1.0 Introduction

In this paper, I present an introduction to Nez Perce verb morphology. The goal of such a study is to describe the internal structure of Nez Perce verb form and meaning. It takes as its task identifying the constituent elements of words and examining the rules that govern their co-occurrence.

The Nez Perce language is a polysynthetic language and, as such, it displays an enriched morphological system whereby complex propositions can be expressed at the level of a single word. Typologically, utterances of the polysynthetic type suggest that speakers of these languages employ a structural principle of dependent-head synthesis that treats the minimal units of meaning, that is, its morphemes, in ways different from other world languages. This is simply to say that the morphology plays a more prominent role at the clausal level than in synthetic languages like English.

Consider a concrete example as in /hiwlé·keʔyke/ ‘He/she/it ran.’ When we examine the structure of a morphosyntactic word in Nez Perce, we are interested in i) identifying the pairing of each morpheme’s phonological form, often called its surface structure, with the content specified in its lexical entry, and ii) identifying how morphemes are organized and combined with respect to grammatical principles.

First, we begin by examining a morphosyntactic word through its component parts. Four main representations of words are used in this analysis, these are i) the surface form, ii) the morphological form, iii) the morphological gloss, and iv) the free translation. Each of these elements are arranged in interlinear form, as in (1).

(1) Morphological Representation in Interlinear Form

| surface form | hiwlé·keʔyke |
| morphological form | hi-wilé·-keʔyke-VC-k-e |
| morphological gloss | 3NOM-run-move/change.location.or.position-K.ELEMENT-PST |
| free translation | ‘He/she/it ran.’ |

Second, we will want to base our assessment of such words on our examination of the content of each morpheme’s lexical entry, including the verb root. When we speak of a lexical entry we are simply referring to the mental dictionary speakers carry in their head and to the corresponding linguistic content that is attributed to human
utterances. For example, if we examine the first morphological element in
/hiwlé·keʔye/ ‘He/she/it ran,’ we obtain the following lexical entry in (2).

(2)  /hi-/  Phonological representation
     ↓
     (+NOM  +3  +SG)  Grammatical representation
     ↓
     [HE/SHE/IT]  Semantic representation

In this instance, /hi-/ is a string of phonemes and thus constitutes its Phonological
representation. The Grammatical representation consists of a categorized set of
grammatical features (NOMINATIVE, 3 PERSON, SINGULAR) which contribute to the
morphemes identity. That is, the category NOMINATIVE distinguishes this morpheme
as a “subject” and it possesses the values for the qualities of PERSON (third person)
and NUMBER (singular). Likewise, the Semantic representation denotes the
conceptual content or meaning of the morpheme. The important linguistic fact here
is that all three representations are activated when a speaker selects a lexical entry
from his or her mental dictionary and inserts it into human speech.

When we examine a grammatical utterance, as in our earlier example (1), we know
that a morphosyntactic operation is at work which takes into account all the various
properties of a lexical entry and the morphosyntactic environments in which they are
inserted. We also know that such operations are syntactic because it assembles a
wide range of morphemes into larger coherent structures such as phrases (verb
phrase, noun phrase, etc.). To account for this phenomenon, this study adopts a
linguistic theory called Distributed Morphology (DM) (Halle and Marantz 1993,
1994). Distributed Morphology (DM) asserts that morphemes are the atoms of
morphosyntactic representation and the operations which assemble such morphemes
into coherent structures are motivated on the idea that morphemes combine directly
from their grammatical representations, as portrayed in (2).

In a Distributed Morphology approach, decisions on how morphemes combine rely
upon a basic syntactic operation called MORPHOLOGICAL MERGER. In its most basic
form, MORPHOLOGICAL MERGER is an operation that builds larger morphosyntactic
structures from adjacent morphemes. The advantage of adopting a notion of
MORPHOLOGICAL MERGER is that we have at our disposal a means of evaluating the
combinatory potential of a Nez Perce verb root and its many verb affixes.
The verb morphology in a polysynthetic language like Nez Perce can tell us a great deal about the adjacency requirements of verb roots and verb affixes that form a verb phrase. Our analytic strategy thus claims that it is the content of a lexical entry (Phonological, Grammatical, and Semantic representations) that determines the combinatorial potential of the verb phrase itself and that a morphosyntactic operation like MORPHOLOGICAL MERGER is a realization of this potential.

When MORPHOLOGICAL MERGER occurs, we can say whether the merged morpheme elements are linguistically well-formed or not. As in our first example in (1), /hiwlé·ke·yke/ 'He/she/it ran’ is a well formed expression because each of its combined lexical entries or morphemes satisfy a basic set of well-formedness principles in the grammar of Nez Perce. In other words, the content of each lexical entry is successfully satisfied in the derivation of a morphosyntactic word.

Crucially, the challenge of this research is to determine what properties of a lexical entry enable well-formedness principles to apply at the level of the verb phrase. A basic intuition of this analysis, one that will be explored further in following sections, is that the properties of the lexical entries that yield well-formed verb complexes minimally follow from both its semantic and grammatical properties. This is to claim that verbs, by their very nature, express compositional potential and flexibility in the way a verb predicate can represent the participants and themes of discourse such as its SUBJECT and OBJECT arguments. This is desirable because Nez Perce verbs represent their argument structure quite freely.

To conceptualize our data for purposes of this analysis, we can represent the verb root of (1) in a subcategorization frame below which expands on our notion of a lexical entry in important ways. A subcategorization frame determines the local context in which a vocabulary item is selected and later inserted via MORPHOLOGICAL MERGER.

(3) phonological context of insertion

exponent

\[ /\text{ke}·\text{éy}/ \leftrightarrow \text{V}_{\text{VC,INTRAN}} \begin{cases} <\text{V}_{\text{CAUSE,PREFIX}} << \text{__V.ROOT} >> + k >> \text{VP} > \text{VP} \\ > \text{V}_{\text{DO,PREFIX}} < \text{__V.ROOT} >> \text{VP} \end{cases} \]

The subcategorization frame in (3) provides us with a number of facts about the structure of /ke·éyVC/ as a Nez Perce verb root. First, the notation \( \text{V}_{\text{VC,INTRAN}} \) identifies this verb as intransitive and as a VC verb, a Nez Perce classificatory verb form. Second, as a VC verb, /ke·éyVC/ has the option selecting one of two possible insertion points, each with its own categorial composition. Note that the context of insertion is identified here by outer brackets [...] whereas the inner brackets <...>vp identify an ordered list of adjacent morphemes which, in this case, demarcates the domain of a
verb phrase. Thirdly, /keʔéyVC/ is a bound verb root and takes an obligatory verb prefix which can be of two types: vcause or vdo (following Folli and Harley forthcoming). Notice carefully in (3) that when /keʔéyVC/ has the option of selecting [+ k ], an elemental verb suffix, then it must also select a vcause. Alternatively, when the [- k ] suffix is not selected (meaning it has a minus value), then /keʔéyVC/ is inserted with vdo. This is a well-formedness principle that will be examined in greater detail in the later sections of this study.

In addition to the combinatory potential of Nez Perce verbs and verb affixes, the phonology component is equally productive at this level in the verb morphology. When the phonological elements of a root verb or verb affix are later inserted, the phonological exponence of the underlying forms are often realized in their allomorphic surface representations, as in (4).

(4) /wilé·v.CAUSE/ → /wlé/ ‘run, move quickly’
/keʔéyVC/ → /keʔy/ ‘move/change location or position’

The advantage of a subcategorization frame is that it also allows us to examine how a verb phrase is assembled as part of a morphosyntactic word. Like all verbs, /keʔéyVC/ requires a subject and a time expression. To show this fact, we will note the following ordered list of the verb phrase as occurring within a larger ordered list which is itself a morphosyntactic word: <..., <...>VP, ...>MW.

Thus, (5) shows a well-formed morphosyntactic word, repeated here from (1).

(5) phonological context of insertion
     exponent
     ↓  ↓
/keʔéy/ ↔ V.C.INTRAN [<NP, <v.CAUSE << √ROOTVC>> +k >>VP, AspP&TP>>>MW]

hiwlé·keʔyke
hi-wilé·-keʔy-k-e
3NOM-run-change.location.or.position-K.ELEMENT-PST
‘He/she/it ran.’

This morphosyntactic word includes an NP (noun phrase) as subject, a verb phrase, and an aspect (AspP) and tense (TP) phrase which places in time the event depicted by the verb. Due to the composition of the verb phrase, it is possible to interpret the subject of /hiwlé·keʔyke/ ‘He/she/it ran’ as a proto-patient subject. It is proposed in this study that this reading is made possible by the combinatory potential VC verbs and the presence of /-k-/.

1 It is possible to give a literal translation of /hiwlé·keʔyke/ ‘He/she/it ran’ as “He/she/it moved quickly changing location of position.”
Examine (6) below when the verb /ke\̃eyVC/ does not select for /-k-/

(6)  \text{tilke\̃eyce}  \\
\text{tilV.DO-ke\̃eyVC-ce}  \\
on.the.warpath-move/change.location.or.position-IMPERF.PRS.SG  \\
‘I go to war.’

Here, the PROTO-PATIENT interpretation no longer holds because /-k-/ is absent and the verb prefix /til-/ ‘on the warpath’ is of the vDO-PREFIX category type. Thus, in this type of morphological context, /tilke\̃eyce/ possesses the attributes of a PROTO-AGENT. That is, the referent entity is initiating the event of ‘going to war’ which suggests intention to act, a hallmark of AGENTS.

Our developing account on the compositionality of /ke\̃eyVC/ makes the following predictions when a verb root selects for /+ k/ and when it does not. In (7), showing only the verb phrase subcategorization frame, ungrammaticality arises when there is a mismatch between an DO-based verb prefix occurring with /+ k/ and a CAUSE-based prefix with occurring without /– k/. The examples show (1) and (6) respectively.

(7) grammatical form

\text{hiwlé·ke\̃yke = VVC.INTRAN [<vCAUSE <<\text{ROOTVC} > + k >>vp]}
\text{tilke\̃eyce = VVC.INTRAN [<vDO-PREFIX, <<\text{ROOTVC}>>vp]}

ungrammatical form

*\text{hiwle·ke\̃yke = VVC.INTRAN [<vCAUSE <<\text{ROOTVC}>>vp]}
*\text{tilke\̃eykce = VVC.INTRAN [<vDO-PREFIX, <<\text{ROOTVC} > + k >>vp]}

Indeed, the ungrammaticality of the forms in (7) turn out to be correct\(^2\). This is a desirable outcome since our main interest here is in knowing what elements in the verb structure contribute to a well-formed grammatical utterance and those which don’t. Thus, we can begin to apply our preliminary analytic framework to other aspects of Nez Perce verb morphology to see if our account is correct in determining what factors contribute to a grammatical utterance much like we have seen in example (7).

In conclusion, the purpose of this introductory section is to provide a basic data statement on the combinatory potential of verb roots in Nez Perce. It conceptualizes the nature of this potential by proposing a subcategorization frame and adopting a

\(^{2}\) Thanks to Eugene Wilson, a fluent Nez Perce speaker, for the identifying the ungrammaticality of the following expressions in (7). Eugene says, “You can’t say it like that!”
theory of Distributed Morphology as a means of investigating the emergence of well-formedness principles and how verb-based affixes combine with classificatory verb roots in Nez Perce. The explanatory power of our analysis will enable us to look carefully at the full range of the verb morphology in the proceeding sections of this study.

Following this introduction, Section 2 provides a historical background statement on the Nez Perce language, its dialectical composition, and its parametric characteristics in light of polysynthesis as a language type. Section 3 begins by introducing and outlining the general structure of Nez Perce verb roots, its morphophonological characteristics, as well as the position class of morphemes in a morphosyntactic word. Section 4 presents a new account of Nez Perce verb morphology based upon event semantics and grammatical encoding. Section 5 briefly examines the pronominal argument system and its significance to Nez Perce syntax. Appendix A of this paper concludes with a data section on Nez Perce thematic prefixes and suffixes.

2.0 Background

Nez Perce is classified as belonging to the Sahaptian language family which is composed of two genetically related languages: Nez Perce (Nuumíipuu) and Sahaptin (Icíškiín). As a consequence of this common genetic inheritance, Nez Perce and Sahaptin share a basic vocabulary, phonology, and grammatical system. The proto-ancestor from which these two languages descend is termed Proto-Sahaptian.

![Fig. 1. Sahaptian Language Grouping](image)

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1 Historically, the term ‘Sahaptian’ and its diminutive form ‘Sahaptin’ arose from the anglicized expression sháptnºx°, a Columbia Salish term meaning “stranger.” Both its historical and modern usage generally serve to distinguish the ethnic identity of Sahaptin and Nez Perce speakers from other neighboring groups in the Columbia Plateau region. In linguistic terminology, ‘Sahaptian’ designates the language family grouping whereas ‘Sahaptin’ refers to one of its isolatable daughter languages.
2.1 Nez Perce (Nuümíipuu)

Nez Perce is an endangered language and is currently spoken by an estimated 60-70 fluent speakers the majority of whom reside on the Nez Perce reservation (ID) (Crook 1999). A small number of speakers of the Lower River Nez Perce dialect reside on the Umatilla (OR) and Colville (WA) Indian reservations. The Nez Perce speech community was historically a major tribal grouping of 30 or more independent bands distributed across northeastern Oregon, southeastern Washington, and central Idaho. Today, the majority of the Nez Perce people reside on the Nez Perce reservation (ID). The term ‘Nez Perce’ is a historical French misnomer; nonetheless, the name continues to identify both the culture group and its language. Culturally, speakers will refer to themselves as Niimíipuu (Upper River dialect), Nuumíipuu (Lower River dialect), or sometimes as Cúupøitpeñuu.

The dialectical features of Nez Perce have been summarized in Aoki (1962, 1970, 1971, 1975, 1994) and Rude (1985, 1999). Two dialects are present in Nez Perce. These are termed the Lower River dialect and the Upper River dialect. The Upper River dialect cluster is geographically situated on the middle and south forks of the Clearwater River of central Idaho, the majority of which is within the present-day Nez Perce reservation boundary. The Lower River dialect cluster occupied the areas west of these groups and was geographically spread throughout the middle Snake River drainage area that included parts of northeastern Oregon and southeastern Washington. In the early nineteenth century, the Lower River dialect expanded to include the Cayuse, speakers of a language isolate, as a result of a language shift. It is generally believed that the Cayuse adopted the Nez Perce language as a result of intermarriage and a political alliance with the Nez Perce.

2.2 Polysynthesis in Nez Perce

Nez Perce is a polysynthetic language. Polysynthesis is a typological term that refers to a system of morphology that expresses semantically important elements, such as subjects and objects, as bound morphemes in a syntactically well-formed argument-predicate representation.

Typologically, polysynthetic languages are generally known to exhibit two kinds of gradient morphological complexity: noun-incorporation and complex predicate.

