

A Sketch of

Ventureño Chumash

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A rough-draft manuscript

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Introductory Note - February 1999

This is a copy of a copy of a manuscript sketch of Ventureño Chumash that I wrote shortly after I finished my dissertation on Inezeño Chumash in 1972. I never got around to fleshing this manuscript out fully and it's quite obvious that I didn't polish it. Still, it's an introduction to Ventureño. The original is in the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

I'm amused and chagrined at the opening sentence of section 103: A Note on Format, which begins "*I have tried to keep linguistic formalism to a minimum.*" That seemed true at the time: I had just finished a lengthy description of Inezeño as my Ph.D. dissertation and by comparison this sketch was just that: a sketch.

Earlier this month I completed a draft of the first 16 chapters of a workbook on Inezeño in conjunction with the Inezeño Chumash Language Revitalization Project and the Wishtoyo Foundation. My intent with the Inezeño workbook is to make the material as easy to access and nontechnical as possible.

By comparison, this sketch is still very much in the dissertation ballpark. This statement isn't meant as an apology, but rather as a disclaimer or disclosure. If you expect this sketch to be a readable introduction to Ventureño for the nonlinguist, you'll probably be frustrated or disappointed. Think of it as a resource; using it in conjunction with the Inezeño workbook might be useful.

For example, this sketch assumes a knowledge of certain standard phonetic symbols. The first six chapters of the Inezeño workbook give a nontechnical explanation of what the symbols stand for and how to pronounce them. In a nutshell, here's a

Mini phonetic key:

c = ts	x = raspy H and Spanish j as in baja
č = ch	q = pronounced further back in the throat than English k, but not like "quick"
š = sh	
a = father, pot	o = all, cone
e = let, late	u = put, shoot
i = pit, peat	ɨ = a vowel halfway between i (English "ee") and u (English "oo")

Take a look through the appendices if you'd like to see some Ventureño words and sentences with translations but without grammatical explanations.

Here's hoping that you find this introductory sketch of Ventureño Chumash useful and valuable.

Richard Applegate, Ph.D.

Introduction. 101 Geography & Ling Affiliation

V is the Chumash language spoken around the Mission San Buenaventura, ~~which was founded in~~ the southernmost of the five missions ~~founded~~ established in Chumash territory; ~~founded~~ it was founded in 1782. ~~Most of the coast of the~~ ~~the~~

V territory extended ~~from~~ along ~~the~~ coast from humaliwo, ~~the~~ ~~now Malibu~~ ~~in the south, to Suku, El Rincon~~

in the south, now Malibu, ~~to~~ approximately to Suku, El Rincon, in the north. ~~Island, the V area included the north~~

~~considerably~~ The V speech area extended/inland from these points; the language of kaštiq, now Castaic Lake near the Grapevine Pass, was ~~only~~

~~only dialectally different from the ~~island~~ dialect language spoken~~

~~around the mission. ~~Examples of Dialect~~~~

clearly a form of V. The speech of this ^{large} area was not uniform, of course; distinct dialects include the Malibu dialect, the coast dialect spoken around the mission, the Ojai dialect, ~~xxxxxxx~~ and the Castaic dialect, also known as Alliklik. Naturally, the coast dialect is best known, ^{or the,} and this sketch presents the coast dialect.

Among the other Chumash languages, V ~~xxxxxxx~~ shares many features with ~~the~~ island speech, but it is most ~~to~~ closely related to the two other central langs, B and I. ~~xxxxxxx~~ In vocabulary and structure, B and I are ~~xxxxxx~~ closer to one another than either is to V.

102 Sources

~~Since language V is now extinct, I have relied on the work of earlier recorders of the language~~

V is now extinct, and I have relied almost exclusively on the extensive notes made by JPH between 1913 and 1922. Much of H's work seems to have been done with F L, ~~fihawbixhixkannixkaxkx~~ an informant fluent in both V and Cr, and extremely knowledgeable in ~~ethnographic matters.~~ ethnographic matters. ~~Another informant~~ Another informant was Jose Juan ~~ix~~ Olivias, who speak both the coast and Castaic dialect. Since ~~ix~~ H seldom identified his informants, it is quite possible that the notes which I used on compiling this sketch reflect an admixture of Cr and Castaic forms.

The present description of V was intended purely as a sketch rather than an exhaustive description; I ~~did not~~ used no more than a fraction of the V material available. ~~Accordingly, the description suffers from certain in~~ Accordingly, I cannot claim to have discovered all of the features which make V unique.

Much of what I used was ~~word lists and sentence fragments~~ vocabulary elicitations, either in the form of word lists or short sentences, but three texts have been very helpful for syntactic details. One, ~~a~~ of a metaphysical nature, appears at the end of this sketch; the others are the tale of X Coyote and Eagle's Daughter and a text on conde building, both quite long.

In compensation for the relatively small corpus I used, I began the study of V soon after finishing a lengthy dissertation on I Chumash, ~~the language~~ and this present sketch ~~was written~~ after examining some of MSB's B texts. Despite many differences, these languages often agree in the most intimate grammatical details.

So, I have relied heavily on ~~x~~ the ~~ixx~~ intuition gained through a much more extensive exposure to Ineseno and to H's style.

I knew in advance what to look for, ~~x~~ forearmed in ~~the struggle~~ ^{attempts} ~~to make some sense of~~ analysis of problem areas like ~~the~~ verb morphology and relativization.

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A Note on Format

linguistic

I have tried to keep formalism at a minimum, but a few devices deserve mention. When ~~there is a difference between~~ underlying and surface forms differ, underlying forms appear in slashes with individual morphemes separated by hyphens, ~~which~~ the surface form ~~is~~ written as a single unit, as in

~~/kx hu?-c-iy-qil-sin/ husiqist 'they will see it'~~

~~But if there is no change~~ If there is no difference, ~~the~~ only the underlying form appears, style set off by slashes and hyphens, as in

/kx /c-qal-wil-pi/ 'he ties it on'

In examples involving V phrases, individual words are not identified in the gloss if their order does not differ from English word order, as in

^{-wun}
/k-qil-sin si-qunup + R/ kqis^hinwu siqunqunup 'I see the children'

~~Two distinct morpheme boundaries might be recognized, as is necessary in the discussion of Ineseño phonology, but the phonodiffs between these two boundaries are so much less obvious in V that it seems easier just to note that a handful of affixes of prefixes are immune to vowel harmony.~~

or if parenthesized material can help convey the force of the original and ~~the~~ still preserve Chumash word order.

/ka-c-ti xalašat/ kaštⁱ xalašat 'its name [is] xalašat'

If an example is given in a context where the meaning of one form is understood; in the discussion of the particle lo? 'over

there,' the word ~~na~~ order is obvious in

/lo? al-uti-kuy-?/ lo? ?alutikuy 'face over there!'

When a free English gloss does not capture the force of the original, a literal translation follows, with the glosses of individual V words set off in slashes.

/la? -?si-muwu ka-c-nal + R/ la? -?si-muwu ka?nalna?al

'it always moves about in the sea (always / [in] the sea / it is going)'

In the citation of ~~two~~ single morphemes, a hyphen marks both inalienably possessed nouns (e.g. -?elew 'tongue') and bound verb stems (e.g. -tun 'to be two, involve two'), neither of which occur without some prefix. ~~it always moves about in the sea / always / [in] the sea / it is going /~~

As for/glosses of individual morphemes within words, I have omitted these partly ~~in the~~ for the sake of brevity, and partly the literal translation of many morpheme strings would be either hopelessly obscure or painfully technical. For example, it is easier ~~to~~ simply to ~~to~~ gloss /ka-c-qil-sin/ kasqisi as 'he sees it' than as 'predicative - 3rd singular - by vision - does ably.' Many combinations of prefix and stem, such as qil- 'by vision' ~~plus~~ -sin 'to do ably' for 'to see', tend to ~~have~~ ^{show} quite idiomatic semantic specializations.

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Phonemes

The phonemic inventory of V, virtually identical with those of the other Chumashan languages, except for O, is as follows.

then copy page 8 - 9 of thesis

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Comments on Articulatory Phonetics

No precise articulatory descriptions of these segments can be given. The comments here are based on H's marginal comments on phonetics, ~~ix~~ on the subphonemic details which he often included in his transcription, and on the pattern revealed in the morphophonemics of the language.

200 Phon

This section~~x~~ presents V's phonemic inventory, comments on morphophonemic ~~xxx~~ phonetics, /alternations not governed by rule, and a ~~xx~~ roughly ordered set of phono rules.

① The treatment of the Aux differs in each of these modes of embedding.

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Glottalization

Glottalization is one of the most pervasion features of V phonology, and also one of the most problematic. ~~Harrington~~
~~XX~~ Phonologically, glottalization is a co-articulation which is possible with every consonant (except of course /ʔ/ and /h/), but its phonetic realization as transcribed by Harrington ~~causes~~ ^{usually} ~~causes~~ many problems. JPH/wrote glottalization as a sequence of glottal stop plus consooant, or consonant plus glottal stop, although at one/^{early}stage of his transcription he used an arc over the consonant. But ~~xxxx~~ clusters of glottal stop plus consonant are also possible, and it is often difficult to determine whether a given sequence is a cluster or a unit phoneme. For example, /k/ ~~xxx~~ occurs in aqkap 'to pick with tongs,' transcribed [aqkʔap] by JPH, but in /k-ʔa p/, transcribed [kʔap], is this same sequence /k/ or /kʔ/ or is/a contrast possible here? The ~~evidence suggests that does not support a unit phoneme analysis here, given~~ In Ineseno, such sequences clearly coalesce as single segments, as attested by reduplications such as ~~xxx~~ I. /k-ʔap + R/ kʔap' 'my houses,' but V ~~xxx~~ kʔapʔap ~~xxxxx~~ is not parallel.

Glottalization

The crux of the problem is that while glott is phonemically a co-voice, JPH's purely phonetic transcription always showed a sequence of ? + C or C + ? 2-3

~~Glottalization seems to be more problematic in V than in the other central languages.~~ Except for of course for /ʔ/ and /h/, every consonant in V has a glottalized version, but the exact phonetic realization of glottalization seems to be more problematic in V than in the other central languages.

In word-final position, glottalization is realized as a glottal stricture preceding the articulation of the consonant, which JPH always wrote as a preceding glottal stop. as in helek 'packbasket' [heleʔk]

~~pen [pən] [pəʔn] 'tree, wood'~~ hinif [hin.ʔ] as it is

~~But~~ commonly waste [waʃtʔ] = s. good although ~~unusually~~ the glottal stricture

in such positions advances into the preceding syllable as "breaking" of the vowel, to use JPH's term.

paket' [pakeʔet] 'one'

aqway' [aqwaʔay] 'to hit ~~kax~~ [the mark]'

piš' [piʔiš] 'cold acorn mush'

~~When~~ When ~~xxxx~~ these glottalized segments occur medially, the glottalization of stops and spirants is realized as a glottal stricture following the articulation of the C, as in which JPH transcribed as a following glottal stop helekeč [helekʔeč] 'to carry a packbasket'

paketiniy [paketʔiniy] 'once more'

ušak [uʃʔak] 'to throw out'

~~The same is true of~~

In initial position too, stops and aspirants show glottal stricture ~~xxxx~~ following the consonantal artic, as in

kolok' [kʔoloʔk] 'owl sp.'

~~šin [ʃin] [ʃinʔ] 'liquid tar'~~

qom [qʔom] 'to be doubled-up'

čohoy ščohoy another way

Medially and finally, the glottalization of sonorants is always realized as a preceding glottal stricture.

- ~~čnu'yuy~~ čnu'yuy [čnu'yuy] 'amole brush'
- ma'muč [ma'muč] 'to be hollow'
- po'n [po'n] 'tree, wood'
- ci'n [c'i'n] 'liquid tar'

~~Evidently sonorants can be~~
 frequently wrote ~~жж~~ as
 Harrington also/~~жжж~~ sonorants/~~glottalized when the~~ second
 member of consonant clusters; he used a special arc symbol over
~~sonorants, a symbol identical to~~

such sonorants, ~~жж~~ At an earlier stage of his transcription, he ~~used~~ once used the arc to symbolize/~~the~~ glottalization of any consonant. Evidently this was not intended to symbolize the glottalization of a stop which happened to be followed by ~~the~~ a sonorant, since ~~in the~~ for the form he transcribed as qwilli 'meadow lark,' he ~~said~~ ^{noted} that phonetically it was realized with non-distinctive aspiration of the /q/ as [q^hwilli]. ~~Other such~~

~~post-consonant glottalized~~ I have settled on qwilli as a reasonably faithful transcription ~~for~~ here. Other such forms include

- ʔušmat ~~čpina~~ čstink bug sp. ^{cf. ušmuw to mix up}
- qloyiqloy 'tadpole' cf. qlusuy 'tick sp.' ^{cf. Zagstusašmu grazing place}
- qwe 'plant sp.' cf. qwe 'toyon'

In addition to the broken vowels which JPH transcribed with a single intervocalic glottal stop, such as keʔep 'to bathe,' certain forms regularly turn up with two intervocalic glottal stops indicated. This may have been H's device to indicate creaky voice, or it may actually represent two distinct glottal stops. ~~Occasionally he/wrote a triple~~ ^{simply}

kanaʔaʔay 'the first one; at first'

naštʔʔʔʔ 'still' (for /na-c-tʔʔʔʔ/?)

+ net-Kaʔaʔan which one Kaneʔeʔe ~~ʔeʔeʔe~~
+ 'near'

Occasionally this process is superimposed over an underlying simple vowel, where it seems to have an intensive force.

wakapi - wakapiʔiʔi 'slowly - very slowly'

miti - mitiʔiʔi 'a small one - a very small one'

Sporadic Glottalization

ave

In addition to those cases of glottalization which ~~are~~ usually ~~have~~ cognates ~~to~~ B and I, and which ~~are~~ occur in practically every transcription of the word, there is also a process which I call sporadic glottalization. Sporadic glottalization is ~~meanings~~ ~~always~~ realized as a glottal stricture preceding the articulation of a consonant. ~~It precedes those segments which it would normally follow if the segment were underlyingly glottalized, as in~~ glottalization
It precedes those segments which ~~it~~ would normally follow if the segment were underlyingly glottalized, as in

- supey -> su^ʔpey 'ornament'
- ~~se~~ se^ʔqen -> se^ʔqen 'to remove'

and it can also precede aspirated segments, thus proving that it is not a true case of underlying glottalization.

- ~~aqutik~~ aqutik^huk -> aquti^ʔk^huk 'to bump into'
- palnik^hit -> palni^ʔk^hit 'you bring it'

~~also~~ Sporadic glottalization very often precedes consonant clusters, as in

- ʔayuwhat -> ʔayu^ʔwhat 'basket sp.'
- waqšikušaʔaš -> wa^ʔqšikušaʔaš 'a painting'

Some of the alternative versions which he records include su^ʔpey suwe^ʔqen

JHP noted that one ~~in~~ V informant persisted in saying ʔa^ʔntap while all others simply gave ʔantap 'cult initiate'.

Sporadic glottalization ~~is~~ is not necessarily present in every repetition of a given word. JPH seems to have spent a good deal of time ~~worrying over this~~ ^{checking this carefully}. Thus, both su^ʔpey and supey 'to decorate' are given, as well as suwe^ʔqen ~~and~~ suweqen 'to entrust to', and k^ho^ʔqšo ~ k^hoqšo 'my gall.'

- cgilmes ~ cgil^ʔmes 'island'
- supey ~ su^ʔpey
- k^ho^ʔqšo ~ k^hoqšo

suweqen ~ suwe^ʔqen

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2-7
BVA

Aspiration

Almost every obstruent has an aspirated version. Only /x/ and the glottal segments /ʔ/ and /h/ lack aspirated counterparts. But aspiration does not have nearly as high a functional load as glottalization.

Aspirated stops and affricates are fairly common in initial and medial position in ~~gxtkxmxmcp~~ stem morphemes, as in

^hatatan 'to fall apart' /ip^hon/ ip^hoʔo 'to be swollen'
 k^hi:si 'rabbitskin blanket' c^hik^hi:hi:n 'turpentine pine'
 + c^hikw^hi 'tick'

Aspirated spirants /s^h/ and /š^h/ are much rarer, but they do occur, with /š^h/ more common.

wiš^hap 'yerba santa' uš^ho 'to let go of'

I have analyzed a handful of ^{noun} stems with a final aspirate, because their derivative forms ~~mix~~ in all the central Chumash languages agree in showing a stem-final aspirate. But in isolation or before inflectional suffixes, aspiration is lost.

~~šup - š /šup~~

~~/xip^h/ xip 'rock, stone'~~

~~/xip^h-Vn/ xip^hin 'to be stoney, to involve stone'~~

/ʔap^h/ ʔap 'house'

/ʔap^h-iwaš/ ʔapiwaš 'old, ~~xhān~~ abandoned house'

/ʔap^h-Van/ ʔaphan 'to build a house'

③ At one point I was tempted to treat these as unit phonemes, ~~xxxxxx~~ phonologically they are too implausible. but

Related to ~~the~~ aspirated segments are clusters of a sonorant plus /h/, such as

- enhes 'to breathe' alhaš 'to talk'
- ʔahway 'moon' ʔamhan 'to stalk'
- štoyoʔos 'plant sp'

These are clusters rather than just voiceless sonorants. ~~since I was tempted to analyze these sequences as xxx single units~~
~~JPH carefully~~
~~Such a cluster even appears in a Spanish~~

① The V version of Spanish borrego 'lamb' is puhewu 'sheep', with such a sequence. ~~Comparative evidence shows~~ sequences

~~These~~ In the other central languages, ~~xxxx~~ sonorants plus /h/ are completely lacking; comparative evidence offers ~~xxxxxx~~ little clue ~~xxxxx~~ whether ~~ix~~ this is a V innovation or a feature lost by B and I. ~~But C which shares~~

some points	V	B	I
'moon'	ʔahway	ʔaway	ʔaway
'to go down'	elhew	elew	elew
ixixix lizard sp	ʔonhokok	ʔonokok	ʔonokok
+ buzzar	ʔanhok		
+			

But later
cf P.
P. hw = V I
etc

It is possible that these medial clusters might ~~g~~ have arisen through the lost of some medial vowel. ~~xxx~~ Bit of evidence for this ~~xxx~~ come from placenames. Modern Matilája was matilaha in the coast dialect of V, and matilha in the Matilája dialect. Mount Pinos, deep in the interior, was ~~XX~~ ʔiwihinmu in V and ʔiwihinmuʔ in I.

② In reduplication, (q.v. _____), ~~xxx~~ the usually CVC canon is violated by the disappearance of /h/ rather than the sonorant in /k-enhes + R/ kenhesnes, not *kenheshes 'I am panting'

224 Non-distinctive Asp

There is a degree of non-distinctive aspiration in certain environments. Word-finally, stops may be aspirated, but this seems to be a matter of free variation.

a) Before nasals, stops are usually aspirated, as in

~~kxwx~~ knowo [k^hnowo] 'I stand'

~~xixi~~ sipmu [siphmu] 'load carried on the back'

aqnɪp [aq^hnɪp] 'to make coiled basketry'

6) ~~also~~ ~~A-end~~/in word-initial position before a following stop.

*ktap [k^htap] 'I enter'

pkumli [p^hkumli] 'you arrive there'

Aspiration may also precede what look like glottalized sonorants as second members of consonant clusters, as in

qʷili [q^hwili] 'meadow lark'

~~or before~~
c) and the first member of ~~a~~ a cluster of identical C's shows non-distinctive aspiration

ʔk-kokoʔk [k^hkokoʔ] 'my father'

c-wɛp-pɪ cɛwɛp^hpɪ 'he hits it'

no consonant gemination in Cent-Chimwe
(to be clearly defined)

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Voicing

~~All obstruents of~~

Voicing is not distinctive in Chumash, ^{but} although it plays a part in the allophony of sonorants. ~~Sonorants~~ Sonorants in syllable-final position are voiceless. This means either at the end of ~~word~~ the word

k^hin [k^hin] 'I take it'

cwey [cwey] x 'tarweed'

po^h [po^h] 'tree, wood'or when followed by another consonant, ^{follows,}~~kaikax [kax]~~~~monow [monow] 'wessel'~~~~ʔawhay [ʔawhaʔy] 'moon'~~~~ʔalʔip [ʔalʔip] 'one who says'~~

quntiyam [quntiyam] 'to fall'

~~kʔuwwaš [kʔuwwaš]~~qilku^hm [qilku^hm] 'to soak'

alaqwaypi 'to bestow on'

even another ~~sonorant~~ sonorant, which is voiced.

ckumli [ckumli] He arrives there

kʔuwwaš [kʔuwwaš] 'I ate it'

Before the glottal segments /ʔ/ and /h/, Sonorants are also voiceless, as in

ʔawhay [ʔawhaʔy] 'moon' / ʔalʔip [ʔalʔip] 'one who says'

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Stress

Stress is ~~marked~~ distinctive in a few stems, ~~in which~~ ^{where} it falls on the ~~ix~~ stem-final ~~syllable~~ syllable, as in

- waqsík 'to paint' ~~paš'šé~~ to know, be aware
- 'cohóy 'other, another one' zaláw to detach
- xalašát 'San Nicholas Island'

~~But~~ Otherwise stress is ~~unmarked~~ non-distinctive, ^{and} JPH seldom bothered to mark it. ~~It~~ ^{Stress} falls on the penultimate syllable of the word, after the application of all ~~other~~ phonological rules. /ka-c-iy-ulu-aq-pey-us/ kasiyuleqpeyus they follow him

~~/k-al-aqway-wun/ kalaqwa'áwu 'I put them on'~~

~~/k-waš-naí-Vš/ ~~xxxxxx~~ kwašnaí'íš 'something I hold out'~~

/lo?-ka-c-koko?/ lo?kaskóko? 'her father'

/he?-~~xx~~ si-?o?/ he?só?o 'the water'

/si-šípiš-iwaš/ 'íšípišíwaš 'wise one'

~~When~~ When a final vowel is broken with a glottal stop, forming two distinct syllables, stress ~~falls~~ ^{falls} on the first of these

yíla'a 'all'

the penultimate syllable
in the word

~~'callwotoqátoq 'it lies face down'~~

?ataplí'íš 'the east'

~~xxxx~~ /k-waš-naí-Vš/ kwašnaí'íš 'something ^{which} I hold out'

230

Morphophonemic

Certain of them are also ~~in~~ ²⁻¹² involved in the process of consonantal symbolisms, ~~xxx~~ (q.v.,), and see Harrington 1974.

Alternations not governed by Rule

Certain common morphophonemic alternations are not rule-governed. Shared by all of the Chumashan langs, these alternations are deeply embedded aspects of Chumash morphology. ~~xxx~~ The choice of one alternant form over another seems to be determined idiosyncratically for each lexical item; this is particularly apparent when examining cognate sets, although the various langs often agree on exact details of alternating forms for a given lexical item.

231) qil- - qili- Alternation

Prefixes with a high vowel and /l/ may have alternant forms in which ~~x~~ the same high vowel is repeated after the /l/, such as qil- - qili- 'of vision, seeing,' or pil- - pili- 'in the air,'. These prefixes are all in position classes close to the stem. Examples with qil- - qili- 'of vision, seeing,' with various verb stems:

- ~~x~~ /qil-sin/ qisɨ 'to see'
- /qil-kɨlɨlɨ/ 'to be glassy, transparent'
- /qili-wayan/ qiliwaya 'to peek at'
- /qili-pexɛč/ 'to see something not seen before'

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2) Alternation of /q/ and /x/

The uvular consonants /q/ and /x/ are frequently in alternation, usually in verbal prefixes. One striking example is the verb stem itaq 'to hear,' paralleled by a prefix itax- 'of hearing, report,' as in /itax-kuy/ 'to figure out by hearing.' Examples with verbal prefixes include aqta- - ~~xxx~~ axta- 'in the air,

čixips '16'
riaw 'it... full.complet'

/aqta-čhum/ '[arrow]to go straight'

/aqta-poyhon/ oqotopoyhon 'to blow (a whistle)'

/axta-elhew/ extelhew 'northwind to blow'

/axta-waq/ 'northwind to blow'

or qil- - xil- - qili- - xili- 'of vision, seeing'.

/qili-wayan/ qiliwaya 'to peek at'

/xili-wasın/ xiliwası 'to look at carefully'

Occasionally both ~~forms~~ variants may occur with a single stem, as in

~~/xil-popon/ xilpopo 'to be in water'~~

qil- - xil- 'of, in water,'

~~/xıl~~ /xil-popon/ xilpopo 'to be in water'

/su-qil-popon/ suqilpopo 'to soak (trans.)'

The shift of /x/ to /q/ is also a feature of ~~čimčimčimčimčim~~
often with diminutive force,
consonant symbolism, (q.v.), as in

~~/si-xwapš/ čiqwapš 'the nettle: Canada Larga'~~

/si-xwapš + CS/ → čiqwapš 'the nettle: Canada Larga'

+ /

save 235 ⁿ⁾ /i/ - /u/ Ablaut *now /i/ ~ /u/, 5-5*

In a V there are a few traces of an ablaut between /i/ and /u/ which is more widespread in Ineseno. Clear V examples

include si- as an allomorph of su- 'causative,' as in

/si-nowon/ sinowo 'to cause to stand, erect'

/su-mow-Vn/ sumowho 'to sweeten, cause to be sweet'

and qil- as an allomorph of qil- 'of vision, seeing'

~~/qıl-taw~~ /c-qıl-taw/ cqıntaw 'lightning flashes'

/qil-sın/ qıstı 'to see'

233
234

Alternation of /l/ and /n/

The shift of /l/ to /n/ is a ~~part~~ regular feature of consonantal symbolism, as in

/ʔal-qil-kilili^{+CS}/ ʔaḥqinkininiḥ 'type of small clear bead'

but it is also an inherent feature of certain compounds of stem plus prefix, as in

/c-qul-taw/ cquntaw 'lightning flashes'

vs. /c-qil-tap-Vn/ cqiltapi 'it dives into (the water)'

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g) Alternation of /s/ and /š/, /c/ and /č/

The dental and palatal sibilants /s/ and /š/ and the affricates /c/ and /č/ are in alternation in a few prefixes and formatives, particularly in the unanalyzable sibilant

formatives (q.v. δ aqs- - aqš-, as in

aqsyukukun δ to whistle'

axškumu 'to wander about'

~~axškuta~~ /uni-axškuta/ unaxškuta 'to breakfast'

or -ps- - pš-, in

/qil-pš-tihin/ qilpštihini 'to open the eyes'

/pana-ps-taqin/ panapstaqi 'to hit together with a noise'

This alternation too ~~ixxaxpax~~ is part of a symbolic process, by which all strident segments may be shifted to /č/, less often /c/, as in

/si-qas-qas + CS/ -> čiqaçqač 'the dunes,' a plane-name'

/c-wasiḥ-š + CS/ ~~axxaxax~~ cwaci¹⁵ʔc 'it/good-looking'

now \rightarrow l/ ~ l/

240

Phono Rules

This section presents the rule-governed morphophonemic alternations of V. By far the greatest morphophonemic complexity is in the verb; ~~many most rules~~ with its lavish array of affixes; ~~most~~ most rules apply primarily or even exclusively to verbs. The phono rules are grouped roughly into blocks dealing with similar segments and processes:

list

have been ~~are~~

Alternations not governed by rules ~~have been~~ treated separately; the given alternant form of such alternating sets in a particular lexical item or compound serves as input to the ^{phono} rules.

In the discussion of I phonology, it was constantly necessary to posit two distinct morpheme boundaries: a close boundary ~~which~~ kinking stems with affixes in position classes close to the ~~stem~~ stem, and a more distant boundary which blocked many ^{of the} processes ~~applying~~ applying within close boundaries. ~~The phonological~~ The phono ~~diffs~~ diffs between these two boundaries are much less obvious in V; it ~~seems~~ is ~~easier~~ easier just to note that a handful of affixes in distant position classes are immune to certain processes like vowel harmony. But the ^{distinction} ~~distinction~~ of close versus distant ~~prefix~~ prefix position classes ~~is~~ appears from time to time, particularly in ~~the~~ verb prefix morphology.

241

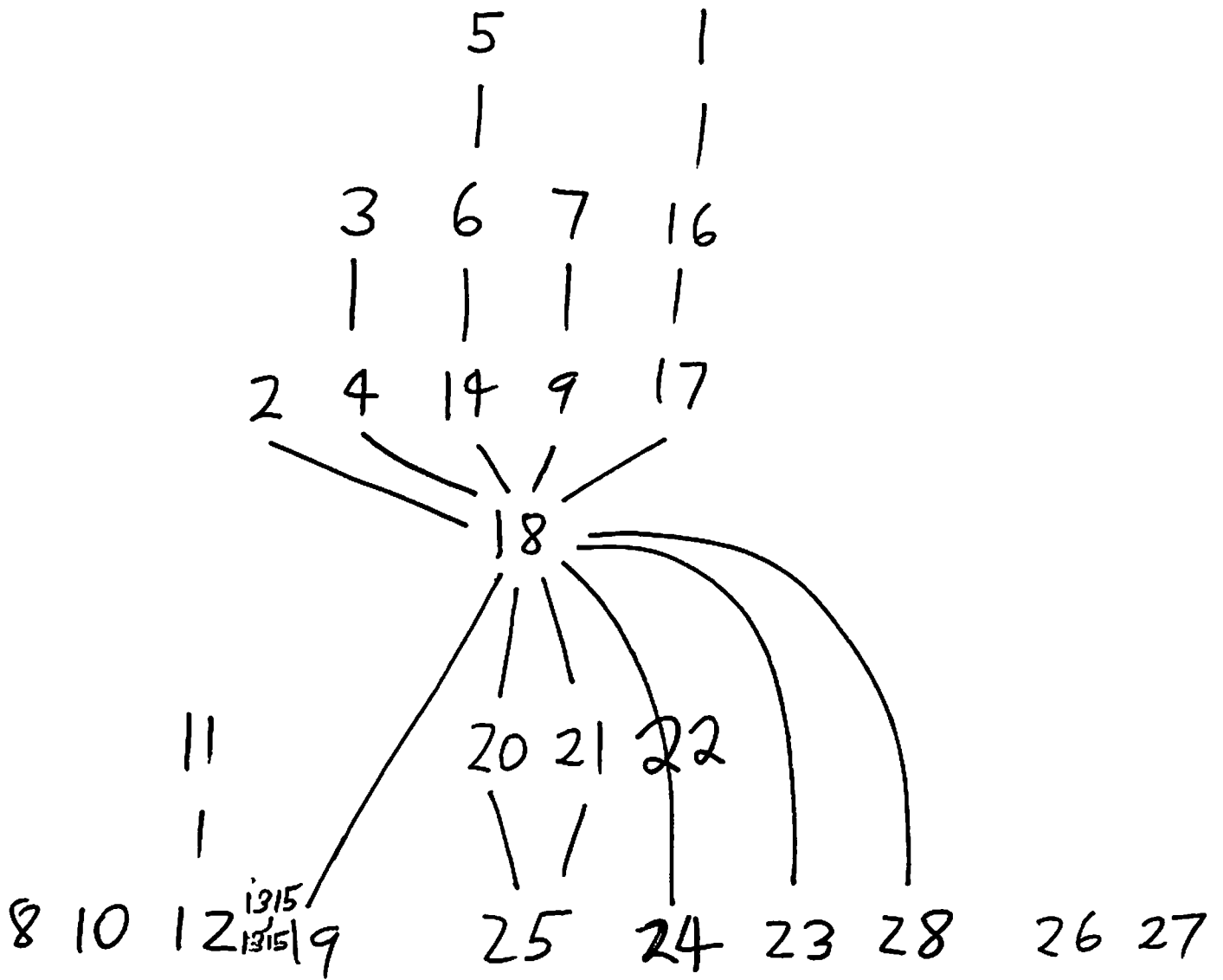
Ordering of the Phono rules

~~The following phono rules are ordered~~

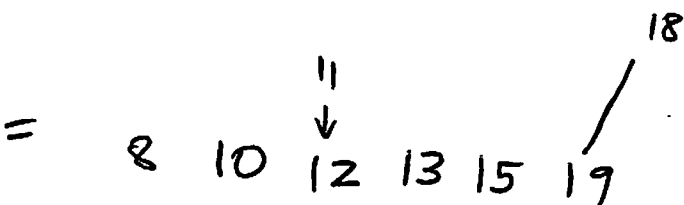
I have arranged the following rules ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ only/a rough relative order. ^{Some} ~~Many~~ of the rules show ~~an unambiguous~~ ~~ordering~~ relative ordering which must be followed, but for many, ~~the~~ I simply ~~did not~~ did not find the necessary examples of the intersection of two rules. I have relied heartily ~~on an intuition~~ ^a gained through ~~much more extensive~~ exposure to the pho phonology (not that points of ambiguity ~~are not obvious~~ ^{are lacking} there too!), but there are certain important differences between V and I pho which make reliance on ~~an intuitive ordering~~ an intuitive ordering unsafe. For example, the treatment of glottalization and reduplication is quite different in the two languages. Finally, ~~in the interests of brevity, I have devoted hardly any space to substantiating the relative ordering which I propose here.~~

Also, practically every rule which I have posited admits of at least a few exceptions. In the analysis of a larger corpus, it ~~might~~ ^{would probably} turn out that some of these exceptions ~~reflect~~ reflect regularities which the present ordering fails to capture, so I do not propose to build too tight a structure on such uncertain ground.

n ⇒ ∅ -# before -7 ⇒ ∅ -#
 21st en-7 ⇒ 21st
 next page - list of rules & ordering 243
 minimal



Final rule ordering



pre-draft - not final

2-17a

Phonological Notes

~~čoxpotštšl~~ it on her xit
čoxpotštšl it unthd self

- 1) deletion of final /n/
 - ʔiʔamalsaxixe what they rub down (?)
 - šaxixeneš something worn down, rubbed down
 - camtipoyoqo
 - camtipoyoqonus - ʔištīpoyoqoniš
 - ksilikenpiwu - ksilike
- 2) retention of /l/ in ʔal-
 - ʔalsaxixe(n) one who wears something down
 - ʔalmoxwolʔoy one that goes in rings
- 3) kq -/→ qh kquluwal I bore a hole
- 4) loss of final ʔ
 - ya arrow -šepšle lip
 - ipa to drive a stake
 - mexwe to grind
- 5) CVC Redup CVC-CVʔVC
 - wal - walwaʔal holes
- 6) retention - deletion of /l/
 - tipolyoqo - tipoyʔoqoniš
- 7) l - n
 - ʔal- usually, but ʔanqinkiniš bead sp.

imper - ʔ
ʔul, ʔs
get
ʔaxsi
bite

čtutuhuy
*čtuhuhuy

san + h redup
kenhesnes 1 pant
kolalhaslas i'm a talker

ktal talk + ʔew^{tw}

Kta²aq¹tw
N

I grab him by throat

Phon notes

8) l + s -> lc 'al-ekumu -> 'alckumu

ne²te ko²c³ (k²o²c³) I'm wet

9) V²V -> V²C

wašna²al ? wašna²li²šš

final glottalized cons, if not realized as V²VC#, is
preglottalized as V²C; but when not final, then post C²

hele²k - packbasket ~~hele²k~~ helek²eč to have ---

10) C s²m q²w²el²t [q^hw^hil^h] lark

11) s¹i -> s²u s²u²u²tam the river
st st²t²q²t²y the quail

NB san + h bourego pul^hewu

redup

- kaqtap²it - kaqhaqta²p²it I stamp - am stamping
- čalatla²tššw²ič he is dreaming
- oxtokok - koxoxotokokš I am toasting
- ušak - ušak²ak to throw out
- tetep - teteptep to roll
- aqulusmiy - kaqulqulusmiy I ma twisting string on thigh
- qunqunup²iwáš boys - qunup

Stress Kalaqwa²áywu I put them on
waka²p²i²i² very slowly
mehe²e ~ -me²e

poš²ó² ~ poš^ho²o² toki

ʔalalpa²a²oy very high

re glot: hesika²mamiš - my body, says ? also after the m instead of
before it in slow pronunciation - *hesikam²amiš

glott m ʔulyi - ʔulyi²i²wáš muy largote

mow - mowho(n)

sapatu-ič → šapatunič to put on shoes

Redup

wal - walwaʔal	hole -s	
kwikwiqalaw	I take little chips out of	
mitmiti	little ones	
člewuč - ..šlewšlewuʔuč	?	pošpoš where many pinons
čpowipowi	it is zigzag	gasgas sandy place
miymiyaʔaš	threads	tiptip salt flat
woco - wocwoco	xaxxax ducks	
ʔoyosow - ʔoyʔoyosow	bymble bee(s)	
---	- xtuxtuʔuy	all sharks
čincinišičin - čincinišičin	octopus	
ʔasku - časʔaskuʔu	who - his relatives	
pawapaw - pawpawapaʔaw	fly -flies	
chuchuxmeñ	the waves are breaking	
NB ʔalʔalixwoškolox - ʔalixwošxwoškoj	ducks	
NB - n-epenthesis precedes CVC redup		C-se
čenšeniwaʔaš - his bones /c-se-iwaš-ʔ/		so: 1) n-epenth
ʔaltipnownowoñičiš	a well-behaved one	2) redup
laʔexuyxuyuw	he is lying	3) c-s → C.h
NB xšo - kaxšoxšo	alder - alder place	
čašulčulapit	he is inviting me (ašulap) - note wa/	after CVC redup 1-š → ʔ
kicuquq sitili	re sex	
NB suwalakinomnomoy	to swing around and around - sukinomoy	
NB sikuhkuʔu	the people	
Ktiptiptštš	I am sewing	+ loʔishansanxaxa < sanxa
NB hesikʔalʔaliwʔtʔt	my relatives	
Non CVC		
coxwoʔo - coxoxwoʔo	it roars, bellows	
coxkonono - coxoxkonono	it grunts, snorts	
čipšoš - čiphipšoš	it hisses	
coxoxkoho - coxkoho	it thunders	
xtuʔuy - xtuxtuʔuy	shark (s)	
ciwonwon	he groans with pain	
kišmax - kišišmax	I throw one/several stone(s)	
NB welewe - welwelewele	to shake, sway, rock	
kaloqoqwoli	I am thinking of something	
kičičnana sitili	re sex	
čtutuhuy	it is raining	not *čtuhtuhuy - inf scorns this ex

R

244.01

~~wasets~~
~~wasets~~

Coalescence of -Vč and -Vn with final Glottal Stop

When the verbal derivative suffixes -Vn and -Vč follow a noun with an underlying ^{final} glottal stop, the suffix vowel ^{drops} ~~are deleted~~ and the suffix consonant coalesces with the ~~fi~~ glottal stop as a single glottalized segment. This ~~process~~ ^{clear} process is ~~very clear~~ ^{clear} in B and I, as in

B,I /ʔoʔ-Vč/ x ʔoč̣ 'to be wet' ← ʔoʔ 'water'

but it is obscured ~~in~~ in V because a final glottalized segment ^{usually} is realized as breaking of the preceding vowel, as in

V /ʔoʔ-Vč/ 'to be wet'

ʔoč̣ coalescence

ʔoʔoč̣ vowel-breaking with final ^{glottalized sons} ~~segment~~

~~Bukxiwxrxrxʔʔak~~

or /ʔal-qweʔ-Vč/ ʔalqweʔeč̣ 'arrow made of toyon (qweʔ)'

However, in those environments in which consonantal glottalization is lost, the broken vowel ~~ix~~ which ~~derives~~ ~~ix~~ from the underlying glottalized segment appears in ~~ix~~ its simple form.

