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# A Grammar of Cupeño

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Jane H. Hill

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# **A Grammar of Cupeño**

**Jane H. Hill**

To the memory of Roscinda Nolasquez, who worked to preserve  
*Kupangawicham pe'memelki* for all the children

# A Grammar of Cupeño

Jane H. Hill

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# Abbreviations

a	<i>a</i> -augment vowel before <i>a</i> -ablauting suffix
ABS	absolutive case
ACC	accusative <i>-t-</i> (a frozen case marker with a few nouns)
AGTV	agentive <i>-ve'e-sh</i>
ADJ	adjective prefix <i>a-</i>
AUG	augmentative <i>-we-t</i>
BEN	benefactive <i>-max</i>
CAUS	causative <i>-nin</i>
CF	contrastive focus = <i>e</i>
CUSTS	customary singular <i>-ne</i>
CUSTPL	customary plural <i>-wene</i>
CUSTST	customary stative <i>-wene</i>
DDEM	distal demonstrative <i>e-t</i> ~ <i>eve-t</i>
DEF	the <i>pe-</i> element in <i>mi... pe...</i> constructions
DET	determiner
DSS	different subject singular <i>-qali</i>
DSPL	different subject plural <i>-weni</i>
DSST	different subject stative <i>-weni</i>
DUB	dubitative = <i>she</i>
DUP	reduplicant
ERG	ergative case
EXHORT	exhortative particle <i>hani</i>
F	future
FIS	future imperfective singular <i>-nash</i>
FIPL	future imperfective plural <i>-wene</i>
FIST	future imperfective stative <i>-wene</i>
FLS	full locational specifier
GNT	gentilic ('person from') <i>-wi-sh</i>
HAB	habilitative
HES	hesitation form
i	<i>i</i> -augment vowel before <i>i</i> -ablauting suffix
IF	immediate future <i>-qat</i>
IN	theme-class suffix <i>-in</i>
INDEF	indefinite <i>mi-</i> , <i>mivi-</i>
INL	locative suffix <i>-nga</i> 'in'
IMPS	imperative singular -'V
INCH	inchoative suffix <i>-chu</i>
INSTN	instrument nominalization <i>-la'a-sh</i> ~ <i>-lya'a-sh</i>



IRR	irrealis = <i>pe</i>
LOCB	obviative locative base <i>a-</i>
MOTP	purposive motion <i>-lu ~ -lyu</i>
MOTG	motion going away <i>-ngiy</i>
MOTC	motion coming <i>-neq ~ -max</i>
MOTCA	motion coming along <i>-vene<math>\bar{q}</math> ~ -vemax</i>
MOTA	motion arriving <i>-mi'aw</i>
NONI	non-instantiative = <i>qwe</i>
NPN	non-possessed noun (the Uto-Aztecan “absolute suffix”) <i>-t, -l ~ -ly, -sh</i>
O	object case
obj	object
OBL	oblique-case suffix or relational noun <i>-chi</i>
ODEM	obviative demonstrative <i>axwe<math>\bar{u}</math>-sh, axw<u>a</u>-</i>
OWN	ownership suffix <i>-we-t</i>
PDEM	proximal demonstrative <i>i'i</i>
PIS	past imperfective singular <i>-qal</i>
PIPL	past imperfective plural <i>-wen</i>
PIST	past imperfective stative <i>-wen</i>
pl.	plural
PL	plural <i>-m, -nim</i>
PN	person–number, person and number
PRS	present singular <i>-qa(l)</i>
PRPL	present plural <i>-we(n)</i>
PRST	present stative <i>-we(n)</i>
PRO	independent pronoun
PSD	possessed-noun suffix <i>-’a, -’i, -ki, -ki’<math>\bar{a}</math></i>
PUA	Proto-Uto-Aztecan
QUANT	quantitative <i>-k</i> with indefinite <i>mi-</i>
R	realis = <i>’ep</i>
REP	reportative = <i>ku’ut</i>
RFL	reflexive <i>-qi</i>
S	singular
sg.	singular
SS	same-subject subordinator <i>-nuk</i>
SUBIR	irrealis subordinator <i>-pi</i>
SUBJ	subject
SUBR	realis subordinator <i>-ve</i>
VB	verbalizing suffix <i>-tu, -lu ~-lyu, -yew, -ma, etc.</i>
UNAC	unaccusative derivation in <i>-chi</i> from adjective
VOC	vocative
YAX	theme-class suffix <i>-yax</i>

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

## A Note on Sources

Most grammatical points are exemplified here with full sentences, with the relevant content **boldfaced** where appropriate. The source is given for all sentences.

Where the source is an elicited sentence or word from my own field notes from 1962 and 1963, the number given is the notebook number, page, and example number from my field notebooks. For instance, (9 18 221) means the example is from notebook 9, page 18, example number 221. For examples from narratives, only the name of the text and the Shoebox database number are used. For instance, (KP II 033) means that the example is from sentence 33 of a text called “Kisily Pewik II.” These do not correspond exactly to the sentences in Hill and Nolasquez 1973, as they are based on a reanalysis of the narrative texts published there.

Where the source is from Paul-Louis Faye’s materials, collected in 1920–1921 and 1927, the sentence is labeled “Faye,” with additional identification (such as a text name), and either my own page number or line number (or both) in my photocopy of his notes and the number of the example in my Shoebox database. Some materials from his field notes are labeled by date, and consultant’s initials are given where available. The consultants are Salvadora Valenzuela (SV), Carolina Welmas (CW), and Carolina Nolasquez (CN). Material from the 1921 New Year’s oration by Domingo Moro is labeled “Domingo Moro.” Materials from the microfilms of Faye’s file slips in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, are given by reel and frame, for example, (Bancroft 82 (2) 205) means reel 2, frame 205 of collection number 82 in the Ethnological Documents collections. These examples are used with the permission of the Director of the Bancroft Library.

Some examples are taken from Roderick Jacobs’s 1975 publication on Cupan comparative syntax. These examples are labeled (J), with the item number, followed by the page number, from that publication.

A few examples are from notes taken by Thomas Portillo from classes in conversational Cupeño taught by Roscinda Nolasquez in the 1970s. These examples are labeled “Portillo notes,” with a page number when available (many of the pages are unnumbered). The Portillo notes are held in the Cupa Cultural Center at Pala, California.

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## THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

**1.1. GENETIC AFFILIATION AND PREHISTORY.** Cupeño is a member of the Cupan group (Bright & Hill 1967) of the Takic subfamily of Uto-Aztecan. Uto-Aztecan is divided by most scholars into two large subgroups: a southern group of languages ranging from Aztecan (which extends into Central America as far south as El Salvador and Nicaragua) to the Piman languages in Arizona and a northern group in the U.S. Southwest, the Great Basin, and California. The northern languages probably share a single common ancestor, as has been shown by Heath (1977, 1985) and Manaster Ramer (1992b). Northern Uto-Aztecan includes Hopi, spoken in northeastern Arizona; the Numic languages of the Great Basin and adjacent regions of California, the Columbia Plateau, and the Colorado Plateau; Tübatulabal, spoken in the foothills of the Tehachapi Mountains in south-central California; and Takic.

The Takic communities were all located in southern California. Archaeologists (e.g., Moratto 1984) have speculated that ancestral Takic groups were probably in California by 3,500 years ago, reaching their present distribution by about 500 AD (Grenda 1997:20). The Takic languages include in addition to Cupan the following languages: Gabrielino-Fernandeño, spoken in the Los Angeles Basin; Serrano, spoken from San Bernardino north and east to the Twentynine Palms area in the southern Mojave Desert; and the closely related Kitanemuk, spoken farther east in the Mojave Desert; Tataviam, northeast of Gabrielino-Fernandeño; and Nicoleño, a language spoken on the Channel Islands. The latter two languages are documented by only a few words, and their affiliation with Takic, while probable, can never be secure.

The Cupan languages share a single common ancestor (Bright & Hill 1967). They include the closely related sister languages Cahuilla and Cupeño and the more distant Luiseño. Luiseño was spoken from the Pacific Coast inland to the foothills of the Coast Ranges in the drainages of the Santa Margarita and San Luis Rey Rivers; according to Jacobs (1975:7), the language is “more uniform in character” than are the other Cupan languages. Juaneño or Acjachemem, spoken around San Juan Capistrano, is often distinguished from Luiseño but is closely related to it (Harrington 1933; Lobo 2002). Cahuilla is spoken in the Colorado

Desert, the northern part of the Imperial Valley, and the mountain ranges south from Mount San Jacinto to Mount Palomar. A geographic and ethnographic distinction between Pass, Desert, and Mountain communities of the Cahuilla was made by Strong (1929). Jacobs (1975) distinguishes Wanikik, Desert, and Mountain Cahuilla dialects associated respectively with the three geographically differentiated communities. Cupeño, the language of the present study, is the smallest language of the Cupan group. Speakers of the language lived until 1903 in several villages in the Coast Ranges southeast of Mount Palomar in what is today north-eastern San Diego County. The various communities and their dialects are discussed below.

I have argued (Hill 2001, 2002) that Uto-Aztecan presence in the U.S. Southwest and in California results from population movements by maize horticulturalists originating in the northwestern quadrant of Mesoamerica that took place between about 4,500 and about 3,500 years ago. However, there is minimal linguistic or archaeological evidence that speakers of the California Uto-Aztecan languages, Tübatulabal and Takic, were maize cultivators in the prehistoric period (although of course all groups of Takic speakers were cultivators by the nineteenth century). Unlike the other languages in Northern Uto-Aztecan (Numic and Hopi; see Hill 2001, 2003c), the California languages present only a single trace of the Uto-Aztecan vocabulary for maize cultivation. Gabrielino, a Takic language, has *song-áxey* ‘tortilla’, where *song-* is cognate with Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**sunu* ‘corn, ear of corn’. Cultivation at least of cucurbits may date to the precontact period among the Cahuilla (Bean & Lawton 1976) but Cahuilla cultivation vocabulary is not Uto-Aztecan (nor is it obviously derived from the neighboring Yuman languages, a possible source of influence). It is possible that the subcommunities within Proto-Northern Uto-Aztecan that gave rise to the California languages never emphasized cultivation but were mainly or entirely hunters and gatherers throughout their history. Variation in emphasis on cultivation is known for other Uto-Aztecan-speaking communities such as the Tohono O’odham (Hill 2001, 2003c), so the ancestral Northern Uto-Aztecan group probably included bands that emphasized hunting and gathering as well as groups focused on maize cultivation. Archaeological, ethnographic and linguistic evidence suggests that all of the Takic-speaking communities, as well as the Tübatulabal, were thoroughly integrated into the acorn-collection subsistence complex so characteristic of aboriginal California. The comparative linguistic evidence shows that the California Uto-Aztecan shared cognate vocabularies for the use and management of acorns and oak trees that clearly date to an ancient period in the development of these languages.

**1.2. A LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF CUPEÑO.** Cupeño is an agglutinative language, displaying nearly all of the properties proposed by Skalička (1979) for that type. As summarized by Plank (1995:36), these are

- a. Predominantly non-cumulative morphological markers.
- b. Loose ties between stems or roots and affixes, manifest in easily recognizable word-internal morpheme boundaries.
- c. Few morphologically conditioned word-internal alternations.
- d. Syllabic autonomy of affixes.
- e. Little word-internal bonding other than by vowel harmony.
- f. Large inflectional paradigms, relatively few function words (e.g., adpositions, articles, possessives and personal pronouns, conjunctions, auxiliaries).
- g. Potentially long strings of affixes, especially suffixes, with possible combining of markers of the same paradigmatic category.
- h. Uniform declension due to absence of synonymous inflections and conjugations.
- i. Little homophony of inflection.
- j. Systematic zero-expression of basic paradigmatic categories (such as nominative, absolutive, singular).
- k. Blurring of distinction between derivation and inflection.
- l. No rigid lexical discrimination of word classes.
- m. An abundance of morphological modifiers of verbs.
- n. No nominal classes (especially, no gender).
- o. Phrasal marking rather than word marking, with each category marked once per phrase, precluding agreement.
- p. Coexistence of different kinds of clause construction, especially verbal and nominal.
- q. Predominance of nominalizations over finite subordinate clauses.
- r. Relatively rigid word order.

Cupeño departs from this characterization in regard to properties (o) and (r). In the matter of agreement, characterized in (o), Cupeño nouns, as well as demonstratives, determiners, quantifiers, and adjectives are marked for case and number and display case and number concord in complex nominal constructions. As for word order, property (r), Cupeño is clearly dominantly head-final, with quite rigid word order for some constituents such as genitive-noun constructions. However, pragmatically driven departures from the SOV order, including movement of verbs to sentence-initial position and right-shifting of arguments to follow verbs, are fairly common.

Plank (1995) argued that *Suffixaufnahme*, the appearance of a case marker on the genitive noun as well as the possessed noun in possessive expressions, should be added to this list of properties. Plank redefined the term to include all instances where case-marking affixes spread from lower to higher syntactic categories, as with “case stacking” (Nordlinger 1998). Examples of *Suffixaufnahme* are in fact found in Cupeño, although they are seen only when genitive–noun expressions appear as objects of transitive verbs.

Cupeño displays a number of interesting typological properties. First, it exhibits dual agreement marking. Head-marking (Nichols 1986) appears in past-tense verbs, which require prefixes encoding the person and number of the sub-

ject. Proclitics encoding the person and number of the object can appear on verbs of all types. In non-past-tense verbs, enclitics in the second-position auxiliary complex encode the person and number of subjects. With imperative verbs, these enclitics encode the object. However, the language also has dependent marking for case, with a generalized object case marked with a suffix on quantifiers, demonstratives, adjectives, and nouns and pronouns. Case marking is of the “direct-marking” type (Dixon 1994), with object-case markers constituting a flexible resource that can be used to heighten transitivity contrasts in discourse.

In argument type (Jelinek 1987), Cupeño has mixed pronominal and independent nominal marking for subject and object. Pronominal arguments encoding subject person and number are required on past-tense verbs but occur only there. For other types of verbs, null subjects are rare but possible, although an independent noun or pronoun and/or a person–number clitic cross-referencing the subject in the second-position auxiliary complex usually appears.

In case alignment type, the language is mixed, with nouns and pronouns being marked (optionally) for a generalized object case and the subject markers on past-tense verbs being nominative (S,A) in contrast to the accusative (IO, DO) object proclitics. However, the person–number clitics in the second-position auxiliary complex distinguish ergative (A) and absolutive (S,O) cases.

Cupeño shares with other languages in its region a robust second-position auxiliary complex that includes clitics that mark person, number, and case of the subject, modality, and evidential status. These usually follow the first word in the sentence, although occasionally they follow the first sentence constituent, for instance, a complex nominal construction. A striking property of the language is extensive discontinuous constituency in all types of nominal constructions. Discontinuous constituents are common, and there is great freedom in the types of element that can interrupt a nominal construction in discontinuous constituency.

The many unusual typological properties of Cupeño, especially when it is compared to other Uto-Aztecan languages, suggest that it has undergone what Thurston (1987, 1989, 1992) called “esoterogeny,” a process whereby a language accumulates strategies for distinction from its neighboring languages. Especially the presence of the split-ergative case system is unique among Uto-Aztecan languages and unique in southern California more generally. Indeed, the nearest languages for which ergativity has been reported are Alsea in southwestern Oregon and Zuni in western New Mexico, the latter having a very minimal system. The exuberant development of discontinuous constituency also exceeds what is attested for other Uto-Aztecan languages, and the *Suffixaufnahme* found in possessive expressions in questions is also unattested elsewhere. Cupeño is probably more complex in many areas of grammar and phonology than either Cahuilla or Luiseño. Jacobs (1975:5) observes that “Cahuilla appears more accessible to Cupeño speakers than Cupeño is to Cahuilla speakers,” and I concur with this assessment. Esoterogeny, under Thurston’s characterization, is exactly what would be predicted in a language with very few speakers—probably never more than one



thousand—that had been incorporated into the linguistic ecology of aboriginal California, a classic example of what Nichols (1992) called an “accretion” or “residual” zone. Golla (2000) has observed similar processes of accumulated distinctiveness in the California Athabaskan languages, the other major case where a language family widespread outside aboriginal California has a few members within that zone.

**1.3. THE GEOGRAPHIC SETTING.** Cupeño was spoken in three villages in north-eastern San Diego County: Cupa (*Kupa*, Warner’s Hot Springs), Wilaqalpa, and Paluqla. According to Kroeber (1925), the Cupeños, with a population of about five hundred at contact, were always the smallest linguistic community in aboriginal California. Aboriginal life centered especially on the complex of springs, both cool and hot, around the village of Cupa. This area exhibited a high density of named sites, including sites of ritual and mythological significance as well as sites that offered important subsistence resources (Strong 1929). Especially important were oak groves for collecting acorns, of which the most valuable were stands of *kwinily* ‘black oak’ (*Quercus kelloggii*). Other oak species were exploited as well, including *wi’at* ‘canyon live oak’ (*Q. chrysolepsis*), *wi’awlet* ‘coast live oak’ (*Q. agrifolia*), *tevešhily* ‘white oak, Engelman oak, mesa live oak’ (*Q. engelmannii*) and *pawish* ‘blue oak, coastal scrub oak’ (*Q. dumosa*). The most favored oak groves were near water, since acorns are poisonous before they are ground and thoroughly leached. Nearby rock outcroppings were modified to serve as *ilyapal* ‘bedrock mortars’ for grinding. Much of Cupeño territory consisted of uplands covered with the mixed shrubby vegetation known in California as “chaparral,” which included plants used for food and medicine such as *kelel* ‘manzanita’ (*Arctostaphylos* spp.) and *chamish* ‘chokecherry’ (*Prunus* spp.). Chaparral supports a rich crop of game, especially deer and rabbits, with a predator population that in aboriginal times included not only *ataxam* ‘human beings’, *isily* ‘coyote’, *temawet* ‘mountain lion’, and *tukut* ‘wildcat’ but also *iswet* ‘wolf’ and *hunwet* ‘bear’, which included the rare grizzly as well as the common brown bear. Bears were greatly respected and called *neqa* ‘my father’s father’. A form of shamanistic practice in which the shaman could turn into a bear was held in special awe.

Among the chaparral-covered hills lie grassy plains and cienegas, or marshes, which provided game, edible plants, and, of special importance, plants used for basketry—the major art of women—including the three main basketry plants, *suul* ‘deergrass’ (*Muhlenbergia* sp.), *se’evish* ‘*Rhus trilobata*’, and *seyily* ‘*Juncus* sp.’.

While hills, plains, and oak groves at the middle elevations between 1,000 and 3,000 feet were most important for the Cupeños, other areas that they exploited at least occasionally were conifer forests, found above about 5,000 feet on Mt. Palomar to the south, and the low desert of the Anza-Borrego region to the east. Plant and animal species from these vegetation types such as *wexit’it* ‘pine’ and *weshuwet* ‘creosote bush (*Larrea tridentata*)’ are attested in the lexicon. A

thorough review of the geography, ecology, and ethnobotany of the Cupeño landscape is presented by Gaughen (2001).

Cupeño territory was not only rich, it was strikingly beautiful. In 1846, Dr. John S. Griffin, accompanying General Stephen Watts Kearney and his American troops in their first expedition into California, wrote the following description of the Valle de San José, just below the hot springs at what was then Warner's Ranch: "We ... continued down the valley, which we found to be beautiful—some of the most lovely scenes presented themselves that I have ever looked at—the live oak scattered about in the most beautiful clumps—stones of large size—and luxuriant grass ..." (quoted in Lummis 1902:472).

Cupeño territory was, however, very small. Narrowly defined (as by Strong 1929) it included about 10 square miles, with important gathering sites distributed throughout the region. This area was bordered on the north by the lands of the Mountain Cahuillas, on the west by lands exploited by the Luiseños, and on the south and east by Diegueño territory. The Cupeños had regular relationships with these groups that included trade, political alliance, and intermarriage. Hinton (1991) has shown the presence of a "linguistic area" in southern California including all these groups that attests to a long period of contact and mutual bilingualism.

**1.4. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND RITUAL LIFE.** The Cupeño community was divided into two exogamous moieties, *Islyam* 'Coyotes' and *Tuktam* 'Wildcats'. Six patrilineal lineages at Cupa included the three founding lineages, descended from the sons of the culture hero *Kisily Pewish*, all affiliated with the Coyote moiety: *Kavalym*, *Pemtam'a Tulnikish* 'Blacktooths' and *Temaxawetim* 'Northerners'. Among the "commoner" (*humahuma'at*) lineages, associated with the Wildcat moiety, were two thought to be of Diegueño origin: the *Sivimu'atim* 'Peeling Skins', and the *Awlinve'echim* 'Something tied over the head'. A third lineage, the *Taka'atim* 'Sharp Ones', was said to be originally Luiseño. Other minor lineages included the *Sawvelim* 'Unripe Ones', a Mountain Cahuilla lineage affiliated with the *Kavalym*. At Wilaqalpa were found two other Wildcat lineages, the *Chutnikut*, said to be Diegueño, and the *Tushvekinve'etim*, said to be Cahuilla. The "commoner" lineages owned less property than the three "founder" lineages and were ritually subordinate to them, as indicated by secondary meanings of the adverb *humahuma'an* 'in the manner of a commoner': 'not saying things right, saying inappropriate things for lack of knowledge, false'. Some activities were organized by the *paxish* 'party', a group made up of a major lineage core and additional members from affiliated small lineages. The *Kavalym-Sawvelim* combination was such a party. The founder lineages held corporate property, including a sacred bundle, *maasivet*, in the possession of the lineage head, or *net*, and kept in the *kish ay'anish* 'big house' (also called *wamkish*, which Strong (1929:249) says is a Luiseño word), used for lineage ceremonies and as the dwelling house of the *net*. Strong (1929:234) reports that while each Coyote lineage held a *maasivet*, all the

Wildcat lineages shared a single bundle, which was held by the *Sivimu'at net*. Clans also owned collecting sites with important resources such as oak groves. The *Kavaly* lineage had the largest holdings, followed by the other Coyote lineages. The Wildcat lineages owned relatively few resource sites. Land not specifically owned was commons available to all.

Religious life was organized by several types of ceremonial leaders, of which the most important was the *net*. He was assisted by a *tekwve've'esh* 'firetender'.<sup>1</sup> The *paxa'a* 'red racer snake' was appointed by the *net* to assist at ceremonies where men drank *manit* 'toloache', a brew prepared from the hallucinogenic plant *Datura meteloides*. Shamans, *puvulim* (the singular is *puul*), officiated in curing and were thought to have diverse additional powers.

The major ceremonies were initiation ceremonies for girls (*ewlu'ninily* 'the occasion of causing to bleed') and boys (*manit pa'ninily* 'the occasion of causing to drink toloache'), the annual ceremonial killing of an eagle, and three types of mortuary ceremonies or "burnings." The first, *pisa'tu'ily* 'rotting', was the cremation ceremony, held the night after a death. The second, *she\$hexamenily* 'burning', involved burning goods and possessions associated with the dead and was usually held for many dead at once. The last, *nang'awily* 'burning images' (also called by the Spanish term *aniversario*), was held a year after the death, again usually for many dead at once. All of these ceremonies involved communal hunts and the redistribution of food and gifts. All except the boy's initiation ceremony, which could be held at any time of year, occurred in the autumn when resources from the acorn harvest made large feasts possible. "Movable feasts" that might be celebrated more often included various dances at which both men and women danced and sang, often lineage against lineage in the performance of *isaxwily* 'enemy songs' that repeated the tastiest gossip. These were so insulting, to the point of precipitating fights, that they were banned by order of the U.S. government in 1910 (Hyer 2001:138).<sup>2</sup> Christian ceremonies such as Christmas and Easter were added to this repertoire in the nineteenth century and were enthusiastically celebrated with feasts and the performance of ritual dramas such as the burning of the "Judas" at Easter.

**1.5. THE REMOVAL.** Unfortunately for the Cupeños, their villages lay directly on the main route across the Coast Ranges from the Imperial Valley to the California coast, and the hot springs and the beauty and fertility of the region soon attracted

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1. This official was often called *kutve've'esh*, probably a late development to make the association with *kut* 'fire' more transparent. The source of *tekw* in *tekwve've'esh* seems to be an ancient Uto-Aztecan ceremonial couplet, *\*ta ku* 'the wild fire, the domestic fire' (Hill 1985).

2. Roscinda Nolasquez remembered one of these songs but was always too embarrassed to sing it for me. It begins with the line *Loola hiwene* 'Goodbye, Lola', and has to do with sexual transgressions by a lady named Lola. I was astonished to discover that Ms. Nolasquez sings a snatch of the song on a video made by Linda Locklear of Palomar College, held in the Cupa Cultural Center.

Mexican, and then American, ranchers. Juan José Warner (1807–1895), a naturalized Mexican citizen from Massachusetts, acquired a Mexican title to the land in 1845 and employed some Cupeños as workers on his ranch. In 1846, when John Griffin saw them, they were still “fine large healthy looking fellows” (quoted in Lummis 1902:472), although Hyer (2003) argues that they were virtual slaves. The Cupeños were successful farmers, growing wheat, corn, and other crops, and were generally described as relatively well off compared to other Indians in the region. However, by 1851 conditions were bad enough that Antonio Garra,<sup>3</sup> the *net* of the *Kavalý* lineage at Cupa and therefore the senior lineage head, organized a military response to the imposition of a new tax on cattle. A brief revolt against the new American government of California inspired by Garra’s resistance was joined by allies from several tribes. The revolt was quickly put down, Cupa was burned, and Garra was executed by firing squad in San Diego on January 10, 1852.

In 1880, Juan José Warner’s widow sold the ranch to John G. Downey, a former governor of California. While Warner had tolerated (and needed) the Cupeño presence on his ranch, J. Downey Harvey, representing Downey’s heirs, brought suit in 1892 to remove the Cupeños, hoping to make a killing by turning their hot springs, which had long attracted outside visitors and provided some income for the Indians, into a spa. In 1901 the Cupeños lost a long fight to stay on their lands. A decision of the U.S. Supreme Court (*Barker et al. v. Harvey*, May 13, 1901) found that, because the Cupeños had failed to journey to Sacramento to properly clear their title between 1851 and 1853 after California statehood, their title was invalid and Downey’s heirs had exclusive claim to their lands. The Cupeños mobilized every possible political and legal resistance to the eviction (Hyer 2001) but the white supremacist climate of the time proved an insuperable obstacle. The Indians were removed from their home villages and relocated to Pala in 1903. The site of Cupa is now the Warner Springs Ranch, a resort–spa–conference center and real estate development. Many Cupeños now belong to the Pala Band of the Mission Indians and live at Pala; others live on other reservations such as the Morongo Reservation, in Los Angeles (cf. Bahr 1993), and in other towns and cities in the region.

The last speaker of the language who learned it as a child in a Cupeño-speaking community was the principal consultant for the current grammar, Roscinda Nolasquez of Cupa and Pala, a member of the *Sawvel* lineage (through her grandmother and mother; her paternal grandfather, Silverio Nolasquez, was a Yaqui nicknamed *Pexuchi Piita* ‘String-Foot’, for his distinctive Yaqui-style sandals). Ms. Nolasquez died in 1987. Interest in the language remains strong, and the Cupeño community, through the Cupa Cultural Center under the direction of her

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3. Antonio Garra’s surname is a Spanish translation for the nickname *nawily’et* ‘body louse’ that was given to the *Kavalý* lineage. After his death the surname was no longer used; his descendants took on the English-sounding surname “Laws,” which Strong (1929) believed was from English *louse*.

great-grandson Leroy Miranda, wishes to develop the language as a cultural heritage. Many tokens of the language are displayed in the Cupa Cultural Center at Pala, and Cupeño is used in song performances held at funerals and other occasions, which include new compositions in the language.

**1.6. SOURCES AND VARIATION.** Materials on the language discussed in this grammar come mainly from nine speakers. Paul-Louis Faye, who collected texts and grammatical materials in three brief field trips in 1919–1920, 1920–1921, and 1927, worked with Domingo Moro, Carolina Nolasquez, Salvadora Valenzuela, Carolina Welmas, and a “Mrs. Chavez.”<sup>4</sup> William Bright collected wordlists and elicited sentences from Roscinda Nolasquez in the late 1950s; Bright’s materials are in my possession; I re-elicited and checked most of his forms, so they are cited from my own field notes. My fieldwork in 1962 (for 3 months) and 1963 (for a month) was mainly with Roscinda Nolasquez of Pala, California, but I collected a few short personal recollection texts from Frances Bosley of Morongo and songs and some lexical material from James Brittain of Hemet. My text materials are published in Hill and Nolasquez (1973) (a revision of these texts prepared according to the understanding of the language laid out in the present grammar is in preparation). Roderick Jacobs, working in the late 1960s, studied with Roscinda Nolasquez and Cyrillo Welmas (the latter a speaker of Wilaqalpa Cupeño). In addition to these materials, there are scattered forms published by Kroeber (1907) and in anthropological studies such as those of Strong (1929) and Gifford (1918, 1922). A small body of Cupeño materials, apparently collected mainly from Francisco Laws of Cupa and Pala, was recorded by J. P. Harrington. This material includes a few elicited sentences and a substantial collection of place names (Barragan 2003). Some of this “Agua Caliente” material appears in Harrington’s (1933) annotations to Boscana’s *Chinigchinich*.<sup>5</sup> In the 1970s Roscinda Nolasquez occasionally offered brief courses on the language to groups of young people; Thomas Portillo of Pala took careful notes on these courses. These are held in the Cupa Cultural Center and are cited occasionally in this grammar. The archives of the Cupa Cultural Center contain a few other short texts and recordings in the language, which unfortunately contain no new lexicon, made by various scholars (none of them linguists except for Roderick Jacobs) who visited the community briefly during the 1970s and 1980s. In summary, material on the language constitutes a relatively small closed corpus, and many questions that contemporary linguists would ask can never be answered.

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4. Faye’s texts are included in Hill and Nolasquez 1973. His materials are stored in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. Hill’s materials include a dissertation (Hill 1966), a collection of texts with grammatical sketch and lexicon (Hill & Nolasquez 1973), and several articles (1969, 1970, 1972, 1973, 1989, 2003a, 2003b; Bright & Hill 1967; Hill & Hill 1968). Jacobs’s materials are published in Jacobs 1975.

5. Luiseño *chingichngish* or *changichngish* ‘powerful animal spirit, supernatural being’ (Elliott 1998:241).

There was apparently some dialect variation in the language. A brief discussion is given by Jacobs (1975). Jacobs observes that there were dialect differences between Cupa and the two smaller villages, Wilaqalpa and Paluqla. He was able to work briefly with a speaker of the Wilaqalpa variety, Cyrillo Welmas, before Welmas's death in 1971. He observed that some of Faye's materials came from Carolina Welmas, who was also from Wilaqalpa. Examples of differences between the two dialects include the use of *yax* in the meaning 'do' or 'do a little', which Jacobs stated was found only in Wilaqalpa (Jacobs 1975:73). In Cupa it nearly always means 'say' but the 'do' usage is attested. Another difference is that in Wilaqalpa the treatment of stressless verb roots (see 2.2.2) was apparently variable, with the possibility of stress on the root in environments where this would not be permitted in the Cupa dialect (see examples in Jacobs 1975:105).

In addition to the dialect variation, there were register differences. In the quoted speech of the *net* in narratives recorded by Faye from Salvadora Valenzuela,<sup>6</sup> we can glimpse an elaborated style, involving complex grammatical subordination (Hill 1979). Songs were often sung in other languages. An example is the song sung in Cahuilla by Coyote's older brother in the story "Coyote and the Flood" (Hill & Nolasquez 1973:59). The preferred language for songs in ceremonies was a piece of evidence used by Strong's consultants in the 1920s to argue for the affiliation of the various Cupeño lineages with Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla founders. Loanwords from other Indian languages are evident. Indeed, the word *Kupa* itself may be a loanword from Diegueño, cf. 'Iipay Aa (Mesa Grande Diegueño) *haa-kupin* 'water-warm' (Couro & Hutcheson 1973:19), the name for the hot springs. Another Diegueño loanword may be the word for 'red', *kwatikwaṭi'ish*, cf. 'Iipay Aa *'ehwattewaatt* 'is reddish' (Couro & Hutcheson 1973:3).

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6. Hyer (2001:154–55) reports that Salvadora Valenzuela, who was relatively well educated and literate, was the housekeeper at the Pala Indian School. Her role extended to translating materials from English to help the Cupeño-speaking students. Roscinda Nolasquez remembered Valenzuela as one of the most skilled and expressive speakers of the language. Hyer states that Valenzuela was 30 years old in 1904; she would have been in her late 40s and early 50s when Faye worked with her in the 1920s.

## 2

# PHONOLOGY

This chapter presents a descriptive outline of the sounds and major phonological alternations in Cupeño. Section 2.1 reviews the segmental inventory and major allophones and variable forms of the sounds. Section 2.2 treats stress and its alternations. Section 2.3 treats vowel deletion and vowel epenthesis. Section 2.4 treats assimilations or harmonies among vowels and the phenomenon of vowel-ablauting suffixes. Section 2.5 treats consonant alternations and haplology. Finally, Sections 2.6 and 2.7 treat two phonologically complex word-formation processes: imperative formation, in which the interaction of constraints against certain types of unstressed syllables creates some complex deviations from the basic forms of stems, and the habilitative, the only non-concatenative morphological process in the language.

### 2.1. SOUNDS AND SPELLING

**2.1.1. THE SEGMENTAL INVENTORY: CONSONANTS.** Table 2.1 shows the segmental inventory of Cupeño consonants. The table includes as distinct segments two major allophonic pairs, [tʃ] alternating with [ʃ] and [kʷ] alternating with [qʷ], since these allophones are distinguished in the practical orthography in accordance with speaker preference. Phonetic symbols are given in square brackets where they differ from the symbols used in the practical orthography. The practical orthography is discussed in detail in 2.1.4. The asterisk indicates sounds that appear only in loanwords, which are primarily from Spanish.

The consonant inventory exhibits contrasts in manner of articulation between stops, fricatives, nasals, liquids, and glides. There is no voicing contrast for stops and fricatives, except as an artifact of the presence of Spanish loanwords, nearly all easily identifiable as Spanish by the last generation of speakers.

The stops always have smooth release and are not voiced in any position. The following examples illustrate the stop series and its major allophones in context. The examples are written in the practical orthography except where they appear in phonetic brackets. Stressed vowels are written with underline, except where

stress falls on the initial syllable of the root, the most common situation, where stress is not marked.

TABLE 2.1. The Cupeño Consonants

	Blade-		Apico-	(Alveo-)		Labialized			
	Labial	Alveolar	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>kw</i> [k <sup>w</sup> ]	<i>qw</i> [q <sup>w</sup> ]	' [ʔ]
Affricate				<i>ch</i> [tʃ]					
Fricatives (Voiceless)	<i>f</i> *	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃh</i> [ʃ]	<i>sh</i> [ʃ]	<i>x</i>		<i>xw</i> [x <sup>w</sup> ]		<i>h</i>
Fricatives (Voiced)	<i>v</i> [β]	<i>d</i> [ð]*			<i>g</i> [ɣ]				
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ny</i> [ɲ]	<i>ng</i> [ŋ]				
Liquids		<i>l</i>	<i>r</i> [r]*	<i>ly</i> [ɻ]					
Glides				<i>y</i> [j]			<i>w</i>		

- (1) /p/
- as onset: *pal* 'water', *peket* '*Amaranthus* sp.', *pinga* 'on the road', *puul* 'Indian doctor'
  - as coda: *apcha* 'apcha'ash 'turned-up, of nose'
- (2) /t/
- as onset: *tamit* 'day, sun', *tel* 'comet', *tingela*'ash 'medicine', *tukut* 'wildcat'
  - as coda: *atme*'el 'toothache', *meet* 'gopher', *pit* 'road'
- (3) /k/
- as onset: *Kavaly* 'the Kavaly lineage', *kelel* 'manzanita bush', *kinga* 'in the house', *Kupa* 'Cupa' (place name)
  - as coda: *mulyak* 'lizard', *lyekyaxish* 'rich'
- (4) /kw/
- as onset: *kwatikwati*'ish 'red', *kweliqa* 'is curing', *kwiniily* 'black oak', *kwutaxwe* 'is bubbling'
  - as coda: *pe-sal*akw '3S scratched'

/kw/ appears as [q<sup>w</sup>] before unstressed non-high vowels /a/ and /e/. This distinction is written as *kw* versus *qw* in the practical orthography (see 2.1.4 below). This yields alternations like those in (5) and (6).

- (5) [k<sup>w</sup>aʔ] *kwa* 'will eat' but [q<sup>w</sup>ə<sup>1</sup>ʔɪʃ] *qwa*'ish 'food'



- (6) [kʷəliqə] *kweliqa* ‘is curing’ but [məqʷəlpəyəx] *meqwelpəyax* ‘3S went around’

The labialized stop /kw/ often loses its labial release in preconsonantal or word-final position (as does the fricative /xw/), yielding alternations as in (7) and (8).

- (7) *melekw-iqa* ‘is twisting’ but *melek-pen* ‘3S twisted’

- (8) *yamukwish* ‘stingy’ but *yayamukcham* ‘stingy ones’

However, two roots, *selakw* ‘scratch’ (see (4b) above) and *isaxw* ‘sing a man’s song’, usually do not exhibit this simplification, retaining labialization even where the final /kw/ or /xw/ appears as a coda.

- (9) /q/  
 a. as onset: *qa* ‘is there’, *qenyish* ‘good-smelling/tasting’, *qingish* ‘squirrel’, *qusa’ish* ‘alive’  
 b. as coda: *hiqsa’* ‘rest, sigh, catch breath’

(b) *hiqsa’* probably includes the root *qusa’* ‘be alive, breathe’, seen in (9a). (The vowel *u* is lost by regular processes described in 2.3.)

- (10) /ʔ/  
 a. as onset: *ay’anish* ‘big’, *e’e* ‘you (singular)’, *elē’ish* ‘bad’, *inga’inga’ash* ‘rough’, *pu’u’uy* ‘eat (habilitative)’  
 b. as coda: *a’chimal* ‘pretty, nice’

Glottal stop in word-initial position is not written in the practical orthography. However, a glottal stop is always present before an orthographic word-initial vowel (see 2.1.3).

The affricate, orthographic *ch*, is the same as the fricative [ʃ] but with a homorganic stop onset, [tʃ] in IPA notation, though this notation fails to capture the fact that the onset is homorganic with [ʃ] (Golla 2005).

- (11) /ch/ as onset: *chamish* ‘chokecherry’, *Chexemin* ‘the Pleiades’, *chinga* ‘if’, *chunal* ‘sandbur’

The affricate [tʃ] alternates with [ʃ] (orthographic *sh*), the former appearing only as syllable onset, the latter only as coda. These allophones are distinguished in the practical orthography, discussed in more detail in 2.1.4. Thus we encounter alternations as in (4).

- (12) [nə<sup>h</sup>?af] *ne-’ash* ‘my pet’ but [ʔatʃiʔ] *achily* ‘pet’

The fricative series exhibits fewer articulatory positions than the stop series, contrasting alveolar *s*, alveopalatal *sh* (an allophone of /ch/ as noted above), retroflex *ʃh*, velar *x*, and labialized velar *xw*. Velar *x* occasionally exhibits uvular realizations but these appear to be in free variation with velar tokens. A single voiced fricative, *v*, is common in native vocabulary. The voiced fricative *g* [ɣ] appears in but two native words. The other fricatives appear only in Spanish loans and are discussed below. The following examples illustrate the fricatives and their major allophones in context.

- (13) /v/  
 a. as onset: *kwaavichu* ‘will take care of’, *Sha’vit* ‘Mexican’  
 b. as coda: *tavxqa* ‘will work’, *chivnish* ‘swamp root’

/v/ appears word-initially in Spanish loanwords and in only a single native word, the verb *vel* ‘wave’ (which requires the object *-ma<sub>s</sub>* ‘hand’).

- (14) /s/  
 a. as onset: *samat* ‘grass’, *sechingily* ‘thorn bush’, *singalyily* ‘heron, sandpiper’, *sulit* ‘one’  
 b. as coda: *iswet* ‘wolf’

- (15) /ʃh/  
 a. as onset: *ʃhawish* ‘bread’, *ʃhe’nin* ‘will decorate’, *ʃhikijiy* ‘a creaking sound’, *ʃhukʃhukvel* ‘the oldest, most wrinkled’  
 b. as coda: *aʃhwet* ‘eagle’, *ʃheʃhwayvelpa* ‘Santa Ysabel’ (place name)

- (16) /x/  
 a. as onset: *paxal* ‘cradle’, *xeeqale* ‘it’s windy’, *xixipeyax* ‘3S had diarrhea’, *xuwiqa* ‘singular subject is pulling something’  
 b. as coda: *hax* ‘who?’, *chix* ‘will die (pl. subjects)’

- (17) /xw/  
 a. as onset: *xwavixwavi’ish* ‘green’, *peexwen* ‘nothing but’, *netaxwi* ‘my body’  
 b. as coda: *isaxw* ‘will sing a man’s song’

/xw/ is attested in word-initial position in only three native-vocabulary roots: *xwalxwal* ‘small white spider’, *xway-* ‘white’, and *xwavi-* ‘green’. As noted above in the discussion of /kw/, /xw/ usually simplifies to *x* in coda position, as in (18).

- (18) *pem’isaxveyam* ‘their enemies’ (those against whom men sing an *isaxwily*)

However, the fully labialized pronunciation in *isaxw* ‘will sing a man’s song’ in (17b) is a consistent exception.

- (19) /h/
- a. as onset: *haxal* ‘sand’, *hetpeyax* ‘3S squatted, crouched’, *hish* ‘what?’, *hukily* ‘quiver for arrows’
  - b. as coda: *wih* ‘two’, *pah* ‘three’, *pahchim* ‘three times’

/h/ in coda position is restricted to the number words in (19b).

The nasals are bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, palatal /ny/ [ɲ], and velar /ng/ [ŋ]. Nasals retain their place of articulation in coda position; they do not assimilate to the following consonant except in one case: where vowel deletion yields the sequence *ny-k*, *ngk* [ŋk] results (see below).

- (20) /m/
- a. as onset: *malval* ‘butterfly’, *melen* ‘very, much’, *mingish* ‘thin’, *mutal* ‘cholla cactus’
  - b. as coda: *kamyaxwe* ‘(water) is lying’

- (21) /n/
- a. as onset: *nalim* ‘priests’, *net* ‘chief, lineage head’, *nixish* ‘wild gourd’, *nutkeve* ‘bag lunch’
  - b. as coda: *hunwet* ‘bear’, *inqat* ‘crop’, *humehume’en* ‘up and down, bumpy’

- (22) /ny/ as onset: *nyimaxwe* ‘it is wrinkled’, *nenyeng’a* ‘my saliva’

/ny/ is restricted in its distribution. It appears in word-initial position only before /i/, although it appears root-initially in a number of words that are attested only in the possessed state, as with *ne-nyeng-a* ‘my saliva’, above, where the 1S prefix *ne-* precedes the root. It does not appear in coda position except underlyingly in a single word, where it assimilates to the following *k* and appears as *ng* [ŋ]. The root *inyik-* ‘of a kind, resembling, like, related to’ is seen in the possessed form *-m-inyik-i* ‘relative of some kind’, where the initial *m-* is an indefinite. Here the initial glottal stop of the possessed-noun suffix *-i* blocks deletion of the vowel in the second syllable. The root *inyik-* appears also in *m-ingki-sh* ‘some kind of’, *ingki-sh* ‘like’. In these forms vowel deletion is not blocked and the consonantal assimilation takes place.

- (23) /ng/
- a. as onset: *ngalelve* ‘Cañada Verde’ (place name), *ngetiqa* ‘is splitting, as with axe’, *ngisiqa* ‘is scratching’, *nenguqa* ‘has, owns, possesses’
  - b. as coda: *changnewqa* ‘is angry’, *pemngang* ‘they wept’

The sequence /ngu/ is not attested in word-initial position.

The laterals are /l/ and /ly/.

- (24) /l/
- a. as onset: *lawiqa* ‘is flicking with finger’, *le’el* ‘large waterbird’, *lumu’ily* ‘measles’
  - b. as coda: *alwet* ‘crow’, *melal* ‘metate’, *puwilpemyaxwen* ‘they were scattered around’, *puul* ‘Indian doctor’

/l/ is not attested before /i/. It is rare after /i/, where instead we usually encounter /ly/, although it does occur, as in *puwilpemyaxwen* above. The lateral forms of the non-possessed noun suffix are *-l*, *-ly*, with the latter following /i/ in all but four words. One, *Kavalıy*, is seen in (25b); the others are *wisaly* ‘a kind of waterbird, duck’, *Kaamalyim* ‘Orion’s Belt’ (attested only in that form, as a plural), and *qawqamaly* ‘invalid’.

- (25) /ly/
- a. as onset: *lyawiqa* ‘is digging’, *lyeqiqa* ‘is soaking something’, *lyuvinish* ‘withered’
  - b. as coda: *Kavalıy* ‘a lineage name’, *kwinily* ‘black oak, and its acorns’, *cheququlyqa* ‘is teasing someone’

/ly/ does not appear in word-initial position before /i/. It is attested before stressed /i/ in *pulyinyish* ‘baby, child’ but this is an expressive pronunciation signaling smallness and cuteness (Rosinda Nolasquez usually said the word that way). The corresponding root *pulin*, without expressive palatalization, means ‘bear a child’. /ly/ does occur, however, before unstressed /i/, e.g., *Kaamalyim* ‘Orion’s Belt (the conclave of the first people)’.

/ly/ often exhibits a strongly devoiced release in word-final position following a stressed vowel.

- (26) [sə'viɫɫ̥] *savily* ‘sycamore tree’

The glides, /w/ and /y/, are illustrated below, in (27–30).

- (27) /w/
- a. as onset: *wachily* ‘mouse’, *welnet* ‘angry’, *wish* ‘bowstring’
  - b. as coda: *awkinet* ‘carrying net, hairnet’, *eewpen* ‘3S held out hand’, *hiwqa* ‘is there, dwells’, *pixuwpən* ‘3S pulled it out’

Note that /w/ is not attested before /u/ (except in Faye's transcription *wukikmal* 'bird', where Roscinda Nolasquez has *mukikmal*). In word-final position following a stressed vowel, /w/ often has devoiced release.

(28) [wiw<sup>h</sup>] *wiw* 'both'

However, /w/ remains fully voiced word-finally after unstressed syllables, as in *axwa'aw* 'at that place'.

(29) /y/

- a. as onset: *yamukily* 'insect sp.', *yeliyeli'ish* 'clean', *yixiqa* 'is pushing hard', *yuma'at* 'hat'
- b. as coda: *ayxat* 'old', *neyey* 'my mother (object case)', *pengiyi* '3s went away', *peyuy* '3S's hair (object case)'

Like /ly/ and /w/, /y/ often exhibits devoiced release in word-final position following stressed vowels.

(30) [jujç] *yuy* 'cold'

The consonants shown in Table 2.1 with asterisks are marginal, appearing mainly in Spanish loanwords. /f, d, g/, and /r/ are pronounced as in California Spanish, a language spoken by many Cupeños among the last generations of speakers, with /d/ and /g/ realized as the fricatives [ð] and [ɣ] respectively in both initial and intervocalic position. /f/ and /d/ appear exclusively in Spanish loans. /g/ occurs in two native roots, *tegel* 'take away' and *yeg-in, -yax* 'shove hand through something', where the subject is 'hand', a verb recorded only by Faye. Other than in Spanish loans, /r/ is found in only one word in Roscinda Nolasquez's speech: *keret* 'wild goose'. The Faye materials provide two more examples with /r/: *terhehayat* ~ *terhehayit* ~ *torohayat* 'sand painting' and *torekikim* 'yellowhammer' (a kind of bird). These are almost certainly loanwords, perhaps Gabrielino in origin, reaching Cupeño maybe by way of Luiseño (cf. Luiseño *turóhayish* 'sand painting' (Elliott 1999:996)).

**2.1.2. THE SEGMENTAL INVENTORY: VOWELS.** Table 2.2 shows the inventory of Cupeño vowels. Rare or marginal sounds are marked with asterisks. Phonetic symbols are given in square brackets when they differ from the symbols of the practical orthography.

As is evident from the table, Cupeño vowels exhibit a length contrast at all positions. There are only four vowel qualities in native vocabulary, with a contrast between front /i, ii/ and back /u, uu/ for high vowels and between low /a, aa/ and non-low /e, ee/ among non-high vowels.

TABLE 2.2. The Cupeño Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High short	i		u
High long	ii [i:]		uu [u:]
Mid short	ε*	e [ə]	o*
Mid long	εε* [ε:]	ee [ə:]	oo* [o:]
Low short		a	
Low long		aa [a:]	

Near-minimal pairs for length are shown in (31).

- (31) a. *kiimal* ‘boy’ versus *ne-kimikimi* ‘my eyebrows’  
 b. *ne-nee’e* ‘my basket’ versus *ne-ne’e* ‘my relative’  
 c. *paanat* ‘tarantula’ versus *panily* ‘egg, testicle’  
 d. *muutim* ‘owls’ versus *mutal* ‘cholla cactus’

The stressed short vowels are illustrated below with near-minimal pairs.

- (32) a. /i/: *nit* ‘pregnant woman’  
 b. /e/ [ə]: *net* ‘chief, lineage head’  
 c. /u/: *nutkeve* ‘bag lunch’  
 d. /a/: *tatxa’ash* ‘manzanita berries’

Examples of unstressed short vowels are seen in (33).

- (33) Unstressed short vowels  
 a. /i/: *Sha’vit* ‘Mexican person’, *pe-ki* ‘3S’s house’  
 b. /e/ [ə]: *kwivet* ‘brush enclosure’, *Kelelve* ‘Manzanita Place (Puerta Cruz)’ (place name)  
 c. /u/: *tukut* ‘wildcat’, *nu-ʃhu* ‘my mother’s mother’  
 d. /a/: *taka’at* ‘arrow point, a lineage name’, *pe-na* ‘his father’

The vowel /i/ is lax in closed syllables, e.g., *pit* [pɪt] ‘road’. In open syllables it is often heard as a high mid vowel [e], also lax but not as low as [ε], especially in the neighborhood of velar consonants, e.g., *ixan* [ʔexan] ‘will flap hand or wing once’, *netaxwi* [nə’taxwɛ] ‘my body’, *qingish* [ʔqenɪʃ] ‘squirrel’, but occasionally in other environments as well, e.g., *ivi’aw* [ʔe’vi’aw] ‘here’. The vowel /u/ in non-final position in unstressed syllables in fast speech occasionally appears as [ə], e.g., *tutuchin* [ʔtutətʃɪn] ‘will tell’, *puvulim* [ʔpυvəlɪm] ‘doctors’.

The mid-central vowel /e/ exhibits a phonetic range that includes fairly high variants; in a stressed long syllable, e.g., in *peexwen* ‘nothing but’, it can appear as [i]: [ʔi:xwɛn]. Following labialized consonants, this vowel sometimes rounds

to a somewhat centralized [o] variant, e.g., *axwesh* [ə'x<sup>w</sup>o+ʃ] 'that (obviative)', *weshkish* [wo+ʃ'kiʃ] 'ashes'. An [o]-like variant is also heard before *q*, e.g., *Paluqla* [pa'loqla], a village name. In addition, /e/ often exhibits an allophone [ɛ] before *w*, e.g., *wewyaxweni'aw* ['wɛwyəxwəniʔaw] 'arroyo, wash' (from the verb root *wew* 'rain'), *hewlye* ['hɛwɫə] 'guffaw', and *milyew* [mi'ɫɛw] 'discuss, argue'.

In contrast, the low central vowel /a/ has many variants that are fairly low and back, especially in the environment of the uvular stop /q/, e.g., *tewqa* ['tɛw'qaʔ] 'is seeing'. However, the vowels /a/ and /e/ often (although not always) phonetically merge in unstressed position, both being realized there as [ə]. For this reason, it can be difficult to determine whether a vowel in a syllable that is never stressed is underlyingly /a/ or /e/. Etymological information (for instance, comparison with related languages reveals that the vowel /e/ is cognate with Cahuilla /e/ [ɛ] and Luiseño /o/ and with high central vowel /i/ in other Uto-Aztecan languages) can sometimes provide a determination. In other cases, certain contexts for a particular morpheme exhibit the more extreme variants of each vowel, relatively high for /e/ and relatively low for /a/. A good test environment is before *-y*, the consonantal variant of the object-case suffix, where there is a clear differentiation between *ey* [əj] and *ay* [aj]. For instance, the subject case of 'all' is [pə'taʔəmə] but the object case is [pə'taʔəmaj]. The subject case of 'our clothes' is [tʃəm'tiʔivə] while the object case is [tʃəm'tiʔivəj]. Thus we can determine that the last vowel of 'all' is /a/ while the last vowel of 'clothes' is /e/: *petə'ema*, *chemti'ive*. The transcriptions throughout the grammar are based on these considerations.

Length contrast appears with all vowel qualities. Some long vowels in Cupeño seem to be recent reflexes of earlier *\*VhV* or *\*V?V* sequences. Example words include *meet* 'gopher', from *\*má:hə-ta* (Munro 1990:241), *muut* 'owl' from *\*mú:hu-ta* (Munro 1990:244), *kiimal* 'boy' from *\*kihá:-ma-l* (Munro 1990:239) and *ngiyy* 'go away', where Faye often records *ngi'iy*, presumably with a medial glottalization. (It should be pointed out that Faye often failed to transcribe glottal stops so that his transcription must be taken as suggestive rather than definitive.) There is a phonological difference between these long vowels, derived from the loss of laryngeals, and vowels in stressed non-initial syllables, in that the former do not require epenthetic glottal stops in word-final position, while the latter do, even though they may occasionally be expressively lengthened (a non-phonological, secondary lengthening). This point is discussed in 2.5.3 on glottal stop alternations and is illustrated briefly in (38–41) below.

The long vowels are illustrated below. Long vowels appear only in stressed syllables and always exhibit fully realized vowel qualities, without any centralization or lowering.

- (34) Long vowels
- a. /ii/      *hiimayiqá* 'S uncovers a display of donated goods'
  - b. /ee/      *meet* 'gopher'

- c. /uu/    *muut* ‘large owl’  
 d. /aa/    *maa’a* ‘leave it, stop!’

The vowels marked with asterisks in Table 2.2 appear mainly in Spanish loans. Their realizations are much as in Spanish, except for /o/, which Roscinda Nolasquez pronounced as a relatively lax and open vowel, although not as low as the English phoneme /ɔ/ as in *law*. The vowel /ɛ/ appears (in both long and short realizations) not only in Spanish loans and as an allophone of /e/ but also in a few words in native vocabulary, shown in (35).

- (35) /ɛ/ in native words  
 a. *hɛl’ish* ‘wide’  
 b. *ɛ’nish* ‘smart’  
 c. *ɛɛ!* ‘hey!’ (astonishment, sound of discovery)  
 d. *hɛɛyaa* ‘hey there’  
 e. *hɛti’hɛti’ish* ‘knockkneed’  
 f. *hɛ’visiwe* ‘it is powdery, fine’  
 g. *sɛlyimsɛlyim* ‘cricket’

The vowel /ɛ/ is the Cahuilla correspondent of Cupeño /e/. As my principal consultant, Roscinda Nolasquez, was descended on her mother’s side from Mountain Cahuilla, some of her pronunciations may reflect that heritage.

The vowel /o/ also appears mainly in Spanish loan vocabulary, almost exclusively in stressed position, but it is also found in a very small number of other words, such as *terhehayat* ~ *terhehayit* ~ *torohayat* ‘sand painting’ (cited above under the discussion of /r/). In the Faye materials *o* is often used in the spelling of Spanish loanwords for vowels that Roscinda Nolasquez regularly pronounced with /u/, with *o* occurring even in unstressed syllables (cf. Faye’s *goviɛrno* ‘government’ (Spanish *gobierno*) corresponding to Ms. Nolasquez’s *goviɛrnu*) and in inflections with an echo vowel, such as *i’inyo’om* ‘Indians’ (cf. *iinyo* from Spanish *indio*). Whether Faye’s transcription was motivated by knowledge of the Spanish source vocabulary or by the phonetics of the speakers of his time is uncertain but it must be noted that the use of Spanish by the speakers of Faye’s generation was much more active than later on.

**2.1.3. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE.** All syllables in Cupeño exhibit onsets. Syllable onsets always consist of a single consonant. There are no syllable-initial consonant clusters in native vocabulary (but cf. initial consonant clusters with the “foreign” sound *r* in loanwords such as *traapu* ‘cloth’, from Spanish *trapo*, and *kriitu* ‘streetcar’, possibly from English *streetcar*). While root-initial glottal stops are not written in the practical orthography in word-initial position, they are written, and are easily perceived, following a vowel-final prefix as in (36b), or in CV- reduplication of vowel-initial words as in (37b).



- (36) a. *amu* ‘will hunt’  
 b. *pe’amu* ‘3S hunted’
- (37) a. *awelve* ‘grown’  
 b. *a’welvem* ‘adults, grown up things’

*A’welvem*, in (37b), is underlyingly /’a-’awelve-m/. Vowel deletion is discussed below in 2.3.

There are no vowel clusters, except in two words where /h/ is lost in prefixed stressless roots (see example (51) in 2.2.2) and in loanwords (e.g., *sɛɛis* ‘six’, *guvieɛɛrnu* ‘government’, *puɛɛnti* ‘bridge’ from Spanish *seis*, *gobierno*, *punte*). Syllable nuclei consist of either short or long vowels. Syllable-final glides can be shown to be consonants in their treatment in phonological processes. For instance, they are treated as consonants, not vowels in the formation of the singular imperative (2.6) and the habitative (2.7), which provide tests for the status of syllable codas as vowels or consonants.

Consonant codas are permitted, with most consonants appearing as syllable codas, as shown in the examples above. However, stressed syllables with final vowels are not permitted in word-final position (except for the case of the long vowels, discussed above and see also below in (40, 41)), and must be closed with an epenthetic glottal stop, as seen in (38, 39). These glottal stops also appear before the ablauting suffixes, except for the irrealis subordinator *-pi*, as discussed in 2.5.3.

- (38) a. *nenguqa* ‘is having, possessing’  
 b. *nengu’* ‘will have’
- (39) a. *qeqa* ‘is biting’  
 b. *qe’* ‘will bite’

Long vowels that originate in root-initial stressed syllables, which, as suggested above, mainly reflect lost laryngeal consonants, do not require such final glottal stops; contrast the examples in (40, 41) with those in (38, 39).

- (40) a. *muuqa* ‘is shooting with a bow’  
 b. *muu* ‘will shoot with a bow’
- (41) a. *xeeqa* ‘is blowing (of wind), cooling off’  
 b. *xee* ‘will blow, cool off’

I have identified only one case of a syllable-final consonant cluster, the sequence /w’/ before /n/, appearing in two words: *hew’nin* ‘carry in hand’ and *tew’nqaan* ‘to plant’. These forms look like causatives of the verbs *hewin* ‘carry in

one hand' and *tewe(n)* 'to grow, of plants' respectively. The causative suffix *-nin* does induce glottal stop epenthesis on vowel-final roots and certain suffixes (see 2.5.3), and it may be that this rule should be extended to the case of root-final glides. However, these are the only examples of this process.

**2.1.4. PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY.** In this grammar and in other publications on the language, Cupeño words are written in a practical orthography, except where a phonetic transcription is specifically required as in a few of the examples above. The practical orthography largely reflects the orthography used in Hill and Nolasquez (1973), which has been adopted at the Cupa Cultural Center at Pala in some permanent installations such as tile murals and banners. The minor change made in the present grammar is that I do not mark word-initial stress except in the prefixed forms of stressless roots.

The practical orthographic symbols are identical to the phonetic symbols, as shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 above, except in the following cases. The glottal stop is written with the apostrophe, '. The alveopalatal affricate [tʃ] is written *ch*. Its corresponding sibilant [ʃ] is written *sh*. As shown above, *ch* and *sh* are in complementary distribution, with *ch* appearing before vowels and *sh* appearing before consonants and word-finally, the result of lenition in non-prevocalic position. However, Cupeño speakers, who are all literate in English, prefer to write the distinction. The apico-alveolar sibilant [ʂ] is written *sh*. The labialized velars are represented simply as *kw*, *xw*, without superscripting the representation of the labial component. The backed (uvular) allophone of /kw/, [q<sup>w</sup>], is distinguished in the orthography but it appears only when it begins an unstressed syllable before *a* or *e*, as shown above in the examples in (7, 8). The alveopalatal nasal is written *ny*, the velar nasal as *ng*. The alveopalatal lateral is written *ly* and the palatal glide is written *y*. The mid central vowel [ə] is written *e*. Finally, the long vowels are written with double letters: *aa*, *ee*, *εε*, *ii*, *oo*, *uu*.

**2.1.4.1. STRESS AND THE PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY.** Stress is treated in more detail below. I review it briefly here in connection with a review of the practical orthography. Stress is written by underlining the stressed vowel in a word, e.g., *kawish* 'fox'. This representation, used in Hill and Nolasquez (1973), was originally adopted for ease of production in an era of typewriters but the Cupeños have continued to use it and it appears in a number of permanent installations such as banners and tile murals in the Cupa Cultural Center and at other sites at Pala. Thus it is familiar to community members and is retained here. However, it is not necessary to write stress in every word, as was done in Hill and Nolasquez (1973). The majority of Cupeño words exhibit primary stress on the first syllable of the root. In the present volume stress is marked only on words that do not follow this pattern, for various reasons. First, stress is marked on the first syllable of the root of prefixed words. This usage obviates the necessity of writing a hyphen between prefix (or proclitic) and root. There are only twelve prefixes,

so they are easy to learn, but the stress helps to distinguish prefixed from unprefix forms.

- (42) Representation of stress on prefixed and non-prefixed forms
- a. *piwetpen* (*pi* = *wet-pe-in*) [pi<sup>1</sup>wətpən] ‘he hit him’ versus *piwishpeyax* (*piwish-pe-yax*) [ˈpiwɪʃpəjəx] ‘his hair turned grey’
  - b. *netul* (*ne-tul*) [nə<sup>1</sup>tul] ‘I finished’ versus *neteng* [ˈnətəŋ] ‘will beg’

A few roots—most of them common words in the core or basic vocabulary—are “stressless.” When these roots are mentioned in the grammar they appear with a subscript indicating this fact, e.g., *max<sub>s</sub>* ‘give’, although this subscript is not used in the practical orthography in the examples themselves. Subject and possessive prefixes have primary stress in construction with these roots, as discussed in 2.2.2. In the practical orthography, stress is written on these stressed prefixes even when the prefix is word-initial. To write stress on such forms, an exceptional marking of stress on the first syllable, makes clear that the stressed element is a prefix and that the construction involves a stressless root. Example (43c), *pipeqwa*, also has an object proclitic *pi*= before the subject prefix *pe*- ‘3S’.

- (43) Representation of stress on prefixed stressless roots
- a. *neye* ‘my mother’
  - b. *chemna* ‘our father’
  - c. *pipeqwa* ‘3S ate 3SO’

**2.2. PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES IN DERIVED WORDS.** Cupeño, being largely agglutinative in type, is not exceptionally rich in morphophonological processes, at least by the standards of Native American languages. However, there are a few processes that alter the underlying shapes of morphemes when they appear in word constructions. These include stress alternations, vowel deletions and epentheses, vowel harmonies, and consonant modifications, deletions, and epentheses. In addition, two types of verb constructions, the imperative and the habilitative, exhibit phonological behaviors that require detailed discussion. All these are reviewed in the following sections.

**2.2.1. STRESS IN INHERENTLY STRESSED ROOTS.** The vast majority of native-vocabulary Cupeño roots exhibit inherent stress. When these inherently stressed roots appear in construction with prefixes and suffixes, stress remains on the inherently stressed syllable of the root.

Most inherently stressed Cupeño words are stressed on the first syllable of the root. However, I have identified 204 non-derived words that are stressed on the second syllable or later. These are listed in Appendix A.

Only six words—*eqapiyewe* ‘sister-in-law’, *espiyewe* ‘sister in law’, *kelyivuy* ‘insect species’, *kichimekulyimal* ‘cumbersome’, *paqawilyeve* ‘hail’, *Pivi mukmal*

‘Little Ghost Month’—are attested with stress on the third syllable or later. All but *kelyivuy*, which is probably sound-imitative, are almost certainly morphologically complex, although the elements they contain are not productive.

Munro (1990) argues that Proto-Cupan—the Takic community ancestral to Cupeño, Cahuilla, and Luiseño—exhibited a quantity-sensitive stress rule, which is still observed in Luiseño. The “Pre-Cupeño” form of the stress rule was

- A. If there is a long vowel in the first or second syllable, stress it.
- B. If not, stress the first syllable (Munro 1990:225).

I found it quite difficult during my original fieldwork in the early 1960s to distinguish short from long vowels in many Cupeño words, with the exception of those long vowels derived from sequences of *\*VCV*, where *C* is *\*h* or *\*ʔ*, mentioned in 2.1.2. Returning to taped materials in preparing the present grammar, I encountered the same experience. Roscinda Nolasquez was a terminal-generation speaker of her language, and it is possible that her control of vowel length was shaky. Furthermore, when she spoke the language, she frequently used lengthening of stressed syllables for expressive purposes, so that words like *met*’ish ‘many’, *peta*’ama ‘all’, *mangin* ‘slowly’, or *akulyi* ‘little’ often appear as *me::t*’ish, *peta:::’ama*, *ma::ngin*, or *aku::lyi* respectively. This, of course, complicated the problem of hearing vowel length. It seems most likely that Cupeño has simply lost phonological vowel length in non-initial stressed syllables, since the stress itself carries the necessary information and makes length redundant. Thus the length distinction is audible only in root-initial syllables, where stress alone is inadequate to carry distinctions such as that between *meet* ‘gopher’ and *met* ‘and you absolute’. As pointed out above, non-root-initial stressed vowels are treated exactly like stressed vowels in requiring epenthetic glottal stops in word-final position, suggesting that they are phonologically short even though they may be perceived as long.

When inherently stressed words with root-initial stress are reduplicated with “full” reduplication, stress falls on the base, even though the reduplicant is the initial syllable e.g., *sunisunvi*’ish ‘poor, pathetic’. This is also the stress pattern in cases of “*l*-reduplication” (see 4.4.2.4.1), e.g., *taqelaqeyaxwe* ‘it is spotted all over’, *changelangeyaxwe* ‘it is speckled’. However, in CV- reduplication, stress falls on the reduplicant, e.g., *kukup* [’kukup] ‘will be sleeping’. Roots with stress on the second syllable of the root normally will reduplicate this syllable, and will stress the first reduplicant (thereby maintaining second-syllable stress), e.g., *akukulyi* ‘little (distributed or plural)’ < *akulyi*, *chequuquly* ‘teasing, joking’ < *chequuly*, *wi’a’ay* ‘raising the eyebrows repeatedly’ < *wi’ay*.

Several words with initial *na*- having to do with human beings reduplicate, not their stressed syllable but the *na*- syllable, e.g., *nawikat* ‘woman’, pl. *nanwitam*, *naxanish* ‘man’, pl. *nanxachim*.

A shift of stress to the first syllable similar to that in the *na-* words is seen in *kava'mal* 'olla', pl. *kakva'mal*. Certain adjectival forms with the frozen adjectival prefix *a-* reduplicate that prefix, e.g., *a'welve* 'grown-up ones' from *awelve*. A few nouns and adjectives other than the *na-* series form plurals with reduplication. In these cases the first syllable is reduplicated and stress is word-initial, e.g., *e'yetim* 'thieves' (< *e-'eyetim*), *hehel'ish* 'wide things'.

The few compound words usually exhibit primary stress on the appropriate syllable of the second component of the compound. For instance, compounds with *mi'i* 'indefinite' place stress on the first syllable of *mi'i*, which is second in the compounds *haxmi'i* 'someone', *ishmi'i* 'something'. Other compounds stressed on the second element are the number words with *nema* 'my hand' in the first position, e.g., *nemakwaanangax* 'five'. Another example is *eqapiyewe* 'sister-in-law', which probably has the components *a-qa* 'indefinite.possessor-father's.father' and *pe-ye-we* '3S-mother-augmentative'. Some of the words in the list of second-syllable-stressed roots in Appendix A are probably compounds. An example is *memtu'ish* 'wave', which looks like a compound of *memet* 'ocean' and *tu'ish* 'bearing fruit'.

An exception to this pattern is compounds with *muk* like *pexqanmukish* 'sick with a bad cold', where the first element is *pexqan-* 'bad cold, cough' and the second is probably related to *muk'i-* 'sore' and *muknen* 'win, defeat' (this is a reflex of a Uto-Aztecan root meaning 'kill, die').

Vocatives are stressed on the final syllable, which is lengthened, e.g., *nenaa!* 'my father!', *nishyuveel* 'old woman!'. Note that there is no glottal stop finally in *nenaa!* It behaves like a root-initial long vowel in final position, as seen in (40, 41) above.

Many verbs participate in a pattern of derivation involving alternating stress and sometimes metathesis. Such forms are difficult to elicit, although they appear in spontaneous speech. They are of obscure meaning and are discussed in more detail in 4.4.2.4.2. The list in Appendix A, which includes some verb forms with second-syllable stress, almost certainly includes examples of stress-alternating verbs where the initially stressed variant of the verb is not attested. For instance, *atis* 'sneeze' is attested only in that form. However, we encounter 'cough' attested as *ixa* or *axi'*.

**2.2.2. STRESS IN CONSTRUCTION WITH STRESSLESS ROOTS.** Forty-nine noun and verb roots in Cupeño exhibit no inherent stress (Hill & Hill 1968). Heath (1977) refers to them as "mobile-stress" stems. They are called "stressless roots" here. In addition to the noun and verb roots in (44), the interrogative element *hax<sub>-s</sub>* 'who', the indefinite *mi'i-*, and the demonstrative *i'i* exhibit shifting stress with case-marked forms, e.g., *haxi-*, *ivi-*, and *mivi-* respectively. The stressless roots are listed in Appendix B.

In constructions with stressless roots, the position of the stress depends on which affixes are present. If no affix is present, as with the future perfective, then

the root is stressed, e.g., [ˈmax] *max* ‘will give’. Such stress is not marked in the practical orthography.

The affixes differ in their stress-attracting behavior in construction with stressless roots. Prefixes are stressed unless a stressed or stress-attracting suffix is present. A few suffixes are always stressed. A few others attract stress to the root. Some suffixes are never stressed.

Certain suffixes are always stressed when they occur with stressless roots, regardless of what other prefixes or suffixes are present. These stressed suffixes are

- (44)
- a. *-qa* ‘present tense’, e.g., *tew-qa* ‘is seeing’, *wen-qa* ‘is putting in’
  - b. *-qal* ‘past imperfective singular’, e.g., *wen-qal* ‘was putting it away’
  - c. *-qali* ‘different subject, singular’, e.g., *yax-qali* ‘DSS having spoken’
  - d. *-nash* ‘future imperfective singular subject’

My data for *-nash* are inconsistent. Attested are *kwa-nash* ‘will be eating’ but *ya-nash* ‘will be saying’, *tewa-nash* ‘will be seeing’.

The augment vowels *-a* and *-i*, required by certain ablauting suffixes (discussed in 2.4.2) usually attract stress.

- (45)
- a. *-a* ‘*-a* augment with *a*-ablauting suffixes’, e.g., *tewa-nuk* ‘SS having seen’, *qwa-a-nuk* ‘SS having eaten’, *ne-tewa-la’a* ‘my mirror’, *pem-tewa-pi* ‘for them to see’
  - b. *-i* ‘*-i* augment with *i*-ablauting suffixes’, e.g., *tewi-qat* ‘person who is going to speak, 3S is gonna speak’, *qwa-i-sh* ‘food’, *meqni-sh* ‘killer’, *i = maxi-vichu-qa* ‘is wanting to give it to you’, *maxi-ve-l* ‘that which has been given’

There are some inconsistencies with *-a* augments; for instance, I occasionally recorded *netewapi* ‘for me to see’ instead of the expected *netewapi*.

A second group includes suffixes that do not themselves accept stress but attract stress away from the prefix to the root, to the second syllable of the stressless root if one is present. The stress-attracting suffixes with stressless roots are seen in (46).

- (46)
- a. *-aw* ‘at’, *ne-ki-aw* ‘at my house’, *qwa-i-aw* ‘on the food’ (on an *-i-sh* form: *qwa-i-sh* ‘food’), but *nekwai-aw* ‘on my food’ (with no *-sh* suffix: *ne-qwa* ‘my food’)
  - b. *-i* ~ *-y* ‘object case’, *ne-paha-y* ‘my father’s sister (object)’, *ne-paha-m-i* ‘my father’s sisters (object)’, *ne-mushi-y* ‘my beard (object)’ (also *ne-mushi-y*), *ne-pi-y* ‘my milk (object)’

- c. *-chi* ‘oblique case: with, by means of, about’, *ne-ma-chi* ‘with my hand’ (although in the relational noun *-mu-chi* ‘in front of’, literally, ‘nose-OBL’, stress is on the person–number (PN) prefix)
- d. *-ika* ~ *-yka* ‘to’, *qwa'-ika* ‘to the food’ (on an *-i-sh* form: *qwa'-i-sh* ‘food’), but *nekwa'-ika* ‘to my food’ (with no *-sh* suffix: *ne-qwa* ‘my food’), *neki-yka* ‘to my house’
- e. *-m* ‘plural’, *ne'alā-m* ‘my head lice’, *nepahā-m* ‘my mother’s older sisters’, *nemešhi-m* ‘my father’s brothers’, *pemušhu-m* ‘his whiskers’, *neye-m* ‘my parents’ (< *-ye<sub>s</sub>* ‘mother’)
- f. *-ma* ‘diminutive’, *neqa-ma* ‘my son’s child (man speaking)’
- g. *-nin* ‘causative’, *chimipemkwa'-nin* ‘they made us eat’
- h. *-nga* ‘in’, *ne-mā-nga* ‘in my hand’, *pepush-nga* ‘in his eyes’
- i. *-nga'aw* ‘on’, *netewi-nga'aw* ‘on my chest’
- k. *-ngax* ‘from’, *netamā-ngax* ‘from my mouth’
- l. *-pa* ‘place of’, *mivi-pa* ‘wherever’
- m. *-we* ‘augmentative’, *tamā-we-t* ‘mockingbird’ (literally, ‘mouth-big’), *mušhu-we-t* ‘full bearded’
- n. *-yew* ‘do something with’, *ale-yew* ‘pick lice’

Most stressless noun roots usually appear in the possessed state (see 5.1.4) and are attested only rarely with non-possessed noun suffixes. However, in such cases the roots are stressed. Note that in (47b,c) we do not see stress attracted to the epenthetic vowel *i* in (47b) or *e* in (47c). However, in (47d) the vowel that precedes the NPN suffix is stressed.

- (47) Stressless roots with NPN suffixes
- a. *yul* ‘hair for birds’ nests’ (from *-yu<sub>s</sub>* ‘head, hair’)
  - b. *nalim* ‘priests’ (from *-na<sub>s</sub>* ‘father’)
  - c. *neqnet* ‘person having come’ (from *neq(e(n))<sub>s</sub>* ‘come’)
  - d. *nangily* ‘a tongue’ (from *-nang<sub>s</sub>* ‘tongue’)

The possessed-noun (PSD) suffix *-a* is not stressed except when stress is attracted to it by a following plural or object-case suffix, as in *ne'alām* ‘my lice’ or *nešhevay* ‘my hulled acorns (object)’. In such cases, the glottal stop is lost by regular rule.

Certain suffixes are never stressed. These are the suffixes of the “*we* family,” enumerated in (48). The non-stative forms are grammaticalized from the light verb *wen<sub>s</sub>* ‘lie, be in a place’, and, while the stative forms have a different etymological source, they share the phonological behavior of the plural suffixes.

- (48) Suffixes that are never stressed with stressless roots
- a. *-we* ‘present plural subject, present stative’
  - b. *-wen* ‘past imperfective plural, past imperfective stative’

- c. *-wene* ‘customary plural, customary stative’
- d. *-weni* ‘different-subject plural or stative’

With the past-tense forms marked with *-wen* and the different-subject plurals with *-weni*, stress falls on the required person–number prefix, e.g., *chemyaxwen* ‘we were saying’. My data for *-weni* are inconsistent; I recorded both prefix-stressed forms like *mipemteweni* ‘they (DSPL) having seen them’ and root-stressed forms like *pemkwaweni* ‘they (DSPL) having eaten’. With the present and customary forms, which do not have person–number prefixes, stress falls on the first syllable of the stressless root, e.g., *yaxwe* ‘plural subject are saying’, *yaxwene* ‘plural subject customarily say’. The imperative plural suffix *-m* with consonant-final stressless roots, such as in the form *maxem* ‘you all give!’, appears to be in this class. However, the second vowel in this form, from *max<sub>s</sub>* ‘give’, is epenthetic, unlike the second vowels in the noun plurals like *nepaham* ‘my father’s sisters’ or *ne’alam* ‘my lice’, which are root vowels. The epenthetic vowel cannot be the site of stress.

If no stressed or stress-attracting suffixes are present but a person–number subject prefix is present, the stress will fall on the prefix. If the root vowel is *u*, the vowel of the stressed prefix will also be *u*.

- (49) Stressless roots with subject prefix
- a. *ne-na* ‘1S-father’
  - b. *chem-yax* ‘1PL-said’
  - c. *chem-yax-wen* ‘1PL-say-PIPL’
  - d. *nu-shul-’a* ‘1S-fingernails-PSD’
  - e. *pu-yu* ‘3S-hair’
  - f. *pum-ku* ‘3PL-fire’

If the stress is attracted to a stressed suffix, non-root vowels assimilate to *u* after root *u*.

- (50) a. *ne-shul-u-y* ‘1S-fingernails-O’ (from *ne-shula<sub>s</sub>-’a-y*)  
 b. *ne-muv-u-y* ‘1S-snot-O’ (*ne-muvi<sub>s</sub>-y* is also attested) (from *ne-muv<sub>s</sub>-’a-y*)

Another alternation restricted to the environment where stressed prefixes appear with stressless roots is the loss of root-initial *h*, which appears only in the words shown in (51) and yields the only cases of vowel clusters in the language in native material.

- (51) a. *neinya* ‘my saliva’ (from *-hinya<sub>s</sub>*), but *nehinyay* ‘my saliva (object case)’



- b. *neilya* ‘my cheek’ (from *-hilya<sub>-s</sub>*), but *nehilyay* ‘my cheek (object case)’

I have identified very few examples of reduplicated stressless roots, e.g., *mamxenet* ‘given away’ (6 95 189) from *ma-max<sub>-s</sub>-wen-t*. The stress falls on the reduplicant.

Second-position enclitics (see Chapter 3) are never stressed, nor do they attract stress in construction with stressless roots. Stress remains where it would have been placed had the enclitic not been present. An example with an object proclitic and a modal enclitic is shown in (52).

- (52) *Ni=pe-yax = 'ep.*  
ISO-3S-SAY = R  
 He said to me. (Faye Tramp 75 018)

The object proclitics, in contrast to the subject and possessor prefixes, are not stressed when they appear with unstressed roots. This provides an additional argument that these elements in fact are clitics, a point discussed in 4.2.2.

- (53) *Chem = che = pe ishmiyi-y i = max.*  
I PRO = 1P = IRR      SOMETHING-O 2SO = GIVE.F  
 We will give something to you. (2 43 478)

The stressless verb root *kwa<sub>-s</sub>* ‘eat’ behaves differently from the other stressless roots. While the prefix on *kwa<sub>-s</sub>* is always stressed in past perfective forms, e.g., *negwa* ‘I ate’, the root is stressed with *-qa* and *-nash*, which usually attract stress, e.g., *kwaqa* ‘is eating’, *kwanash* ‘will be eating’. However, *kwa<sub>-s</sub>* does appear with stressed *-i* increments, e.g., *qwa'iqat* ‘is gonna eat’, *peqwa'ivichuqal* ‘3S was wanting to eat’. Luis Barragan and Heather Newell (personal communication) have pointed out that in general, stressless verbs are “light,” involving motion and position. *kwa<sub>-s</sub>* ‘eat’ and *muu<sub>-s</sub>* ‘shoot with a bow’ (probably from *\*muhu*) are exceptions to this generalization. Thus the peculiar behavior of *kwa<sub>-s</sub>* may occur because it is marginal to the set of stressless roots. *Muu<sub>-s</sub>* is less well attested and in the imperfective almost always appears reduplicated as *mum*, with the secondary aspect marker *-aan* which obscures the behavior of the root. However, *muu<sub>-s</sub>* also exhibits some exceptional behavior. For instance, while *muhiqat* ‘is gonna shoot’ is attested, we see *muunuk* ‘SS shooting, having shot’ instead of expected *\*muh<sub>anuk</sub>*.

**2.3. VOWEL DELETION AND EPENTHESIS.** Cupeño derived words exhibit alternations involving the presence or absence of vowels. In Hill and Hill (1968) these were all treated as the result of a single process of deletion; however, that analysis

required the reconstruction of many underlying vowels that have no etymological justification. The present analysis replaces that account.

Vowel deletion and epenthesis in Cupeño result from the interaction of two constraints in derived words: first, a constraint against unstressed vowels; and second, a constraint against “super-heavy” syllables. The second constraint “dominates” the first in the sense of Optimality Theory (cf. Prince & Smolensky 1993). That is, the presence of an unstressed vowel is preferred to the presence of a super-heavy syllable. Super-heavy syllables are of two types. The first type, syllables closed by two consonants, include the structures *\*CC#*, where # stands for “word-final position” and *\*CCC*. In the second type, a long vowel is followed by a coda consonant, *\*V:C#* or *\*V:CC*. The constraint against this type of super-heavy syllable is dominated by a third constraint: stressed vowels cannot be deleted. Thus derived words of the shape *V:C#* do appear, e.g., *meet* ‘gopher’, *muut* ‘owl’, *ngiiy* ‘will go’.

Although a formal analysis within the terms of Optimality Theory is beyond the scope of the present grammar, it is worth making one or two orienting generalizations within its terms. The constraints against unstressed vowels and super-heavy syllables result in the deletion of input structure; these dominate the “Faithfulness” constraints MAX (output should include all features of the input) and DEP (no features not in the input should appear in the output). That is, we encounter both deletion of unstressed input vowels, in satisfaction of the constraint against unstressed vowels, and the addition of unstressed epenthetic vowels, in order to avoid super-heavy syllables. The relevant descriptive facts are presented in the following discussions.

**2.3.1. VOWEL DELETION.** In this section I discuss the several circumstances in word formation that yield deletion of unstressed vowels.

**2.3.1.1. VOWEL DELETION IN REDUPLICATION.** The first type of word-formation context that results in the deletion of unstressed vowels occurs with reduplicated nouns and adjectives. Some nouns (mainly nouns having to do with human beings; see 5.2.1) and many adjectives (see 6.1) form plurals by reduplication, both instead of and in combination with suffixation with plural *-m*. The reduplicant—the word-initial syllable—is always stressed. In the reduplicated plurals below, the unstressed vowel of the stem is lost when the stress shifts to the reduplicant. This will occur unless a super-heavy syllable will result. There are rare exceptions (for instance, the plural of *ay’anish* ‘big’ is always *a’ayanish* instead of expected *\*a’yanish* or *\*a’ay’anish*).

- (54) Vowel deletion in reduplication
- a. *nentam* ‘chiefs, lineage heads’ < *ne-ne-t-m*
  - b. *nintam* ‘pregnant women’ < *ni-ni-t-m*
  - c. *nanxachim* ‘men’ < *na-naxani-ch-m* (an irregular plural)

- d. *e'yetim* 'thieves' < *e-'eye-t-m*
- e. *kakva'malim* 'pots' < *ka-kava'ma-l-m*
- f. *wawvaṣhicham* 'long (pl.)' < *wa-wavaṣhi-sh*
- g. *a'welve* 'grown-up ones' < *a-'a-wel-ve*

If a super-heavy syllable would result, the deletion does not take place.

- (55) a. *ninishlyuvelim* 'old women' < *ni-nishlyuve-l-m*, \**ninshlyuvelim*
- b. *a'ayxat* 'old' < *a-'ayxa-t*, \**a'yxat*

If the stem vowel is long, it does not delete but simply shortens.

- (56) Vowel deletion in reduplicated long vowels
  - a. *puvulim* 'doctors' < *pu-puu-l-m*
  - b. *kikitam* 'boys' < *ki-kii-ma-l-m* (an irregular plural)

This phenomenon, for which I have only a few attestations, suggests that the constraint against unstressed vowels is overridden when vowel deletion would produce more than one violation of MAX.

Cupeño prefixes (mainly, person–number prefixes marking subject and object), unlike reduplicated syllables, have no effect on the shape of the root, even when, in the case of a prefix with a stressless root, the stress is on the prefix and the root vowel is unstressed. This is illustrated in (57).

- (57) a. *ne-qena* 'my gall' < *ne-qena<sub>s</sub>*, \**ne-qna*

**2.3.1.2. VOWEL DELETION WITH SUFFIXES.** The second context for the deletion of input vowels in word formation arises when suffixes are added to words. Vowel deletion induced by suffixation can be exemplified by forms with derivational suffixes of the shape *-we* followed by the non-possessed noun suffix *-t*, followed by plural *-m*. One of this series of suffixes, the augmentative (seen in (58c)), is a grammaticalized reflex of a Proto-Uto-Aztec (PUA) adjective, \**wi* 'big'. Thus the *e* of *-we* is probably an input vowel. But, when a plural suffix follows the sequence *-we-t*, this vowel can be lost.

- (58) Vowel deletion with *-we-t-m*
  - a. *ya'iw<sup>h</sup>tam* 'runners' < *ya'i-we-t-m*
  - b. *nangi<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>tam* 'warriors' < *nangi-we-t-m*
  - c. *qeyu<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>tam* 'whales' < *qeyu-we-t-m* 'whale'

If a super-heavy syllable would result, the vowel is not lost.

- (59) a. *hunwetim* ‘bears’ < *hun-we-t-m*, \**hunwtim*  
 b. *ašhwetim* ‘eagles’ < *ašh-we-t-m*, \**ašhwtim*

Examples with *-qat* ‘purposive nominalization/immediate future tense’ followed by plural also illustrate deletion. In (60a), the *a* of the suffix *-qat* has been lost, while in (60b), where a super-heavy syllable would result from deletion, it is retained. Again, there is an etymological argument that the *a* is an original vowel: the suffix *-qat* ultimately is from PUA \**-ka* ‘agentive’ (Heath 1998), nominalized with the non-possessed noun suffix *-t*. It is represented throughout the grammar simply as *-qat*, to avoid undue complexity. It is an *i*-ablauting suffix; the *-i* augment appears in (60a) with the root *meq(a(n))<sub>s</sub>* ‘kill a single victim’.

- (60) Vowel deletion with *-qa-t-m*  
 a. *imeqniqtam* ‘the ones who are going to kill you’ < *i=meqani-qat-m*  
 b. *ngiiyqatim* ‘the ones who are going to go’ < *ngiiy-qat-m*, \**ngiiyqtim*

**2.3.2. VOWEL EPENTHESIS.** We have seen above that some cases of alternations involving the presence or absence of vowels result from deletion. However, the opposite process, epenthesis, can also be demonstrated. These two processes exhibit complex interactions. In brief, an epenthetic vowel, either *a* or *i*, is inserted if the addition of a suffix would produce a super-heavy syllable. Note that Munro (1990) reconstructs root-final vowels for Proto-Takic in many forms where in Cupeño I believe they are inserted by epenthesis.

**2.3.2.1. EPENTHESIS AND CONSONANT-FINAL VERB ROOTS.** The phonological structure of verb stems can be checked by determining the forms of the habitative and the singular imperative. These are discussed in more detail in 2.6 and 2.7 below. In brief, if a verb root ends in a consonant, the habitative form will add syllables to the root such that at least two syllables follow the stressed vowel, as in (61).

- (61) a. *pu'u'uy* ‘dine (habitual)’ < *puy*  
 b. *isa'axw* ‘sing a man’s song (habitual)’ < *isaxw*

However, if the root is vowel-final, then no additional syllables are added, as seen in (62). The final glottal stop is added by rule.

- (62) a. *itu* ‘steal.hab’ < *itu*  
 b. *kwa* ‘eat.hab’ < *kwa<sub>s</sub>*

With consonant-final roots the singular imperative adds a glottal stop that metathesizes conspicuously with the root-final consonant in stressed syllables, or is infixes with a vowel copy in an unstressed syllable.

- (63) a. *pu'ye!* 'dine!'  
 b. *isa'axw!* 'sing a man's song!'

These forms contrast with vowel-final stems, which have a final glottal stop and an echo vowel, as in (64).

- (64) a. *itu'e!* 'steal!'  
 b. *kwa'a!* 'eat!'

Note that the test with habitatives and imperatives cannot always help us to determine whether a verb stem ends in a consonant or a vowel. If a verb stem has two syllables following the stress, its structure will not be changed in the habitative or singular imperative. Thus the verb 'help' may be *mamayew* or *mamayu*. It is probably the former, because of forms like *aleyew* 'pick lice', with habitative *aleyew*, but we cannot be sure.

Their habitative and singular imperative forms thus make it clear that verb roots like *puy* 'dine' and *isaxw* 'sing a man's song' end in consonants. However, vowels appear when these verbs are nominalized with NPN suffixes, which have the shape -C unless they are followed by plural -*m*. (This context is discussed further below.) These epenthetic vowels are shown in (65).

- (65) Epenthetic vowels in nominalizations of consonant-final verb roots  
 a. *puyish* 'full after dining' < *puy-sh*  
 b. *isaxwily* 'the singing' < *isaxw-ly*  
 c. *isaxwet* 'already sung' < *isaxw-t*

There are two arguments that this vowel is not part of the suffix. First, these would be the only VC suffixes, and, indeed, the only onsetless syllables in the language. Recall that glottal stops appear when apparent vowel-initial syllables follow vowels, as in reduplication. Second, this epenthetic vowel does not appear before suffixes with -CV shapes like *-lya'a-sh* 'instrument for', *-ve* 'realis subordinator', *-pi* 'irrealis subordinator', *-nin* 'causative', or *-chu* 'inchoative', as seen in the following forms.

- (66) a. *puylya'ash* 'table'  
 b. *puyve* 'the one who dined'  
 c. *pempuypi* 'them to dine'  
 d. *puynin* 'feed someone'  
 e. *puychu* 'become full after dining'

Comparing the forms in (65) with those in (66), it appears that the epenthetic vowels in (65) appear in order to avoid a super-heavy syllable with the coda structure \*CC#. Note that the NPN suffixes historically had a vowel \**a*; they

reconstruct in Uto-Aztecan as *\*-ta* and in Cupan as *\*-ta*, *\*-la*, *\*-cha*. As shown below, this vowel may be appear in some derivations. However, the constraint against an unstressed final short vowel apparently overrides the DEP constraint against epenthesis for forms like those in (66).

**2.3.2.2. EPENTHESIS WITH SUFFIXED NOUNS.** As with verbs, we can be fairly sure that the vowels appearing before suffixes with certain nouns are epenthetic. For instance, a number of nouns in the possessed state exhibit final consonants, where the vowel that appears in the non-possessed state is not present. Thus the vowels in the suffixed forms in examples like (67) are probably epenthetic.

- (67) a. *wiwish* ‘acorn mush’, *newiw* ‘my acorn mush’  
 b. *achily* ‘cow, pet’, *ne’ash* ‘my pet’

Forms with and without the epenthetic vowel are also seen where a vowel-final denominal derivational suffix appears with the stem.

- (68) a. *isi-ly* ‘coyote’, *is-lyu* ‘act like a coyote’  
 b. *achi-ly* ‘cow’, *ash-lyu* ‘have a cow’, *ash-vu-wet* ‘owner of cattle’  
 c. *pi’muk’i-sh* ‘ghost’, *pi’muk-chu* ‘become a ghost’  
 d. *nawika-t* ‘woman’, *nawik-tu* ‘marry a woman’

The same phenomenon can be seen when comparing roots with non-possessed noun suffixes and with locative suffixes that include a vowel.

- (69) a. *puki-ly* ‘door’, *puk-ngax* ‘by the door’  
 b. *meme-t* ‘ocean’, *mem-nga* ‘in the ocean’

There are a few examples where the epenthetic vowel is not the last vowel before the suffix, as in the possessed-state form ‘my beads’ in (70), which has the suffix *-’a* marking possession. The epenthetic vowels in these forms are in boldface.

- (70) *qinxat* ‘beads’, *ne-qinix-’a* ‘my beads’ (*\*qinx**t*, *\*neqinx**a’**a*, *\*neqinx’**a*)

An argument against epenthesis and in favor of the idea that these are input vowels that are deleted is that they exhibit two qualities, *i* and *e*. However, it is nearly always possible to predict the quality of the epenthetic vowels. First, the non-possessed noun suffixes are preceded only by certain vowels in unstressed syllables.

The unstressed vowel before *-ly* is always *i*.

- (71) *menily* ‘moon’, *isily* ‘coyote’, *pipily* ‘strawberry’, *mašhily* ‘fern sp.’

There are only four exceptions: *Kavaly* ‘the Kavaly lineage’, with a plural *Kavalyim*, *wisaly* ‘mudhen, duck’, plural *wisalyim*, *Kaamalyim* ‘Orion’s Belt’, and *qawqamaly* ‘invalid’.

The unstressed vowel before *-sh* (which often forms deverbal nouns and adjectives) is always *i*.

- (72) *qingish* ‘squirrel’, *seqepish* ‘a large mushroom that grows under trees’, *chivnish* ‘plant sp.’, *su’ish* ‘jackrabbit’, *pi’muk’ish* ‘ghost’ (literally, ‘killed by witchery’), *shawish* ‘bread’ (literally, ‘baked’)

The exceptions are the suffix sequences *-lya-’a-sh* ‘instrument for’ and *-ve’e-sh* ‘agentive’. There are also exceptions with *u* harmony (see 2.4.1), e.g., *lumu’ush* ‘measles’.

The unstressed vowel before *-t* or *-l* is always *e* or *a* ([ə] is clearly from *a* in the case of the *-ma-l* diminutives and perhaps in other cases as well). There is a single exception, the noun *Sha’vit* ‘Mexican person’. The following are examples with *-t*.

- (73) *kikat* ‘lineage member, householder’, *peyxat* ‘caterpillar sp.’, *anat* ‘red ant’, *machiset* ‘bat’, *suqat* ‘deer’, *sewet* ‘rattlesnake’

Examples with *-l* are

- (74) *kawal* ‘wood rat’, *maawal* ‘palm tree’, *sivuyel* ‘worm’, *yu’al* ‘a kind of large lizard’

In summary, the quality of the epenthetic vowels inserted between the root and non-possessed noun suffixes *-ly*, *-l*, *-t*, *-sh* is predictable according to the consonant of the suffix.

An important site for the insertion of epenthetic vowels is before the plural suffix *-m* when this appears with non-possessed nouns. Two vowels appear before the plural suffix: *i* and *a*. Before the plural suffix, of course, we cannot predict the quality of the vowel as we can with the NPN suffixes, by which consonant appears, since the plural suffix has only one form, *-m*. The consonant of the preceding non-possessed noun suffix does not determine the vowel, as can be seen in the following examples, where the vowel is always *a* regardless of the shape of the non-possessed noun suffix.

- (75) a. *isi-ly* ‘coyote’, *isly-am* ‘coyotes’  
 b. *kika-t* ‘householder, dweller’, *kikt-am* ‘householders’  
 c. *kawa-l* ‘wood rat’, *kawl-am* ‘wood rats’  
 d. *akni’i-sh* ‘linnet’, *akni’ch-am* ‘linnets’

Instead, in this case whether the vowel before plural *-m* is *i* or *a* depends on whether there has been deletion or epenthesis in the noun root. The vowel will be *a* if the vowel in the final syllable of the root has been deleted. The vowel will be *i* if this syllable remains unchanged. There are two categories of exceptions. Deverbal nouns and adjectives formed with *-wen-et*, discussed in 8.1.2.2, always exhibit *i* in the plural even though the final vowel is deleted.

- (76) a. *xwayaxwenet* ‘white person’, *xwayaxwentim* ‘white people’  
 b. *lyawyaxwenet* ‘cave, dugout’, *lyawyaxwentim* ‘caves’

A small list of words ending in *-i-sh* (and one case of *-i-ly* in (77i)) are exceptional in exhibiting *a* before plural *-m* even though the *i* has not deleted. These are listed in (77). Note that all gentilic nouns in *-wi-sh* behave like (77d).

- (77) a. *e'licham* ‘bad ones’ < *elēl'i-sh*  
 b. *i'ingicham* ‘lazy ones’ < *ingi-sh* (usually *i'ingcham*)  
 c. *ingkicham* ‘the ones who are like’ < *ingki-sh*  
 d. *Kawikawicham* ‘Luiseños’ < *Kawika-wi-sh* ‘south-person-NPN’  
 e. *kawicham* ‘rocks’ < *kawi-sh* (usually not pluralized)  
 f. *kawisicham* ‘foxes’ < *kawi-si-sh*  
 g. *met'icham* ‘many’ < *met'i-sh*  
 h. *naxashwicham* ‘old bucks, old men’ < *naxash-wi-ch*  
 i. *qeqilyam* ‘king snakes’ < *qeqi-ly*  
 j. *pi'icham* ‘pipes’ < *pi'i-sh*  
 k. *wichicham* ‘four, plural’ < *wichiw*  
 l. *wishcham* ‘two, plural’ < *wih*

The pattern seen in (77) is not absolutely consistent. For instance, we encounter *seqepichim* ‘mushrooms’ from *seqepish* and *si'ichim* ‘tules’ from *si'ish*. However, some of the forms above, such as *met'icham* ‘many’, are attested hundreds of times in the corpus and consistently show *a* instead of expected *i*.

The regular pattern, that of *a* appearing when the final vowel of the stem has been deleted and *i* appearing when it has not, can be seen in words with the augmentative suffix sequence *-we-t* and immediate-future and purposive *-qat*. As pointed out above, etymological evidence suggests that the vowels in these suffixes are part of the input. Where the suffix vowel has deleted, the vowel before the plural suffix *-m* will be *a*.

- (78) a. *ya'iwet* ‘runner’, *ya'iwtam* ‘runners’  
 b. *nangiwet* ‘warrior’, *nangiwtam* ‘warriors’  
 c. *qeyuwet* ‘whale’, *qeyuwtam* ‘whales’  
 d. *imeqniqat* ‘the one who is going to kill you’, *imeqniqtam* ‘the ones who are going to kill you’



However, if the suffix vowel has not been deleted, the vowel before the plural suffix *-m* will be *i*.

- (79) a. *alwet* ‘crow’, *alwetim* ‘crows’  
 b. *iswet* ‘wolf’, *iswetim* ‘wolves’  
 c. *ngiiyqat* ‘is gonna go’, *ngiiyqatim* ‘are gonna go’

In this group of words, deletion of the vowel in *-we-t* or *-qat* would have led to a prohibited super-heavy CCC sequence, *\*alwtim*, *\*iswtim*, *\*ngiiyqtim*.

We also encounter the *i* vowel in other cases where the root shows no alternation, because an illegal consonant sequence would be created if no vowel were present in the final syllable of the root.

- (80) a. *iwyel* ‘little sticker’, *iwyelim* ‘little stickers’, *\*iwyelim*  
 b. *Sha’vit* ‘Mexican person’, *Sha’vitim* ‘Mexicans’, *\*Sha’vtim*  
 c. *pishw<sub>w</sub>elish* ‘young man’, *pishw<sub>w</sub>elichim* ‘youths’, also recorded as *pishw<sub>w</sub>elichim*  
 d. *eyet* ‘thief’, *e’yetim* ‘thieves’, *\*e’ytim*  
 e. *sevey’et* ‘basket grass’, *\*sevey’etim*, *\*sevey’tim*  
 f. *nanxachim* ‘men’ (an irregular plural from *naxanish*), *\*nanxchim*  
 g. *chishxilyim* ‘twins’, *\*chishxlyim* (this word has no singular attested)  
 h. *nawily’etim* ‘body lice’, *\*nawely’tim*

Certain sequences of identical consonants block vowel deletion; in such cases, the vowel before the plural suffix is again *i*.

- (81) a. *chalal* ‘bark’, *chalalim* ‘bark (pl.)’  
 b. *kelel* ‘manzanita bush’, *kelelim* ‘manzanita bushes’  
 c. *wexitit* ‘pine tree’, *wexititim* ‘pine trees’

Unstressed vowels do not delete in the final root syllable if the preceding vowel is long. These cases, illustrated in (82), suggest that the constraint against super-heavy syllables is in fact a constraint against sequences of three moras, rather than three consonants, with the long vowel contributing two moras. However, when the unstressed vowels are retained, the long-vowel syllable has no coda, and both syllables are thus of legal weight. These examples count as “unchanged” roots and we encounter the vowel *i* before plural *-m*.

- (82) a. *paanat* ‘tarantula’, *paanatim* ‘tarantulas’, *\*paantim*  
 b. *maawal* ‘palm tree’, *maawalim* ‘palm trees’, *\*maawlim*  
 c. *muumal* ‘screech owl’, *muumalim* ‘screech owls’, *\*muumlim*  
 d. *nee’et* ‘basket’, *nee’etim* ‘baskets’, *\*nee’tim*  
 e. *paapas* ‘potato’, *paapasim* ‘potatoes’, *\*paapsim* (Spanish *papas*)

Stressed vowels are never deleted. The vowel remains in the plural, even if it immediately precedes the suffix. This includes nouns with a single syllable. Note that only one noun has a final stressed syllable followed by the *-t* non-possessed noun suffix; this is *kerēet* ‘wild goose’, which is probably sound-imitative. The plural is *kerēetim*. Following such undeletable stressed vowels, we again encounter the vowel *i* before the plural *-m*.

- (83) a. *maxily* ‘dove’, *maxilyim* ‘doves’  
 b. *awal* ‘dog’, *awalim* ‘dogs’  
 c. *si’ish* ‘tule’, *si’ichim* ‘tules’  
 d. *yepash* ‘valley’, *yepachim* ‘valleys’  
 e. *malal* ‘metate’, *malalim* ‘metates’

Nouns with the suffixes *-ma-l* and *-ve-l* on consonant-final roots never exhibit stem alternations before the plural, and again, the vowel before the plural is *i*. Note, however, that Faye consistently records *nishmalam* for (84a), although Roscinda Nolasquez always said *nishmalim*. Other exceptions of this type are reviewed below.

- (84) a. *nawishmal* ‘girl’, *nishmalim* ‘girls’  
 b. *mukikmal* ‘bird’, *mukikmalim* ‘birds’  
 c. *kava’mal* ‘basket’, *kakva’malim* ‘baskets’  
 d. *kutangvel* ‘bumblebee’, *kutangvelim* ‘bumblebees’  
 e. *kushinvel* ‘small black ant’, *kushinvelim* ‘small black ants’  
 f. *malvel* ‘butterfly’, *malvelim* ‘butterflies’

A few nouns recorded with *-im* plurals do not fall into any of the categories above, having “unchanged” stems even when we would expect deletion. It may be that the root- or stem-final vowel in these cases is underlyingly long but we have no additional evidence on that point.

- (85) a. *ala’atim* ‘lice’ (*\*ala’tam*)  
 b. *wi’atim* ‘grasshoppers’ (*\*wi’tam*)  
 c. *nanakichim* ‘naughty’ (*\*nanakcham*); the singular is *nanakwish*  
 d. *supulim* ‘the others’ (*\*suplam*)  
 e. *ku’alim* ‘flies’ (*\*ku’lam*)

There are a few odd forms that may be mistranscriptions. However, some of them are richly attested. For instance, I consistently recorded *pul(y)inychim* ‘babies, children’, perhaps because of Roscinda Nolasquez’s tendency to give that word a heavy affective palatalization throughout. Faye, however, always has the expected *pulincham* for this word. A more embarrassing example is the title of Hill and Nolasquez (1973): *Mulu’wetam: The First People*. I took the form from

an example in Faye's materials. The word appears on banners, T-shirts, coffee mugs (where it is, oddly, spelled *mulu'wetum*, perhaps under the influence of local Luiseño orthographic usage), and the like, that can be found at Pala. However, on a tape held in the archives of the Cupa Cultural Center, elicited from Ms. Nolasquez by Guy Taylor in 1977 after the title of the book was known, she can be heard to clearly say *mulu'wetim*, with the expected *-im* plural, and I have found that the majority of Faye's attestations show *-im* as well.

In summary, the vowel *i* precedes plural *-m* if there has been no deletion or epenthesis in the final syllable of the noun root. Otherwise, the vowel before the plural suffix is *a*.

While predictable, this alternation between *i* and *a* before the plural suffix is clearly governed by rather abstract constraints, and it is not surprising that we encounter some exceptions. Why would such a very abstract alternation develop? One possibility is that the *a* is in fact an original suffixal vowel, while only *i* is truly epenthetic in this environment. While non-possessed noun suffixes in Cupeño never exhibit a CV structure in word-final position, on etymological grounds, the *a* vowel is expected. The Proto-Uto-Aztecan form of the non-possessed noun suffixes (the so-called absolutive suffix) is *\*-ta*. The various contemporary non-possessed-noun suffixes, *-t*, *-l*, *-ly*, *-sh*, all derive from *\*-ta* by various historical processes (see Manaster Ramer 1994). Luiseño exhibits *-Ca* forms of the non-possessed noun suffixes in certain environments (although Munro (1990: 221) characterizes these as "rather mysterious"). One possibility is then that, where *a* appears before the plural, the NPN suffix has simply retained its vowel, because otherwise, after the deletion of the final stem vowel, an illegal super-heavy sequence would be created, e.g., *\*ya'iwtm* 'runners' or *\*tisixtm* 'cottontail rabbits'. Like the NPN suffixes, plural *-m* has a historic vowel, in PUA *\*-mi* 'plural'. Cupeño does have many vowel-final suffixes, like *-nga* 'in', *-ve* 'realis subordinator', and *-pi* 'irrealis subordinator'. However, the historic vowel of the plural, which, if it surfaced, would presumably alter the deletion, yielding forms like *\*ya'iwetme*, *\*tisixatme*, never appears. Instead, we must consider the plural in Cupeño to consist simply of the consonant *-m*.

We might imagine a historical sequence something like the following. In the first stage, the non-possessed noun suffix is *\*-Ca*. At this stage, the NPN suffix acts like other vowel-final suffixes such as *-pi*, *-ve*. The immediately preceding unstressed vowel is deleted, and the vowel of the suffix is retained. This would be something like the situation in Luiseño. When the plural suffix is added to forms derived in this way, the vowel of the NPN suffix is not deleted, because then a prohibited CCC sequence would be created. In such cases, what surfaces is the etymologically expected vowel from PUA *\*a*. However, if for some reason the deletion of the root vowel cannot go through because a super-heavy syllable would be created, the suffix vowel itself is lost. Assuming a cyclical derivation in word formation, when the plural suffix *-m* is added on a later cycle, an illegal super-heavy syllable is avoided by epenthesis of *i*.

In the second state, all NPN vowels are lost in final position, being retained only when “protected” by a following plural suffix. At this stage, then, there are two possibilities: *-am*, from *\*-am* with *a* the input vowel from the NPN suffix (*\*-ta*), or *-im*, where *i* is epenthetic.

Of course, this historical account, motivated by etymology, cannot be available to speakers, and in fact the *i ~ a* alternation before *-m* is due to a fairly complex interaction of constraints. Thus it is not surprising that we find some exceptional forms and some variation, both internally and between the Faye sample and my own sample.

There is one more step in this story, the role of the object-case suffix *-i*. When the plural suffix *-m* is followed by the object-case *-i*, no epenthetic *i* vowel is inserted before *-m*.

- (86) a. *maawalim* ‘palm trees’, *maawalmi* ‘palm trees (object case)’  
 b. *maxilyim* ‘doves’, *maxilymi* ‘doves (object case)’  
 c. *nawily’etim* ‘body lice’, *nawily’etmi* ‘body lice (object case)’  
 d. *si’ichim* ‘tules’, *si’ishmi* ‘tules (object case)’

However, if the vowel in the final syllable of the root has been deleted, the *a* vowel will be retained before the object-case suffix, as in the examples below. Obviously this occurs because otherwise a super-heavy syllable would be created.

- (87) a. *machistam* ‘bats’, *machistami* ‘bats (object case)’, *\*machistmi*,  
*\*machisatmi*  
 b. *piplyam* ‘strawberries’, *piplyami* ‘strawberries (object case)’, *\*piplymi*,  
*\*pipilymi*  
 c. *se’evcham* ‘basket grasses’, *se’evchami* ‘basket grasses (object case)’,  
*\*se’evchmi*, *\*se’evishmi*

The examples in (86) and (87) show that object-case *-i* blocks epenthesis but does not induce deletion. This might be due to the fact that the constraints apply cyclically, with the first deletion appearing when the plural suffix is added in word formation, such that the vowel is not available in the scan when the object-case suffix is added. However, matters are not so simple. The object-case suffix *-i* never induces deletion. Thus with singular nouns, the addition of *-i* does not result in the loss of the final stem vowel, even where this would not produce an illegal syllable.

- (88) a. *pulyinich-i* ‘child-object case’, *\*pulyinchi*  
 b. *sewet-i* ‘rattlesnake-object case’, *\*sewti*

In this behavior, the object-case suffix resembles the second-position clitics (see Chapter 3). These can attach to sentence-initial nouns but they do not trigger vowel loss.

- (89) a. *pa'aqlyam* 'sunflowers', but *pa'aqily = e* 'sunflower = CF',  
       \**pa'aqly = e*  
 b. *awaqim* 'dogs', *awaqim = el* 'dogs = 3PLABS', \**awalm = el*  
 c. *ataxam* 'people', *ataxam = el*, \**ataxm = el* (The singular is *atax'a*, a frozen derivation with PSD -'a; the -am plural, with the loss of the glottal stop is regular.)

In summary, prefixes and suffixes will trigger deletion of adjacent unstressed vowels, as long as no CCC or CC# sequence results. Clitics do not trigger this deletion. The object-case suffix -i ~ -y blocks epenthesis but does not induce deletion.

Some stems are simply vowel-final. These stem-final vowels are never deleted. Possessed-state vowel-final words in native vocabulary add -m. Note that in (90b,c) the PSD suffix -'a loses its initial glottal stop.

- (90) a. *neqaytu* 'my enemy', *neqaytum* 'my enemies'  
 b. *ne'al'a* 'my head louse', *ne'alam* 'my head lice'  
 c. *atax'a* 'person', *ataxam* 'people'  
 d. *neye* 'my mother', *neyem* 'my parents'

Most non-possessed-state vowel-final words are Spanish loanwords. These, and a few items of native vocabulary, add a glottal stop (which is not apparent in the singular) and a copy of the stem-final vowel before the plural suffix.

- (91) a. *kavaayu* 'horse', *kavaayu'um* 'horses' (Spanish *caballo*)  
 b. *chanaati* 'red-winged blackbird', *chanaati'im* 'red-winged blackbirds'  
       (Spanish *chanate*)  
 c. *avεena* 'oats', *avεena'am* 'oats' (Spanish *avena*)  
 d. *chalaqa* 'horned lizard', *chalaqa'am* 'horned lizards'  
 e. *sekwikwina* 'swallow', *sekwikwina'am* 'swallows'

A single vowel-final native word does not follow this pattern but simply adds -m even in the non-possessed state.

- (92) *malalxa* 'an aggressive species of insect', *malalxam* 'insects of this species'

**2.4. VOWEL CHANGES IN DERIVED WORDS.** Vowel changes in derived words are of two major types. The first are minor harmonies involving high vowels in

unstressed syllables. The second are what Heath (1977:29–33) characterized as “vocalic ablaut” induced by certain suffixes.

**2.4.1. HIGH-VOWEL HARMONIES.** In 2.2.2 above, I discussed the strong tendency for the vowels of stressed prefixes to become *u* on stressless roots containing *u*. While this behavior is quite regular, there is a broader, albeit less predictable, general tendency for vowels in unstressed syllables adjacent to stressed high vowels *i* and *u* to assimilate to those vowels. This tendency is especially marked with *u*.

While Roscinda Nolasquez categorically pronounced the vowels of stressed prefixes as *u* before stressless roots in *u*, she did not usually do this where the prefix was not stressed. For instance, she usually said *nepuchi* ‘my eye (object case)’. Faye, however, occasionally recorded *nupuchi* ‘my eye’.

Assimilations to *u* occur variably in affixes with stressed stems, as shown in (93).

- (93) a. *nengunush* ‘I will have it’ (3 103 85) < *nengu-nash* (but *nengu-ish* ‘rich’)  
 b. *yuymukum!* ‘be cold!’ < *yuymuk-m* (4 75)  
 c. *pupush mukwilyu’ush* ‘sore eyes’ < *mukwi-lya’a-sh* (7 59 78)

Usually, as pointed out above, the clitics do not interact phonologically with the words to which they attach. However, an exception is found where clitics attach to words with final *u*. For instance, vowels in clitics attached to *mixanuk* ‘how?’ often assimilate to *u*, e.g., *mixanuk* = ‘*ut*’ ‘how do you (ABS)?’ (< *mixanuk* = ‘*et*’), *mixanuk* = ‘*up*’ ‘how do you (ERG)?’ (< *mixanuk* = ‘*ep*’). The ubiquitous reportative or quotative clitic is =*ku’ut*, which occurs most frequently attached to the discourse particle *me* ‘and’, yielding *mu* = *ku’ut*, probably from *me* = *ku* = ‘*et*’ ‘and = it.is.said = P3ABS’ (see 3.1.1.1).

Certain kinds of assimilations to *u* do not occur. For instance, subject person-number affixes in verb constructions with stressed roots in *-in* and *-yax* verbs do not assimilate, e.g., *tukul-pe-n* ‘he stuck it together’ (e.g., setting a bone), \**tukulpun*.

One case of *i*-assimilation is especially conspicuous. The common suffix combination *-yax-ngiy* ‘yax-MOTG’ always becomes *-yi-ngiy*.

- (94) *chulupeyingiyqal* ‘he was entering going away’ < *chulup-pe-yax-ngiy-qal* (Coyote and Crows 002)

**2.4.2. ABLAUT-INDUCING SUFFIXES AND VOCALIC AUGMENTS.** Heath (1977:29–33) points out that across the Uto-Aztecan family certain suffixes induced vocalic ablaut on verb stems, either changing the final vowel of vowel-final verb stems or requiring a vocalic augment on consonant-final stems. The ablauts included

*a*-ablaut, *i*-ablaut, and perhaps *u*-ablaut. Only the first two are attested in Cupeño. I follow Heath in treating these as augments rather than as suffixal vowels.

In Cupeño, the *a*-ablaut suffixes are *-la'a(-sh)* 'instrument', *-lu* ~ *-lyu* 'go to do (purposive motion)', *-nuk* 'same-subject subordinator' and *-pi* 'irrealis subordinator'. The *i*-ablaut suffixes are *-qat* 'purposive/immediate future', *-ve* 'realis subordinator', *-vichu* 'desiderative', the nominalizing suffix *-ve'e(-sh)* 'agentive', and the motion suffix *-veneq* 'coming along VERB-ing'. The NPN suffix *-sh* also induces a stressed *i* when it nominalizes stressless roots, as in *qwa'i-sh* 'food', *meqni-sh* 'killer'. It is not clear whether this is an *i*-ablaut or a case of stress falling on a suffixal or epenthetic vowel. The locative suffixes *-'aw*, *-ka*, and *-nga* exhibit *i*-ablaut with stressless roots and with the suffix *-wen*.

These same suffixes induce the addition of a glottal stop when they follow root-final stressed vowels (except where these are long vowels derived from lost laryngeals). These glottal stop increments are discussed below in 2.5.3.

The phonological effects of these suffixes are most dramatic with the stressless verb roots, because here the stress usually shifts to the vowel of the augment. Some examples are seen below.

- (95) *a*-ablauting suffixes with stressless roots
- a. *tewanuk* 'SS having seen'
  - b. *mitewalwene* 'we regularly go to see them'
  - c. *pemtewapi* 'them to see'

There is some variation in the vowel quality with the *-a* augment. For instance, Faye occasionally records stressed schwa with the purposive motion suffix *-lu*, as seen in (96), while Roscinda Nolasquez always has stressed *a* in this environment.

- (96) a. *tevelu* 'will go to put him down' (Faye Creation 059)  
 b. *maxelu* 'go and give it' (Faye Images 115)

Stress on the root rather than on the augment is occasionally attested in both Roscinda Nolasquez's speech and in the Faye materials. Faye was a native speaker of French and was not at all reliable in recording stress but the stressed vocalic augments are so conspicuous that it seems unlikely that he mistranscribed such forms.

- (97) *pekushalupi* 'him to go and get' (Faye Creation 123)

(In this case, in the same passage in the Creation story, Roscinda Nolasquez said *kushallu* 'will go to get'.)

Finally, these forms are occasionally recorded with stress on the prefix.

- (97) a. *chimipetewapi* ‘him to see us’ (Faye Texts 170)  
 b. *emwenapi* ‘you all to put down’ (Faye Texts 012f)  
 c. *mipeyaxapi* ‘him to say to them’ (Faye Texts 110)  
 d. *nukushapi* ‘me to get it’ (3 61 288)

From Roscinda Nolasquez there are three possible locations for stress in these *-a* augmented forms in taped material that can be rechecked: on the PN prefix (98a,b), on the *-a* augment (98c), or on the root (98d).

- (98) a. *petewapi* ‘for him to see’ (RN How Coyote Got That Way 007)  
 b. *minetewapi* ‘me to see them’ (RN KP II 093)  
 c. *petewapi* ‘him to see’ (RN Creation 116)  
 d. *pemeqapi* ‘for him to kill’ (Coyote Eats his Daughter 023)

In contrast, there is no variation in the treatment of the *-i* augment, which is always stressed, as in the examples in (99).

- (99) *i*-ablauting suffixes with stressless roots  
 a. *tewiqat* ‘is going to see’  
 b. *qwa’iyeneq* ‘S came along eating’  
 c. *yaxive* ‘what happened, what was said’  
 d. *wenivichuwe* ‘PL want to put in’  
 e. *qwa’i’aw* ‘on the food’  
 f. *numuvinga* ‘in my nose’

Note that the ablaut is controlled only in the immediate environment of the stem. For instance, in (100) we see *i*-ablaut governed by *-ve*, even though *-pi*, which requires an *-a* augment, is present. (Faye did not record it as inducing an augment on the benefactive suffix *-max*.)

- (100) *chemtewiyemaxpi* ‘us to look ahead for ourselves’ (Faye Domingo Moro 012n)

In constructions with inherently stressed verb roots, the vocalic augments occur only after suffixes, not roots—and only after suffixes that have been claimed by Jacobs (1975) and Heath (1998) to be grammaticalized from unstressed roots (and not on all of those, as witness the absence of an augment on *-max* ‘benefactive’, from *max<sub>s</sub>* ‘give’ in (100) above). While the vocalic augments are not actually stressed when they follow suffixes, they are nearly always present, and their presence, parallel to their presence following unstressed roots, provides an additional line of evidence for the grammaticalization. Augments are attested after the following suffixes: *-yax* ‘intransitive theme class’, *-qal* ‘past imperfective singular’, *-wen* ‘past imperfective plural, past stative’, and *-neq* ‘come VERB-ing’. No other suffixes add an augment in the presence of the ablauting suffixes.



The *i*-ablauting suffix *-qat* requires brief additional discussion. *-qat* induces clear *i*-ablaut with stressless roots, as in (99a) above. However, by the regular rule discussed in 2.5.2 above, the final *-x* in *-yax* is lost before *q*, yielding forms like (101) with no vocalic augment.

(101) *chemyaqat* ‘you’re going to be quiet’ (Chitmal 016), \**chemyaxiqat*

Vocalic augments following suffixes, since they are not stressed, often neutralize to a central vowel, *e*, with *a* and *i* not distinguishable. This neutralization presumably is caused by the distance from the stress of the vocalic augment, as a similar case is recorded where a reduplication takes stress rather than the augment vowel, and it is neutralized.

(102) *mimamxeqatim* ‘all given away to them’ (6 95 180) but *maxiqat* ‘he is going to give’ (7 3 34)

This behavior is not expected, because while *a* regularly centralizes to [ə] in unstressed position, unstressed *i* normally remains unchanged. Sometimes the *-i* augment remains high and front, while sometimes it appears as a central vowel, as is seen in the examples below which show *-i* augments with the suffixes grammaticalized from unstressed verbs. I have boldfaced the augment vowels.

- (103) *-i* augments following *-yax*
- a. *nanvapeyaxive* ‘when it was over’ (Faye Creation 019)
  - b. *hashaxivichuqa* ‘wants to go’ (Faye Oceanside 18 319)
  - c. *chulupeyaxeveneq* ‘he was coming along going in’ (Temayewet 009)
- (104) *-i* augments following *-qal*
- a. *pe’ayewqalive* ‘what she wanted’ (Faye field notes 041)
  - b. *tangneqalive* ‘what I piled up’ (Faye field notes 061)
- (105) *-i* augments following *-wen*
- a. *sulpeyaxwenivey* ‘(where) it was tied up (object case)’ (Faye field notes 142)
  - b. *miyaxweniqat* ‘you pl. are going to be’ (Faye Domingo Moro FN 15 012h)
  - c. *wewyaxweni’aw* ‘in the canyon’ (Coyote and Flood 002)
  - d. *wewyaxweninga* ‘in the canyon’ (Coyote Eats his Daughter 009)
- (106) *-i* augment following *-neq*
- shawish neyawneqnive* ‘bread that I brought’ (3 107 152)

There are occasional exceptional attestations without the *-i* vowel augment. For instance, for (107) we would expect *tanpe’menweniveneq*. These occur in tran-

scriptions from both Faye and me so probably reflect genuinely variable speaker behavior rather than mistranscription. However, the great majority of cases do exhibit the vowel where expected.

(107) *tanpe'menwenveneq* 'they used to come along dancing' (Faye Creation)

The *a*-ablauting suffixes *-pi*, *-nuk*, and *-lu* ~ *-lyu* exhibit a similar behavior, with augments following the same set of suffixes, *-yax* 'intransitive theme class', *-qal* 'past imperfective singular', *-wen* 'past imperfective plural, past stative', and *-neq* 'come VERB-ing'. Here, the vowel is always *a*, usually neutralized to [ə]. Again, no other suffixes appear with *-a* augments, and no verbs appear with them except for the prefixing verbs *mix* and (*h*)*ix*. These verbs are discussed in 7.5.

(108) *-a* augments with *mix*, *hix*

- a. *pemixapi* 'it to happen' (RN Creation 037)
- b. *chemhixapi* 'us to say' (Warners I 057)
- c. *ixanuk* 'SS thus doing' (Coyote Growing Up 029)

The following examples illustrate *-a* augments with the grammaticalized suffixes.

(109) *-a* augments with *-yax*

- a. *pehiwenpeyaxapi* 'him to stop' (9 97 7)
- b. *yalaxanuk* 'SS having jumped' (Fox and Cottontail 026)
- c. *hashipeyaxaluqal* 'he kept going' (RN Creation 103)

(110) *-a* augments following *-wen*

- a. *pemiyaxwenapi* 'it to happen' (Faye Creation 13)
- b. *emiyaxwenapi* 'you to be' (5 59 124)

As with the *-i* augments, there are occasional exceptions. For instance, the only example I have been able to find with an *a*-ablauting suffix after *-qal* does not show the expected augment.

(111) *chulupeyaqalpi* 'be able to get in' (Fox and Buzzard 013)

Jacobs (1975) never transcribes the vocalic augment following suffixes. It may be that Roscinda Nolasquez, who was very consistent in producing it in the early 1960s, had decided not to pronounce it or that Jacobs believed it to be predictable so did not write it.

**2.5. CONSONANT ALTERNATIONS IN DERIVED WORDS.** Derived words exhibit certain specialized behaviors in cases where root-final or suffix-final consonants appear before suffix-initial consonants.

**2.5.1. SEQUENCES OF IDENTICAL CONSONANTS.** Cupeño never exhibits gemination. For most consonants, a sequence CC will resolve itself as a single C, as in the examples in (111). Throughout the grammar, I have written two identical adjacent consonants in certain examples where this is required to clarify the morphology. However, only one will be pronounced.

- (111) CC > C
- a. /pp/ *chulupeyingiy* ‘he went away going in’ < *chulup-pe-yax-ngiy*
  - b. /ll/ *chemhaluwen* ‘we were going to search’ < *chem-hal-lu-wen*
  - c. /ww/ *pemtesiwēn* ‘they were playing’ < *pem-tesiw-wen*
  - d. /qq/ *neqa* ‘is coming’ < *neq-qa*

In (111b) we see /ll/ becoming *l*. Recall that we do not see unstressed vowel deletion in noun roots such as *kele-l* ‘manzanita’ and *chala-l* ‘bark’, which would yield the loss of an entire syllable. Syllable haplology does occur (see 2.5.4 below) but not as a result of vowel deletion and degemination.

Sequences of /kq/ are variable and sometimes behave as if they were /kk/ or /qq/. I have recorded the following variations, which suggest that the /k/ is perhaps less likely to be lost in a stressed syllable than in an unstressed one.

- (112) a. *pachiqa* ‘is leaching acorns’ < *pachik-qa* (2 1 573)  
 b. *pachi’qa* ‘is leaching acorns’ < *pachik-qa* (11 41 44)  
 c. *wesikqa* ‘is scratching’ < *wesik-qa* (8 101 152)  
 d. *tukqa* ‘is spending the night’ < *tuk-qa* (9 7 104, Faye field notes)  
 e. *tukqat* ‘is gonna spend the night’ < *tuk-qat* (Faye field notes)  
 f. *tu’qat* ‘is gonna spend the night’ < *tuk-qat* (3 53 172)  
 g. *tuqat* ‘is gonna spend the night’ < *tuk-qat* (9 7 102)

Note that /chch/ is *shch* [ʃtʃ].

- (113) *hushche’men* ‘we skinned’ (< *huch-chem-men*)

Sequences of nasals have a variety of treatments: /mm/ becomes *’m*.

- (114) a. *pe’mā* ‘their hands’ < *pem-mā*  
 b. *tanche’menwen* ‘we were dancing’ (< *tan-chem-men-wen*)

An epenthetic vowel is inserted in sequences of /nn/ if the preceding syllable is stressed, as in the examples in (115). If the preceding syllable is not stressed, no epenthesis appears, as in (116), where /nn/ yields degemination.

- (115) a. *chi'inenuk* 'SS having carried in her hands' (KP II 051) (< *chi'in-nuk*)  
 b. *i=yekwininiqa=ne* 'I'm gonna scare you' (7 103 225) (< *yekwin-nin-qa*)  
 c. *tepinenuk* 'SS having tracked' (< *tepin-nuk*)
- (116) a. *mihuṣhche'menin* 'we made them smoke' (Faye 2-6-27 f 9 405) (< *mi-huṣh-chem-men-nin*)  
 b. *yuyichuninuk* 'SS having cooled off' (Faye Texts FN 91) (< *yuy-chu-nin-nuk*)

**2.5.2. SEQUENCES OF NON-IDENTICAL CONSONANTS.** I have discussed above the aberrant treatment of two non-identical CC sequences, /kq/ and /nng/, which sometimes behave like identical consonants, with only the second surfacing. Most sequences of non-identical consonants in derived forms are preserved without change. A conspicuous exception is the loss of *n* and *x* when these precede certain other consonants. Note that these are the final consonants of the thematic suffixes *-in*, *-men*, and *-yax*, as well as of causative *-nin*, so these losses are very well attested. However, the behavior is not restricted to the final consonants of the suffixes but appears as well when *n* and *x* are root-final in unstressed syllables.

Both *n* and *x* are lost before *q*.

- (120) a. *mamaqa* 'S is pounding acorns' (< *mamax-qa*) (but *mamaxwe* 'PL are pounding acorns')  
 b. *nenmiqa* 'S is chasing, following' (< *nenm-in-qa*) (but *nenminwe* 'PL are chasing, following')  
 c. *hawiqa* 'S is singing' (< *haw-in-qa*) (but *hawinwe* 'PL are singing')  
 d. *yalaqa* 'S is jumping' (< *yal-yax-qa*) (but *yalaxwe* 'PL are jumping')

The *n* in the thematic suffix *-in* and the *x* in the thematic suffix *-yax* are regularly lost before the *ng* of *-ngiy* 'go away VERB-ing'.

- (121) a. *chawape'mengiywen* (< *chawa-pe-m-me-in-ngiy-wen*) 'they went off climbing up' (but *chawape'men* 'they climbed up')  
 b. *ya'peyingiy* 'she went off running' (< *ya'-pe-yax-ngiy*) (but *ya'peyax* 'she ran off')

Only *n* is lost before *l*, *ly*. *L* or *ly* is the first consonant of the purposive motion suffix *-lu* ~ *-lyu* 'go to do' which induces an *-a* augment with the suffix *-yax*. However, recall from the discussion in 2.4.2 above that *i*-ablauting *-qat* does

not induce ablaut after *-yax*, where instead we observe the loss of *x* (see example (101)).

- (122) a. *chimipemna<sub>sh</sub>nilyu* ‘they had gone to set us down’ (Faye CN 170 31–12–20 9) (but *chimipemna<sub>sh</sub>nin* ‘they set us down’)  
 b. *tekpeluqal* ‘he was going to empty it out’ (Faye Creation 101) (but *teksen* ‘he emptied it’)  
 c. *tutuvchilyu* ‘will go to tell’ (Faye KP 074) (but *pipetutuchin* ‘he told her’)

Final *n* and *x* in unstressed syllables are lost before the suffix *-’* of the singular imperative, discussed in 2.6 below.

Three verbs display irregular alternations involving /n/: *maa(n)* ‘let, permit’, *meq(a(n))<sub>-s</sub>* ‘kill one victim’, and *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>* ‘come (non-future)’. *Neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>* is defective (discussed in detail in 4.6).

The verb *maa(n)* fails to exhibit root-final *n* before *a*, as expected, and also before the *ng* of *-ngiy* ‘go around VERB-ing, go off VERB-ing (MOTG)’, which is attested elsewhere. However, *maa(n)* also loses its final *n* in past-imperfective forms, shown in (123). Examples (123a,b) show that in the past imperfective *maa(n)* is treated as if it were an *-in* verb, whereas in other parts of the conjugation it is treated as a verb in the  $\emptyset$  thematic class. Also, while the final *n* is present in the singular imperative, which is *maan* (an irregular form in any case), it is lost in the habilitative, as seen in (123c). With the *a*-ablauting and glottal stop-inducing suffix *-nuk* ‘same subject’, it is treated as if it were a vowel-final root.

- (123) a. *maache’mengiy* ‘we went away and left (it)’  
 b. *maape’menwen* ‘they left (it)’  
 c. *maan* ‘will leave (it)’  
 d. *maa* ‘leave (it) (habilitative)’  
 e. *maan!* ‘leave (it)! (sg. subject)’  
 f. *maa’anuk* ‘SS having left (it)’

The paradigm for *meq(a(n))<sub>-s</sub>* ‘kill one victim’ is shown in (124). Note that the loss of *n* before *-qa* in (124a) is regular. However, the form is peculiar; as seen in (c), (d), and (i), this is a stressless root, and we expect *meqa’* or perhaps *meqeqa’*. The verb shares with *maa(n)* the surfacing of the *n* in the future.

- (124) a. *meqqa* ‘is killing’  
 b. *meqanwe* ‘are killing’  
 c. *meqniqat* ‘is going to kill’  
 d. *nemeq* ‘I killed’  
 e. *meqan* ‘will kill’  
 f. *meqa!* ‘kill!’

- g. *meqanem!* ‘kill, you all!’
- h. *meqa* ‘kill (habilitative)’
- i. *meqnish* ‘someone who killed’
- j. *pemeqapi* ‘him to kill’

The paradigm for *neq(e(n))*<sub>-s</sub> ‘come’, a non-future stressless root, is seen in (125). The future root is *menmax*, which exhibits no significant irregularities. Again, the problem is the presence or absence of *n*, as well as an irregular present tense as with *meq(e(n))*<sub>-s</sub>, above. There is no imperative form; to command someone to come, one says *navye’e!* or *navyem!* Within this defective paradigm there is one parallel with *meq(a(n))*<sub>-s</sub> ‘kill one victim’, which is that the *n* surfaces in the nominalization in (125d) just as it appears in the nominalization of *meq(e(n))*<sub>-s</sub>, *meqnish*, in (124i).

- (125) a. *neqa* ‘is, are coming’  
 b. *neneq* ‘I came’  
 c. *neqe* ‘come (habilitative)’  
 d. *neqnet* ‘someone who has come’

A second important context for non-identical consonant sequences is the case of *y* following coronal consonants *t*, *sh*, *ʃh*, *l*, *n*, *y*. In this case, *y* is lost, as illustrated in (126). Most of these examples involve the intransitive thematic suffix *-yax*.

