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Subordinating and Coordinating Particles in Lakhota

Wolfgang Corduan

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SUBORDINATING AND COORDINATING PARTICLES IN LAKHOTA

by

Wolfgang Corduan

Bachelor of Arts, University of Maryland, 1970

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

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1974

This thesis submitted by Wolfgang Corduan in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota is hereby approved by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done.

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Title SUBORDINATING AND COORDINATING PARTICLES IN LAKHOTA

Department Linguistics

Degree Master of Arts

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Signature Wolfgang Corduan

Date Aug. 5, 1974

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ABSTRACT

In her Dakota Texts Ella Deloria appears to be using cha and chanke interchangeably. The goal of this paper is to show that the difference lies in the realm of subordination. For this purpose other languages have been examined to detect how subordination is marked in them. Both German and English are shown to mark subordinate clauses overtly, but Lakhota markers are not so apparent. Subordination is formally defined in a Generative Semantic framework and pertinent works on Lakhota grammar are reviewed. The solution implied by Boas and Deloria that cha is a subordinator is accepted and proven to be true. But Boas and Deloria's solution turns out to include two homophones under one meaning and cha is shown to have the function of a causal subordinator and also acts as an emphatic particle. Chanke is shown to be a coordinating conjunction.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

I.1 Preliminary Observations

In *Dakota Texts* by Ella Deloria (1932)¹ the little particle cha occurs quite frequently. Basically it seems to have two distinct functions:

I. Causal conjunction:

(1)a Eya hechel-eyeca cha unspexhiyapi nan . . .

Of course / he said that / so / they taught him /
and . . . (37:17)

Of course, since he said that, they taught him . . .

b Le mish-eya hena ekta wichabla cha sakhip unyinkte lo.

This / I-too / those / to / them-I go / so / together /
we shall go.(2:8)

This is just the people I am going to; and we shall
travel together.

¹This investigation is based on Ella Deloria, *Dakota Texts*, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. XIV (New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., Agents, 1932), a collection of stories in the L-dialect of Sioux (Lakhota). The examples from those texts are referenced to page and sentence number. (8:2) means page 8 and sentence 2. Those examples not referenced were obtained in elicitation sessions with native speakers. Examples are numbered consecutively for each section and referred to within that section by that number only. If an example from another chapter is cited it will be marked by Roman numerals. Eg. IV.(9) refers to Chapter IV example (9).

II. Article or relative pronoun:²

(2)a Chinca ota cha awiwiyela okshan inyankapi.

Children / many / such / running in ever altering
groups / around him / they ran. (9:10)His many children were running about him in great
confusion.b Hokshi-thokapha kin he wikhoshkalaka cha lila winyan
washteEldest child / the / that one / young woman / such /
very / woman / good. (11.2)

His eldest daughter was a very handsome young woman.

But there is a further particle chanke which has a function quite
similar to that of cha.

chanke: causal conjunction:

(3)a Nan khute chanke t'a iyaya ke.

And / shot him / so / dead / he became (26: 3)

And because he shot him he died.

b Hechel esh woteshni chanke lochincha hetan yuha.

Thus / esh / he ate not / therefore / hungry indeed / from
there / he was going (22:22)

He had eaten nothing and therefore left hungry.

Initial examination showed no difference in meaning or usage
between cha and chanke. As the examples (1)a + b and (3)a show Deloria

²In their grammar Franz Boas and Ella Deloria, Dakota Grammar,
Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, Vol. XXIII (Washington:
Government Printing Office, 1941), offer an analysis of cha that argue
that cha is a causal, temporal conjunction in all cases (cf. p. 154). How-
ever, Deloria's (1932) treatment of cha and Eugene Buechel, Lakhota -
English Dictionary (Pine Ridge, S.D.: Red Cloud Indian School, Inc.,
1970) subheadings in his dictionary call for two separate categories.
The actual function of the second is somewhat unclear in Buechel.

glosses all the same: "So." It seemed quite strange, however, that a language should have two different words with the identical semantic content in the same syntactic environment.

This paper will examine the possibility that the distinction between cha and chanke can be made in the realm of subordination and coordination.

In some languages it is quite easy to make the differentiation between sub- and co-ordination, as clear markers for subordination abound. But the following discussion of such languages reveals that a thorough knowledge of the language and a fair degree of linguistic sophistication and understanding of grammatical structures are a prerequisite for the investigator. Even though a native speaker may sense a distinct difference in two sentences, one showing subordination (4) and the other coordination (5), he may not be able to characterize the difference.

(4) While I slept, Bill wrote a letter.

(5) I slept and Bill wrote a letter.

In the following search for clues of subordination and coordination it will be assumed that if there is a distinction between subordinated clauses and coordinated clauses a careful student of any given language should, like a native speaker, be able to pick up these clues. Of course they can differ quite a bit from language to language. There might even be languages that leave fuzzy areas where the distinction is not easily made.

1.2 Subordination in German and English

German is one language that marks the difference quite overtly through verb-positioning. The declarative sentence always has the conjugated part of the verb in the second syntactic position:

- (1) Du gehst zum Arzt.
You are going to the doctor.

- (2) Du bist krank.
You are sick.

But as soon as such a clause is subordinated, the conjugated part of the verb goes into clause final position (Ebert 1973). Later in the paper this will be referred to as Test One.

- (3) Weil du krank bist, gehst du zum Arzt.
Since you are sick, you go to the doctor.

Note: 'gehst' is still in second syntactic position, the first being occupied by "weil du krank bist".

It is also possible to say:

- (4) Du gehst zum Arzt, weil du krank bist.

There is no change in meaning. In certain contexts the whole clause can be placed before, after or even within the main or superordinate clause:

- (5) Du, weil du krank bist, gehst zum Arzt.

The next examples will show coordinated clauses. Example (6) uses the most obvious coordinating conjunction: Und "and".

- (6)a Du gehst zum Arzt und du bist krank.
b Du bist krank und du gehst zum Arzt.

It can be observed in this case both verbs are in syntactic position. The order of the clauses can be switched, but the conjunction stays in the middle and the meaning is not affected. In (7) the conjunction is: denn "for".

- (7) Du gehst zum Arzt, denn du bist krank.

Here again it can be noted that the coordinating conjunction denn does not affect the position of the verb bist in its clause. The two clauses are equal with denn in the middle.

Earlier it was seen that the two clauses of sentence (3) could be freely interchanged to obtain (4). With denn, the coordinating conjunction, however, there are certain restrictions. Denn, like und, has to stay in the middle.

(7)a ?Du bist krank, denn du gehst zum Arzt.

It is not possible to switch the clauses of (7) and leave denn attached to "du bist krank". The result would be ungrammatical.

(8) *Denn du bist krank, du gehst zum Arzt.

This fact will be called Test Two for establishing subordination and coordinating conjunctions in German. The conjunction that coordinates must stand between the clauses it conjoins.

Examples (9-17) are English sentences to illustrate how this language marks sub- and co-ordination. As in the German examples only those showing causal relationship will be considered.

The application of Test One (movement of the verb) does not produce grammatical sentences in English.

(9) You are sick. You go to the doctor.

(10) *Since you sick are, you go to the doctor.

Verb position in English is more fixed than in German. However, when Test Two is applied, certain interesting observations can be made.³ It is quite grammatical to say (11) but not (12).

(11) I am buying some bread, for I am hungry.

(12) *For I am hungry, I buy some bread.

Sentence (13) might be possible, but it has a different meaning.

³cf. Roderick A. Jacobs and Peter S. Rosenbaum, English Transformational Grammar (Waltham, Mass.: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1972), p. 210.

(13) ?I am hungry, for I am buying some bread.

Yet it is possible to say (14) as well as (15).

(14) Since I am hungry, I am buying some bread.

(15) I am buying some bread, since I am hungry.

Sentences (16) and (17) on the other hand are paraphrases of each other, but not of (14) and (15). They are rather related to (13).

(16) ?Since I am buying some bread, I am hungry.

(17) ?I am hungry, since I am buying some bread.

The examples from English point up that it is possible to draw fairly definite conclusions whether a given conjunction is subordinating by observing its occurrence in various positions in the sentence. English, German and some other languages permit such a procedure. But it becomes also quite clear that the analyst needs to have a rather thorough knowledge of the language under investigation. Only then can he tell whether a given sentence is grammatical, questionable or ungrammatical. The ability to make this distinction is necessary to be able to draw the right conclusions. Greater difficulties arise, however, when the language under discussion offers less available clues than English. This will prove to be the case in Lakhota.

I.3 An Attempt to Find the Solution in Lakhota

Since a thorough knowledge of any language requires many years of study, the analyst is often forced to use a bilingual approach in order to obtain the necessary data. He has to resort to a second language which both he and his language assistant speak.

In the present situation native Lakhota speakers⁴ were given English sentences and asked to give the closest possible Lakhota equivalent. The attempt was made to formulate the English sentences in such a manner that the informants might be led to subordinate and coordinate at the investigator's direction. Sentences (1)-(4) are a representative group to demonstrate the result.

- (1) Since it is cold, I will build a fire.

Osni aya cha cewatikte.

- (2) Now the sun is shining, therefore let us go swimming.

wanna mashte cha nowe unyanpikte.

- (3) It is raining now, so I am staying inside.

wanna maghaju cha thime waunkte.

- (4) Because the weather is nice, I am going to go for a walk.

Anpetu ki washte cha omawaninkte.

Chanke was not used by the language assistants during the elicitation. When given a sentence with chanke their reaction was that that version was possible, but they would prefer cha. It proved impossible to create the kind of environments that would lead both to subordination and if slightly changed coordination or vice versa. What did these native speakers do? Did they coordinate? Did they subordinate? Is chanke even part of their dialect?

Ross (1967.4.) shows that there are certain constraints on reordering transformations which, if violated produce ungrammatical forms. "In a

⁴During the process of learning Lakhota a number of Sioux Indians were of great help to me. However, only two of them, Mr. Enoch Lonehill and Mrs. Regina Plenty Holes, were available in the final stages of developing this paper. Had more Lakhota speakers been accessible in the late stages it might perhaps have been possible to support the conclusions better.

coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct" (p. 89). Based on these constraints he proposes tests that will show whether or not a sentence is conjoined.

Due to the fact that chanke was not used by the language assistants the type of tests that Ross (1967) proposes could not be applied. Any attempt to use text material and adapt or alter it resulted in chanke being replaced by cha. Perhaps at a later date in working with other language helpers it will be possible to elicit and manipulate chanke well enough to obtain conclusive proof of its status.

The question that is raised at the beginning of the paper is: "What is the difference between cha and chanke?" At first no distinction was apparent. Even though native speaker reaction clearly showed that they perceived a difference, they were unable to even hint at its meaning. They preferred to use cha.

