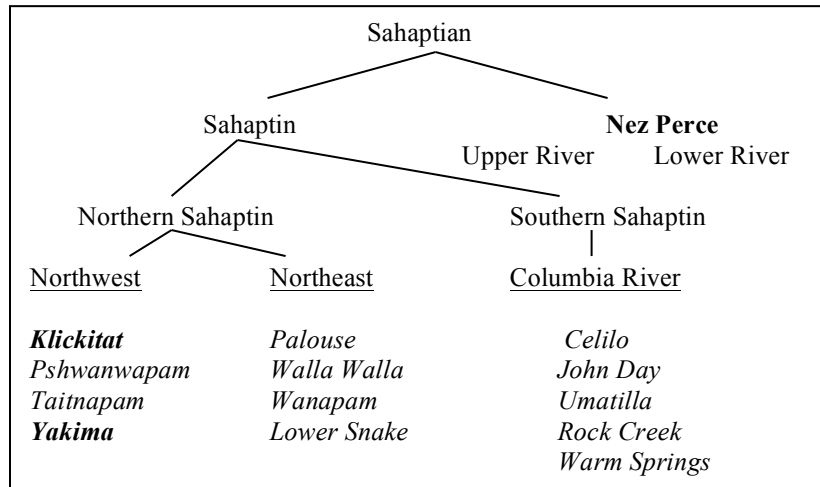


1. Introduction

Sahaptin/Ichishkiin (Ich)

- Location: Plateau Region, Northwestern U.S.A. Spoken along the Columbia River and its tributaries in north central and northeastern Oregon and south central Washington
- Genealogy: Plateau Penutian subgroup: Klamath-Modoc, Molalla, Sahaptian (Goddard 1996, DeLancey and Golla 1997)
- Language vitality: The languages are severely endangered, although it is difficult to specify exact numbers of speakers. Estimate: no more than 50 fluent elder speakers of all dialects. 100-150+ learners

Figure 1 Sahaptian Languages and Dialects (from Rigsby & Rude 1996)



1.1 Typological overview

Ichishkiin is a synthetic to polysynthetic language with rich verbal morphology and complex verb stem structure. Verbs stems have inherent transitivity. Word order is flexible. Grammatical relations are indicated by case-marking, verb agreement and second position enclitics; it is both head and dependent-marking. The language is sensitive to hierarchies based on person, animacy, topicality and number. The categories of S, A and O show a three-way split in marking on nouns. The A category is further split, in that different case markers are used depending whether the object is a speech act participant (obligatory) or third person (additional direct/inverse “optional” split).

1.2 Hierarchical effects

	SAP	3
SAP	Local	Mixed: Direct
3	Mixed: Inverse	Non-local

1.3 Intransitive clauses

SAP S:

- (1) *aw=nash wyá-łamayk-sha*
 now=1Sg while.going-lose-IMPV¹
 ‘Now I am getting lost’ (Ich tx)
- (2) *páayn-a*
 arrive-PST
 ‘I arrived’ OR ‘you arrived’ (NzP, Rude 1985:31)
- (3) *qecee=x (iin) kúu-se*
 even=1Sg (1Sg.PN) go-IMPV
 ‘even I am going’ (NzP, Aoki 1970:129)

3SgS:

- (4) *iwáyxtya áswan páchupa ishchítpa*
i-wáyxti-ya áswan páchu-pa ishchít-pa
 3Sg.S-run-PST boy half-LOC road-LOC
 ‘the boy ran down the middle of the road’ (Ich tx)

¹ Abbreviations are as follows: 1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person, A agent, ALL allative, CAUS causative, CSL cislocative, DEF definite, DIR direct, DI dual, ERG ergative, F feminine, FUT future, GEN genitive, HAB habitual, HUM human, IMPV imperfective, INV inverse, INST instrumental, LOC locative, Mol Molalla, NEG negative, NP Nez Perce, NZR nominalizer, O object, OBJ object, OBLIG obligatory, OBV obviative, OPT optional, Pl plural, PN pronoun, PPF present perfect, PRO pronoun, PRX proximate, PST past, Q question, RCP reciprocal, REL relativizer, S/A subject of intransitive/agent of transitive, SAP speech act participant, Sg singular, TO topical object, Tr Transitive, = clitic boundary, - affix boundary.