- (126) a. *su’laxish* ‘sympathizer’ (< *su’l-yax-sh*)  
 b. *huyaxish* ‘left over’ (< *huy-yax-sh*)  
 c. *haʃhaxish* ‘the one who went’ (< *haʃh-yax-sh*)  
 d. *hiwenaxish* ‘one who stands up’ (< *hiwen-yax-sh*)  
 e. *pulichaqa* ‘is going out’ (< *pulish-yax-qa*)  
 d. *hetaxwe* ‘are crouching’ (< *het-yax-we*)

**2.5.3. ALTERNATIONS INVOLVING GLOTTAL STOPS.** Some roots with stem-final stressed vowels require a final epenthetic glottal stop in certain environments, including word-finally and before certain suffixes.

- (127) Epenthetic glottal stop inserted in word-final position
- a. *pa*’ ‘will drink’
  - b. *kwa*’ ‘will eat’
  - c. *axi*’ ‘cough (habilitative)’
  - d. *tavxaa*’ ‘work (habilitative)’ (Spanish *trabajar*)
  - e. *chemchi*’ ‘we gathered’
  - f. *hiqsa*’ ‘will sigh’

This epenthetic glottal stop does not appear if the stressed vowel is a long vowel in root-initial position. These may be all derived from loss of laryngeals, as discussed in 2.1.2. Thus we encounter *xee* ‘will blow, cool off’, not \**xee*’.

The same set of vowel-final roots adds a glottal stop before precisely the suffixes that induce ablaut with stressless roots and suffixes derived from stressless roots. These include the *i*-ablauting suffixes *-qat* ‘immediate future’, all suffixes beginning in *-ve*, including *-ve* ‘realis subordinator’, *-ve’e-sh* ‘agentive’, and *-veneq* ‘coming along doing’, and *-vichu* ‘desiderative’. The *a*-ablauting suffixes also induce glottal stop addition; they are *-la’a-sh* ‘instrumental’, *-lu* ~ *-lyu* ‘purposive motion’, *-nuk* ‘same-subject subordinator’, and *-pi* ‘irrealis subordinator’ (*-pi-sh* can also be shown to induce *a*-ablaut but there are no examples of it following inherently stressed vowel-final roots).

Finally, we see a glottal stop appearing when these roots form deverbal nouns in *-ily*, *-ish*. The status of the vowel *i* in these cases is not clear. *-i-sh* attracts stress when it is attached to stressless verb roots, so is probably not epenthetic in that environment. Jacobs (1975) considers this vowel to be historically from a formative \**-ʔi*, a non-durative or “realized” relativizer. Examples of glottal stop increments before the *a*-ablauting suffixes are shown in (128), before the *i*-ablauting suffixes in (129).

- (128) a. *pa’la’ash* ‘cup, whiskey’  
 b. *chemchi’lyu* ‘we went to gather’  
 c. *wa’nuk* ‘SS having roasted’  
 d. *hewva’nuk* ‘SS having sniffed’  
 e. *neqe’pi* ‘me to bite’  
 f. *pehewva’pi* ‘him to sniff’
- (129) a. *pi’qat* ‘is bewitching’  
 b. *hewva’qat* ‘is sniffing’  
 c. *nipeqe’venga* ‘(when) he bit me’  
 d. *nengu’ve* ‘watercress’ (from *nengu* ‘have’)  
 e. *pepa’vengax* ‘from (when) he drank’  
 f. *pa’vichuqa* ‘is wanting to drink’  
 g. *tavxa’vichuqa* ‘is wanting to work’

With *a*-ablauting *-nuk*, there are some attestations of glottal stop with unstressed root-final vowels. However, this is irregular, as shown in (130), where (130d) does not show the glottal stop. The glottal stop does appear in the stress-shifted variant *aʃha’nuk*.

- (130) a. *hiwchu’nuk* ‘SS knowing’  
 b. *naqtama’nuk* ‘SS having gotten drunk’  
 c. *nengti’nuk* ‘SS having chopped’

- d. *aʃhanuk* ‘SS having gotten dressed’
- e. *yewaywe’nuk* ‘SS having spoken’

Unstressed vowels in suffixes add glottal stops before the ablauting suffixes. The example in (131a) is of the purposive motion suffix *-lu ~ lyu* and shows that this suffix is vowel-final in spite of the fact that its etymological source may have ended in *\*w*; cf. Nahuatl *-ti:w*, with the same meaning. Treatment of the suffix in the habitative also shows that it is vowel-final. Example (131b) shows the inchoative suffix *-chu*.

- (131) a. *kelawlu’nuk* ‘SS having gone to get firewood’  
 b. *naxanchu’vel* ‘old man’

The examples in (132) show glottal stop insertion before *-i-sh*, *-i-ly*. In (132d) the glottal stop is added to the denominalizing suffix *-lu*.

- (132) a. *tavxaqa’ily* ‘work’  
 b. *pisaq’ish* ‘rotten’  
 c. *nenguq’ish* ‘rich’  
 d. *ewlu’icham* ‘the initiated girls’

Note that the accented vocalic augments resulting from ablaut do not exhibit these glottal stops.

- (133) a. *tewanuk* ‘SS having seen’, *\*tewa’nuk*  
 b. *yaxive* ‘what was said’, *\*yaxi’ve*  
 c. *meqnivel* ‘(where) he was killed’, *\*meqni’vel*

Finally, while the causative suffix *-nin* is not an ablauting suffix, it does induce glottal stop increments both on roots and on vowel-final suffixes such as *-lu*, *-tu* (in 134d,e). Examples are shown in (134).

- (134) a. *chimipemkwa’nin* ‘they made us eat’  
 b. *pa’niqa* ‘is making him drink’  
 c. *aʃha’nin* ‘will change its clothes’  
 d. *tewlu’nin* ‘will name’  
 e. *qilyiqtu’niqa* ‘it is sore’

A special case of glottal stop alternation involves the possessed-noun suffix *-’a*. When the glottal stop of this suffix immediately follows the final consonant of the root, it disappears when any additional suffixes, such as the object case or the plural, are added.



- (135) a. *petatxan'a* ‘his poking’ versus *petatxanay* ‘his poking (object case)’  
 b. *sul'en'a* ‘what you have tied’ versus *sul'enay* ‘what you have tied (object case)’, *sul'enam* ‘the things you have tied’

However, the glottal stop of PSD -'a remains following root-final vowels even when an additional suffix appears.

- (136) *neh<sup>h</sup>wchu'a* ‘what I know’, *neh<sup>h</sup>wchu'ay* ‘what I know (object case)’,  
*neh<sup>h</sup>wchu'am* ‘my acquaintances’ (< *hiwchu* ‘know’)

Alternations involving glottal stops also appear in the imperative and the habilitative forms of the verb. These are discussed in 2.6 and 2.7 below.

**2.5.4. SYLLABLE HAPLOLOGY AND METATHESIS.** In addition to cases where consonants are lost, we encounter occasional cases of syllable haplology and a single instance of consonantal metathesis.

The best-attested examples of syllable haplology are those with the verbs *hiwe(n)* and *tewe(n)*, discussed below, but while only sporadically attested, a regular pattern involves loss of the final CV of a root if it is identical—or, sometimes, if it is merely nearly identical, as in (137a,b), to the first CV of the suffix. Examples are shown in (137), with the missing syllables boldfaced. In (137a) we see the loss of *ni* before following *-ngi*; in (137b) *ni* is lost before *ne-in*.

- (137) a. *nangingiyqatim* ‘we’re gonna pay’ < *nangen-in-**ni**-ngiy-qat-im* (Warners II 045)  
 b. *ma'awnen* ‘I pointed’ < *ma'awn**ni**-ne-in* (7 21 191)  
 c. *nawvichuqa* ‘wants to fight’ < *naw**vi**-vichu-qa* (4 109 192)

While most examples of syllable haplology are isolated (it is difficult to set up the appropriate environments), the defective nature of two fairly common verbs can be accounted for by invoking this process. These are *hiwe(n)* ‘stop, stand’ and *tewe(n)* ‘be growing, planted, of plants’. In the present tense and in the past-imperfective aspect Ø-class meanings, both verbs are stative, appearing with the present-tense stative suffix *-we* and the past imperfective stative suffix *-wen* (as well as with customary stative *-wene*). However, the root syllable *-we* does not appear before any of the stative suffixes. The root syllable *-wen* appears in the immediate-future forms in *-qat*, which does not have a stative option. However, it is lost in the other two forms. This is shown for *hiwe(n)* in (138) and for *tewe(n)* in (139). There is, however, an irregularity here, which is that normally root-final *n* appears before *-we*, *-wen*, *-wene*, leading us to expect *\*hiwenwe*, *\*tewenwe*, etc. The other irregularity is that we would expect root-final *n* to be lost before *-qat*, yet it appears, along with an extra vowel.

- (138) a. *ne'en hiwe* 'I am standing' < *hiwe(n)-we*  
 b. *achi'ep neh<sub>i</sub>wen* 'I was standing long ago' < *hiwe(n)-wen*  
 c. *ayen hiweniqat* 'I'm gonna stand'
- (139) a. *maayisam tewe* 'the corn is growing' < *tewe(n)-we*  
 b. *tuku'ep maayis pet<sub>e</sub>wen* 'yesterday the corn was growing' < *tewe(n)-wen*  
 c. *tukumay maayis teweniqat* 'tomorrow the corn is gonna grow'

Other than with imperative singular glottal stop suffixes on consonant-final roots, discussed in 2.6, only one case of metathesis is attested; however, it appeared very commonly in Roscinda Nolasquez's speech. This involves the present-tense form of the verb *tew<sub>s</sub>* 'see', where instead of pronouncing *tewqa*', Ms. Nolasquez would say *teqwa*' (with /qw/ before the stressed vowel). I have written *tewqa*' in most examples, for the sake of clarity and ease of glossing but my notes record that she pronounced the form with the metathesis in at least half of all tokens.<sup>7</sup>

**2.6. THE FORMATION OF THE IMPERATIVE.** The imperative is formed on the verb base by the addition of singular or plural imperative suffixes. The singular imperative suffix is -'. With vowel-final bases the suffix is usually followed by a short echo vowel identical in quality to the base-final vowel. However, if the base-final vowel is *i* or *u*, instead of an echo vowel, we sometimes encounter *e*. Examples of singular imperatives of vowel-final bases are seen in (140).

- (140) Singular imperatives of vowel-final bases
- a. *pa'a* 'drink!'
  - b. *hiqs<sub>a</sub>'a* 'breathe!'
  - c. *itu'e* 'steal it!'
  - d. *nengu'u* 'have it!'
  - e. *chi'e* 'gather it up!'
  - f. *wera'pi'i* 'dance a war dance!'
  - g. *i'i yumu'u* 'put this (hat) on!' (< *yu-ma-*' with *u*-assimilation)
  - h. *memyelu'u* 'speak English!'

If the final syllable of the verb stem includes a glottal stop, no new glottal stop is added.

- (141) *qiin'i* 'plow it!' \**qiin'i'i*

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7. Kenneth C. Hill (personal communication) points out that strictly speaking this process is not metathesis but rather the merger of two phonemes, /w/ and /q/, into one, the rounded uvular stop, a phonemic unit even though it is written with a sequence of letters, *qw*.

The thematic suffix *-in* loses final *n* and the thematic suffix *-yax* loses *x* in the singular imperative.

- (142) Singular imperatives of *-in* and *-yax*-class verbs
- a. *hawii!* ‘sing!’
  - b. *chemya’a!* ‘be quiet!’

Ø-class verbs that end in the unstressed syllables *-in* or *-en* and *-ax* also lose their final consonants in the imperative singular.

- (143) Singular imperatives of roots ending in *n*, *x*
- a. *nenmi’i!* ‘chase it!’ (\**nenmi’in*)
  - b. *sexne’e!* ‘boil it!’ (\**sexne’en*)
  - c. *pašhma’a!* ‘wash it!’ (\**pašhma’ax*)
  - d. *mama’a!* ‘pound acorns!’ (\**mama’ax*)

An exception is the stressless verb *max<sub>s</sub>* ‘give’, which has the singular imperative *ma’xe*.

The plural imperative suffix is *-m*, which is the general plural suffix. This suffix is simply added to the base to form the plural imperative. With stems with final stressed vowels, the vowel of the imperative is long if it is *a* or *e*.

- (144) Plural imperatives of vowel-final bases
- a. *paam!* ‘drink, you all!’
  - b. *hiqsaam!* ‘breathe, you all!’
  - c. *qeem!* ‘bite, you all!’
  - d. *waqam emwaq’a!* ‘put your shoes on, you all!’
  - e. *ti’aam!* ‘roost, you all!’
  - f. *naqmam!* ‘hear it, you all!’

If the vowel is *i* or *u*, a homorganic glide is inserted.

- (145) Homorganic glide insertion in plural imperatives
- a. *ituwem!* ‘steal it, you all!’
  - b. *nenguwem!* ‘have it, you all!’
  - c. *qiin’iyem!* ‘plow it, you all!’
  - d. *wera’piyem!* ‘dance the war dance, you all!’
  - e. *nawiktuwem!* ‘get married, you all!’ (said to men)

Some verbs do not have homorganic glide insertion in the plural imperative but exhibit special irregular transitions. This is especially common when the final vowel is *u*.

- (146) Irregular transitions in the plural imperative
- a. *kuungluhem!* ‘get married, all you women!’ (< *kuunglu*)
  - b. *yumahem emyuma’a!* ‘put your hats on!’ (< *yuma*)
  - c. *nameyelem!* ‘catch it, you all!’ (< *nameyelu* ‘go to reach’)
  - d. *memeyelem!* ‘speak English, you all!’ (< *memyelu*)
  - e. *mamanem em ti’ivlam!* ‘wrap up your blankets, you all!’ (< *mamu*)
  - f. *qeehem!* ‘bite, you all!’ (< *qe*, see also *qeem* above at (138c))
  - g. *lyaqahem pulinyichi!* ‘tickle the baby, you all!’ (< *lyaqe*)
  - h. *yewaywa’am!* ‘talk, you all!’ (< *yewaywe(n)*)

In plural imperatives, stem-final and root-final *n* and *x* are retained.

- (147) Plural imperatives with final *n*, *x*
- a. *hawinem!* ‘sing, you all!’
  - b. *puyninem awalmi!* ‘feed the dogs, you all!’
  - c. *chemyaxem!* ‘be quiet, you all!’
  - d. *nenminem!* ‘chase it, you all!’
  - e. *sexnenem!* ‘boil it, you all!’
  - f. *pashmaxem!* ‘wash it, you all!’
  - g. *maxem!* ‘pound acorns, you all!’

With consonant-final bases other than those ending in *n* or *x*, if the final syllable of the base is stressed, the glottal stop of the singular imperative will nearly always appear before the final consonant, which will then be followed by *e*. Examples are shown in (148). Note that (142f,g), *kela’we* ‘gather wood!’ and *kushi’ye* ‘take it’, show clearly the consonantal status of syllable-final glides.

- (148) Singular imperatives of roots ending in a stressed consonant-final syllable
- a. *ati’s<sub>e</sub>!* ‘sneeze!’
  - b. *chu’x<sub>e</sub>!* ‘melt!’
  - c. *hu’ch<sub>e</sub>!* ‘skin it!’
  - d. *chequ’ly<sub>e</sub>!* ‘make jokes!’
  - e. *ha’l<sub>e</sub>!* ‘look for it!’
  - f. *kela’w<sub>e</sub>!* ‘gather wood!’
  - g. *kushi’y<sub>e</sub>!* ‘take it!’

I transcribed a few examples where there was no metathesis of the glottal stop and stem-final consonant.

- (149) a. *kup’e!* ‘go to sleep!’  
 b. *puy’e!* ‘dine!’

If the final syllable of the root is not stressed, the glottal stop appears as an infix and is followed by a copy of the vowel of that syllable. While this formation superficially resembles the habitative formation, this is probably not a genuinely “templatic” phenomenon. Instead, it seems likely that it is a solution to the unacceptability of unstressed non-initial heavy syllables, as discussed above in the section on vowel deletion and epenthesis. Examples of this type are shown in (150).

- (150) Singular imperatives of roots ending in an unstressed consonant-final syllable
- a. *changne'ew!* ‘be angry!’
  - b. *aye'ew!* ‘like it!’
  - c. *tini'iq!* ‘roast it!’
  - d. *tulu'uṣh!* ‘grind it’
  - e. *met'ish nete'eng!* ‘charge a lot!’

If a consonant-final root has two syllables following the stressed syllable, there is no change.

- (151) *pina'wex!* ‘sing enemy songs!’

As with vowel-final verbs, if the last syllable of the verb contains a glottal stop, no new glottal stop is added.

- (152) *nang'aw!* ‘make image dolls!’, \**nang'aw'e*, \**nang'a'we*

Plural imperatives of consonant-final roots simply add *-em*, regardless of details of structure, with some minor irregularities like *changnehem!* ‘be angry, you all!’ instead of the expected \**changnewem!* from *changnew*.

- (153) Plural imperatives of consonant-final roots
- a. *atiṣem!* ‘sneeze, you all!’
  - b. *chuxem!* ‘melt, you all!’
  - c. *huchem!* ‘skin it, you all!’
  - d. *chequlyem!* ‘make jokes, you all!’
  - e. *halem!* ‘look for it, you all!’
  - f. *kelawem!* ‘gather wood, you all!’
  - g. *kuṣhiyem!* ‘take it, you all!’
  - h. *ayewem!* ‘like it, you all!’
  - i. *tiniqem!* ‘roast it, you all!’
  - j. *tuluṣhem!* ‘grind it, you all!’
  - k. *met'ish netengem!* ‘charge a lot, you all!’
  - l. *pina'wexem!* ‘sing enemy songs, you all!’

**2.7. THE FORMATION OF THE HABILITATIVE.** The Cupeño habitative seems to be a genuinely non-concatenative formation in a language otherwise dominated by straightforwardly concatenative morphological processes. The habitative appears with the clitic = *qwe* ‘non-instantiative’, with the construction having the sense of ‘can verb, be able to verb’.

A fundamental distinction in habitative formation is the treatment of consonant-final versus vowel-final bases. If the base ends in a vowel, the habitative form is the same as the base but with a final glottal stop, usually without an echo vowel. Examples are in (154). Note that many of these forms exhibit epenthetic glottal stops. However, the habitative formation shows that these glottal stops are not underlyingly present, or the base would be treated as if it were consonant-final. In addition, note that (154h) is *haylyu* from *hay-lyu* ‘end-go.in.order.to’ and demonstrates that the suffix *-lyu* is vowel-final. Otherwise the habitative would be *haylyu’uw*.

- (154) Habitatives of vowel-final bases
- a. *ne’qwen hiqsa’* ‘I can sigh’
  - b. *ne’qwen nengu’* ‘I can have x’
  - c. *ne’qwen itu’* ‘I can steal’
  - d. *ne’qwen kwa’* ‘I can eat’
  - e. *axweshqwe hu’* ‘that person can fart’
  - f. *ne’qwen seyki* ‘I can gather *seyily*’
  - g. *ne’qwen yewaywe* ‘I can talk’
  - h. *palqwe haylyu* ‘the water can run out’
  - i. *ne’qwen ashlyu awali* ‘I can have a dog’

Verb bases ending in unstressed syllables closed with *n* and *x* lose these consonants in the habitative and are treated as if they were vowel-final. Note that the habitative of forms ending in *x* is identical to the singular imperative, with a glottal stop and echo vowel.

- (155) Habitatives with *n*- and *x*-final roots and stems
- a. *ne’qwen hani tani* ‘I should dance’ (< *tan-in*)
  - b. *ne’qwen yuchi* ‘I can dip my hand in water’ (< *yuch-in*)
  - c. *ne’qwen mukne* ‘I can win’ (< *muknen*)
  - d. *ne’qwen ya’ya’a* ‘I can run’ (< *ya’-yax*)
  - e. *ne’qwen mingya’a* ‘I can swell up’ (< *ming-yax*)
  - f. *ne’qwen pashma’a* ‘I can wash clothes’ (< *pashmax*)

If the base ends in a consonant other than *n* or *x*, the basic description of the habitative construction is: “At least two syllables must follow the stressed syllable of the base.” If no such syllables are present in the input form, new syllables are created, by adding -’V until enough syllables are present between the stressed

syllable and the final consonant. The V is the vowel of the stressed syllable of the base. Thus, if a base has only one syllable, or has stress on the final syllable, two -'V syllables will be added, as shown in (156).

- (156) Habitatives of verb stems with final stressed syllables
- ne'qwen nga'a'ang* 'I can cry' (< *ngang<sub>s</sub>*)
  - ne'qwen nenga'a'an* 'I can hide X' (< *nenga<sub>n</sub>*)
  - ne'qwen na'a'ash* 'I can sit' (< *nash*)
  - ne'qwen ku'u'u<sub>s</sub>h* 'I can take' (< *ku<sub>s</sub>h*)
  - ne'qwen tewa'a'a<sub>s</sub>h* 'I can lose' (< *tewa<sub>s</sub>h*)
  - ne'qwen helye'e'ep* 'I can hiccup' (< *helye<sub>p</sub>*)

There are occasional slightly irregular forms. For instance, (157) may be based on a reduplicated form *cheququily* instead of the verb root *chequily* 'joke'.

- (157) *ne'qwen cheququ'ily* 'I can make jokes' (note the vowel change *u > i* in the final syllable)

Verbs where *n* and *x* close a stressed syllable sometimes exhibit typical consonant-final forms of the habitative. Note that in (158a) the presence of a glottal stop in the stem does not have any effect on the addition of glottal stops in the habitative formation, in contrast to singular imperatives of the type shown in example (141) above.

- (158) Stem-final *n* and *x* in stressed syllables in habitative formation
- ne'qwen pulinichi chi'i'in* 'I can carry the baby in my arms' (< *chi'in*)
  - ne'qwen hewi'i'in iviy* 'I can carry this in my hand, hanging' (< *hewin*)
  - ne'qwen hama'a'an* 'I am embarrassed' (< *hama<sub>n</sub>*)
  - ne'qwen wicha'a'ax* 'I can throw it' (< *wichax*)
  - chiilyiqwep wa'a'ax* 'the chili can dry' (< *wax*)

If one syllable follows the stressed syllable of the base, then only a single new -'V will be added, as in the examples in (159).

- (159) Habitative formation when one base syllable follows the stressed syllable
- ne'qwen yuymu'uk* 'I can be cold' (< *yuymuk*)
  - ne'qwen tulu'ush* 'I can grind' (< *tulush*)
  - palqwe tuyu'iy* 'the water can be cold' (< *tuyuy*; compare *cheququ'ily* in (150))
  - ne'qwen nene'eng* 'I can play pion' (< *neneng*)

Again, we encounter forms with final *x* treated as an ordinary consonant, as in (161), formed on a reduplicated base.

(160) *ne'qwen mama'ax* 'I can pound acorns' (< *ma-max*)

The verbs *ma'nin* 'fast in relation to meat and salt' and *nang'aw* 'make image dolls' are exceptional; their habitatives are shown in (161). Their behavior is probably due to the presence of a glottal stop in the root, parallel to the behavior of such roots with singular imperatives.

(161) a. *ne'qwen ma'nin* 'I can salt/meat-fast' (*\*ma'ni'in* is not attested)  
 b. *ne'qwen nang'aw* 'I can make image dolls' (*\*nang'a'aw* is not attested)

If there are already two syllables after the stressed syllable, then no new syllables are added, as in (162). Note that (162a) is a *-yax* theme.

(162) Habitative formation when two stem syllables follow the stressed syllable  
 a. *ne'qwen epe'yax* 'I can ease a pack' (< *epe'-yax*)  
 b. *ne'qwen pina'wex* 'I can sing enemy songs' (< *pina'wex*)

This property of habitative formation means that we cannot always tell whether stems with this structure end in consonants or in vowels. With words where only one syllable follows the stress this problem is resolved. In such cases we can distinguish, for instance, between *ew* and *u*, which sound very similar, as with *aye'ew* 'like (habitative)', *changne'ew* 'be angry (habitative)' versus *nawiktu* 'get married (of man) (habitative)'. However, when two syllables follow the stress it is unclear whether the final syllable ends in *ew* or *u*. Both of these are probably consonant-final. *Nanavew* 'fight' has the past perfective form *nawvi*, which is parallel to the past perfective *aywi* of *ayew* 'want', which has consonant-final habitative *aye'ew*. *Mameyew* may have the suffix *-yew*, which appears in habitatives like *eleye'ew* 'have lice'. But we cannot be sure about this, as we can when the structure of the verb is such that the habitative test works.

(163) Ambiguous habitatives  
 a. *ne'qwen nanavew* (*nanavu?*) 'I can fight'  
 b. *ne'qwen mamayew* (*mamayu?*) 'I can help'



## CLITICS AND THE AUXILIARY COMPLEX

Cupeño is rich in clitics. Most clitics appear in the auxiliary complex, in which they cluster in a single phonological complex that bears no stress and is attached at the end of the first word (or, more rarely, the first constituent) of a sentence. That is, the Cupeño auxiliary complex occupies Wackernagel's Position,<sup>8</sup> the second position in the sentence.

The clitics of the auxiliary complex are of three major types: those that express evidential status, those that express modality, and those that express the person, number, and case of the subject and, primarily with imperative verbs, the object. The person–number clitics in Cupeño are unique in Uto-Aztecan in that they are divided into an ergative series, encoding the person and number of the agent of transitive sentences, and an absolutive series that encodes the person and number of the subjects of intransitive sentences and the objects of imperative verbs. This ergative–absolutive case alignment contrasts with the nominative–accusative alignment of the person–number affixes in the past-tense verb, discussed in 4.2.1.

Case assignment to ergative or absolutive is not rigidly dependent on the valency of the associated verb. Discourse-pragmatic effects can be accomplished by using ergative subject clitics with intransitive verbs and by using absolutive subject clitics with transitive verbs. Also, when first-person objects are acted on by third-person subjects, the first-person forms are encoded by the ergative series. The details of the case system are discussed in 3.1.3; discourse effects are discussed in Chapter 12.

The auxiliary complex usually appears after the first word of the sentence, often interrupting constituency in nominal constructions if the first word is part of a larger construction (this point is elaborated in Chapter 9). However, there are occasional instances where the auxiliary complex follows the entire first constituent, where this has two or more words. Rarely, the auxiliary complex appears initially in the sentence. Certain clitics can occur following a sequence of two or more sentence or discourse particles that do not, together, form a constituent.

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8. Named for the Swiss historical and comparative linguist and Sanskritist Jacob Wackernagel (1853–1938).

Especially the reportative clitic = *ku'ut*, which cannot be accompanied by other clitics, sometimes appears more than once in a sentence. While = *ku'ut* definitely favors the second position, it does appear in other places, especially in narrative after the last word to “chain” one sentence to the next to form a tighter narrative cohesion. This point is discussed in detail in the treatment of discourse in Chapter 12. The contrastive-focus clitic = *e* is a “free” clitic. Like = *ku'ut*, this does not appear regularly as part of a clitic complex. It can follow a word in any position in the sentence other than finally (unless the sentence has only one word) and induces a contrastive-focus reading of that word. The reference-tracking uses of the contrastive-focus clitic are discussed in Chapter 12. Finally a series of proclitics encodes person and number (PN) of objects of transitive verbs and always precedes the verb construction itself. These are discussed in 4.2.

In Section 3.1 I introduce the major components of the auxiliary complex and their order and co-occurrence within the complex. In Section 3.2 I discuss the position of the auxiliary complex in the sentence. In Section 3.3 I turn briefly to the comparative materials.

**3.1. CLITICS IN THE AUXILIARY COMPLEX.** Three major types of clitics can be combined in the auxiliary complex of Cupeño. These are evidential, modal, and person–number (PN) clitics. The various detailed restrictions on their combinations, and their order of appearance, are discussed below. A template for the auxiliary complex is shown in Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1. Positions of the Auxiliary Complex

POSITION 1	POSITION 2	POSITION 3	POSITION 4
= <i>ku'ut</i> ‘reportative’			
= ( <i>a</i> ) <i>m</i> ‘mirative’		PN clitics	= ‘ <i>ep</i> ’ ‘realis’
= <i>she</i> ‘dubitative’	= <i>qwe</i> ‘non-instantiative’		= <i>pe</i> ‘irrealis’

The arrangement in the table is intended to suggest dominant patterns of co-occurrence. = *ku'ut* does not occur in combination with any other clitics. = (*a*)*m* normally appears alone but is also attested followed by the third-person-plural PN clitic = *el*; there is also a single attestation of = (*a*)*m* with realis = ‘*ep*. = *she* can appear alone, directly suffixed with any PN clitics, or in the sequence = *she* = *qwe* = PN. = *qwe* can appear alone or with PN clitics. When the clitics = (*a*)*m*, = *she*, and = *qwe* appear “alone,” they can be thought of as accompanied by an unmarked third-person singular. PN clitics can themselves appear without any other clitics. The third position, for PN clitics, perhaps should be split into two positions, because first-person-plural = *che* can appear followed by third-person-plural clitics = *el* or = *me* to form “inclusive” constructions. Finally, the modal clitic

= 'ep 'realis' is usually alone, although there are rare attestations where it follows = (a)m or, on the rare occasions when it appears with non-past-tense verbs, precedes a PN clitic. = pe can follow = (a)m, = she, or = qwe. If neither of these is present, = pe takes its own set of PN clitics, which always precede it.

The major exceptions to this order are exhibited by first-person ergative PN clitics where these are marking objects in the context  $3 > 1$ , where a third person is acting on a first person. These are "wild cards" that can appear out of position. Their behavior is discussed in 3.1.3 below.

Various clitics have specific interactions with the tense and aspect of the verb. The non-instantiative clitic = qwe is required with habilitative and customary verbs. PN clitics do not appear with past-tense verbs, where PN is marked with an affix in the verb construction, discussed in 4.2.1. They nearly always appear when the verb is not in the past tense. However, there is some optionality, with third-person PN clitics often not appearing where a lexical noun or demonstrative is present. The conditions under which the PN clitics appear are discussed in detail below. Finally, the realis clitic = 'ep appears only with past-tense (and rarely with present-tense) verbs, while the irrealis clitic = pe is especially associated with the future tense. Irrealis = pe appears only with the "ergative" series of PN clitics. Detailed discussion and exemplification of these points appears below.

**3.1.1. EVIDENTIAL CLITICS OF THE FIRST POSITION.** Three "evidential" elements occupy the first position in the Cupeño auxiliary. = ku'ut 'reportative' and = (a)m 'mirative' are restricted in their appearance with PN clitics, while dubitative = she can appear with all the PN clitics.

The reportative signals that the proposition in the sentence is secondhand information, while the mirative marks firsthand information that is the result of immediate presence, noticing, and discovery. The dubitative is used in a wide range of constructions to indicate doubt, questioning, counterfactuality, and the like.

The evidential clitics = ku'ut, = (a)m, and = she are mutually exclusive; that is, they cannot co-occur with one another. They can appear in any sentence, regardless of the form of the verb, in contrast to the modal clitics = qwe 'non-instantiative', = 'ep 'realis', and = pe 'irrealis', which are restricted to certain verb forms (except where = pe appears with = she, as discussed below).

**3.1.1.1. = KU'UT 'REPORTATIVE'.** The reportative clitic = ku'ut indicates that the source of the information in the sentence is someone other than the speaker. As is common in many Native American languages, in the recitation of traditional narratives nearly every sentence contains this form. However, the occurrence of = ku'ut can be manipulated by speakers. Sometimes this element appears more than once in a sentence. Indeed, while it is usually in second position, it has freedom as to position in the sentence. The usual non-initial position is sentence-final and "bridges" to the following sentence; see 12.4. Deletion of = ku'ut in traditional narrative can create immediacy or shift point of view to that of a character in the

narrative. For instance, in reported speech in traditional narrative =*ku'ut* appears with locutionary verbs but does not appear in the reported speech embedded under these. Addition of =*ku'ut* in personal recollections can add authority and seems to have the function of elevating these to a repertoire of historical texts that is shared by the entire community, with the recitation falling into the genre labeled by the verb *a'alxi* 'recite history'. A detailed discussion of the use of =*ku'ut* in discourse is presented in Chapter 12.

*Ku'ut* is rarely attested in sentence-initial position, mainly in the Faye materials. Most commonly, =*ku'ut* is cliticized to the discourse particle *me* 'and'. The vowel of the particle nearly always harmonizes with the vowel of the clitic to create the sequence *mu=ku'ut*, as seen in (1). While =*ku'ut* can follow any sentence-initial element, only the combination with *me* shows this assimilation.

- (1) *Mu=ku'ut wiyika pe-'amu-ngiy-qal ewepe-ka wew-yax-weni-'aw.*  
 AND=REP      AROUND 3S-HUNT-MOTG-PIS      WEST-TO      RAIN-YAX-PISTI-AT  
 And it is said he was always going hunting off to the west in a canyon.  
 (Coyote and Flood 002)

=*ku'ut* can be used in everyday talk to indicate secondhand information. The sentence in (2) shows clearly the contrast between firsthand information, marked here with the mirative clitic =(a)*m*, and secondhand information, marked with =*ku'ut*. Here, we can infer that the speaker has just heard someone say "It is good news" but cannot herself vouch for the truth of the good news, which she reports in indirect discourse marked with the reportative.

- (2) *Yax-qal=am ichaa'i=ku'ut miyax-we.*  
 SAY-PIS=MIR      GOOD=REP      BE-PRST  
 He says it is good news. (Faye field notes 4-6-27 23 (267))

=*ku'ut* does not appear in sequence with other clitics. It is almost never attested with additional PN or aspect clitics. A unique attestation of =*ku'ut*=*she* is seen in (3). This example is from a text collected fairly early in my work with Roscinda Nolasquez, and the sentence itself, and the text more generally, contains many disfluencies. Nonetheless, the sequence makes a kind of sense and was produced without hesitation and not corrected as we went over the tape. While the sequence *pe'e Mukat* was removed when Ms. Nolasquez went over the text, the clitic sequence remained. The difficulty with the sentence is that the PN clitic =*t* '3SABS' does not agree with the third-person-plural subject of the sentence. The sentence can perhaps be read as 'And it is said that it must have been that they did not know...'. However, with other comparable sentences, some element always interrupts =*ku'ut* and =*she*, making clear the shift in point of view, as in the examples in (4) and (5).

- (3) *Mu = ku'ut = she = t (pe' = e Mukat) qay pem-hiwchu-wen*  
 AND = REP = DUB = 3SABS (DET = CF MUKAT) NOT 3PL-KNOW-PIPL  
*mix-anuk pex-anuk axwəch-i pe-'a'chiwi-qali.*  
 INDEF.DO-SS DEF.DO-SS ODEM-O 3S-DO-DSS  
 And it is said that (in regard to Mukat) they must not have known what all he was doing. (Creation 041)
- (4) *Mu = ku'ut “Me = she anga miyax-we?”*  
 AND = REP AND = DUB PERHAPS BE-PRST  
 And it is said, “I wonder what happened?” (Fox and Buzzard 035)
- (5) *Mu = ku'ut “I'i = she = pe pe' sivuuru kisi-ly*  
 AND = REP PDEM = DUB = IRR DET SURELY HAWK-NPN  
*miyax-wen-et!” pə-yax = ku'ut.*  
 BE-PIST-NPN 3S-SAY = REP  
 And it is said, “This must be the one, surely Hawk was the one!” he said it is said. (Fox and Buzzard 054)

A few sentences are attested where = *ku'ut* does not seem to have a “reportative” function but instead seems to challenge the validity of a statement by another. This usage is parallel to the usage of a cognate element in another Uto-Aztecan language, Tlaxcalan Nahuatl *kil*, which can be added to a sentence to express the idea, “but I don’t believe it.” Examples of this type appear in a text elicited by Faye, where a mother and a daughter are arguing about whether the daughter should be allowed to attend a dance. In (6), the mother is speaking, and in the next sentence she says, “You can’t go.”

- (6) *Yax-qal = et tani-lya'-ika = ku'ut hašh-ax-qat ivi-y tukmiyat.*  
 SAY-PIS = 2SABS DANCE-INSTN-TO = REP GO-YAX-IF PDEM-O NIGHT  
 You say you’re going to go to a dance tonight? (Faye’s translation: You say you want to go to a dance tonight.) (Faye Past Time 35 (292))

= *ku'ut* does not appear with PN clitics or with aspect clitics. The reason for the first structural property may be that it already includes a PN clitic: a few examples in Faye’s material suggest that the final = *t* of = *ku'ut* may be the third singular non-possessed. Note the contrast between the two sentences in (7). Example (7a) has = (*a*)*m* ‘mirative’ in a cleft sentence (see Chapter 11); (7b) has = *ku* in a parallel sentence. The = (*a*)*m* evidential is used where the speaker has immediate firsthand evidence of a situation and wants to draw attention to that. In the (b) sentence we encounter = *ku* instead. With other evidential or modality clitics, such as = *she* and = *qwe*, we occasionally find a zero third-person singular (in fact, otherwise unmarked instances of = (*a*)*m* may be of this type as well), and the (b) sentence may be an example of this type, in which = *t* is replaced by zero.

(7) a. *I' = am pe' het-pem-yax-weni-ve.*

PDEM = MIR DET CROUCH-3PL-YAX-PISTI-SUBR

This is where they were huddled up. (Faye 2-6-27 f 25 (453))

b. *I'i = ku pe' het-pe-yax-weni-ve.*

PDEM = REP DET CROUCH-3S-YAX-PISTI-SUBR

This is where they say he lay huddled up. (Faye's translation: He huddled up, (just one) lay, was huddled up.) (Faye 2-6-27 f 25 (455))

**3.1.1.2.** = (A)*M* 'MIRATIVE'. The mirative clitic = (a)*m* is used to express that the utterance is based on unimpeachable firsthand knowledge where the speaker is usually speaking in the moment of discovery. As defined by DeLancey (1997:36), the mirative category "marks both statements based on inference and statements based on direct experience for which the speaker had no psychological preparation, ... the proposition is one which is new to the speaker, not yet integrated into his overall picture of the world." The Cupeño clitic does not in every instance exactly satisfy this characterization but many examples seem to be of this type and the others are derived from it.

As with = *ku'ut*, = (a)*m* is optional. However, as we would expect with a mirative in contrast to a reportative, = (a)*m* is less frequent than = *ku'ut*, appearing when a speaker wishes to especially emphasize the immediacy of evidence or the "surprise" factor suggested in DeLancey's definition.

The parenthetical vowel of = (a)*m* is lost when the mirative is cliticized to vowel-final forms (as in (11d) below).

An especially clear example of the 'firsthand, new discovery, surprise' meaning of = (a)*m* is the following sentence, from a traditional story in which Coyote has arrived, uninvited, at a church service conducted by birds (which are, of course, potential prey). One of the birds turns and recognizes him and utters (8).

(8) *Mu = ku'ut "Isi-ly = am!" pe-yax = ku'ut.*

AND = REP COYOTE-NPN = MIR 3S-SAY = REP

And it is said, "It's Coyote!" he said it is said. (Coyote at the Birds' Church 026)

Note that = (a)*m* is restricted to contexts where the referent about which the conclusions are drawn is not a discourse participant. For instance, the sentence with a first-person equivalent to (8) is seen in (9). This is not, of course, exactly equivalent to the mirative: the fact that Coyote is himself present cannot be surprising to him as a speaker in the way that his presence can be a surprising discovery for the bird who speaks in (8).

(9) *"Ne' = en," pe-ya-qal = ku'ut piyama isi-ly.*

ISPRO = 1SABS 3S-SAY-PIS = REP ALWAYS COYOTE-NPN

"It's me," Coyote kept saying it is said. (Coyote and Flood 044)

When the subject of a sentence is third-person plural, the absolutive-case clitic = *el* can follow = (*a*)*m*, as in (10). This suggests that other examples of the mirative simply have a  $\emptyset$  marking for the third-person singular.

This sentence does not, of course, announce a discovery. It seems to gain a sort of insistent quality from the use of the mirative.

- (10) *Paana-t = am = el ku-t-im.*  
 TARANTULA = NPN = MIR = 3PLABS FIRE-NPN-PL  
 Tarantulas are dangerous. (4.69.74)

As with other evidential clitics, = (*a*)*m* need not be attached to the “recognized item” but can simply cliticize to the first word in the sentence, whatever that may be, as in the examples in (11). In (11c) we again see a usage of the mirative that expresses something more like “counter to what the listener might expect.” *Salvadora Valenzuela*, the speaker, has of course known all her life that she was an only child. The mirative here may convey that this may be a surprise to the listener in a community where most families are large, so that she must insist on or highlight the fact.

- (11) a. *Qay = am ichaa' i'i.*  
 NEG = MIR GOOD PDEM  
 This is not good. (Faye Creation 066)
- b. *Axwa-'aw = am hiw-qa.*  
 ODEM-AT = MIR BE.THERE-PRS  
 He is over there. (KP I 049)
- c. *Suplewet = am = 'ep amay = 'ep ne-miyax-wen ne-ye*  
 ONE = MIR = R JUST = R IS-BE-PIST IS-MOTHER  
*pe-na'aqwa.*  
 3S-CHILD  
 I was my mother's only child. (Faye SV 2-1-21 11 (0175))
- d. *Atire = m gayiina ahuyaxay wi'a-yax-we.*  
 VERY = MIR CHICKEN EXCEEDING RAISE-YAX-PRST  
 Chicken is too expensive. (6 47 245 (0926))

While = (*a*)*m* has a mirative, not a topicalizing, function, clearly mirativity is likely to be associated with topicality, and the clitic can appear attached to obviously topicalized elements, as with the clefted ‘this’ in (12).

- (12) “*I*’ = **am** *pe’ naxani-sh nimxana-qat,*” *pe-yax = ku’ut Chemyu’a-t.*  
 PDEM = MIR DET MAN-NPN BETRAY-IF 3S-SAY = REP GOD-NPN  
 “This is the man who will betray [me],” said the Lord it is said. (Faye Future  
 11 (039))

= (*a*)*m* appears in interrogative sentences cliticized to the interrogative word itself. These interrogatives with = (*a*)*m* are used in the immediate presence of the questioned item or situation. In (13a) the speakers are trying to identify an animal that has left tracks and that has been seen by one interlocutor. They are looking at the tracks. In (13b) the speaker observes the runners. In (13c) the buyer is presumably in the presence of the chicken. To ask the question in (13c), the speaker must have just seen or heard the person whose identity is questioned.

- (13) a. “*Mi-ngki-ch = am?*” “*Ay’ani-ch = am pe-taxwi*  
 IND-KIND-NPN = MIR BIG-NPN = MIR 3S-BODY  
*shan’a-shana’a-sh.*”  
 DUP-SHAGGY-NPN  
 “What kind?” “A big kind, his body is shaggy.” (Faye KP 109 98 (046))
- b. *Me = l hi-ngax = am ngen-ax-we?*  
 AND = 3PLABS WHAT-FROM = MIR RUN.PL-YAX-PRPL  
 Why are they running? (5 59 129)
- c. *Mi-k = am nangan-i-qa gayiina?*  
 IND-QUANT = MIR PAY-IN-PRS CHICKEN  
 How much does this chicken cost? (6 47 235 (1045))
- d. *Hax = am?*  
 WHO = MIR  
 Who is it? (Portillo notes)

Interrogatives with *hi-sh* ‘what’ and *hax<sub>s</sub>* ‘who’ can be cliticized directly with = (*a*)*m*, but they also commonly occur in a sort of topicalized construction where a demonstrative appears before the question word, with = (*a*)*m* appearing on the demonstrative.

- (14) a. *Et = am hax me = t e’e pu-muchi neq-qa?*  
 DDEM = MIR WHO AND = 2SAB 2SPRO 1S-IN.FRONT COME-PRS  
 Who are you walking in front of? (7 1 15)
- b. *I’i = m hi-sh i’i = she nawishma-l we’ kiima-l?*  
 PDEM = MIR WHAT-NPN PDEM = DUB GIRL-NPN OR BOY-NPN  
 Is this a girl or a boy? (KP II 40)



= (*a*)*m* is attested with the realis modality clitic. Example (15) repeats (11c) above. In this behavior = (*a*)*m* contrasts with = *ku'ut*, which never appears with modality clitics. Examples like (15) are rare. It is the first sentence in this particular text of recollection, a common environment for = '*ep*. Normally, of course, the force of the mirative with its sense of surprise and the force of the realis with its sense of emphasizing established fact would conflict.

- (15) *Suplewet = am = 'ep amay = 'ep ne-miyax-wen ne-ye*  
 ONE = MIR = R JUST = R 1S-BE-PIST 1S-MOTHER  
*pe-na'aqwa.*  
 3S-CHILD  
 I was my mother's only child. (Faye SV 2-1-21 11 (0175))

**3.1.1.3. = *she* 'DUBITATIVE'.** The dubitative evidential clitic = *she* is distinguished from = *ku'ut* and = (*a*)*m* in that it appears freely with any PN clitics, including those encoding the discourse participants. The PN clitics appear immediately following = *she* if no modal clitic follows. = *she* can appear alone and in various combinations. It appears with = *qwe*, in the sequence = *she* = *qwe*, in which case the PN clitics appear last, i.e., = *she* = *qwe* = PN. Finally, = *she* appears with the irrealis clitic = *pe*. In this case, the sequence is = *she* = PN = *pe*. Note that = *she* cannot appear with the realis clitic = '*ep* (presumably because of semantic incompatibility). While the “dubitative” force of the clitic is always present, each of these various possibilities has its own idiomatic meaning. These are shown in the examples below.

= *she* in isolation, with a PN clitic only and a present-tense verb, gives a sentence the force “PN wonders if ...,” where PN is the subject indicated by the PN clitic. Where the sentence includes *yax* ‘say’ the meaning is “PN thinks, PN means.” The examples below illustrate these usages.

- (16) a. *Ne' = she = n puy-qa.*  
 ISPRO = DUB = ISAB DINE-PRS  
 I wonder if I have eaten? (Faye field notes 025)
- b. *Axw~~e~~ch-i = she = 'ep yax-qa nawika-t-i pu-yu*  
 ODEM-O = DUB = 3SERG SAY-PRS WOMAN-NPN-O 3S-HAIR  
*kwati-kwati'i-ch-i?*  
 DUP-RED-NPN-O  
 Do you mean the woman with red hair? (Faye Past Time 7 271)

Where = *she* appears with a PN clitic only and a non-future verb, it gives the sentence the force “Subject must have, probably did,” where the subject is encoded in the PN clitic. In (17a) the realis context is established by the adverb *aput*

‘already’, which takes present-tense verbs: In (17b) the NPN suffix = *t* on the nominalization *kupwenet* ‘asleep’ establishes the realis mood.

- (17) a. *Apu = she = l hanaka mi'aw-we.*  
 ALREADY = DUB = 3PLAB AGAIN ARRIVE-PRPL  
 Already again they must have come. (Faye’s translation: Already again they came.) (Faye Creation 082)
- b. *Éε; ivi- 'aw = she = ne kup-wen-et.*  
 HEY PDEM-AT = DUB = 1SERG SLEEP-PIST-NPN  
 Hey! I must have been asleep here. (Coyote and Flood 079)

The combination = *she*-PN = *pe* also has the sense ‘PN must be’, as seen in the following examples. Note that in (18a) there is no third-person PN clitic; this absence is fairly common.

- (18) a. *Mivi- 'aw pe-t- 'aw = she = pe mane-pe-ya-qal.*  
 INDEF-AT 3S-PLACE-AT = DUB = IRR ROLL-3S-YAX-PIS  
 He must have been rolling in them somewhere. (Coyote and Rabbit 007)
- b. *E'e = she = t = pe i'i himix e-yaya.*  
 2SPRO = DUB = 2SABS = IRR PDEM SAY 2S-TRY  
 You must have said something. (Faye KP 103 74)

The combination = *she* = *qwe* = PN means ‘PN might, could’, as in the following.

- (19) *Axwe-sh = she = qwe = p ne' = ne isi-ly = e ishmivi-y*  
 ODEM-NPN = DUB = NONI = 3SERG 1SPRO = 1SERG COYOTE-NPN = CF SOMETHING-O  
*ni = ma'a.*  
 ISO = GIVE.HAB  
 That Coyote might give me something. (RN Creation 065)

= *she* appears in many kinds of questions and expressions of doubt, along with other evidential particles such as *hama* ‘probably, whether’, *tum* ‘truly, indeed’, *anga*, an expressive particle of uncertain meaning something like ‘perhaps’ that often occurs in questions or expressions of doubt, and question words such as *hax*<sub>s</sub> ‘who’, *hi-sh* ‘what’.

- (20) a. *Me = she anga hax anga?*  
 AND = DUB PERHAPS WHO PERHAPS  
 Who could it be? (Coyote and Flood 043)

- b. *Qay = **she** tum i'i ne-ki?*  
 NOT=DUB TRULY PDEM 1S-HOUSE  
 So this is not my home? (Faye 99 68 (032))

= *she* can appear in sentences with yes–no question intonation (a sharp rise in pitch on the questioned element, sentence-final in these examples, marked with ^).

- (21) a. *Me = **she** et peta'ama^?*  
 AND=DUB DDEM ALL  
 Is that all? (Faye Past Time 13 (276))

- b. *Ne' = en, we = **she** = n miyax-we^?*  
 ISPRO=1SAB BUT=DUB=1SABS BE-PRST  
 What is the matter with me? (Faye 2–6–27 f 35 (508))

**3.1.2. SECOND POSITION: NON-INSTANTIATIVE = *QWE*.** In the second position in the auxiliary complex appears the modal clitic = *qwe* ‘non-instantiative’.<sup>9</sup> = *qwe* appears with all PN clitics, encoding the person and number of the subject or agent. = *qwe* is common in combination with = *she*; these examples were discussed in 3.1.1.3 above and are not repeated here. = *qwe* can also appear in combination with = *pe* ‘irrealis’, a modal clitic of the fourth position. = *qwe* nearly always requires that the verb appear in either the customary or habilitative aspects, and, conversely, where such verbs appear the sentence must include the clitic = *qwe*. With a customary verb, the combination = *qwe* = *pe* has a “counterfactual” sense. I begin by discussing the interaction of = *qwe* with other clitics, then turn to its interaction with the customary and habilitative verbs.

The examples in (22) show = *qwe* followed by various PN clitics, including the discourse participants as in (22a,b). Note that (22c) has no PN clitic, illustrating a common treatment of third-person singular as  $\emptyset$ .

- (22) a. *Isni-ne = **qwe** = n tami-t pe-nanaxwi-ka.*  
 WRITE-CUSTS = NONI = 1SABS DAY-NPN 3S-MIDDLE-TO  
 I write until the middle of the day. (Faye Present 6 327)
- b. *E'e = **qwe** = p mixa-nuk pexa-nuk ne'e-y ni = kwel-i.*  
 2SPRO = NONI = 2SERG INDEF.DOA-SS DEF.DOA-SS ISPRO-O ISO = GET.UP-IN.HAB  
 You can cure me somehow. (RN Creation 061)
- c. *Qay ishmivi-y chakw-'e-n-pi ivi-y sewe-t-i,*  
 NOT SOMETHING-O CATCH-2S-IN-SUBI PDEM-O RATTLESNAKE-NPN-O

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9. I owe the suggestion for this label to Bill Foley.

*i = qe' = qwe.*

2SO = BITE.HAB = NONI

Don't be catching things like this rattlesnake, it can bite you. (Coyote and Wolf 003)

d. *Hi-sh = qwe = me aya pu'u'uy?*

WHAT-NPN = NONI = 3PLERG THEN EAT.HAB

What can they eat then? (Faye Creation 009)

e. *Eve-t-im = qwe = l chem-enuw tukmiyat hashh-ax-wene.*

ODEM-NPN-PL = NONI = 3PLABS 1PL-WITH NIGHT GO-YAX-CUSTPL

They are always going around with us at night. (Faye Creation 067)

A sequence *hani = qwe = PN = pe*, where *= pe* is the irrealis clitic and *hani* is an exhortative particle, is attested in a “counterfactual” sense, as illustrated in (23). Example (23b) has third-person-singular subject unmarked.

(23) a. *Hani = qwe = n = pe nangini met'ish me = qwe = pe ichaa*  
EXHORT = NONI = 1SAB = IRR PAY.HAB MUCH AND = NONI = IRR GOOD  
*miyax-wene.*

BE-CUSTST

If I had paid more it would be better for me. (Faye Oceanside 8 (310))

b. *Hani = qwe = pe maa pe-pa-'a-y me = qwe net*  
EXHORT = NONI = IRR LEAVE.HAB 3S-DRINK-PSD-O AND = NONI CHIEF  
*miyax-wene.*

BE-CUSTST

If he had stopped drinking he would be a chief. (Faye Present 19 (340))

c. *Hani = qwe = n = pe isi-ly-i mamayew.*

EXHORT = NONI = 1SAB = IRR COYOTE-NPN-O HELP.HAB

I wish I could help Coyote. (J 111 55)

d. *Hani = qwe = n = pe tuku mi = nameq-i ivi-ta.*

EXHORT = NONI = 1SABS = IRR YESTERDAY 3PLO = MEET-IN.HAB PDEM-PLACE

I should have met them here yesterday. (J 138 67)

Other orders are attested for this expression, as in (24).

(24) *I'i = qwe = pe hani ya'a.*

PDEM = NONI = IRR EXHORT SAY.HAB

He wishes that he had said it. (2 95 58)

**3.1.2.1.** = *QWE* AND CUSTOMARY AND HABILITATIVE VERBS. = *qwe* is required with two verbal aspects, the customary and the habilitative. The habilitative has some modal force in its own right, having to do with ability to do something, and, by implicature, with the likelihood of doing something (precisely as in English where the fact that a person will or should pass the salt is a conventional implicature of “Can you pass the salt?”). The customary and the habilitative share the property of “non-instantiation”: they do not refer to any particular situation that actually occurred but to a constant generic probability or likelihood of a situation’s occurring, either because the subject always does that (the customary) or because the subject is capable of doing that (the habilitative). This “non-instantiated” quality of the customary and the habilitative yields a whole series of implicatures permitting these verb forms, in combination with = *qwe*, to appear in a wide range of conditional and hypothetical expressions, with the extreme end of the range being counterfactuality where = *qwe* appears with irrealis = *pe*. = *qwe* does appear (albeit rarely) with other forms of verbs but always conveys a sort of generic or customary force.

**3.1.2.1.1.** = *QWE* WITH CUSTOMARY ASPECT VERBS. The customary aspect is formed by a pair of suffixes that are suppletive for subject number: singular customary *-na* and plural customary *-wene*. Many sentences with = *qwe* and customary aspect are simply statements about regularly occurring or generic situations, with no obvious modal hedging, as in (25).

- (25) a. *Tami-t=qwe cha'ay-ya-ne me=qwe piseqaw-ne*  
 SUN-NPN = NONI RISE-YAX-CUSTS AND = NONI APPEAR-CUSTS  
 He appears when the sun comes up. (Faye KP 151 217)
- b. *Amay=qwe=l mandoliina yax-wene.*  
 TODAY = NONI = 3PLAB MANDOLIN SAY-CUSTPL  
 Today they call it a mandolin. (Warners I 073)
- c. *Me=qwe aye pe' ne-t chinga isaxw-qat miyax-wene,*  
 AND = NONI NOW DET CHIEF-NPN IF MEN'S.SONG-IF BE-CUSTPL  
*me=qwe=p mik-puk yaw-yaw-i*  
 AND = NONI = 3SERG INDEF.QUANT-DEF.QUANT SING-DUP-IN.HAB  
*pe-'isaxw-ve-y.*  
 3S-MEN'S.SONG-SUBR-O  
 And if the chief is a singer, he sings just a few of his songs. (Faye 1-7-21 SV)

Combinations of = *qwe* with customary verbs can have a “hypothetical” sense, in contrast to the merely “customary” expressions in (25). This extension presumably results because a “non-instantiative” expression conveys the implicature

that a situation might not be instantiated. For instance, in (26) we are concerned with the first, customary, verb, *mi* = 'ayew-wene 'they like them'. The subject of this verb is enemy warriors, who have been molesting the Cupeño girls when they go out gathering. The force is clearly hypothetical since the enemy warriors probably do not have honorable intentions!

- (26) *Mi* = 'ayew-wene = **qwe** = *me*    *me* = *qwe* = *me*    *mi* = *nawik-tu*.  
 3PLO = LIKE-CUSTPL = NONI = 3PLERG    AND = NONI = 3PLERG    3PLO = WOMAN-VB.HAB  
 If they like them they could marry them. (Faye KP 81 10)

The hypothetical implicature of = *qwe* with customary verbs makes it appropriate for use in questions and statements of wonder or doubt, as in (27).

- (27) a. *Me* = **qwe** = *me*    *aye*    *mixa-nuk*    *hiwchu-wene*    *ne-'ash*  
 AND = NONI = 3PLERG    NOW    BE.LIKEa-SS    KNOW-CUSTPL    1S-PET  
*pe-hiw-qali-ve*.  
 3S-LIVE-PISI-SUBR  
 So I wonder how they know my pet is alive? (Faye KP 127 156)
- b. “*Qay*” *pem-yax*,    “*Hax* = **qwe**    *nene-wene?*    *Yuy* = *am*.”  
 NO    3PL-SAY    WHO = NONI    GO.AROUND-CUSTPL    COLD = MIR  
 “No,” they said, “Who would be going around? It is cold.” (Faye KP notes 13 23a)

**3.1.2.1.2.** = *QWE* WITH HABILITATIVE VERBS. Habilitative verb forms have as their central meaning a statement of ability. Habilitative verbs are formed by phonological processes that are reviewed in 2.7. Habilitative verbs appear only with = *qwe*. While the most common meaning of such constructions is a statement of ability, as in (28), other senses of these constructions also occur. Again we observe a continuum from relative “factuality” to counterfactuality. At the most “factual” end of the continuum, these constructions include simple statements about ability, as in the second clause in (28a). In the first clause in (28a), we see a conditional expression that is apparently identical in sense to those with irrealis = *pe* with future tense in (22).

- (28) a. *Chinga* = **qwe** = *l*    *awa-l-im*    *menma'a*    *me* = **qwe** = *ne*  
 IF = NONI = 3PLABS    DOG-NPN-PL    COME.HAB    AND = NONI = 1SERG  
*chaway-ya'a*.  
 CLIMB-YAX.HAB  
 If a dog should come, I can climb. (Fox and Cat 005)

- b. *Me = qwe = n qay hiya'a maas.*  
 AND = NONI = 1SABS NOT SAY.HAB MORE  
 I cannot say more. (Faye Domingo Moro FN 26 012o)

Some statements of ability contribute to indirect requests, as in the example in (29). Here, the speakers are the culture hero's mother's brothers, who have the right to make requests of him.

- (29) *Me = qwe = p pi = yawmu-max me = qwe = sh te'e'ew.*  
 AND = NONI = 3SERG 3SO = BRING-BEN.HAB AND = NONI = 1PL SEE.HAB  
 And he can bring it so we can see it. (Faye KP 127 153)

Many uses of = *qwe* with the habilitative express a hypothetical sense something like English “might.” For instance, in (30) the culture hero's uncle expresses concern about his nephew's health. The sentence could mean ‘He can die’ but, since everybody “can” die, the sentence must have the weaker sense suggested by the gloss ‘might’.

- (30) *Me = qwe = e-t qa'a'aw.*  
 AND = NONI = 3SABS DIE.HAB  
 And he might die. (Faye KP 103 75)

In combinations with irrealis = *pe*, = *qwe* plus habilitative verb has a counterfactual sense. Such expressions are at the extreme end of the factual–counterfactual continuum. Examples were given above in (23).

**3.1.2.2. = *QWE* WITH VERB FORMS OTHER THAN CUSTOMARY AND HABILITATIVE.** Non-instantiative = *qwe* appears rarely with tense–aspect forms other than the customary and habilitative. In these examples, we encounter gnomic statements about general custom or attributes. One of Faye's consultants, Salvadora Valenzuela, used = *qwe* plus present tense frequently in her discussions of customs, as in (31) and (32). Sentence (31) describes a moment in the girls' puberty ceremony. The girls who are being initiated have spent the night covered in blankets in a shallow hole where a fire is smoldering and have not been permitted to eat or drink. At sunrise, each girl is given a piece of meat, which she is to spit out into a small hole. In spite of having a dry mouth after the night of fasting in the heat of the fire, the girl should spit the meat out cleanly. Of course, sometimes she does not succeed.

- (31) *Meyax = qwe pe' wa'i-sh ngaw-ya-qa pe-hinya-y pe-menew*  
 CONTRARY = NONI DET MEAT-NPN STRING-YAX-PRS 3S-SALIVA-O 3S-WITH  
*me = qwe = l pe-yik changnew-we nawishma-l-i, aya = qwe*  
 AND = NONI-3PLAB 3S-TO ANGRY-PRPL GIRL-NPN-O THEN = NONI

*chex-yax-we*      *qay*      *ichaa'i*      *pe-'ichaa'yewin-pi.*  
 APPEAR-YAX-PRSTAT    NOT      GOOD      3S-DO-SUBIRR

On the contrary, when the meat comes stringing out of her mouth with her saliva then they get angry at the girl, then it shows that she will not do well. (Faye Girls' Initiation 092)

Sentence (32) has no verb, since it is a predicate nominal expression in the present tense, where the copula is zero. The “gnomic” sense is carried entirely by = *qwe*. This describes the attributes of one group of participants in the puberty ceremony.

- (32) *Mukat = qwe = l*    *pe-ne'e-m*      *ataxa-m*    *a-'acha-'am.*  
 MUKAT = NONI = 3PLAB    3S-RELATIVE-PL    PERSON-PL    DUP-GOOD-PL  
 Mukat's followers are good people. (Faye Texts 087)

Non-instantiative = *qwe* is attested with the immediate future, again expressing a gnomic sense in accounts of customs; in these cases, the immediate future is often sequenced as an event that will follow the event in an earlier clause. Examples are seen in (33).

- (33) a. *Aya*    *ku-'aw*    *hew-pem-yax-wene*      *me = qwe = me*      *aya*  
 NOW      FIRE-AT    NEST-3PL-YAX-CUSTPL      AND = NONI = 3PLERG    NOW  
*mi = 'ew-lu'-ni-qt-am.*  
 3PLO = BLOOD-VB-CAUS-IF-PL  
 Then they would be lying on that fire and they were going to “roast” them. (Faye Initiation 191 17)
- b. *Mi-p-nga*      *pe-p-nga*    *me = qwe = p*      *axwe-ch-i*    *pe-chi*  
 INDEF-TIME-INL    DEF-TIME-INL    AND = NONI = 3SERG      ODEM-NPN-O    3S-OBL  
*imi = tewi-qat.*  
 2PLO = SEE-IF  
 Sometime he is going to see you by means of that thing. (Faye KP 123 145)
- c. *Axwech-i = m*    *ya-qa'*    *mi'aw-qat = qwe.*  
 ODEM-O = MIR      SAY-PRS    ARRIVE-IF = NONI  
 He said she would come. (7 61 102)

The Faye materials include two examples of = *qwe* with past-tense verbs. Both sentences have PN clitics with = *qwe* that do not agree with the subjects of the verbs. In (34a) we would expect PN = *sh* ‘1PLAB’. In (34b) we would expect = *me* ‘3PLERG’. The failure of agreement suggests that perhaps the domain of = *qwe* is



not the propositional content of the verb itself but some more abstract verb such as ‘they say’, ‘it is said’, which is elided.

- (34) a. *Qwe = l chem-’iyax-wen havesh-pe-yka pe-yka*  
NONI = 3PLAB IPL-DO-PIPL MORNING-3S-TO 3S-TO  
*chem-’a $\dot{s}$ h-lu-wen.*  
IPL-BATHE-GO.TO-PIPL  
 We used to get up in the morning after which we went bathing. (Faye  
 Childhood 7 1)
- b. *Me = qwe pe-ngax mi = tewan-pe’-men Memye-m.*  
AND = NONI 3S-FROM 3PLO = NAME-3PL-IN.PL OCEAN-PL  
 And because of that they named them Ocean people. (Faye Encounter 4  
 11)

**3.1.3. THIRD POSITION: PN CLITICS.** The PN clitics of Cupeño are unique in the Uto-Aztecan languages in that they exhibit two series distinguished by ergative versus absolutive case. Such a case alignment is not attested for any structures anywhere else in the family, and it is also unattested in unrelated languages in California and the Southwest. The ergative series of PN clitics encodes the person and number of the agents of transitive verbs. The absolutive series encodes the person and number of the subjects of intransitive verbs and the objects of transitive imperative verbs.

Subject PN clitics appear only with non-past verbs. With past-tense verbs, the person and number of the subject is encoded in an affix in the verbal complex. The object is optionally encoded in a proclitic that precedes the verb construction. The object proclitics can appear with any verb construction, not just with verbs in the past tense. These elements, which are reviewed in detail in 4.2, exhibit nominative–accusative alignment type.

The irrealis modal clitic = *pe* appears with its own series of PN clitics, which are homophonous with the past-tense PN affixes. These do not distinguish ergative from absolutive cases except in the third-person plural.

As shown in Table 3.1 above, the PN clitics occupy the third position. They are assigned to this position because of their appearance in the sequence = *she* = *qwe* = *PN*. However, PN clitics can appear alone without any evidential or aspect clitics being present, in which case they follow the first word in the sentence.

Table 3.2 shows the two series of PN clitics that appear in contexts other than before = *pe* with future-tense verbs. Note that the initial vowel is elided when the element is cliticized to vowel-final words or to the vowel-final evidential and modal clitics = *she*, = *qwe*.

TABLE 3.2. The Non-Future PN Clitics

ABSOLUTIVE	ERGATIVE	GLOSS
= <i>en</i>	= <i>ne</i>	1S
= <i>esh</i>	= <i>che</i>	1PL EXCLUSIVE
= <i>che</i> = 'el	= <i>che</i> = <i>me</i>	1PL INCLUSIVE
= (') <i>et</i>	= (') <i>ep</i>	2S
= <i>el</i>	= 'em( <i>e</i> )	2PL
= <i>et</i> *	= <i>p(e)</i>	3S
= <i>el</i>	= <i>me</i>	3PL

\*3SABS is often unmarked.

The examples below illustrate the ergative–absolutive alignment of this clitic series, with a pair of sentences for each person–number combination. The (a) sentences show the absolutive clitic with an intransitive verb, while the (b) sentences show the ergative clitic with a transitive verb.

- (35) a. *Aya = n haʃh-i-qat.*  
NOW = 1SABS GO-YAX-IF  
 I'm going to go now. (Coyote and Cat 005)
- b. *Isi-ly = ne pe-xuchi te-tepi-qat.*  
COYOTE-NPN = 1SERG 3S-FOOT DUP-TRACK-IF  
 I'm going to track a coyote. (1 34 opp 283)
- (36) a. *Qay = qwe = 'et haʃh-a'a.*  
NOT = NONI = 2SABS GO-YAX.HAB  
 You couldn't go. (Faye Domingo Moro FN fp 12)
- b. *E'e = qwe = p mix-anuk pex-anuk ne'e-y ni = kwel-i.*  
2SPRO = NONI = 2SERG INDEF.DO-SS DEF.DO-SS 1SPRO-O ISO = GET.UP-IN.HAB  
 You can cure me somehow. (RN Creation 061)
- (37) a. *Me = t pe' = e kumu awa-l-i yax-we.*  
AND = 3SABS 3SPRO = CF LIKE DOG-NPN-O SAY-PRST  
 And he is just like a dog. (RN KP I 050)
- b. *Eye-t = pe itu-qa ne-'ach-i gayiina'a-y tukmuchi.*  
THIEF-NPN = 3SERG STEAL-PRS 1S-PET-O CHICKEN-O LAST.NIGHT  
 A thief stole my chicken just last night. (6 71 3)

Sentences like (37a), where 3SABS is overtly marked in the second position, are quite rare and usually have a sort of emphatic quality. The vast majority of sentences where third-person singular is the subject of an intransitive verb have no PN clitic. The discourse contexts for the appearance of third-person-singular PN clitics are discussed in 12.3.3.

- (38) a. *Kwaw-aw-yax-wen = **esh!***  
CALL-DUP-YAX-PRPL = 1PLABS  
 Let's holler! (2 55 107)
- b. *Tew-we = **che = me**      *nee'e-t-i.**  
SEE-PRPL = 1PLERG = 3PLERG      BASKET-NPN-O  
 We see a basket. (2 11 70)
- (39) a. *Em = **el**      *peyka 'may pulin-ch-am.**  
2PLPRO = 2PLABS      STILL      CHILD-NPN-PL  
 You are still young. (2 45 15 0091)
- b. *Me = '**em**      *hi-sh      ela-n-we?**  
AND = 2PLERG      WHAT-NPN      WAIT-IN-PRPL  
 What are you all waiting for? (7 3 23 0738)
- (40) a. *Na-nxalu 've-l-im = **el**      *puy-we.**  
DUP-OLD.MAN-NPN-PL = 3PLABS      DINE-PRPL  
 The old men are eating. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 21f)
- b. *Pem-shawi = **me**      *kwa-we.**  
3PL-BREAD = 3PLERG      EAT-PRPL  
 They are eating their bread. (Faye 2–6–27 f11)

The ergative series is used to encode the possessor.

- (41) *E = '**ep**      *e-tew-'a      Kavalý      miyax-wene.**  
2SPRO = 2SERG      2S-NAME-PSD      KAVALY      BE-FIST  
 Your name will be Kavalý. (KP II 121)

An interesting feature of the system, seen in the table above, is that in the first-person plural it is possible to combine clitics in order to distinguish a first-person-plural exclusive from a first-person-plural inclusive. The 1PL inclusive is created by adding the 2/3PL clitic following the 1PL clitic. (The 1PL clitic is invariant in the = *che* shape in these combinations, with ergative versus absolutive case being contributed by the third-person-plural component.) This inclusive–exclusive distinction is not made in either the independent pronouns or the PN prefixes that appear on

past-tense verbs. Examples of this “inclusive” construction are seen in (42). When a second clitic is added, only = *che* can be used, even if the form of the second clitic is absolutive, as in (42b).

- (42) a. *Mi = chix-ni-qt-am = che = me.*  
3PLO-DIE-CAUS-IF-PL = 1PL = 2PLERG  
 We (and you, and them) are going to kill them. (Faye 3–6–27 7)
- b. *Sulul-ax-wen = che = 'el.*  
GO.IN.PL-YAX-PIPL = 1PL = 2PLABS  
 Let us (and you, and them) go in. (Faye 3–6–27 (063))

The “exclusive” construction includes only the 1PL clitic. For instance, Faye’s field notes observe that the form in (43) means ‘you and I’, in comparison with forms like those in (42), which include the whole group.

- (43) *Hani-sh!*  
EXHORT-1PLABS  
 Let’s go! (Faye 3–6–27)

Where only the irrealis clitic = *pe* is present, it takes its own series of PN clitics, in which ergative versus absolutive case is distinguished only in the second- and third-person plural. Where = *pe* is preceded by = *she* or = *qwe*, either clitic series can appear as appropriate. The series that appears with = *pe* alone is shown in Table 3.3.

TABLE 3.3. PN Clitics with Irrealis = *pe*

= <i>ne</i>		1S
= (') <i>e</i>		2S
∅		3S
= <i>che</i>		1PL
= <i>el</i> (absolutive)	= 'em (ergative)	2PL
= <i>el</i> (absolutive)	= em (ergative)	3PL

The first- and second-person PN clitics with = *pe* encode the subject or agent of future-tense verbs, and thus should be considered as nominative case elements. Third-person singular with = *pe* is always zero. However, in the second- and third-person plural, = *el* ‘absolutive’ is distinguished from = *em* ‘ergative’. Examples illustrating the non-alternating clitics are seen in (44).

- (44) a. *Tukumay = ne = pe qaawi.*  
 TOMORROW = 1S = IRR DIE.F  
 Tomorrow I will die. (RN Creation 064)
- b. *Amay = e = pe piyu'pan hiwchu.*  
 TODAY = 2S = IRR MOREOVER KNOW  
 Moreover you will know today. (Fox and Cat 017)
- c. *Kem-yax = pe.*  
 BOW-YAX = IRR  
 It will turn over. (Faye Creation 017)
- d. *Tukumay = che = pe che'-ma-'aw nengu-wene.*  
 TOMORROW = 1PL = IRR 1PL-HAND-IN HAVE-FIPL  
 Tomorrow we'll have it in our hands. (2 13 105)

Examples of the second- and third-person-plural forms, which exhibit two cases, are seen in (45) and (46). In (46) we see the absolutive form in the first part of the sentence, the ergative in the second.

- (45) a. *Em = el = pe tukumay peta'a-nim tanin.*  
 2PLPRO = 2PLABS = IRR TOMORROW ALL-PL DANCE.F  
 Tomorrow every one of you will dance. (2 9 52)
- b. *Tam-ika = 'em = pe mi = yawich-in me = 'em = pe*  
 SUN-TO = 2PLERG = IRR 3PLO = TAKE-IN.F AND = 2PLERG = IRR  
*mi = wichax-in.*  
 3PLO = THROW-IN.F  
 You will take them to the east and you will throw them. (Faye Creation 084)
- (46) *Amay me = l = pe menmax tan-in-vemax me = m = pe*  
 NOW AND = 3PLAB = IRR COME.F DANCE-IN-MOTCAF AND = 3PLERG = IRR  
*i = wi-wxan.*  
 2SO = DUP-STEP.ON.F  
 Now they will come dancing and they will step on you. (Faye Creation 036)

The absolutive series of PN clitics function as true objects almost exclusively with imperative verbs, with only a very few attested exceptions (examples are seen in (46, 48) below). Table 3.4 shows a full paradigm of these, taken from Faye's field notes, with the verb *ela-(i)n* 'wait for someone'. Note that when these clitics appear, the full form of the theme is preserved; that is, the *n* of *-in* is not lost, as is the case where no clitic follows the imperative. The exception is where the

object is third-person singular, unmarked in these examples. The third-person-plural object with these imperatives is = *m* instead of = *l*, although often it appears as = *wey*, a form that does not appear in Table in 3.4 but is discussed below.

TABLE 3.4. Absolutive PN Clitics as Objects with Imperatives

SINGULAR SUBJECT	PLURAL SUBJECT
<i>ela-n = en</i>	<i>ela-ne-m = en</i>
WAIT.FOR-IN = 1SABS	WAIT.FOR-IN -PL = 1SABS
(you sg.) wait for me	(you pl.) wait for me
<i>ela-ni-'</i>	<i>ela-ne-m</i>
WAIT.FOR-IMPS	WAIT.FOR-IN-PL
(you sg.) wait for (him, her, it)	(you pl.) wait for him
<i>ela-ne = 'esh</i>	<i>ela-n-em = esh</i>
WAIT.FOR-IN-IMPS-1PLABS	WAIT.FOR-IN-PL = 1PLABS
(you sg.) wait for us	(you pl.) wait for us
<i>ela-n = em</i>	<i>ela-n = em</i>
WAIT.FOR-IN-2/3PL	WAIT.FOR-IN = 2/3PL
(you (sg. or pl.)) wait for them	(you (sg. or pl.)) wait for them

An additional PN clitic = *wey* for third-person-plural object was elicited by both Faye and me, although it is never attested in reported speech in text and is not attested in Table 3.4, which is taken from Faye's notes. As with the other PN absolutive clitics with imperatives, = *wey* is attached to the full theme in the case of singular subjects; for instance, the normal singular imperative of *mis-in* 'hold out hands to guard or stop' would be *misi'i*, but before *-wey*, the *n* of the thematic suffix *-in* and an additional vowel *a*, as in the plural imperative, are present, as seen in (47a). In the case of plural subjects, *-wey* is suffixed to the full form, as in (47b). The examples in (47c) and (47d) show *-wey* with Ø-class verbs; (47e) and (47f) show examples where Faye's field notes contrast a third-person-plural object with a first-person-plural object. In those examples the benefactive suffix *-max* appears and *-wey* encodes the benefactive object. The difference between = *wey* and = *em* is not clear.

- (47) a. *Misina = wey!*  
 Stop them! (Faye 4-6-27 fp 12 184)
- b. *Misinam = wey!*  
 Stop them (pl. subject)! (Faye 4-6-27 fp 12 185)

- c. *Ekema = wey qwa 'ish!*  
Give them food! (7 5 67)
- d. *Yeene = wey menmax-qat-im = el!*  
LET = 3PLO COME-IF-PL = 3PLABS  
Let them come! (Faye Bancroft 82 (2) 93)
- e. *Taninmaxa = wey!*  
Dance in their stead (for them)! (Faye Bancroft 82 (4) 299)
- f. *Taninmaxa 'a = sh!*  
Dance for us! (Faye Bancroft 82 (4) 299)

The example in (48) illustrates an absolutive clitic in this imperative object function. However, in this case the form includes the benefactive suffix *-max*, which is invariant in imperatives and habilitatives, rather than exhibiting the usual infix glottal stop of the consonant-final imperative singular (see 2.6).

- (48) *Hani, ka-kva 'ma-l wen-max = en.*  
EXHORT DUP-DISH-NPN PUT-BENEF = 1SABS  
Please, set the table for me. (Faye PT 43)

The PN clitics in moods other than the imperative exhibit an ergative split based on a person hierarchy. When a third-person agent acts on a first-person object, an ergative-case clitic encodes the first-person object. First-person clitics in this object function exhibit aberrant order behavior, as seen in the following sentences. In (49a) the clitic encoding the first-person object precedes = *qwe* instead of following it, as usual. In (49b,c) it follows = *'ep* 'realis'. In (49d,e), we see opposite orders of 3 on 1. Given the very small amount of data I have on this phenomenon, I can make no generalizations, except to note that where these "ergative object" clitics are present they do not follow the generalization about order of clitics shown in Table 3.1.

- (49) a. *Axwē-sh = ne = qwe = p ishmivī-y ni = ma 'a.*  
ODEM-NPN = 1SERG = NI = 3SERG SOMETHING-O ISO-GIVE.HAB  
That one could probably give me something. (RN Creation 071)
- b. *Hunwe-t = 'ep = ne pe-yekwīni-nin.*  
BEAR-NPN = R = 1SERG 3S-BE.AFRAID-CAUS  
The bear scared me. (7 103 223)

- c. *Hunwe-t = 'ep = chem pe-yekwini-nin.*  
 BEAR-NPN = R = 1PLERG 3S-BE.AFRAID-CAUS  
 The bear scared us. (7 103 224)
- d. *E-t-im = el = chem qay chimi = 'ayew = 'a.*  
 DDEM-NPN-PL = 3PLABS = 1PLERG NOT 1PLO = WANT-PSD  
 They don't like us. (11 39 3)
- e. *Ne' = ne m = el nenenwe.*  
 ISPRO = 1SERG AND = 3PLABS GO.AROUND  
 They are going around with me. (Faye 2–6–27 f 36 (522))

There are two exceptions to this person hierarchy in the data. Both are cases of 3 on 1 where the third person is a ghost. Apparently, ghosts are higher in the animacy hierarchy even than first persons, and the first-person clitic appears in the absolutive, the third-person in the ergative (in (49a)). However, the prominence of the first-person object is indicated by the fact that it is marked with a clitic (recall that otherwise the absolutive clitics function to encode objects only with imperative verbs). These examples are given in (50).

- (50) a. “*Aput = en = pe ya-qa'* ” *pe-yax = ku'ut.*  
 ALREADY = 1SABS = 3SERG SAY-PRS 3S-SAY = REP  
 “Already she is speaking to me,” she said it is said. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 058)
- b. *Me = qwe = sh aye chimi = piqin-wene.*  
 AND = NONI = 1PLABS NOW 1PLO = TOUCH-CUSTPL  
 And then they touch us. (Faye Creation 367 69)

I have no data attesting to the status of second person in the hierarchy. The cases in my data of 1 on 2 and 2 on 1 encode the object only as a proclitic.

- (51) a. *I = yekwin-ini-qa = ne.*  
 2SO = AFRAID-CAUS-PRS = 1SERG  
 I'm going to scare you. (7 103 225)
- b. *I = maxiqat = ne ivi-y venɛɛna-'i.*  
 2SO = GIVEI-IF = 1SERG PDEM-O POISON-O  
 I'm going to give you this poison. (7 103 210 0283)
- c. *E' = ep i-qi ni = meqa-qa.*  
 2SPRO = 2SERG 2S-REFL 1SO = KILL = PRS  
 You yourself are killing me. (Faye Creation 103)



**3.1.4. FOURTH POSITION: MODAL CLITICS** = 'EP, = PE. The fourth position in the clitic complex is occupied by two modal clitics, = 'ep 'realis' and = pe 'irrealis'. These clitics have quite intricate interactions with verb tenses and aspects and with other clitics that are reviewed in this section.

**3.1.4.1. = 'EP 'REALIS'.** The realis clitic = 'ep is highly marked. While it appears consistently in the elicitation of past-tense verbs, in non-elicited talk and narrative = 'ep tends to appear only at points of heightened discourse prominence, such as at the high points of argumentation or in the first sentence of a first-person narrative.

= 'ep is mutually exclusive with = ku'ut 'reportative' and with = she 'dubitative'. The first instance of exclusivity suggests that = 'ep is not merely realis but also makes a claim of firsthand knowledge. There are cases of sentences containing both = ku'ut and = 'ep but, as in (52), the two clitics are separated from one another rather than appearing in a single auxiliary complex.

- (52) *Mu = ku'ut aya = 'ep ataxa-m pe-m kilma-ngax-wi-ch-am*  
AND = REP THEN = R PERSON-PL DET-PL OUTSIDE-FROM-GNT-NPN-PL  
*pem-te-techi ivi-y a'chi'a-y ishmivi-y hisexve-l.*  
3PL-DUP-GRAB THIS-O PRETTY-O SOMETHING-O CLOTHES-NPN  
 And it is said that then the outsiders grabbed these fine clothes. (Eagle II 030)

= 'ep is attested at least once with = (a)m 'mirative'; this example is found in (15) above.

= 'ep is associated with the past tense, appearing with adverbial elements that indicate past time, as well as with past-tense verbs. However, it can also appear with present-tense verbs. In this case, the situation is represented as in the immediate past.

Past-time adverbial particles that appear with = 'ep include *achi* 'long ago', *tuku* 'yesterday', *aya* 'then, now'. Jacobs (1975) points out that = 'ep does not appear with *aput*, which Roscinda Nolasquez usually glossed as 'already' but sometimes as 'just' (in a temporal sense, as in "just now"). Faye's materials include one gloss on *aput* of 'right now'. So *aput* is apparently not quite "past" enough to satisfy the semantics of the realis mood.

Examples of = 'ep with the past tense are shown in (53). Examples (53a-c) illustrate = 'ep with temporal adverbs. Example (53d) has no temporal adverb but of course the meaning, as well as the verbal suffix *-qal* 'past imperfective singular' makes the context clear. I have indicated that all of these sentences are either the first sentence in a narrative or at a major transition in a narrative. These are positions that favor = 'ep, which is relatively infrequent in discourse, in contrast with irrealis = pe, which appears with almost all future-tense verbs. This optionality is discussed further below.

- (53) a. *Achi = 'ep ataxa-m pem-nang'aw-wen.*  
 LONG.AGO = R PERSON-PL 3PL-MAKE.IMAGE-PIPL  
 Long ago the people made images. (Burning 001; first sentence)
- b. *Tuku = 'ep ivi-y ne-'a'alxi, qay ne-tul.*  
 YESTERDAY = R PDEM-O 1S-RELATE NOT 1S-FINISH  
 Yesterday I related this history, I did not finish. (Warners II 001; first sentence)
- c. *Me aya = 'ep hay-pe-ya-qal.*  
 AND THEN = R FINISH-3S-YAX-PIS  
 And then it was finished. (Burning 037; major transition)
- d. *Pulinyi-sh = 'ep ne-hiw-qal me qay hi-sh*  
 CHILD-NPN = R 1S-BE-PIS AND NOT WHAT-NPN  
*ne-hiwchu-qal ne-'ichaqaywin-pi.*  
 1S-KNOW-PIS 1S-DO-SUBIRR  
 When I was a child I didn't know anything. (Faye SV Childhood 11; 2–1–21)

Occasional examples of = 'ep with present-tense verbs are attested, as shown in (54). In such examples, the clitic often seems to express something like “insistence” or a strong commitment to an interpretation of a situation in the face of a counterargument (see 12.3.3 for additional discussion). The context for (54a) is that the speaker, Coyote’s mother, has just clumsily missed catching a wild duck and has her mouth full of feathers. She instructs her son that if anyone should catch him in this embarrassing position, he should say (54a). This is a typical bit of Coyote story foolishness; while feathers represent souls and are used in prayer, human beings did not put them in their mouths! The context for (54b) is that *Kisily Pewik*,<sup>10</sup> the Cupeño culture hero, is accusing his mother of having betrayed him. The evidence is that her feet are wet, showing that she has crossed a stream to talk to his enemies. She denies the deed, and he says (54b). Note that the order varies in these two examples, with the PN clitic following = 'ep in (54a) and preceding it in (54b).

- (54) a. *Ne = 'ep = ne ersqar-qa.*  
 ISPRO = R 1SERG PRAY-PRS  
 I was praying. (Coyote Growing Up 036)

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10. *Kisily Pewik* is Roscinda Nolasquez’s version of the name that appears in the Faye materials as *Kisily Pewish*. *Kisi-ly Pe-wik* is ‘Hawk Feather’ (HAWK-NPN 3S-FEATHER); the element *-wish* remains unidentified.

- b. *Me = t = 'ep amay i'i e-xuchi e' = e qay-yax-we.*  
 AND = 2SAB = R JUST PDEM 2S-FOOT 2SPRO = CF WASH-YAX-PRST  
 You must have just gotten your feet wet. (KP I 071)

The realis clitic = 'ep appears quite commonly in elicitation. In order to elicit past-tense and future-tense forms of verbs, I used the English adverbial frames “yesterday” and “tomorrow.” The resulting elicited forms nearly always contained modal clitics like those in (55).

- (55) a. *Tuku = 'ep ne-ti'iva-y ne-'ašha'.*  
 YESTERDAY = R 1S-DRESS-O 1S-PUT.ON  
 Yesterday I put on my dress. (6 57 381)
- b. *Ne' = ne = pe tukumay ne-ti'iva-y ašha'.*  
 1SPRO = 1S = IRR TOMORROW 1S-DRESS-O PUT.ON.F  
 Tomorrow I will put on my dress. (6 57 382)

While it is nearly always present in verb paradigms elicited sentence by sentence, the realis clitic = 'ep is relatively rare in connected discourse, especially in narrative sentences. In such contexts, it is most common in introductory sentences in narrative “abstract” and “orientation,” as noted for the example sentences in (53) above. It is also more common at narrative peak. For instance, = 'ep is likely to appear marking locutionary verbs framing direct-discourse reported speech, as in (56). Such reported speech clauses are the favored device for accomplishing the peak of each episode of complicating action in narrative. Such local “peaks” are preferred sites for many kinds of optional marking. This point is addressed in Chapter 12.

- (56) “*Hax = am?*” *pem-yax-wen = 'ep = ku'ut.*  
 WHO = MIR 3PL-SAY-PIPL = R = REP  
 “Who could it be?” they said, it is said. (Coyote at the Birds' Church 023)

It is even possible to use more than a single = 'ep element in a sentence, as in (57). In this example, Roscinda Nolasquez reminisces about the ample supplies of water that the Cupeños enjoyed when they lived at Warner's Hot Springs, *Kupa*. She is speaking with heavy emphasis because she is opening a discussion of a serious injustice, the fact that after the removal to Pala in 1902 they experienced frequent water shortages. To add insult to injury, households at Pala had begun to receive water bills only shortly before I began my fieldwork in 1962.

(57) *Pem-nengu-wen = 'ep Kupa = 'ep ay'ani-sh latooma*

3PL-HAVE-PIPL = R

CUPA = R

BIG-NPN

POND

*kam-pe-yax-wen, axwa-'aw nu- $\$$ hu pe-ki puk-ngax.*

LIE-3S-YAX-PIST

ODEM-AT

1S-MOMO

3S-HOUSE

DOOR-AT

At Cupa they had a big pond of water there by my maternal grandmother's door. (Warners III 012)

This pattern of distribution of = 'ep suggests that the use of the realis clitic is not syntactic, a matter of having the auxiliary complex "agree" in tense and aspect with the verb, in spite of the impression gained from its high frequency in elicited verb paradigms. Instead, = 'ep adds contrast and emphasis.

**3.1.4.2. = PE 'IRREALIS'.** While the realis clitic = 'ep is used only sparingly, irrealis = pe is almost always present with future-tense verbs, regardless of discourse context. As noted in 3.1.3, = pe has its own set of PN clitics seen in Table 3.3 and illustrated in (44–46) above.

The various combinations in which = pe appears include a complete continuum of irrealis senses. = pe is most likely to appear with future-tense verbs, where it is virtually categorical, in contrast with the relative rarity of = 'ep in its favored past-tense context. = pe also (although relatively rarely) occurs with the "immediate future" (IF). Sentences with = pe often include future-time adverbial particles like *tukumay* 'tomorrow'. However, = pe has many other uses that reveal its modal nature. It appears in conditionals, including counterfactual conditionals with *hani qwe*, as illustrated in 3.1.3. It appears in questions. It appears in expressions of doubt or uncertainty, where it usually co-occurs with the dubitative evidential clitic =  $\$$ he.

(58) shows = pe with a future verb. While the coyote who is speaking in this sentence does not in fact get to eat the fat hen, when he is speaking he firmly believes that he will. Thus the only motivation for irrealis mood here is the future-tense verb.

(58) *Ne = pe tukumay mi-pepe-nga gayina-'ay kwa'.*

1SPRO = IRR

TOMORROW

INDEF-THEN-INL

CHICKEN-O

EAT.F

Sometime tomorrow I will eat Hen. (Coyote and Hen 006)

The examples in (59) show = pe with the immediate future. The complex *hiwene =  $\$$ he = pe* in (59a), with dubitative =  $\$$ he, which often translates as something like epistemic 'must', may be a calque on the English polite leave-taking expression, "I must be going now." *Hiwene* is the standard way to say 'good-bye'.

(59) a. *Hiwene =  $\$$ he = pe, aya = n ngiiy-qat.*

GOOD.BYE = DUB = IRR NOW = 1SABS GO.AWAY-IF

Good-bye, I'm going now. (1 71 41)

- b. “I’ = *am* = *pe*      *naxani-sh*    *nimxana-qat*,”    *pe-yax* = *ku’ut*  
 PDEM = MIR = IRR      MAN-NPN      BETRAY-IF      3S-SAY = REP  
*Chemyu’a-t*.  
 GOD-NPN  
 “This is the man who will betray [me],” said the Lord it is said. (Faye  
 Future 11 (039))

The propositions in the sentences in (58, 59) are fairly high on a continuum of factualness or “realness,” especially those with the immediate future constructions. Moving into a slightly more hypothetical part of the irrealis continuum, we encounter =*pe* in conditional expressions. The examples in (60) show =*pe* with conditional expressions with the particle *chinga*. In (60), the force of the expression is also conditional but this force is apparently carried entirely by the irrealis sense of =*pe*.

- (60) a. *Me* = *pe*    *chinga*    *ishmivi-y*    *tewa-nash*,    *me* = *pe*    *wil-ya-nash*.  
 AND = IRR      IF      SOMETHING-O SEEa-FIS      AND = IRR      HIDE-YAX-FIS  
 And if you should see something, then you hide. (Coyote Growing Up 012)
- b. “*Chinga* = *pe*    *qay*    *chem-yax*,”    *pe-yax* = *ku’ut*,    “*e’e* = *pe*  
 IF = IRR      NOT      BE.QUIET-YAX      3S-SAY = REP      2SPRO = IRR  
*amay* = *ne*      *i* = *meqan*.”  
 JUST = 1SERG      2SO = KILL  
 “If you don’t shut up,” she said it is said, “then as for you I will beat  
 you up.” (Chittmal 018)

- (61) *Ne-ngiiy-qali* = *pe*    *tema-l*      *men-ax*.  
 IS-GO.AWAY-DSS = IRR    EARTH-NPN      TURN-YAX.F  
 When I go away the earth will turn over. (Faye Creation 015)

Irrealis =*pe* with future-tense verbs can also convey doubt or uncertainty without a conditional protasis. In Faye’s field notes are a number of examples of this type that he translates with English “may,” or other expressions of uncertainty, as in (62).

- (62) a. *Puy* = *pe*.  
 DINE.F = IRR  
 He may eat. (Faye field notes 016)
- b. *Qay* = *pe*    *hama*      *mi’aw*.  
 NOT = IRR      WHETHER      ARRIVE.F  
 I doubt that he will come. (Faye field notes 023)

- c. *Ne-shuun-ngax = pe ham.*  
 1S-HEART-FROM = IRR WHETHER  
 I don't believe [it]. (Faye field notes 024)

The clitic combination dubitative-realis, = *she* (= PN) = *pe*, discussed above in 3.1.1.3, is a fixed expression for doubt or “hypothetical” sense, as in the examples in (63) and (64). Note that in these examples the verb associated with the clitic is not in the future tense. In (63) the verbs are past imperfective, while in (64) they are present tense.

- (63) a. *Mivi- 'aw pe-t- 'aw = she = pe mane-pe-ya-qal.*  
 INDEF-AT 3S-PLACE-AT = DUB = IRR ROLL-3S-YAX-PIS  
 He must have been rolling in them somewhere. (Coyote and Rabbit 007)
- b. *Me = she = pe pe' kawisi-sh piyama qay hi-sh*  
 AND = DUB = IRR DET FOX-NPN STILL NOT WHAT-NPN  
*pe-hiwchu-qal.*  
 3S-KNOW-PIS  
 Probably Fox didn't know anything about it. (Fox and Buzzard 007)
- (64) a. *Isi-ly = am pe' eye-t, me = she = pe isi-ly*  
 COYOTE-NPN = MIR DET THIEF-NPN AND = DUB = IRR COYOTE-NPN  
*i = 'itu-qa.*  
 2SO = STEAL-PRS  
 Coyote is a thief, it must be Coyote stealing from you. (KP I 029)
- b. *Aput = el amu-we me = she = m = pe ham*  
 ALREADY = 3PLABS HUNT-PRPL AND = DUB = 3PLERG = IRR WHETHER  
*meqan-we.*  
 KILL-PRPL  
 They went hunting but I don't know if they killed anything. (10 45 111)

This sequence of clitics can also be used to construct wh- questions, as in (65), where question words or question intonation are also present. The sentences in (65) have *hax*<sub>s</sub> ‘who’. In (66), the symbol ^ marks the site where a sharply rising intonation contour terminates. (See 10.3.2 for a discussion of this contour in yes–no questions.)

- (65) a. “*Hax, me = she = pe,*” *pem-yax-wen = ku 'ut.*  
 WHO AND = DUR = IRR 3PL-SAY-PIPL = REP  
 “Who could it be?” they said it is said. (Coyote at the Birds' Church 024)

- b. *Me = she anga miyax-we, axwe = she = pe hax anga*  
 AND = DUB PERHAPS BE-PRST ODEM = DUB = IRR WHO PERHAPS  
*ne-tinge-la'a-y el'el'i-chi-ni-qal?*  
 IS-DOCTOR-INSTN-O BAD-INCH-CAUS-PIS

I wonder what is the matter, who could have been spoiling my medicine? (RN Creation 053)

- (66) a. *Kwati-kwati-ya-na = she = pe^ tukumay?*

DUP-RED-YAX-CUSTS = DUB = IRR TOMORROW

Will it be red tomorrow? (5 57 99)

- b. *Kiima-l = she = pe el'el'i-sh miyax-wene^ tukumay?*

BOY-NPN = DUB = IRR BAD-NPN BE-FIPL TOMORROW

Will the boy be naughty tomorrow? (5 57 105)

The irrealis clitic with the negative particle *qay* is commonly used to express denial or negation, the “no!” answer, in conversation, as in (67).

- (67) a. “*Qay = pe,*” *pem-yax = ku'ut,* “*chem chem-ye pe-ma*  
 NO = IRR 3PL-SAY = REP 1PLPRO 1PL-MOTHER 3S-HAND  
*xway-yax-we.*”  
 WHITE-YAX-PRST

“No,” they said it is said, “Our mother’s paws are white.” (Coyote and Cat 032)

- b. *Qay = pe hi-sh i = qilyiq-tu'-ni-qa.*

NOT = IRR WHAT-NPN 2SO = HURT-TU-CAUS-PRS

What do you care? (literally, ‘It will not hurt you.’) (Faye Past Time 26)

Finally, at the extreme “unreal” end of the continuum along with negation, irrealis = *pe* appears in combination with the non-instantiative clitic = *qwe* to form counterfactual constructions. These exhibit habilitative (or, rarely, customary) verbs. The counterfactual construction is discussed in the next section as part of the treatment of = *qwe*.

**3.2. THE POSITION OF THE AUXILIARY COMPLEX IN THE SENTENCE.** The majority of auxiliary-complex formations in Cupeño are located following the first word in the sentence, cliticized to this word and bearing no independent stress. Many examples of this type are found in the examples above. However, the alert reader will already have noticed some exceptions to this pattern. Clitics encoding plural subject markers often appear in an auxiliary complex cliticized not to the first word but to the discourse particle *me-*, bearing independent stress, which immediately

follows the first word. This is especially likely if the sequence is =PN=pe ‘PN=irrealis’, as seen in (68).

- (68) *Pim-iqi me=l=pe pem-taxwi kwa-wene.*  
 3PL-RFL AND=3PLABS=IRR 3PL-BODY EAT-FIPL  
 They will eat their own bodies. (Faye Creation 010)

However, examples of *me-* as the anchor for the clitic complex with plural PN are also attested without the irrealis, as in (69a). This example is from Faye’s materials, so I am unable to determine securely whether the sequence *mel* bears stress. It contrasts with examples with =*el* without *m-*, as in (69b), which is from Roscinda Nolasquez. Note that in both these examples the truncation that yields the usual present-tense forms *puy-we*, *tesiw-we* is blocked by the PN clitic complex.

- (69) a. *Puy-wen me=l.*  
 DINE-PRPL PL=3PLABS  
 They are eating. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 22 (264))
- b. *Tesiw-wen=el wiw.*  
 PLAY-PRES.PL=3PLABS BOTH  
 The two of them are playing. (KP I 050)

Rarely, the auxiliary complex will appear following an entire first constituent, as in (70). This is especially likely with constructions with relational nouns like *mipily pēchi* ‘around the milkweed’. However, with other kinds of constituents it is far more common for the auxiliary complex to appear after the first word, breaking up this constituent, as in (71). Discontinuous constituents are quite common in Cupeño, as discussed in Chapter 9.

- (70) *Mipi-ly pē-chi=ku’ut axwa-nga mekwel-pe-yax.*  
 MILKWEED-NPN 3S-OBL=REP ODEM-INL GO.AROUND-3S-YAX  
 He went around some milkweed there, it is said. (Coyote and Rabbit 036)
- (71) *Kanaasta=ku’ut ay’ani-sh pem-yaw-neq.*  
 BASKET=REP BIG-NPN 3PL-CARRY-MOTC  
 They came bringing a big basket. (Coyote and Flood 046)

Especially in the Faye materials, we sometimes see the reportative clitic in sentence-initial position, without the initial *me* ‘and’ (appearing as *mu*) preferred by Roscinda Nolasquez. This is especially common when =*ku’ut* appears in “chains” of independent clauses linked under single intonation contours; examples are discussed in 12.4. Rarely, other auxiliary complexes also appear in sentence-



initial position, as in (72). All such examples are from the Faye materials, and occur within discourses, not as text-initial sentences or in elicited sentences.

- (72) **Qwe = me** *pich-in-wene*      *pu'-muchí*, **qwe = me**      *wen-wene*  
 NI = 3PLERG    GATHER-IN-CUSTPL      3PL-FOR      NONI = 3PLERG      PUT.IN-CUSTPL  
*pem-kwa'-i*.  
 3PL-FOOD-O  
 They would get things for them, they would put in their food. (Faye Initiation 187 15 (083))

In Roscinda Nolasquez's usage reportatives occasionally appear in positions that are not accounted for by the generalizations above. For instance, in (73a) the reportative is in the expected position but in (73b) it is not. *Mangin piyama* 'slowly always' is not a constituent.

- (73) a. *Mangin = ku'ut*    *piyama*    *tema-l*,    *tema-l = ku'ut*  
 SLOWLY = REP      ALWAYS      GROUND-NPN    GROUND-NPN = REP  
*tewa-nuk*    *pe-neq*.  
 SEEA-SS      3S-COME  
 Slowly he came, he was always looking at the ground. (Coyote and Rabbit 029)
- b. *Mangin piyama-nga = ku'ut*    *pe-neq, pa-l*      *pe-hayve-ngax*.  
 SLOWLY    ALWAYS-INL = REP      3S-COME WATER-NPN    3S-EDGE-FROM  
 Slowly he kept coming, along the edge of the water. (Coyote and Rabbit 018)

Some examples of this type may involve initial topicalized elements where the topicalization intonation contour is obscure, as in (74), where there is no new intonation contour after *pemsiiy* 'their nests'.

- (74) *Pem-sii-y*    *aye = ku'ut*    *pem-'a'chiwin-wen*.  
 3PL-NEST-O    THEN = REP      3PL-MAKE-PIPL  
 It is said that they were making their nests then. (Linnets 011)

Clitics other than the reportative do not exhibit this kind of positional freedom, even in the Nolasquez materials where we have reason to suspect occasional disfluency due to the fact that Ms. Nolasquez did not have much opportunity to speak her mother tongue.

**3.3. THE CUPEÑO AUXILIARY COMPLEX IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE.** Steele (1979) argues for the reconstruction of an auxiliary complex for Proto-Uto-Aztec. However, the kind of relatively elaborate auxiliary complex that is seen

in Cupeño, made up of clitics that cluster in the second position in the sentence (whether post-first constituent or post-first word), is found only in languages of a single geographic area within Uto-Aztecan: in Takic and Tübatulabal in California, in southern Numic, and in the Upper Piman languages (Akimel O'odham (Pima) and Tohono O'odham (Papago)) within Tepiman. Such a distribution among the subfamilies of Uto-Aztecan, in languages of both Northern Uto-Aztecan and one subfamily of the southern group, Tepiman, might be invoked to support a reconstruction to the protolanguage. However, the areal distribution must make us suspicious. All of these languages are adjacent to one another. Furthermore, there is no evidence for a second-position auxiliary complex in Numic languages other than Southern Paiute, or in the southern languages other than Upper Piman. Even the closely related Lower Piman languages lack the complex, and it is not found in Northern Tepehuan, Southern Tepehuan, or Tepecano. In western and central Numic, only person markers appear in the second position. This suggests that the second-position auxiliary complex is an areal phenomenon and does not necessarily reflect a Uto-Aztecan heritage. While the individual clitics within the system do have Uto-Aztecan etymologies, the cognate forms in other languages outside the area do not appear in a second-position auxiliary complex but appear as free particles, independent pronouns, PN prefixes marking subject and possession, and the like.

**3.3.1. THE AUXILIARY COMPLEX IN TAKIC.** Within Takic, the auxiliary clitic complex has been described for another Cupan language, Luiseño (Steele 1990), and for two non-Cupan languages, Gabrielino (Munro 2000) and Serrano (K. Hill 2000).

According to the description by Seiler (1977), Cahuilla, the language most closely related to Cupeño within Cupan, does not have a well-developed second-position auxiliary complex. The Desert Cahuilla reportative = *yal* is mainly a second-position element, although it seems to display the same kind of freedom as the Cupeño reportative, appearing as well after any finite verb or at the end of clauses. It may be related to the verb *yax* 'say'. Seiler (1977) also identifies a clitic = *wam* 'I guess', which he states was often used by consultants responding to pictures. This may be related to Cupeño = *(a)m* 'mirative'. Jacobs (1975:21) observes, "In contrast to their major role in Cupeño and Luiseño, sentence enclitics play a minor and infrequent role in Cahuilla syntax." Jacobs identifies the "sentence enclitics" of Cahuilla as = *saxne* 'dubitative', = *saxalu*, = *hema* 'dubitative', and = *yal* 'quotative' appearing only in the Desert dialect. According to Jacobs, = *saxne* and = *saxalu* are internally complex, being made up of = *sax* with = *ne* 'future' and = *lu* 'potentive'. The = *sax* element appears as = *san* in Mountain Cahuilla and yields a sequence *esáne* or *esáxne* meaning 'I guess'. Jacobs speculates that these may be related to the Luiseño dubitative = *šan*, = *šun*. (Note that in Cahuilla and the other Takic languages, the symbol *e* stands for the mid-front vowel [ɛ], not the mid-central vowel [ə] as in Cupeño.)

The auxiliary complex in Luiseño is very similar to that of Cupeño and it occupies the same position, cliticized to the first word and often interrupting constituency. The position classes are very similar, and many of the clitics are cognates. Like Cupeño, and unlike the non-Cupan languages Gabrielino and Serrano, Luiseño exhibits a set of aspect clitics. Gabrielino and Serrano have modal/evidential clitics along with the PN series but do not have aspect clitics.

For Luiseño, Steele (1990) describes four positions, shown in Table 3.5.

TABLE 3.5. The Luiseño Auxiliary Complex

POSITION 1	POSITION 2	POSITION 3	POSITION 4
= <i>ʂu</i> ‘question’	= <i>kun</i> ‘quotative’	PN clitics	= <i>po</i> ‘future’
= <i>xu</i> ‘suggestion’			= <i>il</i> ‘past’
			= <i>kwa</i> ‘non-past’

The PN clitics in Position 3 are shown in Table 3.6.

TABLE 3.6. The Luiseño PN Clitics

= <i>n</i>	1S
= <i>up</i>	NON-1S
= <i>cha(m)</i>	1PL
= <i>m</i>	NON-1PL in aux with empty position 2
= <i>um</i>	2PL
= <i>pum</i>	3PL

Steele (1990:287) identifies the clitic complexes shown in Table 3.7.

TABLE 3.7. The Luiseño Clitic Complexes

A. COMPLEXES WITH = <i>ʂU</i> ‘QUESTION’	
= <i>ʂu... = po</i>	‘assertion of an inference, based on world knowledge’
= <i>ʂu... = il</i>	‘assertion of an inference, based on contextual details’
= <i>ʂu... = kwa</i>	‘assertion of an inference, based on a guess from contextual details’
= <i>ʂu... = pokwa</i>	‘assertion of an inference based on a guess’
B. COMPLEXES WITH = <i>xU</i> ‘SUGGESTION’	
= <i>xu... = po</i>	‘obligation’
= <i>xu... = kwa</i>	‘weak obligation’
= <i>xu... = pokwa</i>	‘past obligation’

C. COMPLEXES WITH = *KUN* 'QUOTATIVE'

= <i>kun...a</i> '	'attenuated assertion'
= <i>ʃu-kun...Ø</i>	'question'
= <i>xu-kun...Ø</i>	'very polite suggestion'
= <i>ʃu-kun...a</i> '	'attenuated question'

The main difference between the Luiseño and Cupeño systems, other than the details of forms of individual clitics, is that in Luiseño there is apparently fairly productive combination of the quotative with the modal clitics in the first position. There is almost no evidence in the Cupeño data for this kind of combination.

The second-position auxiliary complex for Gabrielino, a non-Cupan language within Takic, has been described by Munro (2000), based on the field notes of J. P. Harrington. The order of elements is shown in Table 3.8.

TABLE 3.8. The Gabrielino Auxiliary Complex

POSITION 1	POSITION 2	POSITION 3	POSITION 4
= <i>ha</i> 'interrogative'	= <i>p(o)</i> 'subjunctive'	PN (series I)	= 'e' 'indicative'

The interrogative, subjunctive, and indicative clitics do not co-occur in the Harrington notes.

Harrington recorded two series of PN enclitics, several with portmanteau functions that are not found in the Cupan languages. Series I, which occurs with the indicative, is shown in Table 3.9.

TABLE 3.9. Gabrielino PN Clitics of Series I

= <i>ne</i>	1S (can be subject or object)
= 'a	2S
= ('a)v	2S
= Ø	3S.SUB
= <i>re</i>	1PL
= <i>avo</i>	2PL (= <i>am</i> when before a consonant)
= 'avo'	2PL (only with plural imperatives)
= <i>me</i>	3PL
= <i>re</i>	1 ON 2S
= <i>re...v</i>	1 ON 2PL
= 'a'	3SOBJ (with P1, optional)
= <i>ra</i> '	2S ON 3S
= <i>rav</i>	2PL ON 3S
= <i>ne = me</i>	3PL ON 1S
= <i>ne... = me</i>	1S ON 3

There are some similarities to the behavior of the Cupeño forms here. Of special interest is the fact that =*ne* ‘1S subject or object’ can appear in combination with other PN clitics; as noted in Section 3 above, this is also the case in Cupeño, where =*ne* is the only PN clitic that can encode both agent and subject/object, the latter in the 3 on 1 context.

Gabrielino has a second series of PN enclitics; the main restriction on them is that they cannot appear with the indicative clitic = ‘*e*. These are shown in Table 3.10.

TABLE 3.10. Gabrielino PN Clitics of Series II

= <i>ney</i> , = <i>noy</i> , = <i>nay</i>	1S
= <i>rey</i> , = <i>roy</i> , = <i>ray</i>	1P, 1S ON 2S
= <i>ay</i> , = <i>ey</i>	2S
= <i>y</i>	3S
= <i>mey</i>	3PL, 3S ON 2

K. Hill (2000) records a second-position auxiliary complex for Serrano (noting that auxiliaries are often initial or otherwise out of second position). The complex includes modals, PN clitics, and a past-tense marker. Based on K. Hill’s examples, the structure of the complex appears to be that shown in Table 3.11.

TABLE 3.11. The Serrano Auxiliary Complex

POSITION I	POSITION II	POSITION III
<i>kwin(i-)</i> ‘quotative’	PN clitics	-’ ‘past tense’
<i>t(a-)</i> ‘irrealis’		
<i>tχ(a-)</i> ‘inferential’		
<i>kwi</i> ’ ‘potential’		
<i>mia</i> ~ <i>mai</i> ‘dubitative’		
<i>mitkin(a-)</i> ‘conclusive’		
<i>paç(a-)</i> ‘emphatic’		

The Serrano modals can cooccur. Usually person marking appears only on the last of a sequence of modals, as in *a:m* [ *mai t kwini* ] *q<sup>ri</sup>v* ‘they might die’. Here *mai* ‘dubitative’ and *t* ‘irrealis’ are both unmarked for person and number while *kwini* is marked for third-person-plural subject. However, the data also contain an example of a complex with a sequence of two modals both marked for plural subject, *yaŋk* [ *mitkin-a paç-a* ] *a’aiim* ‘but they seem to be such good ones’.<sup>11</sup>

Like the Gabrielino PN clitics, the Serrano PN clitics are complex, exhibiting combinations of subject and object forms, seen in Table 3.12.

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11. Kenneth C. Hill, personal communication.

TABLE 3.12. Serrano PN Clitics

(Material in parentheses = past tense; imp. = imperative. “(?)” marks items for which evidence is weak.)

	me	me + pl.	us	you sg.	you sg. + (3 sg.) pl	them / you pl.
I				<i>n(i')</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>n(i')</i> <i>ni</i>
we				<i>č(i'mi')</i> ~ <i>čim</i>	<i>čimi</i>	<i>č(i'mi')</i> <i>čimi</i>
we imp.						<i>çiç</i>
you sg.	<i>či'</i>	<i>či' pi</i>	<i>čimi</i>			= <i>m'(i')</i> <i>pi</i>
you sg. imp.						= <i>ç</i> = <i>ç pi</i>
you pl.	<i>miniç</i>	<i>miniç pi</i>	<i>čimiči'</i>			= <i>mç</i> <i>pimiç</i> ~ = <i>mç pi</i>
you pl. imp.			<i>čimiç</i>			
3 sg.	<i>vin(i')</i>	<i>vinī</i>	<i>viči'</i>	= <i>m</i>	<i>mi</i>	$\emptyset$ ( <i>vi')</i> <i>vi</i>
they	<i>min(i')</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>miči'</i>	= <i>m</i> (?)	<i>mi</i> (?)	<i>m(i')</i> <i>mi</i>

(It should be noted that the overt marking of past tense is optional in many contexts.)

Clitics in the modality and aspect systems of Cupeño that have forms that are similar in sound and meaning in other Tactic languages are shown in Table 3.13, with the Cupeño gloss (which will probably work as a first-pass gloss for these items in the other languages as well).

TABLE 3.13. Tactic Evidential, Modality, and Aspect Clitics

CUPEÑO	CAHUILLA	LUISEÑO	GABRIELINO SERRANO	
= <i>ku'ut</i>		= <i>kun</i>	<i>kwin(i-)</i>	‘reportative’
= ( <i>a</i> ) <i>m</i>	= <i>wam</i>			‘mirative’
= <i>she</i>		= <i>šu</i>		‘dubitative’
= <i>qwe</i>			<i>kwi'</i>	‘non-instantiative’
= <i>pe</i>		= <i>po</i>	= <i>p(o)</i>	‘irrealis’

Steele (1975:12, cited by Munro 2000:198) reconstructs the order MODALITY–SUBJECT–ASPECT for an auxiliary complex in Proto-Uto-Aztec. It seems unlikely that such a complex can be reconstructed beyond Tactic; the order in the Tepiman languages, which is discussed below, is different (it is SUBJECT–ASPECT–MODALITY). Within Tactic, we can probably reconstruct the following elements.

(75) \**kun* ‘reportative’

\**kun* is cognate with Nahuatl *kil* ‘quotative’; we can reconstruct a Proto-Uto-Aztecan evidential \**kul*, with a meaning implying that the information so marked is not verifiable by speaker observation.

(76) \**kwi* ‘non-instantiative, potential’

(77) \**pi* ‘irrealis’

I am not aware of cognate forms for (76) and (77) in Uto-Aztecan languages outside Tactic.

The PN clitics exhibit more extensive resemblances, as do PN forms more broadly throughout the Uto-Aztecan languages. Forms resembling those in Cupeño are shown in Table 3.14. The Cahuilla forms shown are those which do not take stress in Cahuilla but cliticize to other words. However, they do not cluster in the second position. Again, the glosses are for Cupeño, and they match the glosses for the other languages only in subject PN. Note that many Serrano forms are portman-teau.

TABLE 3.14. Cognate PN Clitics in Tactic

CUPEÑO	CAHUILLA	LUISEÑO	GABRIELINO	SERRANO	CUPEÑO GLOSS
= <i>en</i>		= <i>n</i>		= <i>n(i-)</i>	1SABS
= <i>ne</i>	= <i>ne'</i>		= <i>ne</i>	= <i>n(i-)</i>	1SERG
= <i>et</i>					2,3SABS
= <i>ep</i>		= <i>up</i>			2SERG
= <i>p(e)</i>				= <i>pi</i>	2PLERG
= <i>esh</i>				= <i>č(im-i-)</i>	1PLABS
= <i>che</i>	= <i>chem</i>	= <i>cham</i>		= <i>čim</i>	1PLERG
= <i>el</i>					2,3PLABS
= <i>'em</i>	= <i>'em</i>	= <i>um</i>			2PLERG
= <i>me</i>			= <i>me</i>	= <i>m(i-)</i>	3PLERG

Within Tactic, we can clearly reconstruct a first-person-singular form with \**n*, a second-person-singular form with \**p*, and a first-person-plural form with \**čV* (-*m* being simply the mark of the plural). Third-person forms are highly variable; the third-person-plural forms that are resemblant presumably constitute simply the plural suffix, with third person unmarked.

**3.3.2. THE AUXILIARY COMPLEX IN TUBATULABAL.** Tübatulabal exhibits a second-position auxiliary complex. The complex is poorly attested in Voegelin’s (1935) grammar of the language, and to fully untangle the system is a task beyond the

scope of this grammar. However, the complex appears to be well developed and to resemble the Takic auxiliary complexes in content, exhibiting evidential, modal, and PN clitics. Voegelin (1935) refers to the clitics in the complex as “conjunctive particles,” stating that these “always follow an independent word.” He notes two reportative particles: = *gidža* ‘indirect discourse’ and = *git* ‘quotative’, which is “attached with a frequency which gives a peculiar stylistic effect; generally every third word, sometimes every word or every second word directly quoted, has this particle attached” (Voegelin 1935:171).

Voegelin reports as well three modal conjunctive particles, = *bi:c* ‘immediately’, = *be* ‘after a while’, both used mainly after imperative verbs, although the latter appears with other modal verbs, and *-ni*, which he reports as meaningless, although it is usually used “in connection with a first person singular notion” (Voegelin 1935:172). In his examples these modal particles follow the first word in the sentence.

There are three series of PN conjunctive particles, subject and object, which cliticize to a preceding noun, verb, or particle, and possessives, which “are always attached to the word with which they form a formal unit” (Voegelin 1935:134). I take the possessive elements to be suffixes and do not treat them further. However, in all Voegelin’s examples the subject and object clitics appear attached to the first word in the sentence. Voegelin reports that “sometimes they are attached enclitically to this word; but characteristically, subject and object conjunctive particles are stressed independently of the word to which they are attached” (Voegelin 1935:134). Furthermore, they can appear in combinations, both with one another, as in (78a), and with the modal and quotative particles, as in (78b,c).

- (78) a. *ha'c = ki = lv'η*      *ala'wina't*  
NOT = 1S = 2S                      AM.TALKING  
 I am not talking to you. (Voegelin 1935:139)
- b. *a'ni = pʊ'm = be'·'*      *ala'wi'ba'a't*  
? = 2PL = AFTER.A.WHILE      WANT.TO.TALK?  
 Do ye after a while want to talk? (Voegelin 1935:172)<sup>12</sup>
- c. ... *wuba' = gi = ki'*  
WHIPPED = QUOT = 1S  
 “(All those shamans) whipped,” I am saying. (Voegelin 1935:186)

The forms of the PN clitics are shown in Table 3.15 (cf. Voegelin 1935:135, 137). Most of them do not resemble the Takic sets summarized in Table 3.14.

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12. The Tübatulabal transcription has been corrected in accord with Voegelin 1958:221, note 2.



TABLE 3.15. Tübatulabal Conjunctive Pronouns

	SUBJECT		OBJECT
	Regular	With exhortative <i>-ma-</i>	
1 sg	<i>-gi</i>	Ø	<i>-ni</i>
1 dual inclusive	<i>-gila</i>	<i>-la</i>	[not listed]
1 dual exclusive	<i>-gila'ay</i>	<i>-la'ay</i>	<i>-džiya'ay</i>
1 pl inclusive	<i>-gilu'ts</i>	<i>-lu'ts</i>	<i>-dzi'</i>
2 sg	<i>-bi</i>		<i>-diy</i>
2 pl	<i>-bu'mu</i>		<i>-dulu</i>
3 sg	<i>(-dza)</i>		Ø
3 pl	<i>-da</i>		<i>-tipi</i>

**3.3.3. THE AUXILIARY COMPLEX IN UPPER PIMAN.** The auxiliary complex in the Upper Piman languages of the Tepiman branch of Uto-Aztecan has been best described for Tohono O'odham. I take the forms from Saxton (1982). In Tohono O'odham there is an elaborate clitic complex with a strong second-position preference; where the first position is a complex constituent, the auxiliary complex most frequently is cliticized to the entire constituent. In narrative and other types of connected discourse the auxiliary complex is often sentence-initial.

Note that in Tepiman, an auxiliary complex appears only in Tohono O'odham. Estrada Fernández (1991) finds no such complex in Pima Bajo. In Southeastern Tepehuan (Willett 1990), there are a number of particles which seem to favor the second position, including PN markers and modality and evidential elements, but they do not cluster.

The order of elements in the auxiliary complex in Tohono O'odham is SUBJECT-ASPECT-MODALITY, as noted above. The modal elements are primarily evidentials; more than one of these can occur. I have distinguished a quotative in position 3 from the other evidential clitics in position 4. These are shown in Table 3.16.

TABLE 3.16. The Tohono O'odham Auxiliary Complex

POSITION 1	POSITION 2	POSITION 3	POSITION 4
PN clitics	= <i>t</i> 'perfective'	= <i>s</i> 'quotative'	= <i>p</i> 'assumptive'
		= <i>s</i> 'dubitative'	
		= <i>kĩ</i> 'conclusive'	
	= <i>d</i> 'remote past'		

Note that none of the aspectual or modality/evidential clitics resemble any of the Takic elements shown above. This group of clitics has clearly been assembled from different sources than the Takic complex. However, the general membership

of the complex, and the strong second-position orientation, strongly resembles the Takic complex.

In contrast to the modality clitics, the PN clitics of Tohono O'odham obviously resemble the PN clitics reconstructed for Takic, shown in Table 3.13. The PN clitics in the two sub-branches of Uto-Aztecan clearly come from the same body of source elements, with 1S *\*n*, 2S *\*p*, 1PL *\*c*, and plural *\*m*. The Tohono O'odham PN clitics of the first position are shown in Table 3.17. Note that the palatalized PN clitics = (*a*)*ñ* and = (*a*)*c* appear as = (*a*)*n* and = (*a*)*t* respectively in non-palatalizing environments, including before any of the aspect or modality clitics. Third-person clitics are zero (the third-person imperfective auxiliary appears as = 'o; otherwise, the imperfective is zero and only the PN clitic and evidentials appear. Note that all of these clitics encode person and number of subject/agent only. Person and number of object are encoded in prefixes on the verb.

TABLE 3.17. Tohono O'odham PN Subject Clitics

= ( <i>a</i> ) <i>ñ</i>	1S
= ( <i>a</i> ) <i>p</i>	2S
= ( <i>a</i> ) <i>c</i>	1PL
= ( <i>a</i> ) <i>m</i>	2PL

**3.3.4. THE AUXILIARY COMPLEX IN SOUTHERN NUMIC.** Enclitics appear in two southern Numic languages, Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi. The Southern Paiute enclitic system described by Sapir (1930) contains some of the same kinds of elements as are found in the Takic and Upper Piman systems. The enclitics, representing aspectual, modality, and PN components, can, according to Sapir (1930:87), appear “after any word in the sentence.” In the examples I have identified of enclitic complexes in sentences that have more than one word, the complex seems to appear after the first word. However, in the glossed text in Sapir (1930), there are relatively few examples of enclitic complexes. The quotative appears only in the first sentence. The other complexes appear in heavily modalized sentences like (79). Sapir comments that the sequence = *ruo...xaini*, ‘interrogative ... also’ yields the sense ‘apparently’.<sup>13</sup>

(79) *puá-ru'a-iyi = ruo = ni = xaini*

SUPERNATURAL.POWER-BECOME-PRESENT = INTERROGATIVE = 1S = ALSO

It seems I am getting supernatural power. (Sapir 1930:276)

In this relatively restricted use of its auxiliary complex, Southern Paiute contrasts with Takic and Upper Piman, where nearly all sentences have some kind of auxiliary complex.

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13. I thank Pamela Bunte for providing a phonemic transcription of the Southern Paiute examples.

Sapir recognizes nine positions in the enclitic complex, reviewed in Table 3.18. Position (1) is leftmost. I give only one variant of each clitic and only a brief sample of Sapir's glossing.

TABLE 3.18. The Southern Paiute Clitic Complex

1. = *shu* 'also, again, same'
2. = *y'a* 'quotative' or = *shuya* = *xwa-noa* 'would that!'
3. = *cha* 'recent past' or = *xwa* 'remote past' or = *xwa* 'should, ought'
4. = *a* (of indeterminate meaning) or = *rua* 'like'
5. = *ru'a* 'interrogative' or = *ya* 'dual-plural subject in imperatives'
6. = *nia* 'like, it seems like'
7. PN clitics or = *aqa* 'imperative'
8. = *noa* 'dubitative'
9. = *xa'a* 'then, indeed' or = *xainia* 'too, also' or = *pitsi* 'dear' (which follows possessive PN enclitics)

The only familiar element here is the quotative = *y'a*, which resembles the Cahuilla quotative = *yal* (and the Hopi quotative particle *yaw*).

The PN elements in position 7 are very complex; Sapir (1930:193) lists 110 different combinations of 16 different elements. The first-person forms, = *ni* '1S', = *rami* = *cham:i* '1dual inclusive', = *rangwa* = *changwa* '1dual exclusive', are cognate with the Takic and O'odham first-person clitics. In addition, the plural elements = *ngwi*, = *mi* appear in the system. In summary, Southern Paiute, while it has an auxiliary complex in at least marginal use, composes this complex from elements that are distinct from those in Takic or in Upper Piman. While Takic and Upper Piman share resemblances in the PN subject clitics, Southern Paiute is distant from the other groups even in this respect.

For Chemehuevi, Press (1979) describes two second-position enclitics. The first, = *uk*, often appears to have a topicalizing function. It is also required by the habitual aspect of the verb, somewhat reminiscent of the behavior of the Cupeño non-instantiative, which is required with the habilitative and customary aspects. The second is = *'a*, of uncertain meaning; Press (1979:77) reports that Harrington called it "thematic" or "declarative -*ʔa*-" Most interestingly, = *'a* is followed by postfixed pronouns to form a second-position complex, as in the following examples from Press (1979:76).

- (80) a. *aivi-a-n navaki-j*  
NOW-A-I SWIM-PRES  
 I am swimming now.

- b. *kacu-a-ija-n mami maga-vi-wa*  
 NOT-A-HIM-I      THEM(O) GIVE-PAST-NEG  
 I didn't give him to them.

- c. *waha-ku-a-n totoci-vi punikai-vi*  
 TWO-O-A-I      HEAD-PL(O)      SEE-PAST  
 I saw two heads.

**3.3.5. CONCLUSION.** All languages have elements that mark tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality, and the like, and these often appear as closed-class particles. Uto-Aztecan is no exception. However, an auxiliary complex in the second position appears to have developed only in the languages of a geographically contiguous area within the family. Among these languages, Cupeño, Luiseño, Serrano, and Gabrielino in Takic, Tübatulabal, and the southern Numic languages, all in Northern Uto-Aztecan, and Tohono O'odham in Tepiman, a member of the southern group of Uto-Aztecan languages, have a highly elaborated complex. Interestingly, Cahuilla, the Takic language most likely to have been in contact with Upper Piman, does not exhibit the complex. Of equal interest is the fact that among the closely related Tepiman languages, only Upper Piman (represented here by Tohono O'odham) has the complex, so its emergence in the area must be relatively recent.

In the case of an areal phenomenon, we must determine whether a similar complex is identifiable in non-Uto-Aztecan languages of the region. No clear candidate has emerged. Neither Chumashan, to the northwest, or Yokutsan, to the northeast, exhibit a second-position auxiliary complex. The Yuman languages, spoken to the south of Cupeño in San Diego and Imperial Counties east to the Colorado River (such that they are in contact with Upper Piman) and north along the river as far as Las Vegas (such that they are in contact with Chemehuevi and Southern Paiute), have rigid SOV order and have a series of second-position enclitics that mark such functions as topic, demonstrative, and case. In Jamul Tiipay, a series of eleven modal clitics appear finally on independent clauses (Miller 2001). However, these two types of clitics do not cluster together in the Yuman languages. The complex might have been innovated in Old Californian (which Manaster Ramer (1991, 1992) has argued for as a common ancestor to Takic and Tübatulabal, and spread to southern Numic and Upper Piman). The question of the source of the complex will probably remain unanswerable. However, the tight areal distribution of the complex suggests that it should not be reconstructed for Proto-Uto-Aztecan.

## MORPHOLOGY OF THE MAJOR WORD CLASSES I: THE VERB

In Cupeño, many roots appear in both noun and verb construction. Thus the term “verb” does not refer to a class of roots but to a type of morphological construction with one or more of the following properties: 1) thematic suffixes *-in* ‘transitive’ and/or *-yax* ‘intransitive’; 2) causative suffix *-nin*; 3) tense–aspect suffixes *-qa* ‘present singular’, *-we* ‘present plural’, *-qal* ‘imperfective singular’, *-wen* ‘imperfective plural’, *-nash* ‘future imperfective singular’, *-wene* ‘future imperfective plural’, *-ne* ‘customary singular’, *-wene* ‘customary plural’; 4) PN prefixes encoding subject person and number to mark the past tense (PN prefixes also appear in possessed-state noun constructions); 5) habilitative or imperative inflection. This chapter treats this morphological apparatus. Clause-combining verb inflections including subordinators and switch-reference suffixes are treated in Chapter 11. Derivation, except for the assignment of thematic class, is discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

I discuss the major thematic classes in 4.1, affixes and proclitics marking person and number of subject and object in 4.2 (suppletive verb roots which encode subject number of intransitive verbs and object number of transitive verbs are discussed in this section as well), mood in 4.3, tense and aspect in 4.4, and voice in 4.5. Section 4.6 treats a small set of defective verbs.

I use the term “root” for a minimal morpheme, without additional derivation or inflection. Some elements referred to as “roots” may be analyzable etymologically as complex forms. For instance, the verb *ma’awni* ‘point’ probably incorporates a frozen instrumental prefix *ma-* ‘hand’ and may incorporate a causative suffix *-nin*. However, instrumental prefixes are not productive in Cupeño, and Roscinda Nolasquez conjugated this verb as if it were in the *-in* thematic class, with the PN affix following the root in the past tense, rather than in the  $\emptyset$  class expected with causative *-nin*. For these reasons, the form is treated as a “root.” I use the term “theme” to refer to a root with one of the thematic suffixes *-in* or *-yax*. The term “base” is used to refer to a root with additional non-thematic derivational material such as *-lyu* ‘go in order to do’ or *-nin* ‘causative’. In addition, I use “base” to

refer to cases where inflected verb forms are subject to further affixation, as in the nominalizations reviewed in Chapter 8 and the complex sentence types discussed in Chapter 11.

Jacobs (1975:56) gives the morphological template for the Cupeño verb shown in Table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1. Verb Template

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
PNO	PNS	ROOT	PNS	PL	TH	DER	TA
	(with Ø class)		(with <i>-in</i> , <i>-yax</i> classes)	(with <i>-in</i> )	( <i>-in</i> , <i>-yax</i> class suffixes)		

DER: Various derivational suffixes, the order varying according to syntax

PNO: Object person and number (a proclitic)

PNS: Subject person and number (before the root with Ø-class verbs, after it with *-in* and *-yax* class verbs)

PL: Plural subject marker with *-in* thematic class

TA: Tense–aspect suffixes

TH: Thematic suffixes

While Jacobs treats a set of morphemes (PNO in the above table) that encode the objects (both direct and indirect) of transitive verbs as “prefixes” in Position I, I argue below in 4.2.2 that they should be analyzed as proclitics. The derivational suffixes of Position VII, which are ordered according to syntactic principles, are discussed in Chapter 7.

**4.1. THEMATIC CLASSES.** The three thematic classes of verbs in Cupeño are an unmarked or athematic class (referred to below as the Ø (“zero”) class) and two thematic classes, marked with the thematic suffixes *-in* and *-yax*. The *-in* class has a special thematic marker in the plural, *-men*, probably from *-me-in*.

In the past tense, the order of morphological elements in the Ø class is different from the order in the two thematic classes. The past tense is marked in Cupeño by the required presence of an affix encoding person and number of subject (S) or agent (A). With Ø-class verbs, these markers appear as prefixes on the verb root in Position II, as shown in Table 4.1. With verbs in the *-in* and *-yax* classes, these markers follow the verb root in Position IV, followed by the thematic suffixes. This behavior is exemplified and discussed in detail in 4.2.1 below.

The three verb classes are semantically distinctive. The distinction does not always lie in the root itself, since many (indeed most) Cupeño verb roots are attested in more than one thematic class. The Ø class is a mixed class of verbs that includes terms for many basic bodily processes and human activities that are “canonical” from the point of view of Cupeño. Many of these verbs are “unerga-

tives,” with subjects that are in Agent or Experiencer thematic role, and do not cooccur with objects, either lexical or marked by object prefixes. Examples of such  $\emptyset$ -class verbs are *isaxw* ‘sing a men’s song’, *muu<sub>s</sub>* ‘shoot a target or prey with a bow’, and *wiw* ‘make acorn mush’. A few verbs in this class are transitive, such as *ašha* ~ *ašha* ‘wear’ or *tewašh* ‘lose’, which can occur with proclitic and lexical objects.

