The Verbal Morphology of Santiam Kalapuya

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This work is a detailed description of the verbal morphology of Santiam Kalapuya, an extinct Native American language of Oregon. This work is the first in-depth grammatical analysis of this language. The data used for this study are texts with translation which were transcribed by Melville Jacobs in the 1930’s from Mr. John B. Hudson, one of the last speakers. The analysis presented here focuses on the verbal morphosyntax of Santiam, including the placement, form, and function of prefixes and suffixes on the verb stem. Eleven prefix positions and six suffix positions have been identified, with a total of twenty-one prefixes and fifteen suffixes. These affixes code a wide range of grammatical features, as, for example, tense, aspect, modality, grammatical relation, subordination, and direction. A brief overview of common phonological processes and non-verbal morphology is also given.

KEYWORDS: Kalapuya; Santiam; Grammar; Verbal Morphology

0. Introduction

Santiam Kalapuya was a dialect of the central group of the Kalapuyan language family. It was spoken in the area east of the Willamette River, in the Central Willamette Valley of Western Oregon. Mithun (1999) gives a detailed description of the history of linguistic documentation of Kalapuyan languages as they approached the final stages of extinction and states that Santiam survived into the 1950’s. She also gives an exhaustive bibliography of linguistic research and a summary of certain aspects of these languages.

To my knowledge, all that exists of the Santiam dialect are approximately 140 pages of texts with translation which were elicited and transcribed by Melville Jacobs in the 1930’s and published in 1945. In addition to these texts, there are also 150 pages of texts in the Mary’s River dialect which contain the Santiam equivalents of certain lexical items interspersed within the text. In both cases, the native speaker for the Santiam material was Mr. John B. Hudson, who was one of the last speakers and bilingual in English and Santiam. Jacobs also mentions that recordings of Mr. Hudson were made on RCA Victor discs and were deposited at the University of Washington. The status and condition of these recordings are unknown to me.

This work is a slightly revised version of my MA thesis at the Department of Linguistics, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2004. I would like to acknowledge the members of my MA committee, Sandra Thompson and Charles Li, for their valuable comments, insight and encouragement, with a special acknowledgement for the chair of my committee Marianne Mithun. I would also like to express deep gratitude to my family for their support.
The Jacobs material contains texts from three of the mutually intelligible dialects of the central group; Santiam, Mary’s River and Lower McKenzie River. The amount of Lower McKenzie River material is much smaller than the other two dialects and was therefore ruled out as an object of study. The Mary’s River texts were originally elicited by Dr. Leo J. Frachtenberg in 1914 from his speaker, William Hartless. According to Jacobs (1945), these texts in their current form were checked and to some degree altered by Jacobs and Hudson in an attempt to make them, in their opinion, more accurately reflect the true nature of the Mary’s River dialect. This was also the origin of the Santiam lexical items interspersed within the Mary’s River texts. I decided not to use the Mary’s River texts since it is impossible to determine what was changed by Jacobs and Hudson without access to the original texts by Frachtenberg. It is unknown to me whether the Mary’s River texts still exist in their original form. Based upon the above considerations, the Santiam material was the obvious choice for the focus of this work.

The majority of previous work on Kalapuyan languages has consisted of the phonological reconstruction of proto-Kalapuyan and lexical comparison with the Takelma language of Southern Oregon in an attempt to demonstrate a common genetic affiliation. (Frachtenberg 1918; Swadesh 1965; Shipley 1970; Berman 1988, 1990; Kendall 1997) To my knowledge, the only prior work on a Kalapuyan language which contains substantial morphological or syntactic information is Rude (1986), which focused on the Santiam and Mary’s River dialects. The morphemes identified by Rude are:

Verbal — translocative, cislocative, ablative, applicative, SAP, third person plural, first person direct object

Nominal — oblique prefix, article, third person possessive

Of these morphemes, Rude mentions syntactic information for only the applicative, third person plural and the article. Other previous identification of morphemes known to me are: Berman (1990), second person singular possessive prefix; Tarpent and Kendall (1998), reproduced in Mithun (1999:433), intransitive suffix. These are all noted in the relevant sections of this work. All of the above mentioned morphemes were independently discovered by me (before I had access to Rude’s paper), with the exceptions of the intransitive suffix, the ablative, and the applicative (partially identified by Rude, see section 3.7).

Jacobs (1945) does not include any grammatical information along with the texts, nor does he give any indication of morphological structure below the word level. Jacobs does use hyphenation to indicate what he terms ‘morpheme clusters or groups’ (1945:15), but these are clearly referring to cliticization above the word level and no indication of the semantic nature or grammatical function of these clitics is given. Jacobs’ use of hyphenation to mark clitics is in many cases inconsistent and questionable and only the most likely cases of true cliticization are detailed in this work.

This study focuses on the verbal morphology of the Santiam dialect and represents the first in-depth grammatical analysis of a Kalapuyan language. The
identification and analysis of the morphology and syntax presented here is entirely my own except for a few cases where suggestions were given to me in personal communications (all by Marianne Mithun) or, as mentioned above, in a few instances by reference to previous work on the language. These outside sources of information are cited in the appropriate sections.

This work was conducted without reference to any material from other Kalapuyan dialects or languages. The decision to limit this work to a single dialect was based upon the notion that an in-depth internal analysis of a Kalapuyan language, as opposed to a comparative work, would be most appropriate at this stage of research, particularly since the morphological structure of these languages has been largely unknown.

The nature of this work presents the researcher with a number of difficulties, not the least of which is the limited amount of data and, at times, questions about the transcription. In my opinion, Jacobs did an excellent job in attempting to transcribe the narratives as accurately as possible. The main drawback to his approach of absolute phonetic accuracy is, of course, unrecognized allophonic correspondences. This generally was not a problem when analyzing the material, though at times questions about the basic form of a morpheme were left unresolved. It is my opinion that, in general, the transcriptional accuracy of Jacobs’ Santiam material can be regarded with a high degree of confidence.

This work is divided into three sections. Section 1 lists phonetic segments and gives a description of some of the more commonly observed phonological processes. It also gives a brief syntactic overview of the language and lists prefixes and suffixes with their respective positions on the verb stem. Section 2 describes and exemplifies the function of each prefix and gives an account of grammatical aspects of the language associated with these prefixes. Section 3 describes and exemplifies the function of each suffix. In several cases, forms and functions of suffixes are offered as suggestions in contrast to the more thorough analysis of prefixes. At this point in research, there is, in general, a greater degree of uncertainty regarding suffixes than prefixes. This is partially due to the limited amount of data, particularly with regards to object suffixes. Also, suffixes, in contrast to prefixes, appear to exhibit a greater degree of phonological fusion when they occur next to each other on the verb stem, making the identification of their underlying forms more difficult. It is hoped that future research will resolve some of the remaining uncertainties regarding suffixes and extend into the area of the comparative morphology of Kalapuyan.

1. Language overview
This section gives a general overview of certain aspects of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Santiam Kalapuya. Since the focus of this work is a detailed account of the verbal morphology of Santiam, only a brief examination of phonology and syntax is given. A list of verb prefixes and suffixes and their position classes, as well as clitics, is provided. An in depth look at these affixes is presented in sections 2 and 3.
1.1. Phonetics/phonology
The following segments can be deduced from Jacobs’ description of the phonetic aspects of Santiam and the symbols he employed. This section will list the segments of Santiam with currently used symbols corresponding to those used by Jacobs. Jacobs’ transcription of Santiam was broadly phonetic, though it may be possible to deduce the underlying phonemes of Santiam. Certain statements by Jacobs indicate allophonic variation for some segments, though the basic underlying forms of phonemes are not discussed. A complete account of underlying phonemes and allophonic variation in Santiam is outside the scope of this work.1

1.1.1. Segments according to Jacobs
The following is a list of segments noted by Jacobs. The symbols he used for certain segments are given in parentheses.

**Stops**
Jacobs (cryptically) indicates that velars and uvulars are in allophonic variation with each other.

Unaspirated \( p \ t \ k \ q \)
Aspirated \( p^{h} \ t^{h} \ k^{h} \ q^{h} \) (Jacobs C’)
Voiced? \( b \ d \ g \) (Jacobs B D G Ġ)
Glottalized \( ë \ ë \ ÷ \ ê \) (Jacobs ë ë ÷ ê)
Labialized
  Unaspirated \( k^{w} \ q^{w} \)
  Aspirated \( k^{wh} \ q^{wh} \)
  Voiced? \( g^{w} \ Ġ \)
  Glottal \( ë \ ë \ ÷ \ ê \) (A glottal stop is indicated as [ ‘ ]by Jacobs)

**Nasals**
\( m \ n \ ŋ \ m \ ŋ \)
It is unclear what \([m] \ [ŋ]\) represent, since Jacobs does not provide a phonetic description of these graphemes. Most likely, these symbols represent syllabic nasals. Jacobs also indicates that these syllabic nasals are allophones of their non-syllabic counterparts.

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1 Examples are given in currently used phonetic characters. Vowel length will be represented, but accent will not be shown. In the texts, hyphenation was apparently used to represent a weak morpheme boundary, though it is unlikely that all cases of hyphenation represent true cliticization. For the purpose of clarity, only forms judged to be likely examples of clitics will be marked by ‘=’.
Fricatives

\( f^*, h, h^* \) may be allophones.

Bilabial  \( f \)

Alveolar  \( s \)

Palatal  \( š \)  (Jacobs [c])

Velar  \( x \)  \( χ \)  (\( χ \) may represent an unvoiced uvular fricative)

Lateral  \( l \)

Glottal  \( h \)  \( h^* \)

Affricates

Jacobs indicates that alveolar and palatal affricates are in allophonic variation.

Alveolar

- Unaspirated  \( c \)  (Jacobs [ts])
- Aspirated  \( c^h \)  (Jacobs [ts'])
- Voiced?  \( z \)  (Jacobs [dz])
- Glottal  \( č \)  (Jacobs [t's])

Palatal

- Unaspirated  \( č \)  (Jacobs [tc])
- Aspirated  \( č^h \)  (Jacobs [tc'])
- Voiced?  \( ž \)  (Jacobs [dj])
- Glottal  \( ě \)  (Jacobs [t'c])

Approximants

\( w \)  \( l \)  \( y \)

Vowels

\( a \)  \( ε \)  \( i \)  \( ω \)  \( u \)

The above forms were used by Jacobs and will be retained in the examples. The segment \( ε \) is described as a sound between [a] and [æ] and as both an independent phoneme and an allophone of /a/. Jacobs also states that \( ω \) may be an allophone of /u/.

Dipthongs

\( ai \)  \( au \)  \( ui \)

Vowel length

Vowel length is indicated by a raised dot [\( V^* \)] in the texts. It is presently unclear whether length is distinctive. The following long vowels are listed by Jacobs.

\( a^* \)  \( ε^* \)  \( i^* \)  \( ω^* \)  \( u^* \)

1.1.2. Observed phonological processes

The following are some common phonological processes observed for Santiam.
1.1.2.1. Nasal assimilation

Nasal assimilation occurs regularly throughout the morphology of Santiam and is not a process restricted to verb stems, as, for instance, it also occurs with the first person singular and third person singular possessor prefixes.

In example (2), the underlying finite prefix /m-/ (as shown in (1)) assimilates in place of articulation to an alveolar nasal [n-] before the translocative prefix t-.

\[
\text{C} \rightarrow \text{[α place] / __ [α place]}
\]

(1)  
\[\text{guš aʔ-waiʔwa či-ma } \text{g-u-m-ʔi-did} \]
\[\text{DIST ART-woman ADV-ahead PST-REAL-FIN-go-DURLOC} \]
\[\text{‘The woman went on ahead’ P104 2 (1)} \]

(2)  
\[\text{guš aʔ-waiʔwa g-i-n-t-ʔi } \text{či-mē} \]
\[\text{DIST ART-woman PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-go ADV-ahead} \]
\[\text{‘The woman went on ahead’ P104 2 (1)} \]

Another example of assimilation occurs in the third singular possessor prefix, as in (3) below.

(3)  
\[\text{diŋ-gda·} \]
\[\text{/diN-gda/} \]
\[\text{3.POSS-ear} \]
\[\text{‘its ears’ P109 6 (4)} \]

Another manifestation of this process occurs when an underlying bilabial nasal is assimilated to a following alveolar nasal, which is subsequently deleted, as in (4).

\[\text{m\rightarrow n/} \text{ then } \text{nn\rightarrow n} \]

(4)  
\[\text{Surface form} \ [\text{giniʔnak}] \]
\[\text{Underlying form} \ [\text{g-u-m-ni-nak}] \]
\[\text{PST-REAL-FIN-3.PL-say} \]
\[\text{‘they said’ P110 (3)} \]

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In this instance, this process also triggers vowel fronting, as described below.

1.1.2.2. Vowel fronting

The back vowel /u/ regularly undergoes a process of fronting to [i]. This process occurs on nominal stems and on the prefixal complex of the verb stem.

\[ u \rightarrow i / \_\_ Alveolar Nasal \]

(5) \[ g-u-m-\text{'i}-did \]
   PST-REAL-FIN-go-DURLOC
   ‘(the woman) went’ P104 2

(6) \[ g-i-n-t-\text{'i} \]
   PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-go
   ‘(the woman) went’ P104 2

As can be seen from the above examples, the nasal assimilation and vowel fronting rules are ordered relative to each other, i.e. the output of the nasal assimilation rule can serve as the input for the vowel fronting rule.

Also, the underlying back vowel has, in some instances, been observed to be fronted before velar nasals, as in (7) and (8).

(7) \[ lau’\ ɛ-i-ŋ-gaw-i \]
   now SAP-REAL-FIN-throw-TRAN
   ‘Now I will throw him away’ P89 1 (5)

(8) \[ diŋ-\text{da}’\]
   3.POSS-ear
   ‘its ears’ P109 6 (4)

However, in another instance, the back vowel is retained before a velar nasal, as in (9).

(9) \[ duŋ-g’\ a \]
   3.POSS-head
   ‘his head’ P32 22 (3)

The phrase \[ duŋg’\ a ‘3.POSS head’ appears in several places in the texts and in each instance the back vowel [u] occurs, indicating that this was the correct transcription for this phrase. It is at present unclear what the conditioning factor is for this type of vowel alternation before velar nasals.

The back vowel [u] can also be fronted before a palatal glide [y]. This process accounts for the alternation in the vowel of the first plural prefix in (11).

\[ u \rightarrow i / \_\_ Palatal Glide \]

(10) \[ wa’\ ʃ-d-e-\text{du-}h-u-k-p\ hes\ a-\text{mu}’\text{i}’\ (Underlying form of 1PL prefix \text{du-}) \]
    NEG SAP-NEG-1.PL-eat-3.OBJ PROX ART-deer
    ‘We do not eat this (sort of) meat’ P122 5 (9)
(11) \( w\á gi-de-di-yuku-n \quad ñu \quad gi-du-du-da?c \quad (du \rightarrow di/\_ \_ y) \)
\begin{align*}
\text{NEG INF-NEG-1.PL-know-3.OBJ} & \text{ where INF-RELOC-1.PL-find} \\
\text{‘We did not know where to find him’ } & \text{ P52 50 (2)}
\end{align*}

1.1.2.3. Affricate weakening
Another regular process, which may be restricted to occurring on verb stems, changes a palatal affricate /\( ñ/\) (the SAP subject morpheme) to a palatal fricative [\( š\)] before an alveolar stop, as in (13). This is characterized as a process of affricate weakening.

\[
\text{\( ñ \rightarrow š/\_ \_ d \)}
\]
(12) \( ŋ-\text{u-m-huli} \)
\[
\text{SAP-REAL-FIN-want} \\
\text{‘I want’ } \text{ P114 6 (3)}
\]

(13) \( w\á ŋ-de-huli \)
\[
\text{NEG SAP-NEG-want} \\
\text{‘I don’t want’ } \text{ P110 7 (4)}
\]

1.2. Morphology/typology overview
In Santiam, the only morphological indication of core grammatical relations is person marking on the verb stem. Santiam verbal morphology operates on a nominative/accusative basis, where subjects are regularly marked as prefixes and direct and indirect objects as suffixes. In the case of the third person plural prefix, a participant of any grammatical relation (A, S, P or oblique) can be referenced. Nominals are not inflected for core case roles but they can be inflected with a generalized oblique morpheme which is used for all non-core roles. Valency-increasing operations are causative and applicative, whereas valency-decreasing operations are reflexive, reciprocal and passive. Morphologically, Santiam is primarily an agglutinative language, though a fair amount of fusion does occur in the verb stem. Eleven prefix and six suffix positions are proposed for the verb stem.

Santiam appears to have flexible word order, and it is not known what its basic word order type is, though SVO is a frequent pattern. The pragmatic conditions under which word order among constituents varies are beyond the scope of this work. Observations on word order tendencies in Kalapuya are given in Rude (1986).

1.2.1. Lexical categories
Nouns and verbs are distinguished both morphologically and syntactically as separate lexical categories in Santiam. Two nominalizing suffixes, -\( \text{fin} \) -\( \text{fa} \), have been identified. Nouns can appear with main clause verbal morphology, but in the restricted syntactic domain of nominal predication.

In (14), the possessed noun \( du \á waqip\á \), ‘his husband’, is inflected with verbal morphology, including tense, modality and the finite verb prefix.\(^3\)

\(^3\) This narrative is about a male transvestite who has a husband.
(14) \textit{guš} \textit{g-i-n-du} \textit{2-wa} \textit{qi} \textit{= wat}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
DIST & PST-REAL-FIN & \textit{3.Poss-spouse=HearSay} \\
\end{tabular}

‘that was his husband it is said’ P49 45 (4)

Other categories observed for Santiam are adjective, pronoun, adverb and particle. Appositional adjectives (as opposed to adjectival predication) are identified by the prefix \textit{u-} \textit{~ i-}. The similarity between this prefix and the realis verbal morpheme \textit{u-} \textit{~ i-} (short vowel) may indicate that, either, adjectives diachronically developed from verbs, or adjectives and verbs comprise a single synchronic lexical category. As shown in (15), predicate adjectives can be inflected with full verbal morphology in predicate modifying expressions.

(15) \textit{wa\textasciitilde ma} \textit{š-de-dalq}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
NEG & 2ND & SAP-NEG-Strong \\
\end{tabular}

‘you are not strong.’ P22 (2)

In contrast to predicate expressions, as in (15) above, adjectives marked with the prefix \textit{u-} \textit{~ i-} often function as appositional modifiers. In (16), the adjective ‘small’, marked with the adjective prefix, appears with the oblique case prefix \textit{du-}, which only occurs on noun phrases.$^4$

(16) \textit{lau} \textit{isde} \textit{d-e-ni-pi} \textit{a} \textit{e-q} \textit{aik} \textit{če-miyaŋk}
\begin{tabular}{lllllllllll}
then & HAB-IRR-FIN & 3.PL-put & ART-leaf & ADV-above \\
\end{tabular}

\textit{guš} \textit{du} \textit{2-wa} \textit{fat} \textit{du} \textit{wai}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
DIST & OBL-ADJ-small-COLL & ART-stick \\
\end{tabular}

‘and they would put leaves on top of the small sticks’ P32 23 (1)

Other examples of modifiers are (17) and (18).

(17) \textit{u-bumak} \textit{a-sayum}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
ADJ-female & ART-bear \\
‘female bear’ & P23 (2) \\
\end{tabular}

(18) \textit{d-e-di-\textasciitilde e-ni} \textit{i-sdu-fat} \textit{du} \textit{2-wai}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\end{tabular}

‘when she had little young ones’ P23 (2)

1.2.2. Nominals
This section provides lists of nominals with selected examples from the texts.

$^4$ The fact that it occurs on noun phrases and is not restricted to nouns alone likely indicates that this affix is really a clitic.
1.2.2.1. Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ST</td>
<td>čiʔ</td>
<td>sdω·</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND</td>
<td>maʰ</td>
<td>maʰi·</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD</td>
<td>gʷauʔk</td>
<td>gʷinik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Independent pronouns

The following are examples of independent pronouns.

(19) čiʔ d-e-di-bu·ts an-dωbi
1.SG HAB-IRR-SUB-full ART-moon
č-i-n-gamʔ-ad u-mad-fan guš amim
SAP-REAL-FIN-help-APPL ADJ-all-ADV DIST people
‘When I am full moon, I help all the people’ P138 4

(20) sdω· du-m-i-di-huli maʰ gi-wuʔq di-n-diʔ-niš-dumbui
‘When we want you to come we will tell you.’ P74 74

(21) ye· u-m-dalq heš maʰi· d-e-di-dub-manɛʷ-dai
who REAL-FIN-strong PROX 2.PL HAB-IRR-SUB-2.PL-wrestle-COLL-RECIP
‘Who is the stronger when you wrestle (with the grizzly’s children)?’ P116 2

(22) a-šni gʷauʔk g-ŋ-ɡeš-ni a²-waʔdak
ART-coyote 3.SG PST-REAL-FIN-make-3.OBJ ART-tree
‘Coyote himself prepared wood.’ P103 5 1

(23) waʔ d-e-n-ɛʷ-nag-at den-huʔpna gʷinik gi-ni-du-l-u
NEG HAB-IRR-FIN-NEG-say-APPL 1.SG.POSS-heart 3.PL INF-3PL-die-INTRAN
‘I do not say in my heart that they have died.’ P73 73 (2)

Indefinite pronouns
čuʰ ‘where’
nike ‘what’

(24) čuʔ maʰ č-u-man-či-yemp
where 2.SG SAP-REAL-FIN.CIS-ABL-come from
‘where did you come from?’ P131 2 (1)

---

5 Pronouns do not distinguish gender.
1.2.2.2. Demonstratives
Number is not distinguished for the following demonstratives. Variations in form may be transcriber-perceived differences.

Proximal Demonstrative \( h\varepsilon \sim h\varepsilon \sim h\varepsilon \)
Distal Demonstrative \( gu\varepsilon \sim gus \sim gu\varepsilon \)

1.2.2.3. Articles
The articles of Santiam are:
- \( tau\varepsilon\) ‘one’
- \( winh\varepsilon\) ‘some’
- \( aN\)– (homorganic nasal)

The function of the prefixed article \( aN\)– is not yet clear. It may be that it has lost any referential function and synchronically functions as a nominal prefix, indicating the lexical category of that root (i.e. noun). If this analysis is correct, the lost referential function may have been taken over by demonstratives. Rude (1986) discusses this article in terms of its occurrence/non-occurrence on noun stems.

1.2.2.4. Possessor prefixes
The following prefixes occur on nouns and reference the possessor of the noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ST</td>
<td>( da- \sim de- \sim daN- \sim deN- )</td>
<td>( du- \sim di- )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND</td>
<td>( bu- )</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD</td>
<td>( du- \sim di- \sim duN- \sim diN- )</td>
<td>( dini- )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Possessor prefixes

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6 This numeral may function as an equivalent to an indefinite article.
7 The second singular possessor prefix is mentioned in Berman (1990:49). The third singular possessor prefix is noted by Rude (1986) in his glossing.

First singular and third singular have variants with a final nasal segment which assimilates in point of articulation to a following consonant. It is unknown what the conditioning factor is for the choice of forms with or without a final nasal. Vowel fronting occurs for third singular when the nasal is realized as an alveolar, and occasionally when realized as a velar. The vowel of the first plural possessor prefix is also fronted before a palatal glide [y].

Examples of possessive prefixes are the following.

(26)  č-u-maʔ-yte-mi  deŋ-kw-ni  a²-luqu
SAP-REAL-FIN.CIS-call-3.OBJ  1.POSS-brother  ART-big black woodpecker
‘I will call my brother to come, big-black-woodpecker’ P98 2 (3)

(27)  de= man-di  gus  du-kʷa-fa
INDEF=FIN.CIS-be  DIST  1.PL.POSS-take-NOM
‘What is the trouble with those packs of ours?’ P108 7 (7)

(28)  waʔ  i-n-de-dalq  bu-hu-pna
NEG  REAL-FIN-NEG-strong  2ND.POSS-heart
‘Your heart is not strong’ P22 2 (2)

Example (29) appears to contain a possessive construction, in which the possessed noun ‘land’ is prefixed with the third singular possessor prefix. The possessor head noun, ‘bone’, is prefixed with the oblique prefix, indicating that the entire noun phrase is the goal of the motion verb.

