

Error! Reference source not found.. **Person marking**

This section addresses the Ichishkíin verb. A single word in Ichishkíin can translate an entire English sentence. In its least complex form, the Ichishkíin sentence consists of the verb stem, a morpheme indicating the subject, and a morpheme indicating the time of the event.

Throughout the grammar of the language, the expression of third person (translated into English as ‘s/he, him, her, his, her, hers, it, its, they, them, their, theirs’) follows a different pattern from first and second person (‘I, me, my, mine, you, your, yours, we, us, our, ours’). Third person is expressed with a prefix on the verb, whereas first and second person are represented in a sentence by pronominal enclitics, special forms that appear as the second element in a sentence and may come before or after a verb, depending on its position in the sentence. Section **Error! Reference source not found.** below will address third person verb prefix agreement and **Error! Reference source not found.** defines and addresses first and second person pronominal enclitics.

Tense suffixes on verbs give information about the time of the event (past and future). Aspect markers indicate how the event takes place in time (such as over a period of time or at regular intervals). These markers are discussed in section **Error! Reference source not found.** below. Ichishkíin verbs expressing movement or motion also may include information about whether the motion is towards the speaker or away from the speaker. These direction markers, *-m* and *-kik*, are included in this chapter in section **Error! Reference source not found.**

Error! Reference source not found.. **Third person prefixes**

When the subject of a sentence is ‘he/she/it’ or ‘they’, this will be indicated with a **verb prefix**. A prefix attaches to the left of the verb stem and becomes part of the word. It references the subject of the sentence, and so the verb is said to ‘agree’ with its subject. These prefixes are also called ‘person-marking’ prefixes. Below are the two Ichishkíin person-marking prefixes that indicate that the subject of the sentence is third person singular or plural:

i- is used if the subject of the sentence is singular: ‘he, she, it’
(often abbreviated here ‘s/he/it’)

pa- is used if the subject of the sentence is plural: ‘they’

In glossed examples *i-* is labeled 3Sg.S: third person singular subject. *pa-* is labeled 3Pl.S: third person plural subject. Example 1 shows these prefixes on verbs:

- | | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. | <i>ipnúsha</i>
‘s/he is sleeping’ | <i>iwínasha</i>
‘s/he is going’ | <i>itkwátasha</i>
‘s/he is eating’ |
| | <i>papnúsha</i>
‘they are sleeping’ | <i>pawínasha</i>
‘they are going’ | <i>patkwátasha</i>
‘they are eating’ |

All of these verbs end with the morpheme *-sha*, which indicates that an activity is taking place over time. It is one of the aspect markers discussed in 3.3 below.

If the verb begins with a vowel, a glottal stop follows the prefixes *i-* and *pa-* and precedes the verb root. This was discussed in **Error! Reference source not found.**

2. *i'ayiksha*
'she/he is sitting'

pa'ayiksha
'they are sitting'

The prefix *i-* (he, she, it) and the glottal stop are sometimes left off in fast or informal speech if the verb begins in a vowel. This is most likely to occur when the verb begins with the sounds *i* or *ɨ*, and less often occurs if the verb begins with *a* or *u*. The verb *ínat'isha* means 'is barbecuing, grilling, or drying meat (on a fire)'. This can be said one of two ways:

3. *i' ínat'isha* or *ínat'isha*
'she/he is barbecuing'

If the sentence includes a noun that names the doer of the action (John, Grandma, the girls), the prefixes are still required on the verb. In 4 below, the subject is not named, that is, not included in the sentence as a noun.

4. *iwínana*
's/he, it went'

5 and 6 include named subjects, but still have the prefix *i-* on the verb.

5. *iwínana áyat*
'the woman went'

6. *Spilyáy ipxwípxwina*
'Spilyay worried.'

The subject noun does not have a special prefix, suffix, or place in the sentence to indicate that it is the subject, although in sections **Error! Reference source not found.** and **Error! Reference**

source not found. we will discuss the suffixes put on nouns to indicate their roles in the sentence.

Infrequently, the prefix *á-* is seen on intransitive verbs with third person subjects.

