Underlying //h//, usually lost in unstressed syllables, is retained under stress; in order to see this basic pattern we may look at STATIVE and IMMEDIATE forms based on weak roots with obstruents:

\[ \text{ak}: 'stick-like object strikes': \text{ak}:s~k 'struck (STATIVE), s~k-t 'just now struck' (IMMEDIATE), \text{ak}:a-s~k ['detached'], \text{ak}:a-s~k-t ['detached']. \]

Parallel to these forms we find from roots involving //sy//:

\[ \text{ay} 'strands twist together': \text{ay} 'strands twisted', \text{ay} 'strands twisted'. \]

With roots involving glottalized //y// there is a further complication, there being no contrast between \( Y \) and \( y \) after \( i \) (forms here are written consistently {?}):

\[ \text{yk} 'slant toward sun or fire': \text{yk} 'slanted'. \]

But in cases where //yi// or //yi// follows //yi//, diminutives nearly always show \( y \):

\[ \text{cyl} 'five': \text{cil} 'five animals', \text{cil} 'five', \text{cil} 'five', \text{cil} 'five'. \]

A few diminutives show \( i \) in such forms, or alternate with \( y \) or \( i \):

\[ \text{cm} 'salmon trout', a diminutive based on \text{cm} 'salmon' with //i//, //i// 'young offspring' (immediate base \( \text{cm} 'salmon' not recorded) \]

\[ \text{cm} 'small (pl.)', \text{cm} 'small (pl.)'. \]

0. Introduction. In Nez Perce the verb agrees with both subject and object, and there is a three-way distinction in the function of NP's. The subject of a transitive verb suffixes \( \text{pe} \) (which also marks the genitive), the subject of an intransitive verb is unmarked, and the object of a transitive verb suffixes \( \text{pe} \). For this reason Nez Perce is of special interest to syntacticians and typologists, especially since transitivity, case marking, and word order are all governed by differing semantic and pragmatic criteria. This paper is intended as a brief description of some of these criteria with reference to simple sentences. Verb and NP inflections will be dealt with first, and then some of the splits in the use of these inflections will be considered.

In this paper the term ergative (ERG) will mean simply the subject of a transitive verb, nominative (NOM) will mean the undifferentiated subject of either a transitive or intransitive verb, and accusative (ACC) will mean the syntactic object of a transitive verb. This use of ergative, however, will not imply that Nez Perce has a corresponding absolutive case, but merely that an inflection marks the syntactic subject of a transitive verb. \( \text{pe} \) will symbolize the subject of an intransitive verb.

1.0 Verb inflection. Separate morphemes index person and number in the verb, as can be seen in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC ERG/NOM</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Number (NOM)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that "a indexes first or second person for both the ergative and accusative case. The ergative pe (third person) and "a (first or second person) and the nominative hii (third person) are obligatory. But "a as accusative (first or second person) and the plural pe and nes seem to be optional, used only for emphasis or counterassertion. Some aspectual suffixes agree with a nominative plural subject. When this is the case, the nominative plural prefix pe cannot co-occur. Although "a, pe, etc., are listed in this paper with an a, because of vowel harmony they will actually occur in verbs as either "a or pe, pe or pa, etc.

1.1. Person agreement. Figure 2 should help clarify subject/object person agreement in the Nez Perce verb. The horizontal columns represent the person of the subject, the vertical columns indicate the person of the object.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive (non-reflexive) Objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>1 person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 person</td>
<td>&quot;a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 person</td>
<td>&quot;e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 person</td>
<td>hii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. Person indexing in the Nez Perce verb

1.1.1. Transitive prefixes. As can be seen in Figure 2, "a and pe occur exclusively with transitive verbs. Note that the single morpheme pe agrees simultaneously with a third person subject and a third person object.

(1) tlipla~nim pe~ewe~ye wewukiye~ne Tlipla~ENG ACC+ENG-shoot-PAST elk-ACC 'Tlipla shot elk'
(2) pe~wyos~ca piliept lekiuim~ne ACG+ENG-wait for-PRES four o'clock-ACG 'He/she is waiting for four o'clock'
(3) waago pe~ko~sasqa already ACC+ENG-go-PAST 'He/she already did it'

The prefix "a serves three functions. The following examples should illustrate its use in referencing a first or second person accusative. See Figure 4 for independent pronouns.

