

Introduction to Yakima Ichishkíin grammar

*including some of the functions in the “Tun iwá máytkwatat?” teaching unit:
asking questions, asking for specific items (commands), expressing wants,
responding yes and no, and being polite*

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Terminology and background

A **language** is a system used by human beings to communicate with each other. As we learn a language, we learn what set of sounds it uses, how to pronounce its sounds, and how the sounds influence one another. We learn the meanings of words, what affixes (prefixes and suffixes) can be added to them, and how the affixes change the meaning of words and sentences. We learn how to put words into sentences, in what order, to create meaning. Speakers of a language share knowledge about all of these language components, and through their shared knowledge, understand one another. When we refer to the grammar of a language we speak of this shared systematic knowledge.

Morphology is the study of words and the parts that make up a word. A morpheme is a part of a word that expresses meaning. For example, in the word *k'úsima* 'horses' there are two meaningful pieces, or morphemes: *k'úsi* 'horse', the root or part of the word that carries the central meaning, and the suffix *-ma*, which makes the root plural. The same is true for the English translation. The two morphemes are 'horse' and 's'. Ichishkiin is morphologically rich language, in which one word can be made up of many smaller meaningful parts.

A **part of speech** is a category of words: nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. Not all languages have the same list of parts of speech. For example, English has articles: 'a/an' and 'the'. These give information about whether a noun is definite. Ichishkiin does not have articles. Nouns and verbs, however, are considered universal categories.

Words are grouped into a part of speech category because of characteristics the words share. Semantic properties, or properties related to meaning, are one of the differentiating characteristics. A traditional definition of a noun based on its meaning is a 'person, place, thing or concept'. Verbs refer to actions, events, processes or states. Another type of semantic definition is that nouns refer to 'time-stable' concepts, or things that do not undergo much change over time, while verbs code changes in the world (Givón 1984). However, these semantic criteria are not completely reliable, as certain words do not fit neatly into these categories. And some words, such as *puuy* 'snow' or *p̄xwi* 'thought, think' fall into more than one category.

More reliable tests to identify a word as belonging to a particular category are based on its grammatical properties and possibilities. Ichishkiin nouns and verbs are readily identified by looking at the morphemes that can be added to them. For example, a noun indicating a human or animal can have the suffix *-in* 'dual' or *-ma* 'plural'. Nouns indicating humans, animals, or inanimate objects can be suffixed by case markers that indicate their role in the sentence. Verbs also have a unique set of morphemes. The third person prefix *i-* 's/he/it' and tense and aspect suffixes such as *-sha* 'ongoing' and *-ta* 'future' can be added to verbs, and so can identify a word as a verb. Many other morphemes also uniquely identify parts of speech.

Keeping track of participants

We use language to talk about things in the world we live in (or some imagined world or scenario). Words and expressions represent people, places, experiences, objects, and more. We don't always use the same word to refer to a single entity in the world. Joana's brother is named Mark Jansen. He lives in Los Angeles. Mark likes to play golf and go to Hawai'i. He can be referred to in speech in many ways, such as 'Mark', 'Mr. Jansen', 'my brother' 'Joana's brother' or 'he'. Although there are many ways to refer to him, they all point to the same individual, or **referent** in the world.

Context is important in determining what words a speaker will use to indicate a referent. If the speaker and hearer share certain information, either because it was stated earlier in the conversation or through common knowledge, that information does not need to be restated explicitly throughout a conversation or spoken narrative. In the following example, taken from the beginning of a story, the location (*atáchiish* ‘ocean’), and participants (*áswan* ‘boy’, *k’úsi* ‘horse’) are identified. In subsequent clauses, the word *kwnak* ‘there’ refers to the ocean, and verb prefixes (‘he’ and ‘him’ in the English translation) refer to the boy and the horse.

Álayt ilá'isha áswan atáchiishpa, iwýáwka.

Ku kwnak áwacha yikít k’úsi anakúsh washanáł, ku ishapá'ata.

‘A boy is lying around on the ocean beach. (Apparently) he was hurt.
And there is a wild horse, unriden, and he lets him out.’

The speaker does not have to repeat *átachiish*, *áswan* or *k’úsi* after they are first mentioned, since the scene has been set and the characters and places are known. In addition, knowledge about the world lets us know that boys let out horses, not the other way around. When isolated examples are given outside of the context of the whole text or conversation (as they are in this handout), the meaning can sometimes seem unclear. But real human interaction happens within a context that is shared by those speaking and listening.

In describing Ichishkiin grammar, the concept of **person** is important. First person, second person, and third person are labels for the entities being referred to in speech.

- 1st person is the person speaking (I, me) or the person speaking and others put into the same grouping (we, us).
- 2nd person is the addressee, the person being spoken to (you, one or more than one).
- 3rd person is not the speaker or the one addressed. It is the person being talked about, not involved in the conversation (s/he, it, they, him, her, them). 3rd person referents can be things as well as people.

