A GRAMMAR OF YAKIMA ICHISHKÍIN /SAHAPTIN

by

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Title: A GRAMMAR OF YAKIMA ICHISHKÍIN /SAHAPTIN

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Yakima Ichishkíin/Sahaptin is spoken in the Yakama Nation, located in the Pacific Northwest of the United States in what is now south central Washington State. The Ichishkíin and Nez Perce languages comprise the Sahaptian Family, classified as a member of the Plateau branch of Penutian. Ichishkíin speakers of a number of related dialects, including Yakima, live in the southern plateau region along *Nch'iwána*, the Columbia River, and its tributaries. The dialects are mutually intelligible, with slight differences in phonology, morphology, lexical items and orthographic representation. The fieldwork supporting this work was done in and around Toppenish, Washington with elders of the Yakama Nation. There are few fluent speakers, but there is great interest in language learning, teaching, and revitalization.

Sahaptin is a synthetic to polysynthetic language with rich verbal morphology. The phonemic inventory is similar to other Pacific Northwest languages and consists of a large set of consonants and small set of vowels. Stops and affricates are voiceless with a

plain and glottalized series. Grammatical relations are indicated with case-marking, verb agreement, and second position enclitics. Syntactic alignment is primarily nominative - accusative but there are also ergative and absolutive patterns. Word order is flexible, serving discourse/pragmatic functions. The language has a direct/inverse alternation in which the coding of participants depends on person and topicality hierarchies. Verbs are morphologically complex. A verb stem can be fully composed of bound morphemes that include lexical prefixes, motion prefixes, and stems that indicate a change of state or a location or direction.

This dissertation is intended to support speech community members and scholars in language preservation and academic goals. The second and third chapters, covering the sound system and an overview of the grammar, constitute a condensed pedagogical grammar. Subsequent chapters offer more in-depth information about major aspects of the language. Appendices include texts and classroom materials as well as a case study of a college-level Ichishkíin course that uses materials collected in a language documentation project as teaching tools.

This dissertation includes previously published and unpublished co-authored material.

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Many people have read and commented on sections of this work and have had numerous conversations with me about Ichishkíin, language description, collaboration and pedagogical materials. Noel Rude and Sharon Hargus's help and willingness to delve into fine points of grammar are gratefully acknowledged. I also thank Bruce Rigsby for his words of encouragement and his generosity. Dissertation buddies Gwen Hyslop and Racquel Yamada were essential to the process, as were colleagues Marnie Atkins, Judith Fernandes, Jesse Blackburn Morrow and Tim Thornes.

There is nothing like developing Ichishkíin classroom materials to show you weak spots in your analysis and writing. My fellow GTF's Roger Jacob and Greg Sutterlict have encouraged me to include culturally rich examples as well as everyday language. UO second year students have reminded me to be a language learner as well as a linguist.

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My sisters Lynn and Cynthia and brother Mark believed in my ability to complete this. My friends helped me keep it all in perspective. Most importantly, thanks and much love go to my spouse Steven Levy for his support and patience along the way. He ensures that I remember that linguistics is just one facet of a well-lived life.

To Virginia, who has been so much more than a collaborator, and to Steve.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Language background

Yakima Ichishkíin/Sahaptin is spoken in the Yakama Nation, located in the Pacific Northwest of the United States in what is now south central Washington State. The Yakama Nation, formed by treaty in 1855, gathered 14 bands and tribes. These bands and tribes spoke predominantly Ichishkíin dialects as well as Salish and Chinookan languages. The Yakama Nation is approximately 1.4 million acres, with over 10,000 enrolled members. It is bounded by *Taptíil* (Yakima River) to the east, *Wáxsham* (the Simcoe Mountains) to the south, the Cascade Crest to the west and *Átanim* (Ahtanum) Creek to the north (Jacob 2009). *Pátu* (Mt. Adams) is one of the most visible land features; *Nch'iwána* (the Columbia River) forms the southern boundary of the 11.5 million acres ceded in the 1855 treaty. Tribal headquarters are in Toppenish Washington, near the northeast border of the reservation. Figure 1.1 shows the location of the Yakama Nation within Washington State.

FIGURE 1.1. THE YAKAMA NATION
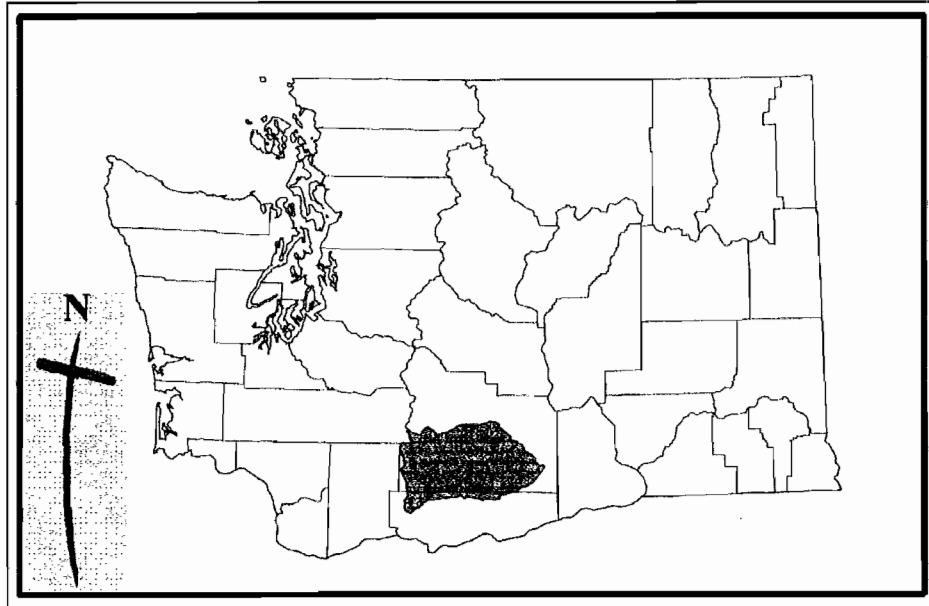
The Ichishkíin and Nez Perce languages comprise the Sahaptian Family,

classified as a member of the Plateau branch of Penutian; additional Plateau Penutian

languages are Klamath and Molalla (DeLancey and Golla 1997). Ichishkíin speakers of a

number of related dialects live in the southern plateau region along *Nch'iwána*, the

Columbia River, and its tributaries. The dialects are mutually intelligible, with slight

differences in phonology, morphology, lexical items and orthographic representation.

Similar cultural traditions and values are shared among the Ichishkíin-speaking bands and

tribes. Salish and Chinookan languages were spoken to the north and west of Ichishkíin-

speaking areas, while Nez Perce and Cayuse were spoken to the east. Rigsby (1965)

describes three groups of Sahaptin dialects: Northeast (NE) dialects, spoken along the

Columbia River from Priest Rapids to the lower Yakima and Snake Rivers; Northwest (NW), spoken mainly in the Yakima River drainage and including the Yakima dialect; and Columbia River (CR), spoken along the Columbia east of what is now The Dalles, Oregon, and along the Deschutes, John Day, and Umatilla Rivers. These dialect divisions are seen in Figure 1.2.

FIGURE 1.2. SAHAPTIAN LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS
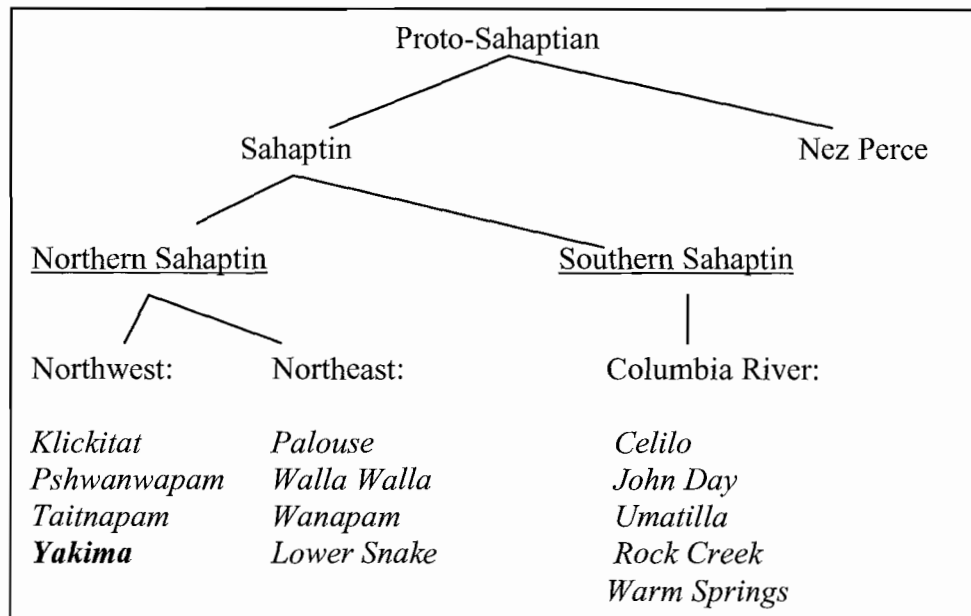
Sahaptin is a synthetic to polysynthetic language with rich verbal morphology. The phonemic inventory is similar to other Pacific Northwest languages and consists of a large set of consonants and small set of vowels. Stops and affricates are voiceless with a plain and glottalized series. Grammatical relations are indicated with case-marking, verb

agreement and second position enclitics; the language is both head and dependent - marking. Syntactic alignment is primarily nominative-accusative. Word order is flexible, serving discourse/pragmatic functions. The language has a direct/inverse alternation in which the coding of participants depends on person and topicality hierarchies. Verbs are morphologically complex. A verb stem can be fully composed of bound morphemes that include lexical prefixes, motion prefixes, and stems that indicate a change of state or a location or direction.

Speech community members refer to the dialects by their individual names, or by the collective terms Ichiskíin or Sahaptin. Both Ichiskíin and Sahaptin are used here. I use the spelling *Yakima* to refer to the Ichishkíin dialect described in this grammar, and *Yakama* when referring to the Yakama Nation and members of the Yakama Nation. The Yakama Nation began to use the spelling *Yakama* in 1994. My primary collaborator on this work, Virginia Beavert, uses the spelling *Yakima* because the elders working with Bruce Rigsby on the 1975 *Yakima Language Practical Dictionary* chose *iiyaakii'ma* as the best representation of the name of the language and tribe (Beavert-Martin 1999). Here, I follow her guidance and preference. This was not a hasty decision, as it goes against the Tribe's resolution and is not the spelling used by most tribal members. I believe there is not a single correct way to spell the word, and I intend no disrespect to those who spell the name of their language and tribe *Yakama*. (For more information on the history and use of *Sahaptin, Yakima,* and *Yakama,* see Rigsby 2009.)

1.2. Previous academic research on Ichishkíin

Previous grammatical descriptions include Pandosy (1862), a sketch of the language of *Pshwanwapam* (NW) bands living along the Yakima River; Jacobs (1931), a grammar sketch focused mainly on Klikitat (NW); and Rigsby and Rude (1996), a sketch of Sahaptin based on Umatilla (CR) but covering all dialect groups. Rigsby's (1965) *Linguistic relations in the Southern Plateau* investigated, among other things, dialect groupings within Sahaptin. Beavert and Rigsby (1975) is an English-Yakima Sahaptin dictionary. The recently published *Ichishkíin Sínwit Yakama/Yakima Sahaptin Dictionary* (Beavert and Hargus 2009) is a tremendous and much-anticipated resource. It was released as I was in the final stages of preparing this grammar.

Other published resources on Sahaptin phonetics and phonology are articles by Hargus (2001) and Hargus and Beavert (2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2009) on aspects of phonetics and phonology of the Yakima dialect including consonant clusters, stress, intonation, and the nature of epenthetic and excrescent barred *i*. Minthorn (2005) investigates sonority sequencing in the Umatilla syllable. Articles covering morpohology and syntax include V. Hymes (1984), which includes a discussion of dialect differences, particularly with respect to referent tracking in Warm Springs. Noel Rude has written a number of articles on aspects of voice and transitivity in Nez Perce and Sahaptin. For those focused on Sahaptin see Rude 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1992a,1994, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2009. Blackburn Morrow (2006) is an experimental study of the inverse voice in Umatilla Sahaptin. The structure of Warm Springs narrative texts is analyzed in V. Hymes (1987) and V. Hymes and Suppah (1992); these include Warm

Springs narratives by Hazel Suppah. Cash Cash (2000) analyzes the written contributions of X̱ílux̱in (Charlie McKay) who spoke and wrote in Umatilla and Nez Perce. Texts are included. Jacobs' grammatical description was informed by the texts he collected from speakers of Northwest Sahaptin: Lewy Cosima, Sam N. Eyley Jr., Mrs. Mary Eyley, Joe Hunt, Mrs. Dan Secena and Jim Yoke (Jacobs 1929, 1934, 1937). The text Coyote and the Dogs by Mrs. Minnie Showaway is found in Rigsby (1978). Hunn and Selam (1990) includes a chapter on the language as well as extensive lists of Ichishkíin plant and animal names and words for landforms, as well as a short text.

Unpublished resources also aided my analysis. Noel Rude provided me with a copy of his Klikitat dictionary (2008), based on Melville Jacobs' texts and grammar, as well as some unpublished Umatilla materials. Bruce Rigsby took a photo of each page of the field notes he collected from speakers of Northwest dialects in the 1960's and early 1970's and shared those (Rigsby 1964-71). I also referred to the Warm Springs Sahaptin Grammar, prepared by Henry Morrison and language consultants Betty Lou Lucio, Bernice Mitchell, Matilda Mitchell, Nettie Showaway, Ada Sooksooit, Hazel Suppah and Sylvia Wallulatum (Morrison 1990).

Miscellaneous field notes and word lists from early linguists, anthropologists, and missionaries are housed in several Northwest locations. The most important to review are Melville Jacobs' unpublished field notes. I have not looked at these materials yet; my feeling is that safely archived materials are a resource that will be available later, but the precious living language resources will not be.

1.3. The language situation and language revitalization

The area of the Pacific Northwest region of the United States of America that is now Oregon and Washington historically had a great diversity of languages and dialects. In present-day Oregon at the time European Americans first arrived, it is estimated that 18-25 languages of roughly 13 different families were spoken, and many of these languages had multiple dialects (Gross 2007; D. Hymes 2007). What is now Washington State contained seven language families with around 23 languages and multiple dialects (Kinkade et al. 1998; Thompson & Kinkade 1990).

This rich diversity of languages means that the number of speakers of each language was always fewer than in regions that had the same population density but were not as linguistically diverse. The arrival of settlers and the resulting break in the transmission of language and culture has had the result that no fluent first-language speakers remain for many Northwest languages. Krauss (2000) lists 15 languages with remaining speakers in Washington State, and at that time, speakers were grandparental generation and older. In Oregon, there are 6 languages and dialects with fluent elder speakers who grew up speaking their languages. For some of these, such as Kiksht and Walla Walla, fewer than three speakers remain (Gross 2007). Northern Paiute, one of the more vibrant languages in the region, is spoken fluently as a first language by no more than 500 speakers in Oregon and Nevada (Thornes 2003). The Yakama Nation also has few fluent elder speakers. A 2003 survey by the Yakama Nation Language Program notes that very few of the enrolled members who responded are language speakers (Levina Wilkins, p.c.). While it is not possible to determine an exact number of fluent Yakama

elders who speak Ichishkíin as their first language, estimates from those I have spoken to range from 5-25. There are no monolingual speakers. The language used for general communication in the community, and the only language understood by the vast majority of tribal members, is English.

There are multiple reasons for this language shift, going back to the large number of deaths and consequent loss of language and culture transmission that followed the arrival of non-Indians. In the mid-1700's, prior to contact with the Lewis and Clark expedition (in 1805) and the smallpox epidemics that preceded Lewis and Clark, it is estimated that there were 8400 people in Northwest Sahaptin tribes and bands (Hunn 1990). Most of these tribes and bands were incorporated into the Yakama Nation. These numbers dropped dramatically over the next 150 years, with only 1200 people in the 1885 Yakama tribal census (Trafzer 1997). While tribal enrollment has now surpassed 1805 figures, the effect of the earlier losses of elders and children is lasting. And the establishment of boarding schools where Indian children were punished for speaking their language had a huge impact on the vitality and everyday use of the language.

Today, there is great interest in language teaching, learning and revitalization. Teaching efforts have included classes from preschool to adult level across the Yakama Nation. The Tribal School in Toppenish (8-12th grades) requires 1-2 years of language and culture. Tribal Head Start (pre-kindergarten) programs take place in four locations across the reservation, and have included Ichishkíin language, with plans to add more (Lottie Sam, p.c.). The Toppenish School District holds a beginning high school class, and there have been occasional classes in other school districts on the reservation. The

Tribal Language Program has established a Master-Apprentice program, with family language classes taught in several areas across the reservation. Heritage University, a private, non-tribal university on the Yakama Nation offers classes in Sahaptin language and culture. First and second year Ichishkíin courses are currently offered at the University of Oregon (UO), taught by elder Virginia Beavert and her students Roger Jacob and Greg Sutterlict. Ichishkíin languages are also spoken and taught at the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs (CTWS) and the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR), both in Oregon.

Knowledge of other dialects and languages was the norm for Ichishkíin speakers of the past. Rigsby (1965) notes that Sahaptin groups spoke the languages of their neighbors: Salish languages, various dialects of Nez Perce, or Upper Chinookan dialects (Wasco and Wishxam or Kiksht). In addition, Chinuk Wawa or Chinook Jargon was spoken throughout the area. Virginia Beavert, my primary collaborator and teacher, grew up speaking and hearing a number of Ichishkíin dialects besides the one spoken in her household, as well as Nez Perce. Her maternal grandmother spoke Chinook Jargon for trading. However, Rigsby's work in 1965 suggested that the various dialects were kept distinct and that dialect leveling within the reservations had not been as extensive as it was for Nez Perce at that time (1965, 34).

Forty years later, among the speakers I worked with, there is a complex situation of variation within and across dialects and speakers, no doubt in part due to the lack of contexts in which the language is spoken and the shortage of people to converse with. Features that are described as Umatilla or Warm Springs in Rigsby and Rude (1996) are

found in my data. For example, singular distal demonstratives (except for the dative form) in Yakima are listed with initial stressed í- and final -k, while related forms in Umatilla and Warm Springs do not begin with í- or end in -k giving a contrast between the Yakima locative íkwnak 'there' and CR kwna. While the data I have collected includes íkwnak, there is variation in texts, where kwnak (which is simply a shortened Yakima form) and occasionally kwna are found. The demonstrative forms included here (in Table 3.13) present some of this variation and represent a less than clean division among dialects. Teachers and students using this work will find that the elders they consult say some things differently than they are given here. This grammar presents one limited picture of Ichishkíin, not the only one or the best one.

1.4. Language speakers and collaborators

The fieldwork supporting this dissertation was done in and around Toppenish Washington with several elders of the Yakama Nation. Recorded and analyzed texts include narration of personal events, legends, and descriptions of objects, places and events.

I worked most closely with Virginia Beavert throughout the process, and this dissertation is hers as well as mine. We have collaborated since 2004 and have recorded and transcribed texts, followed up with text-based elicitation, and, when it was appropriate, worked through paradigms and more traditional elicitation. Virginia has a master's degree in education through the University of Arizona's American Indian Language Development Institute and is an enrolled doctoral student in the Department of

Linguistics at UO. She has received many honors for her language revitalization and teaching work. We work together as co-researchers.

Levina Wilkins worked with me on transcription, elicitation and analysis. I also have text data from Virginia's mother, Ellen Saluskin. A narrative from Anita Lewis comprises part of the data, as well as conversation between Anita and Virginia. Bruce Rigsby's field notes from Yakima and other Northwest dialects speakers were of great use in developing this grammatical analysis. Since I have not asked the permission of the family members of the (now-deceased) individuals Bruce Rigsby worked with, their names are not included here.

Virginia Beavert, Roger Jacob, Greg Sutterlict and I prepared materials for college level Ichishkíin courses at the UO (see Chapter 10 for more information on the first year of that class) and some of those materials are included here, mostly in chapters 2 and 3. Roger and I worked together to include examples of question words (section 3.11 and throughout) that were useful to teachers and that reflected more culture, heritage, and local information than a typical elicited question form.

Another group of people who have shaped this work are Yakama teachers who are themselves language learners. Their contribution was not language data, but rather cultural information and recommendations on how to create a useful grammar. Although not themselves fully fluent, they have a stake in the language's past, present and future and are taking responsibility for language maintenance. This subset of the members of the speech community - language speakers, teachers, learners and elders who take a direct role in language revitalization - are language advocates or activists (Penfield, Flores and

Tucker 2007). In my experience, these language advocates collaborate with academic linguists and are a formal or informal advisory committee to the linguist. When I speak of my work with the community or with community members, I am referring to working with these language advocates.

Rose Miller and Lottie Sam, along with elder Levina Wilkins, met with me over eight afternoons to discuss what is currently Chapters 2 and 3 of this work. The input of these community members and friends and has been a key part of developing this dissertation. Roger Jacob and Greg Sutterlict, also teacher/learners of Ichishkíin, have also help shape the present work. These people, the elders I have worked with, and others listed in the acknowledgments are my advisors.

The current status of the language and the limited number of fluent speakers with the time, energy and desire to work on documentation has resulted in more limited data than would be ideal. The material included here would be more complete with a greater number of speakers represented. Future plans include incorporating older materials and continuing to seek permissions from elders and families to use previously recorded materials.

1.5. About this grammar

This grammar is written to be a speech-community accessible reference grammar that provides information to both academic researchers and speech community members, even though their goals may differ. Chapters 2 and 3 are written for language teachers and learners who have some familiarity with the sound system and basic grammatical

concepts. Linguists may have to work harder to extract information from these chapters than they would in a standard reference grammar, as the content is organized differently. For example, information on nouns and case marking is introduced as it is needed to explain sentences, and this means that the set of case markers is broken up into two different sections. Later chapters are written for advanced learners and teachers as well as linguists.

Teachers and learners might want to start with the Introduction to Ichishkíin grammar at the beginning of Chapter 2, then either proceed through the information on the sound system in Chapter 2 or go first to Chapter 3 which discusses sentence-level grammar. At the end of Chapter 3 is a brief index of information found elsewhere in the grammar that could be useful to teachers and learners. The final chapter discusses using materials from documentation projects in teaching, and that chapter and the appendix materials should also be useful to all users of the grammar.

I have tried to present the language as clearly and completely as possible for audiences of different backgrounds and purposes. In some cases, I have no doubt made choices and compromises that will leave users having to search for the information they need and thinking that there is either too much or not enough linguistic analysis. In addition, my areas of interest have necessarily shaped the work. I am also aware of my own limited understanding. A system this intricate and complex is an inexhaustible wonder and will never be fully explained. This is a mere beginning and I look forward to spending more time with Ichishkíin.

Format of examples:

Some of the explanation that follows will be clearer after reading section 2.1, and readers may want to return to this explanation then. Each example has four lines as below.

1. *Wínanaatash wánayaw kttáasknik.*
    wína-na =natash   wána -yaw   kttáas-knik
    go-PST=1Pl.EXC   river-DAT   Kittitas-ABL
    'we went to the river from Kittitas'

The first line is a phonemic transcription, using the Yakima Practical Alphabet (described in Chapter 2). Ichishkíin words and morphemes within text and in examples are in italics. Second position 1st and 2nd person (SAP) pronominal enclitics (clitics) have full and reduced forms. Full forms of clitics are written as separate words in the first line of examples even though they are phonologically part of the preceding word, not stressed as are independent words. Virginia Beavert and Levina Wilkins, both language teachers as well as speakers, preferred to have the clitics represented in this way. However, when the clitic is in its reduced form, as is *=natash* '1PL.EXC' in example 1 above, it is attached to the host word in the written representation.

The second line of the example is broken down into morphemes. It shows the complete forms of stems that have been affected by morphophonemic processes. The morpheme by morpheme line also shows the complete forms of SAP clitics. Throughout this grammar in the examples, both pronominal and modal clitics are preceded by '=' while other morpheme breaks are indicated with '-'. This indicates the special distribution of clitics as opposed to prefixes or suffixes. Verbal tense and affix suffixes in the second line are not reduced to their simplest or 'underlying' form.

The third line shows the translations or labels/glosses for these morphemes. A list of all the abbreviations used in the glosses is on page 440.

The final line is a translation. Third person prefixes do not differentiate for gender. If an example sentence is from a text, I have kept the original translation of 'he', 'she' or 'it'; in other example sentences, I use the notation s/he or s/he/it to show that it could be any of these.

Translations or interpretations provided by language teachers and collaborators are not word for word, as will be seen in the examples. Examples from Jacobs 1934 and 1937 are marked as MJ, followed by the year (34, 37), and then the number of the text, paragraph and segment, following the numbering printed in the texts. Examples from Jacobs 1929 and 1931 include a page number. Most examples are from texts I have collected. In Chapters 2 and 3, examples are also taken from classroom materials for clarity. Elicited examples and paradigms are used for clarification and when text data was not available.

In a few places I do not use a four-line example style if it seems they are clear without a morpheme by morpheme breakdown, for example when showing a set of derivational morphemes on more than one root.

The structure of this dissertation:

Chapters 2 and 3 are a condensed pedagogical or teaching and learning grammar, written primarily as a reference to language learners, teachers and others who are interested in how Yakima Ichishkíin puts thoughts into words.

Chapter 2 includes an introduction to Ichishkíin grammar and then discusses the alphabet used throughout this grammar. It reviews the sounds of the language and how sounds change when words and morphemes are combined. It discusses the stress pattern of words.

Chapter 3 is an explanation of sentence level grammar, and incorporates some explanation of grammatical and linguistic terminology. It includes sections on negation and question words and ends with an index of morphemes found elsewhere.

Chapter 4 discusses structural properties of the verb stem and theme, with particular attention paid to the formation of the verb stem.

Chapter 5 covers inflectional and derivational processes applicable to nouns, and a set of nominal suffixes that expresses meanings like 'next', 'only' and 'again'. Numbers and kinship terms are included in this chapter. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of noun phrases.

Chapter 6 presents the intransitive, transitive and ditransitive constructions of Ichishkíin. Valence-changing constructions, including the applicative and causative, reflexives and reciprocals, and the passive are addressed. The last sections of the chapter cover grammatical relations, alignment patterns and word order.

Chapter 7 reviews the inverse alignment and voice constructions, discussing the morphology, function and historical sources of these systems. Inverse clauses reflect a ranking of participants, with 1st and 2nd persons outranking 3rd person and proximate 3rd persons outranking obviative 3rd persons.

Chapter 8 surveys adjectives, adverbs and modal enclitics. Adjectives and adverbs share properties and forms, and a set of sentence-initial modal adverbs covers some of the same semantics of possibility and ability as the modal enclitics. Modal enclitics are second position particles that indicate hearsay, contrast, and a range of possibility and probability.

Chapter 9 looks at complex clauses in the language, and reviews the subordinating and nominalizing strategies used.

Chapter 10 addresses the link between language documentation projects and classroom language teaching, and suggests ways that materials collected in a language documentation project can support a variety of teaching approaches and add richness and authenticity to a language classroom. It presents a case study of the Ichishkíin language course taught at UO.

Portions of Chapters 4 and 10 are in press co-authored material. Joana Jansen and Virginia Beavert are the co-authors of the articles. Virginia Beavert contributed the language data and reviewed the completed analysis. I prepared and analyzed the data and drafted the articles.

CHAPTER II

PHONETICS, PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation are intended for people who want to say or interpret a basic sentence or question. The scope of the chapters is guided by the course I teach for Sahaptian language teachers and learners at the Northwest Indian Language's Institute's Summer Institute. Class students have given me valuable input as I determined what topics to cover here and how much information about linguistic terms and concepts to include. These students are not necessarily absolute beginners to the language or to linguistics. Readers who have not been exposed to Ichishkíin or linguistics before using this grammar may find parts of it quite dense at first reading and may want to revisit it after further language study.

Since the information presented here is organized for learners, a linguist may find it to be repetitive or to ignore generalizations. For example, the section in Chapter 3 on tense and aspect endings addresses the suffixes one at a time, and this organization obscures some generalizations that can be made about historical verb stem classes. However, verb classes do not entirely predict the form of tense and aspect endings in Yakima and so are of limited use in the classroom. While some generalizations are useful to learners, the endings need to be learned on an individual basis, as they are presented

here. Chapter 2 gives more information on verb classes, and those wishing more information can find it here. Similarly, some information that a learner may feel is critical, such as information on numbers and counting, is presented elsewhere. Chapters 2 and 3 are intended to present an overview of the sound system and the morphology used to create sentences, and to give enough cross referencing information so that those looking for further information can find it.

Although Chapter 2 focuses on the sounds of the language, some parts of the sound system become relevant only when prefixes and suffixes are added to words. Much of the introduction immediately below is more applicable to the discussion in Chapter 3, but is included here because of its relevance to the ways sounds combine as words are formed.

2.1. Introduction to Ichishkíin grammar

This dissertation deals with the structure and composition of Ichishkíin words and language. A language is a system used by human beings to communicate with each other. As we learn a language, we learn what set of sounds it uses, how to pronounce its sounds, and how the sounds influence one another. This information about the sound system of Ichishkíin is found in Chapter 2 .We learn the meanings of words, what affixes (prefixes and suffixes) can be added to them, and how the affixes change the meaning of words and sentences. We learn how to put words into sentences, in what order, to create meaning. This information is found in Chapter 3. Speakers of a language share knowledge about all of these language components, and through their shared knowledge, understand one another. When we refer to the grammar of a language we speak of this

shared systematic knowledge. A grammar is also a book such as this one that describes a the structure of a language.

Morphology is the study of words and the parts that make up a word. A morpheme is a part of a word that expresses meaning. For example, in the word *k'úsima* 'horses' there are two meaningful pieces, or morphemes: *k'úsi* 'horse', the root or part of the word that carries the central meaning, and the suffix *-ma*, which makes the root plural. The same is true for the English translation. The two morphemes are 'horse' and 's'. Ichishkíin is morphologically rich language, in which one word can be comprised of many smaller meaningful parts. The grammatical explanations given here describe how morphemes combine and what meanings they contribute. In addition, they describe the changes that may happen in the sound or form of a morpheme when it combines with others.

In the Ichishkíin verb, prefixes and suffixes - morphemes - attach to the verb root - another morpheme - to create a complete sentence. In making sense of what someone is saying, a listener needs to know what activity is being referred to (what is being talked about); identify the participant(s) involved; and establish a time frame: did this already happen? is it going to happen in the future? In Ichishkíin, the verb word gives all of this information. The word *isínwisha* 's/he is speaking' is a strand of three morphemes: *i-sínwi-sha*. The participants (or actors) are identified with a prefix (*i-*), the verb (*sínwi-*) tells what is happening, and aspect suffix (*-sha*) gives information about the time of the event.

Parts of speech

A *part of speech* is a category of words: nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. Not all languages have the same list of parts of speech. For example, English has articles: 'a/an' and 'the'. These give information about whether a noun is definite. Ichishkíin does not have articles. Nouns and verbs, however, are considered universal categories (see, for example, DeLancey 2001; Givon 1984; Payne 1997).

Words are grouped into a part of speech category because of characteristics the words share. Semantic properties, or properties related to meaning, are one of the differentiating characteristics. A traditional definition of a noun based on its meaning is a 'person, place, thing or concept'. Verbs refer to actions, events, processes or states. Another type of semantic definition is that nouns refer to 'time-stable' concepts, or things that do not undergo much change over time, while verbs code changes in the world (Givón 1984). However, these semantic criteria are not completely reliable, as certain words do not fit neatly into these categories. And some words, such as *puuy* 'snow' or *pxwi* 'thought, think' fall into more than one category.

More reliable tests to identify a word as belonging to a particular category are based on its grammatical properties and possibilities. Ichishkíin nouns and verbs are readily identified by looking at the morphemes that can be added to them. For example, a noun indicating a human or animal can have the suffix *-in* 'dual' or *-ma* 'plural'. Nouns indicating humans, animals, or inanimate objects can be suffixed by case markers that indicate their role in the sentence. Verbs also have a unique set of morphemes. The third person prefix *i-* 's/he/it' and tense and aspect suffixes such as *-sha* 'ongoing' and *-ta*

'future' can be added to verbs, and so can identify a word as a verb. Many other morphemes also uniquely identify parts of speech.

The parts of speech that will be covered in depth in Chapter 3 are nouns and verbs. Question words, determiners (this and that) and pronouns are also included. Information about other types of words is found in later chapters.

Verbs

The heart of an Ichishkíin sentence is the verb. A single word can express an entire sentence or thought, as with *ishapá'áta* 'he let him out' and *isínwisha* 's/he is speaking'. Several elders have said to me that Ichishkíin is a descriptive language, and that the words present a picture or scene in a way that English cannot. Verbs have an intricate structure and can include many morphemes, each contributing a particular meaning. Many concepts that are built into the verb in Ichishkíin need to be expressed by additional words in English. Due to the centrality and importance of the verb, it is addressed first in Chapter 3, and at length in the rest of the grammar.

Much of the grammar of transitive and intransitive verbs differs, and they are addressed separately in Chapter 3. Intransitive verbs are verbs that involve only one participant or actor. In intransitive clauses expressing motion, activities or states, the subject of the sentence is doing the action or exhibits the state expressed by the verb. The following are examples of intransitive clauses:

iwáyx̱tya k'úsi
'the horse ran'

iwá k̲a'áaw
's/he/it is light (in weight)'

Transitive verbs require two participants, an object as well as a subject. The action of the verb is initiated by the subject and directed towards the object, as in the following examples with verbs *k'ínu-* 'see' and *shapá'át-* 'let out, cause to go out'.

Nch'ínch'ima myánashmaman pak'ínuna.
'The elders saw the children.'

ishapá'áta
'he let him out'

While an intransitive sentence with only one participant (for example, 's/he ran') expresses a complete thought, a transitive sentence with only one participant (such as 's/he broke') leaves us wondering what was broken. The scenes described by transitive verbs are not fully understandable or grammatically correct with only one person involved.

If participants(subjects and objects) are already known from context, they do not have to be explicitly named in every Ichishkíin sentence. As will be discussed, participants are established in discourse or a conversation early on, and after that may not be specifically mentioned. In the following clauses, only morphemes refer back to them. There is no confusion, however; the participants are clear from the grammatical pieces present and the discourse context known to the speaker and hearer.

Nouns

In Chapter 3, basic information about nouns follows that about verbs. The information is brought in as needed, as sentence grammar gets more complex and more morphemes that attach to nouns are needed (beyond *-ma*, which makes nouns plural and *-in*, which indicates dual, or two). The sentence *Nch'ínch'ima myánashmaman pak'ínuna*

'The elders saw the children' has two nouns: *nch'ínch'i* 'elder' and *myánash* 'child'. Both are made plural with the suffix *-ma*. *myánashma* 'children' has an additional morpheme to show that it is the object of the sentence, the participant the action is directed towards.

Additional noun suffixes give information about how the suffixed noun is related to other words in the sentence. These indicate things such as location, destination, or origin; instrument (the thing with which something is done); recipient; possessor; the one who is with or accompanying someone else; the beneficiary or purpose of something.

Animacy is an important concept in the language, as is reflected in the grammar. Humans, animals and inanimate things are unique groups, each with a different set of rules. The ways these categories differ - and how they are the same - are discussed in Chapter 3.

Keeping track of participants

We use language to talk about things in the world we live in (or some imagined world or scenario). Words and expressions represent people, places, experiences, objects, and more. We don't always use the same word to refer to a single entity in the world. My brother is named Mark Jansen. He lives in Los Angeles. Mark likes to play golf and go to Hawai'i. He can be referred to in speech in many ways, such as 'Mark', 'Mr. Jansen', 'my brother' or 'he'. Although there are many ways to refer to him, they all point to the same individual, or **referent** in the world. (This example is based on one provided by Loos et al. 2004.)

Context is important in determining what words a speaker will use to indicate a referent. If the speaker and hearer share certain information, either because it was stated

earlier in the conversation or through common knowledge, that information does not need to be restated explicitly throughout a conversation or spoken narrative. In the following example, taken from the beginning of a story, the location (*atáchiish* 'ocean'), and participants (*áswan* 'boy', *k'úsi* 'horse') are identified. In subsequent clauses, the word *kwnak* 'there' refers to the ocean, and verb prefixes ('he' and 'him' in the English translation) refer to the boy and the horse.

> *Ilá'isha áswan atáchiishpa, álayt áwiyawka.*
> *Ku kwnak áwacha yikít k'úsi anakúsh washanáł, ku ishapá'ata.*
> 'A boy is lying around on the ocean. The shore is passing by.
> And there is a wild horse, unridden, and he lets him out.'

The speaker does not have to repeat *átachiish*, *áswan* or *k'úsi* after they are first mentioned, since the scene has been set and the characters and places are known. In addition, knowledge about the world lets us know that boys let out horses, not the other way around. When isolated examples are given outside of the context of the whole text or conversation (as they are in this grammar), the meaning can sometimes seem unclear. But real human interaction happens within a context that is shared by those speaking and listening.

In considering referents, the concept of **person** is important. First person, second person, and third person are labels for the entities being referred to in speech.

- 1st person is the person speaking (I, me) or the person speaking and others put into the same grouping (we, us).
- 2nd person is the addressee, the person being spoken to (you, one or more than one).

- 3rd person is not the speaker or the one addressed. It is the person being talked about, not involved in the conversation (s/he, it, they, him, her, them). 3rd person referents can be things as well as people.

In Ichishkíin, the grammar of verb prefixes, pronominal enclitics, independent pronouns and ergative case marking all are affected by person. The terms 1st person, 2nd person, and 3rd person are used throughout. In addition, the term speech act participant, abbreviated SAP, refers to those involved in the conversation: 1st and 2nd persons.

Word order

The order of the words in an Ichishkíin sentence is not completely fixed, and many variations are possible. Different contexts can inspire a particular order, but the basic information conveyed by the sentence remains the same. Teachers find that their students often want to use English word order even if this is not the desired word order or the order an elder would use. For example, in response to the question *Mɨnán iwá áyat?* 'Where is the woman?' a student could respond with any of the following: *áyat iwá ɨníitpa, ɨníitpa iwá áyat,* 'the woman is at the house' or *ɨníitpa iwá,* or *iwá ɨníitpa* 'She's at the house'. These are all full sentences, and they are all grammatical and understandable. However, a fluent speaker may not use the noun *áyat* 'woman', since she was named in the question and the people talking know the response is about her. The second two possibilities do not include *áyat*. Of these, *ɨníitpa iwá*, literally 'house-at she is', is the more likely answer. It emphasizes the woman's location by putting it first in the sentence and so is more likely to be used to respond to the question.

Ichishkíin nouns often have suffixes that identify their role in the sentence. In the sentence above, the suffix *-pa* on the word *iníit* 'house' indicates that it is a location. These types of suffixes are called case markers. In a language like English that has fixed word order, the meaning of sentences like 'the book is under the pillow' or 'Lynn saw the dog' is dependent on word order. If the nouns swap places, the sentence meaning changes. However, with a rich set of case markers, word order can be flexible. The order does not affect the basic meaning.

Some elements of the sentence do have customary places, and these will be discussed below. The morphemes indicating first and second person follow the first element of the sentence. A set of modal enclitics expressing things like doubt, hearsay, or certainty also fall into second position in the sentence. The negative marker *chaw* is often first, as is a group of adverbs such as *paysh* 'maybe', *huuy* 'in vain, can't'. Question words begin questions.

Translating

In part because of the morphological richness of Ichishkíin words, it is not possible to translate word by word from English to Ichishkíin, or vice versa. *isínwisha* 's/he is speaking' takes three English words to convey the meaning of the single Ichishkíin word. English translations include words like 'the' and 'a' even though they are not needed in Ichishkíin. Gender is not specified in Ichishkíin as it is in English. *isínwisha* could be either 'she is speaking' or 'he is speaking'. In this grammar explanation, if an example sentence is from a text, I have kept the original translation of 'he', 'she' or 'it'; in other example sentences, I use the notation s/he/it to show that it

could be any of these. Translations may not be word for word, as will be seen in the examples.

The following sections of Chapter 2 discuss the alphabet used throughout this grammar. The chapter then reviews the sounds of the language and how sounds change when they are combined with one another or with certain morphemes. It discusses the stress pattern of words and when those patterns change.

The sounds of the language are first presented as an overall set with information about how sounds are produced. The sounds are then presented in groups based on the similarity of the sounds (for example, hard or glottalized sounds like the ones that begin *p'isx̱* 'sour' and *k'alás* 'raccoon') as well as their relationship to a similar sound in English, if there is one. Not all Ichishkíin sounds have a counterpart in English, and even if they are more or less the same (for example, *latít* 'flower' and *papsh* 'fir' have sounds also found in English) there will be small differences in the way the Ichishkíin sounds are made by the elders. The chapter then reviews the sound patterns that are relevant when combining morphemes into words.

2.2. The Alphabet

The Yakima Practical Alphabet is used in this grammar. It was originally developed in the early 1970's by linguist and anthropologist Bruce Rigsby with Alex Saluskin and other elders. They developed a system that represented all the sounds of the language and that could be typed on a standard typewriter. Virginia Beavert and Bruce Rigsby used this alphabet in the 1975 *Yakima Language Practical Dictionary*, and it is

used in classes taught at the Yakama Nation, Heritage University, and the University of Oregon. This alphabet has a one-to-one correspondence between a sound and a symbol, which means that a written word contains the information needed to pronounce it correctly. For example, the diphthong *ay*, as in *áy'ay* 'magpie', is always pronounced the same way (it rhymes with the English word 'try'). In addition, it is the only combination of letters that is pronounced that way.

The writing system also indicates which syllable of a word is stressed. This is indicated with an accent mark. Stress is important, as word meanings depend on it. *pak̲'ínusha*, with the second syllable stressed, means 'they are seeing someone or something', but *pák̲'inusha*, with the stress on the first syllable, means 's/he is seeing somebody'. Bruce Rigsby noted a difference between *ákak* 'Canada goose' and *akák* 'your (maternal) uncle'. (Some speakers say *ɨkak* for 'your (maternal) uncle'.) The stress is marked on the vowel of the stressed syllable. If the stressed vowel is a long vowel, represented by writing the letter twice, the stress mark is on the first of the two (*yáamash* 'deer, mule deer').

The Ichishkíin alphabet has 7 vowels and 32 consonants, one letter or digraph (pair of letters) for each of the sounds of the language. They are in alphabetical order in Table 2.1.

Closely related dialects of Ichishkíin are spoken and taught at the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs (CTWS) and the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR). The spelling systems used there to represent the sounds of Ichishkíin are slightly different, but the sounds are the same.

TABLE 2.1. THE ALPHABET

a	aa	ch	ch'	h	i	ii	ɨ	k	k'	kw	kw'	k̲
k̲'	k̲w	k̲w'	l	ɬ	m	n	p	p'	s	sh	t	t'
tɬ	tɬ'	ts	ts'	u	uu	w	x	x̲	xw	x̲w	y	'

Table 2.2 compares the writing systems (or orthographies). I include this table because it may be useful to those working with materials from more than one of the Ichishkíin-speaking tribes or with older materials such as Melville Jacobs grammar or texts.

Note than every entry on each line has the same sound – the word 'all, everyone' is spelled different ways in the different systems, but pronounced the same way.

1.   *tɬ'aax̲w*   (Yakima)

      tɬ'aaxw   (Warm Springs)

      ƛ̓aax̲w   (CTUIR)

      t̓ła·x̲u   (Melville Jacobs's alphabet)

In the CTUIR alphabet and the one used by Melville Jacobs, the apostrophe that indicates a glottalized consonant is placed right above the consonant: k̓. In the Warm Springs and Yakima systems, the apostrophe is placed after the consonant: k'.

The systems also differ in their representation of diphthongs, combinations of two

vowel sounds. In the Yakama practical alphabet and the CTUIR alphabets, the

diphthongs end in the letters *w* or *y*. In the Warm Springs and the Jacobs alphabets, they

TABLE 2.2. ORTHOGRAPHY COMPARISON
adapted from Rigsby and Rude, 1996

Yakima practical alphabet	CTUIR technical alphabet	Warm Springs alphabet	Melville Jacobs' technical alphabet
a	*a*	*a*	*a*
aa	*aa*	*aa*	*a·, ω·*
ch	*č*	*č, ch*	*tc*
ch'	*c̓*	*č', ch'*	*t́c*
h	*h*	*h*	*h*
i	*i*	*i*	*i*
ii	*ii*	*ii*	*i·, ei, ε·*
ɨ	*ɨ*	*omitted*	*ə*
k	*k*	*k*	*k, ɢ*
k'	*k̓*	*k'*	*ḱ*
kw	*kʷ*	*kw*	*kw, ɢw*
kw'	*k̓ʷ·*	*kw'*	*ḱw*
ḵ	*q*	*q*	*q*
ḵ'	*q̓*	*q'*	*q́*
ḵw	*qʷ*	*qw*	*qw*
ḵw'	*q̓ʷ*	*qw'*	*q́w*
l	*l*	*l*	*l*
ɬ	*ɬ*	*ɬ*	*ɬ*
m	*m*	*m*	*m*
n	*n*	*n*	*n*
p	*p*	*p*	*p, b*
p'	*p̓*	*p'*	*ṕ*
s	*s*	*s*	*s*
sh	*š*	*š, sh*	*c*
t	*t*	*t*	*t, d*
t'	*t̓*	*t'*	*t́, tθ*
tɬ	*ƛ*	*tɬ*	*tɬ*
tɬ'	*ƛ̓*	*tɬ'*	*t́ɬ*
ts	*c*	*c*	*ts*

TABLE 2.2. (CONTINUED).

Yakima practical alphabet	CTUIR technical alphabet	Warm Springs alphabet	Melville Jacobs' technical alphabet
ts'	c̓	c'	t́s
u	u	u	u
uu	uu	uu	u·, ω·
w	w	w	w
x	χ	x̂	x
x̠	χ̠	x	x̣
xw	χʷ	x̂w	xw
x̠w	χ̠ʷ	xw	x̣w, xᵘ
y	y	y	y
'	ʔ	'	'

end in *u* or *i*. Again, the sound and meaning are the same, regardless of which way they are spelled. Example 2 shows the words *chaw* 'no, not' and *shúshaynsh* 'steelhead'. Note that the stress in *shúshaynsh* varies among dialects.

2.   *chaw*   Yakima

     čaw   CTUIR

     čau /chau   Warm Springs

     shúshaynsh   Yakima

     šušáynš   CTUIR

     šušáinš / shusháinsh   Warm Springs

A final important difference is that the Warm Springs does not have the letter *ɨ* (barred i). Words in Yakima and CTUIR orthographies spelled with a barred *ɨ* have counterparts in Warm Springs without *ɨ*. In Warm Springs, this means a consonant can have an accent mark, as seen in *mɨtaat*. Example 3 compares the words *iwínsh* 'man' and *mɨtaat* 'three' across the three spelling systems.

3.   *íwínsh*   Yakima
     íwínš   CTUIR
     winš / winsh Warm Springs
     mítaat   Yakima
     mítaat   CTUIR
     mítaat   Warm Springs

The Yakima Practical Alphabet includes digraphs - two letters representing one sound, such as *x̱w* and *sh*. An infrequent problem arises from this convention. In some cases a reader does not know when a combination of letters represents a sequence of two consonants sounds and when it represents one sound (a digraph). For example, the alphabet includes the letters *k̲*, *w* and *k̲w*. When *k̲* and *w* appear next to one another, it could be a sequence of letters or it could be the digraph. The pronunciation is different depending on which it is. So, for example, the word for butterfly is *walak̲wálak̲*. The letters *k̲w* in the middle are not the digraph, but represent individual sounds in two separate syllables *walak̲ - wálak̲*. The same problem occurs with the diphthongs: *wawá* 'mosquito' does not have a diphthong in the first syllable (it is wa.wa, not waw.a), but *wawshúya* 'examine' does. Learners need to hear these words in order to know how to pronounce them.

There is a slight difference between the form of the barred *ł* that I am using here and the one used by Rigsby and Rude (1996), which is *ɬ*. These represent the same sound. In addition, the 1975 Yakima Practical Dictionary did not differentiate barred *ł* from plain *l* when it was combined with hard *t'* in letter *tł'* (spelled there *tl'*). However, these are the same sounds.[1]

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[1] Virginia Beavert feels some words that have been spelled with the affricate *tł'* are pronounced *t'l* or *tl'* with the tongue flat and farther forward in the mouth than it is for *tł'*. An example is *tł'ap* 'unwanted, no

In this grammar, I have converted examples from Jacobs to the Yakima alphabet for ease of reading. I have done the same with Bruce Rigsby's field notes Rigsby 1964-1971), which represent long vowels and digraphs slightly differently. Examples from other Ichishkíin dialects and sources are in their original orthography.

Ichishkíin does not have a long written tradition and the alphabet systems for writing the language are still fairly new. Words and sounds have been written by different individuals in a number of different ways. The system is not completely standardized, and, given the differences between dialects and speakers, some words have more than one "correct" spelling. In addition, pronunciations change depending on how carefully a person is speaking, how quickly they are speaking, and whether they are in a formal setting or at home. In telling legends or relating something that happened, words can be drawn out for emphasis, or said quickly to emphasize an abrupt or sudden event. Not every word is said the same way every time, and the variations are important to maintain.

While having written materials is important to many students of the language, a writing system is not necessarily needed by already-fluent speakers. Levina Wilkins, language program manager at the Yakama Nation, specifically designed the Master-Apprentice program there so that elders need not learn the writing conventions unless they want to. The apprentices are responsible for keeping written records.

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good'. There is a measurable acoustic difference between these pronunciations. At this time I analyze the difference as phonetic rather than phonemic, and in this grammar, I have followed the spelling conventions of the language and use the letter t̓ɫ'. This contrast should be examined in depth.

2.3. The vocal tract and the sounds of Ichishkíin

The sounds of any human language can be explained and differentiated based on how the sound is produced using the mechanisms of the human vocal tract. To speak, we move air through our vocal tracts, starting from our lungs through the trachea (or windpipe), then between the vocal cords in the larynx (voice box), into the open space of the mouth and nose, and then out of the mouth. We shape a flow of air by moving parts of the vocal tract to produce different sounds. Different processes are used for vowels and consonants.

To produce vowels, the position of the tongue and lips (and sometimes jaw) is changed to create different sounds. The air flow from the lungs through the mouth is not significantly obstructed and air is always moving through the vocal tract. As the air moves through the larynx, the vocal cords are pulled together and vibrate to create the sound.

To produce consonants, air is constricted or blocked somewhere in the vocal tract. One way to describe the consonants in a language is to identify them as to where in the mouth and vocal tract there is a restriction or blockage. This is called the place of articulation. There are a limited number of places in the vocal tract where a blockage can occur. Figure 2.1 is a cutaway view of the human head, showing the places of articulation relevant to Ichishkíin. Some of the discussion later in this chapter will refer to processes that take place with uvular and velar consonants. These consonants are made with a closure or restriction in the back part of the mouth, around and behind the soft palate.

FIGURE 2.1 PLACES OF ARTICULATION
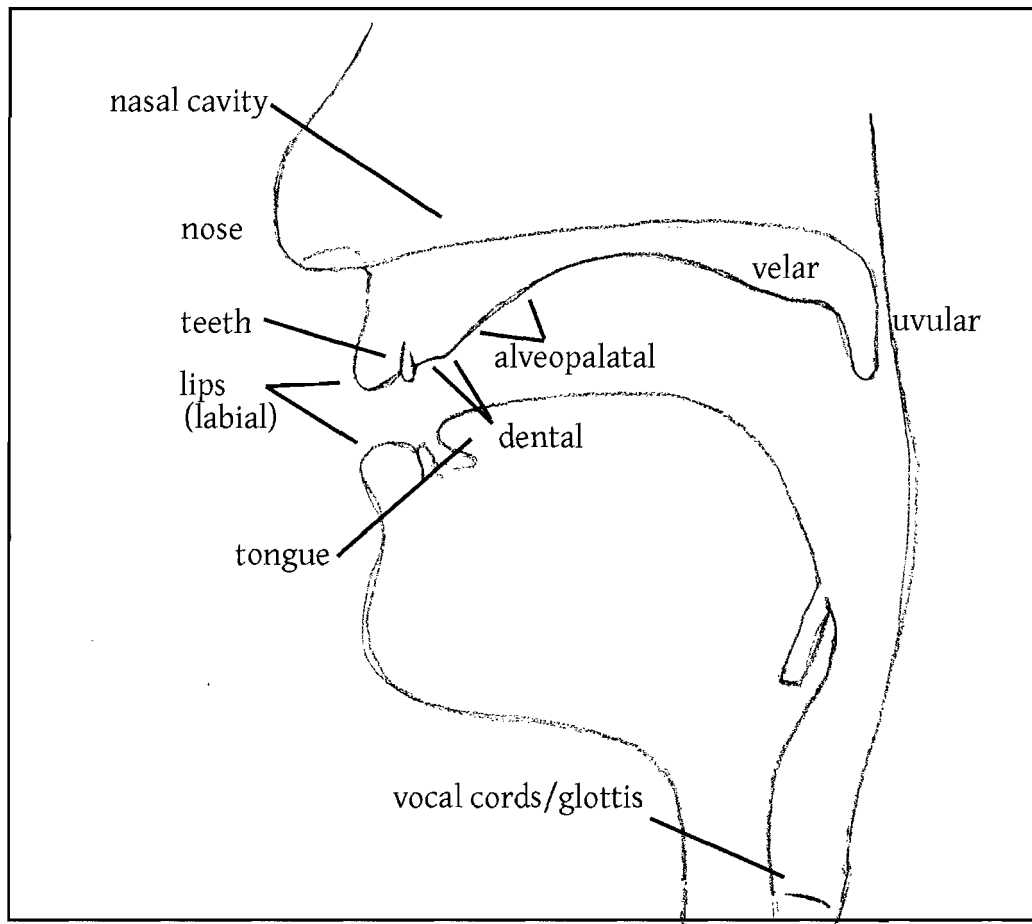
A second way to classify a consonant is how the consonant is made. This depends

on, for example, whether the air is completely stopped or only partially blocked, whether

air moves through the nasal cavities or around the sides of the tongue or not. This is

called manner of articulation. STOPS are made by completely blocking off the airflow at

some point. For example, the word *pat* 'older sister' begins and ends with stops *p* and *t*.

FRICATIVES (sometimes called continuants) involve a restriction of air rather than a

complete blockage. *shúshaynsh* 'steelhead' includes the continuant *sh*. AFFRICATES are a stop followed by a continuant, but the sounds are produced so close together they are classified as one sound rather than two. *chiish* 'water' and *ts'í* 'sweet' begin with affricates. NASAL sounds involve air passing through the nasal cavity and nose rather than the mouth. In Ichishkíin there are two nasal sounds, *m* and *n*, found in the word *mun* 'when'. LATERAL sounds like *l* involve air moving around the tongue, as in *lalupáa* 'ribbon'. Finally, a GLIDE (or sonorant, or semi-vowel) shares characteristics of vowels and consonants. The air moves freely, as for a vowel, but the vocal tract is made narrower than it is to produce vowels. For *w*, the narrowing happens simultaneously at the lips and velar region and for *y* the front of the tongue is raised towards the roof of the mouth.

Ichishkíin has one consonant made by closing the vocal cords entirely. This is the glottal stop. It is found between two vowels in words such as *a'a* 'crow'. It is also pronounced at the beginning of words that are spelled with an initial vowel. This writing system does not indicate glottal stops that are before a vowel at the beginning of a word. The word 'crow', spelled *a'a*, is in fact pronounced ['a'a]. It does indicate the glottal stop between vowels, as in *pa'anáwisha* 'they are hungry'. Glottalized consonants (also called hard or ejective sounds) involve closing and releasing the vocal cords at the same time as producing another obstruction elsewhere in the vocal tract.

Table 2.3 below includes the consonant sounds of Ichishkíin classified as to their manner and place of articulation. The top row of the chart indicates the place a constriction occurs. At the left is the articulator closest to the outside of the body (the

lips) and to the right is the articulator closest to the lungs (the glottis, at the vocal cords). The left hand column of the table indicates the manner of articulation.

Vowels are categorized by where the tongue and lips are placed to produce them. Changes in the shape and amount of open space in the mouth influence the sound. The tongue can be raised towards the roof of the mouth or dropped low in the mouth. This parameter is called vowel height and there is a range of high, mid and low. The tongue can also be forward or back from where it rests in the mouth. This feature is called vowel

TABLE 2.3. CONSONANTS

Manner of articulation: / Place of articulation:	bilabial	dental	dental (lateral)	dental (continuant)	alveopalatal	velar	labio-velar	uvular	labio-uvular	glottal
Plain stops and affricates	p	t	tɬ	ts	ch	k	kw	ḵ	ḵw	
Glottalized stops and affricates	p'	t'	tɬ'	ts'	ch'	k'	kw'	ḵ'	ḵw'	'
Fricatives			ɬ	s	sh	x	xw	x̱	x̱w	h
Nasal & liquid	m	n	l							
Glide	w				y					

backness, and a vowel can be described as front, central or back. Some vowels are made with rounded lips, and some are not.

Ichishkíin has four vowels: *i, u, a, ɨ*. Three of these (*i, u, a*) have long and short forms. They can each be categorized by the position of the tongue and lips. For example, to make the vowel in the word *shḵ'iish* 'shade' the tongue is raised towards the roof of the mouth and is slightly forward. The lips are not rounded. The vowels are shown in Table 2.4 based on the features of height, backness, and lip rounding. (See Hargus 2001 for acoustic measurements.)

TABLE 2.4. VOWELS

vowel	height, backness, and rounding
i /ii	high front unrounded
u/ uu	high back rounded
a/aa	low-to-mid central unrounded
ɨ	high central unrounded

Ichishkíin also has diphthongs. These are combinations of two of the above vowel sounds. The following sections give examples of each of the vowels, diphthongs and consonants of Ichishkíin.

2.4. Vowels and diphthongs

The seven written vowels are *i, ii, u, uu, a, aa,* and *ɨ*.

i, u, and *a* have short and long forms. A long vowel is spelled with two vowel letters in a row and the sound is held out for a longer duration than the corresponding short vowel. Vowel length is important for meaning in Ichishkíin–for example, the word *wásha-* means 'ride' but *wáasha-* means 'dance'. *i, u,* and *a* have comparable sounds in English:

- i is pronounced like the vowel in the English word *ski* (sometimes as in *sit*)

- u is pronounced like the vowel in the English word *moo* (sometimes as in *foot*)

- a is pronounced like the first vowel in the English word *father* (sometimes as in *pup*)

Depending on what sounds are around the vowel, whether it is stressed or not and how fast the speaker is talking, the sound of the short vowels may change slightly – so the *i* in *táaminwa* 'forever' may sound more the vowel in the English word 'sit' than the vowel in the English word 'eat'. The long vowel sounds do not change or reduce in fast speech as the short ones do.

The sound represented by barred *i* is close to the sound of the first vowel in the English word 'supply' or the second vowel in 'teases'. It has a shorter duration than the other vowels. It never occurs at the end of a word and never occurs as an element in a diphthong. There is not a long form of this vowel.[2]

Diphthongs are combinations of two vowel sounds. The beginning vowel sound for Ichishkíin diphthongs is short or long i, a, or u; the second vowel sound is i (spelled y) or u (spelled w). These too have comparable sounds in English:

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[2] For more information about the special status and properties of barred i in Ichishkíin, refer to Hargus 2001, Hargus and Beavert 2002a and 2002b.

- *aw* is pronounced like the vowel in the English words *cow, plow, meow*

- *ay* is pronounced like the vowel in the English words *try, my, sigh*

- *iw* is pronounced like the vowel in the English words *ewe, few, cue*

- *uy* is pronounced like the vowel in the English words *phooey, buoy, (chop) suey*

The tables below (2.5- 2.8) give example words for each sound. The left column includes the 'name' of the sound, or what we use in the classroom when spelling out a word. This has been useful because there are, for example, many combinations with the letter *k: k, k', kw, kw', ḵ, ḵ', ḵw, ḵw'*. Teachers and learners need to specify 'which *k*' they mean. For many letters, the tables includes a word with that letter at the beginning, and also at the middle or the end. So, for the letter *s*, example words could be *saplíl*, 'bread', *sasílaw* 'egg', and *lákas* 'mouse'. Not all letters occur in all positions in a word. Table 2.5 includes vowels and diphthongs.

TABLE 2.5.
EXAMPLE WORDS: VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

name	letter	example word	translation
short a	a	*am*	husband
		ásham	wife
		kápin	digging stick
long aa	aa	*aan*	sun
		taak	meadow
		hawláak	spirit, abyss, bottomless place

TABLE 2.5. (CONTINUED).

name	letter	example word	translation
short i	i	*ístama*	baby animal
		iksíks	small
		ɫkw'i	day
long ii	ii	*ii*	yes
		niimí	our
		lakamíin	lakamíin (salmon dumpling stew)
barred ɨ	ɨ	*ɨm*	mouth
		áshɨm	come in
		ɨwínsh	man
short u	u	*útpaas*	blanket, robe
		mups	fawn
		púsha	father's father
long uu	uu	*puush*	juniper
		ttuush	some
		ɨp'úus	cat
short a w diphthong	aw	*chaw*	no
		ḵa'áw	fast, swift
long a w diphthong	aaw	*ḵa'áaw*	lightweight
		waaw	mountain goat
short a y diphthong	ay	*paysh*	maybe
		sikáywa	breadroot

TABLE 2.5. (CONTINUED).

name	letter	example word	translation
long a y diphthong	aay	*yaay*	beargrass
short iw diphthong	iw	*kiwkíwlas*	drum
		wíwnu	huckleberry
long i w diphthong	iiw	*íiwsh*	urine
short u y diphthong	uy	*anahúy*	black bear
		ts'múy	warm
long u y diphthong	uuy	*huuy*	hardly, almost can't
		puuy	snow

2.5. Consonants

There are 32 consonant sounds in Ichishkíin. They are presented here based on how similar they are to one another and how familiar they are to people who have learned English as their first language.

In producing many of the consonants, skills as a speaker of English will help, even though there may be small differences in the way the sounds are made by Ichishkíin speakers. One example of this difference is in the stops *t* and *k*. A fluent speaker of Ichishkíin produces these with the stop closure farther forward in the mouth than their English counterparts. Ichishkíin *t* is a dental stop, made with the tip of the tongue near the upper front teeth. For many speakers of English, *t* is made with the closure farther behind the teeth. *ts* and *s* in Ichishkíin are also made with the tip of the tongue, again forward in the mouth.

The sounds that have a similar (although not entirely matching) English sound are included in Table 2.6 below: *ch, h, k, kw, l, m, n, p, s, sh, t, ts, w, y.*

The letter *kw* is a sound similar to that at the beginning of the English words 'quick' or 'queen'. The *w* indicates that the sound is made with rounded lips. We will see that other consonants (*k̲w, xw, x̲w*) are also pronounced with lip rounding. The Ichishkíin letter *ts* is similar to the sound heard at the end of the English word 'cats'. The last two letters in this table are the glides *y* and *w*.

TABLE 2.6. EXAMPLE WORDS: CONSONANTS WITH ENGLISH COUNTERPARTS

name	letter	example word	translation
soft ch	ch	*chíish*	water
		chímti	new
		íchi	this
h	h	*haasht*	breath
		lahaháam	far down (for example, at the bottom of a canyon)
		hulí	wind
soft front k	k	*kálux̲*	blueback salmon
		aykáwaas	chair
		íkuuk	now, today
front k w	kw	*kwyaam*	true
		áykws	cottontail rabbit
l	l	*latít*	flower
		saplíl	bread
		láymut	youngest one

TABLE 2.6. (CONTINUED).

name	letter	example word	translation
m	m	*mámɨn*	breadroot (*Lomatium Piperi*)
		mimím	dove
		myáwax̱	chief
n	n	*nawát*	belly
		núsux̱	salmon
		núshnu	nose
soft p	p	*papsh*	fir tree
		plash	white
		ɨpáp	arm
s	s	*sawítk*	Indian carrot
		silksílk	cricket
		ptis	muskrat
sh	sh	*sháx̱at*	raspberry
		shúshaynsh	steelhead
		patísh	branch
soft t	t	*táp'ash*	pine tree
		táshtash	canvasback duck
		tamaláw	gravel, sand
soft ts	ts	*tsawktsáwk*	red-hot
		watsúḵt	axe
		tsnits	your (a man's) younger sister
w	w	*wawá*	mosquito
		watám	lake
		Nch'iwána	Columbia River

TABLE 2.6. (CONTINUED).

name	letter	example word	translation
		yáamash	mule deer
y	y	*yápaash*	grease
		yíx̱a	beaver

Non-English consonant sounds:

Other consonant sounds may be unfamiliar to students and take more practice and patience; the descriptions that follow include suggestions for producing them. These sounds are represented by the letters ł, ḵ, ḵw, x, xw, x̱, x̱w, and tł. ḵw, x̱w and xw are pronounced with the lips rounded. They are presented in Table 2.7.

ł is a lateral fricative. It is made by placing the tip of the tongue behind the upper front teeth and moving air through the sides of the mouth. To produce it, try setting your mouth to make an English l, smile slightly, then blow gently. ł occurs on its own as a letter and also as an affricate in tł.

ḵ is a stop made farther back in the mouth than front k and t. It is a uvular stop, made with the back of the tongue pulled up and back to touch the far back of the mouth/upper throat. Some speakers of English compare it to the *g* sound of a word like 'gawk'. The rounded version is ḵw.

x̱ is a uvular fricative, made with the back of the tongue pulled up and back towards the far back area of the mouth, in the same area of the mouth as *ḵ*. The tongue does not touch the mouth to block off air. The rounded version is *x̱w*.

x is not a very common sound in Ichishkíin. It is a velar fricative, made by placing the tongue and mouth in the same position as you do to pronounce k, but without blocking off the air. It too can be rounded: *xw*.

TABLE 2.7. EXAMPLE WORDS: CONSONANTS WITH NON-ENGLISH SOUNDS

name	letter	example word	meaning
soft back ḵ	ḵ	*ḵashḵáash*	roan horse
		twísḵaḵa	robin
		ḵátuti	stand up, stop
soft back ḵw	ḵw	*ḵwninḵwninɬá*	peddler
		paḵwchtpamá	socket
barred ɬ	ɬ	*ɬamtíx̱*	head
		ɬḵ'am	moccasins
		sapsikw'aɬá	teacher
t barred ɬ	tɬ	*tɬúpsha*	is jumping
		tɬx̱aat	tame, calm
front x	x	*iwíix*	thin
		kawxkáwx	palomino horse
back x̱	x̱	*x̱úlx̱ul*	trout-like fish
		x̱álish	wolf
		ánach'ax̱i	again

TABLE 2.7. (CONTINUED).

name	letter	example word	meaning
front x w	xw	*ts'xwilí*	teepee
		xwixwíɬ	meadowlark
back x̱w	x̱w	*x̱win*	sucker fish
		x̱wísaat	old man

Glottalized stops and the glottal stop:

The glottal stop is another sound students may need to practice. When

pronouncing the English word 'uh-oh' one can bring the vocal cords together between the

two syllables to stop the air and sound. This is a glottal stop.

This process of closing then releasing the vocal cords also occurs with all the

stops and affricates, producing glottalized stops (also called ejective stops or hard

sounds). The process produces a "popping" sound as the consonant is released. The

degree to which a consonant is glottalized depends on the speaker and situation;

sometimes the glottalization is easier to hear than other times.

There are a couple of tricks for learning how to produce a glottalized stop. Take a

breath, and begin saying *wáawk'a* 'too much'. Stop when you are just ready to say the *k*,

but don't exhale, and don't release the *k*. After a second or so, while still holding your

breath, release the *k* closure. This should create a popping sound. Then, add the vowel

sound: take a breath, say *wáawk*, hold your breath, release the *k* closure, and say *aa*. Once

you get a feel for this, you will be able to leave out the preliminary maneuvers and say

the whole word. Then, move to other ejective consonants. (This method was adapted

from Ladefoged 2001). A second method from Harold Crook, who teaches Nez Perce, is to slow down the rate of speech and articulate the glottalized consonant with a tiny lag following it. In other words, allow a beat after the glottalized consonant before producing the following sound. This gives the vocal cords time to return to an open position. So, in a word like *k'pis* 'cold', allow a pause or lag after *k'* before pronouncing the *p* (Crook 2006). Over time, learners can reduce the gap. Finally, students can touch the outside of the throat where their larynx is. The larynx jumps a bit when an ejective stop is produced, but it does not move when an ordinary stop is produced.

The table below gives examples of words with the glottal stop and glottalized consonants.

TABLE 2.8. EXAMPLE WORDS: GLOTTALIZED CONSONANTS

name	letter	example word	meaning
		á'a	crow
glottal stop: '	'	*áy'ay*	magpie
		pu'úuł	blind
		ch'im	sharp
hard ch'	ch'	*nch'i*	big
		pích'im	bobcat
		k'pís	cold
hard front k'	k'	*k'úsi*	horse
		pank'ú	breadroot
		kw'ayawí	mountain lion
hard front k w'	kw'	*skw'ípa*	morning
		íkw'ak	that

TABLE 2.8. (CONTINUED).

name	letter	example word	meaning
hard back ḳ'	ḳ'	ḳ'áxnu	prairie chicken
		pinaḳ'inut'áwaas	mirror
		ḳ'shpalí	buzzard
hard back ḳw'	ḳw'	ḳw'iit	plain, visible
		nuḳw'ash	throat
		ḳw'áshḳw'ash	crane
hard p'	p'	p'íp'i	guts, intestines
		p'íyu	nighthawk
		p'ushtáy	hill
hard t'	t'	t'it'sh	grasshopper
		t'íxt'ix	swallow (bird)
hard t barred ɬ	tɬ'	tɬ'aaxw	all
		tɬ'alk	blacktail deer
hard ts'	ts'	ts'aa	near
		ts'í	sweet
		luts'á	red

Ichishkíin words can have a number of consonants in a sequence, and this is another place where learners need practice. English also has a number of consonant sequences (such as *bl*, *pr*, *str*) but Ichishkíin has more possible combinations, and they are challenging for English speakers. Some example words are below.

4. *tḳ'nu-*   'frost'

    sháxtɬ'k-   'cut apart'

    nákwtkwanin-   'care for, take care of'

pshwa	'rock'
shíx̱tx̱aw	'the best one'
shk̲w'naa	'sad'
tawk̲'x̱sh	'bandanna, scarf, handkerchief'
ts'xwii	'cone shaped'

The next section moves on from looking at individual sounds within words to looking at sound processes that affect entire words and that come into play when morphemes are combined. Table 2.9 gives an overview of these.

TABLE 2.9. SOUND CHANGES IN WORD FORMATION

process	affects	rule	section
stress	all words	stress-stealing suffix> strong root >stress-stealing prefix >root	2.6
glottal stop insertion	verb prefixes	insert ' before vowel-initial verb	2.7
glide insertion	verb prefix *á-*	insert *w* before vowel-initial verb	2.8
glide insertion	verbs and suffixes	insert glides to break up V-V sequences	2.8
high vowel deletion after glide insertion	verbs and suffixes	delete V before associated glide	2.9
destressed high vowel deletion	verb roots	delete previously stressed *i, u, i* (in some conditions) when stressed prefix is added	2.10
n-verbs vs. zero-verbs	verbs and suffixes	verb stem affects whether suffix added to verb begins with *n*	2.11

2.6. Stress

Ichishkíin has word level stress, with one primary stress per spoken word. Stress is indicated with raised pitch and greater intensity in the stressed syllable (Hargus and Beavert 2005). As noted above, a stress shift can change the meaning of a word, for example *pámta*, the address form for 'woman's brother's son' and *pamtá* 'bullfrog, toad'.

In the following explanation of Ichishkíin stress, I refer to syllables and roots. Roots hold a major portion of the meaning of a word and are single morphemes. A root may or may not need additional morphology to stand alone as a word. Above, we had the example *k'úsima* 'horses'. *k'úsi* 'horse' is the root, the part of the word that carries the central meaning. Many of the words in the example charts above are roots.

Syllables are a unit of sound within words, typically containing a vowel (although we saw a Warm Springs example above with no vowel in a syllable) that may or may not have consonants around it. Different languages allow different patterns in syllables. Syllables in the Yakima dialect of Ichishkíin have a vowel as the central element and always begin with a consonant. Recall that the glottal stop is not written at the beginning of a words, even though it is present if the word would otherwise begin with a vowel. So, phonetically, the first syllable of a word like *apíł* 'leaf' begins with a consonant, the glottal stop. Syllables can also begin with more than one consonant, as in *kpaylk* 'recently'. Syllables can end with the vowel (as in *ku* 'and') or with a final consonant or string of consonants. (See Hargus and Beavert 2002a for more on Yakima syllable structure). A word like *k'úsima* 'horses' has three syllables, each consisting of a consonant and a vowel. It addition, it can be described as having two morphemes, the root *k'úsi* and

suffix *-ma*. Note that the number of syllables does not necessarily correspond to the number of morphemes.

Where the stress will fall in a root is not predictable. Any syllable of a root can be stressed. Example 5 shows roots of three syllables with stress in the first, middle and last syllables.

5. *ts'íɬaɬa*   'ermine'

   siwáala   'fresh water clam'

   k'astilá   'crab or crawfish'

Although stress is not entirely predictable, there are some tendencies for where root stress will fall based on patterns of consonants (here abbreviated C) and vowels (V). I am focusing on root stress here because, as we will see shortly, often adding an certain prefix or suffix to a word means that the stress of the word is predictable. One tendency for roots is that the first syllable will be stressed in a CVCV word like *k'úsi* 'horse' or a CVCCV word like *núshnu* 'nose' (recall that *sh* is a digraph so is one letter/ sound). A second tendency is that a syllable with a long vowel (CVV) or a CVC syllable will be stressed, as in *míimi* 'long ago' and *púkɬa* 'fluff or down' (Hargus and Beavert 2001). Finally, the barred *i* is stressed less often than the other vowels (Hargus 2001). Note though, there are exceptions to each of these tendencies. *luts'á* 'red' is stressed on the second syllable. *tiichám* 'land, earth, country' has an unstressed long vowel. *kítu* 'fast' has a stressed barred i. The tendencies can help language learners make guesses for stress placement, but ultimately where the stress belongs needs to be learned as part of a word.

Some prefixes and suffixes are inherently stressed and will (almost always) receive the word level stress. I refer to these as 'stress-stealing' because they override the stress of the root they are attached to. The verb root _k'ínu-_ 'see' has stress on the first syllable. When affixes that are not stress stealing are added, as in 6 (a), the stress remains on the _i_. However, when a stress-stealing affix is added, as in (b), the stress shifts.

6.   (a) _pak'ínuna_
          pa-k'ínu-na
          3Pl.S-see-PST[3]
          'they saw'
    (b) _pák'inuna_
          pá-k'inu-na
          INV-see-PST
          's/he saw (someone)'

If a word has both a stress-stealing prefix and a stress-stealing suffix, as does _pinak'inut'áwaas_ in (c), the suffix will be stressed. Stress-stealing suffixes override stress-stealing prefixes.

    (c) _pinak'inut'áwaas_
          piná-k'ínu-t'áwaas
          RFL-see-INST
          'mirror, window'

In the case of two stressed prefixes or two stressed suffixes, the one closest to the edge of the word will take the stress, as in the examples below. Example 7 shows a word with two stressed prefixes: _pá-_ and _shapá-_. The first (outermost) prefix keeps the stress.

7.   _páshapawinata_
        pá-shapá-wína-ta
        INV-CAUS-go-FUT
        's/he will let him/her go'

---

[3] Abbreviations are in Appendix A, on page 440.

The word *shyakɬaanmí* in example 8 is formed with two stressed suffixes, *-ɬá* and

-mí. The second (outermost) of the two suffixes keeps the stress.

8.　　*shyakɬaanmí táatpas*
　　　　shyák-ɬá-anmí　　　　　*táatpas*
　　　　scout-AGT.NZR-GEN　　shirt
　　　　'the scout's shirt'

Not quite half (43%) of the affixes in Yakima are stress-stealing (Hargus and Beavert

2006b). Table 2.10 below provides examples, but is not the whole list. In later sections as

affixes are discussed, I note those that are stress-stealing affixes.

TABLE 2.10. SELECTED STRESS-STEALING PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES

morpheme	meaning
á-	3rd person obviative
pá-	inverse
pápa-	reciprocal
piná-	reflexive
shapá-	causative
-áwaas	instrument nominalizer
-ɬá	agent nominalizer
-(an)mí	possessive/ genitive
-(t)át'a	desiderative
-yáy	Legend animals

One more factor is important in determining the final stress of a word. Some roots

resist the stress-stealing prefixes (but not the stress-stealing suffixes) and keep the word

level stress. I call these 'strong roots' following Hargus and Beavert 2006b. A 'strong

root' will maintain word-level stress even when a stress-stealing prefix is added. Example

9 shows the stress-stealing reciprocal prefix *pápa-*. When added to the root *wyák'uk-* 'get

together', *pápa-* takes the word level stress, as expected. But example 10 has the strong

root *tanawíix-* 'argue', and the stress stays on the root.

9.   *pápawyak'uka*
       pápa-wyák'uk-a
       RCP-get.together-PST
       'They gathered together'

10.   *papatanawíixna*
       pápa-tanawíix-na
       RCP-argue-PST
       'They argued with one another'

Strong roots do not overcome the stress of stress-stealing suffixes. In the word

patanawíixłá 'an argumentative person' the agentive suffix keeps the stress, even though

tanawíix- , seen in 10 above, is a strong root.[4] Table 2.11 gives a short list of some of the

strong roots of Ichishkíin. It is a small set altogether; the table includes several of the

most common.

The rule for stress assignment of a word is shown below, and is due to the work of

Hargus and Beavert (2005, 2006b). In Figure 2.2 below, the morphemes to the left

overcome the stress of morphemes to their right.

FIGURE 2.2. STRESS ASSIGNMENT

stress-stealing suffix > strong root > stress-stealing prefix > root

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[4] The prefix *pa-* on this root is the inverse prefix, used in some transitive nominalizations. It is also an inherently stressed prefix, but here, but the strong root and the suffix *-ła* override it.

TABLE 2.11. STRONG ROOTS

morpheme	meaning
awk̲alaláti-	roll
isíkw'a-	show
iwáx̲i-	wait
ináwi-	try, test, try on
sapúukasi-	repeat from memory
tanawíix̲-	argue with
tmaaní-	pick berries or fruit
ts'wáyk-	straighten
wawtk'íwi-	make a fool of, trick

In the case of more than one strongly stressed prefix or more than one strongly stressed suffix, the outermost (left-most prefix or right-most suffix) will take the stress.

Stress also varies by dialect, as was seen in *shúshaynsh* 'steelhead' in example 2 on page 32. Because the Yakama area includes speakers of a number of dialects, you may hear different stress patterns than those given here.

Throughout this grammar, stress is indicated with an accent mark. In the example sentences, the primary stress per spoken word is indicated in the first line. Stress on single syllable words is not marked (since there is only one possibility of where the stress can fall). If the example includes a line that breaks apart the morphemes, root stress and affix stress (if the prefix or suffix is a stress-stealer) are indicated on the morphemes. This results in examples with multiple accents in the morpheme break line.

The following sections discuss rules that apply when morphemes are added together to create words.

2.7. Glottal stop insertion

We saw briefly above that verb prefixes are added to indicate the subject of the verb. If a verb begins with a vowel, and the prefix ends with a vowel, the glottal stop (that begins all vowel-initial words) is then shown in the orthography. This glottal stop follows the verb prefixes (except for *á-*, discussed below) and precedes the verb root.

11. *pa'anáwisha*   'they are hungry'

    piná'ilamayka   'she hid herself'

    ishapá'ashta   'he will let them in'

Note that in *ishapá'ashta* there are two prefixes, 3rd person *i-* and causative *shapá-*. The verb is *ash-* 'enter', and the glottal stop is seen after the vowel-final causative morpheme *shapá-* and before vowel-initial verb *ash-*.

2.8. Glide insertion

There are two glides in Ichishkíin, *w* and *y*. As mentioned above, glides have some characteristics of vowels and some of consonants (although they are classified as consonants).

After the third person obviative prefix *á-* and prior to a vowel-initial root the glide *w* is added. This is specific to this morpheme as other prefixes use a glottal stop, seen above.

12. *áwink*
     á-ín-k
     3O-tell-IMP
     'tell her/him'

Glides are also inserted when a vowel-initial suffix is added to a vowel-final root

or stem. The basic form of the past tense is *-a*. When a verb root ending in *i*, such as

náx̱ti- 'cry' is put into the past tense, the result is *náx̱tiya*. The final *i* of the root then

drops, with the end result *náx̱tya*.

The processes discussed below highlight the similarities between the glide *y* and

the vowel *i*, and between the glide *w* and the vowel *u*. This is due to the almost identical

pronunciation of the glide and its corresponding vowel. Both *i* and *y* are made with the

front of the tongue raised. Both *u* and *w* are made with rounded lips and the back of the

tongue raised.

The combination of vowels determines, for the most part, what glide will be

inserted, although there are also some combinations that depend on the particular root or

suffix. I will cover general rules here and then variations as I discuss the morphemes in

the following chapters. In addition, the upcoming discussion of n-verbs and zero-verbs

will address some of the same suffixes that are included in examples here.

If a stem ends in *u* and the suffix begins with a vowel, *w* is inserted.

13. *wiwnú + aash = wiwnúwaash*
     'huckleberry patch'

     tú + in   = túwin
     'what (3>3.ERG)'

     pnu + ata   =pnúwata-
     'go to bed '

_x̲tu + i_   = _x̲túwi-_
'make a big effort'

If a stem ends in _i_ and the suffix begins with a vowel _y_ is inserted.

14.   _tiinmamí + ay_ =_tiinmamíyay_
        'for the people'

        _tk'ni + i_   = _tk'níyi_
        'woven (as is a net)'

        shi + in   =_shíyin_
        'who (3>3.ERG)'

Barred _i̵_ does not end roots, so there is no rule of glide insertion that applies. Many roots

ending in _a_ insert _y_ before a vowel-initial suffix, although verbs ending in _a_ follow a

different pattern, as will be discussed below.

2.9. Deletion of _u_ and _i_ before _w_ and _y_

If the final vowel of a root ends in unstressed _i_ and the suffix begins with _y_ then

the vowel is deleted but the glide remains. Below, the form of the past tense suffix for

shaláwi- 'be tired' is _-ya_. In the spoken word, the final vowel of the root is deleted.

15.   _ishaláwya_
        i-shaláwi-ya
        3Sg-be.tired-PST
        's/he was tired'

Other examples are _itamánwya_ 's/he ordained' (_tamánwi-_ 'create, ordain'); _iskuulya_ 's/he

went to school' (_skúuli-_ 'go to school') _pashápnya_ 'they asked' (_shápni_ 'ask').

The same process occurs for the stative form of _tɬʼyáwi-_ 'die'. The stative suffix is

_-i._

16. *tɬ'yáwyi*
     tɬ'yáwi-yi
     die-STAT
     'dead'

In exaggerated or drawn out speech, the vowel before the glide may be heard. I have

recorded examples of the word above as *tɬ'yáawiyíi*, emphasized for rhetorical effect.[5]

The pattern of vowel deletion before a glide is less consistent with roots ending in

u. These roots are also affected by n-verb status, to be discussed below. One example is

ḵ'ínu 'see'. When the present perfect suffix -*a* is added, glide *w* is inserted, and the final

vowel of the root is dropped.

17. *iḵ'ínwa*
     i-ḵ'ínu-wa
     3Sg.S-see-PPF
     's/he has seen'

2.10. De-stressed high vowel deletion

We saw that above that the root stress is overridden when a stressed prefix is

added to a stressed root. This process combines with the vowel deletion of *u* and *i* around

glides *w* and *y* to result in vowel deletion in some circumstances when a stressed prefix is

added. Hargus and Beavert (2002a) call this "De-stressed High Vowel Deletion".

Although I explain it here as a process, I am not saying that fluent speakers see this as a

series of steps; for them, it is just the right way to say the word.

---

[5] To a certain extent, the choice of how to represent a high vowel followed by a glide is a question of orthography. In the CTUIR system, the spelling of the word 's/he arrived' is *iwiyánawiya* rather than *iwyánawya*; the pronunciation of the elders of CTUIR and Yakima of these glide + vowel combinations is, to my ear, the same. The longer version preserves the root morphemes, which is of benefit to learners; the shorter version better reflects the phonetics of the spoken word and allows the processes such as destressed high vowel deletion to be explained in a more systematic way.

De-stressed High Vowel Deletion affects verbs that have a stressed high vowel (*í* *ú* and *í* in Ichishkíin, pronounced with the tongue raised). In the case of *i* and *u* this happens when they are stressed vowels in a root next to their corresponding glide (*y* and *w*). Some examples of these verbs are *ayík-* 'sit; *íyax̱-* 'find' and *púwa* 'place in a cradleboard'. When these verbs have unstressed prefixes added all vowels remain and the stress stays on the root, as in 18.

18. *i'ayíksha*   's/he is sitting'

    pa'íyax̱shana   'they were finding (something)'

    ipúwasha   'she is putting (the baby) in the board'

When a stressed prefix is added, the prefix takes the word-level stress and and the no-longer-stressed *i* or *u* next to the glide is deleted, leaving the glide only.

19. *wíí'ayk*   'sit for a little while'

    áwyax̱naash   'I found him/her/it'

    ápwak   'Put the baby in the cradleboard'

A similar process affects verbs that have a stressed barred *i* under a different set of conditions, as no glide is involved. The affected barred *i* must be stressed and in between two (and only two) consonants. When a stressed prefix is added, the barred *i* is entirely deleted. Because barred *i* is not often stressed, this is not a frequent process. The example below shows the process with the verb *pít̓a-* 'baptize'. In (a), an unstressed prefix is added and the *i* remains. In (b), a stressed prefix is added and the barred *i* deletes.

20.   (a)   *papítɬ'ashaam*
              pa-pítɬ'a-sha=am
              3Pl.S-baptize-IMPV=2SG
              'they are baptizing you'

      (b)   *páptɬ'asha*
              pá-pítɬ'a-sha
              INV-baptize-IMPV
              's/he is baptizing him/her' (Hargus and Beavert 2002a: 240)

2.11. Verb stem classes

This section discusses other changes that happen when suffixes are added to verbs. In this section, I refer to the verb *stem*. Stems carry the main meaning, like roots, but may be more than one morpheme. In Ichishkíin, the stem is the part of the verb word that person-marking prefixes and tense and aspect suffixes can be added to.

Verb stems are divisible into two broad classes, those in which an *n* appears before some suffixes and those in which it does not. In describing this, Morrison (1990) labeled the two classes n-verbs (which have *n* in some circumstances) and zero-verbs (those in which *n* does not appear). I use those terms here.

An n-verb like *pxwi-* 'think' and a zero-verb like *sínwi-* 'speak' show no difference when suffixed by future or imperfective suffixes.

21.   *ipxwísha*   *isínwisha*
      's/he is thinking'   's/he is speaking'

     ipxwíta   *isínwita*
      's/he will think'   's/he will speak'

However, the verbs differ with past and habitual suffixes. For n-verb *pxwi-* 'think', an *n* appears preceding past and habitual suffixes. This is not the case with the zero-verb *sínwi-* 'speak'.

