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The Sahaptian Inflectional Suffix Complex

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Publication Date
1996
THE SAHAPTIAN INFLECTIONAL SUFFIX COMPLEX

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This paper traces the history of verb inflections in Sahaptian (Nez Perce and Sahaptin). It looks at all the component morphemes, comments on what appears to be older morphology versus what appears to be more recent innovations, and suggests possible lexical sources for the latter. Only the "inflectional suffix complex" (the term is from Aoki 1970:118) is considered. This constitutes a mix of tense/aspect/modality markers, directionals, and in Nez Perce singular and plural marking for nominative subjects. ¹

Paradigms are given below for both languages. In Sahaptin the inflectional suffix complex (see Table 1) includes tense, aspect (imperfective and habitual), a conditional, and singular and plural imperatives. There are also inflections as indicated which mark cislocative ('either') and translocative ('thither') directionals, with the translocative having special palatalized forms in the Northeast (NE) dialects.

The Nez Perce forms are given in Table 2. Here the paradigm is not as regularized as in Sahaptin. Also unlike Sahaptin, the aspects and conditional forms inflect for number, for whether the subject is singular or plural. Another feature which is different in the Nez Perce paradigm is the distinction between a remote and recent past. And unlike Sahaptin which has just one conditional marker -taxay, the Nez Perce conditional has forms which inflect for tense and some for tense and aspect. The Nez Perce habitual suffixes which are labeled "indefinite past" and "present" are perhaps similar in origin to those labeled "present" and "future" in Sahaptin, but their ranges of meaning differ as indicated.

In Nez Perce all suffixes which begin with /s/ mutate this /s/ to [c] (= [ts]) after certain verbs. In Aoki (1970, 1994) verb stems are marked "c-Class" or "VC" and "s-Class" or "VS" depending on whether this mutation does or does not occur. Swadesh (1930) was perhaps the first to notice that the cause of the mutation was a phonological process which in Nez Perce

¹ The Sahaptian verb is morphologically complex, and its closed set inflections are both prefixal and suffixal. The inflectional prefixes are pronominal, coding 3rd person subjects and objects (with both referential and agreement marking functions), and also reflexives and reciprocals. None of this is covered here. Funding for this study was provided by grants from Cátedras Patrimonial Nivel II (given by Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología, México, 1995), and from the National Science Foundation (BNS 8919577). Abbreviations are as follows: 1 First Person; 2 Second Person; 3 Third Person; ABS Absolutive; ALL Allative; BEN Benefactive; COND Conditional; CR Columbia River Sahaptin; CSL Cislocative; DES Desiderative; DIR Directive; FUT Future; HAB Habitual; HUM Human; IMP Imperative; IMPV Imperfective; IND Indicative; INST Instrument; LOC Locative; MOD Modal; N Nominizer; N Noun; NE Northeast Sahaptin; NHUM Nonhuman; NOM Nominative; NP Nez Perce; NW Northwest Sahaptin; OBJ Objective; OPT Optative; PF Perfect; PL/pl Plural; PROHIB Prohibitive; PRS Present; PS Proto-Sahaptin; PST Past; RCP Recent; RDF Reduplication; REL Relative; RMP Remote; Sah Sahaptin; SG/sg Singular; TRL Translocative; vi Intransitive Verb; vt Transitive Verb; vvt Ditransitive Verb.
converts /n + s/ to [c]. In both Nez Perce and most of the Sahaptin dialects /n/ also happens to delete before /t/ as well as word finally when /a/ or /e/ precede, and thus a verb-stem final /n/ surfaces for the most part only before a vowel or velar/uvular consonant. In this paper I follow Millstein (1991) in referring to the two different verb stems as 0-verbs and n-verbs.

In the most recently developed TAM systems, i.e. those of Creoles, Givón (1984:291f.) finds a four-way marking system, zero for perfective (punctual, completed, realis, etc.), a stative verb for imperfective (durative, incomplete, progressive, habitual, frequentative, etc.), a motion verb for irrealis (future, conditional, imperative, etc.), and a verb like ‘bin’ (Hawaii Creole from English “been”) for perfect (anterior, countersequence, lookback, etc.). For two of these, the perfective and anterior, both Sahaptian languages share remnants of an older system, i.e. *-e for perfective (which perhaps earlier simply marked the indicative) and *-š for perfect (which is an old patient nominalizer). For the other two TAM markers both Sahaptian languages share certain innovations. Both have more or less the same imperfective, except that in Nez Perce this is further elaborated by number marking, as is also the Nez Perce conditional (which also has different tense forms in Nez Perce). Both languages have innovated separate future tenses.
Table 1. Sahaptin inflectional suffixes

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<th>CSL</th>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ima</td>
<td>-kika</td>
<td>-čiča</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(-š)</td>
<td>-imš</td>
<td>-kikš</td>
<td>-čiš</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-ta</td>
<td>-imta</td>
<td>-ki(k)ta</td>
<td>-či(č)ta</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>Past</td>
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<td>-šama</td>
<td>-šayka</td>
<td>-šančiča</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-ša</td>
<td>-šamš</td>
<td>-šaykš</td>
<td>-šančiš</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-šata</td>
<td>-šamta</td>
<td>-šaykta</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Past</td>
<td>-χana</td>
<td>-χama</td>
<td>-χayka</td>
<td>-χančiča</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-k</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
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<td>-imtk</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS Plural</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>-imti</td>
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</table>

2 The habitual present is -χ in NE Sahaptin.
Table 2. Nez Perce inflectional suffixes

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<td>Perfect</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
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<td>-uʔkum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperfective/Progressive</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Remote</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-sene</td>
<td>-senkike</td>
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<td>Plural</td>
<td>-sine</td>
<td>-sinme</td>
<td>-sinkike</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-samqa</td>
<td>-sanqaqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-siqa</td>
<td>-sinmqqa</td>
<td>-sinqqa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Present</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-se</td>
<td>-sem</td>
<td>-senki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-six</td>
<td>-sinm</td>
<td>-sinki</td>
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<td>Future</td>
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</tr>
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<td>-semuʔ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-sinuʔ</td>
<td>-sinmuʔ</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Habitual/Frequentative</strong></td>
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<td>Remote</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-qana</td>
<td>-qama</td>
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<td>-eʔnixne</td>
<td>-eʔnixnim</td>
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<td>Recent</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-eʔnix</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
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<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-tetu</td>
<td>-tetum</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-teʔnix</td>
<td>-teʔnixnim</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Conditional</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-oʔqa</td>
<td>-oʔkomqa</td>
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<tr>
<td>With Imperfective</td>
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<td>Singular</td>
<td>-sanoʔqa</td>
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<td>-sinoʔqa</td>
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<td>Present</td>
<td>-(t)’ax</td>
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<td>With Imperfective</td>
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<td>Singular</td>
<td>-san’ax</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-sin’ax</td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>Imperative</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>(-x/-y)</td>
<td>-im</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-tx</td>
<td>-lmtx</td>
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</table>
1. Tense

1.1. The past

The PS past *-e is likely very old and may be cognate with the Klamath indicative/declarative -a (for which see Barker 1963:41, 1964:163f). PS *-e probably had a more general declarative sense before the more recent elaboration of the tense/aspect system. Evidence for this earlier indicative/declarative status might be that *-e is frozen onto various suffixes which themselves have a more recent verbal origin, e.g. the Nez Perce applicative */7ini/ ‘for’ from Nez Perce */7ini/ ‘give’. The element */e/ remains frozen to the primary verb stem whatever its current tense/aspect morphology, e.g. */hani-e/ ‘make’ + INDICATIVE and */7ini/ ‘give’ provide the stem */hani-e-7ini/ ‘make for’ as in exs. 1 and 2. ³

1 páanya?nya
    */pé-hani-e-7ini-e/
  3/3-make-IND-give-PST
  He made [it] for him (Nez Perce)

2 púunya?nyo?
    */pé-hani-e-7ini-u7/
  3/3-make-IND-give-FUT
  He will make [it] for him (Nez Perce)

In both languages the past tense co-occurs with the aspects, as is indicated in Tables 1 and 2. In Nez Perce, however, it contrasts in the aspects with */qa/, which marks a recent past (exs. 3, 4), and where */e/ has come to mark a remote past (exs. 5, 6).