In Ichishkiin, the grammar of verb prefixes, pronominal enclitics, independent pronouns and ergative case marking all are affected by person. The terms 1st person, 2nd person, and 3rd person are used throughout. In addition, the term speech act participant, abbreviated SAP, refers to those involved in the conversation: 1st and 2nd persons.

Word order

The order of the words in an Ichishkiin sentence is not completely fixed, and many variations are possible. Different contexts can inspire a particular order, but the basic information conveyed by the sentence remains the same. Teachers find that their students often want to use English word order even if this is not the desired word order or the order an elder would use. For example, in response to the question *Mínán iwá áyat?* ‘Where is the woman?’ a student could respond with any of the following: *áyat iwá inútpa*, *inútpa iwá áyat*, ‘the woman is at the house’ or *inútpa iwá*, or *iwá inútpa* ‘She’s at the house’. These are all full sentences, and they are all grammatical and understandable. However, a fluent speaker may not use the noun *áyat* ‘woman’, since she was named in the question and the people talking know the response is about her. The second two possibilities do not include *áyat*. Of these, *inútpa iwá*, literally ‘house-at she is’, is the more likely answer. It emphasizes the woman’s location by putting it first in the sentence and so is more likely to be used to respond to the question.

In a language like English that has fixed word order, the meaning of sentences like ‘the book is under the pillow’ or ‘Lynn saw the dog’ is dependent on word order. If the nouns swap

places, the sentence meaning changes. However, with a rich set of case markers (listed below), word order can be flexible. The order does not affect the basic meaning.

Some elements of the sentence do have customary places, and these will be discussed below. The morphemes indicating first and second person follow the first element of the sentence. A set of modal enclitics expressing things like doubt, hearsay, or certainty also fall into second position in the sentence. The negative marker *chaw* is often first, as is a group of adverbs such as *paysh* ‘maybe’, *huuy* ‘in vain, can’t’. Question words begin questions.

Interpreting or Translating

In part because of the morphological richness of Ichishkiin words, it is not possible to translate word by word from English to Ichishkiin, or vice versa. *isínwisha* ‘s/he is speaking’ takes three English words to convey the meaning of the single Ichishkiin word. English sentences often include words like ‘the’ and ‘a’ even though they are not needed in Ichishkiin. Gender is not specified in Ichishkiin as it is in English. *isínwisha* could be either ‘she is speaking’ or ‘he is speaking’. In this grammar explanation, if an example sentence is from a text, we have kept the original translation of ‘he’, ‘she’ or ‘it’; in other example sentences, we use the notation s/he/it to show that it could be any of these. Translations may not be word for word.

Verbs and transitivity

The heart of an Ichishkiin sentence is the verb. A single word can express an entire sentence or thought, as with *ishapá’áta* ‘he let him out’ and *isínwisha* ‘s/he is speaking’. Several elders have said that Ichishkiin is a descriptive language, and that the words present a picture or scene in a way that English cannot. Verbs have an intricate structure and can include many meaningful pieces (or morphemes), each contributing a particular meaning. Many concepts that are built into the verb in Ichishkiin need to be expressed by additional words in English.

In the Ichishkiin verb, prefixes and suffixes - morphemes - attach to the verb root - another morpheme - to create a complete sentence. In making sense of what someone is saying, a listener needs to know what activity is being referred to (what is being talked about); identify the participant(s) involved; and establish a time frame: did this already happen? is it going to happen in the future? In Ichishkiin, the verb word gives all of this information. The word ‘s/he is speaking’ is a strand of three morphemes: *i-sínwi-sha*. The participants (or actors) are identified with a prefix (*i-*), the verb (*sínwi-*) tells what is happening, and aspect suffix (*-sha*) gives information about the time of the event.

Intransitive verbs are verbs that involve only one participant or actor. In intransitive clauses expressing motion, activities or states, the subject of the sentence is doing the action or exhibits the state expressed by the verb. The following are examples of intransitive clauses:

iwáyxytya k’úsi
‘the horse ran’

iwá ka’áaw
‘s/he/it is light (in weight)’

Transitive verbs require two participants, an object as well as a subject. The action of the verb is initiated by the subject and directed towards the object, as in the following examples with verbs *k'ínu-* ‘see’ and *shapá'át-* ‘let out, cause to go out’.

Nch'ínch'ima myánashmaman pak'ínuna.
 ‘The elders saw the children.’

ishapá'áta
 ‘he let him out’

While an intransitive sentence with only one participant (for example, ‘s/he ran’) expresses a complete thought, a transitive sentence with only one participant (such as ‘s/he broke’) leaves us wondering what was broken. The scenes described by transitive verbs are not fully understandable or grammatically correct with only one person involved. Much of the grammar of transitive and intransitive verbs differs.

