

REMARKS ON THE LAKHOTA ENCLITICS

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0. Introduction

This paper is a presentation of some functional and syntactic features of the class of Lakhota¹ particles called 'enclitics' by Taylor and Rood (TR:109-110).² The most complete and accurate lists and descriptions of the enclitics are in Boas and Deloria (BD:54-7 (§§56-57,59-60); 60-67 (§§63-64); 104-107 (§§139-146); 109-113 (§§149-153); and 156-159 (§§168-169,171)), Taylor (1974), and Taylor and Rood (TR:109-120).

1. The Function of the Enclitics

The Lakhota enclitics, like the Lakhota articles and conjunctions, have a basically syntactic meaning; i.e., in addition to whatever lexical meaning they may have, they function as markers of syntactic relationships, which fact implies that they can never be predicates.

On a more concrete level, enclitics also mark number, aspect, questions, modality, negation, and evidentiality. This makes them reminiscent of the AUX category proposed by Steele (1979:483-484, 510-511). Steele's AUX is a cross-linguistic category about which the following generalizations can be made:

1. It can occur in one of only three sentential positions—first, second, or final (Steele 1979:483). The enclitics of Lakhota all occur in sentence-final position.

2. It can contain elements expressing a limited set of notional categories. Steele (1979:483) gives the following list of possibilities, which is not exhaustive: modality, tense, subject agreement or marking, aspect, question marking, negation. If we exclude from this list the subject agreement or marking category and add plural marking to it, we get a rather accurate and detailed picture of the categories expressed by the Lakhota enclitics.

3. Steele (1979:484) also remarks that the relative order of elements within the AUX is constrained by the properties of the particular categories present, and to illustrate this, she shows that modality tends to occur at the periphery of the AUX. The same can be said of the order of the Lakhota enclitics: the aspect and number markers tend to come first, and the numerous modal enclitics tend to come at the end of the enclitic complex.

The most interesting similarity between Steele's AUX and the Lakhota enclitics concerns their function. Steele (1979:484) states that AUX

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provides a judgment about a series of arguments and a predicate, and that AUX is what makes a sentence out of a series of arguments and a predicate. Exactly the same is true for a Lakhota enclitic. The most important function of a Lakhota enclitic is to mark what precedes it as a sentence.

A similar type of syntactic marking can be found as a function of the article. In contradistinction to the enclitics, the articles are the ones that nominalize sentences and verbs, and they are the markers indicating that what precedes is an argument and not a predicate.

The articles are included in the class of topic markers as defined by Taylor and Rood (TR:49). I see no good justification for considering articles topic markers, as there can be as many as three articles for sentences with three arguments (subject, direct object, and indirect object). Unless, of course, Taylor and Rood use the term 'topic' as a synonym for 'argument', it would seem more appropriate to call the articles argument markers, although they often do happen to mark the topic of the sentence.

As articles and enclitics fulfill a similar function, occupy the same position with respect to the elements they mark, and are identical in form in at least two cases (ki and kʔuʒ mark arguments when they are articles, and mark sentences when they are enclitics), one could perhaps consider article and enclitic as two subclasses of one word class.

Similarities between conjunctions and enclitics can also be noticed, and perhaps conjunction is a third subclass of a word class that also includes article and enclitic. In fact, when a conjunction stands between two sentences, it seems to be, at least phonologically, in a closer relationship to the preceding element than to the one which follows. Three examples with the conjunction éyaš 'but' are:

- (1) Tákuni tokháʔukʔu pi šni éyaš, ʔkóyuspa pi.
'We didn't do anything, but they arrested us.' (TR:33)
- (2) Wakháyeža ki zápta pi éyaš, yánni khúža pi yeló.
'There are five children, but only three are sick.' (BL:4-23)
- (3) Blá wačhí éyaš, owákihi šni.
'I wanted to go, but I couldn't.' (EBd:193)

