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SAHAPTIN INFLECTIONAL SYNTAX

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This paper is a later draft of a section of my sketch, 'Sahaptin Grammar', that will appear in the Languages volume of the new Handbook of North American Indians. It is based primarily upon the Umatilla dialect, but makes comparative remarks on the other Sahaptin dialects. For copyright reasons, please do not reproduce it.

Some traditions of grammatical description separate morphology (the principles of word-construction) from syntax (the principles of phrase-, clause-, and sentence-construction). No doubt this makes it possible to describe the grammars of some languages in a revealing way, but to insist on its appropriateness to Sahaptin obscures the thoroughgoing interrelatedness of the syntactic features of sentences and the morphological structure of their constituent words. The pronominal prefixes of the verb, for example, cannot be adequately described without making reference to the underlying noun phrases of the sentence of which it is part. It also seems more revealing to systematically discuss in a unitary section the major syntactic relations and categories of the language than to treat them separately in the sections on nominals and verbs.

Among the more prominent characteristics of its inflectional syntax, Sahaptin exhibits a rich surface case-marking\* system that recalls modern

\* Case refers to the overt marking of noun phrases for the seven nominal cases that appear in the surface structure of Sahaptin sentences. It is distinguished from such underlying relational and categorial notions as 'subject of an intransitive verb', 'direct object of a transitive verb', 'instrumental phrase', and 'ablative phrase'.

Finnish or Turkish. Nominal suffixes, case-endings, mark three relational cases- nominative, objective, and possessive- and four adverbial cases- instrumental, locative, allative, and ablative. The syntactic terrain, however, turns unfamiliar as one looks to the related system of pronominal cross-reference that operates in Sahaptin sentences. To exemplify these and <sup>related</sup> ~~cases~~ concepts, consider the following sentences:

Although simplified for heuristic purposes, the phrase-marker I presents the significant syntactic information necessary to the understanding of sentences 1-5. Thus, the deep constituents and their underlying relations are:

1. x<sup>W</sup>isaat 'old man' is a third person singular human noun and the subject noun phrase of the sentence.
2. ni-Ø-ya in kusi 'gave me a horse' is a verb phrase and the predicate of the sentence.
3. ni-Ø-ya 'gave' is a di-transitive verb inflected for the past perfective indicative and is the main verb of the sentence.
4. in 'I, me' is the first person singular independent personal pronoun and the indirect object noun phrase of the ~~main verb~~ main verb.
5. kusi 'horse' is a third person singular nonhuman noun and the direct object noun phrase of the main verb.

However, \*x<sup>W</sup>isaat niya in kusi. is not a grammatical Sahaptin sentence. To carry it onto a well-formed surface structure, such as II, it must undergo several obligatory transformational processes:

1. x<sup>W</sup>isaat 'old man' as the third person singular subject of a transitive verb having a first and/or second person object must be inflected by the inverse nominative case-ending -nim.
2. in 'I' as the first person singular object of a transitive verb having a third person singular subject must be inflected for the objective case and so becomes inay.
3. ni-Ø-ya 'gave' as a transitive verb having a third person singular subject and a first and/or second person object must be inflected by the third person singular subject pronominal verb prefix i-.

Pronominal cross-reference is exemplified in the transformational processes 3 and 4 above, whereby the verb is indexed for the person and number of its subject and object by a pronominal prefix and the first word of the sentence is inflected by an enclitic that indicates whether a first and/or second person singular or plural pronoun is a participant (i.e., a subject, direct object, or indirect object).

Cross-reference by the appropriate enclitic-prefix combinations is a feature of all grammatical Sahaptin sentences. It introduces redundancy into the surface structure of sentences and so makes possible the elliptical pronominalization of underlying nouns and pronouns that characterizes most occurring Sahaptin sentences. In most cases, the cross-referencing enclitics provide unambiguous indication of the underlying subject (and object) of the sentence. Thus, in sentence 2, the third person singular nonhuman direct object kúsi 'horse' has been elliptically pronominalized by deletion; in 3, the first person singular indirect object pronoun ináy 'me' has been deleted; in 4, the third person singular human noun subject x<sup>w</sup>ísaat 'old man' has been pronominalized by the third person singular human pronoun; and in 5, all the nouns and pronouns have been deleted.