22.　　*ipx̱wína*　　　　*isínwiya*
　　　　's/he thought'　　's/he spoke'

　　　　ipx̱wínx̱a　　　*isínwix̱a*
　　　　's/he thinks'　　　's/he speaks'

The environments in which the *n* might surface (depending as well on the final segment of the stem, as discussed below) are:

　　stem + past (-*a*)

　　stem + stative (-*i*)

　　stem + other vowel-initial suffixes, such as applicatives, purposive, desiderative, negative agentive.

　　stem + habitual (-*x̱a*)

　　stem + other consonant-initial suffixes, such as imperative

In looking at the historical development of Ichishkíin and how it is relatd to other languages, it may be appropriate to consider the *n* part of the verb stem. In dictionaries, identifying verbs as n-verbs or zero verbs allows users to determine the past, habitual and stative forms (although there is still variation across and within speakers). However, speakers regard the *n* as belonging to the suffixes, not the stem. In addition, the verb class distinction is breaking down, without consistent judgments on which class some verbs belong to. Following conversations with language teachers and collaborators, I segment stems and affixes to show the *n* as part of the suffix, not the stem. For example, *pnu-* 'sleep' is an n-verb. *ipnúna* 's/he slept' is segmented in this grammar into *i-pnú-na* rather than *i-pnún-a*. Admittedly, this is not an entirely pleasing solution, as the same principle segments *ipnúnx̱a* 's/he sleeps' as *i-pnú-nx̱a*. This identifies the habitual suffix as –*nx̱a* rather than -*x̱a,* even though -*x̱a* is what speakers choose as basic.

At this point in time, the distinction between the verb stem classes in Yakima has to a certain extent collapsed, and there is variation among speakers and variation from Jacob's (1931) description as to whether a verb will take *n* or not. There are several consonant-final verbs cited in Jacobs as zero-verbs (with past tense *-a*) that are n-stem verbs in Nez Perce, Columbia River dialects and my data. For example, *íyax-* 'find' is treated as a zero-verb (past tenxe *iyáxa*) in Jacobs' Klikitat texts but is an n-verb (past tenxe *iyáxna*) in in my Yakima database, in Columbia River dialects, and in the phonologically more conservative Nez Perce. The verb *tux-* 'return' is an n-verb in my texts, but not for every speaker. Other variation is addressed in subsequent sections that cover the inflectional affixes involved.

Even though the system is changing and not entirely consistent, some generalities hold true for the n-verb / zero-verb distinction, and these are addressed below. Whether or not *n* surfaces is also determined by the final sound of the verb stem itself: *a*-final, *i*-final, *u*-final diphthong-final or consonant-final. The discussion here is organized by the final sound of the stem.

a- final stems:

Stems ending in *a* act as n-verbs when vowel-initial suffixes are added. All stems ending in *a* take the past tense form *-na* and stative form *-ni*. However, habitual ending *-xa*, and singular imperative *-k* do not require an *n* for verbs ending in *a*.

Note that combined tense and aspect markers *-shana* and *-xana* (3.3.6) include an *n* between the individual pieces *-sha/-xa* and past *-a*.

diphthong-final stems:

Verbs ending in *y* or *w* behave as do *a*-final stems.

u-final stems:

Verb stems in our database ending in *u* are n-verbs and suffix past *-na*, habitual *-nxa*, and stative *-ni*. There are two exceptions. One is the verb *kú-* 'do'. Its past tense is *kúya*. *xtu-* 'be strong' also takes past tense *-ya* in Jacobs' (1931) and Rude's (1996) analyses, although there is variation for present day Yakima speakers. For some speakers the past tense is *xtúna*, for some *x̱túwa*. This variation is also the found at Warm Springs (Morrison 1990, cited in Rude 1996).

i-final stems:

Verbs ending in *i* must be memorized as n-verbs or zero-verbs, as seen in the examples above with *pxwi-* 'think' and *sínwi-* 'speak', with zero-verbs being the larger group. If the verb is a zero-verb, the past tense and stative forms insert *y* to yield the suffixes *-ya* and *-yi*, respectively. Example 23 compares *i*-final n-verbs and zero-verbs:

23.

	n-verb	zero-verb
past	*ipxwína* 's/he thought'	*isínwya* 's/he spoke'
habitual	*ipxwínxa* 's/he thinks'	*isínwixa* 's/he speaks'
stative	*k'líini* 'broken'	*aníyi* 'made'
imperative	*ák'inunk!* 'look at it'	*sínwik!* 'talk'

There are two situations in which the class of verbs ending in *i* is predictable. In our database, verbs ending in long *i* are n-verbs. And, when a noun or adjective is verbalized with the suffix *-i* (see 5.38.2 for more on this suffix), the resulting verb is a zero-verb:

24.   *itáatpasiya*   's/he got dressed' (*táatpas*, noun, 'shirt, dress, clothing')

Consonant-final stems:

Stems ending in a consonant likewise must be distinguished as n-verbs or zero-verbs. *payk-* 'listen' is an n-verb; *lamáylak-* 'dive' is a zero-verb. They differ in the past tense.

25.   *i-páyk-na*   *i-lamáylak-a*
        's/he listened'   's/he dove'

However, there are additional considerations beyond n-verb and zero-verb status when a suffix that begins with a velar or uvular consonant is added, such as the habitual suffix *-xa*. (This suffix will be discussed in 3.3.4.) For verbs ending in velar and uvular consonants, typically (but not with 100% predictability) *-in* is inserted before suffixes that begin with a velar or uvular consonant, regardless of whether or not the verb is a n-verb. In the habitual, both *payk-* 'listen' and *lamáylak-* 'dive' have the same suffix, even though we saw in example 25 that they differ in past tense.

26.   *i-páyk-inxa*   *i-lamáylak-inxa*
        's/he listens'   's/he dives'

-in is termed a 'stem increment' by Rigsby and Rude (1996). Although included in this discussion, its presence or absence does not differentiate verb classes. Rude (1988b) analyzes it as a phonologically determined addition: *-in* is inserted following the verb to break up a sequence of velar or uvular consonants (*k, k', kw, kw', ḵ, ḵ', ḵw, ḵw', x, xw,*

_x̲, x̲w)_. In Yakima, many examples follow this generalization, but _-in_ is not inserted in all expected places. In addition, the use of _-in_ has extended to other contexts, as some verbs ending in consonants that are not velar or uvular - and that are not n-verbs- insert _-in_ preceding a velar or uvular. There is continued discussion of this in 3.3.4.

Table 2.12 reviews the presence or absence of _n_ and _in_ in various conditions, and Table 2.13 includes a list of n-verbs. However, since there is a great deal of variation in the system this chart will not predict the correct use of _-n_ for all speakers with all verbs. It is only a guideline. More information on the variation is included in Chapter 3 in sections discussing particular verb endings.

TABLE 2.12. GENERAL TENDENCIES FOR N-VERBS AND AFFIXES

verb stem ends in:		suffix begins with vowel (e.g. PST -_a_)	suffix begins with velar consonant (e.g. IMP.SG -_k_)	suffix begins with uvular consonant (HAB -_x̲a_) !lots of variation!	suffix begins with a non-velar/uvular consonant (eg. IMPV -_sha_, FUT -_ta_)
a, diphthong		_n_	-	-	-
u		_n_ (except _ku_ 'do')	_n_	_n_	-
i	zero-verb	-	-	-	-
	n-verb	_n_	_n_	_n_	
consonant	zero-verb	-	_in_	_in_	-
	n-verb	_n_	_in_	_in_	

n / in : segment present in the given circumstance

- : no additional segment

In sum, stems ending in *a*, *u*, or a diphthong, with the exception of *kú-* 'do' take

past tense *-na*. They differ preceding velar and uvular-initial suffixes. Stems ending in a

consonant or *i* must always be distinguished as to class. In addition, consonant-final

stems sometimes suffix *-in* regardless of their status as n-verbs or zero-verbs. There is a

great deal of variation in these verb classes and therefore chart above is not a perfect

reference.

Table 2.13 lists some common verbs and indicates whether they are n-verbs or

zero-verbs for Yakima speakers as represented in my data. It includes stems ending in *i*

and consonants; stems in *a* and *u* are more predictable. A few generalizations follow the

chart.

TABLE 2.13. SELECTED N-VERBS

i-final stems		
	ámtkw'i(n)-	overtake
	ḵátⱡ'i(n)-	spit
	ḵáwḵi(n)-	fall
	límḵ'i(n)-	close eyes
	pxwi(n)-	think
	sk'ulí(n)-	turn back
	tk'i(n)-	watch, look at
	tkni(n)-	twist together
	túni(n)-	go upstream
	wiẖí(n)-	lose
	x̲nim(n)-	dig a hole

TABLE 2.13. (CONTINUED).

C-final stems

chiwát(n)-	be full
hash(n)-	breathe
ish(n)-	win
kútkut(n)-	work (for some speakers, for others it is a zero-verb)
laak(n)-	forget
payk(n)-	listen
puut(n)-	lose in gambling
sx̲ix̲(n)-	be angry
tanawíix̲(n)-	argue
tk̲'ix̲(n)-	want
tɬup(n)-	jump
ttáwax̲(n)-	grow, grow up
tux̲(n)-	return
wak̲ít(n)-	look for
wilawíix̲(n)-	race
wisx̲(n)-	sew
wɨsalíl(n)-	hunt (for some speakers, for others it is a zero-verb)
x̲ayx̲(n)-	dawn
yax(n)-	find
yik(n)-	hear

Verbs ending in long i, including applicative *-twii* are n-verbs. The applicative *-ani* is a zero-verb. Verbs ending with the fossilized verbalizer / transitivizer *-k* (to be covered in 4.4.3 are zero-verbs. Most, although not all, verbs ending in *-x̲* are n-verbs.

2.12 Special forms of expression and sound symbolism

Special forms of expression and sound symbolism are an important and expressive part of speaking Ichishkíin and deserve an in-depth description that is not included here. These include diminutive shifts, onomatopoeia, grammar and words specific to legends or animals in legends, words used with babies and small children and creating patterns of words and grammatical forms for special effect.

There are a number of ways consonants are changed to express that something is small, is making a louder or softer sound, is moving with more or less force. The most common are diminutive shifts from *n* to *l* and *sh* to *s*, as in *myánash* 'child' to *myálas* 'baby'. These shift are both lexicalized (as in *myálas/myánash*) and used expressively. The lateral fricative ɬ patterns this way; a dog who is a treasured pet might be called *k'uɬík'uɬi* rather than *k'usík'usi*. Sounds can be expressed with velar sounds (softer) contrasting with uvular sounds (louder) as in *kux kux* 'rap, rap' vs. *k̲ux̲ k̲ux̲* 'thud, thud'. *k̲'ish k̲'ish* could be used for biting into a thick crunchy thing like pilot bread or corn chips but *k'is k'is* refers to a still crunchy but smaller textured food like rice crisp cereal.

Vowels are lengthened for emphasis or to describe a drawn-out action. Actions are also expressed through sounds, so that blowing on ashes or to cool something can be *pupupu* and the sound of rain *t't't't't'*. Animals make particular sounds. A sandpiper's call is *yiit, yiit*. In legends, storytellers are very expressive in using sounds to represent characters and actions. *Spilyáy* 'Coyote' has a particular way of speaking, often using diminutive alternations of everyday words. Storytellers are skilled at making use of the sounds of the language as they tell the story. Hymes (1987) details ways in which

speakers of Warm Springs Ichishkíin use morphemic alternations and particles for a particular effect. In addition, the verb itself, due to its intricate morphological structure, can be patterned in different but parallel ways for narrative effect. These special styles of speech are essential to the art of speaking Ichishkíin.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the sound system of Ichishkíin, describing the individual sounds and the ways sounds are combined into words. Prosody and intonation (rhythm, stress, the rise and fall of pitch of the voice) are not addressed here, although question intonation is discussed in 3.11. Hargus and Beavert (2009) found minimal intonational phonology in Yakima, an absence of evidence for boundary tones and no pitch accent within sentences. Pitch does add emphasis within sentences and plays a role in questions. As Hargus and Beavert point out, their data was restricted to isolated sentences and it will be important to follow up in future research involving spoken texts.

Some phonological features specific to particular word classes or morphemes will be addressed throughout the grammar as they become relevant. For example, partial and full reduplication is seen in marking iterative, diminutives, and plurals of inanimates. A small house or hut is *ilíitliit*, from *iníit* 'house, home'. More than one willow of a bunch of willow branches is *ttax̱sh*, while the singular is *tax̱sh*. Processes of ablaut (vowel change) derive adjectivals from verb roots. *wách'x̱-* 'split, chop' has the associated form *ch'aax̱* 'cracked, split'. This is covered with adjectives in Chapter 8. Examples of no-longer productive vowel assimilation and palatalization are discussed as they appear.

CHAPTER III

OVERVIEW OF YAKIMA ICHISHKÍIN GRAMMAR

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents sentence level grammar for beginning students. It

incorporates some explanations of grammar and linguistic terms. This chapter is also an

overview of basic clause structure for advanced students and an academic audience.

Certain information about Yakima grammar is only addressed here. Later chapters use a

more technical vocabulary without explanations of the terms. Additional online resources

for learning more about basic grammar, including definitions of linguistics terms, are

Pam Munro's *The Joy of Grammar* from the 2006 Breath of Life workshop and an online

linguistic glossary from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Loos et al., 2003). The

URL's for these are in the reference list.

Section 3.2 describes how to indicate the subject of an intransitive clause. 3.3

addresses tense and aspect marking, followed by sections on additional verb morphology

such as negation, imperatives, directionals and conditionals. Section 3.10 discusses

nouns, case marking, personal pronouns and demonstratives. The last section of the

chapter addresses asking questions. There is a brief index at the end of the chapter listing

other often-heard morphemes (that are not included in this chapter) and telling where to look for more information about them.

3.2. Person marking

This section addresses the Ichishkíin verb. A single word in Ichishkíin can translate an entire English sentence. In its least complex form, the Ichishkíin sentence consists of the verb stem, a morpheme indicating the subject, and a morpheme indicating the time of the event.

Throughout the grammar of the language, the expression of third person (translated into English as 's/he, him, her, his, her, hers, it, its, they, them, their, theirs') follows a different pattern from first and second person ('I, me, my, mine, you, your, yours, we, us, our, ours'). Third person is expressed with a prefix on the verb, whereas first and second person are represented in a sentence by pronominal enclitics, special forms that appear as the second element in a sentence and may come before or after a verb, depending on its position in the sentence. Section 3.2.1 below will address third person verb prefix agreement and 3.2.2 defines and addresses first and second person pronominal enclitics.

Tense suffixes on verbs give information about the time of the event (past and future). Aspect markers indicate how the event takes place in time (such as over a period of time or at regular intervals). These markers are discussed in section 3.3 below. Ichishkíin verbs expressing movement or motion also may include information about whether the motion is towards the speaker or away from the speaker. These direction markers, *-m* and *-kik,* are included in this chapter in section 3.6.

3.2.1. Third person prefixes

When the subject of a sentence is 'he/she/it' or 'they', this will be indicated with a **verb prefix**. A prefix attaches to the left of the verb stem and becomes part of the word. It references the subject of the sentence, and so the verb is said to 'agree' with its subject. These prefixes are also called 'person-marking' prefixes. Below are the two Ichishkíin person-marking prefixes that indicate that the subject of the sentence is third person singular or plural:

i-   is used if the subject of the sentence is singular: 'he, she, it' (often abbreviated here 's/he/it')

pa-   is used if the subject of the sentence is plural: 'they'

In glossed examples *i-* is labeled 3Sg.S: third person singular subject. *pa-* is labeled 3Pl.S: third person plural subject. Example 1 shows these prefixes on verbs:

1.   *ipnúsha*   *iwínasha*   *itkwátasha*
      's/he is sleeping'   's/he is going'   's/he is eating'

      papnúsha   *pawínasha*   *patkwátasha*
      'they are sleeping'   'they are going'   'they are eating'

All of these verbs end with the morpheme *-sha*, which indicates that an activity is taking place over time. It is one of the aspect markers discussed in 3.3 below.

If the verb begins with a vowel, a glottal stop follows the prefixes *i-* and *pa-* and precedes the verb root. This was discussed in 2.7.

2.   *i'ayíksha*
      'she/he is sitting'

      pa'ayíksha
      'they are sitting'

The prefix *i-* (he, she, it) and the glottal stop are sometimes left off in fast or informal speech if the verb begins in a vowel. This is most likely to occur when the verb begins with the sounds *i* or *í*, and less often occurs if the verb begins with *a* or *u*. The verb *ínat'isha* means 'is barbecuing, grilling, or drying meat (on a fire)'. This can be said one of two ways:

3. *i' ínat'isha* or *ínat'isha*
    'she/he is barbecuing'

If the sentence includes a noun that names the doer of the action (John, Grandma, the girls), the prefixes are still required on the verb. In 4 below, the subject is not named, that is, not included in the sentence as a noun.

4. *iwínana*
    's/he, it went'

5 and 6 include named subjects, but still have the prefix *i-* on the verb.

5. *iwínana áyat*
    'the woman went'

6. *Spilyáy ipx̱wípx̱wina*
    'Spilyay worried.'

The subject noun does not have a special prefix, suffix, or place in the sentence to indicate that it is the subject, although in sections 3.9 and 3.10.4 we will discuss the suffixes put on nouns to indicate their roles in the sentence.

Infrequently, the prefix *á-* is seen on intransitive verbs with third person subjects.

7. *áwyanawya Spilyáy*
    'Spilyay arrived'

The prefix *á-* is typically used in possessive clauses, addressed in 3.8.7 and 3.10.6, and with third person objects, discussed in 3.9. A more complete discussion of its use as a third person subject marker is in 6.2.2.

3.2.1.1. Plural animate/inanimate subjects

If the subject of a sentence is plural but not human, the agreement marker used is generally *i-*, even though the subject in the English translation is plural:

8.   *Mish aw kálux ipanátishamsh?*
    Mish   aw   kálux   i-panáti-shamsh
    Q   now   blueback.salmon   3Sg.S-climb-IMPV.CSL
    'Are the blueback salmon coming upriver yet?'

9.   *Mish aw ipanátishamsh?*
    Mish   aw   i-panáti-shamsh
    Q   now   3Sg.S-climb-IMPV.CSL
    'Are they coming upriver?

The plural third person prefix *pa-* is used if the subject is more than one human, animal or legendary being. A rule of thumb is that if the plural form of the subject noun is formed with the plural suffix *-ma* (*tíinma* 'people', *áyatma* 'women', *kákyama* 'birds, animals, creatures') then use the plural agreement marker on the verb, as in the example below.

10.   *míimi pawyápshatana áyatma*
    míimi   pa-wyá-pshata-na   áyat-ma
    long.ago   3Pl.S-while.going-gather-PST   woman-Pl
    'long ago, women went along gathering'

Plural marking on nouns and the importance of humanness and animacy are addressed in section 3.10.3.

3.2.2. First and second person pronominal enclitics

If the subject of a sentence is I, you, or we, the marker that indicates the subject

will be a pronominal enclitic. *Pronominal* refers to something that functions as a pronoun

and stands in for a noun. *Enclitic* means that it is phonologically joined to the end of the

preceding word. Here, the phrase pronominal enclitic is shortened to clitic. Clitics follow

the first word in the sentence, as illustrated by *=nash* (first-person singular subject, I")

below.

11.　　*Aw nash awkú limk'ínxana*
　　　　Aw =nash　awkú　limk'í-nxa-na
　　　　now =1Sg　then　close.eyes-HAB-PST
　　　　'Then I would close my eyes'

Several features of the grammar of the clitics are important to note.

(1) Clitics follow the first word of the sentence, regardless of what that word is.

Clitics do not necessarily attach to the verb, in contrast to the markers for

'he/she/it' and 'they', which always attach to the verb. The order of the words in the

sentence does not affect where the clitic goes, and the word class (noun, verb, adjective,

etc.) of the first word does not matter: the clitic is always in the second position in the

sentence. Throughout this grammar in the examples, the clitics are preceded by '=' while

other morpheme breaks are indicated with '-'. This indicates the special placement of

clitics as opposed to prefixes or suffixes that only attach to one type of word.

(2) Clitics indicate subjects, objects, and possessors.

Although the examples given in this section predominantly show clitics as the

subject of a clause, nearly the same set of clitics is used to indicate objects and

possessors. (There are two additional combined clitics used in transitive and possessive

clauses: =*mash* and =*matash*. These are addressed in 3.8.7 and 3.9.) The use of the clitic to

code subject, object, and possessor can be seen in examples 12-14, showing

=*nash*/=*ash*/=*sh* '1Sg'.

12.   *aw nash paysh wiyáɬamayksha*
   aw= nash   paysh   wyá-ɬamayk-sha
   now =1Sg maybe while.going-lose-IMPV
   'Now I must have gotten lost'

13.   *kush táaminwa inámunxana*
   ku=sh   táaminwa   i-námun-xa-na
   and=1Sg   always   3Sg.S-acknowledge-HAB-PST
   'and he would always acknowledge me'

14.   *kwnak nash wachá nisháykt*
   kwnak =nash   wachá   nisháykt
   there =1Sg   COP.PST   home
   'my home was there'

(3) The set of clitics makes differentiations that are not made in English: you singular

vs. you plural, inclusive we (we all) vs exclusive we (we but not you).

Ichishkíin has two clitics that translate as English 'you'. =*nam*, you singular, refers

to one person; =*pam*, you all, or you plural, refers to more than one person. There are also

two clitics that both translate into English as 'we'. =*na* means 'we all' and includes the

hearer in the action; =*natash* means 'we but not you' so includes the speaker and other(s)

but not the hearer. These types are also called inclusive (including all) and exclusive

(excluding the hearer), respectively. As will be addressed below, this distinction is not

made in every circumstance.

(4) Several of the clitics have both full and reduced forms (long and short forms).

There are long and short forms of the first person singular clitic =*nash*, first person

plural clitic =*natash* and second person singular clitic =*nam*. To a certain extent we can

predict whether the long or short form will be used. However, which form a speaker will use is not always predictable. The variation is at times related to dialect, but there is also variation within dialects and speakers.[6] In the discussion below, the general tendencies for Yakima speakers are given, but readers will hear other forms of clitics in similar sentences.

Table 3.1 gives the full set of clitics and the following sections discuss each one individually.[7]

3.2.2.1. First person singular: =nash

When the clitic follows a word that ends in a consonant, the full form of the clitic is used. This is seen in 15 and 16.

15.　*Ink nash wa nch'ítxaw ttáwaxt*
　　Ink=nash　　　　*wa*　*nch'í-txaw*　*ttáwax̱-t*
　　1PN.S/A=nash　COP　big-COMP　grow-NZR
　　'I am the oldest'

16.　*myánash nash txánana íkwɨna wíyatpa nixyáawipa*
　　myánash =nash　*txána-na*　　*íkwna*　*wíyat-pa*　*nixyáawi-pa*
　　child =1Sg　　　become-PST　that.LOC　far-LOC　Pendleton-LOC
　　"I was born there, far away in Nixyaawi (Pendleton)'

---

[6] Rude and Rigsby suggest that "phonetic rhythm and a tendency to reduce allomorphy by suppressing the short enclitic forms" may be factors (1996:675).

[7] This is not the order we use in the classroom to teach clitics. We begin with the first person singular forms. Students use these in listing their daily activities. We then add second person singular forms. This patterns like first person singular and the two are readily taught in conversational activities and questions and answers. The second person plural is the next to be introduced. It does not vary in form and so seems straightforward to students. We lastly introduce the two 'we' forms. Teaching them at the same time means we can highlight the difference between inclusive and exclusive.

TABLE 3.1. FIRST AND SECOND PERSON CLITICS

person	number	meaning/ gloss	clitic(s)
1	singular	I =1Sg	=nash, =ash, =sh
1	plural inclusive	we all =1Pl.INC	=na
1	plural exclusive	I and other(s) but not you =1Pl.EXC	=natash, =atash, =tash
1	plural	we =1Pl	=natk
2	singular	you =2Sg	=nam, =am
2	plural	you all =2Pl	=pam

The full form is also used if the sentence begins with a particle or negation:

17. *aw nash anáwisha*
     aw=nash   anáwi-sha
     now=1Sg be.hungry-IMPV
     'Now I am hungry'

18. *chaw nash ttáwaxshana íchna*
     chaw=nash   ttáwax-sha-na   íchna
     NEG=1Sg   grow-IMPV-PST   here
     'I didn't grow up here'

When the first word of the sentence ends in *a*, the form *=ash* is used. Because the tense

and aspect markers on verbs end in *a*, this variant is most often seen when the verb is the

first word in the sentence, as in examples 19 and 20 below. This results in a long vowel in

the final syllable:

19.   *wínanaash*
       wína-na=nash
       go-PST=1Sg
       'I went'

20.   *wanpáwasixaash maysxmáysx*
       wanpáwasi-xa=nash   *maysxmáysx*
       play.instrument-HAB=1Sg   everyday
       'I play music everyday'

If the final vowel of the preceding word is *i*, the form of the clitic is *=sh* and the *i*

becomes long:

21.   *íxwiish*   *pnuwát'asha*
       íxwi =nash   *pnú-wát'a-sha*
       yet=1Sg   sleep-DES-IMPV
       'I still want to sleep'

22.   *miskilíikiish panátishamsh*
       miskilíiki=nash pa-náti-shamsh
       barely=1Sg   climb-IMPV.CSL
       'I barely climbed up.'

If the preceding word ends in *u*, the form *=sh* is used and there is no vowel lengthening.

The most common example of this is when the clitic follows *ku* 'and'.

23.   *kush wachá awkú shapawayxtiłák'a*
       ku=nash   *wachá*   *awkú*   *shapawayxtiłá-k'a*
       and=1Sg   COP.PST then   driver-next
       'then I was a driver (was old enough to drive)'

Again, dialect differences play a role as to which form of the clitic (*=nash, =ash* or *=sh*)

will be used. For example, many Yakima speakers will say *chaw nash* and *aw nash* as in

examples 18 and 17, but in other dialects *chawsh* and *awsh* are common.

3.2.2.2. First person plural: *=na, =natash (=natk, =namtk)*

Ichishkíin differentiates between two types of reference that are both

translated into English as we. The first, *=na*, is 'inclusive we' or 'we all'.[8] The speaker is

referring to an activity that includes the speaker, the person being addressed, and possibly

others as well. There are no reduced forms of the clitic *=na*.

24.　*kú na chawmún íkush kúχa*
　　kú =na　　　chawmun　íkush　kú-χa
　　and=1Pl.INC　never　　　thus　　do-HAB
　　'and we (all) never do that'

25.　*Aw na wínata*
　　Aw =na　　　　wína-ta
　　now =1Pl.INC　　go-FUT
　　'now we (all) will go'

Another first person plural clitic is *=natash*. It is called 'exclusive we' and differs

from *=na* in that it does not include the person being addressed. It includes the speaker

and one or more others: 'we but not you'. *=natash* has the reduced forms *=atash* and *=tash*.

It is not possible to predict which form will be used in most circumstances. Examples 26

and 27 below show the use of the full form.

26.　*kwnak natash skúulisha*
　　kwnak =natash　　skúuli-sha
　　there =1Pl.EXC　　attend.school-IMPV
　　'We are going to school there'

27.　*kunkínk　natash　　watwáa wyáwaykxana*
　　kunkínk =natash　　watwáa　wyá-wáyk-χa-na
　　that.INST=1Pl.EXC　safely　　　while.going-cross-HAB-PST
　　'In that way we crossed safely.'

---

[8] *=na* 'we all' sounds and looks the same as the past tense marker *-na*. In the materials I have collected, this clitic is never used at the end of a verb, perhaps to avoid ambiguity. In text examples, clauses with 'we all' as the subject begin with a word other than the verb. In that way, the clitic is not attached to the verb and a *-na* suffix on the verb can always be interpreted as past tense.

In rapid or less formal speech, the reduced form *=tash* or *=atash* may more likely be used,

as we see in examples 28 and 29.

28.　*Íkw'aktash wachá íkush átaw wyanínt k'úsiki.*
　　Íkw'ak =natash　　*wachá íkush átaw*　　*wyanínt*　*k'úsi-ki*
　　that=1Pl.EXC　　be.PST thus　valuable　journey　horse-INST
　　'We thus had a treasured journey by horse'

29.　*iníitpaatash kúukya*
　　iníit-pa=natash　　*kúuki-ya*
　　house-LOC =1Pl.EXC　cook-PST
　　'we cooked at the house'

Following the conjunction *ku* 'and' *=tash* is generally used:

30.　*kutash íchi píkchashpa wíhaashhaashsha*
　　ku=natash　　*íchi*　*píkchash-pa*　*wí-háashhaash -sha*
　　and=1Pl.EXC　this　picture-LOC　DST-rest-IMPV
　　'and in this picture we are resting'

When the first word in the sentence is a verb with tense/aspect endings, the form *=atash* is

used:

31.　*Wínanaatash wánayaw kttáasknik.*
　　wína-na =natash　　*wána -yaw*　*kttáas-knik*
　　go-PST=1Pl.EXC　river-DAT　Kittitas-ABL
　　'we went to the river from Kittitas'

Note below the use of both long and short forms following *aw* 'now':

32.　*Aw natash wyá'uysha íkuuk.*
　　aw=natash　　*wyá-uy-sha*　　　　　*íkuuk*
　　now =1Pl.EXC　while.going-begin-IMPV　now
　　'today we are starting out'

33.　*Awtash kw'áxi ásha káatnamyaw.*
　　aw =natash　　*kw'áxi*　*ásh-a*　　*káatnam -yaw*
　　now =1Pl.EXC　again　enter-PST　longhouse-DAT
　　'now we again entered the Longhouse'

In elicited examples and classroom examples, the distinction between exclusive we and inclusive we is not made when the verb is the first word of the sentence. =atash is used for both inclusive we (we all) and exclusive we (I and other(s), not you). Ususally, it is clear from context. But with no other context, *wínanaatash* (from example 31 above) could also be interpreted as 'we all went'. If a distinction needs to be made, the word order can be altered so that the verb is not the first word of the sentence, or an independent pronoun can be used in the sentence to differentiate. (See pronoun charts in section 3.10.5.) If the pronoun is the first word in the sentence, the clitic will follow the pronoun:

34. *Namák na wínana*
    Imák=na　　　　　　*wína-na*
    2Pl.PN.S/A =2Pl.INC　go-PST
    'We (all) went'

35. *Namák natash wínana*
    Imák =natash　　　　*wína-na*
    2Pl.PN.S/A =2Pl.EXC　go-PST
    'We (but not you) went'

A final clitic expressing 'we' is *=natk*, a form recognized by the people I have worked with, and occasionally used in elicitation and stand alone examples. However, it is not present in any texts I have collected. It seems to be an older form, not used by present-day speakers in texts or connected speech, and its specific usage is not clear. It does not seem to reliably distinguish inclusive from exclusive. Jacobs (1931,126) lists the form as a *X̱wáɬxwaypam* (Klikitat) plural. He proposes that it is derived from an older first person dual/plural form that did not distinguish inclusive from exclusive, and that possibly the final *-tk* is related to the *-tk* suffix that forms plural commands. Virginia

Beavert reports it could be a dual form, and that sentences including it have the feel of a

command or suggestion about them. This relates to the overlap with the imperative suffix

-tk. However, today's elders express the idea of 'let's' with aw =na (literally 'now we').

3.2.2.3. Second person singular: =nam

Ichishkíin second person 'you' clitics are =nam 'you singular' and =pam 'you

plural'. Like first person singular =nash and first person plural exclusive =natash, =nam

has short and long forms. The short and long forms are used in the same environments as

the short and long forms of =nash. The full form is used following a consonant. In

addition, it is used after negation, as in 36, or a question word, as in 37:

36. *Chaw nam ch'íshkta.*
     Chaw =nam ch'íshk-ta
     NEG=2Sg lie-FUT
     'Don't lie'[9]

37. *Mish nam mísha?*
     Mish =nam mí-sha
     Q =2Sg   do-IMPV
     'what are you doing?'

The full form is typically used following the vowel *u* as in *ku* 'and'.

38. *ku nam aw kw'áxi wa wák'ish*
     kú =nam   aw   kw'áxi wá   wák'ish
     and =2Sg now   again be   alive
     'and you are alive again'

The reduced form =am follows the vowel *a*. Again, this is most often seen when the verb

is the first word of the sentence:

---

[9] Negative future statements with you singular =nam or you plural =pam are commands as in examples 36 and 42, see 3.5.

39. *x̱átikw'ikaam*
   x̱átikw'ik-a-am
   fall.over-PST=2Sg
   'You fell over.'

When the clitic *=nam* follows *i*, the clitic might reduce to *=m*. In that case, the preceding *i*

lengthens. We saw this same vowel lengthening pattern with *=nash* 'I' in example 21.

40. *ánach'ax̱iim wyáych'uta!*
   ánach'a-x̱ii-m   wyáych'u-ta
   again-same=nam   fear-FUT
   'you will be afraid again!'

But the full form of *=nam* can also be used following *i*.

41. *íchi nam áḵ'ínusha*
   íchi =nam   á-ḵ'inu-sha
   here=2Sg   3O-see-IMPV
   'here you see it'

3.2.2.4. Second person plural: *=pam*

=pam indicates you plural (more than one). There is no reduced form of this clitic.

42. *Aw pam átimta*
   Aw pam   át-im-ta
   now =2Sg   exit-CSL-FUT
   'You all come out now'

43. *imák pam wínax̱a chíchyaw*
   imák=pam   wína-x̱a   chích-yaw
   2Pl.PN.S/A=2Pl   go-HAB   church-ALL
   'You all go to church'

44. *Íkush pam wáta*
   íkush=pam   wá-ta
   thus=2Pl   COP-FUT
   'this is how you will be'

The next sections discuss verb prefixes that can occur with the clitics to indicate an SAP subject or without the clitics to indicate a 3rd person subject.

3.2.3. Reflexive and reciprocal

If the verb expresses an action that the subject is directing at himself, herself, or themselves the reflexive prefix *piná-* (singular) or *pimá-* (plural) is used to indicate this. These are stress-stealing prefixes (see 2.6) and take the stress from the verb root.

In the case of third person subjects (s/he/it, they) the reflexive prefix replaces the verb prefixes *i-* or *pa-*. The resulting translations typically include 'himself', 'herself', or 'themselves'.

45. *áswan piná'iłamayksha*
     áswan   piná-iłamayk-sha
     boy   RFL.Sg-hide-IMPV
     'the boy is hiding himself'

46. *pinátk'i-na*
     piná-tk'i-na
     RFL.Sg-watch-PST
     'she looked at herself'

47. *chaw pinátwanpta, u piná'ayata*
     chaw piná-twanp-ta,   u   piná'-áya-ta
     NEG RFL.Sg-comb-FUT or RFL.Sg-scratch-FUT
     'she will not comb her hair or scratch herself'

48. *ku tł'aaxw pimáwixwch'kinxana*
     ku   tł"aaxw   pimá-wixwch'k-inxa-na
     and   all   RFL.Pl-undress-HAB-PST
     'and they all undressed'

49. *ku pátma pimawishúwasha*[10]
    ku   pat-ma   pimá-wishúwa-sha
    and   older.sister-Pl RFL.Pl-ready-IMPV
    'and the older sisters are getting themselves ready'

If the subject is first or second person, the appropriate clitic is used along with the

singular or plural reflexive prefix.

50. *shix pam pimanaknúwita*
    shix =pam   pimá-naknúwi-ta
    good =2Pl   RFL.Pl-care.for-FUT
    'Take good care of yourselves'

51. *kutash pimák'inunxana*
    ku=tash   pimá-k'ínu-nxa-na
    and =1Pl.EXC   RFL.Pl-see-HAB-PST
    'and we looked at ourselves'

Table 3.2 gives the paradigm for reflexive verbs. The forms for first and second person

are given in both affirmative and negative versions. The affirmative sentences show the

clitics directly after the verb. The negative sentences, which start with *chaw*, show the use

of the full forms of the clitics following the first word of the sentence.

Many verbs expressing actions one does to oneself, often having to do with

activities such as grooming, combing, shaving, etc. are used with a reflexive prefix. Some

verbs have a more figurative meaning along with their more literal meaning when the

reflexive prefix is added:

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[10] *wishúwa-* is a strong root and maintains the word level stress. The same is true of *naknúwi-* in the following example.

TABLE 3.2. REFLEXIVE VERB PARADIGM

S/he/it, they:	
pináwapshana	s/he braided her hair
pimáwapshana	they braided their hair

I, we, you:	
pináwapshanaash	I braided my hair
chaw nash pináwapshana	I did not braid my hair
pináwapshanaam	You (sg) braided your hair
chaw nam pináwapshana	You (sg) did not braid your hair
pimáwapshana pam	You (pl) braided your hair
chaw pam pimáwapshana	You (pl) did not braid your hair
pimáwapshanaatash	We (inclusive) braided our hair
chaw na pimáwapshana	We (inclusive) did not braid our hair
pimáwapshanaatash	We (exclusive) braided our hair
chaw natash pimáwapshana	We (exclusive) did not braid our hair

52. *pinátamahayk-*   abdicate or give up one's position (RFL + take down; also get down or off, as from a car)

     pináshukwaa-   realize, be aware (RFL + know, recognize)

     pinátɬ'uyana-   be ashamed of oneself (RFL + shame)

     pinásapsikw'a-   study, teach oneself (RFL + teach)

     pinápxwi-   be conceited (RFL + think)

     pináshapatk'i-   show off (RFL + cause to watch)

The final vowel of the reflexive prefix can assimilate with a following *í*. In this case, the prefix becomes *piní-*, as in example 53. This occurs only in frozen combinations for

Yakima speakers. That is to say, it may at one time have been used in a number of

combinations, but only persists in a few. It is no longer broadly applicable or analyzable.

53.   *pimá'imshma*   or *piníimshma-*   'deny'

       piná'iwiyat   or *piníiwiyat-*   'keep self away'

Reciprocal prefixes indicate a feeling or action shared by all of the individuals

included in a plural subject. This is often translated into English with 'each other'. The

reciprocal prefix is *pápa-*, another stress-stealing affix. It is only used with plural subjects.

It follows the same pattern as the reflexive prefix above. With third person plural (they) it

replaces the prefix *pa-*.

54.   *papatanawíixna*[11]
       pápa-tanawíix-na
       RCP-argue-PST
       'they argued with each other'

55.   *pápawyak'ukxa*
       pápa-wyak'uk-xa
       RCP-gather-PST
       'they gather together'

A variant form for some speakers is *ipápa-*. Rigsby and Rude found that the use of

this form was more common for older speakers (1996: 675).

56.   *ipápatalaxikinxana*
       ipápa-talaxik-inxa-na
       RCP-admonish-HAB-PST
       'they used to admonish each other' (keep one another in line, behaving)

If the subject is first or second person, the reciprocal prefix is used along with the

appropriate clitic.

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[11] Recall that *tanawíix-* is a strong root, and so keeps word stress.

57. *ku pam papawinaniitwíixa*
    ku =pam   pápa-winaníi-twíi-x̱a
    and =2Pl   RCP-swim-APPL-HAB
    'and you swim with each other'

58. *aw na pápawyapaana*
    aw =na   pápa-wyápaa-na
    now =1Pl.INC   RCP-separate-PST
    'then we left one another'

3.3. Tense and aspect

A set of verb suffixes indicates the time frame of actions, events or states

expressed by the verb. The basic set is past, future, ongoing and habitual, as seen in the

example below:

59. *ix̱ásunatya*   's/he rode along' (past)

    ix̱ásunatita   's/he will ride along, she is going to ride along' (future)

    ix̱ásunatisha   's/he is riding along' (ongoing)

    ix̱ásunatix̱a   's/he rides along' (habitual)

The markers can be divided into those expressing *tense* and those expressing

aspect. Past (*-a, -ya, -na*) and future (*-ta*) are tense markers. They express the time of the

action, event or state in relation to some other point in time (usually the time at which the

sentence was spoken). Ichishkíin tense markers situate an event in the past or future, and

give information about the sequence of events.

Aspect markers *-sha* and *-x̱a* express how an event takes place in time or over

time rather than specifying exactly when in time the event occurred or will occur. *-sha*

means an action is continuous, and *-x̱a* indicates that it occurs habitually. These can

combine with the tense markers to give meanings such as give 'past habitual' and 'future on-going.

An additional, less common aspect marker in Ichishkíin indicates that an action has just taken place. This is the immediate past, here called present perfect aspect. It is indicated in more than one way, as will be addressed below, but often with the verb stem (and person marker, if third person), with no aspect or tense suffix following:

60.   i̱x̱ásunati-Ø   's/he has (just) ridden along'

These five tense and aspect endings are addressed individually in the sections that follow. In addition, there are four combined tense and aspect markers: *-shana, -shata, -x̱ana, -x̱ata,* covered in section 3.3.6.

3.3.1. Past tense

The form of the past tense suffix is *-a, -na* or *-ya,* depending on the verb. The form of the past tense also varies depending on whether the verb is an n-verb or zero-verb, as was discussed in 2.11. Some verbs that end in *i, u,* or a consonant take the past tense form *–na.* This is due to remnants of a verb class system. This verb class system divides verbs into two categories. One of the sets of verbs has a final sound *n* that shows up in some places, such as before the past tense ending *-a.* This set is referred to as *n verbs.* A second set does not have this final *n* and this set is referred to as *zero verbs.* In Yakima, the effect of the verb classes is not as strong as in other Ichishkíin dialects or in sister language Nez Perce, but there are still signs of the stem classes in the tense and aspect markers. The result is that the form of the past tense is not fully predictable. For verbs ending in *i, u* or

a consonant, the learner can make a good guess, but ultimately needs to know which past

tense marker to use on a verb-by-verb basis. Some n-verbs are identified in Table 2.12.

Which suffix should be used is often predictable depending on the final sound of

the verb stem.

If the verb ends in *a*, *u*, long *ii* or a diphthong the past tense is almost always *-na*:

61. *ishúkwaana*   's/he knew'

    isápsikw'ana   's/he taught'

    itmiyúuna   's/he planned'

If the verb ends in a consonant, the past tense is usually *-a*:

62. *iwalptáyka*   's/he sang'

    itɬúpa   's/he jumped'

    ishlúx̱aapa   's/he glanced sideways'

But if the verb ends in a consonant and is an n-verb, the past tense will be *-na*:

63. *iyíkna*   's/he heard'

    ikútkutna   's/he worked'

    ip'úx̱sna   's/he kissed someone'

A zero-verb ending in *i* (short *i*) has past tense suffix *-ya*. In that case, a final

unstressed *i* deletes, because of the following glide. This was discussed in 2.9.

64. *iwisalátya*   's/he hunted'

    itax̱núnak̲'ya   's/he matured'

    itkníya   's/he wove (fishnet)'

An n-verb ending in *-i* has past tense *-na*.

65. *ip'ishkwína*   's/he smiled'

 ilimk'ína   's/he closed her/his eyes'

 ihulína   'it was windy; it blew'

The basic form of the past tense, present in all three variants, is *-a*.

The verbs *wa-* 'be' and *nuu-* 'say' have irregular past tenses. For both of these verbs, the past tense ending is *-cha*. [12] In the case of *wachá*, the final syllable is stressed.

66. *iwachá k'pis*
 i-wa-chá   *k'pis*
 3Sg.S-COP-PST   cold
 'it was cold'

However, with root *nuu-* the suffix does not take the stress.

67. *inúucha 'Ay, xay!'*
 i-núu-cha   *'Ay,*   *xay!'*
 3Sg.S-say-PST   hello   man's.male.friend
 'he said, 'hello, friend!''

Language learners may do best to learn the full irregular forms *iwachá* 's/he, it was' and *inúucha* 's/he, it said' as unanalyzable chunks rather than breaking the words into pieces.

3.3.2. Future tense

The suffix expressing future is *-ta*. Its form does not change.

68. *itúxta*   's/he will return'

 iwyáninta   's/he will travel'

 i'anáwita   's/he will be hungry'

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[12] Rigsby and Rude 1996 refer to Nez Perce correspondences and analyze the past tense form of the copula as *wač-á*, with *wač-* an allomorph of *wa-* and *-á* the past tense marker (1996: 688). In their analysis, the past tense is regular, but it does not explain why we see the same pattern for *nuu* 'say' or the stress shift.

Sometimes *-ta* is used to describe in general how something happens or is done or used,

as in the following lines describing root gathering:

69.   *ku nam wyápshatata ku iwá ánach'axi nch'ínch'i,*
      ku =nam   wyá-psháta-ta   ku   i-wá   ánach'a-xi   nch'ínch'i
      and =2Sg   while.going-gather-FUT   and 3Sg.S-be   again-same   big.Pl
      'You will go along gathering, and there's a big one,'

      kwnáknam wyáyaxshata.
      kwnak=nam   wyá-yáxsha-ta
      that.LOC=2Sg   while.going-pour -FUT
      'you will pour (the roots) in there.'

And the future suffix *-ta* is sometimes used in conditional or "if" clauses:

70.   *Chaw nam tuun ák'inuta paysh nam xwyakáɬ wisalátita*
      chaw =nam tuun   á-k'inu-ta   paysh =nam xwyak-áɬ   wisaláti-ta
      NEG=2Sg what.OBJ 3O-see-FUT   if =2Sg   sweat-PRIV   hunt-FUT
      'You will see nothing if you (will) hunt without sweating'

3.3.3. Continuous (imperfective) aspect

The suffix *–sha* indicates ongoing or continuous action. It expresses an ongoing

occurrence of the state or event indicated by the verb.. It is glossed here as IMPV for

'imperfective', suggesting that the event indicated by the verb has not been completed. It

is often compared to and translated by the English continuous with '*–ing*', as in

ixásunatisha 's/he is rid**ing** along' and in example 71.

71.   *iwánpsha*   's/he is singing'

      ináxtisha   's/he/it is crying'

      i'ayíksha   's/he/it is sitting'

The suffix *-sha* is also used with verbs that express a state of being rather than an action. In this case, the *-sha* suffix indicates present tense and that the state is lasting or ongoing.

72. *Aw pa'anáwisha*   'They are hungry'

     iwaníksha Láacha   'he is named /his name is Láacha.'

     chaw nash áshukwaasha   'I don't know'

There is an exception to this. The verb *wa-* 'be' does not take the ending *-sha* in the present tense, but it nonetheless expresses an ongoing state.

73. *iwá wat'uymá*   's/he is the oldest'

     iwá łamáay   's/he/it is hidden'

The verb stem with the suffix *-sha* added to it is the citation form that many speakers will use when asked for an Ichishkín verb. So if we ask *Mish nam átamashwikta 'stand up?* 'how do you translate 'stand up', the answer would be *tútisha,* the verb stem *tútí-* plus the suffix *-sha.*

3.3.4. Habitual aspect

The habitual suffix *-xa* indicates that the action expressed by the verb is done habitually, usually or regularly over a period of time.

74. *pyaxí ayáyat ilatíxa*
     pyaxí   ayáyat   i-latí-xa
     bitterroot   beautiful   3Sg.S-bloom-HAB
     'Pyaxí blooms beautifully'

75. *ku inwíminwim pápawyak'ukxa*
     kú   inwíminwim   pápa-wyak'uk -xa
     and   last.year-DUP   RCP-gather-HAB
     'and every year they gather together'

76. *panp'íwixa Nch'iwánapa*
     pa-np'íwi-xa   Nch'iwána-pa
     3Pl.S-dip.net-HAB   Columbia.River-LOC
     'They fish at the Columbia River.'

There are two variants of -*xa*, -*inxa* and -*nxa*. -*inxa* is used with some verb stems

that end in a consonant and -*nxa* with some stems that end in a vowel. The verb stem

determines whether -*xa*, -*inxa* or -*nxa* is used, although there is some variation, as was

discussed in section 2.11. This is similar to the variation in past tense suffixes. From a

language teaching and learning perspective, students need to learn the correct form of the

habitual as they learn the verbs.

If the verb ends in a consonant, the habitual suffix will be either -*xa* or -*inxa* .

Rude (1988a) analyzes -*inxa* as present for phonological reasons: if the verb root ends in

a velar or uvular consonant (*k, k', kw, kw', k̲, k̲', k̲w, k̲w', x, xw, x̲, x̲w*) -*in* precedes the

habitual suffix to result in -*inxa*. However, this does not hold true throughout Yakima.

Many verbs ending in consonants, especially velar and uvular consonants, take -*inxa*, but

not all, and some verbs ending in consonants that are not velar or uvular take -*inxa*.

A consistent rule is that a verb stem ending in *x̲* will use -*inxa* for habitual:

77. *awtash awkú papatanawíixinxa*
     aw=natash   awkú   papa-tanawíix̲-inxa
     now=1Pl.EXC   then   RCP-argue-HAB
     'And then we argue about it'

Many verb stems ending in velar or uvular consonants (the front and back *k* series) take

the form -*inxa*:

78. *ku pa'anwíkinxana*
     ku   pa-anwík-inxa-a
     and   3Pl.S-spend.year-HAB-PST
     'and they would spend the winter there'

However, this is not entirely consistent, as seen in 75 above, and in the following examples:

79.   *Áyatma máytsḵisim paxwyáḵxa*
       áyat-ma   máytsḵi-sim   pa-xwyáḵ-xa
       woman-Pl morning-same 3Pl.S-sweat-HAB
       'The women sweat only in the morning'

There are also pairs of examples in which the two suffixes *-inxa* and *-xa* are used on the same verb in the same construction by the same speaker:

80.   *anakw'ink pawaníkinxa "Blue Mountains"*
       ana-kw'ink   pa-waník-inxa   Blue Mountains
       REL-that.aforementioned 3Pl.S-name-HAB   *Blue Mountains*
       'the ones they call 'Blue Mountains''

81.   *anakw'ink pawaníkxa Taptíil*
       ana-kw'ink   pa-waník-xa   Taptíil
       REL-that.aforementioned 3Pl.S-name-HAB Yakima.River
       'the one they call 'Taptiil''

If the verb ends in a vowel, the habitual suffix will be either *-xa* or *-nxa*. This depends on the final vowel of the verb as well as whether the verb is historically an n-stem verb. (See 2.11 for more on verb classes.)

Verbs ending in *i* that are zero-stem verbs, as well as all verbs ending in *a* or *aa* take the habitual form *-xa*.

82.   *iwáwyaxa myánashmaman*
       i-wáwya-xa   myánash-maman
       3Sg.S-whip-HAB child-OBJ.Pl
       'he whips the children'

83.   *pa'aníxa wapsíkiki*
       pa'-aní-xa   wapsíki-ki
       3Pl.S- make-HAB string-INST
       'they make them of string'

For n-stem verbs ending in *i, ii* and *u, uu* the suffix *-nxa* is used, although again, there are exceptions.

84. *chaw mish papxwínxa kunkínk*
    chaw   mish pa-pxwí-nxa   kunkínk
    NEG   Q   3Pl.S-think-HAB   that.INST
    'they don't think anything of that' (they usually ignore it)

85. *kwaat nash pnúnxa*
    kwaat   =nash pnú-nxa
    sound   =1Sg sleep-HAB
    'I sleep soundly'

86. *tɬ'áaxwshiyin páwyaych'unxa*
    tɬ'áaxw shiy-in   pá-wyáych'u-nxa
    all   who-3>3.ERG   INV-fear-HAB
    'everyone fears them'

3.3.5. Present perfect aspect

Present perfect indicates that the event in the sentence occurred just prior to the point at which the sentence was said, in the immediate past. It is often translated by 'has just'. The particular suffix used to indicate this varies depending on the verb it is attached to. The suffixes are *-sh, a,* or *-Ø* (no suffix). However, unlike the past and habitual markers, the present perfect suffix also is influenced by what follows it.

If the verb ends in a consonant the present perfect is indicated by the suffix *-sh.*

87. *ipúutsh*
    i-púut-sh
    3Sg.S-lose-PPF
    'he has lost'(in gambling or a competition)

88. *iháashinkiksh*
    i-haash-inkik-sh
    3Sg.S-breathe-TSL-PPF
    'he has breathed out'

If the verb ends in *a* or if the verb ends in *i* or *u* and is a zero-stem verb, then the bare verb stem, with no suffix, expresses the present perfect. In 89, the symbol *-Ø* indicates that there is not an overt morpheme in the example that contributes the present perfect meaning:

89. *iwáyxti áswan páchupa ishchítpa*
i-wáyxti-Ø   áswan páchu -pa ishchít-pa
3Sg.S-run-Ø   boy   half-LOC road-LOC
'the boy has run down the middle of the road'

When a first or second person pronominal enclitic follows the verb in the above circumstances (verbs ending in *a*, verbs ending in *i* or *u* that are zero-verbs), the pattern changes. Then, the suffix *-sh* is used with the full form of the clitic:

90. *wáyxtish nash*
wáyxti-sh =nash
run-PPF =1Sg
'I have run'

For n-stem verbs ending in *i* or *u* the present perfect suffix varies. It is either no suffix (like verbs that end in *a* and zero-verbs) or *-a*. Since a glide is inserted between *i* or *u* and *a*, the full suffixes are *-ya* and *-wa*.[13] Hargus and Beavert (2002a) report that the present perfect suffix *-a* is optional for two-syllable roots, like *hulí* (example 91) but required for single syllable roots like *pnu-* (in 92).[14]

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[13] According to Noel Rude (p.c.) the use of *-a* to mark present perfect is an innovation of Northwest Sahaptin dialects. In other dialects, speakers use the suffix *-in* if the stem ends in a consonant. n-verbs ending in *i* or *u* lengthen the final vowel and include the *n*.

[14] Hargus and Beavert 2006a amend this rule and suggest that the number of underlying vowels in the root is a better predictor. For learners, syllables are a somewhat familiar concept and I suggest using the syllable analysis in teaching, even though a few verbs, such as *w(í)xi-* 'lose' will be exceptions to the rule.

91.   *ihulíya*   (or *ihulí*)
      i-hulí-ya
      3Sg.S-blow-PPF
      'it has just blown'

92.   *ipnúwa*
      i-pnú-wa
      3Sg.S-sleep-PPF
      's/he has slept'

The present perfect suffix *-a* therefore contrasts with the past tense of these verbs formed

with *-na*. So, *ihulína* 'it blew' and *ipnúna* 's/he slept' are in the past, and differ in

meaning from the forms in examples 91 and 92.

3.3.6. Combined tense and aspect markers

The combination of a tense marker with an aspect marker means that information about

the time of the event (past or future) combines with information about the structure of the

event (ongoing or habitual) to yield the overall meaning of the suffix. There are four

combined tense and aspect markers: *-shana, -xana, -shata, -xata*:[15]

93.   *ixásunatishana*   's/he was riding along'

      ixásunatixana   's/he used to ride along'

      ixásunatishata   's/he will be riding along'

      ixásunatixata   's/he will be regularly or habitually riding along'

These four combined markers are the only possible combinations of the tense and aspect

suffixes. The order does not vary: the aspect markers directly follow the verb, and are

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[15] The combined endings that include habitual (-*xana* and -*xata*) follow the rules given in section 3.3.4 for whether -*xana*/-*xata*, -*inxana*/-*inxata* or -*nxana*/-*nxata* will be used.

followed by the tense markers. The two aspect markers never co-occur and the two tense

markers never co-occur.

The past tense forms -*shana* and -*xana* are most common.

94. *Chaw íxwi itsts'úupshana puuy*
     Chaw íxwi   itsts'úupshana   puuy
     NEG later   3Sg.S-melt -IMPV-PST   snow
     'The snow was not yet melting'

95. *kútash winaníixana*
     kú=natash   winaníixana
     and=1Pl.EXC   swim-HAB-PST
     'And we used to swim'

The future forms are -*shata* and -*xata*.

96. *iwyákwshtikshata*
     i-wyákwshtik-sha-ta
     3Sg.S-go.wrong-IMPV-FUT
     'he will be doing wrong'

97. *ku paníchxata tkwátat*
     ku pa-ních-xa-ta   tkwátat
     and 3Pl.S-put.away-HAB-FUT   food
     'and they will store up food'

3.4. Conditional

The suffix -*taxnay* is added to the verb stem to express that an event is

hypothetical: possible or potential but not certain. It has a range of translations 'could,

should, would'. If the conditional suffix is used, no tense or aspect suffixes can co-occur.

98. *Aw, iwátaxnay sts'at*
     aw   i-wá-taxnay   sts'at
     now   3Sg.S-COP-COND   night
     'now, there should be a night'

99.   *shix̱ nash ináktkwanintax̱nay*
       shix̱   *=nash*   *i-náktkwanin-tax̱nay*
       good   =1Sg   3Sg.S-care.for-COND
       'he would take good care of me'

It is used in polite requests.

100.   *Waat nam wíiwapiitatax̱nay?*
       Waat *=nam*   *wíi-wapiita-tax̱nay*
       POLQ =2Sg   POL-help-COND
       'would you help?'

101.   *Mish nam twáshiinitax̱nay núsux?*
       Mish   *=nam*   *twáshi-ini-tax̱nay* *núsux?*
       Q   =2Sg   can-APPL-COND salmon
       'Would you can my salmon?'

It sometimes carries the meaning 'can' or 'could'.

102.   *kush áwiwanikanitax̱nay míɬman*
       ku=sh   *á-wi-wanik-ani-tax̱nay*   *míɬ-man*
       and=1Sg 3O-DIST-be.named-APPL-COND   how.many-OBJ
       'and I could name some'

-*tax̱nay* is also used in hypothetical 'if/then' clauses.

103.   *Paysh nash wínatax̱nay Pendletonkan, kush itámyatax̱nay shátay*
       Paysh *=nash*   *wína-tax̱nay* *Pendleton-kan,*   *ku=sh*   *itámya-tax̱nay* *shátay*
       maybe=1Sg go-COND   Pendleton-ALL   and =1Sg buy-COND   blanket
       'If I were to go to Pendleton, I would buy a blanket'

3.5. Imperative

Imperatives or commands direct the listener to do something. 'Listen' and 'Sit down!' are examples of commands in English. In Ichishkíin, special verb suffixes mark commands. In addition, speakers can use several techniques to make a command more polite or less harsh-sounding.

The suffixes -*k* (used when addressing one person) and -*tk* (used when addressing more than one person) are the basic imperative suffixes. The subject of the imperative clause is understood to be the person addressed, or 'you'. There is no clitic indicating second person when the suffixes -*k* or -*tk* are used.

104. *tútik*   *tútitk*
     túti-k   *túti-tk*
     stand-IMP.Sg   stand-IMP.Pl
     'stand up' (to one person)   'stand up' (to more than one person)

105. *tkw'anátik*   *tkw'anátitk*
     tkw'anátik   *tkw'anátitk*
     walk.along-IMP.Sg   walk.along-IMP.Pl
     'walk' (to one person)   'walk' (to more than one person)

If the verb stem ends in *k*, another *k* is not added for the singular command. -*tk* is still added for the plural command:

106. *tkwápwiiliuuk / tkwápwiiluuktk*
     'raise your hand'

107. *ayík / ayíktk*
     'sit down'

If the verb has the directional suffix -*(i)m* (indicating direction towards the speaker, see 3.6), and the addressee is singular, then no imperative suffix is added. This is not the case, however, when addressing more than one. Then, the directional -*(i)m* plus the imperative -*tk* is used.

108. *wínam*   *wínamtk*
     wína-m-Ø   *wína-m-tk*
     go-CSL   go-CSL-IMP.Pl
     'come here'(to one person)   'come here' (to more than one person)

mits'íxwam	*mits'íxwamtk*
mits'íxwa-m-Ø	*mits'íxwa-m-tk*
listen-CSL	listen-CSL-IMP.Pl
'listen to me' (to one person)	'listen to me' (to more than one person)

Commands sometimes have the prefix *pá-*, which indicates that there is a second person subject and first person object. (This will be addressed further in 3.9.1.) *pá-* is optionally used for commands with transitive verbs when the speaker is urging the listener to direct some action towards the speaker: 'listen to me', 'bring that to me', 'show me that'.

109. *pánim*
      pá-ni-m
      INV-give-CSL
      'give me that'

Commands also can have the prefix *á-*. This indicates that the verb is transitive (see 3.9.2) and is used if the addressee is being asked to do something to or for a third person object (him/her/it).

110. *áshapnik*
      á-shápni-k
      3O-ask-IMP
      'ask him/her'

The future suffix *-ta* can be used for commands. When the future is used, a clitic - either *=nam* (you singular) or *=pam* (you plural) must also be used to make a complete sentence. *-ta* is always used with negative commands, as in examples 111 and 112. In affirmative commands, such as 113, it is more polite and suggestion-like than the imperative suffixes *-k* and *-tk*.

111. *chaw nam íkush kúta*
 chaw =nam íkush kú-ta
 NEG =2Sg thus do-FUT
 'don't do that'

112. *Chaw nam áshax̱tɬ'k̲ta*
 chaw =nam á-shax̱tɬ'k̲-ta
 NEG =2Sg 3O-cut.open-FUT
 'don't cut it open'

113. *skúulita pam*
 skúuli-ta =pam
 go.to.school-FUT =2Pl
 'get yourself schooled'

Commands formed with *-k* and *-tk* are used in less formal situations, or when an adult is addressing a child or a teacher is addressing students. However, commands are not always appropriate; they can sound harsh, abrupt or impolite. Using the future suffix *-ta* instead of *-k* or *-tk* is more polite.

An additional way to soften a request or make it more polite is to add the verb prefix *wii-*. This prefix has a number of meanings and will be addressed in 4.2.2, 4.4.1, and 4.4.4.

114. *wíi'ashim*
 wíi'-ash-im
 POL-enter-CSL
 'Please come in'

115. *wíiwinpanitaam chiish*
 wíi-winp-ani-ta=am chiish
 POL-take-BEN-FUT=2Sg water
 'Would you bring (me) some water?'

Several elders have told me that this is the way a grandmother might request something of her grandchild, and that the child feels loved and honored to be asked in a gentle and

polite way. The elder may also refer to the child with the appropriate relationship term

when asking the child to do something:

116. *áskawitaam xyáawnansim, kátʌ, chaw ptxúnan*
    á-skáwi-ta-am   xyaaw-nan-sim kátʌ,   chaw   ptxú-nan
    3O-collect-FUT-2Sg dry-OBJ-only WoDaCh[16]   NEG   fresh-OBJ
    'Collect only the dry (wood) granddaughter, not the green.'

3.6. Directional suffixes

There are two directional suffixes. *-(i)m* indicates direction towards the speaker

and is glossed here as CSL for cislocative. The form *-m* is used when preceded or

followed by a vowel, as in 117 and 118.

117. *aw nam wínamta inmíyaw iníityaw*
    aw =nam   wína-m-ta   inmí-yaw iníit-yaw
    now =2Sg go-CSL-FUT 1Sg.GEN-DAT house-DAT
    'you will come to my house'

118. *iwíihaykma*
    i-wii-hayk-m-a
    3Sg.S-wii-descend-CSL-PST
    'he came down'

If the cislocative is between two consonants, the form is *-im*.

119. *iwíihaykimsh*
    i-wíi-hayk-im-sh
    3Sg.S-wii-descend-CSL-PP
    'he has come down'

There is some variation in the presence and absence of barred *i* preceding *m* in the case of

n-verbs.[17] Typically in n-verbs the *n* remains and the directional suffix is preceded by *i*.

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[16] Kinship term abbreviations are used for relationships that do not have a single word to express them in English. They are included in the abbreviation list in Appendix ADaCh is an abbreviation for woman's daughter's child. Relationship terms are reciprocal; the same term is used for maternal grandmother, which would be glossed MoMo.

120. *pak'ínunima*
pa-k'ínu-nim-a
3Pl.S-see-CSL-PST
'they looked this way'

The form *wam* (perhaps historically *wína-* 'go' or *wa-* 'be' with cislocative *-m*) yields the

meaning 'come'.

121. *tíinma pawámta*
tíin-ma   pa-wá-m-ta
person-Pl 3Pl.S-come-CSL-FUT
'People will come'

wámsh is an irregular progressive and means 'is coming'

122. *iwámsh*
i-wá-m-sh
3Sg.S-COP-CSL-PPF
's/he is coming'

The second directional suffix *-kik* (with variants *-k, -yk, -nkik* and *-inkik*) indicates

direction away from the speaker and is glossed TSL for translocative.

123. *ixátamaliikika*
i-xátamalii-kik-a
3Sg-fall.into.water-TSL-PST
'he fell into the water'

If the verb is an n-verb, *n* is retained before *-kik*.

124. *ikukuwinkika*
i-kukuwi -nkik-a
3Sg-cough-TSL-PST
's/he coughed (away)'

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[17] Hargus and Beavert 2002a state the suffix is [m] pre- and post-vocalically and [im] between consonants. My data does not always conform to this generalization. The exact form may have to do with allowable consonant sequences, the variation in n-verbs, and possibly even the overlap with the use of *-nim* as a 3>SAP ergative (directional) suffix.

Following a verb that ends in a velar or uvular consonant (*k, k', kw, kw', ḵ, ḵ', ḵw, ḵw', x, xw,*

x̲, x̲w) *-in* usually precedes the translocative suffix (as is the case for the habitual suffix,

see 3.3.4).

125. *pinátamasklikinkika*
      piná-tamásklik-inkik-a
      RFL-turn-TSL-PST
      'she turned herself away'

If the verb has aspect markers *-sha* or *-x̲a* followed by a directional suffix, the

combined suffix has the special form *-shamsh, -shayksh, x̲amsh,* or *-x̲ayksh*. These are

given in Table 3.3. Although *-sh* was seen above as a present perfect marker (see section

3.3.5), no present perfect meaning is added.

126. *ikátɬ'ishayksh*
      i-kátɬ'i-shayksh
      3Sg.S-spit-IMPV.TSL
      'he's spitting (away)'

127. *Aw tmay ikwíitashamsh*
      Aw tmay   i-ikwíita-shamsh
      now maiden   3Sg.S-go.along-IMPV.CSL
      'now the maiden is coming this way'

128. *ipanátix̲amsh Nch'iwánapa*
      i-panáti-x̲amsh   Nch'iwána-pa
      3Sg.S-climb-HAB.CSL   Columbia.River-LOC
      'it comes up the Columbia River'

The directional suffixes are also used with verbs that do not involve physical

motion. The cislocative *-m* can be used with verbs such as 'look, 'hear' and 'pay

attention', and in this case the meaning it contributes is more abstract, indicating that the

action is oriented towards the speaker.

Storytellers who figuratively put themselves into the setting of a story use the directionals based on the storyteller's perspective or the perspective of one of the characters. In a legend about spring roots blooming (*Síkni* 'Yellowbell', see Appendix X), the narrator positions herself at the place the roots will come up. *Winaawayáy* 'Chinook Wind' comes to that place, indicated by the directional -*m* on the first verb below.

129. *íkuuk awkú **iwíihaykma**, iwináchika, hulí.*
íkuuk   awkú   i-wii-háyk-m-a   i-wináchik-a   hulí
now   then   3Sg.S-descend.quickly-CSL-PST   3Sg.S-arrive-PST wind
'That's when the wind came blowing in, arriving.'

The flowers are encouraged to bloom from *Winaawayáy's* location above the ground, again, using the cislocative.

130. *Aw pam **átimta**, aw iwá ts'muuy.*
aw =pam   át-m-ta,   aw   i-wá   ts'muuy
now =2Sg exit-CSL-FUT now   3Sg.S-COP   warm
'You come out now, now it is warm!'

But, when the roots themselves, still underground, announce they are going out, they do not use the cislocative with the same verb:

131. *Aw natash átsha*
Aw =natash   át-sha
Now =1Pl.EXC   exit-IMPV
'We're going out now'

After they have emerged from the ground, we see that the narrator remains figuratively in the initial location. In their most brilliant stage of bloom, the flowers shine out away from that place and from the narrator to the rest of the countryside, here indicated with -*kik*.

132. *Latít tł'áax̱wpa minán awkú pattáwax̱inkika, ayáyat k̓ínupa.*
latít   tł'áax̱w-pa minán   awkú pa-ttáwax̱-inkik-a,   ayáyat   k̓ínu-pa
flower all-LOC   where.LOC then   3Pl.S-grow-TRL-PST beautiful   see-LOC
'The flowers grew everywhere, looking beautiful'

At this point, we have reviewed the suffixes that attach directly to the verb to indicate the

time or time frame of the action and direction towards or away from the speaker.

Directional markers co-occur with tense and aspect, and the form is not always regular.

Conditional (would, could) and imperative (command) suffixes also attach directly to the

verb, but these do not occur with tense and aspect. Table 3.3 reviews these verb suffixes.

Rude (1996) calls this collection the "inflectional suffix complex".

TABLE 3.3. TENSE, ASPECT, DIRECTIONAL, IMPERATIVE AND CONDITIONAL:
THE INFLECTIONAL SUFFIX COMPLEX

	base form	with cislocative	with translocative
past	-a, -ya, -na	-(i)ma	-kika / -ka
future	-ta	-(i)mta	-kikta
ongoing	-sha	-shamsh	-shayksh
habitual	-xa, -nxa, -inxa	-xamsh	-xayksh
past + ongoing	-shana	-shama	-shayka
past + habitual	-xana	-xama	-xayka
future + ongoing	-shata	-shamta	-shaykta
future + habitual	-xata	-xamta	-xaykta
present perfect	-∅-sh, -a	-(i)msh	-kiksh
imperative	-k (Sg) -tk (Pl)	-(i)m (Sg) -(i)mtk (Pl)	
conditional	-taxnay		

3.7. Negation

A negative clause indicates that the state or event expressed by the verb does not

obtain or is not true, according to the speaker. These sentences begin with the word *chaw*.

133.   **chaw** *pashúkwaashana*
        chaw   pa-shúkwaa-sha-na
        NEG   3Pl.S-know-IMPV-PST
        'they didn't know'

134.   **chaw** *iwyákwshtikta*
        chaw   i-wyákwshtik-ta
        NEG   3Sg.S-do.wrong-FUT
        'he will not do wrong'

135.   **Chaw** *nash wa wanpawasiłá*
        Chaw =nash   wa   wanpáwasi-łá
        NEG =1Sg   COP   play.music-AGT
        'I'm not a musician'

Usually the word that is the focus of the negation directly follows *chaw* (or follows a

second position clitic). In the examples above, the verb is in focus. In the following

examples, other types of words follow *chaw*.

136.   **chaw** *iẋwi tíinma iwachá*
        chaw   iẋwi   tíin-ma   i-wachá
        NEG   yet   person-Pl   3Sg.S-COP.PST
        'there were not yet people'

137.   *kush* **chaw** *tł'aaẋw tuun áp'iẋinẋa*
        ku=sh   chaw   tł'aaẋw tuun   á-p'iẋ-inẋa
        and=1Sg   NEG   all   what.OBJ   3O-remember-HAB
        'and I don't remember everything'

138.   **chaw** *shiẋ ilúnẋa płxu ílkwaas*
        chaw shiẋ   i-lú-nẋa   płxu   ílkwaas
        NEG good 3Sg.S-burn-HAB green   wood
        'green wood does not burn well'

Negative suffixes reverse the meaning of a word or give its opposite meaning. The suffix -nút added to a noun means 'without' or 'not having' the noun. It is a stress-stealing suffix and thus takes the word-level stress. The resulting words are used as adjectives and nouns.

139. łk'am   'moccasin'   łk'amnút   'without a moccasin; barefoot'

      tkwátat   'food'   tkwatatnút   'without food'

      áyat   'woman'   ayatnút   'without a wife; a bachelor'

The verbal suffix -áł means 'one who has not or does not' with respect to the verb. It can also be translated by 'un'. It is also a stress-stealing suffix. If the verb is an n-verb, the suffix is -náł. If the verb ends in *i* and it is a zero-verb, *y* is inserted.

140. winanii-   'bathe'   winaniináł   'unbathed, hasn't bathed'
      twákushi-   'comb'   twakushyáł   'uncombed'
      shapáp'ik-   'wash (clothes)'   shapap'ikáł   'unwashed, hasn't washed clothes'

Negative commands (such as *chaw nam láakta* 'don't forget!') were addressed in section 3.5. Section 3.11 will address negative words such as *chaw shin* 'no one' and *chaw tun* 'nothing, none, not any'.

3.8. Copular clauses

The Ichishkíin verb *wa* is a copula. It is labeled COP in the examples here. This verb loosely expresses English 'be' and 'have'. Like copulas in many languages, it has little meaning on its own, but serves to link the subject of the sentence with nouns or adjectives that describe it. It also expresses information about the subject such as location or possession/ownership. Throughout Ichishkíin grammar, as was seen in section 3.2,

first and second person ('I, you, we', or speech act participants) have a different grammatical pattern from third person ('s/he, it, they'). This unique behavior is true of copular clauses as well.

In third person clauses, the copula takes the person prefixes *i-* or *pa-*, as do other third person clauses (see 3.2.1). Aspect markers are never used with the copula. Past and future tense markers are used, as will be seen below, but the copula in the present tense has no tense or aspect suffix. Here are examples of third person statements and questions with the copula:

141. *Iwá wák'ish.*   'S/he is awake.'
         (*wák'ish* also means 'alive' or 'conscious')

  Pawá wák'ish.   'They are awake.'

  Mish iwá wák'ish? 'Is s/he awake?'

  Mish pawá wák'ish? 'Are they awake?'

If the subject of the sentence is first or second person ('I, we, you') there are two possible ways to form sentences with the copula in the present tense. If the copula is first in the sentence, a special form (*wash*) is used, followed by the clitic. The other type of sentence uses the bare form of the copula (*wa*) and independent pronouns in addition to the clitics. (Clitics are listed in 3.2.2. The full set of independent pronouns is given in 3.10.5.) The independent pronouns are used for clarity or emphasis only.

Constructions using the pronouns as well as a clitic are less common than those with the clitic only. In the pairs of examples below, we find clitic only examples followed by clitic plus pronoun examples.

142. *Wash nash wák'ish.*
Ink nash wa wák'ish.
'I am awake'

143. *Wash natásh wák'ish.*
Namák natásh wa wák'ish.
'I and other(s) (more than 2) are awake.'

144. *Wash na wák'ish.*
Namák na wa wák'ish.
'We all (more than 2) are awake.' [18]

145. *Wash nam wák'ish.*
Imk nam wa wák'ish.
'You are awake.' (1 person)

Wash pam wák'ish.
Imák pam wa wák'ish.
'You are awake.' (more than 2 people)

If the sentence begins with a word other than the clitic or a pronoun, the bare form of the

clitic (*wa*) is used. This is often seen in questions, since the question word will be first in

the sentence.

146. *Mish nam wa wák'ish?*
Are you awake? (to 1 person)

Mish pam wa wák'ish?
Are you awake? (to more than 1 person)

Aw nash wa wák'ish
'Now I am awake'

The following sections show the range of meanings and constructions that use the

copula. Examples 147 through 157 include *iwá*; 's/he, it is'. Examples with 'I, you, we'

begin in section 3.8.6.

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[18] This example and the two following it (nam 'you singular' and pam 'you all') are more natural as
questions with question intonation: 'You are awake?'

3.8.1. Predicate nominals and attributive clauses

Predicate nominals and attributive clauses describe something or name its qualities or attributes using the copula *wa. iwá* 'he/she/it is' links the subject of the sentence to the word describing it. As in all Ichishkíin sentences, the subject can be overtly named in the sentence, as is *luts'alí* 'red fox' in example 147, or left out, as in example 148.

147. *Wapsúx iwá luts'alí*
     Wapsúx   *i-wá*   *luts'alí*
     clever   3Sg.S-COP   red.fox
     'Red fox is smart'

148. *iwá wisaliłá*
     i-wá   *wisalil-łá*
     3Sg.S-COP   hunt-AGT.NZR
     'he is a hunter'

149. *Ku íchi iwá watít Winachapammamí*
     ku   *íchi*   *i-wá*   *watít*   *Wináchapam-ma-mí*
     and   this   3Sg.S-COP   legend Wináchapam-Pl-GEN
     'And this is a Winachapam legend.'

As discussed in 3.1, word order can vary in Ichishkíin, and sentences with *wa* are no exception. In 150 below, the verb is the second word in the sentence. In 151 and 152, it begins the sentence.

150. *káatnam iwá*
     káatnam   *i-wá*
     tall   3Sg.S-COP
     's/he, it is tall'

151. *iwá aníyi k'pítki*
     i-wá   *aní-yi*   *k'pít-ki*
     3Sg.S-COP   make-STAT   bead-INST
     'It's made of beads'

152. *Iwá ts'muuy hulí Winawayáay*
      i-wá   *ts'muuy*   *hulí*   *Winawayáay*
      3Sg.S-COP   warm   wind   Chinook.Wind
      'Winaawayáy is a warm wind'

3.8.2. Existential clauses

Existential clauses refer to the existence of some thing in the world. The copula in

these sentences imparts a 'there is' / 'there are' meaning.

153. *iwá łk'iwitpamá skúulitpa*
      i-wá   *łk'íwi-t-pamá*   *skúulit-pa*
      3Sg.S-COP   play-NZR-thing.for   school-LOC
      'There is a playground at the school.'

154. *Palaláay iwá puuy.*
      Palaláay   *i-wá*   *puuy.*
      much   3Sg.S-COP   snow
      'There's a lot of snow'

In legends, sometimes the form *áwacha* is used to mean 'there was/ were'. This is a

frozen or fixed form.

155. *áwacha myánash nápu*
      áwacha   *myánash*   *nápu*
      3O-Cop.PST   child   two.HUM
      'There were two children'

3.8.3. Predicate locatives

Location is also expressed with the verb *wa*. The named location has the suffix -

pa. *-pa* is a case suffix, and will be covered in 3.10.4.

156. *ḵ'aláx̱ iwá náakni iníitpa*
      ḵ'aláx̱   *i-wa*   *náakni*   *iníit -pa*
      fence   3Sg.S-be   surrounding   house-LOC
      'the fence is all the way around the house'

Questions asking where something is located use the question word *minán* with the

copula.

157. *Minán iwá itút?*
      Minán   i-wá   itút
      Where.LOC   3Sg.S-be   your.father
      'Where is your father?'

3.8.4. Animacy and *wa-*

If the subject of the sentence is third person plural (they) and animate, the verb

form used is *pawá*, the third person plural verb prefix added to the verb *wa*.

158. *ku íxwi pawá shix*
      ku   íxwi   pawá   shix
      and   still   3Pl.S-be   good
      'And they are still well (healthy)'

159. *Pawá Warm Springsknik*
      pa-wá   Warm Springs-knik
      3Pl.S-be   Warm Springs-ABL
      'They are from Warm Springs'

160. *Mił tíinma pawá?*
      Mił   tíin-ma   pa-wá?
      How.many   person-Pl   3Pl.S-be
      'How many people are there?'

For inanimate third person subjects, *iwá* is used for one or more than one. This follows

the same pattern as other verbs with inanimate subjects, as described in 3.2.1.1.

161. *Ts'mist timat'áwaas iwá.*
      Ts'mist timat'áwaas   i-wá.
      nine   pencil   3Sg.S-be
      'there are nine pencils'

3.8.5. Tense and aspect marking with *wa-*

The most usual form of the copula does not have tense or aspect marking, as seen in the examples above. The 'be' verb *wa* never takes ongoing (*-sha*) or habitual (*-xa*) markers. It can, however, take the future (*-ta*) and past tense, irregular *-chá*. Note that this irregular past tense suffix takes the word level stress:

162. *Míimi, iwachá nch'ii tánawit*
      Míimi,   i-wachá   nch'ii tánawit
      long.ago 3Sg.S- COP.PST big   cave
      'Long ago there was a big cave'

163. *pawachá x̱áyin*
      pa-wachá   x̱áy-in
      3Pl.S-COP.PST   male.friend-DL
      'they (two) were brothers'

The other verb that follows this same pattern of irregular past tense marking is *nuu-* 'say':

Mish nam nuu? 'What are you saying?'; *Mish inúucha* 'What did he say?'

3.8.6. First and second person subjects with *wa-*

The examples above have third person subjects: he, she, it or they. For first and second person subjects I, we, you, there are no verb prefixes. The subject is indicated by the pronominal enclitic that follows the first word in the sentence. (Refer to 3.2.2 for the various forms of the clitics for first and second person.) With the copula, the full forms of the clitics are used.

164. *Ínk nash wa shíx̱tx̱aw tɬ'aax̱wmaamíknik*
      Ínk =nash   wa   shíx̱-tx̱aw   tɬ'aax̱w-maamíknik
      1Sg.PN =1Sg   COP   good-COMP   all-HUM.ABL.Pl
      'I am the best of all'

165. *Mish nam wa wishúwani?*
      Mish *=nam* *wa*   *wishúwa-ni?*
      Q   =2Sg   COP   be.ready-STAT
      'Are you ready?

166. *íkush pam wáta*
      íkush =pam   *wá-ta*
      thus =2Pl   COP-FUT
      'This is how you will be.'

The verb *wa* is irregular with first and second person subjects when the verb is in the

present tense and is the first word in the clause. In these cases, the verb form is *wash*,

followed by the full form of the clitic:[19]

167. *Wash nash Siłáknik*
      Wash *=nash* *Siłá-knik*
      COP   =1Sg   Siłá-ABL
      'I am from Zillah.'

3.8.7. Possessive clauses

The verb *wa* indicates relationships of possession or ownership and links a

possessor, the subject, to another person or thing. Third person possessive clauses, both

singular and plural, use the verb prefix *á-*. The full verb, *áwa* means 's/he, it has' or 'they

have'. *Awachá* is the past tense form.

168. *Áwa kkáatnam wixáwxa*
      Á-wa   *kkáatnam* *wixáwxa*
      3O-COP   long.Pl   leg.Pl
      's/he/it has long legs'; 'they have long legs'

---

[19] The form *wash* is perhaps analyzable as the verb *wa* and the present perfect suffix *-sh*. *-sh* is not present after a vowel except when a second position clitic follows it. However, in the case of the copula, the form *wash* is frozen and the present perfect meaning does not apply. Translations for the bare stem *wa* and *wash* are consistently the same: *Wash nash Siłáknik* / *Ink nash wa Siłáknik*: 'I am from Zillah'. (As seen as well in examples 142-0.)

169. *Áwa k'úsima*
      Á-wa   k'úsi-ma
      3O-COP   horse-Pl
      's/he/it has horses'; 'they have horses'

170. *Awachá ishích káakɨm myánashma*
      Awachá   ishích   káakɨm myánashma
      3O-COP.PST nest   full   child-Pl
      'They had a nest full of children'

If the possessor is named in the sentence, the noun indicating the possessor is indicated

with a genitive case suffix. The case markers are covered in 3.10.4. Using the full noun or

a possessive pronoun (these forms are given in Table 3.10) in the sentence clearly

specifies the possessor, unlike the examples above, which can have more than one

meaning (although they are clear in their contexts).

171. *Átaw áwa yápaash shushaynshmí*
      Átaw   á-wa   yápaash   shushaynsh-mí
      valued 3O-COP   fat   steelhead-GEN
      'Steelhead has valuable oil'

172. *áwa ɬáyɬay aswanmí*
      á-wa   ɬáyɬay aswan-mí
      3O-COP   rash   boy-GEN
      'The boy has a rash'

Possessive clauses with first or second person subjects use a clitic to indicate the

possessive relationship. For first person ('I, we') these clitics are the same as those used

in intransitive clauses:

173. *Wash nash ap'úus*
      Wash   =nash   ap'úus
      COP   =1Sg   cat
      'I have a cat'

With no other context or clarifying information, the sentence is ambiguous.

Example 173 could also be translated 'I am a cat'. Usually it is clear which is meant.

Again, using a possessive pronoun or a subject pronoun resolves the ambiguity:

174. *Inmíish wa ap'úus.*
      Inmí-ish   *wa*   *ap'úus*
      1Sg.GEN.PN-1Sg COP   cat
      'I have a cat'

If the subject/possessor is 'you' (second person), a different set of clitics is used than the

ones listed in section 3.2.2. These possessive clitics are *=mash* ('you singular') and

=matash ('you plural'). These are the same clitics used in sentences that have a first

person subject and second person object, as will be seen in 3.9.1.

175. *Mish mash wa asúm?*
      Mish =mash   *wa*   *asúm*
      Q   =2Sg.GEN   COP   eel
      'Do you have eels?'

176. *Chaw matash wa tun tkwátat .*
      Chaw =matash   *wa*   *tun*   *tkwátat*
      NEG =2Pl.GEN   COP   what   food
      'You all don't have any food'

Here are some examples with *wa* indicating possession:

177.
      S/he / it / they:
      Áwa nisháykt.   S/he, it, they have a home.
      K'axnumaamí áwa nisháykt.   The prairie chickens have a home.
      I / we / you:
      Wash nash nisháykt.   I have a home.
      Wash natash nisháykt.   I and other(s) (more than 2) have a home.
      Wash na nisháykt.   We all (more than 2) have a home.

Wash mash nisháykt.	You (1 person) have a home. [20]
Wash matash nisháykt.	You (more than 1 person) have a home.

3.8.8. Everyday expressions with the copula

Here are a few everyday and classroom functions that use the copula. They are used to:

Ask for and give the name of something:

178.   *Tun íchi iwá?*
      What is this?

      Tun íkw'ak iwá?
      What is that?

      Íchi iwá _____ ____.
      This is a _____ _____.

      Íkw'ak iwá _____ ____.
      That is a _____ _____.

Describe things:

This short passage describing *ámash* (barn owl) shows the contrast between *iwá* 's/he, it is' and *áwa* 's/he, it has':

179.   *Ámash **iwá** kákya.*   Ámash is a bird.

     ***Iwá** sts'átpa wisalilá.*   He is a nighttime hunter.

     ***Áwa** ch'im k'líik'lii áa'aa.*   He has sharp bent claws.

     ***Áwa** nch'i amtix ku k'lii núshnu.*   He has a big head and a bent beak.

Talk about the weather:

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[20] This is an od statement, in English or Ichishkíin, as it is telling someone something they probably already know. These 'you' and 'you all' examples are more natural with question intonation: 'You have a home?'

180. *Míshxit iwá ámchnik?*   What's it like outside?

     Iwá ts'muuy. / Ts'muuy iwá.   It's warm.

Other adjectives to describe weather can be used in this type of sentence.

181. *Iwá* _____ / _____ *iwá*

ta'áam	cloudy	*láxuyxt*	hot
kayx	clear	*k'saat*	cool
wa'áax	mild, comfortable	*k'pis*	cold

3.9. Transitive clauses

The sections to this point have included mostly examples with intransitive verbs. This section will cover transitive clauses. A discussion of the difference between transitive and intransitive clauses is found in the introduction to Chapter 2. Briefly, transitive verbs, like *k'ínu-* 'see', *winp-* 'take, get, grab', *twána-* 'follow', and *ítɬ'yawi-* 'kill', require two participants. The two participants differ in their relationship to the verb. The subject or agent (abbreviated 'S' and 'A') is typically more active, has more control over, and/or initiates the action described by the verb; the object (abbreviated 'O') is affected by the action or is the one towards whom the action is directed. Ditransitive verbs like *ni-* 'give', *in-* 'say to, tell' have three participants and are addressed briefly below, and more fully in 6.5.

The morphology of transitive clauses in Ichishkíin varies depending on the person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) of the subject and the object. In addition, plurality is important, since the morphology used reflects whether the subject and object are singular, dual or plural. A

combination of clitics, verb prefixes and case markers indicate subject and object. Many of the clitics and prefixes are the same as were seen in section 3.2. The conventions given in 3.2.2 about using short or long forms of the clitics and the phonological rules governing the insertion of a glottal stop after a verb prefix and before a vowel-initial verb, seen in 3.2.1, apply to transitive verbs.

The examples in Table 3.4 show all transitive combinations using the verb *ḵ'ínu* 'see' with the aspect marker *-sha*. Examples are given both with and without 3rd person nouns. The nouns demonstrate the use of the case markers. Word order is flexible; the examples given here are just one possibility. In these examples, the clitics directly follow the verb since the verb is the first word of the sentence. If a word other than the verb were first, the clitic would retain its place following the first word in the sentence.

Some of the glosses in the examples include an arrow or wedge (>). This indicates the direction of the action and differentiates subject from object. 2Sg >1Sg codes a transitive clause where the subject is 2nd person singular 'you' and the object is first person singular 'me'. In addition, the discussion uses the term 'speech act participant', abbreviated SAP. This is a term that encompasses both 1st person (the person speaking in a conversation: 'I, me, we, us') and 2nd person (the person being spoken to: 'you').

