

Serial Verbs in Lakota (Siouan)

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1. Introduction

Lakota or Teton Dakota is a Native American language mainly spoken on reservations in North and South Dakota in the United States. Estimates of fluent speakers vary between 6,000 and 10,000. Lakota belongs to the Dakotan subgroup of the Mississippi Valley group within the Siouan family of languages.¹

1.1. SYNTAX AND WORD CLASSES

The basic constituent order is AOV or SV. In keeping with the verb-final type, Lakota is fairly strictly left-branching. Subordination is marked mostly by conjunctions which are homonymous with articles (Pustet 1995), adverbs, or elements that could be interpreted as coordinating rather than subordinating. Quite often, there is simply juxtaposition of the subordinate verb to the left of the superordinate verb, as shown in Pustet (2000b). As shown in §4, such juxtaposition is formally different from SVCs.

Lakota is a classical split-intransitive language; intransitive verbs come in two classes, one called stative, taking stative person subject prefixes, and one called active, taking active person subject prefixes (Pustet 2002).

Four word classes can be distinguished on morphological grounds: (a) stative intransitive verbs, most nouns, postpositions, and adverbs, inflected with stative person prefixes only; (b) active intransitive verbs, inflected with active person prefixes only; (c) transitive verbs, inflected with stative and active person prefixes; and (d) demonstratives, and the following particle-like elements: articles, conjunctions, various evidential and modal particles, and interjections, which are

¹ The database for this chapter is mainly from *Syntactic Combinations of Verbs in Lakota Sioux (Teton Dakota)*, a master's thesis presented for the University of North Dakota by Michael Robert Scott, in 1976. This thesis, although exemplary in thoroughness and unusual in sophistication, is not often mentioned in the literature, probably because it is a classification without theoretical discussion. However, it is a very detailed classification, based on a survey of textual material, grammars, and Scott's own fieldwork. I thank Scott for having made my own research much easier. Scott's data were supplemented with a survey of published and unpublished written materials. I am grateful to Sasha Aikhenvald, Bob Dixon, and the other participants at the workshop on serial verbs for their comments on earlier versions of this chapter.

TABLE 1. Lakota pronominal prefixes

	Stative (S)	Active (A)
1st	ma-	wa- (bl-, m-)
2nd	ni-	ya- (l-, n-)
3rd	ZERO	
3d plural	REDUPLICATION wičha-	
1st and 2nd	ɥ(k)-	

uninflected. There also exist nouns, adverbs, and postpositions which do not seem to take stative person prefixes, and which do not appear to belong in category (d). Recent research by Ingham (2001a) on noun and verb classes, and by Pustet (2000a) on postpositions, shows that there are valid syntactic reasons to distinguish nouns, verbs, adverbs, and postpositions from each other, regardless of inflection.

1.2. INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Lakota is head-marking, with no case marking whatsoever on noun phrases. All inflectional morphology is prefixal, and includes stative and active prefixes, several types of dative, benefactive, reflexive, reflexive-possessive, and reciprocal prefixes. Table 1 displays the stative and active prefixes of Lakota, which often occur in examples in this chapter.²

ZERO, REDUPLICATION, *wičha-*, and *ɥ(k)-* neutralize the stative/active distinction. The prefixes in parentheses are morphologically conditioned allomorphs. In transitive verbs, the subject is marked by an active prefix and the object is marked by a stative prefix. The order of prefixes is basically *wičha-* first, *ɥ(k)-* second, then the (other) statives, then the (other) actives. The expected sequence *ni-wa-* is replaced by the portmanteau prefix *čhi-*.

1.3. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

The derivational morphology of Lakota is overwhelmingly prefixal as well. It includes an indefinite object prefix, a set of locative prefixes, and a set of instrumental prefixes. This prefixation primarily derives verbs from verbs, sometimes, but not always, changing the valence in the process from stative to active or

² In Lakota examples, the University of Colorado Lakota Project orthography (Rood and Taylor 1996) is used, with the following modifications. *ḡ* is replaced by *γ* and *ḥ* is replaced by *x*, which have the IPA values. The reduced stress of the second element of Syntactic Compounds is marked with a grave accent. Enclitics are consistently written together with the preceding word; Lexical Compounds are written as one typographic word; Syntactic Compounds are written with a hyphen in between the two components; and Verb Stripping constructions are written with a word space between the two components. In analyses, = marks an enclitic boundary, and the hyphen will also be used for morpheme breaks.

vice versa. All three types of derivational prefixes are sometimes used to derive nouns from verbs, but there is no unambiguous word-class-changing morphology. Suffixing is limited to a few adverb forming elements.