Sahaptin sentences also exhibit much freedom of word-order, which is surely not unrelated to the extensive case-marking and pronominal cross-reference. Thus, the words of sentence 1 may be 'scrambled' as in:

6. Iníya-as x<sup>w</sup>ísaatnám ináy kúsi.
7. Iná-as x<sup>w</sup>ísaatnám iníya kúsi.
8. Kúsi-s (or Kúsi-nas) x<sup>w</sup>ísaatnám iníya ináy.

and other reordered versions, providing that the first person singular

The Northwest Sahaptin dialects use the -am '2 sng.' alternant after a-finals; thus Yakima Winaša-am. 'You're going'. corresponds to Umatilla Winaša-nam. However, the long and short forms may alternate even in a single speaker's speech. Surface phonetic rhythm and a tendency to reduce allomorphy by suppressing the short enclitic forms and using the longer, more highly characterized alternants may be significant considerations.

5. -pan '2 plu.' enclitic
6. -mas '2 obj./ 1 sbj. sng.' enclitic
7. -matas '2 obj./ 1 sbj. plu.' enclitic

The eight common pronominal verb prefixes are:

1. i- '3 sng. sbj.' prefix

This prefix is optional before vowel-initial (actually ?V-initial) themes and is usually omitted in that position, e.g., Imama i'ása. ~ Imama ása. 'The old woman entered, went in'.

2. pa- '3 plu. sbj.' prefix

Older people occasionally use ipa-, which indicates that i- was originally just a third person subjective prefix and -pa- its pluralizer.

3. á- ~ aw- '3 obj.' prefix

Aw- occurs before vowel-initial themes, a- elsewhere.

4. pá- '3 sng. sbj. obv(iative)' prefix and '2 sng. sbj./ 1 sng. obj.' prefix

5. pata- ~ pataw- '3 plu. sbj./ 3 sng. obj.' prefix

The equivalent prefix in the Northeast Sahaptin dialects is pa'á-, a sequence of 2 and 3 above. In the Northwest Sahaptin dialects, the same subject/object configuration is marked by a unique enclitic -pat and the

## Chart 1

## Intransitives and Simple Copulas:

| <u>Subject<br/>Nominal</u> | <u>Enclitic</u> | <u>Verb<br/>Prefix</u> | <u>Case-marking on<br/>Subject Nominal</u> |
|----------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 sng.                     | - <u>naš</u>    | ---                    | ---                                        |
| 1 plu. inc.                | - <u>na</u>     | ---                    | ---                                        |
| 1 plu. exc.                | - <u>nataš</u>  | ---                    | ---                                        |
| 2 sng.                     | - <u>nam</u>    | ---                    | ---                                        |
| 2 plu.                     | - <u>pam</u>    | ---                    | ---                                        |
| 3 sng.                     | ---             | <u>i-</u>              | ---                                        |
| 3 plu.                     | ---             | <u>pa-</u>             | ---                                        |

## Reflexives:

|             |                |              |     |
|-------------|----------------|--------------|-----|
| 1 sng.      | - <u>naš</u>   | <u>piná-</u> | --- |
| 1 plu. inc. | - <u>na</u>    | <u>pamá-</u> | --- |
| 1 plu. exc. | - <u>nataš</u> | <u>pamá-</u> | --- |
| 2 sng.      | - <u>nam</u>   | <u>piná-</u> | --- |
| 2 plu.      | - <u>pam</u>   | <u>pamá-</u> | --- |
| 3 sng.      | ---            | <u>piná-</u> | --- |
| 3 plu.      | ---            | <u>pamá-</u> | --- |

