

Ichishkíin Transitive clauses

What is a transitive verb?

Briefly, transitive verbs, like *'ínu-* 'see', *w np-* 'take, get, grab', *twána-* 'follow', and *ít 'yawí-* 'kill', require two participants. The two participants differ in their relationship to the verb. The subject or agent (abbreviated 'S' and 'A') has more control over the action described by the verb; the object (abbreviated 'O') is affected by the action or is the one towards whom the action is directed.

Person and plurality are important

The morphology of transitive clauses in Ichishkíin varies depending on the person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) of the subject and the object. In addition, plurality is important, since the morphology used reflects whether the agent or object is singular, dual or plural. A combination of clitics, verb prefixes and case markers indicate subject and object. Number (singular, dual, plural) affects different morphemes (such as case markers, prefixes and clitics) differently. Sometimes number matters in the morphology and sometimes it does not. As seen in the preceding paragraph, there are object case markers for singular, dual and plural. Verb prefixes and clitics do not have specific dual forms, so the distinction is between one and two or more. The obviative verbal prefix *á-* is not at all affected by plurality, as it can indicate a singular, dual, or plural object.

Case marking

In addition to clitics and verb prefixes, in sentences with explicitly mentioned subjects and objects a set of noun suffixes called case markers indicates what role the noun has in the sentence. In other words, the case marker indicates how and why the noun belongs in the sentence: is it the agent or object? The case marker *-nan* (dual *-inaman*; plural *-maman*) indicates the object of the sentence. This object case marker is sensitive to animacy. It is used consistently with 3rd person human objects, and sometimes with animate and inanimate objects. Case markers *-in* and *-n m* indicate 3rd person singular agents. The agent case markers are used in only certain combinations of agent and object. Recall that participants are not expressed by nouns in every sentence but are left out if they can be understood from context. A sentence without any case marking can still be transitive.

The case markers *-in* and *-n m* indicate 3rd person agents and are glossed ERG for ergative. Ergative refers to a situation in which the subject of a transitive clause is treated uniquely in the grammar, unlike any other participant in a transitive or intransitive clause. Only 3rd person singular subjects of transitive clauses take ergative case marking. The marker *-in* is used if the object is also 3rd person. *-n m* is used if the object is a speech act participant.

Direct and Inverse

Ichishkíin has two types of transitive clauses: direct and inverse. Direct means that the persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd) of the agent and the object are more expected or natural. Inverse clauses counter the expected scenario. The characterization of clauses as direct or inverse may help to clarify some of the morphology presented below. For example, the agent case markers *-in* and *-n m* are used in inverse clauses only. Mithun, describing Algonquian, characterizes direct/inverse systems as representing the way speakers present events. Most typically, speakers present events from their own point of view (or that of their listener) rather than that of a 3rd person. If the direction of action is not as expected, for example if a speaker presents an event with 3rd person

acting on 1st, the inverse is used (Mithun 1999: 223). In this section we will see the use of the inverse prefix *pá-* in two types of situations: those with a 2nd person singular subject and 1st person singular object, and some of those with a 3rd person singular subject and 3rd person object.

Examples:

The examples in the table show all transitive combinations using the verb *'ínu* 'see' with the aspect marker *-sha*. Examples are given both with and without 3rd person noun phrases. The third person noun phrases demonstrate the use of the case markers. Word order is flexible; the examples given here are just one possibility. In these examples, the clitics directly follow the verb since the verb is the first word of the sentence. If another word were first, the clitic would retain its place following the first word in the sentence. Clitics do not necessarily attach to the verb.

If the subject is "I/we"

I/we > you	<i>'ínushamash</i> (both Sg)	I see you (Sg)
	<i>'ínushamatash</i> (either S, O, or S and O Pl)	I or we see you (Sg/Pl)
I/we > him/her/it/them	<i>á 'ínushaaash</i>	I see him/her/it/them
	<i>á 'ínushaatash</i>	We see him/her/it/them
	<i>á 'ínushaash Máalinan</i>	I see Mary
	<i>á 'ínushaash kákyamaman</i>	I see the animals

If the subject is "you"

you Sg > me	<i>pá 'ínushaam</i>	you (Sg) see me
you Pl > me	<i>'ínushapam</i>	you (Pl) see me
you Sg/Pl > us	<i>'ínushaam</i>	you (Sg) see us
	<i>'ínushapam</i>	you (Pl) see us
you > him/her/it/them	<i>á 'ínushaam</i>	you (Sg) see him/her/it/ them
	<i>á 'ínushapam</i>	you (Pl) see him/her/it/ them
	<i>á 'ínushaam Máalinan</i>	you see Mary

