses and relative clauses. Note that in the time clause examples the past time clauses show the variant *-haŋ* of the circumstantial stem **-haŋ* associated with *k'uŋ*, while the future time clauses show the variant *-haŋl* associated with *ki*. Examples:

Past time clause

mak'a ki le kagapi k'uŋ hehaŋ, miš eya makagape lo Del 103
'when the world was created, I also was created.'

1973 ptaŋyetu k'uŋ hehaŋ... Stol
'when it was the spring of 1973...'

wac'ekiye wic'asa ki lena t'oká ahi 'uŋ hehaŋ... Stol
'when the priests first arrived...'

Past relative clause

mak'oc'e waŋ k'api k'uŋ hetu
'there was the country which they referred to.'

wiyaka waŋ p'egnake c'uŋ k'i BO 1
'she took the feather which he had put in his hair.'

Future time clause or future condition

t'iyopa ki el waku kiŋhaŋ...niš eya hóp'iciya yo Del 246
'when I get to the doorway...clear your throat (as a signal).'

taku t'ehika waŋji ayak'ip'a kiŋhaŋ miyeksuye BO 1
'if you encounter something difficult, you will remember me.'

tuwa waŋji o kiŋhaŋ wic'asayatapi c'uŋwitku waŋ yuziŋ kta sk'e BO 1
'if anyone shoots it (the bird), he will marry one of the king's daughters.'

Future relative clause

taku ec'uŋ nišipi kte ciŋ ec'ehci ec'uŋ po BH 191
'do exactly as they will tell you.'

15.1.2. Emphatic use of *k'uŋ*. The particle *k'uŋ* can occur at the end of a sentence, usually of past time meaning, but not exclusively so, to give it a meaning of enforced reality. Examples: *he t'oká ekta nic'iŋ yeš wahteyala šni k'uŋ* 'first over there he wanted you, but you did not like him' BO 1, *oyas'iŋ wak'anyeja ite yubleza ep'e c'uŋ; t'at'anka ota nawah'uŋ ep'e c'uŋ* 'I say all of you wake up the children by splashing cold water on their faces; I say that I hear many buffalo' BO 10. Note future time reference in *hec'el winic'a kehe ci unŋna tok'eske waktoglag wac'ispe c'uŋ* 'so because you say you are a man, somehow I will scalp you and proclaim my war deeds' BO 103.

15.1.3. *k'uŋ* marking a noun previously referred to. *K'uŋ* can mark a noun, which has been referred to previously and is hence 'actual', but in this case marking a switch back to a previous topic (see Curl 1999 for a detailed examination of this). This is not a frequent use and in the majority of cases *ki* will occur for new or previously mentioned items without distinction. A representative example is *winuŋhcala, kikta yo; taku k'uŋ ak'e hi yelo* 'old woman, wake up; the thing has come again' BO 1.

15.1.4. Actual versus potential distinction with *waŋ/waŋji*. The numeral 'one', which also functions as an indefinite marker shows the two forms *waŋ* and *waŋji*, which generally denote actual and potential respectively. Questions and requests or orders are often treated as potential. Examples are the following. Actual: *wic'asa waŋ waŋblake* 'I saw a man', *wówapi waŋ bluha* 'I have a book', *wakpala waŋ el wac'eunb aglit'ipi* 'they came and encamped by a river roasting meat' BO 10. Potential: *taku t'ehika waŋji ayak'ip'a kiŋhaŋ miyeksuye* 'if you encounter something difficult, you will remember me' BO 1, *wowapi waŋji op'et'uŋ mniŋ kte lo* 'I will go and buy a book', *wicazo waŋji luha hwo?* 'have you got a pen', *wicazo waŋji mak'u wo* 'give me a pen', *tuwe waŋji nuŋge wanica c'aŋ ihangyapi* 'if someone was obstinate, they would destroy (his property)' BO 10.

15.1.5. Actual versus potential distinction with *taku* and *takuŋl*. The interrogative-indefinite pronoun *taku* 'what, something' shows the variant *takuŋl* with potential function. The form *takuŋl* is also used in open questions to mean 'something, anything' in contrast to *taku* which would have the meaning 'something' in statements and 'what' in wh- questions. The following are representative examples: *taku zi cistila waŋyaŋke* 'he saw something small and yellow' BT 16, *taku waŋlaka hwo* 'what did you see?', *takuŋl waŋlaka hwo* 'did you see something?'. The meaning 'something' for open questions can also be served by *taku waŋji*, showing the potential variant of *waŋ/waŋji* shown above under 15.1.4. as in *taku waŋji yac'iŋ hwo* 'do you want something?'

15.1.6. Actual versus potential distinction with *eya/k'eya* and *etaŋ*. Nouns with indefinite plural referents can show *eya/k'eya* or *etaŋ* (lit. 'from') with actual and potential meaning respectively. The distinction occurs commonly with statements versus questions and requests *wówapi eya bluha* 'I have some pens', *nata yazanpi p'ejuta etaŋ yac'iŋ hwo* 'do you want any aspirins?' Col 3-24, *mazaska etaŋ mak'u wo* 'give me some money!'

15.2. Verbs of being

Concepts rendered by the verb 'be' in English cover four different functions, namely identification, group membership, location and existence. Each of these are represented in different ways in Lakota.

Identification is served by the predicative pronoun set *miye, niye, e, uŋkiye* described under 9.1. as in *k'oškakala waŋ wastelake c'uŋ ehaŋk'uŋ he le e šni* 'he was surely not the

young man that she loved' Del 47 and *le Mahpiya Luta eciyapi wanji wanlaka yac'inj k'unj he le miye yelo* 'I am the man called Red Cloud who you wished to see' BT 356.

Group membership is shown in two different ways. A limited group of nouns which refer to human groups expressing ethnicity, gender, age and similar types can take the affixes of the stative verb class (see 4.1.1.) *ma-*, *ni-*, *uŋ(k)-* and *-pi* as in *wimac'asa* 'I am a man', *winic'asa* 'you are a man', *uŋwic'asapi* 'we are men', *wic'asapi* 'they are men'. With the 3rd singular no overt equivalent of 'be' is shown in this type as in *he Lak'ota* 'he is Lakota'. Other verbal affixes, such as the modal suffix *-kta/e* are attached in the normal way as in *Tat'anjka Iyotake it'ac'anj kte yaot'anjipi* 'they announced that Sitting Bull would be the chief' BT 371, *nup'inj t'okap'api kte hci* 'both wanted to be the first born' Del 194.

The rest, which are the majority, take the verb *hec'a/hemac'a* 'be a member of a class' as in *waunspek'iya hemac'a* 'I am a teacher'. The human group words can also be expressed in this way as in *wasicu hemac'a* 'I am a white man', *Lak'ota henic'a* 'you are a Lakota'.

Location is expressed by different verbs depending on the type of noun involved. Animate nouns take the verb *uŋ/waun* 'be, live, exist' as in *tuweni el uŋ sni* 'no one is there'. Inanimate compactly shaped objects take the verb *yanjka/e* 'sit' as in *wowapi ki lel yanjke* 'the book is here'. Inanimate tall objects take *hanj/e* 'stand' as in *wak'alyapi ki wagnayutapi akanj he* 'the coffee (pot) is on the table'. Long horizontally arranged inanimate objects take *hpaya/e* 'lie' as in *wakpala ki hec'iyot'anj hpaye* 'the river is over in that direction'. Inanimate objects scattered here and there take *hiyeya/e* 'be scattered' as in *ble ki el enana taku k'eya sapsabya hiyeya* 'here and there in the lake were black things' Del 223. The verb *yanjka/e* can also be used with abstract concepts such as 'ideas', as in *wowiyukcaŋ wan yanjke* 'there is an idea'. Other abstract concepts such as activities, events and actual locations are referred to by verbs involving the circumstantial stem **-etu* defined location referred to under 10.1.8.3., namely *etu*, *hetu*, *letu*, *katu* as in *mak'oce wan t'okeya el wai k'unj he etu sni* 'this was not the place that I had been to before' BT 302, *wac'ipi ki Kyle-ta etu kte* 'the powwow will be at Kyle'.

