

Conceptual Categories of Spatial Nominals in Yakima Ichishkíin

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In a world dominated by English language use, it can be difficult to encourage learners to consider using a less-commonly spoken language in a meaningful way that helps at least slightly shift their perspective to a different cultural system. Language functions may be encoded using different types of lexical items, morphological or syntactic processes, or used in different pragmatic situations. One type of function that can help expose differences between the two systems is the process and structures of spatial description. While there are often broader conceptual categories that are shared between a variety of languages, their manners of encoding as well as their nuanced notions will likely be different from each other, which can cause some tension for learners. Some languages may build upon a basic notion of location with additional semantic meaning through the inclusions of adpositions or other lexical items. These may take some getting used to for the learners who are approaching grammatical systems different from that of their L1's system.

Yakima Ichishkiin (ISO: yak) is an endangered indigenous language spoken in what is currently central Washington state on the ancestral homelands of the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation. Estimates have suggested that there may only be 5-25 living L1 speakers (Jansen, 2012), putting much focus and energy into the active revitalization of this language. However, Ichishkiin is highly polysynthetic and agglutinative with a much freer word order than English, the L1 of most tribal community members. While language classrooms around the current reservation are focusing on basic grammar skills and many lexical items that 21st-century learners would be able to use in everyday contexts, skills like location description are incredibly important to help shift their frames of reference away from English's towards a more culturally-specific and -important one. This study explores how Ichishkiin expresses general and specific locations as well as how these language skills may be included in language

curricula. Future heritage learners should be at the heart of all descriptive and documentation work, as they will be the ones to bear proficiency and help carry this language forward.

Conceptual Background

Spatial and Topological relation frameworks provide a means of understanding and organizing hierarchical and object-to-object relations. Talmy (2000) described the notions of the Figure and the Ground as a system for organizing these relationships by foregrounding an object and backgrounding its environment or context. These concepts provide a manner of quickly identifying information within the utterance and segmenting meaning as much as possible for analysis. The Figure is seen as a “moving or conceptually movable entity whose path, site, or orientation is conceived as a variable” (Talmy, 2000, p. 312) and which is often the main topical referent in the utterance. The Ground, on the other hand, functions as a “reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure’s path, site, or orientation is characterized” (Talmy, 2000, p. 312). The Ground serves as the context for the Figure and helps the hearer understand its spatial properties in the context of that utterance. These may be encoded differently within the utterance construction, but they can be identified in light of the other and paired together as two objects. They are also metaphorically extensible to conceptual entities and states as ways of extending location beyond physical description.

Topological spatial relations are categories that organize specific types of spatial and conceptual relationships which are often learned early on in L1 acquisition. These are often encoded in adpositions or morphology to describe types of proximity, contiguity, and containment for the constituents of the utterance (Levinson et al., 2003). Elicitations and experiments with fluent and high-proficiency speakers can help gather sufficient Figure and

Ground description data in order to determine conventional conceptual categories. These descriptive functions may include both simple and complex types of notions and constructions depending on the priorities of the grammar system and speaker. While Levinson & Meira (2003) did not find any prototypical arrays of spatial notions, there were several generalized concepts that stood out from comparing locative predicates, including: ATTACHMENT, ON/OVER, ON-TOP, IN/INSIDE, and UNDER/NEAR. These concepts can usually gather most of the core descriptive lexemes and structures in some manner to add detail to the nature of the Figure-Ground relationship. These can also provide a more metaphorically extended meaning to get at more abstract meaning. Although they may fall to the wayside in revitalization contexts, these notions are important to investigate within these languages because they can help learners feel more in-tune with the language's conceptual system and move towards a higher level of descriptive fluency.

Language Background

Yakima Ichishkíin is part of the Sahaptian language family, with mutually-intelligible sibling dialects on the Warm Springs and Umatilla reservations on the Oregon side of the Columbia River. It also has a cousin dialect in Nez Perce along the Oregon-Washington-Idaho border which is not as intelligible to Ichishkíin speakers. The language features a large number of consonant sounds with a handful of vowels. Stops and affricates are voiceless and many exist in plain and ejective forms. It is a highly polysynthetic agglutinative language that uses case marking, verb agreement, and pronominal enclitics to express grammatical relations (Beavert, 2009; Jansen, 2010, 2012). The word order is flexible and serves discourse and pragmatic functions to often emphasize topical description or referents. Syntactic phrases are often

discontinuous. Arguments are often implicit within verb constructions as they are marked at least around the verb.

With its flexible word order, Ichishkíin uses eight primary suffixes to help mark how each noun is functioning within the utterance. The suffix *-pa* helps express a locative meaning, translated loosely as “in, on, at”. This suffix covers a wide range of basic description and can be used pretty freely with both animate and inanimate nouns (Jansen, 2010; Rude, 1997).

- (1) [áwshniksh-**pa**]=ash ayík-sha
[floor-**LOC**]=1SG sit-PROG
‘I am sitting **on the floor**’
- (2) áswan i-pnú-sha [inmí-**pa** pnú-t-pamá-**pa**]
child 3SG.S-sleep-PROG [1SG.GEN.PN-**LOC** sleep-NZR-thing.for-**LOC**]
‘the boy is sleeping **in my bed**’

In (1), the suffix *-pa* indicates that the floor is the Ground upon which the 1st person singular subject is sitting, while in (2), the suffix indicates the bed is the Ground in which the boy is sleeping. Context clues are required in order to disambiguate the specific literal translations from each other. Other noun suffixes related to location include the ablative *-knik* ‘from’, the allative *-kan* ‘to, towards’, and the dative *-yaw* ‘into’. Examples of these are provided in (3), (4), and (5) respectively.

