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Clause and sentence boundary markers in the Dakota language

Donald S. Stark

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CLAUSE AND SENTENCE BOUNDARY MARKERS
IN THE DAKOTA LANGUAGE

by

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This thesis submitted by Donald S. Stark in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the University of North Dakota, is hereby approved by the committee under whom the work has been done.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 A sentence has been defined in various ways. Fries states that "more than two hundred different definitions of the sentence confront the worker who undertakes to deal with the structure of English utterances."¹ Practically all of these are based on the meaning or thought content of the sentence.² In contrast to these, Fries develops a definition of the sentence in English which has, as its basis, form rather than meaning. These formal characteristics are different from language to language. Each language possesses its own distinct patterns of arrangements which are used in constructing sentences.

As raw material for his investigation into the structure of the English sentence, Fries utilized a large corpus of mechanically recorded telephone conversations of various speakers of north central American English.³ In the Dakota study presented here, the prime source material is approximately forty-five minutes of tape recorded dialogue, consisting of two separate conversations recorded at

¹C. C. Fries, The Structure of English (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952), p. 9.

²E.g., the common school-grammar definition: "A sentence is a group of words expressing a complete thought."

³C. C. Fries, The Structure of English, pp. vii-viii.

different occasions, and involving two speakers each time.

1.2 Based on this recorded data, rather than on suggested or controlled informant responses to out-of-context situations, a procedure will be described by which the larger grammatical sequences (i.e., sentences and clauses) of Dakota may be delimited from the larger speech continua in which they are imbedded.

1.3 There are today two main views regarding the fundamental procedure to be followed in the linguistic analysis of a corpus of data, each with its group of adherents. One group considers that the analyst will obtain best results, save time, and produce a more accurate final description if he begins first with the identification and description of the smaller units, and then proceeds through word, to phrase, then to clause, and finally to discourse.¹

The other offers identical rewards to those who apply this procedure in reverse, i.e., who begin by cutting the discourse first into paragraphs, then sentences, phrases, until the ultimate building blocks of grammar--the morphemes--are isolated.²

1.4 The following sections of this paper will describe the method of elicitation used in obtaining the language data utilized herein, the phonology, and the pro-

¹Zellig S. Harris, "From Morpheme to Utterance," Language, XXII (1946) 161-83

²Noam Chomsky, Syntactic Structures (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1957).

cedure by which the sentence and clause boundaries within this Dakota discourse can be determined.

The final section will present a phonemic transcription of the conversation text, with a literal translation; a free translation of the same text; and an inventory of particles and inflectional morphemes occurring throughout the data.

II. ELICITATION TECHNIQUE

2.1. Harris,¹ Voegelin,² and others have written of the pitfalls inherent in various techniques used in the collection of "live" linguistic data, and have suggested methods of collection which avoid these dangers. When an informant is asked to translate sentences from one language, say, English, into his own language, there is the possibility, perhaps even a probability, that his translation will not reflect idiomatic usage. His response may be only a word-for-word translation of the English, and thus be useless as an example of syntactic construction in his language. Linguistic forms will tend to be distorted in direct proportion to the amount that a speaker has to think about such forms as he uses them in speech. Conversely, the purest and most undistorted samples of a language should be obtained by an undetected recording of speech uttered in an ambient which is completely natural for the speaker.

2.2. One source of potential distortion is the presence of the investigator himself. This may be reduced

¹Zellig S. Harris and C. F. Voegelin, "Eliciting in Linguistics," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, IX (1953), 59-75.

²C. F. Voegelin and Florence M. Robinett, "Obtaining a Linguistic Sample," IJAL, XX (April, 1954), 89-100.

by careful eliciting procedures which are designed to put the informant as much at ease as possible and preserve as natural a context as possible. By the use of a tape recorder the investigator may absent himself, leaving the informant to speak as and when he wishes into the microphone. This method presents the difficulty that, without the presence of the investigator and the motivation which he supplies, some informants find it difficult to dictate a monologue of useful length.

A solution to this difficulty can be found in the technique of recording conversation texts. Harris and Voegelin, in their article "Eliciting in Linguistics," comment on conversation texts as follows:

Most texts are dictated to anthropologists by single informants. It is indeed unusual in American Indian language material to find any conversational texts; those in Dakota, for example, were recorded by a native speaker of that language. . . . Much effort has been expended to obtain conversations in exotic languages. . . . All such attempts, whether under favorable or unfavorable conditions, seem to have been unsatisfactory.

2.3. In order to approach as closely as possible to the ideal situation in the obtaining of linguistic data for this paper, a total of approximately two hours of free, unrehearsed conversation between two speakers of Dakota was tape-recorded at different times. This was accomplished by seating the informants in a room by themselves, with the microphone between them. Then, having started them on

¹Harris and Voegelin, SJA, IX, 63.

uncontrolled conversation,¹ they were left by themselves until the tape had run out. In reality, the situation was slightly less ideal than had been planned since it was felt necessary to reenter the room twice during the recording session to check on recorder operation.

The linguistic material thus obtained was later replayed to the same informants, at which time they were asked to repeat and translate the conversation data. At times, in order to identify the construction of certain forms, the informants were asked direct questions in order to elicit some expansions of paradigms based on those forms which were on the tape. At the same time, a transcription of the conversation was begun.

It was soon apparent, however, that it would be impossible to produce a phonetically accurate transcription of the data without the assistance of a native speaker of Dakota, due to the speed of the utterances plus the fact that the microphone had not been placed in an optimum position for the recording.²

2.4. Since there was insufficient time available with an informant for the satisfactory transcription of the

¹The informants' sole instructions were to talk to each other about any subject they wished, as long as it was in Dakota.

²In an attempt to place both informants as much at ease as possible they were seated in parlor chairs. The microphone was placed as close as possible to both, but its placement left much to be desired from a recording point-of-view.

taped material, the following method was employed to prepare it for later transcription without the presence of an informant. This involved the use of an additional tape recorder. The original taped conversation was placed on one recorder which would be controlled by the informant.¹ The second recorder was set to record continuously at slow speed, and its microphone was placed at a distance of approximately fifteen inches from the informant's mouth. In this way the informant was able to re-play a short section of the recorded material, repeat this portion slowly in Dakota,² and then give a free translation of the section into English. By this method the entire two hours of conversation texts was re-dictated under ideal acoustic and recording conditions in approximately five hours total time. This produced a tape which, in conjunction with the original taped conversation, provided Dakota material 99% of which it was possible to transcribe without the assistance of a native speaker of Dakota.

2.5. As mentioned before, this method of obtaining linguistic information, although relatively very close to the ideal, does nevertheless contain the possibility of meta-

¹This particular recorder, a Tandberg, was equipped with a foot-controlled start-stop-backup mechanism by means of which the informant easily may play and re-play sections of the tape at will.

²A certain amount of unexpected paradigmatic material resulted from this method, as the informant would, from time to time, add, omit, substitute, or partially recast the order of parts of the sentence.

linguistic distortion. Specifically, in this type of situation, potential annoyance factors are the visible microphone and tape recorder (both reminders of the fact that their language is, so to speak, on trial), and the interruptions caused by the appearances of the linguistic investigator from time to time.¹

2.6. The portion of the text which is presented for examination in this paper is transcribed phonemically but is, for the most part, unrestored. Restoration of text, as sometimes practised, substitutes slow forms or full morphemes for those allomorphs which, in fast colloquial speech, appear in fused or sandhi forms. In this text, restorations have been made only in cases where, in the recorded data, the informant's speech has slurred into apparent silence and thus produced word fragments which, on replay, the informant has allowed only as morphemically complete forms.

¹See phrase No. 176 of the conversation text.

III. PHONOLOGY

3.1. The phonemes of the Wahpeton¹ dialect of Dakota are twenty-eight in number--eighteen consonants, eight vowels, and one stress contrast.² They are as follows:

Consonants

Stops, vl.	p	t	č	k	ʔ
vd.	b	d			
Nasals	m	n			
Fricatives, vl.		s	š	x	
vd.		z	ž	š	
Spirants	w		y		h

¹According to my informants the dialect of Dakota spoken by them is the Wahpeton dialect. Riggs (Stephen Return Riggs, Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography, ed. J. O. Dorsey, [Vol IX of "Contributions to North American Ethnology"; Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1893], p. 156.) lists the Wahpeton as one of the seven principal bands which composed the Sioux nation at the midpoint of the nineteenth century. Boas (F. Boas and E. Deloria, Dakota Grammar ["Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences" Vol. XXIII-2; Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941], p. 20.) does not mention this dialect in the preface to his grammar, and mentions only three dialects: Teton, Santee, and Yankton. Phonetically the Wahpeton dialect appears very similar to the Yankton, and may be identical. I have had no opportunity to compare these dialects.

²Boas in his grammar (Boas and Deloria, Dakota Grammar, p. 21) writes a secondary as well as primary stress. This he interprets as a reduced primary stress which occurs in compound words. In this paper I do not indicate these reduced primary stresses, since, for purposes of the present analysis, I consider it irrelevant.

Vowels

Oral	i	u
	e	o
	a	
Nasalized	i ⁿ	u ⁿ
	a ⁿ	

Prosody

One stress contrast.

3.2. The voiceless stop phonemes are unaspirated. There also occurs a set of glottalized stops and fricatives: pʔ, tʔ, čʔ, kʔ, sʔ, šʔ, and xʔ, which, in this paper, are analyzed as positional allophones of the corresponding stop and fricative phonemes. However, since the distributional data leading one to this conclusion are not completely convincing, evidence both for and against this interpretation will be presented.

3.3. The following data tend to support the interpretation of the glottalized consonants as single, separate phonemes which contrast with their non-glottalized counterparts, i.e., that the phonetic sequence of glottalized consonant followed by glottal stop (e.g., [pʔ] = /pʔ/) composes one phonemic consonant:

1. Glottal stop does not occur in cluster with any consonant other than pʔ, tʔ, čʔ, kʔ, sʔ, šʔ, and xʔ.

2. Glottal stop is always the second member of these clusters, i.e., a reverse sequence does not occur.

The following evidence, however, supports the conclusion that these same phonetic sequences of glottalized consonant plus glottal stop are sequences of two separate phonemes, i.e., stop (or fricative) plus glottal stop

(e.g., [pʔ] = /pʔ/):

1. Dakota permits clusters of two consonants, consisting of stop plus stop, pté 'buffalo'; stop plus fricative, psíča 'to jump'; fricative plus stop, xbá 'sleepy'; and others. If glottalized consonant plus glottal stop were a single phoneme, one would expect it to enter into cluster combinations as do the other single consonants. This type of combination does not occur.
2. In the morphological process of prefixation, one can observe a non-glottalized consonant become glottalized due to the influence of a following glottal stop. E.g., uⁿk- 'we two' when prefixed to the verb stem ʔuⁿ 'to be' results in uⁿkʔuⁿ 'we are' (phonetically uⁿkʔuⁿ).

In view of this inconclusive structural evidence, phonetic sequences of glottalized consonant followed by glottal stop are here analyzed as clusters of two phonemes, since this interpretation also produces a smaller total

phoneme inventory.

