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STUDIES IN NEZ PERCE GRAMMAR AND DISCOURSE

by

NOEL EMERSON RUDE

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

August 1985

APPROVED: ______________________
Dr. T. Givón

An Abstract of the Dissertation of

Noel Emerson Rude for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Linguistics to be taken August 1985
Title: STUDIES IN NEZ PERCE GRAMMAR AND DISCOURSE

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Dr. T. Givón

This dissertation has two purposes. First, it is intended as a reasonably thorough descriptive grammar, both for the theoretical linguist in search of reliable data, and for those involved in any future language renewal program among the Indian people. Secondly, it illustrates an empirical method of discourse analysis, studying the discourse distribution of grammatical constructions. The dissertation has two parts. Part One is a description of Nez Perce grammar and morphology. Every point is illustrated by examples which, as much as possible, are cited from texts. The analysis is traditional with a factual orientation. A chapter on the history of Nez Perce morphosyntax is also included. Part Two describes the various voice constructions (ergative, passive, and antipassive), promotion and shifting to direct object, genitive subjects, and flexible word orders. None of these grammatical processes are purely syntactically or semantically motivated. The use of these syntactic constructions is rather shown to be determined by discourse-pragmatic considerations. The methodology used here is the one developed by T. Givón. It involves precise text counts, in this case in Nez Perce narrative discourse. This methodology measures topic predictability (anaphoric) and topic importance (cataphoric). The results reveal strikingly different distributions of the text counts for the various syntactic constructions.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

I. INTRODUCTION.. 1

Genetic Relationsips with Other Languages.......... 4
Written Literature and Background Studies.......... 7
Sentence and Text Glosses........................... 10
The Sound System.................................... 13
Methodology... 22
Notes... 28

PART ONE. GRAMMAR

II. VERBS... 30

Person.. 30
Number.. 34
Reflexives.. 39
The Reciprocal...................................... 40
The Distributive.................................... 42
The Causative....................................... 43
The Desiderative.................................... 45
The Inflectional Suffix Complex..................... 47
Nominalization...................................... 63
Notes... 69

III. NOUNS AND INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS...................... 72

Noun Stem Types..................................... 72
Number.. 76
Case.. 82
Pronouns.. 122
Notes... 140

IV. HISTORY OF SOME NEZ PERCE VOICING AND CASE MORPHOLOGY 142

Noun Case Marking................................... 142
Verbal Prefixes..................................... 148
Serialization of Verbs.............................. 152
Notes... 154

PART TWO. DISCOURSE

V. BASIC VOICE MECHANISMS 157

- The Ergative Construction 157
- The Antipassive Construction 159
- The Passive Construction 162
- Discourse Function 164
- Notes 174

VI. NON-PATIENT DIRECT OBJECTS 175

- Promotion to Direct Object 176
- Direct Object Shifting 183
- Discourse Function 186
- Notes 194

VII. GENITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN DISCOURSE 196

- Syntactic Distribution of Genitive Constructions 197
- Promotion to Direct Object 199
- Coreferential Possession 204
- Promotion to Intransitive Subject 207
- Semantic Context for Genitive Promotion 210
- Discourse/Pragmatic Context for Genitive Promotion 213
- Notes 226

VIII. WORD ORDER 227

- Word Order 227
- Pronouns 230
- Results of Measurements 232
- Notes 241

APPENDIX

A. SAMPLE TEXTS 242

1. Heté'ew X̣eléleyn 'Important Business' 242
2. Quyéesquyes 'Bluejay' 243
3. Wéeyekin I 'Guardian Spirit I' 248
4. Wéeyekin II 'Guardian Spirit II' 252
5. 'Ikúuyn Titwáatit 'A True Story' 256

- Notes 274

B. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF OREGON PENUTIAN EXCLUSIVE OF SAHAPTIAN 276

BIBLIOGRAPHY 287

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

1. Oregon Languages Classified as Penutian................ 5
2. List of Abbreviations................................ 11
3. Nez Perce Consonants.................................. 14
4. Strong and Weak Vowels................................ 15
5. Proto-Sahaptian Vowels................................ 16
6. Verbal Person Markers................................. 33
7. Singular and Plural Inflections in the Progressive Aspect... 35
8. Reflexive Pronouns.................................... 40
9. The Inflectional Suffix Complex....................... 67
10. Numerals from One to Ten.............................. 81
11. NP Case Suffixes...................................... 83
12. The Personal Pronouns................................. 123
13. The Demonstratives.................................... 129
14. Bound and Free Forms of Some Kinship Terms............ 133
15. Pronominal Suffixes................................... 135
16. Sahaptian NP Case Cognates............................ 148
17. Sahaptian Transitive Verb Prefixes.................... 148
18. The Five Markers of Transitivity...................... 157
19. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Agent and Patient in the Basic Voice Constructions.......... 164
20. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Agent and Patient in the Basic Voice Constructions............. 165
21. Discourse Context for Nez Perce Voice Constructions..... 168

22. Statistical Characteristics of the Patient in the Three Voice Constructions 169

23. Verbal Suffixes that Encode the Semantic Role of Promoted Direct Objects.......................... 176

24. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Allative Goals and Associatives in Contrast with the Subject in Semantically Intransitive Clauses...... 188

25. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Allative Goals and Associatives in Contrast with the Subject in Semantically Intransitive Clauses...... 188

26. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Allative and Benefactive Goals in Contrast with the Patient in Bitransitive Clauses.................. 189

27. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Allative and Benefactive Goals in Contrast with the Patient in Bitransitive Clauses.................. 189

28. Person Prefixes for Intransitive Verbs.................. 207

29. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Genitives Promoted to Subject in Contrast with Their Head NPs..................................... 214

30. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Genitives Promoted to Subject in Contrast with Their Head NPs..................................... 214

31. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Genitives Not Promoted to Subject in Contrast with Their Head NPs..................................... 215

32. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Genitives Not Promoted to Subject in Contrast with Their Head NPs..................................... 215

33. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Genitives Promoted to Direct Object in Contrast with Their Head NPs................................ 222

34. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Genitives Promoted to Direct Object in Contrast with Their Head NPs................................ 222

35. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Antipassive Patients in Contrast with Modifying Genitive Nouns..................................... 223

36. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Antipassive Patients in Contrast with Modifying Genitive Nouns.. 223

37. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Verbal Agreement without an NP in Contrast with Preverbal and Postverbal NPs.......................... 233

38. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Verbal Agreement without an NP in Contrast with Preverbal and Postverbal NPs.......................... 234

39. Frequency of Occurrence of NP Construction Types and Possible Word Orders........................... 239

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	Graph of Average Referential Distance Measurements for Agent and Patient in the Basic Voice Constructions..	166
2.	Graph of Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Agent and Patient in the Basic Voice Constructions..	167
3.	Graph of Average Referential Distance Measurements for Allative Goals and Associatives in Contrast with the Subject in Semantically Intransitive Clauses......	190
4.	Graph of Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Allative Goals and Associatives in Contrast with the Subject in Semantically Intransitive Clauses......	191
5.	Graph of Average Referential Distance Measurements for Allative and Benefactive Goals in Contrast with the Patient in Bitransitive Clauses..................	192
6.	Graph of Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Allative and Benefactive Goals in Contrast with the Patient in Bitransitive Clauses.................	193
7.	Graph of Average Referential Distance Measurements for Unpromoted and Promoted Genitive Subjects Contrasted with their Head NPs........................	217
8.	Graph of Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Unpromoted and Promoted Genitive Subjects Contrasted with their Head NPs........................	218
9.	Graph of Average Referential Distance Measurements for Genitives Promoted to Direct Object and their Head NPs in Contrast with Genitive Nouns and their Antipassive Head NPs................................	224
10.	Graph of Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Genitives Promoted to Direct Object and their Head NPs in Contrast with Genitive Nouns and their Antipassive Head NPs (All Human Genitives with Non-Human Heads).................................	225
11.	Graph of Average Referential Distance Measurements for Verbal Agreement without an NP in Contrast with Preverbal and Postverbal NPs..................	237

12. Graph of Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Verbal Agreement without an NP in Contrast with Preverbal and Postverbal NPs.................... 238

13. Graph of Percentage of Occurrence of Frequent Word Orders Contrasted with Verbal Agreement only.......... 240

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is intended as a basic reference grammar of Nez Perce. But it is not meant to replace Aoki (1970d), which has proven to be a very reliable account of both the sound system and morphology of the language. I agree with Aoki's phonemic analysis, and have employed his orthography. Aoki (1970d) is still the only available source for Nez Perce derivational morphology. This dissertation describes instead the Nez Perce inflectional morphology, but in its syntactic context and with an attempt at dealing with the discourse/pragmatic functions involved.

Part One of this dissertation describes verb and noun inflections and basic sentence formation. Each point is illustrated by example sentences which are, for the most part, cited from the readily available Phinney (1934) and Aoki (1979). Every attempt is made to present this section in as traditional a manner as possible. As so many theories continue to fall by the wayside, the most useful reference grammars remain those that are morphologically based with copious examples cited from actual texts. Chapter IV concludes this first part of the dissertation with comments on certain historical aspects of the grammar.

Part Two describes various optionally available sentence constructions, and attempts to say something about their discourse function by utilizing a methodology developed by T. Givón (see Givón

[1983], and the discussion on methodology at the end of this chapter). Chapters V and VI deal with transitivity, which is defined in Nez Perce by the morphology of case marking and subject-verb agreement, the transitive clause being the most heavily coded morphologically. The transitive clause (called the ergative construction in this dissertation) is entirely dependent on the existence of the direct object. The Nez Perce direct object, however, is neither syntactically nor semantically determined; the patient of a semantically transitive event is not always a direct object, and any of several non-patient case roles can become direct object. The Nez Perce direct object is a kind of topicalization which serves the discourse/pragmatic function of calling attention to patients or other semantic roles whose referents are at least equal in importance to the agent. A similar function is served by the optional selection of genitives as subjects, a phenomenon described in Chapter VII. Chapter VIII, which deals with word order and the coding of arguments, reveals another discourse context, that of the recoverability of referents. The most easily recoverable referents are coded by verbal agreement alone, the least easily recoverable by nouns in preverbal position. Postverbal nouns mark a recoverability somewhere between these two extremes.

Nez Perce syntax thus argues, not for an autonomous, but for a functional description. Events with clear cut cause and effect may provide the semantic prototype underlying Nez Perce transitivity. But the semantic notion of effect or affectedness has been extended to one of cognitive salience. Transitivity in Nez Perce is not derivative of linear ordering, hierarchical structure, or logic. It is rather determined by the pragmatic importance of a patient, source, goal or associative participant. Agentivity is typically important. But transitivity is a coding device when some other participant intrudes on that importance.

Nez Perce marks cognitive salience by both word order position and morphology. First position for a noun calls attention to the identity of its referent, while transitive morphology calls attention to the importance of the direct object.

The texts used in this study are from three sources: those I have personally gathered, those in Phinney (1934), and those in Aoki (1979). My own texts were gathered on the Indian Reservation (Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla) near Pendleton, Oregon, in the Winter of 1983-84. This was under a grant from the National Science Foundation. Seven native speakers are represented: Mr. Alex Johnson, Mr. William Johnson, Mr. William Minthorn, Mrs. Susan Moore, Mr. Art Motanic, Mrs. Ada Patrick, and Mrs. Rosa Thompson. A sampling of these texts are included in the Appendix.

This introductory chapter takes a brief look at Nez Perce and its position among the Sahaptian languages. It also considers some of the written literature of Nez Perce and previous studies of language. There is a short section on the sound system, and also one on the methodology employed in the discourse studies of Part Two. A table of abbreviations is also included.

Genetic Relationships with Other Languages

Nez Perce and Sahaptin together comprise the Sahaptian language family. The Sahaptian languages in aboriginal times were spoken in the southern plateau region which occupies contiguous portions of the states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. The Nez Perce inhabited the western parts of this region. Although Nez Perce and Sahaptin are not mutually intelligible, they are obviously related. Lewis and Clark were the first to comment on the similarities between the two langages (see Lewis [1961], page 421). Powell (1891) named Chopunnish (Nez Perce) and six Sahaptin dialects as principal members of the "Shahaptian"[1] family. Jacobs (1931), Velten (1943), Swadesh (1956), Hymes (1957), and Aoki (1962) have made subsequent comments on this relationship. Velten (1934) noted possible Sahaptin cognates for certain Nez Perce verbal affixes, and Swadesh (1956) listed some provisional consonant correspondences. Aoki (1962) gives the basic correspondences and numerous examples.

Sapir (1929) classified Sahaptian together with Cayuse, Molala, and Klamath-Modoc as "Plateau Penutian," and this he in turn included in his Macro-Penutian Phylum. "Penutian", however, was first proposed by Dixon and Kroeber (1919) to include only the four California families: Maidu, Miwok-Costanoan, Wintun, and Yokuts. But Sapir (1929) broadened this into a Macro-Penutian Phylum, which included, besides these California languages, all the Oregon languages listed in Table 1, plus Tsimshian in British Columbia, and the Meso-American Huave and Mixe-Zoquean. Whorf (1935) grouped Uto-Aztecan in Macro-Penutian. McQuown (1955) added

Table 1. Oregon Languages Classified as Penutian

- Cayuse
- Molala
- Chinookan
  - Chinook Jargon
  - Lower Chinook
  - Upper Chinook (Cascades, Clackamas, Kathlamet, Multnomah, Wasco, Wishram)
- Coos
- Kalapuyan
  - Santiam
  - Tualatin or Tfalati
  - Yonkalla
- Klamath-Modoc
- Sahaptian
  - Nez Perce (Lower and Upper dialects)
  - Sahaptin
    - Northeast Sahaptin (Palouse, Wawyukma, Wanapam, Walla Walla)
    - Northwest Sahaptin (Yakima, Kittitas, Upper Cowlitz, Upper Nisqually, Klickitat)
    - Columbia River Sahaptin (Umatilla, Rock Creek, John Day, Celilo, Tenino, Tygh Valley)
- Takelma
- Yakonan
  - Alsea
  - Siuslaw

Mayan and Totonacan in Meso-America, and Newman (1964) Zuñi in New Mexico. Macro-Penutian even has been expanded to South America: Olson (1964), Stark (1968, 1970), Hamp (1971), and Campbell (1973) include Araucanian and Chipayan.[2]

Sapir (1929) divided the languages listed in Table 1 into Oregon

Penutian (Takelma, Coast Oregon Penutian [Coos, Yakonan], Kalapuya), Chinook, and Plateau Penutian (Sahaptian, Waiilatpuan [Molala, Cayuse], Lutuami [Klamath, Modoc]).

The most detailed study of the inter-relations among Sapir's Plateau Penutian is Rigsby (1965b). Aoki (1963b) provides a convincing list of cognate sets and proposes sound correspondences between Sahaptian and Klamath. The "Waiiletpuan" subgrouping which included Cayuse and Molala (Hale [1846]) is rejected in Rigsby (1965b, 1966). Shipley (1969) proposes a "Takelman" subgrouping to include Takelma and Kalapuyan.

The whole of the Penutian hypothesis, however, is extremely tentative. It is based mostly on typological considerations and on very small samplings of supposed cognates. There has been little follow up even in establishing the genetic relationship between Sapir's Plateau Penutian and the other supposed Penutian languages in Oregon and California.

Thus Table 1 is a listing of the languages of Oregon which have been proposed as belonging to Penutian. Outside of Sahaptian and Klamath-Modoc, perhaps the only surviving speakers of any of these languages are several living speakers of Upper Chinook. In the interest of the much work that yet remains to be done with already published texts and notes on these languages, a bibliography exclusive of Sahaptian is provided as Appendix B in this dissertation.

The Sahaptin dialects listed in Table 1 are according to Rigsby (1965b). They are all mutually intelligible. For comments on the two

Nez Perce dialects, see Aoki (1970). The Cayuse lost their language mostly during the last century and replaced it with Nez Perce. Theirs is the dialect of the texts of Appendix A of this dissertation. These texts were collected, as noted above, during the winter of 1983-84 on the Reservation of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla, located near Pendleton, Oregon. Of the several features of the two Nez Perce dialects listed in Aoki (1970d), pages 6-7, the dialect of the Cayuse is identical to the Upper dialect. Two features of the Lower (Lapway, Idaho) dialect worth noting are the generalized use of -*nim* to the exclusion of the allomorphs -*nm* and -*m* for the ergative/genitive NP case (a feature of the speech of Zelma Minthorn, my informant at the University of Oregon who was originally from Lapway, Idaho), and the generalized use of -*'eni* to the exclusion of the allomorph -*'ey* for the benefactive/genitive verbal suffix. Neither of these features are found in either Phinney (1934), Aoki (1979), or in the texts I gathered from the Cayuse speakers of Nez Perce. Although Phinney's texts were collected at Lapway, his mother and sole informant was evidently Cayuse, as evidenced by her name, *Weyíiletpuu*, which means 'Cayuse'. The major dialect distinction made by the Cayuse is their weakened pronunciation of the ejectives, and complete loss of most glottalized resonants. For purposes of standardization and morphological transparency, this loss of glottalization is not shown in this dissertation.

Written Literature and Background Studies

Together with the Cayuse, the Nez Perce were the dominant peoples of the southern plateau. They were the only Indians who had refined the art of horse breeding. The Nez Perce are famous for their Appaloosa breed of horses. Individuals of wealth owned large herds, sometimes numbering as many as fifteen hundred head (Haines [1955], page 22).

The first whitemen to make contact with the Nez Perce were Lewis and Clark. They stayed with the Nez Perce on their way to the Pacific in 1805 and again on the return trip home in 1806. Lewis and Clark left a strong impression on the Nez Perce. They appeared to the Nez Perce as an equally confident and dominant people. And they were in possession of a superior technology. This and other developments (Haines [1937, 1955]) led to a small party of Nez Perce joined by a couple Flatheads going to find Clark in Saint Louis in 1831. The remarkable nature of their mission and their purportedly asking for a teacher and "The Book of Heaven" contributed to the high publicity this event received. It was known as the "Macedonian Cry" (see Acts 16:9).

The first missionary to answer the call was one Jason Lee, who arrived among the Nez Perce in the wagon train of 1834. This man, however, was evidently taken aback by the dominant attitude of the Nez Perce. Anyway, he pushed on to the Willamette Valley to work among Indians who had asked for no missionary. The first missionaries to begin work among the Nez Perce and Cayuse arrived in 1835 and 1836. Marcus Whitman set up his mission near Fort Walla Walla and began working with the Cayuse, and Spaulding set up his mission near Fort Lapwai. Whitman and his party was subsequently massacred November 29, 1847. Spaulding, however, fared better among the Nez Perce. He and his wife learned the Nez Perce language and began translating certain hymns.

A printing press was brought in from Hawaii. Their first printing in the Nez Perce language was in 1839, and happens to be the very first printing in the Oregon Territory. The two small primers, Spaulding (1839a) and (1839b), represented the beginning of a literary tradition that also includes Ainslie (1876a), (1876b), (1876c), and (1876d), Ball (1909), Cataldo (1891), and (1914), Cornelison (ca. 1896), Lawyer (1955-1961), McBeth (ca. 1873-1893), Morvillo (1888), (1891a), (1891b), (1895), the non-dated Part 2 of Morvillo's dictionary, Smith (1840), and (1846), and Spaulding (1840a), (1840b), (1842), and (1845). This material includes grammatical descriptions, dictionaries, primers, hymnals, and translations of some New Testament books. Nez Perce hymnals are still to be found in churches on all the reservations. In so far as preserving the pronunciation of Nez Perce, the spelling system of this tradition is seriously defective. For example, no attempt was made to indicate stress or vowel length, *a* represented both [æ] and [a], *h* was ambiguously used for [h], [x̣], and [x], and no attempt was made to distinguish ejectives from plain stops or glottalized resonants from the non-glottalized variety. Usually the glottal stop was not indicated, although it was sometimes represented by *h*.

Another genre of written material are the numerous vocabularies and comments on the language recorded by travelers and workers among the Nez Perce, beginning with Lewis and Clark, but whose vocabulary materials were unfortunately lost before they could be copied or preserved. Numerous vocabularies are preserved in the form of unpublished Bureau of American Ethnology manuscripts, for which see Rigsby (1972), and the bibliography of this dissertation. Swadesh's

(1930c) *Cayuse Lexical File* is Nez Perce. Among the most remarkable pieces of American Indian literature is Phinney (1934), a book of myths in interlinear form also with free translation. Phinney was a student of Franz Boas who was also a native Nez Perce. Phinney's orthography is superior to the missionary system in that stress and glottalization are represented. He also makes use of *q*, *ł* (for the lateral fricative), *x*, and *x̣* It is still defective, however, in that vowel length and glottalized resonants are not distinguished. Haruo Aoki has produced both a grammar (1970d) and a book of texts (1979). Aoki's spelling makes all phonemic distinctions, and other than his showing vowel length by a raised dot where I use a double vowel, his is the same as the system employed in this dissertation. One feature of Nez Perce that has caught the attention of linguists is vowel harmony, e.g. Aoki (1966b, 1970d), Rigsby (1965a), Chomsky and Halle (1968), pp. 377-378, Jacobsen (1968), Kiparsky (1968), Rigsby and Silverstein (1969), Zwicky (1971), Kim (1978), and Hall and Hall (1980).

Sentence and Text Glosses

In addition to free translations, all example sentences in this dissertation have morpheme by morpheme glosses. In the morpheme by morpheme glosses grammatical morphemes are cited by upper case abbreviations. These abbreviations are all listed in Table 2. The sample texts in the Appendix are glossed with the same abbreviations.

Table 2. List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ALL	allative
ASP	aspect
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CIS	cislocative = 'hither'
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
DECL	declarative
DES	desiderative
DIR	directional
DIS	distributive
DO	direct object
DU	dual
ERG	ergative (the subject of a transitive verb)
EX	exclusive of hearer
GEN	genitive
1/2GEN	first or second person genitive subject
3GEN	their person genitive subject
H	hearer
HAB	habitual/frequentative
HABSGNOM	habitual singular nominative
HABPLNOM	habitual plural nominative
HORT	hortative
HUM	human numeral classifier
IMP	imperative
INC	inclusive of hearer
INDEF	indefinite particle
INSTR	instrumental
INTENS	intensifier
INV	inverse (implying a first or second person direct object)
IRR	irrealis
JRVOC	junior vocative
LOC	locative
N	nominalizer
NOM	nominative (including subjects of both intransitive and transitive verbs)
1/2NOM	first or second person nominative
3NOM	third person nominative
NONHUM	non-human numeral classifier
NP	noun phrase
O	object
OBV	obviative (implying a third person direct object)
P	promoted

Table 2. (Continued)

PART	participle
PERF	perfective
PHAB	perfect habitual
PL	plural
PLDO	plural direct object
PLNOM	plural nominative
1PL	first person plural independent pronoun
2/3PL	second or third person plural independent pronoun
1PLREFL	first person plural reflexive
2/3PLREFL	second or third person plural reflexive
PP	perfect (present relevance)
PRO	pronoun
PROG	progressive
PST	past
R	partial reduplication
RD	referential distance
RECIP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative particle
RESULT	resultative
RM	remote
S	subject, or speaker
SG	singular
SGDO	singular direct object
SGNOM	singular nominative
1SG	first person singular independent pronoun
2SG	second person singular independent pronoun
3SG	third person singular independent pronoun
1SGREFL	first person singular reflexive
2SGREFL	second person singular reflexive
3SGREFL	thire person singular reflexive
SRVOC	senior vocative
STAT	stative
TEMP	temporal
TP	topic persistence
TR	transitive (transitive person markers always imply a third person direct object)
1/2TR	first or second person transitive subject
3TR	third person transitive subject
TRANS	translocative = 'thither'
TRANSPP	translocative perfect
U	unpromoted
V	verb
VOC	vocative
Y/NQ	yes/no question particle

The Sound System

Since phonetics and phonology are not primary concerns of this dissertation, they are dealt with only briefly in this introductory chapter. A detailed phonology of Nez Perce has yet to be written. Aoki (1970) covers most of the generalizations which are presented in the sections below, and in Aoki (1971) there are some suggestions for the ordering of phonological rules. For the most part, however, inflectional morphology is quite transparent in Nez Perce. Most allomorphy is attributable to vowel harmony.

Consonants

The Nez Perce consonants are presented in Table 3. As can be seen, there are two series of stops: plain and ejective. There is no voice distinction. There are glottalized resonants (nasals, glides, the lateral *l'*), for the acoustic effects of which see Aoki (1970a). These, however, exist only at the phonetic level. They are analyzable as resonant plus glottal stop. The reader should beware that, following Aoki, *c* designates the sound [ts]. The Nez Perce *s* derives from both the Sahaptian **s* and **š*. In Idaho this is pronounced [s] but among the Cayuse the preferred pronunciation is [š]. Among the Cayuse there are strong feelings about the correctness of their pronunciation. Since in no dialect of Nez Perce is there a distinction between [s] and [š], there is no need make this distinction in the orthography. The *x* (pronounced almost [ç] in contrast to the uvular *x̣*) is not really a separate phoneme. It always results from the spirantization of *k*, and

Table 3. Nez Perce Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plain Stops	p	t	c	k	q	'
Ejectives	p'	t'	c'	k'	q'	
Fricatives		ł	s	x	x̣	h
Nasals	m	n				
Lateral		l				
Glides	w		y			

it never occurs word initially. There are five vowels in Nez Perce: [a], [æ], [i], [o], and [u]. Since in the orthography [æ] is most conveniently represented by *e*, one must be careful not to pronounce this vowel as [e].

Syllable Structure

As Hoard (1978) demonstrates, there is a need to specify the principles of syllabification, since these differ from language to language. This is especially true for phonological descriptions of Pacific Northwest Indian languages with their bewildering sequences of consonants. (Nez Perce does not have as complex a phonetic system as is typical of the Salish languages.) Nez Perce permits syllables of the form CV, CVC, and C. There are no syllable internal consonant clusters. Word initial syllables must have a vowel. Elsewhere any single consonant (except, of course, for the glides *w* and *y*) may itself pulse as a single syllable. For example, the word *tíms* 'chokecherry' is syllabified [tím.s]. The final *s* forms its own syllable in order to break up the consonant cluster *ms*. All syllables (and that, obviously, includes all words) begin with one and only one consonant. And, as already stated, the word initial syllable must have a vowel.

Vowels and Vowel Harmony

Nez Perce vowels come in two sets: a strong and a weak set, as shown in Table 3. With few exceptions, a given word may only have vowels from one of these sets. Whenever morphemes come together in a word, if in any one of them there is a vowel from the strong set, then all the weak vowels of the word are replaced by their strong equivalents, that is, *e* is replaced by *a* and *u* by *o*. The words in the following pair differ minimally in that they have the equivalent vowels from the weak and strong sets respectively.

1) péeyu 'hoof'

2) páayo 'strong'

Table 4. Strong and Weak Vowels

	Weak Set		Strong Set	
	Front	Back	Front	Back
High	i	u	i	o
Low	e			a

As Table 4 shows, the vowel *i* is found in both the strong and weak sets of Nez Perce vowels. When the only vowel in a morpheme is *i*, that *i* will either be of the weak set or of the strong set. If it is of the strong set then it will cause the vowels in any affixes to change to the their equivalents in the strong set. The verb *mic'íi* 'hear, listen', for example, happens to be such a morpheme. Note that in the following sequence of morphemes, all of which have vowels of the weak set (except for *mic'íi*), all vowels in the word are replaced by strong vowels.

3) /pée + mic'íi + yúukini +yu'/ —> páamc'iyookinyo' 'He heard him coming

The reconstructed Sahaptian vowel system adds one more vowel to the Nez Perce inventory, a schwa (commonly written *ɨ* in the orthographies of Pacific Northwest Indian languages), which has become *i* in Nez Perce. The schwa was originally a member of the strong set of vowels, and thus Nez Perce vowel harmony was originally simply a contrast of high and/or

Table 5. Proto-Sahaptian Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid		ɨ	o
		Strong Vowels	
Low	æ		a

front vowels with a backed and/or lowered variety.[3] Table 5 illustrates this earlier situation. The collapse of the schwa [ɨ] and the [i] in Nez Perce resulted in *i* being a member of both strong and weak sets of vowels. Morphemes with *i* from the strong set, however, are quite rare. For most morphemes with only the vowel *i*, the *i* is of the weak set (e.g. *'íim* 'you', *'íin* 'I', *'iníit* 'tepee, house', *'ipí* 'he, she, it', *hí* 'say, tell', *hím'* 'mouth', *hipí* 'eat', *kíi* 'this', *kímti* 'new', *likíp* 'touch', *mí's* 'not', *píips* 'bone', *píst* 'father', *qíiwn* 'old man', *sís* 'navel', *síis* 'soup, mush', *tín* 'jaw', *tít* 'tooth', *tiwíik* 'chase, follow', *wíi* 'weep', etc.). Perhaps this represents a leveling where most of the *i* vowels of schwa origin have been moved over to the weak set. It is also possible that many schwa vowels became *a* instead of *i*, as might be indicated by the word *mac'áyo* 'ear' whose initial *mac* is related to the initial element of the word *mic'íi* 'hear, listen'. A more thorough comparison with Sahaptin cognates (which mostly preserve schwa) should help settle the matter.

Stress

Nez Perce has demarkative stress; every word has one and only primary stress. Just as in English, there are three levels; primary, secondary, and unstressed. In neither Phinney's nor Aoki's orthography is there a secondary stress indicated, and neither do I show this stress in this dissertation. Nevertheless, there is a discernable secondary stress in both Sahaptian languages. There is regularly a secondary stress in the complete reduplication of morphemes of more than one syllable, e.g. *quyéesquyès* 'bluejay', *tìltitíltit* 'sumac'.

Which syllable to stress is not completely predictable on a phonological basis. There are, no doubt, competing principles involved. Some morphemes always have the same syllable stressed, while others stress different syllables in different environments (see the section on noun stem types in Chapter III). An interesting example is the contrast between the demonstratives *kin-* 'this' and *kon-* 'that'. While *kin-* retains its stress when suffixes are added, *kon-* prefers its stress in the final syllable. For example, the plural forms are *kínme* 'these' but *konmá* 'those'. The direct object forms of these plurals are *kínmene* and *konmaná*. This pattern seems also to apply to the personal pronouns. In the 1st person, as in the demonstrative *kin-* 'this', stress remains in the root morpheme. But in the 2nd and 3rd person pronouns stress is thrown to the right, just as in the demonstrative *kon-* 'that'. For example, *'ín* 'I' and *núun* 'we' have direct object forms *'íne* 'me' and *núune* 'us', while *'ím* 'you' and *'ipí* 'he/she/it' have direct object forms *'imené* 'you' and *'ipné* 'him/her/it'. The same pattern follows in the genitive case: *'ínim* 'mine', *'imím* 'yours', and *'ipním* 'his/hers/its'. When the locative -*pe* suffixed to these forms, the results are *'ínimpe* 'at mine', *'imimpé* 'at yours', and *'ipnimpé* 'at his/hers/its'.

Vowel Contraction

Long vowels usually shorten when stress is moved off of them. Compare the following.

4) The verb wées/wéek 'be'

a. hííwes 'he is' b. hiwéeke 'he was'

5) The noun wéeptes 'eagle'

a. wéeptes 'eagle' b. weptéesnim 'of the eagle'

Unstressed vowels can be long.

6) 'eehé 'yes'

7) x̣áx̣aac 'grizzly'

8) hímiin 'wolf'

Vowel Deletion

Inherently short vowels often delete when not in an initial syllable (and not word final) and not stressed.

9) a. 'eníye 'I shot you' b. pée'niye 'He shot him'

10) a. pi'ímne 'I grew' b. hip'ímne 'He grew'

11) a. tewlikítpe 'in a tree' b. tewlíikt 'tree'

Vowel Assimilation

When a morpheme boundary plus h or ' separates two vowels, the first vowel generally assimilates totally to the second.

12) /hi + 'áayat/ becomes ha'áyat 'women'

13) /hi + húux̣elece/ becomes huhúx̣elece 'it is rolling'

This process may be reflected in such stems as qáhas 'breast, milk, téhes 'ice', yéhet 'neck', póhol 'creek', tóhon 'leggings', púhus 'juniper', la'ám- 'fade, diminish', qa'án- 'respect', pi'ím-

'grow', ku'ús 'thus', sú'um 'animal's master', su'úp 'break loose', etc.

Spirantization of /k/ and /q/

The consonants k and q normally (at least in rapid speech) spirantize to x and x̣ when not followed by a vowel, e.g.

14) a. tin'kíce 'I am dying'

b. tin'úxne 'I died'

15) a. piláqa' 'maternal grandfather' (vocative)

b. na'pláx̣ 'my maternal grandfather'

Deletion of /h/

An h usually deletes when a following vowel has deleted. In such cases there is compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel.

16) a. hihíce	b) hiicíix
3NOM-say-ASP-SGNOM	3NOM-say-ASP-PLNOM
'He is saying'	'They are saying'

In each of the above (16 a and b) the prefix hi is present. The derivation of b is as follows.

17) Underlying Form: /hi + hi + c + iix/
Vowel Deletion: hi + h + c + iix
H Deletion: hi + + c + iix
Compensatory Lengthening: hii + + c + iix
Derived Form: hiicíix

The following is a similar example which also illustrates the ordering of the vowel assimilation rule.

18) Underlying Form: /hi + hani + ye/
Vowel Harmony: hi + hani + ya
Assimilation: ha + hani + ya
Vowel Deletion: ha + hni + ya
H Deletion: ha + ni + ya
Compensatory Lengthening: haa + ni + ya
Derived Form: háaniya

The Sequences /ewe/ and /awa/

The underlying sequence /ewe/ most often becomes [uu], and /awa/ usually becomes [oo]. In either of these, the vowel lengths of /e/ and /a/ are irrelevant. The following are examples.

19) /'*e* + *we* + 'inikí + s + e/ becomes '*uu*'nikíse 'His name is ...'

20) /p*ée* + *wee*p + ci'yaw + n + a/ becomes p*óo*pci'yawna 'He killed him'

This rule has some exceptions (see Aoki [1970c], page 43). Among these are the common *máwa* 'ever' and *t'áwa* 'whatchamacallit.' The allomorph *wéek* of the verb 'be, have' also resists this rule, e.g.

21) /hi + pe + wéek + e/ becomes *hipewéeke* 'they were'

Sound Symbolism

Nez Perce has consonant and vowel symbolism consisting of alternations *s* ~ *c*, *n* ~ *l*, *k* ~ *q*, and *e* ~ *a* which serve a diminutive function. These alternations are typically augmented by complete reduplication or the diminutive suffix -*qan/-qal*. This phenomenon is described with examples in Aoki (1970d), pages 43-44. In example 22 the word for 'horse' has *s*, *k'*, and *e*, while in 23 these sounds are replaced by their diminutive equivalents *c*, *q'*, and *a*.

22) sík'em/sik'éem- 'horse'[4]

23) ciq'áamqal 'dog'

Phinney (1934), page xi, cites *'ilíit* for the regular *'iníit* 'tepee, lodge, house'. This, he says, "does not mean a little house but one construed in a facetious sense, in relation to the person involved."

(For other examples where sound symbolism serves a pejorative function, see Aoki [1970d].) The *n* ~ *l* alternation is widespread and seemingly sporadic in Sahaptian, as 24 and 25 indicate with examples of some Nez Perce numerals.

24) a. *náaqc* 'one' b. 'oy*láaqc* 'six'

25) a. *lepít* 'two' b. 'uy*néept* 'seven'

In a footnote on page 144, Phinney (1934) says that the change of *n* to *l* also occurs in affected baby talk.

The special speech of animals is worth a brief comment here. Aoki (1979), pages 4-5, quotes Phinney on the phenomenon (see Phinney [1934], page ix). This is a widespread feature of Pacific Northwest languages, Sapir (1915) evidently being one of the first to comment on it. As an example, let us consider the speech of Skunk. Phinney (1934), in a footnote on pages 227-228, says that Skunk changes *x̣* to *x* and *k*, *s* to *c*, *a* to *e* etc. And, in another footnote on page 249, Phinney also notes the change of *o* to *u*. The stick game *lóox̣mit* is pronounced *lúuxmit* by Skunk.

Methodology

The method of discourse analysis employed in Part Two of this dissertation is that first put forth in T. Givón's (1980) *On Understanding Grammar*, and employed in analyses of several different languages in Givón (1983). In it measurements are taken for topic continuity and these are correlated with syntactic structure. The assumption, however, is not that it is necessarily the topic continuity that is being coded. Rather, it is assumed that both the topic continuity and the related structures may reflect deeper discourse functions such as referent recoverability and pragmatic importance. The point is that topic continuity is a measurable entity while discourse function is not.

As will become evident in Part Two of this dissertation, topic continuity is not an absolute value. The average measurement taken for a particular type of NP may be less or greater or, theoretically, the same as that taken for another NP type. Such scalar values are highly relevant when contemplating the discourse function of optional syntactic choices of more than two.

The comments on discourse/pragmatic function in this dissertation are based on average and not individual measurements. For the most part, these averages differ significantly for the construction types being compared. However, while we can extrapolate our theories from these results, we cannot always predict the occurrence of a particular construction on the basis of the topic continuity of its referent. This is, of course, because the deciding criterion is not topic continuity, as already noted above. And, in addition, we can assume that the larger the domain involved the more prone the language user is to fall short in not always choosing the proper coding devices. Syntagmatic errors on a purely sentence or clause level are less likely than when factors of text or paragraph are involved. We can assume that eloquent discourse (speeches, writing, conversation, etc.) is constructed in accord with the principles that govern the same. And, lastly, it should be recognized that any purely logical device can be violated for rhetorical purposes. As an example of this, see Aoki (1979), Text 10. Here an unfortunate poor boy touches the clothing of a rich girl of his fancy. She cuts a piece from her garment where he touched her and casts it away. This event is highly relevant to the story and the appropriate constructions (the ergative, promoted direct object, etc.) are employed to highlight this. But the two clauses that describe the boy's picking up this piece the girl cut from her garment and taking it with him are in the antipassive, a construction defined as coding a patient argument of very low topic continuity, one whose referent should not be of importance to the narrative. Yet this piece of cloth later proves to be of paramount importance. Later the boy becomes rich and the girl poor and the two marry, and at the end of the story the boy brings out that old piece of the girl's garment and shows it to her, and there the appropriate ergative constructions are used. A lesson is then drawn. While the earlier antipassive constructions would be unexpected on a purely logical basis, they momentarily drew the attention away from the importance of the piece of the girl's garment and led into the next scene where the boy's uncle came to live with him and educate him. It should be obvious that every last bit of text structure will never be predictable. As individuals we differ not only in our abilities and eloquence, we are also able to exploit language creatively in ways that have nothing to do with purely mechanical logic (see Givón [1982a]).

For Chapters V, VI, and VIII of this dissertation the first 50 pages of Phinney (1934) were analyzed. For Chapter VII about 100 pages from my own notebooks were used. All of the texts are narrative, and therefore no claim is made for any other type of discourse.

Though it is safe to hypothesize that the same coding devices are employed in all type of texts, demands for empirical evidence will necessitate further studies.

For this study only 3rd person arguments were counted. Quotes were skipped and not counted as gaps. However, 3rd person referents that occurred in these quotes were counted. Referents in non-finite verbal complements were counted, but not as if they represented separate clauses. Dependent clauses with finite verbs were counted as separate clauses.

Two measurements were taken for this present study: referential distance and persistence. These are briefly explained below.

Referential Distance

For each argument under consideration, the number of clauses is counted since the last recoverable mention of its referent. Then the figures are averaged for each type of substantive in each construction being considered. This measurement has to do with topic continuity to the left. It involves the gap between present mention and last mention of a referent. The number 20 has been arbitrarily selected as a handy cut-off point. First mention and any referential distance over 20 clauses is given the value of 20. In this measurement, the smaller the number the greater the topic continuity. This measurement has to do with the recoverability of a referent. For an illustration of this measurement, see under the next heading (Persistence).

Persistence

Here the number of clauses are counted that a referent continues to have recoverable mention. It is a measurement of topic continuity to the right. Unlike distance, a gap is not involved here. This measurement has to do with the persistence a referent has in discourse when introduced within a particular structure. In the results of this measurement, the larger the number the greater the topic continuity. This is a measurement of cataphoric continuity. Any structural contrast that measures high in topic persistence can be thought of as marking the importance of a referent in the narrative ahead.

The following example is taken from Haines (1955), page 318. In it the slashes, material in brackets, and underlining are all mine. This paragraph of English discourse is provided here to illustrate these two measurements of topic continuity. Thus, for example, if the NP under consideration is "Joseph", the subject of the transitive verb in the first clause, then we tabulate a persistence measurement of 4. This is because, beginning with the backgrounded second clause of the paragraph, 'Joseph' persists as a recoverable referent for four clauses. And then, beginning with "Howard stepped back," there is a gap of three clauses in which 'Joseph' has no mention. In the final clause of the paragraph 'Joseph' reappears as the referent of "The chief," a full noun subject in a passive construction. And thus "The chief" in the final clause of this paragraph has a referential distance measurement of 4, this because its last recoverable mention was four clauses back.

26) Haines (1955) 318
/"Two hours later, Joseph rode slowly up the hill, / [1] accompanied by five of his warriors on foot. / When he [2] reached the group of waiting officers, / he [3] dismounted / and, with an implusive gesture, [4] offered his rifle to Howard in token of surrender. // Howard stepped back / and indicated with his hand / that Miles should receive it. / The chief was then put under guard."

The last five clauses of this same paragraph from Haines (1955) are presented again in 27 in order to better illustrate the measurement of referential distance. Here the numbers run backward from "The chief" to the last previous mention of its referent. In the fourth clause back from "The chief" the NP "Joseph" occurs (both "The chief" and "Joseph" refer to the same individual). The referential distance measurement for the NP "The chief" is thus 4.

27) /"[Joseph 4] offered his rifle to Howard in token of surrender. //[3] Howard stepped back /[2] and indicated with his hand /[1] that Miles should receive it. / The chief was then put under guard."

Notes

[1] Rigsby (1965b) notes, via personal communication from Dale Kinkade, that the name "'Sahaptian' is an Anglicization of a Columbia Salish form [shápt$\textbf{ɨ}$nox^w], which properly designates only the Nez Perce." As Rigsby shows, the earlier writers generally applied the term only to the Nez Perce, while today Sahaptian has come to designate the family and Sahaptin the other member of the family. Choppunnish was also used by former writers, including Lewis and Clark, for the Nez Perce. Aoki (1970), pages 2-3, derives this term from the Nez Perce self designation *Cúup'nitpe'luu*. The name means either 'people who pierce with a pointed object' or the metaphorical extension 'people who come out of the woods in single file.' While the Indians today prefer the latter meaning, Aoki suggests the first as a possible basis for the French *nez percé* 'pierced nose'. The common self designation today is *Niimíipuu* for which, aside from the suffix -*puu* which means 'people', it is harder to find an etymology.

[2] For details and further bibliography see Thompson (1973), Voegelin and Voegelin (1977), and Silverstein (1979).

[3] Typologically, Nez Perce vowel harmony, as Hall and Hall (1980) have shown, is like that common in Africa involving tongue root position. While previous investigators have had trouble with traditional distinctive feature analyses of the two sets of vowels in Nez Perce, the opposition of normal tongue root position with either advanced or retracted tongue root position nicely captures the essence of the situation in Proto-Sahaptian, i.e.

Advanced Tongue Root		Retracted Tongue Root	
i	u	ɨ	o
æ		a	

[4] *Sík'em* no doubt originally meant 'dog', this meaning being transferred to its diminutive when it acquired the present meaning 'horse'.

PART ONE: GRAMMAR

CHAPTER II

VERBS

The Nez Perce verb is a morphological complex in which the grammatical features of person, number, direction, and tense/aspect/modality are separately indicated. There are also a large number of adverbial affixes[1] as well as a series of suffixes that function in the voice mechanisms which will be dealt with in Chapter V. The present chapter describes briefly person and number marking, reflexives, the reciprocal, the distributive, the causative, the desiderative, and very briefly the tense/aspect/modality system.

Person

The last prefix added to every finite verb (with the exception of reflexives and reciprocals) is always a person marker. There are four prefixes (including Ø-) which mark only person; they are neutral with respect to number. These obligatory prefixes function as pronouns or else express agreement with clausal subject and direct object NPs. The semantic contrast is between 1st and 2nd person on the one hand and 3rd person on the other in a participant versus non-participant deictic system. For the sake of simplicity, in clause or sentence glosses I will generally translate the participant deixis as 'I', 'me', 'we', and 'us' and ignore the also possible 'you', and 'you all', unless, of course, context or the source text dictate otherwise. Since Nez Perce has no grammatical gender, I will also usually translate 3rd person as 'he', 'him' instead of 'she', 'her', and 'it', again unless context or original text denote differently.

Intransitive Verbs

In an intransitive verb the absence of a person prefix (i.e. Ø-) indicates a 1st or 2nd person subject, and the prefix *hi-* indicates a 3rd person subject, as in the following examples. (The independent pronouns typically occur only for emphasis.)

1) 1st Person Subject of Intransitive Verb: Ø-
('íin) Ø-páayna
I 1/2NOM-arrived
'I arrived'

2) 2nd Person Subject of Intransitive Verb: Ø-
('íim) Ø-páayna
you 1/2NOM-arrived
'You arrived'

3) 3rd Person Subject of Intransitive Verb: *hi-*
('ipí) *hi*páayna
'He arrived'

Transitive Verbs

If the direct object of a non-reflexive transitive verb is 1st or 2nd person, the subject markers are identical to those of an intransitive verb, as can be seen in the following examples. The fact that Ø- and *hi-* mark the person of the subjects of intransitive verbs as well as the person of the agentive subjects of some transitive verbs is justification for their being called nominative (abbreviated NOM).

4) 1st Person Subject and 2nd Person Direct Object: Ø-
('íin) Ø-'ewíye
I 1/2NOM-shot
'I shot you'

5) 2nd Person Subject and 1st Person Direct Object: Ø-
('íim) Ø-'ewíye
you 1/2NOM-shot
'You shot me'

6) 3rd Person Subject and 1st Person Direct Object: hi-
('íine) hi'wíye
me 3NOM-shot
'He shot me'

7) 3rd Person Subject and 2st Person Direct Object: hi-
('íime) hi'wíye
you 3NOM-shot
'He shot you'

As can be seen in the following three examples, different markers encode the person of the subject when the direct object of a transitive verb is 3rd person.[2] These prefixes will be designated as transitive (abbreviated TR).

8) 1st Person Subject and 3rd Person Direct Object: 'e-/'ew-
('íin) 'ew'wíye
I 1/2TR-shot
'I shot him'

9) 2nd Person Subject and 3rd Person Direct Object: 'e-/'ew-
('íim) 'ew'wíye
you 1/2TR-shot
'You shot him'

10) 3rd Person Subject and 3rd Person Direct Object: pée-
('ipné) pée'wiye
him/her/it 3TR-shot
'He shot him'

The 1st/2nd person transitive prefix has two allomorphs: 'ew- before ' and h, 'e- everywhere else. The following examples illustrate. (Again, note that the participant deixis is translated as 1st person except where context dictates otherwise.)

11) koná 'ew'níike
there 1/2TR-put
'I put him there'

12) 'ecúukwece
1/2TR-know
'I know him'

The prefix 'ew- as a variant of the 1st/2nd person transitive subject marker occurs before h only when the following vowel is stressed. In such cases the h is lost, as in 13a below. Otherwise, when the vowel following the h is stressed the h remains, as in 13b.

13) 'ew- before hí 'say, tell'

a. 'ewíne
1/2TR-tell-ASP
'I told him'

b. hihíne ('íine)
3NOM-tell-ASP me
'He told me'

When the vowel following the h is not stressed, 'e- (instead of 'ew-) occurs, and the h is usually elided, as in 14 below.

14) 'e- before hekí 'see'
'eekíne
1/2TR-see-ASP
'I see him'

The only morphologically distinct transitive verb forms are those with 3rd person direct objects. We can therefore consider that a

Table 6. Verbal Person Markers

	Intransitive or Transitive with 1st/2nd Person Direct Object	Transitive with 3rd Person Direct Object
1st/2nd Person Subject	0-	'e-/'ew-
3rd Person Subject	hi-	pée-

semantically transitive verb is detransitivized morphologically by a 1st or 2nd person direct object. It will be helpful to consider 'e-/'ew- and pée- as transitivity markers, for reasons for which succeeding chapters will provide further clarification.

Number

There are two grammatical numbers in Nez Perce: singular and plural. While it is usually only human nouns that are marked plural (see Chapter III) non-human arguments also typically show plural agreement in the verb. In Nez Perce special verbal affixes encode number for both subject and direct object. These will be described in the following three subsections.

Subject-Verb Agreement via the Suffixes -ee and -ii

The final suffix of the Nez Perce verb is a complex that encodes the various features of tense/aspect/modality. A full paradigm of these suffixes (Table 9) plus comment will be found in a later section of this chapter. At this point, however, it must be noted that in the progressive and habitual aspects and in the imperative there are contrastive forms for marking singular and plural subjects. Table 7 is provided here to illustrate this singular versus plural contrast for the progressive aspect. Suffixed to -s/-c (which marks the progressive aspect) is either -ee (SG) or -ii (PL). The next (and optional) portion of the suffix complex is a directional (cislocative = 'hither' and translocative = 'thither'), and the final portion marks tense.

Table 7. Singular and Plural Inflections in the Progressive Aspect

	Singular	Plural
Present	-ce/-ce	-siix/-ciix
Cislocative	-seem/-ceem	-siinm/-ciinm
Translocative	-seenki/-ceenki	-siinki/-ciinki
Past	-saaqa/-caaqa	-siiqa/-ciiqa
Cislocative	-saamqa/-caamqa	-siinmqa/-ciinmqa
Translocative	-saanqaqa/-caanqaqa	-siinqiqa/-ciinqiqa
Remote	-seene/-ceene	-siine/-ciine
Cislocative	-seeme/-ceeme	-siinme/-ciinme

The markers -ee and -ii indicate only number. As the following examples with intransitive verbs show, person is not involved.

15) Singular Subject of Intransitive Verb: -ee
a. Ø-kuséem
1/2NOM-go-ASP-SGNOM-DIR
'I am coming'
b. hikuséem
3NOM-go-ASP-SGNOM-DIR
'He is coming'

16) Plural Subject of Intransitive Verb: -ii
a. Ø-kusíinm
1/2NOM-go-ASP-PLNOM-DIR
'We are coming'
b. hikusíinm
3NOM-go-ASP-PLNOM-DIR
'They are coming'

The same number markers are suffixed to transitive verbs. There they agree with the agentive subject, and thus number agreement in the aspectual suffix complex is with a nominative subject. The following examples illustrate this for 1st/2nd person subjects, but it also works the same with 3rd person subjects. (In the present progressive the word final singular and plural forms of these suffixes are -e and -ix.)

17) Singular Subject of Transitive Verb: -ee
a. 'ecúukwece
1/2TR-know-ASP-SGNOM
'I know him'
b. Ø-cúukwece
1/2NOM-know-ASP-SGNOM
'I know you'

18) Plural Subject of Transitive Verb: -i̲i̲
a. 'ecúukweci̲x
1/2TR-know-ASP-PLNOM-
'We know him'

b. Ø-cúukweci̲x
1/2NOM-know-ASP-PLNOM-
'We know you [SG]'

As shown in Table 7, singular and plural forms do exist for the remote progressive. Two sentences from Phinney (1934) are given below as examples of this contrast. Both sentences are initial in mythological texts, which are typically introduced in that aspect.

19) Singular Remote Progressive
Phinney (1934) 62:1
hitoláyca̲na 'iceyéeye
3NOM-go upstream-PROG-SGNOM-RM coyote
'Coyote was going upstream'

20) Plural Remote Progressive
Phinney (1934) 113:1
hitéew'yeci̲ne 'ilx̣níiwe titóoqan
3NOM-live-PROG-PLNOM-RM many people
'Many people were living'

While singular and plural forms do exist for the remote aspect, it should be noted that quite often, at least after the initial clause in a text, the plural form is not used. Two examples from Phinney (1934) are cited below. In both cases the subject NP is clearly plural but the verb is singular. (For the plural forms of the NPs see Chapter III.)

21) Phinney (1934) 147:17
titm'áayim péexce̲ne
girls-ERG 3TR-see-PROG-SGNOM-RM
'The girls saw him'

22) Phinney (1934) 241:13-14
... yox̣mené ke páap'ala'ysa̲na
those-DO who 3TR-find his repulsive-PROG-SGNOM-RM
'... those who found his [skunk's musk] repulsive'

Plural Subject-Verb Agreement via the Prefix *pe-*[3]

A perusal of Table 9 (pages 67-68 at the end of this chapter) reveals that there is no singular/plural contrast for subject agreement via -*ee* and -*ii* within several of the aspectual suffix complexes. This is the case, for example, with the perfective and the irrealis. In these aspects/moods a plural subject expresses agreement in the verb via the prefix *pe*-, which is positioned immediately after the person markers. The absence of *pe*- indicates a singular subject. Also, just as with the -*ee* versus -*ii* contrast in the tense/aspect/modality suffix, *pe*- is also neutral to person, as can be seen in the following examples, all of which are in the perfective aspect.

23) Singular: Ø-
a. Ø-Ø-kúu*ye*
1/2NOM-SGNOM-go-ASP
'I went'

b. hi-Ø-kúu*ye*
3NOM-SGNOM-go-ASP
'He went'

24) Plural: *pe*-
a. Ø-*pe*kúu*ye*
1/2NOM-PLNOM-go-ASP
'We went'

b. hi*pe*kúu*ye*
3NOM-PLNOM-go-ASP
'They went'

Just as with -*ii*, the prefix *pe*- marks a plural *nominative* subject. It not only agrees with the subjects of intransitive verbs (as in 23 and 24 above), it also agrees with the agentive subjects of transitive verbs (as in 25 and 26 below).