As can be seen in the table, in sentences with explicitly mentioned subjects and objects, noun suffixes called case markers indicate what role the noun has in the sentence. In other words, the case marker indicates how and why the noun belongs in the sentence: is it the subject or object? The case marker *-nan* (dual *-inan*; plural *-maman*) indicates the object of the verb, as in the example sentence *áḵ'inushaam Máalinan* 'you see Mary'.

TABLE 3.4. TRANSITIVE CLAUSE PARADIGM

If the subject is "I/we"		
I/we > you	*ḵ'ínushamash* (both Sg)	I see you (Sg)
	ḵ'ínushamatash (either S, O, or S and O Pl)	I or we see you (Sg/Pl)
I/we > him/her/it/them	*áḵ'inushaaash*	I see him/her/it/them
	áḵ'inushaatash	We see him/her/it/them
	áḵ'inushaash Máalinan	I see Mary
	áḵ'inushaash kákyamaman	I see the animals
If the subject is "you"		
you Sg > me	*páḵ'inushaam*	you (Sg) see me
you Pl > me	*ḵ'ínushapam*	you (Pl) see me
you Sg/Pl > us	*ḵ'ínushaam*	you (Sg) see us
	ḵ'ínushapam	you (Pl) see us
you > him/her/it/them	*áḵ'inushaam*	you (Sg) see him/her/it/ them
	áḵ'inushapam	you (Pl) see him/her/it/ them
	áḵ'inushaam Máalinan	you see Mary
If the subject is "s/he/it"		
s/he/it > me or us	*iḵ'ínushaash*	s/he/it sees me
	iḵ'ínushaatash	s/he/it sees us
	iḵ'ínushaash Maalinɨm	Mary sees me
s/he/it > you	*iḵ'ínushaam*	s/he/it sees you (Sg)
	iḵ'ínushapam	s/he/it sees you (Pl)
	iḵ'ínushaam Máalinɨm	Mary sees you (Sg)
s/he/it > him/her/it/them direct	*iḵ'ínusha*	s/he/it sees him/her/it/them
	iḵ'ínusha Máali Sámnan	Mary sees Sam
s/he/it > him/her/it/them inverse	*páḵ'inusha*	s/he/it sees him/her/it/them
	páḵ'inusha Máaliyin Sámnan	Mary sees Sam

<div align="center">TABLE 3.4. (CONTINUED).</div>

If the subject is "they"

they > me or us	*pak'ínushaash*	they see me
	pak'ínushaatash	they see us
	pak'ínushaash áyatma	the women see me
they > you	*pak'ínushaam*	they see you (Sg)
	pak'ínushapam	they see you (Pl)
	pak'ínushaam áyatma	The women see you (Sg)
they > him/her/them animate	*pat ák'inusha*	They see him/her/them
	pat ák'inusha áyatma	The women see Sam
	Sámnan	
they > it/them inanimate O	*pak'ínusha*	They see it
	pak'ínusha áyatma iníit(nan)	The women see the house

The object case marker is sensitive to animacy. It is used consistently with 3rd person human objects, and sometimes with animate and inanimate objects. The example sentence *pak'ínusha áyatma iníit(nan)* 'the women see the house' is grammatical with or without the object suffix *-nan*. A special object marker *-pa* is used with some relationship terms (see 3.10.2).

The case markers *-in* and *-nim* indicate 3rd person subjects and are glossed ERG for ergative. Ergative refers to a situation in which the subject of a transitive clause is treated uniquely in the grammar, unlike any other participant in a transitive or intransitive clause. Only 3rd person singular subjects of transitive clauses take ergative case marking. The marker *-in* is used if the object is also 3rd person. *-nim* is used if the object is a speech act participant. Examples from Table 3.4 include *pák'ínusha Máaliyin Sámnan* 'Mary sees

Sam' and *ik'ínushaam Máalinim* 'Mary sees you'. Mary is the subject in both, but the case marking on Mary is different in each because the object is different.

Recall that participants are not expressed by nouns in every sentence but are left out if they can be understood from context. A sentence without any case marking can still be transitive.

As has been seen in examples to this point, the subjects of intransitive sentences do not have any special marking. This lack of case marking - in other words, seeing the bare form of a noun, or a noun suffixed by a dual or plural marker - can serve to indicate the subject of a sentence. Third person nouns indicating subjects of transitive verbs with third person objects frequently lack case marking as well, as will be discussed below.

Number (singular, dual, plural) affects different morphemes (such as case markers, prefixes and clitics) differently. Sometimes number is expressed in the morphology and sometimes it is not. There are object case markers for singular, dual and plural. Verb prefixes and clitics do not have specific dual forms, so the distinction is between one and two or more. The obviative verbal prefix *á-* is not at all affected by plurality, as it can indicate a singular, dual, or plural object.

Ichishkíin has two types of transitive clauses: direct and inverse. Mithun, describing Algonquian, characterizes direct/inverse systems as representing the way speakers present events. Most typically, speakers present events from their own point of view (or that of their listener) rather than that of a 3rd person. We are most familiar and able to talk about the things we have done: I saw him fishing. If the direction of action is not as expected, for example if a speaker presents an event with 3rd person acting on 1st

(he saw me fishing), the inverse is used (Mithun 1999, 223). Direct means that the persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd) of the agent and the object are more expected or natural. Inverse clauses counter the expected scenario. The characterization of clauses as direct or inverse may help to clarify some of the morphology presented below. For example, the agent case markers *-in* and *-nim* are used in inverse clauses only. In this section we will see the use of the inverse prefix *pá-* in two types of situations: those with a 2nd person singular subject and 1st person singular object, and some of those with a 3rd person singular subject and 3rd person object. Chapter 7 addresses inverse and direct more fully.

The following sections first discuss transitive clauses in which SAP's are the agents (sections 3.9.2 and 3.9.1) and then move on to transitive clauses with 3rd person agents (3.9.3 and 3.9.4).

3.9.1. Speech act participant > Speech act participant

1st >2nd: Transitive clauses use two pronominal enclitics that are not used in the intransitive clauses we have seen to this point (although they are used to express possession, covered in 3.8.7 and 3.10.6). These additional clitics are *=mash* and *=matash*. They indicate that 1st person (I/we) is acting on 2nd person (you). *=mash* is used when the subject and the object are both singular; *=matash* is used when either or both participants are plural.[21] The gloss used is 1>2E/B.Pl, with E/B standing for 'either or both'. These

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[21] These enclitics were formed from elements of first and second person clitics. The initial *m* refers to 2nd person (*=nam* '2Sg', *=pam* '2Pl'), *ash* and *atash* to 1st person (*=nash* '1Sg', *=natash* 1Pl.INC/EXC), see 3.2.2. In the present day language and in teaching it may be better to consider *=mash* and *=matash* as single units rather than composed of two parts. *=matash* is used if either participant is plural, which is not evident from looking at the pieces that historically formed it.

clitics are referred to as complex clitics since a single morpheme indicates both the subject and the object.

182.   *shápnisha mash*
       shápni-sha   =mash
       ask-IMPV   =1Sg>2Sg
       'I'm asking you'

183.   *ku matash ítuxta*
       ku   =matash   ítux-ta
       and   =1>2E/B.Pl   return-FUT
       'and I/we will send you (Sg/Pl) back'

In the case of examples like 183, the subject is known to be 1st person and the object 2nd person, and at least S or O (or both) must be plural. Without more information, the identity of the plural participant is not indicated in the sentence and must be gathered from context.

2Sg>1Sg: Clauses that have 2nd person singular subject and 1st person singular object use the clitic *=nam* '=2Sg' and verb prefix *pá-* 'INV'.

184.   *pawawtk'íwishaam!*[22]
       pá-wawtk'íwi-sha=am
       INV-mock-IMPV=2Sg
       'You're mocking me'

185.   *Mish nam páwapiitata myúkt pyaxí?*
       Mish =nam   pá-wapiita-ta   myúk-t pyaxí?
       Q   =2Sg   INV-help-FUT   peel-NZR bitterroot
       'Will you help me peel the bitterroot?'

Examples such as 184 and 185 with 2Sg>1Sg represent the case in which a verb prefix is used to mark a verb that does not have a 3rd person subject or object. (*pá-* is also used with 3rd person subjects and objects, addressed below in 3.9.4.) The prefix *pá-* is a stress-

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[22] *wawtk'íwi-* 'trick, make a fool of' is a strong root and so maintains word level stress.

stealing prefix, so it will take word level stress if the word does not also have a strong

root or stressed suffix. *pá-* was seen in section 3.5 on imperatives and differs in sound

from 3rd plural prefix *pa-* only in that it is stressed.

2Sg/Pl>1Sg/Pl: If either the S or O is plural in clauses with a 2nd person subject and a 1st

person object, the prefix *pá-* is not used. Contrast 186, with a singular 2nd person subject

and 187, with a plural 2nd person subject. Example 186 requires the prefix *pá-*. 187 does

not have this prefix. Note that these examples have stressed applicative suffix *twíi-* and so

pá- does not take the word level stress.

186.   *Mish nam máytski paxwyaktwíita?*
        Mish   =nam   máytski   pá-xwyák-twíi-ta
        Q   =2Sg   morning   INV-sweat-APPL-FUT
        'Are you (Sg) going to sweat with me in the morning?'

187.   *Mish pam máytski xwyaktwíita?*
        Mish   =pam   máytski   xwyák-twíi-ta?
        Q   =2Pl   morning   sweat-APPL-FUT
        'Are you (Pl) going to sweat with me/us in the morning?'

As seen above, for examples like 187, the object is known to be 1st person, but whether it

is singular or plural (me or us) must be gathered from context.

3.9.2. Speech act participant > Third person

In clauses with any 1st or 2nd person subject and a 3rd person object, the same set

of pronominal enclitics given in 3.2.2 indicates the subject. In the examples below we see

=nash (in 188) and *=nam* (in 189). The verb has the prefix *á-* indicating a 3rd person object.

If the object is overt it may be (but is not obligatorily) case marked with the object suffix

-nan (Sg), *-inan* (Dl) or *–maman* (Pl). In example 189 the inanimate object is not case marked.

188.   *Cháw nash ánach'axi áwitɬ'yawita k'áxnumaman.*
        chaw =nash ánach'axi á-ítɬ'yawi-ta k'áxnu-maman
        NEG =1Sg again 3O-kill-FUT prairie.chicken-OBJ.Pl
        'I'll never again kill prairie chickens'

189.   *maykw'áanik nam ák'inusha wiwnúwaash*
        maykw'áanik =nam á-k'ínu-sha wiwnúwaash
        further =2Sg 3O-see-IMPV huckleberry.patch
        'Further along you see a huckleberry patch'

The 3rd person object prefix *á-* is a stress-stealing prefix (as discussed in 2.6) and so takes the word stress from the root. It is used if the subject is 1st or 2nd person and the object is 3rd person. It references both singular and plural 3rd person objects, as can be seen in the preceding examples.

The prefix *á-* indicates that the sentence has an object even if the object is not named.

190.   *chaw nash áshukwaasha*
        chaw =nash á-shúkwaa-sha
        NEG =1Sg 3O-know-IMPV
        'I don't know (it)'

191.   *awkɬáwnash áyksha*
        awkɬáw=nash á-yík-na
        once=1Sg 3O-hear-PST
        'Once I heard (it).'

We saw that in the case of verb prefixes *i-* and *pa-*, a glottal stop is inserted before a vowel-initial verb (see examples 2 and 3). In the case of *á-*, if the verb begins with a vowel, the prefix becomes *áw-*.

192. *paysh nam áwititamata*
      paysh =nam   á-ititáma-ta
      maybe =2Sg   3O-count-FUT
      'maybe you will count them'

3.9.3. Third person > Speech act participant

When there is a 3rd person subject and SAP object, a combination of clitics, verb prefixes and case markers indicate the subject and the object. The clitics and prefixes are identical to those used for intransitive clauses. Prefixes *i-* '3Sg.S' and *pa-* '3Pl.S' mark the subject. A clitic marks the object.

193. *íkush nash ishapáttawax̱inx̱ana*
      íkush =nash   i-shapá-ttáwax̱‐inx̱a-na
      thus =1Sg   3Sg.S-CAUS-grow-HAB-PST
      'In that way, she raised me'

194. *awkú natash pa'iwáx̱ix̱ana*
      awkú =natash   pa'-iwáx̱i-x̱a-na
      then =2Pl.EXC   3Pl.S-wait.for-HAB-PST
      'Then they used to wait for us'

If the subject is 3rd person singular and is named in the sentence, it is case marked with the suffix *-nɨm*.

195. *íkushx̱ashtx̱tash awkú ikúx̱ana X̱ax̱íshnɨm*
      íkush-x̱ash-tx̱=tash   awkú   ikúx̱ana   X̱ax̱ísh-nɨm
      thus-indeed-must=2Pl.EXC then   3Sg.S-do-HAB-PST   X̱ax̱ísh-3>SAP.ERG
      'Thus must X̱ax̱ish have done to us'

196. *tamánwitnɨm nash inápayunta*
      tamánwit-nɨm   =nash   i-nápayun-ta
      law-3>SAP.ERG   =1Sg   3sgS/A-defend-FUT
      'The law will support me'

A named 3rd person plural subject is not case marked. In 197, the plural subject *tíinma* 'people' does not have the 3>SAP ergative case marker *-nim*. The 3rd plural S/A prefix *pa-* marks the verb.

197.　*ku nam pak'ínuta tíinma*
　　　ku=nam　　pa-k'ínu-ta　　　tíin-ma
　　　and =2Sg　3Pl.S-see-FUT　　person-Pl
　　　'and the people will see you'

3.9.4. Third person > Third person

3Sg>3Sg/Pl, Direct vs. Inverse: When the subject and object are both 3rd person and the subject is singular, speakers can choose from two different constructions. 198 (a) and (b) have the same meaning, but (a) has prefix *i-* and (b) has prefix *pá-*. Constructions with the prefix *i-* are called direct; those with the prefix *pá-* are inverse.

198.　a)　*ik'ínusha*　　　　　　b)　*pák'inusha*
　　　　　i-k'inu-sha　　　　　　　　*pá-k'inu-sha*
　　　　　3Sg.S-see-IMPV　　　　　　INV-see-IMPV
　　　　　's/he saw him/her'　　　　　　's/he saw him/her'

Inverse and direct clauses also differ in the case marking of the subject, if nouns are present. Below, there is no case marker on the subject in (a), but there is in (b).

199.　a)　*ik'ínusha Máali Sámnan*[23]
　　　　　i-k'ínu-sha　　　　*Máali　Sam-nan*
　　　　　3Sg.S-see-IMPV　Mary　Sam-OBJ
　　　　　'Mary sees Sam'

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[23] Recall that word order is not fixed, although in inverse clauses where both S and O are overtly stated, there is a tendency that the verb will precede the object, see Rude 2009.

b) *pák'inusha Máaliyin Sámnan*
   pá-k'inu-sha   *Máali-in*   *Sam-nan*
   INV-see-IMPV   Mary-3>3ERG   Sam-OBJ
   'Mary sees Sam'

Along with the case marking of the subject being different in the two types of clauses, the case marking on the object can vary. Inverse clauses must have an object marker (if the object is given as a noun). In direct clauses with stated objects, whether or not the object is case marked depends on animacy and topicality, addressed in 6.4.5.

Table 3.5 below sums up the morphological differences between the two types of 3Sg>3 clauses:

TABLE 3.5. INVERSE AND DIRECT 3SG>3 CLAUSES

	verb prefix	**A case marking**	**O case marking**
Direct	*i-* (3Sg S/A)	none	not required
Inverse	*pá-* (INV)	*-in*	required

Although the translations are the same, the 199 (a) and (b) examples above would be used in different situations.[24] The opposition between direct and inverse was addressed briefly in 3.9, which discussed the inverse signaling a situation in which the identities of

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[24] Given that there are two ways to say the 'same' thing, students want to know which is most basic, or natural. The correct answer varies with the situation. In Jacobs' Klikitat texts, Rude (1994) found that the direct was used somewhat more often, in 57% of 3>3 clauses, as opposed to 43% for the inverse. Both Rigsby and Rude (1996) and Morrison (1990) report that speakers judge the inverse clauses as sounding better. I found that in sentence elicitation and classroom examples (that is, when there was little other context), the direct was preferred. The inverse/direct alternation showed up in longer, connected speech. In our classroom, first year students learn to recognize the inverse, but aren't expected to know the correct times to use it. They are taught to produce the direct.

the subject and object are not as expected. In the first clause of example 200, *Twit'áaya* 'Grizzly Bear' is the subject. In the second clause, which immediately follows the first in the original telling, there is a new subject, *Spilyáy* 'Coyote'. *Twit'áaya* has become the object. The use of the inverse tells the listener that there has been a switch.

200.　*Twit'áaya ipalíina twin*
　　　Twit'áaya　　*i-palíi-na*　　　　　　　*twin*
　　　Grizzly.Bear　3Sg.S-put.in.water-PST　tail
　　　'Twit'áaya dunked in his tail'

　　　pálatk'ishana Spilyáyin Twit'áayanan
　　　pá-látk'i-sha-na　　　　*Spilyáyin*　　　*Twit'áayanan*
　　　INV-look.at-IMPV-PST　Coyote-3>3ERG　Grizzly.Bear-OBJ
　　　'Spilyáy was looking at Twit'áaya'

Additional factors determining whether the inverse or direct will be used include topicality or global topicality, meaning how present or important a particular participant is throughout an episode or text, and animacy: if an inanimate thing is the agent and a human the object, the inverse is more likely to be used.

201.　*tamánwitin pánapayunsha*
　　　tamánwit-in　　*pá-nápayun-sha*
　　　law-3>3.ERG INV-defend-IMPV
　　　'The law is defending them'

In addition, the use of the inverse may hinge on a main character. In some storytellers' versions of particular legends, for example, one character is signaled as primary. Throughout the legend, whenever that character is the object rather than the subject, the storyteller uses the inverse.

　　　The factors conditioning the choice of inverse vs. direct in Ichishkíin have been of great interest to researchers (see for example Blackburn Morrow 2006, Hymes 1987, Rude 1994, Zúñiga 2006) although there is still a great deal of work to be done to

understand when fluent speakers use one or the other. The inverse/direct alternation is presented more fully in 7.3.

The following are a few more examples of transitive 3Sg >3 clauses using the direct and the inverse. Note the variations in word order and the presence / absence of nouns. In addition, recall that the object case marker in direct clauses is not required, but it must be present in inverse clauses if the noun naming the object is in the sentence. In example 205, the strong root (Table 2.11 in 2.6) keeps the stress from the usually stress-stealing inverse prefix *pá-*.

202. *Íkush awkú itamánwya kw'aali wawánan*
    Íkush awkú itamánwiya kw'aali wawánan
    thus   then   3Sg.S-create-PST dangerous.one mosquito-OBJ
    'In this way *kw'aali* created mosquito'

203. *nakáłas iwínpa íkwmak k'úłimaman*
    nakáłas i-wínp-a íkwmak k'úłi-maman
    my.MoMo 3Sg.S-get-PST those-OBJ dog.DIM-OBJ.Pl
    'My grandmother got those dogs'

204. *pánaktkwaninxa pt'íniksnan áyatin*
    pá-náktkwanin-xa pt'íniks-nan áyat-in
    INV-care.for-HAB girl-OBJ woman-3>3ERG
    'The woman takes care of the girl'

205. *patmiyúuna*
    pá-tmiyúu-na
    INV-plot.against-PST
    'he plotted against them'

3Pl>3Sg or Pl: There are also two types of constructions possible when the subject of a transitive clause is 3rd person dual or plural (they) and the object is 3rd person (singular, dual or plural). If the object is inanimate, the 3rd person plural verb prefix *pa-* is used. The object can be case marked but it is not required.

206. *nikwɨtnan tíinma patkwátaxa*
      nikwɨt-nan tíin-ma   pa-tkwáta-xa
      meat-OBJ Indian-Pl   3Pl.S-eat-HAB
      'people eat the meat'

As is always the case, the subject does not have to be overtly stated in the sentence. It is

indicated by the verb prefix, and the identity is understood from context or previous

reference.

207. *tawnáapak'a tkwalánan ku patátnan wánapaynk pa'íchaysha*
      tawnáapak'a   tkwalá-nan   ku   patát-nan   wána-paynk pa'-íchay-sha
      supposedly   small.fish-OBJ and   tree-OBJ   river-along 3Pl.S-spoil-IMPV
      'supposedly they are spoiling the fish and trees along the river'

208. *pa'aníxana k'ixlinmí iníit tyámiki*
      pa'-aní-xa-na   k'ixli-nmí   iníit   tyámiki
      3Pl.S-make-HAB-PST   tule-GEN   house   in.autumn
      'they used to make houses of tule in the autumn'

209. *túyay panáchiksha wíwnu?*
      túyay   pa-náchik-sha   wíwnu
      for.what   3Pl.S-bring-IMPV huckleberries
      "Why are they bringing huckleberries?'

If the subject and object are human or animate, a verb prefix *patá-* or a related form

consisting of a 3rd person plural pronominal enclitic *=pat* and the prefix *á-* is used. The

form of 3Pl>3 varies by dialect (Rigsby & Rude 1996: 675) with the 3rd plural person

enclitic *=pat* and the obviative prefix *á-* in Northwest, prefix *patá-* in Columbia River, and

prefix *pa'á* in Northeast.

In Yakima, both the Northwest *=pat á-* (examples 210 and 211) and Columbia

River *patá-* (example 212) forms are used, within and across speakers. I refer to the

variations as the *pat* forms. *w* is inserted before a vowel-initial root, as seen in examples

192 and 210 above and 212 below.

210.   *Pat huuy áwitaxshya*
       Pat   huuy   á-ítaxshi-ya
       3Pl   in.vain 3O-awaken-PST
       'they tried in vain to awaken her'

211.   *ku pat átwanana nakáłasaan*
       ku =pat   á-twana-na   nakáłas-aan
       and =3Pl   3O-follow-PST   my.MoMo-OBJ
       'they followed my grandmother'

212.   *patáwiyaxna*
       patá-íyax-na
       3Pl>3-find-PST
       'they found him'

Because the *pat* forms are used with animate objects, a named object is case marked.

The form *=pat* behaves in some ways like 1st and 2nd person pronominal enclitics, but it is not exactly like the SAP enclitics. It is used much less often, only in 3Pl>3 transitive clauses. It codes the subject of a transitive verb,[25] while the 1st and 2nd person clitics can identify the subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs, objects, and possessors. It is not always in the second position on the sentence, as can be seen in example 210 above.

3.9.5. Ditransitive clauses

Although very similar grammatically to transitive clauses, ditransitive verbs have three participants: a subject or agent; a thing, object or person acted upon; and the recipient of an action or the one who benefits from an action. Thus, *ni-* 'give' involves a giver, receiver, and thing given; *shapáshuk-* 'introduce' involves a person introducing someone to someone else. Some verbs of speaking such as *in-* 'tell' or *tíixwa-* 'inform'

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[25] There are a very few text examples where *=pat* codes the object, to be discussed in 7.3.

require a speaker, a person spoken to, and a thing that is said. As we have seen

throughout the grammar, animacy is important in ditransitive verbs. They usually involve

at least two human participants. The giver and speaker, the subjects, are usually human.

In the case of 'give', the other human participant is usually the recipient, rather than the

thing that is given. Typically the other human participant in a ditransitive clause will be

grammatically coded the same way as is a human object in transitive clauses. The thing

given usually has no case marking.

In many ways, the grammar of ditransitive clauses matches that of transitives.

Table 3.6 includes examples with *ni-* 'give'. The word *wíwnu* 'huckleberries' could be

left out of the examples.

TABLE 3.6. A PARADIGM OF DITRANSITIVE *NÍ-* 'GIVE'

1Sg>2Sg	*wíwnu mash níya*	I gave you (Sg) huckleberries
2Sg>1Sg	*wíwnu nam pániya*	you (Sg) gave me huckleberries
SAP>3	*wíwnu nash ániya*	I gave him/her/them huckleberries
3>SAP	*wíwnu nash iníya*	S/he gave me huckleberries
3Sg>3 direct	*wíwnu iníya*	S/he gave him/her/them huckleberries
3Sg>3 inverse	*wíwnu pániya*	S/he gave him/her/them huckleberries
3Pl>3	*wíwnu patániya*	They gave him/her/them huckleberries

The reduced paradigm above for *ni-* 'give' shows that ditransitive verbs have essentially

the same grammar as the transitive clauses given in Table 3.4. The clitics and verb

prefixes are the same. If we include a 3rd person recipient in the above examples, that

person would be marked as the object with -*nan*: *wíwnu nash ániya tmáynan* 'I gave the huckleberries to the maiden'.

The following two 3>SAP examples also include explicit mention of the thing given (*íkwak shátay* 'that blanket' in 213 and *íchi* 'this' and *naxsh* 'one' in 214. Neither thing given is case marked as an object. The giver is 3rd person, indicated by the verb prefixes *i*- and *pa*-, as well as the ergative suffix -*nim* in 213. The receiver is a SAP, coded by the clitics =*nam* and =*nash*. The receiver in 214 is also indicated by the 1st person object pronoun *inák*. (See 3.10.5 for more on pronouns.)

213. *shínim nam iníya íkw'ak shátay?*
      shin-im =nam   i-ní-ya   íkw'ak shátay
      who-3>SAP.ERG =2Sg   3Sg.S-give-PST   that   blanket
      'Who gave you that blanket?'

214. *kush íchi inách'a naxsh paníya*
      ku=sh   íchi inák-ch'a   naxsh   pa-ní-ya
      and=1Sg   this 1Sg.PN.OBJ-also   one   3Pl.S-give-PST
      'and they gave me this one'

This section has included examples and explanation of transitive and ditransitive clauses. In sum, participants are indicated with a verb prefixes, clitics, and case markers in transitive and ditransitive clauses. The exact configuration of morphemes is important, as a slight difference can change the meaning dramatically. For example, one letter - or, in 216 only a stress shift - reverses the subjects and objects in the following examples:

215. *ák'inushaash*   *ik'ínushaash*
      á-k'ínu-sha=ash   i-k'ínu-sha=ash
      3O-see-IMPV=1Sg   3Sg.S-see-IMPV=1Sg
      'I see him/her/it'   's/he/it sees me'

216. *pak̲'ínusha*   *pák̲'inusha*
     pa-k̲'ínu-sha   *pá-k̲'ínu-sha*
     3Pl.S-see-IMPV   INV-see-IMPV
     'they see him/her/it/them'   's/he sees him/her/them'

3.10. Nouns, pronouns and demonstratives

3.10.1. Human and inanimate numbers

Ichishkíin numbers serve as nouns and noun modifiers. There is a basic, non-human set, and a second set used when referring to humans. This section covers the use of numerals in counting or telling how many of something there are, how many times something happened, telling time, days of the week, and asking how old someone is.

The Yakima numbers follow a pattern based on ten, and are repetitive and predictable once you know 1-10 and the tens to one hundred.[26] Table 3.7 includes the numbers.

For numbers that do not have a specific variant for humans, *-ima* is added to the non-human form if counting humans. So, *ptáxninsh pítpit* 'six chicks' but *ptáxninshima myánashma* 'six children'. This is simply the plural marker *-ma* following an inserted *i*. This is the case even with the number 11 and above. So, for eleven humans, the number used is *pútimpt ku náxshima* (not *pútmu ku laxs*).

Rigsby (1965) writes that the form *naks* is found in interior Salish languages Wenatchee, Sinkiuse, Colville and Nespelem (120). Aoki (1975) also notes the similarity of the forms, especially in those Salish languages that are contiguous to Sahaptian. The

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[26] Some Sahaptin dialects (those contiguous to the Nez Perce or with extensive relations with Nez Perce) follow a base five pattern where six, seven and eight are all based on five, as they are in Nez Perce. See Rigsby 1965 for more on Sahaptian numerals.

TABLE 3.7. NUMBERS

	non-human	human
1	na*x*sh	laxs
2	niipt	nápu
3	mítaat	mítaaw
4	píniipt	pínapu
5	páxaat	páxnaw
6	ptáxninsh	
7	túskaas	
8	paxat'umáat	
9	ts'mist	
10	pútimpt	pútmu
11 (ten and one)	pútimpt ku naxsh	
12	pútimpt ku niipt	
13	pútimpt ku mítaat	
14	pútimpt ku píniipt	
15	pútimpt ku páxaat	
16	pútimpt ku ptáxninsh	
17	pútimpt ku túskaas	

	non-human	human
18	pútimpt ku paxat'umáat	
19	pútimpt ku ts'mist	
20	níiptit	
21 (twenty and one)	níiptit ku naxsh	
30	mitáaptit	

TABLE 3.7. (CONTINUED).

40	*píniiptit*
50	*paxáaptit*
60	*ptaxninsháaptit*
70	*tuskasáaptit*
80	*paxaat'umatáaptit*
90	*ts'misáaptit*
100	*(naxsh) putáaptit*
101	*(naxsh) putáaptit* *ku naxsh*
200 (two hundred)	*niipt putáaptit*
1000 (ten hundred)	*pútimpt putáaptit*
2000 (twenty hundred)	*níiptit putáaptit*

form for one is cognate in Klamath (*Naas*) and Molalla (*náŋa*), supporting Aoki's conclusion that the borrowing was from Sahaptian to Salish.

Note in Table 3.7 above that currently *laxs* is used as a human number in Yakima, although no human form of 'one' is given in Jacobs (1931). Likewise, in Rigsby's (1965) analysis there are not animate forms for 'one' in the Sahaptin dialects he surveyed. *laxs* is given in Rigsby's lists as the non-human numeral for Rock Creek and Tygh Valley, both Columbia River dialects, and Wanapam, a Northeast dialect. In Yakima, the form *laxs* can also mean the last one, the only one, reflecting the diminutive sound patterns *n* to *l* and *sh* to *s*. Before the last verse of a *wáashat* ('Longhouse religion') song is sung, the phrase *láxssimk'a* 'only one more' is heard -. This word includes the noun suffixes *-sim* 'same'

and -*k'a* 'again' discussed in 5.4. In addition, the word *lísxaam* 'once' (discussed below) is based on this diminutive form.

The etymologies of four, seven, and eight are fairly clear. The numeral four (*píniipt)* is analyzed by Jacobs (1931) and Rigsby (1965) as two (*niipt*) plus a prefix *pa-* meaning one to another or a pair. Vowel assimilation changes *pa-* to *pi-*. So, *píniipt* is 'two by two' or 'two twos'. *túskaas*, the number seven, is related to the instrumental prefix *tuxs-* 'with pointed end', and refers to the seventh or index finger, as that is the seventh finger reached when counting on one's hands (starting with the thumbs). Rigsby proposes that the suffix -*aas* could be a fossilized allomorph the first person clitic, giving 'my pointer'(1965: 117). It also could be the nominalizer -*as* that is used with things done by or used by a person (5.2.7). In that case, seven means 'a thing people use for pointing'. (The current name for the pointer finger is *tuskáwas*.) *paxat'umáat* 'eight' is a combination of *páxaat* 'five' and *mítáat* 'three'.

The root for two *náp* is considered by some (see for example, Aoki 1963) to a be a metathesized (re-ordered) form of *pen*, the number two in some of the California families that Dixon & Kroeber (1913) identified as related and labeled Penutian. The term Penutian is based on the stems for two (*pen* and *uti*) found in these stocks.

The remainder of this section addresses specific morphology that applies to numbers, as well as language functions such as telling time that use numbers.

3.10.1.1. Number of times

To indicate the number of times something has occurred up to 5 times, a suffix

with the base form *-am* is added, as in 217.

217.

lísx̱aam	once
nápaam	twice
mítáam	three times
pínapaam	four times
páx̱aam	five times

218.　*ku páwiyuunwana páx̱aam*
　　ku　　pá-wiyuunwa-na　　páx̱aam
　　and　　INV-step.over-PST　　five.times
　　'and he stepped over him five times'

lísx̱aam can also mean 'at one time'. For higher numbers, the base number is used. So,

ptáx̱ninsh can also mean six times.

3.10.1.2. Inclusive numbers

To indicate inclusiveness (both, all four), the suffix *-ák* or *-ík* is added. With

animate numbers, *-ák* is used. Since animate numbers end in *u*, *w* is inserted and the *u* is

dropped, as in example 219:

219.　*napwák matash nísha*
　　nápu-ák =matash　　　ni-sha
　　two.HUM-all =1>2.E/BPl　　give- IMPV
　　'both of us are giving (it) to you'

-ík has a broader distribution than *-ák*, as it can contribute the same meaning of

inclusiveness to nouns that are not numbers as well as to inanimate numbers.

220. *isínwixana* **niiptík,** *yákmu ku shiyaputímt*
    i-sínwi-xa-na   *niiptík yákmu*   *ku*   *shiyaputímt*
    3Sg.S-speak-HAB-PST   both   Yakima   and   English
    'he spoke both, Yakima and English'

221. *kuuk áluna káła ku xwísaat tł'aaxw* **iniitík** *áluna*
    kuuk   *á-lu-na*   *káła*   *ku xwísaat*   *tł'aaxw*
    thus   3O-burn-PST Mo.Mo   and old.man all
       iniit-ík   *á-lu-na*
       house-INCL   3O-burn-PST
    'then his grandmother and the old man house and all burned up' (MJ37, 12.5.3)

3.10.1.3. Time

To tell time, the suffix *-(t)ipa* is added to the number. This is the locative suffix *-pa* 'at' following an inserted *i*. *t* is the final sound of many numbers, and for some speakers now the clock hours all have the ending *-tipa*; others speakers use *-ipa*.[27]

222. *Múnk'a aw iwá?*   or   *Miłpan iwá?*
    Mún-k'a   *aw*   *i-wá?*   *Mił-pan*   *iwá*
    when-next now   3Sg.S-COP   how.many-LOC[28] 3Sg.S-COP
    'What time is it?'

    Aw iwá _____.

    It's now _____.

    náxshtipa   one o'clock

    níiptipa   two o'clock

    mítaatipa   three o'clock

    píniiptipa   four o'clock

    páxaatipa   five o'clock

    ptáxninshtipa   six o'clock

    túskaastipa   seven o'clock

---

[27] Jacobs notes a variation between *níiptipa* and *níiptpa* 'at two o'clock' (1931, 104). This form to some also means 'in X number of places', with a more transparently locative meaning. For example, *paxátipa* 'in five places'.
[28] This is a form of the locative suffix *-pa* that is suffixed to question words.

paxat'umáatipa	eight o'clock
ts'místipa	nine o'clock
pútɨmtipa	ten o'clock
pútɨmt ku náx̱shtipa	eleven o'clock
sitkumsáan	noon
páchu'ɨmish	midnight

As specific clock times have only come into use only recently, different speakers indicate clock time in different ways. Some elders tell clock time only to the quarter hours, as is included here:

223.   *Aw páwyawaawsha kwáta náx̱shtipa.*
       Aw pá-wyawáaw-sha   kwáta   náx̱sh-tipa.
       now INV-pass.by-IMPV   quarter   one-o'clock
       'Now it is quarter past one'

For half past one, use the word *wɨtk* 'half' in place of *kwáta*; for three quarters past, use *mɨtáat kwáta*. Broad times of day include NW *skw'ípa* 'morning', now used by some to indicate very early morning only; *máytsḵi* 'morning'; *páchway* 'midday'; *kwláawit* 'late afternnon, evening' and *sts'áat* 'night (when it is dark).

The locative suffix *-pa* also is used when giving a time at which something happened or will happen.

224.   *Mun nam wyánawi?*
       When did you arrive?

       Nax̱shtipa ku wɨtk
       At 1:30.

3.10.1.4. Days of the week

The names for Tuesday through Friday are based on the numbers:

225. *Nápłkw'i*   Tuesday

     Mitáłkw'i   Wednesday

     Pinápłkw'i   Thursday

     Páx̱ałkw'i   Friday

     Tamáts'aakt   Saturday

     Sapálwit   Sunday

     Pachwáywit   Holy Sunday

     Wának̲'it   Monday

The days not based on numbers are centered around Sunday. *Tamáts'aakt* 'Saturday' is the nominalized verb *tamáts'aak-* ''to approach'; *Wának̲'it* 'Monday'is the nominalized verb *wának̲'i* 'end, stop'. *Sapálwit* means week as well as Sunday. *Pachwáywit* 'Holy Sunday' could be the abstractive suffix added to *páchway* 'midday'.

3.10.1.5. Ages

Asking children and teenagers how old they are is appropriate; it is not considered polite to ask adults their age. The standard set of numbers, not the human set, is used to answer the question.

226. *mił nam wa anwíkt?*
     mił =nam   wa   anwíkt
     how.many =2Sg   COP   year
     'how old are you?

     wash nash ts'mist anwíkt
     wash =nash ts'mist anwíkt
     COP =1Sg nine   year
     'I am nine'

3.10.2. Kinship terms

There is an extensive set of kinship terms in Ichishkíin, and a number of grammatical features only apply to kinship terms. To elders, this focus in the grammar mirrors the profound importance of family ties and relationships. Speaking of the way Plateau communities were organized at the time of the arrival of European Americans, Conner and Lang write "Our vast extended families were kinship communities. These communities recognized their citizenship by relations" (2006, 24). A child does not simply have grandparents, but rather has specific and unique relationships with his or her *káɬa* 'mother's mother', *ála* 'father's mother', *tíla* 'mother's father' and *púsha* 'father's father'.

In addition to a reference term, there are specific prefixed terms for 'my (relation)' and 'your (relation)' and a vocative or address term (used in speaking to or calling out to the relative). For example, *pyáp* 'older sister (of a man or woman)' has the associated terms *nanánas* 'my older sister' *anísh* 'your older sister' and *nána* 'Sister! (vocative)'.

Some grammatical features apply only to kinship terms. For some relations, a different word is used depending on whether one is referring to the relation of a man or a woman . For example, the reference term for a man's younger sister is *áts*. The reference term for a woman's younger sister is *isíp*. Some case endings differ for kin terms. Reference kinship terms take the object suffix *-pa* rather than the usual object suffix *-nan*:

pshítpa 'father-OBJ'. The object 'your' forms end with -*(a)p*, as in *tútap* 'your.father-OBJ' and the 'my' forms in -*aan*, for example *natútasaan* 'my.father-OBJ'.[29]

The forms for 'my (relation)' vary depending on the age of the named relation. For older relations (parents, grandparents, older siblings, aunts and uncles), *na-* is added before the vocative form and -*s* is added at the end. So, *íła* is the vocative for 'mother'; *na'íłas* is 'my mother'. For relatives of the same and younger ages, in-laws, and words unspecified for generation such as *x̱ay* 'man's male friend, relation', the prefix used is *in-*. For 'your (relation)', Jacobs (1931, 236) cites *i-* as the prefix for the older generations and *im-* for the same/younger. Some variation from Jacobs is reflected in the chart below.

The reference and vocative terms for some relations are reciprocal. So, a man's daughter's child is *tíla*, as is a girl's mother's father. Siblings and cousins are referred to with the same terms: *pat* could be an older sister or older female cousin. *átway* is used before the proper name or relationship term of someone who is deceased. Terms for one's spouse's same-sex siblings (for example, a wife's sister) change after the spouse's death. This reflects the traditional practice of maintaining family ties by marrying a spouse's sibling after the death of the spouse. The importance of traditional arranged marriage for strengthening families is described by Virginia Beavert-Martin as 'a custom which reinforced the traditions, culture, and linguistic stability within their clans, and was usually done for sound economic advantages as well' (1999, 65). Marrying a husband or wife's sibling kept those ties in place.

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[29] In Umatilla paradigms (Rude 2005), when older relations are case marked, the case suffixes are all preceded by *a*: *natútasaaním* 'my father.ERG'. This seems to be the case as well in Yakima, based on forms like *na'íłasaanmí* 'my grandmother's' that show the lengthened vowel prior to the genitive, as one expects with a vowel-final word, see 3.10.4.2.

The words *x̣ay*, a word for a man's close male friend or relation (as well as the specific term for a wife's sister's husband, Hunn 1990, 362), *tɬ'aks*, a word for a woman's close female friend or relation (and husband's brother's wife) and *x̣itway* 'relative, close friend' follow the unique grammatical conventions for kinship terms.

Ichishkíin family terms are frequently used, and it is one of the places where people who otherwise mostly speak English have not shifted to English. The system is changing as younger individuals know the vocative terms (such as *níya* or *líya* (CR) for a woman's younger sister) but not necessarily the reference term (*isíp* 'woman's younger sister') or the possessed form (*ínyuks* 'my younger sister').

This complex and intricate language system is not fully covered here. Included in Table 3.8 on the next page are only terms for grandparents, parents, siblings, spouses and children. For a more extensive listing, see Hunn (1990) and Beavert and Rigsby (1975). A full paradigm of Yakima relationship terms with the complete set of case suffixes for each needs to be developed.

3.10.3. Animacy and nouns

Throughout Ichishkíin grammar, a distinction is made among three categories of animacy: humans, other animate beings and inanimate things. Humans have the most distinctive treatment in the grammar. Legend characters (names suffixed with *-yáy* or *-yáya*) are treated as humans. During the time of legends, animals had human characteristics: they could speak and reason as humans.

TABLE 3.8. KINSHIP TERMS

	reference term	vocative	my	your
mother	pcha	íɫa	na'íɫas	iɫ
father	pshɨt	túta	natútas/natútaas	ɨtút
father's mother	ála	ála	na'álas	al
father's father	tíla	tíla	natílas	itíl
mother's mother	káɫa	káɫa	nakáɫas	ikáɫ / ikáɫ
mother's father	púsha	púsha	napúshas /napúsas	ipúsh
older sister	pat	nána	nanánas	anísh
older brother	pyap	yáya	nayáyas	iyásh
man's daughter	pap	ísha	ínpap	ímpap
son or daughter	isht	títa (man's son)	ínmisht	ímisht
woman's son		ísha (woman's son)		
woman's younger sister	isíp	níya	ínyuks	iyúks
woman's younger brother	pacht	pátsa, nípa	ínpats	pats
man's younger sister	ats	lítsa, nícha	íntsats	tsnits
man's younger brother	isx̱á / isx̱íp	níka	ínkaks	kuks
husband	am	am	ínmam	ímam
wife	ásham	ásham	ínasham	ímasham

The next level of animacy includes land animals, living things that are mobile, such as mammals and birds. The category of inanimates includes fish, insects, and objects. The division between animal and inanimate is not absolute. For example, reptiles may be treated grammatically as animals or as inanimate beings. A group of animals considered to be one entity may not receive a plural suffix.

The following sections discuss the effect of animacy on nouns and numbering systems. The grammar makes distinctions in human vs. non-human numbering systems, as we saw above. Discussed below are human vs. non-human case suffixes, and dual / plural suffixes.[30]

Case suffixes:

Noun case endings differ for humans and non-humans. For humans, the genitive marker -*mí* precedes the benefactive, dative, allative, ablative, instrumental, and locative case endings. In 227, the words with suffix -*ki*, here meaning 'about' refer to an inanimate. In 228, both -*mí* and -*ki* must be added to *iwínsh* 'man'.

227. *pashúkwaasha íchinki tiichámki*
    pa-shúkwaa-sha   *íchinki*   *tiichám-ki*
    3Pl.S-know-IMPV   this.INST land-INST
    'they know about this land'

228. *papxwinúusha iwinshmíki*
    pa-pxwinúu-sha   *iwinsh-mí-ki*
    3Pl.S-think.about-IMPV man-GEN-INST
    'they are thinking about the man'

---

[30] Animacy also affects differential object marking (discussed in 6.4.5). In verbal morphology, animacy plays a role in singular vs. plural third person verb prefixes (see more in 3.2.1); applicatives (6.4.2); ditransitives (6.5); use of the inverse voice and use of the 3Pl>3 verb prefix *patá-* (7.2.4).

Singular, dual and plural forms:

The singular, unmarked form of a noun is used for inanimates, singular animate, generic or mass entities and collective plurals - that is, groups that are considered to be one entity rather than comprised of individuals. Only animates and humans take the plural and dual suffixes. Distributive inanimates are indicated with reduplication.

Plural humans (more than two) and animals (more than one; the dual suffix is typically not used for animals) are indicated by the suffix -*ma* added to the noun:

229. *pat*   *pátma*
       older.sister   older.sister-Pl
       'older sister'   'older sisters' (two or more)

230. *kw'ayawí*   *kw'ayawíma*
       cougar   cougar-Pl
       'cougar'   'cougars' (two or more)

Even with animates, the unmarked form of the noun can be used to refer to more than one for collective plurals: a group of entities seen as one. Jacobs's texts often use *tiin* 'person, Indian' rather than *tíinma* 'people, Indians' to refer to a group of people.

231. *ts'áapak'a iwámsh tíin*
       ts'áa-pa-k'a   i-wámsh   tíin
       near-LOC   3Sg.S-come.IMPV   person
       'People are approaching now' (MJ29,233)

In contrast, the marker -*ma* indicates distributive plural: that members of a group are being referred to as individuals rather than a set.

The dual suffix -*in* indicates two humans. This dual suffix is not usually used for two animals, although it is possible. It is the same suffix as is used for the comitative (3.10.4.1) and 3>3 inverse (3.9.4) case suffixes.

232. *áyat*   *áyatin*
      woman   woman-DL
      'woman'   'two women'

Some nouns for humans have irregular forms for dual/plural. Table 3.9 gives examples:

TABLE 3.9. NOUNS REFERRING TO HUMANS WITH IRREGULAR DUAL AND PLURAL

gloss (sg)	singular	dual	plural
girl	*pt'íniks*	*pt'ilíyin*	*pt'ilíma*
man	*iwínsh*	*awínshin*	*awínshma*
maiden	*tmáy*	*ttmayíyin*	*ttmayíma*
boy	*áswan*	*amíisin*	*amíisma*
old woman	*łmáma*	*łmamatúwin*	*łmamatúma*
old man	*xwisáat*	*xwisaatúwin*	*xwisaatúma*

Also note that some adjectives also have specific plural forms, addressed in 8.2.

Inanimates do not take the suffixes *-in* or *-ma*. They can be marked distributive by reduplication. If reduplicated, stress falls in the first iteration of the word in the syllable that would normally be stressed:

233. *wixáwxa*[31]
      leg/foot-REDUP
      'legs' 'feet'

      tnántnan
      cliff-REDUP
      'cliffs'

---

[31] Jacobs (1931;137) translates this as 'little foot', an example of diminutive reduplication.

A few nouns are partially reduplicated, with only a single consonant doubled.

234. *taxsh*   *ttaxsh*
      'willow'   'willows'

Some animals, insects and inanimates have a reduplicated form as their basic,

singular form. Examples are *walakwálak* 'butterfly'; *pítpit* 'chick'; *ákak* 'Canada goose';

p'íp'i 'intestines'. These are not doubly reduplicated for plural.

3.10.4. Case marking

Section 3.9 above introduced noun case markers, suffixes that gave information

about the role of the noun in the sentence. The section included object case markers *-nan*

(Sg), *-inan* (Dl), *-maman* (Pl), and *-pa* (a special object marker used with relationship

terms) and ergative (agent) case markers *-nim* and *-in*. In this section we will look at the

rest of the case markers.

There are eight additional suffixes that give information about how the suffixed

noun is related to other 'players' in the sentence. The suffixes indicate concepts such as

location, destination, or origin; instrument (the thing with which something is done);

recipient; possessor; the one who is with or accompanying someone else; the one

benefiting from or providing a purpose for something.

The examples below show locative case marker *-pa*, instrumental case marker *-ki*

and genitive case marker *-mí*.

235. *iyáwtaanxa wánapa*
      i-yáwtaan-xa   wána-pa
      3Sg.S-float-HAB   river-LOC
      'it floats on the river'

236. *Ku míimi pa'aníxana taxúski*
      ku míimi   pa'-aní-xa-na   taxús-ki
      and long.ago 3Pl.S-make-HAB-PST   milkweed.hemp -INST
      'And in old times, they made them with hemp'

237. *pa'iyáxna tánawit anahuymí talx*
      pa-iyáx-na   tánawit anahúy-mí   talx
      3Pl.S-find-PST   cave   black.bear-GEN   empty
      'they found an empty bear's cave'

The case markers discussed here have different forms if they are attaching to a human

noun as opposed to a non-human noun. Case markers for humans differentiate singular,

dual and plural and begin with possessive suffix *-mí*. This suffix was discussed briefly in

3.8.7 and is addressed below.

Table 3.10 presents the complete set of case markers, and the following sections

give examples of the first eight in the table below. (The last three, case markers used in

transitive clauses, were discussed in section 3.9.) I follow the terminology of Rigsby and

Rude (1996) for the various cases, except that I use 'associative' instead of 'comitative'.

While it is possible to assign a shorthand meaning to each of the noun cases, the

range of concepts each one covers is not directly related to a grammatical feature or word

in English. For example, the instrumental suffix *-ki* can attach to a noun naming a tool

that is used to do something: *kápinki* 'with a digging stick'. This use fits very neatly with

the label 'instrumental' and the translation 'with'. But *-ki* also is a common suffix on *k'úsi*

'horse' *kaa* 'car' or *wasíis* 'canoe' to indicate the means of travel ("on a horse/by car/in a

canoe"). And it is suffixed to the name of a language to mean speaking in that language:

Ichishkínk sínwitki 'in Ichishkíin' (*-kínk*, discussed below, is a variant of *-ki*.)

TABLE 3.10. NOUN CASE ENDINGS

	inanimate	animate	human singular	human dual	human plural
with, accompanying (associative or ASSOC)	not used	*-in*	*-in*	no Dual/Plural	
of, possessor (genitive or GEN)	*-(n)mí*	*-(n)mí*	*-(n)mí*	*-inmí*	*-mamí*
for the purpose/benefit of (benefactive or BEN)	*-ay*	*-ay*	*-míyay*	*-inmíyay*	*-mamíyay*
by means of, with (instrumental or INST)	*-ki*	*-ki*	*-míki*	*-inmíki*	*-mamíki*
located at, in, on (locative or LOC)	*-pa*	*-pa*	*-mípa*	*-inmípa*	*-mamípa*
towards, destination (allative or ALL)	*-kan*	*kan*	*-míkan*	*-inmíkan*	*-mamíkan*
from, origin of motion (ablative or ABL)	*-knik*	*-knik*	*-míknik*	*-inmíknik*	*-mamíknik*
to, into (dative or DAT)	*-yaw*	*-yaw*	*-míyaw*	*-inmíyaw*	*-mamíyaw*

The following cases were addressed in section 3.9:

	inanimate	animate	human singular	human dual	human plural
Object of transitive clause (OBJ)	*-nan*	*-nan*	*-nan*	*-inan*	*-maman*
3rd person S of transitive clause with 3rd person O (3>3 Erg)	*-in*	*-in*	*-in*	no Dual/Plural	
3rd person S of transitive clause with SAP O (3>SAP Erg)	*-nim*	*-nim*	*-nim*	no Dual/Plural	

These usages are not concrete instrumental meanings. Finally, *-ki* is not used to mean doing an activity 'with' someone else; in that case associative *-in* is used. Thinking of *-ki* as equivalent to 'with' would not cover its range of meanings and uses.

Noun modifiers (adjectives or nouns giving more information about another noun) and determiners ('this, that') also have case markers. In that way, they agree in case with the noun they modify, as shown in some of the examples below. In addition, personal pronouns inflect for case. More examples using modifiers, demonstratives and pronouns and will be provided in 3.10.5, 3.10.6 and 5.5.

The examples below present some of the meanings of each of the case markers.

3.10.4.1. With, accompanying: Associative *-in*

Associative suffix *-in* indicates that noun to which it is attached is performing the action of the verb along with someone else. The noun with the associative is part of the subject of the sentence. This is indicated by the use of a plural verb prefix (for third person) or plural clitic (for SAPs). This suffix is used with human and (sometimes) animate nouns, and never with inanimates. Because the suffix begins with *i*, *y* is inserted if the noun ends in a vowel.

238. *pawíiḵ'ika k'úsiyin*
      pa-wíiḵ'ik-a   k'úsi-yin
      3Pl.S-be.stuck-PST   horse-ASSOC
      'he and the horse were caught up'

239. *Patúxshana ḵ'áxnu áyatin.*
      pa-túx-sha-na   ḵ'áxnu   áyat-in
      3Pl.S-return.home-IMPV-PST   prairie.chicken   woman-ASSOC
      'Prairie Chicken came home with his wife' or 'Prairie Chicken and his wife came home'

240. *Élsayintash áwyatamashwikta*
     Elsa-yin=tash   á-wya-tamáshwik-ta
     Elsa-ASSOC=1Pl.EXC   3O-while.going-interpret-FUT
     'Elsa and I will translate it as we go along'

The associative suffix sounds and looks the same as the 3>3 ergative marker (see 3.9.4) and the dual marker (discussed in 3.10.3).[32] Surrounding context and morphology can distinguish them, but a sentence that is standing alone like *áyatin pawínana* can be translated either 'the two women went' or ' s/he/they went with the woman'.

3.10.4.2. Of, possessor: genitive *-(n)mí*

The genitive case marker *-(n)mí* often codes possession or ownership. It also expresses a more general association or relationship between two nouns without the specific meaning of ownership.

The form of the suffix is *–nmí* after vowel-final nouns and *–mí* after consonant finals. Nouns ending in *–a* or *–am* lengthen the *a*. It is a stress stealing suffix and takes the word level stress from the root. There is some variation in the form of this morpheme. For example, the *a* of the plural plus genitive marker *-mamí* is long for some speakers (*-maamí*), short for others. Words ending in *-s/-sh* often take *-nmí* (as seen in 242 below). This variation is in line with Rigsby and Rude's (1996) report of dialectal differences in the distribution of *-mí* and *-nmí* as well as variation within the Umatilla dialect (677).

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[32] The associative and dual have no other difference in the morphology that accompanies them. When the suffix *-in* indicates 3>3 ergative, it is accompanied by the stressed prefix *pá-* and so can be disambiguated. With i-final nouns, Virginia Beavert prefers no *y* glide in the associative (for example *kw'aalíin* 'with the dangerous one') but a *y* in the ergative (*kw'aalíyin*). This needs to be systematically investigated in texts.

When -*(n)mí* is indicating possession, the noun indicating the possessor is marked

with the genitive case suffix. The noun indicating the possessed thing is not case

marked.[33]

241.　*aswanmí taatpas*
　　　áswan-mí　taatpas
　　　boy-GEN　shirt
　　　'the boy's shirt'

The genitive marker also indicates more general relationships between two nouns. Family

relations can be indicated this way:

242.　*am nakałasnmí*
　　　am　　　nakáłas-nmí
　　　husband　my.MoMo-GEN
　　　'my maternal grandmother's husband'

Note also that there are special relationship terms that encompass the relation between

two people. For example, in (242) the word *nakáłas* means 'my mother's mother'. This is

addressed further in 3.10.2.

　　-*(n)mí* can indicate that something is a part or piece of a larger whole. The

following examples reference body parts, which are not 'owned' as a book or coat are.

243.　*amashmí ałá'ała*
　　　ámash-mí　　　ałá'ała
　　　barn.owl-GEN　claw.Pl
　　　'barn owl's talons'

244.　*walakwalakmí wáptas*
　　　walakwálak-mí wáptas
　　　butterfly-GEN wing
　　　'butterfly wings'

---

[33] The examples in this section show only the related nouns, not the surrounding sentences. As discussed in 3.8.7, singular and plural third person 'have' clauses use the copula and the obviative verb prefix *á*-. We will see in section 6.2.4 that the stressed prefix *á*- can occur in other constructions involving a possessed subject. That chapter will also address possessed objects in transitive clauses.

-(n)mí can be used to give more specific information about a noun:

245. *náktkwaninłá tamanwitmí*
      náktkwanin-łá tamánwit-mí
      care.for-AGT law-GEN
      'government nurse'

-(n)mí can indicate what something is made of.

246. *k'ixlinmí iníit*   *wapshashpamá nukshaynmí*
      'tule mat houses'   'otter hair wraps'

      tikáy tawtawliinmí   'alder sticks'
      'tin dishes'   *patíshpatish ixaanmí*

It can refer to how something is decorated.

247. *amushmí wiyaytí*   *laluupaanmí táatpas*
      'shell dress'   'ribbon shirt'

An idiomatic expression with *-(n)mí* indicates the thing that one is hungry or thirsty for.

248. *anáwishaash twiixtmí*
      anáwi-sha=ash   twiixt-mí
      be.hungry-IMPV=1Sg   broth-GEN
      'I'm hungry for soup'

Some nouns are formed by adding the genitive marker to an adjective.

249. *plash*   'white'
      plashmí   'aluminum'

      xápił   'raw, uncooked'
      xapiłmí   'knife'

      luts'á   'red'
      luts'aanmí   'copper'

3.10.4.3. For the purpose or benefit of: Benefactive -*ay*

The benefactive suffix -*ay* indicates the purpose or reason for doing something or

the one for whom something is done. *y* is inserted if the noun ends in a vowel.

250.   *ílaxyawixa núsux x̱itwaymamíyay*
       ílaxyawi-xa   núsux   x̱itway-mamíyay
       dry-HAB   salmon relative-Pl.GEN.BEN
       'she dries salmon for her relatives'[34]

251.   *Mish nam áwinpta yáamash ká'uytay?*
       mish =nam á-winp-ta   yáamash   ká'uyt-ay
       Q =2Sg   3O-get   mule.deer first.feast-BEN
       'Will you get a deer for the feast?'

252.   *pinawishúwashana anwíktay*
       piná-wishúwa-sha-na   anwíkt-ay
       RFL-be.ready-IMPV-PST   winter-BEN
       'he was readying himself for the winter'

253.   *kutash ámchan wínama tkw'aníntkw'anintay*
       ku= natash   ámchan   wína-m-a   tkw'anín-tkw'anín-t-ay
       and =1Pl.EXC   to.outside go-CSL-PST walk.around-walk.around-NZR-BEN
       'and we came outside to walk around'

254.   *áwa kkáatnam wix̱áwx̱a tⱡúptⱡuptay*
       á-wa   kkáatnam wix̱áwx̱a   tⱡúptⱡup-t-ay
       3O-COP   long.Pl   leg.Pl   jump-jump-NZR-BEN
       'he has long legs for jumping'

Note that in examples 253 and 254 the benefactive suffix has been added to a verb,

following the suffix -*t*. The nominalizer -*t* makes a verb into a noun and allows the case

suffix to be added. In these examples, the benefactive suffix is best translated 'for the

purpose of' or 'in order to'. The nominalized verb suffixed with -*ay* in 253

(*tkw'aníntkw'anintay*) tells the reason for the action indicated by the main verb. In 254,

the nominalized verb suffixed with -*ay* gives information about the purpose of having

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[34] This is an example of the 3rd person prefix dropping off before a vowel-initial verb, see example 3.

long legs. The nominalizing suffix is discussed further in 5.2.1, and a discussion of its use with case markers in complex clauses is in Chapter 9.

If something is being done for a person, a different construction is typically used. Usually, the applicative suffix *-ani* is added to the verb and the human who benefits becomes the object of the sentence, as in 255; more information can be found in 6.4.2.

255. *lakamíin mash aníyanya*
     lakamíin =mash   *aní-yani-ya*
     salmon.stew =1Sg>2Sg   make-APPL-PST
     'I made lakamiin for you'

3.10.4.4. By means of, with: Instrumental *-ki*

The suffix *-ki* marks the instrument with which something is done, or the means or indirect cause of the accomplishment of the expressed action. It also has a extended meanings that do not correspond as neatly to an English category. The first example below, 256, has a concrete instrumental meaning. It is followed by more abstract examples.

256. *Twak'aatkáwaaski itwák'aatkxa ipáx̱*
     twak'aatkáwaas-ki i-twá-k'áatk-x̱a   *ipáx̱*
     scraper-INST   3Sg.S-long.impl-discard-HAB   hide
     'She scrapes the hide with a scraper'

257. *yax̱waykx̱a natash k'úsiki*
     yax̱wayk-x̱a =natash   *k'úsi-ki*
     wade.across-HAB =1Pl.EXC horse-INST
     'We wade across on horseback (by means of a horse)'

258. *wáwinkniki iwá íkkski k'pítki*
     wáwinknik-i   *i-wá*   *íkks-ki*   *k'pít-ki*
     wrap.around-STAT 3Sg.S-COP   small.Pl-INST   bead-INST
     'it is wrapped with small beads'

259. *ku pimáwapawaxana k'usik'usimamíki wapáwatki*
     ku   pimá-wapáwa-xa-na   k'usik'usi-mamíki   wapáwat-ki
     and   RFL.Pl-costume-HAB-PST   dog-Pl.GEN.INSTcostume-INST
     'and they would outfit themselves in their dog costumes'

As will be addressed in 5.5 and 8.2, noun modifiers (adjectives, adjectivals or nouns

giving more information about another noun, as 'dog' does about 'costume' in 259 and

'human' does about 'bone' in 261), determiners ('this, that', seen in 261) can agree in

case with the noun. So, in 259, both *k'usík'usima* 'dogs' and *wapáwat* 'costume' have a

case marker. In 261 below the form of *íkw'ak* 'that' is instrumental *(kwinkínk)*, and agrees

with the suffixed noun *pipsh* 'bone'.

The following example of learning something by hearing it in one's sleep or 'by

sleep' has a more abstract instrumental meaning. As seen in examples with benefactive -

ay, here the verb *pnu-* 'sleep' is nominalized.

260. *ku pnútki awkú pashúkwaana tɬ'áaxw kw'ink timnanáxt.*
     ku   pnú-t-ki   awkú pa-shúkwaa-na   tɬ'áaxw kw'ink   timnanáxt
     and sleep-NZR-INST then 3Pl.S-know-PST all   aforementioned story
     'and then, in sleep, they learned all these stories'

In examples 261 and 262 the sentence indicates an event that happened because of

something or on account of something. *-ki* marks the noun that indicates the cause.

261. *awkú ilátiwasha iníit kwinkínk pípshki tiinmamíki*
     awkú   i-lá-tíwa-sha   iníit
     then   3Sg.S-leisurely-smell-IMPV house

    kwinkínk   pípsh-ki   tiin-mamíki
    that.INST bone-INST   Indian-Pl.GEN.INST
    'now then the house smelled because of those human bones'
    (adapted from MJ29:237:9)

262. *pshwáki it'ílna*
     pshwáki   i-t'íl-na
     rock-INST 3Sg.S-choke-PST
     'he choked on the rock' (MJ37:11.9.1)

-ki can refer to mixing things together:

263. *Yaamashmí ipáx̱ áyat itamaníix̱a*
     Yaamashmí   ipáx̱   áyat   itamaníix̱a
     mule.deer-GEN   hide   woman   3Sg.S-throw.in.water-HAB

       tkwsáypa ítwani chiish ku yaamashmí plúski.
       tkwsáy-pa   ítwa-ni   chiish ku   yáamash-mí   plus-ki
       basket-LOC   mix-STAT   water and mule.deer-GEN   brain-INST
     'Women throw the deer hide into a container in which water is mixed with the
     deer's brain'[35]

-ki is used to refer to speaking in a language:

264. *íchi anakw'ínk áwanikinx̱a shiyaputímki 'Yakima River'*
     íchi anakw'ínk   á-waník-inx̱a   shiyaputím-ki   'Yakima River'
     this REL   3O-name-HAB   English.language-INST   Yakima River
     'This that is called in the English language 'Yakima River'

       íkw'ak iwaníkshana Taptíil míimi íchishkink sínwitki
       íkw'ak   i-waník-sha-na   Taptíil míimi   íchishkink   sínwi-t-ki
       that   3Sg.S-name-IMPV-PST   Taptíil long.ago   this.INST   speak-NZR-INST
     'long ago was named Taptíil in the Indian language'

With verbs expressing thinking, speaking or knowing about something, *-ki* indicates what

is being talked or thought about.

265. *Ichí iwá watít winachapammamí k'ax̱numamíki.*
     ichí i-wa   watít   wináchapam-mamí   k'áx̱nu-ma-mí-ki
     this3Sg.S-COP   legend Winachapam-Pl.GEN prairie.chicken-L.GEN.INST
     'This is a Winachapam legend about the prairie chickens'

266. *pashúkwaasha íchinki tiichámki*
     pa-shúkwaa-sha   íchinki   tiichám-ki
     3Pl.S-know-IMPV   this.INST   land-INST
     'they know about this land'

---

[35] *yaamashmíki plúski* would also be grammatical.

In 267, the suffix indicates that the older brother is the reason the woman cried. Because

the brother is human, the complete suffix is -*míki.*

267. *ánaxtiya áyat pyapmíki*
     á-naxti-ya   áyat   pyáp-míki
     3O-cry-PST   woman older.brother-GEN.INST
     'the woman cried about her older brother' (MJ29, 239)

There are several cases in which –*ki* is added to a noun or adjective to create an adverb:

268. *nch'i*   *nch'íki*
      'loud, big'   'loudly'

      łway   *łwáyki*
      'soft, quiet   'softly, quietly'

      xtúwit   *xtúwitki*
      'strength'   'with strength, strongly'

And it is used with the seasons, preceeded by -*mi,* to change 'spring' to 'springtime',

'summer' to 'summertime', etc.

269. *wúuxɨm*   *wúuxmiki*   *tiyám*   *tiyámiki*
      'spring'   'in spring'   'fall'   'in fall'

      shátɨm   *shátmiki*   *ánɨm*   *ánmíki*
      'summer'   'in summer'   'winter'   'in winter'
      -*kink,* a variant form of the instrumental, is found on the demonstratives and

pronouns and sometimes on nouns. Rigsby and Rude (1996) describe -*kínk* as an

emphatic variant of -*ki.* The forms of pronouns and demonstratives are taken up in 3.10.5

and 3.10.6.

Locative and directional case markers

Several of the case suffixes indicate location, direction or source of movement.

These suffixes and their core or most basic meanings are:

-pa	located at, in, on, by
-kan	towards
-yaw	into
-knik	from

Each of these also has extended meanings and they will be addressed individually below. The purpose of this introduction to the set of four is to highlight the differences among them. We use the following classroom example to differentiate the meanings (as well as provide a tongue twister that contrasts the sounds *ch/sh* and *i/i*).

270. a. *pátashi iwachá ishíchpa*
    pátashi i-wachá   *ishích-pa*
    quail 3Sg.S-COP.PST nest -LOC
    'the quail was in the nest'

   b. *iwáyxtiya ishchítkan*
    i-wáyxti-a   *ishchít-kan*
    3Sg.S-run-PST path-ALL
    'it ran towards the path'

   c. *iwachá ishchítpa*
    i-wachá   *ishchít-pa*
    3Sg.S-COP.PST path-LOC
    'it was on the path'

   d. *iwináynaka ishítyaw*
    i-wináynak-a   *ishít-yaw*
    3Sg.S-go.into-PST brush-DAT
    'it went into the brush'

   e. *iwináta ishítknik*
    i-winát-a   *ishít-knik*
    3Sg.S-depart-PST brush -ABL
    'it went away from the brush'

Figure 3.1 on the following pages is the associated visual, prepared by Ichishkíin student Charlene Moody. For more information about using visuals to teach location in Ichishkíin, see Beavert et al 2005.

Of the four location and direction case suffixes, *-pa* has the least specific meaning. It can be translated 'is located at, on, in, near, or by'. It is used in (a) and (c) above with the copula *wa* 'be' and in these examples indicates the static, unmoving condition of the quail with respect to a place - in this case, the nest or road. There is no change of location or movement indicated in (a) or (c).

The other case markers in this example show movement to, into, or from a place. They express a change in location rather than a fixed location. *-kan*, seen in (b), is the most usual way to specify movement to or towards somewhere. *-yaw* (as in c) implies a destination that has some sort of interior, and specifies movement into or to the inside. The example above suggests that the quail entered the brush and was hidden or mostly hidden from from view. *-knik* indicates the place that is being left behind or moved away from.

The case markers are not the only way to indicate location or direction of movement, as will be discussed in section 4.3.3. Ichishkíin verbs can express very specific information about location, motion and direction. In (d) above the sense of 'into' is indicated by the verb *wináynak-* 'move into' as well as the case marker *-yaw*. In (e) the

FIGURE 3.1 TEACHING CASE ENDINGS
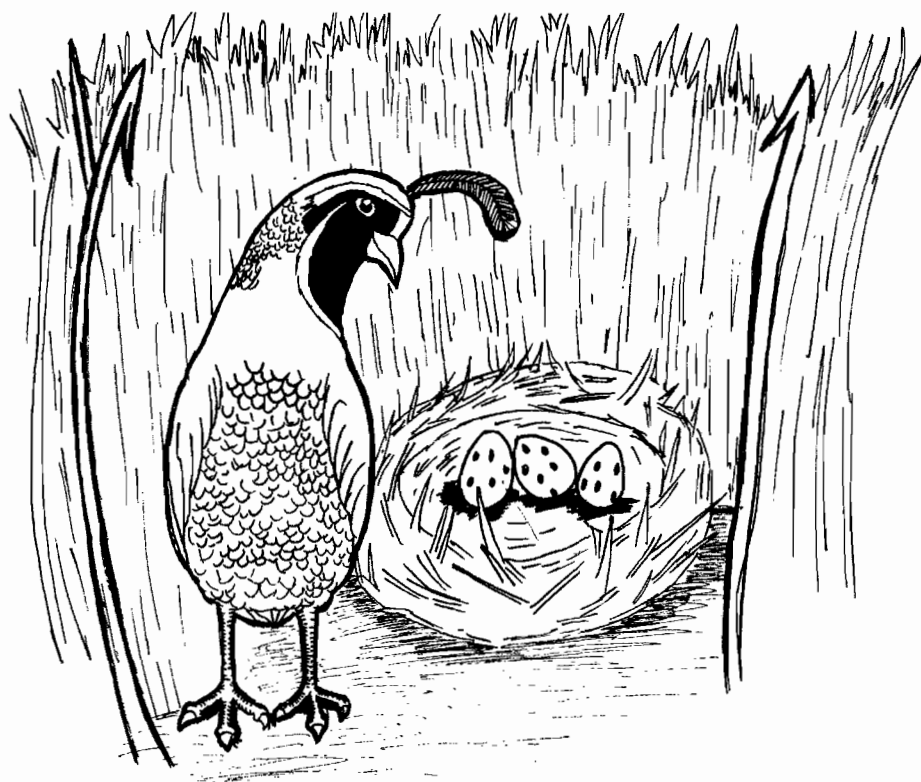
FIGURE 3.1. (CONTINUED).
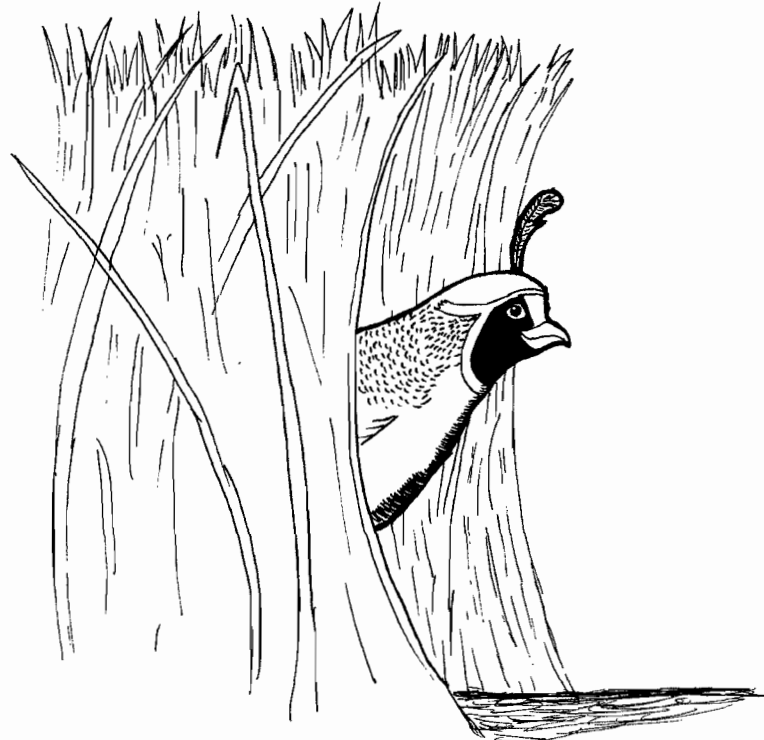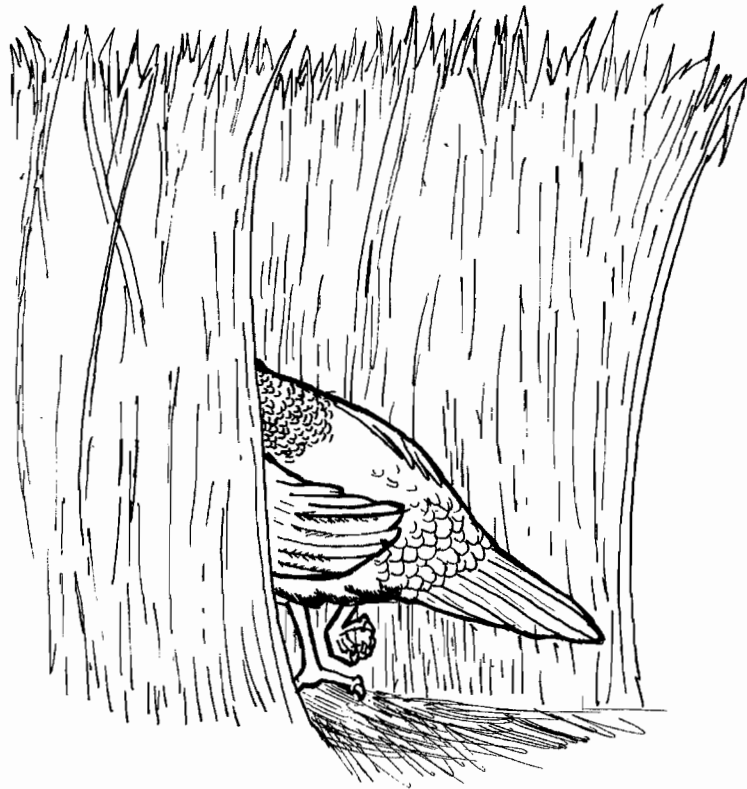
notion of moving away from something comes from the verb *winát-* 'depart, move away

from' and the case marker *-knik*. Both case marker and verb contribute to the meaning.

The suffix *-páynk* does not entirely fit into the case marker category, although it

also marks nouns and has the locative or directional meaning 'alongside of, along.'

271.   *pacháynachya wanapáynk*
       pa-cháynachi-ya   wána-paynk
       3Pl.S-groom-PST river-along
       'they got married along the river'

-paynk is not a true case marker as it does not have associated human endings as

do case markers. It occurs with a very restricted set of nouns, in my data only with 'river'

and 'road, path'. It does not have equivalents in personal or demonstrative pronoun

paradigms and does not trigger case agreement between nouns and modifiers. It is likely

related to locative *-pa* as it can indicate a static location (as in 271), occurs with the

demonstrative *kwnak* 'there', and a matching form can be an emphatic locative on

personal pronouns, agreeing with nouns case-marked *-pa*. (This is covered in 3.10.5. The

emphatic locative is always stressed. The stress on *-páynk* 'alongside' needs to be further

investigated, as it seems not to consistently take stress.)

The rest of this section discusses the locative and directional case markers *-pa, -*

kan, -yaw and *-knik* in turn.

3.10.4.5. Located at, in, on: Locative *-pa*

To show that something is a location, the case marker *-pa* (loosely translated as

'in, on, at, by') is used. It indicates where the action expressed by the verb is taking

place. It can also be used in copular clauses indicating location (see 3.8.3)

272. *haashháashnaatash shk'íishpa*
    haashháash-na=atash   shk'íish-pa
    rest-PST=1Pl.EXC   shade-LOC
    'we rested in the shade (in a shady place)'

273. *pilksá iwisalílxa ptínpa tiichámpa*
    pilksá   i-wisalíl-xa   ptín-pa   tiichám-pa
    3Sg.PN.alone 3Sg.S-hunt-HAB   brush-LOC   land-LOC
    'he hunts alone in the brushy country'

274. *aw iwáyxti áswan páchupa ishchítpa*
    aw   i-wáyxti   áswan páchu-pa   ishchít-pa
    now   3Sg.S-run   boy   half-LOC   road-LOC
    'now the boy has run in the middle of the road'

Because the meaning of *-pa* is broad, sometimes another word giving more specific information about location is added to the sentence.

275. *xwíimichnik áy'ay iwá patát-pa*
    xwíimichnik   áy'ay   i-wá   patát-pa
    on.top   magpie   3Sg.S-COP   tree-Location
    'The magpie is on top of the tree.'

The following examples also indicate locations, although these are not places a

person could go to (as were found in the previous examples).

276. *Tun nam ítwaxa lakamíinpa?*
    tun=nam   ítwa-xa   lakamíin-pa?
    what =2Sg   mix-HAB salmon.stew-LOC
    'What do you put in lakamíin?'
277. *íchi nam ák'inusha tíinma pawá píkchashpa*
    íchi =nam   á-k'ínu-sha   tíin-ma   pa-wá   píkchash-pa
    this =2Sg 3O-see-IMPV person-Pl   3Pl.S-COP   picture-LOC
    'you see this, people are in the picture'

In addition to location, *-pa* is used in expressing clock time, covered in 3.10.1.3.

The suffix also follows a named day, hour, or period of time to indicate when an event

happened or will happen.

278. *pawyánawita sts'átpa*
    pa-wyánawi-ta sts'át-pa
    3Pl.S-arrive   night-LOC
    'they will arrive in the night'

The word *k'ínupa* is made up of the root *k'ínu* 'see' with suffix *-pa*. It is found in expressions such as *shix k'ínupa* 'good looking, good to look at'. *k'ínupa* is an idiomatic expression meaning 'apparently, in appearance, it looks like'.

3.10.4.6. To, towards a destination: Allative *-kan*

-kan indicates motion to or towards somewhere. It marks the destination or what is being moved towards. It does not necessarily include reaching or entering the destination.

279. *iwínsh ikwíita xwyáchkan*
    iwínsh i-kwíi-ta   xwyách-kan
    man   3Sg.S-go.along-FUT   sweathouse-ALL
    'The man is going along to the sweathouse'

280. *wíyatkan iwínana*
    wíyat-kan   i-wína-na
    far.away-ALL 3Sg.S-go-PST
    'he went far away'

281. *anakú tíinma pawyanínxana pít'xanukan*
    anakú   tíin-ma   pa-wyanín-xa-na   pít'xanuk-an
    REL   person-Pl   3Sg.S-travel-HAB-PST   mountain-ALL

    ku patmaaníxana
    ku   pa-tmaaní-xa-na
    and 3Sg.S-berry.pick-HAB-PST
    'When the people would travel to the mountains, they picked berries'

With some nouns the form of the allative is *-chan*.[36]

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[36] An old pattern of palatalization, no longer productive, has affected some of these examples, resulting in the alternations *-chan/-kan* and *-chnik/-knik*.

282. *iwák̲wnayksha táaminwa imítichan ik̲'ínusha*
    i-wák̲wnayk-sha   *táaminwa* *míti-chan*   *i-k̲'ínu-sha*
    3Sg.S-bend.head-IMPV always   below-ALL   3Sg.S-see-IMPV
    'she always bows her head and looks downward'

-kan sometimes has a less literal meaning, as in the example below. The sentence refers to

maintaining the cultural tradition of having a whipman to discipline and counsel children,

rather than physically returning to a place.

283. *áw natash túx̲ta wawyałanmíkan*
    áw =natash   *túx̲-ta*   *wawyałá-nmíkan*
    now =1Pl.EXC   return-FUT   whipman-GEN.ALL
    'Now we will return to the whipman'

3.10.4.7. From, origin of motion: Ablative *-knik*

    -knik indicates a source or origin of motion. Like *-kan*, the meanings are mostly

linked to actual physical motion, but there are some extended uses that are are more

figurative.

284. *Asumyáy iwisalílshana áx̲mi Nch'iwánaknik*
    Asumyáy *i-wisalíl-sha-na*   *áx̲mi*   *Nch'iwána-knik*
    Eel   3Sg.S-hunt-IMPV-PST away.from.water Columbia.River-ABL
    'Eel was hunting away from the Columbia River'

285. *Ku pcha winátma iníitknik*
    Ku   *pcha*   *winát-m-a*   *iníit-knik*
    and   mother depart-CSL-PST house-ABL
    'and the mother came out from the house'

With the copula, *-knik* refers to being originally from a place.

286. *Inmí nch'ínch'ima pawachá kwínik tiichámknik*
    inmí   *nch'ínch'i-ma* *pa-wachá*   *kwínik*   *tiichám-knik*
    1Sg.PN.GEN elder-Pl   3Pl.S-COP.PST that.ABL land-ABL
    'My ancestors were from that land/area'

The following examples show more abstract uses that do not deal with a physical location

but share the meaning of being 'from' something.

287. *pashapánaktuxinma sápsikw'at tamanwiłanmíknik*
     pa-shapá-náktux-inm-a   *sápsikw'at*   *tamanwiłá-nmíknik*
     3Pl.S-CAUS-carryback-CSL-PST   teaching   creator-GEN.ABL
     'they sent back teaching from the Creator.'

288. *Ku chínik łkw'íknik*
     ku   *chínik*   *łkw'í -knik*
     and   this.ABL   day-ABL
     'And from this day on'

289. *Ínknash wa shíxtxaw tl'aaxwmaamíknik*
     ink   *=nash*   *wa*   *shíxtxaw*   *tł'áaxw-maamíknik*
     1Sg.PN   =1Sg   be   best   all-GEN.ABL.Pl
     'I am the best of all'

This suffix is a no-longer-productive part of some words expressing locations. The

meaning it gave to the words is still clear in some cases. Below we see that *ts'muy* 'warm

followed by *-knik* 'from' yields *ts'múyknik* 'south'.

290.   *ánachnik*   'behind'

        imítichnik   'below'

        xwíimichnik   'above, on top of'

        niwítknik   'to the right, right side'

        wákatsalknik   'to the left, on the left side'

        k'písaasknik   'north'

        ts'múyknik   'south'

3.10.4.8. To, into: Dative -*yaw*

The case marker -*yaw* has very literal, spatial meanings as well as extended or more figurative meanings. Of all the markers, -*yaw* has the largest range of extended meanings that are not easily related to its spatial meaning.

In its literal sense, dative -*yaw* indicates motion to or into the noun it is suffixed to. It implies that the specific destination was reached and/or entered. It is used when there is motion into water, a basket, a house, or an enclosed space:

291. *Uyt ipáx̱nan áyatma patamaníix̱a chíishyaw*
      uyt   ipáx̱-nan   áyat-ma   pa-tamaníi-x̱a   chíish-yaw
      first deer.hide-OBJ woman-Pl   3Pl.S-throw.in.water-HAB   water-DAT
      'First the women put the hide in water'

292. *ánichtaam nichtpamáyaw*
      á-ních-ta=am   ních-t-pamá-yaw
      3O-put-FUT=2Sg   put-NZR-thing.for-DAT
      'put it in your pocket'

It is used when reaching a specific person or entering a destination.

293. *Wínak ipushmíyaw*
      Wína-k   ipush-míyaw
      go-IMP   your.FaFa-GEN.DAT
      'go to your grandfather'

294. *itúx̱inx̱ana iníityaw*
      i-túx̱-in-x̱a-na   iníit-yaw
      3Sg.S-return-HAB-PST   house-DAT
      'she would return to the house'

Note that the noun alone does not determine what case marker will be used. Speakers choose the case marker that will express the situation best. Example 272 on page 175 above includes *shk'íishpa* 'in the shade.' If a speaker were referring to an enclosed shady place, like under a low-branched tree or arbor, *shk'íishyaw* could be used.

In addition, the verb can influence the choice of case marker. In example 276, repeated

below as 295, *lakamíin* has the case marker *-pa*. If a different verb is used that expresses

motion into a liquid, as in 296, then the case marker *-yaw* is used.

295. *Tun nam ítwaxa lakamíinpa?*
      tun=nam   ítwa-xa   lakamíin-pa?
      what =2Sg   mix-HAB   salmon.stew-LOC
      'What do you put in lakamíin?'

296. *Ápshaliixaash núsux lakamíinyaw*
      á-pshalíi-xa=ash   núsux   lakamíin-yaw
      3O-put.bunch.into.water-HAB=1Sg   salmon   salmon.stew-DAT
      'I put salmon into lakamíin'

The following clause about breathing deeply illustrates air being brought into an

enclosed place.

297. *iháashinkika wiyátyaw*
      i-háash-inkik-a   wiyát-yaw
      3Sg.S-breathe-TRL-PST   far.away-DAT
      'he breathed in, way down deep'

-yaw is also often used to indicate nearness to something, and in this case it can

co-occur with the word *ts'aa* 'near, close by'.

298. *ilá'ayksha ts'áa ílkwshyaw*
      i-lá-ayík -sha   ts'áa   ilkwsh -yaw
      3Sg.S-leisurely-sit-IMPV   close   fire-DAT
      'she is sitting near the fire'

It can indicate that something is fastened or tied to something else:

299. *ánkashtkataam k'úsi pátatyaw*
      á-nkáshtk-ata=am   k'úsi   pátat-yaw
      3O-tie-PURP=2Sg   horse   tree-DAT
      'Go tie the horse to the tree'

The following uses of -*yaw* are more abstract. When fishing, gathering or hunting something, -*yaw* marks the item that is the goal of the action. (If the verb is transitive, the thing being shot or found is a grammatical object and may be marked with -*nan*).

300. *iwisalílxa sts'átpa ikks kákyayaw*
    i-wisalíl-xa   *sts'át-pa*   *ikks*   *kákya-yaw*
    3Sg.S-hunt.for-HAB night-LOC   little.PL bird.animal-DAT
    'he hunts at night for small prey'

In the case of two nouns in the same role, one or both take the case marker. Note in the example below, only the second of the two nouns joined by *ku* 'and' is case marked. Having the suffix on both *yáamash* 'mule.deer' and *tł'alk* 'elk' would also be grammatical.

301. *pawisalílxa yáamash ku tł'álkyaw.*
    pa-wisalíl-xa   *yáamash* *ku*   *tł'alk-yaw*
    3Sg.S-hunt-HAB mule.deer and   elk-DAT
    'They hunt for mule deer and elk'

Price or trading amounts are indicated with -*yaw*:

302. *Mish nam twáshiinitaxnay núsux?*   *Ii, wítkiyaw.*
    Mish=nam twásha-ani-taxnay núsux   *Ii, wítki-yaw*
    Q =2Sg   can-APPL-SUBJ salmon   yes half-DAT
    'Would you can my salmon?'   'Yes, for half'

303. *Mítyaw iwá íchi?*   *Páxaat táalayaw.*
    mít-yaw   *i-wá*   *íchi?* *páxaat táala-yaw*
    how.many-DAT 3Sg.S-COP this   five   dollar-DAT
    'How much is this worth?'   'Five dollars'

It is used in comparisons.

304. *Íkuuk iwá maykk'pís watímyaw*
    Íkuuk iwá   *mayk-k'pís watímyaw*
    today 3Sg.S-COP   more-cold yesterday-DAT
    'today is colder than yesterday'

In clauses that express a feeling, desire, or mental state, *-yaw* can mark the ones having

that experience.

305. *átaw iwá chiish tiinmamíyaw*
    átaw   i-wá   chiish   tiin-ma-míyaw
    valued 3Sg.S-COP   water   person-Pl-GEN.DAT
    'water is precious to the Indian people'

With verbs of speaking such as thanking, praying or asking for something, the person

spoken to is the direct object and *-yaw* is used to indicate the thing spoken about or asked

for.

