A Sketch of

Ventureño Chumash

by Richard Applegate, Ph.D.

A rough-draft manuscript

1973
# A Sketch of Ventureño Chumash

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Introductory Note — February 1999

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

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

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

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

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

Mini phonetic key:

c = ts  x = raspy H and Spanish j as in baja
č = ch  q = pronounced further back in the throat
š = sh  than English k, but not like "quick"

a = father, pot  o = all, cone
e = let, late  u = put, shoot
i = pit, peat  ñ = a vowel halfway between i (English "ee") and u (English "oo")

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

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

Richard Applegate, Ph.D.
Introduction

V is the Chumash language spoken around the Mission San Buenaventura, which was founded in the southernmost of the five missions founded established in Chumash territory; founded it was founded in 1782. The territory extended from along the coast from humaliwo, now Malibu, in the south, to Jukij, El Rincon, in the north. Island, the V area included the north considerably. The V speech area extended/inland from these points; the language of kaštik, now Castaic Lake near the Grapevine Pass, was indistinguishably dialectally different from the coast dialect language spoken around the mission. The examples of dialect clearly a form of V. The speech of this area was not uniform, of course; distinct dialects include the Malibu dialect, the coast dialect spoken around the mission, the Ojai dialect, and the Castaic dialect, also known as Alliklik. Naturally, the coast dialect is best known, and this sketch presents the coast dialect.

Among the other Chumash languages, V shares many features with the island speech, but it is most closely related to the two other central langs, Z and I. In vocabulary and structure, Z and I are closer to one another than either is to V.
is now extinct, and I have relied almost exclusively on the extensive notes made by JPH between 1913 and 1922. Much of H's work seems to have been done with F L, an informant fluent in both V and Cr, and extremely knowledgeable in ethnographic matters. Another informant, Jose Juan Li Olivas, who spoke both the coast and Castaic dialect. Since H seldom identified his informants, it is quite possible that the notes which I used on compiling this sketch reflect an admixture of Cr and Castaic forms.

The present description of V was intended purely as a note rather than an exhaustive description; I used no more than a fraction of the V material available. Accordingly, the description suffers from certain in many respects I claim to have discovered all of the features which make V unique.

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

In compensation for the relatively small corpus I used, I began the study of V soon after finishing a lengthy dissertation on I Chumash, and this present sketch was written after examining some of MSB's B texts.

Despite many differences, these languages often agree in the most intimate grammatical details.
So, I have relied heavily on the intuition gained through a much more extensive exposure to Ineseno and to H's style. I knew in advance what to look for, so I was forearmed in the struggle to make some sense of analysis of problem areas like verb morphology and relativization.
A Note on Format

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


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

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

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

/k-qil-sin si-qunup + R/ kquis?wu siqunqunup 'I see the children'

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

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


If an example is given in a context where the meaning of one form is understood; in the discussion of the particle lo? 'over
there,' the word mà order is obvious in

/loʔ al-uti-kuy-ʔ/ loʔ ʔalutikuy 'face over there!'

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

/laʔ-či heʔ-si-muwu ka-c-nal + R/ laʔči heʔsimuwu kašinalnaʔal

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

it is going')

In the citation of ñm single morphemes, a hyphen marks both
inalienably possessed nouns (e.g. -ʔelw 'tongue') and bound
verb stems (e.g. -tun 'to be two, involve two'), neither of which
occur without some prefix.

As for/glosses of individual morphemes within words, I have
omitted these partly inxhax for the sake of brevity, and partly
the literal translation of many morpheme strings would be either
hopelessly obscure or painfully technical. For example, it is
easier ñmxx simply to tr gloss /ka-c-qil-sîn/ kasqisî as

'he sees it' than as 'predicative - 3rd singular - by vision -
does ably.' Many combinations of prefix and stem, such as

plus qil- 'by vision' xnxnxm -sîn 'to do ably' for 'to see', tend
to have quite idiomatic semantic specializations.
Phonemes

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

then copy page 8 - 9 of thesis

Comments on Articulatory Phonetics

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

Phon

This section presents V's phonemic inventory, comments on morphophonemic phonetics, alternations not governed by rule, and a roughly ordered set of phonological rules.

The treatment of the the differences in each of these modes of embedding.
Glottalization

Glottalization is one of the most pervasive features of V phonology, and also one of the most problematic. Harringtonxx Phonologically, glottalization is a co-articulation which is possible with every consonant (except of course /ʔ/ and /h/), but its phonetic realization as transcribed by Harringtonxx causes usually many problems. JPH wrote glottalization as a sequence of glottal stop plus consonant, or consonant plus glottal stop, early although at one/stage of his transcription he used an 'a' over the consonant. But xx clusters of glottal stop plus consonant are also possible, and it is often difficult to determine whether a given sequence is a cluster or a unit phoneme. For example, /k/ xx occurs in aqkap 'to pick with tongs,' transcribed k /'my house', [aqk?ap] by JPH, but in /k-?a p/, transcribed [k?ap], is this such same sequence /k/ or /k?/ or is a contrast possible here? The evidence suggesting that does not support a unit phoneme analysis...xx

In Ineseno, such sequences clearly coalesce as single segments, as attested by reduplications such as fir I. /k-?ap + R/ kapkap 'my houses,' but V x k?ap?ap x is not parallel.
The paper discusses the phenomenon of glottalization in various languages, particularly in vowel-final position, where glottalization seems to be more problematic in V. Except for /w/ and /h/, every consonant in V has a glottalized version, but the exact phonetic realization of glottalization seems to be more problematic in V than in the other central languages.

In word-final position, glottalization is realized as a glottal structure preceding the articulation of the consonant, which JPH always wrote as a preceding glottal stop.

- Helek 'packbasket' [hele:k]?
- Paket [pake?et] 'one'
- Aqway [aqwa?ay] 'to hit' [the mark]
- Piš [pi?iš] 'cold acorn mush'

When these glottalized segments occur medially, the glottalization of stops and spirants is realized as a glottal structure following the articulation of the C, as in which JPH transcribed as a following glottal stop.

- Paketinjy [paket?injy] 'once more'
- Ušak [uš?ak] 'to throw out'

In initial position too, stops and aspirants show glottal structure following the consonantal artic, as in kolok [k?olo?k] 'owl sp.'
- Zohoy [zohoy]
- Qom [q?om] 'to be doubled-up'
Medially and finally, the glottalization of sonorants is always realized as a preceding glottal structure.

\[ \text{mamuc} \quad \text{[ma?mu]} \quad \text{'to be hollow'} \]

\[ \text{pon} \quad \text{[po?n]} \quad \text{'tree, wood'} \]

\[ \text{cin} \quad \text{[c?i?n]} \quad \text{'liquid tar'} \]

Evidently sonorants can be frequently wrote \( \text{X} \) as Harrington also/\( \text{X} \) sonorants/glottalized \( \text{X} \) second member of consonant clusters; he used a special arc symbol over sonorants, a symbol identical to

such sonorants, \( \text{X} \). At an earlier stage of his transcription, he once used the arc to symbolize/glottalization of any consonant. Evidently this was not intended to symbolize the glottalization of a stop which happened to be followed by an a sonorant, since for the form he transcribed as \( \text{qwill} \) 'meadow lark,' he said that phonetically it was realized with non-distinctive aspiration of the /\( q \)/ as \( [\text{q\textsuperscript{h}will}] \). Other such post-consonant-glottalized \( \text{X} \) I have settled on \( \text{qwill} \) as a reasonably faithful transcription \( \text{X} \) here. Other such forms include

\[ \text{qoejioqjo} \quad \text{'tadpole'} \quad \text{cf. qlusuy 'tick sp.'} \]

\[ \text{qwe 'plant sp.'} \quad \text{cf. qwe 'toyon'} \]
In addition to the broken vowels which JPH transcribed with a single intervocalic glottal stop, such as ke'ep 'to bathe,' certain forms regularly turn up with two intervocalic glottal stops indicated. This may have been H's device to indicate creaky voice, or it may actually represent two distinct glottal stops. Occasionally he/wrote a triple:

kana'ay 'the first one; at first'

nel-Kalalan which one Kane?e'ë 'near'

Occasionally this process is superimposed over an underlying simple vowel, where it seems to have an intensive force.
wakapi - wakapi?ì?ì 'slowly - very slowly'
mitì - mitì?ì?ì 'a small one - a very small one'
Sporadic Glottalization

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

supey → supey 'ornament'

erek seqen → se?qen 'to remove'

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

qexexaq aquitikhuk → aquitikhuk 'to bump into'

palnikhat → palni?khat 'you bring it'

Sporadic glottalization very often precedes consonant clusters, as in

*ayuwhat → *ayuwhat 'basket sp.'

waqšikusa?as → wa?qšikuša?as 'a painting'

JHP noted that one V informant persisted in saying a?ntap while all others simply gave a?ntap 'cult initiate'.

Sporadic glottalization is not necessarily present in every repetition of a given word. JHP seems to have spent a good deal of time worrying over this. Thus, both supey and supey 'to decorate' are given, as well as suweqen and suweqen 'to entrust to', and kho?qšo & kho?qšo 'my gall.'

cqlimes ~ cqlimes 'slave'

supey ~ supey

kho?qšo ~ kho?qšo

suweqen ~ suweqen
Aspiration

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

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

- pʰatataŋ 'to fall apart'
- kʰisi 'rabbitskin blanket'
- cɨkʰisɨni 'turpentine pine'
- tʰikwi 'tick'

Aspirated spirants /sʰ/ and /zʰ/ are much rarer, but they do occur, with /sʰ/ more common.

wišhap 'yerba santa'

I have analyzed a handful of stems with a final aspirate, because derivative forms in all the central Chumash languages agree in showing a stem-final aspirate. But in isolation or before inflectional suffixes, aspirata is lost.

- /șup/ 'sup
- /xipʰ/ 'rock, stone'
- /xipʰ-ən/ 'to be stoney, to involve stone'
- /əapʰ/ 'ap 'house''
- /əapʰ-iwaʃ/ 'apiwaʃ 'old, abandoned house'
- /əapʰ-ən/ 'aphan 'to build a house'
At one point I was tempted to treat these as unit phonemes, but phonologically they are too implausible.

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

enhes 'to breathe'  alhaŋ 'to talk'

?away 'moon'  ?amhan 'to stalk'

It is possible that these medial clusters might have arisen through the loss of some medial vowel. Bit of evidence for this come from place names. Modern Matilâja was matilaha in the coast dialect of V, and matilha in the Matilâja dialect. Mount 'Pinos, deep in the interior, was 'iwhinmu in V and 'iwhinmu in I.

In reduplication, (q.v. ___), the usualy CVC canon is violated by the disappearance of /h/ rather than the sonorant in /k-enhes + R/ kenhesnes, not *kenhes 'I am panting'
There is a degree of non-distinctive aspiration in certain environments. Word-finally, stops may be aspirated, but this seems to be a matter of free variation.

a) Before nasals, stops are usually aspirated, as in kʰnowo [kʰnowo] 'I stand'
   xámôk [xámôk] 'load carried on the back'
   apnâp [apnâp] 'to make coiled basketry'
   sîlî [sîlî] in word-initial position before a following stop.
   x ktap [kʰtp] 'I enter'
   pkumli [pʰkumli] 'you arrive there'

Aspiration may also precede what look like glottalized sonorants as second members of consonant clusters, as in qʰwili [qʰwili] 'meadow lark'

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

q K koko kôkô [kʰkoko] 'my father'
q c-wte-p'[cʰwte] 'he hits it'

A consonant gemination in CENT. Chines.

(to be clearly defined)
Voicing

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

- kʰin [kʰiŋ] 'I take it'
- ovey [ɔwey] 'tarweed'
- poŋ [poŋ] 'tree, wood'
or when followed by another consonant, as in:

- kʰaŋγʔoŋ [kʰaŋγʔoŋ] 'wound'
- ñaweh [ñaweh] 'moon'

- allip [ɔl̩iŋ] 'one who says'
- quntiyam [quntiyam] 'to fall'

- kʰaŋγʔ [kʰaŋγʔ] 'to soak'
- ñalaqwaypi 'to bestow on'
even another sonorant which is voiced.

- ñakumli [kumli] 'He arrives there'
- kʰuwaš [kʰuwaš] 'I ate it'

Before the glottal segments /ʔ/ and /a/, sonorants are also voiceless, as in:

- ñaweh [ñaweh] 'moon'
- allicp [ɔl̩iŋ] 'one who says'
Stress is marked distinctive in a few stems, in which it falls on the final syllable, as in:

- waqšik 'to paint'
- čočhoy 'other, another one'
- xalašát 'San Nicholas Island'

Otherwise stress is unmarked non-distinctive, and JPH seldom bothered to mark it. Stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the word, after the application of all phonological rules. /ka-c-ju-uq-pëy-us/ kasiyuleqpsiyou they follow him

/k-waš-nai-və/ kwašnai'viš 'something I held out'

/loʔ-ka-c-kokoʔ/ loʔkaskokoʔ 'her father'

/heʔ-ŋi-si-ʔoʔ/ heʔsoʔo 'the water'

/si-šiʔiš-ıwaš/ isišišważ 'wise one'

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

yɪləʔa 'all'

'callwotqicop 'it lies face down'

?istaplíʔiš 'the east'

/k-waš-nai-və/ kwašnai'viš 'something I hold out'
Certain of them are also involved in the process of consonantal symbolisms, and see Harrington 1974.

Alternations not governed by Rule

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

qil-- qili- Alternation

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

/qil-sin/ qisi 'to see'
/qil-kili-li/ 'to be glassy, transparent'
/qili-wayan/ qili-waya 'to peek at'
/qili-pexei/ 'to see something not seen before'

2) Alternation of /q/ and /x/

The uvular consonants /q/ and /x/ are frequently in alternation, usually in verbal prefixes. One striking example is the verb stem itaq 'to hear,' paralleled by a prefix itax- 'of hearing, report,' as in /itax-kuy/ 'to figure out by hearing.' Examples with verbal prefixes include aqta-- axta- 'in the air,'
/aqta-čhum/ 'arrow] to go straight'
/aqta-poyhon/ oqotopoyhon 'to blow (a whistle)'
/axta-elhew/ extelhew 'northwind to blow'
/axta-waq/ 'northwind to blow'

or qil- - xil- - qili- - xili- 'of vision, seeing'.
/qili-wayan/ qiliwaya 'to peek at'
/xili-wasín/ xiliwasí 'to look at carefully'

Occasionally both forms variants may occur with a single stem, as in
/xil-popon/ xilpopo 'to be in water'
qil- - xil- 'of, in water,'

/xir/ xil-popon/ xilpopo 'to be in water'
/su-qil-popon/ suqilpopo 'to soak (trans.)'

The shift of /x/ to /q/ is also a feature of diminutive suffixes, consonant symbolism, (q.v.) as in

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

/1/ - /u/ Ablaut

In V there are a few traces of an ablaut between /1/ and /u/ which is more widespread in Ineseno. Clear V examples include si- as an allomorph of su- 'causative,' as in
/si-nowon/ sinowo 'to cause to stand, erect'
/su-mow-Vn/ sumowho 'to sweeten, cause to be sweet'
and qul- as an allomorph of qil- 'of vision, seeing'
/qul-taw/ c-qul-taw/ cquantaw 'lightning flashes'
/qil-sín/ qisí 'to see'
Alternation of /l/ and /n/

The shift of /l/ to /n/ is a regular feature of consonant symbolism, as in

\[\text{aql-kililih} \quad \text{aqin'kinina} \quad \text{type of small clear bead}\]

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

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

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

Alternation of /s/ and /ʃ/, /c/ and /č/

The dental and palatal sibilants /s/ and /ʃ/ and the affricates /č/ /c/ and /č/ are in alternation in a few prefixes and formatives, particularly in the unanalyzable sibilant formatives (q.v., as in

\[\text{aqysyukuku} \quad \text{aqs-, -aqš-, as in}\]

\[\text{aqsyukukun} \quad \text{to whistle}\]
\[\text{axškumu} \quad \text{'to wander about'}\]
\[\text{axškuta/ unaxškuta} \quad \text{'to breakfast'}\]

or -ps- - pš-, in

/qil-pš-tihin/ qilpštihí 'to open the eyes'
/paš-š-taqin/ panapstaqí 'to hit together with a noise'

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

\[\text{/si-qas-qaš + CS/} \rightarrow \text{čqačqaš 'the dunes,' a plane-name}\]
\[\text{/c-wasín-š + CS/} \rightarrow \text{cwací'sc 'it/good-looking'}\]
Phono Rules

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

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

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

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

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

n = 0. # before -7 = 0 -t
q = 2 -s(e) = 2 -s first 242
next page 1st of rules minimal ordering 243
Final rule ordering

= 8 10 12 13 15 19
Phonological Notes

1) deletion of final /n/
   *iamalsaxixe  what they rub down (?)
   saximeneš  something worn down, rubbed down
   camtipoyoqo
   camtipoyoqonus - *ištipoyoqonisš
   ksilikenpiwu - ksilike

2) retention of /l/ in *al-
   *alsaxixe(n)  one who wears something down
   *almoxwolkoq  one that goes in rings

3) kq -> qh  kquluwaq  I bore a hole

4) loss of final *
   ya  arrow
   ipa  to drive a stake
   mexwe  to grind

5) CVC Redup  CVC-CVVC
   wal - walwaʔal  holes

6) retention - deletion of /l/
   tipolyoqo - tipoʔoqonisš

7) l - n
   *al- usually, but *anqinkinini  bead ap.

Som + h redup
Kenhesnes 1 pant  ktal + talaʔ tw
Kalalhaslaš 1'm a talker
Phon notes

8) 1 + s -> 1c  *al-skumu -> *alckumu
nele koc (K'o?ci) I'm wet
9) V'V -> V'C
wašna'bl ? wašna?lwi?ś

final glottalized cons, if not realized as V'V'C#, is
preglottalized as V'C; but when not final, then post C
hele'k - packbasket wešk helek?č to have ---

10) C s?m qw?l't [qwiI] lark
11) s? → s'V su?t[am the river-
st su?t[ get] the quail

NB s?n = h bow vs. pulhewu
redup

kaqtapit - kaqhaqta?pšt I stamp - am stamping
čalatla?tišič he is dreaming
oxtokok - xoxtokokokš I am toasting
tesak - ušak?ak to throw out
tetep - tetetep to roll
aqulusmiy - kaququlusmiy I ma twisting string on thigh
qununupiwaś boys - qunup

Stress Kalaqua?ayw I put them on
wakapi,?i very slowly
mehe?e~ -me?e

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

glot in ʔulyi - ʔulyiʔwaś my large
cow - mowho(n)

Redup

wal - walwaʔal hole -s
kwikwiqalaw I take little chips out of
mitmi little ones
člēwū - ..člēwəɬwūʔuč? pošpoš where many pinons
čpowiʔowi it is zigzag
miymiʔaʔ threads
woco - wocwoco xamxam ducks
ʔoyosow - ʔoyʔoyosow bymble bee(s)

--- - xtuuxtəu'y all sharks
činciniʔ - činciniʔ in octopus
ʔasku - ʔasqaʔku'u who - his relatives
pawapaʔ - pawpawapaʔaw fly -flies
chuxchuxmən the waves are breaking

NB 'al'aliwəškəlog - 'alixwoʔxwoʔkoy ducks
NB - n-eponthesis precedes CVC redup
čenəntəwaʔ - his bones /c-se-iwaʔ-
'altipnounowəʔ |- ŋə a well-behaved one
laʔaxuyxuyuw he is lying

NB xšo - kaxšoxəo alder - alder place
čaʔulčulapit he is inviting me (ašulap) - note ləʔaʔ after CVC redup

klouqquq sitili re sex

NB suwalakinnumnomoy to swing around and around - sukinomoy
NB si:khuʔu the people ʔəł gwolqs
Ktihphətəʔš I am sewing + ʔəłʔiʔən xanaʔaʔ xana
NB hesikʔaʔalʔiwəʔtə my relatives
Non CVC

coxwoʔo - coxoxwoʔo it roars, bellows
coxkonono - coxoxkonono it grunts, snorts
čipəʔo - ćihipəʔošt it hisses
coxoxkoho - coxkoho it thunders
xtuuxtəu'y - xtuuxtəu'y shark (s)
ciwonwon he groans with pain
kišmax - kišišmax I throw one/several stone(s)
NB welewlele - welwelewele to shake, sway, rock
kaloqoqwoli I am thinking of something
kičiʔənana sitili re sex
čtutuhuy it is raining *čtuhəʔtuʔuy -inf scorns this ex
Coalescence of -vč and -vn with final glottal Stop

In When the verbal derivative suffixes -vn and -vč follow a noun with an underlying/glottal stop, the suffix drops and the suffix consonant coalesces with the final glottal stop as a single glottalized segment. This process is in B and I, as in

B, I /?o?-vč/ x ?oč 'to be wet' < ?o? 'water'

but it is obscured in V because a final glottalized segment is realized as breaking of the preceding vowel, as in

V /?o?-vč/ 'to be wet'

?oč coalescence

?o?oč vowel-breaking with final glottalized sons

or /?al-qwe?-vč/ ?alqwe?eč 'arrow made of toyon (qwe?)'

However, in those environments in which consonantal glottalization is lost, the broken vowel in which the glottalized derivates from the underlying glottalized segment appears in its simple form. For example, consonants are de-glottalized before following C's:

/o?o? vč waš/ 'it was wet'

?o?oč coalescence

?al-?o?-vč-waš/ 'one that was wet'

?al-?oč-waš coalescence

?al?očwaš neutralization

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

- Vn + - Vc

Coalescence of final vowels

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

/c-iwí-Vn-wun/ ciwinwu 'he accompanies them'
cf. /c-iti-íwí-ē/ R/ čitiwíč 'he lives with them'

Ralkùin, a Castaic V
Ralkùin to speak the Castaic dialect

- Vn + - Vč with final V's

The treatment of the verbal derivative suffices

- Vn + - Vč after final V's depends on the length of the stem.

When - Vn + - Vč follow a monosyllabic noun stem, an epenthetic /h/ appears. If tč, nč, sč

In Θ and I, this process is more sporadic: cf.
I nethn, tč for V nethn tč tč

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

/?alkùin/ a Castaic Indian

/ʔalkùin-Vn/ Ralkùin to speak the C dialect

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

/gulu-su-ʔulyí-Vn/ gulusuílyım to observe lengthwise
h-emphesis

When a monosyllabic CV/stem is followed by one of the verbal derivative suffixes -Vm or -Vč, /h/ in appears before to prevent a vowel cluster.

/ni-Vn/ nāhīn 'to burn' < ni 'fire'

/ti-Vč/ tihić 'to be named, to have a name (-ti)'

/ša-Vč/ šahāč 'animal, to have a flint tip'

/ša-ál-š-Vn/ šalšakā 'wild sheep: one who climbs cliffs' < šā 'cliff'

(but na camțenus ?)
Epenthetic Glides

When one of the high vowels /i/ or /u/ is followed by another vowel in a morpheme boundary, the corresponding glide /y/ or /w/ appears between the two vowels. Examples with /y/ epenthized after /i/:

/c-iy-ušak-pi-it/ čiyušakpiyit 'they throw it on me'
/c-aqčiyín-pi-Vő/ čaqčiyínpiyuč 'he is fed up, disgusted'

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

Examples of /w/ epenthized after /u/:

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

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

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

/caya-ìwaś/ cayaniwaś 'a worn-out caya (type of basket)'
/se-ìwaś/ xokaniwaś 'a big canoe'

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

/ùamì-ùaš/ ùaminaš 'older brother (non-possessed form)'
/kokó-ùaš/ kokonišaš 'father (non-possessed form)'

In B and I, the epenthetic consonant in such environments is /l/. In the r more obscure reaches of Chumash morphology, /n/ and /l/ are frequently in alternation. But the appearance of /n/ in Venturaño is a direct outcome of the regular word-final. Thus, it is common for a deletion of final /n/ to alternate form with a final vowel xññxññ with a form in which /n/ appears xññxññxññxññxññxññ, and most suffixes begin with a vowel. This pattern must have spread by analogy into those forms in which /n/ is not present in the underlying form representation.
Initial Glottal Stop may appear before any vowel-initial prefix immediately preceded by the relative prefix al-

/si-al-/am-7ip / sal?am7ip what they see

Initial Glottal Stop /ka-al-/mu-7o / kal?iyu5ho those who leave (it)

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

This rule applies to vowel-initial verb forms

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

/wi?-sal/ ?i?isli 'go with him!'

/iy-qil-sin/ ?iqis xmeknak(plural)xix 'look! (plural)'
in xxx non-possessed nominal derivatives,

/iwash-Va/ ?iwexes 'meal, flour'

/aqtip-mu? / aqtipmu 'hearth, fireplace'

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

/enhes-Va/ ?enheses 'ghost, spirit'

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

/lo?ka-c-oxol/ lo?ka?oxol 'its urine'

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

/lo?ka-c-pax / i?spax 'its skin'

/lo?ka-c-tik / i?stik 'his loincloth'
Total Vowel harmony before glottal stop

Before *xximam* initial glottal stop, the final vowel of a *x...* prefix *xx* undergoes total assimilation to the *xxmam* stem vowel following the initial glottal stop.
The example encountered most often is that of the article si-, as in

/si-ʔ'iqiy/ siʔ'iqiy 'the quail'
/suʔutam/ suʔutam 'the river'
/siʔeleyewun/ seʔeleyewun 'the swordfish (xxm elevated)'
/siʔatapliʔ/ ʔaʔatapliʔ 'the east'
/siʔoyosow/ soʔoyosow 'the bumblebee'

But this process applies to other prefixes as well, including

/nuʔoyon/ noʔoyon 'to help'
/nuʔakawayu/ naʔakawayu 'to do while on horseback'

*xxmam* su 'causative,'

/suʔaxpiliʔ-ʔaʔ/ ʔaʔaxpiliʔ 'to sinew back a bow'

and various others, such as

/apiʔowow/ apoʔowow 'to be bleached white'
/suyaʔuw/ suyuʔuw 'to want to eat'
/unʔuw/ unʔuw 'to eat in morning'

The prefix vowel may be any one of the three cardinal-prefix-vowels /i e u/, but it shows total assimilation to the following stem vowel. This *xxmam* process *xxmam* not apply between one prefix and another, as shown by

/muʔalʔil/ muʔalʔil 'one which doesn't exist'
/'ʔal-huʔam-puq/ ʔalhuʔam-puq 'one which they will insert'
Vowel Harmony in **prefix**s

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

/ˈwəs-ˈmes/ wesmes 'to be crosswise'
/ˈmaks-ˈnal/ maxna'āl 'to have a groove'

**prefix**

Low vowel harmony
**prefix** applies to any number of contiguous low vowels, whether in the same **prefix** prefix,

/ˈtaya-ˈnowon/ toyonow 'to stand erect'
/ˈwala-ˈxmen/ welexmen 'to fall over'
or in adjacent prefixes.

/ˈsu-ˈaqta-ˈwəs-ˈmes/ šeqtewesmes 'to cut across, cut diagonally'

But if it is blocked by an intervening high vowel, **prefix**

/ˈwati-ˈnqeq/ watinoq 'rain' to stop

**prefix** even if this high vowel is later deleted

/ˈaqti-ˈpoq/ aqtiq 'to eat something along with pinole' even if it is later deleted. /ˈwati-ˈrenches/ wartenches 'to cause to

Put low vowels in **prefix** prefix position classes further from the verb stem

stem, low vowels in prefixes remain cardinal /a/; they do not become harmonic with stem vowels: The **prefix** involved are

/ˈa-ˈyexeˈxen/ ˈalyexeˈxe 'marsh, swamp'
/ˈc-am-ˈkال-ˈeq/ camkeˈeq 'they (indefinite) split it'

/ˈwati-ˈrenches/ wartenches 'to cause to rest, breathe'

/ˈkə-ˈkəl-ˈtoloɡ-ˈpi/ what I am hungry for
Back Vowel Harmony

The high back vowel /u/ in a prefix is /ɪ/ when the immediately following syllable is /ɨ/. This rule applies most consistently within the prefixes 

su- 'cause', su- 'concomitant';

/su-ći-ci/ sici 'to sharpen; make sharp'

/nu-mik-Vn/ nimiki 'to take far away'

/su-kini't/ sikini 'to put all around'

Exceptions include

/yuqći-ci/ yuqcic 'to be slender'

/uş-ci-män/ uscim 'to bury'
Pre-vocalic vowel deletion on prefixes

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

/akti-al-ti/ aktalti 'to come to meet'
/su-aqta-ušho/ šaqtušho 'to free from an encumbrance'
/axuti-eqwel-šaši/ axuteqwelšiši 'to think of what to do'
/nu-alhaš/ nalhaš 'to speak on behalf of'
/suya-aqmil/ suyamqil 'to be thirsty; to want to drink'

and also before the initial vowels of other prefixes.

/su-aqta-ušho/ šaqtušho 'to free from an encumbrance'
/ni-axta-peqen/ naxtepeqen '(wind) to blow something away'

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

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

1) The suffix vowel is determined by dissimilation in the suffixes -šaš 'reflexive,' xmlns and -šaš / -staš

The suffix vowel is central; it is 'nominalizer.' The suffix vowel is low /a/ after preceding high vowels, and high /i/ after preceding low vowels.

/axwišaš/ 'to be dressed'
/č-qal-cix-šaši/ 'it clings firmly'
/ačqum-šaš/ 'something likeable, agreeable'

and high /i/ after preceding low vowels.

/eqwel-šaši/ 'to turn oneself into...

/eqwel-šaši /

/ťax-šaš/ 'to be armed, bear a bow'
/iwon-šiš/ 'song (of a bird)'

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

/ after /i/ , /opši Vš/ 'gathering firewood'

/a/ after a preceding high vowel

/sukupin-y?Vš/ 'light, lamp'
/aqni-pVš/ 'coiled basketry'
/c-š-ikuk-nVš/ 'two butt into each other'

/ after /a/ and /o/

/su-waš-qal-Vš/ 'wedge (for splitting planks)'
/mol-Vš/ 'something toasted'

/ after /e/ .

/iwex-Vš/ 'meal, flour'
3) With the verbal derivative suffixes -Vn and _gem, the quality of the suffix vowel varies considerably. The suffix vowel can be /i/ or /u/ with any preceding vowel. Possible combinations of stem and suffix vowels, in order of frequency, are:

- after /i/: ă /u/ /i/ ė /e/ /i/
- after /u/: ă /i/ ė /e/ /u/
- after /ă/ /ă/ ė /i/ /u/ ŭ /a/
- after /e/: ă /u/ ė /e/ /i/
- after /o/: ă /i/ ė /o/
- after /ă/: ă /i/ ė /

A few examples include:

\[/šolop-Vă/ šolopić/ 'to be muddy'\]
\[/šutam-Vn/ šutamun '[stream] to flow'\]
\[/mik-Vn/ mikă?i 'to go far'\]
\[/ša-Vă/ šahać 'arrow] to be flint-tipped'\]
\[/šepuk-Vă/ šepučeć 'to have a corner'\]
\[/uš-qoy-Vn/ ušqoći 'to gather shell-fish'\]

When suffixes with unspecified vowels are adjacent, the vowel specification works outward from the stem one suffix at a time, with the derivative.

\[/uš-qoy-Vn/ ušqoći 'to gather shell-fish'\]

The vowel specification of the yet another suffix is specified by the preceding suffix vowel, rather than by the stem vowel.

\[/uš-qoy-Vn-Vă/ ušqozina?ăš 'gathered shellfish'\]
Palatalization of /c/ before dental consonants

Before the dental consonants /t n l/, the dental is palatalized to /tʃ/ and /ʃ/.