(29)  lauʔ  čiʔ  yi-kun  č-u-mʔ-yeč-či
now 1ST maybe  SAP-REAL-FIN-almost-go

guš  du-weʔiʔ  din-uada  dumʔ-alaʔ
DIST  OBL-bone  3.SG.POSS-land  PURP-die
‘Now I myself am perhaps gone on to the land of the dead people to die’ P73 73

(30)  čiʔ  gi-diʔ-i-sduʔ  g-u-m-haʔdo-n
1SG  INF-SUB-ADJ-small  PST-REAL-FIN-see-3.OBJ

gus  gi-diʔ-ni-gʷagʷa-di  diniʔ-munʔdi
DIST  INF-SUB-3.PL-pull out-APPL  3.PL.POSS-facial hair
‘when I was small I saw them when they used to pull out their facial hair.’ P30 19

8 It is interesting to note the formal similarity between most of these prefixes and the oblique morpheme du-. This perhaps points to an earlier genitive or possessive type construction in the language.
1.2.2.5. Case marking

The only occurrence of case marking on noun phrases in Santiam is the generalized oblique prefix *du-*.

No other case forms have been observed. The oblique morpheme seems to function for all non-core case roles, including a locative meaning. This morpheme is regularly prefixed to noun stems and the first constituent of noun phrases (which may indicate that this affix is really a clitic), but also occurs as a prefix on verb stems in relative clauses, with a location being the relativized NP.

Example (31) shows the oblique prefix *du-* as it functions to code the semantic goal of the second clause.

(31) *lauʔ*ndε *d-e-ni-di-d* *tauʔ*ne *anʔ-uu*Ihi
then HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-give-3.IO one ART-man

*gi-ke*a gu *du-waʔ*na *a-mimʔ* *du-n-uwa*
INF-take DIST OBL-other ART-person 3.POSS-place
‘and they would give them to one man to take them there to the place of some other people’ P33 25

1.2.2.6. Spatial adverbial prefix

The morpheme *či-* appears to be a non-productive spatial adverbial prefix which occurs only on certain adverbial stems. It is possible that this prefix is lexically required to occur on those stems, since the roots involved have not been observed to occur independently of this morpheme. (32) and (33) are examples of this prefix.

(32) *g-i-n-t*⁷-wuʔk guš *či-lε*
PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-arrive DIST ADV-near

guš *a-fbiʔ* gi-du-ču-min-u-fid
DIST ART-gopher INF-RELLOC-ABL-come out-INTRAN-COLL
‘He got close to where the gopher came out.’ P115 3

(33) guš *aʔ-waiʔ*wa *či-ma* g-u-m-ʔ*-did
DIST ART-woman ADV-ahead PST-REAL-FIN-go-DURLOC
‘The woman went on ahead’ P104 2 (1)

1.2.2.7. Locative nominalizer

The prefix *čam-* functions as a locative nominalizer, creating a proper name for a location. This prefix has only been observed to function in this capacity.

---

9 This is noted by Rude (1986) in his glossing as a locative.
10 Also, it is interesting to note that the first clause contains a recipient, but it is not marked with the oblique prefix, probably due to the third person indirect object marking on the verb.
11 The analysis of this morpheme as a locative nominalizer was suggested to me by Marianne Mithun (p.c.), who also mentioned that Iroquoian languages have similar affixes for deriving names for places.
The Verbal Morphology of Santiam Kalapuya

1.2.3. Verb morphology

The following provides a list of prefixes and suffixes occurring on verbs. The position class of each morpheme is indicated. Eleven prefix positions and six suffix positions are proposed. Certain frozen complexes of prefixes occur with specific grammatical functions. Also, several suffix complexes have been observed, though their component morphemic structure is less clear. Additionally, there does not appear to be any sub-classification of positions, i.e. morphemes of a given position are mutually exclusive and cannot co-occur. In general, a verb stem will usually contain from two to five prefixes and one to three suffixes. Clitics will also be listed, though these are not strictly verbal, since their placement is dependent on constituent position, semantic relationship or, as seems likely in some cases, discourse pragmatic considerations.

In addition to the 11 prefix positions mentioned above, a construction which creates compound stems has been observed. In this construction, the verb ‘to be’ along with certain specific prefixes creates a structure similar to a prefix complex. This whole group of prefixes plus root can then be prefixed onto another restricted set of prefixes plus a root, yielding a compound stem. It is presently not clear what the grammatical or pragmatic function of this construction is, and it is indicated here only for formal identification. This construction is presumably not productive synchronically since the first part of the compound stem occurs only with the verb ‘to be’. This construction almost always appears with the enclitic =yu ‘again, also’, though it occasionally occurs without the enclitic. Examples of this particular construction will be given in section 1.2.3.4.

1.2.3.1. List of prefixes

In the following list of prefixes, variations in form are indicated. Suggested reasons for variation in specific prefixes are given in parentheses. If the variation is judged to be due to allomorphy, the phonological process is stated in parentheses. Variations judged to be transcriptional issues are stated as such.
### Table 3. Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITION</th>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$g$-</td>
<td>Past Tense Realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
<td>3rd Subject Non-Past Realis (not indicated in glossing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\check{}$ - $\check{~}{}$</td>
<td>Speech Act Participant Subject Non-Past Realis (Affricate Weakening)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$du$ - $di$-</td>
<td>1st Subject Irrealis (Vowel Fronting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$n$-</td>
<td>2nd Subject Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$g$-</td>
<td>3rd Subject Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$d$-</td>
<td>Narrative/Habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$gi$-</td>
<td>Infinitive Marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>$u$ - $i$-</td>
<td>Realis (Vowel Fronting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$a$ - $\varepsilon$-</td>
<td>Irrealis (Transcription)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>$a$-</td>
<td>Assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>$du$ - $d\varepsilon$-</td>
<td>Relative Locative (Transcription?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>$m$ - $n$-</td>
<td>Finite Verb Marker (Nasal Assimilation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>$d\varepsilon$ - $da$-</td>
<td>Negative (Transcription)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>$di$-</td>
<td>Subordinate Realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$i$-</td>
<td>Subordinate Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>$t$ - $d$ - $di$-</td>
<td>Translocative (Metrical?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$de$-</td>
<td>Emphatic Translocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>$du$ - $di$-</td>
<td>1st PL Subject (Vowel Fronting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$dup$ - $dip$-</td>
<td>2nd PL Subject (Transcription?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$ni$-</td>
<td>3rd PL Subject/Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>$ma$-</td>
<td>Cislocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$h\varepsilon$ - $ha$-</td>
<td>Proximal Deictic/Static Locative (Transcription)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>$\check{}{}$ - $\check{}{}\varepsilon$ - $\check{}{}u$-</td>
<td>Ablative (Transcription?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.2.3.2. Prefix complexes

There exist several groups of prefixes which occur with specific grammatical functions. They are considered complexes or frozen groups of prefixes since these groups always contain the same prefixes in the same order.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{de-} \\
\text{d-}\varepsilon \\
\text{HAB-IRR} \\
\text{‘Narrative/Habitual’}
\end{align*}
\]
1.2.3.3. Prefix ordering

The following shows in linear order the prefix position classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>ě/š</td>
<td>u/i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>m/n</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>di/i</td>
<td>t/d/i/de</td>
<td>du/di/dup</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du/di</td>
<td>a/ε</td>
<td>du</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Prefix Position Classes

The following examples demonstrate the above position classes.

---

12 The complementizer/purposive complex may have developed from an original relative clause structure, since [du-] elsewhere references relativized locations in relative clauses. This would have grammaticalized along the lines of; relativized location > purposive > complementizer. An alternative analysis involving the first person irrealis prefix is given in section 2.12.

Examples of all position 1 and 2 prefixes.

(35) 1 2
\[ g-u-m-\mathfrak{γ} \]
\text{PST-REAL-FIN-go}
‘he went’ P137 3 (1)

(36) 1 2
\[ \check{g}-u-m-\mathfrak{γ} \]
\text{SAP-REAL-FIN-go}
‘I am going’ P135 1 (1)

(37) 1
\[ du-m-\mathfrak{γ} \]
\text{1.IRR-FIN-go}
‘I will go’ P128 2 (3)

(38) 1 2
\[ n-a-m-i-t-\check{q}up \]
\text{2.IRR-IRR-FIN-SUB-TLOC-cut}
‘If you cut’ P136 2 (2)

(39) 1 2
\[ g-a-m-i-ni-ma-\mathfrak{γ}i-f\check{d} \]
\text{3.IRR-IRR-FIN-SUB-3.PL-CIS-go-COLL}
‘If they should return’ P137 3 (3)

(40) 1 2
\[ d-\check{e}-m\mathfrak{γ}-nak \]
\text{HAB-IRR-FIN-say}
‘(The rabbit) said’ P136 2 (1)

(41) 1
\[ g\check{i}-di-\mathfrak{γ} \]
\text{INF-SUB-go}
‘(So then) he went along’ P141 2 (2)

The next section demonstrates positions 3 through 11, with relevant prefix positions indicated.
Positions 1 through 5

(42) 1 2 3 4  
\text{g-w-a-du-hen-tecdur}  
PST-REAL-ASRT-RELLOC-PROX-sit  
‘where I was (sitting)’ P140 1 (3)

(43) 1 2 3 5  
\text{g-w-a-n-tecdur}  
PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN-sit  
‘I was’ P140 1 (3)

(44) 4 5  
\text{du-m-i-hordu}  
RELLOC-FIN-SUB-see  
‘(I will go) to see’ (Purposive)

Positions 5 through 7

(45) 5 6  
\text{wa i-n-de-dalq}  
NEG REAL-FIN-NEG-strong  
‘(your heart) is not strong’ p2 2 (2)

(46) 6 7  
\text{wa\textsuperscript{2}, lau\textsuperscript{2}, gi-de-di-ni-da\textsuperscript{2}c}  
NEG now INF-NEG-SUB-3.PL-find  
‘they could not find him’ p52 50 (3)

Positions 7 through 9

(47) 7 8  
\text{du-m-i-de-\textsuperscript{2}wuk}  
1.IRR-FIN-SUB-EMPH.TLOC-arrive  
‘when I reach there’ P142 2 (6)

(48) 8 9  
\text{g-i-n-di-ni-hek}  
PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-3.PL-go away  
‘they went along’ P108 5 (10)
1.2.3.4. Compound stems
As mentioned above, a specific construction involving compound stems has been observed. This first part of this construction takes the verb di ‘to be’ as its root, and occurs in the forms gumandi, gamandi, čumandi, and demandi. These forms are comprised of the following:

\[ g-u-man-di \]
\[ /g-u-m-man-di/ \]
\[ PST-REAL-FIN-CIS-be \]

\[ g-a-man-di \]
\[ /g-a-m-man-di/ \]
\[ 3.IRR-IRR-FIN-CIS-be \]

\[ č-u-man-di \]
\[ /č-u-m-man-di/ \]
\[ SAP-REAL-FIN-CIS-be \]

\[ d-ε-man-di \]
\[ /d-ε-m-man-di/ \]
\[ HAB-IRR-FIN-CIS-be \]

The form gumandi can occur with additional optional affixes, and presumably the other forms can occur with similar affixes as well, though this has not been observed. In the texts, the only observed affixes after gumandi are the third plural prefix and either the cislocative or translocative, as shown below. In the majority of instances these stems co-occur with the enclitic =yu ‘again’ ‘also’, which appears either on the verb stem itself, or elsewhere in the clause. It is unclear what the synchronic grammatical and/or pragmatic function of this construction is, and is mentioned here solely for the purpose of formal identification in the texts. The following diagrams illustrate this compound structure. The ‘+’ sign indicates a stem boundary and parenthesis indicate optional elements.
The following are examples of these compound stems.\(\text{13}\)

\[\text{g-u-man-di} + (3\text{PL} - \text{Cisloc/Transloc}) + \text{root}\]

PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-be

\[\text{g-a-man-di} + \text{root}\]

3IRR-IRR-FIN.CIS-be

\[\text{d-e-man-di} + \text{root}\]

HAB-IRR-FIN.CIS-be

In examples (55) and (56), the adverbial meanings of ‘again’ and ‘also’ are associated with each clause, though the enclitic =\text{yu} does not appear in the clause, apparently indicating that the compound stem has taken on this function in this instance.

\[\text{g-u-man-di+ma-min-w}\]

PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-be + CIS-come out-INTRAN

‘again (one Grizzly) appeared’ P120 2 (2)

\[\text{d-e-man-di+hu?k=yu}\]

NARR-IRR-FIN.CIS-be + eat=again

‘she ate it also’ P117 6 (3)

\[\text{taun?n=yu?} \text{g-u-man-di+wai}\]

one=also PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-be + lie down

‘One more went to bed’ P120 3

\[\text{d-e· g-a-man-di+hu?yu}\]

INDEF 3.IRR-IRR-FIN.CIS-be + be-INCH

‘What was the matter with him…’ P108 5 (6)

\[\text{g-u-man-di+ni-ma+i?=yu?}\]

\[\text{dini-yu?wel}\]

PST-REAL-FIN-\text{CIS} + \text{3.PL-CIS + go=again} \text{3.PL.POSS-follow}

‘They went away hunting again’ P122 6

\[\text{g-u-man-di+ma+in?u}\]

PST-REAL-FIN.-CIS-be + CIS-go\text{out INTRAN}

‘again (one Grizzly) appeared’ P120 2 (2)

\[\text{taun?n=yu?} \text{g-u-man-di+wai}\]

one=also PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-be + lie down

‘One more went to bed’ P120 3

\[\text{d-e· g-a-man-di+hu?yu}\]

INDEF 3.IRR-IRR-FIN.CIS-be + be-INCH

‘What was the matter with him…’ P108 5 (6)

\[\text{g-u-man-di+ma-min-w}\]

PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-be + CIS-come out INTRAN

‘again (one Grizzly) appeared’ P120 2 (2)

\[\text{g-u-man-di+ni-ma+i?=yu?}\]

\[\text{dini-yu?wel}\]

PST-REAL-FIN-\text{CIS} + \text{3.PL-CIS + go=again} \text{3.PL.POSS-follow}

‘They went away hunting again’ P122 6

\[\text{g-u-man-di+ma+in?u}\]

PST-REAL-FIN.-CIS-be + CIS-go\text{out INTRAN}

‘again (one Grizzly) appeared’ P120 2 (2)

\[\text{taun?n=yu?} \text{g-u-man-di+wai}\]

one=also PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-be + lie down

‘One more went to bed’ P120 3

\[\text{d-e· g-a-man-di+hu?yu}\]

INDEF 3.IRR-IRR-FIN.CIS-be + be-INCH

‘What was the matter with him…’ P108 5 (6)

\[\text{g-u-man-di+ma-min-w}\]

PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-be + CIS-come out INTRAN

‘again (one Grizzly) appeared’ P120 2 (2)

\[\text{taun?n=yu?} \text{g-u-man-di+wai}\]

one=also PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-be + lie down

‘One more went to bed’ P120 3

\[\text{d-e· g-a-man-di+hu?yu}\]

INDEF 3.IRR-IRR-FIN.CIS-be + be-INCH

‘What was the matter with him…’ P108 5 (6)

\[\text{g-u-man-di+ma-min-w}\]

PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-be + CIS-come out INTRAN

‘again (one Grizzly) appeared’ P120 2 (2)
(56) maⁿ nεfu? c-û-man-di+huli hes a-mu·ki?  
2ND like SAP-REAL-FIN.CIS-be + want PROX ART-deer  
‘So it seems you (also) want this meat’. P118 6 (4)

Examples (57) and (58) show the root ti ~ di ‘to be’ in predicing clauses.

(57) dinʔe·wi am-bgeʔ g-a-m-ti ma·fan ću  
always ART-water 3.IRR-IRR-FIN-be all-ADV where  
‘There will be water everywhere for all time’ P136 1 (3)

(58) dę· =man-di gus du·kʷa·fa  
INDEF=FIN.CIS-be DIST 1.PL.POSS-take-NOM  
‘What is the trouble with those packs of ours?’ P108 7 (7)

1.2.3.5. List of suffixes
The following is a list of identified verb suffixes and their positions. Suffixes of unknown positions are also listed. In most cases, if the position of a suffix is not known, this is because it has not been observed to occur with other suffixes, perhaps indicating that there are restrictions on the co-occurrence of certain suffixes. Suffixes and their functions are discussed in Section 3.
Table 5. Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITION</th>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-fin</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-fa</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ω ~ -u</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-fiu</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-fi’d ~ -hi’d ~ -fid ~</td>
<td>Collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-fit ~ -fat ~ -wit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-nen ~ -na</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-di ~ -ad</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-ni ~ -na ~ -n ~ -i</td>
<td>3rd Direct Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-fa</td>
<td>1sg Direct Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-fuba ~ -fub</td>
<td>2sg Direct Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-fω</td>
<td>1pl Direct Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-fi</td>
<td>2pl Direct Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>Durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-did</td>
<td>Durative-Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-če ~ -či</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-yu ~ -yoω</td>
<td>Inchoative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-q ~ -k</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-da ~ -dai</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-dint ~ -dind</td>
<td>Distributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>3rd Indirect Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>intran suffix -f’id -da</td>
<td>Intransitive - Collective - Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tran/intran suffixes -yu ~ -q</td>
<td>Transitivity - Inchoative - Passive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.3.6. Suffix complexes
As with prefixes, a number of suffix complexes have been identified. Some of these complexes are fairly transparent regarding their components. Other complexes appear to be polymorphemic, though their constituent parts have not been identified. Examples of all complexes will be given in Section 3.

-yuq
-yu-q
INCH-PASS
‘Passive’ (-yu may lose its inchoative function in this complex)

The following two complexes seem to be composed of suffixes already mentioned, though they both contain an unknown final [-f]. It is not known what the nature of this
final segment is. In the case of the ‘2nd Indirect Object-3rd Direct Object’ a suggested morphophonemic derivation is given. As will be shown in 3.13.1, other morphophonemic derivations occur involving the applicative -di and direct object suffixes.

-dinifai
-di-ni-fa-i
APPL-3.OBJ-1.SG.IO-?
‘1st Indirect Object-3rd Direct Object’

-dumbui
/-di-ni-fubu-i/ → /-di-m-bu-i/ → [-du-m-bu-i]
APPL-3.OBJ-2.SG.IO-?
‘2nd Indirect Object-3rd Direct Object’

Indirect Object-Direct Object complexes involving other person combinations have not been observed in the Santiam material.

The following suffixes are possibly polymorphemic (at least diachronically), though it is unclear what the constituent morphemes are.

-đed
‘1ST SG Indirect Object’

-dub
‘2ND SG Indirect Object’

1.2.3.7. Suffix ordering
The following displays in linear order the above suffixes with known positions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fu</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>fa</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o/u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Suffix ordering

The following are examples of the ordering of suffixes with positions indicated.
1.2.4. List of clitics

The following is a list of proposed clitics. It is doubtful that all instances of hyphenation as used by Jacobs actually represent cliticization. However, some of the more likely candidates are listed here. Example numbers which contain instances of these clitics are also given.

(59)  
\[ d-e-ni-cagal^2-{\text{wa}}-na \]
HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-dry-TRAN-CAUSE
‘They dried (eels)’ P 20 4 (2)

(60)  
\[ d-i-ni-su^3-{\text{n}}en-di-ni \]
SUB-3.PL-good-CAUSE-APPL-3.OBJ
‘The thing that they fixed (their fire) with’ P 17 1 (4)

(61)  
\[ g\text{-}dur\text{-}ču\text{-}min\text{-}u\text{-}fid \]
INF-RELOC-ABL-come out-INTRAN-COLL
‘(to where the gopher) came out.’ P 115 3

(62)  
\[ ě\text{-}i\text{-}n\text{-}dur\text{-}lak^3\text{-}lε\text{-}d-i \]
/SAP-REAL-FIN.1.PL-play-COLL-APPL-3.OBJ
‘with which we are playing shinny’ P101 3 (2)

(63)  
\[ g\text{-}ni\text{-}gau\text{-}fu^3\text{-}lad\text{-}i? \]
/PST-REAL-FIN.3.PL-to fish-TRAN-APPL-3.OBJ
‘They fished (trout) with it’ P 18 3

(64)  
\[ g-a-ni^3\text{-}ni\text{-}šti\text{-}ni\text{-}fa\text{-}i \]
3.IRR-IRR.3.PL-SAY-APPL-3.OBJ-1.SG.OBJ-?
‘(I’m waiting for) them to tell me’ 74 74 (1)

(65)  
\[ u\text{-}m\text{-}yu^2{\text{wi}}\text{-}lec^b\text{a}\text{-}n \]
/REAL-FIN-talk-APPL-3.OBJ-1.SG.OBJ-DUR
‘(wonder who) is talking about me.’ P78 84

1.2.4. List of clitics

The following is a list of proposed clitics. It is doubtful that all instances of hyphenation as used by Jacobs actually represent cliticization. However, some of the more likely candidates are listed here. Example numbers which contain instances of these clitics are also given.
$\textit{dε} =$ Indefinite Adverbial ‘how’, ‘what’, ‘how if’ (example 100)
This morpheme occurs as a proclitic to the first constituent of a clause.\textsuperscript{14}

=\textit{nak} Modal ‘wonder’ (example 242)
This morpheme occurs as an enclitic on the first constituent of a clause.

The following clitics can appear on a variety of constituents, though they always appear as enclitics.

=\textit{wat} Hearsay (example 14)
=\textit{yu} ‘again’ ‘also’ (example 54)
=\textit{wi} Emphatic (example 164) (-\textit{yu}, -\textit{wi} appear in this order relative to each other)
=\textit{ye} Interrogative (example 90)
=\textit{te} ~ \textit{tu} Contrastive (examples 138, 190) (also occurs as a free standing particle)

\section*{2. Prefixal morphology}
This section will examine in depth the morphology of prefixes on the verb stem. As shown in the last section, eleven prefix positions are proposed for Santiam. Morphemes are by and large concatenated in an agglutinative fashion, though certain morphemes combine multiple functions, as, for instance, subject prefixes, which combine tense, modality, and person. This points to a certain degree of functional and semantic fusion, though the overall morphological structure is primarily agglutinating and morpheme boundaries are usually identifiable. Frozen sequences of morphemes with specific functions also occur. These morpheme complexes are likely to have resulted from grammaticalization processes. Morphemes will be discussed in order of their functional and syntactic domains as opposed to strict linear occurrence on the verb stem. The order of presentation is as follows:

Section 2.1 Finite verb marker

Section 2.2–2.9 Tense/aspect/modality and person marking

Section 2.10–2.12 Complex clauses

Section 2.13 Spatial affixes.

\subsection*{2.1. Finite verb marker}
Position 5 contains the morpheme /m-/ [m- ~ n-], which is termed the ‘finite verb marker’. The exact semantic and functional nature of this morpheme is somewhat elusive, but I propose that it is an indicator of a finite verb stem. Its status as a finite verb marker

\textsuperscript{14} $\textit{dε}$ is noted by Rude (1986) in his glossing as ‘imperative’. Though it does frequently appear in imperative clauses, its function is not specifically limited to coding a clause as imperative, since it has been observed to occur as an indefinite adverbial marker in non-imperative clauses as well.

may be inferred from contexts in which it does and does not occur. It commonly occurs
in main clauses with an overt expression of temporal deixis, either by means of the past
prefix g- or realis, non-past subject markers. It also occurs with irrealis subject markers in
both main and subordinate irrealis constructions. Although irrealis clauses themselves do
not strictly indicate tense, there is often a future temporal reading associated with the
irrealis mode. It also occurs with the narrative/habitual complex de- in main clauses.