1.4. COMPOUNDING AND STRESS IN LAKOTA

Lakota uses compounding extremely frequently, and almost anything can be compounded with anything else (de Reuse 1994). Lakota has no less than three phonologically distinct types of compounding, and SVCs must belong to one of these three types. The three types are primarily distinguished by stress placement and/or stress reduction. In the first type, one stress is assigned as though the compound were one word, that is, generally on the second syllable of the whole construction; in the second type, both members of the compound keep their stresses, but the stress on the second member is reduced; and in the third type, both elements are stressed as independent words. Chambers (1978) initially drew a distinction between the first type, which he named *Lexical Compounds*, and the second type, which he named *Syntactic Compounds*. I have called the third type *Noun Stripping* when talking about a kind of noun-incorporation (de Reuse 1994), but it also occurs with SVCs, and when it occurs there I will call it *Verb Stripping*.

As a result, one can make in Lakota a formal three-way classification of SVCs, corresponding to three types of compounding, which are pervasive in the language.

2. Definition and overview of Lakota serial verb constructions

For Lakota SVCs, a workable set of defining properties is the following:

- they share subjects; derivational categories do not need to be shared;
- V_2 is always intransitive, V_1 can be transitive, and thus have its own object;
- they are mono-clausal;
- they mark a single event;
- they are phonologically and prosodically one word (i.e. they are phonologically compounds).

The formal characteristics of SVCs and their morphosyntactic correlates are summarized in Table 2.

In this chapter, eighteen semantically distinguishable kinds of SVCs are discussed, as well as two ambiguous types, numbered as 1–20 in the leftmost column of Table 2. Explanations on the column headings are the following.

- ‘Ablaut if possible?’ In Lakota quotation forms, a word-final vowel *A* stands for an $a \sim e \sim i$ alternation, and the vowel *Ȧ* stands for an $a \sim e \sim i$ alternation. This alternation is conditioned by certain enclitics, by compounding, or by a

TABLE 2. Summary of SVCs discussed

Ablaut if possible?	Truncation if possible?	Subject on V ₁ or on V ₂ ?	Raising possible?	Meaning	Example numbers	Formal compound type
1. n/a	n/a	V ₁ , V ₂ or concordant	n/a	start V ₁ ing	1-2	Lexical C.
2. n/a	n/a	V ₁ or concordant	n/a	V ₁ passing by	3-4	Lexical C.
3. n/a	n/a	V ₁ , V ₂ or concordant	n/a	V ₁ out of, V ₁ in sight	5-6	Lexical C.
4. n/a	n/a	V ₁ or concordant	n/a	V ₁ and stand/sit/lie	7-10	Lexical C.
5. n/a	n/a	V ₂	n/a	go/come (back) and V ₂	11	Lexical C.
6. yes	yes	V ₂	no	be anxious to V ₁	12	Lexical C.
7. yes	yes	V ₂	no	plan, try to V ₁	13	Lexical C.
8. yes	yes	V ₂	yes	pretend to V ₁	14-15	Lexical C.
9. yes	yes	V ₂	yes	V ₂ (in order) to V ₁	16-20a, 33b	Syntactic C.
10. yes	yes?	V ₂	no	go/come (home) from V ₁ ing	21	Syntactic C.
11. yes	yes?	V ₂	no	be reluctant to V ₁	22-23	Syntactic C.
12. yes	yes?	V ₂ (S)	no	be able to V ₁	24a	Syntactic C.
13. yes	yes?	V ₁	no	be able to V ₁	24b	Syntactic C.
14. no	yes	V ₂	yes	V ₂ (while) V ₁ ing	25-27, 33a, 34b	Verb stripping
15. no	yes	V ₂	no	finish V ₁ ing	30	Verb stripping
16. no	yes	V ₂ (S)	n/a	become V ₁ suddenly	31	Verb stripping
17. no	yes	V ₂ (S)	n/a	become V ₁ gradually	32	Verb stripping
18. no	yes?	V ₂	yes?	idiomatic	34a	Possibly Verb Stripping with Syntactic C. stress
19. no	no	concordant or V ₂	yes	can V ₁	35-36	Possibly Verb Stripping without truncation
20. no	no	concordant	no	want to V ₁	37-38	Not an SVC

sentence boundary. The change of *a* (or *q*) to *e* or *i* is called ablaut. Absence of ablaut versus presence of ablaut is an important formal difference between Verb Stripping on the one hand, and Syntactic or Lexical Compounding on the other.