For example, consonants are de-glottalized before following C's:

~~/ʔoʔ-Vč-waš/ 'it was wet'~~ (see wle —)
~~ʔoč̣ coalescence~~

/ʔal-ʔoʔ-Vč-waš/ 'one that was wet'

ʔal-ʔoč̣-waš coalescence

ʔalʔoč̣waš neutralization

~~These derivational suffixes also coalesce with final vowels in polysyllabic words; the only~~

phonemes

-Vn & -Vč After

Coalescence of ~~phonemes~~ final vowels verbal

The ~~phonemes~~ derivative endings of the shape -VC all coalesce with final vowels in polysyllabic stems. One clear example is

~~/iwi-Vn/ č iwi~~

/c-iwi-Vn-wun/ ciwinwu 'he accompanies them'

cf. /c-ti-iwi-š/+ R/ čtiwtiwiš 'he lives with them'

ʔalkuli a Castaic ✓

ʔalkulin to speak the Castaic dialect

-Vn & -Vč with final V's

The treatment of the verbal derivative ~~to~~ suffixes -Vn & -Vč after final V's depends on the length of the stem.

When -Vn & -Vč follow a monosyllabic noun stem, an epenthetic /h/ ^{regularly} appears. ~~to~~ was

nt, tt, sa-

In B & I, this process is more sporadic: cf.

I nehen, tčč for V nehen tčtč

After polysyllabic stems, -Vn & -Vč coalesce with final V's.

/ʔal.kuli/ a Castaic Indian

/ʔal-kuli-Vn/ ʔalkulin to speak the C dialect ^{of V}

/c-iwt-Vn-wun/ ciwtwu he accompanies from

/gulu-su-ʔulyi-Vn/ gulusuʔulyin

to beve lengthwise

244.02

Keep only for examples

h-epenthesis

When a monosyllabic CV/stem is followed by one of the verbal derivative suffixes ~~CV~~ ^{CV} -Vn or -Vč, /h/ ~~is~~ appears ~~before~~ to prevent a vowel cluster.

/nɪ-Vn/ niɦɪn 'to burn' < nɪ 'fire'

/tɪ-Vč/ tiɦɪč 'to be named, to have a name (-tɪ*)'

~~/ɦɪ / ʒɪč ku Vn/ ʒiɦɪkuɦɪn 'to defend' < ɦɪ 'person'~~

/ʔal-ʔal-šɪ-Vn/ ʔalʔalčɪɦɪ 'wild sheep: one who climbs cliffs' < šɪ 'cliff'

1 sa-Vč/ šahač ('arrow) to have a Flint tip)

(but ʔa ɡamɪɳus ?)

03

Epenthetic Glides

When one of the high vowels /i/ or /u/ is followed by another vowel ~~in a prefix suffix~~ ~~across a morpheme boundary~~, the ~~z~~

corresponding glide /y/ or /w/ ~~appear~~ appears between the two vowels. Examples with /y/ epenthesized after /i/:

/c-iy-ušak-pi-it/ čiyušakpiyit 'they throw it on me'

/c-aqč²iyin-pi-Vč/ čaqč²iyinpiyuč 'he is fed up, disgusted'

~~All of the examples~~

~~Epenthesis of /y/ seems to occur only after the suffix -pi.~~

Examples of /w/ epenthesized after /u/:

+ 2 ex's above

/c-alumu-it/ calumuwit 'he advises me'

At suffix boundaries, when a vowel in a suffix follows one of the high vowels /i/ or /u/,

04

n-epenthesis

~~XX~~ When a suffix with an initial vowel immediately ~~x~~ follows another vowel, /n/ is epenthesized to prevent a vowel cluster. By the prior application of the /y/-epenthesis ~~rule~~ rule, /n/ ~~xxxx~~ does not appear after /i/ in this environment.

/caya-iwaš/ čayaniwaš 'a worn-out caya (type of basket)'

~~/maka-iwaš/ makaniwaš 'a big canyon'~~

/se-Vš/ šeneš ~~xi~~ 'a bone (non-possessed form)'

If an underlying glottal stop follows the ~~xxxx~~ stem vowel, it is preserved as glottalization of the epenthetic /n/.

/ʔamiʔ-Vš/ ʔamiñaʔaš 'older brother (non-possessed form)'

/kokoʔ-Vš/ kokoniʔiš 'father (non-possessed form)'

In B and I, the epenthetic consonant in such environments is /l/. In the ~~x~~ more obscure reaches of Chumash morphology, /n/ and /l/ are frequently in alternation. But the appearance of /n/ in Ventureno is a direct outcome of the regular word-final deletion of ~~final~~ /n/. Thus, it is common for a form with a final vowel ~~xxxxxxx~~ to alternate with a form in which /n/ appears before a following suffix, and Most suffixes begin with a vowel. This pattern ~~is simply analogized~~ must have spread by analogy into those forms in which /n/ is not present in the underlying ~~for~~ representation.

vowel-initial

by rule _____.

244
05.72

Initial glottal stop ~~also~~ ^{may} appears before any vowel-initial prefix immediately preceded by the relative prefix al-
/sɪ-al-ʔam-ʔip/ salʔamʔip 'what they see'
Initial Glottal Stop /ka-al-ʔiy-ušʰo/ kalʔiyušʰo 'those who leave (it)'

Any word initial vowel automatically takes a preceding glottal stop. ~~This rule applies to vowel initial verbs and nouns which normally take some consonantal precefix which would protect~~

or the agentive ʔal-
/sɪ-ʔal-ʔam-ʔip/ salʔamʔip

~~This rule applies to vowel initial verb forms~~

Vowel-initial forms usually take some consonantal prefix which but an initial glottal stop appears when ~~the~~ a protects the vowel from word-initial position, ~~but~~ in imperative forms ~~the~~ consonantal prefix is absent, ~~xx~~ in imperative forms ~~the~~ forms of the verb

/iwɛ-š-li/ ʔiwɛšli 'go with him!'

/iy-qil-sin/ ʔiqisɛ ~~ʔiqisɛ~~ 'look! (plural)'

in ~~xxx~~ non-possessed ~~forms~~ nominal derivatives,

/iwex-vš/ ʔiwexɛš 'meal, flour'

/aqtɪp-muʔ/ ʔaqtɪpmu 'hearth, fireplace'

and in ~~xxx~~ non-possessed forms of these few rare ~~xxx~~ vowel-initial nouns which do not have ~~an~~ an inherent glottal stop.

/en^hes-vš/ ʔenhešɛš 'ghost, spirit'

Note that inalienably possessed nominal derivatives, in which ~~xxx~~ a possessive prefix is never absent, do not develop an initial glottal stop.

/loʔ-ka-c-oxšol/ loʔkašoxšol 'its urine'

This rule also accounts for the replacement of /s/ by glottal stop in the reduced form of the article si-; immediately preceding another strident segment, the ~~x~~ article si- appears as ʔi-. It is intuitively more satisfying to posit the deletion of /s/ by dissimilation, followed by ~~the~~ the appearance of initial glottal stop, than to say that /s/ becomes glottal stop in this environment.

2) /si-c-pax/ ʔispax 'its skin'

~~/si-c-ʔickɛ/ ʔisickɛ~~

1) /sɪ-ctɪn/ ʔisɪtɪn

'dog'

~~'his loin cloth'~~

10/11 .06

Total Vowel harmony before glottal stop

Before ~~xxixxiakka~~ ^{a stem-} initial glottal stop, the final vowel of a ~~xxix~~ prefix ~~xx~~ undergoes total assimilation to the ~~xxwax~~ stem vowel following the initial glottal stop.

The example encountered most often is that of the article si-, as in

/si-?iqiy/ si?iqiy 'the quail'

/su-?utam/ su?utam 'the river'

/si-?elgewun/ se?elyewun 'the swordfish (~~xx~~ elevated)'

~~xxixxiakka~~ /si-?atapliš/ ša?atapli?šš 'the east'

/si-?oyosow/ so?oyosow 'the bumblebee'

where the ~~prefix~~ ^{underlying} ~~vowel~~ may be any one of the 3 cardinal V's /i a u/

nu- 'benefactive, concomitant,' as in

/nu-?oyon/ no?oyon 'to help'

/nu-?akawayu/ na?akawayu 'to do while on horseback'

~~xxix~~ su- 'causative,'

/su-?axpilil-Vč/ ša?axpilileč 'to sinew back a bow'

and various others, such as

/api-?owow/ apo?owow 'to be bleached white'

/suya-?uw/ suyu?uw 'to want to eat'

~~/uni-?uw/ unu?uw 'to eat in morning'~~

~~The prefix vowel may be any one of the three cardinal-prefix~~

~~vowels /i a u/, but it shows total assimilation to the following~~

~~stem vowel. This ~~xxix~~ process ~~xxix~~ not apply between one prefix~~

and another, as shown by

/mu-?al-?il/ mu?al?il 'one which doesn't exist'

/?al-hu-?am-puq/ ?alhu?ampuq 'one which they will insert'

604 .07

~~Vowel~~ Vowel Harmony in ~~Prefixes~~ ~~close~~ Prefixes

Within the morpheme, ~~all~~ low vowels in contiguous syllables are ~~all~~ all harmonic. This low vowel harmony is ~~propagated~~ propagated from the ~~stem-initial~~ stem-initial vowel of the stem-initial syllable into ~~contiguous~~ contiguous low vowels in prefix ~~position~~ position classes close to them stem.

/waš-mes/ wesmes 'to be crosswise'

/max-naí/ maxna'al 'to have a groove'

~~It~~ /

Low vowel harmony

~~It~~ applies to any number of contiguous low vowels, whether in the same ~~prefix~~ prefix,

/taya-nowon/ toyonowo 'to stand erect'

/wala-xmen/ welexmen 'to fall over'

or in adjacent prefixes.

/su-aqta-waš-mes/ šeqtewesmes 'to cut across, cut diagonally'

But it is blocked by an intervening high vowel, ~~as in~~

/wati-ñoqš/ watiñoqš '[rain] to stop'

~~even if this high vowel is later deleted.~~

~~even if it is later deleted.~~ /aqti-poš/ aqtipoš 'to eat something along with ~~pinole~~ ~~res~~
~~But low vowels in ~~prefixes~~ prefixes further from the stem~~ /wati-enhes/ watenhes 'to pause to

~~But~~ A Few prefixes in

~~In~~ ~~prefixes~~ / position classes further from the verb stem stem, low vowels in prefixes remain cardinal /a/; they do not

become harmonic with stem vowels: ~~These~~ ^{These} prefixes involved are

/?al-yexexen/ ?alyexexe 'marsh, swamp' ?al-, al-, am-

/c-am-kal-čeq/ camkečeq 'they (indefinite) split it'

~~/wati-enhes/ watenhes 'to pause to rest, breathe'~~

Kate

/si-k-al-to-log-pi/ what I am hungry for /

do not

07.08

Back Vowel Harmony

The high back vowel /u/ ~~is~~ ^{may be} centralized to /ɨ/ in a prefix is when the ~~immediately~~ vowel of the immediately following syllable is /ɨ/. This rule applies most consistently with the prefixes

SV-'causative' & *nu*-'concomitant',
~~XXXXXX~~ /su-cɨ-cɨ/ sɨcɨcɨ ~~XXXX~~ 'to sharpen; make sharp'

/nu-mɨk-Vn/ nɨmɨkɨ?ɨ 'to take far away'

/su-kɨnɨt/ sɨkɨnɨ?ɨt 'to put all around'

Exceptions include

~~But this rule is not without exceptions, such as~~

/yuq-cɨ-cɨ/ yuqɨcɨcɨ 'to be slender'

/uš-cɨmɨn/ ušcɨmɨn 'to bury'

08.09

Pre-vocalic vowel deletion on prefixes

When a prefix with a final vowel comes to stand before another vowel, ~~with the~~ the vowel of the prefix is deleted. This occurs before stem vowels,

/akti-al-tš/ aktaltš 'to come to meet'

~~/su-aqta-ušho/ šaqtušho 'to free from an encumbrance'~~

/axuti-eqwel-šaši/ axuteqwelčiči 'to think of what to do'

/nu-al^haš/ nal^haš 'to speak on behalf of'

/suya-aqmil/ suyaqmil 'to be thirsty: to want to drink'

and also before the initial vowels of other prefixes.

/su-aqta-uš^ho/ šaqtuš^ho 'to free from an encumbrance'

/ni-axta-peqen/ nextepeqen '(wind) to blow something away'

In Ineseno, ~~with~~ depending on the type of morpheme boundary involved, such vowel clusters might be broken ~~in~~ up the the epenthesis of /y/ after /i/, or else of /l/ between the two in addition to the alternative of deleting the first vowel. vowels, ~~but~~ in V, the ~~with~~ vowel deletion ~~seems to have been~~ ^{has} generalized into all such environments.

109.10

Suffix Vowel Specification

Several ~~suffix~~ suffixes ~~which~~ have vowels which are partially or totally determined by the vowel of the ~~pr~~ stem or preceding suffix.

- 1) The suffix vowel is determined by dissimilation in the suffixes ~~-šaš /~~ ~~-šaši~~ 'reflexive,' ~~and~~ ~~-šaš / -štaš~~ 'nominalizer.' ~~The suffix vowel is low /a/ after preceding high vowels, and high /i/ after preceding low vowels.~~

/axwin-šaš/ axwič^haš 'to be dressed'

/č-qal-cix-šaši/ čqalčixšaši 'it clings firmly'

/aqč^hum-šaš/ ?aqč^humša[?]aš 'something likeable, agreeable'

and high /i/ after preceding low vowels.

/eqwel-šaši/ x^h eqwelčⁱši 'to x turn onself into...'

~~/su-al-aqwaš/~~

/?ax-Vn-šⁱš/ ?axač^hiš 'to be armed, bear a bow'

/iwon-štⁱš/ ?iwončⁱ?iš 'song (of a bird)'

fully

- 2) The suffix vowel is ~~uniquely~~ fully determined by the preceding vowel in the suffixes ~~-Vš~~ 'resultative,' ~~-Vš~~ 'non-possessed' ~~form~~ and ~~-nVš~~ 'reciprocal.' The suffix vowel is ~~-?Vš~~ 'instrumental'

~~/a/ after /i/ /epš-Vš/ ?epiš 'gathered firewood'~~

/a/ after a preceding high vowel

/sukupin-x[?]vš/ šukupina[?]aš 'light, lamp'

/aqnⁱp-Vš/ ?aqnⁱpaš 'coiled basketry'

/c-iš-ikuk-nVš/ čišikuknaš 'two butt into each other'

/i/ after /a/ and /o/

/su-waš-qal-Vš/ šuwašqali[?]iš 'wedge (for splitting planks)'

/mol-Vš/ moliš 'something toasted'

and /e/ after /e/.

/iwex-Vš/ ?iwexeš 'meal, flour'

3) With the verbal derivative suffixes -Vn and *vč, the quality of the suffix vowel varies considerably. ~~The~~ The

~~suffix vowel can be /i/ or /u/ with any preceding vowel~~

~~the~~ possible combinations of stem and suffix vowels, ~~include are~~ in order of frequency, are

after /i/ : ~~u~~ /u/ ~~ix~~ /e/ /i/

after /u/ : /i/ /e/ /u/

after ~~ax~~ /a?/ : ~~ux~~ /i/ /u/ ~~u~~ /a/

after /e/ : ~~ux~~ /u/ /e/ /i/

after /o/ : /i/ /o/

after /ɛ/ : /i/ /ɛ/

A few examples include

/šolop-vč/ šolop'ič/ 'to be muddy'

/ʔutam-Vn/ ʔutamun '[stream] to flow'

/mɛk-Vn/ mɛkɛʔɛ 'to go far'

/sa-vč/ šahač '[arrow] to be flint-tipped'

/šipuk-vč/ šipukeč 'to have a corner'

/uš-qoy-Vn/ ušqoyiʔi 'to gather shell-fish'

When suffixes with unspecified vowels are adjacent, ~~the~~

vowel specification works outward from the stem one suffix at

For example, ~~from~~ given vowel spec in the deriv suffix -Vn in a time, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx the derivative~~

/uš-qoy-Vn/ ušqoyiʔi 'to gather ~~the~~ shell-fish'

the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ vowel of ~~the~~ yet another suffix is specified

by the preceding suffix vowel, rather than by the stem vowel.

/uš-qoy-Vn-Vč/ ~~ušqoyiʔinaʔaš~~ 'gathered shellfish'

which would give *ʔušqoyintʔɛš

Palatalization of ~~XXXXX~~ /c/ before dental consonants

Before the dental consonants /t n l/, ~~the~~ ^{is} ~~XXXXX~~ dental ~~XXXXX~~ /c/ and ~~XXXXX~~ palatalized to ~~XXXXX~~ and /č/.

/si-c-tik/ ?ištik/ 'its tip'

/c-tap/ čtap 'he enters'

/c-nai/ čna'al/ 'he goes'

/c-lomlom/ člomlom 'it is soft'

Before the ~~g~~ other strident dental segments /s/ and /c/, the ^{the} sibilant harmony rule blocks/palatalization of /c/.

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 Sibilant Harmony

The strident segments /s š c č/ within a word all agree in being either dental /s c/ or palatal /š č/, ~~Within morphemes, this rule is without exception~~ as determined by the last strident segment in the word. ~~Examples of dental and final dental segment +~~

A ~~final~~ dental segment shifts preceding palatals, as in

/c-waš-meš/ cwesmes 'it is cross^{e5} transversely'

/k-su-wašič-us/ ksuwašičus 'I believe him'

~~/uš-simn/uscimn~~ 'to hurry' *skt*

and a ~~final~~ palatal segment shifts preceding dentals. Examples of ~~final~~ sibilant harmony working in the palatal direction are much more common, since most strident segments in suffixes are palatal /š/ ~~and~~ /č/

- /c-qal-cix-šaši/ čqalčixšaši 'it clings firmly'

- /c-ičuq-š/ čičuqš 'he stabs, pierces many'

- ~~/š-sipit-vš/~~ šipita'raš 'acorn mush'

and most prefixes ~~and~~ contain dental /s/ and /c/, prone to harmony with any following palatal.

/sus-aqni-čhum/ šušaqničhum 'to console'

/suya-aqšan/ šuyaqša 'to be sick'

/si-ʔataxač/ šaʔataxač 'the man'

Sibilant harmony may operate across a long stretch of syllables devoid of any strident segment, as in

~~/c-tipal-yoqon-š + R/~~ čtiptipoyoqoč 'he is drilling them'

but it ~~may~~ ^{frequently} also fail to operate ~~in such an~~

environment. Here, the dental segments /s/ and /c/ are ~~more~~ more likely ~~not~~ not to cause distant sibilant harmony.

~~/si-miy-vš/~~ simiyaš 'the string'

/c-iš-ewel-us/ čišewelus 'they (dual) make it for him'

~~13~~ .13

l-Deletion

In some ~~prefix~~ close prefixes, a ~~final~~ prefix-final /l/ is deleted before a following consonant. This deletion is apparently an idiosyncratic feature of each combination of stem and prefix, are a few examples a altho there ~~are~~ ~~examples~~ of both versions of ~~the~~ prefix in combination with a given stem

~~tipal- in combination with the stem yoqon, as in~~
/tal-nal/ tana'al - talna'al '[sick person] to get worse'
/tipal-yoqon/ tipolyoqo - tipoyoqo 'to drill a hole'

~~More~~ More plentiful are examples of this alternative treatment with different stems, as ~~x~~ with the prefix kal- 'of cutting,' in flaking flint'
/kal-cix/ kalcix 'to ~~press~~ apply pressure when ~~whipping~~

/kal-čeq/ kečeq 'to cut a slot into'

or qal- 'of ~~x~~ tying,' as in

/qal-wil-pi/ 'to tie on' qalwilpi

/qal-ti-iwiš-š/ qatiwiš 'to tie side by side'
is

It ~~is~~ ~~more~~ more likely for /l/ to be deleted before dental and palatal consonants than ~~before others, but this is~~ before others.
~~only a~~

tal-7aglew^h - a7aglew to grab by the throat

~~BE~~ Across distant a boundaries, ^{is never deleted}
~~in~~ ~~such~~ ~~pref~~ preconsonantal /l/ in such prefixes
as 7al- 'agentive' or am- indef v/b,

LVB. 14

y-Deletion

Within word-boundaries, /y/ is nearly always deleted before a following consonant, particularly ~~the~~ palatal consonants such as /š/.

/c-iy-al-koy-li/ ciyolkoli 'they go around it'

/c-iqmay-š/ čiqmaš 'it is plugged up'

/c-iš-ti-aq-pey-nVš/ čišteqpeneš 'they (dual) are stuck together'

X Some exceptions are

/i'mey-muʔ/ ʔiməymu 'white clay'

/c-wakay-wun/ cwakaywu 'it is on top of them'

but one in environment in which pre-consonantal /y/ is deleted without fail is in the plural marker iy-.

/c-iy-mes/ cimes 'they go across'

/iy-qil-sin/ ʔiqisɪ 'listen! (plural imperative)'

This follows total V harm before glottal stop, so that ~~sa~~ /c-iy-ʔap/ ~~the suffix was~~ prefix vowel remains unchanged.

/c-iy-ʔap/ ciʔap their ~~so~~ house
of /si-ʔap/ saʔap the house

14 15

xx
spirant or
Coalescence of/affricate plus p spirant

~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ A an affricate plus the homorganic spirant coalesce to form a single aspirated segment. Due to the sibilant harmony rule, the only possibilities here are ~~xxxxxxxx~~ c-s → ch^h, as in
/c-sa/ ch^ha 'its tooth' ~~/c-sinay/ ch^hsinay 'it puts it on, in'~~
and č + š → č^h
~~/c-šošoy/ č^hošoy 'it is dark, black'~~

A sequence of strident spirant or affricate plus spirant coalesce into a single aspirated segment. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~
The sibilant harmony rule insures that ~~xx~~ these sequences ~~xxx~~ all agree in being either dental or palatal. The possibilities include ~~xxx~~ c- as the third person singular marker, as in

/c-sa/ ch^ha 'it's tooth'
/c-šošoy/ č^hošoy 'it is dark, black'
and the dual marker iš-, as in
~~/k-iš-suhuki/ kishuhuki 'we two respect it'...~~
/k-iš-sinay/ kish^hina y 'we two put it away'
/k-iš-suya-aqšan/ čiš^huyaqaša 'tey (dual) are sick'

~~When the third person marker is deaffricated in inter-vecalic environments, this rule still applies.~~

~~/nu-c-sunuw-us/ nus^h-unuwus 'he will use it'~~

maybe
just give rule here

16

~~15~~



Glottalization of Consonant plus glottal stop

A sequence of consonant plus glottal stop may coalesce as a single glottalized segment. This seems to be the rule with obstruents; ~~at least Harrington writes~~ ^{at least} in non-final position ~~xxxxxx~~ Harrington transcribed underlying glottalized obstruents exactly as he transcribed sequences of x obstruent plus a glottal stop across ~~xxx~~ a morpheme boundary.

~~xxxxxx~~ /k-ʔap/ kʔap [kʔap] 'my house'

aqkʔap [aqkʔap] 'to pick up with tongs'

~~But consonants plus glottal stop usually do not~~

But sonorants plus glottal stop usually do not coalesce as single segments. The^e evidence is clearer here because ~~the~~

~~glottalization of underlying glott~~

with underlying glottalized sonorants, ~~the~~ ^{phonetically} glottal closure occurs before the articulation of the sonorant, which is voiced ~~xxxxxx~~ is a vowel follows. With a cluster of sonorant plus glottal stop, the sonorant is voiceless and ~~the~~ glottal closure follows it. Compare the phonetics of /m/ in

/c-ʔamʔn/ camʔ [cʔaʔmʔ] 'seed'

~~xxxxxx~~ /c-am-ʔiw-Vn/ camʔiwʔ [camʔiwʔ] 'they cut it'

With the word for 'body,' which is an idiomatically reduplicated form of -ʔamʔn, Harrington noted that in slow pronunciation his informant gave

/heʔ-si-k-ʔam-ʔamʔ/ heʔsikamʔamʔ [heʔsikʔamʔamʔ] 'my body'

while at more normal speech the form is

/heʔsi-k-ʔam-ʔamɪn/ heʔsikamamɪ [heʔsikʔaʔmamɪ] 'my body'

The most likely conclusion here is that in the more colloquial form, the reduplicated version ~~ɪ~~ has been ^{at least partially} lexicalized as -ʔamamɪ with ~~ɪ~~ an underlying glottalized /m/.

~~Across distant prefix boundaries, /l/ does not~~

As for /l/, ~~ɪ~~ a prefix-final /l/ in distant prefix position classes does not coalesce with a following glottal stop, as in

/ʔal-ʔɪmɪ/ ʔalʔɪmɪ 'one who is mute'

/ʔal-ʔal-ulmit/ ʔalʔalulmit 'a hunter'

but in close prefix position classes,



Shift of glottalized /l/ to /t/

Most instances of glottalized /l/ shift to /t/. ~~This~~
~~maxamamiš~~ Occurring within morphemes, this shift simply results
 in a ~~change of underlying~~ shift of the underlying representation,
 a shift which can be detected only on comparative grounds.

V ?u¹tam 'river, flood' = B, I ?u¹lam 'flood'

V maxa¹hamiš 'fiesta' = B maxa¹lamiš, I maxa¹lamiš 'fiesta'

+

Synchronically, when a glottalized /l/ arises ~~x~~ from the
 coalescence of /l/ with a following ~~f~~ glottal stop, this sequence
 is realized as glottalized /t/.

/qal-?ax-Vn/ qa¹taxa 'to string a bow' (?ax 'bow')

/qil-?owow/ qi¹towow 'to be albino'

Some of these shifts of /l/ ~~to~~ /t/ are sporadic, hinting at
 an earlier sporadic glottalization of /l/ in such positions.

/ixwal-aq¹pey/ ixwe¹teqpey 'to make in image of'

/wal-al-koy/ wo¹tolkoy 'to be round, go in a circle'

while later examples of sporadic glottalization of /l/ stay /l/.

/tal-uliš/ ta¹lu¹iš 'to support with the arm'

/tipal-al-ti/ ti¹pa¹alti 'to quarrel'

But the shift of glottalized /l/ to /t/ occurs only in
 prefixes, never in suffixes, whether imperative

/axšil-?/ ?axšil¹ 'bite!'

or derivative.

/mol-?Vš/ mo¹li¹?iš 'toasting basket'

~~14~~ ~~17~~ ~~18~~ .18
 CVC Reduplication

~~kwikw~~

CVC reduplication is an extremely common ~~process~~ process, creating ~~forming~~ plural or collective forms of nouns, and continuative, intensive, or iterative forms of verbs. Reduplication ~~is usually~~ usually falls on the first syllable following person/number prefixes; it includes the first CVC sequence of the remainder of the word. In nouns, it may be accompanied by final glott.

1 /x/ woco + R/ wocwoco 'ducks'

3 /c-kitwon + R/ ckitkitwo 'it is coming out'

2 /c-se-iwaš+? + R/ č^henseniwa?aš 'his (a dead man's) bones'

4 /c-tipal-yoqon-š/ čtiptipoyoqoč 'he is drilling holes'

~~And initial consonant cluster, other than~~

If inherent to the stem, an initial consonant cluster is redup'd in nouns,

~~x~~ /ckonin-? + R/ ckonckoni?in 'worm, s insects'

/xšo + R/ xšoxšo 'alders'

and even ~~xxx~~ an initial cluster formed by a derivation prefix is included.

/c-lew-uč-? + R/ člewčlewu?uč 'pieces, fragments'

The reduplicated CVC sequence may ~~be~~ straddle morpheme boundaries, as in

/k-wi-qalaw + R/ kwiqwiqalaw 'I keep~~x~~ chipping it'

/p-su-kitwon-wun + R/ psuk^sukitwonw^w
 'you are taking them out'

~~/k-nu-?ayon-? + R/ kno?no?ayonil~~

/k-nu-?ayon-il + R/ kno?no?ayonil
 I am helping you

If the sequence to be reduplicated has no initial consonant within the same morpheme, ~~then two alternative treatments~~ More commonly, the are possible, ~~both about equally common~~. The initial VC sequence may be reduplicated, ignoring a preceding consonantal prefix even ^{when} ~~if~~ one is present.

/c-oxk'ohon + R/ coxok'oho 'it is thundering'

/k-išmax + R/ kišišmax 'I am throwing stones'

/k-ʔal-oqwolín/ k'aloqoqwoli 'I am thinking of something'

less often, ~~/c-aqta-pit + R/ caqatapit 'he is stamping'~~
 an reduplication may fall on the following CVC sequence
 or less often,

/c-iwon + R/ ciwonwon 'it is sounding'

/k-ušak + R/ kušakʔak 'I am throwing it out'

~~• /k-e-aqulu-c-miy/+ R/ caqulqulusmiy 'he is twisting string'~~

This alternative treatment also occurs with vowel-initial prefixes which are subject to reduplication, as in

/c-aqta-pit^{+R}/ caqatapit 'he is stamping'

/c-aqulu-c-miy + R/ caqulqulusmiy 'he is twisting string'

Here IF the seq. to be redup'd has no initial C within the same morpheme, the ~~presence or absence of a C cluster~~ ~~deter~~ the exact form of redup is determined by ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~rest~~ of ~~the~~ the presence or absence of a following C cluster. IF the initial VC seq is followed by a V, redup falls on the ^{next} ~~second~~ syll of shape CVC of čašulčulap

/c-iwon + R/ /k-ušak + R/ /c-ašulap-it + R/ _{he is inviting}

IF the initial VC seq is followed by ~~an~~ a C, then redup falls on the VC seq in parallel to regular CVC redup, but ignoring the preceding cons prefix.

/c-oxk'ohon + R/ /k-išmax + R/ /k-ʔal-oqwolín/

(Then)

go to Note that on next page

~~If the sequence to be redupl~~

If the ~~initial~~ sequence to be reduplicated has no initial consonant within in the same morpheme, then ~~only~~ only a VC sequence is reduplicated even if a consonantal prefix is present.

/c-oxk'ophon + R/ doxoxk'oho 'it is thundering'

/k-išmax + R/ kišišmax 'I throw many rocks'

/k'al-oqwolín + R/ kaloqoqwoli 'I am thinking of something'

~~Likewise~~ an initial glottal stop does not coalesce with a preceding consonantal prefix before reduplication, which is the ~~normal~~ normal pattern in Ineseno.

V /k-ʔechu + R/ k'ecʔechu 'I am sneezing'

I /k-ʔechu + R/ k'ec'kechu

~~Reduplication usually precedes vowel breaking, as in~~

~~ohkaxkaxkax~~

/heʔ-si-k-ʔal-iwix-ʔ + R/ heʔsikalʔaliwiʔiʔ 'my relatives'

In many verbs, ~~the~~ reduplicated falls not on ~~the~~ the initial CVC sequence, but ~~farther~~ later in the word, as in

/c-iwon- + R/ ciwonwon 'it is ~~sound~~ sounding'

/k-ičúq + R/ kičúqčúq 'I am piercing it'

/c-ašulap-it + R/ šašulapit 'he is inviting me'

Sometimes, the non-initial occurrence of CVC reduplication is ~~avoided~~, an idiosyncratic feature of certain prefixes which always ~~shift~~ avoid, reduplication, shifting it to the next morpheme. ~~SM~~ As in Ineseno, such prefixes include ni- 'transitive,' as in

/ni-lew + R/ nilewlew 'to tear to pieces'

tip- 'augmentive,' as in

/x tip-nowon/+ R/ tipnownowon 'to be well-behaved'
and wati- ~~kaxgaxkaxkaxkaxkaxkaxkax~~

/wati-kot + R/ watikotkot 'to break to pieces'

Note that

cf I ..

~~18~~ 19 019

A ffrication of /s/ and /š/ after ~~ɹ~~ /l/ and ~~ɹ~~ /n/

The spirants /s/ and /š/ are affricated to /c/ and /č/ ~~ɹ~~ when they follow the dental sonorants /l/ and /n/. This rule applies both ~~koɹpɹaɹɹ~~ before the stem

/ʔal-sɹp-š/ ʔalčɹpš 'teacher'

/ɹ qal-su-ti-aq-pey/ qalcuteqpey 'to tie together'

and after the stem.

/uš-wil-š/ ušwilč 'to give to ~~ɹɹɹɹ~~ many'

/eqwel-šaši/ eqwelčɹši 'to make oneself into'

/aqni-itpen-šašɹ/ aqnitpenčɹši 'to remember oneself'

/iwon-štšš/ ʔiwončtiʔɹš 'song (of a bird)'

~~A special case of this rule is /ɹ/ following /n/ in immediately~~

A special case of this rule is the suffix -š following a final /n/; the suffix is affricated to /č/, and then the nasal is ^{final} deleted. This shift gives rise to a very common/alternation of ~~ɹ~~ -n and -č, as in

/k-ʔoyon-š/ koyoč 'I help'

/k-ʔoyon-us/ koyonus 'I help him'

This process appears to follow redup in

~~ɹaɹaɹɹ~~ /c-ašulap-it + R/ ~~čašulčapit~~ 'he is inviting me'

4

čašulčulapit

~~20~~ 20 - ušikān- he is offended about
c-ušikān-ei "he is offended about it"

Deletion of final /n/
In word-final position in verbs
~~Word finally~~, /n/ is nearly always deleted, ^{altno} but it is preserved when followed by suffixes.

- /c-q^{qil-ska}išn/ ~~kaqis~~ qisɪ 'he sees'
- /c-q^{qil-ska}išn-waš/ čqišnwaš 'he saw'
- /k-su-iliken/ ksilike 'I set it, place it'
- /k-su-iliken-pi-wun/ ksilikenpiwu 'I set them into it'
- /k-iwɪn/ kiwɪ 'I accompany, go with'
- /iwɪn-mu?/ ?iwɪnmu 'companion: one who accompanies'

~~However~~ In a few forms, the deletion of final /n/ seems either optional or else it is blocked altogether.

~~caqoyon 'manzanita'~~

- /c-nupan-H/ čnupaha 'it is new, recent'
- /c-nupan/ čnupan 'it is new'

Final /n/ is nearly always preserved in nouns

~~or else it is blocked altogether. Retention of word-final /n/~~

- caqoyon 'manzanita'
- pon 'wood, tree, stick'
- ɪk ?ikmən 'surf, waves'
- šən 'to fall' /s-il-xen/ silxe
- ʒiniʒin squid
- but not /k-axi-en/ kaxi

One environment in which the deletion of word-final ~~is~~ /n/ is consistently blocked is in mono-syllabic morphemes.

- ~~/k-he^h-si-e-ʔan/ he^hisan~~ 'his blood'
- /k-hin/ k^hin 'I take it' e-watɪ-xmen 'it falls apart'
- /šan/ šan 'non-initiate (into the ʔantap cult)'
- /ʔan/ ʔan 'particle, introducing non-initial verb'

The Alternative treatment of a final glottalized /n/ ^{is} can be seen clearly in /po^h/ po^h 'tree,' and /šo^h/ šo^o 'to be bitter,' in which the final /n/ is deleted if glottalization is realized as breaking of the vowel rather than pre-consonantal constriction (e.g. [p^ho^o]) rather than pre-consonantal constriction (e.g. [p^ho^hn])

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Deletion of Final Glottal Stop

~~Word final glottal stop is usually deleted, as in~~

~~/heʔ/ he 'this one'~~

Word Glottal stop very seldom appear word-finally, and even in stem-final positions ~~it is present~~ ^{its presence is obvious} only when ~~the~~ certain suffixes shield it from word-final position.

/c-tuʔ/ čtu his ear

/ʔulyiʔ/ ʔulyi 'something long' /c-tuʔ-waš/ čtuʔwaš 'shell'

/ʔulyiʔ-iwaš/ ʔulyiʔiwaš 'something very long'

~~/ʔulyiʔ-va/~~ /lu-ʔulyiʔ-va/ luʔulyiʔi 'to go lengthwise'

~~In a few forms,~~
particles

In a few ~~forms~~, a final glottal stop ~~is~~ preserved when the particle ~~is~~ functions as an enclitic, ~~as~~ as with heʔ 'this one'

/heʔ-si-qunup/ heʔsiqunup 'this ~~child~~ child' 'these'
which also ~~preserves~~ preserves the ʔ in suffixed forms/heʔ-wun/ heʔwu
while in free forms the final glottal stop disappears.

/k-eqwel heʔ/ keqwel he 'I made this one'

~~In suffixed~~ Other such particles in which a final glottal stop may appear as laʔ 'just, merely,' and loʔ 'over there,'

~~Some~~ ^{neʔ 'what'} ~~certain~~ ^{sometimes} ~~particles~~ ^{show} a final glottal stop, such as huʔ- 'future.'

A few forms ~~show~~ show alternative treatments of final glottal stop, one with final glottal stop deleted, and the other with a glottal stop insulated from deletion by an echo vowel.

ʔalwo - ʔalwoʔo 'shellfish sp.'

ʔolpo - ʔolpoʔo 'guico'

And in ~~some~~ a few other forms, a final glottal stop is

preserved apparently because of the presence of a common suffixed derivative in which the glottal stop is medial.

~~/kokoʔ-va/~~ /c-kokoʔ/ ckokoʔ 'his father'

/kokoʔ-vaʔ/ kokoʔiʔiʔ 'a father (non-possessed form)'

also teteʔ / teteneʔeš mother, -ʔamiʔ / ʔaminaʔaš older bro

nom

Also, a stem-final glottalized ~~xxxxxxx~~ obstruent before the ~~xxxx~~ derivative suffix -Vš is deglottalized, as in /su-kep'-Vš/ šukepeš 'Christian, one baptized (lit bathed)' while glottalization of a sonorant is retained, as in /axi-nal'-Vš/ 'axinališ 'a dance'

2-44

~~xxxx~~ The same process operates in I, except that obstruents are deglottalized in I before any ~~xxxxxxx~~ verbal suffix, except -Vn and -Vč.

When a glottalized consonant is immediately followed by another ~~xx~~ consonant, glottalization is neutralized. This occurs before consonant-initial suffixes, as in

/c-kiniť-li/ ckiniťli 'it goes around (something)'

/k-su-nał-wun/ ksunalwu 'I send them'

/p-kep'-waš/ pkepwaš 'you (sg.) bathed'

and in reduplicated environments, as in

/miti + R/ mitmiti 'little ones'

~~xxxx~~ /k-suyu-nał + R/ ksuyunalna'al 'I think of many things'

Glottal Neutralization before vowel-initial suffixes
certain

Before/vowel-initial suffixes, a stem-final glottalized consonant may be de-glottalized. This never occurs with the verbal derivatives suffixes -Vn and -Vč, or with the nominal suffix -iwaš, but it is ~~apparently~~ obligatory with the ~~xxxx~~ verbal derivative suffix -Vš, as in

/su-kep'-Vš/ šukepeš 'a ~~xxxx~~ Christian: one baptized'

~~xxxxxxx~~ Up to this point, this process is exactly parallel to ~~xxxxxxx~~ the same as in Ineseno. But with inflectional ~~xxxx~~ verbal suffixes, the deglottalization is apparently

Stem-final glottalized sonorants retain their glottalization.

/k-taw'-us/ kta'awus 'I give it out to him'

/k-su-al-aqway'-iy/ ksalaqwayi'iy 'I fix it again'

this process

So far, ~~xxxxxxx~~ is exactly the same as in Ineseno, but

unlike ~~xxxx~~ the Ineseno situation, ~~xxxxxxx~~ the de-glottalization of obstruents in this environment is evidently optional. De-glott occurs in

/k-aqtip'-us/ kaqti'ipus 'I light a fire for him'

but not in

/c-nušik-it/ čnuši'ikit 'he answers me'

22
21

22 23 24

to use JPH's term.

Vowel Breaking with final glottalized consonants

The glottalization of a ~~fx~~ word-final consonant is usually realized as the breaking of the preceding vowel; The glottal stop appears between two distinct syllables having an identical vowel.

/c-kep/ ckeʔep 'he bathes'

/k-iš-nał/ kišnaʔa l 'we two go'

/c-ʔip-iy/ ʔipiʔiy 'he ^{says} said again' miymiyaʔaš 'threads'
 This is a common feature of CVC redup in nouns, as in /miy-Vš-ʔ + R/

When the glottalized consonant is no longer in word-final position, then glottalization is realized ~~as usual~~ as a consonantal co-articulation.