(4) ṭiiném "a-hii~wyos~cix you+PL+ACC ACG-NOM-wait for-PRES+PL 'They are waiting for you (plural)'
(5) "a~"a~wyos~mu ACG-ERG-wait for-FUTURE 'I will wait for you'
(6) "a~"a~wyos~mu~kum ACG-ERG-wait for-FUTURE+hither 'You will wait for me'

As we have already seen in the above examples, a second syntactic function of "a is to agree with a first or second person ergative subject. (Note that "a ~ "e / "a , h)

(7) "a~"e~ni~ne wcal ERG-give-PAST+hither knife 'You gave me the knife'
(8) "a~"e~ni~ne wulac~ns ERG-give-PAST Woolac-ACG 'I gave Woolac'
(9) waago "a~swe~ce already 1 ERG-cut-PRES 'I am already cutting it'

1.1.2. Intransitive prefixes. A third syntactic function of "a that we will consider is its agreement with a possessed third person intransitive subject. Compare the following.

(10) hāama hii~köomya~ca man NOM-hurt-PRES 'The man is injured'
(11) hāama~nim hūusus "a~köomya~ca man-GEN head S~hurt-PRES 'The man's head hurts'
(12) "niin "a~we~a tiiimes my S~be-PRES book 'That is my book'
(13) hāama~nim cī̃̃om~(~nim) pe~kenip~a wulac~ns man-GEN dog(~ERG) ERG-bite-PAST Woolac-ACG 'The man's dog bit Woolac'
Intransitive verbs are unmarked for agreement with first or second person subjects.

(14) *sin g-wée-s scooysapoo
   I-S-go-PRES white man
   'I am a white man'

(15) dalawí *sin g-kúu-se *sin-ku tæc g-ki-yu?
   if S-go-PRES I-also surely S-go-FUTURE
   'If you go, I will surely go too'

(16) g-ki-yu
(17) *a-sepè-wi-m
   S-go home-IMP
   'Go home!'

The prefix hii references third person nominative subjects as long as there is no third person object.

(18) tīlása? hii-yes-nimiipuu
   Tīlása? NOM-be-PRES Nez Perce
   'Tīlása’s is Nez Perce'

(19) hii-kí-ce wewúikya-nim
   NON-see-PRES elk-ERG
   'The elk sees me'

1.2. Number agreement. The aspectual suffix is a complex that often encodes direction ('hither' or 'thither') as well as agreement with a nominative plural subject. Compare the following.

(20) *ew-?ni-m
(21) *ew-?ni-slíx
   ERG-give-PRES+SG ERG-give-PRES+PL
   'I am giving it to someone' 'We are giving it to someone'

(22) hii-wi-čy
(23) hii-wí-čt
   NOM-cry-PRES+SG NOM-cry-PRES+PL
   'He/she is crying' 'They are crying'

(24) qa’c hii-wée-šílaa ka hii-kúu-ye
   still NOM-dance-INF+PL and NON-go-PERF
   'They were still dancing and he/she left'

If a plural form of the desired aspect is available it must be used. The prefix pe agrees with nominative plural subjects when no aspectual form is available. Note that the third person ergative pe and the nominative plural pe are distinguished by stress as well as position and co-occurrence.

(25) hii-wí-císa
(26) hii-pe-wí-ne
   NOM-cry-INF+PERF+PL NOM-NOM PL-cry-PERF
   'They were crying' 'They cried'

The accusative plural is indexed in the verb by nées.

(27) pë-kúu-ye
   ACC+ERG-go-PAST
   'He/she did it'

(28) pë-pë-kúu-ye
   S-NOM PL-go-PAST
   'We/you went'

(29) hii-pe-wecé-yu?
   NOM-NOM FL-dance-FUTURE
   'They will be dancing'

(30) hii-pe-híx-ne
   NOM-NOM see-PAST
   'They saw me/youn'

(31) pë-pë-”ew-ye
   ACC+ERG-NOM FL-shoot-PAST nun-AOG
   'They shot the man'

The accusative plural is indexed in the verb by nées.

(22) wëet *a-në-dí-dí-a
   QUESTION ERG-ACC PL-hear-PRES
   'Do you hear them?'