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4 The major differences that exist between the Lower River and Upper River dialects are 1) the Lower River dialects have at least five additional phonemes, these include the labiovelars /kʷ/, kʷ*, qʷ*, qʷ* / and the voiceless fricative /ʃ/ making it the more conservative dialect due to the fact that these phonemes are present in Sahaptin (Aoki 1962, Rude 1999), 2) the Lower River dialects tend to show one less vowel where /o/ freely alternates with /u/, 3) as a result of 2, there tends to be no vowel harmony in the Lower River dialects (Aoki 1994), and finally, 4) the Lower River dialects frequently show /n/ for Upper River dialect /l/ (Aoki 1970, 1994, Rude 1985).
formation (Baker 1996:338). The general characteristic that distinguishes one form from the other is the way in which a language represents its arguments in an argument-predicate formation. Noun-incorporating languages can incorporate nouns as the argument expressing element in an argument-predicate representation. Alternatively, complex predicate formation languages can incorporate embedded predicates as the argument-taking element in an argument-predicate formation. In other words, arguments are maximally represented in a noun-incorporating language and minimally represented in a complex predicate formation language. This descriptive generalization is depicted below (Fig. 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Noun Incorporation</th>
<th>Complex Predication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complex Predication</td>
<td>- weak</td>
<td>+ strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Incorporation</td>
<td>+ strong</td>
<td>- weak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 2. Morphological Complexity in Polysynthetic Languages

In light of these two general polysynthetic trends, Nez Perce is a complex predicate formation language with a non-productive noun-incorporating component.

3.0 Nez Perce Verb Morphology

3.1 Position Class

The internal organization of Nez Perce verb roots and affixes are described as broad position class elements. Position class elements are composed of two types: thematic verb prefixes and suffixes and inflectional prefixes and suffixes.

The schematic structure of the verb is diagrammed below (Fig. 3). The verb stem constitutes the central element in this schematic structure. It is composed of a verb root and a set of optional thematic prefixes and suffixes. It is also the domain of derivation. In addition, the verb stem takes a set of obligatory inflectional prefixes and a well defined class of inflectional suffixes, termed the Inflectional Suffix Complex, which is composed of tense, aspect, and agreement morphology.

---

5 Recent research by Mattisen (2003:284) proves this generalization to be false. Mattisen claims that polysynthetic languages can be typologically differentiated on the basis of affixal and compositional strategies in word formation. However, we will retain Baker’s generalization as a matter of descriptive convenience.

6 Geographically, the polysynthetic type attributed to Nez Perce is part of a larger areal phenomenon where tendencies toward complex predicate formation are attested in Klamath, Takelma, Washo, Yana, Atsugewi, Maiduan, Pomoan (Delancey 1996, 1999) and other languages in the Western US. Termed the “bi-partite stem” construction, complex predicate formation in these languages show “an earlier stage at which least some independent verb stem combined syntactically, and ultimately morphologically” (Delancey 1991, 1996, Rude 1991).
Consider the following Nez Perce (Lower River dialect) example in (8) showing the underlying serial verb stem. As we will see later, verb affix (prefix and suffix) morphemes are common morphological elements of the verb stem.

(8) \( \text{pe·wiskilteéeše} \)
\( \text{pé·-wiséeV-¼ilikíVC-teée-še} \)
\( 3→3\text{-from.a.standing.position-to.be.blocked-INCEP-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \)
‘He is about to tear it down.’

3.2 Verb Roots

In terms of basic morphology, Nez Perce exhibits three types of verb roots: free roots, bound roots, and polymorphic roots (i.e. reduplicated roots). Bound roots must take an affix, usually a verb prefix, as in (9).

(9) \( \text{bound root} \rightarrow [<<\text{ROOT}> +\text{AFFIX}>] \)

\( \text{nimtáksa} \)
\( \text{nim}_V\text{.DO-tákVS-se} \)
\( \text{with.}\text{one.}'\text{s.eyes-to.do.something.as.}\text{one.passes.by-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \)
‘I see (mine) as (mine) passes by.’

Free root forms participate in all inflectional and derivational environments.

(10) \( \text{free root} \rightarrow [<<\text{ROOT}> ±\text{AFFIX}>] \)

\( \text{yálwaca} \)
\( \text{yalwáVC-ce} \)
\( \text{not.} \text{have.} \text{confidence.in-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \)
‘I don’t think (mine) is good enough.’
Polymorphic roots are reduplicative verb roots that have no discernable base separate from its reduplicated surface form. While it is uncertain whether the reduplication itself is the domain of predication, polymorphic roots tend to express frequency, distribution, or degree of emphasis.

\[(11) \textit{polymorphic root} \rightarrow \langle<\text{ROOT}_{\text{REDUPICANT}} \cup \text{ROOT}_{\text{BASE}}\rangle \pm \text{AFFIX}\rangle\]

\[
\text{luxlukíce} \\
(lux)_{\text{REDUP.EMPH}}\text{luk}_v\text{i-}c\text{e} \\
\text{REDUP-to.worry/have.palpatations-V.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \\
\text{‘I am worried.’}
\]

Thus, root morphemes provide the principle meaning of a word. Through affixation, verb prefix and verb suffix elements serve to modify or qualify the root in some way.

### 3.3 Concatenating Morphology

The Nez Perce verb structure utilizes two primary types of concatenating morphology: inflectional and derivational. Inflectional morphology prototypically pertains to the way prefixes and suffixes express grammatical relations between properties in a simple clause. These grammatical relations identify participants in states or events such as the SUBJECT and OBJECT in addition to other basic grammatical concepts. Thus, inflectional morphemes tend to be semantically regular. Derivational morphology prototypically pertains to the way affixes modify the content of root elements. Derivation not only adds meaning to a roots underlying semantic content but it can also change the syntactic category of a root. As a consequence, thematic affixes of this type tend to be semantically less regular.

A third and unique type of morphological process present in Nez Perce is fusion. Fusion is commonly expressed as a process where two morphologically adjacent elements \(\mu_1, \mu_2\) combine into a single unit, as in (12) below.

\[(12) (<\ldots \mu_i, \mu_2 \ldots>) \rightarrow (<\ldots \mu_i \cup \mu_2 \ldots>)\]

\[
[cúu, ðéxt] \rightarrow [cúðéxt_{V.DO}] \\
\text{cúðéxtylekse} \\
<cú\cdot_{V.DO}ðéxt_{V.CAUSE}>_{V.DO}\cdot\text{leylé\cdot}k_{VS}\cdot\text{se} \\
\{\text{with.pointed.object-swallow}\}-\text{into-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \\
\text{“do.with.jugular.vein”-into-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \\
\text{‘I am cutting the jugular vein (e.g. of deer).’}
\]
### 3.4 Morphophonology

Concatenated morpheme elements, such as verb roots and thematic affixes, display distinct phonological properties and processes. Data for this section is summarized from Aoki (1970), Crook (1999), Hargus and Beavert (2002), Rigsby and Rude (1996), and Rude (n.d.).

### 3.5 Lexical Stress

Nez Perce is a lexical stress language meaning that the abstract property of prominence is marked in the lexicon.

(13) **NOUN**  
    - sí·s  
      \*broth\*  
    - sís  
      \*navel\*  

(14) **VERB**  
    - wé·cese  
      \*I am riding.\*  
    - we·cé·se  
      \*I am dancing.\*

Nez Perce exhibits a strong tendency towards penultimate stress assignment.

(14) **NOUN**  
    - té·mux  
      \*footprint (ABS)\*  
    - temú·xne  
      \*footprint (OBJ)\*

In concatenating structures, Nez Perce expresses culminativity or what is simply a prosodic domain which signals that each word or phrase must contain a single strong syllable bearing stress. Secondary or non-primary stress is prevalent where concatenation produces sufficiently complex structures, however, in practice, it is rarely indicated.

(15)  
    - ?attó·lasa  
      \*root stress\*  
    - ?a-ttólav₃-se  
      1/2→3OBJ-to.forget-IMPERF.PRS.SG  
      \*I am forgetting it.\*  

(16)  
    - pá·ttòlasa  
      \*prefix stress, root stress\*  
    - pé·ttólav₃-se  
      3→3-to.forget-IMPERF.PRS.SG  
      \*S/he is forgetting it.\*  

(17)  
    - pápaynó·yoʔqa  
      \*prefix stress, root stress, suffix stess\*  
    - pé·páynvＣ-uuᵥ.CAUSE-oʔqa  
      3→3-to.arrive-toward-COND.PRS  
      \*S/he could arrive at his/her place.\*
3.6 Verb Classification

Nez Perce √ROOTS are classified in two concrete morphophonological forms: s-class and c-class verbs (Aoki 1970, 1994). The reference “s-class” and “c-class” simply refers to the way verb roots realize the onset alternation in concatenated inflectional suffix morphemes as either √ROOT-/s/> or √ROOT-/c/>.

√ROOTs of the s-class and c-class also show a distinct pattern of lexical stress: stressed and unstressed.

(18) STRESSED S-CLASS = cvcvc

| teqí·kse    | ‘I am descending.’ |
| taqí·ksaq | ‘I descended.’ |
| we·teqí·kse | ‘I am landing.’ |

(19) STRESSED C-CLASS = cvcv

| tí·wece   | ‘I smell. I stink.’ |
| tí·wacqa  | ‘I smelled.’ |
| hiʔletí·wece | ‘It smells like smoke.’ |

The unstressed types occur in two general forms: the {hipí} and the {hení·} type. Because these two forms are not inherently stressed, allomorphy is generally more concrete.

(20) {hipí} type = UNSTRESSED S-CLASS

| hipí·se  | ‘I eat.’ |
| hipísá·qa | ‘I ate.’ |
| hipúʔ   | ‘I will eat.’ |

(21) {hipí} type = UNSTRESSED C-CLASS

| hekíce  | ‘I see.’ |
| hakcá·qa | ‘I saw.’ |
| ṛe·xnúʔ | ‘I will see it.’ |

(22) {hení·} type = UNSTRESSED S-CLASS

| hení·se  | ‘I make.’ |
| hanisá·qa | ‘I made.’ |
| haniyúʔ | ‘I will make.’ |
Verb stems with shapes greater than CVCV show two types of alternations: stem initial alternation and stem final alternation. Stem initial alternations are widely attested across all environments, as in (23) and (24), whereas stem final alternations tend to be restricted to the {hipí} and {hení·} type environments, as in (25) and (26).

(23) STRESSED S-CLASS = cvcvc > ccvc

- cinú·kse               ‘I have gonorrhea.’
- pecnú·kiyú?           ‘We might get gonorrhea.’

(24) STRESSED C-CLASS = cvcvcv > ccvcv

- lokó·li·ca           ‘I am lying curled up.’
- hilόkó·lica          ‘S/he is lying curled up’
- pa·capalkoli·kó·kinya ‘S/he wrapped it up as it approached.’

(25) {hipí} type = UNSTRESSED C-CLASS

- xeʔpíce               ‘I crawl.’
- xeʔépin              ‘crawling’

(26) {hipí} type = UNSTRESSED S-CLASS

- tekpíse               ‘I dip water out.’
- tekípt               ‘to dip water out.’

The stem alternations discussed above are also prevalent in verb prefixes. Verb prefixes are generally the most heterogeneous elements in terms of overall stress and morpheme shape.

(27) ŋelweyné·kse
    ŋelwv,cause·leylé·kVS-se
    winter-into-imperf.prs.sg
    i) ‘It is getting into winter.’
    ii) ‘I am spending winter.’

(28) ŋecmípeʔqs
    címí > -cmí-
    ŋe-cimív,do·pérqVS-s
    3obj-by.lying.upon-to.split/break-perf
    ‘I just broke it by lying on it.’
As described earlier, Nez Perce shows a preference for penultimate stress, a feature prevalent in concatenated structures containing suffix elements. Suffix elements also show a trend towards heterogeneity in overall form and stress assignment. In s-class environments, stem initial alternation in suffixes is dominant (30) and, in c-class environments, [n-] insertion is a semi-regular though not entirely exclusive feature, as in (31).

(30) \texttt{hiwe·letpe·yikse} \rightarrow e\cdot yi > yi-
\begin{tabular}{l}
\texttt{hi-we· V.CAUSE-letpe· VS-e· yiy.V.CAUSE-k-se} \\
3NOM-to.run-against-move.around-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
\end{tabular}

‘S/he is bumping around.’

(31) \texttt{hiwahná·tksix} \rightarrow é·tk > (n)á·tk
\begin{tabular}{l}
\texttt{hi-wehí V-nc-(n)é·tk-six} \\
3NOM-to.bark-as.an object goes.by-IMPERF.PRS.PL
\end{tabular}

‘They barked as we went by.’

Our description thus far has focused primarily on the morphophonological conditions which respond to the syllable shape of verb roots according to their classificatory identity. Alternatively, a VS and VC classificatory system can also be accounted for morphosyntactically. It is proposed in the following section that these two verb types can be properly characterized according to their argument-structure representations. This new proposal does not directly challenge or discount the morphophonological account in anyway but rather it can be seen as broadening our discussion of the VS/VC verb classificatory system as a distinctive component of Nez Perce morphosyntax.

4.0 Verb Classification and Morphosyntax

In this section, I account for the classificatory system and structure of Nez Perce verb stems by assessing the combinatory potential of verb roots and verb affixes. The standard assumption that I adopt here is that morphologically complex verb stems are formed from i) the atomic properties contained in the morphosyntactic description of a verb root or verb affix, and from ii) the nature of how such properties in (i) are applied as output in the syntactic component (Halle and Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997), via a process known as morphological merger.

Because verb roots and verb affixes are by definition l-morphemes, that is, they
express the “conceptual” content of linguistic structure, Nez Perce verb stems can be characterized as a sequence of predicates that act compositionally as a single representation. Recall that in our introductory section, we found that complex predicate formation in Nez Perce is not an open and unbounded range of representations. Rather, the sequence of verb roots and verb affixes are restricted in terms their compositionality (VP structural composition) in addition to their order (position of exponence) and semantic attributes (sub-event representations). Thus, the productivity of these structural patterns in Nez Perce enable us to examine these issues in a systematic manner.

Minimally, we claim that Nez Perce verb stems share in the following characteristics.

- Verbs are classified into two verb types: VC and VS.
- Morphosyntactic words, inclusive of a verb stem, share in a single intonation and vowel harmonic contour known as culiminativity.
- Verb roots and verb affixes share Tense, Aspect, and Modality.
- Verb roots and verb affixes expressing a complex sequence of predicates share in its Argument Structure via its pronominal system.
- Verb roots and verb affixes are semantically interpretable as referring to sub-parts of a core event.
- Verb roots and verb affixes show a distinct order in their position of exponence.

Previous research by Aoki (1970, 1994) has shown that Nez Perce verb roots are classified on the basis of root syllable shape and its participation in a morphophonological process of exponence, one that holds between a verb root and inflectional suffixes. The pattern that emerges from this process is the onset alternation in the aspectual inflectional suffix morpheme realized here as √ROOT-/s_/> and √ROOT-/c_/>.

Alternatively, we propose that the s-class and c-class √ROOT classification can be attributed to the formal properties of the √ROOTs themselves and that the realization of the s-class and c-class verb roots in the Phonological component are but one consequence of these properties. We arrive at this conclusion based on the observation that at least some basic conceptual property of Nez Perce l-morphemes or √ROOTs are being minimally satisfied in the output by assigning them either a morphophonological string of /-ce/ or /-se/. We can refer to this output as the canonical syntactic form since the grammar is associating a semantic verb type via morphophonological markedness. If we simply this description in terms of morphophonological markedness, then we obtain the following generalization in (Fig. 4) below.
Naturally, we need to inquire “Are there morphophonologically unmarked √ROOTs in Nez Perce in the sense that we are describing?” The answer is yes. A preliminary conclusion can be drawn in that these unmarked (i.e. unclassified) verbs are bound √ROOTs, most of which tend to describe change-of-state (COS) events and adjectivals. Thus, it is important to note that these unmarked V verbs do not realize the phonological string /-se/ or /-ce/ directly as is common elsewhere. Further inquiry is needed to clarify their status in the Nez Perce verb classification schema.