3 ko-sáa-qa
    go-IMPV.SG.NOM-RCP
  I was going (recent)

4 ko-qáa-qa
    go-HAB.SG.NOM-RCP
  I used to go (recent)

5 ku-séen-e
    go-IMPV.SG.NOM-RMP
  I was going (remote)

6 ko-qáan-a
    go-HAB.SG.NOM-RMP
  I used to go (remote)

³ In my underlying transcriptions of Nez Perce, vowels with the macron (e.g. /á ë i ò õ/) derive historically from PS *i. The particular vowel coloring in Nez Perce is completely predictable, e.g. the /i/ - /i/ contrast is determined by whether the morpheme has inherent strong vowels, /e/ occurs next to a velar/uvular, and /i/ next to a labio-velar, with /i/ being the strong vowel equivalent of /i/. See Aoki (1966) for Sahaptian vowel harmony, and Rude (1992) for examples and further detail on the contrast between NP */á ë i ò õ/ and */a e o u/. The major difference between the two kinds of Nez Perce vowels is that the former delete in certain environments, and the latter lengthen under stress. The use of the macron follows Aoki (1970). In this paper I indicate a stressed macron vowel by underlining, e.g. NP */7je/ put in, has inherent stress on */j/. Another feature of the orthography employed here that should be noted is the use of 7 for the glottal stop. 'Word initial 7 is omitted in the Sahaptian orthography. It is not omitted in the Nez Perce orthography.
Nez Perce /-qa/ also occurs alone with the copula (ex. 6). There is no remote sense in the regular past form, however (ex. 7).4

7 **wéek-**
   be-PST
I was

8 **wa-qa**
   be-RCP
I just happened to be

The Nez Perce recent past marker is probably related to the adverbial prefixes which imply suddenness and/or nonvolitionality, e.g. Sahaptin **txa-**, **xa-**, **tqa-**, **qa-** and Nez Perce **tēqe-**, for which see Jacobs (1931:150) and Aoki (1994:719). Also related is the Sahaptin 2nd position probability modal =**xa** (Jacobs 1931:130). The Sahaptin forms show the t to be removable. The /x - q/ contrast in the Sahaptin prefixes and the /a/ of the Nez Perce recent past are due to derivation by "diminutive" sound symbolism. Sahaptin **txána** 'become, occur, happen' is *tique plus the directional -(n)en 'thither', and the same *tique is also a probable component of Nez Perce **tēqēw’/** 'fall' (Aoki 1994:721). Perhaps Nez Perce **/tīqan/ lie on one’s back’ (Aoki 1994:1069) is a stativized form of the same basic verbal element, i.e. *qe ‘fall’. Both /tī-/ and /-n/ are old derivational elements, as the *t- of *tique is as well. It is the ‘suddenly’ sense of ‘fall’ which would have lends itself to development into the recent past /-qa/ in Nez Perce. The ‘probability’ sense of the Sahaptin 2nd position modal enclitic =**xa** would also derive from this notion of suddenness or inadvertent occurrence inherent in ‘fall’. See also the comments below on the habitual marker *-xan/*-qan.

1.2. The present perfect

In PS the present perfect was marked by *-s. The similarity of this morpheme to a Sahaptian patient nominalizer *-s matches the use of the past participle in the English perfect.5 In combination with no aspectual marker, *-s has a present relevance sense, as illustrated in ex. 9 from Nez Perce (where PS *s and *s were merged). Ex. 10 contrasts the active nominalizer /-tu/, and 11 the past tense.

9 **hips**
   /hîp-/-s/
   eat-PRS
I have just eaten (Nez Perce)

10 **hipt**
   /hîp-/-t/
   eat-N
eating (Nez Perce)

---

4 The copula has two allomorphs, *we before a vowel and *wek before a consonant. In Sahaptin *wek is palatalized before *-e, e.g. **iwačá he/she/it was’.

5 For examples of this nominalizer in Sahaptin, see Jacobs (1931:216). It is less productive in Nez Perce, but examples can be found, e.g. NP tîm’ës ‘book, paper’ (cf. /tîm’en/ ‘mark, write’). Not to be confused here is the purpose nominalizer, Sahaptin -s and Nez Perce **-təs’/. The most productive patient nominalizers are -ì in Sahaptin and /-tîs/, /-tîs’/ in Nez Perce (with [y] inserted after i-stems and [ʔ] after other vowel stems, see Aoki 1994:186).
11  hišpe
   /hiπi-e/
   eat-PST
   I ate (Nez Perce)

Nez Perce /s/ and /t/ both delete word finally when /n/ preceeds, and so n-verbs appear to suffix zero in the present perfect as also in nominalizations, e.g. 12. The n of n-verbs also surfaces in the past (ex. 13).

12  hèekin
   /hekín-s/ or /hekín-t/
   see-PRS see-N
   I have just seen; seeing (Nez Perce)

13  hèexne
   /hekín-e/
   see-PST
   I saw (Nez Perce)

N-verbs which are a- or e-stems delete both the /n/ and the final /s/ or /t/, e.g. 14 (cf. 15 where the stem final /n/ surfaces before a vowel).

14  wihne
   /wihnen-s/ or /wihnen-t/
   leave-PRS leave-N
   I have just left; leaving (Nez Perce)

15  wihne-ne
   /wihnen-e/
   leave-PST
   I left (Nez Perce)

In Nez Perce /-s/ does not co-occur with the directionals. This may be for phonological reasons (not completely clear at this time) and/or because of skewing by reanalysis. I put them in the underlying forms in exs. 16 and 17, though I know of no phonological process to delete them.

16  kúum
   /ku-m-s/
   go-CSL-PRS
   I have just come (Nez Perce)

17  kúuki
   /ku-kik-s/
   go-TRL-PRS
   I have just gone on (Nez Perce)

The present perfect -s surfaces in all the Sahaptin dialects before an enclitic, e.g. before =naš 'I/me' in 18.
18  wiyánawi-š=naš
    arrive-PF=1SG
    I have just arrived (Sahaptin)

Sahaptin -š also survives everywhere after the cislocative (exs. 19, 20, 21) and translocative
directionals (exs. 22, 23, 24).

19  i-wína-m-š
    3NOM-go-CSL-PRS
    He has just come (Sahaptin)

20  i-wína-ša-m-š
    3NOM-go-IMPV-CSL-PRS
    He is coming (Sahaptin)

21  i-wína-xa-m-š
    3NOM-go-HAB-CSL-PRS
    He comes (Sahaptin)

22  i-wína-kik-š
    3NOM-go-TRL-PRS
    He has just gone on (Sahaptin)

23  i-wína-ša-yk-š
    3NOM-go-IMPV-TRL-PRS
    He is going on (Sahaptin)

24  i-wína-xa-yk-š
    3NOM-go-HAB-TRL-PRS
    He goes on (Sahaptin)

In NE Sahaptin the translocative plus the perfect -š is realized as -čiš, e.g. 25, 26, 27.

25  i-wína-či-š
    3NOM-go-TRL-PRS
    He has just gone on (NE Sahaptin)

26  i-wína-šan-či-š
    3NOM-go-IMPV-TRL-PRS
    He is going on (NE Sah)

27  i-wína-xan-či-š
    3NOM-go-HAB-TRL-PRS
    He goes on (NE Sahaptin)

Note that although the present marker co-occurs with the directionals (exs. 19 through 27 above),
it does not co-occur with the aspect markers, e.g. /-šan-š/ equals -ša (ex. 28) and /-xan-š/ equals
-ša (ex. 29).

28  i-wína-ša
    3NOM-go-IMPV
    He is going (Sahaptin)

29  i-wína-ča
    3NOM-go-HAB
    He goes (Sahaptin)

The present -š deletes on all Sahaptin verbs in final /an/. There is, however, no 0- versus n-verb
contrast for a-stems in Sahaptin. Sahaptin a-stems are derived historically from *a-stems (ex. 30),
*e-stems (ex. 31), *an-stems (ex. 32), or *en-stems (ex. 33). Here only Nez Perce preserves the
0- versus n-verb distinction, i.e. the past /-e/ takes the form -ya/-ye after the former and -a/-e after the latter.

30 PS *a-stem
   a. i-wapáatan-a  
      3NOM-help-PST  
      He helped (Sahaptin)  
   b. hi-wapáayata-ya  
      3NOM-help-PST  
      He helped (Nez Perce)

31 PS *an-stem
   a. i-támyan-a  
      3NOM-hit-PST  
      He hit (Sahaptin)  
   b. hi-támyan-e  
      3NOM-hit-PST  
      He hit (Nez Perce)

32 PS *e-stem
   a. i-tiyan-a  
      3NOM-laugh-PST  
      He laughed (Sahaptin)  
   b. hi-tiy’e-ye  
      3NOM-laugh-PST  
      He laughed (Nez Perce)

33 PS *en-stem
   a. i-winan-a  
      3NOM-go-PST  
      He went (Sahaptin)  
   b. hi-wihnén-e  
      3NOM-leave-PST  
      He left (Nez Perce)

Nez Perce /-s/ is preserved in all PS 0-verbs (exs. 34a, 35a), whereas /n + s/ gets deleted in n-verbs (exs. 34b, 35b).

34 a. PS *a-stem  
      hiwapáayatas  
      /hi-wapáayata-s/  
      3NOM-help-PRS  
      He has just helped (Nez Perce)  
   b. PS *an-stem  
      hitáamyə  
      /hi-támyan-s/  
      3NOM-hit-PRS  
      He has just hit (Nez Perce)

35 a. PS *e-stem  
      hitiy’eš  
      /hi-tiy’e-s/  
      3NOM-laugh-PRS  
      He has just laughed (Nez Perce)  
   b. PS *en-stem  
      hiwihne  
      /hi-wihnén-s/  
      3NOM-leave-PRS  
      He has just left (Nez Perce)

Having reanalyzed all *a- and *e-stems as an-stems, Sahaptin marks the present perfect as zero for all these verbs, e.g. 36a & b and 37a & b.

36 a. PS *a-stem  
      i-wapáata  
      3NOM-help  
      He has just helped (Sahaptin)  
   b. PS *an-stem  
      i-támya  
      3NOM-hit  
      He has just hit (Sahaptin)
37 a. PS *e-stem   b. PS *en-stem
   i-tiya          i-wína
   3NOM-laugh     3NOM-go
   He has just laughed (Sahaptin) He has just gone (Sahaptin)

Sahaptin i- and u-stems, however, still retain their 0- versus n-verb status. Those that are 0-verbs suffix -ya in the past (exs. 38b, 39b), and zero in the present perfect (exs. 38a, 39a).