- (3) aw t’áaxw pa-átt-nak’i-ø káatnam-**knik**
now all 3PL.S-leave-finish-PERF longhouse-**ABL**
‘now everyone has left the longhouse’ (Beavert, 2009, p. 66)
- (4) wína-k íkwín wát’uychnik pinmí-**kan**
go-IMPR that.DAT in.front.of 3SG.NOM.PN-**ALL**
‘go **over there** in front of him’ (Beavert, 2009, p. 273)
- (5) napwiinanmí-**yaw** iníit-**yaw** pa-wyánawi-ya Shíwanish-ma
1DU.GEN.PN-**DAT** house-**DAT** 3PL.S-arrive-PST Nez.Perce-PL
‘some Nez Perce people came **into our (Du.) house**’ (Beavert, 2009, p. 327)

These suffixes can also be used to communicate more metaphorical extension, including comparison, goal-orientations, and previous and future states of being.

Methodology

In addition to these suffixes, however, there are full lexemes that can be optionally added to modify these Ground Phrases to express a more particular meaning. This study will identify how locative meaning is enhanced using spatial nominal lexemes according to several conceptual categories expressed in Ichishkíin. Given the low number of living L1 speakers and the current pandemic, face-to-face elicitation and experimentation was not feasible to collect sufficient data for analysis. Samples were extracted from Beavert (2009), which is an Ichishkíin/English dictionary with hundreds of example sentences and translations for a wide range of lexemes. The Ichishkíin text exists on a webpage through the University of Washington that can be searched and copied as needed, provided one has a physical copy of the dictionary to examine the translations. Specific sentences served as the corpus/archive base.

A list of all location-description terms was surveyed from the English translation portion of the dictionary with appropriate glosses. These were then compared with the conventionalized conceptual concepts from Levinson and Meira (2003) so specific search terms could be identified. In many cases, there were at least two Ichishkíin tokens that could fit into each category. These lexical items were then searched for in the corpus base, and all Ichishkíin sentences containing the item were noted. These then had to be paired with their English translation from the physical dictionary. This data was first grouped together by the spatial nominal used, then by whether the nominal existed alongside a noun with a case marker suffix attached or standalone, with or without a suffix. Both sets were then organized by the specific suffix used to group similar grammatical treatment of the spatial description. The Figure referent and the Ground Phrase was identified within each example sentence as well as the relevant translated meaning. A full copy of the corpus data used with identified Ground Phrases can be

found in Appendix A. Locative Predicates were generated for each lexical item with appropriate alternate meanings as needed. Metaphorical extension possibilities were identified as well and noted on the side. These Predicates were then compared with each other within their respective topological category to see if any further distinctions between items could be gleaned.

Findings

PROXIMITY

One of the primary lexemes used to describe physical proximity is the nominal *ts'áa*, which can be translated as 'near, next to'. This is primarily used with a case-marked noun, as seen in (6) and (7).

- (6) [ts'áa púuks-pa] i-pátw-a laputáy
 near box-LOC 3SG.S-sit-PERF bottle
 'A bottle is sitting **next to the box**' (Beavert, 2009, p. 137)
- (7) á-ních-k [ts'áa aykáwaas-yaw]
 3O-store-IMPR near chair-DAT
 'put it **next to the chair**' (Beavert, 2009, p. 17)

Where 'x' is the Figure and 'y' the Ground, this lexeme is used to code PROXIMATE-TO(X,Y) and MOTION-TOWARDS(X,Y) beyond the simple *-pa* suffix. These two seem to be distinguished by the type of case marker attached to the Ground referent: (6) shows a more static locative situation within the verb *pátun-* 'sit' (*pátw-* is an irregular stem) while (7) already has movement embedded in the verb *ních-* 'store', which pairs with the dative 'into' marked on the chair.

- (8) kúshxi=ish wá xítway [ts'áa íshat-kan]
 as.well.as=1SG COP.PRES relative near one.side-ALL
 'I'm **closely** related on the other side [of my family tree] as well' (Beavert, 2009, p. 137)
- (9) Mísh i-wá [ts'áa wilyakí aní-t-ay]
 Q 3SG.S-COP.PRES near men's.chaps make-NZR-BEN
 'Is it **enough** to make a pair of (men's) chaps?' (Beavert, 2009, p. 22)

This lexeme ‘close’ sense is also extended more metaphorically to relations as well as ‘sufficient’, as seen in (8) and (9). More evidence and analysis is needed to determine if which verb-case marker combinations would yield this metaphorical meaning to this descriptor. On the other hand, *ktíxknik* ‘side, to the side’ encodes a more lateral placement of the two referents. Here, different noun suffixes on the Ground referent seem to have less impact on the free translated meaning.