The surprising, but consistent, writing of a comma following éyaš in sentences originally written in the Colorado orthography may mean that éyaš is felt as a sentence ending word. Boas and Deloria do not seem to use any comma after éyaš, but with respect to the conjunction na 'and', they make the interesting comment (BD:144), 'the tendency in speaking is to make a short pause after na when it is a conjunction connecting clauses,' and write a comma in the illustrations of it:

- (4) míla wə iyé'ič'iyi na, yuhá yá hə
 'a knife he found for himself and having it he was going'
 (BD:144)

Conjunctions occasionally stand at the beginning of a sentence, but even in this position, and in the case of éyaš at least, a comma is sometimes written. Sentence-initial conjunctions certainly have to be described at a level above the sentence, which fact is also true for the enclitics. Enclitics can actually occur at the beginning of a sentence, as in:

- (5) Ya'ú kta he? Kte šni.⁴
 'Will you come? I will not.' (Bd:34)

It is clear that the verb wa'ú 'I come' has been deleted in the answer to the question, by some transformation operating on a level above the sentence.

Incidentally, the possible deletion of the verb in answers containing a verb and enclitics may well be another piece of evidence for the interpretation of enclitics as AUX, as the English translation of the above sentences shows that an AUX can be used as an answer without the verb in English, and probably in most languages.

The similarity of conjunctions and enclitics is also shown by the fact that some words function as conjunctions when they are between sentences, and as enclitics when they end a sentence, as for instance tkhá, khá, the precise meaning of which is hard to describe; as an enclitic it means something like 'almost' or 'but it didn't happen', and as a conjunction, it means 'only', or 'except that' (see TR:119-120 and BD:112-113 for more examples):

- (6) Mázaská etá awá'u kta tkhá.
 'I should have brought some money.' (TR:119)
- (7) thíl ní kta tkhá waktá yo
 'you will go in (there is nothing to hinder you); only take care' (BD:113)

Another similarity between enclitics and conjunctions is the fact that the conjunction na 'and' triggers a change of vowel in the so-called A-words,⁵ and this is the typical behavior of an enclitic, too. So, na changes the final vowel of a preceding A-word into an i, as do some enclitics like ktA 'potential, future'. Examples are:

- (8) Íyič'ilowə hı na watúktehəl iyəğ iyáyı na hetá šuğmánitu hótha'ı.
 'It was singing a death-song and all of a sudden it ran off and from there gave a wolf cry.' (LR:3; translation mine)

This sentence contains the A-words hA 'continuative Encl', and iyáyA 'to leave a place away from here in order to go somewhere else' (EBd:218);

- (9) yatki kte
 'he will drink it' (TR:28)

which contains yatkA 'to drink'.

2. The Syntax of the Enclitics

In this section, the Lakhota enclitics will be examined from the point of view of their position with respect to the preceding verb and with respect to one another.

In the usual meaning of the word, enclitics are morphemes which phonologically cannot be independent words, although they are independent on the syntactic level. However, not all the forms called enclitics by Taylor and Rood fit this definition equally well. Their first six position classes (TR:chart #6) can certainly be considered enclitics in the usual meaning, because the forms they contain are never accented, and in some orthographies (as BD) they are rather consistently written together with the preceding word. However, it is necessary to be very liberal with the meaning of the term 'enclitic' to use it for all the forms found in position classes 7 through 12 of Taylor and Rood (TR:chart #6), as is shown by the following facts:

- All position classes except 7 contain stressed forms; words with their own stress can be considered phonologically independent in Lakhota.
 - The order of these enclitics is in fact freer and more complicated than a chart with position classes will imply. So, it is possible for two or three enclitics of position class 12 to occur simultaneously at the end of one sentence. Examples, with the enclitics of class 12 underlined, are:
- (10) Wičáyakhe, hé šúka ki líla čépe ńce yeló.
 'You're right, that dog is very fat.' (EBd:114)
- (11) Tuwé ńca škhé ka, líla owéniwakhakha.
 'Who ever heard of such a thing; you certainly do tell lies.' (B:267)
- (12) (...) Lakhóta kihá wó'ikigni yuhá pi k'ų hená iyópteya pi šni škhé yeló.
 '(...) the Lakhota who had those resources did not observe them, it is said.' (LR:105; translation mine)

