The Northwest Sahaptin present perfect in texts

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The research question

Tł’áaxw=nash áw pa-páxwi- tún.
all=1SG now 3PL.NOM-steal[PAST] 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?

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)

  ➔

steal everything (now)

Sahaptin and Sahaptian

Sahaptian family = Sahaptin, Nez Perce

Sahaptin verb structure


- **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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Cislocative</th>
<th>Translocative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SIMPLE FORM</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ima</td>
<td>-kika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Perfect</td>
<td>(-š)</td>
<td>-imš</td>
<td>-kikš</td>
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<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-imta</td>
<td>-ki(k)ta</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-imtaxna</td>
<td>-ki(k)taxna</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-šana</td>
<td>-šama</td>
<td>-šayka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-ša</td>
<td>-šamš</td>
<td>-šaykš</td>
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<td>Future</td>
<td>-šata</td>
<td>-šamta</td>
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<td>-šataxna</td>
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<td>-šayktaxna</td>
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<td><strong>HABITUAL ASPECT</strong></td>
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<td>-čana</td>
<td>-čama</td>
<td>-čayka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Present Perfect</td>
<td>-ča</td>
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<td>Future</td>
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<td>Conditional</td>
<td>-čataxna</td>
<td>-čamtaxna</td>
<td>-čayktaxna</td>
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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
  - pázwi ‘steal’, PF pázwi

- -a
  - pnú(n) ‘sleep’, PF pnúwa
  - wyáwxi ‘lose en route’, PF wyáwxya

- -sh
  - ayík ‘sit’, PF ayíksh
  - -m CIS, PF -msh

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 [in] 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.

Interlinear glossed text which includes Sahaptin (not just English)

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

Frequency of present perfect: 1% of verb forms (estimate)

Hargus and Beavert
Sahaptin present perfect
January 11, 2015
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)

And again, it says this, “whoever comes to me will not be turned aside as garbage.”

Ku ánach’a oh, “inmi 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)
Kúshxi=ish awkú panáty-iiki íkuuni ku=ush similarly=1SG then climb-ADV that.ALL then=1SG cháw yáwilak’ity-a.

‘Then the same thing when we climbed up a steep mountain, my saddle didn’t slide.’

Áah! Tún i-lú-wa!

‘Oh, something’s burning!’ (ES, Trip, 15:07)
Present perfect (not immediate past)

Íi, áw=nam imínk myánash it’úk
(indicating extent) now=2SG 2SG.PSR child difficult
shapá-ttawax-sh.
CAUS-raise-PF
‘Now you have raised your child this far.’

Íkwaal=nam shapá-ttawaxn-im-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)

raise and take care of child (now)
(from birth to marriageable age)
And it was wintertime, and Cottontail Rabbit just happened to go into that den.

Then they spent the winter together.

And Grizzly says, “I’m so glad you came to keep me company, Cottontail.”

Cottontail comes to Grizzly    winter passes    now (in story)
And I was (still) believing what she told me.

'Since that time I've been waiting and waiting and waiting for the time when she sells her land.' (ES, Wahsise, 12:01)
Present perfect (not immediate past)

Ku íchi inmí átawit Catherine áw i-tł’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)

→

Catherine works (over life time) death
I want to go back, and when I die, I want my body to lie in the ground where I come from.

Now our young here are marrying into other races.

(Some have African-American husbands and some white.)
“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)
Pa-wapiita-tá-t’a-na pchí-yin.
INV-help-go-want-PST mother-ERG
‘His mother tried to help him.’

Ku=pat á-talaxik-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)
Ku=ush áw-n-a “p’aláa awkú
then=1SG ABS-tell-PST ignoring then
á-yk-ink ku láák awkú pá-winp-ani-ta
ABS-hear-IMPER and maybe then INV-take-BEN-FUT
chí-yin tkwátat-in timná piinák.
this-ERG food-ERG heart 3SG.ACC
‘I told her, “don’t answer her. Maybe this food will
capture her soul.’
Ku láák i-pxwí-ta, ash áw ín-ch’a lst’á-ya
and maybe 3.NOM-think-FUT REL.1SG now 1SG-PEJOR join-PF
íchin 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)
Íchi sínwi-xa-yksh, watí-xa-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 páxnaaw ttmayí-ma.
here 3PL.NOM-be.PST 5.people girls.PL-PL
‘There were five girls.’

Pa-xní-xa-na wáaayk atáchish-nan ku kwnák pa-xní-xa-na,
3PL.NOM-dig-HAB-PST way.across ocean-ACC and that.LOC 3PL.NOM-dig-HAB-PST
pa’aní-xa-na tkwátat.
3PL.NOM-make-HAB-PST food
‘Way across the ocean they use to dig roots.’

Pa-xní-sha ʰiiiiikw’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)
I-wáa-panati-sha náxsh-pa-k’a
3.NOM-speedily-climb-IPFV another-LOC-EMPH
pít’xanuk-pa, iiii-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 ñk’w’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)
“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)
Múnnash áw pá’-i-tux-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, “míshit
then=1SG then ABS-ask 1SG.PSR child-ACC FS
mísh-at=xat awkú mún í-tux-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)
Ku=tash á-shapa-xŧ’k-sh tl’áaxw-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]
wáxwintaash-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-xni-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 xni-łá, ku
and if that.aforementioned REL-who.NOM 3.NOM-be fast dig-AGT and
awkú káakim 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)
Functions of “present perfect” in texts

- 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)

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<th></th>
<th>s-class</th>
<th>c-class</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>present</td>
<td>I eat</td>
<td>I see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>I have eaten</td>
<td>I have seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hipíse</td>
<td>hékin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>I ate</td>
<td>I saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hípe</td>
<td>hékine</td>
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<tr>
<td>recent past</td>
<td>I ate</td>
<td>I saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hipsáqa</td>
<td>hakcáaq</td>
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<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>I will eat</td>
<td>I will see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hipú’</td>
<td>hexñú’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

’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)

“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.

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)

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<tr>
<th>Sahaptin</th>
<th>Nez Perce</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alyúu ‘place bet’, alyúush ‘placed bet’</td>
<td>-kúu ‘drink’, kúus ‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tíma ‘write, draw, mark’, tímash ‘book, paper’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áyni ‘iron’, áynish ‘ironing’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>kúuki ‘cook’, kúukish ‘cooking’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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!
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