/mam/ ~~maʔam~~ maʔam 'inside'

/ʔal-mam-Vč/ ʔalmamuč 'a hollow one'

/k-qon/ kqoʔon 'I laugh'

/k-su-qon-Vš-pi/ kšuoqonšpi 'I laugh at it'

And in environments in which glottalization is lost, there is neither breaking of the preceding vowel nor glottal co-articulation ~~with the~~ consonant.

/c-keý/ ckeʔey 'it hooks (something)'

/c-keý-šaši/ čkeyšeši 'it hooks itself'

~~/cu-kep/ cukoʔep 'it bathes (transitive)'~~

~~/cu-kep/~~

/hu-p-nał/ hupnaʔal 'you will go'

/kx p-nał-waš/ pnalwaš 'you went'

But in many ~~in a few sporadic~~ forms, glottalization of a final consonant is realized as pre-consonantal glottal stop rather than as breaking of the preceding vowel. A clear example is

/k-qolok/ [kqoloʔk] 'my belt'

but /k-qolok-Vč/ [kqoloʔič] 'I wear a belt'

other examples: /pawapaw/ pawapaw 'fly' ʔiškom 'two'

[pawapaʔw], [ʔiškoʔm]

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De-affrication

The third person ~~singular~~ marker c- is x de-affricated to s- when it ~~stands in the same position as in the following examples~~ follows a vowel. The following segment may be another vowel
 /mu-c-itaq/ musitaq 'he doesn't hear it'
 or a consonant.

/mu-c-mun-it/ musmunit 'he doesn't collect^{on} a debt from me'
 This rule also applies ~~up~~ across word boundaries as well,
 /ne'e c-kum-li/ ne'e skumli 'he has already come'
 an environment which also introduces the possibility of de-affrication following not only vowels but diphthongs as well.

~~/lo?ka-c-šay'ale/~~

/he? x 'al-apay c-am-sinay/ ~~he~~ he'alapay samsinay
 'they put it up above'

Even if ~~glottalized or aspirated~~, c- is still de-affricated after a vowel, as in

/lo?-ka-c-šay'/ lo?kaš^ha'ay 'his daughter'

~~/ka-c-šay'/ kaš^ha'ay~~

~~/ka-c-šay'/ kaš^ha'ay~~

~~By~~ No doubt by analogy to the main body of this rule, ~~initial~~ ~~clusters~~ /c/ and /č/ as first members of initial consonant clusters within single morphemes are also de-affricated following a vowel.

/ki clow'/ ki slow' 'and Eagle'

/si-čtakuk/ 'ištakuk 'yucca'

Since B and I nearly always have the simple spirants /s/ and /š/ clusters, in such ~~positions~~, it is possible that the affricated initial consonant in V is analogized from the third person marker c-.

if get rid of C-? $\Rightarrow \overset{?}{C}$,
get rid of this too

2-48

Aspiration

Any obstruent coalesces with ~~an~~ a following /h/ ~~an~~ within the same word to form a single aspirated segment.

/c-hilaq/ c^hilaq 'its handle (of a knife)'

/k-hin/ k^hin 'I take it'

/c-tip-hin/ č^htip^hin 'he is rich (lit. 'has much')'

~~x/kāxamhixx~~

/si-c-iš-helek/ ʔiš^hiš^helek 'their (dual) packbasket'

Expressive Processes

~~Threanax~~ In addition to reduplication, three other phonological processes are expressive in nature. These include ~~xnwaxix~~ diminutive consonantal symbolism and vowel breaking both ^{with} /ʔ/ and /h/.

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Consonantal Symbolism

This process is described in much more detail in a paper (Harrington, 1974) by Harrington, recently published in IJAL. ~~In essence, certain~~

~~consonantal shift~~ Briefly put, certain consonants within the word are shifted for diminutive effect, these changes including /l/ -> /n/,

~~/ʔal-qil-kilililil/ 'little line oak tree'~~

~~/ʔal-qil-kilililil/ CS/ 'anqinkinini' ///~~

/ʔal-qil-kilililil/ 'alqilkilililil 'one that is transparent'

+ CS -> 'anqinkinini 'type of small clear beads'

and /x/ -> /q/,

'ataxač 'man' -> 'ataqač 'boy, youth'

xanwa 'woman' -> qanwa 'girl, maiden'

and finally the strident segments ~~xaxnaxnaxnax~~ /s c š č/ all shift either to /č/, which is more common,

waxaniš 'fly (lit. 'excrement')' -> waqanič 'gnat'

~~/si-waxniš/ 'the rattler' -> si~~

/ʔal-šuš-Vč/ 'alšušuč 'hairy one' -> 'ančučuč 'sea cradle'

or to /c/.
~~/k-waxniš/~~

~~/k-waxniš/~~ /k-wašič/ kwašič 'I'm good looking' -> kwasič

/ʔal-qal-si-qom/ 'alqalciqom 'one that doubles up' x

-> 'anqanciqom 'insect ~~name~~ sp.'

~~Consonantal symbolism often appears in~~

Consonantal symbolism often ~~xxx~~ shows some semantic specialization which is not necessarily diminutive, such as ^{is} place names.

and

/si-xwapš/ ~~xx~~ šixwapš 'the nettle' → čiqwapš 'Canada Larga'

/si-qas-qas/ siqasqas 'the dunes' → čiqaqqač 'spot at the mouth of the V river'

/mi-c-xanaxaḥ/ misxanaxaḥ 'at the jawbone' → micqanaqaḥ
'village near the V mission'

~~But~~ But the general semantic force of consonantal symbolism is diminutive, with the inevitable shades of endearing and derogative meaning which accompany this category. Forms marked by consonantal symbolism are associated with the speech of children and of Coyote.

the names of ^{many} plants & animals.

/ʔat-im̩ey/ 'one who shampoos with white clay'
→ ~~ʔ~~ʔanim̩ey 'duck sp. with white beak'

Examples of Consonantal Symbolism

?ančučuč - sea cradle ← ?alšušuč - the hairy one
 qanwa - girl, maiden ← xanwa - woman
 ?anqinkinini - bead sp. ← ?alqilkilili - transparent one
 ?ataqač - boy, youth ← ?ataxač - man
 ?alkucaqniw - little neck ← ?aqliw - neck
 micqanaqañ - Ventura ← xanaxañ - jaw bone
~~kwařxi~~ kwa'ci'o - I'm good-looking < wasič
 ?anqanciđom - some insect name < ?al-qal-si-đom (to double up)
 ?anou'ouc - the hairy one < ?alšušuč
 wagantč gnat < waxantč fly
 la? Kaki čimhaniwač little canyon
 = 51

glott may be weird

?aniwo?aho bud sp
 su?pey

lo? sextewelegene? ki it shirts over there
 wa?š ikuša?aš a painting

?antap my gall
 k h o ? š o

but ?alboxšič bitter herb sp
 ?alni?k h et ~ ?at n i k h et
 you bring

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Vowel breaking with Glottal Stop

~~Vowel breaking with glottal stop~~

An epenthesized glottal stop may break up a final ~~ix~~ syllable into two or even three distinct syllables. ~~the~~

~~semantic force of this process~~ This process ~~ixnux~~ marks
 These include 1)
~~distinct~~ distinct semantic categories, ~~including~~ action involving
 motion away from the speaker or hearer, as in

k-sukupin 'I light a lamp' ->

-> ksukupiʔin 'I go to light a lamp'

hu-k-uxmal-hin-š 'I will wash them'

-> hukuxmalhiʔič 'I will go to wash them'

2) an intensive form, usually ^{with} particles, as in

wakapi 'slowly' -> wakapiʔi 'very slowly'

ʔal-apay 'up, high up' -> ~~wakap~~ ʔalapaʔay 'very high'

~~ʔu-poš-və/ kpoš 'I know' -> kpošʔoʔoʔoč 'I know indeed'~~

čaqwin 'that's all' ~~in a formulaic ceremonial~~

in a ceremonial ^{closing} formula čaqwin, čaqwin, čaqwiʔin

~~Observe~~ Note that the broken ~~final~~ vowel need not ~~be~~
 have a following consonant, as in wakapiʔi 'very slowly' or

/k /c-al-ti + ʔ/ caltiʔi 'he goes to meet someone'

Occasionally the breaking results in three syllables, as in

~~/pelkan + ʔ/ nelkaʔaʔan 'which one'~~

/wakapi + ʔ/ wakapiʔiʔi 'very slowly'

/k-poš-vč + ʔ/ kpošʔoʔoʔoč 'he knows indeed'

/laʔ miʔi + ʔ/ laʔmiʔiʔiʔi just a ~~little~~ very little

Just as with glottal stop, a final syllable may be ~~break~~ broken with /h/ ~~for~~ to form two distinct syllables.

28 Vowel breaking with /h/

~~Much less common is the~~ Vowel breaking with /h/ is much less common than with ʔ glottal stop, and semantically more opaque. ~~Some~~ A few examples seem to involve some semantic specialization, as in

ʔimɪ 'to be dumb' → ʔimihɪ 'to be silent'

nu? →

while more often it seems to be an idiosyncratic feature of certain ~~compounds of stem and prefix, as in~~ forms, such as

/hi-naɪ + h/ hiɪhahaʔal 'to be deep'

/ʔataxač-Vn + h/ ʔataxačihɪn 'to be manly, brave'

/su-mən/ + h/ sumehɪʔe 'to extend (trans') but cf.

/yuq-mən/ yuqmehɪʔe 'to extend the feet, legs'

The verb net ʔ 'to do, to be like' habitually takes ~~h~~ /h/, ~~h~~

/ka-c-net + h si-xɪp/ kašnehɪt ʔixɪp 'it is like a rock'

but when any suffix follows, so that ~~h~~ the stem is no longer final, then vowel breaking does not appear.

~~h~~ /si-aɪ-ʔal-net-pi/ salʔalinetpi 'what it is like'

si-ʔal-all

+ /c-am-tɛ-Vn-us/ camtenus

~~But~~ when ~~the~~ medial /h/ is basic to the ^{they name him} stem, ~~synchronically~~ if not ~~diachronically~~ ^{the}

(cf. ~~cf~~ uqštahay 'to be red; I uqštahay 'to be bright')

Stem, it remains even in suffixed ~~verb~~ forms.

uqštahay 'to be red, light'

/c-uqštahay-us-wun/ ʔuqštahayusuu
he lights them

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Pronominal Elements

This section ~~x~~ on pronouns includes personal pronouns, relative and and interrogative pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, numerals and quantifiers.

310

Personal Pronouns

The system of person pronouns includes both free and bound forms. Bound forms are prefixed subject ~~and~~ possessive markers ~~while the free forms~~ or suffixed object markers, while free forms are ^{not} restricted syntactically to subject or object uses.

33
311

Prefixes Forms
Prefixed pronominal forms mark the subject in the verb and the possessor in the noun. ~~They are~~ The categories marked are three persons and singular, dual, plural, and indefinite numbers. The pronominal prefixes are transparent combinations of person and number markers.

	sing	dual	plur	indef
1	k-	k-iš-	k-iy-	
2	p-	p-iš-	p-iy-	
3	c-	c-iš-	c-iy-	c-am-

The indefinite subject marker am- occurs only in the third person as a subject marker, never as a possessive. Examples:

- /k-wop/ 'my son'
- /k-iš-alhaš/ 'we two speak'
- /p-iy-iliken/ 'you (plural) stay here'
- /c-am-šip sunuw-us/ 'they use it; it is used'

The dual and indef no's ~~occurs~~ only with eve.

And the free dual & plural forms of the 1st & 2nd person are not attested. Kuvšev, (1918, p. —) gives only the bound prefix k-iy- in place of any free forms.

Suffixed pronominal forms mark the object in verbs, including the reflexive and reciprocal. There is no distinction of dual and plural with object suffixes.

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~~fixed~~
suffixed forms

	sign	plural	reflex	recip
1	-it			
2	-il	-iyuw	-šaš / -šaši	-nVš
3	-us	-ø	κ(-us)	-wan

In the third person singular, most verbs take no overt object marker, while a few take -us/

/k-iy-uš-til/ 'we find it/something'
/k-ʔip-us/ k'ipus 'I say to him'

really if not explain

313 Free forms

Free pronominal forms are sparsely attested. There is no real third person free form, other than the demonstratives.

	sing	dual	plural
1	no	k-iš-kí	/k-iy-kí/ kíkí
2	pi	p-iš-kí	/p-iy-kí/ píkí

Get there

Free forms are used in conjunction with the corresponding bound forms, never as replacements for them. Free forms are often usually emphatic subjects, as in

~~/no ʔan k-axi-xen/~~

/no ʔan k-su-axi-xen/ no ʔan ksaxixe 'I am grinding it down'

~~and they also occur in various phrases looking finite verbs~~

/pinnix

although they occur in other constructions as well,

/pi ni c-ʔil p-šik/ pi ni c'il pšik 'do you have lice?

lit. '[as for] you / question / there exists / your lice'

including ~~predic~~ phrases lacking a ~~final~~ verb.

no ha 'me? [do you mean] me?'

An intensive ~~f~~ pronoun ki-kš 'by oneself' is ~~formed~~ made up of the pronouninal formative -ki ^{Set k-iš-kš} (as in k-iš-kš 'we two') and an intensive marker -kš, which is more productive in Ineseno (e.g. ~~н~~ /no?-kš/ nokš 'I myself'). The intensive kikš may be either used/with the reflexive suffix, ~~xxx~~ -šaši, as in

/c-aqsik-šaši ki-kš/ čaqsikšaši kikš 'he tied himself by himself'

~~or it may not have any reflexive force~~

or it may be purely intensive, without any reflexive force.

~~/c-eqwel k-iš-kš le~~

Here it usually appears with la?

'just, merely,' as in

la? ki-kš k-eqwel he? 'I made this myself'

Another intensive construction involves hin/^{usually}to take,' ~~c~~ here related to I hin 'to own,' where person-number markers in agreement with the verb occur between ki-...hin after the verb.

/k-uliš ki-k-hin/ kuliš kikhin 'I take it for myself'

/c-iy-uliš ki-c-iy-hin/ čiyuliš kishin 'they take it for themselves'

Demonstrative Pronouns

The situation with demonstrative pronouns is apparently simple at first. There are essentially two:

he? 'this'

kaki 'that'

with he?
he?, the more common of the two,
both pluralized as ka /he?-wun/ he?-wun

while kaki seems to lack a plural form. (cf)

~~kakiwu 'those.'~~ But he? is much more common than kaki.

examples - see next page

la? qungunup^{-iwas} kaki.

Both demonstrative ~~xxx~~ can occur in apposition with nouns, which are introduced by the article si-. It is fairly rare to find ~~xxxxxx~~ kaki in such a construction,

(ex - shut ~~xxxxxx~~ that door!)

D-2

but he? is so common that JPH treats ~~as an enclitic xxxxxxxxxx~~ parallel to the he?- and ho?- prefixes in B.

~~with nouns~~

In constructions with nouns, ~~xxxx~~ the sequence he?-si- is frequently contrasts with lo?-si- and lo?-ka-

he?-si- 'this here (near the speaker) - B. he?-

lo?-si- 'that over there' - B. ho?-

lo?-ka- ^{generic, or} 'remote in time or space' - B. hu-

As an independent particle, ~~xxxx~~ lo? is 'over there' is locative, but in lo?-si- and lo?-ka- it seems to be more an enclitic locational/demonstrative ~~xxxx~~ marker with the noun.

D-2 this child / ~~xxxx~~ that stone / lo?-ka-wi 'that deer'

All of these constructions are far more common than kaki 'that' plus noun.

Demonstrative Pronouns

The situation with demonstrative pronouns is quite simple. There are essentially two,

he? 'this'

kaki 'that'

both pluralized with -wun as /he?-wun/ he?wu 'these' and ~~kakx~~ /kaki-wun/ w kakiwu 'those'. Examples in context:

ka-k-eqwel he? 'I made this one'

?al-xuyuw kaki 'kaxhxxx that man is a liar:

a liar [is] that one'

Both demonstratives can occur in apposition with nouns, which are introduced by the article si-. It is fairly rare to ~~xxx~~ find kaki in such a construction,

/iqip-? kaki si-mitipin/ ?iqip' kaki simitipⁱ 'close that door!'

but he? is extremely common. In apposition with nouns, he? is ~~xxxx~~ is frequently contrast with lo? 'over there', normally a locative particle, but here more a locational specifier with the noun. Harrington ~~xx~~ treats these forms as enclitics, writing them as single units.

/he?-si-~~xxx~~qunup 'this child'

/lo?-si-xip 'that stone'

These forms with he?-si- and lo?-si- are both much more common than kaki plus a noun.

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Interrogative and Relative pronouns

Of the set of relative/interrogative pronouns, some forms are both relative and interrogative, while others are only interrogative. Those which can be used only interrogatively have ~~no~~ relative equivalents which usually involve prefixation. For example, the interrogative form 'il-qu 'where?' has a relative parallel in the prefix yu- 'where.' Just as in Ineseno, the verb following ~~a~~ even an interrogative pronoun often has a relative ~~form~~ or nominalized form, ^{as a stylistic device,} /as in

/ʔašniṃ si-c-ʔip-ṭl/ʔašniṃ ʔisipil 'when did he tell you?'
literally: 'when [is] what he tells you?'

When a form is ~~never~~ attested only in interrogative sentences, but lacks a prefixed ^{this} relative equivalent, ~~it~~ probably indicates that the interrogative pronoun could ~~also~~ have relative force. ~~since~~

IR 1 1/2

1) nel-^{IR-2} 2) nel-kaʔaʔan IR-2
3) huki^{-IR-3} 'what' This particle is only interrogative; it is paralleled by a number of prefixed relativizing constructions. It is not as common as nel. (ex what does he want?)

+ the bit about 'something, anything'
4) ^{-IR-3}ʔasku 'who? This particle ^{too} is only ~~not~~ interrogative, paralleled by several prefixed relative constructions.

+ bit about 'someone, anyone'
5) ^{IR-2}ʔašniṃ 'when?' This particle is attested only in interrogative sentences, ~~but it could probably be relative as well, since there is no corresponding relative construction prefix.~~

6) ʔipstewel IR-2 7) ʔil-qu 'where?' IR-4 8) ʔil-čet 'how' IR-4

Relatively it is paralleled by a number of conjunctions, (la)khan, ka-nawa, ^{and} si-nawa.

1) ne 'what? which?' This particle may be an enclitic, since JPH wrote it as a single unit with the following word. It is usually interrogative, as in

/ne si-muwu l-hu?-p-eqen/ ne?imuwu lu?peqe 'which beach will you go to?'

The verb following ne is almost always introduced by l-; as in the example above where ne and l- are clearly separate ~~separate~~ elements, but usually l- follows ne immediately as a sequence ne-l-

~~ne l-~~ /ne l-hu-k-ali-net + h/ nelukalinehet 'what shall I do?'

.. /ne l-c-?ip/ nelc'ip 'what does she say?'

This particle ~~but~~ may also ~~introduce~~ relativize, as in

/ne l-?al-?ip xutaš/ nel?al?ip xuta š 'that which they call xutaš'

This particle may also appear as ~~ki-ne-l~~ ki-ne-l, evidently short for huki ne-l, as in

ki-ne

3) nei 'what?' This particle may be an enclitic, since JH wrote it as a single unit with the following word. It is usually interrogative, as in (examples on page before) but it may also relativize as well.

(example on page back)

ne-l-kaʔaʔan

2 4) neikaʔaʔan 'which one' This sequence obviously contains nei 'what,' but kaʔaʔan does not occur elsewhere. *The few examples*

nei-

/nei-kaʔaʔan ʔal-uliš-waš/

'which one did he take?' *are interrogative*

/nei-kaʔaʔan/ which one [is it]?' *are*

3) huki

4) ʔasku

5) ʔašniṁ 'when?'

/ʔašniṁ si-c-ʔip-il/ ʔašniṁ ʔisipil 'when did he tell you?'

There may be a semantic difference when ka- is prefixed.

/ka-ʔašniṁ si-p-eqwel-Vš heʔ-si-kap^{he}/

kaʔašniṁ ʔipeqweluč hesikap^{he} 'since when (= how long ago?) did you make this coffee?'

6) ʔipštewel 'how much, how many?' This particle is usually interrogative, as in

/ʔipštewel k-axmay-us/ 'how much do I owe him?'

but it may relativize as well.

/c-iy-itax-sān ʔipštewel axi-pen-Vš l-hul-iy-su-kitwon/

ciyitaxsā ʔipštewel ʔaxipeneš lulʔisukitwo

'they figure out how many boards they will get out [of it]'

Interrogative pronouns

~~Of the set of interrogative pronouns, only one is~~

Interrogative pronouns are largely distinct from relative pronouns, in so far as V has relative pronouns at all. Most relativization is accomplished by prefixation (see _____ on relativization), although *nel* 'what' is attested in relative as well as interrogative uses. The interrogative pronouns include

- 1) *huki* 'what?' *This particle does not occur often.*
huki ^ʔ*al-suya-hin* 'what does he want?'
 A truncated ~~*huki ʔal him*~~ *xaxaxaxax* form of *huki* may be used with *ne* 'what?', as in

/ki-ne si-muwu l-huʔ-peqen/ ki-neʔimuwu luʔpeqen
 'which beach ~~or~~ will you go to?'

This form is also used in the sense of 'something, anything,'

- xaxix* just as in I, as in */laʔ-huki l-hu-ʔ-ʔil/*
/kʰan p-qil-sin hal-c-al-otoyin laʔ-huki/ laʔhuki lupil
kʰan p-qisʔ halcaloteyi laʔhuki... 'when you see something
 [which is] thrown away... something will happen.'

- 2) *ʔasku* 'who?'

/ʔasku hu-c-taw/ ʔasku luʂtaʔaw 'who will deal it out?'

Just as in Ineseno, this form is ~~used~~ also used for 'someone, anyone,' and when possessed it means 'relative,' as in

/c-ʔasku^ʔ + R/ cʔasʔaskuʔu 'his relatives' *cʔasʔaskuʔu*

- 3) *nel* 'what?' ~~what~~ This particle is usually interrogative, as in

/nel hu-k-ali-net + H/ nelukalinehet 'what shall I do?'

/nel c-ʔip/ nelcip 'what does she say.'

but it may also relativize as well.

/nel ʔal-ʔip xutaš/nelʔalʔip xutaš 'what they call *xutaš*
 call *xutaš*'

It may

~~7) ?il-?et 'how?' This form is attested only in~~

7) ?il-qu 'where?' ~~This form is attested only in interrogative sentences, as in~~
~~relative~~

This particle is only interrogative, as in
/?il-qu p-eqen/ ?ilqu peqe 'where are you going?'
while the corresponding relative form is ~~??~~ a prefix ~~??~~.

8) ?il-?et ~~??~~ 'how' This form is attested only in
interrogative ~~??~~ sentences, as in

~~??~~ /?il-?et p-nax-yit/ 'how did you get up?'
~~other distinct~~
~~This form is attested only in interrogative sentences, as in~~
~~?il-?et could probably~~

But ?il-?et could probably be used relatively as well, since no
~~corresponding~~ distinct relative ~~??~~ is attested.

It may be a dialectal variant
since H gives at one point ~~??~~
?ilqu? peqe as being in the P.W dialect, ~~??~~
equivalent to ~~??~~ the coast dialect.

- Person-number markers may occur with yɛlaʔa,
as in /k-ɪ-yɛlaʔa/ /kiyɛlaʔa/ all of JS 3-17
/k-ɪ̄-yɛlaʔa/ both of JS

Quantifiers

There is a very small set of quantifiers which are used
pronominally. Of these, only yɛlaʔ 'all' and ʔihɪ 'much, many'
at all frequently occur/in apposition with nouns. ~~Others, mɪti 'a small one',~~

~~xax 'a big one', and ʔulyi 'a long one'~~

What sets all of these apart from nouns is that they do not occur
with the article si-.

1) yɛlaʔa 'all, every'

yɛlaʔa si-ku 'all of the people'

/yɛlaʔa si-c-pana-yɛw/ yɛlaʔa ʔispanayɪʔiw 'all its edges'

/k-hin yɛlaʔa/ k^hin yɛlaʔa 'I take them all'

2) ʔihɪ 'much, many'

/ʔihɪ si-c-ʔɪl/ ʔihɪ ʔisɪl 'its many legs'

/ʔihɪ si-c-mɪt/ ʔihɪ ʔismɪt 'its many facets' (lit. 'backs')

The following forms ~~are~~ seem to be intermediate between nouns
and quantifiers; they ~~are~~ very seldom take the ~~an~~ article, and they ~~are~~ seldom
appear in apposition with nouns.

2) /xax/ xaʔax 'a big one'

/pakɛt si-c-moto ʔan xax/ pakɛʔet ʔismoto ʔan xaʔax

'one side is big'

3) mɪti 'a small one'

/mɪti + R si-k-kal-qalaw/ mitmɪti sikkaqalaw

'little[pieces] are] what I chip off'

4) ʔulyi 'a long one'

/ʔal-ɪcuq-š si-ʔulyi si-c-hilaq/ ʔaliɕuqš ʔiʔulyi ʔis^hilaq

'long handled & lance: lance / long / its handle'

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Numerals

The V numeric system ~~xx~~ was originally based on ~~ix~~ sixteen, ~~unkai~~ although a form of decimal counting arose under Spanish influence. The Ventureno confessional (Beeler, 1967), pp. 76-77) lists ~~the~~ all the numerals up to 32, while ~~the~~ in the JPH ms ~~I have found only those up to~~ I have found only a portion of those up to sixteen. ~~These appear below, with guesses at what Harrington would have found for the~~

For those numerals which appear only in the confessional, I hazard a guess (indicated by a question mark) at how Harrington might have recorded them.

- 1 ~~pa~~ /paket' / pake'et
- 2 'iškom'
- 3 masix
- 4 ckumu
- 5 ~~yxi~~ yitipakes' (yitipaques) yitipake'es
- 6 ~~yakhsham~~ yati'iškom' (cf. yetishcom)
- 7 yitimasix | (itimaseg)
- 8 malawa ix (malakux)
- 9 cpa ~~ma~~
- 10 kaškom' - ka'aškom'
- 11 tēlu (telu) (cf I tēlu)
- 12 masix ckumu
- 13 masix ckumu kanpake'et ? (masseg scumu canpaqueet)
- 14 'iškom' laliyet ? (eshcom laliét)
- 15 pake'et siwē ? (paqueet cihuw)
- 16 ;çixipš ? (chigipš)

MSB quotes JPH
13 ka'as

- 17 čixipš ~~xx~~ kanpakeʔet ? (chixipsh canpaqueet)
- ~~18 ʔiškoḿ ~~siwi~~ ? (eshcom~~
- 18 ʔiškoḿ ~~siwi~~ siwi skumuhuy ? (~~eshcom~~ (eshcom cihue scumuhuy)
- 19 pakeʔet siwi skumuhuy ? (paqueet cihue scumuhuy)
- 20 skumuhuy ? (scumuhuy)
- 21 ~~xx~~ skumuhuy kanpakeʔet ? (scumuhuy canpaqueet)
- 22 ʔiškoḿ siwi cmaxmasix ? (eshcom cihue etsmajmaseg)
- 23 pakeʔet siwi cmaxmasix ? (paqueet siwe etsmajmaseg)
- 24 cmaxmasix ? (etsmajmaseg)
- 25 cmaxmasix kanpakeʔet ? (etsmajmaseg canpaqueet)
- 26 ʔiškoḿ siwi

. MSB skumuʔuy 20

The suffix -ini with numerals means '~~xxxxxx~~ X times more,'
 as in /pakət-ini/ pakətəni 'once more'
 ʔiškoḿ-ini 'twice more'

T MSB Venturiño Numerals, in Wm Bright ed
 Studies in Californian Linguistics, UC Press 1971

(Should you protest that it is for to doesn't show up of all, it shouldn't be introduced to begin with, note what happens when the matrix sentence is processed:

400

400 The Noun

Included in the discussion of the noun are the general topics of noun stem morphology, derivation, inflection, and the larger *danzi* pattern of the noun phrase.

410

Noun Stem Morphology

~~The most striking feature~~

The basic shape of the noun stem is CVC and CVCVC, often augmented by reduplication and various formatives. Complex noun stems tend to be much more opaque morphologically than do verb stems.

411

The Canonical Shape of the Noun

Many nouns conform to the CVC and CVCVC pattern which characterizes both noun and verb stems.

kuy 'curved bead'	ciwis 'rattle'
-pax 'skin'	čaqaw 'robin'
čoč 'soaproot'	-tinik 'tear'
mow 'carrizo sugar'	-yiwíš 'head'

But noun stems are much more likely than verbs to have a

stem-final vowel. ~~Phonologically, stem~~

~~and~~ ~~glottal stop~~ are usually lost.

Many of these are cognate to forms in B and I,

ku 'person'	-pu 'arm, hand'
ni 'fire'	taxama 'skunk'
-sa 'tooth'	xšo 'sycamore'

but many of the vowel-final nouns in V ~~result from the~~ deletion of a final [n/ or] għntk /?/, which are seldom unambiguously

~~preserved by~~ ~~Since noun suffixes are quite rare, compared to~~

~~verbs, there is seldom any morphological evidence of~~

~~these final~~ ma 'rabbit' cf. BI ma? 'id'

ya 'arrow' cf. BI ya? 'id'

-?unu 'grandchild' cf. I -?unu?, B -?unu 'id'

Since ~~noun suffixes are quite rare~~ there are only two noun suffixes are quite rare, compared to verbs, there is seldom synchronic evidence of a final segment. An example is

~~/tuʔ/ tu 'ear'~~ /c-tuʔ/ čtu 'his ear'

/c-tuʔ-waš/ čtuʔwaš 'shell'

Very few nouns, however, have a stem-initial vowel; these are ~~xi~~ inalienably possessed forms which are always prefaced with a possessive prefix.

-enhes 'breath, soul'

-ac^his 'beard'

-aql^hw 'neck, throat; language'

~~-axis sister-in-law~~

~~-i^ho-levolech'~~

-axis sister-in-law

The great majority of nouns, even those which are inalienably possessed, show a glottal stop before the vowel.

* 'ohok 'cradle hood'

-ʔosos 'heel'

ʔušmat 'beetle sp.'

-ʔik 'mouth'

~~ʔixxʔ~~ ʔewe 'needle fish'

-ʔičk^h 'loincloth'

ʔiq^hy 'quail'

-ʔan 'blood'

5) 'al- / 'an- This formative may well represent the agentive prefix 'al- ~~occurring~~ with uniquely occurring verb stems, ~~but it is not~~ ^{move} It is ~~most~~ ^{most} closely fused with the stem than is the agentive 'al-, since it shows ~~no~~ ^{the frequent} vowel harmony, and ~~the frequent~~ ^{nasal form} 'an- has undergone diminutive consonantal symbolism.

'alxay' 'wildcat' cf. Castaic dialect 'anxay'

'alkulul' 'west'

'olpo - 'olpo'o 'guico: an am^hphibian'

'anyapax 'Anacapa Island; mirage, illusion'

'enwecec 'fish sp.'

'ontokos 'whirlwind, whirlpool'

~~possib~~
~~An example of a more segment~~

A segmentable example illustrates this process; There is a verb woyon 'to turn, twist,' and the noun ~~toke^hwe^hyo^hx^hwe^h~~ 'olwo'oy 'periwinkle' may be etymologized as /'al-woy-?/ 'the twister', incidently showing that the verb too is segmentable as /woy-Vn/.

413

Reduplicated Noun stems

A great many nouns are inherently reduplicated, particularly those denoting kinship terms and plant and animal names. There are several patterns of reduplication, of which the most common are the CVC ~~r~~ and wuluwul ~~reduplication~~ patterns. One of the initial formatives discussed above may ~~appear with this~~ introduce the reduplicated sequence.

- 1) CVC
- 2) Initial CV-
- 3) Final -VC
- 4) Medial
- 5) wuluwul

An example of the same CVC seq with completely unrelated meanings in its simple & redup'd forms is

NB - 20ʔ olivella shell

20ʔ20ʔ goose sp.

muš

ʔayamušmuš

} two caterpillar sp.

forms

20ʔ / 20ʔ20ʔ

2 4/4

Personal Names

Personal names, ~~along with place names~~, form a special subset of nouns. Proper nouns are distinct from common nouns in that they do ^{not} occur with the article si-, and they do not occur with possessive ^{or demonstrative} markers.

Personal names tend to be unanalyzable, beyond certain recurrent endings which appear to be segmentable in many names.

~~But unfortunately Fernando Librado offered translations for many names. But personal names are not meaningless.~~

But personal names are not meaningless; ~~that~~ Fernando Librado offered translations for many of them, indicating ~~that~~ that ~~that~~ ~~unknowingly~~ this was esoteric lore. ~~Many names end in -yt~~

~~may be 'divine, fortune teller' but Librado was not always consistent in his translations.~~

save-hi later

Some ~~names~~ names are simply common nouns used as altho these may be ~~nicknames~~ nicknames, since they tend ~~to be~~ ~~and~~ personal names, such as taqama 'little skunk'

- ?alow 'floating cloud'
 - yiqspik 'big-shin'
 - cpuy 'dew'
 - kotiřtu 'broken ear'
- or -it. pawit tiliłmłwit

as auspicious or complimentary are the other names.

~~Some names~~

Others are ~~is~~ glossed, but are unsegmentable,

- kwayayřu 'one who attracts' (in muwu dialect)
 - yonche 'the first' (in sapwł dialect)
 - ča?ki 'one of great endurance'
- and still others are merely given as names.

muřu,

-šu namšu 'trace, vestige'

halašu, kwayayšu 'one who attracts' (of muwu)

4-9

Various recurrent endings in personal names include

-cet wataycet 'don't forget' (of muwu)

- kamuliyacet 'a beginning that will always be'

- sulupiyawcet

-it kwinayit 'one to be appreciated'

-wit šulkumyašwit

- tilišiwit

- pawit

- šulaywit

- talawiyašwit 'one who can go travel in a flash'

-ayt tumamayt

- nayayt 'diviner, fortune-teller'

- tinakwayt 'stubborn'

-awt timiyaxawt 'dirt scratched by Coyote'

Others are glossed, but are unsegmentable,

toponxele 'classy intruder'

šnawaway 'discoverer of mysteries'

kiwšs 'one who is astute'

law 'spirit of the world'

and still others are merely ~~xxxx~~ given as personal names.

mušu, walawyu šuyuy, ?unuquytat, ?ileš, tiqnekš

may mean feature redundancy for the one segment, but it avoids ambiguity for the whole matrix. The ~~xxxxxxxx~~ same logic applies to blanks in the lexicon as well. ~~xxx~~ When formulating matrices for universal vs. x lingua ge-specific aspects, there is a tendency to use more blanks in the universal aspect, as x the need for generalization is greater.

420 Derivation

Nouns ~~may~~ may be derived from verbs either by ~~suffixed~~ or ~~overfixed~~ nominal ~~...~~ suffixes or prefixes. ~~suffixed~~ nominal derivatives are both more

420 Derivation

Nouns may be derived from verbs either by ~~suffixed or overfixed~~ suffixes or prefixes. suffixed noun derivative markers are more common.

Usually only one form or the other occurs with a given stem, but an example of alternative derivative endings is: ?iwexeš - ?iwexe'weš 'flour, meal; something ground' ~~From~~ 4-11
'to grind, pound'. From iwex

Nominalizing suffixes

~~There are~~ Several suffixes derive nouns from verbs. These include *As of examples next page*

1) -Vš 'resultative' ~~For~~ For Barbareno, Beeler calls this suffix 'resultative,' since it usually denotes *the concrete result* ~~an object which~~ has undergone ~~the~~ the action or process of the verb in question. ~~The~~ Phonologically, the suffix varies between -Vš and -Vš', with the non-glottalized x form more common. Examples

aqnɪp 'to make coiled basketry' xɪqɪx

/aqnɪp-Vš/ ?aqnɪpaš 'coiled basketry'

mol 'to toast' - /mol-Vš/ moliš 'something toasted'

itep 'to make chia mush' - /itep-Vš/ ?itepeš 'chia mush'

sipɪt 'to make acorn mush' /sipɪt-Vš/ šipɪta'as 'acorn mush'

In a few cases, -Vš forms more abstract nouns, ~~even~~ although they are inalienably possessed, as in

?ulyi '(to be) long' xɪxɪ /-?ulyi-Vš/ -?ulyina'as 'length'

~~aqšan 'to die' /-aqšan-Vš/ -?aqšanɪ'is 'death'~~

/suya-aqšan-?Vš/ šuyaqšanɪ'is 'disease, illness'

2) -Vš' / -?Vš' 'instrumental' This suffix denotes the tool or instrument used in ~~an~~ an action or process. Note that phonologically it partially overlaps with the -Vš/-Vš' resultative suffix above; ~~but when these two suffixes occur~~ when the same ~~verb~~ verb stem occurs with both of these derivative suffixes, the instrumental suffix always shows more glottalization than the resultative, as in derivative forms of ~~mol~~

mol 'to toast'

/mol-Vš/ moliš 'something toasted'

/mol-Vš'/ molɪ'is 'toasting basket'

-Vš - -V°Vš

°ešeš	something woven
°ipani°iš --	s. pounded up
°uwene°eš	object
šu°peyeš	ornament, s. decorated
šaxixeneš	s. worn down
°iwexe°eš	s. pounded up
šuwašqali°iš	wedge (wašqal - to split)
tipoyoqoniš	s. drilled through
lo°kayičuqa°aš	lance (ičuq - to pierce)
sumoxkowowoniš	something hooked made diagonal
°ixweteqpeyeš	image, imitation
šipita°aš	acorn mush (šet)
wipi°iš	club
wikali°iš	club
kaqalawi°iš	flint-chipping instrument
kaqalawiš	flaked-object
wošotoyinaš	something made oblique
-°ulyina°aš	length
tipiša°aš	needle, pin
°aqniš	coiled basketry
čhuwaškumele°eš	rudder
NB wiš°iš	shooting instrument
NB moliš	s. toasted
NB moli°iš	toasting basket
NB sukupiña°aš	light, lamp - sukupin
NB suwati°iš	winnowing basket (xuxakšx suwati°y)
°altipnownowoniš	(to be) one who is well-behaved
wolkoyi°iš	a round hut
šuxulčiyi°iš	something bad, worthless
°aqkapi°iš	tongs - aqkap to pick with tonge

iwexeš ~

NB [

~~/kəl qələw/ kələw 'to shake flint'~~

~~/kəl qələw-V~~

Other examples of the -Vš / -ʔVš instrumental suffix are

1) /suwatiy-ʔVš/ šuwatiyʔiš 'winnowing basket'

2) /su-waš-qal-Vš/ šuwašqaliʔiš 'wedge; splitting tool'

3) /aqkap-Vš/ ʔaqkapiʔiš 'tongs' (aqkap 'to pick up with tongs')

4) /c-su-waš-kumel-ʔVš/ šhunwaškumelʔeš 'rudder, steering

now to -∅ / -Vš

3) -ʔ 'instrumental' Another derivational ~~suffix~~ pattern showing instrumentality is glottalization of \mathfrak{x} the final consonant of a \mathfrak{x} verb stem.

/išaw-ʔ/ ʔišaw 'sun' < išaw 'to be hot'

~~xxxx~~ /axta-el^{hew}-ʔ/ ʔextel^{hew} 'north wind'

< extel^{hew} 'north wind to blow: to blow down'

/axi-yep-ʔ/ ʔaxiyeʔep 'medicine' < axiyeʔ 'to cure'

4) -mu 'locative nominalizer' The basic sense of -mu is locative, as in

/apiš-mu/ ʔapišmu 'where wood is gathered'

/aqtahan-mu/ ʔaqtahanmu 'where one cools off'

/walap-mu/ walapmu 'landing place (for boats)'

but it takes on a resultative \mathfrak{x} sense in some derivatives,

/aqmil-mu/ ʔaqmilmu 'medicine: what is drunk'

/sip-mu/ sipmu 'load carried on the back'

and instrumental in still others /imcy-mu/ ʔimcy^{mu} *white clay/Shampoo*

There is one ~~derivative~~ multiple derivative which indicates that

the underlying form of this suffix might be -muʔ, as it is in B

and I. ~~From~~ From the noun -ʔeqen 'sole (of the foot)', another

noun /ʔeqen-mu/ ʔeqenmu 'sandals' is formed; the verbal deriv of

this is ʔeqenmuʔu, hinting at an underlying form like

/ʔeqen-muʔ-Vn/ ʔeqenmuʔu 'to put on sandals, shoes'

5) -šaš / -štaš 'nominalizer' The exact force of this comparatively rare and irregular suffix is unclear, but it seems to be primarily agentive or instrumental.