(33) wëolac-nim pe-nëes-”ni-ye tîi’mes
    Wêolac-ENG ACC+ERG-ACC PL-give-PAST book
    'Wêolac gave them a book'

pë- Third person ergative + third person accusative
?ë- 1. First or second person ergative
   2. First or second person accusative
   3. Third person possessed intransitive subject
   4. First or second person intransitive subject
   5. hii- Third person nominative
   pe- Nominaive plural
   nées- Accusative plural

Figure 3. Syntactic functions of verb agreement prefixes

2.0 Transitivity. In this section we will discuss briefly some criteria that decide transitivity and case marking in Nez Perce simplex sentences. These criteria include the person of both subject and object, singular versus plural, whether the object is affected or affected, totally or partially affected, inanimate or human, and whether the subject is new or old information.

2.1. Person splits. The non-third person ergative verb inflection *pë, of course, specifies a verb as transitive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Case Marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pë-</td>
<td>1. First or second person ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ë-</td>
<td>1. First or second person ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. First or second person accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Third person possessed intransitive subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. First or second person intransitive subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. hii- Third person nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-</td>
<td>Nominaive plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nées-</td>
<td>Accusative plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3. Syntactic functions of verb agreement prefixes
The third person equivalent "\(e\), however, is used only if the object is also third person. Thus verbs with third person subjects are undifferentiated as to transitivity unless the object happens also to be third person. The referencing of ergative subjects in the Nez Perce verb is thus split by person, since third person subjects with non-third person objects have no ergative agreement. NP's, however, are quite the opposite. Both ergative "\(\text{nim}\) and accusative "\(\text{me}\) mark third person, but first and second person independent pronouns have accusative forms, they do not have ergative forms (such forms serve only as genitives). In the following examples note that when a transitive verb does not specify an ergative subject the NP is marked ergative, and when the NP is not marked ergative the verb specifies an ergative subject. Note that "\(\text{hi}\) 'say, tell' has allomorphs "\(\text{n} \) and "\(\text{h} \), and is transitive only with a human object.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Ergative/Genitive</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;(\text{fin}) 'I'&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(\text{fin}) 'I'&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(\text{fine})&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;(\text{fin}) 'you'&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(\text{fin}) 'you'&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(\text{fine})&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;(\text{ip}) 'he/she/it'&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(\text{ip}) 'he/she/it'&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(\text{ipn})&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;(\text{nu}) 'we'&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(\text{nu}) 'we'&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(\text{nume})&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;(\text{im}) 'you(PL)/they'&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(\text{im}) 'you(PL)/they'&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(\text{imen})&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4. Independent pronouns

2.2. Number split. NP's are not case marked when they are made plural by either verbal agreement or the NP plural suffix "\(\text{me}\)."

(38) hii-pa-hox-ne wewûkiye(-ne)("\(\text{ni}\)"
NUM-NOM PL-see-PAST elk-PL(-\(\text{erg}\))
'The elk (PL) saw me/you' (39) pe-ki-ce wewûkiye-na("\(\text{ne}\)"
ERG-see-PRES elk-PL(-ACC)
'I/you see the elk (PL)'

2.3. Semantic/pragmatic splits. In Nez Perce most two argument verbs, including those involving the senses, are transitive.

(40) pe-šili-ya kwêkiwec-\(\text{na} \)
ACC-ERG-hear-PAST drum-ACC
'He/she heard (listened to) the drum'
(41) wûlac-\(\text{nim} \) pe-muksi-ye cûwyem-\(\text{na} \)
Woolac-ERG ACC+ERG-smell-PAST fish-ACC
'Woolac smelled the fish'

There are some two argument verbs, however, which are not treated as transitive. This semantic split seems to separate verbs that effect (produce or make) the object from those that affect it, etc. Compare the following.

(42) hâma hii-we-s nimipu
man NUM-be-FRES Nez Perce
'The man is Nez Perce'
(43) hâma hii-ti\(\text{me}\)-\(\text{ne}\) ti\(\text{se}\)
man write-PAST book
'The man wrote a book'
(44) hâma hii-hi-ne tâ\(\text{c}\) mëwî
man NUM-say-PAST good morning
'The man said "Good Morning"'
(45) hâma hii-hanli-ya wâlc
man make-PAST knife
'The man made a knife'
(46) hâma pe-\(\text{ni}\)-\(\text{me}\) pe-\(\text{ni}\)-\(\text{me}\)
man-ERG ACC+ERG-sharpen-PAST knife-ACC
'The man sharpened the knife'
(47) hâma pe-nuk-\(\text{me}\) pe-\(\text{ni}\)-\(\text{me}\)
man-ACC+ERG-put-PAST knife-ACC
'The man put the knife on the table'
If a human goal is implied then the verb becomes transitive. Dative objects are case marked with the accusative suffix *ne* and benefactive goals with the benefactive suffix *ny-. Here *həmə* 'make' takes a suffix to become *(hə)ny-a-ny.*