/si-c-tik/ 'its tip'
/c-tap/ 'he enters'
/c-naʃal/ 'he goes'
/c-lomlom/ 'it is soft'

Before the other strident dental segments /s/ and /c/, the sibilant harmony rule blocks palatalization of /c/.
Sibilant Harmony

The strident segments /s ː c ʒ/ within a word all agree in being either dental /s c/ or palatal /ʒ ʃ/, within morphemes, this rule is without exception as determined by the last strident segment in the word. Examples of dental-final dental segment:

A final dental segment shifts preceding palatals, as in

/c-waš-mēt/ cwesmes 'it is cross transversely'
/k-su-waši-s-us/ ksuwasicius 'I believe him'
/su-šim-ų-sišimų/ 'to bury'

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

- /c-qal-cix-šaši/ ｑｑａｌجموعة 'it clings firmly'
- /c-icuq-š/ ｃｉｃｕｑ 'he stabs, pierces many'
- /šiš/ /šip-šiš/ śipitaš 'acorn mush'

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

/sus-aqni-čhum/ śušaqničhum 'to console'
/suya-aqšan/ ｇुयाक्षा 'to be sick'
/si-?ataxač/ ｇा?ataxač 'the man'

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

/kš-utpal-yoqon-š + R/ čtipipyoqoč 'he is drilling them'

but it may also fail to operate šušišišašašaša in such an environment. Here, the dental segments /s/ and /c/ are more likely kšašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašaša
l-Deletion

In some prefix close prefixes, a prefix-final /l/ is deleted before a following consonant. This deletion is apparently an idiosyncratic feature of each combination of stem and prefix. Various examples are a

altho there are of both versions of prefix in combination with a given stem.

/tal-nal/ tana'al - taln'aal 'sick person to get worse'
/tipal-yoqon/ tipolyoqo - tipoyyoqo 'to drill a hole'

More plentiful are examples of this alternative treatment with different stems, as with the prefix kal- 'of cutting,' in:
/kal-cix/ kalcix 'to apply pressure when
/kal-seq/ keceq 'to cut a slot into'
or qal- 'of x typing,' as in:
/qal-wil-pi/ 'to tie on' qalwilpi
/qal-ti-iwi-s/ qatiwiś 'to tie side by side'

It seems somewhat more likely for /l/ to be deleted before dental and palatal consonants than before others. But this is only in:
/tal-qayl-tw/ 'to grab by the throat'

Across a boundary, 15 never deleted

In such a prefix, /l/ in such prefixes as tal- 'agentive,' or am- 'indef 1/6,
y-Deletion

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

/c-iy-al-koy-li/ ciyolkoli 'they go around it'
/c-iqmey-š/ čiqmaš 'it is plugged up'
/c-iš-ti-aq-pey-nVi/ čišteqpeš 'they (dual) are stuck together'

Some exceptions are

/imey-mu/ ?imeymu 'white clay'
/c-wakay-wu/ cawakaywu 'it is on top of them'

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

/c-iy-nes/ cimes 'they go across'
/iy-qil-sin/ ?iqis 'listen! (plural imperative)'

This follows total y havm before glottal stop, so that prefix vowel remains unchanged.

/c-iy-7ap/ ci7ap their house
/cf 151-7ap/ sa7ap the house
spirant or
Coalescence of affricate plus p spirant

A spirant plus the homorganic
affricate coalesce to form a single aspirated segment. Due to
the sibilant harmony rule, the only possibilities here are
\( \text{c-s} \rightarrow \text{ch} \), as in
\( /\text{c-sa}/ \text{ch'a} \) 'its tooth'
\( /\text{c-sa}/ \text{ch'a} \) 'it's tooth'
and \( \text{s} + \text{s} \rightarrow \text{sh} \)
\( /\text{c-sosoy}/ \text{chosoy} \) 'it is dark, black'
\( /\text{c-sosoy}/ \text{chosoy} \) 'it is dark, black'

A sequence of strident spirant or affricate plus spirant
coalesce into a single aspirated segment. The sibilant harmony rule insures that these sequences all agree in being either dental or palatal. The possibilities
include the c- as the third person singular marker, as in
\( /\text{c-sa}/ \text{ch'a} \) 'it's tooth'
\( /\text{c-sosoy}/ \text{chosoy} \) 'it is dark, black'
and the dual marker iš-, as in
\( /\text{k-is-suhuki}/ \text{kishuhuki} \) 'we two respect it'
\( /\text{k-is-sinay}/ \text{kishina y} \) 'we two put it away'
\( /\text{k-is-suya-aqšan}/ \text{cišbuyaqša} \) 'tey (dual) are sick'

When the third person marker is deaffricated in inter-vocalic
environments, this rule still applies.
\( /\text{hu-c-sunuw-us}/ \text{hus-unuwus} \) 'he will use it'

maybe
just give us here
Glotalization of Consonant plus glottal stop

A sequence of consonant plus glottal stop may coalesce as a single glottalized segment. This seems to be the rule at least with obstruents; Harrington transcribed underlying glottalized obstruents exactly as he transcribed sequences of a obstruent plus a glottal stop across a morpheme boundary.

\[ /k?-ap/ \text{'my house'} \]
\[ aq?ap [aqk?ap] \text{'to pick up with tongs'} \]

But consonants plus glottal stop usually do not.

But sonorants plus glottal stop usually do not coalesce as single segments. The evidence is clearer here because with underlying glottalized sonorants, the glottal closure occurs before the articulation of the sonorant, which is voiced is a vowel follows. With a cluster of sonorant plus glottal stop, the sonorant is voiceless and glottal closure follows it. Compare the phonetics of /m/ in

\[ /c?-am?n/ \text{'seed'} \]
\[ /c-am?-i?w-Vn/ \text{'they cut it'} \]

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

\[ /he?-si-k?-am?-am?/ \text{'my body'} \]
while at more normal speech the form is

/heʔsi-kʔamʔamín/ heʔsik'amamí [heʔsikʔaʔamamí] 'my body'

The most likely conclusion here is that in the more colloquial at least partially form, the reduplicated version has been lexicalized as -ʔamamí with an underlying glottalized /ʔ/. Note distant prefix boundaries, /ʔ/ does not.

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

/ʔalʔimí/ ʔalʔimí 'one who is mute'

/ʔalʔalulmit/ ʔalʔalulmit 'a hunter'

but in close prefix position classes,
Shift of glottalized /l/ to /t/

Most instances of glottalized /i/ shift to /t/. This occurs in morphemes, this shift simply results in a shift of the underlying representation, a shift which can be detected only on comparative grounds.

V "utam 'river, flood' = B, I "ulam 'flood''
V maxalamiš 'fiesta' = B maxalamiš, I maxalamiš 'fiesta'

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

/qal-ax-Vn/ qataxa 'to string a bow' (ax 'bow')
/qil-owow/ qitowow 'to be albino'

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

/ixwal-aqpey/ ixweteqpey 'to make in image of'
/wal-al-koy/ wotolkoy 'to be round, go in a circle' while later examples of sporadic glottalization of /l/ stay /l/.

/tal-uiš/ taluiš 'to support with the arm'
/tipal-al-ti/ tipalaltš 'to quarrel'

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

/axšil-?/ axšili 'bite!'
or derivative.

/mol-Vš/ molš 'toasting basket'
CVC Reduplication

Initiation

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

1 /x /woco + R/ wocwoco 'ducks'
2 /c-kitwon + R/ chkitkwono 'it is coming out'
3 /c-se-iwaš+ + R/ chenseniwaš 'his (a dead man's) bones'
4 /c-tipal-yoqon-š/ ñtiptipoyoqoč 'he is drilling holes'

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

/xx /xkonin+ + R/ xkonckoni' in 'worm, s insects'
/xšo + R/ xšoxšo 'alders'

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

/c-lew-uš+ + R/ ōlewčlewuš 'pieces, fragments'

The reduplicated CVC sequence may straddle morpheme boundaries, as in

/kwi-qalaw + R/ kwiquqiwalaw 'I keep chipping it'
/p-su-kitwon-wun + R/ psukoukitwonwo 'you are taking them out'

/k-nu- /hnu-7 + R/ Kno7no7ojono1

I am helping you
If the sequence to be reduplicated has no initial consonant within the same morpheme, two alternative treatments are possible, both about equally common. The initial VC sequence may be reduplicated, ignoring a preceding consonantal prefix even if one is present:

/c-oxkohon + R/ coxokkoho 'it is thundering'
/k-išmax + R/ kišišmax 'I am throwing stones'
/k-?al-oqwolin / kaloqoqwoli 'I am thinking of something'
/c-œta-pit + R/ caqtaqapit 'he is stamping'

Reduplication may fall on the following CVC sequence or less often:
/k-?al-oqwolin / kaloqoqwoli 'I am throwing stones'
/k-ušak + R/ kušak'ak 'I am throwing it out'
/c-œta-pit + R/ caqtaqapit 'he is stamping'

This alternative treatment also occurs with vowel-initial prefixes which are subject to reduplication, as in:
/c-aqta-pit/ caqtaqapit 'he is stamping'
/c-aqulu-c-miy + R/ caqulqulusmiy 'he is twisting string'

If the seq. to be redup'ed has no initial C within the same morpheme, the presence or absence of a C cluster at the exact form of redup is determined by the presence or absence of a following C cluster. If the initial or VC seq is followed by a V, redup falls on the next syl of shape CVC & cašulqulap

/c-?al-oqwolin / kaloqoqwolin / k-išmax + R/ k-7a1-oqwolin

Then go to Note that on next pag
If the sequence to be reduplicated has no initial consonant within the same morpheme, then only a VC sequence is reduplicated even if a consonantal prefix is present.

\[c\text{-oxkphon + R/} \text{doxoxkoho 'it is thundering'}\]

\[k\text{-išmax + R/} \text{kšišmax 'I throw many rocks'}\]

\[k\text{-al-qwolin + R/} \text{kaloqwoli 'I am thinking of something'}\]

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

\[V /k\text{-ečhu + R/ kečečhu 'I am sneezing'}\]

\[I /k\text{-ečhu + R/ kečečhu}\]

Reduplication maxima usually precede vowel breaking, as in

\[\text{Gkhaxma}\]

\[/hе\text{-si-k\text{-al-}iwi\text{m}-} + R/ \text{heškaliwi\text{m} 'my relatives'}\]

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

\[c\text{-iwon- + R/} \text{ciwonwon 'it is mwinimix sounding'}\]

\[k\text{-ičuq + R/} \text{kščuq 'I am piercing it'}\]

\[c\text{-ašulap-it + R/} \text{čašulapik 'he is inviting me'}\]

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

\[ni\text{-lew + R/} \text{nilelew 'to tear to pieces'}\]

\[tip\text{- 'augmentive,' as in}\]

\[\text{t} /\text{tip-nowon/+ R/} \text{tipnowonon 'to be well-behaved'}\]

\[\text{wati-} \text{in} /\text{wati-kot} + R/ \text{watkotkot 'to break to pieces'}\]
A fricative of /s/ and /š/ after ū /l/ and ūx /n/.

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

/ʔal-sip-ʔ/ ʔalčipš 'teacher'

/ʔ qal-su-ti-aq-peq/ qalcuteqpey 'to tie together'

and after the stem.

/ʔuš-wil-ʔ/ ušwilč 'to give to mǔx Many'

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

/aqn-ít-pen-šaši/ aqnitpenčiši 'to remember oneself'

/iwon-štši/ ʔiwončtišiš 'song (of a bird)'

A special case of this rule is -š following ūx/u/ immediately.

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

/kʔoyon-š/ ʔkoço 'I help'

/kʔoyon-us/ koyonus 'I help him'

This process appears to follow redup in

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

čašulčulapš
Deletion of final /n/
In word-final position /n/ is nearly always deleted, but it is preserved when followed by suffixes.
/c-quisinx/ x̂imis 'he sees'
/c-quisinwaš/ qisínwaš 'he saw'
/k-su-iliken/ ksilike 'I set it, place it'
/k-su-iliken-pi-wun/ ksilikenpiwu 'I set them into it'
/k-iwin/ kiwi 'I accompany, go with'
/iwin-mu?/ ?iwinmi 'companion: one who accompanies'
Now then. In a few forms, the deletion of final /n/ seems either
in optional or else it is blocked altogether.

/o-napan-H/ o'napaha 'it is new, recent'
/o-napan/ o'napan 'it is new'
Final /n/ is nearly always preserved in nouns.
Or else it is blocked altogether. Retention of word-final /n/
ocoyon 'manzanita'
/ñikmen 'surf, waves'
\"mex in squid\"

One environment in which the deletion of word-final /x/ /n/
move consistently blocked is in mono-syllabic morphemes.
/xe-xe\̣-si-e\̣-xan/ xe\̣-sian 'his blood'
/k-hin/ k\̣in 'I take it'
/c-wat-xmen 'it falls apart'
/\̣an/ \̣an 'pre-initial (into the Panap cult)'
/\̣an/ \̣an 'particle, introducing non-initial verb'

Alternative treatment of a final glottalized /n/ can be seen in
/pon/ pon 'tree,' and /ñon/ ño'o 'to be bitter,' in which the
\̣ final /n/ is deleted if glottalization is realized as breaking
of the vowel x̂amx̂amx̂am (e.g. ño'o) rather than pre-consonantal
x̂amx̂am constriction (e.g. [pon])
Deletion of Final Glottal Stop

Word-final glottal stop is usually deleted, as in

/fu?/ he 'this one'

Word-glottal stop very seldom appear word-finally, and
it is obvious even in stem-final positions when certain suffixes shield it from
word-final position. /c-tu7/ c-tu 'his ear
lu7?i? 'something long' /c-tu7-waš/ c-tu7-waš
lu7?i?i?waš 'something very long'
lu7?i?i? 'to go lengthwise'

In a few forms

Particles In a few forms, a final glottal stop is preserved when
the particle functions as an enclitic, as with he? 'this one'
/he?-si-qunup/ he?siqunup 'this child'
which also preserves the ? in suffixed forms/he?-wu/ he?wu
while in free forms the final glottal stop disappears.
/k-eqwel he?/ keqwel he 'I made this one'

In suffixed Other such particles in which a final glottal
stop may appear as la? 'just, merely,' and lo? 'over there,'
show a final glottal stop, such as lu?-jlu.'
A few forms show alternative treatments of final glottal
stop, one with final glottal stop deleted, and the other with
a glottal stop insulated from deletion by an echo vowel.

'alwo - ?alwo?o 'shellfish sp.'
'olpo - ?olpo?o 'guiso.'

And in a few other forms, a final glottal stop is
preserved apparently because of the presence of a common suffixed
derivative in which the glottal stop is medial.

/koko'-koko? /c-koko?/ coko? 'his father'
/koko'-V?/ kokoni'?a 'a father (non-possessed form)
Also, a stem-final glottalized mxxmxxmxx obstruent before the xarx x derivative suffix -Vês is de-glottalized, as in
/su-kep?-Vês/ šukepeš 'Christian, one baptized (lit bathed)'
while glottalization of a sonorant is retained, as in
/axi-nal?-Vês/ ?axinališ 'a dance'

The same process operates in I, except that obstruents are
deglottalized in I before any inflexional
verbal suffix, except -Vn and -Vš.

Glottal Neutralization

When a glottalized consonant is immediately followed by
another mxx consonant, glottalization is neutralized. This
occurs before consonant-initial suffixes, as in
/c-k'išt-li/ ckînîltli 'it goes around (something)'
/k-su-nañ-wun/ ksunalwu 'I send them'
/p-kep-waš/ pkepwaš 'you (sg.) bathed'
and in reduplicated environments, as in
/miti + R/ mitmiti 'little ones'
/k-su-ñu-nal + R/ ksuyunalna?al 'I think of many things'

Glottal Neutralization before vowel-initial suffixes
certain

Before/vowel-initial suffixes, a stem-final glottalized
consonant may be de-glottalized. This never occurs with the
verbal derivatives suffixes -Vn and -Vš, or with the nominal
suffix -iwaš, but it is apparently obligatory with the xar x
verbal derivative suffix -Vês, as in
/su-kep-Vês/ šukepeš 'a mxx Christian: one baptized'

So far, this situation is exactly the same as in Ineseno, but
unlike mxx the Ineseno situation, I optionally retains
the de-glottalization of obstruents in this environment is
evidently optional. De-glott occurs in
/k-aqtíp-us/ kaqtí?ipus 'I light a fire for him'
but not in
/c-nušik-it/ čnuši?ikit 'he answers me'
De- Aspiration

Aspiration is lost in several environments. Most commonly, a medial aspirated consonant which comes to stand before another consonant through CVC reduplication loses its aspiration.

- /k-talhīw-ʔ + R/ ktaltalhīʔāw 'my children'
- /cikhīinhin + R/ cikcikhīinhin 'turpentine pines'
- /k-takūuy + R/ taktakīuy what I am holding it
- A seg of son +h/

Aspirated consonant which comes to stand immediately after another consonant thru CVC reduplication loses aspiration; this rule is exactly parallel to the de-glott of glottalized sons in I.

/k-enhes + R/ kenhnesnes, not *kenhesnhes 'I pant'
/k-əal-alhāš + R/ kalalhašlaš 'I'm a habitual talker'

The few stems which seem to have underlying final aspirated consonants preserve this aspiration only before the -Vn and -Vd derivative suffixes; elsewhere, either word-finally or before inflectional suffixes, aspiration is lost. An example is /əph/ 'house,' which preserves aspiration in

/əph-Vn/ əphan 'to build a house'

but loses it in

/əph/ əp 'a house'

/əph-iwəš/ apiwaš 'an abandoned or ruined house'

show and I exactly the same pattern for this item; however irregular it is, it is unquestionably a feature of Proto Central Chum. Another example is

/mowh/ mow 'carrizo sugar'
/mowh-Vn/ mowho 'to be sweet'
Vowel Breaking with final glottalized consonants

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

/c-kep/ ckep 'he bathes'
/k-ǐs-nal/ kìsna?al 'we two go'
/c-ǐp-ìy/ cìpiyì 'he said again'
/miymìya?aaś 'threads'

This is a common feature of CVC redup in nouns, as in
When the glottalized consonant is no longer in word-final position, then glottalization is realized as -na as a consonantal co-articulation.

/mam'/ mìmì ma?am 'inside'
/?al-mam-Vì/ ṭalmamù 'a hollow one'
/k-quoi/ kquo?on 'I laugh'
/k-su-quoi-Vì-pí/ ksuquoišpi 'I laugh at it'

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

/c-ke'y/ cke'y 'it hooks (something)'
/c-ke'y-šaši/ ckeyešsi 'it hooks itself'

/su-quoi/ suquoi 'to behe (transitive)'

/hu-p-nal/ hupna?al 'you will go'
/kz p-nal-waś/ pnalwaś 'you went'

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

/k-qolo/k [kqolo?k] 'my belt'

but /k-qolo-Vì/[kqolokiš] 'I wear a belt'

other examples: /pawapaw/ pawapaw 'fly' /iškom 'two' [pawapa?w], [?iško?m]
De-affrication

The third person singular marker c- is de-affricated to s- when it follows a vowel. The following segment may be another vowel or a consonant.

/mu-c-itaq/ musitaq 'he doesn't hear it'
/mu-c-mun-it/ musmunit 'he doesn't collect a debt from me'

This rule also applies across word boundaries as well,
/ne' e c-kum-li/ ne' e skumlil 'he has already come'

an environment which also introduces the possibility of de-affrication following not only vowels but diphthongs as well.

/le? ka e-kay elo/

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

Even if glottalized or aspirated, c- is still de-affricated after a vowel, as in
/lo? ka-c-šay/ lo?kaš'ayay 'his daughter'

/lo? ka c-šay/ lo?kaš'ay 'his'

/lo? ka ci haxi 'he says'

Even by analogy to the main body of this rule, as first members of initial consonant clusters within single morphemes are also de-affricated following a vowel.

/ki clow/ ki slow 'and Eagle'
/si-štakuk/ šištakuk 'yucca'

Since B and I nearly always have the simple spirants /s/ and /š/ clusters, in such positions, it is possible that the affricated initial consonant in V is analogized from the third person marker c- /
If get rid of c-? = c, get rid of this too

Aspiration

Any obstruent coalesces with mm a following /h/ mm within
the same word to form a single aspirated segment.
/c-hilaq/ chilaq 'its handle (of a knife)'
/k-hin/ khin 'I take it'
/c-tip-hin/ çtiphin 'he is rich (lit. 'has much')'
x/kâkxhâkxx
/si-c-lâ-helek/ wîšîbêlek 'their (dual) packbasket'
Expressive Processes

Thraxmax In addition to reduplication, three other phonological processes are expressive in nature. These include $\text{rxr}$ diminutive consonantal symbolism and vowel breaking both /r/ and /h/.

Consonantal Symbolism

This process is described in much more detail in a paper (Harrington, 1974) by Harrington, recently published in IJAL. In briefly put, certain consonants within the word are shifted for diminutive effect, these changes including /l/ $\rightarrow$ /n/,

$\text{'al-qil-šáliš} CS nąńkińinî$ní$ /*qil-šáliš/ 'one that is transparent'

+ CS $\rightarrow$ nąńkińinî $'$type of small clear beads'

and /x/ $\rightarrow$ /c/,

nàtåač 'man' $\rightarrow$ nàtåač 'boy, youth'

\(x\)anwa 'woman' $\rightarrow$ qanwa 'girl, maiden'

and finally the strident segments \(s\) /ən\(\)rections /s c š č/ all shift either to /č/, which is more common,

waxaníš 'fly (lit. 'excrement')' $\rightarrow$ waqaniš 'gnat'

\(x\)al-šuš-\(a\)x /*alšušuč 'hairy one' $\rightarrow$ ančušuč 'sea cradle'

or to /c/.

\(x\)awåšin-$ɜ$ /kwašič/ 'I'm good looking' $\rightarrow$ kwasič

\(x\)al-qal-si-dom /*alqalcičom 'one that doubles up' $\rightarrow$

\(x\)anqancičom 'insect'
Consonantal symbolism often shows some semantic specialization which is not necessarily diminutive, such as place names.

/si-xwapə/ ᵇixwapə 'the nettle' → ᵇiqwapə 'Canada Larga'
/si-qas-qas/ siqasqas 'the dunes' → ᵇiqaqqaq 'spot at the mouth of the V river'
/mi-c-xanaxaⁿ/ mísxanaxaⁿ 'at the jawbone' → mícqanaqañ 'village near the V mission'

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

The names of many plants and animals:
/Palínguy/ 'one who shampoos with white clay' → Pálinguy, 'Duck or with white clay

Vowel breaking with Glottal Stop

An epenthized glottal stop may break up a final *w* syllable into two or even three distinct syllables. This process marks distinct semantic categories, including action involving motion away from the speaker or hearer, as in:

k-sukupin 'I light a lamp' ->
-> ksukupi?in 'I go to light a lamp'

hu-k-uxmal-hin-š 'I will wash them'
-> hukuxmalhi?ič 'I will go to wash them'

2) an intensive form, usually with particles, as in:

wakapi 'slowly' -> wakapi?i 'very slowly'

?al-apay 'up, high up' -> wakapi?alapa?ay 'very high'

ćaquin 'that's all' in a formulaic ceremony
in a ceremonial formula ćaquin, ćaquin, ćaquin

Note that the broken *m?h* vowel need not have a following consonant, as in wakapi?i 'very slowly' or

/k/c-al-ti? + */calti?i 'he goes to meet someone'

Occasionally the breaking results in three syllables, as in:

/pelkar + */pelka?a?an 'which one'

/wakapi + */wakapi?i?i 'very slowly'

/ə-po?-w? + */əpo?ho?o?oč 'he knows indeed'

/laʔ m?iʔ + */laʔ m?iʔ?i 'just a very little
Just as with glottal stop, a final syllable may be broken with /h/ to form two distinct syllables.

Vowel breaking with /h/ is much less common than the form with glottal stop, and semantically a few examples seem to involve some semantic specialization, as in

\[ ?\text{i}\text{m}\text{h}i 'to be dumb' \rightarrow ?\text{i}\text{m}\text{h}\text{hi} 'to be silent' \]

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

\[ /hi-nai\ + \ h/ \ \text{hinaha'al} 'to be deep' \]
\[ /'ataxa\text{c}-\text{Vn} + \ h/ \ 'ataxa\text{c}hihin 'to be manly, brave' \]
\[ /su-men/ + \ h/ \ sumehe'e 'to extend (trans') but cf. \]
\[ /yuq-men/ \ yuqme'e 'to extend the feet, legs' \]

The verb net ̣ 'to do, to be like' habitually takes /h/, e.g.

\[ /ka-c-net + \ h\ si-xip/ ka'\text{s}nehet 'ixip 'it is like a rock' \]

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

\[ /\text{si-}\text{a}\text{i}-al-net-pi/ \ \text{sa}l?alinetpi 'what it is like' \]

Stem it remains even in suffixed forms.

\[ /uq's\text{ta}hay 'to be red' \]
\[ /c-\text{uq's}\text{ta}hay-\text{us-wun}/x\text{uq's}\text{ta}hay.wunl 'he lights them' \]
Pronominal Elements

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

Personal Pronouns

The system of person pronouns includes both free and bound forms. Bound forms are prefixed subject possessive markers, while free forms are restricted syntactically to subject or object uses. Prefixed pronominal forms mark the subject in the verb and the possessor in the noun. The categories marked are three persons and singular, dual, plural, and indefinite numbers. The pronominal prefixes are transparent combinations of person and number markers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plur</th>
<th>indef</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-iš-</td>
<td>k-iy-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>p-iš-</td>
<td>p-iy-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>c-</td>
<td>c-iš-</td>
<td>c-iy-</td>
<td>c-am-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

The dual and indef nos- occur only with eve.
Suffixed pronominal forms mark the object in verbs, including the reflexive and reciprocal. There is no distinction of dual and plural with object suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Reflex</th>
<th>Recip</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-it</td>
<td>-iyw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-il</td>
<td>-šaš / -šaši</td>
<td>-nVš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-us - ø x(-us)-wun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the third person singular, most verbs take no overt object marker, while a few take -us:
/k-iy-us-til/ 'we find it/something'
/k-pip-us/ 'I say to him'

**Free forms**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Dual Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>k-iy-k' / kiy-k / kik'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>p-iy-k' / p-iy-k / pāk'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

/no ən k-su-axi-xen/

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

and they also occur in various prephrases looking finite verbs...

although they occur in other constructions as well,

/pi ni c-ə'il p-əik/ pi ni ə'il pāik 'do you have lice?'

lit. '[as for] you / question / there exists / your lice'
including **predicative** phrases lacking a **first** verb.

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

An intensive I pronoun ki-kš 'by oneself' is formed made up of the pronouninal formative -ki (as in k-a ka 'we two') and an intensive marker -kš, which is more productive in Ineseno (e.g. m /noʔ-kš/ nokš 'I myself'). The intensive kikš may be either used/with the reflexive suffix, xxx -šaši, as in /c-aqšik-šaši ki-kš/ čaqšikšaši kikš 'he tied himself by himself'
or it may not have any reflex

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

/c-eqwel foʔkšiš la/ Here it usually appears with la?

'just, merely,' as in

laʔ ki-kš k-eqwel heʔ 'I made this myself'

Another intensive construction involves hin/"to take," at here related to I hin 'to own,' where person-number markers in agreement with the verb occur between ki-...hin after the verb.

/k-ulîš ki-k-hin/ kuliʔiš kikhin 'I take it for myself'
/c-iy-ulîš ki-c-iy-hin/ čiyulîš kisihin 'they take it for themselves'
Demonstrative Pronouns

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

he° 'this'

kaki 'that'

he°, the more common of the two, is pluralized as he°-wun/ he°-wa 'these/ those' and kaki is pluralized as kaki-owun/kaki-owat 'those/ those'.

kaki is also used as a demonstrative pronoun in certain complementary constructions, but he° is much more common and kaki examples – see next page.

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

(ex - shut the door!) but he° is so common that JPH treats it as an enclitic ne°-kaki ne°- parallel to the he°- and ho°- prefixes in B. 

In constructions with nouns, ne° the sequence he°-si- in ix frequently contrasts with lo°-si- and lo°-ka-

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

lo°-si- 'that over there' - B. ho°-

lo°-ka- 'remote in time or space' - B. hu-

As an independent particle, ne° lo°- 'ever there' is locative, but in lo°-si- and lo°-ka- it seems to be more an enclitic locational/demonstrative form marker with the noun.

D-2 this child. / ixo° that stone / lo°-ka- 'that deer'

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

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

he? 'this'
kaki 'that'
both pluralized with -wun as /he?-wun/ he?wu 'these' and kaki-wun/ kakiwu 'those'. Examples in context:
ka-k-eqwel he? 'I made this one'
'al-xuyuw kaki 'kakiwu that man is a liar:
   a liar [is] that one'

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

/iqip-? kaki si-mitipän/ iqip kaki simitipän 'close that door!' but he? is extremely common. In apposition with nouns, he? is normally a locative particle, but here more a locational specifier with the noun. Harrington treats these forms as enclitics, writing them as single units.

/he?-si-mixqunup 'this child'
/lo?-si-xip 'that stone'

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

Of the set of relative/interrogative pronouns, some forms are both relative and interrogative, while others are only interrogative. Those which can be used only interrogatively have zar relative equivalents which usually involve prefixation. For example, the interrogative form ʾiil-qu 'where?' has a relative parallel in the prefix yu- 'where.' Just as in Inneseno, the verb following z even an interrogative pronoun often has a relative form or nominalized form, as in

"ʾašnim si-c-ʾiip-ʾil/ʾašnim ʾisipil 'when did he tell you?"

literally: 'when [is] what he tells you?'

When a form is ʾmāt attested only in interrogative sentences, but lacks a prefixed relative equivalent, this probably indicates that the interrogative pronoun could also have relative force. Since

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

4) ʾasku 'who? This particle also is only zar interrogative, paralleled by several prefixed relative constructions. + bit about 'someone, anyone'

5) ʾašnim 'when?' This particle is attested only in interrogative sentences, but it could probably be relative as well, since there is no corresponding relative nominalization prefix.

6) ʾipštewel 7) ʾiil-qu 'where?' 8) ʾil-ḥet 'how'

Relatively it is paralleled by a number of conjunctions, and (in) ḫan, ka-na wa, and si-wa wā.
1) ne\ 'what? which?' This particle may be an enclitic, since JPH wrote it as a single unit with the following word. It is usually interrogative, as in
/ne si-muwu 1-hu?p-eqen\ ne\’imuwu lu\’peqe 'which beach will you go to?'

The verb following ne is almost always introduced by l-; xx in the example above where ne and l- are clearly separate elements, but usually l- follows ne immediately as a sequence ne-l-, /ne l-hu-k-ali-net + h/ nelukalinehet 'what shall I do?'
/ne l-c-\’ip/ nel\’ip 'what does she say?'

This particle may also relativize, as in
/ne l-\’al-\’ip xuta\’/ nel\’al\’ip xuta \& 'that which they call xuta\’
5) ne'l 'what?' This particle may be an enclitic, since it is usually written as a single unit with the following word. It is usually interrogative, as in (examples on page before) but it may also relativize as well.

(ne'l-ka'avan)

6) ne'ka'avan 'which one' This sequence obviously contains ne'l 'what,' but ka'avan does not occur elsewhere. The few examples are

/ne'l-ka'avan al-ulil-waš/ 'which one did he take?' are interrogative

/ne'l-ka'avan/ which one [is it]?

3) huki
4) 'asku
5) 'ašnim 'when?'

/?ašnim si-c-iy-il/ 'ašnim išipil 'when did he tell you?'

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

/ka-'ašnim si-p-eqwel-Vč he'-si-kaphe/

ka'avan ?ipeqweluc hesikaphe 'since when (= how long ago) did you make this coffee?'

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

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

but it may relativize as well.

/c-iy-itax-sin ?ipšewel axi-pen-Vč l-hul-iy-su-kitwon/

ciyitaxis ?ipšewel ?axipeneš lul?isukitwo

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

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

1) huki 'what?' This particle does not
huki yal-suya-hin 'what does he want?' A truncated
huki zal hum. xuradnixed form of huki may be used with nel 'what?', as in
/ki-ne si-muwu l-hu?-pegen/ k'ne?imuwu luvpepe
'which beach xx will you go to?'
This form is also used in the sense of 'something, anything,'
xxix just as in I, as in /la7-huki l-hu-1-?i /
/k'han p-qil-sin hal-c-al-o-tovin la7-huki/
/k'han p-qis halcaloteyi la7huki... 'when you see something
[which is] thrown away...'

2) ?asku 'who?'
/\?asku\?hu-c-taw/ ?asku lu?sta?aw 'who will deal it out?'
Just as in Ineseno, this form is xxxix also used for 'someone,
anyone,' and when possessed it means 'relative,' as in
/c-\?asku/ + R/ \?as\?asku\?u 'his relatives' c?as?\?asku\?u

3) nel 'what?' whi This particle is usually interrogative,
as in
/nel hu-k-ali-net + H/ nelukalinehet 'what shall I do?'
/nel c-?ip/ nelcip 'what does she say.
but it may also relativize as well.
/nel ?al-?ip xuta\?/ nel?al?ip xuta\? 'what they call xuta\? call xuta\?
7) *il-qu 'where?'

