

## 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 Ichishkiin 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. *ipnúsha*  
‘s/he is sleeping’

*papnúsha*  
‘they are sleeping’

*iwínasha*  
‘s/he is going’

*pawínasha*  
‘they are going’

*itkwátasha*  
‘s/he is eating’

*patkwátasha*  
‘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'ayíksha*  
‘she/he is sitting’

- pa'ayíksha*  
‘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 *í*, 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. *iwíñana*  
‘s/he, it went’

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

5. *iwíñana 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.      *áwyanyawya 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?*  
*Mish    aw       kálux                          i-panáti-shamsh*  
Q       now     blueback.salmon     3Sg.S-climb-IMPV.CSL  
‘Are the blueback salmon coming upriver yet?’
9.      *Mish aw ipanátishamsh?*  
*Mish    aw       i-panáti-shamsh*  
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. *múimi pawyápshatana áyatma*  
 múimi            pa-wyá-pshata-na                        áyat-ma  
 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.. 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'ínxana*  
 Aw =*nash*      awkú      limk'í-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: *=mash* 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 wiyáɬamayksha*  
*aw= nash paysh wiyá-ɬamayk-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).

Ichishkíin 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

#### 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 ttáwaxt*  
*Ink=nash*            *wa*      *nch'í-t̥xaw*      *ttáwax-t*  
1PN.S/A=nash      COP      big-COMP      grow-NZR  
'I am the oldest'
16. *myánash nash txánana íkwina wíyatpa nixyáawipa*  
*myánash=nash*      *txána-na*      *íkwina*      *wíyat-pa*      *nixyáawi-pa*  
child =1Sg              become-PST      that.LOC      far-LOC      Pendleton-LOC  
"I was born there, far away in Nixyaawi (Pendleton)"

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

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

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 0 and 20 below. This results in a long vowel in the final syllable:

19. *wíñanaash*  
*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. *miskilíkiish panátishamsh*  
*miskilíki=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 shapawayxtiɬák'a*  
*ku=nash wachá awkú shapawayxtiɬá-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’.<sup>3</sup> 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 kúxa*

*kú*      =na            *chawmún*      *ikush*    *kú-xa*  
and      =1Pl.INC      never            thus      do-HAB  
'and we (all) never do that'

25. *Aw na wínata*

*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 wyáwaykxana*

*kunkínk* =natash      *watwáa*      *wyá-wáyk-xa-na*  
that.INST=1Pl.EXC      safely            while.going-cross-HAB-PST  
'In that way we crossed safely.'

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<sup>3</sup> =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.

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.



Following the conjunction *ku* ‘and’ =*tash* is generally used:

30. *kutash íchi píkchashpa wíhaashhaashsha*  
ku=natash                    íchi                    píkchash-pa    wí-háashhaash -sha  
and=1Pl.EXC                this                    picture-LOC    DST-rest-IMPV  
'and in this picture we are resting'

When the first word in the sentence is a verb with tense/aspect endings, the form =atash is used:

31. Wínanaatash wánayaw kttáasknik.  
       wína-na =natash           wána -yaw       kttáas-knik  
       go-PST=1Pl.EXC       river-DAT       Kittitas-ABL  
       ‘we went to the river from Kittitas’

Note below the use of both long and short forms following *aw* ‘now’:

32. *Aw natash wyá'uysha ikuuk.*  
*aw=natash*      *wyá-uy-sha*      *ikuuk*  
 now =1Pl.EXC      while.going-begin-IMPV      now  
 ‘today we are starting out’

33. *Awtash kw'áxi ásha káatnamyaw.*  
*aw =natash*      *kw'áxi*      *ásh-a*      *káatnam -yaw*  
 now =1Pl.EXC      again      enter-PST      longhouse-DA  
 ‘now we again entered the Longhouse’