- (5) *ákwiitana Spilyáy*
á-kwiita-na Spilyáy
 3S/O-go.along-PST Coyote
 ‘Coyote was traveling along’ (Ich)
- (6) *hi-páayn-a*
 3S/A-arrive-PST
 ‘he arrived’ (NzP, Rude 1985:31)

Table 1 Summary of Sahaptian intransitive clauses with singular S

	pronominal enclitic	S case marking	verb prefix
1sg	= <i>nash</i> (Ich) = <i>x</i> (NzP)*	Unmkd PN (opt)	—
2Sg	= <i>nam</i> = <i>m</i> (NzP)*	Unmkd PN (opt)	—
3Sg	—	Unmkd	<i>i-</i> (Ich) <i>hi-</i> (NzP)

*NzP pronominal enclitics are used in only some environments.

2. Mixed scenarios

SAP>3

- (7) *Cháwnash ánach'axi áwitł'yawita k'áxnunan*
chaw=nash ánach'axi áw-ítł'yawi-ta k'áxnu-nan
 NEG=1Sg again 3O-kill-FUT prairie.chicken-OBJ
 ‘I'll never again kill a prairie chicken’ (Ich tx)
- (8) *'ew-'wí-ye*
 3O-shoot-PST
 ‘I shot him/her’ OR ‘you shot him/her’ (NzP, Rude 1985:32)
- (9) *weetee=x 'e-twíik-ce*
 Q=1Sg 3O-accompany- IMPF
 ‘shall I go with him/her?’ (Aoki 1970:130)

- (10) *kínye 'ipéetesne 'ew'néhnenu mexséemx*
kínye 'ipéetes-ne 'ew'néhnen-u mexséemx
this.OBJ sacred.bundle-OBJ **3O**-take-FUT mountain.ALL
 ‘You will take this sacred bundle to the mountains’ (NzP tx, Rude 1985:253)

3>SAP

- (11) *íkushnash ishapáttawaxinxana Xaxíshnim*
íkush=nash i-shapá-ttáwax-inxa-na Xaxísh-nim
 thus=1Sg 3Sg.S/A-CAUS-grow-HAB-PST **Xaxísh-INV.ERG**
 ‘In that way, *Xaxísh* raised me’ (Ich tx)
- (12) *páyuxash i'átawishana pinímk*
páyu-xa=nash i-átawi-sha-na pinímk
 very=MOD=1Sg 3Sg.S/A-love-IMPV-PST PN.ERG.3>1/2
 ‘he must really love me’ (Ich tx)
- (13) *tamánwitnim nash inápayunta*
tamánwit-nim =nash i-nápayun-ta
 law-INV.ERG=1Sg 3Sg.S/A-defend-FUT
 ‘The law will support me’ (Ich tx)
- (14) *hi-'wí-ye*
 3S/A-shoot-PST
 ‘s/he shot me’ OR ‘s/he shot you’ (NzP, Rude 1985:32)
- (15) *weetee=x hi-twíik-ce*
 Q=1Sg 3S/A-accompany-IMPF
 ‘shall s/he go with me?’ (NzP, Aoki 1970:130)
- (16) *koná 'áatwaynim náaqsnim hiicéene*
koná 'áatway-nim náaqsnim hiicé-ne
 there old.woman-ERG one-ERG say-PST
 ‘there, an old woman told me’ NzP tx (Aoki 79.15.01)

- (17) *hipaynóoyo'* 'ée *koná* 'itúunm
hi-paynóo-yo' 'ée *koná* 'itúu-**nm**
3S/A-arrive.at-FUT you that.LOC something-**ERG**
 'something will come to you there' (NzP tx, Rude 1985:254)

i-/hi- vs. á-/e-

- (18) *kunash* **á**k'inuta
ku=nash **á**-k'inu-ta
 and =1Sg **3O**-see-FUT
 'and I will see him/her/them' (Ich)

- (19) *kunash* **i**k'inuta
ku=nash **i**-k'inu-ta
 and =1Sg **3Sg,S/A**-see-FUT
 'and s/he will see me' (Ich)