25) Singular: Ø-
a. 'ew-Ø-'wíi*ye*
1/2TR-SGNOM-shoot-ASP
'I shot him'

b. pée-Ø-'wi*ye*
3TR-SGNOM-shoot-ASP
'He shot him'

26) Plural: *pe*-
a. 'e*pe*'wíi*ye*
1/2TR-PLNOM-shoot-ASP
'We shot him'

b. pée*pe*'wi*ye*
3TR-PLNOM-shoot-ASP
'They shot him'

The prefix *pe-* marks plural subjects wherever a singular-plural contrast is not available in the inflectional suffix complex (for which see the section beginning on page 47). The following two sentences are provided to illustrate plural subject agreement in verbs of the irrealis mode, which, like the perfective, has no plural forms.

27) háham hipekiyú'
men 3NOM-PLNOM-go-ASP
'The men will go'

28) núun 'epe'wíiyu'
we 1/2TR-PLNOM-shoot-ASP
'We will shoot him'

Plural Object-Verb Agreement via the Prefix *nées-*

A plural direct object is regularly indicated by the prefix *nées-*. This plural marker is also neutral to person. In example 29 below *nées-* pluralizes a 1st or 2nd person direct object, while in 30 the same prefix pluralizes a 3rd person direct object.

29) Ø-néeshexne
1/2NOM-PLDO-see-ASP
'I saw you all'

30) 'enéeshexne
1/2TR-PLDO-see-ASP
'I saw them'

The absence of *nées-* indicates a singular direct object.

31) Ø-Ø-hekíne
1/2NOM-SGDO-see-ASP
'I see you'

32) 'e-Ø-ekíne
1/2TR-SGDO-see-ASP
'I see him'

The plural prefix *nées-* is not compatible with the 3rd person transitive prefix: *pée-* and *nées-* never co-occur. Instead *hi* + *nées-* occurs, even when the direct object is 3rd person. Thus the ambiguity of example 33 below.

33) hinéeshexne
3NOM-PLDO-see-ASP
'He saw us' or 'He saw them'

Thus, all in all the four person prefixes 0-, *'e-*, *hi-*, and *pée-*, and the two number prefixes *pe-* and *nées-* enter into fourteen possible combinations. In order of occurrence the person prefixes are first, then comes the plural nominative prefix *pe-*, and last the direct object prefix *nées-*. This order is illustrated in the following example.

34) 'epenéeshexne
1/2TR-PLNOM-PLDO-see-ASP
'We saw them'

It must be remembered that the fourteen possible combinations of these prefixes are reduced to seven for those verbal aspects that dissallow pe- and mark singular and plural nominative in the final suffix. The following example is the equivalent of 34 above but in the present progressive aspect instead of the perfective.

35) 'enéeshexcix
1/2TR-PLDO-see-ASP-PLNOM
'We see them'

Reflexives

The reflexive in Nez Perce is indicated by the set of prefixes given in Table 8. These appear, for the most part, to derive from independent objective pronouns (for which see Table 11 in Chapter III).

Table 8. Reflexive Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	'inée- myself	nemée- ourselves
2nd Person	'imée- thyself	'imemée- {yourselves themselves
3rd Person	'ipnée- himself	

As Table 8 shows, and unlike non-reflexives, the reflexive prefix encodes both person and number. Note, however, that the 2nd and 3rd person plural reflexive are identical. In the first of the following examples, the verb stem hí 'say, tell' completely dissappears. In the second example (number 37) the verb stem hipí 'eat' is reduced to p.

36) Phinney (1934) 63:3-4
"'éet cicqí'c!" 'ipnéene 'iceyéeye
very wonderful 3SGREFL-say-ASP coyote
'"How wonderful!" Coyote said to himself'

37) Aoki (1979) 5:2
'éete 'ipnéepe
surely 3SGREFL-eat-ASP
'Surely he ate himself'

38) Phinney (1934) 25:4
mét'u wéet'u' 'itúu kinayník'ayn 'imée'nis
but no thing for this very place 2SGREFL-give-ASP
'But you haven't given yourself anything for this place right here'

The Reciprocal

The reciprocal notion of 'each other' is encoded by the single prefix píi-. As with the Nez Perce number agreement discussed above, píi- also is indifferent to person, as can be seen in the following examples taken from Phinney (1934).

39) 1st/2nd Person Reciprocal: píi-
Phinney (1934) 20:4-5
kíye píitemeyleksix
we RECIP-inhale-ASP-PLNOM
'We are inhaling each other'

40) 3rd Person Reciprocal: píi-
Phinney (1934) 126:2
píituuqelene wúulewtelikin kaa wiyíwtelikin
RECIP-fight-ASP four-footed creature and flying creature
'The four-footed creatures and the flying creatures fought each other'

As can be seen in example 39 above, not only is the verb marked reciprocal, it also is marked for plural subject with the plural present progressive -six. This only happens in those tenses/aspects/modalities where plural marking is possible. The plural subject prefix pe- never co-occurs with the reciprocal. This can be seen in example 40 above, which is in the perfective aspect, and whose suffix -ne makes no number distinctions. There, in example 40, neither is there plural marking with pe-. Further, plural subject marking for reciprocals only occurs when the subject is human. The following examples are given in Aoki (1970d), page 90.

41) Non-Human Subject of Reciprocal: Singular Verbal Agreement
píiwewkunise
RECIP-meet-ASP-SGNOM
'They meet' (of rivers, mountains)

42) Human Subject of Reciprocal: Plural Verbal Agreement
píiwewkunisix
RECIP-meet-ASP-PLNOM
'They meet' (of people)

When there is a 1st person object, the reciprocal often functions to take some of the abruptness out of the imperative . Here, although plural forms of the imperative are available, they are not used. The following two examples employ the singular cislocative imperative -im/-

nim rather than the plural cislocative imperative -imtx/-nimtx.

43) 'ipéex̣ píi'nim
bread RECIP-give-CIS-IMP-SG
'Pass me the bread'

44) Aoki (1979) 5:47
pitamtáaynim
RECIP-tell news-CIS-IMP-SG
'Tell me the news'

The reciprocal is by no means obligatory with the imperative. Even at the table one often hears the following as opposed to the more polite equivalent in 43 above.

45) 'ipéex̣ Ø-'iniim
bread 1/2NOM-give-CIS-IMP-SG
'Give me the bread'

The Distributive

The verbal prefix wíi- conveys the meaning 'each', 'every', 'separately', 'severally'. This morpheme is prefixed ahead of all the morphemes discussed so far in this chapter. The verb is typically marked plural, whether via suffixed -ii as in example 46 below or via prefixed pe- as in example 47.

46) Aoki (1979) 17:15
koná kíi hiwíitew'yecine titóoqan
there this 3NOM-DIS-live-ASP-PLNOM- people
'There each of the Indians were living'

47) Phinney (1934) 21:9
'éete hipe-wíitin'xne 'ilx̣níiwe titóoqan
surely 3NOM-PLNOM-DIS-die-ASP many people
'Surely many people each died'

The Nez Perce distributive operates on an absolutive basis; that is, the arguments it modifies are either subjects of intransitive verbs (as in 46 and 47 above) or direct objects of transitive verbs (as in 48 below).[4]

48) Aoki (1970) page 92
'enées-wiwe'niks
1/2TR-PLDO-DIS-name-ASP
'I have just named *each* of them' (Aoki: "one by one")

As can be seen in the above example, the plurality of the distributive direct object of the transitive verb is marked by the plural direct object prefix *nées-*. Often, however, the plurality of the direct object of a distributive verb is not marked, as in the following.

49) Aoki (1979) 17:20
'ewíicukwece
1/2TR-DIS-know-ASP-SGNOM
'I know *each* of them'

The Causative

In Nez Perce, the causative is derived by the verbal prefix *sepée-*. The subject of the lower predicate becomes the direct object of a causative verb, and the subject of the higher predicate, the *causer*, is the subject of a causative verb. In the following example, the 3rd person prefix *hi-* is used because the one 'coming' is a 1st person direct object.

50) Phinney (1934) 82:4-5
ká'la hisepéekume
just 3NOM-CAUS-go-CIS-ASP
'He has just made me come'

Sentence 50 is an example of a causative construction derived from an intransitive verb. When a causative construction is derived from a transitive verb, the agent of that transitive verb becomes the direct object in the causative construction. This can be seen in the following example where the plural subject of *hipí* (here reduced to *p*) 'eat' is marked by the plural direct object nées-.

51) Phinney (1934) 129:15
'íim 'anáas-sapaapsaqa
you 1/2TR-PLDO-CAUS-eat-ASP
'You were causing them to eat'

Most commonly in the world's languages (e.g., see Comrie [1976a]), the subject of the lower predicate in a causative construction appears as an indirect object. Nez Perce, however, has no indirect object, and thus its direct object serves this function. (The prominence of the direct object and the lack of an indirect object is an important feature of Nez Perce syntax. Cf. note no. 7 at the end of Chapter III.) In the Nez Perce causative construction, the patient of the lower predicate no longer bears any of the characteristics of the direct object. In the following example, the syntactic direct object coded by the person prefix 'a- and the distributive wíi- is 'each of the men'. In this sentence the patient of the lower predicate is the unmarked noun 'iléepqet, while its agent is the noun hahámna which is case marked as a direct object (see Chapter III.)

52) Phinney (1934) 150:13
kaa 'iléepqet 'ée 'awíisapaanyo' hahámna
and moccasin you 1/2TR-DIS-CAUS-make-ASP men-DO
'And you will cause each of the men to make moccasins'

Aoki (1970d), pages 92-93, lists sepée- as marking a "singular and collective causative", and séep- as marking a "distributive causative". In none of the examples cited by Aoki does the séep- co-occur with the plural direct object prefix nées-. It does, however, occur at least optionally in texts, as the following example from Phinney illustrates.

53) Phinney (1934) 129:12
konkí hináassapckawcam
with that 3NOM-PLDO-CAUS-be afraid-ASP
'With that he is causing each to be afraid'

The Desiderative

In Nez Perce the concept of 'want' is expressed by the transitive verb *wéwluq*. Its direct object may either be an NP argument as in example 54 below, or it may be a whole clause as in 55.[5]

54) 'ewéwluqse kaapóona
1/2TR-want-ASP coat
'I want the coat'

55) 'ewéwluqse hitoláyno'
1/2TR-want-ASP 3NOM-go upstream-ASP
'I want him to go upstream'

If, however, the subjects of both clauses are coreferential, the Nez Perce *desiderative* is regularly employed. The desiderative is a complex suffix whose first element is the nominalizer *-t/-n*. Next comes the suffixed element *-'ipéec*[6], and then the verbalizing element *-wi* is suffixed before the final inflectional suffix complex. The following examples illustrate the Nez Perce desiderative. The lack of transitive subject-verb agreement and plural direct object agreement in example 57 will be explained in the section on the antipassive in Chapter V.

56) Phinney (1934) 73:16
'enéesexn'ipéecwiyu'
1/2TR-PLDO-see-NOUN-DES-ASP
'I will want to see them'

57) Aoki (1979) 20:10
'íin Ø-'ipee'wit'ipéecwise 'íinim mamáy'ac
I 1/2NOM-look for-NOUN-DES-ASP my children
'I want to look for my children'

The desiderative may be avoided by using the verb *wéwluq* 'want' and complementizing the verb in the subordinate clause (as in English). The following is an example. Such constructions are quite rare, however.

58) Phinney (1934) 118:1-2
mét'u ká'la x̣áx̣aasna péewewluqsix hipé's
but just grizzly-DO 3TR-want-ASP eat-COMP
'But they just want to eat a grizzly'

There is another desiderative, -'ax̣, which seems only to be suffixed to the personal pronouns, as illustrated in the following examples (compare 59 with 56 above). With this construction the verb is always in the perfect aspect (described later in this chapter).

59) Phinney (1934) 74:5-6
'íin'ax̣ q'o' 'enéesekin
I-DES really 1/2TR-PLDO-see-PP
'I really want to see them'

60) Phinney (1934) 289:9-11
nóon'ax̣ 'insíikstiwaayiin pamác'is páax̣at táak'aw,
we-DES my-friend-ASSOC 1/2NOM-PLNOM-hear-PP five bundles

"łiłú'k', łiłú'k', łiłú'k', łiłú'k', łiłú'k'"
'My friend and I want to hear five bundles, "(sound made by falling bundles when they strike the ground)"

This desiderative is not limited to constructions where the subject of the verb is coreferential with the personal pronoun to which -'ax̣ is suffixed, as the following example shows.

61) Phinney (1934) 298:17-199:1
'íin'ax̣ hiwtínis
I-DES 3NOM-share-PP
'I want him to share with me'

The desiderative suffix -'ax̣ appears to be related to the suffix -'eq in the verb wiyúuy'eq 'want to depart' in the following example. The desiderative suffix -'ax̣ also seems to be related to the conditional suffix -ax̣ (-'áax̣ when stressed) which is illustrated in the second clause of the example below. The conditional will be described later this chapter.

62) Aoki (1979) 3:20
'íink'e wiyúuy'eqse 'ée tiwíixnax̣
I-also 1/2NOM-depart-DES-ASP you 1/2NOM-follow-COND
'I also want to depart, I can follow you'

The Inflectional Suffix Complex

The clusters of morphemes which Aoki (1970d), page 118, calls the "Inflectional Suffix Complex" are subdivided into Stem Type, Number, Directionals, Tense, Aspect, and Mood/Modality. They are presented in paradigmatic form in Table 9 (pages 67-68). Most suffixes are there listed with one vowel that is long. This vowel, however, only remains long when under stress. The following is a brief description of the morphemes and functions of these verb final suffixes.

Stem Type

The Nez Perce verb comes in two phonologically, syntactically, and semantically unpredictable stem types which Aoki (1970d) calls s-stems and c-stems. The stem type determines which of the two sets of suffixes listed in Table 9 that a given verb will take. S-stem verbs suffix -s in all progressive aspects and in the non-directional present perfect, and -t in nominalizations. Vowel final (other than i) s-stems suffix -y before any other suffixes beginning with a vowel (or before -Ø suffixes). Suffixes beginning with i, however, delete the i after vowel final s-stems. C-stems suffix -c in all progressive aspects, and -n before all vowel initial suffixes (or -Ø suffixes), and in suffixes involving nominalizations. The reader is advised to refer to Table 9 (at the end of this chapter) for examples of these generalizations.

Number

Subject-verb agreement for number has already been discussed earlier in this chapter. Here we need only note that suffixal forms for singular and plural nominative occur only in the progressive aspect (including the conditional progressive), the habitual aspect, and in the imperative. In the progressive, the singular number marker is -*ee* (-*een* before the translocative -*ki(k)*, the remote suffix -*e*, and the conditional -*'aax̣*), and the plural number marker is -*ii* (-*iix* when word final and -*iin* before the directionals, the remote suffix -*e*, and the conditional suffix -*'aax̣*). In the habitual, the singular number marker is -Ø, the plural number marker is -*e'niix* (-*e'nii* before the past suffix -*qa*). In the imperative the contrast is between -Ø (SG) and -*(i)tx* (PL).

Directionals

The Nez Perce verb optionally inflects for the cislocative 'hither' and the translocative 'thither'. The translocative occurs only in the progressive and in the perfect. The habitual inflects for the cislocative only in the singular present and singular remote; the conditional only in the past. The cislocative is also available in the irrealis mode and in the imperative.

The Cislocative

The allomorphs of the cislocative are as follows: -*im* after a consonant, -*m* after a vowel. The form -*kum* is suffixed to the irrealis, perhaps an indication that the older form of the irrealis was -*u'ku* rather than merely -*u'*. The Nez Perce word for 'come' is derived from *kúu* 'go' via the cislocative, e.g.

64) Phinney (1934) 81:9
hikúuye
3NOM-go-PERF
'He went'

65) Phinney (1934) 77:7
hikúu*m*e
3NOM-go-CIS-PERF
'He came'

With a verb like *niwíhna* 'leave' the cislocative refers to the *source* of the motion rather than the *goal*.

66) Aoki (1979) 10:12
Ø-niwíhna*m*-Ø
1/2NOM-leave-CIS-IMP
'Leave!'

Often the existence of a 1st person direct object is reinforced by the cislocative. For example, consider the following.

66) Phinney (1934) 81:15
qécem   wéet'u' Ø-cikáawci*nm*
even-you not   1/2NOM-fear-ASP-PLNOM-CIS
'You don't even fear *me*!'

Aoki (1970d), page 111, notes that when the subject is 1st person the cislocative will indicate action toward a 2nd person direct object. Aoki cites no example, however.

Lastly, it must be noted that the cislocative very often occurs where it would seem to make no sense whatever as 'hither'. The following are examples. Sentence 69 happens to be an example of the antipassive (for which see Chapter V), where the intransitive person prefix hi- does not indicate a lst/2nd person direct object.

67) Phinney (1934) 126:6-7
kawő' hip'yímnime, hip'yímnime, hip'yímnime
then 3NOM-grow-CIS-ASP
'Then he grew, grew, grew'[7]

68) Phinney (1934) 131:11-12
ká'la 'iceyéeye koná 'ipnáahoksnima
just coyote there 3SGREFL-charm-CIS-ASP
'Coyote just there charmed himself'

69) Phinney (1934) 249:3
ká'la lixlíi hiwíisewqsi'likime
just circle 3NOM-DIS-seat-CIS-ASP
'He just seated each of them in a circle'

70) Phinney (1934) 249:12
kaa wáaqo' hilóox̣mima
and now 3NOM-play the stick game-CIS-ASP
'And now he played the stick game'

Sometimes a majority of the verbs in a narrative text will suffix the cislocative. For example, on page 249 of Phinney (1934), 19 finite verbs occur. Thirteen of them have the cislocative. Four of the 7 that do not are imperatives and one is in the irrealis mode. It is thus my hypothesis that the Nez Perce cislocative also functions as an evidential, that it can denote a kind of firsthand knowledge. One would not expect to find such a marker in the imperative or irrealis, as was the case on the single page just referred to above. Further study of this function of the cislocative, whatever it may turn out to be, will have to await a future time.

The Translocative

The allomorphs of the translocative suffix are -ki when word final and -kik when followed by a vowel. In the past progressive the allomorph is -qa with singular subjects and -qi with plural subjects. This irregularity evidently stems from a kind of consonant harmony with the following past suffix -qa and a secondary agreement with the preceding number markers -aan (SG) and -iin (PL). The following are provided as examples of the translocative.

71) Phinney (1934) 80:14-15
kii hipehűux̣eleke'yke kaa hipa'áatkika
this 3NOM-PLNOM-stand up-PERF and 3NOM-PLNOM-exit-TRANS-PERF
'Now they stood up and went out'

72) Phinney (1934) 130:8
péetulehtkike coqóypa
3TR-throw upwards-TRANS-PERF smokehole-LOC
'He threw him out through the smokehole [of the tepee]'

73) Phinney (1934) 130:17
hipáaynikika
3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-TRANS-PERF
'He arrived over there'

74) Phinney (1934) 74:9-10
koná 'éete hipewc'éeki
there surely 3NOM-PLNOM-become-TRANS-PP
'They surely have reached there'

Tense

Two morphemes provide tense distinctions, but only in the progressive and habitual aspects. There the absence of a tense marking morpheme implies the present. The past is inherent in the perfective, and the irrealis mode in main clauses implies the future. Tense in the perfect is supplied contextually. The imperative, of course, is tenseless.

The Past Suffix -qa

The suffix -qa marks the past tense in the progressive and habitual aspects. It has the same form as the marker of the singular habitual in both the past and remote tenses. The singular past habitual appears to be merely a reduplication of this same morpheme. The sentences below are provided as examples of the past marker -qa in both the progressive and habitual aspects.

75) Past Progressive

a. Phinney (1934) 180:14-15
wáaqo' 'éetx Ø-hicáaqa
already you-PL 1/2NOM-tell-PROG-SGNOM-PST
'I was already telling you!'

b. Phinney (1934) 188:12-13
Ø-naksáaqa cikáaw'is Ø-wées
1/2NOM-think-PROG-SGNOM-PST fearsome 1/2NOM-be-PROG
'I was thinking, "I am fearsome"'

76) Past Habitual

a. Phinney (1934) 8:2-3
kaa hitkolíixna'niqa pemméey
and 3NOM-hunt-PLNOM-PST DIS-morning
'And they used to hunt every morning'

b. Aoki (1979) 15:14
koná Ø-x̣aaláawiya'niqa
there 1/2NOM-play-PLNOM-PST
'We used to play there'

c. Aoki (1979) 15:43
páaqa'anna'niqa wéetesne
3TR-respect-PLNOM-PST earth-DO
'They used to respect the earth'

The verb wée/wéek 'be, have' suffixes -qa by itself and takes on the meaning 'had been'. Compare the following two examples.

77) Phinney (1934) 8:16
cúuɫim Ø-waqá
bull 1/2NOM-be-PST
'I had been a bull'

78) Phinney (1934) 173:2-3
titm'áay' hiwéeke
young woman 3NOM-be-PERF
'I was a young woman'

The Remote Suffix -ne

It would appear that the remote tense is marked in the progressive and habitual aspects by the same suffix as marks the perfective. As the marker of the remote tense this suffix always occurs as *-ne*. It is highly likely that the remote tense also often serves as a *hearsay* marker. This would be in contrast to an opposite function of the cislocative, which appears to also function as an *evidential* marker. Remember, also, that in the remote progressive the singular form is often used even when the subject is plural (as in 79 a and b), this even though a plural form is available (see again examples 21 and 22 above). In the progressive, besides marking the remote (and perhaps a hearsay modality), this tense also functions variously in conjunction with other aspects and tenses. In 79 a the remote progressive provides background for the perfective, and in 79 b it functions itself in a perfective sense with the background provided by the past progressive. The sentences in 80 are examples of the remote habitual.

79) Remote Progressive

a. Phinney (1934) 175:3-4
kaa hipekúuye meqséemkex pée'p̣e'wisene
and 3NOM-PLNOM-go-ASP mountain-ALL 3TR-look for-PROG-SGNOM
'And they went to the mountains looking for her' \-RM

b. Phinney (1934) 45:6-7
yox̣ ke hináac'nisaqa péesepeexcene
that REL 3NOM-PLDO-give-PROG-SGNOM-PST 3TR-CAUS-see-PROG
-SGNOM-RM
'...that which she had given to them they showed her'

80) Remote Habitual

a. Aoki (1979) 12:55-56
kaa koná nacó'x̣ hik'lílnaqana
and there salmon 3NOM-get blocked-HABSGNOM-RM
'And salmon used to get blocked there'

b. Aoki (1979) 12:53-54
sistó's tewíisnim pipísnim haaníya'nixna
harpoon horn-GEN bone-GEN 3NOM-make-HABPLNOM-PST
'They used to make harpoons of horn (or) bone'

Aspect

The inflectional suffix complex encodes four aspects in the indicative mood: progressive, habitual, perfect, and perfective. In addition to those aspectual functions which are marked by the verbal suffix, there is a punctual aspect marked by the auxiliary *kúu* 'go, do'.

The Progressive

The progressive can mark the simple present of stative verbs like *cúukwe* 'know', *hekí* 'see', *mic'íi* 'hear', etc., as in the following example.

81) Phinney (1934) 36:10
'ilxníiwene titóoqana hinéescuuxwece
many-DO people-DO 3NOM-PLDO-know-PROG-SGNOM
'She *knows* many people'

A major function of the progressive is the backgrounding of events, as in the following example.

82) qo'c Ø-hipsáaqa kaa 'inláwtiwaa hipáayna
yet 1/2NOM-eat-PROG-SGNOM-PAST and my-friend 3NOM-arrive-PERF
'While I was eating, my friend arrived'

The Habitual

The morphology of this aspect is given in Aoki (1970d), pages 115-117, where it is noted as "describing frequentative or customary actions." Depending on context and/or on the meaning inherent in the verb, its sense either points toward the habitual ("customary") or frequentative ends of a single aspectual continuum. These two senses are formally distinguished in English; the lack of an auxiliary or suffix (with -s for 3rd person) marks the present habitual, 'used to ...' the past habitual, and 'keep ...-ing' marks the frequentative. Probably the shorter the span of time referred to the better this Nez Perce aspect is translated as a frequentative. The following two examples make this contrast with the present habitual suffix -tetu.

83) Habitual
Aoki (1979) 65:53-54
kíi 'ískit kinéepx 'éete hikiyéeyiktetu
this trail to here surely 3NOM-go around-HABSGNOM
'Surely this trail goes around to here'

84) Frequentative
Phinney (1934) 174:4
manáma yox̣ ku'ús hitéetu
what that thus 1/2NOM-say-HABSGNOM
'What do you thus keep saying?'

The singular past habitual suffix -qaaqa is rare in Phinney (1934) and in Aoki (1979), where the singular remote form -qaana commonly takes its place. The following contrast singular and plural past habitual aspects.

85) Habitual Singular Past
Aoki (1979) 3:34

keku'ús	hikóoqaqa	wáy'at	túusti
REL-thus	3NOM-go-HABSGNOM-PST	far	up

'...as he kept going far up'

86) Habitual Plural Past
Aoki (1979) 8:2-3

kaa	hitkolíixna'niqa	pemméey
and	3NOM-hunt-PLNOM-PST	DIS-morning

'And they used to hunt each morning'

The following example contrasts singular and plural forms in the remote habitual.

87) Remote Habitual
Aoki (1979) 13:26-27

kaa	péemune'nixne	tiwéetine
and	3TR-call-HABPLNOM-RM	medicine man-DO

kaa	'ipním	hinaspaynóoqana
and	3SG-ERG	3NOM-PLDO-arrive at-HABSG-RM

'And they used to call the medicine man and he used to come to them'

Even though the markers of the perfect habitual (-x̣ and -nx̣) have no vowels, they act as though they once had a strong vowel. For example, when -x̣ was suffixed, the verb kúu 'go, do' in 88 below has become kóo, and the verb w(i)c'ée in 89 has become w(i)c'áa.

88) Phinney (1934) 444:2

wéet'u'	máwa	ku'ús	Ø-kóox̣
not	ever	thus	1/2NOM-do-PHAB

'Never have I been doing thus'

89) Phinney (1934) 396:8-9

páap'lama	ke	ku'ús	témees	hiwc'áax̣
3TR-dig-CIS-PERF	REL	thus	pit	3NOM-become-PHAB

'She dug it like a pit always has been'

The Perfect

In s-stem verbs the perfect is marked by the suffix -s, while in c-stem verbs it is marked by -(i)n. After the directionals the perfect suffixes -Ø. Aoki (1970d), page 112, labels this aspect the "Indicative Perfect" and defines it (page 113) as being "used to describe an action just completed, or to constitute a hortatory construction with {ke}". A significant feature of this aspect is its indication of present relevance, hence the fact that both Phinney (1934) and Aoki (1979) usually translate verbs in this form with the English perfect ("have ... -ed" or "have just ... -ed"). Three examples of a hortatory construction with the Nez Perce perfect are to be found in 91 below.

90) Present Relevance

a. Phinney (1934) 173:4-5
kaa c'alwí wéet'u' Ø-páaytoqo' 'ée Ø-nekú'
and if not 1/2NOM-arrive-back-IRR you 1/2NOM-think-IRR
'And if I do not return, you will think,

wáaqo' ku' 'itúunm póopci'yawn
already some thing-ERG 3TR-kill-PP
"Something has already killed her"'

a. Aoki (1970d) 112
Ø-wúuyin
1/2NOM-escape-PP
'I have just escaped'

91) Hortative Constructions

a. Phinney (1934) 397:131
kix kíne Ø-wéwtuks
let-EX here 1/2NOM-spend the night-PP
'Let me spend the night here'

b. Phinney (1934) 473:4
ke hóopop panóo^{8}
let pine moss 1/2NOM-PLNOM-go gather-PP
'Let us go gather pine moss'

c. Phinney (1934) 413:13
kem 'eséep'nit'e 'isíinm haanyáa'tato sám'x̣
let-you 1/2TR-ask-PP who-ERG 3NOM=make-GEN-HABSGNOM clothes
'Let you ask her, "Who makes my clothes?"'

The perfect is used in desiderative constructions with the pronominal suffix -'ax̣ (see section on the desiderative above).

92) Aoki (1979) 11:19-20
'íin'ax̣ ká'la héenek'e hipaynóos
I-DES just again 3NOM-arrive at-PP

'íin'ax̣ kúnk'u heexnéeyiks
I-DES always 3NOM-see-move in order to-PP
'I want him just to come to me again, I want him always to come around to see me'

The perfect also occurs in realis complements, as in the following.

93) Phinney (1934) 34:1-2
kaa capáaypa péexne háamana ha'áatim
and presently 3TR-see-PERF man-DO 3NOM-exit-CIS-PP
'And presently she saw the man come out'

94) Phinney (1934) 213:13-14
mét'u wéet'u' 'isíinm péecuxwece hipáayn
but not any-ERG 3TR-know-PROG-SGNOM 3NOM-arrive-PP
'But nobody knows he has arrived'

The Perfective

The perfective suffix is -e; -e or -ye after s-stems and -ne after c-stems. The perfective is a past, completive, sequential aspect in Nez Perce, as illustrated in the following example.

95) Phinney (1934) 156:8
kii hinéeskiyuuye titóoqana kaa hinéesexne
this 3NOM-PLDO-go to-PERF people-DO and 3NOM-PLDO-see-PERF

kaa hipáaytoqa
and 3NOM-arrive-back-PERF
'Now he went to the people and saw them and returned'

The following two examples, like 82 above, show the contrast between backgrounded information expressed by the progressive and the mainline event expressed by the perfective.

96) Phinney (1934) 458:17-459:1
wéet'u' hiwíicaqa kakáa hitn'úxne
not 3NOM-weep-PROG-SGNOM-PAST when 3NOM-die-PERF

k'acaynóomya'c
elbow-child
'Elbow-child was not weeping when he died'

97) Phinney (1934) 114:9-10
láwtiwaama himc'íya wáaqo' hix̣'nisíix
friend-PL 3NOM-hear-PERF already 3NOM-dig-PROG-PLNOM
'She heard her friends already digging'

Realis complements also occur in the perfective (compare examples 93 and 94 above where the realis complement is in the perfect):

98) Phinney (1934) 34:16-17
kaa wáaqo' hicúuxwene pée'wiye píileptine tu'yéene
and now 3NOM-know-PERF 3TR-shoot-PERF four-DO grouse-DO
'And now she knew he had shot four grouse'

Punctual Verbs

The punctual aspect is marked in Nez Perce by an uninflected verb accompanied by a fully inflected auxiliary *kúu* 'go, do'. The following are examples (in 100 *kúu* has the form *x* in *péexye*).

99) Phinney (1934) 47:14
ká'la konmayníx hisíix̣ hikúye kúus
just from that very recede 3NOM-do-PERF water
'Just from right there the water immediately receded'

100) Phinney (1934) 24:11
q'o' mickin'íx su'úp péexye 'ipsúuski
yet barely break loose 3TR-do-PERF hand-INSTR
'He just barely broke it loose with his hand'

101) Phinney (1934) 445:2
míiw'acpa páay hitqekúuye
moment-LOC arrive 3NOM-suddenly-do-PERF
'In a few moments he suddenly appeared'

102) Aoki (1979) 10:14
likíp híikus 'íine
touch 3NOM-do-ASP me
'He has touched me'

103) Phinney (1934) 300:7
kaa k'upíp péekume 'ipsúuski
and break 3TR-do-ASP hand-INSTR
'And he broke it with his hands'

The punctual verb *páay* (sentence 101 above) is perhaps the same as the inflected verb *páay* (examples 1-3 at the beginning of this chapter) which means 'arrive'. Mostly, however, punctual verbs that take the auxiliary *kúu* belong to a restricted class in Nez Perce. Some members of the class of punctual verbs are *x̣aláp* 'open', *yek'ép* 'close', *likíp* 'touch', *k'upíp* 'break', *x̣itt'íl'* 'tear', *k'iséy* 'grimmace', *sáw'* 'vanish', *su'úp* 'break loose', *wiyéxc* 'wink', *lak'ápc* 'blink', *luk'úp* 'move', *walláps* 'break loose', *talláx̣* 'stop', *k'omáy'c* 'hurt', *k'ayyáx* 'clean off', *ta'x̣áx̣* 'singe', etc.

Moods/Modalities

The Irrealis

The suffix *-u'* marks the irrealis mode. It marks the future in main clauses (example 104) and the irrealis in complement clauses (example 105).

104) Aoki (1934) 11:40
páayn*o'* watíisx
1/2NOM-arrive-IRR yesterday/tomorrow
'I *will* arrive tomorrow'

105) péewewluqse háamanm péetimixn*u'* 'ipnéexn'esne
3TR-want-PROG-SGNOM man-ERG 3TR-break-IRR window-DO
'He wants the man *to* break the window'

The adverb *watíisx* means simply 'one day away from today.' In 104 above the meaning is 'tomorrow' because of the irrealis. In the example below the meaning 'yesterday' is interpretable because of the past progressive aspect.

106) Phinney (1934) 297:7
watíisx hicáa*qa*
yesterday/tomorrow 1/2NOM-say-PROG-SGNOM-PST
'... *yesterday* I was saying, "..."'

The Conditional

The conditional (I have followed Aoki rather than the wider tradition in the use of this term) suffixes -*'aax̣* to verbs nominalized by -*t*/-*n*, or to verbs marked progressive by the suffix -*s*/-*c* plus the number agreement suffixes -*een* or -*iin*. The irrealis suffix -*u'* plus the past morpheme-*qa* also mark the conditional. Aoki (1970d), page 114, notes that these forms "are used interchangeably ... terms, such as conditional present, are used for identification of the morphemes rather than for accurate description of their uses." The conditional describes conditions contrary to fact, as in the following examples. For the conditional perfect there is both an s- and a c-stem provided as examples of nominalizations with -*t*/-*n*.

107) Conditional Perfect

a. S-stem
Phinney (1934) 145:10
qétu tá'c náaqc hiwa*t'áax̣* qúuy's háama
more good one 3NOM-be-N-COND rich man
'Better an[other] *should be* a rich man...'

b. C-stem
Phinney (1934) 476:7
kaa wéet'u' máwa páax*n'ax̣*
and not ever 3TR-see-N-COND
'And he never would have seen it'

108) Conditional Progressive

a. Phinney (1934) 52:5-6 (also 56:6-8)
míne wa'wáamana páahap 'aw'náhwayika'ysan'ax̣
where valley head-DO daughter 1/2TR-carry his across-PROG -COND
'Where could you be carrying across the daughter of the head of the valley?'

b. Phinney (1923) 134:2
'áyi, konyá háamana 'ée 'awáwkonisan'ax̣
sister that-DO man-DO you 1/2TR-meet-PROG-COND
'Sister, you should be meeting that man'

109) Conditional Past
Phinney (1934) 467:8
nécu' 'ipním 'awc'áayo'qa
surely not his 1/2TR-become-COND
'It would surely never be his!'

Aoki (1970d), page 115, notes that -o'qa "is also used to describe the capability or potentiality of an action on the part of the subject..." Perhaps both conditionals can convey this sense, as the following examples indicate.

110) Conditional Perfect

a. Phinney (1934) 173:16-17
míi'sex hipaamáayn'ax̣
not-me 3NOM-PLNOM-suspect-N-COND
'They cannot suspect me'

b. Phinney (1934) 114:7
'itúune páakot'ax̣
what-DO 3TR-do-N-COND
'What could she do?'

111) Conditional Past
Phinney (1934) 400:9-10
kaa Ø-neksíix 'imé 'éetx Ø-wisíix cicíkaw'is
and 1/2NOM-think-ASP you you 1/2NOM-be-ASP very powerful

kaa 'éetx 'epexyó'qa
and you 1/2TR-PLNOM-do-COND
'And we think you are very powerful and you can/could do it'

The Imperative

The forms of the imperative are to be found in Aoki (1970d), pages 117-118. With the s-stem they are -x after the vowel i, -y after other vowels, and -Ø after consonants. With c-stems they are -Ø usually after the vowel e, -n after other vowels, and -in after consonants. When the imperative co-occurs with the cislocative, -Ø marks the imperative. Compare the following.

112) kúy
go-IMP
'Go!'

113) kúum
go-IMP-CIS
'Come!'

Plural number is marked by -tx.

114) kúumtx
go-IMP-CIS-PLNOM
'You all come!'

Also, it should be noted that transitive verbs take the transitive prefix 'e-. Compare the following which are taken from page 117 of Aoki (1970d).

115) Intransitive Verb
Ø-wiléeke'yx-Ø
1/2NOM-run-IMP
'Run!'

116) Transitive Verb
'attóolay
1/2TR-forget-IMP
'Forget it!'

Remember also that the reciprocal can soften the imperative. Sentence 43 from above is repeated here as example 117.

117) 'ipéex̣ píi'nim
bread RECIP-give-IMP-CIS
'Pass the bread!'

Nominalization

In this section we shall consider the nominalizing suffixes -t (for s-stems) and -(i)n (for c-stems). They are given last in Table 9.

As we have already seen, both the desiderative and the conditional perfect morphemes are suffixed to verbs nominalized by *-t*/*-(i)n*. Also, many basic nouns are derived by *-t*/*-(i)n*, e.g.

118) S-stem: *-t*

a. hipíse
1/2NOM-eat-PROG-SGNOM
'I am eating'

b. híp*t*
eat-N
'food'

119) C-stem: *-(i)n*

a. c'íix̣ce
1/2NOM-talk-PROG-SGNOM
'I am talking'

b. c'íiq*in*
talk-N
'talk, speech, language'

120) C-stem with final *e*: -Ø

a. cúukwece
1/2NOM-know-PROG-SGNOM
'I know'

b. cúukwe-Ø
know-N
'spirit, knowledge, experience'

Nominalization by *-t*/*-(i)n* was, at least formerly (see Phinney [1934], page xii) very productive, as illustrated with the c-stem verbs *wíi* 'weep', *tilláap* 'mourn', and *heyéeq* 'hunger' in the following two sentences which are from texts explaining the origin of these phenomena.

121) Phinney (1934) 124:6-7
koníix hiwc'éeye wíi*n* kaa tilláap*in*
that-ABL 3NOM-become-PERF weep-N and mourn-N
'From that became weeping and mourning'

122) Phinney (1934) 300:16-17
koníix hiwc'éeye heyéeq*in* 'elwéhtitpe
that-ABL 3NOM-become-PERF hunger-N winter-LOC
'From that became hunger in winter'

Verbal complements can be nominalizations with *-t*/*-(i)n*. This seems to be especially likely after several layers of embedding, as can be seen in the following examples. The c-stem verb *hayáala* in 126 is nominalized by -Ø because it ends in *a*.

123) Phinney (1934) 8:3-4
yox̣ ke ku'ús q'o' páaxcaqa náaqsna cúułimne kúut
that REL thus very 3TR-see-ASP one-DO bull-DO do-N̄
'...that which he thus exactly was seeing the other bull do'

124) Phinney (1934) 44:15-16
yox̣ tá'c himéeq'is x̣áw'ix sistó's ke tilípcxiinm
that good large sharp spearhead REL fox-GEN

háanit 'úus[9]
make-N̄ 3GEN-be-ASP
'...that good, large, sharp spearhead which is of fox's making'

125) Phinney (1934) 140:7
'óykala sâm'x̣ ke 'ooqá 'asqâpnim wíix̣ołxt
all clothing REL 3GEN-be-ASP brother-GEN take off-N̄
'All the clothing which had been his brother's taking off...'

126) Aoki (1979) 12:57
yox̣ 'ewsíine konma'í 'iméem hiyáala-0 naco'óx̣na
that 3GEN-be-ASP means their catch-N salmon-DO
'That was their means of catching salmon'

Complementized verbs often also suffix -*'es*. Aoki (1970d), page 67, gives the meaning of this morpheme as "an object for ... ing' and cites several examples, such as *'ipéet'et'es* 'scraper' from *'ipéet'e* 'scrape' (s-stem) and *hitéemen'es* 'book' from *hitéeme* 'read' (c-stem). The following sentences are given as examples of this instrumental suffix as complementizer.

127) Phinney (1934) 18:3
nacó'x̣ hitoláyno' titóoqan hipé's
salmon 3NOM-go upstream-IRR people eat-N̄
'Salmon will go upstream for the people to eat'

128) Aoki (1979) 14:34-35
péetimmiyucine manma'í híiwes hiyáalan'as
3TR-plan-ASP how 3NOM-be-ASP catch-N-N̄

konyá léewtipsne naco'óx̣na
that-DO fish-DO salmon-DO
'They planned how to catch that salmon fish'

129) Aoki (1979) 2:11-12
kawá wáaqo' koná téx̣sem hiwéeke k'e'yíx koníix
then now there ridge 3NOM-be-ASP clear that-ABL

'alláaykin'ix hekín'es la'ámna
below-ABL see-N-N all-DO
'Then now there was a ridge to see all clearly from below'

130) Aoki (1979) 21:2
híiwes tá'c 'iméem cúukwen'es kíi hitéeme
3NOM-be-ASP good your know-N-N this education
'Your knowing this education is good'

131) Phinney (1934) 150:7-8
kúnk'u' husúuscim hi'sapqáana qíiwne 'iníit'es
always head-only 3NOM-pack-ASP old man-DO give-N-N
'Always he kept packing only the head to give to the old man'

Table 9. The Inflectional Suffix Complex

	S-Stem	C-Stem
Progressive		
Present		
Singular	-se	-ce
Cislocative	-seem	-ceem
Translocative	-seenki	-ceenki
Plural	-siix	-ciix
Cislocative	-siinm	-ciinm
Translocative	-siinki	-ciinki
Past		
Singular	-saaqa	-caaqa
Cislocative	-saamqa	-caamqa
Translocative	-saanqaqa	-caanqaqa
Plural	-siiqa	-ciiqa
Cislocative	-siinmqa	-ciinmqa
Translocative	-siinqiqa	-ciinqiqa
Remote		
Singular	-seene	-ceene
Cislocative	-seeme	-ceeme
Plural	-siine	-ciine
Cislocative	-siinme	-ciinme
Habitual		
Present		
Singular	-teetu	-teetu
Cislocative	-teetum	-teetum
Plural	-te'niix	-te'niix
Perfect		
Singular	-x̣	-nx̣
Plural	-(y)e'niix	-ne'niix
Past		
Singular	-qaaqa	-n(a)qaaqa
Plural	-(y)a'niiqa	-na'niiqa
Remote		
Singular	-qaana	-n(a)qaana
Cislocative[10]	-qaama	-qaama
Plural	-(y)e'niixne	-ne'niixne
Perfect	-s	-(i)n
Cislocative	-(i)m	-nim
Translocative	-ki	-n(i)ki
Perfective	-(y)e	-ne
Cislocative	-(i)me	-nime
Translocative	-kike	-n(i)kike

Table 9. (Continued)

	S-Stem	C-Stem
Irrealis	-(y)u'	-nu'
Cislocative	-(y)u'kum	-nu'kum
Conditional		
Perfect	-t(')aax̣	-n(')aax̣
Progressive		
Singular	-saan(')ax̣	-caan(')ax̣
Plural	-siin(')ax̣	-ciin(')ax̣
Past	-(y)o'qa	-no'qa
Cislocative	-(y)o'komqa	-no'komqa
Imperative		
Singular	-0, -y, -x	-0, -(i)n
Cislocative	-(i)m	-nim
Plural	-(i)tx	-n(i)tx
Cislocative	-(i)mtx	-nimtx
Nominalization	-t	-(i)n

Notes

[1] This dissertation is concerned only with verbal inflections which involve clausal arguments (person, number, case, etc.) and tense/aspect/modality. The stem which accomodates all such verbal inflections, however, is an agglutination of root (verbal or denominative) and numerous optional affixes of adverbal force. On pages 84-86 of Aoki (1970d) 168 such verbal prefixes are listed, and on pages 93-103 Aoki lists and provides examples of 29 suffixes most of which are also of adverbial force (eight of them, however, involve promotions to direct object and will be dealt with in Chapter VI of this dissertation). There is also a discussion of the use of the Nez Perce adverbial prefixes on page 1 of Aoki (1979).

[2] The 3rd person direct object anaphor of the transitive prefixes *'e-* and *pée-* can be a whole clause, as the following example shows (for the NP case marking see Chapter III).

Phinney (1934) 124:8-9
koná picepk'úucwiyu' titóoqan
there RECIP-cheat-ASP people
'There [looking ahead into this present world of humans] people
will cheat one another

ke ku'ús 'áacixnim *pée*'uyiye
REL thus turtle-ERG 3TR-start-ASP
as Turtle started *it*'

[3] The same prefix marks distributive nominals (for which see the section on number in Chapter III), and also pluralizes the suffixed pronominal *-m* 'you' (for which see the section on suffixed pronouns in Chapter IV). See also Aoki (1970d), pages 40, 61, and 62.

[4] In an antipassive construction (see Chapter V), the distributive modifies the agentive subject, e.g.

Aoki (1979) 11:50-51
kawó' hipa*wíi*'nahpayka tíi'mes kaa héecu
then 3NOM-PLNOM-DIS-bring-ASP paper and wood
'Then each brought paper and wood'

[5] Even though *wéwluq* is transitive and takes the transitive person prefixes, it typically does not evoke subject raising in a complement clause, evidently implying a lack of control by the higher subject over the subject of the complement. Compare the first sentence below where *wéwluq* does not interfere with the case marking of the ergative subject of its clausal complement, and the second sentence where *séep'ni* 'ask' requires direct object marking on the subject of its clausal complement (for NP case marking see Chapter III).

a) péewewluqe háamanm péetimixnu' 'ipnéexn'esne
3TR-want-ASP man-ERG 3TR-break-IRR window-DO
'He wanted the man to break the window'

b) péesep'niye háamana péetimixnu' 'ipnéexn'esne
3TR-ask-ASP man-DO 3TR-break-IRR window-DO
'He asked the man to break the window'

[6] The suffix -'ípec derives agentive nouns from verbs and implies 'one given to ...' It is always attached to the nominalizer -t/-n (for which see Table 9). Two examples are given below.

a) -t-'ípec
1. Ø-tí'yese
1/2NOM-laugh-ASP
'I am laughing'

2. ti'yet'ípec
laugh-NOUN-AGENT
'one given to laughter'

b) -n-'ípec
1. Ø-xíic'emce
1/2NOM-be angry-ASP
'I am angry'

2. xic'emn'ípec
be angry-NOUN-AGENT
'one given to anger'

[7] Perhaps 'grow' naturally implies the cislocative in the sense that one 'grows up hither', i.e. to the condition of adult speaker-hearers. Scott DeLancey (personal communication) notes that the cislocative would be used in this sense, for example, in the Tibeto-Burman language Lehw.

[8] C-stem verbs that end in e or a suffix -Ø in the perfect, in the imperative, and in nominalizations (instead of the expected -n). In both of the following the c-stem suffix -tée 'go in order to ...' occurs. In the perfective in the first example the suffix is -ne, but in the perfect in the second example the suffix is -Ø.

a. Perfective
Aoki (1979) 19:13
hipe'nptéene núkt
3NOM-PLNOM-get-go-PERF meat
'They went to get meat'

b. Perfect
Phinney (1934) 310:13
kix yox Ø-'inpté-Ø
let-EX that 1/2NOM-get-go-PP
'Let me go to get that'

After a c-stem ending in e or a the cislocative is -m rather than the expected -nim, e.g.

c. Phinney (1934) 307:9
hiwéhyece
3NOM-go along-PROG-SGNOM
'He is going along'

d. Phinney (1934) 124:1-2
ká'la 'íske háatya hiwéhyem-Ø
just like wind 3NOM-go along-CIS-PP
'Just like the wind he has come along'

[9] The 3rd person genitive prefix 'e- found in examples 124, 125, and 126 will be described in Chapter VIII.

[10] Aoki (1970d) gives no forms with the cislocative in the remote habitual or in the conditional past. Such forms, however, are found, as the following examples illustrate.

a. Remote Habitual
Aoki (1979) 12:24
kawá héenek'u hikóoqama
then again 3NOM-go-SGHAB-CIS-RM
'Then again he kept coming'

b. Conditional Past
Phinney (1934) 26:6-7
ku'ús 'ée 'úuyitpe Ø-hinó'komqa
thus you first-LOC 1/2NOM-say-IRR-CIS-PST
'Thus you should have told me at first'

CHAPTER III

NOUNS AND INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

This chapter describes the inflectional morphology[1] of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns (personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, demonstratives, the pronominals that prefix to kinship terms, and the pronominals that suffix to certain adverbials). All pronominals that either prefix or suffix to verbs have already been discussed in Chapter II).

Noun Stem Types

Noun stems in Nez Perce have variable forms which can be classified on the basis of stress placement, vowel length, vowel deletion, and changes in final consonants.[2] Much of this variation is morphologically conditioned (and thus unpredictable phonologically). Allomorphs are distributed among five phonological environments: the presence or absence of a suffix, whether or not the suffix is stressed, and whether the suffix begins with a voiced or voiceless consonant. For our purpose here it will suffice to provide a few examples to illustrate the morphologically conditioned movable versus non-movable stress patterns, and the phonologically conditioned variations in certain stem final consonants. The examples of the different stress patterns will be illustrated by contrasting noun stems without a suffix (the unmarked case) with those that have suffixed the ergative/genitive -nim/-nm.

Non-Movable Stress

In Nez Perce, only a certain morphological class of nouns has invariant or non-movable stress; that is, there is no contrast in stress placement between those stems without a suffix and those with an unstressed suffix. The following are examples of this class.

1) Some Stems with Non-Movable Stress

	Unmarked	Ergative/Genitive
a.	'áacix 'turtle'	'áacixnim
b.	'áatway 'old woman'	'áatwaynim
c.	'iceyéeye 'coyote'	'iceyéeyenm
d.	'iníit 'tepee, house'	'iníinm
e.	háama 'man'	háamanm
f.	háatya 'wind'	háatyanm
g.	himeléht 'raven'	himeléhtnim
h.	kúus 'water'	kúusnim
i.	láaqa 'pine tree'	láaqanm
j.	léewtips 'fish'	léewtipsnim
k.	péewis 'tongue'	péewisnim
l.	píyex̣s 'rawhide'	píyex̣snim
m.	simées 'bed'	siméesnim
n.	téq'is 'eldest'	téq'isnim
o.	tilípe' 'fox'	tilípe'nim
p.	wéele 'stream'	wéelenm
q.	wéetes 'earth, land'	wéetesnim
r.	yáaka' 'brown bear'	yáaka'nim

Movable Stress

Some noun stems shift stress to another syllable when a suffix is added. There is evidently no way of knowing whether a noun stem will do this other than by observing that it is done. The following are some examples.

2) Some Stems with Movable Stress

	Unmarked	Ergative/Genitive
a.	'áala 'fire'	'aláanm

b. 'áatim 'arm'	'atíimnim
c. 'éek'ex 'magpie'	'ek'éexnim
d. cóqoy 'tepee; smokehole'	coqóynim
e. héecu 'wood'	hecúunm
f. héesu 'eel'	hesúunm
g. héeyey 'steelhead salmon'	heyéeynim
h. húusus 'head'	husúusnim
i. láaqac 'mouse'	laqáasnim
j. lí'yes 'canoe'	li'yéesnim
k. łéepłep 'butterfly'	łepłéepnim
l. máymay 'intestines'	maymáynim
m. méex̣sem 'mountain'	mex̣séemnim
n. núusnu 'nose'	nusnúunm
o. píke 'mother'	pikéenm
p. píswe 'stone'	piswéenm
q. qé'mes 'camas'	qe'méesnim
r. qéemu 'string'	qemúunm
s. qócqoc 'meadowlark'	qocqócnim
t. sáaqsax̣ 'fish-hawk'	saqsáax̣nim
u. sík'em 'horse'	sik'éemnim
v. sílu 'eye'	silúunm
w. síwe 'forehead'	siwéenm
x. táa'mam 'egg'	ta'máamnim
y. tamáamno 'hummingbird'	tamamnóonm
z. táamsas 'wild rose'	tamsáasnim
a'. táamsoy 'ant'	tamsóoynim
b'. téewis 'horn'	tewíisnim
c'. tílel 'cliff'	tiléelnim
d'. t'íican 'anus'	t'icáannim
e'. wéeptes 'eagle'	weptéesnim

When stress moves off a short vowel in a non-initial syllable, the short vowel will delete. The following are examples where the short vowel has deleted in the suffixed allomorph.

3) Some Stems that Delete a Vowel in the Suffixed Allomorph

Unmarked	Ergative/Genitive
a. 'iléx̣ni 'many, much'	'ilx̣níinm
b. lamáta 'Whitebird, Idaho'	lamtáanm
c. mac'áyo 'ear'	mac'yóonm
d. ti'íla 'crayfish'	ti'láanm
e. tim'íne 'heart'	tim'néenm
f. tu'úynu 'tail'	tu'ynúunm

The following are examples of stems where a short vowel is stressed in the suffixed allomorph but deleted when without a suffix.

4) Some Stems with Vowel Deleted in the Unmarked Allomorph

	Unmarked	Ergative/Genitive
a.	'éeyx̣ 'white salmon'	'eyéx̣nim
b.	'ítx̣ 'dirt'	'itúx̣nim
c.	cawíitx 'wild carrot'	cawitáxnim
d.	cemíitx 'huckelberry'	cemitéxnim
e.	me'éqs 'skin, hide'	me'qésnim
f.	miyá'c 'child'	miya'ásnim
g.	nacó'x̣ 'Chinook salmon'	naco'óx̣nim
h.	pálx̣c 'snowshoe rabbit'	paláx̣cnim
i.	páaps 'red fir'	papásnim
j.	píips 'bone'	pipísnim
k.	qiláasx̣	qilasáx̣nim
l.	síiks 'nest'	sikísnim
m.	tá'c 'good'	ta'ásnim
n.	wálc 'knife'	walásnim
n.	yú'c 'poor'	yu'úsnim

Stem Final Consonants

Noun stems that end in c usually change the c to s when a suffix is added that begins with a voiced resonant, especially the ergative/genitive suffix -nim and the direct object suffix -ne. The following are some examples.