This particle is only interrogative, as in

"*il-qu p-eqen/ *ilqu peqe 'where are you going?'

while the corresponding relative form is *mm a prefix *ka-.

8) *il-çet *mm 'how' This form is attested only in interrogative *mm sentences, as in

*mm *mm /*il-çet p-nax-yit/ 'how did you get up?'

*il-çet could probably

But *il-çet could probably be used relatively as well, since no prefix corresponding distinct relative *mm* is attested.

It may be a dialectal

*ilqu peqe a-where are you

as being in the *mm dialect, and equivalent to *l. ne?lupey

the coast dialect.
There is a very small set of quantifiers which are used pronominally. They are distinct from nouns in that they very seldom take the nominal article si-. Two of these, yila' 'all' and ḥhē 'much, many' occur ḥhzx frequently in apposition with nouns.

1) yila'a
2) ḥhē

The following forms very seldom occur in apposition with nouns, although one of the few examples of apposition also shows the article si- with one of them:

/si-č-lew-Vo si-xa? si-c-tu?-waš si-qaši/

višlewuč ḥhxaxmx sixa?ax vištu?waš ḥiqaši

'big pieces of abalone shell: piece / a big one / its shell / ab

These remaining quantifiers are neatly paired semantically.

3) xax
5) ḥulyi

4) miti
6) qnowowo /qnowoqnowo
Quantifiers

There is a very small set of quantifiers which are used pronominally. Of these, only 'yila? 'all' and 'bihi 'much, many' occur in apposition with nouns. Other quantifiers such as 'yila? 'all of us', 'bihi le big one', and 'ulyi le long one'

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

1) yila?a 'all, every'
   yila?a si-ku 'all of the people'
   /yila?a si-c-pana-yi/ yila?a 'ispanayi 'all its edges'
   /k-hin yila?a/ k'hin yila?a 'I take them all'
2) 'bihi 'much, many'
   /'bihi si-c-?i/ 'bihi 'isil 'its many legs'
   /'bihi si-c-mit/ 'bihi 'ismit 'its many facets' (lit. backs)

The following forms xxx seem to be intermediate between nouns and quantifiers; they cannot take the xxx article, and they xxx appear in apposition with nouns.

2) /xax/ xa?ax 'a big one'
   /paketi si-c-moto 'an xax/ paketi 'ismoto 'an xa?ax 'one side is big'
3) miti 'a small one'
   /miti + R si-k-kal-qalaw/ mititi sikkaqalaw
   'little[pieces] are what I chip off'
4) 'ulyi 'a long one'
   /'al-iq?u si-ulyi si-c-hilaq/ 'ali?i q?u?ulyi 'is'hilaq
   'long handled lance: lance / long / its handle'
Numerals

The V numeric system was originally based on sixteen, although a form of decimal counting arose under Spanish influence. The Ventureno confessional (Beeler, 1967) pp. 76-77 lists all the numerals up to 32, while in the JPH ms I have found only those up to sixteen. Harrington would have known for the portion of those up to sixteen. For those numerals which appear only in the confessional, I hazard a guess (indicated by a question mark) at how Harrington might have recorded them.

1. **px /pak tę' pakeę**
2. **iškom**
3. **masix**
4. **ckumu**
5. **yīti, yitipakes' (yitipaques') yitipaikes'**
6. **yākišhám yiti'iškom (cf. yetishcom)**
7. **yitimasix ẙ (itimaseg)**
8. **malawa ́x (malauxat)**
9. **cpa ~ ma**
10. **kaškom - ka?aškom**
11. **tīlu ́ (telu) (cf. I telu)**
12. **masix ckumu**
13. **masix ckumu kanpakeę?et (maseg scumu canpakeeet)**
14. **iškom laliyet? (eshcöm laliét)**
15. **pakeę?et siwę? (paqueet ciwú)**
16. **șiixiš? (ci, gi, isi?)**

**Notes**

13. **Ka'ásas**
17 chisipsh ka kanpake'et ? (chisipsh canpaqueet)
18 'iškom siwi ? (escom)
19 pake'et siwi skumuhuy ? fasak (escom cihue scumuhuy)
20 skumuhuy ? (scumuhuy)
21 scumuhuy ka kanpake'et ? (scumuhuy canpaqueet)
22 'iškom siwi cmaxmasix ? (escom cihue etsmajmaseg)
23 pake'et siwi cmaxmasix ? (pakeet siwe etsmajmaseg)
24 cmaxmasix ? (etsmajmaseg)
25 cmaxmasix ka kanpake'et ? (etsmajmaseg canpaqueet)
26 'iškom siwi

The suffix -ini with numerals means 'numaxx X times more,'
as in /paket-ini/ paketeni 'once more'
'iškom-ini 'twice more'

400 The Noun

Included in the discussion of the noun are the general topics of noun stem morphology, derivation, inflection, and the larger binux pattern of the noun phrase.
Noun Stem Morphology

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

The Canonical Shape of the Noun

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'kuy 'curved head'</td>
<td>ciwis 'rattle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pax 'skin'</td>
<td>čaqaw 'robin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čoč 'soaproot'</td>
<td>-tišik 'tear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mow 'carrizo sugar'</td>
<td>-yiwiš 'head'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But noun stems are much more likely than verbs to have a short vowel-final vowel. The glottal stop /ʔ/ is usually lost.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku 'person'</td>
<td>-pu 'arm, hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni 'fire'</td>
<td>taxama 'skunk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sa 'tooth'</td>
<td>xšo 'sycamore'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But many of the vowel-final nouns in V result from the deletion of a final [ŋ/ or ʔ̃/], which are seldom unambiguously preserved by. Since noun suffixes are quite rare, compared to verbs, there is seldom any morphological support. Evidence of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma 'rabbit'</td>
<td>cf. HI ma? 'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya 'arrow'</td>
<td>cf. HI ya? 'id'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔunu 'grandchild'</td>
<td>cf. I -ʔunu?, B -ʔunu 'id'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since noun suffixes are quite rare, compared to verbs, there is seldom synchronic evidence of a final segment. An example is /c-tu²/ čtu 'his ear'
/c-tu²-waš/ čtuwaš 'shell'

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

-ehhes 'breath, soul'       -ačis 'beard'
-saqliw 'neck, throat; language
-tek 'language'

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

x 'ohek 'cradle hood'       -?osos 'heel'
?ušmat 'beetle sp.'         -?ik 'mouth'
?ìmxììì 'ewe 'needle fish'  -?ìkììì 'loincloth'
?išaye 'quail'             -?an 'blood'
Initial Noun Formatives

There are several unanalyzable **new** initial formatives which occur with what might be regarded as uniquely occurring noun stems (cf. on verb formatives). Without the formative, the remainder of such forms usually shows the CVC and CVCVC shape characteristic of stems.

1) "ala- - ana-

   ʔəməx̣ək' - 1əxʷət ʔp
   ʔən̓ə toloho - crəstəcəm ʔp.
   ʔalaš'tekeʔ - ʔtəmə ʔp.

2) "alaq- - anaq-

   ʔanąqəktupoxpox 'mole'
   ʔonqəʔ - ʔəl

3) "aq- - ax-

   ʔaqək' - ʔaqətʃə 'knee, knee'
   ʔaqəmtə - ʔaqətʃə 'shadow'

4) "aya-

   ʔayatulutul 'butterfly'
   ʔoyosəw 'bumble bee'
   ʔayəpələlələ 'cowrie shell'

5) ʔal- / ʔan-
5) ḭal-/ ḭan- This formative may well represent the agentive prefix ḭal- occurring with uniquely occurring verb stems, move It is most closely fused with the stem than is the agentive ḭal-, since it shows vowel harmony, and the frequent nasal form ḭan- has undergone diminutive consonantal symbolism.

 SetValue 'wildcat' of Castaic dialect ḭanxay
SetValue ḭalkulul 'west'
SetValue ḭolpo - ḭolpo'o 'guico: an amphibian'
SetValue ḭanyapax 'Anacapa Island; mirage, illusion'
SetValue ḭemwecce 'fish sp.'
SetValue ḭontokos 'whirlwind, whirlpool'

A segmentable example illustrates this process; ḭ There is a verb woyon 'to turn, twist'; and the noun ḭolwo'oy 'periwinkle' may be etymologized as /ḳal-woy-/ ḭ 'the twister', incidently showing that ḭ the verb too is segmentable as /woy-Vn/>. 
Reduplicated Noun stems

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

1) CVC

2) Initial CV-

3) Final -VC

4) Medial

5) wuluwul

An example of the same CVC seg with completely unrelated meanings in its simple and reduplicated forms is:

- 20y olivella shell
- 20yy20yy goose sp.
- mus
- 2amyušmus
- two caterpillars opp.
2 Tawra 4\textsuperscript{th} place & mass 413
1 man & head 3 woman can

4 Bawra male 4\textsuperscript{th} place
yep yep

4 Bawra\textsuperscript{st} column 4\textsuperscript{th} place
2 child brother let go your
1 we're says

man VC 2 jacket bull say

weqag they go every sp

beqel they go every sp

beqel the same trick 3 your

beqel the same sp

beqel that sp

3 Bawra
corn shell 2 Kuy

3 Tawran mother

1 wool wooll

3 Tawra cloth

1 clinic squig

2 kitedy piece

Note that initial C clusters are reduced intact here.

2 saliket end make

3 wakelas cloth wool Free

Ian atom am vaccoom
Personal Names

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

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

But personal names are not meaningless.

But personal names are not meaningless; Thay Fernando Librado offered translations for many of them, indicating that Thayx acknowledges this was esoteric lore. Many names end in -it.

Some personal names are simply common nouns used as altho these may be affix nicknames, since they tend not to add affix personal names, such as taqama 'little skunk'

'alow 'floating cloud'
-yiqspik 'big-shin'
-opuy 'dew'
-kotistu 'broken ear'
or -it.

Others are unsegmented, but are unsegmentable,

kwayayšu 'one who attracts' (in muwu dialect)
yonché 'the first' (in šapwá dialect)
čaʔki 'one of great endurance'
and still others are merely given as names.

mušu,
Various recurrent endings in personal names include:

- \(-\text{cet}\) wataycet 'don't forget' (of muwu)
- \(-\text{kamuliyacet}\) 'a beginning that will always be'
- \(-\text{sulupiyawcet}\)
- \(-\text{it}\) kwinayit 'one to be appreciated'
- \(-\text{wit}\) šulkumyašwit
- \(-\text{tilimiwit}\) pawit
- \(-\text{šulaywit}\) talawiyašwit 'one who can travel in a flash'
- \(-\text{ayt}\) tumamayt
- \(-\text{nayayt}\) 'diviner, fortune-teller'
- \(-\text{tinakwayt}\) 'stubborn'
- \(-\text{awt}\) tîmiyaxawt 'dirt scratched by Coyote'

Others are glossed, but are unsegmentable,
- toponxele 'classy intruder'
- ŝnawaway 'discoverer of mysteries'
- kiwîs 'one who is astute'
- law 'spirit of the world'

and still others are merely ŝkamx given as personal names.
- mušu, walawyu šuyuy, ŝunuquytat, ŝiieš, tiqnekš
may mean feature redundancy for the one segment, but it avoids ambiguity for
the whole matrix. The same logic applies to blanks in the lexicon
as well. When formulating matrices for universal vs. language
specific aspects, there is a tendency to use more blanks in the universal aspect, as
the need for generalization is greater.

420 Derivation

Nouns may be derived from verbs
either by suffixed or prefixed nominal
suffixed or prefixed suffixed noun
are both more

420 Derivation

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

Several suffixes derive nouns from verbs. These include:

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

aqnāp 'to make coiled basketry' ṭmxē
/aqnāp-Vā/ aqnāpaš 'coiled basketry'

mol 'to toast' - /mol-Vā/ molisš 'something toasted'

itep 'to make chia mush' - /itep-Vā/ itepaš 'chia mush'
sipēt 'to make acorn mush' /sipēt-Vā/ sipitašaš 'acorn mush'

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

ʔulyi '(to be) long' ṭmxē /ʔulyi-Vā/ ʔulyinašaš ' length'
aqšan 'to die' /aqšan-Vā/ aqšañaš 'death'
/suya-aqšan-Vā/ suyaqšañiš 'disease, illness'

2) -Vā / -ʔVā 'instrumental' This suffix denotes the tool or instrument used in an action or process. Note that phonologically it partially overlaps with the -Vā/-Vā resultative suffix above; when the same verb stem occurs with both of these derivational suffixes, the instrumental suffix always shows more glottalization than the resultative, as in derivative forms of ṭmxē:

mol 'to toast'
/mol-Vā/ molisš 'something toasted'
/mol-Vā/ molisšiš 'toasting basket'
-vë - -vërë

*ešëš something woven
*IPanë†ëš s. pounded up
*uweyeš object
šu*pëyeš ornament, s. decorated
šaxixeš s. worn down
*iwexe*eš s. pounded up
šuwašqalë†ë wedge (wašqal - to split)
tipoyonëš s. drilled through
lo*kuqpuqa*aš lance (iuq - to pierce)
sumo*xkowoniš something hooked made diagonal
?ixweteqpeyeš image, imitation
šipita*aš acorn mush
wipi†ëš club
wikali†ëš club
kaqalawiš†ë flint-chipping instrument
kaqalawiš flaked-object
wošotoyinaš something made oblique
-ulyina*aš length
tipša*aš needle, pin
*aqnipaš coiled basketry
češwaškumele*ëš rudder
NB wili†ëš shooting instrument
NB molëš s. toasted
NB molë†ëš toasting basket
NB sukupina*aš light, lamp - sukupin
NB suwyšiyë†ëš winnowing basket (suwašxi suwyši)
?altipnównowoniš†ëš (to be) one who is well-behaved
wolköyë†ëš a round hut
šuxulšiyëš†ëš something bad, worthless
*aqkapë†ëš tongs - aqkap to pick with tongs
Other examples of the -vā / -vē instrumental suffix are

/suwatiy-vā/  sûwatiy-îvāš' 'winnowing basket'
/su-waš-qal-vā/  šuwašqal-îvāš' 'wedge; splitting tool'
/aqkap-vō/  *aqkap-îvāš 'tongs' (aqkap 'to pick up with tongs')
/c-su-waš-kumel-vō/  ênuwaškumel-îvēš 'rudder, steering
now to -vā / -vē

3) -vī 'instrumental' Another derivational suffix pattern
showing instrumentality is glottalization of the final
consonant of a verb stem.
/išaw-vī/  išaw 'sun' < išaw 'to be hot'
exx/axta-êlēw-vī/  *extelēw 'north wind'
exx < extelēw 'north wind to blow: to blow down'
/axi-yēp-vī/  *axiye?ep 'medicine' < axiye?ep 'to cure'

4) -mu 'locative nominalizer' The basic sense of -mu is
locative, as in
/apiš-mu/  *apišmu 'where wood is gathered'
aqtahan-mu/  *aqtahanmu 'where one cools off'
walap-mu/  walapmu 'landing place (for boats)'
but it takes on a resultative sense in some derivatives,
aqmil-mu/  *aqmilmu 'medicine: what is drunk'
sip-mu/  sipmu 'load carried on the back'

There is one derivative multiple derivative which indicates that
the underlying form of this suffix might be -mu?, as it is in B
and I. From the noun -eqen 'sole (of the foot)', another
noun /eqen-mu/  eqenmu 'sandals' is formed; the verbal deriv of
this is eqenmu?u, hinting at an underlying form like
eqen-mu-vn/  eqenmu?u 'to put on sandals, shoes'
5) -šaš / -staš 'nominalizer' The exact force of this comparatively rare and irregular suffix is unclear, but it seems to be primarily agentive or instrumental.
/aq̂ehum-šaš/ ʔaq̂ehumáa’as  'something agreeable, likable'
/iqip-šaš/ ʔiqipáa’as  'something which is full'
/nu-nal-šaš/ nunalúʔíʔas  'a joke'
/iwon-šaš/ ʔiwonččíʔas  'song (of a bird)'

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

waqsik ʔbáax as V 'to paint,' as N 'paint'
get more examples!
su-péy as V 'to adorn, ornament,' as N 'ornament'

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

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

/waxan/ 'to defecate'
-waxa 'feces,[-alien] / waxaniš 'excrement, [+alien]
/ti-mes/ 'to fasten shut, fasten together'
-times 'fastener,[-alien] / timese’eš 'fastener, [+alien]
/api-uš-key/ apuškey 'to hook'
-’apuškey 'hook' -- ʔapuškeye’eš 'hook'
plus re vowel: oxšol 'to urinate'

/c-oxšol/ ḋoxšol 'its urine' / /oxšol-vš/ ʔoxšoliš 'urine'
-iwaš  'defunct, derogatory'

A common noun suffix is -iwaš, productive in the general semantic domain of 'dead, defunct, worn-out, useless.' Note its similarity to the past tense marker -waš in verbs. Examples include

/yi-wiš-iwaš/  'skull: 'a defunct head'
caya-iwaš/  'cayaniwaš 'a worn-out caya (kind of basket)'
c-se-iwaš-? + R/ chenseniwa?aš  thinxämäm
  'his (a dead man's) bones'

Not surprisingly, -iwaš easily shades off into derogatory usages, maxım where it need not have the basic sense of 'dead, defunct', as in

/laʔ qunup-iwaš/  'they are just children'

/cțin-iwaš/  čtiʔiniwaš  'dog,' said to be commoner that plain ctiʔin

In a few cases, -iwaš seems to have an intensive force, as in

/ʔulyiʔ-iwaš/  ʔulyiʔiwaš  'very long'  xak-ıwạš/  xak:iwaš  abduction
/maha-iwaš/  mahaniwaš  'a big canyon'  xak:iwaš  abduction
/ʔipiš-iwaš/  ʔipišiwaš  'wise man, one who knows much'

Occasionally the verbal maxım past tense marker -waš occurs with nouns, maxım with exactly the same meaning as -iwaš, as in

/xanwa-waš + CS/  qanwawaš  'old woman'
c-tuʔ-waš/  čtuʔwaš  'thinxäm seashell! literally 'its shell (with the mollusc gone)'
mi- 'locative'

A common, but non-productive locative prefix mi- occurs with some nouns.

/mi-ʔaliyaʔ/ maliyaʔ 'on the road, trail'

/mi-ʃup/ 'down, below; on the ground' < ŋup 'earth, land'

Some placenames begin with mi-,

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

/mi-c-xanaxan/ + CS/ micqanaqan 'place of the jawbone,' a village near the mission S V

/mi-c-ʔik/ misʔik 'at the mouth', the mouth of ma Hueneme lagoon

ini 'more, another'

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

/paket-ini/ paketeni 'once more'

/miškom-ini 'twice more'

"A) insertion preserves tense or a mood"
430 - Noun inflection

Article - phono form

The basic shape of the article is with nouns is si-, but it has other shapes as well.

Before When the following segment is strident, by dissimilation the /s/ of the article is deleted, replaced with glottal stop. This occurs before stem-initial strident consonants,

/si-çeğüş/ 7isğüş Kečp, secured
/si-ṣan/ 7isən non-initiate 7into Tānūp cult
/si-çteñ-waš/ 7isçteñwaš 'dog'

and before third person possessive markers

/xmämämxmäx/amäm/amáx
/si-c-mit/ → ʔismit 'its back'
/si-c-pu/ → ʔispu 'his hand', arm'
/si-c-iy-ʔomol/ → ʔisitimol 'their boat'

Occasionally the reduced /i- form of the article occurs in other environments as well, with no clear conditioning. An example of alternative treatments is /si-qaši/

/si-c-tuʔ-waš si-qaši/ → ʔistuʔwaš ʔiqaši - ʔiqaši
'abalone shell'

This often occurs immediately after strident consonants in the preceding word, as in

/skə-l-al kešaš/ ʔeyəə tələmaš 'mortar that site'

/c-lewuš si-yiwiš-iwaš/ → ʔək člewuš ʔiyiwišiwaš 'a piece of skull'

but /k-suñu-us si-yoṽ/ → ʔi use tar'

but it may occur in other environments as well, as in

/c-sa si-ya/ → cba ʔiya 'head ('tooth') of the arrow'

/7ew si-magš/ 7ew ʔimagš Flint ʔiFe
One regular environment for the reduced form of the article is before forms with the agentive prefix 'al-, as in

\[ \text{/c-hilaq si-?al-walqay/ chilaq 'alwalqay 'hangle that is smooth} \]

\[ \text{/su-pey #i-?al-pow/ su?pey 'alpow 'curved ornament} \]

and the indefinite subject marker (?am-, as in

\[ \text{/?al-qap si-?am-al-su-tapin/ ?alqap 'amalsutapi 'a mortar which they bring in} \]

Before noun stems which begin with a glottal stop, the vowel of the article is harmonic with the stem vowels.

\[ \text{/si-?ataxa?/ ?ataxa? 'the man'} \]

\[ \text{/si-?oxkohon/ oxkohon 'the thunder'} \]

\[ \text{/si-?ewhe?/ ewhe? 'the winnowing basket'} \]

\[ \text{/si-?ayap?ili/ ayap?ili 'the cowrie shell'} \]

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

\[ \text{/he-?si-?ataxa?/ ?ataxa? 'this man'} \]

\[ \text{does not show vowel harmony,} \]

the reduced 'i- form seems to have priority, over the harmonic form with low vowel, as attested by the use of 'i- after a strident consonant in

\[ \text{/si-swoq? si-?onyoko/ swoq? 'onyoko 'shark vertebra'} \]

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

\[ \text{/si-u?-qoy-V\textsuperscript{w}e/ uqoyina? Shell Fish} \]

\[ \text{/su-ulwax-V\textsuperscript{w}/ ulwax? 'strip'} \]

\[ \text{/si-?e\textsuperscript{9}t\textsuperscript{9}e/ ?e\textsuperscript{9}te 'good'} \]
Article and Demonstratives with nouns

The article with nouns is si-. It basically marks nouns as such, rather than *fiihum* marking any distinction between definite and indefinite nouns. But various *antii* very frequently *maaxx* nouns also occur with enclitic demonstrative-participle forms, some of which appear in combination with the articley *maaxx*. Of these, he*-'this' and lo*-'that' are clearly demonstrative in force; hence they are identical to. They also appear in this shape as free forms, but although lo* is by itself seems to mean 'over there' rather than simply 'that'. The plural of he* is hea*-'these'.

These include two free forms with occur with the article si-
he*-'this'
lo*-'that'
and the prefix ka- which appears only in combination with lo* as lo*ka-, without the article si-. Therefore semantically, lo*ka- seems to refer to a noun remote in time or space. In myths, such as the story of Coyote and Eagle's Daughter, most nouns are prefixed with lo*ka-

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

lo*ka-iv ka-maqa 'a knife of flint'

Plur. names with ka-: Ka-
Placenames often end with two words often h-
Ka- Kaspat Kaqw
Ka Kaqwaya Kaquw
In many cases, he seems to be an idiomatic usage with certain nouns. The world is referred to as /he-si-šup/ hešišup 'this world,' and the ocean is likewise consistently referred to as hešišunu 'this sea.' In the myth of Coyote and Eagle's Daughter, Eagle's daughter tells Coyote /he-si-ši-pišiš/ an anu-bošoy ka le-si-teles/
hešipyišiš an hušbošoy ka loši-teles 'your head will be dark and your tail [too]' somehow more removed from either speaker or hearer than is his head.
The semantics of these various nominal forms is not too clear, but some general patterns emerge.

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

The forms he⁹- and lo⁹ are clearly demonstrative in force: They are usually not translated directly with demonstrative glosses origin, if not in force. Nouns with he⁹- are sometimes translated with 'this/these', and lo⁹ also is a demonstrative translated in its free form as 'over there.'

The combination lo⁹-ka- seems to refer to a noun remote in time or space. In myths, most nouns are prefixed with lo⁹-ka-. But lo⁹-ka- evidently does not necessarily indicate a psychological remoteness for the speaker, since lo⁹-ka- apparently has a topicalizing force in some cases.

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

/k-hin si-c-se si-wí/ Khin ʾishe siwí 'I take a deer bone'  
/si-c-lewuš si-xaʾax si-c-tuʾ-waš/ ʾIslewúš sixaʾax ʾištuʾwaš 'a big piece of shell: piece / big / shell'

An example is

/k-eqwel-us si-c-ixwalilik lo⁹-kaʾqotowol/ Keqwelus ʾisixwalilik loʾkaʾqotowol 'I make grooves on the flute'

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

lo⁹-ka-kiw ʾan ka mīti si-c-iš-hin lo⁹-kaʾto (ʾišišhin) the kiw is smaller than the to (two mussel spp.)'
Following numbers, only si- introduces nouns.

/pakêț/ pakêț/ si-o-qîl-mes/ pakêț/ 'isqîlmes 'one island'

/masîx si-ișaw-?/ masîx /ișîșaw 'three days'

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

/loʔ-ka-o-tîk ka-o-ulîš/ loʔkaštîk kašuliš 'the tip of the hand'

/kîšî loʔ-ka-o-iw ka-o-ulîyî/ 'a long knife / a knife / a long one'

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

/ʔîhi si-o-mît loʔ-ka-o-al-îpœyewu/ ʔîhi /ismit loʔkaalîpœyewu

'a crystal has many facets: many / its back / crystal'
Possession

Common nouns are either alienably or inalienably possessed. Possession is an important category in the noun phrase; after the article si- it is the most common nominal inflection. Any common noun may occur with possessive prefixes; common nouns may be alienably or inalienably possessed.

Possessive markers

Possessive markers with the noun are identical to subject markers with the verb (except that the indefinite subject marker am- does not occur as a possessive marker). They are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>k-is-</td>
<td>k-iy-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>p-is-</td>
<td>p-iy-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>c-</td>
<td>c-is-</td>
<td>c-iy-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inalienable possession

A great many nouns are inalienably possessed, including some derived nouns. Inalienably possessed nouns cover a broad semantic domain, naturally centering on body part terms, kinship terms, and some material artifacts (e.g. -ax 'bow'). Inalienably possessed nouns occur only with one of the possessive markers.
or -vš

A suffix -vš marks inalienably possessed nouns which are
being used in a non-possessed sense. Such nouns do not
occur with possessive markers, but the suffix marks them as
belonging to a class distinct from the alienably possessed
nouns which need not occur with any possessive prefix.

These special non-possessed forms may

/xᵛ /si-k-teťeʔ/ sikteteʔ 'my mother'
/si-teťeʔ-vš/ šiteteňeš 'a mother, someone's mother'
/si-s-isoyʔ /?isisoy 'his dancing plumes'
/x isEqual /si-isoyʔ-vš/ šišišoyš 'dancing plumes'

These special non-possessed forms may be simple monomorphemic
nouns, as in the examples above, or they may be
verbal derivatives. In the case of verbal derivatives, the
inalienably possessed form takes possessive markers but no
derivative suffix marker, while the non-possessed form takes only
the -vš suffix, which here marks both derivation and non-possessed.

Thus, from the verb ti-mes 'to fasten,' come both the possessed
/si-k-timesʔ/ 'my fastener, my pin'
and the non-possessed form
/si-ti-mes-vš/ šitimeseñeš 'a fastener, pin'

Another example; from oxšol 'to urinate',
/si-s-oxšolʔ /?ixošol 'its urines'
/si-oxšol-vš/ šošoxšoliš 'urine'
Here hin- serves to keep prefixes in the same position class from occurring immediately adjacent to one another. This morphological feature is unique to V.

*hin-*

**Unique to V.** is the prefix *hin-**

When the prefix position slot is occupied by possessive prefixes, the prefix *hin-* already pre-empted by *xam* prefixes, then *hin-* introduces the true possessive prefixes. The environments in which *hin-* appears are prefixed with here a

1) when a noun is a verbal derivative prefixed with the third person singular verbal prefix, as in /c-qil-mes/ 'island,' literally 'it is across the water,' as in

/k-hin-c-qil-mes/ kʰincqilmes 'my island'

/si-c-hin-c-pey/ xst isʰincpey 'exhausted is its flower'

prex /c-pey/ 'it blooms' = 'flower'

an inalienably poss'd

2) when a noun is prefixed with the third person singular possessive marker as used idiomatically in a non-possessed sense, such as /c-sa/ qʰə 'fishhook; arrowhead,' literally 'its tooth,' as in

/si-k-hin-c-sa/ sikʰincə 'my fishhook; my arrowhead'

/si-s-hin-c-hilaq/ isʰinchilaq 'his handle (of his knife)'

3) when a noun is a verbal derivative prefixed with the agentive prefix *al-*, which occurs in the same position class as the subject markers, such as

/'al-di-d/ ʻa point,' literally 'one that is sharp,' as in

/xəxə /si-c-hin-ʻal-di-d/ isʰindid 'its points'

/si-c-hin-ʻal-waš-mes/ xmx isʰinwalumes 'its cross-piece'
4) when a noun begins with an initial consonant cluster with an initial consonant cluster, which is phonologically similar but not morphologically similar to nouns already prefixed with the third person singular prefix c-.

/si-k-hin-stin/ sik'inhstin 'my dog'
/si-e-hin-oqoyis/ 'ishinoqoyis 'her kopp-bed (where she fishes)

5) when a possessive marker appears with a noun which is normally not possessed at all, hin- may appear, as in

/e-hin-mow/ chin'mow its honey (lit. sugar)
/17al- hin-pšt' / tathompt' lone with lice
/k-hin-paktwasi/ my old man's husband
Pluralization

Number in the noun is marked.

Number is marked in the noun only as singular versus plural, althro a dual number appears in verb to subjects. Plurality is marked either by a suffix -wun or by initial GVC reduplication.

The plural suffix -wun is common as a plural object marker in verbs, but it occurs much less often as a plural marker in nouns. Among the few examples are /lo9-kas-i-win-wun/ lo9kasiwinwu 'his companions
Very commonly, number is not marked at all in the noun if it is clear from context. And if number is overtly marked elsewhere in the sentence, usually in the verb, then it is seldom explicitly marked in the noun. In the sentences below, the verb with which it occurs subject it is marked has a plural subject marker: in any
/c-iy-qisî si-qumup/ diqisî qiqumup 'the children see [it]' and the object noun below is unmarked for number and a plural object marker -wun in

Number is not marked at all in ...

Number is not marked after numerals
/masex si-7-1saw-?/ masex 71saw '3 days'

and body part terms very seldom take any
number marker after body part terms.

+ si-k-pw  my hand - my hands(\$
/si-c-7ulya/ 715ulya his finger(s)

+ a kesî he?isimuk sigumup
the children's aunt
Pluralization

The number in the noun seems to be marked only by -wu.

CVC reduplication: the K cognate of the B and I vowel.

Number suffix -wun/-wun is used only as an object marker with

K verbs, apparently never with nouns.

Initiati CVC reduplication in nouns falls on the initial

spirááln leftmost syllable of the noun excluding person and

number possessive markers, axxlaaxxx as in the example below,

where p/p-iy-/ is the person-number marker

/as-p-iy-qunup + R/ sipiqunqunup 'your (plural) children.

Initiated consonant clusters are reduplicated intact, if they

CVC Reduplication may have a collective force, as in

/as + R/ qasqas 'a sandy place' < 'sand'

/xšo + R/ xšoxšo 'an alder grove' < 'alder tree'

/tip + R/ tipitip 'a salt flat' < 'salt'

simply

But more commonly, CVC reduplication seems to have

a plural force. With plural reduplication, the final consonant

of the noun may be glottalized, but this feature is not obligatory

as it is in B and I. Examples of simple CVC redup

/miti + R/ mitmiti 'little ones'

/woco + R/ wocwoco 'ducks (of a certain species)'

/øyøy + R/ óyøyøy 'bumble bees'

and of CVC redup with final glottalization

/tə /lawə + R/ /lawə

/miy-Va- + R/ mə miyəmiyə 'threads'

/xan-mə /šan- + R/ šašaša 'men-initiates (into šantap cult)'

/ciniči- + R/ ciniči 'octopi'

Very commonly, number is not marked at all in the noun in B.