Some  $\emptyset$ -class verbs can be changed from unergative to transitive by adding the causative suffix *-nin*. Such causative verbs remain in the  $\emptyset$  class. Examples are *ašh* ‘bathe’, *ašh-nin* ‘bathe someone’; *pa* ‘drink’, *pa’-nin* ‘make someone drink’. Other roots attested in the  $\emptyset$  class can also occur in the *-in* thematic class, in which case they are transitive. Such verbs can be made intransitive, stative, or non-volitional by changing the thematic class suffix from *-in* to *-yax*. Some roots appear in all three thematic classes. For instance, in the  $\emptyset$  class, the root *chex* means ‘winnow’. With causative *-nin*, the form would mean ‘make somebody winnow’. In the *-in* class it means ‘clean something (prototypically, grain)’. In the *-yax* class, it means ‘be clean, be light, become visible’. Another example is the root *chux*, meaning ‘melt, of ice or snow’ in the  $\emptyset$  class, ‘spit’ in the *-in* class, in which case it can take the object *-hinya<sub>s</sub>* ‘saliva’, and ‘be spat out’ in the *-yax* class. The root *ngey* means ‘be dizzy’ in the  $\emptyset$  class, ‘make somebody dizzy’ with causative *-nin*, ‘shake something or somebody’ in the *-in* class, and ‘shake, as earthquake, or shimmy’ in the *-yax* class.

Some  $\emptyset$ -class verbs are attested with only one of the thematic class suffixes. For instance, in the  $\emptyset$  class the root *hama* (attested in that class only with an *-aan* increment (see 4.2.4.2), as *hamaan*) means ‘be ashamed, embarrassed’. In the *-in* class *hama(-in)* means ‘upset, bother’, requiring an object. In the  $\emptyset$  class *awluk* means ‘descend’. With *-yax*, it means ‘go down, of the sun’. Jacobs (1975) points out that a few  $\emptyset$ -class verbs can move between classes to express aspectual effects, namely a shift from non-punctual to punctual. For instance, *tew<sub>s</sub>* in the  $\emptyset$  class means ‘see’. *Tew-in* means ‘glance, take a quick look’. *Ya’*, usually in the *-yax* class, means ‘run’ (sg. subject). *Ya’-in* means ‘slip in quickly, duck in’. *kwa<sub>s</sub>* means ‘eat’, *kwa’-in* means ‘eat a little’. *Pa* ‘drink’ becomes *pa’-in* ‘drink a little’ (Jacobs 1975:74).

Hill (1969) proposes that the *-in* and *-yax* thematic suffixes mark volitional and non-volitional verbs respectively. Jacobs (1975) argues that the distinction is fundamentally one of transitivity and presented a sample of verbs illustrating his position. Jacobs’s position is probably the sounder one if we are to understand Cupeño thematic classes in general typological terms. However, there are some complications. Most verb roots that are not attested in the  $\emptyset$  class are attested in both *-in* and *-yax* classes, with *-in* having a transitive sense and permitting an object and *-yax* being unaccusative with an Undergoer subject, e.g., *chašh-in* ‘polish something’, *chašh-yax* ‘something shines’. However, some common *-in* verbs do not take objects, such as *haw-in* ‘sing’ and *tan-in* ‘dance’. Furthermore, there are *-yax* verbs that occur with objects, such as *qaye-yax* ‘wash object, get object wet’.

However, these are exceptional to the general pattern. Appendix C shows the thematic class attestations for all recorded Cupeño verbs.

**4.2. SUBJECT MARKERS AND OBJECT PROCLITICS.** Jacobs (1975) admits two positions for prefixes on the verb, as shown in Table 4.1 above. Morphemes in Position I encode the person and number (PN) of objects (O) of transitive verbs. These object-marking elements are analyzed here as proclitics. They can appear on verbs in any tense. The subject markers in Positions II (with  $\emptyset$ -class verbs) and IV (with *-in* and *-yax* class verbs) appear only with past-tense verbs and are true affixes. They encode the PN of subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs; that is, they encode PN of either subject (S) or agent (A). Thus they are “nominative,” contrasting with the “accusative” object proclitics. This nominative–accusative case alignment encoded by morphological elements in the verb construction itself differs from the ergative–absolutive case alignment encoded by the PN clitics in the auxiliary complex, discussed in Chapter 3. These differentiate the agent (A) of transitive verbs from the subject (S) of intransitive verbs and appear with non-past-tense verbs. The same PN clitics that encode S also encode O, the object of transitive verbs. PN clitics, subject prefixes, and object proclitics all share the same set of PN distinctions, between first, second, and third person and between singular and plural for all persons.

The morphemes encoding subject PN in Positions II and IV are required on past-tense verbs; indeed, their appearance constitutes the only mark of the past tense in the perfective aspect. In contrast, non-pasts do not accept subject prefixes; subjects and agents of non-past verbs are encoded with PN clitics in the second-position auxiliary complex, as discussed in Chapter 3. These PN clitics do not appear with past-tense verbs. The result of these facts is that Cupeño can be characterized typologically as having a “split-ergative” case system, with nominative–accusative alignment in the past tense and ergative–absolutive alignment in other tenses. However, the accusative-case object proclitics appear with all verb constructions except imperatives, and can appear in the same sentence with PN clitics encoding agent. The only site for exclusive ergative–absolute alignment is the imperative, where the object proclitics cannot appear and the PN subject clitics are suffixed to the imperative construction to encode the object.

The same set of subject affixes that appear on past-tense verbs also appear as prefixes on possessed nouns to mark PN of possessor.<sup>14</sup> This set also inflects relational nouns, which are used to express locatives and oblique-case relationships with certain classes of nouns. In this context the prefixes on the relational noun encodes PN of its object.

**4.2.1. SUBJECT MARKERS IN POSITIONS II AND IV.** Affixes encoding person and number of subject (S) and agent (A) (that is, “nominative” PN markers) are

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14. Jacobs (1975) argues that the PN verb prefixes were originally possessive prefixes.



required on past-tense verbs. They are shown in Table 4.2. The plural prefixes all end in *-m*, which is also the plural suffix on independent nouns. While it is appropriate to analyze this as a separate morpheme, for notational economy I write the plural PN prefixes without a hyphen before plural *-m*.

TABLE 4.2. Subject PN Affixes

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
P1	<i>ne-</i>	<i>chem-</i>
P2	<i>e-</i>	<i>em-</i>
P3	<i>pe-</i>	<i>pem-</i>

With verb roots in the  $\emptyset$  or unmarked class, the subject marker appears as a prefix on the root in position II.

- (1) a. ***ne-tul***  
1S-FINISH  
 I finished
- b. ***chem-tewash***  
1PL-LOSE  
 we lost
- c. ***pe-ya-qal***  
3S-SAY-PIS  
 he was saying
- d. ***pem-chal-wen***  
3PL-HUSK-PIPL  
 they used to husk

With verb roots in the *-in* or *-yax* classes, the subject marker follows the verb root and appears before the thematic suffix *-in* or *-yax*.

A minor phonological complication comes from the fact that the thematic suffix *-in* has a plural form *-men* if the subject marker is plural (this *-men* form appears only following a plural subject marker, so does not appear in non-subject-marked constructions such as futures, imperatives, habilitatives, etc.) . By regular phonological rule, the final *m* of the plural PN affix becomes the glottal stop ' before *-men*, as in *hawche'men* 'we sang' in (2b).

- (2) a. ***yut-ne-n***  
RAISE-1S-IN  
 I raised

- b. *haw-che'-men*  
SING-1PL-INPL  
we were singing
- c. *het-pe-yax*  
CROUCH-3S-YAX  
he crouched
- d. *nam-pem-yax-wen*  
CROSS-3PL-YAX-PIPL  
they used to cross

The reason for the post-root position of the subject cross-referencing affixes in the *-in* and *-yax* verb classes is probably that the thematic suffixes *-in* and *-yax* were originally independent light verbs. Thus they function as main verbs in such constructions, with the apparent verb root constituting, in formal terms, an incorporated adverbial element. The case for the history of the thematic suffix has been made by Jacobs (1975) and Heath (1998).<sup>15</sup> Generative accounts of the construction are found in Hill (2003) and Barragan (2003).

**4.2.2. NON-PAST-TENSE VERBS AND SUBJECT MARKING.** Subject markers do not appear on non-past-tense verbs. In such cases the person and number of the subject may be marked by enclitics in the auxiliary complex, these encoding either agent of transitive verb or subject of intransitive verb, as in (3a), by lexical nouns, as in (3b), or pronouns, as in (3c), or by both an enclitic and a lexical noun or pronoun, as in (3d).

- (3) a. *Me = qwe = me aya hal-wene qichi-ly.*  
AND = NONI = 3PLERG THEN SEARCH-CUSTPL MONEY-NPN  
And they would look for money. (Faye Images SV 03)
- b. *Axwe-ch-i = m pulinyi-sh aput-evet nganga-qa.*  
ODEM-NPN-O = MIR BABY-NPN ALREADY-SINCE CRY-PRS  
That baby has been crying for a long time. (6 87 96)
- c. *Ne = pe tukumay mi-pepe-nga gayiina-'ay kwa'.*  
ISPRO = IRR TOMORROW INDEF-THEN-INL CHICKEN-O EAT.F  
Sometime tomorrow I will eat chicken. (Coyote and Hen 006)

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15. Barragan (2003) treats the thematic suffixes as occupying the  $V^0$  syntactic slot, a slot also occupied by non-thematic verb roots. AgrS is always a prefix on  $V^0$ . This makes good sense etymologically; the thematic suffixes originated as light verbs. The apparent verb root in the case of thematic verbs under this analysis is treated as incorporated adverbial material.

- d. *Eye-t=pe*            *itu-qa*            *ne-'ach-i*            *gayiina-'ay*            *tukmuchi*.  
 THIEF-NPN = 3SERG    STEAL-PRS    1S-PET-O    CHICKEN-O    LAST.NIGHT  
 A thief stole my chicken last night. (6 71 3 (FN 211))

Occasionally there is no marker for the subject (S,A) in the sentence, either as a prefix, enclitic, or independent noun. In the case of verbs in the present tense and the imperfective and customary aspects, subject number is retrievable from the form of the imperfective suffix (as in (3a,b) above, where subject is also otherwise marked). The examples in (4) show null-subject sentences where subject number only is retrievable: from the present plural suffix in (4a) and the plural suffix on the immediate future (IF) in (4b).

- (4) a. *Qay*    *hi-sh*            *ngiivichu-we*            *mivi-yka*    *pe-yka*    *supul-ika*  
 NOT    WHAT-NPN    GO.AWAY-DES-PRPL    INDEF-TO    3S-TO    OTHER-TO  
*tema-t-ika*.  
 LAND-ACC-TO  
 [We] do not want to go away to some other land. (Warners II 028)

- b. *Qay*    *mi-pa*            *mi = tewi-qt-am*.  
 NOT    INDEF-TIME    3PLO = SEE-IF-PL  
 [You pl.] will never see them again. (Warners II 007)

Null-subject sentences with no mark of subject person or number do occur, albeit rarely. In such cases the verb must be in the future perfective, as shown in example (5), where the subject is easily retrievable from the discourse context.

- (5) *Peta'a-nim*            *axwe-ch-im-i*            *chix-ni*.  
 ALL-PL            ODEM-NPN-PL-O    DIE-CAUSE  
 [I] will kill all these. (Coyote and Wolf 024)

**4.2.3. OBJECT PROCLITICS.** Objects can be—but need not be—represented with a pronominal element that precedes the verb construction, in Jacobs's Position I in Table 4.1. While first- and second-person objects, as well as third-person-plural objects, are nearly always encoded with a proclitic on the verb construction, third-person-singular objects are often absent. Their presence or absence is shaped by preferences at the discourse level, discussed in 12.3.

While Jacobs (1975) treats these morphemes as prefixes of Position I in his template in Table 4.1, as have I in previous publications (Hill 1966; Hill & Nolasquez 1973; Hill 2003a, 2003b), they display certain clitic-like properties. First, their linear order in the verb construction is problematic. Recent X-bar theories of verb structure require Agr0 to be a closer sister to V than AgrS (see Pollock 1989). Formal analysis of Cupeño itself (Barragan 2003; Hill 2003) predicts that if these elements are prefixes, they should follow the subject prefixes. This is the case in

Nahuatl, a southern Uto-Aztecan language with full pronominal argument (Jelinek 1984) typology. In Nahuatl, the object prefixes always follow the subject prefixes, e.g., *ni-mits-maka*, 1S-2SO-GIVE, ‘I give it to you’. Instead, in Cupeño, object markers always precede subject markers when both are present, e.g., *i=ne-max*, 2SO=1S-GIVE, ‘I gave it to you’.

Second, unlike subject prefixes, object “prefixes” never appear in Jacobs’s Position IV, following the verb root and preceding the thematic suffixes. They always occupy Jacobs’s Position I, before the subject prefix, with verbs of all classes. If the object markers were true prefixes, we would expect them to be adjacent to the transitivizing thematic suffix *-in*, which, on Barragan’s (2003a) argument, functions as the head of VP.

Third, the object markers can appear on verbs in any tense–aspect category, rather than being restricted to past-tense verbs like the subject prefixes. Fourth, object markers never exhibit stress when they appear with stressless verb roots, even when, as in the case of the future perfective or immediate future constructions, no other stress-accepting affix is present. Both subject prefixes and tense–aspect–modality suffixes do accept stress when affixed to stressless verb roots. Fifth, I have identified hesitation forms where the hesitation occurs between the object marker and the remainder of the verb construction, as in (6). Disfluencies at other points in the verb construction are not attested.

(6) a. *Me aya ataxa-m mi=, mi= kwaw-pe'-men-wen.*  
 AND THEN PERSON-PL 3PLO= 3PLO= CALL-3PL-INPL-PIPL  
 And then they called the people. (Burning 012)

b. *Me aya mi=, aya mi=, aya pe'-men ha\$hi-pem-yax-wen.*  
 AND THEN 3PLO= THEN 3PLO= THEN 3PL-WITH GO-3PL-YAX-PIPL  
 And then them, then them, then they went with them. (Burning 015)

Sixth, as mentioned above, the object “prefixes” exhibit some optionality, being most likely to appear if (a) they encode first- or second-person, or a plural object, and (b) if the discourse context involves heightened transitivity, as at a narrative peak (see 12.3).

In summary, there are many arguments in favor of considering these object-marking morphemes proclitics, perhaps originating in the Focus complex. In fact, the object-case suffix *-i* is used in certain contexts to mark focus rather than object case, as discussed in 12.2. Furthermore, these object proclitics cannot appear with imperative verb constructions. It seems likely that this prohibition arises because the imperative verb itself, in the sentence-initial focus position, has already used the available slot in the focus phrase. For these reasons, I represent the object markers as proclitics, separated from the verb construction by the equal sign “=” rather than the prefix-marking hyphen “-”.

The mark of the object case on object proclitics, the vowel *i*, is clearly related to *-i*, the object-case suffix on independent nouns and pronouns. In the speech of Roscinda Nolasquez, the vowel *i* nearly always harmonically appeared in both syllables of the plural-object proclitics, i.e., *chimi=* and *imi=* as seen in Table 4.3. However, Faye recorded speakers in the 1920s who usually retained *e* in the initial syllable, thus *chemi-*, *emi-*. In the system of these speakers, the object proclitics could be analyzed as complex forms made up of a PN element and the object-case suffix *-i*, with forms like *ni=*, *i=*, and *pi=* from *ne-i=*, *e-i=*, and *pe-i=*. Note, however, that this phonological behavior is not general; for instance, the combination *-ne-in* '1S-IN', where *-in* is the thematic suffix, yields *-nen*, not *\*-nin*, and, as seen above, the plural form of the *-in* thematic suffix, probably from *-me-in*, is *-men*, not *\*-min*. Thus it is preferable to analyze the object proclitics as single morphemes rather than as synchronically productive combinations of the subject markers plus the object-case suffix.

The object proclitics are shown in Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.3. Object Proclitics

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
P1	<i>ni=</i>	<i>chimi=</i>
P2	<i>i=</i>	<i>imi=</i>
P3	<i>pi=</i>	<i>mi=</i>

These proclitics are illustrated in the following sentences.

- (7) a. *Mu = ku'ut aya pe-na'akwa-nm-i mi = kwaw-pe-n.*  
AND = REP THEN 3S-CHILD-PL-O 3PLO = CALL-3S-IN  
 And then it is said he called his children. (Faye Creation 119) (direct object)
- b. *Pe-shuun-i pi = kulu-lu-pe-n-ngiy.*  
3S-HEART-O 3SO = DRAG-DUP-3S-IN-MOTG  
 He went away dragging his heart. (RN Creation 123) (direct object)
- c. *Qay = 'ep hi-sh e-'ach-i chimi = 'uni-qa.*  
NOT = 2SERG WHAT-NPN 2S-PET-O ISO-SHOW-IN-PRS  
 You did not show us your pet. (Faye KP 139 187) (indirect object)
- d. *Em-em = qwe = me chimi = mixqan me chimi = meqan-max*  
2PLPRO-PL = CAN = 2PLERG 1PLO = DO.AAN.HAB AND 1PLO = KILL-BEN.HAB  
*hunwe-t pe' aya chimi = tul-qa.*  
BEAR-NPN DET NOW 1PL.OB-FINISH-PRS  
 You (pl.) must do something for us, and kill for our sake the bear who is now finishing us off. (Faye KP 151 217) (benefactive object)

Object proclitics code for PN of direct (7a,b), indirect, and benefactive objects but not oblique objects including objects of oblique case *-chi* and of relational nouns (see 5.3.2), which, curiously enough, are encoded by prefixes from the subject class on the suffixes or relational nouns. As can be seen from (7c) and (7d), which have direct objects as well as the indirect or benefactive object, only one object proclitic can occur. These examples show that indirect and benefactive objects are coded in the proclitics, with priority over direct objects when both arguments are present in a sentence.

**4.2.4. NUMBER MARKING IN SUPPLETIVE VERB ROOTS.** Number of subject or object is encoded in the verb root itself in eight common Cupeño verbs. The eight suppletive verb roots are shown in (8). The verbs noted in (8b), *hiw ~ qa ~ qal ~ max* ‘be in a place, dwell, sit, live’ and in (8e), *qa ~ we*, are discussed in detail in 4.5.2 below (and see example (16)).

- (8) a. *chulup* (sg.), *sulul* (pl.) ‘go in, push in’  
 b. *hiw* (sg.), *qa* (present plural), *-qal* (past plural), *max* (plural, future) ‘be in a place, dwell, sit’ (note that this verb is also suppletive for tense)  
 c. *meq(a(n))<sub>s</sub>* (sg.), *chix-nin* (pl.) ‘kill’  
 d. *pulich-*, *pulich* (sg.), *muyaq* (pl.) ‘go out’  
 e. *qa* (sg.), *we* (pl.) ‘be there’ (in sense of *voilà*)  
 f. *qaaw* (sg.), *chix* (pl.) ‘die, be sick’  
 g. *xalew* (sg.), *yevev* (pl.) ‘fall’  
 h. *ya*’ (sg.), *ngen* (pl.) ‘run’

When these roots appear in intransitive constructions, they agree with the number of the subject. Where they appear in transitive constructions, they agree with the number of the object. This pattern is illustrated in (9) with the pair *chulup – sulul* ‘go in’. In (9a), *chulup*, appearing in the *-yax* class, agrees with a singular subject. In (9b), *sulul*, again in the *-yax* class, agrees with a plural subject. But in (9c), *chulup*, in the *-in* class, has a plural subject but agrees with its singular object.

- (9) a. ***Chulup-yax = pe.***

GO.IN.S-YAX-IRR

He may come in. (Faye field notes 017)

- b. *Mu = ku’ut a-ngax axwa-ngax aya pe’ peta’a-nim*

AND-REP LOCB-FROM ODEM-FROM THEN DET ALL-PL

***sulul-pem-yax teki-nga.***

GO.IN.PL-3PL-YAX BURROW-INL

And it is said that then all of them went into the burrow. (Coyote and Crows 020)

c. *tum supluwe-t ishmivi-y chulup-pe'-men-weni ...*  
 EVEN.IF ONE-NPN SOMETHING-O GO.IN.S-3PL-IN.PL-DSPL  
 even if they put in only one thing ... (Faye Images 249.7)

**4.3. TENSE, ASPECT, MODALITY.** The tense–aspect–modality system of Cupeño is not exceptionally exotic in terms of the types of distinctions that are manifested but it is interesting for other reasons, including the interaction of tense–aspect suffixes with the modal clitics, the interactions between tense and subject PN marking, and the neutralization of the tense–aspect system in subordinate clauses in favor of modality and switch reference. In this section I focus mainly on tense and aspect, since the function of modality is located mainly in the modal clitics = *qwe* ‘non-instantiative’, = *'ep* ‘realis’, and = *pe* ‘irrealis’, discussed in Chapter 3, and in the subordinating suffixes *-ve* ‘realis subordinator’ and *-pi* ‘irrealis subordinator’, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 11.

**4.3.1. MOOD.** Lyons (1968) suggests that expressions marked for mood index some attitude of the speaker in relation to factual status. “Modal” expressions are defined by contrasting them with categorical statements of fact, so-called indicatives/declaratives which Lyons suggests are normally unmarked. A strong insistence on “factual” status can also be regarded as “modal,” an example being the use of the Cupeño realis clitic = *'ep* with present-tense verbs, discussed below.

The modal distinctions in Cupeño are realis versus irrealis, instantiative versus non-instantiative, habilitative, and imperative. Comrie (1976) considers the realis-irrealis distinction to be included in the category “mood.” Realis mood commits the speaker to the categoriality of a statement, whereas irrealis mood does the opposite, constituting a claim that the situation represented is non-factual. Realis and irrealis moods exhibit temporal implicatures that, in Cupeño, cause these moods to interact with the tense–aspect system. Realis mood, which claims that a situation is fact, implicates that the situation results from something that has “already happened”—that is, it is past tense. In contrast, irrealis mood often is associated with the future tense, since it implicates that something has not happened. Thus, as discussed in Chapter 3, we usually encounter the irrealis clitic = *pe* with future-tense verbs. The realis clitic = *'ep*, on the other hand, appears almost exclusively with past-tense verbs.

In Cupeño the “instantiative” mood is unmarked—although we could consider the tense–aspect suffixes in the verb construction portmanteau expressions of both tense–aspect and instantiation. These refer to particular singular events. The non-instantiative is marked by the clitic = *qwe*, discussed in 3.1.2, which always appears with the tenseless verb constructions, the customary and habilitative. These do not refer to particular singular events but to generic potential.

The imperative is marked by the singular suffix *-'* and the plural suffix *-m*, suffixed to the verb theme. The phonological behavior of imperatives is discussed in 2.6.

In the main clause, except for the imperatives, modality is not marked in the verb construction itself but is expressed with clitics in the second-position auxiliary complex that mark realis, irrealis, and non-instantiative moods. Table 4.4 sketches the major co-occurrence patterns of these modal clitics with tense and aspect in the verb construction. If the appearance of the clitic is optional (that is, shaped by discourse-pragmatic considerations), the + marking co-occurrence is in parentheses.

TABLE 4.4. Modal Clitics and Verb Tense

	TENSED			TENSELESS	
	Past	Present	Immediate Future	Future	Customary Habilitative
MODAL CLITICS					
A. Position IV					
Realis = <i>'ep</i>	(+)	(+)			
Irrealis = <i>pe</i>			(+)	+	
B. Position II					
Non-instantiative = <i>qwe</i>			(+)	+	+

Verb constructions in complement and relative clauses are marked only for mood, not tense. These subordinate clause types are discussed in detail in 11.2 and 11.3. I briefly introduce the mood suffixes on complement and relative clauses in Table 4.5.

TABLE 4.5. Mood Suffixes in Complement and Relative Clauses

Realis *-ve* (Base is a past-tense inflected verb, either perfective or imperfective.)  
 Irrealis *-pi* (Base is a past-perfective inflected verb.)

Adverbial subordinate clauses are marked neither for tense–aspect nor for mood but only for switch reference, with *-nuk* ‘same subject’ versus *-qali* ‘different subject, singular’, *-weni* ‘different subject, plural or stative’. These adverbial subordinate clauses are discussed in 11.1.

**4.3.1.1. HABILITATIVES.** The habitative appears with the non-instantiative clitic = *qwe*, usually with the sense ‘be able to, can, might’. The habitative formation is of special phonological interest in that it is non-concatenative. The phonology of habitatives is described in 2.7. Examples of the habitative with = *qwe* are found in the discussion of = *qwe* in 3.1.2. I give here only a few examples of the major types. The thematic habitatives are illustrated in (10a,b). Note that the habitative of *-in* verbs is always formed on singular *-in*, never on plural *-men*, as shown in (10a), which has a plural subject. In (10c–e) are examples of habitatives formed with Ø-class verbs.



- (10) a. *Qay hi-sh = qwe = sh aya pe-chi sex-i.*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN = NONI = 1PLABS THEN 3S-OBL BURN-IN.HAB  
 There is nothing for us to cremate him with. (Faye Creation 127)
- b. *Chinga = qwe = l awa-l-im menma'a, me = qwe = ne*  
 IF = NONI = 3PLABS DOG-NPN-PL COME.HAB AND = NONI = 1SERG  
*chaway-ya'a.*  
 CLIMB-YAX.HAB  
 If dogs should come, I can climb. (Fox and Cat 005)
- c. *Hi-sh = qwe = me aya pu'u'uy?*  
 WHAT-NPN = NONI = 3PLERG THEN DINE.HAB  
 What can they eat then? (Faye Creation 009)
- d. *Me = qwe = p pi = yawmu-max.*  
 AND = NONI = 3SERG 3SO = BRING-BENEF.HAB  
 And he can bring it (for us). (Faye KP 127 153 061)
- e. *E-t = qwe = p ne'e-y ni = kwa'.*  
 DDEM-NPN = NONI = 3SERG 1SPRO-O ISO = EAT.HAB  
 He might eat me. (Faye Creation 122)

**4.3.1.2. IMPERATIVES.** There are a number of ways to express directive locutionary force in Cupeño, including using future tenses, irrealis subordinators, and the imperative, a form that has only the directive function. As in many languages, the formation of imperatives in Cupeño exhibits a minimum of formal morphological apparatus. The imperative is formed on the verb base with imperative suffixes encoding subject number. The singular imperative is formed by adding a glottal stop to the verb base. The plural imperative is formed by adding *-m*, the suffix for plurals that appears on nominals.

The objects of imperatives are marked only by absolutive-case clitics, which are treated in 3.1.3. Imperatives do not permit object-case markers on their noun objects, nor do they accept object proclitics. Since object-case marking is “focusing” (see 12.3.2.3), a possible theoretical explanation for this phenomenon is that the imperative verb itself has been raised to the Focus Phrase (Kiss 1995), saturating its available slots. Imperatives are usually initial in their sentences, a highly marked position for verbs in Cupeño. If, as discussed in 12.2 and 12.3.2.3, object-case markers also are in the Focus Phrase, then they may occur in the same slot in that phrase (perhaps raised to its head) and could not co-occur in the Focus Phrase with the imperative. However, detailed exploration of this point is beyond the scope of this descriptive grammar.

The addition of the singular imperative suffix *-'* has a variety of phonological consequences depending on the shape of the verb theme. The thematic suffixes *-in*

and *-yax* appear as *-i* and *-ya* respectively before this suffix. As with habitatives, the plural thematic suffix *-men* never appears in imperatives; this is clear from (11b). An echo vowel often appears following the glottal stop. With  $\emptyset$ -class verbs, the interaction of the various constraints described in 2.6 create a variety of specialized phonological results; these are not further exemplified here. The phonological details of imperative formation are discussed in 2.6; the examples given in (11–13) briefly illustrate the major types of surface forms with intransitive verbs. The examples in (11) show the pronouns *e'(e)* ‘second-person singular’ and *em(em)* ‘second-person plural’, which can appear optionally in imperative constructions and are attested either after the verb, as in (11), or before it.

- (11) Imperatives of the *-in* thematic class  
 a. *hawī' e'e!* ‘sing, you! (sg. subject)’  
 b. *hawinem em'em!* ‘sing, you all! (pl. subject)’
- (12) Imperatives of the *-yax* thematic class  
 a. *chemya'a!* ‘be quiet! (sg. subject)’  
 b. *chemyaxem!* ‘be quiet! (pl. subject)’
- (13) Imperatives of the  $\emptyset$  thematic class  
 a. *pa'a!* ‘drink! (sg. subject)’  
 b. *paam!* ‘drink! (pl. subject)’  
 c. *atī'se!* ‘sneeze! (sg. subject)’  
 d. *atīsem!* ‘sneeze (pl. subject)’  
 e. *aye'ew!* ‘like it! (sg. subject)’  
 f. *ayewem!* ‘like it! (pl. subject)’

While forms constructed as in (11–13) are the usual result when imperatives are elicited, they are not the only way of uttering directives in reported speech in narrative. In this context, future-tense verbs, verbs suffixed with the irrealis subordinator *-pi*, and present-tense verbs are all frequently used in directive function, as in the examples in (14).

- (14) a. *Me = pe ixa-nuk mi = 'e'yew-in-pi.*  
 AND = IRR DO.LIKEa-SS 3PLO = SNEAK.UP.ON-IN-SUBIRR  
 And sneak up on it like this. (Coyote Growing Up 029)
- b. *Me = 'e = pe ku-t ne'an-in me = 'e = pe pa-l*  
 AND = 2S = IRR FIRE-NPN LIGHT-IN .F AND = 2S = IRR WATER-NPN  
*ting-nin.*  
 HEAT-CAUS.F  
 You must light the fire and heat the water. (Faye Past Time 33)

- c. *Ni = kwaw-nin-max = 'em = pe ne-pul̩nma-y seve-l-i.*  
 ISO = CALL-CAUS-BEN.F = 2PL = IRR    1S-MANS.CHILD-O    WIND-NPN-O  
 Call for my sake my son Wind. (Faye Creation 111)

An example of a present-tense verb used as an exhortative is shown in (15). Note that in this case the presence of the PN second-position clitic prevents the truncation of the suffix *-we(n)*, the usual formation of the present plural.

- (15) *Aya, haw-in-wen = esh.*  
 NOW      SING-IN-PRPL = 1PLAB  
 Now, let's sing! (Wood Rats 006)

While other modal constructions in Cupeño can function as imperatives, as shown above, imperative constructions themselves do not occur in non-imperative usages. The imperative formation has a very restricted pragmatic and semantic range, being used only to make directives.

**4.4. TENSE–ASPECT AFFIXES.** Main-clause verbs are marked for tenses and aspects by inflectional suffixes. These suffixes encode tense, aspect, and subject person and number. The entire system of tense–aspect suffixes is shown in Table 4.6.

TABLE 4.6. Tense–Aspect Suffixes

TENSE	Past	Non-Past (Subject Person Not Marked)		
	(Subject Person Marked)	Non-Future	Future	
		Present	Immediate	Future
TENSED ASPECT				
Imperfective Singular	<i>-qal</i>	<i>-qa</i>	<i>-qat</i>	<i>-nash</i>
Imperfective Plural	<i>-wen</i>	<i>-we</i>	<i>-qat-im</i>	<i>-wene</i>
Perfective	∅	—	—	∅
TENSELESS ASPECT				
Customary Singular	<i>-ne</i>			
Customary Plural	<i>-wene</i>			
Habilitative consonant final: Non-concatenative formation (see 2.7)				
Habilitative vowel final: No change in ∅ themes; <i>-in, -yax</i> > <i>-i, -ya('a)</i>				

**4.4.1. TENSE.** Tense inflection in Cupeño is accomplished by two processes: first, the presence or absence of subject person–number affixes, where past tense is marked by the presence of PN affixes; and second, by imperfective suffixes that are marked for tense and subject person and number.

Cupeño tenses are of the type that Comrie (1985) calls “relative”; i.e., the default deictic center for a tense is the moment of speaking. Tense suffixes distinguish past, present, future, and immediate future.

Two verbs have suppletive tense forms; these are shown in (16) and (17). *hiw* ~ *qa* ~ *qal* ~ *max* is also suppletive for subject number (see 4.2.4). This verb is discussed in detail in 4.6.2 below.

- (16) *hiw* ~ *qa* ~ *-qal* ~ *max* ‘be located in a place, dwell’
- a. *hiw*- singular non-future, future imperfective
  - b. *qa* plural present
  - c. *-qal* plural past
  - d. *max* future perfective (base for *-pi*, habitative formation)
- (17) *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>* ~ *menmax* ‘come’
- a. *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>* - non-future (appears with *-qa(l)* only, including with plural subjects)
  - b. *menmax* future (with *-qa-t*, *-vichu*, *-pi*, habitative, imperative)

*Neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>*, which appears only with *-qa*, *-qal*, contrasts with the defective verb *nene*- ‘going around, walking around’, which appears only with *-we*, *-wen*, *-wene*, and has no other inflection. The two verbs are probably related, with *nene*- perhaps representing a reduplicated distributive form. They are discussed in 4.6.1 below. Note that the motion suffixes for ‘coming’, discussed in 7.2, show related suppletive forms, shown in (18).

- (18)
- a. *-veneq* (non-future) ‘coming along’
  - b. *-vemax* (future) ‘coming along’
  - c. *-neq* (non-future) ‘coming’
  - d. *-max* (future) ‘coming’

**4.4.1.1. PAST TENSE.** The past tense requires the presence of a subject person–number affix. This subject affix is required even if a past imperfective suffix is present, and perhaps should be considered a portmanteau morpheme marking both subject PN and past tense. These affixes are shown in Table 4.1 in 4.2 above. The subject PN affixes precede the root in the case of Ø-class verbs but follow the root in the case of verbs of the *-in* and *-yax* classes.

Past-tense verbs appear in two aspects, perfective and imperfective. Past perfectives have no additional marking beyond the PN affix. Past imperfectives are marked with the aspect suffixes *-qal* ‘past imperfective, singular subject’ (PIS) and *-wen* ‘past imperfective, plural subject’ (PIPL). *-wen* is homophonous with the past imperfective stative (PIST), which does not distinguish number. Statives are discussed in 4.5.

Past-tense verbs, whether perfective or imperfective, co-occur with past-time adverbials such as *achi* ‘long ago’, *tekwaye* ‘long ago’, *tuku* ‘yesterday’, and the like, and never with adverbs such as *tukumay* ‘tomorrow’, *naachi* ‘soon’, or *pangi* ‘in a little while’. In addition, they do not seem to co-occur with *aput* ‘already’,

this adverb being associated with the immediate past and “present-tense” inflection. In contrast, non-past verbs, without subject PN affixes, appear with present-time and future-time adverbials. Past-tense verbs commonly co-occur with the realis clitic = *'ep*, although it is not required. They do not co-occur with irrealis = *pe* except in the “hypothetical” construction discussed above in 3.1.1.3 and 3.1.4.2, where the dubitative clitic = *she* is also present. The distribution of perfective versus imperfective aspect in discourse is of a typical type. In narratives, past imperfective verbs appear in background clauses in orientation and evaluation, and past perfective verbs appear on the narrative main line of event clauses, as discussed in 12.3.

No internal absolute-tense distinctions are made within the past tense. The situations that can be mentioned using past-tense inflections range from the beginning of time at the Creation to the very recent past. For the immediate past (the last 24 hours, and especially in the last few minutes) there is a tendency for speakers to use non-subject-marked present-tense forms. Faye’s field notes indicate that one of his consultants said that this form was for ‘same day’.

Examples of past perfectives are seen in (19). (19a) is an event of the Creation time. The event in (19b) occurred in 1846; the utterance-event took place in 1921. The event-type in (19c) occurred during Roscinda Nolasquez’s childhood. (19d) mentions an event that occurred the morning before the utterance event.

- (19) a. *Mu = ku'ut ix-anuk pe' = e mi = pe-muknen atax-m-i,*  
 AND = REP DO.LIKE-SS 3SPRO = CF 3PLO = 3S-DEFEAT PERSON-PL-O  
*isi-ly.*  
 COYOTE-NPN  
 And it is said thus Coyote defeated the people. (RN Creation 125)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pem-em pem-ne-'a wa'i-sh General*  
 AND = REP 3PLPRO-PL 3PL-CHIEF-PSD MEAT-NPN GENERAL  
*Kearney pi = pe-max pe-ti'ive-y pa'axwi pe-'asha'-la'a.*  
 KEARNEY 3SO = 3S-GIVE 3S-DRESS-O ON.TOP 3S-WEAR-INSTN  
 And it is said that their “meat chief” General Kearney gave her his  
 duster that he wore on top. (Faye Text FN 87–88 139)
- c. *Tekwaye = she kwini-ly-i pem-chi'.*  
 LONG.AGO = DUB ACORN-NPN-O 3PL-GATHER  
 Long ago they must have gathered acorns. (6 91 152)
- d. *Tuku = 'ep ne-a'alxi, qay ne-tul.*  
 YESTERDAY = R 1S-RECITE.HISTORY NOT 1S-FINISH  
 Yesterday I told a history, I did not finish. (Warners II 001)

In (20) we see examples of past imperfectives, again over a full range of past time from the Creation, to the lifetime of a previous generation, to the speaker's early life, to the day before the speech event. Note that these imperfective suffixes are suppletive for subject number (they are related to the suppletive verb *qa ~ we*), so that subject number is marked twice in such constructions. Hill (2003) reviews multiple number marking in the Cupeño verb in theoretical perspective.

- (20) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e Temayewet pe-'ayew-qal aya ataxa-m*  
 AND = REP DET = CF TEMAYEWET 3S-WANT-PIS THEN PERSON-PL  
*pem-chix-pi.*  
 3PL-DIE-SUBIRR  
 And it is said that Temayewet wanted people to die. (RN Creation 002)
- b. *Me = she = 'et axwe-ch-i tekwaye pi = wey-wey-pe'-men-wen*  
 AND = DUB = 3SAB ODEM-NPN-O LONG.AGO 3SO = DUP-TEAR.DOWN-3PL-INPL-PIPL  
*peta'am-i axwe-ch-i ayxa-t-i ki-sh achi*  
 ALL-O ODEM-NPN-O OLD-NPN-O HOUSE-NPN LONG.AGO  
*mulu'we-t-im yut-yut-pe'-men-a-y.*  
 FIRST.PEOPLE-NPN-PL DUP-BUILD-3PL-INPL-PSD-O  
 It may be that it was long ago when they tore down all those old houses that the first people built. (Faye Houses 63 (CN) 010)
- c. *Ne-pew ne-yik pe-'a'alxi-qal achi mulu'-nuk pe'*  
 IS-FRIEND IS-TO 3S-RECITE.HISTORY-PIS LONG.AGO LEAD-SS DET  
*pe-mi'aw memye-xwi-sh chulup-pe-yax-mi'aw ivi-y tema-l*  
 3S-ARRIVE OCEAN-GNT-NPN COME.IN-3S-YAX-MOTA PDEM-O LAND-NPN  
*pe-ta.*  
 3S-PLACE  
 My friend used to tell me long ago about the first time the white man came here to this land. (Faye field notes General Kearney (CN) 082)
- d. *Achi = 'ep Kupa-ngax ataxa-m pem-chi'-lyu-wen,*  
 LONG.AGO = R CUPA-FROM PERSON-PL 3PL-GATHER-GO.TO- PIPL  
*kwini-ly.*  
 ACORN-NPN  
 Long ago the people used to go from Cupa in order to gather, black oak acorns. (Acorn Time 001)
- e. *Achi = 'ep ne' ya'-i-we-t ne-miyax-wen.*  
 LONG.AGO = R ISPRO RUN-I-AUG-NPN IS-BE-PIPL  
 I used to be a good runner. (2 5 624) (This shows *achi* can be in one's lifetime.)

- f. *Oceanside-nga* 'aw = 'ep    **ne-nene-wen**    *tuku*.  
 OCEANSIDE-AT = R                      1S-GO.AROUND-PIST    YESTERDAY  
 I was in Oceanside yesterday. (Faye field notes 037)

**4.4.1.2. PRESENT TENSE.** Like other non-past tenses, the present tense does not permit PN subject markers in the verb construction. In present-tense sentences, subject PN is marked by second-position clitics or independent nouns, pronouns, or demonstratives. However, the present-tense suffixes *-qa*, *-we* do encode singular and plural subject respectively. Note that the present plural suffix is homophonous with the present plural stative suffix *-we*, which is unmarked for subject number. The stative is discussed below in 4.5.

As pointed out by Jacobs (1975:178), the present-tense suffixes *-qa*, *-we* are almost certainly formed by truncation from the past imperfective suffixes *-qal*, *-wen*. Such truncation processes in the tense–aspect system have been identified in other Uto-Aztecan languages. The best-known case is the perfective in Tohono O'odham, where perfective stems are derived by truncation from imperfective stems by the loss of the final consonant.

- (21) a. *med* 'running'  
 b. *me*: 'ran'  
 c. *hink* 'barking'  
 d. *hin* 'barked'

(Note that in Tohono O'odham, the symbol *e* stands for the high back unrounded vowel [u], not the mid-central vowel [ə] as in Cupeño.)

Phonological evidence for the formation of the present tense by truncation is seen in the behavior of sentence-initial present-tense verbs with PN clitics. These PN clitics seem to “protect” the consonant so that the truncation does not occur. The examples in (22) and (23) show the “protected” initial verbs in the (a) sentences and the truncated final verbs in the (b) sentences.

- (22) a. *Muu-qal* = *pe*    *hunwe-t-i*.  
 SHOT-PRS = 3SERG BEAR-NPN-O  
 He shoots a bear. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 fp 9)
- b. *Pe-'ach-i* = *pe*    *muu-qa'*.  
 3S-PET-O = 3SERG SHOOT-PRS  
 He shoots his own bear. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 fp 9)
- (23) a. *Sixnen-wen* = *me*    *wa'i-sh*.  
 COOK-PRPL = 3PLERG MEAT-NPN  
 They are cooking meat. (Faye field notes 021)

- b. *Pem-wa'i = me sixnen-we.*  
 3PL-MEAT = 3PLERG COOK-PRPL  
 They are cooking their meat. (Faye field notes 022)

The contrastive-focus clitic, common with weather verbs, also protects the final consonant in these suffixes, as seen in (24).

- (24) a. *Yu-yuy-qal = e.*  
 DUP-COLD-PRS = CF  
 It's snowing. (1 19 3)
- b. *Aya tem-i-qal = e.*  
 NOW COVER-IN-PRS = CF  
 It's cloudy now. (1 13 209)
- c. *Kup-cha'i-qal = e.*  
 SLEEP-?-PRS = CF  
 He overslept. (Portillo notes 45)

First-person-singular ergative PN clitics do not always “protect” the consonant from truncation in sentence-initial verbs, as seen in (25a–c). However, 1S absolutive does block truncation, as in (25d). I have no explanation for this fact. The reason cannot be the consonant-initial shape of =*ne*, because =*pe* ‘3SERG’ and =*me* ‘2,3PLERG’ do block truncation.

- (25) a. *Tew-qa = ne nee'e-t-i.*  
 SEE-PRS = 1SERG BASKET-NPN-O  
 I see a basket. (2 11 69)
- b. *Hiwchu-qa = ne pe-'ayew-qali.*  
 KNOW-PRS = 1SERG 3S-WANT-DSS  
 I know what she wants. (Faye field notes 044)
- c. *Tew-we = che = me nee'e-t-i.*  
 SEE-PRSPL = 1PL = 3PLERG BASKET-NPN-O  
 We see a basket. (2 11 70)
- d. *Hix-qal = en.*  
 SAY-PRS = 1SABS  
 I say. (Faye Images 221 22 098)

The range of interpretations for present-tense constructions can include the immediate past, even where the represented situation does not continue through the



time of the speech situation. This usage is shown in the sentences in (26). Note that (26b,c) show the adverbial particle *apu(t)* ‘already’, which does not occur with past-tense verbs or with the realis clitic = ‘ep.

- (26) a. *Eye-t-pe*                      *itu-qa*                      *ne-’ach-i*                      *gayiina-’ay*                      *tukmuchi*.  
THIEF-NPN = 3SERG                      STEAL-PRS                      1S-PET-O                      CHICKEN-O                      LAST.NIGHT  
 A thief stole my chicken last night. (6 71 3)
- b. *Ne-ye*                      *apu = she = ’ep*                      *tew-qa’*                      *ne-’ach-i?*  
1S-MOTHER                      ALREADY = DUB = 2SERG                      SEE-PRS                      1S-PET-O  
 Mother, did you perhaps just now see my pet? (Faye KP 119 135)
- c. *Aput = el*                      *hash-ax-we*                      *pe’aw-t-ika*.  
ALREADY = 3PLABS                      GO-YAX-PRPL                      MOUNTAIN-ACC-TO  
 They have already gone to the mountains. (2 49 74)

In other uses of the present tense, we can understand the situation as having begun in the past but continuing into the time of the speech situation. In (27) the past component of the situation is represented in the adverb.

- (27) a. *Axwe-ch-i = m*                      *pulinyi-sh*                      *aput-evet*                      *nganga-qa*.  
ODEM-NPN-O = MIR                      BABY-NPN                      ALREADY-SINCE                      CRY-PRS  
 That baby has been crying for a long time. (6 87 96)
- b. *Ne’ = en*                      *atire*                      *achi-vet*                      *tavxa-qa*.  
1SPRO = 1SERG                      VERY                      LONG.AGO-SINCE                      WORK-PRS  
 I’ve been working a long time. (6 87 99)
- c. *Pe-she-’a*                      *men-i-qa*                      *pe-taxwi*                      *tuku-vet*.  
3S-BLOOM-PSD                      TURN-YAX-PRS                      3S-BODY                      YESTERDAY-SINCE  
 The flower changed color since yesterday. (8 45 204)

Many uses of the present tense represent situations that exist simultaneously with the moment of speaking, as in (28). The example in (28c) has the defective verb *neq(e(n))<sub>s</sub>*, discussed in 4.5 below.

- (28) a. *Kushi-qa = ne*                      *ne’ = el*                      *ne-ne’e-m*                      *lyek-yax-ch-am*.  
GET-PRS = 1SERG                      1S = 3PLABS                      1S-RELATIVE-PL                      RICH-YAX-NPN-PL  
 I am seeking my wealthy relatives. (Faye Tramp 073)
- b. *Amay*                      *chem-em*                      *peta’ a-nim*                      *yel-yel-in-we*                      *xwayaxwen-t-im*  
TODAY                      1PLPRO-PL                      ALL-PL                      DUP-IMITATE-IN-PRPL                      WHITE-NPN-PL

*pe'-m<sub>i</sub>-mx-i.*

3PL-DUP-CUSTOM-O

Today we imitate everything that the whites do. (Faye Domingo Moro FN 22–23)

c. *Nawika-t=e neq-qa.*

WOMAN-NPN = CF COME-PRS

A woman is coming. (Faye KP 89 40)

Narrators sometimes used the present tense as a “historical present,” especially when discussing customs of former times, as in the following examples.

(29) a. *Pe-hay-ve-y pe-ta me=qwe=p aya mulaq-i-qa*

3S-END-SUBR-O 3S-PLACE AND = NONI = 3SERG THEN SPIT-IN-PRS

*wa'i-sh.*

MEAT-NPN

At the end there she spits out the meat. (Faye Initiation 198 26)

b. *Me pe' mulu'we-t=pe tul-qa, me aya pe' haw-pe-qal.*

AND DET FIRST.ONE-NPN = 3ERG FINISH-PRS AND THEN 3SPRO SING-3S-PIS

And then the first one finishes, and he would sing. (Burning 022)

**4.4.1.3. IMMEDIATE FUTURE: A NEW TENSE.** Perhaps quite recently, Cupeño has added a new tense, the immediate future (IF). The suffixes are *-qat* ‘immediate future, singular subject’, and *-qat-im* ‘immediate future, plural subject’. These are *i*-ablauting suffixes (see 2.4.2) where an augment vowel *-i* appears following unstressed roots and suffixes derived from them.

Heath (1998) proposes that the source of this construction is an agentive suffix, reconstructed for Proto-Uto-Aztecan as *\*-ka*. That is, while superficially the immediate future looks like a nominalization of the singular present-tense suffix with the NPN suffix *-t*, in fact it is from a different source. The singular present tense, as pointed out above, is a truncation of *-qal*, which is a grammaticalization of a Proto-Cupan light verb *\*qal* meaning ‘be in a place, dwell’, ultimately from PUA *\*kati* ‘sit’. As a nominalizing suffix, the agentive *-qa* requires an NPN suffix, in this case *-t* (which takes nominal plural suffix *-m*), and this formation is frozen in Cupeño, where it has three functions, agentive nominalization, immediate-future tense, and as the verb in embedded clauses expressing purpose.

In Cupeño the original agentive sense of this construction survives. It appears with the copula *miyaxwe* (discussed in Chapter 10) to mean ‘person or people designated to do VERB’ (in contrast to the habitual agentive *-ve'e-sh*, which means a person who usually does VERB, or a person who is good at VERB-ing). This usage is illustrated in (30) for singular subjects and for plural subjects in (31).

- (30) a. *Ne' = en we = she = n miyax-we qaawi-qat ne'?*  
 1SPRO = 1SABS OR = DUB = 1SABS BE-PRST DIE-IF 1SPRO  
 I wonder if I am going to die? (literally, ‘I wonder if I am the one who  
 is going to die?’) (Faye Creation 120)
- b. *Me nu-shu pina 'wex-qat pe-miyax-wen.*  
 AND 1S-MOMO ENEMY.SONG-IF 3S-BE- PIST  
 And my mother’s mother was a leader in the dance. (Faye SV 2–1–21 20)
- (31) *Mi = pe-tutuchine-qal atax-m-i nang'aw-qat-im*  
 3PLO = 3S-TELL-PIS PERSON-PL-O MAKE.IMAGE-IF-PL  
*pe'-miyax-weni-ve-y.*  
 PL-BE- PIPLi-SUBRL-O  
 He told the people that they were going to make images. (Burning 011)

When we compare Faye’s text collections from the 1920s with Roscinda Nolasquez’s texts, we find that Faye’s consultants permitted both present and non-present forms of the copula with *-qat* constructions. Thus (30a) above shows the present-tense form, while (30b) shows the past. Jacobs (1975) collected a series of examples from Roscinda Nolasquez that showed clearly that she did not use the copula in the present tense. Examples are shown in (32). In (32a) the past imperfective form appears, in (32b) the habilitative. (32c) does not have *miyaxwe*. Instead, the IF construction appears alone, and looks like a main verb. Presumably this regularity, the zero copula in the present tense, is one of the facts that made possible the evolution of the immediate-future tense-marker function of *-qat*, *-qat-im*. This result of the elision of the present-tense copula, yielding an immediate-future independent verb, means that Cupeño has two future tenses but only one past tense.

- (32) a. *Ne = 'ep hiwchu-qat pe-miyax-wen.*  
 1SPRO = R KNOW-IF 3S-BE- PIST  
 I was going to learn. (J 18 123)
- b. *Ne' = qwe = n hiwchu-qat miya'a.*  
 1SPRO = NONI = 1SABS KNOW-IF BE.HAB  
 I might be going to learn. (J 19 123)
- c. *Ne' = en hiwchu-qat.*  
 1SPRO = 1SABS KNOW-IF  
 I’m going to learn. (J 17 123)

Both Faye's consultants in the 1920s and Roscinda Nolasquez in the 1960s used IF forms in subordinate clauses indicating purpose. These are seen in (33). Note that these can be embedded under any verb, not just the copula *miyax-*.

- (33) a. *Ne = 'ep mulu'-nuk chulup-ne-yax tavxaa'-qat Mexaavi*  
 ISPRO = R LEAD-SS GO.IN.S-1S-YAX WORK-IF MOJAVE  
*pem-eve.*  
 3PL-AMONG

At first I went to work among the Mojaves. (Faye Mojaves CN 011a)

- b. *Me eve = ku'ut pe' wa'i-sh pi = pe'-meq atax-m-i*  
 AND DDEM = REP DET MEAT-NPN 3SO = 3PL-KILL PERSON-PL-O  
*mi = maxi-qt-am.*  
 3PLO = GIVEi-IF-PL

And there it is said they slaughtered meat to give to the people.  
 (Warners I 015)

- c. *Mu = ku'ut pem pe-ye wiw men-pe'-mi'aw-ngiy*  
 AND = REP 3PL 3S-MOTHER BOTH TURN.BACK-3PL-MOTA-MOTG  
*pem-yu-y huqapi-qat-im.*  
 3PL-HEAD-O SCALP-IF-PL

And it is said that he and his mother came back in order to scalp the heads. (Faye KP FN 82 075a)

- d. *Maan = en meqni-qat = ne suqa-t-i.*  
 LET = 1SABS KILLi-IF = 1SERG DEER-NPN-O  
 Let me kill a deer. (2 65 349)

By far the most common use of IF constructions in both generations was simply as an immediate-future tense, nearly always translated “gonna.” These constructions appear with adverbs like *aya* ‘now’, *amay* ‘right now, just, today’, and *naachi* ‘soon’. Examples are seen in (34).

- (34) a. *Aya = n hash-i-qat; ishmivi-y = ne hal-i-qat.*  
 NOW = 1SABS GO-YAX-IF SOMETHING-O = 1SERG LOOK.FOR-IN-IF

Now I am going to go, I'm gonna look for something. (Coyote and Cat 005)

- b. *Amay = ne aya imi = yaxi-qat mix-an-pi.*  
 TODAY = 1SERG NOW 2PLO = SAYi-IF DO-AAN-SUBIRR

Now today I am going to tell you what to do. (Faye Creation 075)

- c. *Ne-ti'ive = me tukumay naachi tul-qat-im.*  
 IS-DRESS = 3PLERG TOMORROW SOON FINISH-IF-PL  
 They will finish my dress soon. (6 91 147)

An imperfective of *-qat* is formed by suffixing it to the future imperfective. (35a) is from the New Year's oration by the village captain, Domingo Moro, in 1921. The Domingo Moro speech contains some of the most elaborate sentences in the Cupeño corpus. The other examples are elicited.

- (35) a. *Komo amay chem-em = e ivi-yka pangi-sh wel-ch-am*  
 LIKE TODAY 1PLPRO-PL = CF PDEM-TO NEW-NPN GROW-NPN-PL  
*chem-kwaavichu-pi em-qish-ki'a-y porke qay piyama-nga*  
 1PL-CARE.FOR-SUBIRR 2PL-MONEY-PSD-O BECAUSE NOT ALWAYS-INL  
*pishweli-sh miyax-wene-qat.*  
 YOUTH-NPN BE-FIPL-IF  
 Like today we young adults here must take care of your money  
 because you will not always be young. (Faye Domingo Moro FN 15 012h)
- b. *Xwaan mamayew-nash-qat.*  
 JUAN HELP-FIS-IF  
 Juan is going to be helping. (J 59 191)
- c. *Tukumay awa-l ne-'ash hiw-nash-qat.*  
 TOMORROW DOG-NPN IS-PET BE.THERE-FIS-IF  
 I will have a dog tomorrow. (2 97 84)

Immediate future constructions are often sequenced with futures, as in (36).

- (36) a. *Aya = n haw-i-qat me = ne = pe aya tan-in.*  
 NOW = 1SABS SING-IN-IF AND = 1S = IRR THEN DANCE-IN.F  
 I'm gonna sing and then I'll dance. (2 9 58)
- b. *Me = p e'e amay axwe-ch-i mulu'-nuk muhi-qat*  
 AND = 2SERG 2SPRO NOW ODEM-NPN-O LEAD-SS SHOOT-IF  
*me = pe e'e muu.*  
 AND = IRR 2SPRO SHOOT.F  
 And now you will first shoot that, then you will shoot. (Faye KP 078)

**4.4.1.4. FUTURE TENSE.** The future tense in Cupeño is encoded by a verb base that, in the perfective, is not otherwise marked with any affixes. The future imperfective aspect suffixes are *-nash* 'future imperfective singular' and *-wene* 'future imperfective plural'. Future-tense verbs often appear with the irrealis mood clitic = *pe*, suggesting that such verbs represent situations seen as far enough into the

future that they are not necessarily guaranteed to take place. Future-tense verbs often occur with future adverbials such as *pangi* ‘after a while’ and *tukumay* ‘tomorrow’, as seen in (37).

- (37) a. *Pangi = ne = pe*    *i = 'un-in*.  
NEW = 1S = IRR                      2SO = TEACH-IN.F  
 After a while I will teach you. (Faye 2–6–27 f 1)
- b. *Tukumay = ne = pe*    *eme-yka*    *ngiyi*.  
TOMORROW = 1S = IRR              2PL-BEHIND    GO.AWAY.F  
 Tomorrow I will go after you. (Faye KP 87 36)

As noted in the discussion of imperatives in 4.3.1.1, future-tense verbs can be used as imperatives. In (38a) the future-tense commands have singular imperfective suffixes; in (38b) they are perfective.

- (38) a. *Ivi-yka = pe*    *chakw-i-nash*    *ishmivi-y*,    *yal-yal-a-nash*.  
PDEM-TO = IRR              CATCH-IN-FIS              SOMETHING-O DUP-JUMP-YAX-FIS  
 Be catching something here, be jumping. (Coyote Growing Up 004)
- b. *Chinga = ne = pe*    *amay*    *tukmuchi*    *qaawi*,    *m = em = pe*  
WHEN = 1S = IRR              TODAY    AT.NIGHT              DIE.F              PL = 2PL = IRR  
*ni = sex-in*,    *qay = em = pe*    *ni = yev-in*.  
ISO = BURN-IN .F    NOT = 2PL = IRR              ISO = BURY-IN.F  
 When I die tonight, you all will cremate me, you will not bury me. (RN Creation 069)

**4.4.2. ASPECT.** I take the definition of “aspect” from Comrie (1976:3): “Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” Aspects in this sense are distinguished in Cupeño (1) by the presence or absence of aspect-marking suffixes in the verb, where the perfective aspect has no suffix; (2) by reduplication of the verb root by various processes; and (3) by ablaut and stress shifting in certain verb roots in the Ø class. The first two processes are highly productive, occurring in every verb class. The third group of processes is poorly attested and not obviously productive. I illustrate the three processes in this section.

I begin by discussing the major contrast between perfective and imperfective aspect, which has already been introduced in the discussion of tense. The perfective is unmarked, while the imperfective is marked by suffixes that, in the active voice, encode subject number. In the stative, discussed below in 4.5, subject number is not encoded, although the stative suffixes are homophonous with the plural imperfective suffixes. I then turn to a discussion of the customary aspect, which is also marked with suffixes that encode subject person and number. Last, I treat

secondary aspectual processes involving reduplication and various modifications of the verb root.

**4.4.2.1. PERFECTIVE ASPECT.** Perfective aspect is unmarked. In the past tense, the perfective aspect form consists of the verb theme with its affix encoding subject PN. The future perfective consists simply of the verb theme itself, without subject affixes. As illustrated above in (33), imperfectives of the immediate future are formed by suffixing the immediate future suffix to the future imperfective. Although these forms have already been treated above, I briefly exemplify them again here. Past perfective verb forms for each of the thematic classes are seen in (39); future perfective verbs are illustrated in (40).

- (39) a. *Mu = ku'ut sulit amay tisixa-t pi = pe-tew, mu = ku'ut*  
 AND = REP ONE-NPN JUST COTTONTAIL-NPN 3SO = 3S-SEE AND = REP  
*pi = pe-meq.*

3SO = 3S-KILL

And she saw just one cottontail, and she killed it. (Coyote and Cat 010)

- b. *Pe' = e sulit xwayaxwene-t me:::q-pe-n.*

DET = CF ONE-NPN WHITE-NPN PEE:::K-3S-IN

The white one pee-e-e-eked out. (Coyote and Cat 020)

- c. *Mu = ku'ut aya pe' ela-pe-yax hanaka.*

AND = REP THEN 3SPRO TURN.HEAD-3S-YAX AGAIN

And it is said then he turned his head again. (Coyote at the Birds' Church 025)

- (40) a. *Ne = pe tukumay mi-pepe-nga gayjina-'ay kwa'.*

ISPRO = IRR TOMORROW INDEF-THEN-INL CHICKEN-O EAT.F

Sometime tomorrow I will eat chicken. (Coyote and Hen 006)

- b. *Amay = ne = pe i = sex-in.*

NOW = 1S = IRR 2SO = BURN-IN.F

Now I will burn you. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 059)

- c. *Tukumay = ne = pe atire havesh-ka hash-ax axwa-'aw.*

TOMORROW = 1S = IRR VERY DAWN-TO GO-YAX.F ODEM-AT

Tomorrow I will go there real early in the morning. (RN Creation 095)

A small set of verbs has a special perfective form which adds a final *-i* and induces deletion of the stem-final vowel. These are listed in (41). Jacobs (1975) points out that such “realized” markers, which he reconstructs as *\*-i*, are quite productive in Cahuilla. However, they are only scantily attested in Cupeño.

- (41)
- a. *amu* ‘hunt’; perfective *am’i*
  - b. *ayew* ‘want, like’; perfective *aywi*
  - c. *na-nawew* ‘fight’ (always attested as reduplicated); perfective *nawvi*
  - d. *nawašh* ‘keep, hold’; perfective *nawašhi*
  - e. *naxa-chu* ‘grow old of man’; perfective *naxašhwi*
  - f. *nayax* ‘fight, quarrel’; perfective *nayxi*
  - g. *nemax* ‘give, make gift’; perfective *nemxay*
  - h. *neteng* ‘beg, ask’; perfective *netngi*
  - i. *ni-chu* ‘grow old of woman’; perfective *nishwi*
  - j. *tewxa* ‘be thick’; perfective *tewxi*

**4.4.2.2. IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT.** The imperfective aspect is marked by a series of suffixes that appear following the verb theme. The suffixes are shown in Table 4.7. Heath (1998) proposes that the source for the singular past imperfective *-qal* is the Uto-Aztecan light verb *\*kati* ‘sit’. This still exists as a lexical verb in Cupeño; it is the past plural of *hiw ~ qa ~ -qal ~ max* ‘be there’ (in the singular, *-qal* means ‘lie’; see 4.6.2.2). The plural past imperfective *-wen* has as its source another light verb, Northern Uto-Aztecan *\*wini* ‘lie’, which also exists as a lexical verb in Cupeño, as the past tense of *we* in *qa ~ we* ‘be there’ (see 4.6.2). This is presumably also the source of the future imperfective. The grammaticalized element is truncated to *-wen* in the past but not in the future imperfective suffix, where it appears as *-wene*. Finally, the future imperfective singular *-nash* is grammaticalized from another light verb, *nash* ‘sit’, which still exists in Cupeño as an independent verb. Note that *-nash* is an *a*-ablauting suffix (see 2.4.2). *-qal* and *-wen* take *-i* and *-a* increments from other suffixes but do not themselves induce ablaut on the preceding affixes.

TABLE 4.7. Imperfective Suffixes

	PAST	FUTURE
SINGULAR	<i>-qal</i>	<i>-nash</i>
PLURAL	<i>-wen</i>	<i>-wene</i>

Examples of past imperfectives are shown in (42).

- (42)
- a. *Mu = ku’ut pe’ gayiina pulish-pe-ya-qal*  
AND = REP    DET CHICKEN    GO.OUT-3S-YAX-PIS  
 And it is said Hen got out (Coyote and Hen 039)
  
  - b. *Mu = ku’ut nel-pe’-men-wen ventaana.*  
AND = REP    WATCH-3PL-INPL-PIPL WINDOW  
 And it is said they were looking from the window. (Coyote and Cat 013)



- c. *Paye-pem-yax-wen = ku'ut piyama-nga.*  
 CHAT-3PL-YAX-PIPL = REP                      ALWAYS-INL  
 They were always chattering. (Chiitmal 003)

Examples of future imperfectives are shown in (43); both of these examples have an admonitive force, which is common with future-tense forms. In (43a) Coyote's mother is teaching him. In (43b), the creator deity Temayewet is prescribing a behavior.

- (43) a. *Me = pe chinga ishmiviy tewa-nash, me = pe wily-i-nash.*  
 AND = IRR    IF                      SOMETHING    SEEa-FIS                      AND = IRR    HIDE-IN-FIS  
 And if you should see something, then you hide. (Coyote Growing Up 012)
- b. *Pimi-qi me = l = pe pem-taxwi kwa-wene.*  
 3PL-RFL                      AND = 3PLABS = IRR                      3PL-BODY                      EAT-FIPL  
 They will eat their own bodies. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 22 fp)

**4.4.2.3. CUSTOMARY ASPECT.** The suffixes of the customary aspect are *-ne* 'singular subject' and *-wene* 'plural'. The customary aspect almost always appears with the non-instantiative clitic = *qwe*, discussed in 3.1.2. The customary aspect is used to refer to situations that are generic, habitual, or customary. Examples are seen in (44).

- (44) a. *Tamit = qwe cha'ay-ya-ne me = qwe piseqaw-ne.*  
 SUN = NONI                      GET.UP-YAX-CUSTS                      AND = NONI                      APPEAR-CUSTS  
 He appears when the sun comes up. (Faye KP 151 217)
- b. *Amay = qwe = l mandolijina yax-wene.*  
 TODAY = NONI = 3PLABS                      MANDOLIN                      SAY-CUSTPL  
 Today they call it a mandolin. (Warners I 073)
- c. *Amu-wene = qwe = sh chem-yaya mi = chix-in-wene*  
 HUNT-CUSTPL = NONI = 1PLABS                      1PL-TRY                      3PLO = KILL-IN-CUSTPL  
*me = qwe = sh ašha-ve-m ngiiy-wene.*  
 AND = NONI = 1PLABS                      EMPTY.HANDED-SUB.IRR-PL                      GO.AWAY-CUST.PL  
 When we go hunting we try in vain to kill them and we go away empty-handed. (Faye KP 79 7)

**4.4.2.4. SECONDARY ASPECT DISTINCTIONS.** Cupeño verbs exhibit a variety of modifications of the root that yield secondary aspect distinctions. Of these, the most productive is reduplication, discussed in 4.2.4.1. Less productive are root modifications including a shift of stress, the addition of a suffix *-aan*, which can appear stressed or unstressed, and changes in vowels. These are not very well

attested and their exact function is often obscure. These less productive patterns are discussed in 4.2.4.2.

**4.4.2.4.1. REDUPLICATION.** As discussed in 5.2.1 and 6.1, a few nouns and many adjectives form plurals by reduplication. Reduplication also appears in verb constructions, where it produces secondary aspectual distinctions, especially repetitives (doing the same action repeatedly), duratives (continuing to perform an action over time), and distributives (doing the same action in several places, or to several objects, or by several subjects). Formally distinct types of reduplication include stylistic reduplication, full reduplication, partial copy reduplication (where the reduplicant is either CV- or -VC), and a few minor types such as *l-* reduplication. Except in the case of stylistic reduplication which is nearly always used to express the repetitive, there is no clear one-to-one relationship between the different forms and the different functions of reduplication. Some examples of the different functions are seen in (45); all these are accomplished by full reduplication. Full reduplications are always stressed on the second repetition, whereas partial reduplications are stressed on the first.

- (45)
- a. Repetitive: *kem-yax* ‘bow’, *kem-kem-yax* ‘bow again and again’
  - b. Distributive: *suk-in*, *suk-yax* ‘tie a knot, be knotted once’, *suk-suk-in*, *suk-suk-yax* ‘tie something up with several knots in different places, be all tied up’
  - c. Durative: *qesh-in*, *qesh-ax* ‘strike or guess, to get hurt’, *qesh-qesh-ax* ‘be injured, crippled’
  - d. Plural subjects: *kwiv-yax* ‘lie down’, *kwiv-kwiv-yax* ‘several people lie down’
  - e. Plural objects: *maq-in* ‘gather’, *maq-maq-in* ‘gather several objects’

In a few cases the meaning of the reduplicated form is specialized or unpredictable. For instance, the CV- reduplication of the verb *neng* ‘hide’, *ne-neng*, means ‘play pion’. Pion is a fast-moving “shell game” in which tokens are hidden and players place bets on where they are.

Jelinek (1997) considers reduplication a form of adverbial quantification. That is, the quantification is over the entire sentence, implicating agents and patients. If this proposal is correct, it may explain why consultants offered such diverse interpretations for reduplicated forms. The principal constraint on the scope of adverbial quantification is probably pragmatic implicature. The differences between “distribution”—imagining several individuals or actions, each occurring in one place—versus “repetition”—a single individual doing the same thing several times in succession, in the same place—versus “duration”—imagining a continuous state or ongoing performance—involve subtle judgments. It is difficult to study this sort of quantification even in fully vigorous linguistic communities. However, there is no reason to believe that Cupeño reduplication is very different from that

reported elsewhere, and a speaker trying to develop new forms of expression in the language could safely draw on reduplication to create a variety of subtle aspectual effects while remaining within the “spirit” of the grammar of the language as attested among its last speakers.

Reduplication is often “expressive”; only with a very few verbs that always show reduplication with plural subjects does it seem to play something like a syntactic role. Even in these cases, what is probably involved is semantic construal: for a particular scene, e.g., *kwiv-kwiv-yax* ‘many people lie down’, the action is understood as “distributed” over multiple entities, which in a prototypical scenario must be lying down in more than one place.

It is difficult to elicit reduplication, and even more difficult to develop frames for judgments about exactly what a reduplicated form might mean. Probably far more verbs can appear in reduplicated forms than are attested in the Cupeño corpus. However, probably not all verb stems can occur with reduplication to create the various senses described above. An examination of the pattern for adjectives, which is fairly well attested, suggests caution in predicting what will happen with verbs, since in Cupeño most adjectives are transparently derived from verbs. A large number of adjectives in Cupeño are attested only with full reduplication, even in the singular, such as *hemlehemle* ‘ash’ ‘hilly’, *matamata* ‘ash’ ‘flat’, and *yeliyeli* ‘ish’ ‘clean’. However, not all adjectives are attested with full reduplication. For instance, we encounter *hel* ‘ish and *hehel* ‘ish ‘wide’ but not \**helhel* ‘ish. Most of the color term adjectives are fully reduplicated even in the singular: *kwatikwati* ‘ish’ ‘red’, *kenekene* ‘ash’ ‘yellow’, *xwavixwavi* ‘ish’ ‘green’, *pavepave* ‘ash’ ‘grey’, *texetexe* ‘ish’ ‘light blue’. However, *tulnikish* ‘black’ and *xwayaxwenet* ‘white’ are not reduplicated in the singular. Both pluralize with CV- reduplication: *tutulnikish* (or *tutulnikcham*) and *xwaxwayaxwenet* (or *xwaxwayaxwentim*) respectively.

Roscinda Nolasquez used stylistic reduplication very productively. Faye never recorded his consultants as using this device; however, he did not collect “bedtime stories” (*silyich-in*), the genre in which Ms. Nolasquez was most likely to use this technique. Stylistic reduplication involves the full reduplication of the verb root, repeated as many times as the speaker wishes. I have recorded up to nine repetitions. Sometimes, if the repetition is uttered very quickly, there will be only one primary stress, always falling on the last repetition, as in (46a). In stylistic reduplication, there are two possible treatments of the stress. (46a) shows a pattern of rapid repetition, with primary stress on the last repetition. (46b) shows a more deliberate treatment of each repetition, which has its own primary stress. Stylistic reduplication can appear with either perfective (as in (46a)) or imperfective inflection, as in (46b). It can also be used with either singular or plural subjects. Some verbs, especially verbs having to do with bodily motion, seem to lend themselves to stylistic reduplication more than do others. Stylistic reduplication can be distinguished from full reduplication by the fact that more than two repetitions of the verb root are present.

Note that the verb root in (46a), *chengen*, is already a -VC reduplication *cheng-en* ‘kick-DUP’ (see below) of *cheng* ‘kick, stamp foot’ (*ng* reduplicates as *n*). I do not indicate this in the morphological analysis below, simply to save space.

- (46) a. *Mu = ku 'ut chengen-chengen-chengen-chengen-chengen-chengen-*  
 AND = REP KICK-KICK-KICK-KICK-KICK-KICK-  
*chengen-pe-n axwech-i.*  
 KICK-3S-IN ODEM-O  
 And it is said he kick-kick-kick-kick-kick-kick-kicked that one. (RN  
 Creation 030)
- b. *Mu = ku 'ut pu-push tevily, tevily, tevily, tevily-pe-ya-qal.*  
 AND = REP 3S-EYE SPARKLE SPARKLE SPARKLE SPARKLE-3S-YAX-PIS  
 And it is said her eyes were going sparkle, sparkle, sparkle, sparkle.  
 (Chiitmal 021)

While the examples above show PN and tense–aspect inflection with stylistic reduplication, we also encounter uninflected stylistic reduplication, without tense–aspect suffixes or subject PN affixes. Such uninflected roots can also occur without reduplication, again in an “expressive” sense. Examples are shown in (47). In (47a) we see a deliberate, fully stressed repetition of *maq* ‘gather up’, with the third instance being an ordinary inflected verb. In the second part of the sentence, we see *ya'*, *ya'*, *ya'* without any inflection. (47b) has what we might call “stylistic punctuality” rather than reduplication: an uninflected and unreduplicated root, *yal* ‘jump!’, used in an “expressive” punctual sense. In (47c) *wet* ‘move a long object in a beating motion’ reduplicates for a total of nine occurrences (shown in the gloss with a superscript “9”), and *ataam* ‘gallop, lope’ occurs three times, both without any tense–aspect or PN inflection.

- (47) a. *Mu = ku 'ut pe' = e kelawe-t maq, maq, maq-pe-qal*  
 AND = REP 3SPRO = CF FIREWOOD-NPN GATHER GATHER GATHER-3S-PIS  
*gayina, ya', ya', ya' pe-ki-nga wenan-pe-qal.*  
 CHICKEN RUN RUN RUN 3S-HOUSE-INL PUT.IN-3S-PIS  
 And it is said that Hen gather, gather, gathered firewood, she  
 ran-ran-ran and put it in her house. (Coyote and Hen 010)
- b. *Piyamanga = ku 'ut, yal, chak-pe-qal ana-t-i.*  
 STILL = REP JUMP CATCH-3S-PIS RED.ANT-NPN-O  
 Still it is said, jump!, he would catch an ant. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 142  
 016)
- c. *Pe-qwash-i-y = ku 'ut wet-wet-wet-wet-wet-wet-wet-wet-wet,*  
 3S-TAIL-O = REP SWITCH-<sup>9</sup>

*ataam, ataam, ataam* = *ku'ut*, *ya'-pe-yaxe-vene*q = *ku'ut*

LOPE LOPE LOPE = REP RUN-3S-YAXI-MOTCA = REP

*piyama-nga*.

ALWAYS-INL

He was switch-switch-switch-switch-switch-switch-switch-switching his tail, lope-lope-losing, it is said, he kept coming running along, it is said. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 010)

In full reduplication two full copies of the verb root are present. Note that in (48) the speaker, Roscinda Nolasquez, says explicitly that the actor stamped his foot “three” times but there are only two copies of the root, yielding the “repetitive” sense.

(48) *Mu* = *ku'ut pi* = ***chengen-chengen-pe-n*** *paa-s*.

AND = REP 3SO = KICK-VC-KICK-VC-3S-IN THREE-TIMES

And it is said he stamped it three times. (RN Creation 123)

The examples in (49) show additional examples of full reduplication. These examples, like those in (45), show that a variety of secondary aspectual meanings can be produced using full reduplication.

- (49)
- a. *chakw-in* ‘grab, catch’, *chakw-chakw-in* ‘holding hands (several people)’
  - b. *chel-in* ‘snip’, *chel-chel-in* ‘cut nails’
  - c. *chi'-Ø* ‘gather’, *chi'-chi'-Ø* ‘pick up several’
  - d. *chup-in* ‘close eyes’, *chup-chup-yax* ‘blink’
  - f. *kam-yax* ‘lie, of water, be a lake’, *kam-kam-yax* ‘lie in several places, of water’
  - g. *kem-yax* ‘bow’, *kem-kem-yax* ‘be bowing repeatedly’ (attested only in imperfective)
  - h. *qesh-yax* ‘get hurt’ *qesh-qesh-yax* ‘be injured’ (attested with perfective and imperfective)
  - i. *maq-in* ‘gather’, *maq-maq-in* ‘gather several objects’
  - j. *mis-in* ‘stop, guard’, *mis-mis-in* ‘hold out hands to sides’
  - k. *ngaye-yax* ‘turn aside’; *ngaye-ngaye-yax* ‘turn head repeatedly, shake head’
  - l. *nyim-in (-yax)* ‘fold, be soft’; *nyim-nyim-yax* ‘be folded, wrinkled’
  - m. *pat-in* ‘shoot’, *pat-pat-in* ‘shoot several times’
  - n. *paye-yax* ‘chat, talk all the time’, *paye-paye-yax* ‘jabber’
  - o. *ping-in* ‘knock on’, *ping-ping-in* ‘knock repeatedly’ (also *pi-ping-in*)
  - p. *puchaq-yax* or *puchaq-yax* ‘jump once’, *puchaq-puchaq-yax* ‘jump several times, be jumping’
  - q. *pux-Ø* ‘dash against’, *pux-pux-Ø* ‘dash against several times’

- r. *nget-in* ‘cut off straight, cut with axe’, *nget-nget-in* ‘cut off several objects’
- s. *qash-qash-in* ‘shovel repeatedly into form, make adobes’ (non-reduplicated forms not attested)
- t. *qashily-(y)ax* ‘blink’, *qashily-qashily-(y)ax* ‘blink repeatedly’ (only in imperfective)
- u. *qaye-yax* ‘wash’, *qaye-qaye-yax* ‘be washing’
- v. *qey-yax* ‘graze’, *qey-qey-in* ‘pull out several objects (e.g., whiskers, grass) one by one’
- w. *qiw-yax* ‘burp’, *qiw-qiw-yax* ‘have hiccups’ (attested only in imperfective)
- x. *salakw-Ø, -in* ‘scratch’, *salak-salakw-Ø, -in* ‘scratch repeatedly’
- y. *siwe-(i)n, -yax* ‘light, be lit’, *siwe-siwe-(i)n* ‘light many candles (at Christmas)’ (also *siwe-liwe-yax* ‘flash, of lightning, sparkle’)
- z. *sul-in* ‘tie up, bet (money)’, *sul-sul-in* ‘tie up several things’, *sul-sul-yax* ‘be tied up in knots’
- aa. *suk-in, -yax* ‘tie knot’, *suk-suk-in* ‘tie in several places’, *suk-suk-yax* ‘be all tied up in knots’ (-yax)
- bb. *shukel-yax* ‘be shriveled’, *shuqe-shuqe-yax* ‘be wrinkled’
- cc. *shuva’-in* ‘rub’, *shuva’-shuva’-in* ‘be rubbing’
- dd. *tax-in* ‘poke a hole’, *tax-tax-in* ‘pierce repeatedly’ (also *ta-tax*)
- ee. *tay-(y)ax* ‘move’, *tay-tay-(y)ax* ‘be moving from side to side’
- ff. *wax-in* ‘turn aside’, *wax-wax-in* ‘divide’
- gg. *wi’a-(i)n, -yax* ‘raise’, *wi’a-wi’a* (-Ø, -(i)n) ‘raise eyebrows’, *wi’a-wi’a-yax* ‘be raised, of eyebrows’
- hh. *wichax-in* ‘throw down, drop’, *wichax-wichax-in* ‘throw things around’
- ii. *wisik-yax* or *wisik-yax* ‘be scratched’, *wisik-wisik-yax* ‘be all scratched up’ (attested in perfective)
- jj. *yal-yax* ‘fly, jump’, *yal-yal-yax* ‘be flying, jumping’ (attested in perfective)

Some verbs always appear with full reduplication if they have plural subjects. Some of these can also occur with full reduplication with singular subjects. Attested examples are shown in (50).

- (50)
- a. *chek-yax* ‘lean’, *chek-chek-yax* ‘lean’ (attested only with plural subjects)
  - b. *hew-in* ‘set a bird onto a nest’ (attested with plural and singular subjects and objects), *hew-hew-in* ‘put tiles, tules on a roof’ (attested only with plural subjects)
  - c. *kwiv-yax* ‘lie down’ *kwiv-kwiv-yax* ‘lie down’ (attested only with plural subjects)

- d. *ming-yax* ‘swell up’, *ming-ming-yax* ‘swell up’ (attested only with plural subjects), or ‘be swollen’ (attested with perfective)
- e. *ngaq-yax* ‘perch, sit on top’, *ngaq-ngaq-yax* ‘perch, be sitting on something, be sticking out on top’ (attested only with plural subjects)
- f. *qay-yax* ‘hang’, *qay-qay-yax* ‘hang’ (attested only with plural subjects)
- g. *yut-yax* ‘stand (e.g., tree, house)’, *yut-yut-yax* ‘stand’ (attested only with plural subjects)

There are three types of partial reduplication: *l*-reduplication, where *l* substitutes for the initial consonant of the root in the rightward copies; CV-reduplication, where the initial CV of the root is copied to the left; and -VC reduplication, where the final VC of the root is copied to the right. In -VC reduplication, stress remains on the full root, while in CV-reduplication, stress shifts to the copy, the initial syllable. Some verbs exhibit more than one type of partial reduplication (and may occur with full reduplication as well).

*l*-reduplication is illustrated in (51). In (51a) *l*-reduplication is used stylistically.

- (51) a. *Pe-taxwi tekwe-lekwe-lekwe-pe-qal.*  
3S-BODY SHAKE-SHAKE-SHAKE-3S-PIS  
 He shook-shook-shook himself. (Coyote and Rabbit 024)
- b. *Kape-lape-yax-we.*  
OPEN-LDUP-YAX-PRES.STAT  
 It is cracked. (1 59 131)

Note that *kape*, seen with *l*-reduplication in (51b), has a full reduplication *kape-kape-yax* that means ‘yawn’.

*l*-reduplication is especially well attested in roots with initial *t*, and it is possible that *l* originates as a lenition of *t* with other *l*-reduplicants formed on analogy with this model. Such a lenition was probably productive historically but it has left only occasional traces in Cupeño, with *l*-reduplication being one such example. Another example of this type of lenition is seen in the *-l* forms of the NPN suffixes, which all come from PUA *\*-ta*. A similar case, where *p* lenites irregularly to *v* in reduplicated forms, can be seen in examples (54c,d). However, these lenitions are not productive. Furthermore, *l*-reduplication is also attested with roots with initial *ch*, *k*, *p*, and *s*, as seen below, so either it has spread by analogy or the resemblance of *l*-reduplication to the lenition of *t* to *l* is merely fortuitous. Initial *l* is a relatively rare sound in Cupeño, appearing in word-initial position in only six native words (although it is fairly common in Spanish loanwords).

In Tohono O’odham, a southern Uto-Aztecan language spoken in southern Arizona, *l* is an “expressive” variant of *d*, the latter being a reflex of PUA *\*y*. In Tohono O’odham, *l* can be substituted for *d* to make a word “funny,” e.g.,

*dapidwua* ‘slip’, *lepidwua* ‘slip in a humorous way, as on a banana peel’. Thus the apparent “expressive” character obvious in these examples of Cupeño *l-* reduplication may reflect a more widespread tendency.

A full list of forms attested with *l-* reduplication is given in (52).

- (52)
- a. *change-lange-yax* ‘be speckled’ (attested only in this form)
  - b. *chawe-lawe-yax* ‘wriggle’ (attested only in this form)
  - c. *kape-lape-yax* ‘be cracked (of an inanimate object such as wood)’ (see also *kapekape-yax* ‘yawn’ and *kapel-in* ‘open’)
  - d. *puchi-luchi-yax* ‘be lumpy’ (attested only in this form)
  - e. *siki-lyiki-lyiki-yax* ‘rattle, of beads’ (attested only in this form)
  - f. *siwe-liwe-yax* ‘flash, of lightning, sparkle’ (also *siwe-siwe-(i)n* ‘light many candles’)
  - g. *ta’a-la’a-yax* ‘stagger’ (attested only in this form; can be “stylistic” with multiple repetitions of the *-la’a* component)
  - h. *tachi-(i)n, -yax* ‘split’, *tachi-lachi-(i)n, -yax* ‘be splitting, as wood, tear into strips’ (see also *tach-* ‘tear’, *tash-tach-in*, *tash-tash-yax* ‘tear into multiple strips, split up’)
  - i. *tekwe-lekwe-(i)n* ‘shake off, brush off’ (attested only in this form)
  - j. *tevily-yax* ‘sparkle’, *tevily-(l)evily-yax* ‘flash, of lightning’ (attested also as expressive reduplication, see (44b))
  - k. *tukul-in, -yax* ‘splint, stick together’, *tuku-luku-yax* ‘be sticky’
  - l. *tush-Ø* ‘grind’, *tu-lush* ‘grind on metate’

The partial reduplications involve CV- and -VC copy types. Some roots exhibit both types of partial reduplication. An example is the root *kup* ‘sleep’. The CV-reduplication *ku-kup* means ‘lie in bed habitually’, while the VC reduplication, *kup-up*, means ‘be sleepy’. It is likely that many roots permit both processes. The three roots that are recorded with both types of reduplication are listed in (53).

- (53)
- a. *cheng (-in, -yax)* ‘kick, stamp’, *che-cheng*, *cheng-en* both mean ‘be kicking’, both occur in perfective
  - b. *kup-Ø* ‘sleep’, *ku-kup* ‘lie around in bed’, *kup-up* ‘be sleepy’
  - c. *kwaw (-in, -yax)* ‘shout, invite’, *kwa-kwaw* ‘call several times’, *kwaw-aw* ‘be hollering’

Most roots are attested only with CV- reduplication. The meaning of the reduplicated forms is usually repetitive or durative. Examples are given in (54). In (54o) the difference seems to be that between singular and plural subjects, *paq* ‘slap’ (sg. subject) versus *papaq* ‘slap’ (pl. subjects). In some cases the data attest the repetitive form only with imperfective inflection, such as with the two forms meaning ‘fight’. In a few cases below, the non-reduplicated form is attested only in a nominalization; these are glossed as nouns and are shown with their



“absolutive” (non-possessed) suffixes. Note that in many of these forms the root vowel is deleted according to regular processes discussed in 2.3.1.

- (54)
- a. *ewel* ‘blood’, *e-’we-Ø* ‘sweat (exude from body at many sites?)’
  - b. *eyet* ‘thief’, *e-’yew-in* ‘sneak up on’
  - c. *kush<sub>s</sub>-Ø* ‘take’, *ku-kush-Ø* ‘take several times’
  - d. *law-Ø*, *-in* ‘flick with finger, knock’, *la-law-Ø*, *-in* ‘flick repeatedly’
  - e. *lyaw-in*, *-yax* ‘dig’, *lya-lyaw-in*, *-yax* ‘dig repeatedly, be dug up’
  - f. *max<sub>s</sub>* ‘give’, *ma-mxat* ‘several things given’
  - g. *max-Ø* ‘grind’, *ma-max* ‘be grinding’ (attested only with imperfective)
  - h. *mish-Ø* ‘suck’, *mi-mish* ‘be sucking’ (attested only with imperfective)
  - i. *mul-Ø* ‘dig, of animals’, *mu-mul* ‘be digging’ (attested only with imperfective)
  - j. *nawvi-Ø* ‘fight’ (past perfective only), *na-navu-Ø* ‘fight’ (imperfective only)
  - k. *nayxi-Ø* ‘fight’ (past perfective only), *na-nayax-Ø* ‘fight’ (imperfective only)
  - l. *neq(e(n))<sub>s</sub>-Ø* ‘come’, *ne-ne-we* ‘walk around’ (imperfective *-we* suffixes only; see 4.6.1)
  - m. *nee-Ø* ‘make basket’, *ne-nex* ‘make baskets regularly or repeatedly’
  - n. *nget-in*, *-yax* ‘cut with axe, be cut straight’, *nge-ngti* ‘split wood, cut up meat in large chunks’
  - o. *paq-in* ‘hit, slap’, *pa-paq-in* ‘slap, of plural subjects’
  - p. *ping-in* ‘knock’, *pi-ping-in* ‘knock several times’
  - q. *šhem-Ø* ‘laugh’, *šhe-šhem-Ø* ‘be laughing’ (attested only with imperfective)
  - r. *tax-in* ‘poke hole’, *ta-tax-in* ‘poke several holes’
  - s. *tepin-Ø* ‘track, follow’, *te-tepin-Ø* ‘be tracking’ (attested only with imperfective)
  - t. *tew<sub>s</sub>-Ø* ‘see’, *tew-in* ‘glance’, *te-tw-in* ‘look around’, *te-tew-Ø* ‘take a look’
  - u. *techin-Ø* ‘grab’, *te-techin-Ø* ‘be grabbing’ (attested only with imperfective)
  - v. *tepil-Ø* ‘weave’, *te-tpil-Ø* ‘be weaving’
  - w. *ulaan-Ø* ‘sew’, *u-’la-Ø* ‘sew’
  - x. *un-in* ‘show’, *u-’n-in* ‘show repeatedly, teach’
  - y. *yax<sub>s</sub>-Ø* ‘say’, *ya-yax* ‘be saying’
  - z. *yuy* ‘cold’ (adj.), *yu-yuy-Ø* ‘snow (verb)’

Relatively few verbs are recorded with -VC reduplication. The usual meaning seems to be repetitive or durative. Examples are shown in (55).

- (55) a. *chen-yax* ‘roll over’, *chen-en-yax* ‘be rolling’  
 b. *cheng* (-in, -yax) ‘kick, stamp’, *cheng-en-in*, -yax ‘be kicking’ (also *che-cheng-in*; both occur in perfective)  
 c. *kwaw-in*, -yax ‘shout, invite’, *kwaw-aw-yax* ‘be hollering’ (also *kwa-kwaw-in* ‘call several times’)  
 d. *kulul-in* ‘stretch’, *kulul-ul-in* ‘drag’  
 e. *kup* ‘sleep’, *kup-up* ‘be sleepy’ (also *ku-kup* ‘lie around in bed’)  
 f. *mul-in* ‘boil’, *mul-ul-yax* ‘be boiling’

Several verbs appear as if they might be either CV- or -VC reduplicated forms but no non-reduplicated form is attested. Examples are *kewew-yax* ‘be trembling, shaking of earth’, *ngelel* ‘roam around’, *xalal* ‘rattle’, and *xavav* ‘crack nuts to eat them’.

A few verbs exhibit minor reduplication-like processes, of several types. Some of these are shown in (56). For instance, in (56a), the reduplication is *chequ-quly*, not \**chequuly-uly*. There are not enough examples of reduplications of stressed second syllables to determine whether this is a regular pattern of CV- reduplication for verbs with non-initial stress. Examples (56c,d) show full reduplication, with an irregular lenition of root-initial *p* to *v* in non-initial position. Such lenitions occur regularly in many Northern Uto-Aztec languages but are not regular in Cupeño. (56e) shows stress shifting in the reduplicated form. (56f,g) show *-aan* suffixation along with reduplication. Stress shifting, *-aan* suffixation, and glottal-stop infixation (seen here in (56b)) are minor processes that are discussed in more detail in 4.4.2.4.2 below.

- (56) a. *chequly-Ø* ‘tease’, *cheququly* ‘play jokes on’ (only attested in imperfective)  
 b. *naw-in* ‘be jealous’, *na’aw-in* ‘blame’  
 c. *pilyev-in* ‘break a long object’, *pilyiv-ilyi’ish* ‘brittle’  
 d. *piqav-yax* ‘get dark’, *piqi-viqi’aw* ‘in darkness’  
 e. *wal-in* ‘dig, of humans’, *wela-wal-in* ‘irrigate’  
 f. *wek-in* ‘slice’, *we-wek-in* ‘cut up in slices’, *we-wkan-Ø* ‘cut up something’  
 g. *wix* ‘step on’, *wi-wxan* ‘step on several times’

An aberrant reduplication pattern is attested in a nominalized form collected by Faye, seen in (57).

- (57) *qawqamaly* ‘invalid’ (probably *qaaw-qa-ma-ly*), cf. *qaawi* ‘die, be sick, singular subject’

Reduplications of all types often have specialized meanings in their conventional interpretation. Examples are seen in (58).

- (58)
- a. *a-'ayulu-Ø* ‘watch’, *ayulu-Ø* ‘hallucinate’
  - b. *kape(l)-in, -yax* ‘open, be open’, *kapel-apel-yax* ‘be cracked’, *kape-kape-yax* ‘yawn’
  - c. *kwich-in, kwish-yax* ‘squeeze, strangle’, *kwishkwich-in* ‘haunt’, *kwich-ish-yax* ‘get hard, be hard’
  - d. *islyu-Ø* ‘be like a coyote’, *i-'islyu-Ø* ‘tell lies’
  - e. *muhaan-Ø* ‘shoot with bow’, (from *muu-<sub>s</sub>*), *mu-mxan-yax* ‘throb, cramp’
  - f. *neng-Ø* ‘hide’, *ne-neng-Ø* ‘play pion’, *ne-ngen-Ø* ‘be hiding’
  - g. *ngeng-in, -yax* ‘run’, *ngeng-en* ‘be dodging’, *ngeng-en-yax* ‘beat fast of pulse, heart’
  - h. *hay-in, -yax* ‘reach to, end, tire’, *hay-hay-yax* ‘be short of breath’
  - i. *tach-in* ‘tear in strips’, *tash-tach-in* ‘be splitting’, *tatash-Ø* ‘crack acorns, hatch’
  - j. *way-in, -yax* ‘wave hand, swim’, *way-way* ‘blink eyes slowly’
  - k. *wily* ‘be hidden, hide’, *wily-wily-yax-we* ‘be striped, of fabric’
  - l. *wi'a(y)-yax* ‘be expensive’, *wi'a-wi'a-Ø, -in, -yax* ‘raise eyebrows’

**4.4.2.4.2. MINOR ASPECTUAL PROCESSES: STRESS SHIFTING, ABLAUT, -AAN SUFFIXATION, GLOTTAL-STOP INFIXATION.** Many Cupeño verb roots exhibit alternations in the root that reflect specialized minor processes of obscure function. These sometimes can be shown to yield aspect-like effects. There are four such processes: stress shifting, ablaut, *-aan* suffixation, and glottal-stop infixation. These sometimes occur in combination both with one another and with reduplication. In spite of the fact that these processes occur with some very common verbs, it is difficult to discern any major regularities in their functions. Indeed, the very common stress-shifting and ablauting verb, *achiwin, ichaaywin* ‘do, make’, and several quite common roots that appear with and without *-aan* suffixing, seem to be in free variation, and I cannot determine what differences in meaning are implied by using one form or the other. However, I list examples of these minor processes here because they may be of importance for comparative linguistics. Semantically and phonologically similar roots within the Tactic languages often are attested with one variant in one language and another variant in another, which obscures their underlying cognacy. For instance, Lobo (2002), comparing Luiseño with Acjachemem (Juaneño) of San Juan Capistrano, identified many cases where the verb in one language is apparently a stress-shifted, ablauted, or *-aan* incremented variant of the verb in the other language. Assembling all examples of these phenomena may thus permit us to reconstruct a Proto-Tactic stage in which these processes were more productive. Because of the paucity of data on these matters, I do not restrict the examples below to verbs in the narrow sense but include also related nouns, adjectives, and adverbs.

In the case of stress shifting, some examples clearly involve aspect alternation, with one form being more “perfective,” the other more “imperfective.” Sometimes

this overlaps with an active-stative distinction, where the more “imperfective” form is a state resulting from an action, and the more “perfective” form is the action itself. In the examples in (59) the forms with initial-syllable stress appears to be more “perfective.”

- (59) a. *chi'in-in* ‘lift object’, *chi'in-Ø* ‘carry in arms’  
 b. *epe-yax* ‘ease pack’, *epe'e-yax* ‘relax, rest for a while’  
 c. *kilyul-yax* ‘slip’, *kilyisiwe* ‘it is slippery’  
 d. *piqav-yax* ‘get dark’, *piqav-yax* ‘be dark’, *piqiviqi'aw* ‘in darkness’  
 e. *salakw-Ø* ‘scratch once’, *salakw-Ø*, *-yax* ‘scratch lots, be scratching, be scratched up’  
 f. *su'lin-Ø* ‘start one basket’ (cf. *sul-in*, *-yax* ‘tie’), *sulin* ‘start baskets again and again’  
 g. *wal-in* ‘dig, of humans’, *welawal-in* ‘irrigate’  
 h. *wi'a* ‘raise’, *wi'ay-in*, *-yax* ‘charge a lot; be high, expensive’

In contrast, in the examples in (60), the more “perfective” examples have the non-initial stress.

- (60) a. *a\$hav'a* ‘naked, empty-handed, bare’, *a\$ha* ‘get dressed’  
 b. *chipi-yax* ‘be broken into little pieces’, *chipil-in* ‘break into little pieces’  
 c. *ela-(i)n* ‘wait for’, ‘turn head’ (*-yax*), *elaa-yax* ‘turn head to see’ (attested with perfective)  
 d. *pichingish* ‘belongings’, *pichin-Ø* ‘get’, *pichinve'esh* ‘one who gets belongings (in ceremony)’  
 e. *pilyiv-yax* ‘be broken, of long object’, *pilyiv-in* ‘break long object’

In still other examples, as shown in (61), there is no clear aspectual or active-stative distinction between the forms.

- (61) a. *chashpel-Ø* ‘patch, mend’, *chepal-Ø* ‘patch, mend’ (latter only in *-a* nominalization, as *-chepal'a*)  
 b. *hew'ni-Ø* ‘carry in hands’, *hewin-Ø* ‘carry in hands’ (may be related to *hew-in* ‘set a bird onto nest’)  
 c. *kaval'yimal* ‘quick’, *kaval-yax* ‘beat fast, of heart’  
 d. *malaxw-Ø* ‘taste’, *malaxw-Ø* ‘try’  
 e. *puchaq-yax* ‘jump’, *puchaq-yax* ‘jump’  
 f. *ti'a-Ø* ‘roost’, *ti'a-Ø* ‘roost’ (and also *natij* ‘land, of bird, roost’)  
 g. *waqa* ‘shoe’, *waqa* ‘put on shoe’  
 h. *wawvashish* ‘long’, *wavashish* ‘long’  
 i. *wisik-in*, *-yax* ‘scratch, be scratched’, *wisik-in* ‘scratch at door’  
 j. *wichax-in* ‘drop, throw, throw out’ *wichax-in* ‘drop, throw’

Ablaut occurs in several forms. The present discussion is not concerned with the vocalic augments *-i* and *-a* induced by the ablauting suffixes that were discussed in 2.4.2. These occur very regularly when the ablauting suffixes are attached to stressless roots and to several derivational and inflectional suffixes grammaticalized from stressless roots. However, in the cases discussed here, vocalic increments added to verb roots, or changes in vowels within the roots, do not result from this regular process. I have already mentioned (see the example in (41) in 4.4.2.1 above) verbs that add *-i* in the perfective; I repeat a couple of examples in (62).

- (62) a. *amu-Ø* ‘hunt’ (imperfective), *ami-Ø*, *am’i-Ø* ‘hunt’ (perfective only)  
 b. *nawašh-Ø* ‘hold, keep’ (imperfective only), *nawašhi* ‘keep’ (perfective only)

Vowel changes sometimes co-occur with stress shift. Examples are shown in (63).

- (63) a. *a’chiwin* ‘make, do’; *ichqaywin* ‘make, do’ (These are very well attested and both appear in all inflections; there may be a preference for *a’chiwin* with *-qat*, the immediate future suffix.)  
 b. *ixa* ‘cough’, *axi* ‘cough’ (attested in stylistic reduplication only with imperfective)  
 c. *huva* ‘sniff’, *huvq* ‘smell’, *hewviy* ‘smell’ (attested with perfective and reduplicated with stylistic reduplication and imperfective)  
 d. *piqav* ‘get dark’, *piqav* ‘be dark’, *piqiviqi’aw* ‘in darkness’  
 e. *pis’ish* ‘rotten’, *pisq’ish* ‘rotten’

The stressless root *kušh<sub>s</sub>* ‘get, take’ appears also as *kušhi*, *kušhiy* in contexts where the presence of the *-i* increment is not motivated by an *i*-ablauting suffix. However, there is no obvious association with any aspectual difference. Other examples of incremental *-i* include *wen<sub>s</sub>* ‘put in’, *wenin* ‘miss target in shooting’, *sul* ‘tie’, *su’lin* ‘start one basket’, *sulin* ‘start baskets again and again’, *maa(n)* ‘leave alone, leave behind’, *ma’nin*, *manin* ‘fast, diet’.

A rare vowel alternation involves *a ~ e* in forms derived from stressless roots, where the alternation is not due to the reduction of *a* to [ə] in unstressed syllables. Examples are in (64). Both of these involve suffixation of the stressless root with a derivational suffix.

- (64) a. *ala’a* ‘head louse’, *ale-yew* ‘pick lice’ (cf. *ne-’ala-m* ‘my head lice’)  
 b. *tav<sub>s</sub>* ‘put down’, *teve-lu* ‘go to put away’

A number of verbs appear with an increment *-aan* attached to the root. Suffixation with *-aan* sometimes causes a stress shift to the suffix. Stress shift itself, as

seen above, often involves aspectual effects. Suffixation with *-aan* is common with some stressless verb roots, including *kush*<sub>-s</sub> ‘get, take’, *muu*<sub>-s</sub> ‘shoot a bow’, *tav*<sub>-s</sub> ‘put down, put in a flat place’, and *wen*<sub>-s</sub> ‘put into a concave place’, but examples also appear with other verbs. Note that if the first syllable of an *-aan* suffixed verb is reduplicated, stress shifts to the reduplicated syllable and *-aan* appears as *-an*, phonetically usually [ən]. However, many verbs suffixed with *-aan* appear with stress on the root (in which case the suffix shortens to *-an*).

Several of these verbs are very well attested in both my own materials and in Faye’s notes and texts. In spite of this wealth of data, for the majority of these verbs I can discern no pattern that would explain why speakers select one form over the other. Roscinda Nolasquez, when asked, stated that either form was acceptable regardless of inflection and had no suggestions to make about possible meaning differences. A number of examples are attested only in reduplicated forms where the *-aan* suffix is unstressed. Examples are shown in (65). In two cases, (65d) and (65e), the addition of *-aan* appears to make the form transitive but this is not consistent.

- (65)
- a. *hewvaan*-Ø ‘hit’
  - b. *ix*-Ø ‘do’, *ixan* ‘do thus’
  - c. *kush*<sub>-s</sub>-Ø ‘take’, *kushaan* ‘take’, *kushaa*, *kusha* ‘pick up’ (cf. *kushiy* ‘take’, *kushiy* ‘take’)
  - d. *muu*<sub>-s</sub>-Ø ‘shoot with bow and hit’, *muha*, *muhaan* ‘shoot at something with bow’, *mumhaan*, *mumxan* ‘shoot at something repeatedly’, *muhī* ‘shoot once’ (according to Faye’s notes)
  - e. *neng*-Ø ‘hide’, *nengaan*-Ø ‘hide something’
  - f. *ngelel-yax* ‘tell all around, spread gossip’, *ngelelan-in* ‘visit’
  - g. *tav*<sub>-s</sub>-Ø ‘put down, put in wide container’, *tavaan*-Ø, *tavan-in*
  - h. *tewe(n)* ‘grow’, *tew’naan* ‘plant’
  - i. *u’la*-Ø, *ulaan*, *u’lan* ‘sew’
  - j. *wen*<sub>-s</sub>-Ø ‘put in’, *wenaan* ‘put in’ (attested as future perfect), (cf. *wenin* ‘miss target’)
  - k. *wewva*-Ø, *wewvan*, *wewvaan* ‘beat, hit’
  - l. *wix-in* ‘step on’, *wiwxan-in* ‘step on several objects’

Glottal-stop infixation often co-occurs with other minor processes. In one case of glottal-stop infixation (which also involved stress shifting), (66e), Roscinda Nolasquez took a firm position on the difference in meaning of a glottal-stop-infixed form versus a form without the infixation and with a different stress. However, she was unable to suggest a meaning difference for the other forms and said that either form was “OK” regardless of inflection.

- (66)
- a. *maa(n)* ‘leave alone, leave behind’, *ma’nin* ‘fast, diet’ (also *manin*)
  - b. *naw* ‘be jealous’, *na’aw* ‘blame’

- c. *paq-in* ‘slap’, *pa’qat* ‘knock aside’
- d. *pi’-Ø* ‘bewitch’, *piv’e* ‘bewitch’ (probably from *pi’-pi-e* with irregular lenition of *p*)
- e. *sulin* ‘start baskets repeatedly’, *su’lin* ‘start a basket once’
- f. *tewin*, *tewin* ‘gather’, *te’win* ‘gather’
- g. *tetechi* ‘grab’, *tesh’i* ‘grab’

**4.5. STATIVE VOICE.** The aspectual suffixes that encode subject number are all in the active voice. All the imperfective aspects also have stative suffixes. Statives are marked by *-we* in the present tense, *-wen* in the past tense, and *-wene* in the customary and future. These are homophonous with the plural forms of the active-voice imperfective suffixes. However, the stative suffixes do not encode subject number, and can appear with either singular or plural subjects. The source of this series of suffixes is probably PUA *\*-wa* ‘passive’ (Heath 1998). Since *a* becomes [ə] in unstressed position in Cupeño, this suffix has fallen together with *-we*, the present plural, truncated from *-wen*. Note that there is no stative of the immediate future; only *-qat*, *-qatim* appear, agreeing with singular and plural subjects respectively. Examples of statives are seen in (67). All of these examples have singular subjects—for instance, in (67c) the order “Be gone!” is being given to Coyote—yet the aspect suffixes are in the *-we* series, which is plural in the active voice.

- (67) a. *Ki-sh = she = 'et*      *wawam-ish yaq-yax-we*      *e-ki-ngax*.  
 HOUSE-NPN = DUB = 2SABS    FAR-TIMES      BE.ABSENT-YAX-PRST    2S-HOUSE-FROM  
 You have been away from your house a long time. (Faye field notes 4–6–27  
 16 fp)
- b. *Heeyaa!*    *Axwe-sh*    *axwa-'aw*    *ngaq-yax-we*    *ishmi'i!*  
 HEY!            ODEM-NPN    ODEM-AT      PERCH-YAX-PRST    SOMETHING  
 Hey! That’s something sitting there on top! (Coyote and Flood 041)
- c. *Yaq-yax-wene,*    *me = pe*    *qay = 'e = pe*    *naachi men-a-ngiy*.  
 BE.ABSENT-YAX-FST    AND = IRR    NOT = 2S = IRR    SOON      TURN-YAX-MOTG.F  
 Be gone, and don’t come back soon. (RN Creation 096)
- d. *Ne' = ne*      *tew-qa'*      *sul-pe-yax-weni-ve-y*.  
 ISPRO = 1SERG    SEE-PRS      TIE-3S-YAX-PISTI-SUBR-O  
 I saw where it was tied up. (of a horse) (Faye field notes 4–6–27 6)

While there is a special affinity between verbs of the *-yax* class and the stative, statives are found with the  $\emptyset$  thematic class as well. In the examples in (68), we see a rare  $\emptyset$ -class stative. This is the usual way to say ‘be asleep’. The defective verb *nene* ‘walk around’, which appears with *-we(n)* with both singular and plural subjects, may also be a  $\emptyset$ -class stative verb.

- (68) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' gayiina pulish-pe-ya-qal, isi-ly*  
 AND = REP DET CHICKEN GO.OUT-3S-YAX-PIS COYOTE-NPN  
*piyama-nga pe-kup-wen.*  
 STILL-INL 3S-SLEEP-PIST  
 And it is said Hen got out, Coyote was still asleep. (Coyote and Hen 039)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-'aw puk-ngax awa-l pe-kup-wen.*  
 AND = REP ODEM-AT DOOR-FROM DOG-NPN 3S-SLEEP-PIST  
 And it is said a dog was asleep by the door. (Fox and Buzzard 009)

**4.6. DEFECTIVE VERBS.** A few Cupeño verbs are “defective.” They appear only with certain inflectional affixes, and not with others. The defective verbs are listed in (69). Each verb has its own peculiarities, which are discussed below.

- (69) a. *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub> ~ menmax* ‘come’  
 b. *nenewe* ‘be going around, walking around’  
 c. *qa ~ we* ‘be, be there’  
 d. *hakwiqa* ‘be hungry’  
 e. *papaviqa* ‘be thirsty’

**4.6.1. *NEQ(E(N))<sub>-s</sub>, NENEWE.*** The defective verbs *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>* ‘come’ and *nenewe* ‘go around, walk around’ are very common and deserve full treatment. *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>* is probably related to *nenewe* ‘be walking around’, with *nenewe* being an irregular reduplicated form. The first tends strongly towards perfectivity, the second towards imperfectivity. The first appears only with what look like singular suffixes, the second only with what look like plural (or stative) suffixes. However, both can appear with either singular or plural subjects.

In the present tense, *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>* appears only with the present-singular suffix *-qa*, regardless of the number of the subject, as shown in (70). Note that *neq-qa* becomes *neqa*; I show both *q*’s below for clarity. This may be another case of syllable haplology like those with *-we* discussed in 2.5.4. However, this form should be compared with the otherwise very similar stressless verb root *meq(a(n))<sub>-s</sub>*, which has the singular present-tense form *meqaqa*, not *\*meqa*.

- (70) a. *Ne' = e neq-qa.*  
 ISPRO = CF COME-PRS  
 I’m coming. (3 45 55)
- b. *Chem = esh neq-qa.*  
 IPLPRO = 1PLABS COME-PRS  
 We’re coming. (3 45 56)



Roscinda Nolasquez volunteered the identical form for a future (although without the usual irrealis clitic = *pe*), seen in (71).

- (71) *Tukumay* = *esh chem neq-qa*.  
 TOMORROW = 1PLERG 1PLPRO COME-PRS  
 We're coming tomorrow. (3 47 67)

However, the usual future-tense form is suppletive *menmax*, which is also the base for the immediate future, the habilitative and the imperative, and is required with *-vichu*, the desiderative. The habilitative should be *menma'a'ax*; my recording in (72b) may be mistranscribed. Examples appear in (72). I am not sure what the context would be for the imperative in (72d), which was elicited along with the rest of the paradigm; usually the exhortation 'come!' is *navya'a!* 'come here!' or *hani!* 'come along! let's go!' (with PN clitics = *che=el* '1PL inclusive' or *-sh* '1PL exclusive').

- (72) a. *Tukumay* = *ne = pe ne' menmax*.  
 TOMORROW = 1S = IRR 1SPRO COME.F  
 I will come tomorrow. (3 45 60)
- b. *Chem* = *qwe = sh tukumay menma'ax*.  
 1PLPRO = NONI = 1PLABS TOMORROW COME.HAB  
 We can come tomorrow. (3 47 69)
- c. *Ne' = en aput menmax-vichu-qal-at*.  
 1SPRO = 1SERG ALREADY COME.FUT-DES-PIS-NPN  
 I've wanted to come for a long time. (3 47 70)
- d. *Menma'xe!*  
 COME.IMP.S  
 Come!

The past-tense form is simply *-neq*, as in (73). *Neq(e(n))<sub>s</sub>* cannot appear with past imperfective suffixes. My field notes contain an entry "can't say *achi* = 'ep with *neq*," suggesting that *achi* 'long ago' is too "imperfective" a context for the verb.

- (73) a. *Tuku* = 'ep *ne' ne-neq*.  
 YESTERDAY-R 1SPRO 1S-COME  
 Yesterday I came. (3 45 58)

- b. *Chem* = 'ep      ***chem-neq***.  
 1PLPRO = R      1PL-COME  
 We came. (3 45 59)

The extra *n* indicated in the reconstructed root *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>* appears in the adjectival derivation *neqne-t* (see 8.1.2), as in (73). Note that Faye's recording in (74b) (on the "facing page" of the recording of a text, where he elicited extra forms of verbs appearing in the text) does not have a plural suffix with the first-person-plural subject.

- (74) a. *Ne*' = en      ***neqn-et***.  
 1SPRO = 1SABS      COME-NPN  
 I was coming. (Faye KP fp 91)
- b. *Chem* = *esh*      ***neqn-et***.  
 1PLPRO = 1PLABS      COME-NPN  
 We were coming. (Faye KP fp 91)

The customary form is *neqa-ne* regardless of subject number; \**neqen-wene* does not appear. An example of the singular customary with a plural subject is seen in (75).

- (75) *Mi* = *tew-qa* = *ne*,      ***neq-qa-ne* = *l***.  
 3PLO = SEE-PRS = 1SERG      COME-PRS-CUSTS-3PLABS  
 When I see them, they are coming. (Faye Future 7 358)

The defective verb *nene* 'walk around, go around' contrasts with *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>* in that it only appears with *-we* and related forms, regardless of the subject number, and probably should be considered inherently stative. It is never perfective. The apparent root, *nene*, may be a reduplication of the CV- sequence in *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>*. Present-tense forms are seen in (76).

- (76) a. *Ne*' = en      *wiyika* ***nene-we***.  
 1SPRO = 1SABS      AROUND      GO.AROUND-PRPL  
 I am walking around. (3 45 37)
- b. *Ataxa-m* = *el*      ***nene-we***, *nangi-w-t-am*.  
 PERSON-PL = 1PLABS      GO.AROUND      WAR-AUG-NPN-PL  
 There are people going around, warriors. (Faye KP 83 21 023)

In contrast to *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>*, *nene* can be used with the past imperfective *-wen* but not with singular imperfective *-qal* (recall that *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>* does not appear in the

imperfective at all). Examples are seen in (77). The adverb *achi* ‘long ago’ is acceptable with *nene-wen*, as seen in (77c).

- (77) a. *Ne' = 'ep* *tuku* ***ne-nene-wen***.  
 ISPRO = R    YESTERDAY    IS-GO.AROUND-PIPL  
 Yesterday I was going around. (3 45 39)
- b. *Chem = 'ep* *peta'ama-'aw* *tuku* ***chem-nene-wen***.  
 IPLPRO = R    ALL-AT    YESTERDAY    IPL-GO.AROUND-PIPL  
 Yesterday we were walking around everywhere. (3 45 42)
- c. *Achi = 'ep* *ne'* ***ne-nene-wen***.  
 LONG.AGO = R    ISPRO    IS-GO.AROUND-PIPL  
 Long ago I used to go around. (3 45 43)

The imperfective form is the base for the immediate future, shown in (78).

- (78) a. *Ne' = ne* *aya* ***nene-weni-qat***.  
 ISPRO = ISERG    NOW    GO.AROUND-PIPLI-IF  
 I'm gonna walk around. (3 45 45)
- b. *Chem = esh* *aya* ***nene-weni-qat-im***.  
 IPLPRO = IPLABS    NOW    GO.AROUND-PIPLI-IF-PL  
 We're gonna walk around. (3 45 46)

*Nene-we* forms a future by adding *-ne*, as in (79), resulting in a form that looks like the future imperfective plural. However, the singular and plural forms are identical. This form is also used for the habilitative and the imperative, shown in (79c,d).

- (79) a. *Ne' = ne = pe* *tukumay* ***nene-wene***.  
 ISPRO = IS = IRR    TOMORROW    GO.AROUND-FIPL  
 I will be walking around tomorrow. (3 45 41)
- b. *Chem = che = pe* *tukumay* *peta'ama-'aw* ***nene-wene***.  
 IPLPRO = IPL = IRR    TOMORROW    ALL-AT    GO.AROUND-FIPL  
 We'll be going around everywhere tomorrow. (3 45 42)
- c. *Ne' = qwe = n* ***nene-wene***.  
 ISPRO = NONI = ISABS    GO.AROUND.HAB  
 I can go around. (3 45 52)

d. *Nenewene-m!*

GO.AROUND.IMP-PL

Go around, all of you! (3 45 54)

**4.6.2.** *QA* ~ *WE* ‘BE, BE THERE’; *HIW* ~ *QA* ~ *QAL* ~ *MAX* ‘BE, BE THERE’; *HIW(EN)* ‘STAND, STOP’. The three sets of verbs listed in the title to this section are involved in an intricate set of interactions involving suppletion for subject number, animacy of subject, and positional meaning. While only *qa* ~ *we* are genuinely “defective,” the relationship between the three sets means that they need to be discussed together.

**4.6.2.1.** *QA* ~ *WE* ‘BE, BE THERE’. The defective verbs *qa* and *we* appear only in those forms (by regular rule (2.5.3) they are always followed by epenthetic glottal stops, so will appear as *qa’* and *we’* respectively in the examples below), in the sense of French *voilà* or English expressions like “there it is, there they are.” They are etymologically related to the tense–aspect suffixes *-qa(l)* and *-we(n)*. The tense–aspect suffixes mark subject number, with *-qa(l)* encoding singular and *-we(n)* encoding plural or stative, in which case subject number is not differentiated. The pattern with the free-standing verbs *qa* and *we*, however, is slightly different. Animate subjects always appear with *qa*. Inanimate subjects appear with *qa* in the singular and *we* in the plural.

Seiler (1977) stated that in Cahuilla, which has almost the same forms, the critical semantic feature determining which of the pair would appear was “individuation”: When nouns that normally are mass nouns are individuated, then they will take singular verbs; otherwise they will take the plural form. Jacobs (1975: 185) states that in Cupeño the crucial distinction is animate versus inanimate, with *qa* for animates and *we* for inanimates. However, my own data consistently differentiate number for the inanimates as long as these are “individuated” rather than mass.

Examples with animate nouns, which always appear with *qa* regardless of number, are seen in (80).

(80) a. *Hunwe-t-im-el qa’ yami-’aw.*

BEAR-NPN-PL = 3PLABS BE WOODS-AT

The bears are in the woods. (2 107 253)

b. *Ewev = el ataxa-m ki-’aw qa’.*

DDEM = 3PLABS PERSON-PL HOUSE-AT BE

There are some people in the house. (7 93 57)

c. *Mivi-’aw = el qa’.*

INDEF-AT = 3PLABS BE

Where are they sitting? (11 43 87)

Examples with inanimate nouns, with which the verbs encode subject number, are seen in (81).

- (81) a. *Ivi-y = e qa' daraangxa nu-muchi.*  
 PDEM-O = CF BE ORANGE IS-IN.FRONT  
 The orange is right here by me. (2 7 0053)
- b. *I' = am ivi-'aw met'i-ch-am daraangxa'-am we'.*  
 PDEM = MIR PDEM-AT MUCH-NPN-PL ORANGE-PL BE  
 The oranges are right here by me. (2 7 0045)

Inanimate mass nouns appear with *we* even when they are formally singular, as seen in (82). (82d) is a good example of a failure of “individuation” in Seiler’s (1979) terms; it is not known whether the “something” is singular or plural, so *we* is used.

- (82) a. *Qay hi-sh ne-kelaw-'a we' pe-chi ne'*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN IS-WOOD-PSD BE 3S-OBL ISPRO  
*ne-'anin-pi ku-t.*  
 IS-LIGHT.FIRE-SUBIRR FIRE-NPN  
 I don’t have enough wood for a fire. (9 11 131)
- b. *Kwini-ly = e nee'e-t-nga'aw we'.*  
 ACORN-NPN = CF BASKET-NPN-IN BE  
 The acorn/s is/are in the basket. (2 101 177)
- c. *Ne-ti'ive atire met'i-sh we'.*  
 IS-CLOTHES VERY MUCH-NPN BE  
 I have a lot of clothes. (6 91 149)
- d. *Ivi-'aw ki-'aw hishmi'i we'.*  
 PDEM-AT HOUSE-AT SOMETHING BE  
 Something is in the house. (7 93 55)

**4.6.2.2. HIW ~ QA ~ QAL ~ MAX.** The verb *hiw ~ qa ~ qal ~ max* is suppletive for subject number and tense. It is not, strictly speaking, a “defective” verb, since it has a complete (albeit suppletive) paradigm. However, it has an intricate interaction with *qa ~ we*, as well as with a slightly irregular verb *hiwe(n)* meaning ‘stop, stand’, so is best discussed in detail in this section.

In the past tense, singular animate subjects in sentences with the general meaning ‘be in a place’ appear only with *-hiwqal*. With animates, *-hiwqal ~ -qal* can have a rather general sense that includes ‘be in a place, dwell, live’. The contrast between singular *-hiwqal* and plural *-qal* can be seen easily in the sentence in (83).

- (83) *Mu = ku'ut pe-ye-y pe-tuyyung hi-ngax mivi-ngax supul-im*  
 AND = REP 3S-MOTHER-O 3S-ASK WHAT-FROM INDEF-FROM OTHER-PL  
*pem-na-m pem-qal-ve me qay pe-na pe-hiw-qali-ve.*  
 3PL-FATHER-PL 3PL-BE-SUBR AND NOT 3S-FATHER 3S-BE-PISI-SUBR  
 And he asked his mother why ever the fathers of the others were alive and his father was not living. (Faye KP FN 29 092a)

Jacobs (1975:185) treats *-qal*, *-wen* as past-tense forms of *qa ~ we*, as treated in 4.5.2 above. However, as we have seen, *-qal* with animate subjects requires that those subjects be plural. *-qal* can appear with singular subjects. However, when these subjects are animates, *-qal* does not have the general sense of ‘be in a place, dwell’ but acquires a positional sense, ‘lie’. The inanimate plural (or stative) form *-wen* can also mean ‘lie’ but it can also be used more generally (although it cannot mean ‘stand’). It is attested in my data only with mass nouns. This positional sense is not seen in the defective present-tense verb *qa ~ we*, which has no positional significance but simply means ‘be in a place’.

Examples of *-qal* ‘lie’ with singular subjects are seen in (84). In (84a), *peqal* means ‘lie, of a dead body’. In (84b) *peqal* describes the location of Rattlesnake; the previous sentence of the Creation Account has pointed out that Rattlesnake has no legs.

- (84) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e pe-pašhma axwa-'aw pe-qal qaawi-sh.*  
 AND = REP DET = CF 3S-OLDER.BROTHER ODEM-AT 3S-LIE DEAD-NPN  
 And it is said his older brother lay there dead. (Coyote and Flood 065)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-'aw pe-qal.*  
 AND = REP ODEM-AT 3S-LIE  
 And it is said he lay there. (Faye Creation 047)

In (85) we see *-qal* with an inanimate singular subject. Here it has no special positional significance. This example illustrates the special switch-reference suffix used with *-qal*, which is discussed in Chapter 11.

- (85) *Puy-lya'a-ch-i te-tew-qa' pe-qal-lee.*  
 DINE-INSTN-NPN-O DUP-SEE-PRS 3S-BE-DS  
 I saw the table where we left it. (literally, ‘where it was, stood’) (4 69 82)

*-wen* need not necessarily have positional significance. In (86a) we see *-wen* with the mass noun ‘water’, where the translation ‘lie’ is felicitous (and indeed Faye used that translation). However, in (86b) we see it with ‘crackers’, where there is probably no positional sense; the consultant is talking about growing up without store-bought food. Note that *-wen* behaves like an unstressed root, with stress on the prefix, or shifting to the *-i* augment when it is present.

- (86) a. *Wawam e-ki Kupa, Pal Atingve, e-pa-w = e*  
FAR YOUR-HOUSE CUPA WATER HOT 2S-WATER-PSD = CF

***pe-weni-ve.***

3S-LIEi-SUBR

Your home is far away at Cupa, at Hot Springs, where your water lies.

(Faye KP 99 66 031)

- b. *Qay hi-sh pe-wen crackers.*

NOT WHAT-NPN 3S-BE.THERE CRACKERS

There were no crackers. (Faye Texts 78 fp 0996)

The present-tense form with singular subjects is *hiw-qa*. The present plural with animate subjects, however, is *qa*. I give the pair of sentences shown in (87c,d) to make clear that Roscinda Nolasquez felt that the two forms were part of a single paradigm, overlapping with the *qa ~ we* ‘voilà’ usage. The word ‘sitting’ was offered in elicitation; in subsequent sentences in that elicitation session, Roscinda Nolasquez offered forms of *nash* ‘sit’, apparently preferring that verb to gloss the English example.

- (87) a. *Ivi-'aw = am pe' hiw-qa.*  
PDEM-AT = MIR 3SPRO BE.THERE-PRS  
 This is where she is living. (Faye 2-6-27 28 471)

- b. *Ichakwin hiw-qa.*  
WELL BE.THERE-PRS  
 You're O.K. (Doves 010)

- c. *Ne' = en hiw-qa ivi-'aw.*  
ISPRO = 1SABS BE.THERE-PRS PDEM-AT  
 I'm sitting here. (2 19 194)

- d. *Chem = esh qa' ivi-'aw.*  
1PLPRO = 1PLABS BE.THERE PDEM-AT  
 We're sitting here. (2 19 195)

The future-tense forms are *hiw-nash* with the singular and *max* for the plural. These are also the bases for the immediate future and for irrealis-subordinated forms. Examples are seen in (88).

- (88) a. *E-t-im me = l = pe axwa-'aw max.*  
DDEM-NPN-PL AND = 3PLABS = IRR ODEM-AT BE.THERE.F  
 They will be there. (2 93 8)

- b. *E' = e = pe axwa-'aw hiw-nash.*  
 2SPRO = CF = IRR ODEM-AT BE.THERE-FIS  
 You will be there. (2 93 9)
- c. *Atire ichakwin max-qat-im.*  
 VERY WELL BE.THERE-IF-PL  
 You all will live well. (Warners II 041)
- d. *Tukumay awa-l ne-'ash hiw-nash-qat.*  
 TOMORROW DOG-NPN 1S-PET BE.THERE-FIS-IF  
 I will have a dog tomorrow. (2 97 84)
- e. *Ne' = 'ep ne-'ayew-qal axwa-'aw ne-hiw-nash-pi.*  
 1SPRO = R 1S-WANT-PIS ODEM-AT 1S-BE.THERE-FIS-SUBIRR  
 I wanted to be there. (2 93 17)
- f. *Chem = 'ep chem-'ayew-wen che'-max-pi.*  
 1PLPRO = R 1PL-WANT-PIPL 1PL-BE.THERE-SUBIR  
 We wanted to be there. (2 93 18)

The counterfactual sentences in (89a,b) show customary forms. The plural is irregular. The habilitative forms, shown in (89c,d) are identical.

- (89) a. *Me = she = qwe = n = pe mixa-nuk axwa-'aw hiw-ne.*  
 AND = DUB = NONI = 1SABS = IRR BE.LIKEa-SS ODEM-AT BE.THERE-CUSTS  
 I wish I had been there. (2 93 20)
- b. *Me = she = qwe-sh = pe mixa-nuk chem axwa-'aw*  
 AND = DUB = NONI = 1PLABS = IRR BE.LIKEa-SS 1PLPRO ODEM-AT  
*ma'a.*  
 BE.THERE.CUST  
 We wish we had been there. (2 93 21)
- c. *Ne' = qwe = n qay ivi-'aw hiwne.*  
 1SPRO = NONI = 1SABS NOT PDEM-AT BE.THERE.HAB  
 I can't be here. (6 59 405)
- d. *Axwe-ch-im = qwe = l ivi-'aw ma'a.*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL = NONI = 3PLABS PDEM-AT BE.THERE.HAB.PL  
 They can be here. (6 59 406)

**4.6.2.3. HIW(EN) 'STAND, STOP'.** To complicate matters, there is a third verb, *hiw(en)* 'stand, stop' that is almost certainly related to *hiw ~ qa ~ qal ~ max* but



the derivation is not regular. Examples for the present tense are seen in (90), where we see a  $\emptyset$ -class verb. However, as will be seen below, this root also appears with *-in* and *-yax* thematic suffixes. Note that when the verb in the  $\emptyset$  thematic class is singular with a singular subject, it means ‘stop’. In the stative, it means ‘stand’. These forms are identical to the present-tense forms of *hiw ~ qa ~ qal ~ max*, except for their meanings. As pointed out in 2.5.4, *hiwe(n)* exhibits syllable haplology when suffixed with forms of the *-we* series. I write both root *w* and suffix-initial *w* below, although only one is pronounced.

- (90) a. *E' = e hiw-qa!*  
 2SPRO = CF BE.THERE-PRS  
 You stop! (Doves 009)
- b. *Ne' = en u-mu-chi hiw-we.*  
 1SPRO = 1SABS 2S-IN.FRONT BE.THERE-PRST  
 I'm standing in front of you. (3 99 16)
- c. *Chem = esh hiw-we.*  
 1PLPRO = 1PLABS STAND-PRPL  
 We are standing. (2 23 272)

In contrast, in the past tense both stative and singular-active forms are attested in text with singular subjects, as seen in (91).

- (91) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e pe-pashma axwa-'aw pe-hiw-wen.*  
 AND = REP DET = CF 3S-OLDER.BROTHER ODEM-AT 3S-STAND-PIST  
 And it is said his older brother was standing there. (Coyote and Flood 082)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut aya pe' = e axwa-'aw piyama pe-hiw-qal.*  
 AND = REP THEN 3SPRO = CF ODEM-AT STILL 3S-BE-PIS  
 And it is said she kept standing there. (KP I 074)

In elicitation, Roscinda Nolasquez offered a perfective form *-hiwen*, in both  $\emptyset$  and *-yax* forms.

- (92) a. *Achi = 'ep ne-hiwen, me amay qay.*  
 LONG.AGO = R 1S-STAND AND NOW NOT  
 I used to stand but I don't anymore. (2 23 281)
- b. *Achi = 'ep hiwen-chem-yax-wen, me amay qay.*  
 LONG.AGO = R STAND-1PL-YAX-PIPL AND NOW NOT  
 We used to stand but we don't anymore. (2 23 282)

In the *-yax* form, the verb can be used for ‘stop’ of inanimates.

- (93) *Aput = e hiwen-a-qa wewe-nuk.*  
ALREADY = CF STOP-YAX-PRS RAIN-SS  
 It already stopped raining. (4 85 325)

The root *hiwen-yax* is used as the base for all other forms, as seen in (94).

- (94) a. *Aya = n hiwen-a-qat.*  
NOW = 1SABS STAND-YAX-IF  
 I’m gonna stand. (2 23 274)
- b. *Hiwen-ax-am!*  
STAND-YAX-PL  
 Stand! (2 23 284)

The verb also exists as an *-in* verb, meaning ‘stand something up’, as illustrated in (95) in the past tense, which makes the thematic class clear.

- (95) *Tuku = 'ep kelawa-t hiwen-che'-men.*  
YESTERDAY = R STICK-NPN STAND.UP-1PL-INPL  
 Yesterday we stood the stick up. (11 67 132)

One form of the verb, *hiwene*, means ‘good-bye’. (It is probably the singular imperative, meaning ‘stay where you are but I am going’ and is often paired with *ayan ngiyish* ‘I’m on my way’.)

In summary, *hiw(en)* exhibits more strictly “positional” meanings than does *hiw ~ qa ~ qal ~ max*. However, the two verbs are almost certainly related. This seems especially likely when we note that the forms of *meq(a(n))<sub>s</sub>* ‘kill one victim’ and *neq(e(n))<sub>s</sub>* ‘come’ are related to each other in the same way as are *hiw* ‘be there’, the singular base for *hiw ~ qa ~ qal ~ max*, and *hiw(en)* ‘stand, stop’. The *-(a(n))* or *-(e(n))* element in all these forms may be related to the *-qan* suffix, of indeterminate (probably aspectual) meaning discussed above in 4.3.

**4.6.3. MINOR DEFECTIVE VERBS.** While the verbs discussed in 4.6.1, *neq(e(n))<sub>s</sub>* and *nenewe*, and *qa ~ we* in 4.6.2, are extremely common verbs, there also exist several minor defective verbs with less ubiquitous distribution, listed in (96) and (97). The first set, which appear only with *-qa*, require the copula except in the present tense. The second set, which appear only with stative suffixes, does not.

- (96) a. *hakwiqa* ‘be hungry’  
 b. *papaviqa* ‘be thirsty’  
 c. *peyexiqa* ‘be late, be evening’

- (97) a. *hivisiwe* ‘it is powdery’  
 b. *kik’iswe* ~ *kik’ishwe* ‘there is none (of food, water, etc.)’  
 c. *kilyisiwe* ‘it is slippery’  
 d. *lewasiwe* ‘it’s kind of hard’

The forms in (96) appear to end in the present-singular suffix *-qa*. However, they can take plural subjects, as seen in (98). *Peyexiqa* is not used of persons (the expression is *peyex-chu* ‘be late, of a person’) so it cannot be illustrated with a plural subject.

- (98) a. *Qay = en hi-sh hakwiqa.*  
 NOT = 1SABS WHAT-NPN HUNGRY  
 I’m not hungry. (1 25 99)
- b. *Chem = esh hakwiqa.*  
 IPLPRO = 1PLABS HUNGRY  
 We are hungry. (attestation not found but parallel to ‘thirsty’)
- c. *Ne’ = en papaviqa.*  
 1SPRO = 1SABS THIRSTY  
 I am thirsty. (4 67 48)
- d. *Chem = esh papaviqa.*  
 IPLPRO = 1PLABS THIRSTY  
 We are thirsty. (4 67 49)

In tenses other than the present, these verbs require *miyax*, as in (99). This suggests that the apparent present-tense forms are in fact copula sentences where *hakwiqa*, *papaviqa*, in spite of their formal resemblance to present-tense verbs, are really some kind of modifier.

