The Northwest Sahaptin present perfect in texts

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The research question

Tɬ'áax̱w=nash áw   pa-páx̱wi̱   tún.
all=1SG   now 3PL.NOM-steal[PF] thing
'Now they have stolen everything from me.' (ES; Wyáwikt, 30:07)

- *present perfect:* "suggests present relevance and is generally translatable by the English present perfect (with have or have just)." (Rigsby and Rude 1996:686)

- *immediate past:* "an action has just taken place. This is the immediate past, here called present perfect aspect...the event in the sentence occurred just prior to the point at which the sentence was said, in the immediate past." (Jansen 2010:93, 100)

⇒ Can texts clarify the semantics of this verbal category?

Rigsby, Bruce, and Noel Rude. 1996. 'Sketch of Sahaptin, a Sahaptian Language.' In *Languages,* ed. by Ives Goddard. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution. 666-692.
Jansen, Joana. 2010. *A Grammar of Yakima Ichishkíin/Sahaptin.* PhD dissertation, Department of Linguistics, University of Oregon.

Perfect vs. immediate past

- *past tense:* "those tense-mood-aspect devices [which] mark the pastness of the reference point relative to the speech point" (Dahl 2004)
- *present perfect*
  - "links a present state to a past situation" (Comrie 1976: 62)
  - "used to express events that took place before the temporal reference point but which have an effect on or are in some way still relevant at that point" (Dahl and Velupillai 2005)
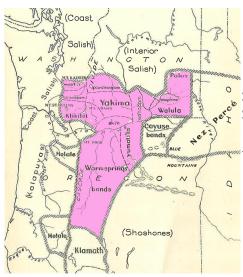
$\longrightarrow$ ■

steal everything   (now)

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. Aspect. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Dahl, Östen. 2004. '110. Tense.' In *Morphology: an international handbook on inflection and word-formation,* ed. by Geert E. Booij, Christian Lehmann and Wolfgang Kesselheim. Berlin: de Gruyter. 1180-1190.
Dahl, Östen, and Viveka Velupillai. 2005. '65-68. Tense and Aspect.' In *The World Atlas of Language Structures,* ed. by Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil and Bernard Comrie. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 266-281.

Sahaptin and Sahaptian

Sahaptian family =
Sahaptin, Nez Perce

Jacobs, Melville. 1931. 'A sketch of
Northern Sahaptin grammar.'
*University of Washington
Publications in Anthropology*
4:85-291.

Sahaptin verb structure

prefixes – lexical verb – argument – aspect – directional – tense

- aspect =
    - *-xa* habitual
    - *-sha* imperfective
- directional =
    - *-kik/-ik/-k* translocative (motion away from speaker)
    - *-m* cislocative (motion toward speaker)
- tense =
    - *-taxnay* conditional
    - *-(n)a* past
    - *-ta* future
    - *-sh/0* "present perfect"

"one and the same grammatical form may combine temporal and aspectual elements in its semantics" (Dahl and Velupillai 2005)

Some suffix combinations

	Plain	Cislocative	Translocative
SIMPLE FORM			
Perfective	-a	-ɨma	-kika
Present Perfect	(-š)	-ɨmš	-kikš
Future	-ta	-ɨmta	-ki(k)ta
Conditional	-tax̣na	-ɨmtax̣na	-ki(k)tax̣na
IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT			
Past	-šana	-šama	-šayka
Present	-ša	-šamš	-šaykš
Future	-šata	-šamta	-šaykta
Conditional	-šatax̣na	-šamtax̣na	-šayktax̣na
HABITUAL ASPECT			
Past	-x̣ana	-x̣ama	-x̣ayka
Present Perfect	-x̣a	-x̣amš	-x̣aykš
Future	-x̣ata	-x̣amta	-x̣aykta
Conditional	-x̣atax̣na	-x̣amtax̣na	-x̣ayktax̣na

Form of the present perfect

Historically expected (basically): *-sh* after consonants; otherwise zero-marked

"In much of Northwest and Northeast Sahaptin, *-a* has been reanalyzed as the present perfect, and *-na* as the past marker. The present perfect is unmarked . . ." (Rigsby and Rude 1996: 687)

Some present perfect examples (lexical source):

- zero-marked
  - paláy(n) 'be drunk', PF paláyn
  - páx̱wi 'steal', PF páx̱wi
- *-a*
  - pnú(n) 'sleep', PF pnúwa
  - wyáwx̱i 'lose en route', PF wyáwx̱ya
- *-sh*
  - ayík 'sit', PF ayíksh
  - -m CIS, PF -msh

Beavert, Virginia, and Sharon Hargus. 2009. *Ichishkíin Sínwit Yakama/Yakima Sahaptin Dictionary*. Toppenish and Seattle: Heritage University and University of Washington Press.