Syntactic situations in which the finite marker does not occur are areas which tend
to be non-finite or less finite cross linguistically. Subordinate clauses with the
subordinator di- do not occur with m- (though irrealis subordinate clauses with the
subordinator realized as i- do take the finite prefix). In general, the finite marker m- does
not occur with the negative prefix de-, with the exception of third person
adjectival/nominal predication. It also does not occur in dependent clauses marked with
the infinitive prefix gi- (these clauses can function as complements, relative clauses, and
adverbial clauses). In all of these environments the lack of tense distinctions indicates
that non-finiteness is at least part of the meaning of the prefix gi-.

Example (66) illustrates the occurrence of this prefix in main clauses. This
example contains the first four clauses of a narrative.

(66) a-sni  g-u-m- ?i-did
    ART-coyote  PST-REAL-FIN-go-DIR

  i-sdu  a-mu-ki?  g-u-m- ?ala?
  ADJ-little  ART-deer  PST-REAL-FIN-die

  lau?mdex  a-śni  g-u-m-da?c
  then  ART-coyote  PST-REAL-FIN-find

  lau?mdex  g-u-m-huk  ma?dfan
  then  PST-REAL-FIN-eat  all
  ‘Coyote was going along. A small deer had died, and coyote found it, and then he
  ate it all.’  P135 1

In the following stretch of discourse, the affirmative clause is marked with /m-/
(m → n / _d), whereas the negative clauses and the locative relative clause are not.
(67) \(\text{lau}^\text{?}\text{n}^\text{d}^\text{e} \text{ wa}^\text{?} \text{ lau}^\text{?} \text{ sdo}^\text{o} \text{ gi-de-du-da}^\text{c}\)
then \(\text{NEG} \text{ now} \text{ 1.PL} \text{ INF-NEG-1.PL-find}\)

\(\text{g-i-n-di-}\text{\'u-d}^\text{i}\)
\(\text{gu}^\text{š} \text{ du-pgi}^\text{?}\)
PST-REAL-FIN-1.PL-search-APPL DIST OBL-water

\(\text{wa}^\text{?} \text{ gi-de-di-yuku-n} \text{ \(\check{\text{c}}\u\text{u} \text{ gi-du-du-da}^\text{c}\)}\)
NEG INF-NEG-1.PL-know-3.OBJ where INF-RELLOC-1.PL-find
‘Now then we were unable to find him. We sought him there in the water. We did not know where to find him’ P52 50 (2)

In (68), both clauses are negated and neither takes the \(m\)-prefix. The first clause is coded as non-past by means of the SAP prefix, so it does retain some sense of time reference inherent in that prefix. The second clause is a counterfactual clause marked with the infinitive prefix \(gi\)- and has no specific time reference.

(68) \(\text{wa}^\text{?} \text{ ma}^h \text{ \(\acute{s}\text{-de-dalq}\)}\)
NEG 2.SG SAP-NEG-strong

\(\text{wa}^\text{?} \text{ lau}^\text{?} \text{ ma}^h \text{ gi-de-t-g}^\text{in} \text{ a?-wadak}\)
NEG now 2.SG INF-NEG-TLOC-take ART-tree
‘You are not strong. You could not wield a pole’ P22 2

Example (69) shows a subordinated clause without \(m\)- and a main clause in which it does occur.

(69) \(\text{lau}^\text{?}\text{n}^\text{d}^\text{e} \text{ gi-di-\(\acute{n}\)-yi}^\text{-}\)
then INF-SUB-3.PL-go

\(\text{lau}^\text{?}\text{n}^\text{d}^\text{e} \text{ a-\(\acute{s}\text{ayum} \text{ g-u-}\text{m}^\text{-}\text{tab-ad-i} \text{ du-fa}\)}\)
then ART-grizzly PST-REAL-FIN-step-APPL-3.OBJ 3.POSS-foot
‘Then when they went back, now grizzly stepped on his (sapsuckers’s) foot’ P125 8 (5)

Examples (70) and (71) show this morpheme as it occurs with 3rd person positive and negative predication. Negated third person predication is the only environment in which negated clauses have been observed to occur with the finite prefix.

(70) \(\text{he\(\acute{s}\)} \text{ lau}^\text{?} \text{ u-m-bu-tqu}^\text{?}\)
PROX now REAL-FIN-2.POSS-tail
‘here now is your tail’ P109 (5)
This final example shows that an indirect quote with the illocutionary value of an imperative does not take the $m$-prefix.

The above examples indicate that this prefix tends to appear in main clauses with temporal deixis marking, whereas it does not occur in clause types which tend to be non-finite cross-linguistically, such as negated, dependent, and certain types of imperative clauses.

2.2. Realis and irrealis thematic prefixes

The two morphemes of position 2, $u$- realis and $a$- irrealis, are epistemic in nature. I use the term ‘thematic’ to indicate that these prefixes define the modality of the clause in which they appear. In general, realis marking in Santiam reflects a high degree of certainty of the actuality of the event from the point of view of the speaker, whereas irrealis clauses indicate less certainty.

The realis thematic prefix co-occurs with a specific set of prefixes, namely $ɛ$- SAP subject, $∅$- 3rd subject, and $g$- past tense. These prefixes only occur with the realis thematic prefix. Also, the past tense, realis, and assertive prefixes combine to form the prefix complex $g ɛ-a$, which codes past realis assertive, as discussed in section 2.9 below.

Irrealis subject prefixes co-occur with the irrealis thematic prefix. An exception to this is the first person irrealis subject prefix $du$-, which, idiosyncratically, does not take a theme prefix. Also, the narrative/habitual prefix $d$- always co-occurs with the irrealis thematic prefix, yielding the narrative/habitual prefix complex $dɛ$. The epistemic value of the narrative/habitual morpheme is transparently irrealis. This morpheme complex is often used to narrate past events of a mythic nature, thereby indicating a certain degree of removal from reality. When used to code habitual events, the narrative/habitual does not indicate a specific occurrence of an event, rather the concept of the event occurring in general or repeatedly over a period of time. This lowered specificity of occurrence can also be seen as being removed from reality to a degree and is appropriately marked as irrealis.

Semantically, realis clauses have a high degree of certainty from the point of view of the speaker and in Santiam these clauses code states or events which definitely happened in the past, are currently occurring or are immediately expected in the future. Irrealis clauses in Santiam code events/states whose actual existence from the point of view of the speaker is generally uncertain. They are commonly used in counterfactual and conditional clauses as well as clauses which indicate a low degree of probability. Irrealis clauses are also used to denote future events, but with perhaps less certainty as to their
eventual occurrence and in some instances they seem to code future events with less direct relevance/connection to the speech act than realis clauses. Irrealis future clauses may also represent a more distant projection into the future, whereas realis future clauses seem to indicate an imminent event/state. It seems that the intersection of an epistemic modal value with the temporal placement of events/states helps to create a past/non-past perspective of time in Santiam.

Interrogative clauses have been observed to appear with the irrealis thematic prefix, as in (103), though there are also many examples of interrogatives which are coded as realis, as in (90) for instance. It is not at present clear what the conditioning factors are for the variation in modality marking of interrogative clauses in Santiam.

Another interesting aspect of realis/irrealis coding in Santiam is that negated stative clauses with a third person subject are marked with the realis thematic prefix, as in examples (73) and (116) below. Cross-linguistically, negated clauses often occur in irrealis mode, indicating that this is a somewhat idiosyncratic area of realis and irrealis coding in Santiam. However, it is the case that negated narrative/habitual clauses (118) and negated irrealis clauses (114) appear with the irrealis thematic prefix. (Other types of negated clauses do not take thematic prefixes and appear with either the infinitive prefix gi- (111), or the SAP prefix (113)).

The following is a list of morphological environments in which the realis u- and irrealis a- prefixes occur, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAP Subject Non-Past  è-u-</td>
<td>2nd Subject Irrealis n-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Subject Non-past  Ø-u-</td>
<td>3rd Subject Irrealis g-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past g-u-</td>
<td>Narrative/Habitual d-ε-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Assertive g- u-a- (u → &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples illustrate the realis/irrealis distinction of these two thematic morphemes. In (73), the first clause is realis as it pertains to a definite fact, though it is negated. The second clause is irrealis since it pertains to an unrealized potential event.

(73) wa·? u-wog-ud yi·kun g-a-m-?ala'?
NEG REAL-arrive- APPL maybe 3.IRR-IRR-FIN-die
‘He has not gotten back. Maybe he will die’ P51 49 (1)

The next example is also an unrealized hypothetical event.

(74) laga an-te: g-a-m-yi?q a-mim
maybe ART-rattlesnake 3.IRR-IRR-FIN-bite ART-person
‘Perhaps a rattlesnake might bite a person’ P51 48

In (75), both clauses are realis since they refer to definite events which occurred.

---

15 1st Subject Irrealis does not occur with a theme prefix.
(75) *g-um-yelt?šwa* lau?mde *g-i-n-t-hi·č* *du-pgi?*

PST-REAL-FIN-slip then PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-FALL OBL-water

‘He slipped on it, and then he fell into the water.’ P52 50 (1)

(76a and b) are examples of the first person irrealis subject prefix which idiosyncratically does not take a theme prefix. In 76b, the back vowel of the first person irrealis prefix is fronted before the alveolar nasal, as described in section 1.1.2.2.

(76a) *maiču* *du-m-?i* *dumi-hārdu*

morning 1.IRR-FIN-go PURP-see

‘I will go tomorrow to see’ P128 2 (3)

(76b) *dis* *di-n-di?ya-ce* *du-yel?wa*

soon 1.IRR-FIN-1.PL-stand-REFL 1.PL.POSS-dance

‘we will stand up to our dance (we will dance).’ P113 9 (5)

In the next example, a conditional irrealis subordinate clause is juxtaposed to an irrealis main clause, indicating a hypothetical future response to a condition.

(77) *g-a-m-i-ni?-ala?* *din?εwi* *g-a-ni?-ala?*


‘If they die, they will die for all time’ P137 3 (2)

2.3. Past tense realis

Past tense is signaled by the prefix *g-* of position 1. Examples (78)–(80) show that this morpheme does not indicate the subject of the clause in contrast with other realis morphemes which are fused with subject marking.

(78) *lau?mde* *wi-nεc=wi* *g-i-n-di-kεrd* a-šni

then indeed=EMPH PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-drink ART-coyote

‘Then indeed coyote drank’ P135 1 (3)

(79) *ču* *ma*h *g-a-man-šεdu*

where 2.SG PST-ASRT-FIN.CIS-sit

‘Where were you seated?’ P140 (3)

(80) *winhε wa? ś-de-yuku-n* *lau? g-u-m-haidub-dí*

some NEG SAP-NEG-know-3.OBJ now PST-REAL-FIN-forget-APPL

‘Some of it I do not know now, I have forgotten it’ P142 (4)

In textual narrative it can be difficult to distinguish between past tense and perfective, since perfectives are most likely to occur in past narratives and non-perfectives in present
narrative. The next examples show that this morpheme occurs in clauses with both
punctual (81) and durative aspect (82), indicating that this morpheme is coding the tense
of these clauses.

(81) wi·naš=wi' guš am-bun g-i-n-ũdip
indeed=EMPH DIST ART-rabbit PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-jump
‘Sure enough the rabbit jumped’ P137 2 (3)

(82) laumd̄e guš ali:fa g-u-m-ţi-did du-bge?
then DIST log PST-REAL-FIN-stay-DURLOC OBL-water
‘Now a log was there in the water’ P107 5 (4)

The past tense prefix can also apparently be used as a potential marker. In (83), the tense
is clearly not past, rather the past prefix is coding a potential action (glossed as ‘POT’). It
is interesting to note that the realis prefix is used here, indicating that potentials are
categorized as realis modality in Santiam.

(83) wa? lau? maŋ g-de-d-gı̂n-faʔ.
NEG now 2ND INF-NEG-TLOC-get-1.OBJ

gus g-i-n-Ďeŋ-ɡan=wi
DIST POT-REAL-FIN-EMPHTLOC-go by=EMPH

ɡ-i-ŋ-t-ũq ɡuš an-tk īlilek du-mučel
POT-REAL-FIN-TLOC-cut DIST ART-blackberry 3.POSS-rope
‘You could never catch me! I can go right along there. I will cut the blackberry
rope.’ P136 2 (2) – P137

A possible origin of this prefix may be that it is historically related to the distal
demonstrative guš. Since in the irrealis series, a morpheme homophonous with the past
tense prefix codes third person, it can be conjectured that the past tense prefix originally
coded third person as well, and that both the past tense and irrealis prefixes ultimately
derived from the distal demonstrative.

2.4. Narative/habitual irrealis
A narrative/habitual function is coded by means of the prefix complex dɛ-, composed of
the narrative/habitual d- of position 1, and the irrealis thematic prefix a- of position 2.
Though the narrative/habitual prefix always co-occurs with the irrealis theme prefix, it
seems best to consider them as constituting a bi-morphemic complex, since the function
is in the domain of irrealis and the irrealis theme prefix occurs independently of this
complex. This complex is termed narrative/habitual since it appears to function in two
distinct but semantically related domains. It is used in narrative structures where a
sequence of mythological events is narrated, indicating that the events described are not
necessarily real or directly observed. As a habitual marker, it codes the prototypical or

habitual occurrence of an event as opposed to a specific event. It seems that the grammar of Santiam codes the non-specificity of events in the same way as unreal/mythological events, i.e. as irrealis. Main clauses with the narrative/habitual complex are also marked with the finite prefix \( m_\cdot \), indicating their finite nature. The habitual function of this prefix is exemplified in (84) and (85).

(84) \( \check{c}_i \, \text{d-} \, \text{di-bu·ts} \, \text{an-dōr} \, \text{bi} \)
1ST HAB-IRR-SUB-full ART-moon
\( \check{c}_i \, \text{n} \, \text{-gam} \, \text{-ad} \, \text{u-mad-fan} \, \text{guš=amim} \)
SAP-REAL-FIN-help-APPL ADJ-all-ADV DIST=people
‘When I am full moon, I help all the people’ P138 4

(85) \( \text{mad-fan} \, \text{d-} \, \text{nį-u·di} \, \text{dini-kə-nė-fin} \)
all-ADV HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-seek-APPL 3.PL.POSS-eat-NOM
\( \text{d-} \, \text{di} \, \text{-ya·d-u} \, \text{am-pyan} \)
HAB-IRR-SUB-stand-INTRAN ART-sun
‘They all go to look for food when the sun is standing’ P139 2nd line

(86) and (87) illustrate the narrative function of this morpheme.

(86) \( \text{lau} \, \text{ŋde} \, \text{įš} \, \text{d-} \, \text{mičis} \)
them sapsucker NARR-IRR-FIN.run
\( \text{gus} \, \text{a-sayum} \, \text{de-hem-} \, \text{pē-did} \)
DIST ART-grizzly RELLOC-PROX-lie-DURLOC
\( \text{lau} \, \text{ŋde} \, \text{d-} \, \text{n-t} \, \text{̣-wuk} \, \text{d-} \, \text{m-nak} \)
them NARR-IRR-FIN-TLOC-arrive NARR-IRR-FIN-say
\( \text{heš} \, \text{uwa·čę́t} \, \text{c̣i} \, \text{g-} \, \text{a-man-} \, \text{iwa} \, \text{ni} \)
PROX hole 1ST PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN.CIS-hit-3.OBJ
‘And sapsucker ran to where grizzly was lying, and he got to it, he said, ‘Here is the hole where I hit him’’ P123 7 (3)
(87)  
gus  am-bun  d-e-di-ma-?i  
guš  du-din-gauni?
DIST  ART-rabbit  NARR-IRR-SUB-CIS-go  DIST  OBL-3.Poss-trail

lau?mde  guš  d-e-m-hor du  
an-ìär da
then  DIST  NARR-IRR-FIN-see  ART-trap

lau?mde  d-e-m?-niš-d-nil  
an-ìär da
then  NARR-IRR-FIN-say-APPL-3.OBJ  ART-trap

‘When rabbit came along on his trail, and he saw deadfall trap, then he said to
deadfall trap…’  P136 2

2.5. Infinitive marker
Position 1 also contains the prefix gi-, which occurs on non-finite and dependent clauses. It appears to function as an infinitive marker. An indication of the non-finite nature of verb stems on which it appears is that it does not co-occur with the finite verb marker m- or tense/aspect/modality morphology. It also does not co-occur with subject prefixes, some of which have a past/non-past opposition. In the Santiam corpus, it has been observed to occur in relative, complement, and adverbial clauses. Its occurrence in these types of clauses is discussed in the relevant sections below. It also frequently occurs on negated main clauses with the negative morpheme de-.

(88)  
wa?  gi-de-di-yuku-n  
ču  gi-du-du-da?č
NEG  INF-NEG-1.PL-know-3.OBJ  where  INF-RELLOC-1.PL-find

‘We did not know where to find him’  P52 50 (2)

The above example shows the infinitive prefix as it occurs on a negated main clause and a dependent clause (indirect question) marked with the relative locative prefix.16 (89) is another example of a relative clause marked with the infinitive gi-.

(89)  
peš  d-e-ni?-nak-?it
so  HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-say-COLL

guš  yi  gi-huk-ni  an-tmuwak  wa?  i-n-de-be-ha?
DIST  who  INF-eat-3.OBJ  ART-fish  NEG  REAL-FIN-NEG-cook

‘…they would always say that to anyone who ate uncooked fish’  P18 2 (1)

The next example shows a subject complement clause marked with gi-. This example shows that, though tense/aspect/modality morphology does not co-occur with the infinitive, the verb stem can be marked for person, and in this case the first plural subject is coded.

16 Indirect questions and relative clauses are structurally the same in Santiam.

The gi- prefix can also mark the non-finite nature of adverbial clauses.

The gi- prefix can also mark the non-finite nature of adverbial clauses.

2.6. Tense, modality, and person marking
The majority of the morphemes of position class 1 have more than one semantic value or grammatical function and code some combination of the categories tense, modality, and subject. All prefixes of position 1 belong to either the realis or irrealis modal set, with the exception of gi- ‘infinitive’. The idea that there are separate person-marking prefix sets for realis and irrealis modalities was first suggested to me by Marianne Mithun, who also mentioned that Caddo, a language of North America, has a similar arrangement of pronominal prefixes with a realis/irrealis distinction.

Santiam appears to have two distinct tense categories; past and non-past. Future as a temporal concept is signaled by the irrealis series, and does not appear to exist as its own category in the language. The non-past category covers the semantic space on the time continuum of present-immediate future. Along with the present temporal deixis, the aspectual notion of a perfect can also be conveyed by a non-past prefix. Semantically it is easy to see the connection between non-past prefixes and perfects. Both immediate future and perfect are connected with a currently relevant state or action in the present. Cross-linguistically, the concept of a perfect normally includes the notion of a currently relevant state (Payne 1997:239), and there are many examples in the Santiam corpus where a non-past verb is rendered in translation as a perfect, indicating that stativity may be, at least in some instances, part of the meaning of non-past prefixes. As for the narrative/habitual complex de-, it is more appropriately considered aspectual, since it is not associated with placement along the time continuum. In terms of form and function, however, it does belong in the irrealis modality. Plural subject marking does not participate in the realis/irrealis distinction per se, since plural subjects are signaled by the co-occurrence of a subject prefix of position 1 and a plural prefix of position 9.

The following diagram illustrates the way in which prefixes are grouped according to modality, tense/aspect, and subject marking.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{now} & = & \text{INTER} & \text{REAL-FIN-good} \\
\text{put} & = & \text{INF-1.PL-put} & \text{1.PL-camas} \\
\text{Is it all right for us to put our camas (a type of plant) on them?} & \text{P18 4 1} \\
\end{array}
\]
2.6.1. Realis subject marking

Third person marking

Third person singular realis subjects are indicated by the absence of any subject marking. Third person plural subjects (and objects) are marked in position 9, though with no associated modality value. For paradigmatic purposes, the absence of third singular marking is indicated in these examples by a zero (∅) morpheme. Except for the following examples, third person ∅’s will not be reproduced in glossing for the sake of simplicity. The following is an example of a third person subject realis non-past clause.

(92)  heš  lau?  ∅-u-m-bu-tqu?
    PROX now  3RD-REAL-FIN-2.SG.POSS-tail
     ‘here now is your tail’  P109 5

As shown in section 2.11.3, stative relative clauses are marked in the same way as non-past realis clauses. These correspondences seem to indicate that part of the meaning of non-past realis morphology can include stativity (though there are numerous examples of clearly active clauses with non-past realis morphology). (93) shows a third person subject non-past realis clause which functions like a perfect and likely indicates the stativity of the event.

(93)  dinʔ-e-wi  lauʔ  ∅-u-ŋ-ʔa  guš  bu-waʔqiʔ?
    always now  3RD-REAL-FIN-take  DIST 2.SG.POSS-wife
     ‘he has taken your wife permanently now’  P109 7

---

Table 7. Prefix grouping

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM/PERSON MARKING</th>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+REALIS +TENSE +SUBJECT</td>
<td>ċ-</td>
<td>Speech Act Participant (1st or 2nd Person) Subject Non-Past Realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-SUBJECT</td>
<td>∅-</td>
<td>3rd Subject Non-Past Realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+REALIS +TENSE -SUBJECT</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>Past Tense Realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+IRREALIS -TENSE +SUBJECT</td>
<td>du-</td>
<td>1st Subject Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-TENSE +SUBJECT</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>2nd Subject Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+IRREALIS +ASPECT -SUBJECT</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>3rd Subject Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+IRREALIS +ASPECT +SUBJECT</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>Narrative/Habitual Irrealis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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17 It should also be noted that adjectives are similarly marked, as shown in section 1.2.1.

Third person and SAP realis marking can also occur in ‘gap-strategy’ relative clauses, as in (94).

(94)  
\[ an-tmuwak \ wa^? \ \Ø-i-n-de-bε-ha^? \]
\[ ART-fish \ \neg \ \text{3RD-REAL-FIN-NEG-cook} \]
‘uncooked fish’  P18 2 (1)

**SAP marking**

The morpheme \( \text{ā} \) of position 1 is used to code either a first or second person participant with a grammatical relation of either A or S. It is therefore a marker of first or second person subjects. This morpheme also indicates that the tense of the clause it appears in is non-past and its modality is realis. Since it is used to code both first and second person as a single category, it is termed a speech act participant marker.\(^{18}\) In the case of singular arguments, no distinction is made between the two categories of first and second person in conjunction with this morpheme. A plural non-past realis SAP argument is coded by this morpheme along with the plural prefix of position 9 specific to that person. (95)–(98) show that both first and second person subject categories are coded by this morpheme when the tense is non-past.

(95)  
\[ \text{ā}-u-m-dī-dub \ \text{taun}^? \ \text{am-bεšug}^\# \]
\[ \text{SAP-REAL-FIN-give-2.IO} \ \text{one} \ \text{ART-blanket} \]
‘I will give you one blanket’  P112 9 (2)

(96)  
\[ \text{nike} \ \text{ma}^h \ \text{ā}-u-m-yuwa-dī \]
\[ \text{what} \ \text{2.SG} \ \text{SAP-REAL-FIN-follow-APPL} \]
‘What are you waiting for?’  P136 2

(97)  
\[ \text{ā}-u-m-yuwa-čubu \ \text{ma}^h \]
\[ \text{SAP-REAL-FIN-follow-APPL.2.SG.OBJ} \ \text{2ND} \]
\[ \text{hεš} \ \text{n-a-m-i-haŋ-gan} \]
\[ \text{PROX} \ \text{2.IRR-FIN-SUB-PROX-pass} \]
‘I am waiting for you when you pass along here’  P136 2

(98)  
\[ \text{ā}-i-n-du-bun-i \ \text{du-dałeba} \ \text{hεš} \ \text{an-ʔla}^? \]
\[ \text{SAP-REAL-FIN-1.PL-make-TRAN} \ \text{1.PL.POSS-feather} \ \text{PROX} \ \text{ART-pitchwood} \]
‘We will use this pitchwood as our feathers’  P 112–113 9 (5)

### 2.6.2. Irrealis subject marking

Position 1 contains a set of irrealis subject prefixes. As mentioned, the specific categories of the irrealis mode associated with this series are future, unrealized events and the lack of certainty of a proposition. Since it seems that immediate future is coded by means of

\(^{18}\) This morpheme was identified by Rude (1986) in his glossing as coding SAP.

the realis series, it may be the case that Santiam treats a state/event as real or certain when it is more connected to the present situation and unreal or uncertain when projected farther in the future, though there is probably some pragmatic latitude in this regard. The following are examples of future (99) and uncertain (100) irrealis clauses.