3.4. The problem in the analysis of the aspirated stops is similar in that the distributional evidence is also similar. Although a slight aspiration occurs between the members of a consonant cluster consisting of two voiceless stops, this is interpreted as a non-phonemic transition sound identical in pattern to the non-contrastive voiced transition which occurs between two voiced stops. Compare bdé 'lake' (phonetically b^ədé) and pté 'buffalo' (phonetically p^hté). In other instances this voiceless transition can be shown to be the voiceless remains of a former full vowel which may reappear in slower speech. Note the structure of the stem iyókphi 'to be pleased' (phonetically iyók^hphi) in phrase thirty-nine; and then as iyókphi in phrase four.

3.5. Although Boas, in the orthography of his grammar has left in doubt his actual analysis of these units, he states in his text:

The morphological treatment of verbs suggests that the aspirate and glottalized consonants must be considered as double consonants, because in bisyllabic stems the second syllable which begins with one of these sounds is treated like a syllable beginning with two consonants.¹ (Italics mine.)

3.6. Wolff² states that his Dakota phonemes are

¹Boas and Deloria, Dakota Grammar, p. 5. In his Dakota texts and cited forms he writes aspirated stops with a following apostrophe, yet the symbol h occurs elsewhere.

²Hans Wolff, "Comparative Siouan I," International Journal of American Linguistics, XVI (1950), 63.

those of Boas and Deloria, but does not write aspiration either as a component of a unit phoneme or as part of a cluster.

3.7. Deloria¹ does not give a phoneme list, but does indicate aspiration and glottalization. She does not state her phonemic interpretation of these sequences.

3.8. Matthews,² like Boas, postulates only two series of stop phonemes, but assigns the aspiration to the voiceless velar fricative x , and interprets the glottalized consonants as clusters of two identical stops or fricatives.

3.9. Buechel³ makes no phonemic statement, but, in his list of consonants on page two, he lists aspirated stops as separate from unaspirated and glottalized. Glottal stop does not appear as a separate letter.

3.10. Riggs⁴ treats the glottalized stops as separate units, but the glottalized fricatives he writes as fricatives plus an apostrophe. He does not write aspiration.

3.11. In addition to the glottalized allophones of

¹Ella Deloria, "Short Dakota Texts Including Conversation," IJAL, XX (January, 1954), 17-22.

²G. Hubert Matthews, "A Phonemic Analysis of a Dakota Dialect," IJAL, XXI (January, 1955), 56-59. The reader's attention is directed to this article as one which displays an obviously high degree of phonemic sophistication. While I have preferred a different analysis, I nevertheless recognize this plausible alternative.

³Eugene Buechel, S.J., A Grammar of Lakota (St. Louis: By the author, 1939) p. 2.

⁴Riggs, Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography.

the consonants, the only major allophonic variation is that of the phoneme k. When k precedes d it becomes a voiced velar stop, e.g., iwókdaka 'to speak in reference to one's own' (phonetically iwókd̥aka). The allophone g also occurs as a variant of the enclitic kiⁿ 'the'. In normal colloquial speech this form is usually reduced to k (phonetically g), e.g., aⁿpétu kiⁿ dé 'today' becomes aⁿpétu k dé (phonetically aⁿpétu g dé). Likewise, under similar conditions, the conjunction kʔa 'and' varies to phonetic ka, ga, or ga.

3.12. The orthography to be used in the remainder of this paper is the same as that used in the chart of phonemes, with the following exceptions:

1. The glottal stop ʔ will be written with an apostrophe.
2. The alveo-palatal affricate č will be written as c.
3. The voiced velar fricative g will be written as g.
4. Nasalized vowels will be written as vowel plus a following n; e.g., hán 'yes'.¹
5. Stress will be indicated by an acute accent above the syllabic vowel; e.g., anpétu 'day'.

¹Since the phoneme n is never the initial member of a consonant cluster, a post-vocalic n is always to be interpreted as the nasalization of the preceding vowel. In those cases where a word ends in the phoneme n, the preceding vowel is conditionally nasalized and the resultant is written as -Vnn; e.g., hehán 'then' (for the phonemic hehánⁿ).

IV. SENTENCE BOUNDARIES

4.1. As a working basis for beginning the segmentation of the conversation texts into smaller units, and eventually into sentences, the following two assumptions have been made: (1) that the sentence as a definable grammatical unit does exist in Dakota, and (2) that whenever a person begins to speak, after another speaker has finished, he will begin to speak at the beginning of a sentence; and when he stops speaking, being followed then by the speech of another, he will have stopped at the close of a sentence. The second assumption cannot be assumed to be valid for all linguistic situations. One can, without doubt, invent possible situations where assumption number two would be false.¹ But, for a beginning analysis of sentence structure, this assumption will be of sufficient value to enable the analyst to discover a large percentage of the total sentence boundaries. Then, in the later and more advanced stages of the analysis, he will be able to

¹It is quite possible, and even probable, that a speaker of any language will, within a given space of time, be interrupted in his speech activity either by other speakers or by non-linguistic events. Or, if he is not interrupted, he may hesitate or even stop speaking. It is less probable, but quite possible, for a speaker to begin his utterance somewhere in the interior of a sentence. As a hypothetical example of both cases at once, X says, "I hear that John went to uh-- uh--" and Y finishes for X by adding the words, "--New York last night."

summon additional data to aid in the further sectioning of the linguistic continuum.

4.2. The Dakota conversation text, as transcribed here, was first divided into sections which are bounded on both sides by both pause¹ and a change of speakers.² These sections will be called utterance-units.³ A total of 111 utterance-units resulted, each of which is marked in the left margin of the text by either A or J.⁴ These 111 utterances, in accordance with the second assumption, can be considered to begin with a sentence opening and to end with a sentence closure.

4.3. In the search for additional formal phenomena which might be present at these postulated sentence boundaries, it was noted that in 100 of these 111 utterance-units

¹There may be no break in the combined speech activity, since one speaker at times begins to talk before the other has completed her utterance-unit. There is, however, a pause of the speaker just finished.

²The written conversation text apparently begins and ends with zero context. This is not the case, however, as the first utterance-unit (spoken by Mrs. Adams) is preceded on the tape by a comment of Mrs. Joshua which I have not placed in the written text. And the last utterance-unit (by Mrs. Joshua in phrase 214) is incomplete as it is followed on the tape by further speech activity on her part.

³I am indebted to Fries for the term utterance-unit as well as the technique of segmentation into these units. (C. C. Fries, The Structure of English, p. 23).

⁴See the introductory remarks to the conversation text (Chapter VI, sections 6.1. through 6.4.) for an explanation of these and other symbols used in the text format.

a 3-1 intonation contour¹ also occurs at the conclusion of the utterance-unit preceding this boundary.² Of the other eleven, two (phrases 69 and 134) can be classed as probable incomplete utterance-units due to interruption since, in both cases, the beginning utterance-unit of J overlaps the closing of A's. Two others (phrases 42 and 77) cannot be analyzed because the final words of these are unintelligible due to extraneous noise.

Regarding the seven utterance-units which close with other than 3-1 intonation,³ we can postulate either that (1) the different intonation contour here signals a different, less-frequent sentence type, or (2) they are not sentence terminals and, therefore, incomplete sentences or sentence fragments.⁴

¹The intonation contour represented by the numbers 3-1 described a down-ward voice glide which is roughly parallel to sentence-final intonation in English. I am, for this part of the analysis, tentatively assuming a four-level intonation system ranging from 4 (highest) to 1 (lowest). Thus, 3-1 represents a glide from a medium high pitch level to the lowest pitch. The contour point, i.e., the beginning point of the intonation contour, is the last stressed vowel preceding the end of the utterance-unit. As in English, the intonation contour may be compressed into one syllable, or spread out over several words. For example, in phrase 15 the total contour is contained in one syllable, while in phrase 33 it is spread out over the last seven syllables before the pause.

²This combination of pause plus preceding 3-1 intonation is indicated in the conversation text by a diagonal, and will be referred to hence as major pause. Pause plus intonation other than 3-1 is signified by three hyphens.

³Phrases 14, 26, 27, 41, 138, 189, and 195.

⁴It is, of course, possible to assume that the one-hundred utterance-units which end with 3-1 intonation

4.4. Having assumed, then, that the terminals of the 100 utterance-units¹ (constituting 90% of the total) are at the same time terminals of sentences, it should be possible to discover other features of form which these 100 postulated sentence boundaries might possess in common.

On further examination of the terminals of these utterance-units, it was noted that thirty-five² end in a verb.³ Twenty-seven others⁴ end in a verb followed by one or more post-verb particles.⁵ Of the remaining thirty-

are non-sentences, and that the eight with other contours are the true sentences. This would simply produce a major speech construction labelled non-sentence, while the statistically fewer pattern would be sentences. For this paper I have chosen to assume that, in Dakota, sentences occur with greater frequency than non-sentences.

¹The last utterance-unit cited (that of J in phrase 214) will not be considered here since, as mentioned earlier, it is incomplete.

²Phrases 10, 13, 15, 20, 29, 33, 43, 44, 59, 75, 80, 99, 102, 103, 105, 110, 112, 120, 126, 128, 131, 152, 159, 162, 165, 168, 178, 181, 183, 190, 194, 203, 207, 213, and 214.

³A verb in Dakota can be defined morphologically as a member of the class of stems which may occur with the pronominal affixes, with the pluralizing suffix -pi, and with the potential aspect suffix -kta. Verbs are further divided into subclasses according to their occurrence with allomorphs of the pronominal affixes. Syntactically, a verb may be identified by its occurrence with certain post-verb particles.

⁴Phrases 5, 6, 7, 21, 24, 46, 48, 51, 64, 65, 67, 68, 73, 78, 100, 121, 125, 133, 153, 161, 173, 175, 184, 191, 192, 200, and 202.

⁵The post-verb particles occurring in the conversation text are šni 'not', ca 'sentence ending particle', ce 'quotative', nachéca 'probably', stéca 'seemingly', kinhan 'if, when', hē 'interrogative', and iš 'or not'. šni immediately follows the verb stem. Occurrences of šni fol-

eight, fifteen¹ are single word utterance-units consisting solely of the word hán 'yes';² three³ are in English and will not be considered as affecting this study; one (phrase 166) is unintelligible; the residue⁴ is composed of forms which will be treated, for the present at least, as void of additional formal sentence markers.

Thus, in sixty-two of the one hundred cases occurring in the text, there are the following sentence boundary indicators: (1) one phonological marker--major pause, and (2) one grammatical marker--verb, plus or minus post-verb particle. It can, therefore, be predicted that, barring subsequent evidence to the contrary, whenever these two markers occur together they signal the end of a sentence in Dakota.

4.5. A similar study of forms which occur at the beginning of utterance-units discloses that, of those units comprised of two or more words (i.e., whose opening word is not also the closing word), only two (phrases 61 and 183) begin with verbs.⁵ The other 108 begin with forms which

lowed by nachéca or stéca have been noted. There is one occurrence of nachéca is to (phrase 19).

¹Phrases 25, 30, 60, 66, 71, 111, 122, 124, 163, 167, 169, 172, 174, 182, and 205.

²To be later identified as minor sentences.

³Phrases 40, 160, and 180.

⁴Phrases 4, 70, 104, 117, 123, 137, 151, 171, 177, 179, 185, 193, 196, 201, 204, 208, 209, 211, and 212.

⁵These will be analyzed later as verb complements.

will, in the later stages of the total analysis, be classified as nouns and other parts of speech. But, for the present, these will be labelled simply as non-verbs.

