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 Lakhota\(^1\) 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
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 predi­
cate. Exactly the same is true for a Lakhota enclitic. The most impor­
tant 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 arti­
cles 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 (kį and kį3 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 ēyaš 'but' are:

(1) Tákuni tokhą?uk3pi šni ēyaš, ūkóyuspa pi.
'We didn't do anything, but they arrested us.' (TR:33)

(2) Wakȟáyeža kį záptą pi ēyaš, yánni khúža pi yeló.
'There are five children, but only three are sick.' (BL:4-23)

(3) Blá wačhi ēyaš, owákihi šni.
'I wanted to go, but I couldn't.' (EBd:193)

The surprising, but consistent, writing of a comma following ēyaš
in sentences originally written in the Colorado orthography may mean that
ēyaš is felt as a sentence ending word. Boas and Deloria do not seem to
use any comma after ēyaš, but with respect to the conjunction na 'and',
y 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:
Conjunctions occasionally stand at the beginning of a sentence, but even in this position, and in the case of éváš 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) Má zaská etá awá?u kta tkhá. 'I should have brought some money.' (TR:119)

(7) thil 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 í, as do some enclitics like ktÁ 'potential, future'. Examples are:

(8) Íyičó ilowá hí na watúktehal íyag iyáyí na hetá šúgmánitu hótha?í. '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 ḥā '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 yatká '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 kí líla čhépe ṇče yelo.
    'You're right, that dog is very fat.' (EBd:114)

(11) Tuwe ṇče škhe ka, líla owéniwakhkha.
    'Who ever heard of such a thing; you certainly do tell lies.' (B:267)

(12) (...) Lakhota kíhá wo'ikigni yuha pi k'ü hená iyópteya pi šní škhe yelo.
    (...) the Lakota 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 KČA 'very, really'.

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

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

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

These sentences have the following phrase-markers:

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

(15) Tuwe ḵṯw̱ḻáke šni.
    'I did not see who it was.' (BD:105)

(16) Tuwéni w̱ḻáke šni.
    'I did not see anyone.' (ibidem)

(17) Táku wačhí šni.
    'I have no wants.' (ibidem)

(18) Tákuni wačhí šni.
    'I do not want anything at all.' (ibidem)

(19) ḵ̱okhá ḵṯůẖṉi pi šni.
    'Some of the singers didn't come.' (BL:14-10)
The phrase-markers for the first pair of these sentences are:

\[(15)\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{Pron} \\
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
\text{Nom} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{Encl} \\
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+1]} \\
\text{tuwé kí wâyákA} \\
\text{šni} \\
\text{[-2]} \\
\end{array}
\]
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{Pron} \\
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
\text{Nom} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{Encl} \\
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+1]} \\
\text{tuwéni wâyákA} \\
\text{šni} \\
\text{[-2]} \\
\end{array}
\]
\]

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

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

\[(21)\]
\[
\text{Ampetu kín de matanyan hóe šni.} \\
'\text{I am not too well today.}' \text{ (Flute et al. 1978:53)}
\]

Translated into Lakhota this would be:

\[(22)\]
\[
\text{Apétu kí lé matáyá hóe šni.}
\]

With the following tree:

\[(22)\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{Pron} \\
\text{AdvP} \\
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
\text{Nom} \\
\text{Dem} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{Encl} \\
\text{Encl} \\
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+1]} \\
\text{apétu kí} \\
\text{lé} \\
\text{tâyá} \\
\text{hóe} \\
\text{šni} \\
\text{[-2]} \\
\end{array}
\]
\]

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

\[(23)\]
\[
\text{Osní hóe šni.} \\
'\text{It's not very cold.}' \text{ (TR:117)}
\]

\[(24)\]
\[
\text{Osní šni hóe.} \\
'\text{Huh! It's not really cold.'} \text{ (TR:117)}
\]
With the following trees:

(23) \[ S \rightarrow VP \rightarrow VP' \rightarrow V \rightarrow \text{Encl} \rightarrow \text{Encl} \]
    \[ \text{osni} \rightarrow \text{h\oe} \rightarrow \text{\~n}i \]

(24) \[ S \rightarrow VP \rightarrow V \rightarrow \text{Encl} \rightarrow \text{Encl} \rightarrow \text{h\oe} \rightarrow \text{\~n}i \]