7. *áwyanawya Spilyáy*
‘Spilyay arrived’

The prefix *á-* is typically used in possessive clauses, addressed in **Error! Reference source not found.** and **Error! Reference source not found.**, and with third person objects, discussed in **Error! Reference source not found.**. A more complete discussion of its use as a third person subject marker is in **Error! Reference source not found.**.

Error! Reference source not found. **Plural animate/inanimate subjects**

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:

8. *Mish aw kálux ipanátishamsh?*

<i>Mish</i>	<i>aw</i>	<i>kálux</i>	<i>i-panáti-shamsh</i>
Q	now	blueback.salmon	3Sg.S-climb-IMPV.CSL

 ‘Are the blueback salmon coming upriver yet?’

9. *Mish aw ipanátishamsh?*

<i>Mish</i>	<i>aw</i>	<i>i-panáti-shamsh</i>
Q	now	3Sg.S-climb-IMPV.CSL

 ‘Are they coming upriver?’

The plural third person 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* (*tíinma* ‘people’, *áyatma* ‘women’, *kákyama* ‘birds, animals, creatures’) then use the plural agreement marker on the verb, as in the example below.

10. *míimi pawyápshtana áyatma*

<i>míimi</i>	<i>pa-wyá-pshata-na</i>	<i>áyat-ma</i>
long.ago	3Pl.S-while.going-gather-PST	woman-Pl

 ‘long ago, women went along gathering’

Plural marking on nouns and the importance of humanness and animacy are addressed in section **Error! Reference source not found..**

Error! Reference source not found.. **First and second person pronominal enclitics**

If the subject of a sentence is I, you, or we, the marker that indicates the subject will be a pronominal enclitic. *Pronominal* refers to something that functions as a pronoun and stands in for a noun. *Enclitic* means that it is phonologically joined to the end of the preceding word. Here, the phrase pronominal enclitic is shortened to clitic. Clitics follow the first word in the sentence, as illustrated by =*nash* (first-person singular subject, I”) below.

11. *Aw nash awkú limk'inxana*
Aw =nash awkú limk'i-nxa-na
 now =1Sg then close.eyes-HAB-PST
 ‘Then I would close my eyes’

Several features of the grammar of the clitics are important to note.

(1) Clitics follow the first word of the sentence, regardless of what that word is.

Clitics do not necessarily attach to the verb, in contrast to the markers for ‘he/she/it’ and ‘they’, which always attach to the verb. The order of the words in the sentence does not affect where the clitic goes, and the word class (noun, verb, adjective, etc.) of the first word does not matter: the clitic is always in the second position in the sentence. Throughout this grammar in the examples, the clitics are preceded by ‘=’ while other morpheme breaks are indicated with ‘-’. This indicates the special placement of clitics as opposed to prefixes or suffixes that only attach to one type of word.

(2) Clitics indicate subjects, objects, and possessors.

Although the examples given in this section predominantly show clitics as the subject of a clause, nearly the same set of clitics is used to indicate objects and possessors. (There are two

additional combined clitics used in transitive and possessive clauses: =*nash* and =*matash*. These are addressed in **Error! Reference source not found.** and **Error! Reference source not found.**) The use of the clitic to code subject, object, and possessor can be seen in examples 12-14, showing =*nash*/=*ash*/=*sh* ‘1Sg’.

12. *aw nash paysh wiyálamayksha*
aw= nash paysh wyá-lamayk-sha
 now =1Sg maybe while.going-lose-IMPV
 ‘Now I must have gotten lost’
13. *kush táaminwa inámunxana*
ku=sh táaminwa i-námun-xa-na
 and=1Sg always 3Sg.S-acknowledge-HAB-PST
 ‘and he would always acknowledge me’
14. *kwnak nash wachá nisháykt*
kwnak =nash wachá nisháykt
 there =1Sg COP.PST home
 ‘my home was there’

(3) The set of clitics makes differentiations that are not made in English: you singular vs. you plural, inclusive we (we all) vs exclusive we (we but not you).

Ichishkiin has two clitics that translate as English ‘you’. =*nam*, you singular, refers to one person; =*pam*, you all, or you plural, refers to more than one person. There are also two clitics that both translate into English as ‘we’. =*na* means ‘we all’ and includes the hearer in the action; =*natash* means ‘we but not you’ so includes the speaker and other(s) but not the hearer. These types are also called inclusive (including all) and exclusive (excluding the hearer), respectively. As will be addressed below, this distinction is not made in every circumstance.