- ‘Truncation if possible?’ The final vowel of a word can be deleted, if the preceding consonant is an obstruent. This happens typically when the word is in some way subordinate to the following word. The obstruents that become final as a result undergo the following changes. The final stops *p*, *t*, *k* become *b*, *l*, *g*.³ The final fricatives *z*, *ž*, *γ* become voiceless *s*, *š*, *x*.
- ‘Subject on *V*₁ or on *V*₂?’ As mentioned, SVCs share subjects. There are no clear cases of switch-function serialization. However, for formal reasons, there may be subject marking on just the *V*₁, or on just the *V*₂, or on both, called concordant in Table 2. Concordant subject marking occurs with some Lexical Compounds, where *V*₁ is a verb of coming or going (lines 1–4 of Table 2). Other Lexical Compounds, most Syntactic Compounds, and all Verb Stripping constructions are inflected for subject on the *V*₂ only. Concordant marking reappears on verb sequences that are not clearly SVCs (lines 19–20 of Table 2). Subject marking on SVCs is typically with active prefixes; when with stative prefixes it is marked with (S) in this column.
- ‘Raising possible?’ As mentioned above, when the *V*₁ is transitive, it can be inflected for object. This object prefix can be moved from the *V*₁ to the *V*₂. I call this movement ‘raising’, a convenient term borrowed from early transformational generative theory, and used by non-generativists such as Pustet (2000b) as well. In my usage the term does not imply complementation or subordination. Raising has been attested only for lines 8, 9, 14, and 19 of Table 2, and might not be a reliable indicator of the existence of an SVC.
- The columns ‘Meaning’ and ‘Example numbers’ need no explanation.
- ‘Formal compound type’ classifies SVCs into three groups according to stress pattern, that is, Lexical Compound (lines 1–8), Syntactic Compound (lines 9–13), or Verb Stripping (lines 14–17). Lines 18–19 are dubious, hard to classify cases, and line 20 refers to what is most likely not an SVC.

One important question relating to this classification into three formal types is the possibility of a correlation between the semantics of SVCs and the type of compound involved. One expects the phonologically tightest type of compounding, Lexical Compounding, to denote actions conceived of as a unit, and the phonologically loosest type of compounding, Verb Stripping, to denote actions conceived of as less of a unit. Such correlation, although expected from a functionalist point of view, is not clear. For example, all three formal types of compounds can denote adverbial and secondary concept semantics. At a more detailed level a few correspondences emerge. For example, the closed classes of

³ The extent to which the final stops *b* and *g* are actually voiced varies from speaker to speaker.

TABLE 3. Lakota verbs of coming and going

	yÁ	í	ú	hí	glÁ	khí	kú	glí
[vertitive]	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
[approach to speaker]	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
[completion of travel]	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+

Source: Scott (1976: 28)

compounds of verbs of coming and going with verbs of movement or body stance (lines 1–5 of Table 2) can only be Lexicalized Compounds.

3. Discussion and illustration of Lakota serial verb constructions

3.1. SVCS WITH LEXICAL COMPOUNDING

A large group of SVCs involves compounds of verbs of coming and going, where either V_1 is such a verb, or both V_1 and V_2 are verbs of coming and going. Table 3 charts the verb stems of coming and going in Lakota.

The classification [+vertitive] means movement to a place where one belongs (such as one's home) or returning to a place one has been to before. The stems in Table 3 combine in two ways. The combination of the [+completion] stem plus the [–completion] stem (the other two features matching each other across the combination), results in an inchoative of the [–completion] form. The resulting forms, followed by the analysis, are in example (1).

- (1) iyáyA⁴ i-yA.REDUP 'to start going'
 khiglÁ khi-glA 'to start going back to where one belongs'
 hiyú hi-u 'to start coming'
 gličú gli-ku 'to start coming back to where one belongs'

(BD: 92)

Person inflection of these forms, illustrated with the *wa-* or *bl-* '1A' prefixes, is in (2).

- (2) ibláble 'I start going'
 wakhíyagle 'I start going back to where I belong'
 hibú or wahíbu or wahíyu⁵ 'I start coming'
 waglíyaču 'I start coming back to where I belong'

(Bch: 76, 83, 173, BD: 92–3, 101.

Ingham 2001b: 71)

⁴ This particular compound always occurs with the second stem reduplicated.

⁵ The form *hiyú* has the exceptional prefixes *b-* '1A' and *l-* '2A', which are archaic (Rood 2003: 101). Nowadays the regular active prefixes are used, as in the 1st person: *wahíyu* (BD: 101, Bch: 83) or *wahíbu* (Ingham 2001b: 71).

There are irregularities here, but basically the form is subject inflected once. The form *iyáyA* takes regular active person inflection on both parts of the reduplicated part; in the *khiglÁ* and *gličú* forms there is prefixing of *wa-* '1A' and a meaningless connecting *ya-* between the two stems.

If one combines the [+ completion, + approach] stems with the [– completion, – approach] ones (the [vertitive] feature of both stems matching), one gets a [– approach] form meaning 'to pass by, with a motion that is going or going back'. The resulting forms, followed by the analysis, are in (3), and are inflected for 1st person as in (4).

- (3) *hiyáyA* *hi-yA.REDUP* 'to pass by going'
 gliglÁ *gli-gIA* 'to pass by going back' (BD: 92)
- (4) *wahíblable* or *wahíyaye*⁶ 'I pass by going'
 waglíyagle 'I pass by going back' (BD: 87, Ingham 2001b: 181)

For *hiyáyA*, there can be inflection three times, on each part of the reduplicated part (as in *iyáyA* in (1)), as well as on *hí*. The form *waglíyagle* shows the same connective *ya-* as in *wakhíyagle* or *waglíyaču* in (2).