Note that final glottalization may fall on a suffix, in this

case xəm -iwaš 'dead, defunct,' as in

/c-se-iwaš + R/ chensenivo 'his (a dead man's) bones
Noun Phrases

Complex noun phrases involve constructions with numerals, quantifiers, appositive or possessive force, and constructions with numerals and demonstratives.

Possessive Phrases

The possessive phrase shows the possessed noun first, marked by possessive prefixes in agreement with the person and number of the possessor noun, which follows.

/si-c-tuʔ-waʔ si-qasʔ/ ?iʔtuʔ-waʔ ?iʔqasʔ 'abalone shell:
its shell/abalone'

/khaʔʔ /loʔ-ka-c-se ka-wiʔ/ loʔkasʔhe kawʔ 'a deer bone:
its bone/a deer'

/heʔ-si-c-iy-muk si-qunup/ heʔisimuk siqunup 'the children's aunt: their (plural) aunt/child'

Appositive phrases

Appositive phrases are equivalent to two nominal compounds, the second adds some further specification or qualification of the first noun.

/suʔ-iʔw si-qaʔ/ ʔiʔw ekʔ 'imaqeq 'a knife [of] flint'
/c-ʔelsiku si-c-se/ ʔelsiku ʔiʔse 'a bead [of] bone'
/ʔ loʔ-kaʔ-ʔiqiy kaʔ-ʔataξaʔ/ 'rooster! male chicken,'literally 'chicken (<quail), male'
/suʔ-pey siʔ-aʔ-pow/ suʔ-pey ?iʔalpow 'a curved ornament:
an ornament, one that is curved'
Phrases with Numerals and Demonstratives

Numerals and demonstratives both precede the noun which The noun takes the article si-. which they modify. The noun may also be deleted, leaving the numeral or demonstrative. Examples with numerals show the noun unmarked for number.

/paket' si-c-qil-mes/ paket' ?isqilmes 'one island'

/c/kumu si-c-?ipuk/ c/kumu ?is?ipuk 'four corners' li. 'its elbows'

As far as for demonstratives, kaki 'that one' is much more likely to occur as a free form than he? 'this one', which seems to operate more as an elicit.

/kaki si-m?itip/ kaki sim?itip 'that door'

/ha?/si-k-wop/ ha?/si-k-wop 'this son of mine; my son here' numerals

With both numerals and demonstratives, the following noun may be deleted, with numerals;

/c-qil-s?in ?is?kom/ c/qisin ?is?kom 'he found them two (of them)'

/ma-xuyuw kaki/ 'that man is a liar: liar / that one'

Quantifiers usually precede the noun.

/ytl?/sa si-ku/ all the people

/'?ehti si-c-?el/ sehti ?is?el its many legs

An example of a complex noun phrase involving both possession, apposition, and a quantifier is


'a big piece of abalone shell'/ piece / big one / its shell /

abalone /

he found all of them
and some stems are evidently uniquely occurring found only with one particular prefix.

Verb stem morphology

The basic shape of the verb stem is CVC and CVCVC, often augmented by reduplication and various formatives. Some verb stems are bound, occurring in many bound stems which occur only with some verbal prefix (other than the obligatory markers of person and number). Also, nouns, numerals, and quantifiers often act as stems in compounds with verbal prefixes.

The Canonical shape of the verb

A large number of verbs follow the CVC and CVCVC pattern which characterizes both noun and verb stems.

-ćix 'to do firmly'  kuyam 'to sit'
čeq 'to split, crack'
hum 'to arrive'
čhum 'to be good'
mes 'to cross'
pay 'to freeze, frost'

But verb stems may be considerably more varied than CVC and CVCVC. Verb stems very commonly show an initial vowel, not preceded by a glottal stop, handful of forms.

alhaš 'to speak'  elhew 'to go down'
apay 'to go up'  imey 'to shampoo'
okoš 'to scold'  ulis 'to take hold of'
ūš 'to dig'  iliken 'to sit, stay'
asiw 'to speak to'

Relatively few verbs begin with an initial glottal stop, whereas among nouns this is the rule.

'es 'to weave'  'uw 'to eat'
'oyon 'to help'  'oš 'to copulate'

Many verbs end in -n, such as xooyoyn 'to play.' But word final -n is deleted by a regular sound rule, and -n is also elenfinalized (shut in) between 2 vowels by another rule.
Very few verb stems end with a final vowel.

It is difficult to tell if a verb stem ends in a final vowel, unless suffixed forms of the stem appear in the corpus. But inxx vowel-final verb stems seem to be rather rare, in just as in Ineseno.

-ći 'to be sharp' tiyaxaxa 'to straddle'

Verb Formatives -Vn and -Vč

The verb stem may be augmented with two very common final formatives -Vn and -Vč, which are also highly productive.

Verb Formatives

The basic CVC and CVCVC shape of the verb stem may be elaborated to produce more complex forms; by suffixed formatives -Vn and -Vč, by a number of prefixed formatives, and by lexical reduplication.

Formativatives -Vn and -Vč

The verb stem may be augmented with two very common derivative suffixes (q.v.). Many longer verb stems might be segmented as CVC or CVCVC plus -Vn or -Vč.

-ćiỳin 'to be tired of'
wasìn 'to be good, true'
melewn 'to go down/in'
oxoyoxon 'to fly'

mëlixan 'to go down/in'
maxaš 'to be blind'
'ameš 'to fight'
šívùwaš 'to pity'

-šwa to watch

-šwa to watch
Phonological evidence for the segmentability of aq-/ax- 5-3 is that this formative gives rise to many medial consonant clusters, such as /qk/ and /xc/, which do not otherwise occur within morpheme boundaries.

The formative -aq-/ax-

There is a ubiquitous formative aq-/ax- which is surely segmentable at the deepest levels of Chumash morphology, although synchronically it is fused with the stem as an essentially monomorphemic item. A comparative example is a verb meaning 'to untie,' ttipoter in Ineseno, and oxpot in V. In both languages the prefixes are synchronically fused with the stem.

When the formative aq-/ax- is segmented off, the remainign sequence is likely to be of a CVC or CVGVC shape. Examples of aq-/ax- fused with CVC stems,

\[\text{oxpot 'to untie'}\]
\[\text{aqtp 'to light a fire'}\]
\[\text{aqnil 'to swow, be visible'}\]

with CVGVC stems,

\[\text{axtiw 'wind to blow'}\]
\[\text{oxtokok 'to toast'}\]
\[\text{-aqwitiy 'to cast a shadow'}\]

and with stems augmented with -\( \text{vn} \) aqsinin 'to be autumn' (cf \( I \) ytxtsxtn 'to harvest')

\[\text{oppolon 'to thicken wet dough by adding more meal'}\]
\[\text{aqppan 'to get stuck in an opening'}\]

More rarely, a sibilant occurs in this formative, giving aqs-/axs- or aqš-/axš-, as in

\[\text{aqšpiloyi 'to be uneven'}\]
\[\text{aqsyukukun 'to whistle'}\]

\[\text{axtyk 'to eat greens raw'}\] (cf \( I \) axtuš 'did')
In most cases, aq-/ax- is unanalyzable, occurring with a
with a uniquely-occurring bound stem, but in many cases the
formative aq-/ax- might be identified with the productive
prefix aq-/ax- 'with the mouth,' when it occurs with verbs
having to do with eating, speaking, and sound in general.
Examples with CVC stems,
- axsil 'to bite'
  /oxwɔn/ oxwoʔo 'to roar, howl'
- expen 'to sing'
  axlap 'to sing a charm'
  and with
  stems augmented with -Vn and -vɔ,
  and with CVVC stems
  oxlolon 'to grunt (of animal)'
- aqtutuŋ 'to suck'
- axlalan 'to put into the mouth'
  and with CVCC stems
  (cannot be repeated)
  unanalyzable stem with aq-/ax-
  constitute some
  same semantic field
  aq-vakam man 'to whistle'
  aq-vam 'not green soul (of whale)'.


Rarer Formatives

There are a number of sequences, occurring with only a few stems, which also appear to be formatives. These include uq-/-ux-, or uqs-/-uxs-, as in

uxdīm 'to spit' uqtaway 'to make flat cakes'
uqstahay 'to be red' (cf. I. uqstay 'to be bright'
and iq-/-ix-,
- iqmay 'to plug up'
- ixwap 'to burn'
- iqsmun 'to cover the head'
Emanx and as-/-aš-.
astipil 'to be thick'
aškululuč 'to make a lot of noise'
espet 'to be wide, broad'

Lexically Reduplicated Verbs

The morphology of the verb stem is characterized by a great deal of lexical reduplication, often in conjunction with formatives such as PI -Vn and -Vč or aq-/-ax-. There are several patterns of lexical reduplication.

1) CVC Redup A good comparative example of CVC
gapgap 'to be thin' Redup (5 v lam lam toe soh) occurs
lamlam 'to be soft' (cf. B lam'm) -Vn
lupilup 'ground to be uneven
yawyawaw 'to be very content
Sibilant Formatives

Occasionally an unanalyzable sibilant formative -c-, -ps-, or hmx -ks- immediately precedes the verb stem occurs between a given compound of hmxhmx prefix plus verb stem. The presence of the formative is inexplicable; it does not seem to be triggered either by the prefix or the stem, since the same prefix with other stems and the same stem with other prefixes usually lack the formative.

/aqulu-c-miy/ aqulusmiy 'to twist string on the thigh'
/qil-ps-tahin/ qilpístahí 'to open the eyes'
/pa-na-ps-tatqin/ panapstaqi 'to hit together with a noise'
/n1-ps-nokoy/ 'to hurt, ache'

are these uniquely occurring stems? then, tatqin, nokoy
2) Initial CV- Redup  

A good comparative example of initial CV- redup in V
is ṣošoy 'to be dark, black,' which in B and I occurs as ṣoyin,
without reduplication, but augmented with -Vn.

\[\text{xexexw 'to be hoarse'}\]
\[\text{ṣaṣk̩am to yawn}\]
\[\text{wwe to get lost, popon to speak}\]
\[\text{nunu to be soft}\]

3) Final VC-reduplication

\[\text{showow to be white}\]
\[\text{-onhokokhoko to hop on one leg}\]
\[\text{wuṭkukun}\]

(\text{cf. I sunik'ok'oko?})

3) Medial Reduplication  

\[\text{yekezen water to stand}\]

\[\text{Many Most examples of medial reduplication are open to interpretation as inherent CVC sequences plus the }\]
\[\text{Vn or Ṿ augment, in which the final consonant of the CVC sequence is reduplicated.}\]

\[\text{xoxoyan to fly}\]
\[\text{katatan 'to split' (kat?)}\]
\[\text{hayayan 'to expand' (hay?)}\]
\[\text{kawonon to be round (cf. I kawon}\]
\[\text{ipytooth 'to boil' (\text{?} (ip-yot?))}\]

And with initial formatives:

\[\text{aškululuč 'to make a lot of noise' (\text{/as-kul?})}\]
\[\text{astımämän 'to mum, buzz' (cf. I. astımämän 'id.'})\]
\[\text{aqsyukukun 'to whistle' (aqsyuk-?)}\]
5) Bisyllabic Reduplication

Bisyllabic reduplication is limited to CVCVC verb stems,

perhaps based on CVC stems plus -Vn augment.

yepyepepen '[earth] to shake'

\[\text{falatal to } \text{gargam}\]
Bound Verb stems

There are many bound *ίες verb stems which never occur without some verbal prefix, other than the obligatory person-number markers. These include:

- tun 'to be two, double'
- apay 'to go up'
- koy 'to go back'
- xen 'to be gone, disappear'
- cix 'to do firmly, tightly'
- smon 'to join, gather'
- tí 'to find, meet'
- pen 'to strip off'

An example of the items in the prefix system of a bound stem such as -tun 'to be two, involve two' includes:

/waš-tun/ waštu 'to be double'
/su-wašti-tun/ šuwaštitu 'to be in two rows'
/nu-tal-tun-א/ nutaltuč 'to hold in both hands'
/cm-maš-tun-א/ cmaqtun 'half'
/al-tun/ alitu 'two to be together'
/nu-l-tun/ nultu 'two to go together'
/kup-tun-א/ kupatuč 'two to drink out of the same cup'

All of the bound stems listed above are also found in Inaceno, but some *ίες stems which are in Inaceno are bound occur as free stems in V, such as:

- cix 'a fire goes out'
- cixim 'it is straight'
- koy 'to turn over'
- tun 'to eat with 2 fingers'
Uniquely-occurring stems

It is obvious premature to speak of uniquely occurring verb stems before examining the entire available corpus, but many stems appear to occur only with one particular prefix, or with what looks like a segmentable prefix. Many of these occur in Ineseno; and comparative evidence often proves their segmentability, even though synchronically they must be treated as single units.

-pot 'to untie, unloosen' in

V /ax-pot/ oxpot and I ti-pot

-škiy 'to wiggle, writhe,' in

V alu-škiy and I aq-škiy

-ixsililin 'to soften' in compounds with prefixes referring to heat, meaning 'to melt, soften through heat'

V /api-ixsililin/ apixsililin and I yul-ixsililin

-pit 'to stamp' in

V aqta-pit and I ašni-pit

-wewen 'to apply' in

V iku-wewen 'to put on top of'

I aqni-su-wewen 'to think of: apply the mind to'

Needless to say, the unique status of these could be upset at any time by the discovery of compounds with any other prefixes. An example of a uniquely occurring stem in I is /xal-ciyin/

xanciyin 'to be disgusted,' in which the stem -ciyin in V occurs with more than one prefix in

aq-ci-yin-pi 'to be tired of, fed up with'

/su-xul-ci-yin-š/ šsxulciyinš 'to be bad, worthless'

In addition, any of the stems analyzed as containing one of the initial formatives like aq-/ax- must be regarded as uniquely occurring.
Nominalizing prefixes

Prefixes with a nominalizing force all belong to the system of verbal inflection, in which nominalized forms often show some semantic specialization.

1) /c-/: This is the third person singular subject prefix, verbal and the nouns formed with it are essentially predications.
   - /c-play/ an epis 'flower: it blooms'
   - /c-kill-meg/ 'island: it is across the water'
   - /c-walk-al-ko/ avolokoy 'edge, circumference: it goes around the edge'
   - /c-matun/ 'matun 'half: it is half'

2) /al-/: This prefix is nominal in the sense that as an agamimix a nominal and verbal prefix, applicable as a nominal prefix, it applies to both animate and inanimate nouns.
   - /al-by/ alma 'one who goes'

   - /al-maw/ 'something which curves, is bent' sharp
   - /al-maw/ 'sharpen point: something'
   - /al-maw/ with the nominal occupational terms, 'al' is reduplicated as just as in B, but not in I.

   - /al-al-ar-axal/ 'al@alaxina axal 'dancer'
   - /al-al-ar-x-axal/ 'al@alaxia@epa 'surer, doctor'
   - /al-al-ulim/ 'hunter (of deer)'

The simple prefixes with no other derivational affix may occur with 'al- in the sense of 'one who has much/a large'.

   - /al@al/ al@al 'one with many lives'
2) ?al- 'agentive' This prefix is particularly common, both as a nominal and verbal prefix. In the derivation of nouns, where ?al- may apply to form both animate and inanimate productive and nouns, the prefix derivative form may be either semantically transparent, or more opaque. Productively, ?al- is 'one who does,' as in

/ʔal-nal/ ?alnaʔal 'one who goes'
/ʔal-pow/ 'something that is a curve, something that bends'
/ʔal-či-č/ 'sharp point, something that is sharp'

With occupational terms, ?al- may be reduplicated just as in B, Đđ (though not in I),

/ʔal-ʔal-axi-nal/ ?alʔalaxinaʔal 'dancer: one who dances'
/ʔal-ʔal-ulmit/ 'a hunter (of deer)'
/ʔal-ʔal-axi-yep-č- + ?/ ?alʔalaxiyeʔepč 'doctor, curer' Less productively, ?al- shows an unpredictable semantic specialization often in plant and animal names. Here, the shifted form ?an-

/ʔa

/ʔan-imeʔ/ 'duck sp., with a white head'
< imeʔ 'to shampoo with white clay'

/ʔan-atam- + FR/ ?anatamam 'raccoon,'
< atam-li 'to follow a watercourse'

/ʔal-kuto/ 'herb sp., bitter' < kuto 'to be bitter'

Simple noun stems with no other derivational affix may occur with ?al-, in the sense of 'one who has much/a large N,' as in

/ʔal-楙/ ?alčik 'one with many lice'
/ʔal-tem/ 'one with big feet'
synonymy
Sometimes/derivatives may be formed with either c- or ?al-,
as with the verb stem yexexen 'water to stand',
/(c-yexexen/) cyexexe — /(?al-yexexen/) ?alyexeexe 'swamp, marsh'
or liyuyu 'to be slimy,' in
/(c-liyuyu/) ?liyuyu — /(?al-liyuyu/) ?allyuyu 'slug'
as a nominalizer
3) su- Much less common/is the prefix su-, normally
the causative prefix in verbs.
/(su-pey/) 'ornament' — 'to cause to stick on'
/(su-wayan/) suwaya 'earring,' 'to cause to hang'
Nominal elements (Nominal) may occur in verbal compounds. These nominal elements, lacking any derivational suffix, include not only regular noun stems, but also numerals and even quantifiers. Examples with noun stems include:

- mit 'back', in su-mit-pi 'to turn the back on, put the back toward'
- tiwis 'bottom, anus', in /qal-c-tiwis/ qanctiwis 'to wear one's belt very low'

With numerals, verbal prefixes are common with numerals, usually just one, two, and three. A bound stem -tun 'to be two' involves two prefixes. It replaces -iškom in such constructions:

/su-wašti-paket/ šuwaštipaquet 'to weave with one strand'

Examples with pak /paket/ paket 'one'

/lupaket/ lupaket 'to be unique, singular'

/su-wašti-paket/ šuwaštipaquet 'to weave with one strand'

and with masix 'three'.

nu-l-masix 'for three to go together'

kupa-masix 'for three to drink out of the same cup'

A bound stem -tun 'to be two, involve two' replaces -iškom in such constructions, along with a derivative /šiškom²-vč/ šiškomic 'to be a pair'

/su-wašti-tun/ šuwaštitu 'to be in two rows'

/kupa-tun-š/ kupaštu 'for two to drink from the same cup'

Examples of quantifiers with verbal prefixes include:

miti 'little, a little one' in yuq-miti 'to be slender'

šimalxia'ax/ xâaxa'ax/ 'much, a big one' in /lu-xâax/ luaxa'ax 'to grow large'

šiš 'many', in lu-šiš 'to branch into many'
5) qnowowo - qnowoqnowo 'a short one' cf G k'lowow...
/k c-am-sunuw-us payiku la? qnowoqnowo
[=] 'they use it even ax though it is/short' [one]

These last four items all-con-sunuw-un may look like
stativive verbs, at least in English translation, but they take
also
maxax person number prefixes. However, they may/occur as
verbal stems, either with a derivational suffix
'/aputi-xax-Vn/ aputixaxan 'to much water to flow'
/xurixax qulu-su-?ulyi-Vn/ quulu?ulyin 'to bore lengthwise'
or maxaxammax without one.
/yuq-mit 'to be slender'
/lu-xax/ luxa?ax 'to grow large'
Derivation

An extremely productive pattern of verbal derivation involves the suffixes -VN and -VČ, which are also common verbal segments (q.v.). Verbs derived from nouns by -VN usually denote a process or activity involving the noun. The various partially overlapping senses include:

'to make N'
- tomolin to build a canoe
- ḥap'an to build a house

'to endow with N'

'to do, be what is characteristic of N.'
- /'utam-Vn/ 'utamun 'creek to flow' ('utam 'creek')
- /x 'ataxad-Vn/ 'ataxadihin 'to be brave, manly'

'to use N'.
- /cwey-Vn/ cweyen 'to be yellow'
- /eqen-mu-Vn/ eqenmu'un 'to wear sandals'
- /toqolo-Vn + R/ toqololin 'carry under the arm'

'to use N, do something involving N'
- /uš-qo'y-Vn/ ušqo'yifin 'to gather shellfish'
- /ṣt-Vn/ ṣṭḥtn ṣṭ to climb a cliff
-Vu

ʔulyi - luʔulyiʔin  to go lengthwise (ʔulyi - long)
cpowipowi  it is zigzag
uʔqoʔiʔi  to gather shellfish
ʔuʔqoʔiʔiʔaʔ  gathered shellfish
ʔutamun  creek to flow
cqapuni  it is spring

NB šahaʔ  to have flint tip/teeth
šihi  to climb cliff
mwxm cweye  to be yellow (cwey)
NB ʔataxaʔihiʔin  to be manly, brave
mikíʔi  to go far (cf máʔik)
NB ʔeqenmu - ʔeqenmuʔun  shoe - to put on shoe

 togolol  to hold under arm
Verbs derived by nouns by -Vč are generally stative or passive; those which are active are still intransitive. The range of meanings of -Vč includes

'to be characterized by N,'

/ˈatiʃtɨn/ ˈatiʃtɨnič 'to have a charm, dream-helper'

/ʃolop-Vč/ ʃolopič 'to be muddy'

/ʃipuk-Vč/ ʃipuke;č 'to have a corner, elbow'

'to be like N',

'...'

'to put on, wear N,'

- /sapatu-Vč/ šapatunič 'to put on, wear shoes'

- /cux-Vč/ ɕuxič 'to wear a headdress'

'to use N,'

/ˈqoqtoʊwol-Vč/ ʔoqtoʊolič 'to whistle (with a whistle)'

- /tomol-Vč/ tomolič 'to go by boat'

X V preserves traces of an archaic derivative suffix -l, in

/su-ti-l/ sátič 'to mention by name'

and in an etymology suggested by Beelor

/aq-mi-l/ 'to drink,' (cf. m̃k-/-mɨ/mihi 'water' in Crueno')
numayetc(n?) to do something all day
Inflectional Suffixes

Inflectional suffixes are few, compared to the number of prefixes. Suffixes mark pronoun objects, imperatives, and a few spatial and temporal categories. Suffixes fall into a well-defined set of position classes.

Object Suffixes

There is a set of mutually exclusive object suffixes, marking personal pronoun objects as well as such categories as 'reflexive,' 'reciprocal,' and 'plural object'.

The pronominal object suffixes conflate some categories which are distinct in subject markers; the dual/plural distinction is lost, the first and the non-singular and the first and second person plural objects fall together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-us -Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most verbs do not explicitly mark a third person singular object, as in
- kiyuš-til 'we found it / we found something'
while some take -us.
/k'-ip-us/ kipus 'I say to him'
/c-am-tipal-yoqon-us/ camtipoyoqonus 'they bore a hole in it'

Verbs which take -us in the singular take it in the plural too, so that -us-wun is the regular plural object marker for such verbs. /c-sus-kuy-us-wun/ chuskuyusu 'he shows it to them'
Verbs which mark the third person object with -us show this suffix even when an overt noun object appears, as in
/k-ʔip-us siʔata xaʔ/ kipus śaʔata xaʔ 'I say to the man'

Several grammatical relationships between verb and noun phrase are expressed by the object suffixes, including:

direct object or patient
/kə-c-uʔ-tey-it/ kəuʔ-tey-it 'he touches me'

indirect object or goal
/c-sus-kuy-us-wun loʔ-c-iwɨ-n-wun/
chuskuyuswu loʔkasiwinuwu 'he shows [it] to his companions'

benefactive,
/uʔ-qal-itʔ si-mitipɨ/ uʔ-qalɨt simitipɨ
'open the door for me!'

ablative or source
/kə-c-kuʔ-tey-ʔa-

and the subject of a verb embedded in a causative construction with su-'causative'.

/c-su-ackaw-it/ chackawit 'he makes me make a mistake'

A common idiomatic construction with object suffixes shows the possessive markers of an object noun repeated as an object marker, perhaps with benefactive force.

/c-iʔuq-it heʔ-s-i-k-ʔip/ 'he stabs me in the belly'

'he pierces me/my belly'
-šaši - šaš 'reflexive' Both -šaši and -šaš are reflexive markers; -šaši is quite common
/c-oxpot-šaši/ čoxpotšiši 'he untied himself'
/c-qal-cix-šaši/ čqalcišaši 'it clings'
/c-alumun-šaši/ čalumunaši 'he advises himself'
and -šaš is rarer (it is more common as a nominalizing suffix).
/c-qal-lokin-šaš/ čqolokišaš 'he puts his belt on himself'
-nVš 'reciprocal'
/c-iš-iluk-nVš/ čišikuknaš 'they (dual) butt each other'
/c-iš-?al-ti-aq-pey-nVš/ čišalteqpenaš 'they (dual) are stuck together'

-š 'plural object; intransitive; sustained action-

The suffix -š is a highly productive one, giving posing serious problems in the segmentation with two distinct senses. Verbs marked with -š may have a passive or intransitive force, almost usually with a third person subject.
/c-išip-š/ čišipš 'it is'
/c-iy-iqmay-š/ čiyiqmaš 'they are plugged up'
/kunukkešaš /c-ušti-pey-š/ duštipeš 'it is mixed'

Alternatively,
\[\text{customary, habitual, or sustained action may be denoted by -š.}\]
/knutal-tun-š/ knutaltuš 'I am holding it in both hands'
/am /c-sus-itax-may-š/ ahušitaxmaš 'he is proud
Verbs marked

Alternatively, -s may mark a multiple object, as in

/al-icuq-š/ 'al-icuqš 'a thing which pierces many'
m-?al-alitkš-š/ mur-alitkšš 'he has no hope for them'

-s 'plural object; intransitive'

The suffix -s is a highly productive one. Verbs marked with -s may have a multiple object, as in

(see two examples above)

Alternatively, verbs marked with -s may have a passive or intransitive force. Used in a passive sense, -s usually occurs with third person subjects, as in

/c-ly-iqm-š/ čiyqmaš 'they are plugged up'
/c-uš-ti-py-š/ čuštipeš 'it is mixed'

Used more with an intransitive force, -s often acts as an unmarked object for a large set of verbs which require some object marker in this position.

/muxx /k-exp-š/ muxx košxš 'I sing'
/k-exp-us/ košpus 'I sing for him'
/k-?oy-n-š/ ?oyoš 'I help'
/k-?oy-nil/ ko-nil 'I help you'
-š

koyoč I help
mu'ālalītkīš he doesn't hope for them (alītkīy)
šušitaxmaš to be proud
NB čiwīšlı' he goes with him
nutaltuč - to hold in both hands
vališuqą - spear (išuq - to pierce)
čiyiŋmaŋ - they are plugged up
duštipeŋ - it is mixed
valušlatapę - something mixed
muŋalilŋ+keŋ - he doesn't hope for them (all key)
Other suffixes

Suffixes other than the object suffixes mark temporal, locational-directional, and imperative categories.

1) -waŋ 'past tense'

/k'-iy-ql-si-waŋ/ kiqlšinwaŋ 'we saw it'
/c-ʔutam-Vn-waŋ/ 'a stream was flowing'
/heʔ-si-k-tr-2i-p-us-waŋ/ hesikalʔipušwaŋ
/heʔ-si-kʔip-us-waŋ/ heʔšikipušwaŋ 'what I said to him'

2) -pi 'locativizer; transitivity' This suffix indicates that the action of a generally intransitive verb is directed toward a particular object. The usual gloss of -pi is with some as propositional phrase, determined by the vagaries of English on this point. With no object expressed, -pi implies an indefinite third person object.

uxšik 'to spit' : uxšik-푢 'to spit on'
ušikan 'to feel hurt, offended' :
           ušikanpi 'to feel hurt at, offended with'
/qoʔon/ qoʔon 'to laugh' :
/su-qoʔon-Vš-pi/ šuqonšpi 'to laugh at'

An example in a sentence:

/hu-k'-iy-uxmal-c-tšk-š-pi si-c-tinjo/ hukiyuxmanštakšpi 'ištiniq 'we will wash our faces with his [the sun's] tears'

with a few verbs, -pi seems to require

/-vš/ qoʔon 'to laugh'
/su-qoʔon-vš-ep/ šuqonšpi 'to laugh at'
/su-čoḥon/ su-čoḥon-vš-ep/ to be used to
-li 'directional'

The suffix -li indicates that an action is spatially directed toward a certain goal.

/k-nu-nai'-li lo'-ka-k-?ap/ knunali lo?kakap 'I take it to my house'
/c-iwš-?-li/ čiwišli 'he goes there with (someone)
/c-ol-koy-?-li si-?ap/ colkoli sa?ap 'it goes around the house'
/k-su-kum-?-li lo'-si-c-tïk/ ksukumli lo'ištïk 'I bring it to the point, tip'

-iy 'repetitive'

/k-su-al-aqwâj-iy/ ksalaqwa?i?iy 'I fix it again'
/c-kimi-y-iy/ okimi?iy 'he repeats it again'

With a noun: An example with a noun stem:

/lo'-si-?-sup-iy/ lo'išupi?iy 'next year' Šup - year

-? 'imperative' The imperative marker consists of glottalization of a final consonantal segment, as in

/axšil-?-/ ?axšîl 'bite it!'
/uliš-?-/ ?uliš 'get it!'
/iy-itaq-?-/ ?iyitaq 'listen ye!'

After a final Glottalization with imperative force never causes breaking of the ŠIM preceding vowel; after final vowels, imperative glottalization does not appear. Itâ loss is parallel to the loss of final glottal stop in other environments.

/al-?a-?-/ ?a?al? meet him!
Directional indicators

Action toward the speaker or hearer is indicated by the prefix akti-, just as in B and I.

\[-\text{akti-}\text{oyun-it} \ 'he comes to help me\]

\[-\text{akti-}\]

Action involving motion, particularly motion away from the speaker or hearer, is indicated by breaking of the stem-final syllable of the verb.

k-sukupin 'I light a light, lamp'

k-sukupi?in 'I go to light a light'

/hu-k-uxmal-hin-\text{-s}/ hukuxmalhič 'I will wash (them)'

/hu-k-uxmal-hin-\text{-s-}?/ hukuxmalhi?iš 'I will go to wash (them)'

This process of parallel to the glottalization of a medial consonant in Barbareno, as in

\text{wilič} 'to hunt' vs \text{wilič} 'to go to hunt'

\text{ksiliku?us} I bring it to him

\text{chiliki?it} he brings it to me

Unlike the final glottalization with the imperative,

\text{/c-al-ti/ calti?i} 'he goes to meet (someone)'

here glottalization is preserved even with final vowels, since the breaking of the vowel preserves the glottal from word-final position.

\text{/c-al-ti + ?/ calti?i} 'he goes to meet [someone]'
-uć 'intransitive'
   is probably a special case of the derivative suffix -uč
   This suffix is normally a derivative suffix, marking
   making stative, passive, or intransitive verbs out of nouns.
   -uć
   Added to a verb stem, ñx adds an intransitive force.
   /aq-čiýín-pi/ 'to be tired of, fed up with (transitive)'
   /aq-čiýín-pi-ʊč/ aqčiýínpiyuć 'to be fed up (intransitive)'
   Aip 'to say(something to someone)'
   /Aip-ʊč/ Aipuć 'to say, speak'
   net 'to be like (something)'
   /net-uć/ 'to be like' as in
   /nel-net-uć + R/ nel ćnementućuć 'what is it is like'

   But this suffix does not always form intransitive verbs;
   an example which seems to function just like intransitive form is
   
   /ka-ŋašnim si-p-equel-uć heŋ-si-kapba/ 'when did you make
   this coffee?'
-il - r -piil 'instrumental' This suffix indicates that the immediately following noun phrase is the instrument with which an action is done. The two examples both occur with r.

/ma-s-ly-wuta-pi-il pon/ musiwutapil pon 'they do not fasten it with stakes'
/hu-k-wap-pi-il he-si-pon/ hukwippi-il hesipon

'I give a club-blow with this stick'

+ Suffix position classes

- pl
- i
- vs
- iyuw
-(us)wun
- ū
- šaš/šaši
- n vs
Verbal Prefixes

Verbal prefixes fall into three main classes of inner, outer, and personal prefixes. Inner prefixes fall between the person-number marking prefixes and the verb stem, while outer prefixes precede person-number markers. Outer prefixes occur productively with any verb stem, with a constant meaning. Inner prefixes, which are quite numerous, range from being freely productive to rare and unanalyzable; even with the most productive of these, there is a great deal of idiomaticity, in which the composite meaning of a prefix and stem is often not the logical sum of their separate meanings.