Other previous research on Sahaptin "present perfect"

- Jacobs 1931 noted all three modern allomorphs, but grouped *-sh* with *-sha* imperfective; considered *-a*, *-(y)a*, and *-(n)a* all allomorphs of past tense; and regarding [ɨn] said "this suffix is important and unfortunately very much in doubt"

- Pandosy 1862 makes no mention of the perfect, somewhat surprising given all the other ground-breaking morphological detail provided.

Jacobs, Melville. 1931. 'A sketch of Northern Sahaptin grammar.' University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 4:85-291.

Pandosy, Marie-Charles. 1862. *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yakama Language*. New York: Cramoisy Press.

Northwest Sahaptin texts

Interlinear glossed text which includes Sahaptin (not just English)

- Melville Jacobs (X̱wáɬx̱waypam (Klickitat), Pshwánwapam (Kittitas), Táytnapam (Upper Cowlitz) dialects)
- University of Oregon texts; e.g. Jansen 2010
- Our text corpus

Jacobs, Melville. 1929. Northwest Sahaptin Texts, 1. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
Jacobs, Melville. 1934. Northwest Sahaptin texts. Part 1. New York: Columbia University Press.
Jacobs, Melville. 1937. Northwest Sahaptin texts. Part 2. New York: Columbia University Press.

Our text corpus

- hours of recordings: about 62 hours
- hours worked on to date: about 41 hours
- pages of IGT prepared to date: 1,758
- speakers
    - Virginia Beavert (VB)
    - Hazel Wathlamet (HW)
    - Ellen Saluskin (ES), Virginia's mother
    - Mussie Charlie Reynolds (MCR), Virginia's maternal aunt
    - Alex Saluskin (AS), Virginia's stepfather (Pshwánwapam dialect)
    - Mary Kiona (MK), Táytnapam dialect
- genres
    - histories/recollections
    - descriptions of cultural activities
    - legends
    - Christian sermon
    - opinions (alcohol, who owns the fish, etc.)
    - personal

Semantic connections between present perfect and immediate past

"The perfect in English, for instance, may sometimes carry an implicature of recency" (Dahl 2004)

"while present relevance does not imply recentness, recentness may be a sufficient condition for present relevance." (Comrie 1976: 60)

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. Aspect. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Dahl, Östen. 2004. '110. Tense.' In *Morphology: an international handbook on inflection and word-formation,* ed. by Geert E. Booij, Christian Lehmann and Wolfgang Kesselheim. Berlin: de Gruyter. 1180-1190.

Present perfect (immediate past)

Ku-yat   ana-'íkush i-núu   "ánach'axi ana-shín
then-maybe REL-thus   3SG.NOM-say again   REL-who
inmí-yaw i-wína-m-ta   cháwshat   mún kuunák
1SG-DAT 3SG-go-CIS-FUT not.maybe ever that.ACC
á-tamawinat-ta   ku-tya   i-wá-ta   k'áatn-i."
3SG-throw.out-FUT and-actually 3SG-be-FUT reject-PPL
'And again, it says this, "whoever comes to me will not be turned aside
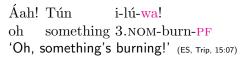as garbage."'

Ku ánach'a oh, "inmí   pyáp"   Mary i-nátxana-sha,   anakúsh=nam
and again   1SG.PSR older.brother   3SG.NOM-say-IPFV just.like=2SG
ímk   pá-nat-ani   anakúsh tún   kwtkwít inmí-knik xútutay-knik.
2SG.NOM 2>1-remove-BEN[PF] just.like something thorn   1SG-ABL pillow-ABL
'And the poor thing said, "oh my older brother, it's just like you pulled a thorn from my
pillow."' (MCR 05, 0:16)

⟶   ■

pull thorn   (now)
(event point) (speech point)

Present perfect (immediate past)

Kúshx̱i=ish   awkú panáty-iiki íkuuni   ku=ush
similarly=1SG then   climb-ADV that.ALL then=1SG
cháw yáwilak'ity-a.
not   slide-PST
'Then the same thing when we climbed up a steep
mountain, my saddle didn't slide.'

Áah! Tún   i-lú-wa!
oh   something 3.NOM-burn-PF
'Oh, something's burning!' (ES, Trip, 15:07)

⟶   ■
burn (now)

Íii,   áw=nam   imínk   myánash ɨt'úk
(indicating extent) now=2SG 2SG.PSR child   difficult
shapá-ttawa<u>x</u>-sh.
CAUS-raise-PF
'Now you have raised your child this far.'

