# Sketch of Lakhota, a Siouan Language, Pt. I

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<u>Part II</u>

## 1. Phonology

Table 1 gives the consonant phonemes of Sioux, and table 2, the vowels. The discussion that follows specifies the significant variants of these phonemes for the Teton dialect. Although the transcription is phonemic, it uses and adapts some conventions and diacritics from earlier practical orthographies and uses capitalization and punctuation in accordance with written English norms.

Table 1. Lakhota Consonants							
		Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Post Velar	Glottal
Obstruen	ts		-		-	<u>.</u>	-
	voiceless plain	p	t	č	k		?
	voiceless aspirated	ph	th	čh	kh		
stops	voiceless glottalized	$p^{?}$	$t^{?}$	Č <sup>?</sup>	$k^{?}$		
	voiced	b			8		
c ·	voiceless plain		s	Š		ň	
fricatives	voiced		z	ž		ğ	
Resonant	S						
nasals		m	n		8		
lateral			l				
Glides		w		у			h

#### Table 2. Lakhota Vowels

		Front	Central	Back
high	oral	i		и
high	nasal	iŋ		иŋ
mid		e		0
1	nasal		a	
low	oral		aŋ	

#### Stress and Pitch

' relative loudness, high pitch

Diacritics used in phonetic transcriptions

- ` less loud than vowels stressed
- ^ fading loudness, high fall
- <sup>v</sup> increasing loudness, high rising pitch

ар **ў** 0, 0n Э ў <u>ае, ае</u>n æ æ

### **1.0.** Consonants

There are either 26 or 28 consonant phonemes in Lakhota, depending on how **[b]** and **[g]** are counted (1.1.3.).

#### 1.1. Stops

/**p**, **t**, **k**, <sup>?</sup>/ are plain oral stops articulated at labial, dental, velar, and glottal positions. / $\check{c}$ / is a palatal affricate, but it patterns with the stops. The sounds represented by *p*, *t*, *k* can be compared with the English sounds represented by the letters *p*, *t*, and *c* in the words *spar*, *star*, and *scar*. English has no exact equivalent for the sound represented by Lakhota  $\check{c}$ , but the reader can easily create the sound by inventing an English word such as *schar*, pronounced to rhyme with *spar*, *star*, and *scar*: *ch* is here pronounced like Lakhota  $\check{c}$ . Lakhota words that contain these sounds are:

sa'pa 'black' yu'ta 'to eat' sa'ka 'to dry' heča' 'buzzard'.

/<sup>?</sup>/ represents a soundless hiatus between other sounds: the hiatus occurs when the air stream is interrupted by tight closure of the glottis. The characteristic "sound" of this consonant is the sharp interruption of the air stream that occurs when the glottis is abruptly closed or an audible pop when the closure is released. An English example is the interjection *oh oh*? **[o'**<sup>?</sup>**o]** uttered by English speakers when they are confronted by something unexpected. Lakhota examples are:

 $a^{2}u'$  'to bring here'  $a^{2}i'$  'to take there'.

#### **1.1.1. Aspirated Stops**

The aspirated stops of Lakhota consist of a stop closure followed by a release accompanied by either glottal or velar friction. When the release has glottal friction, the sound is very much like the English aspirated stops found before stressed vowels as in the following English words: *pick*, *tick*, *chick*, and *kick*. Release with glottal friction occurs in Lakhota with *čh* and with the other aspirated stops before the vowels /**i u iŋ**/. Glottal friction is also sometimes heard before the vowel /**uŋ**/. Lakhota words in which the aspirated stops have glottal friction are the following:

phi' 'liver'
thi' 'to live'
čha 'so'
khi' 'to reach home there'
phu' 'rotten (wood)'
nuphiŋ' 'both'
phute' 'upper lip'.

Before other vowels except /e/ the aspiration is velar in release, rather than glottal. There are no English equivalents to the sound of the aspirated stops of this kind; they can be compared with the sound of the Navajo aspirated stops if these are know to the reader. Examples of velar release are the following:

[pxa']	'head'
[txa'pa]	'ball'
[kxa'ta]	'hot'
[txo']	'blue, green'
[kxa']	'to signify'
[txezi']	'stomach'
[otxuŋ'wahe]	'village'.

The distribution of the two kinds of release described above is not absolute: both kinds of release occur before the vowel /e/, and before this vowel, the distinction is phonemic in particular ideolects. It should be noted that all speakers agree on the nature of aspiration except before the vowel /e/ and that in these cases there is no variation: a speaker pronounces a given word with either one or the other kind of release quite consistently. The distinction is thus more lexical than phonological. Examples of this kind are:

[pheži', pxeži'] 'grass'
[phehiŋ', pxehiŋ'] 'hair of the head'.

Some speakers pronounce these words with glottal friction, others with velar friction, as indicated. Because the distinction between [h] and [x] is so nearly predictable and because speakers disagree about those places where it is not predictable, all aspirated stops are presented here as consonant plus [h]: *pha'* 'head', *tha'pa* 'ball', *kha'ta* 'hot', etc.

(Velar friction regularly occurs before the vowel /e/ and even before /iŋ/ whenever these are a result of a vowel change at the end of a word (4.3.2.6). For example, the word *kha'* [kxa'] 'to mean' keeps its velar friction if changed into *khe'* or *khiŋ'*. Jan Ullrich.)

#### 1.1.2. Glottalized Stops

The glottalized stops of Lakhota are ejectives; these sounds are not found in English or in any Western European languages. Ejective sounds are formed by the near simultaneous release of two closures, one in the mouth at the position of the stop, the other in the larynx at the glottis. Some compression of the air in the mouth occurs due to the double closure, and it is the release of this compressed air that gives the characteristic 'crack' when the ejective is released. Lakhota words containing ejective stops are:

 $p^{?}o'$  'fog'  $t^{?}a'$  'dead'  $ic^{?}i\eta'$  'harness'  $k^{?}u'$  'to give'.

#### 1.1.3. Voiced Stops

The phonemes **[b]** and **[g]** represent the same sounds as in English *bet* and *get*. They have a very restricted distribution in Lakhota, occurring only before sonorant consonants ( $\mathbf{lmn}$ ), the voiced glides ( $\mathbf{wy}$ ), and in various kinds of vowel-dropping situations (Section 4.3.1.2.) and reduplication (4.3.2.8.). Since /p/ and /k/ never occur in these positions, /b/ and /g/ are actually positional variants of the plain voiceless stops. There is nevertheless an extremely small number of words where the /b/ is not predictable, so it seems best to consider that sound marginally phonemic. Moreover, there is a long tradition of writing both *b* and *g* when they occur, despite their theoretical status, and that tradition is followed here.

When followed by a sonorant, the stop closure is released before the articulation of the sonorant is begun, giving a voiced, vowellike transition to the sonorant.

The first two of these examples sound very much like the English words *below* and (the first part of) *galore*:

blo''potato'glo''to grunt'to'b'four'sabsa'pa'severally black'sabya''to blacken'patha'g'stopping, halting abruptly'sagsa'ka'dry'nagwa'ka'to kick out the foot'.

### **1.2. Fricatives**

Lakhota has a more extensive fricative system than does English, so some of the Lakhota fricatives have no English counterpart.

#### 1.2.1. Sibilants

Lakhota /s z š ž/ are postdental and palatal in articulation: these sounds can be compared with the highly similar English sounds found in the words *seal*, *zeal*, *rasher*, and *azure*. Lakhota words that contain these sounds are:

Ha'sapa 'Black person' ma'za 'metal' maši' 'he ordered me' pheži' 'grass'.

#### **1.2.2. Velar Fricatives**

The Lakhota velar fricatives  $/\check{\mathbf{h}} \check{\mathbf{g}} / [\mathbf{x} \operatorname{gamma}]$  have no English equivalents, but they can be compared with sounds found in close relatives of English such as German and Spanish.  $/\check{\mathbf{h}} /$  represents the final sound in the German word *Bach* or the initial sound Spanish *jota*. Lakhota examples of this phoneme are:

 $\check{h}e'$  'mountain'  $i\check{h}a'$  'to laugh'  $i\check{h}^{?}e'$  'rock'.

The phoneme  $|\check{g}|$  has two positional variants, one an uvular tap, the other, a midvelar voiced fricative. The former sound occurs in Lakhota before the vowel |i|; an example is the word

ği' 'yellow, brown'.

Compare this to the sound represented by r in French word *Henri* when this name is pronounced very quickly. Examples of the other variant of  $/\mathbf{\check{g}}/$  are the Lakhota words

*ğu'* 'burned' *ka'ğa* 'to make'.

This sound is identical to Spanish g between vowels as in the word pagar 'to pay'.

A lengthened form of the voiced fricatives is found when these are initial before a stressed vowel. Examples of this lengthened fricative sound are:

si' 'foot' ša' 'red' *ho'ta* 'gray'.

#### **1.3. Sonorants**

Lakhota /**m n g**/ are respectively labial, dental, and velar in articulation. All have ready English equivalents: *him*, *sin*, and *sing*. A Lakhota example containing all three sounds is:

šuŋgma'nitu 'coyote'.

For most speakers, Lakhota /l/ has a "clear" rather than a "dark" timbre. It is most like the "clear" *l* of Spanish or Italian *ala* 'wing' or French *elle* 'she'. It never sounds like English "dark" *l* after a vowel, e.g. *ball*, *well*. However, there are reports that some speakers have the same distribution of "clear" and "dark" *l* in Lakhota that they do in English. Lakhota examples of /l/ are:

*le'l* 'here' *thalo'* 'meat' *Lakho'ta* 'Indian'.

## 1.4. Glides

The glides  $/\mathbf{w} \mathbf{y} \mathbf{h}/$  have more conditioned variants than any of the other consonant phonemes of Lakhota, This is probably due to the fact that their status as semivowels makes them highly sensitive to the vocalic environments in which they occur.  $/\mathbf{w} \mathbf{y}/$  are voiced:  $/\mathbf{h}/$  is voiceless.

#### 1.4.1. /w y h/ at the Beginning of a Word

/w y h/ are most clearly pronounced at the beginning of a word. Lakhota examples are:

wa' 'snow'
ya' 'to go'
ha' 'skin'.

Compare these with equivalent English sounds in the same position, as in the words *wet*, *yet*, and *hot*.

### 1.4.2. Glides between Vowels

When the glides come between vowels they are pronounced weakly, if at all. This is particularly the case with /w/ and /y/. Examples are the Lakhota words:

waya'wa'he reads'iya'pi'they say'othuŋ'wahe'town'yuwa'šte'to make good'haŋhe'pi'night'čhaŋhaŋ'pi'sugar'.

#### 1.4.3. Before and between Nasalized Vowels

Before and between nasalized vowels all three Lakhota glides are pronounced with heavy nasalization. English equivalents for the nasalized glides are rare, although the sounds are easy to produce if the velic is open and air passes out of the nasal cavity during their articulation. Examples of nasalized /h/ do occur in English in the informal affirmative and negative particles *uh-huh* [ADhAD'] 'yes' and *uh-uh* [(h)AD'<sup>?</sup>AD] 'no'. Lakhota examples are:

*wiŋ'yaŋ* 'woman' *čhaŋhaŋ'pi* 'sugar'.

## 2. Vowels

The vowel system of Lakhota has five oral vowels and three nasal vowels. They are typically rather short in duration. However, lengthened versions of all the vowels may occur lengthened due to contraction of identical vowels, and two additional long vowels having no short analogues result from the contraction of unlike vowels. Vowel contraction is described in <u>sections 2.3. and 4.3.</u>

### 2.1. Oral Vowels

The five oral vowels are very comparable in their typical value to the five "cardinal" vowels, for example, as these are realized in Spanish. All are "pure"; that is, there is no shift in articulators or articulatory position during their articulation. Pure cardinal vowels are difficult for English speakers to produce because precisely these vowels begin in English with a "pure" vowel and end with a glide pronounced in the same general area. This English glide is usually written with the midvowels /e/ and /o/ but not otherwise. Compare the following:

Lakhota	English
si' 'foot'	see (si+y-glide)
su' 'seed'	sue (su w-glide)
<i>ble'</i> 'lake'	<i>play</i> (ple +y-glide)
<i>blo'</i> 'potato'	<i>below</i> (belo +w-glide).

The vowels /i/ and /u/ are front unrounded and back rounded, respectively. Compare their sounds to the same vowels in Spanish or Italian. Lakhota examples of these vowels are:

*hi'* 'tooth' *hu'* 'leg'.

The vowels /e/ and /o/ are lower-mid; /e/ is front unrounded; /o/ is back rounded. There are no good phonetic analogues for these Lakhota vowels in English or other Western European

languages. The sounds of these vowels are somewhat more open than the accepted pronunciation of the cardinal vowels *e* and *o*. Lakhota examples of these vowels are:

*he'* 'horn' *ho'* 'voice'.

The vowel /a/ is low and central, pronounced in Lakhota with its cardinal value: that is, it is pronounced with close to maximum opening. An adequate English analogue is the vowel in the first syllable of the word *father*. A Lakhota example is:

ha' 'skin'.

All Lakhota oral vowels are partially devoiced when they are stressed and in utterance-final position. This devoicing makes it sound like a final h follows the vowel. This is especially noticeable when words are pronounced very carefully, as in citation.

#### 2.2. Nasalized Vowels

Nasalized counterparts exist for the two highest and the single lowest vowel: /iŋ, uŋ, aŋ/. The nasalized vowels are phonetically lax. The sounds of these vowels are comparable to, but not identical with, certain English vowels followed in the same syllable by a nasal consonant. The sound of /iŋ/ and /aŋ/ may be compared with the vowels in *sin* and *nun*. (Note that the comparison is to the sound of the vowel only, without the following nasal consonant.) American English has no equivalent for /uŋ/. Here are Lakhota examples of the nasalized vowels:

*hiŋ'* 'hair' *haŋ'* 'yes' *huŋ'ku* 'his mother'.

While most Lakhota speakers agree as to which vowels are pronounced with nasalization, there are some vowels that are nasalized by some speakers, but not by others. Such cases no doubt represent doublets: both pronunciations are correct. (Compare this with a word such as which in English, where some speakers preaspirate and devoice the /w/. while others pronounce voiced /w/ alone.) Lakhota examples of such doublets are

*ki, kiŋ* 'the' *na'ži, na'žiŋ* 'to stand'.

#### 2.2.1. Nasalized vowels after Nasal Consonants

The vowels /**i**, **u**, **a**/ are always pronounced with some nasalization when they follow a nasal consonant. However, some speakers have a phonemic contrast between nasalized and nonnasalized vowels following nasal consonants. For these speakers, strong nasalization

indicates that the vowel is phonemically nasalized while weak nasalization indicates that the vowel is phonemically oral.

Speakers who have phonemic contrast after nasal consonants probably continue an earlier pattern in the language whereby there was full phonemic contrast in oral and nasal vowels after nasal consonants. That this is not an idiosyncratic feature of some persons' speech is shown by their agreement with speakers of other Sioux dialects such as Nakoda, where full contrast is found after nasal consonants. Some examples of contrasting nasality after nasalized consonants are:

<i>maŋka'</i> 'I sit'	versus maka'	'skunk'
<i>gmuŋ'za</i> 'slimy'	versus gmu'za	'closed, as the fist'
niŋyaŋ' 'cause to live'	versus niya'	'to breathe'

At an abstract level, Patterson (1991) argues for three kinds of vowel nasalization in Lakhota: some vowels are [+nasal], some are [-nasal], and some are unmarked for this feature.

This chapter represents speech in which vowel nasalization is neutralized after nasal consonants, which appears to be the usage of the majority of Lakhota speakers. In this environment only oral vowels are written.

### 2.3. Diphthongs and Contracted Vowels

There is only one diphthong in Lakhota. the sequence **/au**/. This occurs in a single Lakhota word, one of whose functions is as a greeting to a man:

Ha'u! 'greeting to an adult male'

The pronunciation of this word is identical to that of the English word *how*. This word may be a loan from a non-Siouan language.

While the case of diphthongs is quite simple in Lakhota, that of contracted vowels is not. Contracted vowels result from the conflation of syllables through the collapse of a syllable boundary or from the vocalization of consonantal elements followed by conflation with a preceding vowel. Contraction happens most often in rapid, colloquial speech, although there are a few examples where the contraction has become the standard form. A prominent example of this is the word **[a':ta:]** 'entirely', which must have an underlying form with normal short vowels. However, contemporary speakers cannot supply an underlying form for this word, which is unusual. Long contracted vowels of this sort are phonemic; and written double: /a'ataa/.

In almost all cases, the collapse of a syllable or word boundary results from the disappearance of a glide between vowels (section 1.4.2.). After the loss of the glide, the vowels in hiatus contract. The contracted vowel is nasalized if either of the uncontracted vowels was nasalized.

When the original vowels were of the same height, or if assimilation occurs before contraction, a simple long vowel results. Here are examples of this kind of contraction, with pitch marked as explained in <u>section 5.2.</u>:

[ha<sup>v</sup>:pi] 'clothing', < haya'pi
[mi^:hakab] 'immediately after me' < mi' ihakab
[ke^:] 'he said that' < ke'ye
[u^:kte] 'they will come' < u' pi kte
[o^:'na] 'they wounded him and' < o' pi na</pre>

[čhAD<sup>v</sup>:pi] 'sugar' < *čhaŋhaŋ'pi* ('tree juice').

When the uncontracted vowels were of different heights or when feature contrasts exist between the vowels and the glide, the contracted vowel is qualitatively different from the uncontracted sequence. Here are Lakhota examples of the two vowels that result from this kind of contraction:

[iyae^:] < *iya'ye* 'he left for there'

[wakhae^:ža] < wakhaŋ'yeža or wakhaŋ'heža 'child'

[mithO^:] < mitha'wa 'it is mine'

[uŋyOG:kte]< uŋyaŋ' pi kte 'we will be going'

## 3. Stress and Pitch

Vowels in all languages are pronounced with some kind of accompanying melody (loudness, pitch). The word is the domain of stress in Lakhota. In Lakhota words the first (or only) stressed vowel has higher pitch and greater loudness than all other vowels in that word. Most of the time the stressed vowel is the second one in the word, but this is not always so. It is therefore necessary to write stress on every word. Compare the following Lakhota words from the same verbal paradigm:

*iya'ye* 'he set out to go there' *e'yaye* 'they set out as a group to go there'.

A rare example with stress on other than the first or second syllable is *tuktena'* 'which ones?'.

### 3.1. Secondary Stress

There is usually only one stressed vowel in each word. Exceptions to this are compound words, which usually retain the stressed vowels of the originally separate words. In a compound word, therefore, there can be two or more stressed vowels: in such cases, the first stressed vowel has higher pitch and greater loudness than any subsequent stressed vowel. These two stress levels are referred to as primary and secondary stress, and when it is desirable to distinguish them the acute accent (') can be used for primary stress and the grave accent (`) for secondary stress. Examples are:

```
ma'zaska` 'money' (lit. 'white metal, silver')
šuŋ'kawakhaŋ` 'horse' (lit. 'mystery dog').
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Ordinarily this distinction is not marked, and the acute accent is used for both types of stress.

## 3.2. Pitch on Long Vowels

Lakhota long vowels, which always result from vowel contraction, may be pronounced with rising or falling pitch, depending on the stress pattern of the original, uncontracted vowels. If the first uncontracted vowel had stress, the contracted sequence has higher pitch and greater loudness at the beginning of the contracted sequence, with a fall in pitch and loudness as the sequence continues. If the uncontracted sequence had stress on the second vowel, then the contracted sequence shows a rise in pitch and loudness toward the end of the sequence. Compare the following examples, where a circumflex (^) marks a contracted vowel with the high point toward the beginning, and a wedge (<sup>v</sup>) marks a contracted vowel with the high point toward the end of the sequence:

[u^:kte] 'they will be coming'

[O<sup>v</sup>:phe] 'I hit him'.

In phonemic writing, long vowels are written as geminates, with the appropriate one stressed. For example,  $[i^{:}]$  is /i'i/ and  $[u^{v}:]$  is /uu'/.

## 4. The Phonemic Structure of Words

Lakhota phonemes are combined into words according to very regular rules, as is true of all languages. Some consonant and vowel sequences are exceedingly frequent, others are rare, and some theoretically possible combinations never occur.

## 4.1. Segmental Sequences

Lakhota words in their basic form almost always end in a vowel. Of the consonants, only /l/ is at all frequent as the final sound in a word. Also occasionally found in word-final position are /b/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /s/, /š/, and / $\check{h}$ /. Of these, /n/ is most frequent.

Lakhota words begin, as a rule, with one or two consonants. Words written with an initial vowel are usually pronounced with a preceding [<sup>?</sup>], although this sound may be omitted. Any vowel can follow any consonant except that nasalized vowels never follow /I/. In some dialects an /I/ following a nasalized vowel in the same syllable is replaced by /II/: *hehay'l* in these dialects is pronounced *hehay'n*. There are a number of restrictions on the makeup of consonant clusters; for example, there are no clusters with one fricative directly adjacent to another.

Within words, vowels and consonants almost always alternate, with each vowel separated by one, two, or (very rarely) three consonants.

There are nevertheless a few words in the language where vocalic prefixes are added to vowelinitial stems with no intervening consonant or consonantal element. Examples are:

nai'č?ikeğa	'to scratch oneself with the foot'
mi'oglas <sup>?</sup> iŋ	'mirror'
kai'žu	'to pay off one's debts'
pao'skiča	<ul><li>'to cram things into something',</li><li>(e.g., too many clothes into a washing machine)</li></ul>
pao'tkuğa	'push, close, and lock with a motion, as a door with an automatic lock'
yuo'tkuğa	'pull, close, and lock' (as above)

A similar phenomenon is more difficult to deal with, and speakers disagree about some of these examples. Vowels that are the same and that have no intervening consonant, especially /ii/, are frequently pronounced as a series of rearticulated vowels. Where one of the clustered vowels has stress, there is a rising (or falling) pitch on the phonetically lengthened vowel. Examples are:

lowaŋ'	'to sing'	
i'lowaŋ	'to sing about something'	
i'ič <sup>?</sup> ilowaŋ	'to sing about oneself'	
i'iič <sup>?</sup> ilowaŋ	'to sing about one's impending death'	
sabmi'č <sup>?</sup> iye	'I blackened myself, made myself black'	
1?.		

*sabmi'ič' iye* 'I blackened myself because of some obligations or for some ceremonial purpose'.

Usually native speakers do not pronounce any of these vowel sequences with intervening glides or [<sup>?</sup>], and they reject the insertion of such elements. It is unclear to what extent there may have been glide neutralization in such cases (see 4.3.1.3.) or whether a phonemic element was ever present between these vowels.

Refer to the sample vocabulary for examples of consonant and vowel sequences.

## 4.2. Syllabification

The number of syllables per word is determined by the number of vowels present in the word: there is one syllable for each vowel. Taylor and Rood disagree about the accuracy of this statement for the identical adjacent vowels described just above: Taylor hears a simple long vowel in these contexts, while Rood believes that the vowels are separately rearticulated and thus constitute separate syllables. It is likely that speakers differ in the phonetic realization of these sequences.

The only other exception to this rule is the word ha'u, which includes the only diphthong known in the language. This word is a monosyllable.

Most syllables begin with one or two consonants and end, wherever possible, with a vowel:

[wa-ya'-wa]'he reads'[la-kxo'-ta]'Indian'[spa-yo'-la]'Mexican'[o-i'-yo-ki-phi]'be happy'[le'l]'here'[nuŋ'm]'two'

The syllable always ends in a vowel or a single consonant, but when two or more consonants come between vowels, it is not always easy to know whether the syllable boundary will come before all or between the first two.

If the consonants belong to the same morpheme (meaningful sequence of sounds), the syllable break comes before the consonants:

[šiča'-mna]	'it stinks' (cf. mna' 'to stink')
[yu-ptaŋ'-ptaŋ]	'to rock back and forth with the hand' (cf. <i>-ptaŋ</i> - 'unsteady, rocking').

But if the two consonants belong to different morphemes, the syllable boundary comes between the two:

[nuŋ'm-nuŋ-pa] 'two by two' (cf. nu'pa 'two')
[to'b-to-pa] 'four by four'(cf. to'pa 'four').

Except before /**m**, **n**, **l**/, /**b**/ and /**g**/ occur only in morpheme-final position. Hence there will always be a syllable boundary after these sounds if any other consonant follows.

When three consonants are found between vowels within utterances, the consonant cluster is always divided by the syllable boundary, since such sequences are found only in compound words:

[šuŋg-blo'-ka] 'male horse or dog'.

### 4.3. Phonological Changes in the Basic Form of Words

Pronunciation of isolated words is often different from the pronunciation of the same words in phonological contexts of larger size such as word compounds, phrases, or sentences. In some cases also the change of the grammatical form of a word can cause phonological changes in the word itself. In other words, the form of a word, or the forms of related words, are often affected by the presence of other linguistic elements.

#### 4.3.1. Phonological Changes that Result from Speaking Style

In all languages, rapid, colloquial speech often differs markedly from slow, careful speech. As a rule, rapid speech is a reduced form of slow speech. English examples of this are *spose* for 'suppose', *gotcha* for 'I've got you', and *gonna* for 'going to'.

There are many changes of this kind in colloquial Lakhota, and Lakhota speakers are themselves aware of the difference. Precise (unchanged) speech is called *yat<sup>2</sup>iŋ'sya wo'glakapi* 'firm or clear speech', while rapid, slurred speech is called *ikče'ya-wo'glakapi* 'ordinary or normal speech'.

#### 4.3.1.1. pi in Rapid Speech

One of the most striking differences between precise and rapid speech is the replacement of the enclitic (suffixlike word: see 10.0.) pi in rapid speech by a vowel before the enclitics *kte*, *kiŋ*, *kšto'*, *na*, and possibly others. The vowel that replaces pi is determined by the height of the vowel that immediately precedes pi. If the vowel is high (/i/, /iŋ/, /u/, /uŋ/), pi is replaced by /u/. If the vowel is mid or low (/e/, /o/, /a/, /aŋ/), pi is replaced by /o/. The replacing vowel is nasalized if the preceding vowel is nasalized. Here are some examples of this change:

Slow speech	Fast speech	Meaning
Hi' pi kte.	[hi' u kte]	'They will arrive here.'
U' pi kte.	[u^: kte]	'They will come.'
Čhiŋ' pi kte.	[čhiŋ' uŋ kte]	'They will want.'
Ole' pi na	[ole' o na]	'They looked for him and'
Yatkaŋ' pi na	[yatkaŋ' oN na]	'They drank it and'
Oyu'spa pi kšto'.	[oyu'spa o kšto']	'They caught him.'

#### 4.3.1.2. Vowel apocope

Also characteristic of rapid speech is the dropping of unstressed, word-final vowels. For example, in the enclitic pi/i/ is frequently lost when other enclitics follow. If a nasalized vowel precedes, and a fricative follows, /p/ is then changed to /m/:

Slow speech Fast speech Meaning

*Awi'čhayuštaŋ pi šni.* **[awi'čhayuštaŋ m šni]** 'They aren't leaving them alone.' *Awi'čhayuštaŋ pi he*? **[awi'čhayuštaŋ b he]** 'Are they leaving them alone'?

/iŋ/ in the article (8.3.1.) kiŋ is also frequently dropped:

Slow speech Fast speech Meaning hokši'la kiŋ le' [hokši'la g le'] 'this boy'

In these examples, note that p and k are voiced to b and g when they come to stand before a consonant. A similar process is described in <u>4.3.2.7</u>, below.

Dropping of word-final vowels is particularly frequent when the following word begins with a vowel; note that such newly word-final /p/ and /t/ do not become /b/ or /l/. (The loss of /w/ is described in the next section.)

Slow speechFast speechMeaningAğu'yapi etaŋ' ophe'thuŋ wo![ağu'ap et o'phethuŋ o] 'Buy some bread.'

#### **4.3.1.3.** Dropping of Glides and $/^{?}/$

Another frequently encountered phenomenon is the dropping of glides and  $/^2/$  when these phonemes are located between vowels. The vowels left without a separating consonant are sometimes then contracted into a single long vowel having some of the features of both original vowels (2.3.).

/w/ and /y/ are weakly pronounced, or dropped, when one of the neighboring vowels shares positional features with the glide: /u/, /uŋ/, or /o/ with /w/; /i/, /iŋ/, or /e/ with /y/. An example of loss of /w/ is seen in the fast speech form given above for the (enclitic *wo*), pronounced [o]. An example of loss of /y/ is the word *a'ye* 'he took it', phonetically [ae].

Glides are also regularly dropped when the vowels on either side are |a| or  $|a\eta|$ .

When glides are dropped from the sequences /aya/, /aye/, and /awa/ (/aŋ/ could appear instead of /a/ in any of these), the vowels usually further contract into a single long vowel. These resulting long vowels are [a:], [ae:], and [o:], respectively, or if /aŋ/ is present, [Aŋ:], [aeŋ:], and [Oŋ:].

The same vowels result from the dropping of /h/:

othuŋ'wahe > [othuŋ'wae:] 'town'

hayhe'pi > [haeŋ<sup>v</sup>:pi] 'night'

*čhaŋ-haŋ'pi* > **[čhAD<sup>v</sup>:pi]** 'sugar'

Situations also arise where a morpheme that ends in a vowel comes before one that begins with  $/^{?}/$ . Very often, both the vowel and the  $/^{?}/$  are then dropped, and native speakers prefer the fast speech form as the citation form. When this rule will apply and when the underlying  $/V^{?}/$  sequence will be retained is not presently predictable. Examples of the loss are:

|ečha'<sup>?</sup>uŋ| > ečhuŋ' 'he did it'

|**tha**<sup>?</sup>**o'yaŋke**| > *tho'yaŋke* 'his agency'

|wa<sup>?</sup>i'yatke| > wi'yatke 'cup'

|**išta**'<sup>?</sup>**otho**'| > *išto'tho*` 'he has a black eye'.

#### 4.3.2. Phonological Changes that Result from Grammatical Processes

Since a large part of the grammar of Lakhota concerns verbs, a number of phonological changes are restricted to, or at least most noticeable in, the verbal processes of the language. Some of them are productive (apply in all words); some are unproductive (apply in only some specific words).

#### 4.3.2.1. Stress shift

A frequently observed sound change is the shift of stress from one syllable to another. When prefixes are added to the basic form of a word, the stress is moved as far forward as is necessary to prevent it from standing on a syllable later than the second syllable of the new construction. Compare:

*yuha'* 'he has' *uŋyu'ha pi* 'we have' *wašte'* 'to be good' *wayu'wašte* 'to make things good'.

#### 4.3.2.2. Insertion of /?/

Another very simple rule whose effect is most often seen in verb conjugation is the insertion of  $l^2/l$  whenever grammatical processes place an element beginning with a vowel immediately after a boundary between elements within the word. Examples are:

$a^{?}i'$	'they arrived there' ( <i>i</i> ' 'to reach a place away from here'; a 'collective plural')
iye' <sup>²</sup> uŋyaŋ pi	'we found him' ( <i>iye'yA</i> 'to find'; <i>uŋ</i> 'we')
slol <sup>²</sup> uŋ'yaŋ pi	'we know him' ( <i>slolyA</i> ' 'to know'; <i>uŋ</i> 'we')
theb <sup>?</sup> uŋ'yaŋ pi	'we ate it up' ( <i>thebyA</i> ' 'to eat up; <i>uŋ</i> 'we').

This inserted  $/^{?}/$  can of course be dropped if it follows a vowel (<u>4.3.1.3.</u>).

#### 4.3.2.3. Nasalization Spread

Still a third phonological change associated with verb conjugation is a phenomenon that can be called nasalization spread. When a nasalized and an oral vowel are separated by a glide it is quite usual for both of the vowels and the glide to be pronounced with nasalization; this does not happen if the spread is from left to right across the /y/ of a prefix (cf. Patterson 1991):

```
iye'<sup>2</sup>uŋyaŋ pi 'we found it',
compare iye'<u>ya</u> pi 'they found it'
waŋyaŋ'ke 'he saw it',
```

```
compare waybla'ke 'I saw it'
```

```
w<u>aŋwaŋ</u>'yaŋke 'he saw something',
compare w<u>a</u><sup>?</sup>o'naħ<sup>?</sup>uŋ 'he heard something'
```