4.6. But it can be pointed out here that there are several words which, due to their relatively more frequent occurrence, can be tentatively identified as sentence openers. These are hán 'yes' which occurs eight times¹ as the first word of a multiple-word utterance-unit; ho 'and' which occurs six times;² hece 'thus' five times;³ hiyá 'no' five times;⁴ and eyás 'but' three times.⁵

Thus we have now, in addition to the two markers of sentence terminals, other criteria which will aid in the establishing of the point at which a sentence begins, namely, the occurrence of one of these four words which we may tentatively call sentence openers, or, lacking one of these, the occurrence of a non-verb.⁶

¹Phrases 34, 47, 55, 152, 160, 192, 203, and 214. In the phrases listed in footnote 1 on the preceding page, hán occurs as a sentence opener and closer simultaneously, i.e., constitutes a one-word utterance-unit.

²Phrases 41, 127, 202, 204, 209, and 212.

³Phrases 19, 74, 138, 161, and 184. Note also the combination ho hece 'and so' in phrase 41.

⁴Phrases 14, 15, 21, 113, and 154.

⁵Phrases 79, 118, and 179. (The short form eš occurs in phrase 179).

⁶It might seem painfully obvious at this point that, in a given continuum of speech, each sentence closure must, of course, if followed by anything, be followed by the beginning of another sentence. This I grant is almost always the case. In the analysis of those rare, but possible,

4.7. Our first assumption regarding the Dakota conversation text has been that a change of speaker marked a sentence boundary. We shall now make one other assumption, namely, that some Dakota utterance-units are composed of more than one sentence. If this assumption is true, and if the boundaries of such sentences as are included within an utterance-unit are marked by the same features of form which have been noted marking opening and closure of utterance-units, it should then be possible to identify the boundaries of these included sentences by discovering these markers.

4.8. Since the phonological marker indicating sentence closure, as well as utterance-unit closure, was found to be major pause, one should first examine those points within the utterance-unit at which major pause occurs.¹ These points therefore, marked by a diagonal in the conversation text, indicate potential sentence division points within the utterance-unit.

A check was made of the words preceding these major pauses, and the occurrences of the previously determined grammatical marker (i.e., verb, plus or minus post-verb particle) were noted. If, then, at a certain point within

exceptions, however, a rigorous definition of the formal characteristics of sentence opening is needed.

¹ Intonation contours of 3-1 pattern which occur without following pause have not been marked. The pause, although it has been subjectively determined, can be defined as interruption of any length in the flow of the speech continuum of one speaker.

the utterance-unit both this grammatical marker and major pause should occur, it can be assumed that this point medial to the utterance-unit is a structural parallel of those occurring at the end of utterance-units, which points we have already defined as sentence boundaries.

For example, in phrase 1 a major pause occurs after hé 'that'. This word, however, is not a verb. Therefore, since only one of the sentence closure markers is present, this point should not be considered a sentence boundary. But at the end of phrase 1 both the phonological marker--major pause, and the grammatical marker--the verb amánkdiipi, occur. This point, therefore, can be classed as a sentence boundary.

For the same reason, we can also fix the end of phrase 2 as a sentence boundary. An examination and tabulation of all major pause points occurring medially within utterance-units reveals that of 139 total occurrences, fifty-nine¹ (43%) occur immediately preceded by a verb as grammatical sentence boundary indicator and can, therefore, be interpreted as identical in construction to those sixty-two which occur finally in the utterance-unit and have previously been identified as sentence terminals. These fifty-nine, then, can also be identified as sentence

¹Phrases 1, 2, 3, 8, 15, 17, 19, 34, 35, 36, 39, 47, 49, 50, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 63, 72, 74, 76, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 90, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 102, 107, 108, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 127, 128, 128, 129, 130, 133, 140, 143, 146, 149, 150, 164, 170, 177, and 188.

terminals.¹

4.9. We have now identified as sentence boundaries 121 (51%) of the 238 total occurrences of major pause occurring in the conversation text. Eliminating from this total those ten which are preceded by English, and the one whose preceding words are unintelligible, this percentage is raised to fifty-three. In other words, 121 of a possible 227 sentences² have their closures marked by a consistent phonological-plus-grammatical marker combination, thus indicating the probable existence of this combination as a major sentence closing device in Dakota.

However, there are still eighty occurrences of major pause within an utterance-unit which, due to the absence of the grammatical marker, cannot, according to the present definition of a Dakota sentence boundary, be classed as sentence terminals. We conclude, therefore, that either (1) other sentence boundary markers exist which have not yet been discovered,³ or (2) major pause alone (i.e., without preceding grammatical markers) does not always mark a sentence closure.

¹No evidence to the contrary can be adduced from inspection of the forms immediately following these **major** pauses which are internal to the utterance unit, i.e., those forms which begin sentences.

²Non-major pause has not been considered here.

³It is possible that no other marker may be necessary beside major pause. This possibility could be included under (1) as a zero grammatical marker.

Of these aforementioned eighty cases, seven¹ can be eliminated from our consideration since they involve English; four² are preceded by hán 'yes'; and eight³ present special problems in syntactic analysis and will be treated later.

4.10. The words, or word-groups, preceding major pause in the remaining sixty-two cases are neither verbs nor post-verb particles, but are other forms, some of which re-occur frequently. There are, for example, five occurrences of únkhan 'and then';⁴ three of héce 'thus';⁵ seven of k'a 'and';⁶ and seven of the combination k'a héce 'and thus'.⁷

4.11. It has been noted earlier⁸ that one of the aforementioned--héce--occurs five times as a sentence opener in initial⁹ position. But in these three cases it func-

¹Phrases 145, 147, 186, 191, 197, 198, and 199.

²Phrases 34, 47, 55, and 187.

³Phrases 3, 81, 85, 89, 96, 110, 136, and 141.

⁴Phrases 10, 12, 38, 113, and 158.

⁵Phrases 85, 156, and 177.

⁶Phrases 2, 93, 96, 96, 118, 144, and 155. In these examples the allomorphs ka, na, and a also occur.

⁷Phrases 83, 89, 90, 90, 91, 96, and 99. k'a héce frequently occurs as a éce.

⁸Section 3.5.

⁹From here on, unless stated otherwise, the terms initial, medial, and final (and their derivatives), will refer to initial, medial, and final position in the utterance-unit.

tions apparently as a sentence closer. On examination of the forms immediately following major pause in medial positions, it will be seen that héce occurs six times.¹

4.12. Although únkhan cannot be found occurring after a medial major pause in the cited portion of the conversation text, it has, in other tape-recorded texts, been noted in this position. This can be illustrated by the following portion of a story text.²

-- / magá ka magáksica ka / zitkána óta / onúwan únpi /
únkhan / šunkthókca k héya / -- -- / duck and goose
and/bird many / swim be-pl / and:then / wolf the as:
follows-say / -- '---many ducks and geese and birds
were swimming. And then the wolf said: "--'.

Thus, since héce and únkhan may occur either before or after a medial major pause, the validity of major pause as a marker of medial sentence boundaries appears questionable.

4.13. In view of these conflicting data, there are the following possible analyses:

1. héce (and possibly k'a and únkhan) is a form which occurs both as a sentence opener and sentence closer, its function as one or the other being determined by the occurrence of major pause

¹Phrases 64, 110, 147, 150, 177, and 187.

²Recorded by Mrs. Joshua in July, 1958.

2. héce occurs only as a sentence opener or as sentence closer (but not both), in which case major pause does not, in its own right, mark a sentence boundary.
3. héce is a form which serves as a connector, or structural signal, uniting the preceding construction to the following, without being itself a constituent of either.¹

If we were to choose the first of these analyses, syntactic pairs would be produced, which might occur as (1) -----héce/-----; and (2) -----/héce----- with no demonstrable contrast in meaning. In both of these hypothetical cases héce occurs in syntactically identical surroundings except for the placement of major pause.² These could possibly be explained as syntactic free variants, and this explanation might, at this point, seem at least equal in value to the others which reject major pause as an internal sentence boundary marker. The other analyses, however, result in a simpler sentence description.

4.14. Although both the second and third analyses appear adequate, it has seemed best to classify the function

¹See Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1958), p. 153. Hockett here suggests this analysis of the conjunction and for English grammar.

²Although this possibility cannot be illustrated from the Dakota text, compare phrases 156 and 187 for an analagous situation.

of héce according to its non-suspect occurrences. By charting these occurrences in the four relevant positions¹ it can be seen that there is unrestricted occurrence of this form in all except final position. Two of these positions, i.e., initial, and medial post-pause, are, according to previous analysis, clear sentence beginnings. Since, then, in two-thirds of its potential occurrences,² héce functions unquestionably as a sentence opener, and since, in the other third, an interpretation as sentence opener is at least as valid as any other interpretation, it will therefore be classified in all cases as a sentence opener.

4.15. The word únkhan 'and then' occurs neither initially nor finally, but is limited to pre-pause position within the utterance-unit. The problem here, as with héce, is whether to consider únkhan as a sentence opener or as a sentence closer. The distribution of únkhan is more restricted than that of héce. únkhan never occurs post-pause medially, unless immediately followed by another major pause. The occurrences of únkhan and héce in relation to the utterance-unit can be compared by the following chart. The dashed line indicates the other words which comprise the

¹These are (1) initial, (2) pre-pause medial, (3) post-pause medial, and (4) final.

²Actual count of the occurrences of héce next to major pause: initially, 5; pre-pause medially, 3; post-pause medially, 6. The one occurrence of héce in final position (phrase 177) has been disregarded as being a probable interruption.

utterance-unit which is the environment of héce and únkhan.

```

héce-----
-----/héce-----
-----héce/-----          -----únkhan/-----
                               -----/únkhan/-----

```

It will be noted that, whereas héce occurs in two positions which are clear sentence beginnings (i.e., the first and second examples of héce above), únkhan never occurs in these positions. It does, however, occur in one position (first example of únkhan) which, phonologically, is a clear sentence closure point. This is the most frequent position of únkhan. On the basis of these occurrences, únkhan has been interpreted as a sentence closer.¹

4.16. The data in the case of k'a 'and' is inconclusive. k'a never occurs initially or finally, and thus functions as neither an unmistakable sentence opener nor closer. It occurs only medially, either in pre-pause or post-pause position, as illustrated by the following chart of its positions within the utterance-unit. As in the chart above (paragraph 4.15) the dashed lines substitute for the words of the utterance-unit within which k'a occurs.

¹A possible alternate analysis would classify únkhan as a sentence opener on the basis of its analogous function with héce. Since héce and únkhan do not occur together, they could possibly be interpreted as mutually substitutable items.

-----k'a/-----
 -----/k'a-----¹

Because of these occurrences of k'a² we shall interpret it as neither sentence opener nor closer, but as a connector which belongs grammatically both to what precedes it and to what follows. We shall, therefore, consider k'a, in its occurrences next to major pause, to be a sentence boundary indicator. As such, it marks the preceding form as a sentence closer, and the following form as a sentence opener.

4.17. It will be remembered that a verb, plus or minus post-verb particle, has been identified as a grammatical marker of sentence closure. As a check on the validity of the identification of héce as a sentence opener, únkhan as a sentence closer, and k'a as a sentence boundary marker, it can be noted that of the sixty-one medial occurrences³ of these three forms in the conversation text, all except

¹This occurrence of k'a cannot be illustrated from the Dakota text. It has, however, been observed three times during a five minute section of recorded conversation.

²Although k'a is not listed as occurring initially, it has been observed in this position in other texts. In these instances, however, the utterance-unit is begun after hán 'yes' by the other speaker. Since k'a never occurs initially except under these circumstances, the utterance-unit should probably be redefined to exclude divisions of itself by hán on the part of the opposing speaker.