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. This fact was pointed out by Taylor (1974). For instance, the enclitics se\text{\~c}A, na\text{\~c}h\text{\oe}A of position class 9 (TR:112, chart #6), na\text{\~c}h\text{\oe}l, ka\text{\~c}h\text{\~e}l (Taylor 1974:7), all indicating that the preceding statement is a conjecture by the speaker; s\text{\~e}l, s\text{\~e}l\text{\~e}l (TR:114, chart #6) marking a dubitative or an echo question, all have a similarity in meaning and a similarity in form (the element \text{\~c}h\text{\oe} or the element \text{\~c}A \sim \text{\~c}A, or both of these following one another) with the three following verbs:

1. iy\text{\~c}he\text{\~c}A 'to resemble somebody, to look like somebody' (BD:77) which can be an impersonal subordinating verb, as in:

(25) H\text{\oe} khuza iy\text{\~c}he\text{\~c}h\text{\oe}.
    'She is apparently sick.' (Taylor 1974:7)

2. s\text{\~e}l\text{\~e}che\text{\~c}A 'It seems', always used as an impersonal verb, as in:

(26) \text{\~s}\text{\~u}ka \text{\~k}i\text{\~t}hal\text{\oe} \text{\~k}i\text{\~y}ut\text{\oe} s\text{\~e}l\text{\~e}che\text{\~c}A.
    'It seems that the dog has eaten the meat.' (TR:74)

3. h\text{\~e}\text{\~c}A 'to be such', a stative verb which can be used as an impersonal subordinating verb meaning obligation, as in:

(27) Phe\text{\~x}\text{\~u}t\text{\oe}a et\text{\~a} iy\text{\~a}c\text{\oe}\text{\~c} kte h\text{\~e}\text{\~c}A.
    'You must take some medicine.' (TR:74)

More transparent examples are k\text{\~e}y\text{\~A} and k\text{\~e}y\text{\~A} pi 'it is said', position class 10 (TR:113, chart #6), which are also the third person singular and plural of the verb k\text{\~e}y\text{\~A} 'to say that'. An example of enclitic k\text{\~e}y\text{\~A} is:

(28) \text{\~c}\text{\~h}\text{\~a}k\text{\oe} thib\text{\~l}\text{\~o}ku \text{\~k}i\text{\~w}\text{\~a}gl\text{\~a}k\text{\oe} k\text{\~e}y\text{\~A}.
    'And then she beheld her older brother, it is said.' (TR:113)

This can be compared with an example of k\text{\~e}y\text{\~A} as a subordinating verb:
He yi kta keye.
'He said he would come.' (Taylor 1974:6)

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

(30) John hihani kiz kte sni sece.
'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 Lakhota 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 Lakhota 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:

thehila, othehila9 'to love' (Bd:486, Taylor 1974:7)

thekika, othehika 'to be difficult, expensive, to be hard to bear' (Bd:486, EBD:250)
thekikela, othehikela 'to consider difficult' (Bd:486, Taylor 1974:7)

thekikelakA, othehikelakA 'to value something' (Bd:486, Taylor 1974:7)

which are all derived from thehi, othehi '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-'I' and ki- 'possessive'; an example with lakA 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 NCA also occur:

(33) nahählçi
'still' (EBd:241)

from nahá 'and';

(34) takúählçi
'anything' (D:105)

from tákú 'something';

(35) tháählça
'deer' (BD:71)

from tha- 'ruminant';

(36) wičhählçała
'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 kį amáglagla laŋči ḱpáye.
'The kitten is lying close beside me.' (EBd:173)

(38) Šúpála la čikčik'ala la kį lená hįyú na wwičhayakį níthó.
'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
   ED:  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, Lakhota 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 kťA and the interrogative enclitic he. The answer contains the same future enclitic and the negative enclitic sńi.

5 A-words are words which can be written with a final A in the
Colorado orthography. This A represents the alternation a ~ e ~ ə which is conditioned by a following enclitic or by sentence-final position. ɬ-words show the parallel alternation ɬ ~ e ~ ə. 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 → (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 Lakhota verb is either stative or active. A stative verb can take the following set of stative subject affixes only: ma- 'I', ni- 'you', ɬ(k)- 'I and you'. An active verb can take the following active subject affixes: wa- 'I', ya- 'you', ɬ(k)- 'I and you' (or any of their morphophonemically or lexically conditioned variants), and sometimes the stative affixes as well.

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

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

REFERENCES


Harrington, John P., and John Badheart Bull. [1939]. *Lakota Primer. Lakhóta Thawówapi - Sioux His Book*. (Former BAE manuscript no. 4796 in National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.) [pagination mine, WdR]