- (10) A-patúk-ata-k aykáwaas íkwín shk’íish [ktíxknik iníit-kan]
 3O-set.up-PURP-IMPR chair that.DAT shade **side** house-ALL
 ‘go set up the chairs there in the shade **beside** the house’ (Beavert, 2009, p. 189)
- (11) Kutkut-lá-ma pa-patúk-sha ptúksh [ktíxknik iníit-knik]
 work-AGT-PL 3PL.S-set.up-IMPV posts **side** house-ABL
 ‘the workers are erecting posts **beside** the house’ (Beavert, 2009, p. 137)

This nominal similarly encodes the predicate meanings NEXT-TO(X,Y), but there also seems to be something about a particular TOWARDS-SIDE(X,Y) that other spatial nominals don’t have. There seems to be a bit more variance with which side despite not mentioning it explicitly, as there were cases of ABOVE-NEAR(X,Y) and INSIDE-SIDE(X,Y) that need to be accounted for somehow.

Some proximity nominals describe placement concerning the relative depths of the Figures and Grounds. *wát’uychnik* ‘front, in front of’ helps refer to Figures that are placed closer to the reference point than the Ground is. It encodes versions of IN-FRONT-OF(X,Y), but can also refer more generally to IN-FRONT(X) and FRONT-OF(Y), choosing to highlight either the Figure or the Ground with an implicit reference to the other or the speaker. (12) shows the modifier in a noun phrase, while (13) shows it standing alone with that meaning.

- (12) shín=xash i-láak-na kaylí [wát’uychnik shapatk’ipamá-pa]
 who=I.wonder 3SG.S-forget-PAST shoe **front.of** TV-LOC
 ‘someone must have forgotten their shoe **in front of** the TV’ (Beavert, 2009, p. 185)

- (13) t'áaw káatnam iwínsh ayík-sha [wát'uychnik]
 blocking tall man sit-PROG **in.front**
 'I can't watch the ball game. A tall man is sitting **in front** blocking' (Beavert, 2009, p. 240)

There are also instances of this lexeme meaning IN-FUTURE(X), which is a wide metaphorical extension of “in front” to refer to a temporal state beyond the physical placement of items. The inverse, *ánachnik* ‘behind’, is used in similar ways to refer to BEHIND(X,Y) and BACK(X), as seen in (14) and (15).

- (14) pá-wiip't'a-na [ánachnik káa-pa] ku i-xáwsht'ak-a áyat.
 INV-hit-PAST **back** car-LOC and 3SG.S-get.whiplash-PAST
 woman
 'the **back** of the woman's car was hit [by another car] and she got whiplash'
 (Beavert, 2009, p. 316)
- (15) iwínsh piná-paxaap-sha [ánachnik pchísh-pa]
 man REFL-wedge-PROG **behind** door-LOC
 'the man has wedged himself **behind** the door' (Beavert, 2009, p. 142)

There may also be an extension of LAST(X) for *ánachnik*, but it only appeared in one example from the data, so more elicitation would need needed to see how to regularly encode that meaning.

CONTAINMENT

Additional description of containment relies on the descriptors *ásht* ‘inside’ and *ámchnik* ‘outside’. A basic meaning is already included in the *-pa* suffix within the “in” meaning. *ásht* is nominalized from the verb *ásh-* ‘to enter’ and encodes predicate meaning related to CONTAINS(Y,X) and WITHIN(Y) as seen in (16) and (17) respectively.

- (16) Muxlí i-wíinwiin-xa [ásht iníit-pa]
 fly 3SG.S-fly.around-HAB **inside** house-LOC
 'a fly is flying around **inside** the house' (Beavert, 2009, p. 293)
- (17) Íchi i-wá [ásht iníit-ay] shapáxaapsh. ásht
 this 3SG.S-COP.PRES **inside** house-BEN insulation
 'This is the insulation for **the inside of** the house.' (Beavert, 2009, p. 10)

Its inverse, *ámchnik*, has a similar setup encoding $\sim\text{CONTAINS}(Y,X)$ and $\sim\text{CONTAINED}(X)$, shown in (18) and (19).

- (18) ip'úus i-pák'lik-sha [ámchnik púuch-pa]
 cat 3SG.S-snuggle.up-PROG outside porch-LOC
 'the cat snuggled up **outside** on the porch' (Beavert, 2009, p. 131)
- (19) K'usík'usi [ámchnik iníit-pa] pinála'aya-sha lámítix-pa
 dog outside house-LOC scratch.self-PROG head-LOC
 'the dog is scratching himself leisurely on the head **outside** the house' (Beavert, 2009, p. 145)

These lexemes can also stand on its own to encode just $\text{INSIDE}(X)$ and $\text{OUTSIDE}(X)$ without mentioning a particular Ground referent in the containing phrase. They have been lexicalized enough to stand on their own to refer generally to an “inside” or an “outside” across the board.

VERTICALITY

Vertical positions are already included in the *-pa* noun suffix as ‘on’, but can be easily supplemented with additional lexical items. The survey featured three possibilities, shown in context below: *ílp* ‘high, on top’, *xwíimi* ‘up, high’, and *xwíimichnik* ‘above, on top (of)’. *ílp* encodes predicates mainly focused on the top of the Ground referent, in manners like $\text{TO-TOP}(X)$, $\text{TO-TOP-OF}(X,Y)$, and $\text{ON-TOP-OF}(X,Y)$, some of which can be seen in (20).

- (20) [ílp pátu-yaw] pa-panáti-ya panati-lá-ma. (panáti-)
high.up mountain-DAT 3PL.S-climb-PAST climb-AGT-PL
 'the mountain climbers climbed to **the top** of the mountain'

xwíimi, on the other hand, expresses more of a meaning similar to $\text{UP-HIGH}(X)$, $\text{UP-HIGH-IN}(X,Y)$, with not as much a manner of comparing relative heights, seen in (21).