/aqčhum-šaš/ 'aqčhumšašaš 'something agreeable, likeable'

/iqip-šaš/ 'iqipšašaš 'something which is full'

/nu-nal-šaš/ nunalčičiš 'a joke'

/iwon-štaš/ 'iwončtičiš 'song (of a bird)'

6) -∅ 'nominalizer' Zero suffix derivatives usually have an instrumental force.

waqsik x̄t̄ənpxx as V 'to paint,' as N 'paint'

get more examples!

su-pey as V 'to adorn, ornament', as N 'ornament'

7) -∅ / -Vš 'inalienably possessed / non-possessed'

Many derived nouns with an essentially resultative meaning show an alternation of zero suffix for inalienably possessed forms versus -Vš for non-possessed forms. (Initial vowels in with inalienably possessed forms take no preceding glottal stop, while non-possessed forms do.)

/waxan/ 'to defecate'

-waxa 'feces, [-alien]' / waxaniš 'excrement, [+alien]

/ti-mes/ 'to fasten shut, fasten together'

-times 'fastener, [-alien]' / timeše'eš 'fastener, [+alien]

/api-uš-key/ apuškey 'to hook'

-ʔapuškey 'hook' -- ʔapuškeye'eš 'hook'

plus re vowel: oxšol 'to urinate'

/c-oxšol/ čoxšol 'its urine' / /oxšol-Vš/ ʔoxšoliš 'urine'

mi- 'locative'

A ^A common, but non-productive locative prefix mi- occurs with ~~some~~ ^{a few} nouns.

/mi-ʔaliyaš/ ma'liyaš 'on the road, trail'

/mi-šup/ 'down, below; on the ground' < šup 'earth, land'
Some
~~many~~ placenames begin with mi-,

/mi-čhumaš/ 'S C Island: place of the čhuma; s 'islanders'

/mi-c-xanaxaḥ/ + CS/ micqanaqaḥ 'place of the jawbone,'

a village near the mission S V

/mi-c-ʔik/ miš'ik 'at the mouth', the mouth of ~~the~~ Hueneme lagoon

-ini 'more, another'

This suffix may occur with nouns and numerals, where it may have an adverbial force.

/pakeḥ-ini/ pakeḥeni 'once more'

/ʔiškon-ini 'twice more'

~) that-insertion preserves tense or a modal

I suspect that the butler did it

One regular environment for the reduced form of the article is before forms with the agentive prefix 'al-, as in

~~ʔiʔalwalqalay~~ *but šaʔaltətəʔ one that is called...*
 /c-hilaq si-'al-walqalay/ c^hilaq 'iʔalwalqalay 'handle that is ^{smooth}
 /su-pey ~~ʔi~~ si-'al-pow/ su^ʔpey 'iʔalpow~~ʔi~~ 'curved ornament'

and the indefinite subject marker (ʔ)am-, as in

/ʔal-qap si-'am-al-su-tapin/ ʔalqap 'iʔamalsutapi
 'a mortar which they bring in'

Before noun stems which begin with a glottal stop, the vowel of the article is harmonic with ~~the~~ ^{the following} stem vowels.

~~/si-ʔətəxəʃ/ šəʔətəxəʃ 'the man'~~

1 t u /si-ʔoxkəhə/ soʔoxkəhə 'the thunder'

/si-ʔewhey/ seʔewhey ~~ʔi~~ 'the winnowing basket'

/si-ʔayapililil/ saʔayapililil 'the cowrie shell'

But the non-harmonic form of the article ^{occasionally} may appear as well, as in the alternative forms

/heʔ-si-ʔətəxəʃ/ heʔšilʔətəxəʃ - heʔšilʔətəxəʃ 'this man'

~~and the reduced 'i-~~ ^{does not show vowel harmony,} form seems to have priority over the ~~harmonic form with low vowel,~~ as attested by ~~the use of 'i-~~ after a strident consonant in

/si-s-woqš si-ʔonyoko/ ~~ʔi~~ ʔišwoqš ~~ʔi~~ 'iʔonyoko

'shark vertebra'

As for what happens before high stem vowels after initial glottal stop, (look for clear examples!)

/si-uš-qoy-Vn^uVš/ šuʔušqoyinaš Shell Fish

/su-ʔulwax-Vš/ suʔulwaxətš a Strip

/si-ʔtəqətʔ/ stʔəqətʔ quail

Article and Demonstratives with nouns

Fner

The article with nouns is si-. It basically marks nouns as such, ~~the~~ rather than ~~such as~~ marking any distinction between definite and indefinite nouns. But ~~the~~ ^{various} ~~various~~ very frequently ~~various~~ nouns also occur with/enclitic ~~demonstrative~~ ~~particles~~ forms, some of which appear in combination with the article ~~and~~ ~~of~~

~~Of these, he? 'this' and lo? 'that' are clearly demonstrative in force; ~~they are identical to~~ They also appear in this shape as free forms; ~~but~~ although lo? is by itself seems to mean 'over there' rather than simply 'that'. The plural of he? is he?nu 'these'.~~

These include two free forms with occur with the article si-

- ~~he? 'this'~~ he?-si- 'this'
- ~~lo? 'that'~~ lo?-si- 'that'

and the prefix ka- which appears only in combination with lo? as lo?ka-, ~~without~~ without the article si-. ~~Them~~

~~Semantically, lo?ka- seems to refer to a noun remote in time or space. In myths, such as the story of Coyote and Eagle's Daughter, most nouns are prefixed with lo?ka-.~~

~~A truncated form of lo?ka-~~ There is a truncated form of lo?-ka- in which the second member of a possessive noun phrase introduced by lo?-ka- merely takes ka-, ~~also~~ also without the article si-:

lo?-ka-?iw ka-maqß 'a knife of flint'

*place names with ka- ka-
Placenames often ~~are~~ with two words often h*

Ka- .. Kaspat Kaxwa
Kašomšomoy Kanwaya kakuw
Ka

In many cases, he^o seems to be an idiomatic usage with certain nouns. The world is referred to ~~ka~~ /he-si-šup/ he^oišup 'this world,' and the ocean is likewise consistently referred to as he^osimuwu 'this sea'. In the myth of Coyote and Eagle's Daughter, Eagle's daughter tells Coyote

/he^o-si-p-yiwis^o an^o hu-s^o-bošoy ka lo^o-si-p-teleq/

hešipyiwis^o an^o huš^obošoy ka lo^osipteleq 'your head will be dark and your tail [too]'

It is noteworthy that she uses he^o for his head, and lo^o for his tail; presumably ~~KA~~ Coyote's tail is ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

somehow more removed from either speaker or hearer than is his head.

[Faint, mostly illegible text, possibly bleed-through or very light print]

the car is ... the car is ...
the car is ... the car is ...
the car is ... the car is ...
the car is ... the car is ...

1951

1951

1951

The semantics of these various nominal forms is not too clear, but some general patterns emerge.

First, the simple article *si-* is ~~marked~~ the unmarked nominal prefix; if no other prefix ~~xxx~~ appears, then any common noun is marked by *si-*.

The forms *heʔ-* and *loʔ* are clearly demonstrative in force; ~~They are usually not translated directly with demonstrative glosses~~

origin, if not in force. Nouns with *heʔ-* are sometimes translated with 'this/these', and *loʔ* also is a demonstrative translated in its free form as 'over there.'

The combination *loʔ-ka-* seems to refer to a noun remote in time or space. In myths, most nouns are prefixed with *loʔ-ka-*. But *loʔ-ka-* evidently does not ~~knáax~~ necessarily indicate a psychological remoteness for the speaker, since *loʔ-ka-* ~~xx~~ ~~xxx~~ apparently has a topicalizing force in some cases.

In complex noun phrases, involving appositive and possessive constructions, various combinations of these noun markers appear. The simplest is *si-* with both nouns, as in

/k-hin si-c-se si-wá/ k^hin ʔis^he siwá 'I take a deer bone'

/si-c-lewuš si-xaʔax si-c-tuʔ-waš/ ʔišlewuš sixaʔax ʔišt^uwaš

'a big piece of shell: piece / big / shell'

An example is

/k-eqwel-us si-c-ixwalilik loʔ-ka-ʔoqtowol/

keqwelus ʔisixwálik loʔkaʔoqtowol 'I make grooves [on] the flute'

In other cases it may have a generic force, as in

loʔ-ka-kiw ʔan ka mi^ti si-c-iš-hin loʔ-ka-tó (ʔišišhin)

the kiw is smaller than the ^tó (two mussel spp.)'

Following numbers, only si- introduces nouns.

~~xpaxaxaxaxaxax~~ /pake²
 si-c-qil-mes/ pake²et ²isqilmes 'one island'

/masix si-išaw-²/ masix š²i²išaw² 'three days'

~~The other commonest is~~

Another commonly encountered combination of noun markers is lo²-ka- with one noun and ka- with the second, as in

/lo²-ka-c-tik ka-c-uliš/ lo²kaštik kašuliš 'the tip of the handle'

/kax lo²-ka-²iw ka-²ulyi/ 'a long knife! a knife / a long one'

but lo²-ka- frequently introduces the possessive member of a possessive noun phrase, as in

/²ihi si-c-mit lo²-ka-²al-ipceyewu/ ²ihi ²ismit lo²ka²alipceyewu

'a crystal has many facets: many / its back / crystal'

+ ---

Possession

~~Nouns in common nouns are either alienably or inalienably possessed~~

Possession is an important category in the noun phrase; after the article si- it is the most ^{frequent} ~~common~~ nominal inflection. Any common noun may occur with possessive prefixes; common nouns may be alienably or inalienably possessed.

Possessive markers

Possessive markers with the noun are identical to subject markers ^{with} in the verb (except that the indefinite subject marker am- does not occur as a possessive marker). They are

	singular	dual	plural
first	k-	k-iš-	k-iy-
second	p-	p-iš-	p-iy-
third	c-	c-iš-	c-iy-

Inalienable possession

A great many nouns are inalienably possessed, including some derived nouns. Inalienably possessed nouns cover a ~~wide~~ broad semantic domain, naturally centering on body part terms, kinship terms, and some ~~material~~ material artifacts (e.g. -'ax ~~the~~ 'bow,').

Inalienably possessed nouns occur only with one of the possessive markers.

or -VŠ

A suffix -VŠ marks inalienably possessed nouns which are being used in a non-possessed sense. ~~THE~~ Such nouns do not occur with possessive markers, but the suffix marks them as belonging to a class distinct from ~~the~~ the alienably possessed nouns which need not occur with any possessive prefix.

~~These special non-possessed forms may~~

- ~~xax~~ /si-k-tete[?]/ siktete[?] 'my mother'
- /si-tete[?]-VŠ/ šitetene[?]eš 'a mother, someone's mother'
- /si-s-isoy/ [?]isisoy 'his dancing plumes'
- ~~xaxax~~ /si-isoy-VŠ/ š[?]i[?]išoyiš 'dancing plumes'

These special non-possessed forms may be simple monomorphemic nouns, as in ~~the examples~~ the examples above, or they may be verbal derivatives. In the case of verbal derivatives, the inalienably possessed form takes possessive markers but no derivative ~~mark~~ marker, while the non-possessed form takes only the -VŠ suffix, which here marks both derivation and non-possession. Thus, from the verb ti-mes 'to fasten,' come both the possessed

/si-k-times/ 'my fastener, my pin'

and the non-possessed form

/si-ti-mes-VŠ/ šitimeše[?]eš 'a fastener, pin'

Another example; from oxšol 'to urinate',

/si-s-oxšol/ [?]išoxšol 'its urine'

/si-oxšol-VŠ/ šo[?]oxšoliš 'urine'

xaya xayants[?] (ed)

Here hin- serves to keep prefixes in the same position class from occurring immediately adjacent to one another. This morphological feature is unique to V.

hin-

~~Unique to V is the prefix hin-~~

normally

When the prefix slot normally occupied by possessive prefixes is ~~it~~ already pre-empted by ~~other~~ ~~other~~ prefixes, then hin- ~~is used as a linker between the~~

introduces the true possessive prefixes. The environments in which hin- appears are

1) when a noun is a verbal derivative ~~introduced by~~ ~~the~~ ~~third~~ ~~person~~ ~~singular~~ ~~verbal~~ ~~prefix~~, as in /c-qil-mes/ 'island,' literally 'it is across the water,' ~~as in~~

/k-hin-c-qil-mes/ k^hinoqilmes 'my island'

/si-c-hin-c-pey/ si^hinope^{ey} 'his flower' ^{her}

~~the~~ /c-pey/ 'it blooms' - 'flower'

an inalienably poss'd

2) when a noun is ~~introduced by~~ ~~the~~ ~~third~~ ~~person~~ ~~singular~~ ~~possessive~~ ~~marker~~ c- used idiomatically in a non-possessed sense, such as /c-sa/ c^ha 'fishhook; arrowhead,' literally 'its tooth', as in

/si-k-hin-c-sa/ sik^hino^ha 'my fishhook; my arrowhead'

/si-s-hin-c-hilaq/ si^hino^hilaq 'his handle (of his knife)'

3) when a noun is a verbal derivative ~~introduced by~~ ~~the~~ ~~agentive~~ ~~prefix~~ ~~'al-~~, which occurs in the same/position class as ~~the~~ ~~subject~~ ~~markers~~, ~~such~~ ~~as~~ ~~the~~ /'al-cí-cí/ 'a point', literally

'one that is sharp,' as in

~~the~~ /si-c-hin-'al-cí-cí/ si^hin'alcíci 'its points'

/si-c-hin-'al-waš-mes/ si^hin'alwesmes 'its cross-piece'

~~4) when a noun begins with an initial consonant cluster with~~

4) when a noun begins with ~~x~~ /c/ ~~or~~ /s/ as first member of an initial consonant cluster, which is phonologically ~~simi~~ but not morphologically similar to nouns already prefixed with the third person singular prefix e-.

/si-k-hin-²stin/ sik^hinot^hin 'my dog'

/si-e-hin-sqoyis/ ^{she}vis^hincqoyis ^{was}her kepp-bed (where ^{she}he fishes)'

5) when a possessive marker appear with a noun which is normally not possessed at all, hin- may appear, as in

/c-hin-mow/ c^hinmow its ~~has~~ honey (lit sugar) of a bee

/ʔal-hip-pšte/ ʔalhipšte
I one with ~~has~~ lice'

/k-hin-paktwaš/ my old man = ^{my}husband

Pluralization

~~Number in the noun is marked~~

Number is marked in the noun only as singular versus plural, altho a dual number appears in verb~~s~~ subjects. Plurality is marked either by ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a suffix -wu^{or} or by ~~CVC~~ initial CVC reduplication.

~~xxxx~~ The ~~plur~~ suffix -wu^{is} common as a plural object marker in verbs, but it occurs ^{far} much less often as a plural marker in nouns. ~~Among the few examples are~~ ~~the~~ as in
 /lo^o-ka-c-^oiwin-wu/ lo^okasiwinwu 'his companions

Number in Nouns

Very commonly, number is not marked at all in the noun if it is clear from context. ~~And~~ And if number is overtly marked elsewhere in the sentence, usually in the verb, then it is seldom explicitly marked in the noun. In the sentences below, the numarked ~~x~~ noun is clearly plural because ^{the verb with which it occurs} ~~the verb whose~~ subject it is ~~is marked~~ has a plural subject marker: ~~ta~~ ^{an} -iy- ...

/c-iy-qis̄ si-qunup/ diqis̄ 'iqunup 'the children see [it]'
and the object noun below is ~~unmarked for number~~
and a plural object marker -wun in

Number is not marked at all in ...

Number is not marked after numerals

/mas̄ex si- 7-1 šaw-?/ mas̄ex 7i?, šaw '3 days'
and ~~body part terms~~ very seldom take any
~~marker of number~~
nor after body part terms.

~~si~~ si-k-pu ~~my hand~~ my hand(s)
(si-c-7ulya/ 7is7ulya his finger(s))

+ ~~a~~ he7si he7isimuk siqunup
the children's aunt

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Pluralization

~~The number in the noun seems to be marked only by
 -wu
 CVC reduplication: the V cognate of the B and I plural
 marker suffix -wun/-wun¹ is used only as an object marker with
 verbs, apparently never with nouns.~~

~~Initial CVC reduplication in nouns falls on the initial
 syllable leftmost syllable of the noun excluding person and
 number possessive markers, as in the example below,
 where p /p-iy-/ is the person-number marker~~

~~/si-p-iy-qunup + R/ sipiqunqunup 'your (plural) children'
 Initial consonant clusters are reduplicated intact, if they~~

CVC Reduplication may have a collective force, as in

/qas + R/ qasqas 'a sandy place' < 'sand'

/xšo + R/ xšoxšo 'an alder grove' < 'alder tree'

/tip + R/ tiptip 'a salt flat' < 'salt'
 simply

But more commonly, CVC reduplication/seems to have
 a plural force. With plural reduplication, the final consonant
 of the noun may be glottalized, but this feature is not obligatory
 as it is in B and I. Examples of simple CVC redup

/miti + R/ mitmiti 'little ones'

/woco + R/ wocwoco 'ducks (of a certain species)'

/ʔoyosow + R/ ʔoyʔoyosow 'bumble bees'

and of CVC redup with final glottalization

~~/c-lewš-ʔ + R/ šlewš~~

/miy-Vš-ʔ + R/ miymiyaʔaš 'threads'

~~španšpan /šan-ʔ + R/ šanšaʔan 'non-initiates (into ʔantap cult)'~~

/činičini-ʔ + R/ činčiničiniʔin 'sk octopi'

~~Very commonly, number is not marked at all in the noun~~

Note that final glottalization may fall on a suffix, in this
 case kš -iwaš 'dead, defunct,' as in

/c-se-iwaš-ʔ + R/ chseniwaʔaš 'his (a dead man's) bones'

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Noun Phrases

Complex noun phrases involve constructions with ~~numerals~~ ~~quantifiers~~, appositive or possessive force, and constructions with numerals and demonstratives.

Possessive Phrases

~~In the possessive phrase, the~~

The possessive phrase shows the possessed noun first, marked by possessive prefixes in agreement with the person and number of the possessor noun, which follows.

/si-c-tu[?]-waš si-qaš[?]/ ?išt[?]u[?]waš ?iqaš[?] 'abalone shell:
its shell / abalone'

~~ka-wi~~ /lo[?]-ka-c-se ka-wi/ lo[?]kaš^he kawi 'a deer bone:
its bone / a deer'

/he[?]-si-c-iy-muk si-qunup/ he[?]isimuk siqunup 'the children's
aunt: their (plural) aunt / child'

Appositive phrases

noun

Appositive phrases are equivalent to ~~as~~ nominal compounds, the second adds some further specification or in which ~~the second~~ noun ~~further specifies the origin or~~ qualification of the first noun. ~~material composition of the first noun.~~

/~~wa~~-[?]iw si-maqš/ ~~wa~~[?]iw si[?] imaqš 'a knife [of] flint'

/c-[?]elsiku si-c-se/ [?]elsiku ?is^he 'a bead [of] bone'

/x lo[?]-ka-[?]iqiy[?] ka-[?]ataxač/ 'rooster: male chicken, 'literally
'chicken (← quail), male'

/su-pey si-[?]al-pow/ supey[?] ?i[?]al[?]pow 'a curved ornament:
an ornament, one that is curved'

Phrases with Numerals and Demonstratives *a quantifiers*

Numerals and demonstratives both precede the noun which they modify. The noun takes the article si-. ~~The noun may also be deleted,~~ leaving the numeral or demon. Examples with numerals *Show the noun unmarked*

/pakət' si-c-qil-mes/ pake'et 'isqilmes 'one island' *for number.*

/ckumu si-c-šipuk/ ckumu 'iš^hipuk 'four corners' lit. "its elbows"

As for ~~with~~ demonstratives, kaki 'that one' is much more likely to occur as a free form than he? 'this one', which seems to operate more as an enclitic.

/kaki si-mitipin/ kaki simitipi 'that door'

/he?-si-k-wop/ he?sikwop 'this son of mine; my son here' numerals

With both ~~numerals~~ and demonstratives, the following noun may be deleted, *with numerals,*

see:
/c-qil-sin 'iškom/ cqiš 'iškom 'he found ~~two~~ two (of them)' *demonstrative*
/ʔal-xuyuw kaki/ 'that man is a liar: liar / that one'

Quantifiers usually precede the noun
/ytlata si-ku/ all the people'

/ʔehet si-c-ʔel/ ʔehet ʔisʔel 'its many legs'

An example of a ~~fixity~~ complex noun phrase involving both possession, apposition, and a quantifier is

/si-c-lew-veš si-xax si-c-tuʔ-waš si-qašš/ ʔišlewuč sixaʔax ʔištuʔwaš ʔiqašš

'a big piece of abalone shell' // piece / big one / its shell / abalone //

a quantifiers

~~max~~ /max si-c-iš-te-l/ *ytlata* ~~max~~ ʔiššitel
ytlata he found ~~three~~ *all of them* ^{all} [is] what he finds'

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av²

5-1

and some stems ~~are~~ evidently/uniquely-occurring found only with one particular prefix.

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Verb stem morphology

The basic shape of the verb stem is CVC and CVCVC, often augmented by reduplication and various formatives. ~~There are~~ Some verb stems are bound, occurring ~~in many bound stems which occur~~ only with some verbal prefix (in addition to ~~the~~ the obligatory markers of person and number). I Also,

In addition

nouns, numerals, and quantifiers often act as stems in compounds with verbal prefixes.

The Canonical shape of the verb

A large ~~a~~ number of verbs follow ~~the~~ CVC and CVCVC pattern which ~~characterizes~~ characterizes both noun and verb stems.

- cix 'to do firmly'
- čeq 'to split, crack'
- ~~kum 'to arrive'~~
- čhum 'to be good'
- mes 'to cross'
- pɨy 'to freeze, frost'

- kuyam 'to sit'
- ~~lepet 'to soft'~~
- ~~paɨy~~ y.ɨwɨs 'to be deep'
- qalaw 'to detach'
- sɨpɨt 'to make acorn mush'

But verb stems may be considerably more varied than CVC and CVCVC. Verb stems very commonly show an initial vowel, not while in nouns this pattern is restricted to a preceded by glottal stop, ~~whilst~~ handful of forms.

- alhaš 'to speak'
- apay 'to go up'
- oxoč 'to scold'
- ~~uša 'to dig'~~
- asiw 'to speak to'
- elhew 'to go down'
- imey 'to shampoo'
- uliš 'to take hold of'
- iliken 'to sit, stay'

Relatively few ~~many~~ verbs begin with an initial glottal stop, whereas among nouns this is the rule.

- ?es 'to weave'
- ?oyon 'to help'
- ?uw 'to eat'
- ?oš 'to copulate'

Many verbs end in -n, such as xoyoyon "to fly" But word-final -n is deleted by a regular sound rule, and -n- is also epenthesized (stuck in) between 2 vowels by another rule.

Many verbs end in /n/ /as in xoyoyon to fly

Since in word final /n/ is deleted by a space between two words by another (vowel) 5-2

~~to show whether the verb ends in /n/ or not~~

~~Very few verb stems end with a final vowel.~~

As a result

It is difficult to tell if a verb stem ends in a final vowel, unless ~~cons-initial~~ suffixed forms of the stem appear in the corpus.

But ~~the~~ vowel-final verb stems seem to be rather rare, ~~as~~ just as in Ineseno.

- ci 'to be sharp' tiyaxaxa 'to straddle'
- ~~xxxx~~ -ca to play

Verb Formatives -Vn and -Vč

The verb stem may be augmented with two very common final formatives -Vn and -Vč, which are also highly productive.

Verb Formatives

The basic CVC and CVCVC shape of the verb stem may be elaborated to produce more complex forms; by suffixed formatives -Vn and -Vč, by a number of prefixed formatives, and by lexical reduplication.

Formatives -Vn and -Vč

The verb stem may be augmented with two very common formatives -Vn and -Vč, which are also highly productive derivative suffixes (q.v.). Many longer verb stems might be segmented as CVC or CVCVC plus -Vn or -Vč.

- ciyn to be tired of' ~~melewen 'to go down/in'~~
- wasin 'to be good, true' maxač 'to be blind'
- melewen 'to go down/in' ?emeč 'to fight'
- xoyoyon 'to fly'

šuyuwáč to pity
~~tuwáč to watch~~
-tewáč to watch

Phonological evidence for the segmentability of aq-/ax- 5-3
is that this formative gives rise to many medial consonant
clusters, such as /qk/ and /xc/, which do not otherwise
occur within morpheme boundaries.

F The formative -aq-/ax-

There is a ubiquitous formative aq-/ax- which is surely
segmentable at the deepest levels of Chumash morphology, although
synchronically it is fused with the stem as an essentially
monomorphemic item. ^{evidence of this process is} A comparative ~~example is~~
~~the CVC stem pot seen in Ineseño~~ a verb meaning 'to untie,'
~~axšol~~ tipot in Ineseño, and oxpot in V. In both languages
the prefixes are synchronically fused with the stem.

When the formative aq-/ax- is segmented off, the remainign
sequence is likely to be of a CVC or CVCVC shape. Examples
of aq-/ax- fused with CVC stems,

^a oxpot 'to untie' ^C oxšol 'to urinate'
^l aqtip 'to light a fire' ³ eqwel 'to do, make'
² aqnił 'to show, be visible' ~~axšil 'to bite'~~

with CVCVC stems,

axtiwıw 'wind to blow'
oxtokok 'to toast'
- aqwitiy 'to cast a shadow'

and with stems augmented with -Vn

axšiniñ 'to be autumn'

~~axš~~ oqpolon 'to thicken wet dough by adding more meal'

aqšipin 'to get stuck in an opening'

More rarely, a sibilant occurs in this formative, giving
aqš-/axš- or aqš-/axš-, as in

aqšpiloyi š 'to be uneven'

aqšyukukun 'to whistle'

² axšew to be dry

1 yux-sten/?
(cf I yex-sten 'to harvest')

In most cases, aq-/ax- is unanalyzable, occurring with a
with a uniquely-occurring bound stem, but in many cases the
formative aq-/ax- might be identified with the productive
prefix aq-/ax- 'with the mouth,' when it occurs ¹ ~~with~~ verbs
having to do with eating, speaking, and sound in general.

Examples with CVC stems,

- axsil 'to bite'

/oxwoŋ/ oxwoʔo 'to roar, howl'

- expen 'to sing'
and with

axlap 'to sing a charm'

with stems augmented with -Vn and *vč,

~~and with CVCVC stems~~

oxlolon 'to grunt (of animal)'

- aqtutuŋ 'to suck'

- axlalan 'to put into the mouth'

~~and with CVCVCVC stems~~

~~oxlolon 'to grunt, snort'~~

~~Uniquely occurring stems with aq-/ax- sometimes cover the
same semantic field.~~

~~axjainin 'to whistle'~~

~~axlaxl 'to eat greens raw' (cf. T. xaxl 'id.')~~

Rarer Formatives

There are a number of sequences, occurring with only a few stems, which appear to be formatives

Rarer Formatives

There are a number of sequences, occurring with only a few stems, which also appear to be formatives. These include uq-/ux-, or uqs-/uxs-, as in

uxčik 'to spit' uq'tawiy 'to make flat cakes'

uqštahay 'to be red' (cf. I. uqštay 'to be bright')

and iq-/ix-,

- iqmay 'to plug up'

- ixwap 'to burn'

iqsmun 'to cover the head'

Enanx and as-/aš-.

astipil 'to be thick'

aškululuč 'to make a lot of noise'

espēt 'to be wide, broad'

+ Sibilant Formatives on next page

Lexically Reduplicated Verbs

The morphology of the verb stem is characterized by a great deal of lexical reduplication, often in conjunction with formatives such as ~~xxx~~ -Vn and -Vč or aq-/ax-. There are several patterns of lexical reduplication.

1) CVC Redup

A good comparative example is of CVC
 zaqzax 'to be thin' redup (S V lamlam to be soft) occurs
 lamlam to be soft (cf B lam'in) -Vn
 B lam'in
 lup lup ground to be uneven
~~gax~~-yawyaw to be very content

do vaver formatives—next page, 5-6
then this

Sibilant Formatives

Occasionally an unanalyzable sibilant formative -c-,
-ps-, or ~~ks-~~ ~~Immediately precedes the verb stem~~
occurs between a given compound of ~~stamxpik~~ prefix plus verb
stem. The presence of the formative is inexplicable; it does
not seem to be triggered either by the prefix or the stem,
since the same prefix with other stems and the same stem with
other prefixes usually lack the formative.

/aqulu-c-miy/ aqulusmiy 'to twist string on the thigh'

/qil-pš-tihin/ qilpštihí 'to open the eyes'

/pana-ps-taḡin/ panapstaḡi 'to hit together with a noise'

/ni-pš-nokoy/ ito hurt, ache'

are these uniquely occurring stems
tihen, taḡin, nokoy

2) Initial CV- Redup

nunuy to be soft

A good comparative example of initial CV- redup in V is šošoy 'to be dark, black,' which in B and I occurs as šoyin, without reduplication, but augmented with -Vn.

xexew 'to be hoarse'

pap'aw to be light weight

~~xnx'ax~~ šas'am to yawn

wtwt to get lost popon to soak

~~ʔaxax~~ nunuy to be soft

aq-tutun to sick

~~3) Final -VØ reduplication~~

~~the aq~~

ʔowow to be white

ʔanhok'ok'h'o to hop on one leg

(cf I ʔanik'hok'h'o?)

~~uq'kukun~~

3) Medial Reduplication

yexexen water to stand

Many Most examples of medial reduplication are open to interpretation as inherent CVC sequences plus the ~~ax~~ -Vn or -Vč augment, in which the final consonant of the CVC sequence is reduplicated.

katatan 'to split'

(kat ?)

xoyoyon to fly

hayayan 'to expand'

(hay ?)

xolulun to roll

kowowon to be happy on one's nose

~~kowowon 'to be round' (cf I kowon)~~

ipytototn 'to boil'

(x (ip-yot ?)

And with initial formatives:

aškululuč 'to make a lot of noise' (/as-kul ?)

astimimn 'to hum, buzz' (cf. I. astimn 'id.')

aqsyukukun 'to whistle' (aqsyuk- ?)

5) Bisyllabic Reduplication

Bisyllabic reduplication is limited to CVCVC verb stems,

-

-

perhaps based on CVC stems plus -Vn augment.

yepeyepen '[earth] to shake'

~~yo-h-ya.~~

talatal to Gargam

Bound Verb stems

There are many bound ~~xxx~~ verb stems which never occur without some verbal prefix, other than ~~the~~ obligatory person-number markers. ~~Some of~~ These include

-tun 'to be two, double'	-cix 'to do firmly, tightly'
-apay 'to go up'	-smon 'to join, gather'
-koy 'to go back'	-ti 'to find, meet'
-xen 'to be gone, disappear'	-pen 'to strip off'

An example of the items in the prefix system of a bound stem such as -tun 'to be two, involve two' includes

/waš-tun/ waštu 'to be double'
/su-wašti-tun/ šuwaštitu 'to be in two rows'
/nu-tal-tun-š/ nutaltuč 'to hold in both hands'
xxx /c-maq-tun-ʔ/ cmaqtuṅ 'half'
/ali-tun/ alitu 'two to be together'
/nu-l-tun/ nultu 'two to go together'
/kupa-tun-š/ kupatuč 'two to drink xxx out of the same cup'

~~All of the bound stems listed above also occur in Inesene, but some x stems which occur in Inesene are bound occur as free stems in V, such as~~

/c-ḡay/ 'the fire goes out' of. I. ḡay 'to cover'
/c-ḡiyim/ ḡiyim 'it is straight' of. I. ḡiyim 'to turn over'

1uš-tun/ to eat with 2 fingers

Uniquely-occurring stems

It is obviously premature to speak of uniquely occurring verb stems before examining the entire available corpus, but ~~there are some~~ many stems appear to occur only with one particular prefix, or with what ~~appear~~ looks like a segmentable prefix. ~~Many of these~~ Many of these/occur in Ineseno; ~~and comparative evidence proves their segmentability.~~

comparative evidence often proves their segmentability, even though synchronically they must be treated as single units.

-pot 'to untie, unloosen' in

V /ax-pot/ oxpot and I ti-pot

-šk'iy 'to wiggle, writhe,' in

V alu-šk'iy and I aq-šk'iy

-ixsililin 'to soften' in both in compounds with prefixes referring to heat, meaning 'to melt, soften through heat'

V /api-ixsililin/ apixsililin and I yul-ixsililin

-p'it 'to stamp' in

V aqta-p'it ~~tanstamp~~ and I. ašni-p'it / B ašni-p'it

-wewen 'to apply' in

V iku-wewen 'to put on top of'

I aqni-su-wewen 'to think of: apply the mind to'

Needless to say, the unique status of these could be upset at any time by the discovery of compounds with any other prefixes.

An example of a uniquely occurring stem in I is /xal-č'iyin/ xanč'iyin 'to be disgusted,' in which the stem -č'iyin in V occurs with more than one prefix in

aq-č'iyin-pi 'to be tired of, fed up with'

/su-xul-č'iyin-š/ šuxulč'iyič 'to be bad, worthless'

In addition, any of the stems analyzed as containing one of the initial formatives like aq-/ax- must be regarded as uniquely occurring.

Nominalizing prefixes

~~Nominalizing prefixes~~ Prefixes with a nominalizing force ~~xxx~~ all belong to the system of verbal inflection, in which nominalized forms often show some semantic specialization.

1) ~~c-~~ This is the third person singular subject prefix, and the nouns formed with it are essentially ^{verbal} predications used as nouns.

/c-pey/ ~~xx~~ opse'y 'flower: it blooms'

/c-qil-mes/ 'island: it is across the water'

/c-wala-al-koy/ swotokoy 'edge, circumference: it goes around the edge'

/c-ma-tun-/ ~~xx~~ ma'tun 'half: it is half'

~~2) 'i-~~ agentive. This prefix is particularly common, both

as ~~xx~~ ~~xx~~ a nominal and verbal prefix, ~~xx~~ ~~xx~~ As a nominal prefix, it applies to both animate and inanimate nouns.

/al-na/ 'alnal 'one who goes'

/al-pow/ 'something which curves, is bent' sharp

/al-~~xx~~ ~~xx~~ / ~~xx~~ 'sharp point: something ^{'al-'al-} With ~~xx~~ occupational terms, 'al- is reduplicated as

just as in B, but not in I.

/al-'al-axi-nal/ 'al'alaxina'al 'dancer'

/al-'al-axi-yep-~~xx~~ / 'al'alaxiye'epB 'curer, doctor'

/al-'al-umi/ 'hunter (of deer)'

~~xxx~~ Simple nouns ~~xx~~ with no other derivational affix may occur with 'al-, in the sense of 'one who has much/a large.N'

/al-hik/ 'al'ik 'one with many lice'

2) 'al- 'agentive' This prefix is particularly common, both as a nominal and verbal prefix. In the derivation of nouns, where 'al- may ~~apply~~ form both animate and inanimate nouns, the ~~prefix~~ derivative ~~form~~ may be either/semantically productive and transparent, or more opaque. Productively, 'al- is 'one who does,' as in

/ʔal-naɪ/ ʔalnaʔal 'one who goes'

/ʔal-pow/ 'something that is a curve, something that bends'

/ʔal-čɪ-čɪ/ 'sharp point, something that is sharp'

With occupational terms, 'al- may be reduplicated just as in B, kx (though not in I),

/ʔal-ʔal-axi-naɪ/ ʔalʔalaxinaʔal 'dancer: one who dances'

/ʔal-ʔal-ulmit/ 'a hunter (of deer)'

/ʔal-ʔal-axi-yep-š- + ʔ/ ʔalʔalaxiyeʔepš 'doctor, curer'

Less productively, 'al- shows an unpredictable semantic specialization often in plant and animal names. Here, the shifted form 'an- appears often.

/ʔa

/ʔan-imey/ 'duck sp., with a white head'

 < imey 'to shampoo with white clay'

/ʔan-aɬam- + FR/ ʔanaɬamam 'raccoon,'

 < aɬam-li 'to follow a watercourse'

/ʔal-kuto/ 'herb sp., bitter' < kuto 'to be bitter'

Simple noun stems with no other derivational affix may occur with 'al-, in the sense of 'one who has much/a large N,' as in

/ʔal-šik/ ʔalčik 'one with many lice'

/ʔal-tem/ 'one with big feet'

synonyms

Sometimes/derivatives may be formed with either c- or 'al-,
as with the verb stem yexexen '(water) to stand',

/c-yexexen/ cyexexe -- /'al-yexexen/ 'alyexexe 'swamp, marsh'
or liyuyu 'to be slimy,' in

/c-liyuyu/ ðliyuyu - /'al-liyuyu/ 'alliyuyu 'slug'

as a nominalizer

3) su- Much less common/is the prefix su-, normally
the causative prefix in verbs.

/su-pey/ 'ornament' - 'to cause to stick on'

/su-wayan/ suwaya 'earring,' 'to cause to hang'

su'pey

1-16-pax/ to peel +pax 'skin' 5-14
/wal-ʔawhay/ watawhay like 1/2 moon shaped
/taʔ-ʔaglew/ taʔaglew togwab by the throat

Non-verbal ~~infixes~~ elements as verb stems

Nominal elements ~~infixes~~ may occur ~~infixes~~ with verbal prefixes in verbal compounds. ~~SMHM~~ These nominal elements, ^{lacking} devoid of any derivational suffix, include not only regular noun stems, but also numerals and even quantifiers. Examples with ~~r~~ noun stems include

-mit 'back', in su-mit-pi 'to turn the back on, put the back toward'
-tiwis 'bottom, anus', in /qal-c-tiwis/ qanctiwis 'to wear one's belt very low'

~~With numerals.~~ Verbal prefixes are common with numerals,

^{most common only} usually just one, two, and three. ~~A bound stem -tun 'to be two~~

~~involve two' replaces ʔiškom 'two' in such constructions.~~

~~/su-wašti-pakeʔ/ šuwaštipakeʔet 'to weave with one strand'~~

Examples with pak /pakeʔ/ pakeʔet 'one'

/lu-pakeʔ/ lupakeʔet 'to be unique, singular'

/su-wašti-pakeʔ/ šuwaštipakeʔet 'to weave with one strand'

and with masix 'three.'

nu-l-masix 'for three to go together'

kupa-masix 'for three to drink out of the same cup'

A bound stem -tun 'to be two, involve two' replaces ʔiškom in such constructions, ^{altho there is a derivative /ʔiškom-VC/ ʔiškomič 'to be a pair'}

/su-wašti-tun/ šuwaštitu 'to be in two rows'

/kupa-tun-š/ kupatuč 'for two to drink from the same cup'

Examples of quantifiers with verbal prefixes include

miʔi 'little, a little one' in yuq-miʔi 'to be slender'

~~infixes~~/xax/ xaʔax/ 'much, a big one' in/lu-xax/ luxaʔax

'to grow large'

ʔihí 'many', in lu-ʔihí 'to branch into many'

Derivation

An ~~xxxx~~ extremely productive pattern of verbal derivation involves the suffixes -Vn and -Vč, which are also common verbal segments (q.v.). Verbs derived from nouns by -Vn



usually ~~inxnixn~~ denote ~~axnxxxxn~~ a process or activity involving that noun ~~xxxixn~~. The various partially overlapping senses include

'to make N'

- ~~tanolin~~ to build a canoe
- ~~ʔaphan~~ to build a house

'to endow with N'

-
-

'to do, be what is characteristic of N.'