The [+ completion] stems also combine with the verb *naphÁ* 'to run off, flee, hide, go out of sight temporarily', to form [– completion] combinations which add the meaning 'out', as in (5). Some of the meanings are idiomatic.

- (5) *ináphA* 'to come or go out, to live through, to take shelter in or from'
 hináphA 'to come in sight; to come out of (something planted), to come up (as the sun)'
 khináphA 'to come or go forth out of; to have passed in going home'
 glináphA 'to come in sight coming home; to come out of' (BD: 75)

These are inflected in the 1st person, as in (6).

- (6) *ináwaphe* 'I go out'
 wahínaphe or *wahínawaphe* or *hináwaphe* 'I come out'
 wakhínaphe 'I go back out'
 waglínaphe or *waglínawaphe* 'I come back out' (BD: 75, Ingham 2001b: 71)

Regardless of where or how many times the inflection is physically marked (exemplified rather strikingly with *wa-* '1A' in (6)), it is clear that the forms in (1–6) are inflected once. This explains why in modern day forms, there is a tendency to have the inflectional marking once only.

⁶ This is presumably a more recent form, as it is inflected once with the regular active prefix.

Another type of Lexical Compound has verbs of coming and going as V_1 , and one of the verbs of body stance in (7) as V_2 . The meaning of these compounds is hard to describe succinctly. Scott (1976: 83) interprets such compounds as being ' V_1 and (then) V_2 ', that is, consecutive action. According to Chapter 1, if the meaning is consecutive, one would expect the construction to be symmetrical. However, I will suggest that these SVCs mark something more precise than consecutive action, and therefore do not have to be symmetrical. If one assumes that, in Lakota culture, movement is the default for a being, then immediately assuming a body stance at rest, in fact interrupting movement, is something worth marking in the morphology.⁷ I think these forms mark the immediate change from movement to a position at rest, and I will call them *aktionsart* marking.

- (7) $h\acute{A}$ 'to stand, remain' (inanimate objects)
 $n\acute{a}\acute{ž}\acute{i}$ 'to stand' (animate beings)
 $\acute{i}yotakA$ 'to sit down'
 $y\acute{a}k\acute{A}$ 'to be sitting'
 $y\acute{u}k\acute{A}$ 'to lie down'
 $xp\acute{a}yA$ 'to be lying'

(BD: 77, 95)

Examples with person inflection, illustrated with $wa-$ '1A', are given in (8)–(10). In most compounds of this type, one has the choice between inflecting the V_1 only, or both V_1 and V_2 , as in (8); on others both V_1 and V_2 are inflected, as in (9); when the V_2 is $xp\acute{a}yA$, only the first verb is inflected, as in (10). Again, I suspect that the modern tendency will be to inflect V_1 only.

- (8) $wah\acute{i}na(wa)\acute{ž}\acute{i}$
 $wa-hi-na-(wa-)\acute{ž}\acute{i}$
 $1A-come-ST-(1A)-stand$
 'I come and stand; I appear before'
 or: 'I arrived and stood still'

(BD: 84)

(Bch: 86)

- (9) $wakh\acute{i}nawa\acute{ž}\acute{i}$
 $wa-khi-na-wa-\acute{ž}\acute{i}$
 $1A-go.back-ST-1A-stand$
 'I reach home and stand; I stand again in my place;
 I recover my position'

(BD: 177)

⁷ For a discussion of the importance of movement in a nomadic culture such as that of the aboriginal Lakota, see Jahner (1980).

- (10) *wagłixpaye*
 wa-gli-xpayA
 1A-come.back-be.lying
 'I fall or lie down on coming home; I fall and lie down' (BD: 69)

Yet another type of compound is the following: V_1 is a verb of coming and going, always preceded by the presumably locative prefix *a-* 'on', and the V_2 can be any verb of action, as in (11). The meaning is 'upon V_1 ing, subject V_2 s'. Here also, there is an immediacy of passing from the verb of movement to a verb that might denote action, but not movement. Only the V_2 is person inflected in this construction. As for the construction illustrated by (8–10), I will call this construction *aktionsart* marking.