## Reciprocals:

|             |                |              |     |
|-------------|----------------|--------------|-----|
| 1 plu. inc. | - <u>na</u>    | <u>pápa-</u> | --- |
| 1 plu. exc. | - <u>nataš</u> | <u>pápa-</u> | --- |
| 2 plu.      | - <u>pam</u>   | <u>pápa-</u> | --- |
| 3 plu.      | ---            | <u>pápa-</u> | --- |

| <u>Subject<br/>Nominal</u> | <u>Object<br/>Nominal</u> | <u>Enclitic</u> | <u>Verb<br/>Prefix</u> | <u>Case-marking on<br/>Subject Nominal</u> | <u>Case-marking on<br/>Object Nominal</u> |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 3 sng.                     | 1 sng.                    | - <u>naš</u>    | <u>i</u> -             | Inv. Nom.                                  | Obj. sng.                                 |
| 3 sng.                     | 1 plu. inc.               | - <u>na</u>     | <u>i</u> -             | Inv. Nom.                                  | Obj. plu.                                 |
| 3 sng.                     | 1 plu. exc.               | - <u>nataš</u>  | <u>i</u> -             | Inv. Nom.                                  | Obj. plu.                                 |
| 3 plu.                     | 1 sng.                    | - <u>naš</u>    | <u>pa</u> -            | ---                                        | Obj. sng.                                 |
| 3 plu.                     | 1 plu. inc.               | - <u>na</u>     | <u>pa</u> -            | ---                                        | Obj. plu.                                 |
| 3 plu.                     | 1 plu. exc.               | - <u>nataš</u>  | <u>pa</u> -            | ---                                        | Obj. plu.                                 |
| 3 sng.                     | 2 sng.                    | - <u>nam</u>    | <u>i</u> -             | Inv. Nom.                                  | Obj. sng.                                 |
| 3 sng.                     | 2 plu.                    | - <u>pam</u>    | <u>i</u> -             | Inv. Nom.                                  | Obj. plu.                                 |
| 3 plu.                     | 2 sng.                    | - <u>nam</u>    | <u>pa</u> -            | ---                                        | Obj. sng.                                 |
| 3 plu.                     | 2 plu.                    | - <u>pam</u>    | <u>pa</u> -            | ---                                        | Obj. plu.                                 |
| 3 sng.                     | 3 sng.                    | ---             | <u>pá</u> -            | Obv. Nom.                                  | Obj. sng.                                 |
| 3 sng.                     | 3 plu.                    | ---             | <u>i</u> -             | ---                                        | Obj. plu.                                 |
| 3 plu.                     | 3 sng.                    | ---             | <u>patá</u> -          | ---                                        | Obj. sng.                                 |
| 3 plu.                     | 3 plu.                    | ---             | <u>pa</u> -            | ---                                        | Obj. plu.                                 |

Chart 1 presents their several enclitic-prefix combinations. The second major class comprises the transitive structures in their varied subject-object configurations. Chart 2 treats their enclitic-prefix combinations. The third class composes the possessive copulas and the intransitives with possessed subject. Chart 3 details their enclitic-prefix combinations; note that only third person nominals may be possessed.

The interaction of the enclitics and verb prefixes is most complex in the case of transitive sentences with non-identical third person subjects and objects, as well as those with first and/or second person subjects and third person objects, because there are several apparently grammatical configurations possible; some are not included in Chart 2 to avoid further complexity. The use of the objective case-endings is also involved. Briefly, there are three patterns observed in these transitive structures that may be schematized as follows:



Type A.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \text{ sng. Subject Nominal + Obviative Nominative - } \underline{\text{pa}} \\ \text{case-ending} \\ 3 \text{ plu. Subject Nominal} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Verb} - 3 \text{ Object Nominal} + \text{Objective case-ending}$   
 A'.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ and/or 2 Subject Nominal + Enclitic} \\ - \underline{\text{á}} \end{array} \right\}$

Type B.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \text{ sng. Subject Nominal} \\ 3 \text{ plu. Subject Nominal} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Verb} - 3 \text{ Object Nominal} + \text{Objective case-ending}$   
 B'.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ and/or 2 Subject Nominal + Enclitic} \\ - \underline{\text{pa}} \end{array} \right\}$

Type C.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \text{ sng. Subject Nominal} \\ 3 \text{ plu. Subject Nominal} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Verb} - 3 \text{ Object Nominal}$   
 C'.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ and/or 2 Subject Nominal + Enclitic} \\ - \underline{\text{pa}} \end{array} \right\}$

These are exemplified in:

Type A. Wíns<sup>✓</sup>tin - pá<sup>✓</sup>tuxnana - yaamas<sup>✓</sup>na.

man-obv. 3 sng. sbj.-shot mule-obj.  
nom.        obv.        deer sng.