38 a. Present perfect   b. Past
   i-7ani   i-7ani-ya
   3NOM-make 3NOM-make-PST
   He has made [it] (Sahaptin) He made [it] (Sahaptin)

39 a. Present perfect   b. Past
   i-kú    i-kú-ya (CR: pa-kwí-ya)
   3NOM-do 3NOM-do-PST
   He has done [it] (Sahaptin) He did [it] (Sahaptin)

In CR Sahaptin i- and u-stems that are n-verbs are treated similarly, i.e. -a marks the past (exs. 40b, 41b) and zero the present perfect (exs. 40a, 41a). In un-stems the n is often deleted in the perfect (ex. 41a).

40 a. Present perfect   b. Past
   pa-wxîn    pa-wxîn-a
   3PL.NOM-lose 3PL.NOM-lose-PST
   They have lost [it] (CR Sahaptin) They lost [it] (Sahaptin)

41 a. Present perfect   b. Past
   pa-tmiyuv(n)   pa-tmiyuv-a
   3PL.NOM-plan 3PL.NOM-plan-PST
   They have planned (CR Sahaptin) They planned (Sahaptin)

NW Sahaptin, however, has innovated a special form -a for the present perfect of i- and u-stems that are n-verbs. These are treated as a special kind of i- or u-stem in which the past is marked with -na (ex. 42b, 43b) and the present perfect with -ya (ex. 42a) or -wa (ex. 43a).6

42 a. Present perfect   b. Past
   pa-7ámtkwí-ya  pa-7ámtkwí-na
   3PL.NOM-overtake-PF 3PL.NOM-overtake-PST
   They have overtaken They overtook
   (NW Sahaptin) (NW Sahaptin)

---

6 For similar examples of the in-stem ámtkwí 'overtake' see Jacobs (1929:230:1, 222:11), and for the un-stem fné'ún 'sleep' see Jacobs (1929:206:19-20, 205:12).
43 a. Present perfect  
   pa-nč'ú-wa  
   3PL.NOM-sleep-PF  
   They have just gone  
   to sleep (NW Sahaptin)  

   b. Past  
   pa-nč'ú-na  
   3PL.NOM-sleep-PST  
   They went to sleep  
   (NW Sahaptin)

In Nez Perce the present /-s/ survives on i- and u-stems that are zero verbs (exs. 44a, 45a), but not on n-verbs (exs. 44b, 45b). Here, however, the /n/ is lost on un-stems (45b).

44 a. i-stem  
   háanis  
   /hani-s/  
   plan-PF  
   I have made [it] (Nez Perce)

   b. in-stem  
   wiqín  
   /wīqīn-s/  
   lose-PF  
   I have lost [it] (Nez Perce)

45 a. u-stem  
   kúús  
   /ku-s/  
   go-PF  
   I have gone (Nez Perce)

   b. un-stem  
   timmīyu  
   /timmīyun-s/  
   plan-PF  
   I have planned (Nez Perce)

The validity of the 0- versus n-verb analysis of these i- and u-stem verbs is shown by the past tense forms in exs. 46, 47.

46 a. i-stem  
   haniyá  
   /hani-e/  
   plan-PST  
   I made [it] (Nez Perce)

   b. in-stem  
   wiqine  
   /wīqīn-e/  
   lose-PST  
   I lost [it] (Nez Perce)

47 a. u-stem  
   kúye  
   /ku-e/  
   go-PST  
   I went (Nez Perce)

   b. un-stem  
   timmīyune  
   /timmīyun-e/  
   plan-PST  
   I planned (Nez Perce)

Nez Perce n-verbs that are C-stems delete the present perfect /-s/, as in 48b, whereas they retain /-s/ when they are 0-verbs, as in 48a.

48 a. 0-verb  
   hiwéeks  
   /hiwé-wéks/  
   3NOM-dream-PF  
   He has dreamed (Nez Perce)

   b. n-verb  
   hiʔyáaqin  
   /hiʔyáaqin-s/  
   3NOM-find-PF  
   He has found [it] (Nez Perce)
In NW Sahaptin (at least in Jacobs’ recorded Klikitat texts), the present perfect -š is preserved on both types of consonant stem, e.g. 49a and 49b.

49  a.  0-verb  b.  n-verb
    i-7wák-š    i-7yáx-š
    3NOM-dream-PF  3NOM-find-PF
    He has dreamed (NW Sahaptin)  He has found [it] (NW Sahaptin)

In CR Sahaptin all C-stems look like n-verbs in the present perfect: -š is lost and -ín has been generalized as a kind of present perfect marker for both 0- and n-verbs, e.g. ex. 50.

50  a.  0-verb  b.  n-verb
    i-7wáčin  i-7yáxín
    3NOM-dream  3NOM-find
    He has just dreamed (CR Sahaptin)  He has just found [it] (CR Sahaptin)

Jacobs (1931:206) cites -ín as a NE suffix, with the comment that it “is important and unfortunately very much in doubt.” His examples, however, make it clear that as in CR Sahaptin, this is simply the n of n-verbs extended to mark the perfect for all consonant stems, whether n-verb (51b) or 0-verb (51a).

51  a.  0-verb  b.  n-verb
    i-wuwákín  i-láxwínín
    3NOM-have.nightmare  3NOM-be.warm
    He has just had  It has just gotten warm
    a nightmare     (Jacobs 1931:206)

As always, however, the perfect -š resurfaces before an enclitic (ex. 52).

52  áw-iyašín-š=naš=ta  áw
    3ABS-find-PF=1SG=MOD now
    I may have found it now (NE, Jacobs 1931:133)

In CR Sahaptin, probably NE Sahaptin also, the 0- versus n-verb distinction survives in the past tense, e.g. 53.

53  a.  0-verb  b.  n-verb
    i-7wác-a  i-7yáxna-a
    3NOM-dream-PST  3NOM-find-PST
    He dreamed (CR Sahaptin)  He found [it] (CR Sahaptin)

For at least some speakers of Yakima (NW Sahaptin) this distinction seems to be breaking down. Some speakers find either -a or -na an acceptable past marker for all consonant stems. There also seems to be some confusion over the 0- vs. n-verb status of C-stems in Jacobs’ Klikitat texts. For
example, in Jacobs (1929:176:18) and (1929:208:21) we see ñáxim ‘find’ (clearly an n-verb in CR Sahaptin, cf. also Nez Perce /ñáqin/ ‘find’), treated as an n-verb, but in Jacobs (1929:185:8) and (1929:208:19-20) we see it treated as a 0-verb.

1.3. The future

The Sahaptin future -ta clearly involves a reanalysis of -ta (PS *-ten) ‘go for a purpose’, which is itself probably the nominalizer *-t plus *hen, go. That we should reconstrct this verb (i.e. *hen, go) with initial *h is suggested by the fact that in Sahaptian all words begin in a consonant, and that an initial glottal stop would have glottalized the nominalizer *-t in Nez Perce. Though *hen does not survive as a primary verbal root, it is to be found in the directional *-en, motion thither.’ Compare also Nez Perce /hémm/, not go, which, if derived from *hen, go, and *-im, hither, confirms the initial *h of our hypothetical verb ‘go’. Compare also Klamath en, go, which always has a classificatory prefix (Barker 1963:129). The ‘go for a purpose’ and future functions of Sahaptin -ta may co-occur, e.g. 54.

54 i-twáta-ta-ta
3NOM-eat-go-FUT
He will go eat, he’s gonna go eat (Sahaptin)

The origin of the Nez Perce future -u? is perhaps not quite as clear. Aoki (1994:821) lists a directive suffix -u? ‘to, toward, against’ which is restricted to a very few verbs, and which Aoki suggests might be a form of the directive /-úu/ (from *-éwe, cf. the NW Sahaptin directive -áwa, for which see Rude 1991b). This highly restricted directive has the same form as the Nez Perce future, it could represent the same source. But it transitivizes a motion verb with the sense ‘toward a direct object’. The future derives from the metaphor of ‘motion toward the action’, and would thus represent a separate development. This directive -u?, however, is interesting in that underliningly it appears to have the form /-u/, and by regular phonological processes of vowel assimilation and deletion (and vowel harmony) yields the forms in 55 and 56.

55 ñató?sa
/ñáti-?u-s-en/
exit-DIR-IMPV-SG.NOM
I am exiting toward you (Aoki 1994:977)

56 hicé?sa
/híc-a-7u-s-en/
climb-DIR-IMPV-SG.NOM
I am climbing after you (Aoki 1994:821)

A similar analysis lets us unite as allomorphs two intensifier enclitics listed separately in Aoki 1994, e.g. -u? on page 821 and -7u on page 1102, e.g. as in exs. 57, 58.

---

7 Sahaptian *-en is also the likely source of the NP objective case suffix *-(n)en (see Rude 1991a).
57 kinik’u ‘surely from this’ (from /kînîk=ʔu/)

58 kïimu? ‘surely these’ < /kïmu=ʔu/ by Final Vowel Deletion
< /kïme=ʔu/ by Vowel Assimilation

The Nez Perce future also appears to be underlyingly /-ʔu/. This is suggested by the fact that when it is suffixed to a stress neutral verb stem, as in ex. 59, stress is word final. Root final vowels delete word finally in words of three or more syllables in Nez Perce, and Nez Perce has penultimate stress except when there are morphemes with inherent stress, e.g. compare exs. 60 and 61.

