

Definiteness in Lakhotá

Robert D. Van Valin, Jr.

Department of General Linguistics

Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf

Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen

University at Buffalo, The State University of New York

VANVALIN@LING.UNI-DUESSELDORF.DE

1. Some basic typological facts about Lakhotá (Teton Dakota)¹

- A. Siouan language, spoken in northern US Great Plains region
- B. Verb-final, left-branching, head-marking
- C. Split-intransitive, secondary-object cross-reference system

- (1) a. Wičhaša ki hená wówapi ki Ø- wičhá- wa- k'u.²
man the those book the INAN-3plANIMU-1sgA-give³
'I gave the book to those men.'
a'. Wičháwak'u.
'I gave it to them.'
- b. Wičhaša ki hená wówapi ki Ø- ma- Ø- k'u-pi.
man the those book the INAN-1sgU- 3A- give-PL
'Those men gave me the book.'
b'. Mak'úpi.
'They gave it to me.'
- c. Hokšíla ki wičháša ki hená wowapi waŋ Ø- wičhá- Ø- k'u.
boy the man the those book a INAN-3plANIMU-3sgA-give
'The boy gave the men a book.'
- (2) a. Wa-lówaŋ Ya-lówaŋ Ø-Lowáŋ Uŋ-lówaŋ
1sgA-sing 2sgA-sing 3sgA-sing 1dlINCL-sing
'I sing' 'You sing' 'He/she sings' 'You and I sing'
- b. Ma-háŋske Ni-háŋske Ø-Háŋske Uŋ-háske
1sgU-tall 2sgU-tall 3sgU-tall 1dlINCL-tall
'I am tall.' 'You are tall' 'He/she is tall' 'You and I are tall'

¹ This research was supported in part by a fellowship from the Max Planck Society. I would like to thank Ms. Della Bad Wound, my Lakhotá consultant. Sources: B&D: Boas & Deloria (1942); Buechel: Buechel (1939); DBW: Della Bad Wound, personal communication; R&T: Rood & Taylor (1996), NLD: (Ullrich 2011)

² The 'Ø' glossed 'INAN' indicates that transitive verbs entail a specific undergoer argument, even though inanimate undergoers are not explicitly indicated morphologically on transitive verbs. With three-argument verbs Lakhotá shows secondary-object alignment, and therefore the recipient rather than the theme is the undergoer.

³ Abbreviations: A 'actor', ABS 'absolutive', AF 'aforementioned', ACC 'accusative', ANIM 'animate', CL 'clitic', CLS 'classifier', CMPL 'complementizer', DAT 'dative', dl 'dual', DM 'dependent-marking', ECS 'extra-core slot', ERG 'ergative', F 'feminine', FRM 'formative', FUT 'future', HM 'head-marking', HSY 'hearsay', IF 'illocutionary force', INAN 'inanimate', INCL 'inclusive', IRR 'irrealis', LDP 'left-detached position', LSC 'layered structure of the clause', NMR 'non-macrorole', NOM 'nominative', ORD 'ordinal', PAST 'past tense', PoCS 'post-core slot', PrCS 'pre-core slot', PRO 'pronoun', Q 'interrogative marker', RDP 'right-detached position', REDUP 'reduplicated', U 'undergoer'.

2. Lakhotá articles

(3) Definite articles: *ki(ŋ)* ‘the’ vs. *k’uŋ* ‘the aforementioned’(4) a. *wówapi ki* ‘the book’b. *wówapi k’uŋ* ‘the aforementioned book’ [must have been explicitly mentioned previously]

	Referential	Non-referential	Negative
Singular	<i>waŋ</i>	<i>waŋží</i>	<i>waŋžíni</i>
Plural			
Animate			
Human	<i>eyá</i>	<i>etáŋ</i>	<i>tuwéni</i>
Non-human	<i>eyá</i>	<i>etáŋ</i>	<i>tákuni</i>
Inanimate	<i>eyá</i>	<i>etáŋ</i>	<i>tákuni</i>
Non-countable	<i>eyá</i>	<i>etáŋ</i>	<i>etáŋni</i>

Table 1: Lakhotá indefinite articles (from R&T)

3. Use of the definite articles in simple sentences

a. To refer deictically: *ki(ŋ)* only

(5) *Ká šúnka-wakħaŋ kiŋ waŋláka he?*
 that(yonder) horse the you.see Q
 ‘Do you see *that* horse?’ [R&T:456]

b. Coreferential anaphoric use: both

(6) ... *ináŋni wičháħčala-Ø-ič’i-čaŋiŋ naŋ tokhéčela sakyé-ki-tħuŋ iyá-Ø-haŋ ké.*
 hurriedly old.man-3sg-REFL-make and barely cane-POSS-use reach.top.of hill<3sgA>HSY

... *wínyaŋ waŋ táku-wamakħaškaŋ očháže ki iyúha-la nuŋp-nuŋp mani-khiya*
 woman a something-animal type the all-INTENS two-REDUP walk-CAUSE

a-wičha-Ø-u čhaŋké mathó waŋ thátháŋka waŋ kičhí thókáheya Ø-ú ké.
 bring<3plU-3sgA> therefore bear a buffalo a with leading 3sgA-come HSY

