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A Partial Grammar  
of Simplex and Complex Sentences  
in Luiseño

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Linguistics

by

John Frederick Davis

1973

The dissertation of John Frederick Davis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality for publication on microfilm.

  
George Bedell

  
Marlys McClaran

  
William Bright, Committee Chairman

University of California, Los Angeles

1973

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accusative
ABL	ablative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
ADVL	adverbial
ALIEN	alienable
ANIM	animate
COMP	complementizer
CONT	continuous
Cotemp.	cotemporal
DAT	dative
DEF	definitizer
DET	determiner
ENC	enclitic
EXCL	exclamation
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
HYP	hypothetical
I	first person
II	second person
III	third person
IMP	imperative
INSTR	instrumental
INT	interrogative
LOC	locative
MOM	momentary
N	noun
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NUM	number
O	object
PERS	person
PL, pl	plural
P PR	past present
PRED RSG	predicate raising
PRES	present
PreS	pre-sentence
PRON	pronoun
PST	past
REC	recent past
REL	relativizer
REM	remoter past
REP(ORT)	reportive
S	sentence, subject
SG, sg	singular
SUB(ORD)	subordinator
T/A	tense/aspect
V	verb

VITA

March 25, 1932--Born, Dover, England

1953--B.A. 2nd Class Honours in French, Keble College, Oxford

1953-1957--Education Officer in British Royal Air Force

1957--M.A., Oxford

1958--Postgraduate Certificate in Education, Trinity College,  
Cambridge

1958-1962--Teacher of English and French at German State  
Gymnasium, Halepighen-Schule, Buxtehude

1963-1966--Lektor in English Department, Munich University

1966-1968--Postgraduate Diploma in General Linguistics,  
University College, London

1968-1971--Chancellor's Teaching Fellow, Department of Linguistics  
University of California, Los Angeles

1968--M.A. Linguistics, University of California, Los Angeles

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Partial Grammar

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John Frederick Davis

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Professor William Bright, Chairman

The primary aim of this study is to illustrate and explain the structure of the commonest types of simplex and complex sentences in Luiseño, a Uto-Aztecan language still spoken by a few elderly Indians in Southern California (Riverside and San Diego Counties). The data are drawn from three dialects and wherever possible comparative notes are supplied.

The secondary aim is to try to account for the details of these sentence types within a transformational grammatical model incorporating abstract performatives and other higher verbs. The adoption of this approach is nothing more than an experiment to see how well this model can cope with some aspects of the syntax of an Amerindian language. As far as possible the two aims have been kept separate for the convenience of readers who are principally interested in structural details.

The first part of the study examines and classifies various kinds of simplex statements, questions, commands and exclamations,

paying particular attention to the manifestation of tense and aspect in the enclitics and verbal suffixes that characterize each sentence type. Tense and aspect are posited as a hierarchy of abstract higher verbs and it is shown how the members of one class of enclitic (syntactic) can be generated as the reflexes of these verbs in particular configurations. Subsequently the four major simplex sentence types are accounted for by positing a different topmost performative sentence for each in underlying structure. It is then demonstrated that the members of a second class of enclitic (semantic) can be generated as the reflexes of these performative sentences. The discussion of simplex sentences concludes with an appraisal of the application of the performative analysis to Luiseño and points out that the principal weakness is that abstract performatives must be posited with different syntactic behaviour from that of their overt counterparts.

The final part of the study is devoted to a description and classification of three kinds of complex sentence: (a) conditional sentences, (b) sentences containing relative clauses, and (c) sentences containing indirect speech. Simple transformations are provided for the generation of most of these.



## 1. Introduction

The primary aim of this study will be to set out in as clear a fashion as possible the principal details of the most representative types of simplex and complex sentences in Luiseño, a Uto-Aztecan language spoken now by only a handful of elderly Indians living on several small reservations in Riverside and San Diego counties in Southern California. As the language is clearly on the verge of extinction, whatever value this study may have will lie mainly in the preservation of a detailed record of the various sentence types before these become lost for ever. I have therefore attempted to go beyond what is presented in Kroeber/Grace (1960), Malécot (1963, 1964) and Hyde (1971), and wherever possible to provide the reader with notes on the differences and similarities between the speech recorded in these books and that of my own informants.

The secondary aim of this study will be to attempt to account for the details of simplex and complex sentences within a transformational model incorporating abstract performatives and other higher verbs. The treatment must necessarily be sketchy and imperfect, since as a non-native speaker I am not in possession of all the details and, furthermore, this study was written in Europe when I no longer had access to firsthand information from my informants. The reader's indulgence is therefore requested for the occasional gaps in the details and for the occasional inability to reach a decision for want of further information. It should also be stressed that the use of the performative/higher

verb approach should be considered merely as an experiment to see whether this model can cope adequately with some of the aspects of the syntax of an exotic Amerindian language like Luiseño. Little attempt has been made to show that it yields better explanations than other types of analysis.

Wherever possible I have tried to keep these two aims separate so that readers who are unsympathetic towards this approach or who are primarily interested in the details of the language can pass rapidly over the sections dealing with the generation of the particular constructions under discussion.

The data on which this study is based were collected over an eighteen-month period stretching from late 1969 to early 1971. I worked principally with Jim Martinez, a native speaker of Luiseño, who lives on the LaJolla reservation at the foot of Mount Palomar and who was then over eighty but still physically and mentally very robust. He is an excellent informant, and it is to his patience and careful correction that I owe much of my present knowledge of the language. I am also greatly indebted to UCLA Linguistics Department for providing me with the opportunity to visit him regularly every week over this entire period. My second informant was another native speaker, Reginaldo Pachito, who is slightly older than Jim Martinez and lives at the Indian reservation at Pauma, a few miles to the west of Mount Palomar. I worked with him once a week from late July until the end of 1970 and he too proved to be a very willing and competent informant with an excellent command of the language. My debt to him is also con-

siderable.

## 2. Notation

The following table shows the symbols I shall use for the phonological representation of Luiseño words and assigns them articulatory labels.

### Consonants:

Occlusives	Fricatives		Nasals	Liquids	Glides	
	vl	vd				
p		v	m			Bilabial
	f					Labio-dental
t	s	d	n	l		Dental
				r		Alveolar
č	š				y	Alveo-palatal
	ʃ					Retroflex
k	x	g	ŋ			Velar
k <sup>w</sup>	x <sup>w</sup>				w	Labio-velar
q						Uvular
q <sup>w</sup>						Labio-uvular
?	h					Laryngeal

### Vowels:

	Front	Back
Hi	i	u
Mid	e	o
Lo	a	

An acute accent over a vowel is used to indicate the syllable bearing primary stress in a word. A raised dot after a vowel indicates that the vowel is long. For further details of the phonology of Luiseño see Harrington (1933), Kroeber/Grace (1960),

Malécot (1963, 1964), Bright (1965a,b; 1968), Munro/Benson (1973) and Davis (forthcoming).

### 3. Grammatical Framework

As already stated in the Introduction, the grammatical framework of this study will be a transformational one incorporating the performative analysis and the treatment of Tense/Aspect as higher verbs. These will be considered in detail as they occur. At this stage it is necessary only to supply the reader with a set of phrase structure rules so as to make explicit some of the assumptions on which the later discussion of the transformational generation of structures is based. The phrase structure rules can in fact be very simple if grammatical case is left out of account. The assignment of case is a complicated chapter in Luiseño grammar which I do not wish to discuss in detail in this study, since my principal concern will be with verbal and not with nominal constructions. However, I shall hint below at a way case assignment could be accomplished.

For the moment the reader should note that I am adopting the position taken by McCawley (1970), which claims that in semantically based underlying structures there is no need for the node VP. The phrase structure rules we need can be written thus:

1.  $S \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{EXCL} \\ S^* \\ \text{NP (NP) (NP) (ADV L) V} \end{array} \right\}$
2.  $\text{ADV L} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ S \\ \text{ADV} \end{array} \right\}$

$$3. \text{ NP} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP}^* \\ (\text{NP}) \text{ S} \\ (\text{DET}) (\text{ADJ}) \text{ N} \end{array} \right\}$$

Rule 1 claims that Luiseño is a SOV language. In fact, as the examples in this study will show, there is a great deal of positional mobility especially of the categories NOUN and ADVERB. However, SOV seems to be the most neutral word order in the language. Rule 1 also states that a sentence can consist of an exclamation. As we shall see in 4.6, this will account for what I shall loosely call 'single-word' exclamations. Exclamatory sentences will be generated like all other sentence types from the third option in Rule 1.

The S in the second option in Rule 1 is intended to provide for sentence conjunction; i.e., when one S is generated the rule can apply again and again to produce a string of as many Ss as one requires. These will later be joined transformationally by conjunctions like pi 'and, but'. This is obviously too simple a representation since the conjunctions themselves sometimes have some semantic content and cannot therefore always be generated by transformation. This is, however, the practice I have adopted in the generation of conditional sentences in 4.1.1.5.

The third option in Rule 1 asserts that every Luiseño sentence has a NP subject, where NP should be understood as possibly standing also for PRONOUN, thus leaving open the question of whether pronouns are in fact generated by the base rules or by transformation. This statement about NP subjects will also cover the small group of Luiseño verbs, mostly referring to meteor-

logical phenomena, like xílaq 'it is raining', which in surface main clauses never appear with a noun or pronoun subject. It is, however, clear that an underlying subject is nevertheless present since in embedded clauses where these verbs assume non-finite forms they always carry a third person singular pronominal prefix pu-, e.g. pu-xíla-qala 'while it is, was raining'.

The optional second NP in Rule 1 stands for the direct object of transitive verbs, and the optional third NP for the dative or benefactive object of such verbs as have one. In Luiseño, if I give something to John or do something for John, the dative is used in both cases to indicate this relationship. There is also a separate benefactive case which is sometimes employed instead. If it is possible to have Luiseño sentences of the type 'I gave it to John for Bill', then we shall need another optional NP in Rule 1, maybe even more if further NP relationships are possible.

One way of assigning case to these NPs would be on the basis of their position in Rule 1. We could have a rule which makes the first NP nominative, the second accusative, the third dative, etc. There may, of course, be other ways to do this within our framework but a discussion of them here is out of place.

ADVL in Rule 1 is an abbreviation for any one of a number of optional adverbial phrases, e.g. of PLACE, TIME, MANNER, PURPOSE, CONDITION, DEGREE and maybe a few more. Each of these may be expanded as in Rule 2.

The first option in Rule 2 states that the adverbial expres-

sion can consist merely of a noun phrase; this accounts for such Luiseño adverbial modifications as waní·-ŋa ('river')locative) 'in, at, by the river'. One possibility for case assignment here is on the basis of the type of adverbial node: thus under PLACE, for example, we could find locative; under REASON ablative, the Luiseño case for both 'from' and 'on account of'. Again this is probably too simple, but nevertheless adequate for our present needs.

The second option in Rule 2 expands ADVL into adverbial clauses of PLACE, TIME, MANNER, etc., depending on the label of the adverbial node. These will usually be later extraposed to the beginning or end of the matrix S. The third option allows the adverbial to be a simple adverb.

NP\* in the first expansion of Rule 3 is intended to allow phrasal conjunction. The same convention is here used as with S\*: when one NP has been generated, any number of further NPs can be produced by the same rule to form a string of NPs which an optional transformation may later join together by means of conjunctions. Frequently, however, Luiseño does not bother with conjunctions between nouns, and uses similar constructions to 'my father, my brother shot deer, rabbits'.

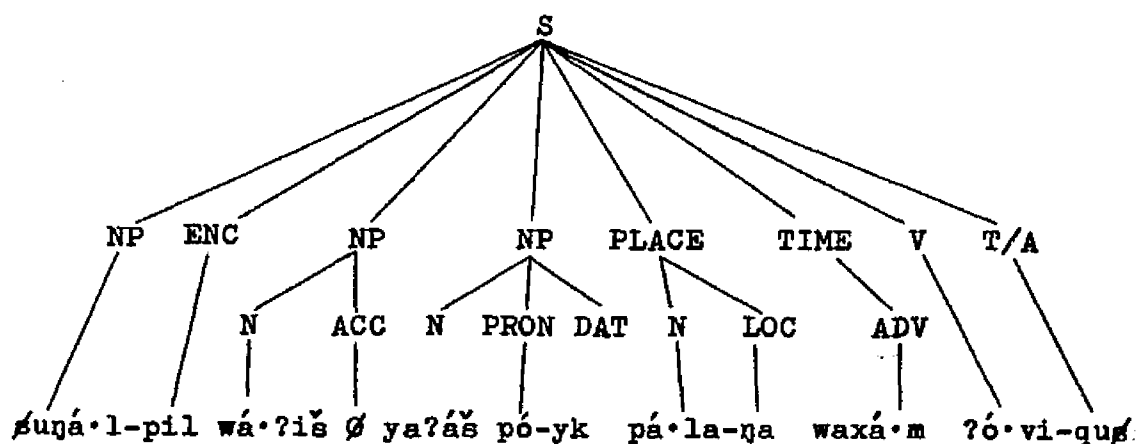
The full expansion of the second option in Rule 3 provides the  $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{NP} \quad \text{S} \end{array}$  structure which I have adopted for the generation of relative clauses in 4.2. If NP is expanded as only S, this is the structure necessary for noun phrases consisting of a noun alone or accompanied by either a deictic determiner or an adject-

tive, or both. It may be that the node ADJ ought also to carry a star to provide for the possibility of more than one adjective before the noun. My data suggest, however, that Luiseño has an aversion to multiple adjectival expressions.

It will be noted that the three phrase structure rules that I have written contain no formatives for Tense/Aspect, nor for Question, Imperative, etc. These are unnecessary if we adopt the performative approach and analyse Tense/Aspect as higher verbs. I shall assume that abstract Luiseño performative sentences like 'I NP DECLARE' and the hierarchy of Tense/Aspect verbs to be given in 4.1.2 can all be generated by these rules just as well as any other S. There will need to be rather powerful selection restrictions to permit only certain combinations, but these constraints must be contained in the lexicon and need no consideration here in the phrase structure rules.

#### 4. Simplex Sentences

Let us begin by considering a typical Luiseño simplex declarative sentence as it appears in the surface structure.





The most interesting portions of the tree are the enclitic and the Tense/Aspect marker, which are functionally very closely connected. My treatment of simplex sentences will consist first of a detailed exposition of tense and aspect and an attempt to generate these as higher verbs. Then I shall go on to describe the enclitics and to show how some of these can be generated as the reflexes of the higher T/A verbs and others as the reflexes of the performative verbs. The way will then be clear for an analysis of the four simplex sentence types: declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory.

#### 4.1 Tense/Aspect

The Luiseño language appears to divide time up into five distinct periods (but see 7 below for dialect differences). With reference to what Reichenbach (1947) in his logical analysis of tense calls 'the point of speech', it recognizes (1) a past time which extends from the day before yesterday backwards (REMoTer past), (2) yesterday (RECent past), (3) last night and any part of today which is not over when the speech act takes place (Past PREsent), (4) today or any part of today which is not over when the speech act takes place (PRESent), and (5) tomorrow and beyond (FUTure). This is, however, not the only parameter along which the action of the verb may be considered: it may be looked on as continuous (CONT) or momentary (MOM), habitual (HAB) or non-habitual (NON-HAB), hypothetical (HYP) or non-hypothetical (NON-HYP). These parameters are ordered hierarchically as in 11 below. It should be emphasized that this hierarchy is a semantic one and also

that not all the possibilities are realized with overt Luiseño morphemes. Before discussing the latter, I shall demonstrate with a chart the way in which the parameters interact. If we take just the third person singular of 'shout' in the period of time I have called REM, the meaning of each interaction is shown in the appropriate box.

(2)

		MOM	CONT
NON-HYP	NON-HAB	he shouted	he was shouting
	HAB	he always shouted	he was always shouting
HYP	NON-HAB	he would have shouted	he would have been shouting
	HAB	he would always have shouted	he would always have been shouting

Compare now the corresponding Luiseño forms for the five tenses FUT, PRES, P PR, REC, REM. The Luiseño verbal stem qéwi- 'shout' is used throughout. Note the Luiseño verb has no marking for person. The reader should impose the labels for 2 on each of the charts below.

(3) FUT

qéwi-n	'will shout'	qéwi-ma-n	'will be shouting'
qéwi-n puyá·manj	'will always shout'	qéwi-ma-n p.	'will always be shouting'
qéwi-Ø	'would shout'	qéwi-ma	'would be shouting'
qéwi-Ø p.	'would always shout'	qéwi-ma p.	'would always be shouting'

(4) PRES

qéwi-q 'shouts, has shouted'	qéwi-q 'is, has been, shouting'
qéwi-ma '(always) shouts'	qéwi-ma 'is always, has always been shouting'
qéwi-∅ 'would shout'	qéwi-ma 'would be shouting'
*-----	*-----

(5) P PR

qéwi-qat 'shouted' ?	qéwi-qat 'was shouting'
*-----	*-----
qéwi-∅ 'would have shouted'	qéwi-ma 'would have been shouting'
*-----	*-----

(6) REC

qéw-ax 'shouted'	qéwi-muk 'was shouting'
*-----	*-----
qéwi-∅ 'would have shouted'	qéwi-ma 'would have been shouting'
*-----	*-----

(7) REM

qéw-ax 'shouted'	qéwi-quǵ 'was shouting'
qéwi-k 'used to shout'	qéwi-k 'used to be shouting'
qéwi-∅ 'would have shouted'	qéwi-ma 'would have been shouting'
qéwi-∅ p. 'would have always shouted'	qéwi-ma p. 'would have always been shouting'

The following facts about 3-7 should be noted:

(1) HYP forms are not marked for tense; they are however marked

for MOM and CONT.

(2) In P PR and REC, since these refer to a period no farther back than yesterday, the time span is too short for HAB to have any semantic relevance. They have therefore been marked in the charts with a star to show that they are semantically impossible.

(3) In PRES, on the other hand, a NON-HYP form for HAB has been entered. This is perhaps a little arbitrary since in some contexts there may be no notion of tense present with the habitual form. It may, however, be justified on the grounds that it does always include the present and can often be distinguished from a future habitual and a past habitual.

(4) The suffix -ma occurring in the PRES HAB NON-HYP form appears to be a different form from the -ma that characterizes the CONT forms. Note that there is no special form to mark CONT in PRES NON-HAB NON-HYP: géwi-g has to do service for both.

(5) Separate NON-HAB and HAB forms are available for CONT in PRES and REM, as also for MOM. In FUT and REM Luiseño can distinguish HAB from NON-HAB by the addition of the adverb puyá·mani 'always'. This has been abbreviated to 'p.' in the charts and is found with both HYP and NON-HYP forms.

(6) A question mark has been placed against the form at P PR MOM NON-HAB NON-HYP since the forms with -gat which I have collected from my informants all seem to be continuous. Furthermore, both Kroeber/Grace and Malécot refer to -gat forms as "progressive". It may therefore be that the form gév-ax has to do service not only for REC as well as REM when the parameters MOM NON-

HYP NON-HAB intersect, but also for P PR at this same intersection.

(7) In his own speech my LaJolla informant does not use the separate -muk suffix to mark the period of time I have referred to as REC. When it was suggested to him, he said it was possible but "we don't use it here".<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it was freely employed by my Pauma informant and his explanation of its use (which I have set out above) was corroborated by the data I collected from him. This explanation does not agree with that given by Sparkman and recorded in Kroeber/Grace (151):

"-muk recent past.

Described by Sparkman as including from (day before) yesterday to about a month ('two to three weeks') ago."

It is obvious that more data need to be collected from other Luiseño speakers to clear this point up.

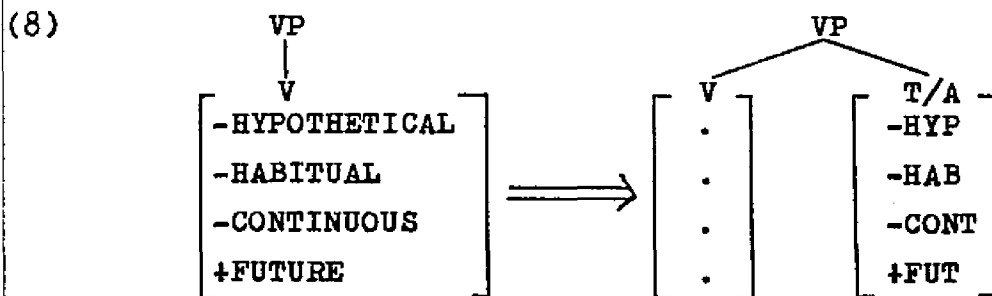
Whatever the period covered by the -muk tense, however, it is interesting that there appears to have developed a difference in the division of the time continuum between the LaJolla speakers who use only four divisions and the Pauma speakers who use five.

Let us now consider how the Tense/Aspect suffixes can be incorporated into the deep structure of the sentence. Two analyses are possible: (a) a feature analysis, and (b) a higher verb analysis.

#### 4.1.1 Feature Analysis

The suffixes could fairly easily be introduced by positing fea-

tures on the verb for each of the T/A parameters discussed above and by then having a segmentation transformation (similar to that postulated by Postal (1966) for pronouns in English) which would detach them and adjoin them to the right of the verb stem. We could write the base rules so that a T/A node is generated to the right of V for these features to be attached to, or the node could be created by the segmentalization transformation itself. Thus for qéwi-n 'will shout' we might have the following derivation:



The features under the T/A node would then be replaced from the lexicon by the lexical suffix -an, and subsequently a phonological rule would adjust this to -n.

This type of analysis has been seriously criticized by a number of linguists who consider that the T/A distinctions are best accounted for if they are represented as higher verbs.

#### 4.1.2 Tense/Aspect as Higher Verbs

Huddleston (1969) has presented a good case for abandoning the analysis of English tense, modals, etc. given in Chomsky (1957), i.e. AUX → Tense (Modal)(have EN)(be ING), and for representing these as higher verbs. His data and his arguments are intricate, but his principal reason concerns the choices of temporal adverb

that can be used with the tenses. He points out such sentences as:

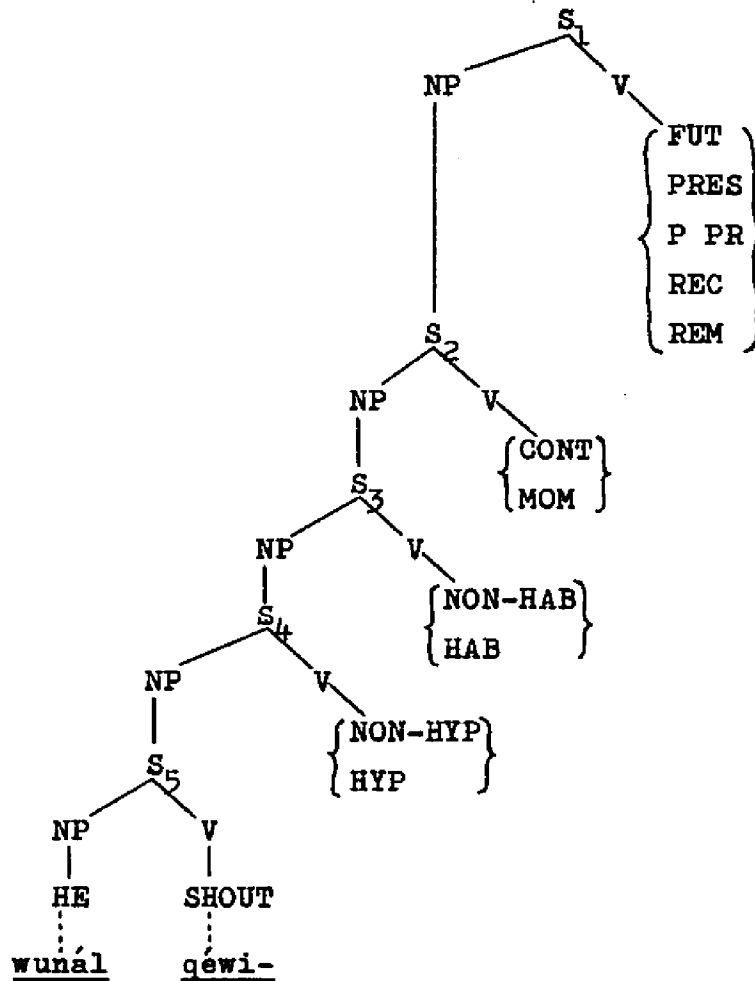
(9) Yesterday he was coming today.

(10) Now he leaves tomorrow.

where two incompatible temporal specifiers are associated with the same verb. Huddleston justifiably claims that these sentences involve two tense selections and that therefore they must contain two deep structure tense verbs even though there is only one verb in surface structure. A similar analysis was put forward by Ross (1967a). Whereas both Ross and Huddleston produced convincing reasons for considering Chomsky's 'have' and 'be' to be higher verbs, McCawley (1971a) goes further and shows that all underlying 'have's may be taken as underlying past tenses. His arguments, like those of Huddleston and Ross, also depend on the logical assumption that there can be only one time adverb per clause. Langacker (1970) acknowledges the force of these arguments and in his discussion of evidence for predicate raising in Uto-Aztecan posits tense as a predicate in the remote structure of the Luiseño sentence. Although my elicitation of data in Luiseño has not been directed towards finding sentences with temporal or other specifications that would corroborate the proposals of Huddleston, Ross and McCawley, I have no doubt that they exist since all the evidence up to date seems to suggest that this is a universal phenomenon among languages. In the rest of this study I shall therefore not attempt to represent Tense/Aspect as features on the verb, but instead explore the advantages and disad-

vantages of representing the whole of the Tense/Aspect system as a series of hierarchically ordered predicates (for convenience labelled V) of arguments (labelled NP) in a semantic tree as seen in 11:

(11)



Note that this tree contains principally aspect verbs. If these are subcategorized for the kind of verb that can appear in the clause immediately below them, then their hierarchy can be preserved. For expository reasons the pure tense verbs (in the V immediately dominated by  $S_1$ ) are shown as alternative predicates. McCawley shows convincingly that the tenses themselves should be



recursive predicates that can be embedded in one another and generated as often as one likes. There must, however, be constraints preventing many combinations, especially beyond a certain depth. There does seem to be some evidence for this in Luiseño, although I have not attempted to incorporate this recursivity into my analysis as my data are too scanty. Thus the alternative future enclitics ending in -ku (see 22 below) seem to place the action farther in the future beyond a point of reference that is itself in the future, i.e. they seem to denote a future of a future, whereas the normal future enclitics without -ku denote a future with relation to the present. Similarly, in one sentence I collected from the Pauma informant, although the period under consideration is yesterday, the action of the second conjunct takes the action of the first conjunct as its point of reference. We thus have a past of yesterday (which it will be remembered is a separate tense period in Luiseño). The sentence is:

(12) ?umóm wé· waxá·m wi?ékla-muk ?um-tá·x pi qáy  
 you both yest. argue-REC your-selves but not  
 PL

ló·vi-quǵ ?u-wultú?ax-pi  
 be good-REM your-be angry-FUT SUBORDINATOR

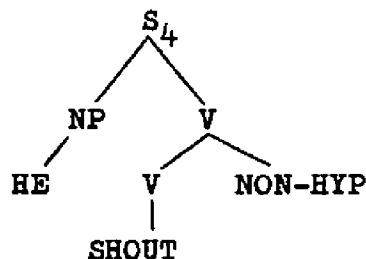
'you were both arguing with each other yesterday, but it wasn't right for you to get mad (i.e. before you started arguing)'

The interesting thing here is that the -quǵ suffix (REM CONT) is used to indicate the period before they were arguing although

yesterday.

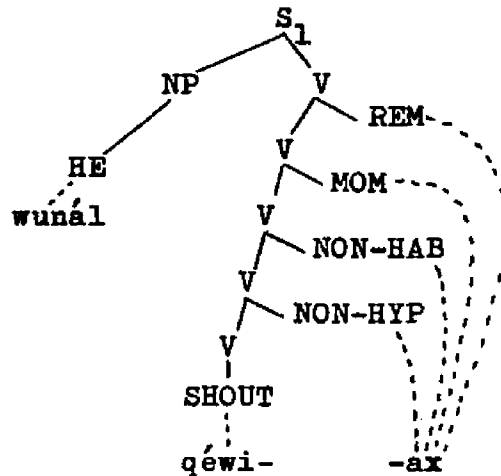
Let us now take a closer look at the tree in 11. By the application of prelexical transformations all of the combinations shown in charts 3-7 can be generated. This can be seen more clearly if we perform a typical derivation up to the point at which lexical insertion can take place. Suppose we want to generate qéw-ax 'he shouted (e.g. last week)'. For the correct analysis of the Tense/Aspect required we must postulate two transformations, SUBJECT RAISING and PREDICATE RAISING, operating alternately and cyclically throughout the tree in 11. On the first cycle, for instance, SUB RSG will operate first, raising the lowest N to  $S_4$ ; then PRED RSG will adjoin the lowest V to the V immediately dominated by  $S_4$ , producing:

(13)



The application of the two transformations will continue to proceed cyclically up the tree until the following configuration is reached:

(14)



The dotted lines show the lexical forms which can now be inserted from the lexicon for each of the nodes (HE) and (((((SHOUT) NON-HYP) NON-HAB) MOM) REM). In the lexicon the entry for each of the T/A suffixes will include bracketings of the kind used in the last sentence, or alternatively semantic trees similar to the configuration of Vs in 14. These entries will correspond in meaning to the various selections that can be made from the choices shown in the tree in 11. Thus the lexical entries for the -ax suffix (using bracketings) will include:

(15) a. (((NON-HYP) NON-HAB) MOM) REC)

b. (((NON-HYP) NON-HAB) MOM) REM)

and also

c. (((NON-HYP) NON-HAB) MOM) P PR)

if the -qat suffix cannot be used for momentary 'action'

(see 4.1, Note 6).

#### 4.1.3 The Shape of the Tense/Aspect Suffixes

Before we go on to examine the connection between Tense/Aspect

and the enclitics, it will be convenient to set out all the forms of the T/A suffixes and to comment on their final phonological shape. Luiseño verbs fall into at least four classes. Malécot postulates eight, but four of these seem to me to be subclasses of (b) and (c) below. For our purposes we need to differentiate only four (as Sparkman did):

(a) stems with thematic -i- (usually transitive), e.g. gév-i- 'shout';

(b) stems with thematic -?ax (usually intransitive), e.g. pél-?ax- 'dance';

(NB Many stems may belong to both classes (a) and (b), e.g.

háq-i- 'to hang (something)', háq-?ax- 'to be hanging'.)

(c) stems with final -u- and -a-, e.g. kí-čú-/kí-ča- 'to build a house' (<kí-ča 'house'), kúŋlu-/kúŋla- 'to marry a husband' (<-kúŋ 'husband');<sup>2</sup>

(d) stems with final consonant, e.g. ?uhó?van- 'believe'.

The Tense/Aspect suffixes for each of these four classes are shown in chart 16 below. The superposed numbers refer to the notes in 4.1.3.1 below.

(16)		qéw-i-	pél-?ax-	kí·čú- <sub>ā-</sub>	?uhó?van-
FUT	MOM sg,pl	-n	-an <sup>1</sup> (>péla·n)	-n	-an
	CONT sg,pl	-max-an (>ma·n)	-max-an (>ma·n)	-max-an (>ma·n)	-max-an <sup>2</sup> (>ma·n)
PRES	MOM & CONT NON-HAB sg	-q	-q (>pélaq) <sup>3</sup>	-q	-q <sup>5</sup>
	pl	-wun	-wun (>péla·n) <sup>4</sup>	-wun	-wun
	MOM & CONT HAB sg,pl	-ma	-ma	-ma	-ma
P PR	MOM ? CONT sg	-qat	-qat <sup>3</sup> (>pélaqat)	-qat	-qat
	pl	-qat-um	-qat-um <sup>3</sup> (>pélaqatum)	-qat-um	-qat-um
REC	CONT sg,pl	-muk	-muk	-muk	-muk
REC & REM	MOM NON-HAB sg,pl	-ax <sup>7</sup> (>qéwax)	-ya <sup>8</sup> (>pélya)	irregular, often re- duplicated	irregular, <sup>9</sup> often re- duplicated
REM	CONT NON-HAB sg,pl	-quǵ	-quǵ <sup>10</sup> (>pélaquǵ)	-quǵ	-quǵ
REM	MOM & CONT HAB sg,pl	-k	-k <sup>3</sup> (>pélak)	-k	-uk/-ók <sup>11</sup>
HYP all tenses	MOM sg,pl	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
	CONT sg,pl	-ma-∅	-ma-∅	-ma-∅	-ma-∅

#### 4.1.3.1 Notes on Underlying Forms and Comparative Morphology

(1) The future suffix can be entered in the lexicon as -an. In the case of stems ending in vowels a phonological rule is needed to delete the stem-final vowel after the suffix has been added.

When -an is added to stems with thematic -?ax, a general phonological rule reduces the sequence -?ax-an to -?a·n. For the formulation of this rule see Davis (forthcoming). The resulting form pél?a·n when spoken rapidly loses the glottal stop and has characteristically geminated l after a short stressed vowel. In slow, careful speech, however, it is pronounced pél?a·n. Malécot (200) places a glottal stop before the a of thematic -ax in every form in which -ax is found. Except in the contracted FUT and PRES forms, in the REC and REM forms and in one kind of imperative (see 4.5.1.1), my own data show no evidence for a glottal stop on the surface; however, by postulating an underlying thematic increment -?ax the correct lento form for these tenses and the imperative can be generated. For all other forms it will then need to be deleted by a phonological rule. When citing forms I shall write them with and without the glottal stop according as the word was collected.

(2) The underlying form for CONT -ma must be posited as -max. The form -max-an resulting from the addition of FUT -an is attested in Kroeber/Grace (145), but in the speech of my informants is always reduced by the first phonological rule referred to in (1) above, giving the form -ma·n. Occasionally, however, I recorded -man. I have no explanation for this form, unless CONT

-ma has optionally also underlying -ma.

(3) In all the forms where the T/A suffix begins with a velar or uvular plosive a rule is needed to delete the velar fricative of thematic -?ax. There appears to be a constraint in Luiseño phonology forbidding the sequences xq and xk in surface structure.

(4) When the plural suffix -wun follows thematic -?ax in PRES, the deletion rule referred to in (1) reduces the sequence -?ax-wun to -?a·n, which is homonymous with the FUT form.

(5) The underlying form of -q must be postulated as -qa. When the syllable immediately preceding the suffix is stressed, the long form is usually preferred, e.g. ná·-qa 'is weeping'. Optionally immediately after a stressed syllable and obligatorily elsewhere, the a of the suffix is deleted (but cf. 4.2.1.4, Note 4).

(6) Note that except for PRES NON-HAB, the P PR forms are the only ones differentiated for singular and plural. Furthermore, unlike -wun the form -qat-um clearly bears the -um normally used to form the plural of nominal forms. There is in fact a relativized form of the verb with just this ending: qéwi-qat '(the one) who is shouting', qéwi-qat-um '(the ones) who are shouting'. But note that these forms with the meanings as shown refer to a period of time that is excluded from P PR, i.e. in addition to last night and any part of today which is now over, they can also refer to a part of today which is not yet over. <sup>3</sup>

(7) The REC and REM morpheme -ax when added to the stem qéwi- should result in the form qéwyax. This is in fact the form most often used by my Pauma informant. However, he sometimes uses the

form géwax with no distinction of meaning. The latter is the only form used by my LaJolla informant, although he recognizes the -yax ending. This does not agree with Malécot(1964), who calls the -ax form preterite and the -yax form remote preterite, suggesting that the latter refers to a period farther back in time. Judging by Hyde (1971), Rincón Luiseño agrees with Pauma in preferring the -yax ending.

(8) REC and REM forms from stems with thematic -?ax require a deletion rule to eliminate ax before the T/A suffix, i.e.

$$ax \longrightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ] }_y \text{ ? } \underline{\hspace{1cm}} ya$$

Here, as in (5), there may optionally be a rule deleting y. The resulting form, e.g. péla, was occasionally used by my Pauma informant, never by my LaJolla informant. Malécot calls the -ya form preterite and the -a form remote preterite, but again my informants sensed no time distinction between the two.

In careful slow speech the glottal stop can clearly be heard before the y, e.g. in pél?ya; in normal speech, however, it is not present.

(9) The MOM NON-HAB forms for REC and REM of stems with final -u/-a or a final consonant are all irregular, many being formed by reduplication. Further details of these can be found in Kroeber/Grace, Malécot and Hyde.

(10) REM CONT NON-HAB has been entered in 16 with the form -quǵ. This is the only form accepted by my LaJolla informant and also the only form given in Hyde. The pronunciation of my Pauma informant vacillated between -qaǵ and -quǵ, the former being



recorded more often than the latter. This is interesting since Tac's form from the middle of last century is -q<sup>w</sup>aś. Furthermore, -quś is the only syllable in Luiseño in which q is followed by the high vowel u. If we take Tac's -q<sup>w</sup>aś as historically underlying both forms, it then appears that Pauma has deleted the labial element, where LaJolla and Rincón have surprisingly deleted the a and vocalized the labial element to produce the only qu sequence in the language.

(11) The underlying form of the REM HAB suffix may be posited as -ok. When immediately preceded by a vowel, o is deleted, e.g. in géwi-k, ki·ču-k/ki·ča-k. After a consonant it will remain as -ok if stressed, e.g. yaxók 'used to say', ya?ók 'used to run'; in unstressed syllables in Luiseño o and u fall together. Since I am writing this vowel as u, the unstressed form of the suffix will appear as -uk.

#### 4.1.4 -lut/-k(a)tum or -k(u)tum

Several periphrastic tenses are available in Luiseño consisting of a tense of the root mí·?-/mí·x- 'be' combined with a verbal form produced by adding the suffix -lut to -i- and -?ax- stem verbs or -lowut (Pauma)/-lo·t (LaJolla) to consonant-final verb stems; and by adding -katum or -kutum to all stems for the plural (for an explanation of the syncope see Davis, forthcoming). I have recorded the plural suffix both with and without lip rounding of the first vowel (i.e. [u] and [ə]) in the speech of my LaJolla informant, but in careful lento style he uses a. Hyde writes

only u, and although I have only a handful of words with the non-syncopated plural suffix in the data I collected from my Pauma informant, these also all contain u as the first vowel in the plural suffix.

The periphrastic forms are as follows:

- (17) a. nó·-n            sá·msa-lut    ∅  
 b.     "                "            mí·?-qat    (? Pauma/LaJolla)  
 c.     nó·-nil            "            mí·x-muk    (? Pauma)  
 d.     "                "            mí·?-quǽ  
 e.     nó·-xunpu        "            mí·x

a. = I am going to buy

b. = I was " " " (this morning)

c. = I " " " " (yesterday)

d. = I " " " " (some time ago)

e. = I would be going to buy

As the question marks indicate, there is some uncertainty about these forms, and more checking needs to be done. Note that the present tense of 'be' (mí·?-qa) is not used. The -lut form in these constructions is probably identical with, or at least related to, the -lut form which is used in the Luiseño equivalent of subordinate clauses of purpose such as the following:

- (18) wunál-pil    wukó·?-ya    sá·msa-lut  
 he    -ENC    arrive-REM    buy-PURPOSE  
        REM

'he came in order to buy'

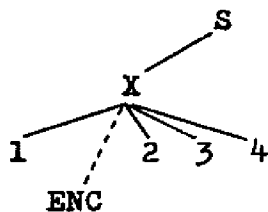
Another example will be seen in 508. Unfortunately we shall have no time to consider the detailed syntax of these constructions nor to explore this relationship further. I should add, however,

that I am inclined to think that sentences containing periphrastic -lut should also be analysed as complex rather than simplex. However, in the rest of this study the -lut suffix will be handled as if it were a higher T/A verb, although it has not been included among them.

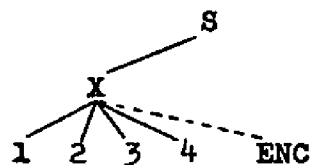
#### 4.2 Enclitics

In every Luiseño surface sentence there may be an enclitic element after the first word or less frequently after the last of the elements dominated by the first branching node in the surface phrase marker, i.e.

(19) a.



or b.



Examples of 19a are:

- (20) a. [múyikum-pum ?atá·xum]<sub>NP</sub> pél?a·n  
 many -ENC people are dancing
- b. [wunál-up ya?ás]<sub>NP</sub> pu-ná? = 'that man is his father'  
 that -ENC man
- c. [čó·?un-nupu timét]<sub>ADV</sub> kúpma·n  
 all -ENC day be sleeping  
 'I'll be sleeping all day'

Examples of 19b are:

- (21) a. [múyikum· ?atá·xum]<sub>NP</sub> -pum pél?a·n (cf. 20a)
- (21) a. [múyikum· ?atá·xum]<sub>NP</sub> -pum pél?a·n (cf. 20a)

b. [čó·?un timét]<sub>ADV</sub> -nupu kúpma·n (cf. 20c)

c. [tumá·s supúl ?ó·ra kulá·wut čór?i·qanik]<sub>S</sub> -kun  
Thomas one hour wood having been ENC  
cutting

wám? wéhmali hó·waxlut  
now a little is going to lie down

'Thomas has been chopping wood for one hour (he says)  
and now he's going to lie down for a while.'

The enclitics are of two kinds: (a) those that confirm the sentence as a statement but add no further semantic information, and (b) those that mark other kinds of sentences, conveying particular attitudes towards the listener, e.g. of command, query, surprise, and containing additional attitudinal or semantic information, e.g. of impatience, encouragement, unwillingness to vouch for the truth of one's statement, etc. The former I propose to call syntactic enclitics, and the latter semantic enclitics.

#### 4.2.1 Syntactic Enclitics

##### 4.2.1.1 General Remarks

The non-semantic enclitics cross-refer to the Tense/Aspect suffix on the verb and the person of the subject, and therefore repeat grammatical information already present in the sentence. It may be for this reason that, as Kroeber/Grace (163) observe, with the exception of the HYP forms the use of the syntactic enclitics is becoming less frequent. My LaJolla informant almost always used them when giving isolated sentences, but in narrative sequences they tended to be absent. The same tendency was observed in the

speech of my Pauma informant. Both agreed, however, that sentences with the enclitics were "better". Chart 22 shows all the persons of the enclitics that refer to NON-HYP tenses. Chart 23 shows the HYP forms, which, as we noted above, are undifferentiated for tense. (Notice the marked difference between LaJolla usage and that of Pauma/Rincón.) The raised numbers refer to the Notes in 4.2.1.4 below.

(22)	Singular		Plural	
FUT	1.	-nupu, (-nu(p)ku) <sup>1</sup>	-čupu/-čapu <sup>2</sup>	(ču(p)ku)
	2.	-up/-pu <sup>2</sup>	(-upku)	-um/-mu <sup>3</sup>
	3.	-pu (-puku)		-mu (-muku)
PRES, P PR	1.	-n(a) <sup>4</sup>		-ča
	2.	-(u)p		-um
	3.	-(u)p <sup>5</sup>		-pum
REC, REM	1.	-nil		-čil/-čamil <sup>7</sup>
	2.	-(a)pil/-upil		-mil
	3.	-(a)pil/-upil <sup>6</sup>		-mil

For another set of enclitics used in exclamatory sentences see 305 below.

(23)	Singular		Plural		
	Pauma/Rincón	LaJolla	Pauma/Rincón	LaJolla	
HYP	1.	-xunpu(ku) <sup>8</sup>	-xun(puŋku) <sup>9</sup>	-xu(š)pu(ku)	-xuku
	2.	-xupu(ku)	-xuku	-xu(m)pu(ku)	-xuku
	3.	-xupu(ku)	-xuku	-xu(m)pu(ku)	-xuku

#### 4.2.1.2 Examples

Before discussing some of the peculiarities of these enclitics and how the enclitics themselves are to be generated, let me illustrate their use with a number of examples.

- (24) nó·-nupu ?éxŋi hatí?a·n OR: ?éxŋi-nupu hatí?a·n  
 I -ENC tomor. go-FUT  
 FUT  
 I  
 'I will go tomorrow'
- (25) čá·m-čupu ?éxŋi ?ayáli-ma·n OR: ?éxŋi-čupu ?ayáli-ma·n  
 we -ENC know-FUT CONT  
 FUT  
 we  
 'we shall know tomorrow'
- (26) ?umóm-um néča·n 'you will pay'  
 you -ENC pay-FUT  
 PL FUT  
 you
- (27) nó·-n hé·yi-q OR: hé·yi-qa-n  
 I -ENC dig-PRES  
 PRES  
 I  
 'I'm digging'
- (28) wám?-na nó· hé·yi-q 'I've dug it already'  
 already-ENC I  
 PRES  
 I
- (29) mariya-p hé·la-q 'Maria is singing'  
 Maria-ENC sing-PRES  
 PRES  
 she
- (30) ?óm-up kúp-qat 'you were sleeping (this  
 you-ENC sleep-P PR morning, just now)'  
 P PR  
 you
- (31) pó·?-up kúp-qat 'he was asleep'  
 he -ENC  
 P PR  
 he

(32)	hé·la-qa-p sing-PRES-ENC PRES you/he, she			'you (sg) are singing' 'he, she, is singing'
(33)	nó·-xunku -xunpu -xunpuku I -ENC HYP	pitó·? now	pélax-ma-∅ dance-HYP CONT PRES	'I should be dancing now'
(34)	čá·m-xušpu -xuku we -ENC HYP	waxá·m yest.	pélax-ma-∅ dance-HYP CONT REC	'we should have been dancing yesterday'

#### 4.2.1.3 Shape of the Syntactic Enclitics

Most of the forms in 22 and 23 seem to be capable of segmentation into one element reflecting the person and another reflecting Tense/Aspect. Thus most of the FUT forms contain the syllable -pu; all the REC and REM forms -il<sup>4</sup>; and all the HYP forms -xu amalgamated with either the entire FUT enclitic -npu(ku) or only part of it -nku, depending on the dialect. First person singular forms all contain a segment n, corresponding to the free pronoun nó· 'I'; second and third person singular usually fall together and contain a segment p, which was probably deleted historically before another p, as in the HYP forms; first person plural contains a segment č with positional variant č̣, corresponding to the free pronoun čá·m 'we'; second and third persons plural both contain a segment m in FUT, REC, REM and HYP, but whereas PRES and P PR second person plural also have m, third person plural has

-pum, corresponding to pumóm 'they'.

On the basis of what has just been said, it would seem possible to posit underlying forms for all the enclitics, although some will be problematic. Rather than put forward a detailed derivation, I shall mention a few possible underlying forms in 4.2.1.4, but thereafter treat the syntactic enclitics as if they were unanalysable units.

#### 4.2.1.4 Comparative and Other Notes

The following notes comment on some of the peculiarities of the enclitics in 22 and 23. They also point out some of the dialect differences and resemblances between my own data and Tac (written in the first half of last century), Kroeber/Grace (based largely on data collected by Sparkman before he was murdered in 1907), Malécot (LaJolla dialect) and Hyde (Rincón dialect).

(1) The longer FUT forms were explained in 4.1.2. They occur in both simplex and complex sentences (see 342-343 and Footnote 36).

(2) FUT first person plural -čupu is the LaJolla pronunciation; -čapu is that of Pauma and Rincón, and also of Tac.