If participants (subjects and objects) are already known from context, they do not have to be explicitly named in every Ichishkíin sentence. As will be discussed, participants are established in discourse or a conversation early on, and after that may not be specifically mentioned. In the following clauses, only morphemes refer back to them. There is no confusion, however; the participants are clear from the grammatical pieces present and the discourse context known to the speaker and hearer.

Ichishkíin verbs have suffixes that indicate the time frame of the action and clitics or prefixes that indicate the subject (the doer of the action).

Intransitive verbs! Position chart and tense/aspect suffixes

If an intransitive verb is first in the sentence, here is the pattern:

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
3 rd person prefix !	verb stem	aspect suffix	tense suffix	clitic !
<i>i-</i> (s/he/it) <i>pa-</i> (they)	⋮ ⋮ ⋮	<i>-sha</i> (continuing action) <i>-xa</i> (habitual, usually)	<i>-na</i> (past) <i>-ya</i> <i>-a</i> <i>-ta</i> (future)	<i>=nash, =ash, =sh</i> (I) <i>=natash, =atash, =tash</i> (we) <i>=natk</i> (we) <i>=nam, =am</i> (you sg.) <i>=pam</i> (you more than one)

- To conjugate an intransitive verb, identify your verb stem.
- !! You need EITHER a 3rd person prefix or a clitic (never both).
- You will almost always have an aspect or tense suffix – or both. (Never two aspects or two tenses, however)

If another word is first in the sentence, this affects the clitics but not the prefixes:

	5.	1.	2.	3.	4.
first word in the sentence (not a verb), like:	clitic !	3 rd person prefix !	verb stem	aspect suffix	tense suffix
mish chaw paysh maysx watím maysxmáysx	=nash, =ash, =sh (I) =na (We all) =natash, =atash, =tash (we but not you) =natk (we) =nam, =am (you sg.) =pam (you more than one)	i- (s/he/it) pa- (they)	⋮	-sha (continuing action) -xa (habitual, usually)	-na (past) -ya -a -ta (future)

Here is the set of tense and aspect suffixes for Ichishkiin:

past	-a, -ya, -na
future	-ta
continuing, ongoing	-sha
habitual	-xa, -nxa, -inxá
past + ongoing	-shana
past + habitual	-xana
future + ongoing	-shata
future + habitual	-xata
present perfect	-∅-sh, -a
imperative	-k (Sg), -tk, -ti (Pl)
conditional	-taxnay, -taxna

Nouns:

The sentence *Nch'ínch'ima myánashmaman pak'ínuna* 'The elders saw the children' has two nouns: *nch'ínch'i* 'elder' and *myánash* 'child'. Both are made plural with the suffix *-ma*. *myánashma* 'children' has an additional morpheme to show that it is the object of the sentence, the participant the action is directed towards.

Noun suffixes (like the object suffix) give information about how the suffixed noun is related to other words in the sentence. These indicate things such as location, destination, or origin; instrument (the thing with which something is done); recipient; possessor; the one who is with or accompanying someone else; the beneficiary or purpose of something; the agent or 'doer'. In the sentence *áyat iwá inítpa*, the suffix *-pa* on the word *inít* 'house' indicates that it is a location. These types of suffixes are called case markers.

The following short passage gives several examples of case endings in context. This is part of a lesson developed by Tuxámshish (Virginia Beavert) and Túulhinch (Roger Jacob) for teaching.

Ímałakt núsux, shúshaynsh ku tkwalá

Cleaning Salmon, Steelhead, & Trout

ápawinaynak ts'íxaaspa tkwalánan xapiłmíki

Insert a knife into the fish at the anus

ku áshaxıłpk nawátpa łamtíxyaw.

and cut open the belly to the head.

ápshanatanik p'íp'i ku chmuk tilíwal

Take out the guts and black blood

átwak'aatkanik nawátknik súxaaski.

and scrape them out from the belly with a spoon.

P'íp'inan nam ápshaliita wánayaw.

Put the guts in the river.

The examples below show locative case marker *-pa*, instrumental case marker *-ki* and genitive case marker *-mí*.

iyáwtaanxa wánapa
'it floats on the river'

Ku míimi pa'aníxana taxúski
'And in old times, they made them with hemp'

pa'iyáxna tánawit anahuymí talx
'they found an empty bear's cave'

The case markers discussed here have different forms if they are attaching to a human noun as opposed to a non-human noun. Case markers for humans differentiate singular, dual and plural and begin with possessive suffix *-mí*.