In order, then, to substantiate a distinction of the two particles on the basis that one is subordinating and the other coordinating it will be necessary to further investigate the Lakhota language. That in turn necessitates a theoretical system or outlook of grammatical analysis and a good understanding of the concepts and implications of subordination.

In the following pages a theoretical system, namely Generative Semantics (fn.1, Chapter II) will be outlined. The notion of subordination will then be characterized in that theory.

These theoretical considerations will be followed by a discussion of pertinent Lakhota language literature and some comments on Lakhota grammar that will be necessary to the final solution.

As can be seen, the seemingly simple suggestion that was made earlier, that cha and chanke are distinguished in that one is a sub-ordinator, has rather far-reaching implication.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORY

The basic theoretical approach used in this paper is that of Generative Semantics (G.S.).¹ The terms and concepts of this theory, relevant to the present investigation, will be briefly outlined and then illustrated in Lakhota.

The following excerpt from Landerman and Frantz (1972)² explains the fundamental framework of thought within which G.S. operates.

All languages seem to have a basic unit of content for those events/states which often correspond in surface expression to simple clauses. Borrowing terminology from symbolic logic, we shall refer to these states and events as propositions. A proposition may be considered to consist of a predicate (again following the usage in logic) which specifies the nature of the action or state or relation and a series of arguments which are participants in the action, state or relation. A predicate often corresponds to the verbal element we find in surface structure simple clauses while the arguments frequently show up as noun phrases which describe or identify the particular participants (persons or things). Thus a proposition might be roughly thought of as a play in miniature in which the predicate describes the action or the situation and the arguments specify the roles of the various actors and props (p. 60).

¹More appropriately this should be defined as G.S. as taught by Dr. D. Frantz and interpreted by W. Corduan. Texts basic to this interpretation of G.S. are Donald G. Frantz, Toward a Generative Grammar of Blackfoot (Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1971); Peter Landerman and Donald G. Frantz, Notes on Grammatical Theory (Lima, Peru: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1972); Donald G. Frantz, "Generative Semantics" (Unpublished manuscript, University of North Dakota, 1973).

²See also D. Terence Langendoen, The Study of Syntax (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 96f.

For the process of diagramming this means that any proposition (PROP) dominates one and only one predicate (PRED) and at least one argument (ARG). Only in the case of meteorological terminology does the PROP dominate no ARG (see Figure 1).

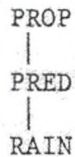


Figure 1

Figure 2 does not indicate which of the two involved ARG is the agent and which are the recipient of the action: HIT. In order to show the logical relationship of the ARG's to each other the label ARG is supplanted by a more specific label. If the action was that of Bill hitting the dog, then Bill is the agent in this proposition and 'dog' is the patient. According to the role each is playing Bill receives the role label 'A' (agent of the predication) and 'dog' receives the role label 'P' (patient of the predication). Figure 3 shows the resulting diagram where the role labels 'A' and 'P' have replaced the more general label 'ARG'.

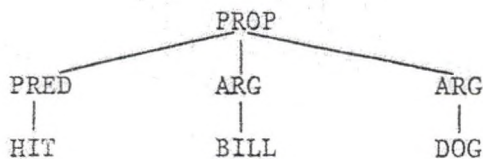
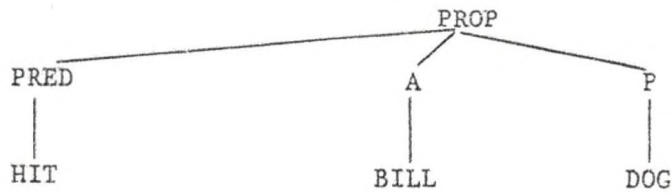


Figure 2



Note: The capital letters (HIT, BILL, DOG) indicate that these are semantic concepts and not language specific words or lexical items.

Figure 3

The number and kinds of ARG's any given PRED can have are determined by the Predicate Contextual Conditions (PCC). These specify the environment of ARG's in which a particular PRED can occur or conversely which ARG's can occur with a particular PRED. For example the PRED 'hit' has the following PCC in English:

hit: [_____ , A , P , M]

The square brackets and what they enclose is a PCC. The blank represents the PRED, in this case 'hit'. The symbols in the brackets are sister nodes; i.e., they originate from the same next higher node³ which would be PROP. The commas indicate that the items are independent of each other, no one dominating the other. Figure 4 shows the PCC in diagram form:

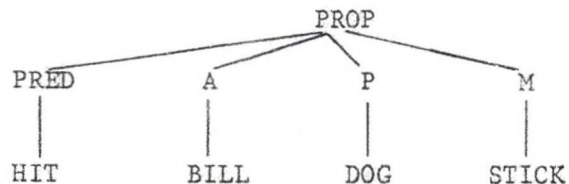
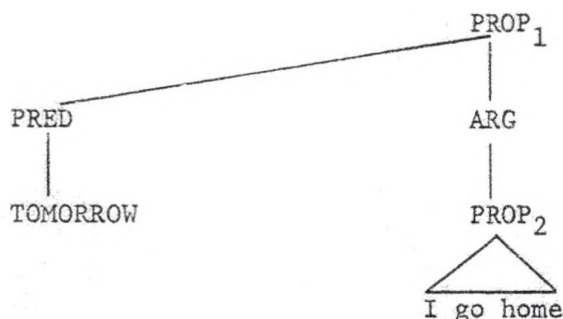


Figure 4

³Node: the convergence of two or more lines in a tree diagram.

Not all possible arguments are always represented in each PROP. For instance M (Means) was left out in Figure 3. The PCC represents the maximum allowable number and kinds of ARG.

The notion of predicate needs to be commented on further. In G.S. the PRED includes not only what will turn out to be surface verbs, but has been extended to include such concepts that in SS will be called adverbials (time, manner, place, etc.), abstract time (present, future, past), prepositions, conjunctions, etc.⁴ Figure 5 represents the English sentence: 'Tomorrow I will go home'. The time of the predication (i.e., event or state expressed by the PRED 'GO') is shown through the presence of the higher predicate of time 'tomorrow'.⁵



Note: The triangle indicates that a complex item follows, the internal structure of which is not relevant to the discussion.

Figure 5

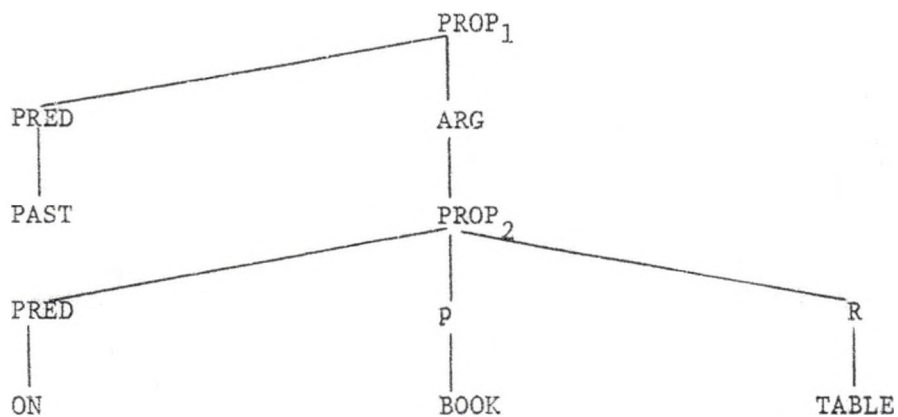
Two groups of higher predicates are treated in this paper under the heading of Relational Predicates (hereafter: RP). The function of an

⁴See Landerman and Frantz, 123 ff; George Lakoff, Irregularity in Syntax (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970).

⁵See Arthur L. Palacas, "The Higher Predicate Status of Modals and Implications for the Lexicon," Glossa 5 (1971), pp. 31-46, for more discussion on higher predicates, especially time.

RP is to relate non-propositional ARG's to each other (these RP's are normally referred to as prepositions) and one PROP to another (conjunctions).

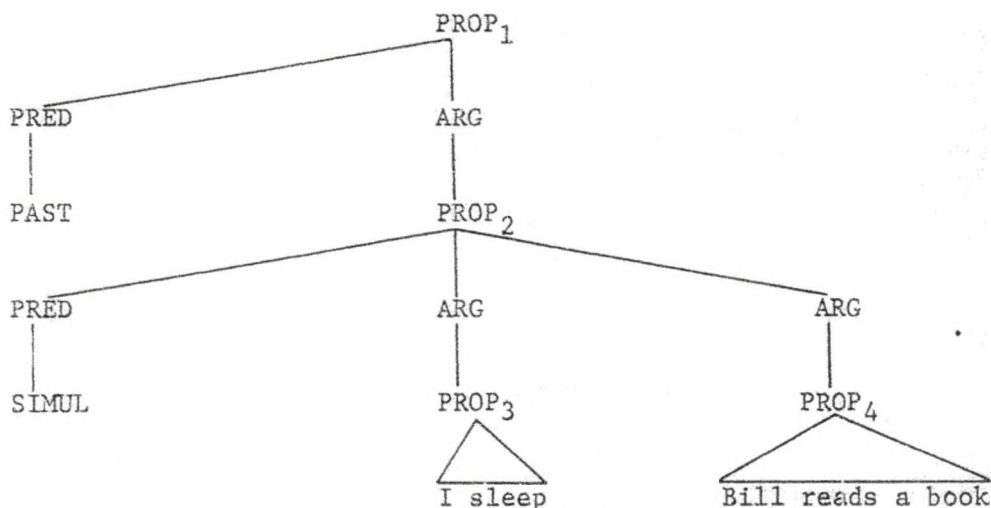
The following two diagrams illustrate the treatment of prepositions and conjunctions as RP's:



'the book was on the table'

Note: Instead of PAST a more specific time PRED could have been inserted: this morning, last night, yesterday, etc.

Figure 6



'I slept while Bill read a book'

Figure 7

In G.S. the diagram thought to be most basic to any given sentence is called the Logical Structure (LS), and the end result after all operations are performed is called Surface Structure (SS). The in-between steps are referred to as Intermediate Structure (IS). Figure 6 and Figure 7 then would each represent an LS and the sentence below each figure the corresponding SS.

Figure 8 is the LS for the sentence: "I read and I slept."