5) Some Stems in Final c

	Unmarked	Ergative/Genitive
a.	héey'ux̣c 'cottontail rabbit'	hey'úux̣snim
b.	láaqac 'mouse'	laqáasnim
c.	miyá'c 'child'	miya'ásnim
d.	náaqc 'one'	náaqsnim
e.	x̣áx̣aac 'grizzly bear'	x̣áx̣aasnim

Stem final t often deletes before suffixes beginning with a voiced resonant. With some stems the deletion of the t is optional. Here are some examples. Aoki (1971) notes that younger speakers tend always to retain this t while older speakers are more likely to delete it.

6) Some Stems in Final t

Unmarked	Ergative/Genitive
a. céeqet 'raspberry'	ceqéenm
b. núkt 'meat'	nukúnm
c. píst 'father'	pisínm
d. qáamsit 'kows' (an edible root)	qáamsinm/qáamsitnim
e. qeqíit 'Indian potato'	qeqíinm/qeqíitnim
f. talátat 'cedar'	taltáanm
g. tewlíikt 'tree'	tewlikínm
h. wex̣wéqt 'frog'	wex̣weqénm

The n of the associative suffix -iin (see section on case later this chapter) and of the stative suffix -i'n/-iin (see Chapter V) changes to s when preceding another suffix. The following are examples (the root of hímiin 'wolf' is him 'mouth').

7) Stems with the Associative or Stative Suffix -iin/-i'n

Unmarked	Ergative/Genitive
a. hímiin 'wolf'	hímiisnim
b. k'óomayni'n 'hurt, sick'	k'óomayni'snim

Number

In Nez Perce nouns may be morphologically distinguished as dual, plural, or distributive; the singular, as expected, has no morpheme of its own. The suffix of the associative case sometimes functions as the dual marker. Besides agreement in the verb, there are two methods of marking nouns as plural; partial reduplication and the use of the suffix -me. Typically, however, nouns are marked for number only when they are human.

The Dual Suffix *-iin*

It must be noted here that the associative suffix *-iin* (which is covered under the heading of case in this chapter) does sometimes have the sense of a dual marker. The following are examples. In context, both the clause that precedes and the clause that follows in example 8 have the two brothers as plural subjects (shown by plural agreement in the verb), and thus the unlikelihood of the otherwise acceptable translation 'He goes hunting daily with his brother.' Sentence 9 is also a clear example of the dual.

8) Phinney (1934) 134:4-5
hitkulíixne'yiksix 'asqáp*iin*
3NOM-hunt-go-repetitive-PROG-PLNOM brother-DU
'The two brothers are continually going hunting'

9) Aoki (1979) 13:35
lepú' hiwsíine láwtiwaa*yiin*
two-HUM 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM friend-DU
'The two were friends'

Partial Reduplication

Many nouns are made plural by prefixing a reduplication of the initial consonant plus the vowel *i*. The following are examples. (The partial reduplication of *miyá'c* 'child' in 10d is somewhat irregular.)

10) Some Examples of Partial Reduplication

	Singular	Plural
a.	cicqí'c 'generous'	cicícqi'c 'generous ones'
b.	kúckuc 'little'	kikúckuc 'little ones'
c.	kuhét 'long'	kikúhet 'long ones'
d.	miyá'c 'child'	mamáy'ac 'children'
e.	miyóoxat 'chief'	mimíyooxat 'chiefs'
f.	pennéqe 'half-breed'	pipennéqe 'half-breeds'
g.	pit'íi'n 'girl'	pipít'i'n 'girls'
h.	qíiwn 'old man'	qiqíiwn 'old men'

i. te'éx̣et 'young man'	tite'éx̣et 'young men'
j. tim'áay' 'young woman'	titm'áay' 'young women'
k. tiwéet 'shaman'	titwéet 'shamans'
l. x̣áw'ic 'sharp'	x̣ix̣áw'ic 'sharp (things)'

Nouns that begin with ' or h both reduplicate with h. As was shown in the section on phonology in Chapter I, when two vowels are separated by ' or h, the first vowel becomes the same as the second. However, before nouns beginning with 'i reduplication is with he-, as in example 11d below. The following examples will illustrate.

11) Partial Reduplication before ' and h

Singular	Plural
a. 'áatway 'old woman'	ha'átway 'old women'
b. 'áayat 'woman'	ha'áyat 'women'
c. 'éhew 'wound'	he'éhew 'wounded ones'
d. 'ískit 'trail'	he'ískit 'trails'
e. háacwal 'boy'	hahácwal 'boys'
f. háama 'man'	háham 'men'

Though it is usually only human nouns that are marked plural, inanimate nouns are also sometimes pluralized for emphasis, as the following example shows.

12) Aoki (1979) 5:15
konâ hikiyéeyixkike titéx̣sem wax̣ miméex̣sem
there 3NOM-wander-TRANS-PERF R-ridge and R-mountain
'There he wandered ridges and mountains'

Partial reduplication is also sometimes used for emphasis rather than plural marking, as the following example indicates.

13) Phinney (1934) 44:13
ká'la wilwílp titóoqan mét'u sisexpíit'ic ... híiwes
just wholly person but R-gruesome 3NOM-be-ASP-SGNOM
'Just wholly a person but very gruesome ... he is'

The Plural Suffix -me

All kinship terms form the plural with the suffix -me. The following are examples.

14) Plural Marking with -me

	Singular	Plural
a.	péehet 'older sister'	pehétme 'older sisters'
b.	péekt 'woman's younger brother'	pekítme 'woman's younger brothers'
c.	píke 'mother'	pikéeme 'mothers'
d.	píst 'father'	pisítme 'fathers'
e.	píiyep 'older brother'	piyéeme 'older brothers'

The following example illustrates the use of the suffix -me in forming plurals of kinship terms.

15) Aoki (1979) 12:35-36
kaa kú' mácwa himiyúume 'éeksme qaníisma c'alawí
and INDEF several-HUM kinfolk-PL sis-PL y sis-PL if

kaa 'asqáma
and y bro-PL
'... and maybe several kinfolk, sisters, younger sisters
probably and younger brothers'

Many other nouns are also commonly so pluralized, e.g.

16) Some Other Nouns Pluralized by -me

	Singular	Plural
a.	'iwéepne 'wife'	'iwéepneme 'wives'
b.	láwtiwaa 'friend'	láwtiwaama 'friends'
c.	yú'c 'poor'	yú'cme 'poor ones'

Non-human nouns, or, rather, nouns of personified non-humans, are also often made plural by -me, as for example in the following.

17) Phinney (1934) 177:14-15
kaa wáaqo' laqáacma hipewlelíixne
and now mouse-PL 3NOM-flee-PERF
'And now the mice fled'

18) Phinney (1934) 92:14
payoníx hipe'ewíine x̣áx̣aacma
strong-very 3NOM-PLNOM-grow sleepy-PERF grizzly-PL
'The grizzlies grew very, very sleepy'

The Distributive Prefix pe-

The prefix pe- gives nouns a distributive meaning, as illustrated in the following. No doubt this is the same morpheme as the plural nominative pe- discussed in Chapter II, as well as the suffix that precedes and pluralizes the pronominal -m 'you' (which is discussed in the section on suffixed pronouns later this chapter). When prefixed to a noun, however, it causes gemination of a following ejective, nasal, or liquid. See Aoki (1970d), pages 40 and 57.

19) Aoki (1979) 3:14
konyá páa'nahnanqana péemmey tukelíikpe
that-DO 3TR-take along-HABSGNOM-RM DIS-morning hunt-LOC
'THe used to take that one along every morning while hunting'

20) Aoki (1979) 12:2
kaa pammíil'acwa pennex̣ce'éce hiwsíine
and DIS-few-HUM DIS-band 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM
'And each band was few people'

21) Aoki (1979) 12:3-4
qeqeyuxníme hitéw'yenike'nixne
Moose Creek 3NOM-live-INCEP-HABPLNOM-RM

'éete ke koná hiwéeke 'iléx̣ni nacó'x̣ pée'inwim kúnk'u
surely REL there 3NOM-be-PERF many salmon DIS-year always
'They used to settle down to live at Moose Creek where surely there were always many Chinook salmon every year'

Numeral Classifiers

Numbers are classified in Nez Perce for human versus non-human. This is accomplished via the suffixes -we/-u' (HUM) and -t (NON-HUM). Table 10 presents the forms for the numerals from one to ten. The two sentences that follow illustrate human nouns marked plural and modified by numbers classified human. In example 24 the noun qiláasx̣ 'otter' is not marked plural. But being personified as human in the

Table 10. Numerals from One to Ten

	Non-Human	Human
1.	náaqc	náaqcwa
2.	lepít	lepú'
3.	mitáat	mitáaw'
4.	píilept	pilepwé, píilepu'
5.	páax̣at	páax̣loo
6.	'oyláaqc	'oyláaqcwa
7.	'uynéept	'uynéepwe
8.	'oymátat	'óymitoo
9.	k'úyc	k'u'ícwe
10.	púutimt	púutimwe

story, its modifying numeral is classified human.

22) Aoki (1979) 19:22
tite'éx̣et mitáaw' hiwsíine
R-young man three-HUM 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM

wáalaytic, sáapsis 'ilp'ílp, wetyétmes wehéyqt
moccasin-top red swan necklace
'The three young men were Wáalaytic, Red Moccasin-Top, Swan Necklace'

23) Phinney (1934) 234:14-15
wéeptes kaa páax̣loo 'iwéepneme ká'la hití'yesix
eagle and five-HUM wife-PL just 3NOM-laugh-PROG-PLNOM
'Eagle and his five wives are just laughing'

24) Aoki (1979) 9:19
ku'ús kíyex hipeten'íwes páax̣loom qilasáx̣nim
thus 1-EX 3NOM-PLNOM-talk-PP five-HUM-ERG otter-ERG
'Thus the five otters talked [proposed] to me'

In the following examples the non-human nouns are not marked plural and their modifying numerals are classified non-human.

25) Aoki (1970) 138
hi'níye 'íine le'éptit wax̣ náaqc wa'wáałam
3NOM-give-PERF me twenty-NONHUM and one-NOMHUM trout
'He gave me twenty-one trout'

26) Aoki (1979) 9:79
páax̣atina mex̣séemne 'ee 'ewyéeyewnetenu'
five-NOMHUM-DO mountain-DO you 1/2TR-cross over-go-IRR
'You will go to cross over five mountains'

The non-adult status of children is indicated in the use of non-human numerals, as in the following.

27) Aoki (1970) 138
'úus[1] lepít̲ mamáy'ac
3GEN-be-ASP two-NONHUM R-child
'He has two children'

28) Phinney (1934) 142:16
kaa lepít paháama 'úus
and two-NONHUM daughter-PL 3GEN-be-ASP
'And he has two daughters'

Other words of quantity also take the human classifier -we, e.g.

29) Some Quantifiers which Inflect with -we

	Non-Human	Human
a.	la'ám' 'all'	la'ámwa 'all people'
b.	'iléx̣ni 'many'	'ilx̣níiwe 'many people'
c.	mác 'several, how many'	mácwa 'several people, how many people'
d.	míil'ac 'few'	míil'acwa 'few people'

Case

In Nez Perce NPs are marked for case via the set of suffixes listed in Table 11. These will be dealt with in 4 subsections; the unmarked case, the arguments of a transitive verb, the genitive, and the oblique cases.

The Unmarked Case

The prototypic unmarked NP in Nez Perce is the subject of an intransitive verb. There are several other circumstances, however,

Table 11. NP Case Suffixes

Unmarked	-Ø
Ergative/Genitive	-nim/-nm/-m
Direct Object	-ne
Benefactive	-'ayn
Associative	-iin/-niin/-yiin/-hiin
Allative	-px/-x, -kex
Ablative	-pkin'ix/-kin'ix, -me, -peme
Locative	-pe
Instrumental	-ki
Resultative	-wecet
Temporal	-met
Senior Vocative	-e'
Junior Vocative	-e

where unmarked NPs occur. Although each of these are catalogued below, most involve grammatical constructions that will be dealt with in more detail elsewhere in this dissertation.

The Subject of an Intransitive Verb

The subject NP of an intransitive verb is always unmarked, as in the examples below.

30) Phinney (1934) 291:3
capáaypa kii hipáayna háama
while-LOC this 3NOM-arrive-PERF man
'Presently now the man arrived'

31) Phinney (1934) 140:9
x̣áx̣aac meqséempe hiwc'éeye
grizzly mountain-LOC 3NOM-stay-PERF
'The grizzly stayed in the mountains'

32) Phinney (1934) 37:10
kaa wáaqo' hix̣íic'emne háama
and now 3NOM-be angry-PERF man
'And now the man became angry'

The subject of an intransitive verb can be considered the primary function of zero marked NPs. The other situations in which NPs are not case marked are as follows.

The Subject of a Reflexive Verb

Reflexive verbs do not have transitive morphology (the person prefixes 'e- and pée-), and also their subjects are unmarked, just as the subjects of intransitive verbs.

33) Phinney (1934) 34:1
konő' 'ipnéesepeluke 'âayat
there 3REFL-CAUS-hide-PERF woman
'There the woman hid herself'

The Subject of a Reciprocal Verb

The subject of a reciprocal verb is not case marked, as the following example shows.

34) picewcéewne kii lepú' hâham
RECIP-whisper-PERF this two-HUM R-man
'The two men now whispered to each other'

A noun in the associative case may occur as a secondary topic in a reciprocal clause, but the subject is not case marked. Sentence 35 below is such an example.

35) Phinney (1934) 121:1
'âacix cúuɬimniin piwlalwíix̣na
turtle bull-ASSOC RECIP-race-PERF
'Turtle raced with Bull'

The 1st or 2nd Person Subject of a Transitive Verb

Although the case marking of NPs in transitive clauses will be covered below, in order for this section to be complete it should be noted that 1st and 2nd person independent pronouns are never case marked when they are subjects of transitive verbs. Compare the following where the stressed pronoun núun 'we' has the same form in both the intransitive and transitive clauses.

36) Intransitive Clause
núun 0-papáayna
we 1/2NOM-PLNOM-arrive-PERF
'We arrived'

37) Transitive Clause
núun 'epe'wíye
we 1/2TR-shoot-PERF
'We shot him'

Predicate Nominals

As the following examples show, predicate nouns and adjectives are unmarked for case in Nez Perce.

38) Phinney (1934) 466:8
kíye wisíix 'óykalo háham
we 1/2NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM all-HUM R-man
'We all are men'

39) Phinney (1934) 413:16-17
qáaca, 'imtóot hiwsíix yox̣mé háham
grandson-JRVOC your-father 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM that-PL R-man

kem 'anáaskica'na
REL-you 1/2TR-meet-PERF
'Grandson, those men whom you met are your fathers'

40) Phinney (1934) 410:6-7
ká'lawnik'ay' himéeq'is kaa wepcúux hiwc'éeme
finally large and skillful 3NOM-become-CIS-PERF

háacwal
boy
'Finally the boy became large and skillful'

Both Arguments in the Antipassive Construction

The grammar of the various Nez Perce voice constructions will be dealt with in detail in Chapter V. Here it will suffice to note that in the antipassive construction neither agent nor patient are ever case marked, as the following examples illustrate.

41) Phinney (1934) 99:8
kii konấ hípt hipaanííma páax̣loo titm'áay'
this there food 3NOM-PLNOM-make-CIS-PERF five-HUM R-young woman
'Here then the five young women made food'

42) Phinney (1934) 185:10
páax̣loo ha'áyat hix̣'nisíix qé'mes
five-HUM R-woman 3NOM-dig-PROG-PHNOM camas
'Five woman are digging camas'

43) Phinney (1934) 83:12
hiwéwluqse c'oláakstimt x̣áx̣aac
3NOM-want-PROG-SGNOM hand-drum grizzly
'Grizzly wants his hand-drum'

44) Aoki (1979) 18:4
kícuy hipap'láatana sooyáapoo
metal/gold 3NOM-PLNOM-mine-go-PERF whiteman
'The whitemen went to mine gold'

The Patient in a Bitransitive Construction

In a bitransitive clause the semantic dative is always case marked as the direct object and the patient argument is always unmarked. This can be seen in examples 45 and 46 below.

45) Phinney (1934) 82:8-9
'iwéepnem wáaqo' pe'énye laqáasna c'oláakstimt
wife-ERG already 3TR-give-PERF mouse-DO hand-drum
'His wife already gave her hand-drum to the mouse'

46) Phinney (1934) 89:6-7
pikéepim pe'énye x̣áx̣aasna miyá'c taqaamóoln'as
mother-ERG 3TR-give-PERF grizzly-DO child/baby fondle-N-COMP
'The mother gave the grizzly the baby to fondle'

The Patient in a Shifted Construction

Chapter VI describes the various strategies for the optional promotion of various oblique semantic roles to direct object. When this involves an already transitive verb the patient argument will always be unmarked, as in the following examples of the benefactive shift.

47) Phinney (1934) 140:6
pée'nike'nime 'ipéetes husúuspe x̣áx̣aasna
3TR-put-BEN-CIS-PERF feather head-LOC grizzly-DO
'He put a feather on his head for him'

48) Phinney (1934) 151:11
kawó' kii háacwala 'iléepqet páanya'nima
then this boy-DO moccasins 3TR-make-BEN-CIS-PERF
'Then now she made moccasins for the boy'

The Ergative Head in a Genitive Construction

Whenever the subject of a transitive verb governs a genitive noun or independent pronoun, that agentive head must forfeit its ergative case marking. Only the genitive in a genitive construction may be case marked with -nim/-nm/-m. (See also the section on the genitive case below.)

49) qíiwnim ciq'áamqal hike'nípe
old man-GEN dog 3NOM-bite-PERF
'The old man's dog bit me'

Adverbial Nouns

Nouns used in an adverbial sense are unmarked. These are usually nouns of time and place, as in the following.

50) Phinney (1934) 58:6
kii tamáamno *tóoyam* hiwqse'letíyeksix
this hummingbird *summit* 3NOM-perch-PROG-PLNOM
'Now the hummingbirds are perching *on the summit*'

51) Aoki (1979) 13:4-5
miyóox̣atom 'iníitpe pí'amxna'nixna *kuléewit*
chief-GEN tepee-LOC RECIP-gather-PLHAB-RM *evening*
'They used to gather at the chief's tepee *in the evening*'

The Arguments of a Transitive Verb

The prototypic *transitive*[3] event universally involves the most obvious cause and effect relationships. The two main arguments of a prototypically transitive verb are a conscious, volitional agent and an affected patient. In Nez Perce these are coded, respectively, by the ergative and the direct object cases. Ergative and direct object nominals are both marked by suffixes: -*nim* and its allomorphs mark the ergative case and -*ne* and its allomorphs the direct object case. This is illustrated in the following examples.

52) Phinney (1934) 198:12-13
kawó' yú's*ne* púut'eye piyée*pim*
then poor-*DO* 3TR-whip-PERF elder *brother-ERG*
'Then the elder brother whipped the poor one'

53) Phinney (1934) 121:1 (Title)
'iceyéey*enm* x̣áx̣aas*na* hináaswapci'yawna
coyote-*ERG* grizzly-*DO* 3NOM-PLDO-kill-PERF
'Coyote killed the grizzlies'

Nez Perce extends its transitive construction to all two place predicates that involve a patient and a conscious but non-volitional participant, as the following examples indicate. There are no dative subjects in Nez Perce.

54) Phinney (1934) 82:1
'óykalom titóoqanm páaqa'ancix x̣áx̣aasna
all-ERG people-ERG 3TR-respect-PROG-PLNOM grizzly-DO
'All people respect Grizzly'

55) Phinney (1934) 115:12-13
kaa wéet'u' kon‍íix 'áatwaynim péecimxne t'ext'éxne
and not that-ABL old woman-ERG 3TR-hate-PERF locust-DO
'And thenceforth the old woman did not hate Locust'

56) Phinney (1934) 474:16-17
q'o' wéet'u' 'isíinm péexce 'áayatona
yet not anyone-ERG 3TR-see-PROG-SGNOM woman-DO
'No one sees the woman yet'

57) Phinney (1934) 476:4-5
wéet'u' q'o' máwa 'amc'íix̣ konyá we'nikíne
not yet ever 1/2TR-hear-HABPFTSGNOM that-DO name-DO
'I have never yet heard that name'

The Ergative Case

The suffix -nim/-nm/-m is an ergative rather than an agentive case marker.[4] This is because it marks only the subjects of transitive verbs; never the subjects of intransitive verbs. In both of the sentences below, x̣áx̣aac 'Grizzly' is semantically an agentive subject. But only in the first sentence is this noun in the ergative case. This is because it is only in the first sentence that the verb is transitive.

58) The Agentive Subject of a Transitive Verb
Phinney (1934) 94:16-95:1
x̣áx̣aasnim hitwekíixce
grizzly-ERG 3NOM-chase-PROG-SGNOM
'Grizzly is chasing me'

59) The Agentive Subject of an Intransitive Verb
Phinney (1934) 95:9
x̣áx̣aac hiwéhyem
grizzly 3NOM-go-CIS-PP
'Grizzly has come'

Nez Perce exhibits the familiar[5] split ergative system where only 3rd person NPs can be marked ergative. In both of the following two sentences the independent pronoun 'íin 'I' is subject. In neither example is it case marked.

60) Intransitive Cause
'íin Ø-páayna
I 1/2NOM-arrive-PERF
'I arrived'

61) Transitive Clause
'íin 'e'wíye wewúkiyene
I 1/2TR-shot-PERF elk-DO
'I shot the elk'

There is no restriction against inanimate agents in Nez Perce. They are marked ergative just as human agents would be. The following are some examples.[6]

62) Phinney (1934) 36:15
met 'éete háatyanm páawlacaska
but surely wind-ERG 3TR-blow scatter-PERF
'But the wind surely scattered it [the feathers]'

63) Phinney (1934) 16:13-14
'óykahallix wéeyikitpe ku'ús púuyesike'nye
all the way cross-LOC thus 3TR-entangle-GEN-PERF

wéeyux hopóopnim
leg pine moss-ERG
'All the way in crossing the pine moss entangled her legs'

64) Phinney (1934) 214:3-4
háatyanm ká'la c'ic'áaxpx kaa piswéepx wéeqine pée'nike
wind-ERG just crevice-ALL and rock-ALL rain-DO 3TR-put-PERF
'A wind just drove the rain into crevices and rocks'

The ergative suffix has allomorphs -nim, -nm, and -m. The form -nim occurs after a consonant, and the form -nm after a vowel, as in the following.

65) -nim occurs after consonants

	Unmarked	Ergative
a.	'áatway 'old woman'	'áatwaynim
b.	wéeptes 'eagle'	weptéesnim

66) -nm occurs after vowels

	Unmarked	Ergative
a.	'itúu 'thing, anything'	'itúunm
b.	háama 'man'	háamanm

After certain suffixes (e.g. the diminutive -qal, the suffix -tiwee 'together', the plural suffix -me, and the 'people' morpheme -puu in the following examples) the ergative suffix is -m.

67) -m occurs after certain derivational suffixes

	Unmarked	Ergative
a.	'éeksme 'sisters'	'éeksmem
b.	'inláwtiwaa 'my friend'	'inláwtiwaam
c.	ciq'áamqal 'dog'	ciq'áamqalm
d.	niimíipuu 'Nez Perce'	niimíipuum
e.	sooyáapoo 'whiteman'	sooyáapoom
f.	x̣áx̣aacqan 'young grizzly'	x̣áx̣aacqanm

Some nouns stems end in a vowel when a suffix is present but delete the vowel when there is no suffix. The allomorph -m (and not -nm) is also suffixed to these vowel final noun stems, as illustrated in 68.

68) -m occurs after certain vowel final stems

	Unmarked	Ergative
a.	wáa'wam 'head of stream'	wa'wáamam
b.	tiwéet 'shaman'	tiwéetim
c.	'áayat 'woman'	'áayatom
d.	te'éx̣et 'young man'	te'éx̣etum

Kinship terms fall into two broad classes in Nez Perce. For details see Aoki (1970d), pages 50-53, 73, Aoki (1970c), and Lundsgaarde (1967). Some kinship terms prefix the pronominals ne'- 'my' and 'im'- 'your', while others prefix 'in-/'inm-/ 'iním- 'my' and 'im'- 'your' (see section on pronouns later this chapter). With those kinship terms that prefix ne'- 'my' and 'im'- 'your', the ergative suffix is -em. Several examples are provided below.

69) -*em* is suffixed to certain kinship terms

	Unmarked	Ergative
a.	na'tóot 'my father'	na'tóot*am*
b.	'im'íis 'your mother'	'im'íis*em*
c.	na'qalác 'my father's father'	na'qalác*am*
d.	ne'él 'my father's mother'	ne'éel*em*

For those kinship terms and names of human relationships which prefix *'in*- (and its allomorphs) for 'my' instead of *ne'*-, the suffix -*pim* serves as a kind of honorific ergative. For example, as in the illustrations below, when *háama* means 'man' it usually suffixes -*nm* in the ergative case. But when *háama* means 'husband' its ergative form usually has the suffix -*pim*.

70) Aoki (1979) 17:23

kaa	péene	koním'o	háama*nm*,
and	3TR-tell-PERF	that-ERG-INTENS	man-ERG

"'íinim	we	kíi	wéetes"
my	1/2GEN-be	this	land

'And that very *man* said, "This is my land"'

71) Aoki (1979) 10:39

kínye	'áayatona	háama*pim*	páasapaaxnaqana
this-DO	woman-DO	man-ERG	3TR-CAUS-see-HABSGNOM-RM

keyox̣	hitqa'casó'pqana
REL-that	3NOM-cut off-HABSGNOM-RM

kíi	kakáa	hiwéeke	tim'áay'
this	REL-and	3NOM-be-PERF	young woman

'The *husband* kept showing this woman that which she had cut off when she was a young woman'

The suffix -*pim* can mark subjects even in the antipassive voice (for which see Chapter V), as the following suggests. (This is never possible with the regular ergative suffix -*nim*/-*nm*/-*m*.)

72) Phinney (1934) 30:2
'iwéenepim háama hihíne, "..."
wife-ERG man 3NOM-say-PERF
'The wife said to her husband, "..."'

The Direct Object Case

The suffix -ne marks the patient nominal in simple transitive constructions, as the following examples show.

73) Phinney (1934) 122:9
kíye 'apóopci'yawno' cúułimne
we 1/2TR-PLNOM-kill-IRR bull-DO
'We will kill the bull'

74) Phinney (1934) 366:3
koná pée'wime himeq'íictewisiisne
there 3TR-shoot-CIS-PERF great antlered buck-DO
'There he shot a great antlered buck'

Unlike the person split in the ergative case, all persons (1st, 2nd, and 3rd) inflect for the direct object. In the following example the 1st person plural independent pronoun núun 'we' occurs with the direct object suffix -ne (-na by vowel harmony, and usually -e after n or l).

75) Phinney (1934) 368:8
kaa wéet'u' núune ká'la hinéesqicx̣ne
and not 1PL-DO just 3NOM-PLDO-take care of-PERF
'And he just didn't take care of us'

As was mentioned in the section above on the unmarked case, in a bitransitive construction the dative noun or pronoun is case marked with -ne, never the patient. There is no separate dative case in Nez Perce.[7] The following are examples.

76) Phinney (1934) 82:8-9
'iwéepnem wáaqo' pe'énye laqáasna c'oláakstimt
wife-ERG now 3TR-give-PERF mouse-DO hand-drum
'The wife now gave her hand-drum to the mouse'

77) Phinney (1934) 413:4
kii sít'eqs petkuytúu'sene háacwala
this liver 3TR-toss-PROG-SGNOM-RM boy-DO
'They tossed this liver to the boy'

78) Phinney (1934) 31:1-2
kawó' háamanm péene 'áatwayna
then man-ERG 3TR-say-PERF old woman-DO
'Then the man said to the old woman, "..."'

Even when a human is the patient of a verb like 'give', the dative is still the direct object in Nez Perce. In the following example, the dative nominal is the indeclinable pronoun 'ee 'you'. That it is the direct object is made plain, however, by the zero prefix on the verb. As is explained in Chapter II, transitive verbs with 1st and 2nd person direct objects have the same subject agreement prefixes as do intransitive verbs. Were 'éeks 'sister' the direct object in 79, it would have suffixed -ne and the verb would have prefixed 'ew-.

79) Phinney (1934) 40:10
kaa wáaqo' 'ee 'iníise 'éeks
and now you 1/2NOM-give-PROG-SGNOM sister
'And now I am giving you my sister'

The direct object of a nominalized verb may be case marked by -ne, as the following examples show. Sometimes, however, such direct objects are unmarked, or even marked genitive (see the section in this chapter on the genitive case).

80) Aoki (1979) 2:11-12
kawá wáaqo' koná téx̣sem hiwéeke k'e'yíx koníix
then now there ridge 3NOM-be-ASP clear that-ABL

'alláaykin'ix hekín'es la'ámna
below-ABL see-N-COMP all-DO
'Now then there was a ridge to see all clearly from below that'

81) Phinney (1934) 150:7-8
kaa ku'skí kúnk'u' husúuscim hi'sapqáana
and thus-INSTR always head-only 3NOM-pack-HAB-RM

qiwne 'iníit'es
old man-DO give-N-COMP
'And because of that he used to always pack only the heads to give the old man'

With the demonstratives the direct object suffix is -ye; kíi 'this' has the form kínye, and kon- 'that' has the form konyá. The following is an example with konyá.

82) Aoki (1979) 3:12
kaa konyá páasayqca tukéeleesne
and that-DO 3TR-admire-PROG-SGNOM hunting ground-DO
'And he admires that hunting ground'

With kinship terms terms that have the prefixes ne'- or 'in- (and its allomorphs) for 'my' and 'im- for 'your', the direct object suffix is -ep (see Aoki [1970d], page 50). The following is an example.

83) Aoki (1979) 17:74
kaa wáaqo' ne'íicep péetqecimkcix
and now my-mother-DO 3TR-suddenly-dislike-PROG-PLNOM

titóoqanm
Indians-ERG
'And suddenly now the Indians dislike my mother'

When the word háama means 'husband' it takes these pronominal prefixes as well as the direct object suffix -ep, as in the following.

84) Aoki (1979) 3:19-20
'ewnú' 'inmáamap, weptéesne
1/2TR-tell-IRR my-man-DO eagle-DO
'I will tell my husband, the eagle'

Non-derived adjectives suffix the allomorph -ene instead of -ne, as can be seen in 85 below. This idiosyncrasy defines the category adjective in Nez Perce. Adjectives derived by the suffix -'is, however, suffix -ne (as illustrated in 86).

	Unmarked	Direct Object
85)	kúckuc 'little'	kúckucene
86)	himéeq'is 'large'	himeq'íisne

It should be noted here that the direct object case is a major concern of this dissertation. It is not just a patient or dative marker in Nez Perce. It is a secondary topic that is the trigger for all other transitive morphology. In some circumstances the patient argument of a transitive verb will not be topical enough to become a direct object. On the other hand, sometimes a semantically oblique argument will be of such topicality that it will be selected as the direct object of an intransitive verb, or be selected instead of the patient of a transitive verb. All this will be covered in Chapters V, VI, and VII of the second part of this dissertation.

The Genitive Case

The Nez Perce genitive case suffix has exactly the same form as the ergative suffix. NPs marked either ergative or direct object cannot govern the genitive case. It is quite rare in texts for a genitive to be found in the subject of a transitive verb. In such situations, as the following examples show, only the genitive nominal and never the ergative is case marked with -nim. For a description of what happens when the direct object governs a genitive, see Chapter VIII.

87) kex kaa 'íinim pehétme hipecéepcukwene 'íine
REL-EX and I-GEN sister-PL 3NOM-PLNOM-CAUS-know-PERF me

yóq'o c'íqin
that language
'... when my sisters taught me that language'

88) 'íinim titóoqan péetwikcene
I-GEN people 3TR-follow-ASP
'My people followed it'

89) háamanm ciq'áamqal hike'nípe
man-GEN dog 3NOM-bite-PERF
'The man's dog bit me'

Genitive case marking, however, does co-occur with oblique cases. The following are provided as examples.

90) Phinney (1934) 154:15
molmóolpa téewisnim
water container-LOC horn-GEN
'in a water container of horn'

91) Phinney (1934) 219:6
paqax̣paqáax̣nim títki
stubby rattlesnake-GEN teeth-INSTR
'with the stubby rattlesnake's teeth'

92) Phinney (1934) 22:11-12
'icwéew'lcixnim nusnúupkin'ix
monster-GEN nose-ABL
'from the monster's nose'

Some of the meanings of the Nez Perce genitive suffix -nim/-nm/-m are catalogued below.

Possession

Probably the prototypic genitive encodes ownership. This can be subdivided into alienable versus inalienable possession. The following are examples of alienable possession.

93) Phinney (1934) 30:7
'áayatom tiwíyext
woman-GEN advice
'the woman's advice'

94) Phinney (1934) 234:4
weptéesnim pe'túu
eagle-GEN DIS-thing
'eagle's things'

95) Phinney (1934) 244:1
tísqe'nim táx̣chik'ay
skunk-GEN willow basket
'skunk's willow basket'

96) Phinney (1934) 48:2
sóox̣ 'iceyéeyenm
spoon coyote-GEN
'coyote's spoon'

Inalienable possession subdivides into two lesser categories; body parts and kinship. The following show the possession of body parts.

97) Aoki (1979) 4:30
x̣áx̣aasnim núusnu
grizzly-GEN nose
'grizzly's nose'

98) Phinney (1934) 20:7
'iceyéeyenm ciláxt
coyote-GEN body
'coyote's body'

99) Phinney (1934) 238:5
tísqe'nim tíit
skunk-GEN musk sac
'skunk's musk sac

Some examples with human relationships are given below.

100) Phinney (1934) 174:8-9
tim'áaynim píke
young woman-GEN mother
'the young woman's mother'

101) Phinney (1934) 126:3-4
náaqsnim 'áatwaynim páahap
one-GEN old woman-GEN daughter
'an old woman's daughter'

102) Phinney (1934) 482:14-15
x̣áx̣aasnim 'iwéepne
grizzly-GEN wife
'grizzly's wife'

103) Aoki (1979) 17:7
Táamnaqahtq'inm háama
Táamnaqahtq'i-GEN husband
'Táamnaqahtq'it's husband'

Composition

The genitive marks the material of which a thing is composed, as is illustrated in the following.

104) Aoki (1979) 8:2
piswéenm wáwyan'as
stone-GEN axe
'a stone axe'

105) Phinney (1934) 439:16
sisu'éynim 'iníit
ryegrass-GEN lodge
'a ryegrass lodge'

Location

Location is sometimes expressed by the genitive case, as in the following.

106) hitéeminwees ... kínm wéetesnim
school this-GEN land-GEN
'a school of this land' (i.e. the University of Orgeon)

107) kínm wéetesnim wa'noqtiya'wáat
this-GEN land-GEN leader
'the leader of this land'

The Whole of a Part

Part-whole relationships are also expressed by genitive constructions. The following are examples.

108) héhen cawitáxnim
stem wild carrot-GEN
'the stem of the wild carrot'

109) Phinney (1934) 350:13
núusnu li'yéesnim
nose canoe-GEN
'the nose of the canoe'

Subject or Object of a Nominalized Verb

Nominalized verbs have their subjects marked genitive, as in the following two examples.[8]

110) Phinney (1934) 140:7-8
kaa kii 'ốykala sấm'x̣ ke 'ooqấ 'asqấpnim
and this all clothing REL 3GEN-be-PST brother-GEN

wíix̣ołxt yox̣ péemuqsne'nime
take off-N that 3TR-swallow-GEN-CIS-PERF
'Now all the clothing which had been his brother's taking off, that he swallowed'

111) Aoki (1979) 21:2
híiwes tấ'c 'iméem cúukewn'es kíi hitéeme
3NOM-be-ASP good you-GEN know-N-COMP this education
'Your knowing this education is good'

The patient of a nominalized verb may be unmarked (as in example 108 above) or marked as a direct object (see the section in this chapter on the direct object case). Also, however, the patient argument of a complementized verb can appear in the genitive case, as can be seen in examples 112 a-b.

112) a. Phinney (1934) 479:4-5
...wéet'u' 'itúunm kéec'iliike's,
not anything-GEN bite to death-COMP

wéet'u' 'itúunm likíp kúut'es...
not anything-GEN touch go/do-N-COMP
'...nothing to bite to death, nothing to touch...'

b. Aoki (1979) 16:23
kawố' konấ tak'ấycix
then that-LOC 1/2NOM-watch-PROG-PLNOM

kicúuynim haníitx
metal/gold-GEN make-N-ALL
'There then we watched the gold making'

The Oblique Cases

Except for the associative, none of the Nez Perce oblique NP cases have any effect on the morphology of the verb. Several oblique semantic roles, however, may be coded as the direct object when the semantic role is coded in the verb. Such phenomena will be discussed in Chapter VI. The forms and functions of the Nez Perce oblique NP cases are briefly described below.

The Associative Case

The associative case is marked by -iin or -niin after consonants, and -hiin or -yiin after vowels. As was noted in the section on number in this chapter, this suffix sometimes marks the dual. More often, however, it marks a human associative noun, as in the following.

113) Phinney (1934) 440:4
kii hipapáayna wewúxye miyá'ciin
this 3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-PERF elk child-ASSOC
'Now Elk arrived with his child'

114) Phinney (1934) 10:2
hitéew'yecine qáaca'ciin wáawa
3NOM-dwell-PROG-PLNOM-RM maternal grandmother-ASSOC mosquito
'Mosquito was dwelling with his maternal grandmother'

As the above examples show, the existence of the associative case is reflected in the plural nominative agreement in the verb. The associative is the only oblique case that so affects the verb of its clause. However, this only happens when the associative is human. In those rare situations where a non-human nominal is personified by the associative case, as in the following example, there is still no plural agreement in the verb.

115) Phinney (1934) 45:12
mét'u konó' hiwqsu'úce 'iceyéeye sox̣íin
but there 3NOM-sit-PROG-SGNOM coyote spoon-ASSOC
'But there sits coyote with his spoon'

Nominals in the associative case also occur as co-agents in transitive clauses, as variously illustrated in the following examples. (The transitivity in the first sentence results from the promotion of a semantic goal to direct object, a construction that will be described in Chapter VI. In this example the singular subject-verb agreement is due to the fact that in the remote tense plural agreement is often dispensed with, for which see the section on number in Chapter II. The subject noun is not case marked ergative in the third example because the sentence is in the antipassive voice, which is described in Chapter V. And in the second example 'Grizzly' is incorporated into the verb via the prefix hiyúum-.)

116) Phinney (1934) 329:6-7
kaa papaynóosana x̣álpx̣alpnim pisítiin
and 3TR-arrive-ALL-PROG-SGNOM-RM Gusty Wind-ERG father-ASSOC
'And Gusty Wind with her father came upon her'

117) Phinney (1934) 482:14
koná tilípcxii'niin hipeeyúumtemekime tá'c
there fox-ASSOC 3NOM-PLNOM-Grizzly-pit cook-CIS-PERF good
'There with Fox he pit-cooked Grizzly well'

One of the arguments in a reciprocal construction may occur in the associative case. That this is not obligatory is illustrated in 121 below.

118) Phinney (1934) 121:1 (Title)
'áacix cúułimniin piwlalwíix̣na
turtle bull-ASSOC RECIP-race-PERF
'The turtle and the bull raced with each other'

119) Phinney (1934) 7:1
kawó' náaqs*niin* cúuɬim*niin* ká'lawnik̓ay' píiwyuuyne
then one-ASSOC bull-ASSOC finally RECIP-part-PERF
'Then finally he *and* the other bull parted from each other'

120) Phinney (1934) 155:17
"...," píine 'iwéepn*iin*
RECIP-say-PERF wife-ASSOC
'"...," he *and* his wife said to each other'

121) Phinney (1934) 126:2
píituuqelene wúulewtelikin *kaa* wiyíwtelikin
RECIP-fight-PERF four footed creature and flying creature
'The four-footed creatures *and* the flying creatures fought each other'

The Benefactive Case

Nez Perce marks benefactive nouns and pronouns with the benefactive suffix *-'ayn*. Human beneficiaries, however, are not usually so marked. More often a human beneficiary is shifted to direct object, as will be described in Chapter VI. The following are examples where human beneficiaries have not been shifted and are marked with *-'ayn*.

122) Phinney (1934) 18:7-8
kawó' 'éeteex wéc'u' 'ekúuse
then surely-EX stop 1/2TR-do-PROG-SGNOM

'étke titóoqa*'ayn* 'akosáaqa
because people-BEN 1/2TR-do-PROG-SGNOM-PST
'Then I will stop doing it because I was doing it *for the people*'

123) Phinney (1934) 205:4-5
wáaqo' 'e'nptéece 'iwéepna*'ayn*
now 1/2TR-get-go-PROG-SGNOM wife-BEN
'Now I am going to get her *for my wife*' (i.e. 'to be my wife')

The suffix *-'ayn* perhaps more commonly marks abstract benefactives, as in the following. For some reason the strong vowel in *-'ayn* often does not control vowel harmony completely throughout the word, as in examples

124 and 126.

124) Phinney (1934) 278:7-8
mét'u wáaqo' 'ee tin'kíne 'aháanis kúnk'u'ayn
but now you death-DO 1/2TR-make-PP always-BEN
'But now you have made death for always'

125) Phinney (1934) 457:14-15
k'acaynóomya'c wic'atat'asáaqa
Elbow-Child 1/2GEN-become-soon-PROG-SGNOM-PST

miyox̣atóoqa'ayn
chieftainship-BEN
'My Elbow-Child was going to be for the chieftainship'

126) Phinney (1934) 113:3-4
kaa wáaqo' hix̣'nisíix titóoqan 'eními'ayn hípt
and now 3NOM-dig-PROG-PLNOM people winter-GEN food
'And the people are already digging food for winter'

127) Phinney (1934) 162:5
máwa'ayn 'inóocikawca?
when-BEN 1SGREFL-feign-be afraid-PROG-SGNOM
'For when am I pretending fear?'

The Allative Case

The allative is marked by the suffix -px/-x; -px usually after s, c, m, and vowels, and -x elsewhere. As the following examples show, this case marks goals.

128) Phinney (1934) 140:16-17
kaa 'inítx ha'áaca
and lodge-ALL 3NOM-go in-PERF
'And he went into the lodge'

129) Aoki (1979) 9:5
kaa hitée'mikse pik'úunx
and 3NOM-go down-PROG-SGNOM river-ALL
'And he went down to the river'

130) Phinney (1934) 473:7-8
túuskex hiwaláhsaya tewlikítx
upward 3NOM-jump up-PERF tree-ALL
'Upward she jumped up into the tree'

131) Phinney (1934) 35:17-36:1
hiweleyléeke 'iníitx
3NOM-run inside-PERF lodge-ALL
'She ran inside the lodge'

132) Phinney (1934) 42:9
mét'u qo'c q'o' hi'yayláaksiqa kúuspx
but yet very 3NOM-sink into-PROG-PLNOM-PST water-ALL

tilípcxiinm hinéesne
fox-ERG 3NOM-PLNOM-say-PERF
'But just as they were sinking into the water, fox said to
them, "..."'

133) Phinney (1834) 299-10
kaa wáaqo' hikúye wéelepx.
and now 3NOM-go-PERF flow-ALL
'And now he went to the river'

koná tehéspx hicuulúuye tu'úynu
there ice-ALL 3NOM-insert-PERF tail
'There into the ice he inserted his tail'

Directional datives or human goals also appear in the allative case:

134) Phinney (1934) 82:3
mét'u kawó' hikúye x̣áx̣aacpx
but then 3NOM-go-PERF grizzly-ALL
'But then she went to Grizzly'

135) Phinney (1934) 151:2-3
kawó' hickilíine pisítx
then 3NOM-go home-PERF father-ALL
'Then she went home to her father'

There is a second allative suffix, -kex, which seems not to differ in meaning from -px/-x. The suffix -kex is found in the following examples. Sentence 139 with the allative suffix -x is provided for comparison with 138 where the same noun occurs with the allative suffix -kex.

136) Phinney (1934) 96:3
kaa cixlíin núunim 'iníitkex
and 1/2NOM-go home-IMP our lodge-ALL
'And go home to our lodge!'

137) Phinney (1934) 152:17-153:1
kii híkúukike, q'o' 'iníitkex hikúye
this 3NOM-go-TRANS-PERF very lodge-ALL 3NOM-go-PERF
'Now she went on, she went right to the lodge'

138) Aoki (1934) 9:32-33
naqcméewiipe pée'nehnecene mex̣séemkex[9] wáy'at
one-morning-LOC 3TR-take-PROG-SGNOM-RM mountain-ALL far
'On one morning they took her far to the mountain'

139) Phinney (1934) 89:9
pée'nehwuuycene meqséemx
3TR-carry-flee-PROG-SGNOM-RM mountain-ALL
'They fled with her to the mountains'

The allative also marks the object of comparison in a comparative construction. For the form of the allative pronoun in 140, see the section in this chapter on independent pronouns.

140) Phinney (1934) 482:4
wáaqo' 'éeteem wées qétu cikáaw'is 'íinimx
now surely-you 1/2NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM more powerful my-ALL
'Now surely you are more powerful than I'

The allative case also serves as a complementizer. It usually marks irrealis complements, just as does the English infinitive which, by the way, is also marked as a goal by the proposition to. Several examples are provided below. The allative morpheme -px/-x may be suffixed to a nominalized form of the verb, as in 142, 143, 145, and 146, or it may be suffixed directly to a bare verb stem, as in 141, 144, and 147. Also, it should be noted, in Nez Perce non-finite transitive verbs usually have case marked arguments, as is illustrated by the direct object háamana in example 145.

141) Aoki (1979) 21:4
kaa koná céwyuuy'equ' mamáy'ac hitéemepx
and there 1/2NOM-encourage-IRR children study-N-ALL
'And there I will want to encourage my children to study'

142) Aoki (1979) 20(1):7
kukúckuc mamáy'ac hilqúukeliksix tin'kítx
PL-little children 3NOM-freeze-PROG-PLNOM die-N-ALL
'Little children are freezing to death'

143) Phinney (1934) 32:5-6
wéet'u' máwa hinéeshewtuk'iye hinmíitx
not ever 3NOM-PLDO-catch up-PERF thunder-N-ALL
'She never caught up to them in singing [thundering]'

144) Phinney (1934) 261:3
hickáawna tée'mikipx
3NOM-be afraid-PERF descend-ALL
'He was afraid to descend'

145) Phinney (1934) 15:13-14
wáaqo' hipehéekin háamana 'isk'éeykitx
now 3NOM-PLNOM-see-PP man-DO peep-N-ALL
'Now they have seen me peeping at a man'

146) Phinney (1934) 274:2
kaa wéet'u' 'isíine c'íiqitx 'ée 'amc'íyo'
and not anyone-DO talk-N-ALL you 1/2TR-hear-IRR
'And you will not hear anyone talking'

147) Phinney (1934) 466:10-12
kaa ke koním tax̣c páasapaatalx̣no' wíix
and REL that-ERG soon 3TR-CAUS-stop-IRR weep-ALL
'And that one who will cause him to stop crying ...'

Ordinal numbers are formed by suffixing the allative to the non-human form of the cardinals. The non-human classifier -t has the form -ti when a suffix is added to it. There are no human forms of the ordinals.

148) Aoki (1979) 3:8
yox̣ 'ewéeke 'iwéepne lepítipx
that 3GEN-be-PERF wife two-NONHUM-ALL
'That was his second wife'

149) Phinney (1934) 276:13
kíi'u mic'kin'íx píileptipx hiyéwnenkike
this very just barely four-NONHUM-ALL 3NOM-cross over-TRANS
-PERF

kaa wáaqo' páax̣atipx hiq'uyímnikike
and now five-NONHUM-ALL 3NOM-climb-TRANS-PERF
'Here he just barely crossed over the fourth [mountain] and now the fifth he climbed'

150) Phinney (1934) 75:5-6
c'alwí páax̣atipx meqséemne páayawnano'qa ...
if five-NONHUM-ALL mountain-DO 3TR-cross-COND
'If he would have crossed over the fifth mountain, ...'

The Ablative Case

Ablative nominals suffix -pkin'ix after continuents and -kin'ix elsewhere. The following are several examples of the ablative case.

151) Phinney (1934) 409:5
piskískin'ix hik'yíine
door-ABL 3NOM-peek-PERF
'From the door she peeked'

152) Phinney (1934) 105:14-15
kaa wa´aqo' láaqapkin'ix hiicilwáhnana
and now pine-ABL 3NOM-climb down-PERF
'And now he climbed down from the pine'

153) Phinney (1934) 41:6
hipawspáyxtoqa meqséemkin'ix
3NOM-PLNOM-journey-arrive-back-PERF mountain-ABL
'They moved back from the mountains'

154) Phinney (1934) 278:8
kaa wéet'u' titóoqan máwa hipapáaytoqo'
and not people ever 3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-back-IRR

tin'kípkin'ix
death-ABL
'And people will never come back from death'

155) Phinney (1934) 91:2-3
kawó' wáqo' ku'úsu qi'níitkin'ix hipáayna
then now thus dig-N-ABL 3NOM-arrive-PERF
'Now then thus she arrived from digging'

The suffix -me also marks ablative nominals. The following are examples.

156) Phinney (1934) 79:1-2
ká'la muut'emé 'ipnáanya 'iceyéeye
just downriver-ABL 3SGREFL-make-PERF coyote
'Just from down the river he made himself a coyote'

157) Aoki (1979) 9:108
kíi náaqc 'íin 'inéepte waqíi*ma*
this one I 1/2NOM-get-go-PF past-ABL
'This one [story] I have gone to get *from* the past'

158) Aoki (1979) 13:11
kemípx hilk'óopcaqa k'usey'ne*'mé* qoq'áalx̣
REL-where-ALL 3NOM-move-PROG-SGNOM-PA Montana-ABL buffalo
'... where the buffalo were moving *from* Montana'

The ablative suffix -*me* often co-occurs with the locative suffix -*pe*, as in the following examples.

159) a. Aoki (1979) 18:52
hiwuuy'nícix yox̣ qémyex̣*peme* titóoqan
3NOM-flee-PROG-PLNOM that Kamiah-ABL people
'Then the people *from* Kamiah [Idaho] were fleeing'

b. Phinney (1934) 127:17-128:1
koná péetqe'npe waswasnóona patan*pamá*
there 3TR-suddenly-seize-PERF pheasant-DO brush-ABL
'There he suddenly seized the pheasant *from* the brush'

160) Aoki (1979) 5:10
píiyep páax̣loo*pama* híiwes cá'ya
older brother five-HUM-ABL 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM not exist
'The oldest brother *of* the five is not here'

161) Phinney (1934) 127:9-9
koná wehnikéet hi'néeptecix
there flying creature 3NOM-seize-go-PROG-PLNOM

'iléx̣ni titóoqan wetes*pemé* wetx̣wéyimtes
many people land-ABL slave
'The flying creatures are going there to seize many people *of* the land [as] slaves'

162) Aoki (1979) 10:15
'icesú'pi'n sam'áx̣*pama* kaa hi'néhnene
cut-STAT shirt-ABL and 3NOM-carry-PP
'And the [piece] cut *from* her shirt he has carried [with him]'

163) Phinney (1934) 318:16-17
kaa wáaqo' hi'láatwisix túuskex wax̣ 'alláaykax
and now 3NOM-tire-PROG-PLNOM up-ALL and down-ALL

kúut*peme*
go/do-ABL
'And now they are tiring *from* going upward and downward'

The Locative Case

The Nez Perce locative case is marked by the NP suffix -pe. This case is neutral to the nuances of meaning inherent in such English prepositions as in, on, at, into, through, to, over, by, etc. These meanings are implied only by the verb in Nez Perce, as the following examples illustrate. Where a specific goal is implied, however, the allative would be used.

164) Phinney (1934) 147:16
kii hip'íɨce 'iníitpe
this 3NOM-be an opening-PROG-SGNOM lodge-LOC
'Now there is an opening in the lodge'

165) Phinney (1934) 34:7
koná péexne tu'yéene tewlikíitpe
there 3TR-see-PERF grouse-DO tree-LOC
'There he saw a grouse in a tree'

166) Phinney (1934) 35:1-2
konó' hipáayna 'iníitpe
there 3NOM-arrive-PERF lodge-LOC
'There she arrived at a lodge'

167) Phinney (1934) 130:8
hitqíike sisnímpe
3NOM-fall-PERF thorns-LOC
'He fell into the thorns'

168) Phinney (1934) 130:8
péetulehtkike coqóypa
3TR-throw out-TRANS-PERF smokehole-LOC
'He threw him out through the smokehole'

169) Phinney (1934) 19:10
mitáatipa meqséempe 'ipnéetelkelikime
three-LOC mountain-LOC 3REFL-tie-CIS-PERF
'He tied himself to three mountains'

Human nouns may also occur in the locative case, as in the following examples.