If the subject is "s/he/it"

s/he/it > me or us	<i>i 'ínushaash</i>	s/he/it sees me
	<i>i 'ínushaatash</i>	s/he/it sees us
	<i>i 'ínushaash Maalin m</i>	Mary sees me
s/he/it > you	<i>i 'ínushaam</i>	s/he/it sees you (Sg)

	<i>i 'inushapam</i>	s/he/it sees you (Pl)
	<i>i 'inushaam Máalin m</i>	Mary sees you (Sg)
s/he/it > him/her/it/them direct	<i>i 'inusha</i>	s/he/it sees him/her/it/them
	<i>i 'inusha Máali Sámnan</i>	Mary sees Sam
s/he/it > him/her/it/them inverse	<i>pá 'inusha</i>	s/he/it sees him/her/it/them
	<i>pá 'inusha Máaliyin Sámnan</i>	Mary sees Sam

If the subject is “they”

they > me or us	<i>pa 'inushaash</i>	they see me
	<i>pa 'inushaataash</i>	they see us
	<i>pa 'inushaash áyatma</i>	the women see me
they > you	<i>pa 'inushaam</i>	they see you (Sg)
	<i>pa 'inushapam</i>	they see you (Pl)
	<i>pa 'inushaam áyatma</i>	The women see you (Sg)
they > him/her/them animate	<i>pat á 'inusha</i>	They see him/her/them
	<i>pat á 'inusha áyatma Sámnan</i>	The women see Sam
they > it/them inanimate O	<i>pa 'inusha</i>	They see it
	<i>pa 'inusha áyatma nít(nan)</i>	The women see the house

Speech Act Participant > Speech Act Participant

1st > 2nd: Transitive clauses use two pronominal enclitics that are not used in the intransitive clauses we have seen to this point. These additional clitics are =*mash* and =*matash*. They indicate that 1st person (I/we) is acting on 2nd person (you). =*mash* is used when the subject and the object are both singular; =*matash* is used when either or both participants are plural. The gloss used is 1>2E/B.Pl, with E/B standing for ‘either or both’. These clitics are referred to as complex clitics since a single morpheme indicates both the subject and the object.

1. *shápnisha mash*
shápní-sha =*mash*
ask-IMPV =1Sg>2Sg
‘I’m asking you’

2. *ku matash ítuxta*

ku =*matash* *ítux-ta*
 and =1>2E/B.PI return-FUT
 ‘and I/we will send you (Sg/Pl) back’

In the case of examples like 2, the subject is known to be 1st person and the object 2nd person, and at least S or O (or both) must be plural, but without more information given, the specifics must be gathered from context. They are not indicated in the sentence.

2Sg>1Sg: Clauses that have 2nd person singular subject and 1st person singular object use the clitic =*nam* ‘=2Sg’ and verb prefix *pá-*.

3. *páwawtk iwishaam!*
pá-wawtk iwi-sha=am
 INV-mock-IMPV=2Sg
 ‘You’re mocking me’

4. *Mish nam páwapiitata miyúkt pyaxí?*
Mish =nam pá-wapiita-ta miyúk-t pyaxí?
 Q =2Sg INV-help-FUT peel-NZR bitterroot
 ‘Will you help me peel the bitterroot?’

Examples such as 3 and 4 with 2Sg>1Sg represent the only time that a verb prefix is used to mark a verb that does not have a 3rd person subject or object.

2Sg/Pl>1Sg/Pl: If either the S or O is plural in clauses with a 2nd person subject and a 1st person object, the prefix *pá-* is not used. Contrast 5, with a singular 2nd person subject and 6, with a plural 2nd person subject. Example 5 requires the prefix *pá-*. 6 does not have this prefix.

5. *Mish nam máyts i paxwiyaktwúta?*
Mish =nam máyts i pá-xwiyak-twii-ta
 Q =2Sg morning INV-sweat-APPL-FUT
 ‘Are you (Sg) going to sweat with me in the morning?’

6. *Mish pam máyts i xwiyaktwúta?*
Mish =pam máyts i xwiyak-twii-ta?
 Q =2Pl morning sweat-APPL-FUT
 ‘Are you (Pl) going to sweat with me/us in the morning?’

As seen above, for examples like 6, the object is known to be 1st person, but whether it is singular or plural (me or us) must be gathered from context.

Speech Act Participant > 3rd

In clauses with any 1st or 2nd person subject and a 3rd person object a pronominal enclitics indicates the subject. In the examples below we see =*nash* (in 7) and =*nam* (in 8). The verb has the prefix *á-* indicating a 3rd person object. If the object is overt it may be case marked with the object suffix *-nan* (Sg), *-inan* (DI) or *-maman* (Pl). (In example 8 the object is not case marked.)