³This includes occurrences where major pause is not present, such as are illustrated in phrases 6, 92 and 133.

ten¹ are immediately preceded by this grammatical marker, thus lending additional support to their analysis as sentence boundaries.

4.18. We reject, then, final pause as an obligatory marker of a grammatical sentence boundary internal to the utterance-unit. But since this phonological marker--final pause--does coincide with the grammatical marker--verb construction, it is, in many instances, a useful feature in the determination of sentence boundaries in Dakota.

We may postulate, then, two levels of sentence construction in Dakota. On the phonological level there is a construction which we may call the phonological sentence, whose closure is marked by the phonological signal--major pause. On the grammatical level exists the grammatical sentence whose closure is marked by the grammatical signal--verb, plus or minus post-verb particle. Except for the case of non-sentences, these two types of sentence boundaries coincide at the beginning and end of the utterance-unit. Medially these boundaries may or may not coincide.

4.19. The grammatical sentence, then, is not phonologically determined and, consequently, its limits are not necessarily those of the phonological sentence. As stated

¹Of these ten, two are preceded by English; four are occurrences of k'a in what would, in a complete syntactic analysis, be interpreted as noun-plus-noun construction; and the remaining four involve either minor sentence patterns or forms which may, in subsequent analysis, prove to be a sub-class of verbs.

in the preceding paragraph, grammatical sentence boundaries do coincide with phonological sentence boundaries where these boundaries are also boundaries of utterance-units.¹ But a grammatical sentence may also exceed the boundaries of the utterance-unit, in that it may be begun by one speaker and completed by another. Although this particular type of cross-utterance-unit sentence cannot be illustrated from the present Dakota text, note the example of a similar case in phrases 26 through 28 where A supplies one of the words in J's sentence.

J hínhana kinhan wówap wakáge, k'a --- Tomorrow time
paper I-make, and --- 'Tomorrow I'll write a
letter, and ---'

A iyéced --- 'in that way ---'

J iyéced owíchawakiyake cinhan, in-that-way them-I-
tell if, 'in that way if I let them know, --'

4.20. The existence of a sentence type which is marked only phonologically is illustrated by the frequent occurrence of hán 'yes'² which occurs both as a complete one-word utterance-unit, and as a part of an utterance-unit. In those cases where it is not an utterance-unit by itself, it is the initial word of this unit in all instances but

¹As stated in paragraph 4.4, this occurs in 90% of the cases. The other 10% is comprised of two incomplete sentences (phrases 4 and 70), and what will probably turn out to be a minor sentence pattern.

²In the conversation text here presented, hán occurs a total of twenty-three times--fifteen of those as a single complete utterance-unit.

one.¹ There are also six occurrence of hiyá 'no'² which may be considered as parallel to hán in function. Although hiyá does not, in this particular conversation text, occur as a single one-word utterance-unit as does hán, it has been recorded as such. The following is a portion of a recorded dialogue between Mr. and Mrs. Joshua which will furnish an example of hiyá functioning as a one-word utterance-unit.

- Mr. ho dé anpétu k --- wikcémma nun sam núnpa ci./ So
 this day the --- ten two plus two interr./
- Mrs. hiyáa.³/ No./
- Mr. hán⁴/ Yes./
- Mrs. Oh yeah, hán./ Oh yeah, yes./

The free translation is:

- Mr. Today is the twenty-second, isn't it?
- Mrs. That can't be right, can it?
- Mr. It sure is.
- Mrs. Oh yeah, you're right.

This frequent occurrence of hán and hiyá mark them as occurrences of a separate, minor sentence type which con-

¹I have not analyzed this occurrence (phrase 187) to complete satisfaction, but it is possible that this is an instance either of a direct quote or a citation form.

²Phrases 13, 14, 15, 21, 113, and 154.

³hiyá with lengthened vowels and 2-1-1-4 intonation, indicating doubt. See free translation.

⁴Spoken with 4-1 (emphatic) intonation. See free translation.

sists of just one word. This type may be called, to borrow one of Fries' terms, a response,¹ since hán and hiyá are always grammatically dependent on a preceding utterance.

4.21. Having identified a verb (with or without certain post-verb particles) as the closure of a major grammatical sentence, it will now be possible to mark sentence boundaries in the text data at places where major pause does not occur. Note, for example, phrases 6 and 7:

J 6 iha cín dé amáxpíya, hece ókini maxáǎukta naceca./

Doubt emph this cloudy, thus maybe rain-will probably./ 'I don't know. It's cloudy now, so it will probably rain, I suppose.'

A 7 anpétu iyóhi maxáǎu, a ece ókini akhé / dé anpétu

hinhékta nachéca./ Day every rain, and so maybe again / this day rain-will probably./ 'It has rained every day, so it will probably rain again today.'

In phrase six the verb amáxpíya 'it is cloudy' is followed by the sentence opener hece 'so'. Thus we can fix a sentence boundary between amáxpíya and hece. In phrase 7, likewise, a sentence boundary occurs between maxáǎu and a ece.²

¹C. C. Fries, The Structure of English, p. 37.

²The form a ece is a variant of k'a héce.

V. CLAUSE BOUNDARIES

5.1. It has been stated above (paragraph 4.18) that the boundaries of grammatical sentences coincide with the boundaries of phonological sentences when these are also utterance-unit boundaries. It has also been noted that, within the utterance-unit (i.e., in medial position), some grammatical sentence boundaries are also phonological sentence boundaries, and some are not.

In view of this structural difference we can postulate a division of grammatical sentences into two classes. One class, whose beginning and ending points are also those of the phonological sentence will be labelled sentence. The other class, one or both of whose boundaries are marked only by the grammatical marker, will be called a clause. Thus, a sentence may consist of one or more clauses; but a clause cannot contain within its borders more than one sentence.

5.2. Clauses may, then, be subdivided into two classes. These clauses which may, at the same time, be sentences we may call independent clauses. Those which are not sentences (i.e., all others) are dependent clauses.

5.3. Concerning constructions with únkhan, we may say that since únkhan has not been observed occurring finally in the utterance-unit (and, therefore, has been

defined as a sentence closer in medial position only), therefore constructions ending with únkhan will be classed as dependent clauses, even though they are followed by major pause.

5.4. Some examples of sentence vs. clause follow, which have been selected from the Dakota text.¹ In the following two examples the sentence and clause are identical.

- 1 xtánihán anpétu kin hé / micúnkši kcí ---
amánkdipi./ Yesterday day the that / my-daughter
 with --- me-brought-pl./ 'Yesterday my daughter and
 I were brought here.'
- 36 míš níne iyókmakphí ye./ I very I-pleased sep.²/
 'I'm very happy.'

In these next examples, the first illustrates a sentence comprised of two clauses, and the second a sentence which contains five clauses.

- 72 hanx'ána waná núnpa obdaka, hece waná skhé oyák

¹In the Dakota text, sentence closure is indicated by a period; clause closure, which is not simultaneously a sentence closure, by a comma. In the cases of the connector k'a, when a boundary between clauses or sentences is to be indicated, the punctuation will be placed before the k'a. This is a convention rather than the indication of an actual grammatical boundary.

²Sentence ending particle. Refer to paragraph 6.4 for the explanation of additional signs and abbreviations used in the literal translations.

wakəpin./ Morning now two I-tell, so now again tell
I-reluctant./ 'This morning I told it twice, so now
I don't feel like telling it again.'

9-10 wayáwa wíchawakíyektá keyápi, hece --- tókiš wakád
thib néciya kepcá, néciya ektí iwáhuni únkhan,/ hé-tu
šni keyáp ci, ká akhé déci wakdhan./ Read them-I-
cause-will say-pl, so --- indeed upstairs house there
I-thought, there place I-arrive and:then,/ that-is not
say-pl emph, and again here I-arrive./ 'I was told I
was to teach, and I thought it was upstairs over there,
so I went over there, and then they told me it was not
there, and I came back over here.'

5.5. The minor sentence words hán 'yes' and hiyá
'no' are likewise considered to be clauses when they occur
without major pause preceding and following them. In phrase
34, for example, hán occurs as a sentence, while in phrase
192 it is a clause.

34 hán./ wícháša k owákiyaka. Yes./ Man the I-tell.

'Yes. I told the man.'

192 hán, hé waníca nakun./ Yes, that non-existent
also./ 'Yes, that also is non-existent.'

5.6. There remain, at this point in this study, a
total of fifty-one unanalyzed cases of major pause. These
are unanalyzed because they are preceded neither by a
grammatical marker nor by k'a, hece, or a similarly func-

tioning form. Some of these are utterance-unit final; others are medial. Some of these are doubtless incomplete clauses produced as a result of hesitation or interruption. Some words which, at present, due to rare or unique occurrence in the Dakota data, are considered non-verbs, will ultimately prove to be verbs. Still others may be analyzed as citation forms,¹ and some are probably examples of alternate sentence orders.² Other instances of major pause are at present considered to be optional clause-medial pause.

5.7. Regarding this type of pause, an assumption which appears to have validity for the further sub-division of the discourse into smaller grammatical sub-units, is that optional clause-medial pause marks the boundary between immediate constituents of the clause, which may, in turn, be labelled phrases. As an example, note in the first utterance-unit (phrases 1-4) that the first sentence is divided into three parts by a major pause and a minor pause. The first group of forms, xtániháx anpétu kin hé, can be tenta-

¹Phrases 104, 208, 210, and 211.

²Phrases 109, 117, 137, 177, and 196 can be tentatively classed as this type. Boas states that "adverbs and adverbial phrases are placed preceding the verb." (Dakota Grammar, p. 155). This is indeed the most common position for adverbs and adverbial phrases of time and space, but I have noted some instances of post-verb placement of these items. E.g., phrase 109 hécekced awácam níš hanx'ána. / Thus I-thought I morning. / 'That's what I thought about this morning.' In this example not only the temporal element, hanx'ána, but also the free subject pronoun, níš, follow the verb awácam.

tively described as a time expression; the second, micúnkǎi kcf, may be labelled object expression; and the third as predicate. An optional clause-medial pause occurs also in phrase 7 between the words akhé and dé, thus placing akhé in syntactic construction with its preceding words rather than the following.

5.8. In summary, our procedure has been the following. Assuming the existence of the sentence as a structural unit of Dakota grammar we have, by the discovery and observation of formal phonological and grammatical phenomena (which we have termed markers), and without recourse to semantic criteria, delimited first the sentence, and then the clause in this language.

A clause may be defined as that section of spoken discourse which begins with a non-verb (which may be a sentence opener) and ends with the following verb.¹ A sentence is that section of spoken discourse which, in addition to having the characteristics of a clause, begins and ends with a major pause.²

¹The study of Dakota sentence structure will provide a more rigorous definition of verb, which will include verb phrases as well as single words.

²Exception: clauses ending in únkhan plus major pause can not be classed as sentences.

VI. DAKOTA CONVERSATION TEXT

6.1. The following transcribed text is approximately one-half of a thirty minute conversation which was tape-recorded on July 14, 1958, at the University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota. The two speakers are Mrs. Emma Adams, about sixty-five years old, and her daughter Mrs. Florence Joshua, about forty. Both are residents of Fort Totten, North Dakota.