'The man shot a mule deer'.

Type A'. In<sup>✓</sup>tas - á<sup>✓</sup>tuxnana - yaamas<sup>✓</sup>na.

I-1 sng. 3 obj.-shot mule-obj.  
          deer sng.

'I shot a mule deer'.

Type A and A' sentences may have their constituent words scrambled, provided that the enclitic is attached to the first word.

Type B. Wíns<sup>✓</sup> - i<sup>✓</sup>tuxnána - yaamas<sup>✓</sup>na.

man 3 sng.-shot mule-obj.  
      sbj.        deer sng.

'The man shot a mule deer'.

Type B'. In<sup>✓</sup>tas - tuxnána - yaamas<sup>✓</sup>na.

I-1 sng. shot mule-obj.  
          deer sng.

'I shot a mule deer'.

Type C. Wíns<sup>✓</sup> - i<sup>✓</sup>tuxnána - yaamas<sup>✓</sup>.

man 3 sng.-shot mule  
      sbj.        deer

'The man shot a mule deer'.

Type C'. In<sup>✓</sup>tas - tuxnána - yaamas<sup>✓</sup>.

I-1 sng. shot mule  
          deer

'I shot a mule deer'.

The constituent words of Type C and C' sentences may not be scrambled.

Informants agree that Type B transitive sentences occur, but they say that the Type A and C ones are proper. My older informants regarded the highly characterized Type A ones as 'best'. Types A and C are said to be synonymous. Jacobs (1931:143) earlier suggested that they contrasted as definite versus definite subject, while I once thought they might contrast as definite versus indefinite object, but further data contraverted both hypotheses. We do no more than document the variability here.

The nominative case has two forms:

The inverse nominative case-ending -nim <sup>(-im after n-finals)</sup> marks the third person singular subject of a transitive verb with a first or second person object and always co-occurs with the 1- '3 sng. sbj.' verb prefix. Examples are:

Imama-nim-s i-niya ina kpatlima.

old -inv.-1 sng. 3 sng.-gave me piece of  
woman nom. sbj. (obj.) beadwork

'The old woman gave me a piece of beadwork'.

Wins-nim-nam i-qinusa.

man-inv.-2 sng. 3 sng.-sees  
nom. sbj.

'The man sees you'.

The obviative nominative case-ending <sup>-win~ -yn~ -n~ -in\*</sup> ~~win~~ ~~yn~~ marks the third person

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\* The obviative nominative is homophonous with the personal comitative suffix and the dual number suffix. It is probable that the comitative suffix, which has a Nez Perce cognate (Aoki 1970:78), furnished the material as the Sahaptin obviative nominative and dual number categories developed. An example of the personal comitative is:

Kú kúusxi Tilayma tilaaki-in pa-winaxana.

and so Tilayma woman-com. 3 plu.-used to  
too sbj. go

'And so too Tilayma and his wife used to go'.

singular subject of a transitive verb with a non-coreferential third person singular object. Its use is optional, although regarded as 'most correct', and it always co-occurs with the pa- '3 sng. sbj. obv.' pronominal verb prefix and the -na <sup>~</sup>-an 'obj. sng.' case-ending on the object nominal, if it has not been deleted. The -win alternant occurs after u-finals, -yn after a-finals, -n after y-finals, and -in elsewhere. Examples are:

X<sup>W</sup>saat-in pá-tuyayča áswani-na.

old-obv. 3 sng. sbj.-lectured boy-obj.  
nom. obv. sng.

'The old man lectured the boy'.

Huli-in pá-wilapx<sup>W</sup>sa lálx-na.

wind-obv. 3 sng. sbj.-is blowing dust-obj.  
nom. obv. up sng.

'The wind is blowing up the dust'.

All other subjects and predicate nominatives are unmarked for case.

The objective case has singular and plural forms. The objective singular is generally -na (-nan in Northwest Sahaptin), but -a after n-finals and -an after a-finals,\* while the objective plural is always -aman. As a

\* A special objective singular case-ending -pa is used only with a small subclass of the kinship terms. An example is:

I-qinúna áśaa-pa.

3 sng.-saw wife-obj.  
sbj. sng.