- (21) [xwíimi tikaypamá-pa] á-pak'ik-ø káyx tikáy-nan. (pák'ik-)
high cupboard-LOC 3O-put-IMPER glass dish-OBJ.SG
 'put the glass dish **up** in the cupboard'

xwíimichnik, finally, expresses $\text{ABOVE}(X,Y)$ and $\text{ON-TOP}(X,Y)$, but also has $\text{CONTACT}(X,Y)$ embedded in its meaning, making it seem more tangible than the others, perhaps. (22) shows an example of this.

- (22) i-tkwáychasha-sha táp'ash [xwíimichnik waxwnaykí-pa] (tkwáychasha-)
 3SG.S-lie-PROG pine.tree **on.top** tent-LOC
 'a pine tree is lying **on top** of the tent'

These three lexical items all express “above-ness” in some manner, but they all appear to have a slightly different tone to that description.

There appear to be two options for describing the BELOW category: *xálukt* ‘below’ and *imítichnik* ‘down, under, at the bottom’. The former describes most succinctly the predicate BENEATH(X,Y), while the latter describes a slightly wider range of predicates, like AT-BOTTOM(X), LOWEST(X), and BENEATH(X,Y). Examples (23) through (26) show a variety of uses of these two items that overlap slightly.

- (23) Palaláay i-patúk-sha pshátani ápils [xálukt ápils patátpatat-pa]
 lots 3SG.S-place-PROG box apples **below** apple tree-LOC
 'there are lots of apples in containers sitting **under** apple trees' (apils)
- (24) i-sápɣwnaynak-sha lákas [xálukt kaylí-knik] (sápɣwnaynak-)
 3SG.S-crawl-PROG mouse **below** shoe-ABL
 'the mouse is crawling in **the bottom** of the shoe'
- (25) lákas i-chimnáti-ya [imítichnik púuks-kan]
 mouse 3SG.S-flee-PAST **bottom** box-ALL
 'the frightened mouse ran to **the bottom** of the box' (Beavert, 2009, p. 89)
- (26) lákas i-wíixaap-sh [imítichnik áwshniksh-pa]
 mouse 3SG.S-run.under-PERF **bottom** floor-LOC
 'the mouse ran **under** the rug' (Beavert, 2009, p. 298)

Conclusion

Comparing this list of conceptual categories, it appears that many of the conceptual categories mentioned by Levinson and Meira (2003) are expressed in Ichishkiin with the inclusion of spatial nominal lexical items either by themselves or in a locative noun phrase. PROXIMITY, FRONT/BACK, CONTAINMENT, and VERTICALITY are all expressed via nominal inclusion. These can all be inflected by the inclusion of case marking suffix either on the nominal itself or on an included noun lexeme. These are therefore very customizable to

combine parts in different ways to express the particular meaning that a speaker intends. The one category from Levinson and Meira (2003) that doesn't appear on this list as easily is ATTACHMENT, as it was not as immediately visible when exploring and digging around in the data. This particular meaning might be more embedded lexically within verb roots with simpler morphology or indexing, which is why it wouldn't have shown up like these other descriptive functions.

One of the limitations of this study is the lack of standardization of form. The example sentences came from a dictionary project, which was focused on showing how the lexemes could be used in general, not for specific purposes. This complicated the process of determining the predicates for each sentence, as the focus was not always on the Figure or the Ground, but rather on the action itself sometimes. The reference frames for each utterance might have shifted depending on whether source was a particular elicitation for that word or it came from previously documented corpus materials. Although they are still accessible for learners and linguists, there is little opportunity for negative evidence to help determine their most particular senses and when it would be more pragmatically appropriate to use each one. As mentioned before, there is further study needed to dig into the relationship between the verb root, spatial nominal, and corresponding noun suffix marker, which may be more directive.

These are important language skills to consider and share with new learners, but they are built upon basic skills like using the nominal morphology to express basic locations. These therefore become just additional vocabulary items to learn to use in context once those basic skills have been established. Introducing them in pairs of either opposites (e.g. 'inside' and 'outside') or as full sets (e.g. the entire 'above/high/on-top' set) would help learners acclimate to them and begin to incorporate them as they learn them in the context of the unit's pre-existing

focus. There would be many ways to incorporate realia as both teaching and assessment tools to help learners demonstrate comprehension. There would need to be decisions made about which would be prioritized for earlier inclusion, but that could also be made on the content pairing with respect to what seems natural and authentic. There is great potential to include these skills alongside activities focusing on the communicative priorities that the community is moving towards as they revitalize their language.