```
o'mak<u>inyin</u> kte 'it will help me',
compare o'mak<u>i</u>ye 'it helped me'.
```

Compare these examples where there is no spread; here -ya- is a prefix:

uŋya'htaka pi 'we bit him'

uŋya'kağa pi 'you made us'.

There seems to be some complex ordering between the nasal spread rule and the insertion of inflectional affixes, since the secondary nasalization of *-yaŋ-* in 'to see' also occurs in *waŋye'čhiyaŋka pi* 'you saw each other', but not in the simple *waŋla'ke* 'you saw him'.

#### 4.3.2.4. Change of /k/ to /č/

When grammatical processes place /i/ (sometimes /e/) before k (whether plain, glottalized, or aspirated) plus a vowel (khV,  $k^2V$ , or kV), the k frequently becomes /č/, but not always. Compare  $ma\underline{k}^2u'$  'he gave it to me',  $\check{c}hi\underline{\check{c}}^2u'$  'I gave it to you',  $\underline{k}u'$  'he is coming home',  $gli\underline{\check{c}}u'$  'he reached home here',  $o'ma\underline{k}iye$  'he helped me',  $o'ni\underline{\check{c}}iya he$ ? 'did he help you?'  $ka'\underline{k}hiya$  'over yonder', and  $he'\underline{\check{c}}hiya$  'over there'.

Exceptions to this rule are stative verbs, such as *okha'yakA* 'to have things (such as leaves, burrs) stuck on' (*oni'khayake* 'you have things stuck on you'); adverbs; dependent verbs (verbs that require another verb in the same sentence) such as *kapiŋ'* 'be reluctant to'; and a few exceptional transitive verbs (cf. Boas and Deloria 1941:14). When a derivational prefix is added to a root and the resulting verb is stative ( $kat^2a't^2A'$  to fall down by accident', from  $t^2A'$  'be dead'), the *k* does not change (*nika't<sup>2</sup>at<sup>2</sup>a* 'you fell down by accident'). But if the new verb is transitive, *k* changes to *č* providing that the pronominal prefix precedes the derivational one ( $kat^2a't^2a$  can also mean

'to knock someone out', and 'she knocked you out'  $\underline{*}$  is  $ni\check{c}a't^{2}at^{2}a$ ). If the pronoun precedes the root, *k* still does not change, even if the verb is transitive. Note *nikiŋ'za* 'you squeaked' and *nani'kiŋza* 'he made you squeak by stepping on you'.

\*In this sketch, Lakhota third-person singular pronouns referring to people are translated at random as either 'he' ('him', 'his') or 'she' ('her') when there is no determining context; either translation is correct.

#### 4.3.2.5. The Affix ma-

The affix (prefix or infix; <u>see 9.3.1.</u>) ma- 'I, me' loses its vowel when it is added to a stem that begins with /**i**/. Compare <u>mawa'šte</u> 'I am good', <u>mak'u'</u> 'he gave it to me' with <u>mitha'wa</u> 'it is mine' <u>miglu'kse</u> 'I cut myself', <u>miha'kab</u> 'behind me.' Some verbal stems that have initial /**i**/ drop the /**i**/ when no affix precedes. 'It is his', for example, is *tha'wa*. (Note that the position of stress on the old second syllable is evidence for the original presence of the initial /**i**/.)

#### 4.3.2.6. Final Vowels in A-words

The final vowel of a large group of Lakhota verbs is subject to regular changes, depending on what follows the verb. A small number of enclitics also share this feature. For convenience of reference words with these vowel alternations are called "A-words," and such words are cited with a written final A or AD. The form of words with these alternations is correct in each instance with a particular one of the alternating vowels. The vowels that alternate are /a/ or /aŋ/, /e/, and /iŋ/ (for some speakers also /i/). When no element follows, /e/ is always found. When the enclitics *ktA* and *na* follow, the vowel is almost always /iŋ/, but some speakers use /i/ before *na*, at least sometimes. Otherwise, either /a/ (/aŋ/) or /e/ is found, with each context calling for one or the other. Examples are *yatke'* 'he drank it' and *t?e'* 'he is dead'; *yatkiŋ' kte* 'he will drink it' and *t?iŋ' kte* 'he will die'; *yatkaŋ' he* 'did he drink it?' and  $t^2a' he$  'is he dead?'

Speakers do not always agree on which verbs show this kind of alternation, particularly when the verb in question is somewhat rare. For example, the verb *olu'luta* 'be sweltering hot' is treated as nonalternating by some speakers but as alternating by others. The same thing is true for speakers of the other Dakota dialects. It appears that any verb that ends in *-a* in its basic form may be regarded by some as an alternating verb. Because of this, verb-final vowel alternation will probably become more widespread in the future and may possibly result eventually in a state where all historically *-a* verbs will become *-A* verbs.

The terminal vowel is lost entirely when verbs of this kind are reduplicated (4.3.2.8.) or incorporated as any but final member into a word compound. The consonant immediately before the dropped vowel may also change (4.3.2.7.). Examples are *sabsa'pA* 'black' (*sa'pA* 'to be black'). *yulphi'čA* 'edible' (*yu'tA* 'to eat'), *čhebyA'* 'to fatten' (*čhe'pA* 'to be fat'), and *kaħkhi'yA* ''to cause someone to make something' (*ka'ğA* 'to make').

A number of nouns also lose their final vowel in the same kinds of constructions (though reduplicated nouns are rare): *nabko'zA* 'to beckon' (*nape'* 'hand'), *čheh*<sup>?</sup>*i'khaŋ* 'bucket handle' (*čhe'ğa* 'kettle'), *čhašthuŋ'* 'to make a name for oneself' (*čhaže'* 'name').

Another kind of vowel loss is frequently seen in compounds also. When one member ending in a vowel stands before another that begins with a vowel, the first of the two vowels is ordinarily dropped. Examples are exceedingly numerous:  $nab^{?}a'gle$  'to lay hands on' (nape' 'hand', agle' 'to place on', *iti'pakhiŋte* 'face towel' (*ite'* 'face', *ipa'khiŋta* 'to wipe with'; note that /t/ is not replaced by /l/ - 4.3.2.7.), *makho'hloka* 'cave' (*makha'* 'earth', *ohlo'ka* 'hole'). *ke'yA* 'to say that' (*ka'* 'that'; *eyA'* 'to say'), and *wiglo'čhethi* 'gas stove' (*wi'gli* 'oil', *očhe'thi* 'stove').

#### 4.3.2.7. Change of /p t č k/ to /b l l g/

When vowel dropping (of any origin except possibly the fast speech phenomena illustrated in section <u>4.3.1.2.</u>) places /**p** t c k/ in word-final position or at an internal boundary between linguistic elements, these become [**b**], [**l**], [**g**], respectively. When a nasalized vowel precedes these sounds, they may further shift to a nasal consonant: [**m**], [**n**], [**n**], or [**g**], respectively. Note that these shifts do not occur before vowels unless [<sup>?</sup>] is inserted to mark the boundary. Compare the examples in the preceding paragraph of *iti'pakhiŋte* versus *nab<sup>2</sup>a'gle*. Examples of such consonant changes have already been seen. Further examples are  $to'\underline{b}$  'four' (shortened from to'pa) and  $nu'\underline{m}$  'two' (shortened from nu'pa); khalyA' 'to heat' (cf. kha'tA 'to be hot') and *čhaŋgma'šiče* 'I am sad' (shortened from *čhaŋte'-maši'če*);  $psi'psi\underline{l}$  'skipping' (shortened from psi'psičA);  $patha'\underline{g}$  'stopping short' (shortened from patha'ka) and sungwiny'yela 'mare, bitch' (cf. sun'ka 'dog').

When the voiced fricatives  $/\mathbf{z} \, \mathbf{\check{z}} \, \mathbf{g}/$  come to stand at a boundary they are replaced by  $/\mathbf{s} \, \mathbf{\check{s}} \, \mathbf{\check{h}}/$  respectively. Examples are  $ko'\underline{s}koza$  'waving' (cf. ko'zA 'to wave'),  $khu\underline{\check{s}}yA'$  'to make nauseous' (cf.  $khu'\underline{\check{z}}A$  'to be nauseous'), and  $pi\underline{\check{h}}yA'$  'to boil' (cf.  $pi'\underline{\check{g}}A$  'to be boiling').

#### 4.3.2.8. Reduplication

One of the most productive grammatical processes in Lakhota is reduplication, the repetition of a portion of a word. The repetition creates a new word whose basic meaning is similar to the unreduplicated form but whose grammatical meaning is different. The meaning of reduplication is variously plurality, repetition, distribution through space ("here and there"), or intensity. Although most words have just one correctly reduplicated form, the part to be repeated can be anywhere in the word. An example of full reduplication is *zizi'* 'yellow' (cf. *zi'* 'yellow'); an example with initial reduplication is *holho'ta* 'gray' (cf. *ho'ta* 'gray'); with final reduplication *wašte'* 'good' (inanimate plural; cf. *wašte'* 'good'); with medial reduplication, *napčin'yuŋgyuŋka* 'nine by nine' (cf. *napčin'yuŋka* 'nine'). Note that consonant changes of the kind mentioned in <u>4.3.2.7</u>, are very frequent in reduplication.

The part of a given word that is reduplicated can generally be predicted if enough is known about the etymology of the word: it is usually the last full syllable of the root. But this is nevertheless one of the more difficult parts of the grammar of Lakhota, even for native speakers. Refer to Carter (1974), Shaw (1980), and Patterson (1990:89-99) for details; Patterson reviews several other theoretical studies of Lakhota reduplication.

## Grammar

Lakhota sentences can be described as consisting of a series of optional and obligatory slots, each slot filled by a particular type of word or phrase. The maximum structure is

```
(interjection) (conjunction) (adverb(s))
(nominal) (nominal)(nominal)
(adverb(s)) verb (enclitic(s)) (conjunction)
```

(Parentheses imply optionality; (s) means there is no theoretical limit to the number of like elements that can occur in this position.)

Note that the only obligatory slot is that of the verb; every other position is optional.

Discussion of Lakhota grammar from the point of view of formal linguistic theory can be found in Van Valin (1985, 1987) and references there. Van Valin argues that a careful and accurate account of even the simplest Lakhota sentences requires major revisions in the Chomskyan models that dominated linguistic theory from the 1960s through the 1980s.

Discussion of Lakhota grammar will be organized around the sentence slots enumerated above; each 7 slot, and its possible fillers, will be discussed in turn. Given first however, is a brief definition of the terms:

interjection: exclamation expressing surprise, hesitation, disgust, etc.

conjunction: connector, such as 'and,' 'but,' 'however,' 'furthermore.'

adverb: expression of time, place, manner (including instrument), or cause.

postposition: a word that relates a nominal to a verb; compare English prepositions. In Lakhota the relating word follows the element it governs.

nominal: a naming word or phrase: noun, pronoun, modified noun, or another element used as a noun.

verb: core word, predicator, word that says something about a nominal.

enclitic: almost a suffix, but actually a separate word; expresses tense, mood. aspect, and other similar grammatical notions.

The first two categories (interjections and conjunctions) are functionally distinct, but it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a particular "sentence launching word" belongs to one category rather than the other. Some of the words cited as examples in 5.0. or 6.0. might therefore be switched to the other category upon further investigation. However, it is certain that all words in either category will precede either adverbs or nominals.

## **5. Interjections**

Some examples of interjections include:

<u>Ma</u> li'la olu'luta. 'Gee, it's hot (and humid).' (spoken by a woman)

Wan le' anpe'tu kin li'la kha'te! 'Boy but it's hot (and dry) today!' (spoken by a man)

ID'ska / Eya' 'Well...'; often used as a pause filler.

E'yaš 'Well, but'

In the case of *iŋ'ska*, the first vowel may be lengthened quite extensively for added effect:

in'ininininininska 'Weeeeeell'

There are no interjections equivalent to English profane or curse words.

See Buechel (1939: 126-127 and 266-267) for a list of interjections in use in the early twentieth century.

## 6. Conjunctions

Conjunctions connect two sentences, often showing something about the relationship between the sentences as well. They occur in two possible positions: in the second slot from the beginning or in the last slot in the sentence. The more common position is last in the sentence.

Several different Lakhota words translate the English word 'and'; but these words do not all mean the same thing in Lakhota. Examples are *na* or *nahay*' 'and also'; *čha*, *čhaŋkhe*' 'and so', *yuŋ'khaŋ* 'and then (rather unexpectedly)'. Other conjunctions include *e'yaš* 'but', *na<sup>²</sup>iŋ'š* 'or', and *ho* (or *hona'*) 'furthermore'.

*Ta'kunitokhuŋ'k<sup>²</sup>uŋpi šni <u>e'yaš</u>uŋko'yuspa pi.* nothingwe.did pl.not<u>but</u> they.arrest.uspl. 'We didn't do anything, <u>but</u> they arrested us.'

Of course, conjunctions such as na or  $na^2 i\eta' \dot{s}$  can join two of the parts of a sentence, such as nominals or verbs. In this case, they occur in the sentence position appropriate to the major part:

*Či'k<sup>2</sup>ala <u>na<sup>2</sup>iŋ'š</u> thaŋ'ka čha yačhiŋ' he?* little <u>or</u> big a you.want question 'Do you want a little one <u>or</u> a big one?' Some words that are conjunctions in English do not occur as such in Lakhota. The conjunction pair 'if...then', for example, is expressed in hypothetical sentences by simply nominalizing (see <u>8.5.</u>) the *if* sentence and adding the then sentence:

<u>Ma'za-skauŋyu'ha pi kiŋ</u>.iye'čhiŋkiŋyaŋkewaŋži'ophe'<sup>?</sup>uŋthuŋpi kte. <u>money</u> <u>we.havepl.the</u> car a we.buy pl.Pot. 'If we had money, (then) we would buy a car.'

## 7. Adverbs

Adverbs may occur either before or after the nominals of the sentence. In theory, there is no limit to their number, nor is there any preferred sequence or position for the various types: any number of adverbs may occur in any order in either place in the sentence.

Formally, adverbial expressions are of three possible types: words, phrases, or sentences.

## 7.1. Single-word Adverbs

Examples of single word adverbs:

Ňeya'ta	'out in the country'
hiŋ'haŋni	'this (past) morning'
<i>ȟta'lehaŋ</i>	'yesterday'
a'ataa	'all; completely'
ini'la	'quietly'
oh <sup>?</sup> aŋ'khoya	'quickly, without wasting time'
e'na	'right there'
taŋyaŋ'	'well'.

Deictic adverbs are formed by adding a demonstrative ( $\underline{8.3.2.}$ ) to an adverb or a postposition ( $\underline{7.2.}$ ):

*he'na* 'right there' (*he'*, *e'na*). *le'tu* 'here' (*le'*, *e'tu*). *kataŋ'* 'from yonder' (*ka'*, *etaŋ'haŋ*), *he'l* 'there' (*he'*, *e'l*).

Interrogative adverbs are also single words for the most part (note that all Lakhota interrogative words begin with *t*-):

to'haŋ	'when?' (referring to a realized event)
tohay'l	'when?' (referring to an unrealized event)
tukte'l	'where?'
tukte' e'l	'at which place,' 'whereabouts?'
to'khiya	'where (in or to what region)?'

ta'kuwe 'why?' to'kheškhe (to'škhe) 'how?'

In some cases, one-word adverbs are words whose principal use is as some other part of speech. For example, *hiŋ'haŋni* is a noun or verb meaning 'morning' or 'be morning'; *a'ataa* is a pronoun meaning 'all (of something)'; and *taŋyaŋ'* is a verb meaning 'to be well'.

Adverbs may be marked as intensive or repetitive by reduplication (<u>4.3.2.8.</u>) or by the addition of suffixlike particles such as  $h\check{c}a/h\check{c}i$  and  $\check{s}na$ :

<u>He'ktaktakiya</u> wačhi'.	'She kept dancing backward.'
<u>E'nagna</u> hiye'ye.	'They [inanimate] are lying here and there.'
<u>Taŋye' ȟči</u> ečhuŋ'.	'He did it <u>very well</u> .'
<u>E'na šna</u> yaŋke'.	'He is <u>always there</u> .'
Haŋhe'pi iyo'hila e'l thiwa'hepi kiŋ ob <u>thima' šna</u> hiyu' pi.	'Every night they would come <u>in</u> with their families.'

#### 7.2. Adverbial Phrases

Adverbial phrases generally contain a nominal  $(\underline{8.0.})$ , sometimes accompanied by a postposition. Other adverbs may also participate in addition to the nominal.

#### 7.2.1. Adverbial Phrases of Time

In adverbial phrases of time, nominals are usually accompanied by the articles (8.3.1.) *kiŋ* and  $k^2 ug$ . *kiŋ* in such phrases marks the phrase as referring to 'hypothetical' (unrealized) time, while  $k^2 ug$  marks 'actual' (realized) time.

When the nominal expression does not include a postposition, its use is absolute (not grammatically marked):

Le' anpe'tu kiŋ mahpi'yaya. 'It is cloudy today.'

Haŋhe'pi mağa'žu. 'It rained last night.'

English analogs of these are seen in the sentences 'He came this morning', and 'It rained last night.'

Other examples of this kind are hiŋ'haŋni kiŋ 'tomorrow', haŋhe'pi kiŋ 'this evening'.

Nominals used absolutely as adverbs are often followed by a true adverb:

Oko' nu'pak<sup>?</sup>uŋ <u>he'haŋ</u>

weektwo the.past<u>then</u> 'two weeks ago' *Wi'hina'phe šni<u>haŋni'</u>* suncome.outnot<u>not.then</u> 'just before sunrise'

Examples of postpositional phrases with temporal meaning are:

*ȟta<sup>²</sup>i'yokpaza o'hakab* darkness after 'after dark' *aŋpe'tu kiŋ he' e'l* day the that at 'on that day' *aŋpe'tu-wakhaŋ' nu'pa oko'* day-holy two between 'between two Sundays'.

#### 7.2.2. Adverbial Phrases of Place

Numerous postpositions are also used in adverbial phrases of place.

*Mas<sup>2</sup>o'phiye e'l ačhi'phiŋ kte* at I.await.you potential Store 'I'll wait for you at the store.' <u>Wačhi'pi</u> <u>ekta'</u> la' pi kta he? Dance to you.go pl. potential question 'Are you (pl.) going to go to the dance?' Othun'wahe etan'han wahi' from I.arrive town 'I arrive from town.' Thi'pi kin o'kšan e'nažiŋ the around they.stand house

'They (collective) stood around the house.'

The line between adverbs and postpositions is sometimes difficult to draw, chiefly because the same words are often used both ways. English adverbs and prepositions show the same kind of interchangeability. 'Come on out from down in under there!' has six adverb/prepositions in this kind of ambiguous function. A Lakhota example is:

*Owo'te-thi'pi* kiŋ wi'gli- $o^{?}i'nažiŋ$  kiŋ <u>he'l</u> <u>isa'khib</u> he'. eating.place-house the oil-stopping.place the <u>there beside</u> stand 'The cafe is <u>there beside</u> the gas station.'

In this example the adverb *isa'khib* functions nearly as a postposition.

Very often, a noun will combine with a postposition to form a compound; the result is the conversion of a phrase into a single word adverb:

thima'hel	'in the house'	
thi'-mahe'l	'house'-'inside'	
čhaŋ <sup>²</sup> a'khotaŋhaŋ	'across the woods'	
čhaŋ'- <sup>?</sup> akho'taŋhaŋ	'tree'-'across'	
thila'zata	'behind the house'	
thi'-laza'ta	'house'-'behind'	

Most specific locational adverb/postpositions of place begin with *i*:

*ila'zata* 'behind' *isa'khib* 'beside' *ihu'khuta* 'below' *iha'kab* 'after' *itho'kab* 'in front of'

For some of these there is a corresponding word without the i, which is only used as a postposition. For all of the i- adverbs there is an alternative form with stressed i, which marks the location as very close to or against the object:

i'lazata 'right close behind'
i'sakhib 'right next to'
i'hukhuta 'just below'
i'hakab 'right after (also refers to time'
i'thokab 'right before (also refers to time)'

Both these sets of forms take personal object inflections (see 9.3.2.) when the object is an animate pronoun:

*mila'zata* 'behind me' *wičhi'thokab* 'in front f them'

The stressed *i*' appears as *i*'*i* in inflected forms:

*ni'isakhib* 'very close to you' *uŋki'ihukhuta* 'right below us'

#### 7.2.3. Adverbs of Manner

Adverbs of manner are often single words formed from other classes of words. A frequently used formative of such adverbs is the suffix -*ya*:

waši'čuŋya 'in English' (waši'ču, waši'čuŋ 'White man')
šiča'ya 'badly' (ši'čA 'be bad')
wakhaŋ'yaŋ 'mysteriously' (wakhaŋ' 'wondrous, awesome').

Other suffixes are also used.

le'čhel 'thus, in this way' (le' 'this')
nahma'la 'secretly' (nahma' 'to hide')
ma'nikhel 'on foot' (ma'ni 'to walk')

There are also postpositional phrases that express manner:

Wasna'snaheča čhinča'la s²e ipa'hlala yanka' pikingbirdoffspring like in.a.row sit'They are sitting in a rowlike young kingbirds.'

<u>Čhiņča'</u> <u>pi</u> <u>ob</u> hi' <u>offspring</u> <u>pl.</u> <u>with</u> come 'He came <u>with their children</u>.'

<u>Chanpa'gmiyanpi</u> ogna' iya'ye wagon in go 'He went in a wagon.'

#### 7.2.4. Instrumentality

Instrument is sometimes expressed in the verbal prefix (see 9.2.1.). When a more specific instrumentality needs to be indicated, the postposition uy' is used with an appropriate noun:

Iye'čhiŋkiŋyaŋke uŋ'nat?e'carwithúle.by.foot.action'He was run over and killed by a car.'

<u>Ağu'yapi kiŋ eče'la uŋ'</u> wičha'ša kiŋ ni' pi šni

<u>bread</u> the alone with man the live pl. not 'Men do not live by bread alone.'

### 7.3. Adverbial Clauses

Sentences used as adverbs (adverbial clauses) are first nominalized; they are then the equivalent of a noun in absolute (see 7.2.1.) use. Following this nominal comes a time adverb or a postposition. (Compare this with the similar construction and use of phrases described in 7.2.)

Sentential time adverb:

<u> $\check{H}^{?}okha'$  kin hi'</u> <u>pi</u>  $k^{?}un$  he'han, wačhi'pi kin iya'ye. <u>Singers the arrive pl. the.past</u> then dance the start <u>'When the singers came</u>, the dance began.'

Sentential place adverb:

<u>He' wa<sup>2</sup>uŋ'yaŋka pi oki'hi</u> <u>šni waŋ</u> e'l iya'ye. <u>He he.see.us pl. he.be.able not a</u> to he.go 'He went to (a place) <u>where he could not see us</u>.'

Sentential manner adverb:

Ta'ku iye'yaoki'hikiŋhe'uŋ'čhaŋ' kiŋ kaksa'ksa.What he.find he.be.ablethe that with wood the he.chop'He chopped the woodwith whatever he could find.'

Buechel (1939 passim) contains a more complete description of adverbs than is presented here. Note that many of the words he calls 'adverbs' are called 'enclitics' in this sketch.

## 8. Nominals

There are from zero to three nominal expressions (apart from verbal affixes) in every Lakhota sentence. The three slots provided in the original sentence diagram serve three possible roles: subject, indirect object, direct object. If more than one nominal occurs in a sentence, the order will ordinarily be subject first, then either of the objects. For some speakers, there is no required order between direct and indirect objects; thus 'the men gave the boy to the bear' and 'the men gave the bear to the boy' are identical: *Wičha'ša kiŋ hokši'la kiŋ matho' kiŋ k<sup>?</sup>u' pi* or *Wičha'ša kiŋ matho' kiŋ hokši'la kiŋ k<sup>?</sup>u' pi*. Very rarely, however, does this cause any misunderstanding, since in most such sentences potential ambiguities are resolved by the meanings of the particular words. Other speakers insist that the order is subject-indirect object-direct object; for them. the two sentences above are not synonymous.

The presence of an indirect object is marked in the verb except for a handful of special verbs such as  $k^2u'$  'give', la' 'ask for' or iyun'ğA 'to ask someone something' (see 9.1.6. and 9.3.8.).

The grammatical roles of subject, object, or indirect object may be indicated by verbal affixes (prefixes or infixes; see 9.3.) instead of by overt nominals. If there are separate nominal expressions, they may be any of four types: pronouns, nouns, modified nouns, and sentences.

### 8.1. Pronouns

Independent pronouns are rarely used in ordinary Lakhota but are available for emphatic expressions or to serve as the objects of postpositions such as *kičhi'* 'together with'. There are two sets. The first is simply emphatic: the second is used to contrast one referent with others.

Set 1:

miye' 'I'
uŋki'ye 'we'
niye' 'you'
iye' 'he, she, it, they'

Set 2:

mi'š 'I'
uŋkiŋ'š 'we'
ni'š 'you'
iŋ'š 'he, she, it, they'

Examples of pronouns used as nominals:

Subject

<u>Miye'</u>, wačhiŋ' šni. '<u>Me</u>, I don't want to.' <u>Mi'š</u> ta'ku ophe'wathuŋ kta he? 'And what shall <u>I</u> buy (now that the others have decided)?'

Object

Hena' unki'ye wa<sup>?</sup>un'yanka pi šni. 'As for us, they didn't see us.'

Postpositional Object

Tuwa' niye' kičhi' wačhi' pi he? 'Who danced with you?'

The two sets can be used together, for example, in the expression *mi'š-miye' kiŋ* 'as for me; in my opinion; for my part'. Compare the expression *Ni'š ehaŋ'* 'your turn', using the postposition *ehaŋ'* 'at a time' with a contrastive pronoun.

## 8.2. Nouns

Lakhota nouns are either simple or derived; derived nouns may be either compounds or affixed forms. Examples of simple nouns include *čhaŋ'* 'wood, tree'; *nata'* 'head'; *šuŋ'ka* 'dog', and *maĥpi'ya* 'cloud, sky'.

#### 8.2.1. Compound nouns

Compound nouns consist of two (or more) nouns, or of a noun plus a verb. (De Reuse 1994 discusses the degree of "tightness" in noun-verb compounds.) The elements that enter into the compound may exist as independent words, or they may be compounding forms (essentially roots) that never appear in that form outside of compounds. Where all compounded elements occur alone as words, the compound is written with a hyphen between the elements. Where one or more of the compounded elements is in root form, the compound is written without separation of the constituent elements. Stresses after the first in any word should be read as secondary (see 3.1.).

In noun-noun compounds, the earlier element usually modifies the later. When non-nominal elements are present in the compound, these usually follow the nominal elements and modify them, but they precede in some cases.

Noun-noun compounds 1. Modifier-modified

wi'gli-o <sup>?</sup> i'nažiŋ	'gas station'
wi'gli	'grease'
o <sup>?</sup> i'nažiŋ	'stopping place'
čhaŋ-haŋ'pi	'sugar'
čhaŋ'	'tree'
haŋ'pi	'juice'
Khaŋği'-wičha'ša	'Crow Indian'
khaŋği'	'crow'
wičha'ša	'man'
mas <sup>?</sup> o'phiye	'store' (originally 'cash register')
ma'za	'metal'

*ophi'ye* 'box, storage place'

## 2. Modified-modifier

šuŋgma'nitu	'coyote'
šuŋ'ka	'dog'
mani'tu	'wilderness, wild place'

#### Noun-verb compounds

pte-yu'ha	'rancher'
pte'	'buffalo'
yuha'	'to have'
Mni'-šoše	'Missouri River'
mni'	'water'
šoše'	'be turbid'
šuŋgkhi'yuȟa	'stud, stallion'
šuŋ'ka	'dog, horse'
khiyu'ȟa	'to breed'
ma'za-ska'	'money'
ma'za	'metal'
ska'	'be white'
šuŋ'ka-wakhaŋ'	'horse'
šuŋ'ka	ʻdog'
wakhaŋ'	'be awesome, be marvelous'
haŋm <sup>²</sup> i'kčeka	'moccasin'
haŋ'pa	'shoe'
ikče'ka	'be common'

## Verb-noun compounds

## tuŋwe'ya-wičha'ša 'scout'

tuŋwe'yA	'to look around'
wičha'ša	'man'
waya'wa-thi'pi	'school'
waya'wa	'count things; read things'
thi'pi	'house'

Compounds of the verb-noun type may in reality be examples of noun + noun, if the first element is actually a nominalized verb (cf. *waya'wa waŋ* 'a student'). There are no known reliable criteria that can distinguish these possibilities.

Compounds that consist of more than two included elements also exist. These compounds have an internal hierarchy indicated by underlining in the examples:

<u>Mni-lu'zahe</u>-othuŋ'wahe water-run.swiftly-town, <u>rapids</u> town 'Rapid City, South Dakota'

<u>šuŋk<sup>?</sup>a'kaŋ</u>-yaŋka'pi <u>horse/dog.on</u>-sit, <u>horseback</u> sit 'to ride horseback'

<u>nata'-yazaŋ'pi</u>-phežu'ta <u>head-ache</u>-medicine 'aspirin'

*šuŋg-<u>si'-maza</u> dog/horse-<u>foot-iron</u> 'horseshoe'* 

<u>ma'za-ska'</u>-zi' <u>iron.be.white</u>-be.yellow, <u>silver</u>-be.yellow 'gold'

#### 8.2.2. Derived nouns

Nouns derived by affixation may have either prefixes or suffixes. Elements used as suffixes are usually identical to enclitics (10.). Prefixes tend to have fairly specific meanings, while (lie meanings of the suffixes are more general, though related to the meaning of the same element used as a verbal enclitic.

Some prefix examples:

o- 'place where'

o<sup>?</sup>i'nažiŋ 'station' (cf. ina'žiŋ 'to stop')
oyaŋ'ke 'sitting place; agency' (cf. yaŋkA' 'to sit')
othi' 'den' (cf. thi' 'to dwell')
ogna'ke 'container' (cf. gna'kA 'to put away')

*i*- 'instrument for'

wa <sup>?</sup> i'yatke, wi'yatke	'cup' (cf. waya'tkAD 'to drink things')
wa <sup>?</sup> i'khalye, wi'khalye	'coffee pot' (cf. <i>wakha'lyA</i> 'to heat things')
ič <sup>?</sup> iŋ'	'harness' (cf. $k^2 i\eta'$ 'to pack on the back')

Some suffix examples:

thi'pi	'house' (cf. <i>thi</i> ' 'to dwell')
wakha'lyapi	'coffee' (cf. wakha'lyA 'to heat')
yazaŋ'pi	'pain' (cf. yazaŋ' 'to hurt or ache')
wa <sup>?</sup> e'čhuŋčhuŋka	'jack-of-all-trade' (cf. <i>wa<sup>?</sup>e'čhuŋ</i> 'to do things')
wama'nus <sup>?</sup> a	'thief' (cf. wama'nu 'to steal things')

### 8.3. Determiners

Determiners are a class of words that terminate nominal expressions. There are three kinds: articles, demonstratives, and quantifiers. Determiners occur in the order:

## (quantifier) (article) (demonstrative) (quantifier).

Nominals may also appear without a determiner.

#### 8.3.1. Articles

Words that function as articles include  $ki\eta$ ,  $k^2u\eta$ , wa $\eta$ , wa $\eta$ ži', wa $\eta$ ži'ni, eya', eta $\eta$ ', eta $\eta$ 'ni, ta'kuni, tuwe'ni, čha.

The choice of the article depends on various features of the noun and of the sentence in which it occurs. The noun may be generic, that is, may refer to all or any of a class of objects, such as 'dogs', in 'dogs bark' or 'coffee' in 'coffee is brown.' Such nouns generally have no article in Lakhota no matter what the rest of the sentence may be. In addition, countable nouns used generically always take a plural verb:

He' wičha'ša kiŋ iye'čhinkinyanke ophe'thuŋ. buy than man the car 'That man buys cars.' Igmu'la siŋte' yukhaŋ' pi. tail have cat pl. 'Cats have tails.' Hokši'la thankthan'ka čhe'ya pi šni. boy big pl. not cry 'Big boys don't cry.'

Wakha'lyapiwačhiŋ'.coffeeI.want'I want coffee.'

A determiner is used in a generic construction when the construction could otherwise be understood as a word or phrase rather than as a sentence:

Lakho'ta kiŋ wačhi' pi. 'Indians dance.' cf. Lakho'ta-wačhi'pi '(an) Indian dance' <u>Thaspaŋ' kiŋ</u> šaša'. 'Apples are red.' cf. thaspaŋ' šaša' 'red apples'

If a noun is not generic, it must be either definite or indefinite.

If the noun is definite, the article is either *kiŋ* or  $k^2 u\eta$ ; 'the' is the English equivalent of both of these. The difference between *kiŋ* and  $k^2 u\eta$  seems to be that  $k^2 u\eta$  marks more emphatically definite nouns. Often, therefore,  $k^2 u\eta$  can be translated as 'the aforementioned', although this is usually abbreviated 'the.past' in glossing the examples:

Šuŋ'ka kiŋ he'l yuŋke'.(dog the there lie)'The dog is lying there.'Šuŋ'ka k²uŋ thalo' kiŋ thebye'.(dog the.past meat the eat.up'The aforementioned dog ate up the meat.'

This example is from a traditional tale.

Recall that nominals in adverbial functions are nominalized by *kiŋ* if the reference is to hypothetical time, but by  $k^2 u\eta$  if the reference is to real time. Sentences containing  $k^2 u\eta$  are always translated with the English past tense. This is evidently an attempt by Lakhota speakers to render the hyperreality of the Lakhota sentences with  $k^2 u\eta$ . In fact, at present *kiŋ* is used regularly in real as well as hypothetical sentences. The difference between *kiŋ* and  $k^2 u\eta$  may have been sharper at an earlier time, since different forms of the indefinite article are used in sentences with real versus hypothetical meaning.

All the other words listed above are indefinite articles. The choice of indefinite article is made on the basis of a number of covert classes to which nouns belong (table 3). These include mass form (that is, whether the object named by the noun can be counted. like houses, or not, like soup), human, and non-human. Moreover, there are different forms depending on whether the sentence in which they appear is negative or affirmative; and, if it is affirmative, whether it refers to real or to hypothetical things.

Table 3. Indefinite Articles					
			Real	Hypothetical	Negative
Singular		waŋ 'a, an'	waŋži' 'a, an'	waŋži'ni 'nota, no, not any'	
Animate	Animata	Human	eya' 'some'	etaŋ' 'some, any'	tuwe'ni 'no one, notany'
	Ammate	Nonhuman	eya' 'some'	etaŋ' 'some, any'	ta'kuni 'no, notany'
Inanimate		e	eya' 'some'	etaŋ' 'some, any'	ta'kuni 'no, notany'
Noncountable		eya' 'some'	etaŋ' 'some, any'	etaŋ'ni 'no, notany'	

Note: An older form of eya' in all its uses is  $k^2 eya'$ . Some speakers still use this word.

The following examples illustrate the use of the indefinite articles. Note that although nonhuman and inanimate plurals are marked in the same way, sentences with nouns from these categories differ because all animate (human and nonhuman) plural objects require *-wičha-* in the verb, and animate plural subjects require *pi*, while inanimates never occur with *-wičha-* or *pi* (see <u>9.3.2.9.3.4.</u>). In the examples below, then, the verbs used with 'houses' differ from those used with 'birds', even though the articles are the same:

Iye'čhiŋkiŋyaŋke waŋ ophe'wathuŋ. 'I bought a car.'

Iye'čhiŋkiŋyaŋke waŋži' ophe'wathuŋ kte. 'I'm going to buy a car.'

Iye'čhiŋkiŋyaŋke wanži'ni ophe'wathuŋ šni. 'I didn't buy a car.'

Lakho'ta eya' hi' pi. 'Some Indians have come.'

Lakho'ta etan' hi' pi he? 'Have any Indians come?'

Lakho'ta tuwe'ni hi' pi šni. 'No Indians have come.'

Wakhaŋ'yeža eya' waŋwi'čhablake. 'I saw some children.'

Ziŋtka'la eya' waŋwi'čhablake. 'I saw some birds.'

Čhaŋ'-thipi eya' waŋbla'ke. 'I saw some houses.'

Wakhaŋ'yeža etaŋ' waŋwi'čhalaka he? 'Did you see some/any children?'

Ziŋtka'la etan' waŋwi'čhalaka he? 'Did you see some/any birds?'

*Čhaŋ'-thipi <u>etaŋ'</u> waŋla'ka he?* 'Did you see some/any houses?'

Wakhaŋ'yeža tuwe'ni waŋwi'čhablake šni. 'I didn't see some/any children.'
Ziŋtka'la ta'kuni waŋwi'čhablake šni. 'I didn't see some/any birds.'

*Čhaŋ'-thipi ta'kuni waŋla'ke šni.* 'Didn't you see any houses?'

Wahaŋ'pi eya' očhe'thi akaŋ'l he'. 'There's some soup on the stove.'

Wahaŋ'pi etaŋ' yačhiŋ' he? 'Do you want some/any soup?'

Wahaŋ'pi etaŋ'ni yatke' šni. 'He didn't eat (drink) any soup.'

A special construction exists to make a nominal emphatic (whether or not to call it "topicalized" depends on future studies of Lakhota discourse structure). This is often translated into English as 'It was a/the NOUN who/which VERB'. Emphatic nominals of this kind are marked by the article *čha*; if the noun is indefinite, no further determiner is used:

*Hokši'la čha šuŋ'ka-wakhaŋ' kiŋ iwi'čhaču pi.* '<u>It was some boys</u> who took the horses.'

If the emphatic nominal is also definite, the verb e' 'be a certain one' precedes *čha*:

*Hokši'la kiŋ e' pi čha šuŋ'ka-wakhaŋ' kiŋ iwi'čhaču pi.* '<u>It was the boys</u> who took the horses.'

This use of *čha* is probably very closely related to the relative clause marker *čha* (8.4.2.3.).

## 8.3.2. Demonstratives

Lakhota has three demonstrative roots: le' 'this,' he' 'that.,' ka' 'yonder.' Each of these can function in numerous ways: alone as a singular pronoun or as a noun modifier; with the suffix - na as a plural pronoun or modifier (lena' 'these', hena' 'those', kana' 'the ones yonder'); or with the suffixes -na and - $^{?}u\eta s$  (some speakers use -yos) as dual pronouns or modifiers ( $hena'^{?}u\eta s$ , hena'yos 'those two'). Various adverbials are formed from demonstratives (7.1.)

Semantically, he' is the most neutral. Once a noun has been located, either by pointing or by description, in space or in the listener's mind, he' can then be used. Before that, le' or ka' is usually used to demonstrate exactly what is meant, although he' may also be used while pointing.

Ka'šuŋ'ka-wakhaŋ' kiŋ waŋla'ka he?He' tuwa' tha'wahe?that.(yonder) horsethe you.seequestion that whoit.belongs.toquestion'Do you see that horse? Who does he belong to?'

When demonstratives are used as nominal markers, they are usually accompanied by an article. They indicate the number (singular, dual, or plural) of the noun: *he' wiŋ'yaŋ kiŋ* 'that woman', *hena'' uŋs wiŋ'yaŋ kiŋ* 'those two women', *hena' wiŋ'yaŋ kiŋ* 'those women'. The demonstrative may either precede the noun or follow the article. If the demonstrative precedes the noun, an

article must occur after the noun: if the demonstrative follows, the article may be omitted. By far the most common article used is *kiŋ*. but expression such as *hena' wiŋ'yaŋ eya'* 'these (indefinite) women' may be used, usually in relative clauses (see 8.4.3.).

The difference between singular and plural is always indicated when demonstratives are used with countable nouns. This differs from the use of pi and wičha to mark plural with verbs, since these verbal elements refer only to animate nouns (see 9.3.1.).

## 8.3.3. Quantifiers

This class of words includes the numbers ('one'-is the same as the singular indefinite article; table 3) nu'pa 'two', ya'mni 'three', to'pa 'four', etc., a handful of indefinite numerals, such as o'ta 'many', huy'h 'some' (note: this is not the same 'some' as those translated by eya' or etay', see 8.3.1. and 8.3.4.).  $\check{c}o'nala$  'few', iyu'ha 'all of a group' (distributive),  $oya's^{?}iy$  'all of a group' (collective), and a'ataa 'all of a mass', and the interrogative words to'na,  $to'nake\check{c}a$ , and tohay'yay 'how much? how many?'.

Many quantifiers may also function as stative verbs. Observe these examples:

Wičha'ša ki $\eta$  o'ta  $t^{2}a'$  pi. the many die pl. man 'Many of the men-died.' Wičha'ša kiŋ o'ta pi. man the many pl 'There are many men.' Wičha'ša kiŋ <u>ya'mni</u> iye'wičhaya pi. the three find.them man pl. 'They found three of the men.' Wičha'ša kiŋ ya'mni pi. man the three pl.

'There are three men; the men are three.'

Quantifiers may occur with or without articles or demonstratives, and either before or after them, but the meanings differ depending on order:

wičha'ša o'ta	'many men'
wičha'ša hena' o'ta	'many of those men'
wičha'ša o'ta hena'	'those many men'
wičha'ša šako'wiŋ	'seven men'
wičha'ša kiŋ ya'mni	'three of the men'
wičha'ša to'pa kiŋ	'the four men'.

## 8.3.4. Partitive Markers

As can be seen from the examples, when used alone or before an article or a demonstrative, the quantifiers specify the size of the group. Used after the determiner, they indicate that the predicate refers to a specified part of the subject. The notion of partitive touched on here has complexities that call for further comment.

'Some' (= part of) is expressed in several different ways in Lakhota, depending on several factors: the nature of the whole, the nature of the part, and whether the part is positive, negative, or interrogative.

The whole may consist of separate, identifiable individuals (such as persons in a group), a single individual (for example, a watermelon), or an undifferentiated mass (flour). The whole may be either generic or specific. The part may be individuals, a portion of a single individual, or a portion of a mass.

	Table 4. Lakhota Indefinite Partitive				
Af	firmative	<i>Negative</i> (4)	Interrogative	Meaning	
1.	huŋ'ȟ	waŋži'ni	to'na or to'nakeča	Some individuals from a group or individuals	
	haŋke'	haŋke'ni	tohaŋ'yaŋ	Some of a single individual	
3.	huŋ'ȟ or etaŋ'	etaŋ'ni	tohaŋ'yaŋ or to'nakeča	Some of an undifferentiated mass	

Given these parameters, the choice of partitive marker is as given in table 4.

(4) The notions generic and negative are incompatible. The negative partitive can thus be used only with specific reference.

## Examples

1.

Oya'te <u>huŋ'ȟ</u> wičha'šiče.	' <u>Some</u> people are evil.'
Lakho'ta <u>to'na</u> waŋwi'čhalaka heź	' ' <u>How many</u> Indians do you see?'
H <sup>²</sup> okha' kiŋ <u>huŋ'ȟ</u> hi' pi.	'Some of the singers have come.'
H <sup>²</sup> okha' kiŋ <u>to'na</u> hi' pi he?.	' <u>How many</u> of the singers have come?'
H <sup>²</sup> okha' kiŋ <u>waŋži'ni</u> hi' (pi) šni.	' <u>None</u> of the singers has come.'

2.

*Špaŋ'-šni-yu'tapi <u>haŋke'</u> uŋyu'ta pi s<sup>?</sup>a.* 'We (habitually) eat <u>some</u> watermelon.'

Špaŋ'-šni-yu'tapi <u>tohaŋ'yaŋ</u> ya'ta pi s <sup>?</sup> a he?	' <u>How much</u> watermelon do you eat (habitually)?'
Ağu'yapi-sku'yela kiŋ <u>haŋke'</u> uŋyu'ta pi.	'We ate <u>some</u> of the cake.'
Ağu'yapi-sku'yela kiŋ <u>haŋke'ni</u> uŋyu'ta pi.	'We didn't eat <u>any</u> of the cake.'
Ağu'yapi-sku'yela kiŋ <u>tohaŋ'yaŋ</u> ya'ta pi he?	' <u>How much</u> of the cake did you eat?'

3.

Phežu'ta <u>huŋ'ȟ</u> pha'.	' <u>Some</u> medicine is bitter.'
Phežu'ta <u>tohaŋ'yaŋ</u> nič <sup>?</sup> u' he?	' <u>How much</u> medicine did he give you?'
Ağu'yapi-blu' kiŋ <u>etaŋ'</u> uŋ' we.	'Use <u>some</u> of the flour.'
Ağu'yapi-blu' kiŋ <u>etaŋ'ni</u> uŋ' šni.	'She didn't use <u>any</u> of the flour.'
Ağu'yapi-blu' kiŋ <u>tohaŋ'yaŋ</u> nu' he?	' <u>How much</u> of the flour did you use?'

## 8.3.5. Summary of determiners

To summarize the discussion of determiners: the complete set of possible slots in the nominal composed of a noun and its determiners is as follows:

# (demonstrative) noun (quantifier) (article) (demonstrative) (quantifier).

## 8.4. Modified Nouns

## 8.4.1. Possession

Possession is marked in one of three ways: by special affixes in the verb, by an appropriate modifying form of the stative verb *itha'wa* 'belong to, own', or by special prefixes on the noun. Moreover, many (perhaps most) nouns, including some body parts such as *a'* 'armpit' and *ablo'hu* 'shoulder blade' cannot be formally marked for a possessor anywhere in the sentence. At present it appears impossible to predict whether a noun will be possessable or not, so this information must be pan of each noun's dictionary entry. The marking of possession in the verb is discussed in 9.3.8.; the other expressions of possession will be described here.

If a noun can be possessed, the form of the possessive prefix differs depending on whether the noun is alienably or inalienably possessed. Alienably possessed nouns are things that can be acquired or given away; inalienably possessed nouns are understood as an inherent part of the owner's person; they include body parts, many relatives, and (formerly, at least) some essentially personal things such as tools, clothing, and pets. The prefixes are:

alienably		inalienably
possessed nouns		possessed nouns
mitha'-	'my'	ma-/mi-

uŋki'tha-	'our'	uŋki'-
nitha'-	'your'	ni-
tha-	'his, hers'	0.

If the possessor is plural, *pi* follows the prefixed noun. It is also possible to analyze the alienable prefixes as complex, consisting of a stem-derivational element *itha*, prefixed to the noun, to which stative verb affixes are then prefixed.

Because possessed nouns are always definite, a definite article almost always occurs with them. The only exceptions are in partitive usage, for example, *mitha'šuŋka waŋži'* 'one of my dogs', where a quantifier replaces the article. The choice between *ma*- and *mi*- is semantically determined in Oglala speech: *ma*- is used of concrete visible possessions, *mi*- of intangibles: *mana'ği kiŋ* 'my shadow', *mina'ği kiŋ* 'my spirit'. Speakers from other Lakhota-speaking groups differ as to their use of *ma*- and *mi*-.

Prefixation to show possession is not used with some possessable nouns. These are generally nouns that are not normally possessed, such as rocks or trees. For such nouns, the possessive construction uses the stative verb *itha'wa*. *Itha'wa* is nearly unique among stative verbs for two reasons. First, it carries possible double affixation (see 9.1.3.). Second, it occurs as a noun modifier in its inflected as well as uninflected forms.

The possessive construction with *itha'wa* has the following structure:

noun + itha'wa form +  $ki\eta$ .

The *itha'wa* form depends only on the possessor:

<i>mitha'wa</i> 'my'	<i>uŋki'thawa</i> 'belonging to you and me'	<i>uŋki'thawa pi</i> 'our'
<i>nitha'wa</i> 'your'		<i>nitha'wa pi</i> 'your(pl.)'
<i>tha'wa</i> 'his, her'		<i>tha'wa pi</i> 'their'

Examples:

*Šuŋ'ka-wakhaŋ' <u>tha'wa pi</u> kiŋ iye'waye.* horse <u>poss. pl.</u> the I.find.it 'I found their horse.'

*Phežu'ta <u>nitha'wa</u> kiŋ li'la waš<sup>2</sup>a'ke.* medicine <u>your.sg..poss.</u> the very be.strong '<u>Your</u> medicine is very strong.' The criteria for choosing between the *itha'wa* construction and the prefixed forms are not well understood.

Kinship terms generally follow a separate paradigm. They are inalienably possessed, but they often take a suffix -ku when the possessor is a third person; moreover, many of the forms have separate roots for the various forms. Here, as samples, are paradigms for 'father' and 'mother':

ate', ate'waye	'my father'	ina', ina'waye	'my mother'
niya'te	'your father'	nihuŋ'	'your mother'
atku'ku	'his, her father'	huŋ'ku	'his, her mother'
ate' <sup>?</sup> uŋyaŋ pi	'our father'	ina' <sup>?</sup> uŋyaŋ pi	'our mother'
niya'te pi	'your father'	nihuŋ' pi	'your mother'
atku'ku pi	'their father'	huŋ'ku pi	'their mother'

Buechel (1939:101-107) has extensive lists of paradigmatic forms for kin terms.

## 8.4.2. Other Modified Nouns

There are no words in Lakhota strictly equivalent to English adjectives; nevertheless, Lakhota nouns can be modified. The modifiers are usually stative verbs (like *itha'wa*). but the constructions used for modification differ for definite and indefinite noun phrases.

## 8.4.2.1. Definite Modified Noun Phrases

If a modified noun is definite (marked by  $ki\eta$  or  $k^2u\eta$ ), it is usually possible to form a phrase with this structure:

noun + modifier +  $ki\eta$ .

Examples are:

wičha'ša thay'ka kių (man + big + kių) 'the big man'

wakhaŋ'yeža či'k<sup>2</sup>ala kiŋ (child + small + kiŋ) 'the little child'

 $i\check{h}^{?}e'$  ska' kiŋ (rock + white + kiŋ) 'the white rock'

If the noun is plural, the modifier is reduplicated (4.3.2.8.):

wakhaŋ'yeža čigči' $k^2$ ala kiŋ (child + small + kiŋ) 'the little children'.

Phrases of this kind have a special intonation: only the noun receives primary stress; the modifier receives secondary stress (3.1.).

If the collocation of noun and modifier is very common, Lakhota speakers usually form a compound of the two, rather than use the phrasal construction. Thus *šuŋgwa'šte kiŋ* 'the good horse' is preferred over the possible, but unusual *šuŋ'ka-wakhaŋ' wašte' kiŋ*.

## 8.4.2.2. Indefinite Noun Phrases with Modifiers

There are two constructions for modifying indefinite nouns. The choice between the two is chiefly idiomatic.

The less frequent construction is exactly like the construction used for modified definite nouns: noun + modifier - article (*waŋ*, *eya*', etc.) This construction is used only when the modifier states an inherent quality that is expectable for the given noun: 'a warm blanket' or 'a tall tree' are examples of expectable inherent qualities. Lakhota examples are:

*thi'pi thaŋ'ka waŋ* 'a large house' *mni' sni' eya'* 'some cold water'.

Such phrases are often replaced by compound nouns: *mni-sni' eya'*, *šuŋgwa'šte waŋ* 'a good horse'.

If the modifier attributes to the noun a meaning that is unusual or unexpected, another construction is used instead:

noun + indefinite article + modifier +  $\check{c}ha$ .

*Čha* is sometimes omitted. The position of the indefinite article immediately following the noun nevertheless contrasts the present construction with the one last described. Examples:

Šuŋ'ka-wakhaŋ' hušte' (čha) wanbla'ke. waŋ horse limp I-saw a 'I saw a lame horse.' (Compare Šunghu'šte wan wanbla'ke. 'I saw a crippled horse.') Zintka'la eya' thotho' (čha) wanwi'čhablake. bird some blue/green I-saw 'I saw some blue birds.' Win'yan wan li'la than'ka (čha) ama'phe. very big hit-me woman a 'A very big woman hit me.' Mni-pi'ğa etaŋ' ši'ča (čha) uŋya'tkaŋ pi. beer indef.-art bad we-drink pl.

'We drank some bad beer.'

The construction with *čha* may actually be used correctly for any indefinite modified noun, including collocations that are semantically expectable combinations.

Modified generic nouns follow the indefinite pattern with *čha*, but without articles, of course:

<u>Thalo' ağu'yapi čha</u> wahte'wala šni.meat burnedI dislike'I don't like burned meat.'

This leads naturally to a discussion of nouns that are modified by more than a stative verb, that is, nouns modified by a whole sentence. Sentence modifiers are called relative clauses.

## 8.4.2.3. Relative Clauses

A relative clause is a sentence that modifies a noun. The noun being modified must also occur as part of the modifying sentence. An English example would be 'They arrested the man who hit me.' In this sentence 'who hit me' modifies *man*. If this sentence were not acting as a modifier, it could not have *who* as its subject. Instead, it would have to be 'A man hit me.' The original sentence, then, contains two sentences, one included in the other: *They arrested the man [a man hit me]*. English grammar requires that the modifying sentence follow the noun it modifies, and furthermore that the noun in the modifying sentence be replaced by a relative pronoun, in this case *who*. (*Which* and *that* are also relative pronouns.)

In Lakhota relative clauses, the modifying sentence comes before the noun it modifies; the noun in the main sentence is then dropped, but the rest of the sentence remains. To construct the Lakhota for the English example above, begin with the modifying sentence (in which the shared noun is always indefinite):

*wičha'ša waŋ ama'phe* man a hit.me 'a man hit me'

Then add the main sentence:

*wičha'ša kiŋ oyu'spa pi* man the arrest.him pl. 'They arrested the man.'

The result is:

Wičha'ša way ama'phe wičha'ša kiy oyu'spa pi.

Now drop the second *wičha'ša*, but keep its article:

Wičha'ša waŋ ama'phe kiŋ oyu'spa pi. 'They arrested the man who hit me.'

Even if the noun in the modifying sentence is the object of its sentence, it must come first in the complex sentence. Hence *Wičha'ša waŋ hokši'la kiŋ waŋyaŋ'ke kiŋ* can mean either 'the man who saw the boy' or 'the man whom the boy saw'.

If the article in the second sentence is indefinite, it changes to *čha*:

Wičha'ša waŋ ama'pha čha oyu'spa pi. 'They arrested a man who hit me.'

The similarity between indefinite modified nouns and nouns modified by relative clauses should now be obvious:

Wičha'ša waŋ li'la thaŋ'ka čha oyu'spa pi. 'They arrested a very big man.'

Wičha'ša waŋ ama'pha čha oyu'spa pi. 'They arrested a man who hit me.'

Moreover, this construction is also reminiscent of the emphatic construction (8.3.1.):

Hokši'la čha owi'čhayuspa pi. 'It was boys whom they arrested.'

Hokši'la kiŋ e' pi čha owi'čhayuspa pi. 'It was the boys whom they arrested.'

A relative clause always comes first in a sentence, whether it modifies the subject or object; the resulting ambiguities are rarely a problem, since contexts or probabilities will clarify nearly anything.

Here are some more complex examples of relative clause constructions:

Hokši'la	eya'	šuŋ'ka	-wak	haŋ' iwi'čhaču pi k	iŋ
boy	some	horse		take.them pl. th	he
čhayksa	'-yuha	,	kiŋ	owi'čhayuspa	pi.
police			the	arrest.them	pl.
'The pol	ice arı	ested t	he bo	ys who took the hor	ses.'

Šuŋ'ka-wakhaŋ' eya' hokši'la kiŋ iwi'čhaču pi kiŋhorsesome boythe take.them pl thewičha'šakiŋiye'wičhayapi.manthefind.thempl.'The men found the horses the boys took.'

The two improbable sentences 'The boys who took the horses arrested the policemen' and 'The horses the boys took found the men' would be exactly like those two examples, but their improbable meanings would keep them from being understood in that way without elaborate explanatory context.

To summarize modified nominals, including those with relative clause modifiers:

(a) definite nominals: noun + modifier +  $\left\{ \frac{ki\eta}{k^2 u\eta} \right\}$ 

(b) indefinite nominals