(3) FUT second person singular -up and the plural -um are the enclitics used at LaJolla and Pauma. Tac has -upu for the singular but agrees in having -um for the plural. Hyde writes -pu singular and -mu plural, which were also accepted by my Pauma informant although they do not occur in his own speech. It should be noted that, in contrast to -ku, whenever -pu and -mu are the final segment of an enclitic, they sound phonetically much more like -po and -mo. This may be because they bear some degree of



stress.

(4) The -na form of the first person singular enclitic for PRES and P PR may be taken as the underlying form. When it immediately follows a vowel as in the first alternative of 27, the final vowel of the enclitic is always deleted. This clearly indicates that the underlying form of the PRES NON-HAB singular suffix should be -qa, for although this is always reduced to -q except immediately before a stressed syllable, the underlying form is everywhere retained before the enclitic -na, the final vowel of the enclitic being then deleted, i.e. qéwi-qa → qéwi-q, but qéwi-qa-na → qéwi-qa-n (see also the second alternative of 27).

(5) Immediately after a vowel the u of the second and third person singular PRES and P PR enclitic -up is deleted by a general phonological rule which prevents two vowels from being adjacent on the surface in Luiseño.

(6) The -apil form of the REC and REM enclitic was rejected by my LaJolla informant, who always uses -pil. Malécot's personal data also show only -pil. My Pauma informant seems to prefer -apil to -pil, but uses either indiscriminately. The Rincón form in Hyde is -upil.

(7) The REC and REM first person plural enclitic is always -čil at LaJolla, and usually -čamil at Pauma. Both Hyde and Tac have -čamil.

(8) In the Pauma/Rincón HYP enclitics the syllable -ku can optionally be added, apparently without change or addition of meaning. Note that in all the dialects the first person singular

HYP enclitic always contains the person segment n (see 4.2.1.3), and the second and third person singular enclitics have zero marking. In all the plural forms, however, the person segment may be optionally deleted in the Pauma/Rincón dialects, but is obligatorily deleted in the LaJolla dialect.

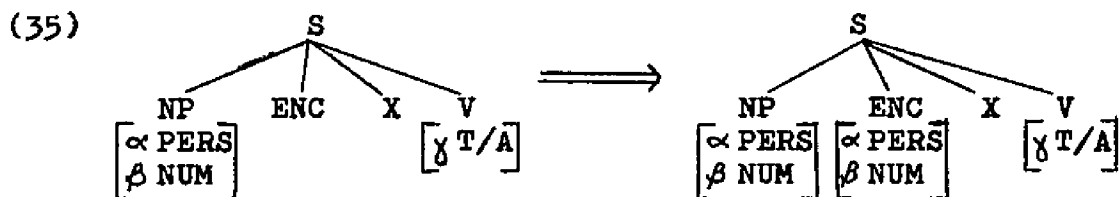
There is also a longer form of the first person enclitic: -xunò?pu, which I obtained from my Pauma informant. It is also quoted by Kroeber/Grace (62) from Sparkman. An example of its use will be found in 5.1.2.2, when I deal with HYP conditions. See also the discussion of lók in 4.6.3. Note the o in the second syllable, which carries some degree of stress.

(9) The only form in which the syllable -pu occurs in the speech of my LaJolla informant is the first person singular: -xunpu, which may alternatively be -xunku. If we take the long form xu-(PERSON SEGMENT)-pu-ku as underlying, then except for first person singular the Pauma/Rincón dialects have optional rules deleting PERSON SEGMENT and -ku, whereas the LaJolla dialect obligatorily deletes PERSON SEGMENT and -pu.

#### 4.2.1.5 Generation of the Syntactic Enclitics

Since the syntactic enclitics merely repeat grammatical information already present in the sentence, it might at first sight seem best to generate them by transformation fairly late in the derivation of the sentence. We could assume that PERSON and NUMBER are ultimately represented as features on NPs and Tense/Aspect by features on the verb. Then it would be a simple matter to have a transformation copy these features from the NP subject

and from the verb and attach them to a node ENC generated by the base rules. Thus:



From the lexicon the enclitic with the feature specification matching that under ENC in the right-hand tree of 35 could now be inserted. This transformation would have to precede two others. One is optional and deletes the subject pronoun from any sentence which does not have a noun subject. Note that if this deletion transformation operates after syntactic enclitic formation, the person and number information contained in the enclitic cease to be redundant and the enclitic takes over the role of the personal pronoun (see 24, 25, 27, 32). The other transformation obligatorily deletes verbs of 'being' and 'going' in PRES under certain circumstances, e.g.

(36) *čá·m-ča wám? pá·l-ik* 'we are going to Pala now'  
 we-ENC now Pala-DAT  
 PRES

(37) *wunál-up ya?ás nu-ná?* 'that man is my father'  
 that-ENC man my-father  
 PRES

In 36 the enclitic -ča would have to pick up the feature PRES from the verb hatí?-(?)a·n, which would subsequently be deleted. Similarly in 37 the enclitic -up would need to pick up the same feature from the verb mí·?-q, which would also be later deleted.





sentence is possible. It seems clear, however, that when čá·m is conjoined with another plural pronoun it is itself understood as plural and no longer as a special conjoined variety of nó 'I'. This is an area where more research is necessary.

#### 4.2.2 Semantic Enclitics

Apart from the syntactic enclitics Luiseño also has another series which I would like to claim cannot be generated by transformations copying syntactic information found elsewhere in the sentence at some point in its derivation. Wales/Marshall (1966), in a discussion of an idealized speaker/listener's competence, state (29):

"A theory of linguistic knowledge is idealized in the sense that it must disregard psychological and pragmatic aspects of actual or potential utterances."

It seems to me that Luiseño presents a good case of a language where psychological and pragmatic aspects of the utterance are actually incorporated into the grammar, namely in the shape of the semantic enclitics. I shall discuss these fully below, but it will help to make my argument clearer if I give one example here. In its simplest form a Luiseño command consists usually of the bare stem of the verb optionally accompanied by a second person pronoun. If the speaker has been trying to persuade the hearer not to do something, he may finally lose patience and reluctantly consent. This change of attitude towards the hearer can be expressed by uttering the positive command with the enclitic -ku attached to the first word. The resulting sentence is roughly equivalent to 'Oh well, do it then' (see 4.2.2.2.2). This is only one of a number of enclitics of this kind.

Within the framework of Chomsky's Standard Theory the generation of these enclitics presents a problem. If we are to generate an ordinary command by positing a 'trigger' morpheme IMP under a Pre-S node in the deep structure, then for -ku commands we shall need another trigger morpheme since this type of command has another meaning. As we shall see, the problem becomes even clearer with relation to Luiseño 'question' sentences, where in the Aspects model we should need a whole battery of trigger morphemes to produce the appropriate enclitics. A number of linguists have questioned the use of morphemes like IMP, Q, etc., and suggested that they should be replaced by higher verbs. For example, Ross (1970) adopts a distinction made first by Austin (1962) and suggests that a 'performative' verb with first person singular subject and second person object should be posited as the topmost S in any sentence. He produces fourteen arguments in support of 'I' and 'you' in the deleted performative sentence, but leaves the way open for a 'pragmatic' analysis of these same facts. Fraser (1971) attempts to show that each of Ross' arguments is faulty and comes to the conclusion that

"the evidence is far too weak and scattered to justify such a significant theoretical innovation as the Performative Analysis." (p.28)

In other words he does not rule the performative analysis out, but merely questions the 'evidence' produced up to date. He goes on to say that

"various linguists would argue today.... that the Aspects framework or anything remotely resembling it is unacceptable. They maintain that there is a more acceptable alternative, namely Generative Semantics.... the PA falls

easily within the Generative Semantics framework, the issue is simply this: how are the generalizations between sentence sense and sentence force best captured?"

In the rest of this study I shall attempt to show how the PA can capture some of these generalizations in relation to Luiseño enclitics and I shall discuss some of the advantages and problems connected with it. But first it is necessary for the reader to take a detailed look at the characteristics of the semantic enclitics. There are two kinds: (a) those that are declinable, i.e. that agree in number alone, or in both number and person, with the subject of the sentence they are found in, and (b) those that are indeclinable.

#### 4.2.2.1 Declinable Enclitics

##### 4.2.2.1.1 -kun

In the LaJolla dialect this enclitic agrees only in number with the subject of the sentence. In the Pauma dialect it agrees in number and person, as the special first person plural form shows.

(42)

	Singular	Plural
1.	-kun	-kunuš̄/-kunum
2.	-kun	-kunum
3.	-kun	-kunum

Sparkman's data agree with those I gathered from my Pauma informant. Kroeber/Grace call -kun the 'quotative' enclitic, and its basic function does indeed seem to be that of indicating that the sentence is a quotation or report. Thus it is found in indirect speech after the first word of an indirect statement, e.g.









and in question-word questions. It is declined for both person and number.

(56)

	Singular	Plural
1.	- <u>ʃ</u> un	- <u>ʃ</u> uṣ̌/- <u>ʃ</u> iṣ̌
2.	- <u>ʃ</u> u/- <u>ʃ</u>	- <u>ʃ</u> um
3.	- <u>ʃ</u> u/- <u>ʃ</u>	- <u>ʃ</u> um

Note that in the speech of my LaJolla informant -ʃu and -ʃ for second and third person singular are in complementary distribution: -ʃu is found only after consonants, -ʃ only after vowels. My Pauma informant also used them in the same way, but occasionally employed the longer form also after vowels. Hyde (20-25) seems not to use the shorter form at all. Note further that -ʃuṣ̌ is the regular first person plural form at Pauma, whereas -ʃiṣ̌ is the regular form at LaJolla. All the forms in 56 also occur with ʒ instead of ʃ when the syllable preceding them contains a front vowel (see 59, 60). This alternation occurs in all the other enclitics containing the interrogative segment -ʃu- (see 4.2.2.1.3 - 4.2.2.1.6).

A simple statement becomes a question when the syntactic enclitic is replaced by the interrogative enclitic. Note that there is only one form of the interrogative enclitic no matter what tense of the verb accompanies it. (I shall return to this point below.)

(57) wunál-ʃu híṣ̌ lóʔxa-q  
 he thing do-PRES

'what is he doing?' or 'is he doing something?'

- (58) nó·-šun ?éškutal tilá·?-ya  
I loudly speak-REM  
'did I speak loudly?'
- (59) ?óy-siš čá·m ?éxni tí·wi-n  
you we tomor. see-FUT  
ACC  
'shall we see you tomorrow?'
- (60) hí·ni-s ?óm ná·-qa OR: ?óm-šu hí·ni ná·-qa  
why you cry-PRES  
'why are you crying?'
- (61) hík-ŋa-šum yá·yičum ?éxŋay wukó·?ax-kutum  
how-LOC man-PL tomor. arrive-going to  
many  
' what time are the men going to come tomorrow?'

#### 4.2.2.1.3 -šukun

This enclitic combines the interrogative enclitic with the -kun of main clauses in the meaning I gave in 4.2.2.1.1 (45-49).

Only the -kun element is declined.

(62)

Singular	Plural
1. -šukun	-šukunuš/-šukunum
2. -šukun	-šukunum
3. -šukun	-šukunum

- (63) čá·m-šukunuš yixéyxičum  
we rich  
'do they say we are rich?'

- (64) nó·-šukun poy néči-lut  
I him pay-going to  
ACC

(65) mičá?-šukunum qál-wun pitó·?  
 where be-PRES now

'where are they said to be now?'

There is also an alternative form of this enclitic which is indeclinable, viz. -šukuna. It appears to have the same meaning and function.

4.2.2.1.4 -šupil

This enclitic and the next two below (-šupu 4.2.2.1.5, -šuku 4.2.2.1.6) present a number of problems with regard to their meanings and their morphology. The -šupil enclitic appears to be a welding together of the interrogative and the REM enclitic (see 22), but note the deviant first person plural forms:

(66)	Singular	Plural
	1. -šunil, -šil	-šiliš, -šumil
	2. -šupil, -šil	-šumil
	3. -šupil, -šil	-šumil

All the longer singular forms were supplied by my LaJolla informant; in speech, however, he regularly uses the shorter -šil form for all singular persons, but occasionally -šunil for the first person singular. My Pauma informant regularly uses -šunil for the first person singular but only -šil for the other two persons. He accepts the longer -šupil form, however. In the plural both dialects use the same second and third person form, but LaJolla has -šiliš, while Pauma has -šumil. Again the Pauma informant accepts the LaJolla form.

My informants volunteer three different translations for

this enclitic, as seen in 67-70, 71-72 and 73-74.

(67) nó·-ǰil ?ahúyaxi múyiki nēc-ax  
I very much pay-REM  
ACC

'I must have paid a great deal for it'

(68) nó·-ǰunil póy puptí?  
it dream  
ACC REM

'I guess I dreamed about it' or 'I must have dreamed ...'

(69) (Listen, our cows are bawling somewhere.)

čá·m-ǰiliš marópa·n pó·mik ǰá·mut čum?-?ó·vi  
we forget-PRES them hay our-give  
DAT

'I guess we've forgotten to give them some hay'

(70) nó·-ǰunil qáy wuná·lum ?ánkiš  
I not they like

'I guess I'm not like they are'

(71) pilék-sil múyiki hé·y-ax  
very much dig-REM  
ACC

'gee, he sure dug a lot!'

(72) ?ó·nu-ǰil pu-xardí·n-ki čó·?un hé·y-ax  
he his-garden-ALIEN all dig-REM

'gee, he dug up all his garden!'

(73) ?óm-ǰil póyk té·tila-quš  
you him talk-REM CONT  
DAT

'so you were talking to him?'

(74) (A says that he is going shooting and B remarks:)

?ató·man-ǰil ?u-pátkila qá·la  
 really(?) your-gun be  
 PRES

'so you have a gun?'

Kroeber/Grace follow Sparkman and give this enclitic only with the 'so ....?' translation (pp. 66-67).

4.2.2.1.5 -ǰupu

This enclitic has roughly the same meaning as -ǰupil but seems to be more emphatic. It appears to be a combination of the interrogative and the FUT enclitics (see 22). However, the first vowel of the FUT segment is here systematically deleted:

(75)

	Singular	Plural
1.	-ǰunpu	-ǰiǰpu
2.	-ǰupu	-ǰumpu
3.	-ǰupu	-ǰumpu

Thus -ǰu-nu-pu → -ǰunpu, and -ǰu-ču-pu → -ǰučpu → -ǰušpu → -ǰiǰpu. Note, however, that whereas the second and third person plural forms of the FUT enclitic contain no -pu, it is present here. The following illustrate how the enclitic is used.

(76) (Listen, my cow is bawling somewhere.)

nó·-ǰunpu maróp-ya póyk ǰá·mut nu-?ó·vi  
 I forget-REM her hay my-give  
 DAT

'I must have forgotten to give her some hay'

(77) nó·-ǰunpu ?ixí·l čáq<sup>w</sup>i-q pórki nu-tá·xu nu-?á·l  
 I cold catch-PRES because my-body my-chest



nu-yú?    ǎó·?un    tí·wa-q  
my-head    all        ache-PRES

'I must have caught a cold, because my body, my chest  
and my head all ache'

(78) qáy-sumpu    wukó·?-ya  
not            arrive-REM

'I guess they didn't come'

(79) qáy-supu    wukó·?ax-lut  
not            arrive-going to

'I don't think he's going to come'

Kroeber/Grace (66-67), following Sparkman, translate sentences containing this enclitic with 'perhaps .....'. For example, 79 would be rendered: 'perhaps he's not going to come.' Sometimes, however, they add a question mark, e.g.

(80) K/G: nu-mí·x-supu    mí·?-q  
          mine            be-PRES

'perhaps it is mine?'

This translation was never volunteered by my informants and always rejected when suggested to them. Nevertheless, there does seem to be some common semantic ground that 74-80 all share, viz. a kind of questioning doubt.

There may be a longer form of this enclitic with the remote future segment -ku (see 228).

#### 4.2.2.1.6 -guku

This enclitic belongs together with -supu and -supil. It was collected only from the LaJolla informant and occurs in the

following forms:

(81)	Singular	Plural	
	1. -šuku, -siku	-šišku, -sišku	} or as singular
	2. -šuku, -siku	-šumku, -sumku	
	3. -šuku, -siku	-šumku, -sumku	

Note that the alternate singular forms with s have backward assimilation of the vowel u, giving i after dental s.<sup>6</sup> My informant prefers the indeclinable form -šuku/-siku for all persons, but also uses the declinable ones. (Compare his usage of -xuku for all the forms of the HYP enclitic, 4.2.1.4 Note 8).

(82) ?á·, pilék-siku múyik pu-néčax  
 very much his-pay  
 'boy, he must have paid a lot for it!'

(83) čá·m-šišku čó·?un timét waxá·m hé·y-ax  
 we all day yest. dig-REM  
 'we must have dug all day yesterday'

(84) pilék-siku čá·m čó·?un timét waxá·m hé·y-ax  
 very  
 Same meaning as 83, but probably more emphatic.

Morphologically this enclitic seems to stand in the same relationship to -šupu as the LaJolla form -xuku to -xupu(ku). In each case the LaJolla dialect has a rule not shared by the others whereby the middle segment -pu- may be deleted.

Semantically the difference between -šupil, -šupu and -šuku is not at all obvious from the translations offered for sentences containing them. I shall rather hesitantly attempt to provide an

explanation based on their morphology in 4.4.8 below.

4.2.2.1.7 -xukun

Although this enclitic does not contain the interrogative segment -su, it is the interrogative counterpart of the HYP enclitic -xupu(ku) (see 23). It appears to be an amalgam of the HYP segment -xu- and the quotative enclitic -kun. It is declined as follows:

(85)

Singular	Plural
1. -xu(n)kun	-xiškun(um)
2. -xukun	-xumkun(um)
3. -xukun	-xumkun(um)

} or  
-xukun

It can be found in sentences without accompanying subordinate clauses, but it usually forms one half of an interrogative conditional sentence. As such it will be considered in detail when I come to describe complex sentences. For the moment I will illustrate its use by the following examples:

(86) ?óm-xukun póy ?í·x<sup>w</sup>una ?unáni-Ø mán té· qáy  
 you him immediately recognize-HYP or INT not  
 ACC part.

'would you recognize him immediately or not?'

(87) wuná·lum-xumkunum nu-kí· sá·msa-Ø pumó·mi  
 they my-house buy-HYP them  
 ACC ACC

nu-tuvyúñi-qala  
 my-ask-SUBORD  
 co-temp

'would they have bought my house, if I had asked them?'

As with all the enclitics ending with -kun, there is an alternative form with final a, viz. -xukuna, which seems to have the same meaning. Sparkman suggests that this conditional interrogative is "remoter", but my data are insufficient to corroborate this.

#### 4.2.2.2 Indeclinable Enclitics

We have seen that some of the declinable enclitics also have declinable forms, but there are a number of the latter which stand alone. These are -kam, -ku and -ǵan.

##### 4.2.2.2.1 -kam

A sentence with this enclitic appears to be an invitation to the hearer to bring one of his senses into play (very often sight). It thus has a deictic function. It is found in two environments: (a) with the imperative form of verbs of sensual perception, and (b) with declarative sentences where an accompanying 'look' imperative is also possible. The sentences in 88 illustrate environment (a), those in 89 environment (b).

(88) a. tów-kam wunál nawítmal ǵá·-qa  
 look that girl cry-PRES  
 IMP

'look, that girl is crying!'

b. náqma-kam vá·ka mičá? ǵá·-qa  
 listen cow somewhere  
 IMP

'listen, the cow is bawling somewhere!'

c. hú·ǵi-kam nu-pí·vi  
smell my-tobacco  
IMP

'smell (or smoke) my tobacco!'

(89) a. wunál-kam nawítmal ǵá·-qa

'look, that girl is crying' (cf. 88a)

b. ʔá· pú·ta, pu-tá·x-kam páli-q  
(Spanish his-self draw attention-PRES  
expletive)

'....., look, he's trying to make himself noticed'  
(said of a jealous dog)

Sometimes the imperative is also present, as in 90:

(90) tów, wunál-kam tó·-ǵa máhinik líčax-muna-ǵ  
look he stone-LOC slowly slip-come-PRES  
IMP

'look, he's slowly slipping down the rock'

When explicit imperatives are present, we should expect a new S after the imperative and, as a result, one of the syntactic enclitics after the first word of the second S. A second enclitic is however unacceptable here:

(91) a. tów-kam wunál-\*up nawítmal ǵá·-qa

b. tów-kam wuná·lum-\*pum péšli-ǵa sínaval ǵú·li-wun  
they dish-LOC money pour-PRES

'look, they are putting money in the dish'

This suggests that the imperative has been incorporated into the second S, with the special enclitic -kam coming in the expected second position in the sentence. We can thus generate sentences

of the type seen in 89 from sentences like 88, if we consider the deep structure of both to be a conjunction of sentences. A derivation for 88a and 89a would be as follows (substituting English morphemes for the sake of clarity):

- (92) a. [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>S</sub> look] [<sub>S</sub>that girl is-crying]      by -kam INSERTION →  
       b. [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>S</sub> look] [<sub>S</sub>that-kam girl is-crying]      by INCORPORATION →  
       c. [<sub>S</sub> look that-kam girl is-crying]      by look-DELETION →  
       d. [<sub>S</sub> ∅ that-kam girl is-crying]      = 89a
- (93) a. [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>S</sub> look] [<sub>S</sub>that girl is-crying]      by -kam INSERTION →  
       b. [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>S</sub> look-kam] [<sub>S</sub>that girl is crying]      by INCORPORATION →  
       c. [<sub>S</sub> look-kam that girl is-crying]      = 88a

This derivation is to some extent strengthened by 90, which is in fact the sentence generated in 92b. That INCORPORATION has not yet taken place is supported by the break after tów (indicated by a comma) in 90, whereas in the sentences of 88 there is no pause after tów-kam, náqma-kam and hú·ǵi-kam.

For some discussion of the details of -kam INSERTION see 4.5.3 below.

#### 4.2.2.2.2 -ku

This enclitic only appears with imperatives. It conveys the idea of impatience or slight annoyance with the hearer, or of reluctant consent (see also 4.5.2). In the following examples 'context' sentences are given in English for the sake of simplicity.



Sentence 98 could also be asked by A instead of B, if A turns to a third person and asks his age.

(99) (A: Are you going thrashing beans this year? B: Yes,)

?óm-ʒan 'what about you?'

For a suggested derivation of this enclitic, see 260 in 4.5.2.

#### 4.2.2.3 Generation of the Semantic Enclitics

In the following sections I shall put forward an analysis of the Luiseño semantic enclitics which is based on semantic structures containing abstract 'performative' verbs and 'higher' verbs of a non-performative kind. It will be easiest to discuss these if we look at individual kinds of simplex sentences and at the enclitics and other particles that are contained in them. I shall therefore make some preliminary remarks here about performatives and higher verbs and take up the detailed analysis in the appropriate section devoted to each kind of simplex sentence.

As we mentioned above in 4.2.2, the notion of the performative verb was first put forward by the philosopher Austin and a detailed account is given in his first lecture in the book 'How to Do Things with Words' (1962). For our present purposes we need only note that a sentence containing a performative verb is not a statement but an example of the action that the performative verb refers to. Thus, to say: 'I accept your offer' is an act of acceptance. Further, Austin points out that performative sentences have no truth value, but can only be considered 'felicitous' or 'infelicitous'. The performative idea was later taken



up by transformational grammarians, in particular by Ross (1970) in the article on declarative sentences in which he produces fourteen arguments in favour of what he calls the 'Performative Analysis'. This claims that every English sentence is dominated in the deep structure by one performative verb of communication with a first person subject and possibly a second person object, and that this verb marks the illocutionary force (see Searle, 1965) of the utterance. Austin's performative/constative (= non-performative) distinction was analysed by Anderson (1970); he also tries to show that Ross' arguments

"are not amenable to explanation in syntactic terms and that where explanation seems possible, it is in terms of semantic structure." (p.2)

A comparable theory of higher or abstract verbs, which unlike performatives are not restricted as to subject and object, was first put forward by G. Lakoff (1970a). A thorough-going use of this approach was later made by R. Lakoff (1968) in her analysis of Latin complementation, where she posits a number of different abstract verbs, some performative and some not, in order to account for complementation involving the accusative and infinitive construction or subjunctives with various introducers, and for different kinds of imperative.

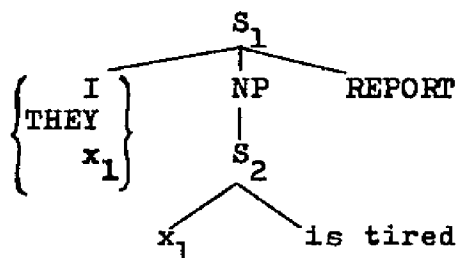
In the sections below I shall suggest a similar analysis for Luiseño and endeavour to describe its strengths and weaknesses.

### 4.3 Declarative and Interrogative Sentences

#### 4.3.1 Usefulness of Higher Verbs

It is easiest to demonstrate the usefulness of higher verbs in Luiseño by considering the sentences 45-53 in 4.2.2.1.1 with the quotative enclitic -kun. It will be remembered that the simplex sentence ḡuṇá·l móyaq means 'the woman is tired'. By the addition of the enclitic -kun, three pieces of meaning are added, namely (a) I say(the woman is tired), (b) the woman herself says (she is tired), and (c) they (= people) say (the woman is tired). If we postulate an abstract verb dominating 'the woman is tired', it is a simple matter to represent the three meanings by introducing different persons as subject into the superordinate S. If we call the abstract verb REPORT, we get the following tree:

(100)



Whichever of the three alternatives in subject position under  $S_1$  has been selected in the semantic representation, it may be deleted with the whole of  $S_1$  after -kun has been introduced into  $S_2$ .

W. Bright has pointed out to me that there may not be three specific meanings associated with -kun. He prefers an analysis

which requires only one, fairly general meaning and supports his preference by observing that this concept is expressed by a single morpheme in many Amerindian languages and also elsewhere; e.g. some Spanish dialects use dizque, Kanarese uses ante, etc. Now the most non-committal rendering of -kun I can think of is 'it is said', where the sayer is left fully unspecified, but I can see no way of making use of this in a higher verb analysis. And in any case Luiseño possesses no passive constructions. Another possibility is that the higher verb is active but has a neutral subject like 'somebody'. One objection to this is that it is rather curious for 'somebody' to include the subject of the sentence as in the (b) translation of áuná·l-kun móyaq 'the woman (herself) says she is tired'. An entirely different analysis was proposed to me by G. Bedell, who suggested that -kun may be equivalent to an adverb like the English 'reportedly'. The snag here is that Luiseño has no adverbs at all of this kind; in fact, it has extremely few adverbs of any kind, English adverbial modifications usually being rendered by Luiseño verbal constructions which clearly have sentences underlying them. This being so, in the case of reportedly we are back again to the higher verb.

The first analysis I offered above seems to avoid all these problems and in my opinion is therefore preferable. However, even if I am wrong, the language itself does present some syntactical justification for an analysis with a higher verb of saying such as REPORT.

In one kind of indirect speech (see 5.3.1.1) we find sentences of the following kind, where -kun introduces subordinate clauses after overt verbs of saying:

(101) [S wuná·lum-pum yáx-wun [S šuŋá·l-kun móya-q ]]  
 they -ENC say-PRES woman be tired-PRES  
 PL

'they say that the woman is tired'

(102) [S nó·-n yaqá· [S šuŋá·l-kun móya-q]]  
 I-ENC say

'I say that the woman is tired'

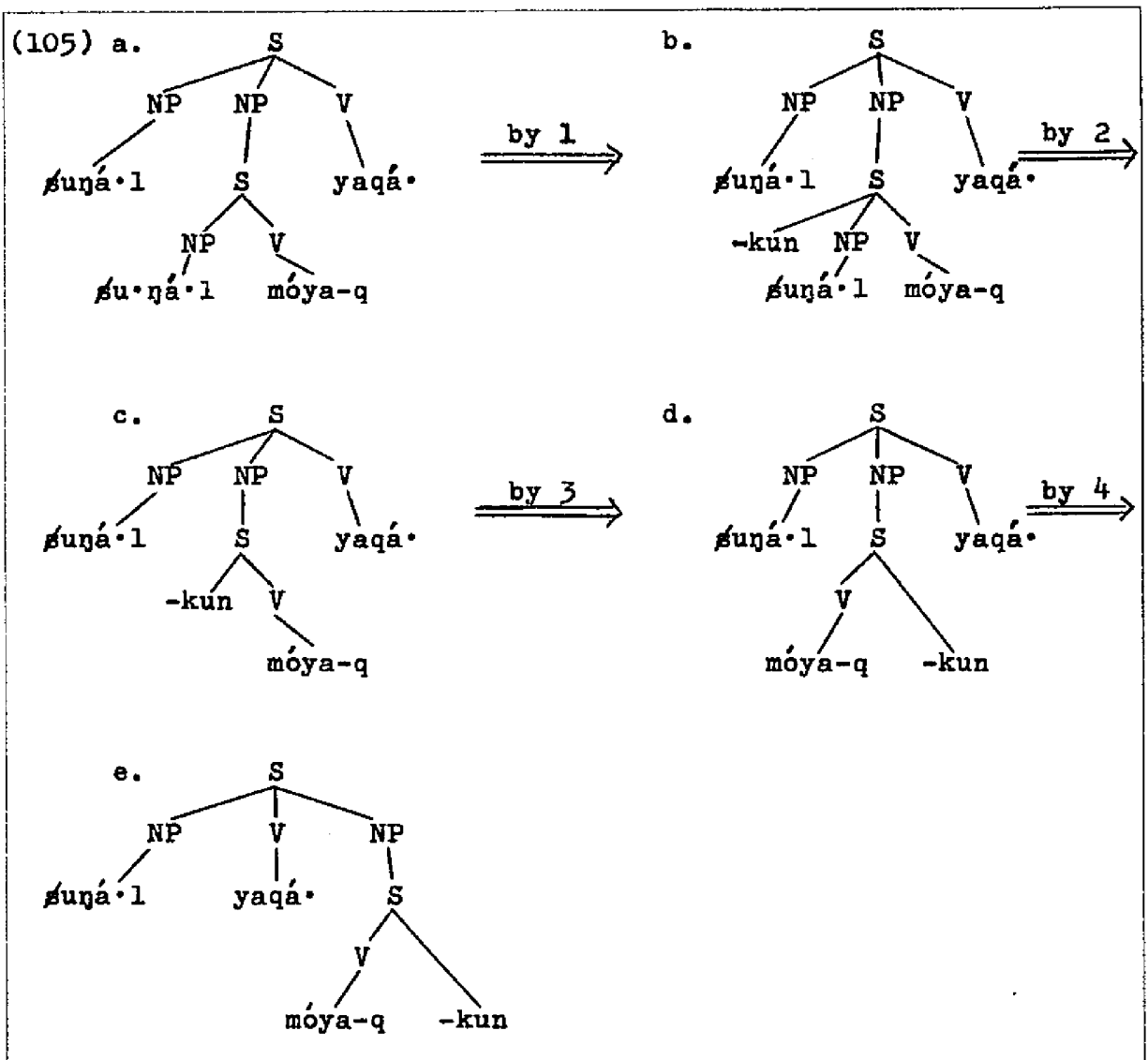
(103) [S šuŋá·l-up yaqá· [S móya-q-kun]]  
 woman-ENC say

'the woman says she is tired'

Underlying 103 we can postulate 104:

(104) [S šuŋá·l<sub>1</sub> [S šuŋá·l<sub>1</sub> móya-q yaqá·]]

If we forget for the moment about the syntactic enclitic in the top sentence, and simplify Tense/Aspect, 103 can be generated by the following transformations: (1) -kun INSERTION introduces -kun as first element in a S immediately dominated by a verb of saying, (2) EQUI-NP DELETION deletes a subject NP in a S under identity with the subject NP in the next higher S, (3) ENCLITIC ADJUSTMENT makes the enclitic hop over the first word to the right of its own S, (4) OBJ-VERB PERMUTATION switches around a verb and its object when the latter is also a S. Thus:



With the exception of -kun INSERTION all these transformations are needed elsewhere in Luiseño and are of very general application. The important thing, however, is that a second rule for inserting -kun into main clauses is not needed if we postulate, as in 101, an abstract verb of saying such as REPORT ( with the same syntactic behaviour as an explicit verb of saying, e.g. yaqá·) to explain such sentences as 106.

- (106) šuná·l-kun móya-q 'the woman is tired'  
 'the woman says she is tired'

'they (= people) say the woman  
is tired'

Of course we must now have a DELETION rule to remove the whole of the superordinate S with its abstract argument and predicate. In this respect the higher verb analysis I am suggesting here resembles the performative analysis. DELETION rules of this kind are open to two criticisms: (1) they are peculiar in their virtual wholesale destruction of a dominating S leaving only the subordinate S behind, and (2) they seem to be necessary only in performing operations on semantic structures.

Bach (1971) claims that the recent research of Ritchie and Peters into the mathematical properties of transformational grammars has shown that they are

"too powerful to qualify as theories of natural language. .... Yet a major part of the research of the years since Aspects has gone into the development of theories that are even more powerful ... than the standard theory."  
(p.5)

He points out that the theory has been extended since Aspects by the addition of pre-cyclic (G. Lakoff 1970a), post-cyclic (Ross 1967b) and 'anywhere' rules (Ross 1967c), by deep-structure and surface-structure constraints (Perlmutter 1968), and more recently by Lakoff's claim that

"transformations are just the limiting case of much more general (and more powerful) derivational and even trans-derivational constraints." (Bach, p.5)

(See G. Lakoff 1970b, 1972).

DELETION rules of the kind I suggested above also fit into the category of these ever more powerful rules that recent trans-

formational research has introduced. Yet the fact that Luiseño -kun appears in main clauses with exactly the same force as when it introduces a subordinate clause dependent on a verb of saying suggests strongly that a higher verb of saying has indeed been deleted.

#### 4.3.2 Abstract Performative Verb

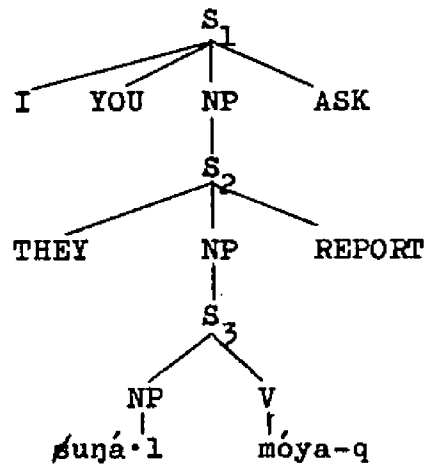
Let us now go further and explore the consequences of proposing that the structure in 100 is not the final analysis, but that above the higher S shown there an even higher S of the performative kind can be postulated. Before we look at the details of this, consider the following sentence with the -šukun enclitic (described in 4.2.2.1.3):

(107) šuŋá·l-šukun móya-q

'do they say the woman is tired?'<sup>7</sup>

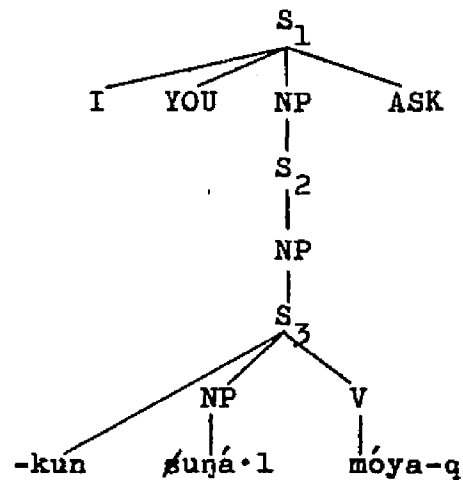
Here the enclitic adds two additional semantic ideas to the original sentence: (1) the utterer of the sentence is asking the hearer for information, but (2) the required information is not about the truth of the original sentence but about the truth of a report of the original sentence. This complicated semantic structure can easily be represented in a tree:

(108)



Sentence 107 can now be generated cyclically as follows. On the lowest cycle no transformation applies. On the S<sub>2</sub> cycle, -kun INSERTION places -kun before the next lowest S (i.e. S<sub>3</sub>) by being sensitive to a rule feature on the verb REPORT. A DELETION transformation now deletes REPORT and its abstract subject in S<sub>2</sub> giving 109.

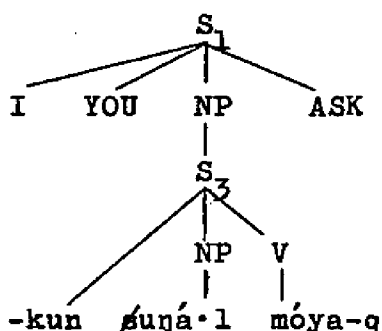
(109)



The S<sub>2</sub> now becomes redundant and is pruned; as a result the NP that was dominated by S<sub>2</sub> also becomes redundant and is also pruned, giving 110.

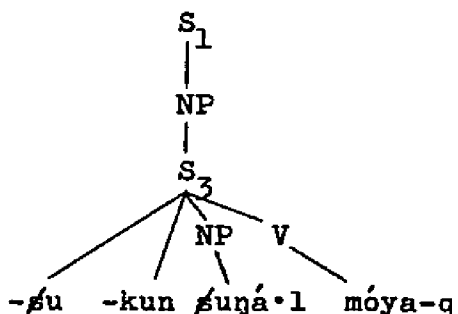


(110)



On the last cycle su INSERTION, which will need to be sensitive to a rule feature on ASK, now applies and places su to the left of the next lower S (i.e. S<sub>3</sub>). Again a DELETION transformation operates and removes the abstract subject, indirect object and verb of S<sub>1</sub>, producing 111.

(111)



The NP between S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>3</sub> is now redundant and will be pruned, whereby S<sub>1</sub> also becomes redundant and is pruned. Finally ENCLITIC ADJUSTMENT causes the two enclitics to hop over the next non-enclitic word to the right (maybe we need a rule to fuse them into one unit before they hop) and then we reach 107.

#### 4.3.3 An Alternative Proposal

One criticism that can be levelled against the above analysis is that the introduction of the enclitics by transformation violates a universal constraint on transformations proposed by Chomsky

(1965:146) and claimed by Bresnan (1970) to have received additional confirmation in Dougherty (1968), Kayne (1969) and Helke (1971). This states that no transformation be allowed to introduce morphological material into a

"configuration dominated by S once the cycle of transformational rules has already completed its application to this configuration."

This is, of course, exactly what -*kun* INSERTION and -*su* INSERTION do, since it is on the cycle of the S containing the verbs REPORT and ASK that an enclitic is prefixed to the next lower S.

Bresnan has raised just this same objection to the transformational introduction of complementizers in English. She goes on to point out that the complementizers that, for-to, 's-ing are not semantically devoid of function as many grammarians have hitherto assumed and that this provides additional evidence for a new node COMP in a configuration of the following type:



Under various circumstances this configuration may be dominated by NP or VP, e.g. depending on whether it is the complement of a factive or non-factive verb, etc. In the introduction of complementizers by transformation the rule has to be sensitive to a rule feature on the verb above the S complement. Bresnan's analysis has the advantage that no rule feature and no insertion transformation are now needed, since the verb can be subcategorized for the type of complement it takes.

#### 4.3.4 Enclitics as Complementizers?

It is interesting that all Bresnan's remarks about English complementizers seem to apply equally well to the Luiseño enclitics; indeed we may justifiably ask whether the enclitics are not in fact complementizers. First, if they are so analysed, note that without the higher verb analysis Luiseño has overt complementizers introducing most kinds of non-embedded sentences. Bresnan also envisages this possibility for English and suggests that all non-embedded sentences have complementizers introducing them, though some must be obligatorily deleted: she means non-deletable ones like +WH and deletable ones like Q. The case for enclitics as complementizers in Luiseño becomes even stronger if we accept the higher verb analysis, for now the 'unattached' complementizers in non-embedded sentences become the complementizers for which the superordinate abstract verbs are categorized; or, put in another way, they now introduce the complements of these verbs. This will become clear if we apply this new analysis to 107. Note that I am assuming the position taken by G. Lakoff (1971) that the base rules directly generate semantic representations as phrase-markers. Thus Bresnan's innovation in the base rules:

(113) NP  $\longrightarrow$  N  $\bar{S}$   
VP  $\longrightarrow$  V  $\bar{S}$   
 $\bar{S}$   $\longrightarrow$  COMP S

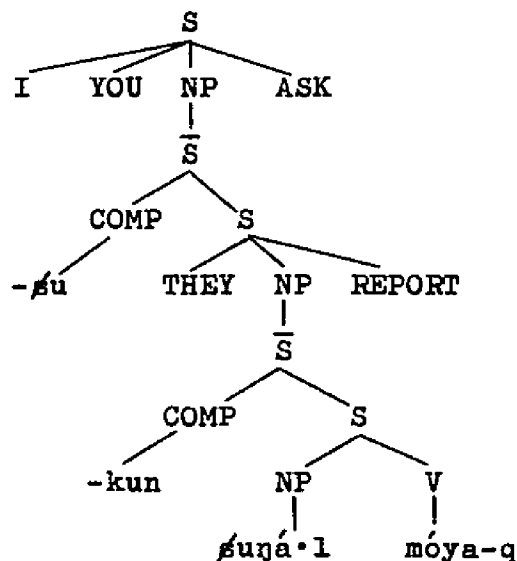
must also apply to semantic structures, and in particular the  $\bar{S}$  and the COMP nodes must also be generated in phrase-markers to introduce the complements of abstract verbs. I shall also assume

for the moment that Chomsky's universal does in fact hold, though this is far from having been proved despite Bresnan's claims. I shall also assume that it applies to transformations on semantic structures, i.e. prelexical transformations as well as post-lexical transformations. This is in keeping with the demands of Bach (1971) discussed above for severe restrictions on transformations and a much more heavily constrained transformational model than either the interpretivist or the generative semantic school at present envisage.

#### 4.3.5 A Sample Derivation Incorporating Bresnan's Proposal

We can postulate for 107 a remote structure such as 114, where I have for the moment left Tense/Aspect out of account:

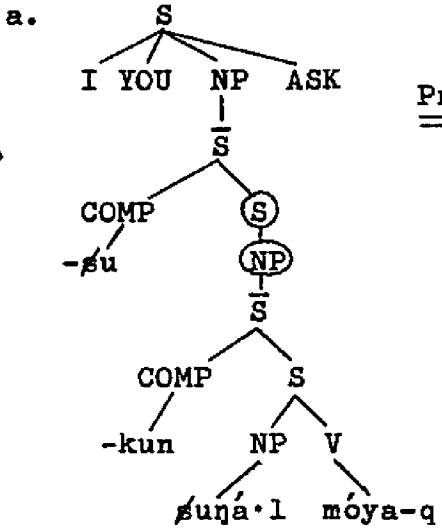
(114)



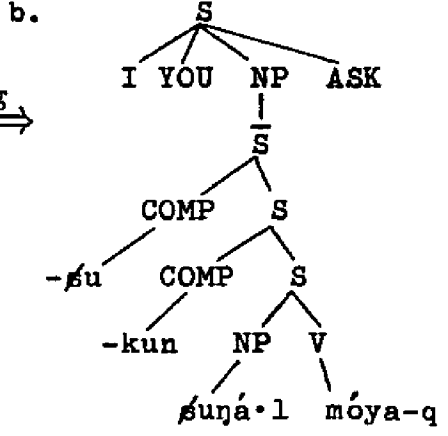
Operating on this we need no enclitic insertion transformation at all, only DELETION transformations with subsequent tree pruning. Thus 114 is the starting point for the following derivation:

(115)

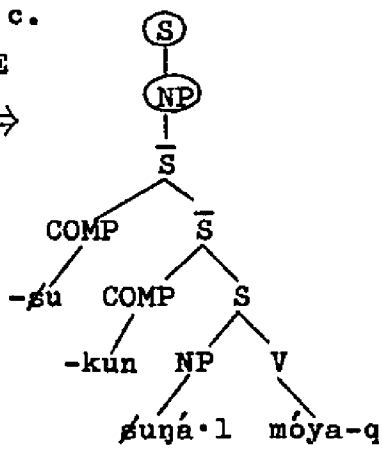
HIGHER VERB DELETION



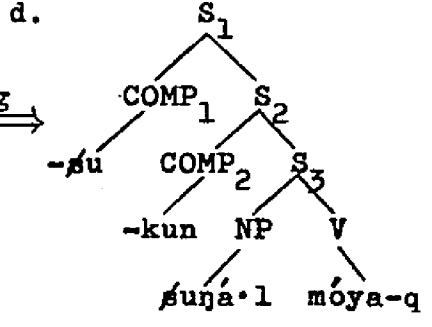
Pruning



PERFORMATIVE DELETION

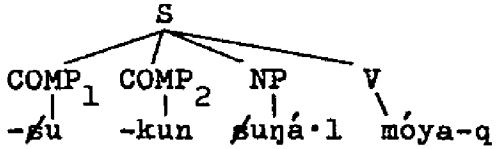


Pruning



With the configuration in 115d we now need some means of obtaining a structure like:

(116)



This could be achieved by an ad hoc transformation raising COMP<sub>2</sub> and adjoining it to S<sub>1</sub> to the right of COMP<sub>1</sub>. S<sub>2</sub> would now become redundant and be pruned. Then SUBJECT RAISING would attach NP to S<sub>1</sub>, and PREDICATE RAISING would attach V to S<sub>1</sub>.

#### 4.3.6 For and Against the Two Proposals

There are two things that can be said against incorporating Bresnan's proposal into a performative analysis. First, if Bresnan is right that every S must have a complementizer, we must also posit a COMP node for the performative S at the top of the tree. This would cancel out the one big advantage that the performative analysis has over other approaches, viz. that every COMP node must depend on a superordinate verb. Second, Bresnan's proposal springs from the desire to stand by Chomsky's universal constraint but as I intimated above, it is by no means certain that this constraint holds universally. This being so, her inventing a new COMP node to avoid introducing morphological material into a tree where the constraint forbids it may be nothing more than a vain exercise.

Two criticisms can also be levelled against the introduction of the complementizers by transformation. The first concerns the DELETION transformation required to remove most of the performative S. Fraser (1971) in his critique of Ross' arguments for the performative analysis says that he agrees with Ross that the rule for performative deletion faces a number of difficulties. These consist mainly in so restricting the DELETION transformation that overt performatives are not also deleted. It seems to me that a fairly simple, though maybe ad hoc, way to overcome this problem would be to make the DELETION rule sensitive to a feature [+Abstract] on the higher verb. This would ensure that only abstract verbs would self-destruct, while overt performatives,

marked with the feature [-Abstract], will not.

The second criticism is that we need a separate transformation to introduce each enclitic, each transformation being sensitive to the higher verb on which the enclitic depends. This seems awkward and wasteful, but on the other hand it leads to simpler lexical entries for the higher verb, which no longer needs to be subcategorized for the enclitic (complementizer) it takes.

On balance the disadvantages of enclitic introduction by transformation seem to be far less serious than those attaching to Bresnan's analysis. Furthermore, in the transformational approach the problem of the complementizer in the top performative S does not arise. For these reasons I shall reject Bresnan's proposal and in the rest of this study generate the enclitics by transformation.