Existence is expressed by the stative verb *yuk'anj/mayuk'e* in the affirmative and *nica/manice* or *wanica/wamanice*, *mawanice* in the negative. Thus one sees *c'anunpa wan yuk'anj keyapi* 'they say that there was a pipe' (a pipe existed) Stol, *oihanjke wanice* 'there is no end'. The personal pronoun prefix, if shown, refers to the person to whom the existing or non-existent object is attributed; thus *p'ute mayuk'e* 'I have lips', *mak'oc'e ninica* 'you have no country', *nunje mawanice* 'I have no ears' (I am obstinate). Where an inherently possessed thing is referred to with no pronoun prefix, a 3rd person possessor is presumed as in *isto saŋni wanica* 'he was missing one arm'.

16. Texts

The following texts are selected from the Bushotter papers, a collection of texts composed by the Lakota scholar George Bushotter in the 1890s and written down with English translation and notes. They cover a range of subject including religious beliefs, folk tales, stories of raiding and warfare, childrens' games and social customs. They are kept in the Smithsonian Institution Archives in Washington DC.

The texts are slightly edited as presented here, in that the topic marker is given as *ki* or *ci*, whereas in Bushotter and similar older texts it occurs as *kinj* or *cinj*. Text 4 is an amalgamation of two separate slightly differing and partly overlapping versions in Bushotter text 109. The convention of marking some morpheme boundaries by hyphens in the Lakota text is dropped at this point in order to make the forms look more natural. It is, however, maintained in the interlinear gloss.

In the interlinear gloss the circumstantial stems and interrogative-indefinites (see sections 9.2. and 10.) are glossed uniformly for the sake of brevity as follows: *taku* as 'what', *tohanj* as 'when', *tok'el* as 'how', *tona* as 'some', *tuktektel* as 'sometimes', *tuktel* as 'where' and *tuwe* as 'who'. In the free translation they are translated as would be appropriate in English.

Text 1. Hunting eggs in the Spring. Bushotter text 181

Tok'a wetu ki lehanj hoksila ki wanjinjke ikikcupi na heyatakiya
 first be spring Top then boy Top arrow take-Poss-Plur and mountain-Loc
witka ole ai s'a na witka oc'aje ki oyas'inj kinil mnayanpi na tuktektel
 egg seek they-go Iter and egg kind Top all almost collect-Plur and sometimes
huŋku ki akignag yunjka k'es hoŋpi ogeya ac'ab iheyapi na
 mother-his Top place-Poss lie although nest whole stabbing shoot-Plur and
witka ki nakuŋ tuktektel oyas'inj kahuhugapi is c'inpi c'anna oyas'inj aglipi
 egg Top also sometimes all break-Plur Foc want-Plur when all bring-Plur
na iyohpewic'akiciyapi c'anna tantantunyanj glutapi s'a na nakuŋ zinjtkala
 and cook-them-Ben-Plur when excessively eat-Poss-Plur Iter and also bird
o'ota wic'aopi. Hoksila ki tuwa iyotanj zinjtkala ota o kte hci
 many (Red) them-shoot-Plur Boy Top who most bird many shoot-Fut Int
kic'ipatanpi na he tuwa wantanyeya c'anna itanj kta c'inj ki he uŋ
 push-Rec-Plur and that who marksman when be proud Fut wish Top that for
ec'unpi s'a. Tohanj zinjtkala wanji o c'anna wanjag itazipa ihanjke k'iyela waškite s'a.
 do-Plur Iter when bird one shoot when at once bow end near notch Iter
Hec'el tona wic'ao ki slokiyinj kta he uŋ naiŋs obloketu wanji zinjtkala
 thus some them-wound Top know-Poss Fut that for or be summer one bird
tona wic'ao ki he kiksuyinj na t'okata obloketu ki ak'e it'o
 some them-wound Top that remember and ahead be summer Top again so
ikap'eya wic'ao naiŋs aokpaniyanj wic'ao kta hecinhanj he awac'inj uŋ
 more them-wound or less them-wound Fut Top that think of for
hec'unj na hehanj tohanj zinjtkala ota wic'ao c'anna iwijkte naiŋs
 do this and then when bird many them-wound when Rel-be proud or
woju²² akic'iyapi c'anna ohiye wac'inj ki he uŋ. Lena witka ole
 shoot-break compete-Rec-Plur when win try Top that for those egg seek
ai c'anna lila oiyoŋkip'ipi na ektana sna wouhanpi.
 they-come when very enjoy-Plur and there Hab we-cook
Miŋ witka ole aya c'anna op'eya wakihelake s'a na
 I egg seek they-go when accompanying I stand-Dim-like-Iter and
witka na zinjtkala k'o ic'icahiya iyohpewic'aunyanpi na ektana wip'iunjkic'iyapi
 egg and bird also mingled we-them-cook-Plur and there we-RefI-Caus-sate-Plur

²² *woju* 'break by shooting'. Thus originally, now applies to dominoes, cards etc.

t'iyata ahi wac'inj sni manil skal unkomani hanpi s'a na tuktektel
 homeward bring try-Neg on prairie play we-walk-Cont-Plur I ter and sometimes
 zintka ol'ota wic'unjopi s'a na witka ki ol'ota iyeunyanpi s'a na
 bird many (Red) them-we shoot-Plur-I ter and egg Top many (Red) we find-Plur I ter and
 le zintkala ok'uwapi ki he e c'a iyotanunlapi na unj hec'el manil unkišnašnala
 this bird hunt-PlurTop that is as we-value-Plur and with thus on prairie we alone (Red)
 unkomani s'a lena wayéya unspeic'ic'iyapi iyec'el he unkomani-hanpi na
 we-walk-Plur-I ter these hunting we learn like that we walk-Cont-Plur and
 liglila c'an ohañ unkoinyanpapi ki he áwicak'eya wóimagagaunlapi.
 much (Red) tree among in-we-run-Plur Top that truly we-count-amusing-Plur

Translation

At the beginning of spring the boys would take their bows and go away from camp hunting eggs and would collect almost all types of eggs and sometimes their arrows would pierce the mother bird also, who was hatching the eggs, the arrow going through the nest. And sometimes also, if they wanted to, they brought home the eggs all broken and cooked them and ate them to excess and shot many kinds of birds. The boys competed in trying to shoot the most birds and did this so that whoever was the best shot would be proud. Whenever they shot a bird, they would cut a notch near the end of the bow. In this way they would know how many they had shot and could remember how many birds they shot in any one summer and they did this thinking about whether they would shoot more or less in the next summer. Then when they shot many birds, they would boast about it and, trying to win, they would compete in shooting them to pieces. When they came from hunting eggs, they would be very happy and would cook them right there.

Whenever they went hunting eggs, I, although small, would go along with them and we would cook the eggs and birds mixed up together and would eat our fill right there. Not thinking to bring them home, we would wander playing on the prairie and sometimes we would shoot many kinds of birds and find many kinds of eggs. We were really interested in this egg hunting and for that reason we would wander alone, and learn to hunt. In this way we considered it truly amusing to wander abroad and run much among the trees.