```
      1) semantically expectable collocations:
      noun + modifier + article

      2)others:
      modifying word

      kiŋ

      anoun+article+
      modifying word

      k<sup>2</sup>uŋ

      sentence
      čha
```

For a different approach to this and many other subordinate clause constructions, see Simons (1989).

## 8.5. Sentences as Nominals

Many verbs permit whole sentences to serve as their subjects or objects. English sentences used as nominals are marked in one of three ways: with *for...to*; with *that*; with *'s...-ing*. Secondarily, *for, that, 's,* and *to* are sometimes omitted. Observe these examples:

It's time for him to take his medicine.

I told him to come.

She helped me (to) find the right page.

I said (that) he should call me.

The cat(<u>'s</u>) scratching (of) the couch annoys mother.

In Lakhota, too, sentences can serve as the subjects or objects of verbs. These sentences may be marked by  $ki\eta$ ,  $k^2u\eta$ . or by no article at all. If  $ki\eta$  or  $k^2u\eta$  is used, a demonstrative (see 8.3.2.) may also be used. Usually the need for  $ki\eta$  or  $k^2u\eta$  is determined by which main verb is used.

## 8.5.1. Marked Nominalized Sentences

The following verbs require a determiner on their complements: slolyA' 'know', iyo'kiphi 'be happy that,' si'cA 'be bad that,' sica'ya 'be too bad that', waste' 'be good that', waste'lakA 'like (it) that', wahte'la sni 'dislike (it) that', wanyan'kA 'see that', yawa' 'read that,'  $nah'^2un'$  'hear (something)' (note: not 'hear that') and he'cha 'be necessary that ...right away'. Examples include:

Wančhin'yanke kin le' wašte'. the this good I.see.you 'It's good to see you.' Kičhi'womayaglaka pi kiŋ iyo'makiphi. you.discuss.with.me pl. the I.am.glad 'I'm glad you (pi.) discussed it with me.' Mas' o'phiye ekta' the'han un' pi šni kin wašte'. store at long stay pl. not the good 'They better not stay at the store long.' Agnes mni-pi'ğa yatke' kiŋ wahte'wala šni. Agnes beer drink the I.like not 'I don't like (for) Agnes to drink beer.'

The word  $k^2 u\eta$  can substitute for *kiŋ* under certain circumstances.  $K^2 u\eta$  identifies a strongly asserted factual statement: it can only be used if the assertion is known to the speaker to have been an accomplished fact when the action described by the main verb began. Consequently it is never used with verbs expressing question, doubt, or value judgments.

## 8.5.2. Unmarked Nominalized Sentences

Verbs that require their complement sentence to be unmarked include  $\check{chiy}'$  'want', eyA' (ke'yA) 'say', oki'hi 'be able to',  $iyu'k\check{cay}$  'to think, plan, expect',  $ona'\check{h}^2uy$  'to hear about',  $ke'ya na\check{h}^2uy'$ 'to hear that...' and oki'yakA 'to tell someone (that)'. Here are some examples:

Šun'ka-wakhan' wanži' ophe'yathun yačhin' he? you.want question horse you.buy one 'Do you want to buy a horse?' Šun'ka-wakhan' wanži' ophe'thun ona'yah<sup>?</sup>un he? you.hear.about question horse one he.buy 'Did you hear about his buying a horse?' Wana' wačhi'pi ekta' unki'yaya pi unko'kihi pi. dance we.leave pl. we.can pl. now to 'We can leave for the dance now.'

Ožan'žanglepi wanži' bluğan' yačhin' he? window a I.open you.want question 'Do you want me to open a window?'

## 8.5.3. Other Nominalized Sentences

A few verbs permit sentential complements that are like infinitive or participle constructions in English. An example of such an English sentence is *He told me to come*, in which the infinitive construction *me to come* represents a reduced sentence that is seen more clearly in *'He said that I should come*.'

In Lakhota constructions of this kind, the complement verb precedes the principal verb. If the complement verb is transitive it may have object affixes (9.3.2.), but otherwise it has no affixes. The principal verb has the expectable affixes (i.e., subject and/or object affixes). The close relationship between verbs in this construction may be shown in ways other than the unusual distribution of personal affixes. Stress patterns typical of compound words and phonological changes of the kind described in 4.3.2.6, and 4.3.2.7, are two such ways.

Examples of this kind of construction are as follows:

*Wo'wapi kiŋ yawa' maši'.* book the read me.he.commanded 'He told me to read the book.'

*Owi'čhale o'mayakiya wačhiŋ'.* look.for.them you.help.me I.want 'I want you to help me to look for them.'

(This sentence contains two subordinate verbs, but only the first is of the type described here; cf. <u>8.5.2.</u> for  $\check{c}hig'$ .)

Nahaŋ'hči škal yu'štaŋ pi šni he?yetplay finishpl. not question'Haven't they finished playing yet?'

(Note that *škal yu'štaŋ* is stressed like a compound.)

Two other uses for such reduced sentences are for purpose clauses with verbs of motion and for loosely joining sentences expressing sequential events, usually in stories. Here are examples:

Thalo' ophe'thuŋ mni' kte.meatbuyI.gopotential

'I'll go buy meat.'

*Wičha'ša etaŋ' waŋni'yaŋg u' pi kte.* man some see.you come pl. potential 'Some men will come to see you.'

*Ta'kuni isaŋ'm to'khuŋ šni, uŋgli'yaču pi.* nothing more do not we.come.home pl. 'Doing nothing more, we came home.'

In very colloquial speech, some verbal constructions of this kind may be reduced even further by completely omitting affixes from the first verb, and indicating all grammatical relations in the principal verb. If the principal verb is ordinarily intransitive, it nevertheless appears here with transitive affixes. Thus *Wičha'ša waŋ waŋni'yaŋg hi'* 'A man came to see you' may become *Wičha'ša waŋ waŋyaŋ'g nihi'*.

## 9. Verbs

Because it is the only obligatory element in the sentence, the verb is the most important kind of word in Lakhota. It is also the most complex. Analyzing verbs requires taking into account three different kinds of information: in what kinds of sentences a given verb may occur, what affixes or other markings a given verb may have, and how a verb may be expanded or changed in its basic meaning.

## 9.1. Sentence and Affix Types

Part of the meaning of every Lakhota verb is a specification of the number of "participants" (the technical term is "arguments"), or things to which nominals or pronominal affixes can refer, in the event the verb describes. Simple sentences can, depending on the verbal category, imply zero, one, two, or three participants.

Verbs that imply one participant are in turn divided into two groups, depending somewhat on what they mean. If the verb describes an activity over which its participant has control, or which the participant can carry out willfully, it will select an affix from the set that marks the subject (technically, "agent") of a two-participant sentence. But if the situation described by the verb involves no will or control on the part of its participant, then that participant will be marked as if it were the object (technically: "patient") of a two-argument verb. These semantic definitions are not perfectly reliable, and occasionally a verb takes affixes that seem to belong logically to the other category. For example, *ni'* to be alive, not dead' takes agent forms, while *kiŋ'za* 'squeak, as a mouse does' takes patient forms. See Legendre and Rood (1992) for a detailed discussion of these two classes.

Verbs thus fall into several classes according to their participant types: impersonal (no participants), stative (one objectlike participant), active intransitive (one subjectlike participant), transitive (two participants), and ditransitive (three participants). There is also a sixth class with

very few members that 'takes two objectlike participants: this class is called "stative transitive." These verbs are so rare that "stative" will be used consistently for the one-participant statives in what follows, and "transitive" for "active transitive."

## 9.1.1. Impersonal Verbs

Impersonal verbs do not take any personal affixes. Most of them are limited semantically to expressions of natural states such as the weather or the time of day. Examples include:

ADpe'tu kiŋ le' <u>osni'.</u>	' <u>It's cold</u> today.'
Mahe'l <u>o<sup>²</sup>i'yokpaze.</u>	'It was very dark inside.'
<u>Iča'mna</u> ȟče šni.	'It's not snowing much.'
<u>Haŋhe'pi.</u>	' <u>It is night.</u> '

There is also a small number of impersonal verbal expressions that refer to speaker-perceived states such as obligations, necessity, apparentness, and the like. Here are examples with the verbs *phi'ča*, *iye'čheča*, *s<sup>?</sup>ele'čheča*, and *he'čha*:

Ečhun' phi'ča šni. feasible do not 'It can not be done, it is not feasible.' kiŋ khu'ža iye'čheča. Wičhiŋ'čala little.girl the sick seem '<u>It seems</u> that the dog has eaten the meat.' Šun'ka kin thalo' kin yu'te s<sup>?</sup>ele'čheča. dog the meat the eat seem 'It seems that the dog has eaten the meat.' Phežu'ta etan' iya'ču kte he'čha. medicine some you.take potential be.necessary 'You must take some medicine'.

These verbs can all be used with stative personal affixes, but with somewhat different meanings. For example, with personal affixes *he'čha* means 'to be such a one' and *phi'ča* means 'to be glad'.

## 9.1.2. Stative Verbs

Stative verbs ordinarily describe states or conditions. They are most reliably identified not by their meaning, but by the personal affixes they take. 'I' and 'you' with stative verbs are always expressed by ma and ni respectively. (Further details of affixation are given in <u>9.3.</u>)

Examples of stative verbs are *khu'žA* 'nauseated' (*makhu'že* 'I am nauseated'), *i'-puza* 'thirsty' (*i'-mapu'za* 'I am thirsty'), *wašte'* 'good' (*niwa'šte* 'you are good'), and *zi'* 'yellow; pale' (*nizi'* 'you are pale').

Almost all nouns can also be used as stative verbs identifying the noun, although the verb *he'čha* 'to be such a one' can also provide this meaning:

Wima'čhaša.<br/>Wičha'ša hema'čha.'I am a man.'Nila'khota he?<br/>Lakho'ta heni'čha he?'Are you an Indian?'He' čhaŋ'.'That is a tree.'Hena' šuŋ'ka pi.'Those are dogs.'

## 9.1.3. Stative transitive Verbs

Some transitive verbs (see 9.1.) permit two patients in their semantics. Most common among of them is *itha'wa* 'own' (see 8.4.1.), with which one can say *Nimi'thawa* 'you are mine'. Other examples are *iye'nimačheča* 'you look like me' and *iyo'nimakiphi* 'l find you congenial'. Additional examples are given in Boas and Deloria (1941:77).

## 9.1.4. Active intransitive Verbs

Active intransitive verbs are, like stative verbs, restricted to sentences with one participant; but these verbs take the affixes wa 'I' and ya 'you' (or variants thereof, see <u>9.3.</u>), instead of ma and ni. Semantically, most of these verbs describe actions that the subject can perform. Examples include hi' 'arrive' (wahi' 'I have arrived'), wačhi' 'dance' (wawa'čhi 'I dance'), oki'hi 'be able' (oya'kihi 'you can'), and na'žiŋ 'stand' (naya'žiŋ 'you stand').

## 9.1.5. Active transitive Verbs

Active transitive verbs require two participants in their sentences, an agent (subject) and a patient (object). Consequently they also permit two affixes to occur with them (inflectional details are given in 9.3.). Examples include *waŋyaŋ'kA* 'see', *aphA'* 'hit', *slolyA'* 'know', *iye'yA* 'find', and *kte'* 'kill'.

Many Lakhota transitive verbs correspond to English verbs that are optionally transitive. For example, in English people say 'we are eating now' or 'we are eating meat'; the first sentence uses 'eat' intransitively, the second uses it transitively. Very few Lakhota verbs have this option. Two that do are  $\delta ka'tA$  'play' or 'play a game' and *hayble'* 'dream' or 'dream about'. A Lakhota transitive verb that is used as an intransitive verb ordinarily requires the prefix *wa-*, which attributes an indefinite or implied object to the verb:  $nah^2uy'$  'to hear', *wana'h^2uy* 'to listen; to obey'; *manu'* 'to steal an object', *wama'nu'* 'to steal things'. In some cases this *wa-* is concealed by sound changes: *yu'tA* 'to eat', but *wo'tA* 'to eat a meal'; *iway'yaykA* 'to examine, look at'; *wi'wayyaykA* 'to examine things; to make a judgment.'

## 9.1.6. Verbs Requiring Three Complements

Finally, there are a few Lakhota verbs that require three participants in their sentences. Verbs of this kind are  $k^2 u'$  'to give something to someone' and la' 'to ask someone for something'.

Actually, most transitive and active and some stative verbs permit an indirect object (8.) in their sentence, but in this case the form of the verb itself is changed to show that a third participant has been added (9.3.8.).

## 9.2. Verbal Derivation

## 9.2.1. Complex Stem Formation

Lakhota speakers freely form compound verb stems for special meanings. Usually this is accomplished by prefixing a noun, an adverb, or another verb to the basic root. Thus from *waya'wa* 'to read; to attend school' and *gli'* 'to arrive home, coming' is derived *waya'wa-gli'* 'to have come home from school'; with *iglu'stAD* 'to finish for oneself is formed *waya'wa-iglu'stAD* 'to have finished school', and so on. Some other examples include:

*šuŋg<sup>?</sup>a'kaŋyaŋkA (šuŋ'ka 'horse', akaŋ' 'on', yaŋkA' 'sit') 'to ride horseback'* 

ločhiŋ' (lo 'food', not used as a free form today, and čhiŋ' 'want') 'to be hungry'

wakši'yužaža (wakši'ča 'dishes', yuža'ža 'to wash') 'to wash dishes'

i'-puza (i' 'mouth', pu'zA 'be dry') 'to be thirsty'

In addition to these more or less obvious compounds, complex stems are often formed with prefixes. The first set of these prefixes sometimes, but not always, has adverbial meanings: *i*-'with, instrumental', *o*- 'inside', *a*- 'on the surface of: because of', *khi*- 'at the middle'.

Examples of these prefixes are:

iya'tkAD (yatkAD' 'to drink') 'to drink with, to use for drinking'

otho' (tho' 'to be blue or green') 'to be bruised'

ona'phA (naphA' 'to run away, to flee') 'to flee into'

apa'hpa (pahpa' 'to push over') 'to push over onto'

ale'žA (le'žA 'to urinate') 'to urinate on'

*ačhaŋ'tešičA* 'to be sad because of' (*čhaŋte'šičA* 'to be sad')

khiča'ksA {kaksA' 'sever by striking') 'to break in the middle by striking'

*khiwa'psakA* (*wapsa'kA* 'to sever a string') 'to cut a string in two'

The meaning that has been added by the prefix is not always easy to specify. Compare, for example, oma'ni 'to travel' and ma'ni 'to walk': ayu'štAD 'to leave alone' and yuštAD' 'to finish'.

In a few cases, verbs exist only with the prefix; an equivalent form without the prefix cannot be found. An example of this is *ali'* 'to climb on, to step on'.

Another set of prefixes has clear instrumental meaning. Seven of these are used very frequently; an eighth appears rarely. The instrumental prefixes often appear together with one of the adverbial prefixes just discussed.

In some cases the prefixes are added to verbs that are also used without the instrumental prefixes. In other cases (probably in most), an equivalent verb without the prefix is not used. The prefixes, with examples, are given beginning with the rather rare prefix *pu*-:

*pu-* 'by generalized pressure'

*puspA'* 'to glue, to seal' opu'ği 'to stuff soft material into an opening'

*ka*- 'by means of a blow'

*kačhe'yA* 'to cause to cry by striking'

*kable'čA* 'to shatter by hitting'

*kahlo'kA* 'to chop a hole in something'

ka is also used in verbs that refer to action of wind, or other more or less spontaneous actions:

kažo' 'to fart' kağaŋ' 'to blow open'.

na- 'by foot action'

*nat<sup>2</sup>A'* 'to kill by stepping on' nable'čA 'to shatter something with the foot' *nahlo'kA* 'to kick a hole in something'.

*na*- is used in verbs that refer to action accomplished by heat. It is also used when the action occurs by spontaneous inner force:

našli' 'to ooze out' *nagmu'* 'to curl up, to twist (drying material)' naša' 'to blush'.

*pa-* 'by pushing or by pressure with the hands or the body'

pa<sup>?</sup>i'le 'to ignite by pushing, as a flashlight' pable'čA 'to shatter by sitting on' pahlo'kA 'to pierce the ears'

wa- 'by cutting with a blade'

waža'ža 'to notch, to make forked by cutting or sawing'

*wable'čA* 'to shatter by attempting to cut'

wahlo'kA 'to make a miscut while skinning'

wo- 'by piercing with a pointed object'
 wohla' 'to make something sound (ring) by shooting it'
 woble'čA 'to break into pieces by striking with a pestle or by shooting'

wo- is also used in verbs that refer to action by blowing:

*wo<sup>?</sup>i'le* 'to make a fire blaze by blowing on it'.

*ya-* 'by means of the mouth or the teeth; by speaking'

yahta'kA 'to bite'

*yable'čA* 'to shatter by biting'

yahlo'kA 'to gnaw a hole'

yaši'čA 'to malign' ('bad mouth')

*yu*- 'by means of the hands'

yuğaŋ' 'to open up' (as a door or window)

yuble'čA 'to shatter with the hand'

yuhlo'kA 'to make a hole with the hand'

yu- is also used in verbs that have a general causative meaning (9.2.2.1).

## 9.2.2. Class-changing Processes

The verbs that fit into the categories in 9.1. may either belong there inherently or be brought into that category by a derivational process. Thus, for instance, stative and intransitive verbs may be made transitive ('be sick' changes to 'make sick' or 'sing' changes to 'cause to sing' or 'let sing'). The indefinite object prefix wa (9.1.4.) could be listed here, too, as a device-for changing transitive verbs into active intransitives.

## 9.2.2.1. Causatives

Lakhota stative and intransitive verbs are made transitive by means of a causative construction. Transitive verbs may also be made causative, in which case they become ditransitive verbs. There are three causative constructions:

1) Stative verbs that describe size or shape (so that the change being caused is one of degree, not of kind) and verbs of value judgment are made causative with the instrumental prefix yu (9.2.1.):

<i>či'k<sup>?</sup>ala</i> 'small'	<i>yuči'k<sup>?</sup>ala</i> 'reduce in size'
haŋ'ska 'long'	yuhaŋ'ska 'lengthen'
taŋyaŋ' 'well'	yutaŋ'yaŋ 'make right, fix up'
wašte' 'good'	yuwa'šte 'improve, correct'.

2a) Stative verbs that refer to other kinds of conditions are made causative by using the suffixed auxiliary -yA; -yA is an active verb. Examples:

*ğu'* 'be burned' *ğuyA'* 'to scorch' *sa'pA* 'to be black' *sabyA'* 'to blacken'.

An interesting illustration of the meaning differences between (1) and (2a) is the root *ska'* 'be white', which accepts both causatives: *yuska'* means 'to clean; to make whiter', while *skayA'* means 'to paint white; to whiten'.

Many of the verbs that take -yA' for the general causative also take instrumental prefixes for special kinds of causative meaning; in these cases -yA is not used. Thus, from *khu'žA* 'to be nauseated' can be derived *yukhu'žA* 'to harass someone until he becomes sick' and *yakhu'žA* 'to talk someone into being sick'.

2b) Active and transitive verbs may also be made causative with -yA if the causation was accidental or unintentional or indirect:

*čhiŋ'* 'want', *čhiŋyA'* 'to cause to want' (for example, to cause someone to want food by eating in front of him)

*mağa'žu* 'to rain', *mağa'žuyA* 'to cause to rain' (for example, by doing something unusual; a lazy person suddenly beginning to work hard is said to make it rain)

yuha' 'to have', yuha'yA 'to cause someone to have (perhaps by leaving it behind at his house)'

*čhe'yA* 'to cry', *čhe'yeyA* 'to cause to cry (by telling a sad story, perhaps)'.

Some verbs with the causative auxiliary -yA have no currently used non-causative. Such are slolyA' 'to know' and iye'yA 'to find'.

3) When the causation is intentional, or when there is no desire to stop the action, active verbs are made causative by use of the active auxiliary verb *-khiyA*. English translations are more often 'let' than 'make':

čhe'yekhiyA 'to let cry (without trying to stop)'

yuha'khiyA 'to let have (carry); to have carry'

o'kiyekhiyA 'to let help'.

If a transitive verb is used with *-khiyA*, the main verb as well as the auxiliary may take affixes (the main verb takes object affixes only):

o'makiyečhi'čhiyiŋ kte help.me.I.let.you potential 'I will let you help me'. o'ničiyewakhi'ye help.you.I.let.you 'I let him help you'.

## 9.2.2.2. Inceptives

Moving into the state designated by a stative verb is indicated in two different ways. Either ki- is prefixed to the verb, or the auxiliary verb a'yA is used. Probably a'yA is the verb 'to bring', since other verbs of bringing and taking also occasionally mean 'begin to', but in this construction it functions like a stative verb. In fact although the meaning shift for this construction seems to be from stative to active intransitive, the formal affixation pattern for both the derived and underived constructions remains that of stative verbs. Examples are:

*kisku'yA* 'to become sweet' *čhe'pa a'yA* 'to get fat'.

In some cases a verb can be used with both, but with different meanings:

*kithaŋ'ka* 'to grow old' *thaŋ'ka a'yA* 'to get big'.

In most instances, *ki*- imparts a meaning of inevitable change into the state mentioned by the verb, change over which the referent has no control.

## 9.2.2.3. Deactivization or Stativization

There is no obvious formal process whereby active verbs may be shifted to the stative category. (In English this is done by the use of passive participles: break->be broken, find->be found, etc.) Such notions are expressed in Lakhota by using the third-person plural subject form (marked by *pi* after the verb) of an active transitive verb: 'they broke it', 'they found him', etc.

However, there is some syntactic evidence that *pi* in this construction is genuinely a passive marker rather than the subject pluralizer. With verbs like 'seem', most linguists agree that the subject of 'seem' and the subject of its complement have to be the same. Thus in 'She seemed to

hit him' and 'She seemed to have been hit', "she" is the subject of both verbs in both sentences even when, logically, "she" is the recipient or patient of the second one. If this is so, then in the Lakhota sentence *ama'pha pi s<sup>2</sup>ele'mačheča* 'I seem to have been hit', *ma* rather than *pi* must represent the subject of *ama'pha pi*. Obviously, this analysis relies on a very specific notion of "subject." This notion has not yet been well explored for Lakhota.

## 9.3. Verb Inflection

Lakhota verbs may be inflected to indicate the person and number of subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, and possessors of objects. Inflection involves the addition of affixes to the verb. Note that "affix" is used here as a cover term for prefix, suffix, and infix; an infix is an element inserted into a stem. Many of the inflectional morphemes in Lakhota are either prefixed or infixed, depending on the verb. Sometimes the infixing is only apparent, as when the inflection follows a derivational prefix such as *na*- 'by means of the foot'. Thus a sequence like *na-wa'-t*'e 'I killed it with my foot' (from *nat*'e' 'to die or kill by means of foot action') technically consists of two prefixes and a root. However, there are many cases where the inflectional morpheme is inserted into an otherwise (synchronically) unanalyzable stem, such as *ma'ni* 'to walk' (*mawa'ni* 'I walk'), or *ophe'thup* 'to buy' (*ophe'wathup* 'I buy/bought it'), or *wičha'ša* 'man' (*wima'čhaša* 'I am a man'). In accord with Lakhota grammatical tradition and (most) native-speaker intuition, all the inserted inflectional elements are here called "infixes," and both these infixes and all the prefixes are called "affixes."

In addition to affixes, all verbal paradigms make use of the enclitic *pi* to mark a plural argument. An enclitic is like a suffix, except that it is a separate word.

The discussion of verb inflection can be divided into 10 subtopics: <u>stative affixes</u>, <u>object affixes</u>, <u>active subject affixes</u>, <u>two-affix constructions</u>, <u>irregular paradigms</u>, <u>reflexives</u>, <u>reciprocal</u> <u>constructions</u>, <u>reflexive possessive</u>, <u>dative constructions</u>, and <u>benefactive constructions</u>.

## 9.3.1. Stative Affixes

The basic paradigm has positions for three persons and three numbers, although the dual is available only for the first-person inclusive subject ('you and I', but not 'he and I'). It is tempting to analyze the  $u\eta(k)$  without pi (the dual) as "inclusive singular" and thus make pi a consistent marker of the plural. This analysis must be rejected because pi is added to all objects (not stative subjects), both dual and plural, and pi neutralizes the inclusive/exclusive distinction.

In the third person, plural is marked for animate nouns only; inanimate plurals are marked by reduplication of the verb stem (see 4.3.2.8.). When the plural refers to human beings there is yet another distinction: distributive versus collective. "Distributive plurals" focus on plurality as a collection of separate individuals, while "collective plurals" focus on persons whose identities are fused into a group. An English noun with just these kinds of meanings is the word "family." When the verb used with family is singular (My family is waiting for me), the noun is collective in meaning. When the verb is plural (My family are all living in California now), the meaning is distributive. Many Lakhota verbs do not have collective forms; when such forms do not exist, the distributive plural forms are used instead. The collective sense is not necessarily lost in such

cases, since a noun with collective meaning (or a quantifier such as  $oya's^{?}i\eta$  'all of a collective human group') may also be present in the sentence.

Here are the personal affixes used in the inflection of stative verbs.

Singular	Dual Plural
1. <i>ma</i> -	uŋ(k)- uŋ(k)pi
2. <i>ni</i> -	nipi
3. 0-	0pi distributive wičha- collective

0 means that there is no affix for that person.

 $u\eta(k)$  is written in this way to indicate that  $u\eta$  is used if any consonant but  $l^2/l$  follows the affix, while  $u\eta k$  appears if a vowel or  $l^2/l$  follows.

There are three patterns for the placement of these affixes in the verb: all affixes are prefixed: all affixes are infixed:  $u\eta k$  is prefixed and the others are infixed. Here are sample paradigms of each type:

haŋ'skA 'be long or tall' (prefix type)			
Singular	Dual	Plural	
1. mahaŋ'ske	uŋhaŋ'ske	uŋhaŋ'ska pi	
'I am tall'	'you and I are tall'	' 'we are tall'	
2. nihaŋ'ske		nihaŋ'ska pi	
'you are tall'		'you are tall'	
3. <i>haŋ'ske</i> 'he is tall'		<i>haŋ'ska pi</i> 'they are tall' (distributive) <i>wičha'haŋske</i> 'they are tall' (collective)	

<i>i'-puza</i> 'be thirsty' (infix type)			
Singular	Dual	Plural	
1. i'-mapu'za	i'- <sup>?</sup> uŋpu'za	i'- <sup>?</sup> uŋpu'za pi	
'I am thirsty'	'you and I are thirsty	' 'we are thirsty'	
2. i'-nipu'za		i'-nipu'za pi	
'you are thirsty	,	'you are thirsty'	
3. i'puza		i'-puza pi	
'he is thirsty'		'they are thirsty'	

	<i>uŋspe'</i> 'to know how to'	(mixed type)
Singular	Dual	Plural

1. иŋma'spe	uŋkuŋ'spe	uŋkuŋ'spe pi
'I know how to'	'you and know how t	o' 'we know how to'
2. uŋni'spe		uŋni'spe pi
'you know how to	,	'you know how to'
3. uŋspe'		uŋspe' pi
'he knows how to		'they know how to'

The stative paradigm is completely regular: there are no further subtypes within this conjugation. In particular, verbs such as yaykA' 'to sit,' of which the first-person form is *mayke'*, are not stative. See the description of active nasal stems in 9.3.3., and note that when an object affix appears on this verb in the construction described at the end of 8.5.3., the form is *mayay'ke*.

One further remark about the use of the stative verb inflection is in order. Stative verb affixes are regularly used to identify the possessor of an inalienably possessed noun (8.4.1.) that is the subject of a stative verb:

Nata'(kiŋ)<u>ma</u>ya'zaŋ head the I.hurt '<u>My</u> head hurts.' Nape'(kiŋ)<u>ma</u>špaŋ' hand the I.burn 'I burned <u>my</u> hand.' Phehiŋ'(kiŋ)<u>ni</u>sa'bsapa hair the you.black '<u>You</u> have black hair.'

## 9.3.2. Object Affixes

The paradigm for transitive objects (assuming a third-person singular subject) is almost like that for stative verb subjects, but there are two differences: first, there is no collective versus distributive distinction: the collective affix of the stative paradigm is used for all animate plural objects. Second, there is no separate form for the dual; pi is used with  $u\eta(k)$  whenever it marks the object. Here are the object affixes:

Singular	Plural
1. <i>ma</i>	uŋ(k)pi
2. <i>ni</i>	nipi
3.0	wičha

The placement of these affixes follows the same three patterns observed with the stative verbs:  $u\eta(k)$  may be prefixed while the others are infixed, or all may follow the same pattern. Here are three paradigms:

khi'zA 'to attack; begin a fight with'

(prefix type)			
Singular	Plural		
1. makhi'ze	uŋkhi'za pi		
'he attacked me	e' 'he attacked us'		
2. ničhi'ze	ničhi'za pi		
'he attacked you	u' 'he attacked you'		
3. khi'ze	wičha'khize		
'he attacked hin	n 'he attacked them'		
slolyA'	(infix type)		
Singular	Plural		
1. slolma'ye	slol <sup>?</sup> uŋ'yaŋ pi		
'he knows me'	'he knows us'		
2. slolni'ye	slolni'yaŋ pi		
'he knows you'	'he knows you'		
3. slolye'	slolwi'čhaye		
'he knows him	'he knows them'		
aphA' 'to hit' (	mixed type)		
Singular	Plural		
1. ama'phe	uŋka'pha pi		
'he hit me'	'he hit us'		
2. ani'phe	ani'pha pi		
'he hit you'	'he hit you'		
	awi'čhaphe		
'he hit him'	'he hit them'		

## 9.3.3. Active Subject Affixes

The active subject affixes come in three slightly different paradigms, all of which have the same positional arrangements (prefix, infix, mixed). The three paradigms differ only in the form of the affixes used for 'I' and 'you'. The remainder of the subject affixes are as in the stative paradigm except that motion verbs have *a* rather than *wičha'* as the affix of the collective plural. Note that  $u\eta(k)$  may mark either subject or object; its correct meaning has to be read from another affix or from the context. In y-stems, the y- changes to /I/ after first-person singular b- and disappears after *l*- in the second person. Actually, both y-stem and nasal-stem affixes are probably to be derived from the *wa-* and *ya-* of regular verbs by a series of phonological rules involving loss of the vowel of the affix and subsequent consonant assimilations. For detailed discussion, see Carter (1974:130-154) and Koontz (1983).

Here is a chart of the three sets or active subject affixes:

	1. Regular	2. Y-stem	n 3. Nasal Stem
	1. <i>wa</i>	b	m
Singular	2. ya	l	n
	3.0	0	0

Dual1.  $u\eta(k)$  $u\eta(k)$  $u\eta(k)$ Plural1.  $u\eta(k)...pi u\eta(k)...pi$  $u\eta(k)...pi$ 2. ya...piya...piya...piDistributive 3. 0...pi0...pi0...piCollectivea / wičhaa / wičha

The inflectional paradigm that is used for each active verb is partially predictable. For example, the affixes of paradigm 2 (y-stem) are used most often with verbs that have /y/ followed by an oral vowel at the point where the affix is added: the affixes of paradigm 3 (nasal stem) are used most often with verbs that have /y/ or  $/^2/$ , followed by a nasalized vowel at the point where the affix is added. There are a few exceptions to these general rules.

Given below are paradigms of verbs with active affixes. No attempt is made to illustrate the prefix-infix-mixed types, since the variations are exactly the same as for the stative or object affix paradigm types.

#### Examples of Paradigm I (regular)

<i>hi'</i> 'arrive coming'		
Singular	Dual	Plural
1. <i>wahi'</i>	uŋhi'	uŋhi' pi
'I came'	'you and I came'	' 'we came'
2. yahi'		yahi' pi
'you came	,	'you came'
		hi' pi
3. <i>hi'</i>		'they came' (distributive)
'he came'		ahi'
		'they came' (collective)

slolyA' 'know' (looks like y-stem, inflected regularly)

Singular	Dual	Plural
1. slolwa'ye	slol <sup>?</sup> uŋ'ye	slol <sup>?</sup> uŋ'yaŋ pi
'I know'	'you and I know him	' 'we know him'
2. slolya'ye		slolya'ya pi
'you know him	,	'you know him'
3. slolye'		slolya' pi
'he knows him'		'they know him'

<sup>?</sup>uŋ' 'be (exist); stay'
(looks like nasal stem; inflected regularly)
Singular Dual Plural

1. wa <sup>?</sup> uŋ'	uŋk <sup>?</sup> uŋ'	uŋk <sup>²</sup> uŋ' pi
'I am'	'you and I are'	'we are'
2. ya <sup>?</sup> uŋ'		ya <sup>?</sup> uŋ' pi
'you are'		'you are'
3. <i>uŋ'</i>		uŋ' pi
'he is'		'they are'

Examples of Paradigm 2 (y-stem)

yuha' 'have'			
Singular	Dual	Plural	
1. bluha'	uŋyu'ha	uŋyu'ha pi	
'I have it'	'you and I have it	' 'we have it'	
2. luha'		luha' pi	
'you have it?	,	'you have it'	
3. yuha'		yuha' pi	
'he has it'		'they have it'	

waŋyaŋ'kA 'to see'			
(looks like 1	nasal stem; inflecte	d like a y-stem)	
Singular	Dual	Plural	
1. waŋbla'ke	waŋ <sup>²</sup> uŋ'yaŋke	waŋ <sup>²</sup> uŋ'yaŋka pi	
'I have it'	'you and I have it'	'we have it'	
2. waŋla'ke		waŋla'ka pi	
'you have it'		'you have it'	
3. waŋyaŋ'ke		waŋyaŋ'ka pi	
'he has it'		'they have it'	

Note that **/aŋ**/ is changed to **/a**/ following **/l**/ in the 'I' and 'you' forms.

Examples of Paradigm 3 (nasal stem)

	<i><sup>?</sup>uŋ'</i> 'to us	e; to wea	r'
Singular	Dual		Plural
1. <i>mu'</i>	uŋk <sup>?</sup> uŋ'		uŋk <sup>²</sup> uŋ' pi
'I used it'	'you and	I used it'	'we used it'
2. <i>nu'</i>			nu' pi
'you used it	,		'you used it'
3. <i>uŋ'</i>			uŋ' pi
'he used it'			'they used it'

Note that some of the forms of this verb are identical to some forms of  ${}^{?}u\eta'$  'exist'.

	<i>ečha'<sup>?</sup>uŋ</i> 'to do	,
Singular	Dual	Plural
1. ečha'mu	ečhuŋ'k <sup>²</sup> uŋ	ečhuŋ'k <sup>?</sup> uŋ pi
'I did it'	'you and I did it'	'we did it'
2. ečha'nu		ečha'nu pi
'you did it'		'you did it'
3. ečhuŋ'		ečhuŋ' pi
'he did it'		'they did it'

Note that most forms of this verb have the loss of  $/a^2/$  described in <u>4.3.1.3.</u>

<i>yaŋkA'</i> 'to be seated'			
Singular	Dual	Plural	
1. <i>make'</i>	uŋyaŋ'ke	uŋyaŋ'ka pi	
'I am seated'	'you and I are seated	' 'we are seated'	
2. nake'		naka' pi	
'you are seated	,	'you are seated'	
3. yaŋke'		<i>yaŋka' pi</i> 'they are seated' (distributive)	
'he is seated'		<i>wičha'yaŋke</i> 'they are seated' (collective)	

Verbs of motion utilize a collective prefix a different from that of other intransitive verbs. If the verb begins with i, the prefix a coalesces with the initial i of the stem to yield e':

*a'ye* 'they went (collective)'; compare *ya' pi* 'they went (distributive)'

*e'yaye* 'they (collective) started out, going'; compare *iya'ya pi* (distributive) compare *iya'ya pi* (distributive)

*e'nažiŋ* 'they (collective) went and stood'; compare *ina'žiŋ pi* (distributive)

## 9.3.4. Two-affix Combinations

Transitive verbs take two affixes whenever the subject and object are grammatical persons marked by affixes. The same is true of stative transitive verbs (9.1.3.). When two affixes are present, the usual order is first the object affix, then the subject affix. Another description of the order of sequence in the affixes would be (third person) (second person) (first person). This would eliminate rule 3 below, but not rule 1 in all cases. Similarly, describing the order as (third) (first) (second) would eliminate rule 1. but not rule 3. The object-subject description seems better, since there are other ways in which  $u\eta(k)$  is exceptional (e.g., prefixing to verbs where other affixes infix).

The combinations of affixes that appear are usually as given in the object and subject paradigms outlined in 9.3.2. and 9.3.3., but there are some additional complexities that cannot be predicted

from a simple blending of the two sets. The complexities involve the affixes, some verb stems, and the enclitic pluralizer *pi*.

With respect to the affix combinations, the following rules apply:

1)  $u\eta(k)$  precedes all affixes but wičha

2) The combination of 'I' subject and 'you' object is represented in transitive verbs by a single affix: *čhi*.

3) In the stative transitive verbs, *ni* always precedes *ma*, regardless of the grammatical functions of the affixes. The meaning of verbal forms of this kind is therefore ambiguous.

4) y-stem or nasal stem transitive verbs with 'you' subject and 'me' or 'us' object have *yal* or *yan*, respectively, for 'you'.

Verbs that require  $u\eta(k)$  prefixed, but the others inserted, present a problem, since  $u\eta(k)$  must follow *wičha*, and inserted affix. In the speech of some persons this apparent contradiction is resolved by inserting both in the proper order, but repeating the entire verb stem after  $u\eta(k)$ . An example can be given using the verb oyu'spA 'to arrest':  $owi'čhu\eta koyuspa pi$  'we arrested them'. Note that *wičha* is inserted after *o*, as required for this verb, and at the same time  $u\eta(k)$  precedes *o* as is also required by this particular verb. However, many persons simply insert both affixes, ignoring the apparent contradiction of not having  $u\eta(k)$  before *o*. In the speech of these persons, the correct form is *owi'čhuŋyuspa pi*.

Pluralization can appear only once in each verbal form. Hence, either affix, or both simultaneously, may be pluralized by *pi*. Many verbal forms containing *pi* and affixes that may be either singular or plural are thus ambiguous, and only the context can indicate which participants are actually plural. For example *uŋko'yuspa pi* can mean 'we arrested him', 'he arrested us', or 'they arrested us'. *iye'<sup>2</sup>uŋyaŋ pi kte* can mean either 'you (sing.) will find us'or 'you (pl.) will find us'.

Subject	Object					
	me	you sg.	him, her, it, them (inanimate)	us	you pl.	them (animate)
I		čhi	0-wa 0-b 0-m		čhipi	wičha-wa wičha-b wičha-m
you sg.	ma-ya ma-yal ma-yan		0-ya 0-l 0-n	иŋ-yapi иŋ-yalpi иŋyanpi		wičha-ya wičha-l wičha-n
he, she, it	ma-0	ni-0	0-0	uŋ(k)- 0pi	ni-0pi	wičha-0

The combinations of affixes that occur in transitive verbs are shown in table 5

we two			$u\eta(k)$			wičha- <sup>?</sup> uŋ(k)pi
we pl		иŋ-ni- pi	uŋ(k)pi		иŋ- nipi	wičha <sup>?</sup> uŋ(k)pi
you pl	ma-yapi ma- yalpi ma- yanpi		0-yapi 0-lpi 0-npi	uŋ-yapi uŋ-yalpi uŋ-yanpi		wičha-yapi wičha-lpi wičha-npi
they animate	ma-0pi	ni-0pi	0-0pi	uŋ(k)- 0pi	ni-0pi	wičha-0pi

NOTE: First-person *b*- and *m*- and second-person (ya)l- and (ya)n- occur with y-stem and nasalstem verbs, respectively. See <u>9.3.</u> for further explanation.

#### 9.3.5. Irregular Verbs

There are some verbs that have irregularities of one or another kind in their inflection. Among the most frequent are the verbs eyA' 'to say' and its derivatives, the verb yu'tA 'to eat', and various motion verbs, especially yA' and verbs based on it.

The transitive verb *eyA'* 'to say' is conjugated as follows: note the stress shift in the third-person singular:

Singular Dual	Plural
1. ephe' uŋke'ye	e uŋke'ya pi
2. ehe'	eha' pi
3. <i>e'ye</i>	eya' pi

A derivative of *eyA'*, *eya'yalaka* 'to tell lies', is inflected doubly, with the same irregularities in both places: *epha'phalaka*, etc.

The transitive verb *yu'tA* 'to eat' has these forms:

Singular Dual	Plural
1. wa'te uŋyu'te	euŋyu'ta pi
2. <i>ya'te</i>	ya'ta pi
3. <i>yu'te</i>	yu'ta pi

The verb yA' 'to be going' normally conjugates according to active Paradigm 2 (9.3.3.): *ble'*, *le'*, *ye'*, *uŋye'*, *uŋyaŋ' pi*, *la' pi*, *ya' pi*. However, whenever the syntax of the sentence demands that the final vowel be *iŋ* (see 4.3.2.6.), the personal affixes are nasalized. Observe the difference between the second-person singular and plural forms of the potential paradigm: in the singular the vowel is *iŋ*, but in the plural it is *a*:

SingularDualPlural1. mni' kte uŋyiŋ' kte uŋyaŋ' pi kte2. ni' kte3. yiŋ' kteya' pi kte

The verb *iya'yA* 'to set out' has two sets of subject affixes in the 'I' and 'you' forms: *ibla'ble*, *ila'le*, *iya'ye*, *uŋki'yaye*, *uŋki'yaya pi*, *ila'la pi*, *iya'ya pi*. When this verb is potential, the first affix is as just given, but the second is as in the potential inflection of yA' alone: <u>ibla'mni</u> kte, <u>ila'ni</u> kte, but <u>ila'la pi kte</u>. Many Oglalas in the 1990s prefer <u>ibla'blin</u> kte, <u>ila'lin</u> kte, even though this introduces an unexpected (and unparalleled) /I/ before a nasal vowel.

Another verb that has double inflection is <sup>?</sup>*iŋ*'yaŋkA 'to run':

Singular	Dual	Plural
1. wa <sup>?</sup> iŋ'mnake	e uŋk <sup>?</sup> iŋ'yaŋke	uŋk <sup>²</sup> iŋ'yaŋka pi
'I ran'	'you and I ran'	'we ran'
2. ya <sup>?</sup> iŋ'nake		ya <sup>?</sup> iŋ'naka pi
'you ran'		'you all ran'
3. iŋ'yaŋke		iŋ'yaŋka pi
'he ran'		'they ran'

Two other motion verbs have two different stem forms, one used when there is no personal affix, the other when there is a personal affix. The two are *khiglA'* 'to set out to go home' and *gliču'* 'to set out to come home'. This is the stem form for the third-person forms; the other stems are respectively *-khiyaglA* and *-gliyaču* (some speakers say *-gliyaku*). Compare the following:

Khigle'.	'He set out to go home.'
Wakhi'yagle.	'I set out to go home.'
Gliču' pi.	'They (distributive) set out to come home.'
Agli'yaču.	'They (collective) set out to come home.'

## 9.3.6. Reflexive Verbs

Reflexive verbs are those in which the subject and the object refer to the same person: I cut myself is an English example.

Lakhota reflexive verbs have the affix  $i\check{c}^{?}i$  added to the transitive verb:  $i\check{c}^{?}i'kte$  'to kill oneself' (cf. kte' 'to kill'),  $o'^{?}i\check{c}^{?}i\check{c}iyA$  'to help oneself' (cf. o'kiyA 'to help').

The personal affixes are those of the stative paradigm (9.3.1.). There are no collective plural reflexive forms. See Legendre and Rood (1992) for discussion of the abstract syntax of these forms.

Whenever  $i\check{c}^{?}i$  precedes the instrumental prefixes *ya*, *yu*, *ka*, or *pa* (9.2.1.), the reflexive and instrumental affixes fuse to *igla*, *iglu*, *igla*, and *ikpa* respectively.

Here are sample paradigms of  $i\check{c}^2i'kte$  'to kill oneself' and  $iglu'\check{z}a\check{z}a$  'to wash oneself':

Singular Dual	Plural
1. mič <sup>?</sup> i'kte uŋki'č <sup>?</sup> ikte	uŋki'č <sup>²</sup> ikte pi
'I ran' 'you and I	ran' 'we ran'
2. nič <sup>?</sup> i'kte	nič <sup>²</sup> i'kte pi
'you ran'	'you all ran'
3. ič <sup>²</sup> i'kte	ič <sup>²</sup> i'kte pi
'he ran'	'they ran'
1. miglu'žaža	uŋki'glužaža uŋki'glužaža pi
'I washed myself'	'you and I ran' 'we washed ourselves'
2. niglu'žaža	niglu'žaža pi
'you washed yourself'	' 'you washed yourselves'
3. iglu'žaža	iglu'žaža pi
'he washed himself'	'they washed themselves'

There is a second reflexive paradigm (not well studied) in which the initial *i*- of the affix is doubled, without an inserted [?]. Its meaning is approximately that the action was not completely under the control of the subject. Compare: *nami'c*<sup>2</sup>*ihtake* 'I kicked myself' with *nami'ic*<sup>2</sup>*ihtake* 'I could have kicked myself (for something I did)', or *sabmi'c*<sup>2</sup>*iye* 'I blackened myself' with *sabmi'ic*<sup>2</sup>*iye* 'I blackened myself for a reason such as mourning.'

## 9.3.7. Reciprocal Verbs

The concept 'each other' is expressed by the affix *-kičhi-* (or a variant of this affix) added to transitive verbs. Only dual and plural forms are used, of course. The reciprocal paradigm has these forms:

Dual	Plural
1. uŋki'čhi	uŋki'čhipi
2.	ye'čhi…pi
3.	kičhi'pi

Whenever these are attached to a stem beginning with *ki* or *khi*, that syllable of the verb stem is dropped. Examples of reciprocal verb forms are:

Wašte' <sup>²</sup> uŋkičhilake.	'You and I love each other' ( <i>wašte'lakA</i> )
UDki'čhiza pi	'We fought with each other'. ( <i>khi'zA</i> )
Waŋye'čhiyaŋka pi he	? 'Did you see each other?'

	(waŋyaŋ'kA)
O'kičhiya pi.	'They helped each other.'
	(o'kiyA)

See 4.3.2.3 for a comment on the nasalization of -yay- 'see'.

#### 9.3.8. Reflexive Possessive, Dative, and Benefactive Verbs

The next three sections of this sketch deal with very complex and highly idiosyncratic features of Lakhota verb inflection. It should be noted that this area of Lakhota grammar is not nearly so well explored as some other areas. Both the morphology and semantics of the paradigms to be discussed are unpredictable and often irregular, and they often vary from community to community and even from speaker to speaker within a community. It is very possible that many unexpected phenomena remain to be discovered here.

The semantic concepts expressed are: reflexive possession (the object of the verb belongs to the subject of the verb), dative (an indirect object, a person other than the subject and object of the verb is affected by the verbal action), and benefactive (one person performs the verbal action for another's benefit or in his place).

The morphological representations of these three are intertwined and often very confusing. The difficulty comes from two facts: the morphemes representing all three concepts have the basic form ki; and some instances of ki lose the /k/ or the /i/ in certain contexts, and some cause a following /k/ to change to /č/ while others do not. Part of the unpredictability appears to result from homonym avoidance: when words from two of the paradigms could be expected to be alike in form, one is often different through some kind of irregularity.

Carter (1974) is able to explain much, but not all, of this complexity by positing in some forms another morpheme with the shape i. This does not explain everything, and it is too abstract an argument for the description here.

When the /i/ of ki is lost before /y/, /k/, or /p/, the resulting clusters are, in the first two cases, /gl/, or in the third, /kp/; the specific places where this happens will be discussed below. When the /k/ is lost, the personal affixes coalesce with the remaining /i/ to give we 'I', ye 'you (agent)', mi 'me', ni 'you (patient)', and čhi 'I to/for you'. These coalesced affixes always take the stress when they are the first element in the word.

#### 9.3.8.1. Reflexive Possessive

The fact that the object of the verb is possessed by the subject is shown in Lakhota by adding *ki* after the subject affix.

*ki* is reduced to  $/\mathbf{k}$  alone before a y-stem verb (9.3.3.), and *ky* becomes  $/\mathbf{gl}$ . Ill is also lost from ki before verbs beginning with  $/\mathbf{p}$ . When *ki* is used before the instrumental prefix *ka* (9.2.1.), the reflexive possessive affix and the instrumental prefix fuse to  $/\mathbf{gla}$ .

In the illustrative paradigms that follow, only the singular and dual forms are given. The corresponding plural words can be formed by adding *pi* to the second and third singular and the dual.

iye'yA 'to find'

This verb illustrates the behavior of the causative auxiliary (9.2.2.) -*yA*; before it the possessive ki loses neither k nor i.

Singular	Dual
1. iye'wakiye	iye' <sup>?</sup> uŋkiye
'I found mine'	'you and I found ours'
2. iye'yakiye	
'you found yours'	
3. iye'kiye	
'he found his own'	

#### *kte'* 'to kill'

This verb follows the most regular rules: ki loses k after personal affixes.

SingularDual1. we'kteuŋki'kte'I killed mine''you and I killed ours'2. ye'kte'you killed yours'3. kikte''he killed his own'

yuha' 'to have'

In this verb, *ki* is reduced to *k*, which fuses with *y* to form *gl*.

Singular	Dual
1. waglu'ha	uŋglu'ha
'I have mine'	'you and I have ours'
2. yaglu'ha	
'you have yours'	
3. gluha'	
'he has his own'	

kable'ča 'to shatter'

This verb works like yuha' but illustrates the ka- prefix.

SingularDual1. wagla'blečauŋgla'bleča'I shattered mine''you and I shattered ours'2. yagla'bleča'you shattered yours'3. glable'ča'he shattered his own'

pazo' 'show; point'

This verb is a verb with initial /p/.

SingularDual1. wakpa'zouŋkpa'zo'I showed mine''you and I showed ours'2. yakpa'zo'you showed yours'3. kpazo''he showed his own'

*iču'* 'take'.

This verb requires an extra k after the regular ki.

SingularDual1. iwe'kčuuŋki'kikču'I took mine''you and I took ours'2. iye'kču'you took yours'3. iki'kču'he took his own'

*a'yA* 'to take along'

This verb illustrates the verbs of bringing and taking, which prefix *glo*- to form possessives; regular active affixes are then used:

Singular	Dual
1. waglo' <sup>?</sup> aye	uŋglo' <sup>?</sup> aye
'I am taking mine along'	'you and I are taking ours along'
2. yaglo' <sup>?</sup> aye	