6.2. The body of the text is presented in the following form. The participants in the dialogue are indicated in the left margin by A and J--the first letters of the surnames of each informant. The text has been further divided into phrases of arbitrary length--usually a sentence--which are numbered serially throughout the conversation. Each numbered unit consists of a Dakota phrase, followed by its literal translation in English. A free translation follows the text separately.

6.3. It will be the policy in this text to treat derived stems as single units. Only inflectional morphemes and those involved in productive derivational constructions will be marked off from stems by hyphens. For example, according to Boas,¹ the stem iyókphi 'to be pleased' can

¹Boas and Deloria, Dakota Grammar, p. 43.

be further analyzed into i- 'on account of', o- 'into', and kiphi 'to fit'. The noun wikhóške 'young woman' consists of the following constituents: wi- (from wíyan) 'woman', and khóška 'young man'. These and similar derived stems are treated as units in the text.

In many instances the Dakota verb stem has inflectional affixes placed within it. In such cases the first part of the stem thus divided will, in its subsequent literal translation, be indicated by the capital letter S. For example, in phrase No. 2 where the verb stem iyókiphi 'to be pleased' is split by the introduction of the affix un- 'we', the resultant form iyó-un-kiphi-pi has as its literal translation 'S-we-pleased-pl'.

Whenever two or more English words are needed to translate one Dakota word or morpheme (or vice versa), a colon is placed between those words. This device preserves a one-to-one correspondence between the elements of the Dakota phrase and those in the English translation immediately following. The first example of this occurs in phrase No. 3 in the text where khošká ka wikhóške are glossed as 'young:man and young:woman'.

6.4. Additional signs used are:

- / phonological sentence closure.
- phonological non-final pause.
- . (period) grammatical sentence closure.
- , (comma) clause (non-sentence) closure.

?	uncertainty regarding either the Dakota form or its meaning.
adv	adverbial class marker.
cont	continuative.
def	definite.
dim	diminutive.
emph	emphatic.
hes	hesitation form.
int	intensive.
interr	interrogative particle.
loc	locative.
N	noun indicator.
obj	indefinite object.
pl	plural
pot	potential aspect.
quot	quotative.
refl	reflexive.
sep	sentence ending particle.

A 1 xtánihán anpétu kin hé / mi-cúnkši keí --- a-man-
kdi-pi./ Yesterday day the that / my-daughter with ---
 carrying-me-return-pl./ 2 k'a --- nína iyó-un-kiphi-pi./
 And --- very S-we-pleased-pl./ 3 khošká ka wikhóške
óta / wan-wícha-un-yaka-pi./ Young:man and young:woman
 many / S-them-we-see-pl./ 4 owás'ina / iyókiphi-ya /
 (interruption)..... All / pleased-adv / (interrup-
 tion).....¹

A 5 anpétu k dé maxážu-kte ka iš to./ Day the this
 rain-pot and or interr./

J 6 iha cín dé amáxiya, he-ce² ókini maxážu-cta naceca./
 Doubt emph this cloudy, that-manner perhaps rain-pot
 probably./

A 7 anpétu iyóhi maxážu, a ece³ ókini akhé / dé anpétu
hinhé-cta nachéca./ Day each rain, and thus perhaps
 again / this day rain-pot probably./

(nine second pause)⁴

¹When it became apparent that Mrs. Adams intended to give a story-monologue I stopped her at this point. After a fuller explanation of what was wanted, the conversation text followed.

²héce is a common introductory word. Because of its frequent occurrence throughout the text it will be hereafter cited as a single stem and translated accordingly as 'thus' or 'so'.

³héce frequently occurs in the variant form ece.

⁴Pauses of over two seconds are indicated throughout the conversation text.

- J 8 nakáha wa-núni./ Now I-stray./ 9 wa-yáwa wicha-wa kiye-kta k-eyá-pi, hece --- tókiš waká-d thib hé-ciya k-epcá, hé-ciya ektí i-wá-huni únkhan,/ Obj-read-them I-cause-pot that-say-pl, so --- indeed upper-in house that-region that-I:think, that-region loc S-I-arrive and:then,/ 10 hé-tu šni k-eyá-p ci, ká akhé dé-ci wa-kdí-han./ that-be not that-say-pl emph, and again this-place I-return-cont./
- A 11 tanín w- --- wichaša k dé hí únkhan,/ Before hes --- man the this arrive:here and:then,/ 12 dé-d ya-hí i-man-wanga, this-in you-arrive:here S-me-ask, 13 hiyá --- wa-yáwa wicha-kiye-kta iyáya./ No --- obj-read them-cause-pot going./
- J 14 hiya, d- --- No, hes ---
- A 15 hiya, dé-d í-ž-a¹ ún-kta./ No, this-in she-emph-too be-pot./ 16 íyé-han-tu./ Proper-time be./ 17 ún dé wa-'ún ce' eya./ Reason this I-be quot say./ 18 e-chán-tu-xcin ya-hi./ Def-time-be-int you-arrive:here./
- (four second pause)
- J 19 hece owánka:yužáža --- o'anpétu:záptan kan un-kdé-

¹Since Dakota does not distinguish pronominally between third-person masculine and third-person feminine, íža and the related forms íš and íye will be translated as either masculine or feminine according to the context.

ka nacheca íš to,/ So Saturday¹ --- hes Friday² time
we-return:home-pot probably or interr./ 20 íš dé-na
unk-'un-ka./ or this-loc we-be-pot./

A 21 hiyá, un-kdá-p-ta nachéca./ No, we-return:home-pl-
pot probably./

J 22 tókša dé nun --- iwátokšu k watóhan vé, Presently
this hes --- bus the what:time go, 23 ka íš --- watóhan
xtaní unk-ayuštan-p-ta hé-cihan, and or --- what:time
work we-quit-pl-pot that-when, 24 he-ná dé anpétu k
sdód-ún-ya kahan./ that-pl this day the S-we-know
when./

A 25 hán./ Yes./

J 26 hínhana kanhan w-ówa-p wa-káše, ka --- Tomorrow time
N-write-pl I-make, and ---

A (supplies word) 27 iyé-ce-d --- Proper-manner-in ---

J (continuing) 28 iyé-ce-d o-wícha-wa-kiyake cinhan,
proper-manner-in S-them-I-tell when, 29 hece othúnwe
ektá / unk-áki-phi ún-p-ta./ so town loc /
us-take:back-pl be-pl-pot./

A 30 hán./ Yes./

¹Literally 'floor wash'.

²Literally 'day five'. In slower speech this form
would appear as anpétu i-záptan 'day time-five' or 'fifth
day'.

- J 31 w-ówa-pi ska ka w-ówa-p ožu --- (interruption)
 N-write-pl white and N-write-pl container --- 32
w-ówa-pi ska ka w-ówa-p ožuha a-wá-kdi, N-write-pl
 white and N-write-pl container carrying-I-return:here,
 33 hece --- éks --- w-ówa-p un-káke-cta k hece-tu./
 so --- concerning:that N-write-pl we-make-pot the
 thus-be./
- A 34 hán./ wicháša k o-wá-kiyaka./ un-hí-b e-há-tanhan /
wikhóske k owásina / tanyán un-khúwa-b, Yes./ Man
 the S-I-tell./ We-arrive:here-pl def-time-from / girl
 the all / well us-treat-pl, 35 a táku owásina / tukté
é-tu he-ná owás unk-ókiyaka-pi./ and what all / where
 def-be that-pl all us-tell-pl./ 36 mí-š níne
iyó-ma-kphi ye./ I-emph very S-I-pleased emph./ 37
thi-yáta w-ówa-p un-káša unk, House-at N-write-pl
 we-make and:then,/ 38 he-ná unk-óyaka-pi¹-ta eyá
Florence o-wá-kiyaka./ that-pl we-tell-pl-pot
 ? Florence S-I-tell./

(four second pause)

- 39 wicháša k dé naka hí k he-han / hé o-wa-kiyaka,
a iyókphi-xci-š./ Man the this now arrive:here the
 that-time / that S-I-tell, and pleased-int-emph./

¹The plural morpheme -pi plus the future morpheme -cta generally results in the contraction -pta. This is the only recorded instance where the contraction has not occurred.

40 That's very nice.¹

(four second pause)

J 41 ho hece dé táku k ayúta un-yánke-cta naché ---

(breaks off in laughter) nahómni na --- so then this
what the look:at we-sit-pot probably --- (laughter)
revolve and ---

A 42 íš un-dówan-cta (unintelligible because of coughing)

--- Or we-sing-pot ---

J 43 (first part unintelligible due to overlap with 42)

un-dówan-p-ta./ We-sing-pl-pot./

A 44 (prompting J to speak) maštínca-na nawízi./ Rabbit-
dim jealous./

J (interrupting) 45 waúnkšu k, waúnkšu k hé e-ehá-na
un-kdúšťan-p, Beadwork the, beadwork the that def-time-dim
we-finish:our²-pl, 46 ka ékeš kašpápi-na un-kámna-p-ta
nacheca./ and concerning:that money-dim we-earn-pl-pot
probably./

¹Numbered phrases which have been spoken completely in English by the informant will be cited as spoken, in English orthography, underlined, but without the usual literal translation following. In this particular phrase, Mrs. Adams quotes my words from an earlier conversation in English. See also phrase 248 for a similar occurrence.

²The verb stem kdúšťan means 'to finish one's own' or 'to finish something pertaining to one's self'. This and other forms containing the reflexive morpheme kd- will be translated in context with the proper personal pronoun, i.e., 'we-finish:our' rather than 'we-finish:one's own'.

- A 47 hán. / kinhán ašté tka'. / Yes. / When good but. /
 48 mf-š this afternoon wa-kdúšťan-cta naceca. / I-emph
 this afternoon I-finish:mine-pot probably. /
- J 49 mí-ž-a --- dé xtayétu wa-kdúšťan wa-chin. / I-emph-
 also --- this evening I-finish:mine I-want. / 50
o'ínan k he-ná-uns bá-ušťán, ka ekš / maská š / wanží-x
ma-k'ú-p khan. / Earring the that-pl-two I-finish,
 and concerning:that / money well¹ / one-at:least
 me-give-pl when. / 51 h-ékš hé ihúnku' 'o 'un-kdš-p-ta
naceca. / And-concerning:that that ? hes we-return:home-
 pl-pot probably. /
- A 52 de-hánn thi-yáta / tó-khe-t-khe-d² --- yanká-pi
naka hé-ci. / This-time house-at / interr-manner-in-
 manner-in --- sit-pl now that-place. /
 (three second pause)
- 53 wé-cta k e-hán ektá ewacha-mi. / I-awake the def-
 time loc think:about-I. /
 (five second pause)
- 54 wóšpi yukhan naceca. / Berry:picking be probably. /
- J 55 hán. / xtánihán ka de-hánn wóšpi-cta k-eya tka. /

¹This is not the adverb well but the introducer well, which Fries lists in group K in his chapter "Function Words." (C.C. Fries, The Structure of English, pp. 101-2.)

²The reduplicated form of tókhed 'how' (to-khe-d 'interr-manner-in'). Subsequent occurrences of this reduplicated form will be written morphemically as to-khetkhe-d 'interr-manner-in'.