'He saw his wife'.

first approximation, one may say that the objective case-endings are used optionally to mark the direct object of a single-transitive verb and obligatorily to mark the indirect object of a di-transitive. However, the rule for object-marking is actually sensitive to the feature 'human' in the underlying direct or indirect object nominal. Human indirect and direct object nominals do not co-occur; whichever is present receives object-marking. Some examples are:

In-aś a-ginuśa awins-in-aman.

I-1 sng. 3 obj.-see man-dual-obj.  
plu.

'I see the two men'.

Čaw-nam paamanay a-ykša?

neg.-2 sng. them 3 obj.-hear  
(obj.)

'Don't you hear them'?

Ku-taś awkú k<sup>w</sup>na a-waḡitinxana wawukya-ma-aman.

and-1 plu. then there 3 obj.-would look bull-plu.-obj.  
exc. for elk plu.

'And then there we would look for bull elk'.

X<sup>w</sup>isaat-in paanay pa-niya kusi.

old-obv. him 3 sng. sbj.-gave horse  
(obj.) obv.

'The old man gave him a horse'.

The possessive case\* also has singular and plural forms. In Umatilla,

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\* Possessive-marking in kinterms differs and is not treated here.

the possessive singular is generally -nmí after vowel-finals and -mí after consonant-finals, but nouns in final -an drop the -m, compensatorily lengthen the a-vowel, and add the -mí ending. Other dialects <sup>may</sup> differ slightly in the distributions of -nmí and -mí. The possessive plural is always -amí. The possessive marks the possessor nominal in a possessive noun phrase that may function as a subject in independent and dependent clauses. Underlying possessed nominal object phrases are treated differently; see the section on the allative case. The possessive also marks the genitive of substance and the subjective nominals of gerundive nominalizations. Examples are:

tilaaki-nmí miyanas

woman-poss. child  
sng.

'the woman's child'

tilaaki-ma-amí miyanas-ma

woman-plu.-poss. child-plu.  
plu.

'the woman's children'

Wixxaa-mí sínwi-t

Wishram-poss. speak-ger.  
sng. nom.

'the Wishram language'

X<sup>W</sup>saat-mí á-wa.

old-poss. 3 obj.-be  
man sng.

'It's the old man's'.

Aw awkú Spilyayi-kkaanaywima aníma taqmaal ilk<sup>W</sup>as-mí.

now then Coyote 3 sng.-busied made hat wood-poss.  
sbj. himself sng.

'Now then Coyote busied himself and made a hat out of wood'.

X<sup>W</sup>saat-mí a-wa tuxúna-t.

old-poss. 3 obj.-be shoot-ger.  
man sng. nom.

'It was shot by the old man'.

The possessive case-endings are also used as catalytic elements in forming the adverbial case-forms of human nouns and personal pronouns.

The instrumental case-ending is generally -ki, although there are some marginal constructions in -kil ~ -kin. It marks the underlying inanimate instrumental nominative and other less readily labelled deep syntactic notions; e.g., with human nominals, it best translates as 'about'.

Examples are:

A-tuxnana-aṣ yaamaṣ-na cínki twínpaš-ki.

3 obj.-shot-1 sng. mule-obj. this gun-inst.  
deer (inst.)

'I shot a mule deer with this gun'.

wuxa-kil

foot-inst.

'on foot, by foot'

pa-nawat-ki

dis.  
obj.-belly-inst.

'belly to belly'

Suyapu-ma awínṣ-ma k<sup>W</sup>aalisim pa-sínwisa tilaaki-ma-ami-ki.

Whiteman-plu. man-plu. always 3 plu.- are woman-plu.-poss.-inst.  
sbj. talking plu.

'Whitemen are always talking about women'.

A-sapatwana-aṣ wíwnu-na pakukí-ki.

3 obj.-mixed-1 sng. huckleberry-obj. salmon-inst.  
sng. flour

'I mixed huckleberries with salmon flour'.

In-aš á-tuxnana yaamas-na anawi-t-ki.

I-1 sng. 3 obj.-shot mule-obj. be -ger.-inst.  
deer sng. hungry nom.

'I shot a mule deer out of hunger, because of my hunger'.