In elicited examples and classroom examples, the distinction between exclusive we and inclusive we is not made when the verb is the first word of the sentence. =atash is used for both inclusive we (we all) and exclusive we (I and other(s), not you). Usually, it is clear from

context. But with no other context, *wínanaatash* (from example 31 above) could also be interpreted as ‘we all went’. If a distinction needs to be made, the word order can be altered so that the verb is not the first word of the sentence, or an independent pronoun can be used in the 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. *Namák na wínana*

*Imák=na*                                    *wína-na*  
2Pl.PN.S/A =2Pl.INC                        go-PST  
‘We (all) went’

35. *Namák natash wínana*

*Imák =natash*                                    *wína-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 *Xwáłxwaypam* (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’<sup>4</sup>

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.

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<sup>4</sup> 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..

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'ínusha*  
 íchi =nam                   á-k'inu-sha  
 here=2Sg                   3O-see-IMPV  
 'here you see it'

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 átimita*  
 Aw pam                           át-im-ta  
 now =2Sg                       exit-CSL-FUT  
 'You all come out now'
43. *imák pam wínaxa chíchyaw*  
 imák=pam                       wína-xa                   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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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'iɬamayksha*  
*áswan piná-iɬamayk-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-twamp-ta, u pind'-áya-ta*  
 NEG RFL.Sg-comb-FUT or RFL.Sg-scratch-FUT  
 ‘she will not comb her hair or scratch herself’
- 48. *ku tɬ'aaxw pimáwiχwch'kinxana*  
*ku tɬ'aaxw pimá-wiχwch'k-inxa-na*  
 and all RFL.Pl-undress-HAB-PST  
 ‘and they all undressed’
- 49. *ku pátma pimawishúwasha<sup>5</sup>*  
*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*

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

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.

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

<b>S/he/it, they:</b>	
<i>pináwapshana</i>	s/he braided her hair
<i>pimáwapshana</i>	they braided their hair
<b>I, we, you:</b>	
<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>pimáwapshanaatash</i>	We (inclusive) braided our hair
<i>chaw na pimáwapshana</i>	We (inclusive) did not braid our hair
<i>pimáwapshanaatash</i>	We (exclusive) braided our hair
<i>chaw natash pimáwapshana</i>	We (exclusive) did not braid our hair

52.	<i>pinátamahay-</i>	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>pinátl'uyana-</i>	be ashamed of oneself (RFL + shame)
	<i>pinásapsikw'a-</i>	study, teach oneself (RFL + teach)
	<i>pinápxwi-</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 *i*. 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.	<i>pimá'imshma</i>	or	<i>piníimshma-</i>	'deny'
	<i>piná'iwiyat</i>	or	<i>piníiwiyat-</i>	'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.	<i>papatanawíixna</i> <sup>6</sup>
	<i>pápa-tanawíix-na</i>
	RCP-argue-PST
	'they argued with each other'

55.	<i>pápawyak'ukxa</i>
	<i>pápa-wyak'uk-xa</i>
	RCP-gather-PST
	'they gather together'

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

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  
'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 papawinaniitwíixa*  
*ku =pam            pápa-winaníi-twíi-xa*  
and =2Pl            RCP-swim-APPL-HAB  
'and you swim with each other'
58. *aw na pápawyapaana*  
*aw =na            pápa-wyápaa-na*  
now =1Pl.INC        RCP-separate-PST  
'then we left one another'

#### Error! Reference source not found.. Tense and aspect

A set of verb suffixes indicates the time frame of actions, events or states expressed by the verb. The basic set is past, future, ongoing and habitual, as seen in the example below:

59. *ixásunatyá*            's/he rode along' (past)  
*ixásunatita*            's/he will ride along, she is going to ride along' (future)  
*ixásunatisha*            's/he is riding along' (ongoing)  
*ixásunatixa*            's/he rides along' (habitual)

The markers can be divided into those expressing *tense* and those expressing *aspect*. Past (-*a*, -*ya*, -*na*) and future (-*ta*) are tense markers. They express the time of the action, event or state in relation to some other point in time (usually the time at which the sentence was spoken).