This freedom of position can in part be explained by the fact that

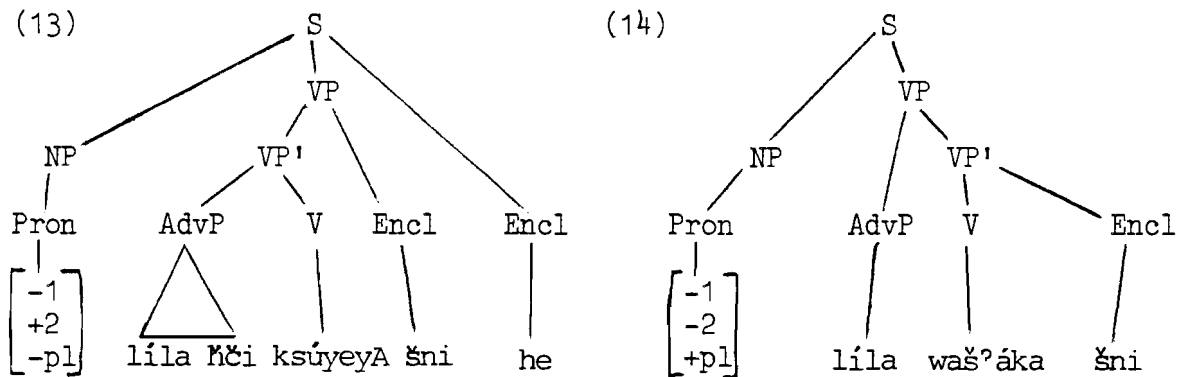
enclitics can be dominated either by a sentence, or by a verb phrase. It seems that the position classes which are closer to the verb (1-8) tend to be dominated by the verb phrase and that the later position classes (e.g. the evidentials, and enclitics expressing mood of the speaker (BD: 158-159)) are dominated by the sentence. But one would expect that some enclitics may be dominated by either verb phrase or sentence, and this is in fact what happens: there are at least two enclitics which can be dominated by a verb phrase or by a sentence, and may then happen to stand in different positions with respect to other enclitics. They are šni 'negative' and hča 'very, really'.

Examples of šni dominated by a VP or a VP' are:

(13) Líla hči ksúyeniye šni he?
'You aren't badly hurt, are you?' (BL:20-21)

(14) Líla waš'áka pi šni.
'They were very weak.' (Harrington 1939:107)

These sentences have the following phrase-markers:⁶

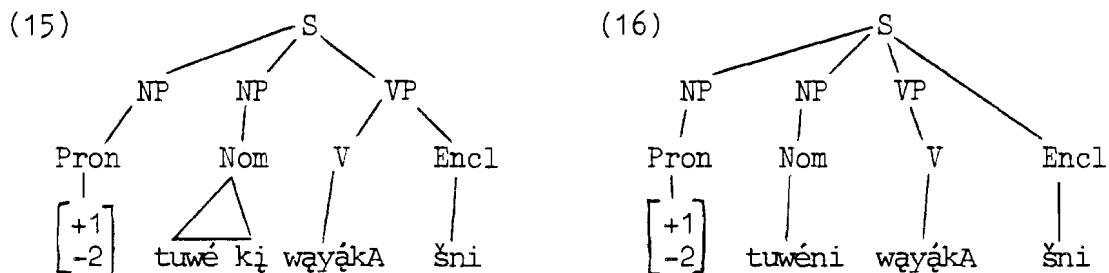


The following pairs of sentences show the contrast in form and meaning between S-dominated and VP-dominated šni:

- (15) Tuvé kɨ wabláke šni.
'I did not see who it was.' (BD:105)
- (16) Tuvéni wabláke šni.
'I did not see anyone.' (ibidem)
- (17) Táku wačí šni.
'I have no wants.' (ibidem)
- (18) Táku ni wačí šni.
'I do not want anything at all.' (ibidem)
- (19) H'okhá kɨ hűh hí pi šni.
'Some of the singers didn't come.' (BL:14-10)

- (20) Ĥ'okhá kɨ ʉǵéni hí pi šni.
'None of the singers came.' (BL:14-10)

The phrase-markers for the first pair of these sentences are:



The phrase-markers of the other sentences given above are exactly parallel to the two given here.