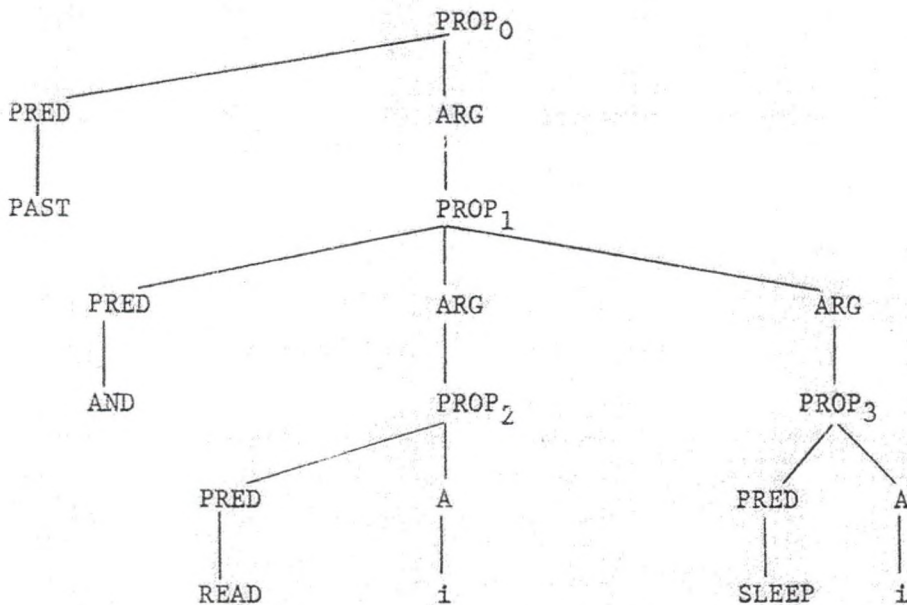


Figure 8

Figure 9 represents one of the crucial stages in the derivation. It shows the IS immediately prior to linearization⁶ and tree-deletion.

Figure 9 will lead to the surface sentence: "biawa nan mishtime" illustrating a compound sentence composed of two coordinated propositions.

⁶Placing all items in proper SS order.

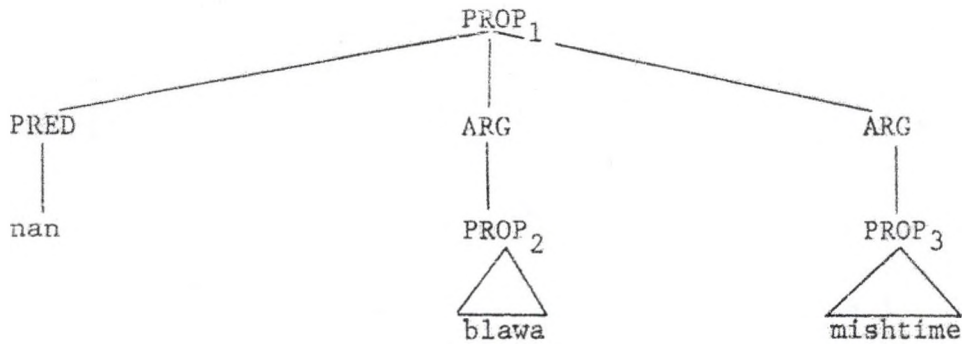


Figure 9

The LS of Figure 7 will be used to illustrate subordination in Lakhota, but before going on to show the development of LS-7, the concept of subordination will be defined.

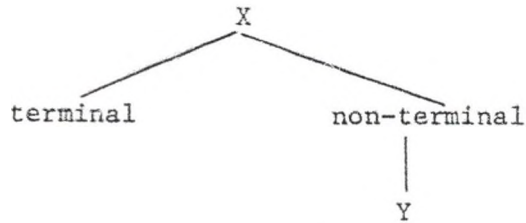
Subordination

What is it in the nature of a subordinate proposition that makes it subordinate? How is it marked, i.e., how can the listener (reader) tell that a proposition is subordinated in a given language? How is subordination shown in the structural diagrams.

These questions will be taken up again in Chapter V. For now only a definition will be offered and then illustrated.

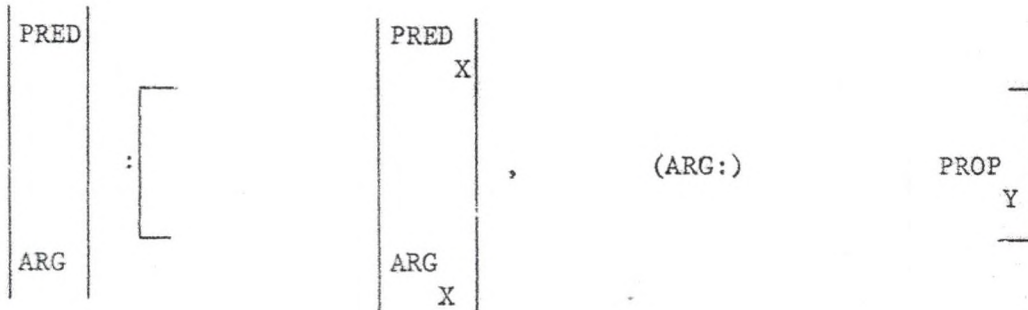
One term needs to be defined first, that is the term govern.⁷ In this paper it is used to describe a particular configuration in the tree diagram. A terminal node which is sister node to a non-terminal node govern the non-terminal node.

⁷This notion here termed govern and its function in the subordinate structure are not part of G.S. literature but represent my own attempt to characterize subordination.



A subordinated proposition is a governed proposition that is embedded under a PRED or ARG node of another proposition.

The structural description (SD) is as follows:



PROP is the subordinated proposition and PRED and ARG ARE semantic or lexical items for PRED AND ARG, respectively, that govern PROP. The straight vertical lines indicate that for PRED, PRED is required (Figure 10) and for ARG, ARG is required (Figure 11). Colon is to be read 'directly dominates'. The parentheses show that sometimes the ARG node is not present.

In diagram form the relationship is shown in Figures 10 and 11.

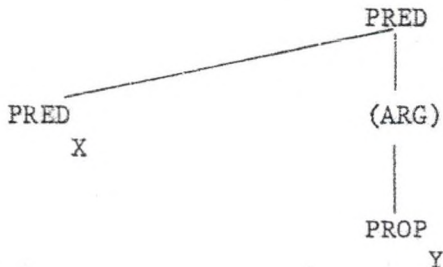


Figure 10

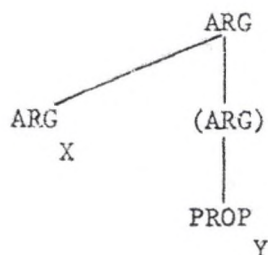
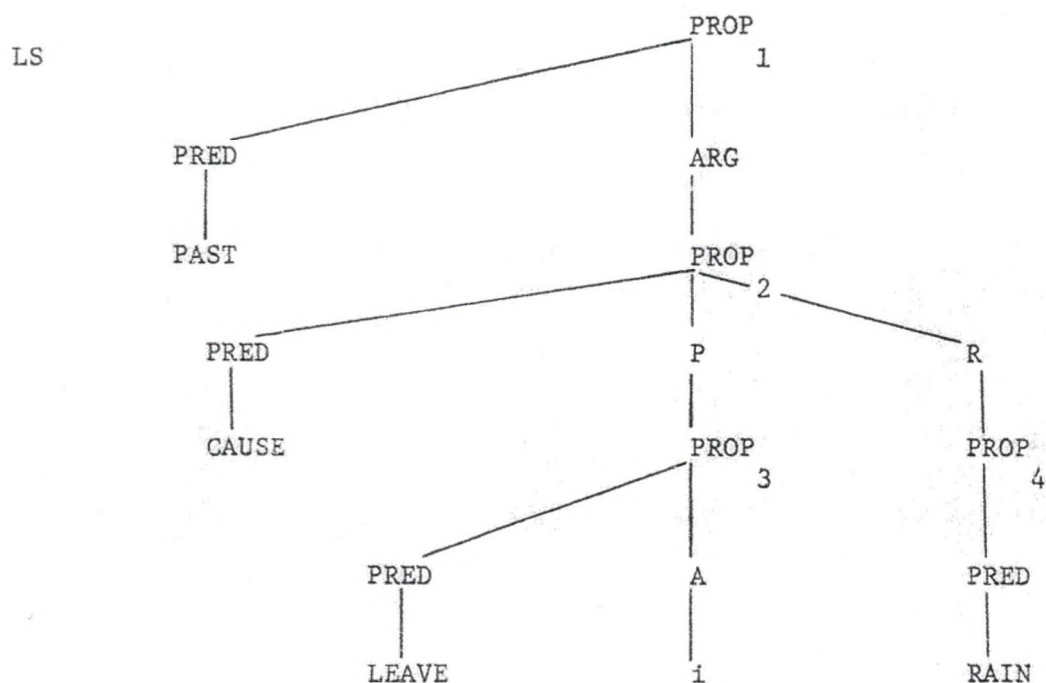


Figure 11

In both diagrams the ARG node immediately dominating PROP is optional.
Y

Illustrative derivation

I left because it rained.



This diagram could also read in English SS: 'The rain caused me to leave' or 'My leaving was caused by the rain.'

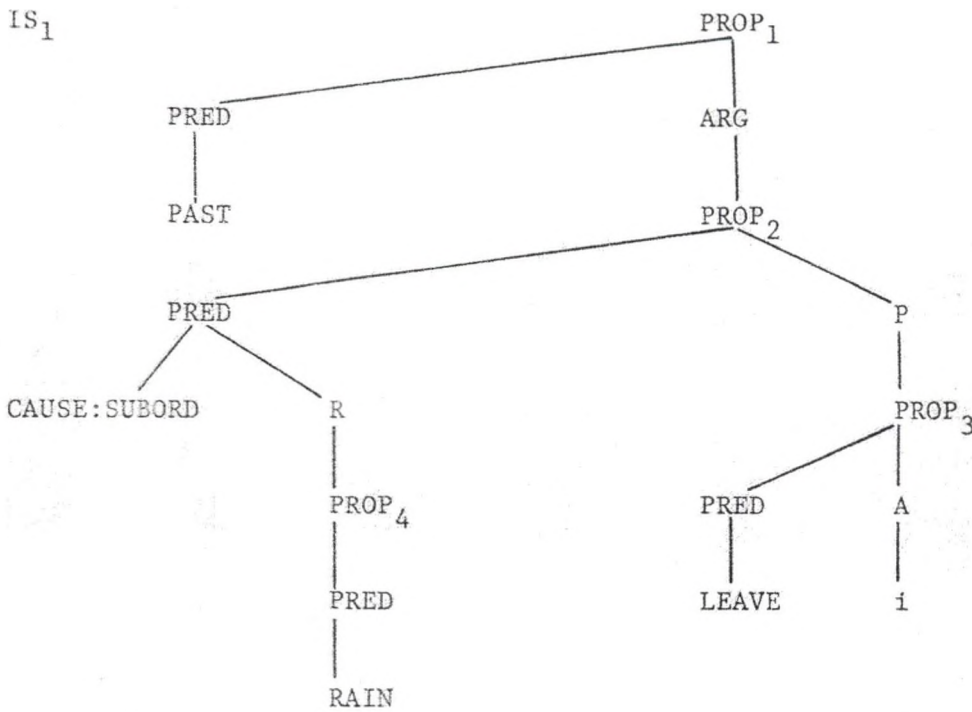
Lakoff (1971) suggests that there exists a further body of information which he calls the presuppositional constituent that limits the LS

to the desired surface manifestation. For the LS under discussion the following restrictions should be noted:

1. CAUSE is to be realized as a subordinating conjunction.
2. LEAVE and RAIN are to be realized as surface verbs.
3. P in PROP₂, A in PROP₃ will be made subjects.