Ichishkíin tense markers situate an event in the past or future, and give information about the sequence of events.

Aspect markers *-sha* and *-xa* express how an event takes place in time or over time rather than specifying exactly when in time the event occurred or will occur. *-sha* means an action is continuous, and *-xa* indicates that it occurs habitually. These can combine with the tense markers to give meanings such as give ‘past habitual’ and ‘future on-going’.

An additional, less common aspect marker in Ichishkíin indicates that an action has just taken place. This is the immediate past, here called present perfect aspect. It is indicated in more than one way, as will be addressed below, but often with the verb stem (and person marker, if third person), with no aspect or tense suffix following:

60. *ixásunati-*Ø ‘s/he has (just) ridden along’

These five tense and aspect endings are addressed individually in the sections that follow. In addition, there are four combined tense and aspect markers: *-shana*, *-shata*, *-xana*, *-xata*, covered in section **Error! Reference source not found..**

#### Error! Reference source not found.. **Past tense**

The form of the past tense suffix is *-a*, *-na* or *-ya*, depending on the verb. The form of the past tense also varies depending on whether the verb is an n-verb or zero-verb, as was discussed in **Error! Reference source not found..** Some verbs that end in *i*, *u*, or a consonant take the past tense form *-na*. This is due to remnants of a verb class system. This verb class system divides verbs into two categories. One of the sets of verbs has a final sound *n* that shows up in some places, such as before the past tense ending *-a*. This set is referred to as *n verbs*. A second set does not have this final *n* and this set is referred to as *zero verbs*. In Yakima, the effect of the verb classes is not as strong as in other Ichishkíin dialects or in sister language Nez Perce, but there are still signs of the stem classes in the tense and aspect markers. The result is that the form

of the past tense is not fully predictable. For verbs ending in *i*, *u* or a consonant, the learner can make a good guess, but ultimately needs to know which past tense marker to use on a verb-by-verb basis. Some n-verbs are identified in Table 2.12.

Which suffix should be used is often predictable depending on the final sound of the verb stem.

If the verb ends in *a*, *u*, long *ii* or a diphthong the past tense is almost always *-na*:

61. *ishúkwaana* ‘s/he knew’  
*isápsikw’ana* ‘s/he taught’  
*itmíyúuna* ‘s/he planned’

If the verb ends in a consonant, the past tense is usually *-a*:

62. *iwalptáyka* ‘s/he sang’  
*itłúpa* ‘s/he jumped’  
*ishlúxaapa* ‘s/he glanced sideways’

But if the verb ends in a consonant and is an n-verb, the past tense will be *-na*:

63. *iyíkna* ‘s/he heard’  
*ikútktutna* ‘s/he worked’  
*ip’úxsna* ‘s/he kissed someone’

A zero-verb ending in *i* (short *i*) has past tense suffix *-ya*. In that case, a final unstressed *i* deletes, because of the following glide. This was discussed in **Error! Reference source not found..**

64. *iwisalátya* ‘s/he hunted’  
*itaxnúnak’ya* ‘s/he matured’  
*itkníya* ‘s/he wove (fishnet)’

An n-verb ending in *-i* has past tense *-na*.

65. *ip’íshkwína* ‘s/he smiled’

<i>ilimk'ína</i>	's/he closed her/his eyes'
<i>ihulína</i>	'it was windy; it blew'

The basic form of the past tense, present in all three variants, is *-a*.

The verbs *wa-* 'be' and *nuu-* 'say' have irregular past tenses. For both of these verbs, the past tense ending is *-cha*.<sup>7</sup> In the case of *wachá*, the final syllable is stressed.

66. *iwachá k'pis*  
*i-wa-chá*                    *k'pis*  
 3Sg.S-COP-PST            cold  
 'it was cold'

However, with root *nuu-* the suffix does not take the stress.

67. *inúucha* 'Ay, xay!'  
*i-núu-cha*                'Ay,      xay!'  
 3Sg.S-say-PST hello man's.male.friend  
 'he said, 'hello, friend!''