```
'you are taking yours along'
3. glo<sup>?</sup>a'ye
'he is taking his along'
```

There are other irregularities in the reflexive possessive that have not been illustrated. Some of these are described by Boas and Deloria (1941:86-102), but note that some of the details they give are not valid for Brule and Oglala speakers in the 1990s.

## 9.3.8.2. Dative

The dative has one form but, from an English speaker's point of view, two meanings: the form can mean that the action was done to an object possessed by someone else ('I took his', 'he ate mine') or that it was done to or for someone else by accident or without his knowledge or permission. This second meaning is sometimes expressed by 'on' in colloquial English ('He ate it up on me': or 'His wife emptied the bank account on him.'). Boas and Deloria (1941) and Carter (1974) refer to this as the 'first dative.'

The regular affix for these forms is again ki, but this ki never loses either the k or the i, nor does it cause a following k of the verb root to change to  $\check{c}$ , although ks in other prefixes do change.

In verbs of bringing and taking, *ka* is used instead of *ki*, and a *ki* (but an irregular one!) can then also be prefixed (see examples below). Before the causative *-yA*, *khi* is used instead of *ki*. In the sample paradigms that follow, only singular and dual forms are given. As usual, the plural forms differ only by the presence of *pi*.

<i>iču'</i> 'take'						
Т	his verb is	regular; the	affixes a	re inserted bety	ween <i>i</i> and <i>č</i> .	
	mine	yours	his	ours	theirs	
	it on me	it on you	it on him	it on us	it on them	
Ι		ičhi'čiču	iwa'kiču		iwi'čhawakiču	
you	ima'yakičı	l	iya'kiču	uŋki'yakiču pi	iwi'čhayakiču	
he	ima'kiču	ini'čiču	iki'ču	uŋki'kiču pi	iwi'čhakiču	
we		uŋki'ničiču	uŋki'čiču	!	iwi'čhuŋkiču	

#### pazo' 'show'

This verb is also regular; compare with the possessive paradigm above.

			-	-	-	
		mine	yours	his	ours	theirs
		it on me	it on you	it on him	it on us	it on them
	I		čhiči'pazo	waki'pazo		wičha'wakipazo
	you	maya'kipazo		yaki'pazo	uŋya'kipazo pi	wičha'yakipazo
	he	maki'pazo	niči'pazo	kipa'zo	uŋki'pazo pi	wičha'kipazo
,	we		uŋni'čipazo	uŋki'pazo		wičhuŋ'kipazo

ahi' 'to arrive bringing'

This verb illustrated the pattern common to all 'bring' and 'take'verbs.

	mine	yours	his	ours	theirs
	it on me	•	it on him	it on us	it on them
Ι		čhiča'hi	waka'hi		wičha'wakahi
you	maya'kahi		yaka'hi	uŋya'kahi pi	wičha'yakahi
he	maka'hi	niča'hi	kahi'	uŋka'hi pi	wičha'kahi
we		uŋni'čahi	uŋka'hi		wičhuŋ'kahi

ahi' 'to arrive, bringing'

	This illustrates the alternate paradigm with $ki + ka$					
		yours		ours	theirs	
		it on you			it on them	
Ι		čhi'ča <sup>²</sup> ahi	we'ča <sup>²</sup> ahi		wičha'weča <sup>?</sup> ahi	
•		i	•		wičha'yeča <sup>?</sup> ahi	
he					i wičha′kiča <sup>²</sup> ahi	
we		uŋni'ča <sup>²</sup> ah	i uŋki'ča <sup>²</sup> ah	i	wičhuŋ'kiča <sup>²</sup> ahi	

*iye'yA* 'to find'

This verb illustrates the dative of the causative; compare the possessive causative paradigm given above with the third-person object forms here.

	0	r	· · · · J · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
mine	yours	his	ours	theirs
it on me	it on you	it on him	it on us	it on them
	iye'čhičhiye	iye'wakhiye		iye'wičhawakhiye
iye'mayakhiye		iye'yakhiye	iye' <sup>?</sup> uŋyakhiya pi	iye'wičhayakhiye
iye'makhiye	iye'ničhiye	iye'khiye	iye' <sup>?</sup> uŋkhiya pi	iyewičhakhiye
	iye' <sup>?</sup> uŋničhiye	iye <sup>?</sup> uŋkhiye		iye'wičhuŋkhiye
	it on me  iye'mayakhiye	it on me it on you iye'čhičhiye iye'mayakhiye iye'makhiye iye'ničhiye	it on me it on you it on him <i>iye'čhičhiye iye'wakhiye</i> <i>iye'mayakhiye iye'yakhiye</i> <i>iye'makhiye iye'ničhiye iye'khiye</i>	it on me it on you it on him it on us iye'chichiye iye'wakhiye iye'mayakhiye iye'yakhiye iye' <sup>?</sup> uŋyakhiya pi iye'makhiye iye'nichiye iye'khiye iye' <sup>?</sup> uŋkhiya pi

## 9.3.8.3. Benefactive

Benefactive verbal forms imply that the action was undertaken for someone purposefully and with his knowledge and permission. Boas and Deloria (1941) call this the 'second dative.' The regular benefactive has ki twice: the first behaves like the reflexive possessive (especially in that k is lost after 'I' and 'you' affixes), the second like the dative, except that when the first ki is actually present as the first syllable of the word, it is stressed. For example, note ki'cikte 'He killed it for her'.

Note that in the forms for 'I—you' (*čhi*) and 'he—you' (*ni*) the difference between the dative and the benefactive is expressed solely by the stress position: *čhiči'kte* 'I killed yours, I killed it on you' but *čhi'čikte* 'I killed it for you'.

The benefactive affixes also occur regularly with intransitive and stative verbs. Observe *omi'čimani* 'He travels for me' from *oma'ni* 'to travel', and *mi'čiskuye* 'mine is sweet; it's too sweet for me' from *sku'yA* 'to be sweet'.
Before -yA (the causative auxiliary) *kiči* becomes *kičičhi*, and the first *k* disappears after 'I' and 'you' affixes. 'Bringing' and 'taking' verbs affix *kiči* to *ka* to give the meaning 'bring/take for someone with his permission'.

These forms are very regular (compared, at least, to the reflexive possessives and datives), so only three paradigms are given: a normal one, a 'bring' verb, and a causative.

yuštaŋ' 'to finish'							
	for me	for you	for him	for us	for them		
Ι		čhi'čiyuštaŋ	we'čiyuštaŋ		wičha'wečiyuštaŋ		
yoı	ı miye'čiluštaŋ	1	ye'čiyuštaŋ	uŋye'čiluštaŋ pi	i wičha 'yečiyuštaŋ		
he	mi'čiyuštaŋ	ni'čiyuštaŋ	ki'čiyuštaŋ	uŋki'čiyuštaŋ p	i wičha 'kičiyuštaŋ		
we		uŋni'čiyuštaŋ	uŋki'čiyuštaŋ		wičhuŋ'kičiyuštaŋ		

*agli'* 'to arrive home, bringing'

	for me	for you	for him	for us	
Ι		ačhi'čičagli	awe'čičagli		awi'čawečičagli
yoı	1.ami'yečičagl	i	aye'čičagli	uŋka'yečiluštaŋ p	i awi'čayečičagli
he	ami'čičagli	ani'čičagli	aki'čičagli	uŋka'kičičagli pi	awi'čakičičagli
we		uŋka'ničičagl	'i uŋa'kičičagl	i	awi'čuŋkičičagli

<i>iye'yA</i> 'to find'						
	for me	for you	for him	for us	for them	
Ι		iye'čhičičhiye	iye'wečičhiye		iye'wičhawakhiye	
you	u iye'miyečičhiy	<i>e</i>	iye'yečičhiye	iye' <sup>²</sup> uŋyečičhiya p	i iye'wičhayakhiye	
he	iye'mičičhiye	~ ~		iye' <sup>²</sup> uŋkičičhiya pi		
we		iye' <sup>?</sup> uŋničičhiy	e iye <sup>²</sup> uŋkičičhiyo	e iye ' <sup>?</sup> uŋkičičhiye	iye'wičhuŋkhiye	

Some speakers can use a few verbs with both the benefactive and the possessive together, but in this case it is the beneficiary, not the object, that is owned. Thus *imi'čigluha* 'she is keeping it for me and I belong to her (i.e., I am her relative)'; however, most verbs do not follow this pattern.

There are no reciprocal benefactives, but the reflexive can occur with the benefactives. For verbs that do not lose the *i* of *ki* when they form the possessive, and for some others, there is no difference between the reflexive direct object form and the reflexive benefactive. Thus from *ole'* 'to look for' comes *omi'č*<sup>2</sup>*ile* 'I'm looking for myself' or 'I'm looking for it for myself'. But in most verbs where the *ki* of the possessive loses the *i*, the reflexive benefactive is formed by adding the reflexive ( $ič^{2}i$ , etc.) morpheme to the possessive verb form:  $mi'č^{2}igluha$  'I am keeping it for myself', or *unki'*<sup>2</sup>*ič*<sup>2</sup>*ikču he'či* 'let's take it for ourselves (dual)'; but *iglu'štan pi* 'they finished it for themselves' has no benefactive morpheme at all.

Some speakers can inflect verbs for both direct and benefactive objects, but others reject these forms as meaningless. (Neither Buechel 1939 nor Boas and Deloria 1941 mention these paradigms.) The more complex pattern seems to begin with the benefactive form, into which are

inserted the transitive affixes appropriate to the nonbenefactive verb. Thus, 'I'm looking for them for you' (verb stem *ole'*) goes from *očhi'čile* to *owi'čhawačhičile*. Other speakers use a paraphrase: *owi'čhale maya'ši čha očhi'čile* 'you told me to look for them so I'm looking for it for you'.

# **10. Enclitics**

Except in those instances when a conjunction stands last in the sentence (<u>section 6</u>), postverbal elements belong to the class here called enclitics. These words express aspect, tense, modality, and, in one case, number.

In other descriptions of Lakhota, enclitics have been variously treated as suffixes, adverbs, or auxiliaries, and indeed the decision to treat the most common of them as enclitics rather than suffixes is based on semantics and on native-speaker intuition rather than on phonological criteria. Speakers recognize these words as independent, isolable, and as meaningful. But one-syllable enclitics are frequently not stressed, so they do sound as if they are suffixed to the verb.

There are several dozen of these words (Taylor 1974). Recall that vowel ablaut, in those elements that have final vowel ablaut, is determined by the following enclitic (4.2.6.).

There is a strict order in which enclitics occur, but the 12 position classes defined by this order have few definable semantic correlations. Table 6 includes the enclitics defined and discussed here; others would appear in position 12 on the chart and would have similar kinds of meanings. Determination of the exact meanings of the enclitics is difficult in some cases, particularly those that express speaker attitude. While their general meaning is clear, individual meanings may vary from speaker to speaker and from situation to situation.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	1	2
haŋ	pi	la	kA	ktA	šni	s <sup>?</sup> a	yo, ye yetho', nith iŋtho', ye, na	o', se'čA načhe'čA	ke'yA ke'yap	laȟ ¡la'ȟčA <sup>i</sup> la'ȟčakA	s <sup>?</sup> ele'l	hčA iŋčhe'ye huŋše'

The enclitics are defined and discussed according to the position classes in table 6. Vowel ablaut specifications refer to the effect that the particular enclitic has on a preceding A-final element (4.2.6.).

Some of the words described here are clearly a compound of two or more simple enclitics, but such compounds will be regarded as units in the discussion.

**1.** hAD; a-ablaut. Judging from other Siouan languages and Sioux dialects, this is likely the stative verb 'be erect, be upright', but this verb is rare in Lakhota, and in any event semantically distant from the element here described as an enclitic. hAD indicates that the verbal action or state was continuous at the time under consideration. Compare the following two sentences:

Ta'ku to'khanu han he? 'What were you doing?'

Ta'ku to'khanu he? 'What did you do?'

**2.** pi; a-ablaut. pi marks animate plural subjects (9.3.) and pluralizes non-third-person objects (9.3.2.). Numerous examples have already been given.

**3.** *la*; e-ablaut. *la* denotes the speakers affection or feeling of endearment with respect to other persons affected by the verbal action or state. The example of *la* is from a folktale:

Misuŋ', he' wo'škatela kiŋ uŋspe'makhiya pi <u>la</u> ye! Mi'š-eya' waška'te <u>la</u> kte!

'Little brothers, won't you please teach me that little game: I do so want to play it too!'

**4.** *kA*; a-ablaut. *kA* attenuates the verbal meaning, 'rather' or 'somewhat' are good English translations of this enclitic:

He' pte-blo'ka kiŋ očhiŋ'šiča ke.

'That bull is acting kind of mad.'

*kA* can also be used ironically:

He' wašte' <u>ke</u> yelo'.

'He certainly is a nice guy!' (Meaning: 'He is certainly <u>not</u> a nice person.')

**5.** *ktA*; *iŋ*-ablaut. *ktA* marks a statement as not yet true at the time under discussion. It corresponds to the English future, subjunctive, or, in a sentence about the past, to the future anterior. *ktA* is never used in sentences that are commands.

Mni' kte. 'I will go.'

Yiŋ' kta ehaŋ'taŋhaŋš ši'čiŋ kte. 'It will be bad if he goes.'

Yiŋ' kta ke'ye. 'He said he would go.'

6. šni; e-ablaut. šni negates the verb with which it occurs.

Oya'te kiŋ mni' kiŋ yatkaŋ' pi oki'hi pi šni. 'The people could not drink the water.'

**7.**  $s^{2}a$ ; e-ablaut.  $s^{2}a$  marks an oft-repeated action; it is frequently accompanied by the adverb *o'hiniyaŋ* 'always'.

Lakho'ta kiŋ ehaŋ'ni zuya'ya pi s<sup>?</sup>a. 'The Indians often used to go on war parties.'

**8.** All these enclitics mark commands of various kinds. Several are used by only one sex and not by the other; this explains their rather large number.

Neutral commands are expressed by yo (men) and ye (women). (These become *wo* and *we* respectively when the immediately preceding word ends in /u/, /ug/, or /o/.) yo and ye have a-ablaut.

Na' khaŋ'ta eya', waŋži' iču' wo! 'Here are some plums, take one!'

*Yetho'* (men) and *nitho'* or *iŋtho'* (women) indicate a familiar request: there is a connotation that the requested action will be of short duration and easy to accomplish. These enclitics call for *iŋ*-ablaut.

Tho'hiŋyaŋkiŋ yetho'. 'Just wait a minute!'

The enclitics ye (men and women) and na (women) express a combined command-request, ye has  $i\eta$ -ablaut, na has a-ablaut:

O'makiyiŋ ye, wanu'ni ye. 'Please help me. I'm lost'.

*Mni' huŋ'h mak<sup>?</sup>u' <u>na</u>! '<u>Please</u> give me some water.'* 

Besides these command enclitics, some of the enclitics in position 12 are used in sentences that have the nature of both statements (or questions) and commands. These will be described together with the other enclitics in position 12.

**9.** *se'čA*, e-ablaut; *načhe'čA*, a-ablaut. These enclitics indicate that the statement is a conjecture by the speaker. Lakhota speakers translating into English sentences containing these enclitics ordinarily include expressions such as *probably*, *I guess*, *I suppose*, and the like.

*Ekta'wapha kiŋ mağa'žu kte <u>se'če</u>.* 'It will <u>probably</u> rain later on today.'

*Iyu'ha owi'čhayuspa pi kta <u>načhe'če</u>.* '<u>I suppose</u> they'll catch them all.'

**10.** *ke'yA* and *ke'ya pi* are the third-person singular and plural respectively of the verb *ke'yA* 'to say that'. Preceding A-words show a-ablaut. When used as enclitics, these words indicate that the speaker is quoting someone else. Such sentences always refer to events or states about which

the speaker has no direct, personal knowledge. Hence, *ke'yA* and *ke'ya pi* appear very frequently in historical narratives. The absence of *ke'ye* or *ke'ya pi* implies that the speaker has personal knowledge about the event or state he is reporting, unless the context is clearly one of reported information.

*Čhankhe' thiblo'ku kiŋ wangla'ka ke'ye.* 'And then she beheld her elder brother, it is said.'

**11.** Enclitics in this position all indicate that the speaker is not emotionally neutral to what he is reporting. Feelings indicated include mild yearning, mild discomfort, amusement, and probably others as well.  $la\check{h}$  is a sentence closing form, whereas  $la\check{h}\check{c}A$  and  $la\check{h}\check{c}akA$  can be followed by enclitics in position 12. Preceding A-words show e-ablaut.

Mni-pi'ğa waŋži' wačhiŋ' <u>lah</u>! 'Gee, I sure would like a beer!'

Waŋ li'la olu'luta <u>lah</u>! 'Gosh it sure is sultry!'

Iya'yekiya pi la'hčake! 'Boy, did they ever take off!'

**12.** Several enclitics mark various kinds of questions. *he*; *huŋwo'*; a-ablaut. *he* marks a direct question. Although both men and women use *he*, men use *huŋwo'* (pronounced **[hNwNo]** in rapid speech) in relatively formal situations. Most questions, even those containing an interrogative word end in *he* or *huŋwo'*.

Tohaŋ'l ya<sup>?</sup>u' kta <u>he</u>? 'When will you come<u>?</u>'

*Waši'ču kiŋ Paha'-sa'pa kiŋ iču' pi šni huŋwo'?* 'Did not the White man take the Black Hills<u>?</u>'

*so*, *se*; e-ablaut. *So* (men) and *se*(women) mark a dubitative question. There is no presupposition that the person questioned knows the answer:

To'škhe waši'čuya he' eya' pi so? 'I wonder how you say that in English?'

se'l; a-ablaut. se'l also marks a dubitative question, but it presupposes an affirmative reply:

Be'bela kiŋ wana' yuha' pi se'l?

'I guess they've had their baby by now, huh?'

 $s^{2}ele'l$ ; a-ablaut.  $\underline{s^{2}ele'l}$  marks a tag question.

*Nahay'hči waš<sup>?</sup>a'ke šni <u>s<sup>?</sup>ele'l?</u>* 'He isn't very strong yet, <u>is he?</u>

yelakha'; e-ablaut.

yelakha' marks a sarcastic rhetorical question:

Čhiŋča' kiŋ he waka'štake yelakha'.

'<u>Oh</u>, so I'm the one who made the kid cry!'

Two enclitics from position class 12 are used to make deferential suggestions. They share the properties of a rhetorical question and a command.

*he'či*: a-ablaut. *he'či* is used when the speaker induces himself as a participant in the proposed action:

Wana' uŋyaŋ' pi <u>he'či</u>.

'Let's go now!' 'Should we go now?'

Thalo' etaŋ' awa'<sup>?</sup>u <u>he'či</u>.

'Should I bring some meat?' 'How would it be if I brought some meat?'

kiŋ; e-ablaut. kiŋ is used when the speaker does not include himself:

Ogna' blo' etaŋ' aya'<sup>?</sup>u <u>kiŋ</u>.

'Maybe you could bring some potatoes.' 'Would you like to bring some potatoes?'

Several enclitics in position 12 are used to mark sentences that are assertions rather than simple statements. Sentences containing these enclitics often correspond to emphatic statements in English, but many Lakhota examples do not seem to be particularly emphatic. The assertion may be a (generally recognized) fact, or it may be a personal opinion.

ye; e-ablaut. ye marks the mild assertion of a generally recognized fact:

Osni' ye, thima' gla' pi yo!

'It's cold, go back inside!'

*yelo'* (men), *yele'* (obsolescent, women) (*yelo'* becomes *welo'* when the immediately preceding vowel is /**u**/, /**uŋ**/ or /**o**/)and *kšt* (men), *kišto'* (women; *kišto'* is usually pronounced *kšto'* in rapid speech) are comparable. *kšt* is stronger than *yelo'*, *kišto'* alone is used by most women to correspond to both *yelo'* and *kšt* used by men. All require e-ablaut of a preceding A-word.

Haŋ' hena'?uŋs čhebčhe'pa pi yelo'.

'Yes, each of the two is fat.'

Ağu'yapi-blu' etaŋ' wačhiŋ' kte kišto'.

'I'll need some flour.'

Hi...ya', he misuŋ'kala <u>kšt</u>.

'No - he is too my younger brother!'

 $k^2 u\eta$ : e-ablaut.  $k^2 u\eta$  marks a strongly asserted fact; it is often used to make it clear that the reference is to past lime or completed action,  $k^2 u\eta$  is pronounced **[uŋ]** in rapid speech.

Li'la hu'-masta'ka čha he'čhamu wačhiŋ' šni <u>k</u><sup>2</sup>uŋ.

'I'm very tired and I do not want to do that!'

Hokši'la kiŋ iye'ya pi  $\underline{k}^{2}$ <u>uŋ</u>.

'The boys <u>did</u> leave.'

*kiŋ*; e-ablaut. *kiŋ* is also used to mark a strong assertion. It can have scolding or sarcastic overtones.

To'kša, ečha'mu kte kin. 'Just a minute. I'll do it!'

*kšt* and *kišto'* are probably built on this *kiŋ*.

Asserted opinions are marked by several enclitics that vary from mild to very strong, *waŋ* (men) and *ma* (women) mark a mild opinion; *yewaŋ'* and *yema'* are stronger, *waŋ* and *ma* require a-ablaut, *yewaŋ'* and *yema'* require e-ablaut.

*Waŋ, he' heye'*  $k^2$ *uŋ he'čhetu se'ča waŋ.* 

'Hey, what he said there seems to be right, by gosh!'

Ši'yi, ka<sup>?</sup>ičhišniyaŋ e'gnake <u>yema'</u>!

'Mercy me, he went and put it wrong!'

 $\check{h}\check{c}A$ ; e-ablaut.  $\check{h}\check{c}A$  is widely used in Lakhota to strengthen the force of an accompanying word. It is thus much more free than most enclitics in terms of its sequential relations with other words. As a sentence-final enclitic,  $\check{h}\check{c}A$  marks an emphatic statement.

Compare these examples of the two related uses of  $h \check{c} A$  (word emphasizer versus sentence emphasizer):

Osni' hče šni. 'It is not very cold.'

Osni' šni hče. 'Heh! It's not really cold!'

*iŋčhe'ye*; e-ablaut. *iŋčhe'ye* asserts an opinion but presupposes that the interlocutor will agree:

Wino'na šuŋ'ka kiŋ wo' $k^2$ u šni <u>iŋčhe'ye</u>.

'Winona didn't feed the dog, right?'

Two (possibly archaic) enclitics mark assertions that the speaker believes to be true, but for which formal proof is lacking. These are *huŋše'* and *čhe'*; both require a-ablaut. The examples are from Buechel (1939).

Ehaŋ'k<sup>2</sup>uŋ mahpi'yata Wakhaŋ'-Thaŋ'ka-thi' kiŋ le' thiyo'pa huŋše'.

'Verily this is no other than the house of God and the gate of heaven!'

Ta'ku wo'wahtani wani'l taŋye'hči wo'?ečhuŋ ihuŋ'nikiya pi kta <u>čhe'</u>, eya'pi <u>čhe'</u>.

'<u>I believe</u> that they will finish everything blamelessly and well, as they say they will.'

ni'; a-ablaut. A strong wish that something might come-about is expressed by ni':

Hu-maka'weğe šni <u>ni'</u>.

'<u>I hope</u> I don't break my leg!'

Wakhaŋ'-Thaŋ'ka uŋ'šimala <u>ni'</u>!

'May God have mercy on me!'

Probably based on this *ni'* is *šni'* (note the stress), which expresses a similar strong desire, *šni'* requires e-ablaut.

He' šuŋ'ka kiŋ he' kte' <u>šni'</u>.

'<u>I wish</u> he would kill that dog!' '<u>He really ought</u> to kill that dog!'

kiŋlo'; e-ablaut. a strong warning is expressed by kiŋlo':

Niya'htake kinlo'! 'Hey, watch out, he'll bite you!'

Two enclitics are used to mark emphatic negative sentences. These are *ka* and *kačha'*. Both require e-ablaut of preceding A-words.

Tase' he'čhamu wačhiŋ' ka!

'Of course I do not want to do that!'

Wo'waši-ečhuŋ' kačha'

'He certainly does not work!'

*kačha'* usually has sarcastic or deprecating connotations. A better translation for the last example would be 'Don't tell me he works!'

*škhA*'; a-ablaut. *škhA*' is used to indicate that the statement is received knowledge, something about which the speaker has no direct, personal knowledge. As such, it appears frequently in historical and especially mythological narratives. Its meaning is 'purportedly, supposedly, allegedly'.

Ikto'mi ka'khena tokhe' ečha'čha oma'ni-ya' haŋ škhe'.

'Iktomi (Trickster) was walking around aimlessly over there (they say).'

*tkha*'; a-ablaut. *tkha*' is frequently shortened to *kha*'. The enclitic appears to have several somewhat similar meanings, but the principal use is in conditional statements.

Ma'za-ska' etaŋ' awa'<sup>?</sup>u kta <u>tkha'</u>.

'I should have brought some money.'

Čhaŋ' waŋ bluha' k<sup>2</sup>e'š siŋte'-ȟla kiŋ waka't<sup>2</sup>a <u>tkha'</u>.

'If I had (had had) a stick I would kill (would have killed) the rattle snake.'

Lehaŋ'yela mat<sup>?</sup>a' <u>tkha'</u>.

'I <u>almost</u> died.' ('I would have died if...')

Wičha'hčala kiŋ he išna'la thi' he tkha'.

'That old man was living alone until recently.'

### **11. Selected Vocabulary**

The symbols *A* and *AD* at the ends of verbs in this list represent a vowel that changes, depending on grammatical context (4.3.2.6).

airplane kiŋye'khiyapi 'they make them fly (in them)'

alive ni'

animal wama'khaškaŋškaŋ 'those moving about on the earth'

ankle *iška'hu* 

ant *thažu'ška* 

antelope thatho'kala 'antelope; domestic goat'

anus uŋze' 'anus; buttock'

apple *thaspaŋ*'

Arapaho Mahpi'yatho' 'Blue-sky (Indian)' (This is apparently a reference to tattoos.)

Arikara Phala'ni 'Arikara, Ree'

arm isto'

arrow *wahiŋ'kpe* 

artichoke *phanği'* (Jerusalem artichoke; domestic turnip)

ash tree *pse'htiŋ* 

ashes čhaho'ta

Assiniboine Ho'he

aunt *thuŋwiŋ*' 'father's sister' (The mother's sister is called '<u>mother</u>'.)

aurora borealis wana'ğiwačhi'pi 'spirit dance'

automobile iye'čhinkinyanke 'runs by itself'

awl See <u>needle</u>

axe nazuŋ'spe; iča'kse 'instrument for chopping'

baby *hokši'čala be'bela* (this is probably a loanword from French *be'be'*)

back *hiŋye'te* 'upper back' *čhuwi'* 'back below shoulder blades'

bacon wašiŋ' 'bacon; animal fat'

bad ši'čA

badger *hoka'* 

ball tha'pa

bathe nuwAD' 'to swim, to bathe'

be e' 'be a particular one (of animate things only)'; haŋ' 'be upright (of inanimate things only)'; he'čha 'be such a one, be of such a kind'; hiye'yA 'be located here and there (of inanimate things only)'; uŋ' 'be, exist (of animate things only); be located somewhere (of all things)'; yukhAD' 'have, be (of intimate possessions only)'; ni'čA 'not to have, not to be (of intimate possessions only)'

beads pšitho'

beadwork wakšu'pi 'decoration'

beans omni'ča

bear matho'

beautiful See good

beaver *čha'pa* 

bed oyuŋ'ke

bee thehmun'ğazizi'la 'little yellow banded fly'

beer mnipi'ğa

bell *ȟla'ȟla* 

belly *thezi*'

bent ško'pA big thaŋ'ka bighorn sheep See mountain sheep bird ziŋtka'la bite yahta'kA bitter pha' black sa'pA blackbird wa'hpathaŋ'ka Blackfeet Sioux Siha'sapa Black person Ha'sapa 'black skin' blood we' blue *tho'* 'blue; green' boil *pi'ğA* 'to be boiling'; *piȟyA'* 'to cause to boil' bone *hohu'*, book wo'wapi 'book; letter; flag' bow *ita'zipa* boy hokši'la brain *nasu'la* brave *ohi'tikA* bread ağu'yapi break kawe'ğA breast aze' 'female breast' breechcloth čhegna'ke 'penis cover'

bring *ahi'* 'to bring here';  $a^2u'$  'to be bringing here'; *ahi'yu* 'to leave to bring here'; *agli'* 'to bring home here'; *aku'* 'to be bringing home here'; *agli'yaču* 'to leave to bring home here'

brother *čhiye'* 'older brother of a man'; *thiblo'* 'older brother of a woman'; *suŋka'la* 'younger brother of man or woman'

brown ği'

Brule Sioux Sičhaŋ'ğu' 'burned thigh'

buffalo cow pte'

buffalo berry maštin'čaphute' 'rabbit lip'

buffalo bull *thathay'ka* 

bug wablu'ška

burn *ile'* bum, blaze up; *špaŋ'* 'be burned, to be cooked (food), to be ripe (fruit)'

bush hu'

butcher pha'tA

butterfly kimi'mila

buttock See anus

buy ophe'thuŋ

buzzard heča'

cactus uŋkče'la

cafe owo'tethi'pi 'eating house'

calf of leg hučho'ğiŋ

carry on back  $k^2 i \eta'$  'carry; pack'

cat igmu'la

catch *oyu'spA* 

chair čhaŋ<sup>2</sup>a'kaŋyaŋka'pi 'wood to sit on'

cherry See chokecherry chest makhu' Cheyenne Šahi'yela chicken *khokhe'yah<sup>?</sup>anla*; *khokho'yah<sup>?</sup>anla* 'chicken, rooster' chief *ithaŋ'čhaŋ* child wakhaŋ'yeža Chippewa see Ojibwa chokecherry čhanpha' church *owa'čhekiye* 'prayer places'; *thi'piwakhaŋ'* 'holy house' claw šake' 'claw (of animal or bird); fingernail (of human)' cloth mnihu'ha cloud See sky coat See shirt coffee wakha'lyapi cold *čhuwi'ta* 'to feel cold (internal sensation; used of animate things only)'; *sni'* 'to feel cold (external sensation; used of inanimate things only)'; osni' (used of atmosphere and weather) come gli' 'arrive at home here'; gliču' 'leave for home here'; hi' 'arrive here'; hiyu' 'leave for here'; ku' 'be on the way home here'; u' 'be on the way here' converse wo'glakA 'converse, talk'

cook španyAD' 'to cause to be burned; be cooked'; see <u>burn</u>

corn wagmi'za

cottonwood wa'ğačhaŋ' 'brittle wood'

count See read

cow ptegle'ška, pteble'ška 'spotted buffalo'; ptewa'niyaŋpi 'pet buffalo'

cowbird wa'hpaho'ta coyote šungma'nitu 'wilderness dog'; maya'sleča cradleboard *iyo'k<sup>?</sup>iŋpa* crane *phehaŋ*' crazy witko' Cree Šahi'ya creek wakpa'la cricket psipsi'čala 'little hopper' crippled hušte' crow khaŋği' Crow *Khaŋği'wičha'ša* 'Crow person'; *Psa'loka* (borrowed from Crow) cry čhe'yA cup wi'yatke 'instrument for drinking' cut waksa'ksA dance wačhi' 'to dance'; wačhi'pi 'a dance' day anpe'tu daughter čhuŋkši' deer tha'hča die  $t^2 A'$  'be dead' digging stick wi'wopta 'instrument for digging' dish wakši'ča do ečha'<sup>?</sup>uŋ, ečhuŋ' dog šuŋ'ka

donkey suŋ'suŋla 'donkey; mule' door thiyo'pa dragonfly *thuswe'ča* dream *ihaŋ'blA* dress čhuwi'gnaka 'back cover' dried meat pa'pa drink yatkAD' drum čhaŋ'čheğa 'wooden kettle' dry sa'ka duck mağa', mağa'ksiča eagle *waybli'* ear *nu'ğe* 'human ear'; *nakpa'* 'animal ear' earring *owiŋ*' earth makha' 'earth, di rt' east wiyo'hiŋyaŋpata 'where the sun comes up' eat yu'tA eat up thebyA' egg wi'tka 'egg; testicle' eight šaglo'ğaŋ elk heňa'ka 'branched horns' elm  $p^{?}e'\check{c}ha\eta$ enemy tho'ka fall (season) ptayye'tu

fall down <i>hiŋȟpa'yA</i>
fat <i>čhe'pA</i> 'to be fat'; see also <u>bacon</u>
father ate' (term of address); ate'waye kiŋ 'the one I have for father'
feather wi'yaka
female <i>wiŋ'yela</i>
field See garden
fingernail See <u>claw</u>
fire <i>phe'ta</i>
firefly uŋze'blinkblink 'blinking arse' (jocose)
fish <i>hoğaŋ'</i>
five za'ptaŋ
flag wo'wapi
flea <i>psiča'la</i> ; <i>ha'la</i>
flower wana'hča
fly thehmu'ğa, thohmu'ğa, thahmuğa 'housefly; horsefly '; kiŋyaŋ' 'to fly'
$\log p^2 o'$
food <i>wo'yute</i>
foot si'
forehead ithu'hu
four <i>to'pa</i> , <i>to'b</i>
fox thokha'la, šuŋği'la
frog gnaška'
gall bladder <i>phizi'</i>

garden wo'župi 'garden, field'

gasoline See grease

gas station wi'gli<sup>2</sup>oi'nažiŋ 'gasoline stopping place'

girl wičhiŋ'čala; See also woman

give  $k^2 u'$ 

give back kičhu'

go *yA*'; be on the way there; *glA*' be on the way home there; *i*' arrive there; *khi*' arrive at home there; *iya'yA* leave for there; *khiglA*' leave for home there

goat tha'hča šuŋ'kala 'dog deer'

good wašte' 'good; beautiful'

goose mağa'šapa 'dirty duck'

government (U.S.) thuyka'šila 'grandfather'

grandchild thako'ža

grandfather thuŋka'šila

grandmother uŋči' (maternal), khuŋ'ši (paternal)

grape čhuŋwi'yapehe '(it) wraps around a tree"

grass pheži'