Table 2 Comparison of Sahaptian transitive clauses: mixed scenarios

<i>Ich</i>	A	O	pronominal enclitic	A case marking	O case marking	verb prefix
DIR	SAP	3Sg	= <i>nash</i> (1Sg) = <i>nam</i> (2Sg)	Unmkd PN (opt)	- <i>nan</i> (OBJ) (opt if overt)	á- (3O)
INV	3Sg	SAP	= <i>nash</i> (1Sg) = <i>nam</i> (2Sg)	- <i>nim</i>	OBJ PN (opt)	<i>i</i> - (3Sg,S/A)

<i>NzP</i>	A	O	pronominal enclitic *	A case marking	O case marking	verb prefix
DIR	SAP	3Sg	= <i>x</i> (1Sg) = <i>m</i> (2Sg)	Unmkd PN or 'ée PN (opt)	- <i>ne</i> (OBJ) (oblig if overt)	'e- (3O)
INV	3Sg	SAP	= <i>x</i> (1Sg) = <i>m</i> (2Sg)	- <i>n(i)m</i>	OBJ PN or 'ée PN (opt)	<i>hi</i> - (3S/A)

*NzP pronominal enclitics are used in only some environments.

3. Non-local scenarios

3.1 Non-local: Ichishkitin

DIR:

- (20) *iwáwyaxana* *myánashmaman* *wawyatá*
i-wáwya-xa-na *myánash-maman* *wawyatá-Ø*
3Sg,S/A- whip-HAB-PST child-**OBJ.PL** whipman-**Ø**
 'the whipman (PRX) used to whip the children (OBV)' (Ich tx)

- (21) *ku awkú ina k'áxnu áyatnan*
ku awkú i-ín-a k'áxnu áyat-nan
 and then 3Sg,S/A/A-tell-PST prairie.chicken woman-**OBJ**
 'then Kaxnu told the woman (wife)' (Ich tx)

- (22) *ik'inuta*
i-k'inu-ta
3Sg,S/A-see-FUT
 'and s/he (PRX) will see him/her/it(OBV)' (Ich)

INV:

- (23) *Chaw pák'inuta wisaliláyin*
Chaw pá-k'inu-ta wisalilá-yin
 NEG **INV**-see-FUT hunter-**OBV.ERG**
 'the hunter (OBV) will not see him (PRX)' (Ich tx)

- (24) *ku kwnak wítxuptin páwinpa*
ku kwnak wítxupt-in pá-wínp-a
 and there **blizzard-OBV.ERG** INV-take-PST
 'and there the bitter blizzard (OBV) caught him (PRX)' (Ich tx)

- (25) *pátamanwya íchinak tiichámnan*
pá-tamanwi-ya íchinak tiichám-nan
 INV-create-PST **this.OBJ** **earth-OBJ**
 'he (OBV) created this earth (PRX)' (Ich tx)

3.2 Non-local: Nez Perce

- (26) *pée-wí-ye*
3TR-shoot-PRF
 's/he shot him/her' (NzP, Rude 1985:32)

- (27) *kaa náaqsnim koniká páayaqsaya kúuski*
kaa náaqsnim koniká páa-'yaqsa-ya kúus-ki
 and one-ERG that.side.LOC 3TR-pour-PST water-INST
mástayina
mástayi-na
 face-OBJ
 ‘and on that side the one poured water on (his) face’ (NzP tx, Rude 1985:269)

- (28) *ku'itúunm hináassapahwaxqana hináashimta 'xqana we'nípt*
ku'itúu-nm hi-náas-sapa-hiwax-qa-na
 something-ERG 3 S/A-Pl.O-CAUS-dream-HAB-PST

hi-náas-himta 'x-qa-na we'nípt
 3 S/A -Pl.O-teach-HAB-PST song
 ‘something used to give them visions and teach them songs’ NzP tx (Aoki 1979.15.23)

NzP “antipassive” – detransitivized- construction.