59 hipú? ‘I’ll eat’ < /hîpû-ʔu/ by Final Vowel Deletion
< /hîpî-ʔu/ by Vowel Assimilation
< /hîpî-ʔu/ by the Penultimate Stress Rule

60 hîpîse /hîpî-s-en/
et-IMPV-SG.NOM
I am eating (Nez Perce)

61 hipe /hîpî-e/
et-PST
I ate (Nez Perce)

But the future does not attract stress in the same way that the directive -u? does. The future -u? attracts stress only when no other morpheme in the word has inherent stress (ex. 59), the directive -u? attracts stress even away from a stressed root, as in 55 above. Compare the same stressed root /tâti/ with the future in exs. 62, 63. And after a regular vowel stem (not after /i/) the future takes the form -yu? (-yo? by vowel harmony) (ex. 64), the vowels do not assimilate as in 56 above. All this does not preclude an earlier identity /-ʔu/ for both the directive and future. But it does indicate a certain amount of reanalysis if they are from the same source morpheme.

62 ?âato? /ʔâti-ʔu/
ext-FUT
I will go out (Nez Perce)

63 ?âato?kom /ʔâti-ʔu-kum/
ext-FUT-CSL
I will come out (Nez Perce)

---

8 Compare Nez Perce tiwëet and Sahaptin twâati, both ‘shaman’. That Nez Perce preserves the final vowel underlyingly (e.g. /tïwët/) is evident from the oblique cases (e.g. objective tiwëetne) where /i/ surfaces.

9 All roots appear to have had morpheme inherent stress in Proto-Sahaptan. Sahaptin preserves this where Nez Perce does not, e.g. Sahaptin ani ‘make’ as opposed to Nez Perce /hanii/ ‘make’ (which is without inherent stress). Nez Perce roots which have inherent stress always have it on the same syllable as their Sahaptin cognates, e.g. Nez Perce /âti’aʔ/ ‘laugh’, Sahaptin tiya ‘laugh’. Stress assignment does not always apply before vowel deletion, however. Compare hâham ‘men’, which is underlyingly /ha-hâma/. But /hâma/ ‘maa’ does have inherent stress, and so hâham probably represents reanalysis. There are also a few exceptions to the root final vowel deletion rule, e.g. Nez Perce tîfla ‘crawfish’, tuʔâynu ‘tail’, ?lëxni ‘many, much’, tîmîne ‘heart’, mač’âye ‘ear’, kilkëye ‘service berry’.
64 hícayo?
/hica-u7/
climb-FUT
I will climb (Nez Perce)

Whatever the source of the Nez Perce future marker -u7, earlier on this morpheme probably simply functioned as ‘to’ in concert with the verb for ‘go’, as in English ‘gonna’ from ‘going to’. Since the cislocative future is -u7kum, i.e. -u7 plus /ku-m/ ‘come’ (/ku/ ‘go’ plus the cislocative /-m/), it seems safe to assume that the noncislocative future originally also contained /ku/ ‘go’, e.g. as -u7ku and that ku later dropped off.

2. The aspects

As is common in the history of many languages, the Sahaptian aspectual markers probably began their career as auxiliary verbs (cf. “be”, “keep”, “used to”, etc., in English). That the tense markers attach directly both to a verb stem (exs. 65, 66) as well as to the aspect markers (exs. 67, 68) suggests this verbal origin, i.e. as verbal auxiliaries they took the same tense markers as regular verbs.

65 i-wínan-a
3NOM-go-PST
He went (Sahaptin)

66 i-wína-ta
3NOM-go-PST
He will go (Sahaptin)

67 i-wína-šan-a
3NOM-go-IMPV-PST
He was going (Sahaptin)

68 i-wína-ša-ta
3NOM-go-IMPV-FUT
He will be going (Sahaptin)

In the same way the directionals *-im and *-kik, which attach directly to a verb stem (exs. 69, 70), also suffix directly to the aspect markers (exs. 71, 72), which suggests a verbal origin for the aspect markers and an older grammaticalized status for the directionals. ¹⁰

69 hikúum
/hi-ku-im/
3NOM-go-CSL
He has just come (Nez Perce)

70 hikúuki
/hi-ku-ki/
3NOM-go-TRL
He has just gone on (Nez Perce)

71 hikuséenm
/hi-ku-sen-im/
3NOM-go-IMPV-CSL
He is coming (Nez Perce)

72 hikuséenki
/hi-ku-sen-ki/
3NOM-go-IMPV-TRL
He is going on (Nez Perce)

¹⁰ Berman (1993) points out that the Molala cislocative was also marked by an -m, as well as probably also the Cayuse cislocative. Takelma and Kalapuya, which are prefixing languages, have ‘hither’ prefixes with m, e.g. Takelma me7- (Sepir 1922:88) and Kalapuya ma- (Jacobs 1945:215:16).
Penultimate stress in Nez Perce is never assigned to the translocative /-kik/, e.g. 73, 74. Penultimate stress has full access, however, to the Nez Perce aspect markers, as can be seen in exs. 71, 72 above. It is not clear why /-kik/ has this peculiarity. Perhaps it preserves some earlier prohibition against stressing grammatical morphemes (perhaps this is a universal tendency as grammaticalization progresses). If so, then this might indicate the more recent development of the aspect markers and a greater age for the translocative.

73  kúukike
    /ku-kik-e/
    go-TRL-PST
    I went on (Nez Perce)

74  kuséenkike
    /ku-sen-kik-e/
    go-IMPV.SG.NOM-PST
    I was going on (Nez Perce)

Another feature of the aspect markers, at least those in Nez Perce, is that they have different forms for whether the subject is singular or plural. The fact that they do not also mark person suggests a suppletive pattern, common in many Native American languages, where intransitive verbs have different forms depending on whether the subject is singular or plural (number suppletive transitive stems differ depending on whether the object is singular or plural). Such verbs are quite common in Klamath (e.g. hod ‘run (sg.)’, din ‘run (pl.)’, dos ‘run (a few)’, see Barker 1963). Though not as common in Sahaptian, there are, especially in Nez Perce, various adverbial prefixes which are probably verbal in origin and which indicate a plural subject, e.g. /tél-/ ‘gallop (pl.)’ (Aoki 1994:707), /têm-’/ ‘run (pl.)’ (Aoki 1994:1094), /tëye-’/ ‘fly (pl.)’ (Aoki 1994:1094). Without a co-occurring plural marker these generally indicate group action (ex. 74), with a plural marker the action is more dispersed (ex. 75).

75  hi-tél-ixn-e
    3NOM-gallop.PL-move-PST
    They galloped (as a group) (Aoki 1994:362:14)

76  hi-pe-tél-ixn-e
    3NOM-PL.NOM-gallop.PL-move-PST
    They galloped (as individuals) (Aoki 1994:362:14)

For these there are alternative adverbial prefixes (e.g. /qûqu-/ ‘gallop’, /wîlé-/ ‘run’, /wee-/ ‘fly’) which without a plural marker indicate singular action (exs. 77, 78).

77  hi-qûu-liixn-e
    3NOM-gallop-move-PST
    He galloped (Nez Perce)

78  hi-pe-qûu-liixn-e
    3NOM-PL.NOM-gallop-move-PST
    They galloped (Nez Perce)
2.1. The imperfective

The imperfective is marked by *-šen in both Sahaptian languages. It regularly occurs with stative verbs (ex. 79a, 80a), and with nonstative it marks the progressive (ex. 79b, 80b).

79    a i-q’ínu-ša     b i-tkwáta-ša
      3NOM-see-IMPV    3NOM-eat-IMPV
      He sees          He is eating     (Sahaptin)

80    a hekíce        b hipíse
      /hekin-se/n      /hipí-se/n
      see-IMPV.SG.NOM   eat-IMPV.SG.NOM
      I see            I am eating      (Nez Perce)

Cross-linguistically the most common source for the imperfective/progressive is the metaphor of being located in time. This may be realized with a simple locative construction plus ‘be’ (the source of the English progressive), or a locational verb like ‘stay’ (Givón 1984:291). For the Sahaptian imperfective *-šen, one thus suspects a connection with the directional *-če ‘on, upon’ (which is often applicable in that the goal is or becomes a grammatical object). Its Sahaptian form is -ša (-ása with frozen indicative, Jacobs 1931:196, 200), and in Nez Perce it occurs as /-ce/, cited in Aoki (1994) as /-ce/ ‘on behalf of’ on page 13, and as /-likéce/ ‘on, upon, on top of’ on page 370 (with removable /-lik/ ‘do, act’, Aoki 1994:368, and frozen indicative /-e/). The only trouble here is that, according to the Sahaptian sound correspondences outlined in Aoki (1962), for which see 81 below, the locative morpheme reconstructs as *-če, whereas the imperfective is *-šen.