(99) \( \text{dis du-ma} \text{nd g-a-m-i-hu} \text{yu} \)
\( /du-m-mand/ \)
soon 1.IRR-FIN-look 3.IRR-IRR-FIN-SUB-be-INCH
‘Pretty soon I will try tonight’ P51 49 (1)

(100) \( \text{de}=\text{de-mand-ad gus a-mim} \)
\( \text{de}=\text{g-a-man-hu} \text{yu} \)
INDEF=TLOC-look-APPL DIST ART-person INDEF=3.IRR-IRR-FIN.CIS-be-INCH
‘Try (to see) what has become of that person’ P51 49 (1)

In (101) and (102), irrealis marking is used to code future events, but the pragmatic effect appears to be an imperative.

(101) \( \text{laum} \text{de ma} \text{h n-a-n-lele} \text{wa} \text{che-hau} \)
then 2.SG 2.IRR-IRR-FIN-shout ADV-across
‘and then you are to halloo across’ P107 4 (5)

(102) \( \text{wa} \text{a} \text{n-de-wiyebg} \text{a-n dumi-mand-a} \text{d} \)
NEG 2.IRR-IRR-FIN-NEG-turn-DUR PURP-look-APPL
‘You are not to turn to look at them’ P107 4 (5)

(103) and (104) are examples of interrogative clauses with irrealis marking.

(103) \( \text{ma} \text{d-fan}=\text{ye gu} \text{s g-a-ni-du} \text{l-u} \)
all-ADV=INTER DIST 3.IRR-IRR-FIN.3.PL-die-INTRAN
\( \text{g-w-a-du} \text{-ci-y} \text{e} \text{mp} \)
PST-REAL-ASRT-RELOC-ABL-come
‘Have they not all died where you have come from?’ P90 2 (2)

(104) \( \text{de} \text{g-a-man-di} \text{-hu} \text{yu} \)
INDEF 3.IRR-IRR-FIN.CIS-be-be-INCH
\( \text{g-a-m-he} \text{li} \text{b g-w-a-di} \text{-t} \text{wuq} \)
3.IRR-IRR-FIN-sick PST-REAL-ASRT-SUB-TLOC-arrive
‘What was the matter with him that he was ill when he got back?’ P108 5 (6)

19 Gamihu ‘yu’ is an idiomatic expression for ‘tonight’.
20 See section 1.2.3.4 for a description of stems involving the sequence mandi, as in example (104).
In (104) above, it seems that the uncertainty of the state in the first clause is extended to the state ‘he was ill’ in the second clause, which also appears as irrealis. Perhaps a more accurate translation of the second clause would be ‘he seemed ill’, but this is speculation. The third clause is a definite, witnessed event and is marked with the past realis assertive complex.

2.7. Plural marking
Plural subjects are coded by means of position 9 prefixes. In the absence of one of these morphemes, the clause is interpreted as singular. The following is a list of plural prefixes.

- du- ∼ di- 1st Pl Subject,
- dup- ∼ dip- 2nd Pl Subject,
- ni- 3rd Pl Subject/Object

The following are examples of these morphemes. In the case of the third plural morpheme, an argument with any grammatical relation can be referenced by this prefix, whether A, S, P or oblique. This situation has not been observed for other person prefixes in the texts.

(105) wa? gi-de-di-yuku-n ču gi-du-du-da?c
NEG INF-NEG-1.PL-know-3.OBJ where INF-RELOC-1.PL-find
‘We did not know where to find him’ P52 50 (2)

(106) mati n-a-n-dub-k?i če-miyatjk
2.PL 2.IRR-IRR-FIN-2.PL-take ADV-up
‘you are to take her up above’ P110 (3)

(107) lau?mdde guši=wi  d-e-ni-daha-i
then DIST=EMPH HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-kill-3.OBJ?
‘And then they would indeed kill him there’ P22 1 (7) (3.PL=A)

(108) laum?ndde d-e-n-di-ni?-či du-pgi?
then HAB-IRR-FIN-TLOC-3.PL-go OBL-water
‘Then they went to the stream’ P24 2 (3.PL=S)

(109) d-e-m?nak den-hu-pna či d-e-di-ni-hor-du
HAB-IRR-FIN-say 1.SG.POSS-heart always HAB-IRR-SUB-3.PL-see
‘Always I would say in my heart when I saw them’ P73 73 (2) (3.PL=P)

\[21\] The morpheme ni- is noted by Rude (1986) in his glossing, where he mentions that ‘ni- can pluralize a 3rd person patient ... Or ... can mark a 3rd person transitive subject plural.’ The alternation of the vowel for first plural subject is conditioned by vowel fronting, as mentioned in section 1.1.2.2

Negated sentences are frequently constructed by means of the negative particle \( wa? \) and the negative prefix \( d\epsilon- \) of position 6. Negated clauses in general appear to carry less finiteness than affirmative clauses, since many negated clauses appear with the infinitive prefix \( gi- \) and do not occur with the finite marker \( m- \), as in (111) and (112).

(111) \( a\dot{\text{s}}i\ wa? \; \text{gi-}d\epsilon\text{-ni-lak-}h"\text{id} \; \text{he'}lum \; \text{d-}d\epsilon\text{-di-hu}\text{-}y\text{u} \)
\( \text{ART-child NEG INF-NEG-3.PL-play-COLL outside HAB-IRR-SUB-be-INCH} \)
‘Children should not play outside when it gets dark’ P76 77 (1)

(112) \( \text{wa}? \; \text{lau}? \; \text{ma}^b \; \text{g-}d\epsilon\text{-ma-g"in-fa}? \)
\( \text{NEG now 2.SG INF-NEG-CIS-take-1.OBJ} \)
‘You could never catch me’ P136 2 (1)

However, it is not the case that all negated clauses are completely non-finite, since negated clauses with an SAP subject are also frequently marked with the SAP morpheme \( \ddot{s}- \), which carries a non-past time reference.

(113) \( \text{wa}? \; \ddot{s}\text{-}d\epsilon\text{-du-hu}k-p \; \text{hes a-mu}k? \)
\( \text{NEG SAP-NEG-1.PL-eat-3.OBJ PROX ART-deer} \)
‘We do not eat this (sort of) meat’ P122 5 (9)

Negated irrealis clauses can also appear with the finite prefix \( m- \) in irrealis clauses, as in (114) and (115).

(114) \( \text{wa}? \; n\text{-a-n-d}e\text{-wi}y\text{e}b-g"a-n \; \text{dumi-mand-a}'d \)
\( \text{NEG 2.IRR-IRR-FIN-NEG-turn-DUR PURP-look-APPL} \)
‘You are not to turn to look at them’ P107 4 (5)

(115) \( \text{wa}? \; \text{di-n-d}e\text{-}l\dot{a}b-a'? \)
\( \text{NEG 1.IRR-FIN-NEG-step-APPL} \)
‘I will not step on it’ P113 7 (3)
(116) din-hu·pna wa⁶ i-n-ðe³-ala-dint
3.POSS-heart NEG REAL-FIN-NEG-die-DISTR
‘His heart is not dead’ P73 72

Not all negated clauses occur with the negative prefix, however, as in the following example. The non-occurrence of this prefix is likely conditioned by unknown discourse pragmatic factors.

(117) wa⁶ u-wóg-ud yi·kun g-a-m-²ala⁷
NEG REAL-arrive-APPL maybe 3.IRR-IRR-FIN-die
‘He has not gotten back. Maybe he will die’ P51 49 (1)

Finally, negated clauses can occur with the narrative/habitual morpheme, indicating the retention of aspect in some cases.

(118) guš am-pa·lkye pa⁶ d-e-di-ha⁷-na·
DIST ART-shaman so HAB-IRR-SUB-PROX-do

wa⁶ d-e-de-ni-da-bne-di
NEG HAB-IRR-NEG-3.PL-pay- APPL
‘when a shaman did like that they would not pay him’ P72 70 5

2.9. Assertive
Position 3 contains the assertive prefix a-. This prefix has been observed in the texts to occur in two separate morphosyntactic environments. The first is termed the past realis assertive morpheme complex, which is comprised of the past tense prefix g-, the realis prefix u-, and the assertive prefix. The realis u- is transcribed in the texts as a labialization, with the result that most instances of this prefix complex have the form g’ a-, though there are instances where ga- also appears. In these cases, there is no irrealis sense to the clause, so it can be determined that this is not past tense plus irrealis prefix. It is not clear whether the difference in form represents an unknown morphophonological process or is a transcriptional issue. The second environment in which this morpheme occurs is relative clauses, where it functions as a means of contrasting or emphasizing the subject or the assertion of that clause. This later function will be discussed in 2.11.1.

The term ‘assertive’ has been chosen for this prefix because it appears to integrate two illocutionary values in its use. When used with the past tense realis complex, it seems to signal an emphatic assertion that a past event did in fact occur and that the witness, speaker or grammatical subject of the event has personal knowledge of it, therefore having an evidential value. Its function as an assertive or emphatic can also be deduced from the observation that it occurs in contexts which are emotionally charged, as in (119) and (121)–(123), below.
The following clauses in (119) are direct quotes, indicating that the participant who reported these events had direct experience of them.\(^{22}\)

\[(119)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{či?} & g^-\text{a-m-ha\-du} \\
\text{1ST PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN-see} & g^-\text{a-di-gu\-dgumu} \\
\text{PST-REAL-ASRT-SUB-dawn} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{du\-de\-wa\-\?ya} \quad \text{gu\-š} \quad \text{a\?-wa\-\?ya} \]

\[\text{OBL-1.POSS-dream DIST ART-child} \]

‘I saw the child in my dream this morning’

\[
g^-\text{a\-ma\-la\-ma\?-y\-q} \quad \text{du\-ma\-} \\
\text{PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN.CIS-enter-INCH-PASS OBL-fire} \\
\]

‘He was brought into the house’ P53 2 (6)\(^{23}\)

In the next example, the narrator of the story is reporting what he heard said by someone else.\(^{24}\)

\[(120)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{g^-\?au\-\?k} & \text{gu\-š} \quad \text{ayu\-\?hu\?-\?yu} \quad \text{a\?-wa\-\?q\-et} \quad \text{gu\-š} \\
\text{3.SG DIST old\?-be-INCH ART-woman DIST PST-ASRT-said-APPL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘that elderly woman said this’ P53 2 (6)

In the following stretch of discourse, the clauses in (122) and (123) are marked as assertives, and indicate that the speaker had knowledge of Coyote’s intent and actions.

\[(121)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
u\-m\-su & \text{č\-i\-n\-di\-daha\-i} \\
\text{REAL-FIN-good SAP-REAL-FIN-1.PL-kill-3.OBJ? now} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘It is well that we have killed him now’. (referring to Coyote J.B.)

\[(122)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
d\-\?wa\-\?y\-\?e & \text{gus} \\
\text{1.SG.POSS-child DIST PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN-kill-INCH-PASS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘My child will be killed’ (was to be killed, i.e. coyote was going to kill it J.B.)

\[(123)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
g^-\?au\-\?k & \text{pe\-š} \\
\text{3RD such PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN.CIS-do} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Coyote himself here is the cause of this’ (Coyote did this, i.e. stealing the child J.B.) P110–111 7 (7)

In the next stretch of discourse, the asserted clause in (125) functions as an evidential referring to the subject’s knowledge of where an object is placed.

\[^{22}\text{The narrative is about a boy who slipped into a stream and drowned.}\]

\[^{23}\text{The phrase } g^-\text{adigu\-dgumu ‘this morning’ is an idiomatic expression which has incorporated the assertive morpheme, probably as an evidential, i.e. witnessing the dawn. } du\-\text{ma}, \text{ ‘at the fire’, is an idiomatic expression for ‘house’/’home’}\]

\[^{24}\text{This is an example of the } ga^\text{- form of the past realis assertive.}\]
(124) \[\text{lau} \text{?mde tau} \text{?n} \text{e} = yw \text{ d-e} \text{-} \text{n} \text{-} \text{t} \text{-} \text{p} \text{i} \text{.} \text{\quad din} \text{-} \text{di} \text{-} \text{b} \]
then \quad one = also \quad \text{HAB} \text{-} \text{IRR} \text{-} \text{FIN} \text{-} \text{TLOC} \text{-} \text{lie} \quad \text{3.POSS-camas}

\[p \text{es} \text{ din} \text{?} \text{e} \text{wi} \text{ g-i} \text{-} \text{n} \text{-} \text{ni} \text{-} \text{na-hai...} \]
\such \quad \text{always} \quad \text{PST-REAL-FIN.3.PL-do-3.OBJ}?
\‘Now then another put in her raw camas. That is the way they always did’

(125) \[\text{lau} \text{?mde madf} \text{an ni} \text{-} \text{yuku-n} \]
then \quad all \quad \text{3.PL-know-3.OBJ}

\[\text{\check{c}u} \text{ g- \text{-}a-du-\text{-}ni} \text{-} \text{p} \text{i} \text{.} \text{\quad dini} \text{-} \text{di} \text{-} ? \text{p} \]
where \quad \text{PST-REAL-ASRT-RELOC-3.PL- lie} \quad \text{3.PL.POSS-camas}
\‘Now then they all knew where they had placed their raw camas’

2.10. Adverbial subordination
The subordinator prefix occupies position 7 among the prefix positions. It has two syntactically determined forms; \text{di-} for realis subordinate clauses and \text{i-} for irrealis subordinate clauses. Also, realis subordinate clauses are non-finite, having neither first position non-past prefixes nor the finite prefix \text{m-} and they occur with the infinitive prefix \text{gi-}. Irrealis subordinate clauses, however, receive finite morphology including irrealis person marking and the finite prefix. A possible explanation for this division in morphological coding in Santiam is that in order to explicitly mark a clause as irrealis, irrealis person marking must be used (i.e. the irrealis thematic prefix \text{a-} does not occur without person marking, except in the case of the narrative/habitual, which does not indicate the subject of the clause). Since person marking is used in irrealis subordinate clauses and person marking tends to occur in conjunction with finite clauses, the clause was analyzed as finite and marked with the finite prefix. Additionally, the presence of the finite morpheme in irrealis subordinate clauses may have phonologically influenced the reduction of the subordinator prefix from \text{di-} to \text{i-} (\text{di} > \text{i} / \text{m} \_ \_). This in turn may have been analyzed as a syntactic constraint on the form of the subordinator (as opposed to a strictly phonological constraint), since the two forms of the subordinator prefix always occur in separate syntactic environments.

Both realis and irrealis subordinate clause types appear to be syntactically dependent on a main clause, with the possible exception of resultative subordinate clauses, described in 2.10.1 below. Subordinate clauses only rarely occur in isolation and, as mentioned, in the case of realis subordinate clauses, they do not have first position subject prefixes or finite morphology, both of which can be indicators of syntactic independence.

It should be noted that a form of the translocative prefix of position 8 has an allomorph \text{di-} which is identical in form to the realis subordinator prefix, as shown in (126).
This can be contrasted with the following example which contains both the subordinator (which does not occur with the finite prefix) and the translocative morpheme in a resultative adverbial clause:

(127) \textit{gi-di-d-ni-hek}  
\textit{INF-SUB-TLOC-3.PL-leave}  
‘So (then) they went on’ P118 7 (1)

Noting this morphological distinction helps to discern between potentially confusing instances of the translocative morpheme and the subordinator morpheme.

\section*{2.10.1. Adverbial realis subordination}

The main function of subordinate realis clauses as observed in the texts is to indicate a sequential temporal adverbial relationship to a main clause. Using the terminology from Thompson and Longacre (1985), these are temporal sequence clauses which can be substituted by a single adverb, as, for instance, where the entire adverbial clause could be replaced by a word such as ‘then’ or ‘yesterday’. In Santiam, these dependent clauses combined with a main clause are usually rendered in translation as ‘when x occurred, y occurred’. This type of embedding seems to have the effect of characterizing a background scene upon which the event of the main clause is foregrounded.

Another possible adverbial clause type associated with the realis subordinate morpheme is a resultative construction. Resultative clauses are related to the more commonly occurring temporal sequence adverbial clauses in that they similarly focus on the sequencing of events, though in this case, the focus is specifically on the resulting effect. The following are examples of the temporal sequencing function of realis subordinate clauses.

(128) \textit{gi-di-ma-wu?k} \textit{g-u-m-hord-p} \textit{wan? a-si?wa}  
\textit{INF-SUB-CIS-arrive} \textit{PST-REAL-FIN-see-3.OBJ} \textit{five ART-child}  
‘when she came back she saw five children.’ P117 6
(129) *guš du*yôma d-ε-mʰʔumheʔ-ne·*  
DIST 3.POSS-dreampower HAB-IRR-FIN-send-3.OBJ?

*d-ε-di-huli dumʔ-yuʔku*  
HAB-IRR-SUB-want COMP-know

*a-mimʔ dε=nɨ-fi waʔna an-uwa*  
ART-person INDEF=3.PL-do? another ART-place  
‘He sends out his dream-power when he wants to know what people are doing at some different place.’  P51 49

(130) *čii-pgam g-a-ni-hi-mimʔ winhe d-ε-di-niʔ-i*  

du*-mefuʔ dini-yuʔwel*  
OBL-hill 3.POSS-hunt

*d-ε-niʔ-kʷa a-mar*  
HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-take ART-fire  
‘Long ago when some of the people went to the mountains to hunt, they carried fire with them.’  P32 24

(131) is an example of two dependent clauses with the subordinator prefix, both describing a sequence of events, leading up to the focused event of the main clause.

(131) *lauʔŋde gi-di-wuʔq*  
then INF-SUB-arrive

*lauʔŋde gi-di-ni-mam-fuʔ*  
then INF-SUB-3.PL-eat-TRAN

*lauʔŋde g-i-ŋgeʔɛ duŋ-kʷa-fa*  
then PST-REAL-FIN-make 3.POSS-take-NOM(‘pack’)

*u-čagal-u a-mwki*  
ADJ-dry-INTRAN ART-deer  
‘Then when he got back, and they were through eating, now he prepared his packs of smoke-dried meat.’ P104 1 (7)

(132) and (133) are examples of what appear to be resultative clauses and are coded with the realis subordinator. The presence of the discourse particle *lauʔŋde ‘then’ may indicate that these clauses, though marked with the subordinating morpheme, do not have the same degree of syntactic dependence on a higher clause that temporal sequence
clauses do. It may be that the extension from temporal sequencing to a more specifically resultative function influenced a syntactic shift away from clause embedding to a more independent type of clause in this case.\footnote{25 Resultative clauses are given in bold for clarity.}

(132) \textit{lauʔmdə \textit{g-i-n-di-ni-hək}}
\begin{align*}
\text{then} & \quad \text{PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-3.PL-leave} \\
g-i-n-di-ni^2\text{-niš-ni} & \quad \text{guš} \quad \text{qʷasqʷas} \\
\text{PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-3.PL-say-3.OBJ} & \quad \text{DIST} \quad \text{crane} \\
\text{‘a-šayum} & \quad u-m-yuʔwa-fər’ \\
\text{ART-grizzly} & \quad \text{REAL-FIN-follow-1.PL.OBJ} \\
\end{align*}
\textit{lauʔmdə \textit{gi-di-dni-hək}}
\begin{align*}
\text{then} & \quad \text{INF-SUB-TLOC-3.PL-leave} \\
\text{‘Now they went on, they told the crane, “Grizzly is pursuing us”. So they went on.’} & \quad \text{P118 7 (1)} \\
\end{align*}

(133) \textit{lauʔmdə \textit{guš duʔ-kʷa-fa=yu}}
\begin{align*}
\text{then} & \quad \text{DIST} \quad \text{3.POSS-take-NOM(‘pack’)=}\text{also} \\
g-i-n-di-ni^2\text{-idib} & \quad \text{hupun} \\
\text{PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-3.PL-jump} & \quad \text{behind} \\
\end{align*}
\textit{lauʔmdə \textit{gi-di-di-ni-hək}}
\begin{align*}
\text{a-muʔlugʷa} & \quad du~du~ma \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{INF-SUB-TLOC-3.PL-leave} \quad \text{ART-whale} \quad \text{OBL-3.POSS-fire} \\
\text{‘Now those packs of his also jumped (ashore) behind (them). And so they went on to whale’s house.’} & \quad \text{P104 2 (3)} \\
\end{align*}

2.10.2. Adverbial irrealis subordination
Subordinate clauses can also be coded as irrealis by means of the irrealis subordinator \textit{i-} of position 7. Irrealis subordinate clauses typically code conditional clauses. In terms of Thompson and Longacre (1985), the types of conditionals observed in the texts are unreal-imaginative-hypothetical and unreal-predictive clauses. It is not surprising that these types of conditional clauses would be coded by as irrealis, since the irrealis mode in main clauses is used to code both unreal/imaginative events and future events. Irrealis subordinate clauses code events which serve as a contextual backdrop, usually an unreal condition, upon which a main clause event is focused.

Examples (134) and (135) show predictive conditional clauses (translations are also given in bold for clarity).
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other instances, it seems to indicate emphasis on the proposition of the relative clause, as in (140).

In (137), the subject of the relative clause, ‘the people’ (who bought the child), is contrasted with the participant ‘the father of the child’ in the immediately preceding discourse (included in translation). This contrasting function may also be the origin of the resumptive third person plural pronoun $gwini'k$, and may indicate that the relative clause, in addition to being in contrast, also receives a degree of focus.

(137) ‘When they purchased a woman, the man whose child she was had nothing whatever to say (further) to his child.’

\[
gus \text{ a-mim} \quad g-a-ni?-yande
\]
\[
gwini'k \quad d-\text{ni-}\hat{p}i'-ni
\]
\[
guš \quad a-wa\text{-}\text{iwa} \quad \text{din} \quad ?\text{e}\quad \text{wi}
\]

‘The people who had bought her were the ones who kept that woman for all time.’

In (138), the relative clause marked with the assertive prefix appears to indicate that the subject of the relative clause ‘we’ is contrasted with the participant ‘the whites’ in the following clause, which is also marked with the contrasting clitic/particle $t\text{e}$.

(138) $g\varepsilon\text{-}m\text{i} \quad am\text{-bašdin} \quad g-i\text{-ni-ma}^2\text{-}\text{yamp}
\]
\[
sd\omega \quad \hat{\varepsilon}\text{-}\text{nu-}\text{du-}\text{k}^\text{a}u\text{-ni} \quad a\text{-}\text{nuwa} \quad \hat{\varepsilon}\text{am}\text{-}\text{igidi}
\]

‘Two whites arrived from the place we call $\text{teamigidi}$’

\[
lau^? \quad t\text{e} \quad am\text{-bašdin} \quad \hat{\varepsilon}\text{e}^?\text{-}\text{Salem}
\]
\[
\text{now} \quad \text{CONTR} \quad \text{ART-Boston} \quad \text{LOCNOM-Salem}
\]

‘and (which) the whites now (call) Salem. P52 50 (3)’

In (139), the subject of the asserted relative clause ‘those people of mine’ is contrasted with the first person narrator.

\[\text{26 The term ‘white people’ is derived from the place-name ‘Boston’}.\]
In (140a), two emphatic clauses occur immediately before (140b) in the discourse, which contains an asserted relative clause. I suggest that in this case the asserted relative clause is coding the emphatic sense of this stretch of discourse.

Example (141) shows that morphology of these types of relative clauses can be identified as assertive and not irrealis. In this example, the subject of the relative clause is first person, indicating that ga- can not be identified as third person irrealis subject + irrealis theme (which would be formally identical), but is instead past assertive.