Language learners may do best to learn the full irregular forms *iwachá* 's/he, it was' and *inúucha* 's/he, it said' as unanalyzable chunks rather than breaking the words into pieces.

Error! Reference source not found.. **Future tense**

The suffix expressing future is *-ta*. Its form does not change.

68. *itúxta*                's/he will return'  
*iwýáninta*                's/he will travel'  
*i'anáwita*                's/he will be hungry'

Sometimes *-ta* is used to describe in general how something happens or is done or used, as in the following lines describing root gathering:

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<sup>7</sup> Rigsby and Rude 1996 refer to Nez Perce correspondences and analyze the past tense form of the copula as *wac̄-á*, with *wac̄-* an allomorph of *wa-* and *-á* the past tense marker (1996: 688). In their analysis, the past tense is regular, but it does not explain why we see the same pattern for *nuu* 'say' or the stress shift.

69. *ku nam wyápshatata ku iwá ánach'axi nch'ínc'h'i,*  
*ku =nam      wyá-psháta-ta                ku i-wá                ánach'a-xi      nch'ínc'h'i*  
*and =2Sg      while.going-gather-FUT and 3Sg.S-be      again-same      big.Pl*  
*'You will go along gathering, and there's a big one.'*

*kwnáknam wyáyxshata.*  
kwnak=nam                      wyá-yáxsha-ta  
that.LOC=2Sg                while.going-pour -FUT  
‘you will pour (the roots) in there.’

And the future suffix *-ta* is sometimes used in conditional or “if” clauses:

70. *Chaw nam tuun ák'inuta paysh nam xwyakáł wisalátita*  
*chaw =nam tuun á-k'inu-ta paysh =nam xwyak-áł wisaláti-ta*  
 NEG=2Sg what.OBJ 3O-see-FUT if=2Sg sweat-PRIV hunt-FUT  
 'You will see nothing if you (will) hunt without sweating'

Error! Reference source not found.. **Continuous (imperfective) aspect**

The suffix *-sha* indicates ongoing or continuous action. It expresses an ongoing occurrence of the state or event indicated by the verb.. It is glossed here as IMPV for ‘imperfective’, suggesting that the event indicated by the verb has not been completed. It is often compared to and translated by the English continuous with ‘*-ing*’, as in *ixásunatisha* ‘s/he is riding along’ and in example 71.

71. *iwánpsha* ‘s/he is singing’  
*ináxtisha* ‘s/he/it is crying’  
*i'ayíksha* ‘s/he/it is sitting’

The suffix *-sha* is also used with verbs that express a state of being rather than an action.

In this case, the *-sha* suffix indicates present tense and that the state is lasting or ongoing.

72. *Aw pa'anáwisha* ‘They are hungry’  
*iwaníksha Láacha* ‘he is named /his name is Láacha.’  
*chaw nash áshukwaasha* ‘I don’t know’

There is an exception to this. The verb *wa-* ‘be’ does not take the ending *-sha* in the present tense, but it nonetheless expresses an ongoing state.

73. *iwá wat'uymá* ‘s/he is the oldest’  
*iwá t̄amáay* ‘s/he/it is hidden’

The verb stem with the suffix *-sha* added to it is the citation form that many speakers will use when asked for an Ichishkín verb. So if we ask *Mish nam átamashwikta* ‘stand up?’ ‘how do you translate ‘stand up’, the answer would be *tútisha*, the verb stem *túti-* plus the suffix *-sha*.

Error! Reference source not found.. **Habitual aspect**

The habitual suffix *-xa* indicates that the action expressed by the verb is done habitually, usually or regularly over a period of time.