- /ʔutam-Vn/ ʔutamun 'creek to flow' (ʔutam 'creek')
- /x ʔataxač-Vn/ ʔataxačihin 'to be brave, manly'

'to use N'. /cwey-Vn/ cweyen 'to be yellow'

/ʔeqen-muʔ-Vn/ ʔeqenmuʔun 'to wear sandals'

/toqolo-Vn + R/ toqololin 'carry under the arm'

nt-Vn/ nthtn
"to burn"

'to use N, do something involving N'

/uš-qoy-Vn/ x ušqoyiŋin 'to gather shellfish'

/št-Vn/ šthtn to climb a cliff

(qoy- olivella)
št

-Vn

	ʔulyi - luʔulyiʔin	to go lengthwise (ʔulyi - long)
	c'powip'owi	it is zigzag
	ušqoyiʔi	to gather shellfish
	ʔušqoyi'naʔaš	gathered shellfish
	ʔutamun	creek to flow
	cqapu'ni	it is spring
NB	šahač	to have flint tip/teeth
	ših̄i	to climb cliff
	кык cweye	to be yellow (cwey)
NB	ʔataxačihin	to be manly, brave
	mikiʔi	to go far (cf miʔik)
NB	ʔeqenmu - ʔeqenmuʔun	shoe - to put on shoe

toqololi

to hold under arm

Verbs derived by nouns by -Vč are generally stative ~~st~~ or passive; those which are active are still intransitive.

The range of meanings of -Vč includes

'to be characterized by N,'

/ʔatšwín/ ʔatšwinič 'to have a charm, dream-helper'

/šolop-Vč/ šolopič 'to be muddy'

/šipuk-Vč/ šipuke;c 'to have a corner, elbow'

'to be like N',

-

-

'to put on, wear N,'

- /šapatu-Vč/ šapatunič 'to put on, wear shoes'

- /čux-Vč/ čuxič 'to wear a headdress'

'to use N,'

/ʔx ʔoqtowol-Vč/ ʔoqtowolič 'to whistle (with a whistle)'

- /tomol-Vč/ tomolič 'to go by boat'

* V preserves traces of an archaic derivative suffix -l, in
in /su-tš-l/ sítšl 'to mention by name'

and in an etymology suggested by Beeler

/aq-mi-l/ 'to drink,' (cf. ~~mi~~ -mi/mihi 'water' in Cruzeiro')

-Vč

	ʔatšwinič	to have ʔatšwini
q	qawawhanič	to have wings
	šipukeč	to have corner, elbow (-šipuk)
	wošnoqšič	to be grooved
	ʔaqwičiyič	to be shadowy
	ʔulišeč	to have a handle
	šupeyič	to be decorated
	imanwayanič	to be hung with things
	ʔontomoyič	to be trough-like
	ʔoqtowolič	to whistle
NB	ʔalčahač ʔiya	flint-tipped arrow
	malakič	to be tarred
	ʔalqweʔeč	s. made of toyon - qwe
	ʔalčuqpeyeč	s. adorned
	ʔišnaluč	its tracks
	šolopič	to be muddy
	net - netuʔuč	to be like
	ʔalhapuč	horned animal
NB	aqčiyinpiyuč	to be fed up (intr) - aqčiyinpi : fed up with (tr)
NB	aqčhumuč	to like (tr) = aqčhum (tr) to like
NB	eqweluč = eqwel	to make - tr
	ʔalcutiwiy ʔišʔipuč	he changed what he said
	nunawuč (nuna)	to come from

numayeʔe(n?) to do something all day

Inflection ~~Inflection by suffixation is common~~
Verbal inflection in V is prevailingly by prefixation

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Inflectional Suffixes

Inflectional suffixes are few, compared to the number of prefixes. Suffixes mark pronoun objects, imperatives, and a few spatial and temporal categories. Suffixes fall into a well-defined set of position classes.

Object Suffixes

There is a set of mutually exclusive object suffixes, marking personal pronoun objects as well as such categories as 'reflexive,' 'reciprocal,' and 'plural object'.

The pronominal object suffixes ~~xxx~~ conflate ^{certain} ~~some~~ categories which are distinct in subject markers; the dual/plural distinction is lost, ~~the dual~~ and the non-singular and the first and second person plural objects fall together.

	singular	plural
1st	-it	
2nd	-il	-iyuw
3rd	-us - \emptyset	(-us)-wun

Most verbs do not explicitly mark a third person singular object, ~~whkhanxomextakexxxx~~ as in

- k-iy-uš-til 'we found it / we found something'

while some take -us.

/k-ʔip-us/ k'ipus 'I say to him'

/c-am-tipal-yoqon-us/ camtipoyoqonus 'they bore a hole in it'

¶ Verbs which take -us in the singular take it in the plural too, so that -us-wun is the regular plural object marker for such verbs. /c-sus-kuy-us-wun/ c^huskuyuswu 'he shows it to them'

Verbs which mark the third person object with ~~-us~~ show this suffix even when an overt noun object appears, as in

/k-ʔip-us si-ʔataxač/ k'ipus šaʔataxač 'I say to the man'

Several grammatical relationships between verb and noun phrase ~~are~~ are expressed by the object suffixes, including ~~the~~ direct object or patient

/ka-c-uš-tey-it/ kašušteyit 'he touches me'

indirect object or goal

~~ka-c-sus-kuy-us-wun~~ loʔ-ka-c-iwɨ-n-wun/

č^huskuyuswu loʔkašiwɨnwu 'he shows [it] to his companions
benefactive,

/uš-qal-it-ʔ si-mitɨpɨn/ ʔušqalit' simitɨpɨ

'open the door for me!'

ablative or source

~~/k-su-kitwɨn-uš-ai-o~~

and the subject of a verb embedded in a causative construction with su-'causative.'

/c-su-ackaw-it/ c^hackawit 'he makes me make a mistake'

A common idiomatic construction ~~occurs~~ with object suffixes shows the possessive markers of an object noun repeated as an object marker, ~~perhaps with benefactive force~~

/c-icūq-it heʔ-s-i-k-qɨp/ 'he stabs me in the belly'

/ 'he pierces me / my belly'

-šaši - -šaš 'reflexive' Both -šaši and -šaš are reflexive markers; -šaši is quite common

/c-oxpot-šaši/ čoxpotšiši 'he untied himself'

~~/c-qal-čax-šaši/ čqalčaxšaši 'it clings'~~

/c-alumun-šaši/ čalumuč^haši 'he advises himself'

and -šaš is rarer (it is more common as a nominalizing suffix).

/c-qal-lokin-šaš/ čqolokič^haš 'he puts his belt on himself'

-nVš 'reciprocal'

/c-iš-ikuk-nVš/ čišikuknaš 'they (dual) butt each other'

/c-iš-ʔal-ti-aq-pey-nVš/ čišalteqpeneš 'they (dual) are stuck together'

~~-š 'plural object; intransitive; sustained action'~~

The suffix -š is a highly productive one, often posing serious problems in the segmentation with ~~two~~ ^{three} distinct senses. Verbs marked with -š may have a passive or intransitive force, usually with a third person subject.

~~/c-ixip-š/ čixipš 'it is'~~

/c-iy-iqmay-š/ čiyiqmaš 'they are plugged up'

~~čuxičkix~~ /c-ušti-pey-š/ čuštipeš 'it is mixed'

Alternatively,

2) customary, habitual, or sustained action may be denoted by -š.

/k-nu-tal-tun-š/ knutaltuš 'I am holding it in both hands'

~~čuxičkix~~ /c-sus-itax-maj-š/ č^hušitaxmaš 'he is proud'

Verbs marked

~~Alternatively,~~ -š may mark a multiple object, as in

/ʔal-ic'uq-š/ ʔalič'uqš 'a thing which pierces many'

/mu-ʔal-alitkiy-š/ muʔalitiš 'he has no ~~for~~ hope for them'

-š 'plural object; intransitive'

The suffix -š is a highly productive one. Verbs marked with -š may have a ~~plm~~ multiple object, as in

(see two examples above)

Alternatively, verbs marked with -š may have a passive or intransitive force. Used in a passive sense, -š usually occurs with third person subjects, as in

/c-iy-iqmay-š/ čiyiqmaš 'they are plugged up'

/c-uš-ti-pey-š/ ~~čuxexčuxex~~ čuštipeš 'it is mixed'

Used more ~~wth~~ with an intransitive ~~xxxxx~~ force, -š ~~occurs with~~ often acts as an unmarked object for a large set of verbs which require some object marker in this position.

~~kexpeč~~ /k-expen-š/ ~~kuxsknguxčuxex~~ kexpeč 'I sing'

/k-expen-us/ kexpenus 'I sing for him'

/k-ʔoyon-š/ koyoč 'I help'

/k-ʔoyon-il/ koyonil 'I help you'

-š

	koyoč	I help
	muʔalaliʔtkiš	he doesn't hope for them (aliʔtkiy)
	šušitaxmaš	to be pæ proud
NB	čiwǝšlí	he goes with him

-š

nutaltuč	to hold in both hands
*alič <u>u</u> qš	spear (i <u>u</u> q - to pierce)
čiyiqmaš	they are plugged up
čuštipeš	it is mixed
*alušlatapš	something mixed

muʔalaliʔ+keš he doesn't hope for them (aliʔ+keš)

Other suffixes

Suffixes other than the object suffixes mark temporal, and locational-directional, ~~zakagorhax~~ and imperative categories.

1) -waš 'past tense'

/k-iy-qil-sin-waš/ kiqišinwaš 'we saw it'

/c-?utám-Vn-waš/ čutámunwaš 'a stream was flowing'

~~/he?-si-k-al-?ip-us-waš/ hesikal?ipušwaš~~

/he?-si-k-?ip-us-waš/ he?šikipušwaš 'what I said to him'

2) -pi 'locativizer; transitivizer' This suffix indicates that the action of a generally intransitive verb is directed toward a particular object. The usual gloss of -pi is with some ^{as} propositional phrase, determined by the vagaries of English on this point. With no object expressed, -pi implies an indefinite third person object.

uxčik 'to spit' : uxčik-pi 'to spit on'

ušikan 'to feel hurt, offended' :

ušikanpi 'to feel hurt at, offended with'

~~/qon/~~ qo'on 'to laugh' :

/su-qon-Vš-pi/ šuqonšpi 'to laugh at'

An example in a sentence:

/hu-k-iy-uxmal-c-tik-š-pi si-c-tiniq/ hukiyuxmančtikšpi ?ištiniq

'we will wash our faces with his [the sun's] tears'

with a few verbs, -pi seems to require

-Vš

/qon/ qo'on to laugh

/su-qon-Vš-pi/ šuqonšpi to laugh at

/su-čohan/

su-čohan-Vš-pi/ to be used to

get one
more

-li 'directional'

The suffix -li indicates that an action is spatially directed toward a certain goal.

/k-nu-naɫ-li loʔ-kə-k-ʔap/ knunali loʔkəkəp 'I take it to my house'

/c-iwɪ-š-li/ čiwɪšli 'he goes there with (someone)

/c-ol-koy-li si-ʔap/ colkoli seʔap 'it goes around the house'

/k-su-kum-li loʔ-si-c-tik/ ksukumli loʔištik 'I bring it to the point, tip'

-iy' 'repetitive'

/k-su-al-aqway'-iy/ ksalaqwayiʔiy 'I fix it again'

/c-kimiy'-iy/ ckimiyiʔiy 'he repeats it again'

~~With a noun~~ An example with a noun stem:

/loʔ-si-šup'-iy/ loʔišupiʔiy 'next year' šup - year

-ʔ 'imperative' The imperative marker consists of glottalization of a final consonantal segment, as in

/axšil-ʔ/ ʔaxšil 'bite it!'

/uliš-ʔ/ ʔuliš 'get it!'

/iy-itaq-ʔ/ ʔiyitaq 'listen ye!'

~~After a final~~ Glottalization with imperative force never causes breaking of the ~~final~~ preceding vowel; after final vowels, imperative glottalization does not appear. Its loss is parallel to the loss of final glottal stop in other environments.

/al-tɛ-ʔ/ ʔaltɛ
meet him!

~~/qil-sɛnʔ/ ʔisɛ~~
look
to

Directional indicators

Action toward the speaker or hearer is indicated by the prefix akti-, just as in B and I.

~~ʔakhiʔakhiʔ~~ c-akti-ʔoyon-it 'he comes to help me'
 k-iʔ-akti-

-ʔ-

Action involving motion, particularly motion away from the speaker or hearer, is indicated by breaking of the stem-final syllable of the verb.

k-sukupin 'I light a light, lamp'

k-sukupiʔin 'I go to light a light'

/hu-k-uxmal-hin-š/ hukuxmalhič 'I will wash (them)'

/hu-k-uxmal-hin-š-ʔ/ hukuxmalhiʔič 'I will go to wash (them)'

This ~~process~~ process of parallel to the glottalization of a medial consonant in Barbareno, as in

wɪlič 'to hunt' vs wɪlič 'to go to hunt'

~~but note also:~~

The syllable broken may be a suffix,

/k-silik-us + ʔ/ ksilikuʔus I bring it to him

/c-silik-it + ʔ/ c^hilikiʔit he brings it to me

Unlike ~~the~~ final glottalization with the imperative,

/c-al-tɪ/ caltiʔɪ 'he goes to meet (someone)'

here ~~the~~ glottalization is preserved even with final vowels, since the breaking of the vowel preserves the glottal from word-final position.

/c-al-tɪ + ʔ/ caltiʔɪ 'he goes to meet [someone]'

-uč

-Vč 'intransitive'

is probably a special case of the derivative suffix -Vč
 This ~~suffix is normally a derivative suffix, making~~

making stative, passive, or intransitive verbs out of nouns.

Added to a verb stem, ~~xx~~ adds an intransitive force.

/aq-č¹y¹n-pi/ 'to be tired of, fed up with (transitive)'

/aq-č¹y¹n-pi-uč²/ aqč¹y¹npiyuč² 'to be fed up (intransitive)'

ʔip 'to say (something to someone)

/ʔip-uč²/ ʔipuč² 'to say, speak'

net 'to be like (something)'

/net-uč²/ 'to be like' as in

~~/nel-net-uč² + R/ nel-netnet~~

/nel-c-net-uč² + R/ nel čnetnetu²uč² 'what ~~ix~~ it is like'

But this suffix does not always form intransitive verbs;

an example which seems to function just like ~~xxxx~~ basic

unsuffixed transitive form is

/ka-ʔaš¹n¹m si-p-eq¹wel-uč² he²-si-kap²he/ 'when did you make

this coffee?'

~~11 Instrumental~~

T

-il - ʔ - ʔil 'instrumental' This suffix indicates that the immediately following noun phrase is the instrument ~~that~~ with which an action is done. *The two examples both occur with pi.*

/mu-s-iy-wuta-pi-il poŋ/ musiwutapil poŋ 'they do not

fasten it with stakes'

/hu-k-wɨp-pi-il heʔ-si-poŋ/ hukwɨppiʔil heʔsipoŋ

'I give a club-blow with this stick'

+ suffix position classes

-pi^{vč}
 -it
 -il
 -us
 -iyuw
 -(us)wun

-was^v

-^{nc}
 -^lsaš/^vsaš
 -n^{vš}

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Verbal Prefixes

Verbal prefixes fall into three main classes of inner, outer, and personal prefixes. Inner prefixes fall between ~~the~~ person-number marking prefixes and the verb stem, while outer prefixes precede ~~the~~ person-number markers. ~~Outer prefixes tend to have syntactic functions.~~ ~~Inner~~ Outer prefixes occur productively with any verb stem, with a constant meaning. ~~The~~ Inner prefixes, ~~of~~ which are quite numerous, range from being freely productive to rare and unanalyzable; even with the most productive of these, there is a great deal of idiomatcity, in which the composite meaning of a prefix and stem is often not the logical sum of their ~~in~~ separate meanings.

Personal prefixes

The set of person-number ~~marking prefixes~~ prefixes marking the subject of the verb is identical to the possessive markers with nouns, although the indefinite subject marker am- occurs only with verbs.

ixt	singular	dual	plural	indef
1st	k-	k-iš-kixt	k-iy-	
2nd	p-	p-iš-	p-iy-	
3rd	c-	c-iš-	c-iy-	c-am-

~~The indefinite subject marker am- may be glossed with an indefinite 'they' or with a passive~~

Outer prefixes

Outer prefixes precede person-number ~~marking~~ markers in the string of verbal prefixes, in the furthest position classes from the verb stem. ~~It is often difficult to draw a sharp line between the ~~marker~~ more remote outer prefixes and the independent particles which precede the fully inflected verb, particularly because Harrington wrote much of the verb phrase as a single unit. There ~~may be~~ an intermediate realm of verbal entities, ~~xxx~~ evidently; these are discussed under the section on particles.~~

~~These outer prefixes are listed in the order in which they occur if more than one is present.~~

1) si- 'relativizer' An article with nouns, si- as a verbal prefix has a relativizing force. (q.v. _____)

/si-k-iy-qil-sin/ sikiqisɛ 'what we see'

/si-c-sili-yɪwyɪw/ ʔisʰiliyɪwyɪw 'his sadness; what he is sad about'

~~2) mi- 'negative'~~

2) ka- 'predicative; relativizer' ~~This prefix.~~

As a predicative marker, this prefix marks the ~~main~~ ^{purely} more important verbs in a discourse. This is a stylistic feature which translation cannot ~~capture~~ capture.

/c-xili-wasin ka-c-ʔip/ cxiliwasɛ kasip 'he looked and said!..'

/ka-s-yiti c-maquiti-naɪ/ kasyiti smaquotinaʔal

'he came running: he came, he was running'

As a relativizer, ka- ~~does not~~ is used just as si- is, ~~but~~ ^{and} ~~xxx~~ and the two do not co-occur.

/laʔ huki ka-k-eqwel/ 'something that I made'

/ka-al-iy-uʂho/ kalʔiyuʂho 'those who leave it'

3) mu- 'negative'

/heʔ mu-c-čhum/ he muščhum 'this is no good'

/mu-c-ʔil čohoy/ mušil & čohoy 'there is no other'

/mu-ʔal-uʂho/ 'one who does not let it go'

/mu-k-iy-suya-hin/ mukisuyahin 'we don't want it'

4) hu- / huʔ- 'future' This prefix occurs in both forms, although the version with the final glottal stop is less common.

/hu-c-kitwon/ huskitwo 'it will come out'

~~/nel huʔ-k-alu~~

/nelx-huʔ-k-al-uti-kuy/ neluʔkalutikuy 'which direction shall I face'

^{ʔip-us}
/mu-hu-k-~~net-us~~/ 'I will not ~~do it~~ say it to him'
muhukipus

A verb with three outer prefixes strung together is

/si-mu-hu-s-net-us/ simuhusnetus 'what he will not do'

5) ʔina- negative imperative

ʔina-p-net-us don't you do it!

With a first person dual or plural subject, hu- may have a hortative ~~mnxhnpz~~ force, as in

/huʔ-k-iš-nał/ kxh~~h~~ʔkišnaʔal 'let's (dual) go!'

Inner Prefixes

The classification of prefixes given below is ~~xxxxxxxx~~ based largely on that of Ineseno prefixes. With the less productive prefixes, ~~ixhxakx~~ many examples must accumulate before ~~before a clear sense of the prefix's sense involved~~ before a clear sense emerges it is clear what the semantics involved are. Where there are only a few examples, if they are ~~ixhx~~ clearly parallel to Ineseno, I ~~ixhxixhx~~ ^{can} analyze ~~ixhx~~ the prefix with ~~ix~~ some confidence. Otherwise, I have given only those prefixes which are somewhat transparent; there is a ~~ixhxix~~ an indeterminately large residue of ~~ix~~ prefixes labelled unanalyzable.

The major classes of inner prefixes include

- 1) grammatical prefixes, ~~ix~~
- 2) temporal prefixes, ~~ixhx~~
- 3) instrumental/medium prefixes
- 4) action classifier prefixes

In listing these, I have shown both the underlying and surface forms only if ~~ixhxixix~~ some notable morphophonemic change is involved, as in

/suya-ʔuw/ suyuʔuw 'to want to eat'
 /qal-ti-iwǎ-š/ qatiwǎš 'to tie side by side'

otherwise the hyphenated form given ~~ixhxix~~ represents both surface and underlying form (perhaps with the low-level deletion of word-final /n/), as in

~~aqni-šhum 'to be cheerful'~~
 tal-cix 'to grasp firmly'
 xili-wasɪn 'to look at carefully'

Stems occurring in the compounds are glossed parenthetically;

~~as under/uxmal hin 'to wash' ('to take hold of')~~

for example under uxmal-'of washing' is the entry uxmal-hin 'to wash' ('to take hold of'), where the stem hin is glossed as 'to take hold of'. Verb stems are left unglossed whenever their meaning is clear from the meaning of the prefix and the gloss of the compound: under suya- 'desiderative,' the stem ~~ʔuw~~ ʔuw needs no gloss in /suya-ʔuw/ suyuʔuw 'to want to eat'.

In addition to ~~regular~~ the operation of regular phonological rules, ^{a few} ~~certain~~ unpredictable alternations occur in inner prefixes. This gives rise to considerable ~~xxx~~ allomorphy. The main phonological rules are

-) low vowel harmony,
 - /taya-nowon/ toyonowo 'to stand erect'
 - occasional
-) ~~xpaxaxix~~ deletion of pre-consonantal /l/,
 - /qil-sɛn/ qisɛ 'to see'
-) pre-vocalic vowel deletion
 - ~~/əquti-əqwaɣ/ əqut~~
 - /nu-alhaš/ nalhaš 'to speak on behalf of'
-) sibilant harmony
 - /waš-mes/ ~~wx~~ wesmes 'to be transverse, crosswise'

Of the unpredictable alternations, which are specific to each compound of prefix and verb stem, the most common are

- 1) /q/ ^{may} alternates with /x/, as in qili-/xili- 'of ~~the~~ seeing'
- qili-wayan 'to peek'
- xili-wasɛn 'to look at carefully'
- or maq-/max- 'of a line, rope'
- maq-wayan 'to swing in a swing'
- /max-su-ñoqš/ maxšunoqš 'to cut [a rope, line]'

Spatial Orientation

The class ~~of spatial~~ prefixes of spatial orientation includes directional prefixes ~~xxx~~ as well as those which show static relationships.

- 1) akti- 'motion toward the speaker or hearer'
 - /akti-alhaš/ aktalhaš 'to come to speak'
 - /akti-xoyin/ aktixoyi 'to come into sight'
- 2) taya- 'of upright position'
 - /taya-nowon/ toyonowo 'to stand erect'

ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ

- 2) prefixes with a high vowel plus /l/ ^{may} have an alternant form with the vowel repeated after the /l/, as in
 - pil-/pili- 'in the air',
 - pili-yam 'to come down'
 - su-pil-wit-pi 'to apply drop by drop'
 - or qil-/qili- 'of seeing'
 - /qil-sin/ qisɩ 'to see'
 - qili-wayan 'to peek'

Grammatical prefixes

This set of grammatical prefixes expresses purely grammatical ~~конкрет~~ categories such as su- 'causative' and ni- 'transitive' rather than the more concrete notions found in the other prefix classes.

1) al- 'relativizer; subordinate' The most common use of al- is in nominalized or relativized constructions, as in

/heʔ-si-k-al-tak^huy + R/ heʔsikaltaktak^huy

'what I am holding'

/si-al-net-pi/ salnetpi 'what happened to him'

Sometimes, a verb which is non-initial in the sentence takes al-, ~~как~~ not as a sign of nominalization, but as a mark of its subordinate position in the sentence.

/loʔ-ka-ʔal-š̄ip̄iš-iwaš ʔan mu-k-al-š̄uwaqmaš/

loʔkaʔalš̄ip̄išiwaš ʔan mukalš̄uwaqmaš 'I wān't reject Coyote:

Coyote / I will not reject'

2) ʔal- 'agentive, habitual' When used as an inflectional prefix, the agentive marker ʔal- seems to have a habitual force.

/p-ʔal-ni-k^hit/ p̄alnik^hit 'you bring it: you are one who brings it'

~~/ʔal miš + R~~

/k̄ip̄i ʔal-~~ni~~ miš + R/ k̄ip̄i ʔalmišmiš 'now she cries:

now [she is] one who cries'

3) ni-'transitive'

ni-kla 'to break (trans)

/ni-apay/ napay 'to ascend, go up (trans)

/ni-su-wasɪn-š/ nišuwašič 'to put together well'

This prefix partially overlaps with su- 'causative, and may even co-occur with it, as in the example above.

4) nu- 'concomitant, benefactive'

nu-yam 'to bring down'

/nu-alhaš/ nalhaš 'to speak on behalf of'

✗ /nu-naɪ-li/ nunali 'to take to'

/nu-l-masix/ 'three go together'

5) suya- 'desiderative'

/suya-naɪ/ suyanaʔal 'to want to go'

~~/suya-aqmil/ suyaqmil 'to be thirsty: want to drink'~~

/suya-ʔuw/ suyuʔuw 'to want to eat'

6) su- 'causative'

su-tap 'to put in: cause to enter'

su-waš-qal 'to split: cause to split'

/su-čičč/ sičičč 'to sharpen'

Two less common allomorphs are si- and sus-, as in

si-nowon 'to erect: cause to stand'

/sus-aqni-č^hum / šušaqnič^hum 'to console: cause to be cheerful'

Idiomatic compounds with the desiderative are common, as in

/suya-aqmil/ suyaqmil 'want to play'

/suya-ča/ 'to be happy-go-lucky'

/suya-aqš^uan/ š^uyaqš^uan 'to be sick-want to die.'

Temporal Prefixes

Temporal prefixes range from the rather abstract notion of continuative or habitual action to more concrete notions such as 'in the morning'.

1) ali- 'continuative, progressive'

ali-kowowon 'to be lying on one's side'

ali-net-us 'to be like [something]

/ali-waš-mes/ aliwesmes 'to be situated crosswise'

2) ap- 'inceptive' cf. B/I api- 'quickly'

~~xapx~~ ap-ixwap 'to start burning'

/ap-xexew/ ep-xexew 'to become hoarse'

3) aqta- 'habitually'

/aqta-ali-yexexen/ aqtaliyexexe 'to remain upside down'

4) kili- 'of rapid action'

/kili-tap-Vn/ kilitapi 'to enter quickly'

5) *maguti - suddenly, quickly* /maguti-nal/-na?al to run-go quickly

6) *uti - suddenly, quickly* xuti- ~~xamankamexux~~ suddenly; inceptive action' to die suddenly

/xuti-oxwon/ xutoxwo?o 'to give a sudden howl'

/xuti-nowon/ xutinowo 'to stand up suddenly'

7) *uti* uti- 'sudden, inceptive action'

/uti-qil-sin/ utiqisɩ 'to glance at'

/uti-may/ '[fire] to go out suddenly'

8) *uni* uni- 'in the morning'

/uni-?uw/ unu?uw 'to eat in the morning'

/uni-axš-kutan/ unaxškuta 'to eat breakfast'

Instrumental/Medium Classifiers

In this class of prefixes, there is an overlap between purely instrumental prefixes and prefixes which classify the subject or object of the verb or the medium in which the action takes place.

- 1) api- 'by, or fire or heat'
 - /api-xen/ apixe '[fire] to go out'
 - /api-č̣/ 'to be hot'
 - ~~apix~~ api-ixšililin/ apixšilili 'to melt: soften thru heat'
- 2) aputi- 'of liquid in motion'
 - /c-aputi-yam si-ʔoʔ/ caputiyam soʔo 'it is a waterfall'
- 3) aq- 'with the mouth'
 - /ax-noqš/ oxnoqš 'to bite in two'
 - /ax-ni-apay/ axnapay 'to spit out'
 - /aq-kum/ 'to eat to satiety'
- 4) aqta- 'in, of air'
 - /axta-elhew/ extelhew 'north wind to blow: blow down'
 - /aqta-č̣hum/ '[~~xxx~~ missile] to fly straight, well'
- 5) aqtapa- 'in, of air'
 - /axtapa-nowon/ x̣ oxtoponowo '[dust] to rise'
 - /aqtapa-wala-xmen/ aqtapawelexmen 'to fall over through
the action of wind'
- 6) aqtipal- 'of, in air'
 - aqtipal-yit 'to suck'

- 7) aqul- 'of, with a long thin object'
 /aqulu-c-miy/ aqulusmiy 'to twist string on thigh'
 aqul-mow 'to spread, unfold'

- 8) il- 'of, in water'
 /il-xen/ ilxe 'to be low tide'

- 9) maq- 'of, with a line or rope'
 /maq-wayan/ maqwaya 'to swing in a swing'
 /max-su-ulu-aq-pey/ maxsuleqpey 'to lead by a rope'
 /uš-max-yit/ 'to pull a thread through'

- 10) maqulu- 'of a line, linear object'
 /maqulu-yam/ '[snake] to crawl down'
 /maqulu-apit/ maqulapit '[snake] to go up'

- 11) pal- 'of, with a pliable object'
 /ni-pal-woyon/ nipolwoyon 'to twist, wring' ~~mix~~

- 12) pil-/pili- 'through the air'
 /pili-yam/ 'to come down'
 /su-pil-wit-pi/ to apply drop by drop'

- 13) qil-/xil- 'of, in water'
 /c-qil-mes/ 'island: it is across the water'
 /xil-popon/ xilpopo 'to be in water'
 /su-xil-popon/ suxilpopo 'to soak (trans)'

- 14) tal- 'with the hand'
 /nu-tal-tun-/ 'to hold in both hands'
 /tal-cix/ 'to grasp firmly'

 /tal-čimim/ 'to hold shut'
 /tal-c-čimim-Vn + R/ talčimim 'to hold shut'

uš-mey to stroke,
smooth w/ the hand

15) uš- 'with the hand'

/uš-tap/ 'to put hand, finger into'

/uš-tey/ 'to touch'

/uš-tun/ 'to eat with 2 fingers'

16) wala- 'of, with the body or a massive, bulky object'

/wala-xmen/ welexmen ~~xxx~~ [massive object] to fall over'

/wala-kowowon/ wolokowowo 'to fall over onto one's side'

17) yuq- 'of the ~~feet/legs~~ feet, legs; of a thin object'

yuq-čiči 'to be thin, slender'

yuq-miti 'to be slender'

/yuq-men/ ~~yux~~ yuxme'e 'to extend the ~~2~~ legs'

/sa-yuq-š-tap/ šayuqštap 'anklet'

Action Classifier prefixes collection

This is a miscellaneous ~~category~~ of prefixes, some with purely adverbial force (e.g. iša- 'partially'), ~~like~~ and others ranging toward a semantic content associated with verb stems in IE langs, such as qal- 'by tying,' lu- 'of growth,' or wi- 'by blows, by hitting'. Such prefixes are often paralleled by an unrelated verb; in addition to qal- 'by tying', there is a verb aqsik 'to tie,' but the two do not cooccur in such a compound as *qal-aqsik.

1) akti-

2) ali- 'of lying'

/ali-kā-kā/ 'one lies by itself'

/ali-tun/ 'two lie together'

2) itax- 'of report, hearing' This prefix is ~~x~~ related to the independent verb stem itaq 'to hear.'

/itax-kuy/ 'to figure out by hearing'

/itax-l-al-koy/ ~~itax~~ itoxlol'koy 'to come around to hear'

3) aqni- 'of mental activity'

/aqni-čhum/ 'to be cheerful'

/aqni-itpen/ aqnitpen = itpen 'to remember'

/axni-yam-Vn/ axiyami 'to cheer up'

4) aqši- 'of calling, paying attention'

/axši-kuyon/ axšikuyon 'to command'

/su-aqši-nał/ šaqšina'al 'to pay attention'

5) aquti- 'of verbal or mental activity'

/aquti-aqway/ aqutaqwa'ay 'to guess, hit upon'

/axuti-eqwel-šaši/ axuteqwelčiš 'to think of what to do'

/su-~~ax~~ aquti-eqen/ saquteqe 'to talk to'

~~6) itax-~~
 6) ič- 7) iša- 8) itax-

these to be shuffled into
action classifier

Adverbial Prefixes

This is a fairly miscellaneous class of prefixes, ~~distinct~~
~~from the action classifier prefixes in that these are not~~
~~prefixes which have some free manner verb stem forms semantically~~
~~equivalent~~ a few of which are highly productive (e.g.
akti-, iša-, wati-.)

- 1) akti- 'motion toward the speaker or ~~xxx~~ hearer'
 - /akti-alhaš/ aktalhaš 'to come to speak to'
 - /akti-xoyin/ aktixoyi 'to come into sight'
 - /akti-hin/ 'to come to get, take'

- 2) ~~xxx~~ ič- 'together with'
 - /ič-ku-Vn/ ičkuhu 'to defend, side with'
 - /ič-oxmol/ ičoxmol 'to be a neighbor of, live near'
 - /ič-ʔemeč-Vš/ ičemečeš 'enemy'

- 3) iša- 'halfway, partially'
 - /iša-yul-tul/ 'to be half-way angry'
 - /iša-kilamu/ 'to be half-crazy'

- 4) mati- ~~ifacile, unconnected action~~
 - little by little.*
 - /mati-nał/ matinaʔal '[child] to crawl, toddle'
 - ~~/mati-čay/ to play (as children play)~~
 - /mati-xoyin/ *to climb over little by little*

- 5) wati- ~~xxx~~ 'badly; action negatively regarded'
 - (wati-)witut 'to bump ~~xxx~~ (plus any body part term)'
 - wati-hin 'to take something one doesn't own'
 - /wati-noqš/ watinoqš '[rope, string] to break'

- 6) taya- 'of upright position'
 - /taya-nowon/ toyonowo 'to stand erect'

tip- 'augmentative, intensifier' This prefix occurs with verb stems, as in

/tip-hin/ tip^hin 'to be rich: to have a lot'

/tip-alhaš/ 'to talk a lot'

but it is more common with noun stems. /tip-se/ 'to be boney'

/tip-ʔal-čhum/ 'to be rich, have much money'

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(17) (17) qulu- 'of cutting, boring into'

/qulu-wal/ 'to bore a hole'

/qulu-waš-mes/ quluwesmes 'to cut transversely'

/qulu-su-ʔulyiʔ-Vn/ qulusuʔulyin 'to bore lengthwise'

(18) (18) qunti- 'of sewing'

qunti-ti-mes 'to pin together'

/qunti-su-ti-aq-pey/ quntisuteqpey 'to fasten by sewing'

(19) (19) sil-/sili- 'of penetration'

/sil-meleweʔ/ silmeleweʔ 'to put far inside'

/sil-mik-Vn/ silmikʔi 'to put far inside'

/sili-yit/ siliyit 'to sow seed'

(20) (20) tal- 'of holding, grasping'

tal-cix 'to grasp firmly'

/nu-tal-tun-š/ nutaltuč 'to hold in both hands'

/tal-c-ʔimš-Vn + R/ talóimš 'to hold shut'

(21) (21) tipal- 'of intrusion'

/tipal-yoqon/ tipoyoqo - tipolyoqo 'to drill a hole'

/tipal-al-tš/ tipalaltš 'to quarrel'

(24) (24) uni- 'of remaining'

/su-uni-iliken/ sunilike 'to stay in one place'

/uni-ʔil-Vn/ unilin 'to remain'

(25) (25) uxmal- 'of washing'

uxmal-hin 'to wash'

uxmal-paš 'to take an emetic'

/uxmal-c-tik-š/ uxmalčtikš 'to wash the face'

21) -taya-

22) tip-

21) taya-

23

~~22)~~

9 b) kal- 'of cutting'
 /kal-wal/ kawal 'to cut a hole'
 /kal-qalaw/ kaqalaw 'to chip flint by pressure'

10 v) kupa- 'of drinking'
 /kupa-tun-š/ kupatuč 'two to drink from same cup'
 /kupa-masix/ 'three to drink from same cup'

Handwritten notes:
 K₁(+)- a little bit ————— | K₁-7uqš-tu / K₁tuqštu to be a little less
 | K₁-u₁šihč / to be a little hard/tough

11 A) lu- 'of growth, growing'
 lu-towič 'to grow quickly'
 /lu-xax/ luxax 'to grow large'
 /lu-may/ 'to be grown together'

12 A) maixxix mal-/mat- 'of birth, generation'
 mat-ušho 'to bequeath, leave to'

13) mat^{mak}-

14) ~~pa~~ paña- 'of impact; report'
 /pana-ps-taqin/ panapstaqi 'to make a noise when hitting together'
 /ni-pana-nał/ nipaňaña'al 'to divide, cut into pieces'

(5) ~~qa~~ qal- 'of tying'
 /qal-wil-pi/ 'to tie on'
 /qal-ciq/ 'to tie tightly'
 /qal-ti-iwi-š/ qatiwiš 'to tie side by side'

16) A) qil- 'of vision, seeing' qil-/qili-
 /qil-sin/ qisč 'to see'
 /xili-wasın/ xiliwasč 'to look at carefully'
 /x xil-al-ti/ 'to forecast, foresee'

- 25) ~~xxx~~ ^{va)} waš- 'of cutting, penetrating'
 /waš-qal/ 'to split'
 /waš-xeñ/ wešxeʔe '[arrow] to go completely through'
 /waš-noqš/ wošnoqš 'to come all the way thru while drilling'

29) - wati-
~~19) wati- 'badly'~~

- 28) ^{va)} wi- 'by blows'
 /wi-poxin/ wipoxi 'to make a crashing sound by giving a blow'
 /wi-qalaw/ 'to knock chips out of'
 /wi-wal/ 'to wear completely through (e.g. sole)'

Syntactic Reduplication

~~The~~ Reduplication is a ~~prx~~ pervasive process with verbs forms, where it has a repetitive, distributive, intensive, or continuative force. A few examples illustrating the diff between simple and reduplicated forms are

/k-wi-~~xxx~~ qalaw/ 'I chip off a piece'

/k-wi-qalaw + R/ kwiqwicalaw 'I am chipping pieces off'

/c-oxkohon/ 'it thunders' coxkoho

/c-oxkohon + R/ coxoxkoho 'there are claps of thunder'

/k-ʔal-oqwolin/ k'aloqwoli 'I think of something'

/k-ʔal-oqwolin + R/ k'aloqoqwoli 'I keep thinking of something'

Of the patterns of syntactic reduplication, ~~there are several different patterns of reduplication, with~~ is by far initial CVC/the most common, as in

/c-~~x~~ uxmen + R/ cuxuxmen 'the waves are breaking'

/c-xuyuw + R/ cxuyxuyuw 'he is lying, telling lies'

~~/c-iywelo~~

/c-su-wala-ki-nomoy + R/ c^huwalakinomnomoy 'he is swinging it around and around'

here based on CVC stems in -Vn augments, Bisyllabic reduplication also occurs, ~~xxxx~~

/c-welen + R₂/ cwelewele 'it is swaying, shaping'

/c-ʔow-Vn/ + R₂ / c'powipowi 'it ~~taxnigunagga~~ goes zig-zag'

and a form of trisyllabic reduplication is also attested, based on the stem wel 'to shake, ~~xxxx~~ sway,' in

/c-wel + R₃/ cwelewel 'it wags back and forth'

Medial redup shows up in qnowowo "to be short"
/qnowon + R₄/ ~~qnowowo~~ to be short
as opposed to bisyllabic redup in
/qnowon + R₂/ qnowoqnowo 'to be short'

Imperative Constructions

More than one construction is used with imperative force. The normally inflected verb with a second person subject may be used with imperative force,

/p-hin/ p^hin 'you pick it up!'

Much more commonly, the second person marker p- is dropped, although the dual and plural numbersx are marked as usual.

This construction involves ~~word-final~~ the glottalization of a word-final consonant, and an automatic glottal stop with ~~vowel~~ vowel-initial forms.

/~~six~~ sinay-^ʔ/ sinay^ʔ 'put it ~~ix~~ away!'

/iy-qil-s^hn/ ^ʔiqis^h 'look (plural)!'

/u^ho/ ^ʔu^ho 'put it down!'

The negative imperative is expressed by two synonymous constructions, in both of which the second person marker p- occurs. ~~Rax~~ Most common is the negative prefix mu-, as in

mu-p-tap 'don't come in!'

mu-p-net-us 'don't do it!'

mu-p-iš-k^huw mupišuw 'don't you two eat it!'

and more rarerly, the negative imperative prefix ^ʔina- is used.