Text 2. How young men and young women behaved towards each other among the People. Bushotter text 111.

Lak'ota egná wik'oskalaka na k'oskalaka hakatakic'iyapi ki tok'el c'anje
 Lakota among young woman and young man regard as sibling-Recip-Plur Top how heart
 kic'iyuzapi na tok'el étkiya op'iic'iyapi na wic'oh'an tok'el yuhapi kta
 hold-Recip-Plur and how toward behave-Plur and custom how have-Plur Fut
 iyec'eca ki hec'el ec'unpi. Hena wic'oh'an ki ec'inšniyan ec'unpi c'an lila
 should Top thus do-Plur these custom Top wrongly do-Plur when very
 wóisteceyapi na unj tuktektel ic'iktepi naiš wiyayan ki unj
 regard as shameful-Plur and for sometimes kill-Ref1-Plur or woman Top for
 iglut'api. Lenakiya unj taku lec'ek'eca ec'unpi. K'oskalaka ki
 strangle-Ref1-Plur these-Loc for what be like this-Redup do-Plur young man Top
 hanjšatku naiš t'anjeku eša taku wanji unj istelyapi
 female cousin-his or elder sister-his even what one for make ashamed-Plur
 hanjšaš k'oskalaka ki slolyapi sni hanjni ic'ikte na tohanl ic'ikte
 if young man Top know-Plur Neg when kill-Ref1 and when kill-Ref1
 c'an hakataku ki le wanji tukte c'a unj hec'unj ki slolyapi hanjšaš
 when sibling-his Top this one which as for that-do Top know-Plur if
 he ic'ikte ki unj c'eyin kta k'es c'eye sni sipi na oigluspek'iyapi
 that kill-Ref1 Top for cry Fut although cry Neg bid-Plur and hold-Ref1-Caus-Plur
 ki hec'el unj is he kakisyapi. Naiš wik'oskalaka ki he e c'a hakataku
 Top thus for Foc that torment-Plur or young woman Top that is as sibling-her

unj ic'ikte hanjšaš wic'a ki c'eye sni tk'a tohanl zuya áya hanjšaš
 for kill-Ref1 if man Top cry Neg but when raid they-go if
 óp'a na okic'ize hanjšaš ohañ ogna iyaya c'an hec'el es kahuhugapi
 join and be battle if among through go away when thus indeed crush-Plur
 naiš tuktektel hec'unpi sni c'an is eya ic'ikte s'a. Hec'el hakatakic'iyapi
 or sometimes that-do-Plur Neg when Foc kill-Ref1 I ter thus sibling have-Rec-Plur
 ki hena nakun tóhunweni lila akic'iyutapi sni naiš woglakapi sni tk'a tuwa
 Top those also never very look at-Rec-Plur Neg or speak-Plur Neg but who
 t'ókeca ieskak'iya woglakapi s'a. Taku ekic'iyapi ki oyaš'in ec'ehci ec'unpi
 be different interpret speak-Plur I ter what say-Rec-Plur Top all thus-Int do-Plur
 hci na tanyan akic'iyuptapi ec'eca. Ohinni kic'iyuonihayan kic'ic'uwapi na
 Int and well answer-Rec-Plur always always honour-Rec treat-Rec-Plur and
 waec'akic'ic'unpi na tohanl taku wóihá ec'unpi hanjšaš tunweni
 act-Rec-Plur and when thing mockery do-Plur if never
 ikic'ihapi sni tk'a tohanl ikic'ihapi c'an hena yupa'tuš iwic'acupi
 laugh at-Rec-Plur Neg but when laugh at-Rec-Plur when those bend over take-them-Plur
 na wic'akabubupi na hec'el "Paepi"²³ keyapi na héc'unpi na hehanl
 and pound-them-Plur and thus infringe-Plur say-Plur and this do-Plur and then
 k'oskalaka wanji t'awic'ut'unj hanjšaš wiyayan ki t'unjanju ki tunweni
 youth one marry if woman Top father in law-her Top never
 lila kic'ic'iyuta sni tk'a eyaš wistelkic'ic'iyapi na nakun k'unju ki
 very with look at-Rec-Neg but but be shy-Rec-Plur and also mother-his Top
 iyec'el kic'ic'iyuzé. Tk'a k'unju ki he e kic'ic'iwólaka okihi na
 like with regard-Rec but mother-his Top that is with speak can and
 t'unjanju ki he is t'ak'osku ki kic'ic'iyuonihayan hanjšaš
 father in law-her Top he Foc daughter in law-her Top with infringe if
 is wic'akabubupi sni tk'a he is t'ogyé ec'unpi. He is nakpa yuhlatapi.
 Foc them-beat-Plur Neg but she Foc otherwise do-Plur she Foc ear scratch-Plur.
 Tona t'unjanju wic'ayapi el yanpapi ki hena e epi c'a
 some father in law-them-have-Plur at sit-Plur Top those be (Red)-Plur as
 héc'awic'unpi na nakun tona k'unjupi hecinhan hena nakun
 them-do this-Plur and also some mother-their Top those also
 héc'awic'unpi. Na hehanl wic'a ki is tuktektel tuktel wic'awoħa unj
 them-do this-Plur and then man Top Foc sometimes where son in law live
 ehanjšaš t'awicu kic'ic'iyušica hanjšaš t'unjanju ki el hi
 if wife-his with be bad-Rec if father in law-his Top to come
 na nup'in c'unjwitku na t'ak'osku ki kic'ic'iyuonihayan c'eyas tóhunweni
 and both daughter-his and son in law-his Top with them-instruct but never
 t'ak'osku ki ayuta sni tk'a eyaš wókiyaka okihi. K'unju ki is kic'ic'iyuonihayan
 son in law-his Top look at Neg but but speak-Dat can Mother-her Top Foc with
 tak-ekic'iyá okihi sni tk'a tohanl okic'iyušicapi ehanjšaš hehanl ec'in
 what-say-Rec can Neg but when be bad-Rec-Plur if then of course
 kic'iyuonihayan sni ki he unj kađi sni iapi ekic'iyapi na ec'el
 honour-Rec-Plur Neg Top that for prevent Neg speak-Plur speak-Rec-Plur and accordingly
 henala kta keyapi c'an ayaštanpi. Ho hec'el wistelkic'ic'iyapi na
 these Dim-Fut say-Plur when finish speaking-Plur So thus be shy-Rec-Plur and
 kic'iyuonihayan na wic'asa iyec'el kic'ic'uwapi ki he lena unj.
 honour-Rec-Plur and man like treat-Rec-Plur Top that these for

²³ pae/wapae 'infringe a custom' particularly used in the context of avoidance relationships. The verb may also be used for the appropriate punishment as Buechel 1970 has it as 'to inflict punishment'.