170) Phinney (1934) 81:10
kaa koló' hi'náhpayka[10] píisispe
and then 3NOM-carry arrive-PERF aunt-LOC
'And then he brought her [his wife] *to* his aunt'

171) Phinney (1934) 148:9
koná hiwqsu'u´ce qáaca'cpa
there 3NOM-sit-PROG-SGNOM maternal grandmother-LOC
'There he is sitting *by* his maternal grandmother'

Just as in English, when a semantic patient is a body part, the affected human is the direct object and the body part a locative, e.g.

172) Phinney (1934) 21:14
kaa nusnúupe péetule'pt'eye
and nose-LOC 3TR-foot hit-PERF
'And he kicked him *on* the nose'

173) Phinney 478:4
kaa 'icyéeyene pée'wiye siwéepe céepki
and coyote-DO 3TR-shoot-PERF forehead-LOC arrow-INSTR
'And he shot coyote *on* the forehead with an arrow'

174) Aoki (1979) 18:73
kaa sooyáapoom pe'énpse 'ipsúuspe
and whiteman-ERG 3TR-seize-PROG-SGNOM hand-LOC

'aatimk'íiwni'sna
arm-cut-STAT-DO
'And the Whiteman shook hands with General Howard'

While clauses are often expressed with a non-finite verb in the locative case, as in the following examples. Sometimes the verb is in a nominalized form, as in examples 176 and 179, and sometimes the locative is suffixed directly to the bare verb stem, as in examples 175, 177, and 178. Note that even though the verb is in non-finite form with no person or number markers, its arguments are nevertheless case marked, as is the direct object *patáqsna* in example 176. The first two of the following sentences also have regular locatives. The one translated 'by' in 175 is similar to the constructions in 172 to 174 above.

175) Phinney (1934) 47:9-10
wúuype 'iceyéeyenm kaa tilípcxiinm pée'neptecix
flee-LOC coyote-ERG and fox-ERG 3TR-hold-go-PROG-PLNOM

'ipsúuspe pelqéexnix
hand-LOC DIS-across-ABL
'While fleeing coyote and fox are holding him by the hand from both sides'

176) Phinney (1934) 192:8-9
wéetmet yéwnenu' likoláampa 'ipéew'itpe
don't 1/2NOM-cross-IRR hill crest-LOC look for-N-LOC

patáqsna
stick-DO
'Don't cross over the crest of the hill while looking for sticks'

177) Aoki (1979) 3:13-14
kaa hi'náhnanqana 'iwéepne keyóx̣ 'ewéeke
and 3NOM-take-SGHAB-RM wife REL-that 3GEN-be-PERF

tá'c hekípe yoosyóos, yéhet yoosyóos
good see-LOC blue neck blue
'And he used to take his wife, that one whose blue, blue neck was good in appearance'

178) Aoki (1979) 3:14
konyá páa'nahnanqana péemmey tukelíikpe
that-DO 3TR-take-SGHAB-RM DIS-morning hunt-LOC
'He used to take that one [wife] every morning while hunting'

179) Aoki (1979) 3:21-23
kaa 'etke háamti'c hiqéeṭqet weeke'éykitpe
and because fast 3NOM^{II}-duck fly-N-LOC
'And because the duck is fast while flying' (or 'in flying')

Other locative suffixes that are semantically more specific include -laykin 'near' and -pípem 'among'. The first three examples below are from Aoki (1970d), page 77.

180) láaqalaykin 'near a pine tree' (láaqa 'pine tree')

181) sik'áamlaykin 'near a horse' (sík'em 'horse')

182) lawtiwaapípam 'among friends' (láwtiwaa 'friend')

183) Aoki (1979) 9:95
kawô' wâaqo' q'o' toyâ*mlaykin*
then now quite summit-LOC
'Now then [he is] quite *near* the summit'

The following nouns and/or adverbials are used to express other locative relationships: *'allâay* 'below', *'anóoqt* 'front', *'aptâm* 'against', *'âaqam* 'above', *'éemti* 'outside', *'imíit* 'inside', *héelex* 'behind', *héepey* 'among', *lixlíi* 'around', *neqéey* 'across', *q'atât* 'near', *tûusti* 'high', and *x̣e'ép* 'under'. In the following examples these occur with nouns in the locative case.

184) Phinney (1934) 270:8
q'o' *lixlíi* coqoycôqoy*pa*
clear around conical lodge-LOC
'clear around the conical lodge'

185) Phinney (1934) 37:9
kâ'la *hêepey* hahâm*pa*
just among men-LOC
'just among the men'

186) Aoki (1979) 18:53
kíne *neqêey* talapôosanwaas*pa*
this-LOC across church-LOC
'across at this church'

187) Phinney (1934) 250:4
'imíit kûus*pe* lí'yes hi'nikíme
inside water-LOC canoe 3NOM-put-CIS-PERF
'She put her canoe inside the water'

In the following *'allâay* 'below' is used adverbially without an accompanying noun in the locative case.

188) Phinney 352:3
kaa 'ipí *'allâay* hicâapkilaksa 'âatway
and she below 3NOM-pick up-PROG-SGNOM old woman
'And the old woman picked it up below'

Relational nouns may also themselves inflect for case. The first two examples below have such nouns in the ablative case, and the next two have them in the allative.

189) Phinney (1934) 352:4
koníix 'alláaykin'ix péene, "..."
that-ABL below-ABL 3TR-say-PERF
'From below she said to him, "..."'

190) Phinney (1934) 352:5
túuskin'ix péene, "..."
high-ABL 3TR-say-PERF
'From up high he said to her, "..."'

191) Phinney (1934) 277:12
q'o' héelekipx hitqa'qalíika
quite behind-ALL 3NOM-suddenly-move back-PERF
'He suddenly fell over backwards'

192) Aoki (1979) 9:87-88
'anóoqtipx hisa'yóox̣o'sa
front-ALL 3NOM-watch-PROG-SGNOM
'He is watching frontwards'

The Instrumental Case

The instrumental case is marked by the suffix -ki and has the meaning 'with' or 'by means of' as in the following examples.

193) Phinney (1934) 21:7
walácki péetqeseweyne
knife-INSTR 3TR-quickly cut-PERF
'He quickly cut it with his knife'

194) Phinney (1934) 22:10
kii wáaqo' 'iceyéeye ha'áalikima 'ápski
this now coyote 3NOM-build fire-CIS-PERF flint-INSTR
'Now coyote built a fire with flint'

195) Phinney (1934) 105:11
túuskin'ix patóoyki hináastamyana
above-ABL fir-INSTR 3NOM-PLDO-hit-PERF
'He hit them with a fir [bough] from above'

196) Phinney (1934) 350:1
hitoláynima li'yéeski
3NOM-go upstream-CIS-PERF canoe-INSTR
'She came upstream by canoe'

197) Phinney (1934) 468:11-12
wéet'u' ká'la náax̣cki híinewitki 'ewc'éeyu'
not just one-INSTR trial-INSTR 3GEN-become-IRR
'It will become his not just by means of one trial'

198) Aoki (1979) 3:36-37
kaa yóx̣ konkí hi'lwáax̣waqca 'éete
and that that-INSTR 3NOM-scream-PROG-SGNOM surely

tokâapk'asaskitki
pinch-N-INSTR
'And then she is screaming surely because of that pinching'

With human objects the instrumental conveys a sense of 'for, on account of, because of'. Instrumentals of this type seem to accompany verbs of emotion, as in the following examples.

199) a. Phinney (1934) 458:13
mét'u tilípcxi' hiwíicem mamấy'acki
but fox 3NOM-weep-PROG-CIS children-INSTR
'But fox is weeping for his children'

b. Phinney (1934) 11:1
hiwyéewiinime qâaca'cki
3NOM-going along weep-CIS-PERF maternal grandmother-INSTR
'As he went along he wept for his grandmother'

200) Phinney (1934) 363:9
háamaki hitilláapca
husband-INSTR 3NOM-be lonely-PROG-SGNOM
'She is longing for her husband'

201) Phinney (1934) 14-15
pinatítko 'ée kúuye titóoqaki?
jump from fright you 1/2NOM-do-PERF person-INSTR
'Did you jump from fright because of a person?'

202) Phinney (1934) 339:2-3
'íi, ká'lo' koná hipallóoynima miyá'cki
oh just that-LOC 3NOM-PLNOM-rejoyce-CIS-PERF child-INSTR
'Oh, they just there rejoyced about their child'

With verbs of saying/telling and thinking this case has the meaning of 'about', as in the following.

203) Aoki (1979) 16:18
cêlmenki 'ewín
Chinese-INSTR 1/2TR-tell-IMP
'Tell him about the Chinese!'

204) Phinney (1934) 34:15-16
kâ'la hitmíp'nicimise hipítki
just 3NOM-remember only-PROG-SGNOM foot-INSTR
'She is just thinking only about food'

205) Phinney (1934) 198:11
'itúuki wíicix?
what-INSTR 1/2NOM-weep-PROG-PLNOM
'What are you weeping about?

With the names of languages the instrumental translates into English as 'in', e.g.

206) Aoki (1979) 18:2
manâ 'uu'nikíse sooyaapootímtki?
what 3GEN-name-PROG-SGNOM whiteman language-INSTR
'What is its name in English?'

207) Aoki (1979) 12:32-33
kíimet kaa pêeten'wesine nimipuutímtki
this-TEMP and 3TR-speak-PROG-PLNOM-RM Nez Perce-language-INSTR

kíimet hinêesteqemsteqe'npe nimipuutímtki
this-TEMP 3NOM-PLDO-quickly-answer-PERF Nez Perce-language -INSTR
'When they were speaking to him in Nez Perce, then he quickly answered them in Nez Perce'

The following are examples where the instrumental marks the adverbial use of a word.

208) Aoki (1979) 10:11
kaa pêektene kínye pit'íinine nâaqcki kulêewitki
and 3TR-see-go-PERF this-DO girl-DO one-INSTR evening-INSTR
'And he went to see this girl one evening'

209) Phinney (1934) 35:6-7
kaa wâaqo' kii 'ipínk'u' hi'yêewki hipyâamkima qâaws
and now this 3NOM-also slow-INSTR 3NOM-peel-CIS-PERF kows
'And now she also slowly peeled the kows'

The Resultative Case

The suffix -*wecet* has the meaning 'because of' or 'on account of', as in the following examples.

210) a. Aoki (1979) 13:35
heyéeq*wecet* hipa'áca
hunger-RESULT 3NOM-PLNOM-go in-PERF
'They went in because of hunger'

b. Aoki (1979) 1:15-16
c'alawí 'ee 'oopci'yawn'ipáacwisa he'yúuxsne
if you 1/2TR-kill-DES-PROG-SGNOM cottontail-DO

misemít*wecet*
lie-N-RESULT
'If you want to kill cottontail *for* lying, ...'

211) Aoki (1979) 21:11-12
wéet'u héenek'e 'itúu*wecet* 'aptám nekúuse
not again anything-RESULT against 1/2NOM-think-ALL-PROG -SGNOM
"Not *for* anything will I hold thoughts against him again"
(Aoki's translation)

The demonstrative *konwacáan*/*konwacáat*, meaning literally 'because of that, on account of that', functions like the English *therefore*.

212) Phinney 47:9
kon*wacáat* kíye hikúuse
that-RESULT we/us 3NOM-do-PROG-SGNOM
'Therefore she is doing it to us'

The Temporal Case

The temporal case suffix -*met* seems to be limited to the demonstrative *kii* 'this', the human indefinite pronoun *'isíi* 'someone, anyone, who', and the negative element (or yes-no question particle) *wéet*. The word *kíimet* means 'during this', 'at this time,' or 'whereupon' , as in the following.

213) Phinney (1934) 141:9-10
konâ hitqatâlqa, kíimet míiw'acpa
there 3NOM-stop-PERF this-TEMP while-LOC

hinêesnemekunye titm'âayina
3NOM-PLDO-see coming-PERF R-young woman-DO
'Then he stopped, whereupon shortly he saw the young women coming'

The combination kíimet kaa has more the sequential sense of 'then' or 'after this', as in the following.

214) Aoki (1979) 3:36-37
kaa yôx̣ konkí hi'lwâax̣waqca 'êete
and that that-INSTR 3NOM-scream-PROG-SGNOM surely

tokâapk'asaskitki kíimet kaa pêece
pinch-INSTR this-TEMP and 3TR-say-PROG-SGNOM

"manâa kûuse?"
what 1/2NOM-do-PROG-SGNOM
'And then she screams surely because of that pinching, after which he says to her, "What am I doing?"

The word 'isíimet draws attention with a meaning something like 'behold' or 'lo', as in the following.

215) Phinney (1934) 349:1
hipâaynikika, 'isíimet sâaw
3NOM-arrive-TRANS-PERF someone-TEMP silence

— 'iníiteescim hitqêewse
lodge site-only 3NOM-suddenly-be-PROG-SGNOM
'He arrived, behold silence — only lodge sites are left'

216) Phinney (1934) 352:11-12
konô' papaynôokika
then 3TR-arrive-ALL-TRANS-PERF

— 'isíimet hihítemyekse
someone-TEMP 3NOM-sweat bathe-PROG-SGNOM
'Then he came upon him — behold he is sweat bathing'

217) Phinney (1934) 349:5-6
konmá hikúye, 'isíimet 'éete hip'láaya
there 3NOM-go-PERF someone-TEMP surely 3NOM-dig-PERF

kakoná píswe 'úus
REL-there rock 3GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM
'There he went [where] behold she surely had dug where her rock is'

The word wéetmet (sometimes méetmet) heads clauses of forbidding, and is translated 'do not'. It always co-occurs with a verb in the irrealis mode, as in the following examples.

218) Phinney (1934) 151:16
kaa méetmet siteyléeku'kum
and do not 1/2NOM-look in-IRR-CIS
'And do not look in'

219) Phinney (1934) 161:11-12
wéetmet q'o' 'itúune huu 'isíine máwa 'apa'náxpayko'
do not at all anything-DO or anyone-DO ever 1/2TR-bring-IRR
'Never bring anything or anyone at all [here]'

The Vocative Cases

Since vocatives have traditionally been treated as noun cases, they will be dealt with briefly here. Nez Perce has two vocatives; a senior vocative which suffixes -e', and a junior vocative which suffixes -e. These are restricted to a certain set of kinship terms, the junior vocative only to the terms for the four grandparent relationships. The senior vocative suffixes to a slightly larger set of kinship terms than the junior vocative, for which see Aoki (1970d), page 50. These kinship terms name a relationship, and with the senior vocative suffix they designate the eldest member of the relationship. With the junior vocative the younger member is so indicated. The following examples are provided to illustrate these vocatives.

220) Senior Vocative: -e'
Phinney (1934) 152:7
'áacim, qáaca'
1/2NOM-go in-CIS-IMP grandmother-SRVOC
'Come in, Grandmother [mother's mother]'

221) Junior Vocative: -e
Phinney (1934) 148:12
wéet'u', qáaca, kúnk'u' kíye
no grandson-JRVOC always we/us

hipaynóosa
3NOM-arrive-ALL-PROG-SGNOM
'No, Grandson [woman's daughter's child], she always comes to us'

Case Concord

The morphemes that encode case in NPs are not adpositions that mark the entire NP. They are, rather, suffixes whose scope of modification is usually limited to the noun or pronoun to which they are attached. Typically, there is concord in case marking in all words in an NP, as the following examples illustrate.

222) Aoki (1979) 56-57
kaa koná 'éete 'iníit 'imíit koná 'úus
and there surely home inside there 3GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM

koním himeq'íisnim wex̣púusnim
that-GEN huge-GEN rattlesnake-GEN
'And then surely inside there was that huge rattlesnake's home'

223) Aoki (1979) 3:22-23
kaa cikaw'íisna hamti'ísna weptéesne patwaníixnaqana
and fierce-DO fast-DO eagle-DO 3TR-keep up with-SGHAB-RM
'And she used to keep up with the fierce, fast eagle'

224) Phinney (1934) 241:11-12 (also 242:4-5)
ká'lo' wéhye cicíkaw'iskin'ix tiwéetipkin'ix
just 1/2NOM-move along-PP R-fierce-ABL shaman-ABL

múut'etkin'ix
down river-ABL
'I have just moved along from the fierce shamans down river'

225) Phinney (1934) 19:10-11
mitáatipa meqséempe 'ipnéetelkelikime
three-LOC mountain-LOC 3SGREFL-tie-CIS-PERF
'He tied himself to three mountains'

226) Phinney (1934) 365:5-6
kii wáaqo' póolalk'oliiksana q'o'
this now 3TR-wind around-PROG-SGNOM-RM quite

'ilx̣níiki qemúuki
much-INSTR string-INSTR
'Here now they wound (with) much string around him '

The words in an NP are not always contiguous, as is illustrated in the following examples. Here, even though separated, nouns and their modifiers are readily identifiable via their concord in case marking.

227) Aoki (1979) 18:94
kíi yú'snim tóhon citéetp'enm
this poor-GEN leggings Citéetp'et-GEN

'etqe'íce ká'la sítx̣
3GEN-suddenly-lie-PROG-SGNOM just dirty
'Now poor Citéetp'et's leggings were lying there dirty'

228) Aoki (1979) 3:12
kaa konyá páasayqca tukéeleesne
and that-DO 3TR-admire-PROG-SGNOM hunting ground-DO
'And he admires that hunting ground'

229) Phinney (1934) 208:14-15
yu'úsne tax̣c kínm tá'c 'iyéex̣t 'aanyá'nyo'
poor-DO soon this-GEN good broth 1/2TR-make-BEN-IRR

na'tóotap
my-father-DO
'Soon I will make good broth of this for my poor father'

There is usually case concord between a stressed genitive pronoun and its head, as in the first and third of the following examples. That this is somewhat optional is shown by the second example below. There is never concord, however, between a genitive noun and its head, as is illustrated in example 233.

230) Phinney (1934) 229:10-11
'itúupx wayawâayiksaqa 'íinimx siméesx?
what-ALL 1/2NOM-move across-PROG-SGNOM-PST 1SG-GEN-ALL bed-ALL
'Why were you moving across to my bed?'

231) Phinney (1934) 229:12
kaa hilíwke'yke 'imím siméesx
and 3NOM-burn-move-PERF 2SG-GEN bed-ALL
'And it burned its way to your bed'

232) Phinney (1934) 229:5-6
kaa 'ipnimníxpe siméespe hi'níike
and 3SG-GEN-INTENS-LOC bed-LOC 3NOM-put-PERF
'And he put [them] at his own bed'

232) Phinney (1934) 229:3
koná weptéesnim siméespe wic'éetx
there eagle-GEN bed-LOC 1/2NOM-stay-IMP-PLNOM
'Stay there at Eagle's bed'

Pronouns

Nez Perce pronouns are of four kinds; those verbal affixes that encode the person and number of subject and direct object, independent or stressed pronouns, possessive pronouns that are prefixed to kinship terms, and pronominals that are suffixed to certain sentence adverbials. The first kind of pronoun was discussed in Chapter II, the last three kinds will be discussed in this section of this chapter.

Independent Pronouns

There are three classes of independent or stressed pronouns in Nez Perce. These include the personal pronouns, the demonstratives, and the interrogative pronouns.

Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are given in Table 12. Unlike the verbal

Table 12. The Personal Pronouns

	Unmarked	Ergative/Genitive	Direct Object
Singular			
1st Person	'íin	'íinim	'íine
2nd Person	'íim	'imím	'imené
3rd Person	'ipí	'ipním	'ipné
Plural			
1st Person	núun	núunim	núune
2nd/3rd Person	'imé	'iméem	'imuuné

prefixes which mark participant versus non-participant, the deixis of the personal pronouns is 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person. The personal pronoun núun 'we' is the only plural root form. The other plural personal pronoun 'imé, which is 'íim 'you' plus the plural suffix -me, serves for both 2nd and 3rd person. This ambiguity is usually resolved by the pronominal prefixes of the verb. The plural direct object pronoun 'imuuné 'you all, them', however, sometimes depends solely on context for its disambiguation. This happens whenever there is plural agreement with the direct object via the verbal prefix nées- and the subject is 3rd person, in which case (as described in Chapter II), the transitive verbal prefix pée-, which designates a 3rd person direct object, cannot occur. The following is such an example. Context, however, makes it clear the direct object is 3rd person.

234) Aoki (1979) 10:36-37
'áatwaynim hinéesmisteqe'npe 'imuuné
old woman-ERG 3NOM-PLDO-answer-PERF 2/3PL-DO
'The old woman answered them, "..."'

As has been noted already this chapter, there is no ergative case for

1st and 2nd person. In the following example, note that the stressed pronoun 'íin 'I' is the subject of a transitive verb with the 1st/2nd person transitive prefix 'e-. The pronoun is nevertheless not in the ergative case but rather in the unmarked case.

235) Phinney (1934) 356:3-4
kā'la 'imé hipetimmíyune
just 2/3PL 3NOM-PLNOM-deliberate-PERF

kaa 'inekíix 'íin 'enéesne, "wéet'u'"
and even though 1SG 1/2TR-PLDO-tell-PERF no
'They just deliberated even though I told them, "No"'

In the above example the pronoun 'imé must be interpreted as 'they' rather than 'you all' because the prefix on the verb is the 3rd person hi-. The verb there is intransitive and the subject pronoun 'imé is in the expected unmarked case. In the sentence below the same pronoun must also be interpreted as 3rd person, but there because of the 3rd person verbal prefix pée- on the transitive verb wéwluq 'want'. And there, as expected, because the pronoun is 3rd person the ergative case is employed.

236) Phinney (1934) 207:6
... 'étke 'iméem q'o' péewewluqsix
because 2/3PL-ERG very 3TR-want-PROG-PLNOM
'... because they very much want her'

The following sentence illustrates the fact that 2nd person pronouns are also never marked ergative.

237) Phinney (1934) 117:5
kawő' 'íim 'ewín
then 2SG 1/2TR-tell-IMP
'Then you tell her'

In the following example, the 2nd person 'imím has the ergative/genitive suffix -im. Since the pronoun is 2nd person it cannot be interpreted as the ergative subject of the transitive verb *'iní* 'give', but instead must be understood as the genitive 'yours'.

238) Phinney (1934) 82:7
'imím *'ew*'níy
2SG-GEN 1/2TR-give-IMP
'Give him *yours*'

Often a case-marked independent pronoun is the only morphological feature of transitivity in a clause. In the sentence below it is only the suffix *-ne* on the independent pronoun that insures that the verb *kuu*, which means either 'go' or 'do', is to be interpreted as the transitive 'do to'. The 2nd person status of the direct object is redundantly coded by the intransitive verbal prefix *hi-* (see Chapter II).

239) Phinney (1934) 90:13
manáa met hikúute'nix 'ime*né*?
what but 3NOM-do-HAB-PLNOM 2SG-DO
'But what do they do to *you*?'

Nez Perce has two very common independent pronouns that are indeclinable. These are *'ée* 'you' and *kíye* 'we, us'. The following are examples of *'ée* 'you'

240) *'ée* as Subject
Phinney (1934) 20:17
wáaqo' 'óykalana titóoqana 'éekus *'ée*
already all-DO people-DO 1/2TR-do-PP you
'*You* have already done so to all of the people'

241) *'ée* as Direct Object
Phinney (1934) 30:5-6
'ée himc'íyo' 'áatwaynim
you 3NOM-hear-IRR old woman-ERG
'The old woman will hear *you*'

The indeclinable pronoun *'ée* has the plural form *'éetx*, as in the following examples.

242) Phinney (1934) 230:13
ká'la 'éetx 'exyúusix 'ipné
just you-PL 1/2TR-go-PROG-PLNOM 3-DO
'You all are just going to him'

When 'éetx is a direct object it usually does not have plural agreement in the verb via the prefix nées- (see Chapter II), as is the case in the following.

243) Aoki (1979) 21:5
'íin qe'ci'yéew'yew' kíne 'éetx 'ípese
1SG am thankful here you-PL 1/2NOM-be with-PROG-SGNOM
'I am thankful [that] I am with you all here'

244) Aoki (1979) 18:47
'éetx hipóopci'yawno' wéet'u 'éetx hipa'níitoqo'
you-PL 3NOM-PLNOM-kill-IRR not you-PL 3NOM-PLNOM-give-back
-IRR
'They will kill you all, they will not give her back to you all'

The following are examples of the indeclinable pronoun kíye 'we, us'. Note also that kíye, like the indeclinable 'éetx, usually shows no plural agreement in the verb, even in the last example below where the regular direct object pronoun núune 'us' also occurs. In the first example, however, the verb does show agreement with kíye with the plural prefix nées-.

245) Aoki (1979) 18:118
kíye hipenéesteqekiyuum
we/us 3NOM-PLNOM-PLDO-suddenly-go-ALL-CIS-PP
'Suddenly they have come after us'

246) Phinney (1934) 21:16
kíye c'áyn wisíix
we/us dung 1/2NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM
'We are dung'

247) Phinney (1934) 148:3-4
mét'u kíye na'tóotam hiicáaqa, "..."
but we/us my-father-ERG 3NOM-tell-PROG-SGNOM-PST
'But my father told us, "..."'

248) Aoki (1979) 13:39
wéet'u kíye hi'níise núune keléemet
not we/us 3NOM-give-PROG-SGNOM 1PL-DO pipe
'He is not giving us the pipe'

Sometimes the personal pronouns function somewhat as definite articles, as is indicated in the following examples.

249) Phinney (1934) 194:14-15
mét'u ká'la ku' minma'í pákoqana 'ipním c'íłiłenm
but just INDEF way 3TR-do-HABSGNOM-RM 3SG-ERG weasel-ERG
'But the weasel kept doing it any [old] way'

250) Aoki (1979) 10:35
kawá 'ipním péeqex̣ péecine
then 3SG-GEN mat aunt 3TR-tell-PROG-PLNOM-RM

'áatwayna 'ipné
old woman-DO 3SG-DO
'Then his maternal aunt told the old woman'

The personal pronouns often function to show a switch in topic (for which see Chapter VIII). This is illustrated here by the following two examples.

251) Phinney (1934) 36:8-11
kawó' kii wáaqo' 'óykala pe'túu titá'c ke 'úus
then this now all DIS-thing R-good REL 3GEN-be-ASP
'Then here now all good things which she has

hiwce'séepeme kaa hikúye
3NOM-pack up-CIS-PERF and 3NOM-go-PERF
'she packed up and went

ke konmá 'ilx̣níiwene titóoqana hinéescuxwece.
REL there many-HUM-DO people-DO 3NOM-PLDO-know-PROG-SGNOM
'where she knows many people.'

kii wáaqo' 'ipí hének'u' konó' pée'wiye mácina
this now 3SG again then 3TR-shoot-PERF several-DO
'Here now then he again shot several'

252) Phinney (1934) 40:10-12
kawó' kii pepyúumes te'éx̣et hickilíne;
then this sea monster youth 3NOM-go home-PERF
'Here then the sea monster youth went home;'

taxláy 'ipním 'iwéepne 'etqéewse
exchange 3SG-GEN wife 3GEN-suddenly-be-PROG-SGNOM
'... on the other hand he (Young Coyote) came to have a wife'

Though not always, personal pronouns in the oblique cases are usually first put in the genitive, e.g.

253) Phinney (1934) 353:7
kaa koná núunimpe kíye wisíiqa
and there 1PL-GEN-LOC we/us 1/2NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM-PST

q'o' 'iléx̣ni hípt
very much food
'And there at ours [lodges] we had very much food'

254) Phinney (1934) 21:15-16
'íinimcimx 'ipnóopcikaw'isksa
1SG-GEN-only-ALL 3REFL-make ferocious-PROG-SGNOM
'Only to me he makes himself ferocious'

255) Phinney (1934) 79:6-7
ká'la kúnk'u' 'íinimpx 'imamóotocxsix
just always 1SG-GEN-ALL 2/3PLREFL-consider superior-PROG-PLNOM
'They are just always considering themselves superior to me'

It should be noted here again, as the following example illustrates, that when the genitive pronouns modify a noun, there is most often concord in case with the noun.

256) Aoki (1979) 10:36
pekiyuut'ipéecwise 'imimné peqéex̣ne
3TR-go-ALL-N-DIS-PROG-SGNOM 2SG-GEN-DO mat aunt-DO
'She wants to marry your maternal aunt'

The Demonstratives

Nez Perce has a two way 'this' and 'that' deixis in its demonstratives. These are presented in Table 13 with their case declensions in paradigmatic form. (Note that the morpheme kon- 'that'

Table 13. The Demonstratives

	'this'	'that'
Singular		
Unmarked	kíi	(yox̣)
Ergative/Genitive	kínm	koním
Direct Object	kínye	konyá
Benefactive	kín'yayn	kon'yáyn
Associative	kínyiin	konyíin
Allative	kípx	
Ablative	kínix	koníix
Locative	kíne	koná
Laterative[12]	kínike	koniká
Instrumental	kínki	konkí
Resultative	kínwecet	konwacáan
Temporal	kíimet	
Plural		
Unmarked	kíime	konmá
Ergative/Genitive	kínmem	konmáam
Direct Object	kínmene	konmaná
Benefactive	kínma'yayn	konma'yáyn
Locative	kinéeme	konamá

has no unmarked form.) These demonstratives may function as pronouns, as in the following.

257) Aoki (1979) 10:40-41
wéet 'etmíip'nise kínye?
Y/NQ 1/2TR-remember-PROG-SGNOM this-DO
'Do you remember this?'

258) Phinney (1934) 100:7
máwa 'ée konmáam hiwtínite'nix?
ever you that-PL-ERG 3NOM-give a share-HAB-PLNOM
'Do those ever give you a share?'

259) Phinney (1934) 106:5
kínmene hinéec'inpe
this-PL-DO 3NOM-PLDO-seize-PERF
'He seized these'

In the following examples the demonstratives function as modifiers of nouns.

260) Aoki (1979) 10;9-10
kínm háacwalm paatmíp'niqana *kínye* pit'íinine
this-ERG boy-ERG 3TR-remember-HABSGNOM-RM this-DO girl-DO
'*This* boy kept remembering *this* girl'

261) Phinney (1934) 98:12-13
néestepeleyksem 'ée
1/2NOM-PLDO-talk-confuse-PROG-SGNOM-CIS you

konkí c'íiqitki
that-INSTR talk-INSTR
'You are confusing us with *that* talk'

262) Phinney (1934) 414:14-15
wáaqo' *kínmem* hahámnim 'ée 'iwéepne haanisíix
now this-PL-ERG R-man-ERG you wife 3NOM-make-PROG-PLNOM
'Now *these* men are making you their wife'

The Interrogative Pronouns

There are two interrogative pronouns in Nez Perce, *'isíi* for human and *'itúu* for non-human referents. (As there is virtually no irregularity in their case declensions, no table is included.) The non-human *'itúu* in the benefactive, allative, or locative cases all have similar meanings to the English *why*. The following are some examples.

263) Phinney (1934) 141:11
'isíi wées?
who 1/2NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM
'*Who* are you?'

264) Phinney (1934) 412:13
'isíinm kaa haanyuáa'ytato sám'x̣?
who-ERG and 3NOM-make-GEN-HAB-SGNOM clothes
'*Who* then makes your clothes?'

265) Phinney (1934) 351:6
'itúune 'ackáawca?
what-DO 1/2TR-fear-PROG-SGNOM
'*What* do you fear?'

266) Phinney (1934) 351:4
'itúupx cikáawcam?
what-ALL 1/2NOM-fear-PROG-SGNOM-CIS
'Why do you fear me?'

267) Phinney (1934) 60:3
'itów'ayn 'eqíitce?
what-BEN 1/2TR-bother-PROG-SGNOM
'Why bother him?'

268) Phinney (1934) 71:8
míne 'itúupe 'asapáatillapcix?
where what-LOC 1/2TR-CAUS-be lonesome-PROG-PLNOM
'Wherefore are you making him lonesome?'

269) Phinney (1934) 126:9
'itúupkin'ix kix 'íin wées?
what-ABL REL-EX 1SG 1/2NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM
'From what am I?'

270) Phinney (1934) 466:3
'isíinmkin'ix wées?
who-GEN-ABL 1/2NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM
'From whom are you?'

The interrogative pronouns also function as indefinite pronouns.

271) Phinney (1934) 213:13-14
mét'u wéet'u' 'isíinm péecuxwece hipáayn
but not anyone-ERG 3TR-know-PROG-SGNOM 3NOM-arrive-PP
'But no one knows she has arrived'

272) Phinney (1934) 275:10-11
'inekíix 'ée 'itúune 'amc'íyo',
even though you anything-DO 1/2TR-hear-IRR

'isíine 'emssú'ku',
anyone-DO 1/2TR-voice-recognize-IRR

méetmet q'o' q'íilawno'
do not INTENS 1/2NOM-look back-IRR
'Even though you hear anything, recognize anyone, absolutely do not look back'

273) Phinney (1934) 175:9-10
kaa wéet'u' máwa hipecúxwene 'isíinm póopci'yawna
and not ever 3NOM-PLNOM-know-PERF who-ERG 3TR-kill-PERF
'And they never knew who killed her'

274) Phinney (1934) 159:1-2
kaa wáaqo' wéet'u' *'itów'ayn* qóoqox̣ hiwc'éeme
and now not anything-BEN raven 3NOM-become-CIS-PERF
'And now Raven became not [good] *for anything*'

These pronouns can also modify a noun, providing the sense of 'any', as in the following.

275) Phinney (1934) 5:9
míne 'ipí hinekíse
where 3SG 3NOM-think-PROG-SGNOM

'isíinm 'áayatom hiwáwloqo'qa
anyone-ERG woman-ERG 3NOM-want-COND
'Wherefore does he think, "*Any* woman would want me"?'

Pronominal Prefixes

Kinship terms come in two sets in Nez Perce: bound[13] forms which occur only with the prefixed pronominals for 'my' or 'your' and with the vocative suffixes, and "free" forms which can stand alone without a pronominal or vocative affix. The kinship terms which occur in these two sets are given in Table 14. Note that the free forms are distinguished either by the prefix *píi-*/*pée-* or the suffix *-e'c*. Both sets of kinship terms suffix case markers (and the plural *-me*). (In the free set, where the non-suffixed and suffixed forms differ, the allomorphs are given in Table 14.) There are, however, many more kinship terms than the ones listed in Table 14, for which Aoki (1966a), (1970c), (1970d), pages 50-53, and Lundsgaarde (1967) should be consulted. The bound set of the kinship terms of Table 14 can be defined as those that prefix the pronominals *ne'-* 'my' and *'im-* (and its allomorphs) 'your'. All other kinship terms prefix *'in-* (and its allomorphs) for 'my' and *'im-* (and its allomorphs) for 'your'. There

Table 14. Bound and Free Forms of Some Kinship Terms

	Bound	Free
-e'c forms:		
'father's father'	qalác	qaláca'c
'father's mother'	'éel/'él[14]	'éele'c
'mother's father'	piláq/-pláq	piláqa'c
'mother's mother'	qáac/qáas[15]	qáasa'c
píi-/*pée-* forms:		
'father'	tóot	píst/pisít-
'mother'	'íic/'íis	píke/pikée-
'father's brother'	méq	píimx̣/piméx̣-
'father's sister'	cíic/síis	píisis/pisíis-
'mother's brother'	táq	píitx̣/pitáx̣-
'mother's sister'	qéeq	péeqex̣/peqéex̣-
'older brother'	yáac/yáas	píiyep/piyéep-
'older sister'	níc/nís/néen[16]	péhet/pehét-/pehée-

are no plural and no 3rd person pronominal prefixes for kinship terms in Nez Perce. This is no handicap, however, since stressed genitive pronouns may be used with the free set of kinship terms. Also, possession of the free set may be indicated in the verb (see Chapter VII). As was noted in the section above on case marking, it is the kinship terms of the bound set that suffix *-em* for the ergative and *-ep* for the direct object. This is illustrated in the following examples with *qáac* 'mother's mother'. The pronominal prefixes are obligatory and always non-emphatic.

276) Aoki (1979) 5:48
*na'*yáac hissásawcix
my-old bro 3NOM-be missing-PROG-PLNOM
'*My* brothers are missing'

277) Phinney (1934) 412:14-15
na'qáacam haanyáa'ytato sám'x̣
my-mo mo-ERG 3NOM-make-GEN-HABSGNOM clothes
'My maternal grandmother makes my clothes'

278) Phinney (1934) 413:7-8
tax̣c 'ée 'im'qáasap 'eséep'niyu'
soon you your-mo mo-DO 1/2TR-ask-IRR
'Soon you will ask your maternal grandmother, "..."'

The kinship terms in the free set suffix -pim for the ergative case, of which there is an example below. The absence of any possessive pronoun implies a 3rd person possessor.

279) Aoki (1979) 10:31-32
náaqcki léeheyki pike´epim páanqana
one-INSTR day-INSTR mother-ERG 3TR-tell-HABSGNOM-RM
'One day [her] mother kept telling her, "..."'

The following is an example of the pronominal prefix 'in-. This pronoun is also non-emphatic, as will be explained in Chapter VII.

280) kú'xweet taac lawwíit titwáatit 'ew'níyu'
INDEF-EX-Q now accurately story 1/2TR-give-IRR

'inláwtiwaana
my-friend-DO
'Maybe now I'll give the story accurately to my friend'

Pronominal Suffixes

A limited set of particles and/or adverbials inflect for pronominal agreement with subject and object in the clause in which they occur. The set includes the relative particle ke, the indefinite particle kú' 'maybe, some', the negative mí's 'not', the yes-no question particle wéet, the interrogatives míne 'where', mac 'how much/many', manáa and manáma 'what', náma 'how', the conjunctive particles qece 'if, even if' and huukú' 'or, or else', and the emphatic particle 'éete 'surely, certainly'. The reader should refer to Aoki (1970d), pages 126-131, for

Table 15. Pronominal Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
Exclusive (+S-H)	-x	-x
Inclusive (+S+H)		-nm
Addressee (-S+H)	-m	-pem

examples and details of allomorphy. The pronoun suffixes are as given in Table 15 below. The deictic features of these morphemes are very nicely considered as speaker (S) and hearer (H). The exclusive suffix -x includes the speaker but excludes the hearer, the inclusive suffix -nm includes both speaker and hearer, and the addressee suffix -m excludes the speaker but includes the hearer. The exclusive suffix -x means 'I' with singular marking in the verb (as in example 281 below) and 'we' excluding the hearer or addressee (as in example 282 below).

281) Phinney (1934) 173:12
mínex 'aw'nikáax̣?
where-EX 1/2TR-put-COND
'Where should I put it?'

282) Aoki (1979) 19:53
námax kaa panwíhnano'?
how-EX and 1/2NOM-PLNOM-leave-IRR
'How then will we leave?'

The inclusive suffix -nm is, of course, never singular since it includes both the speaker and the hearer. In the following example manáa 'what', the yes-no question particle wéet (the suffixed form is wéetee-), and the indefinite particle kú' (the suffixed form is kú'nee-) are all inflected with -nm, the inclusive 'we'.

283) Aoki (1979) 19:8-9
manáanm pakiyo'qa? wéeteenm pawsaynáako'qa
what-INC 1/2NOM-PLNOM-do-COND Q-INC 1/2NOM-PLNOM-move in-COND
'What can we do? Should we move in [to the reservation]

huu kú'neenm petuuqélenu'
or INDEF-INC 1/2NOM-PLNOM-fight-IRR
or maybe we will fight

c'alawí kíye wéet'u wiseynéksix
if we not 1/2NOM-move in-PROG-PLNOM
if we aren't moving in'

The indeclinable pronoun *kíye* means 'we', as in example 283. However, it is used to mean 'I' with the exclusive suffix *-x* and singular agreement in the verb. The following example illustrates both these uses of *kíye*.

284) Phinney (1934) 123:11
wáaqo' kíne kíyex wíc'es; wáaqo' kíye cuq'úuliicix
now here we-EXC 1/2NOM-become-PP now we 1/2NOM-turn
-PROG-PLNOM
'Now *I* have gotten here; now *we* are turning'

These pronoun suffixes may function as either subject or direct object of a transitive verb. In example 285 *-x* is the subject 'I' of the transitive verb *tiwíik* 'follow', and in example 286 it is the direct object 'me' of the verb *himéy* 'accuse'.

285) Phinney (1934) 15:15
wáaqo' 'éeteex kaa 'etwíixce
now surely-EX and 1/2TR-follow-PROG-SGNOM
'Now surely then *I* am following him'

286) Phinney (1934) 173:16-17
mí'sex hipaamáyn'ax̣
not-EX 3NOM-PLNOM-accuse-N-COND
'They cannot accuse *me*'

The following is an example of *-nm* as the direct object of the verb *cúuxwe* 'know'. The plural direct object prefix *nées-* agrees with the inclusive pronoun suffix *-nm* 'us'.

287) Phinney (1934) 370:5
wáaqo' 'éeteenm hipenéescuuxwe
now surely-INC 3NOM-PLNOM-PLDO-know-PP
'Now surely they have known us'

The suffix *-m* is the pronominal of the addressee, 'you', as in example 288 below. Sentence 289 is an example where *-m* is made plural by *-pe*, the same morpheme as the verbal prefix that marks plural subjects. Finally, sentence 290 illustrates the use of *-m* as a direct object pronoun.

288) Phinney (1934) 195:8-9
'eehé, tác'o 'éeteem 'ewíixye
yes good-very surely-you 1/2TR-fix-PERF
'Yes, you surely fixed it very well'

289) Aoki (1979) 129
qecepem 'imé kusíix
even-PL-you you-PL 1/2NOM-go-PROG-PLNOM
'Even you are going'

290) Phinney (1934) 243:11-12
'éeteem titwéetim hipóopci'yawna
surely-you shamans-ERG 3NOM-PLNOM-kill-PERF
'Surely the shamans killed you'

The exclusion of both speaker and hearer, i.e. 3rd person, has no pronominal suffix in Nez Perce. This was illustrated above in all those examples where either the subject or direct object of the transitive verbs was 3rd person. The following two sentences are examples with *'éete* 'surely, certainly' in clauses with only 3rd person arguments. (Sentence 291 is also an example of the promotion to direct object of a genitive argument, for which see Chapter VII).

291) Phinney (1934) 243:11-12
'éete hímiisnim péepe'ysene núxt
surely wolf-ERG 3TR-eat-GEN-PROG-SGNOM-RM meat
'Surely the wolves were eating its [the arm's] meat'

292) Phinney (1934) 21:9
'éete hipewíitin'xne 'ilx̣níiwe titóoqan
surely 3NOM-PLNOM-DIS-die-PERF many-HUM people
'Surely many people each died'

If both subject and direct objects are speaker-hearer, and the subject is speaker, then the particle first suffixes the direct object -*m* or -*pem* and then the subject -*x*, as in the following two examples.

293) Phinney (1934) 134:9-10
'éete*mex* watíisx wéet'u' tiwíixnu'
surely-you-EX tomorrow not 1/2NOM-accompany-IRR
'Surely *I* will accompany *you* tomorrow'

294) Aoki (1970) 131
ke*pemex* kaa *pe*'níye tíi'mes
REL-PL-you-EX and 1/2NOM-PLNOM-give-PERF book
'...when *we* gave *you* [PL] the book'

If the hearer is the subject and the speaker is the direct object, only the hearer subject is marked by a suffixed pronoun, as can be seen in the following example.

295) Phinney (1934) 443:5
'éetee*m* *nas*paynóom
surely-you 1/2NOM-PLDO-arrive at-CIS-PP
'Surely *you* have arrived at us'

The Nez Perce pronominal suffixes are, at least in part, cognate with the Sahaptin second place clitics which occur in every finite clause in which there are speaker or hearer arguments. These Nez Perce suffixes, however, are limited to the particles/adverbials listed above. These also happen not to be limited to first position in the clause; they may occur anywhere. In the following example the adverbial *'éete* 'surely, certainly' occurs last in the clause.

296) Phinney (1934) 121:10-11
'eehé, píixyu' 'éetee*nm*
yes RECIP-do-IRR surely-INC
'Yes, surely we will vie with each other'

Aoki (1970d), page 128, notes that *mí's* 'not', the yes-no question particle *wéet*, and the interrogative particles *míne* 'where' and *mac* 'how many/much' never occur with the addressee suffix -*m* 'you' (SG) or -*pem* 'you' (PL). This makes sense, at least with the interrogative particles, in that the hearer is the most expected argument of a question. If one were to ask the question, 'Have *I* seen the man?', the exclusive suffix -*x* would be used. (In sentence 283 above the yes-no question particle is inflected with the inclusive pronominal -*nm*). No suffixed pronoun occurs in the expected interpretation 'Have *you* seen the man?' of the following.

297) wéet 'akcáaqa háamana
Y/NQ 1/2TR-see-PROG-SGNOM-PST man-DO
'Have *you* seen the man?'

In example 298 below, the verb by itself could mean either 'you (SG) should follow us' or 'I should follow you (PL)'. The fact that *wéet* is uninflected ensures the expected first interpretation.

298) Aoki (1979) 9:25
wéet naastíwixno'komqa
Q PLDO-follow-COND-CIS
'Would you follow us?'

The first person subject of the question below is indicated by the exclusive suffix -*x* on the yes-no question particle.

299) Aoki (1979) 9:19
weetee*x* 'anáaskiyooyo'qa
Q-EX 1/2TR-PLDO-go-ALL-COND
'Should I go with them?'

Notes

[1] For derivational morphology, see Aoki (1970d), pages 56-71.

[2] Aoki (1970d), pages 45-49, classifies Nez Perce noun stems according to nine basic types.

[3] Hopper and Thompson (1980) is the seminal study of the cross-linguistic semantic/pragmatic features underlying morpho-syntactic transitivity.

[4] For the ergative-absolutive typology, see Comrie (1978), and Dixon (1979), and for the active-stative typology see Klimov (1974, 1977). The ergative case has been defined as agent marking that occurs only in transitive clauses, while in the active-stative typology agent marking is extended to intransitive clauses.

[5] For the much discussed hierarchies which predict this split in ergativity see Hawkinson and Hyman (1974), Givón (1976), Silverstein (1976), and DeLancey (1981).

[6] This ready acceptance of inanimate agents reflects the fact that an agent of low animacy/topicality/referentiality does not affect morpho-syntactic transitivity in Nez Perce. See Chapters V and VI for comments on the discourse/pragmatic function of transitivity marking in Nez Perce.

[7] Relational Grammar recognizes an abstract level of structure of complete syntactic autonomy (see Perlmutter [1983-84]). In this abstract level of structure there are syntactic relations that represent neither semantic role nor discourse function, although, the 1, 2, and 3 relations look suspiciously like agent, patient, and dative goal. And, it is worth noting here, the universality of the abstract, syntactic "3" is not supported by the Nez Perce evidence. A dative case is totally lacking in Nez Perce. Patient and dative direct objects have exactly the same syntactic description: their substantives are marked by -ne, and both express verbal agreement via 'e-, pée-, and nées-. Further, it is only the dative goal of a bitransitive verb, just as it is the patient of a unitransitive verb, that conditions the reflexive, the reciprocal, the passive, detransitivization via Ø- and hi- when it is 1st or 2nd person, and the antipassive when it is possessed by the subject (see Chapters VI and VIII). Since there is no separate morphological or behavioral "3" relation in Nez Perce, why should there be a purely abstract non-semantic, syntactic "3"? In attempting to limit abstractness in phonology, Kiparsky (1968) would disallow structures that undergo absolute neutralization. Is this not also a reasonable restraint on abstractness in syntax?

[8] When the verbal complement functions as the direct object of a transitive verb, the genitival argument of the nominalized verb may

become the direct object of the main verb, as in the example below. (See Chapter VII for the grammatical construction involved here.)

Phinney (1934) 411:13
wáaqo' hímiisnim péecuxwe*ne'y*six kiyéeyixt
now wolf-ERG 3TR-know-GEN-PROG-PLNOM go about-N
'Now the wolves know *his* going about'

[9] Phinney (1934) always has *meqséem-* where Aoki has *mexséem-*.

[10] The lack of transitive agreement in the verb is because this is an example of the antipassive, for which see the description in Chapter V.

[11] Here *hiqéetqet* is an abbreviated form of *híiwes qéetqet* 'the duck is ...' The copula *híiwes* 'he is' commonly reduces to the 3rd person nominative prefix *hi-*, which is then prefixed to the subject of the copula.

[12] The *laterative* forms of the demonstratives have the meanings 'on this side' and 'on that side'.

[13] Aoki (1970c) follows tradition in calling the bound forms *terms of address* or *addressive forms* and the free forms *referential forms*.

[14] The form *'él* only occurs with the prefix *ne'-*.

[15] Kinship terms that have allomorphs with alternate *c* or *s* use the *s*-forms with the prefix *'im'-*.

[16] The allomorph *néen* occurs only with the vocative suffixes *-e'* and *-e*.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF SOME NEZ PERCE VOICING AND CASE MORPHOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to speculate on the history of certain inflectional morphemes and their functions. This includes the five markers of transitivity: the noun suffixes -*nim* and -*ne*, and the verbal prefixes *'e*-, *pée*-, and *nées*-. Also, some comments will be advanced on the verbal suffixes that are yet to be described in Chapter VI. Cognates will be proposed from sources in both Nez Perce and Sahaptin. For the Sahaptin data I have consulted Rigsby (forthcoming) and my own field notes.

Noun Case Marking

Here are some speculations directed toward the noun case suffixes. Of primary interest is the marker of the ergative case, for the origin suggested is, as far as I know, heretofore unreported for any language.

The Ergative Case

The Nez Perce morpheme -*nim* is an *ergative* NP case marker in that it suffixes only to (3rd person) subjects of transitive verbs. Nez Perce is not an ergative language in the classical sense, however, since its ergative case is not complemented by an absolutive case (which would unite in one case subjects of intransitive verbs and direct objects of transitive verbs). Rather, as we have already seen, Nez Perce makes a three way case marking distinction between subjects of intransitive verbs, subjects of transitive verbs, and direct objects of transitive verbs.

Sahaptin has no ergative NP case at all. In Sahaptin a 3rd person NP that is the subject of a transitive verb has suffixes that are sensitive to the person of the direct object: -*nɨm* for 1st & 2nd person direct objects, and -*in* for 3rd person direct objects. In Rigsby (forthcoming) these are designated respectively as the "inverse nominative" and the "obviative nominative." These morphemes, however, specify only a clause internal deixis, and should not be confused with the *inverse* and *obviative* distinctions familiar to Algonquianists (see Hockett [1966]).

The Sahaptin Obviative Suffix -in

The Sahaptin NP suffix -*in* serves three functions: it marks the dual, the associative case, and the "obviative" subject. Examples of these three functions are given below, all with the noun *miyánash* 'child'. When -*in* marks an obviative subject, the verb always prefixes *pá*-.

1) The Dual
pawiyánawiya miyánash*in*
3PLNOM[1]-come-ASP child-DUAL
'*Two children* came'

2) The Associative
iwiyánawiya tílaaki miyánash*in*
3NOM-come-ASP woman child-ASSOC
'The woman came *with her child*'

3) The Obviative Subject
pátux̣nana miyánashin
3TR-shoot-ASP child-OBV
'The child shot him'

Nez Perce has no obviative subject marker. The Nez Perce cognate -iin marks only associative and dual NPs (for which see Chapter III). The following is an example of the Nez Perce associative.

4) Phinney (1934) 440:4
kii wáaqo' hipapáayna wewúxye miyá'ciin
this now 3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-ASP elk child-ASSOC
'Here now Elk arrived with his child'

Rigsby (forthcoming), section 3, footnote 5, suggests that the associative meaning was original. However, it is difficult to say for certain that the associative meaning preceded the dual. Either way, the Sahaptin obviative would represent a secondary development.

The Sahaptin Inverse Suffix -nɨm

In Sahaptin 3rd person NP subjects of transitive verbs suffix -nɨm when the direct object is 1st or 2nd person. In such situations the verb always prefixes i-. An example is given below.

5) itux̣nánaash wínshnɨm (ína)
3NOM-shoot-ASP-me man-INV me
'The man shot me'

In Nez Perce -nim has been generalized into a simple ergative NP suffix. It marks all 3rd person NP subjects of transitive verbs. Here we have a seemingly quite logical but as yet unprecedented source for ergative marking.[1]

The Verbal Cislocative[2]

The Sahaptin inverse marker would appear to be nothing more than a natural extension of the Sahaptian verbal cislocative. The Sahaptian verbal cislocative has the same form as the inverse in Sahaptin and the ergative in Nez Perce. Two examples of the verbal cislocative follow.

6) Sahaptin
anachâtux̣nɨmtk
HORT-CAUS-back-CIS-PL-IMP
'You all come back here!'

7) Nez Perce
Phinney (1934) 394:7
tá'c 'ée tamtâaynim
good you 1/2NOM-inform-CIS-PP
'You have informed me well'

The extension from the verbal cislocative to the Sahaptin inverse marker would be quite natural. Note the smoothness of translating the inverse as a cislocative ('man-hither-me he-shot') in the following Sahaptin sentence.

8) wɨ́nshnɨmnash itux̣nâna
man-hither-me 3NOM-shoot-ASP
'The man shot me'

The development of the Nez Perce ergative NP case suffix is schematized in 9 below. In Sahaptin the cognate morpheme is at the inverse stage, while in Nez Perce it has gone on all the way to the ergative stage.

9) Verbal Cislocative > Nominal Cislocative (= Inverse > Ergative

In the split case marking systems of many unrelated languages, the ergative case is limited to a certain portion beginning at the left of the following hierarchy (in some languages details of animacy and humanness are added). In Nez Perce the split is between 3rd and 2nd person, for all but 1st and 2nd person NPs are maked ergative. This phenomenon in Nez Perce appears quite natural in view of the cislocative origin of the ergative NP suffix. In Sahaptin this suffix still marks

3rd person NPs as the starting point of action 'hither' — 'there to here'. The starting point for the cislocative directional is not 1st person and, therefore, would not likely be used to mark 1st person pronouns.