306. *kw'atanúusha mash íchin tkwátatyaw*
    kw'ata-núu-sha   =mash   íchin   tkwátat-yaw
    be.glad-APPL-IMPV =1Sg>2Sg this.DAT   food-DAT
    'I thank you for this food'

307. *Áwatł'awya nch'ínch'imaman piimyúuk sápsikw'atyaw*
    Áw-atł'awi-ya   nch'ínch'imaman   piimyúuk   sápsikw'atyaw
    3O-ask.for-PST   elder-Pl.OBJ   their.DAT teaching-DAT
    'I asked the elders for their teachings'

To conclude this discussion of case endings, the following short passage gives

several examples of case endings in context. This is part of a lesson developed by

Tuxámshish (Virginia Beavert) and Túulhinch (Roger Jacob, and is used with their

permission.

308.   *Ímałakt núsux, shúshaynsh ku tkwalá*

        Cleaning salmon, steelhead, and trout

        Ápawinaynak ts'íxaaspa tkwalánan xapiłmíki

                        Insert a knife into the fish at the anus

        ku áshaxiłpk nawátpa łamtíxyaw.
                      and cut open the belly to the head.

Ápshanatanik p'íp'i ku chmuk tilíwal

Take out the guts and black blood

átwak'aatkanik nawátknik súxaaski.

and scrape them out from the belly with a spoon.

P'íp'inan nam ápshaliita wánayaw.

Put the guts in the river.

3.10.5. Independent personal pronouns

In addition to the clitics and verb prefixes, Ichishkíin can indicate subjects, objects and possessors in sentences by using pronouns. As previously noted, pronouns function like nouns and substitute for a noun that has already been mentioned or that is known from context. They are free-standing words and therefore called 'independent'. The genitive (possessive) pronoun can either substitute for a noun or occur with the noun to modify it (add to its meaning). Personal pronouns also can indicate other roles (such as instrument or location, see 3.10.4) when suffixed with a case marker.

Personal pronouns are used to be formal, to clear away potential misunderstanding, or for emphasis. They do not take the place of person marking (verb prefixes and clitics) and are always accompanied by the appropriate verb prefix and/or clitic.

In example 309, (a) and (b) have the same meaning. 309 (a) uses a pronoun; (b) does not.

309.   a.   *ink nash waníksha* _____   b.   *waníkshaash* _____
            ink   *=nash*   *waník-sha*   *waník-sha=ash*
            1Sg.PN   =1Sg   be.named-IMPV   be.named-IMPV=1Sg
                                'I am named _____ '

Both sentences include the 1st person singular clitic, with the form *=nash* in (a) and

=ash in (b), following the rules for clitic placement and shortening given in 3.2.2.1. The

clitic is needed in both (a) and (b). The pronoun does not replace the clitic.

Pronouns clarify or emphasize participants. The following example is from the

legend *Waxpushyáy ku Asumyáy* 'Rattlesnake and Eel'. Rattlesnake and Eel compete to

reach the Columbia River. *Waxpushyáy* is explaining the transformation that will happen

if he wins the race: Rattlesnake will turn into an eel, and vice versa.

310. *Paysh mash ink wiláalakwta*
    páysh   *=mash*   *ink*   *wiláalakw-ta*
    maybe =1Sg>2Sg 1Sg.PN   out.run-FUT
    'If **I** outrace you

    kush ink awkú txánata asúm,
    ku   *=nash* *ink*   *awkú* *txána -ta*   *asúm*
    and   =1Sg 1Sg.PN   then   become-FUT eel
    then **I** will become an eel

    ku nam paysh imk txánata waxpúsh."
    ku *=nam*   *páysh* *imk*   *txána -ta*   *waxpúsh*
    and =2Sg maybe 2Sg.Pro.S/A become-FUT rattlesnake
    and **you** will become a rattlesnake.'

There are subject pronouns in each clause above. They stress the switch that

would happen if Rattlesnake won. Note that each clause above also has a second position

pronominal enclitic. The clauses would not be grammatically correct or understandable

without the clitics, but they would be without the pronouns.

Pronouns can clarify number of participants, since clitics do not distinguish dual

from plural. The following example, 311, is repeated from 143. In (a), we only know that

two or more are awake; the number could be two (dual), or more than two (plural). In (b)

and (c), the distinction between dual and plural is made by the pronoun.

311.   (a) *Wash natash wák'ish.*
       'We (2 or more) are awake.'
  (b) *Napiiník natash wa wák'ish.*
       'We two are awake'
  (c) *Namák natash wa wák'ish.*
       'We (more than 2) are awake'

The same situation occurs with 2nd and 3rd person dual and plural. The second person clitic *=pam* refers to two or more. It does not differentiate dual from plural. In example 312, the pronoun *imák* clarifies that the subject is plural 'you all' not dual 'you two'.

312.   *táaminwa pam imách'a kkáasa túkin.*
      táaminwa=pam imák-ch'a   kkáasa   tú-kin
      always=2Pl   2Pl.PN-also   be.in.a.hurry what-INST
      'You (all) are always in a hurry about something'

Independent pronouns, unlike clitics, have different forms for subject and object and can serve to emphasize either. (Even without a pronoun there is enough information in a transitive clause to distinguish subject from object, as seen in 3.9). The following example includes the 1st person singular object pronoun. Along with emphasizing the object, the pronoun clarifies number. Without the pronoun, the object would be known to be 1st person, but whether it was singular or plural (me or us) would not be explicitly stated in the clause.

313.   *Chaw pam inák kichkta*
      Chaw =pam   inák   kichk-ta
      NEG =2Pl   1Sg.PN.OBJ pay.attention.to-FUT
      'Don't pay attention to me!'

Table 3.11 includes for subject, object and genitive pronouns follow. There is variation in these paradigms, and learners may find that their elders use slightly different forms than those given here. For example, the long vowels in the Yakima dual forms are not recorded by Beavert and Risgby (1975) in the *Yakima Language Practical Dictionary*

or by Rigsby and Rude (1996) (except for *piiník* 3rd Du). There are also differences in the

charts below from Rude's (2009) Klikitat paradigm. Rigsby and Rude point out the

"diversity and independent restructuring by analogic processes" in the pronoun

paradigms (1996:682); this diversity is found among Yakima speakers as well.[37]

TABLE 3.11. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Subject pronouns				
person	translation	singular	dual	plural
1st person	I, we	*ink*	*napwiinik* *napiiník*	*namák*
2nd person	you	*imk*	*imiiník*	*imák*
3rd person	she, he, it, they	*pink*	*piiník*	*pmák*
3rd person ergative	s/he/it >SAP s/he/it >3	*pinímk* *piníik*	no Dual/Plural	
Object pronouns				
person	translation	singular	dual	plural
1st person	me, us	*inák*	*napwiinanák* *napiinanák*	*niimanák*
2nd person	you	*imanák*	*imiinanák*	*imamanák*
3rd person	him, her, it, them	*piinák*	*pinamanák* *pinanmanák*	*piimanák*

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[37]Demonstratives also show a great deal of variation. They are addressed in 3.10.6.

TABLE 3.11. (CONTINUED).

Genitive pronouns

person	translation	singular	dual	plural
1st person	my, our	*inmí*	*napwiinanmí* *napiinanmí*	*niimí*
2nd person	your	*imínk*	*imiinanmínk*	*imamínk*
3rd person	his, hers, its, theirs	*pinmínk*	*piinamínk* *piinanmínk*	*piimínk*

The following examples show the pronouns in sentences.

Subject:

314. *kútya na **namák** wáta shápyawyi*
      kútya= na   namák   wa-ta   shápyawi-yi
      rather =2Pl.INC 2Pl.PN   COP-FUT be.bothered-STAT
      'instead, we will be troubled'

315. ***Ink** nash wa wapsúuux̱ tɬ'aax̱wmaamíknik."*
      ink   =nash wa   wapsúx̱   tɬ'aax̱w-maamíknik
      1Sg.PN   =1Sg   be   intelligent all-GEN.ABL.Pl
      'I am the smartest of all'

Object:

316. ***inák** nash paníya*
      inák =nash   pa-ní-ya
      1Sg.PN.OBJ =1Sg   3Pl.S-give-PST
      'They gave it to me'

317. ***imanák** nam iyúuyuuta*
      imanák =nam   i-yúuyuu-ta
      2Pl.PN.OBJ =2Pl 3Sg.S-call-FUT
      'he'll call you'

318. *kunkínk nash ánaknuwisha piinák*
    kunkínk   *=nash*   *á-naknuwi-sha*   *piinák*
    that.INST   =1Sg   3O-care.for-IMPV   3Sg.PN.OBJ
    'And so I am caring for it'

Genitive:

319. *piimínk tkw"atat áwacha tiichampamá*
    piimínk   *tkwatat á-wacha*   *tiicham-pamá*
    3Pl.PN.GEN   food   3O-COP.PST   land-thing.for
    'their food was from the land'

320. *Íkushat áwa pinmínk náwtmiyush*
    Íkush=at   *áwa*   *pinmínk*   *náwtmiyush*
    thus=MOD   3O-COP   3Sg.PN.GEN   plan
    'thus must be his plan'

321. *tɬ'aaxw niimí k'úsima pashukwáashana*
    tɬ'aaxw   *niimí*   *k'úsi-ma pa-shukwáa-sha-na*
    all   2Pl.PN.GEN   horse-Pl 3Pl.S-know-IMPV-PST
    'all our horses knew it'

If the genitive pronoun accompanies a noun, as it does in the above examples, it almost always precedes the noun.

A set of noun suffixes can be added to pronouns to modify their meanings. The resulting words include *pínxush* 's/he first', *pílksá* 's/he alone', *pínch'a* 's/he too'. These are discussed in 5.4.

Other case suffixes (as discussed in section 3.10.4) can be added to the pronouns to indicate a role other than subject, object or possessor. Because the pronoun is not indicating a subject, object, or possessor relationship to the verb, the verb does not agree with the pronoun. So, in example 322 below, there is no first person clitic and the 3rd person prefix *i-* is used. If the pronoun refers to a human, the case suffix is added to the genitive form.

322. *wáawk'a k'pɨs iwá ámchnik niimíyaw*
     wáawk'a   k'pɨs   i-wá   ámchnik   niimí-yaw
     too-next   cold   3Sg.S-COP   outside   1Pl.PN.GEN-DAT
     'It's too cold for us outside'

Pronouns agree with case marked nouns. The modifying pronoun typically precedes the noun, as in examples 323 and 324 but not always, as seen in example 325.

323. *ánaknuwik tíimaman **inmípa nisháyktpa***
     á-naknúwi-k   tíin-maman   inmí-pa   nisháykt-pa
     3O-care.for-IMP   person-Pl.OBJ   1Sg.PN.GEN-LOC   dwelling-LOC
     'take careof the people in my home'

The case markers used with pronouns for humans can be slightly different from those given in Table 3.11. Stressed case suffixes, called emphatic suffixes by Rigsby and Rude (1996) are used with 2nd and 3rd person, and sometimes with 1st person. For example, the instrumental added to nouns is *-ki* but the instrumental added to a pronoun usually is *-kínk*. For human 2nd and 3rd persons, these suffixes are added to the base form of the genitive pronoun which ends in *-mí*. In other words, this is the form in the table above without the final *nk*. For example, the base form of the 3rd person plural genitive pronoun *piimínk* is *piimi-*. The complete instrumental pronoun is then *piimikínk* as seen in example 324.

324. *ku tíinma **piimikínk** tilíwalki pimá'aniya*
     ku   tíin-ma   piimikínk   tilíwal-ki   pimá-aní-ya
     and   person-Pl   3Pl.PN.GEN.INST   blood-INST   RFL.Pl-make-PST
     'the people made themselves with their (own) blood'

The emphatic dative case suffix is sometimes *-yúuk*. (Note that *-yaw* was used with 1st person plural in example 322 above).

325. *pánaktux̱inx̱ana iníityaw* **pinmiyúuk**
    pá-náktux̱-inx̱a-na   *iníit-yaw*   *pinmiyúuk*
    INV-carry.back-HAB-PST   house-DAT   3Sg.PN.GEN.DAT
    'he would take him back to his house'

The emphatic locative case suffix is *-páynk*. The form *-pa* is also used, as in 323 above.

Note that this suffix when added to nouns such as *wána* 'river' and *ishchít* 'road, path'

means 'along, alongside of'. This meaning was discussed in 3.10.4.

326. *anakú itilíwalix̱ana uyt,*
    ana-kú   *i-tilíwali-x̱a-na*   *uyt*
    SUB-and   3Sg.S-bleed-HAB-PST   first

    chaw akut pináwapashata pinmipáynk wawnakwshashpa
    chaw akut   *piná-wapásha-ta*   *pinmipáynk*   *wawnakwshash-pa*
    NEG MOD   RFL-touch-FUT   3Sg.PN.GEN.LOC   body-LOC
    'when she first menstruates, they say she is not to touch her own body'[38]

The other emphatic forms are *-knínk* (ablative) *-kaník* (allative), and *-náyk'ay* or *-láyk'ay*

(benefactive). Northwest dialect form *-k'aláy* (benefactive) is given in Rude (2009) and

found in some of Jacobs' Klikitat materials but does not occur in my data.

    The last part of this section compares personal pronouns and verb agreement.

Producing a word for word translation from English (a language that uses independent

pronouns) can result in awkward or unnatural Ichishkíin sentences. The grammatical job

of indicating the subject of a sentence is done by pronouns in English. In Ichishkíin it is

done by verb prefixes and clitics. A personal pronoun in Ichishkíin adds emphasis, in a

way like putting stress on a spoken English pronoun: "*I* didn't do it, *he* did."

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[38] This sentence is from a text on ceremonies and refers to traditional activities surrounding a girl's first menses. The girl is accompanied by an older woman who is appointed as the girl's caregiver and teacher during this time.

The most important difference between verb agreement and pronouns in Ichishkíin has to do with whether or not they are required. Clitics are required any time you have a sentence with a 1st or 2nd person involved as a subject or object (and some clauses indicating possession, more on this in 6.2.2). Verb prefixes are required with a 3rd person subject or object. A sentence is not understandable or grammatical without it. In contrast, pronouns are not obligatory. They provide emphasis or clarity, but are not required to have a grammatical sentence. Most sentences do not include a pronoun.

Clitics and pronouns make different distinctions in terms of dual/plural and inclusive/exclusive. Clitics differentiate inclusive we (we all) from exclusive we (we but not you). Pronouns do not. Clitics do not have separate forms for dual and plural, but pronouns do. Clitics do not vary for subject, object or possessor. However, there are different pronouns for subject, object, and possessor. Table 3.12 on the next page summarizes the differences between clitics and verb agreement.

TABLE 3.12. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CLITICS AND PRONOUNS

	Required in the sentence	Different forms for subject, object, possessor	Different forms for dual and plural	Different forms for inclusive and exclusive we
Clitics	YES	NO	NO	YES
Verb prefixes	YES	YES	NO	N/A
Pronouns	NO	YES	YES	NO

3.10.6. Demonstratives

Demonstratives (such as *íchi* 'this', *íkw'ak* 'that') point out or refer to something.

They can occur on their own, as in examples 327 and 328, or modify a noun, as in 329.

327. *Ku íchi iwá shapálalp'ash*
ku   íchi   i-wá   shapálalp'ash
and   this   3Sg.S-COP   photo
'and this is a photo'

328. *ku íkw'ak wákatsalkan tun iwá paysh táwax̱*
ku   íkw'ak   wákatsal-kan   tun   i-wá   paysh   táwax̱
and that   left-ALL   what   3Sg.S-COP   maybe tobacco
'that on the left may be Indian tobacco'

329. *íkw'ak ɨwínsh i'ayíksha*
íkw'ak   ɨwínsh   i-'ayík-sha
that   man   3Sg.S-sit-IMPV
'that man is sitting'

Demonstratives specify distance from the speaker (or from a point of reference the

speaker establishes). Forms including *ch* indicate a location near the speaker, and forms

with *kw* or *ku* indicate a location away from the speaker.

A special expression *íchi ikúuk* means 'now, today, nowdays'. The words are

sometimes said as one: *íchikuuk.*

330. *Ku míimi pa'aníx̱ana tax̱úski,*
ku   míimi   pa-'aní-x̱a-na tax̱ús-ki,
and long.ago   3Pl.S-make-HAB-PST hemp-INST

ku íchi íkuuk aw wapsíkikisim pawí'anix̱a
ku   íchi   íkuuk   aw   wapsíki-ki-sim   pa-wí-'ani-x̱a
and   this   today   now   string-INST-only   3Pl.S-DIST-make-HAB

'And in the old days they made them with hemp, but nowadays they are
made with string.'

yúk or *yúuk* is sometimes used to indicate an even greater distance away, although not

necessarily out of sight. *yúk* 'yonder' does not have the full range of case suffixes as the

other two do.

Like personal pronouns, demonstratives have different forms to indicate different

cases and (if referring to humans/animates) dual and plural. If the demonstratives modify

a noun, they usually precede it and they agree with it in number and case.

Also as with personal pronouns, there is variation in the demonstratives within

and across speakers and dialects. The forms given in the paradigm charts below may not

be exactly what the learner may encounter in conversations with elders. They are a

subset, especially in the forms of 'that', of the paradigm given in Beavert and Hargus

(2009), and vary slightly from the forms given in Rigsby and Rude (1996). One factor in

the variation is the presence or absence of an initial stressed *í-* especially in forms of

'that' (such as *íkwmak ~kwmak*). Speed of speech and level of formality may play a role in

the pronunciation.

There are three tables below. Tables 3.13 and 3.14 give the basic forms of *íchi*

'this' and *íkw'ak* 'that', respectively, in singular, dual and plural, and the ergative, object,

and genitive forms. Table 3.15 gives the additional case forms (such as instrumental,

locative, etc.) for both *íchi* 'this' and *íkw'ak* 'that'.

Here are some examples of the forms in the tables..

331. *íkwmak áyatma pawá skuuliɫáma*
 íkwmak áyat-ma   pa-wá   skuuliɫá-ma
 that.Pl woman-Pl 3Pl.S-COP   student-Pl
 'those women are students'

332. *chíyin mishkwyáamktin páshapakw'ałaya*
    chíyin   *mishkwyáamkt-in*   *pá-shapá-kw'áła-ya*
    this.3>3ERG   religion-3>3ERG   INV-CAUS-be.happy-PPF
    'this religion has made her happy'

333. *pátamanwya ichinák tiichámnan*
    pá-tamanwi-ya   *ichinák*   *tiichám-nan*
    INV-create-PST   this.OBJ   earth-OBJ
    'He created this earth'

334. *míshkin na awkú ásaypta chíiman tíinmaman?*
    mish-kin =na   *awkú*   *á-sayp-ta*   *chíiman*   *tiin-maman*
    Q-INST =1Pl.INC   then   3O-feed-FUT this.OBJ.Pl   person-OBJ.Pl
    'How then will we feed these people?'

Demonstratives in the locational and directional cases (locative 'at, in, on, by',

allative 'towards', ablative 'from', dative 'into') refer to places.

335. *skúulishanaatash íchnak Tápnishpa*
    skúuli-shana=atash   *íchnak*   *Tápnish-pa*
    go.to.school-IMPV-PST=1PL.EXC this.LOC Toppenish-LOC
    'We went to school here in Toppenish'

336. *ku mash ítuxta íkuunik*
    ku= mash   *ítux-ta*   *íkuunik*
    and 1>2E/B.Pl   return-FUT   that.ALL
    'And I will put you back there'

337. *Itúxinxa íkwin anakwnák iwáp'k̲'a isúxknik.*
    I-túx-inxa   *íkwin*
    3Sg.S-return-HAB   that.DAT

       ana-kwnak   *i-wáp'k̲'-a*   *isúx-knik*
       SUB-that.LOC   3Sg.S-hatch-PST fish.egg-ABL
    'It returns there, where it hatched from the egg.'

TABLE 3.13. REFERRING TO SOMETHING CLOSE 'THIS'

	singular	dual	plural
subject (Subject of intransive and some transitive clauses)	íchi	chíyin chiiník	chíma íchma
Object of transitive clause (OBJ)	íchiinak	chíinaman	chíiman
of, possessor (genitive or GEN)	chinmí	chiinamínk	chiimí chiimínk
3rd person S of transitive clause with 3rd person O (3>3 Erg)	chíyin	no Dual/Plural	
3rd person S of transitive clause with SAP O (3>SAP Erg)	chínim	no Dual/Plural	

TABLE 3.14. REFERRING TO SOMETHING FARTHER AWAY 'THAT'

	singular	dual	plural
subject (Subject of intransive and some transitive clauses)	íkw'ak	kwíyin íkwiinik	íkwmak kwmak kúma
Object of transitive clause (OBJ)	íku(u)nak kuunák	kwíinaman	kumanák kúuman
of, possessor (genitive or GEN)	kwinmí(nk)	kwiinamínk	ikuumínk kumínk
3rd person S of transitive clause with 3rd person O (3>3 Erg)	kwíyin	no Dual/Plural	
3rd person S of transitive clause with SAP O (3>SAP Erg)	kwínim	no Dual/Plural	

TABLE 3.15. ADDITIONAL CASE FORMS OF 'THIS' AND 'THAT'

subject	*íchi*	*íkw'ak*
for the benefit/purpose of (benefactive or BEN)	*íchiyay* 'for this'	*íkw'akay* 'for that'
by means of, with (instrumental or INST)	*íchɨnki* 'in this way'	*kunkínk,* *kwinkínk* 'in that way'
located at, in, on (locative or LOC)	*íchna, íchnak* here	*íkwna, íkwnak,* *kwnak* there
towards, destination (allative or ALL)	*íchiini* towards here	*íkuuni, íkuunik* towards there
from, origin of motion (ablative or ABL)	*chínik*	*kwínik*
to, into (dative or DAT)	*íchɨn*	*íkwɨn*

Demonstratives also play a part in subordinate clauses, seen in example 337

above, in which the subordinate marker *ana* with *kwnák* 'there' introduces an adverbial

clause. See Chapter 9 for more on this construction.

The translations and uses of the various case forms have the same range as the

case endings discussed in 3.10.4. *kunkínk (kwinkínk)* 'that.INST' can be translated 'with

that','in that way', 'about that', etc.

338. *ku tɬáaxw tun pawíʼaníxana kunkínk*
      ku   tɬáaxw tun   pa-wí-aní-xa-na   kunkínk
      and   all   what   3Pl.S-DIST-make-HAB   that.INST
      'and they made everything with that'

339. *kunkínk iwáta tawtnúk*
      kunkínk   i-wá-ta   tawtnúk
      that.INST 3Sg.S-COP-FUT   medicine
      'In that way, it will be medicine'

340. *ku nam átiix̱wata kunkínk*
      ku =nam   á-tíix̱wa-ta   kunkínk
      and =2Sg   3O-inform   that.INST
      'and you will tell them about that'

The allative forms *chínik* and *kwínik* have the additional meanings 'on this/that side' or 'from this/that side'.

If a case-marked determiner (in benefactive, instrumental, locative, allative, ablative or dative) refers to a human, the genitive suffix is included, as it is with other case marking on humans (see 3.10.4 and 3.10.5). Regular or emphatic case forms can be used, as with personal pronouns. The base forms that the case endings are added to are are *chinmí, kwinmí* (Sg); *chiinamí, kwiinamí* (Dl); *chiimí, ikuumí* (Pl). (As is the case for personal pronouns, these forms are the same as those the table above, without the final *nk*.)

There are several related demonstratives that include *ch* 'this' and *ku ~ kw* 'that' that are not related to the noun case system and are not in the tables above. Examples of these are *íkush* 'thus, that way', *kumánk /kwnamánk* 'from that, since then', *chiɬ, íkwiɬ* 'this/that much, many' *chaal, kwaal, íkwaal* 'this/that far or long', *íkwtink* 'of that kind', although this is not an exhaustive list.[39] A demonstrative that is used often in texts and conversation is *kw'ink* (with variant *kw'pink*). This means 'the aforementioned' and refers back to someone or something that appeared earlier in the discourse.

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[39] *chiɬ, íkwiɬ* 'this/that much, many' and *chaal, kwaal, íkwaal* 'this/that far or long' have parallels in question words *miɬ* 'how many' and *maal* 'how far / long. These will be discussed in 3.11.

341. *Tun awkú kw'ink iwá?*
Tun	*awkú*	*kw'ink*	*i-wá?*
what	then	that.aforementioned	3Sg.S-COP

      'What is that aforementioned then?'

342. *Ḵa'awtya awkú iwachá paykłá kw'ink wat'uymá.*
ḵa'aw=tya	*awkú*	*i-wachá*
swift=MOD	then	3Sg.S-COP.PST

paykłá	*kw'ink*	*wat'uymá*
obedient.one	that.aforementioned	oldest.one

      'he was fast, that aforementioned obedient eldest'

A brief note on adjectivals

The preceding two sections have included pronouns and determiners that modify nouns, for example *inmí x̱ítway* 'my relative' and *kwmak pt'ilíma* 'those girls'. Ichishkíin also has other noun modifiers, here called adjectivals as only some fall into a word class 'adjective', that give more descriptive information about the noun. Here are some examples: *túnx̱* 'different'; *át'ish* 'ripe, cooked'; *támaki* 'roasted'; *małáa* 'clean'.

There is a great deal of overlap in meaning and grammatical behavior between nouns and adjectives. *láymut* means 'the youngest one' and acts as a noun, but can also modify other nouns: *láymut myánash* 'youngest child'. Usually, a noun modifier will precede the noun it modifies, and it may agree with the noun in number and case. There are special plural forms of some adjectives, for example *iksíks* 'little (Sg)' *ikks* 'little (Pl)'. Adverbs and adjectives also overlap, with some words, such as *yalmílk* 'careless, carelessly' being used as both an adjective and adverb.

More on adjectives, as well as the prefix *mayk-* 'more' and the suffix *-tx̱aw* 'most' is found in Chapter 8.

3.11. Interrogatives

Questions are formed with a sentence-initial interrogative pronoun, or question word. There are a number of different question words, and the choice of which to use depends on what is being asked about. In questions, word order is not as free as it is in other sentences. The position of the question word is fixed; it is the first word. If the sentence includes a second position pronominal enclitic, the enclitic directly follows the question word.

Mish is the general interrogative, used for yes/no and some content questions. *tun* 'what, what thing' and *shin* 'who, what person' are basic forms that inflect for number and case. Interrogative pronouns containing the common element *m* have to do with location, time, number, and size. These question words can also be used as indefinite pronouns and in relative clauses, and their use in these contexts is discussed in Chapter 9 (subordinate clauses) and this section (indefinite pronouns).

3.11.1. Yes/No questions

The question markers *mish* and *waat* mark yes/no questions.

343.   *Mish nam shix̱ pnúshana?*
       Mish =nam shix̱   pnú-sha-na
       Q   =2Sg good   sleep-IMPV-PST
       'Did you sleep well?'

344.   *Mish nam wa skuulitá?*
       Mish   =nam   wa skúuli-tá
       Q   =2Sg   be go.to.school-AGT
       'Are you a student?'

Waat is a more polite way of requesting something of someone. Rigsby and Rude (1996) attribute the form to older speakers.

345. *Waat nam páwapiitataxnay?*
    Waat   *=nam*   *pá-wapíita-taxnay*
    Q   =2Sg   INV-help-COND
    'Would you help me?'

Intonation can be used in addition to a question word. In a yes/no question (with or

without a question word) the rightmost accented syllable carries the highest pitch of the

sentence (Hargus and Beavert 2009). Some yes/no questions use intonation alone to

indicate that a question is being asked.

346. *Iwá íchna?*
    i-wa   *íchna*
    3Sg.S-COP   this.LOC
    'Is he here?'

3.11.2. Content questions

Sometimes the people conversing share some knowledge about a situation, but

some aspect or piece of information is not known, and is asked about. The missing

knowledge is the focus of the question. These are called information or content questions,

and use a number of different question words. The question word used indicates not only

that a question is being asked, but also what kind of information will answer it.

Hargus and Beavert (2009) note little difference in intonation between content

questions and declarative sentences, with high pitch sometimes but not always used to

add emphasis to a certain word, and no boundary effects at the beginning or end of the

sentence or question.

mish (along with being a yes/no question marker) can be used to mean 'What? How? In

what manner?'.

347. *Mish pam txánasha?"*
      mish =pam txána-sha
      Q   =2Pl become-IMPV
      'What's happening to you?'

348. *Mish nam nuu?*
      mish =nam núu
      Q   =2Sg say
      'What are you saying?'

349. *Mish nam wa?*
      mish =nam wa
      Q   =2Sg be
      'How are you?'

For questions asking about a process or how one does something, the instrumental case

ending *–kin* can be added to *mish*:

350. **Míshkin** *nam áshuwaxa núsuxnan ílaxyawitay?*
      Mish-kin =nam   á-shúwa-xa   núsux-nan   ílaxyawi-t-ay
      Q-INST =2Sg   3ABS-cut-HAB   salmon-OBJ dry-NZR-BEN
      'How do you cut salmon for drying?'

      tun is a question word meaning 'what.' It inflects for case (see 3.10.4). Dual and

plural subject forms *túwin* (dual) and *túman* (plural) are used. Case forms are in Table

3.16; not all of the case forms given are common.

Note there is no associative case form because *tun* is not used with animates. The

following examples show how forms of *tun* are used:

351. **Tun** *íkw'ak iwá?*
      tun   íkw'ak i-wá?
      what that   3Sg.S-COP
      'What's that?'

352. **Túyay** *nam wínasha?*
      Túyay =nam   wína-sha
      for.what =2Sg   go-IMPV
      'Why are you going?'

353. *Túkin nam áwaytwaxa pyaxínan?*
    túkin   =nam   á-wáytwa-xa   pyaxí-nan
    with.what =2Sg   3O-flavor-HAB   pyaxí-OBJ
    'With what do you season bitterroot?'

354. *Tun awkú kw'ink íkw'ak iwá sínwit?*
    tun   awkú   kw'ink   íkw'ak i-wa   sínwit
    what   then   that.aforementioned   that   3Sg.S-COP-be language
    'What kind of language is that?'

TABLE 3.16. QUESTIONS WITH *TUN* 'WHAT'

subject	tun
object of transitive clause (OBJ)	tun / tuun
3rd person S of transitive clause with 3rd person O (3>3 Erg)	túwin
3rd person S of transitive clause with SAP O (3>SAP Erg)	túnim
genitive (of what)	tumín
benefactive (for what, why)	túyay
instrumental (about what, with what)	túkin
locative (at, in what)	túpan
allative (towards what)	túkan
ablative (away from what)	túknik
dative (to what, into what)	túyaw

Both *tun* and *tuun* can be used to ask about an object in a transitive sentence. According to Virginia Beavert, *tuun* functions like English 'which' and is used when the asker has an idea of the range of possible answers. Both of the following are grammatical questions. In a, the questioner knows the possible range of answers. In b, the answer is open and unknown.

355. *Tuun nam átkixsha?*
      Which do you want? (from a selection on table)

      Tun nam átkixsha?
      What do you want? (asker has no idea what the answer will be)

shin is used in questions asking about humans: 'who', 'whom', 'for whom'. Dual and plural forms are used, as are forms inflected for case. Because *shin* refers to humans, the human case markers are added to the base forms: *shin* (Sg); *shiyin* or *shí'in* (Dl) *shínma* (Pl). The singular forms are given in Table 3.17. Examples 356-358 include forms of *shin*.

356. *Shin iwaníksha?*
      Shin   i-waník-sha
      who   3Sg.S-be.named-IMPV
      'What is his/her name?'

357. *Shin íkw'ak iwá áyat?*
      shin   íkw'ak   i-wá   áyat
      who   that   3Sg.S-COP   woman
      'Who is that woman?'

358. *Shínim íkush ikúya?*
      Shí-nim   íkush   i-kú-ya
      Who-3>SAP.ERG   thus   3Sg.S-do-PST
      'Who did this to you?'

TABLE 3.17. QUESTIONS WITH *SHIN* 'WHO'

subject	*shin*
Object of transitive clause (OBJ)	*shínnan*
3rd person S of transitive clause with 3rd person O (3>3 Erg)	*shíyin*
3rd person S of transitive clause with SAP O (3>SAP Erg)	*shínním*
associative (with whom)	*shíyin*
genitive (whose)	*shimín*
benefactive (for whom)	*shimíyay*
instrumental (about whom)	*shimíkin*
locative (at whose place)	*shimípan*
allative (to / towards whom)	*shimíkan*
ablative (away from whom)	*shimíknik*
dative (to whom)	*shimíyaw*

Questions about location, time, length, number, size, quantity

A variety of question forms asking about location, time, numbers and size have the common element *m*. The analyses of Rigsby and Rude (1996) and Jacobs (1934) include *mish* in this grouping. As seen above, it can ask about manner or way of doing something. Since it is the most common interrogative marker and also marks yes/no questions it has been set on its own in this analysis.

Four different questions words indicating various meanings of 'where' are based on the four cases having to do with location and direction. In answering the question, the case marker corresponding to the question word is used. These four question words are:

359.   *minán*   where at (locative)

      miin   where toward (allative)

      mínik   where from (ablative)

      ímin   where to or into (dative)

The following are examples of 'where' questions and answers. The answers include the case marker that matches each question word.

360.   **Minán** *iwá Maali?*   *iníitpa iwá*

      Minán   *i-wá*   *Maali?*   *iníit-pa i-wá*

      where.at   3Sg.S-COP Mary   house-LOC3Sg.S-COP

      'Where's Mary?'   'She's at the house.'

361.   **Mínik** *nam wa?*   *Wash nash Ulikan**knik.***

      mínik   *=nam*   *wa?*   *Wash =nash Ulikan-knik*

      where.from   =2Sg   be   COP=1Sg Oregon-ABL

      'Where are you from?'   'I'm from Oregon'

362.   **Miin** *nam wínasha?*   *Simnáshukan nash wínasha*

      miin   *=nam*   *wína-sha*   *simnáshu-kan =nash*   *wína-sha*

      where.towards =2Sg   go-IMPV   Simansho-ALL=1Sg   go-IMPV

      Where are you going?   'I'm going to Simnasho'

363.   **Ímin** *nam wínasha?*   *Wínashaash iníityaw.*

      Ímin   *=nam*   *wína-sha?*   *Wína-sha=ash*   *iníit-yaw*

      where.to   =2Sg   go-IMPV   go-IMPV=1Sg   house-DAT

      'Where (specifically) are you going?' 'I'm going to the house.'

The following examples show other interrogative pronouns with the element *m*. These ask about numbers, time, and size.

364.   *mił*   how many, how much

        maal   how long / tall / far /length of time

        mun   when

        múman   how long ago, how old

365.   *Mił iwá?*
        mił   *i-wá*
        how.many   3Sg.S-COP
        'How many are there?'

366.   *Mił nam átk'ixsha?*
        Mił =nam   *á-tk'íx-sha?*
        how.many =2Sg   3O-want-IMPV
        'how many/how much do you want?'

367.   *Maal nam áwiwaxya?*
        Maal   *=nam*   *á-iwáxi-ya*
        how.long =2Sg   3O-wait.for-PST
        'How long did you wait for him?'

368.   *Maal nam ititámaxa túxtkan?*
        Maal   *=nam*   *ititáma-xa*   *túx-t-kan*
        how.long =2Sg   count-HAB   return.home-NZR-ALL
        'How long does it take you to get home?'
        (this can be answered by amount of time or distance)

369.   *Mun mash wa imínk páwyakyuut łkw'i?*
        Mun =mash   *wa*   *imínk*   *páwyakyuut łkw'i?*
        when =2Sg.GEN   COP   2Sg.PN.GEN   birthday
        'When is your birthday?

When case markers are added to question words the meaning of the question word

changes slightly. Many of these uses have been presented earlier (e.g. *-pa* for telling time,

3.10.2.5,*-yaw* for prices, 3.10.2.8).

370.   *Miłpan aw iwá?*
        Mił-pan   *aw*   *i-wá*
        how.many-LOC   now   3Sg.S-COP
        'What time is it?

371. *Míłyaw ílaxyawixa núsux?*
    míł-yaw   *ílaxyawi-xa*   *núsux*
    how.many-DAT   dry-HAB   salmon
    'How much (does she charge) for drying salmon?'

372. *Máalyaw isínwiya?*
    Maal-yaw   *i-sínwi-ya?*
    how.long-DAT   3Sg.S-talk-PST
    'How long did he talk?'

373. *Múnyay nam níchsha íchi xyaaw núsux?*
    Mún-yay *=nam* *ních-sha*   *íchi*   *xyaaw* *núsux*
    when-BEN =2Sg put.away-IMPV   this   dry   salmon
    'For what occasion are you saving this dry salmon?'

mámknik 'which' is used for alternative questions. The form *mam* means 'where at' in

Klikitat but it is not used by itself as a question word in Yakima.

374. *Mámknik nam áshixinxa tkwátat, yáamash u tł'alk?*
    Mámknik   *=nam* *á-shíxi-nxa*   *tkwátat,*   *yáamash* *u* *tł'alk*
    which   =2Sg 3O-like-HAB   food   mule.deer or elk
    'Which do you prefer to eat, deer or elk?'

Nominal suffixes (5.4) and modals (8.4) can attach to question words. Sometimes the

resulting question is idiomatic.

375. *Shínk'a aw?*
    Shin-k'a   *aw*
    who-next   now
    'who's next?'

376. *Mishxit iwá ámchnik?*
    mish-xit   *i-wá*   *ámchnik*
    Q=MOD   3Sg.S-COP   outside
    'What's it like outside?'

377. *Míshat iwínsh ik'inusha yaamashnan?*
    Mísh=at   *i-k'inu-sha yaamash-nan*   *iwínsh*
    Q=MOD   3Sg.S-see deer-OBJ   man
    'Do you suppose the man sees the deer?'

3.11.3. Indefinite pronouns

The question words are used as indefinite pronouns, which refer to something that is not specifically identifiable. When *mish* is used in this way it can be translated 'however, somehow, anyhow'. *minán* means 'somewhere, anywhere'. When used as question words they are at the beginning of the clause. However, indefinite pronouns do not have a fixed word order.

378. *táaminwa **mish** pamitát'asha*
      táaminwa mish pa-mí-tát'a-sha
      always   Q   3Pl.S-do-DES-IMPV
      'they always want to do (wrong) somehow'

379. *ínxay k'áxnu íchna **minán** inisháatwa*
      ínxay   *k'áxnu*   *íchna   minán*
      my.man's.male.friend   prairie.chicken   this.LOC where.LOC

      i-nisháatu-wa
      3Sg.S-dwell-PPF
      'my friend the prarie chicken lives here somewhere'

Other examples of indefinite uses are as follows.

380. *maal*   'however long or far, some distance or length of time'

      mił   'however many, some amount'

      mun   'whenever, sometime, anytime'

      shin   'whoever, someone, anyone'

      túkin   'whatever with, with something, with anything'

      tun   'whatever, something, anything'

These indefinite pronouns are sometimes paired with the interjection *kwak* preceding or following which adds the idea of wondering or making a conjecture about something, as in the example below:

381. *Kwakmaal. Miłkwak putáptit anwíkt*
     kwak- maal   mił- kwak   putáaptit   anwíkt
     I.wonder-how.long   how.many-I.wonder   hundred   year
     'No one knows how long. Probably hundreds of years.'

With the negative marker *chaw*, the indefinite pronouns become negated, for example:

382. *chaw shin*   'no one'
     chaw tun   'nothing, none, not any'
     chaw mun   'never'
     chaw míshkin   'no way'

If *chaw tun* occurs with a noun, it means 'not any'.

383. **chaw tun** *áwa wiwaníktpamá*
     chaw   tun   á-wa   wiwanik-t-pamá
     NEG   what   3O-COP   read-NZR-thing.forbook
     'he doesn't have any books'

With *tł'aaxw* 'all' the meaning of 'every' is added, as in *tł'aaxw shin* 'everyone' and

tł'aaxw tun 'everything'.

384. *tł'áaxw shiyin páwyaych'uunxana*
     tł'áaxw shiyin   pá- wyáych'uu-nxa -na
     all   who-3>3.ERG   INV-fear-HAB-PST
     'everyone used to fear them'

Question words/indefinite pronouns also are used in relative clauses, discussed in

Chapter 9.

3.12. Morpheme index

        The final section of this chapter is a list of commonly encountered morphemes

that teachers and students may want to know more about. Each item on the list includes a

very short explanation, the gloss or abbreviation used, and where more information can

be found. The table of contents is another resource for finding items that were not

covered in Chapter 3.

ana-   SUB See Chapter 9. *ana-* marks a subordinate clause in a sentence. For

example: *Anakú pawyánawita níwít nam tkwátat áwanyanita* 'When they arrive, make food

for them right away'.

-(t')áwa(a)s   INST See 5.2.4. *-áwaas* is a suffix added to verbs to indicate the tool or

instrument used to carry out the action of the verb. For example: *pak'ink-* 'block off';

pak'inkáwas 'lid or stopper', *panáti-* 'climb'; *panatit'awás* 'ladder'.

-i, -ni ,-wi, -yi   STAT See 8.2.2. *-i* (*-ni/-yi/-wi*), see creates a stative adjectival or an

adverb from a verb. For example: *tuxúna-* 'shoot' *tuxúnani* 'shot'.

-łá   AGT See 5.2.2. *-łá* is an agent nominalizer that is suffixed to a verb and

means 'one who'. For example: *wáwya-* 'whip'; *wawyałá* 'whip man'.

-pamá   thing.for See 5.2.5. *-pamá* is a suffix added to nouns that means 'pertaining to,

having to do with, thing for'. It indicates that a thing or place is used for the purpose of

the noun. For example: *tikáy* 'dish' *tikaypamá* 'cupboard'. If it is added to a verb, the verb

is nominalized with *-t*. For example: *wát'a-* hit, strike'; *wat'atpamá* 'drumstick'.

shapá-   CAUS See 4.2.3. *shapá-* is a causative verb prefix. When added to a verb, it means that someone or something has been caused or made to carry out the verb. For example: *ash-* 'enter'; *shapá'ash-* 'make enter'.

-t   NZR See 5.2.1. *-t* creates nouns from verbs. For example: *sápsikw'a-* 'teach'; *sápsikw'at* 'teaching'.

-yá(y)   See 5.2.6. *-yá(y)* changes a common animal name to a legendary animal's name. The difference is indicated here wth the use of capital letters. For example: *spílya* 'coyote'; *Spilyáy* 'Coyote'; *áshnam* 'flea'; *Ashnamyáy* 'Flea'.

CHAPTER IV

THE VERB

A substantial portion of this chapter will be published in the International Journal of American Linguistics (Jansen and Beavert in press a). Joana Jansen and Virginia Beavert are the co-authors of the article. Virginia Beavert contributed the language data and reviewed the completed analysis. I prepared and analyzed the data and drafted the article.

4.1. Overview of verb structure

The most morphologically complex structure in Ichishkíin is the verb. Jacobs (1931) identifies fifteen or more position classes, although a more restricted choice is available per verb, with perhaps six or seven morphemes being the usual upper limit. This chapter will discuss structural properties of verbs and the morphemes that comprise the verb, paying particular attention to the within-theme elements that were not addressed in Chapter 3. In the previous chapters, the within-stem elements of the verb were not shown in the morpheme break lines as they are shown in this chapter.

Examples 1-7 below show some of the complexity and morpheme ordering of the verb (in boldface). The copula or a verb in present perfect aspect can consist of a single

morpheme if the subject is a speech act participant (SAP), as SAP's are indicated with a

second position clitic (see 3.2.2) rather than a verb prefix:

1. *Mish pam wá wishúwani?*
    mish=pam   wá   wishúwan-i
    Q=2Pl   COP   be.ready-STAT
    'Are you ready?'

2. *áw nash táxshi*
    áw=nash   táxshi
    now=1Sg   wake
    'Now I have wakened'

However, verbs are typically comprised of several morphemes:

3. *ku pawánpiya tł'áaxw tíinmaman*
    ku   pa-wánpi-ya   tł'áaxw tíin-maman
    and   3Pl.S-summon-PST   all   person-Pl.OBJ
    'and they summoned all the people'

4. *iwí'anixana*
    i-wí-áni-xa-na
    3Sg.S-DST-make-HAB-PST
    's/he used to make (them)'

5. *pá'ashtwanana*
    pá-ásh-twána-na
    INV-enter-follow-PST
    's/he followed him/her inside'

6. *itwa'isíkw'asha*
    i-twá-isíkw'a-sha
    3Sg.S-LP.long.instr-show-IMPV
    's/he is designing it'

7. *pináchaxilpanita tpish*
    piná-chá-xilp-ani-ta   tpish
    RFL.Sg-CAUS-DPR.open-APPL-FUT   face
    'she will lift up her face'

Example 3 shows a monomorphemic verb with a third person prefix and tense/aspect suffix. Examples 4-7 show verb themes of more than one morpheme, again with person and tense/aspect affixes.

The verb consists of three broad positions (following Rigsby and Rude 1996): (1) pronominal prefixes; (2) the theme; and (3) tense, aspect, directional, conditional, and imperative suffixes, termed the "auxiliary suffix complex" by Rude (1994). Table 3.3 reviews this set of suffixes. Verbal inflectional morphology - the pronominal prefixes and auxiliary suffix complex, including the cislocative and translocative - was discussed extensively in the last chapter and will only be referred to here. The theme is the host of that morphology.

The verb theme can contain multiple parts, as seen in the examples above. Rigsby and Rude propose that the derivational affixes that make up the theme "do not comprise a semantically or syntactically unified set" (1996:685) but there are distinct semantically and syntactically defined categories within the theme. Here, I identify the part of the theme that is surrounded by valence changing slots (causative and applicative) as the stem. The stem can be monomorphemic or complex, as seen above. This is what Jacobs (1931) analyzes as the root complex.[40]

A complex stem can be a combination of two independent stems, as in *ashtwána-* 'follow in' (example 5). Both *ásh-* 'enter' and *twána-* 'follow' are independently used as verbs. The stem can also include - or be fully comprised of - bound morphemes that do

---

[40] Jacobs (1931) analyzes verbs as having five broad positions. Two of these are clitics (pronominal enclitics, see 3.2.2 and modal enclitics, see) and as they attach to word classes other than verbs, they are not included in the analysis of verb structure here. The three remaining are (1) prefixes, (2) the verb root complex and (3) suffixes.

not stand alone as verbs. Examples (6) and (7) show stems with bound elements: lexical

prefixes (LP) or causative prefixes and dependent posterior roots (DPR), morphology to

be addressed in 4.3.2 and 4.3.3. LP's are dependent root elements that typically indicate a

body part, instrument, or motion used to carry out the verb. DPR's are of two broad

semantic types, one indicating a change of state (COS) and a second indicating a location

or direction (LD).

Theme-internal prefixes to the stem indicate adverbial notions of time or manner,

as well as a distributive and causative. Applicatives follow the stem. Desiderative,

purposive and inchoative are additional suffixes to the verb stem. The causative prefix

and applicative suffixes affect the valence of the verb and will be covered as well in

Chapter 6.

In summary, Yakima Sahaptin verbs are typically morphologically complex,

rarely having fewer than 3 morphemes. Figure 4.1 is an outline of Yakima Sahaptin

verbal morphology. The first line shows Jacobs' (1931) analysis and the second line

shows Rigsby and Rude's (1996) three broad positional categories. The bottom line gives

examples of the types of morphemes found in the Yakima Sahaptin verb, based on my

work and that of these previous researchers.

FIGURE 4.1

ICHISHKÍIN VERB STRUCTURE

Jacobs 1931:	prefixes				root complex		suffixes					
Rigsby and Rude 1996:	pronom. Prefixes	theme									auxiliary suffix complex		
types of morphemes:	pronom. Prefixes	DST	Manner 1: wíi- wyá-	Manner 2: ḵá- lá-	CAUS	*	APPL	INCH	DES PURP	ASP	DIR	TNS, IMP, COND

* verb stem, consisting of any of the following:
independent stem
independent stem + independent stem
LP + independent stem
independent stem + DPR
LP + DPR
LP + LP + DPR
DPR (if causative precedes)
DPR (with transitivizer í-)

4.2. The Verb theme

The first section in this chapter will review the prefixes and suffixes that are shaded in the third row of the chart above. The second section will look in depth at the part of the verb I have termed the stem.

A strictly position class analysis of Ichishkíin verb structure is not a straightforward undertaking, and a chart like Figure 4.1 does not give a full picture of the intricacy involved. A concern about presenting the analysis in this way is that underlying semantic or diachronic connections between elements in different position slots is lost. A second concern is that a disproportionate amount of order is imposed or implied. There is a great deal yet to be learned about Ichishkíin verb structure. The system has shifting or at least not fully fixed elements in a number of places. The prefixes are particularly fluid, and it is not always possible to set them only inside or only outside the stem. To the extent that I am aware of these matters I will address them as they come up here and more fully in 4.3.

4.2.1. Distributive

The distributive prefix *wí-* follows inflectional person-marking prefixes. It indicates that a number of objects are affected or being acted on. In 8 below, the sense is that homes were made for each uncle.

8.　*Pacháynachya kú **pawí'anya** awkú nisháykt nakákasma*
　　pa-cháynachi-ya　　　　　ku　　pa-wí-aní -ya　　　　　awkú
　　3Pl.NOM-man.marry -PST　and　3Pl.S-DST-make-PST　then

　　nisháykt nakákasma
　　nisháykt　　nakákas-ma
　　home　　　my.MoBr-Pl
　　'My uncles married and then made (their) homes'

9.　*kush **áwiwanikanitaxnay** míłman*
　　ku=sh　　　á-wí-wanik-ani-taxnay　　　　míł-man
　　and=1Sg　　3O- DST-name-APPL-COND　　howmany.OBJ.Pl
　　'and I could name however many'

It is used with the verb *mí-* (often in addition to an indefinite pronoun) to mean 'do

things'.

10.　*Mishkw'ak **pawímixana,** papalyúuxana*
　　Mish-kw'ak　pa-wí-mi-xa-na　　　　　　pa-palyúu-xa-na
　　Q-I.wonder 3Pl.S-DST-do-HAB-PST　　3Pl.S-play.bone.game-HAB-PST
　　'They used to do things, I don't know, they played bone game'

An individuated / distributive alternation is built into a few verbs and prefixes. One such

verb is *pátuk- / ptuk-* 'place, set down'. When setting down one object, *pátuk-* is used; if

setting down more than one (for example, plates of food on a table) *ptuk-* is used.

Causative prefix *shapá-* has variant *sháp-* used for distributive objects. The diminutive

variants are *sápa- / sáp-*. And, verb prefix *tamá /tám-* 'throw, drop, put', analyzed here as

a lexical prefix, also shows an individuated /distributive alternation.

4.2.2. Manner prefixes

A set of verbal prefixes gives adverbial information indicating the time frame of

action. These are *wíi-* 'for just a little while', *wyá-* 'while going along', *ká-* 'suddenly, all

at once' and *lá-* 'slowly or leisurely'.[41] Each one of these is stressed. We will also see

predominantly stressed prefixes in the later discussion of stem-internal lexical prefixes.

wyá-, *ká-* and *lá-* follow the distributive prefix and *wíi-* is not used with

distributive *wí-* in the elicited examples I have. (I have no text examples with these

prefixes and the distributive.) Two of the prefixes, *wíi-* 'stop for a little while' and *wyá-*

'while going' (manner 1 in the chart above) can precede the others but do not occur with

one another. Again, that is attested only in elicited data, not text data. More text data is

needed on this point; due to the homophony of many of these prefixes, examples without

a great deal of context can have more than one interpretation.

wíi- 'for a little while'

The language makes many uses of *wí(i)-* prefixes on verbs. With a short vowel it is

a distributive, and with a long vowel it can be a politeness marker (see 3.5). Speed or

motion is also indicated by this prefix with vowel lengthening used to emphasize speed.

It also occurs in intransitive constructions. These uses will be discussed in section 4.4.

wíi- also means 'stop to do something for a little while', and this is the sense we

see in the following examples.

11.   *ku natash íchi píkchashpa wíihaashhaashsha*
      ku =natash   *íchi*   *píkchash-pa*   *wíi-haashháash -sha*
      and =1Pl.EXC   this   picture-LOC   short.while-rest-IMPV
      'And in this picture we are resting for a little while'

---

[41] Jacobs (1931) lists a few additional prefixes to the root complex that appear on very few examples and seem to be lexical items rather than prefixed verbs, or that are not in my data.

12. *anakú pakkáashata ku pawíi'ashsha tsá'at*
     anakú   pa-kkaas-sha-ta
     SUB-and   3Pl.S-hurry-IMPV-FUT

    ku   pa-wíi-ásh-sha   *ts'á'at*
    and   3Pl.S- short.while -enter-IMPV   short.while
    'when they are in a hurry and stopping in for a short while,'

wyá- 'while going'

This is another prefix with multiple uses, and like *wíi-* it will be discussed further

in 4.4. When it precedes an independent stem or fully functional composite stem, it

means one is moving along or going along as one is doing the action of the verb.

13. *iwyápshatata*
     i-wyá-psháta-ta
     3Sg.S-while.going-gather-FUT
     'she will go along gathering'

14. *iwyátamahaykshana*
     i-wyá-tamá-hayk-sha-na
     3Sg.S-while.going-LP.throw-LDS.down-IMPV-PST
     'he was throwing them off' (hay bales from a moving truck)

wyá- can also indicates that an action is happening over time.

15. *iwyálatisha*
     i-wyá-latí-sha
     3Sg.S-while.going-bloom-IMPV
     'it keeps on blooming'

The following prefixes (manner 2: *ká-* 'suddenly, unexpectedly', *lá-* 'leisurely') can

follow the above two prefixes.

ká- 'suddenly, quickly'

Adverbial prefix *ká-* carries the idea that something happened quickly, suddenly

or unexpectedly.

16.   *patúk-*   *ḳápatuk-*
        'set down (Sg.)'   'suddenly set down, suddenly place'

        wapáwxi-   *ḳáwapawxi-*
        'let go'   'spill or drop'

lá- 'leisurely or casually'[42]

This prefix implies that the action is being done casually, leisurely, without hurry or concern.

17.   *in-*   *lá'in-*
        'tell'   'casually say to'

        ayík-   *lá'ayk-*
        'sit'   'sit around comfortably, leisurely'[43]

18.   *iláwachiya táakwinnan k'úsinan*
        i- lá-wachi-ya   *táakwin-nan k'úsi -nan*
        3Sg.S-leisurely-watch-PST   whatchamacallit -OBJ horse -OBJ
        'he casually kept an eye on the - whatchamacallit - horse'

These prefixes show qualities of stem-external adverbial prefixes but can also be very tightly associated with a following stem. The causative *shapá-* can precede or follow *ḳá-*. This seems to be a matter of scope - 'quickly causing to X' as opposed to 'causing to quickly X'. Although *lá-* and *ḳá-* are more likely to be found with independent stems or derived stems than they are with other dependent stem elements, at least *ḳá-* can occur with other bound stem elements, as in *ḳáchayk-* 'stand quickly'. As with the manner prefixes *wíi-* and *wyá-*, described above, these are transitional elements, not fixed to a particular position.

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[42] A homophonous lexical prefix means 'with heat, with fire'.
[43] This pair (*ayík-* / *lá'ayk-*) demonstrates de-stressed high vowel deletion, see 2.10

A third morpheme x̱á- 'uncaused, unexpected' belongs with this group

semantically, although it seems to be always stem-internal, bound to additional LP's or

DPR's. Jacobs lists k̲á-, x̱á-, tk̲á- and tx̱á- together, noting that tx̱á- is used by Walla Walla

speakers.[44] There are some lexical alternations of forms with/without t: x̱álkw'k- /

tx̱álkw'k- 'be startled'. x̱á- often occurs with LP tamá- 'throw'. Stems formed with x̱átama-

having to do with falling (for example x̱átamahayk- 'fall down', x̱átamalii- 'fall into

water'). These maintain the semantics of unexpectedness or suddenness.

19. páx̱awatikashashnam
     pá-x̱á-watík-ásha-sh=nam
     INV-unexpected-step-LDS.on-PPF=2Sg
     'you just stepped on me!'

Other adverbial prefixes:

Temporal information can be added with the prefixes máy- 'in the morning' and

táw- at night. While perhaps the most used of these, such as máytkwata- 'eat breakfast'

(from tkwáta- 'eat') and táwtkw'anati- 'sleepwalk' (from tkw'anáti-'walk around') are

complete lexical units and not clearly divisible to speakers, the prefixes do freely

combine with verbs.

20. itáwnp'iwitana
     i-táw-np'íwi-ta-na
     3Sg.S-at.night-dip.net-PURP-PST
     'he went to fish at night'

---

[44] There are historical links between the uvular stop [q] (k̲ in the practical alphabet used here) and the uvular fricative (here x̱). Lexicalized verbs that show this include x̱ásunati- 'ride on horseback'; k̲ásuhayk- 'ride down on horseback' and x̱áyk- 'dawn'; k̲áyx̱- 'get light'. Some NP / Ichishkíin correspondences show this as well, with NP [q] corresponding to Ichishkíin x̱. (See Aoki 1962 for more on Sahaptian correspondences.)

Speakers can also indicate the time of an action with a noun with locative suffix (*máytskí-pa* 'morning-LOC', *sts'át-pa* 'night-LOC', see 3.10.1.2).

Another form that Virginia Beavert attributed to older speakers is *chím-* 'do while frightened'. Without more examples than are available to me, it is not clear how best to classify it. Here, it precedes a bipartite stem:

21. *ichímwyaninxana*
    i-chím-wyá-nin-xa-na
    3Sg.S-in.fright-go-around-HAB-PST
    'he would travel around frightened'

4.2.3. Causative and applicatives

The two position slots to either side of the verb stem are valence changing: the causative and the applicatives. Potential sources of these constructions are addressed later in this chapter; they are also covered in Chapter 7, which addresses transitivity.

Causative *shapá-* is the productive causative in the language. When used with an independent stem, it adds an argument to make intransitive verbs transitive and transitive verbs ditransitive.

22. *iwúukshana na'íłas*
    i-wúuksha-na   *na'íłas*
    3Sg.S-stay.back-IMPV-PST   my.mother
    'my mother stayed behind'

    ishapáwuukshana na'íłasaan
    i-shapá-wúuksha-na   *na'íłas -aan*
    3Sg.S- CAUS-stay.back -PST   my.mother –OBJ
    'he made my mother stay behind'

This causative prefix can also be added to bound stems that could not otherwise stand alone. This will be addressed further in the next section.

Several applicatives follow the verb stem. These are benefactive/genitive -*ani*,[45]

directive -*uu*, associative -*twíi*. These promote a semantically oblique argument to the

direct object. In the example below, *Spilyáy*, a notional possessor of the footsteps, is the

grammatical direct object, indicated with the object suffix -*nan*.

23.　　*pak'ínunaniya wátiksh Spilyáynan*
　　　pa-k'ínu-nani-ya　　　　　*wátiksh*　　*Spilyáy-nan*
　　　3Pl.S-see-APPL.GEN-PST　　tracks　　Coyote-OBJ
　　　'They saw Spilyay's tracks.'

There are several directional stems that adopt the grammar of applicatives with a

human object, for example -*ásha* 'on' (see example 19 above). Further discussion in 4.3.3

will address the semantic and position class similarities of applicatives and DPR's

indicating direction or location and suggest that the directional stems are a source of

applicatives.

4.2.4. Inchoative

The inchoative form -*k'ay* occurs just twice in my text data. Jacobs lists it as a

Xwáɬxwaypam (Klikitat) form meaning 'inchoative at time of another action'.

24.　　*íxwi awkú iwíikiitkk'aysha awkú anakúsh mish ishaláwik'aysha*
　　　íxwi　　*awkú*　　*i-wii-kiitk-k'ay-sha*　　　　　*awkú*　*anakúsh*　*mish*
　　　later　then　　3Sg.S-wíi- trot-INCH-IMPV　then　like　　Q

　　　i-shaláwi-k'ay-sha
　　　3Sg.S-be.tired-INCH-IMPV
　　　'and then he begins to trot, as if he is getting tired.'

Two other morphemes with similar meanings, -*uy* 'start' and -*nák'i* 'finish' are discussed

as part of the verb stem. Both attach to independent stems as well as bound stems.

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[45] From *ní-* 'give'.

4.2.5. Purposive and desiderative

-(a)ta 'go to, go in order to' (purposive)
-(á)t'a, 'want to' (desiderative)
-tát'a 'want to go in order to'

These morphemes are no doubt related to future *-ta. -(a)ta* 'go to, go in order to'

(purposive) indicates that one is going in order to do something.

25. *awkú pawakítatana tkwátat*
    awkú pa-wakít-ata-na   tkwátat
    then 3Pl.S-look.for-PURP-PST   food
    'then they went to look for food'

26. *áshapnitak*
    á-shapni-ta-k
    3O-ask-PURP-IMP
    'Go ask her!'

27. *kush kw'áxi sitkumsáanitaxana*
    ku=sh   kw'áxi   sitkumsáani-ta-xa-na
    and =1Sg   again   eat.lunch-PURP-HAB-PST
    'then I would go back to eat lunch'

The form of the morpheme *-(a)ta* is conditioned by the final segment of the stem

as well as the number of underlying vowels in the stem (Hargus and Beavert 2006a). All

consonant-final roots and those ending in *u* (*w* is then inserted) take *-ata*, as in 25. Stems

ending in *i* or *a* that contain one vowel take the longer form, again with inserted glide *y*.

Stems ending in *i* or *a* with two or more vowels take *-ta*, seen in 26 and 27.

-(á)t'a'want to' (desiderative) indicates wanting to or intending to do something.

28. *pawaxiyát'ana*
    pa-wáxi-yát'a-na
    3Pl.S-wait-DES-PST
    'They wanted to wait'

29.   *ipnuwát'ana*
      i-pnú-wát'a-na
      3Sg-stay.home-DES-PST
      'she wanted to sleep'

30.   *Aw iwúuxmiya ku Asumyáy ituxát'ana*
      Aw   *i-wúuxmi-ya*   *ku*   *Asumyáy*   *i-tux-át'a-na*
      now   3Sg.S-become.spring-PST   and   Eel   3Sg.S-return-DES-PST
      'It became spring and Asumyáy (Eel) wanted to go home.'

If the stem ends in *i* or *u* a glide (*y* or *w*) is inserted, exemplified in 28 and 29. If

the stem ends in a consonant, as in 30, the full form is used. If the stem ends in *a*, there

are two patterns. In one, the stress shifts to the stem-final vowel and the vowel is not

lengthened. In the second, glide *y* is inserted (*wuukshát'a-* / *wuukshayát'a* 'want to stay

home' from *wúuksha-*). I have found no difference between these two options.

Stress-stealing suffixes take word level stress, as discussed in 2.6. So,

desiderative *-(á)t'a* overrides a stressed prefix to keep the word level stress. This is seen

in in 31 below, where the inverse prefix *pá-* does not maintain word level stress.

A similar idea can be expressed with a nominalized complement of the transitive

verb *tk'ix-* 'want, desire'. Complex clauses are covered in Chapter 9.

The form *-tát'a* is analyzed here as a combination of the purposive 'go to' and

desiderative 'want to' morphemes. It is a very common collocation. Sometimes the 'go

to' meaning is not evident, perhaps due to a good deal of overlap between the two

concepts, in that wanting to do something often entails going to do it. The *-tát'a* form for

some speakers may simply be a variant of *át'a*, or there may be phonological influences

that are not evident in my data.

31.　*patkwatatát'ashana Asumyáynan Waxpúuyayin*
　　pá-tkwata-tá-t'a-sha-na　　　　　*Asumyáy-nan*　*Waxpúuya-yin*
　　INV-eat-PURP-DES-IMPV-PST Eel-OBJ　　　Rattlesnake-3>3ERG
　　'*Waxpúuya* (Rattlesnake) wanted to go eat *Asumyáy* (Eel)'

Rude (2009) identifies this form as nominalizer -*t* (see 5.2.1) preceding

desiderative -*át'a*. This does not explain the alternations I find; the full form is not always

used.

Both the purposive and the desiderative follow the patterns of other *a*-final stems

and themes. So, the form of the past tense that follows them is -*na*, as in (25); the stative

is -*ni̱*. 2.11 reviewed verb classes and suffix alternations.

The rest of this chapter looks at the verb stem and the ways it is formed, as listed

in Figure 4.1.

4.3. The Verb stem

Ichishkíin shows a robust pattern of verb stem formation in which two or more

morphemes combine to make a complex verb stem incorporating meanings from each

part. Throughout this section, it will be useful to keep in mind the various types of stems:

- monomorphemic independent stems (example 3 above: *wánpi*- 'call, summon',

  called independent verb stems here)

- complex stems that are two independent stems joined together (example 5

  above: *ashtwána*- 'follow in')

- complex stems that include an independent verb stem and one or more

  dependent stems (example 6 above: *twa'isíkw'a* 'show')

- two or three dependent stems, neither of which can serve as the sole verb stem (example 7 above: *cháxilp-* 'open', bipartite and tripartite stems)[46]

As stated above, I am identifying the part of the theme that is surrounded by valence changing slots (causative and applicative) as the stem (see Figure 4.1). It may or may not have additional theme-internal derivational prefixes and suffixes surrounding it. The stem is fully formed and functional, ready for inflectional person-marking prefixes and suffixes of the auxiliary suffix complex. (As discussed above and summarized in Table 3.3, the auxiliary suffix complex is comprised of tense, direction, aspect, conditional and imperative suffixes.)

As was mentioned in the last section, it is difficult to classify morphemes as belonging to a particular class on distributional grounds. Looking for the morpheme with the core semantic information in a verb stem also may not be productive, as the meaning of a stem often depends on equal contributions from more than one part. Therefore, treating the Ichishkíin verb as comprised of roots and affixes is not particularly illustrative. Rather, the discussion below focuses more on the contributions of the morphemes, whether elements of the stem are bound, and if so, to what.

Much of this section analyzes the fourth type of stem listed above, bipartite and tripartite stems. Bipartite stem is a term used by Jacobsen (1980) to refer to similar constructions in Washo, in which morphemes within the verb stem are not in a root/affix relationship. The feature is an areal characteristic of a set of languages spoken in western

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[46] As will be discussed in 4.4.4, there are a few examples which suggest that even more elements can combine to create a stem.

North America (DeLancey 1996), including Klamath, Washo, Sahaptin, Yana, and

Atsugewi. Mollala also shows this type of stem formation (Pharris 2006) and Nez Perce

has some elements of such a system (Aoki 1970; Cash Cash 2004). In bipartite stems,

two morphologically dependent elements, neither of which ever occurs as the only stem

element in a verb, can combine into a complex stem. Ichishkíin has a rich pattern of

tripartite stem formation as well, and a number of examples that suggest that more than

three elements also combine.

This section is organized as follows. A brief discussion of independent stems and

reduplication of the stem to indicate repeated action is followed by an in-depth look at the

bound morphemes of stem formation: lexical prefixes (LP) and dependent posterior roots

(DPR). We will then look at how these elements combine to make fully functional

bipartite verb stems. Examples of tripartite stems, those with three bound morphemes,

and stems where even more elements are identifiable are then discussed.

4.3.1. Independent stems

Ichishkíin speakers use multimorphemic verbs to express movement in particular

directions, manner of motion and changes of state. Speakers are very adept at doing so

and are supported by a rich array of grammatical devices. There are also a number of

concepts expressed with independent stems, not synchronically analyzable. Many

examples in the early sections of Chapter 3 include monomorphemic verbs: *wa-* 'be';

wásha- 'ride'; *anáwi-* 'be hungry'; *tkni-* 'weave fishnet'. In some cases, there is a choice.

wásha- means ride but the prefix *x̲ásu-* 'on horseback' allows for more information about

location or direction to be added, as in *ẋasunáynak-* 'ride into'. There are many ways to express falling with a combination of *ẋá-tama-* 'unexpected-throw' and a DPR with the general meaning 'down' (*-hayk* 'down, descending' *-kanwi /-chanwi* 'down off of, down from', *-yawk* 'down a slope') but there is also an unanalyzable stem *waláawi-* 'fall down, off'.

Verbs are typically multi-syllabic and many are no doubt historically derived from more than one morpheme but are not synchronically analyzable. A number of stems have one morpheme that can be identified and another that is not found elsewhere. For example, many verbs for cooking or heating begin with the prefix *lá-* 'with heat, fire'. *láwayla-* 'to explode' contains LP *lá-* but the form *wayla-* has not been found in other combinations. *wisalíl-* 'to hunt' includes *-lil* 'here and there' (an allomorph of *-nin*) but *wisa-* is not broadly productive.

Iterative

To express repeated action, a monomophemic stem, or part of the stem, is reduplicated.

32. *lik'p-*   *lik'plík'p*
     'blink once'   'blink repeatedly'

     tłup-   *tłuptłúp*
     'jump'   'jump up and down'

     wakít-   *wakítwakit-*
     'look for'   'keep looking for'

In some cases, the first iteration ends in nominalizer *-t*.

33. *iwáyx̱titwayx̱tisha*
     i-wáyx̱ti-t-wáyx̱ti-sha
     3Sg.S-run-NZR-run-IMPV[47]
     'she's running around and running around'

In complex stems I find the lexical prefixes reduplicated but not the complete

stems. Jacobs (1931:154) writes that it is possible for the whole stem with LP to be

reduplicated,as in the following example.

34. *áwitunawaynattunawaynatna*
     á-wi-tuna-wayna-t-tuna-wayna-t-na
     3O-DST-LP.with.foot-DPR.away-NZR-LP.with.foot-DPR.away-NZR-PST
     'he kicked and kicked it away' (MJ31:154)

The next sections discuss the within-stem elements that are prefixes and suffixes

to independent verbs as well as the elements that combine to make bipartite stems. These

are lexical prefixes (LP's) and dependent posterior roots (DPR's). DPR's can either

indicate location and direction (LD) or a change of state (COS). The examples below

show how these morphemes combine, and will give an overall illustration before we

move on to look at each of the categories in depth.

Example 35 shows the independent verb stem *wáyx̱ti-* 'run, go fast' with

inflectional morphology indicating person agreement and tense/aspect. 36 shows the

same verb stem with the same inflectional morphemes, plus a bound suffix that indicates

direction of movement.

35. *iwáyx̱tisha*
     i-wáyx̱ti-sha
     3Sg.S-run-IMPV
     's/he is running'

---

[47] Reduplicated verbs often include nominalizer -*t*. The nominalized stem is also used in Jacobs' materials with inceptive and completative suffixes and, as mentioned on page 227, has been hypothesized as part of the desiderative. Its use in these constructions needs to be systematically investigated.

36. *iwáyxtixaluksha*
     i- wáyxti-x̱áluk-sha
     3Sg.S-run-**DPR.under**-IMPV
     's/he is running under (something)'

In example 37 below, the independent verb stem *tíma-* 'write' is shown with only

inflectional morphology. In 38, the independent stem *tíma-* is prefixed with a bound

morpheme that indicates the instrument used to carry out the action expressed by the

verb. This results in a change in meaning.

37. *itímasha*
     i-tíma-sha
     3Sg.S-write-IMPV
     's/he is writing'

38. *itwátimasha*
     i-twá-tíma-sha
     3Sg.S-**LP.long.instr**-mark-IMPV
     's/he is drawing, inscribing'

Neither the suffix shown in 36 nor the prefix shown in 38 can stand on its own as an

independent verb stem. However, they can combine to make a fully functional stem in a

bipartite construction, seen in the following example:

39. *itwáx̱aluksha*
     i-twá-x̱áluk-sha
     3Sg.S-**LP.long.instr-LDS.under**-IMPV
     's/he is hitting it under'

4.3.2. Lexical prefixes

Bound initial elements of Ichishkíin verb stems can indicate some aspect of the

instrument, motion, or body part that is used to carry out the action expressed in the

clause. Cross-linguistically, forms with these semantic and syntactic properties are often

referred to as instrumental prefixes, as some of the set's members index the shape of an instrument. This feature of a range of North American languages has been well discussed (see Mithun 1999; Sherzer 1976). Languages that have been grouped as Hokan and Penutian, as well as languages of the Siouan family and Numic branch of Uto-Aztecan have instrumental prefixes. As in other languages, the semantic range of the Ichishkíin lexical prefixes extends beyond simple identification of the instrument to other ideas of motion, manner, direction, and gesture. Also as is found in other languages, the prefixes tend to be short morphemes, many with only two or three segments. Languages geographically and/or genetically close to Sahaptin have instrumental prefixes (for example, Nez Perce: Aoki 1970; Klamath: DeLancey 1999; Molalla: Pharris 2003, 2006; Northern Paiute: Thornes 2003), and the areal distribution of this feature is noted as far back as Sapir (1916). Mithun (2007) discusses the range and pervasiveness of these prefixes in languages of California and nearby areas, noting that the region is unusually rich in these forms.

Jacobs (1931) describes these as anterior roots and notes that there are around 100, a large set in part because Jacobs includes roots that can also occur as independent verbs, and he lists multiple dialect variations and lexical senses. He writes that the function of anterior roots is to "limit, localize, by referring specifically to some precise action, manner, time, or body part, the meaning of the posterior verb root or roots" (1931:153). A subset of Jacobs' anterior roots, perhaps 40-50, are LP's, participating in bipartite constructions and serving as verbal prefixes to independent roots. The independent anterior roots that Jacobs includes are not members of the LP category that I

describe here. In addition, a few of Jacobs' examples are not familiar to Yakima

speakers, due perhaps to dialect variation.

There are two subsets of LP's, with some overlap. This limited overlap contrasts

with the sets described for Klamath (DeLancey 1999) where the subsets of LP's are more

categorical. One subset shares features of other languages' instrumental prefix sets,

discussed above. I refer to these as instrumental LP's. Members of this set combine with

COS stems to indicate a change of state, and with LD stems to indicate caused motion.

40. *súx̱-tɬ'k-*   (change of state)
     LP.pole-COS.break
     'pry apart, break off (with pole)'

41. *sú-wíi-ɬtx-*   (caused motion)
     LP.pole-wíi-LDS.upward
     'push (something) upward with pole'

Example 42 shows some of the instrumental LP's that participate in bipartite

constructions to indicate change of state or caused motion, all combined with *-tɬ'k*

'break'.

42.

pá-tɬ'k-	*wáx̱-tɬ'k-*
LP.hand-COS.break	LP.chop-COS.break
'break apart'	'chop off'
chá-tɬ'k-	*súx̱-tɬ'k-*
LP.teeth-COS.break	LP.pole-COS.break
'bite in two'	'pry apart'
x̱úl-tɬ'k-	*sháx̱-tɬ'k-*
LP.ground-COS.break	LP.knife-COS.break
'break by lying on'	'cut or saw apart'

Along with referring to an instrument's shape, instrumental LP's often give

information about a gesture or motion typically used with that instrument. So, *twá-*,

although is it glossed simply 'long instrument', means not only a longish handheld implement, but specifically holding it at an angle and moving it radially, in the way that one writes, stirs batter, scrapes a hide or shaves. Example 43 gives additional combinations with the LP *twá-*:

43. *twá-lii-*   'fish by dipnet'
      twá-pxw-   'scatter with a long instrument'
      twá-k'aatk- 'scrape, shave'
      twá-kw'ilk- 'mix, stir'

A second subset of LP's is restricted to indicating an entity undergoing motion or being located somewhere. For example, hands/lower arms and feet each are referred to by two separate LP's, one that is used in transitive constructions (such as 'kick something away', 'kick apart'), and the other that is used more generally to indicate involvement in the clause. Example shows the contrast between the two LP's that refer to the foot: *tuná-* 'with the foot', and *txp-* 'foot'.

44. *tuná-kwɬ-*
    LP.with.foot-COS.open.up
    'kick open'

    txp-náynak-
    LP.foot-LDS.into
    'put one's foot into s.t.'

Some LP's are members of both subsets, occurring in transitive and intransitive clauses, and so indicate caused motion/change of state as well as undergoing motion/ involvement in the clause. *twá-* is an example of such an LP. In 45, *twálii-* is literally 'long instrument into water'. The verb is not transitive, as indicated by the dative suffix – *yaw* on the nominal object. This is in contrast to 46, *twápxw-* 'use long instrument to scatter', which triggers the object marker *-nan*.

45. *itwáliisha núsuxyaw*
    i-twá-lii-sha   *núsux-yaw*
    3Sg.S-LP.long.instr-LDS.into.water-IMPV   salmon-DAT
    'he's dipnetting for salmon'

46. *itwápxwsha núsuxnan*
    i-twá-pxw-sha   *núsux-nan*
    3Sg.S-LP.long.instr-COS.scatter-IMPV   salmon-OBJ
    'she's scattering the salmon'

This example shows that it is not the LP alone that determines whether a bipartite

stem is transitive or intransitive, since in many cases the same LP can be in either a

transitive or intransitive clause. The transitivity profiles of various bipartite combinations

will be discussed in 4.3.4

Table 4.1 gives selected examples of LP's.

TABLE 4.1. SELECTED LEXICAL PREFIXES

LEXICAL PREFIX	GLOSS	MEANING
áwkala-[48]	roll	by, rolling, when rolling, action of rolling
chá-	teeth, pull	by biting, by pulling, lifting (also causative uses)
chím-	fear	in fear, with fear
ká-	mouth	with mouth, eating, tasting
lá-	fire	with fire, heat, light, smoke

---

[48] This long prefix is certainly composed of more than one part, given the length of the sequence as compared to other LP's.

TABLE 4.1. (CONTINUED).

LEXICAL PREFIX	GLOSS	MEANING
msh-	ear	hearing, with the ear
nák-	carry	carry, lift
pá-	hands	with hands, pushing motion, pushing w/upper part of body
psha-	bunch	a bunch, handful, group of inanimate things
sá-	knife	diminutive of *sha-*: cutting, scraping, often a smaller implement such as scissors, plane
sápxw-	crawl	while crawling, on all fours
shá(x)-	knife	cut at with knife, slice vertically or horizontally, plow (with *x* indicates cut through)
sú(x)-	pole	with a long implement like tepee/ fence poles, knitting needles, prying or pushing action (with *x* indicates push through)
tá-	shoot	shooting, power, with extra force behind it-like a gun, missile, arrow
tam(á)-	throw	by throwing, with (overhead?) throwing action
tí-	butt	butt, anus, backwards
tkw'á-	walk	while walking, manner of movement
tkwáp-	lower arm	lower arm, hand, also with toes in one ex.

TABLE 4.1. (CONTINUED).

LEXICAL PREFIX	GLOSS	MEANING
tú-	stick	with a stick, like a cane, vertical movement up and down?
tuná-	foot	foot, by means of the foot, by kicking
túta-	head	with head, butting motion
túxs-	point	pointed implement, with point, with end
twá-	stick	long implement, radial motion, as writing, shaving, golfing
txp-	foot	foot as object
wá(x)-	instrument	with instrument, chopping motion as when using an axe, hammer (with *x* indicates chop through)
walá-	belt	by circling and tying something around
wáp-	eyes	eye motion, seeing
wísha-	paddle	with paddling motion, in canoe
wíi-	wíi	with speed
wyá-	wyá	with movement
xá-	unexpected	(also see discussion in 4.2.2)
xátama-	fall	falling motion, uncaused combination of *xá-* 'uncaused' and *tamá-* 'throw'
xú-, xw-	ground	by reclining, by lying on something
yá(x)-	water	with water, in water, by putting water on

The etymological source of most LP's is not apparent. Most bear no resemblance to an independent noun indicating a body part or object. Exceptions are *pá-* 'with hand', resembling *ipáp* 'hand, arm'; *msh-* 'with ear' and *mishyú* 'ear'; *máy-* 'in the morning' and *máytski* 'morning'.

Some LP's show an alternation between their base form and one that ends with *-x̱*. The longer morpheme gives the sense that something was done to completion, all the way through, completely severing or breaking. This is seen in examples 40 and 41 above with the prefixes *sú-* and *súx̱-* 'with long implement'.[49] This is not an entirely productive alternation, perhaps having in part to do with the semantics of the DPR: while one can chop something completely apart, it is more difficult to find a difference between shattering something and shattering it completely apart. The phonological form of the prefix also plays a role, as the alternation is attested on CV- prefixes only. In addition, frozen forms that are derived from the prefixes may not keep the semantic alternation, as in *súx̱aas* 'spoon', most likely a combination of LP and nominalizer. The forms *wá-* /*wáx̱-* /*wáw-* demonstrate the one instance of a three-way contrast in an LP: using an instrument in a chopping or hammering motion, breaking something through with that motion, and repeating the motion over and over. As seen above, reduplicated Yakima verbs indicated repeated action; LP's also show this. The LP *wáw-*, indicating repeated action, is perhaps a reduced reduplication of *wáwa-*.[50]

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[49] The LP *yá(x̱)-* 'with, in, water' is not a consistent example of this semantic alternation. While some uses of *yáx̱-* do indicate completion (e.g. cross a body of water), not all do. Independent stems *yáx̱sha-* 'pour into' and *yáx̱ta-* 'spill, pour out' are lexical items that may affect the lack of consistent alternation.
[50] This observation is thanks to an associate editor of IJAL.

4.3.3. Dependent posterior roots

The suffixes to verbs that indicate location / direction and change of state, as seen in examples 36 and 39 above, have been given a larger variety of names - dependent verb stems (Jacobsen 1980, for Washo), locative directive suffixes (DeLancey 1996, for Klamath), motion-location auxiliaries (Shipley 1964, for Maiduan). Jacobs calls these elements dependent posterior roots (DPR), a term I adopt here. There is a large group of dependent posterior roots. Like lexical prefixes, these are bound forms. Jacobs (1931) lists around 80 posterior verb roots. As in his anterior root category, some of the forms he lists can occur independently, and dialect variants are often listed separately. Some are quite specific in meaning – e.g. into the base of the fire, come into view at the crest of a rise – while others are more general: move across, up, down. As in Klamath and Washo, these stems are typically longer than LP's and phonologically resemble independent verbs. DPR's are of two semantic subtypes, change of state (COS) and locative/directive (LD). Specific examples of these subtypes are given in the next sections, where we examine each of the four types of bipartite constructions.

There are several reasons to consider DPR's as verbal in origin. LD stems *xáluk-* 'be, go beneath' can be nominalized with the productive nominalizer *-t*:

47. *xálukt k'usík'usi iwá aykáwaaspa*
    xálukt k'usík'usi i-wá   aykáwaas-pa
    under dog   3Sg.S-be chair-LOC
    'the dog is under the chair'

However, many DPR's do not take this nominalizing suffix (unless the entire verb is nominalized, see 5.2.1).

Remnants of verb classes suggest that some DPR's are verbal in origin. As discussed in 2.11, Sahaptin has a verb class distinction between stems that have a final /n/ in some environments, and those that do not. The fact that some DPR's also have this class distinction argues for their verbal origin. Some Yakima LD stems include the final segment /n/ when indicating past tense. 48 shows a progressive suffix, without /n/, and then past tense, where the /n/ surfaces.

48. *ánakyat'ashaash*
    á-nák-yát'a-sha=ash
    3O-LP.carry-LDS.separate-IMPV=1Sg
    'I am carrying it away'

    ánakyat'anaash
    á-nák-yát'a-na=ash
    3O-LP.carry-LDS.separate-PST=1Sg
    'I carried it away'

Others DPR's do not have /n/ in progressive or past:

49. *ánaknatishaash*
    á-nák-náti-sha=ash
    3O-LP.carry-LDS.along-IMPV=1Sg
    'I am carrying it along'.

    ánaknatiyaash
    á-nák-náti-ya=ash
    3O-LP.carry-LDS.along-PST=1Sg
    'I carried it along'

Ichishkíin has lost some verb class distinctions of this sort through reanalysis (Rigsby and Rude 1996), with *-na* having become a past tense marker for many verb themes, including all that ewnd in *-a* and most that end in *-u*, as discussed in 2.11. The evidence of pairs like those in examples 48 and 49, though not indisputable, suggests that DPR's follow the same pattern as other verb stems in the language.

In sister language Nez Perce, Aoki (1970, 1994) analyzes stems cognate to Ichishkíin DPR's as verbs and LP's as verbal prefixes. In Aoki's analysis, Nez Perce verb stems are 's-class' or 'c-class', depending on changes to the stem when certain suffixes are added. Nez Perce bipartite constructions follow the same stem alternations and fall into the same classes as independent verbs.

Independent verb stems combine with each other (recall example 5, *áshtwana-* 'follow in') as well as with LP's and DPR's, and this is a clear place for grammaticalization from an independent to a bound stem to occur.

Other DPR's include a fossilized suffix *-k* that suggests that the root is not inherently verbal. This element is characterized as verbalizing a non-verbal element (Noel Rude, p.c.). In sister language Nez Perce *-k* is analyzed as a fossilized allative (Crook 1999) that has a transitivizing effect, as seen in *p'áyca* 'it is drained' vs. *cap'áp'ayksa* 'I wring it out, I make it drain'. A final *-k* is often found on DPR's. It is seen in some transitive/intransitive alternations: *chay-* 'spoil', *íchayk-* 'cause to spoil'; *láam-* 'disappear', *ílaamk-* 'erase, cause to disappear'. (The prefix *í-* seen on these pairs is addressed below). It is also found in some alternations of adjectival and verbal forms: *ts'waay* 'straight', *its'wáyk-* 'make straight'. Examples where DPR's contrast with a form without *-k* were derived at some point in the past, and these were not verbal in origin.

A look at applicatives suggests that they have LD stems as their sources. As introduced in 4.2.3, there is a small group of applicatives that are suffixed to the verb stem, adding a core argument to the clause and indicating the semantic role of a human or animate object. Applicatives directly follow the verb stem. 50 and 51 show *ɬk'íwi-* 'play'

both with and without the applicative *twíi-* 'with'. The verb plus applicative in 51

requires the object form of the distal demonstrative (*kumanák*), showing that the addition

of the applicative has changed the transitivity of the verb.

50.   *Kwnak nash ɬk'íwixana.*
        kwnak =nash   *ɬk'íwi-xa-na*
        that.LOC =1Sg   play-HAB-PST
        'I used to play there'

51.   *Kush kumanák áɬk'iwitwiixana*
        Ku=sh   *kumanák*   *á-ɬk'iwi-twii-xa-na*
        and =1Sg   that.Pl.OBJ   3O-play-APPL-HAB-PST
        'And I used to play with those (ones)'

        Syntactically, LD stems and applicatives are synchronically distinct categories

in that they can co-occur. An applicative very close in meaning to LD stems is the

directive applicative *uu-*. It is used when one is moving to or towards a human

participant. (As stated earlier, legend animals hold human qualities and are treated as

human by the grammar). In 52, this applicative occurs with the bipartite stem *wíihayk-*

'descend quickly', an otherwise intransitive verb.

52.   *páwiihaykuuna Spilyáynan*
        pá-wíi-háyk-uu-na   *Spilyáy-nan*
        INV-wíi-LDS.down-APPL-PST Coyote-OBJ
        'he flew down to Coyote'

Some LP + DPR stems are syntactically transitive and so a human object is case-marked,

as is the (human) object of an applicative construction. This is seen in the example below.

53.   *iwápwiiluuka Spilyáynan*
        i-wáp-wii-lúu-k-a   *Spilyáy-nan*
        3Sg.S-LP.eye-wíi-LDS.in.air-TRNS-PST   Coyote-OBJ
        'he looked up at Spilyáy'

DPR's can suffix to independent stems as well as combining with lexical prefixes. In example 54 below, -*nanp'a* 'onto, bump into' (more generally indicating that some sort of contact was made) is part of a tripartite construction. This construction is not grammatical without -*nanp'a*- in other words, *tkwápwii*- is not a verb stem).

54. *pátkwapwiinanp'anaam*
     pá-tkwáp-wíi-nanp'a-na=am
     INV-LP.lower.arm-wii-DPR.bump.into-PST=2Sg
     'You brushed against me'

In 55 (repeated from 19 above), -*ásha* is used with independent intransitive stem *watík*- 'step', filling the role of an applicative and adding an argument.