(48) həmə-nim pə-tiim-ne wəolac-na
    man-ERG ACC-ERG-write-PAST Woolac-ACC
    'The man wrote to Woolac'

(49) həmə-nim pə-nne wəolac-na
    man-ERG ACC-ERG-say-PAST Woolac-ACC
    'The man told it to Woolac'

(50) həmə-nim pə-ˈni-ye wəolac-na
    man-ERG ACC-ERG-give-PAST Woolac-ACC
    'The man gave it to Woolac'

(51) həmə-nim pə-nyaˈnə-nə wəolac-ˈzən
    man-ERG ACC-ERG-make-for-PAST knife Woolac-for
    'The man made a knife for Woolac'

To show that the object is totally affected *ne* is omitted.

Compare the following.

(52) pə-hip-e nukú-ne
    ACC-ERG-eat-PAST meat-ACC
    'He/she ate (some of) the meat'

(53) pə-hip-e laˈtəm? nukú-ne
    ACC-ERG-eat-PAST all meat-ACC
    'He/she ate (one of each of) all (several kinds of) meat'

(54) pə-hip-e nukt
    ACC-ERG-eat-PAST meat
    'He/she ate the meat (all of it)'

(55) pə-hip-e laˈtəm? nukt
    ACC-ERG-eat-PAST all meat
    'He/she ate all the meat'

A third person ergative NP is usually marked with *nim* only if it involves new information, as for example in answer to *ʔəsinim* "Who?" or in counterassertion.

(56) ʔəsəpə-nim pə-hip-e nukú-ne
    ʔəsəpə-ERG ACC-ERG-eat-PAST meat-ACC
    'It was ʔəsəpə that ate the meat'

(57) ʔəsəpə pə-hip-e nukú-ne
    ʔəsəpə-ERG-eat-PAST meat-ACC
    'ʔəsəpə ate (some of) the meat'

(58) wəʃəwu ʔəsəpə-nim pə-hip-e
    no ʔəsəpə-ERG ACC-ERG-eat-PAST
    'No, ʔəsəpə ate it'

Neither transitivity nor case marking seem to involve any splits with aspect. Word order, however, does. If only one argument is present word order is very free. But when two arguments are present then only SVO and SOV are permitted. For past aspects SVO is obligatory, but for non-past either SVO or SOV are permitted. Older speakers, however, prefer SOV.

(59) ʔəsəpə-nim pə-hip-e nukú-ne
    ʔəsəpə-ERG ACC-ERG-eat-PAST meat-ACC
    'ʔəsəpə's ate the meat'

(60) ʔəsəpə-nim nukú-ne pə-hip-e
    ʔəsəpə-ERG meat-ACC ACC-ERG-eat-PRES
    'ʔəsəpə's is eating the meat'
Footnotes

1 I wish to thank Zelma Minthorn and her husband Anton for providing the bulk of the data for this paper. Haruo Aoki's *Nez Perce Grammar* (University of California Press, 1970) has also been of immense value.

2 Compare Aoki, pp 105-108, for verb inflection, and pp 71-80, for substantive inflection. In this paper we will not discuss particle inflection (see Aoki, pp 127-131), or the reciprocal and reflexives (pp 90-92).

3 Aoki, p 196, describes *te* as the "third person object prefix" when the subject is either first or second person. My informant prefixes *te* to all transitive verbs with first or second person subject, regardless of the person of the object. My informant also allows *te* to be prefixed both to itself and to *hii* (third person nominative), in which cases this use of *te* agrees with a first or second person object. This paper will not discuss the pronominal particle *te* (see Aoki, pp 127, 131, and 137).

4 Perhaps it could be said that to 'make' or 'produce' is to 'cause to be or exist'. In Twi 'make' and 'be (NP)' are expressed by the same verb *ye*, as in *Kofi ye sberimaa* 'Kofi is a man' and *Kofi ye efie* 'Kofi built (made) a house'. Could it be that Nez Perce captures this generality by treating the transitivity of *make* verbs the same as *exist* verbs?

5 See Aoki, p 98, for the benefactive verb-suffix.