LS to IS₁

Since the PRED:CAUSE is to be a subordinator Complex Predicate Formation (CPF) will have to apply.⁸ R:PROP₄ is attached to the PRED of PROP₂ with the result that CAUSE now governs R.



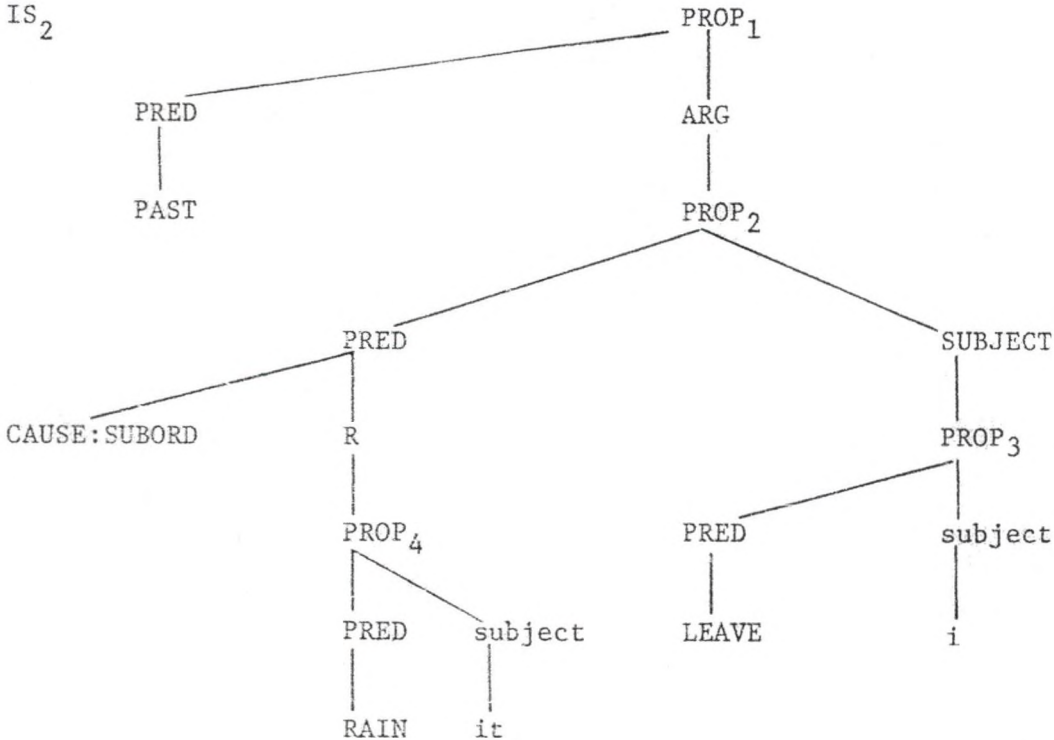
⁸This is the structural description of the operation of CPF.

[RP]	,	P	,	R	
		PRED			
1			2	3	→
1 + 3			2	∅	

IS₁ to IS₂

Subjects for several of the PROP's are chosen in accordance with the instructions in the presuppositional constituent. Therefore the role label is replaced by 'subject'. In the case of PROP there is no ARG; in such cases, English inserts a dummy subject 'it'.

IS₂

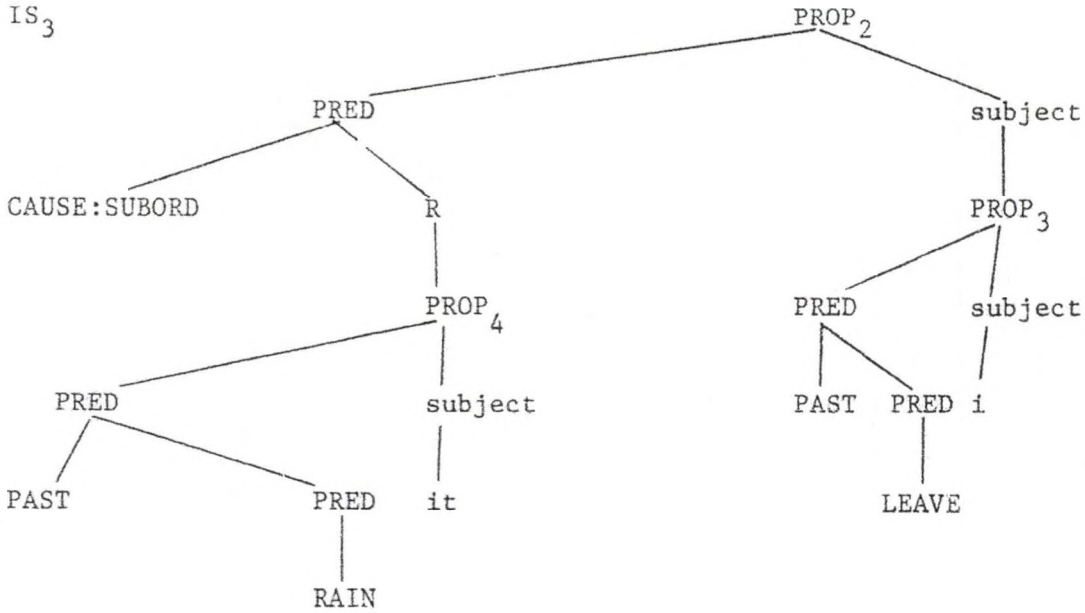


IS₂ to IS₃

The PRED:PAST indicates that the actions predicated by the PRED of PROP₂ took place in the past. In this case (IS₂) the PRED:CAUSE cannot carry any tense due to the fact that it is a subordinator. As a result the tense is transported to all lower PRED's.⁹ The PROP₁ now no longer has a PRED. Therefore the PROP and the ARG node it immediately dominates is 'pruned' (i.e., deleted) without affecting the rest of the structure or meaning, the result is IS₃:

⁹There are other possibilities and the discussion is incomplete at this point. The full pursuit of all aspects is not within the scope of this paper.

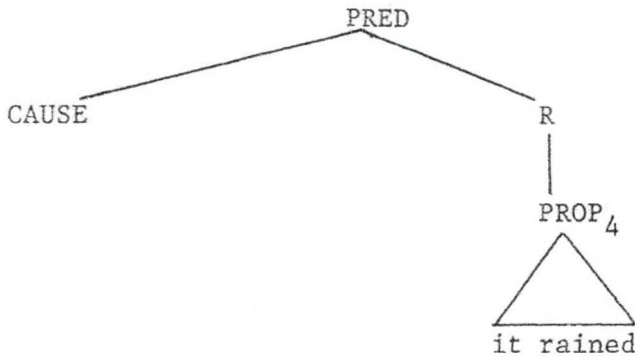
IS₃



IS₃ to SS

At this point linearization and lexical insertion can occur. Disregarding the phonological aspects and any other steps not directly involved in the discussion at hand the tree structure is removed, resulting in the SS I left because it rained.

Looking at IS₃ it can be observed that it fits the SD for a subordinate proposition: PRED: [PRED_X, (ARG:) PROP_Y]



It can be said then that the PROP 'it rained' is a subordinate PROP governed by the RP (causal conjunction) 'because'.

This concept of subordination will now be briefly illustrated in Lakhota.

A look at the LS displayed in Figure 7 can easily bring to mind more than one possible derivation through different lexical insertions leading to slightly different SS. Yet they are not completely synonymous.

- (7)a Bill read a book while I slept.
- b I slept while Bill read a book.
- c While I slept Bill read a book.
- d During my sleep Bill read a book.
- e I slept and Bill read a book.

As all meaning is to be completely specified in the LS, but (7) a-e show several possible SS not all of which are exactly equivalent, more detail is required in LS-7. Lakoff (1971) suggests that semantic representations (roughly equivalent to what this paper calls LS) consist of propositional structures and a further body of information he calls a 'conjunction of presuppositions (abbreviated:PR)' and contains all information on: theme, rheme, topic, focus, etc. Any time that the derivation of a LS includes 'optional' rules this body of data is consulted to determine the best choice.¹⁰

In the following pages the LS of Figure 7 will be used to derive a Lakhota SS.

There are, however, some constraints on Lakhota syntax that should be noted. Even though in English the coordinated version (7)e is a rough paraphrase of the subordinated versions (7)a or (7)b, Lakhota does not allow that choice. For simultaneity Lakhota requires one proposition to

¹⁰Actually this body of information might completely determine all rules so that none are truly optional.

be subordinated. When two propositions are coordinated the implication of sequence is quite strong.¹¹

In the ensuing derivations the time of the actions (PAST) will be ignored. The diagram thus starts with PROP₂:

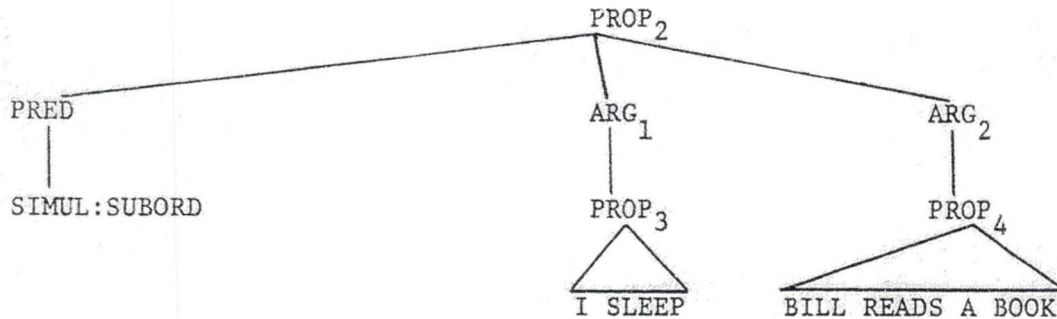


Figure 12

The Lakhota word for SIMUL:SUBORD is ichunhan ("while, during"). It has the PCC [_____ , P , R] i.e., one event (P) takes place with reference to another event (R). R stands for referent. It will become subordinate PROP. For the ensuing discussion ARG₁ is selected to become the P.

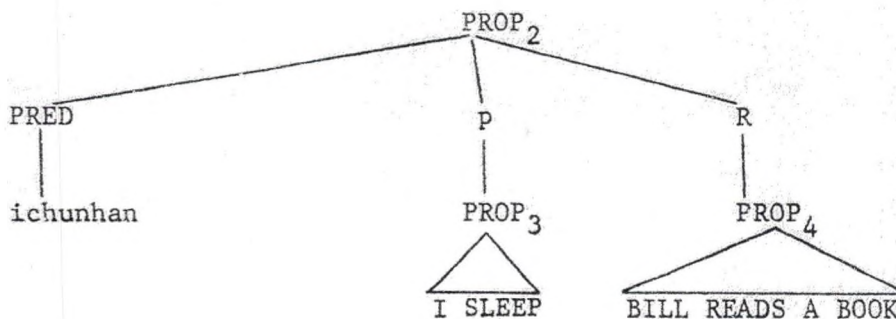


Figure 13

¹¹In my attempts to elicit illustrative examples native Lakhota speakers would always subordinate clauses for simultaneous actions, but coordinate for sequential actions. In the latter case it was impossible to achieve subordination. E.g. 'After I read a book I went into town' would be rendered 'I read a book and then went into town.'