55. *páx̱awatikashashnam*

     pá-x̱á-watík-ásha-sh=nam
     INV-unexpected-step-LDS.on-PPF=2Sg
     'you just stepped on me!' (origMJ31, agreed to by VB)

Applicatives and directionals share a number of qualities. There is a overlap in the semantics of applicative and directionals. They fall in the same position in the verb. Both occur with transitive morphology. -*nanp'a* can act as either DPR or applicative, and shows a midway point between the categories, suggesting a diachronic link between directional DPR's and applicatives.

4.3.4. Bipartite stems

Each combination of LP with DPR provides a unique meaning, and the semantic contribution of each of the elements is not always predictable. At times, the meaning of the stem diverges from that expected given the semantic contribution of each part. While most bipartite stems are lexicalized, others are formed and used in context, in discussion,

as events happen and as speakers choose what aspect of an event they wish to highlight. For fluent elders, this is a productive, creative system. With so few remaining speakers, however, this may be changing, as elders have fewer opportunities to join together for conversation and less-fluent learners memorize verbs as a whole, rather than learning which LP's and DPR's it is possible and appropriate to combine.

There is overlap of the qualities and categories found for Ichishkíin bipartite constructions involving LP's and DPR's with those described for Washo (Jacobsen 1980), Klamath (DeLancey 1999, 2003, 2007) and Mollala (Pharris 2007). All have a COS construction (type 1, 4.3.5) and a bipartite stem construction that refers to entities moving to or being in a position, with the LP indicating the entity and the stem the location (type 3: movement or location of an entity, discussed in 4.3.6.2). Klamath, Molalla and Ichishkíin have caused motion constructions (type 2, 4.3.6.1 and manner-type bipartite constructions (type 4, 4.3.6.3). Klamath relies more heavily than Ichishkíin on bipartite stems, with motion, position and location verbs being expressed almost exclusively by bipartite constructions (DeLancey 2007). Ichishkíin may use a simple, or at least synchronically unanalyzable verb stem to express many of these notions.

The four types of bipartite constructions can be broken into two groups based on transitivity and, to the limited extent that LP's fall into two subsets, on the LP's used in the construction. As discussed in 4.3.2, the two subsets are not categorical, and some LP's occur in all types of bipartite constructions. The first two types of bipartite construction discussed, change of state and caused motion, are transitive, and occur with instrumental LP's. The second two types, motion/location of an entity and manner of

motion, are intransitive, and occur with LP's indicating an entity in motion or being in a

location. Figure 4.2 outlines the types of bipartite stem constructions.

FIGURE 4.2. STEM TYPES

A lexical prefix (LP)	plus a dependent posterior root (DPR) expressing:	forms a bipartite construction of this type:	that is:
	Change of state (COS)	Change of state (Type 1, section 4.3.5)	transitive
	Location or direction (LD)	Caused motion (Type 2, section 4.3.6.1)	transitive
		Motion/location of an entity (Type 3, section 4.3.6.2)	intransitive
		Manner of motion (Type 4, section 4.3.6.3)	intransitive

4.3.5. Bipartite construction 1: Change of state

Change of state constructions are bipartite. In a COS construction, an instrumental LP referring to an instrument or body part combines with a DPR indicating a change of state. The instrumental LP indicates the means or manner by which the change of state occurs. The resulting stems are transitive, as indicated by verbal and nominal morphology. Below, the first example takes obviative prefix *á-*, indicating a 3rd person O. The second includes object marker *-nan*.

56.   *ápak'ink!*
       á-pa-k'ink
       3O-LP.with.hand-COS.stop.off
       'Close it!'

57.   *ipáxnan áyatma patwák'aatkxa*
       ipáx-nan   áyat-ma   pa-twá-k'aatkxa
       hide-OBJ   woman-Pl 3Pl.S-LP. LP.long.instr-LDS.scrape.away-HAB
       'the women scrape the hide clean'

Table 4.2 includes selected COS stems.

TABLE 4.2. SELECTED CHANGE OF STATE STEMS

-ch'x	split, break
-k'aat	scrape to bare state, shave, sweep, rake
-k'li	bend
-k'x	tear
-k'ink	close off, block, impede flow
-kwł	split open

TABLE 4.2. (CONTINUED).

-kw'il	grind up
-k'p	fasten up, close up
-p'sk / -p'ɬk	pierce
-shtk/stk	tie, tangle, knot
-t'a	strike, impact, sting
-tku	make hole in
-tkw'k	shatter, break, crack
-tɬ'iip	break into pieces, chips, chunks, slices
-tɬ'k	break, smash
-pni	lay out, make flat
-pxw	scatter
-wshp	knock out
-x̱ɨlp	open up

4.3.6. Bipartite constructions 2-4: LP + LD stem

As noted previously, three distinct types of bipartite constructions result from the combination of an LP with a locative/directive DPR. This section looks at each type of bipartite construction that falls into this category. Table 4.3 gives examples of DPR's that are used in these constructions.

TABLE 4.3. SELECTED LOCATIVE/DIRECTIVE STEMS

-chápa	into brush
-chay	extend
-hayk	go up
-ḵ'ik	caught up, stuck on
-ḵix̱	move a short distance
-latx̱	into fire
-lii	into water
-luu	hanging, in air
-ɬtx̱	descend
-nánp'a	against
-náti[51]	along
-náynak	to inside
-nin	here and there
-pni	emerge, take out
-skli	around, in a circle
-wayk	across
-wáyna	away
-x̱áluk	under
-yáwna	over

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[51] This, and several other DPR's, show n~l alternations. This was discussed in Chapter 2 as a diminutive; in verb stems, the forms with *l* seem more likely to be fossilized with particular LP's.

4.3.6.1. Bipartite construction 2: Caused motion

LP's combine with bound posterior roots coding location or direction to indicate means and motion or direction of caused travel. The cause of the movement is coded by the LP. In this construction, the LP acts as a "cause satellite" (Talmy 1985), and, as in Atsugewi, it is an "obligatory indication of the cause of the action expressed by the verb root" (1985:112). This type of bipartite construction is also present in Klamath and Molalla, as well as in other languages with instrumental prefix sets. The set of lexical prefixes used in this category overlaps with the set that occurs with COS stems. Like the LP + COS stem bipartite constructions discussed in the previous section, the resulting stems are transitive.

58. *pá-xaluk-*
    LP.hand-LDS.under-
    'push (something) under'

59. *sú-wii-ɬtx-*
    LP.pole-wíi-LDS.upward
    'push (something) upward with pole'

Many examples of caused motion include the central stem *wii-*. This serves to accentuate the speed or perhaps exertion needed and will be further addressed in 4.4.4. Note that 60 could include object marker *-nan* (optional on inanimate objects).

60. *itunáwiiɬtxsh shp'áw(nan)*
    i-tuná-wíi-ɬtx-sh   *shp'áw(-nan)*
    3Sg.S-LP.with.foot-wíi-LDS.upward-IMPV   ball(-OBJ)
    's/he's kicked the ball up in the air'

4.3.6.2. Bipartite construction 3: Motion/ location of an entity

Another category of bipartite stem construction is a combination of an LP

indicating an entity – often a body part – and a posterior root coding the location or

movement of that entity.

61.   *túta-lii-*
        LP.head-LDS.water
        'put head in water'

The following examples show a range of possibilities for involvement of the

hand/lower arm using the lexical prefix *tkwáp-*. This is not the instrumental LP that refers

to use of the hand or a pushing motion, but instead refers to an entity undergoing motion

or being located somewhere. Note that example 62 (b) includes, optionally, *wíi*.

62.   (a)   *tkwáp-tksh-*
                LP.arm-COS.splinter
                'have a splinter/be splintered in the hand'

        (b)   *tkwáp-(wíi-)chayk-*
                LP.arm-LDS.extend
                'put hand out' (when shaking hands)

Klamath and Molalla also have bipartite stem constructions that refer to entities

moving to or being in a position, with the LP indicating the entity and the stem the

location. These are typically intransitive constructions in all three languages.

4.3.6.3. Bipartite construction 4: Manner of motion

A combination of LP and directional stem can also indicate intransitive

movement, in contrast to the transitive caused motion of construction 2 above. The LD

stem indicates the direction and the LP names the manner of motion.

63.   *nák-sklik-*
        LP.carry-LDS.around
        'carry around, in a circle'

64.   *wíi-hayk-*
        wíi-LDS.down
        'fly, go down'

65.   *yá-wayna*
        LP.water-LDS.away
        'drift away'

4.4. Additional types of stems

The elements of the bipartite construction are not always categorical. They can be

prefixed to otherwise independent verbs, combine with a second dependent element, or

precede - or in some cases be sandwiched between - two other dependent elements.

There are several suffixes that are difficult to classify. For some combinations, the degree

of lexicalization affects this, as stems have built up over time. A number of bound

prefixes cannot be assigned to only one position slot. These "outlier" morphemes and

combinations make it difficult to draw solid boundaries between different types of

affixes.

At this point, I have discussed the first four of the stem types outlined in Figure

4.1. They are: independent stems, independent stem + independent stem, LP +

independent stem, independent stem + DPR, and LP + DPR.

This final section investigates additional categories of prefix + DPR - those that

have motion prefixes *wíi* and *wyá-*, causative prefixes *shapá-* and *chá-* + DPR, and

transitivizer *í-* + DPR. We will also look at stem-final elements *-uy* 'start' and *-nák̲'i*

'finish'. This is followed by a discussion of tripartite stems, many but not all with central element wíi-, and stems that show evidence of having more than three elements (at least diachronically).

4.4.1. Stems with motion prefixes

The earlier discussion of verb theme-internal manner prefixes wyá- 'while going' and wíi- 'stop for a while to do something' noted that these were also used in bipartite and tripartite stems, and some of the examples seen thus far have included those elements. These two prefixes are based on wi, a root with the lexical meaning 'go' or 'move', according to Jacobs (1931). He writes of wi that it "is ancient and has specialized in variant directions; it never occurs unbound" (1931:156). The most frequent use of a form of wi is the verb wína-,[52] which means 'go'. wyá- is also based on the root wi . Like wína, this form likely has its origins in a combination of wi and some other particle. Jacobs suggests a former root ya meaning 'go, go along'.

As lexical prefixes, the meanings of wyá- and wíi- are different from the adverbial meanings discussed earlier. As noted in 4.2.2, wyá- as an adverbial prefix means 'go while doing'. It does not occur as a freestanding stem or with other LP's. However, it does occur with LD stems in bipartite constructions. Here, it adds movement, meaning going in the direction or manner given by the DPR. It is glossed in these examples as 'go'.

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[52]   Jacobs analyzes -na as a no longer productive directive. Rude 1991 reconstructs proto-Sahaptian *-en 'thither' and further addresses this directional as the source of the objective case marker.

66. *wyá-ɬtx̲-*
     go-LDS.upward
     'go up'

67. *wyá-pni-*
     go-LDS.emerge
     'emerge' (e.g. from brush, come out into open area)

The stem *wíi-* similarly does not occur on its own. It can emphasize speed of

motion or action with an LD stem.

68. *wíi-hayk-*
     wíi-LDS.descend
     'drive, roll, slide down; descend quickly'

The following contrast *wíi-* and *wyá-* (Sharon Hargus, p. c.):

69. *wyáhayk-*   get off, step down   *wíihayk-*   quickly descend
     wyáɬtx̲-   go up   *wiiɬtx̲-*   run or fly up
     wyápni-   emerge   *wíipni-*   run out, hurry out
     wyásklik-   turn around   *wiisklik-*   spin around

wíi- is also used with COS stems. Although many languages, even other dialects

of Sahaptin, contrast a transitive use of a COS stem with an intransitive use, giving an

unaccusative/causative contrast, Yakima does not use COS stems as independent stems:

70. *i-shá-kwtk-ta*
     i-shá- kwtk -ta
     3Sg.S-LP.cut-COS.shatter-FUT
     'he will plow (something)'

71. **i- kwítk -ta*
     'it will shatter'

A neighboring dialect, Umatilla Sahaptin (Columbia River), does allows intransitive uses

of some, but not all, COS stems. Umatilla *χlip* 'open' , corresponds to Yakima *x̲ilp*:

72.   *i-χlɨp-a*   *pčiš*   (Umatilla Sahaptin, Noel Rude p.c.)
      3Sg.S-open-PST   door
      'the door opened'

73.   *i-čá-χlɨp-a pčiš*   (Umatilla Sahaptin, Noel Rude p.c.)
      's/he opened the door'

Sister language Nez Perce (NP) allows intransitive/transitive alternations of translation

equivalents:

74.   *k'ú·p*   (Nez Perce, Aoki, 1994)
      'to break; used especially when a stick-like object breaks'

      cepé-k'ú·p-se   (Nez Perce, Aoki, 1994)
      'I break (e.g. a branch) by applying pressure' (causative)

      k'ú·p-ce   (Nez Perce, Aoki, 1994)
      '(My stick like object) breaks'

Because there are not constructions like 71, in the Yaklima dialect, it must look to

other constructions to express intransitive unaccusativity. For some COS stems, the

prefix *wíi-* provides this.

75.   *iwíiχɨlpa pchísh*
      i-wíi-χɨlp-a   *pchísh*
      3Sg.S-wíi-COS.open-PST   door
      'the door opened'

76.   *iwíitɬ'ksh káa*
      i-wíi-tɬ'k-sh   *káa*
      3Sg.S-wíi-COS.break.down-IMPV   car
      'the car broke down'

The nouns in the above examples cannot take an object marker; the clauses are

intransitive. It is not clear how the prefix *wíi-* as used in intransitives is related to its use

in bi-and tripartite constructions, although consistent variation across dialects for the

whole set of uses of *wíi-*, discussed in 4.4.4, suggests that the varying uses have a single historical source.

In Jacobs' discussion of verb stems, he places *wii-* and *wyá-* into two different categories. He lists them both as anterior roots and as central roots. The status of these forms as members of the LP class is not clear cut, as syntactically they behave for the most part as do other LP's but their meanings do not fit neatly with the rest of the members of the LP class.

4.4.2. Stems with causative prefixes

The two morphological causatives in the language also share a number of syntactic properties with LP's. Section 4.2.3 introduced *shapá-* as the general and productive causative. The second causative to be discussed, *chá-*, occurs with a limited set of verbs and tends to produce more lexicalized meanings. These causatives share some structural and position class properties with LP's.

LP's and COS stems are bound. Like LP's, bound causatives combine with COS stems to indicate caused action. 77 shows causative and lexical prefixes with DPR *ḵ'ik-* 'fasten on, stick on, attach to'.

77. *shapá-ḵ'ik-*
     CAUS-stick.on
     'hang up (coat on hook)'

     chá-ḵ'ik-
     CAUS-stick.on
     'fasten on (feather tied to stick)

pá-ḵ'ik-
LP.with.hand-stick.on
'stick on (paper on spike)'

walá-ḵ'ik-
LP.belt-stick.on
'belt, tie around'

Causatives and lexical prefixes, as seen above, can occur in the same position slot in the verb stem. Like lexical prefixes, causatives follow pronominal and adverbial morphemes (*i-* and *ḵá-* in example 78 and 79) and can precede independent verb roots (examples 80 and 81).

Bipartite construction with pronominal and adverbial prefixes:

78.   *iḵátutatł'ka*
      i-ḵá-túta-tł'k-a
      3Sg.S-suddenly-LP.head-COS.break-PST
      'he suddenly hit his head'

Causative construction with pronominal and adverbial prefixes:

79.   *iḵáshapalkw'ka*
      i-ḵá-shapá-lkw'k-a
      3Sg.S-suddenly-CAUS-scare-PST
      'she made (someone) scare her suddenly'

Independent verb stem with lexical prefix:

80.   *ipáḵuḵusha*
      i-pá-ḵúḵu-sha
      3Sg.S-LP.hand-knock-IMPV
      's/he is knocking'
Independent verb stem with causative prefix:

81.   *ishapáttawaxshana*
      i-shapá-ttáwax-sha-na
      3Sg.S-CAUS-grow-IMPV-PST
      's/he grew it'

However, there are two differences between lexical prefixes and causative prefixes.

Only some lexical prefixes co-occur in sequence,[53] but the causative *shapá-* can occur

before any LP-initial stem:

82. *shapátik'anayk*
    shapá-tí-k'anayk-
    CAUS-LP.butt-LDS.bend.over
    'make s.o. bend over'

83. *shapátkwapwiiluuk*
    shapá-tkwáp-wíi-luu-k
    CAUS-LP.lower.arm-wíi-LDS.in.air-TRNS
    'rob' (lit, make s.o. raise hands up)

A second difference is that reduplication of LP's is possible, but not reduplication

of causatives. Some lexical prefixes undergo reduplication to indicate repeated action, as

do freestanding verb roots. This same pattern is seen in Washo lexical prefixes, where

reduplication indicates repetition of action (Jacobsen 1980). The example in 84 shows

reduplication of the independent verb 'dig,' and in 85 of the LP of the bipartite formation

'cut through':

84. *paxnímxnímxa*
    pa-xním-xním-xa
    3Pl.S-dig-dig-HAB
    'they keep on digging'

85. *iwáwaxtł'ka*
    i-wá-wáx-tł'k-a
    3Sg.S-LP.instr-LP.instr-COS.break-PST
    'he chopped and chopped it up (with an axe)'

It is possible that causative prefixes developed from lexical prefixes, as is argued

to be the case for other languages. A path from instrumental prefixes that refer to the

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[53]   We will see this in 4.4.4.

hand to causatives is attested in Northern Paiute (Thornes 2003), Haida (Hori 1998), and various other languages (Mithun 1999). Causative prefixes are similar in form to two lexical prefixes. One of the more common lexical prefixes is *pá-*, having to do with using the hand. It typically refers to a pushing motion:

86.   *ápax̱alukshaash*
        á-pá-x̱áluk-sha=ash
        3O-LP.with.hand-LDS.under-IMPV=1Sg
        'I'm pushing it underneath'

This stressed form *pá-* may be the source of the second part of the causative *shapá-*.

If the morpheme *pá-* is part of *shapá-*, we must account for the remainder of that form. There is an LP *shá-* 'with a knife, cut,' but, as noted above, LPs do not typically combine and so this seems an unlikely source of the causative. The corresponding Nez Perce causative is *sepé-* and the LP 'with.hand' is *we:p-*, showing no clear relation between the two forms in that language. However, the general causative in Klamath is *s-*/*sne̲-*, which DeLancey, Genetti and Rude (1988) relate to Sahaptian **sep-*, noting that Sahaptian **p* needs to be accounted for. I suggest that **p* arises from, or from the same historical source as, *pá-* 'with.hand'.

The causative *chá-* also has an internal source that is an LP. A lexical prefix *chá-* refers to pulling, lifting, or use of the teeth. The common semantic base for these three senses is the action of pulling; one can use the teeth to pull or tear off a bite of food.

87.   *icháxtɬ'ka*
        i-cháx-tɬ'k-a
        3Sg.S-LP.teeth-COS.break-PST
        's/he bit it in two'

As can be seen in examples such as 77 above, the causative uses of *shapá-* and

chá- are no longer restricted to actions that have to do with the use of the hands or teeth

or pulling motions. With *chá-*, there is sometimes ambiguity between the causative and

the LP meanings: *chátɬʼiʼip-* can mean 'cause something to break into pieces' or 'break

something into pieces' or 'break off a piece of something with your teeth'. Context

typically resolves this ambiguity.

The more restricted use of the causative *chá-* relative to *shapá-* and the more

transparent relation between the LP *chá-* and causative *chá-* suggest that the paths of the

two causatives were not parallel and that the use of *chá-* as a causative is a more recent

development. If LP's were the source of causatives, as is suggested above, this explains

the syntactic and semantic overlap between the two types of affixes.

4.4.3. Stems with transitivizing prefix

Some verbs have an alternation between a form that begins in *í-* and is transitive,

and a base intransitive form without this prefix. Examples include *táx̱shi-* 'awaken',

ítax̱shi- 'wake someone up'; *tɬʼyáwi-* 'die', *ítɬʼyawi-* 'kill'; *yatɬʼpi-* 'be soaked', *íyatɬʼpi-*

'make soaked, make wet'; *túx̱-* 'return home'; *ítux̱-* 'give back'. This prefix is not

synchronically productive. It occurs with transitivizing suffix *-k* (also not productive) in

some combinations: *ɬamáy-* 'be hidden, lost, *íɬamayk-* 'hide'.

The prefix is also found with a number of change of state stems. This allows the

otherwise dependent root to function as a transitive verb stem. The forms below have

related DPR's, seen in Table 4.2.

88. *íshtk-* 'tie, tangle, knot'
  ípxw- 'scatter'
  ík'p- 'close up, make secure'
  ík'ink- 'block, barricade'

The prefix *í-* is also is found with at least one LP: *ítwa-* 'mix in, mix with' from *twá-* 'longish object used radially to mix, shave, scrape'. It also occurs with some stems that are lexicalized in that the second element occurs only in a few words: *ílkw-* 'make a fire', *ítkw'k-* 'straighten'.

A topic for further research is to find out to what extent this prefix is productive with COS stems, and whether the stems it is prefixed to in any way form a subclass. In addition, work needs to be done to determine to what extent sets of stems prefixed with *wíi-* (in its intransitive/unaccusative reading) *shapá-* (causative) and *í-* (transitive) exist, as in 89.

89. *wíishtk-* 'get tangled
  shapáshtk- 'make tangled or knotted'
  íshtk- 'tie, tangle, knot'

Dependent roots *-uy* 'start' and *-nák'i* 'finish' have syntactic similarities to COS DPR's, but like the other forms addressed in this section are not clear-cut members of any particular class. A related morpheme discussed in 4.2.4 is *k'ay* 'start' They seem to most often attach to independent stems and are found in some lexicalized combinations. *-uy* is used more in its nominalized form (*uyt* 'first, the first one') but also is used in combination with *wíi-* to mean start.

90. *Aw na wíi'uysha*
  aw =na   *wíi-uy-sha*
  now =1Pl.INC wii-start-IMPV
  'Let's start now'

nák'i 'finish' is the more productive of the pair. It attaches to a few LPs, as in *ká-nak'i-* '(LP.mouth-finish) 'finish eating'. When prefixed with transitivizer *í-* it means 'finish'.

91. *miimiish áwinak'iya*
     miimi-ish   áw-ínak'i-ya
     long.ago=1Sg 3O-finish-PST
     'I already finished it'

4.4.4. Tripartite stems

Most lexical prefixes do not occur in sequence, and those that do seem to be frequent collocations that have have merged. These will be discussed below.

A productive tripartite combination includes central element *wíi-*. In these combinations, none of the composite parts of the stem stand alone as an independent verb:

92. *túta-wii-sklik*
     LP.head-wíi-LDS.turn
     'turn one's head around' (like an owl when startled)

In some combinations, the inclusion of *wíi-* is required between an LP and directional stem, and with other combinations its use is optional. When it is optional, it accentuates the motion or speed involved in the action. The following two examples both have the same lexical prefix and directional stem, but *wíi-* is included in the second:

93. *itxpnáynaka*
     i-txp-náynak-a
     3Sg.S-LP.foot-LDS.into-PST
     'he put his foot inside (something)'

     itxpwíinaynaka
     i-txp-wíi-náynak-a
     3Sg.S-LP.foot-wíi-LDS.into-PST
     'he put his foot inside (something)' (faster, shoving movement)

94. *ánakyat'anaash*
    á-nák-yát'a-na=ash
    3O-LP.carry-LDS.elsewhere-PST=1Sg
    'I carried it away'

    ánakwíiyat'anaash
    á-nák-wíi-yát'a-na=ash
    3O-LP.carry-wíi-LDS.elsewhere-PST=1Sg
    'I carried it (quickly) away'

With some combinations, its inclusion makes a clearer meaning difference related to

movement.

95. *ipáhayka*
    i-pá-háyk-a
    3Sg.S-LP.hands-LDS.down-PST
    's/he put it down'

    ipáwiihayka
    i-pá-wíi-háyk-a
    3Sg.S-LP.hands-*wíi*-LDS.down-PST
    's/he pushed it down'

In text examples the inclusion of *wíi-* highlights speed and movement:

96. *K'mítpa áyawiihaykma íkush tilíwal.*
    k'mít-pa   á-yá-wíi-háyk-m-a   íkush   tilíwal
    cliff-LOC 3O-LP.water-*wíi*-LDS.down-CSL-PST thus   blood
    'His blood poured down the cliff.'
    In many cases, the stem formed by *wíi-* and the LDS is a fully functional verb

stem, ready for inflectional morphemes. *wíihayk-* 'quickly descend' occurs in examples

95 and 96 with an LP and in example 69 on page 254 without. Therefore, an additional

LP (such as *yá-* in example 96) could be analyzed as prefixing an already-formed

bipartite stem. *wíiluuk-* 'rise, go up' is a stem. With the LP *tkwáp-* 'lower hand or arm',

the central element must be present: *tkwápwiiluuk-* 'raise arms' is acceptable, *tkwápluuk-*

is not. However, with LP *sú-* 'long pole', *wíi-* is not used: *súluuk-* push pole up, raise

pole'. *tkwáp-*, as noted earlier, is of the subset of LPs that is not an instrumental LP, and this may play a role.

In addition, since some combinations with *wíi-* have become lexicalized, adding an LP does not always give a meaningful result. *wíichayk-* (literally *wíi- + -chayk* 'extend') now means 'get angry'. Combinations of this stem and LP's do not make sense. *tkwápchayk-* 'extend hand' cannot take central element *wíi-*, presumably because it would be analyzed as the LP preceding the lexical item *wíichayk-* 'get angry'.

Prefixing by an additional LP is is also seen with stems formed with *wyá-. wyáłtx-* 'go up' and *wíiłtx-* 'run or fly up' can both take a lexical prefix such as *xásu-* 'by horse'. Again, none of the three pieces stands alone as a stem.

Jacobs (1931) describes tripartite constructions by including a short series of central verb roots in his analysis: *wíi-, wáa-,* and *wáy(a)-*. The first two are dialectal variants, with Northwest (Yakima) *wíi-* corresponding to *wáa-* in some Northeast and Columbia River dialects. Umatilla *wáanaynač-* 'go inside' corresponds to Yakima *wíinaynak-*. The third central root Jacobs lists, *wáy(a)-,* may also be a dialect variation of *wíi-*: his Klikitat example *wáynaynak-* (motion through to inside) (1931, 182) demonstrates a three way distinction with Umatilla *wáanaynač* -and Yakima *wíinaynak-*. Jacobs also includes *ipáwaychaliina* 'he shoved (something) into water,' corresponding to Yakima *ipáwiichaliina.* These variations related to dialect are consistent across all uses of the form *wíi* (Noel Rude p.c.). Some of the variations are no longer tied to a specific dialect. *wayáwayk-* 'cross quickly' looks like a Klikitat form, but is used in Yakima.

Jacobs' analysis of central roots is clouded by partial homophones in Yakima, in particular *wa-* 'be'; *wayk-* (DPR) 'go across'; *wáyna-* (independent verb stem) 'fly'. Jacobs does note these meanings in his analysis, and indicates that dialect variations are at times difficult to tease apart.

There are a number of stems composed of three morphemes. Many of these fall into a pattern of additional LP's prefixing stems that are already fully formed, as seen above with stems with *wíi-* and *wyá-*. The form *x̱átama-* was discussed earlier as a combination of 'unexpectedly' and 'throw'.

There are a number of stems with initial element(s) *wapá-* that refer to activities with the fingers.

97. *wápakutkut-*   'rub'
     wápak'ink-   'block, hold in with hand'
     wapákw'ilk-   'squish up with fingers'

These presumably include 'with hand' *pá-*, but the source of the first piece is not clear. Using an overhead chopping motion can be indicated with *wá-*, but the actions referred to are finer movements. We could be seeing a dialectal alternation (of Yakima *wíi-*) that has fossilized.

Another set of tripartite stems involves a central piece *-lá-*, as in the unusually long LP *áwk̲a(la)* 'by rolling'.[54] Combining this with a central element and DPR yields

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[54] Although, in a highly speculative fashion, one sees the adverbial prefix *k̲á-* 'suddenly' and the particle *aw* 'now'.

verbs such as *awḵalawíinknik-* 'roll around'[55]. At first glance, it could be expressing

iterative partial reduplication:

98.　*áwḵala-hayk-*　　*awḵala-lá-hayk-*
　　　'roll off'　　　　'bounce off'

But other examples, such as the one below with the independent verb 'jump' are not

iterative.

99.　*tⱡup-wii-la-cha-lii*
　　　jump-*wii-la*-into-water

Example 99 shows at least 4 parts, although the purpose of *la* is not clear. And,

synchronically, *-chalii* is probably best analyzed as a single unit. Although *-lii* (also *-nii*)

'into water' is found without *cha*, I only know of *cha* (in this position) connected to *-lii* as

above, and in *-chapa*, 'into brush'.

The complexity of Ichishkíin verb stems suggests layers added over time, slipping

into the system. Verb stems in the language are long, and there are a lot of remnants of

the process of verb formation that still hold meaning, although they are not productive.

We would expect the pieces to either end of the stem to be the most fluid, identifiable and

recent, but in Ichishkíin we see the possibility for elements such as *wíi* to synchronically

move in and out of a central position as well.

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[55] The 'rolling' examples are thanks to Regan Anderson, Virginia Beavert and Greg Sutterlict.

CHAPTER V

NOUNS

The last chapter showed that Ichishkíin verbs can be structurally complex. Nouns

are less so, but are subject to a number of inflectional and derivational processes.

Inflectional processes that apply to nouns are pluralization and case marking. Refer to

Chapter 3 for more complete information; as these were covered at length in that chapter,

they are only summarized here. Numbers and kinship terms were also included in

Chapter 3. This chapter covers derivational processes applicable to nouns, and a set of

nominal suffixes that expresses meanings like 'next', 'only' and 'again'. The chapter

ends with a brief discussion of noun phrases. For information on pronouns, the reader is

referred back to sections 3.10.5 (personal pronouns) 3.10.6 (demonstratives) and 3.11.3

(interrogative pronouns). Adjectives are discussed in 8.2.

5.1. Review of number and case

As discussed in 3.10.3, animate nouns take suffixes to indicate number. Human,

animate (mobile animals) and inanimate entities are treated differently in the marking of

number. The singular, unmarked form of a noun is used for singular animate, generic or

mass entities and collective plurals. Inanimates are either not marked for number or are

reduplicated to indicate distributive. Several inanimate nouns also have specific plural forms. Typically only humans receive the dual suffix *-in*. Humans and animates can be suffixed with plural *-ma*, which indicates distributive plural, that members of a group are being referred to as individuals rather than a set. Irregular dual and plural marking on nouns referring to humans is shown in section 3.10.3

An infrequent noun prefix *pa-* also reflects number. It carries the meaning 'one to another, mutually, reciprocally, both'. It is a part of many lexical items: *pawítk* 'halves' from *wítk* 'half; *paláxs* 'pair' from *laxs* 'one.HUM'. See also the discussion of the numeral *paníipt* 'four' as 'two by two' in 3.10.1. The prefix *pa-* also is used productively on nouns, as in the following example.

1.   *kútya awkú míimi ipápatalaxitkinxana pamyánash*
        kútya   awkú   míimi   ipápa-talaxitk-inxa-na   pa-myánash
        rather then   long.ago   RCP-discipline-HAB-PST   RCP-child
        'But then long ago the children used to discipline one another'

Note that this example shows an older form of the reciprocal prefix, which is includes third person singular *i-*. The plural suffix *-ma* is not used on the noun. Noun prefix *pa-* has the same form as 3rd person plural prefix *pa-* (see 3.2.1) and is likely related to that as well as the third person reciprocal *pápa-* discussed in (3.2.3). In addition, *p(a)* indicates plurality in clitics: *=pam* '2Pl'(with second person base *m*) and *=pat* '3Pl'.

Nouns take case-marking suffixes, discussed at length in 3.9 and 3.10.4. One set of case markers indicates core grammatical roles: subject, object and possessor (see section 6.1). A second set of case markers is used for obliques.

5.2. Nominalizing morphology

The derivation of nouns from other word classes is productive and common. In addition, derivational suffixes derive nouns with related meanings from other nouns.

Nominalizing suffixes indicate a relationship in meaning between the derived noun and the base form of the word from which it was derived. The various productive morphemes are discussed here, followed by a listing of some less productive noun affixes. In example 2 various nominalizing suffixes are added to the verb *tíma-* 'write, mark'.

2.   *timałá*   'writer, secretary'
       tímash   'paper, letter, book'
       timat'áwaas   'pencil, pen'
       timatpamá   'blackboard, typewriter'

5.2.1. Action nominalizer -t

The general nominalizer deriving nouns from verbs is *-t*. This is a productive and frequently occurring suffix.

3.   *páshwi-*   *páshwit*
       'be worth'   'value'

       tkwáta-   *tkwátat*
       'eat'   'food'

       shúkwa-   *shúkwat*
       'know'   'knowledge, teaching'

Many nominalizations formed with *-t* are lexicalized. Their meaning is related to but not entirely predictable from the verb.

4. *wínat-*   *wínatt*
    'exit, go out'   'spring'

    ttáwax̲-   *ttáwax̲t*
    'grow, mature'   'family, upbringing'

Nominalized verbs behave as do non-derived nouns. In the copular constructions in example 5, nouns formed from *wíiwx̲i-* 'exchange gifts in wedding trade' and *pápawinp-* (lit. RCP + 'take, get') 'marry, mate' are used.

5. *átaw áwacha **pápawiiwx̲it** niimí,*
    átaw   *á-wacha*   *papa-wiiwx̲i-t*   *niimí*
    valued 3O-COP.PST RCP-exchange.at.wedding-NZR 1Pl.PN.GEN

    *tmáakni awkú áwacha **pápawinpt.***
    tmáak-ni   *awkú*   *á-wacha*   *pápawinp-t*
    respect-STAT then   3O-COP.PST marry-NZR
    'Our dowries were valuable long ago, marriage was highly respected.'

As does reciprocal prefix *pápa-* in 5, a number of verbal suffixes and prefixes, such as causatives, purposives and desideratives, can remain on a nominalized verb.

Verbs nominalized with *-t* are used as infinitives or gerunds.

6. *itk̲'íx̲sha winaníit*
    i-tk̲'íx̲-sha   *winaníi-t*
    3Sg.S-want-IMPV   swim-NZR
    's/he likes/wants to swim/swimming'

7. *ku kunkínk áwacha ts'wáaywit wisalílt ku np'íwit*
    ku   *kunkínk*   *á-wacha*   *ts'wáaywit wisalíl-t*   *ku*   *np'íwi-t*
    and   that.INST 3O-COP.PST right   hunt-NZR and   fish-NZR
    'and with that he had rights to hunt and fish'

Nominalization with *-t* plays a role in other complex constructions, to be discussed in Chapter 9.

5.2.2. Agent nominalizer -łá

The suffix -łá added to a verb indicates the agent or 'doer' of the verb. It is a stress-stealing suffix and so takes word level stress (2.6).

8. watí-   watiłá
    'tell legends'   'legend-teller'

    sápsikw'a-   sapsikw'ałá
    'teach, explain'   'teacher'

    náktkwanin-   naktkwaninłá
    'care for, be responsible for'   'caregiver, nurse'

A malefactive agent nominalizer -łam shifts stress to the penultimate syllable, as in paxwíłam 'robber' from páxwi- 'steal' and itł'yawíłam 'killer' from ítł'yawi- 'kill'.

The inverse prefix pá- (discussed in 6.3 and 7.3) is used on nominalized forms of some verbs. It occurs with the agentive suffix -łá; it also occurs on verbs nominalized with the productive nominalizer -t.

9. xítway-   paxtwayłá
    'befriend'   'friendly person'

    wáwya-   pawawyałá
    'whip'   'whip man'

    tíixwa-   pátiixwat
    'inform'   'lesson'

    waník-   páwanikt
    'name, be named'   'naming ceremony'

For some nominalizations the prefix is optional. For example, wawyałá and pawawyałá are both used for 'whipman'. For other nominalizations, the prefix is invariant, as in paykłá 'obedient person' from yík- 'hear, listen, understand'.

5.2.3. Patient nominalizer -*sh*

Patient nominalizer -*sh* indicates the result of a human's action. This is not as productive

as nominalizer -*t* and applies to a more limited set of verbs. I

10. *sháxaap-*   *sháxaapsh*
   'slice'   'board, plank'

   watík-   *watíksh*
   'step'   'track, footprint'

   ílkw-   *ílkwsh*
   'build a fire'   'fire'

   pák'ink-   *pák'inksh*
   'block off'   'dam'

Contrasts between nouns formed with -*t* and those formed with -*sh* show that -*sh*

nominalizations highlight human involvement. The verb *xni-* 'dig roots' is usually

nominalized with -*t* to yield *xnit*, the general word for edible roots. In the following

example, *xnish* is used instead of *xnit*, as it refers specifically to the first roots dug by a

particular girl.

11. *íchi áwa uyt xnish*
   íchi   *áwa*   *uyt*   *xni-sh*
   this   3O-COP   first   dig.roots-PAT.NZR
   'These are her first roots'

I also have some examples of pairs of -*t* / -*sh* nominalizations that do not clearly show

that meaning difference: *pátuksh/pátukt* 'bet'(from *pátuk-* 'place, set'); *cháwiluuksh/*

cháwiluukt 'flag, banner' (from *cháwiluuk-* 'raise'). These words may be used in specific

contexts that I have not been able to tease apart.

5.2.4. Instrument nominalizer -(t')áwaas

-(t')áwaas indicates the tool or instrument with which the action is carried out, and is suffixed to verb roots. The Yakima form has a long vowel at the end, although there is some variation among speakers. Other Ichishkíin dialects have a short vowel (-(t')áwas, see Jacobs 1931: 217).

12.	waláḵ'ik- 'tie up, wrap and tie'	walaḵ'ikáwaas 'lacing'
	súttʼwanp- 'dip out'	suttʼwanpáwaas 'dipper, cup'
	twák'aatk- 'scrape, shave'	twak'aatkáwaas 'scraper'

If it is added to a verb ending in a vowel, the form is -t'áwaas.[56]

13.	łḵ'íwi- 'play'	łḵ'iwit'áwaas 'plaything'
	panáti- 'climb'	panatit'áwaas 'ladder'

5.2.5. Thing or place for, pertaining to: -pamá

The suffix -pamá means 'thing or place for' or 'pertaining to'. It applies to nouns.

14.	áchaash 'eyes'	achaashpamá 'eyeglasses'
	tíkay 'dish, plate'	tikaypamá 'cupboard'

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[56] This could historically be nominalizer -t. The glottalization would stil need to be accounted for, as this is the only case in which a consonant is glottalized before the instrument nominalizer. Also, it does apply only vowel-final verbs and so synchronically is phonetically conditioned.

When it is added to verbs they are first nominalized with -*t*.

15.   *wát'a-*   *wat'atpamá*
         'strike, hit'   'drumstick'

         pnú-   *pnutpamá*
         'sleep'   'bed, bedroom'

The following sentence is a part of a description of a *wápaas*, a small gathering basket.

16.   *Wápaas iwá taakwinpamá, pshatatpamá x̱nít.*
         wápaas   *i-wa*   *táakwin-pamá*
         gathering.basket   3Sg.S- COP   whatchamacallit -thing.for

         psháta-t-pamá   *x̱ní-t*
         put.in -NZR -thing.for   dig.root-NZR
         'Wapaas is a thing for gathering roots'

There is some overlap between -*(t)áwaas* and -*pamá*; for example, *panatitpamá* (from *panáti-* 'climb') is used for ladder or stairs, as is *panatit'áwaas*.

      The suffix -*pamá* (*pamá* + -*pa* 'LOC') refers to a time once removed from the noun that is suffixed.

17.   *watím*   *watimpamápa*[57]
         'yesterday'   'day before yesterday'

         inwím   *inwimpamápa*
         'last year'   'year before last'

         maysx̱   *maysx̱pamápa*
         'tomorrow'   'day after tomorrow'

It seems as though the default interpretation (if the noun does not include past or future meaning, as do the examples above) is that the time has passed.

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[57] It seemed at first that these forms should just have the -*pamá* suffix and that -*pa* LOC situated an event '**on** the day before yesterday', as -*pa* does with other times, see 3.10.4. However, for some speakers, *watimpamá* means 'tomorrow'. The full suffix is needed to get the time before/after.

18. *nápɫkw'i*   *napɫkw'ipamápa*
     'Tuesday'   'last Tuesday'

5.2.6. Legend animal -*yáy*

Legendary animals' names have the suffixes -*yáy* or -*ya* (-*ya* triggers stress shift to the preceding syllable) added to a common animal name. *Spilyáy* 'Coyote' (from *spílya* 'coyote') is the best-known example.

19. *asúm*   *Asumyáy*
     'eel'   'Eel'

     áshnam   *Ashnamyáy*
     'flea'   'Flea'

     kw'ayawí   *Kw'ayawiyáy*
     'cougar'   'Cougar'

     pích'im   *Pch'íimya*
     'bobcat'   'Bobcat'

     yíx̱a   *Yix̱áya*
     'beaver'   'Beaver'

There is variation within and across dialects and speakers as to what form of the suffix will be used and whether vowels are lengthened. *Tiskáaya, Tiskayáaya,* and *Tiskayáy* (from *tiskáy* 'skunk') are used by X̱wáɫwaypam Klikitat speaker Joe Hunt in Jacobs' 1929 texts. I have recorded both *Wax̱púuya* and *Wax̱pushyáy* (from *wáx̱push* 'rattlesnake') from Yakima speakers. Morrison (1990) writes that for single syllable Warm Springs nouns ending in a consonant and vowel final nouns, the suffix is -*yáy*. For consonant-final nouns of more than one syllable and diphthong-final nouns, it is -*ya*, with stress on the preceding syllable.

5.2.7. Additional nominalizing suffixes

There are a number of additional nominalizing suffixes that are less productive and less frequent. They are listed in Table 5.1. Although the words they form are usually morphologically transparent, these suffixes are less than fully productive in present day use. Jacobs (1931) provides an extensive listing.

TABLE 5.1. ADDITIONAL NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES

-áł	negative agentive, forms nouns/adjectivals from verbs (See 3.7)	*tkwáta-* 'eat'	*tkwatanáł* 'one who hasn't eaten'
-aas	Perhaps related to patient NZR *-sh*?	*wáx̱wayk-* 'cross'	*wáx̱waykaas* 'bridge'
		ílkw- 'build a fire'	*ílkwaas* 'wood'
-aash[58]	place or food source; noun suffix	*wíwnu* 'huckleberry'	*wiwnúwaash* 'huckleberry patch'[59]
		suspán 'strawberry'	*suspánaash* 'strawberry plant'
-lí	'thing that is or has'; forms nouns from nouns/adjectives	*míts'úux̱* 'spout'	*míts'uux̱lí* 'coffee pot, teapot'
		tł'waay 'stiff, starched'	*tł'waaylí* 'canvas'

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[58] *-aas* and *-aash* seem related to patient nominalizer *-sh* in that they indicate some form of human involvement or purpose, for example a place people go or a plant used for food. There also are a number of nouns with *-(a)as* endings that are not morphologically transparent (for example *kiwkíwlaas* 'drum').

[59] This example shows a stress shift to the penultimate syllable, but this does not happen in all instances, *cf.* *kayáasuwaash* 'service berry bush' (traditionally used to make arrows) from *kayáasu* 'arrow' and *suspánaash* from *suspán* in this example.

TABLE 5.1. (CONTINUED).

-ɬimá	'covered with, coated with'; noun suffix	*k'pɨt* 'bead'	*k'pɨtɬimá* 'beaded'
		liklík 'slime'	*likliktɬimá* 'covered with slime'
-nút	privative 'without', forms nouns/adjectives from nouns (See 3.7)	*táala* 'money'	*taalanút* 'without money, poor'
-pam	people, typically added to place names	*Wayám* 'Celilo'	*Wayámpam* 'Celilo Indians'
-wáakuɬ	'like, resembling, similar to'; often derives plant and animal names, noun suffix	*tilíwal* 'blood'	*tiliwalwáakuɬ* 'beet'
		sit'x̱ws 'Indian rice' (edible root)	*sit'x̱wswáakuɬ* 'corn'
-(á)wit[60]	'abstractive'; forms nouns from nouns/adjectives	*miimá* 'old'	*miimáwit* 'olden times, traditional ways'
		wak'ísh 'alive, awake'	*wak'íshwit* 'life, soul'
		twáti 'medicine man, woman'	*twatíwit* 'medicine doctor's power, shamanism'

Jacobs (1931) lists a number of additional noun prefixes and suffixes. Some of his examples are attested on only a few words and are not productive; not all of the forms he gives are included here. An example of this type of morpheme is *atá-* 'too, very, great'. This is seen in *atáchiish* 'ocean' (*atá-* + 'water'). This morpheme is listed in Jacobs'

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[60] This suffix shifts the stress to the penultimate syllable.

inventory of noun morphology (1931:212) and he gives all four examples he found (some

with variant *natá-*), but it is not a productive affix. Others of his forms are not found in

Yakima, to my knowledge, or are analyzed here as separate words (*miimá* 'old, ancient').

5.3. Noun to verb derivation

The suffix *-i* derives verbs from nouns and adjectives. (A suffix *-i* also derives

stative adjectives from verbs and nouns, see 8.2). This is a productive process. In the case

of an *-i* or *-u* final root, a glide is inserted.

20.   *álxayx*   *álxayxi-*
       'moon'   'shine' (said of the moon)

       cháynach   *cháynachi-*
       'bridegroom'   'get married' (referring to a man)

       píkchaash   *píkchaashi-*
       'picture, photo'   'take a photo'

       shp'áw   *shp'áwi-*
       'ball'   'play ball'

       táatpas   *táatpasi-*
       'shirt, clothing'   'get dressed, put on shirt'

The following examples shows the use of this suffix on adjectives.

21.   *átaw*   *átawi-*
       'valuable, important' 'value, love, honor'

       hananúy   *hananúywi-*
       'bothersome'   'be bothered, be wasting time'

       páyu   *payúwi-*[61]
       'sick'   'be sick'

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[61] I cannot explain the stress shift here.

5.4. Nominal suffixes

A set of suffixes attaches to nouns, personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, and occasionally other word classes. Their use with interrogative pronouns is discussed in 3.11.3. They have been previously termed nominal suffixes and enclitics, and are predominantly found on pronouns and nouns, therefore they are included here. The set is as follows:

22. *-sá*   'alone'
     -sim   'only'
     -k'a /-ch'a 'also, next, now'
     -x̱i   'same'
     -x̱ush   'first'

These suffixes can occur sequentially. When they do they are attached to the noun in the order they are given above. Only *-sá, -sim* and *-k'a / ch'a* can begin sequences, *-x̱i* and *-x̱ush* must always be the last in a sequence.

Rude (2008) gives examples of the third person singular pronoun *pink* plus nominal suffixes found in Jacobs (1929, 1937).

23. *pilksá*   'he alone'
     pilksásimk'a   'he also only alone'
     pinch'á   'he also'
     pinch'ák'a   'he also now'
     pinx̱i   'he the same'
     pinx̱ush   'he first'   (Rude 2008, 113-114)

Jacobs categorizes these as suffixes but questions that categorization, stating 'these are almost enclitics in feeling and in freedom of attachment' (1931, 233). He refers to *-x̱i* 'same' as a suffix and a 'quasi-enclitic' (253). Rude analyzes them as nominal enclitics.

Their freedom of attachment to words of different classes is more clitic-like than affix-like. In addition, they follow inflectional morphology on nouns, unlike the nominalizing suffixes addressed above which precede number and case suffixes. Here, I analyze this set as suffixes rather than clitics. They most often (but not always) occur with a pronoun or noun and so many of them suffix a particular word class. They modify the word they attach to, rather than operating at clause or phrase level. One of the morphemes listed above (-sá 'alone') carries word level stress, as do other affixes in the language. The clitics do not. These suffixes have different qualities from the two other sets of Ichishkíin morphemes that are classified as clitics (pronominal enclitics, 3.2.2, and modal enclitics, 8.4). The nominal suffixes are not tied to second position, as are the clitics. When they occur on a sentence-initial word they precede any second position modal or pronominal enclitics.

This is an area of Ichishkíin grammar that needs to be more systematically investigated. The range of meanings of each suffix has not been fully described, or how the meaning of a sequence of suffixes differs from the sum of the individual meanings of each morpheme. It is not known which co-occurrences of morphemes are possible and which are not. In addition, although they are given and described here as a set, the behavior of each differs slightly, and it may be that a different classification is in order. For example, -k'a and -xi attach to word classes other than pronouns and nouns more frequently than the others. -sá is found in texts only on pronouns. In addition, as discussed below, whether pronoun-final k deletes prior to these suffixes varies by suffix.

Below are examples of each suffix, along with sequences of the suffixes found in texts. The sequences are listed under the first morpheme of the sequence (for example -*ch'axi* follows -*k'a* /- *ch'a*).

-*sá* 'alone, by oneself'

This suffix occurs on only personal pronouns in my data and that of Jacobs (1931:253). When -*sá* 'alone' is added to a pronoun, typically the resulting words show the diminutive sound pattern *n* to *l* (see 2.12 for more on this shift), which reinforces the idea that the subject is alone: *pilksá* (*pink* '3Sg.PRO') 'he or she alone, by himself or herself', *ilksá* (*ink* '1Sg.PRO') 'only I, by myself', *lamaksá* (*namák* '1Pl.PRO') 'we alone'.

24. *Aw nash awkú lalíwanxa **ilksá***
    aw =nash   awkú   lalíwan-xa   ilk-sá
    now =1Sg then   be.lonely-HAB   1Sg.PN-alone
    'I get lonely all by myself'

ilksá 'only I' can also indicate selfishness, boasting or self aggrandization.

Note that because this suffix only is found on pronouns, it is not immediately clear whether the best analysis is -*sá* or -*ksá*. Personal pronouns in Yakima end in *k*. The *k* is stripped off prior to the addition of some suffixes. For example, the 1st person singular subject pronoun is *ink*, but the genitive form is *inmí*. Some suffixed pronouns such as *pinxi* 's/he the same', (from *pink-xi*) are formed on the pronoun base (without *k*). Choosing the form -*sá* is consistent with other descriptions (such as Hargus and Beavert 2009, Rude 2008) and so is given here. However, the argument for choosing one over the other is not convincing. On the one hand, Umatilla personal pronouns do not end in *k* (*in* '1Sg', *pin* '3Sg') but suffix -*ksá* (Rude, pc), suggesting -*ksá* as the correct form.

However, Yakima and Umatilla pronouns suffixed with the *k*-initial suffix *-k'a* 'also'

show palatalization, presumably resulting from *k*'s joining at the morpheme boundary:

pinch'á 's/he also', from *pink-k'a*. The palatalization was also seen in 3.10.4 with some

fossilized case endings (such as *anáchnik* 'in the back, behind' from *ának -knik* 'last-

ABL'). If the best form for this suffix is *-ksá*, we would need an explanation of why the

palatalization did not occur, as it did for *-k'a*.

-sim '**only**'

> *-sim* occurs on demonstratives, personal pronouns and nouns.

25. *íkw'ak nash awkú íkw'aksim tíla apxwinúuxana*
     íkw'ak =nash   awkú íkw'ak-sim   tíla   á-pxwí-núu-xa-na
     that =1Sg   then that-only   MoFa   3O-think-APPL-HAB-PST
     'That one only I thought of as my grandfather'

Jacobs (1931:202) lists several examples of *-sim* 'only' on verbs as well with the meaning

'always' or 'all the time'. One such example is *ichíitsimixa* 'he is always drinking'.

Jacobs' examples all involve nominalized verbs that have then been re-verbalized with *-i*

(5.3). This supports the analysis of *-sim* an affix rather than clitic, and a noun suffix rather

than a verb suffix. The following Yakima example shows the same pattern.

26. *ikks ttáwaxtma asapúukasitsimisha*
     ikks   ttáwax-t-ma   á-sapúukasi-t-sim-i-sha
     small.Pl   grow-NZR-Pl 3O-repeat-NZR-same-VZR-IMPV
     'the young people only repeat by rote memory'

-simk'a

> This combination indicates that only the suffixed amount or person remains.

27. *myánashmasimk'a*
     myánash-ma-sim-k'a
     child-Pl-only- also
     'Only the children now (are left)'

The word *tł'áaxwsimk'a* means 'for the last time'.

28.   *Aw mash tł'áaxwsimk'a shápnisha*
        aw =mash   *tł'áaxw-sim-k'a*   *shápni-sha*
        now =1Sg>2Sg   all-only-also   ask-IMPV
        'I'm asking you for the last time'

-k'a/-ch'a 'also, next, now'

This suffix has a range of meanings: 'also, next, now, additionally'. It occurs on

nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs.

29.   *taxúsk'a awkú iláamsha*
        taxús-k'a   *awkú*   *i-láam-sha*
        milkweed.hemp-also   then   3Sg/S/A- disappear-IMPV
        '*Taxús* (milkweed hemp) is now disappearing'

It strengthens the meaning of adjectivals, as in 30 below, where *xyáawk'a* (based on *xyáaw*

'dry') means 'very dry, all dried up'.

30.   *tł'aaxw xyáawk'a awkú iwachá íkush*
        tł'aaxw xyáawk'a   *awkú*   *iwachá*   *íkush*
        all   dry-also   then   3Sg.S-COP.PST   thus
        'thus then he was all dried up'

When nominal suffix *-k'a* 'again, too' is found on a subject pronoun (recall that

these end in *k*), the form is *-ch'a*. This is due to no longer productive palatalization rules.

The first person form *ínch'a* can be used to humble oneself. The third person form *pínch'a*,

along with meaning 's/he too' can also impart a familiar, humbling or deprecating

meaning, especially in legends.[62] In the legend about *Síkni* 'Yellowbell,' included here in

Apendix C, *Síkni* is always behind her sisters, not organized, not ready, not as beautiful.

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[62] It seems that some of this derogatory meaning comes from the use of the pronoun in conjunction with the suffix. For example *pínxi* 's/he same, again' can also be used in a derogatory way, something like 'oh, that one again' but the word does necessarily have this connotation.

She is referred to as *pínch'a*, meaning 'that lowly one'. Further conversations with elders

about this usage include explanations such as 'Oh, that Coyote, we all know how he is'.

31. *Ku pínch'a Spilyáy ikwíitama.*
    ku   pín-ch'a   Spilyáy   ikwíitama.
    and   3Sg.PN-also   Coyote   3Sg.S-go.along-CSL-PST
    'That *Spilyáy* (Coyote) came along'

cháwk'a, negative *chaw* suffixed by *-k'a* means 'no longer, not anymore'.

-ch'ak'a

-ch'a and *-k'a* can occur together on pronouns, meaning 'one's turn (to do something)'.

32. *ímch'ak'a*
    ímk-ch'ak'a
    2Sg.PN-next
    'You next'

-ch'axi

This combination on pronouns means 'too, also, the same'

33. *Paysh nam shíx ánaktkwaninta ku*
    Paysh   =nam   shíx   á-náktkwanin-ta   ku
    if   =2Sg   good   3O-care.for-FUT   and

    > *imanách'axiim panáktkwaninta*
    > imanák-ch'a-xi=nam   pa-náktkwanin-ta
    > 2Sg.PN.OBJ- also-same =2Sg   3Pl.S-care.for-FUT
    > 'If you take good care of them, they will take care of you too (in the same way)'

The word *ánach'axi* 'again' is formed with these suffixes but the root is not known. A

possibility is that it is the subordinate particle *ána* but *ánach'axi* is not used to introduce

subordinate clauses. The second vowel of this word may not be present in fast speech

(*ánchaxi*) and at times just *ánach'a* is used.

-xi same, similarly, again

This suffix is found on nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. Unlike those, described above, however, there are also some instances of its use on verbs. If -ẖi is used on a personal pronoun, there is no pronoun-final k.

34. *anakú pink itɬ'yáwya, tɬ'aaẖw **kúukẖi** k'usík'usima patɬ'yáwya*
 ana-kú pink i-tɬ'yáwi-ya
 SUB-and 3Sg.PN 3Sg.S-die-PST

   tɬ'aaẖw kuuk-ẖi   *k'usík'usi-ma pa-tɬ'yáwi-ya*
   all at.that.time-same dog-Pl 3Pl.S-die-PST
   'When she died, all her dogs died too (at the same time)'

In addition to being used on verbs, -ẖi differs from the other suffixes described here in that it can occur on more than one element of a phrase. Note below that *kwnákẖi* 'there-same' is suffixed along with *pmách'aẖi* 'they-also-same'. The -ch'a 'also' suffix occurs on the personal pronoun, but not the demonstrative.

35. *Áyatma **pmách'aẖi kwnákẖi** ẖwyáchpa patẖánaẖa sápsikw'ani*
 áyat-ma pmá-ch'a-ẖi kwnák-ẖi   ẖwyách-pa
 woman-Pl 3Pl.PN-also-same that.LOC-same sweathouse-LOC

   pa-tẖána-ẖa   *sápsikw'a-ni*
   3Pl.S-become-HAB teach-STAT
   'Women, those too there at the sweathouse, become instructed.'

This also could be a repetition of the suffix for intensifying the meaning. In the following example from Jacobs (1937) the suffix occurs on both verb and noun.

36. *iwacháẖi miyáwaẖẖi tiin inishátuna*
 i-wachá-ẖi   myáwaẖ-ẖi tiin i-nishátu-na
 3Sg.S-COP.PST-same chief-same Indian 3Sg.S-live-PST
 'there was similarly a chief person dwelling there' (MJ37, 16.23.1)

The following example shows another use of -ẖi on verbs.

37.   *kush aw ínch'a pináwixwch'kaxi*
         ku=nash   aw   ink-ch'a   piná-wíxwch'k-a-xi
         and=1Sg now 1Sg.PN-also RFL.Sg-take.off-PST-same
         'And now I too similarly got naked'

Lexicalized uses of this suffix include *kw'áxi* 'next, back, again', from distal

demonstrative *íkw'ak* 'that', *cháwxi* 'not yet' based on negative *chaw*, and *kúshxi* 'in the

same way' from *íkush* 'thus, in that way'.

-*xush* first, in the lead, in front

    This suffix is found on nouns, personal pronouns and demonstratives. The final *k*

of personal pronouns is deleted before this suffix. It does not follow other nominal

suffixes.

38.   *ku ixátamaliikika wánayaw **pínxush***
         ku   i-xátamalii-kik-a   wána-yaw pín-xush
         and   3Sg.S-fall.into-water-TRL-PST river-DAT 3Sg.PN-first
         'and he fell into the river first'

39.   ***Luts'ayáyxush** ikwíitama*
         Luts'ayáy-xush i-kwíita-m-a
         Red.fox-first   3Sg.S-go.along-CSL-PST
         '*Luts'ayáy* (Red Fox) came along first'

    In sum, while the suffixes described in this section are similar, their freedom of

attachment to words of varying classes, suffixation to a full pronoun or pronoun base, and

ordering properties vary. -*xush* 'first' only occurs by itself, never in combination with

another suffix. -*xi* 'same' does not precede other suffixes. -*xush* and *xi* cause the final *k*

of a preceding pronoun to delete; -*sim* 'same' does not. (Given the analysis of -*sá* as the

proper form, pronoun-final *k* does not delete, and -*ch'a* is affected by no longer productive

palatalization). Table 5.2 sums up what word classes can be suffixed by each as attested

in my data. Here, the adjectives considered were forms that are identifiable as non-derived adjectives, rather than stative forms (see 8.2 for more on adjectivals).

TABLE 5.2. PROPERTIES OF NOMINAL SUFFIXES

		personal pronouns	demonstratives	nouns	adjectives	verbs
-sá	'alone'	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
-xush	'first'	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
-sim	'only'	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO /YES?
-k'a /-ch'a	'also'	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
-xi	'same'	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

5.5. Noun phrases

The previous sections have described the morphology associated with nouns as well as some specific semantic fields with relevance to noun phrases - kinship terms and numerals. The final section of this chapter looks briefly at noun phrases (NP): the elements that are involved, ordering, and number and case agreement with a head noun.

Ichishkíin noun phrases include nouns, adjectivals (8.2), numerals (5.5), genitive pronouns (3.10.5), demonstratives (3.10.6), and indefinite pronouns (3.11.3). Indefinite pronouns are used to form negative pronouns (*chaw tun* 'nothing') and inclusive pronouns (*tɬ'aaxw shin* 'everyone'). Relative clauses are finite and are addressed in Chapter 9. Further examples are found in the sections discussing each constituent.

Coordination of non-human nouns is indicated by the word *ku* 'and'. If the coordinated nouns are in a role that receives case marking, often only the second of two coordinated nouns will be case-marked. Note that in 40 below, the plural form of the adjective *iksíks* 'little' is used, even though *wyaninłá* 'insect, bug' (lit. 'traveler') is not a plural form.

40. *itkwátaxa muxlí ku ikks wyaninłánan*
    i-tkwáta-xa muxlí   ku ikks   wyaninłá-nan
    3Sg.S-eat-HAB fly   and little.PL   bug-OBJ
    'it eats flies and little bugs'

41. *pawisalílxa yáamash ku tł'álkyaw.*
    pa-wisalíl-xa   yáamash   ku   tł'alk-yaw
    3Sg.S-hunt-HAB   mule.deer   and   elk-DAT
    'They hunt for mule deer and elk'

Nouns referencing humans indicate coordination with the use of the associative case marker *-in*, which requires plural verb agreement.

42. *pawachá xáyin Sam Puyatin*
    pawachá   xáy-in   Sam Puyat-in
    3Pl.S-COP.PST   man's.male.friend-ASSOC   Sam Puyat-ASSOC
    'he and Sam Puyat were close friends'

A noun phrase can be a single word or noun/modifier plus modifier(s). All the elements listed can serve as the referring element that corresponds to a specific referent, as in *palaláay* 'lots', *kumá* 'those' (animate), *nch'i* 'the big (one)'; in other words, any of these elements can function as the head of an NP. Demonstratives, indefinite pronouns and genitive pronouns can be marked for case and reflect number if they refer to humans. Some adjectives have plural forms. Adjectives can be case marked.

Often the modifier precedes the head, but word order in NPs can vary. In a study of Klamath (also Plateau Penutian), Underriner (2002) found that while having a noun

modifier precede the noun is an apparent preference, ordering is very free. She

hypothesizes that the modifier precedes the noun when it is serving a disambiguating

function, and that otherwise its position is not fixed. Discourse pragmatic factors, such as

clause-initial position (preceding second position particles) as a place for new or focused

information play a critical role in Klamath NP word order. A similar study of Ichishkíin

ordering is needed to determine what role order of elements plays.

The following examples of various noun-modifier combinations from texts

exhibit the order as found in the text.

43.   determiners
        a. *kwmak*   *tíin-ma*
            those.Pl   person-Pl
            'those people'

        b. *kw'ink*   *maxáx*
            aforementioned   clay
            'that aforementioned clay'

        quantifiers
        c. *palaláay*   *tkwalá*
            lots   small.fish
            'a lot of fish'

        adjectivals
        d. *támaki*   *núsux*
            bake-STAT   salmon
            'baked salmon'

        e. *ttaxsh*   *káatnam*
            willow.Pl   long
            'long willow (branches)'

        numerals
        g. *píniipt*   *anwíkt*
            four   year
            'four years'

<u>genitive</u>

    h. *ishchít kaasmí*
         path   train-GEN
         'railroad track'

    i. *niimí*   *tiinmamí*   *táwax̲*
         1Pl.PN.GEN person-Pl.GEN   tobacco
         'our Indian tobacco'

<u>noun-noun modification</u>

    j. *tmyuɫá*   *iwínsh*
         plan-AGT man
         'decider man'

Modifying nouns may be suffixed by *-pamá* 'thing for, pertaining to'.

    k. *tiichampamá iníit*
         tiichám-pamá   *iníit*
         land-thing.for   house
         'earth houses'

The following examples show case agreement between nouns and modifiers.

44.   *Tamanwiɫá itmíyuna íchinki tiichámki*
       tamanwiɫá   *itmíyuna*   *íchinki*   *tiichámki*
       creator   3Sg.S-plan-PST this.INST earth-INST
       'The Creator planned out this earth'

45.   *wíyatpa nixyáawipa pít'x̲anukpa*
       wíyat-pa   *nixyáawi-pa*   *pít'x̲anuk-pa*
       far.away-LOC   Nixyaawi-LOC   mountain-LOC
       'far away at the Nixyaawi Mountains'

Modifiers can stand alone as the referring element of a noun phrase with no associated noun.

46.   *kutash íchi nápu ayíksha*
       ku=tash   *íchi*   *nápu*   *ayík-sha*
       and=2Pl.EXC this   two.HUM sit-IMPV
       'and we two are sitting here'

47.   *íchitya iwá ɨmnɨmwáy*
     íchí=tya   *i-wá*   *ɨmnɨmwáy*
     this=MOD   3Sg.S-COP   shy
     'this one, on the other hand, is shy'

Noun phrases can be discontinuous. To a certain extent, case marking ties the elements of a noun phrase together, but the case forms of the various modifiers can be very different from the case ending of nouns. For example, the locative case marker is -*pa*, the interrogative form is *mɨnán* 'where.LOC', the distal demonstrative is *kwnak* 'that.LOC', and the 3rd person pronominal locative is *pinmipáynk*.

The following are examples of discontinuous NP's. In these, the verb occurs in between two coreferential nominal words. In the first example below, both the word *tɬ'aax̱w* 'all' and the demonstrative pronoun *ikumanák* 'those.OBJ' (a variant of *kumanák*) are marked as objects. *tɬ'aax̱w* 'all' can be suffixed by plural marker -*ma* but is not in this example.

48.   *tɬ'aax̱wnan pam áwanpita ikumanák*
     tɬ'aax̱w-nan=pam   *á-wánpi-ta*   *ikumanák*
     all-OBJ =2Pl   3O-summon-FUT those.OBJ
     'You will summon all those'

The following example has a demonstrative and noun with the same referent. They are in the absolutive case, and again to either side of the verb, although here, the demonstrative precedes the verb.

49.   *íchiish ánisha tíinmaman sínwit*
     ichi=ish   *á-ní-sha*   *tíin-maman*   *sínwi-t*
     this=1Sg   3O-give-IMPV   people-PL.OBJ   talk-NZR
     'I am giving the people this message'

And in 50, more elements come between the genitive pronoun and the noun it modifies, although again, the NP elements are to either end of the clause.

50. *pinmínkxash íchi áwa nisháykt*

pinmínk=xash	*íchi*	*á-wa*	*nisháykt*
3Sg.PN.GEN=MOD	this	3O-COP	home

'this must be his home'

We see above that, as in Klamath, in Ichishkíin a noun is not needed to 'head' an NP, NP word order varies, and the modifying elements can be discontinuous. An in-depth study of nouns and modifiers to consider what other factors are at play when the general or default order of modifiers preceding nouns is violated, is needed.

CHAPTER VI

TRANSITIVITY AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

The first sections of this chapter present the intransitive, transitive and ditransitive constructions of Ichishkíin. Much of this was included in Chapter 3, and additional examples can be found there. This chapter goes into greater depth regarding possessive clauses, the obviative verb prefix á-, and ditransitives. In addition, valence-changing constructions, including the applicative and causative, reflexives and reciprocals, and the passive are addressed. The last sections of the chapter cover grammatical relations, alignment patterns and word order. Chapter 7 is also relevant to the discussion of transitivity. It reviews the inverse alignment and voice constructions, covering the function and historical sources of these systems.

6.1. Overview of transitivity

Throughout this discussion, I use the notions of intransitive subject, transitive subject, and transitive object, labeled S, A, and O following Dixon (1994). I distinguish core grammatical relations to the verb, indicated in Ichishkíin with pronominal prefixes, second position pronominal enclitics, and A and O case markers, from oblique arguments, indicated by case-marking on nouns and case forms of demonstratives and

pronouns (pronouns and demonstratives have forms with inherent case that do not necessarily match the case endings for nouns). Core arguments can be subjects, objects and possessors.

Grammatical relations are well-defined, and are morphologically indicated. Specific combinations of participants in A and O roles are grammatically coded in distinct ways. Syntactic behavior and control properties (as discussed in Givón 1995) appeal to categories of subject and object. This is seen in reflexives, reciprocals, passives, inverse constructions, and eligibility for the external possession construction. Word order is flexible, serving discourse/pragmatic functions. Syntactic alignment is primarily nominative/accusative but there are also ergative and absolutive patterns. The language has a direct/inverse alternation in which the coding of participants depends on person and topicality hierarchies.

Transitivity in Ichishkíin is an inherent property of verbs, and the transitivity of a clause can be determined by several tests, discussed below. I distinguish four subclasses of verbs: intransitive, optionally transitive, transitive, and ditransitive. This differs from the analysis of Rude (for example 1997, 2009) who divides verbs into three classes (intransitive, mono-transitive and ditransitive) based on their *semantic* transitivity. While I have not done an exhaustive testing of all verbs in my database, my initial findings are that a small set of verbs can take both transitive and intransitive morphology and so fall into the 'optionally transitive' category.

6.2. Intransitive clauses

6.2.1. Introduction

Subjects of intransitive clauses are indicated with verb prefixes if 3rd person and

second position pronominal enclitic if SAP's. Those forms are given in Tables 6.1 and

6.2 below.[63]

The forms given in the tables code subjects of intransitive clauses, as seen in the

examples below. 1 and 2 show third person verb prefixes.

1. *itútisha*
   i-túti-sha
   3Sg.S-stand-IMPV
   's/he is standing'

2. *pawínana*
   pa-wína-na
   3Pl.S-go-PST
   'they went'

The next two examples include second position pronominal enclitics. Here, there is no

agreement prefix on the verb.

3. *íxwi nash pnuwát' asha*
   íxwi =nash   pnu-wát'a-sha
   still =1Sg   sleep-DES-IMPV
   'I still want to sleep'

4. *ku natash winaníixana*
   ku =natash   winaníi-xa-na
   and =1Pl.EXC   swim-HAB-PST
   'and we would swim'

---

[63] Additional examples with third person intransitives are found in 3.2.1. More information on second person enclitics including generalizations about when the full and reduced forms of SAP enclitics are used is in 3.2.2.

TABLE 6.1. THIRD PERSON INTRANSITIVE VERB PREFIXES

person	codes	prefix
3Sg	S	*i-*
3Sg	S	*á-*
3	possessor	*á-*
3Pl	S	*pa-*

TABLE 6.2. FIRST AND SECOND PERSON CLITICS

person	meaning/ gloss	clitic(s)
1	I =1Sg	*=nash, =ash, =sh*
1	we all =1Pl.INC	*=na* (not used following verbs)
1	I and other(s) but not you =1Pl.EXC	*=natash, =atash, =tash*
1	we =1Pl	*=natash, =atash, =tash* (when verb-final) *=natk, =namtk* (less frequent forms)
2	you =2Sg	*=nam, =am*
2	you all =2Pl	*=pam*

6.2.2. Absolutive prefix *á-*

The prefix *á-* is used in Klikitat and in a handful of examples in Yakima to

identify a 3rd person subject of an intransitive clause, alternating with the prefix *i-*.[64] For

reasons discussed below, I label it an obviative prefix.

5.   *íkwíitana Spilyáy*
         i-kwíita-na   *Spilyáy*
         3Sg.S-go.along-PST   Coyote
         'Coyote was traveling along'

6.   *ákwiitana Spilyáy*
         á-kwíita-na   *Spilyáy*
         3O-go.along-PST   Coyote
         'Coyote was traveling along'

The use of the prefix *á-* to indicate 3rd person S varies by dialect. In Northeast or

Columbia River dialects, it is not used in intransitive alternation with *i-* (Rude 1988). It is

used across dialects to indicate 3rd person possession and 3rd person objects (to be

discussed below). Jacobs analyzes the use of the prefix *á-* "relative passivity or

existentiality" when used with intransitive verbs in Northwest dialects (1931,144).

Rude (2009) analyzes the alternation in Klikitat as indicating a primary topic with

prefix *i-* and a secondary topic with *á-*, an analysis that differs from his earlier (1988) text

counts but is supported by the meager Yakima data. Further work correlating factors of

animacy and the presence/absence of an overt NP, as well as including information from

the direct/inverse transitive clauses in the same texts, would help to give a better overall

picture of the use of this prefix in these *Xwáɬxwaypam* (Klikitat) legends.

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[64] In addition, in the Jacobs texts, sometimes third person has no verb prefix. I do not see this in Yakima (except vowel-initial verbs where it is expected, see 3.2.1).

In the Yakima data, the prefixes *i-* and *á-* are both used in intransitive clauses, although *á-* is found infrequently. The following examples give the only contexts in which I have found this construction. Note that these examples are from one speaker, Virginia Beavert, so may not be representative of all Yakima speakers. Again, given more data, a correlation of intransitives prefixed by *á-* with the way direct and inverse clauses are coded, and with whether a full NP is used in the clause could be beneficial in determining the function of the prefix.

The prefix *á-* is used in introductory lines of legends in an existential copular construction to introduce characters or set the scene, as in the following:

7. *áwacha páx̱naw awínshma*
    a-wachá   páx̱naw   awínshma
    3O-COP.PST five.HUM man.Pl
    'there were five men'

8. *áwacha nay*
    á-wachá   nay
    3O-COP.PST   INTJ
    'that's the way it was, *nay*?'[65]

In an episode of one text, the primary character is a prophet who died and has come back to life to deliver a message to the people. After he has returned, the prefix *á-* is used in several intransitive clauses. Earlier in the text, the prefix *i-* was used for this same referent.

9. *ku awkú miskilíiki ásinwix̱ana*
    ku   awkú   miskilíiki   á-sínwi-x̱a-na
    and   then   barely   3O-speak-HAB-PST
    'and he had difficulty talking'

---

[65] This is said when telling a legend and calls for a response (*ii!* 'yes') from the listeners.

10. *ku aw kuuk áwiix̱tuwya*
ku	aw	kuuk	á-wíi-x̱tú-wi-ya
and	now	at.that.time	3O-wíi-stong-VZR-PST

    'and then he became stronger'

In other examples, the prefix *á-* aligns with a passive or stative situation and verbs with a

stative reading.

11. *Uuu! Aah, ápuxsha myánashma, tɬ'yáwyi.*
Uuu aah	á-pux-sha	myánash-ma	tɬ'yáwi-yi.
Uuu aah	3O-be.spread-IMPV	child-Pl	die-STAT

    'Ohh, ahh, there the children were scattered, dead.'

Note that in 11, *myánashma* 'children' is plural, but the verb prefix *á-* does not indicate

this.

12. *tɬ'áax̱w awkú tun áɬamayna*
tɬ'áax̱w awkú	tun	á-ɬamay-na
all then	what	3O-be.lost-PST

    'everything was missing'

And finally, again in such limited circumstances that no broad conclusions can be

drawn, it contrasts two third person participants in a written text by Virginia Beavert. The

actions of two participants, one a spirit and the other a human, are contrasted. The spirit

being follows the man home. When the text refers to the human, the verb prefix used is *i-*.

When it is the spirit, the prefix is *á-*. In the example below, the abbreviations PRX

'proximate' and OBV 'obviative' have been added to the translation to show the

alternation.

13. a. *ku iyíkna tuun ánachan*
ku	i-yík-na	tuun	ának-kan
and	3Sg.S-hear-PST	what.OBJ	behind-ALL

    'and he [PRX] heard something from behind'

b. *"kux kux" áwyawatika*
   kux kux   á-wya-watík-a
   thud thud   3O-while.going-step-PST
   '"kux kux" he [OBV] came stepping'

c. *ikátutya ku iwáxya*
   i-kátuti-ya   ku   i-wáxi-ya
   3Sg.S-stop-PST   and   3Sg.S-wait-PST
   'he [PRX] stopped and he [PRX] waited'

d. *Chchuu! pínch'axi ákatutya*
   Chchuu pínch'axi   á-katuti-ya
   quiet   3Sg.PN-again-same   3O-stop-PST
   'Silence! That one [OBV] also stopped'

e. *ikátutya, ku ákatutya.*
   ikátutya,   ku   á-katuti-ya
   3Sg.S-stop-PST   and   3O-stop-PST
   'he [PRX] stopped, and that one [OBV] stopped'

In example 13, the alternation of the prefixes *á-* and *i-* distinguishes a second referent from a character who has been involved throughout the text. In addition, the referent marked with the obviative prefix belongs to the spirit world, not the everyday world of humans.

Finally, the elicited examples below show the use of the prefix in referent tracking across a clause boundary.

14.   *ik'ínuna anakú iwinanína*
      i-k'ínu-na   ana-ku   i-winanín-a
      3Sg.S-see-PST   SUB-and   3Sg.S-escape-PST
      'he$_i$ saw him$_j$ and he$_i$ ran away'

15.   *ik'ínuna anakú áwinanina*
      i-k'ínu-na   ana-kú   á-winanín-a
      3Sg.S-see-PST   SUB-and   3O-escape-PST
      'he$_i$ saw him$_j$ and he$_i$ ran away'

In the Algonquian family, notably also in Kutenai, like Ichishkíin a language of the inland Pacific Northwest, an obviative third person (sometimes referred to as fourth person) contrasts with a proximate third person in discourse. According to Mithun, the proximate is "typically the person from whose point of view events are described, the protagonist in narratives, the focus of the speaker's empathy" (1999, 76).

The assignment of proximate and obviative status can be automatic/obligatory or not. Possessions in Algonquian and Kutenai are obligatorily obviative. Possessors could be either, depending on the surrounding context. Factors influencing the choice of proximate/obviative apply at the level of the clause and/or the level of the discourse. At the clause level, the proximate argument is chosen sentence by sentence, and may change frequently. When the proximate/obviative distinction is maintained throughout a text, at the discourse level, one proximate topic is contrasted to any others throughout. In this case, a clause need not have a proximate argument. Algonquian languages vary in what level is used to assign proximate and obviative status (Rhodes, 1990). In Kutenai, there can be at most one proximate third person participant per clause, and any others must be coded as obviative through verbal inflection and on nominals. Within a clause (and across combined clauses) the Kutenai proximate will be the highest 3rd person nominal on a ranking of Subject > Primary object > Secondary object or oblique (Dryer 1992, 1997).

Returning to the Yakima and Klikitat prefix á-, intransitive examples above and examples in possessive and transitive clauses (in Chapter 3 and below) show that it codes:

- a less active, contrasting or perhaps less topical 3rd person O in some intransitives[66]

- possession by 3rd person (Sg/Pl) in intransitives

- 3rd person O (Sg/Pl) in all SAP>3 and some 3Pl>3 clauses

The prefix does not distinguish singular from plural third persons in possessive clauses or when indicating the O of a transitive clause. However, third person S and A are differentiated for number. In some cases - when coding possessor and object - the choice of prefix is automatic. In the intransitive contexts, the choice of prefix is clause or discourse-based.

This prefix shares some of the characteristics of the Algonquian and Kutenai obviative, and here it is analyzed as indicating an obviative argument. In the Klikitat dialect of Ichishkíin, with a more robust contrast between *i-* and *á-* in intransitives, its use in non-obligatory contexts is more in line with the Algonquian and Kutenai data. Describing it as a split-S system, may be the best solution for it in Klikitat. However, in Yakima, the intransitive construction with á- occurs infrequently: the data I have are less abundant and conclusive. The morphological overlap of the three contexts in which prefix *á-* is used suggests some functional unity, but it could be that these constructions have their own unrelated sources and history.

In Chapter 7's discussion of the inverse/direct alternation in Yakima, we will see additional grammatical devices that distinguish a proximate from an obviative 3rd person. This particular prefix (*á-*) does not have a large role in that system, although it is used in

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[66] If the contrast were more robust, this would be a split-S system, and this may be the best description for it in Klikitat. However, in Yakima, the intransitive construction with *á-* occurs infrequently.

some 3Pl>3 clauses when the O is human (otherwise plural prefix *pa-* is used). In

Yakima, 3Pl>3 constructions with *á-* do not alternate with a construction with the active

prefix *i-*, although in Klikitat, there is an alternation, as there is in intransitives, between *i-*

and *á-* in 3Pl>3 constructions.

6.2.3. Copular clauses

Copular clauses (covered in full in 3.8) are based on the verb *wa-* 'be'. The copula

is used for predicate nominal, adjectival and locative clauses and existential clauses. It

also expresses possession. It does not take imperfective (*-sha*), present perfect (*-sh, -a, -Ø*)

or habitual (*-xa*) suffixes. It can appear with future (*-ta*) and has an irregular past tense

(*wachá* 'COP.PST').

16. *iwá náakni iníitpa*
    i-wá   náakni   iníit-pa
    3Sg.S-COP   around   house-LOC
    'It's around the house'

17. *pawá shix̲*
    pa-wá   shix̲
    3Pl.S-COP   good
    'they are good'

When the copula begins a sentence with an SAP S in present tense, the irregular

form *wash* is used, followed by the full form of the clitic, as in 18.

18. *wash nash shíx̲tx̲aw k'ínupa*
    wash=nash   shíx̲tx̲aw   k'ínu-pa
    COP-PPF=1Sg   best   see-LOC
    'I am the best looking'

6.2.4. Possessive clauses

Possessive clauses use the copula. If the possessor is 3rd person, the form *áwa*

(past *awachá*) is used for both singular and plural.

19.   *awachá tkwátat*
      á-wachá   tkwáta-t
      3O-COP.PST food-NZR
      'she had food'

20.   *íkush áwa piimínk ttáwax̱t*
      íkush   á-wa   piimínk   ttáwax̱t
      thus   3O-COP   3Pl.PN.GEN family
      'That is their way'

If the subject is an SAP in a possessive copular clause, the appropriate clitic is

used with *wa-*. The clitic forms for 1st person are the same as those given above. For 2nd

person, the clitics used to indicate possession are different from those listed above. Table

6.3 gives the set of clitics used to indicate possession. (Full and reduced forms of 1Sg and

1Pl.EXC clitics are used, although only the full forms are repeated below.)

TABLE 6.3. FIRST AND SECOND PERSON CLITICS INDICATING POSSESSION

person	clitic
=1Sg	=*nash*
=1Pl.INC	=*na*
=1Pl.EXC	=*natash*
=2Sg	=*mash*
=2Pl	=*matash*

As in other intransitive clauses with an SAP S, there is no verbal prefix and the clitic

indicates the subject/ possessor.

21. *ku nash wachá pyap*

   ku =nash   wachá   pyap
   and =1Sg   COP.PST older.bro
   'and I had an older brother'

22. *Mish mash wa takmáałᵀ?*
   mish   =mash   wa   takmáał
   Q   =2Sg.GEN COP   hat
   'Do you have a hat?'

The translation of these clauses into English depends on context. For first person

there is no grammatical difference between predicating clauses and possessive clauses. If

a pronoun is also used (see Table 3.10 for the pronoun paradigm), this clarifies the

meaning; genitive pronouns are used in possessive clauses and subject pronouns in other

copular constructions. In example 23, the possessive pronoun *niimí* 'our' is used. In 24,

the pronoun is the subject pronoun *namák* 'we'. Both use the first person plural inclusive

clitic *=na* and the copula *wa-*.

23. *túnxtya na wa niimí ttáwaxt*
   tunx=tya   =na   wa   niimí   ttáwaxt
   different-instead =1Pl.INC COP   1Pl.GEN.PN   family
   'Our heritage is different'

24. *ku na tunx wa namák*
   ku =na   tunx   wa   namák
   and =1Pl.INC   different COP   1Pl.PN
   'and we are different'

With 3ʳᵈ person, the difference in the verb (*áwa* vs. *iwá*) differentiates possessive

from attributive clauses. Both English translations of the example below are acceptable

and provided. And, the sentence would be grammatical with the verb *iwá* 'it is'. I do not

know at this time whether translating a possessive relationship with the English verb

'have' versus expressing it with a possessive NP is better in a given circumstance.

25.　　Átaw áwa yápaash shushaynshmí
　　　　Átaw　　á-wa　　　　yápaash　　shushaynsh-mí
　　　　valued 3O-COP　　fat　　　　　steelhead-GEN
　　　　'Steelhead has valuable oil / Steelhead's oil is valuable'

An in-depth study of the word order in possessive copular clauses might help to

determine the contexts of use and better representations/translations of these clauses.

　　　　The SAP examples above show the copula with a clitic and with no verb prefix. In

this way, the verb agrees with the SAP possessor. This is not an obligatory construction.

Possession can also be indicated with the copular form *iwá* 's/he, it is' and a possessive

pronoun, as in the following example.

26.　　*kúshxi tamsínwit niimí walptáykt anakúsh iwá áwtni*
　　　　kúshxi　　*tamsínwi-t*　　　　*niimí*　　　　*walptáyk-t*
　　　　similarly　　sung.in.words-NZR　　1Pl.PN.GEN　　sing-NZR

　　　　　　anakúsh　　*i-wá*　　　　*áwtni*
　　　　　　thus　　　　3Sg.S-COP　　sacred
　　　　'The sung words of our songs are similarly sacred'

In example (26), the SAP possessor is not in a core relationship to the verb. There is no

second position pronominal clitic and the verb has the 3rd person singular prefix *i-*. Again,

it seems that there are overlaps with word order, in that the NP above (which I identify as

[*tamsínwit niimí walptáykt*]) is not in the 'default' modifier-noun order.

　　　　The examples to this point have shown the copula expressing a possessive

relationship. This same grammar - using the prefix *á-* (with 3rd person) or a clitic (with

SAP's) to code possession - is found with all intransitive verbs to indicate possession.

The following examples show third person possession.

27. *Ku tilíwal tɬ'áax̱w áwiit'ishka*
    ku   tilíwal tɬ'aax̱w   á-wíi-t'ishk-a
    and   blood   all   3O-wíi-extinguish-PST
    'and his blood spilled out.'

28. *Kpaylk átɬ'yawya (pinmínk) ásham*
    kpaylk á-tɬ'yáwi-ya   (pinmínk)   ásham
    later   3O-die-PST   3Sg.PN.GEN   wife
    'His wife died recently'

In the above examples, inserting the 3rd person genitive pronoun *pinmínk* is grammatical.

In related examples with the prefix *i-*, the pronoun is needed to specify possession.

29. *Kpaylk itɬ'yáwya pinmínk ásham*
    kpaylk i-tɬ'yáwi-ya   pinmínk   ásham
    later   3Sg.S-die-PST   3Sg.PN.GEN wife
    'His wife died recently'

Examples 30 and 31 show the alternation with SAP possessors. Both examples include the genitive pronoun *niimí* 'our'. In 30, the clitic *=na* '1Pl.INC' is used, and there is no verb prefix on *tɬ'yáwi-* 'die'. In 31, there is no clitic and the verb is prefixed with 3Sg.S prefix *i-*.

30. *ku **na** awkú kunkínk **tɬ'yáwix̱a** íchi niimí tkwátat*
    ku =na   awkú   kunkínk   tɬ'yáwi-x̱a íchi   niimí   tkwátat
    and =1Pl.INC then   that.INST die-HAB   this   1Pl.PN.GEN food
    'and in that way, all our food dies'

31. *Ku tɬ'áax̱wtun awkú niimí íchi tkwátat ayáyat **ilatíx̱a***
    ku   tɬ'aax̱w-tun awkú niimí   íchi   tkwátat
    and all-what   then   1Pl.GEN.PR   this   food

      ayáyat   i-latí-x̱a
      beautiful 3Sg.S-bloom-HAB
      'And all of our foods bloom beautifully'

The above examples show an alternation between SAP constructions in which the possessor is the grammatical subject (such as 23 and 30) and those in which the possessor

is not the grammatical subject (26 and 31). Clauses like 23 are external possession

constructions. Payne presents external possession as a voice-type construction, giving the

possessor more prominent syntactic coding (1999, 20). Rude (1999) characterizes its use

in Ichishkíin as providing emphasis: external possession correlates with focus on the

possessor rather than the possessed. As Rude notes, this function is difficult to prove. In

forms with the copula, two Yakima consultants prefer 3rd person possession to be coded

with the prefix *á-* and SAP possession to be coded with a clitic regardless of my attempts

to alter focus or importance.