Na tohanñi ec'etuk'iyapi sni naiñš kic'icajujupi sni lenanakiya
 And never even scores-Plur Neg or pay-Rec-Plur Neg these (Red)-Loc
otakuye ki kic'iyuonihapñi na tuweni otakuye ki kic'iyuzapi sni tk'a tuwa
 relative Top honour-Rec-Plur and no one relative Top hold-Rec-Plur Neg but who
takuyapi sni hanñanħaš ecela yuzapi. Tuwa otakuye gluza c'a he c'añte witko
 relative have-Plur Neg if only take-Plur who relative Poss-hold as that heart mad
kec'añkipi.
 think-Plur

Le t'itakuye gluzapi kep'e ci le lehañ wañšpepi ki hetanħan
 this relative Poss-hold-Plur I-say Top this now be educated-Plur Top then-from
tuwa c'iñpika kic'iyuzapi tk'a is e ehañni wic'oh'añ c'a oblake lo. Nakuñ lehanñuk-
 who wish-Plur hold-Rec-Plur but Foc is long ago custom as I-tell also now
eša tona wašicu wic'oh'añ uñspepi sni ki hena tuweni hec'uñ sni na
 even some white man custom learn-Plur Neg Top those no one this do Neg and
wištełkic'ic'iyapi ki lena nakuñ nahañħci hec'uñpi wašicu wóuñspe slolyapi
 be shy-Rec-Plur Top these also still this do-Plur white man learning know-Plur
ki eepi kayeš nakuñ eya nahañħci tanñan asñipi sni.
 Top be (Red)-Plur even also Foc still well cure-Plur Neg

Translation

Among the Lakota the way that young men and young women, who were siblings, regarded each other and how they behaved towards each other and what customs they were supposed to follow was like this. If they followed these customs incorrectly, this was regarded as shameful and sometimes they committed suicide or the women would hang themselves. Because of these things, they would do these things. If a young man's female cousin or even his elder sister²⁴ was made to feel ashamed for something and she killed herself without the young man knowing and then if people discovered which person she had done this because of, even if the one on whose account she had killed herself wished to cry, they would tell him not to cry and they would torment him so as to make him control himself. And if a girl had killed herself because of her brother, the man would not cry, but, if the people went to war, he would join them and, if there was a battle, he would go among them and be struck down or sometimes if they did not do that, he would kill himself. Thus also these siblings did not look much at each other or speak much, but used another person as an intermediary. They tried to always do exactly what they said to each other and always answered each other properly. They always treated each other and acted towards each other with respect and when the other did something amusing, they never laughed at each other. But, if they did laugh at each other, they would bend them over and beat them. This they called "Paepi" punishment and they did this. And then, when a young man married, his wife never looked much at her father in law and rather they were in avoidance relationship with each other. Also she would have a similar attitude towards his mother and could speak with his mother and if her father in law infringed the custom with his daughter in law, they did not beat them, but cut gashes in the girl's ear.

They did this only with those who lived with their father in law and they did this also with their mothers (in law). And then if a man was sometimes somewhere living as a son in law (in his parents in laws' home), if he fell out with his wife, he would go to his father in law and they (the community) would instruct both the daughter and son in law, but he would never look at his daughter in law, but he could talk to her. Her mother could not talk to him, but when they fell out with each other, then of course, because they had lost respect for each other, they spoke to each other without restraint and accordingly they said it was finished

²⁴ Note here that the terms 'brother' and 'sister' in Lakota custom include children of the maternal aunt or paternal uncle.

and they finished speaking. And in this way they avoided each other and respected each other and treated each other like men for this reason.

And they never tried to get even with each other or pay each other off. In these ways relatives respected each other. And relatives did not marry each other; people only married if they were non relatives. If someone married a relative, they thought he was mad.

This business of marrying relatives, which I mention, since they have become educated, people marry whoever they wish. But what I am speaking about now is the old custom. And even now those people, who have not been educated in the white man's way, do not do this and they also still practise avoidance. They have experienced the white man's education, but even so they are not yet cured (of these ways).

Text 3. War Customs. Bushotter text 110

Lak'ota ki ehañni Šahiyela na Sapa Wic'asa ob kic'izapi tk'a Sapa Wic'asa ki
 Lakota Top long ago Cheyenne and Black Man with fight-Plur but Black Man Top
tohanñ c'eyapi c'añ taku-t'aññipi sni šk'e na ohitkapi-ħcaka šk'e. Šahiyela
 when cry-Plur when what-appear-Plur Neg Inf and be bold-Plur-Int Inf Cheyenne
ki is Lak'otapi s'elec'eca na k'oškalka ki tanñanñan igluzapi šk'e.
 Top Foc Lakota-Plur be as if and young man Top well (Red) hold Refl-Plur Inf
Wañjigji is eya wap'aha obleca uñpi šk'e na tuktektel is eya wañji-t'okt'ok
 one (Red) 3rd Foc warbonnet be square wear-Plur Inf and sometimes 3rd Foc one-different
natañ hiyupi naiñš aglagla iñyanñkapi šk'e ci hec'uñpi na ak'eš kic'ic'utepi na
 attack come-Plur or along run-Plur Inf Top do this-Plur and again shoot-Red-Plur and
kat'a hiyukic'iyapi na nakuñ t'a-šunke k'o owañji najiñ akat'iyec'iyapi
 strike come-Rec-Plur and also his-horse also one place stand Loc-strike send-Rec-Plur
na hanñeya anakic'itanñi na eya wela s'e ihpekic'iyapi na mat'o-kic'izapi
 and finally attack-Rec-Plur and Foc blood-Dim App leave-Rec-Plur and bear-fight-Plur
C'añke tuwa ec'uñ t'aññi sni naiñš tuwa iciya t'aññi sni ec'uñpi šk'e. Wic'asa
 so who do be apparent Neg or who help be apparent Neg do-Plur Inf man
wañjigji wañ-tonana-apa heyata wic'agloglupi na k'oħanñ ħmuñ s'e
 one-(Red) arrow-some (Red)-stuck away them-take home-Poss-Plur and while buzz-App
skañpi. Wañjigji hoksike sni c'eyapi šk'e. Na wana tanñanñ iñic'ikinic'api na
 move-Plur one-(Red) youth Neg cry-Plur Inf and now well fight over-Rec-Plur and
Šahiyela ki t'iyana kitanñi tk'a ec'el anawic'atanñi na t'iyawic'aya-
 Cheyenne Top homeward rush-Plur but thus them-attack-Plur and go home-them-Caus-
-pi na t'iwohañ ak'e ekic'izapi šk'e. Hehañ t'at'añka ota c'añke hec'a k'o
 -Plur and house-among again fight-Plur Inf then buffalo many so be such also
t'iwohañhanñ ahiwic'aktepi šk'e.
 house-among kill-them-Plur Inf

Winyañ wañjigji wayaka wic'ayuzapi na t'ehiya wic'ak'uwapi keyapi na
 woman one-(Red) captive them-hold-Plur and cruelly them-treat-Plur say-Plur and
ec'el wañjigji Lak'otata awic'aglupi na wic'ayuzapi keyapi naiñš
 thus one-(Red) Lakota-Loc them-take home-Plur and them-hold-Plur say-Plur or
wic'aktepi. Šunñak'añ k'o awic'aglupi na iħañhepi ehañ wakte
 them-kill-Plur horse also them-take home-Plur and Rel-night then in triumph
agñi. C'añke ite-sabkiyapi na hanñhepi ataya-kinil iwakic'ipi
 Plur-come home so face black-Poss-Caus-Plur and night all-almost Rel-dance-Dat-Plur
na ec'el aña šk'e. Winyañ tona c'iñc'a wakte glipi ki hena wak'oyakapi
 and thus dawn Inf woman some child triumph come home-Plur Top those dress-Plur
na wac'ipi naiñš wañjigji t'awic'aopi hecinħanñ tuktektel
 and dance-Plur or one-(Red) them-wound-Plur Top somewhere (Red)
wic'aopi ki el ħunñkupi naiñš t'awicupi ki c'uwigñaka
 them-wound-Plur Top at mother-his-Plur or Poss-wife-Plur Top dress