Before we go on to take a look at the various Luiseño sentence types, let me make one observation on the consequence of the performative/higher verb analysis on the distinction I have hitherto made between semantic and syntactic enclitics. This analysis with the enclitics introduced as the complementizers of abstract higher verbs seems to remove most, if not all of their semantic force. They now come to look much more like the syntactic enclitics from which they were carefully held apart. Indeed the only characteristic which can now differentiate the syntactic enclitics from the semantic enclitics, viz. the apparent sensitivity of the former to the T/A suffix on the verb in their own S, owes its existence to the analysis of T/A that one adopts. This

sensitivity would be a distinguishing factor if we were to adopt the feature analysis mentioned in 4.1.1 above, but when T/A is analysed as a series of higher verbs the syntactic enclitics become the complementizers of these higher verbs in exactly the same way as the semantic enclitics are the complementizers of their higher verbs.

#### 4.3.7 Derivation of Declarative Sentences

In the discussion above we concentrated principally on one type of interrogative sentence in order to make our arguments clear. Before I go on to analyse interrogative sentences in detail, it will be more convenient to deal first with declarative sentences. These are of two kinds: Simple Declaratives and Declarative Reportives.

##### 4.3.7.1 Simple Declaratives

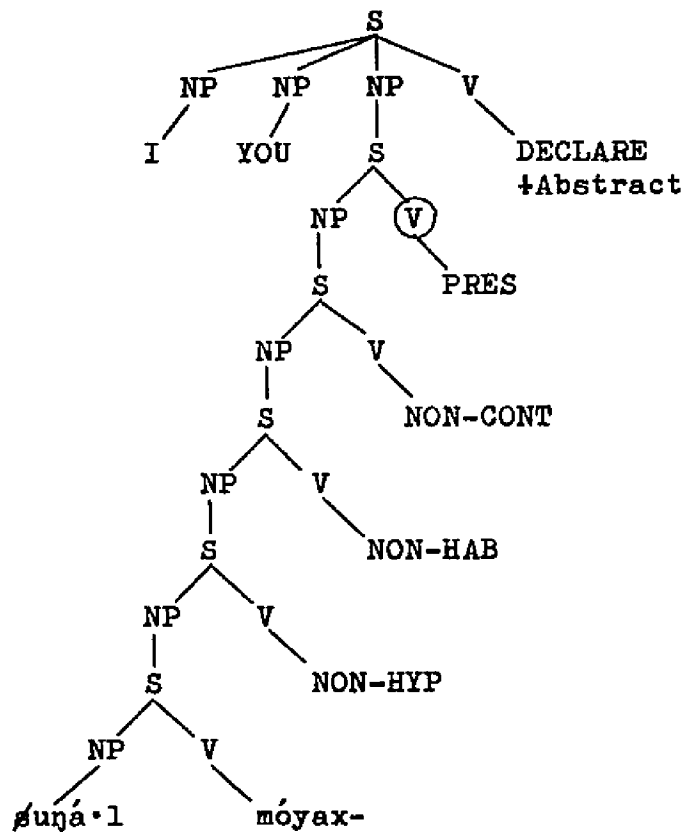
For simple declarative sentences we can postulate an abstract performative verb DECLARE with first person singular subject and second person indirect object, as in 118, and with a node NP dominating the T/A higher verbs. Thus underlying

(117) *ʒuǵá·l-up móya-q* 'the woman is tired'

we have the remote structure:



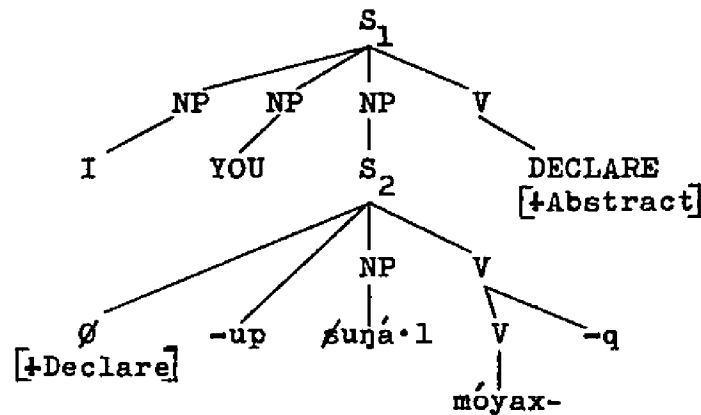
(118)



It will be remembered (see 4.1.2) that the node I have ringed is the only one of the T/A higher verbs that represents Tense; the three lower nodes represent Aspect. Another way of describing 118 is to say that the simple declarative sentence consists of a predicate DECLARE and three arguments, namely the first person singular pronoun, a second person pronoun and a sentence whose predicate must be one of the verbs of Tense. The final T/A enclitic will be atomically generated by ENCLITIC INSERTION as the cycles proceed up the tree. On the topmost cycle a transformation sensitive to the performative verb (here DECLARE) will attach the appropriate enclitic (in this case  $\emptyset$ ) to the front of the S dominated by one of the NP arguments. If the T/A verbs have meantime been raised and lexically replaced by the correct T/A

suffix we get:

(119)



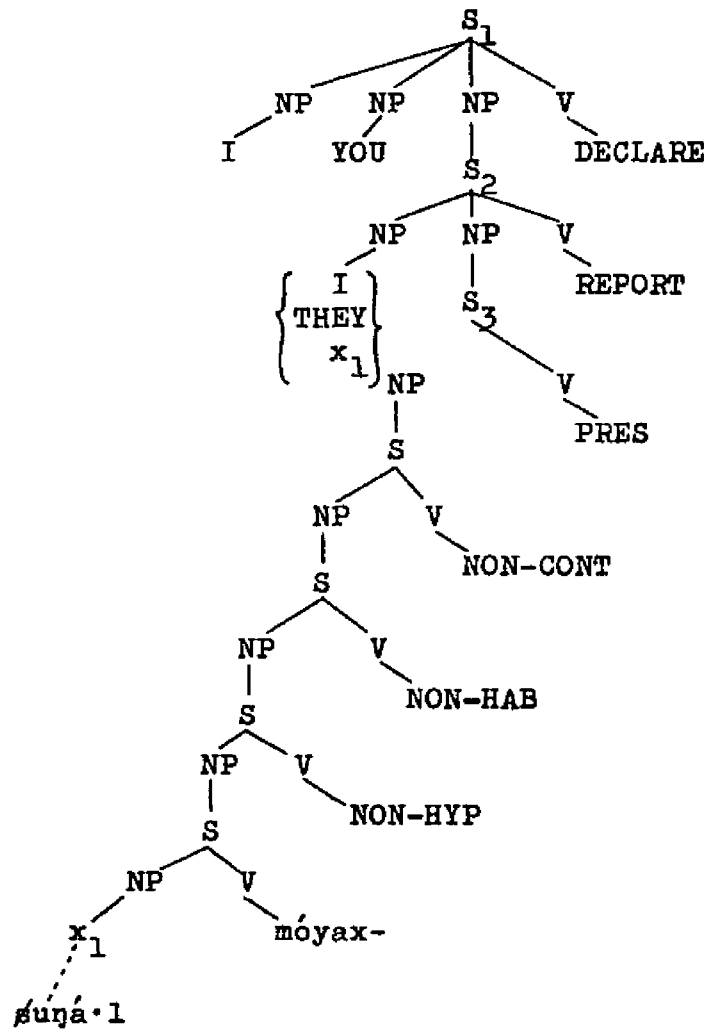
A PERFORMATIVE DELETION transformation will now eliminate I, YOU and DECLARE, pruning will remove  $S_1$  and  $NP_1$ , and móyax- will be raised to immediately precede -q. Finally, in the enclitic sequence  $[\text{+Declare}] \text{-up}$ , the zero element must be deleted, and, in the verb sequence, móyax- and -q must be welded together with subsequent phonological deletion of the x.

#### 4.3.7.2 Declarative Reportives

The other type of declarative sentence is the one I described in 4.3.2 but now with the abstract performative added. It will be remembered that this was the type of sentence with a higher verb REPORT which I suggested could have I, THEY or  $x_1$  as subject, where  $x_1$  is the same person as the subject of the lowest S. A glance at the tree below, in which the performative DECLARE and its arguments have been inserted, will make this clear. This is the tree for 106, repeated here for convenience as 120.

(120) šuná·1-kun móya-q = 'the woman is tired'  
 'the woman says she is tired'  
 'they say the woman is tired'

(120) ctd.



The cyclical applications of the transformations will proceed up the tree as before, and again the T/A verbs will be replaced by -q and the abstract enclitics by -up. On the cycle of  $S_2$  a transformation sensitive to REPORT will add the enclitic -kun to the front of  $S_3$ , and on the  $S_1$  cycle the transformation sensitive to DECLARE will attach the  $[+\text{Declare}]$  enclitic to the front of  $S_2$ , as for simple declaratives. Ultimately we shall obtain the enclitic sequence  $[+\text{Declare}]$   $-\text{kun}$   $-\text{up}$ . As before, the  $[+\text{Declare}]$  enclitic must be deleted; -up must also be deleted since -kun does not tolerate the company of any Tense enclitic. With the final opera-

tions described in 4.3.7.1 we finally arrive at 120.

Two things should be noticed about this tree. First, I have posited no T/A verbs above REPORT, although it might be semantically more accurate to consider performatives and other abstract verbs as being in the present tense. Perhaps a case could be made for them not to be marked for tense, or, put in another way, for the Luiseño T/A verbs to be restricted to a position below the lowest S containing an abstract verb which must later be deleted. Although this strikes me as a weakness, I shall adopt this practice for simplicity's sake and in all the sections below introduce no T/A with abstract verbs.

The second thing to be noticed is that if the subject of the verb REPORT is in fact 'I', then REPORT also functions as a performative, in fact as an embedded performative. Although Ross (1970:261) claims that

"every deep structure contains one and only one performative sentence as its highest clause",

and thus implies that performatives may not be embedded, Fraser (1971) produces a number of counterexamples disproving this. He points out that the sentence

(121) I admit that I concede the election

"is simultaneously an admission and a concession". Similarly, in

(122) I announce that I hereby promise to be timely

there is both an act of announcing and an act of promising. If one performative can appear embedded below another when they are both overt, there should be no objection to positing this same relationship when they are both abstract.



b. nu-yú?-up wám? píwax-muna

'my hair is going grey'

#### 4.3.8.2 -viča/-viču

This is a very common suffix and can be translated by 'want to',

e.g.

(125) a. wunál-pil hé·la-quš 'he was singing'  
he-ENC sing-REM CONT

b. wunál-pil hé·li-viča-quš 'he wanted to sing'

Note that the root hé·l- usually has the thematic increment:

-(?)ax. When the suffix -viča is added, thematic -(?)ax is

regularly changed to -i- in LaJolla and Pauma usage. In Hyde the

suffix is given with the form -viču (also quoted by Kroeber/Grace)

and thematic -(?)ax is retained, e.g.

(126) mariya péllaxvichuq (= pél-ax-viču-q)

'Maria wants to dance'

Tac seems to have vacillated between both forms, though the thematic increment regularly loses its x in his usage. Thus on page 196 he writes

(127) no eis' so` hatiivichoc' o yiyipi

(= nu-?é·š-su hatí?i-viču-q ?u-yí?yi-pi  
with me-ENC go-want-PRES your-play-SUBORD  
INT FUT

'do you want to go with me (in order) to play?'

but on pages 192, 193, 198 he writes hatíavichoc' (= hatí?a-viču-q).

4.3.8.3 -vuta/-luta

These suffixes are synonymous and correspond to English 'can, be able', e.g.

- (128) wunál-up pu-hé·li- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vuta} \\ \text{luta} \end{array} \right\}$ -q 'he can sing'  
his-sing-can-PRES

Here too the thematic increment -(?)ax may be converted to -i-, but it often remains unchanged; thus pu-hé·lax-vuta-q or pu-hé·lax-luta-q are acceptable variants alongside those in 128.

Note that the verb forms with this suffix are extremely odd syntactically when compared with all other Luiseño verb forms. They are the only ones that take the same range of T/A suffixes as a finite verb, yet they have possessive prefixes attached to them as if they were non-finite (i.e. nominals). It may be that this one construction is the only fossilized survival in Luiseño of the mechanism well developed in Cupeño and Cahuilla of attaching subject pronouns as prefixes to finite verbs. In spite (or maybe because) of its frequency, this Luiseño construction today seems to be vacillating between a verbal and a nominal position. This can be seen from the enclitic forms used in the sentence when the English translation has a non-third person subject. Consider the enclitic in the following two sentences:

- (129) nó·-p nu-hé·li- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vuta} \\ \text{luta} \end{array} \right\}$ -q (< nó· + up)  
 $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ENC} \\ +\text{PRES} \\ +\text{III} \\ -\text{PL} \end{array} \right]$

'I can sing'





Examples 131 and 132 point up another peculiarity about this construction. Whereas Hyde has only plural T/A suffixes on the verb when the personal prefix is plural, Kroeber/Grace always have singular T/A suffixes regardless of whether the prefixes are singular or plural. The plural suffix was consistently rejected by my Pauma informant, who always uses the singular. On the other hand, in LaJolla usage the singular T/A suffix with non-matching enclitic is frequent, but the plural with matching enclitic also occurs at times, e.g.

(133)	wuná·lum-pum	qáy	pum?-kupú?i-vuta-wun
	they	-ENC	not their-sleep-can-PRES
		[+PRES]	[+PL]
		+III	
		+PL	

Very rarely a plural enclitic may be found with a singular T/A suffix as in 536.

We may note finally that -vuta is the only suffix used in the speech of my LaJolla informant, who rejects -luta, although according to Malécot's personal notes it was recognized by his sister. On the other hand, -luta is used just as often as -vuta by my Pauma informant. Hyde gives only -vuta; Tac has examples of neither.

#### 4.3.8.4 -ni

This is the Luiseño causative suffix.

(134)	nó·-n	póy	néči- <u>ni</u> -q	'I'm making him pay'
	I-ENC	him	pay-cause-PRES	
		PRES ACC		

In the REM tense -ni is replaced by -nax, and for the FUT tense -nixan is used:

(135) nó·-nił póy néči-nax 'I made him pay'  
 ENC cause  
 REM REM

(136) nó·-nupu póy néči-nixan 'I shall make him pay'  
 ENC cause  
 FUT FUT

#### 4.3.8.5 -la

The most common use of this suffix is to indicate that an action is repeatedly or continually performed. Compare 137 with 138.

(137) ?óm néy čáŋi-q 'you are contradicting me'  
 you me contradict-PRES  
 ACC

(138) ?óm néy čáŋ-la-q 'you keep contradicting me'

Notice that the verb loses its thematic increment when -la is added. (For other uses see Kroeber/Grace: 143)

#### 4.3.8.6 -i(m)

This is another very common suffix. It adds to the verb the notion that the action is accompanied by movement from one place to another, e.g.

(139) a. nó·-n čé·ni-q 'I'm shearing sheep'  
 shear-PRES

b. nó·-n čé·ni·-q ( čé·ni-i-q)

'I'm going from one flock to another shearing'

The final m appears in the REM tense; whenever another suffix

follows (as in 139), the m is dropped.

(140) nó--nil waxá·m waní·-ŋa wá·ya-ym  
I-ENC yest. river-LOC REM  
REM

'I swam across the river yesterday'

#### 4.3.8.7 -ŋi

This suffix may occur both alone and in conjunction with -i(m).

In the latter case it seems to suggest that the movement is not directed to any particular goal, e.g.

(141) nó--nil kihá·t mí·?-qanik puyá·maŋi šúšŋalum  
I-ENC little be-SUBORD always women  
REM

pum?-?é·š yá?-ŋi·-k ( yá?-ŋi-i-k)  
with them run REM  
HAB

'when I was young I was always running around with the women'

(142) x<sup>w</sup>á·n-up puyá·maŋi pú·ru kó·?i-nik món-ŋi·-ma  
Juan-ENC always cigar chew-SUBORD come RES  
HAB

'Juan is always walking around chewing a cigar'

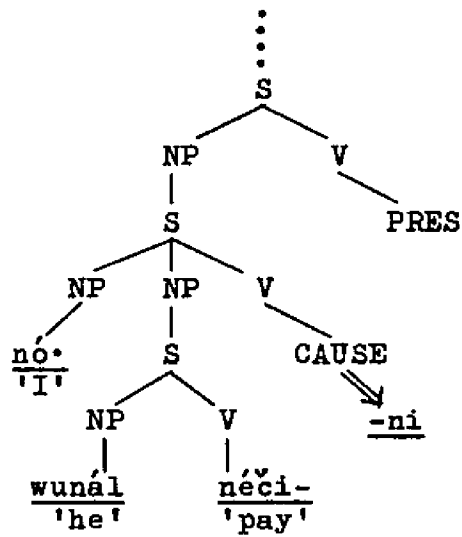
For two other uses of -ŋi see the discussion of commands with higher verbs in 4.5.4.

#### 4.3.8.8 Derivation of the Suffixes from Higher Verbs

Within the framework I am using we can easily account for the -ni and -viča suffixes by positing each as a higher verb in the underlying structure in just the way proposed by Langacker (1970).

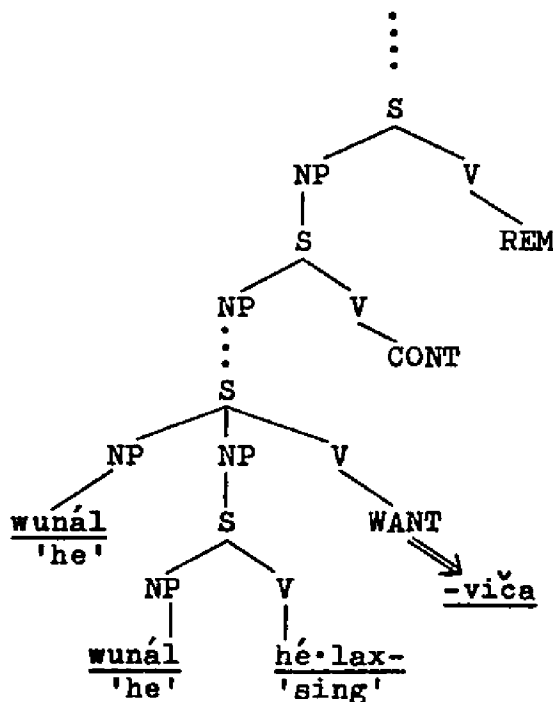
Thus for 134 we would need a structure:

(143)



and for 125b we would need:

(144)

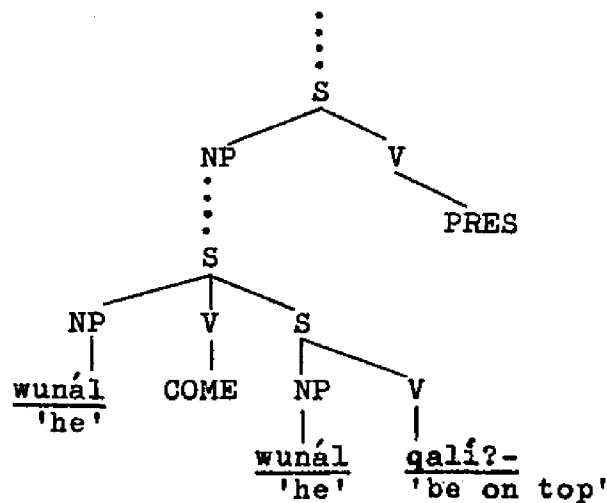


It should be noted that in postulating trees like 143 and 144 we are claiming that for forms like něci-ni a relationship of noun phrase complementation obtains between the higher verb and its

complement although the former winds up as a suffix on the latter in surface structure. Despite its structural peculiarity, maybe the -vuta/-luta suffix can be dealt with in the same way. There are certainly precedents in other languages for construing 'can' as taking a NP complement (e.g. French: je le peux, German: ich kann es, etc.). In the case of -la, however, we can find no support for NP complementation. Similarly for the other suffixes illustrated above, which all involve motion, NP complementation is clearly impossible, since verbs of motion do not take noun phrase objects. If we wish to posit higher verbs as underlying these suffixes, we must use underlying structures where a relationship corresponding to what Rosenbaum (1967) calls 'verb phrase' complementation obtains between the higher verb and its complement.

Thus underlying wunál gali?-muna in 123 we should have:

(145)



This tree is intended to be nothing more than suggestive.

Before we leave these suffixes, let me quickly survey the advantages and disadvantages of analysing them as higher verbs. We have just seen that in some cases we shall have to postulate

NP complements and in other cases complements of a different kind. This is a drawback as we shall now require two different sets of transformations to convert the verbs into suffixes. On the other hand, the higher verb approach can very competently account for the fact that a Luiseño sentence such as

(146) wunál-pil hé·li-viča-quš ?éxni  
           he-ENC sing-want-REM tomorrow  
                   REM                  CONT  
                   CONT

'he wanted to sing tomorrow'

can contain a temporal adverb that is irreconcilable with the T/A ending on the verb. In 146 it is clear that the 'wanting' is past and the 'singing' future. The higher verb approach can accommodate both these temporal relations quite comfortably since it postulates two separate verbs in underlying structure. Finally, further support is lent to this analysis by the fact that the shape of some of the suffixes discussed above suggests that historically they may well have been free verbs: alongside -muna- we have the free verb muná· 'come' and alongside -ni- we have the free verb né· 'leave'.

#### 4.4 Questions

##### 4.4.1 Two Proposals for Abstract Performatives

In 4.3.2 when I began the discussion of abstract performative verbs in general, I illustrated my argument with an example from Luiseño containing an abstract performative S: I YOU NP ASK, where NP immediately dominates a S containing the elements that ultimately appear in the surface question. It should be pointed out that this is not the only approach within this model. Some linguists have attempted to account for the illocutionary force of interrogative sentences not by positing a higher verb ASK but by considering questions to be requests or commands to the listener to provide information. This is the analysis referred to by Ross (1970:258) when he suggests that

"questions are to be derived from structures roughly paraphrasable by I request of you that you tell me S".

This topic is apparently discussed in detail in a forthcoming paper by G. Lakoff and Ross entitled 'Abstract Syntax', of which I have not been able to obtain a preview.

Although this approach does away with the necessity for positing one higher verb, namely ASK, it is at the expense of additional structure. It seems to me that nothing is thereby gained; so I shall continue with the structurally simpler approach mentioned above with the performative S containing ASK.

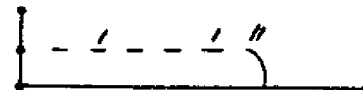
Whenever I use the terms 'direct question' and 'direct speech' below, it should be borne in mind that I am borrowing the traditional names for surface structures merely as convenience

labels. The presence of the higher abstract verb means, of course, that in the performative analysis 'direct' structures are really indirect in the underlying trees, i.e. complex not simplex.

#### 4.4.2 Structure and Intonation

At first sight Luiseño questions seem quite uncomplicated. There are, however, one or two problems connected with them. Before we consider these, let us first take a careful look at the structures involved. As we saw in 4.2.2.1.2, direct questions differ from declarative sentences by having the T/A enclitic replaced by the interrogative enclitic -á declined appropriately for person and number. They also differ in intonation. In the most usual kind of declarative sentence the pitch remains more or less level at mid and falls on the last strongly stressed syllable in the sentence to low: in most questions the pitch begins as for declaratives but jumps to high at the beginning of the last strongly stressed syllable and then falls immediately to low. The question is thus characterized by a greater pitch interval on the last stressed syllable than is found in declaratives.<sup>8</sup> Graphic examples are given below. Each dash shows the height or change in height of a single syllable, a single acute accent represents stress, and a double accent the last strong stress.

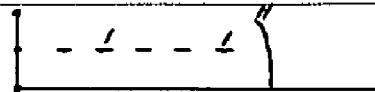
(147) a. ?u-ká·mi-p pu-yú? yót  
 your-son-ENC his-head big  
 PRES  
 'your son has a big head'





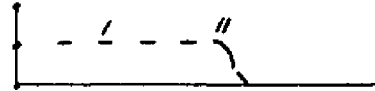
b. ?u-ká·mi-s<sup>9</sup> pu-yú? yót

ENC  
INT



'does your son have a big head?'

(148) a. pu-qé·sum-pum ?óma·n  
his-elder-ENC not be-PRES  
sisters PRES PL  
PL



'he has no elder sisters'

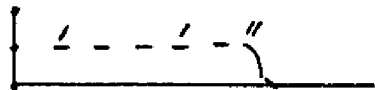
b. pu-qé·sum-ǵum ?óma·n

ENC  
INT  
PL



'doesn't he have any sisters?'

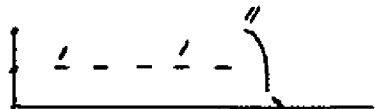
(149) a. ?óm-pil pu-pú·k-i héd-ax  
you-ENC door-ACC open-REM  
REM



'you opened the door'

b. ?óm-ǵu pu-pú·k-i héd-ax

ENC  
INT



'did you open the door?'

#### 4.4.3 Yes/No Questions

Apart from the absence of a question word, the principal difference between Yes/No questions and Q-word questions is that every Yes/No question is the first member of a potential disjunction where the second member (when it occurs) is a negative form of the first. Disjunctions of this kind are never found in Q-word questions. Consider the following Yes/No questions:



The important thing to observe in 150-152 is that there is no occurrence of the interrogative enclitic in the second disjunct. If we look at indirect questions, however, the situation is different. After an overt verb of asking, telling, knowing, etc., where the dependent S contains no question word, an 'or not' disjunction is again possible, but in this case both disjuncts are always introduced by the particle té, e.g.

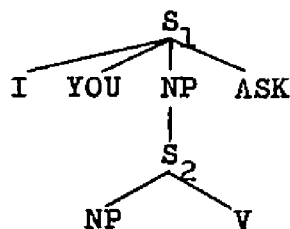
(154) wunál-up tóvyaq-q té· ?u-pé·t pu-?ya·li-vuta-qala  
 he-ENC ask-PRES your-ygr his-mend-can-SUBORD  
 brother

(mán té· qáy)

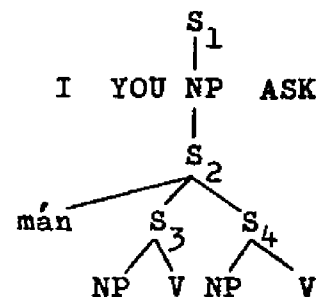
'he is asking whether your brother can fix it (or not)'

This presents a problem for the performative analysis of direct Yes/No questions. I suggested earlier that a neat way of accounting for direct questions in general would be to posit an abstract performative sentence ( $S_1$ ) above the question ( $S_2$ ), i.e.

(155)



OR (disjunctive)



This analysis claims that 'direct' questions are indirect in underlying structure, i.e. embedded. This being so, we would expect the abstract performative ASK to behave in the same way as the overt verb ask, but my examples show that this is not the case. Direct questions have one occurrence of the enclitic -pu in

them (whether there is a disjunction or not), whereas indirect questions have both disjuncts introduced by té. One way to explain this difference would be to make -gu dependent on a feature [+Abstract] which would differentiate ASK from ask, and to have -gu generated in each disjunct and subsequently deleted from the second. When the higher verb has the feature [-Abstract], each disjunct would be introduced by té. This generation of -gu and té can be expressed in the following two rules where X equals the T/A segments of the enclitic.

(156) ENCLITIC GENERATION (provisional)

SD:	X	S	Y	NP	V	Z	V	
							+Ask	
							+Abstract	
	-							
	1				2			⇒⇒
SC:	1							<u>-gu</u> + 2

(157) té GENERATION (provisional)

SD:	X	S	Y	NP	V	Z	V	
							+Ask	
							+Abstract	
	-							
	1				2			⇒⇒
SC:	1							<u>té</u> + 2

However, this seems a somewhat ad hoc analysis, and when one looks at the semantics of té in other occurrences, one begins to wonder whether the té in indirect questions really is just a substitute for -gu. The particle also occurs in non-embedded sentences at surface level with question intonation. My Pauma informant sometimes gave such sentences as the Luiseño equivalent of direct questions, but when pressed, he translated them with 'I wonder..'.  
I wonder..

Unfortunately all the examples I have of this type are question-word questions, but they will do as illustrations. Consider the following:

(158) mí·kiŋa-ǰ kí·čá-n  
 when build-FUT  
 'when will he build?'



(159) mí·kiŋa té· kí·čá-n  
 (OR: té· mí·kiŋa kí·čá-n)  
 'I wonder when he will build?'



Semantically these two sentences seem very close: they elicit the same responses from the hearer, e.g. qáy-na ?ayáliq 'I don't know', táwpaŋa 'in the summer', etc., but there is clearly a different feel about them though my informants could not express this in words.

The syntax and semantics of té· seem particularly complicated (e.g. 159 with declarative intonation means 'I don't know when he will build'); so rather than interrupt the discussion of Yes/No questions any further, I prefer to devote a special section to té· (4.4.10) at the end of this chapter.

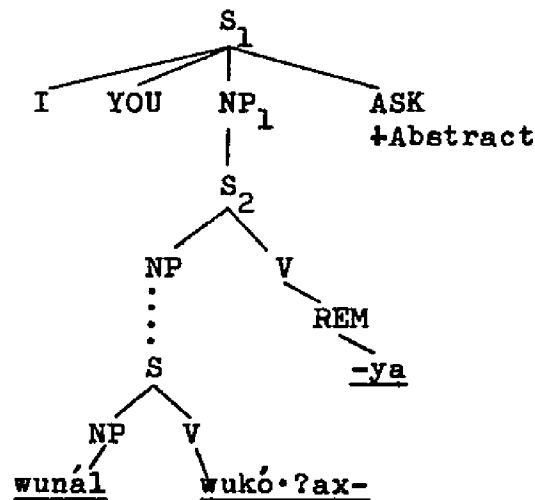
Let us now return to the underlying structure I proposed in 154 and attempt a full derivation of a Yes/No question. For a simple sentence like:

(160) wunál-ǰu wukó·?-ya 'did he come?'  
 he-ENC arrive-REM  
 INT

we may provisionally posit the following underlying structure

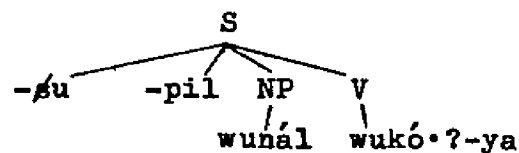
(but see 4.4.5 below):

(161)



As the cycles proceed up the tree, wukó·?ax- will be raised each time by PRED RSG, ultimately fusing with -ya to produce wukó·?ya; and the T/A enclitic -pil will be generated by ENCLITIC INSERTION. On the  $S_1$  cycle -su will be inserted by the transformation formulated in 156, then the PERFORMATIVE DELETION transformation will remove I, YOU and ASK, and pruning will delete  $S_1$  and  $NP_1$ . We shall then be left with:

(162)



At this stage we shall need a rule to delete any T/A enclitic that is found after -su (e.g. -pil in 162), just as we needed similar rules at the end of 4.3.7.1 for declarative sentences and of 4.3.7.2 for declarative reportives. (I shall return to the formulation of these rules in the next paragraph.) Finally, an ENCLITIC ADJUSTMENT rule of the kind described in 4.2.1.5 will spread

the person and number features from the subject NP (wunál 'he') to -su, and the appropriate form of the enclitic will then be inserted from the lexicon. It now only remains for a very late transformation (ENCLITIC PLACEMENT) to make the enclitic hop over the NP that follows it, and then 160 has been generated in all its details except for case.

Note that under this analysis several enclitics may be generated, and at some stage in the generation appear side by side. Most of these do not tolerate the presence of another; so we need ENCLITIC DELETION rules to remove those that are not wanted. As we discuss more and more types of sentences, these ENCLITIC DELETION rules will need to be collapsed and simplified. 163 is the rule required so far for Yes/No questions, declaratives and declarative reportives.

(163) ENCLITIC DELETION (provisional)

a.	SD:	$\emptyset$	ENC	
		[+Declare]		
		1	2	$\implies$
	SC:	$\emptyset$	2	
b.	SD:	{-kun}	ENC	
		{-su}		
		1	2	$\implies$
	SC:	1	$\emptyset$	

ENC in the above is an abbreviation for all the various enclitics we have discussed in preceding sections. This means, of course, that in the full rule they would all have to be listed, which seems a very clumsy procedure. The only way to avoid this would

be to consider ENC a category node generated by the phrase structure rules as the first element in the expansion of S, i.e. something like: S → ENC NP (NP) (NP) (ADV) V. However, there seems to be no justification for positing a new node of this kind. In the approach I am adopting, the enclitics have no semantic independence; each is merely a reflection of a higher verb. On the other hand, the introduction of a node ENC to which to attach them suggests that they do have some independence. Furthermore, to introduce ENC as a category in the PS rules speaks against the universality of these rules and this is undesirable.

After we have looked at Q-word questions and their relation to declarative sentences with indefinite adverbs and indefinite pronouns, we shall see that the above derivation of Yes/No questions is unsatisfactory and that there are good reasons for them to be derived from the 'or not' type of disjunction I talked about above. A similar kind of argumentation can be found in Stockwell (1968: INTERROGATIVE 7-10), but I shall leave the arguments for the Luiseño derivation until 4.4.5 when we shall have a better overall picture.

For the moment I will just outline the rules and structure required for the generation of 164, i.e. the 'or not' disjunctive question of which 161 is only a part.

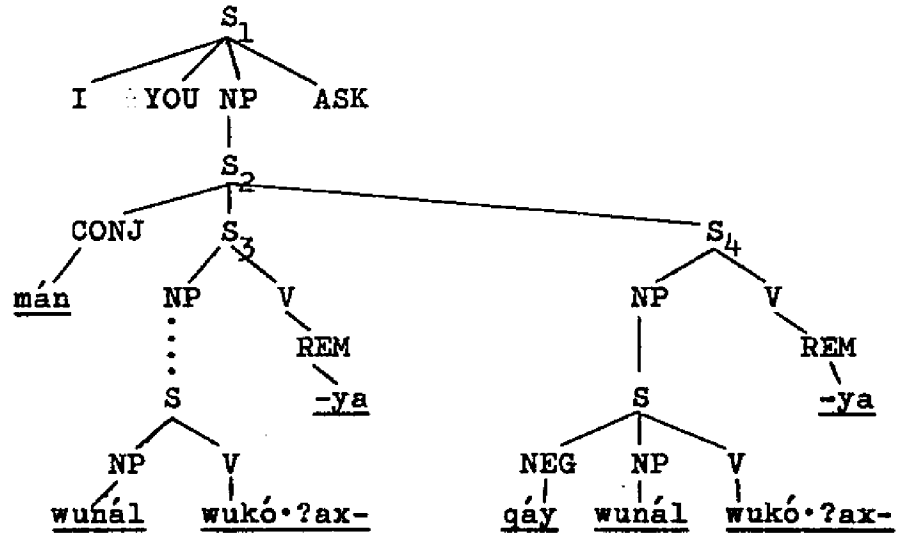
(164) wunál-ǵu wukó·?-ya mán qáy 'did he come or not?'

Underlying 164 we can now postulate the tree 165. A number of linguists treat 'not' as a predicate (higher verb) whose argument is the S it negates (e.g. McCawley:1968b, Postal: 1970). Although



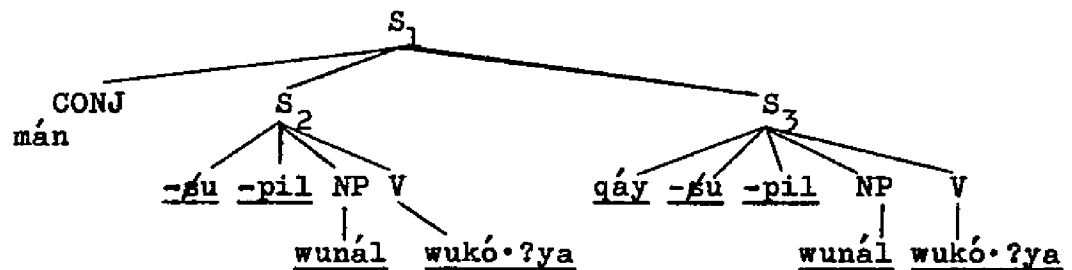
this is consonant with the approach I am taking here, it will only produce additional structure irrelevant to my argument. For simplicity I have therefore entered qáy 'not' in the lowest S of the second disjunct.

(165)



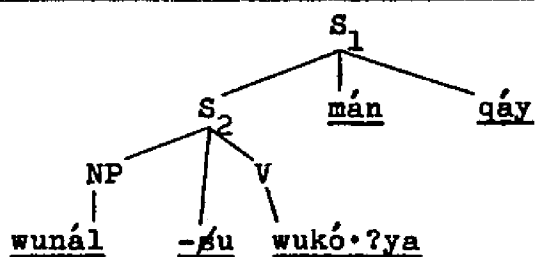
The same transformations will apply to 165 as applied to 161, until on the topmost cycle we obtain:

(166)



Additional transformations are now needed to delete all but qáy of  $S_3$  before ENCLITIC DELETION, ENCLITIC ADJUSTMENT and ENCLITIC PLACEMENT apply to  $S_2$ , and to shift mán to between  $S_2$  and what is left of  $S_3$ . We then have the following surface structure:

(167)



I shall suggest below in 4.4.5 that the generation of Yes/No questions without the disjunction can easily be accomplished by deleting CONJ and  $S_4$  in 165.

#### 4.4.4 Question-Word Questions

Structurally, Q-word questions in Luiseño do not differ greatly from Yes/No questions. As we saw in 4.4.3, apart from containing a question word they differ in not allowing the disjunction which is permissible in Yes/No questions. On the other hand they are formed in exactly the same way as Yes/No questions by the insertion of -su in direct questions and of té in indirect questions. The latter will be discussed in full in 4.4.10; so let us limit our attention here to direct Q-word questions. They can be classified structurally into two groups: (1) those that contain an adverbial Q-word (see 4.4.4.1) and (2) those that contain nominal Q-words (see 4.4.4.2).

##### 4.4.4.1 With Adverbial Question-Words

There are two common forms of this type of question: one with the Q-word in the usual mid-sentence position for adverbs, and the other with the Q-word at the beginning. In both cases the interrogative enclitic -su is also present and follows the first word

unit in the sentence. My informants could find no meaning difference between these forms. They will be amply illustrated in the sections which follow, where I deal with each Q-word individually.

4.4.4.1.1 mí·kiŋa 'when'

(168) yaʔáš-ŋu mí·kiŋa wukó·ʔ-a·n  
 man arrive-FUT  
 'when will the man arrive?'

(169) mí·kiŋa-ŋ wunál lóluxa  
 he make  
 REM  
 'when did he make it?'

4.4.4.1.2 mičaxáninik 'how, in what way'

(170) pó·ʔ-ŋu mičaxáninik ʔayáli-ma·n  
 he know-HAB FUT  
 'how will he know?'

(171) mičaxáninik-su ʔóm kulá·wut čóri-ma  
 you wood cut-HAB PRES<sup>11</sup>  
 'how do you cut wood?'

Although it is rarer there is an alternative to 171 which clearly shows that mičaxáninik is a fusion of two forms: mičáʔ (? 'where') and ʔaxáninik ('thus, in this way').

(172) mičáʔ-ŋu ʔaxáninik ʔóm kulá·wut čóri-ma  
 'how do you cut wood?'

The combination of 'where' and 'thus' is puzzling; one might have

expected ʔaxáninik alone with the interrogative enclitic but not with mičáʔ. In the fused form (which is the regular morpheme for 'how') the first two syllables mičá- bear no stress at all, which seems to indicate that whatever meaning mičáʔ originally had in this combination has probably been lost, i.e. that this is an idiom.

4.4.4.1.3 mičáʔ 'where'

(173) čá·m-ǰiš ʔóy mičáʔ há·l-an  
 we you seek-FUT  
 ACC

'where shall we look for you?'

(174) mičáʔ-ǰu x<sup>w</sup>á·n ʔá·w?-q  
 Juan be -PRES  
 sit

'where is Juan (sitting)?'

Kroeber/Grace (106) say that mičáʔ is the construct form of mičá-t 'which one' (see 4.4.4.2.3). Since by definition the construct form is the form a nominal bears when accompanied by a possessive prefix, e.g. the construct of kí·-čá 'house' is (nu)-kíʔ '(my) house', I can see no justification for such a claim: mičáʔ is not in construct with a possessive prefix, and it is impossible to see how such a construct could come to mean 'where'. Undoubtedly the two words have a root in common (see also 4.4.4.1.4 and 4.4.4.1.5) but that is as far as we can go.

4.4.4.1.4 mičí·k 'to where'

This word contains finally the dative suffix -ik and is therefore

probably a fusion of mičá? + ik (cf. paradigm 196 below).

(175) ?óm-ǰu mičí·k  
'where are you going?'

(176) mičí·k-su ?óm wukála-q  
walk-PRES  
'where are you walking to?'

4.4.4.1.5 mičéy(?)/mičáy 'from where'

This word is curious. It also appears to contain the same root as mičá? but instead of the usual ablative suffix -ṅay/-ṅi we find the unique suffix -y at Rincón and Pauma and -y? at LaJolla.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore both Pauma and LaJolla replace the stressed vowel á by é.

(177) LJ: ?óm-ǰu mičéy? muná·  
come-PRES  
'where are you coming from?'

(178) R: mičáy-su ya?áš pók<sup>w</sup>a-q (Hyde:100, with altered transcription)  
man run-PRES  
'where is the man running to?'

4.4.4.1.6 hí·ṅay/hí·ṅi 'why'

Here we have the root hí·- (see also hí·-čá 'what', 4.4.4.2.2) followed by the ablative suffix, one of whose meanings is 'on account of'. The semantics of this word are thus quite clear. The first form is that in use at Pauma; the second is that of LaJolla where final -ay is regularly reduced to -i.

(179) ?umóm-ǰum hí·ŋi ?um-?áš-m-i mariq-ax  
 you your-animal-PL-ACC trade-REM  
 PL

'why did you trade your animals?'

(180) A: nó·-n pá·l-ik B: hí·ŋi-s  
 I-ENC Pala-DAT  
 PRES

A: 'I'm going to Pala' B: 'why?'

4.4.4.1.7 hík 'how much, how many'

We may guess that this word also has some connection with the root hí·-. Despite Kroeber/Grace (106), it seems unlikely that the final k is the regular Luiseño dative ending -(i)k, as it is retained in the compound hík-kun 'how many times, how often' and is even followed by what looks like the plural absolutive suffix in the animate plural form híkčum, and by the locative suffix in hík-ŋa 'at what time' (lit. 'at how many'). Furthermore, the vowel in hík is short, whereas in the dative of hí·ča it is long (see 192).

(181) pu-táwpa-ki-s hík or more commonly:  
 his-year hík-su pu-táwpa-ki  
 'how old is he?'

(182) wunál-ǰu hík ?ánkiš pu-tvúlva  
 he like his-tallness  
 'how big, tall, is he?' (= about how much is his tallness)

(183) híkčum-ǰum ?ánkičum hé·yi-wun  
 dig-PRES  
 PL

'about how many are digging?'

(184) ?óy-su hík-kun tí·w-ax

you see-REM  
ACC

'how often did he see you?'

(185) hík-ŋa-ŋum yá·yi-čum ?éxŋay wukó·ax-kutum  
man-PL tomor. arrive-going to  
PL

'what time are the men going to arrive tomorrow?'

#### 4.4.4.2 With Nominal Question-Words

Since nouns can occur in a number of different syntactic cases in a Luiseño sentence, it is not surprising that when these nouns are questioned the interrogative proforms by which they are replaced also occur in the same syntactic cases. There are three such proforms in Luiseño: háx 'who', hí·-čá 'what' and mičá-t 'which (one)', and each has the full paradigm of cases that any other noun has. There is one curious feature about háx and hí·-čá, however, that differentiates them from all other nominal forms. The latter fall into two categories according to the case endings they carry; put more accurately, they are subcategorized for the feature [ $\pm$ Animate] where [+Animate] covers human beings and animals but not plants. Nominal forms that are [+Animate] have only two case endings, nominative and accusative; for all other cases the nominal form remains uninflected but is followed by the third person pronoun pó·? inflected for the appropriate case (see 186). All nominal forms with the feature [-Animate] have suffixes attached to their stems for all the cases. In the case of háx and hí·-čá, this is the only place in the language where a mor-

pheme distinction is made between different kinds of animateness: thus háx requires a feature [+Human] in addition to [+Animate]; hí·-ča on the other hand can have either the feature [+Animate] or [-Animate] depending on whether it refers to an animal or not.

4.4.4.2.1 háx 'who'

The case paradigm for háx is shown in part in 186.

(186)		Singular	Plural
	NOM	háx	?axí-m
	ACC	?axí·-yi	?axí·-m-i
	DAT	háx póyk	?axí-m pó·mik
	LOC	" pó·tu	" pó·muta
		etc.	etc.

Since the subject NP is usually found first in a Luiseño sentence, this is also the usual position for the nominative form háx, e.g.

(187) háx-ǵu té·tila-q 'who is talking?'  
talk-PRES

With the other cases, however, both initial and medial positions are found for the same form with no change of meaning, e.g.

(188) nawítmal-ǵu ?axí·-yi ?ári-q  
girl ACC kick-PRES  
'who is the girl kicking?'

(189) ?axí·-yi-sum ?umóm tí·w-ax  
you see-REM  
PL  
'who did you see?'



(190) ?axí·mi-sum ?umóm tí·w-ax

'who (pl) did you see?'

In the oblique cases other than accusative, the elements in the question have usual declarative word order, or just háx may be brought to the front, or both háx and the declined form of pó·?. In the latter case háx may be considered the first element in the sentence for the purpose of -ǵu insertion, or else háx and the declined form of pó·? may be taken together. The following examples will make this scrambling process clear.

(191) a. ?óm-ǵu péšliš háx ?ó·v-ax (declarative  
dish give-REM word order)

'who did you give the dish to?'

b. háx-ǵu ?óm péšliš póyk ?ó·vax

c. háx-ǵu póyk ?óm péšliš ?ó·vax

d. háx póyk-ǵu ?óm péšliš ?ó·vax

Of the above the most common types are 191a and 191b.

#### 4.4.4.2.2 hí·čá 'what'

The case paradigm for hí·čá is as follows:

(192)

	Singular	Plural
NOM	hí·-čá	? hí·-čá-m (Hyde: 99)
ACC	hí·š/hí·s/hí·t	? hí·š-m-i (Kroeber/Grace: 106)
DAT	hí·-k	
LOC	hí·-ŋa	
	etc.	

Of the three accusative singular forms, híš is the regular form in careful lento speech in Pauma, LaJolla and Rincón. In allegro

speech both my informants at Pauma and LaJolla assimilate the final š to the g of the interrogative enclitic, and occasionally the Pauma informant used an alternative form with t, which is also recorded in Kroeber/Grace (106). Hyde makes no mention of any alternative forms, but there is no mention either of the g~s alternation which would give rise to such forms. All the interrogative examples are written with -gu irrespective of the quality of the preceding vowel.

Both plural forms, presumably meaning 'what things', 'what animals', are quoted by Kroeber/Grace and hí·čam is also given by Hyde but with no example. I have included them for the sake of completeness although they do not occur in my own data.

The following examples illustrate the use of hí·ča.

(193) hí·ča-g ?u-k<sup>w</sup>á?-qat

your-eat-RELATIVIZER  
PRES

'what are you eating?' (lit. = what (is it) that you are eating)

(194) ?óm-gu híš té:tila-q    OR: { híš-su } ?óm té:tila-q  
talk-PRES                      { híš-su }

'what are you talking about?'

(195) wunál-gu hí·ŋa wí·ta-q

stand-PRES

'what is he standing on?'