10) Noun > 3rd Person Pronoun > 2nd Person > 1st Person

In Sahaptian n is a 1st person formant and m is a 2nd person formant which occur variously in the personal pronouns and pronominal suffixes (2nd place clitics in Sahaptin). These markers are widespread in Penutian (see Rigsby [1966] for Molala and Cayuse, Swanton [1900] for Chinookan, Dunn [1979] for Tsimshian, etc.). There are perhaps even cognates in Uto-Aztecan: cf. the reconstructed Proto-Uto-Aztecan independent pronouns *nɨ 'I' and *'ɨmɨ 'thou', for which see Rigsby (1966), page 374. The Nez Perce inclusive pronominal suffix is -nm, perhaps a combination of n 'I' and m 'you'. This pronominal suffix is likely also related to the cislocative. There is also another morpheme in Nez Perce that might bear a relationship. The verbal prefix nim- means 'to see someone do it', as in the following.

11) Aoki (1979) 3:15
hinéesnimtiwikce
3NOM-PLDO-see-follow-PROG-SGNOM
'...she saw them following...'

Scott DeLancey (personal communication) has noted the natural relatedness of the verbal notion 'see' and the evidential function of the cislocative. There is a natural connection between visibility, the cislocative, evidentiality, and the speech act participant deixis.

Relationship to the Genitive Case

In Nez Perce the ergative and genitive suffixes are identical in form, a common occurrence in ergative languages the world over. This supposedly arises from passive and/or subordinated constructions with genitive marked agents being reanalyzed as ergative constructions (see Givón [1980]). But in Sahaptin the genitive NP suffix -*nmí* is not identical to the inverse NP suffix -*nɨm*, though, in view of their similar forms, it is possible that they do have the same origin. At any rate, the genitive would not appear to be the source of inverse or cislocative marking in Sahaptian. Rather, the cislocative would be the likelier candidate for the source of the genitive. The progression might be something like the following.

12) Cislocative > 'my, our' > Genitive

The Direct Object

There are two direct object NP suffixes in Sahaptian; one of them, -*pa* in Sahaptin and -*ep* in Nez Perce, suffixes to a restricted set of kinship terms. The other, -*na* in Sahaptin and -*ne* in Nez Perce, is the regular direct object NP suffix. Locatives are probably the most common source of direct object case markers, and Sahaptian would appear to be no exception to this rule. The regular locative NP suffix, Sahaptin -*pa* and Nez Perce -*pe*, would appear to be the source of the kinship locative. There is also an old locative suffix fossilized in the demonstratives *kíne* 'in this' and *koná* 'in that', and in the interrogative *míne* 'where'. What has been said concerning the sources

Table 16. Sahaptian NP Case Cognates

	Sahaptin		Nez Perce
Dual	-in		-iin
Associative	-in		-iin
Obviative	-in	} Ergative	-nim
Inverse	-nɨm		
Genitive	-nmí		-nim
Locative	-pa		-pe
Kinship DO	-pa		-ep
Direct Object	-na		-ne
Demonstrative Locative	-na		-ne

of the Sahaptian subject and direct object cases is summarized in Table 16. Although the oblique case present also present us with interesting historical studies, they will not be dealt with here.[3]

Verbal Prefixes

The two subject-verb agreement prefixes that serve as markers of transitivity in Nez Perce also occur in Sahaptin. They are given for both languages in Table 17.

Table 17. Sahaptian Transitive Verb Prefixes

	Sahaptin	Nez Perce
1st/2nd Person	a-[4]	'e-
3rd person	pá-	pée-

The 1st/2nd Person Transitive Prefix *'e-*

In view of the fact that the ergative and genitive NP case suffixes have the same form, it is interesting that the 1st/2nd person transitive (i.e. transitive subject = ergative case) verb prefix is also a genitive marker. When prefixed to a transitive verb *'e-* agrees with a 3rd person direct object (when the subject is 1st or 2nd person), but when prefixed to an intransitive verb it agrees with a 3rd person genitive (see Chapter VII). The following sentences illustrate this dual function of this prefix in Nez Perce.

13) Intransitive Verb
píke *'a*páayna
mother 3GEN-come-ASP
'*His* mother came'

14) Transitive Verb
('íin) *'e*héxne
I 1/2TR-see-ASP
'I saw *him*'

Aoki (1970d) calls *'e-* a "third person object prefix". This evidently is because it specifies either 'his' or 'him', depending on the transitivity of the verb. The prefix *'e-* occurs when there is only one argument in the clause with the potential of being case marked with either *-nim* or *-ne*. It agrees with a 3rd person direct object (whose NP, if present, suffixes *-ne*), but only when the subject is 1st or 2nd person (1st and 2nd person NPs are never case marked ergative with *-nim*). And it agrees with a 3rd person genitive argument only in intransitive clauses where there is no potential of its encoding the direct object. Since the prefix *'e-* encodes 1st and 2nd person subjects only of transitive verbs, it can thus be thought of as an ergative marker. It is one of the markers of transitivity in the ergative construction. This prefix also happens to have the same form as the independent pronoun *'ée* 'you'. Unlike all other stressed pronouns, *'ée* is indeclinable. It also, unlike any other NP, pluralizes with the imperative plural suffix *-tx*; *'éetx* means 'you all'. This argues for a verbal origin for *'ée* 'you' as well as for the verbal prefix *'e-*. Perhaps the original meaning was something like *voilà*, and may also be a formative in such adverbials as *'eehé* 'yes' and *'éete* 'surely'.

The 3rd Person Transitive Prefix *pée-*

The 3rd person transitive prefix (Nez Perce *pée-* and Sahaptin *pá-*) indicates that both subject and direct object are 3rd person. Most likely this morpheme is related etymologically to the reciprocal; *pí-* in Sahaptin and *píi-* in Nez Perce. The *p* element probably derives from the formative of the Sahaptian 3rd person singular stressed pronoun *'ipí*[5] In the Nez Perce Inflectional Suffix Complex (see Chapter II), *ée* and *íi* are, respectively, singular and plural markers. These morphemes do not, however, occur in Sahaptin. The following sentences are given here as examples.

15) The Nez Perce Singular Marker *ee*:
sík'em hikus*ée*m
horse 3NOM-go-PROG-SGNOM-CIS
'The horse is coming'

16) The Nez Perce Plural Marker *ii*:
sík'em hikus*íi*nm
horse 3NOM-go-PROG-PLNOM-CIS
'The horses are coming'

The formative *ée* is also found in several verbal prefixes where it marks the direct object as singular, as in the following pair of causative verbs from Aoki (1970d). Its absence indicates the distributive. For the intransitive (nominative) pronominals, see Chapter V.

17) Singular
sapáac'a'ksa
1/2NOM-CAUS-SGDO-hang-ASP
'I cause it to hang'

18) Plural
sáap-Ø-c'a'ksa
1/2NOM-CAUS-hang-ASP
'I cause each to hang'

The 3rd person transitive prefix pée-, unlike the 1st or 2nd person transitive prefix 'e-, cannot co-occur with the plural direct object marker nées-. And in Sahaptin, which has no equivalent of nées-, the prefix pá- is still never used when the direct object is plural. The reason for this, of course, is clear if the ée of this morpheme was an old singular marker. The following two examples from Nez Perce illustrate the contrast between singular and plural agency in the verbal prefixes pée- and píi-.

19) Singular Agency Expressed by ee:
pée'wiye
3TR-shoot-PERF
'He shot him'

20) Plural Agency Expressed by ii:
píi'wiye
RECIP-shoot-PERF
'They shot each other'

The Plural Direct Object Marker nées-

In Nez Perce nées- marks the direct object as plural. The non-occurrence of this morpheme in Sahaptin may point to a fairly recent origin in Nez Perce. Also, the fact that nées- is completely indifferent to person may point to a non-pronominal source. The Nez Perce plural direct object marker nées- is never prefixed to an intransitive verb. It only modifies the direct object, and is therefore one of the five Nez Perce markers of transitivity (see Chapter V). As of this writing, however, I have not been able to find a morpheme related to nées- in either Nez Perce or Sahaptin. This, however, is most likely due to the incompleteness of my lexical files.

Serialization of Verbs

Some comments are in order here concerning the verbal suffixes dealt with in Chapter VI. These verbal suffixes, which mark the semantic role of non-patient direct objects, are themselves of verbal origin. And historically this has to point to the use of serial verbs in Sahaptian.

The allomorphs of the benefactive verbal suffix (-'n, -'en, -'ni, and -'eni) indicate an underlying form -'eni, which happens to be identical to the verb 'eni 'give'.[6] Also, the benefactive verbal suffix is itself an s-stem, the same as the verb 'eni 'give'. As an example of the naturalness of this situation, in the following example of the benefactive shift, the source of the benefactive morpheme implies 'The man made it, gave the boy a knife'. (For details of grammar in the following example, see Chapter VI.)

21) háamanm páanya'nya háacwala wálc
man-ERG 3TR-make-y-e-give-PERF boy-DO knife
'The man made the boy a knife'

The allative verbal suffix -úu is cognate, in some Sahaptin dialects, with -*awa*.[7] And since *ewe* regularly becomes *uu* and *awa* *oo* in Nez Perce, this Sahaptin cognate points to an earlier form -**ewe* in the parent language. These verbal suffixes are, as in example 21 above, regularly preceded by the vowel *e*, which in turn suffixes to the non-progressive stem markers (*y* or Ø for *s*-stems and *n* for *c*-stems). This stem marker plus the vowel *e* is the exact form of the perfective, and is now fossilized before every suffix of verbal origin. And thus the verbal suffix -*úu*. (-(*y*)*úu* after *s*-stems and -*núu* after *c*-stems) decomposes into *e* plus *we*. And *we* is identical in form to the verb *we/wee* 'be'. Also, both the suffix -*úu* and the verb *we/wee* are *s*-stems. And so constructions with -*úu* most likely have their origin as serializations. The following (for which see Chapter VI) would therefore gloss literally as 'The man went, was [at] the house'.

22) háamanm péekiy*úu*ye 'iníine
man-ERG 3TR-go-*y*-*e*-be [at]-PERF house-DO
'The man went to the house'

Notes

[1] Within the Chin branch of Tibeto-Burman a cislocative has come to function as an inverse marker. The source of the cislocative marker is the verb *hong* 'come'. But in Tiddim Chin, for example, *hong pai* means 'come', while *pai* alone means 'go'. In Sizang Chin this morpheme also functions as an inverse marker for indirect objects, as in the following.

h*o*ng nūisàn *a*
he-INV laugh PART
'He, laughing at me, ...'

In the following from Tiddim Chin, the inverse marks the patient of the transitive verb *sat* 'beat'.

a hong sat hi
3P INV beat DECL
'He beat me'

For the data from Sizang Chin, see Stern (1963), pp. 254-256, and for Tiddim Chin see Henderson (1965), page 113. This extension of the verb *hong* in the Chin languages was brought to my attention by Scott DeLancey (cf. DeLancey [1981]).

[2] By pure coincidence the Akkadian verbal cislocative (called the "ventive" by Semiticists) is identical in form to the Sahaptian verbal cislocative. (See, for example, Caldwell, Oswalt, and Sheehan [1978], pp. 51-52). In Akkadian -*nim* was suffixed to verbs with final vowel, e.g.

illakū 'they go'
illakū*nim* 'they come'

and -*am* was suffixed to verbs with final consonant, e.g.

illak 'he goes'
illak*am* 'he comes'

[3] As for the oblique cases, perhaps a comment on the ablative is in order. The Nez Perce ablative -*kin'ix* is, no doubt, cognate with the Sahaptin ablative -*kni*/-*chni*. This points to a proto-form -**ken'ix*, vowel harmony accounting for the palatalized and non-palatalized allomorphs in Sahaptin. The suffix -*kan*/-*chan* is an allative case marker in Sahaptin, and is evidently also the first component of the ablative -**ken'ix*. The Nez Perce demonstratives *kínix* 'from this' and *koníix* 'from that' point to an earlier ablative suffix -**ix* (cf. Chapter Two which shows the demonstratives to also exhibit archaic forms in the locative and direct object cases). The glottalization in the Nez Perce -*kin'ix* means that there was a glottal stop either in the earlier ablative morpheme (-*'*ix*) or in the earlier allative (-**ken'* or -**ke'n*).

[4] Sahaptin _a-_ also has the initial glottal stop, but, as in Rigsby (forthcoming), it is best left out of the orthography for phonemic reasons.

[5] Whorf (1935) includes Uto-Aztecan in Macro-Penutian. In support of this is the reconstructed Proto-Uto-Aztecan independent pronouns. As was seen above this chapter, they are identical to Sahaptian for 1st and 2nd person singular. The same holds true for 3rd person singular, for which Uto-Aztecan has _*pɨ_.

[6] The benefactive is marked by serializations with 'give' in many languages as, for example, in the Akan (Twi) sentence below.

Afua yɛ abodoo maa Kofi
Afua made cornbread give Kofi
'Afua made cornbread for Kofi'

The verb 'give' may even be the origin of the English preposition _to_, as Robert Hetzron (personal communication) has noted. The Indo-European verb for 'give' is everywhere derived from *_dō-_, but not in Germanic. If, however, this morpheme had come down to us in English, it would have the form _to_ [tu]. Could it be that this preposition entered Germanic as a serialized verb marking the dative? _Give_ in Germanic is cognate with words meaning 'grasp' or 'hold' in other Indo-European languages, and thus a construction like _John gave the book to Mary_ could derive from a serialization like _John took the took gave Mary_.

[7] See Rigsby (forthcoming).

PART TWO: GRAMMAR IN DISCOURSE

CHAPTER V

BASIC VOICE MECHANISMS

This chapter contrasts the basic transitive construction (whose verbal and nominal constituents were described in Chapters II and III) with the antipassive and passive constructions. It then investigates the discourse-functional context for each of these syntactic coding devices for semantically transitive propositions. This study employs the text based methodology with the two discourse measurements described in Chapter I. The results, I believe, show the degree of topicality of agent versus patient to completely determine the selection of these three Nez Perce voice constructions.

The Ergative Construction

The morphology of basic transitive clauses as described in Chapter II and Chapter III is that of what I shall call the ergative

Table 18. The Five Markers of Transitivity

NP Case Suffixes	
-nim	the ergative case
-ne	the direct object case
Verbal Prefixes	
'e-	1st or 2nd person subject plus 3rd person direct object
pée-	3rd person subject plus 3rd person direct object
nées-	plural direct object

construction. In summary, this basic transitive voice construction manifests the five morphological markers of transitivity as given in Table 18. Not all of these markers of transitivity occur in every clause. These factors, as explained in more detail in Chapters II and III, are involved in their absence: 1) There is, of course, no NP case marking when there are no overt NPs in the clause, or 2) when one of the indeclinable pronouns (*'ée* or *kíye*) are used, 3) 1st or 2nd person NP arguments are never marked ergative, 3) the transitive verbal prefixes *'e-* and *pée-* never occur when the direct object is 1st or 2nd person, and 4) the transitive verbal prefix *pée-* never co-occurs with the plural direct object marker *nées-*. Nevertheless, the ergative construction can be defined as being uniquely marked by one or more of the morphemes given in Table 18. There are exceptions, however. They occur when the direct object is 1st or 2nd person and there is no overt direct object NP, as in example 1 below. However, the exclusive pronominal *-x* together with the 3rd person subject prefix *hi-* on the verb conspire to mark a transitive construction.

1) Phinney (1934) 308:5-6
'íy, 'éetee*x* c'áyn hi'ínis!
oh surely-EX dung 3NOM-give-PP
'Oh, surely she has given me dung!'

The ancient form of greeting was as in the example below. Structurally it need not be a transitive construction, and could mean, 'Oh, you have met [someone].' But as a fixed form of greeting the indeclinable *'ée* 'you' was interpreted as the direct object (see Phinney [1934], page 308, footnote 1).

2) Phinney (1934) 309:8
'íy, 'ée wéwkunis
oh you 1/2NOM-meet-PP
'Oh, I have met you'

More typically, however, the ergative construction is a morphologically marked construction. In each of the following examples there is at least one marker of transitivity. These are underlined.

3) Phinney (1934) 274:5
kaa wéet'u' máwa 'ée náac'yax̣no'kom
and not ever you 1/2NOM-PLDO-find-IRR-CIS
'And you will never find us'

4) Phinney (1934) 432:11
'óykalom hiweléexcix
all-ERG 3NOM-waiting-see-PROG-PLNOM
'Everybody is watching me'

5) Phinney (1934) 65:5
"'eehé," péene 'iceyéeyenm
yes 3TR-tell-PERF coyote-ERG
'"Yes," Coyote told him'

6) Phinney (1934) 84:9-10
'íy, 'itúune kíne 'ekúuse?
oh what-DO this-LOC 1/2TR-do-PROG-SGNOM
'Oh, what are you doing here?'

7) Phinney (1934) 5:1
kaa 'íine hexním k'omáy'c heyéex̣ni'n
and 1SG-DO 1/2NOM-see-CIS-PP painful be hungry-STAT
'And you have seen me painfully hungered'

8) Phinney (1934) 55:13
kaa pik'úunx péetuuluusene
and river-ALL 3TR-throw in water-PROG-SGNOM-RM
'And into the river they threw him'

The Antipassive Construction[1]

In the Nez Perce antipassive all morphological markers of transitivity are removed. There is no ergative case marked with -nim and no direct object case marked with -ne, both agent and patient NPs being unmarked. Also, where 'e- and pée- would be suffixed to the verb in the ergative construction, the intransitive person markers Ø- and hi- are substituted. And, in the antipassive voice, nées- never marks a plural direct object. The following are several examples to illustrate the antipassive.

9) Phinney (1934) 185:10
páax̣loo ha'áyat hix̣'nisíix qé'mes
five-HUM R-woman 3NOM-dig-PROG-PLNOM camas
'Five woman are digging camas'

10) Aoki (1979) 19:13
hipe'nptéene núkt, hipóopci'yawtana múu
3NOM-PLNOM-get-go-PERF meat 3NOM-PLNOM-kill-go-PERF cow
'They went to get meat, they went to kill cattle'

11) Phinney (1934) 90:16-17
kawá tax̣c qáamsit wiyáamko' kaa túutnu'
then soon qáamsit 1/2NOM-peel-IRR and 1/2NOM-grind-IRR
'Then soon I will peel and grind the qáamsit [a root]'

12) Phinney (1934) 10:4-5
kíi wít'e haaníya
this canoe 3NOM-make-PERF
'Now he made a canoe'

As was seen in Chapter II, the verbal distributive prefix wíi- modifies the direct object in the ergative construction. In the antipassive, however, it modifies the subject (examples 13 and 14 below), just as in an intransitive clause. The verb c'iiq 'speak' in example 14 is regularly transitive, taking a dative direct object.

13) Aoki (1979) 11:50-51
kawó' hipawíi'nahpayka tíi'mes kaa héecu
then 3NOM-PLNOM-DIS-carry-arrive-PERF paper and wood
'Then they each brought paper and wood'

14) Aoki (1979) 11:25
kawó' capáaypa wéet'umi's 'itúuki koná
then while-LOC not-not anything-INSTR that-LOC

hiwíic'iqcix
3NOM-DIS-speak-PROG-SGNOM
'Then in a while each was not speaking about anything'

One of the functions of the antipassive is to encode a possessor of the direct object that is coreferential with the subject. The following examples illustrate this function.

15) Phinney (1934) 198:12
kíi c'íɨiɨe peqíyex̣ hi'néhnene wéeleepx
this weasel man's bro ch 3NOM-take-PERF stream-ALL
'Now Weasel took his nephew to the stream'

16) Phinney (1934) 83:12
hiwéwluqse c'oláakstimt x̣áx̣aac
3NOM-want-PROG-SGNOM hand-drum grizzly
'Grizzly wants his hand-drum'

17) Phinney (1934) 17:6
ká'la 'iwéepne sáaqsin hi'níiqana
just wife pitch gum 3NOM-give-HABSGNOM-RM
'He just used to give his wife pitch gum'

This function of the antipassive extends to the coreferential possession of body parts.

18) Phinney (1934) 217:13
'éx̣we wáawyana
foot 1/2NOM-strike-PERF
'I struck my foot'

19) Phinney (1934) 235:11
kíi héelekipx húusus hi'níike
this behind-ALL head 3NOM-put-PERF
'Now he put his head backwards'

In antipassives of this function the distributive prefix wíi- modifies the direct object (as in 20 below). Still, however, none of the five markers of transitivity will ever be present.

20) Phinney (1934) 273:15
hi*wí*hexnime lắwtiwaama
3NOM-DIS-see-CIS-PERF friend-PL
'He saw *each* of his friends'

Whereas the antipassive itself (in the proper context) encodes a correferential possessor, a stressed genitive pronoun may also modify the patient, as in the following.[2]

21) Aoki (1979) 10:14
lamlamátki pit'íi'n hi'cesű'upe *'ipním* sám'x̣
quick-INSTR girl 3NOM-cut-PERF 3SG-GEN shirt
'Quickly the girl cut *her* shirt'

The distribution of the coreferential antipassive is, of course, predictable on a syntactic/semantic basis. But the antipassive often occurs when no coreferential possession is indicated. It is this function, which must necessarily be discourse related, that primarily concerns us in this chapter.

The Passive Construction

The Nez Perce passive employs a stativized form of the verb with a conjugated copula, a construction much like the English passive. The passive in Nez Perce, however, is always agentless. The Nez Perce passive is morphologically intransitive in that its subject has no NP case suffix and there is never any transitive agreement in the verb; none of the five markers of transitivity ever occur in a passive clause. Either *wée* 'be' or *wic'ée* 'become' may serve as the copula in the passive, as the following illustrate. The stative suffix is -*i'n* or -*iin*. As usual, an *s*-class verb is marked by -*y*- or -0-, and a *c*-class verb by -*n*-.

22) Phinney (1934) 325:13
kú'weet 'éeti'n híiwes
INDEF-Y/NQ cook-STAT 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM
'Perhaps it is cooked'

23) Phinney (1934) 343:5
wáapci'yawni'n hiwc'éeyu'
kill-STAT 3NOM-become-IRR
'She will become killed'

24) Phinney (1934) 175:5-6
'éete 'ewyíin híiwes
surely shoot-STAT 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM
'Surely she is shot'

25) Phinney (1934) 468:5-6
koná hiwc'éeye hanyíin tamáalwit
that-LOC 3NOM-become-PERF make-STAT law
'There the law was made'

The copula in a passive construction agrees in number with its subject. The patient argument in the passive construction in 26 has plural nominative agreement via -íix. This is in contrast with the ergative construction in 27 where the patient expresses plural agreement via the prefix nées-, one of the five markers of transitivity in Nez Perce.

26) Phinney (1934) 453:10
mét'u 'óykalo síiwyi'n hiwsíix
but all-HUM paint-STAT 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM
'But all are painted'

27) Phinney (1934) 452:16-17
kaa k'ayk'ayóosna tá'c hináassiwya
and raccoon-DO good 3NOM-PLDO-paint-PERF
'And he painted the raccoons well'

In the passive the patient is the syntactic subject and accordingly determines both person and number agreement in the verb. The agent is entirely demoted. As the patient is syntactic subject in the passive, so the agent is syntactic subject in the antipassive. There is an asymmetry, however, for while the agent is entirely suppressed in the passive, the patient is most often an argument in the antipassive. The ergative construction is syntactically sensitive to both agent and patient.

Discourse Function

In this section the results of the text measurements described in Chapter I are presented and then comments and suggestions are made concerning the discourse functions that are indicated.

Results

The average measurements for referential distance are presented in Table 19 and graphed in Figure 1. The average measurements for topic persistence are presented in Table 20 and graphed in Figure 2. In the Tables, the columns labeled "No." refer to the number of examples of agents and patients of each voice construction that were considered in the counts. Since it is always agentless, there are no counts for the agent in the passive construction.

Table 19. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Agent and Patient in the Basic Voice Constructions

	Agent		Patient	
	No.	RD	No.	RD
Ergative Construction	114	2.87	114	5.25
Antipassive Construction	51	3.18	51	13.86
Passive Construction			7	2.86

Table 20. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Agent and Patient in the Basic Voice Constructions

	Agent		Patient	
	No.	TP	No.	TP
Ergative Construction	114	2.63	114	2.64
Antipassive Construction	51	3.06	51	0.41
Passive Construction			7	1.71

Discussion

The discourse functions of the three Nez Perce voice constructions are clear from their respective correlations with topic continuity. Table 21 pairs each of these voice constructions with the relative degree of topicality that is typically shared between agent and patient in that particular construction. In the antipassive the agent far outweighs the patient in topicality, in the passive the agent is completely suppressed, and in the ergative construction the patient is clearly a secondary topic; in terms of cataphoric continuity it equals the agent. See Cooreman (1982, 1985) for a similar schematization involving the antipassive, passive and ergative constructions of Chamorro.

The Ergative Construction

In the texts examined for this paper, the ergative construction was the most frequently used syntactic device for the coding of transitive events. Sixty-six percent of the tokens of the 3 voice constructions

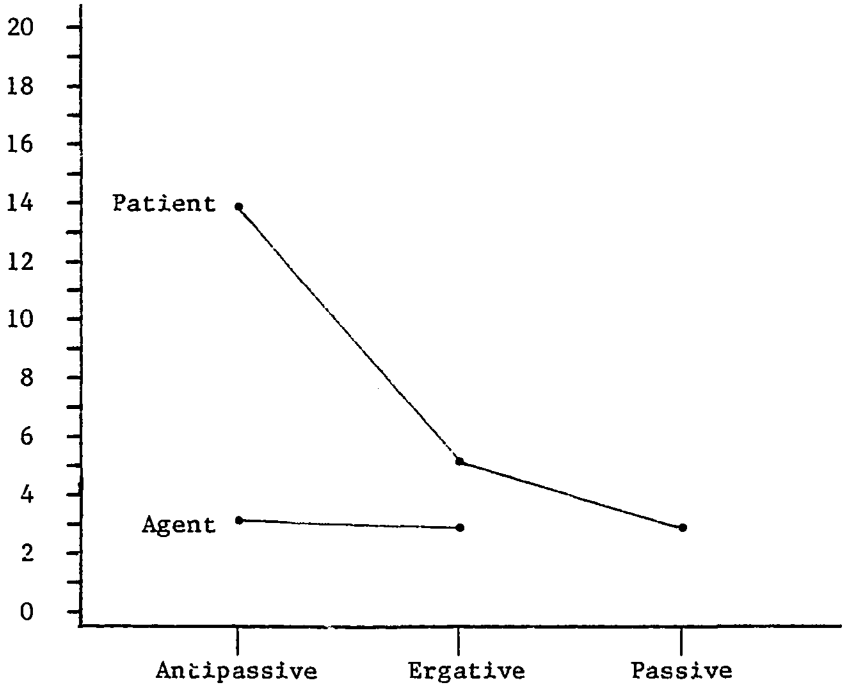

FIGURE 1. Graph of average referential distance measurements for agent and patient in the basic voice constructions.

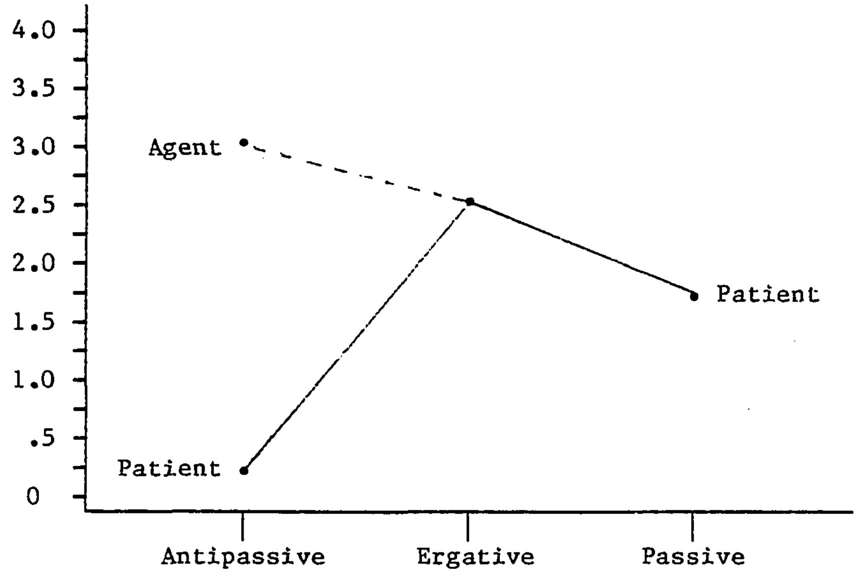

FIGURE 2. Graph of average topic persistence measurements for agent and patient in the basic voice constructions.

Table 21. Discourse Context for Nez Perce Voice Constructions

Construction Type	Degree of Topicality
Antipassive	Agent >> Patient
Ergative	Agent > Patient (Ref. Distance)
	Agent = Patient (Topic Persistence)
Passive	Agent << Patient (total suppression of the agent)

under study were ergative (this and other relevant statistics are presented in Table 22). Thus this, the most marked morphologically of the 3 constructions, is also the most basic or "unmarked" in terms of frequency. The ergative construction is also basic in that the referents of both its arguments tend to be easily recoverable in discourse. This ease of recoverability was reflected in the fact that in the present study only 29% of all direct objects surfaced as NPs. Transitive events tend to be coded in Nez Perce by the ergative construction when the patient is highly topical and animate. In the present study 82% of direct objects were definite and 85% were animate. This high topicality of the direct object in the ergative construction was also reflected in the measurements for referential distance and topic persistence. The referential distance of the direct object averaged only 5.25 clauses. The ergative argument, however, still maintains an average distance 2.38 clauses less than the direct object. So in terms of anaphoric recoverability, the agent is ahead of the patient in the ergative construction. This matches the results of

Table 22. Statistical Characteristics of the Patient in the Three Voice Constructions

	Total		Animate		Definite		Full Noun	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ergative	114	66%	97	85%	93	82%	33	29%
Antipassive	51	30%	3	6%	21	41%	41	80%
Passive	7	4%	5	71%	7	100%	5	71%

Cooreman, Fox, and Givōn (1984) who, with text counts from the ergative languages Chamorro and Tagalog, argue for the unlikelihood of a language where the patient is primary topic more often than the agent.[3] But in terms of cataphoric continuity the patient in the Nez Perce ergative construction equals the agent. The average measurements for topic persistence were exactly the same for both agent and patient. This should not be surprising, though, in light of Givōn (1979), page 52, which concludes that the "accusative or direct object position is thus the major avenue for introducing new referential arguments into discourse, at least in English." But we might ask why the most basic transitive construction in Nez Perce should also be the most heavily coded morphologically. The answer should be obvious. Since word order does not function in Nez Perce to distinguish agent from patient, the case marking of NPs serves this function. But this is only in the ergative construction where the high animacy/topicality of the patient makes the task otherwise impossible. In terms of referent recoverability the ergative construction is the most unmarked, but in terms of the recoverability of case roles it is the most marked.

The Antipassive Construction

That the antipassive is not the basic transitive construction in Nez Perce is obvious, as was described above, in that it is a morphologically detransitivized construction, and also because, at least in the texts studied for this paper, it codes only 30% of all semantically transitive propositions. The antipassive functions to mark a patient of low topicality/animacy, just the opposite of the high topicality/animacy of the ergative construction. In this study, in only 41% of cases was the patient of the antipassive definite, and in only 6% of cases was it animate. The recoverability of the referent of the antipassive patient is more difficult, as attested by the fact that in the texts analyzed it was coded in 80% of cases by a full noun. The low topicality of the patient of the antipassive was reflected in the texts by its very high average referential distance (13.86) and very low topic persistence (0.41). The fact that NPs are morphologically unmarked in the antipassive construction reflects the ease with which their respective agent and patient status are inferred on a discourse-pragmatic basis. In the study of Chamorro presented in Cooreman (1982, 1983), the antipassive accounted for only 3.8% of all voice constructions, as opposed to 30% for the antipassive in this study of Nez Perce. In the Chamorro ergative construction, the agent was in every way higher in topicality than the patient, whereas in the Nez Perce ergative construction the patient equaled the agent in topic persistence. This difference correlates with the higher text frequency of the Chamorro ergative. In the Chamorro study the ergative construction encoded 82% of all semantically transitive clauses, while in Nez Perce the ergative construction encoded 66%. It is thus likely that the Nez Perce antipassive crosses into a part of the functional domain served by the Chamorro ergative construction.

The Passive Construction

In actual discourse, the Nez Perce passive construction is quite rare. Of the 172 clauses counted in this study, only 7 were passives, only 4% of the total. The patient is the subject in the Nez Perce passive, and since it is always agentless, it is therefore the clause topic. Its high topicality is also reflected in its average measurements for referential distance and topic persistence. The ergative construction also codes a patient of high topicality, but in it the agent is even more topical. The passive thus codes a transitive event with a patient of high topicality where the agent is entirely suppressed.

One last point that needs mentioning: The ergative construction is predicated on the existense of a highly topical, referential direct object, just as is the passive construction. And also, the ergative argument may itself be non-referential, with the ergative construction functioning as a kind of impersonal passive, often interchangeable with the passive, as in the following pair of sentences.

28) Ergative Construction with Non-referential Agent
Phinney (1934) 153:16-17
wā́aqo' ku'míne pḗetulelp'iyksene hā́acwala
already INDEF-where 3TR-trample under-PROG-SGNOM-RM boy-DO
'Already somewhere the boy had been trampled under' (Phinney's translation), or 'They had already trampled the boy under'

29) Passive Construction with Total Agent Suppression
Phinney (1934) 154:2-3
ku'míne 'ḗe kā́'la hā́ama
INDEF-where you just man/husband

tulḗelp'iyki'n wḗes
trample under-STAT 1/2GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM
'Somewhere your husband is just trampled under'

As Figure 1 illustrates, the patient in the passive construction averages considerably lower in referential distance than the patient in the ergative construction, and thus its greater anaphoric continuity. But, as is graphed in Figure 2, the patient in the passive construction has a smaller topic persistence than the patient in the ergative construction. Its average cataphoric continuity is less than that of the direct object. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that the passive construction is employed toward the end of a paragraph when the agent is non-referential and the patient is topic, while the ergative construction serves the same function elsewhere in the paragraph. This is exactly the situation with examples 28 and 29 above.

The antipassive also can function as a paragraph final construction. The girl's shirt or piece cut from it in example 30 below is a recoverable referent for six consecutive clauses, the last four being given in this example. The first clause of this example has already been given in 21 above. There it served as an example of coreferential possession being marked by the antipassive construction. The last two clauses in example 30 are also antipassives. Their patients have a referent of high anaphoric but low cataphoric continuity. Although the same referent does emerge with considerable importance later on near ~~the~~ end of the narrative, there is a major paragraph break here which is marked by these antipassive clauses.

30) Aoki (1979) 10:15-16
lamlamátki pit'íin' hi'cesú'upe 'ipním sám'x̣
quick-INSTR girl 3NOM-cut-PERF 3SG-GEN shirt
'Quickly the girl cut her shirt'

kakoná iikíp péekuye
REL-that-LOC touch 3TR-go/do-PERF
'where he touched it.'

háacwal hitqe'nípe yoq'opí
boy 3NOM-suddenly-seize-PERF that-INTENS
'The boy grabbed that very thing.'

'icesú'pi'n sam'áx̣pama kaa hi'néhnene
cut-STAT shirt-ABL and 3NOM-carry-PERF
'The cut off [piece] from [her] shirt he then carried [along]'

In conclusion, then, the Nez Perce ergative construction encodes a direct object of cataphoric importance. The antipassive and passive constructions encode patients that mark a paragraph break; the antipassive when there is a referential (and highly topical) agent, the passive when there is no referential agent. The antipassive also functions to mark non-referential patients, and patients modified by a genitive coreferential with the subject.

Notes

[1] For a cross language typological study of antipassive constructions, see Heath (1976).

[2] In Nez Perce a genitive pronoun not coreferential with the subject would normally be promoted to direct object. See Chapter VII.

[3] Of course, the frequency of the agent as primary topic will depend on discourse genre. But in basic narrative style it can be assumed that the agent will predominate over the patient as topic.

CHAPTER VI

NON-PATIENT DIRECT OBJECTS

Just as in English (and in many other languages), Nez Perce has clauses in which a non-patient argument is the direct object and the patient does not have that status. As was seen in the section on the direct object in Chapter III, the dative argument in a bitransitive clause is obligatorily direct object. Nez Perce, however, has alternative constructions that optionally shift benefactives and other goals to direct object. And then, in addition, there are mechanisms for creating direct objects for intransitive verbs out of semantically oblique arguments. And this, also, is optional in the sense that it cannot be predicted on the basis of syntax alone. Here again are constructions whose context, it will be shown, is determined by discourse/pragmatic function.

In this dissertation, semantically intransitive constructions (clauses without a patient) that are transitivized by objectifying semantically oblique arguments are spoken of, for convenience sake, as promotions to direct object. And transitive constructions where a semantically oblique argument is direct object instead of the patient are called direct object shifting. Other than in the number of arguments involved, however, Nez Perce makes no such formal distinction. I make the distinction because of the comparisons in the topicality measurements presented later in the chapter. Also, the reader should not confuse my use of these terms with their use in those schools of linguistic structuralism that admit to abstract levels of syntax.[1]

Promotion to Direct Object

This section describes the structural devices by which a non-patient argument can be promoted to direct object. Such structures are identical to the ergative construction (see Chapter IV) except for the fact that the semantic roles of non-patient direct objects are coded by verbal suffixes[2]. These suffixes, which are given in Table 23, are are attached after the thematic suffixes (-y/0 for s-stems and -n for c-stems) plus -ee (e when not stressed).

Allative Promotion

Most typically it is human (or personified) goals that are promoted to direct object. But human goals are not always promoted, as the following contrasting examples show.

Table 23. Verbal Suffixes that encode the Semantic Role of Promoted Direct Objects

	Suffix	Stem Type
Ablative	-'áapiik	s-stem
Allative	-úu	s-stem
Associative	-ti.wee	c-stem
Benefactive/Genitive	-'eni	s-stem
	-'ey[3]	s-stem
Competitor ('against')	-so'	s-stem
'over'	-ca'	c-stem

1) Allative argument case marked with NP suffix -x:
Phinney (1934) 270:13-14
kii hikúye pisítx
this 3NOM-go-PERF father-ALL
'Now she went to her father'

2) Allative argument case marked with verbal suffix -úu:
Phinney (1934) 141:4-5
wáaqo' na'qáacap 'exyúuse[4]
now my-mo mo-DO 1/2TR-go-ALL-PROG-SGNOM
'Now I am going to my maternal grandmother'

Inanimate goals may also be promoted to direct object, as in example 4. Sentence 3 is provided as an example where a similar noun has not been promoted to direct object.

3) Inanimate goal marked by the NP suffix -x:
Aoki (1979) 9:5
kaa hitéem'ikse pik'úunx
and 3NOM-go down-PROG-SGNOM river-ALL
'And she went down to the river'

4) Inanimate goal marked by the verbal suffix -úu:
Phinney (1934) 218:10-11
kaa kúusne péexyuuye
and water-DO 3TR-go-ALL-PERF
'And he went to the water'

With some verbs, such as páay 'arrive', the suffix -úu indicates the presence of a direct object which if not promoted would have been marked by the NP locative suffix -pe. The following examples show this contrast.

5) Locative goal marked by the NP suffix -pe:
Phinney (1934) 161:7
hipáaynikika 'inítpe
3NOM-arrive-TRANS-PERF lodge-LOC
'She arrived at the lodge'

6) Locative goal marked by the verbal suffix -úu:
Phinney (1934) 311:10
'éeteex 'iníine 'apaynóosa
surely-EX lodge-DO 1/2TR-arrive-ALL-PROG-SGNOM
'Surely I am arriving at a lodge'

Abstract human goals are always promoted to direct object, as in examples 9 and 10. Sentences 7 and 8 are provided as examples where the same verbs have no promoted direct objects.

7) Phinney (1934) 269:3
ku'skí   himsemíse
thus-INSTR 3NOM-lie-PROG-SGNOM
'For that reason he is lying'

8) Aoki (1979) 1:7
wáaqi kaa hix̣íic'emne   x̣áx̣aac
now   and 3NOM-be angry-PERF grizzly
'And now the grizzly got angry'

9) Phinney (1934) 140:15
kínm   himsam*óo*saqa
this-ERG 3NOM-lie-ALL-PROG-SGNOM-PST
'This one was lying *to* me'

10) Phinney (1934) 113:9
kaa 'áatwaynim   k'omác   pex̣ic'emn*úu*ye   t'ext'éxne
and old woman-ERG terribly 3TR-be angry-ALL-PERF locust-DO
'And the old woman got terribly angry *at* the locust'

The verb *kuu* with a promoted direct object case marked by *-úu* is the regular word for 'marry' in Nez Perce. The following is an example.

11) Aoki (1979) 10:32
kú'm   'ekiy*úu*yu'
INDEF-you 1/2TR-go-ALL-IRR
'Perhaps you will marry him'

When a promoted direct object is possessed by the subject, the antipassive is used,[5] just as with a regular direct object (see again Chapter V). There is a two step derivation here, for the promotion to direct object must necessarily precede the demotion of the same via the antipassive. The following are examples.

12) Phinney (1934) 140:10
kaa hipayn*óo*ya   'iwéepne[6]
and 3NOM-arrive-ALL-PERF wife
'And he came *to* [arrived at] *his* wife'

13) Phinney (1934) 122:5-6
wáaqo' láwtiwaama hixy*úu*ye 'áacix
now friend-PL 3NOM-go-ALL-PERF turtle
'Now turtle went *to his* friends'

The following sentences are provided as additional examples of the promotion to direct object of an allative argument. Note the occurrence, whenever applicable, of the five markers of transitivity described in Chapter V. These and the verbal suffix *-úu* are all underlined below.

14) Phinney (1934) 140:10-11
koníix céepki *pe*wyenkexn*úu*ye
that-ABL arrow-INSTR 3TR-going along-pull bow-ALL-PERF
'From there with an arrow he pulled back his bow and aimed *at* her as he went along'

15) Aoki (1979) 10:16
piméx̣*pim* *pa*payn*óo*qana 'ip*né*
fa bro-ERG 3TR-arrive-ALL-HABSGNOM-RM 3SG-DO
'His paternal uncle used to come *to* him'

16) Phinney (1934) 78:2-3
kíimet koná *pe*tqep'niy*úu*ye
this-TEMP that-LOC 3TR-suddenly-come out of woods-ALL-PERF

téekinpe 'iníi*ne*
meadow-LOC lodge-DO
'When there suddenly out of the woods he came *upon* a lodge in a meadow'

17) Phinney (1934) 208:8-9
koníix paqax̣páqax̣*na* *pé*exy*uu*sene
that-ABL stubby rattlessnake-DO 3TR-go-ALL-PROG-SGNOM-RM

himiisyéeye*nm*
wolf family-ERG
'From there the wolf family went *to* the stubby rattlesnake'

18) Phinney (1934) 148:6
wáaqo' 'exy*úu*se himeléht*ne*
now 1/2TR-go-ALL-PROG-SGNOM raven-DO
'Now I am going *to* the raven'

19) Phinney (1934) 311:10-11
kii koníix péexyúuye hi'yéewki 'iníine
this that-ABL 3TR-go-ALL-PERF slow-INSTR lodge-DO
'Now from there he slowly went to the lodge'

20) Phinney (1934) 233:4
kii papaynóoya pohóla
this 3TR-arrive-ALL-PERF valley-DO
'Now he arrived at the valley'

21) Phinney (1934) 269:1-3
'étke wéet'u' 'iceyéeye hiwéwluqse páahap
because not coyote 3NOM-want-PROG-SGNOM daughter

ku' hináaskiyooyo'qa qiláasx̣na
INDEF 3NOM-PLDO-go-ALL-COND otter-DO
'...because Coyote did not want his daughter to go to the otters'

22) Phinney (1934) 322:4
'istuk'éesne 'anaac'alikóoy
guest-DO 1/2TR-PLDO-start fire-ALL-IMP
'Start a fire by the guests'

Associative Promotion

An associative promoted to direct object is marked by the verbal suffix -t(i)wee. Clear cut examples of the promotion of an associative argument to direct object, however, are difficult to come by. Nearly all of the examples I have gleaned from texts are similar to the following in that there seem to be no corresponding verb forms where promotion has not occurred.

23) Aoki (1979) 18:39
'eehé ká'la wax̣ sooyáapoom hinéeswiyetweece
yes just and whiteman-ERG 3NOM-PLDO-go along-ASSOC-PROG-SGNOM

piyex̣c'iníitkin'ix
Mt. Idaho-ABL
'Yes, and the whitemen are just going along with us from Mt. Idaho'

24) Phinney (1934) 472:12
péesepeetwecene 'itúx̣ki
3TR-CAUS-ASSOC-PROG-SGNOM-RM dirt-INSTR
'They mixed dirt with it'

An informant, however, volunteered the following pair of sentences. In example 25 the associative NP is marked by the suffix -iin, while in example 26 the same associative NP has become a direct object, its associative semantic role being marked by the verbal suffix -t(i)wee.

25) láwtiwaayiin miyóox̣at hitúuqisix
friend-ASSOC chief 3NOM-smoke-PROG-PLNOM
'The chief is smoking with a friend'

26) láwtiwaana miyóox̣atom péetuqitweece
friend-DO chief-ERG 3TR-smoke-ASSOC-PROG-SGNOM
'The chief is smoking with a friend'

Ablative Promotion

Ablative promotion is extremely rare in the all texts I have analyzed. The first sentence below is included to contrast with the example of ablative promotion taken from Aoki's Nez Perce Grammar. The transitivity of the verb in 28 is marked by the plural direct object prefix nas-.

27) Phinney (1934) 41:6
hipawspáyxtoqa məqséemkin'ix
3NOM-PLNOM-journey-arrive-back-PERF mountain-ABL
'They arrived back from the journey to the mountains'

28) Aoki (1970c) 97
kaa hinaswaka'ykáapiiksa
and 3NOM-PLDO-fly-ABL-PROG-SGNOM
'And she flew away from us'

Competitor Promotion

The verbal suffix -so' marks the direct object as bearing the semantic role 'against.' This is most often used to mark one with whom one is competing against, as in the following contrastive set from Aoki (1970c), page 100.

29) wistokáhsasa
1/2NOM-shoot-upward-PROG-SGNOM
'I am shooting upward'

30) 'awstokahsó'sa
1/2TR-shoot-upward-against-PROG-SGNOM
'I am shooting upward in competition with him'

'Over' Promotion

Aoki (1970c), page 96, cites the verbal suffix -c'a as meaning "over the object" and provides the following set of examples.

31) húux̣elece
1/2NOM-roll-PROG-SGNOM
'I am rolling'

32) páhox̣lc'asa
3TR-roll-over-PROG-SGNOM
'It is rolling over him'

The following example actually belongs with the next section, but is included here since there are so few examples of shifting via the suffix -c'a. The patient of this causative verb is the horses (implied from context) but the oblique 'over the children' has been shifted to direct object.

33) Aoki (1979) 19:26
'éetx mamáy'asna 'apasapóotikc'ayo'
you-PL R-child-DO 1/2TR-CAUS-step-over-IRR
'You will make them step over the children'

The following is also an example of 'over' promotion. That the verbal suffix is -c'ée instead of the expected -c'áa is due to the change of a to e in Skunk's speech (see comments on the special speech of animals in

Chapter I, page 22).

34) Phinney (1934) 234:5-6
q'o' 'etiic'éeyu'
surely 1/2TR-squirt musk-over-IRR
'I will surely squirt musk over him'

Direct Object Shifting

Again, as described in Chapter III, the dative is always the direct object in a bitransitive construction. In it there is no verbal suffix to mark the dative case. This is in keeping with the lack of a dative marker anywhere in Nez Perce. And, of course, such a verbal suffix is unnecessary since the dative is obligatorily the direct object. This construction will not be considered in topicality measurements as no alternate construction exists with which to compare it. The two constructions that will be considered are the allative shift and the benefactive shift.[7]

Allative Shift

An allative argument can be shifted to become the direct object of an already transitive verb. Typically, this happens only when the allative argument is human. The following example is given for contrast. It shows an unshifted allative argument marked with the NP suffix -kex.

35) Phinney (1934) 17:3-4
koníix quyéesquyesnim pée'nehnene 'ipním 'iníitkex
that-ABL bluejay-ERG 3TR-carry-PERF 3SG-GEN lodge-ALL
'From there bluejay carried her to his lodge'

In each of the following examples, allative arguments have been shifted to direct object of already transitive verbs. Aside from the original transitivity of the verb, there is no distinction between allative promotion and the allative shift: the same verbal suffix -*úu* marks the allative case in both.

36) Phinney (1934) 275:3-4
kii pa'naxpayk*óo*ya wispólki walálk'oliyki'n
this 3TR-carry-arrive-ALL-PERF buckskin-INSTR wrap up-STAT
'Now she brought [it] *to* him wrapped up with buckskin'

37) Phinney (1934) 145:3-4
kii pée'nexkiy*uu*sene qíiwne
this 3TR-carry-go-ALL-PROG-SGNOM-RM old man-DO
'Now they took [them] *to* the old man'

38) Phinney (1934) 146:11-12
qo'c tax̣c kii 'ew'néhkiy*uu*yu' qíiwne
yet soon this 1/2TR-carry-go-ALL-IRR old man-DO
'I will yet soon take this *to* the old man'

Here also the antipassive is employed when the allative direct object is possessed by the subject. The following is an example.

39) Phinney (1934) 327:16-17
kaa píst *hi*'naxpayk*óo*ya sít'eqs
and father 3NOM-carry-arrive-ALL-PERF liver
'And she brought the liver *to her* father'

Benefactive Shift

A benefactive direct object is marked in the verb by the suffix -*'(e)n(i)* (-*'ey* before inflectional suffixes beginning with *s*). Human benefactives are most often shifted, but not necessarily always. The following is a rare example where a human benefactive has not been shifted. Could the non-shifted status of this benefactive perhaps indicate a lack of real concern "for the people" on the part of Coyote?

40) Phinney (1934) 18:7-8
kawő' 'éeteex wéc'u' 'ekűuse
then surely-EX stop 2TR-do-PROG-SGNOM

'étke titőoqa'ayn 'akosáaqa
because people-BEN 1/2TR-do-PROG-SGNOM-PST
'Then I am stopping it because I was doing it for the people'

The following are examples of the benefactive shift. Note that the patient is never case marked.

41) a. Phinney (1934) 142:13-14
qáaca'cpim páanya'nya tim'űuni 'iméesnim tupée'snim
mo mo-ERG 3TR-make-BEN-PERF bow deer-GEN rib-GEN
'His maternal grandmother made him a bow of deer's rib'

b. Phinney (1934) 151:13-14
ká'la 'űylepweki kíye 'aanyáa'ysix
just all-two-HUM-INSTR we 1/2TR-make-BEN-PROG-PLNOM

himeléhtne 'iléepqet
raven-DO moccasins
'We both are just making moccasins for Raven'

42) Phinney (1934) 128:7
'itűune cikaw'íisna péexye'ysix?
what-DO fierce-DO 3TR-do-BEN-PROG-PLNOM
'For what fierce one are they doing it?'

43) Phinney (1934) 26:9
kaa kűus páa'naxpayka'ysana
and water 3TR-carry-arrive-BEN-PROG-SGNOM-RM
'And they brought water for him'

In the following 1st person benefactives have been shifted to direct object with the consequent changes in verbal prefix (Ø- instead of 'e- in a, and hi- instead of pée- in b). Example 44b also shows that -tee 'to go somewhere in order to do something' is suffixed to the verb after the benefactive suffix.

44) a. Phinney (1934) 474:11
kawṓ' hanyā́a'ytam teméeyenwees
now 1/2NOM-make-BEN-go-CIS-IMP bathing place
'Now go make a bathing place for me'

b. Phinney (1934) 381:10
kaa qiyā́aw'is nacṓ'x̣ hinwī́hna'nis
and dried salmon 3NOM-leave-BEN-PP
'And he has left dried salmon for me'

In the following example both the benefactive NP suffix and the benefactive verbal suffix occur. The NP suffix marks a non-human argument and the verbal suffix marks a human benefactive.

45) Phinney (1934) 115:6
hḗenek'u' 'inikḗ'nim watī́iski'ayn
again 1/2NOM-put-BEN-CIS-IMP yesterday/tomorrow-BEN
'Put it [there] for me again for tomorrow'

Discourse Function

In this section the results of the measurements of topic continuity are presented with a short discussion of their significance in describing the discourse/pragmatic function of the direct object in Nez Perce.

Results

Tables 24 and 25 contrast measurements for both unpromoted and promoted oblique objects, and in Tables 26 and 27 the measurements for non-shifted and shifted direct objects are contrasted. The data dealing with promotion to direct object is graphed in Figures 3 and 4, and that dealing with shifting to direct object is graphed in Figures 5 and 6.

Discussion

That the Nez Perce direct object is a kind of secondary topic is made clear from the fact that it is not always a semantic patient. And the fact that alternative constructions exist where a non-patient is either an obliquely case marked NP or a direct object provides the opportunity for contrastive topicality measurements. And these reveal the direct object to be overwhelmingly more topical than the obliquely case marked NP.