Noun case endings

	inanimate	animate	human singular	human dual	human plural
with, accompanying (associative or ASSOC)	not used	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	no Dual/Plural	
of, possessor (genitive or GEN)	<i>-(n)mí</i>	<i>-(n)mí</i>	<i>-(n)mí</i>	<i>-inmí</i>	<i>-mamí</i>
for the benefit/purpose of (benefactive or BEN)	<i>-ay</i>	<i>-ay</i>	<i>-míyay</i>	<i>-inmíyay</i>	<i>-mamíyay</i>
by means of, with (instrumental or INST)	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>	<i>-míki</i>	<i>-inmíki</i>	<i>-mamíki</i>
located at, in, on (locative or LOC)	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-mípa</i>	<i>-inmípa</i>	<i>-mamípa</i>
towards, destination (allative or ALL)	<i>-kan</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>-míkan</i>	<i>-inmíkan</i>	<i>-mamíkan</i>
from, origin of motion (ablative or ABL)	<i>-knik</i>	<i>-knik</i>	<i>-míknik</i>	<i>-inmíknik</i>	<i>-mamíknik</i>
to, into (dative or DAT)	<i>-yaw</i>	<i>-yaw</i>	<i>-míyaw</i>	<i>-inmíyaw</i>	<i>-mamíyaw</i>
<i>The following cases deal with subjects and objects in transitive clauses.</i>					
Object of transitive clause (OBJ)	<i>-nan</i>	<i>-nan</i>	<i>-nan</i>	<i>-inan</i>	<i>-maman</i>
3 rd person S of transitive clause with 3 rd person O (3>3 Erg)	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	no Dual/Plural	
3 rd person S of transitive clause with SAP O (3>SAP Erg)	<i>-nim</i>	<i>-nim</i>	<i>-nim</i>	no Dual/Plural	

While it is possible to assign a shorthand meaning to each of the noun cases, the range of concepts each one covers is not directly related to an English language concept. For example, the instrumental suffix *-ki* can attach to a noun naming a tool that is used to do something: *kápinkí* ‘with a digging stick’. This use fits very neatly with the label ‘instrumental’ and the translation ‘with’. But *-ki* also is a common suffix on *k’úsi* ‘horse’ *kaa* ‘car’ or *wasís* ‘canoe’ to mean traveling by means of. And it suffixes to the name of a language to mean speaking in that language: *Ichishkiin sínwitki* ‘in Ichishkiin’. These are less straightforward. Finally, *-ki* is not used to mean doing an activity ‘with’ someone else; in that case associative *-in* is used. Thinking of *-ki* as an equivalent to ‘with’ would not cover how it is used.

Several of the case markers begin in a vowel. If they are suffixed to a word that ends in a vowel, a glide is inserted (*y*). Noun modifiers (adjectives or nouns giving more information about another noun) and determiners (‘this, that’) can agree in case with the noun. Some of the examples below will show this agreement. In addition, personal pronouns inflect for case.

Animacy:

Throughout Ichishkiin grammar, a distinction is made among three categories of animacy: humans, other animate beings and inanimate things. Humans have the most distinctive treatment in the grammar. Legend characters (names suffixed with *-yáy* or *-yáya*) are treated as humans. During the time of legends, animals had human characteristics: they could speak and reason as humans.

The next level of animacy includes land animals, living things that are mobile, such as mammals and birds. The category of inanimates includes fish, insects, and objects. The division between animal and inanimate is not absolute. For example, reptiles may be treated grammatically as animals or as inanimate beings. A group of animals considered to be one entity may not receive a plural suffix.

Animacy and nouns:

Numbers and nouns suffixes are affected by animacy. The table below gives human and non-human numbers.

NUMBERS		
	non-human	human
1	<i>naḡsh</i>	<i>laxs</i>
2	<i>niipt</i>	<i>nápu</i>
3	<i>mítaat</i>	<i>mítaaw</i>
4	<i>píniipt</i>	<i>pínapu</i>
5	<i>páḡaat</i>	<i>páḡnaw</i>
6	<i>ptáḡninsh</i>	<i>ptáḡninshima</i>
7	<i>túskaas</i>	<i>túskaasima</i>
8	<i>paḡat’umáat</i>	<i>paḡat’umáatima</i>

9	<i>ts'mist</i>	<i>ts'mistima</i>
10	<i>pútímt</i>	<i>pútmu</i>
11 (ten and one)	<i>pútímt ku náxsh</i>	<i>pútímt ku náxshima</i>

For numbers that do not have a specific variant for humans, *-ima* is added to the non-human form if counting humans. So, *ptáxninsh pítpit* ‘six chicks’ but *ptáxninshima myánashma* ‘six children’. This is simply the plural marker *-ma* following an inserted *i*. This is the case even with the number 11 and above. So, for eleven humans, the number used is *pútímt ku náxshima* (not *pútmu ku laxs*).

Case suffixes:

As we saw above, noun case endings that indicate the role of the noun in the sentence differ for humans and non-humans. As an object, humans are always marked, animates and inanimates may or may not be marked.

For humans, the genitive marker *-mí* precedes the benefactive *-yay*, dative *-yaw*, allative *-kan*, ablative *-knik*, instrumental *-ki*, and locative *pa-* case endings. In 1, the words with suffix *-ki*, here meaning ‘about’ refer to an inanimate. In 2, both *-mí* and *-ki* must be added to *íwínsh* ‘man’. The translation is similar to that of example 1.