/^ʔina-p-net-us/ 'don't do it!'

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GM
6 P-1

Particles

~~particles~~

Particles fall into several classes, including ~~temporal~~,
particles with temporal and locative function, ~~particles~~
other particles of a more ^{formally syntactic} ~~miscellaneous~~ nature which occur within
the phrase, ~~and finally~~ connective particles which link either
words or phrases, and finally interjections. Morphologically

~~most of particles are monomorphemic, but many are segmentable~~

~~In particular, la? 'just, merely'. The discussion of particles
includes~~

Particles could be strictly defined as monomorphemic sequences
which do fall into one of the major ~~xxxxx~~ categories of noun,
pronoun, verb, or affix. But in actuality many particles are
segmentable (e.g. ni-ku 'who knows?'), and some have derivative
morphs (e.g. /mik/ 'far, far away' and /mik-Vn/ miki?# 'to go far').

The position of particles in the phrase varies widely,

~~Some move around freely.~~ with the crucial distinction being
whether a particle precedes or follows the verb. Some particles
move about freely, particularly the locative particles, while
temporal particles tend more to precede the verb. Connective
particles of course precede the unit which they introduce. Some
particles give the impression of hovering on the boundary between
prefix and particle; ~~particles for the sake of~~

I call these enclitics. For example, mu 'not' and la? 'just,
merely' always occur in immediate constituency with some other
word rather than floating freely through the sentence.

Particles - list for final version

Temporal particles

Temporal particles nearly always precede the verb; this is the normal word order, and the verb rendered non-initial by a temporal particle needs no marker of subordination.

- 1) ne'e 'already' This is by far the most common of the temporal particles; it is often glossed with a perfect construction in English, indicating a completed action.
- 2) nayi 'already' This particle is less frequent than ne'e.
- ~~3) la? čí 'always' This sequence contains la? 'just, merely.'~~
- 4) kipi 'now, today'
- 4) la?-čí 'always' This sequence surely contains ~~the~~ la? 'just, merely,' since the I equivalent pačí? hints at ~~pa, the I version~~ pa 'just, merely,' the I version of V la?.
- 5) mu-?ašnim 'never'
- 6) /wa-c-nax-yit/ wašnaxyit 'tomorrow' This sequence, used much as a particle, is actually a verbal predication meaning 'when it is morning.'
- 7) /ka-e-ulkuw/ kasulkuw 'last night'
 /ka-c-ulkuw ?an c-?awhay-Vn/ kasulkuw ?an čawhayu
 'last night was moon-lit'

x) /na-c-tiʔiʔiʔi/ naʃtiʔiʔiʔi 'still, meanwhile' This form is clearly segmentable (c.g. /mu-c-tiʔiʔiʔi/ muʃtiʔiʔiʔi 'not far'), but not at all analyzable.

Adverbial Particles X - he is still watching

The ~~xxx~~ items which function as adverbial particles may be ~~morphologically~~ morphologically simple or complex. ~~Their position in the sentence~~ ~~Theyxxxxxxx~~ Below is a partial list of these.

1) neʔe 'already'

neʔe k-kum-li 'I have already ~~gx~~ arrived there'

~~2) kavuʔ 'already' (?)~~

~~/kavuʔ k-ol-tiʔiʔiʔi/ kavuʔ kal-tiʔiʔiʔi 'I have already gone to meet him'~~

2) nayi 'already' (less common than neʔe)

/nayi k-takulu-aqʃan + ʔ/ nayi ktakulaqʃaʔa

3) ~~nawaw~~ 'I am already tired'

5) naʃtiʔiʔiʔi 'still, meanwhile' This particle may be segmentable as /na-c-tiʔiʔiʔi/.

/naʃtiʔiʔiʔi c-qili-wayan/ naʃtiʔiʔiʔi sqiliwaya

'he is still watching'

4) laʔ 'just, merely'

/laʔ huʔ-k-uni-iliken/ laʔ huʔkunilike 'I will just stay'

/laʔ c-itaq + R/ laʔ sitaqtāq 'he is only listening'

5) čaqwin 'ohly, no more'

k-sunuw-us čaqwin pak məsəx 'I (only) used three'

6) laʔčə 'always' This particle probably contains laʔ 'just'.

~~/k-icūq laʔčə si-k-toqolo-Vn/~~

/k-icūq laʔčə si-k-toqolo-Vn + R/ kicūq laʔčə siktoqololə
always

'I/stab with it undermy arm: I stab / always /

what I hold under my arm'

wašnaxyt tomorrow when it is

wašnaxyt hu-kuy-mes-li

tomorrow we will go over
let's go

when it is
morning

P-2

ɛ /laʔčɛ si-s-mayɛn/ laʔčɛ ʔismayɛ 'every evening'

7) mu-ʔašɛɛm 'never' This particle contains the negative prefix mu- and the interrogative ʔašɛɛm 'when?'

/mu-ʔašɛɛm k-kx xuti-tamay/ 'I never make a mistake'

8) kɛpɛ 'now, today'

/kɛpɛ c-aqšan/ kɛpɛ šaqša 'now it is dead'

9) ~~(laʔ)ku 'maybe, perhaps'~~

ku 'maybe, perhaps' This particle also appears with laʔ 'just, merely' as laʔku, ~~and also kx else~~

ɛ kx loʔminimol ku qasil 'maybe qasil [is in] the mountains'

laʔku hu-s-aqtɛwɛw 'maybe the wind will blow'

the addition of ha 'interrogative' and Harrington x noted that ~~ɛ kx~~ indicated uncertainty on the part of the speaker.

~~laʔkuha mu-c~~ /laʔ-ku-ha mu-c-poš^h-vč + ʔ/

lakuha mušpoš^hoʔoʔoč 'maybe he doesn't know'

10) há 'interrogative' This particle is used in yes/no questions of all sorts, not necessarily involving ^{full} verbs.

no há? 'I? me? [am] I [the one]?'

neʔe k-uš^ho loʔ-ka-mi-šup há 'I left the land, didn't I?'

After a polysyllabic stem ending in a vowel, ~~the rising pitch of~~

~~the~~ há is elided, the only trace ~~being~~ of it being its characteristic high pitch.

/kaki há/ kakí 'he? him?'

to go
else-
where

Locative
Preposition Particles

As a noun, liyik means 'middle,' so that its prepositional usage is quite similar.

- 1) ~~ihyikx~~ he? liyik 'in the middle (of)' ~~This form is~~

~~based on the noun liyik, but is used prepositionally.~~

/he? liyik ?an c-am-su-tap-Vn si-c-lew-Vč/

he? liyik ?an camsutapi ?išlewuč 'they put the piece
in the middle'

- 2) he? ^{?al-al-pay} ~~ʔal-apay~~ 'on top' ~~This form is related to the verb~~
~~As a noun, ʔal-apay means 'top,~~
stem -apay 'to go up,' but the phonological relationship
~~is unusual.~~ ~~ʔal-apay~~

Shek ~~/hi he? ʔal-apay ʔan a yuq čičiči/ 'land on top it is pointed'~~

/ka-c-am-tipal-yoqon he? ?al-al-pay/ kasamtipoyoqo he?alalpay
'they drill a hole on top'

- 3) he? mi-šup 'on the bottom' This form is based on šup
'earth, land,' which also occurs as ~~mi~~ si-mi-šup 'the earth, land'

/č-sinay si-č-lew-Vč si-yop he? mi-šup/

č^hinay ?išlewuč ~~šip~~ ?iyop he?mišup 'he puts a piece of tar
on the bottom'

5) ~~mek~~ ^{mtlek} far, far away The medial glottal stop here is probably intensive, rather than etymologically present, since the derivative ~~miki?~~ lacks it. P-4
 /c-suxmen+ R lo? m?k + ?/ 'the waves are breaking far out there'
 chuxsuxmen lo? mi?ik

4) /mu-c-ti?i?in/ mušti?i?i(n) 'near; not far from'
 /c-sinay mu-c-ti?i?in he?-si-c-liyik/ chinay mušti?i?in
 he?išliyik 'he puts it near the middle'

5) ~~ma~~ /mam/ ma'am 'inside' The unpossessed form here means 'inside,' ~~what~~ as in

~~ma~~ /k-su-~~am~~ al-uti-kuy mam lo?-ka-c-hin-~~al~~-čičiči/
~~ma~~ /ksalutikuy ma'am lokas^hin^{al}čičiči 'I turn the points
 inside'

while the possessed form /si-c-mam/ ?isma'am (may) means 'below, underneath,'
 /~~h~~h^hk-su-pily he?-si-c-mam/huksupily he?isma'am
 far the inside

~~/ka-c-am-sinay-š si-c-mam/ kašamsinaš ?isma'am~~
 'they store it underneath'

6) lo?-ti?i?i 'not far away'

/ka-c-əqwel lo?-ti?i?i lo?-ka-c-?ap/
 kaseqwel lo?ti?i?i lo?kasap 'he builds his house not
 far away'

NEAR

7) ?iti 'here'

hu?-k-uš-pay ?iti 'I will dig here' I work near the house

+

8) lo? 'over there' Examples of the simple particle

hu?-k-mes-li lo? 'I will go over there'

/lo? al-uti-kuy-?/ lo? ?alutikuy 'face over there!'

This form ~~am~~ occurs frequently with other particles, and it is particularly common ~~am~~ in an enclitic form lo?-ka- with nouns, ~~indicating that the noun is~~ apparently indicating that the noun in question is remote either in time or space ~~in~~ or in the mind of the speaker.

/nu-mayt-vn²/ numayt⁷, tado all day P-4.6

~~Exercise~~ Adverbial Expressions other than particles

~~As a glance at the preceding list of particles shows,~~

The preceding list of particles is startlingly short. Many concepts which ~~xxxx~~ we would expect to be expressed adverbially as particles in Indo-European languages take a verbal form in Chumash, ~~either as petrified idioms~~

/wa-c-nax-yit/ wašnaxyit 'tomorrow: when it is morning'
or as coordinate verbs.

/ka-c-nał c-towič/ kašna'al čtowič 'it goes fast:
it goes, it is fast'

or as verbal stems with various prefixes, such as

-smon 'together: to join'

~~xi-cix~~ ~~xiŋgix~~ 'tightly, firmly: to do firmly'

-ki-kš 'alone: to do/be alone'

* as in -geA -keKš

lu-ke-kš grow up alone
nu-l-ke-kš go alone

These may be petrified idioms, such as

/wa-c-naxxyit/
-

Very commonly verbs themselves have what we might call an adverbial semantic range, such as

towič 'to do quickly'

kimiy 'to repeat', do again'

-
and these occur very commonly in coordinate verbal phrases,

such as /ka-c-nał c-towič/ above

and of course, many verbal prefixes ~~are~~
have an adverbial force: ti- much, big
k²- a little iša- partially, un- in motion
... suddenly

Syntactic

~~Other~~ Particles (ʔan, k^hewali, laʔxa, hu, ha, ni
+ laʔ, čagwin, ku, kila, laʔy+laʔa)

- 1) ~~xi~~ k^hewali This particle may have topicalizing force; it is glossed 'here is', but it introduces a noun which has been transposed to pre-verbal position.

/k^hewali si-c-tuʔ-waš c-iy-iqmay-š si-s-wal/

k^hewali ʔištʔwaš čiyiqmaš ʔiawal 'here is a shell with
its holes plugged: as for / shell / they are plugged / its ~~hole~~ ^{hole}

- 2) laʔ-xu 'like'

/laʔ-xu muhu ~~xi~~ heʔ-si-c-tiʔ/ laʔxu muhu heʔištʔiʔ

'it has eyes like an owl: like / owl / its eye'

- 3) ʔan When ~~xxxxxx~~ some element of the sentence which would normally ~~xxx~~ follow the verb has been transposed to preverbal position, the particle ʔan usually precedes the verb. The transposed item may be a noun,

/heʔ-si-ʔataxač ʔan c-~~ix~~ ičuq-it heʔ-si-k-qip/

hešaʔataxač ʔan cičuqit hesikqip 'this man stabbed me in the ^{belly}
a pronoun, no ʔan k-toloq 'I am hungry'

or ~~xxxx~~ certain particles, particularly those with prepositional force.
he? 'al-al-pay 'an c-yuq-čì-čì 'on top it is pointed'

Even non-verbal predications, if their normal word order is tranposed, may take 'an. An example is

'al-čì-čì 'an 'ihì 'the points are numerous'

in which the more usual word order would be

'ihì 'al-čì-čì lit. 'many /point'

~~xxxx~~ The verb of a subordinate clause may also be introduced by 'an

/k-qil-sin si-c-wašti-naì 'an c-waš-otoyín/
kqisì 'išwaština'al 'an čwošotoyì 'I see the line [that] is oblique'

4) ni 'question'

/pi ni c-'il p-šik/ pi ni čil pšik 'do you have lice?'

/ni p-itaq lo?-si-k-al-'ip-il/ ~~ni p-itaq lo?aike?~~

'do you understand what I am saying to you?

5) ni-ku 'who knows?' This form probably consists of the initial question particle ni and ku 'maybe.' There is ~~an~~ contextual example, but the particle is given in the doubled form which characterizes many short ~~xxxx~~ formulaic utterances.

ni-ku ni-ku 'who knows?'

6) hu xqmaxhixmxx 'yes-or-no question' This particle occurs with various ~~px~~ non-verbal elements, as in

?ihĩ hu 'are there many?

yixx yiti'iškóm hu hamu ka'iškóm hu 'five or ten?'

as well as with verbs.

hu-p-alhaš hu 'will you speak?'

7) ha 'interogative'

see section on adverbial particles

~~8) mu 'negative' This form is normally a verbal prefix,~~

but it ~~hasmenkaxmexmex~~ also occurs more freely as an enclitic with various other items, including nouns

/mu čhumaš kaki/ 'he is not an islander'

and particles.

/mu-?ašnĩm/ 'never'

9) mu - mĩ 'negative' ~~XX~~ Of these two forms, mĩ ~~ixxixx~~ answers a question in the negative.

XX Q: ?ihĩ hu? A: mĩ, la?-miti

'are there many?' 'no, only a few'

Q: pi ni p-suya-hin? A: mĩ mĩ

'do you want it?' 'no no'

This form is

~~As for mu,~~ it is normally a verbal prefix, but it also occurs

--- just as above

mu

11) niku 'who knows?' There is no example of this particle in context, but it is given in the paired form which characterizes many ~~xxxx~~ short formulaic utterances.

niku niku 'who knows?'

Maybe the final syllable of niku can be equated with ku 'maybe'.

12) kila? 'only, merely'

/kila k-?iw-Vn lo?-ka-c-se/ kila kiw? lo?kas^he

'I only cut the bone'

/la?-yila?a c-am-su-piliy lo?-ka-šupeqš-Vš kila?-čaqwin/

la?yila?a samsupiliy lo?kašupeqšeš kila?čaqwin

'they stick the patches on with tar only'

13) la?-yila?a 'just, only' 'no more than'

14) p^hala 'also, along with'

/ne?e k-sal-ti-hin p^hala he?-wun/ 'I have already counted

these along with [the others]'

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Conjunctions

~~If included under pre-conjunctions are particles which conjoin entire phrases (e.g. 'awa (because)) as well as the few which~~

Of the conjunctions, only a few conjoin individual words; most conjoin entire phrases. Of those which conjoin phrases, some regularly ~~introduce~~ introduce the first phrase, while others tend to occur between the two phrases. ~~The~~ The particles which conjoin individual words include

- 1) ka 'and' P-10
- 2) p^hala 'too, also', along with' P-8
- 3) hamu 'or' P-13

Even la⁷-na-wa occurs, also glossed 'when'

Conjunctions which usually introduce the first of two conjoined phrases include

- 4) ~~ka-nawa~~ ka-nawa - si-nawa 'when' The difference between these two forms is not at all clear, but ka-nawa is the commoner of the two. ~~The final sequence wa may be probably segmentable~~

~~since it~~ occurs in fossilized expressions of time such as

/wa-c-nax-yit/ wašnaxyit ~~tomorrow~~ 'tomorrow,' literally 'when it is morning.' ~~rest of P-10~~ The na may be equated with muna

- 5) k^han P-12 rest on P-12
- 6) la⁷-k^han P-12
- 7) ?ulaw^z 'of only, but for'
- 8) muna 'before' P-10

Conj

(perhaps in the 'when it hasn't happened [yet]' = 'before')

Conjunctions which ~~are~~ occur between the two phrases which ~~are~~ they conjoin include

9) ki 'and' P-10

10) ki-nupan 'and then' This form contains ki 'and,'
The sequence nupan does not occur independently as a particle,
but there is^a verb nupan 'to be new, recent'.

see P-10 for rest

11) ~~ka?ka?~~ walin - wali?i?in 'and then' P-13

This particle, which occurs in both forms, is less common than the equivalent ki-nupan 'and then'

12) kuwe 'but' P-9

13) kin 'but, on the other hand' P-11

~~14) kiwi 'for, because' P-9~~

14) numiš 'nevertheless, but anyway' P-9

15) kiwi 'for, because' P-9

16) payiku 'even, even though, even if' P-9

17) kayu? ~~ka?ka?ka?~~ 'so that, in order to, with the effect that' ^{P-9}

18) kaypi 'so that' P-13 ~~ka?ka?~~ This particle is less common than the equivalent kayu? 'so that'.

19) la?-kuwa 'then, afterward' This form was quoted in isolation, but it would almost certainly link two clauses rather than introducing the first of them. Compare I ka-kuwa? 'thus'.

Conjunctions

Included under conjunctions are particles which conjoin entire phrases (e.g. kuwe 'because') as well as those which conjoin either phrases or individual lexical items (e.g. ki 'and').

- 1) kayu? 'so that, so that; with the effect that...'

/ne?e k-su-eqen-š kayu? k-otoy'in/ ne?e kšeqeč kayu? kotoyi

'I'm already undressed to go to bed'

/c-su-weyep-š kayu? c-nał/ č^huweyepš kayu? šna?al

'he asks permission to go'

- 2) payiku la? 'even though', even'

/c-am-sunuw-us payiku la? miti/ 'they use it even though

[it is] a little one'

- 3) ~~kuwe~~ **kiwe** 'for, because'

~~kšepš ?al-uxni-ni-koyi k~~

~~kuwe~~ **kiwe** mu-p-suya-wati-hin ~~kuwe~~ mu-ka-p-hin 'don't pick it up,

because it's not yours (because you don't own it)'

- 4) kuwe 'but'

/mu-hu-~~kš~~ k-nał kuwe la? hu?-k-uni-iliken/

muhukna?al kuwe la? hu?kunilike 'I will not go,

but I will just ~~š~~ stay [here]'

- 5) numiš 'nevertheless' anyway'

c-?il si-?al-axi-pen si-mu-c-?il c-aqicum^{wasin} ?an numiš;š si-c-

čil sa?alaxipe simučil caqicu?um ?an numiš ?išwašič

'there is some work that doesn't have guide lines that is good anyway'

6) muna 'before'

/muna k-sunanan hal-k-axi-pen, k-xili-wasi si-kana'a'ay/

muna ksunana halkaxipe, kxiliwasi sikana'a'ay

'before I begin to chip [the flint], k I examine it first'

7) ki 'and' This is the most common conjunction, ~~conjoining~~

~~both individual words~~ conjoining separate phrases.

/k-kal-wal ki k-su-tapšun lo'ka-?iw/

kkawal ki kšutapšu lo'ka'iw 'I bore a hole and I stick in
the blade'

/ka-c-ti-ni-koy ki c-uliš lo'-si-c-enhes/

kaštinkoy ki šuliš lo'isenhes

'he backed up and he took a breath'

8) ka 'and' This conjunction links ~~words~~

nearly always

words within the phrase, ~~nouns~~ nouns,

while ki 'and' conjoins phrases'

/ki c-itpen lo'-ka-c-?ap ka lo'-ka-c-koko?/

kisitpen lo'kasap ka lo'kaskoko? 'and she remembered

her home and her father'

9) kinupan 'and then' The form must contain ki 'and,'

but the sequence nupan does not occur independently.

/k-ixew si-hihlhl kinupan k-su-?o?-Vč

kiwex ?ihlhlhl kinupan kšo'o'oč 'I grind the ochre and then

I wet it'

~7ulawu - ^{stg} V-á. w. waričbi-ak

10) ?ulaw± 'if only! but for'

/?ulaw± k-suwaqmaš ?an našt±?i?± hu-k-iy-qil-sin He?-si-šup/

~~šaxax~~ ?ulaw± kšuwaqmaš ?an našt±?i?± hukiqis± he?išup

'if only I had not rejected him, we would still see the world'

11) kin 'but, on the other hand'

/mu-k-al-šuwaqmaš kin he?-si-šup ka-k-al-šuwaqmaš/

mukalčuwaqmaš kin he?išup kakalčuwaqmaš

'I don't reject him, but [it is] the world that I reject'

~~12) k^han / la? k^han 'when, if'~~ **on to next page**

/k^han p-qil-sin hal-c-al-otoy'in la?-huki mu-p-suya-wati-hin/

/k^han pqis± halcalotoyi lahuki mupsuyawatihin

'when you see something thrown away, don't pick it up'

/la?-k^han

12) k^han 'when' This form seems to be equivalent to kanawa 'when,' although x the morphological connection is unclear.

example:

13) la?-k^han 'if' This form literally means 'just when,' but the distinction between k^han 'when' and la?-k^han 'if' ~~xx~~ seems to be consistent.

/la?-k^han si-mu-k-su-al-aqway', ?an yila?a mu-c-č^hum/

la?k^han simuksalaqwa?ay, ?an yila?a mušč^hum

'if I do not ~~wakaxkax~~ do it well, all is no-good'

14) kanawa 'when' /kanawa c-axsiw ka-c-iy-axi-pen/

kanawa saxsiw kasiyaxipe 'when it is dry they work it over'

Si-nawa

'if'

14) ka-nawa - si-nawa 'when' The difference between these these two forms is not at all clear, but ~~kan~~ ka-nawa is the commoner of the two, and the 'when' is a more common meaning than 'if'

ka- example = when it is dry sent on previous page

/si-nawa c-am-su-nu-na? si-tomol ?an c-am-eqwel si-c-taxtaxsin-ša? sinawa camsununa sitomol ?an cameqwel ?ištataxšiča?āš

when they begin a canoe, they make the keel

/c-iy-gil-sen si-nawa c-al-agway?/ they see if it fits well

~~15) ~~kan~~ ~~luben~~ This form seems to be equivalent to ka-nawa and si-nawa ~~luben~~, but although it is possible that it ~~denotes~~~~

15) k^han 'when,' perhaps 'whenever'

This ~~form~~ particle seems to denote a more conditional statement than ka-nawa and si-nawa 'when' above, particularly since a compound form la[?]-k^han is consistently glossed 'if.'

example: when you see something thrown away...

16) la[?]-k^han 'if'

example: if I do not do it well, all is no good'

17) la[?]-kuwa ^{'then,} ~~kkk~~, afterward'

This form was quoted in isolation, with no contextual example.

18) kay-pi 'to ~~make~~ that'

~~niy^hni^hki^h~~ c-iy-su-wašti-pow kay-pi si-hu-c-iš-taqač
 lo^h-si-c-tik čišuwašti^hpow kax kaypi ~~š^hni^hš^h~~ šihušištaqač ~~ka^h~~
 lo^hištik
 ends
 'they make it ruen curved so that the two ~~kipe~~ will join'

19) walin - wali^hi^hin 'and then'

c-iy-qil-sin lo^h-ka-pon wali^hi^hin ~~xi~~ c-iy-itax-sin s-al-iy-
 sunuw-us
 ciqis^h lo^hka^hpon wali^hi^hin ciyitaxs^h sal^hisunuwus
 'they look at the board and then they figure out what they
 should use it for'

20) hamu 'or'

yiti-^hiškōm hu hamu ka-^hiškōm hu 'five or ten?'
 mu-k-poš^h-vo ni he^hhamu lo^h-si-čohoy
 mukpoš^hoč ni he hamu lo^hisčohoy
 I don't know if it is this one or the other

Interjections

Interjections are loosely ^{appended} ~~appended~~ to the phrase, nearly always ~~usually~~ preceding it. ~~Typically~~ It is quite common for ~~to be repeated,~~ interjections, particularly when they are not immediately followed by a phrase, ~~koxbanrapakad~~ as in č̣i č̣i 'shoo shoo!'

x) haku 'hello'

/haku k-ʔal-iw̄/ haku kaliw̄ 'hello, my friend'

x) č̣i 'shoo, scat'

/č̣i, mu-p-ʔantap/ č̣i, mu^ʔpantap 'get going, you're not an initiate'

x) hi 'yes'

hi hi, neʔe k-alaxuy 'yes, I'm awake already'

x) m̄i 'no' This form is clearly related to the negative particle and prefix mu 'not.'

/m̄i, laʔ-miti 'no, [there are] just a few'

x) ya 'listen here'

x ni.ku who knows P-6

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7-1

Syntax

In the discussion of V syntax, the primary division is between simple sentences and complex sentences with relativized, embedded, or otherwise subordinated clauses. The major topics in the treatment of the simple sentence are predications without a finite verb, number agreement, word order, ~~in the~~ the syntactic rel's of noun phrases to the verb, and a few of the better understood ~~transformational~~ transformational processes.

Predications lacking a finite verb

Predications lacking a finite verb are quite common. They are generally nominal predications in which the copula is implied, altho they also include more verbal constructions: nouns inflected with verbal ~~prx~~ person-number markers and verbs with the agentive prefix ?al- instead of person-number markers.

A ~~few~~ predication may simply involve a couple of particles, as in

ne?e ?ihí 'ixhánxanzix 'there is a lot already: already / much'
 la? miti [there are] just a few: ~~ix~~
 ?ihí hu 'are there many? many - interrogative'

⊠ The simplest noun predication is a noun introduced by the predicative prefix ka-, as in

ka-xaw 'it is a willow'

/ka-yop + R/ kayopyop 'it is a tar pitch'

This is the form of many placenames, such as

/ka-c-tiq/ kaštíq '[it is] an eye, face: Castaic'

ka-milus: '[it is] a juniper

~~/ka-c-pet-ko-wu/ ka-pet-ko-wu '[it is] the nest of the heron'~~

~~A possessive phrase~~ conjoined
 More complex nominal predications involve two/nouns or a noun
 or particle.
 and a quantifier. ~~Examples with two nouns~~

~~/ka-c-ti xalašat/ kašti xalašat liša neme [is] xalašat~~

~~/pi hu šipiš-iwaš/ 'you [are] Coyote!'~~

or a noun and a pronoun

Predications with two nouns/may simply be of the form A [is] B,

/pi hu šipiš-iwaš/ 'you [are] Coyote!'

~~/laʔ qunup- R kaki/ laʔqunup~~

/laʔ qunup-iwaš + R kaki/ laʔqununupiwaš kaki

'they are just ~~byx~~ children: just/children / they'
 disjunct
 but more often they are ~~disjunct~~ possessive phrases.

/ka-c-ti xalašat/ kašti xalašat 'its name [is] xalašat'

/heʔ-si-c-teleq ʔan čočoniš/ heʔišteleq ʔan čočoniʔiš

'its tail[is that of]a fish;[it has]the tail of a fish'

/pi ka-p-hin-ʔVš/ pi kaphinaʔaš 'it is yours:

you / your thing'

Nominal predications also involve nouns and quantifiers,

/ʔihš si-c-ʔiš/ ʔihš ʔišiš 'it has many legs: many [are] its legs'

/pakeš si-c-moto ʔan xaš/ pakeʔet ʔismoto ʔan xaʔax

'one of its sides [is] big/a big one'

or nouns and particles.

/laʔ-xu si-muhu si-xik-c-tiq/ laʔxu simuhu ʔištiq

'its eyes are like an owl's: like / owl / its eye'

/ʔiti ka-k-ʔa p/ 'here [is] my house'

Nouns are sometimes prefixed with person-number markers and treated just as verbs. Such nouns x nearly always denote classes of people.

- /ne'e c-xanwa/ ne'e xanwa 'she is already a woman'
- /mu-p-?antap/ 'you are not an ?antap (cult initiate)'
- /k-?atap-mupu/ ~~it am from mupu~~: I am a person from mupu (S. Paula)

Another class of predications lacking a finite verb are constructions/~~with~~ ^{in which} the agentive prefix ?al- replaces person-number markers. These predications seems to have a habitual ~~xxf~~ force.

- /?asku ?al-aqšan/ x 'who died?: who [is] the dead one?'
- /lo?-ka-?al-axi-pen-š ?an mu-?al-niwon-la/ lazy one'
- lo?ka?alaxipeč ?an mu?niwonla 'the carpenter [is] not a
- /?ihi ?al-alumuw-us/ 'he gives him much advice: he is one
who gives him much advice.

Except that ?al- replaces person-number markers, the verb may take any of the usual verbal ~~inflection~~ affixes.

Number Agreement

~~Number agreement~~ Verbal affixes are marked for person and number, ~~presumably~~ in agreement with the person and number of noun phrases associated with the verb. In the third person, ~~the~~ number agreement ~~is~~ is only optional. It is most common for ~~Number Agreements~~ number to be marked only in the verb, with

Number Agreement

①

~~The~~ Number agreement between the verb and the noun phrases associated with it ~~x~~ is an erratic process. The noun is marked for singular versus plural numbers, as are object suffixes in the verb, while subject prefixes in the verb recognized sing, dual, plural, and indefinite numbers. It is ~~not~~ quite common non-singular for/number to be marked only in the verb, with nouns plural only by implication. Here, only the verb is marked for number.

/c-iy-išmon-š si-šipiš-iwaš/ čiyišmoč ?išipišiwaš

'the wise men gather: they gather / wise man'

/c-iš-waš-mes ^{si-}~~ka~~-c-hin-c-wašti-na/ čišwesmes ^{?i-}~~ka~~shinčwašti-^{-na?a}

'~~it~~ the two grooves run crosswise: they two run crosswise / its groove'

This process parallels the rather loose marking of number in

possessive constructions, in which the possessive ~~mark~~ prefix itself ~~m~~ shows number, but the noun does not.

?yila?a

/ lo?-ka-enheš-Vš ka-l-iy-ušho lo?-~~ka~~ ka-c-iy-?amamin/

yila? lo?ka?enhešeš kal?iyušhó ~~ka~~ lo?kasi?amami

'all the spirits who leave their bodies: all / spirit / they who leave / their body'

~~xxx~~ /

+ one more ~~on next page~~

⑤

or with a singular subject /c-am-kum si-ʔal-qap-Vč/
camkum šaʔalqapač 'k~~ka~~ some birds came'

An indefinite subject marker in the verb may occur with a
marked as ~~plur~~ either singular, as in
~~plur~~ subject, as in

/ka-s-am-yam-li + ʔ si-qunup + R + CS/ kasamyamliʔi čiqunqunup

'some children came to the beach: some come to the shore /
children'

- ③ Number may not be marked at all, as in

/c-šup^h-Vč ~~xi~~ heʔ-si-k-pu/ č^hup^huč heʔsikpu 'my hands are dirty:
it is dirty / my hand'

- ② Similarly, number is ~~xxx~~ often unmarked in the object noun if
an object suffix occurs with the verb.

/k-su-max-pow-wun ~~xxx~~-si-k-waš-nał/ ksumoxpowwu sikwašnaʔal

'I hold my arms bent: I bend them / ~~xx~~ my arm'

/ki c-am-ūš-ti-l-wun si-c-tuʔ-waš/ ki šamuštīlwu ʔištuʔwaš

'and they found some shells: and / some find them / shell'

- ④ A verb with an indefinite subject marker c-am- occasionally
subject
occurs with a noun subject; the/noun may either be unmarked for
number, as in

/c-am-kum si-ʔal-qap-Vč/ camkum šaʔalqapač 'some birds came'

'some come / bird'

or ~~kka~~ it may be marked as plural.

/ka-c-am-yam-li + ʔ si-qunup + R + CS/ kasamyamliʔi čiqunqunup

'some children come to the beach: some come to the beach /
children'

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Word order in the Simple Sentence

~~The basic word order in simple sentences is:~~
 core
 The ~~xxx~~ core of most simple sentences is the verb, which is marked with subject and object affixes. ~~xxx~~ Adverbial modifiers generally precede the verb, while noun phrases follow it.

~~The core of most simple s~~

~~xxx~~ Some nominal or particle predications (qv) lack a finite verb, but the core of most predications is the verb. Marked with subject and perhaps object affixes, the verb may well stand by itself as an entire sentence. ~~The verb may be expanded~~
~~xxxxxx/ with various~~ The simple sentence may well be expanded with various ~~x~~ particles and noun phrases. The particles ~~xxx~~ express various adverbial notions, and typically precede the verb, while ~~nonxxxxxxx~~ the unmarked position of noun phrases is following the verb. Examples of typical simple sentences:

/hu-c-qil-~~xx~~ tiwič-us/ husqitāwicus 'he will watch her'

/mu-ʔašnəm k-xuti-tamay/ 'I never make a mistake'

/ka-c-tap-Vn heʔ-si-ʔoʔ/ kaštapi hesoʔo 'he dives into the water:

/ka-c-ʔip-us/loʔ-kaac-ʔunu/ kasʔipus/loʔkasʔunu
 paket pakeʔet

'he said to ~~xxxxxx~~ one of his grandsons...'

/neʔe c-kum-li maliya/ neʔe skumli malkya 'Maria has arrived:

already / she comes / Maria'

/

Noun Phrases following the verb

~~The basic standard word order of post-verbal noun phrases is object.~~

Noun phrases are not marked for case, but it is important to recognize certain broad case relationships in discussing the relative order of noun phrases following the verb; these are the ^{object,} ~~subject,~~ ^{subject} ~~subject,~~ the indirect object or benefactive, and the locative or temporal. It is quite rare for more than two noun phrase to follow the verb. Examples of ~~these~~ each of these are: object -

/c-aqmil si-ʔoʔ/ caqmil soʔo 'he drinks water'

subject:

/c-iy-expen-š si-xanwa/ čiyexpeč ʔixanwa 'the women are singing'

~~indirect object, benefactive, instrumental:~~

locative or directional

/c-iš-nał heʔ-si-k-ʔap/ čišnaʔal heʔsikʔap
go
'they two ~~xxxx~~ to my house'

benefactive, or indirect object

/c-sus-kuy-us-wun loʔ-ka-c-ʔiwı-Vn-wun/ c^huskuyuswu loʔkasiwınwu
'he shows it to his companions'

temporal

/ka-c-iy-tap-Vn si-c-~~mit~~ mitıpın laʔ-čı heʔ-si-išaw-ʔ + R/
kasitapi ʔismitıpı laʔčı hešıʔišʔišaʔaw
'they enter his door every day'

+ extra locative:

Here are ~~xxxx~~ sentences with two noun phrases following the verb, illustrating the relative ordering of the nouns by case relationships. One rule here is that any noun copied onto the verb as an object suffix -us or (-us)-wun must immediately follow the verb.

~~a) object - subject. Two contradictory examples are~~

~~- the child told his father about it~~

/mu-c-suya-uš^ho šipiš-iwaš lo?-ka-c-hin-c-sa/

mushuyuš^ho šipišiwaš lo?kashincha 'Coyote didn't want to

let go of the hook: he does not want to let go / C / hook'

- 'the child told his father about it'

~~Given as two examples,~~ Since the second example may re

A point of ambiguity here is the relative ordering of subject and object; in B and I the ~~objact~~ usual order is ~~objact~~ verb object - subject, but the V examples are too few to make any generalization. In one, object follows subject

- Coyote didn't wanto to let go

and in the other, object precedes subject, but perhaps because the verb is marked with an object suffic -us/

- 'the child told his father'

c) object - benefactive/indirect object

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Here are ~~examples~~ sentences with two noun phrases following the verb, illustrating the relative order of the nouns by case relationships.

a) object - subject

~~/a-koj' he? si e 2ilr lo? ka-šaxoniš/ akro?ay he? si e 2ilr~~
 koko?
 /ka-c-tiyep-us lo?-ka-c-~~xxxx~~ lo?-ka-qunup/

'the child told his father about it: he tells him /
 his father / the child

b) object - locative/temporal

/k-su-kum-us si-?at'axaš lo?-mi-?aliyaš/ ksukumus ša?at'axaš
 lomaliyaš 'I overtook the man[on] the road'
 + they enter his door every day

c) subject - ~~akxxxx~~ indirect object / benefactive

~~ex: they enter his door every day~~

one old man shows it to his companions

d) subject - locative/temporal

/ka-š-nał + R si-laxux he?-si-?o?/ kašnalna?al silaxux heso?o
 is moving about
 'the laxux fish/~~xxxx~~ in the water
 'in it is moving / laxux fish / [in] the water'

A common stylistic ~~xxxx~~ option which keeps too many noun phrases from appearing in the same simple sentence is the repetition of the same verb first with one/noun phrase and then with another. For example, ~~xxxx~~ instead of having two nouns following the verb in 'Eagle's daughter pulled in her line,'

the ~~xxxx~~ noun are distributed between two repetitions of the verb in
 /ka-c-uš-max-yit la?-ka-c-šay' clow' ka-c-uš-max-yit lo?-ka-c-tuyaš/
 kašušmaxyit lo?kašha?ay slow' kašušmaxyit lo?kaštuyaš lo?kašwašty
 'Eagle's daughter pulled it in; she pulled in her line'

Noun Transposition

Certain particles normally precede the verb, ~~but~~ ^{while} noun phrases follow it. But for stylistic effect, one or even two noun phrases may be transposed to be precede the verb. The verb thus rendered non-initial in the phrase is ^{usually} introduced by the particle 'an. The noun may be in any syntactic relationship to the verb, either subject

/no 'an k-uš-qal si-mitipin/ 'I open the door'

/he'-si-'al-taqaš 'an mu-c-axu-kumu/ heša'altaqaš 'an musaxukumu
'this bead is not round'

object

/lo'-si-c-tipiq 'an k-su-piliy/ lo'išt'ipiq 'an ksupiliy

'I plug up the base: its base / I plug up'

~~or~~ dative.

/paket' si-c-qil-mes 'an c-api-kitwon/ pake'et 'isqilmes 'an

capikitwon lo'kaš^ha'ay slow 'Eagle's daughter went out to

an island: [to] one / island / she goes out / his daughter / Eag:

or locative.

/la'-č' he'-s'-muwu ka-c-nał + R/ la'č' he'simuwu kašnalna'al

'it always moves about in the sea: always / ~~in~~ [in] the sea /

it goes'

much

A ^{more} complex example which three noun phrases in the sentence shows two of them transposed.

/ka-c-tiq lo'-ka-'al-am-šuš-pawawhan c-uq;štahay-us-wun
-Vn

yila'a lo'-ka-iy-'atap-he'-si-'al-maxuy-ulkuw/

kašt'iq lo'ka'alamašūšpawawhani čuqštahayuswu yila' lo'ka'i'atap-
hesalmaḡuyulk

'his eye (the sun's) lights up the abyss for all those who are
in the dark: his eye / the abyss / it lights for them /
those who are in the dark'

This is one of the most characteristic features of Chumash style.

The Cleft Sentence Transformation

The cleft sentence transformation is a stylistic option whenever ~~the sentence~~ the sentence consists of a verb and at least one other element, such as a noun, pronoun, or adverbial particle. From a underlying structure with the verb in initial position as usual,

X does Y (does 'does' is a pro-form for any verb)

~~the verb is shifted to non-initial~~

a relativized form of the verb is shifted to non-initial position. The copula is implied between the relativized verb and the initial element of the cleft sentence:

Y [is] what X does

~~Since the relative person markers are usually distinct,~~

This construction differs from simple noun transposition in that here the verb appears in a relativized form, while with noun transposition the non-initial verb is simply introduced by 'an.