Next follows Complex Predicate Formation (CPF). Ichunhan, like all subordinating RP's, regularly undergoes this process. That means that R is attached to the PRED node. Ichunhan now governs the PROP "Bill reads a book."

At this point lexical insertion takes place. The result is:

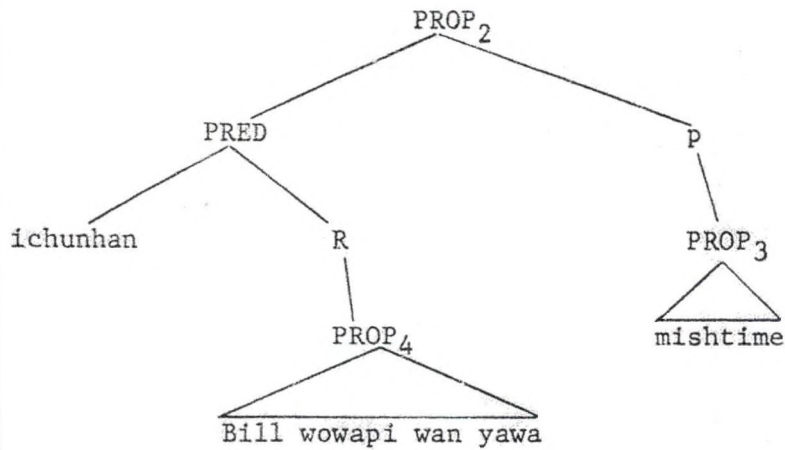
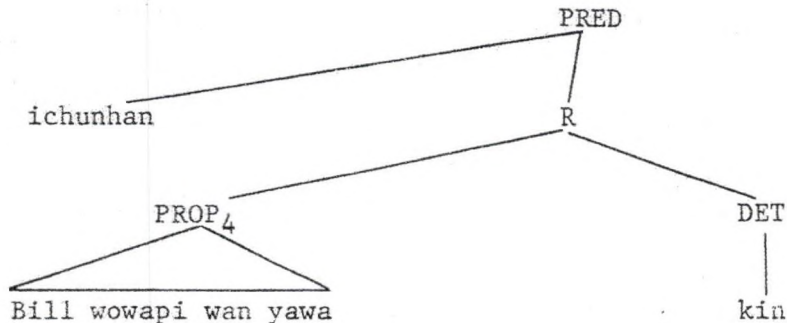


Figure 14

Before going on to the SS it is necessary to take note of the two possibilities of Lakhota syntax. Frequently ichunhan acts like a preposition, in which case DET: kin¹² is attached to R₁ resulting in:



Bill wowapi wan yawa kin ichunhan mishtime

Bill / book / a / read / while / I sleep.

¹²DET stands for determiner; kin = "the"

CHAPTER III

LAKHOTA

III.1 The Literature

This chapter presents a brief summary and discussion of the information on cha and chanke in the published Lakhota language literature. One of the more important works is Buechel's Lakhota-English dictionary (1970).¹ Here are the entries he lists under cha:²

- (a.) . . . def. art. It is employed to indicate a descriptive relative clause.

Yunkan wikoshkalaka wan lila winyan washte ca yanyanke.
Yunkan winawizi wan catkayatanhan ikoyeka ca wanyanke.
Yunkan itazipa wan lila hanska ca yuha najin na wahinkpe
wan lila hanska ca nakun iyagna. Lila kehmi was washte
ca el etipi. Tuwe okihi kinhan he shunkawakan ca wicak'
ukte. Yunkan taku k'eya cikcik'ala ca el okala. Wama-
hashkan hutopa ca cic'upelo.

- (b.) . . . conj. Therefore. At the beginning of a sentence it is placed. [sic]

Otanin hecel slolwaya ca tanyan oblaka. Anpa ca wico-
canlwanka yelo; na hanhepi ca otuya cin utapelo. Ate u m
shi ca wan na lena ociciyakapi kta ca wahi ca tanyan nahon
po. Hehe le anpetu kin lowacin ca ina weksuye lo.

¹In using Eugene Buechel, Lakhota - English Dictionary (Pine Ridge, S. Dak.: Red Cloud Indian School, Inc., 1970), some care must be taken. The reader has to realize two things: (1) Buechel had as good a knowledge of Lakhota as any non-Indian. The works he left behind are unique in their scope and depth. Any student of Lakhota is greatly indebted to Buechel for the enormous job he did for us. And yet, it is impossible for one non-native speaker to fathom the entire depth of a language. (2) The volume cited is a dictionary, published posthumously based on Buechel's work notes which he had accumulated over many years of living with the Indians. We can, therefore, simply not expect to find all the answers here.

²Buechel, 1970:113 has five entries under cha. The first is a noun and the second is called a particle the usage of which is not shown on Deloria 1932. This paper will neglect these entries and list only the last three.

- (c.) . . . adv. conj. Because, that is why. At the end of a sentence it is put. [sic] Also, it can be interpreted: When Nish eya ecamon ca, i.e. I did it because you also did. You are more than busy nishnala ca, i.e. because you are alone. siiytiytwakiye tuweni makgege shni ca, Because nobody mends my moccasins. Ho, ca eyash wakokipe wicunkicapi kte lo. Itancan mitawa eyayapi na tuktel eunpapi tanin shni hece. B.H.271.7;282.7

One problem that continually frustrates the reader is the fact that Buechel rarely gives translations for his examples. So in this case. But even without translation it is quite obvious that contrary to Buechel's statement in entry (b.) that cha is placed at the beginning of the sentence, not one of his examples starts with cha. All place cha in the middle of the statement, or at least in non-initial positions. Entry (c.) also poses problems. The first group of examples has English and Lakhota so intermixed that it is hard for the non-speaker of the language to determine which is explanation and which translation. Because of that it is very difficult to follow Buechel's arguments. Finally the last two examples are taken from Buechel 1924, which is his own translation of Bible texts and consequently not an authoritative model for Lakhota, since Buechel is not a native speaker.

In these entries Buechel has attempted to show an order which he noticed in his observations of Lakhota. But he does not give any convincing documentation that clearly supports his views.

Here are Buechel's entries for chanke:

- (a.) . . . adv. or adv. conj. And so, and then, hence, therefore. The word is placed at the beginning of the sentence.
- (b.) . . . same as cha when it is placed at the end of the sentence. That is why.

The only difference between entry (a.) of chanke and entry (b.) of cha is the fact that the former has more English glosses, but no examples.

Entry (b.) under chanke has no examples and looking through Deloria 1932 does not turn up any either. With other words entry (b.) is unsubstantiated and might have to be omitted.

Buechel's failure to differentiate between cha and chanke in his dictionary only serves to underscore the closeness in meaning and the fact that Lakhota gives no obvious clues for the difference.

In his grammar Buechel (1939) combines cha and chanke completely. On page 126 in #77 both cha and chanke are listed as coordinating conjunctions denoting cause. Further on in #154 he clearly states: "Lakhota has no subordinating causal conjunctions (cf. #77,4)."

In 1890 S. R. Riggs published a Dakota-English dictionary. It should be noted from the very beginning that he dealt with Santee, a D-dialect of Sioux.³ Even though he makes many references to Teton (L-dialect) care needs to be taken in accepting his statements for this present investigation.

For cha he has the following entry: Adv. when. This word is used when a general rule or something customary is spoken of and is generally followed by 'ce' or 'ece' at the end of the member or sentence.

Actually this entry seems to be a non-nasalized form of the relational predicate can which Buechel (1970) lists on p. 115.

. . . can, canna or cana, adv. conjs. They follow tohanl, etc. and the dependent part of the sentence. When the word is referring to indefinite time, "whenever", it has the coordinate meaning "then". Cf. above under 'cana'. B.H. 60.9,23; 61a.7;256.10.

Deloria (1932) consistently uses chan, i.e., the nasalized form. So Riggs (1890) has no bearing on this investigation. Yet the absence

³Lakhota is the name of the L-dialect group.

of the causal use of cha is quite interesting. The most obvious explanation would be that he is dealing with a D-dialect and that this dialect may not have the causal cha.

Under chanke Riggs makes a series of interesting statements:

. . . Adv. or adverbial conjunction: Used by Ihanktowan and Titonwan;
 because; therefore, i.q. nakaesh:
 osni canke wahi shni
 I came not because it was cold. J.P.W.
 and so; and then; hence, therefore: sometimes it is equivalent of 'nakaesh', sometimes to 'heon' and sometimes to 'hehan'; the idea of time is often involved, as well as of cause. It connects two complete sentences and makes one subordinate to the other. (Riggs 1890:89).

It is quite regretful, for this present investigation, that neither in his grammar nor in his dictionary does he explain what he means by that last phrase in the entry for chanke: ". . . makes one subordinate to the other." Riggs leaves the reader with several unanswered questions:

1. Which of the propositions is the subordinate one?
2. How did he determine that chanke subordinates?

His statement and some of the possibilities for translation he gives seem to contradict that final statement. "and so; and then; hence, therefore . . ." do not sound subordinating.

In his grammar Riggs (1892) he states that "the conjunction is placed between the units it conjoins." Would this not be a good argument for calling the conjunction coordinating?

Neither Buechel nor Riggs seem to make any substantial contribution toward the answer of how to differentiate cha and chanke. The fact that both point at coordination and subordination as features connected with these particles, however, does lend weight to the proposal of this

paper that the answer is to be found in this realm. As to which is which, Buechel and Riggs contradict each other. Chanke has been called subordinating (Riggs 1890) on the one hand and, along with cha, coordinating (Buechel 1939) on the other.

A much better picture is presented by Franz Boas and Ella Deloria 1941, (henceforth abbreviated [B+D 1941]). In this grammar B+D have a section on conjunctions in which they give the following entry:

. . . Canke (Y. cankhe) and so:

- (1.) ceyaya wowashi 'ecun canke cunwintku kin 'akhe okiye
crying she did he work, and so her daughter again
helped her (cry) 15:8;⁴
- (2.) hecel lowan canke ishtogmus wacikanpi
thus he sang, and so with shut eyes they were dancing.
21:5

Even though they never state it, the context suggests that B+D considered chanke a coordinating conjunction and the translation reflects this clearly. It should be noted, however, that the present free translation corresponds neither to the literal glossing nor the free translation of Deloria 1932. B+D suited their translation to their more recent theory. Nevertheless, they do not forward any proof, or even attempt to present a real argument for the implied conclusions.

