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The Lakota verb

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Here I offer a set of ordered rules which attempt to define the set of possible predicates in Lakota, while characterizing the linguistic competence of the native speaker. I also list some of the affixes, go through some derivations, and conclude with some remarks on one of the instrumental prefixes.

I. Before listing the affixes, it will be necessary to present some evidence for several phonological interpretations I have made. I will not specify a complete set of distinctive features for the systematic phonemes of Lakota, but only discuss some possibly controversial interpretations. I disagree with the systematic phonemicization of Alyea in several respects. I have chosen to represent glottalized stops and continuants as the appropriate stop or continuant plus a glottal stop, aspirated stops and affricates as stop or affricate plus glottal fricative, and uvularized stops as stop plus uvular fricative. Most of the evidence for this interpretation. Alyea, Carol, "Some Sioux Phonological Rules," SIL Work Papers, 1971, U. of North Dakota

25.
ation is morphophonemic. In certain verbstems where there is a nasal vowel in the first syllable, it is necessary to analyze that syllable as beginning with a glottal stop in order to correctly describe the morphophonemic behavior of the stem. When a 'normal' stem begins with a vowel, we get such forms as \(_{ukapxe}^\) 'we two hit' from \(_{u}^ + \text{apxe}.\) But when the verb is something like \(_{u}^ 'use' we do not get \(_{uku}^ 'we two use', as might be expected, but rather \(_{uk?u}^ , which indicates that the verbstem has the underlying representation ?\(_{u}^ .\) This points not only to the existence of glottal stop as a phoneme, but also to the possibility of glottalized segments being derived from the sequence consonant + glottal.

Similar evidence exists for an analogous interpretation of uvularized and aspirated segments. A full presentation much be reserved for later in the paper, however (Sec. III). The 'irregular' verb \(_{eya}^ 'say' has the following partial conjugation--\(_{epxa} 'I say', \(_{eha} 'you say,' \(_{eya} 'he says,' etc. The description of this verb is simplified, and made more general, if a rule like \(_{y}^ goes to \(_{h}^ is used. The \(_{p}^ of the first person could then be treated as a reflex of the ordinary first person marker \(_{wa}^ , providing the independence of \(_{x}^ and \(_{h}^ is allowed, as in my interpretation. Whatever interpretation is
used, the complementary distribution of uvularization and aspiration must still be accounted for. In my interpretation ḷ is underlying, and ḷ becomes x before non-high vowels or high nasalized vowels. The existence of ḷ as a phoneme is of course not in doubt. So we would have the first person form epxa coming from epha, which brings out more clearly the underlying relationship between the first and second person.

Furthermore, although at least one heterorganic three consonant cluster does exist in Lakota, namely the suffix kšto, this of course does not provide a counter-example to a morpheme structure condition forbidding three consonant clusters. On the contrary, I think some such constraint does exist. In view of this, it is interesting to note that two consonant clusters consisting of a glottalized or uvularized stop plus another consonant are almost as rare as three consonant clusters like kšto.

Evidence of a weaker sort lies in the reversibility of the relevant CC patterns, at least with respect to uvularization.

An interesting theoretical question is raised here, turning around the empirical claim that glottalized continuants, of which there would be a full set in Lakota under Alyea's interpretation, are rel-
atively rare and 'unnatural' segments. Within the present theoretical framework then, would an evaluation device consider the single segment interpretation to be more costly than the separate segment interpretation, or would no distinction in naturalness be made at all?

II. The affixes. I would like to turn now to a listing of some of the affixes, and a partial categorization of them into groups.

A. Suffixes— I have in general decided to limit myself to prefixes in this paper, partially for the sake of brevity, and partially because the suffixes do not seem to be as directly involved in the verb, with the exception of pi, the plural morpheme, kte the future morpheme, and o or e, the imperative morphemes, as the prefixes are. Consider for example, the fact that when two verbs are conjoined by na, pi is the only suffix which must accompany each verb, the rest being found at the end of the sentence.