1. *pashúkwaasha íchínki tiichámki*
‘they know about this land’
2. *papxwípwxwisha íwínshmíki*
‘they are worrying about the man’

Singular, dual and plural forms:

The singular, unmarked form of a noun is used for inanimates, singular animate, generic or mass entities and collective plurals - that is, groups that are considered to be one entity rather than comprised of individuals. Only animates and humans take the plural and dual suffixes. Distributive inanimates are indicated with reduplication.

Plural humans (more than two) and animals (more than one; the dual suffix is typically not used for animals) are indicated by the suffix *-ma* added to the noun:

3. *pat* *pátma*
‘older sister’ ‘older sisters’ (two or more)
4. *kw’ayawí* *kw’ayawíma*
‘cougar’ ‘cougars’ (two or more)

Even with animates, the unmarked noun can refer to more than one for collective plurals: a group of entities seen as one. Melville Jacobs’s Kiklitat texts often use *tíin* ‘person, Indian’ rather than *tíinma* ‘people, Indians’ to refer to a group of people.

5. *ts’ápak’a iwámsh tíin*
‘People are approaching now’ (MJ29,233)

In contrast, the marker *-ma* indicates distributive plural: that members of a group are being referred to as individuals rather than a set.

The dual suffix *-in* indicates two humans. This dual suffix is not usually used for two animals, although it is possible

6. *áyat* *áyatin*
 ‘woman’ ‘two women’

Some nouns for humans have irregular forms for dual and plural.

NOUNS REFERRING TO HUMANS WITH IRREGULAR DUAL AND PLURAL

gloss (sg)	singular	dual	plural
girl	<i>pt'íniks</i>	<i>pt'ilíyin</i>	<i>pt'ilíma</i>
man	<i>iwínsh</i>	<i>awínshin</i>	<i>awínshma</i>
maiden	<i>tmáy</i>	<i>ttmayíyin</i>	<i>ttmayíma</i>
boy	<i>áswan</i>	<i>amísin</i>	<i>amíisma</i>
old woman	<i>łmáma</i>	<i>łmamatúwin</i>	<i>łmamatúma</i>
old man	<i>xwísáat</i>	<i>xwísaatúwin</i>	<i>xwísaatúma</i>

Animacy and verbs:

If the subject of a sentence is plural but not human, the agreement marker used is generally *i-*, even though the subject in the English translation is plural:

7. *Mish aw kálux ipanátishamsh?*
 ‘Are the blueback salmon coming upriver yet?’
8. *Mish aw ipanátishamsh?*
 ‘Are they coming upriver?’

The plural third person verb prefix *pa-* is used if the subject is more than one human, animal or legendary being. A rule of thumb is that if the plural form of the subject noun is formed with the plural suffix *-ma* (*tínma* ‘people’, *áyatma* ‘women’, *kákyama* ‘birds, animals, creatures’) then use the plural agreement marker on the verb.

9. *múimi pawyáshapxana áyatma*
 ‘long ago, women went along carrying a pack on their back’

Function: Asking Questions

Two types: yes/no questions and content questions.

- *Yes/no questions*: the answer is expected to be a yes or a no.
- *Content questions*: Sometimes the people conversing share some knowledge about a situation, but some aspect or piece of information is not known, and is asked about. The missing knowledge is the focus of the question. These are called information or content questions, and use a number of different question words. The question word used indicates not only that a question is being asked, but also what kind of information will answer it.

In general:

- Questions are formed with a sentence-initial question word. Word order is not as free in questions – the question word comes first.
- There are a number of different question words, and the choice of which to use depends on what is being asked about.
- Questions can also be made using just intonation: In a yes/no question (with or without a question word) the rightmost accented syllable carries the highest pitch of the sentence.

Question words:

- *Mish* is the general interrogative, used for yes/no and some content questions.
- *tun* ‘what, what thing’ and *shin* ‘who, what person’ are basic forms that have variants depending on number and function (examples below).
- Interrogative pronouns containing the common element *m* have to do with location, time, number, and size (examples below).

Yes/No questions

The question markers *mish* and *waat* mark yes/no questions.

10. *Mish nam shix pnúshana?*
‘Did you sleep well?’

11. *Mish nam wa skuuliťá?*
‘Are you a student?’

Waat is a more polite way of requesting something of someone. Rigsby and Rude (1996) attribute the form to older speakers.

12. *Waat nam páwapiitataxnay?*
‘Would you help me?’

Intonation alone can be used.

13. *Iwá íchna?*
‘Is he here?’

Content questions:

There are a number of different question words for content questions.

Mish can also be interpreted as ‘how’ or ‘what’.

14. *Mish pam txánasha?*
‘What’s happening to you all?’
15. *Mish nam nuu?*
‘What are you saying?’
16. *Mish nam wa?*
‘How are you?’