Íkwaal=nam   shapá-ttawa<u>x</u>n-ɨm-sh imínk   myánash, naknúwi-m-sh.
that.long=2SG CAUS-raise-CIS-PF   2SG.PSR child   take.care.of-CIS-PF
'You have taken care of your child this long.' (ES, Religious, 28:39)

$\longrightarrow$ ■
raise and take care of child   (now)
(from birth to marriageable age)

Present perfect (not immediate past)

Ku ánm-iki k'pís-pa ku íkuuni ásh-a pín-ch'a
and winter-in cold-LOC then that.ALL enter-PST 3SG-PEJOR
Aykwíisya.
cottontail.legendary
'And it was wintertime, and Cottontail Rabbit just happened to
go into that den.'

Kwnák awkú pa-'anwík-a.
that.LOC then 3PL.NOM-spend.winter-PST
'Then they spent the winter together.'

Twit'áaya i-nátχaana "úuu kw'ałá=am pá-yanawyuu
grizzly.legendary 3.NOM-say[PF] oh glad=2SG 2>1-came.to[PF]
Aykwíisya.
cottontail.legendary
'And Grizzly says, "I'm so glad you came to keep me company, Cottontail." ' (AS, Tape 17, 54:07)

■   ⟶   ■
Cottontail comes to Grizzly   winter passes   now (in story)

Present perfect (not immediate past)

Ku=ush awkú á-kwyaam-sha-na   kwyáam-x̱ash
and=1SG then ABS-believe-IPFV-PST truthful-must.be
kwaak   i-núu.
not.known 3.NOM-say.IMPF
'And I was (still) believing what she told me.'

Ku=ush   páysh kwnínk awkú íchi kwáal=nash awkú aw-iwáx̱i   awkú
then=1SG maybe that.ABL then this so.long=1SG then ABS-wait[PF] then
mún   áw, mún   áw, itáyma-ta tiichám.
some.time now some.time now sell-FUT   land
'Since that time I've been waiting and waiting and waiting for the time when she sells her land.' (ES, Wahsise, 12:01)

$\longrightarrow$ ■
wait (months) for money   now (in story)

Present perfect (not immediate past)

Ku íchi inmí átawit *Catherine* áw i-tɬ'yáwi.
and this 1SG.PSR beloved   now 3.NOM-die[PF]
'Now my beloved Catherine has died.'

Íkwaal ikútkuch.
íkwaal i-kútkut-sh
this.long 3.NOM-work-PF
'She has worked this long.' (VB, 98-3A, 9:05)

$\longrightarrow$ ■
Catherine works (over life time) death

Present perfect (not immediate past)

Túx̱-ta=ash   ku=ush tɬ'yáwi-ta kwnák   kuush
return-FUT=1SG and=1SG die-FUT   that.LOC and=1SG
inmí-pa tiichám-pa anakúsh inmí   wáwnakwshash
1SG-LOC ground-LOC just.like 1SG.PSR body
tx̱ána-ta,   ních-i.
become-FUT bury-PPL
'I want to go back, and when I die, I want my body to lie in the
ground where I come from.'

Ku íchna   íchi íkks-ma   ttáwax̱t-ma   ku pa-'ámani   áw.
and this.LOC this young.PL-PL descendant-PL and 3PL.NOM-marry.man[PF] now
'Now our young here are marrying into other races.'

Tún áw i-wá   ɨwínsh chmaakwlí   uu shuyápu   tún.
some now 3.NOM-be husband African-American or white.person some
'(Some have African-American husbands and some white.)' (ES, Awatam B, 28:28)

   ⟶   ■
marry men   now (in story)
(not plausible that marriages were all recent)

Hortative ('let')

"There are three moods: indicative, conditional, and imperative. The indicative is the unmarked mood. It has the greatest number of functions and is most frequent in occurrence. It is used for statements, questions, polite hortative imperatives, and other sentence types." (Rigsby and Rude 1996: 686)

"third-person polite hortative imperatives ... are always in the indicative ... [and] are formed with the subordinator *ana* (with allomorph *a*)" (Rigsby and Rude 1996: 687)

Hortative

Pa-wapiita-tá-t'a-na   pchí-yin.
INV-help-go-want-PST mother-ERG
'His mother tried to help him.'

Ku=pat   á-talax̱ik-a.
but=3PL ABS-warn-PST
'They told her to stop.'

