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# 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.<sup>1</sup>

### 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 Scott's data were supplemented with a survey of published and unpublished written materials.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.<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>2</sup> In Lakota examples, the University of Colorado Lakota Project orthography (Rood and Taylor 1996) is used, with the following modifications. *ǰ* is replaced by *ɣ* and *h* 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 *Ā* 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 <sub>1</sub> or on V <sub>2</sub> ?	Raising possible?	Meaning	Example numbers	Formal compound type
1. n/a	n/a	V <sub>1</sub> , V <sub>2</sub> or concordant	n/a	start V <sub>1</sub> ing	1-2	Lexical C.
2. n/a	n/a	V <sub>1</sub> or concordant	n/a	V <sub>1</sub> passing by	3-4	Lexical C.
3. n/a	n/a	V <sub>1</sub> , V <sub>2</sub> or concordant	n/a	V <sub>1</sub> out of, V <sub>1</sub> in sight	5-6	Lexical C.
4. n/a	n/a	V <sub>1</sub> or concordant	n/a	V <sub>1</sub> and stand/sit/lie	7-10	Lexical C.
5. n/a	n/a	V <sub>2</sub>	n/a	go/come (back) and V <sub>2</sub>	11	Lexical C.
6. yes	yes	V <sub>2</sub>	no	be anxious to V <sub>1</sub>	12	Lexical C.
7. yes	yes	V <sub>2</sub>	no	plan, try to V <sub>1</sub>	13	Lexical C.
8. yes	yes	V <sub>2</sub>	yes	pretend to V <sub>1</sub>	14-15	Lexical C.
9. yes	yes	V <sub>2</sub>	yes	V <sub>2</sub> (in order) to V <sub>1</sub>	16-20a, 33b	Syntactic C.
10. yes	yes?	V <sub>2</sub>	no	go/come (home) from V <sub>1</sub> ing	21	Syntactic C.
11. yes	yes?	V <sub>2</sub>	no	be reluctant to V <sub>1</sub>	22-23	Syntactic C.
12. yes	yes?	V <sub>2</sub> (S)	no	be able to V <sub>1</sub>	24a	Syntactic C.
13. yes	yes?	V <sub>1</sub>	no	be able to V <sub>1</sub>	24b	Syntactic C.
14. no	yes	V <sub>2</sub>	yes	V <sub>2</sub> (while) V <sub>1</sub> ing	25-27, 33a, 34b	Verb stripping
15. no	yes	V <sub>2</sub>	no	finish V <sub>1</sub> ing	30	Verb stripping
16. no	yes	V <sub>2</sub> (S)	n/a	become V <sub>1</sub> suddenly	31	Verb stripping
17. no	yes	V <sub>2</sub> (S)	n/a	become V <sub>1</sub> gradually	32	Verb stripping
18. no	yes?	V <sub>2</sub>	yes?	idiomatic	34a	Possibly Verb Stripping with Syntactic C. stress
19. no	no	concordant or V <sub>2</sub>	yes	can V <sub>1</sub>	35-36	Possibly Verb Stripping without truncation
20. no	no	concordant	no	want to V <sub>1</sub>	37-38	Not an SVC

sentence boundary. The change of *a* (or *ɑ*) 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*.<sup>3</sup> The final fricatives *z*, *ʒ*, *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

<sup>3</sup> 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) iyáyA<sup>4</sup> i-yA.REDUP 'to start going'  
 khiglá khi-glá '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 wahíyu<sup>5</sup> 'I start coming'  
 wagliyaču 'I start coming back to where I belong'

(Bch: 76, 83, 173, BD: 92–3, 101.

Ingham 2001b: 71)

<sup>4</sup> This particular compound always occurs with the second stem reduplicated.