```
grasshopper gnugnu'ška; pheži'hophop 'grasshopper' (jocose) (note that /p/ is not replaced by /b/)
```

gray *ho'ta* 

grease wi'gli 'grease; gasoline, oil'

green See blue

grind *yukpaŋ'* 

Gros Ventre See Hidatsa

guts šupe'

hail wasu'

hair phehin' 'head hair'

hairpipe breastplate wawo'slatawana'p<sup>?</sup>iŋ 'hairpipe necklace'

hand nape'

hard suta'

hat wapho'štaŋ

have *yuha'* (used only of alienable things); see also <u>be</u>

hawk čhetaŋ'

head nata', pha'

hear nah<sup>?</sup>uŋ'

heart čhaŋte'

heavy tke'

heron hokha'

Hidatsa *Hewa'ktokta* 'Hidatsa, Gros Ventre'

high *waŋka'tuya* 

hill paha'

hit aphA'

horns he'

horse *šuŋ'kawakhaŋ'* 'wonderful dog' draft horse *šuŋgwo'waši* 'working horse' mare *šuŋgwiŋ'yela* 'female horse' saddle horse *šuŋk<sup>²</sup>a'kaŋyaŋkapi* 'horse they sit on' stallion *šuŋgkhi'yuȟa* 'breeding horse'

hospital okhu'žethi'pi 'sick house'

hot kha'tA house čhaŋ'thipi 'wooden lodge' Hunkpapa Sioux Hunkpapa, Standing Rock Sioux' husband hingna' ice čha'ğa Indian Lakho'ta 'Sioux Indian; American Indian' iron see metal jail oka'škethi'pi 'detention house' jerkey waka'blapi 'what has been pounded flat' jump *psi'čA* June berry wi'pazuŋtka. wi'pazuŋtkaŋ, wi'pazukha kettle *čhe'ğa* kick nahta'kA kidney ažuŋ'tka kill kte' knee čhankpe' knife mi'la know *slolyA*' lake *ble*' land *makho'čhe* laugh *iha'* 'laugh; smile' leaf wahpe' leather thehpi'

left-handed čhatka' leg hu' legging huŋska' lie (recline) *yuŋkA'* lie down *h̃pa'yA* light in weight  $kap^2 o' \check{z} A$ lightning wakin'yantunwan'pi 'The Thunderers are blinking' like *wašte'lakA* 'to like';  $s^2 e$  'like. as, as though' lip, lower *iha'* upper *phute*' little *či'k<sup>?</sup>ala*, *či'stila*, *či'sčila* live thi' liver phi' lizard agle'ška lodge *thi'pi* lodge cover *a'kahpe* lodge pole *thušu'* look for *ole*' louse heya' love thehi'la Lower Brule Sioux Khulwi'čhaša 'Lower person' lung čhağu' magpie halha'ta; uŋkče'kiňa 'buries his dung' make ka'ğA

male bloka'

man wičha'ša young man khoška'laka old man wičha'hčala Mandan Miwa'tani mare See horse meadowlark thaši'yagnupa' meat thalo' medicine phežu'ta 'herbal roots' metal (iron) ma'za Mexican spayo'la (This is probably a loanword from. French espagnol) milk asaŋ'pi Milky Way wana'ğithačhaŋ'ku 'ghost road' mink *i'khusaŋ* Minneconjou Sioux Mnikho'wožu 'those who plant by water', Mnikho'wanžu mirror *mi'yoglas<sup>?</sup>iŋ* moccasin *hanm<sup>2</sup>i'kčeka* 'ordinary shoe' money ma'zaska' 'silver' 'white metal' moon wi' 'luminary'; hanhe'piwi' 'night luminary' mosquito čhaphuŋ'ka mother ina' (term of address); ina'waye kiŋ 'the one I have for mother' mountain *he'* mountain lion igmu'thaŋ'ka 'big cat' mountain sheep he'čhiŋškayapi 'they make spoons from their horns'

```
mouse ithuŋ'kala
mouth i'
movie wo'wapiškaŋškaŋ 'moving picture'
mule See donkey
muskrat siŋkphe', siŋkphe'la
mustache phutiŋ'hiŋ 'upper lip hair'
narrow o\check{c}i'k^2a
navel čhekpa'
necklace wana'p<sup>?</sup>iŋ
needle thahiŋ'špa 'needle, awl'
new (young) the'ča 'new; young"
night hanhe'pi
nine napčin 'yunka
north wazi'yata
northern lights See aurora borealis
nose phasu'
nostril phahla'te
Oglala Sioux Ogla'la 'Oglala Sioux, Pine Ridge Sioux'
oil See grease
Ojibwa Haha'thuŋwaŋ 'those who live at the falls'
old kaŋ' 'old, worn out'
one waŋ'či (used in counting); waŋži' (used in specifying an amount)
onion pšiŋ'
```

otter *ptaŋ'* owl hinhan' pack *wak<sup>?</sup>iŋ'* 'backpack' paint See write pants See trousers parfleche bag wo'kpaŋ pemmican wasna' penis čhe'; susu' 'testicle(s); male genitals' people oya'te 'people; tribe' pepper yamnu'mnuğapi, yamnu'mnužapi (This term originally referred to the berries of the hackberry tree.) picture ito'wapi pig khukhu'še pigeon wakiŋ'yela pine *wazi'* Pine Ridge Sioux See Oglala Sioux pipe *čhaŋnu'pa* pipestem čhannu'pasinte' 'pipe tail' play *ška'tA* plum *khaŋ'ta* porcupine phahin' 'sharp hair' potato blo' prairie chicken šiyo' prairie dog *pispi'za* 'squeaking, barking'

puppy šuŋĥpa'la quillwork wo'ska quill owiŋ'ža rabbit maštiŋ'ča, maštiŋ'čala racoon wičhi'tegleğa 'striped face' rain *mağa'žu* rainbow wi'gmuŋke 'snare, trap' rattle wagmu'ha rattlesnake siŋte'hla 'rattle tail' rawhide *thaha'lo* read yawa' 'read; count' red ša' relative *ota'kuye* rib *thučhu'hu* rice *pšiŋ'* rifle ma'zawakhaŋ' 'wonderful metal' ripe See <u>cook</u> river wakpa' root *hu'ta* rope wi'khaŋ Rosebud Sioux See Brule Sioux run *iŋ'yaŋkA* sack wo'žuha

saddle *čhaŋ'wak<sup>?</sup>iŋ* 'wooden back rack'

salt mnisku'ya 'sweet water'

Sans Arc Sioux Ita'zibčho 'those without bows"

Santee Sioux Isaŋ'yethi

say *eyA'* 

school owa'yawa 'reading place'

see waŋyaŋ'kA

seven šako'wiŋ

sew kaye'ğA

sharp (edge) phe'

sharp (point) phe'stola

shawl šina'

sheep *he'čhiŋškayapi* 'they make spoons from their horns' 'bighorn sheep, mountain sheep'; *ptiŋ'čala* 'domestic sheep'

shield waha'čhaŋka shin hublo' shirt (coat) o'gle shoe haŋ'pa shoot khute' short pte'čela Shoshone Su'suni shoulder ablo' sick khu'žA 'to be nauseous'; yazaŋ' 'to hurt' sinew khaŋ' sing *loway*'

sister *thaŋke'* 'older sister of a man'; *čhuwe'* 'older sister of a woman'; *thaŋkši'* 'younger sister of a man'; *thaŋka'* 'younger sister of a woman'

sit yaŋkA'

sit down *i'yotakA* 

six ša'kpe

skinny thama'heča

skunk maka'

sky mahpi'ya 'sky; cloud'

sleep *ištiŋ'mA* 'to be asleep'

sleepy *ȟwa'* 

smoke šo'ta; uŋ'pA 'to smoke tobacco'

snake *zuze'ča* 

snow wa' 'fallen snow'; iča'mna 'falling snow'

socks huŋya'khuŋ

soda pop kapho'papi 'bursting, popping'

soft phayšphay'ža

son čhiŋkši'

soup wahaŋ'pi

south ito'kağata

speak *iyA*'

spear wahu'kheza

spider *iŋkto'*; *iŋkto'mi* 

spoon čhiŋška'

```
spring (season) we'tu
spring of water wiwi'la
squash wagmu' 'squash; gourd'
squirrel ziča'
stand ogna'ke 'stand, chest'; na'žiŋ 'be standing'
stand up ina'žiŋ
Standing Rock Sioux See Hunkpapa Sioux
star wičha'hpi
stone iη'yaη; iħ<sup>?</sup>e'
store mas<sup>2</sup>o'phiye 'cashbox'
stove očhe'thi
sugar čhanhan'pi 'tree juice'
summer bloke'tu
sun wi' 'luminary'; an'pawi' 'day luminary'
sunflower wahča'zi' 'yellow flower'
swallow išta'ničathaŋ'ka 'cliff or barn swallow'; napčA' 'to swallow; to internalize knowledge'
sweet sku'yA
swim See bathe
table wa'glotapi
tail sinte'
talk See converse
```

take  $a^{?}i'$  'to take or convey there'; akhi' 'to take or convey home there'; a'yA 'to be taking or conveying there'; aglA' 'to be taking or conveying home there'; e'yayA 'to leave to take or convey there'; akhi'yaglA 'to leave to take or convey home there'

take *iču'* 'take, get' tall haŋ'skA 'tall; long' tea wahpe' 'leaves'; wahpe'khalya'pi 'leaf beverage' telephone mas<sup>?</sup>a'pha ten wikče'mna tepee See lodge testicle *itka'*; see also <u>egg</u> Teton Sioux Thi'thuŋwaŋ thick *šo'kA* thigh (side) sičhaŋ' (front) *šu'te* thin *zizi'pa* three *ya'mni* throat *lote*' thunder wakin'yanhothunpi 'The Thunderers are calling' tired watu'kha, hu'stakA tobacco čhaŋli' tomato See wildrose tongue čheži' tooth hi' travois *čhuwi'č<sup>?</sup>iŋpa* tree čhay' 'tree; wood' tribe See <u>people</u> trousers unzo'ğiŋ