The noun involved in the cleft sentence T may be in any syntactic relationship to the verb, either as subject

/yɨlaʔa si-c-naɨ/ yɨlaʔa ʔišnaʔal 'it all goes:
[it is] all that goes'

or object /miti + R ka-l-iy-ni-noqš/ mitmiti kəkək kalʔiniñoqš
cut
'they are cutting little pieces: little pieces [are] what they

or some other rel, ~~as~~ such as locative/temporal

~~/ʔiti buʔ k/uni ʔiʔən/ ʔiti buʔkeʔunilʔi
I want to go home / I am /~~

The following discussion is particularly tentative, since many of the most crucial examples are open to alternative interpretations.

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7-14 / R-1

Relativization and Nominalization

V shows several cross-cutting patterns of relativization and nominalization; some of these are clearly relative, ~~and~~ others are clearly nominal, and in between these two extremes the same form may ~~often~~ serve either function.

Relative markers include both outer prefixes which precede person-number markers, ~~and~~ as well as forms which either replace or follow person-number markers. Outer prefixes include ~~the~~ ha-, yu-si- and ka-, l-, and also the relative-interrogative particle ne-l 'what, which'. In some relative constructions, the regular third person marker c- is replaced by l-, ~~and~~ there is also a relativizing prefix al- following person-number markers which ~~occurs in at least of some constructions~~

is quite common. Stylistically, relativization is extremely common; one peculiarity is that verbs after interrogative pronouns are often relative in form, as many of the following examples attest.

- ON TO R-101

~~apxnixaxx~~

~~First, here the ^{are} al- and l-, the ^{inner} prefixes which may co~~

1) al- This prefix follows person-number markers; it is common in relative constructions, but it also appears to mark other subordinate constructions which need not be interpreted as relative. Often it simply marks a verb as being non-initial in the phrase. It is most common with first and second person subjects, but ~~unlike~~ ~~B and I, it~~ it also occurs occasionally with third person subjects, unlike the corresponding situation in B and I.

/k^han p-qil-sin ha-l-c-al-otoyⁱn/ k^han pⁱsⁱ halcaltoyⁱ

'when you see [something] which is thrown away

It seems to be an optional element of the relativized verb.

First, al- and l- are two inner prefixes which may co-occur with other relativizing markers. They are mutually exclusive.

The ~~xxxx~~ reference of a relativized verb depends on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. The relativization of a ~~transitive verb usually refers to the object, usually only implied~~ intransitive verb always refers to the ~~xxxx~~ subject, of course.

/ka-l-aqšan/ kalaqša - kal'aqša 'one who is dead'

/si-c-nał/ 'išna'al 'one that goes'

With ~~xx~~ a transitive verb, reference may be ~~xxxx~~ to the subject

/ka-l-iy-ušho/ kaliyušho - kal'iyušho 'those to leave it'

but/much more commonly it is the object, usually only implied.

/ka-l-am-max-pow-wun/ kalamoxpowwu 'those which they have put across' (rather than 'those who have put them across')

/si-k-kal-qalaw/ sikkaqalaw 'what I chip off' rather than 'I who chip it off'

/si-c-am-ixip-us/ 'isamixipus 'what they won from him' rather than 'they who on it from him'

R-2

2) 1- ~~is~~ ^{usual} This form replaces the/third person marker c- in many relative constructions, particularly with ka- and yu- 'where,' ~~xxx~~ and with the future marker hu-, as in

/si-ku hu-l-iy-iwal-kitwon/ 'the people who will resurrect'

/ka-l-aqša/ kalaqša - kal'aqša 'one who is dead'

/ka-l-iy-uš^ho/ kaliyušho - ~~kali~~ kal'iyušho 'those who left it'

/lo'-ka-yu-l-iy-aquntuk/ 'where they are going to tie it'

Next, here are the various relative markers which ~~may~~ precede ~~the~~ ~~xxx~~ precede person-number ~~xxx~~ prefixes.

3) ~~1- This prefix~~

l- and ha-l- This prefix ~~is quite distinct~~ is quite distinct from the l- which replaces ~~the~~ the third person marker; the two may ~~xxx~~ cooccur, often with the future marker hu-, as in

/la'-huki l-hu-l-?il/ la'huki lul'il 'something will happen'

(lit. '~~just~~ [there is] just something which will be')

The simple form l- appears ~~with the future marker~~ most commonly with the future marker hu-; ~~but it appears elsewhere too~~ showing an optional l- it is less common elsewhere; a contrastive example/is

?il-čet l-p-mayin 'how did you spend the evening?'

?il-čet p-nax-yit 'how did you get up?'

The longer form ha-l- is fairly common, ^{cooccurring with} ~~not~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ c- form of the third pers ~~marka~~

/muna-k-su-nu-nan ha-l-k-axi-pen/ munaksununa halkaxipe

'before I begin to chip it: before I begin what I chip'

/mu-c-al-aqway' ha-l-c-ax-ni-apay/ musalawa'ay halcaxnapay

'~~ix~~ he can't spit it out: he can't accomplish what he spits out'

It cooccurs with the c- form of the third person marker.

R-3

- 4) ^{ne-l-} ~~ne~~ 'what, which' This is ~~an~~ a relative/interrogative particle, probably enclitic, since JPH writes it as a single unit with the following word. It usually cooccurs with l-, but not necessarily, as in

/hu-k-iy-poš^h-vč ~~ne~~ ne c-neh + h/ hukipoš^hoč ~~ne~~ nečnehet

'we will find out what happens'

~~The interrogative form with~~

Interrogative force is most common with ne-l-, as in

/ne-l-c-ʔip/ nelc'ip 'what does she say?'

/ne-l-hu-k-ali-net + h/ nelukalinehet 'what will I do?'

but a relative usage occurs as well.

/~~ne~~ ne l-ʔal-ʔip xutaš/ nelʔalʔip xutaš^{xutaš'} 'that which they call

- 5) ~~si-~~

f he? -

The nominal nature of relativized ~~xxxxx~~ forms is evident not only in the use of the article si-, but also in the demonstrative form he? which commonly introduced ~~xxxxxxx~~ nouns. ~~and relativization~~ R-4

5)

si- /he?-si-k-axi-pen/ 'this that I am working on
The commonest pattern of relativization is with the ~~xxxxxx~~ si-, the article with nouns. The other central Chumash languages use their article in the same fashion, but unlike B and I, V uses x the article si- not only with first and second person subjects, as in

/k-qal-cix si-k-aqsik/ 'I tie tightly what I am tying'

/mu-x-itaq si-p-?ip / musitaq sipip 'he didn't hear what you said'

but also with the regular third person subject marker c-, as in

si-c-net-us/
/c-aqč^hum ~~xxxxxxx~~ čaqč^hum ?isnetus 'he likes what he is doing'

/k-su-axta-wasın si-c-iy-älhaš/ ksaxtawası ?išiyälhaš

'I approve what they are saying'

~~xxx~~ Here, The Barbareno article l- and the Ineseno article ma-/ha- never co-occurs with the third person marker s-.

~~partial~~
~~but a point of agreement between v and the other two central~~
langs is that ~~xxxxxxx~~ the relative prefix al- ~~xxxxxxx~~ co-occurs with the article si- only with first and second person subjects, as in

/he? si-k-al-tak^huy + R/ he? sikaltaktak^huy 'this ~~that~~ one that I am holding'

/he? si-k-iy-al-qil-sın la?-ki-kš lo?-ka-c-sa/

he? sikiy?alqisı ~~ka~~ la?kikš lo?kas^ha 'what we see [is] only its teeth'

but xı al- and si- do not co-occur with third

The prefix al- ~~may~~ co-occur with si- commonly.

/k-suya-hin he?-si-k-al-tak^huy + R/ ~~ksuyahin~~ he?sikaltaktak^huy
'I want this one that I am holding'

6) ka- R This prefix has relativizing force, but it also commonly marks ~~xx~~ other subordinate constructions, such as verbs non-initial in the phrase. ~~Thaxnaxnax~~ Here, ka- occurs with ~~khaxnaxnax~~ first and second person markers,

/laʔ-huki ~~kxkx~~ ka-k-eqwel/ 'something that I made'

~~optionally with the~~ often with al-.

/yilaʔa ka-p-al-suya-hin/ 'everything that you want'

In ~~xx~~ the third person, the usual subject marker c- is replaced by l-, as in

/ka-l-aqšan/ kalaqša - kalʔaqša 'one who is dead'

/ka-l-iš-ali-c-moto/ kalisalismoto 'two that are side by side'

/ka-l-am-max-pow-wun/ kalammoxpowwu 'those which they have put across'

7) yu- 'where' This relative prefix ~~x~~ parallels an interrogative particle ʔil-qu 'where?' It always occurs in conjunction with ~~xx~~ loʔ-ka-, a demonstrative sequence which ^{usually} ~~xxkx~~ introduces ~~xx~~ nouns. The presence of loʔ-ka- here ~~ix~~ clearly ~~shew~~ shows the nominal nature of relativized verbs. ~~Thaxnax~~ First and second person subjects appear as usual, perhaps with al-.

/loʔ-ka-yu-k-al-aquntuk-pi loʔ-ka-pon/ 'where I tie the board on'

In the third person, l- is the subject marker.

/loʔ-ka-yu-l-iy-aquntuk/ 'where they are going to tie it'

/k-su-piliy-wun loʔ-ka-~~ix~~ yu-l-iš-taqpač/

'I tar them where they (dual) ~~xxkx~~ go together'

The sequence loʔ-ka- often introduces nouns; it may occur in relative constructions too, as in

ʔloʔ-ka-c-šay [loʔkaš^haʔay] clow loʔ-ka-l-manış he swaxl

'Eagle's daughter who disappeared [from] swaxl'

8) 'al- 'agentive' The agentive prefix 'al- deserves mention too. It is a nominalizing prefix with derivational force, as in /'al-axi-nał/ 'alaxina'al 'a dancer: one who dances'

But ~~in~~ very often it occurs in constructions exactly parallel to the other modes of relativization.

/si-muwu 'al-nu-nał 'it comes from the sea: [it is] one that
comes from the sea'

/ne'e 'al-~~kt~~tiyep-us/ 'she already told him: [she is]
one who already told him'

~~Since forms with 'al-~~

Person-number markers may precede 'al-, as in

Since forms with 'al- are basically nouns, they often occur with the article si-, as in

/si-c-qil-mes si-'al-ti-Vč xalašát/ 'isqilmas ša'al^hič xalašát
'the island ~~xx~~ named xalašát (San Nicolas)'

Often si-'al- coalesce as sal-, via ~~xxx~~ sa'al-,

/c-aqni-itax-l-al-koy si-'al-net-pi/ caqnitoxlołkoy salnetpi
'she thought of what happened to him'

/si-c-tu?-waš si-'al-tipal-yoqon/ 'ištu?waš saltipolyoqo
'the shell that he drills a hole in'

Since ~~xxx~~/this sal- never occurs with person-number markers, it cannot be interpreted as either of the two common relativizing prefixes al- or l-.

Relativizations with a Nominal Head

~~ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ~~ It is ~~ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ~~ fairly rare to find a relative construction with a nominal head; when they occur, the noun ~~ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ~~ nearly always precedes the relativized verb, contrary to the prevailing verb - subject word order in main clauses.

/ka-c-iy-ulu-aq-pey-us yɪlaʔa loʔ-ka-enhes-Vš ka-l-iy-uš^ho

loʔ-ka-c-iy-ʔamamɪn/ kasiyuleqpeyus yɪlaʔa loʔkaʔenhešəš

kaɪʔiyuš^ho loʔkasiʔamamɪ 'all the spirits who leave their

bodies follow him: they follow him / all / spirits /

those who leave / their ~~ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ~~ body'

/loʔ-ka-c-šay' clow' loʔ-ka-l-manɪš heʔ swaxɪl/

loʔkaš^haʔay slow' loʔkalmanɪš he swaxɪl ~~ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ~~

'Eagle's daughter, who disappeared from swaxɪl'

/laʔ-kɪkš loʔ-ka-c-sa ka-l-uni-ʔil-Vn/

laʔkɪkš loʔkaš^ha kaɪʔunɪli 'only ~~ᑲᑲ~~ the teeth which remain'

/ka-c-net + h loʔ-ka-kanaʔaʔay ka-k-eqwel/

kašnehet loʔkakanaʔaʔay kakeqwel 'it is like the first one

that I made'

/c-iy-akti-na si-ku hu-l-iy-iwal-kitwon/

'the people who will resurrect are coming

^{EE}
 The agentive prefix 'al- is also common; it is often
 occurs with a purely nominalizing force as a
 derivational affix, as in
~~/ʔal-axi-nal/ ʔalaxinaʔal 'a dancer: one who dances'~~
 /ʔal-axi-nal/ ʔalaxinaʔal 'a dancer: one who dances'
 but it is common with relative force too.

The agentive prefix ʔal- deserves mention at this point
 too. It is a nominalizing prefix with a purely derivational
 force, as in
 /ʔal-axi-nal/ ʔalaxinaʔal 'a dancer: one who dances'
 but the other relative constructions can be used in exactly
 parallel environments.

The Stylistics of Relativization

Raxaxixam V uses nominalization extensively as a
 stylistic device. Beyond those constructions which are
 clearly relative, calling for relativization, nominalization
 in an exactly parallel fashion is an ever-present option.
 It is quite common for the main verb in a sentence to appear
 in a nominalized rather than finite form; such sentences might
 be better understood from an English point of view as having an
 implied copula. For example, from the final sentence

/yɪlaʔa c-nal/ yɪlaʔa ʃnaʔal 'all goes'

a nominalized version is

/yɪlaʔ si-c-nal/ yɪlaʔa ʔiʃnaʔal 'it all goes: [it is] all
 that goes.'

① Other examples:

/miti + R si-k-su-eqen/ mitmiti sikseqe 'I take off little pieces: little pieces [are] what I take off'

/mu-ʔal-uḡ^ho si-c-am-ixip-us/ muʔaluḡ^ho ʔisamixipus

'he won't give up what they won from him: [he is] one who won't give up what they won from him'

~~ʔiḡi ʔal-ʔax alumuw-us/ ʔiḡi ʔalalumuwus~~

~~'it goes into the water up to here: it goes up to~~

~~/ʔal-ʔax alumuw-us/~~

/ʔiḡi ʔal-ʔax alumuw-us/ ʔiḡi ʔalalumuwus 'he gives him much advice: much [is] what he ~~gives~~ ^{advises} him ~~(ʔaxnaxiḡi)~~'

One very typically Chumash construction is the relativization of a verb with a possessed subject.

③

/c-waskin si-c-moto/ cwaski ʔismoto 'its side is flat'

ʔalwaski ʔismoti 'one with a flat side: 'one that is flat [in] its side'

/ʔal-ʔiḡi si-c-ʔil/ ʔalʔiḡi ʔisil 'centipede: one with many legs: one that is many / its leg'

②

I It is very common for verbs following interrogative ~~pron~~ ~~forms~~ pronouns to appear in a relativized form. ~~This~~

- ex /ʔasku l-hu²c-taw/ ʔasku luṣtaʔaw 'who will deal it out?:
- ex 'who / ~~xxx~~ who deals it out'
- ex /ʔaṣniḡm si-c-ʔip-il/ ʔaṣniḡm ʔisʔipil 'when did he tell you?:
- when [is] what he tells you'

This use of relative forms in interrogative constructions is similar to the French qu'est-ce que c'est? 'what is this?:what is it that this is?'

Embedding

Embedded constructions are much rarer in V than relativizations and nominalizations, which appear constantly. Many constructions which involve embedding in English occur in V in a ~~rel~~ ~~nominalized~~ form, at least in a form prefixed with the nominal article si-, which must be interpreted as a relativizer in many cases.

/x c-iy-su-nu-na? si-c-iy-sinay-wun/ cisununa sisisinaywu

'they begin to put them on: they begin/ what they put on'

/ka-k-sunuw-us si-k-timmes/ 'I use it to fasten it together:

I use it [as] what I fasten together'

Occasionally ha-l- introduces verbs which might be interpreted as embeddings, as in

/muna k-suenu-na? ha-l-kaxi-pen/ before I begin to work on it...

but (ha-)l- too is usually a relativizer, so that an alternative gloss here reflecting this might be 'before I begin what I am working on...'

~~ThenrasukxixxAnnanrx~~

Accordingly, there are very few unambiguous examples of ~~rel~~ embedded verbs. Morphologically, the embedded verb takes no special marker; it simply follows the matrix verb.

/k-qil-sin si-c-wašti-nał 'an c-waš-otoyín/

kqisł 'išwaština?al 'an čwošotoyi 'I see[that]the line is oblique'

An example of a double embedding is

/c-iy-tiye-p-us c-iy-qil-sin si-xanwa c-we?/

citiye-pus ciqisł si-xanwa ~~zwa~~ swe 'they told him [that] they saw a woman sleeping'

* Accordingly, there are very few unambiguous examples of embedding. Morphologically, the embedded verb takes no special marker; it simply follows the matrix verb, as in

/c-iy-tiyep-us c-iy-qil-sin.../ citiyepus ciqisɪ...

'they told him [that] they saw...

~~ANNNNNXX~~ A subject noun in the embedded phrase precedes the embedded verb, but this is probably a consequence of the same noun also being the object of the matrix verb.

~~xxx/~~/c-alitkiy ʔasku ʔal-xil-al-tɪ/ 'she hoped that

someone would spot her: she hopes / someone / one who spots'

In the example above, the embedded verb takes the agentive prefix ʔal-; ~~but~~ when the verb occurs with the usual person-number markers, it is ~~pre~~ introduced by the particle ʔan by virtue of its ~~n~~ non-initial position in the phrase.

examples: I see that the line is ~~horizontal~~ oblique

he sees that Eagle's daughter is beautiful

An example of a double embedding is

/c-iy-tiyep-us loʔ-ka-c-iy-wopo-waš c-iy-qil-sin si-xanwa c-weʔ/

'they told their grandfather that they saw a woman sleeping'

Notice in these examples that the nominal subject of the embedded verb precedes it; ~~khaxix~~ the subject of the embedding here is also the object of the matrix verb, so that its position immediately following the matrix verb is to be expected.

/ka-c-xili-wasɪn loʔ-ka-c-šay' clow' ʔan c-eqlemlem-š/
kasxiliwasɪ loʔkaš^haʔay slow' ʔan čeqlemlemš
'he sees[that]Eagle's daughter is beautiful'

Accordingly, there are very few unambiguous examples of embedding.
~~embeddedxuxuxux. The nominal subject of the embedded sentence when one appears, is also the object of the matrix verb.~~

W

Another form of embedding involves the causative prefix su-. The subject of an intransitive verb appears as the object of a causative construction, as in

/KK /p-aqni-č^hum/ 'you are cheerful'

plus the sus- allomorph of su- 'causative,'
cheer you up;
/k-sus-aqni-č^hum-il/ kšušaqnič^hum 'I console you; I cause
you to be cheerful'

KK An example with a ~~nominal~~ noun phrase is

/c-waskɪn si-axi-pen-Vš si-poŋ/ cwaskɪ šaʔaxipeneš ʔipoŋ
'the board is flat: it is flat / the worked thing / wood'

KK in a cuasative construction:

/c-su-waskɪn si-axi-pen-Vš si-poŋ/ c^huwaskɪ šaʔaxipeneš ʔipoŋ
it
'he makes the borad flat: he causes/to be flat /

Coordination with the Conjunctive Particles

Simple sentences may be conjoined with one of the conjunctive particles (q.v. ^{conjunctive}). Depending on the ^{subordinate} /particle, the ~~sentence~~ clause introduced by the particle may either precede or follow the main clause; usually the subordinate clause follows, ~~as~~ as in

/mu-p-suya-wati-hin kiwî mu-ka-p-hin 'don't pick it up
because it's not yours'

/ka-k-su-piliy ki k-su-tapšun loʔ-ka-ʔiw 'I smear it
(with tar) and I stick in the blade'

A few p conjunctive particles introduce the subordinate clause, as in

/ka-nawa c-axsîw ka-c-iy-axi-pên/ kanawa saxsîw kasiyaxipe
'when it is dry they work it over'

Coordinate Verbs

Pairs of coordinate verbs are a common construction, in which two verbs with the same subject are juxtaposed much as appositive nouns are. ~~Most commonly,~~ the second of these two verbs ~~and~~ specifies the nature of the first more exactly, as in

/k-uliš k-nu-tal-tun-š/ kuliʔiš knutaltuč 'I hold it in both hands: I hold it / I do it with both hands'

/ka-c-yít c-maquiti-nal/ kasyít cmaqutinaʔal 'he comes running: he comes / he runs'

The second verb ~~usually~~ usually appears in an English gloss ~~as an adverb, as in~~ with adverbial force.

/k-su-piliy k-sunuw-us si-yop/ 'I ~~xxxx~~smear it with tar: I smear it / I use / tar'

/k-mexwe k-su-yuq-miti/ 'I grind it thin: I grind it / I make it thin'

/c-wašti-wil c-nu-l-kikš/ čwaštiwíl čnulkikš 'he traveled alone: he travels / he goes alone'

Coordination without Conjunctions

~~In addition to coordination by conjunctive particles, and pairs of coordinate verbs, a common feature of V style is a string of verbs.~~

A common feature of V style is a string of verbs, all with the same subject; these ~~verb strings~~ strings differ from coordinate verbs in that they ~~do not~~ carry the action forward, rather than complementing one another. The predicative prefix ka- is common here, and occasionally the conjunctions ~~ki~~ ki or ka, both 'and' interrupt the sequence.

/ka-c-tim¹-ni-koyi ka-c-mik-Vn¹ ki c-uliš lo²-si-c-enhes/

kaštini¹koyi kasmiki²?i ki šuli¹?iš lo²isenhes

'he backs up, he retires and he takes his breath'

/ka-c-yit c-maqtina¹-na¹ ka-c-na¹ ki c-utoqop/

kasyit cmaq¹tina²al kaša²al ki sutoqop

'he comes, he runs, he goes and he dives'

~~Such sequences may be joined in larger blocks by the~~

Typically, subjects and objects ~~are~~ nouns are spec'd only occasionally in such sequences, such as this section of narrative.

/s-qili-wayan lo²-ka-²al-šipiš-iwaš

'Coyote looked over (the cliff): he looks over / Coyote

/ki c-qili-wayan ki c-qil-sin lo²-ka-c-šay¹ clow/

kisqiliwaya ki sqis¹ lo²kaš¹ha²ay slow¹

'and

'he looks down and he sees Eagle's daughter'

/ka-c-iliken ka-c-qil-tiwič-us/ kasilike kasqitiwicuc

'he sits down; he watches her'

How about the meanings?
for each/has little?
How about the meanings?

7-26
VSA

These verb strings may also be conjoined in larger blocks by conjunctions, as in this narrative sequence.

/ka-c-iy-weleqen-us ka-c-iy-mik-Vn/ kasiweleqenus kasimiki?i

'they drew back from her; they were at a distance

/kuwe na-c-ti?i?i c-iy-xili-wasin ki c-iy-qil-sin/si-c-iliken/

kuwe nasti?i?i sixiliwas± ki siqis± ~~shaxaxhikan~~ ?isilike

'but still they saw clearly and they watched'her ~~sit~~ sitting'

Comp

I -li akti- = V. -li -ti[?]iy

I hawala = V čaqwin

I šlog = V, P swal it is perforated

I s^hutaxtaxstnit = V šutakš[?]ēt me aasto

V maqš flint

V xtp Stone

V išaw hot

V aqničum to tasty, savory

V hukpikawač I'll make butillas

V, P awty = I išo[?] to roast over coals

V uq[?]tawty = I qe[?]ten to Slap dough into cakes

V zuwlilo = aš[?]en to eat meal

nb. memen in telmemen cf V sigilmeme
to hold hand over eyes
to see far

V la[?]- = I pa-

ne[?]e = moqe already

I-V correspondences

I aqtipalk^het = V aqtipaljet
to suck out

I ketet = V tctek to be flat
I tepe^t = V petet (or tetep?) to roll
?iwet = I, V companion

mantš^v = I, V to be lost

maxak = V Strip bark from tree

maxak^v = I, V cloth B maxakiš^v

tek^v I, V kind of rough rock

met^vek V = metk I far

I nagk^vet^v = V nagt^vekt to be constructed

B apit ap^vet = ap^vet to go up, climb

I metk^v = V metk^vet to go far

?aq^vlw I aql^vw = V ?aq^vlw voice, wow

yila^v = y^vela^v all throat

šep^vteš^v = sipitš^v
icorn mush

sik^vin = st^vk^vin
~~to be offense~~
to take offense

ist^vet^v = ist^vet^v

to find

malk^vec^v = malk^vic^v

to be neat

sk^vet^v =
sk^vet^v -

cam^ven = cam^vin to know

?aq^vlw = ...

v. I

V napijetuw = I maxk^hetus do it hard!

V, I kum -us to arrive at

√ no — waš may be like subjunctive:
karaqwayawaš ak²us - I would have been ready

V hin = I kuy to take hold of

V uš^ho ve I palagikuy ek² ^{-eso} put that down

V kane²e²e ve I swo²o² he lies

V hokwalce^x I'll tighten it up

V pa = I pa walking stick

√ čwalam²š it is heavy

V wač²ew to throw a thing away

V wow some verb

√ ?antipšnekey lizard sp

√ ?aliwalq²lay ajolote

√ tip²š = owl maybe

√ čtapuša²aš huichuta

V

- cagniwil he[?]išpoš She has an idea
- caktenhesi he catches his breath again
- caxtike[?]ep he comes to bathe
- caxtiwe he came to sleep
- ~~to~~ ikpaw to carry on head
- camwiwilepi they nailed it to s.
- kaq[?]epi hesimit[?]epi I get stuck in the door
- ~~to~~ ckumula[?]a he fits thru
- ~~iwatq[?]lay~~
- iwatq[?]lay re. I aglažin - to smooth
- ne[?]et[?]maxwi[?]il I am already tired of it
- uwašuwatiy[?]tš = ? to think
- čtayapaha lokasxanaxan his lower jaw is stiff
- huk[?]unaqšimišil I will miss you
- huk[?]simaltel a siwaka I'll lasoo a cow
- čqitew[?]tč = I šaqšitew[?]tč he is a spectator
- ~~to~~ kaqtipatik = I kaqtipa[?]lik I choke on ¹⁹²⁰
- nisk[?]twhet to choke on food
- aq[?]tealy[?]t = aq[?]tealk[?]het to suck, inhale
- no[?]an kutuš[?]i[?]ik I have a sudden pain
- ~~to~~ agulcpe to remove hair from hide
- agulhin to remove bark, wind
- we[?]eq to have legs spread

ʔonhokok^ho = ʔanik^hok^hoʔ I'm hopping on one leg

cxutiwalaʔap he lands in a hurry

capileⁿ it throws off sparks

cpilitapi soʔo water comes down the smokehole

kikaskeytw soʔo and she begged for water

no ʔan ksaxixe I wore my shoe out

axinaʔal to dance

ʔo gonon = gold ~~to~~ mouse

paketeni = once more

ʔiskomini twice more

cutipepit he snatched it way from me

kisutipeyus lokačočont^ʔεš^ʔ it snatches the fish from^h

huk^usilituʔus lokaʔataxč I'll carry food to a man

chilikit he brought me my ~~br~~ lunch

no ʔan kaxkik I gnaw with my teeth

= no ʔan kexnekey

knikululu hago eStruendo

čtitapwu it chases them away

kuštu hešipt^ʔεš^ʔ I ~~to~~ eat this acorn mush

ušumis^ʔ to have ^{with 2 fingers} pity on

takšyetyenyuw have pity on us!

ʔut. saʔ-? *huk^ušaʔaxpilileč I'm g. to sneer back the bee

Kalax²uniwilpi | I have a nightmare
huk²sapaxsew I'm g. to dry it by the fire

čnaxwi yilxus ʔisitaq ʔišamaxʔaʔač

k²saxulce se enfadó oiv un barullo el oso
I clean plate with fingers

hihi² , oxonišpiyit j= I k²saxulpen

yes, yes, be afraid of me! (axunušpi)

timešv to see all around

k²tip²tipš²š² ʔan kuš²towič I am sewing in a hurry

mush^hakalhaʔa no above la boca

wak²ay to be on top of

cwatahway it is 1/2 moon-shaped

no ʔan kawič I dance ʔawič dance

ʔawičaʔaš name of " - ʔawičeʔ

huš²čtq²tq²elenit he's g. to tickle me

huk²šapatunič I'm g. to put my shoes on

kalnehet he it is the same as this one

cf
telmemen

k²siqilmeme I shade eyes when looking

k²icpug my pimple into distance

huštakšyetyt he is g. to be playful

k²šuwatušmaxy²t kikuli²iš heʔisq²ep lokak^hin²c

I gave a jerk + caught the fish in the belly

lač² ʔištiw²šit he is always with me

k^hoko, hinit papa, delouse me lit. "do me"

č²tetek ʔišnuxš he has a flat nose

k²iʔuqštu to be a little deaf

ck²itutiš, hič it is a little tough (utišič)

mune²knešus, kuwe cxa²piyit

I did nothing to him but he attacked th me

ʔaltinoki (he is) an intruder

cwat²kom the wind died down (swat²kom²in)

lo²ʔišu²pi²iy next year

muk²poš^hoč ni he hamu lo²ʔič²ohoy

I don't know if it will be this one or the other

ʔulamu šil hal²asuka² if it were not for the sugar,

ʔan ʔewt samaqmil site: no one would drink tea

cpap^haw it is light (in weight)

šiswaltap pores of lungs

no ʔan ku²xwaltapus I stick a stick into it

č²palqayawič the tree grows all crooked

klu²ʔiw²š²u²č they 2 grow up together

hesi klu²ʔiw²š²u²š he who grew up with me

č²luqay ʔiš²to²ʔ lokawt the deer has a split ho

ciwalalthew ʔiš²lunt²ʔep it grows slowly

ʔoyini

naštētēt klunlunaʔal I am still growing

člusiſi it is growing ~~at~~ deformed

člučum it grows straight

čmaxu taqša he died suddenly

čimaʔapʰač they are all playing with toys

loka lwalegeʔeʔe the first born child

~~huksp~~

huksupiliy heʔismaʔam I'll tar the inside

noʔan kpulhewu kalmančš I am a lost sheep

manaxš to snuff s. up nose

maxak -čš to strip bark off tree; cloth

neʔekayusmeqxeʔe loka swalkenkenčēt

the rope wrapped around post is about to slip off by the end

calpay lokaʔo he walks on the water

calpay lokašixtč " " " roof

maxwuhv to pull a thing out

cmaxtinikoyi it slips/draws back

maxsupolo to break up clods

maxsunāʔal to drag

kšušolopič it muddied it

matixoyi = matixoyin to climb over. little by little

cmehēʔe it is spread open

timalamexure to whet knife slowly

kinečnehēt kilasutimeʔek why is it so far?

[oxlolo = oxlolon to growl, grunt
koxlolonus I growl at him

cimoxnowon they are standing up together

naqʔekε = naqʔεεε to be constipated

tinapay to teqe move back out of way!

cinaktina they brought it

ksayugsʔelelheč I walk on hptoe

čnalnalnaluč he has gone ~~there~~ there

napεtε to carry up

pakeʔet ʔišišteqšēʔεš they 2 are the same ^{color}

huknawax hešaʔ aliyaš I'll leave this road

lačt siknemεkεʔε lok aštuwaš

I always carry the refuse shells far away

huknikʔεt I'll bring it

mayt evening

čnumayeʔε ʔišntw it sings all day

polwoyo to twist

neʔešpolwoyoč it is already twisted

simoxpou to bend ~~pole~~ pole over

nipʔatatan = nipʔatatan to crumble,
break up (tu)

knipelpel lo⁷isikunkunt⁷to
~~set~~ I broke apart all its joints

suklep = nit^hoy to be able

knicaglewhe I have him by the throat

pta⁷agltw I grabbed him by the throat

kulmamil losiptu I'm g. to pierce your ^{for you} ears

hukuš^ho kiswoloyi I let it fall

šwogšⁱo = šnokokⁱo It has a spine

huk₁kuwewenwu I'll put them on top of each ^{other}

ciwak²antš they are on top of one another

oxkon to kneel

lačil si⁷i⁷alšaqš^kunapaš⁷an cina⁷akawayu
many people surf-fish on horse back

huk₁nunowo hesix⁷ep me paro con esta pied

čnop it is blunt

cmel it is sharp-pointed

nutapi to take inside

knagiwew⁷ six⁷ep a carry a Stone while ^{swimming}

oqtomoy V=I to singe

ciyolkoli (< koyili) lokak²ow

~~they left the road... & went around~~
they went around the oak tree

il = -in

=ntš

- cikene ti²iy they went around again
- ʔan koxlok I have something in my mouth
- ʔaʔutap^v pespibata already pounded ^{moisten} &
- hukʔutap I eat pespibata thus
- koxpoloyi I ~~turn~~ turn my foot crookedly
- neʔe koč I am wet
- cicalʔowow the white of my eye
- ʔalušyoxoč ʔišteq he has blue eyes (lit. mixed
- čušyoxoč ʔišteq está rebelto (cf -yoxon
- čnipak driftwood
- ʔalahuki lulʔil something is g. to happen
- hukeqwel siʔel ʔan hüksiltaptap
- I'll make a necklace, I'll alternate the colors
- kšaxliytkwu I alternate the colors
- čpaxič = špaxič it has a skin
- no ʔan kpeqe I'm ~~thou~~ thirsty
- ʔilčēt pmaxyet how did you get up?
- ʔilčēt ~~ka~~ lpmayt how did you pass the evening
- ʔilqupeqe where are you going [p^he]
- kpetep sipapel kikakalcunuwus kikiwepwep
- I folded a paper and use it to swat ~~A~~ flies

V-9
~~V(U)~~
V-9

č'lowilow¹ [č'low¹low¹] ground is uneven

c'p'ow¹p'ow¹[nli] it is crooked [goes crookedly]

ʔaɣ¹ch¹um¹ sign/signal

Kekš¹ kay kaʔalmu — el no mas no — ?

c¹ič¹už¹ he hooked/stabbed it

AB h¹ʔkič¹ič¹už¹iyuw I will hook it for you

Kumel no good

Kumel ʔiku no es bueno home

alpupun to go around all corners

- ʔ¹uq¹aʔaš¹ stinger (of bee)

c-hin-mow honey (of bee)

ʔiskanskon¹ʔin worms/insects

la¹xu like la¹xu ʔi¹sa¹w¹ like day
la¹xu muhu he¹iš¹t¹t¹q it has eyes like an owl

- i¹sa¹xš¹ / ʔi¹sa¹xš¹ nit

pi¹ ni¹ č¹il pš¹ik do you have lice?
me — no

č¹loy¹ič¹o¹y¹ — č¹loy¹č¹loy¹ič¹lo¹o¹y¹ tadpole

AB ve ethno — magic infant that cries in criegas

ʔalxu¹a = lloran saca lo de las brazas!

ačtštš to ~~pull~~ pluck beard
 čač^hačtštš redup'd

ʔtʰtʰ ʔ are there many? me, laʔmitʔ no, few
 yitiʔiškʊmʔ u hamu kaʔiškʊmʔ u 5 or 10?

čechu he sneezes

čechu he is sneezing

kečechu I am sneezing

ʔiyaʔgiya hawk sp

qoʔo he laughs

qoʔqoʔo laughing

čogog^ho coughs

čogʔogog^ho coughing

ʔataxa < ʔal-ʔax-Vn to string bow
 so, thus also maybe with chuxchuxmen

ʔwe toyon ʔwata - duck sp

ʔwe plant like cypress. ʔušmatʔ [ʔušmatʔ]
 pinacate sp.

laʔka

[kʰwili] kʰwili
 calandria

re ethno nowo nowo, neʔe skitwo stop stop, it's already
 + ʔaxi speech → ①

plus glottal shift

	B	I
ʔawhaʔ	ʔaway	ʔawaʔ
B ʔaʔayas	-	ʔakaʔaks

ʔamʔay	ʔamay	ʔamʔay
ʔamʔ	ʔamʔin	ʔamʔeŋ
ʔamaŋt		

B ʔan-ʔimimin	aʔemɛn	
	ʔalaʔemɛn	
B	I	V
ʔansix	ʔastɔ	ʔalɛtɛx

ʃoqʃ / hoqʃ gall
 ʃipuk MV hipuk elbow

		B	I
ʔtʔt	-	ʔiʔi	ʔeʔe

(

si- + Verb

kaksunuwus siktimes lo'katiwalčmuyuyhu	I use it for fastening my	cover
knutaltuč sikicūq	I stab with both hands	
kičūq la'čš siktoqololi	I hold the lance under my arm all the time	
masix siktipoyoqo lo'kaquyiwaš	I drill 3 holes in the quyiwaš	
mitmiti sikkaqalaw	I chip off little pieces	
mitmiti sikse'qe	I take little pieces off	
ki kxiliwaš sikana'a'ay lo'kalšuwešteqenpi	I check out the grain	(of wood)
kqalcik sikaqsik	I tie it pulling tightly	
mu'alušho 'isamixipus	he won't give up what they won	
hesikuxčik	my saliva - that which I spit	
yila'a 'išna'al	it all goes	
čnuxaxanpi 'ištipecy	he tends to be with people	
čaqčhum 'isnetus	he likes what he is doing	
* 'alcutiwiy 'iš'ipuč	he changed what he said	
che'qe 'ishiliyiwyw	it took away his sadness	
NB husip šuhušnehet	he will ^{say} decide what he will do	
'al'alumuwus 'imuhusnetus	he advises him not to do it	

Odd correspondences

V 'alixwošk'oloy = I 'oloxwošk'oloy duck sp.
 V ipčeyewu = I ipč'iyiwın to be shiny
 V šošoy = I šoyin to be dark, black
 V 'ohoy = 'oyini other

p1507

exact kwanznanɪ idiomatic correspondences of shifted words

V čaqwin = I hawala only; no more BV -tɪŋ = I tɪx eye, face

V aqtipalyɪt - I aqtipalkhɪt to suck in

√ -noqš I lokin

exact correspondence of xaxanɪt semantic domains of I B V

-sa tooth, fishhook, arrow head of flint

-'axpilil root, bowstring, nerve, sinew

stray morphology

1) wati- takes stem redup: čuwatipowpow it is marked XXX

2) c -> s after vowel, including ki 'and'

kisiyaliwesmes and they are crosswise

3) nom ? lo'kayičuqa'aš the spear (ičuq - to pierce)

lo'kashilaq kayičuqa'aš the handle of the spear

4) uninflected forms: 'ulyi - long knowowo - short
šuštow 'iuqtawiy boiling stone for making tortillas

5) -Ø derivative -alien forms
cuqtawiy - ~~šhāxmak~~ his tortilla *hmes'e's - lo'kakhtmes^{pl}*
čuqtawiš - he's making tortillas *ʔisoj - ʔisoj^{pl} hand plume*

lo'ka'apuškeye'eš - a hook : 'iš'apuškey - its hook

š ʔičkuhuna'aš : -'ičkuhu defense weapon (± alien)

6) 'i- with no 'al- in

camsalaqwa'ay 'isamaxipe they work (flint) smooth

camsukuyitus 'isamkaqalaw they beautify it by chipping...