(4) Several of the clitics have both full and reduced forms (long and short forms).

There are long and short forms of the first person singular clitic =*nash*, first person plural clitic =*natash* and second person singular clitic =*nam*. To a certain extent we can predict whether the long or short form will be used. However, which form a speaker will use is not

always predictable. The variation is at times related to dialect, but there is also variation within dialects and speakers.¹ In the discussion below, the general tendencies for Yakima speakers are given, but readers will hear other forms of clitics in similar sentences.

Table 3.1 gives the full set of clitics and the following sections discuss each one individually.²

Error! Reference source not found.. **First person singular: =nash**

When the clitic follows a word that ends in a consonant, the full form of the clitic is used. This is seen in 15 and 16.

15. *Ink nash wa nch'ít̥xaw ttáwax̣t*

<i>Ink=nash</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>nch'ít̥xaw</i>	<i>ttáwax̣-t</i>
1PN.S/A=nash	COP	big-COMP	grow-NZR
'I am the oldest'			

16. *myánash nash t̥xána-na ikwina wíyatpa nixyáawipa*

<i>myánash =nash</i>	<i>t̥xána-na</i>	<i>ikwina</i>	<i>wíyat-pa</i>	<i>nixyáawi-pa</i>
child =1Sg	become-PST	that.LOC	far-LOC	Pendleton-LOC
'I was born there, far away in Nixyaawi (Pendleton)'				

¹ Rude and Rigsby suggest that “phonetic rhythm and a tendency to reduce allomorphy by suppressing the short enclitic forms” may be factors (1996:675).

² This is not the order we use in the classroom to teach clitics. We begin with the first person singular forms. Students use these in listing their daily activities. We then add second person singular forms. This patterns like first person singular and the two are readily taught in conversational activities and questions and answers. The second person plural is the next to be introduced. It does not vary in form and so seems straightforward to students. We lastly introduce the two ‘we’ forms. Teaching them at the same time means we can highlight the difference between inclusive and exclusive.

TABLE 3.1. FIRST AND SECOND PERSON CLITICS

person	number	meaning/ gloss	clitic(s)
1	singular	I =1Sg	= <i>nash</i> , = <i>ash</i> , = <i>sh</i>
1	plural inclusive	we all =1Pl.INC	= <i>na</i>
1	plural exclusive	I and other(s) but not you =1Pl.EXC	= <i>natash</i> , = <i>atash</i> , = <i>tash</i>
1	plural	we =1Pl	= <i>natk</i>
2	singular	you =2Sg	= <i>nam</i> , = <i>am</i>
2	plural	you all =2Pl	= <i>pam</i>

The full form is also used if the sentence begins with a particle or negation:

17. *aw nash anáwisha*
aw=nash anáwi-sha
 now=1Sg be.hungry-IMPV
 ‘Now I am hungry’

18. *chaw nash ttáwaxshana íchna*
chaw=nash ttáwax-sha-na íchna
 NEG=1Sg grow-IMPV-PST here
 ‘I didn’t grow up here’

When the first word of the sentence ends in *a*, the form =*ash* is used. Because the tense and aspect markers on verbs end in *a*, this variant is most often seen when the verb is the first word in the sentence, as in examples 19 and 20 below. This results in a long vowel in the final syllable:

19. *wínanaash*
wína-na=nash
 go-PST=1Sg
 'I went'
20. *wanpáwasixaash maysxmáysx*
wanpáwasi-xa=nash *maysxmáysx*
 play.instrument-HAB=1Sg everyday
 'I play music everyday'

If the final vowel of the preceding word is *i*, the form of the clitic is =*sh* and the *i*

becomes long:

21. *Íxwiish* *pnuwát'asha*
íxwi=nash *pnú-wát'a-sha*
 yet=1Sg sleep-DES-IMPV
 'I still want to sleep'
22. *miskilúkiish panátishamsh*
miskilúki=nash *pa-náti-shamsh*
 barely=1Sg climb-IMPV.CSL
 'I barely climbed up.'