Table 24. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Allative Goals and Associatives in Contrast with the Subject in Semantically Intransitive Clauses

	Non-Promoted Object		Promoted Direct Object	
	No.	RD	No.	RD
Allative Construction				
Subject	7	1.14	38	3.61
Allative	7	17.86	38	3.97
Associative Construction				
Subject	6	13.83	3	7.33
Associative	6	16.50	3	11.67

Table 25. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Allative Goals and Associatives in Contrast with the Subject in Semantically Intransitive Clauses

	Non-Promoted Object		Promoted Direct Object	
	No.	TP	No.	TP
Allative Construction				
Subject	7	4.43	38	2.39
Allative	7	1.00	38	3.47
Associative Construction				
Subject	6	4.00	3	1.00
Associative	6	.67	3	.67

Table 26. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Allative and Benefactive Goals in Contrast with the Patient in Bitransitive Clauses

	Other NP		Direct Object	
	No.	RD	No.	RD
Benefactive Construction				
Patient	4	11.25	1	1.00
Benefactive	1	3.00	4	1.25
Allative Construction				
Patient	2	1.50	5	1.125
Allative	5	9.00	2	2.50

Table 27. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Allative and Benefactive Goals in Contrast with the Patient in Bitransitive Clauses

	Other NP		Direct Object	
	No.	TP	No.	TP
Benefactive Construction				
Patient	4	.75	1	5.00
Benefactive	1	0	4	1.75
Allative Construction				
Patient	2	.50	5	2.20
Allative	5	.60	2	1.00

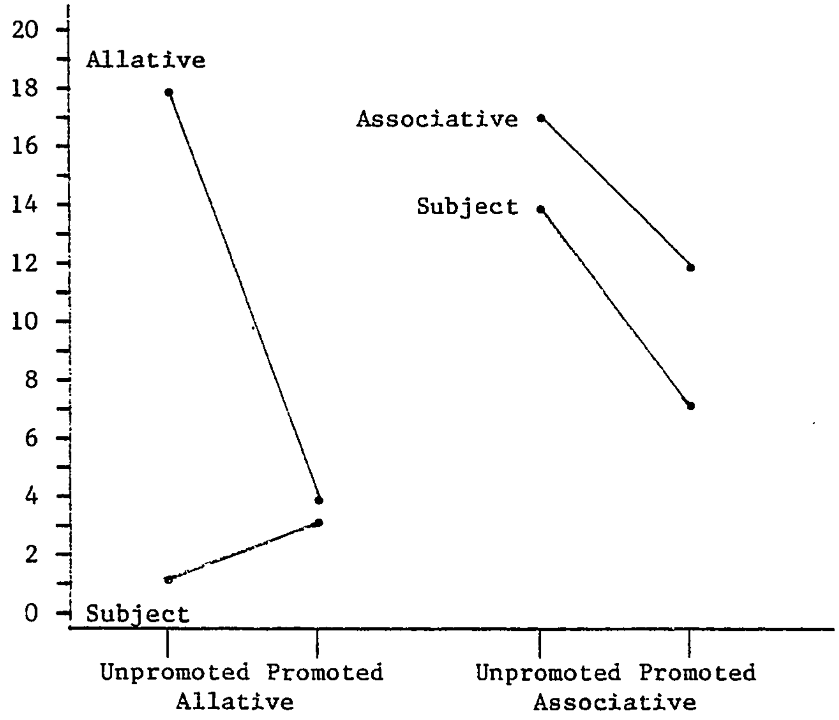

FIGURE 3. Graph of average referential distance measurements for allative goals and associatives in contrast with the subject in semantically intransitive clauses.

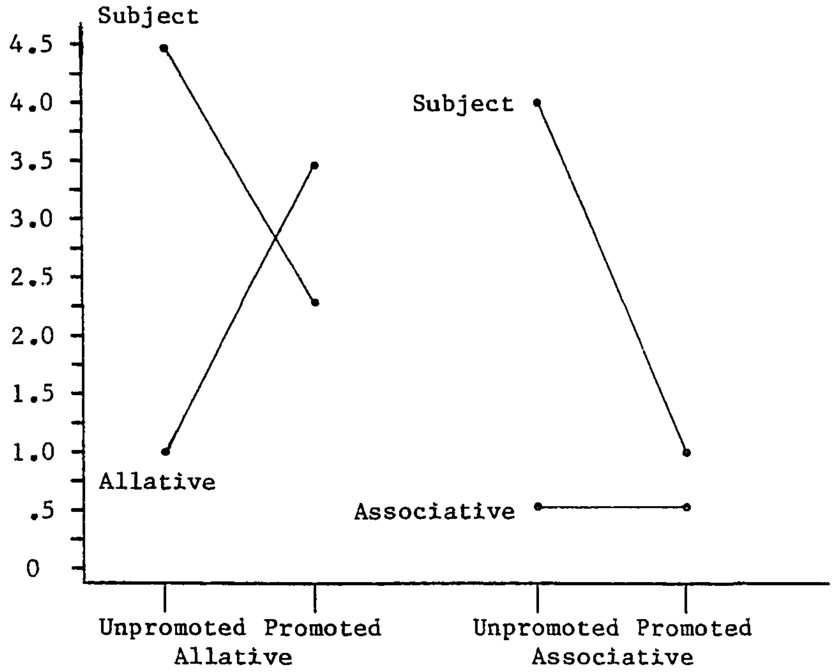

FIGURE 4. Graph of average topic persistence measurements for allative goals and associatives in contrast with the subject in semantically intransitive clauses.

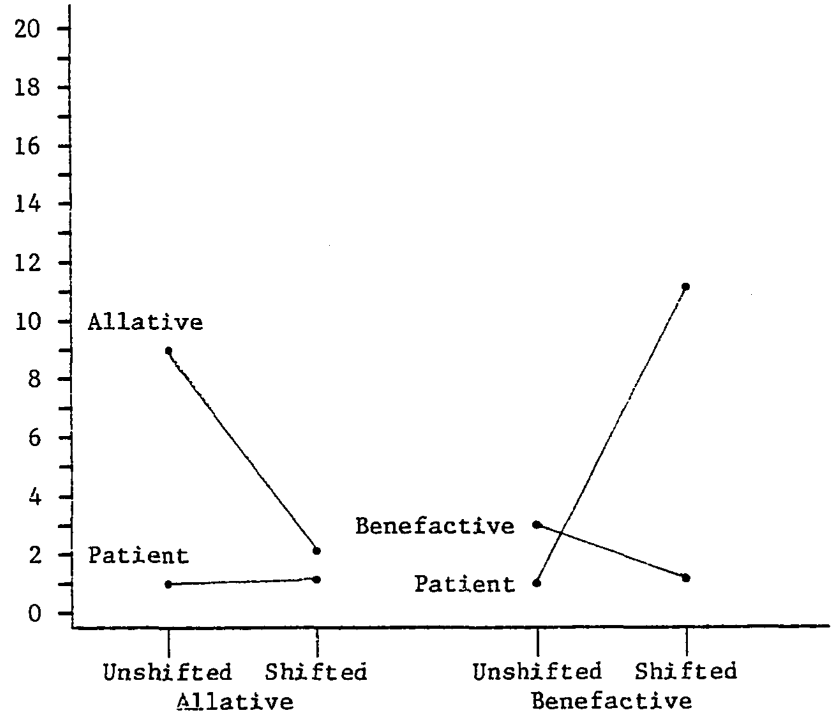

FIGURE 5. Graph of average referential distance measurements for allative and benefactive goals in contrast with the patient in bitransitive clauses.

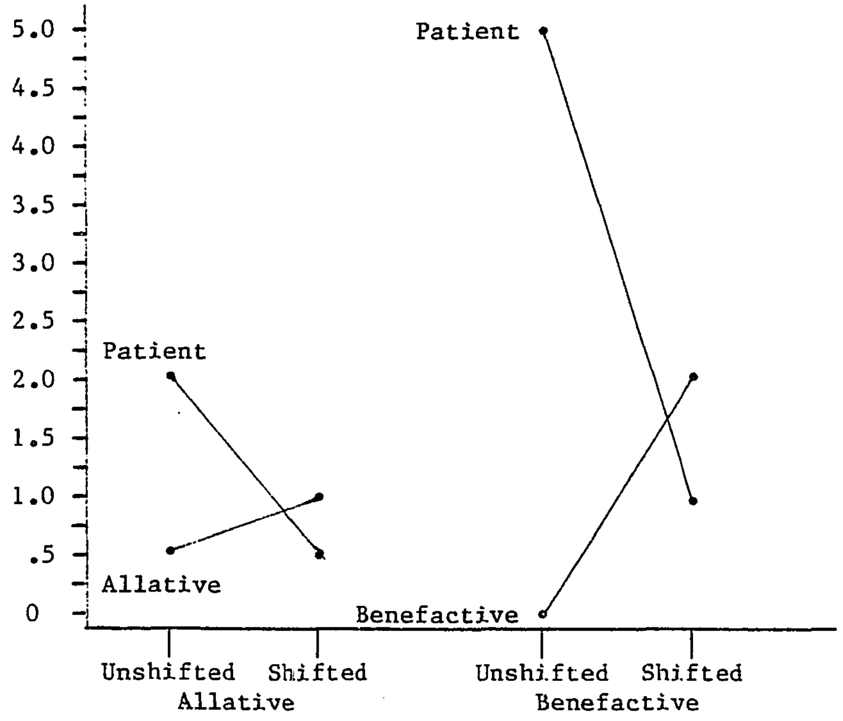

FIGURE 6. Graph of average topic persistence measurements for allative and benefactive goals in contrast with the patient in bitransitive clauses.

Notes

[1] *Promotion* is a term evidently first used within the school of relational grammar (see Perlmutter [1983-1984]). Perhaps the extreme case of a language which permits a great variety of promotions to direct object is the Bantu language KinyaRwanda (see Kimenyi [1980]).

In the furor over structuralist versus functionalist approaches to syntax, one must keep in mind that it is not the existence of syntactic structure but rather its explanation that is in question. Both approaches seek abstract explanations for concrete structure. For the one the explanation involves abstract structure, for the other semantic and/or discourse/pragmatic function. While in this dissertation I opt for the latter, this does not mean that I do not believe in abstract syntactic structure. One may speak of levels of structure, as, for example, when rules feed into other rules. This is the case in Nez Perce where promotions to direct object feed into both genitive promotion (possessor ascension) and the coreferential antipassive (all described later in this chapter). There are thus really two issues at stake here: one involves the metalanguage with which we describe the facts of structure, and the other involves where we go with our explanations of that structure. In this dissertation I try not to ignore linguistic structure, but rather to present the facts in such a way that the reader may fit them into the metalanguage of his or her choice.

[2] These verbal suffixes, as was shown in Chapter IV, themselves originated as verbs. They evidently first functioned as case marking serial verbs.

[3] The allomorph *-'ey* (which together with *-ee/-e* has the form *-ee'y/-e'y*) occurs before all inflectional suffixes beginning with *s*, while *-'eni* (which together with *-ee/-e* has the form *-ee'ni/-e'ni*, the final *i* usually being deleted) occurs before all inflectional suffixes beginning with *y*. See the section on the *Inflectional Suffix Complex* in Chapter II.

[4] Here the verb is still *kuu* 'go', as in example 1. Because of the stress of the allative suffix *-úu* its vowel has deleted, and the *k* has then spirantized because it stands before a consonant. The same verb stem occurs in Aoki (1979) as *kiyúu*.

[5] This, of course, does not apply in example 2 above where the possession is marked by a pronominal prefix on the direct object (see the section on pronominal prefixes in Chapter III).

[6] The word for 'wife' is *'iwéepne*; the *ne* is not the direct object suffix but part of the stem.

[7] There are two verbal suffixes that provide adverbial modification of the direct object, but seem not to be used in either promotion or

shifting. These are -'aatk 'as the DO passes by the subject' and -úukini 'as the DO approaches the subject.' The following are examples. The suffix -úukini is ee plus the verb wéwkuni 'meet', and 'aatk is evidently from the verb 'áat 'go out'. The morpheme -aatk often modifies direct objects promoted via the suffix -úu.

a. Modification with -'aatk:

1. Without -úu:
Aoki (1979) 19:25
koná náaqsnim qíiwnim hináasnatka, "..."
that-LOC one-ERG old man-ERG 3NOM-PLDO-say-pass-PERF
'There an old man said to them as they passed him, "..."

2. With -úu:
Phinney (1934) 1:11-12
koná x̣áx̣aasnim púuyexyuu'atka
that-LOC grizzly-ERG 3TR-run-go-ALL-pass-PERF
'There grizzly rushed out at him as he passed by'

b. Modification with -úukini:

1. Phinney (1934) 480:3
kaa ciq'áamqalm wáaqo' pewehnúukinye
and dog-ERG now 3TR-bark-approach-PERF
'And the dog barked at him as he approached'

2. Phinney (1934) 327:14
péetqe'mpuukinye
3TR-quickly-seize-approach-PERF
'She quickly caught it'

3. Phinney (1934) 298:15
watíisx 'atáamyanookinyu' káa'awna
yesterday/tomorrow 1/2TR-throw-approach-IRR dawn-DO
'Tomorrow I will throw [it] at the approach of the dawn'
("A figure of speech meaning, 'to celebrate,' but which Coyote was able to understand only literally." Phinney [1934] 298, footnote 1)

CHAPTER VII

GENITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN DISCOURSE

As we have seen so far in Part Two of this dissertation, Nez Perce is of interest to syntacticians and students of discourse because of the nature of its direct object case. The optional status of this direct object (its obliteration in the antipassive), and the fact that it encodes a varied number of semantic roles, means that it is not a purely syntactic or semantic entity. It is, rather, a discourse/pragmatic entity, a kind of secondary topic.

In addition to the above, Nez Perce also permits the optional promotion of genitive arguments to topic status. This genitive promotion (or "possessor ascension") operates in Nez Perce on an absolutive basis,[1] which means that genitives in Nez Perce may be promoted to direct object (when governed by the direct object of a transitive verb) and to subject (only when governed by the subject of an intransitive verb). There is no strategy for genitive promotion in ergative NPs.

The first section of this chapter describes the distribution of basic genitive constructions. The second section describes the structures involved in the promotion to subject and direct object of genitive arguments. And the last section investigates the discourse-pragmatic context for genitive promotion in Nez Perce. The results, I believe, show the degree of topicality of genitive versus head to determine genitive promotion in intransitive subjects. The situation is a little more complicated with genitive promotion to direct object.

Syntactic Distribution of Genitive Constructions

A genitive noun case marked with -nim may be governed by a noun with any case suffix except the ergative (-nim) or direct object (-ne). Genitive nouns case marked with -nim occur in the following four environments: in all subject NPs, in the patient NP of an antipassive clause, in the patient NP of a bitransitive clause, and in oblique NPs.

Subject NP

In all subject NPs, a genitive noun must always be marked with -nim. Genitive case marking with -nim supersedes all other case marking in the subject NP.

Intransitive Clause

A genitive noun in the subject of an intransitive verb is marked genitive whether or not genitive promotion has occurred. Genitive promotion has not occurred in the first example below, but it has in the second. (Genitive promotion is described later in this chapter.)

1) No genitive promotion to subject: -nim
Phinney (1934) 174:8-9
kaa wáaqo' tim'áaynim píke hiwíinime
and now maiden-GEN mother 3NOM-weep-CIS-PERF
'And now the maiden's mother wept'

2) Genitive promotion to subject: -nim
Aoki (1979) 17:80
kaa cáaliinm píke 'ewéeyikse
and Charlie-GEN mother 3GEN-cross-PROG-SGNOM
'And Charlie's mother went across'

Transitive Clause

As described above (Chapter II), when the subject of a transitive verb contains a genitive noun, only the genitive noun suffixes -nim. The ergative head noun cannot also suffix -nim while a genitive noun is part of the same NP. In Nez Perce, -nim cannot be suffixed to a genitive noun and also to its ergative head. The head noun always loses its case marking in favor of the genitive noun. The following are examples; the first (no. 3) with a genitive pronoun, the second (no. 4a) with a genitive noun. Example 4b, in contrast to 4a, has the subject marked ergative, this because there is no genitive in the NP.

3) Aoki (1979) 10:34-35

kaa	'ipním	píke	paapaynóosina	'áatwayna
and	3SG-GEN	mother	3TR-arrive-ALL-PROG-PLNOM-RM	old woman-DO

'And her mother came to the old woman'

4) a.

háamanm	ciq'áamqal	páa'naxpayka	pipísne
man-GEN	dog	3TR-carry-arrive-PERF	bone-DO

'The man's dog brought the bone'

b.

ciq'áamqalm	páa'naxpayka	pipíisne
dog-ERG	3TR-carry-arrive-PERF	bone-DO

'The dog brought the bone'

Patient NP of Antipassive Clause

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of genitive nouns marked with -nim in the patient of antipassive clauses.

5) Phinney (1934) 30:7

hittóolaya	'áayatom	tiwíyext
3NOM-forget-PERF	woman-GEN	advice

'He forgot the woman's advice'

6) Phinney (1934) 263:16
hi'néhnene x̣áx̣aas*nim* mé'eqs
3NOM-carry-PERF grizzly-GEN skin
'She carried along a grizzly skin'

7) Phinney (1934) 25:7-8
kaa wáaqo' 'ipsúusx kiké't hi'npime 'icwéew'lcix*nim*
and now hand-ALL blood 3NOM-take-CIS-PERF monster-GEN
'And now he took the monster's blood on his hands'

Oblique NP

Genitive nouns marked with *-nim* can be governed by nouns in any oblique case (other than ergative or direct object). Here are two examples.

8) Phinney (1934) 74:1
kawó' páacapaalk'oliiksana qoq'áalx̣*nim* me'qéspx
then 3TR-wrap-PROG-SGNOM-RM buffalo-GEN hide-ALL
'Then they wrapped him in the buffalo's hide'

9) Phinney (1934) 475:8-9
x̣áx̣aas*nim* tamáalwitki 'ée hipekúuye
grizzly-GEN decision-INSTR you 3NOM-PLNOM-go/do-PERF
'According to grizzly's decision they did it to you'

Promotion to Direct Object

The promotion of a genitive argument to direct object is accomplished by exactly the same construction as that used for the benefactive shift (which was described in detail in Chapter VI).[2] Sentence 10 is an example of the benefactive shift. Note that the benefactive noun *himeléht* 'raven' has the direct object suffix *-ne*, and that the patient *kúus* 'water' is unmarked for case. The verb has the benefactive suffix *-'(e)ni*.

10) Phinney (1934) 149:9-10
kúum ke 'úylepweki kúus
go/do-CIS-IMP REL all-two-HUM-INSTR water

'epe'néhne'nis himeléhtne
1/2TR-PLNOM-cary-BEN-PP raven-DO
'Come, let both of us carry water for Raven'

The sentences in 11a and b are examples of the genitive shift. Structurally they are identical to the benefactive shift in 10 and could be so interpreted. Sentence 11a, for example, could be translated, 'They are bringing a daughter for Coyote.' Context, however, reveals it to be a promotion of a genitive to direct object. Phinney translates it, 'They are bringing Coyote's daughter.' There is, therefore, no formal distinction between the benefactive shift and the promotion of a genitive to direct object in Nez Perce (both suffix -'(e)n(i)/-'(e)y in the verb). Only context or the pragmatics of the situation prevents ambiguity.

11) a. Phinney (1934) 273:11
'iceyéeyene páahap páa'naxpayka'ysix
coyote-DO daughter 3TR-carry-arrive-GEN-PROG-PLNOM
'They are bringing Coyote's daughter'

b. Phinney (1934) 36:1
koná péepe'wye'nye háamana sepeelúuxt
that-LOC 3TR-look for-GEN-PERF man-DO hidings
'Then she searched for the man's hidings'

In the following conjoined sentence the first clause is an example of genitive promotion and the second is an example of benefactive promotion. The 1st person status of the direct object is indicated by the verbal prefix hi-.

12) Phinney (1934) 381:9-10
manámax 'isíinm hi'npée'nis 'ápa
what-EX who-ERG 3NOM-take-GEN-PP root-loaf

kaa qiyáaw'is nacó'x̣ hinwíhna'nis?
and dry salmon 3NOM-leave-BEN-PP
'Who has taken my root-loaf and left dried salmon for me?

In the two examples below genitive personal pronouns have been promoted to direct object.

13) Aoki (1979) 20(1):1
'ecúukwene'yse 'ipné tim'íne
1/2TR-know-GEN-PROG-SGNOM 3SG-DO heart
'I know his heart'

14) Aoki (1979) 10:13
kinm háacwalm likíp péekiye'nye 'ipné sám'x̣
this-ERG boy-ERG touch 3TR-go/do-GEN-PERF 3SG-DO shirt
'This boy touched her shirt'

For possessors of easy recoverability, there typically is no overt NP. In the following examples of genitive promotion, the possessor is implied only by the genitive suffix on the verb and the lack of case marking on the patient.

15) Phinney (1934) 10:3
la'ám' kiké't páakac'ox̣c'ox̣na'nya
all blood 3TR-suck-GEN-PERF
'He sucked all her blood'

16) Phinney (1934) 174;14
kíimet cilyéexnim q'o' c'a'á' hím' púuyeyleke'nye
when fly-ERG precisely mouth 3TR-go into-GEN-PERF
'Whereupon a fly flew precisely into her mouth'

When there is a genitive in any NP that has been promoted to direct object, the genitive is itself then automatically promoted to direct object. That the allative argument has been promoted to direct object in both the examples below is marked by the verbal suffix -úu, and the additional promotion of the genitive is indicated by the suffix -'eni (or -'ey).

17) Phinney (1934) 364:2-3
met 'éete x̣elx̣elúuyene 'iníit hinaac'acóo'anya
but surely spider-DO lodge 3NOM-PLDO-go in-ALL-GEN-PERF
'For surely he went *into the spiders' lodge*'

18) Phinney (1934) 229:4
kaa wáaqo' weptéesne simées péexyuu'eysene
and now eagle-DO bed 3TR-go-ALL-GEN-PROG-SGNOM-RM

wex̣weqénm
frog-ERG
'And now the frogs went *to the eagle's bed*'

When a direct object governs a genitive noun, the genitive noun is obligatorily promoted to direct object. The only way a patient argument can govern a genitive noun marked by the suffix -*nim* is when it has been demoted. In example 19 the possessor has been promoted to direct object. The patient of the verb in example 20 (repeated from 6) has been demoted by the antipassive, and the patient in 21 has been demoted by the benefactive shift. The patients in both examples govern nouns marked genitive by -*nim*.

19) Phinney (1934) 422:14
'uc'úucne sílu 'exnée'nitx
bat-DO eye 1/2TR-see-GEN-PLIMP
'See bat's eyes'

20) Phinney (1934) 263:16
hi'néhnene x̣áx̣aasnim mé'eqs
3NOM-carry-PERF grizzly-GEN skin
'She carried along a grizzly's skin'

21) Aoki (1979) 5:49
taqc'ée qó'c qaqsánm wéeyux hanya'nyó'
soon-you yet brushwood-GEN leg 1/2NOM-make-BEN-IRR
'I will yet make a leg of brushwood for you'

Just as in an ergative NP where only the genitive noun can suffix -*nim*, so in a direct object NP only the genitive can suffix -*ne*. This symmetry can be seen in the following two examples.

22) Genitive noun in ergative NP:
pée'wiye háamanm háacwal
3TR-shoot-PERF man-ERG/GEN son
'The man's son shot him'

23) Genitive noun in direct object NP:
pée'wi'enye háamana háacwal
3TR-shoot-GEN-PERF man-DO son
'He shot the man's son'

Genitive personal pronouns may be promoted to direct object, as was the case in examples 13 and 14 above. But, unlike with nouns which are case marked genitive, this promotion is not obligatory with the personal pronouns. As was described in Chapter III, there is concord in Nez Perce between modifying adjective and noun. When a genitive pronoun functions as a possessive modifier, the same concord applies, as in the first of the following examples. A genitive personal pronoun may similarly function as a possessive modifier of a direct object, as seen in the second example below.

24) Aoki (1979) 10:8
kawá 'ewéeke sáhay 'óykaslix 'ipnimpé cilakátpa
then 3GEN-be-PERF sore all over 3SG-GEN-LOC body-LOC
'Then he had sores all over on his body'

25) Aoki (1979) 10:36
peekiyuut'ipéecwise 'imimné peqéex̣ne
3TR-go-ALL-N-DES-PROG-SGNOM 2SG-GEN-DO sister's son-DO
'She wants to marry your sister's son'

There is no such concord, however, between a genitive noun and its case marked head. The following is an example with a genitive noun in an allative NP.

26) Phinney (1934) 182:6-7
kaa wáaqo' 'óykalo hipetqeke'éykime
and now all 3NOM-PLNOM-suddenly-move-CIS-PERF

x̣áx̣aasnim 'iníit*kex*
grizzly-GEN lodge-to
'And now all dashed to grizzly's lodge'

The unstressed pronouns that prefix to kinship terms (see Chapter III) are never themselves promoted to direct object, nor do they prohibit the noun they modify from being case marked direct object.

27) Aoki (1979) 17:74
kaa wáaqo' *ne*'íicep péetqecimkcix
and now my-mother-DO 3TR-suddenly-dislike-PROG-PLNOM

titóoqanm
people-ERG
'And now suddenly the Indians dislike my mother'

A genitive noun may be found in the direct object NP of the ergative construction if another genitive has already been promoted. In the following example the possessor of the patient has been promoted to direct object. This patient, however, still controls an NP which is marked genitive (a genitive of composition, *maymáynim* 'of intestine'). This is possible because the patient is not the direct object.

28) Aoki (1979) 5:71
kawó' yox̣ x̣it'il'x̣it'íl'
then that cut to bits

téewtes maymáy*nim* péekiye*'ny*e
rope intestine-GEN 3TR-do-GEN-PERF
'Then he cut to bits *his* [promoted to DO] rope *of* [not promoted] intestine'

Coreferential Possession

The Nez Perce direct object is never coreferential with the subject. For coreferentiality between subject and object the reflexive must be used. Compare the following.

29) Direct object
háamanm pée'wiye (('ipné)
man-ERG 3TR-shoot-PERF 3SG-DO
'The man shot him' (not himself)

30) Reflexive object
háama 'ipnée'wiye ('ipinníx)
man 3SGREFL-shoot-PERF 3SG-INTENS
'The man shot himself'

Now compare the following two examples. Note that in the ergative construction in 31, the direct object is a promoted genitive. It cannot be coreferential with the subject. Sentence 32 is an example of the antipassive construction. And in it the genitive pronoun 'ipním 'his/her' is coreferential with the subject.

31) Genitive promoted to direct object
Aoki (1979) 10:13
mét'u kínm háacwalm likíp péekiye'nye 'ipné sám'x̣
but this-ERG boy-ERG touch 3TR-do-GEN-PERF 3SG-DO shirt
'But this boy touched her shirt'

32) Object of antipassive case marked genitive
Aoki (1979) 10:14
lamlamátki pit'íi'n hi'cesú'upe 'ipním sám'x̣
quick-INSTR girl 3NOM-cut-PERF 3SG-GEN shirt
'Quickly the girl cut her [own] shirt'

In order to indicate that the patient is possessed by the agent, the antipassive must be used in Nez Perce. This does not apply, however, when possession is indicated by a pronominal prefix, as in the following.

33) Coreferential possession expressed by 'im'-:
Phinney (1934) 413:7-8
tax̣c 'ée 'im'qáasap 'eséep'niyu'
soon you your-mo mo-DO 1/2TR-ask-IRR
'Soon you will ask your maternal grandmother, "..."'

Remember, however, that the pronominal prefixes only exist for 1st and

2nd person singular, and that these are prefixed only to a specified set of kinship terms.

If Nez Perce were to use its reflexive construction to show possession of the patient by the agent (as, for example, Romance languages do with body parts), it would then in effect be first promoting such possessors to direct object (only coreferential direct objects are affected by the reflexive in Nez Perce). Nez Perce, instead, employs the antipassive for this function, perhaps the natural choice for a language that has both reflexives and an antipassive.

The coreferential possessor of the patient of a transitive verb is most often realized as a zero in Nez Perce, the antipassive construction itself marking the coreferential possession, as in the following. The regular antipassive marks patients very low in topicality (see Chapter V). The three examples below all have patient NPs very high in topicality and animacy. The human goals in 35 and 36 have been promoted to direct object, as is evidenced by the verbal suffix -úu. The only way such arguments could first be promoted to direct object and then be demoted by the antipassive is when the antipassive marks the fact that these arguments govern genitives coreferential with the subject.

34) Phinney (1934) 12:2-3
wáaqo' páay's qáaca'c ká'la hiwáapci'yawna
now maybe mo mo just 3NOM-kill-PERF
'Now maybe he just killed his maternal grandmother'

35) Phinney (1934) 439:7
kaa hiwetxtimúuye miyá'c
and 3NOM-scold-ALL-PERF child
'And he scolded his child'

36) Phinney (1934) 106:6-7
kaa koná hipaynóoya tiwíyece'c
and that-LOC 3NOM-arrive-ALL-PERF comrade
'And then he came to his comrade'

Promotion to Intransitive Subject

The promotion of a genitive to intransitive subject is marked by verbal agreement. Table 28 presents the person prefixes for subject agreement with an intransitive verb. Note that distinct forms for nominative and genitive exist only for 3rd person. The 3rd person genitive prefix is 'e-, identical in form to the 1st and 2nd person transitive prefix (but see example 39 with comments below).

Table 28. Person Prefixes for Intransitive Verbs

	Nominative	Genitive
1st/2nd Person	0-	0-
3rd Person	hi-	'e-

With genitive promotion, an intransitive verb agrees with the genitive argument in the subject NP, as illustrated in the following examples. The examples in 37 are included to show that genitive promotion to intransitive subject is not obligatory.

37) Genitive not promoted

a. 1st person genitive
Aoki (1979) 20 (1):12
'íinim tim'íne hik'óomayca
1SG-GEN heart 3NOM-be sick-PROG-SGNOM
'My heart is sick'

b. 3rd person genitive
Phinney (1934) 174:8-9
kaa wáaqo' tim'áaynim píke hiwíinime
and now young woman-GEN mother 3NOM-weep-CIS-PERF
'And now the young woman's mother wept'

38) Genitive promoted

a. 1st person genitive
Aoki (1979) 20 (2):12
'íinim tim'íne Ø-wées k'óomayni'n
1SG-GEN heart 1/2GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM sick-STAT
'My heart is sick'

b. 3rd person genitive
Phinney (1934) 127:4
'inekíix qáaca'c 'ewíinime
even though mo mo 3GEN-weep-CIS-PERF
'Even though his grandmother wept'

Unlike the 1st/2nd person transitive verbal prefix *'e-*, the 3rd person genitive prefix *'e-* does not have the allomorph *'ew-* before *'* and *h*, as can be seen in the following.

39) Phinney (1934) 340:15-16
konó' kaa wáaqo' háama 'e'éey'snime
then and now husband 3GEN-make merry-CIS-PERF
'And then now *her* husband made merry'

As is described in Chapter II, the verb in Nez Perce agrees in number (singular or plural) with the subject. The same morphology marks number in the verb whether or not the verb is transitive, and whether or not the subject is a promoted genitive. The following examples of genitive promotion (40 a and b) illustrate subject-verb agreement for number.

40) a. Phinney (1934) 45:5-6
'imemníx sistó's wáaqo'
2/3PL-GEN-INTENS spearhead now

sepeelúuki'n 'ewsíix
hide-STAT 3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM
'*Their* own spearhead now is hidden'

b. Phinney (1934) 227:9-10
núunim Ø-pakáa'awn
1PL-GEN 1/2GEN-PLNOM-dawn-PP

kem kaa 'imím 'ée Ø-cik'éetce
REL-you and 2SG-GEN you 1/2GEN-fall night-PROG-SGNOM
'Ours [PL] has dawned when yours [SG] is falling night'

In the following, note that the plural head noun does not control plural subject-verb agreement.

41) Phinney (1934) 36:8-9
...'óykala pe'túu titá'c ke 'úus
all DIS-thing R-good REL 3GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM
'...all the good things which are hers'

But in the following, where the head noun is singular, a plural genitive controls plural subject-verb agreement.

42) Phinney (1934) 41:1
koná miyá'c 'epewc'éeye
that-LOc child 3GEN-PLNOM-become-PERF
'Then their child was born'

43) Phinney (1934) 41:9-42:1
láaqanm hanyíin 'ewsíix lí'yes
pine-GEN make-STAT 3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM canoe
'Their canoe is made of pine'

The proposition 'have' is expressed in Nez Perce by the copula 'be' with the possessor promoted to subject. The construction is exactly like any other promotion of a genitive to direct object, as can be seen by comparing the following examples.

44) Aoki (1979) 17:80
kaa cáaliinm píke 'ewéeyikse
and Charlie-GEN mother 3GEN-cross-PROG-SGNOM
'And Charlie's mother is going across'

45) Aoki (1979) 18:135-136
kúksnim miyá'c 'ewéeke
Cook-GEN child 3GEN-be-PERF
'Cook had a child'

The following are additional examples of copular constructions in which a genitive is promoted to subject.

46) Aoki (1979) 4:24-25
ku'skí yóx̣ 'úus hűusus t'eyíit'eyii
thus-INSTR that 3GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM head flat

wex̣púusnim
rattlesnake-GEN
'Therefore then the rattlesnake has a flat head'

47) Aoki (199) 4:30
ku'skí 'úus x̣áx̣aasnim núusnu q'ispe'níin
thus-INSTR 3GEN-PROG-SGNOM grizzly nose bend-STAT
'Therefore the grizzly's nose is bent'

Just as a prefixed pronoun cannot be promoted to direct object, so also one cannot be promoted to subject. Compare the following. In the first example, the indeclinable possessor *'ée* has been promoted as a genitive subject. In the second example, however, the possessive pronominal prefix *'im'*- cannot be promoted to subject.

48) Phinney (1934) 13:4-5
'ée wít'e 'iyéewiks
you canoe 1/2GEN-float away-PP
'*Your* canoe has floated away'

49) Aoki (1979) 17:103
'im''íis hiqqoláhsaya 'iyéesnimenm waw'áamkax
your-mother 3NOM-gallop-up-PERF Slate Creek-GEN head-ALL
'*Your* mother galloped up to the head of Slate Creek'

Semantic Context for Genitive Promotion

Subject

There is a correlation between animacy/humanness and genitive promotion in Nez Perce. But the correlation is not absolute. The most likely construction in which a genitive is promoted involves a *human genitive* and *non-human head*. The following two sentences (from my own texts) each have a genitive construction with human genitive and non-human head. In these examples, however, the non-human head is abstract and not just non-human. In example 50 genitive promotion has occurred, in example 51 it has not.

50) yox̣ ke wisíix kíne núunim titóoqanm
that REL 1/2GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM this-LOC 1PL-GEN people-GEN

tamáalwit
law
'...that which is now our people's law'

51) konwacáan kii taqc híiwes hatók'ic
that-RESULT this now 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM hard

wiyéeleeheyn núunim titóoqanm
daily living 1PL-GEN people-GEN
'Therefore today the daily living of our people is hard'

Perhaps the least prototypic genitive construction has an inanimate possessor and human head. Such constructions are extremely rare in texts, but are readily accepted by native speakers, with (but preferably without) genitive promotion. For example, the following sentence was composed by a native speaker when asked for something about 'the leader of the land'.

52) kinm wéetesnim wa'noqtiya'wáat hipaytat'áasa
this-GEN land-GEN leader 3NOM-arrive-intend-PROG-SGNOM
'The leader of this land intends to come'

It is when the animacy of both the genitive noun and its governing head are equal that semantics fails to predict whether genitive promotion will occur. In the following two examples both the genitive and head are human. Also, both sentences have the verb wíi- 'weep'. In the first genitive promotion has occurred, but in the second it has not. (These examples are repeated from 37 and 38 above.)

53) Phinney (1934) 127:4
'inekíix qáaca'c 'ewíinime
even though mo mo 3GEN-weep-CIS-PERF
'Even though his grandmother wept'

54) Phinney (1934) 174:8-9
kaa wáaqo' tim'áaynim píke hiwíinime
and now young woman-ERG mother 3NOM-weep-CIS-PERF
'And now the maiden's mother wept'

There is no straightforward semantically based predictability for genitive promotion when both head and genitive are inanimate. Of such are the following two sentences taken from texts: in the first (example 55) the genitive has been promoted, in the second (example 56) it has not.

55) kii 'úus héhen cawitáxnim
this 3GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM stem wild carrot-GEN
'This is the stem of the wild carrot'

56) hitéeminwees yox̣ ke híiwes kinm wéetesnim
school that which 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM this-GEN land-GEN
'...that school which is of this land'

Direct Object

Whether or not to promote a genitive to direct object involves a choice of construction (ergative versus antipassive) that has pragmatic significance even when no genitive is involved. When the ergative construction is employed, a genitive noun in the direct object NP is obligatorily promoted to direct object, as in example 57. The only way not to promote the genitive to direct object is to employ the antipassive construction, as in example 58.

57) Ergative construction
Phinney (1934) 160:1
wáaqo' táx̣cpolna máymay páa'nixtoqa'ysana
now beaver-DO intestine 3TR-put back-GEN-PROG-SGNOM-RM
'Now they put the beaver's intestines back'

58) Antipassive constrution
Phinney (1934) 30:7
hittóolaya 'áayatom tiwíyext
3NOM-forget-PERF woman-GEN advice
'He forgot the woman's advice'

Discourse/Pragmatic Context for Genitive Promotion

The results of this study are given in Tables 29-36 and in Figures 7-10. In the tables, the total number of examples counted are given as well as their average measurements. Genitive promotion to subject is dealt with first, as it seems to be the most revealing.

Subject

The average measurements for constructions with a promoted genitive subject are given in Tables 29 and 30. They are separated according to the humanness of both the genitive and its governing head. The total number of examples counted in each semantic category is noted in the first column. Tables 31 and 32 give the average measurements for constructions in which a genitive argument modified the subject of an intransitive verb but was not promoted to subject.

In Figure 7 below the average measurements for distance from Tables 29 and 31 are translated into graph form. By far the largest number of examples of genitive constructions considered here are of the prototypic human genitive and non-human head kind, 38 examples in all. In only three of these was the genitive not promoted. The average measurement for distance was much lower (by about 8 clauses) for the genitive argument than for its head in the sample where genitive promotion

Table 29. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Genitives Promoted to Subject in Contrast with Their Head NPs

	Number	Head	Genitive
Human Genitive, Non-human Head	35	10.74	2.83
Non-human Genitive, Non-human Head	3	13.67	13.67
Human Genitive, Human Head	12	8.92	3.42
Non-human Genitive, Human Head	0	—	—

Table 30. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Genitives Promoted to Subject in Contrast with Their Head NPs

	Number	Head	Genitive
Human Genitive, Non-human Head	35	.63	3.20
Non-human Genitive, Non-human Head	3	.33	1.00
Human Genitive, Human Head	12	1.42	1.67
Non-human Genitive, Human Head	0	—	—

Table 31. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Genitives Not Promoted to Subject in Contrast with Their Head NPs

	Number	Head	Genitive
Human Genitive, Non-human Head	3	8.33	7.33
Non-human Genitive, Non-human Head	5	1.40	8.00
Human Genitive, Human Head	6	7.67	3.33
Non-human Genitive, Human Head	0	—	—

Table 32. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Genitives Not Promoted to Subject in Contrast with Their Head NPs

	Number	Head	Genitive
Human Genitive, Non-human Head	3	.67	0
Non-human Genitive, Non-human Head	5	1.40	.80
Human Genitive, Human Head	6	2.83	2.00
Non-human Genitive, Human Head	0	—	—

occurred. In the three examples where promotion did not occur the genitive averaged only one clause less in distance than the head. Thus, we can conclude that the prototypic genitive construction has a genitive with much smaller referential distance than its head. The absence of genitive promotion marks those instances that deviate from this prototype. Distance, remember, refers to the gap since last mention of a referent. And thus a small distance means a greater topic continuity. Genitives, as might be expected, evidence greater topic continuity than do their governing heads. There were 18 examples where both genitive and head argument were human. In only two thirds of these was the genitive promoted. In this sample those genitives which were promoted averaged about the same referential distance as those which were not promoted. The head arguments of those genitives which were promoted had a higher referential distance, but only by about 1 clause. Even though this contrast is not significant, it is in the right direction, for in the prototype marked by genitive promotion the referential distance of the head argument is much greater than that of the genitive. There were only eight examples where both the genitive and its head were non-human. Five of these were not promoted, and, very nicely, in these the genitive averaged more than 7 clauses greater in distance. In the three examples where promotion occurred, both the head and genitive arguments were equally (and very) high in distance. Again it would appear that the marked construction is that with a non-promoted genitive. Here it marks those atypical situations where the head argument has more topic continuity to the left (i.e. a smaller distance) than the genitive.

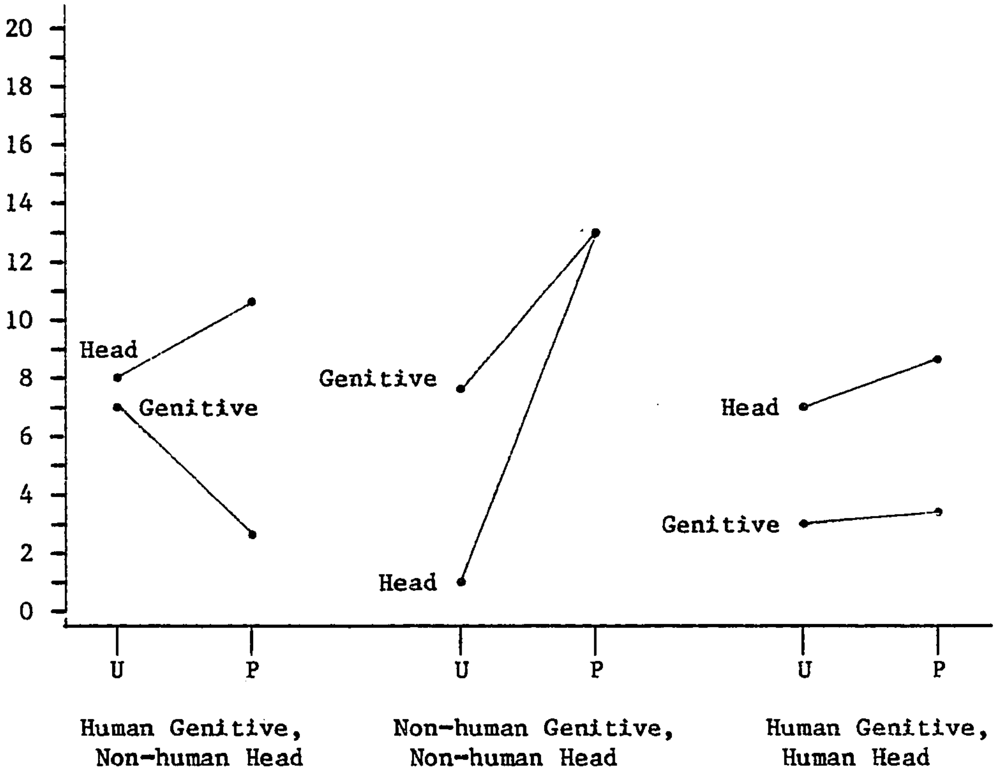

FIGURE 7. Graph of average referential distance measurements for unpromoted and promoted genitive subjects contrasted with their head NPs.

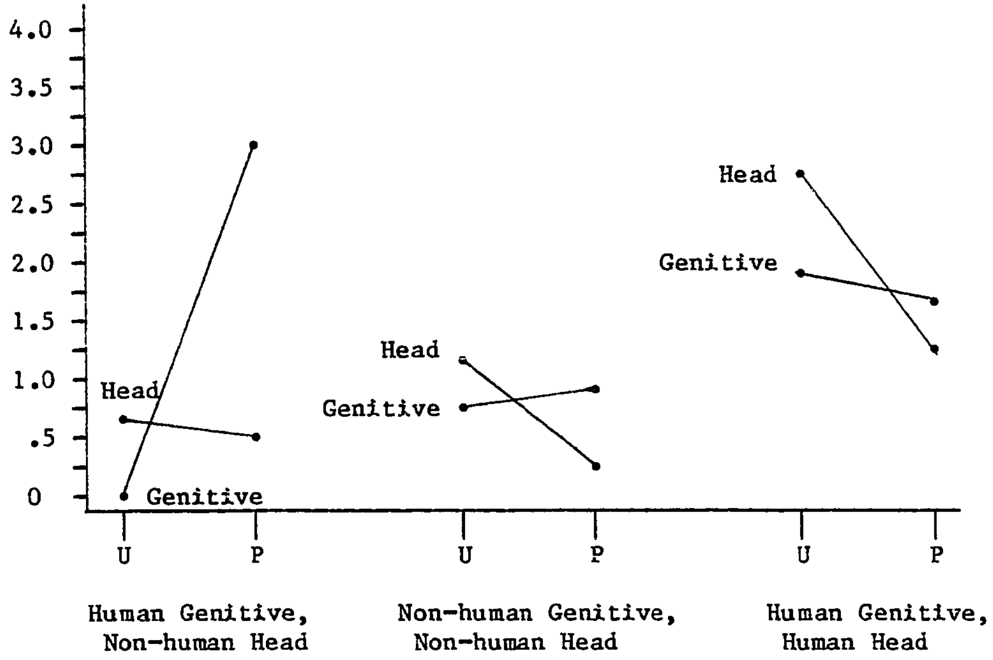

FIGURE 8. Graph of average topic persistence measurements for unpromoted and promoted genitive subjects contrasted with their head NPs.

In Figure 8 the measurements for persistence (given in Tables 31 and 33) are presented in graph form. In it these measurements can be seen to conform to all expectations. Once again, the prototypic human genitive and non-human head presents the greatest contrast in measurements. In all cases where genitive promotion has not occurred, the genitive has a smaller persistence measurement than its head. This means the genitive is less likely to persist as a referent, that the lack of genitive promotion correlates with a genitive of less topic continuity to the right. The opposite is true with genitive promotion. In it the genitive consistently shows the greater measurements for persistence. Genitive promotion correlates with a genitive of greater topic continuity to the right than its head.

Promotion to Direct Object

As we have seen, Nez perce has a special construction just for the promotion of a genitive to subject. But, as was seen above, this is not the case for the promotion of a genitive to direct object. Such a promotion is obligatory in the ergative construction and impossible in the antipassive. Thus, with a highly topical patient NP, even if a genitive in that NP were very low in topicality, the genitive would still have to be promoted to direct object and the highly topical head demoted. The following sentence is an example of just such a situation. The referent of the head noun persists for three clauses, the referent of the genitive for none at all.

55) Phinney (1934) 52:5-6
míne wa'wâamana pâahap 'aw'nahwayika'ysan'ax̣
where creek head-DO daughter 1/2TR-carry-cross-GEN-PROG-SGNOM-COND
'Where could you be carrying across the daughter of the creek head?'

The choice between antipassive and ergative construction would appear to be based on the overall topicality of the patient NP rather than on the relative topicality of head versus genitive argument.

Tables 33 and 34 give the measurements for genitive promotion in the direct object. Only twenty such examples were found, contrasted with 50 for subject promotion. But once again the most common involves the prototypic human genitive with non-human head. Tables 35 and 36 give the measurements for non-promoted genitives in the direct object. For the sake of clarity, the measurements of Tables 33-36 are given again in graph form in Figures 9 and 10. Figure 9 reveals the genitive to have a smaller distance than its head whether or not genitive promotion has occurred. It is only for the prototypic human genitive with non-human head, though, that there were enough examples to make any reliable observations. There, as expected (see Chapter V), the ergative construction was employed when both the genitive and its head showed lower referential distance (meaning greater topic continuity to the left). The antipassive construction was employed when the entire patient NP showed greater distance measurements, i.e. less topic continuity to the left. The measurements for persistence present more of a problem. As expected, the genitive shows a greater referential persistence than the head argument. In the three examples where the antipassive coded a human genitive plus non-human head, the genitive averaged even higher in persistence than it did in the ergative construction. If a larger number of examples shows this to be a consistent pattern, then the situation would be the opposite of that in genitive promotion to subject. A genitive with strong topic continuity to the right would not be promoted to direct object. This is a reasonable possibility, especially since the antipassive also encodes coreferential possession.

Table 33. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Genitives Promoted to Direct Object in Contrast with Their Head NPs

	Number	Head	Genitive
Human Genitive, Non-human Head	18	10.11	1.50
Non-human Genitive, Non-human Head	0	—	—
Human Genitive, Human Head	2	12.00	1.00
Non-human Genitive, Human Head	0	—	—

Table 34. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Genitives Promoted to Direct Object in Contrast with Their Head NPs

	Number	Head	Genitive
Human Genitive, Non-human Head	18	.83	1.20
Non-human Genitive, Non-human Head	0	—	—
Human Genitive, Human Head	2	0	0
Non-human Genitive, Human Head	0	—	—

Table 35. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Antipassive Patients in Contrast with Modifying Genitive Nouns

	Number	Head	Genitive
Human Genitive, Non-human Head	3	14.33	9.00
Non-human Genitive, Non-human Head	2	11.50	2.00
Human Genitive, Human Head	1	20.00	2.00
Non-human Genitive, Human Head	0	—	—

Table 36. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Antipassive Patients in Contrast with Modifying Genitive Nouns

	Number	Head	Genitive
Human Genitive, Non-human Head	3	.67	1.67
Non-human Genitive, Non-human Head	2	.50	1.00
Human Genitive, Human Head	1	0	0
Non-human Genitive, Human Head	0	—	—

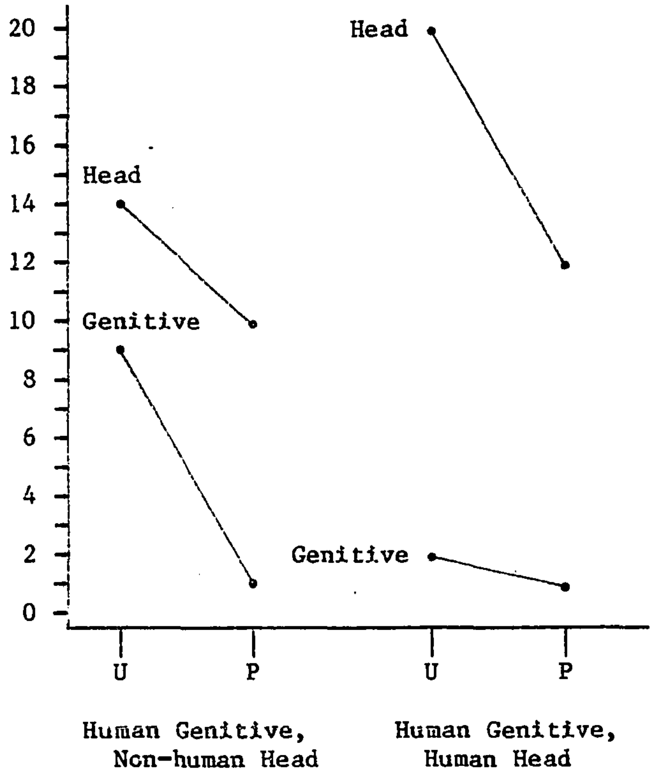

FIGURE 9. Graph of average referential distance measurements for genitives promoted to direct object and their head NPs in contrast with genitive nouns and their antipassive head NPs.

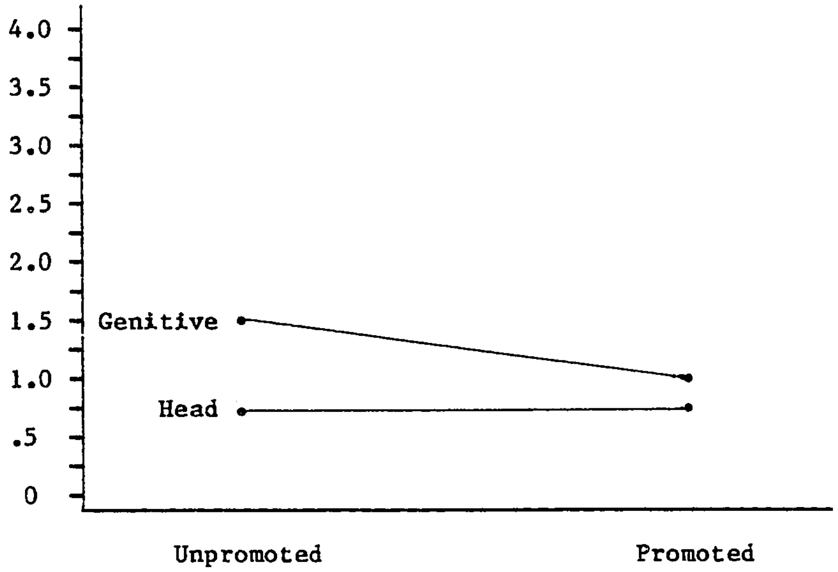

FIGURE 10. Graph of average topic persistence measurements for genitives promoted to direct object and their head NPs in contrast with genitive nouns and their antipassive head NPs (all human genitives with non-human heads).

Notes

[1] Genitive promotion on an absolutive basis may not be all that rare. Included in the Korean "double subject" phenomenon is the optional promotion of certain (mostly inalienable) genitives to subject in intransitive clauses and to direct objects in transitive clauses, never to subject in transitive clauses. For the following examples I am indebted to Sang Jin Park.

a. Subject of an Intransitive Verb

1. Unpromoted Genitive
   inu-ɨi kho-ka khɨ-ta
   Inu-GEN nose-NOM big-DECL
   'Inu's nose is big'

2. Promoted Genitive
   inu-ka kho-ka khɨ-ta
   Inu-NOM nose-NOM big-DECL
   'Inu's nose is big'

b. Subject of a Transitive Verb

1. Unpromoted Genitive
   inu-ɨi nuna-ka kæ-lɨl cuk-i-öss-ta
   Inu-GEN old sis-NOM dog-DO die-CAUS-PST-DECL
   'Inu's older sister killed a dog'

2. Promoted Genitive Ungrammatical
   *inu-ka nuna-ka kæ-lɨl cuk-i-öss-ta

c. Direct Object of a Transitive Verb

1. Unpromoted Genitive
   inu-ka na-ɨi son-ɨl call-ass-ta
   Inu-NOM I-GEN hand-DO cut-PST-DECL
   'Inu cut my hand'

2. Promoted Genitive
   inu-ka na-lɨl son-ɨl call-ass-ta
   Inu-NOM I-DO hand-DO cut-PST-DECL
   'Inu cut my hand'

This lack of a strategy for promoting genitives to subject of a transitive verb points to a generally higher ranking on the topicality scale of agents over genitives.