For questions asking about a process or how one does something, the ending *-kin* can be added to *mish*:

17. **Míshkin** *nam áshuwaxa núsuxnan ílaxyawitay?*
‘How do you cut salmon for drying?’

Tun is a question word meaning ‘what.’ It has a number of different forms. Dual and plural subject forms *túwin* (dual) and *túman* (plural) are used for human and animate subjects.

18. **Tun** *íkw’ak iwá?*
‘What’s that?’
19. **Túyay** *nam wínasha?*
‘Why are you going?’
20. **Túkin** *nam áwaytwaxa pyaxínan?*
‘With what do you season bitterroot?’
21. **Tun** *awkú kw’ink íkw’ak iwá sínwit?*
‘What kind of language is that?’

Question words based on *tun* ‘what’

subject	<i>tun</i>
object of transitive clause (OBJ)	<i>tun / tuun</i>
3 rd person S of transitive clause with 3 rd person O (3>3 Erg)	<i>túwin</i>
3 rd person S of transitive clause with SAP O (3>SAP Erg)	<i>túnim</i>
genitive (of what)	<i>tumín</i>
benefactive	<i>túyay</i>

(for what, why)	
instrumental (about what, with what)	<i>túkin</i>
locative (at, in what)	<i>túpan</i>
allative (towards what)	<i>túkan</i>
ablative (away from what)	<i>túknik</i>
dative (to what, into what)	<i>túyaw</i>

Both *tun* and *tuun* can be used to ask about an object in a transitive sentence. According to Virginia Beavert, *tuun* functions like English ‘which’ and is used when the asker has an idea of the range of possible answers. Both of the following are grammatical questions. In the first, the questioner knows the possible range of answers. In the second, the answer is open and unknown.

22. *Tuun nam áṭḳix̣sha?*

Which do you want? (from a selection on table)

Tun nam áṭḳix̣sha?

What do you want? (asker has no idea what the answer will be)

shin is used in questions asking about humans: ‘who’, ‘whom’, ‘for whom’. Dual and plural forms are used, as are forms inflected for case. Because *shin* refers to humans, the human case markers are added to the base forms: *shin* (Sg); *shíyin* or *shí'in* (Dl) *shínma* (Pl).

23. *Shin iwaníksha?*

‘What is his/her name?’

24. *Shin íkw'ak iwá áyat?*

‘Who is that woman?’

Question words with *shin* ‘who’

subject	<i>shin</i>
Object of transitive clause (OBJ)	<i>shínnan</i>
3 rd person S of transitive clause with 3 rd person O (3>3 Erg)	<i>shíyin</i>
3 rd person S of transitive clause with SAP O (3>SAP Erg)	<i>shínnim</i>
associative (with whom)	<i>shíyin</i>
genitive (whose)	<i>shimín</i>
benefactive	<i>shimíyay</i>

(for whom)	
instrumental (about whom)	<i>shimíkin</i>
locative (at whose place)	<i>shimípan</i>
allative (to / towards whom)	<i>shimíkan</i>
ablative (away from whom)	<i>shimíknik</i>
dative (to whom)	<i>shimíyaw</i>

Questions about location, time, length, number, size, quantity

A variety of question forms asking about location, time, numbers and size start with *m*.

Where:

Four different question words indicating various meanings of ‘where’ are based on the four cases having to do with location and direction. In answering the question, the case marker corresponding to the question word is used. These four question words are:

25. *mínán* where at (locative)
miin where toward (allative)
míník where from (ablative)
ímin where to or into (dative)

The following are examples of ‘where’ questions and answers. The answers include the case marker that matches each question word.

26. *Mínán iwá Maali?* *inítpa iwá*
‘Where’s Mary?’ ‘She’s at the house.’
27. *Míník nam wa?* *Wash nash Ulikanknik.*
‘Where are you from?’ ‘I’m from Oregon’
28. *Miin nam wínasha?* *Simnáshukan nash wínasha*
Where are you going? ‘I’m going to Simnasho’
29. *Ímin nam wínasha?* *Wínashaash iníityaw.*
‘Where (specifically) are you going?’ ‘I’m going to the house.’

The following examples show other interrogative pronouns with the element *m*. These ask about numbers, time, and size.

30. *mít* how many, how much
maal how long / tall / far /length of time
mun when
múman how long ago, how old

31. *Mił iwá?*
‘How many are there?’
32. *Mił nam átk’ixsha?*
‘how many/how much do you want?’
33. *Maal nam áwiwaxya?*
‘How long did you wait for him?’
34. *Maal nam ititámaxa túxtkan?*
‘How long does it take you to get home?’
(this can be answered by amount of time or distance)
35. *Mun mash wa imínk páwyakyuut tkw’i?*
‘When is your birthday?’

When case markers are added to question words the meaning of the question word changes slightly.