4.4.4.2.3 mičá-t 'which (one)'

This word shows the regular difference in declension between animates and inanimates. When referring to or accompanying an inanimate noun it is declined as in 196. The dative is irregular (cf. 4.4.4.1.4 above). I have collected no examples with plural inanimates.

(196)

	Singular	Plural
NOM	mičá-t	?
ACC	mičá-t	?
DAT	mičí·-k	
LOC	mičá·-ŋa etc.	

When referring to or accompanying an animate noun, mičát has the following case forms:

(197)

	Singular	Plural
NOM	mičá-t	mičá·-t·um
ACC	mičá·-t·i	mičá·-t·m·i
DAT	mičá-t póyk	mičá·-t·um pó·mik
LOC	mičá-t pó·tu etc.	mičá·-t·um pó·muta etc.

Examples of the use of mičát [-Animate] are:

(198) mičá-t-ŋu ?u-?á·š  
           your animal  
           'which animal is yours?'

(199) ?óm-ŋu mičá-t kí·-š sásamsa  
           house buy-REM  
           ACC  
           'which house did you buy?'

(200) mičá·-k-su ?óm kí·-k muná·  
house go-PRES  
DAT

'which house are you going to?'

(201) mičá·-ŋi hú·-ŋi-s ?óm néč-ax (LaJolla)  
arrow-ABL-ENC pay-REM  
INT

OR: mičá·-ŋay-su hú·-ŋi<sup>13</sup> ?óm néč-ax (Pauma)

'which arrow did you pay for?'

(202) mičá·-tal-ŋu hú·-tal ?óm húnwut-i šé?i-lut  
INSTR-ENC INSTR bear-ACC shoot-going to  
INT

OR: mičá·-tal hú·-tal-ŋu ...

'which arrow are you going to shoot the bear with?'

The following sentences contain mičát [+Animate]:

(203) mičá·-t-um-ŋum ?amá·y-um mí·si-ŋa mí·si-muk  
boy-PL Sunday-LOC be at church-REC  
CONT

'which boys were in church on Sunday?'

(204) mičá·-t-i-s hiŋé·mal-ŋi ?óm tí·w-ax (LaJolla)  
boy-ACC see-REM

OR: mičá·-t-i-su<sup>14</sup> ?óm ?amá·y-i tí·w-?yax (Pauma)  
boy-ACC see-REM

'which boy did you see?'

(205) ?óm-ŋu mičá-t nawítmal pó·-ŋi kušán-ax  
girl ABL take-REM

'which girl did you take it from?'

(206) mičá-t-ǵu ʔóm hiŋéʔmal<sup>15</sup> pumá·ŋi néč-ax (Pauma)  
 him pay-REM  
 BENEFACT

'which boy did you pay for (= on behalf of)?'

We also find mičát combined with the adjective ʔánkiš 'like' in the sense of 'what kind of', e.g.

(207) mičá-t-ǵu ʔánkiš ʔó·nu kulá·wut  
 that wood

OR: mičát ʔánkiš-su ʔó·nu kulá·wut

'what kind of wood is that?'

(208) pó·ʔ-ǵu pu-púš mičá-t ʔankiš  
 he his-face

'what does he look like?' (lit. = of what kind is his face)

#### 4.4.4.3 'how' by Circumlocution

Luisseño has no single word for 'how' in expressions like 'how big, small, etc.' and has to resort to various circumlocutions. There are two principal ways of getting around 'how' questions: one uses hík or mičát ʔánkiš and the other uses a Yes/No question about the quality concerned. Let us take the last of these first.

##### 4.4.4.3.1 With Appropriate Yes/No Question

If I want to ask how stupid a person is, I can say:

(209) wunál-ǵu pilék ʔá·čiš 'is he very stupid?'  
 very stupid

and if the answer is ʔuhó· 'yes', I have received the same information as if I had asked an English 'how' question and received



(214) ?ó·nu-ǰ ?u-pó·sti-ki-m hík ?ánkiš pum?-tavúlvu  
 your-post-ALIEN-PL their-length

'(about) how long are your posts?'

(= that (i.e.) your posts how much is their length)

(215) mičá-t-ǰu ?ánkiš pu-yó·tu ?u-kí? (Pauma)  
 its-bigness your-house

'how big is your house?'

(= like which one is the bigness of your house)

(216) mičá-t-ǰu ?ánkiš kulá·wut pu-tvúlvu  
 stick its-length

'how long is the stick?'

(= like which one is the length of the stick)

4.4.4.4 Relation to Indefinite Pronouns and Adverbs - and the Problem of Ambiguity

In the discussion in the foregoing section I have been talking about question words as if they were something in their own right. This is in fact not the case in Luiseño; most (maybe all) of these words can be used in declarative sentences, where they must be translated into English by an appropriate indefinite pronoun or adverbial expression, e.g.

(217) čá·m-čupu mí·kiŋa hatí?a·n (cf. 4.4.4.1.1)  
 we-ENC sometime go-FUT  
 FUT

'we shall go sometime'

(218) nó·-nil mičá? punéy tí·w-ax (cf. 4.4.4.1.3)  
 I-ENC somewhere it see-REM  
 REM

'I saw it somewhere'

- (219) yaʔáš-up híš wávi-lut (cf. 4.4.4.2.2)  
 man-ENC something bring-going to  
 PRES  
 'the man is going to bring something'
- (220) híkčum ʔánkičum hé-yi-wun (N.B. no enclitic was used;  
 a few like dig-PRES cf. 183)  
 ANIM ANIM PL  
 PL PL  
 'just a few are digging'

As we saw in the preceding sections, it is the replacement of the T/A enclitic by the interrogative enclitic that turns these sentences into questions. Since no fronting of the indefinite pronoun or adverb is necessary to form the question, there is in each case a curious ambiguity. For example, when -čupu in 217 is replaced by -šum, the sentence can mean either 'will we go sometime?' or 'when will we go?'. Similarly, with -šun instead of -nil, 218 becomes 'did I see it somewhere?' or 'where did I see it?'; with -šu instead of -up, 219 becomes 'is the man going to bring something?' or 'what is the man going to bring?'; and with the addition of -šum after híkčum, 220 becomes 'are just a few digging?' or 'about how many are digging?'.

This is so surprising that I took great pains to check on the accuracy of this observation. My informants agreed that the sentences with the non-fronted indefinite are ambiguous: they can be answered either by ʔuhó 'yes', qáy 'no', or else by an informative sentence such as ʔéxɲay 'tomorrow', kí.ɲa 'in the house', etc. When the indefinite is fronted, the question is most likely to be understood as a Q-word question, but my data show that



Q-word questions are formed just as frequently without fronting even though ambiguity may arise. It should be noted that with or without fronting the interrogative intonation pattern remains the same.<sup>16</sup>

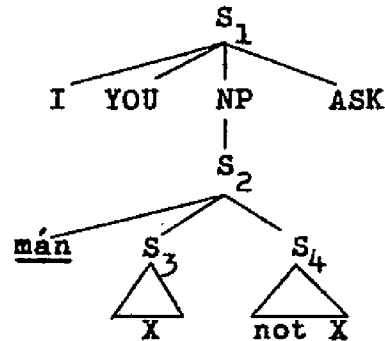
We now see that what in the preceding sections I have been calling Q-word questions can structurally also be Yes/No questions and we may justifiably ask whether the distinction can now be upheld. I think it can. Yes/No questions containing an indefinite can add a mán gáy 'or not' disjunct, whereas Q-word questions cannot. A question like 'will we go sometime?' carries no presupposition that we will in fact go, hence the liberty of the answerer to choose 'yes' or 'no'. It is as if the questioner is asking about a 'going-sometime'. On the other hand the question 'when will we go?' does carry a presupposition that we will go. It is not the 'going' that is now being questioned but the indefinite time. From the different kind of answer that each question elicits it is clear that this difference in presupposition also exists in the Luiseño sentences. As both types have the same surface structure, this poses a problem for the generation of Luiseño questions. At the moment I do not know how to accommodate the different presuppositions in the model I am using, but in the following section I shall consider two deep structures that can keep the two types of question apart.

#### 4.4.5 Generation of Questions

In 4.4.3 I suggested that Yes/No questions should be generated from an underlying structure of the kind seen in 165 with an

I YOU NP ASK sentence at the top of the tree and a disjunction of Ss dominated by the NP. For convenience this structure is repeated in schematic form as 221:

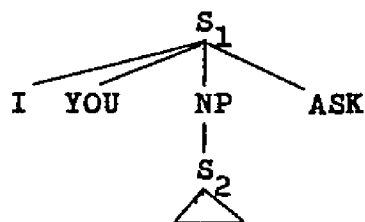
(221)



The disjunction in the underlying tree for the question explains why the answerer can respond with either an affirmative or a negative sentence.

On the other hand since a disjunction of answers is not available to the answerer of a Q-word question, it seems logical to posit an underlying structure containing no disjunction, e.g.

(222)



The tree here differs from 221 only in lacking the righthand disjunct. This fits well with the fact that the two types are structurally identical at surface level when the righthand disjunct of 221 has been transformationally deleted. Now if the underlying form in 221 carries one presupposition and that in 222 another, and if I am right in assuming that the presupposition of a sentence is part of its meaning, then these different presuppositions

will be retained by each structure even when transformations have rendered them identical.

I therefore propose to posit a tree like 221 as underlying all Yes/No questions and a tree like 222 all Q-word questions. The operation of transformations on these trees will be as described above in 4.4.3.

#### 4.4.6 Generation of Interrogative Reportives

The details of the generation of sentences with -šukun were discussed in full using the sentence:

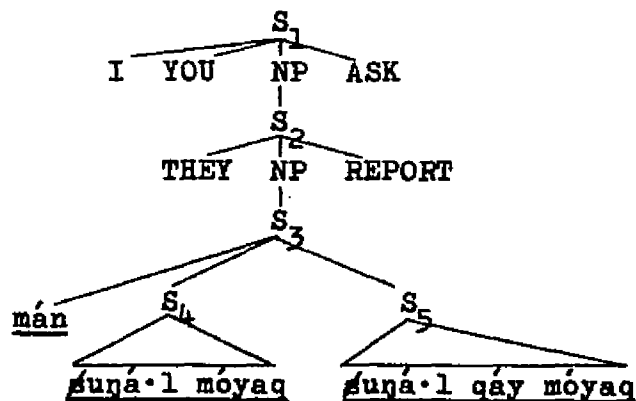
(223) šuŋá·l-šukun móya-q 'do they say the woman is tired?'

One revision is now necessary in the underlying structure. Since this question can be answered by either of the responses:

- (224) a. móya-q-kun 'they say she is'  
 b. qáy-kun 'they say she is not'

the underlying tree posited in 4.3.2 must now be revised to contain the two disjuncts with reversed polarity typical of Yes/No questions, i.e.

(225)



The transformational details will remain as described in 4.4.3 except that the righthand disjunct  $S_5$  may be optionally deleted. When no deletion takes place,  $S_5$  must be obligatorily gapped and then appears on the surface as:

- (226)  $\text{ʒu}^{\text{h}}\text{á}\cdot\text{l}\text{-}\text{ʒukun} \text{ móya}\text{-q} \text{ mán} \text{ qáy}$   
 'do they say the woman is tired or not?'

The ENCLITIC DELETION rule 163 does not need to be revised since both -ʒu and -kun are retained at the surface.

#### 4.4.7 há Questions without -ʒu

There is one variant of the question in Luiseño in which the interrogative enclitic is omitted, although the sentence has the characteristic question intonation pattern. The salient feature of such questions is considerable gapping. Let us consider Q-word questions first.

Usually when a gapped question consisting just of the Q-word is uttered in context, the sentence has the following form:

- (227) (A: I killed it in the forest yesterday)  
 B:  $\text{hí}\cdot\text{ni}\text{-s}$  'why?'  
 OR:  $\text{hí}\cdot\text{čal}\text{-}\text{ʒu}$  'with what?'

Sometimes, however, the question is introduced by há, in which case the -ʒu is absent. I collected the following contexts from my LaJolla informant:

- (228) A:  $\text{nó}\cdot\text{-nil} \text{ ʒú}\cdot\text{kat}\text{-i} \text{ mó}\cdot\text{makan}$   
 I deer-ACC kill-REM  
 'I killed a deer'

B: há hí·čal 'with what?'

(229) A: túǵu ʔóm wuná·l-i tó·ǵiqat-i mókna  
IMP you that-ACC rabbit-ACC kill  
NEG

'don't kill that rabbit'

B: há hí·ni 'why not?'

(230) A: nó·-n péwla-lut 'I'm going to marry'

B: há ʔaxí·-yi 'who?'  
ACC

Kroeber/Grace (106) also quote one example of this type of question (though without drawing attention to its characteristics), viz. híš-ha 'what thing?', 'what was it?', presumably questioning an accusative noun. Malécot's personal notes show that he checked this form with Gertrude Chorre, the sister of my LaJolla informant, and she approved it. Note that há follows the question word here.

This same omission of -ǵu when há is present also occurs in Yes/No questions.

(231) A: gayí·na-p pá·-ŋa nivé?-qa  
chicken water-LOC be in-PRES

'the chicken is in the water'

B: há ʔatk<sup>w</sup>áyax '(and) dead?'

I have been unable to determine either the true force of há or the rules determining its occurrence. It may well be that it is used in sentences that are merely stylistic variants of the sentences with -ǵu or its presence may indicate that the question is more

insistent. This is, however, pure speculation at the moment.

In my data these há sentences consist of only one word other than há. If this is a general characteristic and if there is no difference in meaning between them and the corresponding sentences with -gu, they can easily be generated by a simple transformation deleting -gu in a one-word question and adding há to the beginning. Before anything more definite can be said, however, more data are needed to clarify the force of há and the conditions of its occurrence.

#### 4.4.8 Conditional Questions

Examples of conditional questions were given in 4.2.2.1.7. Let me repeat 86 as:

(232) ?óm-xukun póy ?í·x<sup>w</sup>una ?unáni mán té· qáy  
him immediately recognize  
ACC

'would you recognize him straight away or not?'

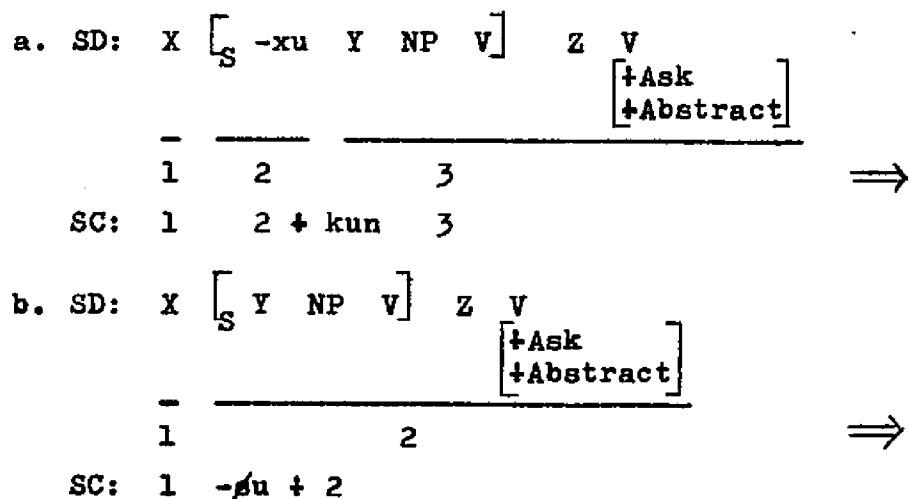
There are two oddities about questions like 232: first, the enclitic does not contain the interrogative segment -gu; and second, in the gapped righthand disjunct we find té· where in other Yes/No questions we have nothing. I shall discuss the enclitic and its generation first and return to té· later.

It will be recalled that the non-interrogative hypothetical enclitics seem to be composed of three elements in their longest form (see 23), e.g. for the first person singular: -xu-npu-ku, where the first is characteristic of conditions, the second appears to be the future enclitic and the third an element that

can be added to the future enclitic to indicate an even remoter period (see 4.1.2). Now in the conditional question it seems that both the future elements are replaced by a new element -kun which is in shape identical with the reportive enclitic (see 4.2.1.1) and like the latter can also take a final -a more commonly found with the past tense. Thus while 232 can in the appropriate context also mean 'would you have recognized him straight away or not?', this meaning would usually be indicated by the presence of the enclitic -xukuna instead of -xukun. If the final segment of the shorter form is indeed related to the reportive enclitic, the semantics of the interrogative hypothetical enclitic are very mysterious.

The generation of the enclitic in the first disjunct presents no problem. We merely require an addition to the ENCLITIC GENERATION rule 156 as shown below:

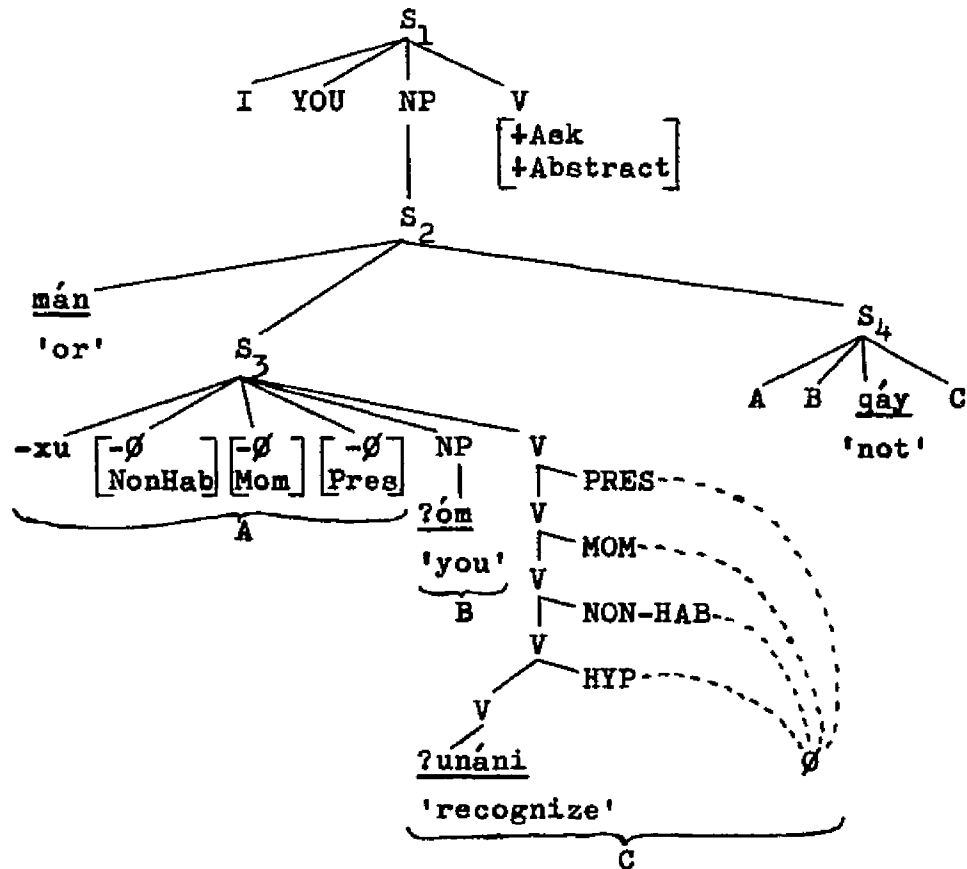
(233) ENCLITIC GENERATION (provisional)



(where Y = any T/A segments not already mentioned in the rule)

An example will make clear the operation of 233a. If we were to generate 232 by the method I suggested earlier in this study, we should at one stage obtain the following tree (where for simplicity I have included only the relevant Luiseño morphemes):

(234)



Let us disregard  $S_4$  for the moment. When we reach the  $S_1$  cycle, rule 233a will apply inserting -kun after -xu below  $S_3$ . The resulting row of enclitic segments must now be simplified by the ENCLITIC DELETION rule 163b, which must be slightly modified for this purpose: variable elements can now precede -kun and follow the segments of the T/A enclitic (abbreviated here to ENC). We therefore need variables at the beginning and at the end of the rule:



(235) ENCLITIC DELETION (provisional)

b. SD:	X	{-kun}	ENC	Y	
		{-su}			
	1	2	3	4	⇒
SC:	1	2	∅	4	

When this rule has applied and ENCLITIC PLACEMENT has made the resulting enclitic hop over the word that follows it,  $S_3$  has now reached its surface level form ?óm-xu-kun ?unáni-∅.

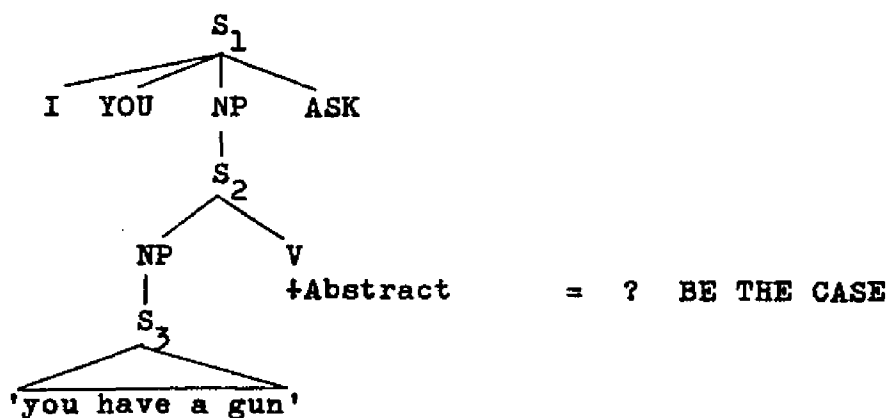
Let us now go back and examine  $S_4$  in 234. As the righthand disjunct of a Yes/No question it differs from  $S_3$  in structure only by containing gáy 'not'. However, whereas the righthand disjuncts of all the Yes/No questions we have seen so far reduce by gapping just to gáy, the righthand disjunct of the conditional question has also to contain the particle té. How is this té to be generated? The té GENERATION rule we wrote in 157 will not help us, since we there made the insertion of té dependent on the presence of a non-abstract verb of asking. It may well be that its presence in this type of question is due to the absence of su in the first disjunct, i.e. it may be a signal to the hearer that he is to understand the sentence as a question although he has not heard the characteristic interrogative segment su in the first disjunct. Since the conditional question is the only disjunctive interrogative type we have met without su (há questions seem never to be disjunctive), we can add another part to the té GENERATION rule stating that when both disjuncts contain the enclitic segments xu-kun, the second occurrence must be replaced by té. If this addition to the rule is ordered before ENCLITIC PLACEMENT, the



dug a lot!' 71, 'so you have a gun!' 74, '(boy,) he must have paid a lot for it' 82. The presuppositions attaching to them suggest that the 'action' of the verb is assumed by the speaker to have occurred, i.e. he will be surprised if the hearer contradicts him. This is the characteristic of declarative sentences and not of Yes/No questions, where the speaker asks for either corroboration or contradiction.

Suppose, however, for the moment that we do posit in the tree that underlies sentences with these enclitics the usual performative S with ASK. Clearly we are then forced to posit another abstract higher verb intervening between the performative S and the S that appears at the surface level, otherwise the latter will be a simple Yes/No question. In other words we must postulate a tree like the following:

(237)



Now the problem is even worse. Apart from the question of the meaning of this abstract verb, unlike all the other abstract verbs postulated so far it will need its own system of higher T/A verbs, since the presence of -pil (= past), -pu (= future), -ku (= remote future) has no connection with the tense of the verb in S<sub>3</sub>. For

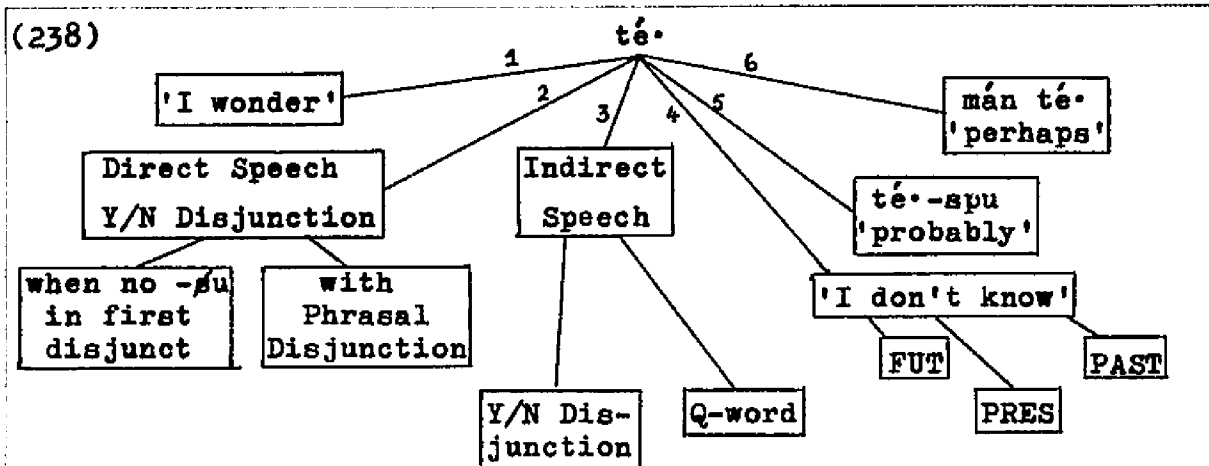
example in 74 the enclitic contains the segment for past whereas the surface verb refers to present; similarly in 82 the enclitic contains the segment for remote future while the surface verb refers to past.

No matter how hard we try, there seems to be no satisfactory way of generating these enclitics atomically, as we have so far generated all the others. I shall therefore treat them as unanalysable units and tentatively suggest that their introduction be made to depend on the presence of a higher performative verb with a meaning something like SUPPOSE or for cases like 74 REGISTER WITH SURPRISE. I shall not, however, go any farther, since a lot more data need to be collected to determine the exact meaning of these enclitics and whether there are semantic differences between them.

#### 4.4.10 Sentences with té.

In 4.4.3 above I mentioned the semantic and syntactic complexity surrounding the particle té., which occurs in both interrogatives and declaratives. In this section I hope to throw a little light on this problem, but I must again warn the reader that considerable additions need to be made to my data before a definitive analysis can be put forward.

It will help if the construction types in which I have recorded té. are set out in the following schema:



Starting on the left side, we see first the interrogative constructions in which té· plays a role (Branches 1 and 2). The first branch indicates the 'I wonder ...' type of sentence discussed in 4.4.3 and illustrated in 159. We may note that apart from the intonation there is no structural difference between 159 and 239:

(159) mí·kiŋa té· kí·čá-n  
 when build-FUT

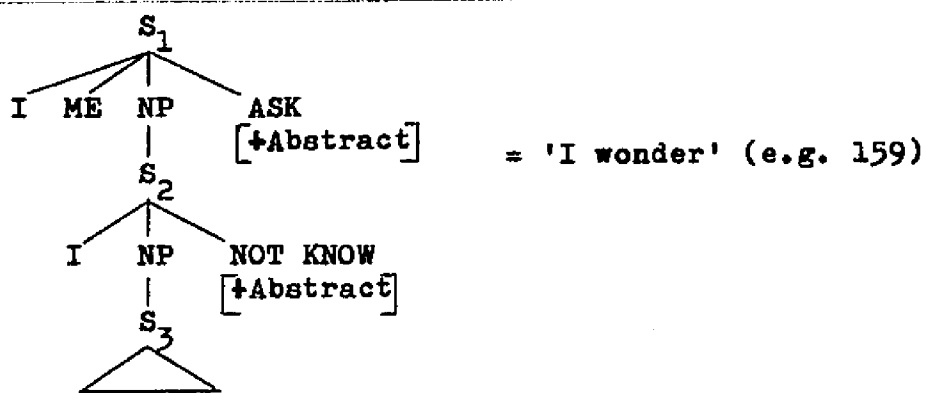
'I wonder when he will build'

(239) mí·kiŋa té· kí·čá-n

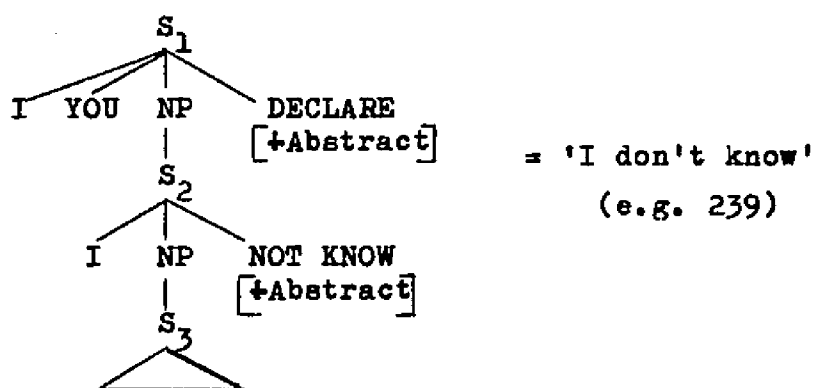
'I don't know when he will build'

As 'I wonder' in some languages is translated by the equivalent of 'I ask myself' (e.g. French: je me demande, German: ich frage mich), it seems quite reasonable to suggest that in the Luiseño sentence 159 it is translated by the equivalent of 'do I know?'. Within the performative model it is now easy to account for the difference between 159 and 239 by postulating the following underlying trees:

(240)



(241)



The particle té can be inserted by a transformation taking account of the presence of NOT KNOW in  $S_2$ , a similar procedure to that used for introducing the enclitics. After PERFORMATIVE DELETION has removed  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  in each tree, both 240 and 241 will emerge on the surface as structurally identical. Note that with this derivation it is now necessary that for the correct assignment of intonation the phonological rule be somehow aware of whether it was ASK or DECLARE that was originally in the tree. In all the declaratives and questions we have so far discussed there has always been either a particle, e.g. há, or an enclitic segment, e.g. -gu or -kun(a), at the surface syntactic level (i.e. at the input level for the phonological component) for the phonological rule assigning intonation to take note of. Here there is

nothing, since té does not tolerate the presence of the interrogative enclitic -gu and the declarative enclitic is  $\emptyset$  in any case. In other words a new rule deleting the enclitic whenever té is present must now be added to 163a and 235.

(242) ENCLITIC DELETION (provisional)

c.	SD:	X	ENC	<u>té</u>	Y	_____	
		1	2	3			⇒
	SC:	1	$\emptyset$	3			

This means one of two things. Either the phonological rule must apply before the syntactic rule ENCLITIC DELETION operates, i.e. there is no clear demarcation line between the syntactic and phonological components (at the periphery structures may be shuttled to and fro between the two); or, some phonological rules must be global, in the sense that they must be sensitive to non-adjacent rules (in our case syntactic) which occurred in an earlier part of the derivation. This is an interesting theoretical issue, but time and space prevent me from taking it up here.

If we look at the second branch of the schema, we see two other constructions with question intonation in which té is found. The first we have already discussed in 4.4.8 when we dealt with conditional questions. The particle is here found in the second disjunct of the 'or not' disjunction in a direct Yes/No question whenever the interrogative segment -gu is missing from the first disjunct. The second construction is also a direct Yes/No question but contains within it what I wish to refer to as phrasal disjunction, i.e. a disjunction of words from any category

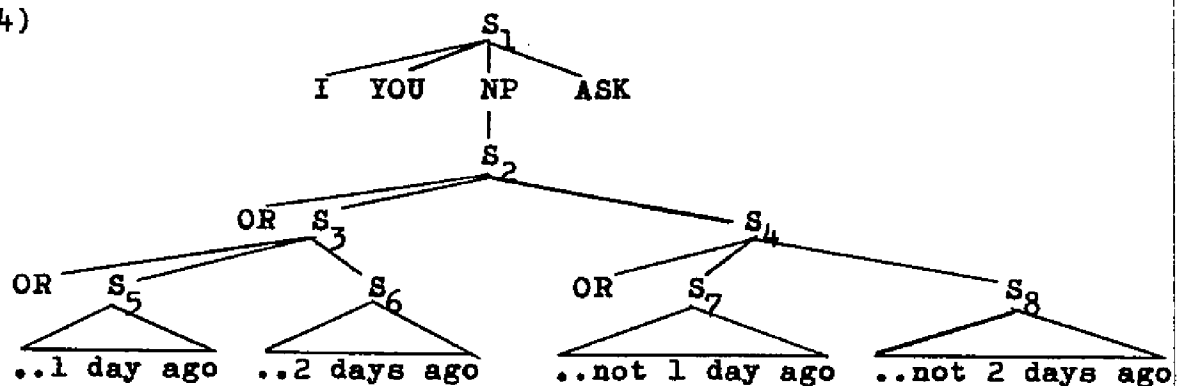
except Verb. A Luiseño example will make this clear:

(243) ?ó·nu-β supúl mán té· wéh timét pu-ló?xa  
 that-ENC one or two day its-making  
 INT

'was that made one or two days ago?'

The disjunction in this sentence is clearly of a different kind, or at least on a different level, from the 'or not' disjunction which I have suggested is the source of all Yes/No questions. In accordance with this derivation, 243 ought to have a longer form with mán gáy 'or not' finally. Unfortunately I have had no opportunity to test the accuracy of this prediction, and furthermore 243 is the only example I have recorded with phrasal disjunction. On such scant material it is rash to put forward a detailed theory, but if the data are correct the presence of té· may depend on the same phenomenon we have just discussed. If the underlying structure for 243 can be represented as

(244)



then it will be observed that the principal disjunction is at  $S_2$ , with  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  as the disjuncts. We would therefore expect the interrogative enclitic -gu to be attached to  $S_3$  and  $S_4$ . This leaves each of the lower disjunctions in  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  without the



interrogative enclitic, which is just the environment for the rule we discussed above. This would then operate to insert té· into the second disjunct of each disjunction, viz  $S_6$  and  $S_8$ . The té· in  $S_8$  would of course not reach the surface, as  $S_4$  would be reduced by gapping to mán qáy 'or not'.

All the remaining types of té· in schema 238, i.e. branches 3-6, are found with declarative intonation. Branch 3 shows the té· that introduces indirect questions of the Yes/No type. These will be fully dealt with in 5.3.3.2 but an example or two can be given here:

(245) nó·-n ?óy tóvyaŋ-q té· pu-ná? hé·yi-viča-q  
 I-ENC you ask-PRES his-father dig-want-PRES  
 PRES ACC

(mán té· qáy)

'I am asking whether his father wants to dig (or not)'

(246) nó·-n ?óy tóvyaŋ-q té· pu-ná? pu-hé·yi-qala  
 his-dig-SUBORD

'I am asking you whether his father is digging'

Note that in 245 in addition to the té· introducing the indirect Yes/No question another té· is found in the second disjunct if this is allowed to reach the surface. It will be recalled that no té· is present in the second disjunct of direct Yes/No questions. The second té· in 245 presents no problem, however, since it can be introduced by the same rule that introduced the particle into the second disjunct of conditional questions and into  $S_6$  in 244, provided we make the rule sensitive not only to an abstract

higher verb of 'asking' but also to an overt one. The first té· is more problematic. It can easily be generated by an ad hoc rule which requires té· to be inserted instead of -ǰu as the first word in the NP object of a non-abstract verb of 'asking', but it is puzzling why -ǰu should be excluded from this position. If we delete the non-abstract verb of 'asking' from 246 and make the other verb finite, the result

(247) té· hí·ŋi pu-ná? hé·yi-q

means 'I don't know why his father is digging' with declarative intonation, or 'I wonder why his father is digging' with question intonation. It may be that historically 246 consisted of two separate sentences, viz. 'I am asking you' followed by the original words 'I wonder (or even: I don't know) why his father is digging'. In the course of time such paratactic expressions may have come to be considered as one construction. This does not explain, however, why té· instead of -ǰu occurs in this type of sentence.

The fourth branch of schema 238 indicates the 'I don't know' kind of sentence I referred to above. It should be added here that this construction appears to have no tense restrictions. I have recorded it with future, present and past tenses, e.g.

(248) té· póy má?ma·n mán té· qáy  
           him like-FUT  
           ACC

'I don't know whether I'll like him or not'

(249) té· pó·? mičá? ?á·w?-q(a)  
           he where be-PRES

'I don't know where he is'

(250) té· nó· hí·ŋi póyk ?ók-ya  
I why her marry-REM  
DAT

'I don't know why I married her'

The té· here is differentiated from the té· in sentences with question intonation (i.e. branches 1 and 2 in schema 238) by sometimes occurring with the T/A enclitics. My data contain examples only with FUT enclitics but it is possible that others may also occur. Both the simple FUT enclitic and the remote FUT enclitic with -ku (see 22) are found, e.g.

(251) té·-nupu sá·msa-n (mán té· qáy)  
ENC buy-FUT  
FUT  
+I  
-PL

'I don't know whether I'll buy it (or not)'

(252) té·-nupku sá·msa-n (mán té· qáy)

Same meaning as 251, but the possibility is remoter?

The particle also appears with -ŋupu (see 4.2.2.1.5). This construction is given two translations: (1) 'I don't know' and (2) 'probably'. The sentences with the first translation seem not to differ from those we have just been discussing, but I suspect there are subtle semantic differences which my informants could not explain to me. Two examples follow:

(253) A: waxá·m-nil híš tuló·w-ax  
yest. -ENC something find-REM  
REM

'I found something yesterday'

B: há híš 'what?'

A: té·-spu (hí·ča) OR: té·-spuku  
what  
NOM

'I don't know what'

The alternative second utterance of A contains the only example I have collected of a longer form of the -šupu enclitic with the additional segment -ku (cf. -pu-ku 22, and -xu-ku 23 ).

(254) té·-spu ?ó·nu hík timét pu-?éy pu-pídi-vò  
he how time his-leg his-having broken  
much ACC

'I don't know how long his leg has been broken'

Sentence 254 is structurally very similar to B's reply in 255:

(255) A: ?ó·nu-š supúl mán té· wéh timét pu-ló?xa = 219  
B: té·-spu ?ó·nu wám? hík timét pu-ló?xa-vò  
that already several day its-having  
been made

'it was probably made several days ago'

Note that my informant gave the translation in B instead of the expected 'I don't know how many days ago it was made'. Further examples must be collected before we can be certain that this difference in translation corresponds to a difference in meaning.

The final branch in schema 238 shows té· in an idiomatic expression which can be translated by 'perhaps, maybe'. Consider the following:

(256) Bill túk<sup>v</sup>ut-i tí·wi-n pi té· mičaxána·n.  
mt lion-ACC see-FUT and what do-FUT

|| mán té· ya?áni-n  
maybe run away-FUT

'if Bill sees the mountain lion, I don't know what he'll  
do. Maybe he'll run away.'

(= Bill will see the mt lion and I don't know what...)

The utterance in 256 is said as if it were two distinct sentences. The double bar represents the pause. Clearly mán in this construction cannot have its usual meaning 'or' as this makes no sense in this environment.

The reader will have observed that the analysis of té· constructions above has become more indecisive the farther we have gone. I became fully aware of the difficulties surrounding this particle only after I had returned to Europe and was unable to do any more field work. However, I consider it of value to have set out the somewhat confusing findings that I have, as these may serve as guide posts for further inquiry.

## 4.5 Imperatives

If we use the term 'imperative' to cover various kinds of commands and advisory constructions, we can distinguish at least three different structural types of imperative in Luiseño depending on the form of the verb used. In the first type the verb has no T/A suffixes (4.5.1 - 4.5.4), in the second we find PRES tense suffixes (4.5.5) and in the third FUT tense suffixes (4.5.6).

### 4.5.1 Simple Commands

I shall reserve the term 'simple command' for those constructions where a command is expressed by a verb form consisting of a stem with no T/A suffix and where no enclitic is attached to the first constituent in the sentence.

#### 4.5.1.1 Affirmative

In the affirmative variety of simple commands the verb forms of the singular are the bare stems of each of the four verb classes I discussed in 4.1.3 in connection with the T/A suffixes, viz.

- |          |               |                                       |            |
|----------|---------------|---------------------------------------|------------|
| (257) a. | qéw-i-(?)     | (root + thematic increment <u>i</u> ) | 'shout!'   |
| b.       | pél-(?)ax-    | ( " " " <u>?ax</u> )                  | 'dance!'   |
| c.       | kí.čú-/kí.ča- |                                       | 'build!'   |
| d.       | ?uhó?van-     |                                       | 'believe!' |

The most accurate form for commands in the class of verbs represented by 257a should probably have a final glottal stop after thematic i. This accords with Malécot's findings (200). I recorded it only rarely, however, when various forms of the same command were repeated in different ways (see 266). The absence of

the glottal stop in more rapid speech is not surprising. I have already drawn attention in 4.1.3 to its disappearance from the beginning of the thematic increment -ʔax in verbs of the type seen in 257b when they are spoken rapidly.

For the plural of simple commands both my LaJolla and my Pauma informant use -um after the thematic increment -ʔax but -yam elsewhere. Thus the plural equivalents of 257 are:

- (258) a. qéw-i-(ʔ)yam 'shout (pl)!'  
 b. pé1-(ʔ)ax-um 'dance (pl)!'  
 c. kí·čú-yam/kí·čá-yam 'build (pl)!'  
 d. ʔuhóʔvan-yam 'believe (pl)!'

We find a number of disagreements about the quality of the vowel in the two plural endings when we look at Tac, Kroeber/Grace, Malécot and Hyde. In the following chart I give the cited forms first in my own transcription and then, where applicable, in that of the original.

(259)

	Page	-ʔax	elsewhere
Tac:	(184, 174)	-um (-om)	-yam
Kroeber/Grace:	(153)		
Hyde:	(184)	-am	-yam
Malécot:	(200)	-um (-um)	-yum (-jum)

It will be noted that my own informants agree with Tac, whereas Hyde agrees with Kroeber/Grace, i.e. Felix Calac, a Rincón speaker, and Sparkman's informants who were also largely from Rincón. It may well be that there is a difference between Rincón and Pauma/LaJolla. Malécot's findings are surprising, however,

since he worked with the sister of my LaJolla informant.

The verb may be accompanied by the pronouns ?óm and ?umóm 'you (sg and pl)', which are found both before and after it. The pronoun seems regularly to be omitted in the singular but is usually present in the plural. Perhaps the presence of the pronoun lends more emphasis, but my informants gave no hint of this.<sup>17</sup> Commands are subject to a much greater degree of word order scrambling than declarative sentences, probably because the very nature of this kind of utterance necessitates emphasizing certain elements in the sentence, and the principal mechanism for effecting this in Luiseño is by shifting words out of their usual SOV order to sentence-initial or sentence-final position. The following examples will make this clear:

- (260) a. haq<sup>w</sup>á·či 'come (sg) here!'  
 b. haq<sup>w</sup>a·čiyam 'come (pl) here!'
- (261) a. kupú?ax ?ó·nupaŋa 'lie (sg) down here!'  
 b. kupú?axum " 'lie (pl) down here!'
- (262) a. wuní·k há·yax 'move (sg) over (e.g. on a  
 there-DAT bench)!'  
 b. wuní·k há·yaxum 'move (pl) over!'
- (263) a. ŋé·m<sup>18</sup> pitó· (?óm) 'leave (sg) now!'  
 b. ŋé·yam " (?umom) 'leave (pl) now!'  
 c. ŋé·yam " ?amá·yum 'leave now, boys!'
- (264) čéyk maríqax, ?u·má·č-i nó· hú·pi-lut  
 here-DAT turn your-back-ACC I grease-going to  
 'turn back this way, I'm going to rub your back!'



(265) ?ó·nupital tó·-tal póy péŋi  
 that-INSTR rock-INSTR him throw  
 ACC

'throw that stone at him!'

(266) a. péli? }  
 b. ?óm péli? } 'kick (sg) it!'  
 c. péli? ?óm }  
 d. péli?yam ?umóm 'kick (pl) it!'

(267) ?umóm kí·čuyam 'build (pl) a house!'

#### 4.5.1.2 Negative

Negative commands are introduced not by qáy as one would expect but by a special negative particle which has a singular form túgu and a plural form túgu-m. These are usually followed immediately by ?óm and ?umóm respectively, but the pronoun may be omitted. The verb forms are the same as those for the affirmative. In the plural command, concord between the particle and the verb is not necessary though it is usual. Thus all the following are possible forms of the singular and plural negative command, but 268a and 268b are the commonest.

(268) a. túgu (?óm) hé·lax 'don't (sg) sing!'  
 b. túgum (?umóm) hé·laxum }  
 c. túgu (?umóm) hé·laxum } 'don't (pl) sing!'  
 d. túgum (?umóm) hé·lax }

(269) a. túgu (?óm) čípi 'don't (sg) break it!'  
 b. túgum (?umóm) čípiyam }  
 c. túgu (?umóm) čípiyam } 'don't (pl) break it!'  
 d. túgum (?umóm) čípi }

After I had collected my own data, I discovered that the surprising disregard for concord illustrated in 268c,d and 269c,d is corroborated in Hyde (184). In the papers held in the Bancroft Library Archives at Berkeley, Sparkman also noted that, in a group of words between which a relationship of concord obtains, the plural ending need occur only once. He was, however, talking about concord within noun phrases and was concerned in particular with concord between adjectives and nouns. My own data bear this observation out, but it should be added that, except in these negative commands, concord between subject and verb is always rigidly observed. One is therefore tempted to wonder whether the verb forms in commands may not in fact be adjectival or nominal. Certainly in other constructions the bare stem is a nominal, since it can take both possessive prefixes and case suffixes, as the following example shows:

(270) *ʒuwó·?-quʒ-pil pu-púk-ŋa pu-wtá?-ax-i*  
be afraid-REM-ENC door-LOC his-stand-THEM-ACC  
REM INCR  
  
'he was afraid to stand at the door'  
(lit. = he feared his (own) standing at the door)

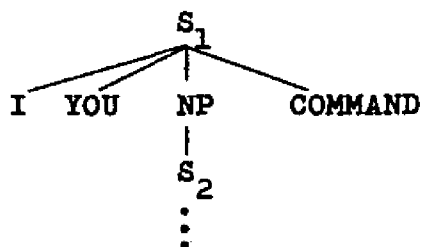
However, it is difficult to see how either structurally or semantically a nominal form could serve as a command imperative. I shall therefore not consider this possibility further.

#### 4.5.1.3 Generation of Simple Commands

Within the performative analysis the generation of simple commands presents a few problems. The most serious of these is that,



(273)



The next question that has to be decided is what T/A verbs, if any, should be generated between  $S_2$  and the sentence that emerges at the surface as the actual command. It will help if we first take a look at commands in English. The first transformational analysis (Katz/Postal, 1964:74-79) considered all commands to be future. It was noticed that tags with 'will you' frequently occur after this type of sentence, and therefore an underlying form was posited containing both the second person pronoun and the modal 'will'. Bolinger (1967) levels serious criticism against this analysis and demonstrates quite convincingly that the 'will' in the command tag cannot be taken as evidence for a deleted 'will' in the command sentence, since other modals than 'will' can also occur in the tag. Furthermore, he produces evidence to show that commands are not limited to future tense, but may also be present or even past. For example,

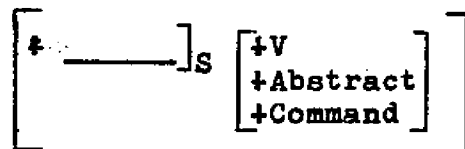
"a person holding a lottery ticket not yet examined, and hearing the announcement of the winning number, might say before turning the ticket over: 'Please be the right number!' " (348-9)

Although the verb is stative here, there is clearly a command and equally clearly present time. As an example of a past imperative he gives among others 'please, Neale, don't have read it yet!' said by a girl who is hurrying to retrieve a rashly written letter.