Further on in the work B+D give well over a page of notes and examples on cha. As a basic English equivalent they give: "It being so, it being such."

It is interesting to note that in this way B+D have created a single category for cha as compared to Buechel's three.

⁴The numerical notations at the end of B+D's examples refer to Deloria 1932.

B+D, again, never state that cha should be considered subordinating. But that can be inferred by the observant reader. This inference will become the hypothesis of this paper and in Chapter IV an attempt will be made to support the idea.

III.2 Lakhota:Grammatical Observations

Before attempting to present a solution, however, it is necessary to consider some peculiar features of Lakhota grammar. Is there some marker that will unmistakably signal a subordinate proposition in Lakhota have a similar feature in its word order?

(1) is a very simple sentence and will serve for initial illustration of Lakhota word order.

(1) Subject	Object		Verb
Bill	shunka	wan	yuha
Bill	dog	a	he has

'Bill has a dog.'

This then is the basic surface word order: subject-object-verb.⁵ B+D (1941:154) assert that the finite verb is always last. This fact is well established by Deloria (1932).

(2) . . . el nazin nan wiphi-ic'iyin hetanhan yahan yunkhun thintoska
wan el hithunkala
kheya shkataanpi woshkatela wan oh'an wowihaya ecunhanpila chanke
wanwichayak nazin.⁶ (33:13+14)

⁵cf. David S. Rood, "Aspects of Subordination in Lakhota and Wichita," You take the High Node and I'll take the Low Node (Chicago Linguistic Society, 1973).

⁶Code: verb conjunction

There / he stood / and / gorged himself / and / thence / he was going /
 when / opening in the forest / a / there / mice / some / they were
 playing / little game / a / "oh'an wowihaya" (ingenious) / they were
 doing it / so / then-looking at / he stood.

Filled up on gooseberries . . . and from there he was travelling when
 he came to a clearing in the wood. There he saw some mice at play.
 It was an ingenious little game they were playing.

It can be observed that the verb came consistently at the end of
 the proposition. Verb position apparently does not give an indication
 of subordination.

Going back to (1) for a moment it should be noted that wan ("a")
 followed after shunka. More generally speaking, the article follows the
 noun.

(3) inyan-hokshila hokshi-chanlkiyapi top wichakte
 Stone-boy / children-beloved / four / he killed (91:41)

(4) Inyan thanka wan yanka
 Rock / big / a / it sat /
 There was a big rock. (44:12)

Examples (3) and (4) illustrate the fact that not only articles
 but also other modifiers are placed after their nouns of reference. The
 numeral top ("four") follows inyan-hokshila and the adjective thanka
 ("big") follows inyan.

(5) Iktomi kakhena wakpala - ophaya tokhe echaca - omanihan.
 Iktomi / off yonder / creek - along / without specific purpose
 he was going about (19:1)
 Iktomi was walking at random along a creek.

(6) Hecena chan mahel iyayin. (19:3)

At once / wood / into / he went

He immediately went into the woods.

A further category of words that follow their nouns is exemplified in (5) and (6). In Lakhota prepositions could be called 'post-positions'. Ophaya ("along") is placed after wakpala ("creek") and mahel ("into") is placed after chan ("wood").

The above examples show that in general Lakhota nouns precede their articles, adjectives and prepositions. Extending this observation just a little further leads to a rather interesting speculation: Since there is such strong correlation between prepositions and subordinating conjunctions the latter are likely to occupy post-propositional positions, i.e., follow the proposition they subordinate.

But also other grammatical facts help to undergird the idea that the conjunction should be post-propositional. What has been shown so far should lead the investigator to suspect that Lakhota is a language in which higher scope elements are placed to the right. That would mean that negation should appear to the right of the verb. Given (7) and suspected Rule X the result (8) should be grammatical.

(7) shunka wan bluha

I have a dog.

Rule X: to negate attach shni ("neg.") to the right of the sentence.

(8) shunka wan bluha shni

I don't have a dog.

Indeed this sentence is correct Lakhota. Rule X seems to be correct.

The future marker -kte is also suffixed to the right of the verb, supporting the idea of right to left scope.

- (9) yawa = he read
 yawakte = he will read
 yawapikte = they will read

One last example will be given here to show that the RP follows the proposition it has in its scope. It will also illustrate how the subordinate proposition can act as an adverb. (1) is taken from B+D (1941).

- (10) Thi-ile hcehanl matho el i
 house-burn / then / Mato / there / he came
 When the house was burning Mato arrived there.

In reference to (10) B+D state: "In many cases the subordinate clause functions as an adverb and opens the sentence."

These preceding observations on Lakhota grammar should enable the analyst to get a better understanding of the nature of subordination in this particular dialect.

CHAPTER IV

PROPOSED SOLUTION

IV.1 Restatement of the Problem

Lakhota has several predicates showing a causal relationship between two propositions.¹ Two of these attracted particular attention on account of the frequency of their occurrence: cha and chanke. A typical page of Deloria (1932) shows one of these for every two lines of text. Tokens of chanke outnumber cha better than two to one. Other conjunctions are rarely used by Deloria.

What, then, is the difference in the meaning and usage of these two particles?

The following examples were picked at random from Deloria (1932) and are representative of Deloria's usage of these predicates.

- (1) Nan wahomayanpi cha le inahni-omawani kin
and / they sent for me / so / this / in haste-I travel / the
I have been sent for. That's why I am in a rush. (20:5)
- (2) Leceya wichasha iyuha kunku op zuya
Right now / men / all / their mother-in-law / with / to war
yewichasipi cha tehike lo.
they are ordered to go / so / it is terrible.
Every man was bidden to go to war with his mother-in-law. (8:5)

¹cf. Eugene Buechel, A Grammar of Lakhota (Rosebud Educational Society, 1939), p. 126; Stephen Return Riggs, A Dakota - English Dictionary (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1890), p. 89.

- (3) Kakinzahanpi chanke hankeya ekta iyali
they continued squeaking / so / at last / to / he climbed up (27:7)
- (4) Nan kal tanyan chanke el ai
and / there / it was fine / so / there / he took it. (26:4)
- (5) Chanke el inajin
Therefore / there / he stopped (23:22)
- (6) Cha inawahni ye lo
Therefore / I am in a hurry (5 :11)

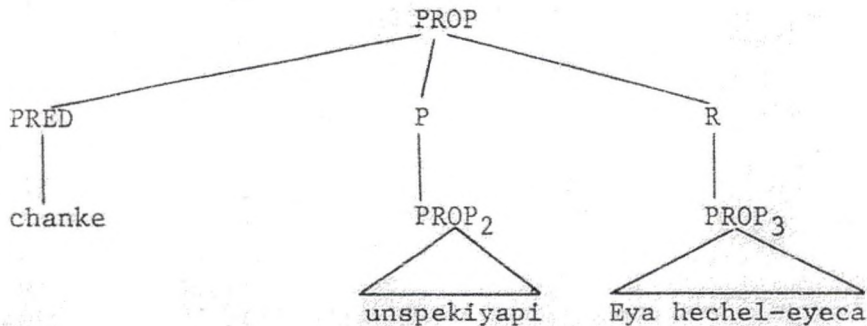
The basic pattern to be found is: Proposition A - Relational predicate - Proposition B (short: A - RP - B) for both cha and chanke. Both are glossed by Deloria: "so" or in other situations "therefore".

IV.2 Resolution

It becomes quite clear, then, that there is no difference in the translations that Deloria supplies. As the next two examples, as well as the above, show, there is really no difference in the relationship of the conjoined propositions to each other at the LS. A causes B, whether cha or chanke is used.

- (7) Eya hechel-eyeca cha unspekhiyapi
He said that, so they would teach him (34:17)

LS of (7):

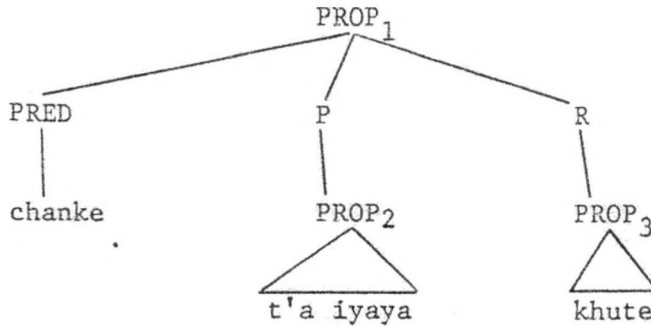


(8) Khute chanke t'a iyaya ke

He shot him, so he died.

(26:3)

LS of (8):



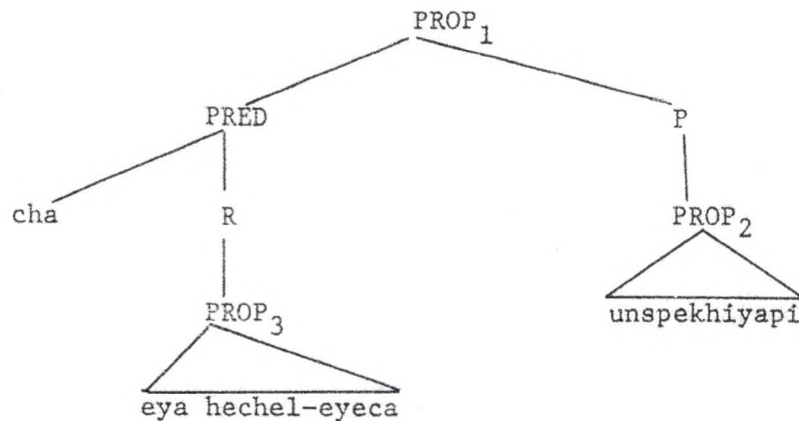
In (7, a proposition A (PROP₃) is followed by the "Relational Predicate" cha which is followed by the proposition B (PROP₂). It can be seen further that A is the cause of B. This can be symbolized A - RP - B. For (8) the situation is the same: A - RP - B. So far there is no difference to be noticed.

But, looking at these examples, with the earlier notes on Lakota in mind, it is possible to explain why, even if one RP is subordinating and the other coordinating, the difference in structure in the present cannot be detected.

Case 1: The RP is subordinating.

According to the Lakota transformational rules posited in Chapter II the R is attached to the PRED node that dominates a subordinating RP. In SS this RP appears at the end of the subordinated proposition.

From LS of (7):



The RP is next moved into proper SS position and the whole subordinated proposition with the RP is then moved into an adverbial position in SS; i.e., placed immediately in front of the superordinate proposition.

Result: Eya hechel-eyeca cha unspekhiyapi

or A - RP - B

Case 2: The RP is coordinating.

In accordance with Lakota transformational rules the R is placed into initial position in SS. The RP is placed between the two propositions it conjoins, resulting in A - RP - B as in (8). For illustration purposes chanke is assumed coordinating.²

It can be noted also that it is standard in Lakota to state the cause first and then the result.