B. Prefixes— I have divided the prefixes into four groups.

1. This consists of the stem-integral instrumental prefixes, consisting of ka-, which indicates that the action of the predicate is characterized by striking, pa-, when the action involves pressure or weight, yu-, when hands are used to perform the action, and
\( \text{w}a- \), which is used when the mouth is involved.

These meanings are by no means clear-cut, as will be demonstrated in Section IV. These four prefixes are especially notable for the peculiar properties of their initial consonants. These have been called stem integral because of their close affinity with the basic stem. They are always found directly in front of it, and always accompany the stem which they modify, never moving up to higher or down to lower verbs.

Also in this group are \( \text{ki} \) and \( \text{kiči} \). These are not really indirect object pronouns, because they must be accompanied by pronouns in order to function pronominally. They might better be described as indirect objective or benefactive derivational affixes. They normally directly precede the above four, but can move to another verb in some cases (or fail to move to the principal verb).

Also patterning with this group are the reflexive and possessive adjectives, \( \text{ik'ii} \) (\( \text{ič'ii} \)) and \( \text{ki} \), respectively. All together, these group 1 prefixes form with the stem what I have called the composite stem, or C-stem. This is the point at which the pronouns occur (to the left of the C-stem).

2. The personal pronouns—Each one of the pronouns exhibits peculiar behavior with regard to different
rules, but they can be divided into the two broad sub-categories of active and inactive. 2

Active

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+PRO</th>
<th>+PRO</th>
<th>+PRO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>active</td>
<td>-sing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inactive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+PRO</th>
<th>+PRO</th>
<th>wiča</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-active</td>
<td>-active</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

as well as-- či which is wa + ni.

3. Marginal Prefixes-- This group consists of three instrumental prefixes, na- indicating that the action of the predicate is done with the foot (see section IV), wa- indicating that the action is done with a saw or knife, and wo- when shooting, poking, or blowing is involved in the predication.

Another member of this group is wa- (different in distribution from the above, in that it is ordered

2. It is not correct to call these ergative and nominative, respectively, for Lakota is not a true ergative language, this being defined as a language wherein there is one pronominal form for subject of transitive and one for object of transitive, subject of intransitive, and subject of stative. see Fillmore, "The case for case," in Bach and Harms Universals in Linguistic Theory pp. 53-55, 57-60. Also, Sapir, E. Review of Uhlenbeck, Het passieve karakter van het verbum transitivum of van het verbum actionis in Westen van Noord Amerika IJAL 1-82-86
before it.), which completes the predication of verbs. For example, from *yawa* 'to read something' comes *wayawa* 'to read' and *wablawa* 'I am reading'.

Also included in this group are a small number of syllables, which need to be specially marked marginal perhaps, so as to allow the personal pronouns to be inserted after them. This group would include such syllables as the *ma* in *mani* 'to walk'. Perhaps these are relics of a process of verb compounding (or stem compounding), but synchronically these behave, with several exceptions, like the other members of group 3. The features common to these semantically somewhat disparate elements I have tried to express in a phrase structure rule like V goes to M(margin) + C-stem. These elements of group 3 are all to be found under M in the tree.

There is some evidence that this is partially correct. For example, the group of seven apparently similar instrumental prefixes behave quite differently depending upon their membership in class 1 or 2. In particular the stem initial consonants of the group 1 prefixes are the only ones which undergo the various

3. One exception is *ceya* 'to cry'. This verb is conjugated normally—*waccya* 'I cry', but when other elements are used, such as *ki* or *kici*, these are inserted after *ce*, and then so of course are the personal pronouns—*wacckiya* 'to pray' *wacewakiya* 'I pray'. In one verb *ce* seems to be marginal, in the other integral. This may be related to the palatal affricate (see rule 4, sec. III)
changes to be found in the rules.

4. **Prepositional vowels**—Vowels of this type may have to be marked by the feature +prep. These morphemes exhibit some very peculiar behavior, both in ordering and within the rules. I have not attempted to account for the ordering in this paper. These vowels can occur in at least the following environments—

- wa + ___ + na, wa, wo (absolutive___instru.)
- ka, pa, yu, ya, + ___ + verb stem
- na + ___ + personal pronouns
- wa, wo + ki,kiči + ___ + verbstem

In some cases the prepositional vowel may occur in a different place within an identical set of stem and affixes, with concomitant change in meaning. Perhaps this could be expressed in a regular fashion in the lexicon, where a verb would be marked for whether its prepositional vowel occurred in the margin or in the stem.