- (99) a. *Mu = ku’ut pe-m-em nawvi-ve’-ch-am hakwiqa pe’-miyax-wen.*  
 AND = REP DET-PL-PL FIGHT-AGTV-NPN-PL HUNGRY 3PL-BE-PIST  
 And it is said those soldiers were hungry. (Faye General Kearney FN 83–84 129)
- b. *Tuku’ = ep ne’ = ’ep papaviqa ne-miyax-wen.*  
 YESTERDAY = R 1SPRO = R THIRSTY 1S-BE-PIST  
 Yesterday I was thirsty. (4 67 50)

- c. *Mu = ku'ut aya    **peyexiqa**    pe-miyax-wen.*  
 AND = REP    THEN    BE.LATE    3S-BE-PIST  
 And then it is said it was evening. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 025)

These defective verbs can also appear in a sort of adverbial sense, as in (100).

- (100) a. *Me qay    mi-pa    **hakwiqa**    chem-chix-wen.*  
 AND NOT    INDEF-TIME    HUNGRY    1PL-DIE-PIPL  
 We never starved. (Warners III 020)

- b. ***Peyexiqa**    chimi-qi    che'-mi'aw.*  
 IT.IS.LATE    1PLO-RFL    1PL-ARRIVE  
 In the evening we came home by ourselves. (Faye SV Childhood 2–1–21 13 179)

The verbs shown in (97) are poorly attested. Although *kiki'is-* ~ *kik'ish-* is not uncommon, it is nearly always used in the present tense as a report of an immediate condition, being “out” of something. Fortunately, Jacobs collected a past-tense form. They appear to share a formative element in *-si* but this again is not well attested. A few examples are shown in (101).

- (101) a. *Supul    tawpaxi-sh = 'ep    **pe-kik'ish-wen.***  
 SOME    SUMMER-NPN = R    3S-BE.OUT-PIST  
 Other years there were none. (J 223 3)

- b. *Piis = am    atire    **kilyisi-we.***  
 FLOOR = MIR    VERY    SLIPPERY-PRST  
 The floor is slippery. (7 97 117)

**4.6.4.** *-YAYA(X)* ‘TRY’. *-yaya(x)* ‘try’ is not strictly speaking a verb, since it modifies other verbs. However, unlike adverbs, it appears with PN prefixes—but with no additional inflection. Furthermore, the PN prefixes appear even when *-yaya(x)* is not in a past-tense context. Jacobs (1975:73, 126) suggests that it may be a unique example of an auxiliary verb, related to the root *yax* ‘do’ that appears in prefixing derivations like *miyax* ‘be, happen’ and *iyax* ‘be a certain way’ (see 7.5). Examples of *-yaya(x)* in its most common meaning, ‘try’, are seen in (102). Note that in these examples the PN prefix on *-yaya* agrees with the subject of the verb. In this usage *-yaya* frequently appears with desiderative *-vichu*, as in (102c,e).

- (102) a. *E' = e    **e-yaya,**    me = pe    qay    hi-sh    hiwchu-qa.*  
 2SPRO = CF    2S-TRY    AND = IRR    NOT    WHAT-NPN    KNOW-PRS  
 You try, but you don't know anything. (Fox and Buzzard 049)

- b. **Chem-yayax** = *che = pe hunwe-t-i chakw-in.*  
 1PL-TRY = 1PL = IR BEAR-NPN-O CATCH-IN.F  
 We'll try to catch the bear. (J 163 73)
- c. **Ni-yaya** = *n ne-nee'e-y tul-vichu-qal-et, me qay miyax-we.*  
 1S-TRY = 1SAB 1S-BASKET-O FINISH-DES-PIS-NPN AND NOT BE-PRST  
 I tried to finish my basket but I couldn't. (9 77 15)
- d. **Ishmivi-y** = *ku'ut pem-yaya nanvax-pe'-men-pi.*  
 SOMETHING-O = REP 3PL-TRY PREPARE-3PL-INPL-SUBIR  
 There was something they wanted to straighten out. (Chitmal 003)
- e. **Mu** = *ku'ut pi-yaya wal-pe-n-vichu-qal.*  
 AND = REP 3S-TRY DIG-3S-IN-DES-PIS  
 And it is said he wanted to try to dig it out. (How Coyote Got That Way 016)
- f. **Pe-naq'achi-qal** = *ku'ut pi-yaya.*  
 3S-LISTEN-PIS = REP 3S-TRY  
 He tried to listen closely. (RN Creation 050)

Jacobs (1975:73) points out that *-yaya(x)* also sometimes means 'certainly'. He suggests that in this usage *-yaya* does not have a PN prefix agreeing with the verb, because its function, as an "epistemic modal" rather than as an "auxiliary verb" (his characterization of the 'try' usages), requires a sentential subject. His examples are shown in (103a,b).

- (103) a. **Ne' = ne = pe tan-in pi-yayax.**  
 ISPRO = 1S = IR DANCE-IN .F 3S-TRY  
 I'll certainly dance. (J 162 73)
- b. **Ne-naqma = m pi-yayax.**  
 1S-HEAR = MIR 3S-TRY  
 Of course I heard it. (J 31 127)

Confusingly, the data include some contradictory examples. In (104a,b) we see examples of the 'try' usage where the PN prefix does not agree with the subject of the verb. In (104c) we see an example of the 'certainly' type where the PN prefix does agree with the subject of the verb—this from the very fluent Salvadora Valenzuela speaking in 1920.

- (104) a. **Ichaa'i = she = t pe-miyax-wen pi-yayax chem-hiwchu-pi.**  
 GOOD = DUB = 3SAB 3S-BE-PIST 3S-TRY 1PL-KNOW-SUBIR  
 It was good for us to try to learn. (Faye SV 1-2-21 19 (192))

- b. *Pi-yaya = ku'ut pem-ting'el-wen.*  
 3S-TRY = REP                      3PL-DOCTOR-PIPL  
 They tried to doctor him. (RN Creation 057)
- c. *E' = e = she = t = pe i'i himix e-yaya.*  
 2SPRO = CF = DUB = 2SAB = IRR    PDEM    SAY    2S-TRY  
 You must have said something, I am sure. (Faye KP 103 74)

Salvadora Valenzuela's materials also include two examples where the form means that something was not as expected.

- (105) a. *Amay pi-yayax me kunuk xalew-ngiy-we, anuk*  
 TODAY 3S-TRY            AND ONLY    FALL-MOTG-PRST            THUS  
*tak-yaxe-veneç.*  
 DISAPPEAR-YAXi-MOTCA  
 Nowadays it is just incomplete, it is dying away, disappearing. (Faye SV Images 1-7-21 099e)
- b. *Amay pi-yayax me anuk supuli-'aw.*  
 TODAY 3S-TRY            AND THUS    DIFFERENT-AT  
 Today it is somewhat different. (Faye SV Images 1-7-21 112)

There are some examples from my materials from Roscinda Nolasquez where the form means 'repeatedly said' and is simply a CV- reduplication of *yax*-<sub>s</sub> 'say'. In this case, the prefix agrees with the subject of 'say'. This is a regular development from this verb and should not be considered a particle but the examples suggest a possible origin for *-yaya(x)*. These are shown in (106).

- (106) a. *I'i = ku'ut alwe-t pe-ya-yax "Chemyex!"*  
 PDEM = REP    CROW-NPN    3S-DUP-SAY    BE. QUIET  
 This Crow, it is said, repeatedly said, "Shut up!" (Chitmal 012)
- b. *Hiwene-qal-et ne-ya-ya me piyama u'la-qal-et.*  
 STOP-PIS-NPN    1S-DUP-SAY    AND ALWAYS    SEW-PIS-NPN  
 I told her to stop but she kept right on sewing. (9 77 13)
- c. *Kwaw-qal-et ni-ya-ya me piyamanga ya'-yi-ngiy-qa.*  
 CALL-PIS-NPN    1S-DUP-SAY    AND ALWAYS                      RUN-YAX-MOTG-PRS  
 I called him but he kept right on running. (9 77 14)

## MORPHOLOGY OF THE MAJOR WORD CLASSES II: THE NOUN

Cupeño nouns can be defined morphologically as the class of words that occurs with non-possessed noun suffixes (NPN), *-t*, *-l*, *-ly*, *-sh*, and/or possessed-noun suffixes (PSD), *-’a*, *-’i*, *-ki*, *-ki’a*, and/or the plural suffix *-m*. However, since some nouns do not take one or more of these suffixes and there is even a small group of nouns that is not attested with any of them, this formal definition requires qualification.

Some nouns do not occur with PSD suffixes, and must be possessed indirectly, being modified by a possessed-classifier noun. For instance, nouns referring to animals, such as *awal* ‘dog’, must appear with the possessed-classifier noun *-’ash* ‘pet’; many other nouns, such as *pit* ‘road’, require the possessed classifier *-mixan* ‘possession’. While most such nouns do appear at least with NPN suffixes, a small class of nouns in the indigenous vocabulary, mainly names of small animals such as lizards (e.g., *mulyak*, *chalaka*) and insects (e.g., *kelyivuy*), do not have NPN suffixes, nor do they appear with PSD suffixes, since they require the possessed classifier *-’ash*. In addition, most Spanish loanwords do not have NPN suffixes. However, all of these nouns do occur with the plural suffix.

A few nouns, such as names for trees and other plants like *avaxet* ‘cottonwood’ and *mipily* ‘milkweed’, do not occur with the plural suffix. However, all of these accept NPN suffixes.

Even when the formal definition of nouns is made fairly inclusive, as above, a problem remains. For a class of “inalienable” nouns, including many kin terms and body parts, it is difficult to elicit forms with NPN suffixes (although not impossible; rare instances do occur). Such nouns usually occur in possessed forms only. Some of these nouns, including many of the most common body-part terms and kin terms, do not appear with possessed-noun suffixes. Furthermore, possessed body-part nouns do not appear with the plural suffix *-m*. All of these nouns do appear with a set of possessive PN prefixes, shown in Table 5.2 in 5.1.4 below. However, since these prefixes are identical to the PN subject prefixes on past-tense verbs, these nouns are superficially indistinguishable from past-tense verbs in the  $\emptyset$

thematic class (see 4.2.1). For instance, *ne-qwa* ‘my-mother’s.father’ is identical phonologically with *ne-qwa* ‘I-ate’. However, such possessed-state noun constructions do not accept past imperfective suffixes *-qal*, *-wen* and so may be formally distinguished from verbs. That is, we encounter *ne-kwa-qal* ‘I was eating’ but not *\*ne-kwa-qal* where *-kwa* is ‘mother’s father’.

The distribution in nominal constructions of the various inflectional elements is shown in Table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1. The Order of Inflectional Elements in Nominal Constructions

PREFIX	STEM	SUFFIX			
		1	2	3	4
Non-Possessed State					
Ø	Stem	NPN <i>-t</i> , <i>-l</i> , <i>-sh</i>		plural <i>-m</i>	object-case <i>-i</i> , <i>-y</i> locative oblique
Possessed State					
PN-	Stem	PSD <i>-ki</i>	PSD <i>-’a</i>	plural <i>-m</i>	object-case <i>-i</i> , <i>-y</i> locative oblique

**5.1. NOUNS AND THEIR POSSESSION STATES.** Cupeño nouns exhibit two major formal states, non-possessed and possessed. Each state has its own morphology and patterns of co-occurrence with the various subclasses of nouns.

**5.1.1. NON-POSSESSED NOUNS WITH NPN SUFFIXES.** The NPN suffixes are a conservative feature of Uto-Aztecan nouns that can be reconstructed to the protolanguage. Sapir (1931) called them “absolutive” suffixes. Since Cupeño has an “absolutive” case, contrasting with an ergative case, in the second-position PN clitics, this term should be avoided as a label for the Cupeño NPN suffixes. Since throughout Uto-Aztecan there is a contrast between non-possessed nouns with NPN suffixes and possessed nouns without these suffixes, the term “non-possessed noun suffix” (NPN) should be transparent to comparativists.

A single NPN suffix is reconstructed for Proto-Uto-Aztecan: *\*-ta*. In the Taki languages like Cupeño, this suffix appears in three synchronically distinct reflexes: *-t*, *-l/-ly*, and *-sh*. In Proto-Northern Uto-Aztecan and perhaps in Proto-Taki, *-l/-ly* and *-sh* were probably predictable variants of *-t*, conditioned by the phonological shape of the noun stem. However, whatever phonological features triggered the lenition of *-t* to *-l/-ly*, or the appearance of *-sh* instead of either of these, have been lost, and these two NPN suffixes should be considered lexical properties of their nouns in Cupeño. *-ly* and *-l* are almost entirely in complementary distribution, with *-ly* nearly always appearing after *i*, *-l* elsewhere. There are only four exceptional



words, *Kaamalyim* ‘Orion’s Belt’ (attested only in this plural form), *Kavaly* ‘the Kavaly lineage, a member of the Kavaly lineage’, *wisaly* ‘a kind of duck’, and *qawqamaly* ‘invalid’.

The situation with *-sh* is more complicated. Almost all primary nouns in *-sh* end in *-ish*, suggesting that the *-i* is a factor in determining the presence of this suffix. I suspect that most *-sh* nouns are deverbal (several, for instance, end in *-pi-sh*, a known deverbalizing derivation, and there are many derived nouns like *qwa'i-sh* ‘food’ (from *kwa*<sub>s</sub> ‘eat’)). The *-i* may be a residue of *i*-ablaut with this suffix (see the discussion of *a*- and *i*-ablauting suffixes in 2.4.2). Jacobs (1975) considers the derivational suffix to include the vowel, with the structure *-ish*. Only two primary nouns in *-sh* have a final *a*; these are *yepash* ‘valley, plain, place without trees’ and *mekwash* ‘flea’. Since words for insects often lack NPN suffixes, *mekwash* is probably a noun root that simply ends in *-sh*. However, this *-sh* is treated by speakers as if it were an NPN suffix, being lost when the noun is possessed, e.g., *ne-mekwa-ki-'a* ‘my flea(s)’. Similarly, we encounter *yepa-yka* ‘to the valley’, with *-sh* lost before the locative as if it were an NPN suffix. The noun *lumu'ush* ‘measles’ shows *u* but this is almost certainly due to vowel harmony, which is fairly productive in unstressed affixal vowels where the root vowel is *u* (see 2.4.1).

However, there is one large set of derived nouns ending in *-sh* that do not have *i* with the suffix. Deverbal nouns in *-ve'e-sh* ‘agentive’ and *-la'a-sh* ~ *-lya'a-sh* ‘instrumental’ do not show *-i* before *-sh*. Furthermore, since there are nouns that take *-t* and, of course, *-ly* that also have *i* as their final vowel, *-sh* as well must be considered a lexical property of the noun, whether from derivation or as a primary property.

The Cupeño corpus includes 338 “primary” nouns—that is, nouns that are not transparently deverbal—with NPN suffixes. The distribution of the suffixes among the nouns is as follows: 114 exhibit *-t*, 133 have *-l* ~ *-ly*, and 91 have *-sh*. There is no semantic difference among the classes of nouns, nor is there any phonological difference. Examples of nouns of each type are shown below.

- (1) Primary nouns with *-t*
- a. *avaxa-t* ‘cottonwood tree’
  - b. *ela-t* ‘skirt’
  - c. *hunwe-t* ‘bear’
  - d. *kere-t* ‘wild goose’
  - e. *ni-t* ‘pregnant woman’
  - f. *tami-t* ‘sun, day’

The example in (1c), *hunwet*, includes the augmentative suffix *-we-t*. This suffix always exhibits the NPN suffix *-t*. In contrast, the diminutive is always *-ma-l*, with NPN *-l*, as seen in (2b) *chaymal* ‘a kind of basket’ and (2e), *kiimal* ‘boy’.

(2) Primary nouns with *-l* ~ *-ly*

- a. *aya-l* 'poison oak'
- b. *chayma-l* 'a kind of basket'
- c. *hu-l* 'arrowhead'
- d. *isi-ly* 'coyote'
- e. *kiima-l* 'boy'
- f. *pa-l* 'water'

(3) Primary nouns with *-sh*

- a. *ichi-sh* 'pipe'
- b. *ki-sh* 'house'
- c. *lumu'u-sh* 'measles' (also *lumu'i-ly*)
- d. *mekwa-sh* 'flea'
- e. *mevlaxpi-sh* 'plant sp.' (probably *Baccharis* spp., see Gaughen 2001:86)
- f. *naxani-sh* 'man'
- g. *qingi-sh* 'squirrel'

The noun in (3e), *mevlaxpish* 'plant sp.', is probably a derived noun with *-pi-sh*, the future relativizer (see 8.1.4), which always has the *-sh* NPN. However, no related verb is attested in the corpus.

**5.1.2. NON-POSSESSED NOUNS WHICH OCCUR WITHOUT NPN SUFFIXES.** Two types of nouns occur in the non-possessed state without NPN suffixes: a series of animal names and most Spanish loanwords.

**5.1.2.1. NOUNS WITHOUT NPN SUFFIXES.** Spanish loan nouns and a fixed class of nouns in native vocabulary, made up almost entirely of names of minor animals, including insects, birds, and reptiles, along with one plant name (interestingly, it is the name for the striking and conspicuous California poppy, *Eschscholtzia californica*), never occur with NPN suffixes. Several of these nouns are obviously sound-symbolic or otherwise expressive. All fifteen members of this class are listed in (4).

## (4) Autochthonous nouns that lack NPN suffixes in the non-possessed state

- a. *chalaka* 'horned lizard'
- b. *chikaylaxpi* 'cane'
- c. *Chexemin* 'the Pleiades'
- d. *kelyivuy* 'ant lion'
- e. *kusaanam chiip* 'junco (a kind of bird)'
- f. *maxacha'a* 'California poppy'
- g. *malalxa* 'insect sp.'
- h. *mulyak* 'lizard sp.'
- i. *paxa'a* 'red racer snake'

- j. *pichikwirki* ‘blue jay’
- k. *qeqene* ‘gopher snake’
- l. *sekwikwina* ‘swallow (bird)’
- m. *selyimsɛlyim* ‘cricket’
- n. *siyewe* ‘baby quail’
- o. *ʃheʃhe’ngim* ‘yellowjacket (insect)’

Three more insect names may belong in this class: *tilytily* ‘cricket’, *wa’wal* ‘yellowjacket’ and *xwalxwal* ‘a type of small spider’. However, their final consonants, *-ly* and *-l*, could be NPN suffixes.

**5.1.2.2. SPANISH LOAN NOUNS.** Spanish loan nouns do not have NPN suffixes. The stressed vowel in Spanish is quite long in the Cupeño words. Final vowels especially tend to raise; thus Spanish final *o* often appears as Cupeño *u*, Spanish final *e* as Cupeño *i*. However, many Cupeño speakers, including Roscinda Nolasquez, were bilingual in Spanish and sometimes pronounced these words as in Spanish. Some examples are seen in (5).

- |        |  |                            |
|--------|--|----------------------------|
| (5) a. | <i>aanyu</i> ‘year’                    | (Spanish <i>año</i> )      |
| b.     | <i>chanaati</i> ‘red-winged blackbird’ | (Spanish <i>chanate</i> )  |
| c.     | <i>daraangxa</i> ‘orange’              | (Spanish <i>naranja</i> )  |
| d.     | <i>gaatu</i> ‘cat’                     | (Spanish <i>gato</i> )     |
| e.     | <i>tooru</i> ‘bull’                    | (Spanish <i>toro</i> )     |
| f.     | <i>yalaavi</i> ‘key’                   | (Spanish <i>la llave</i> ) |

Some Spanish loans end in final consonants, such as *variily* ‘barrel’ (Spanish *barril*), *waantis* ‘gloves’ (Spanish *guantes*). The coincidental resemblance of the final consonant of *variily* to the NPN suffix *-ly* would seem to invite deletion of that consonant in the possessed state. However, this does not happen; the possessed form of *variily* is either PN-*variily-ki* ‘PN-barrel-PSD’ or PN-*mixan variily* ‘PN-possession barrel’.

**5.1.3. SO-CALLED INALIENABLE NOUNS.** “Inalienable” is the traditional designation for a class of nouns which speakers strongly prefer to use in the possessed state, with possessive prefixes (and some have PSD suffixes as well). These nouns include mainly kin terms and body parts. While it is difficult to elicit such nouns with an NPN suffix, there are sporadic attestations of inalienables in the non-possessed state, with the NPN suffixes, both in my own materials from the 1960s and in Faye’s corpus from the 1920s. An example is seen in (6). *yu*<sub>-s</sub> ‘hair, head’, normally appears only in the possessed state, with possessive prefixes, e.g., *nu-yu* ‘1s-hair’. In (6), however, Roscinda Nolasquez was telling a story with a scene in which birds gather nesting materials, and she was able to imagine non-possessed

hair that does not belong to anybody and is not attached to anyone's head. She uttered *yu<sub>s</sub>* in the non-possessed state, with the NPN suffix *-l*.

(6) *Maq-pe'-men-wen = ku'ut peta'am-i ishmivi-y yu-l*.

GATHER-3PL-INPL-PIPL = REP      ALL-O      SOMETHING-O HAIR-NPN

It is said they were gathering all kinds of hair. (Linnets 006)

Furthermore, for some inalienables, there are denominal verbs that suggest the form of the NPN suffix. Examples are seen in (7).

- (7) a. *kuung-lu* 'get married, of a woman' (cf. *-kuung* 'husband')  
 b. *ye-lu* 'become a mother' (cf. *-ye<sub>s</sub>* 'mother')

Since where the NPN suffix is known, the denominalizing suffix (*-tu*, *-lu* ~ *-lyu*, *-chu*) always has the same initial consonant, as discussed in 7.4.2, we can assume that the non-possessed forms of the above nouns, should a discourse-pragmatic context where these could occur be identified, would be *kuunga-l* and *ye-l*.

Some inalienable roots are attested in the non-possessed state in certain specialized meanings. For instance, the word for 'eye' is inalienable *-push<sub>s</sub>*. The word for 'seed', almost certainly the same root, is easily elicited as *puchi-ly*, in the non-possessed state with a NPN suffix. 'Woman's child' is inalienable *-na'aqwa* but Roscinda Nolasquez twice, on different weeks in elicitation, produced *suqat na'aqwa-l*, literally, 'deer woman's.child', in response to a request for the word for 'fawn', where *suqat pe-na'aqwa* 'deer 3S-woman's.child' would have been expected.

On the first day that I elicited materials from her, on June 12, 1962, Roscinda Nolasquez produced a number of supposedly "inalienable" nouns in the non-possessed state with NPN suffixes. For instance, she uttered *ewe-l* 'blood' in response to the English stimulus word, rather than *pe-ew* '3S-blood', which she later preferred. We know that the NPN suffix that she offered here is appropriate, since we encounter *ew-lu* 'initiate a girl', a denominal verb having reference to the onset of menstruation and hence formed on the root *ew* 'blood'. Also elicited on the same day were *tewe-l* 'name' instead of the more usual *e-tew-'a* '2S-name-PSD', *ti'i-ly* 'bone', pl. *ti'lyam* (1.59 121) instead of *pe-ti'i* '3S-bone', *eyeweket* 'chin' (1.77) instead of *pe-eyewek-'a* '3S-chin-PSD', *naqal* 'ear', pl. *naqlam* (1.83) instead of *pe-naq-'a* '3S-ear-PSD', *espiyewet* 'sister-in-law', and *aqipiyewet* 'in-law'. Faye encountered the same phenomenon; the Bancroft Library field notes include many early elicitations of seemingly inalienable nouns with NPN suffixes, including *panily* 'testicles', *pi'ily* 'feather', *sii'at* 'nest', *sily* 'urine', *shululy* 'fingernail', *shewanavel* 'anus', *we'el* 'penis', *wichily* 'feces, manure', *wikily* 'wing', *wily* 'tallow (fat)', and *xuchily* 'ankle'.

For these reasons, we should characterize "inalienability" in Cupeño as a semantic or discourse-pragmatic tendency, not as a morphological class. So-called

inalienable nouns can indeed appear in the non-possessed state but contexts where this is appropriate are infrequent. For nouns referring to body parts and kin terms, speakers generally presuppose a default scenario that assumes a possessor, except under special circumstances such as the awkward first day of elicitation (where the consultants may be trying to help the linguist by avoiding the morphological complexity of possessed-state forms) or a narrative context that favors a non-possessed construal.

The existence of the inalienable nouns also make clear that the notional idea of “possession” is not always appropriate, even when the formal apparatus of the possessed state is present. For instance, the root *-tax* ‘human body’ appears only in possessed-state formations like *ne-tax-wi* ‘1S-body-PSD’, ‘my body’, with a non-productive PSD suffix, and *a-tax-’a* ‘INDEF-body-PSD’, literally, ‘someone’s body’, with a non-productive possessive prefix. However, this form means ‘person’. There is no evidence that any notional possession is at stake, even though formally the word is a possessed-state noun. Another illustrative case is the name of one of the three founding Cupeño patrilineages, “Blacktooth,” which appears as *pem-tama tulnikish* ‘3PL-tooth black’ or, tellingly, as *pe-tama tulnikish* ‘3S-tooth black’. There is no evidence that the “Blacktooths” were thought to have black teeth. However, the noun *tama*<sub>-s</sub> ‘tooth’ conventionally appears in the possessed state.

**5.1.4. POSSESSED-STATE NOUNS AND POSSESSIVE AFFIXES.** All possessed-state nouns appear with the nominative PN prefix set. The prefixes of this set are shown in Table 5.2. Although they encode possessor, not subject, they are identical to the subject PN markers that appear with past-tense verbs, discussed in 4.2.1. One set of deverbal nouns shows that the formal identity between the PN prefixes encoding the possessor and those encoding PN of subject in the past tense runs quite deep. In instrumental nominalizations derived with *-la’a-sh* ~ *-lya’a-sh* from *-in* and *-yax* class verbs, the PN element encoding the possessor always appears following the root. For example, we see *pa-l im-ne-la’a* ‘my bucket’ (WATER dip-1S-INST.NOM), not *\*pal ne-’im-la’a*. This parallels the position of PN subject markers after the verb root in the past tense of the *-in* and *-yax* thematic classes (see 4.2.1).

The plural prefixes in the second and third person can be considered complex forms that include a root encoding person plus the plural suffix *-m*. However, for simplicity’s sake, the plural prefixes are treated in examples throughout the grammar as monomorphemic. Recall from 2.2.2 that these prefixes take primary stress when they appear with stressless roots, when the construction is otherwise uninflected except for a PSD suffix.



r.	<i>nee'e-t</i> 'basket'	- <i>nee'e</i>
s.	<i>pa'anaxpi-sh</i> 'club'	- <i>pa'anaxpi</i>
t.	<i>pelqi-sh</i> 'hide'	- <i>pelqi</i>
u.	<i>pi'i-sh</i> 'pipe'	- <i>pi'i</i> (also <i>-pi'i-ki'a</i> )
v.	<i>pi-ly</i> 'milk'	- <i>pi</i>
w.	<i>puchi-ly</i> 'eye, seed'	- <i>push</i>
x.	<i>se'evi-sh</i> 'basket grass'	- <i>se'ev</i>
y.	<i>seyi-ly</i> 'basket grass'	- <i>sey</i> (also <i>-sey-ki</i> )
z.	<i>si'ayi-sh</i> 'cracked acorns'	- <i>si'ay</i>
aa.	<i>ti'i-ly</i> 'bone'	- <i>ti'i</i>
bb.	<i>tivi'ma'l</i> 'basket'	- <i>tivi'ma</i>
cc.	<i>uwe'e-t</i> 'yucca sp.'	- <i>'uwe'e</i>
dd.	<i>wewelpi-ly</i> 'shadow'	- <i>wewelpi</i>
ee.	<i>wi-ly</i> 'fat, lard, grease'	- <i>wi</i>
ff.	<i>xaku-t</i> 'carrying strap'	- <i>xaku</i>
gg.	<i>yu-l</i> 'head, hair'	- <i>yu</i>

Also in this category are all deverbal instrumental nominalizations in *-la'a-sh* ~ *-lya'a-sh*. In these constructions, the position of the PN marker depends on the verb class that is the source of the noun. If the verb is a  $\emptyset$ -class verb, the PN marker precedes the verb root, as in (9a,b). If the verb is from the *-in* or *-yax* classes, the PN marker appears immediately before *-la'a* ~ *-lya'a*, following the root, as seen in (9c,d).

- (9) a. *ne-pa'-la'a* 'my whiskey' (from *pa* 'drink')
- b. *ne-'a\$ha'-la'a* 'my petticoat' (from *a\$ha* 'get dressed')
- c. *chaway-chem-yaxa-la'a* 'our ladder' (from *chaway-yax* 'climb')
- d. *chel-ne-la'a* 'my scissors' (from *chel-in* 'snip, cut')

The list of inalienable nouns—that is, nouns that are rarely or never attested with an NPN suffix—with unaffixed stems is substantial; there are seventy-nine such nouns. The inventory includes twenty-two stressless roots. These nouns include many kin terms and body parts. Examples are shown in (10).

- (10) a. -*'ami* 'waist'
- b. -*kum* 'father's brother'
- c. -*ma* 'hand'
- d. - *muku* 'beak' (cf. -*mu*<sub>s</sub> 'nose')
- e. -*nanaxwi* 'center'
- f. -*piwilye* 'great grandmother'
- g. -*taxwi* 'body'
- h. -*xutaxwi* 'back'

It is likely that the increment *-wi* seen in (10e,g,h) is etymologically from a Proto-Uto-Aztecan possessed-noun suffix *\*-wa*. However, *-wi* is not productive in Cupeño and appears on only a few nouns.

**5.1.4.2. NOUNS WITH POSSESSED-NOUN SUFFIX -'A.** The possessed-noun (PSD) suffix *-'a* is a highly productive nominalizing suffix with verb themes. Deverbal nouns in *-'a* are discussed in 8.2. However, it also appears with a number of primary nouns—that is, nouns for which I cannot identify a corresponding verb stem. Primary nouns that take the suffix *-'a* include both alienable and inalienable nouns. Among the primary alienable nouns (that is, nouns that are attested with the NPN suffix), there are eleven examples attested with *-'a*. These are shown in (11).

- (11)
- |    |                         |                                     |
|----|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>eyeweke-t</i> ‘chin’ | <i>-'eyewek-'a</i>                  |
| b. | <i>ika-t</i> ‘net’      | <i>-'ik-'a</i>                      |
| c. | <i>piva-t</i> ‘tobacco’ | <i>-piv-'a</i>                      |
| d. | <i>saana-t</i> ‘pitch’  | <i>-saaan-'a</i>                    |
| e. | <i>iwya-l</i> ‘spines’  | <i>-'iwya-'a</i>                    |
| f. | <i>waqa-l</i> ‘spear’   | <i>-waq-'a</i>                      |
| g. | <i>ichi-sh</i> ‘pipe’   | <i>-'ich-'a</i> (also <i>-ish</i> ) |

There are thirty-nine primary “inalienable” nouns recorded with the possessed suffix *-'a*. These include some kin terms and body parts that have no obvious deverbal origin. Some examples are seen in (12).

- (12)
- |    |                                     |
|----|-------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>-'is-'a</i> ‘tears’              |
| b. | <i>-kanyim-'a</i> ‘younger brother’ |
| c. | <i>-kwāl-'a</i> ‘armpit, side’      |
| d. | <i>-nang-'a</i> ‘tongue’            |
| e. | <i>-sijy-'a</i> ‘nest’              |
| f. | <i>-shul-'a</i> ‘nails, claws’      |

Among primary nouns suffixed with *-'a* there are a small number that always occur prefixed with *pe-* ‘3S’ and probably constitute frozen possessed forms. These are seen in (13).

- (13)
- |    |   |
|----|---|
| a. | <i>pe\$henex-'a</i> ‘rainbow’ (also <i>pe\$henex'i</i> ; cf. <i>\$he</i> ‘bloom’)   |
| b. | <i>pe'aw-'a</i> ‘mountain’ (possibly related to <i>-'aw</i> ‘horn’, although ‘on the mountain’ is <i>pe'aw-t-ika</i> while ‘on the horn’ is <i>pe-'aw-ika</i> ) |

A small group of frozen possessed forms suffixed with PSD *-'a* always occur with *a-*, in origin either a third-person-singular possessive prefix or an adjective prefix, neither of which is productive in Cupeño. Examples appear in (14).



- (14) a. *a-tax-'a* 'person' (cf. *-taxwi* 'body')  
 b. *a-yuy-'a* 'snow, ice' (cf. *yuy* 'be cold')

Finally, a small group of nouns appears with an apparent possessed-noun suffix *-i* instead of *-a*. Jacobs (1975) notes that in Cahuilla there is an alternation between *-i* and *-a* suffixes on verbs and on nominalized forms. This alternation is not productive in Cupeño but is only sporadically attested. Two of these nouns, (15c,d), are frozen forms with *a-* analogous to those in (14).

- (15) a. *weki-ly* 'flight feather', *-wek-'i*  
 b. *mimxel* 'customs, ways', *-mimx-i*  
 c. *mingkish* 'being a certain kind, color, etc.', *-minyik-'i* 'some kind of relative'  
 d. *mukwilye'e-sh* 'sore', *-muk-'i*  
 e. *-muv<sub>s</sub>-* 'snot', *-muv-'i*  
 f. *a-wewen-'i* 'rain'  
 g. *a-tuyi-'i* 'hail'  
 h. *pe-šhenex-'i* 'rainbow' (also *pešhenex-'a*)  
 i. *pe-tavxaa-'i* 'difficult' (from the verb *tavxaa* 'work'; cf. *tavxaa'ily* 'job')

In the case of roots ending in consonants, both the *-a* and *-i* PSD suffixes lose the glottal stop when further suffixed with *-i* 'object case' or with the plural suffix *-m*.

- (16) a. *pe-wek-i-y* 'his flight feather (object case)'  
 b. *pem-'el-a-y* 'their skirts (object case)'  
 c. *pem-siy-a-m* 'their nests'  
 d. *ne-'al-a-m* 'my head lice'  
 e. *ne-piv-a-m* 'my cigarettes'

However, if the root ends in a vowel, the glottal stop is not lost. This generalization covers all possessed-state nouns in *-ki-'a*. Examples are seen in (17).

- (17) a. *ne-chiyu-'a-m* 'my earrings'  
 b. *ne-chi-'a-y* 'my gathering (object case)'  
 c. *ne-'iki-'a-m* 'my carrying nets'  
 d. *ne-sa'wa-'i-m* 'my nits'  
 e. *ne-paxa-ki-'a-m* 'my cradles'

In the case of stressless roots, the object-case suffix attracts the stress, which then falls on the vowel of the PSD suffix. Note that if the vowel of the stressless root is *u*, the vowel of the PSD suffix may acquire *u*-coloring when stressed, as in

(18a). The object case of *-nang- 'a* ‘tongue’, however, has *i*, not expected *a*, as seen in (18b).

- (18) a. *ne-ḡhul-u-y* ‘my fingernail(s) (object case)’  
 b. *ne-nang-i-y* ‘my tongue (object case)’  
 c. *ne-waq-a-y* ‘my shoe (object case)’

As noted in some of the examples above, noun stems occasionally appear attested in more than one class. Examples are seen in (19).

- (19) a. *huya-l* ‘arrow’      *-huy*      *-huy- 'a*  
 b. *ichi-sh* ‘pipe’      *- 'ish*      *- 'ich- 'a*

**5.1.4.3. NOUNS WITH POSSESSED SUFFIX *-ki*.** The PSD suffix *-ki* is attached to a base that includes the NPN suffix. Many possessed nouns marked with *-ki* also appear (without *-ki*) with the classifier noun *-mīxan*. Nouns with *-ki* are alienable nouns. Indeed, if we are to define a formal alienable class, this would consist of nouns that appear with *-ki*, *-ki 'a*, *-mīxan*, *- 'ash* (the latter two being the possessed classifiers for non-animals and animals respectively). Inalienable nouns appear in the first two classes, with the possessed-noun suffix *- 'a*, or with unmodified stem. Note that the semantic class does not correspond to the morphological class. The unmodified stem class includes not only the body parts and kin terms but also nouns like *-ku<sub>s</sub>* (*ku-t*) ‘fire’ and *-ki<sub>s</sub>* (*ki-sh*) ‘house’.

Nouns that are attested with *-ki* are listed in (20).

- (20) a. *-wi 'awle-t-ki* ‘live oak acorns’  
 b. *-chayma-l-ki* ‘round basket’ (or *-mīxan chayma-l*)  
 c. *-kwini-ly-ki* ‘white oak acorns’  
 d. *-lyevat 'ima-l-ki* ‘large flat basket’  
 e. *-suu-l-ki* ‘deer grass’  
 f. *-nīxi-sh-ki* ‘wild gourds’  
 g. *-chala-l-ki* ‘bark’  
 h. *-wepi-sh-ki* ‘brush’  
 i. *-puki-ly-ki* ‘door’  
 j. *-ku 'u-t-ki* ‘elderberry’  
 k. *-weki-t-ki* ‘feather’ (also *-weki-ki- 'a*, feather belonging to a person, not to the original bird, the latter case being *-wek- 'i* (as in (14a))  
 l. *-maawa-l-ki* ‘palm tree’

Almost all Spanish loanwords for items that can be possessed (that is, not including names for animals) take *-ki*, which is suffixed directly to the stem. One exception is *tewaaya* ‘towel’ (Spanish *toalla*), which forms the possessed form *-tewa-ki*. Only one or two Spanish loans are attested as unmodified stems with PN

prefixes, e.g., *-faldiiya* ‘skirt, petticoat’ (Spanish *faldilla*). Examples of Spanish loans with *-ki* are seen in (21).

- (21)
- |    |                                   |                            |
|----|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. | <i>-fiεεsta-ki</i> ‘fiesta’       | (Spanish <i>fiesta</i> )   |
| b. | <i>-maldiily-ki</i> ‘apron’       | (Spanish <i>mandil</i> )   |
| c. | <i>-mεedis-ki</i> ‘stockings’     | (Spanish <i>medias</i> )   |
| d. | <i>-’adoobi-ki</i> ‘adobe bricks’ | (Spanish <i>adobe</i> )    |
| e. | <i>-servεesa-ki</i> ‘beer’        | (Spanish <i>cerveza</i> )  |
| f. | <i>-yalaavi-ki</i> ‘key’          | (Spanish <i>la llave</i> ) |
| g. | <i>-variily-ki</i> ‘barrel’       | (Spanish <i>barril</i> )   |

**5.1.4.4. NOUNS WITH POSSESSED SUFFIXES *-KI-’A*.** *-ki* and *-’a* each appear independently as PSD suffixes. However, a few nouns appear with both suffixes when they are in the possessed state. These are listed in (22). Note that in this case, where both *-ki* and *-’a* appear, the NPN suffix is not present, and *-ki* is suffixed directly to the noun stem. Interestingly, except for *-qish-ki-’a* ‘money’ and *-sey-ki-’a* ‘seyily basket grass’, two-syllable noun stems with *-ki-’a* are all stressed on the second syllable. The form *-sey-ki-’a* suggests a possible origin for the suffix *-ki*. The noun *seyily* refers to a basket grass, probably *Juncus* sp. The verb *sey-ki* means ‘gather something’. Thus the *-ki* may originate as a suffix meaning something like ‘acquire something by human action’. A possibly similar case, involving a different suffix, *-pa-w* ‘possessed water’ parallel to *pa-w* ‘get water’, is discussed below in 5.2.4.5.

- (22)
- |    |  |
|----|--|
| a. | <i>-mela-ki-’a</i> ‘metate’  |
| b. | <i>-pa-ki-’a</i> ‘water’ (and note also <i>-pa-w-vi</i> ‘juice’; where <i>-w</i> may be from PUA <i>*-wa</i> ‘possessed suffix’) |
| c. | <i>-paxa-ki-’a</i> ‘cradleboard’   |
| d. | <i>-qish-ki-’a</i> ‘money’   |
| e. | <i>-seva-ki-’a</i> ‘grass’   |
| f. | <i>-sey-ki-’a</i> ‘basket grass’ (also <i>-sey-ki</i> , <i>-sey</i> )  |
| g. | <i>-tema-ki-’a</i> ‘ground, land’  |
| h. | <i>-mekwa-ki-’a</i> ‘flea’   |
| i. | <i>-weki-ki-’a</i> ‘feather’ (belonging to a person, not to the original bird)   |
| j. | <i>-pi’i-ki-’a</i> ‘pipe’  |
| k. | <i>-kawi-ki-’a</i> ‘rock’  |
| l. | <i>-si’i-ki-’a</i> ‘tules’   |
| m. | <i>-seqepi-ki-’a</i> ‘my <i>seqepish</i> grass’  |

**5.1.4.5. NOUNS WITH RARE AND UNPRODUCTIVE PSD SUFFIXES.** A few nouns exhibit the rare PSD suffixes *-wi*, *-w(-vi)*. Examples are *-paw* ‘water’ and *-pawvi* ‘juice, urine, springs of water’. The root is *pa* ‘water’. Note that the same element appears in the derived verb *pa-w* ‘get water’. For *-xutaxwi* ‘back’, the root can be seen in the relational noun *-xuta-* ‘behind’. *-taxwi* ‘body’ has the root *tax*, seen in

*atax'a* ‘person’ with PSD suffix *-’a*. These elements, which are not productive in Cupeño, exhibit cognates elsewhere in Uto-Aztecan, as in the *-w(a:-)* possessed-noun suffix of Nahuatl; cf. *kone:-tl* ‘child’, *no-kone:-w* ‘my child’, *no-kone:-wa:-n* ‘my children’.

**5.1.4.6. NOUNS REQUIRING CLASSIFIER POSSESSED NOUNS -MIXAN, -’ASH.** With the exception of the Spanish loan nouns, the nouns that are attested with the possessed suffixes *-ki* and *-ki-’a* form a semantic class that includes much of the inventory of basic property for which a traditional Cupeño person would have enjoyed usufruct priority or even genuine ownership (we know very little about the pre-contact system of property, so the exact nature of the rights of ownership or use cannot be detailed). However, the language is sufficiently flexible to admit the expression of new forms of possession. Items that are not included in the traditional inventory of basic property can be mentioned as possessions but their nouns require a special possessive construction, where the notionally possessed noun appears in the non-possessed state. The notionally possessed noun follows and modifies a possessed-classifier noun, which appears in the possessed state, bearing a prefix encoding PN of the possessor. For inanimates, this possessed classifier is *-mixan* ‘possession’. For animals, it is *-’ash*, usually translated as ‘pet’. Human nouns, except for kin terms and the form *-pew* ‘friend’, cannot be possessed; presumably it would be possible to express the possession of a human being by classifying the noun with the appropriate kin term or with a form like *-pew* ‘friend’.

Examples of inanimate nouns possessed with *-mixan* are seen in (23).

- (23)
- a. *-mixan wi-ly* ‘possession, lard’
  - b. *-mixan nav-t-em* ‘possession, tuna cactus plants’
  - c. *-mixan looti* ‘possession, elotes (fresh corn on the cob)’ (also *looti-ki*)  
(Spanish *elote*)
  - d. *-mixan pe\$he’e* ‘possession, flowers’
  - e. *-mixan suqat pe’aw’a* ‘possession, antler (deer its horn)’
  - f. *-mixan pe<sub>ma</sub> malal* ‘possession, mano de metate’
  - g. *-mixan naqtemela’ash* ‘possession, datura plant’
  - h. *-mixan enfleer* ‘possession, brooch’ (Spanish *alfiler*)
  - i. *-mixan nemxa-t* ‘possession, gift, treasure’
  - j. *-mixan haxa-l* ‘possession, sand’

Note that in (23f) the phrase ‘mano de metate’ (the grinding stone used with the metate), *pe<sub>ma</sub> malal* ‘3S-hand metate’ does not have the expected GN order. This example may be simply a mistake on the part of the speaker.

While the item possessed follows the classifier noun when the two elements form a nominal construction, if the classifier noun is in apposition as a predicate noun, it usually follows the item possessed, as in the sentences in (24). Note that (24a) provides an example of an ergative-case clitic encoding PN of the possessor.

- (24) a. *Axwē-sh = ne*      *wi'a-t*      *ne-mixan.*  
 ODEM-NPN = 1SERG      LIVE.OAK-NPN      1S-POSSESSION  
 That live oak tree is mine. (1 64)
- b. *E-t*      *wi-ly*      *ne-mixan.*  
 DDEM-NPN      LARD-NPN      1S-POSSESSION  
 That lard is mine. (1 74)
- c. *Axwē-sh*      *pe'aw'a*      *che'-mixan.*  
 ODEM-NPN      MOUNTAIN      1PL-POSSESSION  
 That mountain is ours. (1 99 172)

The same generalizations apply to the use of -'ash 'pet'. The possession of any animal can be expressed with this classifier noun. In its "default" meaning -'ash refers to cattle; the NPN form, *achi-ly*, means 'cow, cattle'. The only animals that can be possessed directly are lice (*ala'a-t*, -'ala'a 'head louse'; *nawily'a-t*, -*nawily'a* 'body louse'; *sa'wa-t*, -*sa'wa-a* 'nits') and fleas (*mekwa-sh*, -*mekwa-ki-a*). Faye does record examples of the word 'eagle' in the unmodified stem class: *ne-'ashwe* 'my eagle' (he also records *ne-'ash-e-i*).

- (25) a. -'ash *awa-l* 'possessed animal, dog'  
 b. -'ash *ayi-ly* 'possessed animal, desert tortoise'  
 c. -'ash *gaatu* 'possessed animal, cat' (Spanish *gato*)  
 d. -'ash *kavaayu* 'possessed animal, horse' (Spanish *caballo*)

A possessed form for *ayily* 'desert tortoise' in (25b) does exist but the form, -'ay, means 'tortoise-shell rattle', not the animal itself.

**5.2. PLURALIZATION.** There are two major types of pluralization in Cupeño. A small group of nouns, nearly all of them designating human beings, forms plurals with reduplication. Most nouns form plurals by adding the suffix *-m* or, for a few nouns, *-nim*. Some nouns do not occur with plural suffixes.

**5.2.1. REDUPLICATIVE PLURALS AND DISTRIBUTIVES.** Only eighteen Cupeño nouns are attested with reduplicated plurals (as opposed to distributives). Nine appear suffixed with *-m* along with the reduplication. All but four of these nouns designate human beings. These are listed in (26). (Hill & Hill 2000 propose that this distinction between a marked class of nouns that pluralizes with reduplication and an unmarked class that pluralizes with suffixation can be reconstructed for Proto-Uto-Aztecan.) In some of these plurals there are changes in addition to the reduplication. In the plural of (26b) *kiimal* 'boy' with plural *kikitam* the derivational element *-ma* seen in the singular (almost certainly a diminutive) is lost. In (26c) an element *-ka*, otherwise unattested derivationally, disappears when *nawikat* is pluralized as

*nanwitam*. In (26d), ‘old man’, the denominalizing suffix *-chu* is lost in *nanxavelim* from *naxanchu* ‘vel’ (a nominalization of *naxan-chu* ‘grow old, of males’, in its own turn from *naxan-* ‘man’). However, denominalizing *-lyu* is retained in (26h), ‘old woman’. In (26i) we see lenition of *p* to *v* in the base, and presumably weakening of the unstressed *u*. In (26k) we see the reduplication of the second syllable of the noun (which is derived from the verb *wel* ‘mature’). Note that a new member has been added to this set, the Spanish loan in (26a), from a text collected by Faye in 1920. Apparently the “human” category distinction underlying this marked plural formation remained active in this penultimate generation of speakers.

- (26) Nouns attested with reduplicated plurals and plural suffix
- |                                     |  |                         |
|-------------------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| a. <i>iinyo</i> ‘Indian’            | pl. <i>i-’inyo-’o-m</i>  | (Spanish <i>indio</i> ) |
| b. <i>kiima-l</i> ‘boy’             | pl. <i>ki-ki-t-am</i>  |                         |
| c. <i>nawika-t</i> ‘woman’          | pl. <i>na-nwi-t-am</i>   |                         |
| d. <i>naxanchu</i> ‘ve-l’ ‘old man’ | pl. <i>na-nxa-ve-l-im</i>                                      |                         |
| e. <i>naxani-sh</i> ‘man’           | pl. <i>na-nxa-ch-im</i>  |                         |
| f. <i>ne-t</i> ‘chief’              | pl. <i>ne-n-t-em</i>   |                         |
| g. <i>ni-t</i> ‘pregnant woman’     | pl. <i>ni-n-t-em</i>   |                         |
| h. <i>nishlyuve-l</i> ‘old woman’   | pl. <i>ni-nishlyuve-l-im</i>                                   |                         |
| i. <i>pave-l</i> ‘deer priest’      | pl. <i>pa-pave-l-im</i> (cf. <i>pavyut</i> ‘ceremonial staff’) |                         |
| j. <i>puu-l</i> ‘doctor’            | pl. <i>pu-vu-l-im</i>  |                         |
| k. <i>pishweli-sh</i> ‘young man’   | pl. <i>pishwe-weli-ch-im</i>                                   |                         |
| l. <i>eye-t</i> ‘thief’             | pl. <i>e-’ye-t-im</i>  |                         |

An irregular plural, *nawishma-l* ‘girl’ with plural *nishma-l-im*, is associated with this group but is not reduplicated. It appears to have the formative *na-* (like *nawikat* ‘woman’, *naxanish* ‘man’) in the singular but the female-specific formative *ni-* (like *nit* ‘pregnant woman’ and *nishlyuvel* ‘old woman’) in the plural.

A few nouns form reduplicative plurals without the suffix. For (27b), the possessed plural is not reduplicated but uses *-nim:* *-kava’manim* (seen in (35r)). In the case of (27c), a term for a ceremony that appears only in this reduplicated version, this may be a distributive from a verb *\$haxamen* or *\$haxam-in*; I have not encountered a singular and the verb is not attested.

- (27) Nouns attested with reduplicative plurals without plural suffix
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a. <i>heluma-l</i> ‘old, ragged clothes’ | pl. <i>helu-luma-l</i>   |
| b. <i>kava’ma-l</i> ‘olla, pot’          | pl. <i>ka-kva’mal</i>  |
| c. (unattested)                          | pl. <i>\$ha-\$haxamenily</i> ‘burning of goods’  |
| d. <i>Sha’vi-t</i> ‘Mexican’             | pl. <i>Sha-\$ha’vi-t</i> (also <i>Sha’vi-ti-m</i> )  |
| e. <i>seqepi-sh</i> ‘mushroom’           | pl. <i>se-seqepi-sh</i> (may be a distributive, given growth habits; also <i>seqepi-chi-m</i> ; note that stress on this |

- noun is also sometimes on the final syllable, as in *-seqepi-ki'a*)
- f. *mixe-l* 'way, custom'      pl. *mimxe-l* 'ways, customs'

While such examples are sparsely attested in my materials, reduplication to mark distributives of nouns was probably a productive strategy for speakers. Examples are seen in (28). Most of these involve numerals, where they are most commonly attested.

- (28) a. *ki-'aw* 'at the house'      *ki-ki-'aw* 'from house to house'  
 b. *suplewit* 'one'      *su-suplewet* 'each one'; *su-suplewet-im* 'one by one'  
 c. *wichiw* 'four'      *wichi-wchi-m-i* 'four each'  
 d. *pah* 'three'      *pa-va-s-ch-im* 'in threes, three each'

There are occasional examples of distributives with -VC reduplication. *Helulumal* 'old raggedy clothes', listed with the examples in (27), may be of this type. Another example is seen in (29) where fleas are quite sensibly imagined as distributed over several people rather than in a single place belonging to those people.

- (29) *pe'-mekwa-kwi'a-m* 'their fleas' (*mekwa-sh* 'flea') (This is slightly irregular and may result from syllable haplology from *mekwa-kwa-ki-'a-m*.)

Faye recorded two plurals in his field notes for 'house': *axwesh kikish* 'those houses' and *axwechim kichim*. He follows the latter with a question mark; Roscinda Nolasquez did not challenge *kichim*. I suspect that the reduplicated plural, *ki-kish*, is a distributive, which is, in fact, the usual scenario for plural houses. Faye also recorded *kish met'ish* 'many houses', with no plural at all, the most usual treatment of inanimate nouns.

**5.2.2. PLURAL SUFFIXATION.** The vast majority of Cupeño nouns form plurals by adding *-m*. The suffix follows the NPN suffix in the case of non-possessed nouns. In the case of possessed nouns, the plural *-m* is suffixed directly to the stem. Some examples are seen in (30). By convention I have associated the vowel, which is sometimes epenthetic and sometimes original (see the discussion in 2.2.3), with the plural suffix.

- (30) a. *ana-t* 'red ant'      pl. *an-t-am*  
 b. *kaxa-l* 'quail'      pl. *kaxa-l-im*  
 c. *ku'a-l* 'fly'      pl. *ku'-l-am*  
 d. *maawa-l* 'palm tree'      pl. *maawa-l-im*  
 e. *ika-t* 'carrying net'      pl. *ik-t-am*  
 f. *sewe-t* 'rattlesnake'      pl. *sew-t-am*

- |    |                             |  |                           |
|----|-----------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| g. | <i>ki-sh</i> ‘house’        | pl. <i>ki-ch-im</i> (also <i>ki-kish</i> ) |                           |
| h. | <i>su’i-sh</i> ‘jackrabbit’ | pl. <i>su’-ch-am</i>                       |                           |
| i. | <i>tenedoor</i> ‘fork’      | pl. <i>tenedoor-im</i>                     | (Spanish <i>tenedor</i> ) |

Spanish loan nouns and autochthonous vowel-final nouns add a glottal stop and an echo vowel before the plural suffix *-m*.

- |      |    |  |                           |                            |
|------|----|--|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| (31) | a. | <i>aanyu</i> ‘year’                    | pl. <i>aanyu-’u-m</i>     | (Spanish <i>año</i> )      |
|      | b. | <i>chanqati</i> ‘red-winged blackbird’ | pl. <i>chanqati-’i-m</i>  | (Spanish <i>chanate</i> )  |
|      | c. | <i>daraangxa</i> ‘orange’              | pl. <i>daraangxa-’a-m</i> | (Spanish <i>naranja</i> )  |
|      | d. | <i>gaatu</i> ‘cat’                     | pl. <i>gaatu-’u-m</i>     | (Spanish <i>gato</i> )     |
|      | e. | <i>tooru</i> ‘bull’                    | pl. <i>tooru-’u-m</i>     | (Spanish <i>toro</i> )     |
|      | f. | <i>yalaavi</i> ‘key’                   | pl. <i>yalaavi-’i-m</i>   | (Spanish <i>la llave</i> ) |

Most native-vocabulary vowel-final nouns exhibit the same behavior.

- |      |    |                                |                            |
|------|----|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (32) | a. | <i>chalaka</i> ‘horned lizard’ | pl. <i>chalaka-’a-m</i>    |
|      | b. | <i>siyewe</i> ‘baby quail’     | pl. <i>siyewe-’e-m</i>     |
|      | d. | <i>qeqene</i> ‘gopher snake’   | pl. <i>qeqene-’e-m</i>     |
|      | e. | <i>sekwikwina</i> ‘swallow’    | pl. <i>sekwikwina-’a-m</i> |

If the vowel-final noun already has a glottal stop and echo vowel in the singular, then the plural suffix *-m* is added to the stem without any increment.

- |      |    |                                 |                        |
|------|----|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| (33) | a. | <i>paxa’a</i> ‘red racer snake’ | pl. <i>paxa’a-m</i>    |
|      | b. | <i>mexacha’a</i> ‘poppy’        | pl. <i>mexacha’a-m</i> |

In contrast, vowel-final possessed nouns do not add glottal stop and echo vowel.

- |      |    |  |                       |
|------|----|--|-----------------------|
| (34) | a. | <i>ne-kaytu</i> ‘my enemy’             | pl. <i>ne-kaytu-m</i> |
|      | b. | <i>ne-qa</i> ‘my paternal grandparent’ | pl. <i>ne-qa-m</i>    |

A few nouns form plurals with a special suffix *-nim*. These are mainly nouns that end in *-ma*, the diminutive suffix, but they also include a few additional nouns and also the quantifiers *peta’ama* ‘all’ and *awisma* ‘a little’. These are listed in (35).

- |      |    |                                   |  |
|------|----|-----------------------------------|--|
| (35) | a. | <i>peta’ama</i> ‘all’             | pl. <i>peta’a-nim</i> or <i>peta’ama-nim</i> |
|      | b. | <i>awisma</i> ‘a few, a little’   | pl. <i>awisma-nim</i>                        |
|      | c. | <i>-’asisma</i> ‘woman’s niece’   | pl. <i>-’asisma-nim</i>                      |
|      | d. | <i>-kanyima</i> ‘younger brother’ | pl. <i>-kanyima-nim</i>                      |



e.	- <i>kum<u>u</u>ma</i> ‘nephew’	pl. - <i>kum<u>u</u>ma-nim</i>
f.	- <i>kw<u>a</u>ma</i> ‘man’s daughter’s child’	pl. - <i>kw<u>a</u>ma-nim</i>
g.	- <i>mat<u>i</u>ma</i> ‘man’s niece or nephew’	pl. - <i>mat<u>i</u>ma-nim</i>
h.	- <i>mat<u>i</u>sma</i> ‘woman’s nephew’	pl. - <i>mat<u>i</u>sma-nim</i>
i.	- <i>na<u>m</u>inkwa</i> ‘male in-law’	pl. - <i>na<u>m</u>inkwa-nim</i>
j.	- <i>na<u>a</u>qwa</i> ‘woman’s child’	pl. - <i>na<u>a</u>qwa-nim</i>
k.	- <i>nuk<u>m</u>a</i> ‘cousin’	pl. - <i>nuk<u>m</u>a-nim</i>
l.	- <i>pa<u>sh</u>ma</i> ‘older brother’	pl. - <i>pa<u>sh</u>ma-nim</i>
m.	- <i>q<u>a</u>ma</i> ‘son’s child’	pl. - <i>q<u>a</u>ma-nim</i>
n.	- <i>sh<u>u</u>ma</i> ‘woman’s daughter’s child’	pl. - <i>sh<u>u</u>ma-nim</i>
o.	- <i>sh<u>u</u>ngama</i> ‘man’s daughter’	pl. - <i>sh<u>u</u>ngama-nim</i>
p.	- <i>ta<u>q</u>ma</i> ‘daughter-in-law’	pl. - <i>ta<u>q</u>ma-nim</i>
q.	- <i>ye<u>sh</u>ma</i> ‘aunt’	pl. - <i>ye<u>sh</u>ma-nim</i>
r.	- <i>ka<u>v</u>a’ma</i> ‘pot’	pl. - <i>ka<u>v</u>a’ma-nim</i>

A few nouns always appear with the plural suffix; these are seen in (36).

- (36) a. *Memye-m* ‘white person, people’  
 b. *chishxi-ly-im* ‘twins’ (the singular is *kwaati*, from Spanish *cuate*)

While all animate nouns can be pluralized, some inanimate nouns do not appear with plurals. These are listed in (37–39).

- (37) a. *aroos* ‘rice’ (Spanish *arroz*)  
 b. *aseeti* ‘oil’ (Spanish *aceite*)  
 c. *aveena* ‘oats’ (Spanish *avena*)  
 d. *ayaxwi-sh* ‘pus’  
 e. *ewe-l* ‘blood’  
 f. *mi’a-t* ‘smoke’  
 g. *ooru* ‘gold’ (Spanish *oro*)  
 h. *pa-l* ‘water’  
 i. *papeel* ‘paper’ (Spanish *papel*)  
 j. *piva-t* ‘tobacco, cigarette’  
 k. *saana-t* ‘pitch’  
 l. *sava-l* ‘grass’  
 m. *seve-l* ‘wind’  
 n. *tashve* ‘squash seeds’  
 o. *tee* ‘tea’ (Spanish *te*)  
 p. *tingela’a-sh* ‘medicine’  
 q. *triiwa* ‘wheat’ (Spanish *trigo*)  
 r. *tu-l* ‘charcoal’  
 s. *tulniki-sh* ‘coffee’

- t. *verxool* ‘beans’ (Spanish *frijol*)
- u. *wa’i-sh* ‘meat’
- v. *wanyi-sh* ‘flood, river’
- w. *weski-sh* ‘ashes’
- x. *wi-ly* ‘lard, grease, fat’
- y. *wichaxe-t* ‘pine nuts’
- z. *yewa-l* ‘salt’

This set of nouns includes referents that are encoded as mass nouns in many languages. However, the nouns in (38) and (39) are not such obvious candidates for mass nounhood.

- (38) a. *hawini-ly* ‘song’
- b. *hoospera* ‘match’ (Spanish *fósforo*)
- c. *kut siwela’a-sh* ‘match’
- d. *puki-ly* ‘door’
  
- (39) a. *chivni-sh* ‘yerba mansa (*Amenopsis californica*)’
- b. *kwini-ly* ‘white oak (*Quercus kelloggii*), and acorns of this tree’
- c. *meneqi-sh* ‘mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*), and beans of this tree’
- d. *pa’aqi-ly* ‘sunflower (*Helianthus annuus*)’
- e. *pawxa-t* ‘willow tree (*Salix* spp.)’
- f. *sichiqi-ly* ‘nettles (*Urtica dioica*)’
- g. *teveṣhi-ly* ‘live oak (*Quercus engelmannii*)’
- h. *welaqa-l* ‘buckwheat (*Eriogonum fasciculatum*)’
- i. *wiku-t* ‘sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*)’

The list in (39) contains a number of terms for trees and plants. But other terms for trees and plants do accept the plural suffix, for no obvious reason. The forms in (38) are especially peculiar. Why does the word for ‘match’ not have a plural suffix? And on at least one occasion, Roscinda Nolasquez did not want to pluralize *pukily* ‘door’ (although she did offer the plural *puklyam* in the early days of elicitation). In order to solve this problem, we would probably have to turn to an analysis of prototypical cultural scenarios associated with the habit and use of these items, along the lines developed by Wierzbicka (1985) in her analysis of English *pluralia tantum* like ‘oats’ and *singulare tantum* like ‘wheat’. However, the type of information about cultural scenarios in English-speaking culture enjoyed by Wierzbicka is not retrievable for Cupeño, and we can only speculate as to the reasons that these nouns appear as *singulare tantum*.

In the case of possessed nouns, possessed body parts do not appear with plural suffixes. Thus there is no distinction in form between (40a) and (40b).

- (40) a. *chum-yu* ‘our head’  
 b. *chum-yu* ‘our heads’

Other nouns in the possessed state, however, appear freely with the plural suffix. Plurals with the several PSD suffixes are shown in (41). Note that in the case of the suffix *-’a*, the glottal stop is lost before the plural suffix (and also before the object-case suffix, as shown below in (50), (53)).

- (41) a. *ne-’iv* ‘my awl’  
 b. *ne-’iv-im* ‘my awls’  
 c. *ne-’el-’a* ‘my skirt’  
 d. *ne-’ela-m* ‘my skirts’  
 e. *ne-maakina-ki* ‘my car’ (Spanish *máquina*)  
 f. *ne-maakina-ki-m* ‘my cars’  
 g. *ne-paxa-ki-’a* ‘my cradle’  
 h. *ne-paxa-ki-’a-m* ‘my cradles’

**5.3. NOUNS IN LOCATIVE AND OBLIQUE-CASE CONSTRUCTIONS.** Constructions with locative and oblique-case markers can be classified according to the formal associations between different types of elements that mark locative and oblique case and the associated nouns. In the first type, the bare stem of the noun, without the NPN suffix but also without any possessive affixes, is suffixed with the locative or oblique-case element. In the second type, the noun stem with the NPN suffix is the base to which the locative or oblique-case marker is suffixed. In the third type, neither the noun stem or NPN-suffixed base can be suffixed with locative or oblique-case markers. Instead, the locative or oblique-case markers must appear as “relational nouns,” prefixed with PN prefixes that are formally identical to the possessive and subject prefixes. In constructions with lexical nouns, these prefixes are 3S or 3PL, encoding the number of the noun that is the object of the locative element. These nouns can be marked with the object-case suffix *-i* as objects of the relational noun. The factors that determine in which class a noun will appear are complex and are discussed below. Some nouns are attested in more than one class.

The locative and oblique-case suffixes are shown in Table 5.3. They occupy the last suffix position in nominal constructions. The forms from (g) to (j) are restricted in their distribution, appearing with only a few roots, except in the formation of place names.

TABLE 5.3. Locative and Oblique-Case Suffixes on Nominal Constructions

- a. *-’aw* ‘at’
- b. *-chi* ‘oblique case (with (by means of), by, about, around’; *-ichi* after plural *-m*
- c. *-ika* ~ *-yka*, *-ka* ‘to, towards’
- d. *-nga* ‘in, in that way, at (point of arrival)’
- e. *-nga’aw* ‘on, on top of’
- f. *-ngax* ‘from, because of’
- g. *-pa* ‘place, season, time’
- h. *-ta* ‘place’ (with *ivjy-*)
- i. *-va* ‘place, season’
- j. *-’ma*, *-ma*, *-i’ma* ‘place’

Some locative expressions must be constructed with relational nouns. Relational nouns are prefixed with PN prefixes, which are always stressed, the relational noun behaving like a stressless root. The PN prefix encodes the object of the relational noun; if lexical nouns appear as complements in relational noun constructions, they are usually marked with object case if they are animate. Some relational nouns are clearly related to the locative suffixes in Table 5.3, while others are apparently derived from body parts. Some have no obvious origin and occur only as relational nouns. The relational nouns are shown in Table 5.4. Unless stress is marked on the relational noun, stress falls on the PN prefix.

TABLE 5.4. Relational Nouns

FOLLOWING SINGULAR PN	FOLLOWING PLURAL PN
a. <i>-men</i>	<i>-emen</i> ‘with, willingly’
b. <i>-menew</i>	<i>-enew</i> ‘with, unwillingly’
c. <i>-vew</i>	<i>-evew</i> ‘over, (bigger) than’
d. <i>-ve’aw</i>	<i>-eve’aw</i> ‘over, inside, on’
e. <i>-yik</i>	<i>-eyik</i> ‘to, towards’
f. <i>-yka</i>	<i>-mika</i> ‘behind’
g. <i>-ngax</i>	<i>-mengax</i> ‘from’

## WITH EITHER SINGULAR OR PLURAL PN

- h. *-chi* ‘by means of, about, around’ (attested only with *pe-*)
- i. *-kwa<sub>l</sub>ngax* ‘beside’ (cf. *-kwal-’a* ‘armpit’)
- j. *-kwa<sub>q</sub>ani* ‘for the sake of’ (cf. *-kwa<sub>q</sub>an* ‘value, worth’)
- k. *-menish* ‘attached to’
- l. *-muchi* ‘in front of’ (cf. *-mu* ‘nose’)
- m. *-ta* ‘place’ (with *pe-* only)
- n. *-xut<sub>ang</sub>ax* ‘behind’ (cf. *-xut<sub>ax</sub>wi* ‘back’)
- o. *-ma<sub>ng</sub>ax* ‘because of’ (always with *pe-*) (cf. *ma<sub>s</sub>* ‘hand’)

- p. *-nga* ‘in’  
 q. *-ngkish* ‘like’ (discussed in 6.3.1.2)

Several of the relational nouns, the forms in (a–g), have different forms with singular and plural PN markers. This is almost certainly simply a phonological fact; singular PN prefixes end in vowels, plural PN markers end in *-m*. With the relational nouns from (a) to (e), the plural prefix has its full form, e.g., *pem-emen* ‘3PL-with (willingly)’, *em-eve’aw* ‘2PL-over’. With (f, g), the plural PN prefixes change their final *m* to ‘ before *-mika* by the regular rule described in 2.5.3, e.g., *pe-yka* ‘3S-behind’, *pe’-mika* ‘3PL-behind’. This also occurs with (h), *-menish*, which has the same form with the singular, e.g., *pe-menish* ‘attached to it’, *pe’-menish* ‘attached to them’.

A final relational noun is *-qi* ‘reflexive’, which has the paradigm shown in Table 5.5. The reflexive is formally distinct in that its PN prefix always exhibits the vowel *i*, resembling the object proclitics. However, stress falls on the first syllable of the prefix, as with the other relational nouns. Object proclitics are never stressed. There is no regular assimilation to the *i* of relational nouns; we see *pe-chi* ‘with it’, not *\*pi-chi*, and *pe’-mika* ‘behind them’, not *\*pi’-mika*. This form seems to be simply exceptional.

TABLE 5.5. *-qi* ‘reflexive’

<i>ni-qi</i> ‘myself’	<i>chimi-qi</i> ‘ourselves’
<i>i-qi</i> ‘yourself’	<i>imi-qi</i> ‘yourselves (pl.)’
<i>pi-qi</i> ‘himself, herself, its self’	<i>pimi-qi</i> ‘themselves’

This reflexive form is used when the object of the verb is identical to the subject, as in (41a). It can also be used as an emphatic, as in (42b,c), or to mean ‘one another’ as in (42d).

- (42) a. ***Pimi-qi***    *me = l = pe*                      *pem-taxwi kwa-wene.*  
           3PL-REFL    AND = 3PLERG = IRR    3PL-BODY    EAT-FIPL  
           They will eat their own bodies. (Faye Creation 11)
- b. *E’ = e = she = ’et = pe*            ***i-qi***    *pem-eyik tutuchi-qa.*  
           2SPRO = CF = DUB = 2SABS = IR    2S-REFL    3PL-TO            TELL-PRS  
           You yourself must have told them. (Faye KP 163)
- c. *Axwe-ch-i ni-qi kuchijyu ne-mixan.*  
           ODEM-NPN-O    1S-REFL    KNIFE                      1S-POSSESSION  
           That’s my own knife. (3 115 364)

- d. *Axwe-ch-im = qwe = me tew-wene pimi-qi = qwe = l melen*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL = NONI = 3PLERG SEE-CUST.PL 3PL-REFL = NONI = 3PLABS MUCH  
*nga-ngang-wene.*

DUP-CRY-CUSTPL

When they see one another they weep a great deal. (Faye Images SV 099q)

A second type of reflexive, without *-qi*, also appears. The sentences in (43) illustrate this case, where *-taxwi* ‘body’ means ‘each other, one another, self’, including the “emphatic” sense of “self” as in (43d), which is apparently functionally identical to the use of *-qi* in (42b).

- (43) a. *Qay = e kumu achi-v'et iyax-we mulu'we-t-im*  
 NOT = CF LIKE LONG.AGO-SINCE BE.LIKE-PRST ANCESTOR-NPN-PL  
*atax-am pe-chi pem-taxwi pem-nengu-weni-ve-y qay*  
 PERSON-PL 3S-OBL 3PL-BODY 3PL-HAVE-PIPLI-SUBR-O NOT  
*hi-sh pem-nengu-wen.*  
 WHAT-NPN 3PL-HAVE-PIPL

It is not like the old days when the ancestors had nothing to take care of themselves with. (Faye Domingo Moro FN 20 012k)

- b. *Tami-t chay-pe-ya-qali = che = pe chem-taxwi tew.*  
 SUN-NPN RISE-3S-YAX-DSS = 1PL = IRR 1PL-BODY SEE.F  
 Tomorrow at sunrise we shall see each other. (Faye KP 135 173)

- c. *Pem-taxwi = ku'ut pe'-milyew-wen.*  
 3PL-BODY = REP 3PL-ARGUE-PIPL  
 They were arguing with one another. (RN Creation 001)

- d. *Ne' = 'ep ne-taxwi ne-hiwchu-mi'aw.*  
 ISPRO = R IS-BODY IS-KNOW-MOTA  
 I came to know a little myself. (Faye SV 2-1-21 20 198)

**5.3.1. THE DISTRIBUTION OF BASE TYPES WITH LOCATIVE AND OBLIQUE-CASE SUFFIXES AND RELATIONAL NOUNS.** The following types of base-suffix relationships are observed with locative and oblique-case forms: a) the noun root or stem, without the NPN suffix, accepts a locative or oblique-case suffix directly; b) the base for the locative or oblique-case suffix is the noun plus the NPN suffix; c) the noun cannot occur with locative or oblique-case suffixes and must be in construction with a relational noun. The differences between the three types are partly morphological and partly semantic, and some nouns occur in both (a) and (b) types of constructions. Category (c) includes all nouns designating human beings. Category (b) includes names for animals and plants. Category (a) includes other nouns.

However, some nouns that appear in category (a) also appear in (b)-type constructions, as will be seen below.

**5.3.1.1. POSSESSED NOUNS WITH LOCATIVE AND OBLIQUE-CASE SUFFIXES.** Possessed nouns, except for kin terms (since these designate human beings, they appear only with relational nouns), always appear with locative and oblique-case markers in the first class of construction, accepting locative and oblique suffixes directly on the stem. The possessed suffix *-a* is lost. However, the possessed suffix *-ki* remains. Some examples are shown in (44). Note that with unstressed stems such as *-ma<sub>s</sub>* ‘hand’ (44a) and *-tama<sub>s</sub>* ‘mouth’ (44b) these suffixes attract the stress, which falls on the last vowel of the unstressed stem.

- (44) a. *ne-ma-’aw* ‘in my hand’ (2.13.100)  
 b. *ne-xuta-nga* ‘on my back’ (note the absence of *-wi*, cf. *ne-xutaxwi* ‘my back’) (2.13.117)  
 c. *ne-tama-chi* ‘with my mouth’ (2.37)  
 d. *ne-seva-ki-’aw* ‘on my grass’

**5.3.1.2. DERIVED NOUNS WITH *-LA’A-SH* ~ *-LYA’A-SH*.** All deverbal nouns in *-la’a-sh* ~ *-lya’a-sh*, the instrument nominalizer, fall in the first class, suffixed with locative suffixes on the unmodified stem, whether possessed or not.

- (45) a. *kup-la’a-sh* ‘bed’                      *kup-la-’aw* ‘on the bed’  
 b. *nash-lya’a-sh* ‘chair’                      *nash-lya-’aw* ‘on the chair’  
 c. *tesiw-lya’a-sh* ‘toy’                      *tesiw-lya-’aw* ‘on the toy’  
 d. *isni-lya’a-sh* ‘paper’                      *isni-lya-’aw* ‘on the paper’  
 e. *ne-’isni-lya’a* ‘my paper’                      *ne-’isni-lya-’aw* ‘on my paper’

**5.3.1.3. NOUNS WITH ACCUSATIVE *-T*.** Several quite common nouns in locative expressions exhibit an increment *-t*. This is probably a relic of the Proto-Uto-Aztecans accusative-case marker *\*-ta*. Note that all of the nouns in this class are nouns with two-syllable roots that are stressed on the second syllable, which also appear with possessed suffixes *-ki-’a*. *Pe’aw’a* ‘mountain’ is probably a frozen possessed-state form with PSD *-’a*, which is lost before the locative suffixes.

- (46) a. *sava-l* ‘grass’                      *sava-t-’aw* ‘on the grass’  
 b. *tama-l* ‘land’                      *tama-t-ika* ‘to the land’  
 c. *pe’aw’a* ‘mountain’                      *pe’aw-t-i-’aw* ‘on the mountain’  
 d. *kawi-sh* ‘rock’                      *kawi-t-’aw* ‘on the rock’

Two of these nouns also appear in constructions without *-t*. Thus the root *kawi-* appears in the expressions *kawi-ka* ‘to the west’, *kawi-ngax* ‘from the west’, *kawi-nga* ‘in the west’. The root in ‘west’ is probably the same as the root in

*kawī-sh* ‘rock’, and suggests an original location for Proto-Cupan to the east of the Coast Ranges. (There is another word for ‘to the west’, *ewepēka*, a ritual direction, which may mean ‘toward the place of rain’ (cf. *ewewen’i* ‘rain’).) The root *pe’aw-* ‘mountain’ appears with the *-t* increment in the form in (45c). There is an extra *-i-* before the suffix *-’aw* ‘at, on’ in that form; I have no account of it. *-t* is also seen in *pe’aw-t-ika* ‘toward the top of the mountain, up the mountain’. However, we also find *pe’aw-nga* ‘at the mountain’ (as a point of arrival), ‘on the mountain’ (as location for house)’.

**5.3.1.4. DIRECTLY SUFFIXED NOUNS IN THE NON-POSSESSED STATE.** The situation with nouns in the non-possessed state in locative constructions is quite complex. Inanimate nouns that are not the names of plants permit the suffixation of locatives to the stem without the NPN suffix. Examples are given in (47).

- |      |    |  |  |
|------|----|--|--|
| (47) | a. | <i>chayma-l</i> ‘basket’               | <i>chayma-’aw</i> ‘in the basket’                                    |
|      | b. | <i>eshvawe-t</i> ‘left (hand)’         | <i>eshva-yka</i> ‘to the left’                                       |
|      | c. | <i>ewe-l</i> ‘blood’                   | <i>ew-nga</i> ‘in the blood’ (also <i>ew-ika</i> ‘in the blood’)     |
|      | d. | <i>haxa-l</i> ‘sand’                   | <i>haxa-’aw</i> ‘on the sand’, <i>hax-ika</i> ‘to the sand’          |
|      | e. | <i>kelawa-t</i> ‘wood’                 | <i>kelaw-nga’aw</i> ‘on the branch’                                  |
|      | f. | <i>ki-sh</i> ‘house’                   | <i>ki-nga</i> ‘in the house’   |
|      | g. | <i>lyevatima-l</i> ‘large flat basket’ | <i>lyevatima-’aw</i> ‘in the large flat basket’                      |
|      | h. | <i>meme-t</i> ‘ocean’                  | <i>mem-ngax</i> ‘from the ocean’                                     |
|      | i. | <i>nangi-sh</i> ‘war’                  | <i>nangi-ka</i> ‘to the war’ (also <i>nangish-nga</i> ‘in the war’)  |
|      | j. | <i>nee’e-t</i> ‘basket’                | <i>nee-nga</i> ‘in the basket’                                       |
|      | k. | <i>pa-l</i> ‘water’                    | <i>pa-nga</i> ‘in the water’, <i>pa-yka</i> ‘to the water’           |
|      | l. | <i>paxily’et</i> ‘foam’                | <i>paxily’i-nga</i> ‘in the foam’                                    |
|      | m. | <i>pekwama-l</i> ‘eating basket’       | <i>pekwama-ngax</i> ‘from the eating basket’                         |
|      | n. | <i>pelyawet</i> ‘right (hand)’         | <i>pelya-yka</i> ‘to the right’                                      |
|      | o. | <i>pi-t</i> ‘road’                     | <i>pi-nga</i> ‘on the road’  |
|      | p. | <i>qwa’i-sh</i> ‘food’                 | <i>qwa’i-ka</i> ‘to the food’  |
|      | q. | <i>seve-l</i> ‘wind’                   | <i>seve-yka</i> ‘to the wind’, <i>seve-ngax</i> ‘from the wind’      |
|      | r. | <i>ti’i-ly</i> ‘bone’                  | <i>ti’i-’aw</i> ‘on the bone’ (but <i>ti’i-ly-ika</i> ‘to the bone’) |
|      | s. | <i>ti’ive-l</i> ‘blanket’              | <i>ti’ive-nga</i> ‘on the blanket’                                   |
|      | t. | <i>tivi’ma-l</i> ‘small basket’        | <i>tivi’ma-’aw</i> ‘in the basket’                                   |
|      | u. | <i>wa’i-sh</i> ‘meat’                  | <i>wa’i-ka</i> ‘to the meat’, <i>wa’i-nga</i> ‘in the meat’          |



v. <i>weshki-sh</i> ‘ashes’	<i>weshki-’aw</i> ‘in the ashes’, <i>weshki-ka</i> ‘to the ashes’
w. <i>wiwi-sh</i> ‘acorn mush’	<i>wiw-nga</i> ‘in the acorn mush’
x. <i>yami-sh</i> ‘brush’	<i>yami-ka</i> ‘to the brush’, <i>yami-nga</i> ‘in the brush’
y. <i>yepa-sh</i>	<i>yepa-yka</i> ‘to the valley’, <i>yepa-’aw</i> ‘at the valley’
z. <i>yewashine-t</i> ‘mud’	<i>yewashi-nga</i> ‘in the mud’

However, some of these are also attested in the second class, with locatives suffixed to the base with the NPN suffix. Often, the meaning of the two different constructions is different. Some examples are given in (48).

- (48)
- tami-t* ‘sun, day’, *tami-t-ika* ‘in the sunlight’, *wih tamya-t-nga* ‘for two days’, *tam-ika* ‘east’, *tami-’va* ‘winter’
  - kelawe-t* ‘firewood, wood’, *kelawe-t-nga* ‘onto the stick’, *kelaw-nga* ‘on the wood (at cremation)’, *kelaw-nga’aw* ‘on the branch (sitting as bird)’
  - lyevat’ima-l* ‘large flat basket’, *lyevat’ima-l-nga’aw* ‘on the large flat basket (e.g., fly)’, *lyevat’ima-’aw* ‘in the large flat basket (e.g., acorns)’
  - pekwama-l* ‘an eating basket’, *pekwama-l-nga’aw* ‘in baskets (display of goods)’, *pekwama-ngax* ‘out of the eating basket’
  - nee’e-t* ‘basket’, *nee’e-t-nga’aw* ‘in, on the basket’, *nee-nga* ‘(put) in the basket’
  - ti’i-ly* ‘bone’, *ti’i-ly-ika* ‘to the bone’, *ti’i-’aw* ‘on the bone’

Unfortunately, there are not enough data available to make a definitive statement about these differences. However, the most likely solution is that speakers envision slightly different scenes, with the relationship of location being more “intimate” in the case of forms with locative suffixes without the NPN suffix, and less so when the NPN suffix is also present. In the case of (48a), to be ‘in sunlight’, one is not literally “in the sun.” Similarly, ‘in the moonlight’ is *meni-ly-ika* from *meni-ly* ‘moon’. In the (48b) example, the expression *kelawe-t-nga’aw* appears in a story where a coyote climbs awkwardly up onto a sharp stick in order to play a game with birds. These are relationships where the item located is peripheral or less intimate in relation to the location. On the other hand, the relationship between the pile of firewood and the corpse for cremation, or a branch and a bird, involves a more prototypical scenario. In the case of the examples with baskets, objects in baskets that one would normally find there, such as food or acorns and acorn flour, generally take locatives without the NPN suffix. On the other hand, objects in baskets that are not prototypically associated with them, such as flies that have landed on them, or, in the case of *pekwamalnga’aw* in (48d), the once-a-year

display of valuables in the burning ceremony, where the valuables are objects that would not usually be found in an eating basket, exhibit NPN suffixes with locatives. An example similar to this one appears in an account of the eagle ceremony, where the sacrificed eagle is wrapped in the *maasivet* ‘sacred bundle of lineage valuables’. The form here is *maasive-t-nga* ‘in the sacred bundle’, not *maasive-nga*.

If this is the correct solution (and I think it is), then to use the longer base, with the NPN suffix, is a good iconic expression of the less prototypical or more “distant” or “marginal” or “peripheral” locative relationship in comparison with the form without the NPN suffix, expressing the more prototypical and intimate relationship.

**5.3.1.5. NPN BASES WITH LOCATIVE AND OBLIQUE-CASE SUFFIXES.** Nouns that are names for plants and animals accept locative suffixes only on the base with the NPN suffix. This situation may be in part semantically motivated by the same considerations that are discussed in 5.3.1.4 above in the discussion of the examples in (48). Plants and animals are not “typical” containers, nor are their exteriors typically penetrated, nor are they typically the goals of motion. Many of the examples in (49) are attested only with *-nga’aw*, the longest locative suffix and the one that expresses the most superficial relationship with the object noun. Elicitation with some of the odder locations here was done by asking about the location of *ku’al* ‘a fly’.

- (49)
- a. *avaxa-t-nga’aw* ‘on top of the cottonwood tree’, *avaxa-t-ika* ‘to the cottonwood tree’, *avaxa-t-nga* ‘in the cottonwood tree’ (all speaking of birds), *avaxa-t-ngax* ‘from the cottonwood tree’ (climbing down from)
  - b. *ayi-ly-nga’aw* ‘on the desert tortoise’
  - c. *chala-l-nga’aw* ‘on the bark’
  - d. *iswe-t-nga’aw* ‘on the wolf’
  - e. *ku’u-t-nga* ‘in the elderberry bush’
  - f. *nave-t-ika* ‘to the prickly pear cactus’, *nave-t-nga* ‘(money hidden) in the prickly pear cactus’, *nave-t-nga’aw* ‘on the prickly pear cactus’
  - g. *peyaxa-t-nga’aw* ‘on the caterpillar’
  - h. *piva-t-nga’aw* ‘on the tobacco’
  - i. *seqepi-sh-nga’aw* ‘(worms) in mushrooms’
  - j. *sewe-t-nga’aw* ‘on the rattlesnake’
  - k. *si’i-sh-nga’aw* ‘on the tules’
  - l. *siqa-l-ika* ‘to the clover’
  - m. *tuchi-ly-nga’aw* ‘on the bird sp.’
  - n. *tukupuvi-t-nga’aw* ‘on the woodpecker’
  - o. *sechingi-ly-am-eng* ‘in the thornbushes’

Plant names are not usually pluralized. However, the example in (49o) appears twice in my data, with two different locatives (it is a stereotypical way of talking about an unpleasant place to live; Kisily Pewik assigned land “in the thornbushes” to the Blacktooth lineage).

Interestingly, *-nga'aw* is the form used to mean ‘(speak) in a language’. However, the formation does not use the NPN base (an abstract noun in *-ily*; see 8.3.4) but is formed on the theme of the verb, as in (50). ‘In Diegueño’ is an exception; it is *ayalmu-'aw*.

- (50) a. *memyelax-nga'aw* ‘in English’  
 b. *pa'angax-nga'aw* ‘in Cupeño’  
 c. *qa'ayax-nga'aw* ‘in Luiseño’  
 d. *wichilax-nga'aw* ‘in Spanish’  
 e. *yuuyax-nga'aw* ‘in Cahuilla’

Plant names often appear with a special form which resembles a relational noun, *-wela-*, which may mean something like ‘growth’ from *wel* ‘grow, mature’ (I recorded *chem-wel'a* ‘our family tree’), with a locative base *pe-wela-*. This form accepts locative suffixes, yielding forms like those in (51).

- (51) a. *avaxat pewela-'aw* ‘under the cottonwood tree, at the base of the cottonwood tree’  
 b. *savily pewela-nga* ‘to the sycamore tree (point of arrival)’

The form *pe-wela-* also appears with words other than plant words.

- (52) a. *estuufa pe-chi pe-wela-'aw* ‘(running) around the bottom of the stove’  
 (Spanish *estufa*)  
 b. *kawi-t-'aw pe-wela-'aw* ‘(sleeping) under a rock’

In the case of nouns (other than human) that never have NPN suffixes, like Spanish loans, the locative and oblique-case suffixes can simply attach directly to the nouns. Also, any place name can appear with locative suffixes. In the case of place names with NPN suffixes, like *Yuykat* ‘Soboba’, the locative base includes the NPN suffix.

- (53) a. *lasεena-'aw* ‘on top of the cupboard’ (Spanish *alacena*)  
 b. *puεenti-ka* ‘to the bridge’ (Spanish *puente*)  
 c. *Oceanside-nga'aw* ‘at Oceanside’  
 d. *Sandieggu-ka* ‘to San Diego’ (Spanish *San Diego*)  
 e. *Yuykat-nga* ‘at Soboba’  
 f. *Kupa-ngax* ‘from Cupa’  
 g. *Pal Hilyaqal-nga* ‘at Dripping Springs’

Finally, locative suffixes can appear on items other than nouns. They appear on adjectives, sometimes in “agreement” with nouns, on adverbs, and on relativized verb forms. A few examples are given in (54); these constructions are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9 for adjectives and adverbs and in Chapter 8 for the relativized verbs.

- (54) a. *sava-t-’aw xwawixwavi-nga’aw* ‘on the green grass’  
 b. *wawam-ngax* ‘from far away’  
 c. *hiwqal-i-ve-ngax* ‘from where he lived’  
 d. *pah-nga’aw* ‘in three places’  
 e. *wih-nga’aw* ‘in two places, on both sides’

**5.3.2. RELATIONAL NOUN CONSTRUCTIONS.** In a relational noun construction, the element that encodes location or oblique case appears as a relational noun. Such nouns require possessive PN prefixes. The noun that encodes the location is the object of the relational noun. If it is an inanimate noun, it is not marked for object case, but animate nouns and pronouns are usually marked with an object-case suffix *-i*. Such constructions are widely attested in Uto-Aztecan languages and are characteristic of the languages of Mesoamerica (Campbell, Kaufman & Smith-Stark 1986). All Cupeño nouns for human beings occur with locative and oblique-case suffixes only in these relational noun constructions; that is, human nouns cannot be directly suffixed with locative or oblique-case markers, either with or without the NPN suffix. However, a number of other nouns also appear in such constructions, and the reasons for selecting a relational noun construction, as opposed to a construction with a locative or oblique-case suffix, is often unclear. I speculate again that some underlying scenarios involving the intimacy of the relationship between the oblique-case or locative component of the scene and the actor or undergoer component may be in operation here. I suggested that this kind of motivation may lie behind the choice between NPN-suffixed locative bases and bases without the NPN suffix discussed above in 5.3.1.5. For instance, (55c) below shows *kelawet pe-chi* ‘with a stick’. The element *-chi* also appears as a suffix, e.g., *ne-ma-chi* ‘with my hand’, *ne-chi* ‘about me’, *ivimichi a’wewemichi* ‘about these elders’. The case of *ne-ma-chi* ‘with my hand’ must surely rate as more prototypical than *kelawet pe-chi* ‘with a stick’, the hand being the instrumental body part par excellence. However, the paucity of the data mean that we cannot move beyond speculation.

As mentioned above, nouns in construction with relational nouns can be marked with the object-case suffix *-i* ~ *-y*, as seen in (55). However, they can also appear without the case marker as in (56).

- (55) a. *naxani-ch-i*      *pe-ngax*  
 MAN-NPN-O      3S-FROM  
 from the man

- b. *pe-ye-y*    *pe-yik*  
 3S-MOTHER-O 3S-TO  
 to his mother
- (56) a. *awa-l*    *pe-ve'aw*  
 DOG-NPN 3S-OVER  
 on the dog
- b. *mipi-ly*        *pe-chi*  
 MILKWEED-NPN    3S-OBL  
 around the milkweed
- c. *kelawa-t*    *pe-chi*  
 STICK-NPN        3S-OBL  
 with a stick

**5.4. NOUNS WITH THE OBJECT-CASE SUFFIX.** Any noun can appear with the object-case suffix *-i* ~ *-y*. The form is *-i* following consonants and *-y* following vowels. However, inanimate nouns in the non-possessed state hardly ever appear with this suffix. As reviewed in 9.2, in complex nominal constructions with non-possessed inanimate nouns, the object-case suffix will appear on modifiers such as adjectives or quantifiers but almost never on the inanimate noun itself. A discussion of the discourse constraints on the appearance of the suffix is found in 12.3.2.3. The phonology of *-i* ‘object case’—it behaves in some ways like a clitic, in that it blocks epenthesis but does not induce vowel deletion—is discussed in 2.2.3.2. The role of the suffix in focusing with demonstratives is reviewed in 12.2.1.

The object-case suffix is always the last suffix in the noun construction, following the plural if the plural suffix is present. Some examples are seen in (57).

- (57) a. *awa-l-i* ‘dog-object’  
 b. *nawika-t-i* ‘woman-object’  
 c. *ne-qa-y* ‘my-father’s.father/mother-object’  
 d. *pe-xaku-y* ‘her-carrying.strap-object’  
 e. *ne-mixan-m-i* ‘my-possession-plural-object’

I briefly repeat here a few details of the phonological behavior of this suffix, which is also treated in other sections, e.g., in Chapter 2. In the case of consonant-final nouns with the PSD suffix *-’a*, when the object-case suffix follows this, the glottal stop is lost, as discussed in 5.1.4.2 above and exemplified again in (58).

- (58) *pe-’ich-’a* ‘3S-pipe-PSD’        *pe-’ich-a-y* ‘3S-pipe-PSD-object’

The object-case suffix attracts stress in the case of stressless roots. That is, the stress will occur in the syllable that includes the object-case suffix. Consonant-final stressless roots add a stressed *-i* increment before the object-case suffix, which then appears as *-y*. These include the forms shown in (59).

- (59) a. *pe-maʃh* ‘his father’s brother’      *pe-maʃhi-y*  
 b. *pe-qwaʃh* ‘its tail’      *pe-qwaʃhi-y*  
 c. *pe-tew* ‘his chest’      *pe-tewi-y*

The treatment of stressless roots with the possessed suffix *-’a* is variable. With the nouns in (60), *-’a* is lost, replaced by the *-i* increment. With those in (61), it is retained, losing its glottal stop as in the example in (58). The analysis of (61d) is uncertain; it is unclear whether it shows an assimilated *-i* increment or an assimilated possessed suffix.

- (60) a. *-’is-’a* ‘tears’      *-’isi-y*  
 b. *-nang-’a* ‘tongue’      *-nangi-y*  
 c. *-nyeng-’a* ‘saliva’      *-nyengi-y*  
 d. *-ʃhek-’a* ‘shoulder’      *-ʃheki-y*  
 e. *-qily-’a* ‘nape of neck’      *-qilyi-y*
- (61) a. *-qan-’a* ‘gall’      *-qan-a-y*  
 b. *-ʃhev-’a* ‘shells, hulls’      *-ʃhev-a-y*  
 c. *-hiny-’a* ‘saliva’      *-hiny-a-y*  
 d. *-ʃhul-’a* ‘nails, claws’      *-ʃhul-u-y*

In the case of vowel-final Spanish loan nouns and native-vocabulary vowel-final nouns in the “expressive” set that includes insect names (listed in (4) in 2.1.2.1 above), the object-case suffix does not usually appear as *-y*. Instead, a glottal stop is inserted before the suffix, which appears as *-i*. Recall that these nouns pluralize with glottal stop and echo vowel before the plural suffix *-m*, so we might wish to think of them as having underlying final glottal stops. However, their behavior with the object-case suffix is irregular. Sometimes the echo vowel is present, and the object-case suffix is *-y* (as in 60a). Sometimes the echo vowel is absent, and the object-case suffix is *-i*, as in (62b, c).

- (62) a. *mansaana* ‘apple’      *mansaana’a-y* or *mansaana’-i* (Spanish  
 b. *taasa* ‘cup’      *taasa’-i* (Spanish *taza*)      [manzana)  
 c. *qeqene* ‘gopher snake’      *qeqene’-i*

We also encounter some variation in the behavior of the object-case suffix with the vowel-final quantifiers *petā’ama* ‘all’ and *awīisma* ‘a little’. The possible object-case forms are seen in (63).

- (63) a. *peta'ama* 'all'                      *peta'ama-y* or *peta'am-i*  
 b. *awisma* 'a little'                      *awisma'a-y* or *awisma'-i*

**5.5. NOUN–NOUN DERIVATION.** A number of elements derive nouns from other nouns. These include diminutives, augmentatives, gentile suffixes, and toponymic suffixes. Only the last two appear to be very productive. There are only a very few possible compound nouns; compounding is not productive.

**5.5.1. AUGMENTATIVES AND DIMINUTIVES.** The principal derivational suffixes operating on noun stems are the augmentative *-we*, which takes the NPN *-t*, and the diminutive *-ma*, which appears with the NPN suffix *-l*. The former is derived from the Proto-Uto-Aztecan root meaning 'big', \**wi*. An 'ownership' suffix *-we-t*, homophonous with the augmentative but probably with a different historical origin, is discussed in 8.3.3. The diminutive seems to be related to the Uto-Aztecan etymon for 'woman's child', \**mara*. While both suffixes are quite common, neither is really productive. Instead, when Roscinda Nolasquez wished to express "bigness" or "smallness," she would use the adjectives *ay'ani-sh* 'big' and *akulyi* 'small'.

Some examples of pairs with the augmentative are seen in (64). It is clear that the relationship in meaning between the unmarked and augmentative forms is not predictable, and the augmentative suffix is not used productively. *-we-t* is quite a common final syllable on nouns, for instance on *a\$hu-we-t* 'toyon (*Heteromeles arbutifolia*)' (Gaughen 2001:86), *Huva-we-t* 'name of a lineage'. However, in most cases there is no unmarked noun for comparison.

- (64) a. *huna-l* 'badger'                      *hun-we-t* 'bear'  
 b. *isi-ly* 'coyote'                      *is-we-t* 'wolf'  
 c. *kaxa-l* 'valley quail'                      *kaxa-we-t* 'mountain quail'  
 d. *tama<sub>s</sub>* 'mouth'                      *tama-we-t* 'mockingbird'  
 e. *qeyu-l* 'fish'                      *qeyu-we-t* 'whale'

Examples of the diminutive *-ma* are especially common in kin terms, where we find the following pairs.

- (65) a. *-kum* 'father's brother'                      *-kumu-ma* 'mother's brother's son'  
 b. *-qa* 'father's parent'                      *-qa-ma* 'son's child'  
 c. *-qwa* 'mother's father'                      *-qwa-ma* 'man's daughter's child'  
 d. *-\$hu* 'mother's mother'                      *-\$hu-ma* 'daughter's child'

While the kin terms in (65) are clearly reciprocal pairs, with one in the ascending and one in the descending generation in relation to ego (the speaker who uses the term), there are a number of kin terms that have *-ma* where there is no reciprocal unsuffixed form attested.

- (66)
- a. -'asi-s-ma 'niece'
  - b. -mat-i-ma 'nephew'
  - c. -mat-i-s-ma 'sister's child'
  - d. -nuk-ma 'cousin'
  - e. -pul-i-n-ma 'man's son' (cf. pul-i-n-yi-sh 'child, baby')
  - f. -qis-ma 'older sister'
  - g. -shu-nga-ma 'man's daughter' (cf. -shu 'mother's mother')

Another set of examples where the diminutive appears in relation to other suffixes is in the names of the months of the year. The seasons are *tami'va* 'winter' (literally, 'day or sun season'), *tashpa* 'spring', *tawpa* 'summer', *tawshenva'at* 'autumn' (literally, 'when there is thunder'). Each season is divided into two months. The English terms for the four seasons, although they were offered by consultants (in this case Roscinda Nolasquez and her uncle, James Brittain), are not really apt translations, because in addition to the months of the above seasons, there are other months. All the month names that I collected are shown in (67). Hill and Nolasquez (1973:110–112) has a more extensive discussion of the calendrical system. The element *-xi-sh*, seen in (67a–f), is not otherwise attested.

- (67)
- a. *Tamiva'malpa, Tamiva'xishpa* 'Little Winter, Big Winter'
  - b. *Tashpa'malpa, Tashpa'xishpa* 'Little Spring, Big Spring'
  - c. *Tawpa'malpa, Tawpa'xishpa* 'Little Summer, Big Summer'
  - d. *Tawshenva'mal, Tawshenva'xish* 'Little Autumn, Big Autumn'
  - e. *Pivi'mukmal, Pivi'muxish* 'Little Ghost Month, Big Ghost Month'
  - f. *Sexe'muymal, Sexe'muyxish* 'Little Burning Month, Big Burning Month'
  - g. *Nimuymalpa, Nimuyilpa* 'Little November, Big November'

The element *-ma* is fairly common. Many words for containers include this element, and it is not clear that it is a diminutive in this context; for instance, the *chaymal* basket (68a) figures in narrative as a basket that was big enough to hold prey such as jackrabbits, and is described as *chaymal ay'anish* 'a big basket'.

- (68)
- a. *chay-ma-l* 'round basket, basket cap'
  - b. *kava'-ma-l* 'olla'
  - c. *lyevat'i-ma-l* 'large flat basket'
  - d. *pekwa-ma-l* 'eating basket'
  - e. *tivi'-ma-l* 'small basket'

A small set of forms seem likely to be diminutives, even though we have no corresponding unsuffixed nouns.



- (69) a. *kii-ma-l* ‘boy’  
 b. *chiit-ma-l* ‘kind of bird’  
 c. *mukik-ma-l* ‘bird, in general’

There are, however, very few paired items. Some are seen in (70). As with the augmentative suffix *-we*, seen in the paired forms in (64), it is clear that the diminutive *-ma* is not productive in a strict sense, and the meaning of the diminutive is not always derivable from the meaning of the unsuffixed noun in a straightforward way. Particularly, since abalone shells are usually much larger than money (or than other shells, which is probably the original meaning of *qichi-ly*), it is surprising that the word seems to be a diminutivized version. The relevant scenario is probably that the shell money, in a smaller size, was the valuable that gave its name to state-issued currency when this found its way to the Cupeños, presumably in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

- (70) a. *muu-t* ‘barn owl’      *muu-ma-l* ‘screech owl’  
 b. *nawi-ly* ‘maiden’      *nawish-ma-l* ‘girl’  
 c. *qichi-ly* ‘money’      *qiche-ma-l* ‘abalone shell’

**5.5.2. GENTILIC SUFFIX COMPLEX *-NGAX-WI-SH*.** The suffix complex *-ngax-wi-sh*, where *-ngax* is the locative suffix meaning ‘from’, can be attached to place names to form ethnonyms and gentilic terms. Examples are seen in (71).

- (71) a. *Kupa-ngax-wi-sh* ‘person from Cupa, Cupeño person’  
 b. *Pa-l Atingve-ngax-wi-sh* ‘person from Hot Springs (Cupa), Cupeño person’  
 c. *Mem-ngax-wi-sh* ‘person from the ocean, white person’  
 d. *ivi-ngax-wi-sh* ‘a person from here’  
 e. *kichaxwe-ngax-wi-sh* ‘person from the south’

The suffix complex *-wi-sh* also appears without *-ngax*, meaning simply ‘a place with particular qualities’. Examples are seen in (72).

- (72) a. *tam-ika-wi-sh* ‘desert (“place to the east”)  
 b. *tukuchi-ka-wi-sh* ‘heaven (“place up high”)  
 c. *pu-mu pe-tengax-wi-sh* ‘nostril (“his nose place inside it”)

**5.5.3. TOPONYMIC AND SEASONAL SUFFIXES *-PA*, *-VA*, *-MA*.** The toponymic suffix *-pa* derives place names from nouns. An identical suffix means ‘time of’ and appears with the season names *taw-pa* ‘summer’ and *tash-pa* ‘spring’ (see (74)) and in *mi-pa* ‘when’. On nouns that can have locatives attach to the unmodified stem, *-pa* also can appear in the same manner. On other nouns, *-pa* is suffixed to the base with NPN suffix. Some examples are seen in (73).

- (73) a. *Chivni-sh-pa* ‘place where there is *chivnish*, a plant’  
 b. *Kiwe-t-pa* ‘place where there is *kiwet*, a plant’  
 c. *Nixi-sh-pa* ‘place where there are wild gourds’  
 d. *Sheshwavyvel-pa* ‘place name, no translation’  
 e. *Welaqa-l-pa* ‘place where there is buckwheat, *Wilaqal*’

The single most important place name in Cupeño territory, *Kupa* ‘Cupa’, may be a loanword from Diegueño; cf. the ‘Iipay Aa (Mesa Grande Diegueño) word for ‘Warner’s Hot Springs (Cupa)’ *Haa-kupin*, literally ‘water-warm’ (Couro & Hutcheson 1973:19). If the derivation of *Kupa* were native, from *ku-t* ‘fire’ plus the toponymic suffix *-pa*, we would expect \**Ku-t-pa* ‘Fire Place’ (perhaps in reference to the steam rising from the spring on cold days), with the NPN suffix *-t*, parallel to the forms in (73).

The suffix *-pa* appears in the names of some seasons, as in (74). These examples show that forms with *-pa* can occur with additional locative suffixes.

- (74) a. *tash-pa-’aw* ‘in the spring’ (also *tash-pa-nga*)  
 b. *taw-pa-’aw* ‘in the summer’ (also *taw-pa-nga*)  
 c. *Nimuy<sup>u</sup>mal-pa* ‘Little November’  
 d. *Nimuyily-pa* ‘Big November’

The lenited variant of *-pa*, *-va*, appears where the base noun has the NPN suffix *-l* or where the base noun ends in a vowel or semivowel. The season name ‘winter’ (75d) is probably an example of a lenited variant of the *-pa* seen in the season names in (74).

- (75) a. *kele-l-va* ‘place where there are manzanitas’  
 b. *Kut’a-va* ‘place name, meaning unknown’  
 c. *Paw-va* ‘place name, meaning unknown’  
 d. *tami’-va* ‘winter’ (cf. *tami-t* ‘day, sun’)

An apparent toponymic suffix *-ma*, *-i’ma* appears in several place names, as shown in (76).

- (76) a. *Mekwash-ma* ‘Flea Place’  
 b. *Al-i’ma* (meaning unknown, possibly ‘Head Louse Place’? Cf. *ne’al’a* ‘my head louse’)  
 c. *Maas-i’ma* ‘Dripping Springs’ (but does not mean that; perhaps from the first part of *maasive-t* ‘sacred bundle’, plus *-ma*)  
 d. *Puyily-i’ma* ‘Meal Place’

Some Cupeño place names are unanalyzable; some examples are shown in (77). Some of these look as if they might contain Tactic formative elements but some may be borrowed from Diegueño.

- (77) a. *Naachukat*  
 b. *Palugla*  
 c. *Pamat* ‘Pauma’  
 d. *Payi*  
 e. *Qewmal*  
 f. *Tepelkwe*  
 g. *Ushmay* (perhaps involving *u\$ha-l* ‘wild rose’ with diminutive?)

Many toponyms are transparent noun phrases, although they sometimes have some archaic features. Examples of such readily analyzable place names are shown in (78).

- (78) a. *Antam Pemki* ‘Red Ants’ House’  
 (*an-t-am pem-ki* ‘RED.ANT-NPN-PL 3PL-HOUSE’)  
 b. *Chishxilyim Pempawvi* ‘Twins’ Urine, Twin Springs’  
 (*chishxi-ly-im pem-pa-w-vi* ‘TWIN-NPN-PL 3PL-WATER-PSD-PSD’)  
 c. *Pal Hilyaqal* ‘Water was dripping, Dripping Springs’  
 (*pa-l hily-yax-qal* ‘WATER-NPN DRIP-YAX-PIS’)  
 d. *Kish Huukish* ‘Attack House’  
 (*ki-sh huuki-sh* ‘HOUSE-NPN ATTACK-NPN’)  
 e. *Muumalim Pemki* ‘Screech Owl’s House’  
 (*muuma-l-im pem-ki* ‘SCREECH.OWL-NPN-PL 3PL-HOUSE’)  
 f. *Pal Atingve* ‘Hot Springs’  
 (*pa-l a-ting-ve* ‘WATER-NPN INDEF-HEAT-SUBR’)  
 g. *Teve\$hily Puxve* ‘Where he dashed them against the white oak’  
 (*teve\$hi-ly pux-ve* ‘WHITE.OAK-NPN DASH.AGAINST-SUBR’)  
 h. *Su’ish Peki* ‘Rabbit’s House’  
 (*su’i-sh pe-ki* ‘JACKRABBIT-NPN 3S-HOUSE’)  
 i. *Tewish Peki* ‘Towish’s House’  
 (*tewi-sh pe-ki* ‘TOWISH-NPN 3S-HOUSE’)  
 j. *A\$hwet Peti’a* ‘Eagle’s Nest’  
 (*a\$hwe-t pe-ti-’a* ‘EAGLE-NPN 3S-ROOST-PSD’)  
 k. *Wilyaxwenet* ‘Hidden’  
 (*wily-yax-wen-et* ‘HIDE-YAX-PIST-NPN’)  
 l. *Yungavchim Pemtukve* ‘Buzzards’ Roost’  
 (*yungavi-ch-im pem-tuk-ve* ‘BUZZARD-NPN-PL 3PL-SPEND.NIGHT-SUBR’)

Finally, ad hoc place names can be designated by using the element *pe-ta* ‘its place’ (a relational noun construction with *-ta*), followed by a verb bearing the

agent-suppressing nominalization constructed with the realis subordinator *-ve* suffixed with NPN *-l*. In (79a) we do not expect the subject marker *pem-* (> *pe'-*) in *Pe'-muutu-weni-ve-l* '3PL-HOOT-PIPLI-SUBR-NPN'; I cannot explain its presence (see 8.1.5.2 for a discussion of the regular pattern with derivations in *-ve-l*).

Note that the well-established and onomasticized place names in (75) above have *-va*, rather than *-ve-l*.

- (79) a. *Peta Pe'muutuwenivel* 'Where they hooted'  
(*pe-ta pe-muutu-wen-i-ve-l* '3S-PLACE 3PL-HOOT-PIPLI-SUBR-NPN')
- b. *Peta Misexinvelim* 'Where they were burned'  
(*pe-ta mi-sexin-ve-l-im* '3S-PLACE 3PLO-BURN-SUBR-NPN-PL')
- c. *Peta Mi'awvel* 'Where they arrived'  
(*pe-ta mi'aw-ve-l* '3S-PLACE ARRIVE-SUBR-NPN')
- d. *Ataxmi Sexinvel* 'Where people were burned'  
(*a-tax-m-i sexin-ve-l* 'INDEF-BODY-PL-O BURN-SUBR-NPN')

**5.5.4. COMPOUND NOUNS.** Compounding is not a productive process in Cupeño. Nonetheless, there are a few nouns that appear to be complex that may have originated as compounds. Several of these are kin terms, shown in (80). They are all terms for in-laws. The *-ye<sub>s</sub>* 'mother' element in (80a,b) may be teknonymous (a name given that references the person's child) and have to do with the woman's status as mother of the speakers *-qa(ma)* 'son's child'.

- (80) a. *-'eqapiyewe* 'sister-in-law', probably including *-qa* 'father's father' and *pe-ye<sub>s</sub>-we* '3S-mother-augmentative (or 'owner?')', with an unidentifiable first element *-e-*
- b. *-'espiyewe-t* 'sister-in-law, brother's wife', probably including *pe-ye<sub>s</sub>-we* again, with an unidentifiable first element *-es-*
- c. *-naminkwa* 'male in-law', probably including *na-* 'male' and *-minyiki* 'like, related'

Several terms for some of the more peripheral body-part terms look like they might have a compound source. These are shown in (81). The words recorded for 'jaw' and 'chin' look compound but no meaningful element can be identified.

- (81) a. *-makawa* 'elbow', containing *-ma* 'hand, arm' and an unidentifiable second part that may be from PUA *\*ka* 'hard' (Dakin & Wichmann 1995, 2000)
- b. *-kata<sub>s</sub>ma*, *-meklak<sub>s</sub>ma*, *-teklak<sub>s</sub>ma* 'jaw'
- c. *-'eyewek'a* 'chin'

Two words for small animals are probably originally from compounds.

- (82) a. *qing-pu\$hi-ly* ‘little squirrel’, cf. *qingi-sh* ‘squirrel’; *pu\$hi-ly* may be related to *puchi-ly* ‘seed’ but may be a different morpheme, since the second consonant is certainly different.  
 b. *tama\$hishqini-ly* ‘varmint’ (word is attested for weasel, mole, possum, snail); the first part is probably *tama*<sub>-s</sub> ‘mouth, teeth’; the last part may be related to *qingish* ‘squirrel’)

A few names for animals show an element *pa-* meaning ‘large’, which can be reconstructed at least for Proto-Takic (Kenneth C. Hill, personal communication).

- (83) a. *pa\$hukat* ‘horse’, almost certainly originally ‘elk’, cf. *sukat* ‘deer’  
 b. *pamemekat* ‘mole (?)’ (probably related to *meet* ‘gopher’)

Sometimes the *pa-* element may mean ‘water’, e.g., *pa\$hewet* ‘water snake’; cf. *sewet* ‘rattlesnake’. However, the form may also mean ‘large’ here, since the identification of the snake is uncertain.

One word for an item of clothing is probably a compound.

- (84) *-nawilyqam'a* ‘front apron made of string’ (*nawi-ly* ‘maiden’ plus *qam'a*, unidentified). Jacobs (1975) gives *-wilyqamal*.

Finally, the number word for ‘five’ is *nemakwanangax*, clearly *ne-ma kwaana-ngax* ‘my-hand value-from’.

## 6

# MORPHOLOGY OF SMALL-CLASS LEXICAL ITEMS

The present chapter reviews the morphology of several small lexical classes. These can be divided into those lexical classes that accept nominal inflections and participate in case and number concord in complex nominal constructions and those that do not do so. The first group includes adjectives, quantifiers, numerals, demonstratives, and, with some qualification, pronouns and determiners. The question words accept only very limited and sporadic inflection but are clearly related to the demonstratives etymologically, so will be discussed with them. These inflected forms are treated in the following sections: adjectives in 6.1, quantifiers in 6.2, numerals in 6.3, question words and demonstratives in 6.4, and pronouns and determiners in 6.5. The second group includes the adverbs, discussed in 6.6, and a miscellaneous range of particles, discussed in 6.7. A few of these are attested with inflectional affixes in certain limited environments.

These lexical classes are small for a variety of reasons. The classes of adjectives and adverbs are not closed by structural principle but simply have relatively few members. Thus Cupeño, like many languages (cf. Dixon 1982), has relatively few adjectives. In making this claim about Cupeño, I distinguish between “primary” adjectives and modifiers that are derived by regular processes (described in Chapter 8) from verbs. There are fewer than one hundred primary adjectives, for which no source verb base can be identified. Examples are *ay'anish* ‘big’ and *ayxat* ‘old’. In contrast, an indefinite number of adjective-like modifiers can be derived from verbs and appear with appropriate inflection in complex nominal constructions.

Cupeño also has only a small number of primary adverbs. As with derived adjectives, new adverbs can be derived from verbal and adjectival roots by both morphological process, such as adding a suffix *-n* to the root, e.g., *humahuma'an* ‘aimlessly’ is related to *humlehumble'ash* ‘bumpy’, or adding suffixes to numerals to form items meaning ‘a certain number of times’. However, primary adverbs that

do not seem to be related to corresponding open-class forms are few. Examples are *ami'an* ‘close, near’ and *wawam* ‘far’.

Small-class lexical inventories also include other classes, such as expressive particles and exclamations, that are not closed by any obvious structural principle. In practice, however, inventories of such items in the languages of the world are quite small, and Cupeño is no exception.

Finally, there are small lexical classes that are closed by structural principle, such as the demonstratives and pronouns. In Cupeño, the demonstrative class is defined by two dimensions of proximity and one of discourse availability, yielding three demonstratives: proximal *i'i* ~ *iv̄i-*, distal (but within the point of view of discourse participants) *e-t* ~ *eve-*, and “obviative” (distal but not within the point of view of discourse participants) *axwe-sh* ~ *axw̄a-*. Similarly, the pronouns are structured by three persons (first, second, third) and singular versus plural number. The question words are distinguished as “human” *hax̄-s* versus “non-human” *hi-sh*, with a third stem, indefinite *mi-* ~ *miv̄i-*, used as a base for questions meaning “where, when, how.” Innovation at an abstract structural level would be required to enlarge these closed sets.

This chapter reviews the morphological properties of these small-class items and presents lists of inventories of the primary (that is, non-derived) members of these classes, and of those members that are clearly derived but by irregular or otherwise non-productive processes. Syntactic issues are treated in other chapters. Word order, agreement, and discontinuous constituency of complex nominal constructions involving adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, determiners, and adverbs in complex nominal constructions are treated in Chapter 9. The syntax of negatives and questions is treated in Chapter 10.

**6.1. ADJECTIVES.** The lexical class of adjectives is not defined by any unique set of morphological properties. At least some Cupeño adjectives resemble nouns in many of their formal properties. Like nouns, they appear with NPN suffixes, always *-t* or *-sh*, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. *ayxa-t*  
OLD-NPN  
 b. *pangi-sh*  
NEW-NPN

*-t* and *-sh* are used to derive adjectives from verbs (as discussed in Chapter 8), so the forms in (1) may be related to verb roots. However, these roots are not attested. The NPN suffixes *-l/-ly* do not appear with adjectives.

A number of primary adjectives lack NPN suffixes. This is also true of some nouns, but the nouns without NPN suffixes, discussed in Chapter 5, are mainly “expressive” forms such as sound-symbolic names of animals. In contrast, some fairly basic adjectives fall into this class. Examples are shown in (2).

- (2) a. *akulyi* ‘little’  
 b. *chiv* ‘bitter’ (*chiva-t* is also attested)  
 c. *si'tax* ‘sour’

While only a small number of nouns form plurals with reduplication, most adjectives do reduplicate in the plural. Examples are shown in (3).

- (3) a. *a-'ayxa-t* ‘old (pl.)’  
 b. *i-'ingi-sh* ‘lazy (pl.)’  
 c. *tu-tulniki-sh* ‘black (pl.)’

Some adjectives pluralize with the suffix *-m*, as shown in (4).

- (4) a. *ming-ch-am* ‘thin (pl.)’ < *mingi-sh*  
 b. *pang-ch-am* ‘new (pl.)’ < *pangi-sh*

Some are attested with both reduplication and suffixation. For instance, the plural of *akulyi* ‘little’ appears both as reduplicated and suffixed, as in (5a), but also just with reduplication, as in (5b). The initial *a-* is probably the frozen adjective prefix and does not figure in the reduplication.

- (5) a. *a-ku-kulyi-m* ‘little (pl.)’  
 b. *a-ku-kulyi* ‘little (pl.)’

Many adjectives are reduplicated even in the singular. In these cases most plurals are formed only with the plural suffix *-m*, as seen in (6).

- (6) a. *xwavixwavyi'-ch-am* ‘green (pl.)’ < *xwaviwavyi'i-sh*  
 b. *kenekene'-ch-am* ‘yellow (pl.)’ < *kenekene'e-sh*

Adjectives, along with some inanimate nouns, appear only in the class of locative constructions where the locative is suffixed to the stem, without the NPN suffix. An example is shown in (7).

- (7) a. *ay'an-ika* ‘big-to’ (cf. *ay'ani-sh* ‘big’)  
 b. *yuy-nga* ‘cold-in’ (cf. *yuy* ‘cold’)

Adjectives can be distinguished from nouns in that they can appear with nouns as modifiers. They can also appear by themselves, in so-called null-head constructions, in which case they are indistinguishable from nouns in terms of surface syntactic function. However, unlike nouns, they can appear as modifiers of nouns in complex nominal constructions. (8) shows such a “null-head” construction with a derived adjective.



- (8) *Axwa-nga = ku'ut pem-ki-y yut-yut-pe'-men, ivi-y*  
 ODEM-INL = REP      3PL-HOUSE-O    DUP-BUILD-3PL-INPL    PDEM-O  
*maqe-maqe'a-sh saval pe-chi.*  
 DUP-GATHER-NPN      GRASS-NPN      3S-OBL

There they built their houses, these grass ones [made] with grass. (Acorn Time 4)

The derived adjective *maqemaqe'ash* is from *maq-* 'gather'; a *kish maqe-maqe'ash* is a house made in the field (in this case, the autumn acorn camp) from reeds, grass, and sticks. However, although in (8) Roscinda Nolasquez points out that these houses could be made from 'grass', the noun *saval* 'grass' cannot function as a modifier in an expression like *\*kish saval* 'grass house'. While as it happens *saval* has a NPN suffix, *-l*, that never appears with adjectives, this is not at issue. Such houses might also be made with *kelawat* 'sticks' or *si'ish* 'tules' but we cannot say *\*kish kelawat* 'stick house' or *\*kish si'ish* 'tule house'. Only adjectives, whether primary or derived, can occur modifying nouns in complex nominal constructions.

**6.1.1. THE INVENTORY OF PRIMARY ADJECTIVES.** Primary adjectives are defined as those elements that can appear as modifiers of nouns, that are not derived from a verb. It may be that in fact there are verbs underlying some of the items that I believe to be primary adjectives. However, in every case where a modifier was encountered in fieldwork, I tried to elicit a verb. For instance, the adjective *ay'anish* 'big' exhibits the *-sh* NPN suffix, which can be used to form deverbal nouns and adjectives. There is a verb *ay'an-chu* 'become big'. However, there does not seem to be a verb *ay'an-yax* 'be big'.

In other cases, adjectives seem to be related to verbs but the derivation is highly irregular. For instance, the adjectives *achi'a*, *ichaa('i)*, both meaning 'good, pretty, nice', are clearly related to the verb *a'chiwin*, *ichaaaywin* but the derivation is not regular. Regular derived adjectives from that verb, *a'chiwinet*, *ichaaaywinet* '(something) made, done' do exist. In this case, there are several other related forms: *ichaaam*, an exclamation meaning 'O.K., fine, very good', the adverb *ichaaakwin* 'good, well', and an adverbial use of *ichaa('i)*. Some other adjectives seem also to be related to corresponding adverbs, as in the case of *pangish* 'new', which has a corresponding adverb *pangi* 'in a little while'.

The complete list of primary adjectives in Cupeño is given in (9–13). I have not included borrowed Spanish adjectives. These adjectives can be divided according to their formal properties. The first group of primary adjectives includes a variety of shapes but shares the property that in the singular, these adjectives are not reduplicated. However, many primary adjectives form their plurals by reduplication. Adjectives are relatively rare in Cupeño discourse, and Roscinda Nolasquez was often unable to come up with an appropriate context for a plural in elicitation, so the data are too fragmentary to determine the exact distribution of

the various plural types. The singular and plural forms of this group are shown in (9).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (9) a. <i>achi'a</i> ‘nice, good’                                    | pl. <i>a-'chi'a(-m)</i> with <i>-m</i> (Faye SV 2–1–21<br>190 line 18), <i>a-'acha'a-m</i> (Faye Texts 087) |
| b. <i>a-kulyi</i> ‘little, small’                                    | pl. <i>a-ku-kulyi(-m)</i>   |
| c. <i>ay'ani-sh</i> ‘big’  | pl. <i>a-'ayani-sh</i> , <i>a-'ay'an-ch-am</i>  |
| d. <i>ayxa-t</i> ‘old’   | pl. <i>a-'ayxa-t</i>  |
| e. <i>chiv</i> ‘bitter’  | (no plural attested)  |
| f. <i>elēl'i-sh</i> , <i>eleleqema-l</i> ‘bad, ugly’                 | pl. <i>e-'lel'i-sh</i> , <i>e-'leqema-l-im</i>  |
| g. <i>eshpe'e</i> ‘the afore-mentioned’                              | (no plural attested)  |
| h. <i>ε'ni-sh</i> ‘smart’  | (no plural attested)  |
| i. <i>hel'i-sh</i> ‘wide’  | pl. <i>he-hel'i-sh</i>  |
| j. <i>hevel'ima-l</i> ‘soft’,<br><i>hevel'imali-sh</i> ‘the softest’ | (no plural attested)  |
| k. <i>ichaa'i</i> ‘good, nice’                                       | (no plural attested)  |
| l. <i>ingi-sh</i> ‘lazy’   | pl. <i>i-'ingi-ch-am</i>  |
| m. <i>ingki-sh</i> ‘being like something’                            | pl. <i>i-'ingki-sh</i> , <i>ingki-ch-am</i>   |
| n. <i>kevaly'ima-l</i> ‘quick’                                       | pl. <i>ataxam kwakwalyima-l-im</i> ‘quick<br>people’ (Faye texts 124)                                       |
| o. <i>kichimikulyima-l</i> ‘cumbersome’                              | (no plural attested)  |
| p. <i>mingi-sh</i> ‘thin’  | pl. <i>ming-ch-am</i>   |
| q. <i>pangi-sh</i> ‘new’   | pl. <i>pa-pangi-sh</i> , <i>pang-ch-am</i>  |
| r. <i>piske'ni-sh</i> ‘sweet’  | (no plural attested)  |
| s. <i>qen</i> , <i>qenyi-sh</i> ‘tasty,<br>good smelling’            | (no plural attested)  |
| t. <i>qilyiq</i> ‘spicy, hot’  | (no plural attested)  |
| u. <i>sawe-t</i> ‘sour’  | pl. <i>saw-t-am</i>   |
| v. <i>si'(i)tax</i> ‘sour’   | (no plural attested)  |
| w. <i>taxixwen(e-t)</i> ‘handsome,<br>good looking’                  | (no plural attested)  |
| x. <i>tulniki-sh</i> ‘black’   | pl. <i>tu-tulniki-sh</i>  |
| y. <i>wawaḡhi-sh</i> , <i>wawaḡhi-sh</i> ‘long’                      | pl. <i>wa-wvaḡhi-sh</i>   |
| z. <i>wiwa-t</i> ‘fat’   | (no plural attested)  |
| aa. <i>yamukwi-sh</i> ‘naughty’                                      | pl. <i>ya-yamuk-ch-am</i>   |
| bb. <i>yuy</i> ‘cold’  | (no plural attested)  |
| cc. <i>yu'i-sh</i> ‘wet’   | (no plural attested)  |

This first group of adjectives has diverse shapes. Some are minimal forms, such as *chiv*, *qen*, *qilyiq*, *si'tax*, and *yuy*, that lack NPN suffixes. Others have a “derived” look but the derivation is not productive. For instance, as mentioned above, the initial *a-* in *akulyi* ‘small’ resembles the rare prefix seen in derived adjectives like *awelve* ‘grown up, mature’ and *awaxve* ‘dry’, seen below in (13).

However, unlike the initial *a-* in the forms in (13), the initial *a-* of *akulyi* is not reduplicated in the plural.

The final *-mal* in *eleleqemal*, *hevel'imal*, *kevaly'imal*, and *kichimikulyimal* may be the same element as the diminutive suffix *-ma-l*, and may have an expressive character. *Tulnikish* 'black' is clearly related to *tu-l* 'charcoal'. However, the derivation is obscure, and I treat *tulnikish* as a primary adjective.

Many of these adjectives end in the NPN suffixes *-sh*, *-t*, which appear in regular derivation from verb bases treated in Chapter 8. For instance, in the case of *taxixwenet* 'handsome', this looks like it should be derived by regular nominalization from a *-yax* verb formed on the root *tax* 'person, body' (e.g., *atax'a* 'person', *-taxwi* 'body'). However, I was unable to elicit such a verb. In no case was I able to identify a corresponding minimal verb for any of these adjectives. Verbs can be derived from these adjectives (as with the suffixes *-chi*, *-chu*, *-tu*, *-lu* ~ *-lyu* (see Chapter 7) but they are not themselves derived from more minimal verbs.

The adjective-like element *ingkish* 'like, resembling' is converging with *kumu* from Spanish *como* 'like', borrowed into Cupeño as a new relational particle. *Inγκish* is discussed in more detail in 6.6.2 below, along with a similar element, *yevsi'ish* 'like, resembling', used only for human beings.

A second, fairly large class of primary adjectives always appears in reduplicated forms. These adjectives form plurals with the suffix *-m* as shown in the examples in (6) above. This class includes most of the color terms shown in (11). All of the color terms are primary adjectives except *xwavixwavi'ish* 'green', for which a *-yax* verb *xwavixwavi-yax* 'become green' is attested. However, note that the adjective 'green' is not formed on the theme; while we would expect *\*xwavi-xwaviyaxwenet* (parallel to *xwayaxwenet* 'white') or *\*xwavixwaviyaxish*, we do not see these. Instead, the *-yax* suffix is missing from the word for 'green'. In addition, 'green' is attested in a non-reduplicated form, *xwavi'inga'aw*, seen in (10).

- (10) *Natji-pem-yax = ku'ut sava-t-'aw xwavi'i-nga'aw.*  
 LAND-3PL-YAX = REP GRASS-ACC-ON GREEN-ON  
 They landed on the green grass. (Coyote and Flood 055)

It may be that other color terms can also appear without reduplication. But it is clear that the canonical formation is the reduplicated one, as seen in (11).

- (11) a. *hushvihushvi'i-sh* 'brown'  
 b. *kenekene'a-sh* 'yellow'  
 c. *kwatikwati'i-sh* 'red'  
 d. *te'elvetel'elve'a-sh* 'pink'  
 e. *textetexe'i-sh* 'pale blue'  
 f. *pavepave'i-sh* 'grey'  
 g. *tashwitashwi'i-sh* 'flesh color'

- h. *uve'uve'a-sh* 'grey'
- i. *xwavixwavi'i-sh* 'green'

Two color terms, *tulniki-sh* 'black' and *xwayaxwene-t* 'white', are not reduplicated. *Xwayaxwene-t* 'white' is transparently derived from a *-yax* verb in the past imperfective, by a standard derivation on statives. However, the verb itself, presumably *xwa -yax* or *xway -yax*, cannot be elicited; there is no form like *\*xwaype-yaxwen* '3S, 3PL was being white'.

In addition to the color terms, many adjectives of "expressive" type are always reduplicated. By "expressive" I mean that these adjectives express picturesque, often pejorative qualities. A similar series of expressive (often pejorative) reduplicated adjectives is seen in Hopi (Hill & Hill 2000). I was unable to identify verbs corresponding to these adjectives, which are listed in (12). The plurals of these adjectives, where they are attested, are formed with the suffix *-m*, with the exception of *kawlakawla'ash* 'crooked' with plural *kakawla'acham*, *kwitikwiti'ish* 'long, slim, pointed' with plural *kwikti'ish*, and *mutimuti'ish* 'short, broad, pointed' with plural *mumti'ish*.

- (12)
- a. *apcha'apcha'a-sh* 'turned-up, of nose'
  - b. *chakachaka'a-sh* 'tasteless, like diet in fasting' (possibly related to *chaka* 'straight')
  - c. *chalkachalka'a-sh* 'untidy, of hair'
  - d. *chelkichelki'i-sh* 'having to do with the backbone' (*ne-xutaxwi chelki-chelki'ish* 'my backbone')
  - e. *chitichita'a-sh* 'solid'
  - f. *hemlehemle'a-sh* 'hilly'
  - g. *hetiheti'i-sh* 'knock-kneed'
  - h. *humlehumle'a-sh* 'lumpy'
  - i. *huvuhuyu'a-sh* 'dim' (also *huvuhuyuyaxwe*; also attested with ' instead of *h* in Faye's transcription)
  - j. *inga'inga'a-sh* 'rough'
  - k. *kawlakawla'a-sh* 'crooked, cross-eyed' (pl. *kakawla'a-ch-am*)
  - l. *kilyikilyive'a-sh* 'slippery'
  - m. *kwichikwichi'i-sh* 'hard, stiff'
  - n. *kwitikwiti'i-sh* 'long, slim, and pointed' (pl. *kwikti'i-sh*)
  - o. *kwivikwivi'i-sh* 'little'
  - p. *mamaymamayu'i-sh* 'tangled, fuzzy'
  - q. *maqemaqe'a-sh* 'made of brush'
  - r. *matamata'a-sh* 'flat' (pl. *mamta'a-ch-im*)
  - s. *metimeti'i-sh* 'short'
  - t. *mu'lemu'le'a-sh* 'having very small hills'
  - u. *mutimu'ti'i-sh* 'short, broad and pointed' (pl. *mumti'i-sh*)
  - v. *navunavyu'i-sh* 'blunt'

- w. *ngashxangashxa* 'a-sh 'fine in texture'
- x. *puchiluchi* 'i-sh 'bumpy' (an example of *l*-reduplication; see 4.2.4.1)
- y. *puvepuve* 'e-sh 'round' (*puve-lyu* 'make a fist')
- z. *sunvisunvi* 'i-sh 'pitiful'
- aa. *shane\$hane* 'a-sh 'shaggy'
- bb. *shaye\$haye* 'a-sh 'scattered about'
- cc. *shenge\$henge* 'a-sh 'rough'
- dd. *tashuta\$hu* 'i-sh 'straight'
- ee. *tukutuku* 'i-sh 'thick'
- ff. *tuputupu* 'i-sh 'thick'
- gg. *tuyvetuyve* 'a-sh 'round'
- hh. *ume* 'ume 'a-sh 'stupid'
- ii. *yeliyeli* 'i-sh 'clean'
- jj. *yengeyenge* 'i-sh 'slow'
- kk. *yulayula* 'a-sh 'old and ragged'

A small group of adjectives exhibit a frozen derivation with the adjective prefix *a-* and the realis subordinator *-ve* as a suffix. These adjectives are clearly deverbal; corresponding verbs can be identified for all of them. However, the derivational process involved is not productive, so they can be considered primary adjectives. These are shown in (13).

- (13) a. *atingve* 'warm, hot' (ting 'heat')
- b. *awaxve* 'dry' (wax 'dry')
- c. *awelve* 'grown-up, mature' (wel 'grow up, mature')

A plural is attested for only one of these adjectives, *a'welve(m)* for (9c). Interestingly, another form, a noun with the root *wel*, is attested with reduplication of the root, *pishwewelichim* 'youths' from *pishwewish*.

**6.2. QUANTIFIERS.** There are four quantifiers in Cupeño. They are listed in (14). The syntactic behavior of *petā* 'ama' 'all' and *met* 'i-sh' 'many' is discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

- (14) a. *petā* 'ama' 'all'
- b. *met* 'i-sh' 'many, much'
- c. *awi\$ma* 'a few, a little'
- d. *peexwen* 'nothing but'

*Petā* 'ama and *awi\$ma* take the plural suffix *-nim*. The plural of *met* 'ish is *met* 'icham, and of *peexwen*, *peexwenim*. All these quantifiers can appear with nouns and other elements in complex nominal constructions, and can appear alone in so-called null-head nominal constructions as in (15a). In these constructions they

take a full range of agreement markers including the plural suffix, the object-case suffix, and the locative suffixes. Patterns of concord are discussed in detail in Chapter 9, but the inflections are briefly illustrated in (15). The example in (15a) shows *petā'amay* as the object-case form but *petā'ami* also occurs.