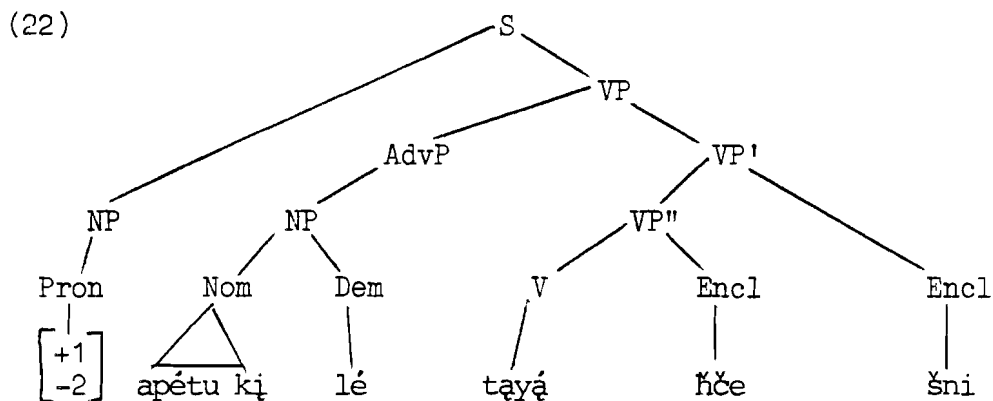
A Santee (Dakota) example containing ħčA dominated by a VP", and also šni dominated by a VP' is:

- (21) Anpetu kin de matanyan ħœ šni.⁷
'I am not too well today.' (Flute et al. 1978:53)

Translated into Lakota this would be:

- (22) Apétu kɨ lé matáyə ħœ šni.

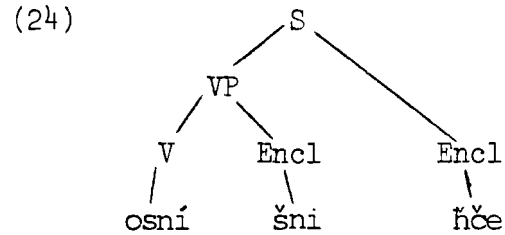
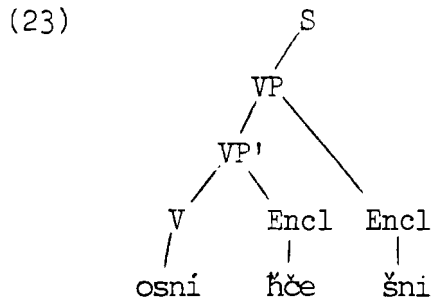
With the following tree:



The contrast between ħčA dominated by a VP' and ħčA dominated by an S is seen in the following pair:

- (23) Osní ħœ šni.
'It's not very cold.' (TR:117)
- (24) Osní šni ħœ.
'Heh! It's not really cold.' (TR:117)

With the following trees:



A third reason why some enclitics of the later position classes should not be called 'enclitics' in the usual sense of the term is the fact that some enclitics are formally identical or related to stative verbs.⁸ This fact was pointed out by Taylor (1974). For instance, the enclitics séčA, náčěčA of position class 9 (TR:112, chart #6), náčél, kačél (Taylor 1974:7), all indicating that the preceding statement is a conjecture by the speaker; sél, s'elél (TR:114, chart #6) marking a dubitative or an echo question, all have a similarity in meaning and a similarity in form (the element čha ~ čhe or the element čA ~ ča, or both of these following one another) with the three following verbs:

(1) iyěčheča 'to resemble somebody, to look like somebody' (BD:77) which can be an impersonal subordinating verb, as in:

(25) Hé khúža iyěčheča.
'She is apparently sick.' (Taylor 1974:7)

(2) s'elěčheča 'It seems', always used as an impersonal verb, as in:

(26) Šúka kị thaló kị yúte s'elěčheča.
'It seems that the dog has eaten the meat.' (TR:74)

(3) hěčha 'to be such', a stative verb which can be used as an impersonal subordinating verb meaning obligation, as in:

(27) Phežúta etá iyáču kte hěčha
'You must take some medicine.' (TR:74)

More transparent examples are kéyA and kéyA pi 'it is said', position class 10 (TR:113, chart #6), which are also the third person singular and plural of the verb kéyA 'to say that'. An example of enclitic kéyA is:

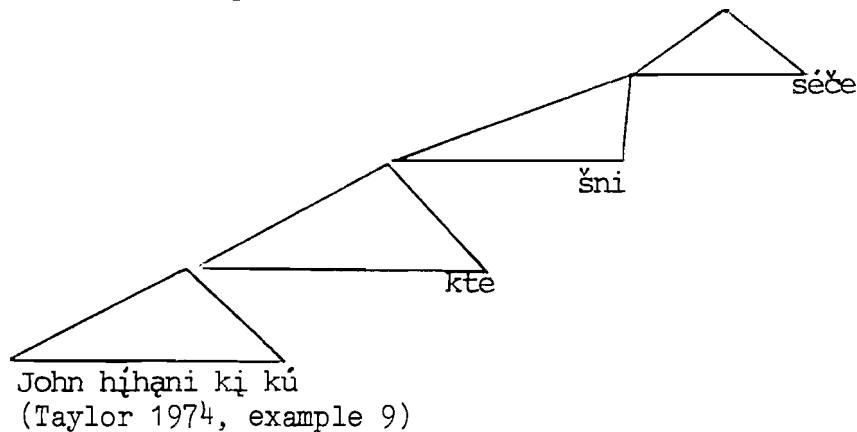
(28) Čhakhé thiblóku kị wəgláka kéye.
'And then she beheld her older brother, it is said.' (TR:113)

This can be compared with an example of kéyA as a subordinating verb:

- (29) Hé yí kta kéye.
'He said he would come.' (Taylor 1974:6)

This situation led Taylor (1974:6) to suggest that the Lakota enclitics may be predicates of higher sentences dominating the S, as seen in the following sentence and structure:

- (30) John híhąni kį kú kte šni séče.
'John probably won't come home today.'



This idea, however, seems incompatible with the conception of enclitics as units arranged into ordered position classes.

3. Conclusions

In this study, some arguments have been given in favor of the functional homogeneity of the Lakota enclitics (section 1). This homogeneity contrasts with the heterogeneity of the enclitics with respect to their phonological and positional characteristics (section 2).

Obviously, there are several other topics related to the Lakota enclitics which deserve more study. One notices, for example, that the enclitics la 'diminutive, denoting feelings of endearment' (position 3) and kA 'rather, somewhat' (position 4) (TR:110-111, chart #6) are identical to the final parts of verbs such as the following:

- theńíla, otheńíla⁹ 'to love' (Bd:486, Taylor 1974:7)
 theńíkA, otheńíkA 'to be difficult, expensive, to be hard to bear'
 (Bd:486, EBd:250)
 theńíkela, otheńíkela 'to consider difficult' (Bd:486, Taylor
 1974:7)
 theńíkelakA, otheńíkelakA 'to value something' (Bd:486, Taylor
 1974:7)

which are all derived from theńí, otheńí 'to be difficult' (Bd:486, Taylor 1974:7). Moreover, la and lakA may be verb stems according to Buechel (Bd:322) and respectively mean 'to form an opinion of' and 'to have an

opinion of'. The existence of such stems is supported by the fact that pre-stem personal and possessive affixes are prefixed to the la in:

- (31) theñikewakila
'I value my own' (Bd:486)

which contains wa-¹⁰ 'I' and ki- 'possessive'; an example with lakÁ is:

- (32) waštéwalake
'I like him, it' (EBd:294)

from waštélakA 'to like', literally 'to consider somebody or something good', as wašté means 'good'.