The single most important peculiarity of prepositional vowels as far as the rules are concerned, is that they are assimilated by nasalized high vowels. In particular, this accounts for the peculiar behavior of the first person plural morpheme ą when the prepositional vowel stands alone in the margin.

Two or more prepositional vowels may occur in

composition. In this case, glide insertion rules similar to those which operate for the imperative are used, and the composed vowels take on the character of an ordinary marginal element. For example, oxloka el eyoŋ k'asni 'we peeped in the hole' o + k'asni 'look in or out' eyo + k'asni 'on the inside looking out' a'eyo + wa + k'asni 'I looked in from the outside'

III. The rules—Here we are confronted with the main problems—getting the constituents into the correct order and generating the correct shapes.

A.Order—I am principally concerned in this paper with what happens after the correct surface structures have been obtained. But I will present a few suggestions for phrase structure rules and means of correctly ordering the constituents of the verb.

S goes to NP + VP
VP goes to NP + V
V goes to M(margin) + C-stem

A tree would look like this

4. I took the terminology for this rule from Mathews, G.H., Hidatsa Syntax, The Hague, 1964 but I make no claim to have used it as he did.
Prefixes from group 1 are attached directly to the left of the C-stem node, in the following order: ki, kiči, ka, pa, ya, yu.

The elements of group 3 are marked +margin and are ordered as follows: wa, na, wa, wo + the irregular initial syllables like ma.

The plural marker pi is adjoined to the right of the C-stem node whenever any noun marked +plural (-sing) and +animate is dominated by the same S which dominates the verb. However, when wiča, the 3rd person plural inactive pronoun is present, pi is not adjoined.

After these processes have taken place (except for pi insertion perhaps), the pronouns are added in the following manner:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NP} & \quad + \text{X} + \text{M} + \text{C-stem} \\
& \quad +\text{PRO}  \\
& \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad \text{SD}  \\
& \quad 2 + \quad 3 + 1 + 4 \quad \text{SC}
\end{align*}
\]

Cond 1- \( X \) equals any constituents dominated by the same S node which dominates 1.

Cond 2- 2 and 1 command each other\(^5\)

With respect to this process, the pronouns are ordered in the following way:

1. wiča
2. ु
3. ma, wa, ni, či
4. ya

5. Command being defined as A commands B if B is dominated by the first S node over A.
A Third condition is needed to account for the behavior of $\mathfrak{u}$.

Condition 3- If $1$ equals $\mathfrak{u}$ and $3$ equals $\nu$ (one isolated vowel in the margin), then the transformation blocks.

Condition 3, along with the ordering of application, accounts for the fact that $\mathfrak{u}$ is not inserted when a single prepositional vowel is present in the margin, but is inserted if $\mathfrak{wic\mathfrak{a}}$ has been inserted. This is because after $\mathfrak{wic\mathfrak{a}}$ is adjoined to the right of the margin, there is no longer only a single vowel in the margin, and the transformation does not block.

Condition 2 may be too strong or incorrect in its formulation. I included it to account for the behavior of the prefixes with respect to the causative verb $\nu\alpha$. I have decided to treat $\nu\alpha$ as higher verb, for example napogewaya 'I made it swell'
In this case, since wa does not command the margin node in the lower sentence, it would not be inserted there, but rather to the right of the margin node of the upper sentence (not marked in the tree). Other verbs besides ya act in this manner.

B. Rules—there are the two basic types here of purely phonological and morphological, such as rule 7. The rules are to be applied in the order which they are numbered. Surface structure being somewhat shallow in Lakota, there did not seem to be much justification for the use of a transformational cycle, as developed in Chomsky and Halle's *The Sound Pattern of English*. Perhaps this could be fruitfully applied to stress phenomena.