"Cháw, cháw mísh á-mi-k.
not   nothing   ABS-do-IMPER
"'Don't try to help him.

ANA kwnák   pnínki   i— mísh   i-mí."
REL that.LOC 3SG.INST   anything 3.NOM-do[PF]
'Let him do what he wants to do by himself there."' (ES, Old B, 17:17)

Hortative

Ku=ush áw-n-a "p'aláa awkú
then=1SG ABS-tell-PST ignoring then
á-yk-ɨnk ku láak awkú pá-wɨnp-ani-ta
ABS-hear-IMPER and maybe then INV-take-BEN-FUT
chí-yin tkwátat-in tɨmná piinák.
this-ERG food-ERG heart 3SG.ACC
'I told her, "don't answer her. Maybe this food will
capture her soul.'

Ku láak i-pxwí-ta, ash áw ín-ch'a lst'á-ya
and maybe 3.NOM-think-FUT REL.1SG now 1SG-PEJOR join-PF
íchɨn íchi íkushpaynk kút-pa."
this.DAT this thus.LOC event-LOC
'Maybe she'll think, let me join in things like this."' (VB: "Maybe now
she's decided to join in things like this.") (ES, root feast, 20:54)

Present

Íchi sínwi-x̱a-yksh,   watí-x̱a-yksh=mash.
here speak-HAB-TRANS tell.legend-HAB-TRANS=1SG>2SG
'Now I'm going to start telling you my legend.'

Íchi pa-wachá   páx̱naaw ttmayí-ma.
here 3PL.NOM-be.PST 5.people girls.PL-PL
'There were five girls.'

Pa-x̱ní-x̱a-na   wáaayk   atáchish-nan ku kwnák   pa-x̱ní-x̱a-na,
3PL.NOM-dig-HAB-PST way.across ocean-ACC   and that.LOC 3PL.NOM-dig-HAB-PST

pa-'aní-x̱a-na   tkwátat.
3PL.NOM-make-HAB-PST food
'Way across the ocean they use to dig roots.'

Pa-x̱ní-sha   łíiiiiikw'i.
3PL.NOM-dig-IPFV all.day
'They would dig roots all day.'

Íchi=mash   áw   watí.
this=1SG>2SG now tell.legend[PF]
'I'm telling you this legend now.' (ES, Crane, 16:44)

Future

I-wáa-panati-sha   náxsh-pa-k'a
3.NOM-speedily-climb-IPFV another-LOC-EMPH
pít'xanuk-pa, iiiii-wayáalp-sha.
mountain-LOC 3.NOM-reach.top-IPFV
'He ran up another mountain and then he got to the top.'

Ku kúuk   i-'ín-sha   áts-ma-man.
then at.that.time 3.NOM-tell-IPFV younger.sister-PL-PL.ACC
'Then he turned around and he spoke to his sisters.'

"Kítu nícha-ma   áw=nash íyatna.
hurry younger.sister.VOC-PL now=1SG kill[PF]
"'Hurry sisters, he's going to kill me.'

Kw'aalí-xash   íkw'ak i-wá   pshwá.
dangerous.being-must.be that   3.NOM-be stone
'That must be a very powerful stone.' (AS, Tape 17, 33:31)

Narrative present

"where the present tense is used to refer to a past situation" (Comrie 1976: 73)

"The marking of past time reference is also influenced by discourse type. Narrative texts, that is texts which relate sequences of events in the order they occur, often follow special rules." (Dahl 2004)

Narrative present

Múnnash   áw   pá-'i-tux̱-ta
when=1SG now 2SG>1SG-CAUS-return-FUT
kw'ínk   *money?*
that.aforementioned
'When are you going to return my money?'

Ku=ush   awkú á-shapni inmí   myánash-nan, "míshat
then=1SG then ABS-ask 1SG.PSR child-ACC   FS
mísh-at=x̱at   awkú mún   í-tux̱-ta   áak
YES/NO.Q-DUB=in.the.world then some.time CAUS-return-FUT that
money?"

'Then I asked my son, "is she ever going to give me my money back?"' (ES, Wahsise, 12:11)

"She's putting herself in the present." (VB, p.c. to SH)

Narrative present

Ku=tash á-shapa-x̱tɬ'k-sh tɬ'áax̱w-ma kuunák
then=1PL.EXCL ABS-CAUS-cut-PF all-PL that.ACC

hahán-nan ku=tash á-tii
stalk-ACC and=1PL.EXCL ABS-place.in[PF]

wáx̱wɨntaash-yaw awkú.
root.digging.bag-DAT then

'Then we'd all of us together, we'd take off the top, and put the root in
our root-digging bag.'