-akatanhan we áháhaya kic'agapi na ite sabkiyapi na el
 -upon blood flowing Poss-make-Plur and face black-Poss-Cause-Plur and at
 hot'uq'wac'ipi na tona c'inca wic'aktepi ki hena wac'ipi sni tk'a t'anjkal
 call dance-Plur and some child them-kill-Plur Top those dance-Plur Neg but outside
 najinpi na icilowanpi na ak'e c'ajeyal-wic'akilowanpi na hehanj
 stand-Plur and for sing-Plur and again name call-them-Dat-sing-Plur and then
 c'eyapi na uq'mapi ki ak'e is wiyuskiq-wac'ipi
 cry-Plur and other-Plur Top again Foc rejoice-dance-Plur
 Wic'asa ki is ihinhanpi ehan p'ejí wac'ipi na wakt-oglakapi c'an
 man Top Foc Rel-morning then grass dance-Plur and triumph-speak-Plur when
 he oyate ki el tuweni t'iyanké sni wawanyankapi na ekta otantanyankel wic'aska.
 that people Top in no one house sit Neg spectate-Plur and at in fitting ways Coll-move
 Le Lak'ota ki ehanpi Sahiyela iwakte agli ki hehanj ecela
 this Lakota Top long ago Cheyenne Rel-triumph Plur-come home Top then only
 tuktektel oiyokipi keyapi.
 sometimes rejoice say-Plur
 Nakuj Lak'ota ki zuya ai s'a na takuku oslolyapi ki hena uq
 also Lakota Top raid Plur-go I ter and what-(Red) know-Plur Top those for
 c'ast'uqpi he uq ohitiyela skanpi na tohanj t'oka etan ob olak'ol-kagapi
 name have-Plur that for boldly move-Plur when enemy from with friendship-make-Plur
 sni hanjanhanj hehanj kic'izapi na Ikce Wic'asa iye-nakic'ih'unpi sni ki hena
 Neg if then fight-Plur and normal man speak-hear-Rec-Plur Neg Top those
 ob kic'is-unpi na lec'ala le hoksila wayawapi ki hetan olak'ota
 with fight-live-Plur and recently that young study-Plur Top that-from friendship
 kagapi ki hena uq hec'unpi. Tk'a tuktektel nahanjci olak'ota sni hec'el
 make-Plur Top those for this do-Plur but sometimes still friendship Neg thus
 tuktektel uq'inqika ya uqkokhipi sni na nakuj is eya Lak'ota unpi ki ekta
 sometimes we-wish-as go we-can Neg and also 3rd Foc Lakota live-Plur Top at
 upi sni tk'a tohanj wahowic'ayapi hanjanhanj ecela hipi Lak'ota ki tohunjwel
 come-Plur Neg but when warn-them-Plur if only come-Plur Lakota Top one time
 K'ulwic'asa T'ipi ki el Omaha wahowic'ayapi na hena sunk'iwahowic'ayapi.
 Low Man live-Plur Top at Omaha warn-them-Plur and those horse Rel-them-warn-Plur
 C'anjke ahi. Yunk'anj wanji sunkawak'anj k'upi sni hanj it'okab awic'ap'api
 so Plur-come then one horse give-Plur Neg then before strike-them-Plur
 na hehanj wic'ak'upi. Hena t'ok'ap'api keyapi na uq hec'unpi. Le
 and then them-give-Plur those enemy-strike-Plur say-Plur and for that-do-Plur this
 t'oka tuwa ap'a c'anj wowitanjka keyapi nainj hena ohitiwic'alapi nainj
 enemy who strike when pride say-Plur or those brave-count-them-Plur or
 tuwa zuya ye s'a hanjanhanj nakuj he oyate oksanj hiyeye ci hena ekta k'o
 who raid go I ter if also that people around scatter Top those at also
 c'aje ot'anjipi ki he uq hec'ehci Lak'ota ki ohitikiq kte hci
 name be apparent-Plur Top that for thus-Int Lakota Top be bold Fut Int
 kic'ipatanpi. Na taku t'ehika oyas'iq ak'ib-wac'iqpi s'a na c'aje ki lila
 vie with-Rec-Plur and what be difficult all meet-try-Plur I ter and name Top very
 ot'anjipi kte ci hecela k'uwapí ki he uq Lak'ota ki ohitikapi kte hci na
 be apparent-Plur Fut Top only try-Plur Top that for Lakota Top be bold Plur Fut Int and
 wic'unt'e ki he taku-k'iyapi sni. Nakuj takuni kagipi sni tk'a ohitikapi ki
 death Top that what-Caus-Plur Neg also nothing hinder-Plur Neg but be bold-Plur Top
 hecela awac'iqpi na ec'ana t'itakuye wanwic'aglakapi kta kec'inqi. He
 this only think of-Plur and soon family see-Poss-them-Plur Fut think-Plur that
 wanagiyata c'a ewac'inqi na tohanjuka k'es t'a c'inqi s'a. Tok'el kic'izapi
 spirit-Loc as think of-Plur and when ever die want-Plur I ter how fight-Plur

ki hena tanyan iyec'injka uqspepi na tuweni uqspewic'ak'iyé sni nainj tuweni
 Top those well naturally know-Plur and no one know-them-Caus Neg or no one
 iyaye wic'asi sni tk'a wic'asa otoiyo hi tok'el c'injka ec'el ec'unj na tuwa c'eyiq nainj
 go away them-bid Neg but man every how want thus do and who cry or
 wayazangla c'anj he winyanj op'eya yawapi na he wówac'injye sni.
 be ill when that woman among count-Plur and that depend upon Neg

Translation

In the old days the Lakota used to fight the Cheyenne and Utes, but when the Utes cried they would be transformed and it seems²⁵ they fought very fiercely. The Cheyenne on the other hand were like the Lakota and their young men would dress beautifully (for war), it is said. Some among them would wear the warbonnet and sometimes they would attack in turns individually or would gallop along the opposing line. This they would do and again they (the two sides) would shoot at each other and come and strike at each other. Also they (individuals from opposing sides) would stand with their horse in one place and rush forward to fight and charge at each other and leave each other bleeding (on the ground) and fight like bears²⁶ (wildly). So in the confusion one could not see who was doing what and one could not see to help (a comrade). Some men of their own side they would carry away pierced with many arrows while meanwhile all fought excitedly. Some wept in an unmanly way and now they fought well over the disputed area and the Cheyenne rushed towards their tipis, but they attacked them again there and drove them in among the tipis and they fought among the tipis. At that time there were many buffaloes²⁷. So they killed many of them among the tipis.

They captured one or two women and treated them harshly, so they say. Some also they took back with them and took them as wives or killed them. They also carried off some horses and on the next night arrived home in triumph. So they painted their faces black and danced the scalp dance almost the whole night and dawn rose upon them. Women whose sons had killed an enemy wore insignia and some whose sons had been wounded, their mothers or wives painted blood flowing on their dresses in the places where they (their sons or husbands) had been wounded. And they painted their faces black and danced calling out. Those whose sons had been killed did not dance, but stood outside the circle and sung the death song for them and sung calling out their names. And then they cried and the others carried on dancing in celebration.

On the next morning the men danced the grass dance and recounted their deeds and no one among the people stayed in their tipi, but all watched the proceedings and acted in fitting ways. They say that in the old days the Lakota were only really happy when they triumphed over the Cheyenne.