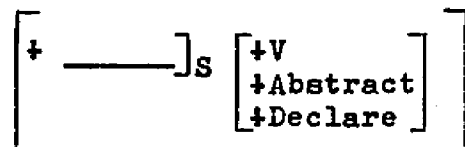


entry for HYP will be possible. This same technique can be used for whatever other T/A verbs are incompatible with COMMAND.

The derivation of commands will now proceed as for declarative sentences, with the atomic generation of T/A suffixes and enclitics by the various raising transformations considered in previous of this study. At the stage where lexical insertion is to occur, zero suffixes and zero enclitics can be entered in the tree if the lexical entries for T/A suffixes and enclitics are so written that the performative COMMAND occurs in the selection features; for example, a zero will be entered for (((NON-HYP) NON-HAB) MOM) PRES)<sup>20</sup> when it has the selectional feature



but the suffix -g will be entered for the same combination when it has the selectional feature



i.e. when it is generated in a tree below the performative verb DECLARE.

The zero enclitics can be generated in a similar manner. At the cycle immediately below the S containing COMMAND, however, special rules will be needed to introduce a zero particle when the command is affirmative, and túgu when the command is negative. Finally PERFORMATIVE DELETION will eliminate the topmost S on the last cycle.

#### 4.5.2 "Oh well ..... then!"

In 4.2.2.2.2 I described the use of the enclitic -ku in sentences like:

- (275) *sá·msa-ku*            'oh well, buy it then!'  
          buy-ENC

where the -ku indicates impatience or reluctant consent. We now have to decide on how to generate this enclitic. In my analysis so far, I have treated all the semantic enclitics as reflexes of higher abstract verbs. There seems no good reason for making an exception here. The problem is how to introduce the notions of impatience and reluctant consent into the performative analysis. There are two possible ways: (1) we can make the phrase structure rules generate a manner adverbial node in the performative sentence and this would be able to dominate such adverbial expressions as 'impatiently' or 'with reluctant consent', or (2) we can posit two (or more) coordinate performative sentences at the top of the tree.

Let us consider the introduction of an adverbial node first. If we look at English we find that manner adverbials can occur in overt performative sentences, though as Schreiber (1972) notes, certain cooccurrence restrictions must be observed (see 276e,f).

- (276) a. I solemnly declare that no harm shall come to them.  
      b. I gladly invite you all to the ball.  
      c. I announce with trepidation that the photos will be published tomorrow.  
      d. I reluctantly demand my pound of flesh.

- e. ?I blasphemously pronounce you man and wife.
- f. ?I arrogantly admit that I am a little confused.

If overt performative sentences can contain manner adverbials, there seems no reason at first why abstract performative sentences should not also contain them. However, a certain amount of mystery still shrouds the category of adverb in transformational grammar, and arguments have been put forward by Katz/Postal (1964), Lakoff (1970a) and Kuroda (1970) in which they dispute the need for a distinct manner adverb category in underlying structure and suggest that adverbs of this kind should be derived from adjectives. For example, Kuroda proposes two alternative derivations 277b, c for 277a.

- (277) a. John dressed happily.
- b. The manner [John dressed in some manner]<sub>S</sub> was happy.
- c. John was happy [John dressed.]<sub>S</sub>

Now it will be remembered that Lakoff (133) also notes "at least ten very general rules of English in which adjectives and verbs are treated identically" and goes on to posit a single category VERB to cover them both.

If we now turn back to Luiseño, we find considerable support for Lakoff's analysis. There is a startling absence of true manner adverbs in this language. I know of only one underived (i.e. unanalysable) word: qilég/qalég 'quickly', but even this is not a true manner adverb as it is also used for 'soon'; other adverbial expressions of manner are clearly all derived from verb forms or in a small number of cases from nominal forms. An



example of the latter is ʔéšku-tal 'loudly' where a nominal stem (probably meaning 'height') is followed by the instrumental case suffix. The adverbials derived from verbs fall into two classes, and often the English manner adverbial has a translation equivalent in each class. The first is structurally one of several adjectival forms of the verb with the ending -i added (probably the same -i as in the accusative case ending). Examples are: ʔaláx<sup>w</sup>i-č-i 'badly' (< ʔaláx<sup>w</sup>i- 'to be bad'), ták-a-nt-i 'straight' (< táka- 'to be straight'), múyi-k-i 'much, fully' (< mú.ya- 'to be full'). The second class of manner adverbials is structurally non-adjectival though it corresponds closely to English participial forms in -ing. It is formed by adding -nik/ -nuk directly to the verb stem, e.g.

- (278) a. ʔayá-li-nik 'well, properly' (< ʔayá-li- 'to mend, repair (sth)')  
 b. táki-nik 'straight' (cf. táka-nti above)  
 c. máhi-nik 'slowly' (< máha- 'to slow down, stop work')

Compare these forms with the following:

- (279) ʔó·nu-pil néy núli-nik yaʔán-ax  
 he-ENC me push run away-REM  
 REM ACC

'he pushed me and ran away' (lit. = pushing me he ran away)

- (280) yaʔáš súpliš híq<sup>w</sup>i-nik witáʔ-ya  
 man once run stop-REM

'the man ran once and stopped'

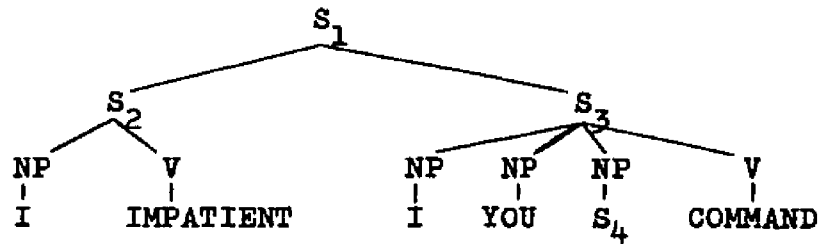
(281) wunál-pil hulóqi-nik tak<sup>w</sup>áya  
 he choke die-REM  
 'he choked and died' (lit. = choking he died)

(282) nó·-n pu-kí· tíki-nik ya?áni-lut  
 I his-house set fire run away-going to  
 ACC  
 'I'm going to set fire to his house and run away'

The adverbials in 278 are clearly special cases of the forms in 279 through 282. In the latter we see just one of the uses of the -nik suffix, which subordinates embedded sentences provided the matrix verb and the embedded verb have the same subject. If we note that for almost every English adjective there is a corresponding Luiseño verb (e.g. nínáqna- 'to be sad', čóva- 'to be round', yawáywa- 'to be pretty', ló·vi- 'to be good', yuváta- 'to be black', ?áva- 'to be red', etc.) which can under suitable circumstances take the -nik suffix and, when the semantics allow, thus translate an English adverbial expression, then it is quite reasonable to posit a construction of this kind in abstract performative sentences. In other words, this is an argument in favour of the second suggestion above, namely to posit two or more coordinate verbs in the performative analysis. Note, however, that this solution allows coordinate non-performative as well as performative abstract verbs into the topmost S in the underlying structure of a sentence, provided that at least one of these verbs is a performative. We can see this clearly if we use this device to account for the meanings of the -ku enclitic with imperatives. For the notion of impatience we could posit an underlying struc-

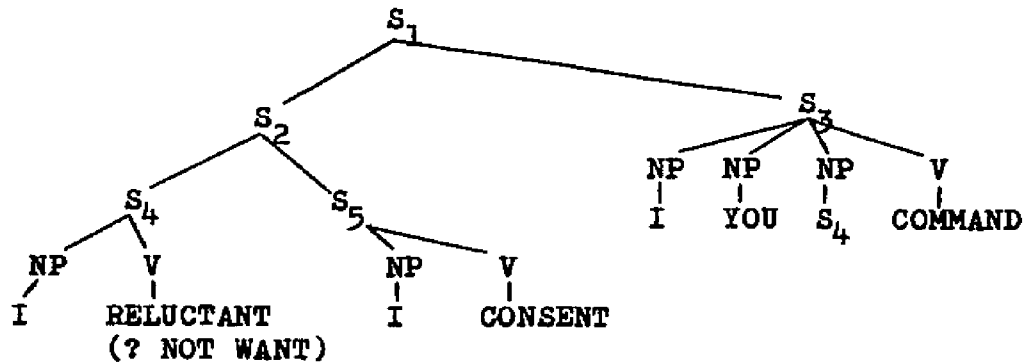
ture like the following:

(283)



where  $S_2$  is certainly not performative. For the notion of reluctant consent we would need a more complicated underlying structure containing both a performative and a non-performative verb, perhaps something like:

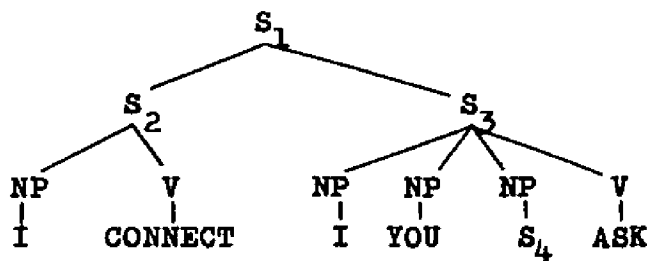
(284)



which after suitable transformations could be paraphrased as I RELUCTANTLY CONSENTING COMMAND YOU  $[S]_{NP}$ . Maybe from the point of view of Luiseño semantics, there is a simple generalization covering  $S_2$  in both 283 and 284, but if so, it is not really important for my argument. All I wish to suggest at the moment is that the -ku enclitic is a reflex both of whatever structure is at the  $S_2$  node and of the performative sentence  $S_3$ . As many aspects of this solution are rather hypothetical, I shall not attempt to write a rule for the lexical insertion of -ku. However, my case is strengthened by the observation that this type of derivation,

where attitudinal information posited as semantic underlying structure finds a syntactic reflex in derived structure, is needed in other places in Luiseño. The reader will recall the enclitic -san, described in 4.2.2.2.3 as indicating that one's question follows on from what another speaker has already said. This idea could be captured (rather crudely) by a structure of the following kind:

(285)



which in English would be equivalent to: I CONSENTINGLY ASK YOU

[S]<sub>NP</sub>°

The arguments above are intended to be suggestive rather than definitive. If enclitics like -san with attitudinal content can justifiably be generated by positing extra structure in the underlying trees for the surface sentences to which they belong, it is only a small step to positing other similar structure to account for other features of surface sentences that express the attitude of the speaker to his subject or to his hearer, for example different patterns of intonation or various particles. Unfortunately this is another theoretical issue of some interest which I shall have no time to discuss.

#### 4.5.3 -kam

A slightly different kind of problem is posed by the enclitic -kam, which is found only in commands containing verbs of sensual perception. In 4.2.2.2.1 I discussed fully the transformations needed to generate the three different kinds of sentences in which it occurs. I did not, however, consider the details of the transformation which introduces -kam itself. So far as I can judge, the enclitic adds no extra meaning to the imperative, i.e. there is no semantic difference between 286 and 287:

(286)	tów	} 'look'
(287)	tów-kam	

It would therefore be simple to make its generation obligatory in any sentence where a verb with the feature [+ Sensual Perception] is dominated by the performative sentence: I YOU NP COMMAND. Sentences like 286 can then very easily be produced by deleting the enclitic optionally.

On the other hand, if there is an attitudinal difference between 286 and 287, we can follow the policy I suggested above and introduce this as additional structure in the topmost S of the underlying tree for 287. We would then have a tree like 282 but with a different verb under  $S_2$ . In the derivation the enclitic would now be a reflex of both  $S_2$  and the performative sentence  $S_3$ .

Whichever way we generate -kam, once it has been lexically inserted the three types of sentence it occurs in can still be produced by the transformations 92 and 93 as described in

4.2.2.2.1.

#### 4.5.4 Commands with Higher Verbs

In this section I wish to deal with the imperatives of those verb forms we saw in 4.3.8 which have suffixes derived from higher verbs. The first thing to notice is that the semantics of some of them precludes the formation of commands: thus there are none for verbs bearing the suffixes -vuta/-luta, -viča, or -la with the meaning given in 138. For others it is difficult to think of credible situations in which they could be used, e.g. -muna. Three of them, however, I have recorded with command forms: -ni, -i(m) and -ni.

Since there is no difficulty with the higher verb analysis for the first of these, I will use this suffix to demonstrate that we are dealing with a different type of command here from those we have seen so far. If we take the sentences

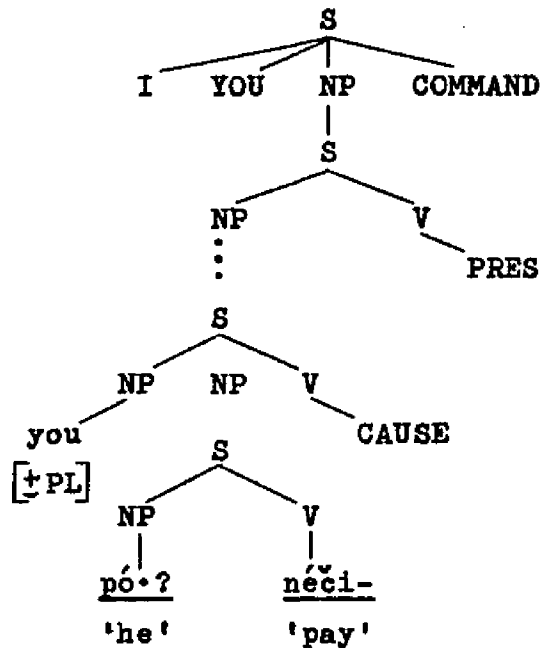
(288) něci-ni      ?óm      pój      '(you (sg)) make him pay!'  
pay-cause      you      him  
                     -PL      ACC

OR:

něci-ni-yam      ?umóm      pój      '(you (pl)) make him pay!'  
                     IMP      you  
                     +PL      +PL

We can posit the following underlying structure:

(289)



In this type of command the verb expressing the action whose performance is being commanded (e.g. CAUSE in 289) is present only in underlying structure, whereas in all other simple commands it is present on the surface. However we analyse -i(m) and -ŋi, the same must be true of commands containing them.

For the rest of this section I wish to consider a few of the latter types of command. The following examples show how -ŋi is used:

(290) yáx-ŋi póy 'go (sg) and tell him!'  
say-go him  
ACC

(291) a. há·l-ŋi kulá·wut 'go (sg) and look for some  
seek-go wood wood!'

b. há·l-ŋi-yam kulá·wut 'go (pl) and look for some  
go-PL wood!'

Although the suffix -ŋi in itself is sufficient to express the

idea 'go and ... ', the verb hatí?ax 'go' may also occur redundantly in the command. Thus with the same meaning as 291 we have:

- (292) a. hatí?ax há·l-ŋi kulá·wut  
b. hatí?axum há·l-ŋi-yam kulá·wut

There is one further usage of -ŋi which I should mention at this point. The suffix may also be attached to (apparent) noun stems and it then forms a command to go and fetch the object denoted by the noun. So we can also have:

- (293) a. kuláw-ŋi 'go (sg) and fetch some wood!'  
b. kuláw-ŋi-yam 'go (pl) and fetch some wood!'

Here again hatí?ax and hatí?axum may be redundantly added to 293a and 293b respectively. This usage of -ŋi seems to be restricted to a few common household items like 'wood', 'water', 'cactus fruit', 'Indian hemp', etc. So it is probably best to have a minor rule in the lexicon to form such verbs from their respective nouns and then treat them in the syntax as if they were unanalysable.

The last usage of -ŋi I wish to discuss is when it occurs together with -i(m). When this combination is used in commands, the scope of the movement indicated by the two suffixes seems to be more restricted:

- (294) wuní·-k yáw?ŋi·m (<yáw?-ŋi-im) ?óm<sup>21</sup>  
thither you (sg)  
'take it (to) over there!'

This combination, -ŋi + im > -ŋi·m, is doubtless what Kroeber/



Grace (141) are referring to when in their section on -ni they say:

"The /nim/ alternant occurs in the past punctual [= REM] and sometimes in the imperative under undetermined circumstances."

They obviously failed to hear the lengthening of the vowel resulting from the coalescence of the i in each suffix.

#### 4.5.5 Advisory Imperatives

So far I have discussed only those types of imperative for which an abstract performative sentence containing COMMAND can be postulated. There are a number of other cases where this cannot be done. One of the clearest of these is the situation in which speaker A asks speaker B how a particular thing is made, and B gives him the necessary instructions. B's utterances will probably resemble the language of cookbook recipes and contain a series of quasi-commands, e.g. "take a plank, cut it in half and smooth the faces and the edges." It is clear, however, that such sentences are not true commands, since B is not requiring A to do anything but merely giving him advice on how to perform a particular task. In situations of this kind the Luiseño language uses a sentence of the same shape as a FUT declarative. For example, the following are instructions on how to make acorn mush:

(295) ?óm ?amú·lu k<sup>w</sup>í·l čí?i-n pá? pi ?óm póy  
 you first acorn pick-FUT then and it  
 ACC ACC

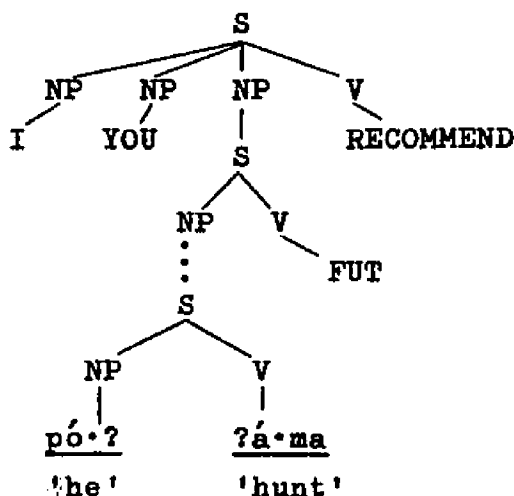
q<sup>w</sup>áyí-n pá? pu-wáxa-qala ?óm póy páqi-n  
 spread-FUT its-dry-SUBORD crack-FUT





For sentence 299 the underlying tree will be:

(301)



i.e. basically the same tree as 298 except for the different person in the pronoun subject of the lowest S.

#### 4.5.6 "Let's" Imperatives

The final kind of imperative I shall deal with is translated into English by 'let us (do something)!' In Luiseño it is identical in surface structure with the PRES declaratives and again the overt subject pronoun is missing, e.g.

(302) wá·ya·n-čá (<wá·yax-wun-čá) 'let's swim!'

swim-PRES -ENC  
 PL 

+PRES
+I
+PL

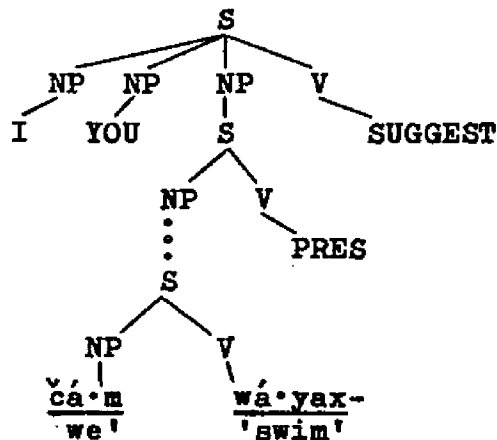
(303) wéhmali-čá mó·ya·n (< mó·yax-wun) 'let's rest a  
 a little-ENC rest little!'

+PRES
+I
+PL

(304) qáy-čá hatí?a·n (< hatí?ax-wun) 'don't let's go!'  
 not-ENC 'let's not go'

If we examine the semantics of this construction, it is obvious that we are concerned here just as little with a true command as we were in the case of the advisory imperatives; but it is clear, I think, that there is a semantic distinction between them and the construction in 302-4. The latter sentences seem to be less a recommendation than a suggestion. If this standpoint is accepted, the semantic difference can be accommodated by positing a different performative, viz. SUGGEST, in the underlying structure of these sentences, and by requiring that the derivation block unless the complement of SUGGEST contains PRES. Thus the underlying tree for 302 would be:

(305)



However, I do not wish to press this analysis. If the postulation of two different performatives (one for the 'let's ...' construction and one for the 'let him ...' construction) is rejected, then both types could be accommodated under one performative (? SUGGEST) and the rules would have to be rewritten to allow both FUT and PRES in the complement of the performative verb. The choice of one of these tenses could then be made dependent on the person of

the subject pronoun of the lowest S.

#### 4.6 Exclamations

In this section I wish to deal with a few 'single-word' exclamations and with two kinds of exclamatory sentence. In the traditional sense of 'simplex', this is the last kind of simplex sentence I shall examine. In the performative analysis, of course, such sentences must in underlying structure be complex. We shall, however, see below that exclamations present a serious challenge to the performative analysis. Before we consider their generation, it will make the picture clearer if I explain and illustrate the three types of sentence first.

##### 4.6.1 Single-Word Exclamations

I am using 'single-word' to characterize those exclamations that either form sentences with no internal structure or, as in 306, sentences that do have structure but that are unanalysable into subject and predicate. Not all, though most, of the exclamatory words in both types of exclamation are single words, hence my use of the term is a little loose.

Some single-word exclamations may stand by themselves, e.g.

- (306) A: wunál-up      tak<sup>w</sup>áyax-lut      'he's going to die'  
         he-ENC      die-going to  
                 PRES
- B: wá·x (OR: wá·x ?utá·x )      'Oh dear!'  
                 ? = ?u-tá·x  
                                 your-self

Or they may be accompanied by another sentence, e.g.

(307) A: wunál-up péw-kat  
          marry-one who  
          'he is married'

B: hičú·x, qáy-na nó· ?ayáli-qat (Pauma)  
          not-ENC I know-P PR  
          'oh, I didn't know'

OR: B: { hačúh } , nó·-nil maróp-ya (LaJolla)  
          { ?ó só· } ,  
          { só só· } forget-REM  
          'oh, I forgot'

(308) ha?á·m, John-kun ?éxŋi pótŋ-i kúli-lut  
          alas ENC tomor. his tooth pull-going to  
                    REPORT -ACC  
          'poor John, he's going to have a tooth pulled tomorrow'

(309) a: yóx, wunál-up pu-?yáli pu-ná·wi ?ayá·linuk  
          ?gee he-ENC his-know his write well  
                    PRES

OR: b: wunál-up ..... ?ayá·linuk, yóx  
          'gee, he's a real(ly) good writer!'

(310) { pú·či } , pilék-siliš čá·m waxá·m múyiki hé·y-ax  
          { ?ó·m } very-ENC we yest. much dig-REM  
          'gee, we sure dug a lot yesterday!'

The two exclamatory words in 310 occur in my data only in connection with the -gupil enclitic (see 4.2.2.1.4, 4.4.9). Both were collected from the LaJolla informant. It should be noted that ?ó·m is the only word in Luiseño which has strong nasalization. Elsewhere the nasalization of vowels when a neighbouring consonant

is nasal is negligible or non-existent.

4.6.2 "how ... !", "what (a) ... !"

The construction I shall now deal with contains the exclamatory particle lók. When this occurs with verbs bearing NON-HYP T/A suffixes, it may be roughly translated by 'how ... !' or 'what (a) ... !'. In the speech of my LaJolla informant there is no enclitic in these cases and the particle is usually preceded by the exclamation ?á·, e.g.

(311) ?á· lók ya?áš ?ahíkya 'what a clever guy he is!'  
man smart

(312) ?á· lók pu-púš mómkat 'what big eyes she has!'  
her-eye big  
(of plural things)

(313) ?á· lók má·kina pu-sá·msa-vò<sup>22</sup> yót  
car his-buy-REL big  
REM (of a single thing)

'how big the car he bought is!'

(314) ?á· lók ?ahúyaxi yawáywiš 'how pretty she is!'  
very pretty

(315) ?á· lók waxá·m pómínik šáq-ax  
yest. very be hot-REM

'how awfully hot it was yesterday!'

My Pauma informant on the other hand usually adds enclitics. At least in the PRES tense, these are not the same as those we saw in PRES tense declarative sentences. In fact they resemble the FUT enclitics more than the PRES ones. The following paradigm may be



compared with that shown in 22:

(316)	Singular	Plural
PRES	1. -numu, -na	-čumpu (? čummu)
	2. -(u)pu	-mu <sup>23</sup>
	3. -(u)pu	-mu

It will be observed that the first person plural forms and the longer form of the first person singular are neither the regular FUT nor PRES enclitics. The shorter first person singular form (also quoted in Sparkman's personal papers but in the shape -no) is identical with the PRES enclitic, whereas the second and third person plural forms and the shorter second and third person singular forms are identical with the FUT enclitics of the Rincón dialect. I shall discuss the alternative first person plural forms below. The longer forms for the second and third persons singular are unique. Finally we may note that this series of enclitics occurs only accompanied by lók:

(317) lók-numu ?óy hikáči-q 'how I am bothering you!'  
 ENC you bother-PRES  
 ACC

(318) lók-čumpu ?óy hikáči-wun 'how we are bothering you!'  
 PRES  
 PL

(319) lók-upu ?ahíkya ?atá·x 'what a smart guy!'  
 smart person

My data contain only three examples of past tense exclamations, again from the Pauma informant:

(320) lók-numu tó·ya waxá·m 'how I laughed yesterday!'  
 laugh yest. 'what a laugh I had yest.!'  
 REM

(321) lók-čummu tó·ya waxá·m 'how we laughed yesterday!'

(322) lók-upu tó·ya waxá·m 'how he laughed yesterday!'

It will be observed that the three enclitics used here are the same as the PRES ones seen in the paradigm 316 except that the syllable after -čum is now -mu, not -pu. Probably -mu is the more reliable of the two forms, if we take the data quoted in Sparkman's unpublished papers into consideration: his PRES tense exclamations with first person plural subject begin with lók-cha-ma. On the other hand, his past tense exclamations are always given with past enclitics and not with those I have just discussed:

(323) lōknil poy no shēkwik = lók-nil poy nó· ší·q<sup>w</sup>i-k  
 ENC him I whip-REM  
 REM ACC HAB  
 'how I used to whip him!'

(324) lōkanil poy no shēkwāḥ = lók-anil poy nó· ší·q<sup>w</sup>-ax  
 ? REM  
 'how I whipped him!'

Similarly Sparkman gives one example of a FUT tense after lók where the enclitic has the longer form (with -ka (= -ku)) of the regular FUT enclitic:

(325) lōknupka poy no shēkwīn tēwynuk  
 = lók-nupku poy nó· ší·q<sup>w</sup>i-n tí·wi-nuk  
 ENC whip-FUT see-SUBORD  
 FUT  
 'how I shall whip him when I see him!'

Unfortunately I have no examples in my own data of lók sentences containing FUT tense verbs. The whole question of whether the enclitics given in 316 have been generalized to cover all the NON-HYP T/A forms of the verb and whether past and future enclitics can also be used, and in what form, has still to be investigated.

#### 4.6.3 "would that ... !", "if only ...!"

When the exclamatory particle lók occurs in a sentence where the verb has HYP aspect (see 16, 23), the following paradigm is found:

(326)

	Singular		Plural	
HYP	Pauma <sup>24</sup>	LaJolla	Pauma	LaJolla
	1. lók-xunpu	lókxu(n)pu	lók-xiřpu	lókxupu
	2. lók-xupu	lókxupu	lók-xumpu	lókxupu
	3. lók-xupu	lókxupu	lók-xumpu	lókxupu

If we compare the forms of the enclitic in 326 with those in 23, we notice that Pauma uses the same set in each with the minor difference of i in -xiřpu in 326 and u in -xuřpu in 23. As unaccented vowels frequently vacillate in Luiseño between two tongue positions, it is quite possible that both i and u are acceptable in either case in the Pauma dialect. I have already pointed out that ř is a more palatal consonant in Luiseño than in English; it is therefore not surprising that an underlying u can be fronted when occurring immediately before this consonant.

If we now turn to the LaJolla forms, we notice first that there is assimilation of the final k of lók to the initial x of the enclitic; alternative forms with k restored or replaced by a glottal stop were consistently rejected. Second, except in the

first person singular the LaJolla dialect has again only one form throughout the paradigm, but curiously this is now the form that the Pauma/Rincón dialect generalized in 23, i.e with -pu and not with -ku.

Sentences containing lók and the above HYP forms of the enclitic express unfulfilled wishes, as we see in the following examples from the Pauma dialect:

(327) lók-xupu ?óm ?uyó·k ?á·w?-ma  
silent be-HYP CONT  
'I wish you would keep, had kept, quiet!'

(328) lók-xiřpu čá·m hatí?ax  
we go-HYP  
'would that we were going, had gone!'

(329) lók-xunpu nó· rí·ku mí·x-ma  
I rich be-HYP CONT  
'if only I were rich!'

(330) lók-xunpu nó· ?ayáli-ma  
I know-HYP CONT  
'if only I knew, had known!'

Sparkman's unpublished papers contain an alternative 'past' form of 330 with a longer enclitic which we examined in 4.2.1.4 (8). It will be remembered that this past HYP enclitic occurs only in the first person singular:

(331) lok-hun-oř-po no a-yal-y-ma = lók-xunò?pu nó· ?ayálíma  
'I wish I had known!'

This almost certainly corresponds to the usage of my Pauma informant, but I was unable to check.

The following sentences were elicited from my LaJolla informant:

(332) ?á· lóxxupu wunál tamá·wut pótmi yáq<sup>w</sup>i  
that chatterbox his mouth shut-HYP  
ACC

'I wish that chatterbox would, had, shut up!'

(333) [?á· lóxxupu nó· ?ayáli-ma híš nu-hí·x-pi ]<sub>1</sub>  
what my-say-SUBORD  
ACC FUT

[pi qáy nó· ?ayáli-q ]<sub>2</sub>  
but not I know-PRES

'I wish I knew what to say, but I don't!'

(334) ?á· lóxxunpu pu-tú·ŋ-i móli  
his-name-ACC remember

'if only I could remember, could have remembered, his name!'

It is now time to make a few general remarks about the forms in 327-334. First, with the exception of 331 and 333 the time reference may be PRES, PST or in some cases even FUT with no change in the outward form of the sentence. It is the context alone which decides. Sentence 333 can only have PRES reference since there is an overt PRES in clause 2. Sparkman's 331 is different, since past is formally marked in the enclitic.

Second, in the traditional use of the term these sentences may not be simplex. We have already noted that 'simplex' and 'complex' really need redefinition within the performative/

abstract higher verb framework. Perhaps I may be permitted to remind the reader that in this study I have been using 'simplex' to describe those sentences whose surface structure consists of a single clause containing reflexes (in the form of enclitics and/or particles) left behind after the obligatory deletion of abstract higher verbs and/or an abstract performative from their underlying structure. 'Complex' on the other hand I am using to refer to those sentences whose surface structure contains (a) two clauses or more connected by dependency relations of some kind, or (b) one clause which stands in a dependency relation to any optionally deleted non-abstract clause. It is the latter case which is represented in some of the sentences above. Thus 334 could be just half of the sentence:

(335) '[If only I could remember his name]<sub>1</sub> [I would be able to send it to him]<sub>2</sub>'

It should be noted that the relationship between 1 and 2 in 335 is different from that between 1 and 2 in 333. In 335 clause 2 follows on logically from clause 1, whereas in 333 clause 2 resembles an afterthought. This difference is made clear in Luiseño by the use of different clause introducers: the type of clause 2 seen in 333 is introduced by pi 'and, but', whereas that in 335 takes either pá? 'then' or pá pi. We shall see the latter illustrated immediately in the next section.

4.6.4 haní(?)ku

There is an alternative construction to lók + the HYP enclitics which seems to have the same meaning. Here the introductory word is haní(?)ku. In contrast to the lók sentences in 4.6.3, all the haní(?)ku sentences in my data contain a second clause that logically follows on from the first. This is probably mere coincidence, but conveniently demonstrates the use of pá? (pi) as clause introducer. Consider the following:

(336) haníku ?óm k<sup>w</sup>á·ti pá? (pi) (?óm) má·s múyiki  
you wait-HYP more much-ACC  
tí·wi  
see-HYP

'if only you would wait, then you would see much more!'

(337) haníku čá·m ?ayáli·ma pá? (pi) (čá·m) pumó·m-i  
we know-HYP CONT them-ACC  
?ayudá·r  
help-HYP

'if only we knew, then we could help them!'

(338) haníku<sup>25</sup> nó· wuná·l-i ya?á·č-i qáni pá? čá·m  
I that-ACC man-ACC meet-HYP we  
?ayá·linik čó·?un híš čuró?i  
properly all thing settle-HYP  
ACC

'if only I could meet that man, then we would straighten everything out properly!'

Attention is drawn to the absence of HYP enclitics. We should note, however, that the morpheme haní? does occur with these en-

clitics in true conditions (see 5.1.2.1). Sentences 336-8 differ from true conditions in that they express wishes rather than conditions; indeed, my informants always translate haní(?)ku sentences with 'if only ... !' or 'I wish ... !'.

As I pointed out at the end of 4.6.3, these sentences expressing unfulfilled wishes should really be considered as complex in the sense I defined. I have described them here, however, as (1) they seem to belong together with exclamations, and (2) it is clearer to treat all the sentence types beginning with lók together, and consequently also haní(?)ku sentences, which are equivalent to one of these types.

#### 4.6.5 Generation of Exclamations

When we try to generate exclamations within the performative analysis a number of problems arise. The most serious of these is that no verb of exclamation can be used as an overt performative. This is true of all the languages I have so far examined and may indeed be universal. Thus in English, for example, there is no exclamation \*'I exclaim ouch!' nor \*'I exclaim that she is beautiful!'. The somewhat antiquated expression 'I declare' in sentences like 'I declare, she's very pretty' cannot be performative, since the second sentence is not the complement of 'declare'. This is shown clearly by the comma, and by the fact that the two sentences can be reversed with no change of meaning: 'she's very pretty, I declare'. In Luiseño the situation is even worse, as there are not even any overt verbs of exclamation.

At this stage we may well ask ourselves whether we really



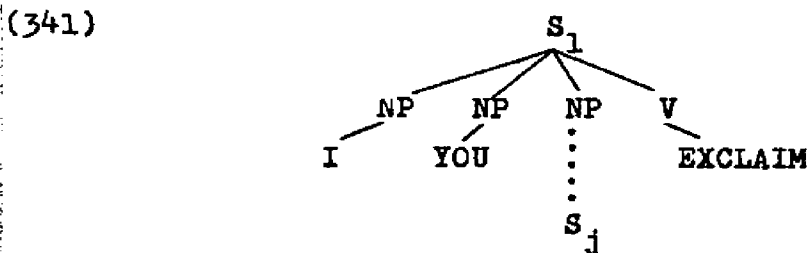
need another abstract performative verb to account for exclamations. Can we not get by with what we have already? I do not think we can. Consider the two English sentences:

- (339) a. She is beautiful.  
 b. How beautiful she is.

I find them semantically identical except in illocutionary force, i.e. the difference I find corresponds exactly to the difference between 340a and 340b, although, as I pointed out above, 340b is not a well-formed surface structure exclamation.

- (340) a. I DECLARE she is beautiful.  
 b. I EXCLAIM she is beautiful.

If we are willing to accept this as 'evidence' for the need for a higher performative verb of exclamation, then despite the lack of any overt verbs of this kind in Luiseño we can now posit that all the exclamations with NON-HYP T/A suffixes on the verb have the following underlying structure:



In the next section I shall attempt an appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of the performative analysis as used so far in this study and consider especially the problems connected with it in the analysis seen in 341. For the moment let us accept it without question and examine how it can be used to generate exclamations

and exclamatory sentences of the kind described in 4.6.1 and 4.6.2 above.

The first problem is with what I loosely called 'single-word' exclamations. I defined them all as sentences, usually single-word sentences without internal structure, or occasionally combinations of exclamatory words with other categories but not in a subject-predicate relationship. I have very little empirical support for defining them as sentences except that (a) many can stand alone as complete utterances just as any other kind of sentence can, and (b) the syntax of Luiseño precludes them from belonging to another sentence. If the reader looks at 307 through 310, he will observe that, in the sentence which follows each exclamatory word, the enclitic is attached to the first word of this sentence and not to the exclamatory word itself. This is clear evidence that the exclamatory word is outside that sentence. Furthermore, there is often a perceptible pause between them.

Now, for the correct generation of the sentence accompanying the exclamatory word, the analysis I have developed in this study forces me to posit a performative sentence (I YOU NP DECLARE) as dominating it, in order to account for the declarative T/A enclitic on the first word. This leaves the exclamatory word high and dry. If we consider it to be a sentence in its own right, we must account for its illocutionary force by positing the structure 341 above it. In most cases  $S_j$  will consist simply of the category EXCL. Where the single-word exclamation has some internal structure as in:

?alalá· ʃuŋa·l, lók-pu yawáywiš  
 woman how-ENC pretty

'my, what a pretty woman!'

provision for this must be made in the phrase structure rules, e.g.  $S \rightarrow EXCL (NP)$ . In idiomatic cases like wá·x ?u-tá·x, where the internal structure is unanalysable, the exclamation can be treated as a single unit in the lexicon and inserted into the tree as a unit under EXCL.

The structure in 341 can also be used to generate the two types of exclamatory sentence described in 4.6.2 with lók alone and with lók accompanied by NON-HYP enclitics. In this case  $S_j$  will have a full clause as its expansion, i.e. will be generated by the phrase structure rule:  $S \rightarrow NP (NP) (ADVL) V$ . The exclamatory particle lók can be introduced by a transformation sensitive to the presence of EXCLAIM in the performative S, e.g.

(342) SD:  $\begin{array}{cccc} x & [ & S & ] \\ \bar{1} & \bar{2} & \bar{3} & \text{NP} \\ & & & \text{EXCLAIM} \\ & & & \underline{4} \end{array} \quad \Longrightarrow$   
 SC: 1 2 lók+3 4

Since the enclitics are automatically generated as the transformations proceed up the tree, the simplest way of accounting for both the presence and absence of NON-HYP enclitics in lók sentences is to retain them for the usual Pauma construction and subsequently to delete them for the LaJolla type. This enclitic deletion transformation would thus be optional for the Pauma dialect but obligatory for the LaJolla. For want of a better solution, this is the one I shall adopt. Nevertheless, I should point out

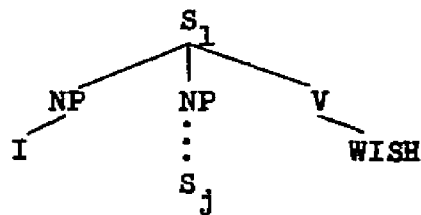
that the deletion of the enclitics here in the LaJolla dialect is problematic since it does not parallel the deletion of the enclitics in declarative sentences. In the latter they were potentially present, i.e. a sentence from which they were lacking could always be reformulated with the appropriate enclitics inserted. In other words there is empirical motivation for generating them first and deleting them later. In the case of lók sentences in the LaJolla dialect, however, this motivation is lacking, since no enclitic is possible when there are NON-HYP T/A suffixes on the verb. In other words, to generate the enclitics first, for them then to be obligatorily deleted, does not seem to tally with the LaJolla speaker's competence, although this procedure no doubt represents the historical development (witness the Pauma alternatives with and without enclitics).

There is no problem with the insertion of the slightly different forms of the PRES enclitic seen in 316, since their final phonetic shape can be made dependent on the presence of lók. Thus if the normal PRES forms of the enclitic are introduced before lók itself is inserted, a rule will be needed to modify their shape in its presence. On the other hand, if they were introduced after the insertion of lók, the forms in 316 can be provided with sub-categorization features in the lexicon to ensure that they are inserted only when lók is present.

Let us now turn to the sentences in which lók and haní(?)ku are followed by the HYP enclitics. As we saw in 4.6.3 and 4.6.4, these are wishes rather than exclamations. I therefore propose to

capture the illocutionary force of this type of sentence by postulating a performative topmost S of the following kind:

(343)



As far as the HYP enclitics are concerned, their proper insertion can be ensured by making one of the subcategorization features in their specification in the lexicon contain WISH, so that only they, and not NON-HYP enclitics, can be inserted in this environment. Since lók and haní(?)ku appear to be fully interchangeable, they can be introduced by the same transformation, e.g.

(344) SD:  $\begin{array}{c} X \\ \hline 1 \end{array} \begin{array}{c} [S] \\ \hline 2 \end{array} \begin{array}{c} NP \\ \hline 3 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} WISH \\ \hline 4 \end{array} \implies$

SC: 1 2 { lók } + 3 4  
           { haní(?)ku }

We again have the problem of the enclitics although now in a slightly different form: here lók must obligatorily take HYP enclitics whereas haní(?)ku can not; in other words the absence or presence of the enclitics depends on which morpheme is used, whereas above their absence or presence occurred with only one morpheme. Since the HYP enclitics will be generated anyway by the transformations I discussed in 4.2.1.5, lók + HYP enclitics are automatically accounted for. In the case of haní(?)ku, however, the enclitics will also be automatically generated, but will then have to be deleted to produce the correct surface form of the sen-

tence. I am, of course, taking haní(?)ku to be unanalysable; but as we saw in Footnote 25 this is not at all certain, since the root haní? occurs in other constructions, for example even with HYP enclitics in conditional sentences (see 5.1.2.1). This would suggest that the final -ku may itself be an enclitic. There is only one enclitic -ku that I know of and this we discussed in 4.5.2 in connection with 'reluctant' imperatives. The final syllable of haní(?)ku seems to have no connection with this. The only other place in which -ku occurs is as the final syllable of the longer form of the HYP enclitic in the Pauma/Rincón dialects, i.e. always after -xupu, or as the final syllable of the LaJolla HYP enclitic, i.e. always after -xu. If the final syllable of haní(?)ku is indeed a reduced form of the HYP enclitic, then it is uniquely so used in this combination. This suggests an alternative derivation where the full form of the enclitic with final -ku is generated first and where the preceding -xu(pu) must then be deleted in the presence of the morpheme haní?. Whichever derivation we choose, an ad hoc deletion transformation must be used to account for the idiosyncratic behaviour of haní?.

#### 4.7 An Appraisal of the Performative Analysis

Since we have now come to the end of the discussion of simplex sentences (as defined in the final paragraphs of 4.6.3) and since we now have a general view of how the performative analysis can be used to generate these sentences in Luiseño, this is a good time to look back and weigh up the merits and disadvantages of this approach.

Probably the strongest argument in favour of the performative analysis is that it neatly accounts for the illocutionary force of any utterance; in other words, it is semantically well-motivated. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine any other device which would enable this information to be incorporated into the sentence, since in some cases it has no perceptible reflex in the surface structure of Luiseño.

Secondly, where the surface structure does contain perceptible reflexes (frequently in the enclitics, but sometimes also in the verb forms), the performative analysis provides a very plausible way for these various enclitics and verb forms to be generated. Against this it might be argued that the same effect could be obtained by employing a whole battery of formatives like Q, IMP, etc. in the phrase structure rules. This is of course true, but such formatives can represent only part of the illocutionary force of the utterance: the fact that 'I' is speaking to 'YOU' is totally ignored. Syntactically the evidence for the performative analysis is strong: we need higher verbs anyway for notions like 'can', 'want', 'cause', etc., which are not expressed by independent finite verbs but by suffixes on the verbs; so the performative analysis becomes a very natural part of this system of higher verbs and is thus preferable to syntactic formatives like Q.

These are strong arguments, but the advantages of this approach have to be bought at a certain price. In the first place, I have sometimes been forced to posit two kinds of performative verb which are difficult to justify except by saying that they

produce the right results. In one kind the abstract performative has different syntactic behaviour from that of its overt counterpart, and in the other it has no overt counterpart at all.

Let us look first at those with different syntactic behaviour. In simple questions, I posited the performative ASK, which has a Luiseño counterpart tuvyúŋi- in overt clauses, but whereas the abstract verb takes both -gu and té. in its complement S, only té. is found after tuvyúŋi-. Parallel, but not quite the same, is the postulation of DECLARE for declarative sentences. Although there is no overt verb with exactly this meaning in Luiseño, we could overcome this difficulty by substituting SAY for DECLARE; nevertheless, whichever verb of saying we choose there will always be considerable syntactic differences between the abstract and the overt verb, as none of the Luiseño verbs of saying can take Tense/Aspect enclitics in their complements. Only nominalized (non-finite) forms or clauses introduced by -kun (see 5.3.1.1) are permissible. To account for the different illocutionary force of various enclitics, I have proposed the performatives REPORT, SUGGEST, REGISTER, etc. Once again there are no exact overt counterparts of these in Luiseño, the language usually contenting itself with less specific words. Thus 'say' would be used for 'report'; 'think' for 'suggest'; and 'see, hear' for 'register'. Here we immediately notice another difference: whereas DECLARE requires one set of enclitics in its complement and REPORT another, the overt verb 'say' can take both series. The shades of meaning that are conveyed by the use of different verbs in English are



thus indicated in Luiseño by the use of different enclitics.

Let us now turn to the second kind of performative, the one which has no overt counterpart at all. We considered two of these in the section on exclamations. I proposed the abstract performatives WISH and EXCLAIM. In Luiseño there is no overt verb of wishing as there is in English ('I wish I were rich'). We saw that such wishes can only be expressed with the aid of lók and haní(?)ku along with the HYP enclitics. In non-performative sentences Luiseño has to use the verb 'want', e.g. 'he wished she would be quiet' = 'he wanted her-being-quiet'. The case of 'exclaim' is even more curious. Again there is no overt Luiseño equivalent of the abstract performative, but here we have the added peculiarity that although verbs of exclamation do exist in other languages, they are not used performatively. We saw that corresponding to 'ouch!' there is no performative sentence like 'I exclaim (cry, ejaculate, etc.) ouch!', although this in itself ought to be an exclamation. I suggested that this may be a language universal. Of course, it could now be objected that since verbs of exclamation cannot be overtly performative in those languages in which they exist, the positing of an abstract performative of exclamation is totally unjustified. I would, however, challenge this objection on two grounds. First, exclamations seem to me to have a quite different illocutionary force from that of declaratives: they are not used as vehicles for the communication of facts to other people, but rather for the expression of subjective reactions to exterior happenings or phenomena, and as such

they may well not be intended for the ears of other people. This is particularly the case with profane or obscene 'single-word' exclamations. Second, in Luiseño, if we leave out of account the slight difference in the PRES enclitics (these may in any case be omitted), declaratives and all exclamations other than single-word exclamations are identical except for the presence of lók. If now we agree that declaratives and exclamations have different illocutionary force and if we observe that this different illocutionary force can be determined only by the presence or absence of lók, then it is quite logical to posit two different abstract performative verbs, one of which after deletion leaves lók behind as a surface reflex.

Before I come to my concluding remarks, there is one problem with the performative analysis that we cannot leave undiscussed. This is the question of whether overt performative sentences themselves have any illocutionary force, in other words whether there is an illocutionary difference between such sentences as:

(345) lie down!

(346) I order you to lie down!

To account for the first person singular PRES enclitic that accompanies the Luiseño equivalent of 'I order' in 346, my analysis constrains me to posit above it the abstract performative sentence I YOU NP DECLARE. Thus the underlying structure for 345 and 346 will differ insofar as the first has a topmost abstract clause I YOU NP COMMAND, while the second has I YOU NP DECLARE. Since the underlying structures are different, the analysis allows no other

claim but that the illocutionary force in each is different. Is this justifiable? I think it is. It seems to me that 345 and 346 do indeed differ. Whereas 345 is nothing but a command, 346 is both a command and expressly a statement. As performatives may be embedded (see 121 and 122 above), none of the performative force of 346 is lost by positing I YOU NP DECLARE above it and the analysis is therefore justified.