81 Some Sahaptian correspondences according to Aoki (1962)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PS</th>
<th>Sahaptin</th>
<th>Nez Perce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*č</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*š</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is possible that the Sahaptian imperfective was originally *-čen, which would give it its present form in Sahaptin, i.e. -ša(n), and that */-cen/ was actually its earlier form in Nez Perce. In Sahaptin š productively alternates with a sound symbolic s, and in texts one regularly encounters the imperfective in its diminutive -ša(n) form. In Nez Perce the nondiminutive counterpart of c is s, and if the original form of the imperfective was */-cen/ in Nez Perce, it may be that it was everywhere reanalyzed to a nondiminutive form */-sen/ (ex. 83), except on n-verbs where /c/ has been phonologically preserved (ex. 82).
82 wihnece
/whiwhen-cen/
leave-IMPV.SG.NOM
I am leaving (Nez Perce)

83 tiy'es
/tiye-sen/
laugh-IMPV.SG.NOM
I am laughing (Nez Perce)

Now based on the most common cross-linguistic source for the imperfective, and considering PS *-č'e ‘on, upon’ as a cognate of the Sahaptian imperfective, we should assume an old auxiliary verb *č'e ‘be on, upon’ or maybe ‘sit’. This looks precisely like the Klamath čy- ‘sit (sg.)’ (Barker 1963:67), which even matches perfectly the suppletive singular subject preserved in Nez Perce. Aoki (1963) finds three different Sahaptian correspondences which match Klamath č (see 84 below). The first (š - s) fits the correspondence found in the Sahaptian imperfective, Sahaptin -ša(n), Nez Perce -/sen/, but not if we assume an earlier PS *-čen with Sahaptin -ša(n) and Nez Perce -/cen/ (see 80 above). If there is no way around these correspondences, and if we still want to relate the Sahaptian directional, then we will have to assume that the Nez Perce /-ce/ ‘on, upon’ was derived via diminutive sound symbolism. Note also the alternative Nez Perce forms even with diminutive glottalization, /-c'e/ ‘on, upon’ (Aoki 1994:66), and strong vowel, /-c'a/ ‘on, upon’ (Aoki 1994:58).11

84 Sahaptian correspondences matching Klamath č (Aoki 1963)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Klamath</th>
<th>Sahaptin</th>
<th>Nez Perce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>ć</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *individuation* status of our hypothetical *č'e or *š'e(n) ‘sit sg.’ may also be reflected in the Sahaptin pronominal enclitic =šá ‘alone’ (Jacobs 1931:256). Here the s is likely the sound symbolic derivative of š, since =šá initiates diminutive symbolism in the whole word, e.g. ilk=šá ‘I alone’ (cf. ilk ‘I’). Thus =šá points to a source *š'e(n), which if the same ‘sit sg.’ would mean ilksá ‘I alone’ originated naturally as ‘I sit sg.’ or ‘I sit alone’. That plural pronouns also take =šá (e.g. pma=šá ‘they alone’) only means generalization throughout the paradigm of the individuitive sense of *š'e(n).

For the Nez Perce imperfective plural /-sik/, one is tempted to consider the possibility that Nez Perce /siks/ ‘nest’ (Aoki 1994:638) is a nominalization of an earlier /sik/ ‘sit (pl.).’12 Klamath čii ‘stay, live, dwell’ (Barker 1963:77) is likely related to Klamath čy- ‘sit (sg.)’, and though it preserves no plural sense, it may have originally had such a sense and may be connected to the Nez Perce imperfective /-sik/, /-sin-/.

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11 Sound symbolism is ubiquitous in Sahaptian, for which see “Addenda I” at the end of this article. There are many examples within Sahaptian where /s/ alternates with /š/, and where plain obstruents correspond to ejectives. Aoki (1994:60), for example, suggests that /š'āshì/ ‘spread out (e.g., of feather, tail), sprinkle (of water)’ is “probably phonosymbolic in basic form and related to” /šāshì/ ‘scatter’ (Aoki 1994:10).

12 According to Millstein (1990a), however, Sahaptin šiks, friend, pal, partner (NP /siks/ also has these meanings) is “from Chinook Jargon, ultimately from Chinook language”.

2.2. The habitual

The habitual/frequentative is marked in Nez Perce by separate morphemes depending on whether the subject is singular or plural, /-qan/ or /-tu/ if singular and /-eʔnik/ if plural. It is thus probable that these morphemes, just as was hypothesized above for the imperfective/progressive, derive from number suppletive verbal auxiliaries. Nez Perce /-qan/ and Sahaptin ϫ may be related to Nez Perce /ʔiʔan/ ‘lie on the back, be supine’ (Aoki 1994:1069). And if Klamath sq’ol ‘lie down (sg.)’ (Barker 1963:391) is cognate, it would preserve the notion of singular subject. The /ʔt-/ is removable from the Nez Perce verb, and the /s-/ probably is from the Klamath. The PS *a-Klamath ϰ and PS *m/*1-Klamath I correspondences are already attested in Aoki (1963), and sound symbolism might explain the Sahaptin ϫ-nez Perce q-Klamath q’ anamoly. See also comments on the Nez Perce recent past marker /-qa/ in section 1.1. above.

If we subtract from the Nez Perce plural subject /-eʔnik/ the frozen indicative /-e/ and a plural /-ik/, the latter perhaps on analogy with the plural imperfective /-sik/, then we are left with what looks like the Nez Perce verb /ʔin/ ‘lie, lie down, be lying down’ (Aoki 1994:1005). And here one wants to connect Klamath lol’al ‘pl. lie’ (Barker 1963:222). Though this looks like a reduplicated stem, perhaps a doubly reduplicated *ʔol, Barker notes that it cannot be “descriptively” so analyzed. But this could simply be a matter of reanalysis. Perhaps related is the Klamath ‘pl. objs.’ classifier ?t- (Barker 1963:32).

The singular indefinite past /-q/ is probably a reduced form of /-qa/, which is the form /-qan/ would take word finally, and which is suggested by the fact that words in /-q/ show strong vowel harmony the same as words in /-qan/, e.g. 85 and 86.

85 hikóox
   /hi-ku-qa/
   3NOM-do-HAB.PRS
   It keeps doing
   (Phinney 1934:366:6)

86 hiwyankaaxnóox
   /hi-wyenkoheken-úu-qa/
   3NOM-aim.bow-DIR-HAB.PRS
   He keeps aiming his bow at
   me (Phinney 1934:140:12)

There is also a process in Nez Perce which deletes final vowels in words of three or more syllables, e.g. háama ‘man’, but with reduplication we get háham ‘men’ (from the trisyllabic /ha-hama/). Compare also the Northeast Sahaptin present habitual/frequentative -ϰ, which elsewhere is -xa (Jacobs 1931:204).

The initial element of the singular present /-tetu/ probably derives from an old Sahaptian verbal root *te ‘stand’, e.g. /te/ in Nez Perce (Aoki 1994:701) which occurs in /ʔisep̏e/ ‘stand with a load’ (cf. /ʔisep̏i/ ‘carry a load’, /ʔisep̏ik/ ‘walk with a load’, /ʔisep̏en̏/ ‘bring in game’). In Sahaptin this *te occurs in p̏ata (sg.), p̏ta (pl.) ‘stand up, stick up (of inanimate objects)’ (from Millstein 1991a).

There is also an old Sahaptian verbal root *tu which probably meant ‘stand (sg.)’. It occurs in Nez Perce as an irregular inflectional suffix which combines the notions of “singular subject” and “stative” (Aoki 1994:790). The plural equivalent is /-tn’ix/. Sahaptian *tu is also a
component of certain Sahaptin verbs which similarly lack dynamic aspectual forms, i.e. there is only a stative present -tun (t-uwa in NW Sahaptin) and stative past -tuna. Though Sahaptin -tun does not imply a singular subject, it does co-occur with other number suppletive elements, e.g. pátun (sg.) and ptún (pl.) 'sit (of inanimate objects)'. Sahaptian *tu is also a component of Sahaptin nišátun 'live' (Jacobs 1929:176:19), tútì 'stand', and the transitivized stems pátuk (sg. object) and ptúk (pl. object) 'set up, set out'. The verb *wévtuk 'camp overnight' occurs in both languages and probably contains this element. For a possible Klamath cognate, see Klamath tg'- 'stand (sg.)' (Barker 1963:405), perhaps also din 'lie (animal)' (Barker 1963:117).\footnote{Perhaps related are the Klamath interrogative dat 'where?' and locative noun case marker -dat (Barker 1963:126).}

For a comparison of the Nez Perce stative /te/ and /tu/ forms, see Table 3 below (Aoki 1994:1033 provides a paradigm of a /-te/ verb).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>*te forms</th>
<th>*tu forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remote</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-tecene</td>
<td>-tune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-tecine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-taqa</td>
<td>-toqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-ti?niqa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Indefinite Past</td>
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<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-tene</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-tene</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-tu (translocative -tunki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-ti?nix</td>
<td>-ti?nix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-tenu?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-tenu?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-tee?nimtx (cislocative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. The conditional

The Nez Perce present conditional -'ax suffixes to 0-verbs that have been nominalized by -t (ex. 87), and to n-verbs without -t (ex. 88). This -/t/ was likely present in both cases and simply deleted phonologically (or historically) in the latter (see ex. 12 above).

87 hiwat'âx
   /hi-we-t-7aq/
   3NOM-be-N-COND.PRS
   It would have been (Aoki 1970:114)

88 ?aakin'âx
   /t-e-hekín-7aq/
   3ABS-see-COND.PRS
   I would have seen him (Aoki 1970:123)

The Sahaptin conditional -taxnay is a large enough morpheme that it ought not be too old and its derivation should be more or less transparent. There is no immediately discernable source in Sahaptian, however, and so it is likely that the -tax portion of this suffix is cognate with the Nez Perce conditional present -tt'aq/. Though -/t/ glottalizes the -/t/ in Nez Perce, this should not be expected in Sahaptin. The source of the remaining -nay portion of the Sahaptin conditional is probably a plus the past -a (see comments below), though it is not clear why this takes the form -nay in NW Sahaptin, -na NE and CR, and -ni Taynapam or Upper Cowlitz (another NW dialect, see Jacobs 1931:206). The *?aq or *?ax element is probably related to the nominal enclitic of the same form, e.g. the Nez Perce "optative" /t-7aq/ (Aoki 1970:59), ex. 89 below, and the Sahaptin =ax "wish, desire, hope" (Jacobs 1931:129), ex. 90, and to the Nez Perce verbal desiderative -/7eq/ "try, strongly wish" (ex. 91). The desiderative meaning of these nominal and verbal elements thus suggests their verbal origin ("want, wish, desire"), which would also represent the source of the Sahaptin conditional *-7aq.