The locative case-ending is generally -pa. It commonly indicates position in, at, or near some nominal referent. With some verbs, it indicates motion into or onto, and it also mark a number of not easily labelled deep syntactic notions, e.g., with gerundive nominalizations, it translates as 'while, during'. Examples are:

Imama i-tutisa miti čna níit-pa.

old 3 sng.- is inside this house-loc.  
woman sbj. standing (loc.)

'The old woman is standing inside this house'.

awins-ma-amí-pa

man-plu.-poss.-loc.  
plu.

'among the men, at the men's place'

Ku cawín asa níit-pa.

and anyway entered house-loc.

'And she entered the house anyway'.

Níix i-wá qínu-pa.

good 3 sng.-be see-loc.  
sbj.

'She's good-looking, nice to look at'.

I-walptáyksana xní-t-pa.

3 sng.- was dig -ger.-loc.  
singing roots nom.

'She was singing while digging roots'.



The allative case has two forms in Umatilla: -kan ~ -c̣an\* are used with

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\* The palatalization of -kan to -c̣an evidences vocalic harmony at a more abstract level of phonological representation; see Rigsby and Silverstein (1969:49-51).

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a small set of nominals, while -yaw is the general allative case-ending. The Sahaptin dialects differ greatly among themselves in the distributions of the marginal -kan ~ -c̣an and the productive -yaw endings. Some younger speakers use only the -yaw form, while others retain -kan ~ -c̣an in a few 'frozen' phrases.

The two allatives have disparate origins and once marked different deep syntactic categories. The -kan ~ -c̣an form derives from an earlier allative case-form that indicated motion to or toward some nominal goal, while -yaw reflects an older dative case-form that marked the deep dative goal (not to be confused with the indirect object) or benefactive nominal and several other not readily labelled notions. However, the contrast in case-marking of the two categories has now been neutralized and -yaw has been generalized to most environments. Nonetheless, the allative and dative-benefactive remain distinct in underlying structure, but now evidence themselves in more subtle fashion.

Deep human dative nominals are not marked by the allative case-endings; rather they require that the verb theme be inflected by the benefactive suffix and the dative nominal be marked by the objective case, which process may be termed the 'objectivization of personal datives'. Personal datives may also develop at an intermediate stage of derivation from underlying possessed nominal object phrases. In that case, the verb theme is inflected by the benefactive suffix, the possessor nominal is 'objectivized', and the possessed

The Surface Complementary Distribution of Underlying Dative and Allative Nominals

Non-Human Nominals:

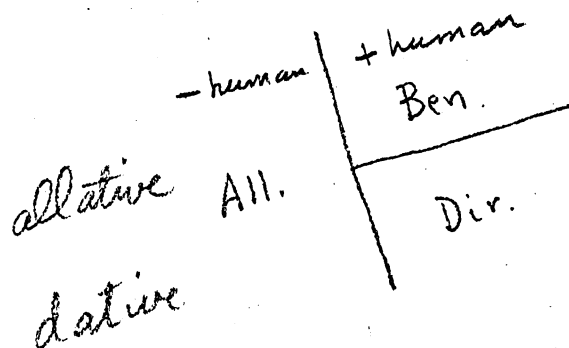
Non-human Dative + Ablative  
Nominal case-ending

Non-human Allative + Ablative  
Nominal case-ending

Personal (Human) Nominals:

... Verb Theme + Benefactive ... - Personal Dative + Objective (- Direct Object)  
Nominal -case-ending Nominal

... Verb Theme + Directional ... - Personal Allative + Objective  
Nominal case-ending



direct object nominal remains in absolute form. The cross-referencing of sentences with objectivized personal datives then follows as though they were true di-transitives.

The usual benefactive suffix is -ay- (-yay- after i-finals), although a second form -ani- occurs in some dialects. My main Umatilla informant used only the -ay- form, while my main Yakima informant uses both. Evidently, Jacobs' (1931:200-201) Taitnapam and Lower Snake informants also used both, but with some indication in Lower Snake that the two realized different deep categories, -ay- marking objectivized possessors and -ani- objectivized personal dative-benefactives. In most dialects, however, the occurrence of one or the other alternant is morphologically conditioned and they are in complementary distribution.\*

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\* The Nez Perce dialects also differ in their use of one or the other of the cognate benefactive morphemes (Aoki 1970: 7).