If the preceding word ends in *u*, the form =*sh* is used and there is no vowel lengthening. The most common example of this is when the clitic follows *ku* 'and'.

23. *kush wachá awkú shapawayxtilák'a*
ku=nash *wachá* *awkú* *shapawayxtilá-k'a*
 and=1Sg COP.PST then driver-next
 'then I was a driver (was old enough to drive)'

Again, dialect differences play a role as to which form of the clitic (=nash, =ash or =sh) will be used. For example, many Yakima speakers will say *chaw nash* and *aw nash* as in examples 18 and 17, but in other dialects *chawsh* and *awsh* are common.

Error! Reference source not found.. **First person plural:** =na, =natash (=natk, =namtk)

Ichishkíin differentiates between two types of reference that are both translated into English as we. The first, =*na*, is ‘inclusive we’ or ‘we all’.³ The speaker is referring to an activity that includes the speaker, the person being addressed, and possibly others as well. There are no reduced forms of the clitic =*na*.

24. *kú na chawmún ikush kú̄xa*
kú =*na* *chawmun* *ikush* *kú̄-xa*
 and =1Pl.INC never thus do-HAB
 ‘and we (all) never do that’
25. *Aw na wí nata*
Aw =*na* *wína-ta*
 now =1Pl.INC go-FUT
 ‘now we (all) will go’

Another first person plural clitic is =*natash*. It is called ‘exclusive we’ and differs from =*na* in that it does not include the person being addressed. It includes the speaker and one or more others: ‘we but not you’. =*natash* has the reduced forms =*atash* and =*tash*. It is not possible to predict which form will be used in most circumstances. Examples 26 and 27 below show the use of the full form.

26. *kwnak natash skúulisha*
kwnak =*natash* *skúuli-sha*
 there =1Pl.EXC attend.school-IMPV
 ‘We are going to school there’
27. *kunkínk natash watwáa wyáwayk̄xana*
kunkínk =*natash* *watwáa* *wyá-wáyk̄-xa-na*
 that.INST=1Pl.EXC safely while.going-cross-HAB-PST
 ‘In that way we crossed safely.’

In rapid or less formal speech, the reduced form =*tash* or =*atash* may more likely be used, as we see in examples 28 and 29.

28. *Íkw'aktash wachá ikush áta wyanínt k'úsiki.*

³ =*na* ‘we all’ sounds and looks the same as the past tense marker =*na*. In the materials I have collected, this clitic is never used at the end of a verb, perhaps to avoid ambiguity. In text examples, clauses with ‘we all’ as the subject begin with a word other than the verb. In that way, the clitic is not attached to the verb and a =*na* suffix on the verb can always be interpreted as past tense.

sentence to differentiate. (See pronoun charts in section **Error! Reference source not found.**) If the pronoun is the first word in the sentence, the clitic will follow the pronoun:

34. *Namá́k na wí́nana*
Imá́k=na *wí́na-na*
 2Pl.PN.S/A =2Pl.INC go-PST
 ‘We (all) went’
35. *Namá́k natash wí́nana*
Imá́k =natash *wí́na-na*
 2Pl.PN.S/A =2Pl.EXC go-PST
 ‘We (but not you) went’

A final clitic expressing ‘we’ is *=natk*, a form recognized by the people I have worked with, and occasionally used in elicitation and stand alone examples. However, it is not present in any texts I have collected. It seems to be an older form, not used by present-day speakers in texts or connected speech, and its specific usage is not clear. It does not seem to reliably distinguish inclusive from exclusive. Jacobs (1931,126) lists the form as a *Xwátxwaypam* (Klikitat) plural. He proposes that it is derived from an older first person dual/plural form that did not distinguish inclusive from exclusive, and that possibly the final *-tk* is related to the *-tk* suffix that forms plural commands. Virginia Beavert reports it could be a dual form, and that sentences including it have the feel of a command or suggestion about them. This relates to the overlap with the imperative suffix *-tk*. However, today’s elders express the idea of ‘let’s’ with *aw =na* (literally ‘now we’).