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14 Note how the purpose nominalizer /-es/ similarly suffices to 0-verbs with -/t/ in Nez Perce and causes glottalization, e.g. kixut'es /kut-t-7es/ 'in order to go' (Aoki 1994:88), but that the -/t/ is always missing on n-verbs, e.g. tim'en'es /tim-en-7es/ 'in order to write, for writing, a pen' (Aoki 1994:87). In Sahaptin the same purpose nominalizer suffices to both types of verb stem with -t, and in neither instance does the t glottalize, e.g. ìltaís 'in order to enter' (àl 'enter' is a 0-verb) and wiylánintal 'in order to travel around' (an n-verb). Both Sahaptin examples are cited from Millstein (1990b).

15 There seems to be no readily identifiable potential cognate in Klamath. Barker (1963) lists only one such verb, san'aaWawl 'want, desire, wish'. It is large enough that one suspects a recent development. Barker (1963:348) suggests that the initial sa- may be the reflexive, and Wawl looks suspiciously like the Nez Perce wēwluq 'want, desire, wish' (already compared in DeLancey et al 1988:217). And according to DeLancey et al (1988:204), "[T]here is some evidence to suggest that postvocalic back fricatives in Sahaptian correspond to vowel length in Klamath". It is thus possible that Klamath san'aaWawl contains an ?aa element that is cognate with Sahaptian *?aq.
89 ʔiin=’ax  hi-wtini-s
1SG.NOM=OPT 3NOM-share-PF
I wish he would share with me (Phinney 1934:298:17-299:1)

90 nimi=š=ax  wa-taxnay
mine=1SG=wish be-COND
I wish [they] were mine (Jacobs 1931:129)

91 wiyúuy’eqse
/wiyé-way-7eq-s-en/
going.along-part-DES-IMPV-SG.NOM
I am trying to go, I am dying to go (Aoki 1970:103; Aoki 1994:990)

Sahaptin has but the one conditional (see Table 1), whereas Nez Perce has two conditionals
(Table 2), the present conditional -ʔaq just discussed above, and a past conditional -oʔqa. This
past conditional is obviously constructed from the future -uʔ and recent past -qa, which suggests
an origin as a counterfact conditional. According to Givón (1990:831), “counterfact clauses tend
to be marked, cross-linguistically, by a combination of two semantically conflicting verbal
inflections:

(a) A prototypical realis operator, such as past, perfective or perfect;
and

(b) A prototypical irrealis operator, such as future, subjunctive, conditional or a
modal.”

The counterfact status of -oʔqa seems to have weakened and not apply in every example,
however, e.g. compare 92 and 93 below.\(^{16}\)

92 c’alawí hi-pásya-oʔqa  ʔipí  watíisx,
if 3NOM-arrive-COND 3SG.NOM yesterday

kaa ʔa-axn-6ʔqa
and 3ABS-see-COND
If he had come yesterday, I would have seen him (Aoki 1970:114)

93 ʔa-kíyó-yoʔqə  c’alawí hi-tan’wáa-yoʔqə
3ABS-marriage-COND.PST if 3NOM-propose-COND.PST
I would marry him if he proposed (Aoki 1978:63[11]:20)

\(^{16}\) For the first example Aoki notes that /-ʔaq/ may be substituted in either the first or second clause without a
change in meaning. Aoki also suggests that there is no change in meaning when /-ʔaq/ marks both clauses, but perhaps
such a construction would better be translated such that a degree of probability exists, e.g. ‘If he came yesterday I might
have seen him’.
Sahaptin counterfact conditionals mark both verbs with the conditional (ex. 94), whereas irrealis conditionals have the future in both clauses (ex. 95).

94  iniit=naš wá-ta̱xni ana=ku čáw i-lú-ta̱xni  
house=1SG be-COND REL=and NEG 3NOM-burn-COND  
I would have had a house had it not burned (Jacobs 1931:206)

95  páyš=nam á-tkwata-ta ku=nam laʔák ƛ’iyáwi-ta  
maybe=2SG 3ABS-eat-FUT and=2SG maybe die-FUT  
If you eat it you might die (CR Sahaptin)

Irrealis conditionals in Nez Perce also most often occur with both verbs in the future (ex. 96).

96  c’alawí ?ée taxč wilelìix-n-uʔ  
if 2SG.NOM FUT run.away-FUT

méetmet ?íle-wiyn-úu-yuʔ-kum héének’uʔ  
do.not loudly-cry-DIR-FUT-CSL again  
If you run away, do not loudly beseech me again  
(Phinney 1934:7:16-17)

Both Nez Perce conditionals also serve as simple irrealis modals, often with an abilitative sense (exs. 97, 98). The same applies to the single Sahaptin conditional (ex. 99).

97  kaa nek-s-íix 7imé 7éetx wi-s-íix  
and think-IMPV-PL.NOM 2PL.NOM 2PL be-IMPV-PL.NOM

ci-cikaw’ís kaa ?éetx ?e-pe-x-y6ʔqa  
RDP-powerful and 2PL 3ABS-PL.NOM-do-COND  
And we think you are very powerful and you can/could do it (Phinney 1934:400:9-10)

98  ?itúu-ne páa-ko-t’áx  
what-OBJ 3/3-do-N-COND.PRS  
What could she do? (Phinney 1934:114:7)

99  áw=nan mís-knik ku=nan wímp-ata-ta̱x̌nay ilkwíš  
now=1PL what-INST and=1PL get-go-COND fire  
Now with what can/could we go get the fire? (Jacobs 1929:175:6-7)

Aoki (1994:974) notes that /-ʔaq/ occurs in prohibitive clauses, e.g. 100. The future is also very common in such constructions (ex. 101).

100  kaa wéetmet wiyáa-q’ilawn-’áx  
and PROHIB going.along-look.back-COND.PRS  
And don’t look back while going along (Aoki 1994:974)
Both Nez Perce conditionals co-occur with the imperfective. Aoki (1970:114) describes one instance where the imperfective plus /-7aq/ is used “to ask a rhetorical question” (ex. 102).

An example of the conditional /-o?qa/ with the imperfective is hiwšínoʔqa ‘they would be’ in 103 below.

If he had crossed the fifth mountain

4. Imperatives

The Sahaptian imperative *-k is shared by both languages, e.g. Sahaptin (ex. 103) and Nez Perce (ex. 104).
Nez Perce /-k/ deletes on all n-verbs (exs. 106, 107, 108).

106 hín
/hín-k/
say-IMP
Say! (Aoki 1970:117)

107 ?ehékin
/?e-hekin-k/
3ABS-see-IMP
See it! (Aoki 1970:117)

108 wiské?éyn
/wíske?éyn-k/
travel-IMP
Take a trip! (Aoki 1994:215:18)

The /n/ also deletes after back or low vowels (exs. 109, 110).

109 ?ipsqílehne
/?ípsqílehnen-k/
walk down-IMP
Walk down!
(Aoki 1970:117)

110 timmiyu
/timmiyun-k/
figure out-IMP
Figure [it] out!
(Aoki 1994:744:27)

Note also the behavior of k-stems:

111 ?ew’niix
/?ew-?ini-k/
3ABS-place-IMP
Place it! (Aoki 1994:1040:13)

Nez Perce has a special imperative /-i/ for V-stems which are 0-verbs (exs. 112, 113, 114, 115). This imperative may be cognate with the Klamath imperative singular -i (Barker 1963:174).

112 kúy
/kú-i/
go-IMP
Go! (Aoki 1994:244:16)

113 wéecey
/wéece-i/
2 ride-IMP
Ride! (Aoki 1994:844:5)

114 hanii
/han-i/
make-IMP
Make! (Aoki 1994:96:16)

115 ?ew’nii
/?ew-?ini-i/
3ABS-give-IMP
Give him [something]! (Aoki 1994:1036:29)

In both languages the imperative is pluralized by *-t (exs. 116, 117). In Warm Springs, one of the CR dialects of Sahaptin, the imperative plural takes the form *-ti (ex. 118), which probably preserves the same old imperative *-i which occurs on V-stems in Nez Perce and serves to mark the imperative singular in Klamath (see above).
tkwáta-t-k  
eat-PL-IMP  
Eat! (Sahaptin)

hipítx  
/hi-pi-t-k/  
eat-PL-IMP  
Eat! (Nez Perce)

tkwáta-t-i  
eat-PL-IMP  
Eat! (Warm Springs)

This *-tk complex also pluralizes the Nez Perce indeclinable pronoun ʔéé ‘you (sg.)’, e.g. ʔéetx ‘you (pl.)’. This pluralizing *-t is probably cognate with the /-ad/ or -at element which pluralizes Klamath personal pronouns (119 below).\(^\text{17}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Klamath personal pronouns (Barker 1962:239)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^\text{17}\) Nez Perce has one other indeclinable pronoun, kíye ‘we, us (inclusive of hearer)’, which is made exclusive by /-k/, e.g. kíyex ‘we, us (exclusive of hearer)’ or ‘I, me’. This exclusive /-k/ is the same as the exclusive pronominal enclitic (see Aoki 1970:129f., 1994:187). Here we might consider the possibility of a connection to the Klamath 1st person hortative -ek ‘let me ...’ (Barker 1963:126:32), and ask if perhaps such a sense could have been extended in Sahaptian to ‘let me have you ...’. Sometimes Sahaptin =maʔ ‘I acting on you’ (which contains the equivalent Sahaptin exclusive element =4) appears in imperative constructions, so perhaps it is not totally out of line to imagine marking the speaker in imperatives.
References