Also they say that the Lakota would go to war repeatedly and, because they would become famous for those things which they experienced, they would strive boldly. So long as they had not made peace with a foreign people, they would make war on them and they were in a state of war with those Indians whose language they did not understand. Recently when our young men have been educated, they have made peace. For this reason they have done it. But sometimes, when we have not yet made peace, we still cannot go to those places as we wish and they cannot come to where the Lakota live. They can only come if they warn us beforehand. At one time the Lakota at Lower Brule made an announcement to the

²⁵ 'it seems'. The Inferential suffix *-sk'a/e* occurs frequently in this text. It is usually translated 'it is said, it seems'. In many places for stylistic reasons I do not translate it.

²⁶ 'like bears'. The bear is a symbol of fierceness and bravery. The verbs *yumat'o/blumat'o* 'cause to be like a bear' and *kamat'o/wakamat'o* 'strike and cause to be like a bear' both mean 'to anger, infuriate'.

²⁷ It seems that buffalo had strayed or stampeded in among the tipis adding to the confusion.

Omaha Indians. They arranged to meet them to trade horses. So they came and on this occasion, before any one gave a horse to another, he would strike him and then give it to him. They called this "counting coup" and did it for this reason. Whoever counted coup on an enemy, regarded this as an honourable act and such people were considered brave. And whoever went frequently on the war path became well known among the different peoples living around. For this reason the Lakota vied with each other in trying to act bravely and tried to encounter all difficult situations. The Lakota acted with bravery and counted death as nothing because only by behaving in this way would their name become known. And they were not hindered by anything, but only thought of brave deeds. They thought that in this way they would soon see their (dead) relatives again. They thought about the Spirit World and wished to die at any time. These ways of fighting they learnt naturally and no one had taught them and no one commanded them to leave camp (on a war party), but each man did as he wished. Any one who cried or was always ill, they counted as one of the women and did not rely on him (for brave deeds).

Text 4. Holy men and healers. Bushotter text 109 (adapted from two versions)

Wic'asa wanjigji wak'an iglawapi na wap'iyapi naiṣ Heyok'api Mat'o wahanpi,
man one (Red) be holy count-Ref1-Plur and heal-Plur or Heyoka-Plur bear cook-Plur
Wak'an wac'ipi, Wakinyanpi, taku wak'anlapi naiṣ takuku oḥan wak'anyan
holy dance-Plur fly-Plur what holy-consider-Plur or what (Red) deed sacredly
ec'unpi ki hena wic'asa ki lec'el ec'unpi. Hena oanpetu wanji el wic'aho wan
do-Plur Top those man Top thus do-Plur those day one in human-voice one
nah'unpi na takewic'ak'iyapi un hec'etu keyapi naiṣ c'an wanji hanhepi
hear-Plur and what-them-say-Dat-Plur for happen thus say-Plur or tree one night
ehan kic'i woglakapi na taku ec'unwic'asi ki ec'el ec'unpi keyapi. Taku wók'unze
then with speak-Plur and what do-them-bid Top thus do-Plur say-Plur what rule
c'a wic'asa wan yuk'an kte ci he k'o hec'el okiyakapi kec'inpi. Na he tuwe
so man one exist Fut Top that also thus speak-Dat-Plur think-Plur and that who
ki tohan nika ec'un omani un sa. Naiṣ wic'asa wanji wap'iya un sa hec'el wasuk'iyapi
Top when live do walk be Iter or man one heal be Iter thus rule-Plur
hanthanṣ. Lena taku ki wic'asa ki hena ihanblapi keyapi tk'a Keyaṣ tók'ehci he
if those what Top man Top those dream-Plur say-Plur but but how-Int that
ihanblapi ki tan'yehci oglakapi sni.
dream-Plur Top well-Int tell Neg

Keyaṣ wic'asa ki taku ihanmni²⁸ na iyec'ala ki ec'el t'anin hanthanṣ
but man Top what dream and Rel-soon Top thus be apparent if
he wana iyec'el ec'un kta iyokichanṣu keyapi. Hec'el un le wic'asa wanjigji
that now like do Fut Rel-be time-Ben say-Plur thus for this man one (Red)
wak'anpi keyapi naiṣ wap'iyapi na tuwa wayazan c'an mak'u naiṣ tuktel
be holy-Plur say-Plur or heal-Plur and who be ill when chest or where
wayazan ki el kiyap'api na wówayazan ki yagob icupi keyapi. Tohan wap'iya wanji
be ill Top in tap-Plur and illness Top suck take-Plur say-Plur when heal one
wayazan ki kiyagopi na we naiṣ taku c'uwí etanhan icu c'an tuktel
be ill Top suck-Dat-Plur and blood or what back from take when where
it'agoṣa c'a wayazan ki hunku ki wanyake sa. Wé-sica naiṣ taku c'a un
spit as be ill Top mother-his Top see Iter blood-be bad or what as for
he kakija hecinhan oyake sa. Nakun he ni naiṣ tin kte hecinhan k'o
that suffer Top tell Iter also that live or die Fut Top also
owic'ak'iyake sa.
tell-them-Dat Iter

²⁸ *ihanmniṣ* 'dream'. The stem *ihanbla* assimilates to *ihanmna* when final ablaut before -*kte* nasalizes the final syllable, as mentioned in 1.5.2. *Nasalization*.

Na he tuwe ki tohan²⁹ nika ya iwahowic'aye sa. Lena wic'asa ki
and that who Top when live-like go send word-them-Iter those man Top
hec'ekce un wakamnapi na taku ec'unpi ki hena wic'awicalapi na wap'iyapi
thus (Red) for earn-Plur and what do-Plur Top those them-believe-Plur and heal-Plur
ki hena nakun c'uwí mahel c'etanṣala naiṣ t'óskala na ptehcaka³⁰, sinṣehla
Top those also back in red hawk or woodpecker and buffalo-Int rattlesnake
naiṣ mat'o esasa upi keyapi. Hec'el tuwa wap'iyapi na kak'el imak'a nahtaka
or bear even come-Plur say-Plur thus who heal-Plur and thus Rel-earth-stamp
c'a iyec'ala c'uwí mahel taku wan howaste nahot'unṣun keyapi. Lena ec'in
as Rel-soon back in what one voice-be beautiful call (Red) say-Plur these surely
ho ki hec'api hcin ci he un wicalapi na it'anṣal sna anagoptan
voice Top be such-Plur Int Top that for believe-Plur and Rel-outside Hab listen
najinpi sa. Hena taku c'a c'uwí mahel unpi ki hena epi hcin c'a wap'iyapi
stand-Plur Iter those what as back inside be-Plur Top those be-Plur Int as heal-Plur
c'a taku okhipi sk'e. Tohan t'ehan yagopi na takuni icu sni c'an hehanṣu c'a
as what be able-Plur Inf when long suck-Plur and nothing take Neg when be then as
taku wak'an c'uwí mahel un ki awoglaka c'an hot'unṣun c'an hehan nakeṣ okihi
what be holy back in be Top talk of when call (Red) when then also be able
sní.
Neg