1. \( \overline{V_{R1}} \) goes to \( i / \_++k_t_e \)
   " " " \( e / \_++ \)

As far as I have been able to determine, verb stems in Lakota fall into two arbitrary classes as to whether or not they undergo this rule. It is always the final vowel, and it usually is a. But that is as far as the pattern goes. In modern Lakota, a rule seems to have been added which nasalizes all i's derived from other sources before kte.

2. i goes to \( \emptyset / \_++ \)
   i goes to \( \emptyset / \_++ +o_b_s \quad \_++ \quad o_b_s \quad o_b_l_i_g_a_t_o_r y \)
   - obligatory
   + optional
3. ? goes to φ / [+cons] __ (+) [+voc -nasal] __

This rule accounts for the retention of underlying glottal stops on nasalized verb stems as mentioned in the introduction.

4. k goes to φ / [+voc +PRO \[ -3rd ps., -nasal \] ] + [+i +ç] \[ stem \]

This rule is involved in the derivation of the so-called 'short form' of the pronouns, which occur only before palatal affricates in the stem.

5. \[ [+voc \[ +active \] ] \] __ \[ go to φ \] + [+voc +nasal +high] \\
\[ [+voc \[ +prep \] ] \] __ \[ go to φ \] + [+voc +high] \\
\[ [+voc +sing \[ 1st \] ] \] __ \[ go to φ \] + [+i, y] \\

6. k goes to y / k __

This rule is tentative. No geminate consonants occur in the language.

7. y goes to l / [+pro +2nd \[ +active \] _marg. _nasal] __ [+voc -nasal] \\
\[ k + [+voc -nasal] \]

This rule is crucial to many processes. The notation in the first environment indicates that the change
takes place whenever \( ya \) is anywhere within the margin. Why only \( ya \) should function in this way and not \( wa \) is puzzling, and may have to do with the fact that \( ya \) can be either a singular or plural, while \( wa \) is only a singular pronoun.

7b. \( y \) goes to \( h \) / irregular
7c. \( yu \) goes to \( \emptyset \) / irregular

Rules 7b and 7c should be ordered before 7a, in which case the relevant irregular stems would be marked +R7b or +R7c, as required.

8. +voc goes to -nasal / l

There is a universal constraint on nasalization after liquids.

9. l goes to n / ___i +kte

Which is to say that l's derived by rule 7 change to n if they precede a vowel which has been altered by rule 2. This rule or something like it it necessary to explain the lack of nasalization in certain vowels which predece \( kte \) and should be nasalized. It would be nice (the rule would be more natural), if it changed l to n before nasalized vowels, but then an equally unnatural rule would have to replace rule 8 in order to account for the absence of nasalization in forms like \( wablaka \) 'I see'.

10. w goes to p / ___ +l

w goes to m / ___ +n
This rule should be written with variable feature specifications, but I couldn't figure out a simple way to do it.

11. \( \text{ya} \) goes to \( \emptyset / x + \_ + 1 \) cond- x is not \( +\text{PRO} \) equal to \( +\text{PRO} \)

Superfluous \( \text{ya} \) deletes except when preceded by a first person pronoun.

12. Contraction rules
   a. \( a + i \) goes to \( e \)
   b. \( i + I \) goes to \( i \)
   c. \( i + o \) goes to \( o \)
   d. \( i + e \) goes to \( i \)

In other words, a hierarchy of 'strength' would be back vowels stronger than front, high vowels stronger than low. Some additional glottal stop retention or insertion rules may be necessary in order to prevent this rule from operating when it shouldn't.

13. \( \emptyset \) goes to 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{+voc} & / \text{+Voc} \\
\text{+cns} & / \text{-cns} \\
\text{a flt} & / \text{a flt} \\
\text{+imperative} & / \text{+imperative}
\end{align*}
\]

This glide insertion rule inserts glides which agree in rounding (flatness) with the preceding vowel.

14. \( +\text{obs} \)\_ goes to \( +\text{voice} \)\_ \( (+) +\text{cns} \)

In other words, \( p \) and \( k \) go to \( b \) and \( g \) before \( m, n, l, w, \) and \( y \).