2.11.2. Backgrounded relative clauses

Just as subjects of relative clauses can be coded with the assertive morpheme to indicate contrast or emphasis, it appears that subjects of relative clauses can also be backgrounded. This function is coded by means of the subordinator prefix of position 7.
In (142), the relative clause (whose subject is in contrast with the participant ‘relatives’, i.e. ‘his people’) is coded with the assertive, whereas the subject of the second relative clause appears in the previous discourse (given in translation).

(142) ‘However should there be another man who should want the woman, then he would purchase her.’

\[
\begin{align*}
guš & \text{ an-}\text{ʔuihi} & g\text{-a-}\text{ni-}\text{ʔala}^\text{27} \\
\text{DIST} & \text{ ART-man} & \text{ PST-ASRT-FIN.3.PL-die} \\
g\text{ʔau} & \text{ du-}\text{mim} & d\text{-e-}\text{ni-}\text{ʔin} & guš & an-\text{ja-}\text{wace}\text{ʔ} \\
3\text{RD} & 3\text{.POSS-people} & \text{ HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-take} & \text{ DIST} & \text{ ART-money} \\
guš & \text{ an-}\text{ʔuihi} & \text{ di-}?\text{yanda} & \text{ wai}\text{ʔwa} \\
\text{DIST} & \text{ ART-man} & \text{ SUB-buy} & \text{ woman} \\
\text{ ‘It was the relatives of the man who had died (asserted) who took the valuables, from the man who purchased the woman (backgrounded, already mentioned).’} \\
P45 (2)
\end{align*}
\]

In (143), the fact that the man’s wife had been stolen was already established in the immediately preceding discourse, therefore the relative clause pertaining to this event is coded as a backgrounded relative clause.

(143) guš ʰɪɛ tʰɑʃʰ-dɪnt guš Ḵuŋ?’uihi di-ʔ?lečʰwaʔ-yɔʔ-ʔ du-ʔwaʔqi?’

\[
\begin{align*}
d-\text{e-mʔ-i} \\
\text{ HAB-IRR-FIN-go} \\
\text{ ‘then once in a while rather the man whose wife had been stolen would go’} \\
P \ 44 \ 40 \ 2
\end{align*}
\]

In (144), the asserted relative clause may indicate that the focus is upon the name of an object already referred to, whereas the backgrounded relative clause may indicate that the function of that object is incidental to the discourse.

\[\text{27 The asserted verb stem } g\text{-a-}\text{ni-}\text{ʔala}\text{ contains the third person prefix } ni\text{- which references the plural subject of the main clause du-}\text{mim}\text{ ‘his people’.}\]
2.11.3. Stative/active marking

In Santiam, it appears that relative clauses which are not asserted/emphatic can receive varying morphology depending upon whether they code actions or states. If a non-asserted relative clause encodes an action, it is marked with the infinitive gi-, whereas if it encodes a state, it is simply marked as a realis clause. Example (145) contains a relative clause whose verb is an action and therefore marked as an infinitive. (146) has a stative verb in the relative clause and is marked as realis.

(145) \text{guš} \text{ 以外尼克 di-ni-su-\text{good-CAUSE-APP-OBJ} dini-mε ……} \\
\text{DIST  REAL-INDEF} \text{ SUB-3.PL-good-CAUSE-APP-3.OBJ 3.PL.POSS-fire ……} \\
\text{wa?-š-de-yuku-n  guš duŋ-\text{at}} \\
\text{NEG  SAP-NEG-know-3.OBJ  DIST  3.POSS-name} \\
\text{nikε-  g-a-ni-q'au-ni.} \\
\text{INDEF  PST-ASRT-FIN.3.PL-call-3.OBJ} \\
‘The thing that they fixed their fire with...I do not know its name that they called it.’ P 17 1 (4)

(146) \text{guš ye?-u?-yuku-n} \\
\text{DIST who \text{REAL-KNOW-3.OBJ}} \\
\text{dumi-g\text{in} guš a?-wadak} \\
\text{COMP-hold DIST ART-stick} \\
‘The one who knew how to hold the pole.’ P22 (7)

Other examples of this stative/active distinction in relative clauses are (147) and (148).

(147) \text{lau?-mde guš an-\text{uihi gi?-wai-ni  guš a?-wai\text{wa}}} \\
\text{then DIST ART-man \text{INF-lie-3.OBJ} DIST ART-woman} \\
\text{d-e-m-wu-\text{get-INCH-PASS}} \\
‘And then the man who had had sexual intercourse with the woman was fetched.’ P44 1
In (149), the verb in the relative clause at first glance appears to be an active verb, though it is marked with the stative strategy for relative clauses. I suggest that this is a perfect construction and is therefore marked as stative in keeping with the stativity of perfect constructions.

(149) *lauʔ̥nde guš a-mim? uʔ̥-yenden guš am-bi-ni*

then DIST ART-people REAL-buy DIST ART-girl

d-ε-ni-g in guš am-bi-ni
HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-take DIST ART-girl

‘Now then the people who had purchased the girl, they would take the girl.’

P46 (7)

2.12. Complements, purposives, and switch reference

Complement and purposive clauses share a number of morphological coding features. Both complements and purposives are frequently coded by means of the polymorphemic prefix complex *dumi-* . It is not certain what the specific diachronic morphological structure of this complex is. A couple of suggested analyses are given here, though they remain speculative at this stage. The first analysis of the prefix complex shown below includes the relative locative prefix of position 4, the finite prefix of position 5, and one of the roots ‘to be’, with a loose translation of its diachronic meaning.

*dumi-
du-m-i*
RELOC-FIN-be
‘at the place where there is’

Santiam has several roots ‘to be’. An example of the root shown above is (150).

(150) *lauʔ̥ čiʔ̥ č-u-m-i-wayufna*
now 1st SAP-REAL-FIN-be-disease

‘Now I will be a disease’

P90 2

I suggest here that a relative locational clause (see section 2.13.4) involving the verb ‘to be’ was grammaticalized into a purposive construction associated with motion verbs. A possible example of this type of structure is shown in (151).

(151) *maičuʔ madfâν d-ε-niʔ̥-i guš du-m-i-ni-ge-wu*

morning all HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-go DIST RELLOC-FIN-be-3.PL-gather

‘the next day they all went away to where they were assembling’

P33 25 (4)
Based on the translation, it looks as if the lower clause is a relative locational clause. However, it is also possible that this is simply another example of a purposive construction with *dumi-*-, in which case a more appropriate translation would be “the next day they went away in order to assemble there.” This interpretation depends on the reference of the subject of the lower clause. If the subjects of both clauses are the same, then it is more likely that this is in fact a purposive clause. If the subjects are different, then it is possibly a relative structure. Unfortunately, the discourse context around this sentence does not help to clarify this and both interpretations are possible.28

The second diachronic analysis of the underlying structure of *dumi-* includes the first irrealis prefix, the finite prefix, and the subordinating prefix:

\[ \text{dumi-} \\
\text{du-m-i} \\
\text{1.IRR-FIN-SUB} \\
\text{‘1st Irrealis Subordinate’} \]

This second analysis simply states that purposive and complement structures developed out of a grammaticalized irrealis subordinate construction, in which the first person subject irrealis prefix became a grammaticalized element along with the finite and subordinating prefixes. As discussed below, *dumi-* is an indicator of same subject reference in both complements and purposives. Since first person subjects may be more likely than non-first subjects, for discourse-pragmatic reasons, to occur as continuing subjects across clauses, it follows that this is the person reference that would be grammaticalized. It is also easy to see why purposives would be associated with irrealis, since they inherently contain a sense of futurity or of a non-realized event.

2.12.1. Switch reference

The prefix complex *dumi-* is not the only morphological coding strategy associated with complements and purposive clauses. Both clause types can be prefixed with the infinitive marker *gi-* as well. Complements can also appear as fully finite clauses without any overt marking to indicate their syntactic function as sentential complements. The determining factor for the selection of *dumi-* vs. an infinitive/finite coding strategy for these clause types appears to be a system of switch reference. Complements and purposives which have the same subject as the main clause are coded with *dumi-*-, whereas complements and purposives with a subject different from that of the main clause are marked either as an infinitive or as a fully finite clause. The choice between infinitives and finite clauses may depend upon the matrix verb. For instance, the complement-taking predicate ‘to want’ marks its complement with an infinitive for switch subjects, whereas other predicates seem to select finite forms in their complements.

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28 As shown further below, however, the prefix *dumi-* is normally associated with a continuing subject, which would seem to indicate a purposive analysis for this example.
The following are examples of same-subject and different-subject marking of complement and purposive clauses, with clauses containing reference tracking morphology in bold.

2.12.2. Complements

Same subject complements

The majority of same-subject complements observed in the texts occur with the main verb ‘to want’, though a couple of other same-subject complement types have been found as well.

(152) c-u-m-huli dumi-kanε
SAP-REAL-FIN-want COMP-cross
‘I want to cross’ P118 7(2)

(153) g-i-ni-huli dumi-ni-yi·
PST-REAL-FIN.3.PL-want COMP-3.PL-go
‘they wanted to return’ P54 4

(154) guš an-ʔu hi u-m-huli dumi-hɔ·du-cuf
DIST ART-man REAL-FIN-want COMP-see-APPL.2.OBJ
‘that man wants to see you’ P 81 91 (1)

(155) guš waʔ gi-de-ni-huli dumi-ni-huʔk duŋ-ʔapya
‘They did not like to eat its flesh.’ P 23 4

(156) and (157) are same-subject examples of complement-taking predicates other than the verb ‘to want’. Example (156) contains an adverbial clause, whose verb is a complement taking predicate. The embedded complement is marked as having the same subject as that of the adverbial clause

(156) waʔ gi-de-wuʔk guš gi-diʔ-nag-at dumi-ʔ-wuʔk
NEG INF-NEG-arrive DIST INF-SUB-say-APPL COMP-arrive
‘he did not come back at the time that he had said he would return.’ P70 69 (1)

(157) luiʔ am-pa·lakye g-i-ni-mand-i
many ART-shaman PST-REAL-FIN.3.PL-look-3.OBJ

\textit{dumi-ni-daha-i am-bašdin}
COMP-3.PL-kill-3.OBJ ART-white person
‘Many shamans tried to kill Americans’ P66 64 (1)

Different subject complements

Infinitives

Different-subject complements marked with infinitives typically are associated with the verb ‘to want’ as the complement-taking verb.

(158) wa? Š-de-huli ma gi-kani-ne?-fa?

\( \text{NEG SAP-NEG-want 2}\text{ND INF-cross-CAUSE?-1.OBJ} \)

‘I do not want you to take me across’ P110 (4)

(159) č-u-m-huli šni du-waʔi? gi-kani?-ne-fa?

\( \text{SAP-REAL-FIN-want coyote 3.POSS-spouse INF-cross-CAUSE?-1.OBJ} \)

‘I want coyote’s wife to get me across’ P110 (4)

(160) šdə w du-m-i-di-huli ma gi-wuʔ q di-n-diʔ-niš-dumbui

\( \text{1.PL 1.IRR-FIN-SUB-1.PL-want 2.SG INF-arrive 1.IRR-FIN-1.PL-say-2ND.IO} \)

‘When we want you to come we will tell you.’ P74 74

(161) wa? lau d-e-ni-huli g\(^{\#}\)auʔ g gi-k\(^{\#}\)d u-duʔ g am-bge?

\( \text{NEG NOW HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-want 3.SG INF-drink ADJ-cold ART-water} \)

‘And they didn’t want her to drink cold water’ P43 (5)

Finite complements

The following different-subject, finite-marked complements are associated with the verbs ‘to say’ and ‘to know’. In the examples below, the finite complement clauses include examples of habitual (162), non-past realis (163), and asserted (164) clause types.

(162) tauʔne-dint g-i-niʔ-nak-wid

\( \text{one-DISTR PST-REAL-FIN.3.PL-say-COLL} \)

\( \text{pu·nuk gus a-la-la d-e-n-d-niʔ-yεšʔ-ni} \)

\( \text{little DIST ART-poison HAB-IRR-FIN-TLOC-3.PL-hurt-3.OBJ} \)

‘Once in a while, they would say, the fatal-poison-power would hurt them a little bit’ P66 64 1

(163) g-a-m-iʔ-hiʔc n-e-n-dub-yuʔkuʔn

\( \text{3.IRR-IRR-FIN-SUB-fall 2.IRR-IRR-FIN-2.PL-know-3.OBJ} \)

\( \text{lauʔ u-m-dahaʔ-ne-faʔ} \)

\( \text{now REAL-FIN-kill-CAUSE-1.OBJ} \)

‘When it falls down you will know she has killed me then.’ P116 2 (2)

(164) č-i-n-diʔ-yuku-n=wi g-a-m-hiʔc du-pgi?

\( \text{SAP-REAL-FIN-1.PL-know-3.OBJ = EMPH PST-ASRT-FIN-fall OBL-water} \)

‘We do know he fell in the water.’ p54 3 (3)
2.12.3. Purposives

It appears that purposives are also coded in terms of having the same or different subject from that of the matrix clause. This is not surprising, since purposives and complements are marked with the same morphology and obviously come from the same diachronic source. As with complements, same-subject purposives are marked with dumi-, whereas different-subject purposives are marked with the infinitive gi-.

The following examples of purposives may indicate that the morphological analysis of dumi- as a grammaticalization of first person subordinate irrealis marking is the correct historical derivation. In the texts, most same-subject purposive clauses occur with a first person subject, whereas all observed different-subject purposives occur with third person subjects. There is no logical or communicative restriction on first person switch-subject or third person same-subject, rather it appears that specifically with regards to purposive constructions, discourse pragmatics favor first person same-subject and third person different-subject.

**Same subject purposives**

(165) maiču du-m-ʔi dumi-hω-du

morning 1.IRR-FIN-go PURP-see

‘I will go tomorrow to see’ P128 2 (3)

(166) čiʔ du-m-k̡ε-ni guš din-dωleba

1SG 1.IRR-FIN-take-3.OBJ DIST 3.POSS-feather

\[
\text{dumi-}h\epsilon\cdot k \quad \text{ču}^{h} \quad \text{du-hε} \cdot ge \cdot wu \cdot fi\?h
\]

COMP-go away where RELLOC-PROX-gather-COLL

‘I will take those feathers of his for myself, in order to go on to where there is an assemblage.’ P99 (8)

(167) lauʔ čiʔ yi-kun č-u-mʔ-ye  či-i

now 1ST maybe SAP-REAL-FIN-almost-go

\[
\text{guš du-}wε \cdot qi\? \quad \text{din-}uwa \quad \text{dumiʔ-alα}
\]

DIST OBL-bone 3.POSS-land PURP-die

‘Now I myself am perhaps gone on to the land of the dead people to die’ P73 73 (3)
Different subject purposives

(169) *laʊʔməde dɛ-ni-di-d*  
then HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-give-3.IO one ART-man

(170) *taːfər-dinɬ kən-fan dɛ-ni-kub-i*  
once-DISTR only-ADV HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-cut-TRAN 3.POSS-eye

(171) *waʔ laʊʔ maɬ gi-de-t-g in aʔ-wadaɬ*  
NEG now 2.SG INF-NEG-TLOC-hold ART-stick

---

29 In this example, *gi-hədəu* is apparently not a second purposive and is marked as a participle-like infinitive.
(172) and (173) are a couple of examples which, on the surface, seem to contradict the above hypothesis regarding switch reference. If (172) is interpreted as a purposive, one would expect the form dumi- to be used, since there is a continuing subject.

(172) ń-u-maʔ-i ę-i-ni-gaw-ad
SAP-REAL-FIN.CIS-go SAP-REAL-FIN.3.PL-visit-APPL
‘I will go see them’ P130 5

It is possible, however, that (172) is not a purposive construction in the sense of ‘going in order to see them’. It could be that this is a highly integrated event sequence and is coded as such by means of a serial verb construction.

In (173), we might also expect to find the complement coded with dumi- as opposed to the infinitive, since there is a continuing subject.

(173) waʔ gi-de-di-yuku-n ę-u gi-du~du-daʔc
NEG INF-NEG-1.PL-know-3.OBJ where INF-RELLOC-1.PL-find
‘We did not know where to find him’ P52 50 (2)

Example (173) however, is also syntactically different from other complement clauses described above and appears to be an indirect question. In Santiam, it seems that indirect questions are syntactically and functionally akin to relative clauses and, in fact, in (173) the relative locative prefix occurs on the lower verb. It therefore could be that in this case the morphology is operating along the lines of a relative clause structure as opposed to complement structure.31 Since the verb in the lower clause is an action, this may explain the choice of an infinitive as a coding device, since, as discussed above, relative clauses which describe actions are coded as infinitives.

Subject complements
(174) and (175) are examples of subject complements.

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30 A more accurate English translation may be, “so that that grizzly became angry”. This would of course mean that ‘grizzly’ is the subject of the purposive clause.

31 Keenan and Hull (1973) note a number of cross-linguistic morphosyntactic similarities between relative clauses and indirect questions.

In (174) and (175), the difference in marking on the complement clauses may be explained in terms of a specific vs. non-specific subject. In (175), there is no definite subject, and in fact a non-referring third plural prefix occurs on the verb. It is possible that this indefinite subject in the complement conditions the choice of dumí- on the verb. This may be further indication of the irrealis source of this prefix complex, i.e. an indefinite subject may have been coded as irrealis at an earlier stage of the language.

2.13. Spatial prefixes
Several spatial prefixes occur on the verb stem in Santiam. Position 4 contains the relative locative du- which occurs only in relative clauses and is likely connected diachronically to the oblique noun prefix du-. Position 8 contains the translocative prefix, position 10 the cislocative and proximal prefixes and position 11 the ablative. The translocative and cislocative prefixes also seem to be involved in coding aspectual distinctions in addition to spatial meanings. The most likely direction of grammaticalization for the cislocative and translocative is the metaphorical extension from spatial affix to aspect, cf. Hopper and Traugott (1993). The proximal prefix frequently co-occurs with the relative locative in relative clauses, though it can occur independently as well. Its exact spatial function is less clear than that of the translocative and cislocative.

2.13.1. Cislocative
The cislocative prefix, identified by Rude (1986) in his glossing, is found in position 10 and has the forms ma- ~ maN-. It is unclear what the conditioning factors are for the appearance of the nasal on the cislocative. The nasal often appears in transcription as assimilated in place of articulation to a following bilabial or velar consonant. The basic form of the nasal appears to be [n], since this appears when no assimilation is indicated.
Spatial function
The primary spatial function of the cislocative as observed in the texts is to code motion in the direction of a discourse-established reference point. Often the term ‘cislocative’ is used to refer to motion towards the speaker, and this appears to be one of the functions of the cislocative in Santiam. However, the most frequent use in the texts is to indicate motion towards some deictic center other than the speaker specifically. The following example contrasts this function of the cislocative with the opposite directional value of the translocative.

In (176), the deictic center is the scene already established by the discourse. The cislocative is used to indicate that the participant appears on the scene, coming from an ‘outer’ direction.³²

(176) lauʔn̓də̱ τauʔne a-šayum g-u-m-a-min-οr
     /g-u-m-ma-min-οr/
     then one ART-grizzly PST-REAL-FIN-CIS-come out-INTRAN
     ‘and then one grizzly appeared’ P119 8 (2)

An identical verb stem containing a translocative appears in (177). In this example, the deictic center is associated with an noun phrase which is located externally to the current scene, necessitating the use of the translocative.

(177) lauʔn̓də̱ an̓-t̓o-faq g-i-n-t-min-οr
     then ART-grizzly PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-come out-INTRAN
     dumi-wuʔq guš a-mu·kiʔ
     PURP-get DIST ART-deer
     ‘So mudfish went outside to get the meat’ P105 3 (4)

Additional examples of the spatial function of the cislocative are (178) and (179). (178) shows the cislocative as it functions to reference motion towards the speaker.³³

(178) ču⁵ č-u-man-či-yeʔmʔp
     /č-u-m-an-či-yeʔmʔp
     where SAP-REAL-FIN-CIS-ABL-come
     ‘Where have you come from’ P97 4 (3)

In (179), the cislocative is used to indicate that the direction of the fall is at a previously established deictic center, specifically the area where the elk emerged.

(179) lauʔ guš paʔ an-hui ne an-tqaʔ g-u-ma-hic
     now DIST so ART-be like ART-elk PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-fall
     ‘Now the thing that was just like an elk fell’ P 129 3 (2)

³² As shown in the glossing in (176), the finite prefix assimilates to the cislocative.
³³ The ablative references the original location, the cislocative motion towards the current deictic center.
Aspectual functions
The main aspectual notion associated with the cislocative is stativity. As part of the concept of stativity, it also seems at times to have the inchoative meaning of entry into a state. This function of the cislocative may have arisen from a metaphorical extension of the notion ‘movement towards the speaker’ to ‘(metaphorical) movement into a state’, from which the general sense of stativity may have emerged.

In addition to stativity, in certain cases this prefix also appears to indicate durativity. Stativity and durativity may have an underlying semantic link. States are often viewed as having an extended temporal duration (perhaps the prototypical conceptualization of a state), whereas punctual events may be more likely to be conceived of as actions. Also, the concept of complementary spatial values associated with the translocative and cislocative prefixes may have, by functional analogy, been transferred to the complementary aspectual values of punctuality for the translocative and stativity/durativity for the cislocative.

As an indicator of stativity, it frequently occurs on a root ‘to be’, of which there are several. In the following examples, the finite marker and the cislocative coalesce to form [man-], glossed as FIN.CIS.

(180) peši g-a-man-hui that way 3.IRR-IRR-FIN.CIS-be ‘That is how it shall be (in all future time).’ P137 3 (3)

(181) de=lau? man-huʔ-yu a-nuwa INDEF=now FIN.CIS-be-INCH ART-place ‘What’s the matter with this countryside now?’ P98 1 (8)

(182) wi-naš=wi g-u-m-ŋi-díʔ indeed=EMPH PST-REAL-FIN-lie-DURLOC

paʔ g-u-man-hui neʔ a-muʔ-ki so PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-be like ART-deer ‘And sure enough it lay there, it was just like a deer.’ P109 6 (3)

Interestingly, this stative function seems to have been extended to function as a predicator, as in (183).
(183) wa?  mεn-fan  s-de?-yuku-n
NEG  much-ADV  SAP-NEG-know-3.OBJ

ču  guš  man-din-uwa  guš  an?-uihi
where  DIST  FIN.CIS-3.POSS-place  DIST  ART-man
‘I do not quite know just where that man’s place was’  P53 2 (3)

(184) shows the cislocative in its durative function.

(184) nε·  d-e-n-t-wa?-yu·=wi·  din-hu·bna
like  NARR-IRR-FIN-TLOC-NEG-INCH=EMPH  3.POSS-heart

d-e-di-ma-ʔaud  gus  an-ʔaud-ε
NARR-IRR-SUB-CIS-sing  DEM  ART-sing-NOM?
‘It was as if he were indeed not in his heart when he sang the song.’  P58 (7)

When the cislocative occurs on a verb stem which references entering into a state, it often appears with the inchoative suffix -yu, as in (185).

(185) lauʔndel  d-e-ma-putput-ow·-yu·  guš  dinì-κwa·na-fin
then  HAB-IRR-FIN.CIS-boil-INTRAN-INCH  DIST  3.PL.POSS-eat-NOM
‘Then their food would boil’  P17 1 (2)

Examples of the cislocative representing entrance into a state have also been observed without the inchoative suffix, as in (186). This indicates that the stative meaning of the cislocative may, in some instances, be extended to include entering into a state, probably by virtue of the frequent co-occurrence with the inchoative suffix.