```
turkey wagle'kšaŋ
turnip thiŋ'psila 'wild turnip'; see also artichoke
turtle khe'ya
two nu'pa, nu'm
Two-Kettle Sioux O^2 o'henupa 'those who boil meat twice'
uncle lekši' 'mother's brother' (The father's brother is called 'father'.)
use un' 'use; wear'
vegetation wo'he 'weeds'
vulva šaŋ'
wagon čhaypa'gmiyaypi 'wood that is made to roll along'
walk ma'ni
warbonnet wapha'ha
warclub iŋ'yaŋkape'mnipi 'stone club'
wash yuža'ža
water mni'
watermelon špaŋ'šniyuta'pi 'they eat it raw';
   wagmu'špaņšni 'uncooked squash'
wear See <u>use</u>
weasel ithun'kasan', ithun'kasan'la
weed See vegetation
west wiyo'hpeyata 'where the sun goes down'
wet spa'yA
whiskey mni'wakhan' 'wonderful water'
white saŋ' 'dull white'; ska' 'clear white'
```

White man Waši'čuŋ, Waši'ču wide o'pta wife *thawi'ču* wildrose unžin'žintka 'rose hip; tomato' willow čhaŋša'ša 'red stem dogwood'; čhaŋwi'wila 'common willow' wind *thate*' window ožaŋ'žaŋglepi 'frame to admit light' wing *h̃upa'hu* winter wani'yetu woman wiŋ'yaŋ 'woman'; wikho'škalaka 'young woman'; winu'hčala 'old woman" wolf *šuŋgma'nituthaŋ'ka* 'big coyote' wood See tree write owa' 'write; paint' Yankton Sioux Ihan'gthunwan 'those dwelling at the end' yellow *zi'* young See <u>new</u>

# Sketch of Lakhota, a Siouan Language. Pt.II

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### 9. Verbs

Because it is the only obligatory element in the sentence, the verb is the most important kind of word in Lakhota. It is also the most complex. Analyzing verbs requires taking into account three different kinds of information: in what kinds of sentences a given verb may occur, what affixes or other markings a given verb may have, and how a verb may be expanded or changed in its basic meaning.

### 9.1. Sentence and Affix Types

Part of the meaning of every Lakhota verb is a specification of the number of "participants" (the technical term is "arguments"), or things to which nominals or pronominal affixes can refer, in the event the verb describes. Simple sentences can, depending on the verbal category, imply zero, one, two, or three participants.

Verbs that imply one participant are in turn divided into two groups, depending somewhat on what they mean. If the verb describes an activity over which its participant has control, or which the participant can carry out willfully, it will select an affix from the set that marks the subject (technically, "agent") of a two-participant sentence. But if the situation described by the verb involves no will or control on the part of its participant, then that participant will be marked as if it were the object (technically: "patient") of a two-argument verb. These semantic definitions are not perfectly reliable, and occasionally a verb takes affixes that seem to belong logically to the other category. For example, *ni'* to be alive, not dead' takes agent forms, while *kiŋ'za* 'squeak, as a mouse does' takes patient forms. See Legendre and Rood (1992) for a detailed discussion of these two classes.

Verbs thus fall into several classes according to their participant types: impersonal (no participants), stative (one objectlike participant), active intransitive (one subjectlike participant), transitive (two participants), and ditransitive (three participants). There is also a sixth class with very few members that 'takes two objectlike participants: this class is called "stative transitive." These verbs are so rare that "stative" will be used consistently for the one-participant statives in what follows, and "transitive" for "active transitive."

#### 9.1.1. Impersonal Verbs

Impersonal verbs do not take any personal affixes. Most of them are limited semantically to expressions of natural states such as the weather or the time of day. Examples include:

Aŋpe'tu kiŋ le' <u>osni'.</u>	' <u>It's cold</u> today.'
Mahe'l <u>o<sup>²</sup>i'yokpaze.</u>	'It was very dark inside.'
<u>Iča'mna</u> ȟče šni.	'It's not snowing much.'
<u>Haŋhe'pi.</u>	' <u>It is night.</u> '

There is also a small number of impersonal verbal expressions that refer to speaker-perceived states such as obligations, necessity, apparentness, and the like. Here are examples with the verbs *phi'ča*, *iye'čheča*, *s<sup>?</sup>ele'čheča*, and *he'čha*:

Ečhun' šni. phi'ča feasible do not 'It can not be done, it is not feasible.' Wičhiŋ'čala kiŋ khu'ža iye'čheča. little.girl the sick seem 'It seems that the dog has eaten the meat.' Šuŋ'ka kiŋ thalo' kiŋ yu'te <u>s<sup>?</sup>ele'čheča</u>. the meat the eat seem dog 'It seems that the dog has eaten the meat.' Phežu'ta etan' iya'ču kte he'čha. medicine some you.take potential be.necessary 'You must take some medicine'.

These verbs can all be used with stative personal affixes, but with somewhat different meanings. For example, with personal affixes *he'čha* means 'to be such a one' and *phi'ča* means 'to be glad'.

#### 9.1.2. Stative Verbs

Stative verbs ordinarily describe states or conditions. They are most reliably identified not by their meaning, but by the personal affixes they take. 'I' and 'you' with stative verbs are always expressed by ma and ni respectively. (Further details of affixation are given in 9.3.)

Examples of stative verbs are *khu'žA* 'nauseated' (*makhu'že* 'I am nauseated'), *i'-puza* 'thirsty' (*i'-mapu'za* 'I am thirsty'), *wašte'* 'good' (*niwa'šte* 'you are good'), and *zi'* 'yellow; pale' (*nizi'* 'you are pale').

Almost all nouns can also be used as stative verbs identifying the noun, although the verb *he'čha* 'to be such a one' can also provide this meaning:

Wima'čhaša. Wičha'ša hema'čha.	'I am a man.'
Nila'khota he? Lakho'ta heni'čha he?	'Are you an Indian?'
He' čhaŋ'.	'That is a tree.'
Hena' šuŋ'ka pi.	'Those are dogs.'

#### 9.1.3. Stative transitive Verbs

Some transitive verbs (see 9.1.) permit two patients in their semantics. Most common among of them is *itha'wa* 'own' (see 8.4.1.), with which one can say *Nimi'thawa* 'you are mine'. Other examples are *iye'nimačheča* 'you look like me' and *iyo'nimakiphi* 'l find you congenial'. Additional examples are given in Boas and Deloria (1941:77).

#### 9.1.4. Active intransitive Verbs

Active intransitive verbs are, like stative verbs, restricted to sentences with one participant; but these verbs take the affixes wa 'I' and ya 'you' (or variants thereof, see <u>9.3.</u>), instead of ma and ni. Semantically, most of these verbs describe actions that the subject can perform. Examples include hi' 'arrive' (wahi' 'I have arrived'), wačhi' 'dance' (wawa'čhi 'I dance'), oki'hi 'be able' (oya'kihi 'you can'), and na'žiŋ 'stand' (naya'žiŋ 'you stand').

#### 9.1.5. Active transitive Verbs

Active transitive verbs require two participants in their sentences, an agent (subject) and a patient (object). Consequently they also permit two affixes to occur with them (inflectional details are given in 9.3.). Examples include *waŋyaŋ'kA* 'see', *aphA'* 'hit', *slolyA'* 'know', *iye'yA* 'find', and *kte'* 'kill'.

Many Lakhota transitive verbs correspond to English verbs that are optionally transitive. For example, in English people say 'we are eating now' or 'we are eating meat'; the first sentence uses 'eat' intransitively, the second uses it transitively. Very few Lakhota verbs have this option. Two that do are  $\delta ka'tA$  'play' or 'play a game' and *hayble'* 'dream' or 'dream about'. A Lakhota transitive verb that is used as an intransitive verb ordinarily requires the prefix *wa-*, which attributes an indefinite or implied object to the verb:  $nah^2uy'$  'to hear', *wana'h^2uy* 'to listen; to obey'; *manu'* 'to steal an object', *wama'nu* 'to steal things'. In some cases this *wa-* is concealed by sound changes: *yu'tA* 'to eat', but *wo'tA* 'to eat a meal'; *iway'yaŋkA* 'to examine, look at'; *wi'waŋyaŋkA* 'to examine things; to make a judgment.'

#### 9.1.6. Verbs Requiring Three Complements

Finally, there are a few Lakhota verbs that require three participants in their sentences. Verbs of this kind are  $k^2 u'$  'to give something to someone' and la' 'to ask someone for something'.

Actually, most transitive and active and some stative verbs permit an indirect object (8.) in their sentence, but in this case the form of the verb itself is changed to show that a third participant has been added (9.3.8.).

### 9.2. Verbal Derivation

#### 9.2.1. Complex Stem Formation

Lakhota speakers freely form compound verb stems for special meanings. Usually this is accomplished by prefixing a noun, an adverb, or another verb to the basic root. Thus from *waya'wa* 'to read; to attend school' and *gli'* 'to arrive home, coming' is derived *waya'wa-gli'* 'to have come home from school'; with *iglu'štAD* 'to finish for oneself is formed *waya'wa-iglu'štAD* 'to have finished school', and so on. Some other examples include:

 $sunn^{2}a'kanyankA$  (sun'ka 'horse', akan' 'on', yankA' 'sit') 'to ride horseback'

ločhiŋ' (lo 'food', not used as a free form today, and čhiŋ' 'want') 'to be hungry'

wakši'yužaža (wakši'ča 'dishes', yuža'ža 'to wash') 'to wash dishes'

*i'-puza* (*i'* 'mouth', *pu'zA* 'be dry') 'to be thirsty'

In addition to these more or less obvious compounds, complex stems are often formed with prefixes. The first set of these prefixes sometimes, but not always, has adverbial meanings: *i*-'with, instrumental', *o*- 'inside', *a*- 'on the surface of: because of', *khi*- 'at the middle'.

Examples of these prefixes are:

*iya'tkAD* (*yatkAD*' 'to drink') 'to drink with, to use for drinking'

otho' (tho' 'to be blue or green') 'to be bruised'

ona'phA (naphA' 'to run away, to flee') 'to flee into'

apa'hpa (pahpa' 'to push over') 'to push over onto'

ale'žA (le'žA 'to urinate') 'to urinate on'

*ačhaŋ'tešičA* 'to be sad because of' (*čhaŋte'šičA* 'to be sad')

khiča'ksA {kaksA' 'sever by striking') 'to break in the middle by striking'

khiwa'psakA (wapsa'kA 'to sever a string') 'to cut a string in two'

The meaning that has been added by the prefix is not always easy to specify. Compare, for example, *oma'ni* 'to travel' and *ma'ni* 'to walk': ayu'štAD 'to leave alone' and yuštAD' 'to finish'.

In a few cases, verbs exist only with the prefix; an equivalent form without the prefix cannot be found. An example of this is *ali'* 'to climb on, to step on'.

Another set of prefixes has clear instrumental meaning. Seven of these are used very frequently; an eighth appears rarely. The instrumental prefixes often appear together with one of the adverbial prefixes just discussed.

In some cases the prefixes are added to verbs that are also used without the instrumental prefixes. In other cases (probably in most), an equivalent verb without the prefix is not used. The prefixes, with examples, are given beginning with the rather rare prefix pu-:

*pu-* 'by generalized pressure' *puspA'* 'to glue, to seal'
opu'ği 'to stuff soft material into an opening'

ka- 'by means of a blow'
kačhe'yA 'to cause to cry by striking'
kable'čA 'to shatter by hitting'
kahlo'kA 'to chop a hole in something'

ka is also used in verbs that refer to action of wind, or other more or less spontaneous actions:

kažo' 'to fart'
kağaŋ' 'to blow open'.
na- 'by foot action'
nat<sup>?</sup>A' 'to kill by stepping on'
nable'čA 'to shatter something with the foot'
nahlo'kA 'to kick a hole in something'.

*na*- is used in verbs that refer to action accomplished by heat. It is also used when the action occurs by spontaneous inner force:

našli' 'to ooze out' nagmu' 'to curl up, to twist (drying material)' naša' 'to blush'.

pa- 'by pushing or by pressure with the hands or the body'
 pa<sup>?</sup>i'le 'to ignite by pushing, as a flashlight'
 pable'čA 'to shatter by sitting on'
 paħlo'kA 'to pierce the ears'

wa- 'by cutting with a blade'

waža'ža 'to notch, to make forked by cutting or sawing'

*wable'čA* 'to shatter by attempting to cut'

*wahlo'kA* 'to make a miscut while skinning'

wo- 'by piercing with a pointed object'
wohla' 'to make something sound (ring) by shooting it'
woble'čA 'to break into pieces by striking with a pestle or by shooting'

wo- is also used in verbs that refer to action by blowing:

 $wo^{?}i'le$  'to make a fire blaze by blowing on it'.

ya- 'by means of the mouth or the teeth; by speaking'

yahta'kA 'to bite'
yable'čA 'to shatter by biting'
yahlo'kA 'to gnaw a hole'
yaši'čA 'to malign' ('bad mouth')
yu- 'by means of the hands'
yuğaŋ' 'to open up' (as a door or window)
yuble'čA 'to shatter with the hand'
yuhlo'kA 'to make a hole with the hand'

*yu*- is also used in verbs that have a general causative meaning (9.2.2.1).

## 9.2.2. Class-changing Processes

The verbs that fit into the categories in 9.1. may either belong there inherently or be brought into that category by a derivational process. Thus, for instance, stative and intransitive verbs may be made transitive ('be sick' changes to 'make sick' or 'sing' changes to 'cause to sing' or 'let sing'). The indefinite object prefix wa (9.1.4.) could be listed here, too, as a device-for changing transitive verbs into active intransitives.

## 9.2.2.1. Causatives

Lakhota stative and intransitive verbs are made transitive by means of a causative construction. Transitive verbs may also be made causative, in which case they become ditransitive verbs. There are three causative constructions:

1) Stative verbs that describe size or shape (so that the change being caused is one of degree, not of kind) and verbs of value judgment are made causative with the instrumental prefix yu (9.2.1.):

*či'k<sup>2</sup>ala* 'small' *yuči'k<sup>2</sup>ala* 'reduce in size' *haŋ'ska* 'long' *yuhaŋ'ska* 'lengthen' *taŋyaŋ'* 'well' *yutaŋ'yaŋ* 'make right, fix up' *wašte'* 'good' *yuwa'šte* 'improve, correct'.

2a) Stative verbs that refer to other kinds of conditions are made causative by using the suffixed auxiliary -yA; -yA is an active verb. Examples:

*ğu'* 'be burned' *ğuyA'* 'to scorch' *sa'pA* 'to be black' *sabyA'* 'to blacken'.

An interesting illustration of the meaning differences between (1) and (2a) is the root ska' 'be white', which accepts both causatives: yuska' means 'to clean; to make whiter', while skayA' means 'to paint white; to whiten'.

Many of the verbs that take -yA' for the general causative also take instrumental prefixes for special kinds of causative meaning; in these cases -yA is not used. Thus, from *khu'žA* 'to be nauseated' can be derived *yukhu'žA* 'to harass someone until he becomes sick' and *yakhu'žA* 'to talk someone into being sick'.

2b) Active and transitive verbs may also be made causative with -yA if the causation was accidental or unintentional or indirect:

*čhiŋ'* 'want', *čhiŋyA'* 'to cause to want' (for example, to cause someone to want food by eating in front of him)

*mağa'žu* 'to rain', *mağa'žuyA* 'to cause to rain' (for example, by doing something unusual; a lazy person suddenly beginning to work hard is said to make it rain)

yuha' 'to have', yuha'yA 'to cause someone to have (perhaps by leaving it behind at his house)'

*čhe'yA* 'to cry', *čhe'yeyA* 'to cause to cry (by telling a sad story, perhaps)'.

Some verbs with the causative auxiliary -yA have no currently used non-causative. Such are slolyA' 'to know' and iye'yA 'to find'.

3) When the causation is intentional, or when there is no desire to stop the action, active verbs are made causative by use of the active auxiliary verb *-khiyA*. English translations are more often 'let' than 'make':

čhe'yekhiyA 'to let cry (without trying to stop)'

yuha'khiyA 'to let have (carry); to have carry'

o'kiyekhiyA 'to let help'.

If a transitive verb is used with *-khiyA*, the main verb as well as the auxiliary may take affixes (the main verb takes object affixes only):

o'makiyečhi'čhiyiŋkte help.me.I.let.you potential 'I will let you help me'. o'ničiyewakhi'ye help.you.I.let.you 'I let him help you'.

#### 9.2.2.2. Inceptives

Moving into the state designated by a stative verb is indicated in two different ways. Either ki- is prefixed to the verb, or the auxiliary verb a'yA is used. Probably a'yA is the verb 'to bring', since

other verbs of bringing and taking also occasionally mean 'begin to', but in this construction it functions like a stative verb. In fact although the meaning shift for this construction seems to be from stative to active intransitive, the formal affixation pattern for both the derived and underived constructions remains that of stative verbs. Examples are:

*kisku'yA* 'to become sweet' *čhe'pa a'yA* 'to get fat'.

In some cases a verb can be used with both, but with different meanings:

*kithaŋ'ka* 'to grow old' *thaŋ'ka a'yA* 'to get big'.

In most instances, *ki*- imparts a meaning of inevitable change into the state mentioned by the verb, change over which the referent has no control.

## 9.2.2.3. Deactivization or Stativization

There is no obvious formal process whereby active verbs may be shifted to the stative category. (In English this is done by the use of passive participles: break->be broken, find->be found, etc.) Such notions are expressed in Lakhota by using the third-person plural subject form (marked by pi after the verb) of an active transitive verb: 'they broke it', 'they found him', etc.

However, there is some syntactic evidence that *pi* in this construction is genuinely a passive marker rather than the subject pluralizer. With verbs like 'seem', most linguists agree that the subject of 'seem' and the subject of its complement have to be the same. Thus in 'She seemed to hit him' and 'She seemed to have been hit', "she" is the subject of both verbs in both sentences even when, logically, "she" is the recipient or patient of the second one. If this is so, then in the Lakhota sentence *ama'pha pi s<sup>?</sup>ele'mačheča* 'I seem to have been hit', *ma* rather than *pi* must represent the subject of *ama'pha pi*. Obviously, this analysis relies on a very specific notion of "subject." This notion has not yet been well explored for Lakhota.

## 9.3. Verb Inflection

Lakhota verbs may be inflected to indicate the person and number of subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, and possessors of objects. Inflection involves the addition of affixes to the verb. Note that "affix" is used here as a cover term for prefix, suffix, and infix; an infix is an element inserted into a stem. Many of the inflectional morphemes in Lakhota are either prefixed or infixed, depending on the verb. Sometimes the infixing is only apparent, as when the inflection follows a derivational prefix such as *na*- 'by means of the foot'. Thus a sequence like *na*-*wa*'-*t*<sup>2</sup>*e* 'I killed it with my foot' (from *nat*<sup>2</sup>*e*' 'to die or kill by means of foot action') technically consists of two prefixes and a root. However, there are many cases where the inflectional morpheme is inserted into an otherwise (synchronically) unanalyzable stem, such as *ma*'ni 'to walk' (*mawa'ni* 'I walk'), or *ophe'thup* 'to buy' (*ophe'wathup* 'I buy/bought it'), or *wičha'ša* 'man' (*wima'čhaša* 'I am a man'). In accord with Lakhota grammatical tradition and (most) native-speaker intuition,

all the inserted inflectional elements are here called "infixes," and both these infixes and all the prefixes are called "affixes."

In addition to affixes, all verbal paradigms make use of the enclitic *pi* to mark a plural argument. An enclitic is like a suffix, except that it is a separate word.

The discussion of verb inflection can be divided into 10 subtopics: <u>stative affixes</u>, <u>object affixes</u>, <u>active subject affixes</u>, <u>two-affix constructions</u>, <u>irregular paradigms</u>, <u>reflexives</u>, <u>reciprocal</u> <u>constructions</u>, <u>reflexive possessive</u>, <u>dative constructions</u>, and <u>benefactive constructions</u>.

## 9.3.1. Stative Affixes

The basic paradigm has positions for three persons and three numbers, although the dual is available only for the first-person inclusive subject ('you and I', but not 'he and I'). It is tempting to analyze the uy(k) without pi (the dual) as "inclusive singular" and thus make pi a consistent marker of the plural. This analysis must be rejected because pi is added to all objects (not stative subjects), both dual and plural, and pi neutralizes the inclusive/exclusive distinction.

In the third person, plural is marked for animate nouns only; inanimate plurals are marked by reduplication of the verb stem (see 4.3.2.8.). When the plural refers to human beings there is yet another distinction: distributive versus collective. "Distributive plurals" focus on plurality as a collection of separate individuals, while "collective plurals" focus on persons whose identities are fused into a group. An English noun with just these kinds of meanings is the word "family." When the verb used with family is singular (My family is waiting for me), the noun is collective in meaning. When the verb is plural (My family are all living in California now), the meaning is distributive. Many Lakhota verbs do not have collective forms; when such forms do not exist, the distributive plural forms are used instead. The collective sense is not necessarily lost in such cases, since a noun with collective meaning (or a quantifier such as *oya's<sup>2</sup>iŋ* 'all of a collective human group') may also be present in the sentence.

Here are the personal affixes used in the inflection of stative verbs.

Singular D	ual Plural
1. ma- uŋ	ŋ(k)- uŋ(k)pi
2. <i>ni</i> -	nipi
3. 0-	0pi distributive wičha- collective

0 means that there is no affix for that person.

 $u\eta(k)$  is written in this way to indicate that  $u\eta$  is used if any consonant but  $l^2/l$  follows the affix, while  $u\eta k$  appears if a vowel or  $l^2/l$  follows.

There are three patterns for the placement of these affixes in the verb: all affixes are prefixed: all affixes are infixed: *uŋk* is prefixed and the others are infixed. Here are sample paradigms of each type:

haŋ'skA 'be long or tall' (prefix type)		
Singular	Dual	Plural
1. mahaŋ'ske	uŋhaŋ'ske	uŋhaŋ'ska pi
'I am tall'	'you and I are tall'	'we are tall'
2. nihaŋ'ske		nihaŋ'ska pi
'you are tall		'you are tall'
3. hay'ske		haŋ'ska pi 'they are tall' (distributive)
'he is tall'		wičha'haŋske 'they are tall' (collective)

<i>i'-puza</i> 'be thirsty' (infix type)		
Singular	Dual	Plural
1. i'-mapu'za	i'- <sup>?</sup> uŋpu'za	i'- <sup>?</sup> uŋpu'za pi
'I am thirsty'	'you and I are thirsty	' 'we are thirsty'
2. i'-nipu'za		i'-nipu'za pi
'you are thirsty	,	'you are thirsty'
3. i'puza		i'-puza pi
'he is thirsty'		'they are thirsty'

<i>unspe'</i> 'to know how to' (mixed type)		
Singular	Dual	Plural
1. иŋma'spe	uŋkuŋ'spe	uŋkuŋ'spe pi
'I know how to'	'you and know how to	'we know how to'
2. uŋni'spe		uŋni'spe pi
'you know how to	,	'you know how to'
3. uŋspe'		uŋspe' pi
'he knows how to'		'they know how to'

The stative paradigm is completely regular: there are no further subtypes within this conjugation. In particular, verbs such as yaykA' 'to sit,' of which the first-person form is *mayke*', are not stative. See the description of active nasal stems in 9.3.3., and note that when an object affix appears on this verb in the construction described at the end of 8.5.3., the form is *mayay'ke*.

One further remark about the use of the stative verb inflection is in order. Stative verb affixes are regularly used to identify the possessor of an inalienably possessed noun (8.4.1.) that is the subject of a stative verb:

Nata'(kiŋ)<u>ma</u>ya'zaŋ head the I.hurt '<u>My</u> head hurts.' Nape'(kiŋ)<u>ma</u>špaŋ' hand the I.burn 'I burned <u>my</u> hand.' *Phehiŋ'(kiŋ)<u>ni</u>sa'bsapa* hair the you.black '<u>You</u> have black hair.'

#### 9.3.2. Object Affixes

The paradigm for transitive objects (assuming a third-person singular subject) is almost like that for stative verb subjects, but there are two differences: first, there is no collective versus distributive distinction: the collective affix of the stative paradigm is used for all animate plural objects. Second, there is no separate form for the dual; pi is used with  $u\eta(k)$  whenever it marks the object. Here are the object affixes:

Singular	Plural
1. <i>ma</i>	uŋ(k)pi
2. <i>ni</i>	nipi
3.0	wičha

The placement of these affixes follows the same three patterns observed with the stative verbs:  $u\eta(k)$  may be prefixed while the others are infixed, or all may follow the same pattern. Here are three paradigms:

*khi'zA* 'to attack; begin a fight with' (prefix type) Singular Plural 1. makhi'ze uŋkhi'za pi 'he attacked me' 'he attacked us' 2. ničhi'ze ničhi'za pi 'he attacked you' 'he attacked you' 3. khi'ze wičha'khize 'he attacked him 'he attacked them' *slolyA'* (infix type) Singular Plural slol<sup>2</sup>un'yan pi 1. *slolma've* 'he knows me' 'he knows us' 2. slolni'ye slolni'yaŋ pi 'he knows you' 'he knows you' 3. slolye' slolwi'čhaye 'he knows him 'he knows them' *aphA'* 'to hit' (mixed type) Singular Plural 1. *ama'phe* unka'pha pi

'he hit me'	'he hit us'
2. ani'phe	ani'pha pi
'he hit you'	'he hit you'
3. aphe'	awi'čhaphe
'he hit him'	'he hit them'

#### 9.3.3. Active Subject Affixes

The active subject affixes come in three slightly different paradigms, all of which have the same positional arrangements (prefix, infix, mixed). The three paradigms differ only in the form of the affixes used for 'I' and 'you'. The remainder of the subject affixes are as in the stative paradigm except that motion verbs have *a* rather than *wičha'* as the affix of the collective plural. Note that ug(k) may mark either subject or object; its correct meaning has to be read from another affix or from the context. In y-stems, the *y*- changes to /I/ after first-person singular *b*- and disappears after *l*- in the second person. Actually, both y-stem and nasal-stem affixes are probably to be derived from the *wa*- and *ya*- of regular verbs by a series of phonological rules involving loss of the vowel of the affix and subsequent consonant assimilations. For detailed discussion, see Carter (1974:130-154) and Koontz (1983).

Here is a chart of the three sets or active subject affixes:

1. Regular 2. Y-stem 3. Nasal Stem 1. wa b т Singular 2. ya l п 3.0 0 0 Dual 1.  $u\eta(k)$  $u\eta(k)$  $u\eta(k)$ 1.  $u\eta(k)...pi u\eta(k)...pi u\eta(k)...pi$ Plural 2. ya...pi ya...pi ya...pi Distributive 3. 0...pi 0...pi 0...pi Collective *a / wičha a / wičha a / wičha* 

The inflectional paradigm that is used for each active verb is partially predictable. For example, the affixes of paradigm 2 (y-stem) are used most often with verbs that have /y/ followed by an oral vowel at the point where the affix is added: the affixes of paradigm 3 (nasal stem) are used most often with verbs that have /y/ or  $/^2/$ , followed by a nasalized vowel at the point where the affix is added. There are a few exceptions to these general rules.

Given below are paradigms of verbs with active affixes. No attempt is made to illustrate the prefix-infix-mixed types, since the variations are exactly the same as for the stative or object affix paradigm types.

Examples of Paradigm I (regular)

*hi'* 'arrive coming' Singular Dual Plural

uŋhi'	uŋhi' pi
'you and I came'	'we came'
	yahi' pi
	'you came'
	hi' pi
	'they came' (distributive)
	ahi'
	'they came' (collective)
	'you and I came'

slolyA' 'know' (looks like y-stem, inflected regularly)

Singular	Dual	Plural
1. slolwa'ye	slol <sup>?</sup> uŋ'ye	slol <sup>?</sup> uŋ'yaŋ pi
'I know'	'you and I know him'	'we know him'
2. slolya'ye		slolya'ya pi
'you know him'	,	'you know him'
3. slolye'		slolya' pi
'he knows him'		'they know him'

<sup>?</sup> uŋ' 'be (exist); stay'		
(looks like nasal stem; inflected regularly)		
Singular	Dual	Plural
1. wa <sup>?</sup> uŋ'	uŋk <sup>?</sup> uŋ'	uŋk <sup>²</sup> uŋ' pi
'I am'	'you and I are'	'we are'
2. ya <sup>?</sup> uŋ'		ya <sup>?</sup> uŋ' pi
'you are'		'you are'
3. <i>uŋ'</i>		uŋ' pi
'he is'		'they are'

Examples of Paradigm 2 (y-stem)

	yuha' 'have'	
Singular	Dual	Plural
1. bluha'	uŋyu'ha	uŋyu'ha pi
'I have it'	'you and I have it?	' 'we have it'
2. luha'		luha' pi
'you have it	,	'you have it'
3. yuha'		yuha' pi
'he has it'		'they have it'

waŋyaŋ'kA 'to see' (looks like nasal stem; inflected like a y-stem) Singular Dual Plural 1. waŋbla'ke waŋ<sup>²</sup>uŋ'yaŋke waŋ<sup>²</sup>uŋ'yaŋka pi 'I have it' 'you and I have it' 'we have it' 2. waŋla'ke wanla'ka pi 'you have it' 'you have it' wanyan'ka pi 3. wanyan'ke 'he has it' 'they have it'

Note that /aŋ/ is changed to /a/ following /l/ in the 'I' and 'you' forms.

Examples of Paradigm 3 (nasal stem)

$^{2}u\eta'$ 'to use; to wear'		
Singular	Dual	Plural
1. <i>mu'</i>	uŋk <sup>?</sup> uŋ'	uŋk <sup>?</sup> uŋ' pi
'I used it'	'you and I used	it' 'we used it'
2. <i>nu'</i>		nu' pi
'you used it	,	'you used it'
3. <i>uŋ'</i>		uŋ' pi
'he used it'		'they used it'

Note that some of the forms of this verb are identical to some forms of  ${}^{?}uy'$  'exist'.

<i>ečha'<sup>²</sup>uŋ</i> 'to do'		
Singular	Dual	Plural
1. ečha'mu	ečhuŋ'k <sup>?</sup> uŋ	ečhuŋ'k <sup>²</sup> uŋ pi
'I did it'	'you and I did it'	'we did it'
2. ečha'nu		ečha'nu pi
'you did it'		'you did it'
3. ečhuŋ'		ečhuŋ' pi
'he did it'		'they did it'

Note that most forms of this verb have the loss of  $/a^2/$  described in <u>4.3.1.3.</u>

yaŋkA' 'to be seated'						
Singular	Dual	Plural				
1. <i>make'</i>	uŋyaŋ'ke	uŋyaŋ'ka pi				
'I am seated'	'you and I are seated?	' 'we are seated'				
2. nake'		naka' pi				
'you are seated	,	'you are seated'				
3. yaŋke'		yaŋka' pi				
'he is seated'		'they are seated' (distributive)				

#### *wičha'yaŋke* 'they are seated' (collective)

Verbs of motion utilize a collective prefix a different from that of other intransitive verbs. If the verb begins with i, the prefix a coalesces with the initial i of the stem to yield e':

*a'ye* 'they went (collective)'; compare *ya' pi* 'they went (distributive)'

*e'yaye* 'they (collective) started out, going'; compare *iya'ya pi* (distributive) compare *iya'ya pi* (distributive)

*e'nažiŋ* 'they (collective) went and stood'; compare *ina'žiŋ pi* (distributive)

## 9.3.4. Two-affix Combinations

Transitive verbs take two affixes whenever the subject and object are grammatical persons marked by affixes. The same is true of stative transitive verbs (9.1.3.). When two affixes are present, the usual order is first the object affix, then the subject affix. Another description of the order of sequence in the affixes would be (third person) (second person) (first person). This would eliminate rule 3 below, but not rule 1 in all cases. Similarly, describing the order as (third) (first) (second) would eliminate rule 1. but not rule 3. The object-subject description seems better, since there are other ways in which  $u\eta(k)$  is exceptional (e.g., prefixing to verbs where other affixes infix).

The combinations of affixes that appear are usually as given in the object and subject paradigms outlined in 9.3.2. and 9.3.3., but there are some additional complexities that cannot be predicted from a simple blending of the two sets. The complexities involve the affixes, some verb stems, and the enclitic pluralizer pi.

With respect to the affix combinations, the following rules apply:

1)  $u\eta(k)$  precedes all affixes but wičha

2) The combination of 'I' subject and 'you' object is represented in transitive verbs by a single affix: *čhi*.

3) In the stative transitive verbs, *ni* always precedes *ma*, regardless of the grammatical functions of the affixes. The meaning of verbal forms of this kind is therefore ambiguous.

4) y-stem or nasal stem transitive verbs with 'you' subject and 'me' or 'us' object have *yal* or *yan*, respectively, for 'you'.

Verbs that require  $u\eta(k)$  prefixed, but the others inserted, present a problem, since  $u\eta(k)$  must follow *wičha*, and inserted affix. In the speech of some persons this apparent contradiction is resolved by inserting both in the proper order, but repeating the entire verb stem after  $u\eta(k)$ . An example can be given using the verb *oyu'spA* 'to arrest': *owi'čhuŋkoyuspa pi* 'we arrested them'. Note that *wičha* is inserted after o, as required for this verb, and at the same time  $u\eta(k)$  precedes o as is also required by this particular verb. However, many persons simply insert both affixes, ignoring the apparent contradiction of not having  $u\eta(k)$  before o. In the speech of these persons, the correct form is *owi'čhuŋyuspa pi*.

Pluralization can appear only once in each verbal form. Hence, either affix, or both simultaneously, may be pluralized by *pi*. Many verbal forms containing *pi* and affixes that may be either singular or plural are thus ambiguous, and only the context can indicate which participants are actually plural. For example *uŋko'yuspa pi* can mean 'we arrested him', 'he arrested us', or 'they arrested us'. *iye'<sup>2</sup>uŋyaŋ pi kte* can mean either 'you (sing.) will find us'or 'you (pl.) will find us'.

Subject	Object						
	me	you sg.	him, her, it, them (inanimate)	us	you pl.	them (animate)	
I		čhi	0-wa 0-b 0-m		čhipi	wičha-wa wičha-b wičha-m	
you sg.	ma-ya ma-yal ma-yan		0-ya 0-l 0-n	иŋ-yapi иŋ-yalpi иŋyanpi		wičha-ya wičha-l wičha-n	
he, she, it	ma-0	ni-0	0-0	uŋ(k)- 0pi	ni-0pi	wičha-0	
we two			uŋ(k)			wičha- <sup>?</sup> uŋ(k)pi	
we pl		и <i>ŋ-ni-</i> pi	uŋ(k)pi		иŋ- nipi	wičha <sup>?</sup> uŋ(k)pi	
you pl	ma-yapi ma- yalpi ma- yanpi		0-yapi 0-lpi 0-npi	uŋ-yapi uŋ-yalpi uŋ-yanpi		wičha-yapi wičha-lpi wičha-npi	
they animate	ma-0pi	ni-0pi	0-0pi	uŋ(k)- 0pi	ni-0pi	wičha-0pi	

The combinations of affixes that occur in transitive verbs are shown in table 5

NOTE: First-person *b*- and *m*- and second-person (ya)l- and (ya)n- occur with y-stem and nasalstem verbs, respectively. See <u>9.3.</u> for further explanation.

#### 9.3.5. Irregular Verbs

There are some verbs that have irregularities of one or another kind in their inflection. Among the most frequent are the verbs eyA' 'to say' and its derivatives, the verb yu'tA 'to eat', and various motion verbs, especially yA' and verbs based on it.

The transitive verb *eyA'* 'to say' is conjugated as follows: note the stress shift in the third-person singular:

Singular I	Dual	Plural
1. ephe' u	ıŋke'ye	uŋke'ya pi
2. ehe'		eha' pi
3. <i>e'ye</i>		eya' pi

A derivative of *eyA'*, *eya'yalaka* 'to tell lies', is inflected doubly, with the same irregularities in both places: *epha'phalaka*, etc.

The transitive verb *yu'tA* 'to eat' has these forms:

Singular DualPlural1. wa'te uŋyu'te uŋyu'ta pi2. ya'te3. yu'teyu'te pi

The verb yA' 'to be going' normally conjugates according to active Paradigm 2 (9.3.3.): *ble'*, *le'*, *ye'*, *uŋye'*, *uŋyaŋ' pi*, *la' pi*, *ya' pi*. However, whenever the syntax of the sentence demands that the final vowel be *iŋ* (see 4.3.2.6.), the personal affixes are nasalized. Observe the difference between the second-person singular and plural forms of the potential paradigm: in the singular the vowel is *iŋ*, but in the plural it is *a*:

SingularDualPlural1. mni' kte uŋyiŋ' kte uŋyaŋ' pi kte2. ni' kte3. yiŋ' kteya' pi kte

The verb *iya'yA* 'to set out' has two sets of subject affixes in the 'I' and 'you' forms: *ibla'ble*, *ila'le*, *iya'ye*, *uŋki'yaye*, *uŋki'yaya pi*, *ila'la pi*, *iya'ya pi*. When this verb is potential, the first affix is as just given, but the second is as in the potential inflection of yA' alone: <u>ibla'mni</u> kte, <u>ila'ni</u> kte, but <u>ila'la pi</u> kte. Many Oglalas in the 1990s prefer <u>ibla'blin</u> kte, <u>ila'lin</u> kte, even though this introduces an unexpected (and unparalleled) /I/ before a nasal vowel.

Another verb that has double inflection is <sup>?</sup>*iŋ*'yaŋkA 'to run':

SingularDualPlural1. wa²iŋ'mnake uŋk²iŋ'yaŋkeuŋk²iŋ'yaŋka pi'I ran''you and I ran' 'we ran'

2. ya <sup>²</sup> iŋ'nake	ya <sup>²</sup> iŋ'naka pi
'you ran'	'you all ran'
3. iŋ'yaŋke	iŋ'yaŋka pi
'he ran'	'they ran'