Rude's (1999, 2009) explanation of this construction with third persons and with

SAP's is that the possessor is 'advanced' to subject with the obviative prefix *á-*. In this

analysis, example 28, with the verb prefix *á-*, is coding external possession and example

29, with verb prefix *i-*, is not. It seems that here, as in so many places in Ichishkíin

grammar, a recognition of the distinction between SAP and third person grammatical

devices is useful. SAP possessors coding person and number in constructions such as 23

show the same verb agreement as in single argument clauses, a clitic with an unprefixed

verb stem (although the forms for second person *=mash* '=2Sg'; *=matash* '=2Pl'are the

same as that coding the O in transitive clauses). This is shown in (a) and (b) below. These

contrast with the form *iwá* 's/he/it is', shown in (c).

32. (a) *wash nash xnítá*   'I am a root digger'
     (b) *wash nash kápin*   'I have a *kápin* (digging stick)'
     (c) *iwá inmí kápin*   'This/it is my *kápin*'

Third person clauses indicating possession, on the other hand, do not show the same

pattern as third person intransitives; the verb prefix is different from that in basic

intransitives (but is the same as that coding the O in some transitives), it does not
distinguish number, and, as suggested above, codes the obviative (possessed) argument,
not the possessor. Below, the (b) example is the one that does not match the other two.

33. (a) *iwá x̱nił̃á /páwa x̱nił̃áma*   'she is a root digger / they are root diggers'

    (b) *áwa kápɨn*   'she has / they have a *kápɨn*(s)('digging stick')

    (c) *iwá pɨnmínk/piimínk kápɨn*   'it is her/their *kápɨn*'

The pattern of the possessive clause in relationship to the pattern of a basic clause varies
by person (SAP vs. 3rd) and it seems possible that the function varies by person as well.

Section 5.6 presented kinship terms, listing some forms that are inherently
possessed by first and second person singular (for example *na'íł̃as* 'my mother' *ił̃* 'your
mother'). If the possessed entity is a family member indicated by one of these inherently
possessed kinship terms, the verb must have the prefix *i-*. The clitics cannot be used and
the 1st or 2nd person possessor does not have a core relationship to the verb.

34. *ánach'ax̱i na'íł̃as i'ámanya*
    ánach'ax̱i   na'íł̃as   i-ámani-ya
    again   my.mother   3Sg.S-marry.a.man-PST
    'My mother married again'

Note that the alternation is possible with non-inherently possessed relationship terms, as
in 21 and 28. These have the forms *ásham* 'wife' and *pyap*'older brother'.

The section on applicatives, 6.4.2, will discuss the genitive applicative and its
valence changing properties.

6.3. Transitive clauses

Each transitive combination of A and O is coded morphologically by verb prefixes and second position clitics, and, in the case of overt A and O NP's, case markers. The case marker -nan marks human objects and is sometimes used with non-human objects. The ergative case marker -nɨm is used when 3SgA acts on an SAP. The case marker -in marks the A in 3SgA>3 inverse constructions. In using the term 'ergative' to talk about these case markers, I am referring to the unique coding of A in relationship to S and O, not expressing claims about marking of S and O.

Transitive constructions were introduced in 3.9.5, and examples of each combination of A and O are given there. Examples contrasting direct and inverse constructions for participant combinations are also given in the next chapter. Table 3.4 is repeated here as Table 6.4, with labels and ordering slightly changed. It presents all transitive combinations using the verb ḵ'ɨnu 'see' with the aspect marker -sha.

Verb prefixes are used in all clauses that include a 3rd person A or O. The only situation in which a verb prefix is used with no third person argument is in 2Sg>1Sg clauses. Clitics are used whenever the clause includes an SAP A or O. We will also see in the next chapter that pat '3Pl.A', used when 3Pl>3O (HUM), has clitic-like properties in some dialects and examples.

TABLE 6.4. TRANSITIVE CLAUSE PARADIGM

SAP>SAP		
1Sg/Pl>2 Sg/Pl	*ḵʼínushamash* (both Sg)	I see you (Sg)
	ḵʼínushamatash (S, O, or both Pl)	I or we see you (Sg/Pl)
2Sg > 1Sg	*páḵʼinushaam*	you (Sg) see me
2Pl > 1Sg	*ḵʼínushapam*	you (Pl) see me
2Sg/Pl > 1Pl	*ḵʼínushaam*	you (Sg) see us
	ḵʼínushapam	you (Pl) see us
SAP>3		
1Sg/Pl>3	*áḵʼinushaaash*	I see him/her/it/them
	áḵʼinushaatash	We see him/her/it/them
	áḵʼinushaash Máalinan	I see Mary
	áḵʼinushaash káḵyamaman	I see the animals
2 Sg/Pl>3	*áḵʼinushaam*	you (Sg) see him/her/it/ them
	áḵʼinushapam	you (Pl) see him/her/it/ them
	áḵʼinushaam Máalinan	you see Mary
3>SAP		
3Sg> 1Sg/Pl	*iḵʼínushaash*	s/he/it sees me
	iḵʼínushaatash	s/he/it sees us
	iḵʼínushaash Maalinɨm	Mary sees me
3Sg> 2Sg/Pl	*iḵʼínushaam*	s/he/it sees you (Sg)
	iḵʼínushapam	s/he/it sees you (Pl)
	iḵʼínushaam Máalinɨm	Mary sees you (Sg)
3Pl>1Sg/Pl	*paḵʼínushaash*	they see me
	paḵʼínushaatash	they see us
	paḵʼínushaash áyatma	the women see me

TABLE 6.4 .(CONTINUED).

3>SAP		
3Pl>2Sg/Pl	*pak'ínushaam*	they see you (Sg)
	pak'ínushapam	they see you (Pl)
	pak'ínushaam áyatma	The women see you (Sg)
3>3		
3Sg > 3Sg/Pl direct	*ik'ínusha*	s/he/it sees him/her/it/them
	ik'ínusha Máali Sámnan	Mary sees Sam
3Sg > 3Sg/Pl inverse	*pák'ínusha*	s/he/it sees him/her/it/them
	pák'ínusha Máaliyin Sámnan	Mary sees Sam
3Pl>3Sg/Pl animate A, O	*pat ák'ínusha*	They see him/her/them
	pat ák'ínusha áyatma Sámnan	The women see Sam
3Pl>3Sg/Pl inanimate O	*pak'ínusha*	They see it
	pak'ínusha áyatma iníit(nan)	The women see the house

Table 6.5 looks specifically at the use of verb prefixes and clitics in combination, with the person of the agent in the left most column and the person of the object along the top row. This table includes only singular arguments. The final column (S) gives the intransitive prefix/clitic for each person for comparison. The symbols -Ø and =Ø merely indicate that no prefix or clitic is used in the given scenario.

Given the extensive grammatical coding of transitivity, there are a number of ways to determine whether an Ichishkíin verb is transitive or not. Several of these are listed here.

TABLE 6.5. USE OF CLITICS AND VERB PREFIXES IN TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

	O1	O2	O3	S
A1		Ø =mash	á- =nash	Ø- =nash
A2	pá- =nam		á- =nam	Ø- =nam
A3	i- =nash	i- =nam	i- (DIR) pá- (INV) =Ø	i- á- (OBV) =Ø

If a verb is transitive, the clitic =mash indicates 1Sg>2Sg:

35. aw mash íchi ítaxshi
 aw= mash íchi ítaxshi
 now =1Sg>2Sg this awaken
 'I have awakened you'

If the verb is not transitive, this clitic codes possession.

36. aw mash táxshi
 aw mash táxshi
 now =2Sg.GEN wake.up
 'yours has woken up'

The obviative prefix á- is used with a transitive verb with an SAP A and 3O, including imperatives.

37. ámits'ixwak!

 á-mits'ixwa-k
 3O- attend.to-IMP
 'listen to him/her/it'

The prefix is not used on intransitive imperatives:

38.   *tútik*
      túti-k
      stand.up-IMP
      'stand up'

If a transitive verb has a topical or human O, and the object is overt (and if the possessor

of the O is not coreferential with the A), the object will take the object marker *-nan*.

39.   *ituх̱únana ýaamashnan*
      i-tuх̱úna-na   *ýaamash-nan*
      3Sg.S-shoot-PST   mule.deer-OBJ
      'he shot the deer'

If the verb is not inherently transitive, an oblique case marker is used.

40.   *iwisalílshana ýaamashyaw*
      i-wisalíl-sha-na   *ýaamash-yaw*
      3Sg.S-hunt-PST   mule.deer-DAT
      'he was hunting for deer'

The coding of inverse and direct will be addressed in detail in the next chapter. This

presents an additional way to determine the transitivity of a verb. The small class of verbs

that can show both intransitive and transitive grammar includes verbs such as *tkwáta-*

'eat'; *tíya-* 'laugh (at). This allows for alternations such as *tkwátashaash* 'I am eating' vs

átkwatashaash 'I am eating him/her/it'.

6.4. Valence-altering constructions

This section looks at valence-altering constructions. This is presented prior to the

discussion of ditransitives, since some of the behavior of derived ditransitives differs

from that of non-derived ditransitives. The section begins with valence-increasing

morphology - applicatives and causatives - then surveys valence decreasing mechanisms:

reflexives and reciprocals, the passive, and object demotion/deletion.

6.4.1. Causative

The causative prefix *shapá-* alters the inherent transitivity of a verb by adding an A argument (marked as is any other A) to the clause. The causee becomes the grammatical object. [67] In 41, the O is first person, indicated with a clitic. In 42, an inverse clause, the object is marked with plural object marker *-maman*. Semantically, the causative codes successful manipulation and can indicate a range of action from stronger 'make' or 'force' to less forceful 'have' or 'let'.

41. *ishapátuxnimshnash*
    i-shapá-túx̱-nim-sh=nash
    3Sg.S-CAUS-go.back-CSL-PRF=1Sg
    'he made me come back'

42. *ku tł'áax̱wmaaman páshapatik'anaykinx̱ana*
    ku   tł'áax̱w-maman   pá-shapá-tík'anayk-inx̱a-na
    and   all-OBJ.Pl   INV-CAUS-bend.over-HAB-PST
    'and he would make them all bend over'

6.4.2. Applicatives

Applicatives add a syntactic direct object to the clause. These added arguments have the semantic roles of benefactive/ genitive (*-ani*), directive (*-uu*) or associative (*-twíi*). There are several semi-productive forms that are also synchronically directionals, as discussed in 4.2.3. The added argument, if expressed by a noun, is necessarily marked with the object marker *-nan*. The following set of examples shows the applicatives with the verb *walptáyk-* 'sing'.

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[67] The causative and applicative were introduced in 4.2.3 as part of the verb theme. Section 4.4.2 included the use of the causative prefix with dependent posterior roots. There, its function was to make a root into a stem. Proposed historical sources of these morphemes were also addressed in Chapter 4.

43.　　*iwalptáykanisha Chúulinan*
　　　　i-walptáyk-ani-sha　　　　　　*Chúuli-nan*
　　　　3Sg.S-sing-APPL-IMPV　　　Julie-OBJ
　　　　's/he is singing for Julie' or 's/he is singing Julie's song'

44.　　*iwalptáykuusha Chúulinan*
　　　　i-walptáyk-uu-sha　　　　　　*Chúulinan*
　　　　3Sg.S-sing-APPL-IMPV　　　Julie-OBJ
　　　　's/he is singing to Julie'

45.　　*iwalptáyktwiisha Chúulinan*
　　　　i-walptáyk-twii-sha　　　　　*Chúuli-nan*
　　　　3Sg.S-sing-APPL-IMPV　　　Julie-OBJ
　　　　's/he is singing with Julie'

If human, a possessor of the object or benefactor is typically expressed as an applicative object rather than as an oblique. This is an almost automatic promotion. The directional and associative are less automatic. The added argument is almost always human. I have only a few examples of a (non-legendary) animal with a prominent role in a text being added as an object via an applicative construction.

The directive and associative applicatives take strong secondary stress, and in some recorded instances take word level stress (following the rules for stressed suffixes given in 2.6: heavily stressed suffixes override strong roots and stressed prefixes). Stress in examples from recorded texts is indicated as heard in the text. Other examples were checked through elicitation, but there are differences between speakers as to how strongly the applicative is stressed. I can make no further generalizations at this time about stress and the applicative suffixes. The applicatives *-uu* and *-twii* behave as n-verbs and take past tense suffix *-na*. Applicative *-ani* is a zero-verb and takes past tense *-ya*.

The applicative *-ani* is used for both benefactors and possessors of the object, and is most likely derived from the verb *ni* 'give'. The suffix varies by dialect. It is *-ani* in

Yakima and -ay in Columbia River dialects. (This Columbia River form is the same as

the Yakima benefactive case marker.) Jacobs' Taitnapam examples include both forms,

and a Yakima speaker working with Rigsby used both. In addition, I have some examples

with -nani rather than -ani. I do not find a reason for the alternation having to do with, for

example, a particular stem, n-verbs (an alternation seen with the directive applicative) or

C/V stem endings. This could also be a dialect alternation.

Disambiguating the possessive from the benefactive meaning depends on context.

46.　　*wak̲'ítanisha mash tímash*
　　　　wak̲'ítanisha =mash　　　　*tímash*
　　　　look.for-APPL-IMPV　　　　=1Sg>2Sg paper
　　　　'I'm looking for your book'

47.　　 *Mish nam áwinpanita yáamash?*
　　　　Mish　　nam　　á-winp-ani-ta　　　yáamash
　　　　Q　　　=2Sg　　3O-get-APPL-FUT　mule.deer
　　　　'Will you get (shoot) a deer for him?

The form is sometimes -ini after a vowel in the Jacobs texts, with vowel harmony

affecting the stem-final vowel.

48.　　*piyáp pátkwatiiniya*
　　　　piyáp　　　　pá-tkwáta-ini-ya
　　　　older.bro　　INV-eat-APPL-PST
　　　　'he ate up his older brother' (MJ29:205:7)

The absence of O marking on *piyáp* 'Older brother' is due to the fact that the possessor is

the A. When the A is the possessor of the object, the object is not case marked with -nan.

In Yakima, the benefactive/genitive alternate form -ini is has been frozen in some

combinations but it is not productively used. For example, the verb *nána-* 'take' is used in

this way, as in the following example.

49. *ináníinishaash x̱laam*
    i-nána-ini-sha=ash   *x̱laam*
    3Sg.S-carry-APPL-IMPV=1SG   cedar.basket
    'he's bringing the basket for me /he's bringing my basket'

The verb *ku* 'do' also is irregular with this applicative.

50. *ikwíinya Láninan*
    i-ku-ini-ya   *Lani-nan*
    3Sg.S-do-APPL-PST   Lani-OBJ
    'she did it for Loni'

The directive applicative *uu* specifies direction towards a person or people. The example below indicates that there were people at the place he came to, and highlights their presence. Otherwise, the verb would be just *iwyánawya* 'he arrived'.

51. *Awkú iwyanawyúuna*
    awkú   *i-wyánawi-úu-na*
    then   3SG.S-arrive-APPL-PST
    'and he arrived there' (at *k'ax̱nu*'s place)

The applicative -uu, along with indicating physical direction towards, can also indicate metaphorical direction, as in directing one's thoughts or words to someone. Note that in the example below, *px̱wi-* 'think' is an n-verb, and the *n* is present before the applicative.

52. *kush chaw mish ápx̱winuuna*
    ku=nash   *chaw*   *mish*   *á-px̱wí-nuu -na*
    and=1SG   NEG   Q   3O-think-APPL-PST
    'And I didn't think anything about him'

53. *ku nam awkú ách'ishkuunx̱a tíinmaman*
    ku =nam   *awkú*   *á-ch'íshk-uu-nx̱a*   *tíin-maman*
    and =2Sg   then   3O-lie-APPL-HAB   person-PL.OBJ
    'and you then lie to people' (PE)

It is used in expressing thankfulness and in the present day language is used to say thank you.

54. *kw'ałanúusha mash*
    kw'áła-núu-sha=mash
    be.happy-APPL-IMPV=1Sg>2Sg
    'thank you'

The associative applicative *-twii* is seen in the following examples.

55. *pa'ayktwíisha áyatnan*
    pa-ayík-twíi-sha   *áyat-nan*
    3Pl.S-sit-APPL-IMPV   woman-OBJ
    'they are sitting with the woman'

56. *átkw'anantitwiishanaash*
    á-tkw'anáti-twii-sha-na=ash
    3O-walk.along-APPL-IMPV-PST=1SG
    'I was walking with him'

The associative applicative alternates with using the associative case and a plural prefix

on the verb, as seen in the following example. Rigsby and Rude (1996, 678) write that

using associative case marking downplays the marked noun as compared to using the

applicative. In the following text example, the associative-marked noun is not human.

This is not common for either the associative case or the associative applicative; typically

these are used with humans.

57. *pawíik̲'ika k'usiyín*
    pa-wíi-k̲'ik-a   *k'úsi-in*
     3Pl.S-wii-stick.on-PST   horse-ASSOC
    'he and the horse were hung up there'

6.4.3. Reflexive and reciprocal

Verbs with reflexive and reciprocal prefixes were discussed in sections 3.2.2.5

and 3.2.2.6, with a paradigm of reflexives shown in Table 3.2. These are syntactically

intransitive constructions. Both follow the prototypical pattern of reflexives and

reciprocals in that the subject and object are the same entity or are acting on one another.

The reflexive has the singular form *piná-* and the plural form *pimá-*. The verbs

below are transitive (*iɬamayk-* 'hide' and *tk'i-* 'look at, watch') but do not take transitive

morphology when the reflexive is added.

58. *áswan piná'iɬamayksha*
     áswan   piná-iɬamayk-sha
     boy   RFL.Sg-hide-IMPV
     'the boy is hiding himself'

59. *pimátk'i-na*
     piná-tk'i-na
     RFL.Pl-watch-PST
     'they looked at themselves'

If the reflexive is added to a verb with the applicative *-ani*, the possessive reading of

'one's own X' is required. There cannot be an object marker on the possessed.

60. *Chaw mun pináchaxilpanita tpish*
     chaw   mun   piná-chá-xilp-ani-ta   tpish
     NEG   when   RFL.SG-CAUS-open-APPL-FUT   face
     'She never lifts up her face'

The reciprocal marker is *pápa-*.

61. *papatanawíixna*
     pápa-tanawíix-na
     RCP-argue-PST
     'they argued with each other'

62. *pápawyak'ukxa*
     pápa-wyák'uk-xa
     RCP-gather-PST
     'they gather together'

Note that, if a reciprocal is added to a verb with applicative -*twii*, the added argument must be in the associative case. It cannot be the direct object, as the verb is syntactically intransitive.

63.　*papatkw'anantitwíishaatash Túulhinchin*
　　　pápa-tkw'anáti-twíi-sha-atash　　　*Túulhinch-in*
　　　RCP-walk.along-APPL-IMPV=1Pl.EXC　Túulhinch-ASSOC
　　　'I was walking with Tuulhinch'

6.4.4. Passive

　　Ichishkíin has a stative passive construction formed with the copula and a stative form of the verb. The agent cannot be expressed. It is an infrequent construction; Rude (1997) notes that this occurs with less than 5% of transitive verbs in *Xwáɬxwaypam* (Klikitat) narrative texts. In the materials I collected, it is often found, as to be expected, in descriptions of objects and animals. The copula agrees with the subject (if human, as in examples 64 and 65) and if the subject is overt, it is in the unmarked absolutive case, as seen in 64.

64.　*iwachá shapátuxni íchi áyat*
　　　i-wachá　　　　*shapá-túx-ni*　　　　*íchi*　*áyat*
　　　3Sg.S-COP.PST　CAUS-return.home-STAT　this　woman
　　　'this woman was sent back'

65.　*pawá taxnúnak'yi*
　　　pa-wá　　　*taxnúnak'i-yi*
　　　3Pl.S-COP　mature-STAT
　　　'they are matured'

66.　*iwá aníyi wire-ki*
　　　i-wá　　　*aní-yi*　　　*wire-ki*
　　　3Sg.S-COP　make-STAT　wire-INST
　　　'it is made of wire'

6.4.5. Differential object marking

As has been noted throughout, an non-human object expressed by a noun may or may not be case marked with the object marker. A human object is obligatorily marked. Example 67below has the object marker on *ílkwas* 'wood' in the text in which it occurs, but the clause is grammatical and accepted without it.

67.   *aw pam ápatukta ílkwasnan*
        aw= pam   á-pátuk-ta   ílkwas-(nan)
        now =2Pl   3O-place-FUT   wood-(OBJ)
        'Now set up a pole'

When the A is human and the O is not, the object marker is not needed to distinguish A from O, as case roles can be disambiguated based on animacy. When the possessor of the O is coreferential with the A, the O is never marked, as was seen in 48. Object marking is obligatory with the inverse construction and with applicative constructions (these constructions also are affected by animacy and are used primarily with human objects).

In a count of 130 transitive clauses from Yakima texts, counting only those that could have an overt, marked 3rd person object (so not counting applicatives and inverses in which a named O would invariably be case marked or clauses in which the possessor of the O is the A, which are not be case marked), 73 clauses had a named object. Of these 73, 47 (out of 130 transitive clauses) had object marking. Rude (2009) counted clauses in which both A and O appeared as nouns in Jacobs' texts of 1929 and 1937. In 109 clauses (again not counting inverse but I assume including applicatives), 50 had object case marking. In both of these counts, overt objects were case-marked less than half the time.

Rude (1997) calls transitive constructions with unmarked objects antipassive constructions, with demoted objects. In his analysis, the role of the object marker is to indicate discourse/pragmatic relevance. However, this is not a stereotypical antipassive. Because of the possessive situation in which the human O cannot be marked as well as the role of animacy in case marking, the absence of a case marker does not always indicate the same thing. It is the case that in classroom materials and elicited materials, the object marker is much more common on non-humans than it is in texts, presumably because the artificial context, the lack of a rich set of participants, and the fact that the object is designated by a noun add to its seeming importance and therefore increase the likelihood that it will be marked.

6.5. Ditransitive clauses

As discussed above, transitivity in Ichishkíin is morphologically marked by pronominal prefixes on the verb, second position pronominal enclitics and case marking on overt nouns. Ditransitive verbs use the same coding mechanisms as transitive verbs.

A ditransitive verb can be an inherently ditransitive like *ni-* 'give', *ísikw'a-* 'show' or a verb of saying or telling something to someone like *in-* 'say something to'. The set of ditransitives is small. Ditransitives can also be derived in applicative or causative constructions. These are addressed in turn below, as the options for morphological coding when more than one argument is overt vary slightly among constructions with inherently ditransitive verbs, those with applicatives, and those with causative *shapá-*.

In ditransitive clauses, four nominal case markers indicate the semantic roles of agent, theme and recipient. Two are the ergative case markers -*nim* (used with 3>SAP) and -*in* (used with 3OBV>3PRX). The object marker -*nan* marks the theme or recipient, choosing whichever is the human argument. The rare cases of both theme and recipient being human are addressed below. These case markers were seen in the discussion of transitive clauses. In addition, in ditransitives dative -*yaw* can mark a human recipient, although this is not common. The case marker -*yaw* when not in a ditransitive indicates motion to or into the noun it is suffixed to. It implies that a specific destination was reached and/or entered. It also has a range of less-literal meanings, including marking the goal of an action or request. It is discussed in 3.10.2.

The recipient in a ditransitive clause is typically coded as is the object in a transitive clause. Compare the following.

68. *iwáwtl'ika **tł'aaxwmaman***
    i-wáwtl'ik-a   tł'aaxw-maman
    3Sg.S-beat.to.death-PST   all-OBJ
    'he killed everyone'

69. ***tł'aaxwmaman** iníya tkwátat*
    tł'aaxw-maman   i-ní-ya   tkwátat
    all-OBJ   3Sg.S-give-PST   food
    'he gave everyone food'

When a human is the recipient and the theme is nonhuman (as is expected), the human is the grammatical object, marked as the O. Therefore, the system usually reflects the primary/secondary object pattern of Dryer (1985) rather than direct/indirect object marking patterns.

A ditransitive clause with two objects appearing as nouns is quite rare in texts (as is a transitive clause with two nouns indicating A and O, as discussed above). Ditransitives with two human arguments are also very uncommon. Most typically, one of the arguments in a ditransitive is human and the other is not. My discussion of the grammatical coding of ditransitives with two human objects is based on elicited examples.

Before moving on to examples with two explicitly stated human arguments, I will show text examples of inherently ditransitive verbs with an overt theme and/or recipient. These include the verb *ni-* 'give' as well as verbs of saying that entail a person spoken to and a thing that is said. In the examples below, the human recipient is marked as the object and the inanimate theme is unmarked. The numbers above each example indicate the person of the agent and recipient. The inanimate theme is always 3rd person.

70. 1A 2R
    íchi mash níta
    íchi =mash   ní-ta
    this =1Sg>2Sg   give-FUT
    'I'll give you this'

71. 2A 1R
    pánitaam íkw'ak
    pá-ní-ta=am   íkw'ak
    INV-give-FUT=2SG   that
    'Give me that'

72. 1A 3R
    íchiish ánisha tíinmaman sínwit
    íchi=ish   á-ní-sha   tíin-maman   sínwit
    this=1Sg   3O-give   person-Pl.OBJ   speak-NZR
    'I am giving the people this message'

73.   2A 3R

nch'ínch'imaman ttáwax̱tmaman áwatɬ'awita pam sápsikw'at.

nch'ínch'i-maman	*ttáwax̱t-maman*	*áw-atɬ'áwi-ta =pam*	*sápsikw'a-t*
elder-Pl.OBJ	family-Pl.OBJ	3O-ask.for-FUT=2Pl	teach-NZR

'ask the family elders for their teaching'

74.   3A 1R

kush íchi inách'a nax̱sh paníya

ku=nash	*íchi*	*inák-ch'a*	*nax̱sh*	*pa-ní-ya*
and=1Sg	this	1Sg.PN.OBJ	one	3Pl.S-give-PST

'and they gave me this one'

75.   3>3

ku pánya waḵ'íshwit

ku	*pá-ní-ya*	*waḵ'íshwit*
and	INV-give-PST	life

'and he gave it life'

76.   3>3

awkú áyatin pánya sínwit

awkú	*áyat-in*	*pá-ní-ya*	*sínwi-t*
then	woman-3>3.ERG	INV-give-PST	speak-NZR

'and the woman advised her' (lit. 'gave her words')

The above examples show that a human recipient is coded as the object. In the case of an SAP recipient, the second position enclitic indicates the status of this participant as a core argument of the verb, seen in 70, 71 and 74 In addition, an object pronoun can be used, as is *inák* '1Sg.PRO.OBJ' in 74. If the recipient is an overt 3rd person, as in 72 and 73, the object marker is suffixed to the noun. Inanimate themes, as seen in each example above, are not case marked.

Applicatives and the causative, the two strategies used to add an argument to a transitive clause to create a ditransitive clause, were discussed above. These are addressed here as they apply to ditransitives. The following examples show the use of causatives with transitive verbs. Most often, the causee is the O of the causative

construction, with the second argument (the O of the original clause) unmarked. If the
theme of the original clause is non-human, and the causee is human, the causee is
obligatorily marked and the theme left unmarked.

77.   *Awku tash áshapa'imałaka áyatnan iníit*
      awkú =tash   á-shapá-ímałak-a   áyat-nan   iníit
      then =1Pl.EXC   3O-CAUS-clean   woman-OBJ   house
      'We had the woman clean the house'

In example (78) *sapsíkw'a-* 'teach' is lexicalized, but its form is analyzable as *sáp-isíkw'a*
'CAUS.PL-show'.

78.   *ásapsikw'anxaash íchi myánashmaman*
      á-sápsikw'a-nxa-ash   íchi   myánash-maman
      3O-teach-HAB   this   child-Pl.OBJ
      'I teach this to the children'

Examples 79-81 show ditransitives derived by applicatives. The argument added
by the applicative is the object; any other argument is demoted. Since the argument added
by the applicative is necessarily human (in rare cases an animate non-human is added) is
human, the end result, a human argument suffixed by *-nan*, is the same as the causative
examples above.

In 79 below, the applicative *aní-* adds an object to a transitive verb. The
benefactor is marked as the object. In 80 and 81 a possessor is added, using the same
applicative. The possessor is case marked as the object; the unmarked is the inanimate
possessed thing.

79.   *ku paníchanixana awkú pawawyałánan*
      kú   pa-ních-ani-xa-na   awkú pawáwyałá-nan
      and   3Pl.NOM-put-APPL-HAB-PST   then whipman-OBJ
      'and they would put some away then for the whipman'

80. *paḵ'ínunaniya wátiksh Spilyáynan*
    pa-ḵ'ínu-nani-ya   *wátiksh*   *Spilyáy-nan.*
    3Pl.NOM-see-APPL.GEN-PST   tracks   Coyote -OBJ
    'They saw Spilyay's tracks.'

81. *pat áwyaxanisha nishátwaas miimáman tíinmaman*
    pat áw-iyáx-ani-sha   *nishátwaas*   *miimá-man*   *tíin-maman*
    3Pl 3O-find-APPL-IMPV   dwelling   old-Pl.OBJ   person-Pl.OBJ
    'they found our ancestors' dwellings'

The next examples include ditransitives with two human objects and so show the possibilities for coding a human theme and human recipient. Note that since phrases with two human objects do not typically show up in discourse, many of these ditransitives are odd to speakers. As Noel Rude wrote of his data in an article on Sahaptin dative shift, "much of it consists of sentences you simply would not encounter in discourse and which another native speaker might reject" (1997, 348). Rude's data was interpretable to other consultants when the appropriate context was given.

When the theme in a ditransitive clause is an SAP, the SAP theme is necessarily coded with the second position pronominal enclitic, indicating that it is a core argument of the clause. The recipient, if overt, is marked by an oblique pronominal in the dative.

82. *pa'isíkw'anaash imyúuk*
    pa-isíkw'a-na=ash   *imyúuk*
    3Pl.S-show-PST=1Sg   2Sg.PN.DAT
    'they showed me to you'

83. *pa'isíkw'anaam inmíyaw*
    pa-isíkw'a-na=am   *inmíyaw*
    3Pl.S-show-PST=2Sg   1Sg.PN.DAT
    'they showed you to me'

If the theme is an SAP, meaning it must be coded as the O, and the recipient is 3rd person, the dative marker again marks the recipient.

84. *pa'isíkw'anaash ayatmíyaw*[68]
   pa-isíkw'a-na=ash   ayat-míyaw
   3Pl.S-show-PST=1Sg   woman-GEN.DAT
   'they showed me to the woman'

Rude (1997) analyzes clauses with an SAP theme as blocking dative shift. There

is not a second option for coding them.

If the theme is third person and both arguments are human, there are two

possibilities. Either theme or recipient can be marked as the object. 85 and 86 show this

alternation with 3rd person themes and 3rd person recipients. If the theme is marked as the

object, the recipient is marked with *-yaw*. In all cases where there are alternate

possibilities for coding in ditransitives, Rude's (1997) analysis is that the grammatical

object is being highlighted, and the unmarked or dative-marked noun is less important.

85. *pa'isíkw'ana iwínshnan ayatmíyaw*
   pa-isíkw'a-na   iwínsh-nan   ayat-míyaw
   3Pl.show-PST   man-OBJ   woman-GEN.DAT
   'they showed the man to the woman '

If the recipient is the grammatical object, as in the following, the theme is not case

marked. Below, we see *iwínsh* 'man' in unmarked absolutive.

86. *pa'isíkw'ana iwínsh áyatnan*
   pa-isíkw'a-na   iwínsh   áyat-nan
   3Pl.show-PST   man   woman-OBJ
   'they showed the woman the man '

---

[68] *isíkw'a* 'show' is a strong root, and so the inverse prefix does not maintain the word level stress. These
clauses with a 3rd Pl A therefore are not distinguishable from those with 3>3 inverse. This could be 'he
showed the man to me'. However, the marking of the patient and recipient is the same with 3Pl or 3INV
prefix. An overtly-named agent would differentiate the two, as only the 3Sg A would get the ergative case
marking *-in* '3>3.ERG' in an inverse clause.

If the recipient is an SAP and the theme is 3rd person, the same pattern holds, seen in 87

and 88. If the theme is the grammatical O, the SAP is indicated with an oblique pronoun

in the dative case.

87.   *iwínshnan pa'isíkw'ana inmíyaw*
       iwínsh-nan   *pa-isíkw'a-na*   *inmíyaw*
       man-OBJ   3Pl.S-show-PST   1Sg.PN.DAT
       'they showed the man to me'

Or, the SAP recipient can be coded with a pronominal enclitic. In that case, it is the

grammatical object and the 3rd person theme is unmarked.

88.   *iwínsh nash pa'isíkw'ana*
       iwínsh =nash   *pa-isíkw'a-na*
       man=1Sg   3Pl.S-show-PST
       'They showed me the man '

    In the case of derived causative ditransitives, when the O of the original clause is

human, the same possibility exists as in 85 and 86 Either the causee or the O of the

original clause can be object marked with *-nan*. Typically it will be the causee.

89.   *Awkútash áshapanaktkwanina myánash áyatnan*
       awkú =tash   *á-shapá-náktkwanin-a*   *myánash*   *áyat-nan*
       then=1Pl.EXC   3O-CAUS-care.for-PST   child   woman-OBJ
       'We had the woman take care of the child'

If instead the object marked argument is the O of the original clause, the causee is

marked with the dative.

90.   *Awkutash áshapanaktkwanina myánashnan ayatmíyaw*
       Awku= tash   *á-shapá-náktkwanin-a*   *myánash-nan*   *ayat-míyaw*
       then=1Pl.EXC   3O-CAUS-care.for-PST   child-OBJ   woman-GEN.DAT
       'We had the child cared for by the woman'

    Rude (1997) shows examples of causative ditransitives with double object

marking in which roles are differentiated by word order. In my limited elicitation,

consultants found the following, with both theme and recipient marked as an object, quite odd, but did not entirely reject it.

91. *Awku tash áshapanaktkwanina áyatnan myánashnan*
    Awku =tash   á-shapá-náktkwanin-a   áyat-nan   myánash-nan
    then=1Pl.EXC   3O-CAUS-care.for-PST   woman-OBJ   child-OBJ
    'We had the woman take care of the child'

An SAP O in a causative ditransitive can be coded by a second position clitic or by an object pronoun. If it is coded by the clitic, the cause is marked with the dative.

92. *pashapánaktkwaninaash iwínshmíyaw*
    pa-shapá-náktkwanin-a=ash   iwínsh-míyaw
    3Pl.S-CAUS-care.for-PST=1Sg   man-GEN.DAT
    'they had me cared for by the man'

If the SAP O is indicated by an object pronoun in a clause such as the above, there is no clitic. The causee is then marked as the O.

93. *pa shapánaktkwanina iwínshnan inák*
    pa-shapá-náktkwanin-a   iwínsh-nan   inák
    3Pl.S-CAUS-care.for-PST   man-OBJ   1Sg.PN.OBJ
    'they had the man care for me'

Rude (1997, 2009) reviews behavior and control criteria for objecthood in ditransitives and concludes that the grammatical objects of ditransitives show the properties of objects of transitive clauses, reviewing their behavior in reflexive and reciprocal clauses, the inverse, coreference of a possessed object and the passive. In the case of the causative construction with two objects marked, the causee (the A of the original clause) retains object properties.

6.6. Grammatical relations

Ichishkíin uses a number of grammatical devices to signal core case. The categories of S, A and O show a typologically unusual three-way split in which the case marking on nouns distinguishes each category uniquely, not simply in relationship to one another. Mithun (1999) suggests that the rarity of such a system may have to do with the fact that is it not maximally efficient, as only two arguments need to be distinguished in any given clause. In addition, the A category is split, first, in that only 3rd person is marked, and then, in that it has different case markers depending on the person of the O. The unmarked S (and A), ergative-marked A, and object-marked O are seen in the examples below.

Various combinations of arguments show different patterns of alignment. In a nominative-accusative pattern, S and A are marked the same, and differently from the O. In Ichishkíin, S and A (sometimes) pattern together and are unmarked. The O argument is differentially marked. Example 94 is an intransitive clause with a singular third person S. 95 is a transitive clause with an overtly-indicated third person A and O. The S in 94 and A in 95 both have no case marking. The O in 95 is marked with the object marker -nan. The verb prefixes are the same in both clauses.

94.   *ilalíwashana Waxpúuya*
       i-lalíwa-sha-na   *Waxpúuya*
       3Sg.S-be.lonely-IMPV-PST   Rattlesnake
       '*Waxpúuya* (Rattlesnake) was lonely'

95.   *isaptayákshana Waxpúuya Asúmnan*
       i-saptayák-sha-na   *Waxpúuya*   *Asúm-nan*
       3Sg.S-cheat-IMPV-PST   Rattlesnake   Eel-OBJ
       '*Waxpúuya* (Rattlesnake) was cheating *Asúm* (Eel)'

Recall from above that a non-human O is not necessarily marked, and when it is

not, a clause can have two unmarked arguments, A and O, as in 96.

96.   *iyáxna nakákas tánawit*
       iyáxna   nakákas   tánawit
       find-PST   my.uncle   cave
       'my uncle found a cave'

However, within a given context, the A and O can be identified.

In addition to this accusative pattern, we find clauses in which the A is uniquely

distinguished from the S and O. This is a split system, applying only to 3rd person A's.

(Note again, in referring to this as ergative, I am not making claims about the unity of S

and O arguments. The last section of this chapter discusses the ergative markers as

indicating a hierarchy of SAP>3PRX>3OBV.)

The two ergative case-marking suffixes differentiate overt third person agents in

transitive clauses. *-nim* is used whenever there is a singular 3rd person agent and an SAP

object.

97.   *Pilly Puutsnim nam ináktkwaninta*
       Pilly Puuts-nim =nam   *i-náktkwanin-ta*
       Billy Boots-3>SAP.ERG =2Sg   3Sg.S-care.for-FUT
       'Billy Boots will take care of you'

-in marks the agent of a 3>3 inverse clause:

98.   *pá'ina pshítin*
       pá-in-a   pshít-in
       INV-say-PST   father-3>3.ERG
       'his father said to him'

While both of these morphemes have additional uses in the language, as will be

covered in 7.4, in these A/O combinations they always mark the agents.

As discussed in 6.2.2, intransitive subjects can be coded with either of two prefixes, *i-* (as seen above on the S in 94 and A in 95) or *á-*. In Yakima this seems vestigial and is certainly not showing an agent/patient or active/stative pattern, but it does add another twist to grammatical relations in the language.

6.7. Word Order

Word order in is not used in Ichishkíin to differentiate S, A and O. Jacobs analyzed word order as being "subject to pattern preferences, to stylistic choices, to tendencies, not to invariable rules" (1931, 269). Rigsby and Rude describe Sahaptin as "a free-word-order language" (1996, 673). Apart from the second position pronominal and modal enclitics and a small class of sentence-initial particles (question markers, the negative marker, and modal adverbs) constituents do not appear in a fixed place.

In a survey of constituent order in 149 clauses in Jacobs' *Xwáɬxwaypam* texts, Rude (2009) found all possible orders of S, O and V represented, as shown in Table 6.6

TABLE 6.6. CONSTITUENT ORDER IN TRANSITIVE CLAUSES
(from Rude 2009,16)

SVO	50
VSO	36
VOS	34
OVS	16
SOV	9
OSV	4
total	149

So, while this count shows a strong tendency for the verb to precede the object (in

120/149 clauses), all orders are possible.

The following examples from Yakima texts show the same varying word orders

of S,V and O. (These examples do not differentiate direct from inverse clauses; see Rude

(2009) for Klikitat examples that show that the direct/inverse alternation does not affect

word order.)

99.   SVO
      kákyama patk'íxshana kúshxi twin
      kákya-ma   pa-tk'íx-sha-na   kúshxi   twin
      creature-PL   3Pl.S-want-IMPV-PST   also   tail
      'the animals want such a tail'

100. VSO
      pátmiyúuna Spilyáyin Twit'áayanan
      pá-tmiyúu-na   Spilyáy-in   Twit'áaya-nan
      INV-plot.against-PST   Coyote-3>3.ERG   Grizzly.Bear-OBJ
      '*Spilyáy* (Coyote) schemed against *Twit'áaya* (Grizzly)'

VOS

      inánana natútasaan iwínsh
      i-nána-na   natútas-aan   iwínsh
      3Sg.S-carry-PST   my.father-OBJ   man
      'the man took my father'

101. OVS
      tł'áaxwnan pátamanwya Spilyáyin
      tł'aaxw-nan   pá-tamánwi-ya   Spilyáy-in
      all-OBJ   INV-create-PST   Coyote-ERG
      '*Spilyáy* (Coyote) ordained them all'

102. SVO
      Yáamashin páwyanawyuuna Twit'áayanan
      yáamash-in   pá-wyánawi-yúu-na   Twit'áaya-nan
      mule.deer-3>3.ERG   INV-arrive-APPL-PST   Grizzly.Bear-OBJ
      '*Yáamash* (Mule Deer) came up to *Twit'áaya* (Grizzly).'

103. OSV
      ku kumanák áyatin pák' inwa
      ku   kumanák   áyat-in   pá-k'ínu-wa
      and   that.PL.OBJ woman-3>3.ERG   INV-see-PPF
      'and the woman has seen those (ones)'

The clauses above are fairly straightforward. Positions of adverbs, adjectives, interjections and elements of noun phrases can vary, and a rich analysis of word order would take these elements into account as well. As discussed above, clauses with two overt nominals are not common; orders may vary when only one argument of a transitive clause is expressed by a noun, or when oblique arguments are included. In addition, a comparison of older materials - such as those from Jacobs - with more recently collected texts would show whether English word order patterns have influenced those speakers who grew up speaking both languages.

A following, and more interesting, question to what orders are possible is why a particular word order is used in a given situation. I do not have an in depth analysis of this in Ichishkíin at this time. However, a look at studies done on related languages suggests possibilities. Nez Perce, also Sahaptian, and Klamath, Plateau Penutian, both are described as languages in which word order never distinguishes the two arguments of a transitive clause. Using a text-counting methodology, Rude (1999) found that in the Nez Perce narrative texts of Phinney (1934) the pre-verbal position is used for less continuous or expected participants. More continuous and expected participants are post-verbal, and the most expected/continuous participants are marked only by verb agreement. Rude concludes that Nez Perce word order functions on a discourse/pragmatic basis. (Note though, that although there was a correlation between continuity and word order, it was

not predictive and there were exceptions.) In a study of Klamath using a similar method,

Sundberg Meyer (1999) found that pre-verbal nouns express a discontinuous participant,

and post-verbal nouns continuous ones. 98% of new subject NP's and 67% of new object

NP's in narrative Klamath texts were introduced pre-verbally.

The following chapter continues the discussion of transitivity in Ichishkíin by

analyzing the language's inverse constructions.

CHAPTER VII

INVERSE ALIGNMENT AND VOICE

7.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the Ichishkíin inverse and provides information about the morphology, function, and historical sources of the language's direct/inverse constructions. Inverse systems across languages show grammatical sensitivity to a hierarchy of participants, with some of the involved core arguments in inverse clauses receiving a different grammatical treatment than in the corresponding direct clause. Mithun, referring to Algonquian, interprets direct/inverse systems as coding the ways speakers present events. Most typically, speakers present events from their own point of view or that of their listener rather than that of a third person. The point of view of a proximate 3rd person argument is more typically used than that of an obviative argument. If the direction of action is not as expected, for example if a speaker presents an event with 3rd person acting on 1st, the inverse is used (1999, 223). In Sahaptin, the coding of participants is related to their ranking along hierarchies of person and topicality.

Inverse clauses are described here according to the combination of participants in the clause. In **local** domains or scenarios, a speech act participant (SAP) acts on a SAP (abbreviated as SAP→SAP). **Mixed** scenarios are clauses with SAP and 3rd person

participants. In local and mixed scenarios in Sahaptin, the inverse is obligatory when 2nd acts on 1st or 3rd acts on an SAP. **Non-local** events involve only 3rd person participants (3/3). In 3/3 events in Sahaptin, the use of the inverse is not obligatory, but is governed by pragmatic and semantic factors, to be discussed in section 7.3.

Throughout this chapter, inverse (clauses or constructions) refers to the entire set of constructions covering all domains (local, mixed and non-local). Direction-marking is a key part of the system; the link between a cislocative marker and inverse case marking is addressed in 8.3.2. A split between hierarchical or inverse alignment and inverse voice is described, and I assume functional overlap between alignment and voice. As will be seen below, there is also formal overlap of some of the morphology used in the inverse subsystems.

This chapter will first describe the morphological characteristics of inverse constructions in comparison with the related direct construction (section 7.1). Section 7.2 will further discuss inverse voice, including proposals regarding the conditioning factors for assignment of proximate versus obviative and the use of the inverse across clause boundaries. Section 7.3 will look at cognates and possible sources of the forms involved.

The use of the term inverse stems from descriptions of Algonquian languages; Dahlstrom (1991, 59) indicates that the term 'inverse verb' originated with Howse 1944. Because the Algonquian inverse is a well-known and prototypical system, the first examples given here are from Plains Cree (Algonquian). In Plains Cree, local, non-local and mixed domains differentiate between direct and inverse. Third person arguments are divided into proximate and obviative categories. Direct/inverse and proximate/obviative

are grammatically coded: a verbal suffix differentiates inverse from direct; person and number of obviative arguments are coded on the verb; overt obviative animate nouns are suffixed. (The examples given below show only the verb suffixes, as the clauses have singular participants and no full NP arguments.) In Plains Cree, 2 outranks 1 (examples 1 and 2 below.) In mixed scenarios, SAP's outrank 3rd person, as in examples 3 and 4.

1.　　*ki-wa·pam-**i**-n*
　　　2-see-DIR-Sg
　　　'you (sg.) see me' (Dahlstrom 1991, 42)

2.　　*ki-wa·pam-**iti**-n*
　　　2-see-INV-Sg
　　　'I see you (sg.)' (Dahlstrom 1991, 43)

3.　　*ni-wa·pam-**a·**-w*
　　　1-see-DIR-3
　　　'I see him' (Dahlstrom 1991, 36)

4.　　*ni-wa·pam-**ekw**-w*
　　　1-see-INV-3
　　　'he sees me' (Dahlstrom 1991, 38)

　　　Plains Cree also indicates direct/inverse distinctions in the non-local realm. In these cases, animacy and topicality determine which participant will be coded as proximate and which as obviative. Inanimate 3A acting on animate 3O always triggers the inverse. When both 3A and 3O are animate, factors such as topicality, focus of empathy, or which participant's point of view is taken by the speaker determine whether the inverse will be used (Dahlstrom 1991, 91). Note that the morphosyntax of these Plains Cree non-local clauses overlaps with that in the mixed scenarios above. (*-a·*- and *-e·*- are generally accepted as allomorphs of a direct marker in transitive animate verb forms, see Zúñiga 2006, 75.)

5. *wa·pam-e·-w*
    see-DIR-3
    'he [prox] sees him [obv]' (Dahlstrom 1991, 45)

6. *wa·pam-ekw-w*
    see-INV-3
    'he [obv] sees him [prox]' (Dahlstrom 1991, 46)

Branching out from the Algonquian prototype, definitions of inverse and what is accepted as inverse vary. Depending on the scenario (SAP/SAP, SAP/3, 3/3) and the obligatoriness of the construction, various terms have been used for subcategorizing the constructions involved. In addition, there is a split depending on which subsystem is considered to be primary. Givón (1994) terms the 3→3 non-obligatory scenarios, governed by participant topicality, *pragmatic inverse*. Givón defines pragmatic inverse as a type of de-transitive voice in which "the patient is more topical than the agent, but the agent retains considerable topicality" (1994, 9). This is in contrast to the active-direct, in which the agent is more topical than the patient, with both nonetheless topical. The obligatory scenarios, based on topic hierarchies such as person, gender, animacy and anaphoricity, are *semantic inverse*. The semantic inverse depends on language-specific hierarchies; the higher a participant is on the hierarchy, the more likely it is to be the grammatical subject. The pragmatic inverse is primary to Givón; semantic inverse follows from it, and is functionally and formally related to the non-local scenarios. For both, a reversal of the expected roles triggers the use of the inverse.

Gildea (2009) divides the inverse category as follows. *Hierarchical (inverse) alignment* covers all scenarios in which the use of the inverse is grammatically

obligatory. This overlaps with Givón's semantic inverse, and involves hierarchies such as SAP>3; local rankings of either 1>2 or 2>1; animate>inanimate; definite>indefinite. *Inverse voice* describes systems in which 3rd persons are divided into proximate (PRX) and obviative (OBV) categories, with the more topical or salient 3PRX outranking the less topical 3OBV. The inverse is triggered when 3OBV acts on 3PRX. This terminology (hierarchical or inverse alignment and inverse voice) will be used in this chapter.

Gildea asserts that inverse alignment and inverse voice are not as unified as is assumed, and that a distinction between the two systems within languages is "perhaps more common than correlations" (1994, 222). Languages may have inverse alignment without inverse voice, or vice versa, or may express the two with unrelated morphology. Gildea gives an account of Kari'nja (Carib of Surinam), a language which has both an obligatory inverse alignment when 3 acts on SAP and an optional inverse voice in 3/3 scenarios. The two systems are not etymologically linked, and therefore call into question the unity of the category "inverse".

DeLancey (1981, 2001) and Zúñiga (2006) argue that deixis is at the center of inverse systems, or, in their preferred terminology, direction-marking systems (Zúñiga 2006, 31; DeLancey 1981, 641). They claim that the SAP/3 direct/inverse alternation is primary and the more common pattern. In these mixed clauses, the direction of action is either from the SAP to the more removed 3rd person and so direct; or the action originates with the 3rd person argument and is directed towards the SAP, which is less expected and inverse. DeLancey (1981, 2001) links person-based split ergative alignment and inverse constructions, as both involve a mismatch between an event's starting point and the

speaker's perspective or viewpoint. In both a 3rd person A, being the less expected

starting point for a speaker to take, receives a different treatment than a SAP A.

Ichishkíin has split ergative alignment and inverse.

In this deictic view, local and non-local scenarios are peripheral or extensions of

the SAP/3 distinction. Both first and second persons are at the "deictic center" of events

(DeLancey 1981); this makes the question of whether 1>2 or 2>1 is primary an irrelevant

issue. This is reinforced by the fact that there is not a single universally-valid ordering of

the SAP's. DeLancey (2001) suggests that the 3>3 voice-type alternations described by

Givón as pragmatic inverse are better described as obviation, a separate phenomenon

with some functional similarities.

There are also varying views on which subsystem of inverse is the source of the

others. For Givón, the semantic inverse is an extension of the pragmatic inverse. An

inverse voice system that is already sensitive to relative topicality readily extends to the

realm of SAP/3, since SAP's outrank 3rd persons in topicality. For DeLancey, non-local

scenarios represent an extension from the situations involving SAP's to those with 3rd

person only, as (again) relative topicality of participants links the direction-marking

system with the 3/3 voice system. Although issues of directionality and

grammaticalization from one subsystem to are generally beyond the scope of this chapter,

section 8.3.2 will present data that suggests a case marker used in 3>SAP scenarios has

extended to 3>3 scenarios in some dialects of Northwest Sahaptin.

7.2. The grammatical coding of the inverse category

Examples 1-4 above show only a narrow slice of Algonquian, and as researchers more familiar with these systems have pointed out (Rhodes 1994; Zúñiga 2008, 2009), the morphosyntax of Algonquian languages is not necessarily as neatly organized as the above examples suggest. We see a similarly less-than-orderly system as we turn now to examine Ichishkíin data. Although this system does not entirely conform to the Algonquian prototype, the language shows a direct/inverse distinction in which the coding of participants is related to their ranking along hierarchies of person and topicality. The direct is the default category and most combinations of A and O are coded with direct. Plurality levels the system, as clauses with a plural A are analyzed here as direct (although sensitive to animacy). Inverse clauses reflect a ranking of participants, with SAP's outranking 3rd person and 3PRX outranking 3OBV. In the case of 1st and 2nd persons, coding systems compete. Considering the inverse verb prefix *pá-* suggests a ranking of 1st over 2nd but this is not supported by the use of pronominal enclitics in inverse clauses.

Each inverse combination (2>1, 3>SAP, 3OBV>3PRX) is uniquely coded, with some of the morphemes used in more than one scenario. Inverse clauses are syntactically transitive and non-promotional, as grammatical roles do not change from the direct to the inverse. They occur in subordinate as well as main clauses (many subordinate clauses are finite, see 9.2). In addition, the inverse prefix is used in some commands and nominalized forms. The analysis given here of the direct / inverse alternation relies on morphosyntactic evidence as well as grammatical relations in Yakima, as discussed in

6.6, rather than semantic roles of agent and patient (see also Blackburn Morrow 2006, 37-39).

Inverse clauses demonstrate Sahaptin's split ergative case marking pattern. Only 3rd person agents take ergative case marking, never SAP agents. In inverse clauses with an overt 3rd person singular A, the A is case marked -nɨm if the O is 1st or 2nd person (glossed here 3>SAP.ERG) and -in if the O is third person (glossed as 3>3.ERG). Scott DeLancey (personal communication) proposes that this pattern of ergative case marking is not attested elsewhere and may be unique to Sahaptin.

Note that the inverse prefix pá-, used in 2>1 as well as 3>3 scenarios, is a near homophone to the 3rd person plural S/A prefix pa-. The two differ only in stress; inverse pá- is a stress-stealing affix that takes word level stress from the root (but not from strong roots or stressed suffixes).

7.2.1. Local SAP/SAP

Direct 1→2: In direct configurations with a 1st person singular A and 2nd person O, the complex second position pronominal enclitics =mash and =matash are used, indicating a second person O and first person A. There is no additional verbal morphology indicating person. =mash is used when A and O are both singular; =matash is used when either or both participants are plural.

7. shápnisha mash
    shápni -sha   =mash
    ask   -IMPV =1Sg>2Sg
    'I'm asking you'

8.   *ku matash ítux̱ta*
      ku   *=matash*   *ítux̱-ta*
      and   =1>2E/B.Pl   return-FUT
      'and I/we will send you (Sg/Pl) back'

The clitics *=mash* and *=matash* also code second person possession in possessive

constructions, as discussed in 3.10.4. In the intransitive clauses below, the clitic identifies

the possessor in the copular 'have' construction in example 9 and the possessor in the

intransitive construction in 10.

9.   *Wash matash (imaamínk) sawítk.*
      Wash   *=matash*   *(imaamínk)*   *sawítk.*
      COP   2Pl.POSS (2Pl.PRO.POSS) Indian.carrot
      'You all have sawítk.'

10.   *Mish mash x̱ítwayma wyánawita Nixyáawiknik?*
      Mish   *=mash*   *x̱ítway-ma*   *wyánawi-ta*   *Nixyáawi-knik?*
      Q   2Sg.POSS relation-Pl   arrive-FUT   Pendleton-ABL
      'Are your relatives coming from Nixyáawi?'

Inverse 2→1: In inverse clauses with 2Sg acting on 1Sg, the pronominal enclitic

references 2Sg only, and a verb prefix *pá-* indicates inverse alignment.

11.   *páwawtk'iwishaam!*
      pá-wawtk'iwi-sha=am
      INV-mock-IMPV=2Sg
      'You're mocking me'

12.   *Mish nam páwapiitata miyúkt pyax̱í?*
      Mish   *=nam*   *pá-wapiita-ta*   *miyúk-t*   *pyax̱í?*
      Q   =2Sg   INV-help-FUT   peel-NZR   bitterroot
      'Will you help me peel the bitterroot?'

In the example below, the inverse clause in 13 is followed by a direct clause in 14:

13.   *Páysh nam chaw pá'ɨnta*
      páysh=nam   *chaw*   *pá-ɨn-ta*
      maybe=2Sg   NEG   INV-tell-FUT
      'And if you don't tell me,'

14.   *kú matash tɬ'áax̱w íttɬ'yawíta,*
            ku=matash   *tɬ'aax̱w*   *íttɬ'yawi-ta*
            and-1>2E/B.Pl   all   kill-FUT
            I will kill all of you'

Independent pronouns are not used except when needed for disambiguation or emphasis. However, unlike the second position clitics, they do differentiate S/A from O, and therefore clearly indicate grammatical relations. The following inverse example includes the 1st person object pronoun.

15.   *Chaw nam inák pák̲ichkta*
            Chaw =nam   *inák*   *pá-k̲ichk-ta*
            NEG =2Sg   1Sg.PRO.OBJ   INV-pay.attention.to-FUT
            'Don't pay attention to me!'

If either first or second person are plural, the inverse prefix is not used. The A is coded by the 2Sg clitic *=nam* or 2Pl clitic *=pam*. Contrast, 16, an inverse clause with 2Sg A> 1Sg O and 17, a direct clause with 2Pl A> 1Sg O. Example 16 requires the inverse prefix *pá-*. 17 does not have this prefix.

16.   *Mish nam máytsk̲i pax̱wyaktwíita?*
            Mish   *=nam*   *máytsk̲i*   *pá-x̱wyák-twíi-ta*
            Q   =2Sg   morning   INV-sweat-APPL-FUT
            'Are you (Sg) going to sweat with me in the morning?'

17.   *Mish pam máytsk̲i x̱wyaktwíita?*
            Mish   *=pam*   *máytsk̲i*   *x̱wyák-twíi-ta?*
            Q   =2Pl   morning   sweat-APPL-FUT
            'Are you (Pl) going to sweat with us in the morning?'

Although the inverse prefix *pá-* is used in clauses in which second person acts on first person, supporting a person hierarchy of 1>2, the configuration of clitics used in the local scenarios does not support this ranking (see also Zúñiga 2006,151). As seen in examples 9 and 10 above, *=mash* and *=matash* reference 2nd person in intransitive

clauses, as does the clitic =*nam*, seen in inverse examples 11-13 and 15. =*mash*,

=*matash* and =*nam* are the only clitics found in transitive clauses in the local domain.

The clitic referencing 1Sg (=*nash*) in intransitives (and in mixed clauses, as will be seen

in the next section) is not used. Therefore, the clitics unambiguously code 2nd person

throughout the local domain, and suggest an alternate analysis of 2>1. As has been

argued for other languages (for example: Nocte, DeLancey 1981; Algonquian, Zuñiga

2008 and Macaulay 2009) there is not a single fully supported ranking of 1>2 or 2>1 in

Ichishkíin.

Table 7.1 summarizes the morphology used in local direct and inverse clauses.

TABLE 7.1. COMPARISON OF DIRECT/INVERSE IN LOCAL SCENARIOS

	pronominal enclitic	verb prefix
Direct 1A2O	=*mash* (1Sg>2Sg) =*matash* (either/both pl)	—
Inverse 2A1O	=*nam* (2Sg>1Sg)	*pá-* (INV)

7.2.2. Mixed SAP/3

Direct SAP→3: In a direct SAP>3 clause, the pronominal enclitics (recall these are

neutral to case) code the SAP, below =*nash* (in 18), =*nam* (in 19). The verb is marked with

the 3O prefix *á-* indicating a third person object, and if the object is overt it is

differentially marked with the object suffix *-nan* (Sg) or *–maman* (Pl). (In example 19 the

object is not case marked.)

18.   *kush áwɨnna*
      kú =nash   áw-ɨn-na
      and=1SG   3O-tell-PST
      'and I told him'

19.   *maykw'áanik nam ák'inusha wiwnúwaash*
      maykw'áanik   =nam   á-k'inu-sha   wiwnúwaash
      further   =2Sg   3O-see-IMPV huckleberry.patch
      'Further along you see a huckleberry patch'

Inverse 3→SAP: Inverse alignment scenarios when 3rd person acts on an SAP are

obligatorily coded with the 3S/A verb prefix *i-*, and ergative case-marking *-nɨm* if an

agent NP is present. The pronominal enclitics code the SAP.

20.   *kush   kwnak   awkú   iwawshúwiyana   naktkwaninłánɨm*
      ku-sh   kwnak   awkú   i-wawshúwiyan-a   naktkwaninłá-nɨm
      and-1Sg there   then 3Sg.S-examine-PST nurse-3>SAP.ERG
      'and that's where the nurse examined me'

21.   *tamánwitnɨm nash inápayunta*
      tamánwit-nɨm   =nash   i-nápayun-ta
      law-3>SAP.ERG   =1Sg   3sgS/A-defend-FUT
      'The law will support me'

A plural 3rd person A does not trigger the inverse in mixed scenarios. In 22, the

plural subject *tíinma* 'people' does not have the 3>SAP ergative case marker *-nɨm*. The

third plural S/A prefix *pa-* (rather than *pá-* 'INV') marks the verb:

22.   *ku nam pak'ínuta tíinma*
           ku=nam   pa-k'ínu-ta   tíin-ma
           and =2Sg   3Pl.S-see-FUT   person-Pl
           'and the people will see you'

In many clauses, as discussed above, there is no noun or pronoun expressing the

participants. In such a case in 3>SAP scenarios, this means that the ergative case marker -

nim is lacking, and the only indicator of the inverse is the verb prefix *i-*: the 3SgS/A verb

prefix used in intransitive and direct 3>3 clauses. The clitics in mixed scenarios are not

specified for case. Due to the parallel with other clauses that have overtly expressed A's,

I analyze example 23 below as inverse, 24 as neutralized by plurality and 25 as direct;

however, the evidence for this in isolated clauses without the ergative case marker is

sparse.

23. 3Sg>1   *ku nash táaminwa inámunxana*
              ku =nash   táaminwa   i-námun-xa-na
              and =1Sg always   3Sg.S-acknowledge-HAB-PST
              'and he would always acknowledge me'

24. 3Pl>1   *kush paysh la'ák pasáypta*
              ku=sh   paysh   la'ák   pa-sáyp-ta
              and=1Sg   if   maybe 3Pl-feed-FUT
              'maybe they will feed me'

25. 3>3   *iwinachikúuna*
              i-winachik-úu-na
              3Sg.S-arrive-APPL-PST
              'he came up to them'

Table 7.2 summarizes the morphology used in mixed direct and inverse clauses.

TABLE 7.2. COMPARISON OF DIRECT/INVERSE IN MIXED SCENARIOS

	pronominal enclitic	verb prefix	A case marking
Direct	=*nash*	*á-*	
SAP>3	=*nam*	(3O)	—
Inverse	=*nash*	*í-*	
3>SAP	=*nam*	(3Sg S/A)	-*nim*

7.2.3. Non-local, Singular A

The next type of inverse construction to be discussed is the inverse voice, used in non-local (3Sg>3Sg/Pl) situations. The particular functions and situations of use of this construction are described more fully in 7.3; for now, a general explanation is that the inverse is triggered when a less-topical 3rd person singular A acts on a more-topical 3rd person O (Rude 1994, Zúñiga 2006).

A combination of the inverse verb prefix *pá-* and case-marking suffix *-in* is used to indicate 3>3 inverse. Contrast the 3>3 direct clause in 26 with the inverse example in 27:

26.   *iwáwyaxana miyánashmaman*
         i-wáwya-xa-na   *miyánash-maman*
         3SG.NOM- whip-HAB-PST   child-OBJ.PL
         'he used to whip the children'

27.   *Chaw pák'inuta wisaliłáyin*
         Chaw pá-k'inu-ta   *wisalil-łá-yin*
         NEG INV-see-FUT   hunt-AGT.NZR-3>3.ERG
         'the hunter will not see them'

In the direct clause (26), the verb is prefixed with 3Sg.S prefix *i-*. In example 27, the inverse is indicated by the verbal prefix *pá-* and ergative case-marker *–in* marking the A (*-yin* here as it follows a vowel). If there were an animate nominal object in 27, it would take an object marker, as does the nominal object in 26.

The ergative form of question markers and pronouns is also formed with the suffix *-in*:

28.   *túwin páxatamchanwiyuusha?*
         tú-win   *pá-xatamchanwi-yuu-sha-na?*
         what-3>3.ERG   INV-fall-APPL-IMPV-PST
         'what fell on him?'

29.   *chawshíyin páḵ'inunxa*
               chawshín-in   *pá-ḵ'inu-nxa*
               nobody-3>3.ERG   INV-see-HAB
               'nobody sees them'

As seen in 27 and 29 above, the 3>3 inverse construction can be used in Yakima with plural as well as singular 3rd person objects.

If the inverse is used and the object is overtly stated, the object must be case marked.

30.   *anakú pátamanwya íchinak tiichámnan ku pátamanwiya k'usík'usinan*
               anakú   *pá-tamanwi-ya*   *íchinak*   *tiichám-nan*
               when   INV-create-PST   this.OBJ   earth-OBJ

                      ku   *pá-tamanwi-ya*   *k'usík'usi-nan*
                      and   INV-create-PST   dog-OBJ
               'When he created this earth, he also created dogs.'

The coding of the inverse in 3OBV>3PRX clauses hinges on the stressed prefix *pá-*; if there are no nominals in the clause, a common occurrence, this prefix is the only indicator of the inverse voice. However, in some situations the stress of the prefix shifts, leaving no contrast between the 3Pl.S and inverse. The 3rd person plural S/A prefix is *pa-* as seen in the following examples:

31.   *kush íchi inách'a paníya*
               ku=sh   *íchi iná-ch'a*   *pa-ní-ya*
               and=1Sg   this 1Sg.PRO.OBJ-also   3Pl.S-give-PST
               'and they gave me one'

32.   *patkwátashana*
               pa-tkwáta-sha-na
               3Pl.S-eat-IMPV-PST
               'they were eating'

This contrasts with the stressed inverse prefix *pá-*. Compare 31 and 33:

33.   *pániya tkwátat*
        pá-ní-ya   tkwátat
        INV-give-PST   food
        'he gave him food'

Section 2.6 discussed the presence of certain inherently-stressed affixes that take the word-level stress. Inverse prefix *pá-* is one such affix. Note that in 31 the verb root *ní-* is stressed, but that in 33 the inverse prefix *pá-* takes the stress, with an associated change in meaning.

Certain stressed suffixes and strong roots override stressed *pá-* and are assigned the word-level stress. The desiderative suffix *-(t)át'a* is an inherently stressed affix that overrides the stress of inverse *pá-*. The surface form in 34 could mean either 'they wanted to eat' or 's/he wanted to eat him/her.'

34.   *patkwatatát'ana*
        p?-tkwáta-tát'a-na
        ?-eat-DES-PST
        'they wanted to eat' / 's/he wanted to eat him/her'

Secondary stress does apply; however, this is a slight cue. As stated in 6.4.2, the stress of the applicatives varies by speaker. Context may be as relevant as secondary stress in allowing speakers to differentiate between inverse and plural in these cases. And, of course, if there are overt nominals, they are case-marked:

35.   *patkwatat'átana Asúmnan Waxpúuyayin*
        pá-tkwáta-tát'a-na   Asúm-nan Waxpúuya-yin
        INV-eat-DES-PST   eel-OBJ   legendary.rattlesnake-3>3.ERG
        'Rattlesnake wanted to eat Eel.'

In Blackburn Morrow's study of Umatilla Sahptin inverse voice, stress on the inverse prefix seemed to be in free variation for one of the elders (2006, 94). While context

serves to disambiguate the inverse from the 3rd person plural prefix in discourse, the fact that there is not always a fully reliable cue may indicate a weakening of the system. Inverse voice is not always robustly marked.

Table 7.3. (repeated from Chapter 3) summarizes the morphology used in non-local direct and inverse clauses.

TABLE 7.3. COMPARISON OF DIRECT/INVERSE IN NON-LOCAL SCENARIOS

	verb prefix	A case marking	O case marking
Direct 3SgPRX>3OBV	*i-* (3Sg S/A)	—	differential object marking
Inverse 3SgOBV>3PRX	*pá-* (INV)	*-in*	*-nan* (Sg) *-maman* (Pl)

7.2.4. Non-local, Plural A

When 3Pl acts on 3, the function of the various related prefixes that have been previously described as inverse is not clearly related to topicality. The form of 3Pl>3Sg varies by dialect (Rigsby & Rude 1996, 675) with a combination of the third plural person enclitic *=pat* and the absolutive prefix *á-* in Northwest, prefix *patá-* in Columbia River, and prefix *pa'á* in Northeast. No ergative case marker is used with 3Pl A acting on 3Sg. In the case of a topical 3Pl A acting on a less topical 3Sg O, as well as for 3Pl→3Pl, Rigsby and Rude describe Umatilla as using the 3Pl S/A prefix *pa-*. In their analysis, the inverse *=pat #á-* / *patá-* / *pa'á-* contrasts with direct *pa-*. They suggest that the Columbia River and Northeast prefixes (*patá-* and *pa'á-*) evolved from the Northwest form (1996,

675). Jacobs (1931) describes *=pat* as a pronominal enclitic, and in Jacobs' data from

Klikitat and Taitnapam (Northwest dialects), *=pat* patterns with the SAP enclitics. When

3Pl acts on 3Sg, the absolutive prefix *á-* codes the object.

In the data I have collected, the function of these prefixes does not reflect the

previous description. The use of the prefix *patá-* or clitic-plus-prefix *=pat #á-* forms is

obligatory when animate arguments are involved. This is not an 'optional' voice

alternation, and therefore the function of the 3Pl acting on 3 construction is not the same

as that of inverse prefix *pá-*. It falls in the category of obligatory inverse alignment rather

than inverse voice. It is used when animate 3Pl A acts on animate 3O.

Both the Columbia River and Northwest dialect forms are used in my data, within

and across speakers. In addition, the form *pat* is sometimes sentence-initial, so does not

follow the second-position placement of the SAP enclitics. In the examples here and

throughout this grammar, I have defined morpheme breaks using phonological criteria.

The three variations, which I refer to collectively as the *pat* forms, are 1) combined prefix

patá- as in 36; 2) free standing *pat* and verbal prefix *á-* as in 37; or 3) clitic *=pat* and

verbal prefix *á-* as in 38. The NE variant *pa'á-* does not occur in the material I have

collected.

36.   *patá'iyaxna*
        patá-íyax̱-na
        3Pl>3-find-PST
        'they found him'

37.   *Pat awkú áshyaka.*
        Pat   awkú   á-shyák-a.
        3Pl   then   3O-scout-PST
        'they scouted for him'

38.   *ku pat ánatma awkú tł'áax̱wmaman*
          ku =pat   á-nát-m-a   awkú tł'áax̱wmaman
          and =3Pl   3O-bring-CSL-PST   then all-OBJ.Pl
          'they brought them all out'

=pat does not match the behavior of the SAP enclitics. It is not indifferent to case, as are the SAP enclitics, but always occurs as the A with a 3rd person object. (With SAP O, the 3Pl A form is *pa-*, as in example 24 above.) In addition, the distribution varies, as it does not always occur in second position and it does not always phonologically attach to the preceding word, as seen in the examples above. The form is distinct from prefix *patá-* because words can occur between *pat* and *á-*, as seen in 37 above, and the following examples. These words are typically particles and adverbs, separating the form *pat* and 3O verb prefix *á-* by at most a word of 1-2 syllables.

39.   *Awkú pat ánach'ax̱i áwitax̱shya*
          Awkú pat   ánach'ax̱i   áw-ítax̱shi-ya
          then 3Pl   again   3O-wake-PST
          'then they woke her again'

40.   *awkú kwnak pat awkú áwinanuuna slíitki*
          awkú kwnak   pat   awkú   á-winan-uu-na   slíit-ki
          then that.loc   3Pl   then   3O-go-APPL-PST   sled-instr
          'Then they went there after them with a sled'

The *pat* forms are used with both singular and plural objects, as can be seen in the two examples above. If the object is an overt NP, it is case-marked, as in 38 above, where *tł'áax̱w* 'all' has the plural object suffix *-maman*. The *pat* forms are used in the case of a human object. The required object-marking is motivated by the *pat* construction specifically, but this is adequately described by the obligation to mark human objects.

Whatever the specific morphological instantiation, these 3Pl>3 forms have a broader distribution than the non-local 3SgOBV>3PRX clauses using the inverse prefix

pá-. Some variation of *=pat #á-* and *patá-* is used in nearly every text example with 3Pl A and a human O.

3Pl>3 examples with the 3Pl *pa-* prefix are found with inanimate and unmarked or absent O's. In 41, the first verb is intransitive and prefixed with *pa-*; the second verb has the same prefix and an unmarked object.

41. *Awku pawínana, pawak̲ítatana tkwátat.*
     Awku pa-wína-na   pa-wak̲ít-ata-na   tkwátat.
     then 3Pl-go-PST   3Pl-look.for-PURP-PST   food
     'then they went and looked for food'

Some text examples use the *pá-* prefix (rather than a plural form of *pat*) in the case of plural A. A non-overt plural A in some of Jacobs' Klikitat texts is also sometimes coded by the prefix *pá-*.

In other dialects and perhaps at an earlier time across Northwest dialects including Yakima, the form *pat* patterns with the SAP clitics. This is either no longer the case or not the case for the consultants I have worked with. Jacobs (1931) describes *=pat* as a pronominal enclitic. Jacobs' Klikitat (NW) texts show a clear second position placement of this form, in accordance with the behavior of SAP clitics:

42. *áwishnx̲anapat tɬ'aax̲w tun*
     áw-íshn-x̲a-na=pat   tɬ'aax̲w tun
     3O-win-HAB-PST=3Pl   all   what
     'they would win everything (of his)' (MJ37:5.1.2)

I have no text examples such as 42 above, where the clitic *=pat* follows the verb. In my examples, it always precedes 3O prefix *á-*.

Jacobs also has several examples in his 1929 and 1937 NW texts where *pat* codes

the object. In this, *pat* is indifferent to case, as are SAP clitics. All of Jacobs's examples

include 3Sg acting on 3Pl. In these cases, the verb is prefixed by 3Sg S/A marker *i-*.

43. ishaptayákshapat xwísaatnim
     i-shaptayák-sha=pat   xwísaat-nim
     3SgS/A-cheat-IMPV=3Pl   old.man-2>1ERG
     'The old man is deceiving them' (MJ29:235)

Note the similarities of the clause above to 3>SAP examples, including the unexpected

use of the case marker *-nim*; in Yakima examples this marker is only used when an SAP

is the O and 3rd person Sg is the A. We will return to this in section 7.4.

7.2.5. Summary of formal properties of inverse clauses

To sum up, Ichishkíin has a grammatically obligatory inverse alignment in local

and mixed scenarios. 3Sg/3 non-local 'optional' voice constructions also show a direct/

inverse alternation. The morphology used for the various inverse constructions overlaps,

but a unique combination codes each scenario. Two things in particular stand out about

the grammatical coding of inverse constructions. First, there are two ergative case

markers, one (*-nim*) used when 3 acts on a SAP, and a second (*-in*) used when 3OBV acts

on 3PRX. Secondly, the prefix *pá-*, here called an inverse prefix, is used in both local and

non-local inverse constructions. It is, in fact, the only prefix that codes an SAP argument.

However, it is not used in the core case of directionality when a 3rd person A acts on an

SAP O. Table 7.4 reviews the morphological coding of inverse clauses across persons.

TABLE 7.4. SUMMARY OF FORMAL PROPERTIES OF INVERSE CLAUSES

Scenario	A	O	pronominal enclitic	A case marking	verb prefix
Local	2S	1S	=nam	—	pá- (INV)
Mixed	3S	1S	=nash	-nim	i- (3Sg S/A)
Mixed	3S	2S	=nam	-nim	i- (3Sg S/A)
Non-local	3SgOBV	3PRX	—	-in	pá- (INV)

Plurality serves to level the direct/inverse alteration, and the inverse is only used with singular A. In inverse alignment when 2 acts on 1, both A and O must be singular for inverse to be used. In mixed clauses, third person plural A acting on an SAP shows no direct/inverse alternation. There is a prefix for third person plural A acting on third if both are animate, but the correlation of this form with inverse voice has not been adequately supported; it seems to be coding obligatory alignment. Cross-linguistically, hierarchies in inverse systems are affected by plurality (Romance and Algonquian's systems include a hierarchy of Pl.SAP > Sg.SAP (Zúñiga 2009); Nocte and other Tibeto-Burman systems also show effects of plurality (DeLancey 2001, 2009). Ichishkíin is another example of this.

We now turn to examine the inverse voice more closely.

7.3. The Inverse voice: Conditioning factors

Several studies have attempted to determine the function of the 3/3 inverse voice, described in section 7.1.3 above. Rude (1994) used a text-counting methodology following the topicality theory of voice (e.g Cooreman 1985; Givón 1994). In these

studies, referent topicality in discourse is determined by text counts that establish 'referential distance' and 'topic persistence'. Anaphoric referential distance measures "the number of clauses separating [a referent's] present occurrence from its last occurrence" (Givón 1994,10). Higher topicality correlates with more recent mention. Topic persistence is a measure of cataphoric continuity, and counts "the number of times a referent recurs within the next 10 clauses" (Givón 1994,11). More topical referents are said to have occurred in more than two of the following 10 clauses.

Rude (1994) measured these values with 22 pages of Jacobs' Klickitat texts (from Jacobs 1929, 175-196). His study included 'optional' pragmatic inverse clauses with 3rd person agent and patient (Rude's pragmatic inverse corresponds to what is here called inverse voice.) There were 173 semantically transitive 3/3 clauses in the texts. 42.8% of these were inverse and 57.2% were active-direct. In measuring referential distance and topic persistence, Rude's results conformed to Cooreman and Givón's profile. Agents in the active-direct were found to be more topical than patients. In inverse clauses, patients matched the topicality values of agents in active-direct, but agents retained topicality. Rude characterized the Northwest Sahaptin inverse voice as a "**patient topicalizing** construction *par excellence* in which the agent still retains its high topicality" (1994,117).

Blackburn Morrow (2006), in extending Rude's text counting methodology to the Umatilla dialect, found tentative support for this theory. She noted, however, that an unsettling amount of residue was seen in Rude (1994); and that there was a "less-than-categorical adherence of each semantic role to either a 'highly topical' or 'non-topical' referential distance/topic persistence category across a given voice construction"

(Blackburn Morrow 2006, 45). Blackburn Morrow's text counts of the Umatilla dialect of Ichishkíin also had a high amount of residue. In addition, the scope of topicality was determined to be inadequately measured by these text counts, since inverse seems to correlate with at times global or text importance, and at other times functions more like a switch reference system. (These functions will be discussed more fully below.) Blackburn Morrow's subsequent experimental study sought to refine relevant factors contributing to topicality in Umatilla and to develop an experimental method with per-clause predictive power that relied less on the linguist's interpretation of the scenarios.

In Blackburn Morrow's (2006) experimental study, five native speakers produced narratives in response to wordless picture books. The stimuli, illustrated specifically for this study, were designed to investigate the impact of global frequency and of the semantic factors of animacy and individuation on speakers' use of direct versus inverse voice. Blackburn Morrow found that global frequency and animacy were key factors in the use of the Umatilla inverse. Individuation was not found to be a factor.[69]

However, Blackburn Morrow notes that in her data, necessarily collected from a very small number of speakers given the language's stage of endangerment, not all of the elder's uses of direct versus inverse were as predicted, even when considering a global scope for topicality and the animacy of event participants. She indicates that factors such

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[69] Another significant finding by Blackburn Morrow (2006, 2007), although beyond the scope of this grammar, was that the speech of a younger generation of Umatilla Sahaptin speakers differs markedly from that of their elders with regard to this grammatical feature. The age range for the five speakers in her study was 41-77, and they belong to two separate generations (1996:63-64). Blackburn Morrow found that the inverse varied by generation, with the inverse voice construction of the middle-aged speakers not matching that of the two elders in form, function, or frequency of use.

as episode theme, episode boundaries, and the backgrounding of A may also be important factors (2006, 97).

The conditions for the use of inverse voice vary by genre, by speaker or perhaps audience. Sometimes global topicality seems to trigger inverse and sometimes a switch-reference style is used. These interact with the factors discussed by Rude (1994) and Blackburn Morrow (2006); it seems likely that no single hierarchy will account for all uses of inverse vs. direct voice in Yakima Sahaptin. A number of questions remain that can only be answered with extensive corpus and database research. Here I will describe some of the conditions that, along with those mentioned by Blackburn Morrow (2006) and Rude (1994), contribute to the use of inverse voice.

A short section of text will introduce some of the uses of inverse. This is taken from a speaker relating the events of a video clip about a horse and a boy (*The Black Stallion*, Ballard 1979). There are two episodes given. The first (lines a-j) is near the beginning of the text. The boy and horse are introduced in the first two lines (0). Then, the first episode below sets the scene and continues along as two other participants enter the narrative. The second episode (lines k-m) is from the end of the text. Each line (after the introduction) has a single bolded verb. Following each translation, justified to the right side of the page, the participants and clause type are given.

44. *chmuk k'úsi* 'the black horse'

0) *aw pat awkú áwiyaxna kwnák ɨmawípa anakwnák pawíik'ika k'usiyín*
    aw pat   awkú   áw-iyáx-na   kwnak   ɨmawí-pa
    now 3PL>3   then   3O-find-PST   that.LOC   island-LOC

          ana-kwnak   pa-wíi-k'ik-a   k'úsi-in
          REL-that.LOC   3PL.S-wíi-be.caught.up-PST   horse-ASSOC
    'And then they found him there, on the island, where he and the horse were hung up'

a) *ku awkú ámchnik ilápnuna*
    ku   awkú   ámchnik   i-lá-pnú-a
    and   then   outdoors   3Sg.S-leisurely-sleep-PST
                                 Then he (the boy) slept outside
                                          intrans: S boy

b) *anakúsh iláwachya táakwɨnnan k'úsinan ku awkú*
    anakúsh   i-lá-wáchi-a   táakwɨn-nan
    SUB-thus   3SgS/A-leisurely-watch-PST   whatchamacallit-OBJ

          k'úsi-nan   ku awkú
          horse-OBJ and   then
             as he [PRX] sort of kept an eye on the…whatchamacallit…horse [OBV], and
                                    DIR: A boy / O horse

c) *itáxshya*
    i-táxshi-a
    3Sg.S-wake.up-PST
                                        he woke up.
                                        intrans: S boy

d) *ku ɨwínsh skawiƚá garbagenan, pá'ɨlkw'ka*
    ku   ɨwínsh   skáwi-ƚá   garbage-nan   pá-ílkw'k-a
    and man   collect-AGT.NZR garbage-OBJ   INV-threaten-PST
              And the man who collects the garbage, he [OBV] frightened him/them[70] [PRX]
                      INV: A garbage man / O horse *or* horse and boy

e) *ku awkú ɨwinanína k'úsi*
    ku   awkú   i-winanín-a   k'úsi
    and then   3Sg.S-escape-PST   horse
                                  and the horse escaped
                                    intrans: S horse

---

[70] It is not clear from the film or the clause which is the intended meaning. The inverse prefix can be used with Pl O.

f) *awkú iwáyx̱tya ishchítpaynk táwnpa.*
awkú i-wáyx̱ti-a   ishchít-paynk   tawn-pa
then 3Sg.S-run-PST   road-along   town-LOC

and ran along the road in the town.
intrans: S horse

g) *Áswan awkú itwapátya.*
áswan awkú   i-twapáti-ya
boy   then   3Sg.S-chase-PST

Then the boy [PRX] chased (it) [OBV].
DIR: A boy / O horse

h) *Ku pcha iwinátma iníitknik ku*
ku pcha   i-winát-m-a   iníit-knik   ku
andmother   3Sg.S-depart-CSL-PST   house-ABL   and

And his mother came out of the house and
intrans: S mother

i) *páḵ'inuna*
pá-ḵ'inu-a
3>3.INV-see-PST

she [OBV] saw him [PRX],
INV: A mother / O boy

j) *aw iwáyx̱ti áswan páchupa ishchítpa*
aw   i-wáyx̱ti   áswan páchu-pa   ishchít-pa
now   3Sg.S-run   boy   half-LOC   road-LOC

the boy has run down the middle of the road.[71]
intrans: S boy

This sequence is followed by 17 clauses with the horse as S/A. The boy is not mentioned

in any of them. At last, the boy catches up with the horse. Lines k-m follow, a separate

episode from lines a-j above.

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[71] This is a direct quote of perception, see Chapter 9.

k) *íkush awkú **itxánana** k'úsi,*
    íkush   awkú   i-txána-a   k'úsi
    thus   then   3Sg.S-become-PST   horse

                         This is what happened to the horse
                                                intrans: S horse

l) *awkú **pátwapinxa** íxwi áswanin.*
    awkú pá-twap-inxa   íxwi   áswan-in
    then INV-follow- HAB   still   boy-3>3.ERG

                         and the boy [OBV] still chases him [PRX].
                                     INV: A boy / O horse

m) *Chaw íxwi awkú **pá'awtkw'isha.***
    chaw   íxwi awkú   pá-áwtkw'i-sha
    NEG   still then   INV-catch.up-IMPV

                         He [OBV] still hasn't caught up with him [PRX].
                                     INV: A boy / O horse

This sequence shows expected uses of inverse in an episode with two participants (the boy and the horse) who are introduced immediately and occur throughout lines a-j, and two participants (the garbage collector and the mother) who are only present in one or two clauses and who do not recur later in the text. The two inverse clauses (d, i) in this first section occur when these 'minor characters' are the agents of transitive clauses.

The two other transitive clauses in the first section are direct. In both (b, g), the boy is the A (PRX) and the horse is the O (OBV). Again, this is as expected: the boy is present in the narrative from the first, and outranks the horse in animacy. In an episode, a given third person tends to remain proximate throughout. The boy remains the proximate argument even though the horse was the subject in the two intransitive clauses preceding direct clause g.

As we see in the ending section, examples k-m, animacy ranking does not hold throughout. At the ending, when the horse has been present for 17 lines and the boy has

not, their roles switch. The horse is proximate O and the boy obviative A, and so the inverse is used in the last two clauses.

The inverse makes the referents clear even when there is not an overt nominal. For example, in the sequence 'the mother came out of the house and she saw him', only the inverse prefix indicates who saw whom; however, there is no question for speakers as to how to interpret the event.

The use of the inverse does not condition who is the assumed subject of a following intransitive clause. In lines d and i above, the O of the inverse is the S of the following clause. However, there are also examples such as the following sequence. Here, a transitive clause precedes an intransitive. The A of the inverse remains the S of the following clause.

45.　　*Pák'inuna Twit'áayayin Spilyáynan np'íwityaw*
　　　　Pá-k̲'inu-na　　　　*Twit'áaya-yin*
　　　　INV-see-PST　　　　Legendary.Grizzly-3>3.ERG

　　　　　　Spilyáy-nan　　　　　　*np'íwi-t-yaw*
　　　　　　Legendary.Coyote-OBJ　　fish-NZR-DAT
　　　　'*Twit'áaya* [OBV] saw *Spilyáy* [PRX] fishing'

　　　　　　Páyu anáwishana ku ipx̲wína...
　　　　　　Páyu anáwi-sha-na　　　　*ku*　　*i-px̲wí-na...*
　　　　　　very hunger-IMPV-PST　　and　　3Sg.S-think-PST
　　　　'he (*Twit'áaya*) was very hungry and he thought...'

The inverse does indicate that the O of an immediately preceding transitive clause has become the A. This topic-switching function is discussed in Rude (1994). The proximate acts on obviative O, and direct is used. When the obviative participant becomes the A, the inverse is triggered. This is seen in the following set (the dialogue has been left out).

46.   *páchi iwíinpa Twit'áaya "..."*
       páchi   i-wíinp-a   Twit'áaya "..."
       crabby 3Sg.S-answer-PST   Legendary.Grizzly
       '*Twit'áaya* [PRX] crankily answered her [OBV] "..."'

       ku pá'ina "..."
       ku pá'-in-a "..."
       and INV-say-PST
       'she [OBV] said to him [PRX] "..."'

In the first direct clause, *Twit'áaya* (Grizzly) speaks to *Yáamash* (Mule Deer). The use of the inverse in the second clause indicates that *Twit'áaya* has become the O. Were the second clause direct, *Twit'áaya* would remain the A.