(186) lauʔndel  d-e-di-ma-maičuʔ
then  NARR-IRR-SUB-CIS-morning
‘and now when it became morning.’  P58 (9)

2.13.2. Translocative
The translocative prefix occupies position 8. This prefix was identified by Rude (1986) in his glossing. This morpheme appears to have two separate forms, a neutral and an emphatic form. The neutral form is represented by d- ~ t- ~ di-. The factors which condition the choice between these forms are not presently known.\(^{35}\) When the translocative is realized as di-, it is identical in form to the subordinator prefix of position 7, however their synchronic status as independent prefixes is confirmed due to their

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\(^{34}\) An alternative analysis of (183) above could be that man- references the deictic center and is not a stative/predicator.

\(^{35}\) It is possible that the metrical structure of the verb stem is a factor, though there seems to be a good deal of inconsistency in this regard.
observed co-occurrence on the verb stem (example (192)). The emphatic form of the translocative is represented by de- ~ deN (with an assimilating nasal) and occurs when the deictic point of reference is emphasized and explicitly expressed in the clause by the distal demonstrative guš.

**Spatial Function**

Complementary to the cislocative, the translocative may have as its core function the notion of motion away from the speaker. However, many spatial examples of this prefix reference motion away from or motion towards a newly established deictic center. It may also function in terms of coding motion towards a reference point more distant from one already established in the discourse.

The first example shows the translocative as it codes motion away from an established deictic center.

(187)    din’ε·wi g-i-n-ň-i     wa·? gi-de-ma-yi·
always   PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-go  NEG  INF-NEG-CIS-go
‘He continued on, he never came back.’  P 100 2 (10)

In (188), the translocative is coding motion towards a deictic center, but away from a previously established center

(188)    lau?mdε kuš  a-mim       g-i-n-ňak-fu’d
then   DIST ART-people  PST-REAL-FIN.3.PL-play-COLL

     lau?mdε a-šni· g-i-n-ň-wuk  či-le
then   ART-coyote  PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-arrive  ADV-near
‘Now those people were playing shinny, and then coyote got near to there.’
(i.e. where they were playing. J.B.)  P101 3 (2)

(189) shows the translocative in its emphatic form. This form has always been observed to co-occur with the demonstrative ‘guš’, which immediately precedes the verb stem and references the spatial deictic center (in (189) ‘where the grizzly lay’).

(189)    lau?mdε  an-ũ’š    kuš  g-i-n-de-wu’k
then   ART-sapsucker  there  PST-REAL-FIN-EMPHTLOC-arrive

     gus  a-sayum     gi-de-hem-ũx·-did
DEM   ART-grizzly  INF-RELLOC-PROX-lie-DURLOC
‘Then sapsucker got to there where the grizzly lay.’  P125 9 (2)

(190) shows a verb stem with an emphatic translocative (and a contrastive clitic) occurring next to a verb stem with a neutral translocative.

Example (191) indicates that an additional function of the emphatic translocative is to reference the deictic center at which an event occurs, as opposed to its more common function of referencing motion relative to a deictic center. This is indicated at the end of the narrative where the deer accidentally hangs himself on a trap.

(191) guš d-ε-ní-privation-1pl guš pa? an-hui a-miteel
DIST HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-lie-3.OBJ DIST so ART-be ART-rope

guš d-ε-ní-qa?lt du-mu-ki? daŋ-gauni
DIST HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-hang OBL-deer 3.POSS-trail

guš a-mu-ki? d-ε-de-han-γan
DIST ART-deer HAB-IRR-RELLOC-PROX-pass

guš d-ε-ní-CLU-ČE duŋ-ga Ultra ..... DIST HAB-IRR-FIN-TLOC-put in-REFL 3.POSS-head

lau’ndi guš d-ε-ná-CLU-çi-qi?Ça-çi
then DIST HAB-IRR-FIN-EMPHTLOC-choke-REFL
‘They placed that kind of rope, they hung it on a deer trail, where deer went by, there he would put his head through it……Then he would choke himself.’

P31 22 (2)

(192) shows that, though at times identical in form, the translocative and the subordinator prefix are in fact distinct, since both occur on the verb stem in the first clause. In this example, the deictic center is a specified location relative to the participants in the scene as opposed to the location of the participants themselves. This is demonstrated in the second and third clauses, where the equivalents to the English verbs ‘push’ and ‘pull’ both occur with the translocative, as opposed to a translocative/cislocative opposition.
Aspectual functions

The main aspectual notion associated with the translocative appears to be punctual aspect. As the cislocative and the translocative display a spatially oriented opposition, it is interesting to note that a similar aspectual opposition exists between the two, namely, punctuality versus stativity/durativity. The translocative in (193) clearly has no spatially oriented function since it appears on the epistemic verb ‘to know’. In this instance, it seems that the translocative is coding what might perhaps be rendered in English as ‘suddenly realize’, i.e. a punctual aspect of the state of knowing. This use of the translocative with the root *yuku* is in contrast with the frequent occurrence of the same root in the texts without the translocative to indicate an ongoing state of knowing.

(193) *guš  d-e-di-llkʷa  den-hu̱pna*

DIST HAB-IRR-SUB-awaken 1.POSS-heart

1SG now HAB-IRR-SUB-TLOC-know INF-3.PL-die-INTRAN

‘It is when my heart awakens that I now know that they have died.’ P73 73 (3)

The following is another example of the punctual aspect of the translocative.

(194) *guš  yuʔ  gi-hu̱li  aʔ-wagaʔ*

DIST who INF-want ART-slave

quick-ADV PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-buy

‘And further should he want a slave, he could buy (one) quickly.’ P47 42 (1)

Another possible aspectual distinction of the translocative is a sense of totality or completion. In (195), the translocative may be indicating the totality of the proposition. The concept of totality may be a semantic extension of punctuality in that something that is punctual is often a totally completed and contained event.
2.13.3. Proximal

The proximal prefix is found in position 10 and has the form $he^- \sim heN^-$. This prefix possibly originates from the incorporation of the proximal demonstrative $heš$ as a verbal prefix. The term proximal is used for this prefix since part of its function is to code a spatial location which seems to be judged within the discourse as proximate or near a deictic center. However, as to be expected, other functions appear to have arisen out of its core function. In the texts, it is most commonly used to code the location at which an event/state occurs. In this function, it usually co-occurs with the relative locative $du$- of position 4 in relative clauses. It also appears to have the non-spatially oriented discourse function of reference to an action, much like a pro-verb.

In (196), the proximal is coding the proximity of the action to the current deictic center of the discourse. Also, the presence of the proximal demonstrative $heš$ in this example is analogous to the occurrence of the distal demonstrative $guš$ with emphatic translocative clauses, and may indicate that this is also an emphatic construction.

(196)  $č-u-m-yuwa-čubu$  $ma^b$

SAP-REAL-FIN-follow-APPL.2.SG.OBJ 2ND

$hеš  n-a-m-i-hay-ğan.$

PROX 2.IRR-IRR-FIN-SUB-PROX-pass

‘I am waiting for you when you pass along here.’  P136 2

(197) and (198) are examples of the use of the proximal in relative clauses with the relative locative prefix $du$-. These examples apparently code a static location at which an event takes place.

(197)  $wa?  či?  g-*a-n-di-how-cubu$

NEG 1ST PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN-TLOC-see-APPL.2.SG.OBJ

$guš  či?  g-*a-du-hen-iešdu.$

DIST 1ST PST-REAL-ASRT-RELOC-PROX-sit

‘I did not see you there where I was (sitting)’  P140 (3)

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36 This example also shows that the negative particle $wa?$ can act as a verb root.
Examples (199) and (200) demonstrate the proximal’s pro-verb-like function in conjunction with the verb ‘to do’. In these examples, the proximal is referring to a past action which is still active within the scope of the discourse.

(199)  
\[
guc \ am-pa\-\text{kye} \ pa? \ d\-\text{e}\-\text{di}\-\text{ha}\?-\text{na}: \\
\text{DIST ART-shaman so HAB-IRR-SUB-PROX-do}
\]
\[
wa? \ d\-\text{e}\-\text{de}\-\text{ni}\-\text{da}\-\text{bne}\-\text{di} \\
\text{NEG HAB-IRR-NEG-3.PL-pay-APPL}
\]
‘when a shaman did like that they would not pay him’ P72 70 5

(200)  
\[
micni? \ gu\sh\ pe\sh \ u\-\text{he}\?-\text{na}\-\text{fa}? \\
\text{coyote DIST so REAL-PROX-do-1SG.OBJ}
\]
‘It is coyote who did it to me’ P96 6

2.13.4. Relative locative
The relative locative occupies position 4. Its most frequent form, and presumably the basic form, is du-, though it has also been observed as de-. This prefix is very likely related to the nominal oblique prefix du-. Its specific function on the verb stem appears to be to indicate a relativized static location (though its nominal oblique counterpart has a much wider semantic range). This prefix has only been observed to occur on verb stems in relative clauses and is therefore termed relative locative. The following are examples of this prefix.

(201)  
\[
lau?\text{\check{\text{q}}}nd\check{\text{e}} \ mad\-\text{fan} \ ni?\-\text{yuku}\-\text{n} \\
\text{then all-ADV 3.PL-know-3.OBJ}
\]
\[
\check{\text{c}}u \ g\-\text{\check{\text{a}}\-du\-\text{ni}\-\check{\text{p}}} \ dini\-\text{di}\?-\text{p} \\
\text{where PST-REAL-ASRT-RELLOC-3.PL-lie 3.POSS-camas}
\]
‘Now then they all knew where they had placed their raw camas.’ P19 1 (5)

Section 2.13.3 shows the relative locative as it often co-occurs with the proximal. Example (202) shows that it also can occur with the ablative.
(202)  
\[
g-i-n-t^h\text{-}wu'k \quad gu\text{š} \quad \dot{c}i\text{-}l\epsilon
\]
\[
\text{PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-arrive} \quad \text{DIST} \quad \text{ADV-near}
\]
\[
gu\text{š} \quad a\text{-}fbi'? \quad gi\text{-}du\text{-}\ddot{c}u\text{-}min\text{-}u\text{fid}
\]
\[
\text{DIST} \quad \text{ART-gopher} \quad \text{INF-RELOCC-ABL-come out} \quad \text{INTRAN-COLL}
\]
\[
\text{‘He got close to where the gopher came out.’} \quad \text{P 115 3}
\]

(203) shows the relative locative realized as the form \textit{de}-. This may be due to a system of vowel harmony in conjunction with the surrounding syllables.

(203)  
\[
d\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}ni\text{-}qa'lt \quad du\text{-}mur\text{ki}' \quad day\text{-}gauni
\]
\[
\text{HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-hang} \quad \text{OBL-deer} \quad \text{3.POSS-trail}
\]
\[
gu\text{š} \quad a\text{-}mur\text{ki}' \quad d\text{-}de\text{-}hay\text{-}\ddot{g}an
\]
\[
\text{DIST} \quad \text{ART-deer} \quad \text{HAB-IRR-RELOCC-PROX-pass}
\]
\[
\text{‘they hung it on a deer trail, where deer went by.’} \quad \text{P32 22 (3)}
\]

Under one analysis, the relative locative may also appear in the purposive/complementizer prefix complex \textit{dumi-}. This is discussed in section 2.12.

### 2.13.5. Ablative

The ablative prefix occupies position 11, the final prefix position, and has the forms $u\sim\dot{c}e$. This prefix was identified by Rude (1986) in his glossing, and is the source from which I first acquired the functional identification of this prefix as an ablative. The term ablative is normally associated with nominal case marking to indicate the spatial notion of ‘from a deictic point’. The term ‘ablative’ is used here in a similar way, though this prefix only occurs as a verbal morpheme in Santiam. The basic function of the ablative is to indicate motion from a deictic center, though it has also been observed to indicate other spatial relations, such as placement opposite a deictic center.

The following is an example of the prototypical function of this prefix.

(204)  
\[
wa'?\quad p\text{-}de\text{-}he\text{-}hu\text{č} \quad gu\text{š} \quad u\text{-}\ddot{c}i\text{?-i\text{-}did}
\]
\[
\text{NEG} \quad \text{FIN-NEG-be-panther} \quad \text{DIST} \quad \text{REAL}\text{-ABL-go-DURLOC}
\]
\[
\text{‘It’s not panther that is coming’} \quad \text{P108 5 (6)}
\]

In (205), the ablative co-occurs with the cislocative. In this case, it appears that the ablative codes the center from which a participant has moved and the cislocative codes the speaker as a deictic center.

(205)  
\[
\ddot{c}u'?\quad ma^h\quad \ddot{c}u\text{-}man\text{-}\ddot{c}i\text{-yemp}
\]
\[
\text{where 2.SG} \quad \text{SAP-REAL-FIN.CIS-ABL-come from}
\]
\[
\text{‘where did you come from?’} \quad \text{P131 2 (1)}
\]
Finally, the ablative appears to also code the spatial notion ‘opposite to’. In (206), the ablative likely codes the placement of the participant opposite to the deictic center ‘the woman’ and the cislocative codes the motion of the participant relative to a separate deictic center in the discourse.

(206)  
\[
\text{lauʔɗe gus a-waiʔwa g-u-m-yu} \\
\text{then DIST ART-woman PST-REAL-FIN-sit}
\]
\[
\text{lauʔɗe guš a-šni he g-u-man-či-yu} \\
\text{then DIST ART-coyote here PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-ABL-sit}
\]

‘and the woman sat down, and coyote sat over here (opposite her).’  P107 5

3. Suffixal morphology
This section provides a brief description of some of the more commonly occurring suffixes on the Santiam verb stem. For a number of these suffixes, only suggestions are given as to their meaning and function, due to a greater degree of uncertainty about Santiam suffixes in general. This work seeks to provide a preliminary introduction to suffixes in Santiam with the hope that further work will provide a more elaborate description. Though the most frequently occurring suffixes are mentioned in this section, it is likely that there are additional suffixes in Santiam which do not receive mention, due to their infrequent occurrence or to uncertainty in their identification.

3.1. Transitive/intransitive suffixes
Position 1 contains a number of suffixes which apparently code the transitivity of the verb stem. It may be the case that oppositional pairs of transitive and intransitive suffixes are lexically specified by the verb root or by a type of class membership (further research is need to confirm this). Transitive suffixes appear to add a causative meaning to the verb stem. However, at this stage of research on Santiam it seems most appropriate to consider these suffixes as transitive as opposed to causative, since they occur in opposition to intransitive suffixes and, as shown in section 3.6, a separate causative suffix has been identified (which actually co-occurs with (at least) one of the transitive suffixes). Kendall (1997), reproduced in Mithun (1999:433), glosses the morpheme -u as an intransitive suffix, and this is the source from which the identification and analysis of this particular suffix originated. The identification and analysis of other transitive/intransitive suffixes is my own. In order to describe these suffixes clearly, they will be presented in terms of oppositional pairs occurring on the same verb root.

-\( \omega \) \sim -u  Intransitive
-wa  Transitive

In (207), the root cagal? ‘to dry’ occurs with the intransitive suffix -u and the transitive suffix -wa.\(^{37}\)

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\(^{37}\) It is possible that -a is a phonological variant of the transitive suffix –wa.
(207a) lauʔ?mdε  d-e-di-čagʔal-u-yu
then HAB-IRR-SUB-dry-INTRAN-INCH
‘And when it had become dry’ P36 30

(207b) d-e-ni-wu d-e-ni-čagalʔ-wa-ni
‘they got it (and) dried it.’ P36 30

The same opposition occurs for the root wilwil, loosely translated as ‘be round’

(208a) guš d-e-ni-piʔ-yu
DIST HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-lie=also

guš u-čagalʔ-w wilʔwil-ω
DIST ADJ-dry-INTRAN DIST ADJ-round-INTRAN
‘they applied that dried round thing there likewise’ P36 30 (2)

(208b) lauʔ?mdε d-e-niʔ-wilʔwilʔ-wa-ni
then HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-round-TRAN-3.OBJ
‘they made it into round balls.’ P36 30 (1)

-∅ Intransitive
-wa Transitive

The opposition -∅/-wa occurs with the root hek ‘to leave’.

(209a) lauʔ?mdε gus tgu b lauʔ g-u-m-he k
then DIST skunk now PST-REAL-FIN-go on
‘Now skunk went on.’ P142 (6)

(209b) č-u-m-he g-ču-f
SAP-REAL-FIN-go on-TRAN-APPL.2.SG.OBJ
‘I will leave you.’ P121 (3)

-u ~ -ω Intransitive
-i Transitive

In (210a), the verb root dul ‘die’ occurs with the intransitive suffix -u.

(210a) lauʔ č-i-n-di-du:l-u  aʔʔ-ḵapyiʔ
now SAP-REAL-FIN-1.PL-die-INTRAN ART-body
‘Indeed now we have been dying in body. (we have been starving)’ P34 28 1

In (210b), the same verb root occurs with -i, with the meaning ‘to kill’.

(210b) pes n-a-m-i-he-na-hai        mad-fan n-e-ni-du-l-i?
      ‘If you do it like that, you can kill them all.’ P121 (5)

Examples (211a and b) show the root lam ‘enter’ with intransitive and transitive suffixes.

(211a) lauʔnde g-u-ma-la-m-∅        a-šni
      then   PST-REAL-FIN.CIS–enter-INTRAN ART–coyote
      ‘and now coyote came in.’ P106 4

(211b) ma-la-m-i guš a-mǔki u-wug-i
      CIS–enter–TRAN DIST ART–deer REAL–arrive–TRAN
      ‘Bring inside the meat that he has brought back.’ P105 3 (4)

-∅          Intransitive
-i          Transitive

(212a and b) show the root wuk ‘to arrive’ with intransitive and transitive counterparts.

(212a) lauʔnde yẽči gi-di–t-wu’k
      then   almost INF–SUB–TLOC–arrive
      ‘Now when he had nearly gotten to him.’ P141 2 (2)

(212b) ma-la-m-i guš a-mǔki u-wug-i
      CIS–enter–TRAN DIST ART–deer REAL–arrive–TRAN
      ‘Bring inside the meat that he has brought back.’ P105 3 (4)

-fu          Transitive

Finally, the suffix -fu may function as a transitivizing suffix. It occurs in opposition to other types of suffixes, such as the applicative in the next example and, in the following section, a nominalizer. This may indicate that its status is somewhat different than the suffixes shown above.

(213a) ṝ-i-n-diʔ-u-fuʔ        aʔ-ʔlaʔ?
      ‘Let us look for pitchwood’ P112 9 (5)

For contrast the following clause is given, where the applicative references the third person animate object.

Example (214b) below also shows this suffix in opposition to the nominalizing suffix shown in (214a).

### 3.2. Nominalizers

The following suffixes possibly occur in position 1, but this is uncertain since they have not been observed to co-occur with other suffixes in the texts. Both suffixes appear to function as nominalizers.

- **-fin**

  **Nominalizer**

  (214a) gus a?-wai³wa g-i-ŋ-ge³-ni kʷa-ne-fin  
  DIST ART-woman PST-REAL-FIN-make-3.OBJ eat-NOM  
  ‘and the woman prepared their food.’ P103 5 (3)

  Compare (214a) with the (214b), where the same root occurs with a transitive suffix.

  (214b) g-i-ni-kʷa-neb-fu³  
  PST-REAL-FIN.3.PL-eat-TRAN  
  ‘They ate.’ P106 4 (2)

In (215), the nominalizer -fa occurs with the verb root kʷa ‘to take’ in a possessed noun phrase. In this example, the same root also occurs in the predicate of the clause.

- **-fa**

  **Nominalizer**

  (215) g-u-m-kʷa g-u-wa³ guš duŋ-kʷa-fa  
  PST-REAL-FIN-take PST-REAL-five DIST 3.POSS-take-NOM  
  ‘He had five such packs.’ P104(7)

### 3.3. Reflexive

The suffix -či ~ -če ~ -çe functions as a reflexive and indicates that the subject is the same participant as the object. It is unknown what position this suffix occupies.

(216) guš g-u-ma³-mui-či  
  DIST PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-put-REFL  
  ‘he got inside that.’ P111 8 (2)

(216) can be contrasted with (217), where the same root appears without the reflexive suffix.

Another example of the reflexive suffix is (218).

(218) \textit{guš \textit{d-}e-n-de\-\textit{q}i \textit{q}a-\textit{či}}  \\
\text{DIST HAB-IRR-FIN-EMPHTLOC-hang-REFL} \\
\text{‘he would choke himself.’} P32 (3)

This suffix can apparently also be used to code a middle-like participle. Since both middle and reflexive constructions have decreased valency, it follows that they would receive the same morphological coding.

(219) \textit{i\textit{-s}du-fad \textit{u-plaqe-}ce \textit{a-wa\-dik}}  \\
\text{ADJ-small-COLL ADJ-split-REFL ART-tree} \\
\text{‘small split sticks’} p72 71 (2)

### 3.4. Inchoative

The inchoative suffix \(-\textit{yu} \sim \textit{-yω}\) codes a participant’s entrance into a state of being. No explicit cause or volitional instigator of the resultant state is indicated. It is not known what position this suffix occupies, though it does occur after the intransitive suffix and before the passive suffix in the suffix complex -\textit{yu-}q (see 3.6 below). In (220) and (221), the same verb root is shown with and without the inchoative suffix.

(220) \textit{lau\textit{\-nd\-e} \textit{d-}e-di\-\textit{čag}\-\textit{u-}\textit{yu\-}}  \\
\text{then HAB-IRR-SUB-dry-INTRAN-INCH} \\
\text{‘And when it had become dry’} P36 30

(221) \textit{d-\textit{e-ni-wu\-} \textit{d-\textit{e-ni-čagal\-w}a-ni}}  \\
\text{‘they got it (and) dried it.’} P36 30

In (222), the root \textit{\textit{uq} ‘be hot’} occurs both with and without the inchoative suffix.

(222) \textit{\textit{gus \textit{d-\textit{e-ni-}\textit{p}i} \textit{u-w\-u\-q an-da\-}}}}  \\
\text{DIST HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-lie ADJ-hot ART-rock} \\
\text{\textit{lau\textit{\-nd\-e gus an-da \textit{d-\textit{e-m\-uq-}yω}}}}  \\
\text{then DIST ART-rock HAB-IRR-FIN-hot-INCH} \\
\text{‘There they put the hot rocks…….the stone would become hot again.’} P40 4 (3), 4 (4)
The next example shows that it can also occur on verb stems with a non-third person subject.

(223) yi·kun  n-a-m-suʔ-yu·
      maybe  2.IRR-IRR-FIN-good-INCH
‘you might get well.’ P36 4

3.5. Passive
The passive suffix -q ~ -k regularly co-occurs with the inchoative -yu in the suffix complex -yuq. I have observed only one instance of it occurring without the inchoative. As a passive marker, it indicates that the subject of the clause is the semantic patient. Overt agents are not expressed in passive constructions.

The co-occurrence of the passive and inchoative suffixes may indicate that in many cases passive constructions in Santiam code not only the topical prominence of the patient but also a resultant state, since the inchoative itself codes entrance into a state. However, since an example of a passive without the inchoative has been observed, it can not be categorically stated that all passive constructions in Santiam are stative.

In (224), the first clause is active and has a direct object which appears as the passivized subject in the immediately following second clause.

(224) yi·kun  du·dε-waya  g"adigu·dgumu  g-"a-m-hɔrdu.
      maybe  OBL-1.POSS-dream  this morning  PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN-see
      g-"a-ma-la·m-aʔ-yu-q
      PST-REAL-ASRT-CIS-enter-TRAN?-INCH-PASS
‘Maybe I did see him in my dream this morning. He was brought inside’
P54 4 (2)

(225) shows a passive clause whose subject is within a relative clause.

(225) guš  iɛ  ta:fɔr·dint
      DIST  CONTR  one-DISTR
      guš  anʔ-uihi  diʔ-lec"waʔ-yuʔ-q  du·wa·qiʔ
      DIST  ART-man  SUB- steal-INCH-PASS  3.POSS-spouse
      d-ɛ-m-ʔ
      HAB-IRR-FIN-go
‘then once in a while rather the man whose wife had been stolen would go’
P44 40 2

Another example of a passive construction is (226).
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(226) \[he\] \[g-u-mam-pi\] \[yu\] \[an-tgu\] \[b\]
PROX PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-lie-INCH-PASS ART-skunk
‘skunk was placed on this side’ P139 5 (2)

The following is the only known example of the passive occurring without the inchoative suffix. In this example, the fact that the passive occurs on an infinitive clause may explain why in this case the inchoative does not occur. Since it is an infinitive, aspect, specifically stativity, is not overtly expressed.