ADDENDA I. SOUND SYMBOLISM

Besides regular sound change, one finds examples within Sahaptian where the sounds joined by the lines in the consonant chart below are related by sound symbolism. This excludes, of course, the aspirated series which Sahaptian does not have (but which Klamath does and where there is evidence of the same relatability by sound symbolism).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>λ</th>
<th>č</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>kʷ</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>qʷ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>xʰ</td>
<td>cʰ</td>
<td>cʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>kʰʷ</td>
<td>qʰ</td>
<td>qʰʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʲ</td>
<td>tʲ</td>
<td>xʲ</td>
<td>cʲ</td>
<td>cʲ</td>
<td>kʲ</td>
<td>kʲʷ</td>
<td>qʲ</td>
<td>qʲʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xʷ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xʷ</td>
<td>h</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The Proto-Sahaptian vowel system is reconstructable as given below. In it vowel harmony related *u - *o and *e - *a, and two varieties of *i which are realized in Nez Perce as /i/ - /ɪ/. In addition, the vowel *i alternated in an ablaut system with *ee/*aa and *ii (see Jacobs 1931:140). I believe that Sahaptian vowel harmony was originally the vocalic part of the more general sound symbolism so prevalent in Sahaptian and also areally. Though vowel symbolism later became automatic, the strong vowels are still diminutive in Nez Perce. And every sound symbolic alternation in Sahaptian is either a more or a less harmonic “across the board” feature. The *n - *l and *s - *s alternations are closer to the vocalic alternations in that they are pretty well assured by the symbolic status of the word. Within a word every *n tends to change to *l and every *s to *s, whereas in the same word *m is less likely to change to *w even though this is an attested sound symbolic alternation in both languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
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</table>

| e — a |

In historical linguistics there is always the tendency to reconstruct too many sounds. Initially, at least, Proto-Inventories will tend to be large enough to accommodate every observable alternation,

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18 That this latter alternation already existed in Proto-Sahaptian is suggested by the fact that the weak variety of *i caused palatalization in Sahaptin (e.g. Sahaptin čimtī 'new', Nez Perce K̓imtī 'new'), whereas the strong variety did not (e.g. Sahaptin tktí 'twist, intertwine, roll together', Nez Perce T̓akl̓áyən 'exchange, trade', Sahaptin tk'ína 'watch', Nez Perce T̓akl̓áyən 'watch'). But the derivational role played by sound symbolism sometimes skews this pattern, e.g. Sahaptin č'ík'íy 'dried salmon' probably derives from a weak vowel variety of Nez Perce T̓akl̓álay 'dog salmon'.
and thus the more daughter languages there are, the larger will be the sound inventory. Penutian is notorious here, with its seemingly sporadic correspondences across so many potentially good cognate sets. Some of this obviously represents borrowing. But if the field is ever to be put on a more solid footing, Penutianists must confront this issue. If we are going relate the California and Oregon languages, we will have to ask ourselves whether the larger sound inventories that we find in the north better represent the Proto-language (with simplification having taken place in the south), or whether the earlier sound inventory looked more like a California language, that perhaps it was in the north, in contact with richer sound systems and a more productive sound symbolism, that the Oregon languages came to look more like Pacific Northwest languages. This would not have to imply a northward migration, just that those languages which remained in contact with the richer sound systems experienced the greater development. If we were to reconstruct a Proto-Penutian sound inventory something like that given below, sound symbolism would certainly allow for each phase of expansion in the Oregon languages. More likely the actual situation in Proto-Penutian, if such a language ever existed, was a compromise somewhere between the extremes suggested by the two sound inventories I have charted.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
p & t & \ddot{c} & k & ? & i & i & u \\
s & \ddot{s} & x & h \\
m & n & a \\
w & y \\
\end{array}
\]

Borrowing and influence can penetrate at many levels, vocabulary being the most obvious. And borrowing, along with pure chance, seems to be the currently most popular way to dismiss similarities. But areal influence is not always just an easy answer to similarity in vocabulary. Sometimes, as in our case, it can explain why similar vocabulary was NOT borrowed. Recognition of the areal influence of sound symbolism and the rich inventory of sounds this implies suggests that we might be able to discern more inherited Penutian vocabulary in all our languages.

This should not imply that for us anything goes, that in our field there are no regular sound correspondences. But it does mean that we need more detailed studies of sound symbolism in all our languages, of each particular alternation pattern and its semantic/derivational/functional motivations.
ADDENDA II. FORMATIVES OF SAHAPTIAN VERB SUFFIX INFLECTIONS

*?im. Together with */-ik/ and the frozen indicative */-e/, this element forms the plural habitual in Nez Perce, e.g. */-e?nik/. The probable source is the Sahaptian verb *?in 'lie', but it has no inherent sense of plural subject. For this we might compare the Klamath classifier ʔi- ‘pl. objs.’ (Barker 1963:32), and perhaps also Klamath lol’al ‘pl. lie’ (Barker 1963:222).

*ʔaq. With nominalizer *-t, forms the present conditional in Nez Perce, as well as the tax element of the Sahaptin conditional, -taxnay. As a verbal auxiliary, Sahaptian *ʔaq probably originally meant ‘want, wish, desire’, which is the meaning preserved in the Sahaptian nominal enclitic *=ʔaq.

*ʔu. Future tense in Nez Perce, also a component of past conditional -ʔaʔ in Nez Perce. Probably related to a Nez Perce directive -ʔ?ʔ, and probably originally took the form -ʔʔʔku, which now survives only with the cislocative.

*e. Past tense, perfective aspect. Also marks past in aspects, remote in Nez Perce. Frozen on to various verbal suffixes. May be very old in Sahaptian, cf. for example the Klamath indicative/-declarative -a (Barker 1963:41, 1964:163f).

*i. Imperative. Only on vowel stems in Nez Perce, and with plural imperative in Warm Springs, e.g. -ʔtí. Probably very old, e.g. compare the Klamath imperative singular -i (Barker 1963:174).

*k. Imperative.

*kik. Translocative directional. Also takes the forms *-ki and *-ik, depending on morphophonemic environment. Palatalized in NE Sahaptin, e.g. -čič.

*m. Cislocative directional. Probably very old. There are suffixal -m cislocatives in Molala and Cayuse (Berman 1993), and prefixal cislocatives m- in Kalapuya (Jacobs 1945:215:16) and Takelma (Sapir 1922:88). The probable ultimate source for these morphemes would be a verb ‘come’.

*n. Very common stem final element in Sahaptian. Used derivationally.

*ʔqa. Recent past, only in Nez Perce. Together with the future forms the past conditional, e.g. -ʔʔʔaʔ, -ʔʔʔkomqa with cislocative. Probably related to other Sahaptian morphemes which imply suddenness, unexpectedness, involuntary action, and which probably derive from an older root meaning ‘fall down’. Probably related to the habitual *-ʔʔʔan/*-ʔʔʔan.

*ʔs. Present perfect. From a patient nominalizer *-ʔs.

*ʔʔʔen. Imperfective aspect. Singular nominative in Nez Perce. Cognacy with Klamath ʔʔʔ- ‘sit (sg.)’ (Barker 1963:67) would indicate the singular subject meaning was inherent in the original verbal source for this auxiliary, and that *-ʔʔʔen subsequently lost this feature in Sahaptin.
*šik. Imperfective plural nominative, only in Nez Perce. Takes the form /-sin-/ before other suffixes. Probably *šik or perhaps *sik represents an early suppletive auxiliary meaning 'sit (sg.)'. Compare Nez Perce /siks/ 'nest' (Aoki 1994:638), which may be a nominalization, and Klamath čii 'stay, live, dwell' (Barker 1963:77).

*t. Nominalizer. With *-aq, forms the present conditional in Nez Perce, and the tax element of the Sahaptin conditional.

*t. Pluralizer for the imperative. Probably a very old morpheme. Compare, for example, the /ad/ element on the Klamath plural personal pronouns, /naad/ 'we' vs. /ni/ 'I', etc. (Barker 1962:239).

*te. Future tense only in Sahaptin. Obviously an extension of Sahaptian *-ten, go for a purpose, which was originally the nominalizer *-t plus *hen, go. Cf. also Klamath en, go.

*ten. Together with /-tun/ this auxiliary element forms the present habitual singular nominative in Nez Perce, e.g. -tetu, and with /-tinnik/ the Nez Perce present habitual plural nominative, e.g. -te7nix. From Sahaptian *ten, stand.

*tun. From a Sahaptian verb *tun which probably originally meant 'stand (sg.)'. With /-te/ this forms the singular present habitual in Nez Perce, e.g. -tetu. If a cognate, Klamath tgu 'stand (sg.)' (Barker 1963:405) would preserve the earlier singular sense.

*xan. Habitual aspect. Singular nominative in Nez Perce. Probably related to the Nez Perce /ʔtàn/, lie on the back, and also an older Sahaptian element *xa/*xe/*qa/*qe which probably meant 'fall, drop', and which would be more directly the source of the recent past marker in Nez Perce (see *qa above). Here the habitual meaning would have derived from the more stative notion inherent in 'be lying down'. The singular subject of the Nez Perce auxiliary may be preserved in the Klamath sq'ol 'lie down (sg.)' (Barker 1963:391).
ADDENDA III. SAHAPTIAN VERB STEM CLASSES

The following is a list of Proto-Sahaptian verbs classified as to stem type. The reconstructions are based on Aoki (1962) and Rude (1992). The Nez Perce underlying forms are based on Rude (1992). In order to complete the list, several forms are cited as hypothetically Proto-Sahaptian when they are attested in only one language, usually Nez Perce for the rarer vowel stems. The list is not intended to be complete, however. The Sahaptin verbs are not guaranteed to be current in all dialects with the same meaning and form, though I have mentioned variants of which I am aware.