- (11) *ahí'awaphe*
 a-hi-a-wa-phA
 LOC-come-ST-1A-hit
 'I came and hit it' (Scott 1976: 113)

Secondary concept serialization is also carried out with Lexical Compounding. The secondary concept marking V_2 s involved are *ináxni* 'to be anxious to' (12), *wačḥi* (from *wačḥq-i*) 'to plan to' (13), and *kúza* 'to pretend to' (14). The V_1 undergoes truncation (12), and if truncation is not possible and the final vowel is A, it undergoes ablaut (13, 14). In (15) neither truncation nor ablaut are possible. Examples (13b) and (15a) show that V_1 can be inflected for the object. In (13b), there appears to be concordant marking of the subjects of V_1 and V_2 , since *čhi-* is a portmanteau morpheme including 1A. However, this concordant marking is possible only with *čhi-*, and not with other prefixes such as *wa-* '1A' or *ya-* '2a'. Possibly, this is evidence that in the grammar, *čhi-* counts as an object morpheme, even though it indicates both object and subject.⁸

- (12) *kos'inaxni*
 kozA-ina-xni
 wave-ST-be.anxious
 'He is in a hurry to wave it' (BD: 74)
- (13) (a) *aphéwačḥaṃi*
 a-phA-wačḥa-m-ī
 LOC-hit-ST-1A-plan
 'I am planning to strike him'
- (b) *ačḥíphewačḥaṃi*
 a-čhi-phA-wačḥa-m-ī
 LOC-2S.1A-hit-ST-1A-plan
 'I try to strike you' (BD: 99)

⁸ I have to check with native speakers whether, instead of (13b), it is possible to say **aníphewačḥaṃi*, also meaning: 'I try to strike you', but with *ni-* '2s' instead of *čhi-*. I predict that it is not possible. Interestingly, from a diachronic point of view, *čhi-* is a second person form.

- (14) tųwéwakųze
 tųwA-wa-kųzA
 see-1A-pretend
 'I pretend to see' (Bch: 148)

At least with the V_2 *kųzA*, raising can occur (15b).⁹

- (15) (a) nawíchax'ųwakųze (b) nax'ųwíchwakųze
 na-wícha-x'ų-wa-kųzA na-x'ų-wícha-wa-kųzA
 ST-3pls-hear-1A-pretend ST-hear-3pls-1A-pretend
 'I pretend to hear them' (Pustet 2000b: 152)

To conclude regarding SVCs with Lexical Compounding, the main semantic types are aspect or *aktionsart* marking and secondary concept marking. The pattern of subject marking depends on the construction. There is a tendency towards subject marking on the V_1 or concordant marking with the compounds of verbs of coming and going and/or body stance illustrated by (1–11). The other SVCs (12–15) have subject marking on the V_2 , which is, as we will see, the prevailing pattern.

3.2. SVCs WITH SYNTACTIC COMPOUNDING

There are three semantic types of SVCs with Syntactic Compounding. The first has the meaning: 'subject V_2 s in order to V_1 '. V_2 is a verb of coming and going (17–19), bringing or taking, travelling (34a), or body stance (16, 33b). In (20a) there is no truncation or ablaut possible, (16) and (18–19) have truncation, and (17) shows ablaut. The V_1 can be inflected for object, but is not inflected for subject.

- (16) wóglag-nawàžì
 wa-o-k-yakA-na-wa-žì (wa-ó- coalesce into wó-)
 INDS-LOC-POSS-tell-ST-1a-stand
 'I stood for the purpose of talking' (BD: 84)
- (17) hignąye-ųyąpi
 hignąA-ųk-yA=pi
 marry-1'2A-go=PL
 'We are going to marry him' (D: 130–8)

Also, at least with V_2 s of coming and going, raising is possible, especially in colloquial styles. Compare (18a) and (19a), without raising, with (18b) and (19b), with raising.

- (18) (a) wąńiyąg-hì (b) wąyąg-nihì
 wą-ni-yakA-hi wą-yakA-ni-hi
 ST-2s-see-come ST-see-2s-come
 'He came to see you' (RT: 461)

⁹ There also exists concordant marking of the object, as in *nawíchax'ųwíchwakųze*, also meaning 'I pretend to hear them' (Pustet 2000b: 152).

- (19) (a) *ičhíyux-wahì*
*i-čhi-yųγA-wačhi*¹⁰
 LOC-2S.1A-ask-1A-come
 'I came to ask you' (BD: 86)
- (b) *iyųx-čhihì*
i-yųγA-čhi-hi
 LOC-ask-2S.1A-come

This construction contrasts with non-serialized, functionally similar but less idiomatic equivalents, with roughly the same meaning. Compare the SVCs in (20a) with the non-serialized equivalent in (20b).

- (20) (a) *wačhí-hi*
wa-čhi-hi
 ST-dance-come
 'He came to dance'
- (b) *wačhíktačha* *hí*
wa-čhi = ktA = čha *hi*
 ST-dance = FUT = CONJ come
 'He will dance and so he came' (RTU: 27)

What makes the non-serialized equivalents biclausal is the presence of the conjunction = *čha* 'and so', which cliticizes to the previous word.