[2] Ambiguity in coding genitive and benefactive objects may be fairly widespread. See Aissen (1983-84).

CHAPTER VIII

WORD ORDER

This chapter deals with word order in the broader context of the general coding of participants: NP, independent pronoun, and verbal agreement. These are shown to be linked by the discourse function of referent recoverability. The chapter begins with examples of free word order in Nez Perce, and then follows with comments on the use of pronouns and verbal agreement, and lastly the discourse/pragmatic context for these phenomena are are considered.

Word Order

Aoki (1979), page 1, notes that the favored word order in Nez Perce is VSO. In the texts analyzed for this chapter, however, postverbal and preverbal S and O occurred in almost exactly equal proportions: there were 137 examples of postverbal nouns counted versus 130 preverbal. Nez Perce might better be called a "free word order" language. All possible word orders are encountered. The following are some examples.

1) VSO
Aoki (1979) 1:37-38
yox̣ konā́ pṓopci'yawcana he'yū́uxsnim kaa
that that-LOC 3TR-kill-PROG-SGNOM-RM cottontail-ERG and

quyḗesquyesnim wiwéet'u neke'ésnim himeq'ī́isne
bluejay-ERG R-not distinguished-ERG big-ERG

cikaw'ī́isna x̣ā́x̣aasna
horrible-DO grizzly-DO
'Thereby the not very distinguished cottontail and bluejay
killed the big horrible grizzly'

2) SVO
Aoki (1979) 4:14
kaa hā́atyanm pā́a'nahnama 'iceyḗeyene
and wind-ERG 3TR-carry-CIS-PERF coyote-DO
'And the wind carried coyote'

3) SOV
Phinney (1934) 392:5-6
kawṓ' kii hā́amapim 'ā́ayatona pḗe'nehnene
then this husband-ERG woman-DO 3TR-take-PERF
'Now then the husband took the woman away'

4) VOS
Phinney (1934) 145:11-12
kii pḗeten'weme qī́iwne 'iceyḗeyenm
this 3TR-talk-CIS-PERF old man-DO coyote-ERG
'Now the coyote talked to the old man'

5) OVS
Phinney (1934) 229:4
kaa wā́aqo' weptḗesne simḗes pḗexyuu'e'ysene
and now eagle-DO bed 3TR-go-ALL-GEN-PROG-SGNOM-RM

wex̣weqḗnm
frog-ERG
'And now the frogs went to the eagle's bed'

6) OSV
Aoki (1979) 4:3
la'ā́mna 'ḗete 'ilcwḗew'cixnim hineswe'nekeyneeke
all-DO surely monster-ERG 3NOM-PLDO-mouth-carry-in-PERF
'Surely the monster took in everyone'

Neither is there a fixed order between shifted direct object and demoted patient, as the following pair indicate.

7) Benefactive Direct Object + Demoted Patient

Phinney (1934) 137:14
wáaqit kix 'ew'wí'enis yú'sne tu'yé
now REL-EX 1/2TR-shoot-BEN-PP poor-DO grouse
'Now let me shoot a grouse for the poor one'

8) Demoted Patient + Benefactive Direct Object
Phinney (1934) 322:6-7
ke páanya'ysana hípt 'istuk'éesne
REL 3TR-make-BEN-PROG-SGNOM-RM food guest-DO
'Let them prepare food for the guest'

This extreme fluidity of word order in Nez Perce is exemplified in the following.

9) Phinney (1934) 268:14-15
yu'úsne tax̣c kínm tá'c 'iyéex̣t 'aanyáa'nyo'
poor-DO soon this-GEN good broth 1/2TR-make-BEN-IRR

na'tóotap
my-father-DO
'Soon I will make of this a good broth for my poor father'

This same freedom of word order also extends to the antipassive where no disambiguating NP case markers exist. There, however (see Chapter V), semantic roles are distinguished by discourse/pragmatic factors. The following are examples of the antipassive with all possible word orders.

10) VSO
Phinney (1934) 350:5-6
hituulúume háacwal wá'wa
3NOM-cast into water-CIS-PERF boy hook
'The boy cast the hook into the water'

11) SVO
Phinney (1934) 146:16
kii 'iceyéeye hi'náxpayka hímiin
this coyote 3NOM-carry-arrive-PERF wolf
'Now the coyote brought the [dead] wolf'

12) SOV
Phinney (1934) 197:5
kii c'íłiłe peqíyex̣ hi'néhnene wéeleepx
this weasel nephew 3NOM-take-PERF stream-ALL
'Now the weasel took his nephew to the stream'

13) VOS
Phinney (1934) 83:12
hiwéwluqse c'oláakstimt x̣áx̣aac
3NOM-want-PROG-SGNOM hand drum grizzly
'Grizzly wants his hand drum'

14) OVS
Phinney (1934) 148:9
kii qáaca'c hiweyeweyikúuye háacwal
this mo mo 3NOM-running-cross-ALL-PERF boy
'Now the boy ran across to his maternal grandmother'

15) OSV
Phinney (1934) 45:7-8
ti'nxníin wáaqo' 'áayat hi'néhnene
die-STAT now woman 3NOM-take-PERF
'Now the woman took the dead'

Pronouns

There is zero anaphora in Nez Perce only when a verb has no 3rd person argument.[1] All 3rd person arguments, except for demoted patients, are marked by verbal pronouns, whether or not there is also a full NP. Thus the constructions available in Nez Perce for the coding of 3rd person arguments are 1) full noun (with verbal agreement), 2) independent pronoun (with verbal agreement), and 3) pronominal marking in the verb. As was explained in Chapter I, only 3rd person arguments are considered in this study. Also, although Nez Perce has both right and left dislocations, occurrence in the texts analyzed was not common enough to warrant their consideration in the measurements.

It is to be expected[2] that a full noun typically functions to identify a less easily recoverable referent, while pronouns serve to point out more easily recoverable referents. Because verbal pronouns are obligatory in Nez Perce, it is therefore the function of the independent pronouns that must concern us here.

A frequent function of the personal pronouns is to show a switch in topic, as is illustrated in the following. In the first example, note that when the topic is continuous into the next clause it is coded in that clause only by the obligatory verbal pronouns. In all three examples, when the topic switches, a stressed pronoun is introduced.

16) Phinney (1934) 36:8-11
kawó' kii wáaqo' 'óykala pe'túu titá'c ke 'úus
then this now all DIS-thing R-good REL 3GEN-be-ASP
'Then here now all good things which she has'

hiwce'séepeme kaa hikúye
3NOM-pack up-CIS-PERF and 3NOM-go-PERF
'she packed up and went'

ke konmá 'ilx̣níiwene titóoqana hinéescuxwece.
REL there many-HUM-DO people-DO 3NOM-PLDO-know-PROG-SGNOM
'where she knows many people.'

kii wâaqo' 'ipí hênek'u' konó' pêe'wiye mácina
this now 3SG again then 3TR-shoot-PERF several-DO
'Here now then he again shot several'

17) Phinney (1934) 40:10-12
kawó' kii pepyúumes te'éx̣et hickilíne;
then this sea monster youth 3NOM-go home-PERF
'Here then the sea monster youth went home;'

taxláy 'ipním 'iwéepne 'etqéewse
exchange 3SG-GEN wife 3GEN-suddenly-be-PROG-SGNOM
'on the other hand he (Young Coyote) came to have a wife'

18) Aoki (1979) 13:26-27
kaa péemune'nixne tiwéetine
and 3TR-call-HABPLNOM-RM shaman-DO
'And they used to call the shaman'

kaa 'ipním hinaspaynóoqana
and 3SG-ERG 3NOM-PLDO-arrive-ALL-HABSGNOM-RM
'and he used to come to them'

A personal pronoun may even mark a topic switch when it is preposed to a noun. Both clauses (not those in quotes) in the following example are in the antipassive voice, and consequently their subjects and/or objects are unmarked for case. In the first clause háama 'man/husband' is the object and 'áayat 'woman' is the subject, while in the second clause the topic switches and the subject is háama. This switch is marked by the 3rd person personal pronoun 'ipí.

19) Phinney (1934) 71:9-10

'áayat	kaa	háama	hihíne,	"ku'ús	na'tóotam
woman	and	husband	3NOM-say/tell-PERF	thus	my-father-ERG

hiicáaqa."	kaa	'ipí	háama
3NOM-say/tell-PROG-SGNOM-PST	and	3SG	husband

hihíne,	"'éeteenmu'	'ew'néhnecix."
3NOM-say/tell-PERF	surely-INC-INTENS	1/2TR-take-PROG-PLNOM

'The woman then told her husband, "Thus my father was telling me." And the husband said to her, "Very surely we are taking him."'

With a non-case marked noun without the pronoun there is typically no break in topic continuity, as in the following.

20) Phinney (1934) 71:4-5

páamc'iya	'áayatom	kaa	píst	hihíne, "..."
3TR-hear-PERF	woman-ERG	and	father	3NOM-say/tell-PERF

'The woman heard it and said to her father, "..."'

A case marked noun with its unambiguous case role often functions to mark a shift in topic, as in the following. Here the subject of the verb in the first clause is continuous with that in the previous sentence and therefore is marked only by the verbal pronouns (hi- 3NOM and -e PLNOM).

21) Phinney (1934) 35:4

konó'	hiwqsu'úce	kaa	péene	háamanm, "..."
there	3NOM-sit-PROG-SGNOM	and	3TR-say-tell-PERF	man-ERG

'She is sitting there and the man said to her, "..."'

Results of Measurements

In the texts considered both topicality measurements (DR and TP) were taken for all 3rd person personal pronouns, preverbal and postverbal nouns (S and O), and the contrasting coding of participants by verbal agreement alone. The results of the measurements are presented in Tables 37 and 38. These measurements are very suggestive. But, here expecially, it must be noted that topic continuity cannot be used to predict word order in individual clauses. These measurements are useful because they correlate post and preverbal word orders in a so called free word order language with referential distance. As predicted by previous studies (see Givón [1983], Cooreman [1985], and Payne [1985]), the preverbal NP position averages a significantly greater referential distance than the postverbal NP position. And, as predicted, there is no significant difference in the averages for the measurement of persistence.

Table 37. Average Referential Distance Measurements for Verbal Agreement without an NP in Contrast with Preverbal and Postverbal NPs

	Agreement		PRO V		V PRO		V N		N V	
	No.	RD	No.	RD	No.	RD	No.	RD	No.	RD
Intransitive										
S	26	1.34	4	4.00	1	1.00	55	6.69	30	8.67
Transitive										
S	113	1.80	10	3.00	2	1.50	39	3.44	42	5.38
O	117	2.46	3	1.00			23	6.70	30	10.10
Antipassive										
S	41	1.95					6	1.67	8	5.00
O	10	2.90					14	10.15	20	14.50
Averages	307	2.07	17	2.88	3	1.33	137	5.90	130	8.59

Table 38. Average Topic Persistence Measurements for Verbal Agreement without an NP in Contrast with Preverbal and Postverbal NPs

	Agreement		PRO V		V PRO		V N		N V	
	No.	TP	No.	TP	No.	TP	No.	TP	No.	TP
Intransitive										
S	26	1.34	4	3.00	1	5.00	55	2.44	30	.50
Transitive										
S	113	2.35	10	1.40	2	5.50	39	2.18	42	2.02
O	117	3.07	3	4.33			23	2.57	30	1.90
Antipassive										
S	41	3.49					6	1.83	8	3.38
O	10	.50					14	1.21	20	1.85
Averages	307	2.63	17	2.29	3	5.33	137	2.24	130	2.16

The most easily recoverable referents are typically encoded by verbal pronominals alone. The average referential distance for arguments coded by verbal pronominals alone (no NP) was 2.97, while that for postverbal nouns was 5.90, a difference of nearly 3 clauses. The difference between the average measurements for postverbal and preverbal nouns again approached three clauses; the average referential distance for preverbal nouns was 8.59. And thus the more expected or continuous topics tend to go to the right of the verb while the more discontinuous, unexpected topics, or indefinites tend to go to the left of the verb. The following is an example.

22) Phinney (1934) 143:2-3
q'o' tűskex hikűukike,
right up-ALL 3NOM-go-TRANS-PERF

q'o' tűuskex hiweké'eyke qőtqot kaa wếeptes hiwc'ếeye
right up-ALL 3NOM-fly-PERF feather and eagle 3NOM-become-PERF
'Right on up it went, *the* feather flew right upward and became *an* eagle'

There are two types of definites; that which is definite because of its already having been introduced into a particular discourse, and that which is definite because its referent is culturally well known. For this study I have not attempted to distinguish the two. By defining *indefinite* as first mention in a discourse, 32% of the 130 nouns in preverbal position were indefinite versus 19% for those in postverbal position. Perhaps if this distinction in types of definites were made the percentage of indefinites in postverbal position would be even less. However, it still remains that the majority of nouns in preverbal position are still definite. And thus the preverbal position is not primarily a marker of indefiniteness.

The very existence of a full noun (versus only the obligatory pronominal agreement in the verb) implies a more unexpected or less easily recoverable referent. And therefore, since the preverbal word order position tends to mark the more unexpected or less easily recoverable referents, then why is it not the favored word order position? Perhaps that is because it functions to distinguish the *most* unexpected or *least* easily recoverable referents. Perhaps it is because the preverbal position carries with it an element of surprise, while the postverbal position has a simpler identification function.

There were not enough examples of independent personal pronouns to make any safe predictions. For the most part, their measurements for referential distance lay between those for verbs with no NP arguments and those with postposed nouns. Although there were only three examples of post verbal independent personal pronouns, it may be significant that all their measurements for persistence were high. Two examples of postverbal indefinite pronouns also occurred and were likewise high in topic persistence. Until further studies are made, it is safe only to suggest that a postverbal independent pronoun functions, at least in part, to mark a referent of high topic continuity to the right.

Tables 37 and 38 separate the measurements for subject and object in intransitive, transitive, and antipassive clauses. There are expected differences in the measurements for both referential distance and topic persistence, e.g. the largest measurements for both referential distance (and thus least topic continuity to the left) and the smallest measurements for persistence (and thus topic continuity to the right) were for the antipassive object (even though, unlike with the measurements presented in Chapter V, included here are the antipassives that mark coreferential possession). Figure 11 is included in order to more clearly illustrate the relationship between no NP, postverbal nouns, and preverbal nouns with the average measurements for referential distance and the suggested correlation with referent recoverability. Figure 12 is given to illustrate the lack of a correlation with topic persistence (except for the possible cataphoric function of postverbal independent pronouns).

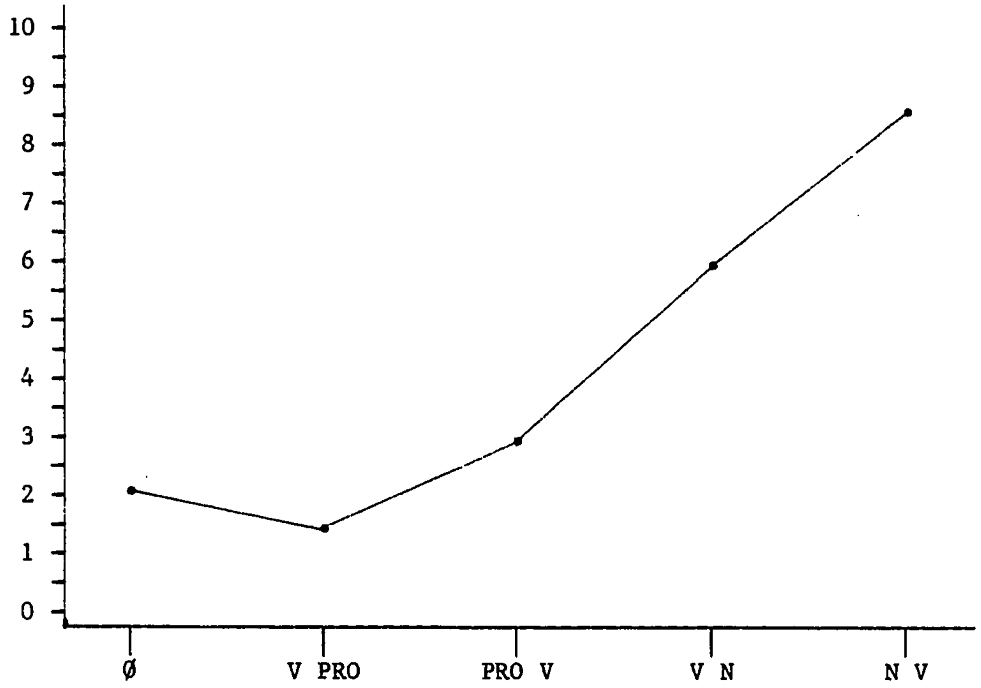

FIGURE 11. Graph of average referential distance measurements for verbal agreement without an NP in contrast with preverbal and postverbal NPs.

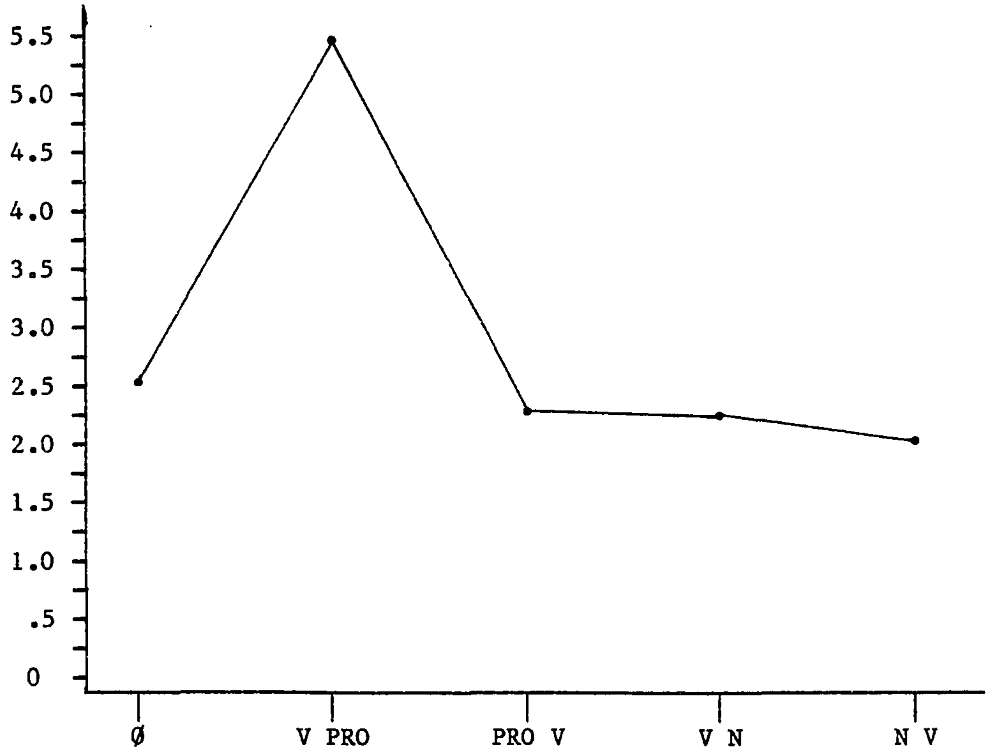

FIGURE 12. Graph of average topic persistence measurements for verbal agreement without an NP in contrast with preverbal and postverbal NPs.

Table 39 gives the number of occurrences of each NP construction (verbal agreement only, personal pronoun, and full noun) and word order possibility, plus the percent of the total occurrences for each. The percentages for verbal agreement alone incontrast with full nouns are graphed in Figure 13. (The number of clauses in which both subject and object were full nouns was not sufficient for inclusion in the graph.) In this chapter we have seen that, on average, postverbal NPs tend to be more topical than preverbal NPs. And in Chapter V we saw that, on average, subjects tend to be more topical than objects. Therefore the ranking seen in Figure 13 should not be surprising; slightly more subject NPs were postverbal than were preverbal, while the reverse was true of objects.[3]

Table 39. Frequency of Occurrence of NP Construction Types and Possible Word Orders

	Agreement		Personal Pronoun		Full Noun		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ø	307	50.5%					307	50.5%
SV			14	2.3%	80	13.1%	94	15.4%
VS			3	.5%	100	16.4%	103	16.9%
OV			3	.5%	50	8.2%	53	8.7%
VO			0		37	6.0%	37	6.0%
VSO			0		0		0	
SVO			0		5	.8%	5	.8%
SOV			0		5	.8%	5	.8%
VOS			0		0		0	
OVS			0		3	.5%	3	.5%
OSV			0		1	.16%	1	.16%

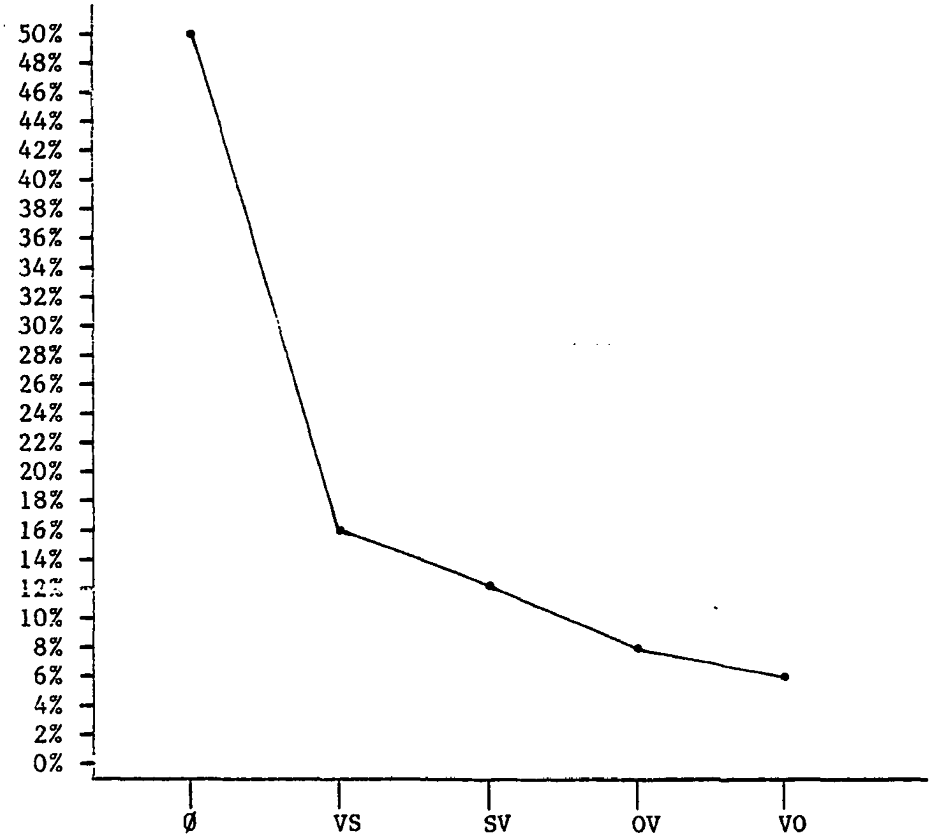

FIGURE 13. Graph of percentage of occurrence of frequent word orders contrasted with verbal agreement only.

Notes

[1] As was seen in Chapter II, the Nez Perce verbal person prefixes (*hi-*, *'e-*, and *pée-*) all mark 3rd person arguments, while Ø- marks a 1st or 2nd person subject (with optional 1st or 2nd person direct object). Does this reflect an orientation where the most expected participant deixis is 1st and/or 2nd person? And might languages with zero anaphora only for 3rd person sometimes reflect an opposite orientation? Oddly, the pronominal suffixes described in Chapter III mark only 1st and 2nd person, 3rd person arguments having zero marking in the Nez Perce inflected adverbial particles.

[2] See the studies in Givón (1983).

[3] One might also have expected there to have been a larger percentage of object nouns over subject nouns, this because of the overall greater likelihood of arguments of lower average topicality surfacing as nouns. The reason that this was not the case here was because intransitive subjects were figured in the averages.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE TEXTS

1. Heté'ew X̣eléleyn 'Important Business'

Mr. William Minthorn, who is now deceased, volunteered this selection as an introductory preface. Although gravely ill at the time, Mr. Minthorn enthusiastically gave of himself for this project. He contributed much toward the pleasant atmosphere in which my data collection took place. This introduction was taped October 5, 1983.

'Íin pÍitamyanon simúxtuuluuyi'n. 'Íinim titóoqan, 'ée
1SG Hawk charcoal-dip-STAT 1SG-GEN people you
I [am] Black Hawk. My people, I am

sepéecukwece. KÍi táax̣ háama hipáayca
1/2NOM-CAUS-know-PROG-SGNOM this soon man 3NOM-arrive-PROG-SGNOM
informing you. This man is arriving,

sepehitemene'wéet himeq'Íiskin'ix hitéeminwees kaa yox̣ ke
CAUS-read/write-AG large-ABL read/write-PLACE and that REL
a teacher from a large school [the U of O] which

hÍiwes kÍnm wéetesnim yox̣ ke hÍiwes
3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM this-GEN land-GEN that REL 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM
is of this land [i.e. Oregon] which is

sepÍinewi'n la'ámnim wiyáaka'awn'as. KonÍm hitéeminwees
measure-STAT all-GEN live daily-N-COMP that-GEN read/write-place
measured/surveyed for all to live [in]. He is arriving from that

tile'iléekitkin'ikeey konÍix hipáayca hete'éwki
west-ABL- that-ABL 3NOM-arrive-PROG-SGNOM important-INSTR
school of the west with important

x̣eléleyki yox̣ ke hÍiwes yox̣ kex núunim
business-INSTR that REL 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM that REL-EX 1PL-GEN
business, that which is, that which is

wisÍix titóoqan c'Íiqin. KonÍm yawá kÍi háama
1/2NOM-be-PLNOM people/Indian speak-N that-GEN concerning this man
our Indian language. With that in mind, this man

hipáayca 'íske konyá pecukwen'ipéecwise c'íx̣ne.
3NOM-arrive-PROG-SGNOM like/as that-DO 3TR-know-DES-PROG-SGNOM speach-DO
is arriving as he wants to know that language.

Kaa hiwc'éeyu' tíimeni'n yox̣ c'íiqin titooqatímt
and 3NOM-become-IRR write-STAT that speech people/Indian-language
And that Indian language — our Red People's language —

núunim 'ilp'ílpnim titóoqanm c'íiqin. Kíi kex
1PL-GEN red-GEN people/Indian-GEN speech this REL-EX
will become written. This which

wisíix nex̣e'éce titóoqanm weyíiletpuu ku'stíite
1/2NOM-be-PLNOM band/group people/Indian-GEN Cayuse thus-same
is our band of people, the Cayuse, the same the

Walawálapoo ku'stíite Lax̣áayuu yox̣ 'íske mitáat kíne
Walla Walla-people thus-same Umatilla that like/as three this-LOC
Walla Walla, the same the Umatilla, because we are

tíimeni'spe wéetespe wisíix. kaa koním yawá
measure/survey-STAT-LOC land-LOC 1/2NOM-be-PLNOM and that-GEN concerning
three on this reservation. And for that reason

kii háama hix̣eléleynu' péecukwenu' c'íx̣ne páamc'iyo'
this man 3NOM-be busy-IRR 3TR-know-IRR speech-DO 3TR-hear-IRR
this man will be busy; he will know the language, he will hear

kaa péetimenu'.
and 3TR-write-IRR
and write it.

2. Quyéesquyes 'Bluejay'

This story was told by Mrs. Ada Patrick. It was taped on the Umatilla Indian Reservation on October 10, 1983. The story has the moral that children ought to respect their elders, that they should be "seen and not heard."

Kii waqíima titwáatit ne'élem hináastitwatiya. Waqíipa
this old story my-fa mo-ERG 3NOM-PLDO-tell story-PERF past-LOC
This old story my father's mother told us. Long ago

kakáa la'ám' titóoqan híiwtelikin la'ám' titóoqan hiwsíine REL-and all
REL-and all people animal all people 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM
when all [were] people, the animals were all people yet, \-RM

q'o'c kaa kii titwáatit hiwéeke. Quyéesquyes hiwsíine
yet and this story 3NOM-be-PERF Bluejay 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM
then this story took place. Bluejays were

titóoqan ku'stíite kenm ku'ús núun wisíix.
people INDEF-same REL-INCL thus we 1/2NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM
people just like we are now.

Kaa hihímsqayisiina[1] 'éete himéeq'is masqóoyit
and 3NOM-Indian trade-PROG-PLNOM-RM surely big Indian trade
And they were Indian trading, they surely were having

'ewsíine. Kaa híice píke 'ewíce
3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM and 3NOM-say-PROG-SGNOM mother 1/2TR-say-PROG
a big trade. And her mother says, "I tell her," \-SGNOM

miyá'c hihíce, "Wéet'u manma'í 'íin kiyú' 'íim
child 3NOM-say-PROG-SGNOM not any way I 1/2NOM-go/do-IRR you
she says to her daughter, "No way I'll go, you

'akiyó'qa kaa kaa kii 'ée 'iséeps hanyá'nyo'." Kakoná
1/2TR-go/do-COND and and this you trunk 1/2NOM-make-BEN-IRR REL-that
should do it, and now I'll fix the Indian trunk for you." \-LOC

pekítpim péece, "Kémek 'íin tiwíikin." Kaa
y bro-ERG 3TR-say-PROG-SGNOM REL-you-EX I 1/2NOM-follow-PP and
Whereupon her younger brother says to her, "Let me follow you!" And

péene, "Wéet'u, lamát'ac. 'íim 'ée wées x̣áypni'n.
3TR-say-PERF no bothersome you you 1/2NOM-be-PROG mischievous
she said to him, "No, bothersome. You are so mischievous.

páamnama 'ée koná kiyú' ci'wáat'is."
DIS-what you that-LOC 1/2NOM-go/do-IRR wrong
Whatever you do there [will be] wrong."

"uu wéet'u néene', tá'c 'íin, wéet'u mináma kiyú'
oh no old sis-SVOC good I not anything 1/2NOM-do-IRR
"Oh, no, older sister, I'm good, I won't do anything which

kayóx̣ híiwes ci'wáat'is. Tá'c 'íin x̣eléleyne,
REL-that 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM wrong good I 1/2NOM-be busy-PERF
is wrong. I was well busy,

'ée tiwíkne. Kéemex tiwíikin, néene'."
you 1/2NOM-folow-PERF REL-you-EX 1/2NOM-follow-PP old sis-SVOC
I followed you. Let me follow you, older sister!

Kaa pikéepim péece, "Yu'ísne 'ew'néhne. 'Ipínk'e
and mother-ERG 3TR-tell-PROG-SGNOM poor-DO 1/2TR-take-IMP 3NOM-also
And her mother tells her, "Take the poor thing! He also

'iséeps hi'néhnenu'. 'Ipnéenk'e 'iséeps 'aanyá'nyo'. 'Eete kaa
pack 3NOM-take-IRR him-also pack 1/2TR-make-BEN-IRR surely and
will carry a pack. I will make a pack for him too. Then surely

pekiyú'." Kaa hipawíhnana hipekúye
1/2NOM-PLNOM-go-IRR and 3NOM-PLNOM-leave-PERF 3NOM-PLNOM-go-PERF
you all will go." And they left, they went

kíimet koná hipapáayna. 'isíimet. Kuhét 'iníit
this-TEMP that-LOC 3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-PERF who-TEMP long tent
until they arrived there. Oh! [lots of people] There is

híiwes. Uu wáaqo' 'éete píi'amkin. Kaa
3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM oh already surely RECIP-gather-PP and
a long tent. Oh surely they have already gathered. And

hinéesce, "Uu wíit'ac 'eetk'omíc papáayn,"
3NOM-PLDO-tell-PROG-SGNOM oh almost too late 1/2NOM-PLNOM-arrive-PP
she tells them, "Oh, you all have arrived almost too late,"

peqéex̣pim hinéesce. Kaa hik'íine kuhétipe
mat aunt-ERG 3NOM-PLDO-tell-PROG-SGNOM and 3NOM-peek-PERF long-LOC
her maternal aunt tells them. And she peeked in the long

'iníitpe. "Uu yóx̣ koná 'éete hisapáaq'ayx̣nasix." K'ilíx
tent-LOC oh that that-LOC surely 3NOM-CAUS-room-PROG-PLNOM full
tent. "Oh, surely they are making room there." Full [of]

titóoqan. Wáaqo' hiteméeyex̣ksix. Wáaqo' la'ám' 'éete
people already 3NOM-sit down-PROG-PLNOM already all surely
people. They are already sitting down. Surely all alreadly

hipeteméeyex̣ke 'éete," péene. Kakoná
3NOM-PLNOM-sit down-PERF surely 3TR-tell-PERF REL-that-LOC
sat down," she told her, where

hitim'néeneke 'ipí wiyáa'ayat, "Kú'neweet tá'c lawwíit
3NOM-worry start-PERF 3NOM lady INDEF-Q good bad
she started worrying, "I don't know [whether] he will pass

hináaswawno' kinmaná titóoqana," péekt hinekúuye.
3NOM-PLDO-pass-IRR this-PL-DO people-DO y bro 3NOM-think-ALL-PERF
good [or] bad these people," she thought of her little brother.

Kaa péene, "Ta'ásnix 'ée 'ipsqíke'yx!" péekt hihíne.
and 3TR-tell-PERF good-INTENS you 1/2NOM-walk-IMP y bro 3NOM-say-PERF
And she told him, "You walk very good!" she told her little brother.

'Iséeps hi'nekíikce.   Hi'néhnene   kaa 'ipínk'e
pack   3NOM-carry-PROG-SGNOM 3NOM-carry-PERF and 3NOM-too
He is carrying his pack. He carried it and she is carrying

hi'nekíikce.   Kaa koníix   peecíix,   "Núukin   'éetx!
3NOM-carry-PROG-SGNOM and that-ABL 3TR-tell-PROG-PLNOM this way you-PL
hers too. And from there they told her, "This way, you all!

Núukin   kúumtx!   Kii 'éetx híne sapáaqayx̣ni'n 'éetx
this way 1/2NOM-go-CIS-IMP this you-PL here make room-STAT you-PL
Come this way! Now you all are made room here."

wisíix."   Kaa hipekúye.   Hináaswawna   'ii
1/2NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM and 3NOM-PLNOM-go-PERF 3NOM-PLDO-pass-PP oh
And they went. He has passed them, oh

hóq'o 'ilx̣níwe titóoqana 'étke kuhét 'iníit kaa hiwsíix
until many-HUM people-DO because long tent and 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM
lots of people, because [it was] a long tent there were

'ilx̣níiwe. Kakoná   hináaswawna'niqa   yóq'o wíit'ac koná
many-HUM   REL-that-LOC 3NOM-PLDO-pass-PLHAB-PST that almost that-LOC
many people. Where they kept passing them there they almost

hipapáayna   kíimet   koná   x̣uyím 'ekúye   'éx̣we.
3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-PERF this-TEMP that-LOC trip 3GEN-do-PERF foot
arrived when there his foot tripped [sidestepped].

Kíimet   x̣uyím 'éx̣we 'ekúye   koná,   yóx̣ x̣uyím 'éx̣we
this-TEMP trip foot 3GEN-do-PERF that-LOC that trip foot
When his foot tripped there, then his foot tripped

'ekúye   hóopope   síispe. Hi'psqilúuye   neqécim
3GEN-do-PERF pinemoss-LOC mush-LOC 3NOM-step-PERF half-only
in pinemoss mush. He stepped only one [foot]

kakoná   hitíi'yeye,   "Ha ha ha ha ha watóos   síispe."
REL-that-LOC 3NOM-laugh-PERF ha ha ha ha ha 1/2NOM-wade-PP mush-LOC
where he laughed, "Ha! ha! ha! ha! ha! I have waded in mush."

Pehétpim péene,   "Nécu' 'ipí lawwíit. Kinéepx
o sis-ERG 3TR-tell-PERF no way 3NOM right   this-LOC-ALL
His older sister told him, "No way he [does] right. Come

kúum!"   Hiqáwsi'ica   cacmóxcacmox neqécim   'éx̣we.
1/2NOM-go-CIS-IMP 3NOM-sit-PROG-SGNOM black   half-only foot
here!" He sits only one foot so black.

Kaa yóx̣ híiwes   titwáatit. .Kaa ku'ús mamáy'ac
and that 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM story   and thus children
And that is the story. And thus children

hiwsíix c'iix̣n'ípec 'ilx̣níipe titóoqapa. Wéetmet máwa
3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM talk-DES many-LOC people-LOC Q-TEMP ever
are talkative among lots of people. Don't ever

c'íix̣nu' láwyix kakoná 'ilx̣níiwe titóoqan
1/2NOM-talk-IRR any old way REL-that-LOC many-HUM people
talk any old way where many people

hiwsíix. Mic'yóox̣o'yooy 'ée 'anáasmic'yoox̣oy2
3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM 1/2NOM-hear-wait-ALL-IMP you 1/2TR-PLDO-hear-wait-IMP
are. Listen! You listen

titlúune. Sáw'is 'ée wix̣síi'liko'. Kaa yox̣ híiwes
elders-DO quiet you 1/2NOM-sit-IRR and that 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM
to the elders! You will sit quietly! And that is

kú'sayn kii titwáatit titwáatit mamáy'ac'ayn. Wéetmet 'ooqsóoqs
INDEF-BEN this story story children-BEN Q-TEMP rude
why this story [is] a story for children. Don't become

wic'éeyu' keku'ús kii quyéesquyes hiwéeke. Wéet'u máwa
1/2NOM-become-IRR REL-thus this bluejay 3NOM-be-PERF not ever
rude like this bluejay was. He never

himc'iyóox̣oya. Ká'la kúnk'u 'ipnéesepetkeeyce.
3NOM-hear-wait-PERF just always 3REFL-CAUS-be visible-PROG-SGNOM
listened. He just always made himself visible.

Kíimet kaa koníix hipewic'éeye quyéequyes cacmóxcacmox
this-TEMP and that-ABL 3NOM-PLNOM-become-PERF bluejay black
Then from that bluejays came to have black

'éx̣we. Yóx̣ híiwes titwáatit. Yox̣ kaló' titwáatit
foot that 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM story that then story
feet. That is the story. That [is] all the story

'íin cúukwece.
I 1/2NOM-know-PROG-SGNOM
I know.

3. Wéeyekin I 'Guardian Spirit I'

This first account of the guardian spirit quest was given by Mr. Art Motanic. It was recorded on December 8, 1983.

Ku'xwéet taac[3] lawwíit titwáatit 'ew'níyu' 'inláwtiwaana.
INDEF-EX-Y/NQ now accurate story 1/2TR-give-IRR my-friend-DO
Maybe now I am going to give the story accurately to my friend.

Hicukwen'ipéecwise titóoqanm wiyáaka'awn ke káa qo'c
3NOM-know-DES-PROG-SGNOM people/Indian-GEN daily living REL and yet
He wants to know the life of the Indian when there were no

cá'ya hiwsíine sooyáapoo kíne. hatók'ic
not any 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM whiteman this-LOC difficult
whitemen here yet. Their daily living

'ewsíine wiyáaka'awn kepem minma'í 'itúune
3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM daily living REL-PL-you what way anything-DO
was difficult, in whatever way which you ... they find

páa'yax̣cix. 'Iméem cúukweki páa'yax̣cix 5
3TR-find-PROG-PLNOM 2/3PL-GEN spirit/knowledge-INSTR 3TR-find-PROG-PLNOM
anything. With their spirit or knowledge they find

heté'w wiyáaka'awn'as. Koná hicíixcixcix,
precious daily living-N-COMP that-LOC 3NOM-be anxious-PROG-PLNOM
a good living. There they are anxious,

"mínex taac 'aw'yáax̣no' ta'c wiyáaka'awn 'íinim mamáy'ac kaa
where-EX now 1/2TR-find-IRR good daily living 1SG-GEN R-child and
"Where will I find the good life — my children and

'íinim kaxkaloomá wisíix 'iníitpe. Kaa
1SG-GEN REL-EX-all-HUM-PL 1/2NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM house-LOC and
mine — all of us which are at home." And

'ewsíine heté'w náaqc ke 'isíi híiwes
3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM precious one REL who 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM
they had one important [thing]: whoever is

cúukweni'n páay's yóx̣ náaqc háama hiwáwloqo'qa wéeyekin. 10
know/spirit-STAT maybe that one man 3NOM-want-COND guardian spirit
known, maybe that one man would want the guardian spirit.

hatk'wisníx hiwéeke 'iyáax̣n'as wéeyexne.
difficult-INTENS 3NOM-be-PERF find-N-COMP guardian spirit-DO
It was very difficult to find the guardian spirit.

Cicíka'wiscim mex̣séemx hikusíix kakoná mál'ack'iw
R-brave-only mountain-ALL 3NOM-go-PROG-PLNOM REL-that-LOC many-sun
Only the brave ones go to the mountains where they live

cik'éetin hipawyáaka'awn kakoná ke 'itúunm
night 3NOM-PLNOM-live daily-PP REL-that-LOC REL something-ERG
many days [and] nights, where something which

papaynóosa ke 'itúunm péete'nwese ka
3TR-arrive-ALL-PROG-SGNOM REL something-ERG 3TR-speak-PROG-SGNOM REL
comes to one, something which speaks to one, that

yóq'o pée'nise cúukwe ke 'itúunm yáaka'nim
that 3TR-give-PROG-SGNOM spirit/knowledge REL something-ERG bear-ERG
gives one the spirit, something which — a bear,

hímiisnim wewúkiyenm weptéesnim ká'la ke 'itúunm
wolf-ERG elk-ERG eagle-ERG just REL something-ERG
a wolf, an elk, an eagle — just something which

pée'nise cúukwe. "Kii 'ée ku'ús
3TR-give-PROG-SGNOM spirit/knowledge this you thus
is giving one the spirit. "Thus I am

'iníse cúukwe. Kíi híiwes náaqc
1/2NOM-give-PROG-SGNOM spirit/knowledge this 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM one
giving you this spirit. This is a

tá'c cúukwe. 'Ée 'anáaswapayatayo' 'imtitóoqanna c'alawí
good spirit/knowledge you 1/2TR-PLDO-help-IRR your-people-DO if
good spirit. You will help your people if

'ée wées tá'c. C'alawí 'ée wées
you 1/2NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM good if you 1/2GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM
you are good. If your

néext tá'c 'imtitóoqana 'ée 'awapáayatayo'. Cúukweni'n 'ée
thought good your-people-DO you 1/2TR-help-IRR spirit/know-STAT you
thought is good, you will help your people. You will

wic'éeyu' 'áaqam tóosx tiwéet. Wáaq'is 'ée
1/2NOM-become-IRR above more Indian doctor alive/well you
become known/spirited greater than [any] Indian doctor. You will

'anáashanyo'. Cúukweki 'ée 'anáas'iyax̣na'nyo'
1/2TR-PLDO-make-IRR spirit/knowledge-INSTR you 1/2TR-PLDO-find-BEN-IRR
make them well. With the spirit you will find for them

ke 'itúunm 'ewsíix 'éetx̣ewn cilakáatpa. C'alawí
REL something-GEN 3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM sorrow body-LOC if
things which have [cause] sorrow [sickness] in their bodies. If

híiwes wéetespeme k'óomayn ka yóq'o tiwéetim
3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM earth-ABL sick-N REL that Indian doctor-ERG
it is an earthly sickness, that which that Indian doctor

páa'yax̣no' kaa wáaq'is páanyo' ke 'isíi híiwes
3TR-find-IRR and alive/well 3TR-make-IRR REL who 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM
will find, then he will make him well, whoever is

k'óomayni'n konkí. Ku'ús konmá titóoqan píickaawna
be sick-STAT that-INSTR thus that-PL people RECIP-fear-PERF
sick with that. Thus those people feared each other,

píickaawna ka yóx̣ híiwes cúukweni'n,
RECIP-fear-PERF REL that 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM spirit/know-STAT
that [one] who is spirited was feared,

tiwéet cikáaw'is. Káa met'u páaqa'ancana kakonyá 30
Indian doctor dangerous and but 3TR-respect-PERF REL-that-DO
the dangerous Indian doctor. But then they respected that [one] whom

tiwéetim konyá péesep'nise, "Mináma híiwes
Indian doctor-ERG that-DO 3TR-ask-PROG-SGNOM how 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM
the Indian doctor is asking, "How is

kii kaa wiyáaka'awn? 'Itúu híwes tá'c wiyáaka'awn?"
this and daily living what 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM good daily living
the daily living now? What is good living?"

"'Ée wée cúukwe. Néesnim kaa
you 1/2GEN-be-PP spirit/knowledge 1/2NOM-PLDO-tell-CIS-IMP and
"You have the spirit. Tell us and

pecúukwenu'." Ku'ús waqíipa 'ewsíine yóx̣ náaqc
1/2NOM-PLNOM-know-IRR thus past-LOC 3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM that one
then we will know." Thus long ago they had

cúukwe wéeyekin cikáaw'is hanyíin ke 'itúunm 35
spirit/experience guardian spirit dangerous make-STAT REL something-ERG
that one experience, the guardian spirit made dangerous, something which

péete'nweye. Kaa koníix hipewc'éeye cúukweni'n.
3TR-speak-PERF and that-ABL 3NOM-PLNOM-become-PERF spirit/know-STAT
spoke to him. And from that they became known/spirited.

Mimíyoox̣at cúukweni'n hipewc'éeye titelke'yke'wéet
R-chief spirit/know-STAT 3NOM-PLNOM-become-PERF R-leader
They became renowned chiefs, leaders

titóoqanm kíne wéetespe píituqelepe, ke 'itúu
people-GEN this-LOC land-LOC RECIP-fight-LOC REL something
of the people in this land in battle. Something which

'ewsíine míipx náaqc héenek'e wéetes hikusíix
3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM where-ALL one again land 3NOM-go-PROG-PLNOM
they had for where they are going [to] another land

kakoná sík'em hinéespex̣wise ká'la kaa 'íske yóx̣
REL-that-LOC horse 3NOM-PLDO-steal-PROG-SGNOM just and like/as that
where they are stealing horses just like

hix̣eléewisix. Konma'í tóosx píihanisix
3NOM-play-PROG-PLNOM that way more RECIP-make-PROG-PLNOM R-tribe
they are playing [a game]. That way they are out doing one another,

pennéx̣cep c'íix̣ni'n titóoqan. Káa met'u ku'úski koníix
DIS-different speak-STAT people and but thus-INSTR that-ABL
the different spoken people [tribes of different languages]. But then

wéeteskin'ix hipapáayno'qa kinéepx wéetespx kaa ku'stíit
land-ABL 3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-COND this-LOC-ALL land-ALL and thus-same
on the other hand they would come from that land to this land and do

hináaskiyo'qa. Sík'em kíne la'ám' hinéespex̣wiyo'qa kaa
3NOM-PLDO-do-COND horse this-LOC all 3NOM-PLDO-steal-COND and
the same to us. They would steal all the horses here, and

hinées'nehna'nyo'qa konmá neqéey sík'em. Ku'ús 'ewsíine
3NOM-PLDO-take-GEN-COND that-PL across horse thus 3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM
they would take those horses of ours [back] across. Thus was their

wiyáaka'awn kakoná píiqa'ancix
daily living REL-that-LOC RECIP-respect-PROG-PLNOM
daily living where they respected one another,

píicukwecix cikáaw'is koná 'ewsíix náaqc
RECIP-spirit/know-PROG-PLNOM dangerous that-LOC 3EN-be-PROG-PLNOM
knowing they have there a dangerous [one].

q'o' cikáaw'is 'ewsíix koná tiwéet.
very dangerous 3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM that-LOC Indian doctor
They have there a very dangerous Indian doctor.

Híiwes koná cúukweni'n. 'Ée hi'x̣ílpíyu'. 'Ée
3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM that-LOC spirit/know-STAT you 3NOM-hex-IRR you
He is known or spirited there. He will hex you. He

hiwáapci'yawno'. Cá'yan kaa 'ée wic'éeyu' wiyáaka'awn kíne
3NOM-kill-IRR not any and you 1/2GEN-stay-IRR daily living this-LOC
will kill you. Then you will have no more daily living in this

wéetespe. Ku'ús 'ewsíne cikáaw'is waqíipa titóoqanm
land-LOC thus 3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM dangerous past-LOC people
land. Thus long ago the people had the dangerous

cúukwe kakoníix hipewc'éeye
spirit/knowledge/experience REL-that-ABL 3NOM-PLNOM-become-PERF
spirit from that which they became

cúukweni'n 'úuykin'ix pemmíne pemmíne wéetespe. Ku'stíite
spirit/know-STAT first-ABL DIS-where DIS-where land-LOC thus-same
spirited or known more so in each different land. They will

wáaqo' kaa píiqa'anno' píiqa'ancix konmá
already and RECIP-respect-IRR RECIP-respect-PROG-PLNOM that-PL
already then respect each other the same, those from each land

pewwéeteskin'ix. 'Eehé yóx̣ konma'í kíyex míi'lec héenek'e 55
DIS-land-ABL yes that that way here-EX little again
respect each other. Yes, that [is] the way I have again

hínaq'is hí'lamkt t'áwano t'awáanise
1/2NOM-finish-PP pile whatchamacallit 1/2NOM-whatchamacallit-PROG
finished a little pile, whatchamacallit I am whatchamacalliting. \-SGNOM

ku'x minma'í 'awnó'qa 'íske kii mitáatipx wáaqo'
INDEF-EX what way 1/2TR-tell-COND like/as this three-ALL already
What way would I tell him as this third [time] I have

c'íiqin 'ew'ínis. Kaa taac hitíimene'nyu' c'íiqin. Kú'xweet
speak-N 1/2TR-give-PP and now 3NOM-write-GEN-IRR speak-N INDEF-EX-Y/NQ
given him a talk. And now he will write my talk. Did I

láwwíit híne? Ku'ús yóx̣ kaló' kíyex c'íiqin.
right 1/2NOM-say-PERF thus that all here-EX 1/2NOM-speak-PP
say it right? Thus that [is] all I have spoken.

4. Wéeyekin II 'Guardian Spirit II'

This second account of the guardian spirit was given by the late Mr. William Minthorn. It was taped February 13, 1984.

Wáaqo' kíi táaqc kehétu' titwáatit kínye háamana
now this soon short-INTENS story this-DO man-DO
Now I am giving this man a very short

'ew'níse wéeyexnim yawá 'ikúuyn yóqo'
1/2TR-give-PROG-SGNOM guardian spirit-GEN concerning true that
story concerning the guardian spirit — [one] that [is] true

núunim titóoqanm yawá niimíipuum titóoqanm yawá
1PL-GEN people-GEN concerning Nez Perce-GEN people-GEN concerning
concerning our people, concerning the Nez Perce people.

Hiwc'éeyu' heté'ew yóq'o cúukwe. Kakáa hipi'ímne
3NOM-become-IRR precious that knowledge/spirit REL-and 3NOM-grow-PERF
That knowledge will become precious. When the Red Person

'ilp'ílp titóoqan káa hiwc'éeye túuyeki'n[4] 'ipním
red person and 3NOM-become-PERF counsel-STAT 3SG-GEN
grew up he was counseled

wiyáaka'awnim yawá, "Kínki 'ée tá'c wiyáaka'awno'.
daily living-GEN concerning this-INSTR you good 1/2NOM-live daily-IRR
concerning his daily living, "With this you will live well.

kínki 'ée wáaq'is wiyáaka'awno'. 'ecúukwenu' 'anóoqtipx
this-INSTR you life 1/2NOM-live daily-IRR 1/2TR-know-IRR ahead-ALL
With this you will live life. You will know the days

wiyéeleeheyne, ku'ús koná hiwc'éeyu'. Kayóx̣ konyá tá'c
day-DO thus that-LOC 3NOM-become-IRR REL-that that-DO good
ahead, what will be there." That which [is] that guardian spirit

'ec'íx̣nu' wéeyekne. Kakáa kúckuc hiwc'éeye pi'ímn
1/2TR-talk-IRR guardian spirit-DO REL-and little 3NOM-become-PERF grow-N
I will speak well of. When the little one became grown,

háama ku'stíte 'áayat túuyeki'n hiwéeke, "Wáaqo' 'ée kínye
man thus-same woman inform-STAT 3NOM-be-PERF now you this-DO
a man the same as a woman, he was informed, "Now you take

'ew'néhnenu'. Kii 'itúu híiwes 'ipéetes. Kínye
1/2-take-IRR this thing 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM sacred bundle this-DO
this. This thing is a sacred bundle. You will

'ipéetesne 'ew'néhnenu' mex̣séemx." Hiwéeke
sacred bundle-DO 1/2TR-take-IRR mountain-ALL 3NOM-be-PERF
take this sacred bundle to the mountains." The mountain

cúukweni'n méex̣sem kemíne koná tito´oqan 'ilp'ílp titóoqan
know/spirit-STAT mountain REL-where that-LOC person red person
was known where a person, a Red Person,

hikiyéeyike cúukweni'n. Kaa koním yawá hiwéeke
3NOM-travel-PERF know/spirit-STAT and that-GEN concerning 3NOM-be-PERF
traveled [to be] spirited. And concerning that he was

túuyeki'n, "Kínye 'ew'néhnece 'ipéetesne kakoná
inform-STAT this-DO 1/2TR-take-PROG-SGNOM sacred bundle REL-that-LOC
informed, "You are taking this sacred bundle where

'ew'nikú' koná méex̣sem. Kaa hiwc'éeyu' koná 'inekíix
1/2TR-put-IRR that-LOC mountain and 3NOM-become-IRR that-LOC even though
you will put it there [on] the mountain. And it will stay there maybe

mitáat léeheyn cik'éetpe ku'stíite haláx̣p kakoná 'íske
three day night-LOC thus-same day REL-that-LOC like/as
three days, night and day, where like that which

hipaynóoyo' keku'ús híiwes cúukwe.
3NOM-arrive-ALL-IRR REL-thus 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM knowledge/spirit
is thus a spirit will come to you.