<sup>5</sup> The form *hiyú* has the exceptional prefixes *b-* '1A' and *l-* '2A', which are archaic (Rood 2003: 10). 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-*glA* 'to pass by going back'  
 (BD: 92)

- (4) *wahíblable* or *wahíyaye*<sup>6</sup> '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 *waglíyačú* 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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)  
 $n\acute{a}ž\acute{i}$  ‘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)  $wah\acute{i}na(wa)ž\acute{i}$   
 $wa-hi-na-(wa-)ž\acute{i}$   
 $1A-come-ST-(1A-)stand$   
 ‘I come and stand; I appear before’  
 or: ‘I arrived and stood still’

(BD: 84)

(Bch: 86)

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

(BD: 177)

<sup>7</sup> 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  $V_{2s}$  involved are *ináxni* 'to be anxious to' (12), *wáčhį* (from *wáčhą-į*) '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.<sup>8</sup>

- (12) *kos'ínaxni*  
*kozA-ina-xni*  
 wave-ST-be.anxious  
 'He is in a hurry to wave it' (BD: 74)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (13) (a) <i>aphéwáčhąmį</i><br><i>a-phA-wáčhą-m-į</i><br>LOC-hit-ST-1A-plan<br>'I am planning to strike him' | (b) <i>ačhípewáčhąmį</i><br><i>a-čhi-phA-wáčhą-m-į</i><br>LOC-2S.1A-hit-ST-1A-plan<br>'I try to strike you' |
|--|---|
- (BD: 99)

<sup>8</sup> I have to check with native speakers whether, instead of (13b), it is possible to say \**anípewáčhąmį*, 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).<sup>9</sup>

- (15) (a) nawíchax'ųwakųze (b) nax'ųwíchawakųze  
 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-ųųąpi  
 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)

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

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

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* (b) *wačhíktačha* *hí*  
*wa-čhi-hi* *wa-čhi = ktA = čha* *hi*  
 ST-dance-come ST-dance = FUT = CONJ come  
 'He came to dance' '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 [+vertitive] 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 *phíca* '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).<sup>11</sup>

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

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

<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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)

<sup>12</sup> 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) wəyáǵ                      yǵké  
 wǵ-yakA                      yǵkA  
 ST-see                          sit  
 'He sat seeing it' (BD: 164)
- (27) étuwešni                      okíyǵaḥapi  
 e-tuwaǵ = 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<sub>2</sub>s of body stance. Compare (28a) and (29a) without raising, to (28b) and (29b), with raising.

- (28) (a) makípa                      náži                      (b) kípǵ                      namáži  
 ma-kípa                      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) aḥé                      načhíži  
 a-čhi-phe                      na-wa-ži<sup>13</sup>                      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<sub>2</sub>s. These are definitely asymmetrical. The V<sub>2</sub>s involved are *yušṭǵ* 'to finish', *híǵlǵ* 'become suddenly', and *áya* 'become gradually'. In (30), there is no truncation possible; (31-32) show truncation. Example (30) shows object inflection on V<sub>3</sub>; the V<sub>2</sub>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                      mahíǵle  
 khužA                      mahíǵlA  
 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)

<sup>13</sup> 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,<br>walks in his sleep' |     | 'He walks while sleeping' |         |
- (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  $V_2$  *okíhi* '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) | wawáči        | owákihi   | (b) | wačí                | owákihi   |
|          | wa-wa-či      | o-wa-kihi |     | wa-či               | 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-wičha-ya-yA      | o-ya-kihi |     | ni-yA               | o-wičha-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 *čhí* '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) | wawáči            | wačí    | (b) | *wačí               | wačí    |
|          | wa-wa-či          | wa-čí   |     | wa-či               | wa-čí   |
|          | ST-1A-dance       | 1A-want |     | ST-dance            | 1A-want |
|          | 'I want to dance' |         |     | (Pustet 2000b: 160) |         |

- |          |                              |         |       |     |           |            |       |
|----------|------------------------------|---------|-------|-----|-----------|------------|-------|
| (38) (a) | makhúža                      | yačí    | hé?   | (b) | *khuža    | mayáčí     | hé?   |
|          | ma-khuža                     | ya-čí   | he    |     | khuža     | ma-ya-čí   | 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  $V_p$ , such as articles (which are often subordinating), = *ča* 'and so (CON)', = *ktA* 'FUT' (Pustet n.d.: 91–2), or the combination = *ktA* = *ča* (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,<sup>14</sup> 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 *hÁ* '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,

<sup>14</sup> 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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