The second Syntactic Compound construction means: 'subject V_2 s (i.e. returns) from V_1 ing'. The set of verbs in V_2 must be one from the [+veritive] subset of the verbs in Table 3. I agree with Scott (1976: 37, 63) that this V_2 set appears to be in complementary distribution with the set of V_2 s of the first Syntactic Compound construction. So there is no formal distinction between the first and the second Syntactic Compound construction; the distinction between the two constructions is a matter of semantics. Ablaut must occur when it can, as shown in (21). There is no evidence for truncation, but one would expect it to occur. The V_1 can be inflected for object.

- (21) *nųwé-yaglìpi* *hé?*
nųwA-ya-gli = pi *he*
 swim-2A-arrive.coming.back=PL INT
 'Did you (pl.) come back from swimming?' (BD: 24)

The third type of serialization by Syntactic Compounding involves secondary concept V_2 s. One V_2 is *kapí* 'to be reluctant'. Thus the meaning is 'subject of V_2 is reluctant to V_1 '. Another V_2 is *phíča* 'to be possible, necessary'. The meaning is 'subject of V_2 is able/needs to V_1 ', or 'it is possible or necessary for subject of V_2 to V_1 '. Neither ablaut nor truncation can occur in (22). Ablaut can be seen in (23–24). There is no evidence for truncation, but one would expect it to occur. The first verb can be inflected for object, as shown in (22).¹¹

- (22) *čhikté-wakàpi*
čhi-kte-wa-kapì
 2S.1A-kill-1A-be.reluctant
 'I am reluctant to kill you' (BD: 86)

¹⁰ Note the apparent concordant subject marking with *čhi-*, discussed regarding (13b).

¹¹ Note again the apparent concordant subject marking with *čhi-* in (22), discussed regarding (13b).

- (23) nųwé-wakàpi
 nųwA-wa-kapi
 swim-1A-be.reluctant
 'I am too lazy to swim' (BD: 74)

The verb *phíča* is unusual in that V_2 is subject-inflected with stative prefixes, rather than with active ones, as is the case in most SVCs (24a). It is remarkable that a different pattern of inflection of *phíča* constructions has emerged for some speakers.¹² These speakers inflect the V_1 for subject, and leave the V_2 uninflected, as in (24b). In this innovative construction, *phíča* no longer behaves like the V_2 of a typical SVC, and appears to be in the process of grammaticalizing into an uninflected enclitic. Its meaning is that of a modal, and modals tend to be enclitics in Lakota.

- (24) (a) yé-maphíča (b) blé-phíča
 yA-ma-phíča bl-yA-phíča
 go-1s-be.possible 1a-go-be.possible
 'I can go; It is possible for me to go' (RTU: 19)

To conclude, SVCs with syntactic compounding can be of three semantic types: 'subject V_2 s in order to V_1 ', 'subject V_2 s (i.e. returns) from V_1 ing', and secondary concept serialization: 'subject of V_2 is reluctant to V_1 ', and 'subject of V_2 is able/needs to V_1 '. Only V_2 is inflected for subject, except that there is a more clitic-like form of the *phíča* construction which has only V_1 inflected for subject.

3.3. SVCs WITH VERB STRIPPING

The most common semantic type of SVCs with Verb Stripping have the meaning 'subject V_2 s, V_1 ing' or ' V_1 ing, subject V_2 s'. The actions or events expressed by V_1 and V_2 are largely simultaneous. The V_2 s of this construction are generally verbs of movement or body stance, but also can express a variety of actions such as asking, taking, telling, playing, and weeping. More research will be needed to determine whether the construction with this variety of V_2 s is symmetrical or asymmetrical.

In SVCs with Verb Stripping, truncation occurs if possible (26), (33a), as in Syntactic and Lexical Compounding. However, if truncation has not taken place, and V_1 ends in A (A), there is no ablaut (25), (34b). In (27), the ablaut is due only to the intervening enclitic *šni*, which triggers ablaut on the word it attaches to, regardless of the construction.

- (25) étųwā nážiḥapi
 e-tųwA na-ži=hA=pi
 ST-look ST-stand=CONT=PL
 'They stood looking' (BD: 52-9)

¹² The fact that neither Boas and Deloria (1941), nor Buechel (1939), nor Scott (1976) mention this second pattern of inflection is evidence that it is a recent one.

- (26) wəyǵg yǵké
 wǵ-yakA yǵkA
 ST-see sit
 'He sat seeing it' (BD: 164)

- (27) étuwešni okíyǵhapi
 e-tuwa = šni o-kíyǵ = hǵ = pi
 ST-look = NEG LOC-fly = CONT = PL
 'They were soaring, not looking; Without looking,
 they were soaring' (BD: 73-9)

Again, object inflection is possible (28a-29a). Raising can occur as well, at least with V_2 s of body stance. Compare (28a) and (29a) without raising, to (28b) and (29b), with raising.