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Appendix A: Dataset

Key

Colors

- Yellow = semantic extension examples (not analyzed yet)
- Green = Ground Phrase-ish
- Blue = Additional/base LOC phrase
- Purple = Alternatives? Case mark on the nominal

Abbreviations

- ABL = ablative
- ADJ = adjective
- ALL = allative
- BEN = benefactive
- CHAW TUN = nothing
- DAT = dative
- INST = instrumental
- LOC = locative

Format of Entries

Ichishkíin sentence. (Ichishkíin dictionary word entry) ‘free translation’

Ts’áa (‘near, near to’)

BEN

Tmáy cháv íxwi iwá ts’áa ámanitay. (ámani-) 'the girl isn't ready for marriage yet'

Cháv iwá ts’áa íchiyay kútay kápin. Xnim’attpamá iwá yawatashpamá. (íchiyay) 'a root-digger is not the right tool for doing this. a shovel is for digging a grave'

Ináaw ísht Spilyaymí áwacha ts’áa cháynachitay. (ináaw) 'Coyote's son was getting ready to be a bridegroom [approaching marriageable age]'

Áw ínpayap itaxnúnak’i ts’áa myawáxwítay. (myawáxwít) 'my older brother has matured [so that he is] fit to inherit the chieftanship'

P’íixk’a iwá payúwit ts’áa kw’imátay. (p’íix) 'the patient is conscious enough to converse'

Iwa’ináwisha watsúkt mísh áw iwá ts’áa wách’xtay ílkwaas. (wa’ináwi-) 'he's trying out the axe to see whether it can chop wood'

Ts’áa aykáwaasyay iwá íkw’ak tamátł’umxsh. (tamátł’umxsh) 'that cover is just right for the chair'

DAT

Sawyalílx Brianmí nisháykt áwa támiwnat Átanimpa ts’áa wálayaw. (Átanim) 'Brian's home is over on the other side of Ahtanum, near the creek'

Ánichk ts'áa aykáwaasyaw. (aykáwaas) 'put it next to the chair'

Ts'áa púuksyaw ánichk. (nich-) 'store it next to the box'

Anásht awkú wawáma payáninta ts'áa ílkwshyaw. (yánin-) 'at sunset the mosquitos fly around the [camp]fire'

Máali ayíksha ts'áapa inmíyaw. (ts'aa) 'Mary is sitting close to me'

Wáawk'aash ts'áa ayíka ílkwshyaw kuush lálp'atnim cháv wíyat itánshekanya tpísh. (lálp'at) 'I sat too close to the fire and the heat nearly burned my face'

ADJ

Áchapnik limíslimisnan. Mísh iwá ts'áa wilyakí anítay? (chápni-) 'Spread out the buckskin. Is it enough to make a pair of (men's) chaps?'

ALL

Kúshxiish wá xítway ts'áa íshatkan. (íshat) 'I'm closely related on the other side [of my family tree] as well'

ABL

Ts'áakniknam wá inmí námun. (ts'aa) 'You are my close relative'

LOC

Kwlistiin i'ayíksha ts'áa piimipáyunk. (-pa) 'Christine is sitting next to them'

Ts'áa púukspa ipátwa laputáy. (pátun-) 'A bottle is sitting next to the box'

Kwlistiin i'ayíksha ts'áa piimipáyunk iníitpa. (ts'aa) 'Christine is sitting next to their house'

INST

Ts'áakiish wá xítway pshíttnik. (pshít) 'she's my close paternal relative'

CHAW TUN

Cháv iwá ts'áa k'ínupa. (k'ínupa) 'that looks like the wrong size'

Maykts'áa ayíkim. (ts'aa) 'sit closer (to me)'

Apatkú áwanpita wawyaláan, kúuk iwakítta ts'áa pátatnan ku aníta wáwtkawani wat'anáwaas. (wáwtkawa-) 'when they summon the whipman, then he looks for the right tree and makes a bundle of beating sticks'

Ktíxknik ('to the side, side')

BEN

Pa'ishaxsha shapách'luksh ktíxknik iníitay. (ktíxknik) 'they're adding more insulation to one side of the house'

ALL

Aptúkatak aykáwaas íkwin shk'íish ktíxknik iníitkan. (shk'íish) 'go set up the chairs there in the shade beside the house'

Ktíxknikkan ápataasha kayáasu. (ktíxknik) 'the arrow is pointing to one side'

DAT

Ktíxknik pcháyaw iwíixaapsha k'ayík. (ktíxknik) 'the colt is running up beside its mother'

LOC

Ktíxknik iwíitwinxa k'ayík pchápa. (k'ayík) 'the colt is leaning beside its mother'

Píkchash iláwaluunxa ktíxknik pinak'inut'áwaaspa. (láwaluu-) 'the picture usually hangs above the window'

CHAW TUN

Ktíxknik ápataasha kayáasu. (pátaa-) 'the arrow is sticking in his side'

ABL

Kutkut-láma paptúksha ptúksh ktíxknik iníitknik. (pátuk-) 'the workers are erecting posts beside the house'

Ámchnik ('outside')

BEN

Ts'múy áw iwá ámchnikay kútkuttay. (ámchnik) 'it's warm enough to work outside now'

LOC

Ip'úus ipák'liksha ámchnik púuchpa. (pák'lik-) 'the cat snuggled up outside on the porch'

K'usík'usi ámchnik iníitpa pinála'ayasha łamtíxpa. (piná'aya-) 'the dog is scratching himself leisurely on the head outside the house'

ABL

Ámchnik iníitknik páwanpisha łk'íwitki. (-knik) 'He's calling him from outside the house to (come out and) play'

Míshnam mísha ámchnik smáasknik? (smaas) 'what are you doing outside of bed?'