Personal prefixes

The set of person-number marking prefixes marking the subject of the verb is identical to the possessive markers with nouns, although the indefinite subject marker am- occurs only with verbs.

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<td>k-</td>
<td>p-</td>
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<td>k-iš-kín-</td>
<td>p-iš-</td>
<td>c-iš-</td>
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<td>k-iy-</td>
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The indefinite subject marker am- may be glossed with an indefinite 'they' or with a passive.
Outer prefixes

Outer prefixes precede person-number marking markers in the string of verbal prefixes, in the furthest position classes from the verb stem. It is often difficult to draw a sharp line between the more remote outer prefixes and the independent particles which precede the fully-inflected verb, particularly because Harrington wrote much of the verb phrase as a single unit. There may be an intermediate realm of verbal onclitics, but evidently, these are discussed under the section on particles.

These outer prefixes are listed in the order in which they occur if more than one is present.

1) si- 'relativizer' An article with nouns, si- as a verbal prefix has a relativizing force. (q.v. _____)
   /si-k-iq-il-sin/ sikiqisš 'what we see'
   /si-c-sili-yiwiw/ vishiliiyiwiw 'his sadness; what he is sad about'

2) ma- 'negative'

2) ka- 'predicative; relativizer' This prefix

As a predicative marker, this prefix marks the more important verbs in a discourse. This is a stylistic feature which translation cannot capture.

   /c-xili-wasín ka-c-šíp/ cxilìwasí kašíp 'he looked and said'...
   /ka-ši-yi ti c-maqu ti-nai/ kasyìti smaqtitina?al
   'he came running; he came, he was running'

As a relativizer, ka- is used just as si- is, and the two do not co-occur.
/laʔ huki ka-k-eqwel/ 'something that I made'
/ka-al-iy-uʔho/ kalʔiyuʔho 'those who leave it'
3) mu- 'negative'
/heʔ mu-c-ʔhum/ he muʔchum 'this is no good'
/mu-c-ʔil ʔcohoy/ musil ʔcohoy 'there is no other'
/mu-ʔal-uʔho/ 'one who does not let it go'
/mu-k-iy-suya-hin/ mukisuyahin 'we don’t want it'
4) hu- / huʔ- 'future' This prefix occurs in both forms, although the version with the final glottal stop is less common.
/hu-c-kitwo/ huskitwo 'it will come out'
/nel-huʔ-k-ala-
/nelʔ-huʔ-k-al-uti-kuy/ nelʔkalutikuy 'which direction shall I face'
/mu-hu-k-ʔ-juʔ/ 'I will not say it to him'
/muhukipus
A verb with three outer prefixes strung together is
/si-mu-hu-e-net-us/ simuhusnetus 'what he will not do'

5) ʔina- negative imperative
ʔina-p-net-us don’t you do it!

With a first person dual or plural subject, hu- may have a hortative muʔkirmi force, as in
/huʔ-k-iʔ-nai/ kxmrkrimi huʔkiriʔnaʔal 'let’s (dual) go!’
Inner Prefixes

The classification of prefixes given below is based largely on that of Inesseño prefixes. With the less productive prefixes, many examples must accumulate before a clear sense of the prefix/sense involved can be determined. After a clear sense emerges, it is clear what the semantics involved are. Where there are only a few examples, if they are clearly parallel to Inesseño, I analyze them the prefix with some confidence. Otherwise, I have given only those prefixes which are somewhat transparent; there is an indeterminate large residue of prefixes labelled unanalyzable.

The major classes of inner prefixes include:

1) grammatical prefixes, e.g.,
2) temporal prefixes, e.g.,
3) instrumental/medium prefixes
4) action classifier prefixes

In listing these, I have shown both the underlying and surface forms only if some notable morphophonemic change is involved, as in

/suya-?uw/ suyu?uw 'to want to eat'
/qal-ti-iw?-a/ qatiwa 'to tie side by side'

otherwise the hyphenated form given represents both surface and underlying form (perhaps with the low-level deletion of word-final /n/), as in

éeqi ʔhum 'to be cheerful'
tal-cix 'to grasp firmly'
xili-wasìn 'to look at carefully'
Stems occurring in the compounds are glossed parenthetically; for example, under uxmlal-'of washing' is the entry uxml-hin 'to wash' ('to take hold of'), where the stem hin is glossed as 'to take hold of'. Verb stems are left unglossed whenever their meaning is clear from the meaning of the prefix and the gloss of the compound: under suya- 'desiderative,' the stem ḫwlm 'uw needs no gloss in /suya-?uw/ suyu?uw 'to want to eat'.

In addition to regular the operation of regular phonological a few rules, certain unpredictable alternations occur in inner prefixes. This gives rise to considerable allomorphy. The main phonological rules are

1) low vowel harmony,
   /taya-nowon/ toyonow 'to stand erect' occasional
2) deletion of pre-consonantal /l/,
   /qil-sín/ qisi 'to see'
3) pre-vocalic vowel deletion
   /qal-sinay/ qiy
   /nu-alhaš/ nalhaš 'to speak on behalf of'
4) sibilant harmony
   /waš-mes/ wмес 'to be transverse, crosswise'

Of the unpredictable alternations, which are specific to each compound of prefix and verb stem, the most common are

1) /q/ alternated with /x/, as in qa?i- /x/a?i- 'of seeing'
   qili-wayan 'to peek'
   xili-wasín 'to look at carefully'
or maq- /max- 'of a line, rope'
   maq-wayan 'to swing in a swing'
   /max-su?hoqă/ maxsuhoqă 'to cut [a rope, line]'
Spatial Orientation

The class of spatial prefixes of spatial orientation includes directional prefixes as well as those which show static relationships.

1) akti- 'motion toward the speaker or hearer'
   /akti-alha/ aktalha 'to come to speak'
   /akti-xojin/ aktixoj 'to come into sight'

2) taya- 'of upright position'
   /taya-nowon/ toyohowo 'to stand erect'

2) prefixes with a high vowel plus /l/ have an alternate form with the vowel repeated after the /l/, as in pil-/pili- 'in the air',
   pili-yam 'to come down'
   su-pil-wat-pi 'to apply drop by drop'
   or qil-/qili- 'of seeing'
   /qil-sin/ qis 'to see'
   *qili-wayan 'to peek'
Grammatical prefixes

This set of grammatical prefixes expresses purely grammatical \textit{mamamx} categories such as \textit{su-} 'causative' and \textit{ni-} 'transitive' rather than the more concrete notions found in the other prefix classes.

1) \textit{al-} 'relativizer; subordinate' The most common use of \textit{al-} is in nominalized or relativized constructions, as in

/\textit{he′-si-k-al-tak\textit{h}uy} + R/ \textit{he′sikaltaktak\textit{h}uy}

'what I am holding'

/si-al-net-pi/ \textit{salnetpi} 'what happened to him'

Sometimes, a verb which is non-initial in the sentence takes \textit{al-}, \textit{mamamx} not as a sign of nominalization, but as a mark of its subordinate position in the sentence.

/\textit{lo′-ka′-al-ši-pi′š-awiš} \textit{\textquoteleft an mu-k-al-šuwaqma\textquoteleft}/

\textit{lo′ka′alši-pišiwaš} \textit{\textquoteleft an mukalšuwaqmaš} 'I won't reject Coyote: Coyote / I will not reject'

2) \textit{a}\textit{l-} 'agentive, habitual' When used as an inflectional prefix, the agentive marker \textit{a}\textit{l-} seems to have a habitual force.

/p-\textit{al-ni-\textit{k}hit/ \textit{palmikhit} 'you bring it: you are one who brings it'

/\textit{al-miš} + R/

/\textit{kip\dot{e}} \textit{\textquoteleft al-miš} + R/ \textit{kip\dot{e}} \textit{\textquoteleft almišmiš} 'now she cries: now[\textit{she is}] one who cries'
3) ni- 'transitive'
   ni-kla 'to break (trans)
   /ni-apay/ napay 'to ascend, go up (trans)
   /ni-su-wašin-š/ nišuwašič 'to put together well'

This prefix partially overlaps with su- 'causative, and may
even co-occur with it, as in the example above.

4) nu- 'concomitant, benefactive'
   nu-yam 'to bring down'
   /nu-alhaš/ nalhaš 'to speak on behalf of'
   * /nu-naš-li/ nunali 'to take to'
   /nu-1-masiš/ 'three go together'

5) suya- 'desiderative'
   /suya-naš/ suyanaš 'to want to go'
   /suya-aqmiš/ suyaqmiš 'to be thirsty: want to drink'
   /suya-šu/ suyušu 'to want to eat'

6) su- 'causative'
   su-tap 'to put in: cause to enter'
   su-waš-qal 'to split: cause to split'
   /su-čiši/ sicici 'to sharpen'

Two less common allomorphs are si- and sus-, as in
si-nowon 'to erect: cause to stand'
/sus-aqni-čhum / šušaqničhum 'to console: cause to be

Idiomatic compounds with

cheerful'

compounds with

Idiomatic of the desiderative are

common, as in

/šuy-aqmiš / Suyaqmiš 'want to play'
/šuy-čaš / to be happy-go-lucky
/Suya-šašan / Suyašašan 'to be sick-
want to die.'
Temporal Prefixes

Temporal prefixes range from the rather abstract notion of continutive or habitual action to more concrete notions such as 'in the morning'.

1) ali- 'continutive, progressive'
   ali-kowowon 'to be lying on one's side'
   ali-net-us 'to be like [something]
   /ali-waš-mes/ aliwesmes 'to be situated crosswise'

2) api- 'inceptive' cf. B/I api- 'quickly'
   /api-xwap/ apixwap 'to start burning'
   /api-xexew/ epixexew 'to become hoarse'

3) aqta- 'habitually'
   /aqta-ali-yexexen/ aqtaliyexexe 'to remain upside down'

4) kili- 'of rapid action'
   /kul-t-nal/-nalal 'to go quickly'
   /kili-tap-Vn/ kilitapi 'to enter quickly'

5) magut/- suddenly
   /maxut-agxu/ maxutagxu 'to come suddenly'

6) xuti- 'suddenly, inceptive action'
   /xuti-oxwo'xutoxwo'o 'to give a sudden howl'
   /xuti-nowon/ xutinowo 'to stand up suddenly'

7) uti- 'sudden, inceptive action'
   /uti-qil-sin/ utiqisí 'to glance at'
   /uti-may/ '[fire] to go out suddenly'

8) uni- 'in the morning'
   /uni-uuw/ umu'uw 'to eat in the morning'
   /uni-axš-kutan/ unaxškuta 'to eat breakfast'
Instrumental/Medium Classifiers

In this class of prefixes, there is an overlap between purely instrumental prefixes and prefixes which classify the subject or object of the verb or the medium in which the action takes place.

1) api- 'by, or fire or heat'
   /api-xen/ api xe '[fire] to go out'
   /api-c'/ 'to be hot'
   /apixi/ api-ixsilili 'to melt: soften thru heat'

2) aputi- 'of liquid in motion'
   /c-aputi-yam si-?o?/ caputiyam so?o 'it is a waterfall'

3) aq- 'with the mouth'
   /ax-noqš/ oxnoqš 'to bite in two'
   /ax-ni-apay/ axnapay 'to spit out'
   /aq-kum/ 'to eat to satiety'

4) aqta- 'in, of air'
   /axta-elheu/ extelheu 'north wind to blow: blow down'
   /aqta-çhum/ '[missle] to fly straight, well'

5) aqtapa- 'in, of air'
   /axtapa-xoewn/ oxtopeonwo '[dust] to rise'
   /aqtapawalexmen/ aqtapawellexmen 'to fall over through the action of wind'

6) aqtipal- 'of, in air'
   aqtipal-yat 'to suck'
7) aqul- 'of, with a long thin object'
   /aqulu-c-miy/ aqulusiuy 'to twist string on thigh'
   aqul-mow 'to spread, unfold'

8) il- 'of, in water'
   /il-xen/ ilxe 'to be low tide'

9) maq- 'of, with a line or rope'
   /maq-wayan/ maqwaya 'to swing in a swing'
   /max-su-ulul-aq-pey/ maxsuuleqpey 'to lead by a rope'
   /uš-max-yet/ 'to pull a thread through'

10) maqulu- 'of a line, linear object'
    /maqulu-yam/ '[snake] to crawl down'
    /maqulu-apet/ maqulapet '[snake] to go up'

11) pal- 'of, with a pliable object'
    /ni-pal-woyon/ nipolwoyon 'to twist, wring'

12) pil-/pili- 'through the air'
    /pili-yam/ 'to come down'
    /su-pil-wit-pi/ 'to apply drop by drop'

13) qil-/xil- 'of, in water'
    /c-qil-mes/ 'island: it is across the water'
    /xil-popon/ xilpopo 'to be in water'
    /su-xil-popon/ suxilpopo 'to soak (trans)'

14) tal- 'with the hand'
    /nu-tal-tun/ 'to hold in both hands'
    /tal-six/ 'to grasp firmly'

/tal'si-mim/ 'tal'si-mim/ 'to hold shut'
/tal-c-piim-Vn+R/ tal'si-mim/ 'to hold shut'
15) uš- 'with the hand'
   /uš-tap/ 'to put hand, finger into'
   /uš-tey/ 'to touch'
   /uš-tun/ 'to eat with 2 fingers'

16) wala- 'of, with the body or a massive, bulky object'
   /wala-xmen/ welexmen ãm [massive object] to fall over'
   /wala-kowowon/ wolokowowo 'to fall over onto one's side'

17) yuq- 'of the feet, legs; of a thin object'
   yuq-ciš 'to be thin, slender'
   yuq-miti 'to be slender'
   /yuq-men/ ãm yuxme'e 'to extend the legs'
   /sa-yuq-š-tap/ šayuqštap 'anklet'
Action Classifier prefixes collection

This is a miscellaneous collection of prefixes, some with purely adverbal force (e.g. iša- 'partially') and others ranging toward a semantic content associated with verb stems in IE langs, such as qal- 'by tying,' lu- 'of growth,' or wi- 'by blows, by hitting.' Such prefixes are often paralleled by an unrelated verb; in addition to qal- 'by tying,' there is a verb aqṣik 'to tie,' but the two do not cooccur in such a compound as *qal-aqṣik.

1) akṭi-
   2) ali- 'of lying'
      /ali-kš-kā/ 'one lies by itself'
      /ali-tun/ 'two lie together'

2) itax- 'of report, hearing' This prefix is related to the independent verb stem itaq 'to hear.'
   /itax-kuy/ 'to figure out by hearing'
   /itax-l-al-koy/ itaxlolkoy 'to come around to hear'

3) aqnī- 'of mental activity'
   /aqni-šhum/ 'to be cheerful'
   /aqnī-itpen/ aqnitpen = itpen 'to remember'
   /axnī-yam-Vn/ axiyami 'to cheer up'

4) aqši- 'of calling, paying attention'
   /axši-kuyon/ axšikuyon 'to command'
   /su-aqši-nal/ šaqšina?al 'to pay attention'

5) aquti- 'of verbal or mental activity'
   /aquti-aqway/ aquataqwaa'y 'to guess, hit upon'
   /axuti-eqwel-šaši/ axuteqwelčiš 'to think of what to do'
   /su-axuti-eqen/ saquteqa 'to talk to'

(6) 15a- 7) 15a- 8) itax-
Adverbial Prefixes

There to be shuffled into a classifier

This is a fairly miscellaneous class of prefixes, and from the action classification prefixes in that there are not prefixes which have come from earlier verb stems semantically equivalent a few of which are highly productive (e.g. akti-, iša-, wati-)

1) akti- 'motion toward the speaker or hearer'
   /akti-alhaš/ aktalhaš 'to come to speak to'
   /akti-xoyin/ aktixoyi 'to come into sight'
   /akti-hin/ 'to come to get, take'

2) iš iš- 'together with'
   /iš-ku-Vn/ iškahu 'to defend, side with'
   /iš-oxmol/ išoxmol 'to be a neighbor of, live near'
   /iš-ëmëc-Vä/ išëmëcës 'enemy'

3) iša- 'halfway, partially'
   /iša-yul-tul/ 'to be be half-way angry'
   /iša-kilamu/ 'to be half-crazy'

4) mati- 'end, terminate an action'
   /mati-nai/ matina'al '[child] to crawl, toddle'
   /mati-ta'y/ to play (as children play)
   /mati-xoyin/ 'to climb over'

5) wati- 'badly; action negatively regarded'
   (wati-)witut 'to bump into (plus any body part term)'
   wati-hin 'to take something one doesn't own'
   /wati-noqä/ watinoqä '[rope, string] to break'

6) taya- 'of upright position'
   /taya-nowon/ toyonowo 'to stand erect'
tip- 'augmentative, intensifier' This prefix occurs with verb stems, as in
/tip-hin/ tip³hín 'to be rich: to have a lot'
/tip-alhaš/ 'to talk a lot'
but it is more common with noun stems. /tip-se/ 'to be boney'
/tip-ʔal-ʔhum/ 'to be rich, have much money

(7) qulú- 'of cutting, boring into'
/qulú-wal/ 'to bore a hole'
/qulú-waš-mes/ quluwesmes 'to cut transversely'
/qulú-suʔ-ulyʔiʔ-ʔn/ qulsuʔulyin 'to bore lengthwise'

(18) qunti- 'of sewing'
/qunti-ʔt-i-ʔmes 'to pin together'
/qunti-su-ti-aq-ʔpëy/ quntisuteqpey 'to fasten by sewing'

(19) sil-/sili- 'of penetration'
/sil-meleweʔ/ silmelewe 'to put far inside'
/sil-miʔ-ʔn/ silmikîʔi 'to put far inside'
/sili-ʔit/ siliyit 'to sow seed'

(20) tal- 'of holding, grasping'
/tal-ciʔx 'to grasp firmly'
/tal-nutal-tun-ʔ/ nutaltuč 'to hold in both hands'
/tal-ʔciʔmî-ʔn + R/ talcimimá 'to hold shut'

(21) -taya-
(22) tip-
(23) taya-
tipal- 'of intrusion
/tipal-yoqon/ tipoyoqo - tipolyoqo 'to drill a hole'
/tipal-al-tiʔ/ tipaltált 'to quarrel'

(24) uni- 'of remaining'
/su-uni-ʔilikan/ sunilike 'to stay in one place'
/uni-ʔil-ʔn/ uninin 'to remain'

(25) uxmal- 'of washing'
/uxmal-hin 'to wash'
/uxmal-poš 'to take an emetic'
/uxmal-o-ʔtik-ʔiʔ/ uxmalotikš 'to wash the face'
9 b) kal- 'of cutting'
/kal-wal/ kawal 'to cut a hole'
/kal-qalaw/ kaqalaw 'to chip flint by pressure'
/kal-čeq/ kečeq 'to cut a slot in'

10 v) kupa- 'of drinking'
/kupa-tun-ą/ kupatuč 'two to drink from same cup'
/kupa-masāx/ 'three to drink from same cup'

11 w) lu- 'of growth, growing'
lu-towič 'to grow quickly'
/lu-xač/ luxax 'to grow large'
/lu-may/ 'to be grown together'

12 a) małaxxkiř mal-/mat- 'of birth, generation'
mat-ušho 'to bequeath, leave to'

13) mați-
14) paña- 'of impact; report'
/pana-ps-taquin/ panapstaqi 'to make a noise when hitting together'

15 w) qal- 'of tying'
/qal-wil-pi/ 'to tie on'
/qal-ciča/ 'to tie tightly'
/qal-ti-iwi-ą/ qatiwiš 'to tie side by side'

16 a) qil- 'of vision, seeing'
/qil-sin/ qisā 'to see'
/xili-wasių/ xiliwasā 'to look at carefully'
/x xil-al-ti/ 'to forecast, foresee'
26) waš- 'of cutting, penetrating'
   /waš-qal/ 'to split'
   /waš-xen/ wešxe's 'to go completely through'
   /waš-noqš/ wošnoqš 'to come all the way thru while drilling'

28) wi- 'by blows'
   /wi-poxin/ wipoxi 'to make a crashing sound by giving
   /wi-qalaw/ 'to knock chips out of'
   /wi-wal/ 'to wear completely through (e.g. sole)'
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Syntactic Reduplication

The Reduplication is a pervasive process with verbs forms, where it has a repetitive, distributive, intensive, or continuative force. A few examples illustrating the diff between simple and reduplicated forms are

/k-wi-qqal/ 'I chip off a piece'
/k-wi-qal + R/ kwiwiqalaw 'I am chipping pieces off'
/c-qqkoh/ 'it thunders' cqqkoh
/c-qqkoh + R/ cqqkqkoh 'there are claps of thunder'
/k-qqal-qwo/ kaloqwo 'I think of something'
/k-qqal-qwo + R/ kaloqwwqwo 'I keep thinking of something'

Of the patterns of syntactic reduplication, there a several different patterns of reduplication, with initial CVC the most common, as in

/c-m uxm + R/ cuxuxmen 'the waves are breaking'
/c-xuyu + R/ cxuyxuyu 'he is lying, telling lies'

/c-su-wala-ki-nomoy + R/ chuwalakimnomoy 'he is swinging it around and around'

Bisyllabic reduplication also occurs, cxxk

/c-welen + R/ cwelewele 'it is swaying, shaping'
/c-pow-Vn/ + R / cpowipowi 'it xxxxxxxxxx goes zig-zag'

and a form of trisyllabic reduplication is also attested, based on the stem wel 'to shake, xxxxxx sway,' in

/c-wel + R/ cwelew 'it wags back and forth'

Medial wedup shows up in qnowowo 'to be short'
/qnowon + R/ qnowqwo 'to be short'

As opposed to bisyllabic wedup in
/qnowon + R/ qnowqnowowo 'to be short'
Imperative Constructions

More than one construction is used with imperative force. The normally inflected verb with a second person subject may be used with imperative force,

/\p-hin/ pʰin 'you pick it up!'

Much more commonly, the second person marker p- is dropped, although the dual and plural numbers are marked as usual.

This construction involves the glottalization of a word-final consonant, and an automatic glottal stop with vowel-initial forms.

/\mix sinay-=/ sinay 'put it away!'

/\iy-qil-sɨn/ ?iqisɨ 'look (plural)!'

/\uʂʰo/ ?uʂho 'put it down!

The negative imperative is expressed by two synonymous constructions, in both of which the second person marker p—occurs. \^{Reason} Most common is the negative prefix mu—, as in

mu-p-tap 'don't come in!'

mu-p-net-us 'don't do it!'

mu-p-iš-kw̪uw mupišuw 'don't you two eat it!'

and more rarerly, the negative imperative prefix ?ina— is used.

/\?ina-p-net-us/ 'don't do it!'
Particles

Particled fall into several classes, including particles with temporal and locative function, other particles of a more miscellaneous nature which occur within the phrase, and finally connective particles which link either words or phrases, and finally interjections. Morphologically most of particles are monomorphemic, but many are segmentable.

Particles could be strictly defined as monomorphemic sequences which do fall into one of the major categories of noun, pronoun, verb, or affix. But in actuality many particles are segmentable (e.g. ni-ku 'who knows?'), and some have derivative forms (e.g. /mi-k'far, far away' and /mi-k-Vh/ mi-k'v 'to go far').

The position of particles in the phrase varies widely, with the crucial distinction being whether a particle precedes or follows the verb. Some particles move about freely, particularly the locative particles, while temporal particles tend more to precede the verb. Connective particles of course precede the unit which they introduce. Some particles give the impression of hovering on the boundary between prefix and particle; I call these enclitics. For example, mu 'not' and la 'just, merely' always occur in immediate constituency with some other word rather than floating freely though the sentence.
Particles - list for final version

Temporal particles

Temporal particles nearly always precede the verb; this is the normal word order, and the verb rendered non-initial by a temporal particle needs no marker of subordination.

1) ne'e 'already' This is by far the most common of the temporal particles; it is often glossed with a perfect construction in English, indicating a completed action.

2) nayi 'already' This particle is less frequent than ne'e.

3) la?-iš 'always' This sequence contains la? 'just, merely'.

4) kipi 'now, today'

5) mu-?ašnim 'never'

6) /wa-c-nax-yit/ wašnaxyit 'tomorrow' This sequence, used much as a particle, is actually a verbal predication meaning 'when it is morning'.

7) /ka-c-ulkuw/ kasulkuw 'last night'

    /ka-c-ulkuw ?an c-?awhay'-Vn/ kasulkuw ?an cawhayu

    'last night was moon-lit'
Temporal Particles

x) /na-c-tîʔîʔîʔîʔîʔ 'still, meanwhile' This form is clearly segmentable (e.g. /mu-c-tîʔîʔîʔîʔîʔ 'not far'), but not at all analyzable.

Adverbial Particles X - he is still watching

The mîw items which function as adverbiazal particles may be mîwphonologically simple or complex. Their

position in the sentence Below is a partial list of these.

1) neʔe 'already'

neʔe k-kum-li 'I have already gə arrived there'

2) kayuʔ 'already' (2)

/kayuʔ k-əltîʔî 'kayuʔ kaltîʔî 'I have already gone to meet him'

2) nayi 'already' (less common than neʔe)

/nayi k-takulu-aqšan + ?/ nayi ktakulaqšaʔa

3) naʔ 'I am already tired'

'I am already tired'

1) naʔîʔîʔî 'still, meanwhile' This particle may be segemzetable as /ne-c-tîʔîʔîʔîʔ.

/naʔîʔîʔî c-qâli-warâʔâ/ naʔîʔîʔî sqâli warâʔâ

'he is still watching'

4) laʔ 'just, merely'

/laʔ huʔ-k-unî-liʔîken/ laʔ huʔkunîlike 'I will just stay'

/laʔ c-itaq + R/ laʔ sitaqtaq 'he is only listening'

5) čaqwin 'only, no more'

k-sunuw-us čaqwin pək masîx 'I only used three'

6) laʔčî 'always' This particle probably contains laʔ 'just'.

/k-icuq laʔčî c-k-toqolo-Vn + R/ iciuq laʔčî siktoqololə always

'I/stab with it under my arm: I stab / always /

what I hold under my arm'
wašnaxyt' tomorrow

/la?či si-s-mayin/ la?či 'ismayin' 'every evening'

7) mu-ʔašnim 'never' This particle contains the negative
prefix mu- and the interrogative ʔašnim 'when?'

/mu-ʔašnim k-ka xuti-tamay/ 'I never make a mistake'

8) kipž 'now, today'

/kipž c-aqšan/ kipž šaqa 'now it is dead'

9) (laʔ-ku) 'maybe, perhaps'

ku 'maybe, perhaps' This particle also appears with
laʔ 'just, merely' as laʔ ku, and else...

laʔ kum minimol ku qasíl 'maybe qasíl [is in] the mountains'.

laʔ ku hu-s-aqtíwíw 'maybe the wind will blow'
the addition of ha 'interrogative' and Haarrington noted that ťaxkum indicated uncertainty
on the part of the speaker.

laʔku ha mu-č-pošh-Vč + ?
lakuha mušpošhoʔoʔoč 'maybe he doesn't know'

10) haʔ 'interrogative' This particle is used in yes/no
full questions of all sorts, not necessarily involving/verbs.

no haʔ? 'I? me? [am] I [the one]?

nea k-ušho loʔ-ka-mi-šup haʔ 'I left the land, didn't I?

After a polysyllabic stem ending in a vowel, the rising pitch
haʔ is elided, the only trace being of it being its
characteristic high pitch.

/kaki haʔ/ kaki 'he? him?"
Locative Particles

Locative particles usually follow the verb, although occasionally they may precede it.

1) ?iti 'here'
2) lo? 'over there'
3) mu?ki 'far, far away'
4) /ma?am/ ma?am 'inside'
5) lo?-ti?n? 'not far away'
6) /mu-c-ti?n?/ mu?ti?n? 'near, not far away'
7) he? liyik 'in the middle'
8) he? ?al-al-pay konkam 'up, on the top'
9) he? mi-?up 'down, on the bottom'

Syntactic Particles

This is a rather miscellaneous list of particles which occur within the phrase, but which are neither temporal nor locative. Many of them, such as ?an or hu 'question,' are of a more formally syntactic nature.

1) ?an P-5
2) la? P-1 'just, merely'
3) ku 'maybe' P-2
4) mu? 'not' P-7
5) čaqwin 'only, no more' P-1
6) kila 'only, merely' P-8
7) hu 'question' P-7
8) ha 'question - or 'uncertainty' P-2
9) ni 'question' P-6
10) la?-xu 'like' P-5
11) čaqwin 'only, no more' P-1
12) kewal? 'here at' P-5

Wakap! Slowly
As a noun, liyik means 'middle,' so that its prepositional usage is quite similar.

1) ítyikx he? liyik 'in the middle (of)'

This form is based on the noun liyik, but is used prepositionally.

/he? liyik ?an c-am-su-tap-Vn si-c-lew-Vc/
he? liyik ?an camsutapi ?išlewud 'they put the piece in the middle'

2) he? cel-apay 'on top'

This form is related to the verb stem -apay 'to go up,' but the phonological relationship is unusual.

 'they drill a hole on top'

3) he? mi-šup 'on the bottom'

This form is based on šup 'earth, land,' which also occurs as ?išlewud šup 'the earth, land'

/chinay ?išlewud šup ?išlewud he? mišup 'he puts a piece of tar on the bottom'
The medial glottal stop here is probably intensive, rather than etymologically present, since the derivative miki? lacks it.

4) /mu-c-tiʔ?in/ muštiʔ?in 'near; not far from'
   /c-sinay mu-c-tiʔ?in heʔ-si-c-liyik/ chinay muštiʔ?in
   heʔišliyik 'he puts it near the middle'

5) /mam/ maʔam 'inside'
   /k-su-x̱aʔax al-uti-kuy maʔam loʔ-ka-c-hiʔal-či-či/
   ksalutikuy maʔam lokasʔìnalcic 'I turn the points inside'
   "may the possessed form /si-c-maʔ/ ismaʔam/ mean: 'below, underneath,' /hak-surely heʔ-si-c-maʔ/hukupuy heʔismaʔam
   /ka-c-am-sinay-s si-c-maʔ/ ksaʔam needy ismaʔam
   'they store it underneath.'

6) /loʔ-tiʔʔ? 'not far away'
   /ka-c-equel loʔ-tiʔʔ? loʔ-ka-c-ʔap/
   kaseqwel loʔtiʔʔ? loʔkasap 'he builds his house not far away'

7) /iti/ 'here'
   huʔ-k-uš-pay /iti 'I will dig here'

8) /loʔ 'over there'
   Examples of the simple particle
   huʔ-k-mes-li loʔ 'I will go over there'
   /loʔ al-uti-kuyʔ loʔ /salutikuy 'face over there!'

This form xim occurs frequently with other particles, and it is particularly common in an enclitic form loʔ-ka- with nouns, indicating that the noun apparently indicating that the noun in question is remote either in time or space in or in the mind of the speaker.
Adverbial Expressions other than particles

A glance at the preceding list of particles shows:

The preceding list of particles is startling short. Many concepts which we would expect to be expressed adverbially as particles in Indo-European languages take a verbal form in Chumash, either as petrified idioms:

/wa-c-nax-yit/ wašnaxyít 'tomorrow: when it is morning'

or as coordinate verbs:

/ka-c-nai c-towiš/ kašnaʔal čtoviš 'it goes fast: it goes, it is fast'

or as verbal stems with various prefixes, such as

-son 'together: to join'

wēi-cix ḥiṃgóm 'tightly, firmly: to do firmly'

-ki-kē 'alone: to do/be alone'

These may be petrified idioms, such as

/wa-c-naxxyít/

Very commonly verbs themselves have what we might call an adverbial semantic range, such as
towiš 'to do quickly' kimiy 'to repeat', do again'

and these occur very commonly in coordinate verbal phrases, such as /ka-c-nai c-towiš/ above

and of course many verbal prefixes have an adverbial force: tip-much, big

K̓I- a little (ša-partially, uni-'mon
Syntactic

Other Particles (*an, kʰewali, laʔxa, hu, ha, n1
+ laʔ, čagwín, hu, kila, laʔyilaʔa)

1) * kʰewali  This particle may have topicalizing force;
it is glossed 'here is', but it introduces a noun which has been
transposed to pre-verbal position.