15. \( \emptyset \) goes to 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{+voc} & / \text{+obs} \\
\text{-syl} & / \text{-cont} \\
\text{+cns} & / \text{-obs} \\
\text{-voc} & / \text{-obs}
\end{align*}
\]
In words, there is an open transition between b, g and l, m, and n (but not before semi-vowels as in Alyeua's incorrect formulation (op cit)).

16. $k$ goes to $\check{c}$

\[
\begin{array}{c}
{+\text{voc}} \\
{-\text{low}} \\
{-\text{comp}} \\
{-\text{prep}}
\end{array}
\]

$k$ palatalizes after non-low front vowels, but prepositional vowels do not cause palatalization.\(^6\)

17. $h$ goes to $\emptyset$

18. $h$ goes to $x$

There does seem to be a constraint on uvular fricatives before high vowels even when not following a consonant.

19. $\emptyset$ goes to $k$

\[
\begin{array}{c}
{+\text{voc}} \\
{-\text{nasal}} \\
{+\text{prep}} \\
{+\text{high}}
\end{array}
\]

Both the PRO and prep features may be superfluous here. The $+\text{prep}$ could possibly be replaced by a second formative boundary after the vowel.

20. $\emptyset$ goes to

\[
\begin{array}{c}
{+\text{nasal}} \\
{+\text{voc}} \\
{+\text{cont}} \\
{+\text{obs}} \\
{-\text{comp}} \\
{-\text{comp}}
\end{array}
\]

21. aw\{a\}_o goes to o\{a\}_e goes to e

6. In Santee loan words, only $i$ causes palatalization, not $e$.\(^e\)
C. Irregular verbs, reflexives and possessives.
In this section, I would like to show how the analysis given above provides a simple explanation for the form of some 'irregular' verbs, as well as reflexivization and possession (Lakota has a form of the verb in which, more or less, the action is predicated on an object which belongs to the agent.)

1. Irregular verbs-- One type of irregular verb, which we shall see are not irregular at all, are the futures in mn-. For example, the verb ياة has the following conjugation-

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mnikte} & \text{ I will go} \\
\text{nikte} & \text{ you will go} \\
\text{yikte} & \text{ he will go} \\
\text{uyikte} & \text{ we two will go} \\
\text{uyapikte} & \text{ we will go} \\
\text{lapikte} & \text{ you plur. will go} \\
\text{yapikte} & \text{ they will go}
\end{align*}
\]

The ordered rules given above will generate all of these forms. Let us look at the derivation for the first person singular-

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wa} + \text{ya} & ++ \text{kte} \quad \text{underlying} \\
\text{wa} + \text{yi} & ++ \text{kte} \quad \text{rule 1} \\
\text{w} + \text{yi} & ++ \text{kte} \quad \text{rule 5} \\
\text{w} + \text{li} & ++ \text{kte} \quad \text{rule 7} \\
\text{w} + \text{li} & ++ \text{kte} \quad \text{rule 8} \\
\text{w} + \text{ni} & ++ \text{kte} \quad \text{rule 9} \\
\text{m} + \text{ni} & ++ \text{kte} \quad \text{rule 10}
\end{align*}
\]

This yields the correct form. It involves a certain depth of ordering, but all the rules, with the possible exception of 9, are independently motivated.

Note especially that the underlying 1 accounts for
the absence of nasalization in the final form. In modern Lakota apparently, this vowel is nasalized, indicating most probably that a rule has been added near the end of the grammar which nasalizes all high vowels before kte, regardless of where they are derived from. Note also that in the plural forms, the intervening pi prevents the crucial rule 1 from operating, yielding the radically different forms. These processes apply to a number of verbs which end in yo.

Let us look now at the verb gla 'to go home' which has the irregular future wagnikte 'I will go home' yagnikte 'you will go home' etc. The derivation of the first person proceeds as follows-

wa + kla ++ kte U.R.,
wa + kli ++ kte Rule 1
wa + kli ++ kte Rule 8
wa + kni ++ kte Rule 9
wa + gni ++ kte Rule 14

This yields the correct form.