- (15) a. *Peta'ama-y chem-tewaṣh.*  
 ALL-O 1PL-LOSE  
 We lost everything. (Warners I 011)
- b. *Akni-ch-am = ku'ut met'i-ch-am pem-qal.*  
 LINNET-NPN-PL = REP MANY-NPN-PL 3PL-BE.THERE  
 It is said many linnets were there. (Linnets 001)
- c. *Chiqa'a awisma'a-y ekeme = n e-kwa'i.*  
 STRAIGHT A.LITTLE-O GIVE = 1SAB 2S-FOOD-O  
 Please give me a little of your food. (7 5 63)
- d. *I'i mansaana = m peexwen-im sivuy-ly-am.*  
 PDEM APPLE = MIR NOTHING.BUT-PL WORM-NPN-PL  
 This apple is full of worms. (4 41 205)

*Peta'ama* and *awisma* can be adverbial quantifiers, as seen in (16). *Met'ish* is exclusively a determiner quantifier, appearing only as a modifier in nominal constructions. A cognate form, *melen*, means 'a lot' and is used in adverbial quantification. *Peexwen* is too sparsely attested to determine whether it can appear in both adverbial and determiner quantification, or only in the latter function.

- (16) a. *Me pe' = e hisexve-l petā'ama keng-pe-ya-qal.*  
 AND DET = CF CLOTHES-NPN ALL BURN.UP-3S-YAX-PIS  
 And the clothes burned all up. (RN Burning 044)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe' awisma pe-wel.*  
 AND = REP 3SPRO A.LITTLE 3S-GROW  
 And it is said he grew up a little. (Coyote Growing Up 003)

**6.3. NUMERALS AND COUNTING.** Numerals in Cupeño can appear in complex nominal constructions as modifiers, where they behave like adjectives, quantifiers, and demonstratives in accepting plural, object-case, locative, and oblique-case suffixes. They differ from the quantifiers (and behave like adjectives) in that in discontinuous constituents they can follow the verb when the noun with which they agree precedes the verb; this issue is treated in Chapter 9. The numerals are shown in Table 6.1, with their plurals and distributives (used in expressions like 'each one', 'four each', 'one by one', 'two by two', as shown in 5.3.1). They also accept

a suffix *-s* ~ *-sh* ‘times’, exemplified in (85) in 6.6.1. For numerals beyond four, there is a strong tendency to use Spanish loans; these appear with a special adverbial suffix attested as *-kan* or *-kun* in the Faye field notes for the adverbial sense ‘times’ (this is discussed again in 6.6.1).

TABLE 6.1. Numerals

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	DISTRIBUTIVE	TIMES
‘one’	<i>sulit, suplewet</i>		<i>susuplewet(im)</i>	<i>sulyish</i>
‘two’	<i>wih</i>	<i>wihcham</i>	<i>wiw</i> ‘both’	<i>wish</i>
‘three’	<i>pah</i>	<i>pahcham</i>	<i>pavaschim</i>	<i>paas</i>
‘four’	<i>wichiw</i>	<i>wichiwcham</i>	<i>wichiwchim</i>	<i>wichiwis, wichiwkan</i>
‘five’	<i>nemakwanangax</i>	—	—	—

The first form for ‘one’, *sulit*, is used as a modifier.

- (17) a. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-'aw **sulit** su'i-sh pe-hiwqal.*  
AND = REP ODEM-AT ONE JACKRABBIT-NPN 3S-BE.THERE  
 And it is said one jackrabbit was there. (How Coyote Got That Way 010)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut **sulit** amay axwa-'aw tisixa-t pe-hiwqal.*  
AND = REP ONE JUST ODEM-AT COTTONTAIL-NPN 3S-BE.THERE  
 And it is said just one cottontail was there. (Coyote and Wolf 010)

A second form, *suplewet*, with an augmentive based on reduplicated *supul* (see below), usually means ‘the one’, as in (18). This is also the form used in counting (see below).

- (18) a. *Mu = ku'ut aya tash-pa-yka pi = wiw-pe'-men a-yka*  
AND = REP THEN SPRING-TIME-IN 3SO = SEND-3PL-INPL LOC-B-TO  
***suplewet-i** pe' = ku'ut qay yekwin-ve'e-sh.*  
ONE-O DET = REP NOT FEAR-AGTV-NPN  
 And then about springtime they sent there one who it is said was not afraid. (Faye Encounter with Whites 2 4 003)
- b. ***Suplewet** ivi-ngax ngaq-pe-yax kawit-'a pa'axwi.*  
ONE PDEM-FROM SIT-3S-YAX ROCK-ACC-ON ON.TOP  
 One sat on top of the rock. (Faye KP 153 219 078)

Faye recorded *suplewet* as a modifier. Roscinda Nolasquez never used it this way, preferring *sulit*.

- (19) a. *Aya = n suplewet meni-ly neq-qa.*  
 NOW = 1SABS ONE MOON-NPN COME-PRS  
 I've been traveling one month. (Faye Tramp 72 014)
- b. *Me axwa-'aw amay ami'an suplewet amay maawa-l*  
 AND ODEM-AT JUST CLOSE ONE JUST PALM.TREE-NPN  
*yut-pe-yax-wen.*  
 STAND-3S-YAX-PIST  
 And there just nearby stood just one palm tree. (Faye Initiation FN 29 080c)

The variant *supul*, an irregular reduplication, means 'different, (the) other', and can appear in the sequence *supul ... supul* 'the one, the other', as in (20c).

- (20) a. *Qay hi-sh ngiyy-vichu-we mivi-yka pe-yka*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN GO.AWAY-DES-PRPL INDEF-TO DEF-TO  
*supul-ika tema-t-ika.*  
 OTHER-TO LAND-ACC-TO  
 We do not want to go away to some other land. (Warners II 028)
- b. *Me pe-m axwa-'aw supul-im te-'aw tem-pe-yax-wen.*  
 AND DET-PL ODEM-AT OTHER-PL DOWN-AT CLOSE-3S-YAX-PIST  
 And there were others enclosed down there. (Easter 021)
- c. *Supul tawpaxi-sh met'i-sh chem-chi'-ve supul tawpaxi-sh = 'ep*  
 ONE YEAR-NPN MUCH-NPN 1PL-GATHER-SUBR OTHER YEAR-NPN = R  
*pe-kikish-wen.*  
 3S-EMPTY-PIST  
 Some years we have gathered a lot, other years there were none. (J 223 3)
- d. *Supuli-'aw pe'-mi-mxi pe'-miyax-wen.*  
 OTHER-AT 3S-DUP-CUSTOM 3S-BE-PIST  
 Their ways were different. (Faye Mojaves FN 011b)

The reduplicated form of *wih* 'two' is *wiw*, which can mean 'two each', as in (21a), or 'both' with plural number, as in (21b,c). The form in (21c) shows that this word can appear with a *-nim* plural (see 5.3.2). However, it also has a specialized usage where it is used to signify pairs of people where only one is specified, as in (21d-f).

- (21) a. *Wiw-i = 'ep mi = nemax.*  
 BOTH-O = R 3PLO = MAKE.GIFT  
 He gave them two each. (Faye Bancroft 82 (1) 228)



- b. *Me = sh wiw ngiiy-ch-am.*  
 AND = 1PLABS BOTH GO.AWAY-NPN-PL  
 We will both go. (Faye KP 103 78 040)
- c. *Mu = ku'ut mi = pe-nenmin pe' naxani-sh, mi = pe-namayelu*  
 AND = REP 3PLO = 3S-CHASE DET MAN-NPN 3PLO = 3S-CATCH.UP  
*wiw-enm-i.*  
 BOTH-PL-O  
 And the man chased them, he caught up with both of them. (Faye KP 265 Bancroft)
- d. *Mu = ku'ut pe-m pe-ye wiw men-pe'-mi'aw-ngiy.*  
 AND = REP 3SPRO-PL 3S-MOTHER BOTH TURN.BACK-EPL-MOTA-MOTG  
 And it is said that he and his mother came back. (Faye KP FN 82 075a)
- e. *Ne' = che = pe wiw muu.*  
 ISPRO = 1PLERG = IRR BOTH SHOOT.ARROW.F  
 You and I will shoot. (Faye KP FN fp 94)
- f. *Miguel wiw chem-esh hiwchu-we che'-memelki.*  
 MIGUEL BOTH 1PLPRO-1PLABS KNOW-PRPL 1PL-WORD  
 Miguel and I know our language. (Portillo notes Chap. 6)

Faye's field notes record a special usage of *wiw* with the oblique-case suffix *-chi* 'with, about', seen in (22) with Faye's translation.

- (22) *wiw-chi pe-kup*  
 BOTH-OBL 3S-SLEEP  
 to sleep with a woman (Faye Bancroft 82 (8) 251)

Roscinda Nolasquez counted as seen in (23), with all numbers past five in Spanish.

- (23) *suplewet, wih, pah, wichi, nemakwanangax, seeis, sigeti, oochu ...*  
 (Spanish *seis, siete, ocho*)

Faye, however, recorded some higher numbers. These are shown in (24–26). All the references are to frames of the Bancroft Library microfilm reel 82 (2) except where otherwise noted. While these forms provide almost enough information to re-create the full set, I give only the forms actually attested in Faye's field notes. Clearly, *nema tulwenet* 'my hand finished' is 'ten', and can be abbreviated as *tulwenet* for the higher numbers. *Namyaxwen* means 'it crossed' (the PN prefix is missing; we would expect *nampeyaxwen*, so this is a special form used in count-

ing). Faye's notes gloss it 'crossing', and presumably it can be translated in arithmetic terms as 'plus'. From a number like 'sixteen' in (24a) we can see that 'six' would be *nemakwanangax pa'ax suplewet* 'one on top of five'. The other numbers between five and nine can be constructed using this structure. I give the full gloss only for (24a); the numbers through 'nineteen' simply substitute *wih* 'two', *pah* 'three', *wichiw* 'four' for *suplewet*.

- (24) a. *ne-ma tul-wen-et, ne-ma-kwanangax pa'ax suplewet*  
 IS-HAND FINISH-PIST-NPN IS-HAND-WORTH ON.TOP.OF ONE  
*namyaxwen*  
 CROSS-YAX-PIST  
 sixteen (Faye Bancroft 723)
- b. *nema tulwenet nemakwanangax pa'axw wih namyaxwen* 'seventeen' (722)
- c. *nema tulwenet nemakwanangax pah namyaxwen* 'eighteen' (722)
- d. *nema tulwenet nemakwanangax wichiw namyaxwen* 'nineteen' (722)

The multiples of ten given by Faye are shown in (25). They are constructed by simply adding the 'times' adverb of the appropriate number to the word for 'ten', which apparently can be abbreviated as *tulwenet*, without *nema* 'my hand'. For 'fifty', 'five' has no 'times' form but is simply the fixed form of the numeral. Again, I provide a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss only for the first example. Note that in (25), the element *pa'ax* 'on top of', seen in (24a), is absent.

- (25) a. *wi-s ne-ma tul-wen-et*  
 TWO-TIMES IS-HAND FINISH-PIST-NPN  
 twenty (Faye Bancroft 721)
- b. *paas tulwenet* 'thirty' (721)
- c. *wicwish tulwenet* 'forty' (721)
- d. *nemakwanangax tulwenet* 'fifty' (720)
- e. *nemakwanangax supluwet tulwenet* 'sixty' (720)

Faye's form for 'one hundred', shown in (26), glosses *setaxwenet* as 'pressed'. This is a nominalization from a *-yax* variant of a verb *set-* that also appears in an *-in* form meaning 'crush, make flat'. Higher numbers in the hundreds can presumably be constructed by using *wih setaxwenet*, *pah setaxwenet*, etc., but Faye did not give these.

- (26) *suplewet setaxwenet* 'one hundred' (Faye Bancroft 82 (6) 304)

**6.4. QUESTION WORDS, DEMONSTRATIVES, AND LOCATIVE BASES.** Question words, demonstratives, and locative bases all appear to be related to each other, albeit by irregular derivational principles. They constitute small closed sets that are struc-

tured by a very few dimensions. The demonstratives can be regularly inflected and exhibit concord in complex nominal constructions, although they all have special bases that appear with locatives and, in the case of the proximal and distal demonstratives, with plurals as well. The three question elements, *hax<sub>s</sub>* ‘who?’ (human), *hi-sh* ‘what?’ (non-human), and *mi(i)-* ‘indefinite’, the last the base for questions about time and place and for ‘how’, are not inflected in the same way. However, I discuss them here because they are probably related to the demonstratives, adding initial *h-* or *m-* as quasi-morphemic question elements to components of the demonstrative bases. The demonstratives are *axwe-sh* ~ *axw<sub>a</sub>-* ~ *a-*, the obviative demonstrative; *i’i* ~ *ivi-*, the proximal demonstrative; and *e-t* ~ *eve-*, a distal demonstrative differentiated from *axwe-sh* by referring to entities in the immediate context of the utterance or forming part of a shared point of view among interlocutors (as opposed to entities in narrative or other entities outside the immediate temporal and spatial context of utterance). It seems likely that *hax<sub>s</sub>* ‘who’ is related to the first syllable of *axwe-sh* and that *hi-sh* ‘what’ and *mi-* ‘wh-?’ are related to *i’i*. The base *mi-*, for indefinite and time and place questions, shares with *i’i* a special inflectional base, which is *ivi-* for *i’i* and *mivi-* for *mi*. Thus we can propose that *h-* and *m-* are quasi-morphemic elements that add an interrogative component to roots *ax* and *i*. Both *hi-* and *mi-* appear with a verb base *yax* ‘do, be, say’ to form verbs with special meanings; these prefixing verb derivations are discussed in 7.5. However, there are some complications. For instance, *hi-sh* is the base for *hi-ngax* ‘why’; we do not see \**hivi-ngax*. In contrast, when the proximal demonstrative appears with *-ngax* ‘from’, the special inflectional base is required, e.g., *ivi-ngax* ‘from here.’ A second complication is that the obviative demonstrative has two locative bases, *axw<sub>a</sub>-* for non-motion locative suffixes and *a-* for motion suffixes. Since the alternation between stressed *e* and stressed *a* seen in *axwe-sh* ~ *axw<sub>a</sub>-* is otherwise unattested, we must suspect that *axw<sub>a</sub>-* is derived from *a-* by the addition of the initial sequence *axw-*, which is not identical to (*h*)*ax*. There is no synchronic evidence that *hax<sub>s</sub>* is reduced from *haxw*; we would expect the labial release to appear in the rare instances where *hax<sub>s</sub>* is suffixed but it does not.

In favor of the argument that *hax<sub>s</sub>* and *hi-sh* are related to the demonstratives, however, are the following facts. *Hax<sub>s</sub>* ‘who’ and *hi-sh* ‘what’ appear combined with *mi’i* to form (*h*)*axmi’i* ‘somebody’ and (*h*)*ishmi’i* ‘something’. The inflectional bases for these forms are (*h*)*axmivi-* and *ishmivi-* respectively. The *ishmi’i* form, which always loses the initial *h-* except in one or two of hundreds of attestations, supports the suggestion that this *h-* is a specialized interrogative quasi-morpheme. The initial *h* is also occasionally absent from (*h*)*axmi’i*. If we consider the *h-* to be a quasi-morphemic element, then we can speculate that the roots *ax* and *i* of the question words are the same as the first syllables of the demonstratives *axwe-sh* ‘that’ and *i’i* ‘this’ respectively, in spite of the complications noted. This speculation then yields three demonstrative roots that are iconic to the meanings of the demonstratives: *i* ‘proximal’, *e* ‘distal within the deictic field of the utterance

context' (the vowel of *e-t* ~ *eve-*), a 'distal outside the deictic field of the utterance context'.

Two of these partials, *ax* and *i*, behave like stressless roots. In *axwe-sh*, the first vowel is reduced to [ə], and the stress is shifted to the increment *-we*. In (*h*)*axmi*'*i*, the first vowel is variably reduced to schwa, and stress shifts to the first syllable of *mi*'*i*, the second element of the compound.

When *hax*<sub>s</sub> 'who' appears in the object case or otherwise inflected, it appears with a stressed *-i* increment, e.g., *haxi-y* 'who-object?' and *haxi-ngax* 'who-because.of?', a pattern seen with other consonant-final stressless roots. *Hi-sh* never occurs with object-case suffixes. With locative suffixes, stress remains on *hi-*, e.g., *hi-ngax* 'why?'. *Hax*<sub>s</sub> is attested with a plural suffix only once; *hi-sh* appears with plural suffixes only rarely.

The source of the *v* in the inflectional bases (*m*)*ivi-* and *eve-* is obscure. The stressed *i* is presumably the same *-i* increment that we see in other stressless roots when they add object-case suffixes. However, there is no known process that accounts for *v*. Since there are Cupeño words that end in *-v*, such as *tav* 'will put' and *civ* 'bitter', it is not likely that it is an underlying consonant that is lost in the unsuffixed forms of the demonstratives.

In spite of the apparent phonological resemblances between the question words and the demonstratives, they are not semantically parallel. While there is only one question word for non-human referents, *hi-sh*, any of the three demonstratives can be used for any of human, non-human animate, or inanimate referents.

Each of the demonstratives has a special inflectional base. Locative suffixes can be attached only to these inflectional bases. In the case of proximal *i*'*i*, the inflectional base *ivi-* is also the base for the object case and (usually) the plural. The inflectional base for obviative *axwe-sh* is *axwa-*. This appears only with locational suffixes *-nga* and *-aw*, since *axwe-sh* is the base for plurals and object-case inflection. *axwa-* contrasts with a specialized locative base *a-* which appears with directional suffixes *-ngax* 'from' and *-yka* 'to'; *axwa-* takes only the non-motion locative suffixes. The inflectional base for distal *e-t* is *eve*. This appears as the base for a single locative suffix *-aw* 'at' and for the 'place' suffix *-pa*; no other locatives appear with this distal demonstrative, which probably has to do with its role as the demonstrative for referents that are distal but in the immediate utterance context. Both *e-t* and *eve-* are attested with plurals, in which case the latter also has an NPN suffix *-t*, yielding *eve-t-im*. The object-case suffix must be attached directly to *e-t*, and does not require *eve-*.

The entire system is seen in Table 6.2

TABLE 6.2. Demonstratives, Locative Bases, and Question Words

DEMONSTRATIVES	INFLECTIONAL BASE	QUESTION WORDS	INDEFINITE FORMS
<i>axwe-sh</i> ‘that’	<i>axwa-</i> (location) <i>a-</i> (direction)	<i>hax<sub>s</sub></i> ‘who?’	<i>(h)axmi<sub>i</sub></i> ~ <i>(h)axmivi-</i> ‘somebody’
<i>i’i</i> ‘this’	<i>ivi-</i>	<i>hi-sh</i> ‘what’	<i>ishmi<sub>i</sub></i> ~ <i>ishmivi-</i> ‘something’
<i>e-t</i> ‘that’	<i>eve-</i>		
<i>mi’i-</i>	<i>mi-, mivi-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mi-</i>

Full paradigms for these various elements are shown in (27–32).

- (27) a. *ax-we-sh* ‘that’ (PDEM)  
 b. *ax-we-ch-i* ‘that-object case’  
 c. *ax-we-chi-m* ‘those’  
 d. *ax-we-sh-m-i* ‘those-object case’  
 e. *ax-wa-* ‘that’ (base for locational suffixes *-’aw* ‘at’ and *-nga* ‘in’)  
 f. *a-* ‘that’ (base for directional suffixes *-yka* ‘to’ and *-ngax* ‘from’)
- (28) a. *hax* ‘who?’  
 b. *haxi-y* ‘who-object case?’  
 c. *hax-im* ‘who-pl.’  
 d. (plural object unattested)  
 e. *haxi-ngax* ‘by whom?’
- (29) a. *hi-sh* ‘what’  
 b. (object-case form unattested. If an object case is desired, the combination *hi-sh ishmivi-y* is used.)  
 c. *hi-chi-m* ‘which ones?’  
 d. (plural-object form unattested)  
 e. *hi-* (stem for *-ngax*, yielding *hingax* ‘why?’)

*hi-* also appears in the verb *hiyax* ‘say’, discussed in Chapter 7, section 5.

- (30) a. *i’i* ‘this’  
 b. *ivi-m* ~ *i’i-m* ‘these’ (stress is usually initial on *ivim*)  
 c. *ivi-y* ‘this-object case’

- d. *iv̄i-m-i* 'these-object case'  
 e. *iv̄i-* 'this' (stem for both locational and directional suffixes including *-ta* 'at this place here' and oblique-case suffix *-chi* 'with, about')
- (31) a. *-mi'i* 'body, thing' (only in (*h*)*axmi'i*, *ishmi'i*)  
 b. *-miv̄i-y* 'body, thing' (only in (*h*)*axmiv̄i-y*, *ishmiv̄i-y*)  
 c. (plural without object case not attested)  
 d. *miv̄i-m-i* 'whatever-plural-object case'  
 e. *miv̄i-* 'wh-' (stem for locational and directional suffixes and *-ta* 'at this place here')  
 f. *mi-* 'wh-' (base for *-pa* 'at a time')  
 g. *mik-* 'how many?' (base for quantitative expressions)
- (32) a. *e-t, eve-t* 'that' (DDEM)  
 b. *e -t-i* 'that-object case'  
 c. *e-t-im, eve -t-im* 'those'  
 d. *e-t-im-i* 'those-object case'  
 e. *eve-* (base for *-aw* 'at', *-pa* 'at a place')

The base *eve-* appears regularly with locative suffixes, where *e-t* is unattested. It is also used rarely in other contexts. In Faye's Creation Text, narrated by Salvadora Valenzuela, famous for her control of conservative and ritual registers, it appears several times, sometimes in alternation with *e-t*, as Valenzuela represented the speech of beings who were arranging the world at the time of Creation. However, examples like (33c) and (33d), which seem identical except for the form of the demonstrative, show that the difference between the two is not clear.

- (33) a. *Ax, eve = she = pe ichaqy miyax-wene.*  
 OH, DDEM = DUB = IRR GOOD BE-FIST  
 Oh, I think it will be all right. (Faye Creation 012)
- b. *Eve-t-im = qwe = l chem-enuw tukmiyat hash-ax-wene.*  
 DDEM-NPN-PL = NONI = 3PLABS 1PL-WITH AT.NIGHT GO-YAX-CUSTPL  
 They go among us at night. (Faye Creation 067)
- c. *Me = l = pe eve-t-im pe-pe ngiiy.*  
 AND = 3PL = IRR DDEM-NPN-PL 3S-PLACE GO.AWAY.F  
 And then they go to it. (Faye Creation 093)
- d. *Me = l = pe e-t-im pim-iqu ngiiy.*  
 AND = 3PLABS = IRR DDEM-NPN-PL 3PL-REFL GO.AWAY.F  
 And they will go away by themselves. (Faye Creation 077)

In Faye's materials, *eve-* appears only once in elicited materials.

- (34) *Ne' = e      eve-t      ika-t      ne-wichu-'a.*  
 IPRO = CF      DDEM-NPN      NET-NPN      1S-TWIST-PSD  
 I twisted that net. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 16 223)

Roscinda Nolasquez fairly consistently used a base that she pronounced *evew* (and sometimes simply *eve*), which I believe to be a fast-speech form of *eve-'aw* with *-'aw* 'at' in one environment, before the 3PLABS clitic in existential environments with the verbs *qa'* and *we'* 'be in a place'. Examples appear in (35).

- (35) a. *Evew = el      ataxa-m      ki-'aw      qa'.*  
 DDEM = 3PLABS      PERSON-PL      HOUSE-AT      BE.THERE  
 There are some people in the house. (7 93 57)
- b. *Evew = el      kwini-ly      we'      ne'      um-ne-la-nga.*  
 DDEM = 3PLABS      ACORN-NPN      BE.THERE      1SPRO      STORE-1S-INST-INL  
 The acorns are all in my granary. (8 73 42)

Elsewhere, she used *eve-'aw*, as in (36).

- (36) a. *Ne-nawik-'a      eve-'aw      hiw-qa.*  
 1S-WOMAN-PSD      DDEM-AT      BE.THERE-PRS  
 My wife is there. (3 63 336a)
- b. *Nawika-t = am      eve-'aw      hiw-qa.*  
 WOMAN-NPN = MIR DDEM      BE.THERE-PRS  
 The woman is there. (3 63 334)

**6.4.1. QUESTION WORDS: USAGE.** The syntax of questions is treated in detail in 10.3. I present here only a few examples. Examples of *hax<sub>s</sub>* in several usages are seen in (37). *Hax<sub>s</sub>* with negative *qay* meaning 'nobody' is illustrated in (87) below in 6.7.4.

- (37) a. "*Hax = a-m?*" *pem-yax-wen = ku'ut.*  
 WHO-MIR      3PL-SAY-PIPL = REP  
 "Who could it be?" it is said they said. (Coyote at the Birds' Church 023)
- b. *Hax = qwe nene-wene      yuy = am?*  
 WHO = NONI      WALK.AROUND-CUSTPL      COLD = MIR  
 Who could be walking around; it's so cold? (Faye KP notes 023a)

- c. *Me = she hax anga.*  
 AND = DUB WHO PERHAPS  
 Who could it be? (Coyote and Flood 052)
- d. *E = 'ep haxi-y e-ne'e-y maxi-qat.*  
 2SPRO = 2SERG WHO-O 2S-BASKET-O GIVEI-IF  
 Who are you gonna give your basket to? (7 1 6)

Examples of the indefinite form, (*h*)*axmi'i* 'somebody', in subject and object case are seen in (38).

- (38) a. *I'i ivi-'aw haxmi'i ki-'aw hi-we.*  
 PDEM PDEM-AT SOMEONE HOUSE-AT BE.THERE-PRST  
 Someone is in the house. (7 93 51)
- b. *Axmi'i = she = pe ne'e-y ni = chequly-qat.*  
 SOMEONE = DUB = 3SERG 1SPRO-O 1SO = PLAY.JOKE-IFS  
 Someone is playing a joke on me. (KP II 075)
- c. *Tuku = 'ep haxmivi-y pi = chakw-ne-n.*  
 YESTERDAY = R SOMEONE-O 3SO = CATCH-1S-IN  
 Yesterday I caught somebody. (7 93 59)

In (39) the form is not *haxmi'i* but *hax mi'i*, with independent primary stress on *hax*. The combination *hax mi'i pem hi'i*, with otherwise unattested *hi'i*, is a member of the *mi-... pe-* series illustrated in (88, 89) in 6.6.1 below.

- (39) *Ne' = ne hiwchu-qa hax mi'i pe-m hi'i*  
 1SPRO = 1SERG KNOW-PRS WHO INDEF DEF-PL WH?  
*pe'-miyax-weni-ve.*  
 3PL-BE-PIPLI-SUBR  
 I know who all they were. (Warners III 006)

The non-human question word *hi-sh* seldom appears in any form but the singular. Some examples of *hi-sh* are seen in (40). (40d) shows *hi-ngax* 'why', which also appears with *mivi-* in *hi-ngax mivi-ngax* 'why ever?' (see 44). This form shows that (*h*)*i-* in *hi-sh* does not share an inflectional base with *i'i ~ ivi-* or *mi'i ~ mivi-*.

- (40) a. *"Hi-ch = e wa'i-sh?" "Suqa-t = e."*  
 WHAT-NPN = CF MEAT-NPN DEER-NPN = CF  
 "What meat is it?" "It's venison." (Faye 2-6-27 001)



- b. *‘I’i = m hi-sh, i’i = she, pe-yax, ‘nawishma-l we’*  
 PDEM-MIR WHAT-NPN PDEM = DUB 3S-SAY GIRL-NPN OR  
*kiima-l?’*  
 BOY-NPN  
 ‘What is this,’ he said, ‘a girl or a boy?’ (KP II 034)
- c. *Hi-sh = qwe = me aya pu’u’uy?*  
 WHAT-NPN = NONI = 3PLERG NOW EAT.HAB  
 What can they eat? (Faye Creation 009)
- d. *Me = t e’ = e hi-ngax nanavew-qa?*  
 AND = 2SABS 2SPRO = CF WHAT-FROM FIGHT-PRS  
 Why are you fighting? (4 109 171)

The examples in (41) show *ishmi’i*.

- (41) a. *Axwa-’aw pe-qal ishmi’i qaawi-sh.*  
 ODEM-AT 3S-LIE SOMETHING DIE-NPN  
 There lay something dead. (Coyote and Flood 063)
- b. *Me = she = pe ishmiyi-y e’ = e ngang-a-qa.*  
 AND = DUB = IRR SOMETHING-O 2SPRO = CF CRY-PRS  
 You must be crying about something. (Doves 007)

An important use of *ishmi’i*, *ishmivi-* is in combinations with nouns and adjectives to form indefinites that translate as ‘some kind of’, ‘different kinds of’, ‘and stuff’.

- (42) a. *Peexwen ivi-y ishmi’i xwavixwavi’i-sh, wiwi-sh*  
 NOTHING.BUT PDEM-O SOMETHING GREEN-NPN ACORN.SOUP-NPN  
*pe-men, pem-yang-wen, qay hi-sh wa’i-sh.*  
 3S-WITH 3PL-EAT.WITH-PIPL NOT WHAT-NPN MEAT-NPN  
 They ate nothing but some kind of greens with the acorn mush, no meat. (Easter 011)
- b. *Mu = ku’ut pe-meqa-qal ivi-y ishmiyi-y qingi-ch-i.*  
 AND = REP 3S-KILL-PIS THIS-O SOMETHING-O SQUIRREL-NPN-O  
 And it is said he used to kill these squirrels and stuff. (Coyote and Wolf 032)
- c. *Maq-pe’-men-wen = ku’ut peta’am-i ishmiyi-y yu-l.*  
 GATHER-3PL-IN.PL-PIPL = REP ALL-O SOMETHING-O HAIR-NPN  
 It is said they were gathering all kinds of horsehair. (Linnets 006)

*Ishmi'i* is also used as a positive-polarity indefinite with forms derived from *supul* 'one'.

- (43) a. *supul ishmi'i*  
 OTHER SOMETHING  
 something else (Faye field notes 4–6–27 fp 7)
- b. *suplewe-t ishmi-vi-y*  
 ONE-NPN SOMETHING-O  
 one thing (Faye Images 105 249 7)

As with *hax<sub>s</sub>* (see the sentence in (39)), we find *hi-sh* with *mi'i* as a separate word.

- (44) *Mu = ku'ut pe-ye-y pe-tuyyung hi-ngax mivi-ngax supu-l-im*  
 AND = REP 3S-MOTHER-O 3S-ASK WHAT-FROM INDEF-FROM OTHER-NPN-PL  
*pem-na-m pem-qal-ve me qay pe-na pe-hiw-qali-ve.*  
 3PL-FATHER-PL 3PL-LIVE-SUBR AND NOT 3S-FATHER 3S-LIVE-PISI-SUBR  
 And it is said he asked his mother why the others' fathers were alive but his father was not alive. (Faye KP 029a)

In Faye's texts, *hi-sh* occurs in positive declarative sentences, as in the following examples from the account of the Creation recited by Salvadora Valenzuela. I give here Faye's translations. In Roscinda Nolasquez's usage, *hi-sh* is a negative-polarity item in this 'something' sense, with *ishmi'i* required in sentences of the type in (45).

- (45) a. *Tami-t nanva-pe-yaxi-ve, Temayewet hi-sh*  
 DAY-NPN GET.READY-3S-YAXI-SUBR TEMAYEWET WHAT-NPN  
*pe-yaxi-ve.*  
 3S-DOI-SUBR  
 When the day was over Temayawet did something. (Faye Creation 019)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut hi-sh pe-yaxi-ve.*  
 AND = REP WHAT-NPN 3S-HAPPENI-SUBR  
 And it is said thus it happened. (Faye Creation 040)

The indefinite quasi-morpheme *m-* is prefixed to the proximal demonstrative *i'i*, *ivi-* to form an indefinite base for suffixation with locatives and other elements yielding forms meaning 'somewhere', 'sometime', etc. The same quasi-morpheme is probably the first consonant in the light verb *miyax* 'be, happen', since we also see *iyax* 'happen' (see 7.5). Similarly, we encounter *mix* 'do', with the related root *ix* 'do'. The indefinite forms also appear as the first element of couplets like

*miviyka peyka* ‘to somewhere or other’, discussed below in 6.6.1. I gloss the *mi*, *mi’i*, *mivi-* forms below simply as INDEF (indefinite), rather than dividing them into *m-i’i* as suggested by this discussion, in order to avoid undue complexity in the glosses.

*Mi’i* appears unsuffixed in a variety of contexts. It can appear before *hi-sh* or *hax<sub>s</sub>* in an idiom with *qay*, where using *mi’i* makes an emphatic or hyperbolic sentence.

- (46) a. *Me qay mi’i hax ela-pe-yax.*  
 AND NOT INDEF WHO TURN-3S-YAX  
 But not one person turned around. (Warners II 017)
- b. *Me qay mi’i hi-sh guviε<sub>ε</sub>nu pe-’ichqaywin.*  
 AND NOT INDEF WHAT-NPN GOVERNMENT 3S-DO  
 But the government didn’t do a thing. (Warners II 043)

*Mi’i* can simply function as an indefinite.

- (47) a. *Chimi = pem-’unin-wen mi’i pe’ ichqa’i pe-miyax-weni-ve-y,*  
 1PLO = 3PL-SHOW-PIPL INDEF DET GOOD 3S-BE-PISTi-SUBR-O,  
*mi’i pe’ elēl’i-sh pe-miyax-weni-ve-y.*  
 INDEF DET BAD-NPN 3S-BE-PISTi-SUBR-O  
 They showed us what was good and what was bad. (Faye CN Initiation 161)
- b. *Mangin yewaywe-qa mivi-m-i pe-m-i mi = pilyev-pe-qali-ve.*  
 SLOWLY SPEAK-PRS INDEF-PL-O DEF-PL-O 3PLO = BREAK-3S-PISI-SUBR  
 Slowly he speaks of the ones who are going to be forgotten. (Faye Images 097a)

Example (47b) includes a unique example of *pemi*, an apparent determiner marked with an object. Determiners do not appear with object-case suffixes, and this form is not a true determiner or third-person pronoun but is the ‘definite’ part of the indefinite-definite *mi-... pe-* manner adverb construction, which always exhibits exact inflectional parallelism (see examples in (87, 88) in 6.6.1 below).

Where *mi’i* appears with suffixes and relational nouns, the simplest base, *mi-*, is used with the suffix *-pa* ‘time’, to form *mi-pa* ‘when’.

- (48) a. *Mi-pa = ’et mi’aw-qa?*  
 INDEF-TIME = 2SABS ARRIVE-PRS  
 When did you come? (4 25 19)

- b. *Na-nxa-ch-im qay mi-pa ni = nameye-luw.*  
 DUP-MAN-NPN-PL NOT INDEF-TIME ISO = CATCH-GO.TO  
 Men will never catch me. (Fox and Cat 019)

*Mi'i-pa*, formed on the full base, with *piyama(nga)* 'always', means 'all the time'.

- (49) *Mu = ku'ut pem-taxwi piyama-nga pe'-milyew-wen wiyika*  
 AND = REP 3PL-BODY ALWAYS-INL 3PL-ARGUE-PIPL AROUND  
*mi'i-pa maas naxani-sh pe-miyax-weni-ve.*  
 INDEF-TIME MORE MAN-NPN 3S-BE-PISTI-SUBR  
 And it is said they were always arguing around all the time with one another about who was more of a man. (Fox and Cat 002)

The base *mivi-*, in addition to being the base for plurals and the object-case form, as seen in *mivimi pemi* in (47b), occurs with all locational and directional suffixes. Forms like *mivika*, *mivi'aw* can be used as questions or in declarative sentences. Examples with questions are seen in (50).

- (50) a. *Mivi-'aw = et hiw-qal-et?*  
 INDEF-AT = 2SABS BE-PIS-NPN  
 Where have you been? (Faye KP 052)
- b. *Mivi-yka = l ha\$hi-qati-m?*  
 INDEF-TO = 3PLABS GO-IF-PL  
 Where are they going? (11 43 88)

The examples in (51) show *mivi-* with locatives in declaratives, where they appear particularly in embedded sentences under locutionary verbs or verbs or propositional attitude. Note that (51c) has *mivi-* instead of *mi-* with *-pa*.

- (51) a. *Me ne-tuyyung mivi-ngax = et neq-qa.*  
 AND 1S-ASK INDEF-FROM = 3SABS COME-PRS  
 And I asked him where he had come from. (Faye Tramp 71 013)
- b. *Qay pe-hiwchu-qal mivi-yka pe-ngiiy-pi.*  
 NOT 3S-KNOW-PIS INDEF-TO 3S-GO.AWAY-SUBIRR  
 She did not know where to go. (KP II 050)
- c. *Tewan-i-qa mivi-pa-y pe-'am'i-pi.*  
 NAME-IN-PRS INDEF-PLACE 3S-HUNT-SUBIRR  
 He names places to hunt. (Faye Images 097b)

There are other suffixes that appear with *mi-*, such as *-k* ‘quantity’. Examples are shown in (52). The transcription of (52c) is uncertain; the form may be *miknga axwesh*.

- (52) a. *Mik = am nanin-i-qa gayiina?*  
INDEF.QUANTITY = MIR COST-IN-PRS CHICKEN  
 How much does the chicken cost? (6 47 235)
- b. *Mik = 'ep gayiina wim-pe-yax?*  
INDEF.QUANTITY = R CHICKEN BE.HEAVY-3S-YAX  
 How much did this chicken weigh? (6 47 234)
- c. *Mik-nga 'aw-ash?*  
INDEF.QUANTITY-ON-?  
 What time is it? (Faye 2–6–27 2 373)
- d. *Qay = ne hiwchu-qa me = she mik-ch-im-i*  
NOT = ISERG KNOW-PRS AND = DUB INDEF.QUANT-NPN-PL-O  
*pek-ch-im-i suq-t-am-i mi = pe-chix-ni-ve miyax-we.*  
DEF.QUANT-NPN-PL-O DEER-NPN-PL-O 3PLO = DIE-CAUS-SUBR BE-PRST  
 I don't know how many deer he has killed. (Faye CN 31–12–20 fp 3 156a)

**6.4.2. DEMONSTRATIVES AND DEMONSTRATIVE INFLECTIONAL BASES: USAGE.** The three demonstratives, *i' i* ~ *ivi-* ‘proximal’, *e-t* ~ *eve-t* ‘distal but within the shared point of view of discourse participants’, and *axwe-sh* ~ *axwa-* ~ *a-* ‘obviative (distal, outside the immediate utterance context)’ are extraordinarily common in Cupeño. They appear alone in null-head nominal constructions, and as modifiers of nouns and of other null-head elements such as adjectives. The syntax of demonstratives in complex nominal constructions is treated in Chapter 10, so usage is only briefly illustrated here.

The examples in (53) show forms of the proximal demonstrative *i' i*, *ivi-*.

- (53) a. *I'i = she = pe aput meqa-qa.*  
PDEM = DUB = IRR ALREADY KILL-PRS  
 This one must have already killed her. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 055)
- b. *Ivi-y = che = pe wel-nin.*  
PDEM-O = IPLERG = IRR GROW-CAUS.F  
 We will make this one grow. (Eagle I 021)

- c. “*I’* = *am*    *pe’ naxani-sh*    *nimxan-a-qat*,”    *pe-yax* = *ku’ut*  
 PDEM = MIR    DET    MAN-NPN    BETRAY-YAX-IF    3S-SAY = REP

*Chemyu’a-t.*

GOD-NPN

“This is the man who will betray [me],” said the Lord it is said. (Faye Future 11 (039))

- d. *I’i*    *che’-ma*    *melekw-pe-yax-wen*    *axwe-ch-i*    *yu-l*  
 PDEM    OUR-HAND    WRAP-3S-YAX-PIPL    ODEM-NPN-O    HAIR-NPN

*pe-chi.*

3S-OBL

Our wrists were wrapped up with that hair. (Faye CN Initiation 167)

The proximal inflectional base *ivi-* accepts the complete range of oblique-case and locative suffixes as well as the plural suffix. For instance, with *ivi-*, oblique-case *-chi* can be suffixed, as in (54a). The other demonstratives appear in the oblique case only with the relational noun with the third-person prefix, e.g., *pe-chi*. This may be a phonological phenomenon, since the other demonstratives have consonantal NPN suffixes *-sh* and *-t*. Sometimes with the plural suffix, stress is word-initial, as in (54c). Roscinda Nolasquez sometimes used *i’i* as the plural base.

- (54) a. *Ivi-chi* = *en*    *ne-taxwi*    *tuvuk-i-qa.*

PDEM-OBL = ISABS    IS-BODY    COVER-IN-PRS

With this I will make the covering. (Faye Image 216 11 096)

- b. *Axwa-nga*    *mi = pem-chix-ni*    *met’i-sh-m-i*    *su’-ch-am-i,*  
 ODEM-INL    3PO = 3PL-DIE-CAUS    MANY-NPN-PL-O    JACKRABBIT-NPN-PL-O

*ivi-m-i*    *kaw-l-am-i.*

PDEM-PL-O    WOOD.RAT-NPN-PL-O

There they killed many jackrabbits, these wood rats. (Eagle I 024)

- c. *Ivi-m*    *ki-kit-am*    *pem-shuun*    *pe-yik*    *qay*    *ichaa*    *pe-miyax-wen,*  
 PDEM-PL    DUP-BOY-PL    3PL-HEART    3S-TO    NOT    GOOD    3S-BE-PIST

*me ivi-ngax*    *pe’ ne-tutuvchi-max.*

AND PDEM-FROM    DET    IS-TELL-BEN

These boys do not like him, and this is why I told him. (Faye KP 103 77 039)

The proximal inflectional base *ivi-* appears with all locative suffixes, and is ubiquitous as a specifier in locative constructions. One locative suffix, *-ta*, perhaps related to the adverb *ta’* ‘right here’, appears only with *ivi-*. *-ta* appears with verbs of motion; with location, *-aw* is used. These are illustrated in the example sentences below. Other than with *ivi-*, *-ta* appears suffixed only to *pe-* as a relation-

al noun, meaning ‘in a place’ (usually a named place). When *-ta* appears with *ivi-* as full locational specifier, the other locative element will not be *-ta*. Instead, with a human object, it is the relational noun *-ve ~ -eve* as in (55a). With a non-human object, *-nga* is used, as in (56b).

- (55) a. *Me = t aya ivi-yta aya ne-ve mi'aw-qa.*  
 AND = 2SABS NOW PDEM-AT NOW 1S-AT ARRIVE-PRS  
 And now you come here to me. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 058)
- b. *Me aya ivi-yta Paala-nga, Paala-nga pe'-mi'aw-nuk,*  
 AND THEN PDEM-AT PALA-INL PALA-INL 3PL-ARRIVE-SS  
*ivi-yta pi = yelish-pe'-men.*  
 PDEM-AT 3SO = CLEAN-3PL-IN.PL  
 And when they arrived here in Pala, they cleaned the place up. (Warners III 030)

The examples in (56) show *ivi-* with locational suffixes that are less restricted in their distribution: *-'aw*, *-ngax* (in its locational rather than logical sense), *-nga*, and *-ka*.

- (56) a. *Hani, ivi-'aw = pe hiwen-nash.*  
 EXHORT PDEM-AT = IRR STAND-FIS  
 Come on, you be standing here. (Coyote and Rabbit 059)
- b. *Amay ivi-ngax = ku'ut Paala-ngax hashi-pem-yax.*  
 NOW PDEM-FROM = REP PALA-FROM GO-3PL-YAX  
 Now it is said they went from here, from Pala. (Warners III 001)
- c. *Ivi-nga = 'ep men-chem-yi-ngiy pi-nga Pamat pe-ta.*  
 PDEM-INL = R TURN-1PL-YAX-MOTG ROAD-INL PAUMA 3S-PLACE  
 We turned this way along the road to Pauma. (Faye Warners 29 12 19 4 208)
- d. *Mu = ku'ut aya pem-ngiiy chaxayaxa-nuk iviy-ka ewepe-ka.*  
 AND = REP THEN 3PL-GO.AWAY DEVIOUSLY-SS PDEM-TO WEST-TO  
 And it is said that they went off traveling by a devious route to to the west. (Faye KP 056a)

A ubiquitous and important idiom with *ivi-* is its pairing with the locative base *a-* in *ivi-... a-...* ‘here and there’, where each element is suffixed with the same locative. This construction is seen in the examples in (57). The “parties” mentioned in (57b) are lineage clusters; a large lineage would attract as associates other small lineages who would then act with it (Strong 1929).

- (57) a. *Puuchi = ku'ut pe-m ataxa-m pe'-muh-aan, ivi-yka*  
 WELL = REP DET-PL PERSON-PL 3PL-SHOOT-AAN PDEM-TO  
*a-yka = ku'ut pem-huya-'a.*  
 LOCB-TO = REP 3PL-ARROW-PSD  
 Well, it is said the people shot their arrows here and there. (KP I 058)
- b. *ivi-ngax a-ngax = qwe = l mi'aw-wene paxi-ch-im.*  
 PDEM-FROM LOCB-FROM = NONI = 3PLABS ARRIVE-CUSTPL PARTY-NPN-PL  
 From here and there they came in parties. (Faye Initiation 186 14 082)

The obviative demonstrative *axwe-sh* is probably the most common demonstrative in narrative. Its corresponding locative base is used with locative suffixes only, and is not used with the plural or with the object-case or oblique-case suffixes, as was shown for *i'i*, *ivi-*. Instead, plural and case suffixes attach to *axwe-sh*. *Axwe-sh* is used to mention referents that are not grounded in the point of view of discourse participants, that is, in the immediate context of the utterance. This means that *axwe-sh* is the only distal demonstrative used in narrative, except in reported speech, where *e-t ~ eve-t* can appear. Some examples of *axwe-sh* are seen in (58). (58a) illustrates the point that with oblique-case suffix *-ch-i*, *axwe-sh* requires the relational noun, and can be marked for object case in that context.

- (58) a. *Axwe-ch-i pe-chi pem-~~she~~-shem-wen.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O 3S-OBL 3PL-DUP-LAUGH-PIPL  
 They were laughing at that one. (RN Creation 006)
- b. *Ngag-yax-we axwe-sh chimi = nel-i-qa.*  
 SIT.ON.TOP-YAX-PRST THAT-NPN 1PLO = LOOK-IN-PRS  
 That one sitting on top is looking at us. (Coyote and Flood 042)
- c. *Axwe-ch-im = 'ep cheme-y chimi = nel-pe'-men-wen*  
 THAT-NPN-PL = R 1PLPRO-O 1PLO = LOOK-3PL-IN.PL-PIPL  
*che'-mi'aw-weni.*  
 1PL-ARRIVE-DSPL  
 They were looking at us when we came in. (2 49 69)
- d. *Axwe-sh = she = qwe = p ne' = ne isi-ly = e ishmivi-y*  
 ODEM = DUB = NONI = 3SERG 1 SPRO-1SERG COYOTE-NPN = CF SOMETHING-O  
*ni = ma'a.*  
 1SO = GIVE.HAB  
 That Coyote could give me something. (Creation 065)

The locative base *axwa-*, as pointed out above, is probably derived from the locative base and a first element *axw*. *Axwa-* appears only with the locational



locative suffixes *-’aw* ‘at’ and *-nga* ‘in’. *a-* is the base for motion or “directional” suffixes *-ngax* ‘from’ and *-ika* ~ *-yka* ‘to’. While I gloss the locative base *axwq-* as ODEM, because of its obvious (albeit irregular) relationship to the demonstrative, I gloss the locative base *a-* simply as LOCB, since this is the only context in which it is attested. The examples in (59) and (60) illustrate these usages.

- (59) a. *Wi’a-t*                      *pe-wela-’aw = ku’ut*      *axwq-’aw*    *pe-hiw-qal*.  
LIVE.OAK-NPN                      3S-BASE-AT = REP                      ODEM-AT                      3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 He stopped there beneath a live oak tree it is said. (Coyote and Flood 062)
- b. *Mu = ku’ut axwa-nga atire tukuchi-nga ngaq-pe-yax*  
AND = REP                      ODEM-INL                      VERY                      HIGH-IN                      SIT.ON.TOP-3S-YAX  
*isi-ly*.  
COYOTE-NPN  
 And way up high perched Coyote. (Coyote and Flood 037)

Examples of the locative base *a-* with directional locatives are seen in (60). As exemplified above in (57), *a-* appears frequently in doublets with *ivi-* in the idiom ‘here and there’.

- (60) a. *A-ngax aya = ’ep Kupa-ngax chimi = tay-pe’-men,*  
LOCB-FROM                      THEN = R                      CUPA-FROM                      IPLO = MOVE-3PL-IN.PL  
*chimi = wichax-pe’-men.*  
IPLO = THROW-3PL-IN.PL  
 Then from Cupa they moved us, they threw us out. (Warners I 001)
- b. *Mu = ku’ut pe’ = e aya pe-yawichi-qal a-yka, ne-t*  
AND = REP                      3SPRO = CF                      THEN                      3S-TAKE-PIS                      LOCB-TO CHIEF-NPN  
*pe-ki-yka.*  
3S-HOUSE-TO  
 And it is said he would take it there, to the chief’s house. (KP I 007)

The third demonstrative, *e-t* ~ *eve-t*, is distal in contrast to the proximal *i’i* ~ *ivi-*. However, it differs from *axwe-sh*, also a distal demonstrative, in its relationship to discourse context. Examining the distribution of the two forms in text, we find that *e-t* ~ *eve-t* is restricted almost entirely to constructed dialogue in narrative, and to forms that arise in elicitation, where the speaker is asked to translate ‘he, she, it, they, that’. Especially revealing about the meaning of *e-t* ~ *eve-t* are a series of three narratives about the expulsion of the Cupeños from their ancestral lands in 1902, told by Roscinda Nolasquez. She told the story on three separate days. On the first day, she narrated almost entirely from her own point of view, using almost no reportatives. When she resumed again on the second day, she began by labeling her talk *a’alxi* ‘recite history’. In this section and in the third

section, the reportative = *ku'ut* appears frequently, even where she is describing scenes in which she played a role (such as the rescue of her pet cats). This case is discussed in 12.4. On the first day, the base *eve-* is used almost exclusively for the locatives. That is, even though the persons and things being referred to are not “in the immediate discourse context,” she refers to them in the voice of an interlocutor in dialogue with the listener (in this case, me, Jane Hill), who has been initiated into the world of the narrative and is taken to share her point of view. In the second and third telling, the base *eve-* is entirely absent, and all references to place are with *axwa-*, *a-*. This evidence suggests that the difference between *e-t* ~ *eve-t* and *axwe-sh* ~ *axwa-* is one of point of view. The former is used between participants in a conversation in which knowledge is shared or is part of the immediate context of the utterance. The latter is used when knowledge is assigned to third parties. In her second and third telling, Roscinda Nolasquez speaks in the voice of “historian”; she animates a tradition, rather than engaging directly with an interlocutor.

The terms “proximate” and “obviative” are used for a loosely similar distinction in the pronominal system of the Algonquian languages (cf. Mithun 1999: 76–78), and I borrow it to distinguish between the two distal demonstratives, with *e-t*, *eve-t* as ‘discourse proximal’ and *axwe-sh* as ‘discourse obviative’. I label the former merely ‘distal’, for simplicity’s sake, to avoid confusion with the proximal demonstrative *i'i*, *ivi-*.

As exemplified above in (32–36), the difference between the stems *e-t* and *eve-t* seems to be one of free variation, at least in some contexts. For instance, while *eve-t* seems usually to be preferred as a base for plural or locative inflection, the two sentences in (61), repeated from (32c,d), appear within a few sentences of each other, and in reference to the same situation, in the Salvadora Valenzuela Creation text. Both appear with plurals. Only *eve-*, however, appears as a base for locative suffixes.

- (61) a. *Me-l-pe e-t-im pim-iqi ngiiy.*  
 AND = 3PLABS-IRR DDEM-NPN-PL 3PL-REFL GO.AWAY  
 And they will go by themselves. (Faye Creation 077)
- b. *Me-l-pe eve-t-im pe-pa ngiiy.*  
 AND = 3PLABS = IRR DDEM-NPN-PL 3S-PLACE GO  
 And they will go to it. (Faye Creation 093)

Like the other demonstratives, *e-t* can be used both alone and in complex nominal constructions. Examples in (62) show various usages of *e-t* ~ *eve-t*.

- (62) a. *Me e-t qay ichaa.*  
 AND DDEM-NPN NOT GOOD  
 And that is not good. (Faye Creation 073)

- b. *Me = p aya hi-ngax e-t-i a'chiwi-qa?*  
 AND = 2SERG NOW WHAT-FROM DDEM-NPN-O DO-PRS  
 What are you doing that for? (6 71 9)
- c. *Eve-t-im = qwe = l chem-enuw tukmiya-t ha\$h-ax-wene.*  
 DDEM-NPN-PL = NONI = 3PLABS 1PL-WITH NIGHT-NPN GO-YAX-CUSTPL  
 They always go with us at night. (Faye Creation 067)
- d. *E-t pe-\$he-'a = qwe she-ne minchen tami'va.*  
 DDEM-NPN 3S-BLOOM-PSD = NONI BLOOM-CUSTS EVEN.IF WINTER  
 That flower blooms even in winter. (7 39 87)
- e. *Ne' = e eve-t ika-t ne-wichu-'a.*  
 ISPRO = CF DDEM-NPN NET-NPN 1S-TWIST-PSD  
 I twisted that net. (Faye 4 6 27 16 223)

There is one puzzling possible exception to the rule that the base *e-t* does not accept locatives, in (63).

- (63) *Ne' = n atire wawam e-t-me-ngax hi-we.*  
 ISPRO = 1SABS VERY FAR DDEM-NPN-PL-FROM STAND-PRST  
 I'm standing a long way from them. (3 99 32)

Normally, the only locative forms with this demonstrative occur with the base *eve-*, as seen in (64). Unlike *ivi-* and *axwqa- ~ a-*, which appear with a wide range of locative suffixes, *eve-* is attested only with *-'aw* 'at' and *-pa* 'place'. (64b) is from a song. This restriction is likely related to the discourse function of *e-t ~ eve-*, for referents within the point of view of discourse participants.

- (64) a. *E-t = e mee-t eve-'aw mu-mul-qa.*  
 DDEM-NPN = CF GOPHER-NPN DDEM-AT DUP-DIG-PRS  
 That gopher over there is digging. (2 11 66)
- b. *Eve-pa u-\$huun wax-qa.*  
 DDEM-PLACE 2S-HEART DRY-PRS  
 Your heart is drying up there. (Death Song IV, James Brittain, singer)
- c. *Me eve-pa che'-mi'aw.*  
 AND DDEM-PLACE 1S-ARRIVE  
 And we came to that place [just named in preceding sentence]. (Warners I 014)

Sometimes the expected locative suffix does not appear on *eve-*. I doubt that the example in (65) is a mistranscription for *eve-'aw*, since Roscinda Nolasquez also occasionally used this form, which may be a fast-speech variant.

- (65) *E-t-i = qwe = p*                      *peta'ama-y*      *ichaayewi eve*  
 DDEM-NPN-O = NONI = 2SERG      ALL-O                      DO.HAB                      DDEM  
*Oceanside-nga.*  
 OCEANSIDE-INL  
 You can do all that in Oceanside. (Faye Past Time 18 277)

The locative base *eve-* may be the source for relational nouns which combine *-eve-* with *-'aw*. Examples are seen in (66).

- (66) a. *I' = am*      *ami'an ne-ve-'aw*      *hi-we.*  
 PDEM = MIR      CLOSE      1S-DDEM-AT      STAND-PRST  
 He's standing close to me. (3 99 26)
- b. *Ne' = en*      *ami'an pem-eve-'aw*      *hi-we.*  
 1SPRO = 1SAB      CLOSE      3PL-DDEM-AT      STAND-PRST  
 I'm standing close to them. (3 99 28)
- c. *Mu = ku'ut ne-t*                      *ay'ani-sh*      *miyax-wene*      *peta'a-nim*  
 AND = REP      CHIEF-NPN      BIG-NPN                      BE-CUSTST                      ALL-PL  
*wukikma-l-im pem-eve-'aw.*  
 BIRD-NPN-PL                      3PL-DDEM-AT  
 And you may be chief over all the birds. (Faye Fox and Crow fp 7 537b)

**6.5. PRONOUNS.** The lexical pronouns of Cupeño exhibit the same roots that are seen in the PN prefixes on past-tense verbs and possessed nouns and in the PN clitics in the second-position auxiliary complex. The third-person pronouns are identical to the determiners. The lexical pronouns can appear as “determiners” of complex nominal constructions, and the third-person pronouns are especially important in this role. The lexical pronouns are inflected for number and, in the case of the discourse-participant pronouns of the first and second person, for object case. The lexical pronouns cannot be inflected with locative suffixes or with oblique-case *-chi*, even when the third person appears as the determiner of a complex nominal construction that includes locative suffixes. Instead, relational noun constructions, where the locative element appears as a relational noun with a PN prefix agreeing with the pronoun, must be used (see 5.3.2). The independent lexical pronouns appear in Table 6.3.

TABLE 6.3. Lexical Pronouns

NUMBER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
PERSON		
FIRST	<i>ne'</i>	<i>chem</i>
SECOND	<i>e'</i>	<i>em</i>
THIRD	<i>pe'</i>	<i>pem</i>

It is obvious that the final *m* of the plural pronouns is simply the plural suffix *-m*. However, for simplicity's sake, I follow the practice that I have used with the PN affixes and I do not separate this with a hyphen or gloss it separately. In addition to this plural affix, the object-case suffix appears with lexical pronouns but only with the "discourse participant" pronouns of the first and second person. Examples are shown in (66). In these forms an epenthetic schwa is added to form a base for the object-case suffixes. Occasionally the plural object-case forms appear as *chem-i*, *em-i* (as in (67d)).

- (67) a. *Axmi'i = she = pe ne'e-y ni = chequly-qat.*  
 SOMEONE = DUB = 3SERG 1SPRO-O 1SO = PLAY.JOKE-IF  
 Someone is playing a joke on me. (KP II 075)
- b. *Axwe-ch-im e'e-y qay i = 'ayew-we.*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL 2SPRO-O NOT 2SO = WANT-PRPL  
 They do not like you. (KP II 009)
- c. *Qay cheme-y pe'-miyax-wen.*  
 NOT 1PLPRO-O 3PL-BE-PIST  
 They were not like us. (Faye Mojaves 0116)
- d. *Em-i = 'ep peta'a-nm-i imi = na'aw-pe'-men.*  
 2PLPRO-O = R ALL-PL-O 2PLO = BLAME-3PL-IN.PL  
 They blamed all of you. (7 15 96)

The third-person forms never appear with object-case suffixes. The data include a single possible exceptional example, shown in (68). However, as mentioned in connection with example (47b) above, in this case the object-case marker appears in a *mi... pe-* construction, which is a special case, since such constructions always exhibit exact parallelism in inflection of the two elements. *mi... pe-* constructions, where *pe-* is non-referential, are discussed in 6.6.1 (with examples in (88, 89)).

- (68) *Mangin yewaywe-qa mivi-m-i pe-m-i mi = pilyev-pe-qali-ve.*  
 SLOWLY SPEAK-PRS INDEF-PL-O DET-PL-O 3PLO = BREAK-3S-PISI-SUBR  
 Slowly he speaks of the ones who are going to be forgotten. (Faye Image FN 62 097a)

The plural forms of the lexical pronouns often appear with an extra plural suffix *-em*, although the simple forms are more common. The function of this extra suffix is unclear, as it seems to appear in exactly the same contexts where the unsuffixed plural pronouns can appear as well. Some examples of these pairs are shown in (69–71).

- (69) a. *Amay chem-em peta'a-nim yel-yel-in-we xwayaxwen-t-im*  
 TODAY 1PLPRO-PL ALL-PL DUP-IMITATE-IN-PRPL WHITE-NPN-PL  
*pe'-mi-mxi.*  
 3PL-DUP-CUSTOM  
 Today we imitate everything that the whites do. (Faye Domingo Moro 012m)
- b. *Achi = 'ep chem kwaw-kwaw-chem-yax-wen.*  
 LONG.AGO = R 1PLPRO DUP-CALL-1PL-YAX-PIPL  
 We used to holler a lot. (2 51 131)
- (70) a. *Mivi-ka = l hash-i-qt-am em-em?*  
 INDEF-TO = 2PLABS GO-YAX-IF-PL 2PLPRO-PL  
 Where are you all going? (11 45 91)
- b. *Me em hi-sh ela-n-we?*  
 AND 2PLPRO WHAT-NPN WAIT-IN-PRPL  
 And what are you waiting for? (7 3 23)
- (71) a. *Pem-em = she = l = pe puy-we.*  
 3PLPRO-PL = DUB = 3PLABS = IRR DINE-PRPL  
 They wonder if they have eaten. (Faye 3–6–27 f 11 030)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut aya pem pe'-mi'aw-lu hanaka pe-ve.*  
 AND = REP THEN 3PLPRO 3PL-ARRIVE-MOTP AGAIN 3S-ON  
 And it is said then they came to him again. (KP II 011)

The pronouns can function as determiners, although attestations with pronouns other than the third person, as in (72a), are rare. The third-person pronouns are extremely common in the determiner function, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 9. (71b) is an example. In these cases the forms are glossed as DET.

- (71) a. *Men em-em na-nwik-t-am qay wiyika*  
 AND 2PLPRO-PL DUP-WOMAN-NPN-PL NOT AROUND  
*ngel-el-an-'e'-men-pi ki-ki-'aw.*  
 VISIT-DUP-AAN-2PL-IN.PL-SUBIR DUP-HOUSE-AT  
 And don't you women be roaming around from house to house. (Faye Domingo Moro 012j)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut aya pem-em na-nwik-t-am pem-tush.*  
 AND = REP THEN 3PLPRO-PL DUP-WOMAN-NPN-PL 3PL-GRIND  
 And then it is said the women ground. (Faye Texts FN 84 132)

Even in this determiner function, the third-person forms do not take object-case suffixes. For instance, (73a) shows a case of a third-person pronoun functioning as determiner of the human animate noun *pulinchami*. With a demonstrative, case concord would be required but it does not occur with the determiner. Similarly, the determiner does not appear with locative suffixes. Example (73b) shows a case with *-(y)ka* 'to', where the locative base of the demonstrative is suffixed with the locative, as is the noun. However, the determiner does not have the suffix.

- (73) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe-m pulin-ch-am-i pem-chix-in-wen,*  
 AND = REP DET-PL CHILD-NPN-PL-O 3PL-DIE-IN-PIPL  
*ki-ki-t-am-i.*  
 DUP-BOY-NPN-PL-O  
 And it is said they killed the children, the boys. (Faye KP 37)
- b. *Axwe-ch-i pe-chi pe' hashi-pe-ya-qal pe' = e, a-yka*  
 ODEM-NPN-O 3S-OBL 3SPRO GO-3S-YAX-PIS DET = CF LOCB-TO  
*pe' = e tienda-ka.*  
 DET = CF STORE-TO  
 He went with him to the store. (Warners III 037)

The pronouns can function as possessors in possessive constructions, as in (74).

- (74) a. *Ne' ne-yupi-ki-m we'.*  
 ISPRO 1S-BRUSH-PSD-PL BE.THERE  
 My brushes are there. (10 105 93)
- b. *E-t-am e' e-mixan.*  
 DDEM-NPN-MIR 2SPRO 2S-POSSESSION  
 That's yours. (3 115 365)

In the case of third-person pronouns, an ambiguity arises as to whether or not the pronoun is functioning as possessor, or as determiner of the possessed noun.

First, it must be shown that in fact the form can be the determiner of the possessed noun. This is unambiguously the case where the person of the possessor is not third person, as in (75a), or where a singular determiner is associated with a singular noun with a plural possessor, as in (75b).

- (75) a. *Pe' = \$he = pe pe' ne-na-y pe-ta meqni-ve-l.*  
 DET = DUB = IRR    DET 1S-FATHER-O    3S-PLACE    KILLI-SUBRR-NPN  
 It must be the place where **my father** was killed. (Faye KP 109 94 044)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e pem-ye pe-yax, "Aya = n hash-i-qat."*  
 AND = REP    DET = CF 3PL-MOTHER    3S-SAY    NOW = 1SABS    GO-YAX-IFS  
 And it is said **their mother** said, "I'm going now." (Coyote and Cat 005)

In the case of a plural possessor with a singular possessed noun, the pronoun unambiguously encodes the possessor. This case is shown in (76).

- (76) *Pem = ku'ut pe' aya pem pem-fieesta pe-miyax-wen.*  
 3PLPRO = REP    DET THEN    3PLPRO    3PL-FIESTA    3S-BE-PIST  
 It is said then that it was their fiesta. (Eagle I 046)

In some cases, the ambiguity can be resolved by looking at the syntax. I believe, based on Faye's translation, that the form *pemem* in (77) is a determiner on the relative clause 'their relatives who have money' but such determiners do not invariably appear and it is possible that it encodes the possessor, with anaphoric reference to the previous sentence.

- (77) *Me pem-em pem-ne'e-m qichi-ly nengu-wen-t-im pe-chi*  
 AND 3PLPRO-PL    3PL-RELATIVE-PL    MONEY-NPN    HAVE-PIPL-NPN-PL    3S-OBL  
*mi = nameqin-we.*  
 3PLO-MEET-PRPL  
 And those of their relatives who have money meet them with it. (Faye Images 274 59 124)

Other cases, such as that in (78), are simply ambiguous. I have glossed *pe'* in this sentence as a determiner but it could be an anaphoric reference to the possessor.

- (78) *Mu = ku'ut pe' pe-ye pe-changnew-qal.*  
 AND = REP    DET    3S-MOTHER    3S-ANGRY-PIS  
 And it is said his mother was angry. (KP II 074)

**6.6. ADVERBS.** Cupeño has a small class of adverbs, including manner and temporal adverbs, as well as adverbs of comparison and emphasis that are often part



of complexes with other manner adverbs and/or adjectives. Adverbs can appear directly modifying verbs, or they can appear in complex nominal constructions. In the latter context, unlike the other lexical classes that appear in these constructions (adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, determiners, and the nouns themselves), adverbs do not take any inflection for number, case, or location. There are sporadic instances of adverbs with locative suffixes, indicated below.

Adverbs that modify verbs often immediately precede the modified verb, as in (78a); they can also follow the verb, as in (78b). However, there is a tendency for such adverbs to “float” to earlier positions, as in (78c).

- (78) a. *Pimi-qi = qwe = l            melen nga-ngang-wene pem-shuun-nga*  
 3PL-RFL = NONI = 3PLABS    MUCH    DUP-CRY-CUSTPL    3PL-HEART-INL  
*mi = tul-wene            pem-ne'e-m-i            chix-ch-am-i.*  
 3PLO = FINISH-CUSTST    3PL-RELATIVE-PL-O    DIE.PL-NPN-PL-O  
 And they themselves weep a great deal when they remember the  
 relatives who have died. (Faye Texts 100)
- b. *Pem-nawvi            melen.*  
 3PL-FIGHT            MUCH  
 They fought hard. (Warners II 036)
- c. *Me melen u-'unin-ve'e-ch-am            mi = pem-sakwit-wen.*  
 AND MUCH    DUP-SHOW-AGTV-NPN-PL    3PLO = 3PL-WHIP-PIPL  
 And the teachers switched them a lot. (Faye Texts 191)

Adverbs modifying adjectives in complex nominal constructions (see Chapter 9) usually appear within that construction, either preceding (as in (80a) or following (as in 80b) the modified element. Again, however, there is a tendency to float to an early position, as in (80c). Note the absence of number agreement on the adverb in (80b), where the demonstrative, quantifier, and noun all have the number suffix (and the determiner should have it; this is one of Roscinda Nolasquez's exceptional forms; see 9.2).

- (80) a. *Pe' = e = ku'ut gayiina            pe-ki            atire            a'chima-l*  
 DET = CF = REP    CHICKEN    3S-HOUSE    VERY    PRETTY-NPN  
*pe-miyax-wen.*  
 3S-BE-PIST  
 It is said that Hen's house was real pretty. (Coyote and Hen 004)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e axwe-ch-im            met'i-ch-am            atire            ataxa-m*  
 AND-REP            DET = CF ODEM-NPN-PL    MANY-NPN-PL    VERY    PERSON-PL

*pem pe'-mīxan pe-miyax-wen, ivi-m Kava-ly-im.*

3PL.IND 3PL-POSSESSION 3S-BE-PIST THIS-PL KAVALY-NPN-PL

And it is said that very many people own it, these Kavalys. (Eagle I 004)

c. *Atire = ku'ut i'i pu-mu = ku'ut yuyi-ly pe-yax-wen.*

VERY = REP PDEM 3S-NOSE = REP STRAIGHT-NPN 3S-SAY-PIST

He used to say that his nose was real straight. (Coyote and Rabbit 002)

Adverbs fall into a larger class of particles in that they accept no inflection. In addition to primary adverbs such as *atire* 'really, very' seen in (80), adverbs can be derived from corresponding adjectives and other forms such as quantifiers by deleting any NPN suffix and adding the adverbial suffix *-n* to the root. The adverb *melen* 'much, a lot', seen in (79) above, bears this relationship to the quantifier *met'i-sh* 'much'. As is the case with *met'ish* and *melen*, this derivation is often slightly irregular. For instance, *humahuma'an* 'up and down, aimlessly, in the manner of commoners' may be related to the adjective *humlehumble'e-sh* 'lumpy', which exhibits a syllable *-le* of uncertain function and meaning. Neither appears to be related to any verb.

A second adverb-forming suffix is occasionally attested. Faye recorded it as both *-kan* and *-kun*. Some examples are seen in (81), given with Faye's translations.

(81) a. *Seeis-kun tami-t pe-chi puy-qa.* (Spanish *seis*)

SIX-TIMES SUN-NPN 3S-OBL DINE-PRS

He eats six times a day. (Bancroft 82 (4) 271)

b. *seeis-kan*

SIX-TIMES

six times (Bancroft 82 (4) 181)

c. *Taṣha-taṣha-kun kwi-yax-we.*

DUP-STRAIGHT-ADV LIE-YAX-PIST

It lies straight. (Bancroft 82 (4) 337)

d. *taṣhu-kan haṣh-a-qat*

STRAIGHT-ADV GO-YAX-IF

straight for (literally, 'straight he's gonna go') (Bancroft 82 (4) 338)

The forms for 'straight' show that Faye did not reliably hear the difference between *a* (really [ə]) and *u* in these unstressed contexts. Faye recorded *taṣhuq-che'menwen* 'we straightened them', so I suspect that the correct transcription is with *u*. It would be very easy to mishear *-kwin* as *-kun*. This makes me suspicious that this is the same adverb-forming element as the one attested in *ichaa-kwin*

‘well’ and *elēl’i-kwin* ‘badly’, from *ichaqaywin* ‘do, make’ and *elēl’i-sh* ‘bad’ respectively.

Certain adverbs can appear with other derivational and inflectional elements such as locatives. *Piyama* ‘always, still’ is very commonly suffixed with *-nga*, although the meaning of the suffix is not obvious in that context. *Wawam* ‘far’ also appears with locative suffixes in what appear to be ordinary locative senses, as in (82b). In (82a) we see *wawam-ish* ‘for a long time’, where *-ish* is not the NPN suffix but the suffix *-s ~ -sh* that appears with number words shown in (86) below. In (82b) *wawam* appears with the locative suffix *-ngax*.

- (82) a. *Mu = ku’ut axwa-’aw pem-neng-wen heehee wawam-ish.*  
 AND = REP ODEM-AT 3PL-HIDE-PIPL YES FAR-TIMES  
 And it is said they were hiding there for a long time. (Faye Encounter FN 002a)
- b. *Wawam-ngax mekw-pe-qal.*  
 FAR-FROM PEEK.OUT-3S-PIS  
 From afar he peered. (Faye KP FN 46 043a)

Occasionally items with apparent NPN suffixes that also appear as adjectives appear in adverbial functions, as with *iva’wet* in (83a) and *pangish* in (83b). In this adverbial function they cannot be affixed for plural number or object case, as can be seen in (83b) where if *pangish* were in its usual adjectival role it would have to agree in number with *welcham* ‘grown’.

- (83) a. *Seve-l = ku’ut atire xalew-pe-yax iva’-we-t.*  
 WIND-NPN = REP VERY FALL-3S-YAX STRONG-AUG-NPN  
 The wind was coming down real strong. (Wind and Ducks 002)
- b. *Komo amay chem-em = e ivi-yka pangi-sh wel-ch-am*  
 LIKE TODAY 1PLPRO-PL = CF PDEM-TO NEW-NPN GROW-NPN-PL  
*chem-kwaavichu-pi em-qish-ki’a-y porke qay piyama-nga*  
 1PL-CARE.FOR-SUBIRR 2PL-MONEY-PSD-O BECAUSE NOT ALWAYS-INL  
*pishweli-sh miyax-wene-qat.*  
 YOUTH-NPN BE-FIPL-IF  
 Like we young adults here must take care of your money because you will not always be young. (Faye Domingo Moro FN 15 012h)

**6.6.1. MANNER ADVERBS.** The manner adverbs are shown in (84). Where a related lexical item can be identified, it is listed with the adverb.

- (84) a. *ami’an* ‘near’  
 b. *anuk* ‘thus, this way’ (also *ixanuk* from *ix* ‘do, be’ with SS inflection)

- c. *chaka* ‘straight’ (also *chika’a iviyka* ‘straight this way’)
- d. *chaxayaxa* ‘deviously’
- e. *elēl’ikwan* ‘badly’ (Faye Bancroft 82 (6) 253) (*elēl’i-sh* ‘bad’)
- f. *etētax* ‘better’ (only attested once, in Faye Mojaves)
- g. *humahuma’an* ‘up and down, aimlessly’ (*humlehumble’ash* ‘hilly, of place, little hills’)
- h. *ichaa’i*, *ichay* ‘well, nice and’ (with adjectives) (*ichaywin* ‘do, make’)
- i. *ichakwin* ‘well, nicely’ (with verbs) (*ichaywin* ‘do, make’)
- j. *iva’wet* ‘strong’ (*iva* ‘be strong’)
- k. *iyaxwen amay* ‘suddenly, definitely’, *iyaxwe* ‘definitely’ (these are from *iyax* ‘be like’)
- l. *kwaan* ‘half, halfway’ (cf. *-kwaan* ‘worth, value’)
- m. *mangin* ‘slowly’
- n. *piyama*, *piyama-nga* ‘always, still’
- o. *pi’i’ivin* ‘weakly, in a crippled way, missing a vital part’ (cf. *iva* ‘be strong’; *pi-* is perhaps related to Tepiman \**pi* ‘negative’)
- p. *sivuuru* ‘for sure’ (Spanish *seguro*)
- q. *ta\$helpe* ‘pretending’
- r. *wawam* ‘far’
- s. *yewen* ‘even’ (with *qay* ‘not’)

Note that many of the adverbs in (84) end in *-n*. I suspect that an adverb can be derived from any of the NPN-final adjectives by replacing the NPN suffix with this element. This derivation is fairly regular in the case of quantifiers. Manner adverbs can be derived from related quantifiers by the addition of the adverb-forming suffix *-n*. The fourth quantifier (among those discussed in 6.2), *peexwen* ‘nothing but’, is attested only in a form ending in *-n*. In (85b), *melen*, related to *met’i-sh*, exhibits lenition of *t* to *l*. Such a lenition is widely attested but is not regular. In this case the lenition probably results from the fact that the quantifier exhibits ’ after *t*, while *l* in *melen* is intervocalic.

- (85) a. *awisman* ‘a little at a time’ (cf. *awisma* ‘a little’)
- b. *melen* ‘much, very, quickly’ (cf. *met’ish* ‘much, many’)
- c. *peta’aman* ‘completely’ (cf. *peta’ama* ‘all’)

Manner adverbials meaning “number of times, length of time” can be formed on number words and on some other forms by adding the suffix *-s* ~ *-sh* as in (86).

- (86) a. *sulyish* ‘once’ (cf. *sulit* ‘one’)
- b. *wish* ‘twice’ (cf. *wih* ‘two’)
- c. *paas* ‘three times’ (cf. *pah* ‘three’)

- d. *wichiwis* ‘four times’ (cf. *wichiw* ‘four’)
- e. *wawamish* ‘for a long time’ (cf. *wawam* ‘far’)

This suffix is also seen in *mikis pekis* in (88b). It is not attested with numerals higher than four. Higher numerals are all compounds (for instance, ‘five’ is *nema-kwaanengax*, literally, ‘from the value of my hand’). Even *wichiw* ‘four’ may be a compound; it is suspiciously like *wih* ‘two’. However, unlike the word for ‘five,’ this form is not morphologically transparent to a speaker. With *wichiw* ‘four’ and the Spanish loan numerals, *-kun* ~ *-kan* (*-kwin* (?)) can be used to form ‘times’ adverbs, as seen in (87). In his early field notes Faye records a second derivation for numbers above four, along with derivations on Spanish loan numerals with a suffix *-kan* or *-kun* (see the discussion above, with examples in (81)).

- (87) a. *wichiwkan* ‘four times’ (Faye Bancroft 82 (3) 181)
- b. *siinkokan* ‘five times’ (Faye Bancroft 82 (3) 181) (Spanish *cinco*)
- c. *seeiskan, seeiskun* ‘six times’ (Faye Bancroft 82 (3) 181, 271) (Spanish *seis*)

A special set of manner adverbs with meanings like ‘whenever’, ‘whatever’, ‘wherever’, etc. is formed with the indefinite base *mi-* paired with an element *pe-*, with appropriate suffixal elements, and appears with verbs, nouns, or adjectives. *Pe-* may be related to the determiner *pe*’, or perhaps to the 3S pronominal element *pe-*, both of which are definite. That is, the couplets derived here have the order ‘indefinite ... definite’ (similar to English “something or other”). However, the ‘definite’ base *pe-* in *mi-... pe-* expressions does not behave like the third-person pronoun or the determiner, because it accepts a full range of suffixes. The pronoun and determiner appear only with the plural. *Mi-... pe-* pairs can be combined with a variety of suffixes, as seen in the examples in (88), to create indefinite adverbs of manner and time as well as inflected “null-subject” adjectives like the forms seen in (d) and (g). The suffixation is always identical on the two members of the pair. One form of this idiom is not adverbial but is a pair of verbs, *mix ... pex*, which can receive PN prefixes and tense–aspect suffixes (see 7.5). The reason for the *u* in the second syllable of *mikpuk* in (88a) is unclear. *-k* is the ‘quantitative’ suffix on indefinite *mi-* (see examples in (63) above), yielding ‘several, some number or other’. The ‘somehow’ meaning may be a contraction of *mixanuk pexanuk* ‘one way or another’, thus accounting for the *u* in the second part. The forms in (88) appear frequently in the examples in the grammar so I give only a few examples of usage in (89).

- (88) a. *mikpuk* ‘several’, ‘somehow’
- b. *mikis pekis* ‘several times’ (Faye Texts Images 105)
- c. *mixish peyxish* ‘just in case’ (Faye Bancroft 82 (1:5))
- d. *mikchimi pekchimi* ‘however many’ (pl. object form)
- e. *mipnga pepnga* ‘whenever’ (Faye KP 058)

- f. *mixanuk pexanuk* ‘one way or another’  
 g. *mingkichem pengkicham* ‘a few’ (Faye Bancroft 82 (1:12))

Example sentences illustrating usages of the *mi...* *pe-* series of adverbials appear in (89).

- (89) a. *Me = qwe = p mik-puk yaw-yaw-i*  
 AND = NONI = 3SERG INDEF.QUANT-DEF.QUANT DUP-SING-IN.HAB  
*pe- 'isaxw-ve-y.*  
 3S-MEN'S.SONG-SUBR-O  
 And he can sing a few of his songs. (Faye Images 239 39)
- b. *Meyax pe' kik'ish-weni mik-is pek-is*  
 BUT DET BE.MISSING-DSSST INDEF.QUANT-TIMES DEF.QUANT-TIMES  
*maq-yax-we.*  
 GATHER-YAX-PRPL  
 But if there is nothing they meet several times. (Faye Images 249.7 (105))
- c. *Sulit amay ne-hiwchu-qa ... ne-taxwi mixa-nuk pexa-nuk*  
 ONE JUST 1S-KNOW-PRS 1S-BODY DOa-SS DEF.DOa-SS  
*ya'-ne-yi-ngiy-pi.*  
 RUN-1S-YAX-MOTG-SUBIR  
 I know just one thing, how to run away one way or another. (Fox and Cat 010)

**6.6.2. COMPARATIVE AND RELATIONAL ADVERBS.** A series of modifiers of adverbs and adjectives that express comparison and emphasis with manner adverbs and adjectives is seen in (90). (90a) *ahuyax'a* is also a derived adjective (from *huy-yax* ‘exceed’) that can appear with nouns and, in the latter case, can appear with the object-case suffix *-i* as *ahuyaxay*. I give it here because this case, apparently with the frozen adjective prefix *a-* and a PSD suffix, is not a regular adverbial derivation.

- (90) a. *ahuyax'a* ‘exceedingly’  
 b. *amay* ‘just, only, the same, today’  
 c. *atire* ‘very’ (Spanish *al tiro*)  
 d. *kumu* (also *komo*) ‘like’ (Spanish *como*)  
 e. *kunuk* ‘only, just’  
 f. *maas* ‘more’ (Spanish *más*)  
 g. *tawash* ‘almost, nearly’

*Atire* has already been illustrated in (80) above. Additional examples of these relational adverbs in use appear in (91).

- (91) a. *Sulit amay pe-hiw-qal.*  
 ONE JUST 3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 Just one was there. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 001)
- b. *Qay melen tul-pe-yax-wen, kunuk kwati-kwati-pe-ya-qal.*  
 NOT MUCH BLACK-3S-YAX-PIST ONLY DUP-RED-3S-YAX-PIS  
 It wasn't very black, it used to be only red. [of hair bleached by mineral springs]. (Faye Texts FN 92)

The particle *kumu*, from Spanish *como*, operates with scope only over the phrasal level. The relational object of this particle often (but not always) appears with the object-case suffix *-i ~ -y*, as seen in (92).

- (92) *Mu = ku'ut axwa-'aw akulyi pe-hiwqal, ingki-sh ishmī'i,*  
 AND=REP ODEM-AT LITTLE 3S-BE.THERE LIKE-NPN SOMETHING  
*kumu ku'a-l-i pe-yax-wen, Memelkwet.*  
 LIKE FLY-NPN-O 3S-SAY-PIPL MEMELKWET  
 And it is said there was a little creature there, like something, like a fly they used to say, [called] Memelkwet. (RN Creation 027)

(92) includes both the native-vocabulary item *ingkish* 'like' and the Spanish loan *kumu*, from *como* 'like', suggesting that these are being used as synonymous elements. In (92), they both precede the noun *ku'al* 'fly'.

*Inkish* 'like' is a peculiar form that can be used as a fixed form or as a relational noun that can be inflected with PN prefixes and the indefinite prefix *mi-*. Since it is synonymous with the Spanish loanword *kumu* and since it does not fit in well with the other relational nouns (which are locative or oblique-case forms), or with the adjectives (since it takes PN prefixes in certain contexts), I discuss it here in spite of the fact that, since it can be inflected, it should not be regarded formally as an adverb. The examples in (93) show the form without PN prefixes; note that in (93b) the form accepts plural inflection. For this reason the fixed form should perhaps be considered an adjective. However, adjectives are not inflected with PN prefixes, as seen in (94).

- (93) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' piyamanga yu-l akulyi ingki-sh.*  
 AND=REP DET ALWAYS HAIR-NPN LITTLE LIKE-NPN  
 And it is said he always got just like little tiny hairs. (Linnets 015)
- b. *Ataxa-m qay pem-hiwchu-wen ingki-ch-am ishmivi-y.*  
 PERSON-PL NOT 3PL-KNOW-PIPL LIKE-NPN-PL SOMETHING-O  
 The people did not know anything like this. (Warners III 035)

The relational noun form may be inflected for PN of the object, as in (94).

- (94) a. *E'* = *e*      *e-t*      ***pe-ngkish***.  
 2SPRO = CF      DDEM-NPN      3S-LIKE  
 You are like him. (Faye field notes, Bancroft 82 (4) 022)
- b. ***Ne-ngkich*** = *am*.  
 1S-LIKE = MIR  
 She is like me. (Faye field notes, Bancroft 82 (4) 173)
- c. ***cheme-ngkich-im***  
 1PL-LIKE-PL  
 (people) like us (Faye field notes, Bancroft 82 (4) 62)

The word that means ‘image’, *pengkish*, pl. *pengkichim*, is probably the same inflected form seen in (94a).

This relational noun can also be inflected with indefinite *mi-*, yielding *m-ingki-sh* ‘related some way or other’. Examples of this form are seen in (95), with (95b) showing a *mi-... pe-* form, *mingkish pengkish*.

- (95) a. ***M-ingkich*** = *am*      *pašhuka-t* = *e*?  
 INDEF-LIKE = MIR      HORSE-NPN = CF  
 What kind of horse is it? (Faye field notes, Bancroft 82 (1) 100)
- b. *Pe'*      *hiwchu-veneq*      ***m-ingkish***      ***pe-ngkish***      *pe-'isnin-'a*  
 3SPRO      KNOW-MOTCA      INDEF-LIKE      3S-LIKE      3S-WRITE-PSD  
*pe-neqni-ve*.  
 3S-COMEI-SUBR  
 She knows exactly in what way her painting is coming. (Faye Images  
 Bancroft 82 (11) 119)

There is a hint that this form may be underlyingly *-inyiki*. Roscinda Nolasquez translated the elicited sentence “He’s no relation to me” as in (96a). Faye recorded the *mi-... pe-* form in (96b) as part of an account of the girl’s initiation ceremony.

- (96) a. *Qay*      ***ne-minyik-'i***.  
 NOT      1S-RELATED.SOMEHOW-PSD  
 He’s no relation to me. (10 116)
- b. *Peta'am-i*      *havash-pe-yka-wi-sh*      *suplewet*  
 ALL-O      MORNING-3S-IN-?-NPN      ONE  
***pe-minyik-'i***      ***pem-penyik-'i***  
 3S-INDEF.RELATED.SOMEHOW-PSD      3PL-DEF.RELATED.OTHER-PSD



*mi* = 'isn-*i-qa*.

3PLO = WRITE-IN-PRS

Every morning one of their kin paints them. (Faye Bancroft 82 (11) 118)

The consonant-initial PSD suffix *-i* would block the deletion of the preceding vowel in the possessed-state form *-minyik'i*. But in *ingki-sh*, *mingki-sh* the vowel in *inyik* could delete, and *ng* may result from assimilation of *ny* to the following *k*. Assimilation of other nasals does not occur but this form suggests that the sequence *ny-k* may be an exceptional environment (see 2.5.2).

Somewhat similar to *ingkish*, although not inflected with PN prefixes, is *yevsi'i-sh* 'resembling a person', pl. *yevsi'icham*, which can be used only for human beings resembling one another. Examples illustrating *yevsi'i-sh* are seen in (97), showing that the "object" of *yevsi'i-sh* is marked with the object case; *yevsi'i-sh* itself agrees with its subject.

- (97) a. *Axwe-ch-i nawishma-l ne-na'aqwa-y yevsi'i-sh.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O GIRL-NPN IS-CHILD-O RESEMBLE-NPN  
 That girl looks like my daughter. (4 33 121)

- b. *Axwe-ch-im nishma-l-im ne-na'aqwa-y atire yevsi'i-ch-am.*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL GIRL-NPN-PL IS-CHILD-O VERY RESEMBLE-NPN-PL  
 Those girls look like my daughter. (4 35 123)

**6.6.3. LOCATIONAL AND DIRECTIONAL ADVERBS.** A series of frozen locative bases also often have an adverbial function with verbs of motion and location (like 'sit', 'hang', 'put on'); these are shown in (98). All of these except *pa'axwi* and *wiyika* appear with one or more locative suffixes. *Wiyika* may already include *-(y)ka* 'to' but appears only in that form, so this cannot be determined with certainty. *Petengax* 'inside' is a fixed form that may be related to other constructions with the relational noun *-ta* 'place'—or it may include a relational-noun form of *te-* 'down'. Both *petengax* and *te-* appear with locative suffixes. These forms can appear in locative phrases with locational specifiers.

- (98) a. *kilma-* 'outside'  
 b. *nanaxwi-* 'in the center'  
 c. *pa'axwi* 'on top of' (Faye records *pa'ax*)  
 d. *petengax* 'inside, under'  
 e. *te-* 'down, down low'  
 f. *tukuchi-* 'high, up high'  
 g. *wiyika* 'around'

Examples of these locational and directional adverbs are seen in the sentences in (99).

- (99) a. *Men em-em na-nwik-t-am qay wiyika*  
 BUT 2PLPRO-PL DUP-WOMAN-NPN-PL NOT AROUND  
*ngel-el-an-'e'-mena-pi ki-ki-'aw.*  
 GO.AROUND-DUP-AAN-2PL-INPLA-SUBIR DUP-HOUSE-AT  
 But don't you women be roaming around from house to house. (Faye Domingo Moro 12i)
- b. *Suplewe-t ivi-ngax ngaq-pe-yax kawī-t-'a pa'axwi.*  
 ONE-NPN PDEM-FROM SIT.ON-3S-YAX ROCK-ACC-ON ON.TOP  
 One sat on this side on top of the rock. (Faye KP 153 219 078)
- c. *Me a-ngax ki-ngax a-yka kilma-yka chimi = chi'in-pe-qal.*  
 AND LOCB-FROM HOUSE-FROM LOCB-TO OUTSIDE-TO 1PLO = 3S-PIS  
 And from inside the house they carried us outside. (Faye CN Initiation 31-12-20 8 (169))
- d. *Me aya axwa-'aw ivi-yta te-ngax pa-l met'i-sh*  
 AND NOW ODEM-AT PDEM-PLACE DOWN-FROM WATER-NPN MUCH-NPN  
*ya'-pe-ya-qal.*  
 RUN-3S-YAX-PIS  
 And down here there was a lot of water running. (Warners I 030)
- e. *Kawi-sh = 'ep man-pe-yi-ngiy te-yka.*  
 ROCK-NPN = R ROLL.OFF-3S-YAX-MOTG DOWN-TO  
 The rock fell down. (6 35 44)
- f. *Petengaxe-yka pe-nash-lyu ku'u-t-nga.*  
 UNDER-TO 3S-SIT-MOTP ELDERBERRY-NPN-INL  
 The bird flew under the elderberry tree. (3 101 57)

**6.6.4. TEMPORAL ADVERBS.** Some temporal adverbs are primary particles that seem to involve no derivation, such as *achi* 'long ago' and *aya* 'now, then'. Others exhibit a temporal suffix *-pa*, as in *tashpa* 'in the springtime'. Several exhibit the locative element *-(i)ka*, which means 'to' with verbs of motion. Others appear to be derivationally complex but have no obvious synchronic etymology. Others are regular, such as *mi-pepe* 'any time' from *mi-*, the indefinite question element, and *pepe* 'then'; the latter is attested with several locative suffixes. The temporal adverbs are listed in (100).

- (100) a. *achi* 'long ago'  
 b. *amay* 'today' (see also in manner adverbs as 'just, the same')  
 c. *aput* 'already'  
 d. *asta, astaki* 'until' (Spanish *hasta, hasta que*)

- e. *aya* ‘now, then’  
 f. *hanaka* ‘again’  
 g. *haves<sup>h</sup>ka* ‘in the morning’  
 h. *maxilyinga* ‘at noon’  
 i. *mi’ipa* ‘all the time’  
 j. *mipepe* ‘any time’ (*mipepe chinga* ‘any time when’)  
 k. *mipepenga* ‘by and by’ (see *pepe* below)  
 l. *muluk*, *mulu’nuk* ‘first’ (cf. *mulu* ‘lead’ (*mu<sub>s</sub>* ‘nose’))  
 m. *naachi* ‘soon, quickly’  
 n. *pangi* ‘soon, in a little while’  
 o. *pepe* ‘then’ (*pepeni-ngax* ‘from the time when’, *pepe-pa* ‘at that time’,  
*pepepi* ‘that time’, *pepeki* ‘at the same time, also’)  
 p. *peyexiqa* ‘in the evening’  
 q. *peyka* ‘*may*’ ‘still’  
 r. *pish’amay* ‘immediately’  
 s. *piyama(-nga)* ‘always’  
 t. *qay mipa* ‘never’  
 u. *tashpa* ‘in the springtime’  
 v. *tawpa* ‘in the summer’  
 w. *tami’ve* ‘in the winter’  
 x. *tekwaye* ‘long ago’  
 y. *tukmuchi* ‘all night, at night’  
 z. *tuku* ‘yesterday, all night’  
 aa. *tukumay* ‘tomorrow’  
 bb. *yepuchi* ‘then’

Some examples of these forms in use are seen in (101).

- (101) a. *E’ = e*      *muluk hawi-’i*,      *me = ne = pe*      *aya*      *ne’ = e*  
 2SPRO = CF      FIRST      SING-IMPS      AND = IS = IRR      NOW      ISPRO = CF

*pangi hawi.*

SOON      SING.F

You sing first, and I will sing in a little while. (Wood Rats 008)

- b. *Ne = pe*      *tukumay mipepenga*      *gayiina’a-y*      *kwa’.*  
 ISPRO = IRR      TOMORROW      SOMETIME      CHICKEN-O      EAT.F

Sometime tomorrow I will eat Hen. (Coyote and Hen 006)

- c. *Awa-l = ku’ut piyama tukmuchi pe-kwaavichu-qal ki-sh.*  
 DOG-NPN = REP      ALWAYS      AT.NIGHT      3S-TAKE.CARE.OF-PIS      HOUSE-NPN

It is said the dog always guarded the house at night. (Fox and Buzzard 018)

*Achi* ‘long ago’, *aput* ‘already’, *tekwakye* ‘long ago’ and *tuku* ‘yesterday’ appear with a suffix *-(e)vet* to form noun-like constructions meaning something like ‘over a span of time indicated in the particle, since the time indicated in the particle’. These are seen in (102).

- (102) a. *Qay=e kumu achi-vet iyax-we.*  
 NOT=CF LIKE LONG.AGO-VET BE.LIKE-PRST  
 It is not like long ago. (Faye Domingo Moro 012k)
- b. *Axwe-ch=am pulinyi-sh aput-ebet nganga-qa.*  
 THAT-NPN=MIR BABY-NPN ALREADY-VET CRY-PRS  
 That baby has been crying for a long time. (6 87 96)
- c. *Awa-l=’ep ni=pe-qe’ ne-mi’aw-lu-qali ki-nga kumu*  
 DOG-NPN=R ISO=3S-BITE 1S-ARRIVE-MOTP-DSS HOUSE-INL LIKE  
*tekway-ebet iyaxa-nuk.*  
 LONG.AGO-SINCE DOa-SS  
 The dog bit me when I went into the house, just like he used to. (8 45 199)
- d. *Pe-she-’a men-i-qa pe-taxwi tuku-vet.*  
 3S-BLOOM-PSD TURN-IN-PRS 3S-BODY YESTERDAY-SINCE  
 The flower changed color since yesterday. (8 45 204)

**6.7. PARTICLES: EXCLAMATIONS, EXPRESSIVE PARTICLES, DISCOURSE PARTICLES, AND THE NEGATIVE.** The smallest inventories among the small-class lexical items that are not shaped by obvious paradigmatic principle are the inventories of particles, including the exclamation forms, the discourse particles, and the single negative particle. In each case, we can identify fewer than twenty or so members of the class.

**6.7.1. EXCLAMATIONS.** The inventory of attested exclamations is shown in (103). While it is possible that items like *naa* ‘no’ and *ooh* ‘oh!’ come from English or Spanish influence, all of these forms were used by Roscinda Nolasquez while she was speaking Cupeño. Similar forms appear all over the world so recent borrowing is only one possibility.

- (103) a. *aax!*, *ah!* ‘oh!’  
 b. *ichaam* ‘OK, fine’ (see adverb *ichaa’i* ‘well, nice and’; cf. *ichaaywin* ‘do, make’)  
 c. *εε!* ‘hey, look’  
 d. *ha!*, *hah!* ‘hah!’  
 e. *haache(w)!* ‘oops!’

- f. *haneya!* ‘oh great heavens!’ (Faye’s translation)
- g. *hani!* ‘come on!’
- h. *heehee* ‘yes’ (also *xeexee*)
- i. *hεεyaa!* ‘hey!’
- j. *mi’?* ‘oh?’, ‘is that so?’
- k. *miyaxwe* ‘greeting’ (answer is *ichaam*)
- l. *naa* ‘no’
- m. *ooh!* ‘oh!’
- n. *puuchi* ‘well!, my!’ (also *puuche*, *yepuuchi*; possibly from Spanish *pucha*)
- o. *qay* ‘no’
- p. *ya’ mi* ‘well!’
- q. *yeen!* ‘let it be so’ (also *yeene*, *ye*; can receive PN object proclitics to mean ‘let X...’; the following verb is in immediate-future tense)

Exclamations are always sentence-initial. In order to illustrate these, I have extracted from text two brief conversational exchanges that are rich in these forms. In (104) two juncos are trying to convince Coyote to play a game with them, jumping back and forth between two sharp sticks, so that he will hurt himself. In (104a) and (104c) the juncos are speaking. In (104b) the reluctant Coyote is speaking. The exclamations include *εε* ‘Hey there!’, *naa* ‘no’, *qay* ‘no’, and the exhortative particle *hani* ‘let’s go, come on’.

- (104) a. **εε!** *isi-ly*, *navya-’a*, *navya-’a!*  
HEY COYOTE-NPN COME-IMPER COME-IMPER  
 Hey! Coyote, come here, come here! (Coyote and Juncos 016)
- b. **Naa**, *yekwin-qale = n*. *ne’e = qwe = p* *ne-ḡha’i ni = weki!*  
NO, FEAR-IMP = 1SABS ISPRO = NI = 3SERG 1S-BELLY ISO = CUT.HAB  
 No, I’m afraid. It might cut my belly! (Coyote and Juncos 017)
- c. **Qay = pe.** **Hani**, *navya-’a!*  
NO = IRR EXHORT COME-IMPER  
 No it won’t. Come on, come here! (Coyote and Juncos 018)

In (105) Coyote has been dead, and his older brother has danced a magical dance to bring him back to life. As Coyote returns to life, he utters (105a), opening with *εε!* ‘hey!’ and using *puuchi* ‘well!’ in the second sentence. This is an excellent example of boosting agency by the use of the ergative first-person clitic (see 12.3.3); Coyote insists that he was not dead because of foolishness but was asleep by his own choice. The reference to “burping up flies” is a humorous gory detail—Coyote had been so thoroughly dead that his body was all flies and maggots. “I was chasing” was Roscinda Nolasquez’s interpolation in her translation but it is

missing in her Cupeño version. Coyote's older brother replies with (105b), using *heehee*, a standard affirmation, in an ironic tone, like English "Oh yeah, right."

- (105) a. "Éε! *ivi-'aw = she = ne kup-wene-t, puuchi = ku'ut ku'-l-am-i*";  
HEY THIS-AT = DUB = 1SERG SLEEP-PIST, WELL = REP FLY-NPN-PL-O  
*ku'a-l mi = qiw-pe-qal!*  
FLY-NPN 3PLO = CHASE-3S-PIS

"Hey! I must have been asleep here, well, it looks like [I was chasing (?)] flies"; he was burping up flies! (Coyote and Flood 079)

- b. *Heehee, kup-wene-t! Ivi-'aw qaawi-sh qal, e-tama*  
YES SLEEP-PIST-NPN THIS-AT DIE-NPN BE 2S-MOUTH  
*\$henge-\$henge-ya-qal!*  
DUP-GRIN-YAX-PIS

Oh yeah, right, asleep! You were lying dead here, with your teeth all grinning! (Coyote and Flood 080)

6.7.2. EXPRESSIVE PARTICLES. Some expressive particles appear at fairly high frequency, yet remain obscure in their meaning. Others are very sparsely attested: *chiqa'a* is rare and may be the same as the manner adverb *chaka* in (84c) and may be related to a verb form with only one attestation, *chaqa-yax* 'lie in a straight line'. This group of particles is listed in (106).

- (106) a. *a* 'emphasis'  
 b. *anga* 'perhaps, might'  
 c. *chin* 'in vain'  
 d. *chiqa'a* 'right, right straight' (cf. *chaka* in (84c))  
 e. *ham, hama* 'maybe'  
 f. *ta* 'right there' (cf. *peta* 'place?')  
 g. *tum* 'surely, perhaps, whether'

Since most of these forms are obscure in meaning, I present them primarily through attestation rather than present the results of an analytic summary, which has proven to be elusive. The examples are presented in alphabetical order corresponding to the list above, beginning with *a*'.

- (107) a. *Ne-mumetu-'a a'*  
1S-HATE-PSD EMPHATIC  
 I just hate her! (4 79 239)
- b. *Ne-taxwi hay-i-qa atire mingi-sh a'*  
1S-BODY TIRE-IN-PRS VERY THIN-NPN EMPHATIC  
 I'm just tired of being so thin! (4 79 240)

The particle *anga* is obviously related to constructions with the locative base *a-*. However, in its locative meaning *a-* appears only with directional locative suffixes: *a-yka* ‘to there’ and *a-ngax* ‘from there’ (see 6.4 above). In contrast, *anga* does not involve directionality and has an exclusively psychological meaning. It seems to add additional dubitative or interrogative force, and I gloss it below as ‘perhaps’, for want of a better solution.

*Anga* is common in the idiomatic complex *me = \$he anga*, translated as ‘(person) wonder(s) ...’. Note that in (108b,c) it appears twice, once modifying = *\$he*, the dubitative clitic, and once modifying *hax<sub>s</sub>* ‘who?’.

- (108) a. *Me = \$he anga miya-qa?*  
 AND = DUB    PERHAPS HAPPEN-PRS  
 I wonder what happened? (Fox and Buzzard 035)
- b. *Me = \$he anga hax anga ni = 'itu-qal?*  
 AND = DUB    PERHAPS WHO    PERHAPS ISO = STEAL-PIS  
 I wonder who has been stealing from me? (KP 1 022)
- c. *Me = \$he anga hax anga?*  
 AND = DUB    PERHAPS WHO    PERHAPS  
 Who could it be? (Coyote and Flood 043)

Sentences where *anga* modifies only *hax<sub>s</sub>* ‘who?’ or *hi-sh* ‘what?’ (these question words were discussed in 6.4 and 6.4.1) are also found.

- (109) a. *Me = \$he hax anga?*  
 AND = DUB    WHO    PERHAPS  
 Who could it be? (Coyote and Flood 052)
- b. *Me = \$he = m axwe-sh hi-sh anga ela-n-we?*  
 AND = DUB = 3PLERG    ODEM-NPN    WHAT-NPN    PERHAPS WAIT-IN-PRPL  
 I wonder what they are waiting for? (7 1 16 ff)

The clitic sequence *me = \$he = qwe-* with *mixanuk anga*, literally, ‘how perhaps?’, has a flavor of wishfulness.

- (110) a. *Me = \$he = qwe = sh mixa-nuk anga pulinyi-ch-i nengu'.*  
 AND = DUB = NONI = 1PLABS    BE.LIKEa-SS    PERHAPS BABY-NPN-O    HAVE.HAB  
 I wish we could have babies. (2 45 18)
- b. *Me = \$he = qwe = n mixa-nuk anga way-ya 'a?*  
 AND = DUB = NONI = 1SABS    BE.LIKEa-SS    PERHAPS SWIM-YAX.HAB  
 I wonder if I can swim? (Coyote and Wolf 023)

Finally, *anga* appears frequently with *tum* ‘truly’ in assertions like that in (109). *Tum* is discussed further below.

- (111) “**Anga** *tum = 'ep*” *ne'* *ne-yax*.  
 PERHAPS TRULY = R ISPRO IS-SAY  
 “It is true,” I said. (Faye KP 039)

Example (112) illustrates *chin*, which usually appears with *-yaya(x)* (discussed in 4.6.4).

- (112) *Mu = ku'ut pe-pava'a-y pe' = e akulyi chin pi-yaya*.  
 AND = REP 3S-VOICE-O 3SPRO = CF SMALL IN.VAIN 3S-TRY  
 And it is said he tried to make his voice small. (Coyote and Cat 028)

The sentences in (113) illustrate the rare particle *chiqa'a*. This form may also be the basis for *chiqachiqa'a!* ‘fetch it over!’, recorded by Faye.

- (113) a. **Chiqa'a** *iviy-ka ne-yik ta\$hu-ta\$hu'uka-n pe-ngiy*.  
 RIGHT THIS-TO 1S-TO DUP-STRAIGHT-ADV 3S-GO.AWAY  
 He came straight to me. (Faye 017a Texts)
- b. **Chiqa'a** *awisma'a-y ekeme = n e-kwa'i*.  
 RIGHT FEW-O GIVE = 1SABS 2S-FOOD  
 Please give me a little bit of your food. (7 5 46)

The particles *ham*, *hama* are common in expressions of doubt, and are illustrated in (114). Note that in (114c) *hama* appears with the mirative clitic = (*a*)*m*. This suggests that *hama* may be a polite qualification to assertion in this case; we usually find = (*a*)*m* in strong assertions. Jacobs (1975) glosses this element as ‘whether’ in the only example he cites with this particle; sometimes it seems to mean something like ‘maybe’, overlapping with *anga* (with which it does not co-occur).

- (114) a. *Axwe-ch-i = ku'ut iyaxwen amay me = \$he = pe isi-ly*  
 ODEM-NPN-O = REP SUDDENLY JUST AND = DUB = IRR COYOTE-NPN  
*pe-naqma, hama mixa-nuk pexa-nuk*.  
 3S-HEAR MAYBE INDEF.BE.LIKEa-SS DEF.BE.LIKEa-SS  
 Coyote, it is said, must have heard that just then, maybe somehow or other. (RN Creation 072)
- b. *Ivi-'aw ham miyax-we*.  
 PDEM-AT MAYBE BE-IMP.PL  
 It might be here. (KP I 026)



c. **Hama** *suqa-t=am.*

MAYBE DEER-NPN = MIR

It might be a deer. (Faye KP 047)

It is likely that *ta* ‘right there’ seen in (115) is the fully stressed item that is also seen, always unstressed, as a relational noun *-ta* in the expression *pe-ta* ‘place’.

- (115) *Mu = ku'ut aya ta' pem ataxa-m axwa-nga aya*  
 AND = REP THEN RIGHT.THERE 3PL.IND PERSON-PL THAT-INL THEN  
*pem-puy-wen.*  
 3PL-DINE-PST.IMP.PL

And it is said then the people dined right there. (KP I 016)

The particle *tum* appears in a wide range of contexts, and is difficult to characterize precisely. The examples below show *tum* in a variety of apparent functions and sentence positions. *Tum* can appear sentence-initially (as in 116a) and can accept clitics (116b) but can also appear sentence-finally, as in (118b), (119b).

In the first type of usage, *tum* means something like ‘anything’, ‘any place’, ‘any time’, etc., depending on the co-occurring form of the *mi... pe-* adverbial pair introduced in the examples in (87): *mipa pepnga* ‘whenever’ in (116a), *pemiyaqal pepeyaqal* ‘whatever could be done’ in (116b), and *mivita peta* ‘in whatever place’ in (116c). Following Jacobs (1975), I gloss this usage of *tum* as ‘any’.

- (116) a. **Tum** *mi-pa pe-p-nga hiw-pe-yax-weni ku'a-l-im*  
 ANY INDEF-TIME DEF-TIME-INL WARM-3S-YAX-DSST FLY-NPN-PL  
*hayi-nin-wene.*  
 TIRE-CAUSE-CUSTPL

Whenever it is warm, the flies are very troublesome. (Faye Present 11)

- b. **Tum = ku'ut** *pe-'ayew-'a, pe-miya-qal pe-peya-qal.*  
 ANY = REP 3S-WANT-PSD 3S-INDEF.DO-PIS 3S-DEF.DO-PIS

It is said he wanted to do whatever he could. (KP II 130)

- c. *Achi taw-pa-xi-sh naaxchin-ax-ish tum mivi-ta*  
 LONG.AGO SUMMER-TIME-DER-NPN PASS-YAX-NPN ANY INDEF-PLACE  
*pe-ta chem-chi'-pi miyax-we kapel-pe-yax-weni-ve.*  
 3S-PLACE 1PL-GATHER-SUBIRR BE-PRST OPEN-3S-YAX-PISTI-SUBR

Once in past years any place where we might gather was open to us.  
 (J 223 4)

In a closely related set of usages, *tum* has scope over a series of verbs or nouns, again meaning something like ‘whatever it was, whether it was this or that’. I gloss this as ‘whether’.

- (117) a. *Chem- 'isaxw-wen, chem-pina 'wex-wen, tum*  
 1PL-SING.WOMAN'S.SONG-PIPL 1PL-SING.ENEMY.SONG-PIPL WHETHER  
*ishmivi-y tesivi-ly chem- 'ichqaywin.*  
 SOMETHING-O GAME-NPN 1PL-DO  
 We sang with the rattle, we sang enemy songs, whatever it was, we played the game. (Faye SV 2-1-21 189)

- b. *Mu = ku 'ut pe ' hunwe-t mi = pe-chix-qal tum*  
 AND = REP DET BEAR-NPN 3PLO = 3S-KILL-PIS WHETHER  
*na-nwik-t-am-i na-nxani-sh-m-i pulin-ch-am-i*  
 DUP-WOMAN-NPN-PL-O DUP-MAN-NPN-PL-O CHILD-NPN-PL-O  
*chuqem-yax-ch-am-i.*  
 LEAVE-YAX-NPN-PL-O  
 And it is said that the bear was killing anybody, whether women, men, children, who were left behind. (Faye KP 149 214)

- c. *Mik-ch-im-i pek-ch-im-i tum wish-ch-am-i*  
 INDEF.QUANT-NPN-PL-O DEF.QUANT-NPN-PL-O WHETHER TWO-NPN-PL-O  
*pah-ch-im-i men wichi-w-ch-am-i.*  
 THREE-NPN-PL-O OR FOUR-NPN-PL-O  
 No matter how many, whether two or three or four. (Faye Initiation 191 18)

Finally, *tum* is common in statements of doubt and in the opposite, statements that reject doubt. Here it has a sense something like English ‘truly, surely’ (with the implicated burden of doubt—why would one say this, if there were no doubt?). The examples in (118) show *tum* in statements of doubt or wondering. I have translated the sentences as they are translated in Faye’s notes and in my own field notes, since these translations were approved by the consultants. I gloss the particle as ‘truly’. In all of these examples, other elements also encode this property, especially the evidential clitic = *she*. Note that an idiomatic *anga tum* appears in several of these sentences.

- (118) a. *Qay = she tum i'i ne-ki?*  
 NOT = DUB TRULY THIS 1S-HOUSE  
 So is this not my home? (Faye 99 68 032)
- b. *Axwe-chi-m nengu 'i-sh, me = she = pe hama anga tum.*  
 THAT-NPN-FOC HAVE-NPN BUT = DUB = IRR MAYBE PERHAPS TRULY  
 He might be rich but I don’t know. (8 8 9)

- c. *We = \$he hi-sh tum, e-t = \$he me = 'et ya-qa'.*  
 BUT = DUB WHAT-NPN TRULY DDEM-NPN = DUB AND = 2SABS SAY-PRS  
 I am wondering what you are saying. (Faye KP 049)
- d. *Ne = 'ep ne-ya-qal, i'i = \$he = pe naxani-sh nengu'i-sh*  
 ISPRO = R IS-SAY-PIS THIS = DUB = IRR MAN-NPN HAVE-NPN  
*pe-miyax-wen, me = \$he tum qay.*  
 3S-BE-PIPL AND = DUB TRULY NOT  
 I thought that man was rich but he's not. (6 3 91)

The examples in (119) are assertions of truth that show *anga tum* in initial position in (119a) and in final position in (119b). Note that the position of the second-position realis clitic = 'ep in (119a) suggests the tightly bound nature of *anga tum*.

- (119) a. *Anga tum = 'ep ne' ne-yax.*  
 PERHAPS TRULY = R ISPRO IS-SAY  
 I said it is true. (Faye KP 039)
- b. *Axwe-sh = 'ep pe-yax-'a anga tum.*  
 ODEM-NPN = R 3S-SAY-PSD PERHAPS TRULY  
 What he said is true. (9 101 24)

**6.7.3. DISCOURSE PARTICLES.** The inventory of the discourse-coherence particles is shown in (120). These include particles that register conditionality, conjunction, and disjunction. *Puēs*, the only Spanish loan in this set, occurred only once, and did not survive Roscinda Nolasquez's "teaching," that is, her verbal editing of her recorded performance.

- (120) a. *chinga* 'if, then' (sometimes *chixinga* in Faye texts)  
 b. *me* 'and, but'  
 c. *men* 'or'  
 d. *meyax* 'on the contrary, however, but' (between sentences, clauses only)  
 e. *minchen* 'even if only' (*minchen suliti* 'even if it was only one')  
 f. *pepeki* 'also, at the same time'  
 g. *puēs* 'well'  
 h. *piyu'pan* 'moreover, although'  
 i. *tevye* 'it would be'  
 j. *we'* 'or, but, and yet' (contrary to expectation, doubtful)

Some of these discourse-coherence particles coordinate sentences and clauses, such as *chinga*, *meyax*, *minchen*, *pepeki*, *piyu'pan*. Others, such as *me*, *men*, *we'*,

can coordinate sentences, clauses and individual words. A few examples of these particles are given in the following sentences. I do not illustrate all the discourse particles below; some, such as *me*, are amply attested throughout this work.

- (121) **Chinga** = *pe qay chem-yax, amay = ne i = meqan.*  
 IF = IRR NOT BE.QUIET-YAX.F NOW = 1SERG 2SO = BEAT.UP  
 If you don't be quiet, I'll beat you up right now. (Chiitmal 018)

- (122) a. **Piyama** *pe-meqa-qal ishmivi-y, kawa-l-i men*  
 ALWAYS 3S-KILL-PIS SOMETHING-O WOOD.RAT-NPN-O OR  
*su'i-ch-i.*  
 JACKRABBIT-NPN-O  
 He would always kill something, a wood rat or a rabbit. (KPI 013)

- b. **Qay** *ishmivi-y hi-sh pe-tew pe-qwa'a-pi men*  
 NOT SOMETHING-O WHAT-NPN 3S-SEE 3S-EATA-SUBIRR OR  
*pe-meqa-pi.*  
 3S-KILLA-SUBIRR  
 He didn't see anything to eat or kill. (Coyote and Rabbit 019)

- c. **Men** *em-em nanwik-t-am qay wiyika*  
 OR 2PLPRO-PL WOMEN-NPN-PL NOT AROUND  
*negel-el-an-'e'-mene-pi ki-ki-'aw.*  
 BE.AROUND-DUP-AAN-2PL-INPLA?-SUBIRR DUP-HOUSE-AT  
 And don't [neither should] you women be roaming from house to house.  
 (Faye Domingo Moro FN 18 012j) (The preceding sentence was an injunction to  
 men to "take care of themselves.")

The examples in (123) show *minchen* 'even if'. In one example from Faye's field notes from 1927, shown in (123c), an element *-pe-*, of unknown function and meaning, interrupts the form.

- (123) a. **Mu** = *ku'ut a-yka aya piyama minchen suli-t-i = ku'ut*  
 AND = REP LOCB-TO THEN ALWAYS EVEN.IF ONE-NPN-O = REP  
*a-yka pe-yawich-qal.*  
 LOCB-TO 3S-CARRY-PIS  
 And it is said she would always take it there then even if it was just  
 one thing. (KP I 025)

- b. **Ivi-yta** = *ne = pe minchen qaawi, minchen = me = pe*  
 THIS-PLACE = 1SERG = IRR EVEN.IF DIE.F EVEN.IF = 3PL = IRR

*is-ly-am ni = kwa'.*

COYOTE-NPN-PL ISO = EAT

Here I will be, even if I die, even if coyotes eat me. (Warners II 012)

c. *Minche-pe-n chiqa'a maxa = n.*

EVEN.IF STRAIGHT GIVE = 1SABS

Give them to me anyway. (Faye 2-6-27 4 384)

(124) *Ne'e = n atire ahuyaxay naxani-sh pepeki.*

ISPRO = 1SABS VERY EXCEEDINGLY MAN-NPN ALSO

I am the best man also. (Fox and Buzzard 050)

(125) a. *We' = ku'ut pe-yekw̄in-qal.*

BUT = REP 3S-FEAR-PIS

And yet it is said he was afraid. (Fox and Cottontail 021)

b. *Ne'e = n we = she = n miyax-we qaawi-qate = ne?*

ISPRO = 1SABS BUT = DUB = 1SABS BE-IMP.PL DIE-IF = 1SERG

I wonder if I am going to die? (Faye Creation 120)

c. *Ne-shuun-ngax i'i wewni-qat we' yuy-qat, qay = ne*

IS-HEART-FROM PDEM RAIN-IF OR SNOW-IF NOT = 1SERG

*hiwchu-qa.*

KNOW-PRS

It's going to either rain or snow, I don't know which. (9 13)

d. *"I'i = m hi-sh i'i = she" pe-yax "nawishma-l we'*

PDEM = MIR WHAT-NPN PDEM = DUB 3S-SAY GIRL-NPN OR

*kiima-l?"*

BOY-NPN

"What is this," he said, "a girl or a boy?" (KP II 034)

(126) *Piyu'pan tum ichaa em-em = e pangi-sh wel-ch-am-i,*

MOREOVER TRUE GOOD 2PLPRO-PL = CF NEW-NPN GROW-NPN-PL-O

*qay = pe em-xutaxwi-ka em-taxwi em-wena-pi.*

NOT = IRR 2PL-BACK-TO 2PL-BODY 2PL-PUT.INA-SUBIRR

Although in any case you young adults are not to turn back. (Faye Domingo Moro 012f)

(127) *Tevye ichaa mi = chem-chix-ne-pi.*

WOULD.BE GOOD 3PLO = 1PL-KILL-CAUSE-SUBIRR

It would be best for us to kill them. (Faye KP 022)

**6.7.4. NEGATIVE QAY.** The negative particle is *qay*. The syntax of negatives is discussed in detail in Chapter 10; here I give only brief examples of this important form. As pointed out above in the discussion of exclamations, *qay* can be an exclamation that means simply ‘no’, as in the first occurrence in (128), or it can be a sentence negator, as in the second occurrence.

- (128) *Qay* = *pe*, *qay* *cheme ayew-we*.  
 NOT = IRR NOT 1PL.IND WANT-PRPL  
 No, we do not want to. (Warners II 030)

With sentence-level scope, *qay* is often initial, with the auxiliary complex cliticized to it, as in (129).

- (129) *Qay* = *ku'ut hiwen-pe-yax ku'ut*.  
 NOT = REP STOP-3S-YAX REP  
 It is said he didn't stop. (Coyote and Wolf 044)

However, it is possible to promote other items to sentence-initial position, as in (130).

- (130) a. *I' = am qay suqa-t nawika-t pe-qwa-pi miyax-wen*.  
 PDEM = MIR NOT DEER-NPN WOMAN-NPN 3S-EAT-SUBIRR BE-PIST  
 This deer was not for a woman to eat. (KP I 005)
- b. *E' = e peyka'may qay hiwchu-qa*.  
 2SPRO = CF STILL NOT KNOW-PRS  
 You still don't know how. (Coyote Growing Up 025)

The pairs *qay hi-sh* and *qay hax<sub>s</sub>* mean ‘nothing’, ‘nobody’, respectively. The “enhancer” use of *hi-sh* with *qay* is discussed in 10.4.2. *qay mipa* means ‘never’. These are seen in (131).

- (131) a. *Me qay mi'i hi-sh guvigernu pe-'ichaaywin*.  
 AND NOT INDEF WHAT-NPN GOVERNMENT 3S-DO  
 And the government didn't do a thing. (Warners II 043)
- b. *Qay hax mi'i pe-memyelu-qal*.  
 NOT WHO INDEF 3S-SPEAK.ENGLISH-PIS  
 Not a single person spoke English. (Warners II 035)
- c. *Na-nxa-ch-im qay mi-pa ni = nameyelu*.  
 DUP-MAN-NPN-PL NOT INDEF-TIME ISO = CATCH  
 Men will never catch me. (Fox and Cat 019)

When *qay* appears as a negator of nouns, it must appear with *hi-sh* (with non-human nouns) and *hax<sub>s</sub>* (with human nouns), as in (132).

- (132) a. *Qay hi-sh ki-sh chem-nengu-wen.*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN HOUSE-NPN IPL-HAVE-PIPL  
 We had no homes. (Warners I 036)
- b. *Qay hax nawika-t men nawishma-l pe-pa-qal.*  
 NOT WHO WOMAN-NPN OR GIRL-NPN 3S-DRINK-PIS  
 No woman or girl would drink there. (Faye Water 080b)

Roscinda Nolasquez often used *qay* in an interesting rhetorical formula of litotes, where *qay awisma*, literally ‘not a few’, means ‘a lot’.

- (133) a. *Me axwa-'aw qay awisma-nim pulin-ch-am pem-qal.*  
 AND ODEM-AT NOT FEW-PL CHILD-NPN-PL 3PL-BE.THERE  
 And there were a great many children there. (Warners I 053)
- b. *Me qichi-ly qay awisma pem-wichqax-wen.*  
 AND MONEY-NPN NOT FEW 3PL-THROW-PIPL  
 And they threw a lot of money. (Burning 050)

## DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY I: VERB CONSTRUCTIONS AND DENOMINAL VERBS

The present chapter reviews the morphology of derivational affixes (other than the thematic suffixes *-in* and *-yax*, which are treated in 4.1) in verb constructions. Derivational suffixes within the verb construction, which do not change word class, are discussed in 7.1–7.3. Section 7.4 reviews a series of suffixes that derive verbs from nouns and a few other minor suffixes that appear in verbs. Section 7.5 treats a small group of common verbs that are derived by prefixation with indefinite and interrogative morphemes. Chapter 8 treats suffixes that derive nouns and adjectives from verbs.

The major derivational suffixes in the verb construction that do not alter the word class are, first, two valency-changing suffixes: the causative suffix *-nin* and the benefactive suffix *-max*. Both the causative and the benefactive add an argument position to the verb. The second set of verb–verb derivational suffixes are the motion suffixes. Where “to VERB” means ‘do the action indicated in the verb’, these are 1) *-lu* ~ *-lyu* ‘go in order to VERB’ (MOTP); 2) *-ngiy* ‘go around VERB-ing, go off VERB-ing’ (MOTG); 3) *-neq* ~ *-max* ‘come VERB-ing’ (MOTC); 4) *-vneq* ~ *-vemax* ‘come along VERB-ing’ (MOTCA); 5) *-mi’aw* ‘arrive VERB-ing’ (MOTA). The last major verb–verb derivational suffix is the desiderative suffix *-vichu* ‘want to VERB’.

More than one of these suffixes can appear in a single verb construction. Their order in the construction is not fixed but, as shown by Jacobs (1975), is syntactically determined. The general principle for parsing constructions with multiple derivational suffixes is what would be expected in a verb-final language: the rightmost derivational suffix takes the “outermost” or highest subject, the main subject of the verb construction. For instance, in the example in (1) (adapted from Jacobs’s discussion), since *-vichu*, the desiderative, is rightmost, it takes the highest subject. Since *-vichu* cannot change valency, it must share its subject with the next suffix to the left, *-nin*, the causative. Since the causative changes valency, the subject of the leftward suffix *-lu* ‘purposive motion’ must have a different subject from the



causative, which is demoted to object of the causative. *-lu* cannot change valency, so it must have the same subject as *puy* ‘dine’.

- (1) [[[*Puy-lu*]-*nin*]-*vichu*]-*qa*.

DINE-MOTP-CAUS-DES-PRS

He wants to make him go to eat. (J 21 175)

In the example in (2) the rightmost suffix *-lu* is associated with the highest subject. Since *-lu* does not change valency, it shares a subject with the causative *-nin* to its left; note that this appears as *-ni*, not *-nin*, because of a general rule that deletes *n* before *l* (see 2.5.2). The causative suffix itself changes valency, so must have a different subject from the leftward suffix, desiderative *-vichu*. The subject of *-vichu* is the object of the causative. *-vichu* does not change valency, so must share a subject with the causative *-nin* to its left. Since this innermost causative changes valency, *puy* must have a different subject, which is again demoted to object of the causative.

- (2) [[[[*Puy*]-*nin*]-*vichu*]-*ni*]-*lu*]-*qa*.

DINE-CAUS-IN-DES-CAUS-MOTP-PRS

He goes to make him want to feed him/her/it. (J 22 175)

In (3), the benefactive, which adds an object, is in rightmost position among the derivational suffixes. The subject of the benefactive is encoded in the 1SERG clitic = *ne*. The object of the benefactive is encoded by the object proclitic *i* = ‘2SO’. However, benefactive *-max* does not change the subject, so it shares the subject of *-lu* ‘purposive motion’ to its left. Similarly, *-lu* shares the subject with *-ni(n)*, the causative to its left. However, *-ni(n)* cannot have the same subject as the leftward suffix, desiderative *-vichu*. *-vichu* has the same subject as the causative *-nin* to its left, which, as a valency-changing suffix, has a different subject from *pa* ‘drink’. The subject of *pa* is the object of the causative.

- (3) *Ivi* = *ne*            *i* = [[[[*pa*]-*nin*]-*vichu*]-*ni*]-*lu*]-*max-qat*.

PDEM = 1SERG

2SO = DRINK-CAUS-DES-CAUS-MOTP-BEN-IF

I’m gonna go over there for you to make him want to make her drink. (J 131 63)

While Jacobs was able to elicit the forms in (1–3) (this discussion is taken largely from his work), such complex forms are completely absent from non-elicited material, not only in my work from the 1960s but also in the materials collected by Paul-Louis Faye in the 1920s from a fully fluent generation of speakers. The very strong preference of both generations of speakers was to use independent periphrastic verbs wherever a derivation would extend to more than two such suffixes (and often when only one would be required). I have not encountered any sequence of derivational suffixes longer than two in any naturally occurring utter-

ance, including in elicited sentences where the consultant volunteers the form as a translation. Furthermore, I have never encountered among these derivations any case where valency is changed more than once. That is, there is never more than one instance of causative *-nin*. This may of course simply reflect gaps in the data but there is enough text material in Cupeño, from several speakers, that it seems likely that this preference for periphrasis over morphological embedding reflects “ways of speaking” that were broadly typical of the community.

In addition to the verbal derivation suffixes that do not change the lexical class of the construction, there are derivational suffixes that derive verbs from nouns. Denominal derivations are discussed in 7.4. Two sets of denominalizing suffixes derive verbs from roots and bases that can appear directly with NPN suffixes. The first of these is a suffix *-chi*, which derives verbs meaning to “exhibit a particular condition” from many roots that appear with NPN suffixes with adjectival-like meanings. The second set of denominalizing suffixes are *-tu*, *-lu ~ lyu*, *-chu*. The last of these, *-chu*, often has an inchoative sense, contrasting with the gnomic sense of the *-chi* suffix. However, this group of derivational suffixes yields slightly variable meanings depending on the roots with which they appear. In addition to these relatively productive patterns, there are several rare and less productive denominalizing suffixes, including requestative *-xa*, documented only in a few sentences in Faye’s field notes, that are discussed in 7.4.

**7.1. VERB–VERB DERIVATION: VALENCY-CHANGING SUFFIXES.** The two major valency-changing derivational suffixes are the causative suffix *-nin* and the benefactive suffix *-max*.

**7.1.1. CAUSATIVE *-NIN*.** The causative suffix *-nin* adds a higher subject argument to constructions formed on verbs of the  $\emptyset$  and *-in* thematic classes. The subject of the lower verb becomes the object of the causative. The denominalizing suffix *-chi* also occasionally has a causative meaning, discussed in 7.6.1 below.

When verbs derived in *-nin* originate in the  $\emptyset$  thematic class, the causative verb is also in this class. Thus, in past-tense forms, the PN marker for the subject of the causative is a prefix on the root. The subject of the verb root (the “causee”) can be encoded only with an object proclitic. Causative constructions on verbs of the  $\emptyset$  class are illustrated in (4).

(4) a. *Me axwa-nga chimi = pem-’ašh-nin.*

AND ODEM-INL                      1PLO = 3PL-BATHE-CAUS  
And there they bathed us. (Warners I 060)

b. *Mi = pem-’a-’ašha’-nin-wen    ivi-y    hisexve-l.*

3PLO = 3PL-DUP-PUT.ON-CAUS-PIPL    THIS-O    CLOTHING-NPN  
They dressed them in these clothes. (Burning 021)

When causatives are derived from verbs of the *-in* class, in the past tense the causative subject appears in the position following the root, before the *-in* suffix, which is then followed by the causative suffix. The subject of the underlying verb, demoted to object status as “causee,” can be encoded in an object proclitic. Examples of causative derivations on verbs of the *-in* class in the past tense appear in examples collected by Faye, shown in (5). Note that the sequences *-men-nin* in (5a) and *-pe-n-ni* in (5b) will become *-menin*, *-peni* respectively; I write both *n*'s to make the constructions transparent in these examples. In (5b) causative *-nin* becomes *-ni* before *-qal* by regular rule.

(5) a. *Mi = huʃh-che'-men-nin.*

3PLO = SMOKE-1PL-IN.PL-CAUS

We made them smoke. (Faye 2-6-27 f9 405)

b. *Mi = tan-pe-n-ni-qal.*

3PLO = DANCE-3S-IN-CAUS-PIS

He made them dance. (Faye Creation 032)

In the case of a third-person-singular subject of the lower verb, which becomes the object of the causative verb, the usual strong tendency for third-person singulars not to be encoded in object proclitics is not disturbed. Example (6) shows a future-tense causative on the  $\emptyset$ -class verb *wel* ‘grow’. The 3S object proclitic *pi* = is absent, although the object is encoded in *iviy* ‘this (object case)’.

(6) *Ivi-y = che = pe wel-nin.*

PDEM-O = 1PLERG = IRR GROW-CAUS.F

We will make this one grow. (Eagle I 021)

One important causative verb is slightly irregular; this is *chixin* ~ *chix-ni(n)* ‘kill multiple victims’. The verbs ‘die’ in Cupeño are a suppletive pair, *qaaw(i)* ‘die, singular subject’ and *chix* ‘die, plural subject’. The verb for ‘kill a single victim’ is lexically distinct from *qaawi*; it is *meq(a(n))*<sub>-s</sub>. To express ‘kill, plural object’ speakers use forms that are probably derived from the causative of *chix*. By “probably” I mean that the full form of the causative suffix, *-nin*, is often not present when it should be. For instance, in (7a) we see *-ni* instead of expected *-nin*, where there is no regular phonological rule that would cause the loss of the final *n* (the regular future-tense form is seen in *welnin* ‘cause to grow’ in (6)). (7b) shows what looks like an *-in* form of *chix* but with the subject in the position before the root as with a  $\emptyset$ -class verb. However, Jacobs (1975:217) recorded a regular causative form, seen in (7c).

(7) a. *Amay me = m = pe chimi = nenmin, me = m = pe chimi = chix-ni.*  
NOW AND = 3PL = IRR 1PLO = CHASE.F AND = 3PL = IRR 1PLO = DIE-CAUS.F  
 Soon they will chase us, they will kill us. (Faye Encounter with Whites 002)

b. *Mu = ku'ut pe-m pulin-ch-am-i pem-chix-in-wen.*  
AND = REP DET-PL BABY-NPN-PL-O 3PL-DIE-CAUS?-PIPL  
 And it is said they killed the babies. (KP II 032)

c. *Mi = pem-chix-nin-ve-ngax.*  
3PLO = 3PL-DIE-CAUS-SUBR-FROM  
 Because they had killed them. (J 49 217)

In naturally occurring discourse, the causative occurs in combination with other verb-verb derivational suffixes. However, such examples, as mentioned above, never seem to include more than two such suffixes. An example of *-nin* ‘causative’ with *-max* ‘benefactive’ is shown in (8).

(8) *Ni = kwaw-nin-max = 'em = pe ne-pulinma-y.*  
ISO = CALL-CAUS-BEN.F = 2PL = IRR 1S-MAN'S.SON-O  
 You all will cause my son to be called for my sake. (Faye Creation 116)

Causative suffixes also, of course, appear with suffixes that derive denominal verbs, as well as with motion suffixes. Such constructions are common. Some examples are shown in (9).