Two other motion verbs have two different stem forms, one used when there is no personal affix, the other when there is a personal affix. The two are *khiglA'* 'to set out to go home' and *gliču'* 'to set out to come home'. This is the stem form for the third-person forms; the other stems are respectively *-khiyaglA* and *-gliyaču* (some speakers say *-gliyaku*). Compare the following:

Khigle'.	'He set out to go home.'
Wakhi'yagle.	'I set out to go home.'
Gliču' pi.	'They (distributive) set out to come home.'
Agli'yaču.	'They (collective) set out to come home.'

## 9.3.6. Reflexive Verbs

Reflexive verbs are those in which the subject and the object refer to the same person: I cut myself is an English example.

Lakhota reflexive verbs have the affix  $i\check{c}^{?}i$  added to the transitive verb:  $i\check{c}^{?}i'kte$  'to kill oneself' (cf. kte' 'to kill'),  $o'^{?}i\check{c}^{?}i\check{c}iyA$  'to help oneself' (cf. o'kiyA 'to help').

The personal affixes are those of the stative paradigm (9.3.1.). There are no collective plural reflexive forms. See Legendre and Rood (1992) for discussion of the abstract syntax of these forms.

Whenever  $i\check{c}^{?}i$  precedes the instrumental prefixes *ya*, *yu*, *ka*, or *pa* (9.2.1.), the reflexive and instrumental affixes fuse to *igla*, *iglu*, *igla*, and *ikpa* respectively.

Here are sample paradigms of  $i\check{c}^2i'kte$  'to kill oneself' and  $iglu'\check{z}a\check{z}a$  'to wash oneself':

Singular Dual	Plural
1. mič <sup>?</sup> i'kte uŋki'č <sup>?</sup> ikte	uŋki'č <sup>²</sup> ikte pi
'I ran' 'you and I	ran' 'we ran'
2. nič <sup>?</sup> i'kte	nič <sup>²</sup> i'kte pi
'you ran'	'you all ran'
3. ič <sup>?</sup> i'kte	ič <sup>²</sup> i'kte pi
'he ran'	'they ran'
1. miglu'žaža	uŋki'glužaža uŋki'glužaža pi
'I washed myself'	'you and I ran' 'we washed ourselves'
2. niglu'žaža	niglu'žaža pi
'you washed yourself'	'you washed yourselves'
3. iglu'žaža	iglu'žaža pi

'he washed himself'

'they washed themselves'

There is a second reflexive paradigm (not well studied) in which the initial *i*- of the affix is doubled, without an inserted [<sup>?</sup>]. Its meaning is approximately that the action was not completely under the control of the subject. Compare: *nami'č*<sup>?</sup>*ihtake* 'I kicked myself' with *nami'ič*<sup>?</sup>*ihtake* 'I could have kicked myself (for something I did)', or *sabmi'č*<sup>?</sup>*iye* 'I blackened myself' with *sabmi'ič*<sup>?</sup>*iye* 'I blackened myself for a reason such as mourning.'

## 9.3.7. Reciprocal Verbs

The concept 'each other' is expressed by the affix *-kičhi-* (or a variant of this affix) added to transitive verbs. Only dual and plural forms are used, of course. The reciprocal paradigm has these forms:

 Dual
 Plural

 1. uŋki'čhi uŋki'čhi...pi

 2.
 ye'čhi...pi

 3.
 kičhi'...pi

Whenever these are attached to a stem beginning with *ki* or *khi*, that syllable of the verb stem is dropped. Examples of reciprocal verb forms are:

Wašte' <sup>?</sup> uŋkičhilake.	'You and I love each other' ( <i>wašte'lakA</i> )
Uŋki'čhiza pi	'We fought with each other'. ( <i>khi'zA</i> )
Waŋye'čhiyaŋka pi he?	'Did you see each other?' ( <i>waŋyaŋ'kA</i> )
O'kičhiya pi.	'They helped each other.' ( <i>o'kiyA</i> )

See 4.3.2.3 for a comment on the nasalization of *-yaŋ-* 'see'.

#### 9.3.8. Reflexive Possessive, Dative, and Benefactive Verbs

The next three sections of this sketch deal with very complex and highly idiosyncratic features of Lakhota verb inflection. It should be noted that this area of Lakhota grammar is not nearly so well explored as some other areas. Both the morphology and semantics of the paradigms to be discussed are unpredictable and often irregular, and they often vary from community to community and even from speaker to speaker within a community. It is very possible that many unexpected phenomena remain to be discovered here.

The semantic concepts expressed are: reflexive possession (the object of the verb belongs to the subject of the verb), dative (an indirect object, a person other than the subject and object of the

verb is affected by the verbal action), and benefactive (one person performs the verbal action for another's benefit or in his place).

The morphological representations of these three are intertwined and often very confusing. The difficulty comes from two facts: the morphemes representing all three concepts have the basic form ki; and some instances of ki lose the /k/ or the /i/ in certain contexts, and some cause a following /k/ to change to /č/ while others do not. Part of the unpredictability appears to result from homonym avoidance: when words from two of the paradigms could be expected to be alike in form, one is often different through some kind of irregularity.

Carter (1974) is able to explain much, but not all, of this complexity by positing in some forms another morpheme with the shape i. This does not explain everything, and it is too abstract an argument for the description here.

When the /i/ of ki is lost before /y/, /k/, or /p/, the resulting clusters are, in the first two cases, /gl/, or in the third, /kp/; the specific places where this happens will be discussed below. When the /k/ is lost, the personal affixes coalesce with the remaining /i/ to give we 'I', ye 'you (agent)', mi 'me', ni 'you (patient)', and *čhi* 'I to/for you'. These coalesced affixes always take the stress when they are the first element in the word.

#### 9.3.8.1. Reflexive Possessive

The fact that the object of the verb is possessed by the subject is shown in Lakhota by adding *ki* after the subject affix.

*ki* is reduced to  $/\mathbf{k}$  alone before a y-stem verb (9.3.3.), and *ky* becomes  $/\mathbf{gl}$ . Ill is also lost from ki before verbs beginning with  $/\mathbf{p}$ . When *ki* is used before the instrumental prefix *ka* (9.2.1.), the reflexive possessive affix and the instrumental prefix fuse to  $/\mathbf{gla}$ .

In the illustrative paradigms that follow, only the singular and dual forms are given. The corresponding plural words can be formed by adding *pi* to the second and third singular and the dual.

*iye'yA* 'to find'

This verb illustrates the behavior of the causative auxiliary (9.2.2.) -*yA*; before it the possessive ki loses neither k nor i.

SingularDual1. iye'wakiyeiye'<sup>?</sup>uŋkiye'I found mine''you and I found ours'2. iye'yakiye'you found yours'3. iye'kiye'he found his own'

#### kte' 'to kill'

This verb follows the most regular rules: *ki* loses *k* after personal affixes.

SingularDual1. we'kteuŋki'kte'I killed mine''you and I killed ours'2. ye'kte'you killed yours'3. kikte''he killed his own'

yuha' 'to have'

In this verb, *ki* is reduced to *k*, which fuses with *y* to form *gl*.

SingularDual1. waglu'hauŋglu'ha'I have mine''you and I have ours'2. yaglu'ha'you have yours'3. gluha''he has his own'

kable'ča 'to shatter'

This verb works like yuha' but illustrates the ka- prefix.

SingularDual1. wagla'blečauŋgla'bleča'I shattered mine''you and I shattered ours'2. yagla'bleča'you shattered yours'3. glable'ča'he shattered his own'

pazo' 'show; point'

This verb is a verb with initial /p/.

SingularDual1. wakpa'zouŋkpa'zo'I showed mine''you and I showed ours'

2. yakpa'zo
 'you showed yours'
 3. kpazo'
 'he showed his own'

#### iču' 'take'.

This verb requires an extra k after the regular ki.

SingularDual1. iwe'kčuuŋki'kikču'I took mine''you and I took ours'2. iye'kču'you took yours'3. iki'kču'he took his own'

*a'yA* 'to take along'

This verb illustrates the verbs of bringing and taking, which prefix *glo*- to form possessives; regular active affixes are then used:

SingularDual1. waglo'²ayeuŋglo'²aye'I am taking mine along''you and I are taking ours along'2. yaglo'²aye'you are taking yours along'3. glo²a'ye'he is taking his along'

There are other irregularities in the reflexive possessive that have not been illustrated. Some of these are described by Boas and Deloria (1941:86-102), but note that some of the details they give are not valid for Brule and Oglala speakers in the 1990s.

#### 9.3.8.2. Dative

The dative has one form but, from an English speaker's point of view, two meanings: the form can mean that the action was done to an object possessed by someone else ('I took his', 'he ate mine') or that it was done to or for someone else by accident or without his knowledge or permission. This second meaning is sometimes expressed by 'on' in colloquial English ('He ate it up on me': or 'His wife emptied the bank account on him.'). Boas and Deloria (1941) and Carter (1974) refer to this as the 'first dative.'

The regular affix for these forms is again ki, but this ki never loses either the k or the i, nor does it cause a following k of the verb root to change to  $\check{c}$ , although ks in other prefixes do change.

In verbs of bringing and taking, *ka* is used instead of *ki*, and a *ki* (but an irregular one!) can then also be prefixed (see examples below). Before the causative -*yA*, *khi* is used instead of *ki*. In the sample paradigms that follow, only singular and dual forms are given. As usual, the plural forms differ only by the presence of *pi*.

*iču'* 'take' This verb is regular; the affixes are inserted between i and  $\check{c}$ . mine yours his ours theirs it on you it on him it on us it on them it on me I --ičhi'čiču iwa'kiču -iwi'čhawakiču you ima'yakiču -iya'kiču unki'yakiču pi iwi'čhayakiču he ima'kiču ini'čiču iki'ču uŋki'kiču pi iwi'čhakiču unki'ničiču unki'čiču -iwi'čhuŋkiču we --

#### pazo' 'show'

This verb is also regular; compare with the possessive paradigm above.

	mine	yours	his	ours	theirs
	it on me	it on you	it on him	it on us	it on them
Ι		čhiči'pazo	waki'pazo		wičha'wakipazo
γοι	1 maya'kipazo		yaki'pazo	uŋya'kipazo pi	wičha'yakipazo
he	maki'pazo	niči'pazo	kipa'zo	uŋki'pazo pi	wičha'kipazo
we		uŋni'čipazo	uŋki'pazo		wičhuŋ'kipazo

#### *ahi'* 'to arrive bringing'

#### This verb illustrated the pattern common to all 'bring' and 'take'verbs.

		1		U	
	mine	yours	his	ours	theirs
	it on me	it on you	it on him	it on us	it on them
Ι		čhiča'hi	waka'hi		wičha'wakahi
you	maya'kahi		yaka'hi	uŋya'kahi pi	wičha'yakahi
he	maka'hi	niča'hi	kahi'	uŋka'hi pi	wičha'kahi
we		uŋni'čahi	uŋka'hi		wičhuŋ'kahi

#### *ahi'* 'to arrive, bringing'

	This illustrates the alternate paradigm with $ki + ka$					
	mine	yours	his	ours	theirs	
		•		it on us	it on them	
Ι		čhi'ča <sup>²</sup> ahi	we'ča <sup>²</sup> ahi		wičha'weča <sup>?</sup> ahi	
yoı	1 mi'ča <sup>?</sup> ah	i	ye'ča <sup>?</sup> ahi		wičha'yeča <sup>²</sup> ahi	
he	maka'hi				i wičha 'kiča <sup>²</sup> ahi	
we		uŋni'ča <sup>²</sup> ahi	i uŋki'ča <sup>²</sup> ahi	i	wičhuŋ'kiča <sup>²</sup> ahi	

#### *iye'yA* 'to find'

This verb illustrates the dative of the causative; compare the possessive causative paradigm given above with the third-person object forms here.

		0	1	5	
	mine	yours	his	ours	theirs
	it on me	it on you	it on him	it on us	it on them
Ι		iye'čhičhiye	iye'wakhiye		iye'wičhawakhiye
you	iye'mayakhiye		iye'yakhiye	iye' <sup>?</sup> uŋyakhiya pi	iye'wičhayakhiye
he	iye'makhiye	iye'ničhiye	iye'khiye	iye' <sup>²</sup> uŋkhiya pi	iyewičhakhiye
we		iye' <sup>?</sup> uŋničhiye	iye <sup>?</sup> uŋkhiye		iye'wičhuŋkhiye
	iye'makhiye 	• •	~ ~	iye" uŋkhiya pi 	

#### 9.3.8.3. Benefactive

Benefactive verbal forms imply that the action was undertaken for someone purposefully and with his knowledge and permission. Boas and Deloria (1941) call this the 'second dative.' The regular benefactive has ki twice: the first behaves like the reflexive possessive (especially in that k is lost after 'I' and 'you' affixes), the second like the dative, except that when the first ki is actually present as the first syllable of the word, it is stressed. For example, note ki'cikte 'He killed it for her'.

Note that in the forms for 'I—you' (*čhi*) and 'he—you' (*ni*) the difference between the dative and the benefactive is expressed solely by the stress position: *čhiči'kte* 'I killed yours, I killed it on you' but *čhi'čikte* 'I killed it for you'.

The benefactive affixes also occur regularly with intransitive and stative verbs. Observe *omi'čimani* 'He travels for me' from *oma'ni* 'to travel', and *mi'čiskuye* 'mine is sweet; it's too sweet for me' from *sku'yA* 'to be sweet'.

Before -yA (the causative auxiliary) *kiči* becomes *kičičhi*, and the first *k* disappears after 'I' and 'you' affixes. 'Bringing' and 'taking' verbs affix *kiči* to *ka* to give the meaning 'bring/take for someone with his permission'.

These forms are very regular (compared, at least, to the reflexive possessives and datives), so only three paradigms are given: a normal one, a 'bring' verb, and a causative.

yuštaŋ' 'to finish'						
	for me	for you	for him	for us	for them	
Ι		čhi'čiyuštaŋ	we'čiyuštaŋ		wičha'wečiyuštaŋ	
you	ı miye'čiluštaŋ	1	ye'čiyuštaŋ	uŋye'čiluštaŋ pi	i wičha'yečiyuštaŋ	
he	mi'čiyuštaŋ	ni'čiyuštaŋ	ki'čiyuštaŋ	uŋki'čiyuštaŋ pi	i wičha′kičiyuštaŋ	
we		uŋni'čiyuštaŋ	uŋki'čiyuštaŋ		wičhuŋ'kičiyuštaŋ	

	agli	' 'to arrive ho	me, bringing'	
for me	for you	for him	for us	

I--ačhi'čičagliawe'čičagli--awi'čawečičagliyou ami'yečičagli --aye'čičagliuŋka'yečiluštaŋ pi awi'čayečičagliheami'čičagliani'čičagliaki'čičagliuŋka'kičičagli piwe--uŋka'ničičagli uŋa'kičičagli --awi'čuŋkičičagli

<i>iye'yA</i> 'to find'								
	for me	for you	for him	for us	for them			
Ι		iye'čhičičhiye	iye'wečičhiye		iye'wičhawakhiye			
yoı	ı iye'miyečičhiye	2	iye'yečičhiye	iye' <sup>²</sup> uŋyečičhiya p	i iye'wičhayakhiye			
he	iye'mičičhiye	iye'ničičhiye	iye'kičičhiye	iye' <sup>²</sup> uŋkičičhiya pi	iyewičhakhiye			
we		iye' <sup>?</sup> uŋničičhiy	e iye <sup>²</sup> uŋkičičhiy	e iye' <sup>²</sup> uŋkičičhiye	iye'wičhuŋkhiye			

Some speakers can use a few verbs with both the benefactive and the possessive together, but in this case it is the beneficiary, not the object, that is owned. Thus *imi'čigluha* 'she is keeping it for me and I belong to her (i.e., I am her relative)'; however, most verbs do not follow this pattern.

There are no reciprocal benefactives, but the reflexive can occur with the benefactives. For verbs that do not lose the *i* of *ki* when they form the possessive, and for some others, there is no difference between the reflexive direct object form and the reflexive benefactive. Thus from *ole'* 'to look for' comes *omi'č*<sup>2</sup>*ile* 'I'm looking for myself' or 'I'm looking for it for myself'. But in most verbs where the *ki* of the possessive loses the *i*, the reflexive benefactive is formed by adding the reflexive  $(ič^2i, \text{ etc.})$  morpheme to the possessive verb form:  $mi'c^2igluha$  'I am keeping it for myself', or *uyki'*<sup>2</sup>*ič*<sup>2</sup>*ikču he'či* 'let's take it for ourselves (dual)'; but *iglu'štan pi* 'they finished it for themselves' has no benefactive morpheme at all.

Some speakers can inflect verbs for both direct and benefactive objects, but others reject these forms as meaningless. (Neither Buechel 1939 nor Boas and Deloria 1941 mention these paradigms.) The more complex pattern seems to begin with the benefactive form, into which are inserted the transitive affixes appropriate to the nonbenefactive verb. Thus, 'I'm looking for them for you' (verb stem *ole'*) goes from *očhi'čile* to *owi'čhawačhičile*. Other speakers use a paraphrase: *owi'čhale maya'ši čha očhi'čile* 'you told me to look for them so I'm looking for it for you'.

# **10. Enclitics**

Except in those instances when a conjunction stands last in the sentence (<u>section 6</u>), postverbal elements belong to the class here called enclitics. These words express aspect, tense, modality, and, in one case, number.

In other descriptions of Lakhota, enclitics have been variously treated as suffixes, adverbs, or auxiliaries, and indeed the decision to treat the most common of them as enclitics rather than suffixes is based on semantics and on native-speaker intuition rather than on phonological criteria. Speakers recognize these words as independent, isolable, and as meaningful. But one-syllable enclitics are frequently not stressed, so they do sound as if they are suffixed to the verb.

There are several dozen of these words (Taylor 1974). Recall that vowel ablaut, in those elements that have final vowel ablaut, is determined by the following enclitic (4.2.6.).

There is a strict order in which enclitics occur, but the 12 position classes defined by this order have few definable semantic correlations. Table 6 includes the enclitics defined and discussed here; others would appear in position 12 on the chart and would have similar kinds of meanings. Determination of the exact meanings of the enclitics is difficult in some cases, particularly those that express speaker attitude. While their general meaning is clear, individual meanings may vary from speaker to speaker and from situation to situation.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	3	9	10	11	1	2
har	ıpi	la	kA	ktA	šni	s <sup>²</sup> a	yo, ye yetho', iŋtho', ye, na	nitho',	, se'čA načhe'čA	ke'yA A ke'yapi	laȟ la'ȟčA la'ȟčakA	huŋwo' so, se se'l s <sup>?</sup> ele'l yelakha' he'či kiŋ ye'	ĥčA iŋčhe'ye huŋše'

The enclitics are defined and discussed according to the position classes in table 6. Vowel ablaut specifications refer to the effect that the particular enclitic has on a preceding A-final element (4.2.6.).

Some of the words described here are clearly a compound of two or more simple enclitics, but such compounds will be regarded as units in the discussion.

**1.** *hAD*; a-ablaut. Judging from other Siouan languages and Sioux dialects, this is likely the stative verb 'be erect, be upright', but this verb is rare in Lakhota, and in any event semantically distant from the element here described as an enclitic. *hAD* indicates that the verbal action or state was continuous at the time under consideration. Compare the following two sentences:

Ta'ku to'khanu han he? 'What were you doing?'

Ta'ku to'khanu he? 'What did you do?'

**2.** pi; a-ablaut. pi marks animate plural subjects (<u>9.3.</u>) and pluralizes non-third-person objects (<u>9.3.2.</u>). Numerous examples have already been given.

**3.** *la*; e-ablaut. *la* denotes the speakers affection or feeling of endearment with respect to other persons affected by the verbal action or state. The example of *la* is from a folktale:

Misun', he' wo'škatela kin unspe'makhiya pi la ye! Mi'š-eya' waška'te la kte!

'Little brothers, won't you please teach me that little game: I do so want to play it too!'

**4.** *kA*; a-ablaut. *kA* attenuates the verbal meaning, 'rather' or 'somewhat' are good English translations of this enclitic:

He' pte-blo'ka kiŋ očhiŋ'šiča <u>ke</u>.

'That bull is acting kind of mad.'

*kA* can also be used ironically:

He' wašte' <u>ke</u> yelo'.

'He certainly is a nice guy!' (Meaning: 'He is certainly <u>not</u> a nice person.')

**5.** *ktA*; *iŋ*-ablaut. *ktA* marks a statement as not yet true at the time under discussion. It corresponds to the English future, subjunctive, or, in a sentence about the past, to the future anterior. *ktA* is never used in sentences that are commands.

*Mni' <u>kte</u>. 'I <u>will</u> go.'* 

Yiŋ' kta ehaŋ'taŋhaŋš ši'čiŋ kte. 'It will be bad if he goes.'

Yiŋ' kta ke'ye. 'He said he would go.'

6. šni; e-ablaut. šni negates the verb with which it occurs.

Oya'te kiŋ mni' kiŋ yatkaŋ' pi oki'hi pi šni. 'The people could not drink the water.'

**7.**  $s^{2}a$ ; e-ablaut.  $s^{2}a$  marks an oft-repeated action; it is frequently accompanied by the adverb *o'hiniyaŋ* 'always'.

Lakho'ta kiŋ ehaŋ'ni zuya'ya pi s<sup>?</sup>a. 'The Indians often used to go on war parties.'

**8.** All these enclitics mark commands of various kinds. Several are used by only one sex and not by the other; this explains their rather large number.

Neutral commands are expressed by yo (men) and ye (women). (These become *wo* and *we* respectively when the immediately preceding word ends in /**u**/, /**uŋ**/, or /**o**/.) yo and ye have a-ablaut.

Na' khaŋ'ta eya', waŋži' iču' wo! 'Here are some plums, take one!'

*Yetho'* (men) and *nitho'* or *iŋtho'* (women) indicate a familiar request: there is a connotation that the requested action will be of short duration and easy to accomplish. These enclitics call for *iŋ*-ablaut.

Tho'hiŋyaŋkiŋ yetho'. 'Just wait a minute!'

The enclitics ye (men and women) and na (women) express a combined command-request, ye has  $i\eta$ -ablaut, na has a-ablaut:

O'makiyiŋ ye, wanu'ni ye. 'Please help me. I'm lost'.

Mni' huŋ'h mak<sup>?</sup>u' <u>na</u>! '<u>Please</u> give me some water.'

Besides these command enclitics, some of the enclitics in position 12 are used in sentences that have the nature of both statements (or questions) and commands. These will be described together with the other enclitics in position 12.

**9.** *se'čA*, e-ablaut; *načhe'čA*, a-ablaut. These enclitics indicate that the statement is a conjecture by the speaker. Lakhota speakers translating into English sentences containing these enclitics ordinarily include expressions such as *probably*, *I guess*, *I suppose*, and the like.

*Ekta'wapha kiŋ mağa'žu kte <u>se'če</u>.* 'It will <u>probably</u> rain later on today.'

*Iyu'ha owi'čhayuspa pi kta <u>načhe'če</u>.* '<u>I suppose</u> they'll catch them all.'

**10.** *ke'yA* and *ke'ya pi* are the third-person singular and plural respectively of the verb *ke'yA* 'to say that'. Preceding A-words show a-ablaut. When used as enclitics, these words indicate that the speaker is quoting someone else. Such sentences always refer to events or states about which the speaker has no direct, personal knowledge. Hence, *ke'yA* and *ke'ya pi* appear very frequently in historical narratives. The absence of *ke'ye* or *ke'ya pi* implies that the speaker has personal knowledge about the event or state he is reporting, unless the context is clearly one of reported information.

*Čhaŋkhe' thiblo'ku kiŋ waŋgla'ka ke'ye.* 'And then she beheld her elder brother, it is said.'

**11.** Enclitics in this position all indicate that the speaker is not emotionally neutral to what he is reporting. Feelings indicated include mild yearning, mild discomfort, amusement, and probably others as well. lah is a sentence closing form, whereas la'hčA and la'hčakA can be followed by enclitics in position 12. Preceding A-words show e-ablaut.

Mni-pi'ğa waŋži' wačhiŋ' lah! 'Gee, I sure would like a beer!'

Waŋ li'la olu'luta <u>lah</u>! 'Gosh it sure is sultry!'

Iya'yekiya pi la'hčake! 'Boy, did they ever take off!'

**12.** Several enclitics mark various kinds of questions. *he*; *huŋwo'*; a-ablaut. *he* marks a direct question. Although both men and women use *he*, men use *huŋwo'* (pronounced **[hNwNo]** in rapid speech) in relatively formal situations. Most questions, even those containing an interrogative word end in *he* or *huŋwo'*.

*Tohaŋ'l ya<sup>?</sup>u' kta <u>he</u>?* 'When will you come?'

*Waši'ču kiŋ Paha'-sa'pa kiŋ iču' pi šni huŋwo'?* 'Did not the White man take the Black Hills<u>?</u>'

*so*, *se*; e-ablaut. *So* (men) and *se*(women) mark a dubitative question. There is no presupposition that the person questioned knows the answer:

To'škhe waši'čuya he' eya' pi so? 'I wonder how you say that in English?'

*se'l*; a-ablaut. *se'l* also marks a dubitative question, but it presupposes an affirmative reply:

Be'bela kiŋ wana' yuha' pi se'l?

'I guess they've had their baby by now, huh?'

 $s^{?}ele'l$ ; a-ablaut. <u> $s^{?}ele'l$ </u> marks a tag question.

*Nahaŋ'hči waš<sup>²</sup>a'ke šni <u>s<sup>²</sup>ele'l?</u>* 'He isn't very strong yet, <u>is he?</u>

yelakha'; e-ablaut.

yelakha' marks a sarcastic rhetorical question:

Čhinča' kin he waka'štake yelakha'.

'<u>Oh</u>, so I'm the one who made the kid cry!'

Two enclitics from position class 12 are used to make deferential suggestions. They share the properties of a rhetorical question and a command.

*he'či*: a-ablaut. *he'či* is used when the speaker induces himself as a participant in the proposed action:

Wana' uŋyaŋ' pi <u>he'či</u>.

'Let's go now!' 'Should we go now?'

Thalo' etaŋ' awa'<sup>?</sup>u <u>he'či</u>.

'Should I bring some meat?' 'How would it be if I brought some meat?'

kiŋ; e-ablaut. kiŋ is used when the speaker does not include himself:

Ogna' blo' etaŋ' aya'<sup>?</sup>u <u>kiŋ</u>.

'Maybe you could bring some potatoes.' 'Would you like to bring some potatoes?'

Several enclitics in position 12 are used to mark sentences that are assertions rather than simple statements. Sentences containing these enclitics often correspond to emphatic statements in English, but many Lakhota examples do not seem to be particularly emphatic. The assertion may be a (generally recognized) fact, or it may be a personal opinion.

ye; e-ablaut. ye marks the mild assertion of a generally recognized fact:

Osni' ye, thima' gla' pi yo!

'It's cold, go back inside!'

*yelo'* (men), *yele'* (obsolescent, women) (*yelo'* becomes *welo'* when the immediately preceding vowel is /**u**/, /**uŋ**/ or /**o**/)and *kšt* (men), *kišto'* (women; *kišto'* is usually pronounced *kšto'* in rapid speech) are comparable. *kšt* is stronger than *yelo'*, *kišto'* alone is used by most women to correspond to both *yelo'* and *kšt* used by men. All require e-ablaut of a preceding A-word.

Hay' hena'?uŋs čhebčhe'pa pi yelo'.

'Yes, each of the two is fat.'

Ağu'yapi-blu' etaŋ' wačhiŋ' kte kišto'.

'I'll need some flour.'

Hi...ya', he misuŋ'kala <u>kšt</u>.

'No - he is too my younger brother!'

 $k^2 u\eta$ : e-ablaut.  $k^2 u\eta$  marks a strongly asserted fact; it is often used to make it clear that the reference is to past lime or completed action,  $k^2 u\eta$  is pronounced **[uŋ]** in rapid speech.

Li'la hu'-masta'ka čha he'čhamu wačhiŋ' šni  $\underline{k}^2 \underline{u} \underline{n}$ .

'I'm very tired and I do not want to do that!'

Hokši'la kiŋ iye'ya pi <u>k</u><sup>?</sup><u>uŋ</u>.

'The boys did leave.'

*kiŋ*; e-ablaut. *kiŋ* is also used to mark a strong assertion. It can have scolding or sarcastic overtones.

To'kša, ečha'mu kte kin. 'Just a minute. I'll do it!'

*kšt* and *kišto'* are probably built on this *kiŋ*.

Asserted opinions are marked by several enclitics that vary from mild to very strong, *waŋ* (men) and *ma* (women) mark a mild opinion; *yewaŋ'* and *yema'* are stronger, *waŋ* and *ma* require a-ablaut, *yewaŋ'* and *yema'* require e-ablaut.

*Way, he' heye'*  $k^2$ *uŋ he'čhetu se'ča waŋ.* 

'Hey, what he said there seems to be right, by gosh!'

Ši'yi, ka<sup>?</sup>ičhišniyaŋ e'gnake <u>yema'</u>!

'Mercy me, he went and put it wrong!'

 $\check{h}\check{c}A$ ; e-ablaut.  $\check{h}\check{c}A$  is widely used in Lakhota to strengthen the force of an accompanying word. It is thus much more free than most enclitics in terms of its sequential relations with other words. As a sentence-final enclitic,  $\check{h}\check{c}A$  marks an emphatic statement.

Compare these examples of the two related uses of  $h \check{c} A$  (word emphasizer versus sentence emphasizer):

Osni' hče šni. 'It is not very cold.'

Osni' šni hče. 'Heh! It's not really cold!'

*inčhe'ye*; e-ablaut. *inčhe'ye* asserts an opinion but presupposes that the interlocutor will agree:

Wino'na šuŋ'ka kiŋ wo'k<sup>?</sup>u šni <u>iŋčhe'ye</u>.

'Winona didn't feed the dog, <u>right</u>?'

Two (possibly archaic) enclitics mark assertions that the speaker believes to be true, but for which formal proof is lacking. These are *huŋše'* and *čhe'*; both require a-ablaut. The examples are from Buechel (1939).

Ehaŋ'k<sup>2</sup>uŋ mahpi'yata Wakhaŋ'-Thaŋ'ka-thi' kiŋ le' thiyo'pa huŋše'.

'Verily this is no other than the house of God and the gate of heaven!'

Ta'ku wo'wahtani wani'l taŋye'hči wo'?ečhuŋ ihuŋ'nikiya pi kta <u>čhe'</u>, eya'pi <u>čhe'</u>.

'<u>I believe</u> that they will finish everything blamelessly and well, as they say they will.'

ni'; a-ablaut. A strong wish that something might come-about is expressed by ni':

Hu-maka'weğe šni <u>ni'</u>.

'<u>I hope</u> I don't break my leg!'

Wakhaŋ'-Thaŋ'ka uŋ'šimala <u>ni'</u>!

'May God have mercy on me!'

Probably based on this ni' is šni' (note the stress), which expresses a similar strong desire, šni' requires e-ablaut.

He' šuŋ'ka kiŋ he' kte' <u>šni'</u>.

'<u>I wish</u> he would kill that dog!' '<u>He really ought</u> to kill that dog!'

*kiŋlo'*; e-ablaut. a strong warning is expressed by *kiŋlo'*:

Niya'htake kinlo'! 'Hey, watch out, he'll bite you!'

Two enclitics are used to mark emphatic negative sentences. These are *ka* and *kačha'*. Both require e-ablaut of preceding A-words.

Tase' he'čhamu wačhiŋ' ka!

'Of course I do not want to do that!'

Wo'waši-ečhuŋ' kačha'

'He certainly does not work!'

*kačha'* usually has sarcastic or deprecating connotations. A better translation for the last example would be 'Don't tell me he works!'

*škhA*'; a-ablaut. *škhA*' is used to indicate that the statement is received knowledge, something about which the speaker has no direct, personal knowledge. As such, it appears frequently in

historical and especially mythological narratives. Its meaning is 'purportedly, supposedly, allegedly'.

Ikto'mi ka'khena tokhe' ečha'čha oma'ni-ya' haŋ škhe'.

'Iktomi (Trickster) was walking around aimlessly over there (they say).'

*tkha*'; a-ablaut. *tkha*' is frequently shortened to *kha*'. The enclitic appears to have several somewhat similar meanings, but the principal use is in conditional statements.

Ma'za-ska' etaŋ' awa'<sup>?</sup>u kta <u>tkha'</u>.

'I should have brought some money.'

Čhaŋ' waŋ bluha'  $k^2 e'$ š siŋte'-ȟla kiŋ waka' $t^2$ a <u>tkha'</u>.

'If I had (had had) a stick I would kill (would have killed) the rattle snake.'

Lehaŋ'yela mat<sup>?</sup>a' <u>tkha'</u>.

'I <u>almost</u> died.' ('I would have died if...')

Wičha'hčala kiŋ he išna'la thi' he <u>tkha'</u>.

'That old man was living alone until recently.'

# **11. Selected Vocabulary**

The symbols *A* and *AN* at the ends of verbs in this list represent a vowel that changes, depending on grammatical context (4.3.2.6).

airplane kiŋye'khiyapi 'they make them fly (in them)'

alive ni'

animal wama'khaškaŋškaŋ 'those moving about on the earth'

ankle *iška'hu* 

ant thažu'ška

antelope thatho'kala 'antelope; domestic goat'

anus uŋze' 'anus; buttock'

apple thaspan'

Arapaho *Maĥpi'yatho'* 'Blue-sky (Indian)' (This is apparently a reference to tattoos.) Arikara *Phala'ni* 'Arikara, Ree' arm *isto'* arrow *wahiy'kpe* artichoke *phaŋği'* (Jerusalem artichoke; domestic turnip) ash tree *pse'ȟtiŋ* ashes *čhaȟo'ta* Assiniboine *Ho'he* aunt *thuŋwiŋ'* 'father's sister' (The mother's sister is called 'mother'.)

aurora borealis wana'ğiwačhi'pi 'spirit dance'

automobile iye'čhiŋkiŋyaŋke 'runs by itself'

awl See <u>needle</u>

axe nazuŋ'spe; iča'kse 'instrument for chopping'

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baby hokši'čala
be'bela (this is probably a loanword from French be'be')
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back *hiŋye'te* 'upper back' *čhuwi'* 'back below shoulder blades'

bacon wašiŋ' 'bacon; animal fat'

bad ši'čA

badger *hoka'* 

ball *tha'pa* 

bathe nuwAD' 'to swim, to bathe'

be e' 'be a particular one (of animate things only)';
haŋ' 'be upright (of inanimate things only)';

*he'čha* 'be such a one, be of such a kind'; *hiye'yA* 'be located here and there (of inanimate things only)';  $u\eta'$  'be, exist (of animate things only); be located somewhere (of all things)'; yukhAD' 'have, be (of intimate possessions only)'; *ni'čA* 'not to have, not to be (of intimate possessions only)' beads pšitho' beadwork wakšu'pi 'decoration' beans omni'ča bear matho' beautiful See good beaver čha'pa bed oyuŋ'ke bee thehmun'ğazizi'la 'little yellow banded fly' beer mnipi'ğa bell *ȟla'ȟla* belly *thezi'* bent *ško'pA* big *than'ka* bighorn sheep See mountain sheep bird *ziŋtka'la* bite yahta'kA bitter pha' black *sa'pA* blackbird *wa'hpathaŋ'ka* Blackfeet Sioux Siha'sapa

Black person Ha'sapa 'black skin'

blood we'

blue tho' 'blue; green'

boil  $pi'\check{g}A$  'to be boiling';  $pi\check{h}yA'$  'to cause to boil'

bone *hohu'*,

book wo'wapi 'book; letter; flag'

bow *ita'zipa* 

boy hokši'la

brain *nasu'la* 

brave ohi'tikA

bread ağu'yapi

break kawe'ğA

breast aze' 'female breast'

breechcloth čhegna'ke 'penis cover'

bring *ahi'* 'to bring here';  $a^2 u'$  'to be bringing here'; *ahi'yu* 'to leave to bring here'; *agli'* 'to bring home here'; *aku'* 'to be bringing home here'; *agli'yaču* 'to leave to bring home here'

brother *čhiye'* 'older brother of a man'; *thiblo'* 'older brother of a woman'; *suŋka'la* 'younger brother of man or woman'

brown ği'

Brule Sioux Sičhaŋ'ğu' 'burned thigh'

buffalo cow *pte'* 

buffalo berry maštin'čaphute' 'rabbit lip'

buffalo bull *thathay'ka* 

bug wablu'ška

burn *ile'* bum, blaze up; *špaŋ'* 'be burned, to be cooked (food), to be ripe (fruit)'

bush hu'

butcher pha'tA

butterfly kimi'mila

buttock See anus

buy ophe'thuŋ

buzzard heča'

cactus uŋkče'la

cafe owo'tethi'pi 'eating house'

calf of leg hučho'ğiŋ

carry on back  $k^2 i \eta'$  'carry; pack'

cat igmu'la

catch oyu'spA

chair čhaŋ<sup>2</sup>a'kaŋyaŋka'pi 'wood to sit on'

cherry See <u>chokecherry</u>

chest makhu'

Cheyenne Šahi'yela

chicken *khokhe'yah<sup>?</sup>aŋla*; *khokho'yah<sup>?</sup>aŋla* 'chicken, rooster'

chief ithaŋ'čhaŋ

child wakhaŋ'yeža

Chippewa see Ojibwa

chokecherry čhanpha'

church owa'čhekiye 'prayer places'; thi'piwakhaŋ' 'holy house'

claw šake' 'claw (of animal or bird); fingernail (of human)'

cloth mnihu'ha

cloud See <u>sky</u>

coat See shirt

coffee wakha'lyapi

cold *čhuwi'ta* 'to feel cold (internal sensation; used of animate things only)'; *sni'* 'to feel cold (external sensation; used of inanimate things only)'; *osni'* (used of atmosphere and weather)

come gli' 'arrive at home here'; gliču' 'leave for home here'; hi' 'arrive here'; hiyu' 'leave for here'; ku' 'be on the way home here'; u' 'be on the way here'

converse wo'glakA 'converse, talk'

cook *špaŋyAD*' 'to cause to be burned; be cooked'; see <u>burn</u>

corn wagmi'za

cottonwood wa'ğačhaŋ' 'brittle wood'

count See read

cow ptegle'ška, pteble'ška 'spotted buffalo'; ptewa'niyaŋpi 'pet buffalo'

cowbird wa'hpaho'ta

coyote šuŋn^ma'nitu 'wilderness dog'; maya'sleča

cradleboard iyo'k<sup>?</sup>iŋpa

crane phehaŋ'

crazy witko'

Cree Šahi'ya

creek wakpa'la

cricket psipsi'čala 'little hopper'

crippled *hušte'* 

crow khaŋği' Crow *Khaŋği'wičha'ša* 'Crow person'; *Psa'loka* (borrowed from Crow) cry čhe'yA cup wi'yatke 'instrument for drinking' cut waksa'ksA dance wačhi' 'to dance'; wačhi'pi 'a dance' day anpe'tu daughter čhuŋkši' deer tha'hča die  $t^2 A'$  'be dead' digging stick wi'wopta 'instrument for digging' dish wakši'ča do ečha'<sup>?</sup>uŋ, ečhuŋ' dog šuŋ'ka donkey suŋ'suŋla 'donkey; mule' door thiyo'pa dragonfly *thuswe'ča* dream *ihaŋ'blA* dress čhuwi'gnaka 'back cover' dried meat *pa'pa* drink yatkAD' drum čhaŋ'čheğa 'wooden kettle' dry sa'ka

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duck mağa', mağa'ksiča
eagle waŋbli'
ear nu'ğe 'human ear'; nakpa' 'animal ear'
earring owiŋ'
earth makha' 'earth, dirt'
east wiyo'hiŋyaŋpata 'where the sun comes up'
eat yu'tA
eat up thebyA'
egg wi'tka 'egg; testicle'
eight šaglo'ğaŋ
elk heňa'ka 'branched horns'
elm p^{?}e'\check{c}ha\eta
enemy tho'ka
fall (season) ptaŋye'tu
fall down hiŋhpa'yA
fat čhe'pA 'to be fat'; see also <u>bacon</u>
father ate' (term of address); ate'waye kiŋ 'the one I have for father'
feather wi'yaka
female wiŋ'yela
field See garden
fingernail See <u>claw</u>
fire phe'ta
firefly uŋze'blinkblink 'blinking arse' (jocose)
```
fish hoğaŋ' five *za'ptaŋ* flag wo'wapi flea psiča'la; ha'la flower wana'hča fly thehmu'ğa, thohmu'ğa, thahmuğa 'housefly; horsefly '; kiŋyaŋ' 'to fly'  $\log p^{?}o'$ food *wo'yute* foot si' forehead ithu'hu four to'pa, to'b fox thokha'la, šunği'la frog gnaška' gall bladder phizi' garden wo'župi 'garden, field' gasoline See grease gas station wi'gli<sup>2</sup>oi'nažiŋ 'gasoline stopping place' girl wičhiŋ'čala; See also woman give  $k^2 u'$ give back kičhu'