Yes./ Yesterday and this-time berry:picking-pot that-say
but./

56 ókiní --- de-hánn wíyopheya-b íš to./ perhaps ---
this-time sell-pl or interr./ 57 hínhana khan Har' ---
Harvey tanhan wašícun k'eyá --- hé-cha ophétun hí-pi-cta
k-eya-pi./ Tommorrow time Har --- Harvey from white:man
some --- that-sort buy arrive-pl-pot that-say-pl./ 58
wípazuka huwe ú-cta k-eya cin./ June:berries fetch
come-pot that-say emph./ 59 eháke nun --- iyúthapi aké
yamni eya./ Yet hes --- measure plus three say./

A 60 hán./ Yes./

J 61 chín-p k-eya./ Want-pl that-say./ 62 he-hánn Maddock
e-tánhan nakún wašícun wan / That-time Maddock def-from
also white:man a / 63 nína óta hé-ci hé-cha chín-p k-eya./
very many that-place that-sort want-pl that-say./ 64 hece
okini de-hánn wóšpi-b íš --- wíyopheya-pi hé-cihan./ So
perhaps this-time berry:picking-pl or --- sell-pl that-
when./

(three second pause)

A 65 wípazuka huwe a-hí nacheca./ June:berries fetch
carrying-come probably./

J 66 hán./ Yes./

A 67 táku cín iwó-un-kdaka-p-ta nakún./ What-emph S-we-
talk:about:us-pl-pot also./

- J 68 táku-na cín iwé-un-káka-o-ta sdođ-ún-ya-p šni./
 What-dim emph S-we-talk:about:us-pl-pot S-we-know-
 pl not./
- A 69 mí-š --- I-emph ---
- J (interrupting) 70 hanx'ána nun hanx'ána mí-š --- waná
nun maštínca-na ka patká' o nun th¹ khéya / Morning hes
 morning I-emph --- now hes rabbit-dim and turt² hes
 t- tortoise /
- A 71 hm./ Yes./
- J 72 hanx'ána waná núnpa o-bd-aka, héce waná akhé o'
oyák wa-kapin./ Morning now twice S-I-tell, so now
 again hes tell I-reluctant./ 73 akhé hé o-bd-áka
ma-ké-cta iye-ce-tu šni./ Again that S-I-tell I-?
 -pot proper-manner-be not./
- A 74 hece w-óyaka-pi chin k-eya./ So N-relate-pl want
 that-say./ 75 n-iyé-š o-d-áka./ You-person-emph
 S-you-tell./
- J 76 n-iyé-š o-d-áka-kte tka. You-person-emph S-you-
 tell-pot but. 77 n-iyé-š (unintelligible) ---

¹Mrs. Joshua pronounced the first phoneme of the English word tortoise; then continued in Dakota.

²The corresponding form in the Dakota phrase is patká' which is an interruption of the word patkása 'turtle'.

You-person-emph ---

A 78 wé-ksuye šni./ I-remember not./

J 79 eyaš maštínca-na khéya-na wan keí eyaš khin'in
yanka k'un ?/ But rabbit-dim tortoise-dim a with
 but race cont aforementioned ?/ 80 hé wa-kha./ That
 I-mean./

(three second pause)

A 81 maštínca-na wan / khéya wan keí / umán tukte dúzahan
 / iwókdaka-pi./ Rabbit-dim a / tortoise a with / other
 which swift / talk:about:themselves-pl./ 82 nuphínŋ
dúzahan-p k-eya-pi./ Both swift-pl that-say-pl./ 83
ho héce / anpétu wan e-d kaxníga-b, a éce / waná sakíb
inažin-p./ And so / day a def-in select-pl, and so /
 now side:by:side stand-pl./ 84 waná / só'eya-b, Now /
 go say-pl, 85 hece / wané iváya-p, eyaš --- maštínca-na
kin / na'fe'ipsiysiđ / hakíktakta inyanka-han./ So /
 now going-pl, but --- rabbit-dim the / hopping /
 looking:back run-cont./ 86 k'aš / khéya-na kin /
owáanštena x'anhí-ya ya wanka./ But / tortoise-dim
 the / slowly slow-adv go cont./ 87 he-hányena dúzahan
í-ž-a ya wanka./ That-only:so:much swift he-emph-also
 go cont./ 88 maštínca-na n ox'ánko, chanké yé, Rabbit-

¹The English word go has here been written with a stress since it carries the stress of the phonological sentence. See also No. 112 where the proper name Wayne is written with a stress for the same reason.

dim the quick, therefore go, 98 ka hece / thahépi
inážin, eš hináxce / khéya k ú šni, And so / on:the:way
 stand, but not:yet / tortoise the come not, 90 a éce /
chán óhanzi wan é-d iwánke, ka ece / štíma iyaya./ And
 so / tree shadow a def-in lie:down, and so / sleep go-
 ing./ 91 e-chánnakhéya k ú, ka hece / wanké k isákib
iyáye-cta únkhan, Def-time tortoise the come, and so /
 lie the alongside passing-pot and:then, 92 xópa yanka,
éce itópteya yé ka yé, snore cont, so straight:on:past
 go and go, 93 ka / e-ché-d --- owákhaphe ekta i./ And /
 def-manner-in --- surpassing loc arrive:there./ 94 iyé
thokáheya í, ka ektá yanka./ Person first arrive:there,
 and loc sit./ 95 íthehan-xca he-hann / maštínca-na n
ogúnga, Far-int that-time / rabbit-dim the awake:drowsi-
 ly, 96 ka éce / na'íc'ipsipsid / inyanka-han, ka / ektí
ihúni-cta, eyaš ece khéya k waná ohíye, ka / óhanzi k
é-d yanka yanke./ And so / hopping/run-cont, and / loc
 arrive:there-pot, but so tortoise the now win, and /
 shadow the def-in sit cont./ 97 ho héce maštínca-na
kun khaphá-pi./ And so rabbit-dim aforesaid beat-pl./
 98 hé-ce-d --- oyáka-pi na-wá-x'un./ That-manner-in
 --- relate-pl S-I-hear./ 99 iho táku nakún e-h-in-cta,
a hece / táku-ni iwó-un-kdaka-p-ta ce dé eya./ Now what
 also S-you-say-pot, and so / what-dim S-we-tell:
 about:us-pl-pot quot this say./

(nine second pause)

- J 100 de-chánn wípi ma-t'é, ka tóka wa-niye šni steca./
This-time satisfied I-die, and no:wise I breathe not
seemingly./
- A 101 e-chánn ho-wá-xpe-cta./ Def-time S-I-cough-pot./
(four second pause)
- 102 de khošká ka wikhóške / tó-na-xca ún-m hé-ciban, /
eccé-xca./ This young:man and young:woman / interr-pl-
int be-pl that-when, / I:think-int./
- J 103 he-ná chín --- i-wícha-un-wanga-p./ That-pl emph
--- S-them-we-ask-pl./
- A (interrupts) 104 opáwinge./ Hundred./
- J 105 opáwinge tó-na-pi nachéca, dé óta-pi./ Hundred
interr-pl-pl probably, this many-pl./
- A 106 wikhóške k hé hí khan, chí i-mun-ge-cta, nakún
chanžé o-wa-wa i-wá-cu wa-chin./ Young:woman the that
come when, emph S-I-ask-pot, also name S-I-write
S-I-take I-want./
(three second pause)
- 107 he-hánn de wichaša wan de itháncan k de nakun /
chanžé k sdod-wa-ye šni hina-xcin./ That-time this
man & this boss the this also / name the S-I-know not
not:yet-int./ 108 he-ná hé-cekce-d owá i-wícha-un-
kicu-p kan, he-ná wó-kiksuye un-yúha-p-ta./ That-pl that-

manner-in write S-them-we-take-pl when, that-pl
 N-remember we-have-pl-pot./ 109 hé-cekce-d awáca-m
mí-š hanx'ána./ That-manner-in meditate-I I-emph
 morning./

(five second pause)

110 hece dé un-khí kahan, wicháwoxa / íš to / keí
ya-'ú kanhan, wašté./ So this we-arrive:back:home
 when, son:in:law / or interr / with you-come when,
 good./

J 111 hán./ Yes./

A 112 Wayne-na i-š a-ya-u-cta./ Wayne-dim he-emph bring-
 you-come-pot./

J 113 hiya, tókša i-núnpa unghan, / chín hináx táku-na
tanyán nuske šni./ No, later time-two and:then, /
 emph not:yet what-dim well settled not./ 114 tókša
tanyán táku owásine unk-ókaxnisa-b, a sdod-ún-yan-p
kan, he-hánn eke / un-kdóu-b, a keí dé-ci unk-'un-p-ta./
 Later well what all we-understand-pl, and S-we-know-pl
 when, that-time concerning:that / we-return:with:ours-pl
 and with this-place we-be-pl-pot./ 115 tokéšš about ---
 two weeks iš three weeks e-ché-d --- unk-ákiye (unin-
 telligible) o'ún wan-š / tukté-d tanyán un-yánka-b,
a táku owás tanyán-kte cinhan, he-hánn eke unk-a'u-p
ka./ Perhaps about --- two weeks or three weeks def-
 manner-in --- we-wait (unintelligible) room a-? /

which-in well we-be-pl, and what all well-pot when,
 that-time ? we-bring-pl when./ 116 i-ž-a wáyawapi-na
k hé-d ópa okihi./ He-emph-too school-dim the that-in
 attend can./ 117 wakhánheža škata-b e-d./ Children
 play-pl def-in./

- A 118 eyaš dé un' --- un-khí-b, a / wiyáwap thokáheya kha
waná he-hann / wicháša wan tha-wín-cu kci ún-ka./ But
 this hes --- we-arrive:back:home-pl, and / month first
 when now that-time / man a possessed-woman-his with come-
 pot./ 119 ó-'íe'i-wa-pi, eyaš / S-refl-write-pl, but /
 120 wicháwoxa nakun waná he-hánn yámni o-'íe'i-wa-pi.¹
 Son:in:law also now that-time three S-refl-write-pl./

(fourteen second pause)

- J 121 dé-d --- táakuu --- oyáte --- thokthókca² óta a-hí
steca./ This-in --- what --- tribe --- different many
 group-come seems./

A 122 hm./ Yes./

- J 123 he e-chann eyaš wínyan-na wan-š / táku i'á, eyaš ---
dé-d iš --- chankáhothun wan./ That def-time but
 woman-dim a-? / what say, but --- this-in or ---
 piano a./

¹This restored form was recorded as only o'íe',
 but was repeated by the informant as the complete word.

²Reduplicated form of thókca 'different'.