In the preceding paragraphs of this section I have attempted to point out some of the strengths and some of the weaknesses of the performative analysis as I have used it in this study. On balance I think that that the arguments in favour of it weigh more heavily than those against it, but it cannot be denied that it is an extremely powerful mechanism and at least in its present form may be worthy of some mistrust, since it can neither be proved right nor wrong.

## 5. Complex Sentences

In the following sections of this study I intend to submit three types of 'complex' sentence (see 4.6.3) to a detailed treatment, though in the course of the discussion I shall have occasion to refer briefly to other types of construction which employ similar or related grammatical mechanisms. The three types are: (a) conditional sentences, (b) sentences containing relative clauses, and (c) sentences containing indirect speech.

### 5.1 Conditional Sentences

In 4.5.1.3 the reader's attention was drawn to the fact that conditional sentences and one kind of indirect speech are unique in Luiseño in containing subordinate clauses which make use of finite verb forms. As we shall see below, this statement needs to be slightly modified as there are a few types of conditional sentence in which the protasis contains only non-finite verb forms.

Traditional grammar has always classified conditional sentences as containing either fulfilled or unfulfilled conditions. These two classes are also present in Luiseño, and within the framework I am using they can be distinguished by the presence of NON-HYP or HYP in remote structure. It will be convenient to look at the NON-HYP class of conditional sentence first.

#### 5.1.1 NON-HYP Conditions

The most usual order for the two clauses in this type of sentence in Luiseño is protasis (if-clause) followed by apodosis (result-clause). The reverse order is, however, not infrequent especially

when the if-clause contains a non-finite verb form. The characteristic difference between the surface verb forms in NON-HYP conditions and in HYP conditions is that the former usually carry tense suffixes whereas the latter never do. It will be seen in the examples below that the majority of result-clauses in NON-HYP conditions are declaratives and their verbs carry FUT tense suffixes. A few have result-clauses that are imperatives or questions, and a few have verbs with PRES suffixes. The absence of other tense endings is probably just an accident of my data. The apodosis in Luiseño is commonly introduced by the sentence connector pi (usually = 'and, but') or pá? (= 'then') or both, and may sometimes take enclitics. If the apodosis precedes the if-clause (the usual case when the verb of the latter is non-finite), no connector is found. Illustrations of this general principle will be seen in the following subsections.

#### 5.1.1.1 Conditions with tó·wili

The most common type of NON-HYP condition consists of (1) an if-clause introduced by tó·wili in the LaJolla dialect, or tó·vili<sup>26</sup> in the Pauma dialect, and containing a verb with FUT suffix; and (2) an apodosis introduced by pá?, pi, pá? pi, or occasionally by no connector at all. Most apodoses of this kind are declarative and also contain a verb with FUT suffix. Consider the following:

(347) tó·wili    ?óm    pisá·-ŋa            witá?a·n    pá? pi    ?óm  
           if            you    outside-LOC    stand-FUT  
  
           pumó·m-i    naqmá?i-n  
           they-ACC    hear-FUT

'if you stand outside, you'll hear them'

(348) tó·wili ?óm póyk ?ahúyaxi sínaval ?ó·vi-n  
her enough money give-FUT  
DAT

pá? pó·? pu-náwki sá·msa-n  
she her-dress buy-FUT

'if you give her enough money, she will buy a dress'

In the Pauma dialect the apodosis may contain regular future (see 22) or remote future enclitics (see 4.1.2), but again no enclitics are used after tó·wili in the if-clause:

(349) tó·wili pumóm póy tí·wi-n pá?-mu(ku) pumóm póyk  
they him see-FUT ENC him  
ACC FUT DAT

wá·?iś ?ó·vi-n  
meat give-FUT

'if they see him they will give him the meat'

Usually, however, the enclitics are omitted as in the LaJolla dialect.

The apodosis of this kind of imperative may also be imperative, but note that it is the advisory imperative (see 4.5.5) with the FUT tense that is used, not the straightforward command with bare verb stem:

(350) tó·wili ?u-kí·-ŋa nóli-n pá? ?óm nu-kí·-k  
your-house-LOC leave-FUT you my-house-DAT  
yáw?ŋi·-nik néyk ?ó·vi-n  
bring-SUBORD me give-FUT  
DAT

'if he leaves it at your house, then bring it to my house'

and give it to me'

That tenses other than FUT can occur in the tó·wili clause is shown by the following version of 350:

(351) tó·wili ?u-kí·ŋa nóli·-m pá? ?óm nu-kí·k  
leave-REM

yáw?ŋi·nik néyk ?ó·vin

'if he left it at your house, then bring it to my house  
and give it to me'

The tó·wili clause may also be followed by a question, in which case the connector is pi and is accompanied by the reduced form of the interrogative enclitic -ŋu:

(352) tó·wili ?óm ?í·k hatí?a·n pi-s ?óm híš luví?i-n  
there go-FUT ENC what do-FUT  
DAT INT ACC

'if you go there, what will you do?'

#### 5.1.1.2 Conditions with -(qa)nik/-(qa)nuk and -qala

The morpheme tó·wili also occurs in another type of conditional sentence which contains an if-clause whose verb is non-finite:

(353) tó·wili pu-néči-viča-qala póyk nu-vindé·r-vuta-q  
his-pay-want-SUBORD him my-sell-can-PRES  
DAT

'if he wants to pay for it, I can sell it to him'

With the same meaning we can also have:

(354) tó·wili wunál néči-viča-q pi póyk nu-vindé·rvutaq  
he pay-want-PRES

which belongs to the construction type discussed in 5.1.1.1.

On the other hand tó·wili can also be omitted from 353 and the conditional meaning is still preserved. In fact this is the next most common type of conditional sentence in Luiseño, although in surface structure the protasis often follows the apodosis when tó·wili is omitted, e.g.

(355) ?ári-n-up      póy    ?óy    pu-?ári-gala  
 kick-FUT-ENC    him    you    his-kick-SUBORD  
                   IMP    ACC    ACC

'kick him if he kicks you'

It will be seen that the if-clause consists of (1) a verb stem, with (2) the subordinating suffix -gala, which is always accompanied by (3) a personal prefix attached to the verb stem, showing the person and number of the underlying subject of the clause. This construction must be used when the subject of the if-clause is not coreferential with the subject of the apodosis.

If both clauses have coreferential subjects, the protasis consists of a verb stem bearing just the subordinating suffix -(ga)nik/-(ga)nuk. The first form is used at Rincón, LaJolla and sometimes at Pauma, but the more usual Pauma form is -(ga)nuk. This is the only one given by Tac and the most frequent in Kroeber/Grace. The bracketed syllable -ga appears when the Aspect verb CONTINUOUS (see 4.1.2) was present in underlying structure and also when the verb to which the suffix is attached is one of perception or mental attitude. Thus it is found with the Luiseño equivalents of 'know, want, be afraid, be ashamed', etc. It seems likely that Luiseño prefers to treat the 'action' of such verbs as



not punctual but continuous, in which case there is really only one environment for the use of -qa and not two as suggested above. The following sentences exemplify conditions containing this suffix:

(356) nu-htí?ax-vuta-q má?ma-qanik (< hatí?ax- 'go')  
 my-go-can-PRES want-SUBORD  
 'I can go if I want'

(357) nó·-nupu ?éxŋi né·-n pitó·? pu-?á·č-i  
 I-ENC tomor. leave-FUT now his-animal-ACC  
 FUT  
 sá·msa-nik  
 buy-SUBORD  
 'if I buy his horse now, I'll go tomorrow'

Sometimes -(qa)nik is used where the subjects of protasis and apodosis are semantically but not grammatically the same:

(358) ?óm čum-?é·š hatí?i-nik ?u-šú·n ló·vi-ma·n  
 you with us go-SUBORD your-heart be good-CONT FUT  
 'if you go with us, you'll be glad'  
 (lit. = your heart will be good)

We may perhaps want to ascribe the use of -(qa)nik in this sentence to the influence of English, but 359 shows that such influence is usually not present:

(359) nu-sínavuki pu-mí·?-qala nó· néči-n  
 my-money its-be-SUBORD I pay-FUT  
 'if I have some money, I'll pay for it'  
 (lit. = if my money exists)

The English protasis and apodosis have the same subject, but this has not influenced the Luiseño construction.

It is important to notice that all the sentences 355-9 are identical in surface structure with temporal constructions where the English equivalents have a clause introduced by 'while' or 'when':

(360) xílax-lut-up                    čum-wukó·?a-gala  
 rain-going to-ENC    our-arrive-SUBORD

'it's going to rain when we arrive'

(361) nó· kihá·t    mí·?-qanik    pélaxiš    nu-má?max    mí·?-quš<sup>27</sup>  
 I    young    be-SUBORD    dancing    my-like    be-REM CONT

wám?-ta                    nó·    naxánmal    ?í·qal    pumó·m-i  
 now-CONTRASTIVE    I    old man    just    they-ACC  
 Particle

tów-ma                    pum-péla-gala  
 look-PRES HAB    their-dance-SUBORD

'when I was young, I liked dancing; now that I'm old I  
 just watch them while they are dancing'

In many cases there seems to be little difference between an if-clause and a when-clause in the English translation when the main verb is PRES or FUT. The same ambiguity, or rather lack of differentiation, occurs of course in other languages, e.g. in modern German wenn-clauses under identical circumstances:

(362) wenn er kommt, gehe ich nach Hause

'if, when, he comes, I'm going home'

On the other hand there are also clear-cut cases like 360 where the condition is ruled out and the construction can only be tem-

poral.

The simplest way to account for the convergence of temporal and conditional clauses at surface level is to have them dominated by different adverbial nodes in underlying structure, e.g.

ADVL (CONDITION) and ADV (TIME) (see the phrase structure rules in section

3 above). Then one and the same set of transformations can be used to attach -(qa)nik or -qala to the appropriate verb stem in each case. The burden of indicating the difference in function will thus be carried entirely by the adverbial node.

In fact the convergence at surface level is far greater than what I have written above suggests: other types of adverbial clause are also rendered in Luiseño by the -(qa)nik and -qala constructions, e.g.

(363) MANNER:

pá? pi nó· pá·-tal póyk jí·li-qanik pu-čí·vi  
then and I water-INSTR it pour-SUBORD its-be bitter  
DAT

ʔín-ax  
remove-REM

'then I removed the bitterness by pouring water over it  
(= the acorns)'

(from a description of how acorn mush was made)

(364) MANNER or REASON:

ʔó·nu-kun pu-pú·č-i qiná·li-q túkvu nó·li-qanik<sup>28</sup>  
he-ENC his-eye-ACC ruin-PRES night read-SUBORD  
REP

'he is ruining his eyes by reading at night'

(365) TIME or REASON:

ʔó·nu-pil	néy	wultú?-ya	ʔí·k	nu-htí?a-qala
he-ENC	me	get angry-REM	there	my-go-SUBORD
REM	ACC		DAT	

'he got mad at me when, because, I went there'

All these can be treated in exactly the same way by making the S in which -(qa)nik or -qala later appear be dominated by one of the ADVL nodes of MANNER, REASON or TIME. Both -(qa)nik and -qala will be introduced by the same transformation in each case (see 375 below).

Before we consider the main transformations needed to generate NON-HYP conditional sentences, there are a few more structure types that we need to have looked at.

#### 5.1.1.3 Conditions with té·

Conditions of this kind resemble the tó·wili conditions we examined in 5.1.1.2 in that the if-clause has a finite verb (usually FUT) but is introduced by té· instead of tó·wili. Furthermore, both protasis and apodosis may take FUT enclitics in the Pauma dialect, though in LaJolla they are not used in the apodosis.

The following sentences will illustrate these differences:

(366)	té·?-up <sup>29</sup>	ʔóm	póy	ʔári-n	pi	wunál	čá·qa·n
	ENC	you	him	kick-FUT		he	cry-FUT
	FUT		ACC				

'if you kick him, he will cry'

It should be noticed that 366 looks as if it should mean something like 'maybe you will kick him and he will cry', but this is not the translation given by my informants (cf. also Hyde, 160, where

the same observation is made).

(367) té·?-up ?óm ?iví pá·l pá·?i-n pi ?óm tak<sup>w</sup>áya·n  
this water drink-FUT get sick-FUT  
ACC ACC

'if you drink this water you'll get sick'

(368) té·?-upku ?óm hatí?a·n pí-nupku<sup>30</sup> pá? nó· hatí?a·n  
ENC you go-FUT I go-FUT  
FUT

'if you go, then I'll go'

(369) té·-puku yawáywiš<sup>31</sup> pá?-nupku sá·msa-n  
ENC then-ENC buy-FUT  
FUT FUT

'if it's pretty, I'll buy it'

In 366 and 367 it will be seen that only the if-clause has enclitics and that these are the regular FUT ones (see 22); in 368 and 369, on the other hand, both protasis and apodosis have enclitics and these are the 'remoter' FUT ones described in 4.1.2 (see also 22).

#### 5.1.1.4 Conditions with neither té· nor tó·wili

There is one kind of conditional sentence which is similar to those with té· and tó·wili but which has no special morpheme introducing the if-clause. In all my examples it has no enclitics in either clause, though this may be an accident of my data. As in the other two types of NON-HYP conditions the verbs are finite and the apodosis is introduced by pá? or pi or both:

(370) ?óm qáy qamí?i-n ?u-nó·li túkvu pi ?óm ?u-pú·č-i  
you not quit-FUT your-read night your-eye-ACC

ɲiná·li-n

ruin-FUT

'if you don't quit reading at night, you'll ruin your eyes'

(371) ʔóm póy ʔári-ma·n pi pó·ʔ ǎá·qax-ma·n  
kick-FUT he cry-FUT  
CONT CONT

'if you keep kicking him, he'll keep crying'

Observe that in 371 the sense comes close to 'whenever you (will) kick him, he will cry', which is one translation given by Hyde (160). However, Hyde's examples all lack the FUT suffix on the verb in the first clause, e.g. ʔári-ma instead of ʔári-ma·n, and these non-future forms were all rejected by my informants when the verb in the second clause was CONT FUT.

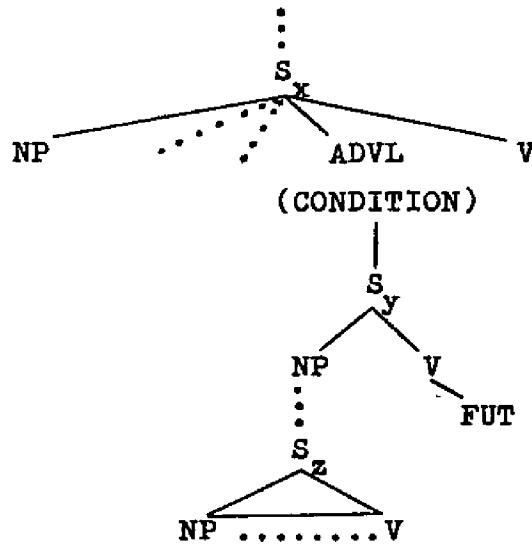
#### 5.1.1.5 Generation of NON-HYP Conditions

It is evident that the clause type we examined in the last subsection is really a subtype of either the tó·wili or té· construction. It can easily be generated from one of these by the deletion of the introductory morpheme. The question is whether there is any motivation for choosing one construction in preference to the other. I think there is the justification of economy for postulating the tó·wili construction as underlying. As we saw in 5.1.1.2, tó·wili also occurs in if-clauses with non-finite verbs and may also be omitted from these. The simplest way to account for both is to propose an underlying tó·wili for each, which can optionally be deleted. If we do this for protases with non-finite verbs, it is logical to do it also for those with finite verbs.

Furthermore, we then need only one transformation to accomplish the deletion of tó·wili optionally from both protasis types.

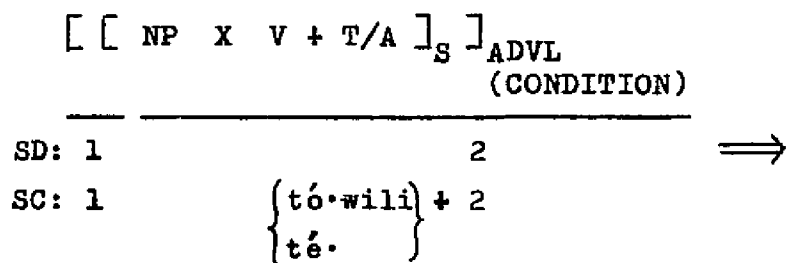
It will be helpful to see first the underlying tree for the S containing the conditional adverbial.

(372)



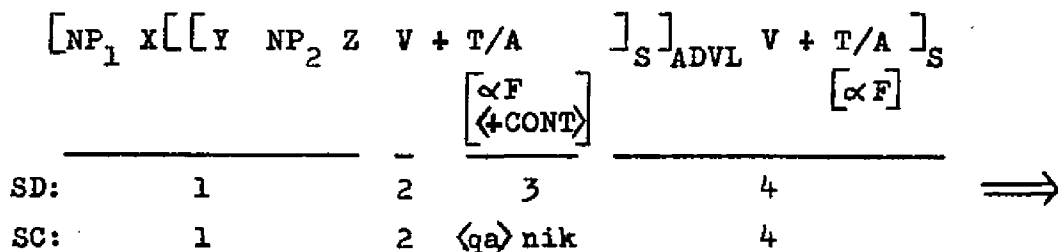
$S_x$  may immediately dominate more nodes than NP, ADVL and V, hence the dotted lines in the top S. Similarly between the NP of  $S_y$  and  $S_z$  there will be several other Ss containing T/A verbs. These have also been indicated by a dotted line. If we recall the analysis of T/A made in 4.1.2, the transformational cycle will operate first on the lowest S in the tree ( $S_z$ ), and PREDICATE RAISING will produce a configuration of T/A verbs for which a T/A suffix can be substituted from the lexicon. It will be at this stage, i.e. after the lexical insertion of these suffixes, that tó·wili and té· are introduced. If we use the symbol T/A for any T/A suffix, the transformation that inserts the protasis introducers can be written as follows:

(373) tó·wili and té· INSERTION (obligatory)



If we now abbreviate the features of the lexical entry (i.e. tree configuration, etc.) of T/A by F, then the transformation for the introduction of -(qa)nik will have the following form:

(374) -(qa)nik INSERTION



- Conditions:
1.  $\text{NP}_1 = \text{NP}_2$
  2.  $\text{Y} \neq \text{té·}$
  3. Application is optional if  $\text{Y} = \text{tó·wili}$

Angle brackets have been used to show that if the T/A verb CONT occurs in the tree configuration for the T/A suffix, the syllable -qa- must be added as well as -nik. It will be observed that the second right-hand bracket has been labelled simply ADVL and not limited to conditional adverbials. This is because the same transformation can be used to generate the correct surface form for most other types of adverbial clause in Luiseño, e.g. those of



MANNER, REASON, etc. I mentioned in 5.1.1.2.

The same is true of the transformation needed to insert -qala into the adverbial clause. In fact, as the structural description for this transformation is identical with that in 374, we need only to introduce the two alternatives into the structural change and restrict their use by writing two conditions.

(375) INSERTION of -(qa)nik and -qala

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \left[ \text{NP}_1 \text{ X} \left[ \left[ \text{Y} \text{ NP}_2 \text{ Z} \text{ V} + \text{T/A} \right]_{\text{S}} \right]_{\text{ADV L}} \text{ V} + \text{T/A} \right]_{\text{S}} \\
 \left[ \begin{array}{c} \alpha \text{F} \\ \langle +\text{CONT} \rangle \end{array} \right] \qquad \qquad \qquad \left[ \alpha \text{F} \right]
 \end{array}$$


---

	SD:	1	2	3	4	⇒
	SC:	1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2 \text{ } \langle \text{qa} \rangle \text{nik} \\ \text{pu} + 2 \text{ } \text{qala} \end{array} \right\}$		4	(a)
						(b)

- Conditions:
1. Application optional if  
Y = tó·wili
  2. Y ≠ té·
  3. if  $\text{NP}_1 = \text{NP}_2$  only (a) applicable
  4. if  $\text{NP}_1 \neq \text{NP}_2$  only (b) applicable

In the formalism used in this transformation pu has been written as a mnemonic for the possessive prefix attached to the verb stem when -qala is present. (This mnemonic will also be used in later transformations.) Another transformation will be needed to spread the features of person and number of  $\text{NP}_2$  to pu so that, after a second lexical look-up, the appropriate cross-referring form of the prefix will be inserted.

We saw at the beginning of this subsection that tó·wili can be omitted from conditional sentences containing either finite or

non-finite verb forms. This can be effected by a very simple transformation:

(376) tó·wili DELETION (optional)

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \underline{\underline{[ [ \text{tó·wili} \quad \text{x} ]_S ]_{\text{ADVL}}}} \\
 \text{SD: } 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \\
 \text{SC: } 1 \quad \emptyset \quad 3
 \end{array}
 \implies
 \end{array}$$

Here again ADVL does not need to be specified more closely as CONDITION, since tó·wili is not found outside conditional sentences.

It now remains for us to move the adverbial clause to the beginning or end of the matrix sentence. Since the choice of position makes no difference to the meaning and, both positions are equally common, we can build this choice into the transformation. It should be noticed, however, that no choice is possible if the adverbial clause is introduced by té·.

(377) EXTRAPOSITION OF ADVL

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \text{NP} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{ADVL} \quad \text{V} \\
 \underline{\underline{\quad \quad \quad \quad \quad}} \\
 \text{SD: } 1 \quad \quad \quad 2 \quad 3 \\
 \text{SC: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
 3 \quad \left( \begin{array}{l} \text{pi} \quad (\text{pá?}) \\ \text{pá?} \quad (\text{pi}) \end{array} \right) \quad 1 \quad 2 \\
 1 \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad 3 \quad 2
 \end{array} \right\}
 \end{array}
 \implies
 \begin{array}{l}
 \text{(a)} \\
 \text{(b)}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

Condition: (a) is obligatory if ADVL = té· + S

Notice that this transformation is equally applicable if ADVL is not a clause but one of the few Luiseño true adverbs or a nominal form with a case ending (e.g. ʔéšku-tal 'loudly', sínavu-ŋi 'on

account of the money', etc.). However, in this case the particles pi and pá? may not be used if case (a) is chosen.

The formalism used in (a) is intended to represent the fact that when ADVL is preposed, either pi or pá? intervenes, or both in either order, or neither pi nor pá?.<sup>32</sup>

Finally there is the question of the enclitics. We saw above that whereas té. is usually followed by an enclitic, tó.wili never is. We also saw that the 'conditional clauses with neither té. nor tó.wili' also have no enclitics. The latter fact follows quite logically if we derive such clauses by deleting tó.wili from their underlying structure, as I have done above. In other words, if we preclude enclitics from tó.wili clauses, they will be automatically precluded from the clauses derived from them. The suffixes -(qa)nik and -qala resemble tó.wili in not tolerating enclitics within their own S. Since the enclitics will be automatically generated as the cycle progresses up the tree (see 4.2.1.5), we shall need a transformation to delete them again obligatorily after tó.wili, -(qa)nik and -qala (and also after a number of other particles and verbal suffixes) in the protasis and optionally after pi or pá? in the apodosis. The details of these transformations need not, however, concern us here.

### 5.1.2 HYP Conditions

The second major class of conditional sentences consists of those which have the T/A verb HYP in their underlying structure, i.e. those which contain what are traditionally called 'unfulfilled conditions'. Here Luiseño has fewer constructions at its disposal than for NON-HYP conditions, but there are pronounced differences between the declarative and interrogative structures.

#### 5.1.2.1 Conditions with tó·wili, tó· and haní?

Conditions of this kind have a finite verb with a zero suffix for HYP MOM and -ma for HYP CONT (see 16). The morpheme tó·wili again figures as the introducer of the protasis, but its place can be taken by haní? or tó· with no change of meaning. The latter are always accompanied by the HYP enclitics (see 23), whereas tó·wili usually occurs without. In my data the apodosis is always introduced by pi, pá?, or a combination of both after tó·wili and haní?, but I collected one case with no connector after tó·. Note that HYP conditional sentences with protasis introducers are not discussed in Kroeber/Grace, Tac, and Hyde. In the following examples I have for clarity's sake included the zero HYP suffix.

(378) tó·wili čá·m póyk ?amú·lu yáx-∅ pá? pi qáy  
we him first tell-HYP not  
ACC

čá·m-i wultú?ax-∅  
we-ACC get angry-HYP

'if we {told } him first he would {get } mad at us'  
{had told} {have got}

(379) tó·vili-xunpu nó· póy tí·wi-∅ pí·-xunpu<sup>33</sup> póyk  
 [ENC] I him see-HYP him  
 +HYP ACC DAT  
 +I  
 -PL] Pauma

wá·?iš ?ó·vi-∅  
 meat give-HYP

'if I { saw } him, I would { give } him the meat!  
 { had seen } { have given }

(380) tó·-xuku čá·m hatí?ax-∅ pitó·? čá·m wuná? qál-ma-∅  
 [ENC] we go-HYP now we there be-CONT-HYP  
 +HYP  
 +I  
 +PL] LaJolla

'if we had gone, we should have been over there (by) now'

(381) haní?-xunpu nó· póy tí·wi-∅ pi pá? nó· póy šíq<sup>w</sup>i-∅  
 [ENC] I him see-HYP him whip-HYP  
 +HYP ACC ACC  
 +I  
 -PL] Pauma

'if I { saw } him, I would { whip } him'  
 { had seen } { have whipped }

(382) haní?-xunò?pu nó· póy tí·wi-∅ pá?-xunò?pu póyk  
 [ENC] I him see-HYP him  
 +HYP DAT  
 +PST  
 +I  
 -PL] Pauma

sínaval ?ó·vi-∅  
 money give-∅

'if I had seen him, I would have given him the money'



'if they {come } they would {know }'  
                   {had come}                            {have known}'

(385) čá·m-xuku    póy   tí·wi-∅    pu·ná·la-qala  
 we    [ENC]    him   see-HYP    his-be scared-SUBORD  
           +HYP    ACC  
           +I  
           +PL ] LaJolla

pá?   pi   pó·?   sigúru   hamó·yax-ma-∅  
           he    surely   be ashamed-CONT-HYP

'if we {were to see} him when he was scared, he would  
           {had seen }  
           surely {be } ashamed'  
                   {have been }

(386) ?umóm-xumpu    póyk   ?amú·lu    yáx-∅    pá? pi   ló·vi-ma-∅  
 you    [ENC]    him   first    tell-HYP    be good-  
 PL    +HYP    DAT    CONT-HYP  
           +II  
           +PL ] Pauma

'if you {told } him first, it would {be } all  
           {had told}    {have been }  
           right'

(387) nó·-xunò?pu    póy   tí·wi-∅    pá?-xunò?pu    póyk   wá·?iš  
           [ENC]    him    meat  
           +HYP    DAT  
           +PST  
           +I  
           -PL ] Pauma

?ó·vi-∅  
 give-HYP

'if I had seen him I would have given him the meat'

Notice that, as in the examples in 5.1.2.1, an enclitic may accompany the connector of the apodosis in the Pauma dialect, whereas

in the LaJolla dialect the enclitics are invariably absent.

Again, when no context is given, the time reference can be either present or past, except in 387.<sup>34</sup>

As we shall see below, very few adjustments to the rules presented in 5.1.1.5 are needed to generate the above sentences and those in 5.1.2.1. Before we consider these adjustments, however, it is necessary for us to examine one other type of HYP conditional sentence.

### 5.1.2.3 Conditional Questions Again

In 4.2.2.1.7 we looked at the paradigm of conditional HYP enclitics and saw two examples of their use, 86 and 87. In 4.4.8 I dealt with the generation of the enclitics in the first disjunct and of té in the second disjunct of an interrogative apodosis. It remains for me now to give a few more examples and to examine more closely the characteristics of the protasis. Consider the following:

(388) ?óm-xukuna    ?ayá·li-Ø    pu-má·kina-ki    tó·vili    wunál  
          ENC            repair-HYP    his-car-ALIEN    if            he  
          +HYP  
          +INT  
          +II  
          -PL            Pauma  
  
          ?óyk pu-néči-qala  
          you his-pay-SUBORD  
          DAT

'would you have mended his car if he'd paid you?'



(389) nó·-xukun(a) múyik-i sínaval číwi-Ø  
 [ ENC ] much-ACC money win-HYP  
 +HYP  
 +INT  
 +II  
 -PL ] LaJolla

x<sup>w</sup>á·n pu-mí·?-qala  
 his-be-SUBORD

'would I have won a lot of money if Juan had been there?'

It will be seen that in these two examples the apodosis is structurally identical with that in the declarative sentences described in 5.1.1.2: it may be introduced by tó·wili as in 388 or there may be no introducer as in 389. Similarly, the non-finite verb form carries the -nik suffix when the subject of both protasis and apodosis has the same reference, or the -qala suffix with a matching personal prefix when the two subjects have different reference.

I am uncertain whether the protasis in an interrogative conditional sentence must always contain a non-finite verb form. This is certainly the case in all the examples I elicited from my two informants, but it is conceivable that enclitics<sup>35</sup> and finite verb forms may also be used at times. It should also be noted that I have no examples of an if-clause introduced by haní? or tó· in such sentences.

#### 5.1.2.4 Generation of HYP Conditions

In the two foregoing subsections we have seen that the most marked differences between HYP and NON-HYP conditional sentences are (1) the use of different sets of enclitics for each type, (2) the use of different protasis introducers (té· for NON-HYP and tó·, haní?

for HYP), and (3) different conditions on the use of finite and non-finite forms in the protasis. On the other hand both types have in common (1) that some if-clauses may be introduced by tó·wili, and (2) that some have no introducer at all although the verb is finite.

Let us deal first with the differences. The use of different sets of enclitics will not necessitate any change in the transformations proposed in 5.1.1.5 for NON-HYP conditions. I suggested there that the enclitics will already have been lexically inserted before the morphemes tó·wili and té· are introduced by 373. This will of course also be true of HYP conditions; i.e. when HYP occurs in the T/A superstructure of the protasis and apodosis, the appropriate enclitics and the appropriate forms of the verb will automatically be generated by the transformational cycle as outlined in 4.1.2, before tó·wili, tó· or haní? are inserted. Similarly, the difference between the enclitics used in interrogative and non-interrogative apodoses will also be previously taken care of by the performative verb at the top of the underlying tree.

For the insertion of the different apodosis introducers, however, 373 will need to be modified so as to take into account whether NON-HYP or HYP enclitics are present. This can be accomplished as follows:

(390) INSERTION OF APODOSIS INTRODUCERS (Obligatory)

$$\left[ \left[ \text{NP} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{V} + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Y} \\ \text{Z} \end{Bmatrix}_1 \right]_S \right]_{\text{ADVL}} \\ \text{(CONDITION)}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{SD: } 1 \qquad \qquad \qquad 2 \\ \text{SC: } 1 \qquad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ \text{tó} \cdot \text{willi} \} \\ \{ \text{té} \cdot \} \end{array} \right\} + 2 \\ \qquad \qquad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ \text{tó} \cdot \text{willi} \} \\ \{ \text{tó} \cdot \} \\ \{ \text{hani?} \} \end{array} \right\} \Bigg|_1 \end{array}$$

where Y = any NON-HYP enclitic, and Z = any HYP enclitic, and the subscript 1 on two sets of parentheses allows the top member of the first set to go only with the top member of the second, and the bottom member of the first set to go only with the bottom member of the second.

The reader will notice that 390 also allows the insertion of tó or hani? as the introducer of the if-clause in an interrogative conditional. I mentioned that my data do not contain examples of structures of this type, though they may exist. For simplicity I have here assumed that they are possible. Should this prove to be wrong, 390 would have to be restricted by a condition excluding them when Z is the interrogative HYP suffix.

The third difference between NON-HYP and HYP conditions, viz. in the use of finite or non-finite verb forms, can easily be accommodated by extending the conditions on 375, INSERTION OF -(qa)nik and -qala. If it is true that HYP protases in declarative conditions always contain finite verbs, whereas in interrogative conditions they always contain non-finite verbs, we must add the following two conditions on the transformation:

(391) Further Conditions on 375

5. T/A ≠ declarative HYP suffix
6. Application obligatory if T/A = interrogative  
HYP suffix

All that now remains is to see whether the other two transformations in 5.1.1.5 will also account for the resemblances between NON-HYP and HYP conditional sentences. By analogy with NON-HYP structures, we can propose that HYP protases without clause introducers are also produced by the deletion of an underlying tó·wili. As formulated in 376, tó·wili DELETION satisfies the structural description of both NON-HYP and HYP protases and thus produces the required effect. Similarly, EXTRAPOSITION OF ADVERBIAL as formulated in 377 also produces the correct results for both types of structure, providing we make the total omission of pi, pá? combinations in SC(a) inadmissible after HYP protases without clause introducers.

## 5.2 Relative Clauses

The most intricate of Luiseño embedded structures is the relative clause. Characteristically it contains only non-finite verb forms which behave like adjectival modifications of the head noun, and which usually can be inflected for number and case depending on the function of the head noun in the matrix sentence. Luiseño relative constructions are always restrictive; I have found no evidence at all for the existence of the non-restrictive kind. Altogether the language has thirteen non-finite relative verb forms at its disposal, if we count the two specifically animate forms 'V+kat' and 'V+wut', about whose role as true relative structures I have some doubt (see 5.2.6 and 5.2.7). The factors determining the shape of the relative forms are: (a) whether the head noun (HN) is animate or inanimate, (b) whether the head noun has the same reference as the subject noun (SN) of the relative S or as some noun other than the subject noun, (c) what T/A higher verbs are in the underlying tree configuration dominating the verb in the relative S (see 5.2.1 below for a more detailed account of this the most important factor). So that the reader can quickly obtain a first orientation through this welter of forms, I shall first present a chart showing the interaction of the three determining factors, and then in the subsequent sections discuss and illustrate each form and provide a transformation for its generation. It should be noted that there are more than thirteen entries in the chart since some of the forms overlap.

(392)	HN * SN		HN ≠ SN	
	ANIMATE	INANIMATE	ANIMATE	INANIMATE
PRES HAB	V + kat		{ pu + V pu + V + la }	
PRES, P PR	V + qat		pu + V + qat	
REM CONT	{ V + qal + mukuš }	V + qat	{ pu + v + qat pu + V + qal + vò }	
REM	V + mukuš		{ pu + V + vò pu + V }	
FUT CONT	? { V + lut pu + V + qal + pi }		? pu + V + qal + pi	
FUT	{ V + lut pu + V + pi }		pu + V + pi	
'likes to'	V + wut			

With the exception of the two specifically animate forms 'V+kat' and 'V+wut', which I shall treat together later, the relatives will be analysed in the order in which they are seen in 392.

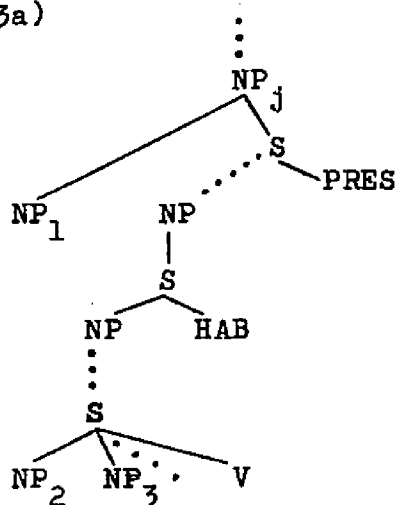
The usual word order is for the relative to follow immediately after the noun it qualifies; but as a considerable amount of scrambling of the elements in a Luiseño sentence is possible, other word orders are also found, e.g. preceding the head noun, following the head noun but separated from it by the verb of the matrix sentence, etc. Examples of these varying orders will be seen in the illustrations given below.

### 5.2.1 pu + V

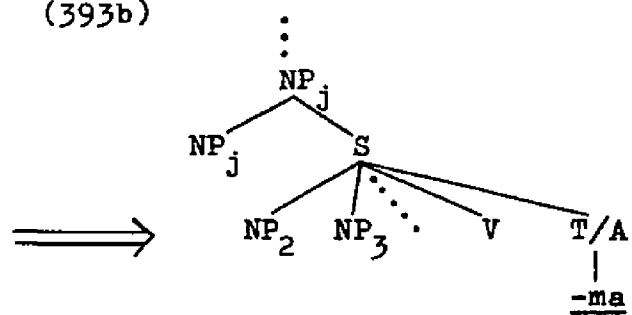
One of the simplest relatives as far as structure is concerned consists of the bare verb stem (i.e. root + thematic increment)

with a possessive prefix. For simplicity of reference I shall allow pu- (third person singular) to stand for any member of the paradigm of personal prefixes, and name each relative construction by means of a structural formula. Hence the one we are here considering can be referred to as 'pu+V'. Its most common usage is in relative constructions which make a general statement about the head noun, i.e. whose remote structure contains the aspect verb HAB (see 393a) and for whose T/A tree configuration the suffix -ma has been inserted from the lexicon (see 393b).

(393a)



(393b)



In the above diagrams the dotted lines are used to indicate the parts of the tree that have been omitted. Henceforth, in this subsection and in those that follow, I shall take it that PRED RSG has applied in each case before the relativizing transformations can operate, i.e. that trees similar to 393a have been converted to trees like 393b. In accordance with the cyclical principle, the relativization transformations will not need to take NP<sub>1</sub>, the head noun, into account until the S governing NP<sub>j</sub> is reached, by

which time PRED RSG will have operated on all the Ss below NP<sub>j</sub>. I shall assume that lexical insertion will apply as soon as a configuration is generated which matches one in the lexicon. Hence the structural description of the relativizing transformations will need to refer only to the T/A suffix and not to the tree configuration for which it was inserted. It will also be noted that I have adopted the  $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{NP} \quad \text{S} \end{array}$  analysis of relative clauses, which is adequate for our present purposes but which is not the only possible approach (see Stockwell 1968:445-6).

In the relative construction we are here considering, the head noun must have different reference from that of the subject noun in the relative clause, but the same reference as some other noun (e.g. NP<sub>3</sub>) in that clause. This and the other characteristics mentioned above are illustrated in the following sentences.

(394) čó·?un ná·čá·niš (pó·?) ?u-ló?xa pilék ?áxa·t  
 all food DEF your-make very delicious  
 'all the food you prepare is very delicious'

(395) čó·?un-um lí·vri-m (pumóm) pu-ná·wi(-m) pópliv-um  
 all-PL book-PL DEF his-write(-PL) good-PL  
 PL  
 'all the books he writes are good'

(396) čó·?un-um ?atá·x-um (pumóm) nu-?ó?na-m ?óma·n  
 all-PL person-PL DEF my-know-PL be absent-PRES  
 PL PL  
 'all the people I know are not here'

In 394-6 the head noun is in subject position in the matrix sentence and is accompanied by a DETERMINER (čó·?un). Optionally the



deictic pó·?, which is declined differently from the pronoun pó·? 'he, she, it',<sup>36</sup> can be used as a DEFINITIZER, i.e. if the definiteness of the head noun needs to be stressed. It can, however, equally well be omitted. In cases like the above where a DET is present, the DEF can appear immediately before or immediately after the head noun, i.e. in addition to the order shown above, čó·?un pó·? ná·čá·niš, čó·?unum pumóm lí·vrim and čó·?unum pumóm ?atá·xum are equally acceptable and have just the same meaning. In most of the examples that follow it will be seen that the DEF usually precedes the head noun, especially when no DET is used. This analysis does not accord with Hyde (169) where the morpheme is taken to be a clause marker and always made to stand at the beginning of the relative clause.

Let us now turn our attention to the relativized verb. In the construction under consideration, the bare verb stem carries a personal prefix reflecting the person and number of the subject NP in the underlying relative S. If we steal a glance at the other Cupan languages, we shall see that in Cahuilla and Cupeño the verbs regularly carry subject prefixes, and we might at first be tempted to claim that we have the same phenomenon in Luiseño but restricted to embedded sentences. However, a closer examination of the Luiseño verb forms will show quite clearly that they are nominalizations, in which case it is only logical to consider the person prefixes as possessive, the function they have everywhere else in Luiseño grammar. It is for this reason that I am glossing them as possessives in the exemplary sentences. Evidence

that the verb forms are nominal (I am using this term to cover both noun and adjective) is given by the fact that they can be inflected for both number and case. It will be seen from the examples below that the rules for number agreement differ between LaJolla and Pauma.<sup>37</sup> In both dialects when the head noun is plural and animate, the relativized verb also carries the plural suffix as in 396 nu-?ó?na-m; however, when the head noun is plural but inanimate, the relativized verb is regularly inflected for plural by my LaJolla informant but very rarely by my Pauma informant, hence the parenthesis in 395. We shall see further examples of agreement discrepancies between the dialects in ensuing sections.

In my treatment of relative constructions I shall not give any rules for case and number agreement, as a detailed discussion of this area of Luiseño grammar would take me far beyond the limits I have set myself. However, a few general remarks about case and number in these structures are in place. In the examples 394-6 it is not obvious that the relative nominals are inflected, as there is no special marking for NOMINATIVE in Luiseño. When the head noun has a function other than as subject in the matrix S, it will usually carry an overt case ending corresponding to that function, and the same case ending is then found on the relativized form form, e.g.

(397) nó·-nil waxá·m puné·-yi nu-?wó·?-i tí·w-?yax  
 I -ENC yest. DEF-ACC my-fear-ACC see-REM  
 REM

'yesterday I saw the (person) I'm afraid of'

(398) mariya-p pu-ná? pók ?ó·vi-viča-q  
 ENC her-father him give-want-PRES  
 PRES DAT  
 híš pu-ná? pu-má?max-i  
 sth his-like-ACC  
 ACC  
 'Maria wants to give her father something he likes'

(399) wunál-up řálex-ma čó·?un-m-i ?atáx-m-i  
 he-ENC hate-PRES all-PL-ACC person-PL-ACC  
 PRES HAB  
 puné·-m-i nu-?ó?na-m-i<sup>38</sup>  
 DEF-PL-ACC my-know-PL-ACC  
 'he hates all the people I know'

Now consider the following:

(400) ku?á·l-up nivé?-qa wíw-ŋa nu-řŋáki pu-ló?xa-ŋa  
 fly-ENC be in-PRES acorn-LOC my-wife her-make-LOC  
 PRES mush  
 'there is a fly in the acorn mush my wife made'

Here both head noun and relative nominal are in the locative case. In the next two sentences, head (pro)noun and relative nominal are both accusative.

(401) tów-kam, wunál híš pu-?yó·t-i<sup>39</sup> pu-má·-ŋa  
 look-ENC he sth his-steal-ACC his-hand-LOC  
 ACC  
 yáw?-qa  
 hold-PRES  
 'look, he's holding in his hand something that he's stolen'



(this is of my uncle's giving)

(404) ʔó·ʔun ʔiví ʔatá·xum pum-puráʔna

all this people their-plant

'all this was planted by people'

(.... is of people's planting)

Although this 'tenseless' approach seems attractive, nevertheless within the framework I am using I can see no alternative to positing T/A higher verbs as underlying these constructions. In the first place my analysis requires each relative nominal to be dominated by S, and the grammar as now set up requires also a T/A superstructure dominating each 'traditional' S of this kind; in the second place, there are constraints which preclude the use of 'pu+V' where the English translation suggests a FUT time reference, e.g. it cannot be used to render 'the acorn mush my mother will, is going to, make tomorrow'. Here one of the alternatives described in 5.2.5 must be used. This suggests that only certain combinations of T/A higher verbs are permissible in the underlying structure. These constraints on tense and aspect can be easily captured if the transformation generating 'pu+V' relatives has a structural description in which only -ma (PRES HAB) and -ʔax (an abbreviation for the various morphologically conditioned allomorphs of REM) occur. It could be written:

## (405) GENERATION OF RELATIVE pu + V

	W	NP <sub>1</sub>	[	X	NP <sub>2</sub>	Y	V +	{ -ma -?ax}	] S	Z	
SD:		1			2	3	4	5	6		⇒⇒⇒
SC:		1			∅	3	pu+4	∅	6		

Condition: 1. NP<sub>1</sub> = NP<sub>2</sub>

2. X must contain  
NP

Condition 2 prevents NP<sub>2</sub> from being the subject NP of the relative S, which will always be generated as the first NP in each sentence. X or Y may of course contain more than one NP. This notation is therefore intended to represent NP<sub>2</sub> as any NP other than the subject of the relative S.

### 5.2.2 pu + V + la

There is another relative similar in meaning and construction to 'pu+V' but carrying the suffix -la. In one of its uses it seems to be identical with 'pu+V' in indicating an action which is habitually or continually performed. Here again the head noun in the matrix sentence must have the same reference as some noun in the relative S other than the subject. As we can see from 408 below where the case suffix is overt, 'pu+V+la' is usually inflected for the same case as that of the head noun it modifies. I have no evidence in my data, however, to show that it may also agree in number.

(406)	wunál-up	pó·?	mé?iś	x <sup>w</sup> á·n	puyá·maŋi	pu-yí?yi-la
	that-ENC	DEF	doll	Juan	always	his-play-REL

'that's the doll that Juan always plays with'

(407) ?iví-p hú·kapiš nu-ná? pu-hú·ší-la  
this-ENC pipe my-father his-smoke-REL

'this is the pipe my father always smokes'

(408) waxá·m-nil punéy yúm?piš x<sup>w</sup>á·n pu-máti·-li<sup>41</sup>  
yest. ENC DEF hat his-lose-REL  
REM ACC ACC

pé·-ŋa tuló·w-ax (LaJolla)  
road-LOC find-REM

'yesterday I found on the road that hat that Juan is  
always losing'

cf. nó·-nil tuló·w-?yax punéy yúm?piš x<sup>w</sup>á·n  
find-REM

pu-máti·-la-y<sup>41</sup> (Pauma)  
his-lose-REL-ACC

'I found that hat Juan is always losing'

It will be noticed that, except for 408, all these sentences are  
'equative' with a deictic (?iví 'this', wunál 'that') as subject  
or subject modifier. 'pu+V+la' seems to be particularly favoured  
in this environment, but 'pu+V' may also be used. Compare 407  
with

(409) ?iví-p sirvé·sa ni-yó? pu-ló?xa  
my-mother her-make

'this is the beer my mother makes'

and see also 403 and 404. I was unable to determine any semantic  
difference between the two constructions in sentences of this  
type, but it may well be that 'pu+V+la' has a different feel about  
it because of its other uses.

One of these is particularly interesting. In suitable environments its meaning may be narrowed down to the place where the action of the verb is performed, e.g.

(410) nu-ná? pu-hé·lax-la pilék wá·m  
 my-father his-sing-REL very far  
 'where my father sings is a long way off'

(411) nu-ná? pu-hé·lax-la-ŋa pilék ?í·ta·t  
 his-sing-REL-LOC very cold  
 '(at) where my father sings it's very cold'

(412) ?iví-p ?ivá? x<sup>w</sup>á·n pu-máti·-la pu-yúm?piš  
 this-ENC here his-lose-REL his-hat  
 'this is where Juan always loses his hat'

(413) ?iví-p x<sup>w</sup>á·n pu-hé·yi-la  
 his-dig-REL  
 'this is where Juan always digs'

No doubt the deictic adverb is preferred because sentences like 413 are ambiguous without it. The same construction is found in equative sentences of this type indicating the purpose for which an object is used (414), and it is only a short step further for 'pu+V+la' to stand for this object itself (415):

(414) wunál-up kulá·wut ?é·xil pu-hé·yi-la  
 that-ENC stick earth its-dig-REL  
 ACC  
 'that stick is for digging the ground'

(415) ŋuŋá·l pu-wá·qi-la pilék ?aláx<sup>w</sup>iš  
 woman her-sweep very bad



'that woman's broom is very bad'

Hence without the deictic adverb sentence 413 could also mean 'this is Juan's digging implement'.