(32) /kipíc/ → V ‘to loosen, unfasten, settle or set a load down...’

kipíc ‘settling of heavy food’
kipickipíc ‘east to tear’
niké·kipicke ‘I am releasing (something) by pulling.’ ‘I am disentangling (something).’

A broader generalization can be captured if we apply the notion of morphological markedness exclusive to Nez Perce √ROOTs, as in Fig. 5 below.

If we assume that the unmarked √ROOT in Nez Perce is the most natural form, as some theories of markedness do (Wurzel 1994, Bauer 2003), or simply as a minimally marked input-to-output morphophonological representation, then at a minimum we can claim that unmarked VC √ROOTs tend to express prototypical EXPERIENCER √ROOTs and unmarked VS √ROOTs tend to express proto-typical
transitive √ROOTs. Unclassified V √ROOTs have no unmarked forms. Instead, they are bound √ROOTs and generally tend to express a change-of-state (COS) event or end up becoming a VS √ROOT by virtue of its markedness contrast.

(33) VC √ROOT {PROTO-TYPICAL EXPERIENCER}

sisú · yce
sisú · y vac-ce
to.fear-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I fear.’

(34) VS √ROOT {PROTO-TYPICAL TRANSITIVE}

/aptámisa
/aptámi vs-se
to.be.against-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am against (mine).’

(35) V √ROOTs (unclassified, bound) {PROTO-TYPICAL CHANGE-OF-STATE}

tiwaxímska
tiwá v, C Do-xíms-k-se
rake.with.pole-to.become.lost/dissappear-K,ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I make something disappear with a pole.’

Thus, the unmarked √ROOTs give us a general indication of how the core conceptual features of Nez Perce predicates are minimally treated in the grammar. The morphophonological conditioned environments in which these √ROOTs are inserted support this view. This is a desirable outcome because we are now in a better position to accurately assess the kinds of syntactic operations or mechanisms which later apply to these forms in derivational terms.

4.1 Combinatory Principles

Complex predicates in Nez Perce are typically composed of one or more √ROOTs with one or more verb affixes. The derivational sequences which emerge from this process are accounted for by three principles: s-selection, argument sharing, and headedness.

4.1.2 S-selection

Because one of the main goals of this research is determine the syntactic behavior of the complex predicates, we want to distinguish how the conceptual attributes of
\( \sqrt{\text{ROOTs}} \) and verb affixes map to the syntactic component. It is a natural consequence that when multiple predicates are serialized, each predicate will compete to “project” its arguments in addition to other requirements. This competition arises from the fact that each l-morpheme \( \sqrt{\text{ROOTs}} \) and verb affixes are distinct syntactic objects.

\[(36) \text{If } \chi \text{ and } \gamma \text{ are distinct lexical heads, then the variables associated with them in a semantic representation are distinct (unless there is explicit marking to the contrary) (Baker 2003:146).}\]

We claim that the distinctiveness of lexical heads at this level of the morphology is alleviated by the fact that the semantic content of \( \sqrt{\text{ROOTs}} \) and verb affixes are inherently relational via s-selection. We also assume that each \( \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \) and each verb affix includes in its vocabulary entry a representation of its selectional properties (s-selection & c-selection) in addition to a representation of its argument structure.

In a polysynthetic language like Nez Perce, the inherent relational attributes of an l-morpheme \( \sqrt{\text{ROOTs}} \) and verb affixes are necessary conditions in complex predicate formation. So when a \( \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \) s-selects for some semantic property contained in another l-morpheme, a criterion of identity restricts the selection to a syntactic object, either a \( \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \) or \( v \), which expresses such property. Thus, we claim that s-selection is a compositional strategy targeting the semantic content of events (and event subcomponents) and their entailed argument proto-properties. A consequence of this compositional strategy in a grammar of Nez Perce is VS/VC \( \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \) markedness.

For example, a small number of bound VS \( \sqrt{\text{ROOTs}} \) tend to be restricted in their s-selection properties.

\[(37) \text{phonological context of insertion exponent} \]
\[\downarrow \quad \downarrow\]
\[/pe\text{̄k}/ \leftrightarrow \text{VS}_{\text{TRANSITIVE}} [\langle+v_{DO}, <\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}_{VS}>>_{VP}]\]

\[\text{té·mpe\text{̄}kse}\]
\[\text{té·m}_{v,DO}-\text{pe\text{̄}k}_{VS}-\text{se}\]
\[\text{throw.PL.OBJ-to.pelt-IMPERF.PRS.SG}\]
\[i) \text{‘I throw rocks.’}\]
\[ii) \text{‘I pelt (something with something).’}\]

Thus, in (37), the bound transitive \( \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} /pe\text{̄}k_{VS}/ \) s-selects for a \( v_{DO} \) l-morpheme on the basis that the \( \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \) and \( v_{DO} \) syntactic objects both entail a set of PROTO-AGENT properties in each of their predicate-argument correspondences. S-selection also obtains a correspondence in the event semantics of the \( v_{DO} \) l-morpheme and the \( \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \) based on a coherence in their causal structure (i.e. temporality, transposition
of objects, and motion).

4.1.3 Argument Sharing

Arguments that correspond in a complex predicate formation are coreferenced by indices. Referential indices attach to the argument of each predicate to indicate its coreference relation representation.

(38) Argument Sharing
\[ <v^\prime (x_i), <\sqrt{\text{ROOT}} (x_i, y) >>_{vp} \rightarrow x:\text{SUBJ}, y:\text{OBJ} \]

variables corefer

In (38), (x) of SO\(^1\) (syntactic object\(^1\)) corefers to (x) of \(\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}\). Under this assumption, argument sharing diminishes the distinctiveness of argument variables, as expressed in (36), on the basis of argument resemblance.

4.1.4 Headedness

Headedness acts as a filter to constrain the set of projectable arguments (Pustejovsky 1995:102). A \(\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}\) is its own event head when no other sub-event representation has been merged with it. Alternatively, when an l-morpheme containing a sub-event representation is merged with a \(\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}\), the merged element becomes the event head.

(38) Headedness
\[ <v^\prime (x_i), <\sqrt{\text{ROOT}} (x_i, y)>>_{vp} \rightarrow x:\text{SUBJ}, y:\text{OBJ} \]

\[ e\text{HEAD} \quad e\text{COMPLEMENT} \]

Headedness does not constrain the potential number of co-event representations in a complex predicate formation. Rather, it simply makes a headed argument (or set of arguments) accessible to grammatical encoding.

4.2 \(\sqrt{\text{ROOTs}}\)

In this section, we examine the potential for a Nez Perce \(\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}\) to s-select a \(\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}\). When \(\sqrt{\text{ROOTs}}\) serialize, we hypothesize that \(\sqrt{\text{ROOTs}}\) are isomorphic to the same compositional strategies as verb affixes. We begin by distinguishing the differences and similarities between VS and VC \(\sqrt{\text{ROOTs}}\) in general.

Verb \(\sqrt{\text{ROOTs}}\) can be characterized according to two event parameters: \textit{internally} and
externally caused eventualities (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995). The inherent properties of an internally caused eventuality are such that some entity manifests or brings about the eventuality in question. VC √ROOTs generally show this pattern, as in (39).

(39)  **hissé·wce**  
hi-sísé·wvc·ce  
3 NOM-to.drip/leak-IMPERF.PRS.SG  
i) ‘It is dripping.’  
ii) ‘It is leaking.’

Based on this observation, we can revise our preliminary understanding of VC √ROOTs as described at the beginning of section 3.7 (see example 34). We propose that VC √ROOTs proto-typically express internally caused eventualities. EXPERIENCER representations are simply one potential expression type in a VC √ROOT classification schema.

Similarly when a √ROOT is of the VS type, the inherent properties of an externally caused eventuality are such that there exists some “external” entity in the bringing about of an event.

(40)  **kiwyekse**  
kiwyek·s·se  
to.feed-IMPERF.PRS.SG  
‘I am feeding (mine).’

(41)  **•ipaláhsasa**  
•ipé·V.CAUSE-láhsa·s·se  
fog/smoke-to.go.up-IMPERF.PRS.SG  
‘It (e.g. fog, smoke, cloud) is rising.’

√ROOT serialization in Nez Perce must make reference to the inherent properties of two compositional potentials, internal and external events, as well as to the kinds of argument expressions they entail. Thus, our aim here is to simply arrive at a generalization that gives us a sense of the grammatical behavior of √ROOT serialization.

In our first example in (42) below, VS + VS √ROOT serialization appears to be an irregular process. This is initially confirmed by the fact that vowel harmony is not active across all morpheme environments in a morphosyntactic word. Typically, vowel harmony in Nez Perce does not allow the non-harmonic vowel sequence /a/ and /e/.
teméniktísáqsa
temenikí₉₅·t·hi·sq₉₅·se
  to.plant·NOMINALIZER-to.add/increase·IMPERF.PRS.SG
i) ‘I add in planting.’
ii) ‘I do additional planting.’

It is particularly important to point out that the headed √ROOT /temenikí₉₅/ is
detransitivized by the nominalizing morpheme /t/, an uncommon process at this
level of derivation. This appears to be a compositional strategy or rule behavior
suggesting that when a semantic transitive cannot be reduced in terms of its
argument structure, it is an all or nothing process. Further examples are required to
confirm this intuition.

The order VS + VC √ROOT serialization is present. In example (43), this serial order
shows a <external, internal> EVENT composition. The √ROOTs under this arrangment
both share in a corresponding semantic event specifying a material process (i.e.
motion). Also, note the √ROOT serialization is headed by a VS √ROOT. Thus, a
serialization of this kind, one containing a headed external event, appears to be an
optimal form since VS √ROOTS by their very nature express an external argument.

(43)  sepœuleke•éykse.
  sé·pᵥ.DG·xule·VS·ke•éyᵥ.C·k-se
  CAUS.SG·roll-change.location.or.position·K.ELEMENT·IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am rolling (something) and moving along with it.’

The serial order VC + VC is also present.

(44)  pó·yalkili·ka•yxqana
  pé··weyeᵥ.CAUSE·likilí·VC·ke•éyᵥ·k-qana
  3→3·move.quickly-move.in.circle-change.location.or.position·K.ELEMENT·HAB.PST.SG
‘He ran around in circles.’

Example (44) shares an internal event in its serial verb formation (and in its verb
prefixation) specifying a material process, however, it not clear how headedness
contributes towards its semantic interpretability. Nonetheless, it appears that the
compositional strategy is to take a headed √ROOT specifying a temporal oriented
internal event and contrasting it with non-temporal, directional oriented internal
event. The benefits of examining this type of serial formation in closer detail are
great, however, we offer only this preliminary assessment.

Thus, the serialized √ROOT combinations all semantically share in the
compositionality of thier event causation (internal or external) whether they are of the
{VS, VS}, {VS, VC}, or {VC, VC} order. At least in terms of compositionality and
semantic well-formedness, the \{VS, VC\} serial form appears to be the optimal form because the serial order corresponds to a syntactic notion of argument structure. The \{VS, VS\} and \{VC, VC\} serial combinations are much more restricted in compositionality on the basis of semantic and structural similarity. It is possible to suggest that these compositional forms are semi-productive, at least for the \{VC, VC\} serial order, when they share in a corresponding semantic event specifying a material process. Finally, mere frequency would suggest that the potential number of √\text{ROOT} combinations reduce by half due to the limited availability of typed candidates when the \{VS, VS\} or \{VC, VC\} serial order occurs not to mention their limited semantic availability.

4.3 Verb Affixes

Verb affixes in Nez Perce occur of two general types v_{DO} and v_{CAUSE}⁷. The light verb v_{DO} prefix type specifies an PROTO-AGENT subject whereas v_{CAUSE} prefix type simply specifies the subject to be a possible cause entailing a PROTO-AGENT or PROTO-PATIENT (Folli and Harley forthcoming). The verb also stem shows an l-morpheme verb suffix termed v_{K} or K.ELEMENT simply realized phonologically as [-k-]. This verb stem formative has been described as fossilized element having the semantic properties of an ALLATIVE (Crook 1999:168). In this section, we will examine the underlying causal relation present in each verb affix, their position of exponence in a VP, and their combinatory potential with regard to √\text{ROOTs}. In terms of representation, the subcategorization frame will include raised numbering indices on verb affixes to indicate their merge order in a complex predicate formation.

4.3.1 Encoding of v_{DO}

The verb affix v_{DO} typically expresses a form of causation that specifies an entity possessing intention or animacy in a cause and effect eventuality. Such entities usually possess the attributes of a PROTO-AGENT.

With certain v_{DO} prefixes, the valency of a √\text{ROOT} can be increased causing an intransitive to become a transitive.

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⁷ Additional semantic primitive specifications are possible such as TEMPORALITY and DIRECTION, however, these attributes can be directly linked to the v_{DO} and v_{CAUSE} l-morphemes by semantic extension. BECOME is also a viable semantic primitive but is not explored in this analysis.
(45) \[ <v^i (x, y), \langle \sqrt{\text{ROOT}_v} (y) \rangle \rightarrow x: \text{SUBJ}, y: \text{OBJ} \downarrow \downarrow \text{AGENT \ PATIENT} \]

\text{cú·yeliwyikse}
\text{cú·ye}_{v, \text{DO}}\cdot\text{liwik}_v\cdot\text{se}
\text{working.an.implement-to.be.bright-IMPERF.PRS.SG}
\text{‘I am polishing it.’}

Ordinarily, a \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} expressing a transitive encoding will share arguments, as in (46).

(46) \[ <v^i (x), \langle \sqrt{\text{ROOT}_v} (x, y) \rangle \rightarrow x: \text{SUBJ}, y: \text{OBJ} \downarrow \downarrow \text{AGENT PATIENT} \]

\text{cúhiluskse}
\text{cu·}_v\cdot\text{DO}\cdot\text{hi·lusk}_v\cdot\text{se}
\text{with.pointed.object-chase.away-IMPERF.PRS.SG}
\text{‘I poke around to scare (e.g. fish).’}

Morphological “causatives” are of the v.DO type. Example (47) below shows a morphological causative in a complex predicate formation. Here, the transitive \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} is merged with a set of affixes bearing PROTO-AGENT and PROTO-PATIENT entailments.

(47) \[ <v^2 (x, y), \langle \sqrt{\text{ROOT}_v} (x, y), v^i (x) \rangle \rightarrow x: \text{SUBJ}, y: \text{OBJ} \downarrow \downarrow \text{AGENT PATIENT} \]

\text{hicá·pkiñakayiksa}
\text{hi-cé·p}_v\cdot\text{DO}\cdot\text{kiñak}_v\cdot\text{é·yik}_{v, \text{CAUSE}}\cdot\text{se}
\text{3NOM-with.hands→PL.OBJ-to.pick.up-move.around-IMPERF.PRS.SG}
\text{‘He/she picks things up here and there.’}

Note in example (47) that there is an internal event head by an external event. In terms of derivation, the first merged element \langle \sqrt{\text{ROOT}_v} (x, y), v^i (x) \rangle expresses an internally caused eventuality. This derivational sequence is later headed by a v.DO which, based upon a notion of Headedness, projects a PROTO-AGENT entailment.