Since the RP placed between the two propositions is so common to both subordination and coordination it would be much more valuable to find examples where the RP occupies either (a) initial or (b) final position in a set of propositions.

²The examples for illustration are chosen for that purpose only and do not constitute an argument or conclusion about the problem.

There are few such situations to be found in Deloria (1932).

Case 2 (a):

(9) chanke chincha k'un iyuha okshan cheya unpi

So / his children / the-past / all / around him / weeping / they
continued (13:13)

The question now is: is this proposition the cause or the result? This is what follows:

"Ate, Ate", eyaya chayapi.

"Father, / Father", / saying / they cried. (13:14)

Apparently this is neither the cause nor the result of proposition (9). It seems to be necessary to look at the proposition preceding (9).

(11) "Han, mat'a." eyin nan aptanyan ke.

"Yes, / I die," / he said / and / fell over / they say. (13:12)

This quite clearly is the reason why the children are crying: Their father died. So (11) caused (9) and the RP chanke stands in the middle where it should be in normal surface structure. But, it should be noted that chanke, nonetheless stands at the beginning of a surface sentence. The ke at the end of (11) is a common sentence final particle in Lakhota SS. The implications will be discussed later in the chapter. This next example also belongs into case 2 (a), but this time cha is in the RP slot.

(12) Cha chiyemayaye lo, - eya-okiyaka ke.

"So / I am your elder brother" / to say-he told him / they say.

(13) "Ho, misun, le taku-omayani huwo? -

"Now / younger brother / this / for what do you travel?" (2:6)

It seems quite clear that (12) and (13) are sequential, but "Ho" in (13) seems to introduce a new set of thoughts. Again it is necessary to look at the proposition preceding (12) before drawing any definitive conclusions.

(14) nan hehanl takula wan kal yupshunpshun ixpewaye c'un he le
niyela yelo.³

and / then / little something / a / aside / wadded / I cast / the
(past that / this / it is little you. (2:6)

(I threw aside a little wad which became you.)

In his attempt to establish who is older, Iktomi claims to have created Iya (proposition (14)) and concludes that therefore he (Iktomi) is the older (12). The result is again: A(14) - RP - B(12).

But here again as in the preceding set of examples the RP is in surface sentence initial position.

Case 2 (b):

As was pointed out in the discussion of the literature no examples with chanke at the end have been found.

What case 2 (b) should depict then is a situation where A is caused by B and the surface order is: A - B - cha. To strengthen the argument cha should be followed by C which is clearly not causally related to B under the syntactic conditions. Example (15) meets these requirements:

(15)

A Ina wana nichoumashi yelo

my mother / now / she commands me to invite you

³There are a number of little particles that occur at the end of declarative propositions. See: Buechel 1939:270.

B Thanke kichi yaunkta cha eya yunkhan

my elder sister / with / you will live / therefore / he
said / and so

C Hao eya ke

Yes / he said / they say

(15:26)

He said: "My mother orders me to invite you now; you are to live with my sister," and the man said: "Thank you."

In this series of propositions the direct quote ends at cha. Eya is followed by another RP yunkhan (here glossed: "and so"; but usually: "and then"). That shows that (15)C is temporally related to (15)B, but not causally. Cha, "therefore", needs to be taken as part of the propositions (B) it follows, linking it with A. Indeed that would be quite logical. A constitutes an invitation and B is the reason.

A similar situation exists in example (16).

(16)

A Nantukte-unma thokeya thipi-ochokaya kin hel unglihunni hantanhansh

and / which of the two / first / middle tipi / the / there /
we arrive / if-then

B he unma ki thepyinkte lo

that one / other / the / he shall devour

C he ohiyinkta cha eya

that one / he shall be the winner / therefore / he said

D yunkhan Iya hecheltula shke

and then / Iya / he considered it alright / they say

(4:17)

Again it can be noted that cha ends the direct speech and is followed by eya. As in (15) yunkhan joins D to the preceding which means that cha cannot be joining C to anything following it. That leaves C conjoined to B.

A further example will be given here. (18) was obtained during an informant session. The native speaker was asked to give the English meaning of the Lakhota sentence:

- (17)a Maghaju wanna chanke nowe unyanpikte shni
 it rains / now / and so / swim / we will go / not
 It is raining now, so we are not going swimming.

Two reactions were given. To begin with wanna should come first, resulting in:

- (17)b Wanna magaji chanke nowe unyanpikte shni

Secondly, even though the speaker called the sentence good Lakhota, he preferred the following version:

- (18) Nowe unyanpikte shni chin magaju ta cha.

He wants that we shall not go swimming, because it will rain.⁴

As in previous examples the clause with cha at the end magajukta cha is the reason for the first statement.

What can be concluded from these observations?

It can be noticed that it is the proposition as cause that is marked by cha and that this proposition can occur either before or after the result proposition. This does sound like Test Two for subordination

⁴A not very unusual communications problem. The Lakhota speaker slightly altered the text, but the result is still within reasonable limits.

in German and English in the earlier discussion,⁵ where the subordinate clause was marked and then movable.

This idea is clearly supported by Buechel (1939:#154) where he states in part:

(When translating English compound result sentences) "the order, however, is usually inverted and the former (English) subordinate clause is placed first in the sentence . . . the order is not inverted, however, if the conjunctions cha and chanke are placed at the end of the former subordinate clause."

As pointed out before Buechel claims that chanke can be sentence final. He also claims that Lakhota has no subordinate clauses.⁶ These two claims have been unsubstantiated and were assumed false. But he does state correctly that the clause with cha can follow what this paper claims is the superordinate clause.

This is also confirmed by B+D (1941:153). They give a list of particles and suffixes which normally occur in sentence final position. Cha is not among that list. But they point out:

"In the texts many sentences occur that close with other suffixes or particles (than those discussed in preceding paragraphs), but these (sentences) must be conceived as incomplete or such phrases which in loose speech are introduced as an afterthought."

From this statement three conclusions of importance to this investigation can be drawn:

⁵cf. Chapter II.

⁶Buechel 1939:#77.

i. Case 2 (b) - cha at the end - is possible and is acceptable
Lakhota

ii. Case 2 (b) occurs in loose speech.

Looking at his examples as well as those quoted in this paper it can be seen that all are direct speech of a story character, i.e., not part of the narrator's account as such.

iii. The proposition marked by cha is an afterthought, i.e., not the main proposition, hence: a type of subordinate proposition.

Returning again for a moment to propositions (9) - (14), it is now possible to add the following. The examination of SS alone is insufficient and misleading. Cha occurs in a position where it simply should not be. But going to the LS the relationship becomes clear. Following B+D's suggestion (12) can be rendered: "it being so, I am your older brother . . ." Cha in this case functions as a conjunctive adverb, just as chanke in proposition (9). It can, however, still be maintained that cha is in its basic function a subordinating RP and that chanke throughout the examples leaves no doubt as to its coordinating function.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

In this last chapter two matters will be discussed. The first will be a comparison between the triple categorization of cha as offered by Buechel (1970) and the proposal for a single category as suggested by B+D (1941). Secondly there will be some comments on this paper's handling of the Logical Structure and its derivation to the Surface Structure. This discussion will focus on some of the problems and implications of speaker choice of transformations and lexical items to achieve a particular Surface Structure. It should, however, be pointed out that a complete solution is beyond the scope of this paper and requires further research.

V.1 Categorization of cha

In Chapter III (p. 25 fn. 1) it was stated that in Buechel's dictionary (1970) there are five subdivisions listed under cha. The first is a noun, the second a particle not found in Deloria (1932), which is the basic resource for this study, with the use that Buechel assigned it and only the last three are considered pertinent to this paper. They are (1) def. art., (2) conj. and (3) adv. conj. The 'conj.' and 'adv. conj.' were said to be sentence initial and sentence final, respectively. But as was seen in the discussion in Chapter III Buechel did not support and substantiate his position with conclusive evidence.

The position of this paper is that, as B+D (1941) suggest, but never attempt to substantiate, there should be only one cha instead of Buechel's three. This one cha is a subordinator; i.e., in all instances of its occurrence it subordinates the preceding proposition (see Example 1) or even a series of propositions (see Example 2) to the following proposition. But as was pointed out there are occasions when cha and the proposition it subordinates occur at the end of the superordinate (see Example 3) clause.

- (1) Wichasha wan pahata najinham cha ekta wai

Man / a / on the hill / he was standing / so / to / I went

Since a man was standing on a hill, I went up to him. (14:21)

- (2) Yunkhan, - Hehehi, misun, le khowakatan yewachanmi k'eyash

tokha-ibluwegeshni cha inunwan-iblutha c'eyash mniithanchan kin
lila shme lo. Cha lecheya lochinpi c'un mat'ikte s'e lechaca ye
lo. - eya.

And / "Alas / my younger brother / this / across (the river) / I
hope to go / but / I have no way of crossing / so / to swim-I
tried / but / main-current / the / very / deep. / So / right now /
hunger / on account of it / I will die / like / it is so. / He said.

So Iktomi told the buffalo the reason for his tears, saying
he tried to swim, but the main current was too swift for him, so
he gave it up and was now nearly dead from hunger. (32:3)

- (3) (a)taku wanzin iwahochiyinkte lo. (b)Hechel un waktakel

yaunkta cha.¹

¹Franz Boas and Ella Deloria, Dakota Grammar. Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences. Vol. XXIII (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), p. 153, suggests that in formal speech (b) should precede (a).

thing / one / I will warn you against. / That way / on account of /
 expecting it, in a way / you will live / thus. (11:3)

There is something I wish to prepare you for. It is simply so that
 you may keep it in mind.

A little more needs to be said about example (2) as well as some
 other situations like this is. Cha in surface structure initial position
 is a phenomenon not allowed by the present theory.

Perhaps B+D were not quite satisfied with sentence initial cha
 either. In the grammar (1941) they quote this sentence from Deloria
 (1932) and try to rectify the situation somewhat. Instead of a period
 followed by a capitalized Cha they have a comma and lower case cha.
 But whether period or comma the fact remains that ye lo is a sentence
 final marker. Cha does indeed start a new sentence in surface struc-
 ture. How is it possible for this marker ye lo to creep in?

The examination of a number of examples is necessary to show a
 possible solution. Example IV.2 (12)-(14) has a sentence initial cha.
 Here are two more examples. Extensive quotation will be required to
 show the context.

(4) Ho, winyan, nishnala washtechilaka un thehantanhan wahi ye lo.

Ungninkta cha chihiyowahi ye lo. Cha iyoniciphi hantanhan
 mihakap hiyu wo.

Now, / woman / you alone / I love / therefore / from far away / I
 have come. / We shall go home (you and I, we too) / therefore / I
 have come for you / so / it is pleasing to you / if-then / after
 me / come on. (52:8)

Young woman, you alone I can love, and that is why I have come from so far away. I have come to take you with me. So if you are willing follow me away.