7. *Cháw nash ánach axi áwít yawita axnumaman.*

chaw =nash ánach axi á-ít yawi-ta áxnu-maman
 NEG =1Sg again 3O-kill-FUT prairie.chicken-OBJ.Pl
 ‘I’ll never again kill prairie chickens’

8. *maykw áanik nam á inusha wiwnúwaash*
maykw áanik =nam á- inu-sha wiwnúwaash
 further =2Sg 3O-see-IMPV huckleberry.patch
 ‘Further along you see a huckleberry patch’

The 3rd person object prefix *á-* is a stress-stealing prefix and so takes the word stress from the root. It is used if the subject is 1st or 2nd person and the object is 3rd person. It references both singular and plural 3rd person objects, as can be seen in the preceding examples.

The prefix *á-* indicates that the sentence has an object even if the object is not named.

9. *chaw nash áshukwaasha*
chaw =nash á-shúkwaash
 NEG =1SG 3O-know-CONT
 ‘I don’t know (it)’

10. *awk áwnash áyksha*
awk áw=nash á-yík-na
 once=1SG 3O-hear-PST
 ‘Once I heard (it).’

We saw that in the case of verb prefixes *i-* and *pa-*, a glottal stop is inserted before a vowel-initial verb. In the case of *á-*, if the verb begins with a vowel, the prefix becomes *áw-*.

11. *paysh nam áwititamata*
paysh =nam á-ititáma-ta
 maybe =2Sg 3O-count-FUT
 ‘maybe you will count them’

3Sg/Pl > Speech Act Participant

When there is a 3rd person subject and SAP object, a combination of clitics, verb prefixes and case markers indicate the subject and the object. The clitics and prefixes are identical to those used for intransitive clauses. Prefixes *i-* ‘3Sg.S/A’ and *pa-* ‘3Pl.S/A’ mark the subject. A clitic marks the object.

12. *ikush nash ishapáttawax nxana*
ikush =nash i-shapá-ttáwax- nxa-na
 thus =1SG CAUS-grow-HAB-PST
 ‘In that way, she raised me’

13. *awkú natash pa’iwáxixana*
awkú =natash pa’-iwáxi-xa-na
 then =2Pl.EXC 3Pl.S/A-wait.for-HAB-PST
 ‘Then they used to wait for us’

If the subject is 3rd person singular and is named in the sentence, it is case marked with the suffix *-n m*.

14. *íkushxashtxtash awkú ikúxana Xaxíshn m*
íkush-xash-tx=tash awkú ikúxana Xaxísh-n m
 thus-indeed-must=2Pl.EXC then 3Sg.S/A-do-HAB-PST *Xaxísh-3>SAP.ERG*
 ‘Thus must Xaxish have done to us’

A named 3rd person plural subject is not case marked. In 15, the plural subject *tíinma* ‘people’ does not have the 3>SAP ergative case marker *-n m*. The 3rd plural S/A prefix *pa-* marks the verb.

15. *ku nam pa ’ínuta tíinma*
ku=nam pa-k’ínu-ta tíin-ma
 and =2Sg 3Pl.S/A-see-FUT person-Pl
 ‘and the people will see you’

3 Sg/Pl > 3 Sg/Pl

3Sg>3Sg/Pl, Direct vs. Inverse: When the subject and object are both 3rd person and the subject is singular, speakers can choose from two different constructions. 16 (a) and (b) have the same meaning, but (a) has prefix *i-* and (b) has prefix *pá-*. Constructions with the prefix *i-* are called direct; those with the prefix *pá-* are inverse.

16. a) *i ’inusha* b) *pá ’inusha*
i- ’inu-sha *pá- ’inu-sha*
 3Sg.S/A-see-CONT INV-see-CONT
 ‘s/he saw him/her’ ‘s/he saw him/her’

Inverse and direct clauses also differ in the case marking of the subject, if nouns are present. Below, there is no case marker on the subject in (a), but there is in (b).

17. a) *i ’inusha Máali Sámnan* ¹
i- ’inu-sha *Máali Sam-nan*
 3Sg.S/A-see-CONT Mary Sam-OBJ
 ‘Mary sees Sam’
- b) *pá ’inusha Máaliyin Sámnan*
pá- ’inu-sha *Máali-in* *Sam-nan*
 INV-see-CONT Mary-3>3ERG Sam-OBJ
 ‘Mary sees Sam’

Along with the case marking of the subject being different in the two types of clauses, the case marking on the object can vary. Inverse clauses must have an object marker (if the object is

¹ Recall that word order is not fixed, although in inverse clauses where both S and O are overtly stated, there is a strong tendency that the verb will be first, see Rude 2009.