Thus, we arrive at one of our first well-formedness principles for Nez Perce verb affixes: internal events always take encoding precedence over external events. The syntactic prediction this makes is that v.CAUSE will always be encoded prior to a v.DO because v.CAUSE affixes tend to be linked to internally caused events whereas v.DO tends to be linked to externally caused events.
We can examine this in more detail in example (48) below. Note that the VS √ROOT obtains a /-ce/ morphophonological markedness when there is internal event mapping to one its argument.

(48) \[ \langle v^4 (y_j), v^3 (x_i), \langle \langle \langle \sqrt{\text{ROOT}}_{v^4} (x_i, y_j) \rangle, v^1 (y_j) \rangle, v^2 (x_i) \rangle \rangle \rightarrow x: \text{SUBJ}, y: \text{OBJ} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{AGENT} \\
\text{PATIENT}
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{?awlìwaa?inpqawtaca} \]
\[ ?e(w)-\text{rilìw}_{v, \text{CAUSE}}\cdot\text{we} \cdot \text{v}_d\text{ɔq} \cdot\text{inipi}_{v, \text{CAUSE}}\cdot\text{qaw}_{v, \text{CAUSE}}\cdot\text{tée}_{v, d_{0}}\cdot\text{ce} \]
\[ 1/2 \rightarrow 3 \text{OBJ}-\text{fire-fly-grab-straight.through-go.away-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \]
\[ ‘I go to scoop him up in fire.’ \]

In terms of the derivational sequence, we can show how the internal vs external event mapping takes place. It is important to note that notions of internal vs external event mapping do not correspond to a syntactic notion of internal vs external VP structure.

(49) \[ \langle v^4 (y_j), v^3 (x_i), \langle \langle \langle \sqrt{\text{ROOT}}_{v^4} (x_i, y_j) \rangle, v^1 (y_j) \rangle, v^2 (x_i) \rangle \rangle \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{internal} \rightarrow \text{project} (y_j) \\
1 \\
\text{external} \rightarrow \text{project} (x_i) \\
2 \\
\text{external} \rightarrow \text{project} (x_i) \\
3 \\
\text{internal} \rightarrow \text{project} (y_i) \\
4
\end{array} \]

Our well-formedness principle is satisfied until we reach the final headed projection in \( v^4 (y_j) \). Here, /rilìw_{v, \text{CAUSE}}/ ‘fire’ expresses an antecedent orientation with regard to the OBJECT’S TEMPORAL initiation point. In other words, at some time point in time previous to the external event an OBJECT entity was in or on “fire.” Thus, it appears that TEMPORALITY encoding is allowed as a head above an external event specification.

Compare example (49) with (50) below.

(50) \[ \langle v^2 (x_i), v^1 (x_i, y_j), \langle \langle \sqrt{\text{ROOT}}_{v^2} (x_i) \rangle \rangle \rightarrow x: \text{SUBJ}, y: \text{OBJ} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{AGENT} \\
\text{PATIENT}
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{teqe?nekêhtse} \]
\[ \text{teq}_v \text{d}_o \cdot \text{?in} \text{q}_v \text{d}_o \cdot \text{lêht}_{v, \text{S}} \cdot \text{se} \]
\[ \text{quickly-carry-out-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \]
\[ ‘Quickly, I am pulling it out.’ \]
Here, the v.DO prefix /teqe/ ‘quickly’ expresses semantic TEMPORALITY. It also heads a v.DO prefix. Thus, our minimal claim is that some property expressing TEMPORALITY encoding, whether it is of the v.DO or v.CAUSE type, can head a complex external event predicate.

Finally, note that a v.DO prefixation can cause a VC √ROOT to transform into a VS √ROOT. This is indicated by the morphophonological suffix /-se/, as in (51).

(51) \( <V^1(x_i, y), <\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}(x_i)> > \rightarrow x: \text{SUBJ} \)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{tá·hawlapsa} \\
té·v.DO-hawlapíVC-se
\end{align*} \]

to.feel.good-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I inspire (mine) by words.’

### 4.3.2 Encoding of v.CAUSE

The verb affix v.CAUSE typically expresses a form of causation that specifies an entity as participating in or manifesting an internally caused eventuality.

(51) \( <V^1(x_i), <\sqrt{\text{ROOT}_{VC}}(x_i)> > \rightarrow x: \text{SUBJ} \)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ňipnáwyasýawna} \\
\text{ňipné·-weyé·v.CAUSE-siýa·w}_{VC-ne}
\end{align*} \]

3.REFL-as.one.goes.to.be.suspicious/distrustful-PERF
‘He was cautious.’

(52) \( <V^2(x_i), <<\sqrt{\text{ROOT}_{VC}}(x_i)>, v.K^i>> > \rightarrow x: \text{SUBJ} \)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ňílasáʔaykt} \\
\text{ňilev.CAUSE-saʔáyVC-k-t}
\end{align*} \]

to.suffer.from.eating-K.ELEMENT-NOMINALIZER
‘heat making a person lose appetite’

When verb v.CAUSE and v.DO prefixes serialize, the compositional order of verb prefixes tend to be of \( <\text{v.DO}, <\text{v.CAUSE}, <___>>_{vp}. \)
(53) téwyekuykse
té•v.DO-wiyé•v.CAUSE-kuykvs-se
by.speech-as.one.goes.to.teach.a.lesson-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I tell (mine) off.’

4.3.3 Encoding K.ELEMENT

In (54), a v.DO prefix /niké·/ ‘by pulling’ heads a VS √ROOT merged with /-k-/, a K.ELEMENT predicative suffix. As a consequence, the √ROOT, a disassemble verb, expresses a highly affected OBJECT entity.

\[
\text{(54) } \langle V^2 (x_i), \langle<\text{ROOT}_V (x_i, y_j)\rangle, +v.K^1 (y_j)\rangle \rightarrow x:\text{SUBJ}, y:\text{OBJ} \\
\downarrow \quad \downarrow \\
\text{AGENT PATIENT}
\]

niké·pkuykse
niké•v.DO-pukúyvs-k-se
by.pulling-to.untie-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
i) ‘I am untying (it).’
ii) ‘I am setting (mine) free.’

We can expand upon the proposal presented in Crook (1999:168) that [k] represents a fossilized ALLATIVE encoding. Our analysis proposes that [k] is in fact an internal event predicate that s-selects for a material process, one that has contiguity of effect in a cause and effect eventuality.

We can show this contiguity of effect in (55) and (56).

\[
\text{(55) } \text{páyca} \\
páyvc-ce \\
to.be.drained-IMPERF.PRS.SG \\
‘It is drained.’
\]

\[
\text{(56) } \langle V^2 (x_i, y_j), \langle<\text{ROOT}_V (y_j)\rangle, +v.K^1 (y_j)\rangle \rightarrow x:\text{SUBJ}, y:\text{OBJ} \\
\downarrow \quad \downarrow \\
\text{AGENT PATIENT}
\]

cápá·payksa
sepé•v.DO-páyvc-k-se
CAUS-to.be.drained-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
i) ‘I wring (e.g. wet clothing).’
ii) ‘I make it drain.’

As in (56), the morphological merger of [k] expresses the contiguity of effect in correspondence with its originating causation as specified in the prefix /sepé•v.DO/.
As noted previously in a similar example (51), the intransitive VC √ROOT /payvc/ is transposed as a transitive.

It is indeed correct to assume that [k] is a fossilized element. However, it syntactic behavior suggests that Nez Perce verbs were undergoing a historical process of fusion with [k] in coda position. The general observation is that this pattern of fusion is found to be more marked among VS √ROOTs than they are for VC √ROOTs/.

(57)  $\text{kuyk}$ VS ‘to teach lesson, hurt someone’
$qiwtk$ VS ‘to cut (grass)’
$tap\acute{a}tk$ VS ‘to use a weapon’
$taplo\cdot sk$ VS ‘to have a blister’
$\text{w}i\cdot samk$ VS ‘to cut, stratch, make incision’
$\text{\textipa{\textalpha}lik}$ VS ‘to build fire, light a fire’

4.4 Summary

The consequence of this proposal is that the interpretive effects are compositional and can be directly traced to the sub-event representations of verb affixes and to the type of verb roots they select. What this means is that the sub-event representations can be grammatically separated from the verb via l-syntax (Hale and Keyser 1993), a syntactic system devoted to coding the structural aspects of meaning. However, sub-event representations in Nez Perce are morphologically expressible and tend to place a greater emphasis on how entities or participants in events are entailed under such a system. This is to claim that the well-formedness principles in Nez Perce verb morphology emerge from a compositionality that is syntactically and semantically informed. Thus, the transposition of argument entailments rather than a conversion of argument structure realizations via a post-syntactic operation argues for a distinctive l-syntax mechanism which allows for the combination of semantic representations with morphosyntactic structures.

5.0 Nez Perce Syntax

In Nez Perce, a typical verb stem is modified by the attachment PREFIXES and SUFFIXES that refer to the core participants in discourse. The grammatical system which specifies the referencing of core participants in discourse is called core case (Blake 2001)

In Nez Perce, core case encodes the argument positions of intransitive, transitive, and detransitive verbs such as the ergative, obviative, inverse, nominative, accusative case positions. Thus, core-case is minimally realized when a given predicate obligatorily receives a case-marking pronominal prefix on the verb. It is otherwise maximally realized when a given predicate obligatorily receives case marking on both the verb
and its core complements.

Nez Perce is a pronominal argument language. In typological terms, this is a type of concatenating morphology that expresses its syntactic arguments as pronominal elements on a verb stem (Jelinek 1984, 1995). Pronominal prefixes express two main categorical features: PERSON and NUMBER. PERSON features canonically encode the participants of a speech event as 1PERSON (speaker) and as 2PERSON (addressee). Non-participants or topics are encoded as 3PERSON. The feature NUMBER refers the general category SINGULAR and PLURAL.

Nez Perce shows two forms of agreement relations: external AGREEMENT and internal AGREEMENT. At the clausal level, external AGREEMENT specifies an agreement correspondence between the PERSON and NUMBER specification of a pronominal argument or enclitic and any noun phrase representing the same argument. Similarly, at the phrasal level, internal AGREEMENT specifies an agreement correspondence between the PERSON and NUMBER specification of a pronominal argument or enclitic and a finite verb.

5.1 Person

In Nez Perce, the feature system for PERSON is represented by two sets of prefixes: NOMINATIVE and ERGATIVE. The nominative prefixes reference singular PERSON subjects in an intransitive construction.

(58) NOMINATIVE

\begin{align*}
1/2\text{NOM} & \rightarrow \emptyset \quad \text{tu·qíse} & \text{‘I/you smoke.’} \\
3\text{NOM} & \rightarrow \text{hi-} \quad \text{h itu·qíse} & \text{‘S/he smokes.’}
\end{align*}

The ERGATIVE case prefixes reference singular/plural PERSON subjects in a transitive construction, however, in contrast to nominatives, they also reference their objects in a SUBJECT→OBJECT configuration.

(59) ERGATIVE

\begin{align*}
1/2\text{ERG.SUBJ} & \rightarrow 3\text{OBJ} \rightarrow \text{ʔe-} \quad \text{ʔeqi·cqce} & \text{‘I/you take care of him/her.’} \\
3\text{ERG.SUBJ} & \rightarrow 3\text{OBJ} \rightarrow \text{pée-} \quad \text{péeqicqce} & \text{‘S/he takes care of him/her.’}
\end{align*}

Alternatively, the ERGATIVE case marking /ʔe-/ triggers genitive promotion in an intransitive construction. In (60), the marked intransitive verb /sú·lke-/ ‘to hang’ depicts the 3PERSON object as a possessive modifier of the verb.

(60) yóx ʔesú·lketese \quad ‘...that hers/his just hangs there.’
5.2 Number

The feature system for NUMBER are represented by prefix and suffix elements. Prefixes expressing NUMBER are distinguished in two forms: NOMINATIVE and ERGATIVE.

(61) NOMINATIVE

hipetú·qiye
hi-pe-tú·qi_{v}s(y)e
3 NOM-PL.NOM-to.smoke-PST
‘They smoked.’

(62) ERGATIVE

hiné·stu·qitwece
hi-né·s-tú·qi_{v}s-tiwé_{v}ce
3 NOM-PL.OBJ-to.smoke-be.together-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘He is smoking with them.’

Phrase internally, inflectional suffix features for NUMBER are expressed in two forms: SINGULAR NOMINATIVE and PLURAL NOMINATIVE. These suffix features express agreement relations with the internal subject. Thus, NUMBER features participate in a larger system of inflection termed the Inflectional Suffix Complex (ISC), a complex that includes categories such as TENSE, ASPECT, and MODALITY. Paradigmatically, forms for NUMBER are contrasted in their morphemic base by {-e-} in /-se-/ to indicate SINGULAR agreement and by {-i-} in /-ix-/ to indicate PLURAL agreement.

(63) SINGULAR NOMINATIVE

hitú·qisene
hi-tú·qi_{v}s-se-ne
3 NOM-to.smoke-IMPERF.PRS.SG.RMT
‘S/he smoked (long ago).’

(64) PLURAL NOMINATIVE

hitú·qisine
hi-tú·qi_{v}s-si-ne
3 NOM-to.smoke-IMPERF.PRS.PL-RMT
‘They smoked (long ago).’
5.3 Agreement

Internal AGREEMENT is a consequence of a correspondence between the inflectional features of the verb and its pronominal arguments. Likewise, external AGREEMENT expresses a correspondence relation between a pronominal marked verb and any overt pronoun or noun phrase. It is important to note that ERGATIVE case marked pronominals typically occur only when the OBJECT is also in the 3rd PERSON. Otherwise, case marked pronouns and noun phrases follow a NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE typology similar to (65) and (66) below.

(65) qí·cqce ŋí·ne

\[\emptyset\text{-}qí\text{-}cq_{vc}\text{-}ce\quad ŋí\cdot n\cdot e\]

1/2 NOM to take care of IMPERF PRS SG

\((^*1)\) you take care of (^*him/her) me

‘You take care of me.’

(66) hiqí·cqce ŋí·ne

hi-qí·cq_{vc}\text{-}ce\quad ŋí\cdot n\cdot e

3 NOM to take care of IMPERF PRS SG

s/he takes care of (^*him/her) me

‘s/he takes care of me.’

Additional agreement options are available in Nez Perce with respect to reflexives. Consider (67) below.

(67) říné·qi·qce

říné\text{-}qi\text{-}cq_{vc}\text{-}ce

1SG.NOM-REFL to take care of IMPERF PRS SG

‘I take care of myself.’

To summarize, Nez Perce shows fourteen possible combinations with respect to NUMBER and PERSON in pronominals. Nez Perce arguments are obligatory. They are minimally represented in the pronominal morphology whereby correspondence relations (i.e. agreement) are established between two or more elements in respect to their morphosyntactic categories.