A little consideration will show that all but the first use of 'pu+V+la' described above involve considerable problems of generation within the present framework. As I am only concerned with relatives, I shall not consider further the constructions seen in 414 and 415 since they seem to me to be only distantly related to relatives. We can, however, take a second look at the 'general' 'pu+V+la' which appears to be synonymous with 'pu+V' and at the 'where' kind of 'pu+V+la'.

The first of these, if it really is a mere alternative to 'pu+V', can be generated by amending 405 to 416:

(416) GENERATION OF RELATIVE pu+V+∅ AND pu+V+la

	W	NP <sub>1</sub>	[ X	NP <sub>2</sub>	Y	V +	$\left. \begin{array}{l} -ma \\ -?ax \end{array} \right\}_1$	] S	Z	
SD:	1	2	3	4	5	6	⇒			
SC:	1	∅	3	pu+4	$\left. \begin{array}{l} -\emptyset \\ -la \end{array} \right\}_1$	6				

Condition: 1. NP<sub>1</sub> = NP<sub>2</sub>

2. X must contain NP

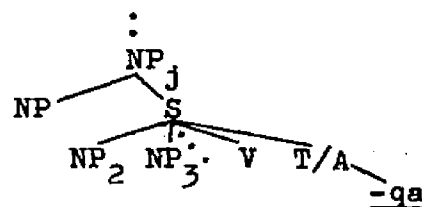
Since a real contrast between the absence of any suffix and the presence of a suffix (-la) becomes obvious when 'pu+V' and 'pu+V+la' are treated as alternative constructions, I have posited a zero suffix in 416 and amended 'pu+V' to 'pu+V+∅'.

For the generation of the 'where' kind of 'pu+V+la', the main problem is the restriction of the meaning to location. One solution which immediately springs to mind is to consider the construction as a 'general' 'pu+V+la' modifying the noun 'place', e.g. 'the place at which my father sings'. There is, however, little support for this interpretation from the language itself. First, there are very few words for abstractions in Luiseño, and a word for 'place' is entirely absent. Maybe one could posit an abstract PLACE here, in the same sense of 'abstract' as was used in connection with the performative and higher verbs. Nevertheless, even supposing this were acceptable, one would expect 'pu+V+la' to be always in the locative case (the PLACE at which..) and in 410, 412 and 413 it is clearly not. Another alternative which seems more attractive is to consider the construction as something like a gerund, i.e. not as a relative at all. More data are required before a decision can be made, however, and I will therefore not speculate any further.

### 5.2.3 V + qat

When (a) the head noun is modified by an underlying S that contains a verb with the PRES suffix -qa, and (b) the subject NP of this S is coreferential with the head noun, i.e. when we have a tree configuration of the following kind

(417)



where NP<sub>1</sub> = NP<sub>2</sub>, Luiseño deletes NP<sub>2</sub> and replaces -qa by -qat.

As with the other relative constructions described above, 'V+qat' usually carries the same case and number suffix as NP<sub>1</sub>; or, more accurately, when -qat has been introduced, the case of NP<sub>j</sub> (determined by its function in the sentence) is usually spread to both NP<sub>2</sub> and 'V+qat'.

(418) wunál-up yaʔáś híś qéwi-qat ʔatá·x-um pó·mik  
 that-ENC man sth shout-REL person-PL them  
 ACC PRES DAT

nu-pé·t

my-younger brother

'that man who is announcing something to the people is  
 my younger brother'

(419) ʔaxím-sum wuná·l-um nánitmal-um John pu-ʔéś  
 who that-PL girl-PL with him  
 PL

món-qat-um

come-REL- PL  
 PRES

'who are those girls coming with John?'

(420) ʔiví k<sup>w</sup>í·la móna-qat ʔu-k<sup>w</sup>á·n<sup>42</sup>  
 this acorn pile up-REL for you  
 PRES

'this pile of acorns is for you'

(= these acorns which are piling up ...)

(421) nó·-n ʔóʔna-q puné·m-i ʔatáx-m-i kí·ś  
 I-ENC know-PRES DEF -ACC person-PL-ACC house  
 PL ACC

wá·qi-qat-um-i  
sweep-REL -PL-ACC  
PRES

'I know those people who are sweeping the house'

Sometimes the relative 'V+qat' has the same time reference as the PAST PRESENT -qat, e.g.

(422) pó·? ya?áš néy núli-qat ya?áni-q.  
DEF man me push-REL run away-PRES  
ACC P PR

'the man who (just) pushed me has run away'

In 4.1.3.1 (6) and in Footnote 3 I have pointed out that I am unable to find any generalizations covering both of these -qat forms, since the relative 'V+qat' can also have PRES tense reference. I shall therefore treat them as separate, despite the identity of shape, and consider relative -qat to be substituted for both PRES -qa and P PR -qat. In fact the situation is even more complicated than this. When the head noun is inanimate, the time reference of 'V+qat' may be extended to REM CONT (see 16), and probably to other past tenses though I have no data for these. The following two sentences illustrate this usage with inanimate nouns:

(423) wuná·lum-mil tó·vašal waní·-ŋa néškin šé?-qat(-i)  
they-ENC oak river-LOC near grow-REL (-ACC)  
REM REM  
CONT

čór-ax  
fell-REM

'they cut down the oak that was growing by the river'

(424) *ʒuʒá·vit-pil kulá·wut nu-kí·-ŋa wíči-qat-i*  
 Mexican-ENC wood my-house-IOC lie-REL -ACC  
 REM REM CONT

*?u?yó·t*

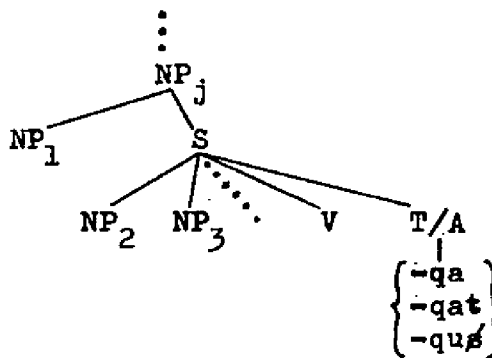
steal  
 REM

'the Mexican stole the wood that was lying beside my house'

In view of these additional data, the underlying tree for 'V+qat'

(417) must be amended to:

(425)



The transformation necessary for generating this relative can now be written:

(426) GENERATION OF RELATIVE V+qat

X	$NP_1$	[	$NP_2$	Y	V +	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -qa \\ -qat \\ \langle -quʒ \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	]	S	Z
	$\langle [-Anim] \rangle$								
SD:	1		2		3		4		5
SC:	1		∅		3		-qat		5

Condition:  $NP_1 = NP_2$

I have again taken the angle brackets from transformational phonology to indicate that relative -qat can be substituted for -quʒ

only when the head noun is inanimate. On the other hand, the head noun can be either inanimate or animate when relative -qat is substituted for the tense suffixes -qa or -gat. I think I am justified in writing the rule this way, since this shows clearly the relatedness of these three uses of relative -qat.

There is one final observation to make before we leave this construction. Sentence 423 illustrates that case spreading is optional, not obligatory, when the head noun is inanimate. Both versions of 423, i.e. with and without the ACC suffix -i, were volunteered by my LaJolla informant and pronounced to be equally grammatical. This usage accords with that of my Pauma informant, who gave the same information. We shall see that the optional use of the ACC suffix on a relative nominal qualifying an inanimate noun is not limited to 'V+qat'. Where the ACC was actually used (as in 424), I shall not place it in parentheses; parentheses will be used, however, when both alternatives were given.

Unfortunately I have no data to show what happens when a case other than ACC is required on a head noun. This awaits further research.

#### 5.2.3.1 pu + V + qat

Exactly parallel to relative 'V+qat' is another construction differing only in that it carries a prefix which picks up the number and person of the subject of the underlying clause when this has different reference from that of the head noun. In other words, underlying 'pu+V+qat' is the same tree as 425; but in this case NP<sub>1</sub> does not equal NP<sub>2</sub> but some other NP (e.g. NP<sub>3</sub>).

(427) ?uké·, mansá·na ?u-čé·vi-qat čó·?un ?apí·sa  
 sir apple your-pick-REL all rotten  
 PRES

'sir, the apples you are picking are all rotten'

(428) wunál-up ?ixí?wut x<sup>w</sup>á·n pu-sá·msa-qat qáy ló·vi-q  
 that-ENC sheep his-buy-REL not be well-PRES  
 PRES

'that sheep that Juan is buying is not well'

(429) ?óm-ǰu tí·w-ax punéy pěšlīš ni-yó?  
 you-ENC see-REM DEF dish my-mother  
 INT ACC

pu-hú·pi-qat-i  
 her-paint-REL -ACC  
 PRES

'did you see the dish my mother is painting?'

(430) čó·?un híš nu-?yáli-qat nu-ná? pó·ŋi nu-pláči<sup>43</sup>  
 all thing my-know-REL my-father him my-learn  
 ACC PRES ABL

'everything I know I have learnt from my father'

In all the above the relative has PRES time reference; but, as in the case of 'V+qat', the time reference may also be P PR:

(431) háx-ǰu ?ó·nu ?u-néči-qat póyk  
 who-ENC that your-pay-REL him  
 INT P PR DAT

'who is that (to) whom you were just paying?'

(432) nó·-n má?ma-q čó·?un ?u-sá·msa-qat-i  
 I-ENC want-PRES all your-buy-REL -ACC  
 P PR

'I want all you were buying'

Sentences 429 and 432 show 'pu+V+qat' modifying the object NP of the matrix sentence, and therefore carrying the ACC suffix -i (see also 433). The case relations in 429 are more complicated and will be taken up in 5.2.8.

Just like 'V+qat' this relative construction may also be used to refer to REM CONT time when the head noun is inanimate:

(433) nó·-n waxá·m hatí?i-nik ?ó·num-um-i yúm?piš-m-i  
 I-ENC yest. go-SUBORD that-PL-ACC hat-PL-ACC  
 ?u-ló?xa-qat-m-i qáy tí·w-ax  
 your-make-REL-PL-ACC not see-REM  
 REM  
 CONT

'when I went yesterday, I didn't see those hats you were making'

For the generation of 'pu+V+qat' we need the following transformation, which contains the same formalism as 426:

(434) GENERATION OF pu+V+qat

	W	NP <sub>1</sub>	[ X	NP <sub>2</sub>	Y	V +	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -qa \\ -qat \\ (-qu\emptyset) \end{array} \right\}$	] S	Z
		<[-Anim]>							
SD:	1	2	3	4	5	6			
SC:	1	∅	3	pu+4	-qat	6			

- Condition: 1. NP<sub>1</sub> = NP<sub>2</sub>  
 2. X must contain NP

#### 5.2.4 V + (qal±) mukuš

When the verb in the underlying S bears the REM T/A suffix -?ax and the head noun has the same reference as some noun other than



the subject of the relative S, we have the correct underlying structure for the generation of 'V+mukuš'. Certain aspects of the phonology of -mukuš are discussed in Davis (forthcoming). Here it needs to be added that alongside this form (the only one used at LaJolla) my Pauma informant equally often employed -muk<sup>w</sup>uš; the Rincón version given in Hyde (169) is -mok<sup>w</sup>iš, the form also quoted in the Sparkman materials in the Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

Occasionally the head noun which 'V+mukuš' modifies is inanimate, as in the following two sentences:

(435) wunál sá·ku waxá·m póšax-mukuš pilék hašáhšiš  
 that sack yest. burst-REL very threadbare  
 REM

mí·?-quš

be-REM CONT

'that sack that burst yesterday was very threadbare'

(436) pó·? wi?á·šal néškin waní·-ŋa waxá·m hulúqax-mukuš  
 DEF live-oak near river-LOC yest. fall-REL  
 REM

šúnŋax šó·?un ?apí·sa mí·?-quš

inside all rotten be-REM CONT

'that live-oak that fell by the river yesterday was all rotten inside'

Most often, however, the head noun is inanimate:

(437) pó·? ya?áš néyk ?ó·vi-mukuš tównaviš tó·maviš  
 DEF man me give-REL basket blind  
 DAT REM

mí·?-quš

be-REM CONT

'the man who gave me the basket was blind'

As with the other relatives we have seen so far, 'V+mukuš' usually carries the same case endings as the noun it modifies.

(438) wuná·lum-kunum puné·-yi ?amá·yamal-i sínaval  
they-ENC DEF-ACC boy-ACC money  
REP

tuló·wi-mukuč-i yé·xi-wun  
find-REL-ACC boast about-PRES  
REM PL

'they are bragging about the boy who found the money'

In all three dialects for which I have data (LaJolla, Rincón and Pauma), 'V+mukuš' also agrees in number with the head noun, as we see in the following sentence:

(439) ya?áš-kun tí·w-?yax gúšŋal-m-i wí·wiš  
man-ENC see-RLM woman-PL-ACC acorn  
REP mush

luví?i-mukuš-m-i  
make-REL-PL-ACC  
REM

'the man saw the women who made the acorn mush'

This last sentence was collected from the Pauma informant. Occasionally he produced similar sentences where the relative nominals agree in number but not in case.

(440) nó·-n ?ó?na-q puné·-m-i yáyiš-m-i<sup>44</sup> tó·šiqat-i  
I-ENC know-PRES DEF-PL-ACC man-PL-ACC rabbit-ACC  
mókna-muk<sup>w</sup> uč-um  
kill-REL-PL  
REM

'I know the men who killed the rabbit'



In addition to 'V+mukuš' there is a relative structure 'V+qal+mukuš'. Whereas the verb underlying the former carries the REM suffix -?ax, that underlying 'V+qal+mukuš' bears the REM CONT suffix -quš. This new relative nominal partially overlaps with 'V+qat'; but whilst the latter always modifies an inanimate noun when it has REM reference, 'V+qal+mukuš' may modify both animate and inanimate nouns:

(443) pó·? ya?áš waxá·m ?ivá? čó·?un timét hé·yi-qal-mukuš  
 DEF man yest. here all day dig-REL  
 REM CONT

šušá·vit mí·?-quš  
 Mexican be-REM CONT

'the man who was digging here all day yesterday was a  
 Mexican'

(444) punéy-kunum tó·vašal waní·-ŋa néškin šé?-qal-mukuč-i  
 DEF -ENC white oak river-LOC near grow-REL -ACC  
 ACC REP REM  
 CONT

(OR: šé?-qat(-i) ) čór-ax  
 REL -ACC fell-REM  
 REM  
 CONT

'they cut down the white oak that was growing by the river'

The generation of 'V+qal+mukuš' can be achieved by the following transformation:

(445) GENERATION OF V+(qal+)mukuš

X	NP <sub>1</sub>	[	NP <sub>2</sub>	Y	V +	{ -?ax -quš}	}_1	]	S	Z	
SD:	1		2	3	4				5		⇒
SC:	1		∅	3		{-mukuš -qalmukuš}	}_1		5		

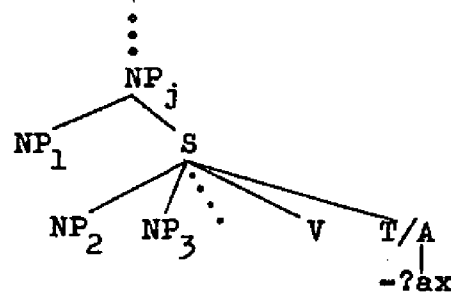
Condition: NP<sub>1</sub> = NP<sub>2</sub>

As in 405 -?ax in the structural description of 445 is intended as the first lexical insertion to replace the higher verb tree configuration which I have called REM. In a non-embedded S, of course, it would later be replaced by one of the various morphologically conditioned allomorphs of REM which were discussed in 4.1.3.1 (7-9).

5.2.4.1 pu'+V+(qal+)vo'

Whereas 'V+mukuš' is used when the head noun is coreferential with the subject NP of the underlying relative S, another construction, viz. 'pu+V+vo',<sup>46</sup> is required when the head noun has the same reference as some NP other than the subject in the underlying S; i.e., in the following tree, NP<sub>1</sub> must not equal NP<sub>2</sub> but another NP (e.g. NP<sub>3</sub>):

(446)



In place of REM -?ax, the underlying relative S may have REM CONT -quǵ. Here, under the same NP identity conditions as for the generation of 'pu+V+vò', the suffix -qal- must be generated between the verb stem and the final -vò, thus producing 'pu+V+qal+vò'. This relationship is exactly parallel to that we saw between 'V+mukuš' and 'V+qal+mukuš' in 5.2.4.

The following sentences show how these two new constructions are used:

(447) pó·?-up kí·čá nu-sá·msa-vò wám? yá·wa-q  
 DEF-ENC house my-buy-REL already be absent-PRES  
 REM

'the house I bought is no longer there'

(448) nawítmal-up waxá·m nu-qáni-vò pilék yawáywiš  
 girl-ENC yest. my-meet-REL very pretty  
 REM

'the girl I met yesterday is very pretty'

(449) hiǵé·mal-pil pu-wóti-qal-vò pómínik ǵá·-quǵ  
 boy-ENC his-hit-REL very much cry-REM CONT  
 REM CONT REM CONT

'the boy he was hitting was crying very hard'

When the head noun is given the plural suffix -um, the rules of number agreement seem to differ between the dialects. In all such cases in Hyde and in the speech of my Pauma informant, the relative is inflected for case where necessary but uninflected for number. In the speech of my LaJolla informant, on the other hand, it is usually inflected for both number and case. This can be seen from the following examples.

(450) a. Hyde (175, rewritten):

ya?áyčum pumóm waxá·m ?u-tí·wi-vò čišpómkatum  
men DEF yest. your-see-REL liars  
PL REM

b. Pauma:

pumóm yáyčum waxá·m ?u-tí·wi-vò čušpómkatum

c. LaJolla:

pumóm yá·yičum waxá·m ?u-tí·wi-vum čipómkatum<sup>47</sup>

'the men you saw yesterday are liars'

(451) a. Hyde (177, rewritten):

nó· tí·w-?yax tó·šaxit-um-i puné·-m-i  
I see-REM rabbit-PL-ACC DEF-PL-ACC  
?u-qi?é·-vò-y  
your-kill-REL-ACC  
REM

b. Pauma:

nó·-nil tí·w-?yax puné·-m-i tó·šixat-m-i ?u-qi?é·-vò-y  
I-ENC

c. LaJolla (without number agreement):

nó·-nil tí·w-ax puné·-m-i tó·šixat-m-i ?u-qi?é·-vi<sup>48</sup>  
'I saw the rabbits you killed'

(452) a. Hyde (176, rewritten):

?óm-šu tí·w-?yax húnwut-um-i puné·-m-i waxá·m  
you-ENC bear-PL-ACC DEF-PL-ACC yest.  
INT  
pum?-qi?é·-vò-y  
their-kill-REL-ACC  
REM

b. Pauma:

?óm-ǵu tí·w-?yax puné·-m-i húnwut-m-i waxá·m  
pum?-qi?é·-vò-y.

c. LaJolla (with number agreement):

?óm-ǵu tí·w-ax puné·-m-i húnwut-m-i waxá·m  
pum?-qi?é·-vu-m-i.

their-kill-REL-PL-ACC  
REM

'did you see the bears they killed yesterday?'

(453) nawítmal-pil ?ó?na-quš ǵúšǵal-m-i ya?áš  
girl-ENC know-REM woman-PL-ACC man  
CONT

pu-čúŋi-vò-y (Pauma) OR: pu-čúŋi-vu-m-i (LaJolla)  
his-kiss-REL-ACC his-kiss-REL-PL-ACC  
REM REM

'the girl knew the women the man kissed'

In 451-3 the head noun in each case is animate. It may, however, be inanimate. Usually the relative nominal also carries the ACC suffix when the inanimate noun it modifies is ACC, but sometimes no agreement is made:

(454) pó·?-pil punéy John néyk pu-?ó·vi-vò yúm?piš  
he-ENC DEF me his-give-REL hat  
REM ACC DAT REM

tuló·w-ax  
find-REM

'he found the hat that John gave me'

As I have already mentioned several times above, Luiseño does not usually inflect inanimate nouns for plural if plurality is quite clear from the context. In such cases the noun is treated as if



it were grammatically singular:

(455) čó·?un pěšliš pó·? wunál pu-hú·pi-vò yawáywiš  
all dish DEF he his-paint-REL pretty  
REM

'all the dishes he painted are pretty'

Plural inflection does occur sometimes, however, and again the agreement rules differ between the dialects. This time Rincón is the odd man out: whereas LaJolla and Pauma usually inflect the DEFINITIZER pó·? for plural when it accompanies a head noun, Rincón has singular. Nevertheless Rincón still agrees with Pauma in keeping the relative construction in the singular whereas LaJolla has plural. Compare the following:

(456) Hyde (176, rewritten):

?óm-ǵu tí·w-?yax ná·wa-m-i punéy mariya  
you-ENC see-REM dress-PL-ACC DEF Maria  
INT ACC

pu-ló?xa-vò-y pu-yó? póyk  
her-make-REL-ACC her- her  
REM mother DAT

Pauma: ... puné·-m-i .... pu-ló?xa-vò-y ...

LaJolla: ... puné·-m-i .... pu-ló?xa-vu-m-i ...  
her-make-REL-PL-ACC  
REM

'did you see the dresses that Maria made for her mother?'

Just as there is a partial semantic overlap between 'V+qat' and 'V+qal+mukuš', so there is also between 'pu+V+qat' and 'pu+V+qal+vò'. Whereas 'pu+V+qat' can modify only an inanimate noun when its underlying relative verb has REM CONT reference,

'pu+V+qal+vò' can modify both inanimate and animate nouns.

The transformation needed for the generation of this relative can be written as follows:

(457) GENERATION OF pu+V+(qal+)vò

	W	NP <sub>1</sub>	[	X	NP <sub>2</sub>	Y	V +	{	-?ax	}	]	S	Z		
								{-	qu#	}	]	S	Z		
SD:	1	2	3	4	5	6									⇒
SC:	1	∅	3	pu+4	{-	vò	}	]	S	Z					
					{-	qalvò	}	]	S	Z					

Condition: 1. NP<sub>1</sub> = NP<sub>2</sub>

2. X must contain NP

### 5.2.5 V + lut and pu + V + pi

Perhaps the most puzzling of the Luiseño relative constructions is that in which the underlying relative verb has FUT time reference. Hyde (178) uses the form 'V+lut' when the head noun is singular and has the same reference as the subject of the underlying relative S, and 'V+kutum' (unsyncopated) under the same conditions when the head noun is plural. This usage agrees with that of my informants so long as the head noun is nominative, i.e. subject of the matrix S:

(458) a. Hyde (181, rewritten):

šúšqalum	pumóm	?á·?alvi-	kutum	qáy	pélax-	viču-	wun
women	DEF	tell	-REL	not	dance-	want-	PRES
	PL	stories	FUT				PL
			PL				

b. Pauma, LaJolla:

pumóm ?á·?avi-ktum gúŋŋalum qáy pé-lax-viča-wun

'the women who will, are going to, tell stories  
don't want to dance'

(459) a. Hyde (180, rewritten):

ya?áš pó·? ?éxŋay hé·lax-lut hú·?unikat  
man DEF tomor. sing-REL teacher  
FUT

b. Pauma:

pó·? ?éxŋay hé·lax-lut ya?áš hú·?unikat

c. LaJolla:

pó·? ya?áš ?éxŋi hé·lax-lut hú·?anikat

'the man who will, is going to, sing tomorrow is  
a teacher'

Similarly:

(460) wunál-up ya?áš qéwi-lut ?atá·xum pó·mik nu-pé·t  
that-ENC man shout-REL people them my-younger  
FUT DAT brother

'the man who will, is going to, announce something to  
the people is my younger brother'

(461) gúŋŋalum wí·wiš luví?i-ktum wuná? purú·-wun  
women acorn make-REL there stand-PRES  
mush FUT PL  
PL

'the women who will, are going to, make acorn mush are  
standing over there'

On the other hand, when the head noun is ACC, Hyde uses an inflected form of 'V+lut' which was either rejected outright by my Pauma informant or only grudgingly accepted by my LaJolla informant.

For the ACC both speakers consistently use the form 'pu+V+pi', which surprisingly is also the nominal that all three speakers use when the head noun is not coreferential with the subject noun of the underlying relative S but with some other noun in that S. The latter situation I shall return to immediately below. To make the difference between the dialects clear the following sentences are quoted:

(462) a. Hyde (171, rewritten):

čá·m ?ayáli-wun ya?á·č-i puné·-yi ?éxŋay  
 we know-PRES man-ACC DEF-ACC tomorrow  
 PL

hé·lax-lut-i  
 sing-REL-ACC  
 FUT

b. Pauma, LaJolla:

čá·m-ča puné·-yi ya?á·č-i ?ó?na-wun ?éxŋi  
 we-ENC DEF-ACC man-ACC know-PRES tomorrow  
 PL

pu-hé·lax-pi  
 his-sing-REL  
 FUT

'we know the man who will, is going to, sing tomorrow'

(463) a. Hyde (180, rewritten):

?óm-ǰu tí·w-?yax ?awá·l-i puné·-yi pé-lax-lut-i  
 you-ENC see-REM dog-ACC DEF-ACC dance-REL-ACC

b. Pauma:

?óm-ǰu tí·w-?yax puné·-yi ču·čú-y pu-pé-lax-pi  
 dog-ACC his-dance-REL  
 FUT

'did you see the dog that will, is going to, dance?'

When the noun with the same reference as the head noun is not the subject of the underlying relative S, we have sentences such as these:

(464) nawítmal ?éxŋi ?u-qáni-pi pilék yawáywiš  
 girl tomor. your-meet-REL very pretty  
 FUT

'the girl you will, are going to, meet tomorrow is very pretty'

(465) ?iví-p pó·? ?ixí?wut John pu-sá:msa-pi nó·-ŋi  
 this-ENC DEF sheep his-buy-REL me-ABL  
 FUT

'this is the sheep that John is going to buy from me'

In these last two sentences the head noun is of course nominative, and the relative nominal therefore carries no overt case suffix. If the forms given in Hyde (178-81) are reliable, the Rincón dialect adds the accusative suffix -i to 'pu+V+pi' producing the final syllable -pi· (written in Hyde as -piy):

(466) Hyde (181, rewritten):

?óm-ŋu tí-w-?yax kulá:wut puné-y čum-pídi-pi·  
 wood our-break-REL-ACC  
 FUT

'did you see the wood we shall, are going to, break?'

In the LaJolla and Pauma dialects, on the other hand, either there is no agreement or, more likely, a common rule which reduces final unstressed i+i to i operates. Thus, when the ACC suffix -i is added to -pi, the long final syllable that results is then reduced to -pi again. Hence in the following example from the Pauma dia-

lect we find -pi, not -pi·. Notice also that this sentence illustrates that there is no number agreement between the relative nominal and the noun it modifies, i.e. there is no \*-pi-m-i:

(467) nó·-nil tí·w-?yax puné·-m-i péšliš-m-i ?éxṅay  
 I-ENC see-REM DEF-PL-ACC dish-PL-ACC tomorrow  
 hiṅé?mal-um pum?-sá·msa-pi  
 boy-PL their-buy-REL  
 FUT

'I saw the dishes that the boys are going to buy tomorrow'

It is possible that there may also be a FUT CONT relative nominal 'pu+V+qal+pi', since this form also occurs in several other constructions in which 'pu+V+pi' is found.<sup>49</sup> This possibility was unfortunately discovered too late for me to obtain further information from my informants. The form has therefore been entered in the chart 392 with a question mark.

The formulation of the transformation generating relative structures from an underlying S containing a verb with the FUT tense suffix -an is complicated by the fact that in this case the difference between the dialects is rather greater than usual. Rincón requires two separate transformations, one for the generation of 'V+lut' and the other for 'pu+V+pi'. Since Pauma and La Jolla also have 'pu+V+pi' where Rincón has 'V+lut', it would be elegant if we could generate the two kinds of 'pu+V+pi' by only one transformation. Since, however, 'pu+V+pi' can replace 'V+lut' only when the relative is not nominative, I can see no easy way in which the transformations can be collapsed. LaJolla and Pauma will thus also require two.

The Rincón rules can be written:

(468) GENERATION OF V+lut (Rincón)

	X	NP <sub>1</sub>	[	NP <sub>2</sub>	Y	V +	-an	]S	Z	
SD:	1	2		3	4	5				⇒
SC:	1	∅		3	lut	5				

Condition: NP<sub>1</sub> = NP<sub>2</sub>

(469) GENERATION OF pu+V+pi (Rincón)

	W	NP <sub>1</sub>	[	X	NP <sub>2</sub>	Y	V +	-an	]S	Z	
SD:	1	2		3	4	5	6				⇒
SC:	1	∅		3	pu+4	pi	6				

Condition: 1. NP<sub>1</sub> = NP<sub>2</sub>

2. X must contain  
NP

The latter rule is also valid for LaJolla and Pauma. Rule 468 must be replaced by 470, however, so that both 'V+lut' and 'pu+V+pi' can be appropriately generated when NP<sub>2</sub> is the subject of the relative S:

(470) GENERATION OF V+lut AND pu+V+pi (LaJolla, Pauma)

	X	NP <sub>1</sub>	[	NP <sub>2</sub>	Y	V +	-an	]S	Z	
								{		
								[+NOM]		
								[-NOM]		
								}		
SD:	1	2		3	4	5	6			⇒
SC:	1	∅		3	{ 4 lut }	6				
					{ pu+4 pi } <sub>1</sub>					

Condition: NP<sub>1</sub> = NP<sub>2</sub>





'he is talking to the teacher'

(472) káři-kat-up pilék ?aláx<sup>wiš</sup>  
play-er-ENC very bad

'the musician (instrument player) is very bad'

we also find others where 'V+kat' is a restrictive modifier:

(473) pó·? ya?áš hú·?uni-kat ?éxḡay hé·lax-lut  
DEF man teach tomor. sing-going to

'the man who is a teacher is going to sing tomorrow'

(474) ya?áš ?uwó?i-kat sínaval pu-ḡḡáki póyk  
man work money his-wife her  
DAT

pu-?ó·vi-pi mí·?-qa  
his-give-OBLIGATION be-PRES

'a man who works must give money to his wife'

If, as I suggested above, 'V+kat' has much more the feel of a substantive about it than the relative constructions we have considered so far, then its use as a restrictive modifier is parallel to the restrictive use of nouns as modifiers in English expressions such as:

(475) This is a photo of my brother the doctor and that one is my brother the teacher.

However, one theory claims that English nouns of this kind are derived from relative clauses, e.g. here by the deletion of 'who is'. We could therefore look at the Luiseño 'V+kat' not as the substantive that is left behind after deletion but as the equivalent of the whole relative clause, the practice I have adopted in

dealing with the relatives in the sections preceding this. Perhaps in support of this I may add that there is no relative form of the verb mí.?- 'be', the verb that would be required for example if the underlying structure in 473 were

(476) the man [the man is a teacher] must give money ...  
 ..... [ya?áš hú?unikat mí.?-qa] .....

But this is not a convincing argument, since even non-deverbal nouns can be used as restrictive modifiers of other nouns in certain circumstances. Thus we may have:

(477) pó.?- hiqé·mal šugá·vit waxá·m né·ŋi  
 DEF boy Mexican yest. leave  
 REM

pó.?-ta mómŋa·š yá·m-ya  
 DEF-ADVERSATIVE whiteman stay-REM  
 Particle

'the boy who is a Mexican left yesterday, but the one who is a whiteman remained'

Thus here too, if we posit a relative S underlying šugá·vit or mómŋa·š, we still have the problem that no relative forms exist for the verb mí.?- 'be'. This suggests that either the postulation of an underlying relative S containing 'be' must be abandoned, or else that Luiseño has a curious rule which operates uniquely on mí.?- in relative clauses, deleting both it and its T/A suffixes. The latter seems very ad hoc, for in main clauses mí.?- may be deleted only when it carries the PRES tense suffix; with other tenses it is retained. Further research into this area of Luiseño syntax may throw interesting light on the derivation of adjectival

constructions and may perhaps disconfirm Lakoff's proposal (1970a: 122) that attributive adjectives be derived from relative clauses of the type 'who, which, is ADJ'. For the moment I will content myself with the hunch that 'V+kat' is not a true relative which can be derived by transformation, but a derived nominal which happens to fill the gap in the relative system and is maybe produced in the lexicon by some lexical rule of derivation.

### 5.2.7 V + wut

A similarly peripheral role among relative structures is played by the other derived nominal 'V+wut', which I mentioned in the previous section. Like 'V+kat', it also may be an animate noun in its own right or a restrictive modification of another noun.

Kroeber/Grace (80) call it the 'occasional agent' (OA), i.e. 'one who sometimes does something, one who likes to do something'. The following sentence shows how this structure is used as a restrictive modifier.

(478) qáy háx má?max-ma ya?á·č-i ná·win-wut-i  
 not someone like-PRES HAB man-ACC be jealous-OA-ACC  
 'nobody likes a man who is (sometimes) jealous'  
 (? = a man, a jealous be-er)

It does not seem to be so purely nominal as 'V+kat' since it may have adverbials accompanying it, as for example túkvu 'at night' in 479:

(479) hiqé·mal túkvu nó·li-wut pu-pú·č-i giná·li-ma  
 boy night read-OA his-eye-ACC ruin-PRES HAB  
 'a boy who likes reading at night ruins his eyes'

This construction is mentioned here for the sake of completeness; before venturing to postulate any details for its derivation, I have need of rather more data than I at present possess.

#### 5.2.8 Prepositional Phrase Relatives

In the transformations above that generate most of the relatives with pu- prefix, it will have been observed that I was careful to specify the noun that is coreferential with the head noun as 'some other noun in the relative S'. In almost all the examples we have so far seen it was either subject or object. It may, however, be a noun in an oblique case such as locative, dative, comitative, etc., i.e. in what is the equivalent of an English prepositional phrase. Structures of this kind I shall refer to as prepositional phrase relatives. In this section I wish merely to describe how Luiseño deals with this type of clause. This will necessitate my talking informally about case and a rule of case shifting. I shall not try to present the rule formally, however, as the details of this kind of relative are not all clear to me at the moment.

I have referred a number of times already to the fact that animate nouns are morphologically distinct from inanimate nouns so far as case inflection is concerned. The reader will remember that inanimate nouns usually carry suffixes for all the Luiseño grammatical cases, whereas animate nouns carry an overt suffix only in the accusative. All the other oblique cases are realized by placing the correctly inflected case of the pronoun pó·? after the absolutive form of the noun (see Kroeber/Grace:68), which

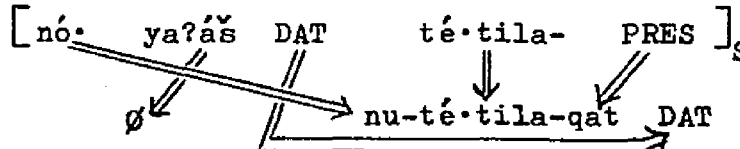
serves also as nominative. The distinction is preserved in prepositional phrase relatives. Consider the following underlying structure where the head noun is animate:

(480) ya?áś [nó· ya?áś DAT té·tila - PRES ]<sub>S</sub>  
 man I man speak

If the bracketed sentence were not embedded, it would have a surface form:

(481) nó· ya?áś póyk té·tila-q  
 I man to him am speaking  
 'I am speaking to the man'

When the bracketed S is embedded in a NP, however, and when the embedded ya?áś is coreferential with the head noun ya?áś, rule 434 will apply. The pronoun becomes the possessive prefix on the verb, the PRES tense suffix -qa is changed to -qat, and ya?áś is deleted. It is easy to account for what happens to the case ending if we consider case as a separate category. When ya?áś is deleted, case is left behind but later switched to a position immediately after the relative nominal. This we can represent schematically as follows:

(482) ya?áś [nó· ya?áś DAT té·tila- PRES ]<sub>S</sub>  


DAT now follows an inanimate nominal and so requires pó·? support. It therefore appears on the surface as póyk. The following sentence illustrates this construction:



(487) kí·čá [ pó·? kí·- LOC ?á·w?- REM CONT ]<sub>s</sub>  
 ↓ ↓ ↓  
 ∅ → pu-?á·w?-qalvò LOC

Here is a sentence containing this particular prepositional phrase relative:

(488) wunál-pil kí·š pu-?á·w?-qal-vu-ŋa vindé·r  
 he-ENC house his-live-REL-LOC sell  
 REM ACC REM REM

'he sold the house he was living in'

In 489 we have a further example of LOC as the case shifted.

(489) nó·-nupu qáy něci-n sirvé·sa-ŋi ku?á·l  
 I-ENC not pay-FUT beer-ABL fly  
 FUT

pu-hlúqax-vu-ŋa OR: pu-hlúqax-ŋa  
 its-fall-REL-LOC its-fall-LOC  
 REM

'I shall not pay for (= on account of) the beer the fly  
 fell in'

So far, so good. However, case is not always retained in the Luiseno prepositional phrase relative. Both my informants agree that 483 is just as acceptable without póyk; and although I have not checked this, I suspect that pu-?é·š can also be omitted in 484 with no harm done to sense or acceptability. Similarly, corresponding to 488 we can also have:

(490) wunál-up pó·? kí·čá nu-?á·w?-vò kihá·t mí·?-qanik  
 that-ENC DEF house my-live-REL little be-SUBORD  
 REM

'that's the house I lived in when I was little'





(494) nó·-nupu qáy néci-n sirvé·sa-ŋa kuʔá·l  
 I-ENC not pay-FUT beer-ABL fly  
 FUT

pu-hlúqax-vu-ŋi OR: pu-hlúqax-ŋi  
 its-fall-REL-ABL ABL

REM

In 493 the ACC of ki·š has been spread to pu-ʔá·wʔ-qat, and in 489 the ABL of sirvé·sa-ŋi to pu-hlúqax(-vò).

What is not clear to me is the principle which determines whether case shifting or case deletion is to operate in the underlying S. Sentences 489 and 494 were offered as synonymous alternatives; and, as we saw, 483 both with and without póyk has the same meaning and is equally acceptable. For some sentences, however, only one choice is possible. Thus in 495 the alternative with case deletion was rejected by my informant.

(495) pó·ʔ-pil waníš pu-wá·yax-vu-ŋa (\*pu-wá·yax-vò)  
 DEF-ENC river his-swim-REL-LOC  
 REM REM

pilék ʔí·ta·t mí·ʔ-quš  
 very cold be-REM CONT

'the river he swam in was very cold'

In the data I have presented above the following facts should be noted. In relative clauses modifying inanimate head nouns I have examples of case shifting only with 'pu+V' and 'pu+V+vò'. Second, it seems always to be LOC which is shifted in these constructions. Third, it is only in connection with 'pu+V+vò' that I have evidence of constraints on case deletion (as in 495). Fourth, it may well be that the other inanimate relative nominals

'pu+V+qat' and 'pu+V+pi' have no available inflections for oblique cases other than the ACC -i (with 'pu+V+pi' even this -i is not obvious in view of the already mentioned rule which reduces a vowel plus i to i). Fifth, in the case of animate head nouns the possibilities for case shifting are necessarily different, since the whole paradigm of the case inflections of pó·? is available and the relative nominal remains unchanged (nominative) like the head noun it modifies.

From these observations we may tentatively conclude that with inanimates LOC is perhaps the only case that may be shifted, and that case deletion is obligatory with all inanimate relative nominals except 'pu+V' and 'pu+V+vò'. For animate nominals, case shifting and case deletion seem to be optional, and maybe there are no restrictions on what cases can be shifted. For the moment that is as far as I can go.

Let me conclude with one general remark. Luiseño is not alone in permitting case deletion in prepositional phrase relatives; relative structures of this kind are found in a number of other languages, e.g. Turkish, Mandarin Chinese, etc.

#### 5.2.9 Circumlocutions for Relatives

In the preceding subsections I have tried to present as clear a summary as possible of all the Luiseño relative constructions for which I have evidence in my data. In this subsection I wish to add a few complementary remarks on circumlocutions for relatives.

I was unable to elicit any Luiseño equivalents for English relatives containing 'of whom, of which, whose', e.g. 'the woman

whose husband ...'. When my informants could think of any translation at all, they always got round the problem by using parataxis. For example, as a rendering of 'yesterday I saw that woman whose husband bought John's car' sentence 496 was given:

(496) waxá·m nó· ǰuǰá·l-i tí·w-ax pi pu-kú·ŋ John  
 yest. I woman-ACC see-REM and her-husband  
 pu-má·kina-ki sásamsa  
 his-car-ALIEN buy  
 REM

'yesterday I saw a woman and her husband bought John's car'

Similarly, for 'the police officers have just arrested the man whose son was going to buy my house' I obtained

(497) yúlivuktum-kunum pitó·? ya?á·č-i yúli-wun pi  
 officers-ENC now man-ACC arrest-PRES and  
 REPORT PL  
 pu-ká·mi nu-kí· sá·msa-lut mí·?-quǰ  
 his-son my-house buy-going to be-REM CONT  
 ACC

'the police have just arrested a man and his son was going to buy my house'

Another paratactic rendering is with túm, which always stands first in the sentence and is used to recall to the listener's memory something that he already knows about. Thus in place of 496 we can also say:

(498) túm pó·? ya?áš sásamsa John pu-má·kina-ki, nó·  
 DEF man buy his-car-ALIEN I  
 REM

waxá·m pu-ǵñáki tí·w-ax  
yest. his-wife see-REM  
ACC

'you remember the man bought John's car; I saw his wife  
yesterday'

and in place of 497:

(499) túm pó·? ya?áš nu-kí· sá·msa-lut mí·?-quš;  
yúlivuktu-kunum pu-ná·-yi pitó·? yúli-wun  
his-father-ACC

'you remember the man was going to buy my house; the  
police have just arrested his father'

It is worth pointing out that, in the speech of my LaJolla infor-  
mant, túm circumlocutions were not limited to situations like the  
above where no relative nominal is available. In situations where  
past tense relatives could have been used, the circumlocutions  
were more frequent than the rather cumbersome 'V+(qal+)mukuš'  
construction. For the latter he often needed some prodding. Thus  
a spontaneous translation of 'the man who was sitting on that  
chair yesterday has just broken his leg' was:

(500) túm ya?áš sí·ya-ŋa waxá·m ?á·w?-quš; pitó·?-kun  
chair-LOC yest. sit-REM CONT now-ENC  
REPORT

pu-?é-y pídi-q  
his-leg-ACC break-PRES

'you remember a (the?) man was sitting on the chair yester-  
day; he has just broken his leg'

although the sentence could just as well have taken the form:

(501) pó·? ya?áš sí·ya-ŋa waxá·m ?á·w?-qalmukuš pitó·?  
 DEF man chair-LOC yest. sit-REL now  
 REM CONT

pu-?é-y pídi-q  
 his-leg-ACC break-PRES

In the case of my Pauma informant there seemed to be no particular preference for túm circumlocutions, although they did at times occur.

#### 5.2.10 Some Concluding Remarks

Before leaving relative constructions I wish to repair one omission and then make a few critical remarks about the approach I have adopted here. First the omission.

In all the relative constructions that I have labelled with initial pu-, the prefix can, as I explained in 5.2.1, stand for any member of the paradigm of personal prefixes. What I failed to mention was that the pronoun subject of the underlying relative S may be retained in surface structure together with the matching prefix on the relative nominal. Thus as well as 394 it is also possible to have:

(502) čó·?un ná·ča·niš ?óm ?u-ló?xa pilék ?áxa·t  
 all food you your-make very delicious

'all the food you make is very delicious'

This is, of course, not really surprising since a noun subject in these clauses is also retained on the surface. However, in the illustrative sentences that I have given there is only one example (455) of a retained subject pronoun (wunál). When the pronouns

are used it is probably for the sake of emphasis. If so, this creates a problem for the generation of these relatives.

The easiest and most economical way to account for the presence and the absence of the subject pronouns in the surface relative construction is to generate them in underlying structure and then to have them optionally deleted by transformation. This is also the usual procedure suggested for the generation of subject pronouns in languages like Spanish or Latin where the verbal inflection is usually enough to indicate the person. It seems curious, however, that emphasis should result from the inoperation of a deletion transformation, and lack of emphasis from its operation. One would expect that, if the pronouns are there in the first place (i.e. in the underlying structure), the unmarked situation would be for them to remain, and the marked situation for them to be deleted. Put another way, if we consider lack of emphasis (i.e. absence of pronouns) as the normal situation, it would seem more logical for that to be in the underlying structure and for emphasis to be produced by a transformation which inserts the pronouns. It strikes me as odd for lack of emphasis to be generated out of emphasis and not vice versa. However, if we adopt the position that the pronouns are inserted later, the rules for the generation of the personal prefixes on the relative nominal are almost impossible to write. This is a paradox to which I have no answer.

Another criticism can be levelled against the approach I have adopted in the preceding sections. I claimed that the T/A suf-

fixes will have been inserted into the relative S from the lexicon before the various relativization transformations take effect. Given the cyclical application of transformations, this is perfectly possible and in this case necessary, since the lexical suffix replaces a hierarchy of higher T/A verbs, what I have referred to several times as a 'tree configuration'. If this is not done, the relativization transformations will have to refer to this hierarchy itself, instead of to the lexical suffix, in order to generate the correct relative nominal, and this would mean evolving a completely new formalism. As I have chosen to introduce the lexical suffixes into the structural description instead, this means that I am unable to capture the quite obvious generalization that, when CONT was in the T/A hierarchy, the syllable -qal- appears in the relative suffix. This cannot be done in my analysis because the suffix inserted from the lexicon replaces the whole tree configuration so that we no longer have separate branches of it like CONT to refer to.

The situation becomes even worse if Luiseño does indeed have a FUT CONT relative nominal 'pu+V+qal+pi', which I hinted at in 5.2.5. Since the lexical suffix -an replaces the tree configuration for both FUT CONT and FUT NON-CONT, there is nothing in the structural description of the relativizing transformation to determine whether 'pu+V+qal+pi' should be generated or merely 'pu+V+pi'. So far I have no examples of the former, but should they be possible, this would speak strongly against the approach

I have adopted. On the other hand, in its favour we can claim that it permits us to set out the details of each relative in a reasonably clear fashion and to write plausible, easily readable transformations to account for them.



### 5.3 Indirect Speech

I am using the term 'indirect speech' in the loosest sense to cover embedding after not only 'say' and 'ask' but also after such verbs as 'know, think, forget, etc.'. In this final section of the study of Luiseño sentence types I shall be concerned with three kinds of embedding: (1) indirect statements, (2) indirect commands, and (3) indirect questions. The problem presented by the fact that each of these clause types is structurally different from the clause types found after the performative verbs DECLARE, COMMAND and ASK has already been commented on in 4.7 and needs no further discussion here. As there are a number of gaps in the data on which this section is based, I shall content myself with setting out the details of the various structures I have collected and merely hinting at ways in which they could be generated. However, so that the reader can form some idea of what the transformations involved would look like, I have put forward a simplified version of the one needed to generate indirect statements.