In some texts, the direct/inverse alternation codes point of view or perhaps empathy. As Hymes (1987) described for the Warm Spring dialect of Sahaptin, some legends take one character as primary and throughout, whenever that character is the grammatical object, the inverse is used. This is the case in the Yakima legend *Waxpushyáy ku Asumyáy*, Rattlesnake and Eel. *Waxpushyáy* is the first character introduced as he readies his home for the winter. Within a few lines, *Asumyáy* is also introduced. He is hunting near Mt. Adams. *Waxpushyáy* wants to eat *Asumyáy*, and so lures *Asumyáy* to his cave, and tries to cheat him in a race. In the end, *Asumyáy* smells the water of the Columbia River and escapes home. Throughout the legend, *Asumyáy* triggers the use of the inverse when he is the O. This could be a case of empathetic direction. As the legend is told, the listener's sympathy is directed to *Asumyáy*: *Asumyáy* is hungry, cold, and lost; *Waxpushyáy* is a cheater and a schemer. In the end, we are told not to be like *Waxpushyáy*, not to cheat, to be a good person.

In other legends, this notion of point of view or empathy is confined to a single episode. This is the case in *Spilyáy ku K'áxnu* (Appendix B), which was described above. Coyote is a main character throughout. The prairie chicken parents are present in the beginning of the legend and return later. Their oldest chick is an empathetic character to the legend-teller, portrayed as an innocent child soon to be brutally killed by Coyote. The chick is only involved for a portion of the legend. Although the chick is unable to speak (and therefore has less indication of animacy) and is of less importance to the story than Coyote or the adult prairie chickens, he is of sufficient importance to the storyteller to trigger the inverse when he becomes the O in clauses with the father and with Coyote:

47.　*ku pátk'ina Spilyáyin*
　　kú　　pá-tk'í-na　　　Spilyáy-in
　　and　INV-look-PST　　Coyote-3>3.ERG
　　'And Coyote [OBV] looked at him [PRX]'

This grammatical treatment is not explained by animacy, global frequency, or topic switching, but seems to code empathy or viewpoint, as we saw with *Asumyáy* above.

Animacy hierarchy violations are not an automatic trigger for inverse. The first clause below is as would be expected if only animacy were involved: the inanimate blizzard acting on humans uses the inverse voice. However, the second clause is direct despite the fact that the horse is A and humans O.

48.　*ku kwnak wítxuptin páwinpa*
　　ku　　kwnak　wítxupt-in　　　pá-winp-a
　　and　there　blizzard-3>3.ERG　INV-take-PST
　　'and there the bitter blizzard caught them'

49.   ískáwskawna tíin-maman k'úsi
        i-ískáwskaw-na   tíin-maman   k'úsi
        3Sg.S-scare-PST   people-OBJ.Pl   horse
        'the horse frightened the people'

In conclusion, no single factor is involved. Rather, a number of elements contribute to a

Yakima speaker's use of inverse versus direct voice, and further research is needed to

clarify these. Interacting factors can be subsumed under broad claims of topicality, topic

switching, empathy and animacy. Speaker and genre are also important. Some of the

contributing factors may be too subtle to be fully established, given the state of the

language.

7.4. Sources of transitive morphology

Rude (1988, 1991,1997) reconstructs a number of the morphemes of the

Ichishkíin transitive constructions. Here we will look at the ergative markers -in and -nim

and inverse marker pá-.

3>3 Ergative -in

-in marks the agent nominal of 3OBV→3PRX inverse clauses, as seen in section

8.1.3. It is also a dual marker (see 3.10.1) and an associative case marker (3.10.2), as seen

in the examples below. The dual marker is used with humans and rarely with non-

humans. In 50 below it is a dual marker, here (on an non-human) co-occurring with the

numeral niipt 'two'.

50.   niipt wixalxalíyin pasápxwninxa wáwinknikshpa
        niipt   wixalxalí-yin   pa-sápxw-nin-xa   wáwinkniksh-pa
        two   spider-DL   3Pl.S-crawl-DPR.around-HAB   wall-LOC
        'two spiders are crawling on the wall'

The homophonous comitative suffix used with animates results in plural agreement on the verb.

51. *pawínana iwínshin*
     pawína-na   iwínsh-in
     3Pl.S-go-PST   man-COM
     's/he went with the man'

Note the similarity above of the entire construction to an inverse construction; the only lacking element is word level stress on the prefix *pá-*.

In Nez Perce, the cognate form of the dual/associative/inverse suffix is underlyingly */-iʔin/* (Rude 1997). This codes the associative and the stativizer in Nez Perce. (Nez Perce does not have a dual.) The stativizer is argued to be the oldest meaning in the family, with later extension to the associative and then other forms, including the 3>3 ergative case suffix (Rude 1991, 1997; Rigsby & Rude 1996). Thinking only about the usage of *-in* in current day Ichishkíin (as associative, dual, and ergative), and given the parallel structure of the associative constructions, as seen in 50 and 51, to inverse, the primacy of the associative seems reasonable. The missing piece is the stress on the prefix *pá-*, as discussed below.

Ergative *-nɨm*

The ergative case marker *-nɨm*, used in 3Sg A→SAP O situations (section 8.1.2 above) is cognate to Nez Perce ergative marker *-n(i)m*. Rude (1991, 1997) relates *-nɨm* and *-n(i)m* to the Proto-Sahaptian *-im* 'hither', and suggests that the current Sahaptian cislocatives and ergatives are from this common source. Rude further suggests that the source of the cislocative may be a Penutian verb for 'come', as Molala, Cayuse, Takelma and Kalapuya have cislocatives with *m*.

Cislocative -(i)m, discussed in 3.7, is a verbal suffix that follows either the verb

theme or aspect marking suffixes. The form is -m after vowels and -im between

consonants. When the verb is a n-stem verb (these verbs were discussed in 2.11) the

cislocative is preceded by final n, resulting in examples where the sequence nim appears,

such as the following.

52.   *ku na itáymunima*
      ku   *=na*   *i-táymun-im-a*
      and   =1Pl.INC   3Sg.S-inform-CIS-PST
      'he informed us'

The Nez Perce ergative and cislocative forms are cognate. The Nez Perce -n(i)m is

a generalized ergative marking third person subjects of transitive verbs. It is not restricted

to use with SAP objects. The Nez Perce cislocative, which has the basic form -im, is

obligatory in the case of 2A/1O. The directional quality is retained as well in the ergative

case marker, as it indicates core direction in events with 3A/SAP O. Direction of action is

from an external third person towards the SAP center. Sahaptin, as suggested above, is a

prime example of the deictic nature of the split between 3rd person and SAP's, and "an

instance of the fundamentally speech-act-centered nature of viewpoint—the distinction

between here, where you and I are, and everywhere else, where everybody else is"

(DeLancey 1981, 639).

An extension of the ergative marker -nim to 3>3 scenarios is seen in Klikitat and

Taitnapam dialects of Northwest Sahaptin in situations with a 3PlA and 3O. One such

example was seen in 43 above. In cases with an overt nominal A and the clitic *=pat*

coding the object, the ergative marker -nim is suffixed to the agent nominal:

53.   *wáxpushnimpat iníkwna*
      wáxpush-nim=pat   *i-níkwn-a*
      rattlesnake-3>SAP.ERG=3Pl 3Sg.S-swallow-PST
      ' a rattlesnake swallowed them' (MJ37:11.7.4)

It seems likely that in these cases, due to structural similarity with clauses in which 3 acts

on an SAP and in which the object is coded by a clitic, the use of the ergative case marker

expanded from mixed scenarios only to a limited subset of non-local scenarios.

Inverse prefix *pá-*

This verb prefix is shared by local (2A→1O) and non-local (3OBV→ 3PRX)

scenarios. As noted above, except for the fact that it takes primary stress of the word, it is

homophonous with the 3Pl.S prefix. The sequence *pa* is found throughout the language:

as well as marking 3Pl.S, it indicates location (3.10.2), distributive plurals (5.1), and is an

object marker on kin terms (5.6). Stressed forms are the inverse, the 'with hand' LP,

reciprocal prefix *pápa-* (6.4.3), and the 3Pl>3 *patá-*

Rude (1988) reviews potential sources for this morpheme, and concludes that

Sahaptian distributive / reciprocal / plural **pe-*[72], and **ée-*, which is related to the singular

obviative prefix *á,* combine to make the inverse prefix. He considers and rejects other

sources, including the locative case marker **-pe*, (*-pa* in Ichishkíin) the third person

independent pronoun root **pin* (this has the same form in Ichishkíin) and the 'with hand'

instrumental prefix *'ip* + *ée* (also *pá-*).

Looking at the entire inverse 3>3 construction, the other piece that needs to be

incorporated into the story of *pá-* (in 3rd person) is associative 3>3.ERG *-in*. This suffix

occurs with 3Pl.S *pa-* and RCP *pápa-* as well as with inverse prefix *pá-*. These reciprocal

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[72] Nez Perce and Proto-Sahaptian /e/ is [æ].

and plural prefixes on verbs indicate 3rd person involvement, and seem a potential source for the inverse construction. But the pieces that are missing and remain to be determined is how the inverse prefix became stressed, and why it occurs on 2Sg>1Sg as well as 3OBV>3PRX.

CHAPTER VIII

ADDITIONAL WORD AND MORPHEME CLASSES

8.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a limited overview of adjectivals,

adverbials and modal enclitics. As will be seen below, there is a great deal of overlap

among these three groups: nouns and derived verbs are readily used as modifiers and

adjectivals and adverbials share properties and forms. As well, adverbials and modal

enclitics, second position particles that indicate hearsay, contrast, possibility and

probability, cover some of the same semantic range.

8.2. Adjectivals

I am using the term 'adjectival' to refer to forms that modify or specify nouns and

noun phrases. As in many languages, the category of adjectival in Ichishkíin is not

formally cohesive. There is a syntactically definable category of words that function

primarily as noun modifiers that I refer to as the "adjective" category, although they are

only marginally distinguishable from nouns on syntactic grounds (see below). Many

adjectivals are stativized verb roots. Nouns are also freely used as to modify other nouns,

either undergoing no morphological change or case-marked as obliques. Thus, the discussion of adjectivals here is based on semantic and functional unity.

Examples below show strategies of noun modification: noun-moun modification (examples 1-5), adjectives (6-10), numerals and quantifiers (11-13), genitive pronouns and demonstratives (14-15) and derivations of verb stems (16-17). (See also section 5.5, which presented the elements, ordering, and number and case agreement involved in noun phrases.)

Nouns are used to modify other nouns.

1.　　*łayłáy táatpas*
　　　　łayłáy táatpas
　　　　rattle　clothing
　　　　'jingle dress'

2.　　*pswápswa tiichám*
　　　　pswá-pswa tiichám
　　　　rock.DIM-rock.DIM earth
　　　　'rocky ground'

Example 3 shows a verb nominalized with agentive suffix -*łá* modifying another noun. Both are case marked as the object of the verb.

3.　　*itáwax̲isha **palayłaan táwax̲nan***
　　　　i-táwax̲-i-sha　　　　　　　　*paláy-łá-nan*　　　　　*táwax̲ -nan*
　　　　3Sg.S-tobacco-VZR-IMPV　　get.drunk-AGT-OBJ　tobacco-OBJ
　　　　'He is smoking intoxicating smoke'

Nouns with genitive case ending -*nmí* (example 4) or 'pertaining to' -*pamá* (example 5) modify other nouns. In example 4, both *wapáwat* 'costume, outfit' and *k'usik'usimamí* 'dogs.GEN' have the instrumental suffix -*ki*. (Noun case marking was discussed in 3.10.4.)

4. *ku pimáwapawaxana **k'usík'usimamíki wapáwatki***
ku	pimá-wapáwa-xa-na	k'usík'usi-mamíki	wapáwat-ki
and	RFL.Pl-costume-HAB-PST	dog-Pl.GEN.INSTcostume-INST

   'and they would outfit themselves in their dog costumes'

5. *wyáyaxshatpamá wápaas*
wyá-yáxsha-t-pamá	wápaas
while.going-pour.into-NZR-thing.for	picking.basket

   'basket to pour into'

Adjectives in Ichishkíin indicate concepts such as size and value (*shix* 'good'/ *chilwít* 'bad'). A number of words indicating physical properties belong to the adjective class, such as *iwíix* 'thin', *k'áyu* 'skinny', *ku* 'heavy', *ptíit* 'damp'.

6. *ittáwaxinxa **ptíit** tiichámpa*
i-ttáwax-inxa	ptíit	tiichám-pa
3Sg.S-grow-HAB	damp	earth-LOC

   'it grows in wet ground'

Some words describing human qualities are adjectives; examples include *wapsúx* 'clever, skilled'; *ishnwáy* 'poor, pitiful'; *kw'shim* 'stubborn, mischievous', *p'ix* 'sensible, careful'.

7. *chaw **p'ix** iwá pínch'a*
   chaw p'ix iwá pínch'a
   NEG sensible 3Sg.S-COP 3Sg.PRO-again
   'She's careless'

Human age and size use the same terms: *iksíks* 'little, young'; *n'chi* 'big, old'.[73]

8. *ink nash wa **nch'ítxaw** ttáwaxt*
ink	=nash	wa	nch'í-txaw	ttáwax-t
1Sg.PRO	=1SG	COP	big-SUP	grow-NZR

   'I am the oldest one'

---

[73] The reduplicated form of *nch'i* with plural marker *-ma* means 'elders':
á-shapni-ta =pam *nch'ínch'ima-man*
3O-ask-FUT =2PL elders.OBJ
'Ask the elders'

9.   *nch'i iwá*
     big 3Sg-COP
     'it's big'

10 shows the singular form *iksíks* 'little'; *ikks* 'little.PL' is seen in 15 below.

10. *ashkú wachá **iksíks** íxwi pt'íniks*
     ana=nash-ku   *wachá*   *iksíks*   *íxwi*   *pt'íniks*
     SUB=1Sg-and   COP.PST   little   still   girl
     'when I was still a little (young) girl'

     Numerals (section 5.5) and quantifiers (a list is given in example 25 below)

modify nouns.

11. *ku áwacha **nápu** miyánashin*
     ku   *á-wacha*   *nápu*   *myánash-in*
     and   3O-COP.PST   two.HUM   child-DL
     'and they had two children'

12. *iwánpisha **palaláay** tíinmaman*
     i-wánpi-sha   *palaláay*   *tíin-maman*
     3Sg.S-summon-IMPV   lots   person-PL.OBJ
     'he is inviting a lot of people'

Numerals and quantifiers can also stand alone as nouns.

13. *kuxash awkú **naxsh** iwínana wapíitatyaw*
     ku=xash   *awkú naxsh i-wína-na*   *wapíita-t-yaw*
     and=MOD then   one   3Sg.S-go-PST help-NZR-DAT
     'Then one must have gone for help.'

     Genitive pronouns (discussed in section 3.10.5) and demonstratives (3.10.6) are

seen in examples 14 and 15. There is case agreement between the locative-marked noun

and genitive pronoun in 14, although the forms of the locative suffix are different: *-pa* on

the noun, *-páynk* on the pronoun (see 3.10.4 for more on *páynk* as an emphatic form used

with pronouns). Example 15 has a plural noun and plural demonstrative; the sentence-

final adjective is also plural.

14. *íkush áwa íkw'ak **piimipáynk tiichámpa***
     íkush á-wa   íkw'ak piimí-páynk   tiichám -pa
     thus   3O-COP   that   3Pl.PRO.GEN.LOC   earth-LOC
     'thus they have that in their own land'

15. ***kwmak myánashma** íxwi pawachá wáawk'a ikks*
     kwmak myánash-ma   íxwi   pa-wachá   wáawk'a   ikks
     that.Pl child-Pl   still   3Pl.S- COP.PST   too   little.PL
     'those children were still too little'

Many adjectivals are derived from verb stems . Example 16 shows a verb stem

with stative suffix *-i*, and 17 shows a stem with lengthened vowel. (More examples are

given below in 21-23).

16. *pap'ski mishyú*
     pap'sk-i   mishyú
     pierce-STAT   ear
     'pierced ears'

17. *kniip iwínsh*
     'shameful man' (from verb *knip-* 'overindulge, overeat')

8.2.1 Adjectives

There is a word class 'adjective' in Ichishkíin. Adjectives are very noun-like in

their behavior; criteria given below distinguish nouns from adjectives. Rigsby and Rude

write that adjectives are distinguishable from nouns on "weak syntactic criteria" as they

precede a head noun and agree with it in number and case (1996, 681). Jacobs notes

similarities between adjectives and nouns: "they are felt as either one or the other

according to context and temporary function" (1931, 244). As discussed in section 5.7, a

noun modifier can hold all the referential properties of a noun and occur as the sole

element in a noun phrase; therefore both nouns and adjectives can function as the head of an NP.

Adjectives can be case-marked to agree with a noun.[74]

18.   *kush náktuxksha pátaymunt* **hawláaknik tiichámknik**
       ku= nash   náktux-sha pátaymunt   hawláak-knik   tiichám-knik
       and =1Sg bring.back-IMPV information heavenly-ABL land-ABL
       'and I am bringing back news from that holy place'

Nouns modifying other nouns are also typically marked for case; examples are in 3 and 4 above.

As was discussed in 5.5, word order in NP's is typically modifier-noun, but this can vary. Word order does not distinguish adjectives from nouns.

Some of the derivational processes that operate on nouns apply as well to adjectives, and the resulting form is used as a noun or adjective (addressed in 5.2). For example, the suffix *-nút* is added to nouns to yield the meaning without X or one who does not have X, as in *taalanút* 'penniless, without money' from *táala* 'dollar'. Verbs can be derived by the same process from both nouns, as in *sitkumsáani-* 'eat lunch' from *sitkumsáan* noon'; and adjectives, as in *kw'shími-* 'misbehave' from *kw'shim* 'stubborn, mischievous' (see 5.3). Adjectives and nouns are used in copular constructions, discussed in 3.8.1. Some adjectives and some nouns undergo reduplication or partial reduplication to indicate plural, as shown for adjectives in 19.

19.   *káatnam   kkáatnam*
       'long' Sg/Pl

---

[74] The Columbia River dialects may exhibit more case-marking agreement on adjectives than Yakima (Noel Rude p.c.). Demonstratives and possessive pronouns have case forms, and these agree with case marked nouns, as seen in example 8.

chmuk   *chchmuk*
'black' Sg/Pl

nch'i   *nch'ínch'i*
'big' Sg/Pl.

chχaw   *chchχaw*
'fat' Sg/Pl

A few criteria do differentiate nouns and adjectives. The comparative and superlative affixes, in section 8.2.6, are used with adjectives but not nouns (nor are they applied to all adjectives). The adverbs *páyu* 'very' (in example X) and *wáawk'a* 'too' (example 15 above) are used with adjectives but not nouns.

Some adjectives - but no nouns - can take the instrumental case suffix *-ki* to yield adverbs.

20.   *nch'i*   *nch'íki*
       'loud, big'   'loudly'

       ɬway   *ɬwáyki*
       'soft, quiet   'softly, quietly'

       χtuwít   *χtuwítki*
       'strength'   'with strength, strongly'

Finally, the nominal suffixes *-χush* and *-k'a* (see 5.4 for a list of these suffixes) differentiate nouns and adjectives in my limited data. *-χush* is not used on adjectives. The nominal suffix *-k'a* when used with an adjective can intensify the meaning (*χyaaw-k'a* 'very dry'). On nouns (and referring adjectives) it means 'also, next, now'.

8.2.2 Adjectivals derived from verbs

A large number of adjectival forms are derived from verbs. The first process to be
discussed here adds a stative suffix *-i* to a verb root to derive a participial form. This is a
productive process for intransitive and transitive verbs, and the resulting forms are used
as adjectives and adverbs.

21. *sx̲ix̲-*   *sx̲íx̲ni*
    'be angry, mad'   'angry'

    łkap-   *łkápni*
    'be lazy, sleepy'   'lazy'

    páshwi-   *páshwini*
    'be worth'   'valuable'

    cháwiinknik-   *cháwiinkniki*
    'wrap around'   'wrapped'

    skúuli   *skúulyi*
    'attend school'   'be educated'

The form of the suffix is affected by the final vowel of the root and n-verb or
zero-verb status, although there is variation. For verbs ending in *a* or *u* or n-verbs ending
in a consonant or *i* the suffix is *-ni*; for zero-verbs ending in a consonant it is *-i*; for zero-
verbs ending in *i* it is *-yi*. Verb stem classes do not reliably predict the final forms of
words, as was discussed in 2.10. There are exceptions to these generalizations of what
stems and affixes go together. In particular, consonant-final stems do not always maintain
the distinction and may be formed with stative suffix *-i* even though they take past tense -

na. In addition, some *u*-final stems and C-final stems (particularly velar and uvular final?) are recorded with *-yi*. [75]

Another set of adjectivals is derived from change of state stems. These stems were discussed in 4.3.3. The adjectival is formed through a process of ablaut in which the root vowel is lengthened. The examples below show the root bolded as part of a verb stem, and then in the corresponding adjectival form.

22.   *cháx̱ilp-*   *x̱aalp, x̱liip*
      'open'   'opened'

      chátpni   *tpíin*
      'spread out'   'smooth'

      ítkw'k-   *tk'wíik*
      'straighten'   'straight'

      ílax̱yawi-   *x̱yaaw*
      'dry'   'dry'

      íkkimi-   *káakim*
      'fill up'   'full'

      pák'ink-   *k'aank*
      'block with hand'   'blocked'

      wách'x̱-   *cháax̱*
      'split, break with axe'   'split'

      wáp'k̲-   *p'aak̲*
      'break open'   'burst'

      twápxw   *páaxw*
      'scatter with long implement' 'scattered'

      chátɬ'ik-   *tɬ'áak*
      'break apart'   'broken'

---

[75] Consonant-final stems often disregard n-stem or zero-stem status when the habitual suffix is added, see discussion in 2.11 and 3.3.4)

If the vowel in the root is barred *i* or *a*, or if there is no vowel, *a* appears in the adjectival

form. The first three examples include long vowel *ii*. In the first, there is a speed

difference, with *x̱liip* describing something that opened abruptly or quickly, faster than

x̱aalp. The next is presumably metathesis. I have no explanation for the third at this point.

Some roots with long vowels show a derivation in which a repeated vowel and

glottal stop are added, so that and *aa* becomes *a'áa*, *ii* becomes *i'íi*. These roots are not all

change of state stems.

23. *ts'íitts'iit-*   *ts'i'íit*
    'wink'   'winking or one eyed'

    chátɬ'iip-   *tɬ'i'íipni*
    'chipped'   'chipped'

    shapáḵw'iish-   *ḵw'i'íish*
    'spread'   'melted (as fat or butter)'

    láam-   *la'áam*
    'disappear'   'faded, worn away'

Patterns of some form of stem ablaut and/or vowel lengthening are found in other

Penutian languages, including Maiduan and Yokutsan languages, Miwok, Alsea,

Takelma and Klamath (like Ichishkíin, Plateau Penutian). This wide distribution is is

potentially a feature of proto-Penutian (DeLancey and Golla 1997); the data presented

here support that hypothesis.

8.2.3 Adjectivals derived from nouns

The processes used to derive adjectivals from nouns are the same as those that

derive adjectivals from verbs. With nouns, the use seems to be limited to just a few

examples, in contrast to the productive stative verbal suffix and the large set of forms demonstrating ablaut.

Adjectivals derived from nouns with the suffix -*i* yield the meaning 'having X'.

24. *tɨmná*   *tɨmnáyi*

    'heart'   'wise, thoughtful'

    wáptas   *wáptasyi*
    'wing'   'winged, angel'

A handful adjectival and adverbial forms are derived from nouns and adjectives through ablaut, as in *ɬkw'i* 'day', *ɬíikw'i* 'all day'; *tɬ'aap* 'low water, shallow' *tɬ'á'aap* 'shallow'.

8.2.4 Quantifiers

A set of quantifiers modify nouns or stand alone. Some are given in example 25.

25. *ɨláx̲*   'many, much' inanimate (Columbia River *x̲lak*)

    kutɬ'k, kuts'k   'shared amount, a piece of something' (*kuts'k* 'small piece')

    kwɨɬ   'same amount'

    mílaa   'few, a little bit'

    náamɨn   'whole thing, all'

    palaláay   'lots, an abundant amount'

    ttuush   'some'

    ts'áax̲i   'enough (literally near again)'

8.2.5 Colors

Color terms are given in 26. Several of these are derived from another, for example a long vowel *a* serves to indicate a lighter or less intense color, as in *chmuk* 'black' to *chmaakw* 'grey'.[76] Diminutives are also used, as in *ch'* (diminutive) / *ts'* in red to brown and *ḵ /x̱* and *ɬ/sh* in orange to yellow.

26. | | |
|---|---|
| *chmuk* | 'black' |
| *chmaakw* | 'grey' |
| *ḵuyx̱* | 'white' (animate) |
| *luts'á* | 'red' |
| *luch'áa* | 'brown, reddish brown' |
| *lumt* | 'blue' |
| *lamt* | 'purple' |
| *miḵɬ* | 'orange' |
| *miḵáaɬ* | 'orangish' |
| *mix̱ísh* | 'yellow, yellow-brown' |
| *mix̱íshpyat* | 'green' |
| *plash* | 'white (not animate)' |
| *plaash* | 'light in color, pale' |

As noted in 3.10.4.2, some color terms take the genitive suffix *-(n)mí* to indicate a noun made of something that color, as in *mix̱ishmí* 'gold' from *mix̱ísh* 'yellow'.

A number of terms (in addition to *chmaakw* 'grey', *chmuk* 'black' and *ḵuyx̱* 'white) are used to refer to different patterns and colors of horses.[77] These terms are for the most part derived or recruited, for example *kawxkáwx* 'palomino' from *kawx* 'bright, shiny',

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[76] Blue to purple may also be an example of this, although the vowel is not long.

[77] Virginia Beavert and Regan Anderson compiled this list.

támtl'aki 'paint' from *támatł'ak-* 'patch', *shukawáakuł* 'bluish-white' from *shúka-wáakuł*

'sugar-resembling'.

27. *kawxkáwx*   'palomino'

     ḵaashḵáash/pa'áx   'buckskin'

     liláwlilaw   'bay with white belly'

     luch'á   'brown/red bay'

     máamin   'appaloosa (spots only on rump)'

     pátkw'iikwi   'buckskin with dark back stripe, horse with a straight blaze'

     pátłumxi   'boldface'

     shiwíwshiwiw   'chesnut sorrel'

     shkw'íishkw'i   'liver color sorrel/brown'

     shukawáakuł   'like sugar (bluish-white, white mane and white eyes)'

     taḵawáakuł   'light brown horse with black markings, such as black stripe

                         down back and spider web stockings'

     támtł'aki   'paint'

     túktuk útpaas   'leopard appaloosa (spots all over)'

8.2.6 Comparative, superlative, 'too' 'very'

The comparative prefix *mayk-* and superlative suffix *-tx̱aw* are added to

adjectives.

28. *káatnam*   *maykkáatnam*   *káatnamtx̱aw*
     'long, tall'   'a little longer' 'longest'

     nch'i   *mayknch'í*   *nch'ítx̱aw*
     'big'   'a little bigger' 'biggest'

mayk- amd *-tx̱aw* are also used in comparative constructions with the genitive and dative

suffix *-míyaw*.

29. *iwá maykk'púuɬ inmíyaw*
     i-wá   *mayk-k'púuɬ*   *inmíyaw*
     3Sg.S-COP   COMP-short 1Sg.PN.GEN.DAT
     'he's shorter than me'

With superlative *-txaw*, the meaning in 30 is that both are equally large.

30. *iwá káatnamtxaw pyushmíyaw*
     iwá   *káatnam-txaw*   *pyush-míyaw*
     3Sg.S-COP   long-SUP   snake-GEN.DAT
     'it's as long a snake'[78]

The adverbs *páyu* 'very' (in the following example) and *wáawk'a* 'too' (example 15

above) are used with adjectivals.

31. *iwá it'úk, páyu it'úk*
     i-wá   *it'úk,*   *páyu it'úk*
     3Sg.S-COP   difficult   very difficult
     'it's hard, very hard'

We will see these same forms in the following discussion of adverbials.

8.3. Adverbials

A number of adverbials add semantics of time, direction and manner, modifying

verbs, adjectives, and other adverbials. The discussion here is based on semantics rather

than unifying syntactic features; Ichishkíin does not have a unified well-defined class of

adverbs. Direction and manner are often indicated within the verb stem itself, as

discussed in Chapter 5. Many forms related to the demonstratives, as discussed in 3.10.4,

indicate time and direction, such as *íchiini* 'towards here' *kumánk* 'since then'.

The following examples show temporal, location/direction and manner adverbs.

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[78] The genitive typically would only precede a human dative argument, but in these comparative
constructions it is required on animals and inanimates as well. These are elicited examples.

32. *púła itxánaxa wíyat ímíti*
    púła   *i-txána-xa*   *wíyat*   *ímíti*
    wild.turnip   3Sg.S-become-HAB   far.away   downward
    '*púła* grows deep into the ground'

33. *Áyat míimixash itxánana shapátuxni*
    áyat   *míimi=xash*   *i- txána -na*   *shapá-túx-ni*
    woman   long.ago=MOD   3Sg.S-become-PST   CAUS-return -STAT
    'Apparently this woman was sent back (lit. became returned) long ago'

34. *sáakli*[79] *pawáshashana*
    sáakli   *pa-wásha-shana*
    in.a.circle 3Pl.S-ride-IMPV-PST
    'they were circling around'

Adjectivals and adverbials share properties and many modifiers can be used to specify either nouns or verbs. Both of the modifiers below in 35 are derived forms, the first a variant of *tkw'iik* in example 22, and the second the stative form of *sápkitwa-* 'organize, keep attention on'. The derived forms could be used to modify nouns. Here, they modify the predicate.

35. *tkw'íikw sápkitwani pa'áwxanaykta*
    tkw'íikw   *sápkitwa-ni*   *pa-áwxanayk-ta*
    straight   organize-STAT   3Pl.S-line.up-FUT
    'they are to stand carefully arranged in a straight line'

Example 36 shows the adjective *małáa* 'clean' used to modify a verb.

36. *małáa panisháatwa*
    małáa   *pa-nisháatwa*
    clean   3Pl.S-live.HAB
    'they live cleanly' (a clean life)

The comparative and superlative suffixes are used with adverbs, as they are with adjectives, seen in 8.2.6.

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[79] This form is another example of ablaut, from root *skli-* as in *wíisklik-* 'spin in a circle'.

37. *maykkítu*
     mayk-kítu
     COMP-fast
     'Faster!'

The adverbials *páyu* 'very' and *wáawk'a* 'too', seen with adjectivals above, are also used

to modify verbs.

38. *awkú chaw pawyákwshtikta wáawk'a*
     awkú   chaw   pa-wyákwshtik-ta   wáawk'a
     then   NEG   3Pl.S-do.wrong-FUT   too.much
     'Then they will not do wrong too much'

39. *páyuxaash átawishana natílasnim*
     páyu=xa=sh   átawi-sha-na   natílas-nim
     very=MOD=1Sg   love-IMPV-PST   myMoFa -SAP>3.ERG
     'My grandfather must really love me'

Some adverbs are derived from adjectives with instrumental suffix *-ki*, as seen

above, but the process is not applicable to all adjectives. Unlike adjectives, adverbs are

not marked for case or number, and can only be affixed with the freer of the nominal

suffixes *-xi* 'same', *-sim* 'only', *-k'a* 'also, again' (see 5.4 for more on these suffixes).

There is a class of modal adverbials that often occur in sentence-initial position

(patterning with negative marker *chaw*) and I expect that further investigation will

identify them as a word class or subclass, as well as identify more members. They add

notions of ability and likelihood. Similar meanings are indicated by the modal enclitics,

discussed in the following section.

40. *miskilíiki* 'barely, hardly'

     miskilíiki nash tkw'anátixa
     miskilíiki   =nash   tkw'anáti-xa
     barely   =1SG   walk-HAB
     'I can hardly walk'

41.   *haay* 'must'

      haay   ináwnak̲'ita
      haay   i-náwnak̲'i-ta
      must   3Sg.S-finish-FUT
      's/he has to finish it'

42.   *huuy* 'unable to, in vain'

      Pat huuy áwitax̲shix̲ana.
      =pat   huuy   áw-ítax̲shi-x̲a-na
      =3PL>3   in.vain   3O-wake.up-HAB-PST
      'They could not wake her'

43.   *tawndapak'a* 'supposedly'

      tawndapak'a náx̲shmun iwínsh iwyáchika kwnak
      tawndapak'a   náx̲sh-mún iwínsh i-wyáchik-a   kwnak
      supposedly   one-when man   3Sg.S-arrive-PST   that.LOC
      'Supposedly one man arrived there'

44.   *paysh* 'maybe'

      ku mish mash paysh wyántx̲awnta
      ku   mish   =mash   paysh wyántx̲awn-ta
      and   Q   =1Sg>2Sg   maybe pick.up-FUT
      'and maybe I will pick you up'

45.   *laak* 'perhaps'

      laak nam cháwmun ásamx̲nata
      laak   =nam   cháwmun   á-sámx̲na-ta
      perhaps   =32Sg never   3O-talk.to-FUT
      'Maybe you will never converse with him'

paysh 'maybe' and *laak* 'perhaps' both indicate possibility. *paysh* is used in more contexts than *laak*. *laak* may be more speculative, although this is not certain. Sometimes both are used, perhaps for emphasizing uncertainty.

46.   *Aw nash paysh laak mish kunkínk míta.*
      Aw =nash   paysh   laak   mish   kunkínk mí-ta.
      now =1Sg   maybe   perhaps   Q   that.INST do-FUT
      'Maybe I can do something about that'

47. *paysh laak iwá wiwnúwaash*
    paysh   laak   i-wá   wiwnúwaash
    maybe perhaps   3Sg.S-COP   huckleberry.patch
    'Maybe it is a huckleberry patch' (it's hard to see in the distance)

paysh 'maybe' also can mean 'if' in combined clauses. *laak* does not function in this way.

48. *Chaw nam tuun ák'inuta paysh nam xwyakáɬ wisalátita*
    chaw =nam   tuun   á-k'inu-ta   paysh =nam   xwyak-áɬ   wisaláti-ta
    NEG=2Sg   what.OBJ   3O-see-FUT   if =2Sg   sweat-PRIV   hunt-FUT
    'You will see nothing if you (will) hunt without sweating'

8.4. Modal enclitics

A set of second position enclitics express evidentiality, contrast and mirativity. Following Jacobs (1931) I am calling these modal enclitics. They are not grammatically obligatory in any situation.

Examples are given here for the forms in Table 8.1. Of these, the functions of the first three are more readily described; the last forms are less clear. Some of these may represent different dialectal versions of the 'same' meaning, and the specific meanings are difficult to pin down.

TABLE 8.1. MODAL ENCLITICS

=akut	hearsay
=xash, =xashtx	evidently
=tya	rather, on the other hand
=txat, =xat, *=at, =xa*	doubt, amazement

Of these, =*tya* 'rather' can occur before a second position pronominal enclitic; the others follow. The hearsay marker is the last, if more than one enclitic is used.

The first examples below include modal enclitics with a more-easily described meaning: =*akut* 'hearsay'; =*xash* 'evidently' and =*tya* 'rather, on the other hand'.

49. *ku huuy yakút ishapáwuukshana na'íłasaan*
     ku   huuy =akut   i-shapá-wúuksha-a   na'íłas-aan
     and   in.vain-MOD   3Sg.S-CAUS-stay.back-PST   my.mother-OBJ
     'and they say he could not make my mother stay home'

The hearsay marker is used both as in 49 above to report events, as in 'they said X happened' and also as more of a quotative: 's/he said X', as in the following example.

50. *míinakut iwínasha*
     miin =akut   i-wína-sha
     where.ALL=MOD   3Sg.S-go-IMPV
     'where did he say he was going?'

The enclitic =*xash* does not imply that an event was witnessed, only that the speaker is drawing a conclusion about something.

51. *íkushxash awkú iwá tł'áaxwpa minán tiichámpa*
     íkush=xash   awkú i-wá   tł'áaxw-pa   minán   tiichám-pa
     thus=MOD   then 3Sg.S-COP all-LOC   where.LOC   land-LOC
     'this is the way it must be over all the country'

52. *Spilyáyxash íchi íkush ikúya!*
     Spilyáy=xash   íchi   íkush   i-kú-ya
     Coyote=must   this   thus   3Sg.S-do-PST
     '*Spilyáy* must have done this'

=*xash* combines with =*tx* 'doubt, amazement'.

53. *kúxashtx páykna hawláakchi*
     ku=xash=tx   pá-yík-na   hawláak-chi
     and=MOD=MOD   INV-hear-PSY   spirit-INST
     'He must have heard them with his powers'

54. *íkushx̱ashtx̱tash awkú aak ikúx̱ana X̱ax̱íshnim*

      íkush=x̱ash=tx̱=tash   *awkú*   *aak*   *i-kú-x̱a-na*   *X̱ax̱ísh-nim*

      thus=MOD=MOD=1PL.EXC   then   that 3Sg.S-do-HAB-PST   X̱ax̱ísh-3>3.ERG

      'That's what X̱ax̱ísh must have done to us'

=x̱ash could be a composite of a modal enclitic *=x̱a* and first person *=nash* (which reduces

to *=sh*), as a form *=x̱a* is found before other clitics in the Jacobs materials, as in the

following.

55. *áwx̱anam wyánawi*

      aw=x̱a=nam   *wyánawi*

      now=MOD=2Sg   arrive

      'now maybe you have arrived (MJ37:12.10.2)

56. *áwx̱aash wíinch'ushana*

      aw=x̱a=ash   *wíi-nch'ú-shana*

      now=MOD=2Sg   wii-sleep-IMPV-PST

      'I may have been going to sleep' (MJ29:233:9)

However, *=x̱ash* is used with second and third person as well as first person in my data.

    =tya indicates a contrast from the expected, and can be translated 'rather, only, on

the other hand'.

57. *cháwtyamash wáwk'asha, áwtyamash tíip'x̱sha*

       chaw=tya=mash   *wáwk'a-sha*   *aw=tya=mash*   *tíip'x̱-sha*

      NEG=MOD=1SG>2SG be.angry-IMPV now=MOD=1SG>2SG remind-IMPV

      'I 'm not angry with you, I'm only reminding you'

Although the example above states both sides of a contrast, this is not necessary.

58. *Spilyáytya iwá*

      Spilyáy=tya   *i-wá*

      Coyote=MOD   3Sg.S-COP

      'It's only Coyote'

A lexicalized form *kútya* 'but, on the other hand' is formed of *ku* 'and' and *=tya.*

59. *palaláay tíinma pawachá kútya talx íxwi*
    palaláay   tíin-ma   pa-wachá   kútya   talx   íxwi
    many   person-PL 3Pl.S-COP.PST   but   empty still
    'there were lots of people but it was not crowded'

Additional forms in the table above all based on the segments *t*, *x*, and *a* and could

be dialectal alternations. They add mirative meanings of wonder, surprise, and doubt.

60. *túnat iwá?*
    tún =at   i-wa
    what=MOD   3Sg.S-be
    'whatever could it be?

61. *Mishxatash kwmak pawapíitata?*
    mish=xa=tash   kwmak   pa-wapíita-ta
    Q=MOD=1Pl.EXC   that.PL   3Pl.S-help-FUT
    'Might those ones help us?'

62. *káapt=xa=na wáta*
    káapt=xa=na wáta
    crowded=MOD=1Pl.EXC be-FUT
    'We will be crowded in'

The question form *mishxit* is translated as 'I wonder', and is perhaps an old form affected

by vowel harmony, or a combination of nominal enclitic *-xi* 'same' with the modal *=at*.

63. *Mishxit itmíyusha*
    mishxit   itmíyusha
    Q=MOD   3Sg.S-plan-IMPV
    'I wonder what he is planning?'

Jacobs (1931, 128) lists additional forms of modal enclitics with the same segments that

express degrees of certainty, including *-ax* 'wish, desire'; Virginia Beavert recognizes

some of these forms, but does not use them. At this point in the language, the productive

and most used modal enclitics are those that indicate hearsay or reported speech (*=akut*); a

speaker's assessment of the likelihood something happened or will happen (*=xash*) and a

contrast (*=tya*).

CHAPTER IX

CLAUSE COMBINING

9.1. Introduction

This chapter surveys the grammatical strategies for combining clauses in

Ichishkíin. Included here are:

- Coordination of two fully finite clauses

- Subordination using *ana-*

- Nominalization using nominalizer *-t*

A fourth strategy is morphological. As discussed earlier, morphemes within the

verb theme indicate causation (*shapá-*, seen in section 4.2.3) and aspectual/ modal notions

'start' (*-uy, k'ay*, discussed in 4.2.4, 'finish'(*-nak'i*, see 4.4), and 'want to'; 'go in order

to'(*-(t)at'a, -ata*, covered in 4.2.5). In addition, Section 8.3 introduced modal adverbial

particles indicating necessity and ability. These include *miskilíiki* 'barely, hardly'; *huuy*

'unable to, in vain'; *haay* 'must'.

A review of what constitutes a finite verb is relevant to the following discussion.

A finite verb shows subject, object and possessor agreement in the form of 3rd person

verb prefixes and/ or SAP second position clitics. It has tense/aspect suffixes (recall that

present perfect can be unmarked on verbs ending in a vowel, see 3.3.5). Subjects

expressed with an overt noun are unmarked or have ergative case markers *-nɨm* '3>SAP. ERG' or *-in* '3>3.ERG'. Noun suffixes also indicate objects (*-nan*) and possessors (*-(n)mí-*).

The discussion here begins with relative clauses and adverbials of time, manner, location, and reason. These are formed using subordinator *ana-* , which joins two otherwise finite clauses. We then turn to nominalized complements, and then to the strategy used for direct quotes and most verbs of perception and cognition, the coordination of two finite clauses. Coordination is also used with conditional clauses and to express relationships of time and cause; a discussion of particles in narrative ends this chapter.

9.2. Subordinator *ana-*

Subordination and relativization are expressed with the prefix *ana-*. There is no difference in the coding of relative clauses vs. adverbials of time, manner, location, or reason. Interrogative/indefinite pronouns and demonstratives in their various case forms attach to *ana. ana* is not stressed; word level stress lands on whatever follows. The demonstratives that are used in forming subordinate clauses are typically those with the base *kw* 'that' rather than *ch* 'this'; demonstratives also have forms that are not related to the noun case system (such as *íkwtɨnk* 'of that kind'; *kw'ɨnk, kw'pɨnk* 'that aforementioned', see 3.10.4). These also are used with *ana-*.

The subordinator always appears first in the subordinated clause; its order is invariant, even though much of Ichishkíin word order is not fixed. The clause structure of

the phrase following *ana-* is completely finite. Only the particle identifies the clause as subordinate. The subordinated clause can precede or follow the main clause. In the examples below, I am indenting the second line for readability only. The indentation does not indicate the main versus dependent clause.

Very common forms are *anakú* 'when' (*ku* 'and', so') and *anakwnák* 'where' (*kwnak* 'there').

1. ***anakú** ts'áak'a pawyanáwya Nch'iwánayaw Wishxaamípa, Asumyáy inúkshya chíishnan*
   ana-ku ts'áa-k'a pawyanáwi-ya Nch'iwána-yaw
   REL-and near-also 3Pl.S-arrive-PST Columbia.River-DAT

    Wishxaam-mípa, Asumyáy i-núkshi-ya chíish-nan
    Wishxam-GEN.LOC Eel 3Sg.S-smell-PST water-OBJ
    'When they arrived near the Columbia at *Wishxam, Asumyáy* smelled the water' [80]

2. ***anakú** pápawyapaana na'íłas ku natútas*
   ana-ku pápa-wyápaa-na na'íłas ku natútas
   REL-and RCP-separate-PST my.mother and my.father

    kush awkú ishapáttawaxna Xaxíshnim
    ku =nash awkú i-shapá-ttáwax-na Xaxísh-nim
    and-1SG THEN 3Sg.S-CAUS-grow-PST Xaxish- ERG
   'When my mother and father separated, *Xaxísh* raised me'

anakú can imply a causal relationship as well as a temporal one.

3. *chawxi íxwi pa'átshama,*
   chawxi íxwi pa-at-sha-m-a
   not.yet still 3Pl.S-go.out-IMPV-CSL-PST

    ***anakú** íxwi iwachá k'pís*
    ana-kú íxwi i-wachá k'pís
    REL-and still 3Sg.S-COP.PST cold
   'They weren't yet coming out, since it was still cold'

---

[80] The word *ts'aa* 'near' occurs with the dative case on the location referenced, as in this example. Therefore the case marking of the two locations does not match.

anakú also is seen within connected speech as a particle that does not connect a main and subordinate clause, and this will be covered more fully below.

anakwnák 'where' is seen in 4 introducing an adverbial clause in the first line, then in the third line, the demonstrative form *kwnak* 'there' is used. The third line below is a completely finite clause; the first is not.

4.   *ku íchnayakút awkú **anakwnák** íchi iwá tawn,*
          ku íchna=yakút   awkú   ana-kwnák   íchi   iwá   tawn,
          and this-LOC=MOD   then   SUB-there   this   3Sg.S-COP   town

          iwaníksha Tápnish,
          i-waník-sha Tápnish,
          3Sg.S-be.named-IMPV

             kwnak *awkú iwachá nch'iii pátat*
             kwnak   awkú   i-wachá   nch'iii pátat
             there   then   3Sg.S-COP.PST big   tree
          'and here, they say, where this town is, it's called Toppenish, there there was a

great big tree'

Indefinite pronouns with *ana* are illustrated in 5 through 8.

5.   *ku páwat'axana*
          kú   pá-wat'a-xa-na
          and   INV-strike-HAB-PST

          anamił *kw'pink áwacha ititámani wyákwshtikt*
          ana-mił   kw'pink   á-wacha   ititáma-ni   wyákwshtík-t
          REL-how.many aforementioned 3O-COP.PST   count-STAT do.wrong-NZR
          'And he would switch them as many times as the aforementioned had misdeeds.'

6.   *iwishtúxinxana*
          i-wishtúx-inxa-na
          3Sg-return.to.camp-HAB-PST

          anaminík *iwisháchikxana tkwatat wak'ítatat*
          ana-miník   i-wisháchik-xa-na   tkwatat wak'ít-ata-t
          REL-where.ABL 3Sg.S-camp-HAB-PST   food   look.for-PRP-NZR
          'he would return from where he had camped to look for food'

7. Uyt ipáx̱nan áyatma patamaníix̱a chíishyaw
    uyt   ipáx̱-nan   áyat-ma   pa-tamaníi-x̱a   chíish-yaw
    first   deer.hide-OBJ woman-PL   3Pl.S-throw.in.water-HAB water-DAT

    mítaat uu píniipt łkw'i, **anamáaltya,**
    mítaat uu píniipt   łkw'i ana máal=tya
    three or four   day   SUB-how.long-instead

    anamún lawláw ts'wíix̱ itx̱ánata twák'aatki.
    anamún   lawláw   ts'wíix̱ i-tx̱ána-ta   twák'aatk-i
    SUB-when   fur   easy   3Sg.S -happen-FUT   scrape-STAT
    'First the women put the hide in water for three or four days, however long, until
        the time when the fur will be easy to scrape'

8. **anashín** iwiláalakwta pinmikínk tmíyutki
    ana-shín   i-wiláalakw-ta   pinmikínk   tmíyu-t-ki
    SUB-who 3Sg.S-outrace-FUT   3Sg.PN.INST plan-NZR-INST

    awkú kushk iwáta
    awkú kushk i-wá-ta
    then winner 3Sg.S-COP-FUT
    'Whoever comes up with the best plan (to create a night) will be the winner.'

Case roles within the subordinate clause can be indicated by the pronouns used. In the
following example, the indefinite pronoun is the object form, as it is the O of the main
clause.

9. ku kuuk awkú ásinwya
    ku   kuuk   awkú   á-sínwi-ya
    and   now   then   3O-say-PST

    anatúun sapsikw'at ináktukinma.
    ana-túun   sapsikw'a-t   i-náktux̱-inm-a
    SUB-what-OBJ   teach-NZR   3Sg.S-carry.back-CSL-PST
    'that's when he spoke the teaching he brought back'

And, in these examples, the object form of 'those' is used.

10. *ku awkú patamápayshta*
     ku   awkú   pa- tamápaysh-ta
     and   then   3Sg.S-report.on-FUT

        anakuunák   *húuy pátalaxitksha*
        ana-kuunak   húuy   pá-talaxitk-sha
        that.OBJ   in.vain   INV-discipline-IMPV
        'And then they will report on that one who is disciplining them in vain.'

Note also that in the above example, the use of the inverse prefix *pá-* indicates that the agent of the main clause has become the object of the subordinate clause. The role of this prefix in argument tracking and switch-reference type functions is addressed in 7.3. In the example above, it is doing within the subordinate clause what it does in main clauses, indicating that the A of a preceding clause has become the O.

       Ergative forms of subordinators are also used, as in 11. This example includes *ash*, a clitic combined with the subordinate particle, discussed below. There is no 3rd person prefix on *íyaxi* 'find' because the verb is vowel-initial.

11. *itł'yáwya áyat*
     i-tł'yáwi-ya   áyat
     3Sg.S-die-PST   woman'

        ash kwínim íyaxna
        a=sh   kwínim   íyax-na
        SUB=1Sg   that.3>SAP.ERG   find-PST
        'that woman died, (the one) who found me'

The subordinator *anakúsh* is formed with *íkush / kush* 'thus, that way'. It is used in relative clauses, as in 12, and in a relative clause means 'like' or 'in that way'.

12. *ku kwnak awkú pawisháynaka*
     ku   kwnak   awkú pa-wisháynak -a
     and   that.LOC   then   3Pl.S- move.in-PST

> anakúsh pimanaknúwya kwnak
> anakúsh   pimá-naknúwi-ya   kwnak
> SUB-thus RFL.PL-take.care.of -PST   that.LOC
> 'and they moved in there, in that way they took care of themselves'

In most cases *anakúsh* is not part of a subordinate clause but serves as a particle

meaning 'like' or 'as'. And, sometimes it serves as a filler. It does not have a

grammatical function in all clauses, and speakers are surprised to see afterwards that it is

occurs so often in their speech. This non-subordinating function is seen in the examples

below, in which there is only one finite verb.

13.　　*kush awkú átmaaknanisha pinák áwtni* **anakúsh** *txánat*
　　　　ku=nash   awkú   á-tmaak-ani-sha
　　　　and =1Sg   then   3O-respect-APPL-IMPV

　　　　　　pinák   áwtni anakúsh txána-t
　　　　　　3Sg.PN.OBJ holy anakúsh become-NZR
　　　　　　'and I respect her holy event'

14.　　*Ku pam* **anakúsh** *tíinma pak'ínuta.*
　　　　ku =pam   anakúsh   tíin -ma   pa-k'inu-ta
　　　　and=2Pl   anakúsh   person-PL 3Pl.S-see-FUT
　　　　'and people will see you'

If a relative clause includes an SAP as subject, object or possessor, the SAP clitic

attaches directly to the relative particle, which reduces to *a-*. These combinations are then

phrase-initial and so the clitic retains its second position placement. The syllables are

stressed (or not stressed) very evenly, and phonologically attach to the following element.

These forms are in Table 9.1, followed by examples.

TABLE 9.1. SUBORDINATING PARTICLE WITH SAP CLITICS

1Sg	*ash*
1Pl.EXC	*ana*
1Pl.INC	*atash*
2Sg	*anam*
2Pl	*apam*
1Sg>2Sg, 2Sg possessor	*amash*
1>2 E/B.PL 2Pl possessor	*amatash*

15. **anam** *ák'ínusha pchish*
     a=nam   *á-k'ínu-sha*   *pchish*
     SUB=2Sg 3O-see-IMPV door

        kwnak natash skúulisha
        kwnak=natash   *skúuli-sha*
        that.LOC=1PL.EXC   go.to.school-IMPV
     'where you see a door, there we are going to school'

A demonstrative or pronoun can be used in the relative clause to highlight the relativized

argument, which is not necessarily the SAP.

16. *ku matash íchi sápsikw'ash awkłáw*
     ku =matash   *íchi*   *sápsikw'a-sh awkłáw*
     and 1>2.E/B.Pl   this   teach-PPF enough

        ash *kwnak ink ttáwaxna nisháyktpa*
        a=sh   *kwnak*   *ink*   *ttáwax-na*   *nisháykt-pa*
        SUB=1SG that.LOC   1Sg.PN   grow-PST   dwelling.LOC
     'I'm only teaching you this much, where I grew up' (what I learned where I grew up)

17. *pánim íkw'ak ɨtɨt **ash** wáta nɨmí*
     pá-ni-m   íkw'ak   ɨtɨt   a=sh   wá-ta   nɨmí
     INV-give-CSL   that   teeth   SUB=1SG COP-FUT 1Sg.PN.GEN
     'give me those teeth which will be mine' (MJ37:12.7.2)

Both Jacobs (1931) and Rude (1988b) give the form *apat* for the third person plural,

based on the clitic *pat*; Virginia Beavert accepts Jacobs' examples but I do not find *apat*

in text data. The third person plural forms use the demonstrative, as in example 10 above,

or the subject pronouns, as seen in 21 below.

The words formed of *ana* plus clitic also are hortatives. They are addressed here

due to structural similarity and for the sake of completeness; I am not suggesting that

hortatives are subordinated clauses. The combination of subordinate marker *ana* and the

clitic remain the first element of the sentence. The verb has a present perfect or future

suffix.

18. *amash wapíita*
     amash   wapíita
     SUB=1Sg.2Sg help(PPF)
     'let me help you'

19. *ash inch'ak'a ash*
     ash   inch'ak'a   ash(PPF)
     SUB=1Sg 1Sg.PN-next enter
     'let me enter next'

To express hortative, the forms *amash, amatash* are used for 2 Sg and 2 Pl rather than

anam and *apam*.[81]

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[81] These forms also indicate second person possessors. The hortative is another domain where the forms =mash and =matash reference 2ⁿᵈ person only. For a discussion of person coding in SAP transitive scenarios, see 7.2.

20. *ámash ayíkta*
    á=mash   *ayíkta*
    SUB=1Sg.2Sg   sit-FUT
    'Sit down'

Today's speakers use commands formed with verbal suffix *-k* or the future tense with the

2Sg clitics more often than the hortative. The full form of the subordinate particle and the

third person subject pronouns form the hortative for third person. Note here that there is

third person agreement on the verb.

21. *anapínk iwínata*
    ana-pínk   *i-wína-ta*
    SUB-3Sg.PN   3Sg.S-go-FUT
    'let him go'

9.3. Complement clauses

Verbal complements are clauses that function as subject or object arguments of

other clauses. Givón (2001) divides direct object complements into three classes based on

the semantics of the main verb. Modality verbs (such as *finish, start, be obliged to*)

indicate the aspectual or modal action, state, or attitude of the subject in relation to the

subordinate verb. These have co-reference restrictions; the subject of the main and

complement clauses must be the same (equi-subject). Manipulative verbs (*make, cause,*

force) code events where the subject of the main verb influences or attempts to influence

the actions of another entity. The complement clause codes the event that is to be done.

These have equi-object conditions; the notional subject of the complement verb is the

object/manipulee of the main verb. Perception/cognition/utterance (PCU) verbs (such as

see, hear, know) code a mental state or event of perception or cognition, or a verbal act of

utterance. PCU verbs do not have subject restrictions. The subjects of the main and complement clauses may or may not be the same.

Givón's (2001) scale of event integration argues that if a language has multiple complementation strategies, the degree of syntactic integration of the main and complement clauses will mirror the semantic integration of the coded events; the syntactic complexity that arises as clauses are embedded inside one another is a natural outcome of human perception of nested, interrelated events. The most semantically integrated events, where complement and main verb conspire to describe a single event, should be the most syntactically integrated as well. This is in part dependent on the range of complementation coding devices available in the language. Any language with two or more strategies that exhibit a difference in finiteness will sub-divide the scale, but the number of strategies a given language will have or the place at which the coding break will occur are not predicted.

At the top of the integration scale for manipulative verbs is successful (implicative) manipulation, coding two co-spatial, co-temporal events in which the subject of the main clause controls the actions of the manipulated subject of the complement clause. Very tight cohesion is expected with modality verbs expressing accomplishment or attempt. The complement clauses that are most finite and independent syntactically should be those that code events that are considered distinct from the event of the main verb. Accordingly, PCU verbs fall at the bottom of Givón's scale of event integration. The very loosest semantic and syntactic cohesion is expected to be seen with

direct quotes, which have no coreference restrictions and need not have deictic or

temporal conditions joining the two clauses.

In Ichishkíin, we see morphological strategies for some of those events highest on

this integration scale. These were discussed earlier; examples are included here for

reference. Causation (successful manipulation) is expressed with verbal prefix *shapá-*,

and was addressed in 4.2.3.

22. *íkush awkú páshapa'anya*
     íkush   awkú   pá-shapá- aní-ya
     thus   then   INV-CAUS-make-PST
     'that is how he had them make it'

Verb suffixes indicate 'want to' and 'go in order to'(seen in 4.2.5).

23. *iwinatát'ashana Pútł'inkan*
     i-wína-tát'a-sha-na   Pútł'in-kan
     3Sg.S-go-DES-IMPV-PST   Portland-ALL
     's/he wanted to go to Portland'

24. *Aw na áwak̲itatasha.*
     aw =na   á-wak̲ít-ata -sha
     now =1PL.INC   3O- look.for -PURP -IMPV
     'Let's go look for him'

Aspectual/ modal notions of starting and finishing are also part of the verb theme, and

were previously addressed in 4.2.4 and 4.4.

25. *pnuwát'ak'ayshanaash*
     pnu-wát'a-k'ay-sha-na=ash
     sleep-DES-start-IMPV-PST=SG
     'I was beginning to get sleepy'

26. *ikútkutnak̲'ya*
     i-kútkut-nak̲'i-ya
     3Sg.S-work-finish-PST
     'she finished her work'

Ability and necessity are expressed as adverbial particles. A list of these adverbial forms

is found in 8.3.

27. *huuynash ápak̲'inksh pchíshnan*
     huuy=nash   á-pák̲'ink -sh   pchish -nan
     in.vain=1SG   3O- close-PPF   door-OBJ
     'I could not close the door'

We see strategies that use a single verb with particles or verb-internal morphology to

code the highest points on Givón's (2001) scale of event integration. We now turn to

nominalization as a means of clause combining.

9.3.1. Nominalized clauses

Ichishkíin uses a non-finite nominalization strategy to combine clauses. The

nominalizer used is the productive nominalizer -*t*, seen in 28.

28. *sts'aat iwá **asht** x̲wyáchpa*
     sts'aat i-wá   asht   x̲wyách-pa
     dark   3Sg.S-COP   enter-NZR   sweathouse-LOC
     'It's dark inside the sweathouse'

The nominalized verb can be used as the object of *tk̲'ix̲*- 'want, like' as an less-

integrated (and less-often used) alternative to the desiderative suffix above.

29. *itk̲'íx̲inx̲a **walptáykt***
     i-tk̲'íx̲-inx̲a   walptáyk-t
     3Sg.S-want-HAB   sing-NZR
     'S/he wants/likes to sing'

These nominalized forms can be case marked as agents and objects of transitive clauses.

Typically the nominalized forms that are found in these roles are quite lexicalized, as in

the following.

30.	*tamánwitin pánapayunsha*
	tamánwi-t -in			*pá-nápayun -sha*
	ordain-NZR-3>3.ERG	INV-defend-IMPV
	'the law defends them'

In an Ichishkíin subordinate clause with a nominalized verb, the nominalized verb

is suffixed by an oblique case marker. The case markers are shown in Table 3.9 on page

141. (The associative and genitive cases indicate core arguments of the verb and are not

used in these constructions. I do not find the allative -*kan* used in the data I have

collected.) As discussed in section 3.10.2, individual case markers cover a range of

meanings and uses. The same range of meanings is found in nominalized complements.

The full range of uses of the case suffixes is not repeated here, simply a shorthand

indication of their typical function in combined clauses.

The next examples present these clauses. Then, I address how arguments of the

main and nominalized verbs are indicated.

benefactive -*ay*: 'purpose'

31.	*kutash ámchan wínama **tkw'aníntkw'anintay***
	ku= natash		*ámchan*	*wína-m-a*	*tkw'anín-tkw'anín-t-ay*
	and =1Pl.EXC	to.outside	go-CSL-PST	walk.around-walk.around-NZR-BEN
	'and we came outside to walk around'

32.	*ishapá'atshaatash tun mish **wímitay***
	i-shapá-at-sha=atash			*tun mish wí-mí-t-ay*
	3Sg-CAUS-go.out-IMPV=1Pl.EXC	what Q	DIST-do-NZR-BEN
	'She sent us out to do whatever'

instrumental -*ki* 'by means of'

33.	*ku **pnútki** awkú pashúkwaana tɬ'áax̱w kw'ink timnanáx̱t.*
	ku pnú-t-ki		*awkú pa-shúkwaa-na tɬ'áax̱w kw'ink*		*timnanáx̱t*
	and sleep-NZR-INST then 3Pl.S-know-PST all		aforementioned story
	'and then, in sleep, they learned all these stories'

34. *ashkú **láx̲uyx̲tki háashtki** isapápuxanix̲ana wáwnakwshashpa*
     a=sh-kú   láx̲uyx̲-t-ki   háash-t-ki
     SUB=1SG-and   heat.up-NZR-INST breathe-NZR-INST

     i-sapápux-ani-x̲a-na wáwnakwshash-pa
     3Sg.S-blow-APPL-HAB-PAS body-LOC
     'when she blew on my body with heated breath'

35. *pimánaknuwix̲a tamaníkshki **naknúwitki***
     pimá-naknúwi-x̲a   tamaníksh-ki   naknúwi-t-ki
     RFL.PL-take.care.of-HAB plant-INSTR   take.care.of-NZR-INSTR
     'they made their living by farming'

ablative -*knik* 'from'

The ablative -*knik* indicates something that has been stopped or prevented.

36. *pawyák̲atutix̲ana **wishánatknik***
     pa-wyá-k̲atuti-x̲a-na   wishána-t-knik
     3Pl.S-while.going-stop-HAB-PST   move.away-NZR-ABL
     'they would stop and rest from traveling'

37. *awnash x̲áwshx̲ta **x̲wiyáktknik***
     aw=nash   x̲áwshx̲-ta   x̲wiyák-t-knik
     now=1Sg   stop-FUT   sweat-NZR-ABL
     'now I shall cease sweating' (MJ37:13.7.3)

Locative -*pa* 'at, while'

*iwá it'úk, páyu it'úk anakúsh **tamáshwiktpa***
     i-wa   it'úk   páyu   it'úk   anakúsh   tamáshwik-t-pa
     3Sg.S-COP   difficult very   difficult   like   interpret-NZR-LOC
     'and it's hard, very hard to translate'

*ihuyanákshana **páwayktpa***
     i-huyanák-sh-ana   páwayk-t-pa
     3Sg.S-sing.love.song-IMPV-PST bead-NZR -LOC
     'she was singing a love song while beading'

dative *-yaw* **'into'**

The dative case has the widest range of meanings, as was discussed in 3.10.2. The most concrete examples indicate motion into an enclosed space, but it also indicates nearness to something, trading or price amounts. It is used in comparatives and ditransitives. It is also the case ending most often found on nominalized verbs in subordinate clauses when the subject of the main clause and the notional subject of the nominalized verb are different. This is due to the combined semantics of the verb and case marker, not an inherent property of the case marker (except in one case, addressed below). A dative-marked verb is used when the main clause is a verb of perception (when not expressed with a direct quote, to be addressed below) and the nominalized verb is the thing perceived; this often entails another animate actor besides the perceiver. *-yaw* is also used to indicate a consequence or result, and again, a second human argument is expected.

The following examples are elicited (except for 41, 42); as is brought up in the final section, speakers have choices as to how to code events, and often in Ichishkíin juxtaposition and coordination are used when the same information could be packaged in a main and dependent clause.

In examples 38-40 below, the S of the main clause and notional S of the nominalized verb are the same.

38.　　*txánanaash wáwyani páxwityaw*
　　　　txána-na=nash　　　wáwya-ni　　páxwi-t-yaw
　　　　happen-PST=1SG　　whip-STAT　　steal-NZR-DAT
　　　　'I was whipped for stealing'

39. *wyáych'ushaash **winaníityaw***
    wyáych'u-sha=nash   winaníi-t-yaw
    fear-IMPV=1SG   swim-NZR-DAT
    'I'm afraid to swim'

40. *kkaasshaash **kúukitnak'ityaw***
    kkaas-sha=nash   kúuki-t nak'i-t-yaw
    be.in.hurry -IMPV=1SG SG   cook-NZR finish-NZR-DAT
    'I'm in a hurry to finish cooking'

In one case the markers *-yaw* and *-pa* do differentiate whether the subjects of the main
and nominalized clauses are the same or different. Locative *pa-* is not used to indicate co-
occurring events with different subjects. *-yaw* is. An overt human (or non-human
topical) object of the main clause is indicated with object marker *-nan.*

41. *pakyúuna Spilyáynan **pnútyaw***
    pa-kyúu-na   Spilyáy-nan   pnú-t-yaw
    3Pl.S-sneak.up.on Coyote-OBJ   sleep-NZR-DAT
    'they snuck up on Coyote while he was sleeping'

*ay'ay áwisakyuuna kákyanan **tkwátatyaw***
    ay'ay   á-wisákyuu-na   kákya-nan   tkwáta-t-yaw
    magpie   3O-stalk-PST   creature-OBJ eat-NZR-DAT
    'the magpie stalked the little creature while it was eating'

42. *Íkush iwiláalakwa Asumyáy Waxpúuyanan **saptayakát'atyaw***
    íkush   iwiláalakwa   Asumyáy   Waxpúuya-nan   saptayák-át'a-t-yaw
    thus   3Sg.S-outrace Eel   Rattlesnake-OBJ   cheat-DES-NZR-DAT
    "In that way, *Asumyáy* beat *Waxpúuya* when he (W) wanted to cheat him (A)'

The following examples show verbs of perception. Some include a person or
animal perceived, performing the nominalized action, marked as an object with suffix
-nan.

43. *álatk'íshaash **myúktyaw***
    á-lá-tk'í-sha=nash   myúk-t-yaw
    3O-leisurely-look.at-IMPV=1SG   peel-NZR-DAT
    'I'm watching her peel roots'

44. *ák'inushanaash Cháannan* **wiináynaktyaw**
    á-k'ínu-sha-na=nash   *Chaan-nan*   *wiináynak-t-yaw*
    3O-see-IMPV-PST=1SG John-OBJ   wii-into-NZR-DAT
    'I saw John driving in'

45. *áykshaash t'iɬtyaw ay'aynan*
    á-yík-sha =nash   *t'iɬ-t-yaw*   *ay'ay-nan*
    3O-hear-IMPV=1SG croak-NZR-DAT magpie-OBJ
    'I heard the magpie cawing'

The following examples with -yaw show consequential actions. The dative-marked verb indicates the action that had a consequence; the main verb indicates what was done as a result of the nominalized verb.

46. *patátamaynaka* **pátiwityaw**
    patá-tamaynak-a   *pátiwi-t-yaw*
    3Pl>3-throw.in-PST   fight-NZR-DAT
    'they put him in jail for fighting'

47. *ítɬ'yawita mash* **tɬ'yáwityaw**
    ítɬ'yawi-ta=mash   *tɬ'yáwi-t-yaw*
    kill-FUT =1Sg>2Sg   die-NZR-DAT
    'I'll kill you for dying (on me)'

Most nominalized verbs fall at the end of the clause in the examples above. As discussed in section 6.7, there is a tendency in transitive clauses with overtly expressed arguments for OV order. Given that the above examples are elicited, word order may not reflect the variation it would in speech.

The 3rd person object of the main verb in the examples above is marked as an object. Object marking is seen as well in 32 and 34 where SAP clitics indicate core roles of object and possessor. However, note that in 48 the argument marked with -*nan* could be taken as the object of the nominalized verb as well.

48. *ák'inunaash **tuxúnatyaw** iwínshnan*
    ák'inunaash   tuxúna-t-yaw   iwínsh-nan
    3O-see-PST=1Sg shoot-NZR-DAT man-OBJ
    'I saw him/her shoot a man' or 'I saw a man shoot him/her'

This leaves open the question of referent tracking and whether the O of the main clause and O of the nominalized verb can be unambiguously differentiated. My attempts to get more arguments into these clauses (for example, 'I saw the magpie stalking the little mouse while it was eating') resulted in more than one finite clause. Rude (2009) shows an example of a Umatilla clause with a dative-marked nominalized verb in which the O of both the main and dependent clause are marked as objects. Again, this data does not give us much information about word order, although above we see that the object can precede as well as follow the nominalized verb (see 0, 44-48).

9.3.2. Direct discourse

Verbs of speaking, cognition, and perception (PCU verbs of Givón 2001) are all used in direct discourse constructions. In this construction, two fully finite clauses are set next to one another. In the text examples below, the PCU verb precedes the quote.

49. *ishápnya "mish nam txánasha?"*
    i-shápni-ya   mish nam txána-sha
    3Sg.S-ask-PST Q =2Sg happen-IMPV
    'she asked him "what's happened to you?"'

50. *kush áwinxana "íkw'ak natash wa tiinmamí waníkt Siłá"*
    ku=sh   áw-ín-xa-na
    and=1Sg   3O-tell-HAB-PST

    íkw'ak=natash wa   tiin-mamí   waníkt Siłá
    that =1Pl.EXC COP   Indian-Pl.GEN   name Siłá
    'and I told him "that's our Indian people's name, Siłá"'

51. *panátxanaxa "ásapsikw'ataam pnútyaw"*
    pa-nátxana-xa   á-sápsikw'a-ta=am   pnú-t-yaw
    3Pl.S-say-HAB   3O-teach-FUT=2Sg   sleep-NZR-DAT
    'they say, "you will teach them while they sleep"'

52. *ku pák'inuna "aw iwáyxti áswan páchupa ishchítpa"*
    ku pá-k'inu-na   aw   i-wáyxti   áswan páchu-pa   ishchít-pa
    and 3>3.INV-see-PST   now   3Sg.S-run boy   half-LOC   road-LOC
    'she saw him, "the boy has run down the middle of the road"'

53. *anakúsh nash awkú pinapxwinúuxana*
    anakúsh =nash   awkú   piná-pxwinúu-xa-na
    SUB-thus=1SG   then   RFL.SG-wonder-HAB-PST

    "páyuxash átawishana natílasnim"
    páyu=xash   átawi -sha -na   natílas -nim
    very.much=MOD value-IMPV-PST MoFa-3>SAP.ERG
    'then I used to think "my grandfather must really love me"'

54. *itk'íxshana "iwáta naxsh anwícht sts'at"*
    i-tk'íx-sha-na   i-wá-ta   naxsh   anwícht   sts'at
    3Sg.S-want-IMPV-PST   3Sg.S-COP-FUT one   year   night
    'he wanted 'it will be one night (per) year''

This chapter has reviewed three strategies for clause combining: the subordinating

particle *ana*, nominalization and oblique case marking of a dependent verb, and direct

discourse complements. The language has a range of finiteness that supports the

integration scale of Givón 2001, with the most semantically integrated events, such as

successful causation, also syntactically integrated, and least semantically integrated

events, such as direct quotes, expressed as a sequence of finite clauses.

9.4. Coordination, juxtaposition and particles in narrative

Not covered to this point are strategies of coordination. Clauses can be

coordinated with *ku* 'and' *kútya* 'but', with adverbs, and by simple juxtaposition. For

example, conditional clauses have two fully finite halves, and the particle *paysh* 'maybe'

may or may not appear in both halves.

55. *Payshnayat chaw kúunak tamánwitnan átmaakta*
    paysh=na=yat   *chaw* *kúunak* *tamánwi-t-nan*   *á-tmaak-ta*
    if=1Pl.INC=MOD   NEG that.OBJ ordain-NZR-OBJ   3O-respect-FUT

    ku na iẋwi wá-ta shapáshuyni
    ku =na   *iẋwi* *wá-ta*   *shapáshuy-ni*
    and =1Pl.INC yet   COP-FUT   punish-STAT
    'If we do not respect that law then we will suffer'

A temporal or causal relationship between two clauses is inferable or is often expressed

with adverbial particles rather than by means of subordination.

56. *ánik tkwátat myánashma, kunkínk ẋtu patẋánata*
    áni-k   *tkwátat* *myánash-ma* *kunkínk* *ẋtu*   *pa-tẋána-ta*
    give-IMP food   child-PL   that.INST strong 3Pl.S-become-FUT
    'give food to the children so that (lit. with that) they become strong'

The use of particles in connected speech has not been adequately explored at this

point. *aw* is glossed throughout this dissertation as 'now'; however, in connected speech it

can appropriately be translated 'now', 'then', 'next'. *ku* is translated 'and' but covers

'and', 'but', 'so'. *awkú* 'then', a transparent combination of the previous two, also can

convey cause or dependency 'and so then', 'and then'. *anakúsh* and *anakú*, discussed

earlier as subordinators in adverbial clauses of time and manner, also play a role in

connected speech. *anakú* can introduce a narrative or a new scene in a narrative. *awkú* and

anakúsh most often occur within clauses.

In taking spoken materials and revising them for language classroom use with

collaborators, these pieces are sometimes seen as adding no meaning, not serving a

grammatical function, and muddying the teaching message. This was also the case for

examples that were reviewed for inclusion in Chapter 3 of this grammar. In spoken language, however, these particles seem to signal cohesion of clauses. The following text excerpt is provided only to show some of these in a longer context, and perhaps set up the as yet unanswered questions about their function.

This is an excerpt from a spoken narrative of Virginia Beavert's. As a very young child, just beginning to walk and talk, she lived with her grandmother in a number of villages and so heard and was learning to speak a number of different languages and dialects. In the following, she tells of some of them, then laughs as she recalls her adopted relative Martin Seth chiding her for forgetting the words of his language.

Unlike the legend texts presented in the appendix, this is not a practiced performance. This segment begins as she is talking about events right after her mother's father died. At that time, her grandmother followed the practice of a person moving in with the sibling of a deceased spouse. The term *awít*, seen in line *e*, is the relationship term for a brother or sister in law after the connecting spouse dies. In the beginning, the ones that Virginia makes her grandfathers are the relatives of her deceased grandfather. They speak Palúus. And when Virginia and her grandmother return to Klikitat-speaking country, it is because her grandmother is now to move in with her deceased relative's husband.

a) *ku tɬ'aaxw pasínwixana kwmak, anakúsh, Palúus*

ku	*tɬ'aaxw*	*pa-sínwi-xa-na*	*kwmak*	*anakúsh*	*Palúus*
and	all	3Pl.S-speak-HAB-PST	that.PL	like	Palúus

'And those all spoke Palúus'

b) *íkw'ak anakúsh ... anakúsh pasínwixa Shíwanishma*

íkw'ak	*anakúsh*	*ana-kúsh*	*pa-sínwi-xa*	*shíwanish-ma*
that	SUB-thus	SUB-thus	3Pl.S-speak-HAB	NezPerce-PL

'like Nez Perce people speak'

c) *ashkú átwintwinxana táaaminwa*

ana=nash-ku	*á-twintwin-xa-na*
SUB=1SG-and	3O-follow.aroundDUP-HAB-PST

'then I would follow them all the time'

d) *áwinxana.. áwanya awkú, tíla, tílasma*

áw-ín-xa-na	*áw-naní-ya*	*awkú*	*tíla*	*tílasma*
3O-tell-HAB-PST	3O-make-PST	then	MoFa	MoFa-PL

   tɬ'ápxitya awkú pawachá cháynach,

tɬ'ápxi =tya	*awkú*	*pa-wachá*	*cháynach*
even=instead	then	3Pl.S-be.PST	bridegroom

'I said…I made them into grandfather, grandfathers, although they were only bridegrooms'

e) *awít pat áwya'anya awkú, nakałasaan,*

awít	*pat á-wya -aní-ya*	*awkú*	*nakáłas-naan*
brother's.wife	3Pl>3 3O-while.going-make-PST	then	my.MoMo-OBJ

'My grandmother was made an awít, to one after the other'

f) *kush kpaylk awkú íchi kw'áxi sínwya*

ku =nash	*kpaylk*	*awkú*	*íchi*	*kw'áxi*	*sínwi-ya*
and=1SG	later	then	this	again	speak-PST

   aaa Klikitat anakú nakáłas Xaxísh isínwixana Klikitat

aaa K.	*ana-kú*	*nakáłas*	*Xaxísh i-sínwi-xa-na*	*K.*
aaa K.	SUB-and	my.grandmother	Xaxísh 3Sg.S-speak-HAB-PST	K.

'and then I later spoke this, Klikitat, when my grandmother Xaxísh used to speak Klikitat'

g) *ku ...kush awkú ánch'axi íchi sínwya*

and *ku=nash*	*awkú*	*ánch'a-xi*	*íchi*	*sínwi-ya*
and and=1SG	then	again-same	this	speak-PST

natútasaanmí sínwit wánaknik.
natútas-aanmí   sínwit   wána-knik
my.father -GEN   language   river-ABL

'and I then also spoke my father's language from the river. '

h)   *Íkw'ak nash awkú íkush ttáwax̱na*
     íkw'ak=nash   awkú   íkush   ttáwax̱-na
     that=1SG   then   thus   grow=1PL.INC

          anakúsh tunx̱túnx̱ sinwit,
          anakúsh   tunxtúnx̱   sínwit
          like   different   language

'I grew up that way, with many different languages.'

i)   *kush awkú láaksha awkú íchi kuuk, íchi Palúus sínwit.*
     ku=nash   awkú   láak-sha   awkú   íchi íkuuk íchi Palúus sínwit
     and=1SG   then   forget-IMPV   then   this now   this *Palúus* language

'and now I have forgotten this Palúus language.'

j)   *Cháwk'aash awkú laxs paysh mił*
     chaw-k'a=nash   awkú   laxs   páysh mił
     NEG-now=1SG   then   one.DIM   maybe how.many

          mítaat tun sínwit áykta.
          mítaat tun   sínwit   á-yik-ta
          three   what   language   3O-hear-FUT

'I only understand a few, maybe three words.'

k)   *Íkw'ak nash wachá, tíla.*
     íkw'ak=nash   wachá   tíla
     that=1SG   COP.PST MoFa

'I had a grandfather,'

l)   *Martin Seth, Spauldingpa inisháatuna.*
     Martin Seth Spaulding-pa   i-nisháatu-na
     Martin Seth Spaulding-LOC   3Sg.S-dwell-PST

'Martin Seth, he lived in Spaulding'

m) *Táaminwaash isámxnaxana, kwinkínk sínwitki.*
   táaminwa=nash i-sámxna-xa-na   kwinkínk   sínwit-ki
   always-1SG   3O-talk.to-HAB-PST   that.INSTR   language-INSTR

   'he always used to talk to me in that language'

n) *Íkush awkú íchi kpaylk ashkú mayknch'í txanana*
   íkush   awkú   íchi   kpaylk   a=nash-kú   mayk-nch'í   txána-na
   thus   then   this   later   SUB=1SG-and   COMP-big   happen-PST

          kush awkú áwinxana, "chaw mash yíksha"
          ku=nash   awkú   áw-ín-xa-na   chaw=mash   yik-sha
          and=1SG   then   3O-tell-HAB-PST   NEG=1SG>2SG   hear-IMPV

   'Later, when I got a little older I would tell him, "I don't understand you" '

o) *kush ínxana*
   ku=nash   ín-xa=na
   and=1SG   tell-HAB-PST

          "Aaww, mishshéemi![82]
          aaw, mishshéemi

   'And he would tell me, "Shame on you,' (NP)

p) *Ka'aw nam awkú wa íkwtink ttáwaxt,*
   ka'aw nam   awkú   wa   íkwtink   ttáwaxt
   although =2SG   then   COP   that.kind   family

          ku nam mish awkú chaw sínwisha."
          ku=nam   mish   awkú   chaw   sínwi-sha
          and=2SG Q   then   NEG   speak-IMPV

   'Although you are of that family, yet you can't talk.'"

q) *ínxanash íkush táakwin*
   ín-xa=nash   íkush   táakwin
   tell-HAB=1SG   thus   whatchamacallit

   'He told me that.'

---

[82] Virginia Beavert uses an Upper Snake River Nez Perce word here. NP orthographic *e* is [æ].

In the above text, there are subordinated clauses with particle *ana* in *b*, *c f* and *n*, but the remainder of the uses of *anakú* and *anakúsh* are not as subordinators. Lines *k-m* each refer to Martin Seth, but each is fully finite in terms of the morphology and they are separated by pauses. Other clause combining strategies discussed in this chapter are largely absent; the only nominalized form is *sínwit* from *sínwi-* 'speak', here a lexicalized word meaning 'language'. Lettered segments are broken by pauses; of the 30 lines above, 26 include a finite verb.

Particles are used liberally throughout. *awkú* 'then, next' is present in most clauses. This word is fully a part of the intonation of the clause, not separated by a pause (except where indicated by a comma, as in line *d*). The final word of the clauses is most often the subject, verb, or object.

My purpose in bringing in this connected text is to give a picture of a longer stretch of narrative (a series of connected lines are also in 7.3, from an very different situation of narrating a viewed story) and point to the relative scarcity of syntactically combined clauses. Relationships between clauses at this level merits much further study.

CHAPTER X

COMBINING THE GOALS OF LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION AND

LANGUAGE TEACHING

This chapter is in press in the edited volume Building Communities Making

Connections, Cambridge Publishing, edited by Susana Rivera-Mills and Juan Castillo

(Jansen and Beavert in press b). Joana Jansen and Virginia Beavert are the co-authors of

the article. Virginia Beavert contributed the language data and reviewed the completed

analysis. I drafted the article. We worked together on coursed materials preparation, the

subject of the article.

10.1. Introduction

This dissertation was designed to be useful to both academic linguists and

language teachers and learners. A consideration facing field linguists and speech

community members in endangered language situations where teaching is a priority is

ensuring the classroom usefulness of the type of materials typically collected in a

language documentation project. When a language has few remaining proficient elders,

communities are faced with the dual goals of teaching the language and documenting the

knowledge of their master speakers. Documentation materials are necessarily put to

multiple uses: as resources for learning and teaching language and culture, as sources of historical and cultural information, and as data for linguistic research. Because of these varied uses, linguists must carefully consider what types of data to record in order to best meet the broadest range of needs. And, in situations where language teaching is a priority, linguists need to take into account preferred teaching methods and curriculum design as they document. Combining the goals of language documentation and language teaching provides learners and teachers with classroom materials that are meaningful, comprehensible and culturally appropriate. A Yakima language course at the University of Oregon (UO) provides a case study of an endangered language with concurrent goals of documentation and teaching.

In this chapter, I discuss the collaborative processes of planning and teaching the UO Yakima first year course, focusing on the 2008-2009 academic year. Virginia Beavert was the instructor. Two graduate teaching fellows (GTFs) completed the teaching team. Roger Jacob, a Yakama teacher and student is one of the GTF's; I am the second one. Both of us are language learners. Course goals reach beyond raising the proficiency levels of the students to those concerning teachers, materials, and the participation of the larger speech community.

This chapter addresses the link between language documentation projects and classroom language teaching, and suggests ways that materials collected in a language documentation project can support a variety of teaching approaches and add richness and authenticity to a language classroom. Legends that include landforms and locations, narratives of traditional happenings, personal accounts of events, videos of elders and

others conversing onsite - all frequently collected texts in linguistic documentation - enhance our classroom lessons. Such examples suggest that linguists working in collaborative endangered language situations where teaching is a priority can assist with teaching materials collection and preparation without sacrificing their own academic goals.

The course provides a rich opportunity to look into the link between documentation and teaching. This work has been made possible by the University of Oregon's support for a Native language course, the formation of a teaching team with complementary skills and good working relationships, and the motivation and involvement of a fluent speaker and tribal elder. While I recognize that every documentation and teaching situation is different, and each speech community and teaching situation has its own goals and needs, the examples provided here are intended to serve as a model for others who are developing classroom lessons from similar raw materials.

Although there are exciting examples of extensive multimedia products developed in the course of or as a result of a language documentation project (for example Nathan 2006), these are lengthy and expensive projects in and of themselves, typically outside the scope of expertise and funds of a linguistic researcher. The lessons and curriculum described in this paper are practical examples within the realm of possibility for linguists and community members working without extra funds or specialized expertise.

10.2. Collaborative linguistic research and language documentation

In many ways, language documentation is the same thing linguists have been doing since Boas and Sapir in the early 20th century: a linguist collects speech events, transcribes and analyzes them, and writes up and distributes conclusions. However, some of the goals and activities of language documentation show a shift from many previous endeavors (Himmelman 2006, Woodbury 2003). Language documentation, rather than focusing on a researcher's analysis of language structure or use, concerns "making and keeping of records of the world's languages and their patterns of use" (Woodbury 2003, 35). Himmelman lays out five practices of language documentation that he claims show its divergence from purely theoretical or descriptive work done by linguists (2006:15):

1. a focus on the data collected, rather than the products of that data

2. accountability for the quality of the collected data and conclusions drawn from it

3. concern for long term storage and preservation of primary data

4. interdisciplinary teamwork

5. cooperation with and involvement of the speech community

Note that several of Himmelman's points stem from technological advances. Recording, editing and distributing is lightweight, relatively easy and inexpensive due to current audio and video capabilities, and can be readily done if one has access to an adequate computer, a digital recorder, a power source and distribution media or the internet. Other technological advances allow a relative ease of managing and searching large corpora and linking audio and video files or grammars with text transcriptions

(Woodbury 2003:36). Technology also allows wider-spread access to published materials or those placed in archives.

Academic fields are increasingly aware of the need for and benefits of collaborative work. In many language documentation projects, collaboration and access are a part of the project design, rather than a secondary result or consideration. In recording one Yakama Nation elder, I collaborated with a speech community member and Tribal employee working to improve forest cultural resource management. The elder spoke of her childhood at traditional summer camping areas. This recording serves many purposes: the Yakama Nation is interested in how to best understand, preserve and restore traditional lands, the elder wants to share part of her childhood with her family, and I want to gain a greater understanding of the structure of the language. The same recording could be used to identify traditional family gathering areas, which have an impact on treaty rights, or to trace family names.

Grinevald (2003, 57) stresses the evolution towards the goals of fieldwork done *with* and *by* language community members, rather than fieldwork done *on* a language or *for* the language community. Cameron et al. 1992 and Rice 2004 discuss an "empowerment" framework for fieldwork, in which "the work is on the language, for the speakers, and *with* the speakers, taking into account the knowledge that the speakers bring and their goals and aspirations in the work" (Rice, 2004: 13). Speech community members are partners in the project, with a voice in determining the goals and methods of the research (Himmelman 2006; Woodbury 2003, Grinevald 1998). Language preservation and revitalization are key issues for many Native North American groups,

and this provides work and research opportunities for linguists. The optimal result is a partnership between researchers and communities in jointly beneficial projects.

10.3. Knowing teaching contexts

Linguists need to know what kinds of programs are in place or desired in the area when assisting to develop classroom materials or deciding what sorts of documentary materials can support teaching. Some teachers and classrooms adhere closely to a second language communicative approach based on comprehensible input. Their goal is day-to-day communication in the target language. In some situations, the goal of teaching language and culture is to strengthen self-esteem and provide a heightened awareness of culture, place, and history. In this case, teaching may focus more on learning vocabulary and phrases for situations of deep cultural relevance – for example, words and phrases that are used in religious ceremonies or while gathering food. The desire and ability to use technological aids for language learning also varies by teacher and available technology.