Hena iwic'ahanblapi c'a ob wap'iyapi sk'e. Ehanṣi wic'asa wan iyotan
those them-dream-Plur as with heal-Plur Inf long ago man one most
wak'an c'a wap'iya yuk'an waksica wan mni ojula inṣ'iyé akiglepi yuk'an
be holy as heal then bowl one water full wear-Caus place-Dat-Plur then
gleb'iyeyin na zuzeca mnimahel unpi kun hec'a iyatanhan hiyu keyapi.
vomit-send and snake water-in be-Plur Top be such mouth-from come say-Plur
Waksica ki el onunwin na ak'es el icapa Yuk'an mahel iwaṣtela hcin k'igla
plate Top in in-swim and again in open the mouth then in slowly Int go back
keyapi. Hec'ekcel hena wap'iya ki oḥanpi owic'ayakapi na taku wak'anṣ'anyan
say-Plur thus (Red) those heal Top act-Plur them-tell-Plur and what sacredly (Red)
c'uwimahel unpi ki hena wicalapi na un wak'anwic'alapi sk'e. Ho
back-in be-Plur Top those believe-Plur and for holy-them-count-Plur Inf so
hec'el un hena taku kamnapi. Tuwa iyotan wak'anyan p'ejuta yuha c'a he lila
so thus for those what earn-Plur who most sacredly herb have as that very
wac'inyanpi ki he un waol'ota kamna sa. Winyan nakun wap'iyapi na
depend on-Plur Top that for Ind-much (Red) earn Rep woman also heal-Plur and
lila wak'anwic'ak'iyapi c'an wawic'asipi nanṣna paha ahayela
very be holy-them-Caus-Plur when them-employ-Plur when in great piles
waiglamnawic'ak'iyapi sa.
Ind-earn-Ref1-them-Caus-Plur Iter

Translation

Some men considered themselves holy and would be healers or Heyokas or would perform Bear Feasts or Holy dances or Thunder Being (ceremonies) and used to perform sacred acts or supernatural deeds. These men would do these things. These men had at some time heard a voice and, they say³¹, it had happened in this way because of what (the voice) said to them. Or one night a tree had spoken with them and they say that they had done what the

²⁹ *tohan* 'when' is often used where *tohanyan* 'how long' would be expected.

³⁰ The attachment of *-hcaka* to *pte* 'buffalo' may indicate 'buffalo' in contrast to 'domestic cow', for which the word *pte* is also used.

³¹ 'they say' *keyapi*. Texts dealing with past events not witnessed by the narrator, but regarded as true, will often show *keyapi* or *sk'e* as shown above.

tree told them to do. They think that it (the tree) had told them what sort of law to follow. And this person would continue acting in this way as long as he lived. Or a man might become a healer, if they (the spirits) ruled this way. They say that the man saw these things in a vision, but, however, they do not tell exactly how they saw these visions.

But they say that, if the man saw a vision about something and then this thing appeared to him directly after, then it was time for him to do it (become a healer). For this reason some men were said to be holy or to be healers. If someone was ill, they would tap him on his chest or wherever the man was ill and would suck out the illness. Whenever a healer performed the sucking out ceremony on a sick person and drew out blood or something from their body (lit. 'back'), the mother of the sick person would look at the place where he spat it out and would tell what the bad blood or bad thing was that the sick person had been suffering from. Also he would tell them whether the sick person would live or die.

And this person, they (the spirits) would command to go (in this way) for as long as he lived. These men would earn a living in these ways and they believed in these things that they did and they said that (the spirit of) a red hawk or a woodpecker or buffalo or rattlesnake or even a bear would come into the bodies of these healers. So any one who was a healer and stamped on the earth, straight away, they say, a beautiful voice was heard in his body. These were surely the voices of these (spirits) and for this reason they believed in them and stood outside (the tipi) listening. These were surely the voices of those very same spirits and so they could heal people and had certain powers. When they sucked for a long time and did not get anything out, then they called to the holy being that was inside their body and it called out and still they were unable to do anything.

They saw these things in a vision and performed healing along with them. In the old days a most holy man used to perform healings and then they used to bring a bowl full of water for him and cause him to wear it (around his neck perhaps). Then he would vomit and, they say, a kind of snake which lives in water would come out of his mouth. It would swim in the bowl and then he would open his mouth on it again. Then, they say, it would slowly go back inside. In these ways they recount the ways of the healers and they believed in the supernatural beings that lived in their bodies and for that reason considered them holy. So by this means they were able to make a living. They (the Lakota people) would depend very much on the one who had the most supernatural herbs and for this reason he would always earn a lot. Women also, if they could perform healings and were considered very holy and were employed for the task, would be allowed to earn a lot for themselves.

Appendices

Appendix a) Tribal names

Names of clans of the Sioux nation and Lakota names for neighbouring Indian nations are given here, with an explanation of their meaning in so far as it is known. These are listed in alphabetical order under the usual English appellation. Sometimes this is an anglicization or translation of the original name and sometimes an entirely new English name or a borrowing of a name given them by other Indians.

Main divisions of the Sioux

Santee	Isaŋyet'i 'knife lake dwellers'
Teton	T'it'uŋwaŋ 'dwellers on the plains'
Yankton	I haŋgt'uŋwaŋ 'dwellers at the end'
Yanktonai	I haŋgt'uŋwaŋna 'dwellers at the end (dim)'

Santee clans

Hunkpati	Huŋgpat'ila 'dwellers at the end (dim)'
Leaf Shooter band	Wahpek'ute 'leaf shooters'
Mystic Lake Sioux	Mdewak'aŋt'uŋ 'mystic lake dwellers'
Sisseton	Sisit'uŋwaŋ 'dwellers in the marshes'
Wakpetun	Wahpet'uŋwaŋ 'dwellers in the leaves'

Teton clans

Blackfoot Sioux	Siha Sapa 'black foot'
Brule	Sic'aŋgu 'burnt thigh'
Hunkpapa	Huŋgpap'aya
Lower Brule	K'ul wic'aša 'down country man'
Minneconjou	Mnik'aŋwoju 'planters by the water'
Oglala	Oglala 'scatter their own'
Sans Arcs	I tazibc'o 'without bows'
Two Kettle	Oohenunpa 'two boilings'

Neighbouring Indian nations

Apache	C'iŋcakiza possibly 'creaking wood' referring to a musical instrument
Arapahoe	Mahpiyat'o 'blue cloud'
Arickara, Ree	Het'okt'oka (the element <i>he</i> 'horn' is a translation of the meaning of the native name)
Assiniboine	Hohe 'rough voices'
Bannock	Bánake (rendering of the English name)
Blackfoot	Siha Sapa 'black foot'
Blood Indian, Piegan	We Wic'aša 'blood man'
Cheyenne	Šahiyela 'speaks red (diminutive)'
Comanche	Siŋtehla Wic'aša 'rattle snake man'
Cree	Šahiya 'speaks red', Maštiŋcala Wic'aša 'rabbit (skin) man'
Crow	K'aŋgi Wic'aša 'crow man'
Eskimo	C'ah'ot'ila 'ice dweller'
Flat head	Natableca 'square head', Našunhape possibly 'rustling head braid'
Kansa	K'aŋsa (rendering of native name)
Kutenai	Skútani (rendering of native name)
Mandan	Miwat'ani (possibly a rendering of Minitaree usually called the Hidatsa in English)
Navaho	Sina Gleglega 'striped blanket'
Nez Perce	P'oge Hloka 'pierced nose'

Ojibway, Chippewa	Hahat'unwan 'dweller by the falls', Isoksokapila 'fat lips'
Omaha	Omaha (rendering of native name), Oyate nunpa 'two peoples (villages)'
Osage	Witapahatu 'island on the hill', Wazaza (rendering of native name)
Oto	Watohtahta (rendering of native name)
Pawnee	P'alani (rendering of native name), Scili (rendering of native name)
Quapaw	P'eša 'roach (wearer)'
Ponca	Oyate Yamni 'three peoples (villages)'
Shawnee	Šawani (rendering of the native name)
Shoshone	Susuni (possibly a rendering of the native name), P'ejí Wok'eya Ot'i 'dweller in grass lodge'
Ute	Wic'aša Yuta 'cannibal'
Winnebago	Hot'anġa 'big voice' (also a rendering of the native name Hocank)

Appendix b) Lakota names for items of white culture

Items introduced by white culture into the Lakota way of life lead to the formation of new words to express them. Usually the new item was compared to a general concept already known and then made specific by modification in one of the ways open to the language, either by compounding or affixing.