- (29) *hi-i'sépt-e tse'lúuy*
 3NOM-carry.on.back-PST quiver
 ‘He carried a quiver Phinney 69,7, p. 34 the glutton
- (30) *hi-pe'-npt-ée-ne nukt*
 3NOM-PINOM-get- go-perf meat
 ‘they went to get meat’

Table 3 Comparison of Sahaptian transitive clauses: non-local scenarios

<i>Ich</i>	A	O	A case marking	O case marking	verb prefix
Ich DIR	3SgPRX	3SgOBV	Unmkd	-nan (OBJ) (opt if overt)	<i>i-</i> (3Sg.S/A)
Ich INV	3SgPRX	3SgOBV	-in (OBV.ERG)	-nan (OBJ) (oblig if overt)	<i>pá-</i> (INV)
NzP	3	3	-n(i)m	-ne	<i>pée-</i>

4. Agent case marking: towards Proto-Sahaptian forms

Table 4 Comparison of A case markers within Sahaptian

A case-marking	Ichishkíin	Nez Perce
3>SAP	-nim	-n(i)m
3>3	-∅ -in	-n(i)m

4.1 -n(i)m: Cislocative source?

- (31) a. *i-wiihayk-a*
 3Sg.S/A-descend-PST
 ‘s/he went down’
 b. *i-wii-hayk-m-a*
 3Sg.S/A-wii-descend-CSL-PST
 ‘s/he came down’ (Ich)
- (32) *ku nash itáymunim a*
ku =nash i-táymun-im-a
 and =1Sg 3Sg.S-inform-CSL-PST
 ‘he informed me’ (Ich)
- (33) a. *pátaymunim*
pá-táymun-im
 INV-inform-CSL
 ‘tell me!’ (Ich)
 b. *tamtaaynim*
tamtaayn-im
 inform-CSL
 ‘tell me the news’ (NzP tx, Phinney 1934:53)

In Nez Perce, this cislocative is required when 2nd acts on first:

- (34) *∅-'ewi-ya*
 1/2NOM-shoot-PST
 ‘I shot you’ (NzP, Rude 1985:32)
- (35) *∅-'ewi-m-a*
 1/2NOM-shoot-CSL-PST
 ‘You shot me’ (NzP, corrected from Rude 1985:32)

Proto-Sahaptian *-im ‘hither’ (Rude 1991, 1997)

The Molalla cislocative also occurs on verbs where the motion is towards the speaker or established point, also, on all verbs with a first person object.

- (36) *npaislá:mi*
n-pay-sla-m-i
 1Sg.O-kill-FUT-CSL-3.S
 ‘she will kill me’ (Mol, Pharris 2006:141)

*-m Proto-Penutian ‘come’: Np, Ich, Molalla, Cayuse, Takelma and Kalapuya have cislocatives with -m. (Rude 1991). (Klamath -ebg, -bg, Barker 1964.)

4.2 -n(i)m: Genitive source?

The NzP genitive case marker is the same as the ergative marker, with the same alternations. The Sahaptin genitive maintains the same segments, but has the forms -mí /-nmí.

- (37) a. *háama-nm* *ciq’áamqal* b. *iwinsh-mí* *k’usík’usi*
 man-GEN dog man-GEN dog
 ‘the man’s dog’ (NzP) ‘the man’s dog’ (Ich)
- (38) *ciq’áamqalm* *páa’naxpayka* *pipísne*
ciq’áamqal-m *páa’naxpayk-a* *pipís-ne*
 dog-ERG 3TR-carry.arrive-PST bone-OBJ
 ‘the dog brought the bone’ (NzP, Rude 1985:198)
- (39) *háamanm* *ciq’áamqal* *páa’naxpayka* *pipísne*
háama-nm *ciq’áamqal* *páa’naxpayk-a* *pipís-ne*
 man-GEN dog-Ø 3TR-carry.arrive-PST bone-OBJ
 ‘the man’s dog brought the bone’ (NzP, Rude 1985:198)
- (40) *k’usík’usinimnash* *iwinshmí* *ichánpa*
k’usík’usi-nim=nash *iwinsh-mí* *i-chánp-a*
 dog-OBV.ERG=1Sg man-GEN 3Sg.S/A-bite-PST
 ‘the man’s dog bit me’ (Ich)

Table 5 Plateau Penutian genitives

	genitive	ergative
Klamath	-’am/-lam	NA
Molalla	-am	NA
NzP	-nim/-nm/-m	-nim/-nm/-m
Ich	-nmí/-mí	-nim/-nm

(Molalla data from Pharris 2006; Klamath data from DeLancey 2005)

The Plateau Penutian data suggest *-m as another possible Proto-Sahaptian form.