Wičháħčala ki *waŋ-Ø-Ø-yáŋka-pi naŋ ...*
 old.man the see<3sgU-3A>-pl and

‘He [the hunter] hurriedly made himself into an old man and barely reached the top of the hill using his own cane, it is said....A woman was bringing all types of animals two by two, and a bear with a buffalo was leading, it is said. They saw the old man, and ...’[B&D:160]

(7) **Wičháša waŋ** wa-náse-Ø-i naŋ wa-Ø-pháta-haŋ yuŋkháŋ wíŋyaŋ waŋ
man a NU-hunt-3sgA-go and NU-3sgA-butcher-CONT and.here woman a

él hi-ná-Ø-žiŋ k’éyaš átayaš a-Ø--yúta-šni Ø-škaŋ-haŋ škhé.
there arrive-stand<3sgA> but entirely look.at<3sgU-3sgA>-NEG 3sgA-active-CONT HSY

[Here follows a passage about the woman putting a curse on him, because he did not share his game with her.]

Héčenaš **wičháša k’uŋ** Ø-glá-hiŋ naŋ ...
nevertheless man the.AF 3sgA-return.home-CONT and

‘A man went hunting, and while he was cutting up his game, a woman came and stood by; but he continued without paying any attention to her...Nevertheless the man was returning home, and ...’ [B&D:160]

c. Associative anaphoric use: *ki(ŋ)* only

- (8) a. Bill iyéčhiŋkiŋyaŋke théča waŋ ophé-Ø-Ø-thuŋ. Hugmíyaŋ ki wiyákpakpa.
car new a buy<INAN-3sgA> wheel the shiny.REDUP
‘Bill bought a new car. The wheels are shiny.’ [DBW]
b. Bill Mary thípi Ø-thawá ki líla w ašté-Ø-Ø-lake. Olól’ih’añ ki tháŋka.
house 3sg-belong.to the very like buy<INAN-3sgA> kitchen the big
‘Bill likes Mary’s house very much. The kitchen is big.’ [DBW]

d. Occurs with demonstratives: both

- (9) a. Tháspáŋ hłáhlá thóthó ki hená [Ø] úŋ Ø-Ø-pakhíŋta- he.
pear green the those [it] with INAN-3sg-wipe.off-CONT
‘He wiped off those green pears with it.’ [DPW]
b. Wičháša k’uŋ hená Ø-hí-pi.
man the.AF those 3-arrive-PL
‘Those men (I mentioned before) arrived.’ [NLD:347]

e. Unique terms: Not necessary but possible.

- (10)a. Thūŋkášilayapi, Barack Obama, Thí-ska ki él Ø-thí.
President house-white the in 3sgA-live
‘The President, Barack Obama, lives in the White House.’ [DBW]
b. Wí ihéya.
sun shine
‘The sun is shining.’ [NLD:646]

f. Proper names: Varies

- (11)a. *Tħašunke Witkó okáske thípi waŋ él á-Ø-Ø-ya-pi.*
 his.horse crazy prison a to take<3sgU-3A>-PL
 ‘The were taking Crazy Horse into a prison.’ [NLD:420]
- b. *Mnilúzahaŋ Othúnwahe ki líla thánka.*
 rapids city the very big
 ‘Rapid City [South Dakota] is very big.’ [DBW]
- c. *Letánj tókhi étkiya Mnišóše ki ħpáya he?*
 from.here where.to toward Missouri the lie Q
 ‘Which way is the Missouri River from here?’ [NLD:372]

g. With quantification

(i) With ordinal numbers, yes.

- (12)a. *Ičí-topa ki Ø-ú.*
 ORD-four the 3sgA-come
 ‘The fourth one is coming.’ [NLD:196]

(ii) With numerals, no.

- b. *Kħoškálaka záptaŋ zuyá Ø-í-pi.*
 youth five war 3-go-PL
 ‘Five youths went to war.’ {B&D:135}

(iii) With collective quantifiers, yes.

- c. *Wičháša ki oyás’iŋ i-Ø-yáya-pi.*
 man the all leave<3>-PL
 ‘All the men are gone.’ {B&D:135}

h. With generic expressions: Varies; all sources say that generic nouns occur without an article, but there are examples with a definite article marking a generic noun.⁴

- (13)a. *Igmúla siŋté Ø-yukħá-pi.*
 cat tail 3sg-have.as.part-PL
 ‘Cats have tails.’ [R&T:455]
- b. *Lakhóta ki Ø-wačhí-pi* vs. *Lakhóta-wačhípi*
 Indian the 3A-dance-PL Indian-dance
 ‘Indians dance’ vs. ‘(an) Indian dance’ [R&T:455]
- c. *Wá ki ská* vs. *wá-ska*
 snow the white snow-white
 ‘Snow is white’ vs. ‘white snow’ [NLD:330]

⁴ ‘A determiner is used in a generic construction when the construction could otherwise be interpreted as a word or phrase rather than as a sentence’ (R&T:455).

i. With personal pronouns: Possible

- (14) Míye ki wóyute úŋ wawó-wičha-wa-kiye s'a. Níyepi ki mázaska Ø-wičhá-ya-k'u-pi.
 1sg the food with help<3plU-1sgA> often 2pl the money INAN-3plU-2A-give-PL
 'I often helped them with food. You gave them money.' [Buechel:322]

j. With possessors: Yes for alienable possession, regardless of where possession is marked.