74. *pyaxí ayáyat ilatíxa*  
*pyaxí*      *ayáyat*      *i-latí-xa*  
bitterroot      beautiful      3Sg.S-bloom-HAB  
‘Pyaxí blooms beautifully’
75. *ku inwíminwim pápawyak'ukxa*  
*kú*      *inwíminwim*      *pápa-wyak'uk -xa*  
and      last.year-DUP RCP-gather-HAB  
‘and every year they gather together’
76. *panp'íwixa Nch'iwánapa*  
*pa-np'íwi-xa*      *Nch'iwána-pa*  
3Pl.S-dip.net-HAB      Columbia.River-LOC  
‘They fish at the Columbia River.’

There are two variants of *-xa*, *-inxá* and *-nxá*. *-inxá* is used with some verb stems that end in a consonant and *-nxá* with some stems that end in a vowel. The verb stem determines whether *-xa*, *-inxá* or *-nxá* is used, although there is some variation, as was discussed in section **Error!**

**Reference source not found..** This is similar to the variation in past tense suffixes. From a

language teaching and learning perspective, students need to learn the correct form of the habitual as they learn the verbs.

If the verb ends in a consonant, the habitual suffix will be either -xa or -inxa. Rude (1988a) analyzes -inxa as present for phonological reasons: if the verb root ends in a velar or uvular consonant (*k, k', kw, kw', Ɂ, Ɂ', Ɂw, Ɂw'*) -in precedes the habitual suffix to result in -inxa. However, this does not hold true throughout Yakima. Many verbs ending in consonants, especially velar and uvular consonants, take -inxa, but not all, and some verbs ending in consonants that are not velar or uvular take -inxa.

A consistent rule is that a verb stem ending in *x* will use -inxa for habitual:

77. *awtash awkú papatanawíixinxa*  
aw=natash               awkú    papa-tanawíix-inxa  
now=1Pl.EXC           then     RCP-argue-HAB  
'And then we argue about it'

Many verb stems ending in velar or uvular consonants (the front and back *k* series) take the form -inxa:

78. *ku pa'anwík'inxana*  
ku                       pa-anwík-inxa-a  
and                      3Pl.S-spend.year-HAB-PST  
'and they would spend the winter there'

However, this is not entirely consistent, as seen in 75 above, and in the following examples:

79. *Áyatma máytskisim paχwyákxa*  
áyat-ma               máytski-sim   pa-χwyák-uxa  
woman-Pl              morning-same 3Pl.S-sweat-HAB  
'The women sweat only in the morning'

There are also pairs of examples in which the two suffixes -inxa and -xa are used on the same verb in the same construction by the same speaker:

80. *anakw'ink pawaníkinxa "Blue Mountains"*  
ana-kw'ink               pa-waník-inxa              *Blue Mountains*  
REL-that.aforementioned   3Pl.S-name-HAB           *Blue Mountains*

‘the ones they call ‘Blue Mountains’’

81. *anakw'ink pawaníkxa Taptíl*  
*ana-kw'ink*                    *pa-waník-xa*                    *Taptíl*  
REL-that.aforementioned    3Pl.S-name-HAB            Yakima.River  
‘the one they call ‘Taptíl’’

If the verb ends in a vowel, the habitual suffix will be either *-xa* or *-nxa*. This depends on the final vowel of the verb as well as whether the verb is historically an n-stem verb. (See **Error!**  
**Reference source not found.** for more on verb classes.)

Verbs ending in *i* that are zero-stem verbs, as well as all verbs ending in *a* or *aa* take the habitual form *-xa*.

82. *iwáwyaxa myánashmaman*  
*i-wáwyaxa*                    *myánash-maman*  
3Sg.S-whip-HAB            child-OBJ.Pl  
‘he whips the children’

83. *pa'aníxa wapsíkiki*  
*pa'-aní-xa*                    *wapsíki-ki*  
3Pl.S- make-HAB            string-INST  
‘they make them of string’

For n-stem verbs ending in *i*, *ii* and *u*, *uu* the suffix *-nxa* is used, although again, there are exceptions.