(227) ta-fōr-din \[kōn-fan \[d-ε-ni-kub-i\]
once-DISTR only-ADV HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-cut-TRAN 3.POSS-eye

\[guś \[a-mim\] \[gi-ni-hɔ̌rd\]
DIST ART- person INF-3.PL-see

\[guś \[gi-du-haצ-kub-i \[2-k\]
DIST INF-RELLOC-PROX-cut-TRAN-PASS
‘Sometimes they might cut his face, so that the people would see where he had been cut.’ P44 40 (3)

3.6. Causative

The causative suffix occurs in suffix position 2. It appears in the texts as the forms -na ~ -nen. This morpheme is very similar in form to the verb root na ‘to do’ and very likely developed as the grammaticalization of that root into a causative function. The grammaticalization of ‘to do’ as a causative morpheme is well attested cross-linguistically, cf. Heine and Kuteva (2002:117). (228) is an example of the verb root na ‘to do’.

(228) məʔ-nike \[guś \[pa\] \[u-na-fεbu\]
EMPH-what DIST SO REAL-do-2.SG.OBJ
‘(to see) what is making you like that’ P57 second line

(229)–(231) are examples of the causative suffix. In (229), the verb root su ‘be good’ occurs with the causative. This has the effect of deriving the lexical stem ‘to prepare’, which is semantically ‘to make good’.

(229) \[guś \[u \[2-nike\] \[di-ni-su\] \[nen-di-ni\]
‘The thing that they fixed their fire with…’ P17 1 (4)

In (230), an intransitive root is transitivized by means of a transitive suffix and causativized with the addition of the causative suffix. This appears to indicate that transitivizing and causativizing processes, though syntactically related (they both indicate an increase in valency), are distinct in Santiam.
3.7. Applicative
The applicative suffix occurs in suffix position 3. This is a derivational suffix that adds a semantic instrument, location, time, or goal to the set of core arguments of the verb. The core status of these arguments is confirmed by the observation that nominals in these constructions are not marked with the oblique nominal prefix du-. The applicative has two main allomorphs which appear on the verb stem; -di and -ad. It is unclear at this time which of these forms could be considered the basic form. The allomorph -di occurs after vowels and the fricatives [s] and [š]. The allomorph -ad occurs after other consonants. Additionally, an epenthetic [l(a)] has been observed to occur in certain instances before -ad and -di, though the phonological process by which this appears is unknown. Both allomorphs can be followed by a third person direct object suffix. In the case of -di, the applicative plus third person direct object combination is realized as -dini, whereas -ad followed by the third person direct object suffix yields the sequence -adi.

The existence of applicatives in Kalapuya was identified by Rude (1986). He identified the segments -dini as, in his terminology, an “instrumental (oblique) suffix” and described its function as “advancement or promotion” of an oblique participant to direct object which is not marked by the oblique nominal prefix du-. In section 3.13.3 below, I analyze -ni as the third person direct object suffix. Since Rude considered the sequence -ni to be part of the form of the applicative morpheme, some of the examples he gives of applicative constructions are, under my analysis, not applicatives at all since those particular examples in the texts contain only the sequence -ni and do not include the suffix -di. Rude (1986) mentions that the noun phrase which this suffix indexes is regularly marked with the article an-. He also recognizes that nouns cannot occur with other prefixes in addition to this article. In applicative constructions, the fact that arguments indexed by the applicative suffix appear without the oblique prefix du- and either appear with the article an- or without any prefix indicate that they are operating syntactically as core arguments of the verb.

The following examples illustrate the correlation between the occurrence vs. absence of the oblique nominal prefix du- and non-applicative/applicative clauses. Example (232) is a non-applicative clause and the peripheral nominal is case-marked with the oblique prefix du-.

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38 The analysis of the sequence of segments -ad as an applicative was first suggested to me by Marianne Mithun (p.c.). The analysis of -di and -ad as allomorphs of the same morpheme is my own.
(232)  \textit{lau}³\textit{md}ε  \textit{d-ε-ni-cagal³-wa-ni} \textit{du-ma-} \\
then  HAB-IRR-FIN.3PL-dry-TRAN-3.OBJ \textit{OBL}-fire \\
‘and they dried them on the fire’ P20 4 (2)

In (233), the nominal ‘my heart’, which is a semantic location, is not case marked with 
the oblique prefix \textit{du}- and the verb stem takes the applicative suffix.\textsuperscript{39}

(233)  \textit{wa}³  \textit{d-ε-n-de³-nag-at} \textit{den-hwpna} \textit{g}³\textit{nik gi-ni-du³-l-u} \\
NEG  HAB-IRR-FIN-NEG-say-APPL 1.SG.POSS-heart 3PL INF-3PL-die-INTRAN \\
‘I do not say in my heart that they have died.’ P73 73 (2)

In (234a and b), an non-applicative clause is contrasted with an applicative clause with 
the same verb root. In the applicative example (234b), the participant that is ‘shot at’ is 
semantically the goal of the action.

\textbf{Non-applicative}

(234a)  \textit{tau³he an-³ausak}  \textit{n-a-m-³ac-ni³} \\
one  ART-arrow 2.IRR-IRR-FIN-shoot-3.OBJ \\
‘Shoot one arrow.’ P121 (5)

\textbf{Applicative}

(234b)  \textit{din³-wi}  \textit{g³au³}  \textit{u-m-³ec-ad-i}  \textit{gu³}  \textit{a³-g³inh} \\
always 3RD REAL-FIN-shoot-APPL-3.OBJ DIST ART-gambling-bones \\
‘he also always shot at the gambling-bones.’ P50 47 (3)

Another verb root which commonly occurs with the applicative is \textit{nak/ni³} ‘to say’; 
indicating that the participant to which the utterance is directed is grammatically a core 
argument.

\textbf{Non-applicable}

(235a)  \textit{lau³md}ε  \textit{g-i-ni³-nak} \\
then  PAST-REAL-FIN.3PL-say \\
‘and they said’ P110 (3)

\textbf{Applicative}

(235b)  \textit{an-tfa³h}  \textit{g-u-m³-ni³-din³} \\
ART-pile PST-REAL-FIN-say-APPL-3.OBJ \\
‘He said to the piles’ P100 (12)

\textsuperscript{39}There are examples of the oblique prefix \textit{du}- co-occurring with possessive prefixes.
The applicative/non-applicative distinction can apparently also derive stems with idiomatic meanings. In (236a), the root *yuwa* ‘to follow’ occurs without the applicative.

**Non-applicative**

(236a) \(a\)-šayum \(u\)-\(m\)-\(yu\)\(\bar{w}\)-\(a\)-\(f\)\(\ddot{a}\)

\(\text{ART-grizzly} \ \text{REAL-FIN-follow-1.PL.OBJ}

‘Grizzly is pursuing us.’ P118 7

In (236b), this same root occurs with the applicative and has the effect of deriving the stem ‘to wait for’.

**Applicative**

(236b) \(g\)uš \(n\)-\(a\)-\(ma\)-\(yuwa\)-\(d\)\(i\)

\(\text{DIST} \ \text{2.IRR-IRR-CIS-follow-APPL}

‘You wait for it there.’ P129 first line

The next example may be a ‘time’ applicative, where the applied argument is the implied time reference.

(237) \(w\)a\(\ddot{o}\) \(g\)i-\(d\)\(e\)-\(wu\)\(\ddot{a}\)k \(g\)uš \(g\)i-\(d\)\(i\)-\(\ddot{a}\)-\(n\)ag-\(a\)t \(d\)um\(i\)-\(\ddot{a}\)-\(wu\)\(\ddot{a}\)k

\(\text{NEG INF-NEG-arrive DIST INF-SUB-say-APPL COMP-arrive}

‘he did not come back at the time that he had said he would return.’ P70 69 (1)

**Instrumental applicatives**

Several examples of instrumental applicatives have been observed in the texts. Example (238) shows the applicative suffix occurring on a causativized verb stem and referencing the semantic instrument of the event.

(238) \(g\)uš \(w\)-\(\ddot{a}\)-\(n\)ik\(\ddot{e}\) \(d\)i-\(n\)-\(u\)\(\ddot{a}\)-\(n\)-\(e\)-\(n\)-\(d\)\(i\)-\(n\)-\(i\) \(d\)in\(i\)-\(m\)\(e\) \(\ldots\)

\(\text{DIST} \ \text{REAL-INDEF} \ \text{SUB-3.PL-good-CAUSE-APPL-3.OBJ} \ \text{3.PL.POSS-fire}

\(w\)a\(\ddot{a}\) \(s\)-\(d\)\(e\)-\(y\)\(u\)\(k\)-\(n\) \(g\)uš \(d\)u\(n\)-\(q\)\(\ddot{a}\)t \(n\)ik\(\ddot{e}\) \(g\)-\(a\)-\(n\)-\(i\)-\(q\)\(\ddot{a}\)u-\(n\)-\(i\).

\(\text{NEG SAP-NEG-know-3.OBJ DIST 3.POSS-name what PST-ASRT-3.PL-call-3.OBJ}

‘The thing that they fixed their fire with....I do not know its name that they called it.’ P 17 1 (4)

Other instrumental applicative examples are (239b), (240b) (perhaps a comitative applicative), and (241). In these examples, an epenthetic \([l(a)]\) appears before the applicative suffix, as described above.
Non-applicative

(239a) guš či·-pgam gi·-di·-ni-gau-fu a·mε$hma
DIST ADV-long ago INF-SUB-3.PL-to fish TRAN ART-people
‘Long ago when people fished’ P18 3

Applicative

(239b) g·-ni-gau-fu?-lad-i$ guš am-ba·dafi
PST-REAL-FIN-3.PL-to fish TRAN APPL-3.OBJ DIST ART-trout
‘They fished trout with it’ P18 3 (i.e. talking about fishing with a special device)

Non-applicative

(240a) lau?mdε n-a-m-cul?-wa
then 2.IRR-IRR-FIN-have diarrhea TRAN
‘and then you will have diarrhea.’ P17 2

Applicative

(240b) laga n-a-ma-cul?-wa-lat a?-yu
maybe 2.IRR-IRR-FIN.CIS-have diarrhea TRAN APPL ART-blood
n-a-m-i-malk $a
2.IRR-IRR-FIN-DISF-fecate
‘Possibly you might have diarrhea of blood when you defecate.’ P18 first line

(241) g$au?% hεš i-n-duŋ-kÝile{k či·-n-du·-ťak·-$ÝlÝa·n/
‘This here is his own eye with which we are playing shinny’ P101 3 (2)

Applicatives and person marking
Example (242) shows a first person object as the argument indexed by the applicative. As shown in section 3.13, the applicative suffix frequently occurs with object suffixes, creating certain morphophonemic changes.

(242) ye:$=na$g u-m-yu$wi·lec$hÝa·n
/u-m-yu$wi·lad-i$fÝa·n/
WHO=WONDER REAL-FIN-talk APPL 3.OBJ 1.SG.OBJ-DUR
‘Wonder who is talking about me!’ P78 84

Example (243a) shows applicatives as they occur without the third person object suffix. This can be contrasted with (244a) where the applicative does occur with the third person object suffix. Also, (244b) is a non-applicative clause with the same verb root ĭab ~ da $b

as the applicative clause in (244a). The difference between these two clauses appears to be that in (244a) the location associated with the verb i.e. ‘foot’, is construed as an argument of the clause, whereas in (244b) the location is a deictic reference point and in this case is not considered an argument. A similar opposition may also hold for the root mand ‘to try’ ‘to look’, as shown in (243a and b).

(243a) \( l\u0170u^\prime mde \) guš \( am-pa\lakh\epsilon \) \( d-e-m-lab-ad \) \( gus \) u\-\u012c\u0131q an-da...
then DIST ART-shaman HAB-IRR-FIN-stand-APPL DIST ADJ-hot ART-rock

\( d-e-mand\-\epsilon d \) \( u\-f\alpha \)
HAB-IRR-FIN.look-APPL 3.POSS-foot
‘Now then shaman would step on the hot rocks .... he would look at his feet.’
P18 4 (1)

(243b) \( di\-s \) \( du\-ma\-\epsilon nd \) gamihu\-\y\u0131
soon 1.IRR-FIN.look tonight
‘Pretty soon I will try tonight’ P51 49 (1)

(244a) \( l\u0170u^\prime mde \) gi-di\-ni-\y\i
then INF-SUB-3.PL.-go

\( l\u0170u^\prime mde \) a\-\u014du\-m-lab\-\ad\i
then ART-grizzly PST-REAL-FIN-step-APPL-3.OBJ 3.POSS-foot ART-sapsucker
‘Then when they went back, now grizzly stepped on sapsuckers’s foot’
P124 8 (5)

(244b) \( l\u0170u^\prime mde \) gus an\-\u012c\u0131\i\% g\^u\u012c\u0131\% g\-i\-n-t-h\epsilon\-k či\-ma
then DIST ART-sapsucker 3.SG PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-go away ADV-forward

guš \( g\-i\-n-den\-da \) %
DIST PST-REAL-FIN-EMPHTLOC-stand
‘and the sapsucker himself went out in front, he stood there’ P124 8 (2)

**Discourse influence**

In (245a and b), the root ‘to search for’ occurs with the applicative suffix in contrast to (245c), where the same root is marked with the transitive suffix \( fu\? \). The difference in marking appears to be motivated by discourse factors. It appears that participants already introduced into the discourse (245a and b) are more likely to be coded with the applicative, as opposed to participants which are first mentioned in the discourse, as in (245c). In (245a), the applied goal of the clause ‘food’ is non-specific and has been introduced in the immediately preceding discourse as more specific items, as shown below.

(245a) ‘The men go to hunt, and the women go to dig camas. Some of them go for berries.’

\[\text{mad-fan} \quad d-e-ni-\text{?u-di} \quad \text{dini-k'ane-fin} \]\n
all-ADV \quad HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-search for-APPL \quad 3.PL.POSS-eat-NOM

‘They all go to look for food’ P139 2nd line

In (245b), the participant which is indexed by the applicative is the unexpressed third person object and not the location ‘water’, since the latter retains the oblique prefix. In this example, the applied argument is a specific and highly topical participant and has been previously introduced into the discourse (the narrative is about this participant who fell off a bridge and drowned).

(245b) \[g-i-n-d\text{?u-di} \quad \text{guš \ du-pgi?} \]\n
PST-REAL-FIN-1.PL-search for-APPL \quad DIST OBL-water

‘We sought him there in the water.’ P52 50 2

The above examples can be contrasted with (245c), where the root ‘to search for’ is suffixed with a transitive morpheme and not the applicative. The direct object ‘pitchwood’ is first mentioned in this clause, as shown by the immediately preceding discourse given with the example.

(245c) ‘And they were saying to one another, “What shall we do now? We cannot warm up.”’

\[\text{č-i-n-di?u-fu?} \quad a\text{?qâ}la? \]\n
SAP-REAL-FIN-1.PL-search for-TRAN \quad ART-pitchwood

‘Let us look for pitchwood’ P112 9 (5)

**Diachronic source?**

Finally, there is evidence that the applicative suffix may have developed from the verb root \(\text{di} \) ‘to give’. In the following example, the verb ‘to give’ is suffixed with the third person indirect object suffix \(-d\).

(246) \[\text{laui?mdē} \quad d-e-ni-di-d \quad \text{tau?ne \ an?-uihi} \]\n
then \quad HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-give-3.IO \quad one \quad ART-man

\[\text{gi-k'a} \quad \text{gu} \quad \text{du-wa?na} \quad \text{a-min?} \quad \text{du-n-uwa} \]\n
INF-take \quad DIST \quad OBL-other \quad ART-person \quad 3.POSS-place

‘and they would give them to one man to take them there to the place of some other people’ P33 25

It is interesting to note that in (246) the dative recipient ‘one man’ is not marked with the oblique nominal prefix \(\text{du-}\). This shows that in Santiam, as in many other languages,
indirect object recipients are grammatically core arguments. Since indirect objects are core arguments in Santiam and the form of one of the allomorphs of the applicative and the root ‘to give’ are identical [diti], a possible diachronic connection may be indicated. Heine and Kuteva (2002:149, 153) give examples from other languages of the grammaticalization of the root ‘to give’ as a benefactive/dative marker. An example from Ewe (Kwa, Niger-Congo) cited in that work shows a very interesting parallel to a certain applicative structure in Santiam. Consider the following clauses in Ewe and Santiam:

Ewe (Heine and Kuteva 2002:153, from Heine et al. 1991:Ch.1)

É gblo e ná m
3:SG say it give me
‘He told it to me.’

guš ė-u-m-yuwa-di g-a-ni?-niš-ti-ni-fa-i
‘I am waiting for them to tell me.’ P74 (1)

If the applicative morpheme in the dependent clause gani?ništinifai were an incorporation of the verb ‘to give’, then the Ewe and Santiam examples would have a one-to-one isomorphism of elements (excluding the irrealis marker, 3pl, and the unknown final element in the Santiam clause).

3.8. Reciprocal
The reciprocal suffix -da ~ -dai indicates that multiple participants (grammatically the subject of the clause) are acting on each other. It frequently occurs with the collective suffix -fidi. It is not known what position this suffix occupies, though it does occur after the collective suffix.

(247) lau?nde g-i-ni-lub-fidi-da·
pst REAL-FIN.3.PL-exchange-COLL-RECIP 3.PL.POSS-anus
‘So then they exchanged anuses.’ P114 (3)

---

40 If there is a diachronic connection between the root ‘to give’ and the applicative in Santiam, it may have developed along a pathway similar to Ewe, perhaps (speculatively) by the analogical extension of coding a three-participant dative or benefactive clause to coding other types of three-participant clauses, such as clauses with an instrument. This could have eventually evolved into coding the third participant as a core argument, thereby increasing the valency of these clauses. Unfortunately, I cannot use evidence from benefactive expressions in support of this hypothesis, since I have been unable to locate any in the Santiam material.
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(254) \( \text{din} \text{-} \text{\'e-} \text{wi} \ \text{\'e-} \text{m-hefi-dind} \)
always SAP-REAL-FIN-gather firewood-DISTR
‘I will be gathering firewood all the time.’ P104 (6)

This suffix can also appear on adjective stems, as in (255), where it seems to code
distribution to multiple recipients.

(255) \( \text{lau} \text{-} \text{\'mde} \ \text{d-e-} \text{-m-\'uki} \ a-\text{mu-ki} ? \ \text{pw-nuk-dint} \ \text{gu\'} \ a-\text{mim} ? \)
then HAB-IRR-FIN-give ART-deer little-DISTR DIST ART-people
‘then he shared small pieces of the meat around among the people.’ P23 8

This suffix can also occur in certain idiomatic expressions, as in (256) with the verb ‘to
die’, where its distributive function is less discernable.

(256) \( \text{din-hu\'pna} \ \text{wa-} \ ? \ i-n-de\?-\text{-ala-dint} \)
3.POSS-heart NEG REAL-FIN-NEG-die-DISTR
‘His heart is not dead’ p73 72

3.11. Durative-locative
The suffix -\text{did} appears to function in the capacity of indicating a durative event or state
which occurs at a particular location. It has not been determined what suffix position this
morpheme occupies, since it has not been observed to co-occur with other suffixes. As
shown in sections 2.13.1 and 2.13.2, other spatial morphemes in Santiam also indicate
aspect in addition to spatial relationships. An indication of the function of this suffix as a
locational morpheme is that it has always been observed to occur with verbs of location
or movement. Evidence for its function as an indicator of durativity is that the verb of the
clause in which it appears is usually rendered in English as a progressive verb. The
aspectual function of this morpheme becomes apparent in clauses where the verb is
marked with the past tense prefix \text{g-} and there is no other indication of aspect, as in (257).

(257) \( \text{g-} \text{-} \text{-a-} \text{-n-ti\'c} \ \text{gu\'} \ \text{g-} \text{-a-di\'-t\'i-} \text{-did} \)
PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN-fall DIST PST-REAL-ASRT-SUB-TLOC-go-DURLOC
‘I fell down when I was on my way to there.’ P96 5 (6)

The following example clearly shows that this suffix is not an applicative morpheme,
since the semantically oblique argument ‘water’ retains the oblique nominal prefix \text{du-}.

(258) \( \text{lau}\text{-\'mde} \ \text{gu\'} \ \text{a-li-fa} \ \text{g-u-m-\'pi\'i-} \text{-did} \ \text{du\'-} \text{bge}\text{-} ? \)
then DIST ART-log PST-REAL-FIN-lie-DURLOC OBL-water
‘Now a log was there in the water’ P107 5 (4)

Other examples of this morpheme are (259)–(261).
(259) a-śni g-u-ma-yem’p du-milaq
ART-coyote PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-come OBL-ocean

lau’dmde g-u-m’-i-did
then PST-REAL-FIN-go-DURLOC
‘Coyote was coming toward here from the ocean coast. Now he was going along’
P96 4 1

(260) guš he’łum u-m’i-did
DIST outside REAL-FIN-lie-DURLOC
‘It is lying outside’ P96 6 (3)

(261) g-i-n-t-hōrd-u g-i-n-t-i-did či-mε
PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-see PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-go-DURLOC ADV-ahead
‘he saw him going along ahead.’ P141 2 (2)

In the final example, the location referenced by this suffix is ‘my dream’. This seems to indicate that this suffix can be used to refer anaphorically to a location previously mentioned but still active in the discourse.

(262) g-”a-m-hōrd-n āxčiš du-đe-wa’ ......
PST-REAL-AST-FIN-see-3.OBJ name OBL-1.POSS-dream ......

āxčil g-”a-ŋ-’qau-did
name PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN-sing-DURLOC
‘I saw āxčil in my dream..... āxčil was singing.’ P81 91

3.12. Durative
Position 6 contains the suffix -n which appears to act as a durative marker, implying an ongoing action of extended temporal duration.

(263) yì-kun w’-yu’wa-n
maybe REAL-follow-DUR
‘Maybe it is that which is pursuing.’ P112 first line

(264) din’č-wi u-m’-a-č̱e-ch-”a-n
/ u-m’-a-č̱e-di-fa-n/
always REAL-FIN-search for-?-APPL-1.OBJ-DUR
‘She is continually seeking me out.’ p116 2 (2)

3.13. Object marking
In Santiam, and Kalapuya in general, direct and indirect objects occur as verbal suffixes. In contrast to subject prefixes, object suffixes are less transparent morphemically and not as well identified at this stage. The fact that they occur much less frequently in the texts

than, for instance, subject prefixes compounds the difficulty in finding the underling forms and morphological processes associated with them. The following characterization of direct and indirect marking is offered as a suggested analysis based upon the available data. Direct object suffixes seem to be underlyingly monomorphemic, though additional morphemes do appear in conjunction with direct object marking. Indirect object marking appears to be polymorphemic, at least diachronically, and is characterized as a series of suffix complexes.

3.13.1. First and second person direct objects
Several suffixal forms occur in the texts corresponding to the categories of first and second person direct objects. I suggest that some of these forms are polymorphemic and represent a morphophonological fusion of the applicative suffix and person object forms. The basic (monomorphemic) forms of these suffixes occur in suffix position 5. Forms along with their examples are listed as well as suggested morphophonemic derivations.

The following is a table of attested 1st and 2nd person direct object marking.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FIRST PERSON</td>
<td>-fa[^{41}]</td>
<td>-fω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-čaγf</td>
<td>-&quot;ω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ch^*a</td>
<td>-čh&quot;ω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECOND PERSON</td>
<td>-fubu ~ -fub</td>
<td>-f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-čubu ~ -čub</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-čuf</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>-yuf?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-bu?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-yub?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Attested direct object marking

The following examples illustrate these forms.