The different peoples who became known to the Lakota were given descriptive names in the same way as where other Indian nations. The word *wasicu* 'white man' seems to be a specialization of an old word for 'spirit'³², which is now generally replaced in that meaning by the word *wanagi*. This may have been because the white skin of the Europeans bore a resemblance to the Lakota concept of spirits. This term probably referred initially to the French, who were the first Europeans the Lakota met. Other Europeans are referred to specifically as follows. The British are called *Ogle Ša* 'red coats' or *Ogle Luta* 'scarlet coat' and the Americans *Mila Haŋska* 'long knives', alluding in both cases to their military accoutrements. The British are also called *Šaglaša*, a rendering of the French 'Les Anglais'. The Germans are called *Ia Šica* 'bad speaking', referring either to their incomprehensible tongue or the fact that they spoke English with a strong accent. The Chinese, who were familiar as workers on the railroad, were called *Pec'oka Haŋska* 'long top-knot' and the Afro Americans *Ha Sapa* 'black skin'. When Canada and the United States were separated, Canada became known as *Uŋciši T'amak'oc'e* 'Grandmother's Land', alluding to Queen Victoria, and the President of the United States and by extension their government became known as *T'uŋkašila* 'Grandfather'.

Items of machinery and tools were named by expressions involving the word *maza* 'metal, iron' or its truncated forms *mas-* or *maz-*. These include *imaziyap'a* 'hammer' (« *i-* instrumental, *iyap'a* 'hit against'), *išta maza* 'eye glasses, telescope' (« *išta* 'eye'), *maswiyokataŋ* 'nail' (« *wi-* instrument, *okataŋ* 'nail in') *maza wak'aŋ* 'gun' (*wak'aŋ* 'be mysterious'), *mazaic'iyok'ihē* 'chain' (« *ic'i-* Ditr, *ok'ihē* 'join'), *mazaska* 'silver' (« *ska* 'be white'), *mazaska zi* 'gold' (« *ska* 'be white', *zi* 'be yellow'), *mazop'iyē* 'store, shop' (« *op'iyē* 'keep in'), *mazaškaŋškaŋ* 'clock' (« *škaŋ* 'move' probably in reference to the pendulum), *omasap'e* 'telegraph, telephone' (« *o-* nominal formative, *ap'e* 'strike').

The unfamiliarity of many objects of white culture was reflected in the use of the verb *wak'aŋ* 'be mysterious, sacred' as in *maza wak'aŋ* 'gun' (« *maza* 'iron'), *mniwak'aŋ* 'alcohol' (« *mni* 'water'), *suŋka wak'aŋ* 'horse' (*suŋka* 'dog'). As with *suŋka wak'aŋ* 'horse', new domesticated animals were compared with already known animals, as in *pte gleska* 'cow' (« *pte* 'buffalo cow', *gleska* 'be speckled'), *t'ahca suŋkala* 'sheep' (« *t'ahca* 'deer', *suŋka* 'dog, domesticated animal').

³² An alternative interpretation favoured by some native Lakota scholars refers *wasicu* to *wašij icu* 'one who takes the fat' i.e. 'eats the best part of the meat.'

Appendix c) the Lakota time system

The Lakota time system divided the year into four seasons, the peak of which was *waniyetu* 'winter' related to *wa-* 'snow'. This was the hardest part of the year to survive and a year, as a countable item, could be referred to as *waniyetu* 'a winter' or alternatively as *ómak'a* related to the word *mak'a* 'earth', referring to the yearly cycle of earthly change. Although no universal way of counting the years was recognized, individual bands recorded the years on *waniyetu wówapi* 'winter counts', where each year was represented by a pictograph, referring to a memorable event within the Sioux tribal memory and inscribed on a deerskin in a spiral pattern with the earliest year at the vortex. The discovery of the Black Hills is recorded in the year 1775-6 (Hassrick 1964: 65).

The seasons other than *waniyetu* 'winter', all of which show the time suffix *-tu* referred to under 4.11., are *wetu* 'spring' cognate with *we* 'blood', *bloketu*, 'summer' possibly connected with *blo* 'male' and *ptanyetu* 'autumn, fall'. The year was divided into lunar months called *wi* 'moon' or more strictly 'celestial orb', the Lakotas distinguishing *anpetu wi* 'orb of the day' and *hanhepi wi* 'orb of the night'. The Lakota months are named after seasonal events of the year, beginning with *Magaksica Agli wi* 'month when the ducks come home', which marked the beginning of spring. Alternative naming systems exist for the months, but one system is as follows. Following *Magaksica Agli wi* in succession are *C'aŋwap'et'uŋ wi* 'month when the trees give leaf', alternatively called *Wójuŋ wi* 'Planting month', *T'iqpsila wi* 'wild turnip month', *C'aŋp'a Sapa wi* 'black choke berry month', *K'aŋta Ša wi* 'red plum month', *C'aŋwap'e Gi wi* 'brown leaf month', *C'aŋwap'e Kasna wi* 'rustling leaf month', *Waniyetu wi* 'winter month', *Wanic'okaŋ wi* 'mid winter month', *T'eŋi wi* 'difficult month', *C'aŋnap'opa wi* 'snapping twigs month' and *Ištawic'ayazaŋpi wi* 'sore eyes month', referring to snow blindness. As these months were lunar, they did not correspond exactly to the solar year and occasionally *Magaksica Agli wi* 'month when the ducks come home' would be reached, with no ducks appearing. In this case the month would be renamed *T'aŋiqšni wi* 'not apparent month' as a type of 'leap-month' and the following month would be taken as *Magaksica Agli wi* 'month when the ducks come home'. Nowadays the Lakota lunar month names are applied to the solar months of the Julian Calendar, beginning with April as *Magaksica Agli wi*.

The Lakotas had no concept of weeks or days of the week, but with the coming of Christianity, the word *Anpetu Wak'aŋ* 'sacred day' came to be used for 'Sunday', while the other days were referred to by numbers counting from Sunday, giving *Anpetu Tokahe* 'first day, Monday', *Anpetu Nunpa* 'day two, Tuesday', *Anpetu Yamni* 'day three, Wednesday', *Anpetu Topa* 'day four, Thursday', *Anpetu Zaptaŋ* 'day five, Friday' and *Owanġa Yujajapi* 'washing the floor, Saturday', the last referring to dormitory cleaning in boarding schools. The word *oko* 'space' came to be used for 'week'.

The times of day were referred to by reference to the sun and moon as follows: *anpetu* 'day', *anpao* 'dawn', *hiŋhaŋna* 'morning', *wic'okaŋ hiyaye* 'sun passes in the middle, noon', *wic'okaŋ sam iyaye* 'the sun passes more than the middle, afternoon', *htayetu* 'evening', *htaokpaza* 'evening dark, dusk', *hanhepi, hanyetu* 'night', *hanġ'okaŋ* 'mid night'. The clock times were referred to as *oap'e* 'striking, hour' and *oap'e cik'ala* 'little striking, minute'.

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