- A 124 hm̄./ Yes./
- J 125 hé i-ž-a oyáte thokca, he-hánn dé xaxátunwan he-ná
un-pi nacheca./ That she-emph-also tribe different,
 that-time this Chippewa that-pl be-pl probably./
- A 126 i-ž-a thókca-pi./ She-emph-too different-pl./
- J 127 ho akhé unk-f-š dé unk-íye-pi./ hó he-hánn ---
 And again we-person-emph this we-person-pl./ And that-
 time --- 128 áan --- tókhed eya-p s'e. / tókhed aan ---
Eskimo / hayáke k'éya nakun --- žanžán wan nína thánke
ité'icupi hé-cha wan / dé-ce-d hé-cha hayáke k ké
mahé-d átaya okhátan-p./ hes --- how say-pl like./ how
 hes --- Eskimo / clothing certain:kind also --- glass a
 very large showcase that-sort a / this-manner-in that-
 sort clothing the that inside-in altogether nailed-pl./
- 129 wáyawa thib é-d otké./ Study house def-in hanging./
- 130 hanx'ána wan-bd-áka./ Morning S-I-sec./ 131 héca
oyáte toktókca./ Thus tribe different./
- A 132 obé k owásina hé dé./ Class the all that this./
- 133 dé-d ní-pi nacheca, he-ná a-hí, ka a-khí-ya-kda
ca I spose./ This-in arrive-pl probably, that-pl
 group-arrive, and group-arrive:back-go-go:back ?
 probably./ 134 táku he-ná --- wó-kíksuye --- What
 that-pl --- N-remember ---
- J (interrupts) 135 unspé-'ic'i-ciya-p-ta nachéca, (un-

intelligible)./ Learn-refl-cause-pl-pot probably,
(unintelligible)./

A (interrupts) 136 tóoš --- every summer neéca./ Surely
--- every summer probably./ 137 dé-á de unk-íř-nax
un-hí-p řni nacéca, eyař dé how many years waná dé./
This-in this we-emph-only we-arrive:here-pl not pro-
bably, but this how many years now this./

J 138 hece --- So ---

A 139 đakhóta i'a unspé --- wichá-kiya-b dé./ Dakota
speak learn --- them-cause-pl this./ 140 čmakha wanří
ca akhé hi-pi./ Year one ? again arrive:here-pl./
141 akhé i-núnpa ca./ Again time-two sep./ 142 ho dé
--- watóhanya-ke-d unk-íř-a dé un-hí-bi dé he./ And
this --- what:time-manner-in we-emph-also this we-
arrive:here-pl this interr./

(four second pause)

143 But níina tanyán un-knúwa-pi k-eyá, wichářa k
o-wě-kiyaka./ But very well us-treat-pl that-say, man
the S-I-tell./ 144 wiknóřke k owásin únři undá-m, a /
Girl the all ? ?-pl, and / 145 They're just good to
us./ 146 táku owás unk-ókiyaka-p e e-ph-a./ what all
us-tell-pl quot S-I-say./ 147 hece táku-na ekř --- we
don't have no trouble./ So what-dim concerning:that ---
we don't have no trouble./ 148 I'm very glad to hear

- that./ 149 táku-na --- mi-kdášice, k or¹ tuwé-na
bđ-ašice šni./ What-dim --- I-speak:evil, and or
 who-dim I-speak:evil not./ 150 héce nína iyókhphi
k-eya./ So very pleased that-say./ 151 iho nakún akhé
táku./ Well also again what./
- J 152 mm, nína mí-ě ma-xba./ Mm, very I-emph I-sleepy./
- A 153 tuwé ni-húwe i he./ Who you-fetch arrive:there
 interr./
- J 154 hiya, iktí i-wá-huni k he-hánn w-ówa-pl-na k
wa-kdúbdaya, No, loc S-I-reach the that-time N-write-
 pl-dim the I-unfold, 155 ka/wan-bđ-áke-cta únkhan, dé
dé-ce-d owa-pi, and / S-I-see-pot and:then, this this-
 manner-in write-pl, 156 héce / wikhóška wan xaxátunwan
hé ektá wa-'í, so / girl a Chippewa that loc I-go, 157
ka dé táku khá-pi g-ph-a únkhan, / and this what sig-
 nify-pl S-I-say and:then,/ 158 hé un-wanka-p s'a k hé-tu,
hé-ci hé dé d-é-cta k-eya-pi, that we-lie-pl habitual
 the there-be, there-place that this you-go-pot that-
 say-pl, 159 e-chánn dé-ci wa-hí./ def-time this-place
 I-come./
- A 160 háan, you should have looked at it./ Yes, you
 should have looked at it./

¹The English word or.

- J 161 hece chí sdod-wá-ye šni./ So emph S-I-know not./
- A 162 hé de táku k hé de icú-p-ta xtánihan o-man-kiyaka-pl./ That this what the that this take-pl-pot yesterday S-me-tell-pl./
- J 163 hán./ Yes./
- A 164 hé de ithánchan unk-á-kdi-p he eya./ That this boss us-bring-return:here-pl that say./ 165 wo-ún-kdaka dakhóti i'a./ S-we-talk:about:us Dakota speak./
- J (Simultaneous with 165) 166 hanx'ána wicháša wan phá šašá k ? ./ Morning man a head red the ? ./
- A 167 hán./ Yes./
- J 168 phá šašá kun hé --- nína wayúphika chí w-ówa./ Head red aforementioned that --- very skillful emph obj-write./
- A 169 mhám./ Yes./
- J 170 táku c-wá-kiyake k hé' --- eyá iyéga, ka --- wanwínyan ée na / í-ž-a wayúphike./ What S-I-tell the that --- say same, and --- woman is and / she-emph-also skillful./ 171 but¹ --- eyé-kte k hináxna-xcin.²/ But --- say-pot the not:yet-int./

¹The English word but.

²Reduplicated form of hina-xcin.

- A 172 há./ Yes./
- J 173 cheží k e-ché-d i'á' okíhi šni./ Tongue the def-
manner-in speak able not./
- A 174 nhá./ Yes./
- J 175 but¹ i-núnpa, chá he-hánn ekeš í-ž-e oya ce./
But time-two, time that-time concerning:that she-emph-
too say sep./
- A 176 í-ž-á / iyé-ce-d / í-š (interruption: Everything's
ok, huh? Yes, we're all right) --- He-emph-also /
proper-manner-in / he-emph --- 177 oyúbda tó-na owá./
w-ówa-pi ska akann./ héce / Page interr-pl write./
N-write-pl white on./ So /
- J 178 táku hé owa./ What that write./
- A 179 eš --- táku o-wá-kiyake k he-ná./ But --- what
S-I-tell tbe that-pl./
- J 180 óo./ Oh./
- A 181 he-ná owá./ That-pl write./
- J 182 hán./ Yes./
- A 183 wókdaká ma-ši, cátu / akhé wo-wa-káa./ Talk:about:

¹The English word but.

self me-tell, and:then / again S-I-talk:about:me./

(three second pause)

J 184 héce tó-khetkhe-d --- aa --- hanx'ána wichóye i-mán-wansa-p, áš un-mán-spe šni./ So interr-manner-in --- hes --- morning word S-me-ask-pl, but S-I-know not./

A 185 hé tu --- hé táku./ That mistake¹ --- that what./

J 186 wicháša phá šašá k he --- tó-khetkhe-d nun --- you're welcome./ hé tó-khetkhe-d dakhóti yu'íyeska-pi hé-chahan./ you're welcome./ Man head red the that --- interr-manner-in hes --- you're welcome./ That interr-manner-in Dakota translate-pl that-when./ You're welcome./ 187 héce mí-š e-ph-a, tuwé (unintelligible) -pca --- phidá-ma-ya eya-p ce, hán./ So I-emph S-I-say, who (unintelligible) -? --- glad-me-make say-pl quot, yes./ 188 hé-hányena mí-š eyá-pi sdod-wa-ya c./ That-only:so I-emph say-pl S-I-know sep./ 189 he-hányena tukté-na / wichóye k hé' --- that-only:so where-dim/ word the that ---

A (interrupts) 190 hé wichóye un-níca-pi./ That word we-have:none-pl./

J (continuing) 191 nakún please./ please hé tóhni wichóye k sdod-wa-ye šni c./ Also please./ Please that never word the S-I-know not sep./

¹Mrs. Adams probably started to say táku.

- A 192 hán, hé waníca nakun./ Yes, that nonexistent also./
- J 193 hé nakun./ That also./
- A 194 there's some words waníca./ There's some words nonexistent./
- J 195 he-hán na --- That-time hes ---
- A 196 dakhóti i'a-b é-d. --- Dakota speak-pl def-in. ---
- J 197 phežúta sápa./ hé-d h-eya-b me --- medicine./
Medicine black./ That-in that-say-pl hes ---
medicine./ 198 dakhóti ektá hece phežúta eya-b he
medicine./ Dakota loc thus medicine say-pl that medicine./ 199 sápa eya-b he-d black./ Black say-pl that-in black./ 200 ho káš / hé-d --- nun phežúta sápa
coffee k-eya-p e./ And but / that in --- hes medicine
black coffee that-say-pl sep./
- A 201 e-hánn isákib igúye./ Def-time alongside igúye./
- 202 ho tká hékš hé unk-íye unk-éya-p šni nacheca./ And
but concerning:that that we-person we-say-pl not probably./
- A 203 ám, hé thíthunwan eya./ Yes, that Teeton say./
- J 204 ho hékš hé unk-íye iyó-un-waža-p šni, dé Sioux
e-cé-na./ And as:for:that that we-person S-we-concern-pl not, this Sioux def-manner-dim./

- A 205 hám./ Yes./
- J 206 táku-na hé nun --- thíthunwan unspé-wicha-un-kiya-
p, tókša iyé thíthunwan he-ná unspé-wicha-kiya-p-ta./
 What-dim that hes --- Teeton learn-them-we-cause-pl,
 later person Teeton that-pl learn-them-cause-pl-pot./
- 207 he-hánn khinšká e-ph-a./ That-time spoon S-I-say./
- A 208 Yes. --- khinšká./ Yes. --- Spoon./
- J 209 ho he-hánn wíchaphe./ And that-time fork./
- A 210 wíchaphe./ Fork./ 211 mína./ Knife./
- J 212 ho he-hánn mína./ And that-time knife./
- A 213 he-ná unk-íye i'á-p unk-í-thawa./ That-pl we-
 person speak-pl we -?- own./
- J 214 hán, he-ná ekeš hé-š --- tányan e-ph-a./ Yes,
 that-pl concerning:that that-emph --- well S-I-say./

DAKOTA CONVERSATION TEXT

Free Translation

A 1 Yesterday my daughter and I were brought here. 2 And we were very pleased. 3 We saw many young men and young women. 4 They were all pleased ---

A 5 Will it rain today, or not?

J 6 I don't know. It's cloudy now, so it will probably rain, I suppose.

A 7 It has rained every day, so it will probably rain again today.

J 8 Today I got lost. 9 They said I was to teach, and I thought it was upstairs over there, so I went over there. 10 And when I got there I was told it wasn't there, so I came back over here.

A 11 A while ago --- this man came 12 and he asked if you were here. 13 No, she went to teach, (I said).

J 14 No ---

A 15 No, she should be here. 16 It's the proper time. 17 That's why I'm here, he said. 18 And just then you arrived.

J 19 So Saturday --- I mean Friday we'll probably go back home, won't we? 20 Or shall we stay right here?

A 21 No, we probably should go back home.

J 22 Later --- what time the bus leaves, 23 or --- what
time we will quit work, 24 we'll find those out today.

A 25 Yes.

J 26 Tomorrow I'll write a letter, and ---

A 27 In that way ---

J 28 In that way if I let them know, 29 then they'll be
at the town to take us back home.

A 30 Yes.

J 31 Writing paper and envelopes --- (interruption).

32 I brought writing paper and envelopes 33 so ---
we should write a letter.

A 34 Yes. I told the man that since we got here --- all
the girls treat us well, 35 and they tell us where
everything is. 36 As for me, I'm very happy. 37 Let's
write a letter home 38 and tell them, I told Florence.
39 When the man came just now I told him that, and he
was very pleased. 40 That's very nice.

J 41 So then I suppose we are to keep watching this thing.
It's turning and ---

A 42 Or shall we sing --- ?

J 43 --- we'll sing.

A (prompting J to talk) 44 The rabbit was jealous ---

J 45 Soon we'll finish our beadwork, 46 and then we'll probably earn a little money.