Ámin páyuuyuushamsh ámchnik iníitknik. (yúuyuu-) 'her husband is calling to her from outside the house'

Ámchniknik itkw'áwinaynaka iníityaw. (tkw'áwinaynak-) 'he walked into the house from outside'

ALL

Ámchnik púukskan ánichatak. (puuks) 'go take it outside to the box'

DAT

Ámchnik púuksyaw ixíi ap'úus. (xíi-) 'the cat gave birth outside of the box'

CHAW TUN

Ámchnik awnámk iwyáninxa myánash. (awnámk) 'the child is walking around outside naked'

Chch'áal panúu ámchnik íkks skuuliláma. (chch'áal) 'the little schoolkids are making noise outside'

Ahananúywisha ámchnik áyat. (hananúy) 'His wife is busy outside'

Tíinma páłpaaski pasuyáwkxa asúm ku patámakxa ámchnik ílkwshpa. (suyáwk-) 'people skewer eels on barbecue stakes and roast them by an open fire'

Małáa áwa náktkw'aniini ámchnik nisháykt, tł'áaxw waskú tákwtki. (tákwtk-) 'her home is neat outside [with] the weeds all pulled up'

Tł'wáay tł'yáwyi ishnawáy kákya ilá'isha ámchnik. (tł'waay) 'a poor stiff dead bird is lying outside'

Áyat iwinánpa xapiłmí anakú iyíkna túun ámchnik. (winánp-) 'the woman armed herself with a knife when she heard something outside'

Its'múysha áw ts'áa ámchnikay lá'ayktay. (ts'muy-) 'it's warm enough now to sit around outside'

Ásht ('inside')

LOC

Ínmam ilá'ayksha ásht iníitpa. (am) 'my husband is relaxing inside the house'

Ásht ts'xwiilípa iwá ts'múy cháwiinkniktki. (cháwiinknik-) 'inside the teepee it's warm with the insulation'

Kutash kwnák awkú ásht wachá anakwnák awkú pa'ílaxyawixana. (ílaxyawi-) 'and we [stayed] inside there where they used to dry [the fish]'

Áwitł'yawik muxlínan anakw'ínk iwayínwayinxá ásht iníitpa. (kw'ínk) 'kill that fly, the one that's flying around in the house'

Míimi álunxana ásht iníitpa ílkwsh. (lú-) 'they used to make fires inside the house [their fires used to burn in the house]'

Mitsts'ípshaash ásht mishyúpa. (mishyú) 'the inside of my ear itches'

ásht núshnupa. (núshnu) 'nostril [inside the nose]'

Kkúuksim patamíixaynaksha awínshma ásht káatnampa. (tamíixaynak-) 'the men are arranged in a row inside the longhouse'

Muxlí iwíinwiinxá ásht iníitpa. (wíinwiin-) 'a fly is flying around inside the house'

Áshtpa ikáwkina. (ásh-) 'Coming inside, he fell down'

ALL

Anakwtí iwínsh laliwani ilátk'isha ásht iníitkan anákwt áshiipa kúukityaw. (ánakw-) 'the lonely divorced man is watching his ex-wife cooking inside the house'

BEN

Íchi iwá ásht iníitay shapáxaapsh. (ásht) 'This is the insulation for the inside of the house.'

DAT

Wínak ásht iníityaw. (ásht) 'Go inside the house'

ABL

Ásht iníitknik i'átshamsh. (iníit) 'he came out from inside the house'

Nch'íki panúu áshtnik. (núu-) 'they're talking loud from the inside'

CHAW TUN

Awkú ilát'ilkinxana táa'am kw'ínk ásht iníit. (táa'am) 'then the smoke would make it dark inside that structure'

Wát'uychnik ('front, in front of')**CHAW TUN**

Tkwápchayk niptík ipáp-'ipap wát'uychan, ku awkú tkwápwiichayk. (tkwápwiichayk-) 'extend both arms in front, and then lower them (to your sides)'

Hawláak pa'isíkw'axana wát'uychan. (wát'uychan) 'The spirit would show him the future'

Húuynash átk'isha shp'áwityaw. T'áaw káatnam iwínsh ayíksha wát'uychnik. (t'áaw) 'I can't watch the ball game. A tall man is sitting in front blocking'

ALL

Timashlá iwyánkniksha wát'uychan iníitkan. (wát'uychan) 'the mailman is walking around to the front of the house'

Wínak íkwín wát'uychnik pinmíkan. (wát'uychnik) 'go over there in front of him'

Wát'uychniknik awkalalátuxinma. (awkalalátux-) 'he backed up (the car) this way [he rolled back this way from the front]'

ABL

Wát'uychnik shapatk'ipamáknik iláxuyxsha. (shapatk'i-) 'there's heat coming from the front of the TV'

LOC

Ilá'ayksha wát'uychnik iníitpa. (lá'ayk-) 'he's sitting relaxed in front of the house'

Shínxash iláakna kaylí wát'uychnik shapatk'ipamápa. (shin) 'someone must have forgotten their shoe in front of the TV'

Washat'uylá itííxa táwax wát'uychnik tiit'áwaas táatpaspá. (wát'uychnik) 'the cowboy puts tobacco in the front pocket of his shirt'

CHAW TUN

Wínak íkwín pinmíkan anakwnák iwá tálx wát'uychnik. (tálx) 'go over there where there is space in front of him'

Ánachnik ('behind')**CHAW TUN**

Íchi íkw'í iwá ánachniktxaw. (ánachnik) 'Today is the last day [of the year]'

Ánachnik miimáki káaki páwíipt'iinya tsímti káa áyatnan, ku áyat ikáxawxisha pníxki.