(68) NUMBER and PERSON in Nez Perce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG.NOM</th>
<th>PL.NOM</th>
<th>PL.OBJ</th>
<th>PL.NOM-PL.OBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/2 NOM</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅-pe-</td>
<td>∅-pe-né·s-</td>
<td>∅-pe-né·s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 NOM</td>
<td>hi-</td>
<td>hi-pe</td>
<td>hi-né·s-</td>
<td>hi-pe-né·s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2 ERG→3 OBJ</td>
<td>ře-</td>
<td>ře-pe-</td>
<td>ře-né·s-</td>
<td>ře-pe-né·s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ERG→3 OBJ</td>
<td>pé·-</td>
<td>pé·-pe</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4 Ergativity


The ergative pronominal markers discussed in the previous sections thus minimally form the core arguments in an ergative construction. Nez Perce ergativity, however, is a clause level system. Thus, arguments in a prototypical transitive construction will display two additional morphological case markers to distinguish its arguments: ergative case and objective case.

(69) Nez Perce Ergative Morphology

- **nim**: ERGATIVE NP case suffix
- **-ne**: OBJECTIVE (accusative) NP case suffix
- **?e-**: 1/2 → 3OBJ pronominal prefix
- **pée-**: 3 → 3 pronominal prefix asserting “3rd person acting upon a 3rd person”
- **nées-**: PL.OBJ pronominal (plural direct object) prefix

An ergative construction in Nez Perce will typically express one or more of the morphological elements identified above. Thus, the morphosyntactic structure by which ergativity is enabled follows from the projection of both internal and external arguments from the verb phrase.

(70) /taÁyVC/ ↔ VTRANS [<<<PRON (Xi, y), <ROOT (xi)>VP, AspP&TP>, [-NP]]

\[ \downarrow \downarrow \]

ERG OBJ

ko-níx | ?iceyé-yenm | pátkayca
kon-níx | ?iceyéeye-nim | pé-takáyVC-ce
that-EMPH | coyote-ERG | 3→3-to.watch-IMPERF.PRS.SG
from there | Coyote | s/he watched her/him

‘Coyote watched him from across the way.’ (Phinney 1934:286)
In this paper, we have presented an analysis of Nez Perce verb morphology with the specific purpose of accounting for the combinatory potential of \( \sqrt{\text{ROOTs}} \) and verb affixes in complex predicate formation. Our analysis is motivated by the theoretical assumption that complex predicate formation is a consequence of:

- the atomic properties contained in the morphosyntactic description of a \( \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \) or verb affix, and
- the nature of how such atomic properties are applied as output in the syntactic component via a process known as morphological merger (Halle and Marantz 1993).

Our account proposes that a Nez Perce grammar possesses a set of canonical syntactic forms expressing two distinct conceptual properties in the syntactic output of \( \sqrt{\text{ROOTs}} \). These conceptual properties are structurally aligned to semantically recover either an internally and externally caused eventuality. We have suggested that the post-syntactic realization of these two event types are indicated by means of morphophonological markedness and, thus, directly accounts for the “s-class” and “c-class” \( \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \) classification as first proposed in (Aoki 1979, 1994). In doing so, we have also identified an unclassified verb type showing high degree of markedness in the form a change of state eventive.

We have presented evidence in support of our claim by showing the compositionality of verb affixes v.DO and v.CAUSE and how they align morphosyntactically to \( \sqrt{\text{ROOTs}} \) via s-selection and their corresponding argument entailments. We have also shown that a verb stem formative \([k]\) to be a highly specified l-morpheme that s-selects for a material process possessing a contiguity of effect in a cause and effect eventuality. Thus, we conclude that a Nez Perce grammar utilizes a morphosyntactic well-
formedness principle: internal events always take encoding precedence over external events.
References


Appendix A

Thematic Verb Prefixes

Thematic verb prefixes constitute a productive class of morphological elements whose combinatorial potential allows a verb stem to be variably modified in some fashion. These prefixes express a restricted number of primitive semantic specifications via small $v$. Most all thematic prefixes are accounted for in $v_{DO}$ and $v_{CAUSE}$ (see Sec. 4.3). These semantic primitives are minimally contrastive across the two verb types in Nez Perce.

Regularity in both the semantic information and syntactic structural encoding of verb affixes allows the following classification. It must be stated, however, that this classification is quite preliminary and is open to revision based on a more detailed accounting of the extant data.

Temporal Prefixes

Temporal verb prefixes specify the beginning point in time where an action takes place including its relative duration. The small $v$ specification for this type of prefix is $v_{DO}$ plus its temporal semantic content. The action has affected duration when it is a VC verb root or when a VS verb root takes [k].

(1) mé·y - in the morning

himéyʔlesece.
hi-méey $v_{DO}$-ʔiléese$_{VC}$-ce
3NOM-in.the.morning-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘It makes noise in the morning.’

(2) teqe - momentarily¹, quickly², idly³

a) petqekiyũ²³.
pe-teqey$_{v_{DO}}$-kǔu$_{VS}$-(y)ũ³
PL-momentarily-to.go-FUT
‘We are going for a while.’

b) hitqaqí·lawna².
hi-teqey$_{v_{DO}}$-qí·law$_{VC}$-ne
3NOM-quickly-to.turn.one’s.head/look.back-PTV
‘He suddenly turned around.’
c) \text{teqestú-yíksix}^{2/3}\).
\text{teq}e_{V,DO}-\text{site}_{V,DO}-\text{wé-yik}_V_{VS}-\text{six}
quickly-with.\text{eyes}-to.\text{move}.\text{across}-\text{IMPERF.PRS.PL}
i) ‘We are looking across in a hurry.’
ii) ‘We are just vacantly looking across.’

(3) \text{té-w} - at night

\text{hitewweyénene}.
\text{hi-té-w}_{V,DO}-\text{wey}_{V,\text{CAUSE}}-\text{léhne}_{V,\text{ne}}
\text{3NOM-at.night-snow-down/downward-PTV}
‘It snowed at night.’

(4) \text{tok*ala} - in a hurry

\text{patkola?sapí-ka}.
\text{pé-tok*ala}_{V,DO}-\text{rise}_{V,VS}-\text{pí}_V_{K-e}
\text{3\rightarrow3-in.a.hurry-to.carry.on.back-K.ELEMENT-PST}
‘She dislodged it quickly.’

(5) \text{we·} - swiftly

\text{hiwa-láhtoqsa}.
\text{hi-we}_{V,DO}-\text{láhsa}_{V,VS}-\text{toq-se}
\text{3NOM-swiftly-to.go.up-back-IMPERF.PRS.SG}
‘It is flying straight back up.’

(6) \text{witi} - while doing something else

\text{péwtticepeqicke}.
\text{pé-witi}_{V,DO}-\text{cepé}_{V,DO}-\text{qick}_V_{VS}-\text{e}
\text{3\rightarrow3-while.doing.something.else-by.pressure-to.grab/catch-PST}
‘He caught it (while it was doing something else).’

(7) \text{řelíw} - in winter

\text{řelweyné-kse}.
\text{řelíw}_{V,DO}-\text{leylé}_V_{VS}-\text{se}
in.winter-\text{into-IMPERF.PRS.SG}
i) ‘I am spending winter.’
ii) ‘It is getting into winter.’
**Locational Prefixes**

Locational verb prefixes specify the location or spatial orientation of an action, event, or state in relation to some reference point. The small \( v \) specification for this type of prefix is minimally \( v. \text{DO} \) and \( v. \text{CAUSE} \) plus its semantic content.

(8) **cimí** - by lying on

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cimípeq}s. \\
\text{cimíp} \rightarrow \text{é-cimíp} \rightarrow \text{é-cimíp} \rightarrow \text{é-cimíp}\text{qvs-s}
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{1/2} \rightarrow \text{3OBJ-by.lying.on-to.break-PERF} \)

‘I just broke it by lying on it.’

(9) **cú** - in single file

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hicúpöíx}. \\
\text{hicúpöí} \rightarrow \text{hicúpöí} \rightarrow \text{hicúpöí} \rightarrow \text{hicúpöí}\text{six}
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{3NOM-in.single.file-to.come.out-IMPERF.PRS.PL} \)

‘They are coming out of the forest single file.’

(10) **ni** - leave behind

\[
\begin{align*}
niwhnaca. \\
niwhnaca \rightarrow \text{niwhnaca} \rightarrow \text{niwhnaca}\text{ce}
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{leave.behind-to.go.away-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \)

‘I am leaving (mine) behind.’

(11) **sisé** - in sight

\[
\begin{align*}
hissáwsisawnima. \\
hissáwsisawnima \rightarrow \text{hissáwsisawnima} \rightarrow \text{hissáwsisawnima}\text{n-im-e}
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{3NOM-(in.sight-to.be.missing)-in.sight-to.be.missing-PERF-CISL-PST} \)

‘He felt lonely.’

(12) **temc** - on a pile of dirt

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ipnatamckílakisa.} \\
\text{ipnatamckílakisa} \rightarrow \text{ipnatamckílakisa} \rightarrow \text{ipnatamckílakisa}\text{se}
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{3.REFL-on.a.pile.of.dirt-to.pick.up-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \)

i) ‘He is picking waste.’
ii) ‘He is scavenging.’
(13) **tiqé** - floating in air or on water

hitiqéléhnece.
hi-tiqé V.DO-léhneVC-ce
3NOM-floating.in.air.or.water-downward-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘It is floating down in the air.’

(14) **tisqiʔ** - backwards

tisqiʔyá·qin.
tisqiʔ V.CAUSE-ʔiyá·qVC-(i)n
backwards-to.find/discover-PERF
‘I found (mine) while I walked backward.’

(15) **tiwék** – chase, follow

hitwáhyawnanqawnikika.
hi-tiwék V.DO-yéwneVC-r-qáw-nikike
3NOM-chase/follow-to.go.over-PERF-straight.through-TRS.PST
‘He went straight on chasing it over the hill.’

(16) **tiwele** - in rain or snow

tiweleléhemkse.
tiwele V.CAUSE-téhemVC-k-se
in.rain/snow-to.be.dark- K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘To grow or be dusky by raining.’

(17) **tu·** - on flat object

tu·liké·cese.
tu· V.DO-liké·ceVS-se
on.flat.object-on.top.of- IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am lying on ( a table).’

(18) **waq** - in arms

a) **waqlá·pta.**
waq V.DO-lé·pV-te
in.arms-to.hold-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am holding it in my arms.’
b) **waqalpísa.**
   waq(a)_{V.DO}-lipí_{VS}-se
   in.arms-to.seize-IMPERF.PRS.SG
   ‘I am going to hold it in my arms.’

c) **waqíkaʔyksa.**
   waq(i)_{V.CAUSE}-keʔéy_{VC}-k-se
   in.arms-change.location.or.position-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
   ‘I am carrying it in my arms.’

(19) ʔeœewí - abreast, side by side

**hipaʔxawláhtqiya.**
   hi-pa-ʔeœewí_{V.DO}-láhtqi_{y(y)e}
   3NOM-PL-abreast-out.of.water/up.and.out-PST
   ‘They rode up together out of the water.’

### Adventive Prefixes

Adventive verb prefixes depict a stationary object’s location in terms of its arrival or manifestation at the site it occupies (Talmy 2000:134). The small v specification for this type of prefix is minimally v.DO and v.CAUSE plus its semantic content.

(20) **tiqi** - in hiding

**tiqiʔyó·xoʔsa.**
   tiqi_{V.DO}-ʔiyó·xoʔ_{VS}-se
   in.hiding-to.wait-IMPERF.PRS.SG
   i) ‘I am in ambush.’
   ii) ‘You are waiting.’

(21) **temik** – in dirt

**temikquqléhtse.**
   temik_{V.DO}-ququ-léht_{VS}-se
   in.dirt-protrude-IMPERF.PRS.SG
   ‘I bury (mine) with something sticking out.’
(22) **wé • w** - into pieces

\[ \text{wá • wíkwíw.} \]
\[ \text{wé • w}_v \text{cause-(kiw)}_\text{redup.asp-kiw}_v \text{c} \]
\[ \text{into.pieces-(to.cut)}_\text{redup.asp-to.cut} \]
\[ '\text{Cut up (into pieces).'} \]

(23) **weñléé** - in knots

\[ \text{welé • muñtkse.} \]
\[ \text{weñléé • v.CAUSE-muñt}_v \text{vs-k-se} \]
\[ \text{in.knots-to.tie.hair-k.element-imperf.prs.sg} \]
\[ 'I am tying my hair in a bunch near the top of my head.' \]

(24) **wqu** - tip over

\[ \text{hiwqulí • kce.} \]
\[ \text{hi-wqu}_v \text{cause-í-f vs-ce} \]
\[ 3 \text{NOM-tip.over-to.do/act-imperf.prs.sg} \]
\[ 'It is turned over.' \]

(25) **ripux** - plant, stand

\[ \text{ripú • xletese.} \]
\[ \text{ripux}_v \text{do-leté-v vs-se} \]
\[ \text{plant/stand-into-imperf.prs.sg} \]
\[ 'I am sticking something (needles) into something (basket).' \]

**Instrumental Prefixes**

Instrumental verb prefixes specify an instrument in carry out an action. The small \( v \) specification for this type of prefix is minimally \( v \text{do} \) and \( v \text{cause} \) plus its semantic content.

(26) **céw** - with shell or bead-like object (fused cé • w_v \text{cause} + tiwé • v \text{c} 'be together')

\[ \text{cáwtiwa • ca.} \]
\[ \text{cáwtiwa • v c-se} \]
\[ \text{to.decorate.with.shell.or.bead.like.object-imperf.prs.sg} \]
\[ 'I am decorating myself with shells.' \]
(27) **cū·** - with pointed object

**cū·himkse.**
cū·V.DO-himikVS-se
with.pointed.object-to.loosen.usually.by.shaking-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I loosen with a pointed instrument.’

(28) **cū·ye** - with implement, “working on a mechanism” (Cf. cé·p + weye)

**co·yaláhsasa.**
cū·yeV.DO-láhsaVS-se
with.implement-to.go.up-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am opening (e.g., a window) by lifting it.’

(29) **qi** - with sticky matter (fused qiV.CAUSE + sé·q?)

**qisé·qin.**
qisé·qV.CAUSE-(i)n1/2
**to.open.one’s.mouth-IMPERATIVE**1/NOMINALIZER2
i) ‘Open your mouth!’
ii) ‘opening of mouth’

(30) **tiøe** - with stick or pointed object

**tiøetü·leylé·kse.**
tiøeV.DO-tü·le-leylé·kVS-se
with.stick.or.pointed.object-throw-into-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I rake it into something.’

(31) **tiøwc** - with a bark-like object

**tiøcxá·psa.**
tiøwcV.DO-xá·psaVS-se
with.a.bark.like.object-to.scrape-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I scrape (bark of pine).’

(32) **tú·ke** - with cane-like object

**hitú·kekeływkse.**
hi-tú·keV.CAUSE-keływV.CAUSE-k-se
3NOM-with.cane.like.object-move/change.location.or.position-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘He goes limping with a cane.’
(33) we - with stick-like object

waláyksa.
we_{v,CAUSE}-láy_{v,k}-se
with.stick.like.object-with.a.resounding.noise-\text{K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG}
‘I am hitting (something) making noise.’