Morphologically fixed forms of other enclitics such as hčA also occur:

- (33) naháñči
'still' (EBd:241)

from nahá 'and';

- (34) takúñči
'anything' (D:105)

from táku 'something';

- (35) tháhča
'deer' (BD:71)

from tha- 'ruminant';

- (36) wičháñčala
'old man' (EBd:300)

from wičhá 'human being' (BD:71).

On the other hand, some enclitics which can occur within noun phrases do not seem to be morphologically fixed, and consequently do not have a sentence-forming function. Examples containing both a morphologically fixed la (written together with the preceding word and underlined here) and an apparently syntactic la following it, within one noun phrase, are:

- (37) Igmúla la kɨ amáglagla lañči ñpáye.
'The kitten is lying close beside me.' (EBd:173)
- (38) Šuñpála la čikčik?ala la kɨ lená hiyú na wawičhayakɨ nithó.
'Just come here and look at these little puppies.' (EBd:229)

NOTES

1 Lakhota (also called Teton Dakota) is a dialect of Dakota (also called Sioux), a language of the Mississippi Valley group of the Siouan family. Lakhota is mainly spoken in the reservations of western South Dakota.

This study is based on the material found in the grammars, dictionaries and texts listed in the References.

2 The following abbreviations will be used for references:

B: Buechel 1939
 Bd: Buechel 1970
 BD: Boas and Deloria 1941
 BL: University of Colorado Lakhota Project 1976, Beginning Lakhota (the number before the dash stands for the lesson number, the other numbers refer to the pages of that lesson)
 D: Deloria 1932
 Ebd: University of Colorado Lakhota Project 1976, Elementary Bilingual Dictionary
 LR: University of Colorado Lakhota Project 1976, Lakhóta Wayáwapi. Lakhota Readings
 TR: Taylor and Rood n.d.

Grammatical abbreviations are:

AdvP: Adverbial Phrase
 Art: Article
 AUX: Auxiliary
 Conj: Conjunction
 Dem: Demonstrative
 Encl: Enclitic
 Nom: Nominal
 NP: Noun Phrase
 Pron: Pronoun
 S: Sentence
 V: Verb
 VP: Verb Phrase
 VP': Verb Phrase dominated by a VP
 VP'': Verb Phrase dominated by a VP'

3 The Lakhota words and examples given in this article are written in the Colorado orthography, in the version described in Ebd:i-xiv.

4 The question ends in the future enclitic ktA and the interrogative enclitic he. The answer contains the same future enclitic and the negative enclitic šni.

5 A-words are words which can be written with a final A in the

Colorado orthography. This A represents the alternation a ~ e ~ i which is conditioned by a following enclitic or by sentence-final position. A-words show the parallel alternation a ~ e ~ i. Examples are given in TR:27-28.

6 The generative framework motivating these phrase-markers is that of the Standard Theory (Chomsky 1965), with the following main modification: the first rewrite rule is $S \rightarrow (NP) (NP) (NP) VP$. This rule implies that there is no evidence for giving one NP preceding a VP more prominence than another NP preceding the VP. The number and function of the NPs necessary in a well-formed S are conditioned by the lexical features of the V dominated by the VP. More details are given in the writer's University of Kansas Master's thesis (1982).

7 This example is quoted in its original orthography.

8 A Lakota verb is either stative or active. A stative verb can take the following set of stative subject affixes only: ma- 'I', ni- 'you', u(k)- 'I and you'. An active verb can take the following active subject affixes: wa- 'I', ya- 'you', u(k)- 'I and you' (or any of their morphophonemically or lexically conditioned variants), and sometimes the stative affixes as well.

9 The forms without o-, a locative prefix meaning 'in', are from Buechel (1970), the forms with o- are from the second source given; there appears to be no difference in meaning between a form with o- and a form without it.

10 Affixes and stems that do not occur independently are written with a following hyphen.

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