(káxawxi-) 'he rear ended a woman's brand new car with his old car, and the woman has whiplash (suffering afterwards in the neck)'

Ánachniknam ipítyata táktaním. (pítya-) 'the doctor will inject you in the back'

Ánachniknim talápas tíita. (tíi-) 'you should put your wallet in [your] back [pocket]'

Iwíitwina wayxtilámaman ku iwíitwana ánachnik. (wíitwin-) 'he followed the runners and joined at the rear'

Páwiipt'ana ánachnik káapa ku ixáwsht'aka áyat. (xáwsht'ak-) 'the back of the woman's car was hit [by another car] and she got whiplash'

DAT

Ánachnik píkchashyaw ápaxaapk k'táat tímash. (k'táat) 'Slide a thick piece of paper behind the picture'

LOC

Míshpam mísha ánachnik inítpa? (mish) 'what are you doing behind the house?'

Iwínsh pinápaxaapsha ánachnik pchíshpa. (páxaap-) 'the man has wedged himself behind the door'

Ápaxaapk ánachnik píkchashpa. (píkchash) 'slide it behind the picture'

K'usík'usi ishapákw'iksha pípsh ánachnik inítpa. (shapákw'ik-) 'the dog is burying a bone behind the house'

Anakú ánachnik itxánata álxyx tiichámpa ku áan wát'uychnik, kúuk ists'átta. Álxyx ilawiishk'ishityúuta. (lawiishk'ishi-) 'When the moon is behind the earth and the sun in front, that's when it will get dark. The moon will be eclipsed'

GEN

Mayktúnx áwa pxwít anachnikmí txnawtílaanmí. (pxwít) 'the last preacher has a slightly different opinion'

BEN

K'usipamá tamíwnash iwá ánachnikay wasat'áwaaspa wapáwatay. (tamíwna-) 'the horse cape is for decoration behind the saddle'

ABL

Ánachnik píkchashnik ipát'ilksha tímash. (tímash) 'a paper is sticking out from behind the picture'

ALL

Shapáwayxtyanim wayxtilá ánachnik inítkan. (wáyxtíla) 'push my wheelchair to the back of the house'

Ílp ('high, on top, at the top')

DAT

Áwnash chímwiiltxsha ílpaw. (chímwiiltx-) 'now I'm running scared up to the top [of the hill]'
 ílp pátyaw papanátya panatílama. (panáti-) 'the mountain climbers climbed to the top of the mountain'

CHAW TUN

Taláyi tnún itútisha ílp ku iwalímwiihayksha x-wíshyaw anakwnák ayatúksma ku ístamama áspatasha. (ístama) 'the male mountain sheep is standing at the summit and looking way down into the canyon where his ewes and lambs are grazing'

Mámknik pátu iwá ílptxaw? (ílp) 'which peak is the highest?'

Ílp láasxumki iwá láchmuki kuukitpamá ts'xwiilí. (láchmuk-) 'The kitchen teepee is blackened at the top by smoke'

Ts'xwiilipamá twá iwá waláts'wiki ílp. (waláts'wik-) 'The teepee poles are lashed at the top'

LOC

Miimá iwachá k'usiinmí ishchít ílp Kaaskítpa. (ílp) 'there used to be a horse trail on the crest of the Cascades'

Tún íkw'ak ipák'íksha ílp tikaypamápa? (pák'ík-) 'what is that thing setting on top in the cupboard?'

Íkuukna pimápihashishana ílp p'ushtáaypa. (p'ushtáay) 'Today you and I were having our pictures taken up on the hill'

Wíipaykshananatk ílp pít'xanukpa. (wíipayk-) 'in the mountains we were driving down from the summit'

ABL

Láasxumyi lawilattpamá ipáchayksha ílp iníitknik. (láasxum) 'a sooty stove pipe is sticking out from the top of the house'

ALL

Nakálas iwshánana ílp wiwnúwaashkan Psawaaswáakułpa. (psá) 'My maternal grandmother moved to the very top of the huckleberry field at Twin Buttes'

Xwíimi ('up, high')

LOC

Xwíimi tikaypamápa ápak'ík káyx tikáynan. (pák'ík-) 'Put the glass dish up in the cupboard'

Xwíimi iníitpa payntilá itkw'áasha wáxwaykshpa. (tkw'áa-) 'the house painter is standing way up high on a catwalk'

ABL

Ikátamkanwi xwíimiknik paxwílam. (kátamkanwi-) 'The thief dropped straight down.'

Xwíimiknik iháykma áwti sínwit niimíyaw. (sínwit) 'The holy word came down to us from up above'

Xwíimi tikaypamáknik átamahayk. (tikaypamá) 'take it down from (up in) the cupboard'

CHAW TUN

Xwíimi ipák'íksha káyx tikáy. (káyx) 'The glass dish sets up high'

Ínimxwíimi paluulíkxa shuuwílama sákaspa. (luulík-) 'The circus show members swing rather high'

Átamak'ík xwíimitxaw ku cháwna túman pak'ínanita. (tamák'ík-) 'put it in the highest (place) and then none of us will see it'

Lámkwat iwíluuksha xwíimi. (wíluuk-) 'the smoke is rising high'

Xwíimichnik ('up, above, on top (of)')

LOC

Kwáak iwá ishchít imítichnik, ku pshwápshta iwáynaxa maykxwíimichnik pít'xanukpa.
(kwáak) 'the road is smooth at the bottom but becomes rocky towards the top of the mountain.'