1st person singular direct object

(265) pε? dincεwεi č-u-m-huli dumihωdu guš ničε u-nuicgab-fa? so always SAP-REAL-FIN-want COMP-see DIST what REAL-scare-1.OBJ ‘I always in that manner want to see what has frightened me’ P133 (2)

(266) g"-a-n-t-he g"-a-čaγf PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN-TLOC-go on-TRAN-APPL.1.OBJ ‘he left me’ P81 91 (2)

[^{41}]: -fa is noted by Rude (1986) in his glossing as 1st direct object.
(267) \( \text{din} \text{ý·wi } \text{u-m\textsuperscript{2}-} \text{de-ch\textsuperscript{*a-n}} \)
always \text{REAL-FIN-search\textsuperscript{-APPL.1.OBJ-DUR}}
‘She is continually seeking me out.’ P116 2 (2)

2nd person singular direct object

(268) \( \text{wa} \text{ý•la} \text{u} \text{\textsuperscript{2}} \text{ma} \text{g-i-de-hu\textsuperscript{do}} \text{gu\textsuperscript{s}} \text{nik\textsuperscript{e}•} \text{u-nuidzgab-fub} \)
NEG NOT 2ND INF-NEG-see DIST what \text{REAL-scare\textsuperscript{-2.OBJ}}
‘you never see what has scared you’ P133 (2)

(269) \( \text{di} \text{\textsuperscript{s} du-\textsuperscript{2}ni-fub} \)
soon \text{1.IRR-FIN-grab\textsuperscript{-2.OBJ}}
‘I will get you directly’ P136 2 (2)

(270) \( \text{he\textsuperscript{s} a\textsuperscript{2}-k\textsuperscript{*a-fa} di\text{\textsuperscript{s} g-a-ni-yu\textsuperscript{wa-fubu} hupun} \)
PROX ART-take-NOM soon \text{3.IRR-Irr-FIN.3.PL-follow\textsuperscript{-2.OBJ}} behind
‘These packs will follow directly behind you’ P 107 4 (5)

(271) \( \text{g-a-m-i-ni-gam\textsuperscript{?ye-\textsuperscript{cub}}} \)
\text{3.IRR-Irr-FIN-SUB-3.PL-help\textsuperscript{-APPL.2.OBJ}}
‘if they help you.’ P121 (3)

(272) \( \text{\textsuperscript{c-u-m-a-y\textsuperscript{a-ne-\textsuperscript{cubu}}} SAP-REAL-FIN.CIS-visit\textsuperscript{-APPL.2.OBJ}} \)
‘I have come to visit you.’ P121 (4)

(273) \( \text{\textsuperscript{c-u-m-h\textsuperscript{e-g\textsuperscript{*a-\textsuperscript{chuf}} SAP-REAL-FIN-go on-TRAN\textsuperscript{-APPL.2.OBJ}}} \)
‘I will leave you.’ P121 (3)

(274) \( \text{yi\textsuperscript{2}kun yi\textsuperscript{?} gu\textsuperscript{s} g-a-man\textsuperscript{-} \text{\textsuperscript{ywa-yuf}}} \)
maybe who DIST \text{3.IRR-Irr-FIN.CIS-hit\textsuperscript{-2.OBJ}}
‘Maybe somebody will strike you.’ P 77 82

(275) \( \text{lau\textsuperscript{2}md\textsuperscript{e} di\text{\textsuperscript{s} du-ma\textsuperscript{2}-} \text{uku-bu} \)
then soon \text{1.IRR-CIS-give\textsuperscript{-2.OBJ}}
‘and then I will give them to you.’ P131 2 (2)

(276) \( \text{he\textsuperscript{s} g-u-ma-wi\textsuperscript{?li\textsuperscript{?yub} he\textsuperscript{s} an-\textsuperscript{lausak}}} \)
PROX PST-REAL-FIN.CIS-bring\textsuperscript{-2.OBJ} PROX ART-arrow
‘Here I bring you back these arrows.’ P125 9 (4)

1st person plural direct object

(277)  \[a\-\text{šayum} \quad u\-m\-yu\-\text{wa}\-f\omega^]\]  
\[\text{ART-grizzly REAL-FIN-follow-1.PL.OBJ}\]  
‘Grizzly is pursuing us.’ P118 7 (1)

(278)  \[\text{la}u\-\text{nd}e \quad g\-u\-m\-ni\-\text{čh}^\omega\-\text{sdw}^\omega\]  
\[\text{then PST-REAL-FIN-say-APPL.1.PL.OBJ} 1.PL\]  
‘Now then he told us’ P68 (6)

(279)  \[\text{wa}' \quad \text{la}u' \quad \text{ye} \quad \text{pu}nuk \quad \text{gi-de'}\-\text{uk}^\omega\]  
\[\text{NEG now who little INF-NEG-give-1.PL.OBJ}\]  
‘Would you not give us a little food?’ P97 (4)

2nd person plural direct object

(280)  \[m\-\text{sayum} \quad \text{guc} \quad \text{u-du\-le'}\-\text{na-fi}\]  
\[\text{EMPH-grizzly DIST REAL-die-CAUSE?-2.PL.OBJ}\]  
‘It is grizzly who has been killing you (plural).’ 121 (2)\(^{42}\)

(281)  \[\text{sdw} \quad \text{la}u' \quad c\-i\-n\-di'\-\text{le}d\-g\-\text{a-ne}\-\text{fi} \quad \text{ma}^b\text{ti}\]  
\[1.PL \quad \text{now SAP-REAL-FIN-1.PL-take care-CAUSE?-2.PL.OBJ} 2.PL\]  
‘Now we are taking care of you.’ P65 62

(282)  \[gus \quad a\-\text{mim}^\omega \quad g\-\text{a-ni'}\-\text{niu}h\text{in} \quad \text{gi-ni-huiš}\-\text{wi}\]  
‘The people were afraid of smelling you.’ P140 (5)

(283)  \[g\-\text{a-ma'}\-\text{uk-h}^i \quad \text{ma}^b\text{ti}\]  
\[\text{PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN.CIS-give-2.PL.OBJ} 2.PL\]  
‘I came to give it to you.’ P96 6 (2)

As shown in the list above, a number of variations begin with the segment [č]. I suggest that this segment represents a separate morpheme from the direct object suffixes and that the most likely candidate is the applicative -\text{di}.\(^{43}\) The basic forms of object suffixes can then be postulated as:

\(^{42}\) Jacobs includes in parenthesis that this is a plural object.
\(^{43}\) All known examples of forms with [č] occur on the verb stem directly after vowels or the fricatives [s] [š], apparently motivating the use of the -\text{di} allomorph.
In other terms, this construction with the applicative fused to first and second person object forms is analogous to applicative constructions involving third person objects with the forms *-dini ~ *-adi as shown in section 3.7. This morphophonological process appears to occur when the applicative *-di is followed by a syllable beginning with the voiceless fricative [f], i.e. $\text{di} \rightarrow \text{c/}___ \text{fV}$.

Also, as shown below in section 3.13.2, the suffix complexes *-tinifai and *-dumbui contain, respectively, first and second person object forms and include the applicative and the third person object suffixes as well. It is interesting to note that in these forms there is no palatalized segment [c], apparently because of the intervening third person object form between the applicative and the first or second person object forms.

The following examples demonstrate these correspondences. The underlying form given in example (285) demonstrates a one-to-one correspondence of suffixes with the verb stem in (284). This can be compared with (286), where the segment [c] does not occur, apparently due to the intervening third person object suffix.

(284) \text{an-tfa}\,\text{ý} \, g-u-m\,^\sim\text{-niš-di-ni} \\
\text{ART-pile} \, \text{PST-REAL-FIN-say-APPL-3.OBJ} \\
\text{‘He said to the piles’} \, \text{P100 (12)}

(285) \text{lau}\,\text{mde} \, g-u-m\,^\sim\text{-ni-čh\,ω\,} \, sdω \\
\text{then} \, \text{PST-REAL-FIN-say-APPL-1.PL.OBJ} \, \text{1.PL} \\
\text{‘Now then he told us’} \, \text{P68 (6)}

(286) \text{guš} \, \text{č-u-m-yuwa-di} \, g-a-ni\,^\sim\text{-niš-ti-ni-fa-i} \\
\text{DIST} \, \text{SAP-REAL-FIN-follow-APPL} \, \text{3.IRR-IRR-3.PL-say-APPL-3.OBJ-1.OBJ-?} \\
\text{‘I am waiting for them to tell me.’} \, \text{P74 (1)}

In (287) the root ‘to follow’ occurs with the applicative and has the derived meaning ‘to wait for’.\(^44\) This can be compared with (288) where the same root is also used in the sense of ‘to wait for’ and there is a second person object occurring with the palatalized segment [č].

(287) \text{nike\, ma\,\text{b} \, č-u-m-yuwa-di} \\
\text{what} \, \text{2.SG} \, \text{SAP-REAL-FIN-follow-APPL} \\
\text{‘What are you waiting for?’} \, \text{P136 2}

\(^{44}\)Example (132) shows this root without the applicative.

It is at this point unclear what the underlying motivation for the occurrence of the applicative morpheme in these instances is, but it seems probable that it is not a productive process. Verb stems with a first or second person object consistently select the same form of the object, whether the basic form or one which includes the fused applicative. This may indicate that, synchronically, selection of object form is lexically determined, though perhaps at an earlier stage in the language there was a semantic or pragmatic bases for the selection of applicatives with first and second person objects. For the above forms, the following suggested morphological derivations are given.

1st person singular

Basic form -fa

Derived form -čaʔ⁴⁵

\[-di + -fa \rightarrow č + fa \rightarrow čaʔ\]

Derived example -čaʔ

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(289)} & \quad g^- \text{a-n-t- h} \varepsilon \text{g}^- \text{ačaʔ} \\
\text{heg-wa-di-fa} & \rightarrow \text{heg-wa-čaʔ} \\
\text{PREFIXES- leave-TRAN-APPL-1.SG.OBJ} & \rightarrow \text{PALATALIZATION} \rightarrow \text{METATHESIS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘he left me.’ P81 91 (2)

Derived form -chʷa

I suggest that this form acquires its shape in part due to the suffixation of the durative morpheme. In the following example, the transcribed element ch [čʰ] is, I believe, identical to [č] in other examples with the applicative and object morphemes.

\[-di + -fa + n \rightarrow ch + fa + n \rightarrow chʷan\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{APPL + 1.SG.OBJ + DUR} & \rightarrow \text{PALATALIZATION} \rightarrow \text{LABIALIZED}
\end{align*}
\]

⁴⁵ The origin of the glottal stop is unknown.
Derived example -chÝa

(290) umÝ⁄- \(\omega_{dech}^n\) umÝ·\(\omega_{-de-di-fa-n}\) \(\omega_{-de-ch-fa-n}\) \(\omega_{-de-ch-Ýa-n}\)

PREFIXES- search?-APPL-1.SG.OBJ-DUR \(\rightarrow\) PALAT. \(\rightarrow\) LABIALIZED

‘She is continually seeking me out.’ P116 2 (2)

2nd person singular

Basic form -fub ~ -fubu

It is not known what the determining factor is for the occurrence vs. absence of a final [u] in the basic form as well as in the derived form -čub ~ -čubu.

Derived form -čuf

-\(\text{di}\) + -fubu \(\rightarrow\) č + fubu \(\rightarrow\) č + fu \(\rightarrow\) čuf

APPL + 2.SG.OBJ \(\rightarrow\) PALAT. \(\rightarrow\) DELETION \(\rightarrow\) METATHESIS

Derived example -čuf

(291) č-u-m- \(\text{heg}^n\) ačuf

\(\text{heg-wa-di-fub(u)} \rightarrow \text{heg-wa-č-fub(u)} \rightarrow \text{heg-wa-č-fu} \rightarrow \text{heg-wa-č-uf}\)

PREFIXES- leave-TRAN-APPL-2.SG.OBJ \(\rightarrow\) PALAT. \(\rightarrow\) DELET. \(\rightarrow\) METATH.

‘I will leave you.’ P121 (3)

Derived form -čub(u)

-\(\text{di}\) + -fubu \(\rightarrow\) č + fubu \(\rightarrow\) čub(u)

APPL + 2.SG.OBJ \(\rightarrow\) PALAT. \(\rightarrow\) DELETION

Derived example -čub(u)

(292) gamini- \(\text{gamýye-čub}\)

\(\text{gamýye-di-fub(u)} \rightarrow \text{gamýe-č-fub(u)} \rightarrow \text{gamýe-č-ub}\)

PREFIXES- help-APPL-2.SG.OBJ \(\rightarrow\) PALAT. \(\rightarrow\) DELET.

‘if they help you.’ P121 (3)

Possible derivations for -bu, -yub, -yuf are not given since they are each observed to occur only once in the corpus.

1st person plural

Basic form \(-f\omega\)

Derived form \(-čh\,\omega\)

\[-di\quad +\quad -f\omega\quad \rightarrow\quad č\,f\omega\quad \rightarrow\quad -čh\,\omega\]

\[\text{APPL}\quad +\quad 1\text{.PL.OBJ} \rightarrow \text{PALAT.} \quad \rightarrow\quad \text{LABIALIZED}\]

Derived example \(-čh\,\omega\)

(293) \(\text{gum}\)\(\text{?}\) \(-ničh\,\omega\)
\(-niš-di-f\omega\) \(\rightarrow\) \(niš-č-f\omega\) \(\rightarrow\) \(ni-č-f\omega\) \(\rightarrow\) \(ni-č-\,\omega\)

\[\text{PREFIXES} \text{-say-APPL-1.PL.OBJ} \rightarrow \text{PALAT.} \quad \rightarrow\quad \text{DELET.} \quad \rightarrow\quad \text{LABIALIZED}\]

‘he told us.’ P68 (6)

2nd person plural

Basic form \(-fi\)

Derived form \(-wi\sim-h\,\iota\)

Based on available data, the above derived form appears to be a labialized variant of the underlying form. This form appears to occur after voiceless fricatives, as in (294).\(^{46}\)

(294) \(\text{gini-}\quad \text{huišwi-}\)
\(\text{huiš-fi} \quad \rightarrow\quad \text{huišwi}\)

\[\text{PREFIXES} \text{-smell-2.PL.OBJ} \rightarrow \text{LABIALIZED}\]

‘(The people were afraid of) smelling you.’ P140 (5)

3.13.2. First and second person indirect objects

First person singular and second person singular indirect objects are marked with what appear to be polymorphemic suffix complexes, though their internal composition is unknown. Indirect object marking has only been observed for first person singular, second person singular, and third person categories. Third person indirect object marking is described in section 3.13.4. The following forms are used for first singular and second singular indirect objects.

\(^{46}\) I have been unable to find any examples of a second person plural suffix occurring with the applicative on the verb stem.
-dɛd ~ -dɛʔ
‘1st Person Singular Indirect Object’

-dub
‘2nd Person Singular Indirect Object’

(295) through (297) are examples of these suffixes.

(295) dɛ=lug-dɛʔ haš aʔ-wadaʔ
INDEF-dig-1.SG.IO PROX ART-tree
‘make a hole in this tree for me!’ P99 (3)

(296) hεš tauʔne g-ʰ-a-ma-di-dɛd
PROX one PST-REAL-ASRT-FIN.CIS-give-1.SG.IO
‘he gave this one to me.’ P92 4

(297) č-u-m-di-dub wannʔ an-tausaʔ
SAP-REAL-FIN-give-2.SG.IO five ART-arrow
‘I will give you five arrows.’ P121 4

In addition to the above indirect object forms, other first person singular and second person singular indirect object forms have been observed. These forms most commonly appear with the root niš ‘to say’ and appear to be suffix complexes. In section 1.2.3.6, it is suggested that these forms represent a combination of the applicative, first singular indirect object or second singular indirect object forms and the third person object -ni.

(298) guš č-u-m-yuwa-di g-a-niʔ-niš-ti-ni-fa-i
‘I am waiting for them to tell me.’ P74 (1)

(299) lauʔ č-u-m-niš-dumbui
/ č-u-m-niš-di-ni-bu-i /
now SAP-REAL-FIN-say-APPL-3.OBJ-2.OBJ-?
‘Now I will tell you.’ P128 2

3.13.3. Third person direct objects
The frequently occurring suffix -ni of position 4 is analyzed as a third person direct object marker. It has the possible variants -na, -n, -ŋ, -i. This suffix has been observed to occur both with and without an overtly expressed third person direct object noun phrase.47

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47 Additional support for the analysis of object suffixes as pronominal person indexing or ‘cross-referencing’ morphemes is that first and second person direct object suffixes also occur whether or not the referent is overtly expressed.
The first example shows the root *hω·du* ‘to see’ without the suffix -ni. In this example, there is no tangible direct object (though there is a purposive clause).

(300) *maiču  du-m-ʔi  dum-i-hω·du*

morning 1.IRR-FIN-go PURP-see
‘I will go tomorrow to see’ P128 2 (3)

In (301), the same root appears with a referential, specific direct object. The verb stem carries a variant of the suffix -ni.

(301) *gi-di-ma-wuʔk  g-u-m-hω·d-ʔ  wanʔ  a-śiʔwa*

INF-SUB-CIS-arrive PST-REAL-FIN-see-3.OBJ five ART-child
‘when she came back she saw five children.’ P117 6

In (302), the first clause contains an non-specific direct object and there is no object marking on the verb.

(302) *lauʔndε  a-śni  g-u-m-huiʔk  nikes*

then ART-coyote PST-REAL-FIN-smell what
‘Now then coyote smelled something.’ P89 (3)

Example (303) shows the clauses immediately following (302) in the narrative. In the first clause, the object is still not identified, though there is an added degree of emphasis. This can be seen from the emphatic prefix on the indefinite pronoun and the assertive prefix on the verb. The addition of emphasis may trigger the occurrence of the third object marker in this instance. In the final clause, the object is identified and definite and the clause is marked with -ni.

(303) ‘miʔ-nikes=nak  č-e-n-huiš-ni’

‘EMPH-what=WONDER SAP-ASRT-FIN-smell-3.OBJ’

*g-u-m-huiš-ni  dum-buq*

PST-REAL-FIN-smell-3.OBJ 3.POSS-neck
‘Wonder what it is I am smelling?’ He was smelling his (turkey buzzard’s) neck.’ P89 (3)

Both (304) and (305) contain the root *geʔč* ‘to make’, though it is unclear what is conditioning the presence of the suffix -ni in (305). This may indicate that for Santiam presently unknown factors in discourse referentiality and/or pragmatics are involved in the occurrence of third object marking.

(304) *g-i-D-geʔč  du-suqna  gus an-a-fuʔ*

PST-REAL-FIN-make 3.POSS-cane DIST ART-elderberry
‘He made his cane from the elderberry.’ P90 2
Finally, (306) and (307) illustrate that the form -na is apparently a variant of this suffix.

(306)  
g-u-m?u·tye?-na  a?-luqu  
PST-REAL-FIN-call-3.OBJ  ART-big black woodpecker  
‘he called big-black-woodpecker.’  P99 first line

(307)  
c-u-ma?u·tye-ni  dəŋ-kwini  a?-luqu  
SAP-REAL-FIN.CIS-call-3.OBJ  1.POSS-brother  ART-big black woodpecker  
I will call my brother to come, big-black-woodpecker  ‘  P98 2 (3)

The above examples are provided to illustrate the occurrence versus non-occurrence of this suffix. It is far from certain what the underlying motivations are for the appearance of this suffix on verb stems. However, the fact that it only occurs with third direct objects (with the possible exception of frozen, grammaticalized forms involved in indirect object marking, as shown in 3.13.2) likely indicates that it is in fact a third object suffix.

3.13.4. Third person indirect objects

Third person indirect objects are marked by the suffix -t. The position of this suffix is not known, since it has not been observed to occur with other suffixes. The following are examples of this suffix.

(308)  
guš  a-mim?  ye?  gi-di·ʔ-t  
DIST  ART-person  who INF-give-3.IO  
‘The person to whom he had given it.’  P59 first line

(309)  
d·e-ni-di·ʔ-t  gus  a-mim?  
HAB-IRR-FIN.3.PL-give-3.IO  DIST  ART-person  
‘they would give it to that person.’  P37 31 1

Rabbit and deadfall trap  P136 2

\textit{gus}  am-bun  d·e-di-ma?i  guš  du-din-gauni?  
DIST  ART-rabbit  NARR-IRR-SUB-CIS-go  DIST  OBL-3.POSS-trail  
‘When rabbit came along on his trail,

\textit{lau¹me} guš  d·e-m-hor·du  an·tā·da  
then  DIST  NARR-IRR-FIN-see  ART-trap  
and he saw deadfall trap,

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'di-n-t-üp guš an-tkʰiilek du-mučel'
1.IRR-FIN-TLOC-cut DIST ART-blackberry 3.POSS-rope
‘I will cut the blackberry rope.’

lauʔmdə guš an-تبادل d-ε-mʔ-nak
then DIST ART-trap NARR-IRR-FIN-say
Then the deadfall trap said,

'n-a-m-i-t-üp gus an-tkʰiilek du-mučel
2.IRR-IRR-FIN-SUB-TLOC-cut DIST ART-blackberry 3.POSS-rope
‘If you cut that blackberry rope,

dıṣ du-ɲ-gʰin-fub'
soon 1.IRR-FIN-get-2.SG.OBJ
I will get you directly.’

lauʔmdə gus am-bun d-ε-mʔ-nak
then DIST ART-rabbit NARR-IRR-FIN-say
Now then the rabbit said,

'waʔ lauʔ maʰ g-ðe-d-gʰ in-faʔ?
NEG now 2.SG INF-NEG-TLOC-get-1SG.OBJ
‘You could not ever catch me!

gus g-i-n-ðet-gan=wi
DIST POT-REAL-FIN-EMPHTLOC-go by=EMPH
I can go right along there.

g-i-n-t-üp guš an-tkʰiilek du-mučel'
POT-REAL-FIN-TLOC-cut DIST ART-blackberry 3.POSS-rope
I will cut the blackberry rope.’

‘iev bar de=geč’
CONTR ? INDEF=make
‘Well then do that!’

wi-naš=wi guš am-bun g-i-n-i-idip
indeed=EMPH DIST ART-rabbit PST-REAL-FIN-TLOC-jump
Sure enough the rabbit jumped,
\[i\text{-n-t\text{-\text{q\text{\text{-}}}a}}\text{ }\text{dini-di\text{\text{-}}}\text{?}\text{ }\text{gu\text{\text{-}}}\text{ }\text{an-tk\text{\text{-}lilek}}\text{ }\text{du-mu\text{\text{-}}}\text{\text{\text{-}c\text{\text{-}}}el}\]

REAL-FIN-TLOC-rip? 3.PL.POSS-teeth DIST ART-blackberry 3.POSS-rose

with his teeth he ripped through the blackberry rope,

\[\text{lau\text{\text{-}}}\text{?}\text{ gus an-\text{\text{-}}}\text{\text{-}a-de} \text{ }d\text{-e-n-t-i} \text{-}c\text{ }\text{che-miya\text{\text{-}}}\text{\text{-}k}\text{ }\text{du-bun}\]

now DIST ART-trap NARR-IRR-FIN-TLOC-fall ADV-above OBL-rabbit

and then the deadfall fell down on top of the rabbit,

\[\text{lau\text{\text{-}}}\text{\text{-}mde} \text{ }d\text{-e-n-daha-i} \text{ }\text{gu\text{\text{-}}}\text{ }\text{am-bun}\]

then NARR-IRR-FIN-kill-3.OBJ? DIST ART-rabbit

and it killed the rabbit.

\[\text{gus am-bun} \text{ }d\text{-e-n-taq}\]

DIST ART-rabbit NARR-IRR-FIN-shout

The rabbit squealed

\[\text{gus an-\text{\text{-}a-da} \text{ }d\text{-e-di-ma-hi-c}\]

DIST ART-trap NARR-IRR-SUB-CIS-fall

when the deadfall fell on him.

References