(34) wisele - with paddle

wiselewé·yikse.
wisele_{v,DO}-wé·yik_{v,se}
with.paddle-to.move.across-\text{IMPERF.PRS.SG}
‘I am paddling across.’

(35) wiže - with clay

cá·wijalahsasa.
cé·p_{v,DO}-wiže_{v,CAUSE}-líhsa_{v,se}
apply.pressure-with.clay-to.go.up-\text{IMPERF.PRS.SG}
‘I press things up with clay.’

(36) ?ip - with blunt instrument

?ipcó·qsa.
?ip_{v,DO}-có·q_{v,se}
with.blunt.instrument-to.pound.(meat)-\text{IMPERF.PRS.SG}
‘I am pounding (e.g., meat).’

(37) ?ipé· - with blunt instrument

?eřipé·xčuyks.
?e-?ipé·_{v,CAUSE}-xčú·y_{v,c}-k-s
1/2\rightarrow3OBJ-with.blunt.instrument-to.make.a.dent-\text{K,ELEMENT-PERF}
‘I poked it and made a dent.’

(38) ?is - with knife (plural objects)

?iswí·sise.
?is_{v,DO}-wi·sí_{v,se}
with.knife→\text{PL.OBJ-to.cut.to.dry-IMPERF.PRS.SG}
‘I am cutting (e.g., fish) to dry.’
Corporeal Instrumental Prefixes

Corporeal verb prefixes specify a corporeal instrument in carry out an action. The small ν specification for this type of prefix is minimally ν_{DO} and ν_{CAUSE} plus its semantic content. It is possible that in some corporeal instruments prefixes ν_{DO} and ν_{CAUSE} specifications may alternate. Further research is needed to verify this possibility.

(39) Ḳise - with knife (single object)

peṛseqú·lilke.
pe·ṛise_{ν.CAUSE}-qú·l-ił-k-e
3→3-with.knife→SG.OBJ-to.cut.throat-completely-K.ELEMENT-PST
‘He cut around the neck.’

(40) himke - with mouth

himkañáłaca.
himke_{ν.CAUSE}-ñá-ła_{ν.C-ce}
with.mouth-to.dislike-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘It tastes bad.’

(41) ké· - with teeth

pá·kakiqwacana.
pé·ké·_{ν.DO}-kiw_{ν.C-qaw-cene}
3→3-with.teeth-to.cut-straight.through-IMPERF.SG.RMT.PST
‘He cut it straight through with his teeth.’

(42) mis - with ear

misqulé·yce.
mis_{ν.DO}-qulé·yn_{ν.C-ce}
with.ear-to.make.mistake-IMPERF.PRS.SG
i) ‘I am using a wrong word.’
ii) ‘I am making a mistake.’

(43) nim - with eyes

ʔaná·snimtaksə.
ʔe-né·s-nim_{ν.DO}-ták_{ν.C-se}
1/2→3OBJ-PL.OBJ-with.eyes-to.do.something.as.one.passes.by-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I see them passing by.’
(44) niké· - with hand (often in connection with fiber or hide)

nikemeʔqsí·se.

niké· V.DO-meʔeqesv-i·-se
with.hand-skin-object.with-DENOMINATIVE-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am skinning by pulling.’

(45) nimé· - to see with the eyes

hi-péné·snimekunis.

hi-pé-né·s-nimé· V.DO-kuniVS-S
3NOM-PL-PL.OBJ-to.see.with.the.eyes-to.see.someone.or.something.coming-PERF
‘They saw us coming.’

(46) nú·xc - with nose

hinó·xcáníxpiñixnaqana.

hi-nú·xV.CAUSE-(piñix)REDUP-piriixVC-n-e-qana
3NOM-with.nose-(to.sniff)-to.sniff-PERF-PST-HAB.RMT
‘He sniffed.’

(47) sepú· - blow of breath

sapó·tpolisa.

sepú· V.DO·tpoliVS-se
blow.of.breath-to.inflate/stretch-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I blow up (e.g., a balloon).’

(48) sil - eye

síli·semtukse.

silV.CAUSE-hí·semtukVS-se
eye-to.mark/make.a.marker-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am making a marker for someone to see.’

(49) silé·w - look

ʔeslé·wqitwece.

ʔe-silé·wV.DO·qi·tweveV-ce
1/2→3OBJ-look-to.pay.attention/be.attentive-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am watching it.’
(50) **silím** - with eyes

\[ \text{řeslí̳ṇi̳pe·cẉiṣe.} \]
\[ \text{ře-silim}_v_{,DO-}řipé·wi_{VS-}řipec-wi-se} \]
\[ 1/2→3OBJ-with.eyes-to.look.for-DESIDERATIVE-V-IMPERF.PRS.SG \]
\[ ‘I am searching with my eyes.’ \]

(51) **sité** - with eyes

\[ \text{sító·yikipa.} \]
\[ \text{sité}_v_{DO-wé·yikVS-siqa} \]
\[ \text{with.eyes-to.move.across-IMPERF.PST.RC.PL} \]
\[ ‘We were looking across.’ \]

(52) **tukwé·p** - with fingernail

\[ \text{toká·playksa.} \]
\[ \text{tukwé·p}_v_{,CAUSE-láyV-k-se} \]
\[ \text{with.fingernail-with.a.resounding.noise-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \]
\[ ‘I am making noise with my fingernails.’ \]

(53) **tuk*é·p** - with lower arm or hand

\[ \text{hitkú·ptewyekse.} \]
\[ \text{hi-tuk*é·p}_v_{,CAUSE-téwyekVS-se} \]
\[ 3NOM-with.lower.arm.or.hand-to.feel/sense-IMPERF.PRS.SG \]
\[ ‘He feels with his hand.’ \]

(54) **tuk*é·y** - with forehead

\[ \text{hitkú·ytiqelike.} \]
\[ \text{hi-tuk*é·y}_v_{,CAUSE-tiqé·VC-lí·k-ee} \]
\[ 3NOM-with.forehead-to.spread.out-INCEP-PST \]
\[ ‘He stumbled and fell.’ \]

(55) **tú·le** - with foot

\[ \text{tolá·ítksa.} \]
\[ \text{tú·le}_v_{,CAUSE-tátVC-k-s-ee} \]
\[ \text{with.foot-to.tear/rip-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \]
\[ ‘I tear (it) with my foot.’ \]
(56) **toxpi** - with leg

**hitqatxpiwayika.**
hi-teqe-toxpi\textsubscript{v,DO}-wé·yik\textsubscript{vS}-e
3NOM-quickly-with.leg-to.move.across-PST
‘He quickly stretched his leg across.’

(57) **we** - with eyes

**wakálksa.**
we-kalaki\textsubscript{vC}-k-se
with.eyes\textsubscript{v,CAUSE}-to.block-k.element-imperf.prs.sg
I close (my) eyes.

(58) **we** - with mouth

**walámíayksa.**
we\textsubscript{v,CAUSE}-lamáý\textsubscript{vC}-k-se
with.mouth-be.the.end-k.element-imperf.prs.sg
‘I finished a song.’

(59) **we·p** - with hand or paw

**waptamáwca.**
we·p\textsubscript{v,DO}-tamáw\textsubscript{vC}-ce
with.hand.or.paw-to.go.to.an.extreme-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I murder.’

(60) **wextú·** - with seat, by sitting

**waýtó·tiyalkska.**
wextú·\textsubscript{v,DO}-tiyé·\textsubscript{v,CAUSE}-kalaki\textsubscript{vC}-k-se
with.seat/sitting-in.an.obstructive.manner-to.block-k.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
i) ‘I stop (mine) by sitting.’
ii) ‘I take over someone else’s seat.’

(61) **wewte** - pertaining to one’s head

**wáwtaláhsasa.**
wewte\textsubscript{v,CAUSE}-láhsa\textsubscript{vS}-se
pertaining.to.one’s.head-to.go.up-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I have my head in an up position.’
(62) **wí·cim** - on knees

hitqwí·cimlehte.
hi-teqe_v,DO-wí·cim_v,DO-léht_v,DO-e
3NOM-quickly-on.knees-out-PST
‘She rushed out on her knees.’

(63) **wicle** - with hair

wiclataláhsasiín.
wicle_v,DO-tepev,DO-láhsa_v,DO-s-iň
with.hair-to.throw-to.go.up-IMPERF-STAT
“Hair Tossed Up.” (a man’s name)

(64) **wixtìï** - on one’s haunches

hiwxtìïlå·nx.
hi-wixtìï_v,DO-(lixnik_v,DO-lå·nx_v,DO)
hi-wixtìï-lå·nx_v,DO
3NOM-on.one’s.haunches-(to.move.around.IMPERF.PRS.SG)
‘He is pushing himself about on his haunches.’

**Entity-Elemental Prefixes**

Entity-Elemental verb prefixes designate a referential entity or element in a composite predicate profile. The small v specification for this type of prefix is mostly of the v.CAUSE type plus its semantic content.

(65) **hiyú·m** - bear, grizzly bear

hiyú·mtemiyene.
hiyú·m_v,CAUSE-te·m-ii-(y)-e-ne
grizzly.bear-meat-denominative-pst-rmt
‘I took the grizzly bear meat from the roasting pit.’

(66) **sepé·** - wind, air

hisepé·witise.
hi-sepé_v,CAUSE-witi_v,DO-se
3NOM-wind/air-downstream-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘It (wind) blows downstream.’
(67) taw - meat

pitawtá·kacix.
pí·-taw_{v,CAUSE}·té·ke_{vC}-cix
RECIP-meat-to.distribute.(food)-IMPERF.PRS.PL
‘They distributed meat.’

(68) té·m - meat

té·mkitwise.
té·m_{v,CAUSE}-kitíwi_{VS}-se
meat-to.leave.out.in.sharing.food-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am leaving (mine) out from eating meat.’

(69) tew - ice

tewyé·wikse.
tew_{v,CAUSE}·riyé·-wik_{VS}-se
ice-in.water-down.stream-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am drifting down pushed by ice.’

(70) te·x – cold, freeze

te·xtínkle.
te·x_{v,CAUSE}-tińkít_{vC}-se
cold/freeze-to.die-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am freezing to death.’

(71) tex - sound, echo

hitxsáwksa.
hi-tex_{v,CAUSE}-saw_{vC}-k-se
3nom-shoot-to.be.missing-k.element-imperf.prs.sg
‘It is making noise.’

(72) tilé·w - design

tilewtímece.
tilé·w_{v,CAUSE}-ti·mé_{vC}-ce
design-to.make.mark-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I put a design (e.g., on moccasins, parfleche).’
(73) tîn - sun, moon

hitińēhtse.
hi-tînV.CAUSE-lēhtVSt-se
3nom-sun/moon-out-imperf.prs.sg
‘It (sun or moon) is rising.’

(74) wey - snow

hiweyēhnece.
hi-weyV.CAUSE-lēhneVc-ce
3NOM-snow-downward-imperf.prs.sg
i) ‘Snow is coming down.’
ii) ‘It is snowing.’

(75) wey - with wife

weýnekíxnikse.
weyV.DO-înekv.DO-lixnikVSt-se
with.wife-accompany-to.move.around-imperf.prs.sg
‘I am going around with my wife.’

(76) wilé - wind

pa·wiwlasptikima.
pé·wi-wiléV.CAUSE-sispí·tiVSt-k-im-e
3→3-DIST-wind-to.be.bent.down-K.ELEMENT-CISL-PST
‘The wind began to bend down (a tree).’

(77) yeţ - liquid

yáxhawlapsa.
yeţV.DO-hawlapīVc-se
liquid-to.feel.refreshed/active-imperf.prs.sg
‘I am refreshing with water.’

(78) ţile – fire, light, heat

hińlemú·ľmulcem.
hi-ţileV.CAUSE-ľmulVc-c-em
3nom-fire/heat-to.sizzle-imperf.cisl
‘It is sizzling and dripping fat from heat.’
(79) ʔilīw - in fire

ʔawlīwa · siqataqawtaca.
ʔe(w)-ʔilīw$_{v \text{CAUSE}}$-we-siqé · te$_{v}$-qaw-te · -ce
1/2 → 3OBJ-in.fire-swiftly-to.step.over-straight.through-move.away.to-IMPERF.PRS.SG
'I go to skip over him in burning.'

(80) ʔilw - fire, flame

hiʔlwéhtse.
hi-ʔilw$_{v \text{CAUSE}}$-léht$_{v}$-se
3NOM-fire/flame-out-IMPERF.PRS.SG
'The flame is coming out.'

(81) ʔipé - - pertaining to smoke, clouds

hiʔpé · tehemkse.
hi-ʔipé · $_{v \text{CAUSE}}$-tehém$_{v \text{C}}$-k-se
3NOM-pertaining.to.smoke/clouds-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
'It is dark from the fog.'

(82) ʔipce - “pipe”

ʔipceletesí · x.
ʔipce$_{v \text{CAUSE}}$-leté · $_{v}$-six
pipe-into-imperf.prs.pl
'We put tobacco in the pipe.'

(83) ʔiple - mate

hiʔpló · pciyawna.
hi-ʔiple$_{v \text{DO}}$-wé · p$_{v \text{DO}}$-ciyaw$_{v \text{C}}$-ne
3NOM-mate-with.hand.or.paw-to.beat-PERF
'He beat his wife.'

(84) ʔiple - meat

ʔipleʔnpiše.
ʔiple$_{v \text{CAUSE}}$-ʔinipi$_{v}$-se
meat-to.take.hold.of/hold-IMPERF.PRS.SG
'I go to get meat.'
(85) ṡiptí - grass

ippets·se.
ippetv paused lú·vs·se
good-to-be-underwater/soak-IMPERF.PRS.SG
i) ‘I am putting grass into the water.’
ii) ‘I am wetting grass for camas baking.’

Fish Prefixes

Fish prefixes specify a generic fish species or fishing related activity in a composite
predicate profile. The small v specification is the same as the Entity-Elemental
prefixes.

(86) lé·w - pertaining to fish

hilé·wtekece.
hi-lé·w paused tê·kevc·ce
3NOM-pertaining.to.fish-to.distribute.food-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘He distributes fish.’

(87) tukí – fish species

tukíwtelikin.
tukív paused wite-lí·kvc·in
fish.species-spread-to.move/proceed-NOMINALIZER
‘Fish.’

(88) tuqwel - fish

tuqlí·kse.
tuqwelv paused lí·kvc·se
fish.to.move/proceed-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am trapping fish.’

(89) waw - fish

hiwáwtatka.
hi-wawv paused tatvc·k-e
3NOM-fish-to.tear/rip-K.ELEMENT-PST
‘He stripped fish by cutting off its sides.’
Motion Prefixes

Motion verb prefixes depict a subsidiary motion that an entity manifests concurrently with its main action or state. The subsidiary motion can be alternatively manifested physically (Talmy 2000:40). The small v specification for this type of prefix is minimally v.DO and v.CAUSE plus its semantic content.

(90) cú·se - to get up

\[\begin{align*}
\text{?iné·cu·seke?ykse.} \\
\text{?iné·cú·se, v.CAUSE-ke?y\_vC\_k-se} \\
\text{1SG.RFLEX-to.get.up-change.location.or.position-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG}
\end{align*}\]
‘I am lifting myself up.’