84. *chaw mish papxwínx̣a kunkínk*  
*chaw*    *mish* *pa-pxwí-nxa*            *kunkínk*  
NEG    Q    3Pl.S-think-HAB that.INST  
‘they don’t think anything of that’ (they usually ignore it)

85. *kwaat nash pnúnxa*  
*kwaat*    *=nash* *pnú-nxa*  
sound    =1Sg sleep-HAB  
‘I sleep soundly’

86. *tɬ'áaxwshiyin páwyaych'unxa*  
*tɬ'áaxw shiy-in*                    *pá-wyáych'u-nxa*  
all        who-3>3.ERG            INV-fear-HAB  
‘everyone fears them’

Error! Reference source not found.. **Present perfect aspect**

Present perfect indicates that the event in the sentence occurred just prior to the point at which the sentence was said, in the immediate past. It is often translated by ‘has just’. The particular suffix used to indicate this varies depending on the verb it is attached to. The suffixes are *-sh*, *a*, or *-Ø* (no suffix). However, unlike the past and habitual markers, the present perfect suffix also is influenced by what follows it.

If the verb ends in a consonant the present perfect is indicated by the suffix *-sh*.

87. *ipúutsh*  
*i-púut-sh*  
3Sg.S-lose-PPF  
'he has lost'(in gambling or a competition)

88. *iháashinkiksh*  
*i-haash-inkik-sh*  
3Sg.S-breathe-TSL-PPF  
'he has breathed out'

If the verb ends in *a* or if the verb ends in *i* or *u* and is a zero-stem verb, then the bare verb stem, with no suffix, expresses the present perfect. In 89, the symbol *-Ø* indicates that there is not an overt morpheme in the example that contributes the present perfect meaning:

89. *iwáyxti áswan páchupa ishchítpa*  
*i-wáyxti-Ø áswan páchu -pa ishchít-pa*  
3Sg.S-run-Ø boy half-LOC road-LOC  
'the boy has run down the middle of the road'

When a first or second person pronominal enclitic follows the verb in the above circumstances (verbs ending in *a*, verbs ending in *i* or *u* that are zero-verbs), the pattern changes. Then, the suffix *-sh* is used with the full form of the clitic:

90. *wáyxtish nash*  
*wáyxti-sh =nash*  
run-PPF =1Sg

‘I have run’

For n-stem verbs ending in *i* or *u* the present perfect suffix varies. It is either no suffix (like verbs that end in *a* and zero-verbs) or *-a*. Since a glide is inserted between *i* or *u* and *a*, the full suffixes are *-ya* and *-wa*.<sup>8</sup> Hargus and Beavert (2002a) report that the present perfect suffix *-a* is optional for two-syllable roots, like *hulí* (example 91) but required for single syllable roots like *pnu-* (in 92).<sup>9</sup>

91. *ihulíya* (or *ihulí*)

*i-hulí-ya*

3Sg.S-blow-PPF

‘it has just blown’

92. *ipnúwa*

*i-pnú-wa*

3Sg.S-sleep-PPF

‘s/he has slept’

The present perfect suffix *-a* therefore contrasts with the past tense of these verbs formed with *-na*. So, *ihulína* ‘it blew’ and *ipnúna* ‘s/he slept’ are in the past, and differ in meaning from the forms in examples 91 and 92.

Error! Reference source not found.. **Combined tense and aspect markers**

The combination of a tense marker with an aspect marker means that information about the time of the event (past or future) combines with information about the structure of the event (ongoing

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<sup>8</sup> According to Noel Rude (p.c.) the use of *-a* to mark present perfect is an innovation of Northwest Sahaptin dialects. In other dialects, speakers use the suffix *-in* if the stem ends in a consonant. n-verbs ending in *i* or *u* lengthen the final vowel and include the *n*.