- A suggested pathway: GEN to INV to ERG; GEN and CSL may have same source.

In Nez Perce, the ergative marker and the genitive marker do not co-occur.¹

- (41) *ciq’áamqalm* *páa’naxpayka* *pipísne*
ciq’áamqal-m *páa’naxpayk-a* *pipís-ne*
 dog-ERG 3TR-carry.arrive-PST bone-OBJ
 ‘the dog brought the bone’ NzP (Rude 1985:198)
- (42) *háamanm* *ciq’áamqal* *páa’naxpayka* *pipísne*
háama-nm *ciq’áamqal-Ø* *páa’naxpayk-a* *pipís-ne*
 man-GEN dog-Ø 3TR-carry.arrive-PST bone-OBJ
 ‘the man’s dog brought the bone’ NzP (Rude 1985:198)
- The ergative but not the genitive has a variant form used with kin terms in both languages: -pim in Ichishkiin and -pim in Nez Perce. The genitive marker does not have this variation, suggesting the genitive pre-dated the ergative marker.
- (43) *náaqcki* *léeheyki* *pikéepim* *páanqana*
náaqc-ki *léehey-ki* *pikée-pim* *páa-n-qana*
 one-INST day-INST mother-ERG 3TR-tell-REMOTE.PST
 ‘one day her mother said (to her)’ NzP tx (Aoki 1979.10.31)

4.3 -in Associative

-(i)in is an associative case marker in both Ich and NzP. It is also a dual marker in Ich. The associative suffix triggers plural agreement on the verb.

(44) *ku pawyánaya nápu miyánashin*
ku pa-wyánawi-ya nápu myánash-in
 and 3Pl.S/A-arrive-PST two.HUM child-DL
 ‘and two children arrived’ (Ich tx)

(45) *pa-wínana iwínshin*
pa-wína-na iwínsh-in
 3Pl.S/A-go-PST man-ASSOC
 ‘(s/he/they) went with the man’ OR ‘the two men went’ (Ich)

(46) *kii hipapáyna wewúxye miyá’ciin*
kii hi-pa-páy-n-a wewúxye miyá’c-iin
 this 3S/A-Pl.S-arrive-PST elk child-ASSOC
 ‘now Elk arrived with his child’ NzP tx (Phinney 1934:440)

(47) *pawúik’ika k’úsiyin*
pa-wúik’ik-a k’úsi-yin
 3Pl.S/A-be.stuck-PST horse-ASSOC
 ‘he and the horse were hung up there’ (Ich tx)

The associative in Ichishkiin and Nez Perce only occurs on singular nouns, like the ergative case marker *-in*. In addition, we note the similarity above of the entire Ichishkiin associative construction to an inverse voice construction; the only lacking element is word level stress on the inverse prefix *pá-*. Compare (47) to (48).

(48) *tamánwitin pánapayunsha*
tamánwit -in pá-nápayun -sha
 law-ERG.3>3 INV-defend-IMPV
 ‘the law defends them’ (Ich tx)

4.4 NzP-n(i)m: Inverse to Ergative
 =pat 3PIA with animate O in Ich

(49) *kupat ánatma awkú t’áaxwmaman*
ku =pat á-nát-m-a awkú t’áaxwmaman
 and =3PI 3O-bring-CSL-PST then all-OBJ.PI

‘they brought them all out’ (Ich tx)

(50) *kupat kwnak áwyaanakwa myúma*
ku =pat kwnak á-wyáanakw-a myú-ma
 and =3PI that.LOC 3O-abandon-PST wife’s.brother-PI
 ‘and his brothers-in-law deserted him there’ (Ich tx, Jacobs 1937:10.6.2)