Áwku íkw'ak=tash awkú á-x̱ni-ik-sh awkú.
then that=1PL.EXCL then ABS-dig-TRANS-PF then

'Then we just went ahead and start digging.'

Ku páysh kw'pínk wyaw— ana-shín i-wá kítu x̱ni-ɬá, ku
and if that.aforementioned REL-who.NOM 3.NOM-be fast dig-AGT and

awkú káakɨm i-kú, ku=tash kúuk awkú yúuyuu awkú.
then full 3.NOM-do[PF] then=1PL.EXCL at.that.time then call[PF] then

'And if there's a fast digger among the group, then she fills all her bags first, then she would
signal to the others.' (ES, root feast, 7:07)

- present perfect (often but not always immediate past)
- hortative ('let')
- non-past (present, future)
- narrative present

Origins of Sahaptin perfect

"Comparative data from Nez Perce suggests that the bare verb stem originally served this function [perfect]." _{Rigsby and Rude 1996: 686}

s- and c- [ts] class verbs (Aoki 1994: xv)

	s-class		c-class	
present	I eat	hipíse	I see	hekíce
perfect (-s ˜0)	I have eaten	híps	I have seen	hékin
past	I ate	hípe	I saw	héxne
recent past	I ate	hipsáaqa	I saw	hakcáaqa
future	I will eat	hipú'	I will see	hexnú'
	'O-verbs'		'n-verbs'	

/n + s/ → [c] and "/s/ and /t/ both delete word finally when /n/ precedes" (Rude 1996), not unproblematic as a synchronic analysis (Crook 1999)

Aoki, Haruo. 1994. Nez Perce Dictionary. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Crook, Harold. 1999. The Phonology and Morphology of Nez Perce Stress. PhD dissertation, Department of Linguistics, UCLA.

Rude, Noel. 1996. 'The Sahaptian inflectional suffix complex.' In Report 9, Survey of California and Other Indian Languages: Proceedings of the Hokan-Penutian Workshop, ed. by Victor Golla. Berkeley. 51-89.

Resultatives (noun)

"It has been argued for perfects in many, genetically unrelated, languages that the semantics of this category systematically develops from resultative to perfect to perfective. Thus, the present perfect would start out as a present tense, presenting a (result) state holding at the present moment, and develop into a past tense, expressing a situation that precedes the point of speech." (Boogaart 2004: 1178)

I have two books written already. → I have already written two books.

Boogart, Ronny. 2004. '109. Aspect and Aktionsart.' In *Morphology: an international handbook on inflection and word-formation,* ed. by Geert E. Booij, Christian Lehmann and Wolfgang Kesselheim. Berlin: de Gruyter. 1165-1180.

Some Sahaptin and Nez Perce resultatives

"winánpš ['weapon'] is a medio-passive noun noun derived from the complex verb theme winá-np- 'go get, take' " (Rigsby and Rude 1996:681)

"Patient nominalizer -sh indicates the result of a human's action." (Jansen 2010:272)

Sahaptin -sh more productive than Nez Perce -s (Rude 1996)

Sahaptin	Nez Perce
alyúu 'place bet', **alyúush** 'placed bet'	
chíi 'drink', **chíish** 'water'	**-kúu** 'drink', **kúus** 'water'
tíma 'write, draw, mark', **tímash** 'book, paper'	**tíim'e** 'write, make a mark', **tíim'es** 'book, letter'
áyni 'iron', **áynish** 'ironing'	
kúuki 'cook', **kúukish** 'cooking'	

Aoki, Haruo. 1994. *Nez Perce Dictionary.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Beavert, Virginia, and Sharon Hargus. 2009. *Ichishkíin Sínwit Yakama/Yakima Sahaptin Dictionary.* Toppenish and Seattle: Heritage University and University of Washington Press.

Historical development of Sahaptin perfect

i-wína-sha-m-sh
3NOM-go-IPFV-CIS-PRS
'(3sg) is coming.' (Rude 1996)

Pre-Proto-Sahaptian *-š present > Proto-Sahaptian *-š present perfect (under influence of resultative -š) ~present

Originally present function supported by

- reconstructable hortative
  - Nez Perce hortative: **kee** (desiderative) + present perfect verb
  - Sahaptin hortative: **ana** (REL) + present perfect verb
- non-past functions of Sahaptin present perfect seen in texts
- narrative present function of Sahaptin present perfect seen in texts

So much can be learned from texts!

Acknowledgements