<sup>9</sup> Hargus and Beavert 2006a amend this rule and suggest that the number of underlying vowels in the root is a better predictor. For learners, syllables are a somewhat familiar concept and I suggest using the syllable analysis in teaching, even though a few verbs, such as *w(i)xi-* ‘lose’ will be exceptions to the rule.

or habitual) to yield the overall meaning of the suffix. There are four combined tense and aspect markers: *-shana*, *-xana*, *-shata*, *-xata*:<sup>10</sup>

93. *iχásunatishana* ‘s/he was riding along’  
*iχásunatixana* ‘s/he used to ride along’  
*iχásunatishata* ‘s/he will be riding along’  
*iχásunatixata* ‘s/he will be regularly or habitually riding along’

These four combined markers are the only possible combinations of the tense and aspect suffixes. The order does not vary: the aspect markers directly follow the verb, and are followed by the tense markers. The two aspect markers never co-occur and the two tense markers never co-occur.

The past tense forms *-shana* and *-xana* are most common.

94. *Chaw iχwi itssts'úupshana puuy*  
*Chaw iχwi      itssts'úupshana                        puuy*  
 NEG later      3Sg.S-melt -IMPV-PST                    snow  
 ‘The snow was not yet melting’
95. *kútash winaniχana*  
*kú=natash    winaniχana*  
 and=1Pl.EXC    swim-HAB-PST  
 ‘And we used to swim’

The future forms are *-shata* and *-xata*.

96. *iwyákwshikshata*  
*i-wyákwshik-sha-ta*  
 3Sg.S-go.wrong-IMPV-FUT  
 ‘he will be doing wrong’
97. *ku paníchxata tkwátat*  
*ku pa-ních-xa-ta    tkwátat*  
 and 3Pl.S-put.away-HAB-FUT                                    food  
 ‘and they will store up food’

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<sup>10</sup> The combined endings that include habitual (*-xana* and *-xata*) follow the rules given in section **Error! Reference source not found.** for whether *-xana/-xata*, *-inxana/-inxata* or *-nxana/-nxata* will be used.

Error! Reference source not found.. **Conditional**

The suffix *-taxnay* is added to the verb stem to express that an event is hypothetical: possible or potential but not certain. It has a range of translations ‘could, should, would’. If the conditional suffix is used, no tense or aspect suffixes can co-occur.

98. *Aw, iwátaxnay sts'at*  
aw i-wá-taxnay sts'at  
now 3Sg.S-COP-COND night  
'now, there should be a night'

99. *shix nash inátkwanintaxnay*  
shix =nash i-nátkwanin-taxnay  
good =1Sg 3Sg.S-care.for-COND  
'he would take good care of me'

It is used in polite requests.

100. *Waat nam wíwapiitataxnay?*  
Waat =nam wíi-wapiita-taxnay  
POLQ =2Sg POL-help-COND  
'would you help?'

101. *Mish nam twáshiinitaxnay núsux?*  
Mish =nam twáshi-initaxnay núsux?  
Q =2Sg can-APPL-COND salmon  
'Would you can my salmon?'

It sometimes carries the meaning ‘can’ or ‘could’.

102. *kush áwiwanikanitaxnay miɬman*  
ku=sh á-wi-wanik-ani-taxnay miɬ-man  
and=1Sg 3O-DIST-be.named-APPL-COND how.many-OBJ  
'and I could name some'

*-taxnay* is also used in hypothetical ‘if/then’ clauses.

103. *Paysh nash wínataxnay Pendletonkan, kush itámyataxnay shátay*  
Paysh =nash wína-taxnay Pendleton-kan, ku=sh itámya-taxnay shátay  
maybe=1Sg go-COND Pendleton-ALL and =1Sg buy-COND blanket  
'If I were to go to Pendleton, I would buy a blanket'

Error! Reference source not found.. **Imperative**

Imperatives or commands direct the listener to do something. ‘Listen’ and ‘Sit down!’ are examples of commands in English. In Ichishkiin, special verb suffixes mark commands. In addition, speakers can use several techniques 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.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 104. <i>tútik</i><br><i>túti-k</i><br>stand-IMP.Sg<br>‘stand up’ (to one person)           | <i>tútítik</i><br><i>túti-tk</i><br>stand-IMP.PL<br>‘stand up’ (to more than one person)          |
| 105. <i>tkw'anátik</i><br><i>tkw'anátik</i><br>walk.along-IMP.Sg<br>‘walk’ (to one person) | <i>tkw'anátitk</i><br><i>tkw'anátitk</i><br>walk.along-IMP.PL<br>‘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:

- |  |
|--|
| 106. <i>tkwápwiiliuuk / tkwápwiiliuuktk</i><br>‘raise your hand’ |
| 107. <i>aylk / aylktk</i><br>‘sit down’                          |

If the verb has the directional suffix *-(i)m* (indicating direction towards the speaker, see **Error! Reference source not found.**), and the addressee is singular, then no imperative suffix is

added. This is not the case, however, when addressing more than one. Then, the directional -(i)m plus the imperative -tk is used.

108. <i>wínam</i>	<i>wínamtk</i>
<i>wína-m-Ø</i>	<i>wína-m-tk</i>
go-CSL	go-CSL-IMP.Pl
‘come here’(to one person)	‘come here’ (to more than one person)

<i>mits'íxwam</i>	<i>mits'íxwamtk</i>
<i>mits'íxwa-m-Ø</i>	<i>mits'íxwa-m-tk</i>
listen-CSL	listen-CSL-IMP.Pl
‘listen to me’ (to one person)	‘listen to me’ (to more than one person)

Commands sometimes have the prefix *pá-*, which indicates that there is a second person subject and first person object. (This will be addressed further in **Error! Reference source not found..**) *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’.

109. <i>pánim</i>
<i>pá-ni-m</i>
INV-give-CSL
‘give me that’

Commands also can have the prefix *á-*. This indicates that the verb is transitive (see **Error! Reference source not found..**) and is used if the addressee is being asked to do something to or for a third person object (him/her/it).

110. <i>áshapnik</i>
<i>á-shápni-k</i>
3O-ask-IMP
‘ask him/her’

The future suffix *-ta* can be used for commands. When the future is used, a clitic - either *=nam* (you singular) or *=pam* (you plural) must also be used to make a complete sentence. *-ta* is always used with negative commands, as in examples 111 and 112. In affirmative commands, such as 113, it is more polite and suggestion-like than the imperative suffixes *-k* and *-tk*.

111. *chaw nam íkush kúta*  
*chaw =nam      íkush    kú-ta*  
NEG =2Sg      thus      do-FUT  
'don't do that'
112. *Chaw nam áshaxtl'kta*  
*chaw =nam      á-shaxtl'k-ta*  
NEG =2Sg      3O-cut.open-FUT  
'don't cut it open'
113. *skúulita pam*  
*skúuli-ta =pam*  
go.to.school-FUT =2Pl  
'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. Using the future suffix *-ta* instead of *-k* or *-tk* is more polite.

An additional way to soften a request or make it more polite is to add the verb prefix *wii-*. This prefix has a number of meanings and will be addressed in **Error! Reference source not found.**, **Error! Reference source not found.**, and **Error! Reference source not found..**

114. *wíi'ashim*  
*wíi'-ash-im*  
POL-enter-CSL  
'Please come in'
115. *wíiwinpanitaam chiish*  
*wíi-winp-ani-ta=am               chiish*

POL-take-BEN-FUT=2Sg water  
‘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:

116. áskawitaam *xyáawnansim*, káła, chaw p̄lxúnan  
á-skáwi-ta-am            *xyaaw-nan-sim* káła,            chaw      p̄lxú-nan  
3O-collect-FUT-2Sg dry-OBJ-only WoDaCh<sup>11</sup> NEG fresh-OBJ  
‘Collect only the dry (wood) granddaughter, not the green.’

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<sup>11</sup> Kinship term abbreviations are used for relationships that do not have a single word to express them in English. They are included in the abbreviation list in Appendix ADaCh is an abbreviation for woman’s daughter’s child. Relationship terms are reciprocal; the same term is used for maternal grandmother, which would be glossed MoMo.