čp± 'alhu'ampuq čp± which they are going to insert

7) alternative appositives

čelsiku 'ishe - che 'iselsiku bone bead

'iw 'imaqš - maqš 'i'iw flint knife

lo'ka'axaxč^{pl} Ka'axaxč^{pl} male chicken

K-	K-iš-	K-y-	-it	
P-	P-iš-	P-y-	-il	-iyuw
C-	C-iš-	C-y-	-us	-wu
		C-am		

- tetehe'eš mother +alien
- kokoñi'iš father + alien
- 'amina'aš elder brother + alien

break final vowel, like I yal-

*same in B welic^v hunt
welic^v go to hunt*

ksukupin - I light lamp, ksukupi'in - I go to light the lamp

VENTURENO

Stray Morphology 2

ikpaw carry on head
 ʔikpaw ne?tʔ carrying many 9-5

- pi as transitivizer, -Vč as intransitive
- šuxulčiyič to be bad, worthless (intr)
- aqčiyinpi to be fed up with (tr)
- aqčiyinpiyuč to be fed up, disgusted

agentive ʔal- can occur with nominalizing -šaš, -VʔVš

- ʔalaqkumaʔaš a grateful one
- ʔalaqčhumaʔaš an agreeable one
- ʔaltipnowonowonitʔiš a well-behaved one
- NB šuxulčiyičitʔiš = ʔalčuxulčiyič a worthless, bad one
- ʔalaqčhumaš he is in love
- ʔalaqčhumaʔaš something desired

ʔal- and aḡ- in interchange

- ʔamalaqčhum = ʔalamaqčhum he likes them

niku niku
 who knows?
 ʔalniku who knows

si- when

sisununa sisisinaywu
 when they begin to put them on

payikula qnowognowo
 even tho they are shoot

kwe loʔka sluyet ʔan husaxstew
 for the knot will dry

cigist loʔkapan walitʔin siyitaxst ʔipstewel
 ʔaxipeneš lulʔisukituro and then they figure how many
 they look at the log boards they can get out of it

-a ?

neʔe kuš 0 loʔkamišup a - I left the land, didn't I?

kwe - but

muhuknaʔal ʔwe laʔhukunilikē
 I didn't want go, but I will just stay

laʔkuwa despues

before I begin to chip ...

sents

no'an kušqal lo'kamitipin I open the door
ksutapi lo'kakšuwawšqali'šš I drive the wedge

7am-7al-

- no'an ksutap lo'kašuwawšqali'šš

šwawšqal it is split

'ap 'i'al(waš)qal a split house (abode walls split)

'cunihik 'ishe a bone pestle

šuwawštiuwšqali'šš 'ishe a bone wedge

'ayapilili' 'i'amalsaxixe he'ismit a cowrie shell with a rubbed-off ^{back}

no'an kxm ksaxixe sa'ayapilili' ksunuwus sixip I rubbed down a
cowrie shell ~~griam~~ grinding on a stone

'almištqiš 'išaxixeneš a rubbed-down keyhole-limpet

suwaya 'ishe 'i'alhayayanus pendant made of spongy bone

'alqap 'i'am'alsukuyitus camsunuwus 'ištu'waš šiqasš

a mortar that they decorate (?) using abalone shell

camsutapwi 'isap they put them in their house

'alqap 'išu'peyeš camsunuwus lo'is'ayapilili' he'ispanayi'iw

a mortar decorated with cowrie shells on the rim

cameqwelus [^š'išaxšinapi] lo'ka'ayapilili' they make moulds for the ^{cowrie shell}

camsutapi lo'kasutiyik lo'kasu'pey ka'alqap they inlay in moulds

the ornaments of the ~~morta~~ mortar

'alqap 'išu'peyeš samsutapi sa'ayapilili' a ~~mxxx~~ decorated, they

lay in beads

peyeš 'i'al'il 'is^hin'ayapilili' he'ispanayi'iw mortar which is inlaid

with cowries around the edge

'alqap 'i'amalsu'pey mortar which they ornamented

'alqap 'i'amalsutapi mortar which they brought in

ksunuwus pake'et 'iṣhepšle čaqwin hesutiyi'it ma'am lo'kasha

I use one lip only; the teeth are turned inside

see ma'am slip for sentences and word order

'iṣkoṃ 'iṣqawawha pake'et 'ismoto ka lo'moto 'iṣkoṃ 'iṣqawawha

said of the double-winged one

ča 'iya ckiyimi lo'isiiwi arrowhead with the straight cutting edge

lakansupkonoqš psuwesmes, lo'kašamam, lo'kapkonoqš 'an caxukumu

if you cut it transversely, you cut it round like the full moon

pake'et 'is'elsiku xip 'i'alnunahiya one soapstone bead

čuwaštiwołkoy] 'iṣhinwaština'al lo'ispanayi'iw lo'is'ik hemiti'ipi
camkini'it

a groove runs about it on the outside

xip 'i'alwelexäpi šimaqš stone for pasa pā pedernal

khin 'ispik siwi, pake'et 'ištik, ksukowowo unglossed

he'ištik kalmus 'ičaxipeneš kquluwal he'išliyik lo'kashē kiksina

lo'ka'alipčeyewu at the other unworked end I bore the middle

and place the crystal

ksupiliy ksunuwus siyop I stick it on with tar

kmexwe lo'kashē he'alalpay I grind away the upper part of the bone

kikušho 'iṣhepšle lo'ispanayi'iw lo'kačikunutawaš and leave a lip

at the edge of where the joint was

'ihī 'ismit lo'ka'alipčeyewu the crystal has many faces

'alipčeyewu 'i'al'ihī ['ismit
'išwoqš unglossed

also say 'ihī 'ismoto

pake'et 'ismoto 'an xa'ax, ka lo'ka čohoy 'an syuq-čiči unglossed

člewuč ['iyiwššiwāš of cover of brains
xpax 'icpax 'isipi

he'isu'pey 'an musil čohoy kin ckuyit there is no other like this

ornament, and it is strange

su'pey 'i'allupake'et a singular, unique ornament

3 senis

he'isu'pey 'an caqni 'iś'alteqpeneš 'i'almoxwol'koy this ornament resembles two wheels stuck together

khin 'ishe siwǎ I take a deer bone

ki [knikot and I break it
knikla

ki kaqulmow sulkuwilpi and I select that which is proper

kikmexwe kaksuyuqmiti and I grind it slender

kaksunuwus siktimes lo'kaktiwalčmuyuyhù and use it for pinning ^{my cover} _{enc}

kunpštu 'i'alixwalilik he'iswotol'koy ornament has mottled circumference

čil 'iśmištǎq heliyǎk it has a central hole

ka 'isamtipolyoqo he'iswotol'koy and they drill holes on its ^{circumference}

cwotol'koy 'ishin 'alčǎčǎ its sharp points go around circumference

lo'kaštǎpiq kashin 'alčǎčǎ 'an [camtipoyoqo lo'kashin 'alčǎčǎ
čil 'iswalwa'al

'an 'ihǎ the points are more numerous (than the holes)

— khin 'ispǎk siwǎ

pake'et 'ištǎk ksukowowo ki kakaxipe

heksununa 'iśliyǎk ki ksičǎčǎ

peyeš 'i'alka'aš lo'kǎkš lo'kaskuwilpina'aš a mortar that sits ^{by itself}

ckǎyǎmi lo'iswotol'koy 'is'amamǎ its circumference (= sides)

is straight

su'pey xa'ax 'iśmištǎq kinupan cwotol'koy lo'kaštǎpoyoqoniš

'an cwesmes the hole is transverse

su'pey sa'alaskumu 'iśmištǎq ka 'isamtipoyoqo he'alalpay

said of pendant



su'pey 'i'alaskumu 'ištǎk camtipoyoqonus ki he'liyǎk 'an čil 'iśmišt

said of ornament



ke'siqunpštu 'an cameqwelus 'is'hin'alixwililik, they make it w groov

ciwesmes lo'kashinšwaština'al they run crosswise (the grooves


kquluwesmes siktipoyoqo heliyik I bore transversely
 kšwayanič šitopoyoqoniš sa'ayapililil lo'ismit I have cowrie earring
 ktipoyoqo he'ismit lo'ka'ayapililil I bore a hole thru cowrie's back
 su'pey 'i'alxa'ax 'išmištīq, a big-holed ornament
 ki he'alalpay 'an cil 'iš'uliš it's handle is on top
 ka'iswal lo'kaštīk kašuliš its hole is on top of handle
 kpuqwu ksunuwus simiyaš I string them with cord
 kisiyaliwesmes and they are crosswise
 ksupiliiy lo'ka'axipeneš ka'pon I tar the worked piece of wood
 kinupan ksinay lo'kasu'pey and then I put on the ornaments
 k^hin lo'ka'anqinkinini I take the little bead
 ksilikenpiwu lo'kamašak I set it in the tar
 kikušqe'te kištapli I press it and it sinks in
 no'an kšutapšu sa'anqinkinini I inlay beads
 ksinay he'ispanayī'iw I put them on the edge
 ksilike kaknapali pake'et I put it up the end on one
 kikkimiyi'ī lo'kačohoy then I make another
 kičuwaštitu 'ismaxna'al 2 rows
 'iškom šikšūwaština'al 'išlewuč sištuwaš muštī'ī'n he'išliiyik
 I put two rows of conch-shell pieces near the middle
 pake'et 'ištik 'an kšūwaštimiti ki lo'kačohoy 'an kse'espet
 kiksuxomho lasulkumula'a su'ampī
 sufficiently for it to ladle with
 khin lo'ishe 'is'ik lo'kašī'iw kaxipè 'ismotò kakuxšak lakušo
 sičohoy 'ismotò
 lo'ištīk 'an cil 'išaxipeneš 'ulyi kinupan cōičī the point is
 worked long and it is pointed
 cil 'ishe ša'alma'muč ka sa'almoniš there are hollow bones and solid bor.

5

sents

10-5

camšuwōšnoqš kx kisamaqic'ic' camsununa lo'kašwošnoqš

said of  shaped drill point

cameqwelus 'išhepšle lokašustow he'ispanayi'iw they made lips
on the edge of the boiling stone

masix siktipoyoqo lo'kakuyiwaš ka huya ki huskitwo lo'kašapš

ka'iwexes 'i'ixpaniš I make 3 holes so that the juice will drain of:

ksacimim lo'kaswal kaštuwaš kaqaš ksunuwus siyop I plug the holes
in an abalone shell with tar

ki ka'kaqmila'aš ka he kaxšinapi and I use it for a cup or container

khewali 'ištu'waš yila'a lo'kaswal 'an nayi šiyiqmaš here is a
shell with all its holes plugged

khewali 'ištu'wa š čiyiqmaš 'iswal here is a shell with its holes plugged
of what
he'sixip 'an camixweteqpeyus lo'kapaxat they make this stone in image

cil 'isqawawha he'ismo'oto pake'et ka lo'kačohoy ka he'ismit ka lo'iste.
(whale) has fins on its side ...

kkawal lo'istik kashilaq I make hole in base of handle

ki ksupiliy and I tar it

ki kšutapšu lo'ka'iw ka maqš and I stick in the flint blade

ksalaqwa'ay ki šutišihic I do it well and it is strong

chilaq 'i'aliwalqlay ki he'alalpay 'an syuqc'ic' the handle is
smooth and it is pointed at the upper end

he'si'ataxač 'an 'alnuna lo'kašhikwi'nuč ka ['awhay
'alwayani
this man is from where the moon rests up

lo'kašuliš 'an caxikihinus lo'kaswotolkoy kxš kašhipuk pake'et
the handle is near one corner

musalaqwa'ay halcaxnapai lo'kašha ka lo'kas'isuw (fish) can't
vomit x out the hook and bait

6 sents

10-6

kanawa škeyšeši lo'kačočoni'š, when the fish catches itself
kuwe lo'kaspu lo'kasha salhe'mišup 'an ske'ey he'is'ik
lo'kačočoni'š ki musalaqwa'ay halcaxnapay lo'kasha
the barb hooks his mouth and he cannot get it out because
of the hook
camsukuyitus 'isamkaqalaw lo'ka'iw kamaqš flint kr
they beautify chipping
ki ka cipčeyewu kipqisš 'an capistululu so that it sparkles and
you see that it shimmers
munaksununa halkaxipe lo'kamaqš before beginning to chip the flint
kixxiliwasš sikana'a'ay lo'kalšuwešteqenpi I check the grain of
hemišup 'an kašnehet lo'kašteleq ka'ewe
ki he'alalpay 'an cil 'iščinoqš 'iškoḿ pake'et 'ismoto
kalo'kačohoy kasmoto unglossed
kiwex lo'ka hihlhl I grind the red ochre
kinupan ksuqpúy (= kšo'o'oč) and I wet it with water
kikakiwex kašakišič and I grind it, when it is ground
kikeqwel sitekmeleš lo'kahihlhl I make a cake of the ochre
ksuyuqčiči he'ištik 'iškoḿla'a kikuyik 'an ksastipil
I make it plummet shaped
NB khin su'ulwaxiš sa'axwi kašnehet lo'kalmasix sotoyi 'is'espət
ki 'is'ulyina'aš 'an lasulkumula'a šuštapl lo'išyiwiš lo'kayul'iw:
I take a strip of bueskin 3 fingers broad and long enough to
go around the head
kaxaxxa'ax 'an kquluteqpey sa'anqinkiniš

kakčoho kikquluteqpey sa'anqinkiniš pake'et 'ismoto ka lo'kačohoy
kasmoto ka heliyik lo'kašlewšlewu'uč kaxaxxa'ax 'an kquluteqpey
sa'anqinkiniš

7 cents

10-7

he liyik 'an sameutapi 'išlewuč sixa'ax 'ištu'waš 'iqaš

in the middle they put big pieces of abalone shell

keqwelus 'isixwalilik lo'ka'oqotowol xxi I make grooves on the flute

kilakiwi lo'kashe I only cut the bone

kšuwosotolkoy yila'a lo'kakawi I make go around the x cuts

ki kseqtewesmeswu čnapali he'alalpay and I cut it across on top

yiti'iškom 'ishin swotolkoy it has six rings, tiers

yila'a 'an cisupeyič si'i'alyuqmiti 'išlewšlewu'uč 'ištu'waš šiqāš

all inlaid with narrow pieces of red abalone shell

yila'a cikini'it lo'kaš'uliš ka'iw ka'ulyi

yila'a ciyele'ex ki ciyalismoto side by side

kšexš timeše'eš 'i'al'il 'ishin spolkowowo he'alalpay člu'ulyi'in

it has a longish ball at the top

hesixip 'an camixwa ha camixweteqpeyus 'išamamš lo'ka^{ku,}'ataxač

NB ne'e 'ihš it is much already

ka'ašnim 'ipeqweluč hesikaphe since when did you make this coffee?

ne'e kše'qeč kayu' kotoyi I am undressing to go to bed

čhuweyepš šikayu' šna'al he asks permission to go

ʔan

noʔan k(ʔal) aš^hunaš I command

suʔpey xaʔax ʔišmištīq kinupan cuwotolkoy loʔkaštīpoyoniš

ʔan cuwesmes the hole is transverse

...ki heʔliyik ʔan čil ʔišmištīq there is a hole in the center

keʔsiqunpštu ʔan cameqwelus ʔišhinʔalixwililik they make it w grooves

ki heʔalalpay ʔan čil ʔišuliš its handle is on top

hešaʔataxač ʔan cīcuqit hesikqip this man stabbed me in the belly

loʔištīk ʔan čil ʔišaxipeneš ʔulyi the point is worked long

loʔkaʔalyuqmiti ʔan ʔulyi the drill-point is long

khewali ʔištuʔwaš yīlaʔa loʔkawwal ʔan nayi iyiqmaš here is a shell

with all its holes plugged up

heʔsixip ʔan camixweteqpeyus loʔkapaxat they make this stone in image of a whale

...ki heʔalalpay ʔan syuqčiči and on top it is pointed

loʔkašuliš ʔan caxikihinus caxikihinus loʔkaswotolkoy kašhipuk pakeʔet

its handle is near one corner

NB kacipčeyewu kipqisi ʔan capistululū

NB hesixip ʔan kašnehet loʔkaʔapuškeyeʔeš this rock is like a hook

čil ʔišwašnaʔal heʔliyik ʔan čwixapš it has channels woven in middle

NB kqisi ʔišwaštinaʔal ʔan šwx šwošotoyi I see that the line is oblique

loʔkaswotolkoy ʔan ʔihī ʔiswey its circumference is scalloped

loʔkašičkuhu kaʔiw ʔan ceqpeyus si tokoy the sword defending instrument resembles tok

loʔkašʔuliš ʔan masix ʔištokšlolo the handle has 3 clenched fists

hesaʔaltaqaš ʔan musaxukumū this bead is not round

loʔištīk ʔan ksupiliy I plug the base

loʔištīpiq ʔan kakalpoʔon the base is what I put in my moxh mou

NB noʔkakaqsik I tied it

NB - ʔan precedes main clause and after subordinate

khanpqisi halcalotoyi lahuki ʔan mupsuyawatihin when you see s. throw

away. don't pick it up

MA
10-10

Multiple NP's

with pieces [of...]

čimanwayanič lo'kasqoloki 'išlewšlewu'uč her belt is hung ~~with pig~~^{pie}

kquntiteqpey lo'kaqunpštu lo'kakqoloki I sew qunpštu to my belt

Coordinate Verbs

kuli'is̄ knuwancpake'et I hold it in one hand

kuli'is̄ knutaltuō hesikpu I hold in both hands

kaxipe ksuumoxkowowo ksukumli lo'is̄tik I work it and make it diagon to the p

sunuwus as
kikmexwe kak suyugmiti good example
ground H. slender

ugstahay ugstay to be used

atam 7mhel plant sp
aguh 7k'uk to bump into
7ayu?what Gasket sp.

xip 7ihininaš 'ipayas
"Stone belonging to the payas game"

D's C Story 23

Ms 6017
Box 5
Fld 1-6 T-1

Coyote & the Daughter of Slow. Venturoño 1913

1 pake[?]et [?]1 sqilmes [?]an capi ^{glur} lo[?]ka[?]ša[?]ay tslow[?]
one island went by canoe the daughter of eagle

kaskumili lo[?]kas^hin skoyi[?]is later = sqoyis
and went to the kelp bed (where she fished)

ki kasagsik lo[?]ka štomol
her her boat (w/ seaweed)

kash^huna[?]al tokaswaš[?]tuyaš[?] lokašwaš[?]tuyaš[?]
let go her cord/line her line

^{glur} t^hwo šičočont[?]tš[?]
some fish

našt[?]tt[?] (blurry too) kisqiliwaya lo[?]ka[?]alštptš[?]iwaš[?]
(while she was fishing) looked over (a cliff on shore) coyote

kisqiliwaya kisqist lo[?]ka ša[?]ay slow[?]
and he looked down and saw the daughter of eagle

kaslike kasqittw[?]cus
he sat down and watched her

kinupan cxiliwast kašip: ā čeglemlemš[?]
and he looked carefully & said beautiful & brilliant

kasog^hwoli lo[?]ka[?]alštptš[?]iwaš[?] kašip he kašip
he thought coyote & said oh he said

no[?]an huktapi heso[?]o[?] ki hukna[?]al
I will get into the water and I will go

ki hukuli[?]iš lo[?]kač^hinč^ha hukse[?]ge lo[?]kaš[?]išuw
I will grab the hook I'll cut off the bait

kasxiliwast lo[?]kaš[?]a[?]ay [?]iclow[?] [?]an čeglemlemš[?]

2 kačtinikoyi kasmtkt[?]t[?] kišūlii[?]š[?] lo[?]i senhes
he backed up & retired & he took his breath

cukumula[?]a susuto[?]op kihuskumili lo[?]kasqoyis
he estimated his dive and his arrival at the seaweed

kasyet cmagutinaʔal kašnaʔal kisutoḡop T-2
he came running he went diving

ya kašuliiš loʔka kʰinča
and quailed the hook

kašušmaxyet mucuyaʔušʰo šepšiwāš loʔkašʰinča
she pulled her line up no want to let go coyote hook

kuwe mušalaḡwaʔay kiwēcʰaxšilčāš kamušušʰo
but he couldn't because he was caught and he couldn't
(by the paw) let go

loʔka šʰaʔay clow čušmaxyet loʔkašwašʰuyas
daughter of eagle pulled up her line

kuwa kuwe mušehēc ki la šušʰo
but she couldn't and she let go

3 kaʔalštepšiwāš lamitii
and coyote a little while

kišušmaxyet loʔkašʰaʔay clow kašušmaxyet loʔkašʰuyas

kanawa smaxsukitʰwo loʔisyetwēs hešōʔo
then pulled out (from) his head (from) the water

~~kasas~~ kikasḡoʔo ka loʔkašʰaʔay ʔiclow ʔan čipus:
and he laughed

ha pi hu šepšiwāš
you are

hešipytwēs ʔan hušʰošoy kalosipteleg
your head will be dark and your tail

laxux kayuptt kašušʰo kaswalaʔap loʔkašʰaʔey slow
vieja fish will be your name and she let go of him + went ashore

4 kuwe mušil ʔalyam (<camyaʔam)
they receive home-coming goat

ki la škekeks kisalitkty ʔasku ʔalxilatit halcyam
~~wanted to be alone~~ & she hoped someone would spot her would receive her at-shore

kuwe mušil kikasilikēnpi sixtp
no one and she sat on a rock

kanawa swolowoyoʔo
when it was mid-afternoon

Kisamkum ša'algapáč kisiyuw lo'ka š'agškunapay
 came the birds and they ate what she had caught

Kanawa šwelegš ?i swolowoyo?
 was past 3:00

Kisitpen lo'kašap kalo'kaskoko? kasuyana?
 She remembered her house her father & she wanted to go home

Kuwe čnuxilwelič kiwe mušil cackaw
 she was ashamed because no her luck

Kašagšlimas
 birds had eaten?

Kasagnitoxlolkoy salnetpi kačočone?eš
 & she thought what had happened to fish-coyote

5 Kastenus kekš ctenus laxux kašip:
 she called him herself

kumel sikalnetpi kšuwagmas lo'ka?alšeptšiwas
 I had bad luck I rejected

mušil čohoy k^hin caq^hwin kay
 there is no other but ~~only~~ only he

~~Kay~~ ~~him~~ ?ulawe kšuwagmas
 if I hadn't rejected him

?an naštete hukigiste he?išup
 still we will see the world

?an kašte čixipš = ?we would have seen the world ~~and~~
 name completed be more perfect & beautiful

kiwe lo'ka?alšeptšiwas kayusegwel lo'ka?alšeptšiwas
 because he will make

?an mukalčuwagmas kin he?išup kakalčuwagmas
 I won't reject him but the world I reject

kepte no nelu kalinehet čagwin
 how what I will do make ~~only~~ alone

suktapi heso?o? ksetel he?išup suksukumli
 I dive into water I name the world that I will fulfill
 realize, attain?

calinaxye⁷et ʔišagškutalpuč
begin to appear fish

T-4

6

kaštapi heso⁷
she dived into the water

kw kuwe mušalaqwa⁷ay halčtapi yela⁷a he⁷išamame
but she couldn't get in call her Godly

čagwin he⁷isgalcunalmu
only parts below her waist

kasaxwi⁷il saltapi heso⁷
but no more went into the water

ki he⁷išytweš ʔan lačt ʔisku kasaxwi⁷il
& her head was always human and no more

~~kasaxwi⁷il~~

Kišamuštewu ʔištuwaš šu⁷ušgoyinaš
they found shells of shell fish

Kašičočont⁷eš ka⁷sa⁷altetč kčulikčul
and a fish called coral snake

yela⁷ čwelegš ʔišeglememš
all excels bright & beautiful

he kaša⁷ay clow ʔan muswe⁷
did not sleep

ka⁷la ki lačt he⁷simuwu kašnalna⁷al
& always in the sea moves ~~about~~ about

Kaypi ki he⁷isgalcunalmu ki he⁷mišup
from waist down in water and below

ʔan čteleg⁷ ʔičočont⁷eš
tail of fish

6½

ki kay kept hesiki ʔalgist la⁷kekš lo⁷kacha
now what we see only her teeth

kal⁷unili ka ʔag~~toom~~ ʔagicu⁷um
remain as a sign

si he mišup ʔalnuna
that he was born on land - came from the earth

7 naštett kiswalaʔap ʔisqilmes šaʔaltehtč xalašát
 still went to shave of island called S. Nicolas

sapeti hesi xepxep kiswe
 came up on the rocks & slept

Kasamyantii čigungunup kišiyuštet
 came to the beach in children & found her

cwe kašnehet loʔka ʔalaqša
 sleeping like one dead

cixiliwast kuwe heʔismagtunuč ʔišamamēt
 they saw well but half

ʔan ku ki heʔištelegʔ

ʔan čočontʔeš camxiliwastett

kuwe ʔanwa čil ʔiskuʔtet kaʔišogwo ʔan čušexš
 but woman breasts hair was loose

kinupan čtept ka he ʔululyi loʔkašogwo
 very thick (hair) long her hair

ka ʔispu ʔan ku

ka siwelegenus kasimekteʔe kuwe naštett
 they drew back & were at a distance but still

8# sixiliwast kisigist
 they saw clearly & they saw

ʔisilike kišušmey loʔkašogwo kašmiš
 she sat & she stroked her hair & cried

9 ʔaya ʔaya wanima ʔaya wanima hay woe de mi amor.

ʔaya ʔaya wanimā

ʔalisuwalatlat ppulkuyaš wanima it makes your tender heart

ʔaya wanima ʔaya wanima ʔaya ʔaya wanima

yete wanima come my beloved

words are in swaxetl dialect of Cr.

10

lo⁷ka qungunup kanawa siyitaxkume⁷el
 the boys when penetra⁷on bien

T-6

lo⁷kašmiš kašmag⁷tunuč kaku
 the mermaid

Kikasina⁷al lo⁷kasi⁷ap
 & they went

kisitiyepus lo⁷kašiwopowaš cigist ⁷išmag⁷tunuč
 & they told their grandfather they saw

si⁷xanwa kašičočont⁷tš cwe⁷ cixili⁷wast
 they distinguished

Kasiwelegenus Kasinowo ka⁷ lo⁷ka⁷xanwa
 they got to one side se paravon

ckuta ~~kisile~~ kisilike kišušmey lo⁷kašogwo kikašmiš
 got up & sat up & stroked her hair

čmiš kuwe čnew lo⁷išpoš

nelčip

~~she~~ what did she say (grandfa. asks)

lo⁷išmiš ~~kašununa~~ kačununa
 principia

lo⁷kaqunup ⁷išmiš : ⁷aya⁷aya wanima etc
 the boy cried the song p. 9

11

cusamha lo⁷ka paktwaš

kikašipus pake⁷et lokašunu:

he ša⁷almiš kuwe mu⁷almiš kin
 one who cries not that she cries but

⁷alexpenus lo⁷kalčuwag⁷maš
 sings una repentmienta

Kihunawa k⁷pt ⁷an ⁷aluxni⁷nik⁷oyi
 en lo presente repents

Kiwt mušil čohoy
 because is no other

kin čaqwin lo'kaša'ay clow lo'kalmatš' he swaxetl
 but only who disappointed from swaxetl

čil'is'te cpe'ey he'is'up
 is called flower of the world

yela'a he'is'tuwaš' siqašt' kisič'oč'one'tš'

kalokash'in kč'ulikč'ul hesimuwu 'an yela'a

kaš'et'et ket' hesi.kihin'cgilmes'
 are his plants now our island

k'uwe kaš'te xalaš'át
 is called

xalaš'át said to mean laurel
 or victory

Text Ventureño

čiy'išmoč ʔištešiwāš ki sisagutegenpi
gather the wise versavon sobre

hal ʔalalinetpi he šalgišeniwtw yelaʔa heʔišup
ha ~~how~~ ^{how} it was he who sees us (sun) all the earth

kaʔ loʔkalʔiʔaqšà nelusinetus ki husiyagtaxwuyi
& those who are dead how they will do to come back to life

kuwe čip pakeʔet ciyulegpeyus Kagunupmawa
and said one they so follow the sun

ki kaštapi ʔismittept Kagunupmawa laʔčt' heš'iʔišʔišaʔaw
they enter his door the sun's always every day

čamagša yelaʔa heʔišup kanawa ckuʔum ʔiš'ipuč
they die in all the world when at the time comes what he says

loʔkakanaaay kaʔalštepiš loʔkalʔaqšà
the first wise man who died

kuwe husagtalwtyi pakeʔet sulnetpi loʔka kisusamha
he has to revive equally

loʔkakipoš čagwin sulnetpi ʔan čohoyiʔi šuš'itegšàʔāš
in our heart a thing different color
(dead will be born same, but different color)

loʔkasiʔaxiwil ʔan čil ʔištwaš hešgas. caliwozogloʔop
in that place was a sand dollar it is face down

cuskuyswù pakeʔet šipaktwaš loʔkašiwetwù
he shows them me an old man to his companions

ʔigist he šalʔaliwozogloʔop ʔan he ʔišliyek ʔaʔapliʔiš
look ye at what is face down here in middle of east

kašnapay Kagunupmawa ki kašnaʔal ʔalkulul
uses & goes to west

kašulegpeyus yelaʔa loʔkaʔenthesēš kaʔiyušʰo
they follow him all the spirits who leave

loʔkasiʔamamè. ki kaskuʔum Kagunupmawa
their bodies & reaches sun

loʔkasmittept kaštapi ka loʔkaʔenthesēš citapi
his door & enters souls enter

Kasku⁷um Ki ckitwo Kagunupmawa
 when it is time for sun to emerge

Kasxilattemü Kila⁷ēt susukumli
 it is his duty always fulfills

Kiwē Kaš⁷teq lo⁷ka⁷alamš⁷uš⁷pawawhani
 for his eye abyss (those in abyss?)

č⁷ugš⁷tahayuswu y⁷tla⁷a lo⁷ka⁷,⁷a⁷p⁷hesalmaxuyulku
 lights for them all who are in ~~at~~ the dusk

Ki Ka samagtaxwtyi
 & they resurrect

JPH notes

- 1) c- čiš- ci- cam- > s- šiš- si- sam-
when preceding sound is V or diphthong
- 2) si → ʔ₁ before s/s̃
article si- + subject markers too
- si ci- > ʔ₁ si-
si čiš- > ʔ₁ šiš-
si cam > ʔ₁ sam-
- so si-c-xep > ʔ₁ sxep
si-c-iš-xep > ʔ₁ išišxep

mention n/t ~~x/q~~

š̃ > č
s7c

l > n x > q as part of Ventuveno
expressive consonantal ablaut (diminutive pejorative)
thus - micganagan < xanaxan lower jaw

"Sibilants in Ventuveno [Chumash]"

MS No 3057 1916

from Smithsonian Inst

xuyuw to lie, tell lie
čil šikagš I have a wound in my hand
yugnaʔal to be stretched out (eg rope/snake) on ground
salotoyi sipaʔ the stick is
cxoyič hesikpu I have blisters on my hand
toč̃in to kick cf I toč̃in to pinch
cwatinogš to be winded, out of breath?
axput (mush) to bubble as it boils
put put sound of boiling mush
V hin = I kuj to take hold
yes cub
ušt̃u to hope

VI ʔalč̃um = θ ʔanč̃um

Lex-Z

VP

k^hanp^gist halcalotoyⁱ lahukⁱ ʔan mup^suyawatⁱhin
k^hewt mukaphin when you see something thrown away,
don't pick it up; it's ~~it~~ not yours

* Kimilčohoy give me another one!

Kasamkimiyi^ʔiywa and they do it again

mitini^ʔi^ʔi kuhušipšel it lacks a little of being done/cooked

Ksuyahin saʔalnehet hesikaltaktak^huy I want a cat
like this one I am holding.

noʔan Kpulhewu Kalmanš^š I am a lost sheep

k^hewt katanikuhku^ʔu they are move high tone (mas gentes)

muhupihin ha!ʔo don't go to fetch water!

nelkaʔaʔan halkiyalku que hova tenemos?

huki ʔalkuʔum kisqewt when will the tide go down?

huk^sutiyetus = huk^sutikumus I'll hold it towards him

ksukumus šaʔataxaxč lomaliyaš I overtook the man on the road

k^hep^t ʔan hukukxex now I'll drink it all up

ʔičnč tree squirrel (dialectic)

ʔiwončte^ʔtš bird's song

oxnog^š to bite in two

čapš soup

knixopi lokapaligip I pull out the plug

V

Lex-3

big bundle V 10 box 747

wansaq split-stick

ciwis rattle

waštap bracelet/anklet

šayugštap anklet

(š)uniwtwt kind of dance (to do —

cux headdress

čiwan̄ts loʔiʃt̄l leg bands - amarradijo

ʔalčuglaš medicine man who named children

ʔalʔuniwtwt one who habla sin fundamente

ʔawicaʔaš kind of dance - coyote dance

ʔawic V. ↑

paxa ceremonial official

siliyek ceremonial altar/center

škak wild grape

ʔalalaxiyeepš [sic] doctor cure

šoxš down

-ʔuya protector (maybe -akuya)

sulayek to put on top

šukweypiyaš one who is poisoned

to poison
šukwey
ʔalcukwey
poisoner

čtqey tapeworm

humaliwt a place

~~ziya~~

-ʔaliwei patiente

nayayt ⊕ walawyü > names

talawiyašwit

šun̄ü Sleepyhead

piluiaw red-sunset clouds

yεzspek cañeludo - big-shinned

} all names too

gram

ʔiškam̄ ʔišʔalʔawic 2 ʔawic dancers iš-ʔal-
ʔiyalaqtpelet̄t those who speak w V. ?

V

ʔohok	cradle hood
ʔutinʔay	cradle
čmenini	?
wow	verb
ʔalwalpštɛht	?
ʔantipšnekey	lizard sp
ʔaliwalqlay	ajolote
xwaʔ	bird name
tipɛš	awl ?
ʔanaqtip	ve aiming, not missing
cwesxeʔe	ve arrow going clear thru
čtapušaʔaš	huichuta - wooden tipped arrow
wiwaʔte	= winatesʔ anvil stone
aqtačum	= oqtočho to go straight thru the air
quyiwaš	= B/I pɛš
ʔewheʔ	?
ʔayuwat	?
yew	gasket
ʔoxoy	= I wačkay large handled gasket
siyeliku	?
ʔanginkɛnɛnɛ	= I ʔagɛlkelele clear leads
šywaškumel	to steer boat
stya siyiwalxoyoyo	they fly in a bunch
qatiwɛš	to tie long things side by side?
swonwoqš	it is striped
ninoxš	to break string
maxsuleqpey	to lead by a rope
mowho	to be sweet
uxniwɛweni	to hurry
tɛkɛkɛt	to be rough ?
lwalqlay	to be smooth ?
nuyam	to take down (off wall)?
axsew	to be dry ?
ušnupaha	to fall silent ?

phon

Kopo = God, respected in silyek lang

Lex-5

cugele banner V
paš amole
čKaps 7ipaš gabazo de amole
7ekt7es seaweed sp, used to stop mouths of
people in sweathouse
naxalytkaš ve ceremonial enclosure
7alaxsayay guija
x ipipi (č) to chip at
čiqi lwešqe7e physiognomyst
7ayaka ubari spider?
ogloq to chew
tipayl (hu) damn it!
7agutaptš pespibata ball
kt ultetes dried leaf of sow
wetwet to make lime
nethenas s. burned

gram nel pnetus how do you do it?

šahoway = fear in secret lang of siliyek Lex-6

V

suwogo to teach meal

NB

hukuxmalhič I'll wash (near-by)

hukuxmalhi'ič I'll wash (far away)

ʔuxmalhinaʔaš ~~the~~ soap - amole

čoč amole - vaiza de lavar

šuluwiš name

žiqmay chest/box made of bark

mulus also sweet like ~~a~~ mow

mow finished product of

topo plant

chow a bare hill

tiyet to form ~~a~~ circle

čilcoxlox ʔayaka there is a mystery

agcum to kiss conduct a search

ʔiyalušwototoč registradores (in ceremony)

siliyek ceremonial thing / "center"

koxso place

calpu se representa y va andando / ^{to march} in Fiesta

čagwinpi until later - greeting?

swolowoyo sun it is dipping to west

ugmanšt+kšpi to wash the face

ʔalalhty ~~the~~ elder person axilikoy - to set up...

tiyet-us to tell = wall of mats on poles

ʔaxilikoyeš | ʔimaxatameš dancing ground

kululan to dance a certain dance + song

wafik big basket sp

ʔontokos whirlwind / whirlpool

xonon-us to steal

-nene abueta čušieže oath - damn your

-ʔunu nieta gr. mo.

ʔičunaš whistle

ʔolog to be hungry

šan initiate in siliyek cult

ntw to dance
ntwεš dance V

Lex-7

axinaʔal to dance ?
ʔaxinaʔtš dance
ʔaqmuñeč to be jealous
iwipšū(na) to enthusiastic about
teltmtwit name
tmtwety name: one who causes terror
ʔičkēt loin cloth
how cry... at end of song
taxama skunk
xtʔtɪ a tuña
aqkʔap to pick (eg tuña)
uniytw to look for
ʔaqkʔapéʔtš cactus picker inst
keʔəeg to cut a slot, split
-ag slakay apertura palito de abvir
nipalqayawɪ to twist (trans)
uštəpoki to push
sutayɪ to do gently
ušpete to de-thorn tuña
ušpeteč to be cleaned
simomo prickly pear sp
lcpax to peel
metath naqtəktə to be constipated
šukieʔpeš christian
tiwanskētə apron ; to put on —
-piyač feather skirt
ʔaxwi buckskin
qolokič to put on (a garment)

metath

teket, naqtəktə
təpk = ktəp

təpk walnut

čokšpo? I name

Lex-8

V

Ksiḡom yetipakeʔes kʰeʔenlā ksukutā ʔan kaʔaškam
2 x 5 = 10

masex Ksiḡom kʰeʔen ksukutā ʔan yetiʔiškam
2 x 3 = 6

tēmiya xawt name (div\$ swatched by ~~ca~~ coyote
say tevel in common lang)

topon xelē name - a classy intruder - mixes well

tinoki name - bum intruder (cf I ʔaltinoki)

salyet to ~~cod~~ count

šutiwtyeʔeš seaweed (generic)

čékwē garrapata

glusuy " sp - some insect

~~taḡšpaḡš~~

ʔaltēptēḡič ʔitaštaʔaš bunch grass - interwoven roots

uxš to stink

uḡpuy to spray, spinkle

wiwal to wear thru (trans)

sukul name

miczanagan V masex Ksupelwē I deḡo 3 times

pelwē to pass night / spend time? better

Kawty to cut

uštōnoy to sub (between palms)

moltš eStafiate

supilwtipi to put drop by p drop

šaqšà wound (his wound?) - seems unlikely

-tenék tear, drop

šinayaxš name: rumazon, humo y polvo

~~aḡu~~. aḡuwš to have a cancer

cmatunuʔuw it is hereditary

-nuxš nose

-Kumeltiyuč ve cancer of the nationality

wenla name: without any tranquility

ʔuwantu name: manantel de agua muy misero

sxilalttemü	his duty
xilaltt	prognosticator
qipomō	name; person & place
šoʔo	weather prophet
taliw	to be bitter
	bow
sxt	
maxuyulki	to be dusk
agtaxwtyi	to resurrect [intrins]
kōny	
čtūwāš	hesgas sand dollar
wotogloʔop	to be face down
paktwāš	old man
šiwtnwū	his companions
ʔaʔapli,ʔiš	east
napāy	to rise (eg sun)
(ka)qunupmawa	sun (epic name)
ʔalkulūl	west
ʔišoyēš	feathers of feathered stick
ʔantap	—
kloy	small nocturnal bird
towmwoŋ	nest of kloy (made of wax)
tok	= I
šulkumyašwit	name
šulaywit	name
halāšū	name
kwayayšū	"
xupe, kačantuk	villages
ʔixilelyepuw	sign can la vista

grom ʔigise he salʔaliwotogloʔop
 lookye at what is face down!
 loʔkaʔemhešēš kalʔiyušʰo loʔkasiʔamamē
 the spirits who leave their Gods

čok, wima, ma, nukumpiyas' ?elejewun, šutiwtysš
~~namšū~~ all kinds of dance
 namšū, ?alòw names
 ↳ vestige, trace — free floating cloud

axwic to be covered with
 lokanawnawayiwaš los antepasados
 ?alcinaxkuhu ghost
 Iwan make noise
 ?enhešeš ghost, spirit
 Kažajī to hypnotize self, drink momoy
 ?ažwety shadow
 ušty pulsar - take pulse
 aqutastw(us) to ask question
 ?alčagtišumus woman shaman
 aqutiple have TB
 -?ami elder bro
 yepeyepe song type
 -sap horn
 walapmu door
 walažap to land goat
 matina?al (child) to walk, crawl
 -pa staff
 čpa chuchupate
 žanwawaš old woman
 talatal to bargain ~~barra~~
 ?ispe el semen
 ?alispe to you always want to cover
 pytnh tx " "
 t tñtn to have erection
 -ičele same as I
 sipsapsažap your cuernos