Looking now at the verb oya 'to say' which was mentioned in the introduction, we see that it too has a strange surface form -- opxa 'I say', eha 'you say' eya he says' etc. I contend that the irregularity of this verb is reduced to the single irregular rule 7b. y goes to h, providing my segment interpretation is used. The derivation-
This yields the correct form. Observe how a linguistically significant generalization is lost, the similarity between the persons-- by not using a set of ordered rules to generate the forms.

Further evidence for the correctness of this interpretation is the fact that eya is conjugated normally with the active pronouns when ki intervenes after the prepositional vowel.

2. Reflexives and possessives.

Reflexives and verbal possessives are formed similarly in Lakota, and both fall out with the ordered rules given above. The normal reflexive marker is ič?i, which is inserted between the margin and the composite stem (and adjoined to the composite stem). The inactive pronouns are then used with this form. The interesting alternations occur with the y, k and p-stems. Consider ụwujiyaye 'to get ready'. For 'I get myself ready' the form is migluwujiyaye. Treating ič?i as being underlyingly ik?i, which presents no problem due to the independently required rule which palatalizes k after non-low front vowels, we get the following derivation--
ma + ik?i + yuwi,yeya
ma + ik? + yuwi,yeya rule 2
ma + ik + yuwi,yeya rule 3
m + ik + yuwi,yeya rule 5
m + ik + luwi,yeya rule 7
m + ig + luwi,yeya rule 14

This yields the correct form. Note the similarity between this process and the process which generates the ordinary conjugation of y-stems. Stems beginning in ka rather than yu undergo almost identical process, except for the operation of rule 6, which changes geminate kk to ky. The behavior of stems beginning in pa clearly point to the existence of a vowel and glottal stop deletion process, for in those verbs, nothing happens after rule 5, since p is not a semi-vowel nor does it become geminate.

For example, from papsy 'spill' we get kpapsy to spill one's own' as in-

asapi ki yakpapsy 'you spilled your milk'

The possessive 'your' is contained in the Lakota verb. So the underlying representation of the predicate of the above sentence would be

ya + ki + pa + psy

where ki is the possessive marker (not the same as the benefactive ki)
IV. Some remarks on the instrumental prefix na.

One of the most interesting features of the verb in Lakota is the variety of things which can be expressed within it, things which would require circumlocutions and separate phrases in other languages. In view of this fact, I was prompted to examine a bit more closely the meaning of the instrumental prefix na.

The most common meaning of this prefix is an instrumental one, indicating that the action of the verb was performed by, or related to, the action of the feet. Examples of this type are numerous, and range from the obvious—na?yu?ka 'gallop' náží 'stand' na?xtaka 'kick'—to the not-so-obvious like ná?p?e 'to raise a cloud of dust when walking' (from p?o 'fog') nápu?e 'to start a car(by pumping the accelerator) na?šna 'to slip, miss one's footing'.

The process of composition occurs with at least adjectives and verbs, and possible with nouns. Examples—na?šapa 'to soil with the feet' (from šapa 'soiled, dirty') na?šla 'to make bare with the feet' (from šla 'bare, bald') nablaya 'to smooth with the foot' (from blaya 'smooth, level') In general, the process of composition with adjectives follows the

7. It is difficult to ascertain the existence of noun composition, because of the frequent interchangeability of noun and adjective stems in Lakota.

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semantic pattern na + X equals render X with the foot, where X equals adjective. Verb composition is even more common.

But there are a large number of na-stems where the addition of na does not add an instrumental meaning to the verb. The meanings of these verbs fall into several rough categories, which occasionally overlap each other, indicating that further consolidation might be possible, given a greater subtlety of meaning distinction on my part. There are also several verbs which don't seem to fit in to any category, but surprisingly few. We get a broad category which might be labeled 'spontaneous action' and then four sub-categories as follows—

1. spontaneous movement
2. associated spontaneous noises
3. spontaneous bodily action
4. miscellaneous.