#### 5.3.1 Indirect Statements

Indirect statements in Luiseño fall into two categories: (1) those that contain the enclitic -kun and a finite verb, and (2) those that contain a non-finite verb and no enclitic.

##### 5.3.1.1 With -kun and Finite Verb

This type of sentence was dealt with briefly in 4.3.1 and illustrated with the examples 101-4. A sample derivation was also given in 105a-e. There are, however, some features of this con-

struction which need further explication. In 4.2.1.1 I mentioned the indeclinable form of the quotative enclitic, -kuna. This form of the enclitic is possible when the tense of the verb in the embedded S is REM. Not infrequently the same form of the enclitic appears in the matrix sentence when its verb is also REM, e.g.

(503) ?óm-kuna yá· nó·-kuna nu-nóŋ pu-wí·wi  
 you say I my-aunt her-acorn-ACC  
 REM mush

śál-ya pi qáy ?aśú·n  
 dislike-REM but not true

'you said I didn't like my aunt's acorn mush, but it's not true'

(504) John-kuna Joe póyk yá· póy-kuna pu-?é·-ŋa  
 say him his-foot-LOC  
 REM ACC

śó·wut kó?-ax  
 rattlesnake bite-REM

'John told Joe that a rattlesnake had bitten him in the foot'

However, in neither the matrix nor the embedded S is the -kuna form of the enclitic obligatory. In the embedded S it can be replaced by -kun with no apparent change of meaning; and in the matrix S by either -kun or -pil when the verb is REM or REM CONT, e.g.

(505) śuŋá·l-kun mól-ax ya?áś-kun waxá·m wukó·?-ya  
 woman remember-REM man yest. arrive-REM

'the woman remembered that the man came yesterday'

(506) nó·-nil wiñé?-quǵ John-kun ?í·pit-i pu-má·kina-ki  
 I-ENC think-REM new-ACC his-car-ALIEN  
 REM CONT ACC  
 CONT

sásamsa

buy  
 REM

'I thought (was thinking) John bought a new car'

(507) wuná·lum-mil yá· póy-kunum mó·makan  
 they-ENC say him kill  
 REM REM ACC REM

'they said they had killed him'

In fact when both verbs are past, any combination of -kun, -kuna or -pil in the matrix S with -kun or -kuna in the embedded S is permissible. My informant suggested that when -kun or -kuna is used in the matrix S it indicates that the person making the indirect statement is not present (e.g. in 505 the woman is absent at the moment the statement about her remembering is made); on the other hand, -pil suggests that the person making the indirect statement is now present (e.g. 'they' in 507 would be the men I can now see as I utter 507). I am not sure whether this is in fact always true, since at other times I collected similar sentences from my informant where -kun seemed to be used without this distinction.

When the main verb is not past, -kuna is not permissible in the matrix S; and similarly, when the embedded verb is not past, -kuna is not permissible in the embedded S. In this case the main verb is usually PRES, but the embedded verb may be in a variety of

tenses. Here the embedded S is always introduced by -kun, and the matrix S either by -kun or -up:

(508) wunál-up ǵuǵá·l yaqá· wunál-kun pitó·? ǵé·-lo·t  
 that woman say he today leave-going to  
 PRES

'that woman says he is going to leave today'

(509) yaqá·-p pu-pá·ǵum-kunum puǵ-?ayá·li-vuta-q<sup>51</sup>  
 say his-elder -ENC their-mend-can-PRES  
 PRES brothers REP SG  
 PL

'he says that his brothers can mend it'

Another interesting point connected with this type of indirect statement is the question of reference when both matrix and embedded verbs have third person pronoun subjects with the same number. Indirect statements with -kun(a) have subjects which are unambiguously non-coreferential with the subject of the matrix S. Thus in 510 'he' cannot be 'Juan':

(510) x<sup>w</sup>á·n-up yaqá· kulá·wut-kun(a) páv-ax  
 wood chop-REM

'Juan says that he (≠ Juan) chopped the wood'

### 5.3.1.2 With Non-Finite Verb and No Enclitic

There is an alternative construction to that we have just examined which is perhaps even more common. Here the embedded S has no introducer or enclitic and contains one of three non-finite verb forms that we have seen already: 'pu+V+qala', 'pu+V+(qal+)vò' and 'pu+V+pi'.

### 5.3.1.2.1 With pu + V + qala

The first of these I have not described systematically, but we have met it a number of times in temporal constructions usually translated by 'when ...' or 'while ...'. With this temporal sense it can be used only when the action of the matrix verb falls within the time span of the embedded verb or is simultaneous with it. Furthermore, the two NP subjects must not be coreferential, otherwise 'V+(qa+)nik' must be employed. For comparison I give first an example of this temporal use of 'pu+V+qala', which I shall call 'cotemporal'.

(511) wunál-pil néč-ax nu-ǵé'-qala  
he-ENC pay-REM my-leave-SUBORD  
REM Cotemp.

'he paid when I left'

In indirect statements this same verb form is used when in the words that were originally spoken the verb has PRES tense reference. Thus in 512 the original words were 'I am leaving':

(512) wunál-pil yá· pu-ǵé'-qala  
he-ENC say his-leave-SUBORD  
REM REM

'he said he was leaving'

In contrast to the cotemporal use of 'pu+V+qala', sentences like 512 are ambiguous since the 'he' in the embedded S can be either coreferential with the 'he' in the matrix S or non-coreferential.

Another clear difference between this use and the cotemporal use is that the verb form in the indirect statement may be de-

clined. Since the embedded clause is the object of the matrix verb, it may take the accusative suffix -i. Here again we have a dialect difference. My LaJolla informant rejects the declined form of the construction in any context, whereas my Pauma informant uses it regularly after any 'statement' verb except yaqá 'say', and even here it occurs occasionally. Thus in the Pauma dialect we find sentences such as the following:

(513) mariya qáy ?uhó?van-q x<sup>w</sup>á·n(-i) pu-kúp-qala-y  
 Maria not believe-PRES Juan(-ACC) his-sleep-SUBORD-ACC  
 'Maria doesn't believe that Juan is sleeping'

(514) wunál-up wiqé?-q ná·wa pu-k<sup>w</sup>á·n pu-mí·?-qala-y  
 he think-PRES dress for him its-be-SUBORD-ACC  
 'he thinks the dress is for him'

That the declension of 'pu+V+qala' is optional was made clear when my informant offered both versions of 515 as perfectly acceptable and synonymous:

(515) wunál-up ?ayáli-q manwél pu-ḡé·-qala  
 he know-PRES Manuel his-leave-SUBORD  
 OR: pu-ḡé·-qala-y  
 ACC  
 'he knows that Manuel is going'

#### 5.3.1.2.2 With pu + V + vò

When the verb in the 'original words' of the indirect statement was in the past tense, the construction 'pu+V+vò' is used in the embedded S (cf. 5.2.4.1 where the same verb form is used in relative clauses). Here both the LaJolla and the Pauma dialects are

alike, and the declined form in the accusative occurs more often than the undeclined form. Thus alongside sentences like 516-9 we have others like 520-1.

(516) nó·-nil maróp·ya nu-htí?ax-vi (< nu-hatí?ax-vò-i)  
 I-ENC forget-REM my-go-SUBORD  
 REM ACC

'I forgot that I had gone'

(517) šuná·l-pil yá· pu-ŋé·-vi pu-kí·-k  
 woman-ENC say her-leave-SUBORD her-house-DAT  
 REM REM ACC

'the woman said that she went home'

(518) nó·-n hamó·ya-q ?u-yáx-vi  
 I-ENC be ashamed-PRES your-say-SUBORD  
 PRES ACC

'I'm ashamed that you said it'

(519) x<sup>w</sup>á·n-up ?ayáli-q pu-pá·?aš kulá·wut pu-čóri-vò  
 Juan-ENC know-PRES his-elder wood his-cut-SUBORD  
 brother

OR: pu-čóri-vò-y  
 ACC

'Juan knows his brother cut the wood'

(520) ?ayáli-qa-p kulá·wut čum?-pávi-vò  
 know-PRES-ENC wood our-chop-SUBORD  
 PRES

'he knows that we chopped the wood'

(521) wuná·lum-mil yá· pum?-hé·yi-vò  
 they-ENC say their-dig-SUBORD  
 REM REM

'they said they had dug it'

Sentence 519 was offered in both forms by the Pauma informant. In 516-8 we have further examples of the LaJolla rule which deletes a vowel occurring immediately before instressed -i.

### 5.3.1.2.3 With pu + V + pi

The last non-finite verb form we need to examine is 'pu+V+pi' (cf. 5.2.5 and Footnote 49). This occurs in indirect statements when the 'original words' contained a verb with FUT tense reference. With this construction it is difficult to tell whether there is inflection for accusative or not. Probably the vowel reduction rule just mentioned in 5.3.1.2.2 operates here in both dialects and the final short -i is in fact the accusative suffix.

(522) nó·-n wiñé?-qat tó·wut pu-wkó·?ax-pi ?amu?éxñi  
 I-ENC think-P PR mist its-arrive-SUBORD this morning  
 'I thought the mist would come this morning  
 (but it didn't)'

(523) pó·?-pil póy yá· ðó·wut póy pu-kó?i-pi  
 he-ENC him say rattler him its-bite-SUBORD  
 REM ACC REM ACC  
 'he told him that a rattlesnake would bite him'

(524) nó·-n ?ayáli-q pu-lví?i-pi  
 I-ENC know-PRES his-make-SUBORD  
 'I know he will make it'

### 5.3.1.3 Generation of Indirect Statements

Both types of statement (with finite and with non-finite verb forms) can be generated with a transformation of the following kind:





vited form as PRES, FUT and REM tenses respectively. In the first option in the structural change in 525, these are themselves replaced by the suffixes -gala, -pi and -vò respectively in indirect statements.

The transformation in 525 is, of course, too simple, since other tenses than PRES, FUT and REM are probably possible in the -kun type of indirect statement. Furthermore, no allowance has been made for the optional use of -kuna when the REM suffix (-?ax) appears in the underlying S. This latter option is particularly difficult to work in to the transformation as set up in 525, but it can easily be written separately.

### 5.3.2 Indirect Commands

Structurally, indirect commands in Luiseño do not differ from the indirect statements with FUT time reference which I discussed in 5.3.1.2.3. They are, of course, usually embedded as the complement of a verb of commanding, e.g.

(526) wuná·lum-mil čá·m-i tótušŋa kulá·wut čum-pávi-pi  
they-ENC we-ACC order wood our-chop-SUBORD  
REM REM

'they ordered us to chop the wood'

(527) pó·?-pil póy tótušŋa pu-ŋé·-pi  
he-ENC him order his-leave-SUBORD  
REM ACC REM

'he ordered him to go'

Note the accusative pronoun in each sentence. Maybe this is the subject pronoun of the embedded S, raised to become object of tóšŋa- 'order', but I have no evidence to support this.

Comparable to 526 and 527 is a similar construction with yaqá· 'say, tell', which perhaps throws some light on the nature of the verb form in the embedded S. Consider the following:

(528) néy-pil yá· póyk híš nu-sá·msa-pi pwévla-ŋa  
me -ENC say him sth my-buy-SUBORD town-LOC  
ACC REM REM DAT ACC

'she told, asked, me to buy something for her in the town'

(529) Bill yaqá· John pu-hú·š-i-pi  
say his-smoke-SUBORD  
PRES

'Bill has told John to smoke'

Both of these sentences can also be translated as indirect statements with FUT reference, i.e.

(528a) 'she told me that I would buy something for her in the town', and

(529a) 'Bill said that John would smoke'.

At first sight it is difficult to see a connection between 528-9 and 528a-9a, but two possibilities present themselves. One is that 528 and 529 are genuine indirect statements where the original words contained an example of what I called in 4.5.5 advisory imperatives, which are structurally identical with FUT declaratives. It will be remembered that, in addition to being used when advice on how to perform a particular task is given, this type of imperative is also employed in polite commands. The trouble with this analysis is that 528-9 contain nothing to suggest that the indirect command is polite. A more plausible analysis is that the two sentences are genuine indirect statements where the original words contained the 'pu+V+pi' of OBLIGATION mentioned in Footnote 49a. This is corroborated by the fact that there is a third translation of these two sentences:

(528b) 'she told me that I was, had, to buy something for her in the town', and

(529b) 'Bill has said that John is, has, to smoke'.

Nevertheless, there is one thing that makes me uncertain whether this analysis is correct. The 'pu+V+pi' of OBLIGATION is always accompanied in main clauses by a form of the verb mí·?-/mí·x- 'be' inflected for T/A, even in the PRES tense, e.g.

(530) nu-hé·yi-pi mí·?-qa 'I must, have to, am to, dig'  
 my-dig-OBLIG be-PRES

If the 'pu+V+pi' of indirect commands is the same construction as this, we should expect the verb mí·?-/mí·x- also to appear in the embedded S, but my data provide no evidence of this. It might be argued that here, as in many other cases, 'be' is deleted, but this is not very convincing, since mí·?-/mí·x- does appear in indirect equative sentences where in the 'original words' it is always missing. Compare 531 with 532.

(531) x<sup>w</sup>á·n-up ?á·čič 'Juan is stupid'  
 Juan-ENC stupid

(532) háx mímčapan ?óyk pu-yáx-vuta-q x<sup>w</sup>á·n ?á·čič  
 some any you his-say-can-PRES  
 -one DAT  
 pu-mí·?-qala  
 his-be-SUBORD

'anybody can tell you that Juan is stupid'

Thus if 529 is really an indirect statement that 'Juan has to smoke' and not an indirect command, we should expect the full form of the sentence to be:

(529a) Bill yaqá· John pu-hú·ší-pi pu-mí·?-qala (?)  
 his-smoke-OBLIG its-be-SUBORD

Unfortunately I am at present unable to say whether 529a is a possible synonym for 529. If it is, then we can analyse sentences with tóšna- 'command' in exactly the same way, i.e. as being structurally statements with the 'pu+V+pi' of OBLIGATION in the

complement. If not, we are faced with the problem of what to posit as the underlying structure for sentences such as 528 and 529, which can be interpreted as both indirect commands and indirect statements, although there is nothing in the surface structure to indicate this difference. One solution would be to give yaqá: two entries in the lexicon, one with the feature [+DECLARE] and the other with the feature [+COMMAND]. The different interpretations of sentences like 528 and 529 could then be made to depend on the feature composition of yaqá: in each particular case.



or noun in the embedded clause. Thus he compares sentences like 536 (which happens to be an indirect statement) with others like 537:

(536) ?aʃú·n-ʃu ?óm ?u-sá·msa-viču-qala-y tá·nat-m-i  
true-ENC you your-buy-want-SUBORD-ACC blanket-PL-ACC  
INT

'is it true that you want to buy blankets?'

(537) qáy-ʃu ?óm ?ayáli-q mičá? pu-?á·w?-qala  
not-ENC you know-PRES where his-be-SUBORD  
INT

'do you know where he is?'

However, many of Sparkman's own examples speak against this claim, e.g.

(538) nó·-n ?ayáli-q hiš ?u-sá·msa-vò  
I-ENC know-PRES what your-buy-SUBORD  
ACC REM

'I know what you bought' (cf. 533 above)

Furthermore, when I checked Sparkman's sentences with my Pauma informant, he spontaneously offered both the declined and the undeclined verbal form in the same sentence as being identical in meaning and acceptability. Thus in 537 pu-?á·w?-qala-y is just as good as pu-?á·w?-qala. We can therefore abide by the analysis I suggested in 5.3.1.2.1, i.e. that the inflection of the verbal nominal is optional. Nevertheless, we must not altogether rule out the possibility that there may be some contexts where constraints are in operation.

One of the most interesting features in indirect questions



is the question word itself. It will be remembered that in direct questions there is a surprising ambiguity in Luiseño since all the question words can also be used as indeterminate pronouns or adverbs. Hence there is no difference in surface structure between 'who is coming?' and 'is somebody coming?'. Expectedly this ambiguity reappears in indirect speech. Thus 533-5 and 538 all have alternative translations:

(533a) 'I think she forgot that she had said something'

(534a) 'that woman knows that Juan is going to leave some time'

(535a) 'he says he knows that somebody is cutting the wood'

(538a) 'I know that you bought something'

Notice, however, that now the ambiguity is between an indirect statement (containing an indeterminate pronoun or adverb) and an indirect question (containing a question word), whereas in 4.4.4.4 the ambiguity was between two types of question. In that section I was able to keep the two types of sentence apart by positing an 'or not' disjunction in the case of the question with the indeterminate pronoun or adverb and none in the case of the question with the question word. For the two constructions we are now considering this solution is ruled out by the fact that no 'or not' disjunction is possible with either of them. (As we shall see in the next subsection, indirect questions with an 'or not' disjunction are always introduced by té.) That a statement and a question can become confused is a much more serious problem than that I discussed in 4.4.4.4, since here I do not have the possibility of positing different higher verbs to disambiguate them. Of course,



'that woman says that somebody knows who is cutting wood'

This does not appear to be a necessary differentiation, however.

My Pauma informant quite readily gave similar sentences where both the indeterminate and the question word are found in 'pu+V+qala' constructions, e.g.

(540) nó·-n ?ayáli-q háx kulá·wut pu-pávi-qala-y  
I-ENC know-PRES some wood his-chop-SUBORD-ACC  
-one

pi qáy nó· ?ayáli-q háx pu-mí·?-qala-y  
but not I know-PRES who his-be-SUBORD-ACC

'I know somebody is chopping wood, but I don't know  
who (it, he, is)'

#### 5.3.3.2 With té·

The final type of indirect question I wish to deal with is the kind which corresponds to a direct question with 'or not' disjunction. Indirect questions of this sort are always introduced by té· (for other uses of this particle see 4.4.10) and usually the verb in the embedded S is non-finite. Again the three constructions 'pu+V+qala', 'pu+V+vo' and pu+V+pi' are used when the 'original words' of the question were PRES, REM or FUT respectively.

(541) néy-up tuvyúñi-q (OR: tóvyañ-q) té· pu-pú·k-i  
me-ENC ask-PRES ask-PRES door-ACC  
ACC  
nu-hédi-viča-qala  
my-open-want-SUBORD  
Cotemp.

'he has asked me whether I want to open the door'

- (542) qáy-na nó· ?ayáli-q té· pu-pé·t pu-?yá·li-vi  
not-ENC I know-PRES his-younger his-mend-SUBORD  
brother REM  
ACC

'I don't know whether his brother mended it'

- (543) pó·?-pil tuvyún-ax té· nó· pu-?é·š nu-htí?ax-pi  
he-ENC ask-REM I with him my-go-SUBORD  
REM FUT

mán té· qáy  
or not

'he asked whether I would go with him or not'

Alongside these embedded sentences with non-finite verbs there are occasionally some with finite verb forms. All the examples I have of this variety contain 'higher verb' suffixes of the kind I described in 4.5.4, viz. -viča- 'want' and -vuta- 'can', e.g.

- (544) qáy-na nó· ?ayáli-q té· pu-pé·t pu-pú·k-i ?éxŋi  
not-ENC I know-PRES his-ygr door-ACC tomor.  
brother

?ayá·li-viča-q  
mend-want-PRES

'I don't know whether his brother wants to mend the door tomorrow' (cf. 542)

- (545) nó·-nupu x<sup>w</sup>á·n-i tuvyúnŋi-n té· pu-pé·t ?éxŋi  
I-ENC Juan-ACC ask-FUT his-ygr tomorrow  
FUT brother  
pu-pú·k-i pu-?yá·li-vuta-q (OR: pu-?yá·li-vuta-qala)  
door-ACC his-mend-can-PRES his-mend-can-SUBORD

'I'll ask Juan if his brother can fix the door tomorrow'

I was unfortunately unable to check whether finite verb forms can occur after té elsewhere in embedded questions. I did, however, collect one example of a sentence where the original question contained a HYP condition. Here none of the three subordinating verb forms was used; instead, the HYP form was retained and the particle té was followed by either the declarative or the interrogative HYP enclitic, apparently with no change of meaning:

(546) *tuvyúni póy té·-xuku (OR: té·-xukun) sá·msa-Ø*  
 ask him ENC ENC buy-HYP  
 IMP ACC HYP HYP  
 DECLAR. INT

*pu-sínavu-ki ?ahúyaxi pu-mí·?-qala*  
 his-money-ALIEN enough its-be-SUBORD

'ask him whether he would buy it if he had enough money!'  
 (lit. = his money being enough, if his money were enough)

As 542 suggests, we can posit a disjunction in the underlying structure of all embedded questions of this type and make the generation of té dependent on the presence of this disjunction. In 4.4.10 I proposed that té could be inserted transformationally after an abstract or an overt verb of asking. If we can be content with the analysis I offered above whereby verbs such as 'know, forget, remember, etc.' can carry a feature [+ASK], then this derivation of té will still hold. If not, we can say that the 'or not' disjunction itself implies a question, or, put another way, is consonant only with an interrogative interpretation, since we do not find disjunctions of this kind after declarative verbs. There are no sentences \*the knew that his brother

could fix it or not' or \*'he remembered that I would go with him or not'. We might then suggest that when a disjunction of this kind appears in an underlying structure it is automatically interpreted as an indirect question. The matrix verb which dominates it must be marked with a feature in the lexicon subcategorizing it as capable of taking this construction. The transformation introducing the particle té- and the appropriate verb forms can then be given a structural description which contains an embedded 'or not' disjunction as the complement of a verb carrying this feature, and whenever this structural description is satisfied, té- will be inserted at the beginning of each disjunct and the verb form will be given its appropriate subordinating suffix. In view of the uncertainty about the conditions determining the use of finite and non-finite verbs in disjunctive embedded questions, I shall not attempt to formulate this transformation.

## 6. Conclusion

In the final sections of this study, which were devoted to an examination of some of the most characteristic Luiseño complex sentence types, there has of necessity been little discussion of the performative/higher verb analysis, since the objects of my investigation were clauses dependent on verbs that are overt in surface structure. It was for this reason that I attempted an appraisal of the performative analysis at the end of my discussion of simplex sentences. However, now that the reader has become acquainted with some of the indirect clauses that correspond to direct statements, questions and commands, the main weakness of the performative analysis in a description of Luiseño will have become apparent. There is very little connection between the structures occurring in 'direct' speech as the complements of abstract performative verbs and those occurring in indirect speech as the complements of their overt counterparts. If we are to uphold this analysis, there is no way to avoid ascribing to the abstract performative verbs features and behaviour that are quite different from those of the corresponding overt verbs in surface structure. Against this we can set the quite obvious need for the higher verb analysis to account for the fact that Luiseño uses a whole battery of verbal suffixes to express such notions as 'want', 'can', 'cause', 'go', 'come', etc. (see 4.3.8). If higher verbs have to be postulated in this part of the grammar, it is logical and economical to make use of them elsewhere.

In conclusion I should like to repeat what I said in the

introduction. The primary object of this study has been to set out systematically the data I have collected on the principal Luiseño sentence types. The description of these within the performative/higher verb analysis is secondary and should be considered as an experiment to see how far this approach can be applied to an Amerindian language. It has necessarily been somewhat defective and incomplete, as I have had only a limited corpus at my disposal and no opportunity to seek further information from my informants since my return to Europe.



## NOTES

1. (p.13) Tac makes no reference to the -muk tense at all. This is a little surprising, but no doubt due to the fact that he tries to press Luiseño grammar into a Latin mould. There is also no mention of the -muk tense in Hyde; either it is not used at Rincón or Langacker and his students did not collect it. Malécot apparently elicited it from, or had it corroborated by, the sister of my LaJolla informant, but he gives no information about its frequency in her speech.
2. (p.20) There seem to be dialect differences with regard to the quality of the final vowel in this class of verbs: all the verbs which Sparkman (UC Berkeley Archives), Kroeber/Grace and Bright (1968) write with final -u are spoken with final -a at LaJolla (Malécot records only final -a, thus agreeing with my own findings). On the other hand, my Pauma informant has -a everywhere except in FUT (e.g. ki·č̣u-n, kúŋlu-n) and REM HAB (e.g. ki·č̣u-k, kúŋlu-k). Hyde apparently pronounces -u everywhere.
3. (p.23) There seems to be a clear connection between RELative -qat and P PR -qat, although I am at present unable to generalize the two. Examples of the use of this relative, which refers to both PRES and P PR time, can be found in 5.2.3 and 5.2.3.1.
4. (p.31) All the enclitic forms containing il may also take the final vowel -a: thus -nila, -pila, -č̣ila/-č̣amila, -mila. Sparkman (as quoted in Kroeber/Grace: 63) calls these forms indefinite and

gives as an example:

hiš-nil-a? nó. sá·msalut món-qat  
sth-ENC I to buy come-P PR  
ACC

'there was something I came to buy'  
(said when one cannot remember what it was)

Unfortunately I have insufficient data to corroborate this claim. I collected only one of these forms from my LaJolla informant and he felt no difference between the longer and the shorter form:

čá·m-čil(a) waxá·m wukó·?-ya  
we-ENC yest. arrive-REM

'we came yesterday'

5. (p.42) The reader is referred to 4.2.1.4 (3), where I remarked on the quality of the vowel in -pu and -mu when word-final. The same is also true of the PST RELATIVIZER. With the accusative suffix the LaJolla form is -vi, but in the Pauma dialect the combination is clearly -voy, not -vuy. This is further evidence that there is some degree of stress present. To recall this to the reader's mind I shall transcribe the PST RELATIVIZER as -vò throughout this study.

6. (p.50) It will be observed that the LaJolla first person plural forms for all the enclitics containing interrogative -gu have i in the environment š\_\_\_\_\_š. I have just suggested that backward assimilation to g accounts for the i in the singular alternative form -siku. This explanation is ruled out, of course, for the LJ -šiš- forms. A possible explanation is that forward assimilation

is stronger in this case and that the vowel u is raised to i before the palatal š. This is a very general rule in the LJ dialect: all nominal/adjectival forms which in Rincón and Pauma have differentiated vowels before the absolutive suffix -š have uniformly i in LJ, e.g.

R/P: kunóknu-š	LJ: kunókni-š	'green'
hasáhsa-š	hasáhsi-š	'threadbare'
šuwógwu-š	šuwóšwi-š	'frightening, dangerous'
tavúlvu-š	tavúšvi-š	'long, tall'

I have however no explanation for this change in direction of assimilation.

7. (p.63) Note that the other two meanings of -kun are absent when the element -šú- is present in this enclitic, i.e. 107 does not mean:

\*Do I say the woman is tired?

\*Does the woman say she is tired?

The first of these is clearly anomalous, since under normal circumstances I would not ask whether I myself had made a report about the woman. However, I have no explanation for why the second meaning is not possible in Luiseño.

8. (p.88) In another question pattern (which seems to suggest more urgency) all the syllables before the final fall on the last stressed syllable are spoken on high pitch. The characteristically greater pitch change for questions is thus maintained.

9. (p.89) For an explanation of the variant forms of -šú here and in the following sections, see 4.2.2.1.2 and Davis (forthcoming).

10. (p.90) I have one other example in my data of a disjunctive question where there are different verbs in each disjunct:

pó·?-su tak<sup>w</sup>áya-q mán pitówili hak<sup>w</sup>ís-q  
 he-ENC be dead-PRES or still breathe-PRES  
 INT

'is he dead or still breathing?'

11. (p.99) PRES should more accurately be represented by a zero morpheme, i.e. čóri-ma-Ø, but as I am trying to keep my examples in an 'orthographic' script that is close to the actual pronunciation, I shall write zero morphemes only where there is risk of confusion.

12. (p.101) It may very well be that I failed to hear the glottal stop from my Pauma informant, and Langacker and his students from Mrs. Hyde. In allegro speech the glottal stop is frequently omitted.

13. (p.108) Note the two forms of the ablative suffix in the same sentence. Hyde uses only -ŋay and my LaJolla informant only -ŋi. My Pauma informant used either indiscriminately but -ŋay was the more frequent form. That y is treated as a consonant in Luiseño phonology is shown by the non-reduction of -su after -ŋay and the reduction after -ŋi. From the Pauma informant the following variants were collected:

mičá·-ŋay-su	kí·-ŋay	pó·?	mahán-ax
mičá·-ŋi-s	kí·-ŋi	"	"
which-ABL-ENC	house-ABL	he	bring-REM
INT			

'which house did he bring it from?'

14. (p.108) This is one of the few instances where the Pauma informant used the non-reduced form of the enclitic after a vowel (see 4.2.2.1.2).

15. (p.109) One of the words for 'boy' shows a dialect difference. LJ and R: hiqé·mal, P: hiqé?mal.

16. (p.113) Note that when the sentence is not a question the indefinite can also be fronted (in accordance with one of the general scrambling rules of the language).

17. (p.136) It is interesting to note that in the two classes of verb that Tac treats, viz. those with thematic -i- and those with thematic -?ax-, he writes the imperative thus (with his Spanish spelling):

- |     |     |                |                        |
|-----|-----|----------------|------------------------|
| (a) | sg. | ayáli om       | (= ?ayáli ?óm 'know!') |
|     | pl. | ayáliyam       | (= ?ayáliyam " )       |
| (b) | sg. | uocalaj        | (= wukálox 'walk!')    |
|     | pl. | uocalajom omom | (= wukáloxum ?umóm " ) |

The presence and absence of the pronoun being reversed in each class suggests that Tac too felt little or no difference between commands with the pronoun and without.

18. (p.136) This verb is irregular. The underlying form of the root must be postulated as né·m, and a unique rule is needed to delete the final m whenever any suffix is added.

19. (p.141) For an explanation of -qi-i-, see 4.3.8.6. In 4.1.3.1 (2) I posited -max as the underlying form of the HAB suffix because of the shape of the FUT ending. We should therefore

have expected -max in the command here. That the form -ma occurs may be considered as additional support for the suggestion made in 4.1.3.1 (2) that two underlying forms, namely -ma and -max may need to be posited for this suffix. In the case of the command, however, they are not optional variants.

20. (p.142) See 4.1.2 above and cf. 15.

21. (p.152) I have recorded no plural command with this suffix, and none is given in Kroeber/Grace. The latter cite one example of a command with -i(m) attached directly to the verb stem: sá:msa-ym ?óm 'buy and take it with you!' (p.143). This was, however, rejected by Malécot's informant. In my own data the imperative of -i(m) occurs only in combination with -ni as in 349.

22. (p.160) For a phonological explanation of the suffix, see Note 5 above.

23. (p.161) For the phonetic value of -mu and -pu in final position, see 4.2.1.1.4 (3).

24. (p.163) Hyde contains no information on exclamatory expressions with lók.

25. (p.167) The semantics of haní(?)ku are obscure. The root haní? occurs in haní?-na 'I'm going now' and in three forms haní?, haní?-ča, haní?-ku all meaning 'let's go'. The last of these three is usually pronounced haníku by my LaJolla informant, while my Pauma informant has both haní?-ku and haní?-k<sup>w</sup>a. In this latter form it was rendered into English as 'O.K.' in reply to the statement: 'I'm going to give you some money.' It also appears in

haní?ku ?á·w?ma 'goodbye', where the second word is the imperative CONTINUOUS form of the verb ?á·w?- 'to be, sit (of one person)'. I have been unable to establish any connection between these meanings and that of the haní(?)ku in 336-8, though the latter is undoubtedly related to the conditional haní?-xupu (see 5.1.2.1 below).

26. (p.181) tó·wili/tó·vili is an unanalysable morpheme, though the first syllable may be identical with tó·, which introduces the protasis of one type of conditional sentence (see 5.1.2.1).

27. (p.186) It should be noted that the -qanik suffix here is strictly speaking ungrammatical, since the subject of the main clause is pélaxiś, a nominalized form of the verb stem pélax- 'dance'. This is another case like 358 where the semantic (or logical) subject does not coincide with the grammatical subject. That both types of agreement are possible is shown by the following variants of 361 collected at a later period from the same informant:

(a) nó· kihá·t mí·?-qanik nu-pélax nu-má?max mí·x-uk  
 I little be-SUBORD my-dance my-like be-REM HAB

(b) nó· kihá·t nu-mí·?-qala nu-pélax nu-má?max mí·x-uk  
 my-be-SUBORD

both = 'when I was young, I used to like dancing'  
 (i.e. ... my liking of dancing was)

28. (p.187) In some sentences the reason may be made explicit by the use of grammatical case, e.g.

mariya-kun	puyá·maŋi	náw?kiš	má?max-ma	pi	<u>sínaval</u>
Maria-ENC	always	dress	want-PRES	but	money
REP			HAB		

<u>pumá·ŋi</u>	pu-yá·wa-qala	qáy	pu-sá·msa-vutax-ma
it	its-be absent-SUBORD	not	her-buy-can-PRES
ABL			HAB

'Maria has always wanted a dress but because she has no money she cannot buy one'

N.B. This is one of the very rare cases where an inanimate noun is not given a case ending of its own but is followed by an inflected form of pó·?.

29. (p.188) Note that té· here and in the two sentences that follow has a final glottal stop. Since the enclitic -up always loses its u after another vowel (cf. ?iví-p) but does not do so here, this suggests that the underlying form of té· is really té·?. However, as I never heard a final glottal stop in any other contexts that this morpheme occurs in, I have for convenience always written it without the glottal stop except in these three sentences.

30. (p.189) For an explanation of the stress on pi, see Note 33 below.

31. (p.189) Usually in Luiseño the verb 'to be' is omitted only in the present tense. In 369 the enclitic shows that the form mí·x-ma·n 'will be' has been omitted. It therefore seems likely that the verb mí·?-/mí·x- 'be' can be deleted wherever its tense is predictable.

32. (p.195) In some NON-HYP conditional sentences when the pro-



tasis precedes the apodosis, the latter is not introduced by pi, pá? but by mán té. 'maybe'. Hyde (160) equates them with those conditional sentences in which the protasis is introduced by té. and the apodosis by pi (5.1.1.3). My own data are very sparse here, but they suggest that there is a semantic difference between these two types. Compare the following:

(a) té·?-up ?óm póy ?ári-n pi wunál čá·qa·n  
                   you him kick-FUT he cry-FUT  
                                   ACC

'if you kick him he will cry'

(b) ?óm póy ?ári-n mán té. wunál čá·qa·n  
                                   maybe

'if you kick him he may cry'

If the translations are accurate, conditional sentences like (b) constitute a different structure from those I have examined so far and cannot be generated by the transformations propounded in this subsection.

33. (p.197) The morpheme pi never carries stress except where enclitics are attached to it as in HYP or NON-HYP conditions. When it is used to introduce a simple coordinate clause, it takes no enclitics and is always short. When stressed in the Pauma dialect, it always seems to have a long vowel (as in 379). In La Jolla I recorded it as both short and long when accompanied by 'remote' future enclitics (see 22), e.g.

(a) x<sup>w</sup>á·n ?éxŋi pá·l-ik hatí?ax-lut pí-nuku pu-?é·š  
           Juan tomor. Pala-DAT go-going to with him

hatí?a·n

go-FUT

'Juan is going to Pala tomorrow, so I'll go with him'

where pi-nuku is phonetically [pínnuku].

(b) nó·-n ?éxqi pá·l-ik hatí?ax-lut pí·-puku John nu-?é·š  
I-ENC with me

hatí?a·n

'I'm going to Pala tomorrow, so John will go with me'

(c) nó·-n néma-y-lut pí?-upku ?ivá? néy k<sup>w</sup>á·ti-n  
I-ENC return-going to here me wait-FUT  
ACC

'I'm going to come back, so you wait for me here!'

Note the final glottal stop in (c). This occurs only before the second person enclitic -up(ku). In other contexts my informant was careful to correct me when I pronounced a final glottal stop after pi. Pauma has a long vowel here no matter what the person of the attached enclitic.

34. (p.200) Clearly related to this type of conditional sentences is another construction which translates obligation or duty, and resembles structurally the HYP apodosis:

(a) čá·m-xuku pélax-∅ 'we should {dance }'  
we dance-HYP {have danced}'

(b) čá·m-xuku pélax-ma-∅ 'we should {be } dancing'  
{have been}'

Here again, in the speech of both my informants, present or past time reference must be decided from the context. Hyde (159)

claims that past reference is indicated by the optional use of the longer form of the HYP enclitic with -ku (see 4.2.1.4 (8)) and by the addition of -ma to the verb root, as in (b) above. My Pauma informant, who uses the same HYP paradigm as Hyde, could find no difference in time reference between the longer and the shorter forms of the enclitic. Furthermore, in both Pauma and LaJolla the verbal suffix -ma is used (1) automatically with verbs denoting mental or emotional attitudes (e.g. 395), and (2) to denote continuous action with other verbs, cf. (a) and (b) above, and in both cases the time reference is determined by the context.

It should be added that the usual way of expressing obligation and duty is by means of the verb ló·vi- 'be good, right', where present and past time reference can be explicitly marked by the PRES and REM CONT suffixes respectively:

(c) qáy ló·vi-q ?u-hú·kapi-tal ?u-péni-pi póy  
 not PRES your-pipe-INSTR your-throw-SUBORD him  
 FUT ACC

'you shouldn't throw your pipe at him'

(= for you to throw your pipe at him is not right)

(d) ló·vi-quǵ pu-pláči-pi pu-wá·yax-i kihá·t  
 REM his-learn-SUBORD his-swim-ACC little  
 CONT FUT

mí·?-qanik

be-SUBORD

'he should have learnt to swim when he was little'

(= for him to learn to swim when he was little was right)

35. (p.201) Notice that the enclitics are used with the interrogative substitute té· 'I wonder' in conditional sentences:

x <sup>w</sup> á·n-xupu	néy	tí·wi-∅	pá?-xupku	té·	néyk	sinaival
Juan-ENC	me	see-HYP	ENC		me	money
HYP	ACC		HYP		DAT	

?ó·vi-∅

give-HYP

'if Juan had seen me, would he have given me the money  
(I wonder)?'

36. (p.209) The declension of deictic pó·? (inflected only for nominative and accusative, singular and plural) which I obtained from my informants corroborates the paradigm given by Hyde (171). Kroeber/Grace (102) seem not to have heard the animate and inanimate accusatives accurately, as they give no indication of vowel length and final y. My data also agree with Hyde (32, 94) on the declension of the pronoun pó·?. For comparison the two morphemes are declined side by side in the following table:

		pronoun pó·?	deictic pó·?
SG	NOM	pó·?	pó·?
	ACC, Animate	póy	puné·yi
	Inanimate	usually ∅, rarely póy	punéy
PL	NOM	pumóm	pumóm
	ACC, Animate	pumó·mi	puné·mi
	Inanimate	usually ∅, rarely pumó·mi	

The inanimate plurals are rare (i.e. both pumó·mi and puné·mi) since inanimate nominals are not usually declined for plural, the singular being used instead, e.g. pu-pú·č-i 364, k<sup>w</sup>i·la 420, mansá·na 427, but cf. lí·vri-m 395 and yúm?piš-m-i 433.

37. (p.210) The discrepancies in number agreement which we see here and shall see later in subsequent sections are not so surprising as they may at first sight appear. In the Berkeley Archives papers, Sparkman noted that the Luiseño NP need be marked only once for plurality irrespective of the number of determiners, adjectives, etc. which may accompany the noun. My own data corroborate this observation, but suggest that the speaker may mark for plurality more than once if he wishes (see also 268 and 269). It is noticeable that my LaJolla informant usually marks every element in the NP, whereas my Pauma informant contents himself with a smaller number of markings. I am not sure whether this reflects a dialectal or an idiolectal difference between these two speakers.

Perhaps I may be permitted here to draw the reader's attention to the fact that in view of the limited number of my informants the terms 'dialect' and 'dialectal' throughout this study may sometimes be being used to refer also to what may be 'idiolect' and 'idiolectal'. The reader will have observed, however, that wherever possible I have sought support for my data from Tac, Sparkman, Kroeber/Grace and Hyde, and also pointed out the differences.

38. (p.211) An alternative stem -?ó?nana- is regularly used at LaJolla in these constructions and sometimes at Pauma. I was unable to determine whether this is peculiar to relative constructions or whether it can be used elsewhere with T/A suffixes just as ?ó?na- can.

39. (p.211) The underlying form for this word is pu+?uyó·ta+i, with syncope of the first root syllable of the verb and the reduction of unstressed V+i finally to i, a characteristic of the LaJolla dialect, cf. Pauma, Rincón: -ká·may 'son', LaJolla: -ká·mi; P,R: puyá·magay 'always', LJ: puyá·mañi; P: púypuy 'road-runner', LJ: púypi. This rule also accounts for the reduction of i+i# to i, as in 414 pu·nóli <pu·nóli-i. Here, however, the rule applies also in the Pauma dialect. Hyde, on the other hand, writes forms of this kind with -iy.

40. (p.212) 'pu+V' is not restricted to relative constructions. It occurs in a variety of other constructions of which the following are a fair sample:

(a) Predication 'a good V-er'

(1) wunál-up nawítmal pilék mansá·na pu·čé·vax  
 that-ENC girl very apple her-pick

'that girl is a very good apple picker'

(2) nó· kihá·t mí·?-qanik nu·yá? mí·?-quš  
 I little be-SUBORD my-run be-REM CONT

'when I was young, I was a very fast runner'

Note that even without the INTENSIFIER piléč, the 'action' of the verb is always intensified in this use of 'pu+V'.

(b) Gerund (?)

nu·pélač-up puló·v 'my dancing is good'  
 my-dance-ENC good

(c) Complementation

(1) nó·-n hamó·ya-q pu·pú·k-i nu·hédi  
 I-ENC be ashamed-PRES door-ACC my-open

(2) nó·-n piláči-q nu-wá·yax-i  
I-ENC learn-PRES my-swim-ACC

'I'm learning to swim'

(d) 'come from V-ing'

nó·-n muná· nu-dé·v-i nu-néči-ŋi  
I-ENC come my-debt-ACC my-pay-ABL  
PRES

'I'm coming from paying my debt, I have just paid my debt'

(e) Reason

(1) qáy nó· pá·?i-viča-quš pu-kóšax-ŋi  
not I drink-want-REM its-be sweet-ABL  
CONT

'I didn't want to drink it because it was (too)  
sweet'

(2) ?ó·nu-p néy néči-ma nu-ná·wi-ŋi lí·vri-m-i  
he-ENC me pay-PRES my-write-ABL book-PL-ACC  
ACC HAB

'he pays me because I write, for writing, books'

(f) 'have already V-ed'

(1) ?u-kí· pu-ŋé·-qala pu-vintá·na-ki  
your-house his-leave-SUBORD his-window-ALIEN  
ACC

nu-čipi mí·?-quš  
my-break be-REM CONT

'when he left your house, I had already broken his  
window'

(2) ?u-šŋáki nu-tí·wi mí·?-qa  
your-wife my-see be-PRES  
ACC

'I've already seen your wife'

41. (p.215) See Note 39 for an explanation of the LaJolla ending. Note also that máti·- is a combination of the verbal stem máti- 'throw away' with the suffix -i(m) (see 4.3.8.6), which usually refers to movement from one place to another but sometimes indicates that the action is done accidentally, e.g.

(a) nu-máy-na wóqi·-q (< wóqi-i-q)  
 my-hand-ENC cut-PRES  
 ACC

'I've just cut my hand (accidentally)

(b) pu-tá·x-kun páti·m (< páti-im)  
 his-self-ENC shoot-REM  
 REP

'they say he shot himself by accident'

cf. pí·-kun ?axána pó·? pu-tá·x pát-ax  
 and-ENC also he his-self shoot-REM  
 REP

'(he shot his wife) and he shot himself too'

42. (p.219) Kroeber/Grace say of this form:

"According to Sparkman, the 'dative' case -kwán itself adds final objective -i to express action or motion.' (99)

They themselves give no other explanation. I think Sparkman is wrong here. My data clearly show that -k<sup>w</sup>a·n is a predicate form, i.e. used only as the predicate of verbs of 'being'. In all other syntactic environments -k<sup>w</sup>á·ni is employed.

(a) ?iví-p ná·wa nu-ǰwá·may pu-k<sup>w</sup>á·n  
 this-ENC dress my-daughter for her

'this dress is for my daughter'



(b) siva·da kavá·yi-m čum?-?á·č-um pum?-k<sup>w</sup>á:n mí·?-quš  
 barley horse-PL our-animal-PL for them be-REM  
 CONT

'the barley was for our horses'

(c) šá·mut-up nu-?á?čum pum?-k<sup>w</sup>á·n yá·wa-q  
 hay-ENC my-cattle for them be absent-PRES

'there is no hay for my cattle'

Compare:

(d) ?ayáni ?iví sínaval pi ?u-k<sup>w</sup>á·ni híš sá·msa  
 take this money and for you sth buy  
 ACC

'take this money and buy yourself something'

(e) nu-šnáki ná·wa-y ló?xa-q nu-šwá·may pu-k<sup>w</sup>á·ni  
 my-wife dress-ACC make-PRES my-daughter for her

'my wife is making a dress for my daughter'

(f) wunál-up šuná:l-i tuló·wi-q pu-šnáki pu-k<sup>w</sup>á·ni  
 he-ENC woman-ACC find-PRES his-wife for her

'he has found a woman for his wife (i.e. to be his wife)'

43. (p.223) This is another 'pu+V' form, here from piláci- 'to learn'. It differs from the construction illustrated in 403-4 in that what is there the subject of 'pu+V' (e.g. in 404 čó·?un ?iví is nominative) is here the object (in 430 čó·?un híš is accusative). This means, of course, that we cannot translate 430 as 'everything I know is of my learning from my father', since 'everything' would then have to be nominative, i.e. čó·?un hí·ča. The type of 'pu+V' seen in 430 is used in Luiseño to express an English present perfect and replaces PRES under conditions which I have been unable to isolate. For further examples, see Note 40(f).

44. (p.226) In the LaJolla dialect the plural of  $ya?á\check{s}$  'man' is always  $yá\cdot yičum$ ; the form used by my Pauma informant has no long vowel, and in fact even the first  $i$  may be elided to produce  $yá\check{c}um$ . Hyde (230) writes  $ya?aychum$  (=  $ya?áy\check{c}um$ ), a form which was recognized by my Pauma informant but not used by him.

45. (p.227) The suffix -gal attached to a verb stem is used to render the English -ing complement after verbs of perception ('see, hear, smell, etc.'): 'I heard him talking', 'I saw him running', 'I smelt it burning', etc. An alternative in all these cases, though less preferable, is 'pu+V+qala' (see also Kroeber/Grace: 146-7).

46. (p.229) For an explanation of the use of this accent, see Note 5.

47. (p.231)  $\check{c}ipómkat/cupómkat$  is the singular form for 'liar'. In the LaJolla dialect it has a regular plural with -um. At Pauma and Rincón it has an irregular plural with reduplication of the first CV of the root, in addition to the suffix -um. Note the different vowel in the first syllable. The older form is probably with u; the fronting to i is no doubt due to assimilation to the  $\check{c}$  and  $\check{s}$  on either side of it. These two consonants are rather more palatal in Luiseño than in English (see also Note 6).

48. (p.231) For the use of the accent see Note 5. The LaJolla accusative singular form is yet another example of that dialect's rule:

$V \longrightarrow \emptyset / \text{_____} i \#$  (see Note 39)



51. (p.260) For the discrepancy between the number of the repetitive enclitic and that of the T/A suffix after -vuta, see 4.3.8.3.

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