(9) a. *Qay = che = pe pulini-ch-i tew-lu'-nin astaki*  
NOT = 1PL = IRR CHILD-NPN-O NAME-VB-CAUS.F UNTIL  
*xalew-pe-ya-qali.*  
FALL-3SG-YAX-DSS  
 We won't name the baby until it's born. (9 9 125)

b. *Chem = em pisken-chu'-nin-we leechi-'i.*  
1PLPRO = PLABS SWEET-INCH-CAUS-PRPL MILK-O  
 We're sweetening the milk. (8 27 132)

c. *Me pe' aya sembreeru pem-yu-ma'-nin-wen.*  
AND DET THEN HAT 3PL-HEAD-VB-CAUS-IN-PIPL  
 And they put that hat on him. (Easter 015)

d. *Axwa-nga chimi = pem-nash-ni-lyu.*  
ODEM-INL 1PLO = 3PL = SIT-CAUS-MOTP  
 They went to set us down there. (Faye CN Initiation 12-31-20 9 170)

**7.1.2. BENEFACTIVE -MAX.** Benefactive *-max* is probably grammaticalized from the independent verb *max*<sub>s</sub> ‘give’. In all attested examples it is final in the derivational complex. Interestingly, even when it is word-final in the second syllable in the singular imperative or in the habilitative, it is phonologically inert, always surfacing as *-max* rather than as *-ma’a*, *-ma’ax*, or *-ma’xe* as predicted by the generalizations in 2.6 and 2.7. An illustrative example is seen in (12). *-max* adds a new argument position to the verb, in the form of a benefactive object. If the verb already has two arguments, the object proclitic (if one appears) will encode PN of the benefactive object. There are no examples attested of three-argument verbs with benefactives (e.g., “Give, show it to them for my sake”). In general, benefactive suffixes are rare. In the Faye text materials there are only two or three examples (although he was able to elicit many additional examples, which appear throughout the Bancroft notes), and Roscinda Nolasquez used the benefactive only in the very common construction *tutuchimax* ‘tell someone something’, where the benefactive sense is not obvious. In benefactive constructions she preferred to use the relational noun *-kwaani* ‘for’ (where the PN prefix encodes the object). An example of this type is seen in (10).

- (10) *Ne’=en ne-ye pe-kwaani tavxaa-qa pe-šhuun ichaa*  
 1S = 1SABS 1S-MOTHER 3S-FOR WORK-PRS 3S-HEART GOOD  
*pe-miyax-wena-pi.*  
 3S-BE-PISTA-SUBIRR  
 I’m working to please my mother. (10 103 86)

In (11), the two-argument verb *kwaw-nin* ‘cause X to call Y’ adds a third argument, the benefactive object, encoded with object proclitic *ni* = .

- (11) *Ni=kwaw-nin-max = ’em = pe.*  
 ISO = CALL-CAUS- BEN = 2PL-IRR  
 You all will cause him to be called for me. (Faye Creation 116)

In (12), the benefactive object appears with absolutive-case clitics on imperative verbs. The example in (12a) is useful because it shows that *-max* does not attract stress from the unstressed root *wen*<sub>s</sub>. It also shows the phonological “inertness” of *-max*; if it behaved like *max*<sub>s</sub> ‘give’, we would expect *wenma’ax*. But the form of *-max* in (12a) is exactly the same as that in the construction in (12b), with two syllables following the stress. Note that the benefactive suffix is homophonous with the future tense of the motion suffix *-neq* ~ *-max* ‘come VERB-ing’, so the presence of the object proclitic is important to disambiguate it.

- (12) a. *Hani ka-kva’ma-l wen-max = en.*  
 EXHORT DUP-POT-NPN PUT.IN-BEN = 1SABS  
 Please set the table for me. (Faye Past Time 43)

b. *Shaw-~~sh~~aw-in-max = en.*

DUP-BAKE.BREAD-IN-BEN-1SABS

Bake a few tortillas for me. (Faye Bancroft 82 (4) 298)

Benefactive *-max* is very common with the verb *tutuchin* ‘tell’, although the verb does occur without the suffix (as in (13c)).

(13) a. *Me aya atax-m-i mi = pem-tutuchi-max-wen.*

AND THEN PERSON-PL-O 3PLO = 3PL-TELL-BEN-PIPL

And then they tell the people. (Burning 010)

b. *Me = l = pe qay isi-ly-i tutuchi-max.*

AND = 2PL = IRR NOT COYOTE-NPN-O TELL-BEN.F

Don’t tell Coyote. (RN Creation 64)

c. *E’ = e = ~~sh~~he = t = pe i-qi pem-eyik tutuchi-qa.*

2SPRO = CF = DUB = 2SABS = IRR 2S-REFL 3PL-TOWARD TELL-PRS

You yourself have probably been telling them. (Faye KP 127 158 063)

**7.2. MOTION SUFFIXES.** Five motion suffixes add a sense of motion or direction to the verb construction. Two of these encode the idea of motion away from the deictic center.

The first is *-lu ~ -lyu* ‘go in order to VERB’ (MOTP). This is apparently cognate with the Nahuatl motion suffix *-ti:w* which has the same meaning, so that we can postulate Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*-tuw* ‘go in order to VERB’, with the final consonant being lost in the Cupeño reflex (cf. example (131a) in Chapter Two).<sup>16</sup> No independent verb root corresponds to this suffix.

The second is *-ngiy* ‘go around doing, to go off doing’ (MOTG). The latter is grammaticalized from the verb of motion *ngiy* ‘go off, go away’.

Three motion suffixes express motion towards the deictic center, or through the focused scene (that is, they have no sense of “going off”).

The first is *-neq* ‘come VERB-ing’ (MOTC), with future *-max*. This is grammaticalized from the defective and suppletive motion verb *neq(e(n))<sub>s</sub>*, *menmax* ‘come’, discussed in 4.6.1. Jacobs (1975) reports having seen suffixed *-menmax*, corresponding to the future-tense form of the independent verb, but I have no attestation of that form and several of the reduced *-max*.

The second is *-veneq ~ -vemax*, meaning ‘come along VERB-ing’ (MOTCA). Again, the second component is a grammaticalization of the independent motion verb. The source of the *-ve* syllable is obscure; it does not appear to be related

16. Kenneth C. Hill (personal communication) suggests that the final *w* of Nahuatl *-ti:w* may not be original but instead a secondary development in light of the fact that the paradigmatically related suffix meaning ‘come in order to’ is *-ki:w*, also with *w*.

semantically or grammatically to the realis subordinator *-ve*, discussed in Chapter 11. However, it behaves like it phonologically, in that it induces *i*-ablaut.

The last of these suffixes is *-mi'aw*, ‘come to a place to VERB’, grammaticalized from the verb *mi'aw* ‘arrive’.

**7.2.1.** *-LU* ~ *-LYU*, ‘GO IN ORDER TO DO (PURPOSIVE MOTION)’. The purposive motion (MOTP) suffix *-lu* ~ *-lyu* is very productive. The *-lyu* variant generally appears in palatalizing environments (following the vowel *i* or a palatal consonant, i.e., *sh*, *ny*, *ly*, *y*). However, the alert reader will observe that the distribution of the plain and palatalized forms of the suffix in the examples in (14) is not perfectly related to the phonological shape of the verb root. For instance, we see *tesiw-lyu* ‘go to play’ instead of expected \**tesiw-lu*—compare *kelaw-lu* ‘go to get firewood’. Unfortunately, there is no other example of a verb ending in *-iw* with this motion suffix (the only other example of such a verb is *wiw* ‘make acorn mush’). However, we do encounter *pew-lyu* ‘be friendly’, from *pew* ‘friend’ with a stressed non-back vowel and the denominalizing suffix *-lyu*, homophonous with the purposive motion suffix *-lyu*, so the presence of *-lyu* in *tesiw-lyu* is probably regular and represents a spread of fronting from the preceding vowel.

*-lu* ~ *-lyu* is especially common with the canonical cultural activity verbs of the Ø class. Some examples are seen in (14).

- (14)
- a. *aʃh-lu* ‘go to take a bath’ (*aʃh* ‘take a bath’)
  - b. *chi'-lyu* ‘go to gather’ (*chi* ‘gather’)
  - c. *hal-lu* ‘worry about, go to look for’ (*hal* ‘look for’)
  - d. *hay-lyu* ‘reach to a point’ (*hay* ‘finish, tire’)
  - e. *kelaw-lu* ‘go to collect firewood’ (*kelaw* ‘collect firewood’)
  - f. *mi'aw-lu* ‘go in order to arrive’ (*mi'aw* ‘arrive’)
  - g. *nameyu-lu* ‘catch’ (*nameyu* ‘run after, run over’)
  - h. *ngay-lyu* ‘go to do the whirling dance’ (*ngay* ‘shake head, turn head’)
  - i. *piseka-lu* ‘appear, show up’ (*piseka* is almost always suffixed with *-lu* or *-mi'aw*)
  - j. *puchaq-lu* ‘go to jump’ (*puchaq* ‘jump’)
  - k. *puy-lyu* ‘go to dine’ (*puy* ‘dine’)
  - l. *tesiw-lyu* ‘go to play’ (*tesiw* ‘play’)
  - m. *tuk-lu* ‘go to pass the night’ (*tuk* ‘pass night’)
  - n. *tutuchi-lyu* ‘go to tell’ (*tutuchin* ‘tell’)

The purposive motion suffix *-lu* ~ *-lyu* induces *a*-ablaut with stressless roots and the suffixes grammaticalized from these. Normally in the case of an augment on the root itself, stress shifts to the augment vowel, as in (15).

- (15)
- a. *wena-lu* ‘go to put in’ (*wen<sub>-s</sub>* ‘put in’)
  - b. *tewa-lu* ‘go to see’ (*tew<sub>-s</sub>* ‘see’)

However, while the regular behavior is well attested, there are also exceptions. In (16a) stress remains on the first syllable of the root and a root-final *a* appears as unstressed schwa. In (16b) *teva-lu*, from *tav<sub>s</sub>*, an irregular vowel quality appears; we would expect *\*teva-lu*, but if the first vowel is stressed, it should be *a*. Faye also records *teve-lu* in one example. It should be noted that Faye, a native speaker of French, was not reliable in his transcriptions of stress. However, his transcription of vowel quality is at least as reliable as my own.

- (16) a. *kuʃha-lu* ‘go to get’ (*kuʃh<sub>s</sub>* ‘get’)  
 b. *teva-lu* ‘leave something, go to put something down’ (*tav<sub>s</sub>* ‘put down’)

In verbs of the *-in* and *-yax* classes, *-lu* ~ *-lyu* follows the thematic suffix. With verbs of the *-in* class, the *n* of the thematic suffix is lost before *l*, *ly* by regular phonological rule as discussed in 2.5.2. Examples of *-lu* ~ *-lyu* with *-in* class verbs are seen in (17). In (17a) the derivation is not completely transparent. The verb *wet-in* means ‘beat, hit with long object’. The sentence is about the wind throwing things around.

- (17) a. *Pi = wet-pe-lu*.  
3SO = HIT-3S-(IN)-MOTP  
 He knocked it away (by blowing). (Wind and Ducks 009)
- b. *Tek-pe-lu-qal*.  
EMPTY-3S-(IN)-MOTP-PIS  
 He would go to empty it. (Faye Creation 101)

The examples in (18) illustrate *-lu* ~ *-lyu* suffixed to verbs in the *-yax* class. The suffix induces *a*-ablaut on the thematic suffix *-yax*.

- (18) a. *Axwa-nga = ku'ut piyama haʃhi-pe-yaxa-lu-qal*.  
ODEM-INL = REP                      STILL                      GO-3S-YAXa-MOTP-PIS  
 And there it is said he kept going along. (Coyote and Rabbit 043)
- b. *Piyama-nga = ku'ut ya'-pe-yaxa-lu-qal*.  
STILL-INL = REP                      RUN-3S-YAXa-MOTP-PIS  
 It is said he kept running along. (RN Creation 098)

The examples in (19) illustrate *-lu* ~ *-lyu* in combination with other derivational suffixes.

- (19) a. *Pi = yaw-mi'aw-lu*.  
3SO = CARRY-ARRIVE-MOTP  
 He went to bring it. (Eagle I 014)



- b. *Chimi = pem-nash-ni-lyu.*  
 1PLO = 3PL-SIT-CAUS-MOTP  
 They went to set us down. (Faye CN Initiation 170)
- c. *Ne' = ne        tewa-lu'-vichu-qa.*  
 1SPRO = 1SERG    SEE-MOTP-DES-PRS  
 I want to go and see. (Faye 2-6-27 484)

**7.2.2.** *-NGIY* 'GO OFF DOING, GO AROUND DOING'. The MOTG 'motion going' motion suffix *-ngiy*, grammaticalized from *ngiy* 'go away', is highly productive and appears with all verb classes.

The examples in (20) show *-ngiy* with  $\emptyset$ -class verbs.

- (20) a. *Pe-'amu-ngiy-qal.*  
 3S-HUNT-MOTG-PIS  
 He was going off hunting.
- b. *Pe-hal-ngiy-qal.*  
 3S-LOOK-MOTG-PIS  
 He went looking around.
- c. *Pe-tewa\$h-ngiy.*  
 3S-LOSE-MOTG  
 He disappeared.
- d. *Chenen-ngiy-qat.*  
 ROLL-MOTG-IF  
 It's gonna roll away.

The examples in (21) show *-ngiy* with *-in* class verbs; the final *n* of the thematic suffix is lost before *-ngiy*.

- (21) a. *Chawa-pe'-me-ngiy-wen.*  
 GO.UP-3PL-INPL-MOTG-PIPL  
 They went off climbing.
- b. *Pi = wem-pe-ngiy.*  
 3SO = THROW-3S-(-IN)-MOTG  
 He threw it over his shoulder.
- c. *Pi = maa-che'-me-ngiy.*  
 3S = LEAVE-1PL-INPL-MOTG  
 We went off and left it.

The examples in (22) show *-ngiy* with *-yax* class verbs. In these verbs, the *x* is lost and the vowel of *-yax* assimilates to the vowel of *-ngiy*, yielding *-yingiy*.

- (22) a. *Way-pem-yi-ngiy-wen.*  
 SWIM-3PL-YAX-MOTG-PIPL  
 They were swimming around.
- b. *Cha'ay-pe-yi-ngiy-qal.*  
 GO.UP-3SG-YAX-MOTG-PIS  
 He has risen.
- c. *Ta'a-la'a-la'a-la'a-pe-yi-ngiy.*  
 STAGGER-DUP-DUP-DUP-3S-YAX-MOTG  
 He went off staggering. (Coyote and Flood 083)

*-ngiy* is attested in combinations with the MOTA motion suffix *-mi'aw* and with the MOTC suffix *-neq*.

- (23) a. *Men-pe'-mi'aw-ngiy.*  
 TURN.AROUND-3PL-MOTA-MOTG  
 They came back.
- b. *Pulinyi-ch = e ngang-a-qa man-a-ngiy-neq.*  
 BABY-NPN = CF CRY-YAX-PRS ROLL.OFF-YAX-MOTG-MOTC  
 The baby is crying because he fell off. (3 55 218)

**7.2.3. *-NEQ* ~ *-MAX* 'COME VERB-ING'.** The “motion coming” suffixes, MOTC *-neq* ~ *-max* and MOTCA *-veneq* ~ *-vemax*, are productive but are far less common than the “motion going away” suffix *-ngiy*. As is apparent from examples like those in (22) above, the latter can be used as a sort of general ‘VERB-ing while moving’ suffix. But *-neq* ~ *-max* and *-veneq* ~ *-vemax* retain a narrow interpretation of motion toward the deictic center. Furthermore, the non-future form *-neq* of *-neq* ~ *-max* retains the “defective” character of its parent verb *neq(e(n))<sub>-s</sub>* ‘come’ (see the discussion in 4.6), so that MOTC *-neq* does not accept plural imperfective suffixes. In this it contrasts with the ‘going’ motion suffixes *-lu* ~ *-lyu* and *-ngiy*, which can appear with imperfective plural inflection.

*-neq* ~ *-max* is particularly common with the root *yaw* ‘carry’, which nearly always appears with motion suffixes. Combinations of *yaw* and the motion suffixes *-neq* and *-mi'aw* especially convey the important sense of ‘bring’. An example is seen in (24).

- (24) *Kanaqasta = ku'ut ay'ani-sh pem-yaw-neq.*  
 BASKET = REP                      BIG-NPN                      3PL-CARRY-MOTC  
 They brought a big basket. (Coyote and Flood 046)

In the future tense, the MOTC suffix is *-max*, illustrated in (25). In (25a,b) the verb to which *-max* is suffixed is a compound *yawmuk*, a way to say ‘bring’ which probably means something like ‘suffer carrying, make the effort to carry’. The suffix *-mu(k)* is not productive but is almost certainly related to *muk* ‘be sore, suffer’; other examples of this suffix are found in 7.4.3 (examples in (52)).

- (25) a. *Ne' = ne = pe yaw-mu-max.*  
 ISPRO = 1S = IRR    CARRY-MUK?-MOTC.F  
 I will bring it. (Faye 4–6–27 fp 19 236)
- b. *Me = qwe = p      pi = yaw-mu-max                      me = qwe = sh*  
 AND = NONI = 3SERG    3SO = -CARRY-MUK?-MOTC.HAB                      AND = NONI = 1PLABS  
*te'e'ew.*  
 SEE.HAB  
 And he can bring it so that we can see it. (Faye KP 127 153)

**7.2.4.** *-VENEQ ~ -VEMAX* ‘COME ALONG VERB-ING’. The MOTCA suffix *-veneq ~ -vemax* differs from *-neq ~ -max* in that it can appear with imperfective suffixes. Examples are seen in (27a,c). Jacobs (1975) states that *-vemax* is the plural of *-veneq*, but in my data, including the Faye materials, it shows up only as a future-tense form, with plural or singular subjects. *-veneq* is well attested with plural subjects, as in (26c), paired with singular (26d), and (27a) below.

Examples illustrating *-veneq* with Ø-class verbs are seen in (26). The form in (26b) shows that *-veneq*, like *-ve* ‘realis subordinator’, is an *i*-ablauting suffix.

- (26) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' kawisi-sh pe-chashwin-veneq      pe-yik.*  
 AND = REP                      DET FOX-NPN                      3S-CRAWL-MOTCA                      3S-TO  
 And it is said Fox came crawling toward him. (Fox and Cottontail 007)
- b. *Qwa'i-veneq.*  
 EATI-MOTCA  
 He came eating something on the way. (Faye 2–6–27)
- c. *Aya = l                      wel-veneq.*  
 NOW = 3PLABS                      GROW-MOTCA  
 Now they're growing up. (11 43 78)

In (27a) *-veneq* appears with an *-in* class verb with imperfective inflection. In (27b,c) the verb is in the *-yax* class. Note that in (27c) the imperfective suffix *-qal* follows *-veneq*.

- (27) a. *Mu = ku'ut tan-pe'-men-wen-veneq.*  
 AND = REP DANCE-3PL-IN.PL-PIPL-MOTCA  
 And they came along dancing. (Faye Creation 063)
- b. *Pa-nga = ku'ut nam-pe-yaxe-veneq.*  
 WATER-INL = REP CROSS-3S-YAXI-MOTCA  
 He came along crossing the water, it is said. (Coyote and Flood 008)
- c. *Puliñyi-ch = e man-a-qa ya'-yaxe-veneq-qal.*  
 BABY-NPN-CF FALL-YAX-PRS RUN-YAXI-MOTCA-PIIS  
 The baby fell because he was running. (3 55 219)

In Faye's data *-vemax* appears to be used consistently in the future, as in the following examples.

- (28) a. *Amay = me = l = pe menmax tan-in-vemax.*  
 NOW = PL = 3PL = IRR COME.F DANCE-IN-MOTCA  
 Now they will come, they will come dancing. (Faye Creation 039)
- b. *E' = e ivi-chi pem-naqa-y we-wen-vemax.*  
 2SPRO = CF PDEM-OBL 3PL-EAR-O DUP-HIT-MOTCA.F  
 And you will come along hitting them repeatedly with this in the side of the head. (Faye KP 141 191)
- c. *Me axwe-ch-i pe-chi chem-taxwi chem-tewi-vemax-pi*  
 AND ODEM-NPN-O 3S-OBL 1PL-BODY 1PL-SEEI-MOTCA-SUBIRR  
*pu'-much-ika.*  
 3PL-AHEAD-TO  
 And for that reason we have to look ahead for ourselves. (Faye Domingo Moro FN 23-24 012n)

**7.2.5. -MI'AW 'ARRIVE DOING'.** The motion suffix *-mi'aw* is grammaticalized from the independent verb *mi'aw* 'arrive'. It is extremely common with *yaw* 'carry', where it often appears combined with other motion suffixes.

- (29) *Mu = ku'ut axwa-nga aya pi = yaw-mi'aw-lu ne-t pe-ve.*  
 AND = REP ODEM-INL THEN 3SO = CARRY-MOTA-MOTP CHIEF-NPN 3S-ON  
 He went to bring it there to the chief. (KP 014)

*-mi'aw* does appear with other verbs besides *yaw* ‘carry’. The examples in (30) illustrate *-mi'aw* with Ø-class verbs. The example in (30b), with the stressless root *tew<sub>s</sub>* ‘see’, shows that *-mi'aw* is not an ablauting suffix.

- (30) a. *Me axwa-nga chem-tuk-mi'aw.*  
 AND ODEM-INL 1PL-SPEND.NIGHT-MOTA  
 And there we spent the night. (Warners I 008)
- b. *Ne' axwe-ch-i ne-tew-mi'aw axwa-nga.*  
 ISPRO ODEM-NPN-O 1S-SEE-ARRIVE ODEM-INL  
 And I saw that there. (Faye field notes 29 080d)

In (31) we see *-mi'aw* with an *-in* class verb, *tan* ‘dance’, and a *-yax* class verb, *xalew* ‘fall’.

- (31) a. *Hanaka pem-enuw tan-pe'-men-mi'aw.*  
 AGAIN 3PL-WITH DANCE-3PL-IN.PL-ARRIVE  
 Again they came and danced with them. (Faye Creation 080)
- b. *Melen xalew-pe-yax-mi'aw.*  
 MUCH FALL-3SG-YAX-ARRIVE  
 Rapidly he became worse. (Faye Creation 110)

*-mi'aw* appears in combination with other motion suffixes; examples are seen in (19a) and (23a) above and in (32). (32) contains the idiom *pem peye wiw* ‘he and his mother’, literally ‘they his mother both’. Similar forms with *wiw* ‘both’ are discussed in 6.3.

- (32) *Mu = ku'ut pe-m pe-ye wi-w men-pe'-mi'aw-ngiy.*  
 AND = REP 3SPRO-PL 3S-MOTHER TWO-DUP TURN.AROUND-3PL-MOTA-MOTG  
 Then he and his mother came back. (Faye KP FN 82 075a)

Although forms with *-mi'aw* are usually perfective, the suffix can be followed by other inflectional suffixes, as in (33), including an example of the past imperfective in (33c). In these examples I show both instances of *w* for clarity, although in pronunciation only one appears.

- (33) a. *Pem-hisaxve-y pe-chi mi = hamuch-in-mi'aw-we.*  
 3PL-CLOTHES-O 3S-INST 3PO = COVER-IN-MOTA-PRPL  
 With their clothes they cover them when they come. (Faye Images 098a)

- b. *Yaw-mi'aw-wene pem-nemxa-y.*  
CARRY-MOTA-CUSTPL 3PL-TREASURE-O  
 They would bring their treasures. (Faye Initiation FN 32 083a)
- c. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-nga aya mi = pem-yaw-mi'aw-wen, mu = ku'ut*  
AND = REP ODEM-INL THEN 3PLO = 3PL-CARRY-MOTA-PIPL AND = REP  
*mi = yelish-pe'-men-wen.*  
3PLO = 3PL-CLEAN-3PL-INPL-PIPL  
 It is said that then they used to bring them there, and it is said they used to clean them. (RN Acorn Time 012)

7.3. *-VICHU* 'WANT TO VERB'. The last of the major verb–verb derivational suffix is desiderative *-vichu*. *-vichu* always shares a subject with the verbal element to its right. With negatives or with the defective verb *yaya* 'try' (see 4.6.4), *-vichu* often has a sense of 'try', that is to say, to want to do something, but in vain. Examples are seen in (35c), (36b).

Examples of *-vichu* with Ø-class verbs are shown in (34). The example in (34c), where *-vichu* is suffixed to the stressless root *tew*<sub>-s</sub> 'see', shows that *-vichu* is an *i*-ablauting suffix.

- (34) a. *Me qay ngiy-vichu-we.*  
AND NOT GO-DES-PRPL  
 They do not want to go. (Faye Creation 089)
- b. *Pe-qaawi-vichu.*  
3S-DIE-DES  
 He wanted to die. (Faye Creation 119)
- c. *Tewi-vichu-qa = ne.*  
SEEi-DES-PRS = 1SERG  
 I want to see. (RN Creation 115)

Examples of *-vichu* with *-in* class verbs are shown in (35).

- (35) a. *Chakw-pe-n-vichu-qal, mu = ku'ut qay pe-mi-yax-wen.*  
CATCH-3S-IN-DES-PIS AND = REP NOT 3S-HAPPEN-YAX-PIST  
 He tried to catch him, but it is said he couldn't. (Coyote and Rabbit 052)
- b. *I = chakw-in-vichu-nash.*  
2SO = CATCH-IN-DES-FIS  
 He will try to catch you. (Coyote and Wolf 058)

- c. *Pi-yaya wal-pe-n-vichu-qal.*  
 3S-TRY DIG-3S-IN-DES-PIS  
 He wanted to try to dig it up. (How Coyote Got That Way 016)

Examples with *-yax* class verbs are shown in (36). Note the presence of the vocalic increment following *-yax* before *-vichu*.

- (36) a. *Qay paya-ne-yaxe-vichu-qal.*  
 NOT CHAT-1S-YAXI-DES-PIS  
 I didn't want to talk to him. (Faye Tramp 76 019)
- b. *Ne' ne-yaya yal-axe-vichu-qa.*  
 1SPRO 1S-TRY FLY-YAXI-DES-PRS  
 I'm trying to fly. (6 11 325)

An alternative construction to desiderative *-vichu* is to use the independent verb *ayew* 'like, want', with the verb indicating the desired action embedded with the irrealis subordinator *-pi*. Both constructions are used very commonly, and there is no strong obvious difference between them. Note that this periphrastic construction also appears with *-yaya* 'try', as in (37b). Examples are shown in (37).

- (37) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' kawisi-sh piyama axwe-ch-i pe-'ayew-qal*  
 AND = REP DET FOX-NPN ALWAYS ODEM-NPN-O 3S-WANT-PIS  
*tisixa-t-i pe-qwa'a-pi.*  
 COTTONTAIL-NPN-O 3S-EATA-SUBIRR  
 And it is said Fox always wanted to eat Cottontail. (Fox and Cottontail 002)
- b. *Ishmivi-y = ku'ut pem-'ayew-wen pem-yaya*  
 SOMETHING-O = REP 3PL-WANT-PIPL 3PL-TRY  
*nanvax-pe'-men-pi.*  
 GET.READY-3PL-INPL-SUBIRR  
 There was something they wanted to straighten out. (Chitmal 003)

**7.4. DERIVING VERBS FROM NOMINAL STEMS.** A productive series of suffixes in Cupeño derive denominal verbs. The denominalizing suffix *-chi* derives unaccusative verbs of the *-in* class from adjective-like forms that take the NPN suffix *-sh*. A second series of denominalizing suffixes includes *-tu*, *-lu* ~ *-lyu*, and *-chu*. The *-chu* suffix nearly always has an inchoative meaning. In the case of *-lu* ~ *-lyu* or *-tu*, the inchoative meaning is not so clear, and the derived (usually denominal) verb seems to mean something like 'having the quality of'. These derivations yield verbs in the  $\emptyset$  class.

The initial consonants of these suffixes are the same as the consonants of the NPN suffixes, *-t*, *-l* ~ *-ly*, *-sh*. Where the source noun is attested in the non-pos-

sessed state, the verb is derived with the suffix that corresponds phonologically to the form of its NPN suffix. Thus it might make sense to consider the suffix to be simply *-u*. However, comparative-historical linguistic evidence shows that the underlying form of the second group of suffixes, the Ø-class suffixes, is *-tu*. This derivational suffix has cognates throughout Uto-Aztecan, for instance, in Nahuatl applicative/transitivizing *-ti*. In a situation precisely parallel to that found with the NPN suffixes, with an underlying form *-ta*, the verbalizing suffix *-tu* is shaped phonologically by features of the root, yielding not only *-tu* but also the lenited and/or palatalized allomorphs *-lu ~ -lyu* and *-chu*. While comparative-historical linguistic evidence suggests that the final features that caused these alternations were present in the protolanguage and perhaps present in Proto-Northern Uto-Aztecan (Manaster Ramer 1993), they are no longer operative in Cupeño, where the shape of the NPN suffix and the corresponding denominalizing suffix must be specified for each lexical item. Synchronically, therefore, the *-tu* group of suffixes can be described in one of two ways: as three different denominalizing suffixes, *-tu*, *-lu ~ -lyu*, and *-chu*, which occur respectively with roots that take NPN suffixes *-t*, *-l ~ -ly*, or *-sh*; or as a single suffix *-u*, which is added to the NPN-marked base. The former solution is preferable, not only for historical reasons, but also because vowel-initial suffixes otherwise are extremely rare in Cupeño (thematic *-in* and object-case *-i* being two of the few examples).

**7.4.1. UNACCUSATIVE AND CAUSATIVE *-CHI*, INCHOATIVE *-CHU*.** The suffixes *-chi* and *-chu* are distinct in that the latter is part of the *-tu*, *-lu ~ -lyu*, *-chu* series that derives Ø-class verbs, while the former derives *-in* class verbs. However, the two are interestingly complementary in their behavior with denominal derivations of substantives in *-sh*. They interact with various substantival forms and with verbs to derive unaccusative verbs, inchoative verbs, and causatives. The various contexts and readings for *-chi*, *-chu* are summarized in Table 7.1.

TABLE 7.1. Contexts and Meanings of Denominalizing *-chi*, *-chu*

BASE	PRIMARY ADJECTIVE OR DERIVED ADJECTIVE IN <i>-SH</i>	NOUN OR VERB	COLOR TERM
<i>-chi</i>	unaccusative ( <i>-in</i> class)	—	causative ( <i>-in</i> class)
<i>-chu</i>	inchoative (Ø class)	inchoative	inchoative ( <i>-yax</i> class; “grey” only)

The NPN *-sh* is especially common with deverbal nouns that have an “adjectival” sense; its deverbalizing derivational function is discussed in 8.1.3. Unaccusative verbs can be derived from both derived adjectives and “primary” adjectives (those for which no corresponding verb theme can be identified) in *-sh* by adding to the base (the form without the NPN suffix) a derivational suffix *-chi*, which takes the *-in* thematic suffix. The verb is then conjugated according to the usual patterns. Verbs derived with *-chi* are intransitive even though the thematic



suffix is *-in*, which derives a class of verbs that is mainly transitive. The examples in (38) illustrate these derivations. In the examples in (38) and (39) I show only attested forms but these derivations are productive. Note that in (38) the derived unaccusative verb and the transitive *-in* verb are homophonous.

- (38) a. *el̥el'i-sh* 'bad', *el̥el'i-chi-(i)n* 'be bad, to be spoiled'  
 b. *wevaʃhi-sh* 'long, tall', *wevaʃhi-chi-(i)n* 'be long'  
 c. *yeliyeli'i-sh* 'clean', *yeli-chi-(i)n* 'be clean, clean something'

The color terms almost all are adjectives with the NPN *-sh*, but their unaccusative verbs are derived with *-yax*. With these words, *-chi* is a causative, as shown in (39). Since *-chi* has either unaccusative or causative meaning depending on context, I gloss it in the interlinear translations as VB 'verbalizer' rather than with a more specific meaning. Note that the derived verbs do not show the reduplication that is invariant with the adjectival forms. The words for 'black', 'white', and 'grey' behave differently and are exemplified in (43) below.

- (39) a. *kwatikwati'i-sh* 'red', *kwati-yax* 'be red', *kwati-chi-(i)n* 'make red'  
 b. *xwavixwavi'i-sh* 'green', *xwavi-yax* 'be green', *xwavi-chi-(i)n* 'make green'  
 c. *keneke'ne'e-sh* 'yellow', *kene-yax* 'be yellow', *kene-chi-(i)n* 'make yellow'

With the same class of primary and derived adjectives in *-sh*, an inchoative meaning 'becoming VERB'd' is derived by adding *-chu* to the root. Such inchoative verbs are in the  $\emptyset$  class and are conjugated according to the usual patterns for this class. A causative of these verbs is derived with *-nin*. In (39) a number of derivations of this type are illustrated. (40a,b) are *-chu* derivations from the same primary adjectives that appear in (38a,b). With the forms where causatives are attested, note that an epenthetic glottal stop follows the suffix *-chu* before causative *-nin*. Other examples of epenthetic glottal stops with derivational suffixes are seen in the discussion below of *-tu*, *-lu* ~ *-lyu*.

- (40) a. *el̥el'i-sh* 'bad', *el̥el'i-chu* 'spoil, become bad'  
 b. *wevaʃhi-sh* 'long, tall', *wevaʃhi-chu* 'become long',  
*wevaʃhi-chu'-nin* 'make long' (also recorded as *wevaʃhi-chi-nin*  
 'stretch')  
 c. *ichaa(i)* 'good, nice'; *ichaa-chu* 'get better', *ichaa-chu-'ish*  
 'lucky', *ichaa-chu'-nin* 'make somebody get well'  
 d. *ingi-sh* 'lazy', *ingi-chu* 'be unmoving, to sulk'  
 e. *met'i-sh* 'many', *met'i-chu* 'become sufficient'  
 f. *peyaxi-sh* 'late', *peyax-chu* 'become late, be tardy'

- g. *piske'ni-sh* 'sweet', *pisken-chu* 'become sweet', *pisken-chu'-nin* 'sweeten'  
 h. *pushqepi-sh* 'blind', *pushqep-chu* 'become blind'  
 i. *yuyi-sh* 'cold', *yuyi-chu* 'become cold', *yuyi-chu'-nin* 'make cold'

*-chu* can be suffixed to roots that with NPN *-sh* ordinarily function simply as nouns. In this case, its meaning is again inchoative. Examples include those in (41). Note that the verbs in (41c,d) have *i*-suffixing perfectives, *naxashwi* and *nishwi* respectively, and it may be that all verbs with *-chu* form perfectives this way (see 4.4.2.1, with examples of *i*-perfectives found in (41) in that section).

- (41) a. *pi'muki-sh* 'ghost', *pi'muk-chu* 'turn into a ghost'  
 b. *ki-sh* 'house', *ki-chu* 'dwell, stay in a place'  
 c. *naxani-sh* 'man', *naxan-chu* 'grow old, of a male'  
 d. *ni-sh* (attested only in *ni-sh-lyu-ve-l* 'old woman'; cf. *ni-t* 'pregnant woman'), *ni-chu* 'grow old, of a female'

The inchoative reading of the suffix *-chu* is found in other environments as well. For instance, it appears on certain  $\emptyset$ -class stative verbs, as in (42). Note that in *kupichu* 'get sleepy', an *i* that is not present in the verb root precedes the suffix, suggesting a derivation from an unattested *kupish* 'sleepy'.

- (42) a. *kup* 'sleep', *kup-i-chu* 'become sleepy'  
 b. *sexin* 'burn', *sexin-chu* 'be feverish, delirious with fever'

Two color terms, the words for 'black' and 'white', exhibit a special behavior, shown in (43). The causative with *tul* 'black' is simply thematic *-in* rather than *-chi-in* as with the forms shown in (39). 'White' behaves the same way. Note that 'white' is unique among the color terms in that its adjectival derivation is with *-t* rather than *-sh*. The word for 'grey' has an inchoative in *-chu*, but it is in the *-yax* class rather than the  $\emptyset$  class. As with the color terms shown in (39), the derivation with *-chi-in* on 'grey' is causative rather than unaccusative. These derivations are shown in (43).

- (43) a. *tulniki-sh* 'black', *tul-yax* 'get black, be tanned', *tul-in* 'make black'  
 b. *xwayaxwen-et* 'white', *xway-yax* 'get white', *xway-in* 'make white'  
 c. *piwi-sh* 'grey', *piwi-chu-yax* 'get grey, turn grey', *piwi-chi-(i)n* 'make grey' (cf. *-piw* 'great-grandfather, grandson')

Another exceptional pattern is seen with a root usually glossed as 'thin', seen in (44). Here, the adjective is formed in *-sh*, but this is apparently derived from a verb meaning 'get thin, be thin' in the  $\emptyset$  class, with a *-nin* causative. An apparently related *-yax* class verb was translated 'be swollen'. (Perhaps the gloss 'thin' is not

quite right; the form mean something like ‘for the body to be out of its appropriate size and shape’.) No derivation with *-chi* or *-chu* is attested, the meaning slots of the unaccusative *-chi* derivation and the inchoative *-chu* derivation both being filled by the Ø-class verb *ming-*.

- (44) *mingi-sh* ‘thin’, *ming-Ø* ‘be, get thin’, *ming-nin* ‘make thin’, *ming-yax* ‘be swollen’

**7.4.2. DENOMINAL VERBS IN *-LU* ~ *-LYU* AND *-TU*.** Denominal verbs in *-lu* ~ *-lyu* are formed on substantive roots where the full form of the substantive exhibits the NPN suffixes *-l* or *-ly*. These derivations yield verbs with a variety of meanings that can be loosely translated as ‘having, having the quality of’. Since these meanings are somewhat indeterminate, in the interlinear glosses these forms are glossed as VB ‘verbalizer’, rather than with a more specific label. That is, although these suffixes, like *-chu* ‘inchoative’, have the initial consonant of an NPN suffix corresponding to the NPN suffix of the substantive base, they do not have the consistent meaning that we encountered above with *-chu*. These derivations are in the Ø class and form causatives with *-nin* (some are attested only with the causative derivation, as seen below). In some of these cases the root noun is “inalienable,” that is, it is not seen in the non-possessed state (see 5.1.3) with NPN suffixes. However, where an NPN suffix is attested, in every case with nouns that derive verbs with these suffixes it is *-l* or *-ly*.

- (45) a. *ash-lyu* ‘have a dog’ (*-ash* ‘pet’, *achi-ly* ‘cow’)  
 b. *ay-lyu* ‘shake a rattle’ (*ayi-ly* ‘tortoise-shell rattle’)  
 c. *ew-lu* ‘be initiated at puberty, for girls’ (*ewe-l* ‘blood’)  
 d. *hak-lu* ‘starve, experience famine’ (*hakwiqa* ‘be hungry’)  
 e. *i’is-lyu* ‘tell lies’ (*isi-ly* ‘coyote’, *i’isi-ly* ‘liar’)  
 f. *kuung-lu* ‘get married, speaking of a woman’ (*-kuung* ‘husband’)  
 g. *liimpyu-lu* ‘be clean’ (*liimpyu* ‘clean’)  
 h. *memye-lu* ‘speak English’ (*Memye-m* ‘whites’)  
 i. *mukwi-lyu* ‘have sores’ (*-muk’i-ly* ‘sore’)  
 j. *mu-lu* ‘lead, go first’ (*-mu<sub>s</sub>* ‘nose’)  
 k. *pa-lu* ‘be watery’ (*pa-l* ‘water’)  
 l. *pew-lyu* ‘be a friend, be friendly’ (*-pew* ‘friend’)  
 m. *push-lyu* ‘look like someone’ (*push<sub>s</sub>* ‘eye, face’)  
 n. *tash-lyu* ‘gamble’ (*tash-* ‘break into small pieces, to crack acorns’, *tash-ni* ‘hatch’, *tachil-* ‘split, crack’; perhaps in reference to the small gambling tokens that are spread out in front of the player)  
 o. *tew-lu’-nin* ‘cause to have a name’ (from unattested *tew-lu* ‘have a name’; *tewe-l* ‘name’)  
 p. *ye-lu* ‘become a mother’ (*-ye<sub>s</sub>* ‘mother’)

- q. *yu-lu*'-nin 'blame' (from unattested *yu-lu* 'have head, responsibility?';  
*yu*-l 'head, hair')

Substantives that take the NPN suffix *-t* add *-tu* to derive denominal verbs. As with *-lu* ~ *-lyu* the resulting verb is in the  $\emptyset$  class and takes the causative suffix *-nin*. There are few examples of these; they include the forms in (46). Again, I have given the NPN-suffixed substantive where it is known; where attested, it is *-t*.

- (46) a. *inqa-tu* 'stuff with a stuffing, like grass' (*inqa-t* 'crop')  
 b. *liimpyu-tu* 'be clean' (note that this also has a denominal verb in *-lu*, shown in (45e)) (Spanish *limpio*)  
 c. *mem-tu*-*'i-sh* 'wave' (*meme-t* 'ocean')  
 d. *mum'e-tu* 'hate' (possibly related to word for 'nose' which appears in *-muchu* 'in front of')  
 e. *naq'a-tu* 'snore' (*-naq'a* 'ear'? However, *-naq'a* is the possessed form.)  
 f. *nawik-tu* 'get married, of a man' (*nawika-t* 'woman')  
 g. *qilyiq-tu*'-nin 'hurt' (from unattested *qilyiq-tu* 'be spicy, hot'; *qilyiq* 'spicy, hot')  
 h. *wi-tu* 'get fat', *wi-tu*'-nin 'make fat' (*wiwat* 'fat')

(47) is an example of *-tu* derived from another  $\emptyset$ -class verb.

- (47) *pisa*'-tu 'display food and goods at a burning' (*pisa*' 'rot')

An interesting phonological phenomenon is observable in these forms, and was also seen above in 7.4.1 (with examples in (40)) in the discussion of *-chu*. An epenthetic glottal stop appears when the *-tu*, *-lu* ~ *-lyu*, *-chu* class of suffixes occurs before causative *-nin*. As discussed in 2.5.3, such epenthetic glottal stops usually appear on word-final stressed vowels. This phenomenon suggests that this particular boundary has a special status, perhaps reflecting the origin of *-nin* as a separate word or as a clitic. As pointed out in 2.5.3, all the other suffixes that induce such glottal stops are ablauting suffixes. *-nin* does not belong to the ablauting class.

**7.4.3. MINOR SUFFIXES DERIVING VERBS.** While words meaning 'get married' are derived with *-lu* (in the case of *kuung* 'husband') and *-tu* (with *nawika-t* 'woman'), the words meaning 'bride' and 'groom' are not formed on the *-lu*, *-tu* base but are derived formed with a different suffix, also seen in *ashvuwet* 'owner of cattle'. *-kuung* 'husband' also appears with *-yew*, seen in (51d) below. This suffix, *-vu*, may be cognate with the Nahuatl applicative suffix *-wi*. The *-we-* suffix is a possessed suffix homophonous with, but unrelated to, the augmentative *-we*; it is probably cognate with other Uto-Aztecan possessed suffixes with initial *w*. It is discussed in 8.3.3. Examples of the minor derivational suffix *-vu* are seen in (48).

The verbs themselves are not attested; we have only the secondarily derived nouns with *-we*.

- (48) a. *kuung-vu-we-t* ‘bride’  
 b. *nawik-vu-we-t* ‘groom’  
 c. *ash-vu-we-t* ‘owner of cattle’  
 d. *yu-vu-we-t* ‘a person with plenty of hair’ (Faye Bancroft 82 (1) 385)

A few verbs are formed with a denominal suffix *-vi*, shown in the forms in (49). It is possible that this is a phonological variant of the *-vu* seen in (48).

- (49) a. *suun-vi* ‘feel sorry for’ (*sunvisuunvi’ish* ‘pitiful, poor’; cf. *-shuun* ‘heart’)  
 b. *papa-vi* ‘be thirsty’ (a defective verb, always *papavi-qa*; see 4.6.3), *papaviqchu* ‘want water’; cf. also *papav-chu* ‘get thirsty’

Another minor verb-forming suffix is *-yew*, illustrated in (50).

- (50) a. *ing-yew* ‘put salt into’ (interestingly, the Cupeño word for salt is *yewa-l*, related to *yewa\$shinet* ‘mud’; however, *ing-* is the Takic and Uto-Aztecan cognate; cf. Luiseño *eng-la* ‘salt’, Hopi *öönga* ‘salt’)  
 b. *tete’-yew* ‘dream’; plural subject form is *te’ewyew*, where *te’ew* may be from *tew<sub>-s</sub>* ‘see’  
 c. *ale-yew* ‘pick lice’ (theabilitative form *aleye’ew* attests to the fact that this suffix is consonant-final; *ala’a-t* ‘lice’, *-ala<sub>-s</sub>*)  
 d. *kuung-yew-i-ly* ‘wedding’

The suffix *-ma* follows body-part roots and derives  $\emptyset$ -class verbs meaning ‘do something with a body part’. It is probably cognate with the Uto-Aztecan (and Cupeño) root *ma* ‘hand’. Examples are seen in (51).

- (51) a. *kwal-ma* ‘carry under arm’ (*-kwal* ‘side of torso’)  
 b. *yu-ma* ‘wear a hat’ (*-yu<sub>-s</sub>* ‘head, hair’)  
 c. *naq-ma* ‘hear’ (*-naq* ‘ear’)

A suffix *-mu*, *-muk* may be related to words meaning ‘sore’ (*muk’ily*), ‘defeat’ (*mukne(n)*), ‘mourner’ (*mukve’esh*), all reflecting Uto-Aztecan *\*muk* ‘kill one victim’. (Cupeño of course has *meq(a(n))<sub>-s</sub>* in this meaning, reflecting an old alternation that shows up in Tohono O’odham, where the peripheral dialects have *mea* ‘kill one victim’ and the central dialects have *mua*.) Possible examples are seen in (52).

- (52) a. *ayal-mu(k)* ‘speak Diegueño’ (*ayal* ‘poison oak’)  
 b. *pi’-muk-i-sh* ‘ghost’ (*pi* ‘bewitch’, *-pi-’a* ‘victim in hunting’)  
 c. *yaw-mu* ‘carry, bring’ (*yaw* ‘carry’)  
 d. *yuy-muk* ‘be cold’ (*yuy* ‘cold’)  
 e. *taxi-muk* ‘get sick from eating too much’ (*tax* ‘body?’)

These forms with *-muk* resemble compounds. Faye collected one example of a possible compound verb derivation, the word below, which seems to incorporate two independent verb roots, *kwaw* ‘call, shout’ and *maq* ‘gather together’.

- (53) ***kwaw-maq-ya-la-’aw***  
 CALL-GATHER-YAX-INSTN-AT  
 at the meeting place (Faye Bancroft 82 (5) 495)

Recorded only in the Bancroft Library field notes is a derivational suffix *-xa* ‘requestative’, meaning ‘speaker asks someone to do something for speaker’. This suffix is so sparsely attested that there is not much that can be said about it. Faye’s examples give no syntactic apparatus beyond what is shown below. It can appear with other derivational suffixes such as the causative (as seen in (54e)). Examples are shown in (54). (54b–f) are all from the same frame.

- (54) a. *ne’ne wekinxaqa* ‘I ask (somebody) to cut for me’ (Faye Bancroft 82 (4) 215)  
 b. *ne’ne isninxqa* ‘I ask somebody to write for me’ (Faye Bancroft 82 (4) 221)  
 c. *ne’ne hawinxqa* ‘I ask somebody to sing for me’  
 d. *ne’ne ’amuxaqa* ‘I ask someone to hunt for me’  
 e. *puyninx* ‘ask her to feed him for you’  
 f. *ashninx* ‘ask her to bathe him for you’

It is possible that this element appears in the word *pulinxawet* ‘newborn baby, a woman newly delivered of a child’, and that the form means ‘the baby asked for’ (with the meaning ‘woman who...’ being teknonymous). *-we-t* ‘augmentative’ is used to derive nouns meaning ‘expert in’ the verb, e.g., *ya’iwet* ‘runner’ from *ya* ‘run (sg. subject)’. Another noun recorded by Faye, *pem-puy-i-xay-m-i* ‘their guests’ (Faye Bancroft 82 (7) 199) probably means ‘those they asked to dine’.

The examples in (55) show a probable suffix *-ki* or *-qi*, of indeterminate meaning.

- (55) a. *mute-qi-(i)n* ‘make short’, *mutiq-yax* ‘being shortened’ (*mutimuti’ish* ‘short’)  
 b. *pa-lu-qi-(i)n* ‘squash, be squashed’ (*pa-lu* ‘be watery’)  
 c. *sey-ki* ‘gather *seyily*, a basket grass’

- d. *tini-q* ~ *ting-qi* ‘roast’ (*ting* ‘hot’, *ting-nin* ‘heat’, *ting-’el* ‘doctor’)

A suffix *-w* is used with *pa* ‘water’ to yield  $\emptyset$ -class *paw* ‘get water’. The form is attested not only in the verb, but in *pawla’ash* ‘pump’ as well. This element also appears in *-pa-w* ‘water-PSD’ and *pawvi-ly* ‘juice, soup’. It is possible that this same suffix appears in *kelaw* ‘firewood’, given the existence of *kelaw-lu* ‘go in order to get firewood’.

Cupeño exhibits many other verb forms that are probably complex in their origin. However, most of the possible formatives that make up such verbs occur only once. While such forms may eventually be important for comparative research, such an investigation is beyond the scope of this grammar.

**7.5. PREFIXING DERIVATION.** Thus far in this chapter, the derivations treated have involved suffixation. However, an important series of verbs is derived by prefixing the interrogative forms *mi-*, *hi-*, and *i-*, introduced in 6.4, on a base *yax*. While some of the verbs in this series are important and very common, such as the copula *miyax*, others, such as *hiyax* ‘say a certain way’, are poorly attested. Some, such as *iyax* ‘be a certain way’, are very common in idiomatic constructions but are not used very often in fully compositional expressions. Thus the derivational relationships between the verbs in this series remains obscure, in the sense that the meaning differences between them are not consistent. However, I present here a summary of the evidence, which may be useful in the exploration of comparative as opposed to synchronic-grammatical issues.

The verbs in the series include *miyax* ‘be, to happen’, *hiyax* ‘say a certain way’, and *iyax* ‘be a certain way’, probably all formed by prefixing on a root *yax<sub>s</sub>* ‘say, do, be’. The three prefixed verbs are attested only in imperfective and present-tense forms; that is, they always bear suffixes of the *-qa* or *-we* families. *-yax<sub>s</sub>* itself, however, is well attested in the perfective. A parallel series without *yax* is also attested: *mix* ‘happen’, *hix* ‘say’, and *ix* ‘be, do’. These forms all have perfective attestations but are also attested in the present tense with *-qa*. A curious fact about the *mix*, *hix*, *ix* series is that, while they are stressed stems, they exhibit vocalic augments before ablauting suffixes. Thus they are in an intermediate category between the fully stressed stems, which do not have vocalic augments in ablauting contexts, and the stressless roots, which shift stress to prefixes and suffixes in contexts described in 2.2.2. *Mixan* ‘do a certain way’ and *ixan* ‘do a certain way’, appear to have *-aan* suffixes (discussed in 4.4.2.4.2). They are attested in all aspects.

There are two major sets of problems here: first, the apparent derivation from *yax<sub>s</sub>* with the prefixes; and second, the relationship between the forms with full *-yax*, which seem to be restricted to imperfective contexts, and the forms that exhibit only *-x*, which are attested in both the future and past perfective. This section explores this set of verbs.

The first series of verbs is *miyax* ‘be, happen’, *hiyax* ‘say’, and *iyax* ‘be like’. All of these are Ø-class verbs that exhibit the usual phonology with loss of *x* in certain environments. This is noted below only for *miyax*, to avoid repetition.

*Miyax* is by far the most common of these verbs, since it is the copula. Jacobs (1975) parses *miyax* as *mi-yax*, with the *-yax* thematic suffix. Jacobs proposes that the source of the *mi-* component is the indefinite interrogative. He points out that the interrogative function of this form still surfaces in the Cupeño greeting.

- (56) *Mi-yax-wen = et?*  
 INDEF-YAX-PRST = 2SABS  
 How are you?

In Jacobs’s view, the source of *-yax* in *miyax* is ultimately from an early Cupan copula verb *yax*, perhaps descended from a Proto-Uto-Aztecan root \**yansi* ‘sit’ (Manaster Ramer 1993:205). Another possible source is \**ya:y-* ‘alive’, attested only in Serrano and Gabrielino, and possibly in Tohono O’odham *da’a* ‘beat (of heart)’. The specific historical origin of *yax* is obscure. However, whatever its historical source, in *miyax* the *-yax* component is not the thematic suffix but a verb root. This is demonstrated by the fact that with *miyax* the PN prefix in past-tense forms appears before the entire root, and not before *-yax*, as seen in (57).

- (57) a. *Me ne’ aya awel<sub>ve</sub> ne-miyax-wen.*  
 AND ISPRO THEN GROWN IS-BE-PIST  
 And I was grown up then. (Warners I 021)
- b. *Qay = ku’ut pem-hiw<sub>chu</sub>-wen ishmi’<sub>i</sub> pe’-miyax-weni-ve.*  
 NOT = REP 3PL-KNOW-PIPL SOMETHING 3PL-BE-PISTi-SUBR  
 It is said they didn’t know what they were. (Fox and Buzzard 059)

*Miyax* behaves like any stem that ends in *x*, losing the *x* before *q* and in the habitative, as shown in (58). To illustrate the environment before *q* it is necessary to use the active meaning ‘happen’, since when it means ‘be’ *miyax* is always stative. *miyax* can also appear before *-qa*, *-qal* in the deontic meaning ‘should’, discussed in 10.1.

- (58) a. *Me aya axwa-nga puy-ily ay’ani-sh pe-miya-qal.*  
 AND THEN ODEM-INL DINE-NPN BIG-NPN 3S-HAPPEN-PIS  
 And then the big feast happened there. (Acorn Time 035)
- b. *Me yeng-ya-qa, qay naachi miya-qa.*  
 AND BE.LONG.TIME-YAX-PRS NOT SOON BE-PRS  
 And there is delay, it does not happen quickly. (Faye Images 249 6 104)



- c. *Me = she = qwe = n miya'a?*  
 AND = DUB = NONI = 1SABS BE.HAB  
 And how could I be...? (Faye Images 221 22 098)

*Miyax* appears in a *mi-... pe-* construction (see 6. 6.1) meaning ‘do one’s best, to do whatever you can’, as in (59). The particle *tu* is not otherwise attested.

- (59) a. *Tu = 'em mi-yax-am pe-yax-am.*  
 ? = 2PLPRO INDEF-DO-PL DEF-DO-PL  
 Do everything as best you (pl.) can. (11 41 57)
- b. *Ne' = en tum mi-ya-qa pe-ya-qa.*  
 1SPRO = 1SABS TRULY INDEF-DO-PRS DEF-DO-PRS  
 I'm doing everything as best I can. (11 41 42)

The second verb in this series is *hiyax* ‘say’. This is recorded by both Faye and Jacobs, as seen in (34). As is the case with *miyax*, an interrogative meaning seems to attach to some usages of the verb, as seen in (60). In (60a) I preserve Jacobs’s gloss on the verb.

- (60) a. *We = she hi-ya-qal-et?*  
 WHETHER = DUB WHAT?-BE-PIS-NPN  
 I wonder what it is? (J 106 53)
- b. *Hi-sh = qwe = n aya hiya'a?*  
 WHAT-NPN = NONI = 1SABS THEN SAY.HAB  
 What could I have said? (Faye KP 103 73 036)

The nature of this verb is clarified by two examples in the Thomas Portillo notes, taken in a class taught by Roscinda Nolasquez in 1977. In the Portillo notes, which are quite reliable guides to Ms. Nolasquez’s pronunciation, these examples are written as two words, as *hii yahhwene*, *hii yaqalet*. Based on the Portillo notes, where sentences follow one another in a somewhat unsystematic way, I conclude that no linguist was immediately involved. Thus the way that Portillo wrote these forms, as two words, may reflect Roscinda Nolasquez’s recommendation alone. Regardless of how we may stand on the one word versus two word choice, his spelling suggests that her *hi-* in these forms contained a long vowel. I render his *hii* below as *hi-y*. I believe that (61a) may be a calque on Spanish *¿cómo se llama?* literally, “how are you called?” This is suggested by the fact that the verb *yaxwene* is in the customary form. Motivated by this proposal, we can gloss *hi-y* as ‘how?’. The example in (61b) then means ‘How did you say (it)?’ and the Jacobs example in (60a) above would read literally as ‘Wonder how it is said?’ (that is, ‘What is its name?’).

- (61) a. **Hi-y yax-wene e-tew-'a?**  
 HOW-O SAY-CUSTPL 2S-NAME-PSD  
 What is your name? (Portillo notes 12)
- b. **Hi-y ya-qal-et?**  
 HOW-O SAY-PIS-2SABS  
 What did you say? (Portillo notes 55)

In summary, a number of examples indicate that, just as Jacobs (1975) suggested, the *hi-* or *hii-* element in this verb is indeed the same form as that in interrogative *hi-sh* ‘what, why, how?’.

However, there are a number of usages that do not have any interrogative content. In these usages, *hi-* seems to reflect the form that we encounter in (*h*)*ishmi'i* ‘anything’. Examples are shown in (62).

- (62) a. **Me = qwe = n qay hiya'a maas ishmivi-y ivi-m-ichi**  
 AND = NONI = 1SABS NOT SAY.HAB MORE SOMETHING-O PDEM-PL-OBL  
*a-'welve-m-ichi.*  
 DUP-ADULT-PL-OBL  
 And I cannot say more to these elders. (Faye Domingo Moro FN 26 012i)
- b. **Mu = ku'ut qay pe-hiya-qal.**  
 AND = REP NOT 3S-SAY-PIS  
 And it is said he said nothing. (Faye Creation 062)
- c. **Me = 'e = pe e' qay chimi = hiya-qa**  
 AND = 2S = IRR 2SPRO NOT 1PLO = SAY-PRS  
*mi = che'-mīx-an-pi, me = che = pe ix-an-pi.*  
 3PLO = 1PL-DO-AAN-SUBIRR AND = 1PL = IRR DO-AAN-SUBIRR  
 And you do not tell us what to do to them, what we are to do to them.  
 (Faye Creation 071)

The third verb in the series, which has neither *mi-* nor *hi-* initially, but just *i-*, is *iyax* ‘be a certain way’. It is illustrated in (63). Example (63a), from Jacobs, preserves Jacobs’s gloss of the verb, where he separates the first element *i-* and glosses it as ‘like’. This may be the same *i* as is encountered in the proximal demonstrative, yielding definiteness.

- (63) a. **Me = she = 'et Felisita pe-'iyax-wen?**  
 AND = DUB = 3SABS FELICITA 3S-BE.LIKE-PAST  
 Was she like Felicita? (J 128 34)

- b. *Me ne<sub>-</sub>ye*      *pe-'iyax-wen*      *amay*.  
 AND 1S-MOTHER      3S-BE.LIKE-PRST      SAME  
 And my mother did the same. (Faye SV 2-1-21 21 200)
- c. *Ne' = en*      *iya-qa*.  
 ISPRO = 1SABS      BE.LIKE-PRS  
 I'm like that. (3 49 109)
- d. *Me pe<sub>-</sub>ngax*      *um-yu*      *iyax-we*.  
 AND 3S-FROM      2PL-HAIR      BE.LIKE-PRST  
 And that's why your hair is that way. (Faye Springs 58 FN texts 92 93 008)
- e. *Ne' = en*      *hay-i-qa*      *ni = 'iyax-weni*.  
 ISPRO = 1SABS      TIRE-IN-PRS      ISO = BE.LIKE-DSST  
 I'm tired of having something the matter with me. (5 59 09)
- f. *Ivi-ta = pe*      *iya-nash*.  
 PDEM-PLACE = IRR      BE.LIKE-FIS  
 Do like this here! (Coyote Growing Up 004)

*Iyax* is used in some important idioms, including *iyaxwen amay* 'suddenly', seen in (64a) and the "emphatic" usage seen in (64b,c).

- (64) a. *Mu = ku'ut iyax-wen amay awa-l-im pem-neq*.  
 AND = REP      BE.LIKE-PIST      NOW      DOG-NPN-PL      3PL-COME  
 And suddenly the dogs came. (Fox and Cat 021)
- b. *Ne' = en iyax-we amay atire naxani-sh*.  
 ISPRO = 1SABS      BE.LIKE-PRST      NOW      VERY      MAN-NPN  
 I am definitely a real man. (Fox and Cat 009)
- c. *Ivi-'aw iyax-we pe-xuchi he-hel'i-sh*.  
 PDEM-AT      BE.LIKE-PRST      3S-FOOT      DUP-WIDE-NPN  
 Here it is, a wide track. (KP I 033)

If we strip off the prefixes, we encounter *yax<sub>-s</sub>*, which usually means 'say'. However, as Jacobs (1975) pointed out, this word is occasionally in the meaning 'be, do'. In the examples in (65), Roscinda Nolasquez used it to mean 'be like', identical to *iyax*. Jacobs also recorded it in this meaning (his examples are in (65c,d), and can be compared to (63a) above). I concur with Jacobs's suggestion, that this root, given the range of meanings attested in these examples, is probably the base for prefixation with *mi-*, *hi-*, and *i-*. However, the meaning contributed by the prefixation is not obvious. One clue is that the prefixed forms in the examples

above are attested only as imperfectives. However, *-yax<sub>s</sub>* permits perfective forms, as in (65d). Furthermore, the *mix*, *hix*, *ix* series, which exhibit the prefixes, also permit perfectives.

- (65) a. *Axwe-ch-i ki-sh kumu ne-ki-y yax-we.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O HOUSE-NPN LIKE 1S-HOUSE-O BE-PRST  
 That house is like mine. (4 33 117)
- b. *Awe-ch-i ki-sh kumu ne-ki-y pe-yax-wen.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O HOUSE-NPN LIKE 1S-HOUSE-O 3S-BE-PIST  
 That house used to be like mine. (4 33 118)
- c. *Me = she = 'et kumu Felisita'-i pe-yax-wen?*  
 AND = DUB = 3SABS LIKE FELICITA-O 3S-BE-PIST  
 Was she like Felicita? (J 166 74)
- d. *Me = she = 'et kumu Felisita pe-yax?*  
 AND = DUB = 3SABS LIKE FELICITA 3S-BE  
 Was she like Felicita? (J 166 74)

Faye recorded this verb in the meaning ‘happen’, as seen in (66).

- (66) *Hi-sh pe-yaxi-ve = she = l neqn-et-im.*  
 WHAT-NPN 3S-BEI-SUBR = DUB = 3PLABS COME-NPN-PL  
 It just happened that they were coming. (Faye 2 6 27 f 28 467)

A second series is parallel to the series *miyax*, *hiyax*, *iyax* above but does not contain *yax*. This is the series *mix* ‘happen, do’, *hix* ‘say’, and *ix* ‘be, do’. These verbs are similar in meaning to the *yax* series. There is no regular derivational process that reduces *yax* to *x*, in fast speech or otherwise, so these forms must represent a different base for the prefixal elements. These verbs are attested in both past and future perfective forms. The first verb, *mix*, is illustrated in (67). (67c) is of special note because the verb is appearing with the *-a* augment before *-pi*. Usually this element is restricted to stressless roots, and *mix* otherwise does not behave like such a root (nor do its sister verbs *hix* and *ix*, which exhibit the same augment-inducing behavior). Its sister verb *ix* is attested with an *-i* increment before *-qat* ‘immediate future’. However, as is shown by forms like (67b) and (68), with stress on the root instead of the prefix, these are stressed stems. The presence of the extra *a* in the future perfective form in (67a) is mysterious; it should not be there. Note that *mix* is attested in a wide range of meanings, including ‘do to’, ‘be like’, and ‘happen’.

- (67) a. *Qay hax ni = mixa.*  
 NOT WHO ISO = DO  
 Nobody can do anything to me. (Fox and Cat 019)
- b. *Mu = ku 'ut pe' amay pe-taxwi pe-mix.*  
 AND = REP DET NOW 3S-BODY 3S-BE  
 And it is said he was just the same. (Faye Creation 115)
- c. *Mu = ku 'ut pe-hiwchu-qal ishmī'i pe-mixa-pi.*  
 AND = REP 3S-KNOW-PIS SOMETHING 3S-HAPPEN-A-SUBIRR  
 And it is said he knew something was going to happen. (RN Creation 037)

*Mix* is used in the past-tense version of the *mi... pe-* idiom illustrated above in (59).

- (68) *Tuku = 'ep che'-mix chem-pex.*  
 YESTERDAY = R IPL-INDEF.DO IPL-DEF.DO  
 Yesterday we did everything as best we could. (11 41 54)

*Mix* appears in an important form, *mixanuk* 'how', as shown in (69). This is clearly a 'same subject' form. It is impossible to determine simply from the phonology whether *mixanuk* is from *mix* with the *-a* increment before *-nuk* 'same subject', or from *mixan*. Given the very bleached sense, 'how', in which this form is used, and given that *mix* has a more general meaning than *mixan* (as will be shown below in the discussion of that form, exemplified in (75)), I believe that *mix* with the *-a* increment before *-nuk* is the more likely analysis.

- (69) *Me = qwe = me aya mixa-nuk hiwchu-wene ne- 'ash*  
 AND = NONI = 3PLERG NOW DOA-SS KNOW-CUSTPL IS-PET  
*pe-hiw-qali-ve?*  
 3S-LIVE-PISI-SUBR  
 How do they know my pet is alive? (RN KP 062)

Note that the noun *mimxe-l* with possessed state *-mimix-'i* 'customs, ways' is probably reduplicated from *mix* 'do, be a certain way'.

The *hix* verb is illustrated in (70). All attestations of the verb mean 'say'. The example in (70a) shows clearly that this is a stressed root; this example is on tape and I have rechecked the stress. However, again we see the *-a* increment before *-pi* in (70c).

- (70) a. *Piyama-nga aya sulit memelki-ly mi = pem-hix.*  
 STILL-INL THEN ONE WORD-NPN 3PLO = 3PL-SAY  
 Still they said not one word to them. (Warners II 018)

b. *Me = ne pe-ngax pe' hix-qa.*  
 AND = 1SERG 3S-FROM DET SAY-PRS  
 And that is why I say... (Faye KP 129 163)

c. *Qay pe-miyax-wen chem-hixa-pi.*  
 NOT 3S-BE-PIST 1PL-SAYa-SUBIRR  
 We couldn't say anything. (Warners I 057)

The *ix* verb is illustrated in (71). The *ix* verb is attested before *-qat* (in 70b,c), where it shows the *-i* increment that we would expect if the verb were a stressless root. It is also attested before *-pi* with the *-a* increment. However, it is not stressless. Unlike *iyax*, which means 'be like', *ix* clearly can mean 'do like', as in (71a).

(71) a. *Ivi-yta = pe ix!*  
 PDEM-PLACE = IRR DO.LIKE.F  
 Do like this! (Coyote Growing Up 013)

b. *Ixi-qt-am = esh = pe?*  
 DO.LIKEi-IF-PL = 1PLABS = IRR  
 Is that what is going to happen to us? (Faye field notes B 44 34)

c. *Ne' = en ixi-qat amay.*  
 ISPRO = 1SERG DO.LIKEi-IF SAME  
 I will do the same. (Faye field notes B 44 34)

d. *Ivi-yta = pe ix-a-pi!*  
 PDEM-PLACE = IRR DO.LIKEa-SUBIRR  
 Do like this here! (Coyote Growing Up 016)

Like *mix*, *ix* is the source of an important derived usage, *ixanuk* 'thus, this way'. This is illustrated in the examples in (72). While I gloss it here with a full analysis, as a switch-reference form with an *-a* increment, in the rest of the grammar I gloss it simply as 'thus'.

(72) a. *Ne' = en neene-qa peyka'may ix-a-nuk*  
 ISPRO = 1SABS MAKE.BASKET-PRS STILL DO.LIKEa-SS  
*ni = 'un-pe'-men-ve-y.*  
 ISO = SHOW-3PL-INPL-SUBRR-O  
 I'm still making baskets the way they showed me. (7 6 118 0278)

b. *Supu-l-im ix-a-nuk amay sawe-t-i pem-tulush-wen.*  
 ONE-NPN-PL DO.LIKEa-SS JUST RAW-NPN-O 3PL-GRIND-PIPL  
 Some just ground it this way, raw. (Faye field notes 85 133)

There is a single attestation of a peculiar compound form, *himix* (it is attested twice, as shown, once in the text and once in a field notebook where Faye was re-eliciting some expressions from the text). The word *e-yaya* appears only in the field notes, not in the text.

- (73) *E' = e = she = et = pe*      *i'i*      ***himix*** *e-yaya*.  
 2SPRO = CF = DUB = 2SABS = IRR    PDEM    SAY    2S-TRY  
 You must have said something, I am sure. (Faye KP 13 72 035, 103 74 037)

Finally, the *mix* and *ix* verbs are attested with *-aan* increments. These are usually unstressed, but there is one example with stress on *-aan*, in (74). Faye cannot be trusted on stress, but in this example his notation seems clearly to intend stress and length on *mixaan*. This pair of verbs appears with any tense–aspect inflection and adds no vocalic augments in ablauting contexts.

- (74) *Em-em = qwe = me*      *chimi = mixaan*      *me*      *chimi = meqan-max*  
 2PL-PL = NONI = 2PLERG      1PLO = DO.HAB      AND    1PLO = KILL-BEN.HAB  
*hunwe-t*.  
 BEAR-NPN  
 You can do something for us and kill the bear for us. (Faye KP 151 217 077)

Except for the example in (74), *mixaan* ~ *mixan* is attested with stress shifted to the root. The final *n* is lost by regular rule before *q*. Examples are seen in (75). Note that in (75a), with the immediate future, we do not see the *-i* increment attested with *ix* above. Instead, we see *a* from *an* before *q*. Interestingly, while the root *mix* has a wide range of meanings, as noted above, including ‘do to’, ‘be like’, and ‘happen’, *mixaan* is more restricted in its meaning, always meaning ‘do’ or ‘do to’.

- (75) a. *Hi-sh = 'ep*      *amay mix-a-qat?*  
 WHAT-NPN = 2SERG    TODAY    DO-AAAN-IF  
 What are you going to do today? (Faye 2–6–27 4 379)
- b. *Mix-a-qal = 'ep?*  
 DO-AAAN-PIS = 2SERG  
 What did you do to it? (Faye field notes 4–6–27 7 158)
- c. *Hi-sh = 'ep*      *mix-a-qa?*  
 WHAT-NPN = 2SERG    DO-AAAN-PRS  
 What are you doing? (Faye 2–6–27 5)
- d. *Qay = qwe = p*      *mi-pa*      *axwe-sh*      *ne'e-y kawisi-sh*  
 NOT = NONI = 2SERG    INDEF-TIME    ODEM-NPN      ISPRO-O    FOX-NPN

*ni* = ***mix-an***.

1SO = DO-AAAN.HAB

That Fox can't ever do anything to me. (Fox and Cottontail 020)

e. *Me qay hax pe-mix-an-pi*.

AND NOT WHO 3S-DO-AAAN-SUBIRR

And nobody could do anything. (Faye Creation 051 fp 22)

f. *Qay = ne hi-sh mix-a-qal-et*.

NOT = 1SERG WHAT-NPN DO-AAAN-PIS-NPN

I am not doing anything. (Faye field notes 4-6-27 7 157)

g. *Hi-sh = em = e mix-an-wen-t-im?*

WHAT-NPN = 2PLERG = CF DO-AAAN-PIPL-NPN-PL

What have you been doing? (Faye field notes 4-6-27 7 158)

h. *E-t = e pe-ta ne-mix-an-ve*.

DDEM-NPN = CF 3S-PLACE 1S-DO-AAAN-SUBR

That is where I have done something. (Faye field notes 4-6-27 7 154)

Just as *mix* is probably the source of *mimxe-l*, *-mimix-i* 'customs, ways', *mixan* may be the source for *-mixan* 'possession', which may literally mean 'what I do things to'.

The verb *ixan* is not attested with stress on the *-aan* suffix. Examples are shown in (76). (76a) is an interesting example that shows three of the verbs under discussion in this section: *hiyax* 'say', *mixan* 'do', and *ixan* 'do'.

(76) a. *Me = 'e = pe e' qay chimi = hiya-qa*

AND = 2S = IRR 2SPRO NOT 1PLO = SAY-PRS

*mi = che' -mix-an-pi, me = che = pe ix-an-pi.*

3PLO = 1PL-DO-AAAN-SUBIRR AND = 1PL = IRR DO-AAAN-SUBIRR

And you do not tell us what to do to them, what we are to do to them.

(Faye Creation 071)

b. *Ivi-yta = pe ix-an-pi!*

PDEM-PLACE = IRR DO-AAAN-SUBIRR

Do it like this here! (Coyote Growing Up 008)

In summary, the set of verb stems derived with prefixes presents many mysteries. These include a contrast between imperfective forms with *-yax* and perfective forms with *-x*, a relationship that is not otherwise attested. It includes the fact that the *-x* series of verbs, which have vocalic augments but no stress shift, seem to dwell in an otherwise unattested zone halfway between the behavior of



stressless roots, which shift stress to prefixes and suffixes and develop vocalic augmentations in ablauting contexts, and fully stressed roots, which do neither. The answer here probably lies in the fact that the prefixes *mi-*, *hi-*, *i-* fix the stress; unprefixated  $yax_{-s}$ , the probable root, is stressless when it is not prefixed. Finally, there is the question of the source of *-x* in the *mix*, *hix*, *ix* series, which has no obvious counterpart among other roots and suffixes except perhaps in the poorly attested suffix *-xa* ‘ask someone to VERB’, introduced in the examples in (54) in 7.4.3 above. While phonologically this is an attractive candidate, its meaning does not bear any obvious relationship to the ‘be, say, do’ meanings of the *-x* series of verbs. Comparative research of the type initiated by Jacobs (1975) may be of some help in resolving these questions.

## DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY II: DEVERBAL NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

Deverbal nouns and adjectives are common in Cupeño discourse in a wide range of functions. These substantive constructions are derived by suffixing possessed-noun (PSD) or non-possessed noun (NPN) suffixes to appropriate verbal bases. These derived forms then can appear with additional nominal inflection including *-m* ‘plural’, *-i* ‘object case’, and the locative and oblique-case suffixes. There are three major formal types of deverbal substantives: those formed with NPN suffixes, those formed with the PSD suffix *-a*, and those formed with two special derivations for agentives (*-ve’e-sh*) and instruments (*-la’a-sh*). In addition, the suffixes *-we-t* and *-ily* derive deverbal nouns.

Deverbal constructions derived by the addition of the NPN suffixes *-t*, *-sh*, and *-l* to verb bases function as adjectives, appearing either as noun modifiers in complex nominal constructions or as the substantive element in null-head constructions (see Chapter 9), and, in the case of some *-sh* derivations and the *-l* and *-ily* derivations, as independent nouns. Just as with non-possessed-state nouns, PN prefixes encoding subject/agent do not appear with these derivations. However, in spite of their overtly “nominal” form, many of these derivations can appear in clauses as the only encoding of an event, action, or state. In this function derivations formed in *-t* and *-sh* often retain a vestige of tensedness. A special subtype of the *-t* derivation, the immediate future formed with *-qat*, is so common in discourse in this tensed function that, although it also appears as a purposive nominalization, subordinated to a main verb, many instances must be regarded as realizations of a distinct “immediate future” tense (this immediate-future form is discussed in 4.4.1.3). Three of these derivation types, *-t* on transitive perfective verb base, *-sh* on transitive verb base ending in the irrealis subordinator *-pi*, and *-l* on transitive verb base ending in the realis subordinator *-ve*, have a “passive” force, demoting their underlying agent (A) and agreeing in number (and sometimes in case, where they function as modifiers of objects) with their underlying objects (O). The other derivations, *-t* on imperfective base and *-sh* on perfective base, do not exhibit this valency change but agree with agent (A) or subject (S).

The second major type is a deverbal noun formed by suffixing the possessed-noun marker *-’a* to the perfective base of transitive verbs. These nouns have PN prefixes that encode the subject or agent and are formally identical to possessed nouns. Like derivations with NPN suffixes, these forms can appear in clauses as the sole encoding of an event or action, where they tend to have an “aorist” aspect. They retain the valency of the perfective verb construction from which they are derived.

The third major type includes deverbal nouns that are genuinely tenseless and aspectless forms that never appear in discourse to encode events, actions, or states. These include the agentive derivation in *-ve’e-sh* and the instrumental derivation in *-la’a-sh ~ -lya’a-sh*. The former can appear with PN object proclitics but does not permit PN subject prefixes. The latter appears with PN prefixes where these encode the possessor. The suffix *-ily*, which uses an NPN suffix that does not appear in the tensed derivations, derives abstract nouns. Finally, a derivation with *-we-t* yields certain types of agentives.

**8.1. DEVERBAL DERIVATIONS WITH NPN WHICH RETAIN TENSE AND ASPECT.** All of the deverbal nouns and adjectives derived with NPN prefixes can appear in functions where they seem to retain tense. However, they also appear in relative clauses with heads and/or determiners, and sometimes—except for the immediate future/purposive derivation in *-qat*—in contexts where they are indistinguishable from primary nouns and adjectives, occurring with all types of modifiers in complex nominal constructions and accepting noun-inflectional suffixes.

**8.1.1. IMMEDIATE FUTURE (IF).** Immediate-future constructions have been discussed in 4.4.1.3, but I note them briefly here because technically they originate as a type of agentive nominalization and preserve that function in some sentences. They are derived by suffixing *-qat* to the verb theme. When these derivations have plural subjects, the plural suffix *-m* is added. While for economy’s sake I do not gloss the *-t* in *-qat* (or *-qatim*) as ‘NPN’ in the interlinear glosses, there is no question that that is what it is. Jacobs (1975) has pointed out that the source of the *-qa* in these immediate futures is probably a Uto-Aztecan agentive *\*-ka* and not the family of tense–aspect suffixes (*-qa(l)*) grammaticalized from PUA *\*kati* ‘sit’.

These immediate future constructions are the least “noun-like” of the deverbal derivations with NPN suffixes. They are the most likely of all the deverbal nouns to serve as the main “verb” in a sentence encoding an event or action. In probably the majority of occurrences of this derivation, the *-qat* construction functions as the sole encoder of event or action, and functions as an immediate-future tense. However, the same construction occasionally appears subordinated to inflected forms of the verb *miyax* ‘be’, where it has a ‘purposive’ reading. In such cases, these forms can also accept the object-case suffix *-i*. Thus, morphologically IF constructions are like nouns in that they are derived with the NPN suffix *-t*, take the plural suffix *-m*, and accept the object-case suffix *-i*. However, these constructions are

unlike nouns and adjectives in that they do not appear with locative or oblique-case suffixes, and in this behavior they differ from the other nominalization types discussed in this chapter. Details and examples can be found in 4.4.1.3, and will not be repeated here.

**8.1.2. DEVERBAL NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES FORMED WITH NPN SUFFIX *-t*.** The NPN suffix *-t* derives deverbal nouns and adjectives of two types. The first has as a base a perfective of a transitive verb, to which the NPN suffix *-t* is added. These derivations act like English passives, demoting the agent of transitive verbs and promoting the object to surface subject. The second type has as an imperfective base, with *-qal* or *-wen* imperfective inflection, suffixed with NPN *-t*. No promotion or demotion of arguments take place in these derivations, which agree with their underlying subject in both the type of imperfective inflection (singular *-qal*, plural *-wen*) and in nominal number (singular or plural, the latter marked with *-m*). These constructions often appear in relative clauses. Formally, these deverbal adjectives are indistinguishable from non-derived members of this lexical classes, with the important exception that they permit PN object proclitics. They can appear with plural, object-case, and locative suffixes. These derivations belong to the class of substantives where the locative suffixes are attached directly to the base, without the NPN suffix *-t*. These derived forms cannot take subject affixes.

Jacobs (1975:71) refers to these deverbal derivations with *-t* as “present relative constructions.” While in many sentences they appear modifying other nouns and have a relativizing sense that indeed has a “present” relevance, in other examples they clearly encode a sort of perfectivity, the idea of a completed state that is the result of events that happened in the past. In some cases they appear in clauses as event encoding forms with a sense something like an “immediate past”—representing actions that have either just happened or that have continuing relevance. This “immediate past” constitutes a territory in the semantics of tense that is parallel to the immediate-future tense, but in the opposite direction on the time line from the deictic center.

**8.1.2.1. *-t* ON TRANSITIVE PERFECTIVE THEMES.** Deverbal adjectives formed by adding *-t* to the perfective transitive base behave like English passives, demoting their subjects and advancing underlying objects to be subjects of the constructions, as indicated by number agreement; the plural suffix *-m* on these derived forms agrees with this surface subject. However, the underlying subject can be encoded in a PN clitic, in the absolutive case, as seen in the PN clitic *-l* ‘3PLABS’ in (1a), where the surface subject of *yukichinet* is singular *ašhwet* ‘eagle’. As pointed out above, these deverbal adjectives themselves have no subject PN affixes.

The following examples illustrate the use of these derivations. Note that in many of the examples a vowel *e* or *a* appears before the NPN affix *-t*. It may in all cases be underlying *a*. I take this to be epenthetic and group it with *-t* in the hyphenation.

- (1) a. *Ivi-y = qwe = l ašhwe-t atire a-huy-ax-a-y*  
 PDEM-O = NONI = 3PLABS EAGLE-NPN VERY ADJ-EXCEED-YAX-PSD-O

**yukich-in-et.**

RESPECT-IN-NPN

As for this eagle, it was given the greatest respect [of an eagle raised for a ceremony]. (Eagle II 007)

- b. *Nee'e-t mulu'-nuk neq-qa nang'aw-nga'aw yukich-ax-we.*  
 BASKET-NPN LEAD-SS COME-PRS MAKE.IMAGE-LOC RESPECT-YAX-PRST

The basket that comes first to the image-making is valued. (Faye Images SV 249 9 106)

In both sentences in (1), the verb *yukish* ‘fear, obey, believe, pay attention to, value, respect’ appears. In (1a), we see a *-t* derived adjective on the transitive *-in* base. In (1b), we see the intransitive *-yax* form. The sentences express very similar ideas with different morphological machinery.

In (1a), the demotion of the underlying subject of *yukich-in* is evident from the fact that the subject PN clitic is absolutive = *el* ‘3PLABS’. Since this clitic is plural, it cannot agree with *ašhwet* ‘eagle’. Thus it must encode an underlying subject, the people who give respect to the eagle. However, there is no plural marking on *yukichinet*. It agrees with ‘eagle’, the underlying object but surface subject. In this sentence, *yukichinet* is not accompanied by other verbal material, and functions like a relative clause or a predicate adjective. Note that the demonstrative *ivi-y* agreeing with *ašhwet* ‘eagle’ is marked with *-i ~ -y*. This may be the “focusing” sense of this suffix and not the “object-case” sense. (Focus with *-i ~ -y* is discussed in Chapter 12.) However, since there are no clear attestations of focusing *-i* with the proximal demonstrative, it may also be simply a false start that escaped correction.

Sentence (1b) uses the same verb, *yukish*, but with a *-yax* thematic suffix and stative inflection. Note that (1b) also includes another nominalization, *nang'aw-nga'aw* ‘at/to the image-making’, from *nang'aw* ‘make images’ (which are burned at mortuary ceremonies). The NPN derivational complex *-ily* (discussed below in 8.3.4) is absent since the locative *-nga'aw* attaches to the stem without NPN in such forms.

In sentence (2), we see again the demotion of the subject with a *-t* nominalization.

- (2) *Mu = ku'ut hunwe-t pe-qal-lee meqn-et, pe-m-em ni-nishlyuve-l-im*  
 AND = REP BEAR-NPN 3S-BE-DS KILL-NPN DET-PL-PL DUP-OLD.WOMAN-NPN-PL

*pe'-mi'aw.*

3PL-ARRIVE

And it is said that when the bear lay dead, the old women came. (Faye KP 159 079)

The verb *meq(a(n))<sub>s</sub>* is a transitive verb meaning ‘kill a single victim’. The intransitive verb for ‘die, singular subject’ is *qaaw(i)*. Thus the original subject of *meqa(n)* cannot be the bear, who “lies dead.” However, *hunwet* ‘bear’ is here the surface subject of *meqnet*, which agrees with ‘bear’ in number (while singular is unmarked, in this case we happen to know that two men killed the bear). Here, *meqnet* ‘dead, killed’ with *peqalee* ‘as he lay’ resembles an English “small clause.”

Example (3) shows a plural deverbal form, here functioning in a modifying capacity.

- (3) *Aya ataxa-m pe-m kwaw-in-t-am ramaada-i paa-s*  
 THEN PERSON-PL DET-PL CALL-IN-NPN-PL RAMADA-O THREE-TIMES  
*mekwel-pe'-men-wen.*  
 GO.AROUND-3PL-IN.PL-PIPL

And the people who were invited went three times around the ramada. (San Francisco 017)

In (3), the deverbal adjective *kwawintam* ‘the invited ones’ is formed on the transitive base of *kwaw-in* ‘call, invite’. In spite of the fact that the verb is transitive, signaling an underlying subject, it agrees in number with *ataxam* ‘people’ and the plural determiner *pe*, here functioning as head of a relative clause.

While in (1, 2, 3) the deverbal adjective appears in apposition to its surface subject noun, deverbal adjectives formed by suffixing *-t* to the perfective base can stand alone in what should probably be considered “null-head” nominal constructions. An example is seen in (4) where *kuṣhati* ‘the outsider girl’ (literally, ‘the one who has been taken, gotten’) appears (I preserve Faye’s transcription with *a* instead of *e*). This derivation, formed from *kuṣh<sub>s</sub>* ‘get, take’ does not modify any other element in the sentence. Note that in this case the deverbal form bears the object-case suffix *-i* and is the object of the relational-noun construction *pe-men* ‘with her’.

- (4) *Me = qwe = me mulu'-nuk kuṣh-at-i pe-men mekwel-ax-we.*  
 AND = NONI = 3PLERG LEAD-SS GET-NPN-O 3S-WITH GO.AROUND-YAX-PRPL  
 And first they go around with the outsider girl. (Faye Initiation 196 089)

The following elicited sentences provide additional evidence that deverbal adjectives with transitive perfective base suffixed with *-t* agree in nominal number with their surface subjects. In both (5) and (6) the verbs are transitive. The Ø-class verb *hiimay* ‘donate (as goods or food to a ceremony), turn loose’ does not exhibit overt transitive inflection. However, in the case of *huṣh* ‘smoke’, in (8,9), the transitivizing *-in* thematic suffix appears. Nonetheless the agreement is with the number of the surface subject. Note the 3SABS clitic encoding the underlying subject in (5a).

- (5) a. *Aya ariina = et hiimaye-t.*  
 NOW FLOUR = 3SABS DONATE-NPN  
 The flour is already donated. (9 5 71)
- b. *E-t-im daraangxa'a-m aya hiimay-t-am.*  
 DDEM-NPN-PL ORANGE-PL NOW DONATE-NPN-PL  
 The oranges are already donated. (9 5 72)
- (6) a. *E-t piva-t aya huṣh-in-et.*  
 DDEM-NPN TOBACCO-NPN NOW SMOKE-IN-NPN  
 That cigarette is already smoked. (6 19 438)
- b. *E-t-im piv-t-am aya huṣh-in-t-am.*  
 DEM-NPN-PL TOBACCO-NPN-PL NOW SMOKE-IN-NPN-PL  
 Those cigarettes are already smoked. (6 19 439)

In (7), we see a *-t* derivation, *maxetim* ‘given’, agreeing with its underlying direct object, surface subject *etim*. The indirect object here is dative-shifted to appear as the subject of the postposition *-yik*. It is unusual not to have a P2 object overtly marked on a verb, regardless of discourse status, but in this case there is no object proclitic. The 3PLABS clitic = *el* almost certainly encodes PN of the underlying agent (as in (1) above), given the extreme rarity of the use of these clitics to encode PN of direct object other than on imperatives. This sentence was elicited by Jacobs (1975:71).

- (7) *E-t-im = el e-yik maxe-t-im.*  
 DEM-NPN-PL = 3PLABSOL 2SG-TO GIVE-NPN-PL  
 They were given to you. (J 157 71)

Occasionally *-t* derivations appear with object proclitics. An example with an object proclitic and an object-case suffix on the underlying object noun is seen in the elicited sentence in (8), which was elicited late in my work with Roscinda Nolasquez, so probably it does not represent rusty competence. Note that although the underlying object (the surface subject) *ataxmi* ‘people’ is plural, the *-t* construction does not agree with it in number; it is not marked with a plural suffix. Furthermore, in this construction the gloss is not ‘the people who were killed’, instead it is ‘killing’. This example suggests that these *-t* derivations function simply to suppress the subject rather than necessarily to promote the object to subject status.

- (8) *Atax-m-i mi = chixne-t elel'i-sh.*  
 PERSON-PL-O 3PLO = KILL-NPN BAD-NPN  
 Killing people is bad. (11 5 20)

**8.1.2.2. -T ON IMPERFECTIVE BASES.** Deverbal adjectives in *-t* formed on imperfective bases include in the base the past imperfective tense–aspect suffixes *-qal*, *-wen*. The presence of these tense–aspect suffixes, which encode subject number, means that these constructions have different agreement properties from the derivations on transitive perfective bases just discussed in 8.1.2.1. *-t* derivations on the imperfective base do not promote or demote any arguments of the verb but retain agreement with the underlying S or A, which remains the surface subject. Thus the noun-plural suffix *-m* appears only with forms with the base in *-wen*, the imperfective plural. However, there is a degree of subject suppression here, since, as with the derivations on bare themes, no subject PN affixes are present. Again, object proclitics do appear with these nominalizations.

**8.1.2.2.1. -T ON IMPERFECTIVE BASE OF TRANSITIVE.** When derived from past imperfective bases of transitive verbs, adjectives in *-t* agree with and modify the underlying agent, having a sort of “relativizing” sense.

The following sentences show that with these derivations, all number agreement is with the underlying A, including that of the imperfective suffixes and the nominal plural suffix. Furthermore, in these examples, seen in (9), the clitics encoding PN of A are ergative, offering additional evidence that there has been no demotion of the underlying subject. This contrasts with the absolutive PN clitics that we saw above encoding underlying agents of *-t* derivations on the transitive perfective base. Note that in all the examples in (9), the deverbal noun is the only encoder of the event in the sentence. These forms have a “tensed” quality in spite of the fact that they exhibit NPN and noun plural suffixes.

(9) a. *Yut-i-qal-et* = *ne*.

FILL-IN-PIS-NPN = 1SERG

I was filling it. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 106)

b. *Yut-in-wen-t-im* = *che* = *me*.

FILL-IN-PIPL-NPN-PL = 1PLERG = 3PLERG

We were filling it. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 107)

c. *Wa'i-ch-i* = *pe*      *nengti-qal-et*.

MEAT-NPN-O = 3SERG      CUT-PIS-NPN

He was cutting the meat in big chunks. (Faye field notes 4–6–27)

The sentence in (10), elicited by Jacobs (1975:68), may usefully be compared with the sentence in (1a) above, which has the same verb root, *yukish*. In (1a) the *-t* derivation on the perfective base *yukich-in* agreed with the underlying object (promoted to surface subject). In contrast, in (10) the *-t* derivation on the imperfective base clearly agrees with the (null) subject, glossed (or elicited as) ‘we’, while *nishlyuveli* ‘old woman’ has an object-case suffix. Since underlyingly *nishlyuvel*



is the subject of *pengiiypi*, this noun has been raised into the object position of *yukichinwentim* (see 11.4). This capacity to trigger raising also illustrates the somewhat “verby” quality of these constructions.

- (10) *Qay yukich-in-wen-t-im nishlyuve-l-i pe-ngiiy-pi*  
 NOT BELIEVE-IN-PIPL-NPN-PL OLD.WOMAN-NPN-O 3S-GO.AWAY-SUBIRR  
*ki-ngax.*  
 HOUSE-FROM  
 We did not think that the old woman would leave the house. (J 142 68)

The examples in (11) show other cases where the objects of *-t* derivations on imperfective bases bear object-case suffixes.

- (11) a. *Axwā-'aw = en ne-ki-y yut-i-qal-et.*  
 ODEM-LOC = 1SABS 1S-HOUSE-O BUILD-IN-PIS-NPN  
 I was over there building my house. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 109)
- b. *Ne-yaya = n ne-nee'e-y tul-vichu-qal-et.*  
 1S-TRY = 1SABS 1S-BASKET-O FINISH-DES-PIS-NPN  
 I tried to finish my basket. (9 77 15)

As with the constructions on perfective bases, object proclitics can appear with *-t* deverbal nouns derived from imperfectives. Note that (12c) is a particularly elaborate sentence, probably typical of ceremonial rhetoric by chiefs and firetenders (Hill 1973, 1979). In (12b) the second verb has a different-subject suffix. This use of switch reference between what is formally a noun and a verb is another piece of evidence in support of the relative “verbiness” of derivations with *-t* from imperfectives, in spite of their noun-like behavior in many respects. (In (12c) the same subject suffix on *imi = tewānuk* goes with *hixqal = en*, not with the *-t* derivations in the second part of the sentence.) The examples in (12c) show the derivations marked with object-case suffixes.

- (12) a. *Me = ne ne' i = hal-ngiy-qal-et.*  
 AND = 1SERG 1SPRO 2SO = LOOK.FOR-GO-PIS-NPN  
 And I've been the one going around looking for you. (Coyote and Flood 057)
- b. *Qay = ne i = naqma-qal-et ni = kwaw-i-qali.*  
 NOT = 1SERG 2SO = HEAR-PIS-NPN 1SO = CALL-IN-DSS  
 I did not hear you calling me. (2 47 66)
- c. *Hix-qal = en imi = tewā-nuk ne-ngax = qwe = me ixan-i*  
 SAY-PIS = 1SABS 2PLO = SEE-SS 1S-FROM = NONI = 3PLERG TAKE.AWAY-IN.HAB

*ivi-y ni = wim-i-qal-et-i, ni = set-i-qal-et-i.*

PDEM-O ISO = WEIGH-IN-PIS-NPN-O ISO = PRESS-IN-PIS-NPN-O

(Thus) I say when I see you taking away from me this which burdens me, which presses upon me. (Faye Image 221 098)

**8.1.2.2.2. -T ON IMPERFECTIVE BASE OF INTRANSITIVE.** As with the transitive derivations, with intransitive verbs these *-t* deverbal nouns and adjectives formed on imperfectives agree with their underlying subject. This point is illustrated in the following sentences.

(13) *Eε, ivi-'aw = she = ne kup-wen-et!*

EXCLAM PDEM-AT = DUB = ISERG SLEEP-PIST-NPN

Hey, I must have been asleep here! (Coyote and Flood 079)

In (13), the speaker chooses a stative verb as the base to form what apparently is a standard idiom for ‘be asleep’. Note, however, that the figured speaker (Coyote) uses an ergative PN clitic. Coyote is ratcheting up transitivity in order to make himself look a little less incompetent (see 12.3.3). In fact, he has been dead, not asleep, because of his own foolishness, and his older brother (his addressee) has just revived him with magic.

The examples in (14) show  $\emptyset$ -class intransitive verbs. (Note that *nenewen* ‘walk around’ is a form of the defective verb *nene* that appears only with plural *-we*, *-wen* suffixes, regardless of subject number (see 4.6.1).) *Qal* is the plural past tense of the irregular verb *hiw ~ qa ~ qal ~ max* ‘be in a place’, which requires the use of *qal* with plural subjects (except when the verb has the positional sense ‘lie’; see 4.6.2).

(14) a. “*Ax,*” *pe-yax,* “*nganga-qal-et.*”

AW, 3S-SAY CRY-PIS-NPN

“Aw,” he said, “he’s been crying.” (Doves 006)

b. *Mivi-'aw = et nene-wen-et?*

INDEF-AT = 2SABS WALK.AROUND-PIST-NPN

Where have you been walking around? (KP I 069)

c. *Mukat mi = pe-'ichaayawni atax-m-i amay qal-t-am-i.*

MUKAT 3PLO = 3S-MAKE PERSON-PL-O TODAY DWELL-NPN-PL-O

Mukat made the people who dwell [on the earth] today. (Faye Creation 005)

The examples in (15) show the *-t* derivation with intransitive *-yax* verbs. Here the number agreement is with the intransitive (or stative) subject.

- (15) a. *Axwē-ch-i ne-xuchi qay-a-qal-et.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O 1S-FOOT WASH-YAX-PIS-NPN  
 [I] washed my feet, got my feet wet. (KP I 073)
- b. *I'i=šhe=pe pe' sivuuru kisi-ly miyax-wen-et!*  
 PDEM = DUB = IRR DET SURELY HAWK-NPN BE-PIST-NPN  
 This must be the one, surely Hawk was the one! (Fox and Buzzard 054)

Sentences in (16) show examples with a rare intransitive *-in* verb, *tan-in* 'dance'. Note the discontinuous constituent *supulmi ataxmi ... taninwentimi* 'the people who were dancing' in (16b).

- (16) a. *Me hanaka chem-enuw tan-in-wen-t-im.*  
 AND AGAIN 1PL-WITH DANCE-IN-PIPL-NPN-PL  
 And again they are dancing with us. (Faye Creation 083)
- b. *Me=qwe=me supul-m-i atax-m-i pem-ne'e-m*  
 AND = NONI = 3PLERG ONE-PL-O PERSON-PL-O 3PL-RELATIVE-PL  
*tan-in-wen-t-im-i mi=max-wene qichi-ly.*  
 DANCE-IN-PIPL-NPN-PL-O 3PLO = GIVE-CUSTPL MONEY-NPN  
 And their relatives give money to some of the people who are dancing.  
 (Faye Images SV 100a)

Certain deverbal forms in *-t* formed on stative imperfectives constitute fixed expressions. For instance, *xwayaxwenet* 'white' is the usual term for this color; *wewayaxwenet* 'something having rained' is the standard word for an arroyo or canyon; (*temal*) (*lyaw*)*lyaw**yaxwenet* '(earth) being a hole' is the standard word for a hole in the ground like a well or cave. These constructions can appear with locative suffixation and are in the class of substantives that attach locative suffixes to the base without the NPN suffix. A vowel *i* always appears in these contexts before the locative suffix; I am not sure of its source, although it is possible that it is the *-i* augment. Since this is the only one of the augmenting environments that appears with locatives, the possibility that the locative suffixes induce *-i* augment cannot be tested more generally.

- (17) a. *Me aya chimi=chux-pe'-me-nin axwa-nga*  
 AND NOW 1PLO = SPIT-3PL-IN.PL-CAUS ODEM-INL  
*lyaw-lyaw-yax-weni-nga.*  
 DUP-DIG-YAX-PISTI-INL  
 And now they spit for us into the hole. (Faye Initiation CN 162)

- b. *Mu = ku'ut wiyika pe-'amu-ngiy-qal ewepe-ka wew-yax-weni-'aw.*  
 AND = REP    AROUND    3S-HUNT-MOTG-PIS    WEST-TO    RAIN-YAX-PISTI-AT  
 And it is said he was going around hunting off to the west in a canyon.  
 (Coyote and Flood 002)

**8.1.2.2.3. -T DERIVATIONS AS TENSED EXPRESSIONS.** In a formal sense the derivations formed with the NPN *-t* are nominals, either nouns or adjectives, as is clear from the inflectional apparatus with which they occur. What Jacobs (1975:71) calls the “present relative” function of these derivations is clear in many of the sentences above. In the case of the derivations on perfective themes discussed in 8.1.2.1, the notional tense of many of these constructions seems to be that the transitive event that is encoded is past, but what is emphasized is its result or relevance in the present. That is, these constructions are used to express an “immediate past.” An additional sentence illustrating this tendency is shown in (18).

- (18) *Pepe axwe-ch-i terhehaya-ta mi = 'un-in-we ichaayawen-et-i.*  
 THEN    THAT-NPN-O    SAND.PAINTING-NPN    3PLO = SHOW-IN-PRPL    MAKE-NPN-O  
 Then they show them that sand painting that is made. (Faye Initiation 198 086)

Here, the ‘showing’ is “historical present”—Faye’s consultant, Salvadora Valenzuela, was describing an event, the girls’ initiation ceremony, that she knew about from her senior relatives. The making of the sand painting did not take place at the same time as the showing. But, being an ephemeral form of art, it had probably been made the day or night before the moment of showing. The a painting can be shown as a result of this making, represented by a *-t* denominal on a bare theme, *ichaaywin*, a form of the ablauting, stress-shifting verb *a'chiwin* ~ *ichaaywin* ‘make, do’.

Deverbal *-t* derivations on imperfective bases often serve as functional predications. That is, the sentence in which they appear includes no noun that they relativize or any verb to which they are subordinated; they constitute the only encoding of an event in the sentence. As we have seen above, *-t* derivations can induce raising to object of the subject of a lower sentence (seen in (10)), and they can interact with verbs marked for switch reference (seen in (12b)).

These phenomena also occur with the other derivation in *-t*, the immediate future, mentioned in 8.1 above. Immediate-future forms in *-qat(-im)* can appear subordinated to other verbs as purposives, but most commonly they appear alone and can be considered as a part of the tense system. The formal parallelism between *-t* derivations with IF *-qat* and imperfective *-qal* and *-wen* is, I believe, exploited by speakers such that, just as *qat(-im)* forms constitute an immediate future, something that is under way even as the speaker performs the utterance, this second set of *-t* derivations by analogy can indicate an immediate past, something that continues to be relevant even as the speaker performs the utterance. While many examples can be seen above, those shown in (19) are of a core type, requests

for accounts of where an interlocutor has been or what he or she has been doing and the answer. These are typically constructed with *-t* derivations. The implicature of ‘immediacy’ carried by these forms apparently makes them especially appropriate for this type of interrogation. Sentences (19a) and (19b) were elicited by Faye. Sentences (19c) and (19d) are a reported conversation between the culture hero Kisily Pewik (speaking in (19d) and his mother (speaking in (19c)).

- (19) a. *Hi-sh em = e mix-an-wen-t-im?*  
 WHAT-NPN 2PL = CF DO-AAN-PIST-NPN-PL  
 What have you been doing? (Faye field notes 4–6–27 158)
- b. *Qay = ne hi-sh mixa-qal-et.*  
 NOT = 1SERG WHAT-NPN DO-PIS-NPN  
 I’m not doing anything. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 157)
- c. *M-ivi-’aw = et hiw-qal-et, me = ’et peyex-chu-qa.*  
 INDEF-PDEM-AT = 2SABS BE.THERE-PIS-NPN AND = 2SABS LATE-INCH-PRS  
 Where did you stay, you are late. (Faye KP 117 128 052)
- d. *Eve-’aw = en hiw-qal-et ne-’ach-i hunwet-i*  
 DDEM-LOC = 1SABS BE.THERE-PIS-NPN 1S-PET-O BEAR-NPN-O  
*ichaayawi-qal-et.*  
 MAKE-PIS-NPN  
 I stayed over there making my pet bear. (Faye KP 117 129 0 53)

Another canonical usage, which is very easy to elicit, is where the construction expresses an action in vain, or an action that should have taken place, but did not, as seen in the following sentences. Here, the implicature of these constructions may create a sort of emphasis on the effort—‘it didn’t happen, but I really tried’, or, ‘it isn’t true, but I really thought so’.

- (20) a. *Ne’ = en ne’ ya-qal-et i’i = she pe-kuung*  
 1SPRO = 1SABS 1SPRO SAY-PIS-NPN PDEM = DUB 3S-HUSBAND  
*tavxqa-qal-et ...*  
 WORK-PIS-NPN  
 I thought her husband was working (but she says he isn’t). (8 69 14)
- b. *Kwaw-i-qal-et = ne me piyama hash-axa-lu-qa.*  
 CALL-IN-PIS-NPN = 1SG.ERG AND STILL GO-YAXA-MOTG-PRS  
 I called him but he kept right on walking. (9 77 12)

- c. *Ne-yaya = n ne-nee'e-y tul-vichu-qal-et, me qay miyax-we.*  
 1S-TRY = 1SABS 1S-BASKET-O FINISH-WANT-PIS-NPN AND NOT BE-PRST  
 I tried to finish my basket, but I couldn't. (9 77 15)
- d. *Chem = esh wiw-qat-im miyax-wen-et-im, me = she*  
 1PL.IND = 1PLABS MAKE.ACORN.SOUP-IF-PL BE-PIPL-NPN-PL AND = DUB  
*aye pashma-qat-im.*  
 NOW WASH-IF-PL  
 We should make acorn soup, but we're going to wash up instead. (7 43 145)

Note that in (20d), the *-t* derivation *miyaxwentim* is functioning like a main verb to which *wiwqatim* 'make acorn soup', an IF form in its purposive function, is subordinated. This use of *miyaxwenet* with IF to mean 'should' is idiomatic and is discussed in 10.1.

**8.1.3. DEVERBAL NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES FORMED WITH NPN SUFFIX *-SH*.** The NPN suffix *-sh* derives two types of deverbal constructions. The first has as its base the perfective without any tense–aspect–modality or PN inflection and has a sort of “adjectival” sense; most Cupeño adjectives take the NPN suffix *-sh*, as pointed out in Chapter 6. Jacobs (1975:71) calls these derivations “past relative constructions.” The second consists of a perfective base with irrealis subordinator *-pi*, again without any tense–aspect–modality or PN inflection. This construction always has a future reading. Note that the NPN suffix *-sh* also appears on agentive derivations with *-ve'e-sh* and instrument nominal derivations with *-la'a-sh*, discussed below in 8.3.2 and 8.3.2.

**8.1.3.1. *-SH* DERIVATIONS ON PERFECTIVE BASE.** The NPN *-sh* suffixed to verb themes yields a class of deverbal forms that appears at very high frequency, forming constructions that function like adjectives or relative clauses. A few are always in “null-head” contexts, like *qwa'i-sh* 'food' from *kwa*<sub>s</sub> 'eat'. While Jacobs (1975:71) refers to these derivations as “past relatives,” it is not clear that they have any particular tense (although they are “realis” in mood). Thus *qwa'ish* 'food' does not mean 'eaten' but something available to be eaten or appropriate for eating. The examples below include more evidence on this point. For instance, in (21) the time is simultaneous with the time of other actions in the discourse. In (21a) the culture hero's mother tries to escape her house as it is being torched by enemy warriors, but she is caught. In (21b) Roscinda Nolasquez sees the children when she arrives for the first time at the Sherman Institute boarding school.

**8.1.3.1.1. TRANSITIVES BASES WITH *-SH*.** In the case of transitive bases suffixed with *-sh*, there is no change of valency. Instead, the deverbal derivation agrees in number with its underlying subject.

- (21) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' ki-sh pe-kin'a-qali, mu = ku'ut pem-tew*  
 AND = REP DET HOUSE-NPN 3S-BURN-DSS AND = REP 3PL-SEE  
*pe-m sex-in-ch-am.*  
 DET-PL BURN-IN-NPN-PL  
 And it is said that while the house was burning, the ones who were  
 burning [it] saw her. (Faye KP FN 14)
- b. *Me axwa-'aw qay awisma-nim pulin-ch-am pem-qal,*  
 AND ODEM-LOC NOT FEW-PL CHILD-NPN-PL 3PL-BE.THERE  
*chimi = nameq-in-ch-am.*  
 IPLO = MEET-IN-NPN-PL  
 And there were many children there to meet us. (Warners I 053)

The derivation in (21a) exhibits a typical form, accompanied by a determiner, *pem sexincham* 'the ones who were burning (it)'. Determiners can appear with relative clauses, but they also appear with ordinary nouns. Here the number agreement with the the subject is especially clear, because the immediately preceding clause makes clear that what is being burned is a single house.

In (21b), *chimi = nameqincham* 'the ones who were to meet us' agrees with the underlying subject, *pulincham* 'children'. The example also illustrates the possibility of object proclitics with these derivations. Note that the very common noun *puliny-ish*, seen in this sentence in the plural, is itself a deverbal noun in *-sh* from *pulin* 'give birth to a child'.

Jacobs (1971:209) elicited a particularly interesting example that illustrates clearly the agreement properties of these transitive-theme derivations with *-sh*. Agreement of *mamayewishmi* 'the ones that helped' is clearly with *awalmi* 'dogs', the underlying agent, and not with singular *hunweti* 'bear'.

- (22) *Ne' = 'ep ne-tew awa-l-m-i pe' hunwe-t-i mamayewi-sh-m-i.*  
 ISPRO = R IS-SEE DOG-NPN-PL-O DET BEAR-NPN-O HELP-NPN-PL-O  
 I saw the dogs that helped the bear. (J 25 209)

Based on these examples, we must assume that the derivation *yevinish* in (23) below, derived from transitive *yev-in* 'put dirt on', agrees with its agent, who is also the subject of *ixanuk*, literally, 'thus doing, same subject'. Note that the object, *ataxmi*, is plural, but the derived nominal is singular. The Creation Time creature, named *Memelkwet* and described as 'a kind of fly' (perhaps a beetle?), is demonstrating how to bury as he says this utterance. Thus, while the translation originally collected is passive, as shown, a better translation would probably be an impersonal like 'In this way one buries people'.

(23) “*Ixa-nuk* = ‘*ep atax-m-i yeve-ni-sh*,” *pe-yax* = *ku’ut*.

DOa-SS = R PERSON-PL-O BURY-IN-NPN 3S-SAY = REP

“In this way people are buried,” he said, it is said. (RN Creation 029)

Similarly, in (24) the subject of *meqni<sub>s</sub>sh* is not overt in the sentence, but it cannot be *ataxay* ‘person’, since this is marked as an object. In this case, of course, the gloss is consistent with the interpretation. *Meqni<sub>s</sub>sh* ‘one who kills’ in this example can be contrasted with *meqnet* ‘one who is dead’ in (2) above, both derived from *meq(a(n))<sub>s</sub>* ‘kill a single victim’.

(24) *Ataxa-y meqni<sub>s</sub>sh*.

PERSON-O KILL-NPN

He killed a person. (7 13 62)

Finally, in (25) we again see an example where the English gloss collected in elicitation is passive. However, we must assume that the agreement of the construction *tewa<sub>s</sub>ghish* is with the one who did the losing, not with *nene<sub>e</sub>’e* ‘my basket’.

(25) *Ne-n<sub>e</sub>e’<sub>e</sub> = m tewa<sub>s</sub>ghish*.

1S-BASKET = MIR LOSE-NPN

My basket is lost. (8 99 138)

In summary, the examples in (23–25) show that, while *-sh* derivations can appear with overt subjects as in (21b) and (22), these constructions can be used when no overt subject is present, and in this context resemble impersonals or passives in English in their function, even though they retain their agreement with the subject.

**8.1.3.1.2. INTRANSITIVE BASES WITH *-SH*.** In the case of deverbal derivations with *-sh* on intransitive bases, the agreement of the derived nominal is again with the subject. Examples are seen in (26). Note that in (26a,b) we see the suppletive verbs for ‘die’: *qaawi* ‘die, singular subject’ and *chix* ‘die, plural subject’.

(26) a. *Mu = ku’ut pe-qal axwa-’aw qaawi-sh*.

AND = REP 3S-LIE ODEM-LOC DIE-NPN

And it is said he lay there dead. (RN Creation 086)

b. *Mu = ku’ut qay pe-ya-qal pem-na pe-chi chix-ch-am*

AND = REP NOT 3S-SAY-PIS 3PL-FATHER 3S-OBL DIE-NPN-PL

*pe’-miyax-weni-ve*.

3PL-BE-PIPLI-SUBR

And it is said that their father did not say from what it was that they had died. (Faye Creation 053)



- c. *Mu = ku'ut pe' hunwe-t mi = pe-chix-qal tum*  
 AND = REP DET BEAR-NPN 3PLO = 3SG-KILL-PIS TRULY  
*na-nwik-t-am-i, na-nxani-sh-m-i, pulin-ch-am-i*  
 DUP-WOMAN-NPN-PL-O DUP-MAN-NPN-PL-O CHILD-NPN-PL-O  
***chuqem-yax-ch-am-i.***  
 LEAVE.BEHIND-YAX-NPN-PL-O

And it is said that the bear was surely killing all of the women, men, and children who were left behind. (Faye KP 149 214 076)

In the examples above, we can see that derivations in *-sh* sometimes occur modifying overt nouns, as in (26c) and sometimes in null-head constructions, as in (26a,b).

Derivations in *-sh* sometimes have the quality of a subordinated verb in an adverbial function, where we would usually expect verbs with switch-reference suffixes for same subject, such as *menaxanuk* 'having turned back' instead of *menangish* in (27a) and *nenginuk* 'having hidden' instead of *nengichim* 'secretly' in (27b). Instead, in these examples we encounter the *-sh* derivations.

- (27) a. *Isi-ly aya pe-nanaxwi-nga men-a-ngi-sh pe-neq*  
 COYOTE-NPN THEN 3S-MIDDLE-INL TURN-YAX-GO.AWAY-NPN 3S-COME  
*pe-ku-y pe-men.*  
 3S-FIRE-O 3S-WITH

Coyote, having turned back when he was at the half way point, came with his fire. (Faye Creation 134)

- b. *Mu = ku'ut aya puuchi = ku'ut, aya nengi-ch-im*  
 AND = REP THEN WELL = REP THEN HIDE-NPN-PL  
*maq-pe'-men-wen savq-l.*  
 GATHER-3PL-INPL-PIPL GRASS-NPN

And it is said that then, it is said, then secretly they gathered up grass. (RN Creation 092)

**8.1.3.1.3. DERIVATIONS IN *-SH* AS TENSED EXPRESSIONS.** Like derivations with the NPN *-t* discussed in 8.1.2, deverbal forms in *-sh* sometimes function as the only event-encoding form in a sentence, usually referring to an event that begins at the moment of utterance, as in the examples in (28). The 'immediate past' *-t* derivations discussed in 8.1.2. convey a sense something like "the event that yielded this result took place in a recent past and the result remains relevant at the moment of utterance, or for the discourse time represented in the utterance." In contrast, these *-sh* derivations seem to have a slight tendency toward the future, and have a sense something like 'the event is relevant to the utterance moment and will take place immediately, beginning in the time of this utterance or in the discourse time represented'.

(28) a. *Me = sh wi-w ngiiy-ch-am.*  
 AND = 1PLABS TWO-DUP GO.AWAY-NPN-PL  
 We will both go. (Faye KP 103 78 040)

b. *Aya = n ngiiy-ish.*  
 NOW = 1SABS GO.AWAY-NPN  
 Now I am going away. (Warners II 013)

c. *Mulu'-nuk sulul-ax-ich = e.*  
 LEAD-SS GO.IN-YAX-NPN = CF  
 This comes in first. (Faye Images SV 099i)

The first two examples, (28a,b), are from reported speech in narrative. The interesting sentence in (28c) appears in the margins of Faye's annotation of a text; it is a remark made by Salvador Valenzuela, his consultant. She told about the Image Burning Ceremony over three days of elicitation in early January 1921 and began *in medias res*, putting in a description of the beginning of the ceremony on a later day. She is telling him to move the transcription of one event in her account of the Image Burning Ceremony before the transcription of another.

**8.1.4. DERIVATIONS IN *-PI-SH*.** As pointed out above in 8.1.3, deverbal derivations on themes with NPN *-sh* can have a slight orientation toward the near future. The derivations in *-sh* discussed in the present section have as their base the verb theme plus the irrealis subordinator *-pi*, the presence of *-pi* suggesting that they may be still more future or irrealis in orientation. However, it is difficult to say much about this derivation, since all of the examples in the corpus are elicited. No example ever appeared in hundreds of pages of text. There are a few nouns that end in *-pish*, such as *kutapish* 'bow', *kwaqwapish* 'cradle for newborn baby', and *seqepish* 'a kind of mushroom', but the verbal source of these, if any, is not attested. *Kwaqwapish* may be related to the root in *kwaavichu* 'care for' or perhaps even to *kwa<sub>-s</sub>* 'eat'.

Since there are very few examples of this construction in comparison to at least dozens of the other NPN nominalizations, I give all of them below.

Faye has some examples in his field notes with the stressless roots *tew<sub>-s</sub>* and *kwa<sub>-s</sub>*, which show that these derivations retain the *-a* augment vowel from *-pi*, an *a*-ablauting suffix. They also show that, although the forms end in *-ish*, they take the epenthetic vowel *i* in the plural (recall from 2.3.2 that some nouns with final *-i-sh* appear with *-a-m* plurals in spite of the fact that the stem-final vowel has not been deleted). The stress is not marked on Faye's notes for (29a,b). Stress could be on the *-a* augment or on the root. I give his translations.

- (29) a. *tewa-pi-sh*  
 SEEa-SUBIRR-NPN  
 one who is looked at (Faye Bancroft 82 (3) 168)
- b. *Tewa-pi-ch-im.*  
 SEEa-SUBIRR-NPN-PL  
 They are looked at. (Faye Bancroft 82 (3) 168; 82 (2) 230)
- c. *Wa'i-ch = e ichaa'i kwa'a-pi-sh.*  
 MEAT-NPN = CF GOOD EATa-SUBIRR-NPN  
 Meat is good to eat. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 239)

*-pi-sh* derivations can appear with the usual nominal inflections, except that there is no attestation with a locative suffix. (30a,b) show plural suffixes.

- (30) a. *A'ayu-pi-ch-im.*  
 LOOK.AT-SUBIRR-NPN-PL  
 They are looked at. (Faye Bancroft 82 (2) 230; 82 (5) 175)
- b. *Met'i-ch-im ela-t-im we' nemxa-la-'aw*  
 MANY-NPN-PL SKIRT-NPN-PL BE.THERE SELL-INSTN-AT  
*nemxa-pi-ch-im.*  
 SELL-SUBIRR-NPN-PL  
 There were many skirts at the store for sale. (Faye Bancroft 82 (10) 240)

(31), an example collected by Jacobs, shows a *-pi-sh* derivation with object-case inflection. In this case, since the *-in* suffix is present, we can see that the verb is transitive. The underlying subject of the verb appears in the third-plural ergative PN clitic, a pattern that we saw above with derivations in *-t* on bare themes. However, the form is not plural. Instead, it agrees with its object, *maayis-i* 'corn-object.case'.

- (31) *Axwe-ch-im me = m = pe kwa' maayis-i*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL PL = 3PLERG = IRR EAT.F CORN-O  
*wel-in-pi-ch-i.*  
 GROW-IN-SUBIRR-NPN-O  
 They will eat the corn that will be grown. (J 150 70)

The remaining examples in the corpus of this construction are shown in (32).

- (32) a. *Axwe-ch = am kawī-sh atire wim-yax-we*  
 THAT-NPN = MIR ROCK-NPN VERY WEIGH-YAX-PRST

***chi'in-in-pi-sh.***

CARRY.IN.ARMS-IN-SUBIRR-NPN

That rock is too heavy to lift. (8 95 99)

b. *hunwe-t=pe pe' mamayew-pi-sh*

BEAR-NPN = IRR DET HELP-SUBIRR-NPN

the bear that will be helped (J 18 208)

c. *Hevel-ax-we nyim-in-pi-sh.*

SOFT-YAX-PRST BEND-IN-SUBIRR-NPN

It is pliant. (Faye Bancroft 82 (2) 36)

d. *Met'i-ch-im wach-im-pi-ch = e.*

MANY-NPN-PL PLANT-IN-SUBIRR-NPN = CF

Many are planted. / a bunch of trees (There are many planted.) (Faye Bancroft 82 (2) 401, 82 (6)180)

Note that Faye recorded nasal assimilation in *wachimpish* from *wach-in-pi-sh*; I don't believe it (and note his *nyimipish* in (32b), corresponding to my *chi'inipish* in (32a)). If we trust Faye's translations, these examples show that the future-tense quality of *-pi-sh* derivations can be diluted; *-pi-sh* derivations can be used to represent existing situations.

**8.1.4.1. DERIVATIONS IN *-PI-SH* AND VALENCY CHANGING.** We have now identified two types of valency-changing deverbalizing derivations. In the case of deverbal derivations in *-t*, the valency changing forms are those that are based on the perfective, without any tense–aspect–modality inflection. In contrast, derivations in *-t* on the imperfective base do not change the verb valence. With derivations in *-sh*, we encounter the reverse case. Derivations based on the perfective exhibit no valency change. However, derivations based on the irrealis subordinator *-pi* with *-sh* do exhibit such a change. I speculate that there may be some principle involved here. In the case of the *-t* derivations, these seem to have a slight tinge of “pastness,” in reference to utterance time or represented discourse time. In contrast, *-sh* derivations have a slight tinge of “futureness” or irrealis-ness. In each case, the valency change occurs with the form that is formally most “extreme” in its canonical zone of tense and mood (past realis versus future irrealis). That is, valency-changing *-t* derivations are based on perfectives, which might be thought of as somehow more “past.” In contrast, the imperfective forms, with their sense of “ongoingness” might be thought of as slightly less “realis” or “past.” With the future-oriented *-sh* derivations, the perfectives with *-sh* and no additional inflection are not particularly “future” oriented. However, forms on the base with irrealis subordinator *-pi*, which do exhibit a valency change, agreeing with an underlying object that becomes a

surface subject, are often clearly irrealis and in a sense can be thought of as more “future-like.” We can represent this situation as in the figure below.

FIGURE 8.1. Valency Changing and Tense–Aspect in *-t* and *-sh* Derivations

(PERFECTIVE) PAST	————	(IMPERFECTIVE) PRESENT	————	(IRREALIS) FUTURE
<i>-t</i> derivations	.....			
perfective base + <i>-t</i>		imperfective base + <i>-t</i>		
		.....	.....	<i>-sh</i> derivations
		perfective base + <i>-sh</i>		irrealis base + <i>-sh</i>
VALENCY CHANGE		NO VALENCY CHANGE		VALENCY CHANGE
(agreement with object, surfacing as subject)		(agreement with subject)		(agreement with object, surfacing as subject)

**8.1.5. DEVERBAL NOUNS FORMED WITH NPN SUFFIX *-L*.** The third NPN suffix, *-l*, also functions in a deverbal construction. In these derivations *-l* is suffixed either to a perfective or an imperfective base suffixed by the realis subordinator *-ve*. As with derivations in *-t* and *-sh*, there is no subject PN inflection. These constructions always convey a sense of pastness and perfectivity. With transitive verbs, these constructions also change valency, agreeing with their underlying objects, which, however, surface not as subjects but as objects with optional object-case inflection. These derivations do not modify nouns in complex nominal constructions, so should be considered derived nouns. Attestation of these constructions is somewhat sparse. Several examples were collected by Faye in text, and he elicited a few additional examples recorded in his field notes.

**8.1.5.1. *-VE -L* DERIVATIONS WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS.** The NPN suffix *-l* derives deverbal nouns only when preceded by the realis subordinator *-ve*. With transitive verbs, derivations in *-ve-l* agree with the underlying object, which appears on the surface, however, with optional object-case markings. The underlying subject is suppressed.

The examples in (33) illustrate number agreement with the underlying object. In (33a) there is no overt object except for the PN prefix *pem* in the relational noun construction *pemeyik* ‘against them’. But Faye’s gloss of ‘he’ makes clear that the underlying subject is singular. This occurs in a set of elicitations where plural subjects are also present with the same verb, so this is unlikely to be a mistake. (33b,c) also show the derived form with *-ve-l-im* agreeing with plural underlying objects (although here context suggests that the underlying subjects are probably plural too). (33b), with a nominalization on the stressless root *meq(a(n))<sub>-s</sub>*, shows that *-ve-l* induces the *-i* augment, as does *-ve* itself when the NPN suffix is absent. (In (33c) *pemiyaxwenvive* agrees with a covert “place” subject.) In (33c) we also encounter an object proclitic *mi* = ‘them’ on the derived form.

- (33) a. *Pem-eyik muutu-weni-ve-l-im.*  
 3PL-TO HOOT-PIPLI-NPN-PL  
 Those against whom he used to be hooting. (Faye 2-6-27 424)
- b. *Wawam e-ki Kupa, Pal Atingve, e-pa-wa*  
 FAR 2S-HOUSE CUPA WATER HOT 2S-WATER-PSD  
*pe-weni-ve, meqni-ve-l-im pe-miyax-weni-ve.*  
 3S-LIEi-SUBR KILL-SUBR-NPN-PL 3S-BE-PISTi-SUBR  
 Your home is far away at Cupa, at Hot Springs, where your water lies,  
 where they were killed. (Faye KP 99 66 031)
- c. *E-t=e pe' pe-ta mi=sex-in-ve-l-im.*  
 DDEM-NPN=CF DET 3S-PLACE 3PLO=BURN-IN-SUBR-NPN-PL  
 This is the place where they were burned. (Faye 2-6-27 33 (441))

The examples in (34) show that, while the underlying subject of the nominalized verb is suppressed, the underlying object can exhibit object-case marking. This is the case in all three examples. So these derivations in *-ve-l* differ slightly from the passive-like derivations in *-t* and *-sh* discussed above, where the underlying object clearly becomes a surface subject (although, as pointed out above, those derivations do permit object proclitics). The example in (34b) also shows an object-case marker on the derivation itself.

- (34) a. *Mu=ku'ut pe-ye pe-yax pe-na-y meqni-ve-l.*  
 AND=REP 3S-MOTHER 3S-SAY 3S-FATHER-O KILL-SUBR-NPN  
 And it is said his mother said that his father had been killed. (Faye KP 99 66 030)
- b. *hunwe-t-i pe' mamayew-ve-l-i*  
 BEAR-NPN-O DET HELP-SUBR-NPN-O  
 the bear that was helped (J 23 209)
- c. *pepe ne'e-y ni=chakw-in-ve-l*  
 THEN ISPRO-O ISO=CATCH-IN-SUBR-NPN  
 at the time when I was caught (Faye Bancroft 130)

The examples in (35) show nominalized three-place predicates. In (35a) the object-case marking is on the indirect object nominal element, *axwechi* in (35a). (35b) shows agreement of the nominalization with the direct object, while (35c) shows agreement with the indirect object.

- (35) a. *I'i = ku pe' axwe-ch-i un-in-ve-l.*  
 PDEM = REP DET ODEM-NPN-O SHOW-IN-SUBR-NPN  
 This is what they showed him. (Faye field notes 2-6-27 35 (516))
- b. *maxi-ve-l*  
 GIVE-SUBR-NPN  
 that which has been given (Faye 2-6-27 517)
- c. *maxi-ve-l-im*  
 GIVE-SUBR-NPN-PL  
 the heirs (Faye 2-6-27 518)

**8.1.5.2. -VE-L DERIVATIONS WITH INTRANSITIVE BASES.** With intransitive bases, derivations in *-ve-l* agree with the subject. The example in (36) illustrates this point: The subject is *govierno* 'government'. This sentence contains a unique example of an apparent NPN suffix on a Spanish loan noun, *eskwεla-sh* 'school' (< *escuela*).

- (36) *Hiwchu-wen = 'eme ke pe' tavi-ve-l eskwεla-sh*  
 KNOW = PIPL = 2PLERG THAT DET PUT.INI-SUBR-NPN SCHOOL-NPN  
*govierno pe-ta chimi = pe- 'u- 'un-in-pi pe-chi.*  
 GOVERNMENT 3S-PLACE IPLO = 3S-DUP-TEACH-IN-SUBIRR 3S-OBL  
 You know that the government has put in a school for a place to teach us.  
 (Faye Domingo Moro 012b)

Faye recorded a series of examples where the subject of a *-ve-l* nominalization is plural, but there is no plural suffix on the nominalization. In all of these cases his gloss has 'place where, time when'. It may be that the agreement is with this concept (overtly encoded in the proximal demonstratives in (37b,c) and not with the subject itself. The examples are shown in (37). Note that (37d) has a transitive instead of an intransitive verb, so apparently this is possible with both construction types.

- (37) a. *pe' muutu-weni-ve-l*  
 DET HOOT-PIPLI-SUBR-NPN  
 where they used to hoot (Faye 2-6-27 428)
- b. *I' = am pe' neqni-ve-l.*  
 PDEM = MIR DET COMEI-SUBR-NPN  
 This is where they came (on seeing tracks). (Faye 2-6-27 446)

- c. *I'i = ku pe' pe-ta mi'aw-ve-l.*  
 PDEM = REP DET 3S-PLACE ARRIVE-SUBR-NPN  
 This is where they came. (Faye 2-6-27 513)

- d. *pepe chem-em-i pe' chimi = pich-in-ve-l*  
 THEN IPLPRO-PL-O DET IPLO = PICK.UP-IN-SUBR-NPN  
 at the time when we were caught (Faye Bancroft 82 (1) 76, 130)

There is one grammatical ambiguity that requires discussion. In 11.2 I discuss subordinate clauses in *-ve*. These can appear with object suffixes (as in 38a) and with locative suffixes (as in (38b)). The first question is whether examples like that in (38a) should be seen as a possessed-state form of a *-ve-l* nominalization or as a subordinated verb that has nominal object inflection. The second question is whether examples like that in (38b) should be seen as derived from the *-ve-l* nominalization, assuming that the latter is in the class of nouns where locative suffixes attach to a base without the NPN suffix. However, both of these examples exhibit subject PN affixes. For this reason I have chosen to analyze them as subordinated verbs and not as nominalizations, since with the entire group of NPN nominalizations discussed above, PN affixes are always absent. However, examples of this type mean that the formal boundaries between noun constructions and verb constructions is blurred, since both nouns and certain types of subordinated verbs accept some of the the same inflectional suffixes.

- (38) a. *Ne' = ne tew-qa sul-'e-qali-ve-y.*  
 ISPRO = 1SERG SEE-PRS TIE-2S-(IN)-PISI-SUBR-O  
 I saw what you have been tying. (Faye field notes 4-6-27 6 142)
- b. *Me axwa- 'aw mi = pem-'ichaaywin-weni-ve-'aw pem-ne'e-m*  
 AND ODEM-AT 3PLO-3PL-MAKE-PIPLI-SUBR-AT 3PL-RELATIVE-PL  
*mi = nangin-in-we.*  
 3PLO-PAY-IN-PRPL  
 And there where they are making them their relatives pay them. (Faye Images 272 57 122)

**8.2. DEVERBAL NOUNS FORMED WITH PSD SUFFIX -'A.** The PSD suffix *-'a*, which appears with many possessed nouns, can be used to form deverbal nouns. These very common constructions take as their base the past perfective of  $\emptyset$ -class and *-in* class verbs. There are no attestations with *-yax* class verbs. They have an important function as forms subordinated to verbs of propositional attitude such as *ayew* 'want, like' and *hiwchu* 'know'. They can appear in functions that are identical to those of ordinary nouns. Yet they occasionally appear by themselves as the only element in a clause that encodes an event. In such clauses they tend to be oriented



to the present, in contrast with past-oriented *-t* and *-ve-l* derivations and future-oriented derivations in *-sh*.

In contrast to deverbal nouns formed with the NPN suffixes, these constructions formed with the PSD suffix *-'a* retain their subject PN prefixes, in the position in which these appeared in the verbal construction (that is, before the root in Ø-class verbs, before the thematic suffix in verbs of the *-in* class). Given that the derivational suffix is PSD, these subject PN affixes are indistinguishable from those that encode PN of possessor (indeed, Jacobs 1975 thinks that the Cupeño past-tense verbs are historically derived from possessed-state constructions). These derivations accept further object-case and plural inflection, although pluralization of these forms is quite rare because their most common function is to encode generic activity—basket-making, sewing, cooking, and the like.

The first set of examples, in (39), show these derivations functioning as objects of verbs. Note that two of these examples exhibit the most common pattern with these derivations in this function, which is to have an object-case suffix. However, the last, (39c), does not, even though possessed nouns usually do take object-case suffixes when they are objects.

- (39) a. *Me axwa-nga pe' ne-hiwchu ne-memyelu-'a-y.*  
 AND ODEM-INL DET 1S-KNOW 1S-SPEAK.ENGLISH-PSD-O  
 And there I learned to speak English. (Warners I 070)
- b. *Pe-tul-qali pe-qiini-'a-y me = m = pe maan pe-ngiy-pi.*  
 3S-FINISH-DSS 3S-PLOUGH-PSD-O AND = 3PL = IRR LET.F 3S-GO.AWAY-IRR  
 When he has finished ploughing, they will let him go. (Faye Present 27  
 348)
- c. *Aput = e hay-i-qa ne-pina'wex-'a.*  
 ALREADY = CF TIRE-IN-PRS 1S-SING.ENEMY.SONGS-PSD  
 I'm tired of singing enemy songs. (5 8 79)

The examples in (40) show the very common function in which these derivations function like verbs in relative clauses, either modifying head nouns as in (40a) or in relative clauses with the determiner *pe'* but no nominal head, as in (40b). (40a,b) show these as relativizations on subjects. (40c,d) show the relative clause in the object case, with a case suffix.