- (28) (a) makípa náži (b) kípǵ namáži
 ma-kípǵ na-ži kípǵ na-ma-ži
 1s-call ST-stand call ST-1s-stand
 'He stands there calling me' (Pustet 2000a: 167, n.d.: 91)
- (29) (a) ačhíphe nawáži (b) aphé načhíži
 a-čhi-phe na-wa-ži¹³ a-phe na-čhi-ži
 LOC-2s.1A-wait ST-1A-stand LOC-wait ST-2s.1A-stand
 'I stand waiting for you' (BD: 86)

SVCs with Verb Stripping can also contain secondary concept V_2 s. These are definitely asymmetrical. The V_2 s involved are *yuštǵ* 'to finish', *híglǵ* 'become suddenly', and *ǵyA* 'become gradually'. In (30), there is no truncation possible; (31-32) show truncation. Example (30) shows object inflection on V_1 ; the V_2 s of (31-32) are unusual in that they are subject-inflected with stative prefixes.

- (30) wičhá'o bluštǵ
 wičha-o bl-yu-štǵ
 3pls-shoot 1A-INST-finish
 'I finish shooting them' (D: 114-16)
- (31) khúš mahígle
 khužA mahíglA
 be.sick 1s-become.suddenly
 'I become sick suddenly' (Bch: 214)
- (32) pús amáye
 puzA a-ma-yA
 be.dry ST-1s-become.gradually
 'I become dry gradually' (Scott 1976: 143)

¹³ Note once more the apparent concordant subject marking with *čhi-* in (29a), discussed regarding (13b).

4. Syntactic compounds, verb stripping, and other potential serial verb constructions

Since the same morphological material can be used as Verb Stripping and as Syntactic Compounding, minimally contrastive pairs occur, illustrating the semantic and stress differences. Compare (33a) with Verb Stripping, to (33b) (which was discussed earlier as (16), with Syntactic Compounding.

- | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|-------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| (33) (a) | wóglag | nawáži | (b) | wóglag-nawàži |
| | wa-o-k-yakA | na-wa-ži | | wa-o-k-yakA-na-wa-ži |
| | INDS-LOC-POSS-talk | ST-1A-stand | | INDS-LOC-POSS-talk-ST-1A-stand |
| | 'I stood talking' | | | 'I stood for the purpose of talking' |
- (BD: 84)

It is not clear whether the semantic contrast and the formal difference correspond iconically. In this regard, Boas and Deloria (1941: 73) mention that 'when two verbs are conceived as a unitary concept they are compounded'. What they mean here is that they become Syntactic Compounds. Their contrastive examples are (34a), apparently a Syntactic Compound, and (34b), definitely a case of Verb Stripping.

- | | | | | |
|----------|------------------------|-----|---------------------------|---------|
| (34) (a) | úštima-màni | (b) | úštima | máni |
| | úštima-ma-ni | | úštima | ma-ni |
| | sleep-ST-walk | | sleep | ST-walk |
| | 'He is a somnambulist, | | 'He walks while sleeping' | |
| | walks in his sleep' | | | |
- (BD: 73)

This pair is a nice example of iconicity: the closer the verbs are in surface structure, the more idiomatic the meaning of the whole combination is going to be. The idiomatic meaning has one main stress; the predictable simultaneous meaning has two even stresses. We cannot give the expected semantic interpretation to *úštima-màni* as if it were a regular Syntactic Compound: *'He walks in order to sleep'. Also, *úštima* ends in *A*, so in a regular Syntactic Compound one expects **úštima-màni*, with ablaut of the V_r . Evidently, the idiomatic construction has a formal irregularity. One can interpret *úštima-màni* as a case of Verb Stripping, hence no ablaut, and the simultaneous action meaning, which then lexicalized (or became an idiom) with a specialized meaning, and thereby acquired a Syntactic Compound type stress. So there is some evidence for distinguishing yet another type of Syntactic Compound, which is derived from Verb Stripping plus lexicalization and idiomatic meaning.

Finally, there exist in Lakota hard to classify cases of juxtaposed verbs, which look like Verb Stripping as far as stress pattern is concerned, but do not undergo truncation. Examples are (35–38). Example (38) shows that neither truncation nor ablaut occur.

The construction with the V_2 *okihi* 'can' is an ambiguous case. Its secondary concept marking semantics, and the fact that concordant subject marking is not obligatory (35b), and raising is possible (36b), might be evidence for it being yet another type of SVC, but one with neither truncation, nor ablaut, nor stress reduction. The evidence for a biclausal structure is weak.