Hipaynóoyo' 'ée koná 'itúunm hiyúutelikin kakoná
3NOM-arrive-ALL-IRR you that-LOC something-ERG bird REL-that-LOC
Something will come to you there -- a bird, where

híiwes ku'stíite 'ímes huhúkiye[5] 'iceyéeye ke 'itúu
3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM thus-same deer elk coyote REL thing
there is similarly deer, elk, coyote, whatever else,

koním 'ée koná hipaynóoyo' kaa hite'nwéyu' kaa
that-ERG you that-LOC 3NOM-arrive-ALL-IRR and 3NOM-talk-IRR and
that will come and talk to you and

minma'í konyá 'íske 'íim 'ecúukwenu' túuyext koním yawá.
somehow that-DO like/as you 1/2TR-know-IRR counsel that-GEN concerning
somehow as you will know that on account of the counseling.

Kaa kakáa mitáat léeheyn hikóoqawno' kaa 'ée cikliitoqo'
and REL-and three day 3NOM-pass-IRR and you 1/2NOM-return-back-IRR
And when the three days will have passed then you will go back home

ke 'imím koná kamkoná wées 'imím
REL 2SG-GEN that-LOC REL-you-that-LOC 1/2GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM 2SG-GEN
where your, where your home

téew'yenikees kakoná 'iméec'iix̣nu', "ku'ús hisepéexne
home REL-that-LOC 2SGREFL-talk-IRR thus 3NOM-CAUS-see-PERF
is, there you will talk about yourself[5], "Thus it showed me that

yóx̣ ke wáaqo' wáy'atcaqa meх̣séemx.
that REL now 1/2NOM-go on sacred quest-PROG-SGNOM-PST mountain-ALL
when I was going on the sacred quest to the mountains.

Kaa wáaqo' yóx̣ konyá 'ewe'npíse." kakáa 'íim
and now that that-DO 1/2TR-sing-PROG-SGNOM REL-and 2SG-GEN
And now that I am singing." When you

'ete'nwéye ku'stíite hite'nwéye ke 'itúunm koním
1/2TR-speak-PERF thus-same 3NOM-speak-PERF REL something-GEN that-GEN
spoke to it, it spoke thus the same to you concerning

yawá. 'Ee hi'níye we'nípt, "Kayóx̣ konyá wáaqo'
concerning you 3NOM-give-PERF song REL-that that-DO now
whatever. It gave you a song, "That which I am now

'ec'íix̣e wáaqo' 'íske hi'níye we'nípt kayóx̣ 30
1/2TR-talk-PROG-SGNOM now like/as 3NOM-give-PERF song REL-that
talking about, as it gave me that song which

kíi táaqc konyá 'ewe'npíse. Yóx̣ 'éetx
this soon that-DO 1/2TR-sing-PROG-SGNOM that you-PL
I am now soon singing. Then you will all

pecúukwenu' 'íinim himyúume kaa láwtiwaama 'úykin'ix
1/2NOM-PLNOM-know-IRR 1SG-GEN kinsman-PL and friend-PL all-ABL
know, my kinsmen and friends, further

titóoqan kem 'íim wées kíne 'ilp'ílp titóoqan.
people REL-you you 1/2NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM this-LOC red people
you people who are here — Red People.

Kakonyá 'íske 'ew'néhpinyu' 'ew'néhpinise
REL-that-DO like/as 1/2TR-bring forth-IRR 1/2TR-bring forth-PROG-SGNOM
Like that which I will bring forth, you are

'ée we'npíne kaa tá'c 'ée konkí 'imáasapaahaywano' 'íske 35
you song-DO and good you that-INSTR 2SGREFL-CAUS-feel good-IRR like/as
bringing forth a song, and with that you will make yourself feel good,

'imím ti'míne wic'éeyu' kamkáa konyá
2SG-GEN heart 1/2GEN-become-IRR REL-you-and that-DO 1/2TR-sing-IRR
like your heart will become when you will

'ewe'npú'. Yóx̣ hiwéeke túuyext[3] keku'ús titóoqan 'ilp'ílp
1/2TR-sing-IRR that 3NOM-be-PERF counsel REL-thus people red
sing that. That was the counsel as the people, the Red

titóoqan hicúukwene kakoním yawá hiwyáaka'ana.
people 3NOM-know-PERF REL-that-GEN concerning 3NOM-live daily-PERF
People, knew [it], in relation to which he lived

'Iske konkí 'ipnóopataya kakáa 'ile´x̣ni 'éetx̣ewn.
like/as that-INSTR 3SGREFL-help-PERF REL-and much sadness
For with that he helped himself when much sadness.

Kii 'itúunm yawá ka yóq'o' we'nípt hi'néhpinye 40
this something-GEN concerning REL-that song 3NOM-bring forth-PERF
Concerning this thing, that song which he brought forth,

kaa konkí 'íske 'ipnáatahaywana péew'inpe
and that-INSTR like/as 3SGREFL-by speech-feel good-PERF 3TR-sing-PERF
as then with that he singing felt better [from his sickness] singing

hiwe'nípe konyá we'npíne. Yóx̣ híiwes
3NOM-sing-PERF that-DO song-DO that 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM
that song. That is the

wéeyexnim cúukwe.
guardian spirit-GEN spirit/knowledge
guardian spirit's ["the bundle's"] knowledge.

5. 'Ikúuyn Titwáatit 'A True Story'

This true story ('ikúuyn titwáatit) was told by Mrs. Ada Patrick. It was taped November 2, 1983. The story was told to Mrs. Patrick by her father's mother — Cínikpuu (Mrs. Kate Jones) — the same person who told her the bluejay story. The event described occurred at Squaw Creek near Gibbon, Oregon.

kíi híiwes 'ikúuyn titwáatit. Ne'élem
this 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM true story my-fa mo-ERG
This is a true story. My father's mother

hináastitwatiya. Kakáa qo'c míil'ec sooyáapoo
3NOM-PLDO-tell story-PERF REL-and yet few whiteman
told us the story. It happened when

hipáaycana kíne wéetespe. Kaa lepú'
3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-PROG-SGNOM-RM this-LOC land-LOC and two-HUM
few whitemen had yet arrived in this place. And there were

hiwsíine 'acíipiin. Kaa píine, 'ácip
3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM woman's y sis-DU and RECIP-say-PERF y sis
two sisters. And they told each other, she told her younger

hihíne, "Wáaqo' kíye pe'mínenu'." Kaa koná 5
3NOM-say-PERF now we/us 1/2NOM-PLNOM-go dig-IRR and that-LOC
sister, "Now we will go digging." And then

pikéepim hinéesce, "Míc'etye cikáawpa. Kaa
mother-ERG 3NOM-PLDO-say-PROG-SGNOM with ear-so much fear-LOC and
their mother tells them, "What a scarry time to go! And

'éetx mípx pekiyú'? 'Iléx̣ni hiwsíix
you-PL where-ALL 1/2NOM-PLNOM-go-IRR many/much 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM
where will you go? There are many

kíne míne 'éetx hipawáapci'yawnu' 'itúunm néx̣sepnim
this-LOC where you-PL 3NOM-PLNOM-kill-IRR something-ERG different-ERG
here where something, different people, will kill

titóoqanm ku'stíite sooyáapoo hiwsíix kíne. 'Éetx
people/Indian-GEN thus-same whiteman 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM this-LOC you-PL
you, the same there are whitemen here. What

Mináma hipekiyú' kaa 'itúupx 'étye
what 3NOM-PLNOM-do-IRR and something-ALL so much
will they do to you? And why do you so much

wiyúuy'ex̣cix?" Kaa kii náaqc téq'is 'ipí hiwéeke
1/2NOM-depart-DES-PROG-PLNOM and this one eldest 3SG 3NOM-be-PERF
want to depart?" Now the eldest one, she was

cikáaw'is. Hikyéeyux̣qaqa. Máwa háham
brave 3NOM-travel around-HABSGNOM-PST ever R-man
brave. She used to travel around [a lot]. Whenever the men

hitelke'éynikike kawatíita hináastiwixnaqaqa hahámna.
3NOM-drive-TRANS-PERF then-same 3NOM-PLDO-follow-HABSGNOM-PST R-man-DO
went out on raids the same time she used to go with the men.

Kaa cúukweni'n hiwéeke. 'Éete ku' cúukwe 'ewéeke 'ipním.
and spirit/know-STAT 3NOM-be-PERF surely INDEF spirit/knowledge 3GEN-be-PERF 3SG-GEN
And she was known/spirited. Surely she had some spirit.

kaa hináastiwixnaqaqa. Kaa píke hihíce, Qo'c
and 3NOM-PLDO-follow-HABSGNOM-PST and mother 3NOM-tell-PROG-SGNOM yet
And she used to follow them. And she is saying to her mother, "I will

'íin 'eqíicx̣nu' 'inm'ácipna. Ká'la wáqo'
1SG 1/2TR-take care of-IRR my-y sis-DO just now
still take care of my little sister. We are

wíhnacix. Kaa 'imamáayawna. 'Iníit
1/2NOM-leave-PROG-PLNOM and 2/3PLREFL-get ready-PERF tent
leaving now." And they got ready. They took

hipe'néhnene kaa kaló' lepít sík'em hipe'néhnene.
3NOM-PLNOM-take-PERF and all two-NONHUM horse 3NOM-PLNOM-take-PERF
a tent and took only two horses.

'Inéex pikéepim hinéesne, "Wéet'u 'éetx wéet'u náaqc
though mother-ERG 3NOM-PLDO-say-PERF no you-PL not one
Though her mother told them, "No, you are not taking

'úykin'ix sík'em 'inéhnecix?" Kaa péene, "Wéet'u kaló' 20
all-ABL horse 1/2NOM-take-PROG-PLNOM and 3TR-say-PERF no all
another horse?" And she told her, "No, only

pannáaqc 'ipí náaqcipa kaló' lepít peqíicx̣nu'
DIS-one 3SG one-LOC all two-NONHUM 1/2NOM-PLNOM-take care of-IRR
one apiece, she on one, we will take care of only two

sík'em. Kaa kaló' lepít 'inéhnecix lepít sík'em."
horse and all two-NONHUM 1/2NOM-take-PROG-PLNOM two-NONHUM horse
horses. Then we are taking only two, two horses."

Kaa hipekúye. Kaa píke hihíce, "Kípx 'éetx
and 3NOM-PLNOM-go/do-PERF and mother 3NOM-say-PROG-SGNOM this-ALL you-PL
And they did. And she told her mother, "We

kú'xweet lepít halx̣páawit pasáwno'. Kex
INDEF-EX-Y/NQ two-NONHUM week 1/2NOM-PLNOM-be absent-IRR REL-EX
might be absent two weeks from you here. If we

c'alwí wéet'u lepítpe halx̣páawitpa papáayno' kaa 25
if not two-NONHUM-LOC week-LOC 1/2NOM-PLNOM-arrive-IRR and
do not arrive in two weeks then

'éetx penéec'ipew'iyu'kum, kex koná 'éetx
you-PL 1/2NOM-PLDO-look for-IRR-CIS REL-EX that-LOC you-PL
you will come look for us, where you then

penekú' 'éete mináma páay's hipéekus kaa
1/2NOM-PLNOM-think-IRR surely something maybe 3NOM-PLNOM-go/do-PP and
will think, "Surely something may have happened to me," and then

'éetx penéec'ipew'yu'kum. Kaa 'éetx
you-PL 1/2NOM-PLNOM-PLDO-look for-IRR-CIS and you-PL
you will come look for us. And I am

híce, "Konmá pekiyú'. Ku'ús wéetes
1/2NOM-say-PROG-SGNOM that-ABL 1/2NOM-PLNOM-go/do-IRR thus land/place
telling you, "From that we will go. Thus the place

híiwes konmá kenm koná kúnk'u qi'nitéen'ix. 30
3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM that-ABL REL-INC that-LOC always 1/2NOM-dig-HAB-PLNOM
is there where we always dig.

Konmá kusíix kaa 'attóola'ysa we'níkt
that-ABL 1/2NOM-go/do-PROG-PLNOM and 1/2TR-forget-GEN-PROG-SGNOM name
We are going there, but I forget the name of

wéetesne ke ku'ús wéetesne púu'niksene."
land-DO REL thus land-DO 3TR-name-PROG-SGNOM-RM
the land as they [non-referential] call the place."

Kaa hipewíhnene náaqc leehéyn hipekúye. Kaa kiwáyl
and 3NOM-PLNOM-leave-PERF one day 3NOM-PLNOM-go-PERF and this far
And they left, they went [for a day]. And this far

yox̣ wéetes hiwéeke náaqc leehéyn hipewíhnene.
that land/place 3NOM-be-PERF one day 3NOM-PLNOM-leave-PERF
that place was, one day they left [for it].

Koná hipapáayna wéetespe kaa péene, "Kíi
that-LOC 3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-PERF land/place-LOC and 3TR-tell-PERF this
They arrived at that place and she told her, "This

híiwes yoq'opí wéetes kenm koná tax̣c
3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM that-INTENS land/place REL-INC that-LOC soon
is that very place where we soon

peq'niyú'. Qawásna kíi 'eq'nisíix kaa kíye
1/2NOM-PLNOM-dig-IRR kows-DO this 1/2TR-dig-PROG-PLNOM and we
will dig. Now we are digging kows and we will

cawitáxna kíye[1] 'epe'péew'iyú'. Kaa 'úuyit 'iníit
wild carrot-DO we 1/2TR-PLNOM-look for-IRR and first tepee
look for wild carrot. And first they set

hipaaníya. Coqoycóoqoy 'ewsíix kúckuc. Kaa
3NOM-PLNOM-make-PERF small tepee 3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM small and
up the tepee. They had a small tepee. And

hihíce 'ácip, "Tax̣c kíye 'iléx̣ni héecu
3NOM-say/tell-PROG-SGNOM woman's younger sister soon we much firewood
she is telling her younger sister, "Soon we will prepare

paaníyo'. Pe'nikeynéeku' 'iníitx. Kaa kúus
1/2NOM-PLNOM-make-IRR 1/2NOM-PLNOM-carry-into-IRR tepee-ALL and water
much firewood. We will carry [it] into the tepee. And we will thus

'iléx̣ni la'ám'pa híik'aypa tá'c kíye ku'ús panwíhnano'. Tax̣c
much all-LOC bucket-LOC good we thus 1/2NOM-PLNOM-leave-IRR soon
leave much good water in all buckets. Then

kaa kíye ku'ús 'epe'péew'iyu' hipíne, kú'weet míne q'atát
and we thus 1/2TR-PLNOM-look for-IRR food-DO INDEF-Y/NQ where near
we thus will look for food, perhaps where it is

híiwes. Tax̣c kaa kíye panwíhnano' konmá tax̣c
3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM soon and we 1/2NOM-PLNOM-leave-IRR that-ABL soon
near. Then we will leave there, we

kíye kuléewit papáaytoqo'." Kaa ku'ús hipekúye. 45
we evening 1/2NOM-PLNOM-arrive-back-IRR and thus 3NOM-PLNOM-go-PERF
will arrive back in the evening." And so they went.

Kú' mac wáwtoqt páay's wíit'ac náaqc k'áykin. Ku'ús
INDEF many day perhaps almost one week thus
How many days? Perhaps almost a week. Thus

hipex̣eléleyne kakoná kuléewit hipáaycix kaa
3NOM-PLNOM-be busy-PERF REL-that-LOC evening 3NOM-arrive-PROG-PLNOM and
they got busy where [when] arriving in the evening and

hicapáakayksix qáaws 'étke híiwes 'iléx̣ni x̣eléleyn.
3NOMCAUScleanPROGPLNOM kows because 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM much work-N
cleaning kows [a root], because it is much work.

Kaa hihíce, "Kíye kii 'áala wisíix kaa
and 3NOM-say/tell-PROG-SGNOM we this fire 1/2GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM and
And she is saying, "We have this fire, and

kíye lilk'úx líwcix. Wáaqo' kíye 50
we for nothing 1/2NOM-burn-PROG-SGNOM now we
we are burning [it] for nothing. We are

wiyáamksix kaa kíye pacapáa'laq'yawyu' kawatíit
1/2NOM-peel-PROG-PLNOM and we 1/2NOM-PLNOM-CAUS-fire-dry-IRR thensame
peeling now and we will dry

kuléewit ke'éw'. Kíye pa'áaliko' kaa kii qáaws
evening touching we 1/2NOM-PLNOM-build fire-IRR and this kows
at night ["all night"]. We will build the fire and this kows

hi'laq'yáawyu'. Kíye peteméeckiliiku' kaa kíye ku'ús
3NOM-fire-dry-IRR we 1/2NOM-PLNOM-throw-turn-IRR and we thus
will dry. We will turn [it] around, and thus we

watíisx panwíhnano' héenek'e kaa hi'laq'yáawyu'."
yesterday/tomorrow 1/2NOM-PLNOM-leave-IRR again and 3NOM-fire-dry-IRR
will leave again tomorrow and it will dry."

Kaa kawatíita péene, "Kenm yox̣ kikúckuc qáaws 55
and then-same 3TR-say/tell-PERF REL-INC that R-small kows
And at the same time she told her, "That small kows which is

wisíix, yóoq'o 'oynáwa konyá 'ew'nikú'. Kaa
1/2GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM that-INTENS separate that-DO 1/2TR-put-IRR and
ours, that I will put separate. And

kíye konyá konkí 'ápa paaníyo'." Kaa péene,
we that-DO that-INSTR root cake 1/2NOM-make-IRR and 3TR-say/tell-PERF
that [DO]...with that we will make root cake." And she said to her,

"Wéet 'íim píley 'inéhneme?" Kaa péene, "'Iin
Y/NQ 2SG pestle 1/2NOM-carry-CIS-PERF and 3TR-say/tell-PERF 1SG
"Did you bring the pestle?" And she said to her, "I

'inéhneme náaqc kaa k'ápoy wées
1/2NOM-carry-CIS-PERF one and small bowl 1/2GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM
brought one, and I have [some] small

kikúckuc." Kaa péene 'éete, "Kú' tax̣c 'íim
R-small and 3TR-say/tell-PERF surely INDEF soon 2SG
bowls." And she surely said to her, "You will soon

'ipc'óoko' kaa 'íim 'ée tax̣c wiyáamko'." Kaa ku'ús
1/2NOM-pound-IRR and 2SG 2SG soon 1/2NOM-peel-IRR and thus
pound and peel some." And thus

hipekúye. "Kem kaa," péene, "'Iim 'ée
3NOM-PLNOM-go/do-PERF REL-2SG and 3TR-say/tell-PERF 2SG 2SG
they did. "When you," she told her, "you

wées wepcúux 'íim kaa haní 'ápa. Kex
1/2NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM smart 2SG and 1/2NOM-make-IMP root cake REL-EX
are smart, then you make root cake. Let me

'íin qíicqin kii qáaws." Kú'mac
1SG 1/2NOM-take care of-PP this kows INDEF-how much
take care of this kows." I don't know how much

'ewsíix 'étke náaqc méeymi ku'[6]... kú'mac
3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM because one morning INDEF INDEF-how many
they have because one morning ... I don't know [in] how many

'íitp'es hi'náxpayksix qáaws, kakonyá
bag 3NOM-carry-arrive-PROG-PLNOM kows REL-that-DO
bags they are bringing the kows, that which

péecepee'wisix. La'ám' kikúckucene 'oynáwa pée'niksix
3TR-sort out-PROG-PLNOM all R-small-DO separate 3TR-put-PROG-PLNOM
they are sorting out. All the small they are putting separate

kaa titlúune 'awyáamksix kakonyá
and R-big-DO 1/2TR-peel-PROG-PLNOM REL-that-DO
and they are peeling the big, that which

páacapaa'laq'yawsix. Kaa 'oynáwa yox̣ 'ewsíix kaa
3TR-CAUS-fire-dry-PROG-PLNOM and separate that 3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM and
they are drying. And theirs is separate then, and

hiiii ku'ús hipekúye kakáa kii 'ipí tēq'is
(long time) thus 3NOM-PLNOM-go/do-PERF REL-and this 3SG eldest
(gesture indicating a long time) thus they did, while the eldest

haaníisa 'ápa ('íske 'itúu ke ku'ús 'ipéex̣.).
3NOM-make-PROG-SGNOM root cake like/as something REL thus bread
was making the root cake (something like bread).

Kaa hicapá'laq'yawisa 'aláaki kem ku'ús núkt
and 3NOM-CAUS-fire-dry-PROG-SGNOM fire-INSTR REL-2SG thus meat
And she is drying [it] with the fire as you would dry

capáa'laq'yawyo'qa kaa kem ku'ús 'ipéex̣ haniyó'qa.
1/2NOM-CAUS-fire-dry-COND and REL-2SG thus bread 1/2NOM-make-COND
meat, and as you would make bread.

Kaa ku'ús hikúye hecúupe[7], héecu haaníya ke ku'ús
and thus 3NOM-go/do-PERF wood-LOC wood 3NOM-make-PERF REL thus
And thus she did [it] on a wood[7], she made the wood

'itúu t'eyíit'eyii kakoná hitulikéeceye 'ipéex̣
something flat REL-that-LOC 3NOM-throw-do-on-PERF bread
as something flat where she put the bread on,

konyá 'apáana. Kaa ku'ús 'aláapa hitulikéeceye tiwéepe
that-DO root bread-DO and thus fire-LOC 3NOM-throw-do-on-PERF pole-LOC
that root bread. And thus she put [it] on the fire on top of

túuskin'ike kakoná hi'níike kakonyá
top-ABL REL-that-LOC 3NOM-put-PERF REL-that-DO
poles where she put that which

páacapaa'laq'yawya. Kaa péetemeeckiliikse konyá
3TR-CAUS-fire-dry-PERF and 3TR-throw-turn-PROG-SGNOM that-DO
she dried. And she is turning that over

pe'éc'ic. Kaa yoq'opí hi'laq'yáawisa ke ku'ús
DIS-little while and that-INTENS 3NOM-fire-dry-PROG-SGNOM REL thus
every little bit. And that very [root bread] is drying like

tiyáaw'ic híiwes kakáa hinekíse, "Wáaqo'
hard 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM REL-and 3NOM-think-PROG-SGNOM already
it is hard when she thinks, "It has already

hiqi'yáaw'is." Konyá páacapaalkoliiksa
3NOM-dry-PP that-DO 3TR-CAUS-fold up in cloth-PROG-SGNOM
dried." That she folds up in a cloth,

pée'nikse 'oynáwa kaa yox̣ 'íske 'ipéex̣ 'ewsíix.
3TR-put-PROG-SGNOM separate and that like/as bread 3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM
putting it away separately, and that they have as bread.

Ku'namac ku'ús hipaaníya kaa la'ám' yox̣
INDEF-how much thus 3NOM-PLNOM-make-PERF and all that
However much they made, then they saved

hiwyée'nike[8] 'oynáwa. Kaa 'ipí 'ácip
3NOM-going-put-PERF separate and 3SG woman's younger sister
all that separately. And the younger sister

hiwyáamksa kaa yox̣ 'ipínk'e 'oynáwa
3NOM-peel-PROG-SGNOM and that 3SG-also separate
is peeling and that she also saves

hiwyée'nikse. Kaa ku'ús hipekúye náaqc k'áykin
3NOM-going-put-PROG-SGNOM and thus 3NOM-PLNOM-go/do-PERF one week
separately. And thus they did [for] one week when

ke kíimet náaqc kuléewitin hipapáayna kaa ku'ús
REL this-TEMP one evening 3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-PERF and thus
one evening they arrived and thus

hehéxne. Hipapáayna sík'em hitálkapayka
3NOM-see-PERF 3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-PERF horse 3NOM-lead/drive-arrive-PERF
she saw. They arrived, the eldest leading in

'ipí téq'is. Kaa hihíne, "Q'íilawna yíke
3SG eldest and 3NOM-say/tell-PERF 1/2NOM-look back-PERF around
the horses. And she said, "I looked back around,

'íske néx̣sep kii wisíix 'íske kíye 'isíinm
like/as different this 1/2GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM like/as someone-ERG
this we have as different, like someone

hipaynóosaqa." Kaa 'ácip
3NOM-arrive-ALL-PROG-SGNOM-PST and woman's younger sister
was coming to us." And she told

hihíce, "Wáaqo' kíye 'iléx̣ni héecu paaníyo'.
3NOM-say/tell-PROG-SGNOM now we much wood 1/2NOM-PLNOM-make
her younger sister, "Now we will make much firewood. \-IRR

Héecu 'inekeynéekim tax̣c kaa 'íink'e
wood 1/2NOM-carry-inside-CIS-IMP soon and 1SG-also
Bring the wood inside and I will

'inekeynéeku' kínike. Wées héecu kínike
1/2NOM-carry-inside-IRR this-side 1/2GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM wood this-side
carry in [some] on this side too. I have wood on this side,

kaa 'íimk'e tax̣c kínike 'inekeynéeku' héecu kaa 'iléx̣ni 95
and 2SG-also soon this-side 1/2NOM-carry-inside-IRR wood and much
and you will bring in wood on this side too, and bring in

kúus 'inekeynéex. Kaa 'íim kúus kúy tax̣c kaa
water 1/2NOM-carry-inside-IMP and 2SG water 1/2NOM-go/do-IMP soon and
much water. And you do the water, and I

'íin héecu haníyo'." Kaa qétu kiwáyl wáy'at kúus
1SG wood 1/2NOM-make-IRR and more this-so much far water
will make the wood." And her younger sister went

hi'nptéene 'ipí 'ácip. Kaa péene
3NOM-get-go-PERF 3SG woman's younger sister and 3TR-say/tell-PERF
this much further to get water. And she told the

'ácip,[9] "Siléewketwenu' si'yóox̣o'
woman's younger sister 1/2NOM-glance around-IRR 1/2NOM-see-wait-IMP
younger sister, "You will glance around, glance unnoticed

kaa 'ée koná kem kaa tax̣c kúus 'inptéenu'." 'Ácip 100
and 2SG that-LOC REL-2SG and soon water 1/2NOM-get-go-IRR wo yo sis
there when you will go to get the water." She says

hihíce, "Lawwíit wéetesne 'uuléekin kem
3NOM-say/tell-PROG-SGNOM clearly ground-DO 1/2TR-waiting-see-IMP REL-2SG
to her younger sister, "Clearly watch the ground when

kaa tax̣c kúus 'inpú' tax̣c 'ée kaa lawwíit kawatíit wéetesne
and soon water 1/2NOM-get-IRR soon 2SG and clearly then-same ground-DO
you get the water. You will then clearly see the ground

'eexnú' kem kaa ku'ús 'inpíse kaa kawatíita
1/2TR-see-IRR REL-2SG and thus 1/2NOM-get-PROG-SGNOM and then-same
the same time as you are getting [it], and [at] the same time you will

kípx q'íilawno'. Kaa konmá kaa ku'ús hikúye
this-ALL 1/2NOM-look back-IRR and that-ABL and thus 3NOM-go/do-PERF
look back here. When from there then thus she did [so]

kakáa kúus hi'nípe kíimet kípx péexne 'íske 105
REL-and water 3NOM-get-PERF this-TEMP this-ALL 3TR-see-PERF like/as
when she got the water, then she saw it here as

likíp híikus, likíp kínike híikus 'íske 'itúune
touch 3NOM-go/do-PP touch this-side 3NOM-go/do-PP like/as something-DO
it just quickly has moved, it has just moved fast on this side like

hékin. Kaa wéet'u minám̃a hinéeke. Kúus hi'nípe kaa
see-N and not anything 3NOM-think-PERF water 3NOM-get-PERF and
something to see. But she did not think anything. She got some water,

hi'nípe héenek'e náaqc híik'ay hi'nípe kaa héenek'e kúus
3NOM-get-PERF again one bucket 3NOM-get-PERF and again water
and she got another bucket, she got [it], and again she took

hi'nikéhte kaa héenek'e hiq'íilawna konmá. Wéet'u
3NOM-carry-out-PERF and again 3NOM-turn around-PERF that-ABL not
out some water, and again she turned around from there. Nothing

'itúu kakoníix péexne 'íske 'itúu
something REL-that-ABL 3TR-see-PERF like/as something
from where she saw it like something

hi'íce wéet'u máwa konyá koná hihéxne 'íske
3NOM-lie-PROG-SGNOM not ever that-DO that-LOC 3NOM-see-PERF like/as
lying there she never saw there, like

'itúu híiwes koná. Kaa kúus hi'nípe kaa
something 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM that-LOC and water 3NOM-get-PERF and
something is there. And she got some water and

hikúye 'iníitx kaa koná péehet hihíne,
3NOM-go/do-PERF tepee-ALL and that-LOC older sister 3NOM-say/tell-PERF
went to the tepee, and there she said to her older sister,

"'Iske 'ehéxne koná páay's hititóoqan.[10] Ká'la likíp
like/as 1/2TR-see-PERF that-LOC maybe 3NOM-person just touch
"Like I saw it there, maybe it is a person. I just saw

'ehéxne ku'ús kex kaa kúus 'inpsáaqa. Kaa
1/2TR-see-PERF thus REL-EX and thus 1/2NOM=get=PROG-SGNOM-PST and
it quickly move thus when I was getting water." And

péene, "'Eehé yóoq'o 'ée 'ikúuytimse.
3TR-say/tell-PERF yes that-INTENS 2SG 1/2NOM-true-say-PROG-SGNOM
she told her, "Yes, that you are saying is true.

Ku'ús kii kíne 'akcáaqa kii néxsep
thus this this-LOC 1/2TR-see-PROG-SGNOM-PST this different
Thus now here I was seeing it. Here some things

pe'túu hiwaqá. Ku'nu mácwa hiwsíix.
DIS-something 3NOM-be-PST INDEF-HUM how many-HUM 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM
had been different. I don't know how many people there are.

Kú'neweet hinaax̣sníx huukuu lepwé hiwsíix. Wéet'u
INDEF-Y/NQ 3NOM-one-INTENS or two-HUM 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM not
Maybe there is only one, or there are two people. We

kíye cúukwecix." Kaa péene, "Wáaqo' kíye 120
we 1/2NOM-know-PROG-PLNOM and 3TR-say/tell-PERF now we
do not know." And she told her, "Now we are

'áaliksix kúus cepée'leyx. 'Íim koniká
1/2NOM-build fire-PROG-PLNOM water CAUS-heat up-N 2SG that-side
building a fire to heat up the water. You heat up a lot

cepée'leyx 'iléx̣ni kúus kaa tax̣c 'íink'e
1/2NOM-CAUS-heat-IMP much water and soon 1SG-also
of water on that side and I also

cepée'leyku' kínike kúus." Kaa hipa'áalika.
1/2NOM-CAUS-heat-IRR this-side water and 3NOM-PLNOM-build fire-PERF
will heat up water on this side." And they built the fire.

Kaa péene, "Kakonó' wiyáamx 'íim koniká
and 3TR-say/tell-PERF REL-that-INTENS 1/2NOM-peel-PP 2SG that-side
And she told her, "That which you have peeled on that side

kex kaa kii 'íink'e kíne túutin, kii qáaws kii 125
REL-EX and this 1SG-also this-LOC 1/2NOM-grind-PP this kows this
when I also have pounded here, this little

kúckuc taqc kaa 'ápa koná haníyo' 'inekíix c'alwí
little soon and root cake that-LOC 1/2NOM-make-IRR although if
kows then I will make root cake there, although if

taqc kíye pewúuynu' taqc ká'la 'anwíhnano' kíne
soon we 1/2NOM-PLNOM-flee-IRR soon just 1/2TR-leave-IRR this-LOC
we run away I will just leave it here."

Kaa péene, "'ée tée'nimu'll kaa
and 3TR-say/tell-PERF surely 1/2NOM-speak-give-CIS-IMP-INTENS and
And she told her, "Whatever you say." And

ku'ús hipex̣eléleyne 'imemúux̣eleleyne koná kaa
thus 3NOM-PLNOM-be busy-PERF 2/3PLREFL-be busy-PERF that-LOC and
thus they got busy, they busied themselves there and

hiiii hix̣eléleycix. Kaa kinéepx 'ácip 130
(long time) 3NOM-be busy-PROG-PLNOM and this-LOC-ALL woman's y sis
(gesture meaning a long time) they are working. And to here she told

hihíne "Kíye hik'yíicem pískispe." Kaa
3NOM-say/tell-PERF we 3NOM-peek-PROG-SGNOM-CIS door-LOC and
her younger sister, "He is peeking in the door at us." And

péene wéet'u q'íilawn pískispe hiwséetu
3TR-say/tell-PERF not 1/2NOM-turn around-IMP door-LOC 3NOM-stand[12]
she told her, "Don't turn around. He is standing at the door

kíye hik'yíice kaa wéet'u 'ipínk'e hehéxne. Kaa
we/us 3NOM-peek at-PROG-SGNOM and not 3SG-also 3NOM-see-PERF and
peeking at us." She, however, did not see. And

péene, "Kaló' konmayníx ẋeléleyn. Wéet'u
3TR-say/tell-PERF then that-ABL-INTENS 1/2NOM-be busy-IMP not
she told her, "Keep on working. Act

'imúukin wéet'u 'ehékin. Wéetmet mípx 135
2SGREFL-(verb)[13]-IMP not 1/2TR-see-IMP Y/NQ-TEMP where-ALL
like you don't see him. Do not turn

q'íilawnu'. Kaló' ẋeléleyn konmayníx. Kíye
1/2NOM-turn around-IRR then 1/2NOM-be busy-IMP that-ABL-INTENS we/us
around there. Just keep working. He

hik'yíice pískispe." Kakonmó 'imemúuẋeleleyne
3NOM-peek-PROG-SGNOM door-LOC REL-that-ABL- 2/3PLREFL-be busy-PERF
is peeking in the door at us." Wherefore they got busy

kaa kíimet kaa héenek'e hiiipeẋeléleyne[14] kíimet
and this-TEMP and again 3NOM-PLNOM-be busy-PERF this-TEMP
and when they then again worked, then

kaa péene, "'éene wáaqo' kíye ha'cóosem
and 3TR-say/tell-PERF oh already we/us 3NOM-go in-ALL-PROG-SGNOM-CIS
she told her, "Oh, he's already really coming in

'éete. 'Éete hitqa'qalíika husúusne. Qo'c 140
surely surely 3NOM-suddenly-on back-move-PERF head-LOC[15] still/yet
to us. Surely he laid on his back head first. He

hi'áacsem husúusne qo'c hi'áacsem.
3NOM-go in-PROG-SGNOM-CIS head-LOC still/yet 3NOM-go in-PROG-SGNOM-CIS
is still coming in head first, he is still coming in.

'Éete hi'qáaca kaa husúuscim
surely 3NOM-lie on back-PROG-SGNOM and head-only
Surely he is lying on his back and only his head

ha'áacsem. "Kawó' 'áalix!" Kaa
3NOM-go in-PROG-SGNOM-CIS now 1/2NOM-build fire-IMP and
is coming in. "Now build the fire!" And

hipa'áalika héenek'e héecu hipa'áalika kaa
3NOM-PLNOM-build-PERF again wood 3NOM-PLNOM-build fire-PERF and
they built the fire, again wood, they build the fire and

'ipínk'e hi'áalika kínike. Mét'u kúus wáaqo'
3SG-also 3NOM-build fire-PERF this-side but water already
she also built the fire on this side. But their water

'amátcix kaa[16] péene. Kaa wáaqo' koná
3GEN-boil-PROG-PLNOM and 3TR-say/tell-PERF and now that-LOC
is already boiling when she told her. And now then

péene, "Wáaqo' kíye píisu'kisix. Kíye
3TR-say/tell-PERF now we/us RECIP-argue-PROG-PLNOM we/us
she said to her, "Now we're arguing, we

píicimkcix. Kakoná wáaqo' qepíski píite'nweye
RECIP-be angry-PROG-PLNOM REL-that-LOC now bad-INSTR RECIP-talk-PERF
are angry at each other." Where now they talked loudly to each other

kíimet kaa wáaqo' hináasmic'yoox̣o'ya mét'u ku'ús
this-TEMP and now 3NOM-PLDO-ear-wait for-PERF but thus
while now he listened to them, but he thus

hi'qáaca. Kaa péene, "'Éete
3NOM-lie on back-PROG-SGNOM and 3TR-say/tell-PERF surely
is lying on his back. And she told her, "Surely

híiwes 'éete híiwes tiwélqe." Kaa
3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM surely 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM enemy/Bannock and
he is ... surely he is Bannock." And

píisu'kiye píisu'kiye koná kaa qíqetu qíqetu q'atát
RECIP-argue-PERF RECIP-argue-PERF that-LOC and R-more R-more near
they argued with each other, they argued with each other there, and he

ha'áacima. Kaa wáaqo' péene, "Kakáa tá'c
3NOM-go in-CIS-PERF and now 3TR-say/tell-PERF REL-and good/well
came in nearer, nearer. And now she told her, "When arm,

'áatim 'áatim[17] 'a'áco'kom taqc 'ée káwa hinú',
arm arm 3GEN-go in-COND-CIS soon you then 1/2NOM-say/tell-IRR
his arm should come in I will tell you,

'Kawó'!' taqc kaa kii 'apa'yáqsayo' kúuski." Kaa
now soon and this 1/2TR-PLNOM-poor-IRR water-INSTR and
'Now!' we will then pour the water on him." And

ha'áacima wáaqo' kíne 'ípsus 'úus kaa
3NOM-go in-CIS-PERF already that-LOC hand 3GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM and
it came in already, here is his hand, and

péene, "Kawó'!" Kíimet koná paa'yaqsaya kúuski
3TR-say/tell-PERF now this-TEMP that-LOC 3TR-pour-PERF water-INSTR
she told her, "Now!" Then the one poured the water

náaqsnim kaa náaqsnim koniká páa'yaqsaya kúuski mástayina
one-ERG and one-ERG that-side 3TR-pour-PERF water-INSTR face-DO
on him and on that side the other poured the water on the face

kaa hoq'o likíp hitqawiséeke'yke kakoná q'atát
and until touch 3NOM-quickly-stand-move-PERF REL-that-LOC near
until she quickly stood up where her braided

'úus wepséesi'n téewtes kaa konkí póo'lawq'aqa. 160
3GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM braid-STAT rope and that-INSTR 3TR-choke-PERF
rope is and with that she choked him.

Kaa pée'nikehtsine likíp. Kakáa 'úuyit koná
and 3TR-put-out-PROG-PLNOM-RM touch REL-and first that-LOC
And they were taking him out quickly. When they first

hipapáayna kaa la'ámna 'úuyit péekcine
3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-PERF and all-DO first 3TR-see-PROG-PLNOM-RM
arrived then first they looked over all

wéetesne kakoná 'iníit hipaaníya kaa qetu kipx
land-DO REL-that-LOC tepee 3NOM-PLNOM-make-PERF and more this-ALL
the ground where they made the tepee, and more to here

hiwéeke wéetes qepsí's wéetes kakoná hipeq'uyímne
3NOM-be-PERF land bad land REL-that-LOC 3NOM-PLNOM-go up-PERF
the ground was rough, ground where they went up

háwtikampa kakoná péexne 'ipním téq'isnim kii 165
steep-LOC REL-that-LOC 3TR-see-PERF 3SG-ERG eldest-ERG this
the steep [cliff], where the eldest saw it is

híiwes háwtikam wéet'u manma'í tée'mike's huu
3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM steep not any way go down-N-COMP or
steep, no way to go down or

q'uyímn'es. Kaa péene, "Wáaqo' kíye konmá kenm
go up-N-COMP and 3TR-say/tell-PERF now we/us that-ABL REL-INC
to go up. And she told her, "Now from there

koná háwtikamna 'eekcíine taqc kíye koná
that-LOC steep-DO 1/2TR-see-PROG-PLNOM-RM soon we/us that-LOC
where we saw a steep [cliff] there we

'epetuuleyléeku'."[18] Kaa likíp[19] pée'nikehtsine kaa
1/2TR-throw-in-IRR and touch 3TR-put-out-PROG-PLNOM-RM and
will throw him off."[18] And quickly they are taking him out, and

hipewléeke'yke pée'nehnecine kaa koná
3NOM-PLNOM-running-move-PERF 3TR-carry-PROG-PLNOM-RM and that-LOC
they ran, they were carrying him and were dropping

púupewqeycine téetes nikáastiki'n yehétpe. Kaa
3TR-drop-PROG-PLNOM-RM rope tie-STAT neck-LOC and
him there, the rope tied on his neck. And

hipewléeke'yke hipackilíitoqa 'iníitkex kaa
3NOM-PLNOM-running-move-PERF 3NOM-PLNOM-return-back-PERF tepee-ALL and
they ran returning to the tepee and

la'ám' 'itúu hipacapáa'amka. Kaa yox̣ la'ám' híinaq'in'n
all something 3NOM-PLNOM-CAUS-gather-PERF and that all ready-STAT
gathered up everything. And then all their

'ewsíiqa hípt. Qáaws la'ám' hipesepée'sepe
3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM-PST food kows all 3NOM-PLNOM-CAUS-pack-PERF
food was readied. They packed all the kows

náaqcipa sik'éempe. Kaa hihíne, "Taqc kíye píisepsiin
one-LOC horse-LOC and 3NOM-say/tell-PERF soon we/us RECIP-pack-STAT
on one horse. And she said, "We will ride

náaqcwa pewéeceyu'. 'Íinim wées qetu
one-HUM 1/2NOM-PLNOM-ride-IRR 1SG-GEN 1/2GEN-be-PROG-SGNOM more
double. I have

himéeq'is sík'em. Taqc kíye kínye 'epesepée'sepu'." Kaa
big horse soon we/us this-DO 1/2TR-PLNOM-CAUS-pack-IRR and
the bigger horse. We will pack this one." And

la'ám' kaa ká'la hípt hipahíinaq'iya. Kaa ká'la híinaq'iyi'n
all and just food 3NOM-PLNOM-ready-PERF and just ready-STAT
then they just readied all the food. And theirs was just

'ewsíine koná hipesepée'sepe náaqcpa
3GEN-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM that-LOC 3NOM-PLNOM-CAUS-pack-PERF one-LOC
readied there they packed [it] on one

sik'éempe kaa náaqcpa hipewéeceye. Kaa hipetéewkuye
horse-LOC and one-LOC 3NOM-PLNOM-ride-PERF and 3NOM-PLNOM-night-go-PERF
horse and rode on the other. And they went at night

hipeckilíine. "Kaa kíye ciklíicix 'inekíix
3NOM-PLNOM-return-PERF and we/us 1/2NOM-return-PROG-PLNOM although
going home. "And we are going home although

taqc kíye káa'awn pekiyú'." Hipanwíhnana
soon we/us dawn 1/2NOM-PLNOM-go-IRR 3NOM-PLNOM-leave-PERF
we will go [till] dawn." They left

hipackilíitoqa héenek'e 'iníitx. Qo'c wéet'u qo'c
3NOM-PLNOM-return-back-PERF again tepee-ALL still/yet not still/yet
going back home again. Still they were not yet

náaqc halx̣páawit hiwsíine ... Kú'weet máwa
one week 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM INDEF-Y/NQ ever
one week ... Maybe they ever

hipapáaynikika máeymi hipapáaynikika
3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-TRANS-PERF morning 3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-TRANS-PERF
arrived there [in] the morning, they arrived there

'iníitpe kakoná hiwsíine píke
tepee-LOC REL-that-LOC 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM mother
at the tepee where they were, they came

hipapaynóoya. Kaa hinéesne, "Kíyex
3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-ALL-PERF and 3NOM-PLDO-say/tell-PERF we/us-EX
to their mother. And she [the eldest sister] told them, "We

'apóopci'yawna náaqsna háamana. Ku'newéet hiwéeke
1/2TR-PLNOM-kill-PERF one-DO man-DO INDEF-Y/NQ 3NOM-be-PERF
killed a man. Maybe he was

'ipciwáatx̣ huu kú'neweet hiwsíine 'ilx̣níiwe huu ku'
3SG-alone or INDEF-Y/NQ 3NOM-be-PROG-PLNOM-RM many-HUM or INDEF
alone or maybe they were many, or maybe

mácwa wéet'u pecúukwene.[19] Ká'la 'apanwíhnana.
how many-HUM not 1/2NOM-PLNOM-know-PERF just 1/2TR-PLNOM-leave
how many we didn't know. We just left him. \-PERF

Kaa 'apóopci'yawna kú'xweet 'apóopci'yawna. Kaa
and 1/2TR-PLNOM-kill-PERF INDEF-EX-Y/NQ 1/2TR-PLNOM-kill-PERF and
And we killed him, maybe we killed him. And

kawatíit la'ám' háham hipapáaytoqa ke 'imé
then-same all R-man 3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-back-PERF REL 2/3PL
meanwhile all the men arrived back who

hitelke'éyksine. Kaa péecine, "Wáaqo'
3NOM-gallop-move-PROG-PLNOM-RM and 3TR-say/tell-PROG-PLNOM-RM now
had been out raiding. And they told her, "Now

kíye packilíitoqo'." Kaa konmayníx
we/us 1/2NOM-PLNOM-return-back-IRR and that-PL-INTENS
we will go back." And those very ones

hipackilíitoqa. Kaa hinéesne wáaqo', 195
3NOM-PLNOM-return-back-PERF and 3NOM-PLDO-say/tell-PERF now
went back. And she told them now, "Now

"Wáaqo' 'éetx 'íink'e tiwíikce." Héenek'e
now you-PL 1SG-also 1/2NOM-follow-PROG-SGNOM again
I am following you." Again

'ipnimtíite téq'isnim hinéesne, "Wáaqo' 'éetx
3SG-ERG-same eldest-ERG 3NOM-PLDO-say/tell-PERF now you-PL
the same eldest told them, "Now I'm

tiwíikce. Taqc 'éetx hímte'ku' kakoná
1/2NOM-follow-PROG-SGNOM soon you-PL 1/2NOM-show-IRR REL-that-LOC
going with you. I'll show you where

híiwes. Kaa kíye náaqc sík'em 'inéhnecix
3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM and we/us one horse 1/2NOM-take-PROG-PLNOM
he is. And we are taking another horse

kaa 'iníit. C'alwí wéet'u pe'túu kii 200
and tepee if not DIS-something this
and tepee. If nobody burned

hinéestukupe'nye 'iníit taqc kaa yox̣ 'inéhcikliiku'kum."
3NOM-PLDO-burn-GEN-PERF tepee soon and that 1/2NOM-carry-return-COND
our things [in] the tepee then I will bring that home."

Kaa hipanwíhnana[20] hipapáayna konmayníx
and 3NOM-PLNOM-leave-PERF 3NOM-PLNOM-arrive-PERF that-ABL-INTENS
And they left arriving at that very place.

Qo'c 'iníit 'ewséetu. Kaa hinéesne, Kii
still/yet tepee 3GEN-stand-ASP[12] and 3NOM-PLDO-say/tell-PERF this
Their tepee is still standing. And she told them, "He's

kíne kíne ku'ne míne hi'íce." Kaa
this-LOC this-LOC INDEF where 3NOM-lie-PROG-SGNOM and
lying around here, here somewhere." And

pée'pew'isene. Hipetée'mike kakoná 205
3TR-look for-PROG-SGNOM-RM 3NOM-PLNOM-descend-PERF REL-that-LOC
they were looking for him. They descended where

páa'yaqcana. Kii híiwes. 'Éete hitn'úxne.
3TR-find-PROG-SGNOM-RM this 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM surely 3NOM-die-PERF
they find him. This is him. Surely he died.

Kulíl 'éete hitqée'wye kulíl húusus. Petemeksíine
break surely 3NOM-fall-PERF break head 3TR-bury-PROG-PLNOM-RM
Surely he fell broke, broke the head. They buried him,

pehiikté'ksene. Kaa hipeq'uyímne konmá kaa
3TR-cover up-PROG-SGNOM-RM and 3NOM-PLNOM-go up-PERF that-ABL and
they covered him up. And they went up from there and

'iníitne hipankaskálksana kaa la'ám'
tepee-DO 3NOM-PLNOM-tear down-PROG-SGNOM-RM and all
were tearing down the tepee and packing

péesepee'sepsene náaqcipx sik'éemx kaa
3TR-CAUS-pack-PROG-SGNOM-RM one-ALL horse-ALL and
all on one horse and

hipackilíitoqa. Kaa ku'ús hiwéeke yox̣ 'ikúuyn
3NOM-PLNOM-return-back-PERF and thus 3NOM-be-PERF that true
they went back home. And thus that was the true

titwáatit. Kaa 'ikúuyn hinéesne. Kíi'u 'ikúuyn
story and truth 3NOM-PLDO-say/tell-PERF this-INTENS true
story. And she told them the truth. This woman

ku'ús hikúye kíi'u 'áayat. Konwacáan
thus 3NOM-go/do-PERF this-INTENS woman that-RESULT
really did this. For that reason

hinéec'nehnene. Kii 'imé hitelke'éyksene 'úuyitpe
3NOM-PLDO-take-PERF this 2/3PL 3NOM-raid-PROG-SGNOM-RM beginning-LOC
she took them. Here they were beginning a raid

hahámna kaa hinéec'nehnene konmá. Hinéessepeexne,
R-man-DO and 3NOM-PLDO-take-PERF that-ABL 3NOM-PLDO-CAUS-see-PERF
and the men she took from that. She showed them,

"'Ikúuyn kíi'u ku'ús núun pekúye
true this-INTENS thus we 1/2NOM-PLNOM-go/do-PERF
"This very true thing we [I] thus did

'inm'ácipnin." Kaa yox̣ 'ikúuyn híiwes titwáatit.
my-younger sister-ASSOC and that true 3NOM-be-PROG-SGNOM story
with my younger sister." And that story is true.

Ku'ús yox̣ hiwéeke 'ikúuyn titwáatit. Yox̣ kaló'.
thus that 3NOM-be-PERF true story that all
Thus that is the true story. That [is] all.

Notes

[1] Phinney translates masqóoyit as 'the Wedding Journey feast.' The following is quoted from a long footnote on page 41 of Phinney (1934): "The occassion of the wedding visit. When marriage occurs in the summer, for example, the wedding visit is planned for the fall; the husband's family setting the date. The husband's connections, family and friends, prepare dried meats. At the time set they make the trip to the wife's family where a feast awaits this visiting party. The hosts do not partake of food at the feast. During the feast the exchanges of gifts (picqoyníiwisix) are made. The mother of the bride asks those in her family if they wish to exchange gifts with any particular members of the visitors and if so she arranges it. In exchange the bride's family gives ragged clothing but also expensive beads, ornaments, bead and quill work; also roots and berries. On the other hand the husband's side gives new wearing apparel and dried meat. Often other things figure in these exchanges, such as horses, implements and arms. In the case of foods, the dried meat must be packed in heavy raw hide (parfleches) and the roots and berries in large woven bags. The exchange of foods is not made severally; the bride's mother must apportion the meat to members of her family according to the individual contributions in root food, while a similar apportionment takes place on the visiting side. The visitors after feasting may take all the plates, bowls, utensils, and even the tablecloth which have been used for the feast."

[2] This s-stem verb for 'listen,' which is composed of the morphemes mis- 'with the ear' and 'iyóox̣o' 'wait,' should form the imperative with -0. Evidently because of the loss of the stem final glottal stop here, the imperative is formed by suffixing -y (as is usual for s-stems that end in a vowel).

[3] This word taac seems to dialectal for tax̣ 'now, soon.'

[4] The pronunciations túuyeki'n or túuyext is dialectal for what appears in Phinney (1934) as tiwíyext 'counsel.'

[5] This pronunciation huhúkiye is dialectal for wewúkiye 'elk.'

[6] The tape became very indistinct here, and Mrs. Patrick was unable to remember exactly what she had intended to say.

[7] Here Mrs. Patrick wanted to use but could not remember the special word which refers to this little drying rack.

[8] The verb wiyée'nik 'put as one goes' is idiomatic for 'save,' see Phinney (1934) 259:5.

[9] The regular direct object form of this word is 'acíipna.

[10] When the copula híiwes is used with a predicate noun, it is often reduced to hi- and then prefixed to the predicate noun.

[11] This word is evidently tée- 'by speech' plus 'ini 'give' plus the cislocative and the intensive suffix -u'.

[12] I am not certain how to classify the aspect of this commonly used verb form.

[13] It is not clear what the root of this verb is. Mrs. Patrick could only translate the whole sequence wéet'u 'imúukin wéet'u 'ehékin as 'Act like you don't see him.'

[14] The vowel length on the prefix hi- indicated either the intensity or duration involved.

[15] Besides its locative function with the demonstratives, this is the only occurrence of -ne that I have encountered where it does not mark the direct object.

[16] The original word here was kaa 'and,' but when listening to the tape Mrs. Patrick felt that kakoná 'where' would have been better.

[17] Upon listening to the tape, Mrs. Patrick felt it better not to have repeated 'áatim 'arm' here.

[18] Mrs. Patrick would change 'epetuuleyléeku' 'we will throw him in' to 'epetuuléelenu' 'we will throw him off [the cliff].'

[19] Mrs. Patrick wanted to add this adverb. It is not on the tape.

[20] Some say that more than one Bannock was involved and that two were killed in the fracas, one stumbling over the cliff in the excitement.

[21] Mrs. Patrick would omit this verb and begin the sentence with Kaa kíimet kakoná hipapáayna 'And when they arrived...'

APPENDIX B

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