Part 1. Vowel stems, 0-verbs

a-stem


*hiča. vi. Climb. NP /hiča/ vi. ‘climb’.

*wapáyata. vt. Help. Sah wapáata, NP /wapáyata/. This is *wepé-, with the hand, plus *yata. See Aoki (1994:939).

e-stem

*ʔite. vt. Put in. Sah ʔta(a), NP /ʔite/.

*-če. vt. Be on, upon. Sah -ša, NP /-če/.

*-pe. vi. Move into brush. Sah -pa, NP /-pe/.

*šišiʔe. vi. Freeze. Sah šišá, NP /siš’e/.


*tiy’e. vi. Laugh. Sah tíya, NP /tiy’e/.

*wé. vi. Be. Sah wá, NP /we/.*wé before a vowel.

*wét’e. vt. Beat, whip. Sah wát’a, NP /weť’e/. Contains *we-, with an implement, and *t’e.

*weyeče. vi. Dance. wáša, NP /we(y)ece/. Probably *weyé-, with rapid movement, plus *če, be upon.
i-stem

*?úyi. vt. Begin, start. Sah úyi, NP /?úyi/.

*hani. vt. Make. Sah aní, NP /hani/.

*-hi. v. Verbalizer, derives verbs from nouns. Sah -i, NP /-hi/.

*hinewi. vt. Try, test. Sah ínawi, NP /hinewi/.

*hétewi. vt. Esteem, value, honor, admire, love, like. Sah átawi, NP /hétewi/.

*mi. vt. Do, treat. Sah mí.

*náq’i. vi. Finish. Always attached to another verb or prefix, e.g. the transitivizer *hi-: Sah ínaq’i, NP /hinaq’i/.


*péxwi. vtt. Steal from, rob. Sah paxwi, NP /péxwi/.


*tamánwi. vt. Decree, ordain. Sah tamánwi, NP /tamálwi/.

o-stem

I am aware of no examples of o-stems, but u-stems of course become o-stems by vowel harmony, e.g. NP kosáqa /ku-sen-qa/, I was going.

u-stem

*kú. vt. Do. Sah kú, NP /kú/. Also means ‘go’ in Nez Perce and NE Sahaptin.

Part 2. Vowel stems, n-verbs

an-stem

*(ʔi)pitiyan. vt. Sah pitya, spear. NP /ʔiptäyan/, stab (with a knife). Probably contains *(ʔi)p-, with the hand.


en-stem


*hititémen. vt. Count, read. Sah ititáma, NP /hititeme/.

*šiwen. vt. Fail to recognize, not notice. Sah šíwa, NP /šiwen/.

*(ʔi)šwen. vt. Skin, butcher. Sah šúwa, NE šúwa, /šiswen/.


*téw’yen. vi. Live, stay, reside, dwell. Sah tawya, NP /tewyen/.


*tiwen. vi. Smell, stink. Sah tíwa, NP /tiwen/.

in-stem

*k’eʔiün. vt. Peek in at, spy on. Sah k’iìn, NP /k’eʔiün/.

*nknín. vi. Go around, move around, rotate. Sah nkñín, NP /likín/.

*win. vi. Cry, weep, moan, wail. NP /win/.

*q’ín. vi. Adhere, stick. Sah q’ïn, NP /q’in/.

*skilín. vi. Turn, return. Sah CR skilín, NE scñín, NW slín, NP /cikilín/.
*wixín (also *wexín, *wixín, etc.). vt. Throw away, remove, lose, toss, shed, put down, lay down, loosen. Sah wixín, wiqín, NP /wɪqɪn/ /wiqín/, /weqín/.

on-stem

NP /nón/. vt. Go gather (grass, firewood, tepee poles, moss, pitch, etc., “but not food items such as salmon, and camas”, Aoki 1994:493).

un-stem

*himyun. vt. Call or designate as a relative. NP /himiyun/.

*mún. vt. Call, invite, summon. NP /mún/.

*timmiyun. vi. Deliberate, decide, plan, scheme, figure out. Sah tmiyun, NP /tummiyun/.


Part 3. Diphthong stems (all are n-verbs)

awn-stem

*skáwn. vt. Fear, be afraid of. Sah skáwn, NP /cɪkáwn/.

ewn-stem

*siséwn. vi. Drip, leak. NP /siséwn/.

iwn-stem

*iwn. vi. Urinate. NP /iwn/.

iwn-stem

*lín. vi. Burn. Sah lín, NP /línw/.

*q’ilíwn. vi. Turn the head around, look back. Sah q’ínun, see (NW, CR only). NP /q’iláwn/, turn the head around, look back.

ayn-stem

*páyn. vi. Appear, arrive. NP /páyn/.
eyn-stem

*himéyn. vt. Suspect, blame, accuse. NP /híméyn/.

oyn-stem

*hoyn. NP /-hoyn/ (reflexive), exercise, get in shape, train, condition.

*poʔóyn. vi. Snow. Sah púuyn, NE puʔúyn. NP /pohoyn/, snow, fine snow (n.).

uyn-stem


*wúyn. vi. Escape, flee. NP /wúyn/.

iyn-stem

*p'íyn. vi. Drain, seep. Sah p'ín, NP /p'áyn/.

*tk'íyn. vt. Watch, look at. Sah tk'ín, NP /ták'áyn/.

*tkníyn. vt. Sah tknín, twist, roll (strands together), NP /tákáláyn/, exchange, trade.

*toniyn. vi. Go upriver, go upstream. Sah túñin, NP /toláyn/.

Part 4. Consonant stems, 0-verbs

*ʔáč. vi. Enter, go in. Sah áś, NP /ʔáci/.

*ʔát vi. Exit, go out. Sah át, NP /ʔáti/.


*hiwék. vi. Dream. Sah ʔwák, NP /hiwék/.

*hip. vt. Eat. NP /hipí/.

*-k. v. Common derivational element. Derives verbs from adjectives, transitivizes some verbs, and co-occurs with certain adverbial prefixes. (Jacobs 1931:196; Aoki 1970:99)
*nék. vt. Think. NP /nek/. Perhaps a metaphoric extension of *nék, carry, which never occurs stem finally in Sahaptian.


*x’ik. vt. Break, split, cut. Sah x’k, NP /c’ák/. In both languages this root occurs only with an adverbial prefix.

*wéwtuk. vi. Camp overnight, stay the night. Sah NW wáwtkw, NE, CR wáwtuk, NP /wéwtuk/. Probably contains the element *tun, sit, and stem final *-k.

*wek. vi. Be. Allomorph of *we, be, which occurs before a vowel. Sah wač-, NP /wek/.


Part 5. Consonant stems, n-verbs

*?ín. vi. Lie, lie inanimately. Sah ín (Jacobs 1929:181:6-182:1; 186:3; 214:8), NP /?ín/.


*hékin. vt. See. NP /hekin/. Sah áčaš, eye, is a derivation via the purpose or instrument nominalizer -aš. NE tāukin, see, is probably connected via some adverbial prefix *tew-.

*héšin. vi. Breathe. Sah hášin, NP /héšin/. The Sahaptin word may be borrowed from Nez Perce, which would account for the preservation of *h and the long vowel.

*hín. vt. Say, tell. Sah ínn, NP /hín/. The double n-verb status in Sahaptin (i.e. the n does not delete before ś or t) is probably due to reanalysis based on the fact that in Sahaptin this verb is generally realized phonetically (especially after a prefix) as a syllabic n, i.e. [?n] as in pá?ína [pá.?n.na], he was told by him. Compare áwna [táwna] or [táwna], told him.

*hişin. vtt. Win (from). Sah šíša, NP /hisín/.

*naʔäm. vi. Wear out, be exhausted, disappear. Sah náām, NE naʔäm, NP /laʔäm/.

*šūkin. vt. Know, find out. Sah šúkin, NP /sukín/.
REPORT 9

SURVEY OF CALIFORNIA AND OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOKAN-PENUTIAN WORKSHOP

July 8-9, 1994
University Of Oregon, Eugene

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INTRODUCTION

The papers in this volume were originally presented at the meetings of the Hokan-Penutian Workshops in Eugene, Oregon, July 8-9, 1994, and in Albuquerque, New Mexico, July 5-6, 1995. The 1994 Workshop was held in conjunction with a two-week invitational conference on Comparative Penutian Linguistics (the proceedings of which will be published in a forthcoming issue of the International Journal of American Linguistics) and was organized by the coordinators of that conference, Scott DeLancey and Victor Golla. The 1995 Workshop was one of a series of meetings on Americanist linguistics that formed part of the 1995 Linguistic Institute at the University of New Mexico, and was organized by Victor Golla under the auspices of SSILA.

A special feature of the 1995 Hokan-Penutian Workshop was a half-day session on the Present Status of Hokan Linguistics specially organized by Margaret Langdon and William H. Jacobsen, Jr. A substantial part of the present volume is given over to Appendices containing the bibliographies and short summaries of pronominal reference and case systems that were prepared for this session. Also included is the draft of a lexicon of Seri, prepared by Stephen A. Marlett and Mary B. Moser for Mary Ritche Key's "Intercontinental Dictionary Series," a lexical database designed to facilitate crosslinguistic research. The format of this database is derived from Carl Darling Buck's Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages.

This is the second volume of Hokan-Penutian Workshop Proceedings to be published by the Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, as one of the Reports of the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, under the general editorship of Leanne Hinton.

Victor Golla
Volume Editor
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