- (5) Lila niluzahan cha hehanyan owakihishni ye. - Yunkhan, - Hox, inila klesh inaxni ye, anpawi kin hinaphinkta cha skaya u kin hehanl unkhihunnikte lo. Cha inawaxni ye lo.

Very / you are fleetfooted / such / no longer / I am not able. /
 And then / Hox / without words / instead / hurry. / Sun / the /
 it will be up / so / white-ly / it approaches / the / then / we
 shall arrive home / Therefore / I am in a hurry. (52:10+11)

"I cannot keep up the pace, you're so fleetfooted." And he answered:
 "The idea! Stop talking and hurry; I want to reach home when the sun about to rise, sends a white light in the sky. That is why I am in a hurry."

A close look at all of these examples shows that their common feature is that cha does not refer back, but not to the immediately preceding verb or proposition alone, but rather to the entire preceding surface sentence, or even to a group of sentences. I.e. cha refers back to an idea that has just been expressed and subordinates it to the proposition that follows cha. (2) will serve as illustration. Clearly in the fact that the water is deep is not much of an explanation for being hungry.

. . . mniithanchan kin lila shme . . . cha lecheya lochinpi c'un mat'ikte s'e lechaca yelo.

. . . mainstream / the / very / deep / . . . / it being so /
 right now / hunger / on account of it / I will die / I like / it is so /

The reason is never actually stated, but rather implied: 'I have no way of obtaining food.'

This permits the following conclusion:

cha: causal subordinating conjunction: it stands between the propositions it relates, but stays attached to the subordinated proposition when the latter is moved after the superordinate proposition. It stands in front of the superordinate proposition if a series of propositions developing the subordinate idea precede.

At this point one further category of Buechel (1970), namely (1) 'def. art.' needs to be discussed. As a starting premise it will be proposed that there is only one cha, namely the causal conjunction.

In many instances Deloria (1932) glosses cha as "such". In quite a few of these instances a causal conjunction would fit just as well as "such" or what Buechel would refer to as the 'def. art.' In others, however, it is next to impossible to conceive of a causal relationship and these are the cases that will now be evaluated. Example (6) shows a case where the causal relationship fits well. But in Example (7) this unified theory is not tenable.

(6) taku wan suta cha iwoxtak inajin

Something / a hard / it being so / bumping into it / he stopped
(29:17)

Since there was something hard (in his path) he bumped into it and stopped.

(7) Iya wan wakhanxca cha wagnayin

Iya / a / very supernatural / such? / I have deceived him. (4:18)
I have just deceived the very supernaturally powerful Iya.

Actually, rather than explaining the fact that Iktomi was able to outsmart Iya, the first part of the statement Iya wan wanhanxca suggests the impossibility thereof. Cha would be a disjunction showing result contrary to expectation?!?

Example (8) shows a further instance of cha in a usage that does not fit in the analysis here proposed.

(8) yunkhan lena chanku-icagla pte-pha wan sheca yanka yunkhan he
ithimahetu cha nakedh slolya

and then / close / beside the road / buffalo-skull / a / dry /
it sat / and / that one / inside of it / such? / at last / he
knew. (44:3)

and at last he knew that it came from a dry buffalo skull lying
near his path.

The adoption of B+D's 1941 translation of cha: "it being so" does seem to represent a feasible alternative for both (7) and (8) and encompasses the earlier examples as well. But this translation is rather vague and in this vagueness a lot of problems can be hidden. More than that "it being so" can function as a causal conjunction or as something like a 'def. art.' With other words this translation which at first seemed an answer suddenly appears to be nothing more than a way to hide from the problems. It does show the potentiality of combining two different functions into one expression even in English in a way analogous to what seems to be the case with cha, but there still remains two separate functions. That is what this paper so far has tried to deny.

The problems continue to pile up against the idea of one and only one cha. How can (9) be analyzed in view of the proposed single category; cha the causal subordinator? Can it?

(9) Anpetu-lechacaka cha el mat'inkta hunshe

Day-this kind / such? / in / I shall die / evidently (1:2)

So it is on a day like this that I am to die, is it?

The occurrence of el immediately after the cha does indeed invite the solution of Buechel to call cha a definite article followed by a preposition. It seems like a rather straight forward solution.

Furthermore the initial phrase "anpetu-lechacaka cha el . . ." does seem to parallel Buechel's examples (1939:113): thipi kin le el = "in this house" and anpetu kin le el = "on this day." There can be no doubt about the deictic function of le in a manner similar to cha.

Rather than disproving Buechel's category of 'def. art.' example (10) will substantiate it.

(10) thahsha-hokshila wan i azipa, wanhinkpe kho lila washteschte cha yuha yankahan.

Deer-boy / a bow / arrows / too / very / nice / such?/ having / he was sitting. (25:1)

a deerboy, sitting with his beautiful new bow and some arrows in his hand.

Cha is exactly where in normal Lakhota surface structure an 'article' ought to occur.

In this example the solution initially proposed, cha = "because", runs into very real problems. Under that condition lila washteschte cha would have to be an explanation for the fact that the deerboy is holding

the bow and arrows: "because they are beautiful." It is possible, but is it probable?

In view of the enormous strain the unified theory places on normal thinking it seems indeed best to follow Buechel's lead and accept a separate word cha = "def. art."

This approach gives a much better framework for handling a last group of examples. Just as the article kin = 'the' seems to function as a relativizer (see Rood 1973) so cha has a similar function. It appears to be some kind of emphatic particle and occurs in conjunction with deictics. Cha will be glossed as "emph" = "emphatic particle." Note the frame in the following examples: deictic . . . cha

(11) he ithimahetu cha nakesh slolya

that one / inside of it / emph / at last / he knew deictic /

(44:3)

The ithimahetu refers to a buffalo skull in which Iktomi hears a noise. He . . . cha is referring to this particular noise. The translation then reads: "At last he knew that this particular noise was inside the buffalo skull." The treatment of he . . . cha as a frame is supported by the occurrence of several other frames of pronouns with cha, (12) and (13), as well as the fact that hecha also occurs as a combined emphatic demonstrative (14).

(12) taku le yakha cha lehahan huwo

What / this / you mean / emph. / you say-cont. / quest. (34:22)

What do you mean by crying this way?

(13) Ish tukte-unma thounkaphapi cha

then / which of two / we are the ender / emph. (1:5)

Who of the two of us is older anyway?

- (14) hecha ki whinyun-washtepi k'un, unikik'inkte
 that sort (fat raccoon) / the / to grease skins—they are god /
 the-past / let us dig it. (39:16)

Oh, we must get it (raccoon) out; that kind of fat is so fine
 for dressing hides.

The result of this discussion is this: the same spelling incorporates several different lexical items. On the one hand there is a clear case for the causal conjunction (Example (1), (2), et al.) and also for the emphatic particle (Examples (11), (12), et al.). But there is also a gray area where neither idea seems really wrong (Example (6)).

V.2 Subordination in LS

In closing some comments will be made concerning the difference between subordination and coordination in the LS. In the examples in this paper no difference has been shown.

The view of LS taken in this paper is that all meaning is to be shown in the LS. However, the function and meaning of subordination are different from the meaning of roles or semantic items; rather they are more like subjectivalization, passivization, extraposition and a number of other operations usually labeled as 'optional'. The position, then, that this paper represents is that the basic meaning of the sentence is not affected by subordination and that it, like the other operations just mentioned, is loosely grouped with them as a rhetorical or stylistic device.

But subordination, etc. is of real significance in languages and to claim that these operations are controlled by mere chance is obviously untenable. What then is the 'meaning' of subordination and how and where

is it first to be marked in the notation? In LS? In IS? Certainly not in SS.

As was mentioned earlier Lakoff's (1971) suggestion has been adopted here. Next to the LS which contains the role labels and semantic items showing the basic relationship between predicates and arguments there is a body of information called the presuppositional component (PR). This part contains information on what is known versus new information, what is important, what is the topic and the focus of the paragraph or discourse, which argument is to be emphasized, which chosen as subject or object, which predicate is to be nominalized, etc. With other words, the PR gives the information that determines which of any possible optional rules or derivations apply. The outcome is that all so-called 'optional' rules are no longer optional at all.

This is clearly a rather superficial treatment of a very extensive subject. But it is because of the vastness of the subject of subordination that no more can be said about it within the limits of this paper. Research is being done on the subject of subordination and several articles in the last few years have given some insight,¹ but to date no really conclusive arguments have been presented to unveil the intricacies of subordination.

¹D. Lee Ballard, Robert J. Conrad and Robert E. Longacre, "The Deep and Surface Grammar of Interclausal Relations," Foundations of Language 7 (1971a), pp. 70-118; Ballard, Conrad and Longacre, More on the Deep and Surface Grammar of Interclausal Relations. Language Data I (Asia-Pacific Series). Ukarumpa: Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Summer Institute of Linguistics Publication, 1971b); Joseph E. Grimes, The Thread of Discourse (The Hague: Mouton, forthcoming), are helpful.

APPENDIX
NOTES ON ORTHOGRAPHY

Notes on Orthography

The symbols used in the writing of Lahota text in this paper do not conform to any standard orthography. But since this paper is concerned with syntactical matters an attempt has been made to make the writing as easy as possible. Accents are not indicated and all diacritics have been replaced, so that the symbol 'š' or 'ś' for instance has been rewritten 'sh'.

LIST OF CONSONANTS:

SYMBOLS	SOUNDS	SAMPLE WORD	NOTES
b	b	<u>b</u> luha	
c	tš	ch <u>in</u> ca	'ch' and 'c' it seems are rarely distinguished in younger speakers.
ch	tš ^h	<u>ch</u> inca	
g	g	<u>g</u> le	
gh		<u>gh</u> i	
h	h	blu <u>h</u> a	
j	ž	wan <u>j</u> in	
k	k	<u>k</u> in	
kh	kx or k ^h	wak <u>h</u> an	harsh breathing with uvular trill, except before 'i'.
l	l	<u>l</u> a	
m	m	<u>m</u> agha	
n	n	<u>n</u> ub	after a vowel it designates a nasalized vowel; e.g. ' <u>kin</u> '
p	p	y <u>p</u> i	
ph	px or p ^h	<u>ph</u> eta	see note on 'kh'
s	s	<u>s</u> apa	

sh	š	<u>sh</u> ni	
t	t	ph <u>e</u> ta	
th	tx or t ^h	<u>th</u> xcha	see note on 'kh'
w	w	<u>w</u> anjin	
x	x	th <u>x</u> cha	
y	y	<u>y</u> amni	
z	z	<u>z</u> aptan	

LIST OF VOWELS

SYMBOLS	SOUNDS	SAMPLE WORD
a	a	l <u>a</u>
e	e	h <u>e</u>
i	i	sh <u>i</u>
o	o	<u>o</u> ta
u	u	bl <u>u</u> ha

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