- (40) a. *Isi-ly = ku'ut ami'an pe-hiw-qal, pe-pulinma pe-'ayew-'a.*  
 COYOTE = REP NEARBY 3S-BE.THERE-PIS 3S-MAN'S.CHILD 3S-LIKE-PSD  
 It is said Coyote was there nearby, his son whom he loved. (Faye  
 Creation 100)

- b. *Me aya na-nva-yax-qa pe' tewan-pe'-men-'a.*  
 AND THEN DUP-BE.READY-YAX-PRS DET NAME-3PL-IN.PL-PSD  
 And then the time comes that they named. (Faye Images SV 0991)
- c. *Me = she = 'et axwe-ch-i tekwaye*  
 AND = DUB = 3SABS ODEM-NPN-O LONG.AGO  
*pi = wey-wey-pe'-men-wen peta'am-i achi axwe-ch-i*  
 3SO = DUP-TEAR.DOWN-3PL-INPL-PIPL ALL-O LONG.AGO ODEM-NPN-O  
*ayxa-t-i ki-sh mulu'-we-t-im yut-yut-pe'-men-a-y.*  
 OLD-NPN-O HOUSE-NPN LEAD-V-NPN-PL DUP-BUILD-3PL-IN.PL-PSD-O  
 It may be that long ago they tore down all those old houses that the first people built. (Faye CN Houses 63 010)
- d. *Ne = 'ep ne-tew pe' hum-pe-n-a-m-i.*  
 ISPRO = R IS-SEE DET PAINT-3S-IN-PSD-PL-O  
 I saw what he painted. (J 31 115)

Example (40d), elicited by Jacobs (1975:115), shows inflection with both plural and object case. Plural marking is relatively rare in these constructions; the gloss here should probably be something like ‘the things that he painted’.

Many examples, like those shown in (41), look exactly like possessed nouns; none of the usual relative clause machinery, such as a head noun or a determiner, is present.

- (41) a. *Me = ne = pe ne-ki-y yelich-in neqen = qwe = l*  
 AND = ISERG = IRR IS-HOUSE-O CLEAN-IN.F COME = NONI = 3PLABS  
*ne-hiwchu-'a-m ni = tewi-qt-am.*  
 IS-KNOW-PSD-PL ISO = SEEI-IF-PL  
 I will clean my house because friends are coming to see me. (Faye Future 2 353)
- b. *I'i pe' = e mulyak pe-ta-txan-a-y.*  
 THIS DET = CF LIZARD 3S-DUP-POKE-PSD-O  
 This is lizard's poking. (RN Creation 055)
- c. *Tuku ne-paana-'a xayesh-pe-yax-wen me qay*  
 YESTERDAY IS-BUY-PSD BE.CHEAP-3S-YAX-PIST AND NOT  
*hi-sh ichaa'i.*  
 WHAT-NPN GOOD  
 The things I bought yesterday are cheap and they are no good. (Faye Oceanside 7 309)

- d. *Am-pe'-men = ku'ut*    *pe-pa-'a-ngax.*  
 THROW-3PL-IN.PL = REP    3S-DRINK-PSD-FROM

It is said they fired him because he drinks. (Faye Present 28 349)

This last example, (41d), shows that for Faye's consultant these constructions accept locative suffixes. However, when I tried to elicit a similar example from Roscinda Nolasquez, she preferred that the locative suffix not be suffixed directly to the -'a derivation, but to the dummy noun *pe-ma* 'its hand', as in (42). This is consistent with her general preference for periphrasis in comparison to Faye's consultants (Hill 1973).

- (41) *Axwe-ch-i = m*    *qaawi-sh*    *pe-pa-'a*    *pe-ma-ngax.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O = MIR    SICK-NPN    3S-DRINK-PSD    3S-HAND-FROM  
 He's sick because he drinks. (9 97 3)

Just as with *-t* and *-sh* derivations, deverbal nouns in *-'a* sometimes appear in clauses and sentences as the only element encoding the event. Examples of this type are seen in (42). Where these appear, they have a strong generic/customary or "present-tense" flavor. Note that in example (42d) the adverbial element is *aput*, which, notably, does not accept the realis clitic = 'ep, and so probably should not be considered fully "past."

- (42) a. *Ne'*    *shawi-sh*    *ne-'ayew-'a*    *ne-kwa-'a.*  
 ISG.IND. BREAD    ISG-LIKE-PSD    ISG-EAT-PSD  
 I like eating bread. (8 95 83)
- b. *Mi'i*    *maas*    *nemxa-t-im*    *e-'ayew-'a?*  
 INDEF MORE GIFT-NPN-PL    2S-LIKE-PSD  
 Which presents do you like best? (7 37 65)
- c. *Qay*    *hi-sh = she = qwe = 'ep*    *ne-pashxam-'a?*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN = DUB = NI = 2SERG    1S-WASH.SOMETHING-PSD  
 Will you do my washing? (Faye 2-6-27 382)
- d. *Aput*    *aya*    *ne-tul-'a.*  
 ALREADY NOW IS-FINISH-PSD  
 Already I have finished it. (Faye KP 121 136 055)

While it is not difficult to find examples of object proclitics with *-t*, *-sh*, and *-ve-l* deverbal nominals, there is only one example of an object proclitic with an *-'a* derivation; this is shown in (43). This form survived the checking of the text with Roscinda Nolasquez, so is almost certainly grammatical.

- (43) *Mu = ku'ut pe-ṣha'i-nga pi = suk-pe-n-'a pe-'ami-nga.*  
 AND = REP 3S-BELLY-INL 3SO = TIE-3S-IN-PSD 3S-WAIST-INL  
 And it is said he tied himself up around his waist. (Eagle I 008)

**8.3. TENSELESS DEVERBAL DERIVATIONS.** Deverbal derivations on verb themes in *-ve'e-sh*, 'agentive', *-la'a-sh ~ -lya'a-sh*, 'instrumental', and *-we-t*, a suffix (perhaps a pair of homophonous suffixes) deriving nouns of "ownership" and other qualities relevant to meanings of the source verbs, never occur in sentences as the only form encoding an event. Thus, in contrast to the derivations discussed in 8.1 and 8.2 above, these are true nominalizations, which apparently retain no tense–aspect–modality properties in spite of their derivational affiliation with verbs.

**8.3.1. DEVERBAL NOUNS FORMED WITH INSTRUMENTAL *-LA'A-SH ~ -LYA'A-SH*.** The suffix sequence *-la'a-sh ~ -lya'a-sh* derives instrumental nominalizations (INSTN) when it is suffixed to verb themes. By "instrumental," I intend to capture a range of meanings where the derived noun means 'a thing that one does the activity of the verb with'. Depending on the underlying form of the verb, these have a variety of meanings. For instance, consider the examples in (44–46), where slightly different shades of meaning appear in different glosses of the same construction. In (44b) and (45a) the NPN suffix *-sh* is not present because the constructions are in the possessed state.

- (44) a. *tesiw-lya'a-sh*  
 PLAY-INSTN-NPN  
 toy
- b. *ki-ki-t-am pem-enew pem-tesiw-lya'a-m*  
 DUP-BOY-NPN-PL 3PL-WITH 3PL-PLAY-INSTN-PL  
 the boys, his [*sic* PLF] play partners (Faye 2–6–27 29 478)
- (45) a. *Wa'i-sh suqa-t ne-n-t-am pem-kwa'a-la'a.*  
 MEAT-NPN DEER-NPN DUP-CHIEF-NPN-PL 3PL-EAT-INSTN  
 Deer meat is what chiefs eat. (Faye 2–6–27 7 403)
- b. *kwa'a-la'a-sh*  
 EAT-INSTN-NPN  
 edible (Faye 2–6–27 33)
- (46) a. *pa'-la'a-sh*  
 DRINK-INSTN-NPN  
 whiskey

b. *pa'-la'a-sh*

DRINK-INSTN-NPN

cup, glass

As was shown in (44b) and (45a), PN affixes can appear in these constructions, where they encode PN of the possessor. With thematic verbs, when the PN marker is present, it appears following the verb root and before the suffix *-in* or *-yax*. Where these constructions are formed on  $\emptyset$ -class verbs, as in the two examples above, the PN marker encoding the possessor appears prefixed to the verb root. Where these PN morphemes are present, the NPN suffix *-sh* does not appear. No additional possessed-noun suffix appears. These constructions are not attested with object proclitics.

The pair of examples in (47) shows the contrast between a possessed instrumental nominalization, *pe'aṣḥa'la'a* in (47a), and a non-possessed derivation, *aṣḥa'la'achi* in (47b), from the same  $\emptyset$ -class verb *aṣḥa* ~ *aṣḥa* 'put on'. These sentences are from an anecdote about the visit by General Kearney and his American troops to Cupa when they entered California in 1846. The Cupeños provided a meal for the troops, and the young women, who were all naked to the waist, were assigned to grind corn for the tortillas. In the anecdote, the General gives his jacket—*pa'axwi aṣḥa'la'ash* 'something that is worn on top'—to a woman remembered as "the mother of Juan Awlingve'esh" (who was a very old man at the time Faye did his first fieldwork in 1919–1920). She is delighted with it and wears it until its buttons fall off, and people tease her that buzzards will come and peck at her bare chest and belly.

- (47) a. *Mu = ku'ut pem-em pem-ne-'a wa'i-sh General*  
 AND = REP 3PLPRO-PL 3PL-CHIEF-PSD MEAT-NPN GENERAL  
*Kearney pi = pe-max pe-ti'ive-y pa'axwi pe-'aṣḥa'-la'a.*  
 KEARNEY 3SO = 3S-GIVE 3S-CLOTHING-O ON.TOP 3S-PUT.ON-INSTN  
 And it is said that their Meat Chief General Kearney gave her his jacket. (Faye field notes 87–88 139)

- b. *Mu = ku'ut aya axwe-ch-i pe-'aṣḥa-qal pa'axwi*  
 AND = REP THEN ODEM-NPN-O 3S-PUT.ON-PIS ON.TOP  
*aṣḥa'-la'a-ch-i.*  
 PUT.ON-INSTN-NPN-O

And it is said they she used to wear that jacket. (Faye field notes 89 142)

The examples in (48) illustrate the post-root position of the PN prefix with thematic verbs; in (48a) the verb is *pat-in* 'shoot', and in (48b) it is *chawa-yax* 'climb'. Note that *-la'a-sh* ~ *-lya'a-sh* is an *a*-ablauting suffix, demonstrated by the presence of the *-a* augment following the thematic suffix *-yax* in (48b) (and the stressless root *kwa*<sub>s</sub> 'eat' in (45) above and (50)).

- (48) a. *Me = qwe-l amay yax-wene solda<sup>u</sup>adu-m-i atax-m-i*  
 AND = NONI-3PLABS TODAY SAY-CUSTPL SOLDIER-PL-O PERSON-PL-O  
*muyaq-pe'-men, pat-pem-e-la'a pem-nengu-wen, me qay*  
 GO.OUT-3PL-IN.PL SHOOT-3PL-IN?-INSTN 3PL-HAVE-PIPL AND NOT  
*pe-'i-yax-wen.*

3S-HAPPEN-YAX-PIST

And today they say that soldiers moved the people out, that they had guns, but it was not that way. (Warners III 004)

- b. *chawa-chem-yaxa-la'a*

CLIMB-1PL-YAXA-INST

our ladder (1 93 92)

These derivations accept locative suffixes.

- (49) *Axwe-ch-i pe' naxani-sh yal-axi-ve'e-sh uni-lya-nga.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O DET MAN-NPN FLY-YAXI-AGTV-NPN SHOW-INSTN-INL  
 That's the man who flies in the show. (8 99 126)

Faye gives a few examples that he translates into English with verbs, as in (50). However, these should be regarded as predicate nominals with zero present-tense copula (see Chapter 10).

- (50) a. *Wa'i-sh qay ne-kwa'a-la'a.*  
 MEAT-NPN NOT IS-EAT-INST  
 I don't eat meat (as a rule). (Faye 2-6-27 500)

- b. *Qay pi-ly ne-pa'-la'a.*  
 NOT MILK-NPN IS-DRINK-INST  
 I don't drink milk (as a rule). (Faye 2-6-27 501)

**8.3.2. DEVERBAL NOUNS FORMED WITH AGENTIVE *-VE'E-SH*.** Agentive nominalizations are formed on verb themes by adding the suffix complex *-ve'e-sh*. While the instrumental derivations mean 'the thing/person that you use to do something with', agentive nominalizations mean 'the thing/person who does something'. Thus they can be used to express preference and custom. By the term "agentive," I do not mean that the subjects of these nominalizations are necessarily grammatical agents. As will be seen below, some underlying subjects are the subjects of stative *-yax* verbs. In contrast to the instrumental derivations in *-la'a-sh ~ -lya'a-sh*, these agentive derivations can appear with object proclitics, as in (51b). The example in (51b) shows that *-ve'e-sh* is an *i*-ablauting suffix like *-ve* 'realis subordinator', to which it may be related (although the expected ablaut does not appear in (51c). Examples are shown in (51).

- (51) a. *Mu = ku'ut aya tash-pa-yka pi = wiw-pe'-men a-yka*  
 AND = REP THEN SPRING-TIME-IN 3SO = SEND-3PL-INPL LOCB-TO  
*suplewe-t = e pe' = ku'ut qay yekw<sub>i</sub>n-ve'e-sh pe-miyax-wen.*  
 ONE-NPN = CF DET = REP NOT FEAR-AGTV-NPN 3S-BE-PIST  
 And then about springtime they sent there one who it is said was not  
 afraid. (Faye Encounter 2 4 003)
- b. *Me = 'e = pe qay tay-ax, el<sub>e</sub>l'i-ch = am atax-m-i*  
 AND = 2S = IRR NOT MOVE-YAX.F BAD-NPN = MIR PERSON-PL-O  
*mi = qwa'i-ve'e-sh.*  
 3PLO = EAT-AGTV-NPN  
 And don't you go near it, he is bad, he eats people. (Faye KP 111 104 050)
- c. *Axwe-ch-im pe' pul<sub>i</sub>n-ch-am piyama*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL DET BABY-NPN-PL ALWAYS  
*xalew-xalew-yax-ve'-ch-am.*  
 DUP-FALL-YAX-AGTV-NPN-PL  
 Those are the babies who are always falling down. (8 97 105)

**8.3.3. DEVERBAL NOUNS FORMED WITH *-we-t*.** Derivations with *-we-t* have several related meanings. It is not clear that these various forms involve the same historical suffix, or that any of them is the same as the augmentative suffix *-we-t*, which can be used to derive nouns from other nouns, as discussed in 5.5.1. *-we-t* can encode customary possession or ownership or association with the result of an action.

**8.3.3.1. THE 'OWNERSHIP' SUFFIX.** One meaning of the suffix *-we*, which occurs when it is added to verb roots formed with *-vu* (see 7.4.3) is 'owner', e.g., *ash-vu-we-t* 'owner of cattle', *kuung-vu-we-t* 'bride' (literally, 'possessor of a husband'). This suffix *-we* is, I believe, a reflex of PUA *\*wa(h)*, as in Nahuatl *a:-wah* 'someone who has control over water', where *a:* is 'water'. With the merging of unstressed *a* with *e* [ə] (< PUA *\*i*) in Cupeño, the ownership suffix has become homophonous with augmentative *-we* from PUA *\*wi* 'big'. The "ownership" suffix usually follows the verbalizing suffix *-vu*, as with *ash-vu-we-t* 'owner of cattle'. There are relatively few clear attestations of this suffix, and it may not have been productive among the final generation of speakers. Some probable examples are *pa-we-t* 'water baby', *Temaye-we-t* 'Twin creator associated with the earth and death', and *Ewewen'i Kaw<sub>i</sub>-ngax-we-t* 'Western Rain', a son of the twin creator deity *Mukat*. The noun *pa-we-t* 'water baby' (for the Cupeños, dog-like creatures that live in water and belong to the creator twin *Temayewet*; more broadly in Uto-Aztec, much-feared water monsters, often thought of as like large dogs or snakes), probably means 'owner of water' and not 'big water'. Similarly, *Tem<sub>a</sub>-ye-we-t*, who is associated with the underworld, probably means 'owner of earth' (cf. *tema-l* 'earth'), not 'big earth'. Finally, *Awewen'i Kaw<sub>i</sub>-ngax-we-t* may mean

‘owner of the rain from the west’ and not ‘rain that is a large being from the west’. These forms suggest that at some point in the history of the language the *-we* ‘owner of’ suffix could be attached directly to nouns without intervening *-vu*.

The examples in (52) illustrate derivation with the “ownership” suffix *-we* from a verb base with suffix *-vu*.

- (52) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' ne-t ash-vu-we-t pe-mi-yax-wen.*  
 AND = REP    DET CHIEF    CATTLE-VU-OWN-NPN    3S-BE-YAX-PIST  
 And it is said the chief owned cattle. (Faye Texts FN 84 130)
- b. *Axwe-ch-im nishma-l-im pe' kung-vu-w-t-am.*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL    GIRL-NPN-PL    DET HUSBAND-VB-OWN-NPN-PL  
 Those girls are the brides. (7 99 152)
- c. *Axwe-sh = she aya naxani-sh nawik-vu-we-t.*  
 ODEM-NPN = DUB    NOW    MAN-NPN    WOMAN-VB-OWN-NPN  
 That man must already be married. (6 51 280)
- d. *mixan-va-we-t*  
 POSSESSION-VB-OWN-NPN  
 owner (Faye field notes 4–6–27 7 149)
- e. *mixan-va-w-t-am*  
 POSSESSION-VB-OWN-NPN-PL  
 the owners (Faye field notes 4–6–27 151)
- f. *yu-vu-we-t*  
 HAIR-VB-OWN-NPN  
 person with plenty of hair (Faye Bancroft 82 (1) 385)

**8.3.3.2. THE OTHER DEVERBALIZING *-WE-T*: THE AUGMENTATIVE?** A suffix *-we-t* also derives deverbal nouns that do not seem to have anything to do with ownership and do not include the minor verbalizing suffix *-vu*. This suffix means ‘capability to perform the action of the verb stem’. It may be the same suffix as the augmentative, discussed in 5.5.1. Augmentative *-we* is derived from PUA \**wi* ‘big’. Clear cases of the augmentative may be seen in pairs like *isily* ‘coyote’, *iswet* ‘wolf’. Note that the examples in (53) suggest that this *-we-t* is an ablauting suffix; extra vowels appear before it (as in *ya'iwet* from *ya'* ‘run’ in (53a)) and it induces a glottal stop increment on *-lu*, the verbalizing suffix in (53b), as well as in the final vowels of *iva-* ‘be strong’ and *name-* ‘race’ in (53d,e). There is no evidence of such ablaut with the ‘ownership’ suffix, which yields *-vu-we-t*, not *vu'-we-t*. Also, the augmentative with nouns does not show any signs of being an ablauting suffix; for instance, we encounter *kaxa-wet* ‘mountain quail’, *tama-wet*



‘mockingbird’, and not \**kaxa’-wet* or \**tama’-wet*. For this reason, I reserve judgment and gloss this suffix as NOM for ‘nominalizer’ rather than as AUG for ‘augmentative’. The deverbal nominalizing function of this suffix is shown in the examples in (53).

- (53) a. *Ne’=en atire ya’-i-we-t.*  
 ISPRO = ISABS      VERY      RUNI-NOM-NPN  
 I’m a real runner. (Fox and Cat 008)
- b. *mulu’-we-t*  
 LEAD-NOM-NPN  
 the one who came first (Faye CN Houses 010)
- c. *mulu’-we-t tawpa*  
 LEAD-NOM-NPN      SUMMER  
 last summer (Faye Oceanside 10 311)
- d. *nangi-we-t*  
 FIGHT-NOM-NPN  
 warrior
- e. *iva’-we-t*  
 BE.STRONG-NOM-NPN  
 strong person
- f. *name’-wet*  
 RACE-NOM-NPN  
 pushy person

**8.3.4. DEVERBAL NOUNS IN *-ILY*.** While the NPN suffixes *-t*, *-sh*, and *-l* play a relatively productive role in the derivation of deverbal nouns, the last of the NPN suffixes, *-ly*, which often acts like a conditioned variant of *-l*, is more restricted in its nominalizing role. Most of the few attested examples are “abstract” nouns: names for events such as ceremonies and songs, or states of emotion such as “jealousy” or “discord.” A few of them refer to types of people. They are derived by adding *-ily* to  $\emptyset$ -class or *-in* class verbs. Examples are seen in (54).

- (54) a. *chayew-in-ily* ‘woman’s dance’ (*chayew-in* ‘do woman’s dance’,  
*chayew-yax* ‘stand up’)  
 b. *isaxwily* ‘a men’s song’ (*isaxw* ‘sing a men’s song’)  
 c. *kupily* ‘sleeping’ (*kup* ‘sleep’)  
 d. *nang’aw-ily* ‘image ceremony’ (*nang’aw* ‘make images’)  
 e. *naw-ily* ‘marriage’ (*naw* ‘be jealous’)

- f. *nayxily* ‘discord’ (*nayxi* ‘fight (perfective)’)
- g. *puy-ily* ‘meal’ (*puy* ‘dine’)
- h. *qaawi-ly* ‘death’ (*qaawi* ‘die, singular subject’)
- i. *tavxaa’-ily* ‘work, job’ (*tavxaa* ‘work’)
- j. *yekwin-ily* ‘fear’ (*yekwin* ‘fear’)

These nouns can appear with locative suffixes, in which case the *-ily* sequence is lost.

- (55) a. *yekwin-nga’aw* ‘on the lookout’  
 b. *nang’aw-nga’aw* ‘at the image ceremony’

A few derived nouns in *-ily* are names for kinds of people or animals, as seen in (56).

- (56) a. *kukup-ily* ‘sleepyhead, a sleep-inducing lizard (like the sandman)’  
 (*kup* ‘sleep’)  
 b. *neng-ily* ‘a runaway’ (*neng* ‘run (pl. subject)’)  
 c. *suyi-ly* ‘gnat’ (*suy-in* ‘sting’)  
 d. *tetwaw-ily* ‘stranger’ (*te-tew-in* ‘look at, glance at’)  
 e. *qay ye-yekn-ily* ‘daring’ (*yekwin* ‘fear’)

**8.4. DEVERBAL ADJECTIVES IN *A-...-VE* ~ *-’A* ~ *-’I*.** The last set of deverbal forms considered here is a small set of tenseless nouns and adjectives that are formed on verb roots prefixed with *a-*, an unproductive adjective prefix.<sup>17</sup> These appear with bases suffixed with one of realis subordinator *-ve*, PSD suffix *-’a*, or the less frequent PSD suffix *-’i*. (These constructions are also briefly discussed in 6.1.) All of the examples are with verbs of the  $\emptyset$  class. There are only a few such constructions, suggesting that this deverbal derivation was less productive among the last generations of speakers than the better-attested derivations discussed above. Nonetheless, some important lexical items result from these derivations.

Attested derivations with *a-...-ve* include the following.

- (57) a. *atingve* ‘warm, hot’ (*ting* ‘heat’)  
 b. *awaxve* ‘dry’ (*wax* ‘dry’)  
 c. *awelve* ‘adult’ (*wel* ‘grow’)

The initial stressed *a* of the reduplicated form *a’welvem* ‘adults, grown things’, the plural of (57c), with stressed *a*, demonstrates that the prefix is *a-* rather than *e-*, “schwa,” the vowel of the other PN prefixes.

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17. I thank Kenneth C. Hill for identifying this prefix, which is productive in Serrano, cf. *a-wa:k-i* ‘dry’ (*wa:k* ‘to dry’), which shows both the adjective prefix *a-* and an adjective-forming suffix *-i*.

Attested derivations with *a-...-'a* appear below.

- (58) a. *ayuy'a* 'snow' (*yuy* 'be cold'),  
 b. *aki'a* 'demesne, land allotment' (cf. *ki<sub>-s</sub>* 'house', with no PSD suffix in that meaning)  
 c. *atax'a* 'person' (cf. *-taxwi* 'body')

In (59) are examples with *a-...-i*.

- (59) a. *atuyi'i* 'ice, hail' (cf. *tuy-uy* 'freeze')  
 b. *awewen'i* 'rain' (cf. *wewen* 'rain')

## MAJOR SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES I: NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND DISCONTINUOUS CONSTITUENTS

In a language like Cupeño, a good deal of “syntax” takes place within the morphology. The three chapters on major syntactic structures outline several topics in syntax not already treated in the chapters on morphology, and add syntactic details to some constructions that were introduced there. The present chapter treats the basic structure of nominal constructions, including agreement and discontinuous constituency.

**9.1. NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS.** I use the term “nominal construction” (NC) for complexes involving nouns and elements that cooccur with them, including quantifiers, demonstratives and determiners, and adjectives. I intend “complex nominal construction” as a pre-theoretical notion, since the development of arguments that would determine whether these constructions are genuine “Determiner Phrases” or “Noun Phrases” is beyond the scope of this descriptive grammar.

Nominal constructions in Cupeño include minimal and complex NC’s. The first type of minimal NC consists of a quantifier, determiner, demonstrative, or adjective appearing by itself in a so-called null head construction, where no noun is present. Elements in these null-head constructions, except for determiners, which are marked only for plural number, can be marked for plural number, object case, and locative or oblique case. The second type of minimal NC consists simply of a noun, which can be marked with the same inflectional elements.

In complex NC’s these various components are combined. Complex NC’s where the head noun is animate or possessed (animate or inanimate) exhibit number and/or case agreement between the noun and other lexical items in the NC, including agreement in marking with locative and oblique-case suffixes. In complex NC’s with inanimate, non-possessed nouns, plural number and/or object case is marked only on modifiers and almost never on the inanimate noun itself (exceptions are discussed in 12.3.2.3). Locative suffixes, however, can appear on

such nouns. Complex NC's can be either continuous, occurring as a single uninterrupted linear series of two or more elements, or discontinuous, interrupted by any other syntactic component of the sentence.

I first treat agreement, in 9.2. In 9.3 I turn to the question of discontinuity. The ten sections of 9.4 discuss the way different components of complex NC's behave in continuous and discontinuous constructions.

**9.2. AGREEMENT IN COMPLEX NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS.** In complex NC's, agreement depends on the animacy and possession state of the head noun. In the case of animate nouns, if the noun is marked either for plural number or for object case, or for both, any modifying elements will also exhibit the same marking. This same type of concord, with number and case marked on the head noun and all modifiers, also occurs with possessed nouns, whether these are animate or not. In the data from Faye's materials, among 156 examples of complex NC's where plural number or object case appears, there are only four exceptions to this generalization. I believe that these four exceptions represent disfluency or a mistranscription by Faye. Roscinda Nolasquez's texts have far more exceptions of this type, most of them involving a single structure, a singular determiner with a plural noun, which may represent an innovation in her speech as a terminal-generation speaker, or which may, of course, represent a continuation of a pattern that was more widespread in the previous generation than is revealed by the Faye materials.

The usual pattern is shown in the examples in (1). In (1a) the head noun *ataxmi* 'people' is marked for both plural number and object case; the accompanying demonstrative and adjective also have these markings. In (1b) the head noun *pekiy* 'her house' is the object of a relational noun, *pechi*; it is marked for object case, as is the modifying demonstrative. In (1c) *che'mixani* 'our belongings' is marked for object case. The demonstrative and the noun *chemyulavay* 'our clothes' share marking for object case.

- (1) a *Mu = ku'ut mi = pem-'ekem-wen axwe-sh-m-i atax-m-i*  
 AND = REP 3PLO = 3PL-GIVE-PIPL ODEM-NPN-PL-O PERSON-PL-O  
*xwayaxwen-t-im-i.*  
 WHITE-NPN-PL-O  
 And they gave it to those white people. (Faye General Kearney 8)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe' aya mekwel-pe-yax axwe-ch-i pe-ki-y*  
 AND = REP 3SPRO THEN GO.AROUND-3S-YAX ODEM-NPN-O 3S-HOUSE-O  
*pe-chi.*  
 3S-OBL  
 And it is said she went around her house. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 56)
- c. *Me anuk = 'ep chem ivi-y che'-mixan-i chem-yulava-y*

AND THUS = R      1PLPRO   PDEM-O   1PL-BELONGINGS-O      1PL-CLOTHES-O  
*wichax-pe'-men      kaaru-nga.*

THROW-3PL-INPL      CART-INL

And they just threw these our belongings, our clothes onto the cart.  
 (Warners II 006)

Animate nouns and their modifiers also exhibit agreement in those rare examples where they are marked with oblique-case suffixes. Usually, oblique case with animates is marked by a relational noun, and the animate noun is then in the object case. Animate nouns are never directly suffixed with locatives; locative constructions involving animates always have relational nouns. An example with the oblique-case suffix is seen in (2).

(2)    *Me = qwe = n      qay      iya'a   ishmivi-y   maas   ivi-m-ichi*  
 AND = NONI = 1SAB      NOT      SAY.HAB   SOMETHING-O MORE      PDEM-PL-OBL  
*a-'welve-m-ichi.*  
 DUP-ADULT-PL-OBL

And I do not say anything more about these elders. (Faye Domingo Moro 42)

In the case of non-animate, non-possessioned nouns, the noun itself is normally not marked for case, and, in fact, many such nouns, such as the names of plants and mass nouns (like *che'mixani* 'our belongings' in (1b)) are never pluralized. However, when they appear in complex nominal constructions, accompanying demonstratives and other modifiers will be marked for case and/or number. Examples are seen in (3). In (3a) the demonstrative and the derived modifier *ichaayaweneti* 'made' are both marked for object case, but the inanimate head noun, *terhehayata* 'sand painting' is not. In (3b) the inanimate noun *saval* 'grass' is the object of a relational noun. It does not have an object-case marker, but the demonstrative modifying it does. In (3c) the same noun root that is seen in the possessed state with an object-case marker in (1b) above appears as a non-possessioned noun, *kish* 'house'. It does not have an object-case marker, but the accompanying demonstrative does. (3d) shows an example where both the adjective and the demonstrative are marked for plural (the adjective has a reduplicated plural, *a'ayxat* 'old (pl.)' from *ayxat*), but the inanimate noun *traapu* is not marked. In (3d), the demonstrative is "resumptive"; see (9a) for another example.

(3) a.    *Pepe    axwe-ch-i   terhehaya-ta      mi = 'un-in-we*  
 THEN      ODEM-NPN-O    SAND.PAINTING-NPN      3PLO = SHOW-IN-PRPL  
*ichaayawene-t-i.*  
 MADE-NPN-O

Then they show them that sand painting that is made. (Faye Initiation 198 086)

- b. *Mi = xamech-in-we axwe-ch-i amay sava-l pe-chi.*  
 3PLO = COVER-IN-PRPL ODEM-NPN-O SAME GRASS-NPN 3S-OBL  
 They cover them with that same grass. (Faye Initiation I 10)
- c. *Me ivi-y ki-sh pem-tul.*  
 AND PDEM-O HOUSE-NPN 3PL-FINISH  
 And they finished these houses. (Faye Texts 215)
- d. *Traapu a-'ayxa-t axwe-ch-im maq-che'-men-wen.*  
 RAG DUP-OLD-NPN ODEM-NPN-PL GATHER-1PL-INPL-PIPL  
 They gathered those old rags. (RN Childhood 17)

There is some variation as to whether inanimate head nouns will bear locative suffixes. Constructions that parallel those in (3), where modifiers have locative suffixes but inanimate nouns do not, do appear. An example is shown in (4a), where the quantifier *met'ika* has a locative suffix, but the head noun *kish* 'house' does not. However, equally common are complex nominal constructions where the noun also has a locative suffix, as shown in (4b). This variation appears both in the Faye materials and in Roscinda Nolasquez's speech.

- (4) a. *Suplewe-t naxani-sh memelki-ly pe-'u-'un-i-lyu a-yka*  
 ONE-NPN MAN-NPN LANGUAGE-NPN 3S-DUP-SHOW-IN-MOTP LOCB-TO  
*temam-ka ki-sh met'i-ka.*  
 NORTH-TO HOUSE-NPN MANY-TO  
 One man went to teach the language there in the north in the city. (Faye San Quentin 1)
- b. *Ne-n-t-im pem-kwa'-la'a ki-nga ay'ani-nga.*  
 DUP-CHIEF-NPN-PL 3PL-EAT-INSTN HOUSE-INL BIG-INL  
 It is food for chiefs in the big house. (Faye KP 126)

The example in (3b) shows that adverbs (*amay* 'just, same, today' in that example) do not share the agreement suffixes with other elements in complex nominal constructions. This is the case even when the form functioning as an adverb has an NPN suffix, as with *pangish* 'new' in (5), where *pangish welchami* means 'newly grown'.

- (5) *Miyax-we melen piyu'pan em-em-i pangi-sh wel-ch-am-i*  
 MUST-PRST MUCH HOWEVER 2PLPRO-PL-O NEW-NPN GROW-NPN-PL-O  
*pe-xutaxw-ika em-taxwi em-wena-pi.*  
 3S-BEHIND-TO 2PL-BODY 2PL-PUT-SUBIRR  
 There is much need, however, that you young adults not be backward-looking. (Faye Domingo Moro 24)

Finally, determiners are never marked for case, including object case, locatives, and oblique case. The determiners, singular *pe'* and plural *pem(em)*, are clearly related to the PN prefixes for third person and share this behavior with the third-person pronouns, as pointed out in 6.7. In this they contrast with the first- and second-person pronouns, which do accept object-case suffixes; note that in (5) above a discourse-participant pronoun, *ememi* 'you plural object case' is marked for object case. Determiners cannot be so marked. In the speech of the Faye consultants, determiners consistently agree in number with the nouns they modify. Example (6a) shows a singular determiner, (6b) (from Roscinda Nolasquez) shows a plural. The examples in (7) show determiners where the noun is in the object case, but the determiner does not have an object-case suffix. (7c) shows that determiners, in contrast to other modifiers, do not take locative suffixes.

- (6) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' pe-ye pe-yax* "Wim-yax-wene."  
 AND=REP DET 3S-MOTHER 3S-SAY BE.HEAVY-YAX-CUSTST  
 And his mother said, "It is heavy." (Faye KP 105 83 042)
- b. *Aya ataxa-m pe-m kwaw-in-t-am, ramaada-'i paa-s*  
 THEN PERSON-PL DET-PL CALL-IN-NPN-PL RAMADA-O THREE-TIMES  
*mekwel-pe'-men-wen.*  
 GO.AROUND-3PL-INPL-PIPL  
 Then the people who had been invited went around the ramada three times. (San Francisco 18)
- (7) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' ašhwe-t-i kwal-ma'-nuk mekwel-pe-yax ku-ngax.*  
 AND=REP DET EAGLE-NPN-O SIDE-VB-SS GO.AROUND-3S-YAX FIRE-FROM  
 And it is said carrying that eagle under his arm he went around the fire.  
 (Eagle II 12)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe-m pulin-ch-am-i pem-chix-nin-wen, ki-kit-am-i.*  
 AND=REP DET-PL BABY-NPN-PL-O 3PL-DIE-CAUSE-PIPL DUP-BOY-PL-O  
 And it is said they killed the babies, the boys. (RN KP 37)
- c. *A-yka = ku'ut pe' = e Sherman-ika chem-ngijiy.*  
 LOCB-TO=REP DET=CF SHERMAN-TO IPL-GO.AWAY  
 We went off to the Sherman Institute. (Warners II 051)

Roscinda Nolasquez's materials generally exhibit these patterns, with occasional disfluencies. However, one distinctive pattern is quite common in her speech. This is the use of singular determiners and demonstratives with plural nouns. In her text performances there are sixteen examples of this type, compared to thirty cases of number agreement, so this failure of concord appears at a high



frequency. The examples almost all involve either the determiner or the proximal demonstrative. Examples are seen in (8).

(8) a. *Pe' met'i-ch-am pem-na'aqwa-nim pem-qal.*

DET MANY-NPN-PL 3PL-CHILD-PL 3PL-BE.THERE

There were many families there. (Warners II 034)

b. *Me axwa-nga aya pem-puy-wen ivi-y su'-ch-am-i,*

AND ODEM-INL THEN 3PL-DINE-PIPL PDEM-O JACKRABBIT-NPN-PL-O

*gayiina'-m-i.*

CHICKEN-PL-O

And then they ate there these jackrabbits, chickens. (Acorn Time 35)

**9.3. COMPLEX NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND DISCONTINUITY.** One of the most notable features of complex nominal constructions in Cupeño is the high frequency of discontinuous constructions or “discontinuous constituency.” In the discussion here I endeavor to provide copious examples of the kinds of discontinuity that are and are not permitted. Since Baker (1996) has recently made a number of proposals about the nature of discontinuity, which are not entirely supported by the Cupeño materials, I briefly address his claims (this is done in more detail in Hill 2003). I also note some differences between Cupeño and Luiseño discontinuous constituency, the latter having received very thorough treatment by Steele (1990).

**9.3.1. WORD ORDER IN CONTINUOUS AND DISCONTINUOUS NC'S.** The order restrictions on complex NC's are different depending upon whether they are “continuous”—that is, not interrupted by unrelated elements that are not part of the NC—or “discontinuous,” interrupted by unrelated elements. Among complex NC's in “continuous” constructions in Cupeño, two major types of order restrictions contrast. The first type has free construction-internal word order and involves combinations of nouns (N) (or demonstratives (D) standing in for nouns in null-head constructions) with quantifiers (Q) and/or adjectives (A). The following orders of these elements appear: QN or NQ, AN or NA, QD or DQ. No constructions DA or AD are attested.

The second type has rigid word order: Determiners and demonstratives appear only before nouns in the order DN, DetN. Cases where nouns precede demonstratives do occur, but they seem to be topicalizations, with the demonstrative in a “resumptive” function, as in (9a). In examples like (9b), the form *pe'* is best understood as an anaphoric pronoun.

(9) a. *Kisi-ly = she = pe i'i ni = 'itu-qa.*

HAWK-NPN = DUB-IRR PDEM ISO-STEAL-PRS

It must be Hawk, this one is robbing me. (Fox and Buzzard 055)

- b. *Mu-ku'ut tamawe-t pe' pe-hiw-qal.*  
 AND = REP    MOCKINGBIRD-NPN    3SPRO    3S-BE.THERE-PIS

And it is said as for Mockingbird, he was there. (Coyote at the Birds' Church 003)

Complex nominal constructions are sometimes “continuous,” with all of the elements appearing adjacent to one another. However, such constructions often exhibit discontinuity, being interrupted by other components of the sentence. Such discontinuous constituents are very common in Cupeño, appearing in both the Faye corpus and in my own data. They are completely acceptable to speakers. Not only are they produced both in response to elicitation and in extemporaneous text recitation, but they survived unchanged when my principal consultant, Roscinda Nolasquez, corrected taped text recitations (examples are seen in (28) and (66) below). I have discussed the theoretical implications of Cupeño discontinuous constituents in Hill (2003). Here I restrict the discussion primarily to the description of the surface properties of complex nominal constructions in Cupeño, showing their behavior in “continuous” constructions and in “discontinuous” constructions.

The types of discontinuous nominal constructions do not match the two types of continuous complex NC's in their order behavior. While in continuous NC's quantifiers exhibit quite free order and demonstratives are rigidly ordered, in discontinuous constituents both Q and D observe the same order constraint, the Discontinuous Constituency Order Constraint (DCOC): This constraint applies only to constructions involving quantifiers and demonstratives with nouns, when the complex NC construction is interrupted by a verb. Thus, for quantifiers, in continuous constituency we encounter either QN or NQ. In discontinuous constituents interrupted by verbs, only Q...V...N is attested. For adjectives, in continuous constituency either AN or NA is possible, while in discontinuous constituents interrupted by verbs, we find only A...V...N. This same surface constraint is described by Baker (1996) for polysynthetic languages like Mohawk and Nahuatl. In Cupeño, either order is found in discontinuous NC's with numerals, so that we find Num...V...N or N...V...Num.

**9.3.2. ELEMENTS THAT CAN INTERRUPT A COMPLEX NC IN CUPEÑO.** Steele (1990: 74) states that in Luiseño, a Cupan language closely related to Cupeño, only second-position clitics or verbs (or both) can interrupt complex NP's (Steele uses “NP” instead of “NC”). Cupeño permits much more freedom, with the following types of elements attested as interrupting complex NC's.

- A. A second-position clitic or clitic complex
- B. A verb
- C. An adverb

- D. A non-member noun or a non-member locative including full locational specifiers, relational nouns, and locative-suffixed nouns.
- E. Combinations of the above.

An important question is whether complex NC's interrupted only by second-position clitics should be considered discontinuous constituents. Such constructions were treated as discontinuous constituents by Steele (1990) in her discussion of Luiseño. However, I would argue that such discontinuity has a special status, resulting from phonological factors favoring sentence-initial stress, that place the unstressed clitic complex after the first word in the sentence. In languages like Cupeño that have fairly rigid second-position clitics, discontinuity produced only by such a clitic is probably not marked pragmatically, and may have no discourse significance. Nonetheless, following Steele's example, I exemplify this type of discontinuity below.

**9.3.3. NARROWING THE DEFINITION OF DISCONTINUOUS CONSTITUTENCY.** Baker (1996) admits "afterthought" constructions as examples of discontinuous constituency. Afterthought constructions are very common in my Cupeño materials from Roscinda Nolasquez (they are discussed in 12.1.2), and even where there is no pause before the afterthought element (although a brief pause is often present), they are clearly distinguishable from non-afterthought constructions on the basis of intonation contour, where "afterthought" has new \*H. By "\*H," a notation adopted from Pierrehumbert (1980), I mean a new high pitch on the afterthought element. The commas in (10) are intended to indicate this.

(10) Afterthought constructions

- a. *Axwe-sh-m-i petá::'a-nm-i pē-qwa, gaatu'-m-i.*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL-O ALL-PL-O 3S-EAT CAT-PL-O  
 He ate a::ll of them up, the cats. (Coyote and Cat 038)
- b. *Ivī-y andaniiya'a-y pem-samsa-wen, met'i-sh; qichi-ly*  
 PDEM-O CLOTH-O 3PL-BUY-PIPL MUCH-NPN MONEY-NPN  
*wichax-pe'-men-wen, qay awisma.*  
 THROW-3PL-IN.PL-PIPL NOT FEW  
 They would buy these yard goods, a lot; they would throw money, not a little. (Burning 005)

If we considered the afterthought elements in (10) to be in constituency with their apparent partners ([*andaniiya'ay ... met'ish*] 'cloth ... a lot'; [*qichily ... qay 'awisma*] 'money ... not a little', then both examples would violate the DCOC, the order constraint on discontinuous constituents proposed in 9.3.1, since the quantifiers follow the verb. Many such examples of apparent violations occur with

“afterthought” intonation contours. However, among all the many examples of complex NC’s interrupted by verbs, there are no examples violating the DCOC where the discontinuous constituent appears under a single intonation contour (that is, where there is no new \*H). Thus afterthought discontinuities should be clearly distinguished from discontinuous constructions under a single intonation contour.

The afterthought constructions in (10) seem to be identical in pragmatic force to similar constructions in languages like English, where discontinuous constituency has not been recognized as a syntactic phenomenon.

A second type of example that should be distinguished from true discontinuous constituency involves special idiomatic expressions like *iviyka ayka* ‘here and there’ in (11a), *iviy ishmiviy* ‘and stuff’ in (11b), and *petā’ami ishmiviy* ‘all kinds of stuff like’ in (11c). In (11a), *ayka*, a locative, does not interrupt a locational constituent *iviyka pe’awtika* ‘to here to the mountains’. In (11b), *ishmiviy*, literally ‘something’, an indefinite noun, does not interrupt a constituent *iviy qingichi* ‘this squirrel’. In (11c), *ishmiviy* does not interrupt a constituent *petā’ami yul* ‘all the hair’. Instead, these are part of the idiomatic construction, which is boldfaced.

(11) Idiomatic constructions

- a. *Ivi-yka a-yka pe’aw-t-ika haṣhi-pem-yax-wen.*  
 PDEM-TO LOCB-TO MOUNTAIN-ACC-TO GO-3PL-YAX-PIPL  
 They went **here and there** to the mountains. (Eagle I 024)

- b. *Mu = ku’ut pe-mega-qal ivi-y ishmivi-y qingi-ch-i.*  
 AND = REP 3S-KILL-PIS PDEM-O SOMETHING-O SQUIRREL-NPN-O  
 And it is said he used to kill **these squirrels and stuff**. (Coyote and Wolf 032)

- c. *Maq-pe’-men-wen = ku’ut petā’am-i ishmivi-y yu-l.*  
 GATHER-3PL-IN.PL-PIPL = REP ALL-O SOMETHING-O HAIR-NPN  
 It is said they were gathering **all kinds of** horsehair. (Linnets 006)

However, there can be a discontinuity in the idiom itself, as in (12), where we see the components of *iviy ishmiviy* ‘this stuff’ separated from each other by the verb.

- (12) *Puuchi = ku’ut petā’ama-y ivi-y wichax-wichax-pe-n ishmivi-y.*  
 THEN = REP ALL-O THIS-O DUP-THROW-3S-IN SOMETHING-O  
 Then it is said he threw **all this stuff** down. (Wind and Ducks 002)

Similarly, we encounter adverbs like *atire* ‘very, really’ and *amay* ‘just’ internal to complex NP’s. These adverbs should not be considered “interruptors” of constituency but are part of complex NC’s with an adverbial component. Note

that the adverbs can either precede or follow the element that they modify; as pointed out in 9.2, they do not take plural number or object-case suffixes.

## (13) Adverbs in complex NC's

- a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e axwe-ch-im met'i-ch-am atire ataxa-m*  
AND-REP DET = CF ODEM-NPN-PL MANY-NPN-PL VERY PERSON-PL  
*pem pe'-mīxan pe-miyax-wen, ivi-m Kava-ly-im.*  
3PLPRO 3PL-POSSESSION 3S-BE-PIST, PDEM-PL KAVALY-NPN-PL

And it is said that **very many people** own it, these Kavalys. (Eagle I 004)

- b. *Atire met'i-sh yewa-l nengu-qa.*  
VERY MUCH-NPN SALT-NPN HAVE-PRS

It has **too much salt**. (1 23 75)

**9.4. THE MAJOR ELEMENTS OF NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY.** The discussions below take up the various types of elements in complex nominal constructions and reviews their behavior in both continuous and discontinuous constituency. I illustrate the quantifiers only with *peta'ama* 'all' and *met'i-sh* 'many', which are very well attested. *awisma* 'a few, a little' apparently behaves very much like *peta'ama* but is attested relatively poorly; the fourth quantifier, *peexwen* 'nothing but', is also not well enough attested to determine its behavior in discontinuity.

**9.4.1. PETA'AMA 'ALL'.** Cupeño *peta'ama* 'all' is sometimes ambiguous as to whether it is a quantifier in an NC construction or an adverbial quantifier. Before turning to this point, I exemplify the properties of *peta'ama* in NC's.

A. *Peta'ama* can appear alone in a null-head construction. In this context it can be inflected for number and/or case, including locative case. Note that *peta'ama* has the special plural suffix *-nim*, which it shares with other substantive elements ending in the syllable *-ma*.

- (14) a. *Peta'ama tem-yax-we.*  
ALL CLOSE-YAX-NF.IMP.PL  
**Everything** is fenced off. (J 224 7)

- b. *Me = qwe peta'a-nim chix-wene tami'-va.*  
AND = NONI ALL-PL DIE-CUSTPL WINTER-TIME  
 But they **all** die in the winter. (Faye Present 12 333)

- c. *Peta'ama-y chem-tewa $\$$ h.*

ALL-O 1PL-LOSE

We lost **everything**. (Warners I 011)

- d. *Mu = ku'ut mukikma-ly-im peta'ama-ngax pem-neq.*

AND = REP BIRD-NPN-PL ALL-FROM 3PL-COME

And it is said birds came **from all over**. (Coyote and Flood 040)

B. *Peta'ama* can appear in complex NC's with determiners or demonstratives (D), nouns (N), adverbs, and other elements. In complex NC's it can also be marked for number and/or case. Examples (15c,f) illustrate the case discussed in 9.2, where inanimate nouns do not have object-case suffixes, but the modifying element, in this case the quantifier (Q), does have them.

- (15) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe-m peta'a-nim = e keng-pem-yi-ngiy.*

AND = REP DET-PL ALL-PL = CF FLY-3PL-YAX-GO.AWAY

And it is said **they all** flew away. (Coyote at the Birds' Church 028)

- b. *Mu = ku'ut ne-t ay'ani-sh miyax-wene peta'a-nim*

AND = REP CHIEF-NPN BIG-NPN BE-CUSTST ALL-PL

*wukikma-l-im pem-eve'aw.*

BIRD-NPN-PL 3PL-OVER

And it is said you will be chief over **all the birds**. (Faye Fox and Crow f7 537b)

- c. *Me = she = 'et axwe-ch-i tekwaye*

AND = DUB = 3SABS ODEM-NPN-O LONG.AGO

*pi = wey-wey-pe'-men-wen peta'am-i axwe-ch-i ayxa-t-i*

3SO = DUP-TEAR.DOWN-3PL-INPL-PIPL ALL-O ODEM-NPN-O OLD-NPN

*ki-sh.*

HOUSE-NPN

And it was probably long ago when they tore down **all those old houses**. (Faye Houses 63 010)

- d. *Me = qwe = m peta'a-nim pem-em ichaaywin-wen-t-im*

AND = NONI = 3PLERG ALL-PL 3PLPRO-PL MAKE-PIPL-NPN-PL

*su-suplewe-t pe-ta suk-suk-yax-wene.*

DUP-ONE-NPN 3S-PLACE DUP-TIE-YAX-CUSTPL

And **all of those who are making images** tie each one up in a bundle. (Faye Images 257 27 114)

- e. *Mu = ku'ut Temayewet    peta'a-nm-i    pe-na'aqwa-m-i*  
 AND = REP    TEMAYEWET    ALL-PL-O    3S-CHILD-PL-O  
*pem-emen    pe-ngiiy.*  
 3PLPRO-WITH    3S-GO.AWAY  
 And it is said Temayewet went away with all his children. (Faye Creation 025)
- f. *Mu = ku'ut peta'ama-y    sava-l    pi = maq-pe-n.*  
 AND = REP    ALL-O    GRASS-NPN    3SO = GATHER.UP-3S-IN  
 And it is said she gathered up all the grass. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 061)
- g. *Pe-hal-ngiy-qal = ku'ut    peta'ama'aw    pe'awi.*  
 3S-SEARCH-GO.AWAY-PIS = REP    ALL-AT    MOUNTAIN  
 It is said he was looking all over the mountain. (Coyote and Flood 061)

*Peta'ama* appears in complex NC's in diverse orders. For instance, (16a) shows QDN, while (16d) shows DNQ. (16c), with NQ order, contrasts with (15e) above, a very similar construction with QN order.

- (16) a. *Peta'a-nm-i    ivi-y    atax-m-i    pem-chix-ni.*  
 ALL-PL-O    PDEM-O    PERSON-PL-O    3PL-DIE-CAUS  
 They killed **all these people**. (KP II 043)
- b. *Axwe-sh-m-i    peta'a-nm-i    pe-qwa,    gaatu'-m-i.*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL-O    ALL-PL-O    3S-EAT    CAT-PL-O  
 He ate **all of them** up, the cats. (Coyote and Cat 038)
- c. *Me aya    ne-t    pe-ne'e-m-i    peta'a-nm-i*  
 AND THEN    CHIEF-NPN    3S-RELATIVE-PL-O    ALL-PL-O  
*mi = maq-i-qa.*  
 3PLO = GATHER.UP-IN-PRS  
 And then the chief gathers together **all his relatives**. (Faye Images Jan. 7 1921 099h)
- d. *Ivi-y    chem-ti'ive-y    peta'am-i    i'i    chem-'ilyapa*  
 PDEM-O    IPL-CLOTHES-O    ALL-O    PDEM    IPL-BEDROCK.MORTAR  
*axwa-nga    pi = maa-che'-men-ngiy.*  
 ODEM-INL    3SO = LEAVE-IPL-INPL-GO.AWAY  
 We went off and left **all these clothes of ours**, these bedrock mortars.  
 (Warners I 010)

With determiners, the only order is DQ. In the examples in (17) we see the same variable number agreement with determiners mentioned in 9.2 for Roscinda

Nolasquez's speech, with (17a) showing no number agreement, while (17b) has number agreement between the determiner and the quantifier.

- (17) a. *Aya pe' peta'a-nim sulul-pem-yax teki-nga.*  
THEN DET ALL-PL GO.IN-3PL-YAX BURROW-INL  
 Then **they all** went into the burrow. (Coyote and Crows 020)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe-m peta'a-nim keng-pem-yi-ngiy.*  
AND = REP DET-PL ALL-PL FLY-3PL-YAX-GO.AWAY  
 And it is said **they all** flew away. (Coyote at the Birds' Church 028)

Baker (1996) points out that some apparent discontinuous constituency involving quantifiers may be the result of "quantifier float," a phenomenon that is widespread in the world's languages and is not specific to languages exhibiting discontinuous constituents. Adverbial float is well attested in Cupeño and is illustrated in examples in 6.6. Thus we would expect float with adverbial quantifiers. *Peta'ama* seems to function in both adverbial and determiner quantification. However, it is often impossible to determine in any particular instance which function is appearing.

When *peta'ama* is adjacent to the verb speakers tend to gloss it as an English adverb, as in (18). This example shows what I believe the canonical case: uninflected *peta'ama*, immediately before the verb, interpretable as an adverbial.

- (18) *Pe' = e pa-l peta'ama pachi-pe-yax pem-eyik.*  
DET = CF WATER-NPN ALL SPLASH-3S-YAX 3PL-OVER  
 The water splashed **all** over them. (Coyote and Hen 052)

Similarly, (19) shows what is probably an adverbial quantifier, here floated to the position before the noun. The adverbial interpretation is favored because there is only one house.

- (19) *Axwe-ch-i = ku'ut peta'ama pem-ki keng-pe-yax.*  
ODEM-NPN-O = REP ALL 3PL-HOUSE BURN-3S-YAX  
 Their house burned **all** up. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 066)

Cases of *peta'ama* that exhibit number and case concord are almost certainly functioning as determiner quantifiers. However, sometimes these are glossed as adverbial by speakers. For instance, in (20a), *peta'anim* was glossed as an adverbial quantifier by the speaker. However, it is marked for plural and appears to agree in number with *paatu'um* 'ducks'. Similarly, in (20b), *peta'anim* is adjacent to the verb and is glossed as an adverb by Faye (presumably in consultation with the speaker). But it is inflected for plural number and seems to agree with *kikitam*



‘boys’. As shown above, the order NQ is possible in clear cases of determiner quantification, as in (16b,c,d).

- (20) a. *Axwe-ch-i = ku'ut paatu-'um peta'a-nim pish'amay axwa-nga*  
 ODEM-NPN-O = REP DUCK-PL ALL-PL SUDDENLY ODEM-INL  
*tang-pem-yax tema-t-'aw.*

PILE-3PL-YAX GROUND-ACC-AT

Suddenly those ducks were **all** piled up on the ground there. (Wind and Ducks 005)

- b. *Ki-ki-t-am peta'a-nim yanga-yaxa-nuk me qay*  
 DUP-BOY-NPN-PL ALL-PL MIX.WITH-YAXa-SS AND NOT  
*mi-pa ishmi'i el'el'i-sh chem-evenga pe-miya-qal.*

INDEF-TIME SOMETHING BAD-NPN 1PL-AMONG 3S-HAPPEN-PIS

The boys were **all** mixed up in the bunch, but nothing bad every happened among us. (Faye SV Childhood 2-1-21 12)

An apparently adverbial form, *peta'aman*, with the adverbial *-n* suffix, does appear once. However, in this unique example, this form is not glossed as adverbial by the speaker. This sentence is full of complications. The first example of *peta'ama* is inflected for object case, even though *i'i pexuchi* ‘these her feet’ does not have object-case marking. The third example, also immediately before a verb, is preceded by a determiner in an apparent cleft construction, ‘The sticks that all ...’. This sentence may just be wrong (although it survived the process of “teaching,” in which Roscinda Nolasquez corrected sentences that she did not like, and is in a text that is largely very fluent).

- (21) *I'i pe-xuchi peta'am-i pe-wisik = ku'ut, i'i peta'ama-n*  
 PDEM 3S-FEET ALL-O 3S-SCRATCH = REP PDEM ALL-ADV  
*kelawa-t pe' = e peta::'ama nam-nam-pe-yax ivi-yka a-yka.*  
 STICK-NPN DET = CF ALL DUP-CROSS-3S-YAX PDEM-TO LOCB-TO

It is said she scratched her feet all up, what with all the sticks that she had crossed through here and there. (KP I 046)

In (22), *peta'anmi* is not only marked for number, it is marked for case. Note that *pen'e* ‘his relatives’ is not marked for either one. I suspect that the correct reading is ‘As for the relatives of this child of mine, they killed all of them from Cupa’, and that Faye has the comma in the wrong place. It should follow *pe-ne'e*.

- (22) *I'i ne-na'aqwa, pe-ne'e peta'a-nm-i pem-chix-ni*  
 PDEM 1S-CHILD 3S-RELATIVE ALL-PL-O 3PL-DIE-CAUS  
*Kupa-ngax.*  
 CUPA-FROM

This child of mine, they killed **all** his relatives from Cupa. (Faye KP 066)

In summary, in many instances *peta'ama* is functioning as a determiner quantifier. However, cases of this type exhibit discontinuous constituency, and may not involve quantifier float.

All of the usual elements can interrupt NC's with *peta'ama*.

A. Interrupting clitic. There is no example in my data of [*peta'ama* N = clitic]; this is probably not an accident but attests to the strong preference for clitics to be attached to the end of the first word.

- (23) *Peta'ama = pe em-ki anuk achima-l, chash-yax-wene.*  
 ALL = IRR 2PL-HOUSE THUS PRETTY-NPN, SHINE-YAX-FIST  
**All your homes** will be just beautiful, they will shine. (Warners II 040)

Note that in the case of an interrupting clitic, we encounter either QN order, as in (23), or NQ order, as in (24).

- (24) *Sava-l = ku'ut peta'am-i pe-kelaw-qal.*  
 GRASS-NPN = REP ALL-O 3S-GATHER.WOOD-PIS  
 She was gathering all the grass it is said. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 024)

B. Interrupting verb. In the case of an interrupting verb, as pointed out above, the DCOC means that the quantifier always precedes the verb. Note that in these cases *peta'ama* is inflected for plural number in agreement with the rest of the construction, following the verb. In (26) and (27) it is inflected for object case.

- (25) a. *Amay chem-em peta'a-nim yel-yel-in-we*  
 TODAY 1PLPRO-PL ALL-PL DUP-IMITATE-IN-PRPL  
*xwayaxwen-t-im pe'-mi-mx-i.*  
 WHITE-NPN-PL 3PL-DUP-CUSTOM-O

Today we imitate **everything that the whites do**. (literally, 'all ... the white people their customs' or 'all the white people's customs') (Faye Domingo Moro FN 22–23)

- b. *Me aya nanva-yax-qa pe' tewan-pe'-men-'a*  
 AND THEN BE.READY-YAX-PRS DET NAME-3PL-INPL-PSD  
*maq-yax-we, chinga peta'a-nim yaw-mi'aw-lu-we*  
 GATHER.UP-YAX-PRST WHEN ALL-PL BRING-COME-GO.TO-PRPL  
*pem-hisexve-y pem-qish-ki'a-y.*  
 3PL-CLOTHES-O 3PL-MONEY-PSD-O

And then the time comes that they named to meet, when they go to bring **all their clothes**, their money. (Faye Images SV 0991)

C. Interrupting clitic and verb.

- (26) *Peta'a-nm-i = ku'ut pi = sex-sex-pe'-men ki-sh Kupa-ngax.*  
 ALL-PL-O = REP 3SO = DUP-BURN-3PL-IN.PL HOUSE-NPN CUPA-FROM  
 It is said they burned **all the houses** at Cupa. (KP II 042)

D. Interrupting full locational specifier.

- (27) *Puuchi = ku'ut axwe-ch-i peta'a-m-i a-yka pe-pi'i ixan-pe-n.*  
 THEN = REP ODEM-NPN-O ALL-PL-O LOCB-TO 3S-HAIR TAKE.OFF-3S-IN  
 Then he took **all of that hair** off of her there. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 036)

E. Interrupting predication with several components. The example in (28) is especially interesting in that it attests to the complete acceptability of discontinuous constituents. My method of collecting texts from Roscinda Nolasquez was first to record continuously without stopping as she spoke extemporaneously. I refer to this recording as the “performance.” We then went over the audiotape in detail, and Roscinda Nolasquez often corrected what she had said on the tape. She referred to this activity as “teaching.” In “teaching”—example (28b)—Roscinda Nolasquez corrected the false start in (28a) but preserved the discontinuous constituent without comment.

- (28) a. *Peta'a-nim = ku'ut qay, atire = ku'ut pem-shuun ichaa*  
 ALL-PL = REP NOT VERY = REP 3PL-HEART GOOD  
*pe-miyax-wen i'i mukikma-l-im, maxi-ly-im, kaxa-l-im.*  
 3S-BE-PIPL PDEM BIRD-NPN-PL DOVE-NPN-PL QUAIL-NPN-PL  
 It is said that no—, it is said that **all these birds** were real glad, doves, quail. (Coyote and Wolf 078)

- b. *Peta'a-nim = ku'ut atire pem-shuun ichaa pe-miyax-wen*  
 ALL-PL = REP VERY 3PL-HEART GOOD 3S-BE-PIPL

*i'i*      *mukikma-l-im*,      *maxi-ly-im*,      *kaxa-l-im*.  
 PDEM      BIRD-NPN-PL      DOVE-NPN-PL      QUAIL-NPN-PL

It is said that **all these birds** were real glad, doves, quail. (Coyote and Wolf 078)

**9.4.2. MET'ISH** 'MUCH, MANY, A LOT'. Cupeño *met'ish* 'much' does not present the same difficulties as does *peta'ama* 'all'. It is definitely an NC or a determiner quantifier and does not permit a "pure adverbial" meaning; instead, a cognate element, *melen*, is required if the sense is adverbial. By "cognate," I mean that the *l* of *melen* is almost certainly simply a lenited *t*, so that the root of both forms is *met-*. This lenition may have been forced historically by some property of the adverbial ending with *-n*, or perhaps blocked by the ' in *met'ish*. Thus we do not encounter the phonological ambiguity that we find with *peta'ama*, where apparently adverbial and apparently determiner quantifier forms can be identical in the case where determiner *peta'ama* agrees with a singular subject noun. *met'ish* exhibits exactly the same kind of discontinuous structures that we have seen with *peta'ama*. The surface properties of *met'ish* are the following.

A. *Met'ish* can appear alone in a null-head NC, with or without case and/or number inflection.

- (29) a. *Met'i-sh = ku'ut pe-tulush-qal*.  
 MUCH-NPN = REP      3S-GRIND-PIS  
 It is said that she ground **a lot** (of flour). (Faye General Kearney FN 86 136)
- b. *Met'i-ch-am = ku'ut pem-qal*.  
 MANY-NPN-PL = REP      3PL-BE.THERE  
 There were **many** there, it is said. (Chitmal 002)

It can appear in complex NC's, in the agreement configurations discussed in 9.2.

- (30) a. *Ne' = 'ep meti-sh-m-i ašhwe-t-m-i mi = ne-tew*.  
 ISPRO = R      MANY-NPN-PL-O      EAGLE-NPN-PL-O      3PLO = 1S-SEE  
 I saw **many eagles**. (Faye field notes 4-6-27 20 fp)
- b. *Suplewe-t naxani-sh memelki-ly pe-'u-'un-i-lyu a-yka*  
 ONE-NPN      MAN-NPN      LANGUAGE-NPN      3S-DUP-TEACH-IN-MOTP LOCB-TO  
*temam-ka ki-sh met'i-ka*.  
 NORTH-TO      HOUSE-NPN      MANY-TO  
 A man went to teach the language there in the north where there are **many houses**. (Faye San Quentin 010)

B. *Met'ish* can appear either before or after the noun. And, as was also shown above in the examples in (13), it can either precede or follow an adverb like *atire* 'very, really'.

- (31) a. *Atire met'i-sh yewa-l nengu-qa.*  
 VERY MUCH-NPN SALT-NPN HAVE-PRS  
 It has too much salt. (1 23)
- b. *Atire kawī-sh met'i-sh tang-pe-yax-wen.*  
 VERY ROCK-NPN MANY-NPN PILE-3S-YAX-PIPL  
 There were **a whole lot of rocks** piled up there. (Fox and Buzzard 020)
- c. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-'aw gayiina'-am atire met'i-ch-am*  
 AND = REP ODEM-AT CHICKEN-PL VERY MANY-NPN-PL  
*tem-pem-yax-wen.*  
 CLOSE-3PL-YAX-PIPL  
 And it is said there were **a whole lot of chickens** cooped up there.  
 (Fox and Buzzard 008)

Constructions where demonstratives intervene between *met'ish* and the noun should not be considered discontinuous; this is a consequence of variable NC-internal word order of the first type mentioned above, where either QD or DQ is possible.

- (32) *Mu = ku'ut met'i-sh i'i nemxa-t pe-wen, ataxa-m*  
 AND = REP MANY-NPN THIS GIFT-NPN 3S-BE.THERE PERSON-PL  
*pem-kwaani.*  
 3PL-FOR  
 And it is said there were many of these presents for the people. (Eagle I 049)

The following types of discontinuous constituents are attested with *met'ish*.

A. With interrupting clitic. In (33a), where the reportative clitic = *ku'ut* follows the whole NC rather than the first word. However, in (33b) we see the reportative following the first word.

- (33) a. *Pe-na'akwa-nim met'i-ch-am = ku'ut pem-qal.*  
 3S-CHILD-PL MANY-NPN-PL = REP 3PL-BE.THERE  
 It is said many of her children were there. (Coyote and Crows 008)

- b. *Akni-ch-im* = *ku'ut*    *met'i-ch-am*    *pem-qal*.  
 LINNET-NPN-PL = REP    MANY-NPN-PL    3PL-BE.THERE  
 It is said **many linnets** were there. (Linnets 001)

B. With interrupting full locational specifier.

- (34) *Met'i-ch-am*    *ivi-'aw*    *mekwa-ch-im*    *pem-qal*.  
 MANY-NPN-PL    PDEM-AT FLEA-NPN-PL    3PL-BE.THERE  
 There were **many fleas** here. (Warners III 031)

C. With interrupting clitics, unrelated noun, verb. Recall that the DCOC requires that where a verb interrupts such a constituent the order must be Q...V...N, as in (35).

- (35) *Met'i-sh* = *qwe = me*    *pem-ne'e-m*    *tewašh-wene*    *pem-kwa'-i*,  
 MUCH-NPN = NI = 3PLERG    3PL-RELATIVE-PL    LOSE-CUSTPL    3PL-FOOD-O  
*pem-hiṣexve-y*, *pem-qish-ki'a-y*.  
 3PL-CLOTHES-O    3PL-MONEY-PSD-O  
 Their relatives would expend **a lot of food**, clothing, money. (Faye Initiation 186 13 081)

**9.4.3. NUMERALS.** Numerals, like other attributives, can appear in discontinuous constituents. Their surface properties are enumerated below. Unlike the true quantifiers, they are not subject to the DCOC, so they can appear anywhere either in continuous or discontinuous constituents. As with the alternation between *met'ish* 'much, many', a determiner quantifier, and its cognate *melen* 'a lot', an adverbial quantifier, numerals exhibit cognate adverbial forms, as discussed in 6.3. Examples are shown in (44) below.

A. Numerals can appear alone in null-head NC's and can be inflected in such constructions.

- (36) *Minchen*    *suli-t-i* = *ku'ut*    *a-yka*    *pe-yawichi-qal*.  
 EVEN.IF    ONE-NPN-O = REP    LOCB-TO    3S-BRING-PIS  
 She would take it there even if it was only **one thing**. (KP I 025)

B. Numerals can appear in either order with N. Numerals greater than one are always pluralized with animates, as seen in (37c), in which case the NPN *-sh* appears before the plural suffix.

- (37) a. *Mu* = *ku'ut*    *suli-t*    *gayiina*    *pe-hiw-qal*.  
 AND = REP    ONE-NPN CHICKEN    3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 And it is said **one hen** was there. (Coyote and Hen 002)

b. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-'aw sisqingi-ly sulī-t pe-hīw-qal.*  
 AND = REP ODEM-AT STINKBUG-NPN ONE-NPN 3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 And it is said **one stinkbug** was there. (Coyote Growing Up 022)

c. *Wih-ch-am men pah-ch-im ne-n-t-am qa'.*  
 TWO-NPN-PL OR THREE-NPN-PL DUP-CHIEF-NPN-PL BE.THERE  
 Two or three chiefs are there. (Faye Images I 1)

C. Numerals can appear in either order with the determiner.

(38) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e sul gaatu versīnu mekw-pe-n = ku'ut.*  
 AND = REP DET = CF ONE CAT STRIPED LOOK.OUT-3S-IN = REP  
 And it is said **the one striped kitten** peeked out, it is said. (Coyote and Cat 025)

b. *Mu = ku'ut sulī-t pe' pēskaadu pe-yax,*  
 AND = REP ONE-NPN DET FISH 3S-SAY  
 “*Isily ta' misily, aaylya! Pal amuyeniyy!*”  
 (MAGICAL FORMULA)  
 And it is said **one fish** said, “Coyote Shmoyote, *aaylya!* Water rising!” (Coyote and Flood 020)

Numerals are attested in discontinuous constituents with the following types of interrupting elements.

A. Interrupting clitic.

(39) *Kelawe-t = ku'ut wih wash-pe-yax-wen.*  
 STICK-NPN = REP TWO STICK.IN-3S-YAX-PIPL  
 There were **two sticks** stuck in. (Coyote and Juncoes 001)

(40) *Sulī-t = ku'ut naxani-sh pe-hīw-qal.*  
 ONE-NPN = REP MAN-NPN 3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 There was **one man**, it is said. (KP I 001)

B. Interrupting verb

(41) *Mu = ku'ut wishch-am pem-neq na-nxa-ch-im, ami-ve'e-ch-im.*  
 AND = REP TWO-PL 3PL-COME DUP-MAN-NPN-PL HUNT-AG-NPN-PL  
 And it is said **two men** came, hunters. (Fox and Cat 014)

C. Interrupting verb plus adverb. Note that numerals are not restricted by the DCOC; in (42) we see the order N...V...Num, while in (41) we saw Num...V...N. In (34) there is no afterthought contour.

- (42) *Mu = ku'ut awa-l-im pem-neq pish'amay siingku.*  
 AND = REP DOG-NPN-PL 3PL-COME IMMEDIATELY FIVE  
 And it is said that right behind came **five dogs**. (Fox and Cat 015)

D. Interrupting full locational specifier (with *sulit amay* 'just one').

- (43) *Mu = ku'ut sulit-t amay axwa-'aw tisixa-t pe-hiw-qal.*  
 AND = REP ONE-NPN JUST ODEM-AT COTTONTAIL-NPN 3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 And it is said **just one cottontail** was there. (Coyote and Wolf 010)

Genuinely adverbial numerals do exist; they have a special suffixes, *-sh*, *-s*, *-kan*, or *-kun* (see 6.3).

- (44) a. *Me aya sulyi-sh axwe-ch-i = ku'ut kaamara aya*  
 AND THEN ONE-TIME ODEM-NPN-O = REP ROCKET THEN  
*pat-pe'-men-wen.*  
 SHOOT-3PL-IN.PL-PIPL  
 And then **one time** it is said they shot off that rocket then. (San Francisco 016)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pi = cheng-en-cheng-en-pe-n paa-s.*  
 AND = REP 3SO = KICK-DUP-KICK-DUP-3S-IN THREE-TIMES  
 And it is said he kicked it **three times**. (RN Creation 023)

**9.4.4. DEMONSTRATIVES.** Baker (1996) states that discontinuous constituents with demonstratives are the rarest type in Mohawk (with only one clear example in texts), and that Mohawk speakers often find elicited examples awkward. In contrast, in Cupeño demonstrative–noun discontinuity is the most common type.

Demonstratives can occur alone in null-head NC's, with or without inflection, as in (45).

- (45) a. *I'i = she = pe aput meqa-qa.*  
 PDEM = DUB = IRR ALREADY KILL-PRS  
**This one** must have already killed her. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 055)
- b. *Ivi-y = che = pe wel-nin.*  
 PDEM-O = 1PLERG = IRR GROW-CAUS.F  
 We will make **this one** grow. (Eagle I 021)



They can occur in NC's with additional components, again, with variable marking of inflection. In complex NC's they are always before N.

- (46) a. *Mu = ku'ut i'i tisixa-t qay hi-sh pe-hiwchu-qal.*  
AND = REP PDEM COTTONTAIL-NPN NOT WHAT-NPN 3S-KNOW-PIS  
 And it is said **this Cottontail Rabbit** didn't know. (Fox and Cottontail 008)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe-nenmin axwe-ch-i kawisi-ch-i.*  
AND = REP 3S-CHASE ODEM-NPN-O FOX-NPN-O  
 And it is said he chased **that Fox**. (Fox and Cottontail 017)
- c. *Me aya i'i-m na-nxa-ch-im pish'amay wichich-am*  
AND THEN PDEM-PL DUP-MAN-NPN-PL IMMEDIATELY FOUR-PL  
*pe'-miyax-wen.*  
3PL-BE-PIST  
 And then suddenly (came) **these men**, there were four of them. (Easter 017)

The types of discontinuous constituents seen with demonstratives are the following.

A. Interrupting clitic. This is a very common construction; in fact, DN = CL is not attested, parallel to the situation with *peta'ama* 'all'. The object-case marker on inanimate *pali* 'water-object case' (47) is a very rare sort of example.

- (47) *Ivi-y = ne pal-i malaxw-i-qat me = ne = pe aya pa'.*  
PDEM-O = 1SERG WATER-O TASTE-IN-IF AND = 1S = IRR THEN DRINK.F  
 I'm gonna taste **this water** before I drink it. (7 111 114)

B. Interrupting verb.

- (48) *Mu = ku'ut peta'am-i axwe-ch-i pi = maq-pe-n huya-l.*  
AND = REP ALL-O ODEM-NPN-O 3SO = GATHER-3S-IN ARROW-NPN  
 And it is said he gathered up **all those arrows**. (KP I 066)

C. Interrupting adverb.

- (49) *Mu = ku'ut axwe-ch-im piyama na-nxa-ch-im, a-'wely-am*  
AND = REP ODEM-NPN-PL ALWAYS DUP-MAN-NPN-PL DUP-GROWN-PL  
*pem-yax-wen, ...*  
3PL-SAY-PIPL  
 And it is said **those men** always said, the old ones ... (Eagle I 006)

## D. Interrupting verb plus full locational specifier.

- (50) *Mu = ku'ut aya axwe-ch-i yelish-pe'-men-wen a-yka peta'am-i*  
 AND = REP THEN ODEM-NPN-O CLEAN-3PL-IN.PL-PIS LOCB-TO ALL-O  
*pe-sheva-y.*  
 3S-SHELLED.ACORN-O  
 And then they cleaned **all of those shelled acorns**. (Acorn Time 007)

E. Intervening relational noun construction. Note that the example in (51) involves a peculiar order of the relational noun phrase; usually the order is N PN-POSTP. There is no “afterthought” contour for *nawikati*. However, it perhaps should be considered an afterthought, in which case this is not a discontinuous constituent.

- (51) *Mu = ku'ut aya pe' = e pe-yax pe' naxqni-sh axwe-ch-i pe-yik*  
 AND = REP THEN DET = CF 3S-SAY DET MAN-NPN ODEM-NPN-O 3S-TO  
*nawika-t-i ...*  
 WOMAN-NPN-O  
 And it is said then the man said to **that woman** ... (KP II 034)

F. Interrupting unrelated nominal or NC. The examples in (52), where a discontinuous NC includes among its interruptors an unrelated nominal or NC, exhibit truly Latinate excess.

- (52) a. *Qay = qwe = p mi-pa axwe-sh ne'e-y kawisi-sh*  
 NOT = NONI = 3SERG INDEF-TIME ODEM-NPN ISPRO-O FOX-NPN  
*ni = mix-an.*  
 1SO = DO-AA.N.HAB  
**That Fox** can't ever do anything to me. (Fox and Cottontail 020)
- b. *Me aya axwe-ch-i pe-m na-nxa-ch-im tema-l pe-chi*  
 AND THEN ODEM-NPN-O DET-PL DUP-MAN-NPN-PL GROUND 3S-OBL  
*mi = yev-pe'-men-wen axwe-sh-m-i nang'aw-t-am-i.*  
 3PLO = BURY-3PL-INPL-PIPL ODEM-NPN-PL-O IMAGE-NPN-PL-O  
 And then those men buried those images **with that dirt**. (Burning 049)

## G. Interrupting clitic complex.

- (53) *Axwe-ch-i = ne = pe ne-washa-y pe-yik tutuchin ne-pashma-y*  
 ODEM-NPN-O = 1S = IRR 1S-SI.IN.LAW-O 3S-TO TELL.F 1S-O.BRO-O  
*pe-chi.*  
 3S-OBL  
 I'm gonna tell **that sister-in-law of mine** about my older brother. (9 41 4)

## H. Interrupting clitic and verb.

- (54) *E-t-i=p*                    *e'e*    *yewini-ni-qa*    *pulinyi-ch-i*.  
 DDEM-NPN-O = 2SERG    2SPRO    SPOILED-CAUS-PRS    CHILD-NPN-O  
 You're gonna spoil **that child**. (8 5 300)

**9.4.5.** “DETERMINER” *PE'*, *PEM(EM)* IN COMPLEX NC'S. *Pe'*, the determiner, which appears in the plural as *pe-m* or *pe-m-em*, is extremely common in narrative discourse, since it has important anaphoric and reference-tracking functions. In these functions it appears alone (where it is anaphoric) and with nouns and other components of complex NC's. In complex NC's the determiner is usually the site for marking contrastive focus, an important reference-tracking device which in narrative shows a shift from one actor to another (see 12.2.2). An important consideration for the interpretation of determiners is that they are homophonous with third-person independent pronouns *pe'* and *pem*. When one of these forms appears before possessed nouns it either encodes the PN of the possessor, functioning as a third-person pronoun, or is interpreted as a determiner on the possessed noun. This point is discussed in 6.5. In relational noun constructions, *pe'* or *pem* preceding the relational noun functions as a pronoun and encodes the object of the relational noun. However, as noted above in 9.2, the forms are never inflected with object-case markers, whether they are functioning as pronouns or as determiners. Nor do they accept locative or oblique-case suffixes. Finally, determiners appear in cleft sentences and mark the beginning of many types of relative clauses (these sentence types are discussed in 11.2.2.1). Determiners are “definite.” However, nouns without determiners, standing alone, can also have a definite reading.

The determiner appears with nouns, numerals, demonstratives, and other elements in complex NC's, exhibiting the usual patterns of agreement as discussed in 9.2.

- (55) a. *Me pe' mulu'we-t pe-tul-qa*.  
 AND DET FIRST-NPN                    3S-FINISH-PRS  
 And **the first one** finishes. (Burning 022)
- b. *Me pe'=e supul pe-tul-qal*.  
 AND DET = CF OTHER                    3S-FINISH-PIS  
 And **the other** would finish. (Burning 024)
- c. *Pe'=e suli-t xwayaxwene-t mek-pe-n*.  
 DET = CF ONE-NPN WHITE-NPN                    PEEK.OUT-3S-IN  
**The white one** peeked out. (Coyote and Cat 020)

- d. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e sul gaatu vers̄inu mekw-pe-n.*  
 AND = REP DET = CF ONE CAT STRIPED PEEK.OUT-3S-IN  
 And it is said **the one striped kitten** peeked out. (Coyote and Cat 025)
- e. *Pe-m paatu-'um pem-she-shem-wen = ku'ut.*  
 DET-PL DUCK-PL 3PL-DUP-LAUGH-PIPL = REP  
 It is said **the ducks** were laughing. (Wind and Ducks 003)
- f. *Mu = ku'ut atire wawashi-sh pe' triiwa pe-miyax-wen.*  
 AND = REP VERY TALL-NPN DET WHEAT 3S-BE-PIST  
 And it is said **the wheat** was real tall. (Coyote and Crows 003)

In possessive constructions, determiners immediately before the possessed noun can determine that noun.

- (56) a. *Pe' = she = pe pe' ne-na-y pe-ta meqni-ve-l.*  
 DET = DUB = IRR DET 1S-FATHER-O 3S-PLACE KILLI-SUBR-NPN  
 It must be the place where **my father** was killed. (Faye KP109 94 044)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e pem-ye pe-yax, "Aya = n hash-i-qat."*  
 AND = REP DET = CF 3PL-MOTHER 3S-SAY NOW = 1SABS GO-YAX-IF  
 And it is said **their mother** said, "I'm going now." (Coyote and Cat 005)

Determiners can appear as objects with relational nouns but in this function they are never marked for case. The example in (57b), where the determiner *pe'* does not agree in number with the relational noun object, is aberrant, but a similar example appears in the Faye materials.

- (57) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe-ngax pe' pe-yik pem-changnew.*  
 AND = REP 3S-FROM 3SPRO 3S-TO 3PL-GET.ANGRY  
 And it is said for that reason they got angry **at him**. (not ambiguous)  
 (Faye Creation 096)
- b. *Me axwe-ch-i pe-chi aya hisexve-l wichax-pe'-men-wen*  
 AND ODEM-NPN-O 3S-OBL THEN CLOTHES-NPN THROW-3PL-INPL-PIPL  
**pe' pem-eve.**  
 DET 3PL-OVER  
 And then with that they threw clothes **over them**. (Burning 043)

Determiners are always initial in complex NC's. While there are examples of "resumptive" anaphoric pronouns, as in (58), these cannot be interpreted as determiners.

- (58) a. *Mu-ku'ut tamawe-t, pe' pe-hiw-qal.*  
 AND = REP MOCKINGBIRD-NPN 3SPRO 3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 And it is said as for Mockingbird, he was there. (Coyote at the Birds' Church 003)

- b. *Gayina = ku'ut, pe' = e atire ay'ani-sh wiwa-t*  
 CHICKEN = REP 3SPRO = CF VERY BIG-NPN FAT-NPN  
*pe-miyax-wen.*  
 3S-BE-PIST  
 As for Hen, it is said she was real big and fat. (Coyote and Hen 016)

As discussed in 9.2, determiners never appear with object-case suffixes or locative suffixes. As noted above, determiners can appear as the null-head objects of relational nouns, without object-case markers. The examples in (64) show determiners with nouns marked with locative suffixes. The determiner never appears with these suffixes.

- (59) a. *Tav-aan-pe-qal = ku'ut axwe-ch-i mulyak-i pe'*  
 PUT.IN-AAN-3S-PIS = REP ODEM-NPN-O LIZARD-O DET  
*pe-chayma-nga.*  
 3S-BASKET-INL  
 He put that lizard **into his basket**, it is said. (Coyote and Flood 018)

- b. *A-yka = ku'ut pe' = e Sherman-ika chem-ngiiy.*  
 LOCB-TO = REP DET = CF SHERMAN-TO 1PL-GO.AWAY  
 It is said we went off **to the Sherman Institute**. (Warners I 051)

The determiner appears in cleft sentences (see 11.2.2.1), as in (60), where it heads a relative clause (embedded under a zero copula; see 10.1). “Double” plurals on determiners and third-person pronouns, as in (60), are fairly common; such extra plural marking is also frequently seen on the plural discourse-participant pronouns, which appear often as *emem* ‘you pl.’, *chemem* ‘we’.

- (60) a. *Et-im = el pe-m-em na-nxa-ch-am sex-in-wen-t-im.*  
 DDEM-NPN-PL = 3PLABS DET-PL-PL DUP-MAN-NPN-PL BURN-IN-PIPL-NPN-PL  
 These are the men who were setting fires. (Faye 2–6–27 f23 433)

Determiners mark the beginning of all kinds of relative clauses, as in (61).

- (61) a. *Ne' = 'ep ne-tew awa-l-m-i pe' hunwe-t-i mamayewi-sh-m-i.*  
 ISPRO = R IS-SEE DOG-NPN-PL-O DET BEAR-NPN-O HELP-NPN-PL-O  
 I saw the dogs that helped the bear. (J 25 209)

- b. *Me aya nanva-ya-qa pe' tewan-pe'-men-'a.*  
 AND THEN BE.READY-YAX-PRS DET NAME-3PL-INPL-PSD  
 And then the time comes that they named. (Faye Images Jan 7 1921 0991)
- c. *Me axwa-nga pe' ngiy-qat-im.*  
 AND ODEM-INL DET GO.AWAY-IF-PL  
 And in there is where you will go away. (Warners I 042)
- d. *Pe-m-em petq'a-nim lepek-yax-ch-am chawyaw-yax-am!*  
 DET-PL-PL ALL-PL KNEEL-YAX-NPN-PL-PL GET.UP-YAX-IMPPL  
 All those who are kneeling, stand up! (Faye field notes 4–6–27 5 124)

Complex NC's with determiners are attested in the following types of discontinuous constituents.

#### A. Interrupting clitic

- (62) a. *Pe' = ku'ut maas suli-t naxani-sh ivawe-t pe-miyax-wen.*  
 DET = REP MOST ONE-NPN MAN-NPN STRONG-NPN 3S-BE-PIST  
 It is said **the one man** was the strongest. (Eagle I 007)
- b. *Pe-m = ku'ut awa-l-im pem-kush.*  
 DET-PL = REP DOG-NPN-PL 3PL-BARK  
**The dogs** barked. (Fox and Cat 016)
- c. *Pe' = qwe-p kutve'-ve'e-sh pe-nawik-'a mi = humi-ne*  
 DET = NONI = 3SERG FIRE.TENDER-AG-NPN 3S-WOMAN-PSD 3PLO = PAINT-CUSTS  
*tu-l tawalaxa-t pe-chi.*  
 BLACK-NPN WHITE.CLAY-NPN 3S-OBL  
**The wife of the firetender** paints them with charcoal and white clay.  
 (Faye Initiation 200 28 093)

#### B. Interrupting verb.

- (63) *Mu = ku'ut pe' pe-yax tisixa-t ...*  
 AND = REP DET 3S-SAY COTTONTAIL-NPN  
 And it is said **the Cottontail** said ... (Fox and Cottontail 022)

#### C. Interrupting temporal adverb (with *qay ... mipa* discontinuity interleaving).

- (64) *Mu = ku'ut qay pe' = e mi-pa su'i-sh men-pe-yi-ngiy.*  
 AND = REP NOT DET = CF INDEF-TIME JACKRABBIT-NPN TURN.AROUND-3S-YAX-MOTG  
 And **the Jackrabbit** never came back. (Coyote and Rabbit 068)

## D. Interrupting manner adverb.

- (65) *Mu = ku'ut pe' piyama-nga wiyika kawisi-sh ishmivi-y*  
 AND = REP DET STILL-INL AROUND FOX-NPN SOMETHING-O  
*pe-hal-ngiy-qal pe-qwa'-pi.*  
 3S-SEARCH-MOTG-PIS 3S-EAT-SUBIRR  
 And it is said **the Fox** was always going off looking for something to eat.  
 (Fox and Buzzard 002)

E. Interrupting full locational specifier. (66) is another instance, like that in (28), where a false start in the “performance” in (a) with an extra determiner is corrected in “teaching” in (b), but the discontinuous constituent survives undisturbed.

- (66) a. *Me sulit pe' axwa-'aw pe' = e teeching-ve'e-sh pe-hiw-qal.*  
 AND ONE-NPN DET ODEM-AT DET = CF ORDER-AGTV-NPN 3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 And one person, **the principal**, was there. (Warners I 047)
- b. *Me sulit pe' axwa-'aw teeching-ve'e-sh pe-hiw-qal.*  
 AND ONE-NPN DET ODEM-AT ORDER-AGTV-NPN 3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 And one person, **the principal**, was there.

## F. Interrupting particles including negatives

- (67) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e qay pe-ye pe-qwa'i-vichu-qal.*  
 AND = REP DET = CF NOT 3S-MOTHER 3S-EATI-DES-PIS  
 And it is said **his mother** did not want to eat. (KP I 004)
- b. *Pe' = e chinga atax'a meqa-qa suqa-t-i, mu = ku'ut qay*  
 DET = CF IF PERSON KILL-PRS DEER-NPN-O AND = REP NOT  
*pe-qwa'-pi miyax-we.*  
 3S-EAT-SUBIRR BE-PRST  
 If **a person** kills a deer, it is said he cannot eat it. (KP I 010)

G. Interrupting unrelated determiner phrase. Note that the two sentences below are the two pair parts of a conversational exchange in a narrative. The second pair part preserves the discontinuous structure of the first, while changing the evidential and deictic elements.

- (68) a. *Pe' = she = pe pe' ne-na-y pe-ta meqni-ve-l.*  
 DET = DUB = IRR DET 1S-FATHER-O 3S-PLACE KILLi-SUBR-NPN  
 It must be **the place** where my father was killed. (Faye KP109 94 044)

- b. *Pe'* = *am*    *pe' e-na-y*    *pe-ta*    *meqni-ve-l*.  
 DET = MIR    DET 2S-FATHER-O    3S-PLACE    KILLi-SUBR-NPN

It is indeed **the place** where your father was killed. (Faye KP 109 95 045)

**9.4.6. ADJECTIVES AND ATTRIBUTIVE DEVERBAL FORMS.** Cupeño has a small inventory of primary adjectives, discussed in Chapter 6, and can derive adjectives from verbs by adding NPN suffixes to verbal bases, as discussed in Chapter 8.

Adjectives of either type can appear alone. It is not clear, however, that these should be considered null-head constructions. The reason is that adjectives are not formally distinct from nouns, since they appear with NPN suffixes except for a very few non-derived adjectives like *akulyi* ‘little’. However, adjectives, both derived and non-derived, unlike true nouns, can modify other nouns. A null-head example, with a Spanish loan adjective *liimpyu* ‘clean’ (< *limpio*), is shown in (69).

- (69) *Anuk* = 'ep *liimpyu'u-m*    *a-ngax*    *me chem-ngiy*.  
 THUS = R    CLEAN-PL    LOCB-FROM    AND IPL-GO.AWAY

Thus we went away from there “cleaned out.” (Warners III 012)

In complex NC's, adjectives can appear either before or after the noun. Example (70a) shows NA order, which is more common (although constructions with nouns and adjectives are in general rare, so I doubt whether the difference is a meaningful one), while example (70b) shows AN. In example (70b) it is clear that the adjective is discourse-prominent, and the AN order may be part of this prominence.

- (70) a. *Yawichi-'* *ki-sh*    *ay'ani-yka*.  
 CARRY-IMP    HOUSE-NPN    BIG-TO

Take it to the **Big House**. (KP I 006)

- b. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-'aw* *aku::lyi*    *waxachi-ly*    *pe-hiw-qal*.  
 AND = REP    ODEM-LOC    LITTLE    FROG-NPN    3S-BE.THERE-PIS

And it is said a **little bitty frog** was there. (Coyote and Flood 024)

Adjectives agree with their nouns according to the patterns discussed in 9.2. The main point of variability here involves locative suffixes with inanimate nouns, as shown in (71). In (71a) there is agreement in *savq̄t'aw xwaxwaxwavi'aw* ‘on the green grass’, but in (71b) *savq̄l* ‘grass’ is not suffixed with the locative. Note, however, that the position of the reportative evidential clitic = *ku'ut* following *savq̄l xwaxwaxwavi'aw* strongly suggest that the two items together make up the first constituent of the sentence (although this argument is not definitive, since = *ku'ut*, while it is usually a second-position clitic, manifests some freedom in where it appears).



- (71) a. *Me = che = pe*      *i = kuṣh-qan-i-nuk,*      *i = tav-qan-in*  
 AND = 1PLERG = IRR      2SO = GET-AAAN-IN-SS      2SO = PUT-AAAN-IN.F  
*sava-t-'aw*      *xwavi-xwavi'i-nga'aw.*  
 GRASS-ACC-ON      DUP-GREEN-ON  
 And having picked you up, we'll put you down **on the green grass.**  
 (Coyote and Flood 055)

- b. *Sava-l*      *xwavi-xwavi-'aw = ku'ut pem-qal.*  
 GRASS-NPN      DUP-GREEN-ON = REP      3PL-BE.THERE  
 They were there **on the green grass**, it is said. (Coyote and Flood 046)

(72) repeats examples of concord between adjectives and animate nouns, but the absence of concord with inanimates. In (72a), there is agreement for case in *ataxay wawaṣhichi*, but in (72b), with the inanimate noun *saval*, *ivi-y* 'this' and *xwavi-xwavi'ichi* 'green' are marked for object case, whereas *saval* is not.

- (72) a. *Me = 'e = pe*      *tewi-qat*      *qe'*      *ataxa-y*      *wawaṣhi-ch-i.*  
 AND = 2SERG = IRR      SEE-IF      BITE.F      PERSON-O      TALL-NPN-O  
 And when you see him, you will bite **the tall person.** (Faye Creation 039)
- b. *Wiyika pe-hal-ngi-qal*      *ivi-y*      *sava-l*      *xwavi-xwavi'i-ch-i.*  
 AROUND      3S-LOOK.FOR-MOTG-PIS      PDEM-O      GRASS-NPN      DUP-GREEN-NPN-O  
 He was going around looking for **this green grass.** (Fox and Cottontail 003)

The example in (73) illustrates number agreement between noun and adjective.

- (73) *Mu = ku'ut mukikma-ly-im*      *wishcha-m*      *aku-kulyi'-im*  
 AND = REP      BIRD-NPN-PL      TWO.PL-PL      DUP-LITTLE-PL  
*pem-qal.*  
 3PL-BE.THERE  
 And it is said **two little birds** were there. (Coyote and Juncoes 002)

When adverbs appear, they always precede the adjective, unlike the situation with quantifiers, where either AdvQ or QAdv order is possible.

- (74) *Mu = ku'ut ooya atire ay'ani-sh pe-tav.*  
 AND = REP      POT      VERY      BIG-NPN      3S-PUT.ON  
 And it is said she put on a real big pot. (Coyote and Hen 048)

Adjectives occur in the following types of discontinuous constituents.

A. Interrupting clitic. Here, (75a) shows the uninterrupted construction where the reportative follows the whole constituent. (75b) shows the more usual interrupted NC.

- (75) a. *Sava-l xwavi-xwavi-'aw = ku'ut pem-qal.*  
 GRASS-NPN DUP-GREEN-AT = REP 3PL-BE.THERE  
 They were there **on the green grass**. (Coyote and Flood 046)
- b. *Gayiina-'i = che = pe atire ay'ani-sh wiwa-t-i qwa'i-qt-am.*  
 CHICKEN-O = 1PL = IRR VERY BIG-NPN FAT-NPN-O EAT-IF-PL  
 We are going to eat **a real big fat hen**. (Coyote and Hen 049)

B. Interrupting verb.

- (76) *Mu = ku'ut aya ishmivi-y pe-chi pi = hum-pe-n kilyi-kilyi-ve'e-ch-i.*  
 AND = REP THEN SOMETHING-O 3S-OBL 3SO = PAINT-3S-IN DUP-SLIDE-AGTV-NPN-O  
 And it is said then she spread on him something greasy. (Coyote and Wolf 057)

C. Interrupting adverb.

- (77) *Mukat mi = pe-'ichaayewni atax-m-i amay qal-t-am-i.*  
 MUKAT 3PLO = 3S-MAKE PERSON-PL-O TODAY DWELL-NPN-PL-O  
 Mukat made **the people who dwell on the earth** today. (Faye Creation 005)

D. Interrupting unrelated noun.

- (78) *Me = qwe = me supu-l-m-i atax-m-i pem-ne'e-m*  
 AND = NI = 3PLERG SOME-NPN-PL-O PERSON-PL-O 3PL-RELATIVE-PL  
*tan-in-wen-t-im-i mi = max-wene qichi-ly.*  
 DANCE-IN-PIS-NPN-PL-O 3PLO = GIVE-CUSTPL MONEY-NPN  
 And the relatives give **some of the people who are dancing** money. (Faye Images 1–7–21 SV 100a)

**9.4.7. LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AND FULL LOCATIONAL SPECIFIERS.** Hale and Selkirk (1987) identified “full locational specifiers” (FLS) in Tohono O’odham. FLS’s in Cupeño are formed by inflecting demonstrative locative bases. These are *ivi-* ‘this’ (PDEM), *eve-* ‘that’ (DDEM), *axwa-* ‘that’ (ODEM), and *a-* ‘that’ (LOCB (ODEM locative base for directional suffixes)). These bases appear with locative suffixes, *-’aw* ‘at’, *-nga* ‘in, on, at’, *-ngax* ‘from’, *-nga’aw* ‘on’, *-ve’aw* ‘among,’ and *-(i)ka* ‘to’, subject to the constraints discussed in 6.4.2. These can appear alone as the only indicator of location in a sentence, or they can appear in complex nominal constructions with other elements; Hale and Selkirk (1987) argue

that their syntactic role in such constructions is as “specifier” of the locational phrase headed by the locative suffix.

The Cupeño construction where FLS’s appear with other elements is identical to that in Tohono O’odham, exhibiting the order FLS, N-LOCATIVE (or relational noun construction, PN-RN). The similarities between the locative constructions in the two languages extends to the fact that some nouns even exhibit the fossilized accusative-case suffix *-t* that is also seen in Tohono O’odham; compare Cupeño *tema-t-’aw* (earth-ACC-on) ‘on the earth’) with Tohono O’odham formations like *Cukṣon-t-’am* (Tucson-ACC-to) ‘to Tucson’.

FLS’s can appear alone without any additional material in the NC, as in (79).

- (79) a. *Me = ne = pe ne’ ivi-ngax yal-ax.*  
 AND = 1S = IRR 1SPRO PDEM-FROM FLY-YAX.F  
 And I will jump **from here**. (Faye KP 078a)
- b. *Eve-’aw = en hiw-qal-et.*  
 DDEM-AT = 1SABS BE.THERE-PIS-NPN  
 I stayed **over there**. (Faye KP 117 129 053)
- c. *Me ataxa-m axwa-’aw i-’inyo-’om.*  
 AND PERSON-PL ODEM-AT DUP-INDIAN-PL  
 And the people **there** are Indians. (Faye Mojaves 011b)

FLS’s also appear in construction with nouns and adjectives. In these constructions, the FLS is always first, as is expected since many of them are transparently related to demonstratives. With forms that accept locative suffixes, they can be marked for agreement. In (80) there are two FLS constructions, *angax kingax* ‘from the house’ and *ayka kilmayka* ‘to outside’. In each case the FLS has the same suffix as the noun.

- (80) *Me a-ngax ki-ngax a-yka kilma-yka chimi = chi’in-pe-qal.*  
 AND LOCB-FROM HOUSE-FROM LOCB-TO OUTSIDE-TO 1PLO = CARRY-3S-(IN)-PIS  
 And **from there from the house to there to outside** he carried us. (Faye Initiation CN 31-12-20 008)

However, this suffixal agreement does not always mean the suffix on the FLS and the suffix on the noun will be identical. For instance, in the case of (81), the construction *tema-nga* would mean ‘in the ground,’ not ‘on the ground’. The normal meaning for *axwa-’aw* is ‘there’ in the sense of ‘at’, not the narrower sense of ‘on’ (\**axwa-nga-’aw* is not attested; see (87) for another example). So in this case two different suffixes are required to capture the desired sense.

- (81) *Chimi = kwiv-kwiv-pe'-men axwa-nga tema-t-'aw.*  
 1PLO = DUP-LIE-3PL-IN.PL ODEM-INL GROUND-ACC-ON  
 They laid us down **there on the ground.** (Faye Initiation CN 31-12-20 002)

Similarly, in (82) we see a fixed idiom, *puk-ngax* ‘by, at the door’; I have never seen \**puk-'aw*. *Axwa-ngax* would mean ‘from there’, which is not the intended meaning. Hence the two suffixes are not identical.

- (82) *Mu = ku'ut axwa-'aw puk-ngax awa-l pe-kup-wen.*  
 AND = REP ODEM-AT DOOR-BY DOG-NPN 3S-SLEEP-PIST  
 And it is said that **there by the door** a dog was sleeping. (Fox and Buzzard 009)

In (83) we see a failure of agreement according to the usual optionality with inanimates; the construction *a-yka Washington-ika* is in fact attested a few sentences away in the same text.

- (83) “*Wet-in-em,*” *pem-yax = ku'ut,* “*a-yka Washington.*”  
 HIT-IN-IMPER.PL 3PL-SAY = REP LOCB-TO WASHINGTON  
 “Telephone,” they said it is said, “**to there to Washington.**” (Warners II 031)

Although FLS’s and other nominals may have the same locative suffixes and therefore seem to “agree,” they are not always in constituency, as in (84a) and (84b), where there are by coincidence matching locative suffixes, but the FLS and the noun do not belong to the same constituent.

- (84) a. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-nga pe' pem-pi' waxash-ly-am pa-nga*  
 AND = REP ODEM-INL DET 3PL-BEWITCH FROG-NPN-PL WATER-INL  
*ki-k-t-am.*  
 DUP-HOUSE-NPN-PL  
 And **in there** the frogs that live **in the water** made magic. (Faye Creation 108)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut aya tashpa-yka pi = wiw-pe'-men a-yka.*  
 AND = REP THEN SPRING-TO 3SO = SEND-3PL-IN.PL LOCB-TO  
 And it is said then **in the spring** they sent him **to there.** (Faye Encounter 2 4)

Where FLS’s are in constituency with locative-marked nouns or relational noun constructions, the following interrupting elements can create discontinuous constituents.

A. Interrupting clitic. (85a) is unusual for two reasons. First, the clitic follows the locative nominal construction in its entirety. The more usual case is seen in (85b,c) where the clitic is attached to the first word. Second, in this case the FLS follows the locative nominal, which is very unusual. It may be that *wi'at* *pewela'aw* 'under a live oak tree' is topicalized and the FLS is resumptive; recall that we have seen non-locative demonstratives in this resumptive function.

- (85) a. *Wi'a-t*                    *pe-wela'-aw* = *ku'ut*    *axwa'-aw*    *pe-hiw-qal*.  
 LIVE.OAK-NPN            3S-BASE-AT = REP                    ODEM-AT            3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 He stood there beneath a live oak tree. (Coyote and Flood 062)
- b. *Axwa-nga* = *ku'ut*    *pawi-sh*                    *pe-wela-nga*    *hiwen-pe-yax*.  
 ODEM-INL = REP                    BLUE.OAK-NPN                    3S-BASE = INL                    STOP-3S-YAX  
 There it is said he stopped under a blue oak tree. (Coyote and Rabbit 022)
- c. *Axwa'-aw* = *qwe*    *pe-nanaxwi'-aw*    *pe-chi*    *qaylyaxpi*    *isnin-we*  
 ODEM-AT = NONI                    3S-CENTER-AT                    3S-OBL    CANE                    WRITE-PRPL  
*xwayaxwene-t*    *pe-chi*.  
 WHITE-NPN                    3S-OBL  
 There in the middle they paint the cane with white. (Faye Initiation 195  
 23)

B. Interrupting verb.

- (86) *A-ngax*    *chimi* = *muyaq-pe'-men*    *chem-ki-ngax*, *Kupa-ngax*.  
 LOCB-FROM    1PLO = GO.OUT-3PL-IN.PL                    1PL-HOUSE-FROM, CUPA-FROM  
 They moved us **from there from our homes**, from Cupa. (Warners II 002)

C. Interrupting nominal construction.

- (87) *Mu* = *ku'ut*    *axwa-nga*    *axwe-ch-i*    *pe-na'aqwa-y*    *paxal-nga'aw*  
 AND = REP    ODEM-INL    ODEM-NPN-O    3S-CHILD-O                    CRADLE-IN  
*suk-pe-yax-wen*.  
 TIE-3S-YAX-PIST  
 And it is said that **there** that child was tied **on a cradleboard**. (KP II 072)

D. Interrupting noun and verb.

- (88) *Mu* = *ku'ut*    *a-yka*    *isi-ly*                    *pe-ngiiy*    *pe-ki-yka*.  
 AND = REP    LOCB-TO COYOTE-NPN    3S-GO.AWAY    3S-HOUSE-TO  
 And it is said that Coyote went home (**to there to his home**). (Coyote and Wolf 067)

E. Interrupting noun, verb, and adverb. Note that in this example the FLS interrupts the construction *pe' kawish* 'the fox,' so there is interleaved discontinuity.

- (89) *Mu = ku'ut pe' axwa-'aw kawisi-sh piyama het-pe-yax-wen*  
 AND = REP DET ODEM-AT FOX-NPN STILL CROUCH-3S-YAX-PIST  
*sava-t-'aw.*  
 GRASS-ACC-AT  
 And it is said the Fox was still crouching **there in the grass**. (Fox and Cottontail 018)

F. Interrupting unrelated FLS.

- (90) *A-ngax = ku'ut ivi-yka ewepe-ngax pem-neq.*  
 LOCB-FROM = REP PDEM-TO WEST-FROM 3PL-COME  
 It is said they came to here **from there in the west**. (RN KP II 136)

G. Interleaved discontinuity of NC and FLS. (This is an *elicited* sentence!)

- (91) *I'i<sub>1</sub> ivi-'aw<sub>2</sub> ku'a-l<sub>1</sub> hiw-qa ne-kwa'i-'aw<sub>2</sub>.*  
 THIS THIS-AT FLY-NPN STAND-PRS 1S-FOOD-AT  
**This fly<sub>1</sub> is here on my food<sub>2</sub>**. (7 5 50)

Note that in cases like (92), where the locative phrase includes a possessed noun, the possessor noun does not count as an interruption, e.g., where *avaxat pewela'aw* is the fixed expression meaning 'under a cottonwood', literally, 'cottonwood its-base-at'.

- (92) *Mu = ku'ut axwa-'aw avaxa-t pe-wela-'aw,*  
 AND = REP THAT-AT COTTONWOOD-NPN 3S-BASE-AT  
*axwa-'aw = ku'ut teki-sh lyaw-pe-yax-wen.*  
 THAT-AT = REP BURROW-NPN DIG-3S-YAX-PIST  
 And it is said that **there under the cottonwood tree**, there it is said a burrow was dug. (Coyote and Crows 006)

**9.4.8. POSSESSIVES AND RELATIONAL NOUN CONSTRUCTIONS.** Possessive constructions and relational noun constructions are partially similar in their structure. Both have the structure N/PRO PN-N/RELN, where PN is one of the set of person-number prefixes, and the order is rigid. In possessive constructions, the N (noun) or PRO (pronoun) encodes the possessor. In relational noun constructions, N or PRO encodes the object of the RELN (relational noun). The PN prefix agrees with it in person and number. The final element, following the prefix, is the possessed noun or the relational noun. When PN clitics occur in sentences cross-referencing possessors, they are always ergative. In contrast, the animate objects of relational

nouns are marked for object case (except when they are encoded only by determiners, as discussed above). Inanimate objects of relational nouns have object-case markers only on modifiers in the complex NC, not on the noun, as discussed in 9.2.

These facts are illustrated in the examples below. The examples in (93) illustrate possessive constructions, while those in (94) illustrate relational noun constructions.

- (93) a. *ne-t*            *pe-ki*  
           CHIEF-NPN    3S-HOUSE  
           the chief's house
- b. *ne' = ne*            *ne- 'achi*  
           1SPRO = 1SERG    1S-PET  
           my pet
- c. *axwe-ch-im*        *pem-kutapi*  
           ODEM-NPN-PL    3PL-BOW  
           their bow(s)
- (94) a. *supul-i pe-yik*  
           OTHER-O 3S-TO  
           to the other one
- b. *ne'e-y ne-yik*  
           1SPRO-O 1S-TO  
           to me
- c. *pe-ye-y pe-yka*  
           3S-MOTHER-O 3S-BEHIND  
           behind his mother

Most sentences with possessives and relational noun constructions in Cupeño do not exhibit discontinuities. However, a few examples of discontinuous possessive constructions, which come from both elicitation and text, are attested.

#### A. Interrupting clitic.

- (95) **Mukat** = *qwe = l*    **pe-ne'e-m**    *ataxa-m*    *a-'acha'a-m*.  
           MUKAT = NI = 3PLABS    3S-RELATIVE-PL    PERSON-PL    DUP-GOOD-PL  
           **Mukat's followers** are good people. (Faye Initiation 087)

B. Interrupting clitic and verb. The case with an interrupting verb is exceptionally interesting. Roscinda Nolasquez consistently translated elicited sentences involving action on a possessed noun with a possessor in this way. These examples are peculiar in two ways. First, they violate the rigid Possessor, Possessed order and instead show PD...V...PR. Second, they exhibit *Suffixaufnahme* (Plank 1995). That is, the object-case marker appears not only on the possessed noun, but on the possessor noun as well. Examples are shown in (69). The verb form *teqwa'* is a common metathesis from *tewqa'*.

(96) a. *Pe-wiki-y = ne teq-wa' mukikma-l-i.*  
 3S-FEATHER-O = 1SERG SEE-PRS BIRD-NPN-O  
 I see the **bird's feather**. (10 57 173)

b. *Pe-'awa-y = ne teq-wa' tooru-y.*  
 3S-HORN-O = 1SERG SEE-PRS BULL-O  
 I see the **bull's horn**. (10 57 174)

I elicited one example where Roscinda Nolasquez extended *Suffixaufnahme* marking to a continuous possessive construction; this is shown in (97). However, no such examples are attested in texts, either from my own corpus or Faye's.

(97) *Axwe-ch-i naxani-ch-i pe-xuchi pilyev-i-qat.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O MAN-NPN-O 3S-FOOT BREAK.LONG.OBJECT-IN-IF  
 I'm gonna break that man's leg. (7 3 279)

Relational noun constructions are only rarely attested in discontinuous constituency, but examples do occur. Example (98) shows an interrupting clitic and verb.

(98) *Ne-nukma-y = ne = pe tutichin pe-yik ne-paha-y pe-chi.*  
 1S-COUSIN-O = 1S = IRR TELL.F 3S-TO 1S-MO.O.SI-O 3S-ABOUT  
 I'm gonna tell [to] **my cousin** about my aunt. (9 41 6)

**9.4.9. EXTERNAL HEADS AND RELATIVE CLAUSES.** I have not found a discontinuity internal to a relative clause in non-elicited material. Determiner constructions are frequently interrupted in discontinuous constituency, and unrelated interrupting elements can appear between determiners and the relative clauses that they mark, as in the examples in (64) above. However, where relative clauses have external heads, the relative clause is normally immediately adjacent to its head, as in (99).

(99) *Me [axwa-'aw [mi = pem-'ichaaywin-weni-ve-'aw]] pem-ne'e-m*  
 AND ODEM-AT 3PLO = 3PL-MAKE-PIPLI-SUBR-AT 3PL-RELATIVE-PL



*mi* = *nangin-in-we* ...

3PLO = PAY-IN-PRPL

And **there where they were making them** their relatives pay them ... (Faye Images FN 3)

The two examples that do not follow this pattern were both elicited. The example in (100) was collected by Jacobs (1975) and was almost certainly based on an English translation. (101) occurred in a text that Faye prepared in English and had his consultant translate.

- (100) *Naxani-sh* = *pe*    *haw-in* [*pe*'    *Mariiya*    *pe-mamayew-qali-ve*  
 MAN-NPN = IRR            SING-IN.F DET            MARIA            3S-HELP-PISI-SUBR  
*tuku*].

YESTERDAY

**The man** will sing **that Maria was helping yesterday**. (J 3b 174)

- (101) *Met'i-ch* = *e*    *pe-šhe'e*    *tewe*    *axwa-'aw*    *qay*    *mi-pa*  
 MANY-NPN = CF    3S-FLOWER    GROW    ODEM-AT    NOT INDEF-TIME  
*ne-tewi-ve*.

1S-SEEI-SUBR

There were **many flowers** growing there **that I had never seen**. (Faye Past Time 11 274)

**9.4.10. INTERROGATIVES.** Interrogative elements include *hax*<sub>-s</sub> 'who', *hi-sh* 'what', and *mi'i-*, *mivi-* 'indefinite', with appropriate suffix for 'where', 'when', 'how'. The morphology of interrogatives was introduced in 6.4. The role of interrogatives in questions and negative expressions is detailed in 10.3.

All of the constructions in my materials with "discontinuous" NC's with interrogatives are from elicitation; these are enumerated below. Example (102) shows a "continuous" constituent, *mi'i pe' maas naxanish*, which can be contrasted with the "discontinuous" examples below.

- (102) *Mu* = *ku'ut* *pem-taxwi* *piyama-nga*    *pe'-milyew-wen*    *wiyika* [*mi'i*  
 AND = REP    3PL-BODY    ALWAYS-INL            3PL-ARGUE-PIPL            AROUND    INDEF  
*pe' maas*    *naxani-sh*    *pe-miyax-weni-ve*].

DET MORE    MAN-NPN            3S-BE-PISTI-SUBR

And it is said they were always arguing around all the time about [**which one was more of a man**]. (Fox and Cat 002)

Discontinuous interrogatives with *mivi-* 'wh-' are attested in elicited sentences.

## A. Interrupted by clitic.

- (103) *Miv̄i-yka* = 'et *puɛɛvlu-ka* *haʃh-i-qat?*  
 INDEF-TO = 2SABS TOWN-TO GO-YAX-IFS  
 Which town are you going to? (7 3 42)

## B. Interrupted by clitic and other element.

- (104) *Miv̄i-'aw* = 'et *mele* *e' = e* *puɛɛvlu-'aw* *hiw-qa?*  
 INDEF-AT = 2SABS (?) 2SPRO = CF TOWN-AT BE.THERE-PRS  
 Which part of town do you live in? (7 5 45)

Discontinuous constituents with *hax*<sub>s</sub> were elicited, as follows.

## A. Interrupted by non-related noun

- (105) *E* = 'ep *haxi-y* *qwa'i-sh* *pe-kwaani* *a'chiwi-qa?*  
 2SPRO = 3SERG WHO-O FOOD-NPN 3S-FOR MAKE-PRS  
 Who are you making that food for? (7 1 14)

## B. Interrupted by clitic complex and independent pronoun.

- (106) *E-t-i = m* *hax* *m = et* *e' = e* *pu-muchi* *neq-qa?*  
 DDEM-NPN-Ø = MIR WHO AND = 2SABS 2SPRO = CF 3S-IN.FRONT COME-PRS  
 Who are you walking in front of? (7 1 15)

## MAJOR SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES II: COPULA, NEGATIVES, QUESTIONS, COMPARATIVES

The present chapter treats several specialized sentence types. The copula, *miyax*, is discussed in 10.1. The comparative construction is treated in 10.2. Section 10.3 reviews wh- questions and yes–no questions, and 10.4 reviews negative sentences.

**10.1. THE COPULA.** The copula verb in Cupeño is *miyax*, appearing always in the stative with tense–aspect suffixes of the non-number-agreeing *-we* family (*-we*, *-wen*, *-wene*). With active suffixes of the *-qa* family (*-qa*, *-qal*, *-qat*) and the active-voice plural suffixes of the *-we* family, the verb means ‘happen’. The morphology and etymology of *miyax* and related verbs was discussed in 7.5. For the sake of economy, the verb is treated here as a root *miyax*, although, as pointed out in 7.5, it is morphologically complex in origin.

*Miyax* in the stative has a range of meanings extending beyond its equivalence with English copular ‘be’. With inanimates, it can mean ‘be in a place’. It also has a deontic sense, appearing with sentential complements with the force of ‘must’ and, with the negative, the meaning ‘not to be done, impossible’.

In its function as a copula, *miyax* is usually absent in present-tense and “gnomic” statements that use the present-tense verb. I illustrate this with a dialogue from a coyote story. Coyote, outside the house and trying to get in, speaks in (1a), and his prey, some kittens, left alone inside the house by their mother and told not to open the door to anyone, speak in (1b).

- (1) a. *Ne'* = *en*            *em-ye*.  
           1SPRO = 1SABS        2PL-MOTHER  
           I (am) your mother. (Coyote and Cat 014)

- b. *Pe' = e qay chem-ye, atire e' = e ahuyaxay ay'anish.*  
 DET = CF NOT 1PL-MOTHER VERY 2SPRO = CF EXCEEDING BIG-NPN  
 He (is) not our mother, you (are) much too big. (Coyote and Cat 015)

The copula can be absent as well when the sentence is a present-tense interrogative.

- (2) *Hax = e maas nawika-t?*  
 WHO = CF MORE WOMAN-NPN  
 Who (is) more of a lady? (Chitmal 017)

However, even in the present tense the verb is likely to appear in cases of strong assertion, which is the context for all of the sentences in (3).

- (3) a. *Ichaa-chu miyax-we.*  
 GOOD-INCH BE-PRST  
 It is good. (Faye KP 1321 165)
- b. *Qay = e wel-i, e-tul-'a = pe miyax-we.*  
 NOT = CF GROW.UP-IN.F 2S-FINISH-PSD = IRR BE-PRST  
 You will not grow up, you will be finished. (Faye Initiation 196 25 090)
- c. *Piyama-nga chem-qwa'i-ve miyax-we.*  
 ALWAYS-INL 1PL-EATI-SUBR BE-PRST  
 Always we have eaten it. (J 224 9)

The verb also usually appears even in the present tense in conditional or dubitative contexts.

- (4) a. *Me = pe chinga e-tama-'aw pi'i [sic] miyax-we, me = pe*  
 AND = IRR IF 2S-MOUTH-AT FEATHER BE-PRST AND = IRR  
*ya-nash "Ne = 'ep ne' ersaar-qa."*  
 SAY-FIS 1SPRO = R 1SPRO PRAY-PRS  
 And if there are feathers in your mouth, then you will say "I am just praying." (Coyote Growing Up 036)
- b. *Ivi-'aw ham miyax-we.*  
 PDEM-AT PROBABLY BE-PRST  
 It might be like this. (KP I 026)
- c. *Ne' = en we = she = n miyax-we.*  
 ISPRO = 1SABS OR = DUB BE-PRST  
 I wonder what is the matter with me? (Faye Creation 120)

- d. *Yax-qal* = *am ichaa'i* = *ku'ut miyax-we*.  
 SAY-PIS = MIR      GOOD = REP      BE-PRST  
 He says it is good news. (Faye field notes 4 6 27 23 267)

In tenses other than the present, the copula verb always appears. It is always in final position in the sentence, being followed only by “afterthought” elements (see 12.1.2) that appear under a new intonation contour. Note that the immediate-future form in (5a) is peculiar in that it is formed on a base that incorporates *-wen*. I speculate that the construction *miyaqat*, the expected form, must be read as active ‘it’s going to happen’, so that the *-wen* suffix is preserved to give stative force.

- (5) a. *Qay piyama-nga pishweli-sh miyax-weni-qat*.  
 NOT      ALWAYS-INL      YOUTH-NPN      BE-PISTI-IF  
 You will not always be young people. (Faye Domingo Moro FN 15 012h)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe' awa-l atire ichaa'i pe-miyax-wen*.  
 AND = REP      DET DOG-NPN      VERY      NICE      3S-BE-PIST  
 And it is said the dog was real nice. (Fox and Buzzard 017)
- c. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e isily = e atire naxani-sh taxixwen-et*  
 AND = REP      DET = CF      COYOTE = CF      VERY      MAN-NPN      HANDSOME-NPN  
*pe-miyax-wen*.  
 3S-BE-PIST  
 And it is said Coyote was a real handsome man. (Coyote and Rabbit 002)
- d. *Ax, eve = she = pe ichaay miyax-wene*.  
 OH      DDEM = DUB = IRR      GOOD      BE-FIST  
 Oh, I expect it will be all right. (Faye Creation 012)
- e. *Pem-yuma-'a = qwe pachive-t miyax-wene*.  
 3PL-HAT-PSD = NONI      RAGWEED-NPN      BE-CUSTST  
 Their wreaths are made of ragweed. (Faye Initiation 200 28 093)

In this copula sense, in past-tense forms of the copula the PN prefix agrees with the subject, as shown in (6). This agreement does not occur when *miyax* appears with sentential complements, as illustrated in examples (16–18) below.

- (6) a. *Me ne' aya awelwe ne-miyax-wen*.  
 AND 1SPRO      THEN      GROWN      1S-BE-PIST  
 And I was grown up then. (Warners I 021)
- b. *Me = p e' = e hi-ngax ayew-qa qingi-sh*  
 AND = 2SERG      2SPRO = CF      WHAT-FROM      WANT-PRS      SQUIRREL-NPN

***e-miyax-wena-pi.***

2S-BE-PISTa-SUBIRR

Why do you want to be a squirrel? (5 59 124)

- c.
- Qay = ku'ut pem-hiwchu-wen ishmi'i pe'-miyax-weni-ve.*

NOT = REP

3PL-KNOW-PIPL

SOMETHING

3PL-BE-PISTi-SUBR

It is said they didn't know what they were. (Fox and Buzzard 059)

One minor point of patterning that should be noted is that verbs suffixed with the immediate-future suffixes *-qat*, *-qatim* and having the meaning 'subjects who are going to perform the action of the verb' do not count as embedded sentences when they appear with *miyax*. Instead, they are treated like predicate nouns in copula sentences, with the verb *miyax* agreeing with the subject. Note that in (7c) below there is a 1S PN clitic agreeing with the subject. Such clitics do not appear with the sentential complements with *miyax* seen in (16–18) below.

- (7) a.
- Pem-siiy = ku'ut a'chiwi-qat-im pe'-miyax-wen.*

3PL-NEST = REP

MAKE-IF-PL

3PL-BE-PIST

It is said they were going to make their nests. (Linnets 003)

- b.
- Mi = pe-tutuchine-qal atax-m-i nang'aw-qat-im pe'-miyax-weni-ve-y.*

3PLO = 3S-TELL-PIS

PERSON-PL-O

MAKE.IMAGE-IF-PL

3PL-BE-PIPLi-SUBR-O

He would tell the people that they were going to make images. (Burning 011)

When *miyax* has deontic force, appearing with immediate futures in the meaning 'should', then it has third-person-singular pronouns in the past tense and does not agree with the subject of the IF verb. Thus, while in (8) Jacobs translates the sentence as 'was going to', it probably means 'should'. This point is exemplified further below.

- (8)
- Ne' = 'ep hiwchu-qat pe-miyax-wen.*

1SPRO = R

KNOW-IF

3S-BE-PIS

I was going to learn. (J 18 123 100)

The defective verbs *hakwiqa* 'be hungry' and *papeviqa* 'be thirsty' also appear with *miyax* with PN agreement (and see also *peyexiqa* 'be late, be evening' illustrated below in (12)).

- (9)
- Mu = ku'ut pe-m-em nawvi-ve'-ch-am hakwiqa pe'-miyax-wen.*

AND = REP

DET-PL-PL

FIGHT-AG-NPN-PL

HUNGRY

3PL-BE-PIST

And it is said those soldiers were hungry. (Faye Texts FN 83 84 129)

While *miyax* is usually stative when it occurs with immediate futures as predicate nominals, as would be expected with the copula, it sometimes appears with active suffixation. With plural subjects it is impossible to determine whether the verb is stative or active, since the plural series of the *-we* suffixes is homophonous with the stative series. However, example (10a) shows a clearly stative form; the subject is singular (*net* ‘chief’), the IF form is singular (*isaxwqat*), but the copula is stative *miyaxwene*. The examples in (10b) and (10c), however, show the active-voice suffix *-qal* with *miyax* and an IF predicate nominal. Note that (10b) has a “deontic” translation that is like the usages with complements in *-pi* seen in (16–18) below. However, the form and translation are from fairly early in my field notes, and the translation should probably be ‘I was going to cook the meat’.

- (10) a. *Me = qwe aya pe' ne-t chinga isaxw-qat*  
 AND = NONI THEN DET CHIEF-NPN IF SING.MENS.SONG-IF  
*miyax-wene, me qwe = p mikpuk yaw-yaw-i*  
 BE-CUSTST AND NONI = 3SERG SOME DUP-SING-IN.HAB  
*pe-'isaxw-ve-y.*  
 3S-SING.MENS.SONG-SUBR-O  
 And if the chief is a singer, he sings just a few of his songs. (Faye Images  
 239 39 SV 1–7–1921 101)

- b. *Ne' = ne wa'i-sh sexni-qat miya-qal-et.*  
 ISPRO = 1SERG MEAT-NPN COOK-IFS BE-PIS-NPN  
 I should cook the meat. (2 115 393)

- c. *Ne' = ne yawmume-qat miya-qal = et.*  
 ISPRO = 1SERG BRING-IF BE-PIS-NPN  
 I was going to bring it. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 19 fp 235)

Anaphoric null arguments are permitted in copula sentences, with the argument being encoded only in the PN prefix on the copula verb.

- (11) a. *Peexwen = ku'ut pe-ti'i pe-miyax-wen.*  
 NOTHING.BUT = REP 3S-BONE 3S-BE-PIST  
 It is said (he) was nothing but bones. (Coyote and Flood 065)
- b. *Kawle-kawla'a-sh = ku'ut pe-miyax-wen.*  
 DUP-CROOKED-NPN = REP 3S-BE-PIST  
 (It) was crooked, it is said. (Coyote and Hen 005)

The copula can be used to express times of day. Note that *peyexiqa* is a defective verb like *hakwiqa* ‘be hungry’ in (9) above.

- (12) a. *Mu = ku'ut aya peyexiqa pe-miyax-wen.*  
 AND = REP THEN IT.IS.LATE 3S-BE-PIST  
 And it is said it was evening then. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 025)
- b. *Atire = she = t pe' tukmuchi pe-miyax-wen e-mi'aw-lu-qali.*  
 VERY = DUB = 2SABS DET NIGHT 3S-BE-PIST 2S-ARRIVE-MOTP-DSS  
 It must have been late when you got here. (6 91 160)
- c. *Mi-pa pe-miyax-wen axwe-ch-im ataxa-m pem-eve'aw*  
 IND-TIME 3S-BE-PIST ODEM-NPN-PL PERSON-PL 3PL-OVER  
*e-tavxaa-qali-ve.*  
 2S-WORK-PISI-SUBR  
 When was the last time you worked for those people? (7 107 47)

While the irregular verb *hiwqal ~ qa ~ qal ~ max* is used to refer to the position of animates (and can also be used for inanimates), *miyax* can be used to mention the position of inanimates.

- (13) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe-pi'i pe-tama-'aw pe-miyax-wen.*  
 AND = REP 3S-FEATHER 3S-MOUTH-AT 3S-BE-PIST  
 And it is said there were feathers in her mouth. (Coyote Growing Up 035)
- b. *Ku'ut Temayewet pe-'ayew-qal puchi-ly wih-ngax*  
 REP TEMAYEWET 3S-WANT-PIS FACE-NPN TWO-FROM  
*pe-miyax-wena-pi.*  
 3S-BE-PISTa-SUBIRR  
 It is said Temayewet wanted faces to be on both sides. (Faye Creation 013)
- c. *Ami'an chimi = pem-nash-nin pe' pem-'isnin-'a*  
 CLOSE IPLO = 3PL-SIT-CAUS DET 3PL-WRITE-PSD  
*pe-miyax-weni-ve-nga.*  
 3S-BE-PISTi-SUBR-INL  
 They made us sit down close to where their painting was. (Faye CN 31-12-20 4 158)

*Miyax* can be used alone without any predicate noun or adjective to mean either 'be good' or, when accompanied by the dubitative clitic =*she*, 'be bad'. Note that this pattern suggests that the presupposition of the greetings, *miyaxwe* 'hello' or *miyaxwenet*? 'how are you?', is that the state of the person greeted is good.

- (14) a. *Me e' miyax-we!*  
 AND 2SPRO BE-PRST



You be good! (Doves 012)

- b. *Me = she anga miyax-we?*

AND = DUB PERHAPS BE-PRST

I wonder what is the matter? (RN Creation 053)

- c. *Ne' = en we = she = n miyax-we, qaawi-qat = e = ne?*

1SPRO = 1SABS OR = DUB = 1SABS BE-PRST DIE-IF = CF = 1SERG

I wonder what is wrong with me, am I going to die? (Faye Creation 120)

The active-voice forms with *-qa* family suffixes refer to events taking place and are often translated as ‘happen’. The example in (15a) provides an excellent contrast with (14b). Other examples where active-voice *miyax* refers to events are also seen in this set of examples.

- (15) a. *Me = she anga miya-qa?*

AND = DUB PERHAPS HAPPEN-PRS

I wonder what happened? (Fox and Buzzard 035)

- b. *Me aya axwa-nga puy-ily ay'ani-sh pe-miya-qal.*

AND THEN ODEM-INL DINE-NPN BIG-NPN 3S-HAPPEN-PIS

And then the big feast happened there. (Acorn Time 035)

- c. *Me yeng-ya-qa, qay naachi miya-qa.*

AND BE.LONG.TIME-YAX-PRS, NOT SOON HAPPEN-PRS

And there is delay, it does not happen quickly. (Faye Images 249 6 104)

*Miyax* occurs with verbs embedded with the irrealis subordinator *-pi* as sentential complements. In these constructions it has a deontic sense of ‘must, should’. When *miyax* has sentential complements, PN markers on it in the past tense are always 3S, rather than agreeing with the subject of the complement sentence. Furthermore, PN clitics agreeing with the subject are not used in sentences of this type.

- (16) a. *Miyax-we ne-ha $\dot{s}$ h-ax-pi Paala-yka.*

BE-PRST 1S-GO-YAX-SUBIRR PALA-TO

I must go to Pala. (J 3 c 174 136)

- b. *Me pe-ngax e-kwaavichu-pi miyax-we e-qish-ki'a-y.*

AND 3S-FROM 2S-TAKE.CARE.OF-SUBIRR BE-PRST 2S-MONEY-PSD-O

And that is why you must take care of your money. (Faye Domingo Moro 012i)

A very similar use of *miyax* with sentential complements expresses generic purpose or result.

- (17) a. *U-push miyax-we pe-chi e-tewa-pi.*  
 2S-EYE BE-PRST 3S-OBL 2S-SEEa-SUBIRR  
 Your eyes are to see with. (Coyote Growing Up 009)
- b. *Me miyax-we ku-t pe-chi ni=sex-e'-men-pi.*  
 AND BE-PRST FIRE-NPN 3S-OBL 1SO=BURN-2PL-INPL-SUBIRR  
 And fire is for you to burn me with. (Faye Creation 121)
- c. *Mu=ku'ut pe'isi-ly chinga nganga-qa, mu=ku'ut pe-m*  
 AND=REP DET COYOTE-NPN IF CRY-PRS AND=REP DET-PL  
*atax'a-m pem-hiwchu-pi miyax-we.*  
 PERSON-PL 3PL-KNOW-SUBIRR BE-PRS  
 And if coyote howls, then it is said the people can know things. (How  
 Coyote Got That Way 022)
- d. *Me=qwe=pe pe'net pe-ne'e-m-i mi=maq-qa,*  
 AND=NONI=3SERG DET CHIEF 3S-RELATIVE-PL-O 3PLO=GATHER.UP-PRS  
*mi='un-i-qa ki-nga mulu'-nuk sulul-ax-mi'aw-ich-i*  
 3PLO=SHOW-IN-PRS HOUSE-INL LEAD-SS COME.IN-YAX-MOTA-NPN-O  
*axwe-ch-i, mi=ya'a pem-hiwchu-weni-ve-y ishmi'i*  
 ODEM-NPN-O 3PLO=SAY.HAB 3PL-KNOW-PIPLI-SUBR-O SOMETHING  
*pem-eve'aw pem-miyax-wena-pi.*  
 3PL-OVER 3S-BE-PISTa-SUBIRR  
 And when the chief gathers his relatives, when he shows them what  
 has just been brought into the house, he tells them what they ought to  
 know. (Faye Images 249 5 103)

The opposite sense of this construction is formed with the negative particle, yielding *qay miyax* 'be impossible, unable, against the rules'.

- (18) a. *Qay miyaxwe che'-meqa-pi.*  
 NOT BE-PRST 1PL-KILLA-SUBIRR  
 We cannot kill him. (KP I 064)
- b. *Qay=pe hax pe-chi pe-\$hem-pi miyax-we.*  
 NOT=IRR WHO 3S-OBL 3S-LAUGH-SUBIRR BE-PRST  
 Nobody was to laugh at him. (Eagle II 007)
- c. *Qay=ku'ut pem-miyax-wen kwel-pe-yaxa-pi.*  
 NOT=REP 3S-BE-PIST GET.UP-3S-YAXa-SUBIRR

It is said he couldn't get up. (Coyote and Wolf 066)

- d. *I' = am qay suqa-t nawika-t pe-qwa'-pi*  
 PDEM = MIR NOT DEER-NPN WOMAN-NPN 3S-EAT-SUBIRR  
*pe-miyax-wen.*  
 3S-BE-PIST  
 This deer was not for a woman to eat. (KPI 005)

This construction can be used without a sentential complement to mean 'It is/was impossible'.

- (19) *Mu = ku'ut qay pe-miyax-wen.*  
 AND = REP NOT 3S-BE-PIST  
 And it is said he could do nothing. (RN Creation 049)

**10.2. COMPARATIVES AND SUPERLATIVES.** Like many speakers of Native American languages in contact with Spanish, speakers of Cupeño at an early date borrowed the Spanish comparative particles *más que* 'more than' (as *maas* and *ki*), seemingly filling a "grammatical gap." However, the probable pre-contact formations can be seen, as they sometimes occur along with the Spanish loan particles.