Many Northwest teachers are working to incorporate immersion teaching into their classrooms. A traditional model of immersion in which students meet for a day or half-day and everything in the classroom happens in the target language is not realistic for all Northwest language situations: presenting rich content and culture requires a higher degree of fluency than many teachers have. In classrooms on the Yakama Nation, language teachers are typically language learners, younger adults who have a strong commitment to their language and the energy to teach it. Their challenge is to keep at

least a step ahead of their students, providing a language-rich classroom environment given their own level of proficiency.

However, the benefits of using immersion techniques for a shorter time are available to less than fully fluent teachers. In these situations immersion teaching calls for a strategy of beginning with perhaps using the target language 15 minutes at a time and increasing from there. Hinton suggests that a teacher who is learning her own language while she is teaching it focus on learning various components of a lesson. If a teacher learns the lesson elements – not only the new and review material presented in the lesson but also greetings, classroom management vocabulary, and informal patter – she can have an immersion classroom (2003, 80). Another technique is to use specific activities to stretch what teachers do know. Zeke Zahir, in a Lushootseed immersion and methods class taught at NILI's Summer Institute, demonstrated for teachers how nothing but counting from 1-10 could be a ten minute activity that maintained student interest throughout with song, humor and physical movements.

Teaching and learning situations range from formal classroom settings to informal in-home language sessions. Some teachers see their students five days a week, others only for a half-hour a week. Although much of what is presented in this chapter is based on teaching language in classroom situations, the material is also adaptable to other learning situations, such as Master-Apprentice settings.

The collaborative effort I am involved in includes developing materials for the Yakima course offered by the UO. We now turn to a more in-depth look at this program.

10.4. Developing a Yakima class at the University of Oregon

In 2008, the University of Oregon (UO) consulted with Virginia Beavert and Ichishkíin-speaking tribes about developing a language course that would satisfy language requirements and provide opportunities for Native students and speech communities. The course was initiated by faculty and the UO's Northwest Indian Language Institute (NILI). All wanted to enhance learning opportunities for Native students of the area. Offering a local language supports language preservation efforts of tribes and enhances course offerings of direct value to tribal students.

An integral factor in course development was consulting with Ichishkíin-speaking tribes and language programs, who raised concerns about how the language would be taught, how and to what extent culture would be included, and course enrollment. A key resolution is for UO partners to keep language programs informed and involved in decisions about course development and content and to provide course materials to language programs.

The next task was to establish the teaching team. Involving individuals who have the skills and interests needed was critical, and course planners saw the opportunity to bring together a set of individuals with complementary skills and interests. Our team consists of a fluent elder, a pre-service language teacher, and a linguist. Virginia Beavert's commitment to the class was of inestimable value. She is a highly respected teacher and fluent speaker of her language, and has received numerous honors and awards for her preservation and teaching efforts. Because of the honor and trust the

speech communities hold for her, Ms. Beavert is a crucial link between the UO and Ichishkíin communities.

Ms. Beavert's teaching team developed as one of her long-term language students decided to attend the UO to pursue a Master of Arts in Linguistics with a Native language teaching specialization. The opportunities provided by the Yakima class were motivating factors in his decision. Roger Jacob is a Graduate Teaching Fellow (GTF) and daily teaching assistant for the course. He is a member of the Yakama Nation who is knowledgeable about natural and cultural resource management and Yakama culture and history. He plans to teach his language to tribal students when he completes his UO degree. I was the third member of the teaching team and a second GTF to the course, with responsibilities for materials planning and some teaching. My experience is been in documenting and describing the Yakima Ichishkíin language with Virginia Beavert as a main collaborator.

When planning the first year of the course, we took stock of the language resources already on-hand. We all have materials from Ichishkíin classes we have previously taken or taught. But by far the largest group of materials available to us are the results of the language documentation project Virginia and I have been working on: audio and video recordings of legends, narratives, and descriptions that have been transcribed, parsed, glossed and translated. This corpus is the result of our work together to this point, and is the basis for this dissertation. While we had planned for the corpus and grammar to be useful to teachers as well as academic researchers, we had not anticipated that we

would be the teachers using it. However, we saw that this database would now be put to use providing the raw material for classroom lessons and activities.

10.5. Using language documentation materials in the classroom

This section describes the ways in which materials collected in documentation projects support various teaching approaches. It also gives examples of teaching activities we developed for the course from documentary materials. We wanted these materials to also be useful to tribal language teachers and we considered their classroom approaches throughout.

10.5.1. Grammar and pronunciation activities

For adult learners especially, some attention to grammatical form is helpful for the learning process (Ellis 2005; Nunan 2005). We have used grammar and pronunciation activities for teaching sound contrasts, word level stress, intonation and verb morphology.

Recordings of minimal pairs and words containing particular sounds collected in investigating phonemes and sound contrasts have proved to be useful classroom materials, as are sentences pulled from longer audio texts. One set of exercises concerns word level stress. As discussed in 2.6, Ichishkíin has one primary stress per spoken word. In the UO class, students need to begin to recognize and produce word level stress. As noted before, stress distinguishes minimal pairs in the language: *pamtá* 'bullfrog' vs. *pámta* 'woman's brother's son.' Root stress is often but not always predictable based on syllable weight or position (Hargus & Beavert 2002); some 'stress-stealing' affixes will

take the word-level stress from the root. Some of these affixes are very common, such as the agent nominalizer -*łá* and 'thing for' suffix -*pamá*. So, the stress in the verb root *tíma* - 'write' shifts in *timałá* 'writer' or *timatpamá* 'blackboard.' Both of these suffixes came up early in the class in lessons on identifying classroom and frequently used objects. A stress identification activity stripped a previously transcribed text of stress marks, and students were asked to listen and put the accent mark back on the stressed syllables.

We selected a short legend to use at the end of the first quarter, beginning with pre-teaching important vocabulary and fitting words from the legend into phrases students already know. The legend *Twiit'áya ku Aluḵ'atyaayanmí Patanawíix̱t* 'Grizzly and Frogs' Argument' was collected in the documentation project. Grizzly and the Frogs argue about whether dark and light will cycle one day at a time or one year at a time. Many of the verbs in the legend are words that students had already seen. The legend reinforces a distinction between human and inanimate numbering systems, again, something from previous lessons.

A specific grammar point supported by the legend is third person verb prefixes, as discussed in 3.2.1. Since *Twit'áaya* (Grizzly) is a third person singular participant and *Aluḵ'atyáayama* (the Frogs) are plural, there are a number of very clear contrasts between singular (*i-*) and plural (*pa-*) prefixes:

> *Twit'áaya itḵ'íxshana iwáta naxsh anwícht sts'at.*
> Grizzly Bear wanted there to be one night for a whole year.
> *Aluḵ'atyáayama **pat**ḵ'íxshana laxs sts'at iwáta.*
> The Frogs wanted one night and one day.
> *Twiit'áaya inúu, "Laxs sts'at anwíkt, laxs anwíkt, laxs anwíkt!*
> Grizzly Bear said "One night a year, One a year!"
> *Aluḵ'átma **pa**núu, "Laxs sts'at, laxs sts'at, laxs sts'at!"*
> Frogs said "One night, One night!"

The repetition in the legend and the clear verb prefix contrast, where the singular and plural prefixes alternate on the same verb roots (*itḵ'íxshana/patḵ'íxshana; inúu/panúu*) serve to isolate and reinforce this grammar point.

10.5.2. Place-based learning

Place-based learning is a growing educational approach that grounds curriculum and lessons in students' experiences in local events and places and acknowledges that learning happens not only in formal educational settings but also outside of school in families and communities. This approach includes studying the cultural, historical, social, religious and/or economic relevance of specific locations or areas (Smith, 2002). A place-based curriculum depends on a strong foundation of knowledge about a community, and topics and material for this curriculum can be gathered during a documentation project.

The traditional importance of place is discussed by Greg Cajete, who writes that Native people "traditionally perceive themselves as embedded in a web of dynamic and mutually-respectful relationships among all of the natural features and phenomena of their homelands." (Cajete, 2000, 178) According to Cajete, the purpose of traditional education in Native cultures is to deeply connect young people to their heritage and their physical homelands.

Place-based learning is not a new trend within education or Native education, but its emergence in Northwest Native communities as a promising approach for language teaching is a more recent development. The importance of place is reflected in writings

about and legends of Northwest cultures: "souls and spirits were and are inextricably tied to the natural world and its myriad inhabitants" (CRITFC).

Twiit'áya ku Aluḵ'atyaayanmí Patanawíixt, the legend discussed above, is tied to a geographical location. *Aluḵ'atmí watamalúuk* (Frog Lake), located on the Yakama Nation, is the site of the legend. It was also the site of a battle during the Yakama Indian War, and associated pictures and readings bring this information to students. *Páxkyuut* (Union Gap) is a second referenced land feature. In their argument, the Frogs and Grizzly sit on either side of the gap. One student activity involves using Google Earth to pinpoint the location of the legend and answer questions about the landscape.

Documentation projects can collect the resources needed to develop place-based materials. The approach needs a rich source of data to draw from, as can be collected during a language documentation project. Local and cultural information such as legends, narratives of traditional happenings, and personal accounts all enhance classroom lessons by providing rich background information and by providing raw materials to build lessons. And, these types of recordings meet the goals of language documentation projects, in which researchers look to collect a broad sample of communicative and speech events.

10.5.3. Communicative approaches

Communicative approaches to language teaching (see Brown 2006; specifically for Native language teaching see Hinton and Hale 2001; Supahan and Supahan 2001) highlight a goal of genuine interaction about everyday events and activities. The use of

authentic, contextualized and culturally appropriate teaching materials is a critical part of successful language learning, helping students to move beyond word lists to communication. However, when a language is endangered and the teacher is less than fully fluent, classroom experiences may not provide learners with language that is rich, authentic and interactive. Audio and video recordings collected for language documentation purposes can fill this gap and enhance classroom learning.

A benefit of videotaped materials for beginning students is that they provide contextual support for student understanding. At first take, legends and narratives collected in a documentation project may seem too complex for beginning speakers. Pre-listening or orientation activities based on looking at stills from the video or looking at the first few seconds of the tape enhance student understanding. Then, the task that accompanies the video and audio materials is adapted to the learner's level; students do not have to comprehend every word in order to make use of materials. It is important that beginning learners become comfortable with the idea that they are not meant to understand every word (Johnston and Janus 2007).

In the Yakima course, sound clips for listening comprehension activities are taken directly from material collected in the documentation project, and the clips can be re-used for future tasks as student proficiency grows. Some beginning tasks require students to only determine how many speakers are conversing, or to identify uses of a particular word in a short segment of a narrative.

Students in speech community-based language programs can use such activities to reinforce and extend the knowledge they already have. For example, many tribal

members know names of traditional foods in Ichishkíin. The following passage is taken

from a recorded legend about the roots in flower (*Síkni*, see Appendix C) and names

several roots:

> *Íkush awkú íkw'ak iwá **síkni** íchi ikúuk.*
> That's how Yellowbell is.
> *Tɬ'anx̱ awkú **pyax̱í** ayáyat ilát'ix̱sha.*
> In contrast, Pyaxi shines beautifully.
> *Kúshx̱i **sikáwya**.*
> And Sikawya the same.
> *Ku tɬ'áax̱wtun awkú **niimí tkwátat** ayáyat ilát'ix̱sha.*
> And all of our other foods bloom beautifully.

Beginning level students who are familiar with the names of roots can pick out the words

they know from this short clip as an introduction to a unit on traditional foods or root

digging.

Another early task was to write and present a short self-introduction. Students'

short scripts mirrored what is said across Ichishkíin speaking areas at the beginning of

formal presentations or speeches. Many of the documentation project recordings begin

with an introduction very similar to what our students were asked to do, and these

recordings provide examples as well as listening comprehension exercises.

A future matching task involves a series of descriptions collected in the

documentation project. We have audio descriptions of objects related to a particular task

(such as a basket, root digging stick and dried roots), some of modern or older photos of

people and places of cultural significance, some of animals. In the project database, a

photo of what was described usually accompanies these audio descriptions. Students will

match the description to the picture of the item. Audio and video texts that have been

transcribed and translated can be used for reading or cloze activities.

10.5.4. Using legends in classroom teaching

This section discusses the use of one type of material often collected by linguistic researchers, namely traditional legends, in the classroom. Legends are a cultural cornerstone in Plateau society, and "contain much traditional wisdom, especially lessons about how to be a proper Yakima" (Beavert and Walker 1974, vi). Legends also support place-based instruction, as many Ichishkíin legends present a lesson or moral and are closely tied to a geographical location or feature. Warm Springs elder George Aguilar discusses the relationship between legends and locales: "Nearly every geographical point along the Columbia River Gorge had a legend that told about the rocks, hills, fishing locations, rock formations, talus slides and so on" (2005, 225).

The educational benefits of using traditional stories in the Native language classroom are discussed by Heredia and Francis (1997) in their analysis of a selection of Coyote stories from indigenous cultures of the Americas. They argue that legends used in the classroom help students develop an understanding of narrative structure as well as increase their second language proficiency. For language proficiency goals, the repetitive structures and language, the limited number of key concepts and actors and the episodic nature of legends support learning, as students are able to anticipate words and events. These qualities of legends are seen in the legend *Twíit'áya ku Aluḵ'atyaayanmí Patanawíixt* 'Grizzly and Frogs' Argument' discussed above: it is told for children, less complex and more repetitive than most Yakima legends. There are only a few characters: Coyote, Grizzly, and the group of Frogs. There is much repetition in the 30-clause story as the characters argue back and forth. We selected a legend to use in each term of the first year

of the course. By using the legends, we combine comprehensible input with contextualized and culturally rich material.

10.6. Meeting goals of classroom teaching and language documentation

The materials collected in the course of our documentation project and used in the class meet the needs of both documentation and education. On the documentation side, materials collected contribute to the goal of having "a representative and lasting multipurpose record of a language" (Himmelman 2006, 1). On the classroom side, developed activities and curriculum support student learning.

Student goals were developed from the Northwest Indian Language Institute Benchmarks (NILI 2008) and the Council of Europe's (COE) Can-Do statements (COE 2001). In the first term, student expectations were categorized in six areas: listening and understanding; speaking; reading and writing; alphabet and sound system; grammar; and culture. We used materials we had collected for documentation successfully in each of these areas. Since this is the first time that Ichishkíin has been taught as a 5-credit college level course, our expectations need to be fluid. In many ways, we are learning what benchmarks it is possible for students to meet in this, and similar, courses.

In addition to supporting the UO classroom, developing culture-rich materials supports values and learning styles that are relevant for tribal teachers and classrooms. The goals of place-based education tie into Native educators' recommendations for the integration of the local and the inclusion of cultural knowledge in teaching, and increased community involvement in schools (Nee Benham 2000, Blanchard 1999). Research into

how to best support Native students academically suggests that students do better if schools and classrooms validate and incorporate their culture (Demmert 2003, Lipka 2002).

In the documentation project, we have not organized text collection around themes or units, and it would be beneficial and easy to do so. This will add to potential classroom materials and is done with no detriment to language documentation; indeed, it would enrich the corpus and its future usefulness. So, for example, to augment *Twiit'áya ku Aluḵ'atyaayanmí Patanawíixt* 'Grizzly and Frogs' Argument', we would like to travel to the associated locations: *Aluḵ'atmí watamalúuk* (Frog Lake) and *Páxkyuut* (Union Gap). A video recording made on site could include information about the landscape or plants and animals, how it has changed in the elder's lifetime, memories of childhood experiences there, or whatever else the richness of being in that place evokes. Associated still photos would also be useful both in the classroom and as a part of the documentation project.

A way to strengthen the collection of materials even further is to involve local teachers and those we record and in choosing what the constellation of related texts should be. For elders, a compelling reason to agree to participate in a documentation project is so that their knowledge will be available for the future. A rich teaching unit meets that motivation more fully than a legend standing alone. In this framework, we would take time to ask those being recorded what is important for teaching purposes in relation to the collected text. This could be vocabulary, cultural content, or a suggestion of where to go or who else to talk to for more information.

As linguistics evolves, linguists' responsibilities evolve. Just as documentary and descriptive linguists are now sound technicians and video editors, we should also be prepared to contribute to curriculum development if that is a community goal. Our roles will be increasingly shaped by the speech communities we work with. The Alaska Native Knowledge Network's guidelines for linguists state "linguists should assist local communities in the development of appropriate resource materials and teaching practices that nurture the use and perpetuation of the heritage language." (ANKN 2001,19). If we collaborate with communities whose goal is language teaching, we need to equip ourselves to support that goal.

Linguists have long worked with communities on language revitalization and teaching goals. And I am not advocating that linguists spend all their time developing classroom materials; indeed, we cannot do any useful materials preparation without extensive speech community involvement and input. But, if we choose to work in a framework of collaboration, respecting and supporting community goals, and one of these goals is classroom language teaching, we need to develop the skills and willingness to support that goal. One piece of that is knowing how the materials we collect are relevant and useful the classroom.

APPENDIX A

ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third Person
A	Agent
ABL	Ablative
AGT.NZR	Agent nominalizer
ALL	Allative
APPl	Applicative
ASSOC	Accociative
BEN	Benefactive
CAUS	Causative
ASSOCP	Comparative
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
COS	Change of state
CSL	Cislocative
DAT	Dative
DES	Desiderative
DIR	Direct
Dl	Dual
DST	Distributive
DPR	Dependent posterior root
E/B.Pl	Either or both plural
EMPH	Emphatic
ERG	Ergative
EXC	Exclusive
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
HAB	Habitual
HS	Hearsay
HUM	Human
IMP	Imperative

ABBREVIATIONS (CONTINUED)

IMPV	Imperfective
INC	Inclusive
INCH	Inchoative
INST	Instrument, Instrumental
INTJ	Interjection
INV	Inverse
LD	Location / Direction
LOC	Locative
LP	Lexical prefix
MOD	Modal enclitic
NEG	Negative
NZR	Nominalizer
O	Object (in text)
OBJ	Object (in glosses)
O	Obviative (in glosses)
OBV	Obviative (in explanatory text)
Pl	Plural
PN	Pronoun
PPF	Present perfect
PRX	Proximate
PST	Past
PURP	Purpose
Q	Question
RCP	Reciprocal
RFL	Reflexive
S	Subject
SAP	Speech act participant
Sg	Singular
STAT	Stative
SUB	Subordinate
SUP	Superlative
TRNS	Transitivizer
TSL	Translocative
VZR	Verbalizer
wíi-	Speed of motion and more, see 4.2.2, 4.4.1, 4.4.4

ABBREVIATIONS (CONTINUED)

Mo	Mother
Fa	Father
Si	Sister
Br	Brother
Da	Daughter
Ch	Child (son or daughter)
Wo	Woman
Ol	Older
Yo	Younger

APPENDIX B

SPILYÁY KU K'ÁXNU 'COYOTE AND PRAIRIE CHICKEN'

Introduction to the Texts

The texts that follow represent a sample of those collected over the course of my

work on Yakima Ichishkíin. The first two are traditional legends. The third is a short

description, and the last is an excerpt from a personal history. These were told and

translated by Virginia Beavert, who also provided extensive time for text-based

elicitation and transcription assistance. The reader is referred back to several shorter

connected sections of text presented in the body of the dissertation, in sections 3.10 (a

short fish-cleaning lesson developed for the classroom), 7.3 (a re-telling of the events of a

video clip from *The Black Stallion*, Ballard 1979), and 9.4 (an autobiographical narrative

about growing up in a multilingual setting).

The text describing a gathering basket is presented in two ways, a standard

interlinear glossed version and in an Ichishkíin version, without intervening English or

linguistic coding. This presentation shows the written language in a less choppy way, and

is more useful for some classroom applications.

Spilyáy Ku K'áxnu Coyote and Prairie Chicken Recorded 01/23/05 in Toppenish

Washington, at Virginia Beavert's home.

k'áxnu.001   0
Ichí iwá watít winachapammamí k'axnumamíki.

ichí	i-wa	watít	wináchapam-ma-mí	k'áxnu-ma-mí-ki
this	3Sg.S-COP	legend	Winachapam-CSL-GEN	prairie.chicken-Pl-APPL-INST

This is a Winachapam legend about the prairie chickens.

k'áxnu.002   :13
Áwacha nisháykt íkwnak k'píspa,

á-wachá	nisháyk-t	íkwnak	k'pís-pa
3O-COP.PST	live-NZR	there.LOC	north-LOC

They had a home over there up north,

k'áxnu.003 :25
ku kwnak áwacha ishích xwíimi íkush táakwinpa ...

kú	kwnak	á-wachá	ishích xwíimi	íkush	táakwin-pa
and	that.LOC	3O-COP.PST	nest high.up	thus	whatchamacallit-LOC

pít'xanukpa,

pít'xanuk-pa
high.elev.wood-LOC

and they had a nest on top of the mountain, way up high,

k'áxnu.004   :42
kwnak iwachá, iwánashamsh táakwin Nch'iwána.

kwnak	i-wachá	i-wána-shamsh	táakwin	Nch'iwána
that.LOC	3Sg.S-COP.PST	3Sg.S-flow-IMPV.CSL	whatchamacallit	Columbia.River

where the, what is it called, the Columbia River flows down.

k'áxnu.005
Ku xwíimichnik kwnak áwacha ...nisháykt... nisháyaas.

kú	xwíimi-chnik	kwnak	á-wachá	nisháyk-t	nisháyaas
and	high.up-ABL	that.LOC	3O-COP.PST	live-NZR	home

They had a home high up.

ḵ'áxnu.006 :57
Ku kwnak áwacha ishích káakɨm myánashma.

kú	kwnak	á-wachá	ishích	káakɨm	myánash-ma
and	that.LOC	3O-COP.PST	nest	full	child-Pl

There they had a nest full of babies.

ḵ'áxnu.007
Ku awkú ína ḵ'áxnu (áyat..) áyatnan

kú	awkú	ín-a	ḵ'áxnu	áyat-nan
and	then	tell-PST	prairie.chicken	woman-OBJ

Then Kaxnu told his wife,

ḵ'áxnu.008   1:12
(aw..) "Aw na wítɬ'uxwsha tkwátat.

aw	aw=na	wí-tɬ'úxw-sha	tkwátat
now	now=1Pl.INC	DST-diminish-IMPV	food

"Our food is getting low.

ḵ'áxnu.009
Aw na waḵítatasha tkwátat kú na sáypta awkú

aw=na	waḵít-ata-sha	tkwátat	kú=na	sáyp-ta	awkú
now=1Pl.INC	look-PURP-IMPV	food	and=1Pl.INC	feed-FUT	then

   myánashma.
   myánash-ma
   child-Pl

Let's go look for food and we will feed our children.

ḵ'áxnu.010 1:21.6
Aw pa'anáwisha."

aw	pa-anáwi-sha
now	3.Pl.S-be.hungry-IMPV

They are hungry."

ḵ'áx̱nu.011
Awkú pawínana,
awkú pa-wína-na
then 3Pl.S-go-PST

And so they went.

ḵ'áx̱nu.012
pawaḵítatana tkwátat.
pa-waḵít-ata-na *tkwátat*
3Pl.S-look-PURP-PST food

They went to look for food

ḵ'áx̱nu.013 1:34
Pawyáalakwa myánashmaman,
pa-wyáalakw-a *myánash-maman*
3Pl.S-leave-PST child-OBJ.Pl

They left the children.

ḵ'áx̱nu.014
ku áwacha wat'uymá myánash.
ku *á-wachá* *wat'uymá myánash*
and 3O-COP.PST firstborn child

And they had an oldest child.

ḵ'áx̱nu.015 1:39
chaw áshukwaashana sínwit,
chaw á-shúkwaa-sha-na *sínwi-t*
NEG 3O-know-IMPV-PST speak-NZR

He was still unable to speak,

ḵ'áx̱nu.016
chaw pasínwishana íx̱wi.
chaw pa-sínwi-sha-na *íx̱wi*
NEG 3Pl.S-speak-IMPV-PST still

they (all the children) didn't speak yet.

ḵʼáxnu.017 1:43
Kwmak myánashma íxwi pawachá wáawkʼa ikks,

kwmak	myánash-ma	íxwi	pa-wachá	wáawkʼa	ikks
that.Pl	child-Pl	still	3Pl.S-COP.PST	too.much	little.Pl

ístamama pítpitma.

ístama-ma	pitpít-ma
young-Pl	chick-Pl

Those children were still too little, newborn chicks.

ḵʼáxnu.018 1:51
ku (paʼína) páʼina pshítin

kú	pá-ín-a	pshít-in
and	INV-tell-PST	father-3>3.ERG

And the father told (the oldest),

ḵʼáxnu.019
"Shix nam ánaktkwaninta.

shix=nam	á-náktkwanin-ta
good=2Sg	3O-take.care.of-FUT

"Take care of them.

ḵʼáxnu.020
Chaw nam miin áshapawinata. 2:00

chaw=nam	miin	á-shapá-wína-ta
NEG=2Sg	where.ALL	3O-CAUS-go-FUT

Don't let them go anywhere.

ḵʼáxnu.021
Chaw pam shin (akwʼ...a) áshapaʼashta."

chaw=pam	shin	á-shapá-ásh-ta
NEG=2Pl	who	3O-CAUS-enter-FUT

Don't let anyone inside."

k'áxnu.022 2:10
Ka'áwtya awkú iwachá paykłá kw'ink wat'uymá.

ka'áw=tya	awkú	i-wachá	paykłá	kw'ink	wat'uymá
quick-instead	then	3Sg.S-COP.PST	obedient.person	that.aforementioned	firstborn

He was quick and obedient, that oldest one.

k'áxnu.023 2:17
Awkú pawyáalakwa.

awkú	pa-wyáalakw-a
then	3Pl.S-leave-PST

So they left.

k'áxnu.024 2:20
Ku pínch'a Spilyáy ikwíitama.

kú	pínch'a	Spilyáy	i-kwíita-m-a
and	3Sg.PN.FAM	Coyote	3Sg.S-go.along-CSL-PST

That Spilyay was coming.

k'áxnu.025
Uuii kw'á'ash kw'á'ash iwyatkw'anátisha.

Uuii	kw'á'ash	kw'á'ash	i-wyá -tkw'anáti-sha
uuii	strut	strut	3Sg.S-go-walk.along-IMPV

He was strutting along.

k'áxnu.026 2:30
"Ínk nash wa shíxtxaw tł'aaxwmaamíknik.

ink=nash	wa	shíxtxaw	tł'áaxw-maamíknik
1Sg.PN=1Sg	COP	best	all-Pl.GEN.ABL

"I am the best of all.

k'áxnu.027
Ínk nash wa wat'úuy tł'áaxwmaamíknik"

ink=nash	wa	wat'úuy	tł'áaxw-maamíknik
1Sg.PN=1Sg	COP	first	all-Pl.GEN.ABL

I am better than everyone,"

ḵ'áx̱nu.028
iwyáwanpsha.
i-wyá -wánp-sha
3Sg.S-go-sing.spirit.song -IMPV

he comes along singing.

ḵ'áx̱nu.029 2:43
"Ínk nash wa shíx̱tx̱aw ḵ'ínupa tɬ'aax̱wmaamíknik.
ink=nash   wa shíx̱tx̱aw ḵ'inu-pa   tɬ'áax̱w-maamíknik
1Sg.PN=1Sg   COP   best   see-LOC   all-Pl.GEN.ABL

"I am the best-looking of all,

ḵ'áx̱nu.030
Ínk nash wa wapsúux̱ tɬ'aax̱wmaamíknik."
ink=nash   wa   wapsúx̱   tɬ'aax̱w-maamíknik
1Sg.PN=1Sg   COP   intelligent all-Pl.GEN.ABL

I am the smartest of all,"

ḵ'áx̱nu.031
iwyáwanpsha.
i-wyá -wánp-sha
3Sg.S-go-sing -IMPV

he comes along singing.

ḵ'áx̱nu.032 3:00
Ḵw'á'ash ḵw'á'ash ináwatiksha.
ḵw'á'ash   ḵw'á'ash   i-ná-wátik-sha
strut   strut   3Sg.S-LP.say-step-IMPV

Strutting, strutting, he comes stepping along singing.

ḵ'áx̱nu.033
Awkú "Aah ínx̱ay ḵ'áx̱nu íchna mɨnán inisháatwa.
awkú aah   in-x̱ay   ḵ'áx̱nu   íchna   mɨnán   i-nisháatwa
then aah   my.man's.male.friend prairie.chicken this.LOC   where   3Sg.S-dwell

And so "Ah, my friend the prairie chicken lives here somewhere.

k'áxnu.034
Pa... pa'ínxanash
pa-ín-xa=nash
3Pl.S-tell-HAB=1Sg

    íchna minán áwa (nisháatwa) nisháykt.
    íchna   *minán á-wá*   *nisháatwa*   *nisháyk-t*
    this.LOC   where 3O-COP   dwell   live-NZR

They told me his home was here.

k'áxnu.035 3:16
Áw nash (áwi...) áwii'ashuuta
aw=nash   *á-wíi-ásh-uu-ta*
now=1Sg   3O-go.move -enter-APPL-FUT

    kush paysh laak pasáypta,
    ku=nash   *paysh laak*   *pa-sáyp-ta*
    and=1Sg   maybe perhaps 3Pl.S-feed-FUT

I'll stop and visit a while, they might feed me.

k'áxnu.036 3:23
awsh anáwisha."
aw=nash   *anáwi-sha*
now=1Sg   be.hungry-IMPV

I'm hungry."

k'áxnu.037
Awkú iwyánawiyuuna
awkú i-wyánawi-yuu-na
then   3Sg.S-arrive-APPL-PST

And he arrived there.

k'áxnu.038
"Aah íchixash áwa nisháykt."
aah   *íchi=xash*   *á-wá*   *nisháyk-t*
aah   this=MOD   3O-COP live-NZR

"This must be his house."

ḵ'áxnu.039 3:33
ku kwnak i'áshuuna, "Myánashmasim.

kú	kwnak	i-ásh-uu- na	myánash-ma-sim
and	that.LOC	3Sg.S-enter-APPL-PST	child-Pl- same

He went in. "Only the children (are there).

ḵ'áxnu.040
Minán iwá itút?"

minán	i-wá	itút
where	3Sg.S-COP	your.father

Where's your father?"

ḵ'áxnu.041 3:44
Chchuuuu, chaw pat áwiinpa.

chchuu	chaw	=pat	á-wíinp-a
hush	NEG	=3Pl>3	3O-answer-PST

Quiet, nobody answered him.

ḵ'áxnu.042
"Shápnisha mash,

shápni-sha=mash
ask-IMPV=1Sg>2Sg

    minán iwá itút?"

minán	i-wá	itút
where	3Sg.S-COP	your.father

"I'm asking you, where's your father?"

ḵ'áxnu.043 3:55
Chchuu, paḵ'úsha, awkú mayk nch'íki

chchuu	pa-ḵ'ú-sha	awkú	mayk	nch'íki
hush	3Pl.S-gather-IMPV	then	more	loudly

They huddled together, then a little louder,

k'áxnu.044
"Mínán iwá itút?
mínán	i-wá	itút
where	3Sg.S-COP	your.father

"Where's your father?

k'áxnu.045
Páysh nam chaw páwiinpta ku matash tíwita!"
páysh=nam chaw	pá-wíinp-ta	ku=matash	tíwi-ta
maybe=2Sg	NEG INV-answer-FUT	and=1>2E/B.Pl	fight-FUT

If you don't answer me I will beat all of you up!"

k'áxnu.046 4:11
Awkú wat'uymá iyíkshana.
awkú	wat'uymá	i-yík-sha-na
then	firstborn	3Sg.S-hear-IMPV-PST

Then the oldest understood.

k'áxnu.047
Ku chaw ishúkwaashana sínwit.
kú	chaw	i-shúkwaa-sha-na	sínwi-t
and	NEG	3Sg.S-know-IMPV-PST	speak-NZR

He didn't know how to talk.

k'áxnu.048 4:19
ku itłúpwiiłtxa kwnak ishíchpa,
kú	i-tłúp-wíi-łtx-a	kwnak	ishích-pa
and	3Sg.S-jump-go-ascend-PST	that.LOC	nest-LOC

And he jumped up on the edge of the nest.

k'áxnu.049
ku ina (i....)
kú	ín-a
and	tell-PST

iwápwiluuka Spilyáynan
i-wáp-wii-luuk-a	Spilyáy-nan
3Sg.S- LP.eyes-go-up-PST	Coyote-OBJ

anakú iwachá iksíks íxwi
ana-ku   i-wachá   iksíks íxwi
SUB -and   3Sg.S-COP.PST little   yet

ku iwápwiluuka
kú   i-wáp-wíi-lúuk-a
and   3Sg.S- LP.eyes-go-up-PST

and he said, he looked up at Spilyay, he was little yet, and he looked up at him,

k'áxnu.050 4:34
"Kunkúun shípapap!"
Kunkúun shípapap
Kunkúun shípapap

"Kunkúun shípapap!"

k'áxnu.051
ku (pat) pátk'ina Spilyáyin
kú   pá-tk'í-na   Spilyáy-in
and   INV-look-PST   Coyote-3>3.ERG

Spilyay stared at him,

k'áxnu.052 4:44
"Mísh nam nuu? Kunkúun shipapap!
mish=nam núu   Kunkúun shipapap
Q=2Sg   say   Kunkúun shipapap

"What are you saying? Kunkúun shipapap?

k'áxnu.053
Tun awkú kw'ink íkw'ak iwá sínwit, Kunkúun shipapap?
tun   awkú   kw'ink   íkw'ak i-wa   sínwit   Kunkúun shipapap
what then   that.aforementioned   that   3Sg.S-COP language Kunkúun shipapap

What kind of language is that? Kunkúun shipapap?

k'áxnu.054
ínxa mash,
ín-xa=mash
say-HAB=1Sg>2Sg

  shápnisha mash,
  shápni-sha=mash
  ask-IMPV=1Sg>2Sg

  minán iwa itút?"
  minán   i-wá   itút
  where   3Sg.S-COP   your.father

I'm saying to you, I'm asking you, where is your father?!"

k'áxnu.055 4:58
Uu tł'aaxw mish, ánach'axi nch'íki,
uu   tł'aaxw   mish   ánach'a-xi   nch'íki
uu   all   Q   again-same   loudly

Oh, how to do this? Again, louder,

k'áxnu.056
iháashinkika wíyatyaw
i-háash-inkik-a   *wíyat-yaw*
3Sg.S-breathe-TSL-PST   far.away-DAT

he took a deep breath, way down deep,

k'áxnu.057
ku ishapá'atma "Kunkúun shipapap!"
ku   i-shapá-át-m-a   *Kunkúun shipapap*
and   3Sg.S-CAUS-go.out-CSL-PST   *Kunkúun shipapap*

and then let it out, " *Kunkúun shipapap*!"

k'áxnu.058 5:17
"Aah pawawtk'íwishaam!
aah   pá-wawtk'íwi-sha=nam
aah   INV-trick-IMPV=2Sg
"You're trying to make a fool of me!

k̲'áx̲nu.059
Mísh nam awkú íkush aak (pa) páwiinpshaam?

mish=nam		*awkú*	*íkush*	*aak*	*pá-wíinp-sha=nam*
Q=2Sg		then	thus	EMPH	INV-answer-IMPV=2Sg

Why are you answering me like that?

k̲'áx̲nu.060 5:26
Cháw nash áshukwaasha

chaw=nash	*á-shúkwaa-sha*
NEG=1Sg	3O-know-IMPV

    tuun aw kw'ink íkw'ak iwá, K̲unk̲úun shípapap.

tuun	*aw*	*kw'ink*	*íkw'ak*	*i-wá*	*K̲unk̲úun shípapap*
what.OBJ	now	that.aforementioned	that	3Sg.S-COP	K̲unk̲úun shípapap

I don't understand what that is, K̲unk̲úun shípapap.

k̲'áx̲nu.061
Áw mash tɬ'áax̲wsimk'a shápnisha

aw=mash	*tɬ'aax̲w-sim-k'a*	*shápni-sha*
now=1Sg>2Sg	all-same-now	ask-IMPV

I'm asking you for the last time

k̲'áx̲nu.062 5:35
Páysh nam chaw pá'inta

paysh=nam	*chaw*	*pá-ín-ta*
maybe=2Sg	NEG	INV-tell-FUT

    minán iwá itút,

minán	*i-wa*	*itút*
where	3Sg.S-COP	your.father

And if you don't tell me where your dad is,

k̲'áx̲nu.062
ku matásh tɬ'áax̲w ítɬ'yawita,

ku=matash	*tɬ'aax̲w*	*ítɬ'yawi-ta*
and=1>2E/B.Pl	all	kill-FUT

I'll kill you all

ḵ'áxnu.063
wáwtł'kta matash.
wáwtł'k-ta=matash
club-FUT=1>2E/B.Pl

I will club you (to death.)"

ḵ'áxnu.064 5:46
Uu awkú iskáwna pítpit.
uu awkú i-skáw-na pítpit
uu then 3Sg.S-fear-PST chick

The chick became frightened.

ḵ'áxnu.065 5:54
Awkú nch'íkitxaw wíyatyaw iháashna
awkú nch'íki-txaw wíyat-yaw i-háash-na
then loudly-SUP far.away-DAT 3Sg.S-breathe-PST

And with the loudest voice, he took a deep breath, way down deep,

ḵ'áxnu.066
awkú ishapá'atma "Ḵunḵúun shipapap!"
awkú i-shapá-át-m-a Ḵunḵúun shipapap
then 3Sg.S-CAUS-go.out-CSL-PST Ḵunḵúun shipapap

and then let it out, " Ḵunḵúun shipapap!"

ḵ'áxnu.067 6:05
Áah matash tł'áaxw wáwtł'kta!
aah=matash tł'aaxw wáwtł'k-ta
aah=1>2E/B.Pl all club-FUT

"I'm going to beat you all to death!"

ḵ'áxnu.068
Tł'áaxw awkú iwáwtł'ka myánashmaman
tł'aaxw awkú i-wáwtł'k-a myánash-maman
all then 3Sg.S-club-PST child-OBJ.Pl

Then he beat all of the children to death.

k'áxnu.069
Iwínpa ílkwas
i-wínp-a   *ílkwas*
3Sg.S-take-PST   stick

He grabbed a stick

k'áxnu.070
ku iwáwtɬ'ka tɬ'áaxwmaman,
kú   *i-wáwtɬ'k-a*   *tɬ'aaxw-maman*
and   3Sg.S-club-PST   all-OBJ.Pl

    anakwnak papúxsha
    ana-kwnak   *pa-púx-sha*
    SUB   that.LOC   3Pl.S-scatter-IMPV

and beat them all to death, there they were scattered everywhere.

k'áxnu.071 6:22
awkú itkw'á'anakwa. "Kunkúun shipapap.
awkú   *i-tkw'á-ánakw-a*   *Kunkúun shipapap*
then   3Sg.S-walk-separate-PST   *Kunkúun shipapap*

Then he walked away and left them. " *Kunkúun shipapap.*

k'áxnu.072
Tun awkú kw'ink Kunkúun shipapap?'
tun   *awkú*   *kw'ink*   *Kunkúun shipapap*
what   then   that.aforementioned   *Kunkúun shipapap*

What is that, *Kunkúun shipapap?*"

k'áxnu.073
Pawawtk'íwishaash."
pa-wawtk'íwi-sha=nash
3Pl.S-trick-IMPV=1Sg

They're making a fool out of me."

k'áxnu.074 6:35
And he walked away.
(in English)

k'áx̲nu.075
Patúx̲shana awkú k̲'áx̲nu áyatin.

pa-túx̲-sha-na		awkú	k̲'áx̲nu	áyat-in
3Pl.S-return.home-IMPV-PST		then	prairie.chicken	woman-ASSOC

Kaxnu and his wife came home.

k'áx̲nu.076 6:45
Uuu! Aah, ápux̲sha myánashma, tɬ'yáwiyi.

Uuu,	Aah,	á-púx̲-sha	myánash-ma	tɬ'yáwi-yi
uuu	aah,	3O-scatter-IMPV	child-Pl	die-STAT

Their children were dead and scattered.

k'áx̲nu.077
"Aana mish na tx̲ána myánashma, tɬ'áax̲w wáwtɬ'yawiyi."

aana	mish=na	tx̲ána	myánash-ma	tɬ'aax̲w	wáw-tɬ'yáwi-yi
INTJ	Q=1Pl.INC	become	child-Pl	all	LP.instr.REDUP-die-STAT

"What has happened to our children? They are all dead from a beating."

k'áx̲nu.078 7:01
Uuu, ayatúks ináx̲tisha.

uuu	ayatúks	i-náx̲ti-sha
uuu	female	3Sg.S-cry-IMPV

The female is crying.

k'áx̲nu.079
Pak̲'ínaniya wátiksh Spilyáynan.

pa-k̲'ínu-ani-ya	wátiksh	Spilyáy-nan
3Pl.S-see-APPL-PST	tracks	Coyote-OBJ

They saw Spilyay's tracks.

k'áx̲nu.080
"Aah Spilyáyx̲ash íchi íkush ikúya.

Aah	Spilyáy=x̲ash	íchi	íkush	i-kú-ya
aah	Coyote=MOD	this	thus	3Sg.S-do-PST

"Hah, Spilyay must have done this.

k'áxnu.081 7:14
Aw na áwakitatasha."
aw=na   á-wakít-ata-sha
now=1Pl.INC   3O-look-PURP-IMPV

Let's go look for him."

k'áxnu.082
Pat awkú áshyaka.
pat   awkú á-shyák-a
3Pl>3   then 3O-scout-PST

Then they scouted (for him).

k'áxnu.083
Iii, íchi ikwíita íkwin.
ii   íchi   i-kwíita   íkwin
yes   this   3Sg.S-go.along   that.DAT

"Oh, he has gone to there."

k'áxnu.084 7:23
Pat áwiyaxna.
pat   á-iyáx-na
3Pl>3   3O-find-PST

They found him.

k'áxnu.085
Awkú pawiilúuka xwíimi
then   pa-wíi-lúuk-a   xwíimi
then   3Pl.S-go-up-PST   high.up

    ku pawíihaykma.
    kú pa-wíi-háyk-m-a
    and3Pl.S-go-down-CSL-PST

They went high up and then came down.

ḵ'áx̱nu.086 7:30

Páwiipt'ana, nax̱shin chínik

pá-wíi-pt'á-na	nax̱sh-in	chínik
INV-go-impact-PST	one-3>3.ERG	this.abl

páwiihaykuuna

pá-wíi-háyk-uu-na
INV-go-down-APPL-PST

ku páwiipt'ana.

ku	pá-wíi-pt'á-na
and	INV-go-impact-PST

They hit him, one from this side flew down and hit him.

ḵ'áx̱nu.087

"Mísh pam mísha, x̱ay aa x̱ay,

mish=pam	mí-sha	x̱ay	aa	x̱ay
Q=2Pl	do-IMPV	man's.male.friend	aah	man's.male.friend

íchiish wa x̱ay

íchi=nash	wa	x̱ay
this=1Sg	COP	man's.male.friend

"What are you doing friend, hey! I am your friend!

ḵ'áx̱nu.088 7:41

Mísh pam tx̱ánasha?" (------)

mish=pam	tx̱ána-sha
Q=2Pl	become-IMPV

What's happening to you?" (more of Coyote whimpering here (------),cannot make it out.)

ḵ'áx̱nu.089

Pat áwiipt'ax̱ana.

pat	á-wíi-pt'á-x̱a-na
3Pl>3	3O-go-impact-HAB-PST

They collided again.

ḵ'áx̱nu.090
Huuy piná'iɫamaykanishana ɫamtíx̱.
huuy piná-íɫamayk-ani-sha-na ɫamtíx̱
in.vain RFL.Sg-hide-APPL-IMPV-PST head

He tried in vain to protect his head.

ḵ'áx̱nu.091 7:50
Pat áwiipt'ana
pat á-wíi-pt'á-na
3Pl>3 3O-go-impact-PST

    pat awkú ánanayka awkú ánanayka ts'áa wánayaw
    pat awkú á-nána-náynak-a awkú á-nána-náynak-a ts'áa wána-yaw
    3Pl>3 then 3O-carry- into-PST then 3O-carry- into-PST close river-DAT

They hit him and forced him along, forced him along, close to the river.

ḵ'áx̱nu.092
Ku kwnak iwachá k'miɫ.
ku kwnak i-wachá k'miɫ
and that.LOC 3Sg.S-COP.PST cliff

And there was a cliff.

ḵ'áx̱nu.093 8:00
Íkuuk pat awkú (ku pat awku) nimnawít áwinanp'ana
íkuuk =pat awkú nimnawít á-wíi-nánp'a-na
now =3Pl>3 then very 3O-go -move.against-PST

    papúuchnik tɫ'áayawit
    papúuchan-knik tɫ'áayawit
    both.sides-ABL death

They really hit him, really were attacking fiercely, coming together from both sides until death.

ḵ'áx̱nu.094
Ku tilíwal tɫ'áax̱w áwiit'ishka
kú tilíwal tɫ'aax̱w á-wíit'ishk-a
and blood all 3O-splatter-PST

And his blood spilled everywhere.

k'áxnu.094
ku ixátamawiyawnana íkuuni wánakan.

ku	i-xátama-wíí-yáwna-na	íkuuni	wána-kan
and	3Sg.S-fall-go-over-PST	that.ALL	river-ALL

he fell over that way towards the river

k'áxnu.095 8:17
Awkú kwnak k'míłpa awkú áyawiihaykma

awkú kwnak	k'míł-pa	awkú	á-ya-wíí-háyk-m-a
then that.LOC	cliff-LOC	then	3O-LP.water-go-down-CSL-PST

íkush tilíwal

íkush	tilíwal
thus	blood

And there his blood poured down the cliff.

k'áxnu.096
tł'aaxw awkú tł'áayawit iká'isha Spilyáy.

tł'aaxw	awkú tł'áayawit	i-ká-isha	Spilyáy
all	then death	3Sg.S-suddenly-be.lying	Coyote

All dead, Spilyay lay crumpled there.

k'áxnu.097 8:30
Kwnak awkú (ilá, lá...) ilá'ishana.

kwnak	awkú	i-lá-isha-na
that.LOC	then	3Sg.S-leisurely-be.lying-PST

There he lay.

k'áxnu.098
Kwakmaal. Miłkwak putáptit anwíkt

kwak -maal	mił -kwak	putáptit anwíkt
I.wonder-how.long	how.many-I.wonder	hundred year

No one knows how long. Probably hundreds of years.

ḵ'áxnu.099
tɬ'áaxw xyáawk'a awkú iwachá íkush.

tɬ'aaxw	xyáaw-k'a	awkú	i-wachá	íkush
all	dry-now	then	3Sg.S-COP.PST	thus

he dried up as he lay thus.

ḵ'áxnu.100 8:46
Ikwíitama Luts'ayáy

i-kwíita-m-a	Luts'ayáy
3Sg.S-go.along-CSL-PST	Red.Fox

Red Fox came along,

ḵ'áxnu.101
(páwiyaxiya...) páwya'iyaxna

pá-wyá-íyax-na
INV-go-find-PST

he was going along and found him.

ḵ'áxnu.102 8:53
"Aa, mishxash íchi ínxay imíya pínxi?

aa	mish=xash	íchi	inxay	i-mí-ya	pink-xi
aah	Q=MOD	this	my.man's.male.friend	3Sg.S-do-PST	3Sg.PN-same

"Oh my friend, what must he have done?

ḵ'áxnu.103
Áwxash iwyákwshtikshana."

aw=xash	i-wyákwshtík-sha-na
now=MOD	3Sg.S-do.wrong-IMPV-PST

He must have been doing wrong."

ḵ'áxnu.104
Ku (páwiyawiyuuna) páwiiyawnana páxaam.

ku	pá-wíi-yáwna-na	páxaam
and	INV-go-over-PST	five.times

And then he stepped over him five times.

ḵ'áxnu.105 9:08
Kw'áxi itáxshiya Spilyáy, mmm
kw'áxi   i-táxshi-a   Spilyáy
again   3Sg.S-wake.up-PST   Coyote

Spilyay woke up.

ḵ'áxnu.106
"Aah áwxash shláwiya ku xátikw'ika pnúna."
Aa   aw=xa=nash   shláwi-ya   ku   xátikw'ik-a   pnú-na
aah   now=MOD=1Sg   tire-PST   and   fall.over-PST   sleep-PST

"I must have gotten tired and fell over and slept."

ḵ'áxnu.107
"Aah, xátikw'ikaam. Wyákwshtikxa nam.
Aah   xátikw'ik-a=nam   wyákwshtík-xa=nam
aah   fall.over-PST=2Sg   do.wrong-HAB=2Sg

"Ah, you fell over. You do wrong.

ḵ'áxnu.108 9:26
Nah tupán nam wyákwshtika.
Nah   tupán=nam   wyákwshtík-a
bah   something=2Sg   do.wrong-PST

Nah, you must have done something wrong.

ḵ'áxnu.109
Túpanxaam wyákwshtika.
tupán-xa=nam   wyákwshtík-a
something-HAB=2Sg do.wrong-PST

You must have done something wrong.

ḵ'áxnu.110 9:34
Mísh nam míya?"
mish=nam   mí-ya
Q=2Sg   do-PST

What did you do?"

ḵ'áẖnu.111
Awkú pinátamapayshka.
awkú piná-tamápayshk-a
then   RFL.Sg-tell.on-PST

And then he confessed.

ḵ'áẖnu.112 9:42
"Íkush nash kúya."
íkush=nash   kú-ya
thus=1Sg   do-PST

"This is what I did."

ḵ'áẖnu.113
"Aw mash íchi ítaẖshi,
aw=mash   íchi   ítaẖshi
now=1Sg>2Sg   this   awaken

"Now I have awakened you

ḵ'áẖnu.114
kú nam aw kw'áẖi wa wáḵ'ish
kú=nam   aw   kw'áẖi wa   wáḵ'ish
and=2Sg   now   again COP   alive

and you have become alive again.

ḵ'áẖnu.115
Ku chínik ɬkw'íknik
kú   chínik   ɬkw'í-knik
and   this.abl   day-ABL

And from this day on,

ḵ'áẖnu.116 9:55
chaw nam mun ánach'aẖi áwitɬ'yawita ḵ'aẖnumaman."
chaw=nam   mun   ánach'a-ẖi   á-ítɬ'yáwi-ta   ḵ'áẖnu-maman
NEG=2Sg   when again-same   3O-kill-FUT   prairie.chicken-OBJ.Pl

you will never again kill prairie chickens.

ƙáxnu.117
"Ku mish, Ku mish."
 kú   mish   kú   mish
and   Q   and   Q

"Oh dear, okay."

ƙáxnu.118 10:03
"Páysh nam chaw páyikta,
páysh=nam   chaw   pá-yík-ta
maybe=2Sg   NEG   INV-hear-FUT

    ku nam, ku mash ítuxta íkuunik
    ku=nam   ku=mash   ítux-ta   íkuunik
    and=2Sg   and=1Sg>2Sg return-FUT   that.abl

    anam kwnak wachá."
    ana=nam   kwnak   wachá
    SUB=2Sg   that.LOC   COP.PST

"If you don't listen, I'll put you back to where you were."

ƙáxnu.119 10:08
"Chaw, áw nash wáta, áw nash shix wáta,
chaw   aw=nash   wá-ta   aw=nash   shix   wá-ta
NEG   now=1Sg   COP-FUT   now=1Sg   good   COP-FUT

"No, I'll be, I'll be good!

ƙáxnu.120
Cháw nash ánach'axi mun áwitɬ'yawita ƙaxnumaman.
chaw=nash   ánach'a-xi   mun   á-ítɬ'yawi-ta   ƙáxnu-maman
NEG=1Sg   again-same   when   3O-kill-FUT   prairie.chicken-OBJ.Pl

I'll never again kill prairie chickens."

ƙáxnu.121 10:15
Íkush awkú iwá íchi íkuuk.
íkush awkú   i-wá   íchi   íkuuk
thus   then   3Sg.S-COP   this   now

That's the way it is now.

k'áxnu.122
Cháwmun spílya ítɬ'yawita k'axnumaman.
chaw -mun   spílya   ítɬ'yawi-ta   k'áxnu-maman
NEG -when   coyote   kill-FUT   prairie.chicken-OBJ.Pl

A coyote never kills prairie chickens.

k'áxnu.123
Íchi ikúuk. Táaminwa.
íchi   íkuuk   táaminwa
this   now   always

That's it. Forever.

APPENDIX C

Síkni 'YELLOWBELL'

Síkni.001
Pawachá ttmayíma.
pa-wachá   ttmayíma
3Pl.S-COP.PST   maiden. Pl

There were maidens.

Síkni.002
Panishátuuna x̲álukt tiichámpa,
pa-nishátuu-na   x̲álukt   tiichám-pa
3Pl.S-live-PST   beneath   earth-LOC

They were living underground,

Síkni.003
ku papnúshana,
ku   pa-pnú-sha-na
and   3Pl.S-sleep-IMPV-PST

and they were sleeping,

Síkni.004
paháashhaashshana.
pa-háashhaash-sha-na
3Pl.S-rest-IMPV-PST

they were resting.

Síkni.005
Chaw íx̲wi pa'átshama,
chaw   íx̲wi   pa-át-sha-m-a
NEG   still   3Pl.S-go.out-IMPV-CSL-PST

They still weren't coming out,

Síkni.006
anakú íx̱wi iwachá k'pís,

ana-ku	íx̱wi	i-wachá	k'pís
SUB-and	still	3Sg.S-COP.PST	cold

because it was still cold,

Síkni.007
k'pís iwachá íchi tiichám.

k'pís	i-wachá	íchi	tiichám
cold	3Sg.S-COP.PST	this	earth

this earth was cold.

Síkni.008
Chaw íx̱wi itsts'úupshana puuy.

chaw	íx̱wi	i-tsts'úup-sha-na	puuy
NEG	still	3Sg.S-melt-IMPV-PST	snow

The snow had still not melted.

Síkni.009
Ku pt'ilíma íx̱wi papnúshana.

ku	pt'ilí-ma	íx̱wi	pa-pnú-sha-na
and	girl-Pl	still	3Pl.S-sleep-IMPV-PST

And the girls were still sleeping.

Síkni.010
Íkuuk awkú iwíihaykma,

íkuuk	awkú	i-wíi-háyk-m-a
now	then	3Sg.S-go-down-CSL-PST

iwináchika wináawa hulí.

i-wináchik-a	wináawa	hulí
3Sg.S-arrive-PST	warm.wind	wind

That's when the wind came blowing in, blowing in.

Síkni.011
Winaawayáy, anakw'ínk pawaníkxa Winaawayáy,

Winaawayáy	*anakw'ink*	*pa-waník-xa*	*Winaawayáy*
Warm.wind	SUB-that.aforementioned	3Pl.S-name-HAB	Warm.wind

iwináchika.
i-wináchik-a
3Sg.S-arrive-PST

Warm Wind, the one they call Warm Wind, arrived.

Síkni.012
Iwá ts'muuy hulí Winaawayáy.

i-wá	*ts'muuy*	*hulí*	*Winaawayáy*
3Sg.S-COP	warm	wind	Warm.wind

Winaawayay is a warm wind.

Síkni.013
Awkú iwináchika

awkú	*i-wináchik-a*
then	3Sg.S-arrive-PST

ku ishapápuxna awkú ts'muuuy tł'aaxw tuun,

ku	*i-shapá-pux-na*	*awkú*	*ts'muuy*	*tł'aaxw*	*tuun*
and	3Sg.S-CAUS-blow-PST	then	warm	all	what.OBJ

Then he came and blew warm air over everything,

Síkni.014
ku puuy awkú itsts'úupna.

ku	*puuy*	*awkú*	*i-tsts'úup-na*
and	snow	then	3Sg.S-melt-PST

and the snow melted.

Síkni.015
Awkú iwánana chíish.

awkú	*i-wána-na*	*chíish*
then	3Sg.S-flow-PST	water

Then the water flowed.

Síkni.016

Ku iwinachikúuna ttmayímaman ku i'ína,

ku	i-winách·ik-uu-na	ttmayímaman	ku	i-ín-a
and	3Sg.S-arrive-APPL-PST	maiden. Pl.OBJ	and	3Sg.S-tell-PST

Then he came up to the girls and he told them,

Síkni.017

"Aah, lítsama áwpam pimawishúwata,

aah	lítsa-ma	aw=pam	pimá-wishúwa-ta
aah	younger.sister-Pl	now=2Pl	RFL.Pl-get.ready-FUT

"Aah, little sisters, it's time for you to prepare yourselves,

Síkni.018

kúpam aw átimta.

ku =pam	aw	át-im-ta
and=2Pl	now	go.out-CSL-FUT

and then you come out.

Síkni.019

Aw itxánasha ts'muuy

aw	i-txána-sha	ts'muuy
now	3Sg.S-become-IMPV	warm

    ku áwmatash wa íchi íkuuk att,

	ku	aw =matash	wa	íchi	íkuuk	at-t
	and	now=2Pl.GEN	COP	this	now	go.out-NZR

Now it's getting warm and it's your time to come out,

Síkni.020

kúpam tiinmamíyaw pima'isíkw'ata.

ku=pam	tíin-ma-mí-yaw	pimá-isíkw'a-ta
and=2Pl	person-Pl-APPL-DAT	RFL.Pl-show-FUT

and show yourselves to the people.

Síkni.021
Pimá'iniixitapam shix."

Pimá-íniixi-ta=pam	*shix*
RFL.Pl-make.good-FUT=2Pl	good

Fix yourselves up real good."

Síkni.022
Ku íixwi patáwk'umshana,

ku	*íxwi*	*pa-táwk'um-sha-na*
and	still	3Pl.S-oversleep-IMPV-PST

And then they were still lazing about,

Síkni.023
ku awkú pawyátaxshiya.

ku	*awkú*	*pa-wyá-táxshi-a*
and	then	3Pl.S-go-wake.up-PST

and then they started to wake up.

Síkni.024
Patamápnya awkú wapáwat,

pa-tamápni-ya	*awkú*	*wapáwat*
3Pl.S-take.out-PST	then	costume

They started bringing out their outfits

Síkni.025
ku pimáwapawana awkú tɬ'aaxw túkin wapáwatki.

ku	*pimá-wapáwa-na*	*awkú*	*tɬ'aaxw*	*túkin*	*wapáwat-ki*
and	RFL.Pl-decorate-PST	then	all	with.what	costume-INST

and dressed themselves with all their decorations.

Síkni.026
Ku naxsh awkú kwnák tmáy aw ikuuníik ipnúshana.

ku	*naxsh*	*awkú*	*kwnak*	*tmáy*	*aw*	*íkuunik*	*i-pnú-sha-na*
and	one	then	that.LOC	maiden	now	that.abl	3Sg.S-sleep-IMPV-PST

And one girl still slept.

Síkni.027
Pat huuy áwitaxshixana.

pat	huuy	á-ítaxshi-xa-na
3Pl	in.vain	3O-awaken-HAB-PST

They were having difficulty waking her.

Síkni.028
"Amash táxshi!

ana =mash	táxshi
SUB=1>2E/B.Pl	wake.up

"Wake up now!

Síkni.029
Aw iwá pinawishúwat,

aw	i-wa	piná-wishúwa-t
now	3Sg.S-COP	RFL.Sg-get.ready-NZR

Now it's time to get yourself ready,

Síkni.030
áwna iwánpisha (yayánim) yáyanim

aw=na	i-wánpi-sha	yáya-nim
now=1Pl.INC	3Sg.S-call-IMPV	older.brother-3>SAP.ERG

áwna yakút átta."

aw=na	=yakút at-ta
now=1Pl.INC	=MOD go.out-FUT

now older brother is telling us to go out."

Síkni.031
"Aah, táaminwa pam imách'a kkáasa túkin.

aah	táaminwa =pam	imák=ch'a	kkáasa	túkin
aah	always=2Pl	2Pl.PN-also	be.in.a.hurry	with.what

"Oh, you're always in a hurry about something.

Síkni.032
Íx̲wiish pnuwát'asha."

íx̲wi	=nash	pnu-át'a-sha
still	=1Sg	sleep-DES-IMPV

I'm still sleepy."

Síkni.033
Ku kw'áx̲i awkú pinátamasklikinkika ku ku ipnúnkika.

ku	kw'áx̲i	awkú	piná-tamásklik-inkik-a		ku	i-pnu-nkik-a
and	again	then	RFL.Sg-turn.over-TSL-PST		and	3Sg.S-sleep-TSL-PST

And instead she turned herself over and went back to sleep.

Síkni.034
Tɬ'anx̲ awkú pátma pimawishúwana.

Tɬ'anx	awkú	pat-ma	pimá-wishúwa-na
rather	then	older.sister-Pl	RFL.Pl-get.ready-PST

Instead then her older sisters were readying themselves.

Síkni.035
Ánach'ax̲i páwinachikuuna.

ánach'a-x̲i	pá-wináchik-uu-na
again-same	3>3.INV-arrive-APPL-PST

Again he came blowing up to them.

Síkni.036
"Aw pam átimta, aw iwá ts'muuy."

aw	=pam	at-im-ta	aw	i-wa	ts'muuy
now	=2Pl	go.out-CSL-FUT	now	3Sg.S-COP	warm

"Now it's time for you to come out, now it's warm."

Síkni.037
Awkú pat ánach'ax̲i áwitax̲shiya,

awkú pat	ánach'a-x̲i	á-ítax̲shi-ya
then 3Pl>3	again-same	3O-awaken-PST

The others again tried to wake her,

Síkni.038
"*Áw natash átsha, kú nam aw táx̱shita!*"
aw=natash   át-sha   ku=nam   aw   táx̱shi-ta
now=1Pl.EXC go.out-IMPV   and=2Sg   now   wake.up-FUT

"We're going out now, wake up!"

Síkni.039
Awkú pimawɨshúwankika awkú pa'áta.
awkú   pimá-wɨshúwa-kik-a   awkú   pa-át-a
then   RFL.Pl-get.ready-TSL-PST   then   3Pl.S-go.out-PST

Then they all got ready and went out.

Síkni.040
Kpaylk pínch'a láymut iwáyx̱tiwayx̱tisha
kpaylk pínch'a   láymut   i-wáyx̱ti-wáyx̱ti-sha
later   3Sg.PN.FAM   youngest   3Sg.S-run-run-IMPV

And meanwhile that one, the lowly youngest, ran around,

Síkni.041
i'áwisha tɫ'áax̱w awkú tun áɫamayna.
i-áwi-sha   tɫ'aax̱w   awkú   tun   á-ɫamáy-na
3Sg.S-search.for-IMPV   all   then   what   3O-be.lost-PST

she was searching, she couldn't find anything.

Síkni.042
Awkú chaw p'ɨx̱ pínch'a ilá'atima,
awkú   chaw p'ɨx̱   pínch'a   i-lá-at-m-a
then   disheveled   3Sg.PN.FAM   3Sg.S-leisurely-go.out-CSL-PST

ának, ɫak̲'áan,
ának   ɫak̲'áan
last   messy.hair

Then that one, all disheveled, came out last, all shaggy-haired,

Síkni.043
tɫ'áax̱w míimi pa'átkika pátma,
tɫ'aax̱w   míimi   pa-át-kik-a   pat-ma
all   long.ago   3Pl.S-go.out-TSL-PST   older.sister-Pl

all her sisters had already gone out,

Síkni.044
ayáyat wapáwani.

ayáyat	*wapáwa-ni*
beautiful	decorate-STAT

groomed beautifully.

Síkni.045
Awkú palákayxika, iiii!

awkú	*pa-lákayxik-a*	*iiii*
then	3Pl.S-shine -PST	yes

Then they shone, yes!

Síkni.046
Latít tɬ'áaxwpa minán awkú pattáwaxinkika,

latít	*tɬ'aaxw-pa*	*minán*	*awkú*	*pa-ttáwax-inkik-a*
flower	all-LOC	where	then	3Pl.S-grow-TRL-PST

Flowers were growing all over the place

Síkni.047
ayáyat k'ínupa.

ayáyat	*k'inu-pa*
beautiful	see-LOC

looking beautiful.

Síkni.048
Awkú páwyaalakwa Winaawayáyin.

awkú	*pá-wyáalakw-a*	*Winaawayáy-in*
then	INV-leave-PST	Warm.wind-3>3.ERG

Then Warm Wind took off.

Síkni.049
Tɬ'anx awkú pinch'a íchi láymut

tɬ'anx	*awkú*	*pinch'a*	*íchi*	*láymut*
rather	then	3Sg.PN.FAM	this	youngest

But this so-and-so youngest

Síkni.050
i'átɨma chaw p'ɨx ḵ'ínupa.

i-at-m-a	chaw p'ɨx	ḵ'inu-pa
3Sg.S-go.out-CSL-PST	disheveled	see-LOC

came out looking all rumpled.

Síkni.051
Pinatwakushyáɬ.

piná-twákushi-áɬ
RFL.Sg-comb-NEG.AG

Uncombed.

Síkni.052
Winaniináɬ.

winaníi-áɬ
bathe-NEG.AG

Unbathed.

Síkni.053
Cháw p'ɨx táatpas, shapap'ikáɬ.

chaw p'ɨx	táatpas	shapáp'ik-áɬ
disheveled	clothing	wash.clothes-NEG.AG

Messy clothes, unwashed.

Síkni.054
Patúnx ɬḵ'am.

Patúnx	ɬḵ'am
different	moccasins

Mismatched moccasins.

Síkni.055
Awkú iḵ'ínuna pátma ayáyat ḵ'ínupa.

awkú	i-ḵ'inu-na	pat-ma	ayáyat	ḵ'inu-pa
then	3Sg.S-see-PST	older.sister-Pl	beautiful	see-LOC

And then she saw her sisters looking beautiful.

Síkni.056
Ku pinátk'ina pink chaw p'ix̱,
ku   piná-tk'i-na   pink   chaw p'ix̱
and RFL.Sg-look-PST   3Sg.PN   disheveled

And she looked at herself all rumpled.

Síkni.057
chaw shix̱ ipx̱wína.
chaw   shix̱   i-px̱wi-na
NEG   good   3Sg.S-think-PST

She didn't feel good.

Síkni.058
Pinátɬ'uyana, ku chaw awkú Áanan itk'iyát'ana.
piná-tɬ'uyá-na   ku   chaw awkú aan-nan   i-tk'í-yát'a-na
RFL.Sg-be.ashamed-PST and NEG then sun-OBJ 3Sg.S-look-DES-PST

She was ashamed, she didn't want to look at the sun.

Síkni.059
Ku piná'iɬamayka,
ku   piná-iɬamayk-a
and   RFL.Sg-hide- PST

And she hid herself

Síkni.060
ku ɬamtíx̱ áwaluuna imítichan.
ku   ɬamtíx̱   á-walúu-na   míti-kan
and head   3O-hang.down-PST   below-ALL

and bowed her head down.

Síkni.061
Íkush awkú íchi ikúuk iwá pínch'a.
íkush awkú íchi   íkuuk i-wá   pínch'a
thus   then this   now   3Sg.S-COP   3Sg.PN.FAM

And this is the way this one is.

Síkni.062
Chaw mun pináchaxilpanita tpish Aanmíyaw.

chaw	mun	piná-chá-xilp-ani-ta		tpish	Aan-mí-yaw
NEG	when	RFL.Sg-CAUS-open-APPL-FUT		face	Sun-APPL-DAT

She never opens her face to the sun.

Síkni.063
Awkú pinátł'uyasha íkush.

awkú piná-tł'uyá-sha	íkush
then RFL.Sg-be.ashamed-IMPV	thus

She's ashamed of herself.

Síkni.064
Iwákwnayksha táaminwa,

i-wákwnayk-sha	táaminwa
3Sg.S-bend.head-IMPV	always

She always bows down,

Síkni.065
imítichan ik'ínusha, piná'iłamayksha.

míti-kan	i-k'inu-sha	piná-íłamayk-sha
below-ALL	3Sg.S-see-IMPV	RFL.Sg-hide- IMPV

she looks down and hides herself.

Síkni.066
Íkush awkú íkw'ak iwá síkni íchi ikúuk.

íkush awkú íkw'ak i-wa	síkni	íchi	íkuuk	
thus then that 3Sg.S-COP	Yellowbell	this	now	

That's how Yellowbell is.

Síkni.067
Tł'anx awkú pyaxí ayáyat ilát'ixsha.

Tł'anx	awkú	pyaxí	ayáyat	i-lát'ix-sha
rather	then	bitterroot	beautiful	3Sg.S-spark-IMPV

In contrast, Pyaxi blooms beautifully.

Síkni.068
Kúshxi sikáwya.
kúshxi   sikáwya
also   Breadroot

And Sikawya the same.

Síkni.069
Ku tł'áaxwtun awkú niimí íchi tkwátat
ku tł'aaxw-tun   awkú   niimí   íchi   tkwátat
and all-what   then   1Pl.GEN.PN   this   food

And all of our other foods

Síkni.070
ayáyat ilát'ixsha,
ayáyat   i-lát'ix-sha
beautiful   3Sg.S-spark-IMPV

bloom beautifully,

Síkni.071
ku pínch'a íchi iwá síkni.
ku pínch'a   íchi   i-wá   síkni
and 3Sg.PN.FAM this   3Sg.S-COP   Yellowbell

and then there is Sikni.

Síkni.072
Pinátł'uyasha táaminwa,
piná-tł'uyá-sha   táaminwa
RFL.Sg-be.ashamed-IMPV   always

She's always ashamed,

Síkni.073
imítichan itk'ísha,
míti-kan   i-tk'í-sha
below-ALL   3Sg.S-look-IMPV

she looks down,

Síkni.074
chaw itḵ'íx̲sha ku Áanin páḵ'inuta.

chaw	i-tḵ'íx̲-sha	ku	Aan-in	pá-ḵ'inu-ta
NEG	3Sg.S-want-IMPV	and	Sun-3>3.ERG	INV-see-FUT

she doesn't want the sun to see her.

Síkni.075
Chaw p'ix̲ iwá pínch'a.

chaw p'ix̲	i-wa	pínch'a
disheveled	3Sg.S-COP	3Sg.PN.FAM

She's all messy.

Síkni.076
Íkw'ak nash aw íkwaal. Áwatisha íchi myánashmaman.

íkw'ak =nash	aw	íkwaal	á-watí-sha	íchi	myánash-maman
that=1Sg	now	far	3O-tell.legends-IMPV	this	child-OBJ.Pl

I'm that far. I've told this to the children.

APPENDIX D

WÁPAAS 'GATHERING BASKET'

This short recording describes a *wápaas*, a root or berry gathering basket made of hemp or yarn with a leather rim. Virginia was showing one as she was speaking. The plant traditionally used to make them is *taxús*, Indian hemp or milkweed (Apocymum cannabinum). The string the women made from hemp during the winter months was used for many purposes, including fishing nets, snares, tule mats, and baskets.

Íchi iwá, iwaníksha wápaas. Wápaas iwá taakwinpamá, pshatatpamá xnít. Iwá aníyi táakwinki wapsíkiiki. Ku míimi pa'aníxaṉa taxúski. Ku íchi ikúuk aw wapsíkiikisim pawí'aníxana, ku taxúsk'a awkú iláamsha. Ku tɬáaxwtun pawí'anixana kunkínk, ikks íchi íkush iwá wápaas pináwalak'iktay táakwin kw'ípa. Iwyápshatata ku iwá ánach'axi nch'ínch'i, kwnák nam wyáyaxshata, wyáyaxshatpamá wápaas nch'ínch'i. Ikwák íkush áyatma pawí'anixana míimi.

This is, it is called wápaas. Wápaas is a thing for gathering roots into. It is made of cord. A long time ago, they were made from hemp (*taxús*). But this one here is made of cord, and hemp is disappearing. And they made everything with it. Small ones like this are to fasten around the waist. You go along gathering into them. Then there is a big one that you pour the roots into. This is how women made them a long time ago.

Íchi iwá, iwaníksha wápaas.

íchi	i-wá	i-waník-sha	wápaas
this	3Sg.S-COP	3Sg.S-name-IMPV	wápaas

This is, it is called wápaas.

Wápaas iwá taakwinpamá,

wápaas	i-wá	táakwin-pamá
wápaas	3Sg.S-COP	whatchamacallit-thing.for

pshatatpamá x̱nít.

psháta-t-pamá	x̱ní-t
put.in-NZR-thing.for	dig.root-NZR

Wápaas is a thing for gathering roots into.

Iwá aníyi táakwinki wapsíkiiki.

i-wa	aní-yi	táakwin-ki	wapsíki-ki
3Sg.S-COP	make-STAT	whatchamacallit-INST	string-INST

It's made of string,

ku míimi pa'aníx̱ana tax̱úski.

ku	míimi	pa-aní-x̱a-na	tax̱ús-ki
and	long.ago	3Pl.S-make-HAB-PST	Indian.hemp-INST

and in old times, they made them out of hemp.

Ku íchi ikúuk aw wapsíkiikisim pawí'anix̱ana

ku	íchi	íkuuk	aw	wapsíki-ki-sim	pa-wí-aní-x̱a-na
and	this	now	now	string-INST-same	3Pl.S-DST-make-HAB-PST

ku tax̱úsk'a awkú iláamsha.

ku	tax̱ús-k'a	awkú	i-láam-sha
and	Indian.hemp-next	then	3Sg.S-disappear-IMPV

But now they're made of string, and Indian hemp is disappearing.

Ku tł'áax̱wtun pawí'anix̱ana kunkínk.

ku	tl'aax̱w-tun	pa-wí-aní-x̱a-na	kunkínk
and	all-what	3Pl.S-DST-make-HAB-PST	that.INST

And they made everything with that.

Ikks íchi íkush iwá wápaas

ikks	íchi	íkush	i-wá	wápaas
little	this	thus	3Sg.S-COP	wápaas

This is a small wápaas,

pináwalak'iktay táakwɨn kw'ípa

piná-wala-k'ik-t-ay	táakwɨn	kw'i-pa
RFL.Sg-belt-caught.up-NZR-BEN	whatchamacallit	waist-LOC

for wearing tied around the waist.

Ku nam wyápshatata ku iwá ánach'axi nch'ínch'i,

ku=nam	wyá-psháta-ta	ku	i-wá	ánach'a-xi	nch'ínch'i
and=2Sg	go-gather-FUT	and	3Sg.S-COP	again-same	big(ones)

You go along gathering, and there are big ones,

kwnák nam wyáyaxshata,

kwnak=nam	wyá-yaxsha-ta
that.LOC =2Sg	go-pour.into-FUT

there you pour the roots,

wyáyaxshatpamá wápaas nch'ínch'i.

wyá-yaxsha-t-pamá	wápaas	nch'ínch'i
go –pour.into-NZR-thing.for	wápaas	big(ones)

big baskets for emptying into.

Íkw'ak ikúsh áyatma pawí'aníxana míimi.

íkw'ak	íkush	áyat-ma	pa-wí-aní-xa-na	míimi
that	thus	woman-Pl	3Pl.S-DST-make-HAB-PST	long.ago

That's how women used to make them long ago.

APPENDIX E

TÁNAWIT ANAHUYMÍ 'THE BEAR'S CAVE'

This personal recollection is a *timnanáxt* (from *timna* 'heart'; *timnanáx-* 'tell a personal story or recollection) relating what *Tuxámshish*, Virginia Beavert, was told of her birth. It is the beginning episode of an hour-long recording in which she recounts her early childhood years. The recording was made in Toppenish on January 24, 2007.

tuxamshish.001
íkuuk iwá pinápłkw'i.

íkuuk	*i-wá*	*pinápłkw'i*
now	3Sg.S-be	Thursday

This is Thursday.

tuxamshish.002
iwá nápaam álxayx náxshpa anwíktpa

i-wa	*nápaam*	*álxayx*	*naxsh-pa*	*anwíkt-pa*
3Sg.S-COP	twice	moon	one-LOC	year-LOC

It's the second month of the year,

tuxamshish.003
ku níiptit ku píniipt łkw'i álxayxpa, íchi íkuuk,

ku	*níiptit*	*ku*	*píniipt*	*łkw'i*	*álxayx-pa*	*íchi*	*íkuuk*
and	twenty	and	four	day	moon-LOC	this	now

the twenty fourth day of the month, this day

tuxamshish.004
ínk nash waníksha Tuxámshish

ink=nash	waník-sha	Tuxámshish
1Sg.PN=1Sg	name-IMPV	Tuxamshish

My name is Tuxamshish,

tuxamshish.005
kush íchi sínwit wapáwxisha íchna hawláak

ku =nash	íchi	sínwi-t	wapáwxi-sha	íchna	hawláak
and=1Sg	this	speak-NZR	let.go-IMPV	this.LOC	spirit

    pasinwitpamápa
    pá-sínwi-t-pamá-pa
    INV-speak-NZR-thing.for-LOC

and I'm talking here on this microphone (letting go of my words on this unsubstantial thing for speaking),

tuxamshish.006
tun kuts'k timnanáxt ashmáal ttáwaxinxa íchna tiichámpa

tun	kuts'k	timnanáxt	a-sh-maal	ttáwax-inxa
what	small.piece	story	SUB=1SG-how.long	grow-HAB

    íchna tiichámpa

íchna	tiichám-pa
this.LOC	earth-LOC

a short story, the length of time I grew up on this earth.

tuxamshish.007
pa'ínxanash myánashnash txánana

pa-ín-xa=nash	myánash=nash	txána-na
3Pl.S-tell-HAB=1Sg	child=1Sg	become-PST

    íkwna wíyatpa nixyáawipa pít'xanukpa

íkwna	wíyat-pa	nixyáawi-pa	pít'xanuk-pa
that.LOC	far.away-LOC	Pendleton-LOC	high.elev.wood-LOC

They told me I was born over there, far away in the Pendleton Mountains,

tuxamshish.008
anakw'ɨnk pawaníkɨnxa "Blue Mountains"

ana-kw'ɨnk	*pa-waník-inxa*	*Blue Mountains*
SUB-that.aforementioned	3Pl.S-name-HAB	Blue Mountains

what they call the Blue Mountains.

tuxamshish.009
kwnak natútas iwínaxana, iwisalátixana

kwnak	*natútas*	*i-wína-xa-na*	*i-wisaláti-xa-na*
that.LOC	my.father	3Sg.S-go-HAB-PST	3Sg.S-hunt-HAB-PST

    anakú wɨtk iwachá anakúsh tilíwal kwnamánk

ana-ku	*wɨtk*	*i-wachá*	*anakúsh*	*tilíwal*	*kwnamánk*
SUB-and	half	3Sg.S-COP.PST	SUB-thus	blood	from.that

My father used to go there, he would hunt, since he was half blooded from there,

tuxamshish.010
ku kunkínk áwacha ts'wáaywit wisalílt ku np'íwit kwínik

ku	*kunkínk*	*á-wachá*	*ts'wáaywit*	*wisalíl-t*	*ku*	*np'íwi-t*	*kwínik*
and	that.INST	3O-COP.PST	rights	hunt-NZR	and	platform.fish-NZR	that.ABL

and it was from that he had rights to hunt and fish,

tuxamshish.011
anakw'ɨnk patwáp'skaniya

ana-kw'ɨnk	*pa-twáp'sk-ani-ya*
SUB-that.aforementioned	3Pl.S-draw.line-APPL-PST

    táakwɨn imanák míimi anakúsh tímani tiichám

táakwɨn	*imanák*	*míimi*	*ana-kúsh*	*tímani tiichám*
whatchamacallit	2Sg.PN.GEN	long.ago	SUB-thus	reservation

that aforementioned, they drew a line to make our reservations.

tuxamshish.012
ku wɨtk áwacha ts'wáaywit Yakimapa

ku	*wɨtk*	*á-wachá*	*ts'wáaywit*	*Yakama-pa*
and	half	3O-COP.PST	rights	Yakama-LOC

And he had half rights at Yakama

tuxamshish.013
ku wɨtk áwacha Umatillapa ts'wáaywit

ku	wɨtk	á-wachá	Umatilla-pa	ts'wáaywit
and	half	3O-COP.PST	Umatilla-LOC	rights

and half rights at Umatilla,

tuxamshish.014
tł'áax̱w túpan íkushpaynk íkw'ak

tł'aax̱w	túpan	íkush-paynk	íkw'ak
all	what.LOC	thus-LOC.EMPH	that

in everything like that.

tuxamshish.015
ku pawínana, inánana taakwɨn na'iłasaan ,

ku	pa-wína-na	i-nána-na	táakwɨn	na'iłas-nan
and	3Pl.S-go-PST	3Sg.S-take-PST	whatchamacallit	my.mother-OBJ

They went, he took my mother,

tuxamshish.016
ku mɨłkwak pawínana,wisalatiłáma

ku	mɨł-kwak	pa-wína-na	wisaláti-łá-ma
and	how.many-I.wonder	3Pl.S-go-PST	hunt-AGT.NZR-Pl

and I don't know how many hunters went.

tuxamshish.017
ku huuy yakút ishapáwuukshana na'iłasaan

ku	huuy =yakut	i-shapá-wúuksha-na	na'iłas-nan
and	in.vain=MOD	3Sg.S-CAUS-stay.home-PST	my.mother-OBJ

They said he tried but failed to get my mother to stay home,

tuxamshish.018
ku chawtya awkú i... iwuukshayát'ana ku

ku	chaw=tya	awkú	i-wúuksha-át'a-na	ku
and	NEG=MOD	then	3Sg.S-stay.home-DES-PST	and

she didn't want to stay home.

tuxamshish.019
awkú itwánana

awkú	i-twána-na
then	3Sg.S-follow-PST

So she went with him,

tuxamshish.020
ku iwachá nch'íki awkú myánashki

ku	i-wachá	nch'í-ki	awkú	myánash-ki
and	3Sg.S-COP.PST	big-INST	then	child-INST

and she was big with pregnancy.

tuxamshish.021
ku kwnak wítxuptin páwinpa

ku	kwnak	wítxupt-in	pá-winp-a
and	that.LOC	blizzard-3>3ERG	INV-take-PST

And there the bitter blizzard caught them.

tuxamshish.022
tł'aaxw pá'itł'yawyanya k'úsima

tł'aaxw	pá-ítł'yawi-ani-ya	k'úsi-ma
all	INV-kill-APPL-PST	horse-Pl

it killed all their horses.

tuxamshish.023
Ku chaw mishkin awkú pa'áta anakú palaláay puuy.

ku	chaw	mishkin	awkú	pa-át-a	ana-ku	palaláay	puuy
and	NEG	Q.INST	then	3Pl.S/A-go.out-PST	SUB-and	many	snow

So there was no way they could get out due to so much snow.

tuxamshish.024
ku pa'iyáxna tánawit anahúy-mí talx

ku	pa-iyáx-na	tánawit	anahúy-mí	talx
and	3Pl.S-find-PST	den	black.bear-GEN	empty

And they found an empty bear's cave

tuxamshish.025
ku kwnak awkú pawisháynaka

ku	kwnak	awkú	pa-wisháynak-a
and	that.LOC	then	3Pl.S-move.in-PST

and that's where they moved in.

tuxamshish.026
anakúsh pimanaknúwiya kwnak

anakúsh	pimá-naknúwi-ya	kwnak
like	RFL.Pl-keep.safe-PST	that.LOC

in that way they kept themselves safe there.

tuxamshish.027
awkú áwacha tkwátat anakúsh nikwít ku mił̵tun áx̱awapnaykshana

awkú	á-wachá	tkwátat	anakúsh	nikwít	ku	mił̵-tun
then	3O-COP.PST	food	SUB-thus	meat	and	how.many-what

aw	á-x̱áwapnayk-sha-na
now	3O-remain-IMPV-PST

They had food and meat and whatever was left over,

tuxamshish.028
ku pimanaknúwiya awkú kwnak asht.

ku	pimá-naknúwi-ya	awkú	kwnak	ash-t
and	RFL.Pl- keep.safe-PST	then	that.LOC	enter-NZR

and then they kept themselves safe inside.

tuxamshish.029
kush kwnak awkú aak ink tx̱ánana myánash

ku =nash	kwnak	aak	awkú	ink	tx̱ána-na	myánash
and=1Sg	that.LOC	EMPH	then	1Sg.PN	become-PST	child

asht	tánawitpa	anahuymípa
ash-t	tánawit-pa	anahúy-mí-pa
enter-NZR	den-LOC	black.bear-GEN-LOC

And that's where I was born, inside the bear's cave.

tuxamshish.030
kuxash awkú naxsh iwínsh iwínana wapíitatyaw

ku=xash	awkú	naxsh	iwínsh	i-wína-na	wapíita-t-yaw
and=MOD	then	one	man	3Sg.S-go-PST	help-NZR-DAT

Then one man must have gone for help.

tuxamshish.031
ku iwyá'iipa awkú a...agency-yaw Umatillapa

ku	i-wyá'iip-a		awkú	agency-yaw	Umatilla-pa
and	3Sg.S-emerge.from.brush-PST		then	agency-LOC	Umatilla-LOC

He came out of the mountain to the agency at Umatilla.

tuxamshish.032
awkú kwnak pat awkú áwinanuuna slíitki

awkú	kwnak	pat	awkú	á-wína-nuu-na	sliit-ki
then	that.LOC	3Pl>3	then	3O-go-APPL-PST	sled-INST

Then they went to (rescue) them with a sled

tuxamshish.033
ku pat ánatma awkú tł'áaxwmaman

ku	pat	á-nat-m-a	awkú	tł'aaxw-maman
and	3Pl>3	3O-remove-CSL-PST	then	all-OBJ.Pl

and they brought them all out.

tuxamshish.034
kush kwnak awkú iwawshúya

ku =nash	kwnak	awkú	i-wawshú-ya
and=1Sg	that.LOC	then	3Sg.S-examine-PST

tamanwitmí nurse-nɨm, náktkwaninłá "nurse"

tamánwi-t-mí	nurse-nɨm	náktkwaninłá "nurse"
create-NZR-GEN	nurse-2>1.ERG	take.care.of-AGT.NZR

and that's where the government nurse examined me. Nurse is *náktkwaninłá*.

tuxamshish.035
kuxash awkú kwnak ishapáwach'aka

ku=xa=nash		awkú	kwnak	i-shapá-wách'ak-a
and=MOD=1Sg		then	that.LOC	3Sg.S-CAUS-stick.to-PST

anakúsh kwnak táakwinpa...enrollmentpa			
anakúsh	*kwnak*	*táakwin-pa*	enrollment *-pa*
SUB-thus	that.LOC	whatchamacallit-LOC	enrollment-LOC

Then she must have enrolled me in that…what is it...enrollment.

tuxamshish.036
chaw pashúkwaashana íkush ikúya

chaw	pa-shúkwaa-sha-na	íkush	i-kú-ya
NEG	3Pl.S-know-IMPV-PST	thus	3Sg.S-do-PST

They did not know that she did that.

tuxamshish.037
Kush awkú panáktuxinma íchin

ku=nash	awkú	pa-nák-túx-inm-a	íchin
and=1Sg	then	3Pl.S-carry-return-CSL-PST	this.DAT

Then they brought me back here,

tuxamshish.038
kush kwnak awkú ínch'a anakúsh ttáwaxna

ku=nash	kwnak	awkú	ink-ch'a	anakúsh	ttáwax-na
and=1Sg	that.LOC	then	1Sg.PN.EMPH	SUB-thus	grow-PST

Síɬapa íchna	
Síɬa-pa	*íchna*
Zillah-LOC	this.LOC

and that's where I grew up, here at Zillah.

tuxamshish.039
wayk íchi wánaknik iwaníksha tawn "Zillah"

wáyk	íchi	wána-knik	i-waník-sha	tawn	Zillah
across	this	iver-ABL	3Sg.S-name-IMPV	town	Zillah

Across this river, the town is named Zillah.

tuxamshish.040
kwnak áwacha nisháyaas niimí nch'inch'imamí

kwnak	*á-wachá*	*nisháyaas*	*niimí*	*nch'ínch'ima-mí*
that.LOC	3O-COP.PST	home	1Pl.GEN.PN	elders-GEN

That's where our elders had their village.

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