/kʰewali si-c-tuʔ-waš c-iy-iqmay-ä si-e-wal/

kʰewali ?ištuʔ-waš čiyanmaš ?iswal  'here is a shell with
its holes plugged: as for / shell / they are plugged / its

2) laʔ-xu  'like'

/laʔ-xu muhu niheʔ-si-c-täq/ laʔ-xu muhu niheʔištiq

'it has eyes like an owl: like / owl / its eye'

3) *an  When some element of the sentence which would
normally follow the verb has been transposed to preverbal
position, the particle *an usually precedes the verb. The
transposed item may be a noun,

/heʔ-si-ʔataxač *an c-iq ičuq-it heʔ-si-k-qiʔ/  belly'

hešaʔataxač *an cičuqit hesikqiʔ 'this man stabbed me in the
a pronoun, no *an k-tołoq 'I am hungry'
or certain particles, particularly those with prepositional force.

he' al-al-pay 'an c-yuq- ciphertext 'on top it is pointed'

Even non-verbal predications, if their normal word order is tranposed, may take 'an. An example is

'al-ée-ée 'an 'hē 'the points are numerous'
in which the more usual word order would be

'hē al-ée-ée lit. 'many point'

The verb of a subordinate clause may also be introduced by 'an

/k-qil-sīn si-c-waštī-naį 'an c-wašt-o-toyin/
kqisį 'išwaština'al 'an čwošotoyį 'I see the line [that]
is oblique'

4) ni 'question'

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

/ni p-itaq lo'-si-k-al-?ip-il/ ḫīt̪aŋ loʔaʔakēl?

'do you understand what I am saying to you?

5) ni-ku 'who knows?' This form probably consists of the contextual initial question particle ni and ku 'maybe.' There is an example, but the particle is given in the doubled form which characterizes many short formulaic utterances.

ni-ku ni-ku 'who knows?'
6) hu  byteArray  'yes-or-no question'  This particle occurs with various non-verbal elements, as in
  ?âhi hu  'are there many?
  yiti?iškom hu hamû ka?iškom hu  'five or ten?'
as well as with verbs.
  hu-p-alhaš hu  'will you speak?'

7) ha  'interogative'

see section on adverbial particles

8) mu  'negative'  This form is normally a verbal prefix, but it also occurs more freely as an enclitic
  with various other items, including nouns.
  /mu  òhumaš kaki/  'he is not an islander'
  and particles.
  /mu-?ašnîm/  'never'

9) mu - mî  'negative'  These two forms, mî  answers a question in the negative.
  XX Q:  ?âhi hu?  A:  mî, la?-mitî
  'are there many?'  'no, only a few'
  Q:  pi mi p-suya-hin?  A:  mî mî
  'do you want it?'  'no no'

This form is

As for mu, it is normally a verbal prefix, but it also occurs
--- just as above
11) niku 'who knows?' There is no example of this particle in context, but it is given in the paired form which characterizes many short formulaic utterances.

   niku niku 'who knows?'

Maybe the final syllable of niku can be equated with ku 'maybe'.

12) kila? 'only, merely'

/kila k-?iw-Vn lo?-ka-c-se/ kila kíwí lo?kaší

'I only cut the bone'

/la?-yíla?a c-am-su-piliy lo?-ka-šupaqš-Vä kila?-čaqwin/

la?yíla?a samsupiliy lo?kašupaqšë kila?čaqwin

'they stick the patches on with tar only'

13) la?-yíla?a 'just, only' 'no more than'

14) pʰala 'also, along with'

/ne?e k-sal-ti-hin pʰala he?-wun/ 'I have already counted these along with [the others]'
Conjunctions

Included under pre-conjunctions are particles which
conjoin entire phrases (e.g. 'saw - because') as well as the few
which

Of the conjunctions, only a few conjoin individual words;
most conjoin entire phrases. Of those which conjoin phrases,
introduce
some regularly the first phrase, while others tend
The
to occur between the two phrases. The particles which
conjoin individual words include

1) ka 'and' P-10
2) p'ala 'too, also', along with' P-8
3) hamu 'or' P-13

Conjunctions which usually introduce the first of two conjoined
phrases usually include

4) kaxaxaxax ka-nawa - si-nawa. The difference between these
two forms is not at all clear, but ka-nawa is the commoner
of the two. The final sequence wa may probably segmentable,
since it occurs in fossilized expressions of time such as
/wa-c-nax-yat/ wašnaxyat 'tomorrow,' literally 'when
it is morning.' The na may be equated with muna
rest on P-12
5) k'han P-12
6) laʔ-k'han P-12
7) 'ulawat 'of only, but for'
8) muna 'before' P-10

 Conj
Conjunctions which occur between the two phrases which they conjoin include

9) ki 'and' P-10

10) ki-nupan 'and then' This form contains ki 'and,' The sequence nupan does not occur independently as a particle, but there is/verb nupan 'to be new, recent'.

see P-10 for rest

11) ituxwalin - wali?in 'and then' P-13

This particle, which occurs in both forms, is less common than the equivalent ki-nupan 'and then'

12) kuwe 'but' P-9

13) kin 'but, on the other hand' P-11

14) kiri 'for, because' P-9

15) numiš 'nevertheless, but anyway' P-9

16) payiku 'even, even though, even if' P-9

17) kayu? itnaxsax 'so that, in order to, with the effect that'

18) kaypi 'so that' P-13 Itxwìx This particle is less common than the equivalent kayu? 'so that'.

19) la?-kuwa 'then, afterward' This form was quoted in isolation, but it would almost certainly link two clauses rather than introducing the first of them. Compare I ka-kuwa? 'thus'.
Conjunctions

Included under conjunctions are particles which conjoin entire phrases (e.g. kuwe 'because') as well as those which conjoin either phrases or individual lexical items (e.g. ki 'and').

1) kayu' 'moxthuæk in order to, so that; with the effect that...' /ne'e k-su-eqen-ã kayu' k-otoyin/ ne'e køeqeø kayu' kotoyï
   'I'm already undressed to go to bed'
   /c-su-weyep-ã kayu' c-nai/ c'huweyepš kayu? šna?al
   'he asks permission to go'

2) payiku la? 'even though', even'
   /c-am-sunuw-us payiku la? miti/ 'they use it even though
   [it is] a little one'

3) kuwi 'for, because'

   kæt 2al-uxni ni koyï k
   mu-p-suya-wati-hin kuwi mu-ka-p-hin 'don't pick it up,
   because it's not yours (because you don't own it)'

4) kuwe 'but'

   /mu-hu-kæx k-nai kuwe la? hu? k-uni-iliken/
   muhukna?al kuwe la? hu?kunilike 'I will not go,
   but I will just æx stay [here]'

5) numiš 'nevertheless anyway'

   c'?il si-øal-axi-pen si-mu-c'?il c-æxicuøm an numi;š si-c-
   'il sa?alaxipe simuæil caïciqum an numiš ?išwašš
   'there is some work that doesn't have guide lines that is
   good anyway'
6) muna "before"
/muna\k-sunanan hal-k-axi-pen, k-xili-wasi\a si-kana\a ay/
    muna ksunana halkaxipe, kxiliwasikana\a ay
    'before I begin to chip [the flint], \a I examine it first'

7) ki "and" This is the most common conjunction, conjoining both phrasal and individual words, conjoining separate phrases.
/k-kal-wal ki k-su-tap\u00e6n lo\u00e9-k\u00f6-w/
    kkawal ki k\u00e6tapat\u00e6 lo\u00e9k\u00e6w 'I bore a hole and I stick in
    the blade'
/ka-c-ti-ni-koy ki c-uli\u00e6 lo\u00e9-si-c-enhes/
    ka\u00e6tinkoy ki \u00e6uli\u00e6 lo\u00e9isenhes
    'he backed up and he took a breath'

8) ka "and" This conjunction links nearly always words within the phrase, \u00e1n\u00e1lty nouns, while ki "and" conjunctions
   /ki c-itpen lo\u00e9-ka-c-ap ka lo\u00e9-ka-c-koko/
   kisitpen lo\u00e9kasap ka lo\u00e9kaskoko 'and she remebered
   her home and her father'

9) kinupan "and then" The form must contain ki "and," but the sequence nupan does not occur independently.
/k-ix\u00e6w \u00e6\u00e6 si-hilhil kinupan k\u00e6m\u00e6 k-su-\u00e9-o\u00e9-v\u00e6
    kiwex \u00e6hilhil kinupan k\u00e6o\u00e9-\u00e9o\u00e6 'I grind the ochre and then
    I wet it'
10) 'ulawî 'if only! but for'
    /'ulawî k-suwaqmaš ?an naštî?qî?î hu-k-iq-qil-sîn Hê?-si-i̯up/
    Xâna: 'ulawî k-suwaqmaš ?an naštî?qî?î hukiqisî he?i̯sup
    'if only I had not rejected him, we would still see the world'

11) kin 'but, on the other hand'
    /mu-k-al-šuwaqmaš kin he?i̯sup ka-k-al-šuwaqmaš/
    mukalšuwaqmaš kin he?i̯sup kakalšuwaqmaš
    'I don't reject him, but [it is] the world that I reject'

12) khan 'when' /laʔ-khan 'when, if! on to next page
    /khan p-qil-sîn hal-c-al-oto'yin laʔ-huki mu-p-suya-wati-hin/
    /khan pqisiḥ halcalotoyi lahuki mupsuyawatihin
    'when you see something thrown away, don't pick it up'
    /laʔ-khan

12) khan 'when' This form seems to be equivalent to kanawa 'when,' although the morphological connection is unclear. example:

13) laʔ-khan 'if' This form literally means 'just when,' but the distinction between khan 'when' and laʔ-khan 'if' is uncommon seems to be consistent.
    /laʔ-khan si-mu-k-su-al-aqway, ?an yîlaʔa mu-c-ch'um/
    laʔ-khan simuksalaqwaʔay, ?an yîlaʔa mušch'um
    'if I do not make it do it well, all is no-good'

14) kanawa 'when' /kanawa c-axsiw ka-c-iq-axi-pen/
    kanawa saxsiw kasiyaxipe  'when it is dry they work it over'

S(NAWA)
14) **ka-nawa - si-nawa 'when'** The difference between these these two forms is not at all clear, but **ka** ka-nawa is the commoner of the two, and the 'when' is a more common meaning than 'if'.

*Example:* when it is dry sent on previous page

/si-nawa c-am-su-nu-na² si-tomol 'an c-am-eqwel si-c-taxta-xa²-

sinawa camsununa sitomol 'an cameqwel 'ištaxta-xiša²-aš

when they begin a canoe, they make the keel

/ *c-i-gi-sta² sin-nawa c-al-aqwa²*/ they see it fits well

When **lubam** this form seems to be equivalent to **ka-nawa** and **si-nawa lubam**, but although it is possible that it then

15) **kha²-n 'when,' perhaps 'whenever'**

This **form** particle seems to denote a more conditional statement than **ka-nawa** and **si-nawa 'when'** above, particularly since a compound form **la²-kha²-n** is consistently glossed 'if.'

*Example:* when you see something thrown away...

16) **la²-kha²-n 'if'**

*Example:* if I do not do it well, all is no good'

17) **la²-kuwa ****a** afterword**

This form was quoted in isolation, with no contextual

*Example.*
18) kay-pi 'to ḡiṃ that'

kʷiⱡuⱡuⱡuⱡuⱡu c-iy-su-wašti-pow kay-pi si-hu-c-iš-taqpač
loʔištšk
loʔ-si-c-tík  čišuwaštîpow kʷiⱡuⱡuⱡuⱡuⱡu ḡiṃu šihušištaqpač imi
ends
'they make it ruin curved so that the two ḡiṃ will join'

19) walin - waliʔiʔin 'and then'

c-iy-qil-sín loʔ-ka-poʔ waliʔiʔin kʷi c-iy-itax-sín s-al-iy-
ciqísí loʔkapoʔ waliʔiʔin ciyitaxsí salʔisunuwus
'they look at the board and then they figure out what they
should use it for'

20) hamu 'or'

yitiʔiškom hu hamu kaʔiškom hu 'five or ten?'

muʔ-kpoʔχ-vo ni heʔ hamu loʔ-si-čohoy
muʔkpoʔχ-si ni he hamu loʔisčohoy
I don't know if it is this one or the other
Interjections

Interjections are loosely appended to the phrase, nearly always
immediately preceding it. Typically, it is quite common for
to be repeated, particularly when they are not immediately
followed by a phrase, as in či či 'shoo shoo!'

x) haku 'hello'
   /haku k-wal-1iw/ haku kaliw 'hello, my friend'

x) či 'shoo, scat'
   /či, mu-p-antap/ čḥ, mupantap 'get going, you're not
an initiate'

x) hi 'yes'
   hi hi, ne-e k-alakuy 'yes, I'm awake already'

x) mi 'no' This form is clearly related to the negative
particle and prefix mu 'not,'
   /mi, la?-miti 'no, [there are] just a few'

x) ya 'listen here'

x ṅi.ku who knows P-6
Syntax

In the discussion of V syntax, the primary division is between simple sentences and complex sentences with relativized, embedded, or otherwise subordinated clauses. The major topics in the treatment of the simple sentence are predications without a finite verb, number agreement, word order, the syntactic rel's of noun phrases to the verb, and a few of the better understood transformational processes.
Predications lacking a finite verb

Predications lacking a finite verb are quite common. They are generally nominal predications in which the copula is implied, altho they also include more verbal constructions: nouns inflected with verbal person-number markers and verbs with the agentive prefix ?al- instead of person-number markers.

A few predication may simply involve a couple of particles, as in

ne?e ?hi? 'there is a lot already: already / much'
la? miti [there are] just a few: ?m
?hi hu 'are there many? many - interrogative'

The simplest noun predication is a noun introduced by the predicative prefix ka-, as in

ka-xaw 'it is a willow'

/ka-yop + R/ kayopyop 'it is a tar pitch'

This is the form of many placenames, such as

/ka-c-tiq/ kaštìq '[it is] an eye, face: Castaic'

ka-mulus: '[it is] a juniper

/ka-e-pat ke-wu/ ke-pat kawma: '[it is] the root of the horn'
More complex nominal predications involve two/nouns or a noun or particle, and a quantifier. Examples with two nouns:

/conjoined

/ke söt xalašt/ kašt xalašt 'its name [is] xalašt'

/pi ha šipš-a¥/ 'you [are] Coyote!' or a noun and a pronoun

Predications with two nouns/may simply be of the form A [is] B,

/pi hu šipš-a¥/ 'you [are] Coyote!'

/la? qunup-iwa¥ + R kaki/ la? qununupiwa¥ kaki

'they are just children: just/children / they'

/but more often they are possessive phrases.

/ka-c-t¼ xalašt/ kašt xalašt 'its name [is] xalašt'

/he? si-c-teleq ßan õoñiš/ he?išteleq ßan õoñišiš 'its tail [is that of] a fish; [it has] the tail of a fish'

/pi ka-p-hin-¥/ pi kaphinaš 'it is yours:

you / your thing'

Nominal predications also involve nouns and quantifiers,

/ßi?i si-c-¥i/ ßi?i ßisi 'it has many legs: many [are] its legs'

/pake? si-c-moto ßan xa¥/ pake?et ßis moto ßan xa¥ax 'one of its sides [is] big/a big one'

/or nouns and particles.

/la? xu si-muñu si-¥it-c-¥i/ la? xu simuñu ßištiq

'its eyes are like an owl's: like / owl / its eye'

/ßiti ka-k-¥a p/ 'here [is] my house'
Nouns are sometimes prefixed with person-number markers and treated just as verbs. Such nouns nearly always denote classes of people.

/ne'ë c-xanwa/ ne'ë sxanwa 'she is already a woman'
/mu-p-?antap/ 'you are not an ?antap (cult initiate)'
/k-?atap-mupu/ mupu: I am a person from mupu (S. Paula)

Another class of predications lacking a finite verb are in which constructions with the agentive prefix ?al- replaces person-number markers. These predications seem to have a habitual force.

/?asku ?al-aqšan/ ? 'who died?: who [is] the dead one?'
/lo'-ka-?al-axi-pen-š ?an mu-?al-niwon-la/ lazy one
lo'ka?alexipeč ?an mu?niwonla 'the carpenter [is] not a
/?ihi ?al-alumuw-us/ 'he gives him much advice: he is one who gives him much advice.

Except that ?al- replaces person-number markers, the verb may take any of the usual verbal inflection affixes.
Number Agreement

Verbal affixes are marked for person and number, predominantly in agreement with the person and number of noun phrases associated with the verb. In the third person, number agreement is only optional. It is most common for number to be marked only in the verb, with

Number Agreement

Thex Number agreement between the verb and the noun phrases associated with it is an erratic process. The noun is marked for singular versus plural numbers, as are object suffixes in the verb, while subject prefixes in the verb recognized sing, dual, plural, and indefinite numbers. It is quite common for number to be marked only in the verb, with nouns plural only by implication. Here, only the verb is marked for number.

/c-iý-išmon-š sišpīš-iwaš/ čišmoš ‘išpīšiwaš
'the wise men gather: they gather / wise man'

/c-išwaš-mes tuxtux-c-hin-c-wašti-nal/ čišwemis tuxtuxshinwašti-

'uk the two grooves run crosswise: they two run crosswise / its groove'

This process parallels the rather loose marking of number in possessive constructions, in which the possessive prefix itself shows number, but the noun does not.

?yila’?

/ lo’-ka-enheš-Vš ka-l-iy-ušho lo’-kax ka-c-iy-?amamín/

?yila’/lo’ka’enhešēš kal’i’ušhē xk lo’kasi’amamî

"the spirits who leave their bodies: all / spirit /
they who leave / their body"
or with a singular subject /c-am-kum si-ʔal-qap-Vê/ camkum ʔaʔalqapaš 'some birds came'

An indefinite subject marker in the verb may occur with a marked as ʔinχi neither singular, as in

+ ? or with a subject marked /ka-c-am-yam-li si-qunup + R + CS/ kasamyamliʔi čiqunqunup

'some children came to the beach: some come to the shore /

children'

Number may not be marked at all, as in

/c-ʃupʰ-Vê ʃi heː-si-k-pu/ ʃuʔupʰuː ʃeːsikpu 'my hands are dirty: it is dirty / my hand'

Similarly, number is ʔinχ often unmarked in the object noun if an object suffix occurs with the verb.

/k-su-max-pow-wun ʔinχ-si-k-waš-nal/ ksumopowwu sikwašnaʔal

'I hold my arms bent: I bend them / ʔinχ my arm'

/ki c-am-ʧi-ʃ-l-wun si-c-tuʔo-waš/ ki ʃamuʃtilwu ʔiʃtuʔwaš

'and they found some sheâls: and / some find them / shell'

A verb with an indefinite subject marker c-am- occasionally

subject occurs with a noun subject; the/noun may either be unmarked for number, as in

/c-am-kum si-ʔal-qap-Vê/ camkum ʔaʔalqapaš 'some birds came'

'some come / bird'

or ʔinχ it may be marked as plural.

/ka-c-am-yam-li + ? si-qunâp + R + CS/ kasamyamliʔi čiqunqunup

'some children come to the beach: some come to the beach /

children
Word order in the Simple Sentence

The basic verb order in simple sentences is core.

The core of most simple sentences is the verb, which is marked with subject and object affixes. Adverbial modifiers generally precede the verb, while noun phrases follow it.

Some nominal or particle predications (qv) lack a finite verb, but the core of most predications is the verb. Marked with subject and perhaps object affixes, the verb may well stand by itself as an entire sentence. The simple sentence may well be expanded with various particles and noun phrases. The particles express various adverbial notions, and typically precede the verb, while the unmarked position of noun phrases is following the verb. Examples of typical simple sentences:

/hu-c-qil-ma tiwi-š-us/ husqita-wicus 'he will watch her'

/mu-ʔašnim k-xuti-tamay/ 'I never make a mistake'

/ka-c-tap-Vn he-ʔisi-ʔo?/ kaštapi hesoʔo 'he dives into the water'

/ka-c-ʔip-us/loʔ-kaacʔ-ʔunu/ kasʔipus/loʔkasʔunu 'he said to one of his grandsons...'

/neʔe c-kum-li maliya/ neʔe skumli maklya 'Maria has arrived: already / she comes / Maria'
Noun Phrases following the verb

The standard order of post-verb--

---noun phrases is object---

Noun phrases are not marked for case, but it is important to recognize certain broad case relationships in discussing the relative order of noun phrases following the verb; these are object, subject, the subject, the object, the indirect object or benefactive, and the locative or temporal. It is quite rare for more than two noun phrase to follow the verb. Examples of each of these are:

Object:
/c-aqmìl si-ʔ?o?/ caqmìl soʔo 'he drinks water'

Subject:
/c-iy-expen-ʃ si-xanwa/ cìyìxepù ʔixanwa 'the women are singing'

Indirect object, benefactive, instrumental:

Locative or directional
/c-iš-nal heʔ-si-k-ʔap/ cìšnaʔal heʔsikʔap ʔap 'they two to my house'

Benefactive, or indirect object
/c-sus-kuy-us-wun loʔ-ka-c-ʔiwí-Vn-wun/ cìskuyuswu loʔkasìwìnwu 'he shows it to his companions'

Temporal
kasitapi ʔismitìpì laʔčì hešiʔišaw 'they enter his door every day'

Extra locative:
Here are sentences with two noun phrases following the verb, illustrating the relative ordering of the nouns by case relationships. One rule here is that any noun copied onto the verb as an object suffix -us or (-us)-wun must immediately follow the verb.

- the child told his father about it

/mu-c-suya-ušho šiššiwaš lo⁰-ka-c-hin-c-sa/
mushuyušho šiššiwaš lo⁰kasχincha 'Coyote didn't want to let go of the hook: he does not want to let go / C / hook'
- 'the child told his father about it'

A point of ambiguity here is the relative ordering of subject and object; in B and I the m̄b̄jämk usual order is m̄b̄jämk verb object - subject, but the V examples are too few to make any generalization. In one, object follows subject
- Coyote didn't want to let go
and in the other, object precedes subject, but perhaps because the verb is marked with an object suffic -us/
- 'the child told his father'
Here are some sentences with two noun phrases following the verb, illustrating the relative order of the nouns by case relationships.

a) object - subject
/kosa-kosa si-kasla ka-kosa-kasa kalosla kosa-kosa lo-ka-c-tyep /
the child told his father about it: he tells him / his father / the child

b) object - locative/temporal
/k-su-kum-us si-ka-taxa si-lo-mla aliya s=kumuus =ka-ataxa s lomaliya 'I overtook the man[on] the road' + they enter his door every day

c) subject - akhaa indirect object / benefactive
ex: they enter his door every day
one old man shows it to his companions

d) subject - locative/temporal
/kas-kaal R si-laxux he=k-si-ka ka=-nalna a si-laxux is moving about
'the laxux fish in the water
'tm it is moving / laxux fish / [in] the water'

A common stylistic option which keeps too many noun phrases from appearing in the same simple sentence is the repetition of the same verb first with one/noun phrase and then with another. For example, instead of having two nouns following the verb in 'Eagle's daughter pulled in her line,' the noun are distributed between two repetitions of the verb in

/ka-c-uš-max-yit la-ka-c-šay clow ka-c-uš-max-yit lo-ka-c-tuyaš / kašušmaxyit lo-kašama tešla kašušmaxyit lo-kašwašty
'Eagle's daughter pulled it in; she pulled in her line'
Noun Transposition

Certain particles normally precede the verb, but noun phrases follow it. But for stylistic effect, one or even two noun phrases may be transposed to be precede the verb. The verb thus rendered usually
non-initial in the phrase is introduced by the particle "an.
The noun may be in any syntactic relationship to the verb, either
subject
/no "an k-uš-qal si-mitipān/ 'I open the door'
/heša?altaqaš 'an mu-c-axu-kumu/ heša?altaqaš 'an musaxukumu
'this bead is not round'
object
/lo?si-c-tīpāq 'an k-su-piliy/ lo?ištīpāq 'an kspiliy
'I plug up the base: its base / I plug up'

mr dative.
/paket si-c-qil-mes 'an c-api-kitwon/ pake?et 'isqilmes 'an
capikitwon lo?kašna?ay slow 'Eagle's daughter went out to
an island: [to] one / island / she goes out / his daughter / Eag.'
or locative.
/la?dzi he?si-muwu ka-c-nal + R/ la?dzi he?simuwu kašnalna'al
'it always moves about in the sea: always / in [in] the sea /
it goes'

A more complex example which three noun phrases in the sentence
shows two of them transposed.
/Vn
/ka-c-tīq lo?ka?-al-am-šuš-pawawhan c-uq;štahay-us-wun
yīla?a lo?ka-iy?-atap-heša?-si?-al-maxuy-ulkuw/
hesalmāxuyulk

'his eye (the sun's) lights up the abyss for all those who are
in the dark: his eye / the abyss / it lights for them /
those who are in the dark'
This is one of the most characteristic features of Chumash style.

The Cleft Sentence Transformation
The cleft sentence transformation is a stylistic option whenever the sentence consists of a verb and at least one other element, such as a noun, pronoun, or adverbial particle. From a underlying structure with the verb in initial position as usual,

X does Y (does 'does' is a pro-form for any verb)

the verb is shifted to non-initial

a relativized form of the verb is shifted to non-initial position. The copula is implied between the relativized verb and the initial element of the cleft sentence:

Y [is] what X does

Since the verb relativized person markers are usually distinct.

This construction differs from simple noun transposition in that here the verb appears in a relativized form, while with noun transposition the non-initial verb is simply introduced by 'an.

The noun involved in the cleft sentence T may be in any syntactic relationship to the verb, either as subject

/yila?a si-c-nal/ yila?a 'išna'at 'it all goes:

[it is] all that goes'

or object /miti + R ka-l-iy-ni-hoqā/ mitmiti kətət kal'inihoqā 'they are cutting little pieces: little pieces [are] what they

or some other rel. such as locative/temporal
or some other rel, such as locative/temporal.

\[ \text{xmi} \text{xkxkxk} / \text{si-muwu ka-l-nu-na?} / \text{simuwu kalnuna} \]

'it comes from the sea: the sea / \text{wxwxk} one that comes from'  
An Example of/particle\[ in the cleft sentence construction: is \]

\[ /\
\text{iti hu-k-al-uni-iliken/ iti hu\text{kalunilike} 'I will stay here: here / I who will stay' \]


Relativization and Nominalization

V shows several cross-cutting patterns of relativization and nominalization; some of these are clearly relative, and others are clearly nominal, and in between these two extremes the same form may serve either function.

Relative markers include both outer prefixes with precede person-number markers, and as well as forms which either replace or follow person-number markers. Outer prefixes include ha-, yu-, si- and ka-, l-, and also the relative-interrogative particle ne-l 'what, which'. In some relative constructions, the regular and third person marker c- is replaced by l-, there is also a relativizing prefix al- following person-number markers which occurs in at least some constructions is quite common. Stylistically, relativization is extremely common; one peculiarity is that verbs after interrogative pronouns are often relative in form, as many of the following examples attest.

1) al- This prefix follows person-number markers; it is common in relative constructions, but it also appears to mark other subordinate constructions which need not be interpreted as relative. Often it simply marks a verb as being non-initial in the phrase. It is most common with first and second person subjects, but it also occurs with occasionally with third person subjects, unlike the corresponding situation in B and I.

/khan p-qil-sin ha-l-c-al-otoyin/ khan pqisi halcaltoy'i

'then when you see [something] which is thrown away

It seems to be an optional element of the relativized verb.
The **relative** reference of a relativized verb depends on whether
the verb is transitive or intransitive. The relativization of an
intransitive verb usually refers to the object, usually only implied
transitive verb always refers to the *regular* subject, of course.

/ka-l-aqāša/ kalaqāša – kal‘aqāša 'one who is dead'
/si-c-nai/ ʔišnaʔal 'one that goes'

With **transitive** verbs, reference may be **sikka** to the subject

/ka-l-iy-ušho/ kaliyuša – kal‘iyušho 'those to leave it'

but/much more commonly it is the object, usually only implied.

/ka-l-am-max-pow-wun/ kalammoxpowwu 'those which they have
put across' (rather than 'those who have put
them across')

/si-k-kal-qalaw/ sikkaqalaw 'what I chip off' rather than
'I who chip it off'

/si-c-am-ixip-us/ ʔisamixsupus 'what they won from him'

rather than 'they who on it from him'
usual

2) l-  xx This form replaces the/third person marker c- in
many relative constructions, particularly with ka- and yu- 'where,'
xxxx and with the future marker hu-, as in
/si-ku hu-l-Iy-iwal-kitwon/ 'the people who will resurrect'
/ka-l-aq=ça/ ka-laq=ça - kal?aq=ça 'one who is dead'
/ka-l-Iy-uş=lo/ kaliyuuspended - kiti kal?iyuuspended 'those who left it'
/lo?-ka-yyu-l-Iy-aquntuk/ 'where they are going to tie it'

Next, here are the various relative markers which xx precede xxx
xxx precede person-number xx prefixes.

3)  l- This prefix

l- and ha-l-  This prefix xxxxxx is quite distinct
from the l- which replaces xx the third person marker; the two may
xx cooccur, often with the future marker hu-, as in
/la?=huki l-hu-l?=il/ la?huki lul?=il 'something will happen'
(lit. 'juyuk [there is] just something which will be')
The simple form l- appears with the future marker most commonly
with the future marker hu-; it appears elsewhere too.
It is less common elsewhere; a contrastive example is
?q=il-çet l-p-may=ın 'how did you spend the evening?'
?q=il-çet p-nax-yêt 'how did you get up?'
The longer form ha-l- is fairly common, cooccurring with
/muna-k-su-nu-nan ha-l-k-axi-pen/ munaksunanuna halkaxipe
'before I begin to chip it; before I begin what I chip'
/mu-c-al-aqwa'y ha-l-c-ax-ni-apay/ musalaqwa?ay halkaxnapay
'xx he can't spit it out; he can't accomplish what he spits out'
It cooccurs with the c- form of the third person marker.

4) `what, which' This is a relative/interrogative particle, probably enclitic, since JPH writes it as a single unit with the following word. It usually cooccurs with l-, but not necessarily, as in

/hu-k-iy-pošh-vō `what, which' ne c-neḥ + h/ huki-pošhoč h nečnehet
'we will find out what happens'

The interrogative form with

Interrogative force is most common with ne-l-, as in
/ne-l-o?-ip/ nelcip 'what does she say?'
/ne-l-hu-k-ali-net + h/ nelukalinehet 'what will I do?'
but a relative usage occurs as well.

/xutaš'

5) l-
The nominal nature of relativized forms is evident not only in the use of the article si-, but also the demonstrative form he? which commonly introduced nouns. The commonest pattern of relativization is with the article si-, the article with nouns. The other central Chumash languages use their article in the same fashion, but unlike B and I, V uses the article si- not only with first and second person subjects, as in

/he?-si-k-axi-pen/ 'this that I am working on

but also with the regular third person subject marker c-, as in

/mu-k-itaq si-p-?ip/ musitaq sipip 'he didn't hear what you said'

and the regular third person subject marker c-, as in

/c-aq?hum /x?am?n c-aq?hum visnetus 'he likes what he is doing'


'I approve what they are saying'

The Barbareno article l- and the Ineseno article ma-/ha-
never co-occurs with the third person marker s-.

A point of agreement between V and the other two central
languages is that the relative prefix al- co-occurs with the article si- only with first and second person subjects, as in

/he?-si-k-al-tak?buy + R/ he?-sikaltaktak?buy 'this one that I am holding'

/he?-si-k-iy-al-qil-sin la?-ki?k lo?-ka-c-sa/

he?-sikiy?alqis? la?/ki?k lo?ka?h 'what we see [is] only its teeth'

but al- and si- do not co-occur with third

The prefix al- co-occurs with si- commonly.

/k-su-a?sin he?-si-k-al-tak?buy + R/ k-su-a?sin he?-sikaltaktak?buy

'I want this one that I am holding'
6) ka- This prefix has relativizing force, but it also commonly marks other subordinate constructions, such as verbs non-initial in the phrase. Here, ka- occurs with first and second person markers,

/la?-huki k±±±± ka-k-eqwel/ 'something that I made'

optionally with often with al-.