Error! Reference source not found.. Second person singular: =nam

Ichishkíin second person ‘you’ clitics are *=nam* ‘you singular’ and *=pam* ‘you plural’. Like first person singular *=nash* and first person plural exclusive *=natash*, *=nam* has short and long forms. The short and long forms are used in the same environments as the short

and long forms of =*nash*. The full form is used following a consonant. In addition, it is used after negation, as in 36, or a question word, as in 37:

36. *Chaw nam ch'íshkta.*
Chaw =nam ch'íshk-ta
 NEG=2Sg lie-FUT
 'Don't lie'⁴
37. *Mish nam mísha?*
Mish =nam mí-sha
 Q=2Sg do-IMPV
 'what are you doing?'

The full form is typically used following the vowel *u* as in *ku* 'and'.

38. *ku nam aw kw'áxi wa wák'ish*
kú =nam aw kw'áxi wá wák'ish
 and=2Sg now again be alive
 'and you are alive again'

The reduced form =*am* follows the vowel *a*. Again, this is most often seen when the verb is the first word of the sentence:

39. *xátikw'ikaam*
xátikw'ik-a-am
 fall.over-PST=2Sg
 'You fell over.'

When the clitic =*nam* follows *i*, the clitic might reduce to =*m*. In that case, the preceding *i* lengthens. We saw this same vowel lengthening pattern with =*nash* 'I' in example 21.

40. *ánach'axiim wyáych'uta!*
ánach'a-xii-m wyáych'u-ta
 again-same=*nam* fear-FUT
 'you will be afraid again!'

But the full form of =*nam* can also be used following *i*.

41. *íchi nam ák'inusha*
íchi =nam á-k'inu-sha
 here=2Sg 3O-see-IMPV
 'here you see it'

⁴ Negative future statements with you singular =*nam* or you plural =*pam* are commands as in examples 36 and 42, see **Error! Reference source not found.**

Error! Reference source not found.. **Second person plural: =pam**

=pam indicates you plural (more than one). There is no reduced form of this clitic.

42. *Aw pam átímta*

Aw pam *át-im-ta*
 now =2Sg exit-CSL-FUT
 ‘You all come out now’

43. *imák pam wínaḡa chíchyaw*

imák=pam *wína-ḡa* *chích-yaw*
 2Pl.PN.S/A=2Pl go-HAB church-ALL
 ‘You all go to church’

44. *Íkush pam wáta*

íkush=pam *wá-ta*
 thus=2Pl COP-FUT
 ‘this is how you will be’

The next sections discuss verb prefixes that can occur with the clitics to indicate an SAP subject or without the clitics to indicate a 3rd person subject.

Error! Reference source not found.. **Reflexive and reciprocal**

If the verb expresses an action that the subject is directing at himself, herself, or themselves the reflexive prefix *piná-* (singular) or *pimá-* (plural) is used to indicate this. These are stress-stealing prefixes (see **Error! Reference source not found.**) and take the stress from the verb root.

In the case of third person subjects (s/he/it, they) the reflexive prefix replaces the verb prefixes *i-* or *pa-*. The resulting translations typically include ‘himself’, ‘herself’, or ‘themselves’.

45. *áswan piná’ítamayksha*

áswan piná-ítamayk-sha
 boy RFL.Sg-hide-IMPV
 ‘the boy is hiding himself’

46. *pinátk'i-na*
piná-tk'i-na
 RFL.Sg-watch-PST
 'she looked at herself'
47. *chaw pinátwanpta, u piná'ayata*
chaw piná-twanp-ta, u piná'-áya-ta
 NEG RFL.Sg-comb-FUT or RFL.Sg-scratch-FUT
 'she will not comb her hair or scratch herself'
48. *ku tl'aaxw pimáwixwch'kínxana*
ku tl'aaxw pimá-wixwch'k-inxa-na
 and all RFL.Pl-undress-HAB-PST
 'and they all undressed'
49. *ku páتما pimawishúwasha⁵*
ku pat-ma pimá-wishúwa-sha
 and older.sister-Pl RFL.Pl-ready-IMPV
 'and the older sisters are getting themselves ready'

If the subject is first or second person, the appropriate clitic is used along with the singular or plural reflexive prefix.