36. *Miłpan aw iwá?*
‘What time is it?’
37. *Miłyaw itanawikáshaxa ilaxyawyi núsux?*
‘How much does she charge for drying salmon?’
38. *Máalyaw isínwiya?*
‘How long did he talk?’
39. *Múnyay nam níchsha íchi xyaaw núsux?*
‘For what occasion are you saving this dry salmon?’

mámknik ‘which’ is used for alternative questions. The form *mam* means ‘where at’ in Klikitat but it is not used by itself as a question word in Yakima.

40. ***Mámknik*** *nam áshixinxa tkwátat, yámash u tł’alk?*
‘Which do you prefer to eat, deer or elk?’

Some other suffixes can attach to question words. The resulting question is idiomatic.

41. ***Shínk’a*** *aw?*
‘who’s next?’
42. ***Mishxit*** *iwá ámchnik?*
‘What’s it like outside?’ (for asking about weather)
43. ***Míshat*** *iwínsh ik’inusha yaamashnan?*
‘Do you suppose the man sees the deer?’

Function: Imperatives, commands, ‘do it’ words and Asking for specific items

- Imperatives or commands direct the listener to do something. ‘Listen’ and ‘Sit down!’
- Verb suffixes - *k* (addressing one person) -*tk* (addressing two people) and -*m* (directional) mark commands.
- There are several ways to make a command more polite or less harsh-sounding.

The suffixes -*k* (used when addressing one person) and -*tk* (used when addressing more than one person) are the basic imperative suffixes. The subject of the imperative clause is understood to be the person addressed, or ‘you’. There is no clitic indicating second person when the suffixes -*k* or -*tk* are used.

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 44. | <i>tútik</i>
‘stand up’ (to one person) | <i>tútitk</i>
‘stand up’ (to more than one person) |
| 45. | <i>tkw’anátik</i>
‘walk’ (to one person) | <i>tkw’anátik</i>
‘walk’ (to more than one person) |

If the verb stem ends in *k*, another *k* is not added for the singular command. -*tk* is still added for the plural command:

- | | |
|-----|--|
| 46. | <i>tkwápwiiluuk / tkwápwiiluukt</i>
‘raise your hand’ |
| 47. | <i>ayík / ayítk</i>
‘sit down’ |

If the verb has the directional suffix -(*i*)*m* (indicating direction towards the speaker), and the addressee is singular, then no imperative suffix is added. When addressing more than one, the directional -(*i*)*m* plus the imperative -*tk* is used. Many of the command in the breakfast unit are made with -(*i*)*m*, because an object is being asked for – the asker wants something to move towards him or herself.

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 48. | <i>wínam</i>
‘come here’(to one person) | <i>wínamtk</i>
‘come here’ (to more than one person) |
| | <i>míts’íxwam</i>
‘listen to me’ (to one person) | <i>míts’íxwamtk</i>
‘listen to me’ (to more than one person) |

pá- is optionally used for commands with transitive verbs when the speaker is urging the listener to direct some action towards the speaker: ‘listen to me’, ‘bring that to me’, ‘show me that’. Again, many of the breakfast unit commands have the prefix *pá*.

- | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|
| 49. | <i>pánim</i>
‘give me that’ |
|-----|--------------------------------|

Commands also can have the prefix *á-*. This indicates that the verb is transitive and is used if the addressee is being asked to do something to or for a third person object (him/her/it).

50. *áshapnik*
'ask him/her'

In this case, a named object may also have an object marker:

51. *áshapnik Chúchnan*
'ask Chuch'

Negative commands (don't _____!)

The future suffix *-ta* is always used with negative commands. A clitic - either *=nam* (you singular) or *=pam* (you plural) must also be used to make a complete sentence.

52. *Chaw nam íkush kúta*
'don't do that'
53. *Chaw nam áshaxtł'kta*
'don't cut it open'

To be more polite:

In affirmative commands, using the future tense is more polite and suggestion-like than the imperative suffixes *-k* and *-tk*.

54. *skúulita pam*
'get yourself schooled'

Commands formed with *-k* and *-tk* are used in less formal situations, or when an adult is addressing a child or a teacher is addressing students. However, commands are not always appropriate; they can sound harsh, abrupt or impolite.

An additional way to soften a request or make it more polite is to add the verb prefix *wii-*.

55. *wí'ashim*
'Please come in'
56. *wíwinpanitaam chiish*
'Would you bring (me) some water?'

Several elders have told me that this is the way a grandmother might request something of her grandchild, and that the child feels loved and honored to be asked in a gentle and polite way. The elder may also refer to the child with the appropriate relationship term when asking the child to do something:

57. *áskawitaam xyáawnansim, káta, chaw płxúnan*
'Collect only the dry (wood) granddaughter, not the green.'

Here are some of the ways of asking for things in the breakfast unit. *ni-* means 'give'.

- Mish nam pánitaxnay kúpi?*
Waat nam pánita kúpi?

Páwiinim ts'ii chiish.
Pánim mił áyталu.