A 47 Yes. It would be nice if we did. 48 As for me, I'll probably finish mine this afternoon.

J 49 Me too. I want to finish mine this evening. 50 When I finish both earrings, maybe then they'll give me some money. 51 And as for that --- ? --- ? --- we go back home I suppose.

A 52 I wonder how they are back at home now. 53 I thought about them when I woke up. 54 They're probably out picking berries.

J 55 Yes. They said they were going to pick berries yesterday and today, but maybe not. 56 Maybe they're selling them now, do you think? 57 Tomorrow some white people were going to come from Harvey to buy berries, they said. 58 They said they were coming to get June berries. 59,61 They still want thirteen gallons, they said.

A 60 Yes

J 62 Also a white man came from Maddock then 63 and said that people want a whole lot of berries over there.

64 So perhaps they're picking now or selling.

A 65 Probably they came after June berries.

J 66 Yes.

A 67 What else can we talk about?

J 68 What else are we going to talk about indeed; we don't know.

A 69 As for me ---

J 70 This morning I told about the rabbit and the turt---
I mean tortoise ---

A 71 Yes.

J 72 This morning I told it twice, so I don't want to tell it again. 73 It wouldn't be right to tell it any more.

A 74 Well, he wants stories, he said. 75 You tell one ---

J 76 You should tell one. 77 You --- (?)

A 78 I don't remember any.

J 79 Well, the one about the rabbit that raced the tortoise. 80 That's the one I mean.

A 81 A rabbit and a tortoise were talking together about which one was faster. 82 Each said that he was the

faster. 83 So they chose a day, and then they stood side-by-side. 84 Then, "Go," they said. 85 So they started off, but the rabbit was running along hopping and looking back. 86 But the tortoise was going slowly, slowly ahead. 87 Only so fast was he going along. 88 And the rabbit was quick, and so kept going. 89 While he was on the way he stopped and stood still, but the tortoise was not yet in sight. 90 So he lay down in the shade and so went to sleep. 91 After a while the tortoise came along and was to pass the rabbit who was lying there. 92 The rabbit was still snoring, so he went right on by and kept on going. 93 And thus he arrived there. 94 He arrived there first, and sat down. 95 A long time afterwards the rabbit slowly woke-up. 96 And again he ran hopping along and reached the end, but the tortoise had already won, and was sitting in the shade there. 97 And so the rabbit was beaten. 98 That's the way I heard it told. 99 Well, what else are you going to say? We're supposed to talk about ourselves you know he said.

J 100 I'm so full now I can hardly breathe, it seems like.

A 101 I'm going to cough now. 102 These young men and young women --- I wonder how many there are here now.

J 103 We should ask them.

A (interrupts) 104 A hundred.

J 105 A hundred I guess, about that many.

A 106 When that girl comes here I'll ask her. I also want to write down her name. 107 Then this man who is in charge, I don't know his name yet either. 108 So if we write down their names we'll have them for souvenirs. 109 That's the way I thought this morning. 110 So when we arrive back home are you going to bring son-in-law back with you or not? If you do it would be fine.

J 111 Yes.

A 112 Are you going to bring little Wayne?

J 113 No, later the second time. Because nothing is ready yet. 114 Later when we understand about everything and know about everything, then we'll bring him and he can stay with us here. 115 We'll wait about two weeks or three weeks till we find a place --- where we can be well off and everything is nice --- then we'll bring him. 116 He could attend the nursery 117 where the children play.

A 118 Well, when we get home the first of the month a man and his wife are coming here. 119 Their names have been taken down. 120 Son-in-law too, so now three names have been taken down.

J 121 There's --- how do you say --- nationalities ---

lots of different nationalities have come here it seems.

A 122 Yes.

J 123 A while ago there was a woman, how do you say ---
she was playing the piano.

A 124 Yes.

J 125 She too is a different nationality. Chippewas they
are probably.

A 126 They're different too.

J 127 And there's us, too. And then there's a 128 ah ---
how do you say it --- Eskimo outfit in a very large
show-case, it's all nailed up in it. 129 It's hanging
there in the school. 130 I saw it this morning. 131
There are different kinds of tribes.

A 132 Those different peoples, 133 they come here I sup-
pose. They come here and then go back home probably.

134 What do you call those things --- souvenirs.

J (interrupts) 135 They're studying probably.

A 136 Sure. Every summer probably. 137 We're probably
not the only ones that have come, and how many years has
it been right now?

J 138 So ---

A 139 They are teaching the Dakota language. 140 They come here one year and then the next year again 141 the second time. 142 And now we too are here right now. 143 But we are certainly treated very well. That is what I told the man. 144 All the girls treat us fine. 145 They're just good to us. 146 They tell us about everything, I said. 147 So nothing --- we don't have no trouble. 148 I'm very glad to hear that. 149 I can't say anything bad about it or about anyone. 150 So he said he was very happy. 151 Well then, what's next?

J 152 Mm. I'm very sleepy.

A 153 Who went over there to fetch you?

J 154 No one. When I got over there I unfolded my little slip of paper, 155 and I looked at it, and it was written like this. 156 So then I went to that Chippewa girl, 157 and I said, "What does this mean?" 158 Then she said that the place where we sleep is where I was supposed to go. 159 So then I came over here.

A 160 Yes, you should have looked at it.

J 161 Well, I didn't know about it.

A 162 He told me yesterday that they were going to do this.

J 163 Oh.

A 164 The man in charge that brought us back here said

that. 165 We should talk about ourselves in Dakota.

J (Simultaneous with 165) 166 This morning the red-headed man ---

A 167 Yes.

J 168 That red-headed man --- he's really good at writing.

A 169 Oh, yes?

J 170 Whatever I tell him --- he repeats it --- and the woman, too is good. 171 But she can't say the words very well yet.

A 172 Oh.

J 173 She can't place her tongue the right way to pronounce them.

A 174 Yes.

J 175 But the second time, then she'll say it well too.

A 176 He too can do well. --- (interruption) --- 177 He wrote a lot of sheets of paper, so ---

J 178 What did he write?

A 179 Well, whatever I told him.

J 180 Oh.

A 181 That's what he wrote.

J 182 Yes.

A 183 "Talk about something," he told me, and so I talked about something.

J 184 So, how --- ah --- this morning I was asked a word but I didn't know it.

A 185 What was it?

J 186 That red-headed man --- how --- ah --- "You're welcome". How do you say "You're welcome" in Dakota? 187 So I said that whoever receives anything will say "Thank you." 188 That's the only way I know to say it. 189 That's the only word.

A (interrupts) 190 We don't have the word.

J (continuing) 191 And then "please." I've never known a word for "please."

A 192 No, there isn't a word for that either.

J 193 Not for that one, either.

A 194 There are some words we don't have ---

J 195 Then ---

A 196 in the Dakota language.

J 197 Coffee. For that we say "medicine." 198 In Dakota phežuta means "medicine." 199 And sápa means

"black." 200 So, for "coffee" we say "black medicine."

A 201 There's also the word igúye.

J 202 But we don't say that, I think.

A 203 No, the Tetons say that.

J 204 Well, we shouldn't concern ourselves with that.
Only with Sioux.

A 205 Yes.

J 206 Let's not teach Teton words to them. Later on the
Tetons themselves can teach that to them. 207 Then
I said "spoon."

A 208 Yes. Spoon.

J 209 And then "fork."

A 210 Fork. 211 Knife.

J 212 And then "knife."

A 213 Those are words in our language.

J 214 Yes. Those I said right.

VII. INVENTORY OF INFLECTIONAL
MORPHEMES AND PARTICLES

The following is an alphabetical list of the inflectional morphemes and particles which occur in the preceding Dakota text. Paragraph numbers following some of the forms refer the reader to the section of the text in which their use is discussed.

<u>a</u>	alternant of <u>k'a</u> .
<u>-b</u>	alternant of <u>-pi</u> .
<u>bd-</u>	alternant of <u>wa-</u> , occurring with verbs of the <u>yu-</u> or <u>ya-</u> class.
<u>ca</u>	post-verb particle. 4.4 fn. 5.
<u>ce</u>	quotative particle. 4.4 fn. 5.
<u>cinhán</u>	alternant of <u>kinhán</u> .
<u>d-</u>	alternant of <u>ya-</u> , occurring with verbs of the <u>yu-</u> or <u>ya-</u> class.
<u>-d</u>	'in'.
<u>ece</u>	alternant of <u>hēce</u> .
<u>eš</u>	alternant of <u>eyáš</u> .
<u>eyáš</u>	'but' 4.6.
<u>ga</u>	alternant of <u>k'a</u> .
<u>h-</u>	alternant of <u>ya-</u> , occurring only with the irregular verb <u>eyá</u> 'to say'.
<u>he</u>	interrogative particle. 4.4 fn. 5.
<u>hēcen</u>	'thus, so'. 4.11-4.14.

<u>ho</u>	'and, so'.
<u>ic'i-</u>	reflexive indicator.
<u>iš</u>	'or'. 4.4 fn. 5.
<u>ka</u>	alternant of <u>k'a</u> .
<u>k'a</u>	'and'. 4.16.
<u>kanhán</u>	alternant of <u>kinhán</u> .
<u>kinhán</u>	'if, when'. 4.4 fn. 5.
<u>khan</u>	alternant of <u>kinhán</u> .
<u>-kta</u>	potential aspect indicator.
<u>-kte</u>	alternant of <u>-kta</u> , occurring before <u>šni</u> , <u>k'a</u> , and certain other forms.
<u>m-</u>	alternant of <u>wa-</u> .
<u>ma-</u>	alternant of <u>wa-</u> .
<u>man-</u>	alternant of <u>wa-</u> .
<u>mi-</u>	alternant of <u>wa-</u> .
<u>mun-</u>	alternant of <u>wa-</u> , occurring only with the verb <u>iwánga</u> 'to ask'.
<u>n-</u>	alternant of <u>ya-</u> .
<u>na</u>	alternant of <u>k'a</u> .
<u>-na</u>	diminutive.
<u>-na</u>	alternant of <u>-pi</u> , occurring with <u>dé</u> 'this', <u>hé</u> 'that', <u>ka</u> 'that', and <u>to</u> 'interrogative'.
<u>nacéca</u>	alternant of <u>nachéca</u> .
<u>nachéca</u>	'probably'. 4.4 fn. 5.
<u>ni-</u>	alternant of <u>ya-</u> .
<u>-p</u>	alternant of <u>-pi</u> .
<u>-pi</u>	plural indicator.
<u>šni</u>	negative indicator.

<u>-ta</u>	alternant of <u>-kta</u> , occurring after <u>-pi</u> .
<u>-te</u>	alternant of <u>-kta</u> , occurring after <u>-pi</u> , and before <u>šni</u> , <u>k'a</u> , and certain other forms.
<u>to-</u>	interrogative particle.
<u>un-</u>	'we'.
<u>unk-</u>	alternant of <u>un-</u> , occurring before vowels.
<u>unkhan</u>	'and then'. 4.12-4.15.
<u>w-</u>	alternant of <u>wo-</u> .
<u>wa-</u>	'I'.
<u>we-</u>	alternant of <u>wa-</u> , occurring before verbs with <u>ki-</u> .
<u>wicha</u>	'them'.
<u>wo-</u>	noun indicator.
<u>-xcin</u>	intensifier of action.
<u>ya-</u>	'thou'.
<u>-ya</u>	adverb indicator.
<u>ye</u>	sentence ending particle.

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