

## The grammatical coding of the inverse category in Sahaptin

Category: either oral or poster

Sahaptin, a Plateau Penutian language of Washington and Oregon States, has a typologically unusual inverse system. This paper examines the form and function of the Sahaptin inverse using data from Klickitat, Umatilla and Yakima dialects, and demonstrates that in Sahaptin, the full hierarchy of 1>2>3Prox>3Obv is present. However, different grammatical systems interact to code inverse clauses. An overlapping combination of speech act participant (SAP) clitics, verb prefixes and case marking is used depending on whether the scenario is local (as in examples 1-2), mixed (examples 3-4) or non-local (examples 5-6). In direct configurations 1A2O the complex second position pronominal enclitics =*mash* and =*matash* are used (example 1). There is no additional verbal morphology indicating person. In an inverse 2A1O clause (example 2), the pronominal enclitic references second person only. In mixed scenarios (examples 3-4) pronominal enclitics, underspecified for case, reference the SAP. Verb prefixes indicate hierarchy as well. In local and non-local inverse scenarios, the stressed inverse prefix *pá-* codes inverse (examples 2 and 6). In mixed scenarios, the verb takes the nominative prefix *i-* rather than accusative prefix *á-* (examples 3-4). The final grammatical strategy indicating inverse is case marking. There are two separate case markers used to indicate a third person agent: the case marker *-nim* is used when the object is a SAP (example 4); the case marker *-in* is used in 3A3O scenarios (example 6).

The paper also focuses on the function of the Sahaptin inverse voice in 3>3 scenarios. Hypotheses presented by Rude 1994 (Klickitat Sahaptin), Blackburn Morrow 2006 (Umatilla Sahaptin) and the author's research (Yakima Sahaptin) suggest that the inverse voice is a patient topicalizing construction, also affected by animacy and global frequency. Blackburn Morrow notes that factors such as episode theme, episode boundaries, and the backgrounding of A may also be important factors (2006). The discourse conditioning that affects the inverse voice when 3 acts on 3 represents an opportunity to test Givón's (1994) hypothesis, that hierarchical effects in inverse alignment are the reification of topicality.

Sahaptin constitutes an interesting study in the structural expression of functional categories, with the familiar category of inverse expressed through a unique set of distinct but overlapping structures. The system has similarities to more typical systems of inverse marking, split ergativity, and hierarchical agreement, but is organized in a way that has relevance for typological studies of inverse voice. And, since Sahaptin grammar does not obligatorily make a third person participant that is more highly ranked under Givón's (1994) system into 3Prox, it provides a useful laboratory to examine whether the counter-hierarchical residue is "not yet reanalyzed", or perhaps a leading wedge in the loss of a formerly obligatory system.

**Local:**

## 1. (direct 1A2O)

*Kúmatash*      *tł'áaxw*      *ítł'yawita*  
 ku=**matash**    *tł'aaxw*      *ítł'yawi-ta*  
 and-1>2PL    all              kill-FUT  
 'I will kill all of you'

## 2. (inverse 2A1O)

*páyshnam*      *chaw*      *pá'inta*  
 páysh=**nam**    *chaw*      **pá**-in-ta  
 maybe=2SG    NEG      2>1INV-tell-FUT  
 'if you don't tell me.' (*k'áxnu.056.057\_VBYS*)

**Mixed:**

## 3. (direct 1A3O)

*Cháwnash*      *ánach'axi*      *áwitł'yawita*      *k'áxnumaman.*  
 chaw=**nash**    *ánach'axi*      **á**-ítł'yawi-ta      *k'áxnu-maman*  
 NEG-1SG      again              3ABS-kill-FUT      prairie.chicken-**OBJ.PL**  
 'I'll never again kill prairie chickens' (*k'áxnu.113\_VBYS*)

## 4. (inverse 3A1O)

*kush*      *kwnak*      *awkú*      *iwawshúwyana*      *tamanwitmí*      *naktkwaninłánim*  
 ku-**sh**      *kwnak*      *awkú*      **i**-wawshúwyana-a      *tamánwit-mí*      *naktkwaninłá-nim*  
 and-1SG    there              then      3SG.NOM-examine-PST    law-GEN      nurse-INV.ERG  
 'and that's where the government nurse examined me' (*tuxamshish.033\_VBYS*)

**Non-local:**

## 5. (direct 3A3O)

*iskáwskawna*      *tíin-maman*      *k'usík'usi*  
 i-skáwskawn-a      **tíin-maman**      *k'usík'usi*  
 3SG.NOM-scare-PST    people-OBJ.PL      horse  
 'the horse frightened the people' (*BB2.010\_VBYS*)

## 6. (inverse 3A3O)

*ku*      *kwnak*      *wítxuptin*      *páwinpa*      *tíin-maman*  
 ku      *kwnak*      **wítxupt-in**      **pá**-wínp-a      **tíin-maman**  
 and there      blizzard-**OBV.ERG**      3INV-take-PST      people-OBJ.PL  
 'and there the bitter blizzard caught those people' (*tuxamshish.019\_VBYS*)