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For their part, deep personal allative nominals require that the verb theme be inflected by the directive suffix -awa- (-uu- in Northeast and Northwest Sahaptin) and the personal allative be objectivized.

The objectivizing of personal allatives seems to be optional, although my informants considered that sentences so formed sound 'better'. Younger speakers often do not objectivize, but simply mark the personal allative nominal with the -yaw case-ending. They likewise often mark personal datives by possessive-plus-objective inflection.

Thus, the -kan~ -čan and -yaw allative case-endings do not contrast on the surface and the complex benefactive and directive constructions with objectivized personal datives and allatives, respectively, are in complementary

distribution. Examples of allative case-marking are:

yipaxš1-kan

downriver-all.

'downriverward'

miti-čan

down-all.

'downward'

wana-kan, wana-yaw, wana-w

river-all.

'to, toward the river'

Tuxšana-aš niit-kan, niit-yaw.

was -1 sng. house-all.  
returning

'I was returning to the house'.

Pa-winata xmaas-kan.

3 plu.-will go camass-all.  
subj.

*I might go after camass, to the  
camass-place'*

Tamlamaywiša-aš lawyala-t-yaw.

be ignorant-1 sng. fish with-ger.-all.  
of net nom.

'I don't know how to fish with a net'.

Atuk 1-wača tuxuna-t yaamaš-na wayixti-t-yaw.

difficult 3 sng.-was shoot-ger. mule-obj. run-ger.-all.  
subj. nom. sng. nom.

'It was difficult to shoot a running deer'.

The following sentences illustrate the treatment of personal datives  
(which may develop also from underlying possessed object phrases). The last

sentence illustrates the different treatment of possessed object phrase<sup>s</sup> by younger speakers in which both possessor nominal and possessed nominal receive objective case-marking.

Inmí wíns i-wátša-ay-xa-na twatí-na.

my man 3 sng.-beat the-bene.-cus.-past shaman-obj.  
(poss.) sbj. sticks asp. tns. sng.

'My husband used to beat the sticks for the shaman'.

Qínw-ay-sa-na-mas imanáy kúsi.

see-bene.-imp.-past-2 obj./ 1 you horse.  
asp. tns. sbj. sng. (obj.)

'I saw your horse'.

A-qínusana-as iminanáy kúsi-na.

3 obj.-saw-1 sng. your horse  
(obj.)

'I saw your horse'.

The following sentences illustrate the treatment of personal or possessed allatives. The last one exhibits the treatment of personal allatives by younger speakers.

Wíns-in tílaaki-na pa-wyanawy-awa-na.

man-obv. woman-obj. 3 sng. sbj.-come-dire.-past  
nom. sng. obv. tns.

'The man came to the woman's place'.

Wíns-nim-nas i-wyanawi-yawa-na.

man-inv.-1 sng. 3 sng.-come-dire.-past  
nom. sbj. tns.

'The man came to my place'.

Wíns i-wyanawiya inmí-yaw.

man 3 sng.-came my -all.  
(poss.)

'The man came to my place'.

There is also a peripheral case-like ending -layan that appears to be built upon the -kan allative, although it is not strictly allative in meaning, as in cuus-layan 'along the river, by the water', watam-layan 'by the lake', and ptan-layan 'near the brush, bushes'.

The ablative case has a productive ending in -kni, but a small set of nominals select an alternant in -cni.\* The ablative marks underlying ablative

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\* As with the allative -kan ~ -can, the palatalization of the ablative -kni to -cni evidences underlying vocalic harmony.

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and abessive categories and is also used to form the superlative of adjectives.

Examples are:

yipaxsi-kni

downriver-abl.

'from downriver'

Miti-cni i-panaytama.

down-abl. 3 sng.-came up  
sbj.

'He came up from below'.

I-lupwaanicanwiya kusi-kni.

3 sng.-jumped horse-abl.  
sbj. down

'He jumped down off the horse'.

Watxan-am a-qinusana ttmay-ma-aman Wayam-kni?

interrogative-2 sng. 3 obj.-saw maiden-plu.-obj. Celilo-abl.  
plu.

'Did you see the young women from Celilo'?

nci-kni

'the biggest (one)'