50. *shix pam pimanaknúwita*
shix =pam pimá-naknúwi-ta
 good =2Pl RFL.Pl-care.for-FUT
 'Take good care of yourselves'
51. *kutash pimák'inunxana*
ku=tash pimá-k'ínu-nxa-na
 and =1Pl.EXC RFL.Pl-see-HAB-PST
 'and we looked at ourselves'

Table 3.2 gives the paradigm for reflexive verbs. The forms for first and second person are given in both affirmative and negative versions. The affirmative sentences show the clitics directly after the verb. The negative sentences, which start with *chaw*, show the use of the full forms of the clitics following the first word of the sentence.

⁵ *wishúwa-* is a strong root and maintains the word level stress. The same is true of *naknúwi-* in the following example.

Many verbs expressing actions one does to oneself, often having to do with activities such as grooming, combing, shaving, etc. are used with a reflexive prefix. Some verbs have a more figurative meaning along with their more literal meaning when the reflexive prefix is added:

TABLE 3.2. REFLEXIVE VERB PARADIGM

S/he/it, they:	
<i>pináwapshana</i>	s/he braided her hair
<i>pimáwapshana</i>	they braided their hair
I, we, you:	
<i>pináwapshanaash</i>	I braided my hair
<i>chaw nash pináwapshana</i>	I did not braid my hair
<i>pináwapshanaam</i>	You (sg) braided your hair
<i>chaw nam pináwapshana</i>	You (sg) did not braid your hair
<i>pimáwapshana pam</i>	You (pl) braided your hair
<i>chaw pam pimáwapshana</i>	You (pl) did not braid your hair
<i>pimáwapshanaataash</i>	We (inclusive) braided our hair
<i>chaw na pimáwapshana</i>	We (inclusive) did not braid our hair
<i>pimáwapshanaataash</i>	We (exclusive) braided our hair
<i>chaw natash pimáwapshana</i>	We (exclusive) did not braid our hair

52. *pinátamahayk-* abdicate or give up one's position (RFL + take down; also
get down or off, as from a car)

<i>pináshukwaa-</i>	realize, be aware (RFL + know, recognize)
<i>pinátł'uyana-</i>	be ashamed of oneself (RFL + shame)
<i>pinásapsikw'a-</i>	study, teach oneself (RFL + teach)
<i>pináp̄xi-</i>	be conceited (RFL + think)
<i>pináshapatk'i-</i>	show off (RFL + cause to watch)

The final vowel of the reflexive prefix can assimilate with a following *í*. In this case, the prefix becomes *piní-*, as in example 53. This occurs only in frozen combinations for Yakima speakers. That is to say, it may at one time have been used in a number of combinations, but only persists in a few. It is no longer broadly applicable or analyzable.

53. *piná'imshma* or *piníimshma-* 'deny'
piná'iwiyat or *piníiwiyat-* 'keep self away'

Reciprocal prefixes indicate a feeling or action shared by all of the individuals included in a plural subject. This is often translated into English with 'each other'. The reciprocal prefix is *pápa-*, another stress-stealing affix. It is only used with plural subjects. It follows the same pattern as the reflexive prefix above. With third person plural (they) it replaces the prefix *pa-*.

54. *papatanawíixna*⁶
pápa-tanawíix-na
 RCP-argue-PST
 'they argued with each other'
55. *pápawyak'ukxa*
pápa-wyak'uk-xa
 RCP-gather-PST
 'they gather together'

A variant form for some speakers is *ipápa-*. Rigsby and Rude found that the use of this form was more common for older speakers (1996: 675).

56. *ipápatalaxikinxana*
ipápa-talaxik-inxa-na
 RCP-admonish-HAB-PST

⁶ Recall that *tanawíix-* is a strong root, and so keeps word stress.

‘they used to admonish each other’ (keep one another in line, behaving)

If the subject is first or second person, the reciprocal prefix is used along with the appropriate clitic.

57. *ku pam papawinaniitwíi_xa*
ku =pam pápa-winanii-twíi-xa
 and =2Pl RCP-swim-APPL-HAB
 ‘and you swim with each other’
58. *aw na pápawyapaana*
aw =na pápa-wyápaana
 now =1Pl.INC RCP-separate-PST
 ‘then we left one another’