Xapílmí itamáasha xwíimichnik latáampa. (tamáa-) 'the knife is lying above the table'

Cháwnash írch'a táatpasixa xwíimichnik k'úxlk'uxlpa táatpas. (táatpasi-) 'I don't wear dresses that are above the knees'

Itkwáychashasha táp'ash xwíimichnik waxwnaykípa. (tkwáychasha-) 'a pine tree is lying on top of the tent'

Kníip táatpas áwaluusha xwíimichnik k'úxlk'uxlpa. (walúu-) 'her dress shamefully hangs above the knees'

ABL

Xwíimichnik k'mílnik ilamáylaka. (lamáylak-) 'He dove off the top of a cliff'

Xwíimichnik iníitknik itamáwiihaykma shp'áw. (tamáwiihayk-) 'he threw the ball down here from on top of the house'

Iwaláawi iwínsh xwíimichnik iníitknik. (waláawi-) 'the man has fallen off the top of the house'

CHAW TUN

Patínma pakúkusha xwíimichnik. (kúku-) 'People are moving around above'

Maykxwíimichnik áshapakw'ptk shátaynan. (shapákw'p-) 'drape a blanket on the higher one'

Xwíimichnik káapa áwa shapáashapsh. (shapáashapsh) 'his load is on top of the car'

Xwíimichniknam tl'píipita. (tl'píipi-) 'you wear your wingdress on top'

DAT

Xwíimichnik káayaw átamałtxk. (tamáłtx-) 'lift it up on the car'

ALL

T'ít'sh it'íptna xwíimichnik púukskan. (t'ípt-) 'The grasshopper jumped towards the top of the box'

Xálukt ('below')

LOC

Palaláay iptúksha pshátani ápils xálukt ápils patátpatatpa. (ápils) 'there are lots of apples in containers sitting under apple trees'

Íchnaknash ánícha xálukt pak'ikáwaaspa. (íchna) 'I put it here under the shelf'

Ipnúsha ap'úus xálukt ilaxyawitpamápa. (ilaxyawi-) 'The cat is sleeping under the drying rack'

Xálukt latáampa atashkwnák áwyaxna myálasan. (iyáx-) 'we found the baby under the table'

Ikanáyksha xálukt tamashk'íshishpa. (kanáyk-) 'he's lying on his back under an awning'

“Minánnam ánícha wáwiikw'inki kúpi?” “Íchnaknash ánícha xálukt pak'ikáwaaspa.” (pák'ik-) 'Where did you put the ground coffee? I put it under this shelf'

“Minánnash áníghta íchiinak?” “íkwna xálukt panatit’áwaaspa” (panáti-) ‘where shall I put this?
there under the ladder’

Ashamíknik ichcháanwisha timashmí páxaaptit táala ku isúxaapsh xálukt pnut’áwaas
áwshnikshpa. (súxaap-) ‘he’s keeping fifty dollars secret from his wife and has slid it
under the mattress’

ABL

Limyá iwinátma xálukt pátatknik. (limyá) ‘the prairie dog came out from underneath the tree’
Isápxwnaynaksha lákas xálukt kaylíknik. (sápxwnaynak-) ‘the mouse is crawling in the bottom of
the shoe’

Imítichnik (‘down, at bottom, under’)

CHAW TUN

Ichimnátma áyat iníitknik awkláw imítichnikyi táatpasyi. (awkláw) ‘The frightened woman
escaped from the house dressed only in underclothes’

Áwnash tamáatta imítichnik tl’piip. (imítichnik) ‘now I’ll take out the wingdress on the bottom
(of the box)’

Imítichnikin páshapashuysha wykwshtikláan. (imítichnik) ‘The sinner is being punished below.’
Kwáak iwá ishchít imítichnik, ku pshwápshta iwáynaxa maykxwíimichnik pít’xanukpa.
(kwáak2) ‘the road is smooth at the bottom...’

Áyat ipíxnan iwísxkyuuta ku iwapáwxita imítichnik wich’áak. (wísxkyuu-) ‘a woman sews the
hide together and leaves the bottom open’

Íkw’ak mítaat neh’ínch’i pshwá ík’uksha. Áxnim’atim imítichniknan. (xním’at-) ‘those three
large rocks are piled up. Dig out the one on the bottom’

ABL

Imítichniknik i’átshamsh isháy. (isháy) ‘worms have come out from underneath [the ground]’
Imítichnik táp’ashknik ixát’xwt’xwsha ishxi. (ishxi-) ‘pitch is dripping under the pine tree’

ALL

Lákas ichimnátya imítichnik púukskan. (lákas) ‘the frightened mouse ran to the bottom of the
box’

Pawínaxa imítichnikkan wykwshtikláma. Íkush inúu Biblepa. (wyákwshtik-) ‘sinners go to hell.
It says so in the bible. (... sinners go down)’

LOC

Cháwnam tútita imítichnik táp’ashpa anakú inawinalát’asha. (nawinalá-) ‘don’t stand under a
pine tree when it looks like there might be thunder and lightning’

Áwiiltxa lákas iwinshmípa imítichnik nyáchpa. (wíiltx-) ‘a mouse ran up the man’s pants (... ran
up under the man’s pants)’

Lákas iwíixaapsh imítichnik áwshnikshpa. (wíixaap-) ‘the mouse ran under the rug’

DAT

Imítichnik táp’ashyaw ánichatak. (táp’ash) ‘go bury it under the pine tree’

Draft