- (35) (a) wawáchi owákihi (b) wachí owákihi
 wa-wa-čhi o-wa-kihi wa-čhi o-wa-kihi
 ST-1A-dance ST-1A-can ST-dance ST-1A-can
 'I can dance' (Pustet 2000b: 161)
- (36) (a) niwíčhayaya oyákihi (b) niyá owíčhayakihi
 ni-wiča-ya-yA o-ya-kihi ni-yA o-wiča-ya-kihi
 live-3pls-2A-cause ST-2A-can live-cause ST-3pls-2A-can
 'you can save them' (Pustet 2000b: 146)

In the construction with *čhi* 'want' (37–38), the evidence for a biclausal structure is stronger than for (35–36), and we have finally reached the point where an SVC analysis is implausible. Indeed, the obligatoriness of concordant subject marking (37b), and the absence of raising (38b), are plausible evidence for a biclausal structure. To be sure, more research is needed into a variety of more clearly biclausal structures, to substantiate this hypothesis.

- (37) (a) wawáchi wachí (b) *wachí wachí
 wa-wa-čhi wa-čhi wa-čhi wa-čhi
 ST-1A-dance 1A-want ST-dance 1A-want
 'I want to dance' (Pustet 2000b: 160)
- (38) (a) makhúža yačhi hé? (b) *khúža mayáchi hé?
 ma-khuža ya-čhi he khuža ma-ya-čhi he
 1s-be.sick 2A-want INTER be.sick 1s-2A-want INTER
 'Do you want me to be sick?' (RTU: 95)

5. Conclusions

I will conclude regarding the main interest of Lakota SVCs, and with some diachronic, typological, and areal comments. The main contribution of this chapter has been to show the robust presence of SVCs in at least one Northern Native American Indian language, and that they are manifested in Lakota by at least three different formal types of compounding, and §4 points to the possibility of there being more than three. Verb serialization is quite productive and diverse in Lakota, and the above discussion focused on the most common types.

In keeping with the predictions of Chapter 1, the most serializable verbs in Lakota are verbs of motion and verbs of body stance, and the overwhelming majority of V_2 s are active verbs. It is remarkable that several V_2 s can function in

more than one formal type of SVC, albeit with different semantics in each case. Several V_2 s of coming and going or of bodily stance can even occur in each of the three formal types: Lexical Compound, Syntactic Compound, and Verb Stripping. For example, *náži* 'to stand' participates in Lexical Compounds (8–9), Syntactic Compounds (16), and Verb Stripping constructions (25), (28–29), and (33a).

There is a tendency for Lexical Compounds and Syntactic Compounds to be clearly asymmetrical, and for Stripped Verbs to be less conclusively asymmetrical.

There can be enclitics on the V_1 , such as = *šni* 'NEG' (27), which do not rupture the contiguity of the SVC. However, the presence of other enclitics on a potential V_2 , such as articles (which are often subordinating)', = *čha* 'and so (CON)!', = *ktA* 'FUT' (Pustet n.d.: 91–2), or the combination = *ktA* = *čha* (20b), are reliable evidence that the construction is not an SVC.

As far as the origin of SVCs is concerned, it is clear that they arose from the compounding of two independent verbs.

Regarding the diachronic development of SVCs into other constructions, Pustet (2000a: 179) pointed out that many postpositions in Lakota originate from serial verbs. Actually, no less than fourteen of the postpositions in Lakota are perfectly homonymous with verbs,¹⁴ and out of those the four that can undergo truncation do undergo truncation.

There has been a tendency for some aspectual and modal V_2 s to become enclitics. This has happened to the enclitic = *hA* 'continuative or progressive aspect', obviously from *hA* 'to stand, remain'. This enclitic occurs in (25) and (27). As seen in (24), the modal secondary concept V_2 *phíča* is being reinterpreted as an enclitic. These tendencies are expected, in view of the diachronic behaviour of serial verbs in general.

Lakota has several causatives, which are suffixes, and therefore are not SVCs. However, the causative suffixes inflect for subject person as if they were Lexical Compounds. We can assume that the causatives were independent verbs at some earlier stage, and grammaticalized as suffixes.

From the areal point of view, the Lakota language was originally in contact with Native American languages from other families: Caddoan (Arikara, Pawnee) and Algonquian (Cheyenne, Arapaho, Chippewa), which appear to have very little verb serialization. This might be due to the fact that the Caddoan and Algonquian families are much more polysynthetic than a polysynthetic language such as Lakota. I have no information on the existence of SVCs in other Siouan languages, but I would expect them to exist, at least in the Mississippi Valley subgroup. I am not sure whether there are qualitative differences between what I call heavily polysynthetic languages and polysynthetic languages, but there are certainly quantitative differences, in that polysynthetic languages such as Lakota,

¹⁴ Ten other postpositions are not homonymous, but are transparently derived from verbs (Pustet 2000a: 179).

or Tariana (this volume), or Olutec (this volume), have fewer than fifty productive affixes, whereas very heavily polysynthetic language families (e.g. Algonquian, Athabascan, Caddoan, Eskimo-Aleut, Wakashan) have far more productive affixes, typically well over 100. My hypothesis is that the very heavily polysynthetic languages are not going to need verb serialization much, since its functions can be carried out by affixation.

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