go yA'; be on the way there; glA' be on the way home there; i' arrive there; khi' arrive at home there; iya'yA leave for there; khiglA' leave for home there

goat tha'hča šuŋ'kala 'dog deer'

good wašte' 'good; beautiful'

goose mağa'šapa 'dirty duck'

government (U.S.) thuŋka'šila 'grandfather'

grandchild thako'ža

grandfather thuŋka'šila

grandmother uŋči' (maternal), khuŋ'ši (paternal)

grape *čhuŋwi'yapehe* '(it) wraps around a tree"

grass pheži'

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grasshopper gnugnu'ška; pheži'hophop 'grasshopper' (jocose) (note that /\mathbf{p}/ is not replaced by /\mathbf{b}/)
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gray *ȟo'ta* 

grease wi'gli 'grease; gasoline, oil'

green See <u>blue</u>

grind yukpaŋ'

Gros Ventre See Hidatsa

guts šupe'

hail wasu'

hair phehin' 'head hair'

hairpipe breastplate *wawo'slatawana'p<sup>?</sup>iŋ* 'hairpipe necklace'

hand *nape'* 

hard suta'

hat wapho'štaŋ

have *yuha'* (used only of alienable things); see also <u>be</u>

hawk čhetaŋ'

head nata', pha'

hear  $na\check{h}^{?}u\eta'$ 

heart čhaŋte'

heavy tke'

heron hokha'

Hidatsa *Hewa'ktokta* 'Hidatsa, Gros Ventre'

high waŋka'tuya

hill paha'

hit aphA'

horns he'

horse *šuŋ'kawakhaŋ'* 'wonderful dog' draft horse *šuŋn^wo'waši* 'working horse' mare *šuŋn^wiŋ'yela* 'female horse' saddle horse *šuŋk<sup>²</sup>a'kaŋyaŋkapi* 'horse they sit on' stallion *šuŋn^khi'yuȟa* 'breeding horse'

hospital okhu'žethi'pi 'sick house'

hot *kha'tA* 

house čhaŋ'thipi 'wooden lodge'

Hunkpapa Sioux Hunkpapa, Standing Rock Sioux'

husband hiŋgna'

ice čha'ğa

Indian Lakho'ta 'Sioux Indian; American Indian'

iron see metal

jail oka'škethi'pi 'detention house'

jerkey waka'blapi 'what has been pounded flat'

jump *psi'čA* 

June berry wi'pazuŋtka. wi'pazuŋtkaŋ, wi'pazukha

kettle čhe'ğa

kick nahta'kA

kidney ažuŋ'tka

kill kte'

knee čhaŋkpe'

knife mi'la

know *slolyA*'

lake *ble'* 

land makho'čhe

laugh *iha'* 'laugh; smile'

leaf wahpe'

leather thehpi'

left-handed čhatka'

leg hu'

legging huŋska'

lie (recline) *yuŋkA'* 

lie down *h̃pa'yA* 

light in weight  $kap^2 o' \check{z} A$ 

lightning wakin'yantunwan'pi 'The Thunderers are blinking'

like *wašte'lakA* 'to like';  $s^2 e$  'like. as, as though'

lip, lower *iha'* upper *phute'* 

little či'k<sup>2</sup>ala, či'stila, či'sčila

live thi'

liver phi'

lizard agle'ška

lodge thi'pi

lodge cover *a'kahpe* 

lodge pole *thušu'* 

look for *ole*'

louse heya'

love thehi'la

Lower Brule Sioux Khulwi'čhaša 'Lower person'

lung čhağu'

magpie halha'ta; uŋkče'kiňa 'buries his dung'

make ka'ğA

male bloka'

man wičha'ša young man khoška'laka old man wičha'hčala

Mandan Miwa'tani

mare See horse

meadowlark thaši'yagnupa'

meat thalo'

medicine phežu'ta 'herbal roots'

metal (iron) ma'za

Mexican *spayo'la* (This is probably a loanword from. French *espagnol*)

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milk asaŋ'pi
Milky Way wana'ğithačhaŋ'ku 'ghost road'
mink i'khusaŋ
Minneconjou Sioux Mnikho'wožu 'those who plant by water', Mnikho'waŋžu
mirror mi'yoglas<sup>?</sup>iŋ
moccasin haym<sup>2</sup>i'kčeka 'ordinary shoe'
money ma'zaska' 'silver' 'white metal'
moon wi' 'luminary'; hanhe'piwi' 'night luminary'
mosquito čhaphuŋ'ka
mother ina' (term of address); ina'waye kiŋ 'the one I have for mother'
mountain he'
mountain lion igmu'than'ka 'big cat'
mountain sheep he'čhinškayapi 'they make spoons from their horns'
mouse ithuŋ'kala
mouth i'
movie wo'wapiškaŋškaŋ 'moving picture'
mule See <u>donkey</u>
muskrat sinkphe', sinkphe'la
mustache phutiŋ'hiŋ 'upper lip hair'
narrow o\check{c}i'k^{2}a
navel čhekpa'
necklace wana'p<sup>?</sup>iŋ
needle thahiŋ'špa 'needle, awl'
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new (young) the'ča 'new; young" night *haŋhe'pi* nine napčin'yunka north *wazi'yata* northern lights See aurora borealis nose phasu' nostril *phahla'te* Oglala Sioux Ogla'la 'Oglala Sioux, Pine Ridge Sioux' oil See grease Ojibwa *Haha'thuŋwaŋ* 'those who live at the falls' old kaŋ' 'old, worn out' one *waŋ'či* (used in counting); *waŋži'* (used in specifying an amount) onion *pšiŋ'* otter *ptaŋ*' owl hinhan' pack wak<sup>?</sup>iŋ' 'backpack' paint See write pants See trousers parfleche bag *wo'kpaŋ* pemmican wasna' penis čhe'; susu' 'testicle(s); male genitals' people oya'te 'people; tribe'

pepper *yamnu'mnuğapi*, *yamnu'mnužapi* (This term originally referred to the berries of the hackberry tree.)

picture *ito'wapi* pig khukhu'še pigeon wakiŋ'yela pine *wazi'* Pine Ridge Sioux See Oglala Sioux pipe čhaŋnu'pa pipestem čhannu'pasinte' 'pipe tail' play ška'tA plum *khaŋ'ta* porcupine *phahiy*' 'sharp hair' potato blo' prairie chicken šiyo' prairie dog *pispi'za* 'squeaking, barking' puppy *šuŋĥpa'la* quillwork wo'ska quill owiŋ'ža rabbit *maštiņ'ča*, *maštiņ'čala* racoon wičhi'tegleğa 'striped face' rain *mağa'žu* rainbow wi'gmuŋke 'snare, trap' rattle wagmu'ha rattlesnake siŋte'hla 'rattle tail' rawhide *thaha'lo* 

read yawa' 'read; count' red ša' relative ota'kuye rib thučhu'hu rice pšiŋ' rifle ma'zawakhaŋ' 'wonderful metal' ripe See <u>cook</u> river wakpa' root *hu'ta* rope wi'khaŋ Rosebud Sioux See Brule Sioux run *iŋ'yaŋkA* sack wo'žuha saddle *čhaŋ'wak<sup>?</sup>iŋ* 'wooden back rack' salt mnisku'ya 'sweet water' Sans Arc Sioux Ita'zibčho 'those without bows" Santee Sioux Isaŋ'yethi say eyA' school owa'yawa 'reading place' see waŋyaŋ'kA seven šako'wiŋ sew kaye'ğA sharp (edge) phe'

sharp (point) phe'stola

shawl šina'

sheep *he'čhiŋškayapi* 'they make spoons from their horns' 'bighorn sheep, mountain sheep'; *ptiŋ'čala* 'domestic sheep'

shield waha'čhaŋka shin hublo' shirt (coat) o'gle shoe haŋ'pa shoot khute' short pte'čela Shoshone Su'suni shoulder ablo' sick khu'žA 'to be nauseous'; yazaŋ' 'to hurt' sinew khaŋ'

sing *loway*'

sister *thaŋke'* 'older sister of a man'; *čhuwe'* 'older sister of a woman'; *thaŋkši'* 'younger sister of a man'; *thaŋka'* 'younger sister of a woman'

sit yaŋkA'

sit down *i'yotakA* 

six ša'kpe

skinny thama'heča

skunk maka'

sky mahpi'ya 'sky; cloud'

sleep *ištiŋ'mA* 'to be asleep'

sleepy *ȟwa'* smoke šo'ta; uŋ'pA 'to smoke tobacco' snake *zuze'ča* snow wa' 'fallen snow'; iča'mna 'falling snow' socks huŋya'khuŋ soda pop kapho'papi 'bursting, popping' soft phayšphay'ža son čhiŋkši' soup wahaŋ'pi south ito'kağata speak *iyA*' spear wahu'kheza spider inkto'; inkto'mi spoon čhiŋška' spring (season) we'tu spring of water wiwi'la squash wagmu' 'squash; gourd' squirrel ziča' stand ogna'ke 'stand, chest'; na'žiŋ 'be standing' stand up ina'žiŋ Standing Rock Sioux See Hunkpapa Sioux star wičha'ȟpi stone *iŋ'yaŋ*;  $i\check{h}^{?}e'$ 

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store mas<sup>2</sup>o'phiye 'cashbox'

stove očhe'thi

sugar čhayhay'pi 'tree juice'

summer bloke'tu

sun wi' 'luminary'; ay'pawi' 'day luminary'

sunflower waħča'zi' 'yellow flower'

swallow išta'ničathay'ka 'cliff or barn swallow'; napčA' 'to swallow; to internalize knowledge'

sweet sku'yA

swim See bathe

table wa'glotapi

tail siyte'

talk See converse
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take  $a^{?}i'$  'to take or convey there'; akhi' 'to take or convey home there'; a'yA 'to be taking or conveying there'; aglA' 'to be taking or conveying home there'; e'yayA 'to leave to take or convey there'; akhi'yaglA 'to leave to take or convey home there'

take iču' 'take, get'

tall haŋ'skA 'tall; long'

tea wahpe' 'leaves'; wahpe'khalya'pi 'leaf beverage'

telephone mas<sup>?</sup>a'pha

ten wikče'mna

tepee See lodge

testicle *itka'*; see also egg

Teton Sioux Thi'thuŋwaŋ

thick šo'kA

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thigh (side) sičhaŋ'
  (front) šu'te
thin zizi'pa
three ya'mni
throat lote'
thunder wakin'yanhothunpi 'The Thunderers are calling'
tired watu'kha, hu'stakA
tobacco čhanli'
tomato See wildrose
tongue čheži'
tooth hi'
travois čhuwi'č<sup>²</sup>iŋpa
tree čhaŋ' 'tree; wood'
tribe See <u>people</u>
trousers unzo'ğiŋ
turkey wagle'kšaŋ
turnip thin'psila 'wild turnip'; see also artichoke
turtle khe'ya
two nu'pa, nu'm
Two-Kettle Sioux O^2 o'henupa 'those who boil meat twice'
uncle lekši' 'mother's brother' (The father's brother is called 'father'.)
use u\eta' 'use; wear'
vegetation wo'he 'weeds'
vulva šaŋ'
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wagon čhanpa'gmiyanpi 'wood that is made to roll along'

walk *ma'ni* 

warbonnet wapha'ha

warclub iŋ'yaŋkape'mnipi 'stone club'

wash *yuža'ža* 

water mni'

watermelon *špaŋ'šniyuta'pi* 'they eat it raw'; *wagmu'špaŋšni* 'uncooked squash'

wear See <u>use</u>

weasel ithun'kasan', ithun'kasan'la

weed See vegetation

west wiyo'hpeyata 'where the sun goes down'

wet spa'yA

whiskey mni'wakhaŋ' 'wonderful water'

white saŋ' 'dull white'; ska' 'clear white'

White man Waši'čuŋ, Waši'ču

wide o'pta

wife thawi'ču

wildrose unžin'žintka 'rose hip; tomato'

willow čhaŋša'ša 'red stem dogwood'; čhaŋwi'wila 'common willow'

wind thate'

window ožaŋ'žaŋglepi 'frame to admit light'

wing *hupa'hu* 

winter wani'yetu

woman wiŋ'yaŋ 'woman'; wikho'škalaka 'young woman'; winu'hčala 'old woman"

wolf šuŋn^ma'nituthaŋ'ka 'big coyote'

wood See tree

write owa' 'write; paint'

Yankton Sioux Ihaŋ'gthuŋwaŋ 'those dwelling at the end'

yellow *zi'* 

young See <u>new</u>