Function: Answering yes and no (negation and affirmation)

A negative clause indicates that the state or event expressed by the verb is not true, according to the speaker. These sentences begin with the word *chaw*.

58. **Chaw** pashúkwaashana
'They didn't know'
59. **Chaw** iwyákwshtikta
'He will not do wrong'
60. **Chaw** nash wa wanpawasiłá
'I'm not a musician'
61. **Chaw** i'anáwisha Elsie
'Elsie isn't hungry.'

A sentence without *chaw* is affirmative – you can add *Ii* 'yes' for emphasis, but it is not necessary. If you add *ii*, the clitic usually follows the next word, even though *ii* is first in the sentence.

62. *Ii, átk'ixshaash tamám.*
Yes, I like eggs.
63. *Chaw nash átk'ixsha tamám.*
I don't like eggs.

Function: Indicating likes and dislikes

In the 'What's for Breakfast' unit, two verbs are used to express preferences, likes and dislikes. These are:

tk'ix- 'want, desire, like, prefer'
lúk'lukw'a- 'crave, want desire'

These are both transitive verbs. You can swap in any other foods for the ones named in the examples below:

<i>Átk'ixshaash kúpi.</i>	I need, I want, I prefer coffee.
<i>Átk'ixshaash ts'ii chiish ulinshishmí.</i>	I want orange juice.
<i>Mish nam t'ałáa saplíl átk'ixsha?</i>	Do you want pancakes?
<i>Mił nam t'ałáa saplíl átk'ixsha?</i>	How many pancakes do you want?
<i>Itk'ixsha tamám.</i>	S/he wants eggs
<i>Áluklukw'ashaash tamám.</i>	I'm wishing for eggs.

So, how would you say: Are you wishing for eggs? - S/he is craving eggs – I am craving orange juice?

Another way to express wanting is with a verb suffix. This goes right after the verb, before any tense and aspect suffixes. These suffixes are : *-(a)ta* ‘go to, go in order to’ (go for a purpose); *-(á)t’a*, ‘want to’ (desiderative); *-tát’a* ‘want to (go in order to).’ Here are the examples from the unit:

Tuun nam achiitát’asha? What do you want to drink?
Tuun ichiitát’asha Dale? What does Dale want to drink?
Tun/tuun itkwatát’ata Julie? What does Julie want to eat?

Here are some other examples:

64. *pa’iwaxiyát’ana*
 ‘They wanted to wait’
65. *ipnuwát’ana*
 ‘she wanted to sleep’
66. *Aw iwúuxmiya ku Asumyáy ituxát’ana*
 ‘It became spring and Asumyáy (Eel) wanted to go home.’

Function: Expressing quantity

Ichishkiin numbers serve as nouns and noun modifiers. There is a basic, non-human set, and a second set used when referring to humans. To express the number of something, you can just state the number then the object. Usually the number goes first. Numbers are on pages 9 and 10 above.

You can also use the words below to modify nouns or stand alone.

<i>iláx</i>	‘many, much’ inanimate (Columbia River <i>xlak</i>)
<i>kutł’k, kuts’k</i>	‘shared amount, a piece of something’ (<i>kuts’k</i> ‘small piece’)
<i>kwił</i>	‘same amount’
<i>mílaa</i>	‘few, a little bit’
<i>náamin</i>	‘whole thing, all’
<i>palaláay</i>	‘lots, an abundant amount’
<i>ttuush</i>	‘some’
<i>ts’aa, ts’áaxi</i>	‘enough’

To say ‘a cup of coffee’ or ‘two bowls of oatmeal,’ as in the “What’s for Breakfast’ unit, put the number, measure, and item together:

naxsh *sutł’wanpáwaas* *kúpi*
niipt *k’úulil tikáy* *áyталu*

píniipt *sháxtł'ki* *támaki saplíl*

Plurals for animate objects were discussed above (under animacy and quantity) and are made with suffixes *-in* (dual, for humans, less often used with animals) and *-ma* (plural). Inanimates do not take the suffixes *-in* or *-ma*. They can be marked distributive by reduplication. Also, the basic noun (not reduplicated) can be used, as in the *shúshaynsh* examples, 7-8 above. If reduplicated, stress falls in the first iteration of the word in the syllable that would normally be stressed:

67. *wixáwxa*
 ‘legs’ ‘feet’ (Jacobs (1931;137) translates this as ‘little foot’, diminutive reduplication not plural.
 tnántnan
 ‘cliffs’

A few nouns are partially reduplicated, with only a single consonant doubled.

68. *taxsh* *ttaxsh*
 ‘willow’ ‘willows’

Some animals, insects and inanimates have a reduplicated form as their basic, singular form. Examples are *walákwálak* ‘butterfly’; *pítpit* ‘chick’; *ákak* ‘Canada goose’; *p’íp’i* ‘intestines’, *ts’ikts’ik* ‘wagon’. These are not doubly reduplicated for plural.