For example—

Class 1

naplaza 'to burst open(tire)'
naplaga 'to open up(umbrella)
naga 'to open up(wound)
nakawa 'to spring open'
nasnizo 'to burst'
nanana 'to come apart (swam)'
naslroka 'to fly out (cork)'
askahq 'to come loose'
naphope 'to burst with noise'
naphomni 'to twist of itself'
naplicabya 'to come loose'
nasuza 'to splinter, fly off'
Class 2

nagaga 'to spatter'
nakpakpa 'to crackle'
naoxpaga 'to snap'
napiza 'to creak'
namnuze 'to creak'
naxlaxla 'to rattle'

Class 3

načąčq 'to shiver, tremble'
nagnąka 'to twitch'
nasli 'to form swollen sores'
napča 'to swallow'
nasoka 'to thicken, swell'
nax'q 'to hear'
naša 'to blush'

Class 4

nakča 'to become smooth'
naša 'to blush'
naska 'bleach'
naskopa 'leak out'
na?iyoyake 'evaporate'

In general, when the na-verbs are used instrumentally they are conjugated with the active pronouns, which are inserted after na since it is +margin. From našpi 'to break off with the foot' comes nawašpi 'I break off with my foot.' Often na verbs require the causative auxiliary wa-- nagoya 'erase with the foot' nago waya 'I erase with the foot.' In other cases, na stems optionally take wa, with concomitant meaning change. For example, from naxpe 'to kick down' we can get both nawaxpe 'I kick down' or naxpe waya 'I cause to fall by kicking'
One exception to this pattern was found—the case of načqkuthq 'to wear a path'. Buechel gives the first person as načkuwathq, indicating that this might be an auxiliary verb of some kind (acquire, give birth to?). But my language helper, resisting this inflection, preferred to use the auxiliary ixpewa 'to throw down', forming načqkuthq ixpewa 'I wore a path'.

It is interesting to note that with certain na stems we can get the use of both the active and inactive pronouns, with no other morphological changes, but only a change in meaning. So, for example, from šli, meaning 'to ooze out' we get našli. If the active pronouns are used we get nawašli 'I squashed something underfoot' but with the inactive set we get namašli 'I broke out in swollen sores or pimples.' This is roughly what one would expect. But consider anamamna 'I ripped my clothes on something' vs. anawamna 'I ripped (burst) my shoe on something.' The only general pattern here is that the active pronouns seem to be necessary to bring out the instrumental (foot) meaning of the prefix na.

Another stem with a variety of possible derivations is pogo 'to swell'. From this stem we get napoge 'to swell of itself' and napogeya
'to make it swell (like dough for example)' Furthermore, we can also get the inactive pronouns with napoge as in namapoge 'I got a blister' When the verb is transitive, ma of course is then used as an object, as in namaxtake 'he kicked me' When a verb stem which can take either set of pronouns is used in this way, then an ambiguity results.

It is interesting to compare the active and inactive uses of na and vu, another prefix indicating the use of the hands, which seems to be more strictly transitive in its use than na. The difference is analogous to the use of English cook in the stew cooked and I cooked the stew. I shall call these cook₁ and cook₂ respectively, although Fillmore points out that this is not a difference of meaning but of case frame, lexically. (Fillmore, op. cit.) From xla 'ring' we get naxla 'to ring by itself (as an alarm or telephone). This is similar to cook₁. But from yuxla we get bluxla 'I rang (the bell).'

I found one further alternation of active and inactive meanings. One finds namapsipiče 'I go into convulsions' vs. owapsipiče 'I jump up and down (fruitlessly trying to get something).

8. To complicate matters even further, consider bluxla 'I rang (big bell) wakaxlaxla 'I rang (a little bell)' What is the role of reduplication in verb morphology. In some instances it appears to be a plural marker for inanimate things, in other cases it has an indeterminate function. In particular, notice the large number of reduplicated endings in the na verbs(3).
I suspect that it is only the prefixes of the margin which are susceptible to taking on a variety of both transitive and intransitive meanings. The stem-integral instrumental prefixes appear to be restricted to the transitive type represented by cook$_{2}$.

Obviously, there is a great deal of work to be done among these prefixes, discovering fully their syntactic and semantic functions. A careful examination of the complexities would be revealing for analogous phenomena in other languages, which are often incorporated in phrasal circumlocutions.
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