=pat as O

(51) *wáxpushnimpat inikwna*
wáxpush-nim=pat i-nikwn-a
 rattlesnake-INV.ERG=3PI 3Sg.S/A-swallow-PST
 ‘a rattlesnake swallowed them’ (Ich tx, Jacobs 1937:11.7.4)

5. Ichishkiin inverse voice

5.1 Neighbors as source

(52) *pálatk’ishana Spilyáyin*
 ‘Spilyáy was looking at him’

Kinkade et al. list 1998 features shared by Plateau languages; Ichishkiin shares many of the features they list. Lexical and grammatical correspondences between Sahaptian and Salish have long been noted (see e.g. Boas 1940, Aoki 1970, Pharris and Thomason 2005, among others), there is a history of travel through and across the Cascades (Hunn 1990, Kinkade 1995), intermarriage, trade, and certainly what elders say about the languages family members knew and spoke supports this. Hunn suggests this language contact has been going on for a couple of thousand years, since the expansion of Interior Salish.

Upper Chehalis:

(53) A in first clause becomes P in second, still topical, triggers TO
s-taláqapi-t-n tac yáy-n’s
 IMPF-call-TR-3S F.DEF older.sister-3PS
 ‘he calls his sister’

λ’a s-wi-na ?it mát-wali
 FUT IMPF-be-3PS PF fetch-TO
 ‘to come fetch him’ (Kinkade 1990,344)

- (54) P in first clause is topical, uses TO, then is A in second clause.
táx^wl pása q'at qin-s-uucá-wali
 although ogre MOD want-IMPF-kill-TO
 'even if the monster wants to kill him;'

wi t t xál-x^w
 and UNR IND defeat-3OB
 'he_i will overcome him (the monster)' (Kinkade 1990, 345)

Kutenai:

- (55) *wu·kat-i ni²-s paṭkiy-s ni²-s ni² titqat'*
 see-INDIC the-OBV woman-OBV the man
 'the man [prx] saw the woman [obv] (Dryer 2007:157)
- (56) *wu·kat-aps-i ni² paṭkiy ni²-s titqat'-s*
 see-INV-INDIC the woman the-OBV man-OBV
 'the man saw the woman' (Dryer 2007:157)

Ichishkiin's construction patterns more with the Salish topical object construction than the Kutenai obviation system, although some of the functions are shared among the three languages.

Going out on a limb here... follow me back to the Ichishkiin inverse and speculate about the forms involved. Specifically, where does the pá- prefix come from, and how did it and the agent marker come to co-occur.?

The reciprocal prefix then could be the source of the inverse prefix.

- (57) *pápa-wyák'uk-xa*
 RCP-gather-PST
 'they gather together'

And, this can occur with a suffix *-in*.

- (58) *pápa- tanawíix-na áyat-in*
 RCP-argue-PST woman-DL
 'the two women argued'

- (59) *pápatkw'anatitwiisha Túulhinchin*
pápa-tkw'anáti-twii-sha Túulhinch-in
 RCP-walk-APPL-IMPV Túulhinch-ASSOC
 'He is walking with Tuulhinch' (Ich)

5.2 Extension of prefix to local scenarios

- (60) *Aah! pawawtk'iwishaam!*
aah pá-wawtk'íwi-sha=nam
 aah INV-trick-IMPV=2Sg
 'You're trying to make a fool of me!

Mish nam awkú ikush aak páwiinpsha?
mish=nam awkú ikush aak pá-wiinpsha
 Q=2Sg then thus EMPH INV-answer-IMPV
 Why are you answering me like that?' (Ich tx)

6. Summary

- Both Ich and NzP mark direction when 3A>SAPO.
- Ich but not NzP has a 3>3 optional 'inverse voice' construction.
- NzP but not Ich has an invariant ergative marker used with all 3>3 constructions.
- Look to neighboring Salish for source of Ich inverse voice.
- Varying sources and pathways contribute of transitive constructions.

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¹ However, in Ichishkiin the genitive and ergative can co-occur.

- (1) *k'usik'usinimnash iwınshmi ichánpa*
k'usik'usi-nim=nash iwınsh-mí i-chánp-a
 dog-ERG.3>1/2=1Sg man-GEN 3Sg.S/A-bite-PST
 'the man's dog bit me' Ich