(91) hicilw - climb

\[\begin{align*}
\text{hicilvwáhsasa.} \\
\text{hicilw, v.DO-láhsa\_vS\_se} \\
\text{climb-to.go.up-IMPERF.PRS.SG}
\end{align*}\]
‘I am climbing up.’

(92) lqí - lift

\[\begin{align*}
\text{hiwávalqíka?yksa.} \\
\text{hi-wá·wa, v.DO-lqív.CAUSE-ke?y\_vC\_k-se} \\
\text{3nom-with.hook.and.line-lift-k.element-imperf.prs.sg}
\end{align*}\]
‘He is lifting a fishing pole.’

(93) nikit, niktéh - drag

\[\begin{align*}
\text{niktéhyekse.} \\
\text{niktéh, v.DO-léhyek\_vS\_se} \\
\text{drag-upstream-IMPERF.PRS.SG}
\end{align*}\]
‘I am dragging (something) upstream.’

(94) ququ - protrude

\[\begin{align*}
\text{?eqquléhtse.} \\
\text{?e-ququ, v.CAUSE-léht\_vS\_se} \\
\text{1/2\rightarrow3OBJ-protrude-out-IMPERF.PRS.SG}
\end{align*}\]
‘(His) is sticking out.’
(95) **ququ** - gallop

hiqqúwelikepese.
hi-ququ V.CAUSE-wé-líké-pe VS-se
3NOM-gallop-run-into.the.bushes-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘He is galloping into the bushes.’

(96) **seki, siki** - soar, circle in the air (fused se- CIRCUMFERENCE + ki- DIR)

hiskalalayca.
hi-sakalalay V.CIRCUMFERENCE-ce
3NOM-to.soar-/circle-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘It (e.g. eagle) is soaring around.’

(97) **siwí** - swim

hiswilá nqaqa.
hi-siwi V.DO-lixnik VS>lá nV VS
hi-siwi-lá · nV VS-qqa
3NOM-swim-to.move.around-PST.REC.HAB
‘He swam around.’

(98) **su·ye** - push

sú yeylekse.
su·ye V.DO-leylék VS-se
push-into-IMPERF.PRS.SG
i) ‘I slip in.’
ii) ‘I fit.’

(99) **té·m** - to put, place

temí semtukse.
té m V.DO-hi · semtuk VS-se
to.put/place-to.make.a.marker-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am making a marker for them.’

(100) **té·m** - throw (PLURAL)

¿epeté mpeðqs.
¿e·pe·té · V.DO-pé·q VS-s
1/2 OBJ-PL-throw-to.split/crack/break-PERF
‘We just split it by throwing (rocks).’
(101) temé - throw (SINGULAR)

temé·peʔqe.
temé·v.DO·peʔqVS-e
throw-to.split/crack/break-PST
‘I broke it by throwing (a rock).’

(102) temé - lie down, sit down

hipetemé·yeχi·lpe.
hi-pe-temé·v.DO·yeχVS-ci·lVS-e
3 NOM-PL-lie/sit.down-sit-to.encircle-PST
‘They sat around in a circle.’

(103) te·mqi - throw (object)

tamqítlá·twisa.
té·mqiV.CAUSE-řlá·twVS-se
throw-to.be.weak/tired/unable-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am (e.g., my arm is) tired from throwing.’

(104) teʔpe - cast, throw

pé·teʔpelu·ʔeyšene.
pé·teʔpev.DO·lú·vS-ʔeyVS-sene
3→3-cast/throw-to.be.underwater-BENF-IMPERF.PST.RMT.SG
‘He threw them in the water (for their own benefit).’

(105) tip - cover

hitipliké·cese.
hi-tipv.DO·liké·ceVS-se
3 NOM-cover-on.top.of-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘It is sitting on top of (protecting the young with its wing).’

(106) tiwé·p - wave or hold

tiwepišnikse.
tiwé·pv.DO·lŠnikVS-se
wace.or.hold-to.move.around-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I wave it (e.g., a torch) around.’
(107) tiʔn – walk (fused element)

\[
\text{hitiniʔeksine.} \\
\text{hi-tiʔhyek} \text{vs}-\text{sine} \\
3\text{NOM-to.go.hunting.on.foot.in.winter-IMPERF.PST.REC.PL} \\
\text{‘They went winter hunting on foot.’}
\]

(108) tuʔweme - crawl, move dragging something (on the ground)

\[
\text{tó-kamacpatksa.} \\
\text{tuʔweme} \text{CAUSE-capati} \text{vs}-k-se \\
\text{crawl-to.lying.or.move.lengthwise-CAUSE-BENF-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \\
\text{‘I am crawling along (as a snake).’}
\]

(109) tulé - throw

\[
\text{tu-liké·pese.} \\
\text{tulé} \text{vs}-\text{liké} \text{vs}-\text{se} \\
\text{throw-into.the.bushes-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \\
\text{‘I throw it into the bushes.’}
\]

(110) tuq*e|ele - swim, dive underwater

\[
\text{hitquléhyekuʔ.} \\
\text{hi-tuq*e|ele} \text{vs}-\text{léhyek} \text{-uʔ} \\
3\text{NOM-swim-upstream/upriver-FUT} \\
\text{‘It (a Chinook Salmon) will swim upriver.’}
\]

(111) wat - step

\[
\text{po·tkó·paʔnya.} \\
\text{pé-vCAUSE-kup} \text{vs}-\text{eŋy-e} \\
3 \rightarrow 3\text{-step-to.break-BENF-PST} \\
\text{‘He stepped on and broke someone else’s stick-like object.’}
\]

(112) we·² - in flying

\[
\text{hiwe·tequí·kse.} \\
\text{hi-we} \text{vs}-\text{tequí} \text{vs}-\text{se} \\
3\text{NOM-in.flying-to.come.down.from.sky-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \\
\text{‘It is landing.’}
\]
(113) **wew** - split, hit

\[ \text{wáwćaksa.} \]
\[ \text{wew}_v\text{.DO-ćák}_v\text{VC-se} \]
\[ \text{split/hit-split/cut.deep-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \]
\[ \text{I am splitting into pieces (e.g. wood).'} \]

(114) **wé·wqi** - hack away, strike

\[ \text{wewqiláhsasa.} \]
\[ \text{wé·wqí}_v\text{.DO-láhsa}_v\text{VS-se} \]
\[ \text{strike-to.go.up-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \]
\[ \text{I beat (mine) upward.'} \]

(115) **wekím** - whip

\[ \text{?u·kímsitkse.} \]
\[ \text{?e-wekím}_v\text{.DO-sitk}_v\text{VS-se} \]
\[ 1/2\rightarrow3\text{OBJ-whip-to.wind.around-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \]
\[ \text{I whip.'} \]

(116) **wet** - wade

\[ \text{watkaʔáyksa.} \]
\[ \text{wet}_v\text{.CAUSE-keʔéy}_v\text{VC-k-se} \]
\[ \text{wade-move/change.location.or.position-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \]
\[ \text{I am wading over.'} \]

(117) **wile·** - run, move quickly

\[ \text{hiwlé·keʔyke.} \]
\[ \text{hi-wile·}_v\text{.CAUSE-keʔéy}_v\text{VC-k-e} \]
\[ 3\text{NOM-run/move.quickly-change.location.or.position-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \]
\[ \text{He ran.'} \]

(118) **wise** - row (a canoe)

\[ \text{pewsetwéhkeʔykenixne.} \]
\[ \text{pe-wise}_v\text{.CAUSE-tíwék}_v\text{.CAUSE-keʔéy}_v\text{VC-k-enixne} \]
\[ \text{PL-row-chase-move/change.location.or.position-K.ELEMENT-HAB.RMT} \]
\[ \text{They used to chase them in a canoe.'} \]

58
(119) weyé - in moving, in flying

weyequýímkse.
weyé·V.CAUSE-quýim-k-se
in.moving/flying-go.up-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I fly up.’

(120) wí - stretch

wí·qapt.
wí·V.DO-qapap<tsubo>vs-t
stretch-to.tighten-NOMINALIZER
‘Epileptic fit, convulsion.’

(121) wiye - as one goes

hiwyá?alwisa.
hi-wiye·V.CAUSE-á·lwaVS-se
3NOM-as.one.goes-to.limp/walk.lamely-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘He was limping along.’

(122) wú·l - ride

wó·la?yaqin.
wú·V.CAUSE-iyá·qVC-in
ride-to.find/discover-PERF
‘I just found as I was riding (a horse).’

(123) yeq - toss

?awíyaxto·skayika.
?e-wí·yeq<v DO>ú-tó·skVS-eyik-e
<1/2→3OBJ-DIST-toss-to.put.out.fire-mover.in.order.to-PST
I went around putting out each (fire).

(124) ñinek - carry

?íná·?nakacsá.
?íné·ñinek<v DO>-á·cVS-se
1SG.REFL-carry-to.go.in-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am taking myself in.’
(125) ṭiptek - carry (food)

paʔptakáhtqiya.
pé·-ʔiptekv.DO-láhtqi.VS-(y)ey
3→3-carry-up.and.out-PST
‘He took it out.’

(126) ṭiptqi - pierce, spear

ʔiptqiVeCAUSE-keʔéyvC-k-u?
spear-change.location.or.position-K.ELEMENT-FUT
‘I will spear.’

(127) ṭipsqi - on foot, walking

hiʔpsqiléhyekse.
hi-ʔipsqiV.DO-léhyekvS-se
3NOM-on.foot/walking-upstream-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘He is walking upstream.’

(128) ṭiyé· - afloat, swim, pole a canoe

ʔiyelilqémisíse.
ʔiyé·v.CAUSE-lilqémíV.S-se
swim-to.be.rheumatic-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I get rheumatic from swimming.’

(129) ṭiyele - flow

ʔiyelelú·se.
ʔiyelev.CAUSE-lú·V.S-se
flow-to.be.underwater-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘It (the repeated motion of water) washes the shore.’

(130) ṭiyemí - run

ʔiyemléhyeksix.
ʔiyemív.DO-léhyekV.S-six
run-upstream-IMPERF.PRS.PL
‘We are running upstream.’
Manner Prefixes

Manner prefixes specify the way in which an action or event occurs. Manner prefixes can also specify a corporeal reference with which the action or event is related. The small v specification for this type of prefix is minimally v.DO and v.CAUSE plus its semantic content.

(131) hí- - “exert intended state”

hí·cýawksa.

hí·v.CAUSE-ciýawvc-k-se
exert.intended.state-to.kill/be.out.of-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
i) ‘I exterminate.’
ii) ‘I annihilate.’
iii) ‘I kill.’

(132) hí·tem - dance

hí·temwe•npse.

hí·temv.DO-we-?inipivs-se
dance-with.mouth-to.take.hold.of-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am dancing and singing.’

(133) kipí - trace (of animals), track

kipí•yaqin.

kipiV.DO-?iyaqvc-in
trace/track-to.find/discover-PERF
‘I found it by tracking.’

(134) kiwéw - eat

řekwéwte•ce.

ře-kiwéwv.DO-tiwé·vc-ce
1/2→3OBJ-eat-be.together-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am eating with him.’

(135) láw - aimlessly, carelessly

hiláwwimsa.

hi-láwv.CAUSE-timvs-se
3NOM-aimlessly-to.talk/speak-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘He is just talking.’
(136) **lew** - build, construct, frame up

\[ ?\text{aláwlimqsa}. \]
\[ ?\text{e-}\text{lew}_{\text{v,DO}}\text{-}\text{limq}_{\text{VS}}\text{-}\text{se} \]
\[ 1/2 \rightarrow 3\text{OBJ}-\text{build-to.}\text{repair-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \]
\[ ‘\text{I am repairing it.’} \]

(137) **múxc** - swallow, gulp

\[ \text{mó-}\text{χyaqin}. \]
\[ \text{múxc}_{\text{v,CAUSE}}\text{-}\text{iyá-}\text{qV}_{\text{C-in}} \]
\[ \text{swallow/gulp-to.}\text{find/discover-PERF} \]
\[ ‘\text{I found (it) by swallowing.’} \]

(138) **qisím** - in anger

\[ \text{qeqsíṃewye}. \]
\[ \text{qe-}\text{qisím}_{\text{v,DO}}\text{-}\text{ewí-}\text{VS(y)e} \]
\[ 1/2 \rightarrow 3\text{OBJ-}\text{in.anger-to.}\text{shot.with.an.arrow-PST} \]
\[ ‘\text{I shot it in anger.’} \]

(139) **sqi** - head down

\[ \text{taqá}\text{pá-}\text{sqilhsaya}. \]
\[ \text{teq}_{\text{v,DO}}\text{-}\text{ipé-}\text{sqi}_{\text{v,CAUSE}}\text{-}\text{láhsa}_{\text{VS(y)e}} \]
\[ \text{suddenly-}\text{stand-head.down-to.}\text{go.up-PST} \]
\[ ‘\text{I suddenly fell head first.’} \]

(140) **sux** - become dirty, soiled

\[ \text{riyé}\text{śušlí-kse}. \]
\[ \text{riyé}_{\text{v,CAUSE}}\text{-}\text{sux}_{\text{v,CAUSE}}\text{-}\text{li-}\text{k}_{\text{VS-se}} \]
\[ \text{in.}\text{water-to.}\text{become.dirty-to.}\text{do/act-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \]
\[ ‘\text{I get dirty from (dirty) water.’} \]

(141) **sú-χ** - enclose, corral

\[ \text{řene-ssú-}\text{xeylekse}. \]
\[ \text{ře-}\text{né-}\text{s-}\text{sú}_{\text{v,DO}}\text{-}\text{leylé}_{\text{VS-se}} \]
\[ 1/2 \rightarrow 3\text{OBJ-}\text{PL.OBJ-enclose-into-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \]
\[ ‘\text{I am enclosing them.’} \]
(142) té - by voice

řipné· tepinmikime.
řipné· té· v.CAUSE-pinímVS-k-ime
3SG.REFL-by.voice-to.be.asleep-K.ELEMENT-PST.CISL
‘He cried himself to sleep.’

(143) telewyé·χ - slander

telewyé·χtimse.
telewyé· x.DO-timVS-se
slander-to.talk/speak-IMPERF.PRS.SG
i) ‘I am bad-mouthing.’
ii) ‘I am slandering.’

(144) té·lke - be in control, lead (people, animals)

řené· stelkekeřykse.
ře-né· s-té·kev.CAUSE-keřéyVC-k-se
1/2→3OBJ-PL.OBJ-be.in.control-change.location.or.position-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am leading them.’

(145) té·m - roast

té· mtekeyise.
té· m.DO-té·keyiVS-se
roast-to.spread-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I spread things (e.g., camas roots for roasting).’

(146) te·x - be cold, freeze

te· xuqumlí·kse.
te· xv.CAUSE-wuqumíVC-lí·k-se
be.cold-be.stooping-assume.a.state-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘Cold weather makes me bunch up.’

(147) telé - sick

řetelekč· ce.
ře-telé· v.CAUSE-hekíVC-té-ce
1/2→3OBJ-sick-to.see-go.away.to.do.something-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am going (away) to visit the sick.’
(148) teqelwe - strand, desert

    teqe?lwetîyekime.
    teqelweCAUSE-tîyekVS-k-im-e
    strand/desert-to.land.on.something-K.ELEMENT-CISL-PST
    ‘I was forced to disappear.’