/yìla?a ka-p-al-suya-hin/ 'everything that you want'

In the third person, the usual subject marker c- is replaced by 1-, as in

/ka-l-aqšan/ kalaqša - kal?aqša 'one who is dead'

/ka-l-iš-ali-c-moto/ kalusalismo 'two that are side by side'

/ka-l-am-max-pow-wun/ kalammoxpowwu 'those which they have put across'

7) yu- 'where' This relative prefix parallels an interrogative particle ?il-qu 'where?' It always occurs in conjunction with the lo?-ka-, a demonstrative sequence which often introduces nouns. The presence of lo?-ka- here clearly shows the nominal nature of relativized verbs. First and second person subjects appear as usual, perhaps with al-.

/lo?-ka-yu-k-al-aquntuk-pi lo?-ka-pon/ 'where I tie the board on'

In the third person, 1- is the subject marker.

/lo?-ka-yu-l-iy-aquntuk/ 'where they are going to tie it'

/k-su-piliy-wun lo?-ka-±± yu-l-iš-taqpāš/

'I tar them where they (dual) go together'

The sequence lo?-ka- often introduces nouns; it may occur in relative constructions too, as in

/lo?-ka-c-šay [lo?kašša?] clow lo?-ka-l-maniš he 'swaxišl

'Eagle's daughter who disappeared [from] swaxišl'
8) ʔal- 'agentive'  The agentive prefix ʔal- deserves mention too. It is a nominalizing prefix with derivational force, as in

/ʔal-axi-nal/ ʔalaxinaʔal 'a dancer: one who dances'

But it very often it occurs in constructions exactly parallel to the other modes of relativization.

/si-muwu ʔal-nu-naʃ 'it comes from the sea: [it is] one that comes from the sea'

/neʔe ʔal-xatiyep-us/ 'she already told him: [she is] one who already told him'

Since forms with ʔal-

Person-number markers may precede ʔal-, as in

Since forms with ʔal- are basically nouns, they often occur with the article si-, as in

/si-c-qil-mes si-ʔal-ti-Vʃ xalaʔat/ ʔisqilmes šaʔaltihiʃ xalaʔat

'the island memberOf named xalaʔat (San Nicolas)'

Often si-ʔal- coalesce as sal-, via xalaltihicxalaʃat

/si-c-aqi-itaʃ-1-al-koʃy si-ʔal-net-pi/ caqnitoxlokoy salnetpi

'she thought of what happened to him'

/si-c-tuʔ-waʃ si-ʔal-tip-al-yoqon/ ʔistiʔwaʃ saltipolyoqo

'the shell that he drills a hole in'

Since this sal- never occurs with person-number markers, it cannot be interpreted as either of the two common relativizing prefixes al- or l-.
Relativizations with a Nominal Head

Itx̱a̱nax̱ałtn̓ It is x̱a̱n̓ ax̱ nak̓ fairly rare to find a relative construction with a nominal head; when they occur, the noun proce̱dax̱ nearly always precedes the relativized verb, contrary to the prevailing verb - subject word order in main clauses.

/ka-c-iy-ulu-aq-pəy-us yílaʔa loʔ-ka-enhes-Ṽ ka-l-iy-uəb̌o loʔ-ka-c-iyʔ-əmam̓in̓/ kasiyuleq-pəyus yílaʔa loʔ-ka-ənhešəx kalʔiyuəb̌o loʔ-kəsəʔaməm̓ 'all the spirits who leave their bodies follow him: they follow him / all / spirits / those who leave / their body'

/loʔ-ka-c-šay clow loʔ-ka-l-əmən̓ əx heʔ swax̱il/ loʔ-kašəʔay slow loʔ-kałmaʔən̓ əx swax̱il ithubx̱aq̓əghətn̓x 'Eagle's daughter, who disappeared from swax̱il'

/laʔ-ki̱k̓̓s loʔ-ka-c-sa ka-l-unıʔ-il-Vn/ laʔ-ki̱k̓̓s loʔ-kašə kalʔun̓ili 'only xw the teeth which remain'

/ka-c-net + h loʔ-ka-kanaʔaʔay ka-k-eqwal/ kašnehet loʔ-kakanaʔaʔay kakeqwal 'it is like the first one that I made'

/co-iy-akti-nə si-kú hu-l-iy-iwal-kitwon/ 'the people who will resurrect are coming
The agentive prefix 'al- is also common; it is often occurs with a purely nominalizing force as a derivational affix, as in

/al-qar/ 'aqar, the dead man

/al-axi-nal/ 'alaxina'at 'a dancer: one who dances'

but it is common with relative force too.

The agentive prefix 'al- deserves mention at this point too. It is a nominalizing prefix with a purely derivational force, as in

/al-axi-nal/ 'alaxina'at 'a dancer: one who dances'

but the other relative constructions can be used in exactly parallel environments.

The Stylistics of Relativization

Ritala'm W uses nominalization extensively as a stylistic device. Beyond those constructions which are clearly relative, calling for relativization, nominalization in an exactly parallel fashion is an ever-present option. It is quite common for the main verb in a sentence to appear in a nominalized rather than finite form; such sentences might be better understood from an English point of view as having an implied copula. For example, from the final sentence

/yila'a c-nal/ yila'a inal 'all goes'

a nominalized version is

/yila' si-c-nal/ yila'a ?išnal 'it all goes: [it is] all that goes.'
Other examples:

/miti + R si-k-su-eqen/ mitmiti sikseqe 'I take off little pieces: little pieces [are] what I take off'

/mu-ʔal-ušho si-c-am-ixip-us/ muʔalušho ʔisamixipus

'he won't give up what they won from him: [he is] one who won't give up what they won from him'

/waʔal-ʔuʔuš al top-ku beʔal-ʔuʔuš/ round?ili saltip here?

'it goes into the water up to here: it goes up to...

/ʔal expen-us laʔ be-

/ʔahi ʔal-xii alum-w-us/ 'ahi ʔalalumuwuus 'he gives him much advise: much [is] what he gives him (advise)

One very typically Chumash construction is the relativization of a verb with a possessed subject.

/c-waʔsin si-c-moto/ dwaski ʔismoto 'its side is flat'

ʔalwaški ʔismoti 'one with a flat side:

'one that is flat [in] its side'

/ʔal-ʔahi si-c-ʔil/ ʔalʔahi ʔisil 'centipede: one with many legs: one that is many / its leg'

It is very common for verbs following interrogative pwx

forms pronouns to appear in a relativized form. This

ex /ʔasku l-huʔc-taw/ ʔasku luštaʔaw 'who will deal it out?:

ex 'who / pwx who deals it out'

ex /ʔašnám si-c-ʔip-ʔil/ ʔašnám ʔisʔipil 'when did he tell you?: when [is] what he tells you'

This use of relative forms in interrogative constructions is

similar to the French qu'est-ce que c'est? 'what is this?:what

is it that this is?'
Embedding

Embedded constructions are much rarer in V than relativizations and nominalizations, which appear constantly. Many constructions which involve embedding in English occur in V in a relativizer form, at least in a form prefixed with the nominal article si-, which must be interpreted as a relativizer in many cases.

/z c-iy-su-nu-na' si-c-iy-sinay-wun/ cisununa sisisinaywu
'they begin to put them on: they begin / what they put on'

/ka-k-sunuw-us si-k-timnes/ 'I use it to fasten it together:
I use it [as] what I fasten together'

Occasionally ha-l- introduces verbs which might be interpreted as embeddings, as in

/muna k-suanu-na? ha-l-kaxi-pen/ before I begin to work on it... but (ha-)l- too is usually a relativizer, so that an alternative gloss here reflecting this might be 'before I begin what I am working on...'

Accordingly, there are very few unambiguous examples of embedded verbs. Morphologically, the embedded verb takes no special marker; it simply follows the matrix verb.

/k-qiil-sin si-c-wašt-i-na' ?an c-waš-o-toyin/
kqisí? išwaština?al ?an ówošoto?1 'I see[that]the line is oblique'

An example of a double embedding is
/c-iy-tiye-p-us c-iy-qiil-sin si-xanwa c-we?/
citiyemus ciqisí sixanwa swe 'they told him [that]
they saw a woman sleeping'
Accordingly, there are very few unambiguous examples of embedding. Morphologically, the embedded verb takes no special marker; it simply follows the matrix verb, as in

/c-iy-tiyep-us c-iy-qil-si^n.../ citiyepus ciqis\-

'they told him [that] they saw...

A subject noun in the embedded phrase precedes the embedded verb, but this is probably a consequence of the same noun also being the object of the matrix verb.

/c-iy-tiyep-us c-iy-qil-si^n.../ citiyepus ciqis\-

'someone would spot her: she hopes / someone / one who spots'

In the example above, the embedded verb takes the agentive prefix /al-; when the verb occurs with the usual person-number markers, it is introduced by the particle /an by virtue of its non-initial position in the phrase.

examples: I see that the line is /an by virtue of its non-initial position in the phrase.

he sees that Eagle's daughter is beautiful

An example of a double embedding is

/c-iy-tiyep-us lo?-ka-c-iy-wopo-wa\-

'they told their grandfather that they saw a woman sleeping'
Notice in these examples that the nominal subject of the embedded verb precedes it; ḫaʔaxim the subject of the embedding here is also the object of the matrix verb, so that its position immediately following the matrix verb is to be expected.

/kaw-a-xili-wasin loʔ-kaw-a-šay clow 'an c-eqlemlem-š/
kasiwasi loʔ-kawsaʔay slow 'an ḫeqlemlem
'he sees[that]Eagle's daughter is beautiful'

Accordingly, there are very few unambiguous examples of embedding. [The nominal subject of the embedded sentence when one appears, is also the object of the matrix verb.]

Another form of embedding involves the causative prefix su-. The subject of an intransitive verb appears as the object of a causative construction, as in

/p-aqni-čhum/ 'you are cheerful'
plus the sus-allo morph of su- 'causative,'
/k-sus-aqni-čhum-il/ kšušaqničhum 'I console you; I cause you to be cheerful'

An example with a nomnom noun phrase is
/c-waskin si-axi-pen-va si-pon/ cwaski šaʔaxipeneš 'ipon
'the board is flat: it is flat / the worked thing / wood'

in a causative construction:
/c-su-waskin si-axi-pen-va si-pon/ chuwwaski šaʔaxipeneš 'ipon
'he makes the board flat: he causes/to be flat /
Coordination with the Conjunctive Particles

Simple sentences may be conjoined with one of the conjunctive particles (q.v.). Depending on the particle, the subordinate clause introduced by the particle may either precede or follow the main clause; usually the subordinate clause follows, as in

/\text{mu-p-suya-wati-hin kiw₁ mu-ka-p-hin} 'don't pick it up because it's not yours'/

/\text{ka-k-su-piliy ki k-su-tapšun loʔ-ka-ʔiw} 'I smear it (with tar) and I stick in the blade'/

A few conjunctions introduce the subordinate clause, as in

/\text{ka-nawa c-axsǐw ka-c-iy-axi-pen/ kanawa saxsǐw kasiyaxipe} 'when it is dry they work it over'/
Coordinate Verbs

Pairs of coordinate verbs are a common construction, in which two verbs with the same subject are juxtaposed much as appositive nouns are. Most commonly, the second of these two verbs specifies the nature of the first more exactly, as in:

/k-uliś k-nu-tal-tun-ā/ kuliśiś knutaituč 'I hold it in both hands: I hold it / I do it with both hands'

/ka-c-yít c-maquit-i- naï/ kasyít cmaquitinaʔal 'he comes running: he comes / he runs'

The second verb usually appears in an English gloss as an adverb, as in:

/k-su-piliy k-sunuw-us si-yop/ 'I mix smear it with tar: I smear it / I use / tar'

/k-mexwe k-su-yuq-miti/ 'I grind it thin: I grind it / I make it thin'

/c-waśti-wil c-nu-l-kikā/ čwaśtiwil čnulkikā 'he traveled alone: he travels / he goes alone'
Coordination without Conjunctions

In addition to coordination by conjunctive particles and pairs of coordinate verbs, a common feature of V style is a string of verbs.

A common feature of V style is a string of verbs, all with the same subject; these strings differ from coordinate verbs in that they carry the action forward, rather than complementing one another. The predicative prefix ka- is common here, and occasionally the conjunctions ki or ka, both 'and' interrupt the sequence.

/ka-c-timx-ni-koyi ka-c-mik-Vn ki c-ulis lo?-si-c-enhes/
kaštinikoyi kasmikayi ki šulišiš lo?isenhes
'he backs up, he retires and he takes his breath'

/ka-c-yit c-maqut-nai ka-c-nai ki c-utoqop/
kasšit cmaqutina'al kaša'al ki sutoqop
'he comes, he runs, he goes and he dives'

Such sequences may conjoined in longer blocks by the

Typically, subjects and objects nouns are specified only occasionally in such sequences, such as this section of narrative.

/š-qili-wayan lo?-ka'-al-šipš-iwaš
'Coyote looked over (the cliff): he looks over / Coyote

/ki c-qili-wayan ki c-qil-sin lo?-ka-c-šay olow/
kisqiliwaya ki sqisš lo?kašbašay slow
'and he looks down and he sees Eagle's daughter'

/ka-c-iliken ka-c-qil-tašič-us/ kasilike kasqitiwılıcw
'he sits down; he watches her'
These verb strings may also be conjoined in larger blocks by conjunctions, as in this narrative sequence.

/ka-c-iy-weleqen-us ka-c-iy-mik-Vn/ kasiweleqenus kasimik'i
'they drew back from her; they were at a distance

'kuwe naśti?i?i sixiliwasì ki siqisì xìkmìkìxì /lisilike
'but still they saw clearly and they watched her sit sitting'
Comp

I -1i akta- = V. -1i -ti7iy
I hawala = V čaqwin
I žloq = V, P swal it is perforated
I šutaxtaxstnit = V šutakštkt me aësto
V maqš = flint
V xtp = stone
V šaw = hot
V aquничум = to tasty, savory
V hukpikawač = I'll make butillas
V,B awty = I šo7 to roast over coals
V uqʃawty = I qeten to slap dough into cakes
V źuwlilo = ašen to eat meal

nb. memen in telmemen of V sigilmeme to hold hand over eye to see far

V 1a7- = I pa-
ne7e = moţe already
I-V correspondences

I aqtipalk'tt = V aqtipalj'tt
to suck out

I ketet = V jetek to be flat

I atepet = V petet (or tepet?) to roll

iwet = I, V companion

mants' = I, V to be lost

maxak = V Strip bark from tree

maxak'ts' = I, V cloth

mtekt' = I, V kind of rough rock

mtekt' V = mtek I far

I nagtek't = V nagtek'te to be constructed

B apit

apit = apet to go up, climb

I mtekth' = V mtek'te to go far

I aglew = V 7agl'lew voice, wow

y'la' = yel'a all

si'kin = st'kin to be off, to take offense

1st't? = 1st' to find

malk'ec = malkiec to be neat

cam'en = cam'i to know

sk'tnet = sk'ait -
v. I
V napijewe = I mark'etus do it hodol!
V, I Kum-us to arrive at
√ n0 = wač may be like subjunctive:
kalaqwayawač ak'us - I would have been ready
V hin = I kuy to take hold of
V wífi re I palagi kuy eki put that down
V kane'ese ve I swo'oo' he lies
V hukwalcteX I'll tighten it up
V pa =I pa walking stick
V čwalamts' it is heavy
V wačtw to throw a thing away
V wow some verb
√ ?anṭpešnekey lizard op
V ?aliwalqlay ajolote
V tipes' = awl maybe
V čtapušaʔas' huichuta
cagniwil he'ispos she has an idea
caktenhesi he catches his breath again
caxtlekepep he comes to bathe
caxtiwe he came to Sleep
"ikpaw to carry on head
camwiiwilpi they nailed it to s.
'kagti'epi hesmittepen I get Stuck in the door
'eskumula' he fits thru
'iwaltg e re. I aglaizin - to smooth
'iwaltglay
ne'ekmaxwil I am already tired of it
uwašuwatiyetš = ʔ to think
čtayapaha lokasxanaxan his lower jaw is Shiff
hukunaqsimsil I will miss you
huksimaltel a siwaka I'll lasoo a cow
čqitewtə = I šagšitewtə he is a spectator
šak kaqtipatik = I kaqtipalik I choke on
nishtewtə to choke on food
aqhalytət = agtipalkhet to suck inhale
no?an katušišišik I have a sudden pain
aqulcepe to remove hair from hide
aqulhin to remove burti, Hind
wezept to have legs & spread
Konholokho = Kanikloko? I'm hoping on one leg
Cwutiuwala?ap he lands in a hurry
Capileu it throws off spartis
Cupitiapi so?o water comes down the smokehole
Kikaektytw so?o and she begged for water
Ho?an kaxixxe I wore my shoe out
Axina?al to dance
Bo gono? golo? mouse
Pakefeni = once more
Tikomini twice more
Cutiquepit he snatched it way from me
Kisutiquepyus local ocoont?es it matches the fish from
Hulsilikuus local a?ataxe I'll carry food to a man
Chiliki?it he brought me my h? lunch
Ho?an kaxxik I gnaw with my teeth
= no?an kexnekey
Knikululu hago estruendo
Ctitapwu it chases them away
Ku?tu he?i?pt?es I be eat this acorn mush
Usumis to have pity on
Taksytytniyuuw have only on us!
Dut. so?z? Khulisa?axpi?lied I'm going to saw back the bus
kalaxuniwile| I have a nightmare
huksapaxsew I'm 9, to dry it by the fire
čnakwį yilxus risitaq risam ąxťaʔε
ksaxulce - se enfado oir un barullo el oso
hihiʔ , oxonışpiyit j-1 kaaxulce
yes, yes, be afraid of me! (axunușpi)
timesů to sew all around
ktip tiqēstęʔ ʔan tuiš tuiči I am sewing in a hurry
mushakalhaʔa no abre la boca
wakay to be on top of
cwatahway it is iz moon-shaped
no ʔan Rawiĉ I dance. ḏawić ḏance
ʔawičaʔaʔε name of " - ḏawićẹ?
hushtqetłeqeltlinit he's 9 to tickle me
hukśapatunič I'm 9 to put my shoes on
kalnehet he it is the same as this one
kšíqilmeme I shade eyes when looking
kicpug my pimple into distance
hushtqatšqyqtı̥ń he is 9 to be playfuį
kšuwatušmaxy̱t kikuliʔis heʔisqep lokahinnęc
I gave a jerk I caught the fish in the belly
lačt ʔištiiwsɨt he is always with me
k'oko, hinit papa, delouse me
č'tetek ʒišnuʃə he has a flat nose
 Küfugεštu to be a little deaf
čkitutuʃišiɕ it is a little tough (utšiɕ)
munelkneus, Ruwe oxalpiyit
I did nothing to him but he attacked me
ɔaltunoki (he is) an intruder
Cwatikɔm the wind died down (swatikɔm in)
loʔišupiy next year
muksposhoɔ ni he hamu loʔiʔohoy
I don't know if it will be this one or the other
ʔulamu ɔi hal palabra kal
If it were not for the sugar,
ʔan ʔewt samaqmil site: no one would drink tea
cəpəhaow it is light (in weight)
Ziswaltap pores of lungs
no ʔan ʔukwaltapus 1 stick a stick into it
dapalqayıwɔi the tree grows all crooked
kluʔiwtuʃə they 2 grow up together
hɛsi kluʔiwtuʃə he who grew up with me
člugqay ʔiʃtoŋi lokawt the deer has a split ho
eiwalahw ʔiʃlunʔep it grows slowly
naštęt klunluna'äl I am still growing
člusisi it is growing at deformed
člučum it grows straight
čmaxu tăqša he died suddenly
čimafap'hač they are all playing with toys
lokalwaleqe'še the first born child

hukspı̂lį́y heʔismam I'll tar the inside
noʔan kpolhewu Kalmants' I am a lost sheep
manaxš to stuff s. up nose
maxak -tš to strip bark off tree; cloth
neʔekayusmeqxe'še lokaswalktčntšt'tt
the rope wrapped around post is about to slip off by the end

calpay lokaʔo he walks on the water
calpay 1okašixtšt roof
maxwuhu to pull a thing out
čmaxtinik'oyi it slips/draga back
maxsupolo to break up clods
maxsunaʔal to drag
kšušoloʔič and I muddled it
mahiñoyi = mahiñoyn to climb over little by little
čmeheʔe it is spread open
timalamešure to what knife slowly
kinečnehet kilasutime?tek why is it so far?
\[ o\chi\lo\lo = o\chi\lo\lo\lo\lo\lo\lo \text{ to growl, grunt} \]
ko\chi\lo\lo\lo\lo\lo\lo
they are standing up together
naq?teke = naq?teke? to be constipated

tinapay to tege move back out of way!
cinaktina they brought it
ksayuqs?ekelelhec i walk on tiptoe
čnalnalnalucu he has gone there
naq?ti to carry up
pak?et ʔiʔiʔteq?et they 2 are the same
color
huknaawax heʔaʔəliyaʔ i'll leave this road
laʔt siknetmket?et lok aʔstuwaʔ
i always carry the refuse shells far away
hukniʔet i'll bring it
mayʔ evening
čnumayʔet ʔiʔntuʔ it sings all day
polwoyo to twist
neʔeʔpoeλpolwoyoʔ it is already twisted
simoxʔeʔ to bend pole over
nipʰatatan = nipʰatatan to crumble, break up etc.
kni'elpel lo?isikun?kunt?te
I broke apart all its joints
suklep = nit'boy to be able
kni'eqa?lewhte I have him by the throat
kta?aqlew I grabbed him by the throat
kulmam?l losnih I'm go. to pierce your ears
huku?ho kiswoloyi I let it fall
čwoqši?č = šno?koki?e it has a spine
huk'ikuwe?wenuwu I'll put them on top of each
čiwak?anš they are on top of one another
oxkon to kneel
lači? si?as?aqškunapaš ¿an cina?akawayu
many people surf-fish on horse back
huk'iwon?o hesi?tep me pano con esta pied
čnop it is blunt
cml it is sharp-pointed
nutapi to take inside
knaqiwetw si?tep a carry a stone while
eqtomoy V=I to singe
ciyol?koli (k?oyili) loka?kw
they left the road... they went around
they went around the oak tree
cikenti'i'y  they went around again
\(\frac{\text{ran ko̱xlo̱k}}{\text{moistened}}\)  I have something in my mouth
\(\frac{\text{agütap}}{\text{peṣipibata already pounded}}\)  I eat peṣipibata thus
hukagütap  I turned my foot crookedly
ko̱xpoloyi  I am wet
ne̱e ko̱c  the while of my eye
cical'omow  the white of my eye
\(\frac{\text{yalusyoxyo̱c}}{\text{lit. mixed}}\)  he has blue eyes
\(\text{cušyoxyo̱c}\)  está re glito (cf-yoxom)
čnipak  driftwood
\(\frac{\text{yalabuki lul}'i}{\text{something is g. to happen}}\)
\(\text{hukeqwel sîzêl} \frac{\text{ran huksiłtap}}{\text{I'll make a necklace, I'll alternate the colors}}\)
kšax liytkwû  I alternate the colors
čpaxi'c = ʃpaxi'c  it has a skin
no ran kepe  I'm very thirsty
\(\text{rilcêt pe} \text{na} \text{xyet}\)  how did you get up?
\(\text{rilcêt} \text{pi} \text{p} \text{mayt}\)  how did you pass the event?
\(\text{rilquce} \text{pe} \text{qe}\)  where are you going [ep]
\(\text{kepetep sipapel kikakalcunuwus kikwetp.wpwp}\)  I folded a paper and use it to swat & flies
¿cómo? [cómo] ground is uneven

éstá de[-b] [dó] [í] it is crooked [goes crookedly]

zagical sign/signal

Kek's kay ka'almu— el no mas no—?

cizúj he hooked/stabbed it

NB húki cizújuyum I will hook it for you

Kumel no good

Kumel 7ik, no es bueno honeve

alpumpu to go around all corners

¿cual [cual] Sting (of bee)

c-chin-mow honey (of bee)

7is kon Skon /7in worms/insects

laxú like laxú 7isaw like day

laxú muhu heristeg it has eyes like an owl

laxú / 7isaxú nit

Pi ni zii púpik do you have lice?

mt = no

¿lóiqo' - ¿lóiqo' ¿lóiqo' ¿lóiqo' tadpole

NB ve ethnó - magic infant that cries in cronymas

talxú - llovon saca lo de las brazas!
actēstā to call pluck beard
čach'actēstā redup'd

7thet ū are there many? mē, laʔ mif̣, no, few-
yiʔi'skōm? u hamu kaʔi'skōm? u 5 or 10?
čečhu he sneezes
čečečhu he is sneezing
keččečhu I am sneezing

čqoʔo he laughs
čqoʔqoʔo laughing
čqoʔqoʔo coughs
čqoʔqoʔo coughing

qaf̣axa < galʔ-ax-Vn to string bow-
so, thus also maybe with chux-chuxmen

qwe tomato čwaʔa - duck sp.
qwe plant like cypress čušmaʔtő [čušmaʔtő]
pinacate sp.

laʔ ka [kʷwilí] Kwíli
calandria

re ethno nowo nowo, neʔe skitwo stop stop, it's already
+ ʔaxi speech => .SetActiveTranslation
plus glottal shift

B ταώβατ ταώατ ταώατ
8 ταώβατα τακάβατας

ταώβατ ταώβατ ταώβατ
ταώβατ ταώβατ ταώβατ

B tan-zimimin ačtmēn
8 ašalototmēn

8 tanšix ταστυ talctx

σογς / hozš goll

šipuk  vu hipuk elbow

ζιττ - πίττ ηιντι - ηττ
si- + Verb

kaksunuwus siktimes los'katiwalcmuyuyhu  I use it for fastening my
knutaltuć sikicuq       I stab with both hands
kiciq la'qis siktoqololi I hold the lance under my arm all the time
masix siktipoyoqo los'kaquyiwaś  I drill 3 holes in the quyiwaś
mitmiti sikiqaqalaw  I chip off little pieces
mitmiti sikse'qes  I take little pieces off   (of wood)
ki kxiliwasì sikana'ay los'kalśuwešteqenpi I check out the grain
kqalciök sikaqsik          I tie it pulling tightly
mu'aluśho visamixipus      he won't give up what they won
hesikuxčik                 my saliva - that which I spit
yi'la'ya višna'val          it all goes
čnuvxanpi vištipey          he tends to be with people
čaqčhum visnetus           he likes what he is doing
č alcutiwi'y viš?ipuć                 he changed what he said
che'qe vishiliyiyiw  it took away his sadness
husip šahušnehet             he will decide what he will do
šal'alumuwus šimuhusnetus   he advises him not to do it
new ideas

1) more simple CVC stems from longer forms, by cognates
   
   I aënip̣ṭ 'to tread on, trample' cf. asnisil 'to step on'
   = V aqtap̣ṭ 'to stamp'
   
   I tip̣ṭ 'to loosen, untie' = V oxp̣ṭ
   
   I aqškiy 'to move, wiggle, writhe' = V aluškiy
   
   I yulīxsi̞ilili 'to soften, melt' = V apiššili 'to melt'
   
   I xanṭeṭtṇ 'to be disgusted' cf. V aqšṭeṭtṇ 'to be fed up with

2) I, B, and V all tend to show 'sporadic' aspiration in same
   few stems; may be remains of stem-final aspiration which
   is retained only before close boundaries of derivative ending
   
   ʷap - ʷaphenṭ 'house' - 'to build house'
   
   šup - šupbuš 'earth, soil' - 'to be dirty, soiled'
   
   xip - xipšin 'rock, stone' - 'to be rocky, stony'

   perhaps h-epenthesis in items like ni/nišin, pa/pašač
   is similar, as may be h in CV reduplications ku/kušku"
Odd correspondences

V 'valixwoškoloy = I 'coloxwoškoloy duck sp.
V ipőeyewu = I ipőžiyiwín to be shiny
V šošoy = I šoyin to be dark, black
V 'cohoy = 'coyini other

exact nannakl idiomatic correspondences of shifted words
V čaqwin = I hawala only; no more BV -41q = 1 tčx eye, face
V aqtipalyit - I aqtipalkhit to suck in
√ -nožš I lokín
exact correspondence of nannak semantic domains of I B V
-sa tooth, fishhook, arrow head of flint
-šaxpilil root, bowstring, nerve, sinew
stray morphology

1) wati- takes stem redup: čuwatipowpow it is marked XXX

2)  c -> s after vowel, including ki 'and'
    kisiyaliwesmes and they are crosswāse

3) nom? lo'kayićuqa'as the spear (i'cuq - to pierce)
    lo'kashilaq kaičuqa'as the handle of the spear

4) uninflected forms: ulyi - long knowowo - short
    šustow 'iuqtawi'iy boiling stone for making tortillas

5) -Ø derivative -alien forms
    hmeše's - lo'kakthmes e'in
    cuqtawi'iy - ʔixhaxaxma his tortilla ʔisoy - ʔisoye's hand hum
    ŋuqtawiš - he's making tortillas

    lo'kakapūškeye'seš - a hook : 'iš'apuškey - its hook
    ʔim 'ičkuhuna'aš : -'ičkuhu defense weapon (+ alien)

6) 'i- with no val- in
    camsalaqwa'ay visamaxipe they work (flint) smooth
    camsukuyštus visamkaqalaw they beautify it by chipping...