given as a noun). In direct clauses with stated objects, whether or not the object is case marked depends on animacy and topicality.

	verb prefix	A case marking	O case marking
Direct	<i>i-</i> (3Sg S/A)	none	not required
Inverse	<i>pá-</i> (INV)	<i>-in</i>	required

Although the translations are the same, the (a) and (b) examples above would be used in different situations. Given that there are two ways to say the ‘same’ thing, students want to know which is most basic, or natural. The correct answer varies with the situation. In Jacobs’ *Klikitat* texts, Rude (1994) found that the direct was used somewhat more often, in 57% of 3>3 clauses, as opposed to 43% for the inverse. Both Rigsby and Rude (1996) and Morrison (1990) report that speakers judge the inverse clauses as sounding better. I found that in sentence elicitation and classroom examples (so, when there was little other context), the direct was preferred. The inverse/direct alternation showed up in longer, connected speech.

The opposition between direct and inverse was addressed briefly earlier, which discussed the inverse signaling a situation in which the identities of the subject and object are not as expected. In the first clause of example 18, *Twit’áaya* ‘Grizzly Bear’ is the subject. In the second clause, which immediately follows the first in the original telling, there is a new subject, *Spilyáy* ‘Coyote’. *Twit’áaya* has become the object. The use of the inverse tells the listener that there has been a switch.

18. *Twit’áaya ipalíina twin*

Twit’áaya i-palíi-na twin
Grizzly.Bear 3Sg.S/A-put.in.water-PST tail
‘Twit’áaya dunked in his tail’

pálatk’ishana Spilyáyin Twit’áayanan
pá-latk’i-sha-na Spilyáyin Twit’áayanan
INV-look.at-CONT-PST Coyote-3>3ERG Grizzly.Bear-OBJ
‘Spilyáy was looking at Twit’áaya’

Additional factors determining whether the inverse or direct will be used include topicality or global topicality, meaning how present or important a particular participant is throughout an episode or text. Animacy is also a factor. If an inanimate thing is the agent and a human the object, the inverse is more likely to be used.

19. *tamánwitin pánapayunsha*

tamánwit-in pá-napayun-sha
law-3>3.ERG INV-defend-CONT
‘The law is defending them’

In addition, the use of the inverse may hinge on a main character. In some storytellers' versions of particular legends, for example, one character is signaled as primary. Throughout the legend, whenever that character is the object rather than the subject, the storyteller uses the inverse.

The factors conditioning the choice of inverse vs. direct in Ichishkíin have been of great interest to researchers (see for example Blackburn Morrow 2006, Hymes 1987, Rude 1994, Zúniga 2006) although there is still a great deal of work to be done to understand when fluent speakers use one or the other.

3Pl>3Sg or Pl: There are also two types of constructions possible when the subject of a transitive clause is 3rd person dual or plural (they) and the object is 3rd person (singular, dual or plural). If the object is inanimate, the 3rd person plural verb prefix *pa-* is used. The object can be case marked but it is not required.

20. *n kw tnan tñnma patkwátaxa*
n kw t-nan tñn-ma pa-tkwáta-xa
 meat-OBJ Indian-PL 3Pl.S/A-eat-HAB
 'people eat the meat'

As is always the case, the subject does not have to be overtly stated in the sentence. It is indicated by the verb prefix, and the identity is understood from context or previous reference.

21. *tawnáapak'a tkwalánan ku patátnan wánapaynk pa'íchaysha*
tawnáapak'a tkwalá-nan ku patát-nan wána-paynk pa'-íchay-sha
 supposedly small.fish-OBJ and tree-OBJ river-along 3Pl.S/A-spoil-CONT
 'supposedly they are spoiling the fish and trees along the river'

If the subject and object are human or animate, a verb prefix *patá-* or a related form consisting of a 3rd person plural pronominal enclitic =*pat* and the prefix *á-* is used. In Yakima, both the Northwest =*pat á-* (examples 22 and 23) and Columbia River *patá-* (example 24) forms are used, within and across speakers. I refer to the variations as the *pat* forms. *w* is inserted before a vowel-initial root, as seen in examples 11 above and 22 and 24 below.

22. *Pat huuy áwitaxshiya*
Pat huuy á-ítaxshi-ya
 3Pl in.vain 3O-awaken-PST
 'they tried in vain to awaken her'
23. *ku pat átwanana naká asnan*
ku =pat á-twana-na naká asnan
 and =3Pl 3O-follow-PST my.MoMo-OBJ
 'they followed my grandmother'
24. *patáwiyaxna*
patá-íyaxn-a
 3Pl>3-find-PST

‘they found him’

Because the *pat* forms are used with animate objects, a named object is case marked.