- (15)a. Alienable possession coded in the NP, e.g. (8b).

Mi-thá-wowapi ki vs. wówapi mi-tháwa ki 'my book'
 1sg-POSS-book the book 1sg-belong,to the

b. Alienable possession coded in the verb

Wówapi ki wa-gl-áwa. (<ki- 'POSS' + yawa 'read')
 book the 1sgA-POSS-read
 'I read my book.'

- (16) Inalienable possession: No article, regardless of where possession is marked

a. Inalienable possession is normally expressed in NPs when only used predicatively; no definite article.

Lé táku he? Hé mi-nápe. 'What is this? It is my hand.'
 this what Q that 1sg-hand [B&D:129]

b. Inalienable possession is normally expressed verbally; no article on possessed noun.

Čaŋté átaya Ø-wéč-'uŋ. 'I used my whole heart.'
 heart whole INAN-1sg.POSS-use (wéč- <wa '1sgA' + ki 'POSS') [B&D:129]

Napé Ø-wa-gl-úžáža 'I wash my hands.' [Field notes]
 hand INAN-1sgA-POSS-wash (<ki- 'POSS' + yužáža 'wash')

Sí ma-Ø-káhuŋ. 'He slashed my foot.'
 foot 1sgU-3sgA-slash ('He slashed me [on] the foot.') [B&D:129]

k. Kinship terms: Complicated situation

- (i) In general, there is no article with first- and second-person possessed kin terms but it is used with third-person possession.

- (17)a. Niyépi naŋ ni-yáte ni-húŋ kǎ́ hó waná ya-u-pi-kte ló
 2pl and 2-father 2-mother with now 2A-come-PL-POT DEC
 'You and your father and your mother also will come now.' [B&D:134]

b. Atkúku ki heyá.
 his.father the say
 'His father said.'

- (ii) Lakhotá kinship terms apply to more than one's blood relatives, and the article can be used to disambiguate blood relatives from classificatory relatives; for blood relatives the article cannot be used. One exception: *mičhínčá ki* 'my children'. [B&D:134]

- (18)a. *Até Ø-glí.* 'My father came home.'
my.father 3sgA-arrive.home
b. *Até ki Ø-glí.*
my.father the 3sgA-arrive home
'One whom I call father because he married one I call mother (except my own father) came home.' [B&D:134]

4. Use of the definite articles in complex sentences

- a. Both articles function as complementizers. *K'uŋ* "identifies a strongly asserted factual statement; it can only be used if the assertion is known to the speaker to have been an accomplished fact when the action described by the main verb began." [R&T:460]; it is often translated with past tense in the complement. *Ki(ŋ)* as the default complementizer is neutral in this regard.

- (19)a. *Híhaŋni ki hokšíla óta Ø-hí-pi-kte ki Bill slol-Ø-Ø-yé.*
tomorrow boy many 3-arrive-PL-POT CMPL know<INAN-3sgA>
'Bill knows that many boys will arrive tomorrow.' [Field notes]
b. *Phéta Ø-hiyói-l-ala-pi k'uŋ slol-Ø-Ø-yé.*
fire INAN-go.for<2A>-PL CMPL know<INAN-3sgA>
'He knew that you had gone for fire.' [B&D:156]

- b. Both articles function as nominalizers, nominalizing verbs which then function as an argument of the main verb.

- (20)a. *Wačhípi ki hená wa-Ø-túkħa-pi.*
dance.3pl the those tired<3>-PL
'Those who are dancing are tired.'
b. *Wačhípi k'uŋ hená wa-Ø-túkħa-pi.*
dance.3pl the.AF those tired<3>-PL
'Those who danced are tired.' [B&D:156]

- c. Both articles can mark internally-headed relative clauses. In a Lakhotá relative clause, the internal head is always marked as indefinite, with the true definiteness value indicated by the article at the end of the NP containing the relative clause.

- (21)a. *Wičháša waŋ a-má-Ø-phe ki hé o-Ø-yúspa-pi.*
man a hit<1sgU-3sgA> the that arrest<3>-PL
'They arrested the man who hit me.' [R&T:459]

- b. Héčhegla ínɣaŋ waŋ Ø-yuhá Ø-hí k'uŋ hé khalkí-Ø-Ø-yiŋ naŋ...
 immediately stone a INAN-have 3sgA-come the.AF that heat.up<INAN-3sgA> and
 'Immediately he heated up the stone which he had brought and ...' [B&D:162]

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