špũ 'alhu'ampuq špũ which they are going to insert

7) alternative appositives
    ʔelsiku 'ishe - che ʔiselsiku bone bead
    ʔiw ʔimaqš - maqš ʔiʔiw flint knife

    k- k-š- k-y- -11 -yuy
    p- p-š- p-y- -11 -yuy
    c- c-š- c-y- c-am -us -wu

    tetene'eš mother +alien
    kokaši'as father + alien
    ʔamina'as elder brother + alien

break final vowel, like I yal-

ksukupin - I light lamp, ksukupiʔin - I go to light the lamp
VENTURENO 9-5

Stray Morphology 2

-pi as transitivizer, -Ve as intransitive
šuxulđiyiś to be bad, worthless (intr)
aqčiyinpi to be fed up with (tr)
aqčiyinpiyuč to be fed up, disgusted

agentive *al- can occur with nominalizing -šaś, -VeVš
*alaqkumaaš a grateful one
*alaqšumaaš an agreeable one
*alšipnowonqiš a well-behaved one

NB šuxulđiyiś?iś = alšuxulđiyiś a worthless, bad one
*alaqšumaš he is in love
*alaqšumaaš something desired

*al- and am- in interchange
*amalaqšum = *alamaqšum he likes them

S1- when
sisununa sisisinyawu when they begin to put them on
payikula gnwognowo even tho they are short
leška slujet 7an husaxsew
kwet for the knot will dry
for: the knot will dry

cqist loqapa? wagi7?i suyitse7 lipšewel
cqist loqapa? wagi7?i suyitse7 lipšewel
7akpeneis lutilisuktwo they look at the log and then they figure how many
7akpeneis lutilisuktwo they look at the log and then they figure how many

-a? neŠ kusu 107kamišup a - I left the land, didn't I?
kiwe - but muhka?al kwe la7hukumilke
kiwe - but muhka?al kwe la7hukumilke
I didn't go, but I used just stay

la7 kuwa desques
Re: I begin to chip...
no’an kušqal lo’kamitipin I open the door
ksutapi lo’kakšuwašqalí’iš I drive the wedge

-no’an ksutap lo’kašuwašqalí’iš
šwašqal it is split
*ap *i’al(waš)qal a split house (abode walls split)
šuniyíík *ishe a bone pestle
šuwaštiušqalí’iš *ishe a bone wedge

*ayapílíí *i’amalsaxixe he’ismít a cowrie shell with a rubbed-off
back
no’an kwm keaxixe sa’ayapílíí ksunuwus sixíp I rubbed down a
cowrie shell gržåm grinding on a stone

*almištíqiš *išaxixeneš a rubbed-down keyhole-limpet
suwaša *ishe *i’alhayayanus pendant made of spongy bone

*alqap *i’amalsukuyitua camsunuwus *ištu’waš šiqaqiš
a mortar that they decorate (?) using abalone shell
camsutapwi *isap they put them in their house
*alqap *išu’peyeš camsunuwus lo’is’ayapilíí he’ispanayi’išw
a mortar decorated with cowrie shells on the rim
cameqwelus [*išaxšinapi] lo’ka’ayapílíí they make moulds for the
camsutapi lo’kašutiýík lo’kasu’pey ka’alqap they inlay in moulds
the ornaments of the mortars
*alqap *išu’peyeš samsutapi sa’ayapílíí a decorated, they
lay in beads
peyeš *i’al’íl *išhin’ayapílíí he’ispanayi’išw mortar which is inlaid
with cowries around the edge

*alqap *i’amalsu’pey mortar which they ornamented
*alqap *i’amalsutapi mortar which they brought in
ksunuws pake'et višepšle čaqwin hesutiyi'įt ma'am lo'kasha
I use one lip only; the teeth are turned inside
see ma'am slip for sentences and word order

'isiškom višqawawha pake'et 'ismoto ka lo'moto 'isiškom xisqawaw
said of the double-winged one
cha viya ckiyim lo'isiwį arrowhead with the straight cutting edge
lakansupkonoqś psuwesmę, lo'kašamamį, lo'kapkonoqś 'an caxukumu
if you cut it transversely, you cut it round like the full moon
pake'et 'is'eliku xiį 'i'alinunahiyą one soapstone bead
čuwaštiwotolkoy] višinwaština'įl lo'ispanayi'įw lo'is'įk hemitipį
a groove runs about it on the outside

xiį 'i'alwelexşipi śimaqś stone for pasa pä pedernal
khin 'ispik siwį, pake'et 'ištik, ksukowo wo unglossed
he'ištik kalmu extensively šiçaxipeneš kwuluwal he'išliyįk lo'kashe kiksinaę
lo'ka'alipceyewu at the other unworked end I bore the middle
and place the crystal
ksupiliy ksunuwsu aiyop I stick it on with tar
kmexwe lo'kache he'valalpay I grind away the upper part of the bone
kikušho višepšle lo'ispanayi'įw lo'kašikunutiwaę and leave a lip
at the edge of where the joint was
vihi 'ismiț lo'ka'alipceyewu the crystal has many faces
alipceyewu vi'ali 'ihi [ 'ismiț unglossed
also say vihi 'ismoto
pake'et 'ismoto 'an xa'ax, ka lo'ka'cohoy 'an syuq-ćići unglossed

ćlewuč [ 'iyošiwaś of cover of brains
mëpxiçpex 'isipi
he'isu'pey 'an musil cohoy kin ckyiyt there is no other like this
ornament, and it is strange
su'pey vi'allupake'et a singular, unique ornament
he'isun'pey 'an caqni 'iš'altepeneš 'iš'almoxwolko'y this ornament resembles two wheels stuck together
khin 'išhe siwí I take a deer bone
ki [knikot knikla and I break it
ki kaqulmow sulkuwilpi and I select that which is proper
kim'exwe kaksuyuqmí'tí and I grind it slender
kaksunuwus siktimes lo'kaktiwalá'muyuyhú and use it for pinning my cover
cunpástú 'iš'alixwalilik he'iswotolkoy ornament has mottled circumference
cil 'išmištíq heliyík it has a central hole
circumference
ka 'išamtipolyoqo he'iswotolkoy and they drill holes on its
cwotolkoy 'ishin 'alcíč'i its sharp points go around circumference
lo'kástípiq kashin 'alcíč'i 'an [camtipoyoqo lo'kashin 'alcíč'i
cil 'išwalwa'al 'an 'iší the points are more numerous (than the holes)

khin 'išpík siwí
pake'et 'ištík ksukowowo ki kaka'ipe
heksununa 'išliyík ki ksícíč'i
by itself
peyes 'iválka'as lo'kíkš lo'kaskuwilpina'as a mortar that sits
okly'mí lo'iswotolkoy 'is'amamí its circumference (= sides)
is straight
su'pey xa'ax 'išmištíq kinu'pan cuwotolkoy lo'kástipoyoqoníš
'an cwe'smes the hole is transverse
su'pey sa'alskumu 'išmištíq ka 'išamtipoyoqo he'álapay
said of pendant
su'pey sa'alskumu 'ištík camtipoyoqonus ki he'áliyík 'an cil 'išmiš'tí
said of ornament
ke'siqunpástu 'an camaqwelus 'išin'alixwililik, they make it w groove
cwe'smes lo'kashin'swa'stina'al they run crosswise (the grooves
kquluwesmes siktipoyoqo heliyiała I bore transversely
kšuwayaniś šitopoyoqoniti saʔayapíšli loʔismitàt I have cowrie earring
ktipoyoqo heʔismitàt loʔkaʔayapíšli
suʔpey ʔiʔalxaʔax ʔiʔšimaliʔq, I bore a hole thru cowrie's back
ki heʔalalpay ʔan ʾiš ʔišulitš
top
kaʔiswal loʔkaštik kašuliš
kuqwu ksunuwus simiyaš
kisiyaliwesmes
ksupiliy loʔkaʔaxipeneš kaʔpon
kinupan ksinay loʔkasuʔpey
kʰin loʔkaʔanqinkini
kṣilikenpiwu loʔkahamaʔak
kikušqete kšitätpli
noʔan kšutapšu saʔanqinkini
ksinay heʔišpanayiʔlaw
ksilke kakhnapali pakeʔet
kikkimiyiʔi loʔkaʔcohoy
kışuwaštutù ʾisamxnaʔal
I tar the worked piece of wood
and then I put on the ornaments
I take the middle bead
I set it in the tar
I press it and it sinks in
I inlay beads
I put them on the edge
I put it up the end on one
then I make another
2 rows
ʔiškoʔışkīuwaštinaʔal ʔišlewuc sištuwaš muštiiʔlaw ʔišliyilla
I put two rows of conch-shell pieces near the middle
pakeʔet ʾištik ʔan kšuwaštimiti ki loʔkaʔcohoy ʔan kseʔespetà
kiksuxomoħo lasełkumulaʔa suʔampi
sufficiently for it to ladle with
kʰin loʔishe ʾišik loʔkašiʔlaw kaxiπe ʾisomoʔo jakhuxska lakušho
sičohoy ʾisomoʔo
loʔištik ʔan ʾišaxipeneš ʔulyi kinupan cönći the point is
worked long and it is pointed
solid bor
ʾišiše šaʔvalmaʔmuč ka saʔalmoniša there are hollow bones and
camëuwošnoqă km kisamaqicici camsununa lo'kašwošnoqă
said of _______ shaped drill point
cameqwelus 'išhepēle lokašuštow he'ispanayi'iw they made lips
on the edge of the boiling stone
masix siktipoyoqo lo'kakuyiwaš ka huya ki huskitwo lo'kašapă
ka'iwexes 'i'ixpanis I make 3 holes so that the juice will drain
ksa'îmimî lo'kaswal kaštuwaš kaqašă̄ ksunuwus siyop I plug the holes
in an abalone shell with tar container
ki ka'kaqmilašă̄ ka he' kašinapi and I use it for a cup or
khewali 'ištu'waš yila'a lo'kaswal 'an nayi šiyiqmaš here is a shell with all its holes plugged
khewali 'ištu'waš ciyiqmaš 'iswal here is a shell with its holes
plugged
he'sixip 'an camixweteqpeyus lo'kapaxat they make this stone in image
çil 'isqawawha he'ismo'to pake'et ka lo'kaçohoy ka he'ismit ka lo'îšte:
(whale) has fins on its side ...
kkawal lo'îštîk kashilaq I make hole in base of handle
ki ksupiliy and I tar it
ki kšutapšu lo'kašiw ka maqă̄ and I stick in the flint blade
ksalaqwây ki šutišihič I do it well and it is strong
chilaq 'i'aliwalqlay ki he'alalpay 'an 'ayuçici the handle is
smooth and it is pointed at the upper end
he'si'atasač 'an 'alnuna lo'kašikhiwuč ka l'awhay
this man is from where the moon rests up
lo'kašuliš 'an cawikhihinus lo'kaswotolkoy maž kašhipuk pake'et
the handle is near one corner
musalaqwây halcaxnapai lo'kasha ka lo'kas'îsuw (fish) can't
vomit ḥ out the hook and bait
kanawa škeyšeši lo'kachošoní'is', when the fish catches itself
kuwe lo'kaspu lo'kasha salhe'mišup 'an ske'ey he'is'ík
lo'kachošoní'is'íš ki musalaqwa'ay halcaxnapay lo'kasha
the barb hooks his mouth and he cannot get it out because
of the hook

flint kr
camsukuyítus 'isamkaqalaw lo'ka'ís'w kamaq̣ they beautify chipping
ki ka cipceyewu kipqisí 'an capistululu' so that it sparkles and
you see that it shimmers
munaksununa halkaxipe lo'kamaq̣ before beginning to chip the fl
kikxiliwaši sikana'ay lo'kašwešteqenpi I check the grain i
hemisa'up 'an kašnehet lo'kašteleq ka'ewa
ki he'alalpay 'an cíl 'iščinoq̣ 'iškoṃ pake'et 'ismoto
kalvo'ka'áchohoy kasmoto

unglosseš
kiwex lo'ka hilhil I grind the red ochre
kinupan ksaqpú (= kåo'oo'oč) and I wet it with water
kikawiweš kašakišč and I grind it, when it is ground
kikeqwel sitekmeleš lo'kahilhil I make a cake of the ochre
ksuyeq̣iši he'ìštík 'iškoṃla'á a kikuyík 'an ksastipil
I make it plummet shaped

khin su'ulWXiš sa'axwi kašnehet lo'kałmasîx sotoyí 'is'espet
ki 'is'éulXina'áš 'an lasulkumula'á šuštapi lo'śiyišis lo'kayul'iw
I take a strip of buskskin 3 fingers broad and long enough to
go around the head
k̄inim kquliweš 'iškoṃ 'išwašna'al 'išlewšewu'úč 'ištu'waš šiqasí

---

kakčoho kikułuteqpey sa'änqinkiníni' pake'et 'ismoto ka lo'kačhó
kasmoto ka heliyík lo'kašlewšewu'úč kaxaxax'ax 'an kquluteqpey
sa'änqinkiníni
he liyík ʔan samsutapi ʔišlewúč sixaʔax ʔištuʔwaš ʔiqaší
in the middle they put big pieces of abalone shell
keqwélus ʔisíxwalilik loʔkaʔoqotowol maxíʃ I make grooves on the flute
kilakiwí loʔkashe  I only cut the bone
kšúwóʃótołkoj yílaʔa loʔkakíwi  I make go around the x cuts
ki kseqtwesmeswu čnapali heʔalalpay and I cut it across on top
yátíʔiškom ʔishin swotokkoy  it has six rings, tiers
yílaʔa ʔan Ƴisupéyiš sivʔalyuqqmi ʔišlewálewúč ʔištuʔwaš ʔiqaší
all inlaid with narrow pieces of red abalone shell
yílaʔa cíkániʔát loʔkašʔuliš kaʔiw kaʔulyi
yílaʔa ciyeleʔex ki ciyalismoto  side by side
kámášxwa ʔimešeʔeš ʔiʔalʔil ʔishin spolkowowo heʔalalpay čluʔulyiʔin
it has a longish ball at the top
hesíxip ʔan camtixwa ha camixweteqpeyus ʔisamámi loʔka[ku,
NB neʔ ʔahi  it is much already
kaʔášním ʔipeqweluč hesikape  since when did you make this coffee?
neʔe kšéʔqeč kayuʔ kotoʔi  I am undressing to go to bed
čhuweyepš šikayuʔ šnaʔal  he asks permission to go
Relativizations

camqalwilpi lo’kayulkwilpi they tie them on the ornaments
lo’kaldaqwin ka’awakaywu lo’kal’imaxyamlı the last one is
on top of those that run down
lo’kamiymiya’aš ka’i’alwesmes the cross-woven threads
--- kal’ammoxpowwu " " "
kaśnehet lo’kakana’aay kakeqwel it is like the first I made
began to bore
kqis’ sixıp’ isamsununa’ isamquluwal I see a stone which they
sikwi’li’iš that with which I shot
hu’ksuweqe’ is’husxili’ik I am g. to entrust what he entrusted me
with
 ksaxtawasi’išalhač I approve what he says
kqis’ ištu’waš salkitwonpi lo’kačpi
I see the shell from which comes čpi
kqis’ ištu’waš sal’amip ka’iti kasketwo lo’kačpi
I see the shell from which they say that the čpi comes
kqis’ ištu’waš kal’amsunuwus’isameqwel lo’kačpi
I see the shell which they use for making čpi
lo’sixıp’ an (ka) kal’amsunuwus’isamalwa lo’kašišu
this stone they use for killing the devil
hukipošoš nečnehet ka he nel’alip xutaš we’ll find out what happen
and what they call xutaš/Venus Venus feels
ka’iti kasaxwi’il salsus’amha xutaš up to this point is what
are coming ciyaktina siku huliyiwakitwon the people who will resuscitar
khanqis’ halcalotoyi lahuki when you see something thrown away
 holdin
ksuyahin sa’alnehet hesikaltaktak’uy I want one like the one I’m
nelka’añ halkiyalku what time do we have?
iqis’ he sal’aliwotoqlo’op look ye at what is face down!
lo’ka’enheśe kal’iyušho lo’kasi’amama the spirits who leave the
bod.
\text{I command}

\text{the hole is transverse}

\text{there is a hole in the center}

\text{its handle is on top}

\text{this man stabbed me in the belly}

\text{the point is worked long}

\text{the drill-point is long}

\text{here is a shell with all its holes plugged up}

\text{of a whale}

\text{they make this stone in image}

\text{and on top it is pointed}

\text{its handle is near one corner}

\text{this rock is like a hook}

\text{it has channels woven in middle}

\text{I see that the line is oblique}

\text{its circumference is scalloped}

\text{resembles to}

\text{the sword defending instrument}

\text{the handle has 3 clenched fists}

\text{this bead is not round}

\text{I plug the base}

\text{I tied it}

\text{I tied it}

\text{when you see e. throw away. don't pick it up}
Multiple NP's

čimanwayanič lo'kasqoloki 'nišleiwalewu'úč

kquntiteqpey lo'kaqunpštu lo'kakqoloki  I sew qunpštu to my belt

her belt is hung with
Coordinate Verbs

kuli'iqi' knuwancpak' set I hold it in one hand
kuli'iqi' knutaltu' hesikpu I hold in both hands
kaxipe ksumokkowowo kskukuml li'esti'lik I work it and make it diagonal

gsunwus as good example
Kikmexwe kaksuyumqmi? grind it. slender

ugshalhay ugstatay to be used

xtip xhininku' papayas
"Stone belonging to the payas game"
O'c C Story 23

Coyote + the Daughter of Slow + Venturreño 1913

pake?et ?i sqilmes ?an capi
ing one island went by canoe

lo?ka? sa?ay tslow
the daughter of eagle

kas?umili lo?ka?shin skoy?is
and went to the Kelp Bed (where she fished)

ki Kasagsik lo?ka?stamol
her boat (w/ seaweed)

kas?una?al loka?swastuyas
her could line

loka?swastuyas
her line

blur two sicocon?t?es
some fish

(while she was fishing) a cliff on shore
Kisgiliwaya Kisgist lo?ka?sa?ay slow
and he looked down and saw the daughter of eagle

Kasillike kasgittuwicus
he sat down and watched her

Kinupon cxi?liwas Kasip: a ceglemlemes
and he looked carefully a said beautiful & brilliant

he thought coyote a said o he said

will get into the water and I will go

I will grab the hook I'll cut off the bait


he backed up he vetured he took his breath

Cukumula?a susuto?op ki huskumili lo?kasgoysis
he estimated his dive and his arrival at the seaweed
Kasyet cmaqutinaal kašnaal kisutoğop T-20
he came running he went diving

ya kašuliis loʔka kʰincha
and gobbled the hook

kašušmaxyet mucusyaʔuʃʰo šepešiwaš loʔkašʰinsʰa
she pulled her line up no want to let go coyote hook

kuwe musalaqwaʔay kʰiwečʰaxšilčaši kamašusʰo
but he couldn’t because he was caught and he couldn’t
(by the paw)

loʔkašʰaʔay clouʔ čušmaxyet loʔkašwaštuyaš
daughter of eagle pulled up her line

kuwe muséheč kilašusʰo
but she couldn’t and she let go

kašalštešiwas lamitiił
and coyote a little while

kišušmaxyet loʔkašaʔay clouʔ kašušmaxyet loʔkaštuyaš

kanawa smaxsukithwo loʔisyetweš hešoʔo
then pulled out (from) his head (from) the water

kíašu kikašgoʔo ka loʔkašaʔay ʔićlow ʔan ćiʔus;
and he laughed

ha pʰɨʔu pʰu šepešiwaš
you are

hešiptyweš ʔan hušʰošoy kaloshipteleg
your head will be dark and your tail

lauxux kayıptə kašušʰo kasašaʔap loʔkašaʔay slow
vieja fish will be your name and she let + went ashore

to go of him

kuwe mušiɬ ʔalyam (caymaʔam)
they receive home-coming goat

kilaškekekš kisašitke šakšu talxilaltʰ halcyam
wanted to be stone a she hoped someone would spot would receive

škuwe mušiɬ kiksiliʔkenp1 sixep
no one and she sat on a rock

kanawa swolowoyoʔo
when it was

mid-afternoon
Kisamum, Saaqapac Kisiyyu, 10ka Saaqshungay
Kanawa swele. 7:00, Suwolowo? T-3

Kasaaqilimsa, kuwe chuxill wile, kuwe musil cackau. She was ashamed because no one knew what she had caught.

She understand, her hunts, her father, and she wanted to go home.

Kuwe chuxill wile, kuwe musil cackau.

Kasaaqilimsa.

She understood, her hunts, her father, and she wanted to go home.

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Kasaaqilimsa.

She understood, her hunts, her father, and she wanted to go home.

Kuwe chuxill wile, kuwe musil cackau.

Kasaaqilimsa.
kaštaŋ hesoʔo
she dived into the water

kwu kuwe mušalaqwaʔay halčtaŋ yəlaʔa heʔisamame
but she couldn’t get in all her body

čaqwin heʔisqalquönü
only pants below her waist

kasaxwiʔiŋ saltapi hesoʔo
but no more went into the water

ki heʔisyeteʔeŋ san laʔeŋ pišku kasaxwiʔiŋ
her head was always human and no more

kisasumqalquunya ʔistuwaʔs ʔoʔuʔšuqininaς
they found shells of shell fish

kaʃiʃočoneʔeš kaʔsaʔaltëhëʔ koqulikëqoł
and a fish called corral snake

yelaʔ čweleqς ʔisqalemlëς
all excels bright & beautiful

he kašaŋay clow ḏan musweʔ
did not sleep

kila ki laʔe heʔisimwusu kašnalnaʔal
always in the sea moves about

kaypi ki heʔisqalquönü ki heʔmisup
from waist down in water and below

ʔan čteleqς ʔiʃoʃočoneʔeš
tail of fish

6'2
ki kay keši hešikîalgisę laʔkeks liʔkaχa
now what we see only her teeth

kalʔunili kažaʔtcoł ʔapiqulum
remain as a sign

si he misup ʔalnuna
that he was born on land—came from the earth
Kasamyamti ćiguŋunup Kisiyuštel
came to the beach his children & found her

cwe kašnehet loʔka ʔalaqša
sleeping like one dead

cixiliwast kuwe heʔismagtunuv ʔisamamti
they swam well but half

ʔan ku ki heʔišteleʔ

ʔan xočoneʔts camxiliwastet

Kuwe ʔanwa cil ʔiskuʃtet kaʔisogwo ʔan ʔušesx ʔair was loose

Kinupan ʃtetet ka heʔululyi loʔkaʔisogwo
very thick long

Ku ʔispu ʔan ku

Kasiwelegenus Kasiyekeʔe kuwe nasṭetet
they drew back & were at a distance but still

Sixiliwast Kisiqiʃist
they saw clearly & they saw

ʔisiliʔke Kisišuʃmeʃ loʔkaʔisogwo Kasmis
She sat & she shook her hair & cried

ʔaya ʔaya ʔanima ʔaya ʔanima how de mi amor.

ʔaya ʔaya ʔanima

ʔašiswuwalatlat ppulkuwaʃ ʔanima it makes your heart

ʔaya ʔanima ʔaya ʔanima ʔaya ʔaya ʔanima
yetε ʔanima come my beloved

words are in swašel dialect of Cr.
lo'ka gungunup Kanawa siyitaxkume'el
the boys penetrated bien

lo'kašmiš Kašmaq'tunuč Kaku
the mermaid

Ki Kasina'al lo'kasi'ap
they won't

Kisit'yepus lo'kašiwopowaš cigiš Tismaq'tunuč
they told their grandfather they saw

si Xanwa Kaši'oko'one?ččš cwe? cišili'wast
they distinguished

Kasiwelegenus Kasinowo Ka? lo'ka Xanwa
they got to one side sat down

cu'ta Kšišle Kisiš like Kišušmyey lo'kašegwo Kikašmiš
a stroked her hair

čmiš Kũwe čntw lo'kispoš

nelčip
what did
the sage (Grumwá) asks

lo'kismiš kachununa
principia

lo'ka gungunup Tismiš : pąya pąya wuniča etc.
the boy cried the song

cusamha lo'ka paktwaš

Kikašipus pake'et lo'kašunu:

he ša'almiš Kũwe mušašlaš Kini
one who cries not that she cries but

Talexpensus lo'kakši'woqmash
sings una vengeance

Kishunawa kipt ð'an šaluxni'nikhoj
and in the present

Kišt mušil cohoy
because is no other
kin čaqwin lo'kaša'yay clow lo'kalmants' he swaxt'1
but only
či'lište cpe'ey he'isup
is called Flower of the world
yta'la he'is'tuwa's sigaš' kisišo'done'teš'
kalokash'in ke'ulikčil hesimuvu' tan yta'la'
kas'nettyt' kept hesi.kihin qa'ilmes
are his plantas near our island
kuwe kašte xalašát
xalašát said to mean laurel or victory
Text

Ventureño

ciy ismod. ñistepšiwas'ki sisagutegenpi
gather the wise versavon above
hal pazalinetep he zalgis(niytw yela'ahe'risup
ha hour it was he who sees us (sun) all the earth
Ka? lo?kal'ıqagša nelusinetewi Ki śusiyaqtaxwuy
a those who are dead how they will do to come back to life
Kuwe įp pake'ta ciyuleqpeyusu Kaguñupmawa
and said one they to follow the sun
Ki Kaštíapi tismittept Kaguñupmawa laç't heši?is?šaw
they enter his door the sun's always every day
čamagša yela'a he'risup kanawa chuk'um 7is?ipuç
they die in all the world whom with time comes what he says
lo?Kakanaay Ka?alstepe' lo?Kaiqagša
the first wise man who died
Kuwe husaqtalwyi pake'ta sulnetepi lo?ka kisusamha
he has to revive equally
lo?Kašipoš čaqwin sulnetepi an gohoyi?is?šušitqęša'as
in our heart a thing different color
deak will be born same, but different color

lo?kašixwil?an ci'il ńštwaš hesiqes. caliwotoglo?op
in that place was a sand dollar it is face down
Cus Kuyusu'wii pake'teši paktwas'lo?Kašiwenwi
he shows them me and old man to his companions
Tis'ist he sal'aliwotoglo?opTa he?is'liyet Kaptapli?is
look ye at what is face down have in middle of east
Kašnapay Kaguñupmawa ki Kašna'al Ta'kulul
west
Kašuleqpeyusu yela'a lo?ka'ʃentešes Kašiyusbo
they follow him all the spirits who leave
lo?kašiamamir. Ki Kaka'um Kaguñupmawa
their bodies reaches sun
lo?kašimatap Kašta'pi Kalo?ka'ʃentešes ctpapi
his door enters souls enter
Kaskwum Kickitwo Kagunumawa
when it is time for sun to emerge

Kas x'ilaltum Kila?yt susukumli
it is his duty always fulfills

Kinte Kas?ttz lo?ka?alamu'spawawhandi
for his eye abyss (those in abyss?)

Cug?tahayuswu ytlaz a lo?ka?i?a faphesalmaxuyulku
lights for them all who are in the dusk

Ki Ka samag taxwayi
they resurrect
JPH notes

1) c - čis - ci - cam - > s- sîis - si - sam -
   when preceding sound is ı or diphthong

2) sî > tı before s/ı
   article sî - + subject markers too
   sîcî - > tısi-
   sîčis- > tısîs-
   sî cam - > tısam-
   so sî-c-xep > tısxep
   sî-c-ıs-xep > tısîs xep

mention of X/ı

l > n x > ç as part of Ventuño
expressive consonantal ablaut (diminution: expansion)
thus - micganagan < xanaxan lower jaw

"Sibilants in Ventuño [Chumash]"
MS No 3057 1916
from Smithsonian Inst

xuyu\u0101 to lie, tell lie
čil ši kagš i have a wound in my hand
yugnai ál to be stretched out (eg. rope/snake) on ground
calotoyi šipni the stick is ı

cxoyic hesikpu i have blisters on my hand
-tožin to kick off I tožin to pinch
swatinogš to be wounded, out of breath?
axput (mush) to bubble as it boils
put put sound of boiling mush

V hir = I kuj to take hold
yes - cü6
uštu to hope

VI Palebhum = ı7 anebum
K'angi'zi' te halcalotoy, labuki? an mupsyayawatihin

Kewt mukaphin when you see something thrown away,
don't pick it up; it's not yours.

Kimi'loho, give me another one!
Kasamkimiyiywa and they do it again
mitini? Ki hushispelu it lacks a little of being done/cooked
Ksuyahin sa'alanehet hesikaltakaluy I want a cat
like this one (am holding
no?an Kpulhewu Kalmanes' I am a lost sheep
Kewt Katanikuha?u they are more high tone (mas gentes)
muhupihin hal'o don't go to fetch water!

nelka'anan halkiyaliku que hova tonemos?
huki ?alku?um kisqewe when will the tide go down?
huksutiyetus = huksutikrumus I'll hold it towards him
Ksukumus s'azataxaq lamalinyaq I overtook the man on the road
Kept? sa'ann huksuku?rex now I'll drink it all up

?le'nek squiguel (dialect)
?iwo'nt?tsi'i'su' the owl's song
oxnog's to bite in two
kapsoup

Knu'opi loka'paligie I pull out the plug
big bundle V 10 box 747

wansaq  split-stick
ciwis  rattle
waštapo  bracelet/anklet
šayuqštap  anklet
šuniwut  kind of dance (todo —
cuxe  headdress
čiwaṃts 10?1st leg bands. amavaadijo
al'ũqlaš  medicine man who named children
al'uniwut  one who habla sin Fundamento
zawĩča  as  kind of dance — coyote dance
zawĩč  V, 7
paka  ceremonial official
siliytk  ceremonial altar/center
škak  wild grape
šalalaxiyeeš  local doctor curer
gokš  down
šuyla  protector (maybe -alkuyla)
sulaytk  to put on top
šukweypiyaš  one who is poisoned
žǝrgy  tapeworm
hualiut  a place
žuyla
-šalawiš  patiente

nayayt + walañwú
štaliwiaswit
šuũ  Sleepyhead
pilviaw  red-sunsets
tyegspek  clouds
cañeludo  — big-shimmer

gram ʔiskam? ʔišʔal'awič  ʔ2 awič dancerš. is-šal-
ʔiyalaq+petelš  those who speak w V. ʔ
Kopo = god, respected in Nyirik Lang

cuqele 4anwe
paś amole
eKapsiš yipas gabazo de amole
7eKëš seaweed npj used to stop mouths of people in sweathouse

ñaxalyskaš ve ceremonial enclosure
ñalaxsayay guiya
æ 1p1pi (ç') to chip at

çiqi lvesqeqe physognomyst
ñayakå ubasi spider?
oglog to chew

tipay (hu) damn it!

ñaqutaqes peripibata 6911
ñultetes dried leaf of šow
wetwet to make lime
ntshnas 5. burned

gwam nel pnelus how do you do it?
šahoway = fear in secret lang of siliyek

suwogo = to reach meal

hukuxmalhič = I'll wash (near-by)
hukuxmalhič = I'll wash (far away)
"ukuxmalhič” = soap - amole
cōd = amole - vaiza de lavar
śulwis = name
zikyay = chest/box made of bark
mulus = also sweet like mow
mow = finished product of
topo = plant
chow = a grave hill
tiyet = to form a circle
čil coxlo xayaka = there is a mystery
agcúm = to kiss
čiyalušwo topotoc = registvadores (in ceremony)
siliyek = ceremonial thing / "center"
koxso = place
calpu = se representa y va andando / march
čaqwiopi = until later - greeting?
swołowoyoh = sun it is dipping to west
ugmanšte kšpi = to wash the face
?alalhy = elder person
hyeš - us = to tell
axalikoy = to set up...
¹axalikoy "Timakafamfs = dancing ground
kulan = to dance a certain dance / song
wašik = big basket / sp
ʔontokos = whirlwind / whirlpool
xoon - us = to steal
-nene = abuela
-ćunu = nio to
-ʔičumas = whistle
tolog = to be hungry
šan = initiate in siliyek cult.
ntw... to dance
ntwen... dance

axina'âl... to dance?
7axina'ẗs... dance
RAgroâunu'd... to be jealous
lwip'su(na)... to enthusiastic about
telmtuwit... name
Tmtwey... name; one who causes temor
7î¿'kt... loincloth
how... cry at end of song
 tarama... stunk
x77tl... tuña
Aaql'ap... to pick (eg. tuña)
Cuniywu... to look for
7aqKâp'tes... cactus picker inst
ke?e?eq... to cut a slot, split
-Aqslakay... aperture pal. to de-6viv
nipalgayawi... to twist (trans)
v.6topoki... to push
v.6tay... to do gently
v.õpete... to de-thorn tuña
v.õpete'd... to be cleaned
simono... quickly peav sp
1cpax... to peel
naqtek't... to be constipated
chu'pes... christian
tiwansk'et... apron; to put on —
-piya'c... feather skirt
?axwi... buckskin
q̄olo'k'ı... to put on (a garment)

metath... teket, nagtek't
mpk = ktep

mpk... walnut
ko'toper I name

Ksiqom yetipakez es khezenla kskukuta tan ka'as'km
2 x 5 = 10
mastei Ksiqom khezen kskukuta tan yetiwiskm
2 x 3 = 6

temiya xawut name (div* scratched by coyote say tewel in common lang)
topon xelu name - a classy intruder mixes well
rynoki name - bum intruder (cf I rattnik)
salyet to stand count
šutlweyeš seaweed (generic)
cëkwë
gavrapata

tarap name - some insect
talpage vištaštašas bunch grass - interwoven roots
uxš to sink
uqemy to spay, spinkle
wiwal to wear thru (trans)
sukul name
micqanagen V mastei kskupelwè 1 dejo 3 times
pelson to pass night / spend time? better
dawty
tonoy to cut
molš to sub (between palms)
upilutipi e steadfast
šaqša
stenk
sinayars
æq. aguws
cmatunuw
-nuws
-nuks
-humeltyuč
wenla
7uwanto
xi'llat'mu  his duty
xi'llat'  prognosticative
qipomô  name; person; a place
so'lo  to be bitter
talîw  bow

maxuyul'ku  to be dusk
aq taxweyi  to resuscitate [intens]

čtuwas  hesigaś  sand dollar
wotoglopop  to be face down
paktuwas'  old man
šiwtnuś  his companions
7a'far'leś  east
napây  to rise (eg sun)
(k)a'gunupmowa  sun (epic name)
7akululì  west
7isöyëś  feathers of feathered star
7antap  kloy
kloy  small nocturnal bird
to̧omwok  rest of kloy (made of wax)

šukumyaświt  name
šulaywit  name
halaśu  name
kwayayšu  "
šxâpe', kačantuk  villages
7xîlelyepuś  sigan con la vista

?igisę he sal?ali, wotoglopop
look ye at what is face down!
lo?ka'ren hesęś  kal'iyushó  lo?kaši'namamë
the spirits who leave their bodies
all kinds of dance

names

free floating cloud

to be covered with

los antepasados

ghost

make noise

ghost, spirit

to hypnotize self, drink moon

shadow

pulsar - take pulse

to ask question

woman shaman

have TO

elder 6 yr

song type

horn

door

to land goat

( child ) to walk, crawl

Staff

chuchupate

old woman

to bargain

el semen

by you always want to 

have eviction

same as I

your cucumbers