(149) teqe - bathe, swim

    teqelû-tenu?
    teqelûCAUSE-lû-VS-té-nu?
    bathe/swim-to.be.underwater-go.away.to.do.something-FUT
    i) ‘I will go to bathe.’
    ii) ‘I will go to swim.’

(150) tex - heated

    taxtamtîqá-pasa.
    texCAUSE-té-mVS-tîqá-pVS-se
    heated-to.put/place-to.sit.with.one's.back.against.-IMPERF.PRS.SG
    ‘I am forced to sit with my back toward the fire to warm myself.’

(151) teñen - in hunting

    teñenwewitisix.
    teñenCAUSE-wewitíVS-six
    in.hunting-to.go.downstream-IMPERF.PRS.PL
    ‘We return from hunting on foot.’

(152) til - in war

    tilwewí-tise.
    tilCAUSE-wewitíVS-se
    in.war-to.go.downstream-IMPERF.PRS.SG
    ‘I am going downstream on the warpath.’

(153) típsim - “night hunting”

    típsimleylé-kt.
    típsimCAUSE-leylé-kVS-t
    night.hunting-into-NOMINALIZER
    ‘Night hunting on a lake.’
(154) tiqí - in hiding

hinastiqiqyó - xořya.
hi-né · s-tiqí · v.doc · ri-yó · xoř · ye
3NOM-PL.OBJ-in.hiding-to.wait-PST
‘He waited in hiding for them.’

(155) tiwêk – in following

pátwahlayka.
pé · tiwêk · v.cause · lakaláy · k-e
3→3-in.following-to.go.across.hillside-K.ELEMENT-PST
‘He chased him along the hillside.’

(156) tiwí · - lead of warriors

tiwí · yewnece.
tiwí · v.doc · yéwne · vce · ce
lead.of.warriors-to.go.over.a.hill-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am leading the warriors over the divide.’

(157) tiyê · - in obstructive manner

hipatiyá · ṭpapa.
hi-pe-tyé · v.doc · ṭapa · v · e
3NOM-PL-in.obstructive.manner-to.squeeze/tighten-PST
‘They squeezed you.’

(158) tok*ala - in a hurry, carelessly, quickly

hitkolayaqí · ka.
hi-tok*ala · v.cause · yeqi · kiv · k-e
3NOM-carelessly-to.spill-K.ELEMENT-PST
‘He poured (it) carelessly.’

(159) tu - drop, fall

sepé · tu · leylekse.
sepé · · tu · v.cause · leyle · k · v · se
CAUS.SG-drop/fall-into-IMPERF.PRS.SG
i) ‘I drop it.’
ii) ‘I let it fall.’
(160) tú· - in a subconscious state

tó·ryaqin.
tú·V.CAUSE-tóiyá·qVC-in
in.a.subconscious.state-to.find/discover-PERF
i) ‘I just hypnotized (mine).’
ii) ‘trance, coma’

(161) weckú· - to change or alter

hiweckú·li·kse.
hi-weckúV.DO-li·kVC-se
3NOM-to.change.or.alter-to.move/proceed-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘He changes.’

(162) wele - in check

wala·ryá·qin.
welev.\CAUSE-riyá·qVC-in
in.check-to.find/discover-PERF
‘I just found while in captivity.’

(163) wepe - dressed

řu·pelí·kce.
ře-wepeV.CAUSE-li·kVC-ce
1/2→3OBJ-dressed-to.move/proceed-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am dressing it.’

(164) wé·tx - loudly, in anger

po·txqilawkó·ya.
pé·wé·txV.DO-qi·lawVC-(y)e
3→3-in.anger-to.turn.one’s.head.around-PST
‘He angrily turned around toward him.’

(165) wé·w - meet

wéwkunise.
wé·wV.DO-kuniVS-se
meet-to.foresee/anticipate/see.someone.coming-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I meet (mine).’
(166) wé·win - pertaining to sickness

    hiwé·wintime.
    hi-wé·win₃NOM-pertaining.to.sickness-to.talk-PST
    ‘He moaned.’

(167) wewkimí - insult, to make insulting remarks by referring to the genitals

    wewkimí·timse.
    wewkimí·₃NOM-insult-to.talk/speak-IMPERF.PRS.SG
    ‘I call (someone) names.’

(166) wéxtú - sit

    waxtó·tiyakalksa.
    wéxtú·₃NOM-sit-in.obstructive.manner-be.in.somebody’s.way-IMPERF.PRS.SG
    i) ‘I stop (mine) by sitting.’
    ii) ‘I take over someone else’s seat.’

(167) wicx - defecate

    wicx₃talqvt.
    wicx₃NOM-defecate-to.stop-NOMINALIZER
    ‘Stop defecating.’

(168) wis - travel, camp, pack or unpack for traveling

    hiwis₃NOM-travel-to.be.wrong-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
    ‘He is taking the wrong trail.’

(169) wiseh - wander

    wisehlixniksix.
    wiseh₃NOM-wander-to.move.around-IMPERF.PRS.PL
    ‘I am wandering about.’
(170) **wistik** - shoot

\[
\text{wistik} \cdot \text{lé} \cdot \text{ykse}.
\]
\[
\text{wistikv.CAUSE-pe-leyvc-k-se}
\]
\[
\text{shoot-to.be.wrong-k.element-imperf.prs.sg}
\]
\[
\text{‘I shoot and lose (the arrow).’}
\]

(171) **wixcu?** - sit

\[
\text{wixcu?úpinmiks}.
\]
\[
\text{wixcu?(ú)v.DO-pinimvíc-lí-k-s}
\]
\[
\text{sit-to.be.asleep-assume.acertain.state-PERF}
\]
\[
\text{‘I fell asleep while sitting down.’}
\]

(172) **wyá·ç** - deceive, find fault with

\[
\text{talawyaxtimipac.}
\]
\[
\text{telev.DO-wyá-xv.DO-tímvís-t-řípec}
\]
\[
\text{belief-find.fault.with-to.talk-DENOMINALIZER-having.a.tendency}
\]
\[
i) \text{‘cunning, deceiving.’}
\]
\[
ii) \text{‘somebody who says something bad about someone.’}
\]

(173) **xé·ley** - “with jocularity”

\[
\text{xé·leytimse}.
\]
\[
\text{xé·leyv.DO-tímvís-se}
\]
\[
\text{with.jocularity-to.talk/speak-imperf.prs.sg}
\]
\[
\text{‘I am joking.’}
\]

(174) **řélíw** - in starvation

\[
\text{heřlíwtiŋkcix.}
\]
\[
\text{hi-řélíwv.CAUSE-tiŋukuvc-cix}
\]
\[
\text{3NOM-in.starvation-to.die-imperf.prs.pl}
\]
\[
\text{‘They are starving.’}
\]

(175) **řext** - swallow

\[
\text{řextéylekeřs}.
\]
\[
\text{řextv.DO-leylé-kvseřs}
\]
\[
\text{swallow-into-an.object.for}
\]
\[
\text{‘Throat (a thing for swallowing).’}
\]
(176) ʁîl - in loud voice

hitqaʔlwá·xwaŋqaŋa.
hi-teqe_{V.DO-ʁîl_{V.CAUSE-wá·xwaŋ_{V.CAUSE-qana
3NOM-suddenly-in.aloud.voice-HAB.RMT
‘He suddenly cried out.’

(177) ʁîlc – burn through

hiʔlcyá·qaqtato.
hi-ʁîlc_{V.CAUSE-yá·qaq_{V.CAUSE-te·tu
3NOM-burn,through-to.crumble-HAB.PRS
‘It (wood) used to crumble to charcoal.’

(178) ʁile - in talking

ʔilaʔáta.
ʔile_{V.DO-ʔá·tu_{V.S-е
in.talking-to.go.out-PST
‘I went out as I was talking to someone.’

(179) ʁílé - make noise

hiʔlél·ce.
hi-ʁílé_{V.CAUSE-hí_{V.CAUSE-ce
3NOM-make.noise-to.say-IMPERF.PRS.SG
i) ‘It is making noise.’
ii) ‘He is talking.’

(180) ʁilec - “glow from heat”

hiʔleckemké·mise.
hi-ʁilec_{V.CAUSE-(kem)_REDUP.EMPHEM-ph·me·is-e
3NOM-glow.from.heat-(to.be.red.hot)-to.be.red.hot-object.with-PST
‘It is glowing red-hot.’

(181) ʁilelim - cry, sing

ʔilelimteqjelu·se.
ʔilelim_{V.DO-teq·lú·V.S-se
sing-bathe/swim-to.be.underwater/soak-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am singing as I swim.’
(182) ṭilé·p - speak apologetically, defensively

\[
\text{ṭilá·pyalwaca.} \\
\text{ṣilé·} p\text{.CAUSE-yałwá·VC-ce} \\
\text{speak.apologetically-not.have.confidence.in.something-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \\
\text{“It is not good enough (to give you, but. . . ).”}
\]

(183) ṭilí·l - repeatedly

\[
\text{ṭilí·lćiqcix.} \\
\text{ṣilí·} l\text{.DO-ći·qVC-cix} \\
\text{repeatedly-to.speak-IMPERF.PRS.PL} \\
\text{‘We are talking about troubles over and over.’}
\]

(184) ṭilíw - burn

\[
\text{ṭawlíwa·siqataqwtaca.} \\
\text{ṣe(w)-ṭilíw\text{.CAUSE-siqé·teVS-qaw-te-ce}1/2→3OBJ-burn-to.step.over-straight.through-move.away.to-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \\
\text{‘I go to skip over him in burning.’}
\]

(185) ṭiló·tkola - in pain

\[
\text{ṭiló·tkolawíhnaca.} \\
\text{ṣiló·tkola\text{.CAUSE-wíhneVC-ce}in.pain-go.away-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \\
\text{‘I am leaving in pain.’}
\]

(186) ṭils - in burning

\[
\text{hiṭlsqú·pqupin.} \\
\text{hi-ṭils\text{.CAUSE-(qup)REDUP.EMPH-qú·pVC-in}3NOM-in.burning-(to.shorten).to.shorten-PERF} \\
\text{‘It burned.’}
\]

(187) ṭilx - much

\[
\text{ṭilxtimse.} \\
\text{ṣilx\text{.CAUSE-timVS-se}much-to.talk/speak-IMPERF.PRS.SG} \\
\text{i) ‘I am grumbling.’} \\
\text{ii) ‘I am talking incessantly.’} \\
\text{iii) ‘I keep talking.’}
\]
(187) ŋimle - dig roots

ŋimlaláhsasa.
ŋimle<sub>DO</sub>-láhsa<sub>VS</sub>-se
dig.roots-to.go.up-IMPERF.PRS.SG
I am digging uphill. (láhsa VS)

(188) ŋipt - crack, crumble

ŋiptmú-ceykse.
ŋipt<sub>CAUSE</sub>-mú·če<sub>VC</sub>-k-se
crack/crumble-to.stuff.food.into.mouth/gorge-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am crumbling (mine) by stuffing it in my mouth.’

(189) ŋítem - dance

hiŋitamcaptksa.
hi-ŋité·m<sub>CAUSE</sub>-capatí<sub>VC</sub>-k-se
3 NOM-dance-to.lie.or.move.lengthwise-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘He is dancing along a line.’

(190) ŋiwé·l - pertaining to scalp dance

hiŋiwé·lwe·cesix.
hi-ŋiwé·l<sub>DO</sub>-we·cé·VS·six
3 NOM-pertaining.to.scalp.dance-to.dance-IMPERF.PRS.PL
‘They are scalp-dancing.’

(191) ŋiwil - urinate

ŋiwilcá?ksa.
ŋiwil<sub>CAUSE</sub>-cá?<sub>VC</sub>-k-se
urinate-to.fit/be.exactly.right-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am urinating in exactly the same place.’

(192) ŋiy - float

ŋiyéhnecix.
ŋiy<sub>CAUSE</sub>-léhne<sub>VC</sub>-cix
float-down-IMPERF.PRS.PL
‘We float down.’
Non-Human Manner Prefixes

Non human prefixes specify the non-human manner in which an action or event occurs.

(193) mu· - with four (or more) legs

himu·lí·kce.
hi-mu·v.DO-likVC-ce
3NOM-with.four.legs-to.move-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘It is walking (of animals and insects).’

(194) té·l - run (of hoofed animals)

hipatá·laylaxqawna.
hi-pe-té·v.DO-leylé·kV-ç-qaw-ne
3NOM-PL-run.of.hoofed.animals-into-straight.through-PST.RMT
‘They galloped in straight through.’

(195) wé·w - eat grass

hitqewé·wkupsix.
hi-teqeV.DO-wé·wV.CAUSE-¼ú·pVC-six
3NOM-suddenly-eat.grass-to.break-IMPERF.PRS.PL
‘They ate grass.’

(196) wú·l - walk (of quadruped)

wó·la?yaqin.
wú·v.CAUSE-γýá·qVC-in
walk.of.quadruped-to.find/discover-PERF
‘I just found as I was riding (a horse).’

(197) yoœ – “manner of canine breathing”

hiwawyoxtámsa.
hi-we·v.DO-yoœV.CAUSE-tamVC-se
3NOM-split-manner.of.canine.breathing-(egressive.airstream)-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘He is whistling.’

Thematic Verb Suffixes

The class of thematic suffixes treated in this section deal only with the morphological
suffix type: directives/directional suffixes. The characteristic patterns associated with this suffix complex are the transposed movements of entities or elements within and across space. The dynamics of this transposition from one locatum to another can also index the internal spatial properties of the entities and elements themselves, including their arrangement in space.

Directives/Directionals

(198) á·t - as the object passes by

  hiwahná·tksix.
  hi-wehí(n)VC-á·t-six
  3NOM-to.bark.of.dogs-as.the.object.passes.by-IMPERF.PRS.PL
  ‘They are barking as we went by.’

(199) ċe - over the object

  watikčá·sa.
  watikíVS-će-se
  to.step-over.the.object-IMPERF.PRS.SG
  ‘I am stepping on (something).’

(200) eník - trail behind

  hipení·kse.
  hipíVS-eník-se
  to.eat-trail.behind-IMPERF.PRS.SG
  ‘I eat after others.’

(201) é·pe - into brush

  wú·lelikepese.
  wú·l(e)V.DO-lí·kVC-é·pe-se
  walk.of.quadruped/ride-to.move-into.bushes-IMPERF.PRS.SG
  ‘I am riding into the bushes.’

(202) e·yi - move in order to..., move around

  hiwe·letpé·yikse.
  hi-we·V.DO-let péV.DO-é·yi-k-se
  3NOM-by.hitting-against-move.around-K.ELEMENT-IMPERF.PRS.SG
  ‘He is bumping around.’
(203) **kik** - away from here

ɾetwiknike.
ɾe-tiwi·kic-(ni)kik-e
1/2→3OBJ-to.go.with-away.from.here-PST
‘I followed it on.’

(204) **tē** - go away to

ɾipé·tetese.
ɾipé·te-te-se
to.scrape-go.away.to-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I go to scrape.’

(205) **ú** - toward

hipíno·sa.
hi-pá·y(n)ú·se
3NOM-to.arrive.toward-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘He comes to see someone.’

(206) **wi** - return from

ɾimíwise.
ɾimí-wi-se
to.camp.for.digging.roots-return.from-IMPERF.PRS.SG
‘I am returning from digging roots.’