In extemporaneous non-elicited text, the only way that comparatives are ever expressed is to use the Spanish forms, as in (20a–c). Even in elicited material, where Roscinda Nolasquez, who was bilingual in Spanish and fully aware of the Spanish source of *maas ki*, was trying to "speak Indian," these sometimes are the only comparative forms used.

- (20) a. *Mu = ku'ut pem-taxwi piyama-nga pe'-milyew-wen wiyika*  
 AND = REP 3PL-BODY ALWAYS-INL 3PL-ARGUE-PIPL AROUND  
*mi'i pe' maas naxani-sh pe-miyax-weni-ve.*  
 WHICH 3SPRO MORE MAN-NPN 3S-BE-PISTI-SUBR  
 And it is said they were always arguing about which one was more of a man. (Fox and Cat 002)
- b. *Hax = e maas nawika-t?*  
 WHO = CF MORE WOMAN-NPN  
 Who is more of a lady? (Chitmal 017)
- c. *Pem hisexve-l pem-'a-'a\$ha-wen maas a-'achi'a-y.*  
 3PLPRO CLOTHES-NPN 3PL-DUP-DRESS-PIPL MORE DUP-NICE-O  
 They put on the finest clothes. (Eagle II 031)

- d. *E-t = am atire nawishma-l a'chima-l ki*  
 DDEM = MIR VERY GIRL-NPN PRETTY-NPN THAN  
*ne-hiwchu-ve-ngax.*  
 IS-KNOW-SUBR-FROM  
 She's the prettiest girl that I know. (9 75 1)

However, even within expressions that include the Spanish loan particles, we can identify what was probably the pre-contact comparative machinery. This involved two elements: a relational noun or locative, and/or the verb *huy* 'exceed'. The locative suffix *-aw* appears with inanimate objects of *huy*. With animate objects, the relational noun *-(e)ve-*, further suffixed with locatives (*-aw* 'on' and *-ngax* 'from' are attested) appears. The root *huy* 'exceed' appears in several forms, including the same-subject form *huyinuk* and the derived adjective with *a-...-a*, in the object-case form as *ahuyaxay*.

In (21a–c) we see the relational noun constructions with *-(e)ve'aw* 'over'. (21c), like (21d), involves only *ki*, without *maas*. In (21d) we see simply *-aw* 'at, on' suffixed to inanimate *ne-kava'ma* 'my olla'.

- (21) a. “*Ne' = en maas naxani-sh, naxani-sh,*” *pe-yax = ku'ut,*  
 1SPRO = 1SABS MORE MAN-NPN MAN-NPN 3S-SAY = REP  
 “*e' = e e-ve'aw.*”  
 2SPRO = CF 2S-OVER  
 “I am more of a man, of a man,” it is said he said, “than you.” (Fox and Cat 007)
- b. *Atire pulinyi-sh puy-ve'e-sh maas wiwa-t pe-ye-y*  
 VERY CHILD-NPN DINE-AGTV-NPN MORE FAT-NPN 3S-MOTHER-O  
*pe-ve'aw.*  
 3S-OVER  
 That child eats so much that he's fatter than his mother. (8 95 78)
- c. *E-t-i ne-na'aqwa wavaḡhi-sh eskweḡela-'aw ki*  
 DDEM-NPN-O 1S-CHILD TALL-NPN SCHOOL-AT THAN  
*supul-im pem-eve'aw.*  
 OTHER-PL 3PL-OVER  
 My boy is the tallest one in school. (10 11 91)
- d. *I'i ne-kava'ma maas ay'ani-sh ki em-eve'aw*  
 PDEM 1S-POT MORE BIG-NPN THAN 2PL-OVER  
*me axwe-sh pe-kava'ma maas ay'anish ki ne'*  
 AND ODEM-NPN 3S-POT MORE BIG THAN 1SPRO

***ne-kava'ma-'aw.***

1S-POT-AT

My pot is bigger than yours but hers is the biggest. (9 75 8)

In constructions that translate as English superlatives, the root *huy* ‘exceed’ appears, sometimes with *-(e)ve-* as in (22c) and sometimes alone. While the Spanish loan particles can be present (as with *maas*) in (22b), the other sentences here do not have them.

(22) a. *Axwe-ch = am atire naxani-sh a-huy-ax-a-y*

ODEM-NPN = MIR VERY MAN-NPN ADJ-EXCEED-YAX-PSD-O

*tavxaa'-ve'e-sh ivi-'aw.*

WORK-AGTV-NPN PDEM-AT

That man is the hardest worker here. (9 75 2)

b. *Axwe-ch-i pe' naxani-sh kika-t Paala-nga maas*

ODEM-NPN-O DET MAN-NPN DWELLER-NPN PALA-INL MORE

*atax-m-i huy-i-nuk.*

PERSON-PL-O EXCEED-IN-SS

That man has lived in Pala longer than anyone else. (9 105 48)

c. *Ne' = en ayew-we peta'a-nm-i atax-m-i pem-eve-ngax*

ISPRO = 1SABS WANT-PRST ALL-PL-O PERSON-PL-O 3PL-OVER-FROM

*huyi-nuk axwe-sh naxani-sh.*

EXCEED-IN-SS ODEM-NPN MAN-NPN

I like that man best of all. (Faye 2–6–27 16 418)

We can speculate that in the pre-contact language, the relational noun or locative constructions with *-eve* ‘over, on’, and forms of the verb *huy* ‘exceed, surpass’, were used without additional material to express comparisons.

**10.3. QUESTIONS.** There are two major types of questions in Cupeño. The first type uses one of the interrogative words introduced in 6.4. The second type uses sharply rising intonation on the verb (or on the last word in zero-copula predications) to form yes–no questions. This special sharply rising intonation contour and the use of the *wh-* words are mutually exclusive. *Wh-* questions using interrogative forms do not have the contour; sentences with the contour do not have interrogative words. The dubitative clitic = *she*, often accompanied by particles that express doubt or uncertainty, can appear in addition to the interrogative words, and nearly always appears in addition to the special intonation contour in yes–no questions.

**10.3.1. WH- QUESTIONS.** The question words were introduced in 6.4. They are *hax<sub>s</sub>* ‘who’, *hi-sh* ‘what, why?’ and forms meaning ‘which’, ‘when’, ‘where’, and

‘how’ using the indefinite root *mi-*. In the examples below, I mark the end of the sentence with a question mark, following the English convention. However, the intonation contour of these sentences need not rise, and with *wh-* questions never exhibits the sharply defined yes–no question intonation contour described in 10.3.2. In fact, the contour of *wh-* questions need be no different from the intonation contour of declarative sentences, which tend to have a slight final fall.

**10.3.1.1. WH- QUESTIONS WITH *HAX*, *HI-SH*.** Questions with *hax*<sub>-s</sub> ‘who’ and *hi-sh* ‘what, why’ occur frequently with evidential elements, especially the second-position mirative clitic = (*a*)*m* and the free clitic = *e* ‘contrastive focus’. The answers can repeat the clitic element, as in the following examples, where the (a) sentences are the questions and the (b) and (c) sentences are possible answers (the (b) and (c) sentences are constructed by the author, based on models in text).

(23) a. *Hi-ch = am i'i?*  
WHAT-NPN = MIR PDEM  
 What is this? (Portillo notes)

b. *I' = am mukikma-l.*  
PDEM = MIR BIRD-NPN  
 This is a bird.

c. *Mukikma-l = am.*  
BIRD-NPN = MIR  
 A bird.

(24) a. *Hax = am i'i?*  
WHO = MIR PDEM  
 Who is this? (Portillo notes)

b. *I' = am ne-na.*  
PDEM = MIR 1S-FATHER  
 It's my dad.

(25) a. *Hi-ch = e wa'i-sh?*  
WHAT-NPN = CF MEAT-NPN  
 What kind of meat is this? (Faye field notes 001 2–6–27 1)

b. *Suqa-t = e.*  
DEER-NPN-CF  
 Venison. (Faye field notes 001 2–6–27 1)

- (26) a. *Hax = e maas nawika-t?*  
 WHO = CF MORE WOMAN-NPN?  
 Who is more of a lady? (Chitmal 017)

An alternative way of asking this kind of question is to put the demonstrative first, in which case the mirative clitic attaches to it.

- (27) a. *E-t-i = m hax?*  
 DDEM-NPN-O = MIR WHO  
 Who is that? (Portillo notes)
- b. *I'i = m hi-sh, i'i = she nawishma-l we' kiima-l?*  
 PDEM = MIR WHAT-NPN PDEM = DUB GIRL-NPN OR BOY-NPN  
 What is this, is this a girl or a boy? (KP II 40)

The question words can also take PN clitics. The case of the PN clitic depends on the nature of the question. (28) shows third-plural-absolutive clitics, while (29) shows ergative clitics. Note that the examples in (28) show that the plural suffix *-m* is optional with *hax*<sub>-s</sub>.

- (28) a. *Hax-im = el nalmeyu-qat-im?*  
 WHO-PL = 3PLABS SING-IF-PL  
 Who are gonna sing? (Portillo notes 55)
- b. *Hax = el muknen-we?*  
 WHO = 3PLABS WIN-PRPL  
 Who won? (Portillo notes 55)
- (29) a. *Hi-sh = 'ep amay mixa-qat?*  
 WHAT-NPN = 2SERG TODAY DO-IF  
 What are you going to do today? (Faye 2-6-27 4 379)
- b. *Hi-sh = 'em = e mixan-wen-t-im?*  
 WHAT-NPN = 2PLERG = CF DO-PIPL-NPN-PL  
 What have you (all) been doing? (Faye field notes 4-6-27 7 158)

When *hax*<sub>-s</sub> 'who' functions as a direct, indirect, or oblique object, the object-case suffix *-y* is usually postposed, as in the following examples. *Hax*<sub>-s</sub> adds a stressed *-i* increment before the suffix. The object-case suffix attracts stress as it does with other stressless roots (see 2.2.2). Note that while *haxiy* appears before the verb in (30a,b) and before the relational noun in (30c,d), it cannot be said to have undergone any movement, since Cupeño has head-final word order (with considerable flexibility, as discussed in Chapter 12).

- (30) a. **Haxi-y e-pew-i?**  
 WHO-O 2S-FRIEND-O  
 What friend [did you see]? (Faye Past Time 5 269)
- b.  $E' = ep$       **haxi-y max-qa'**       $e-nee'e-y?$   
 2SPRO = 2SERG      WHO-O      GIVE-PRS      2S-BASKET-O  
 Who are you giving your basket to? (7 1 6)
- c.  $E' = et$       **haxi-y pe-yka**       $neq-qa?$   
 2SPRO = 2SABS      WHO-O      3S-BEHIND      COME-PRS  
 Who are you walking behind? (7 1 12)
- d.  $E' = ep$       **haxi-y pe-kwaani ne-nex-qa?**  
 2SPRO = 2SERG      WHO = O      3S-FOR      DUP-MAKE.BASKET-PRS  
 Who are you making a basket for? (7 1 13)

The object-case marker in such cases does not always appear. In his notes with example (30a), Faye observes “can be *hax epew*.” Another example of the same type as (30c,d), with a relational noun but without the object-case marker on *hax<sub>s</sub>*, is seen in (31). The absence of the object-case marker here is probably semantically motivated as well, in that it is highly unlikely that someone questioned with *hax<sub>s</sub>* could be “on a fly.” In fact, my field notebook entry for this sentence includes a note that Roscinda Nolasquez thought this was a silly thing to say.

- (31) **Ku'a-l = e hax axwe-sh pe-ve-'aw hiw-qa?**  
 FLY-NPN = CF      WHO      ODEM-NPN      3S-ON-AT      BE.THERE-PRS  
 Who is that fly on? (7 1 10)

The sentence in (31) was elicited without tape recording in 1962, so I cannot check the intonation contour on it. However, in addition to the semantic situation, it may avoid the preference for an object-case marker on *hax<sub>s</sub>* in these sentences by topicalization of *ku'al = e*. There are a number of clear cases in my data where this strategy is used, as in (32). Here, the wh- word, *hax<sub>s</sub>*, is put in a topicalized phrase *etim hax* ‘who’s that?’ followed by *me* ‘and’. The absence of object-case markers in these topicalized phrases with *hax<sub>s</sub>* contributes an argument that the object-case marker itself is a focusing element, which does not co-occur with other focusing strategies such as the topicalization contour. The focusing function of the *-i* object-case marker is discussed in more detail in 12.2.1.

- (32)  $E-t-i = m$       **hax**       $me = t$        $e' = e$       **pu-muchi**  
 DDEM-NPN-O = MIR      WHO      AND = 2SAB      2SPRO = CF      3S-IN.FRONT.OF



*neq-qa?*

COME-PRS

Who are you walking in front of? (7 1 15)

The non-human question word, *hi-sh*, does not appear with the object-case suffix after its NPN suffix. This may be related to the tendency not to mark inanimates with object-case suffixes. The object-case suffix is much more likely to occur with animates than with inanimates. However, *hi-sh* can also refer to non-human animates (as in (38) below). The examples in (33) can be compared with the examples in (30) above to illustrate this point.

- (33) a. ***Hi-sh*** = 'ep            *u'la-qa?*  
WHAT-NPN = 2SERG      SEW-PRS  
 What are you sewing? (Faye 2-6-27 5 387)
- b. ***Hi-sh*** = 'ep            *ichaaayewi-qat?*  
WHAT-NPN = 2SERG      MAKE-IF  
 What are you going to cook? (Faye 2-6-27 6 396)

With the suffix *-ngax* 'from', *hi-* forms the wh- word 'why'. No examples are attested where *hi-ngax* 'why' appears initially in the question, but this is probably possible, parallel to the other wh- words.

- (34) a. *Me = t*    *e' = e*    ***hi-ngax***    *melen*    *tavxaa-qa?*  
AND = 2SABS    2SPRO = CF    WHAT-FROM    MUCH    WORK-PRS  
 Why do you work so hard? (6 91 162 0232)
- b. *Me = p*    *aya*    ***hi-ngax***    *e-t-i*    *a'chiwi-qa?*  
AND = 2SERG    NOW    WHAT-FROM    DDEM-NPN-O    DO-PRS  
 What are you doing that for? (6 71 9 212)
- c. *Axwe-ch-im*    ***hi-ngax***    *pa-l*    *pa-we?*  
ODEM-NPN-PL    WHAT-FROM    WATER-NPN    DRINK-PRPL  
 Why are they drinking water? (1 43 84 0389)

Example (35) shows *hi-ngax* with a negative. Note that the negative must follow *hi-ngax*, or the interpretation would be 'And do you work from nothing?'. (*Qay hi-sh* 'nothing' is discussed in 10.4.)

- (35) *Me = t*    ***hi-ngax***    *qay*    *tavxaa-qa?*  
AND = 2SABS    WHAT-FROM    NOT    WORK-PRS  
 Why don't you work? (6 93 163 0233)

The *wh-* forms *hax<sub>s</sub>* and *hi-sh* can appear as above, as the sole element that creates the question. However, they can also appear in combination with the dubitative clitic = *she*. In all examples of questions with the dubitative clitic = *she* and *hax<sub>s</sub>* or *hi-sh*, the expressive particle *anga* ‘perhaps’ (discussed in 6.7.2) follows the *wh-* word, as can be seen in the examples in (36).

- (36) a. *Axwē-sh = she = pe hax anga ne-tiŋge-la'a = y*  
 ODEM-NPN = DUB = 3SERG WHO PERHAPS 1S-CURE-INSTN = O  
*elēl'i-chi-ne-qal?*  
 BAD-UNAC-CAUS-PIS  
 Who could it be spoiling my medicine? (RN Creation 053)
- b. *Me = she anga hax anga ni = 'itu-qal?*  
 AND = DUB PERHAPS WHO PERHAPS 1SO = STEAL-PIS  
 I wonder who is stealing from me? (KP I 0220)
- c. *Me = she axwē-sh hax anga?*  
 AND = DUB ODEM-NPN WHO PERHAPS?  
 I wonder who he is? (3 39 127 144)
- d. *Me = she = ne = pe hi-sh anga sixn-ne?*  
 AND = DUB = 1S = IRR WHAT-NPN PERHAPS COOK-CUSTS  
 I wonder what I am going to cook? (Faye 2-6-27 f 1 363)
- e. *Me = she = m axwē-sh hi-sh anga ela-n-we?*  
 AND = DUB = 3PLERG ODEM-NPN WHAT-NPN PERHAPS WAIT-IN-PRPL  
 What are they waiting for? (7 1 22 0737)

The example sentence in (37) is identical to the sentences with = *she* ... *anga* in (36) except that = *she* is not present. This suggests strongly that it is the presence of = *she* that is motivating the presence of the expressive particle *anga* and that the two together form some sort of idiom.

- (37) *Me hi-sh axwē-sh ela-qa?*  
 AND WHAT-NPN ODEM-NPN WAIT-IN-PRS  
 What is he waiting for? (7 1 19 0734)

Another expressive particle, *tum*, discussed in 6.7.2, may be present instead of *anga*, as in (38).

- (38) *We = she hi-sh tum, e-t = she me = 'et ya-qa hama*  
 OR = DUB WHAT-NPN TRULY DDEM-NPN = DUB AND = 2SABS SAY-PRS MAYBE

*hunwe-t hama.*  
 BEAR-NPN MAYBE

I am wondering what this is that you say must be a bear. (Faye KP 111 102 49)

The dubitative clitic =*she* most frequently attaches to some word other than the *wh-* form, following the first word in the sentence, with the *wh-* form appearing later in the sentence. However, examples with the dubitative clitic attached to the *wh-* word are attested, as in (39).

- (39) *Hi-sh = she = ep ela-qa.*  
 WHAT-NPN = DUB = 2SERG WAIT-IN-PRS  
 What are you waiting for? (7 1 16)

One example from the Faye materials, (40), at first glance looks like a counterexample to the generalization that *anga* or *tum* must be present. However, on close inspection it is clear that the quoted phrase is in fact two sentences. This is evident by the presence of the mirative clitic on *hi-ch = am*; the mirative is a second-position clitic. Thus *we = she et* ‘wonder?’ is a separate phrase, even though Faye wrote no comma or other punctuation.

- (40) “*We = she = 'et hi-ch = am pe-miyax-wen?*” *pem-em*  
 OR = DUB = 3SABS WHAT-NPN = MIR 3S-BE-PIPL 3PLPRO-PL  
*pem-yax-wen = ku 'ut.*  
 3PL-SAY-PIPL = REP  
 “Wonder what these were?” it is said they said. (Faye Encounter 4 10 004)

**10.3.1.2. WH- QUESTIONS WITH *MI-* BASES.** The indefinite element *mi-*, introduced in 6.4, appears in a variety of forms in questions. These include the simple form *mi* itself, *mi-* as a base with locative suffixes, the quantitative morpheme *-k* in *mik-*, and the relational noun *ingki-sh* ‘kind’. In addition, there are the prefixing verbs *mix*, *miyax*, *mixan* (see 7.5). The locative base *mivi-*, parallel to the base *ivi-* of the proximal demonstrative, appears with locative suffixes in various forms meaning ‘to, from, at where?’. Finally, the indefinite verb *miyax*, discussed in detail in 10.1, appears in greeting questions.

Faye records a usage of the minimal base without any suffixal material, in the following example. The context is a dialogue that Faye apparently made up and had a consultant translate. It is an argument between a mother and a daughter about whether the daughter can go to the dance. The mother says that she can not go, because she has been out too often in recent days. The next exchange in the conversation is seen in (41). Faye writes an arrow after *mi'* that I take to mean a sharply rising intonation on the syllable, which would be an exception to the non-occurrence of the question intonation with *wh-* words.

- (41) Mother: *Ela-'a awisma-kwan e-wel-pi-ka.*  
WAIT-IMP A.LITTLE-ADV 2S-GROW-SUBIRR-TO  
 Wait until you are a little more grown up.  
 Daughter: *Mi'?*  
INDEF  
 Is that so? (Faye Past Time 40 297)

A full form *mi'i* means ‘which of several?’. This is illustrated in (42). Note that the form of *mi'i* does not change, although the question is about a singular subject in (42a) and a plural subject in (42b).

- (42) a. *Mi'i maas nemxa-t e-'ayew-'a?*  
WHICH MORE GIFT-NPN 2S-WANT-PSD  
 Which present do you like best? (7 37 64)
- b. *Mi'i maas nemxa-t-im e-'ayew-'a?*  
WHICH MORE PRESENT-NPN-PL 2S-WANT-PSD  
 Which presents do you like best (7 37 65)

The simple form *mi-* is the base for the suffix *-pa* in questions meaning ‘when’.

- (43) a. *Mi-pa pe-miyax-wen axwe-ch-im ataxa-m pem-eve'aw*  
INDEF-TIME 3S-BE-PIST ODEM-NPN-PL PERSON-PL PL-FOR  
*e-tavxaa-qali-ve?*  
2S-WORK-PISI-SUBR  
 When was the last time you worked for those people? (7 107 47)
- b. *Me = p mi-pa e' = e e-nee'e-y maxi-qat?*  
AND = 2SERG INDEF-TIME 2SPRO = CF 2S-BASKET-O GIVEI-IFS  
 When are you gonna give that basket? (7 3 32)

The base *mi-* also occurs with the form *-ingki-sh* ‘same kind, like’ (discussed in 6.6.2), as in the following examples. I give both the question and the answer, from a quoted conversation in a narrative.

- (44) a. “*Mi-ngki-ch = am?*” “*Ay'ani-ch = am, pe-taxwi*  
INDEF-LIKE-NPN = MIR BIG-NPN = MIR 3S-BODY  
*shana-shana'a-sh.*”  
DUP-SHAGGY-NPN  
 “What kind?” “A big kind, his body is shaggy.” (Faye KP 109 98 (46))

b. **Mi-ngki-ch = am** i'i?

INDEF-LIKE-NPN = MIR PDEM

What color is this? (Portillo notes 38)

There is also a positive form, *mingki* ~ *-minyik-'i*, which means 'related in some way'. This form is discussed in 6.6.2.

(45) *Me qay axwe-ch-im = el aya mi-ngki.*

AND NOT ODEM-NPN-PL = 3PLABS NOW INDEF-LIKE

And those people there now are not related to you. (KP II 027)

The main question word meaning 'how?' is *mixanuk*. This formation is derived from an *-a* augmented base with verb *mix* 'do' (see 7.5), with the same-subject suffix. It is seen in (46).

(46) **Mixa-nuk = 'ep** axwe-ch-i e' = e ne-nex-qa.

DO-SS = 2SERG ODEM-NPN-O 2SPRO = CF DUP-MAKE.BASKET-PRS

How do you make that basket? (7 5 53)

Like other question words, *mixanuk* 'how' can appear with dubitative = *she*. In such cases the mood is always non-instantiative, indicated by the clitic = *qwe*. Unlike the situation with *hax<sub>s</sub>* and *hi-sh*, *anga* appears to be optional when *mixanuk* appears with = *she*, as seen in the following examples. Note that the PN clitic on both of (47a,b) is absolutive, in spite of the fact that the verb is transitive. This is the most common pattern with the non-instantiative mood. (46a) is a unique instance of a sentence-initial clitic complex with no anchoring sentence-initial lexical item; it appears in a text that Faye asked the consultant to translate from English.

(47) a. *she = qwe = n mixa-nuk ku'u'u<sub>sh</sub> axwe-ch-i wa'i-ch-i?*

DUB = NONI = 1SABS DOa-SS GET.HAB ODEM-NPN-O MEAT-NPN-O

How shall I get that meat? (Faye Fox and Crow 2 531)

b. *Me = she = qwe = sh chem mixa-nuk ne-nex-wene?*

AND = DUB = NONI = 1PLABS 1PLPRO DOa-SS DUP-MAKE.BASKET-CUSTPL

How do we make baskets? (7 5 58)

c. *Me = she = qwe = n mixa-nuk anga way-ya'a?*

AND = DUB = NONI = 1SABS DOa-SS PERHAPS SWIM-YAX.HAB

I wonder if I can swim? (Coyote and Wolf 023)

For questions meaning 'how many', the base is *mik-*. A form meaning 'what time is it?', shown in (48), was recorded only by Faye. This may be from *mik-nga'aw-ish* 'HOW.MANY-ON-TIMES?', or perhaps *mik-nga axwesh* 'HOW.MANY-IN

ODEM?'. The Portillo notes also record *mik-* as the base for 'how many', shown in (57). Thus the base *mik-* 'how many' can take the suffixes *-nga* and *-pa*, as well as the NPN suffix and the plural as seen in (56a).

(48) ***Miknga'awash?***

What time is it? (how many times) (Faye 2–6–27 2 373)

(49) a. ***Mik-ch-am = el e-na'aqwa-nim nengu-qa?***

HOW.MANY-NPN-PL = 3PLABS 2S-CHILD-PL HAVE-PRS

How many kids do you have? (Portillo notes 85, 87)

b. ***Mik-pa meni-ly nengu-qa?***

HOW.MANY-TIME MOON-NPN HAVE-PRS

How old is he? (Portillo notes 87)

The locative base *mivi-* appears in questions meaning 'where?'. Any locative suffix can be used with the base, depending on the sense of 'where' that is intended. Examples are shown below.

(50) a. ***Mivi-'aw = et hiw-qal-et me = 'et peye-chu-qa.***

INDEF-AT = 2SABS STAY-PIS-NPN AND = 2SABS BE.LATE-INCH-PRS

Where did you stay, you are late. (Faye KP 117 128 52)

b. ***Mivi-yka = l hash-i-qat-im?***

INDEF-TO = 3PLABS GO-YAX-IF-PL

Where are they going? (11 43 88)

c. ***Mivi-ta = pe tav-qa' nee'e-t-i?***

INDEF-PLACE = 3SERG PUT-PRS BASKET-NPN-O

Where did he put the basket? (11 45 97)

The same set of forms can appear with nouns. In this case, the nouns also take locative suffixes in agreement with the suffix on *mivi-*, as in the following examples.

(51) a. ***Mivi-yka = 'et puεevle-ka hash-i-qat.***

INDEF-TO = 2SABS TOWN-TO GO-YAX-IF

Which town are you going to? (7 3 42)

b. ***Mivi-ngax = 'et puεevle-ngax neq-qa.***

INDEF-FROM = 2SABS TOWN-FROM COME-PRS

What town are you coming from? (7 5 44)

- c. **Mivi-'aw** = 'et mele e' = e puεvle-'aw hiw-qa.  
 INDEF-AT = 2SABS (?) 2SPRO = CF TOWN-AT BE.THERE-PRS  
 Which part of town do you live in? (7 5 45)

Like other *wh-* elements, *mivi-* and its suffixes appear with =*she*, shown in (60), as well as with the various PN clitics seen in the forms above.

- (52) **Mivi-'aw = she** = 'et e' = e hiw-qa?  
 INDEF-AT = DUB = 2SABS 2SPRO = CF BE.THERE-PRS  
 Where do you live? (Portillo notes 65)

The examples thus far have shown *mivi-* initial in the phrase or sentence. Like other *wh-* elements, *mivi-* can follow topicalized elements, as in (53).

- (53) **Ne-ye,** e' = et **mivi-'aw** nenewen-et?  
 IS-MOTHER 2SPRO = 2SABS INDEF-AT WALKING-NPN  
 Mother, where have you been going? (Faye KP 125 147)

The final set of questions using the indefinite base *mi-* are the greetings with *miyax*, shown in (54).

- (54) **Miyax-wen** = et?  
 BE-PRST-2SABS  
 How are you?

There is also a non-question form of this greeting.

- (55) **Miyax-we.**  
 BE-PRST  
 Hello.

**10.3.2. YES–NO QUESTIONS AND QUESTION INTONATION CONTOUR.** Yes–no questions are formed with sharply rising intonation, followed by a fall, with a slight lengthening and stressing of the final syllable of the word on which the contour appears. This is always the verb, whether it is last in the sentence or not, except with zero-copula sentences. In the case of a predicate nominal with a zero copula, the contour falls on the adjective or noun, whichever is the predicate form. I mark this contour with the symbol  $\wedge$ . For this description, I am dependent on data in my own field notes and tape recordings. It is clear that Faye observed the same contour, since some yes–no questions in his handwritten field notes are embellished with rising arrows following the appropriate word. He did not always use this notation, but he did not use it in any other context.

When the verb is final, the distinctive question contour appears on the last syllable in the sentence, as in (56), where the sharp rise-fall, lengthening, and apparent stress falls on the syllable *-qat* in (a) and (b), on *-qal* in (c), and on the last syllable of the root of a vowel-final verb in the habilitative formation in (d).

- (56) a. *E' = e = she = p*            *qwa'i-sh*    *a'chiwi-qat<sup>^</sup>?*  
 2SPRO = CF = DUB = 2SERG    FOOD-NPN    MAKE-IF  
 Are you gonna cook? (7 3 24)
- b. *E' = e = she*            *chem-ya-qat<sup>^</sup>?*  
 2SPRO = CF = DUB            BE.QUIET-YAX-IF  
 Are you going to shut up? (Chitmal 016)
- c. *Achi = she = 'et*            *kwati-kwati-pe-ya-qal<sup>^</sup>?*  
 LONG.AGO = DUB = 3SABS    DUP-RED-3S-YAX-PIS  
 Did it used to be red long ago? (5 57 98)
- d. *Axwe-ch-im = she = qwe = l*    *u'la<sup>^</sup>?*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL = DUB = NONI = 3PLABS    SEW.HAB  
 Can they sew? (7 37 59)

If the questioned verb does not appear at the end of the sentence, the question contour still appears on the same final syllable of the verb, as in the following examples. The yes–no question contour is quite striking even in sentence-final position, but it is especially noticeable when it is in non-final position.

- (57) a. *E' = e = she = t*            *a'chiwin<sup>^</sup>*    *qwa'i-sh*    *tuku?*  
 2SPRO = CF = DUB = 2SABS    MAKE            FOOD-NPN    YESTERDAY  
 Did you cook yesterday? (7 3 26)
- b. *E' = e = she = p*            *maxi-qat<sup>^</sup>*    *axwe-ch-i*    *e-nee'e-y*    *men ne'?*  
 2SPRO = CF = DUB = 2SERG    GIVE-IFS            ODEM-NPN-O    2S-BASKET-O    OR    1SPRO  
 Are you gonna give your basket to him or to me? (7 3 31)

If the verb is sentence-initial and has clitics attached to it, the contour will fall on the final clitic syllable.

- (58) *Kwati-kwati-ya-ne = she = pe<sup>^</sup>*    *tukumay?*  
 DUP-RED-YAX-FIS = DUB = IRR            TOMORROW  
 Will it be red tomorrow? (5 57 99)

Similarly, if the verb is the only word in the sentence, the contour will fall on the final clitic syllable if one is present.



- (59) *Kwati-kwati-ya-qa = she<sup>^</sup>?*  
 DUP-RED-YAX-PRS = DUB  
 Is it red? (5 57 96)

In the examples above, the question contour falls on the last syllable of the verb. However, if no verb is present, as in zero-copula sentences, it can fall on the last syllable of a noun, as on *-ish* of *qingish* ‘squirrel’.

- (60) *Axwe-sh = she qingi-sh<sup>^</sup>?*  
 ODEM-NPN = DUB SQUIRREL-NPN  
 Is that a squirrel? (5 59 114)

If the copula verb is present, however, it can receive the contour, as in (61), where it falls on *-we*.

- (61) a. *E-tewi-ve = she miyax-we<sup>^</sup>?*  
 2S-SEEi-SUBR = DUB BE-PRST  
 Have you ever seen it? (11 107 2)
- b. *Me = she = p e-sixnen-ve miyaxwe<sup>^</sup>?*  
 AND = DUB = 2SERG 2S-COOK-SUBR BE-PRST  
 Have you ever cooked that? (11 107 4)

**10.4. NEGATIVE SENTENCES.** Cupeño expresses all types of negation with a single negative particle *qay*, which was introduced in 6.7.4. The present discussion deals with details of the syntax of negatives.

*Qay* can function as a negative exclamation. It can negate events, with scope over the entire sentence. It occurs as a constituent negator only with indefinite elements, adverbs, and quantifiers. That is, there is no direct constituent negation of nouns. If a noun is to be negated, indefinite *hi-sh* (or *hax<sub>s</sub>* with human nouns) must appear between *qay* and the noun. Cupeño exhibits negative polarity; only one instance of *qay* is permitted in a sentence. Finally, while the overt marking of objects, whether with lexical nouns or with object proclitics, is somewhat variable (shaped by discourse conditions discussed in 12.2), this variability is reduced with negatives. With transitive and ditransitive verbs, there is a tendency for *hi-sh* or *hax<sub>s</sub>* to appear when no other overt object is present or when such objects are not in canonical position immediately before the verb. These properties of negation make for some rather complex sentences that will be described below.

**10.4.1. SENTENTIAL NEGATION AND WORD ORDER.** As long as considerations of scope do not block the promotion of the negative to sentence-initial position, this is the preferred order. When other items appear before *qay*, they often bear obvious signs of having undergone topicalization or promotion to a position of contrastive

focus. The examples in (62) show the common negative-first order in some uncomplicated sentences.

- (62) a. **Qay** = *el = pe*      *muyaq-yax*.  
 NOT = 2PLABS = IRR      GO.OUT-YAX.F  
 Don't you all be going outside. (Coyote and Cat 007)
- b. **Qay**    *e-'ye-t-im*      *pe'-miyax-wen*.  
 NOT      DUP-THIEF-NPN-PL    3PL-BE-PIPL  
 They were not thieves. (Warners III 015)

In this initial position, *qay* can accept clitics, as in (62a) and (63).

- (63) a. **Qay** = *qwe = 'et*      *hash-a'a*.  
 NOT = NI = 2SABS      GO-YAX.HAB  
 You couldn't go. (Faye Domingo Moro FN fp 12)
- b. **Qay** = *she tum*      *i'i*      *ne-ki*.  
 NOT = DUB      TRULY      PDEM      1S-HOUSE  
 So this is not my home? (Faye 99 68 032)
- c. **Qay** = *pe hama mi'aw*.  
 NOT = IRR      MAYBE      ARRIVE.F  
 I doubt that he will come. (Faye field notes 023)
- d. **Qay** = *ku'ut*      *hiwen-pe-yax = ku'ut*.  
 NOT = REP      STOP-3S-YAX = REP  
 It is said he didn't stop. (Coyote and Wolf 044)

*Qay* can take the mirative and contrastive-focus clitics, as in (64).

- (64) a. **Qay** = *am ichaa' i'i*.  
 NOT = MIR      GOOD      PDEM  
 This is not good. (Faye Creation 022)
- b. **Qay** = *e*,      **qay** = *e chem-ye*  
 NOT = CF      NOT = CF    1PL-MOTHER  
 Not he, he's not our mother. (Coyote and Cat 027)

However, *qay* functioning as a sentential negator also appears in second position in the sentence, even when considerations of scope are not at issue. The examples in (65) show such cases. In (65a), *qay* interrupts a constituent *axwesh peshe'e* 'that flower'. (65b) is exactly like (63d), except for the order of elements.

- (65) a. *Axwē-sh = qwe qay pe-she'e she-ne.*  
 ODEM-NPN = NI NOT 3S-FLOWER BLOOM-CUSTS  
 That flower never blooms any more. (8 45 293)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut qay tuku-luku-pe-qal.*  
 AND = REP NOT STICK-LDUP-3S-PIS  
 And she did not button it. (Faye General Kearney FN 89 (143))

Some elements in initial position before negatives are clearly topicalized or focused, as seen in the examples in (66). For (66b,c), I am assuming that the mirative and contrastive-focus clitics have something of a topicalizing force. In (66d) we see a resumptive pronoun, also suggesting that the previous noun *pemye* 'their mother' is topicalized.

- (66) a. *Men em-em na-nwik-t-am qay wiyika*  
 AND 2SPRO-PL DUP-WOMAN-NPN-PL NOT AROUND  
*ngel-el-an-'e'-mene-pi ki-ki-'aw.*  
 VISIT-DUP-AAN-2PL-INPL-SUBIRR DUP-HOUSE-AT  
 And you women, don't be roaming from house to house. (Faye Domingo Moro 12j)
- b. *I' = am qay suqa-t nawika-t pe-qwa-pi miyax-wen.*  
 PDEM = MIR NOT DEER-NPN WOMAN-NPN 3S-EAT-SUBIRR BE-PIST  
 This deer was not for a woman to eat. (KP I 005)
- c. *Nishma-l-im = el = e qay ngen-ax-we, anuk = el*  
 GIRL-NPN-PL = 3PLABS = CF NOT RUN-YAX-PRPL THUS = 3PLABS  
*nene-we.*  
 WALK-PRPL  
 The girls aren't running, they're only walking. (FN 202)
- d. *Mu = ku'ut pem-ye pe' qay pe-hiwqal.*  
 AND = REP 3PL-MOTHER 3SPRO NOT 3S-BE.THERE  
 And as for their mother, she was not there. (Coyote and Wolf 027)

However, the examples in (67) show independent nouns promoted to the position before the negative without any obvious focusing machinery. The example in (62b) above shows that the order NEG NOUN is acceptable with a copula sentence very similar to (67b).

- (67) a. *Mu = ku'ut isi-ly qay wiwa-t.*  
 AND = REP COYOTE-NPN NOT FAT-NPN  
 And it is said Coyote was not fat. (Coyote and Wolf 062)

- b. *Me ataxa-m qay i-'ingi-ch-am pe'-miyax-wen.*  
 AND PERSON-PL NOT DUP-LAZY-NPN-PL 3PL-BE-PST.IMP.PL  
 And the people were not lazy. (Warners III 011)

In sentences that exhibit ellipsis, a sequence of *me* and a promoted noun may precede *qay*, even though *qay* negates the noun that comes before it. In (68a) the promoted noun is a subject, but in (68b) it is an object and bears the object-case suffix *-i*.

- (68) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e Temayewet pe-'ayew-qal aya ataxa-m*  
 AND = REP DET = CF TEMAYEWET 3S-WANT-PIS NOW PERSON-PL  
*pem-chix-pi, mu = ku'ut Mukat qay.*  
 3PL-DIE-SUBIRR AND = REP MUKAT NOT

And it is said that Temayewet wanted people to die, but Mukat did not. (RN Creation 002)

- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe-m pulin-ch-am-i pem-chixin-wen, ki-ki-t-am-i,*  
 AND = REP DET-PL CHILD-NPN-PL-O 3PL-KILL-PIPL DUP-BOY-NPN-PL-O  
*mu = ku'ut nishmaq-l-im-i qay.*  
 AND = REP GIRL-NPN-PL-O NOT

And it is said they killed the children, the boys, but it is said not the girls. (KP II 032-033)

The normal NEG NP order remains acceptable: In (69), there is ellipsis, but *qay* precedes the subject noun.

- (69) *Mu = ku'ut peta'a-nim axwe-ch-i suqa-t-i aya pem-kwa-wen,*  
 AND = REP ALL-PL ODEM-NPN-O DEER-NPN-O THEN 3PL-EAT-PIPL  
*me qay pe-ye.*  
 AND NOT 3S-MOTHER

And it is said that they all ate that deer, but not his mother. (KP I 009)

Scope considerations can block the promotion of *qay* to sentence-initial position. Thus (70a) illustrates a question in which both the discourse particle *me* (with the clitic = *t*) and a *wh*- element, *hi-ngax* 'why?' (literally, 'what-from'), precede the negative, putting it in third position. The order *qay hingax* would be interpreted as 'not for anything'. In (70b) *qay* must be preceded by *chinga* 'if' to yield the reading 'if not', as opposed to 'not if', just as in English.

- (70) a. *Me = t hi-ngax qay tavxaa-qa?*  
 AND = 3SABS WHAT-FROM NOT WORK-PRS  
 Why don't you work? (6 93 163)

- b. *Chinga = qwe = n qay pu'u'uy me = qwe = n qa'a'aw.*  
 IF = NI-1SABS NOT EAT.HAB AND = NONI = 1SABS DIE.HAB  
 If I don't eat, I'll die. (J 137 67)

Two sentences intended to examine the relationship between negative scope and quantifier scope appear in the Thomas Portillo notes, reflecting the date of their composition in the 1970s (the sentences may reflect Roscinda Nolasquez's recollection of materials collected by Roderick Jacobs but that do not appear in his published work). These are obviously translated from English but are interesting in that the position of the negative differentiates the sentential negation in (71a) from the constituent negation (of the quantifier) in (71b).

- (71) a. *Peta'a-nim pe-m muu-ve'-ch-am qay suqa-t-i*  
 ALL-PL DET-PL SHOOT-AGTV-NPN-PL NOT DEER-NPN-O  
*pu'-muu.*  
 3PL-SHOOT  
 All the bowmen didn't shoot the deer. (Portillo notes 34)
- b. *Qay peta'a-nim am'i-ve'-ch-am suqa-t-i pu'-muu.*  
 NOT ALL-PL HUNT-AGTV-NPN-PL DEER-NPN-O 3PL-SHOOT  
 Not all the hunters shot the deer. (Portillo notes 34)

The last sentence, (72), of this group in the Portillo notes shows a very complex case. These clauses are linked by the construction *pemiyaxwen ... pe'mumxanpi* 'it was impossible for them to shoot (it)', illustrating *miyax* with sentential negation. One of the negatives must go with *miyax* to create the expression 'could not hit'. The other is apparently a constituent negator, *qay ... melen met'ichem ... nanxachim* 'not very many men'. The problem is that the second *qay* really should come before *pemiyaxwen* (see the examples in (71) above). The rule against double negatives discussed below may force the second *qay* to the odd position before *pe'mumxanpi*.

- (72) *Qay = 'ep melen met'i-ch-am pe-miyax-wen na-nxa-ch-im qay*  
 NOT=R VERY MANY-NPN-PL 3S-BE-PIST DUP-MAN-NPN-PL NOT  
*pe'-mu-mh-an-pi wi'a-t-i.*  
 3PL-DUP-SHOOT-AAN-SUBIRR LIVE.OAK-NPN-O  
 Not very many men didn't hit the oak tree. (Portillo notes 34)

The above data suggest that in sentential negation the negative particle is normally in focus and is promoted to a sentence-initial position in the focus phrase FP unless this would create a constituent-negation reading. Thus, when no considerations of scope determine the location of the negative, when it is not initial in the

sentence, some other item has been promoted to FP, blocking the promotion of the negative.

Interestingly, while there are occasional examples in the corpus of sentence-initial verbs (with second-position clitics attached to them), there is no such instance with a negative sentence. This suggests that the negative particle when functioning as a sentential negator is base-generated as head of Neg-P, dominating VP, and thus blocks the movement of the verb to FP.

**10.4.2. SENTENTIAL NEGATION WITH *QAY HI-SH*.** *Qay hi-sh* ‘nothing’ is required in constituent negation of non-human nouns, and is discussed below in 10.4.2.3. However, *qay hi-sh* is also common as a sentential negator. While it is optional, and nearly identical examples can be found with and without *hi-sh*, as shown in the side-by-side comparisons in examples (73–75), its appearance suggests that Cupeño speakers in the last generations were developing a doubled negative resembling French *ne ... pas*.

(73) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e wi'a-t qay hi-sh pe-tu-qal.*  
 AND = REP DET = CF LIVE.OAK-NPN NOT WHAT-NPN 3S-BEAR-PIS  
 And it is said the live oak did not bear fruit. (KP II 131)

b. *Mu = ku'ut aya pe' = e wi'a-t, qay pe-tu'.*  
 AND = REP THEN DET = CF LIVE.OAK-NPN NOT 3S-BEAR  
 And it is said that then the live oak did not bear fruit. (KP II 128)

(74) a. *Qay hi-sh ne-memyelu-qal.*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN 1S-SPEAK.ENGLISH-PIS  
 I didn't speak any English. (Warners I 039)

b. *Qay che'-memyelu-wen.*  
 NOT 1PL-SPEAK.ENGLISH-PIPL  
 We didn't speak English. (Warners I 056)

(75) a. *Qay hi-sh pem-'ayew-wen.*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN 3PL-LIKE-PIPL  
 They didn't like him. (KP II 002)

b. *Qay pem-'ayew-wen.*  
 NOT 3PL-LIKE-PIPL  
 They didn't like him. (KP II 007)

Certain conditions seem to disfavor *hi-sh*, mainly the presence of a preverbal object, as in (76a), or of an object proclitic, as in (76b,c). Presumably, the reason for this has to do with potential ambiguity with constituent negations.

- (76) a. *Me = l = pe qay isi-ly-i tutuchimax.*  
 AND = 2PLABS = IRR NOT COYOTE-NPN-O TELL.F  
 And don't tell Coyote. (RN Creation 064)
- b. *Ku'ut pe' = e qay mi = pe-kwa-qal.*  
 REP DET = CF NOT 3PLO = 3S-EAT-PIS  
 It is said she didn't eat them. (KP I 014)
- c. *Mu = ku'ut qay pi = pe-tew.*  
 AND = REP NOT 3SO = 3S-SEE  
 He did not see him. (Fox and Cottontail 012)

Note the contrast between (76c) and (77). This difference holds up consistently. When the prefix has definite reference, as in (84c), then *hi-sh* is not present. The presence of *hi-sh* apparently forces an indefinite reading for *pi* = '3SO'.

- (77) *Qay = ku'ut hi-sh pi = pe-tew.*  
 NOT = REP WHAT-NPN 3SO = 3S-SEE  
 He did not see anything. (Coyote and Wolf 007)

Very rarely, *qay hi-sh* is attested as a sentential negator with intransitive verbs. An example with *ngiyyichuwe* 'want to go away' is given in (78).

- (78) *Qay hi-sh ngiyy-ichu-we mivi-yka pe-yka supul-ika*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN GO.AWAY-DES-PRPL INDEF-TO 3S-TO OTHER-TO  
*tema-t-ika.*  
 LAND-ACC-TO  
 We do not want to go away to some other land. (Warners II 028)

*Hi-sh* is very rare with sentential negator *qay* on verbs with sentential objects. This exception suggests that *hi-sh*, unlike, say, French *pas*, may still retain a "nouniness," deriving from its possible interpretation as a dummy object where it appears in contexts like the transitive sentences in (78). Examples of sentential negatives with verbs with sentential complements are seen in (79).

- (79) a. *Temayewet qay pe-'ayew-qal pem-chix-pi.*  
 TEMAYEWET NOT 3S-WANT-PIS 3PL-DIE-SUBIRR  
 Temayawet did not want them to die. (Faye Creation 007)
- b. *Qay = ne yukich-i-qa pe-ki-y pe-nengu-nash-pi.*  
 NOT = 1SERG BELIEVE-IN-PRS 3S-HOUSE-O 3S-HAVE-FIS-SUBIRR  
 I doubt that he can keep house. (Faye Present 22)

The absence of dummy *hi-sh* occurs even when the sentential object is elided, as in (80).

- (80) *Ne-shuun-ngax*    *i'i*    *wewn-i-qat*    *we'*    *yuy-qat*,    **qay** = *ne*  
 IS-HEART-FROM    PDEM    RAIN-IN-IF    OR    SNOW-IF    NOT = ISERG  
*hiwchu-qa*.  
 KNOW-PRS  
 I think it will rain or snow, I don't know (which it will do). (9 13 148)

This effect, the absence of *hi-sh* with sentential objects, may be due to the retained nouniness of *hi-sh*, as suggested above. It may be also due to the fact that in these constructions an object seems to be raising from the lower sentence (raising is discussed in more detail in Chapter 12). Thus there may be no slot available for *hi-sh* if it is in fact a dummy object. Since the third-person-singular object proclitic is optional, raising is best seen where the object (the subject of the lower sentence) is not third-person singular. Examples are shown in (81).

- (81) a. *Axwesh* = *pe*    *nawika-t*    **qay**    *i* = *yukich-i-qa*    *pe-'achi*  
 ODEM = 3SERG    WOMAN-NPN    NOT    2SO = BELIEVE-IN-PRS    3S-PET  
*e-tewa<sup>h</sup>ngiy-ve-y*.  
 2S-LOSE-MOTG-SUBR-O  
 That woman doesn't believe that you lost her dog. (J 141 68)
- b. **Qay** = *she* = *p*    *ni* = *naqma-qal-et*    *i* = *kwaw-ne-qali*?  
 NOT = DUB-2SERG    1SO = HEAR-PIS-NPN    2SO = CALL-1S-DSS  
 Didn't you hear me calling you? (JH FN 0102)

In (82), *hi-sh* in the main clause is raised from the lower clause. The constraint against double negatives yields an ambiguity between 'I didn't know anything to do' and 'I didn't know how to do anything'.

- (82) *Pulyinyi-sh* = 'ep    *ne-hiwqal*    *me qay*    **hi-sh**    *ne-hiwchu-qal*  
 CHILD-NPN = R    1S-BE    AND NOT    WHAT-NPN    1S-KNOW-PIS  
*ne-'a'chiwin-pi*.  
 1S-DO-SUBIRR  
 When I was a child I didn't know how to do anything. (Faye Childhood SV 10 1)

The examples in (83) provide an argument for the analysis that *hi-sh* is usually absent because its slot is already occupied by a raised object. In (83a) it is unlikely that *hi-sh* has been raised from an object of *hawnenpi* 'I to sing', since *haw-in* is otherwise unattested with nominal or prefixal objects (in this behavior it is something of an exception in the *-in* class of verbs). In (83b), *kwel* 'get up', the verb in



the lower clause, is again intransitive. In performance, in (83b) *hi-sh* is strongly lengthened, *hi::-sh*, suggesting that it is in focus.

- (83) a. *Ne' = ne = pe qay hi-sh hiwchu-nash haw-ne-n-pi.*  
 ISPRO = 1S = IRR NOT WHAT-NPN KNOW-FIS SING-1S-IN-SUBIRR  
 I won't know how to sing. (8 109 46)
- b. *Qay = e = ku'ut hi::-sh pe-'iyawen, kwel-pe-yaxa-pi.*  
 NOT = CF = REP WHAT-NPN 3S-BE.STRONG GET.UP-3S-YAXa-SUBIRR  
 He was not strong enough to get up. (RN Creation 081)

Is sentential *qay hi-sh* a doubled negative? Given the attestation of *qay hi-sh* in sentences like those in (83) where no object could be present, I speculate that *hi-sh* may have been in the process of grammaticalization as a negative “enhancer,” as with *pas* in French *ne ... pas* or *-sh* in Egyptian Arabic *ma-...-sh*.<sup>18</sup> The addition of *hi-sh* makes the negative more emphatic and is consistent with the focused nature of the negative. Example (83b), with the strong performative lengthening on *hi-sh*, supports the suggestion that this may be a grammaticalization of focus. The double negative is, however, very similar to the constituent negation of nouns with *qay hi-sh* and creates ambiguities with verbs like *hiwchu* ‘know’ and *ayew* ‘want’ where *qay hi-sh* can have the indefinite reading ‘not anything’.

**10.4.3. CONSTITUENT NEGATION.** In constituent negation, *qay* can appear with indefinites, adverbs, and quantifiers. It cannot directly negate nouns.

**10.4.3.1. NEGATIVE INDEFINITES.** *Qay* appears with the indefinite elements *hax<sub>s</sub>* ‘who?’ and *hi-sh* ‘what?’, which also function as question words as discussed in 10.3, to form *qay hax* ‘nobody’ and *qay hish* ‘nothing’. With the indefinite base *mi-* suffixed with temporal or locative suffixes, *qay* forms the expressions ‘never’, ‘nowhere’, and the like.

- (84) a. *Qay = ku'ut hi-sh pi = pe-tew.*  
 NOT = REP WHAT-NPN 3SO = 3S-SEE  
 He didn't see anything. (Coyote and Wolf 016)
- b. *Me = qwe = p qay hax ni = nameyu-lu.*  
 AND = NONI = 3SERG NOT WHO ISO = CATCH-MOTP  
 Nobody can catch me. (Fox and Cat 008)

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18. I am indebted to Eloise Jelinek for calling the Egyptian Arabic case to my attention.

- c. *Mu = ku'ut qay mi-pa kwel-pe-yax.*  
 AND = REP NOT INDEF-TIME GET.UP-3S-YAX  
 And it is said he never got up. (Faye Creation 048)

The idioms *qay mi'i hax*, *qay mi'i hish* mean 'absolutely nobody, absolutely nothing'.

- (85) *Mu = ku'ut qay mi'i hax hashi-pe-yax.*  
 AND = REP NOT IND WHO GO-3S-YAX  
 And it is said that nobody went. (Coyote and Wolf 077)

Such expressions can occur discontinuously, as seen in (86) (see 9.4 for a discussion of discontinuous constituents).

- (86) *Mu = ku'ut qay pe' = e mi-pa su'i-sh men-pe-yi-ngiy.*  
 AND = REP NOT DET = CF INDEF-TIME RABBIT-NPN RETURN-3S-YAX-MOTG  
 And it is said the jackrabbit never returned. (Coyote and Rabbit 068)

**10.4.3.2. CONSTITUENT NEGATION WITH ADVERBS AND QUANTIFIERS.** *Qay* can negate adverbs and quantifiers, appearing immediately before these elements, although, as discussed in Chapter 9, discontinuous constituency is very common. (87) illustrates adverbs. The examples in (88) show *qay* with quantifier elements. (88c) is repeated from (71b).

- (87) a. *Mu = ku'ut pe' isi-ly = e qay melen awelwe pe-miyax-wen.*  
 AND = REP DET COYOTE-NPN = CF NOT MUCH GROWN 3S-BE-PIST  
 And it is said that the coyote was not very old. (Coyote Growing Up 002)
- b. *Qay = 'ep ichakwin pe-t = 'aw yaw-i-qa.*  
 NOT = 2SERG GOOD 3S-PLACE-AT SING-IN-PRS  
 You are not singing it right. (Swallows 013)
- (88) a. *Piyama-nga qay sulit memelki-ly mi = pem-hix.*  
 STILL-INL NOT ONE-NPN WORD-NPN 3PLO = 3PL-SAY  
 Still they said not one word to them. (Warners II 018)
- b. *Pem-wi-wiw-wen wiwi-sh, qay awisma.*  
 3PL-DUP-MAKE.ACORN.MUSH-PIPL ACORN.MUSH-NPN NOT A.LITTLE  
 They made acorn mush, a great deal. (Acorn Time 037)
- c. *Qay peta'a-nim am'i-ve'-ch-am suqa-t-i pu'-muu.*  
 NOT ALL-PL HUNT-AGTV-NPN-PL DEER-NPN-O 3PL-SHOOT  
 Not all the hunters shot the deer. (Portillo notes 34)

**10.4.3.3. CONSTITUENT NEGATION WITH NOUNS.** An interesting syntactic fact of Cupeño negation is that *qay* cannot directly negate nouns. Instead, an intermediate indefinite element is required. With human nouns this is *hax*<sub>s</sub>, with non-human nouns it is *hi-sh*. Examples with human nouns are seen in (89). (89c) shows *qay hish* instead of *qay hax* with the plural human noun *soldaadu'um* ‘soldiers’.

- (89) a. *Qay hax nawikat men nawishmal pe-pa-qal.*  
 NOT WHO WOMAN OR GIRL 3S-DRINK-PIS  
 No woman or girl drank there. (Faye field notes 080b)
- b. *Me = she = t qay ami'an hax e-ne'e pe-hiw-qal.*  
 AND = DUB = 3SABS NOT CLOSE WHO 2S-RELATIVE 3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 And it must be that nobody closely related to you is living. (KP II 067)
- c. *Qay hi-sh soldaadu'-um pem-qal.*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN SOLDIER-PL 3PL-BE.THERE  
 There were no soldiers. (Warners III 003)
- (90) a. *Qay hi-sh ki-sh chem-nengu-wen.*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN HOUSE-NPN 1PL-HAVE-PIPL  
 We had no homes. (Warners I 036)
- b. *Qay hi-sh numero-m-i chem-hiwchu-wen.*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN NUMBER-PL-O 1PL-KNOW-PIPL  
 We didn't know any numbers (i.e., arithmetic). (Faye CR CW 23 9)
- c. *Qay = ku'ut hi-sh waxa-ly-i men mulyak-i pe-tew.*  
 NOT = REP WHAT-NPN FROG-NPN-O OR LIZARD-O 3S-SEE  
 It is said he didn't see either a frog or a lizard. (Coyote and Wolf 039)
- d. *Qay hi-sh pa-l yuyi-sh pe-wen ami'an.*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN WATER-NPN COLD-NPN 3S-BE.THERE CLOSE  
 There was no cold water nearby. (007 Faye field notes Texts 90)
- e. *Qay hi-sh pem-qal su'-ch-am.*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN 3PL-BE.THERE RABBIT-NPN-PL  
 There were no jackrabbits. (Faye field notes Text 78 099a)

Example (90e) shows that the indefinite element is required even when some other element intervenes between the noun and *qay*. Example (91) shows that word order is also irrelevant; *pe' tekwel* ‘the skunk’ is topicalized to the position before the negative but *hi-sh* remains.

- (91) *Mu = ku'ut pe' tekwe-l qay hi-sh pe-miyax-wen.*  
 AND = REP DET SKUNK-NPN NOT WHAT-NPN 3S-BE-PIST  
 It was not Skunk. (Fox and Buzzard 062)

Note that if the negation is on a quantifier, *hi-sh* is not required even though a noun follows. In (92), repeated from (88a), the negation is of the numeral *sulit* 'one', which, in spite of its NPN suffix, apparently does not count as a noun.

- (92) *Piyama-nga qay sulit memelki-ly mi = pem-hix.*  
 STILL-INL NOT ONE-NPN WORD-NPN 3PLO = 3PL-SAY  
 Still they said not one word to them. (Warners II 022)

Notice also that in the case of sentential negation of a predicate nominal, *hi-sh* is not required, as seen in (93a), repeated from (62b), and (93b).

- (93) a. *Qay e-'ye-t-im pe'-miyax-wen.*  
 NOT DUP-THIEF-NPN-PL 3PL-BE-PIST  
 They were not thieves. (Warners III 015)
- b. *E' = e qay chem-ye.*  
 2SPRO = CF NOT 1PL-MOTHER  
 You are not our mother. (Coyote and Cat 015)

*Hax<sub>s</sub>* appears with an object suffix with negated ditransitive verbs as a dummy indirect object, as in (94). Note that these sentences illustrate negative polarity; *qay* appears only once, even if two indefinite elements are negated, as in *qay mipa ... haxiy* 'never to nobody' in (94a). Note also that neither of these sentences has *hi-sh* before *nemxat* 'gift'.

- (94) a. *Ne' = qwe = n qay mipa nemxa-t haxi-y max-ne.*  
 ISPRO = NONI-ISABS NOT EVER GIFT-NPN WHO-O GIVE-CUSTS  
 I never give away presents. (7 43 154)
- b. *Chem = qwe = sh qay mipa haxi-y nemxa-t max-wene.*  
 IPLPRO = NONI-IPLABS NOT EVER WHO-O GIFT-NPN GIVE-CUSTPL  
 We never give away presents. (7 43 155)

*Haxiy* cannot appear in this role in a positive sentence (unless it is a question, as discussed in 10.3 above); (95), based on (94a), is not possible.

- (95) *\*Ne = qwe = n nemxat haxi-y max-ne.*  
 I usually give presents to somebody.

**10.4.3.4. QAY HI-SH WITH ADJECTIVES.** *Qay hi-sh* appears optionally before adjectives. Examples appear both in the Faye field notes from the 1920s and in my own materials, almost all from Roscinda Nolasquez, collected in the 1960s. Many of these sentences are especially puzzling because the adjectives seem to be predicate adjectives; predicate nouns do not require *hi-sh*, *hax<sub>s</sub>*, as shown above.

- (96) a. *Wa'i-ch = am qay hi-sh ichaa'i.*  
 MEAT-NPN = MIR NOT WHAT-NPN GOOD  
 The meat is not good. (Faye field notes 4–6–27 20)
- b. *Qay = 'et hi-sh men-ax-ish.*  
 NOT = 2SABS WHAT-NPN TURN-YAX-NPN  
 You have not changed. (Faye Past Tense 21)
- c. *Qay = am hi-sh pe-tavxqa-'i qwa'i-sh pe-'a'chiwin-pi.*  
 NOT = MIR WHAT-NPN 3S-WORK-PSD FOOD-NPN 3S-MAKE-SUBIRR  
 It's not hard to cook. (3 111 306)
- d. *Qay hi-sh pe-tavxqa-'i pe-tatushni-la'a, qay = pe*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN 3S-WORK-PSD 3S-FOOL-INSTN NOT-IRR  
*hi-sh hiwchu-qa.*  
 WHAT-NPN KNOW-PRS  
 It's easy to fool him, he's stupid. (8 99 135)

In contrast to the striking consistency of the requirement of *hi-sh*, *hax<sub>s</sub>* with negated nouns, these “adjectival” constructions are not as consistent. For instance, in the following examples, no *hi-sh* appears, though they seem quite comparable to the examples in (96) above. Again, the examples come from both the 1920s and the 1960s material.

- (97) a. *Meyax chixi-nga pe' ngaw-pe-ya-qali pepe qay ichaa'i*  
 BUT IF-INL DET STRING-3S-YAX-DSS THEN NOT GOOD  
*pe-miyax-wen.*  
 3S-BE-PIST  
 But if she spat in strings then it was not good. (CN 31–12–20 7 Faye field notes 163)
- b. *Qay ichaa'i atax'a inyi'i-sh pe-miyax-wena-pi.*  
 NOT GOOD PERSON CRAZY-NPN 3S-BE-PISTa-SUBIRR  
 It's bad to be crazy. (3 109 176)

- c. *Qay* = *am ichaa' i'i*.  
 NOT = MIR      GOOD      THIS  
 This is not good. (Faye Creation 066)

**10.4.4. NEGATIVE POLARITY.** Cupeño has negative polarity. That is, there is only one negative in each sentence, regardless of how many items are negated. For instance, example (98a) has the negative in *qay ... mipa* ‘never’, but no additional negative is present on *hi-sh*, which is encoding an indefinite reading, ‘not any’. In (98b) the scope of *qay* includes both *ami'an* ‘close’ and *hax<sub>s</sub>* ‘who’; it may be interpretable as having scope over the verb as well.

- (98) a. *Me ne' qay mi-pa hi-sh ne-hiwchu*  
 AND 1SPRO      NOT      INDEF-TIME      WHAT-NPN      1S-KNOW  
*pem-pina'wax-a-y.*  
 3S-SING.ENEMY.SONG-PSD-O  
 But I never learned any of their enemy songs. (SV 2-1-21 21 Faye field notes 200)
- b. *Me = she = t qay ami'an hax e-ne'e*  
 AND = DUB = 3SABS      NOT      CLOSE      WHO      2S-RELATIVE  
*pe-hiw-qal.*  
 3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 Then it must be that no one closely related to you is living. (KP II 67)

The constraint against double negatives yields ambiguities like that in (99), where the scope of the negative may be sentential, or simply on the adverb *naachi* ‘soon’.

- (99) *Mu = ku'ut qay naachi ku-t pem-ne'anin.*  
 AND = REP      NOT      SOON      FIRE-NPN      3PL-LIGHT  
 And it is said they did not light the fire right away. (RN Creation 101)

Note that negative polarity crosses the clause boundary in verbs with sentential objects, as shown in (100) (observe that in these examples, *hi-sh* is not raised).

- (100) a. *Qay = 'ep chem-hiwchu-wen, hi-sh chem-hixa-pi*  
 NOT = R      1PL-KNOW-PIPL      WHAT-NPN      1PL-SAYA-SUBIRR  
 We didn't know anything to say. (Warners I 067)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe-m qay pem-'ayew-wen hi-sh*  
 AND = REP      DET-PL      NOT      3PL-WANT-PIPL      WHAT-NPN

*pem-'ichaaywin-pi.*

3PL-DO-SUBIRR

And it is said they didn't want to do anything. (RN Creation 088)

For this reason, positive-polarity items must be used if the scope of the negative is not to include the embedded clause. Thus in (101a) we find *axmi'i* 'someone', instead of *hax<sub>s</sub>*. Similarly, in (101b,c) we see *ishmi'i* 'something', instead of *hi-sh*.

(101) a. *Mu = ku'ut qay pe-hiwchu ax-mi'i pe-miyax-weni-ve-y.*  
 AND = REP NOT 3S-KNOW SOMEONE 3S-BE-PISTI-SUBR-O

And it is said he did not know who he was. (Faye San Quentin 7 (66))

b. *Me a-'wel-ve-m qay hiwchu-we ishmi'i*  
 AND DUP-ADULT-PL NOT KNOW-PRPL SOMETHING

*pe-miyax-weni-ve-y.*

3S-BE-PISTI-SUBR-O

And the old people don't know anything that they do. (Faye Marriage 9 175)

c. *Mu = ku'ut qay pe-miyax-wen ishmi-iy pe-tewa-pi.*  
 AND = REP NOT 3S-BE-PIPL SOMETHING-O 3S-SEEa-SUBIRR

And it is said that he couldn't see anything. (How Coyote Got That Way 007)

**10.4.5. PARSING COMPLEX NEGATIVE SENTENCES.** The series of properties outlined above—the requirement of dummy *hi-sh* or *hax<sub>s</sub>* with negated nouns, the preference for *hi-sh* or *hax<sub>s</sub>* as dummy object with transitive and ditransitive verbs, the general tendency to use *qay hi-sh* as a sentential negator, and negative polarity—interacts with the preference for sentence-initial negatives and the preference for verb-final order to yield some very intricate sentences, three are analyzed here.

(102) *Mu = ku'ut axwe-ch-i qay hax hi-sh piq-pe-qal.*  
 AND = REP ODEM-NPN-O NOT WHO WHAT-NPN TOUCH-3S-PIIS

And it is said nobody touched him. (Eagle I 032)

In (102), there three negated elements. The first is the verb itself. The second is *hax<sub>s</sub>*. The third is *hi-sh*, ambiguously functioning as either the dummy object of *piqpeqal* 'touched' or a negative enhancing element. Note that the object, *axwechi*, has been shifted to before the negative and has the object-case suffix. Thus it seems more likely that *hi-sh* should be read as a dummy resumptive object.

- (103) *Me ne' qay mi-pa hi-sh ne-hiwchu pem-pina'wex-a-y.*  
 AND 1SPRO NOT INDEF-TIME WHAT-NPN 1S-KNOW 3PL-SING.ENEMY.SONG-PSD-O  
 But I never knew any of their enemy songs. (Faye SV 2 1 21 200)

In (103), repeated from (98), the dummy element *hi-sh* may be present because the object, *pempina'wexay* 'their enemy songs (object case)', has been right-shifted to follow the verb. Again, we see the negative polarity, with only a single negative particle.

One of the most intricate of these sentences is (104).

- (104) *Qay pe-miyax-wen hax=e hax piq-pe-n-pi axwe-ch-i*  
 NOT 3S-BE-PIST WHO = CF WHO TOUCH-3S-IN-SUBIRR ODEM-NPN-O  
*meni-ly-i.*  
 MOON-NPN-O  
 Nobody could touch that Moon. (RN Creation 025)

In this sentence, we encounter the idiom *qay pemiya<sub>s</sub>wen* 'it was impossible'. We should also have *qay hax* 'nobody'; here *hax<sub>s</sub>* bears a contrastive-focus clitic. Because of negative polarity, only the first *qay* appears. Finally, the subordinated verb *piqpenpi* is also negated. The object *axwechi menilyi* is right-shifted after the verb. This sets up the context for the second *hax<sub>s</sub>*, functioning as the dummy object *hax<sub>s</sub>* (Moon is a person in this context, so it takes *hax<sub>s</sub>*), also governed by the initial negative.

**10.4.6. NEGATIVES: CONCLUSIONS.** Unfortunately, the data on Cupeño negation are fragmentary. However, the broad outlines of the facts are clear. a) Sentential negatives are nearly always in first or second position in the sentence. Many elements promoted to a position before negatives are suffixed with focus markers, or look "clefted" or otherwise topicalized. Verbs are never attested as promoted before negatives. b) NEG NOUN is ungrammatical, while NEG ADJ, NEG ADV, NEG Q are grammatical. c) Dummy indefinites appear with negatives, especially in transitive sentences even when an object noun is present, if the object noun has been promoted to before the negative or is right-shifted to follow the verb. However, the dummy indefinite *hi-sh* appears with *qay* in other kinds of sentences as well, and may represent an incipient grammaticalization of *hi-sh* as a negative enhancer, encouraged by the tendency for negatives to be in focus. d) Negative polarity is very well attested.



## MAJOR SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES III: CLAUSE COMBINING IN COMPLEX SENTENCES

A good deal of subordination in Cupeño is accomplished by deverbal derivations bearing the NPN suffixes *-t*, *-sh*, *-l* and the PSD suffix *-’a*. These constructions were discussed in Chapter 8. Cupeño also has three additional types of subordinate clauses, which do not involve deverbalization: adverbial subordinate clauses with switch reference, sentential complements and relative clauses with the realis subordinator *-ve*, and sentential complements with the irrealis subordinator *-pi*. Unlike subordination with NPN suffixes, which often yield tensed forms which can encode events or states in main clauses, the subordinate clauses discussed in the present chapter have no such qualities. Adverbial clauses are coded only for switch references. The suffixes *-ve* and *-pi* contribute only realis and irrealis mood respectively. The suffixes *-ve* and *-pi* permit suffixation with locatives and, in the case of *-ve*, object-case suffixes, thus resembling possessed-state nouns, but they retain subject-encoding PN affixes.

**11.1. SWITCH REFERENCE IN ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.** Aboriginal California constitutes a linguistic area for switch reference, which in southern California has been identified in the Yuman languages. Switch reference appears in several Uto-Aztecan languages, including Southern Paiute, Comanche, Hopi, and Tohono O’odham. Switch reference has not been described for any of the other Takic languages including Cahuilla, even though Cahuilla speakers had (and still have) at least as much interaction with speakers of Yuman languages as did speakers of Cupeño. Further research may reveal switch-reference systems in other Takic languages. Mithun (1999:270) points out that many apparent switch-reference systems turn out on close inspection to involve event tracking rather than reference tracking. However, the vast majority of the examples from Cupeño, both elicited and in extemporaneous talk, straightforwardly encode continuity or discon-

tinuity of reference. The very few examples that suggest that the system can be used to encode event continuity are discussed below.

In adverbial subordinate clauses that involve actions or events that are sequenced ('having VERB'd ...') or simultaneous ('while VERB-ing ...') with the action or event of the main clause, verbs are marked for switch reference only, with no tense, aspect, or mood distinction. If the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as the subject in the main clause, then the suffix *-nuk* is attached to the perfective base. *-nuk* is an *a*-ablauting suffix, inducing an *-a* augment on a preceding stressless root or on any suffix grammaticalized from a stressless root. Like the other ablauting suffixes, *-nuk* also induces glottal stop increments on some vowel-final bases.

If the subject of the subordinate clause is different from that in the main clause, then the suffix *-qali* (for singular subjects) or *-weni* (for plural subjects) is added to the perfective base. *-qali* and *-weni* are clearly related to the past imperfective suffixes *-qal* and *-wen*. It is possible that they are back formations from realis modalized complements and relative clauses formed on past imperfectives with the *i*-ablauting suffix *-ve*. With stressless roots, the final *-i* of *-qali* 'same subject singular' is stressed; recall from 2.2.2 that *-i* augments attract stress when they are not in final position in constructions with stressless roots. However, the final *-i* of *-weni* 'same subject plural' is never stressed; *-weni* is like other suffixes in the *-we* family in not attracting stress in construction with stressless roots.

**11.1.1. SAME-SUBJECT SUBORDINATION.** Examples showing the 'same-subject' suffix *-nuk* are seen in (1). The suffix is attached to the verb theme in the final position, after any derivation such as reduplication, motion suffixes, and the like. No additional suffixes can follow *-nuk*. The *-a* augment induced by *-nuk* can be seen in (1c,e) immediately before the suffix; note that it is usually stressed with the unstressed roots. Same-subject verbs can appear with object proclitics but they do not have subject markers. The subject is controlled by the subject person and number of the main clause.

- (1) a. *Mu = ku'ut pi = 'am-i-nuk, pi = pe-meq.*  
 AND = REP    3SO = KNOCK.DOWN-IN-SS    3SO = 3S-KILL  
 And it is said that having knocked him down, he killed him. (RN Creation 015)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe-ngiy wem-i-nuk.*  
 AND = REP    3S-GO.AWAY    CARRY.ON.SHOULDER-IN-SS  
 And he went away carrying it over his shoulder. (Coyote and Hen 044)
- c. *Kunuk haveshpe-yka kwel-axa-nuk, pem-shuun wey-pe-ya-qal*  
 ONLY    MORNING-IN    GET.UP-YAXa-SS,    3PL-HEART    THINK-3S-YAX-PIS

*pem-’ami-pi.*

3S-HUNT-SUBIRR

When they got up in the morning, they thought only to hunt. (Faye Domingo Moro FN 21 0121)

d. *Ku’ut ki-nga mi’aw-lu’-nuk, pem-taxwi pe’-mu-mh-an.*

REP HOUSE-INL ARRIVE-MOTP-SS 3S-BODY 3S-DUP-SHOOT-AAN

It is said that having arrived at the house, they shot arrows at each other. (Faye Creation 064)

e. *Mangin = ku’ut piyama tema-l, tema-l = ku’ut tewa-nuk*

SLOWLY = REP ALWAYS GROUND-NPN GROUND-NPN = REP SEEa-SS

*pe-neq.*

3S-CAME

Slowly, it is said, looking at the ground, at the ground, it is said, he kept coming. (Coyote and Rabbit 029)

A common use of the same-subject suffix is with the verbs *mix* ‘do, be a certain way’ and *ix* ‘do, be in a certain way’, discussed in 7.5, yielding expressions meaning ‘how?’ and ‘thus, in this way’ respectively. The *-a* augment appears before *-nuk* with these verbs, which are illustrated in (2). Example (2d) involves the idiom *mix ... pex* ‘somehow or other’.

(2) a. *Ixa-nuk = ’ep a’chiwin!*

DOa-SS = 2SERG DO

Do it this way! (Coyote Growing Up 003)

b. *Mu = ku’ut ixa-nuk mi = ’un-pe-n.*

AND = REP DOa-SS 3PL = SHOW-3S-IN

And thus he showed them. (RN Creation 029)

c. *Me = she = qwe = n mixa-nuk anga waya’a?*

AND = DUB = NONI = 1SABS DOa-SS WHETHER SWIM.HAB

I wonder if I can swim? (Coyote and Wolf 023)

d. *Suli-t amay ne-hiwchu-qal ne-taxwi mixa-nuk pexa-nuk*

ONE-NPN JUST 1S-KNOW-PIS 1S-BODY DOa-SS DEFA-SS

*ya’-ne-yi-ngiy-pi.*

RUN-1S-YAX-MOTG-SUBIRR

I know just one thing, how to run away one way or another. (Fox and Cat 010)

The same-subject suffix *-nuk* also appears in the fixed expression *mulu'nuk* 'first', literally 'lead, of same subject' (and in fact a complex form in its own right, from *mu-lu* 'nose-V').

- (3) a. *Ne' = 'ep mulu'nuk chulup-ne-yax tavxaa'-qat Mexaavi*  
 ISPRO = R LEAD-SS GO.IN-1S-YAX WORK-IF MOJAVE  
*pem-eve.*  
 3S-OVER

At first I went to work among the Mojaves. (Faye Mojaves CN 011a)

- b. *Nee'e-t mulu'nuk neq-qa nang'aw-nga'aw yukich-ax-we.*  
 BASKET-NPN LEAD-SS COME-PRS MAKE.IMAGE-AT RESPECT-YAX-PRST  
 The first basket that comes to the image ceremony is highly valued. (Faye Images 249 9 106)

The same-subject suffix also appears on the verb *huy* 'exceed' in comparative constructions. The example in (4a) shows reference continuity between a nominalized expression, *ne-mamax-'a* 'my liking' and *huyi-nuk* 'exceed-SS'. This is a unique example. In (4b), however, the continuity is between the verb *ayew* 'like' and *huyinuk*.

- (4) a. *Ne-ma-max = am huy-i-nuk axwe-ch-i.*  
 IS-DUP-LIKE(PSD) = MIR EXCEED-IN-SS ODEM-NPN-O  
 I like him better than the other one. (Faye 2-6-27 16 417)

- b. *Ne' = en ayew-we peta'a-nm-i atax-m-i pem-eve-ngax*  
 ISPRO = 1SABS WANT-PRST ALL-PL-O PERSON-PL-O 3PL-ON-FROM  
*huy-i-nuk axwe-sh naxani-sh.*  
 EXCEED-IN-SS ODEM-NPN MAN-NPN  
 I like that man best of all. (Faye 2-6-27 16418)

**11.1.2. DIFFERENT-SUBJECT SUBORDINATION.** The different-subject (switch-reference) suffixes are *-qali* 'singular' and *-weni* 'plural, stative'. A special suffix, *-lee*, which does not distinguish between singular and plural subject, appears with the verb *-qal* from *hiw ~ qa ~ qal ~ max* 'be, dwell, sit in a place'. In contrast with the same-subject subordinated verbs, different-subject subordinated verbs are marked for PN of subject with the usual affixes. The different-subject suffixes occur in complement and relative clauses as well as in adverbial clauses, and in those contexts can be followed by additional suffixes. However, in the strictly adverbial context no additional suffixes appear, and the subordinated verbs derive their tense from the context of the main clause. Examples showing the different-subject suffixes are seen in (5) for *-qali* and in (6) for *-weni*.

- (5) a. *Me chixinga pe' chux-pe-qali ichakwin pepe ichaa*  
 AND IF DET SPIT-3S-(IN)-DSS WELL THEN GOOD  
*pe-miyax-wen.*  
 3S-BE-PIST  
 And if she spat well, then it was good. (Faye Initiation CN 31-12-20 6-7 162)
- b. *Qay = she = p ni = naqma-qal-et i = kwaw-ne-qali?*  
 NOT = DUB = 2SERG 1SO = HEAR-PIS-NPN 2SO = CALL-1S-(IN)-DSS  
 Didn't you hear me calling you? (2 48 75)
- c. *Pe' hanaka yaq-pe-ya-qali, isi-ly pe-mi'aw-lu-qal.*  
 DET AGAIN BE.ABSENT-3S-YAX-DSS COYOTE-NPN 3S-ARRIVE-GO.TO-PIS  
 Again, while she was out, Coyote arrived. (Coyote and Cat)
- d. *Pe-ting-qali = ku'ut pe-nene-wen.*  
 3S-BE.HOT-DSS = REP 3S-GO.AROUND-PIST  
 He used to walk around when it was hot. (Coyote and Wolf 035)
- e. *Ne' = ne i = tuyung-qa mixa-nuk e-'ichqaywi-qali.*  
 1SPRO = 1SERG 2SO = ASK-PRS DOA-SS 2S-DO-DSS  
 I'm asking you how to do it. (8 25 130 0265)
- f. *Qay = che = pe pulinyi-ch-i tewlu'-nin astaki xalew-pe-ya-qali.*  
 NOT = 1PL = IRR BABY-NPN-O NAME-CAUSE.F UNTIL FALL-3S-YAX-DSS  
 We won't name the baby until it is born. (9 9 125 0319)

The different-subject suffix *-weni* serves to mark both plural, in the case of active verbs, and indifferent subject number, in the case of stative verbs. The examples in (6a,b,c) show fairly clear cases of stative readings.

- (6) a. *Meyax pe' kik'ish-weni mik-is pek-is*  
 BUT DET BE.MISSING-DSST INDEF.QUANT-TIMES DEF.QUANT-TIMES  
*maq-yax-we.*  
 GATHER-YAX-PRPL  
 But if there is nothing they meet several times. (Faye Images 249.7 (105))
- b. *Ne' = en hay-i-qa ni = 'iyax-weni.*  
 1SPRO = 1SABS TIRE-IN-PRS 1SO = BE.LIKE-DSST  
 I'm tired of having something the matter with me. (5 59 09)
- c. *Tum mipepenga hiw-pe-yax-weni ku'a-l-im hayi-nin-wene.*  
 TRULY WHEN WARM-3S-YAX-DSST FLY-NPN-PL TIRE-CAUSE-CUSTPL  
 When it is warm the flies are very troublesome. (Faye Present 11 332)

- d. *Chem = qwe = sh hanaka ngi'i'iy Kupa-ka hama*  
 1PLPRO = NONI = 1PLABS AGAIN GO.AWAY.HAB CUPA-TO WHETHER  
*chimi = maa-pe'-men-weni.*  
 1PLO = LET-3PL-INPL-DSPL  
 We would move back to Cupa if they'd let us. (9 43 13 0328)
- e. *Mi = tew = ne = pe pe'-mi'aw-weni.*  
 3PLO = SEE.F = 1S = IRR 3PL-ARRIVE-DSPL  
 I will see them when they come. (Faye Future 7 358)
- f. *Qay = ne hi-sh pulyin-ch-am-i mi = naqma-qa*  
 NOT = 1SERG WHAT-NPN CHILD-NPN-PL-O 3PLO = HEAR  
*pem-ngangan-weni.*  
 3PL-CRY-DUP-DSPL  
 I do not hear the children cry. (Faye Present 9 330)

The suffix *-lee* marks different subject with *-qal* 'lie' (singular past) and *-qal* 'dwell, be there' (past-tense plural), a principal part of the irregular verb *hiw ~ qa ~ qal ~ max*, discussed in 4.6.2.2. Since nearly all suffixes are consonant-initial, I take the form to be *-lee*; however, only one *l* surfaces. Examples appear in (7). In (7a) the switch reference may involve event differences but it is possible that the switch is from impersonal *miyaxwe* meaning 'must' in the first clause.

- (7) a. *Me pe-ngax e-kwaavichu-pi miyax-we e-qish-ki'a-y*  
 AND 3S-FROM 2S-TAKE.CARE-SUBIR BE-PRST 2S-MONEY-PSD-O  
*e-naxa-chu-qali men qaawi-sh e-qal-lee pe-chi e-taxwi*  
 2S-OLD.MAN-INCH-DSS OR SICK-NPN 2S-LIE-DS 3S-OBL 2S-BODY  
*e-nengu-pi.*  
 2S-HAVE-SUBIRR  
 And for that reason you must take care of your money in order to have it for yourself when you are lying old or sick. (Faye Domingo Moro 12i)
- b. *Me achi a'-wel-ve-m pem-qal-lee yeng-pem-yax-wen.*  
 AND LONG.AGO DUP-A-GROW-SUBR-PL 3PL-BE.THERE-DS LAST-3PL-YAX-PIST  
 And when the old people were there long ago, it would last a long time.  
 (Faye Initiation 217 15 097)
- c. *Puy-lya'a-ch-i te-tew-qa' pe-qal-lee.*  
 DINE-INST-NPN-O DUP-SEE-PRS 3S-BE.THERE-DS  
 I see the table where it was left. (4 69 82)

- d. *E-t-im chimim=pem-tew axwa-'aw chem-qal-lee.*  
 PDEM-NPN-PL 1PLO = 3PL-SEE ODEM-AT 1PL-BE.THERE-DS  
 They saw us when we were there. (2 93 16)

Same-subject and different-subject (switch-reference) marked verbs can be subordinated to one another. In (8) the change of subject comes between *she-\$hem-nash* 'be laughing' and *hiwenpeyaqali* 'he stops'. However, *hiwenpeyaqali* 'he stops' and *taninuk* 'dancing' share the same subject.

- (8) *Ne' = ne = pe she-\$hem-nash hiwen-pe-ya-qali kiima-l tan-i-nuk.*  
 ISPRO = 1S = IRR DUP-LAUGH -FIS STOP-3S-YAX-DSS BOY-NPN DANCE-IN-SS  
 I'll be laughing until that boy stops dancing. (9 9 115 0503)

As pointed out above, the vast majority of examples with the same-subject suffix *-nuk* and the different-subject suffixes *-qali*, *-weni*, and *-lee* clearly involve continuity or change of reference. However, there are a very few exceptions; as noted above, (7a) may be one such. In (9) we see a case where a same-subject marker is used in *yangaxanuk* 'being mixed up' but the second verb, *pemiyaqal* 'it happened', clearly does not involve the same subject. This is probably best understood as a case of event continuity, or, better put, rhetorical continuity, where *-nuk* expresses the coherence of the argument.

- (9) *Kiki-t-am peta'a-nim yang-axa-nuk me qay mi-pa ishmi'i*  
 BOY-NPN-PL ALL-PL MIX.WITH-YAXa-SS AND NOT INDEF-TIME SOMETHING  
*el'el'i-sh chem-eve-nga pe-miya-qal.*  
 BAD-NPN 1PL-OVER-INL 3S-HAPPEN-PIS  
 The boys were all mixed up in the bunch [of children playing] but nothing bad ever happened among us. (Faye SV 2-1-21 12 178)

Mithun (1999:270) implies that examples of event continuity as opposed to reference continuity are usually found in extemporaneous text. However, two likely examples of different-subject markers marking event discontinuity in the Cupeño corpus appear in elicited sentences. The two seen in (10a,b) are from Jacobs (1975). In both of these cases, what is perhaps being expressed is that the event of the main clause bears no special logical relationship to the event of the subordinate clause.

- (10) a. *Ne-naaxchi-qali ne' = 'ep ne-tew e-t-i.*  
 1S-PASS-DSS 1SPRO = R 1S-SEE DDEM-NPN-O  
 As I was passing by I saw him. (J 152 70 063)

- b. *Ne'* = *en*      *e-ti*      *naxani-sh*   *hiwchu-qa*   *ivi-'aw*  
 ISPRO = 1SERG    DDEM-NPN-O   MAN-NPN    KNOW-PRS    PDEM-AT  
*ne-tavxqa-qali*.  
 1S-WORK-DSS  
 I've known that man since I started work here. (6 91 188 0228)

**11.2. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES WITH REALIS SUBORDINATOR *-VE*.** The realis subordinator *-ve* has several functions. It marks the verbs of subordinated sentences in factive complement clauses under verbs like *hiwchu* 'know' and *yax<sub>s</sub>* 'say'. *-ve* also forms other kinds of sentential complements and relative clauses. Certain stable adjectives in *-ve*, like *awelve* 'adult, grown' and *awaxve* 'dry', probably originated as such relative clauses, perhaps at a period when the adjective prefix *a-* was productive.

The realis suffix *-ve* is an *i*-ablauting suffix, inducing an *-i* augment on unstressed verb roots and on those thematic and tense–aspect suffixes that are grammaticalized from unstressed roots, namely *-yax*, *-qal*, and *-wen*. It also induces a glottal stop increment on most vowel-final bases. Constructions with *-ve* can be further suffixed with the object-case suffix *-i* and locative suffixes such as *-nga* 'in' and *-ika* 'to'. Nominalizations in *-ve-l*, which lack subject PN affix and agree with their objects in a sort of unaccusative formation, are discussed in 8.1.5.

**11.2.1. *-VE* AND SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS.** The main contrast in sentential objects is that between realis subordinated verbs marked with *-ve* and irrealis subordinated verbs marked with *-pi*, discussed in 11.3. However, *-ve* subordinators appear on both perfective and imperfective bases. The examples in (11) show the imperfective bases. However, these are still more “perfective” than are comparable switch-reference clauses, as shown by a pair of examples in Faye’s notes. These point out a contrast between the perfectivity contributed by *-ve* (in 11a) and the characteristically imperfective reading of a switch-reference form (in 11b). Note that the *-i* augmented suffix *-weni* in (11a) is phonologically identical to the switch-reference marker in (11b). Such sentential complements often involve changes of subject, and such sentences may be the source of the different-subject (switch-reference) suffixes *-qali* and *-weni*, as suggested above, where *-ve* originally was not present because it was too “realis” for the adverbial clauses that include simultaneous events. However, there are many instances where *-weni-ve* and its singular subject form *-qali-ve*, where *-qali* is homophonous with the singular subject switch-reference suffix, does not involve a change of subject, such as in the relative clause in (11c) and the complement clause in (11d). Thus I take these to be from the *-i* augmented form of the aspect suffix *-wen*.

- (11) a. *Tew-qa'* = *ne*   *yaq-pem-yax-weni-ve-y*.  
 SEE-PRS = 1SERG    ABSENT-3PL-YAX-PIPLI-SUBR-O  
 I see that they are all gone. (Faye 2–6–27 f 26 462)



- b. *Tew-qa' = ne yaq-pem-yax-weni.*  
 SEE-PRS = 1SERG ABSENT-3PL-YAX-DSPL  
 I see that they are almost gone now. (Faye 2-6-27 f 26 461)
- c. *Komo amay awelv-ish mulu'we-t-im = she = 'et pe'*  
 LIKE TODAY ELDER-NPN ANCESTOR-NPN-PL = DUB = 3SABS DET  
*pum-'umnan-wen ishmivi-y tew-pe'-men-weni-ve-y.*  
 3PL-STORE-PIPL SOMETHING-O SEE-3PL-INPL-PIPLi-SUBR-O  
 Like the ancestors must have just stored away something that they could find. (Faye Domingo Moro 012g)
- d. *Pepe = qwe = m pe' hiwchu-wene mik-ch-im-i*  
 THEN = NONI = 3PLERG DET KNOW-CUSTPL INDEF.QUANT-NPN-PL-O  
*pek-ch-im-i mi = pem-'ichaayewin-weni-ve-y.*  
 DEF.QUANT-NPN-PL-O 3PLO = 3PL-MAKE-PIPLi-SUBR-O  
 Then they would know for how many (dead) they would make things. (Faye Images 098d)

(12) shows an example with the singular base.

- (12) *Me = qwe = me aya mixa-nuk hiwchu-wene ne-'ash*  
 AND = NONI = 3PLERG NOW BEa-SS KNOW-CUSTPL 1S-PET  
*pe-hiw-qali-ve.*  
 3S-BE-PISI-SUBR  
 And how do they know that my pet is alive? (Faye KP 127 156 062)

Subordination with -ve can also take place with perfective bases. These are illustrated in (13). Note that in (13b) the PN suffix is initial although the derivation is from a -yax verb.

- (13) a. *Me pe-yax pe-neqni-ve-y waw-ngax Sha'vi-t-im pem-ki-ngax.*  
 AND 3S-SAY 3S-COMEi-SUBR-O FAR-FROM MEXICAN-NPN-PL 3PL-HOUSE-FROM  
 And he said that he came from far away from the home of the Mexicans. (Faye Tramp 71)
- b. *Ne' = ne hiwchu-qa pe-chi e-hash-ax-ve-y.*  
 ISPRO = 1SERG KNOW-PRS 3S-OBL 2S-GO-YAX-SUBR-O  
 I know that you went. (J 53 218 169)

- c. *Axwē-sh = pe      nawika-t    qay      i = yukich-i-qa      pe- 'achi*  
 ODEM-NPN = 3SERG    WOMAN-NPN    NOT      2SO = BELIEVE-IN-PRS    3S-DOG  
*e-tewāsh-ngiy-ve-y.*

2S-LOSE-GO.AWAY-SUBR-O

That woman doesn't believe that you lost her dog. (J 141 68 52)

- d. *Aya    pem-naqma    ataxa-m    supuli'e-t-im    pem-qal-ve-y*  
 THEN    3PL-HEAR                  PERSON-PL    DIFFERENT-NPN-PL    3PL-DWELL-SUBR-O  
*pe-chi    pe'-mi'aw-ve-y      pa-ngax-xwi-ch-im.*

3S-OBL    3PL-ARRIVE-SUBR-O      WATER-FROM-GNT-NPN-PL

Then they heard that people of another kind were there, that they had come from the water. (Faye's translation) (Faye Encounter 4 11 005)

The object-case suffix *-i ~ -y* can be suffixed to *-ve* constructions. However, its appearance is variable. (14a) shows such an object-case suffix, on a sentential complement. However, in (14b), repeated from (12), there is no object-case suffix in a very similar sentence. Object-case suffixes on inanimate nouns are optional (this issue is discussed in 12.3.2.3), and this optionality extends to the sentential object case.

- (14) a. *Pem-hiwchu-wen    pe-mi'aw-qali-ve-y      kušhi-qat    axwē-ch-i*  
 3PL-KNOW-PIPL                  3S-ARRIVE-PISI-SUBR-O      TAKE-IF      ODEM-NPN-O  
*pem-na'aqwa-y.*

3PL-CHILD-O

They knew that he had come to take their child. (Faye Marriage FN 079c)

- b. *Me = qwe = me      aya      mixa-nuk    hiwchu-wene    ne- 'ash*  
 AND = NONI = 3PLERG    NOW      BEa-SS                  KNOW-CUSTPL      1S-PET  
*pe-hiw-qali-ve.*

3S-BE.THERE-PISI-SUBR

So how do they know my pet is alive? (Faye KP 127 156)

I have shown above examples of sentential complements under verbs such as 'know', 'see', 'hear', and 'say' (with indirect discourse). In (15) I show a few additional contexts.

- (15) a. *Pem-šhuun      pe-'elēl'i-chu-qal    pem-ki-y    pem-tewāsh-ve.*  
 3PL-HEART                  3S-BAD-INCH-PIS                  3PL-HOUSE-O    3PL-LOSE-SUBR

They were sad about having lost their homes. (Warners I 017)

- b. *Nawishma-l      pe-ngiiy-ve                  ni = changnew-ni-qa.*  
 GIRL-NPN                  3S-GO.AWAY-SUBIRR      1SO = BE.ANGRY-CAUS-PRS

The girl's having left makes me angry. (J 143 68)

- c. *Chimi = yul-pe'-men-wen chem-nanaqwi-ve-ngax.*  
 1PLO-PUNISH-3PL-INPL-PIPL 1PL-BE.NAUGHTY-SUBR-FROM  
 They punished us for our naughtiness. (Faye SV 2-1-21 18)
- d. *Ne' = en nee-ne-qa peyka'may ixa-nuk*  
 1S = 1SABS DUP-MAKE.BASKET-PRS STILL DOA-SS  
*ni = 'un-pe'-men-ve-y.*  
 1SO = SHOW-3PL-INPL-SUBR-O  
 I'm still making baskets the way they showed me. (7 61 118)

**11.2.2. -VE IN RELATIVE CLAUSES.** -ve can mark the subordinated verb in relative clauses. In relative clauses with -ve, perfective or imperfective aspect is encoded in the verb base. A pair of examples from Faye's notes contrast a perfective base in (16a) with an imperfective base in (16b). These are "cleft" relatives where the copula is zero in the present tense and the relative clause is headed by the determiner *pe'*. Cleft sentences are discussed in detail below in 11.2.2.1.

- (16) a. *E-t = en pe' tang-ne-n-ve.*  
 DDEM-NPN = 1SAB DET PILE-1S-IN-SUBIRR  
 That is what I had piled. (Faye field notes 060)
- b. *E-t = e pe' tang-ne-qali-ve.*  
 DDEM-NPN = CF DET PILE-1S-(IN)-PISI-SUBIRR  
 That is my piling [it looks like it]. (Faye field notes 061)

Headed relative clauses with this kind of "cleft" structure can involve ordinary nouns as well as demonstratives, as in (17).

- (17) *Naxani-sh pe' chem-tewi-ve e-ki-y hum-i-qat.*  
 MAN-NPN DET 1PL-SEEI-SUBR 2S-HOUSE-O PAINT-IN-IF  
 The man that we saw is going to paint your house. (J 148 69 059)

Sometimes, relative clauses with -ve are completely headless; such cases can consist of simply a single verb, as in the examples in (18), from Faye's field notes. (18b) is ambiguous; Faye translates it with a relative clause but it could also mean 'I know that she wanted it'.

- (18) a. *Pe-'ayew-qali-ve-y = e pu-kush.*  
 3S-WANT-PISI-SUBR-O = CF 3S-TAKE  
 She got what she wanted. (Faye field notes 042)



*suunvish-pem-yi-ngiy-weni-ve-y*].

SUFFER-3PL-YAX-MOTG-PIPLI-SUBR-O

He looks at those who have gone to suffer for his sake in the cold, in the water. (Faye Images FN 68–69 097c)

Relative clauses with *-ve* can take heads involving place and time. In such cases, if the head is a noun without any additional specifier (like *tukmiyat* in (27c) or the “place” relational noun *pe-ta* or *ta'*, as in (22a,b)), there are no locative suffixes on the verb. If there is no head, the subordinated verb with *-ve* will take locative suffixes. The examples in (22) show such clauses with the “place” head and without locative suffixes.

- (22) a. *Mu = ku'ut piyama hashi-pe-ya-qal a-yka ta'*  
 AND = REP ALWAYS GO-3S-YAX-PIS LOCB-TO PLACE  
*pem-kup-weni-ve.*  
 3PL-SLEEP-PIPLI-SUBR

And it is said that he was always going right there where they were sleeping. (RN Creation 033)

- b. *Achi tawpaxi-sh naaxchin-ax-ish tum mivi-ta*  
 LONG.AGO YEAR-NPN PASS-YAX-NPN TRULY INDEF-PLACE  
*pe-ta chem-chi'i-pi miyax-we kapel-pe-yax-weni-ve.*  
 DEF-PLACE IPL-GATHER-SUBIRR BE-PRST OPEN-3S-YAX-PISTI-SUBR

In past years any place where we might gather was open to us. (J 223 4)

- c. *Me aya pepe tewan-in-we mivi'i-pa-y tukmiya-t*  
 AND THEN THEN NAME-IN-PRPL IND-TIME-O NIGHT-NPN  
*sex-pe'-men-weni-ve-y.*  
 BURN-3PL-INPL-PIPLI-SUBR-O

And then they name what night they will be burning. (Faye Images Jan. 7 1921 SV 099n)

Where the head of the relative clause is a full locational specifier phrase (see 9.4.7) instead of a “place” word, then locative suffixes are attached to the subordinated verb. This is seen in (23). The full locational specifiers are *axwanga* in (23a), *ayka* in (23b), and the full locational phrase *ivi'aw ... aqi'aw Su'ish Peki'aw* in (23c). In (23d), where the relative clause has a “time” sense, there is no head such as *mivita* ‘when’. (23b) should end in *-ve-yka* but I preserve Faye’s transcription.

- (23) a. *Axwa-nga pi = 'un-pe-n pe' ne-t Ayi-ly Pe-ki-nga*  
 ODEM-INL 3SO = SHOW-3S-IN DET CHIEF-NPN TURTLE-NPN 3S-HOUSE-INL

*pa-l yeli-yeli'i-sh yuyi'i-sh pe-weni-ve-nga.*

WATER-NPN DUP-CLEAN-NPN COLD-NPN 3S-LIEi-SUBR-INL

The chief showed him Turtle's House where the water lay clear and cold. (Faye Texts 128)

b. *Mu = ku'ut haṣhi-pe-ya-qal a-yka nawishma-l*

AND = REP GO-3S-YAX-PIS LOCB-TO GIRL-NPN

*pe-hiw-qali-ve-ka.*

3S-LIVE-PISI-SUBR-TO

And it is said he would go there to where the girl lived. (Faye Marriage FN 079a)

c. *Ivi-'aw = en nene-wen-et aqi'a-'aw Su'i-sh Pe-ki-'aw*

PDEM-AT = 1SAB GO.AROUND-PIST-NPN LAND-AT RABBIT-NPN 3S-HOUSE-AT

*e-'ash pe-hiw-qali-ve-'aw.*

2S-PET 3S-LIVE-PISI-SUBR-AT

I have been right here going around on my allotment at Rabbit's House, where your pet lives. (Faye KP 125 148)

d. *Awa-l = 'ep pe-'iyax-wen ni = pe-qe'-ve-nga.*

DOG = R 3S-BE.LIKE-YAX-PIST ISO = 3S-BITE-SUBR-INL

The dog looked the same as when he bit me. (8 45 200 298)

**11.2.2.1. CLEFT SENTENCES WITH *PE'* ...-*VE*.** Cleft sentences are a special kind of relative clause which require the presence of the determiner *pe'* or *pem*. The cleft sentences with *pe'* ...-*ve* do not distinguish present tense from past imperfective aspect. Examples from Faye's field notes illustrating this point are seen in (24).

(24) a. *I'i = m pe' ne-naqma-qali-ve.*

PDEM = MIR DET 1S-HEAR-PISI-SUBR

This is what I am hearing. (Faye field notes 4-6-27 fp 2 082)

b. *I'i = m pe' ne-xa-xmush-qali-ve.*

PDEM = MIR DET 1S-DUP-HIT-PISI-SUBR

This is what I was hitting. (Faye field notes 4-6-27 2 086)

Past-perfective clefts are formed on the past-perfective base, just as in other relative clauses.

(25) *I'i = m pe' ne' yukish-ne-n-ve.*

PDEM = MIR DET 1SPRO BELIEVE-1S-IN-SUBR

This is what I believed. (Faye field notes 4-6-27 3 101)

Clefts with relative clauses formed on other verb bases are also possible. However, as the example in (26) shows, *-ve* cannot suffix to verbs in the immediate future. Verbs in the future are always suffixed with irrealis *-pi*, as shown below in 11.3.

- (26) *‘I’=m pe’ naxani-sh nimxan-a-qat,* *pe-yax = ku’ut Chemyu’a-t.*  
 PDEM = MIR DET MAN-NPN BETRAY-YAX-IF 3S-SAY = REP GOD-NPN  
 “This is the man who will betray me,” said our Lord it is said. (Faye Future 11 (039))

When the obviative demonstrative appears in cleft sentences, it usually has the object-case suffix, apparently functioning in a focusing role. This is illustrated in (27) and is discussed further in 12.2.1.

- (27) *Axwe-ch-i pe’ isi-ly ne-tewi-ve.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O DET COYOTE-NPN 1S-SEEI-SUBR  
 That’s the same coyote I saw before. (8 63 176 307)

**11.3. IRREALIS SUBORDINATOR -PI.** The irrealis subordinator *-pi* marks verbs in subordinate clauses including sentential complements and relative clauses involving situations that are not fact, even though they may be probable. Thus *-pi* is the appropriate marker for complements of verbs having to do with desires, hopes, searches, and other attitudes and activities that may not bear fruit. Subordinate clauses with *-pi* are often far out on the continuum away from factuality. Of special interest is that *-pi* can have the force of an indirect imperative; this probably occurs because the “hypothetical” property of the irrealis mitigates the threat to face of a command.

The irrealis subordinator *-pi* is an *a*-ablauting suffix, inducing an *-a* augment following stressless roots and those suffixes derived from them such as *-qal*, *-wen*, and *-yax*. It also induces a glottal stop increment on most vowel-final bases. Examples showing the *-a* augment are given in (28).

- (28) a. *U-push miyax-we pe-chi e-tewa-pi.*  
 2S-EYE BE-PRST 3S-OBL 2S-SEEa-SUBIRR  
 Your eyes are to see with. (Coyote Growing Up 009)
- b. *Ne’=ne axwe-ch-i kiima-l-i u’ni-qat asta*  
 1SPRO = 1SERG ODEM-NPN-O BOY-NPN-O DUP-TEACH-IF UNTIL  
*pa’an-pe-yaxa-pi.*  
 SPEAK.CUPEÑO-3S-YAXa-SUBIRR  
 I’m going to teach that boy until he speaks Cupeño. (9 11 142)

**11.3.1. -PI IN SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS.** Sentential complements with *-pi* all have a fully irrealis sense. However, in such clauses we see yet another change in the interpretation of the subordinated verb. In contrast to the case with *-ve*, where past-perfective verbs contribute their aspectual reading to the meaning of the subordinate clause, this does not happen in the irrealis subordinate clauses. *-pi* is usually suffixed to a perfective base with PN prefixes, even though the sense of the form is irrealis. This verb base does not appear to contribute any “perfectivity.” This point is illustrated in the examples in (29). In (29a), the verb in the subordinate clause is *meq(a(n))<sub>s</sub>* ‘kill’ which is perfective in its *Aktionsart*. However, in (29b), the subordinated verb is clearly imperfective or durative in meaning. But both subordinated verbs exhibit the perfective base.

- (29) a. *Mu = ku'ut pem-yax pe-meqa-pi.*  
 AND = REP    3PL-SAY    3S-KILLA-SUBIRR  
 And it is said they said for him to kill it. (Eagle II 018)
- b. *Pulyinyi-sh = 'ep ne-hiw-qal me qay his-h ne-hiwchu-qal*  
 CHILD-NPN = R    1S-BE-PIS    AND NOT    WHAT-NPN    1S-KNOW-PIS  
*ne-'ichqayewin-pi.*  
 1S-DO-SUBR  
 When I was a child I didn't know how to do anything. (Faye SV  
 Childhood 10 1 007)

Certain verbs do require the imperfective base. For instance, in (30a) we see the imperfective form of *miyax* expressing location of an inanimate subject. As pointed out in 7.6, *miyax* is attested only with imperfective forms, contrasting with *mix* in the perfective. In (30b) the defective verb *nene-we(n)* ‘walk, go around’ appears. This verb does not have a perfective form.

- (30) a. *Ku'ut Temayawet pe-'ayew-qal puchi-ly wih-ngax*  
 REP    TEMAYAWET    3S-WANT-PIS    FACE-NPN    TWO-FROM  
*pe-miyax-wena-pi.*  
 3S-BE-PIPLA-SUBIRR  
 It is said Temayawet wanted faces to be on both sides. (Faye Creation 013)
- b. *Pulinyi-ch = e xalew-ya-qa aya = qwe = l = pe*  
 BABY-NPN = CF    FALL-YAX-PIS    NOW = NONI = 3PLABS = IRR  
*pe-nene-wena-pi.*  
 3S-WALK-PIST-SUBIR  
 The baby fell because he was trying to walk. (8 97 107 0689)

The fact that the base for subordination with *-pi* looks like a past tense, because it includes a PN affix, is also irrelevant. The same base with *-pi* appears with any



other tenses in the main clause. (31a) shows the present tense, (31b) shows the immediate future, (31c) shows the customary, and (31d) has a future verb in the main clause. There are forms where *-pi* is suffixed to the future imperfective. These specialized admonitions are discussed below.

- (31) a. *Pulinyi-ch = e xalew-ya-qa aya = qwe = l = pe*  
 BABY-NPN = CF FALL-YAX-PRS NOW = NONI-3PLABS = IRR  
*pe-nene-wena-pi.*  
 3S-WALK-PISTa-SUBIRR  
 The baby is falling down because he is trying to walk. (8 97 107)
- b. *Yeen = esh pe-ta chem = e hiwchu-qat-im*  
 LET-1PLABS 3S-PLACE 1PLPRO = CF KNOW-IF-PL  
*chem- 'a 'alxi-pi.*  
 1PL-RECITE.HISTORY-SUBIR  
 Let us learn to tell the story. (2 55 174)
- c. *Ataxa-m = qwe = l yax-wene pe- 'ix-an-pi.*  
 PERSON-PL = NONI = 3PLABS SAY-CUSTPL 3S-BE.LIKE-AAN-SUBIR  
 People usually say it happens like this. (J 39 160 126)
- d. *Ivi- 'aw = ne = pe hiw-nash ele-nash pe-a 'alxi-pi.*  
 PDEM-AT = 1S = IRR BE.THERE-FIS WAIT-FIS 3S-RECITE.HISTORY-SUBIR  
 I'll be here until she tells the story. (9 41 1)

As is evident from the above examples, there is no marking of switch reference in these constructions. Reference is tracked entirely by the PN markers and by nouns. Jacobs gives a pair of examples that makes this point clear.

- (32) a. *Mariya = 'ep pe- 'ayew-qal nawishma-l-i pe-ngiy-pi.*  
 MARIA = R 3S-WANT-PIS GIRL-NPN-O 3S-GO.AWAY-SUBIR  
 Maria wanted the girl to leave. (J 9 171 131)
- b. *Mariya = 'ep pe- 'ayew-qal pe-ngiy-pi.*  
 MARIA = R 3S-WANT-PIS 3S-GO.AWAY-SUBIR  
 Maria wanted to leave. (J 11 171 132)

An important subtype of sentential embedding with *-pi* are statements of necessity and possibility (including admonitions) embedded under the copula verb *miyaxwe*. These constructions contrast with *-ve* constructions with *miyaxwe*, which are simply relative clauses with factual epistemic readings. Examples of *miyaxwe ...-pi* constructions were discussed in 10.1; I repeat a few examples here. (33a) shows *miyaxwe*. However, it can be deleted, as in (33b), presumably on analogy

with deletion of present-tense *miyaxwe* in copula sentences, yielding the “polite” imperative.

- (33) a. *Qay miyax-we che'-meqa-pi.*  
 NOT BE-PRST IPL-KILLa-SUBIRR  
 We cannot kill him. (KP I 064)
- b. *Men em-em na-nwik-t-am qay wiyika*  
 OR 2PLPRO-PL DUP-WOMAN-NPN-PL NOT AROUND  
*ngel-el-an-'e'-mena-pi ki-ki-'aw.*  
 ROAM-DUP-AAN-2PL-INPLa-SUBIRR DUP-HOUSE-AT  
 And you women, don't be roaming from house to house. (Faye Domingo  
 Moro FN 18)

Another specialized construction with *miyaxwe ...-pi* are statements of function with the oblique-case relational noun construction, as in (34).

- (34) “*U-push miyax-we pe-chi e-tewa-pi,*” *pe-yax = ku'ut.*  
 2S-EYE BE-PRPL 3S-OBL 2S-SEEA-SUBIRR 3S-SAY = REP  
 “Your eyes are to see with,” she said it is said. (Coyote Growing Up 009)

Examples of *-pi* subordination under *ichaa*, *ichaa*, *ichaa'i* ‘good’ apparently involve *miyaxwe*, which is sometimes deleted. (35a) lacks *miyaxwe* but (35b), where the copula is in the past tense and cannot be deleted, shows that the copula sense is underlyingly present in the present-tense cases. This is also evident from the presence of the PN clitic = *en* in (35a). PN clitics do not co-occur with past-tense verbs, so the clitic must be part of a higher sentence.

- (35) a. *Peyka'may = en qay ichaa ne-ngiiy-pi.*  
 STILL = 1SABS NOT GOOD IS-GO.AWAY-SUBIR  
 It is still not good for me to go. (Faye KP 87 36)
- b. *Ichaa'i = she = t pe-miyax-wen pe-yayax chem-hiwchu-pi.*  
 GOOD = DUB = 3SABS 3S-BE-PIST 3S-TRY IPL-KNOW-SUBIRR  
 It was good for us to try to learn. (Faye SV 2-1-21 19 192)

Irrealis *-pi* in this “admonitory” type of embedding can have a future-imperfective base. There are not many examples of this type, and all those that are attested are admonitory. Examples are seen in (36).

- (36) a. *Me = pe chinga ishmivi-y tepin-nash, me piyama*  
 AND = IRR IF SOMETHING-O TRACK-FIS AND ALWAYS

*pi-t nel-i-nash-pi.*  
ROAD-NPN WATCH-IN-FIS-SUBIRR

And if you are tracking something, always watch the trail. (Coyote Growing Up 010)

- b. *Atire = m qay hi-sh ichaa'i atax'a qay = pe*  
VERY = MIR NOT WHAT-NPN GOOD PERSON NOT = R  
*hiwchu-nash-pi qwa'i-sh pe-'a'chiwin-pi.*  
KNOW-FIS-SUBIR FOOD-NPN 3S-MAKE-SUBIR  
It's a bad thing not to know how to cook. (3 107 133)

In addition to the usual verbs that take sentential objects such as 'see', 'say', 'know', and 'want', subordinated sentences with verbs marked with irrealis *-pi* appear with a variety of other verbs in main clauses, creating several different senses. The examples in (37) show *-pi* in purpose clauses.

- (37) a. *Ne' = en ne-ye pe-kwaani tavxaa-qa pe-šhuun ichaa*  
ISPRO = 1SABS 1S-MOTHER 3S-FOR WORK-PRS 3S-HEART GOOD  
*pe-miyax-wena-pi.*

3S-BE-PISTa-SUBIR

I'm working to please my mother. (10 103 86)

- b. *Ivi-ta = ne = pe ivi-ta si'ayi-sh yuchin*  
PDEM-PLACE = 1S-IRR PDEM-PLACE CRACKED.ACORNS-NPN WASH .F  
*hevel-pe-yaxa-pi.*

SOFT-3S-YAXa-SUBIR

I'll be soaking my cracked acorns to soften them. (9 19 4)

- c. *Me chum-push mamu-mamu-pe-yax-wen qay hax*  
AND 1PL-EYE DUP-COVER-3S-YAX-PIST NOT WHO  
*chimi = pe-tewa-pi.*

1PLO = 3S-SEEA-SUBIR

And our faces were covered with goods so that nobody could see us.  
(Faye CN 31-12-20 9 0170)

- d. *Qay = ku'ut mixa-nuk pem-tewa-pi pem-kup-weni = ku'ut*  
NOT = REP DOa-SS 3PL-SEEA-IRR 3PL-SLEEP-DSPL = REP  
*hashi-pe-ya-qal pa-yka.*

GO-3S-YAX-PIS WATER-TO

So that they would not see, he went to the water while they were asleep. (Faye Creation 106)

The examples in (38) show a variety of other typical usages.

- (38) a. *Aya = qwe chex-yax-we qay ichaa'i pe-'ichaa'yewin-pi.*  
 THEN = NONI APPEAR-YAX-PRST NOT GOOD 3S-DO-SUBIRR  
 Then it shows that she will not do good. (Faye Initiation 128 27 092)
- b. *Qay = qwe = n maa pi-qi pe-ngiiy-pi.*  
 NOT = NONI = 1SABS LET.HAB 3S-REFL 3S-GO.AWAY-SUBIR  
 I cannot let him go alone. (Faye KP 105 79 041)
- c. *Axwe-sh = 'ep ni = 'un-pe-n ne-nee-pi.*  
 ODEM-NPN = R ISO = SHOW-3S-IN 1S-MAKE.BASKET-SUBIR  
 She showed me how to make baskets. (7 61 95)
- d. *Kunuk haveshpe-yka kwel-axa-nuk pem-\$huun wey-pe-ya-qal*  
 ONLY MORNING-TO GET.UP-YAXa-SS 3PL-HEART FALL-3S-YAX-PIS  
*pem-'am'i-pi.*  
 3PL-HUNT-SUBIR  
 When they got up in the morning they only thought to hunt. (Faye  
 Domingo Moro FN 21 0121)
- e. *E-t-i = m qay hi-sh pe-kwaan ela-che'-men-pi.*  
 DDEM-NPN-O = MIR NOT WHAT-NPN 3S-WORTH WAIT-1PL-INPL-SUBIRR  
 He isn't worth waiting for. (6 101 258)

*-pi* can be suffixed with locative suffixes but, because of its irrealis meaning, it has much less freedom in this respect than *-ve*. A specialized construction occurs with the locative suffix *-(i)ka* 'to' and the Spanish loanword *asta* 'until' (Spanish *hasta*). This is the only attestation of locative suffixes on *-pi*. Examples of this type are shown in (39).

- (39) a. *Ivi-'aw = ne = pe hiw-nash asta hiwen-'e-yaxa-pi-yka.*  
 PDEM-AT = 1S = IRR BE-FIS UNTIL STOP-2S-YAXa-SUBIR-TO  
 I'll be waiting here until you stop. (9 19 6)
- b. *Ivi-ta = n ki-chu-qat asta ne-nishwi-pi-yka.*  
 PDEM-PLACE = 1SABS HOUSE-INCH-IF UNTIL 1S-AGE.OF.WOMAN-SUBR-TO  
 I'm gonna live here until I get old. (11 43 63)

Jacobs (1975) writes the object-case suffix *-i* on appropriate instances of *-pi*. The distinction is inaudible to me; the suffix may be present but I cannot hear it and there is no phonological test. Jacobs presumably assumes that *-pi* behaves like *-ve*, which does have *-i* object suffixes. (40) is an example from Jacobs with object case following *-pi*.

- (40) *Chem = che = me qay yukich-in-wen-t-im nishlyu've-l-i*  
 1PLPRO = 1PL = 3PLERG NOT BELIEVE-IN-PIPL-NPN-PL OLD.WOMAN-NPN-O  
*pe-ngiiy-pi-y ki-ngax.*  
 3S-GO.AWAY-SUBIRR-O HOUSE-FROM

We didn't think that the old woman would leave the house. (J 142 68)

**11.3.2. -PI IN RELATIVE CLAUSES.** Like the realis subordinator *-ve*, irrealis *-pi* can mark subordinated verbs in relative clauses. However, while verbs in either perfective or imperfective aspect can be relativized with *-ve*, with *-pi* the verb base in relative clauses is always perfective, regardless of the implied aspect of the event represented in the clause, as is obvious in (41).

- (41) *Mu = ku'ut axwa-nga aya pi = yut-pe'-men pe' = e pe-ki-y*  
 AND = REP ODEM-INL THEN 3SO = BUILD-3PL-IN.PL DET = CF 3S-HOUSE-O  
*pe-ta pe-nash-pi.*  
 3S-PLACE 3S-SIT-SUBIRR

And it is said there then they built a cage for him to sit in. (Eagle I 016)

As with relative clauses marked with *-ve*, these clauses can have heads, as in (42). Both heads and *-pi* are boldfaced.

- (42) a. *Ne = 'ep ne-naqma axwe-ch-i tukumay haw-pe-n-pi-y.*  
 ISPRO = R IS-HEAR ODEM-NPN-O TOMORROW SING-3S-IN-SUBIRR-O  
 I heard the song that he will sing tomorrow. (J 147 69)

- b. *Qay = ku'ut hi-sh pi = pe-tew pe-mega-pi.*  
 NOT = REP WHAT-NPN 3SO = 3S-SEE 3S-KILLA-SUBIR  
 He did not see anything to kill. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 027)

- c. *Me = she = 'et qay hax ami'an pe-hiw-qal pu-ku-yka*  
 AND = DUB = 3SABS NOT WHO CLOSE 3S-BE-PIS 3S-FIRE-TO  
*pe-kelaw-ika hete-yaxa-pi.*  
 3S-FIREWOOD-TO CROUCH-YAXA-SUBIRR  
 There must be nobody there to sit by his fire, by his firewood. (Faye KP 95 57 028 0822)

- d. *Ne' = ne ivi-y ma-maxi-qat e' = ep ni = 'e-yax*  
 ISPRO = 1SERG PDEM-O DUP-GIVEi-IF 2SPRO = R ISO = 2S-SAY  
*mi = nemaxa-pi.*  
 3PLO = GIVE.GIFT-SUBR

I'm giving away the things you told me to give away. (7 61 112)

Relative clauses of place and time with *-pi*, unlike those with *-ve*, do not exhibit locative suffixes, either in the case where the clause is headed with a *-pa* or *-ta* relational noun or in the case with a locational phrase with a specifier. This point is illustrated in the examples in (44).

- (44) a. *Me aya na-nxani-sh-m-i mi = ya-qa' tewan-i-qa*  
 AND THEN DUP-MAN-NPN-PL-O 3PLO = SAY-PRS NAME-IN-PRS  
*mivi'i-pa-y pe-'am'i-pi.*  
 INDEF-PLACE-O 3S-HUNT-SUBIRR  
 And then to the men he mentions, he names places to hunt. (Faye Images FN 65–66)
- b. *Me aya tewan-in-we pe-ta maq-pem-yax-pi.*  
 AND THEN NAME-IN-PRPL 3S-PLACE GATHER-3PL-YAX-SUBIRR  
 And then they name a time to meet. (Faye Images Jan. 7 1921 SV)
- c. *Axwa-'aw pish'amay pah-nga'aw miyax-we atax'a*  
 ODEM-AT JUST THREE-ON BE-PRST PERSON  
*pe-seyki-pi.*  
 3S-GATHER.SEYILY-SUBIR  
 There are just three places to gather *seyily* there. (10 3 12)
- d. *Aya tami-t nanva-ya-qa chem-chi'-lu-pi kwini-ly-i.*  
 NOW DAY-NPN READY-YAX-PRS IPL-GATHER-MOTP-SUBIR ACORN-NPN-O  
 The time has arrived for us to gather acorns. (J 223 1 171)

An isolated example supports the impression that *-pi* does not appear with locative suffixes except in the specialized “until” construction. In (45), we see a case where a *-pi* construction of the “until” type is embedded in a *-ve* subordination. Here, if the subordinated verb were *neh<sub>i</sub>wnashpika*, the reading would be ‘until I am there’. Adding *-ve* makes this “realis” or complete; *-nga* is used in the “arrive at a time” sense. Thus *-nga* can be suffixed but only after *-ve*. Note that *im<sub>u</sub>metne'esh* seems peculiar; I expected *im<sub>u</sub>metunash*.

- (45) *Piyama = ne = pe i = mum'et-ne-'e-sh asta*  
 ALWAYS = 1SERG = IRR 2SO = HATE-1S-INSTN-NPN UNTIL  
*ne-h<sub>i</sub>w-nash-pi-ve-nga.*  
 1S-BE-FIS-SUBIRR-SUBR-INL  
 I'll hate you as long as I live. (8 103 167)

**11.4. SUBJECT-TO-OBJECT RAISING.** In two of the types of subordination discussed in this chapter, adverbial subordination with switch reference and sentential subordination including complements with *-ve* and *-pi*, it is possible to raise the subject

of the subordinated sentence to become the object of the verb in the main clause. The new object is marked with *-i*, the object-case marker, and can also be encoded in an object proclitic. Raising is not attested with relative clauses. In such cases, an object-marked noun is either the main-clause object of the main verb or the object of the verb in the relative clause. The latter case is shown in (46). Here, *axwechi* can refer only to the song, not to the singer.

- (46) *Ne = 'ep ne-naqma axwe-ch-i tukumay haw-pe-n-pi-y.*  
 1SPRO = R 1S-HEAR ODEM-NPN-O TOMORROW SING-3S-IN-SUBIRR-O  
 I heard the song that he will sing tomorrow. (J 147 69)

The examples in (47) show raising with adverbial subordination with different subject. (47a,b) are from Jacobs (1975), who assumes an object-case marker following the subordinated verb. In (47a,b) the raising is marked by the object-case marker on *Loola'ay* in (47a) and on *axwechi* in (47b). In (47c) the raising is indicated by the 3PLO proclitic on *mitewe*. Note that in (47a,b) Jacobs writes an object-case suffix on *pi'ituqaliy*; as with his proposal for object suffixes on *-pi*, I cannot hear this distinction and have found no test for it.

- (47) a. *E'e = qwe = 'et hama'a'an Loola-'ay pi = 'itu-qali-y*  
 2SPRO = NONI = 2SABS BE.ASHAMED.HAB LOLA-O 3SO = ROB-DSS-O  
*kelawe-t-i.*  
 FIREWOOD-NPN-O  
 You would be ashamed of Lola if she stole wood. (J 140 67 051)
- b. *Ne' = 'ep ne-tew axwe-ch-i pe-naaxchi-qali-y.*  
 1SPRO = R 1S-SEE ODEM-NPN-O 3S-PASS-DSS-O  
 I saw him passing by. (J 151 70 062)
- c. *Mi = tew-we mi = sex-pe'-men-weni.*  
 3PLO = SEE-PRST 3PLO = BURN-3PL-INPL-DSPL  
 I saw their fire setting. (I.e., I saw them setting fire to them.) (Faye 2-6-27 f 23 434)

(48) shows raising in a sentential complement of *yax<sub>s</sub>* 'say', where the subject of the complement sentence is marked with an object proclitic on *yax*. However, the sentence does not mean 'you will tell me': it means 'you will tell about how I finished them'. I give Faye's translation.

- (48) *Me = 'em = pe ni = yax pe-chi ne' mi = ne-tul-ve.*  
 AND = 2PLERG = IRR 1SO = SAY.F 3S-ABOUT 1SPRO 3PLO = 1S-FINISH-SUBR  
 And you will tell about me, how I finished them. (Faye KP 145 197 074)

The examples in (49) show raising in sentential complements with *-pi*. In (49a) the object-case marker is on the noun. In (49b) it is represented as an object proclitic on the main verb.

- (49) a. *Chem = che = me qay yukich-in-wen-t-im nishlyu've-l-i*  
 1PLPRO = 1PL = 3PLERG NOT BELIEVE-IN-PIPL-NPN-PL OLD.WOMAN-NPN-O  
*pe-ngi<sup>h</sup>y-pi-y ki-ngax.*  
 3S-GO.AWAY-SUBIRR-O HOUSE-FROM  
 We didn't think that the old woman would leave the house. (J 142 68)
- b. *Ne' = ne i = 'ela-qa ishmivi-y el*e*l'i-ch-i e-yaxa-pi.*  
 1SPRO = 1SERG 2SO = WAIT-PRS SOMETHING-O BAD-NPN-O 2S-SAYa-SUBIRR  
 I'm waiting for you to say something bad. (9 15 162)



## FOCUS, TRANSITIVITY, AND POINT OF VIEW IN CUPEÑO DISCOURSE

In the preceding chapters I have mentioned several situations where variation is not predictable on narrowly phonological, morphological, or syntactic grounds but apparently depends on discourse context or on the pragmatic purposes of the speaker. The present chapter takes up a few of the most important of these discourse–pragmatic problems. Section 12.1 reviews word order and marked divergence from canonical orders caused by promotion of the verb to sentence-initial position and by right-shifting in afterthought constructions and in other right-shifting processes. Section 12.2 reviews focusing by affixation with the object-case suffix and by the use of the contrastive-focus clitic and the role of the contrastive-focus clitic in reference tracking. Section 12.3 takes up devices for adjusting transitivity, including the choice of perfective versus imperfective verbs in narrative, flexibility in the use of the object proclitics and the object-case suffix, and flexible use of ergative and absolutive PN clitics. Section 12.4 discusses the use of the reportative clitic in constructing point of view and genre.

The Cupeño corpus consists almost entirely of two types of material: narrative text, in several subgenres, and elicited sentences and individual lexical items such as verbs in paradigm. The circumstances of collection must also have affected the shape of discourse. Faye, working in the 1920s, took text from dictation and did not use any recording devices. In my work in the early 1960s, I tape-recorded narrative texts and songs but not elicitation itself, including the important “teaching” process wherein Roscinda Nolasquez and I went over her tape-recorded text. Thus the remarks on discourse below must be qualified as pertaining only to the fieldwork context. We do not know how the language was used in interpersonal interaction between native speakers, although we can make some guesses based on the reported speech that appears in the narratives.

### **12.1. DISCOURSE PROMINENCE AND DEPARTURES FROM CANONICAL WORD ORDER.**

The basic word order at the level of the clause in Cupeño is SOV or verb final. The evidence for basic verb-final order is twofold. First, Cupeño word orders at

the phrasal level are harmonic (in the sense of Greenberg 1966 and Hawkins 1983) with verb-final order, in that Cupeño exhibits postpositions (suffixes) for locative and oblique cases and rigid genitive–noun order in possessive constructions. Second, verb-final clauses constitute a substantial majority of all clauses. Among sentences where variability in word order is possible, about two thirds are verb final. By “where variability in word order is possible,” I refer to sentences that consist of more than a single word, include a verb, and are not fixed formulas such as magical formulas or songs.

The question addressed in this section is, what kinds of processes result in sentences where the verb is not final in the sentence? There are two major sources for such sentences. The first is promotion of the verb to sentence-initial position. The second is right-shifting of non-verbal material to follow the verb, including afterthought constructions. These departures from canonical word order are a part of constructing “discourse prominence,” including marking the boundaries of episodes, verses, and stanzas and marking narrative “peaks” where Longacre (1976) has pointed out that what he calls “disturbed syntax” is often encountered.

Before examining the non-verb-final clauses, I briefly review simple sentences that illustrate the canonical pattern. It is difficult to find sentences that have both S and O arguments encoded with lexical items. Many Cupeño sentences contain no lexical arguments, since subject arguments can be encoded in the PN affixes on past-tense verbs, or by PN clitics in the auxiliary complex. Object arguments can be encoded by object proclitics, or by object enclitics of imperative verbs. The possibility of such non-lexical encoding of arguments implies that when even one lexical noun or pronoun is present, it is likely to have some kind of discourse-pragmatic prominence. The rare sentences in which lexical nouns or pronouns encoding both subject and object are present are precisely those in which discourse-pragmatic effects are most likely to be observed. For instance, example (1a) has an independent pronoun *ne* ‘I’, which is more marked than the alternative structure with subject encoded only with the PN clitic = *ne*, as in (1b). However, (1a) does exhibit canonical SOV order.

- (1) a. *Ne*' = *ne* = *pe* *tukumay* *mipepenga* *gayiina'a-y* *kwa*'!  
 I SPRO = IS = IRR TOMORROW SURELY CHICKEN-O EAT.F  
 I will eat chicken tomorrow for sure! (Coyote and Hen 006)
- b. *Tukumay* = *ne* = *pe* (*mipepenga*) *gayiina'a-y* *kwa*'!  
 TOMORROW = IS = IRR SURELY CHICKEN-O EAT.F  
 I will eat chicken tomorrow for sure! (constructed sentence)

Sentences like those in (2) are also useful in demonstrating canonical word order. Both sentences have independent pronouns encoding PN of discourse participants filling both subject and object position. When two independent discourse-participant pronouns are present, they are in SO order.

(2) a. **Em** = *qwe* = *p*                      **ne'e-y** *ni* = *tatush-ni*.  
 2PLPRO = NONI = 2PLERG      1SPRO-O   1SO = FOOL-CAUSE.HAB  
 You all might be tricking me. (Coyote and Flood 050)

b. **Em** = *'em* = *e*                      **ne'e-y** *ni* = *tatush-nin-we*.  
 2PLPRO = 2PLERG = CF      1SPRO-O   1SO = FOOL-CAUSE-PRPL  
 You all are tricking me. (Coyote and Flood 056)

In sentences where only the object is represented by an independent noun or pronoun, the order is usually OV, as in (3). In (3a) the subject is encoded in a PN prefix on the verb, while in (3b) it is encoded in a PN clitic cliticized to the object noun itself.

(3) a. **Pa-l** = *ku'ut*      **pe-hu**va-*qal*.  
 WATER-NPN = REP      3S-SNIFF-PIS  
 He was sniffing the water, it is said. (Coyote and Flood 014)

b. **Puki-ly** = **ne**                      *tem-i-qat*.  
 DOOR-NPN = 1SERG      SHUT-IN-IF  
 I'm going to close the door. (Coyote and Cat 007)

In sentences where only a subject is present, the usual order is SV, as in (4).

(4) **Mu** = *ku'ut* **pe'** = **e** **isi-ly**                      *pe-ngiiy*.  
 AND = REP      DET-CF      COYOTE-NPN      3S-GO.AWAY  
 And it is said the coyote went away. (Coyote and Cat 022)

In sentences where no lexical noun-encoding arguments appear, other material such as locatives and adverbs also will usually precede the verb.

(5) a. **Wi'a-t**                      **pe-wela-**'aw = *ku'ut*      **axwa-**'aw      **pe-hi**w-*qal*.  
 LIVE.OAK-NPN      3S-BASE-AT = REP                      ODEM-AT      3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 He stopped there under a live oak tree. (Coyote and Flood 062)

b. **Mu** = *ku'ut* **piyama-nga**      **mangin**      **pe-neq**.  
 AND = REP      ALWAYS-INL                      SLOWLY                      3S-COME  
 And it is said he kept coming slowly. (Coyote and Crows 005)

Verb-final position is also characteristic of non-present-tense copula sentences with predicate nouns, as in (6).

(6) *Pe' = ku'ut tamawe-t pem-ne-'a pe-miyax-wen.*

DET = REP      MOCKINGBIRD-NPN      3PL-CHIEF-PN      3S-BE-PIPL

It is said that the mockingbird was their priest. (Coyote at the Birds' Church 004)

**12.1.1. PROMOTION OF VERBS TO CLAUSE-INITIAL POSITION.** The first process that yields a departure from these basic orders is promotion of the verb to initial position in the clause when other lexical arguments, locatives, or adverbs are present. Examples are seen in (7), taken from a text where there are nineteen verb-initial clauses out of approximately 100 sentences. In the section cited, Coyote is hunting, and the narrator, Roscinda Nolasquez, is chaining together clauses, most consisting only of PN-inflected past-imperfective verbs, to sketch this scene (which she obviously finds amusing). Clearly, it is Coyote's actions that are prominent here, and the promotion of the verb *tewpeqal* 'he was glancing' before the locative is part of rhetorical parallelism where every verb is clause-initial, except in the first line, which is also the first line of a stanza.

(7) *Mu = ku'ut piyama-nga pe-neq, pa-nga = ku'ut nam-pe-yaxa-veneq,*

AND = REP      STILL-INL      3S-COME      WATER-INL = REP      CROSS-3S-YAXA-MOTCA

And he kept coming, it is said, coming along crossing the water, it is said,

*yal-yal-pe-ya-qal = ku'ut <@@@>, puchaq-puchaq-pe-ya-qal,*

DUP-JUMP-3S-YAX-PIS = REP      < LAUGHTER >      DUP-JUMP-3S-YAX-PIS

it is said he was jumping, he was jumping,

*tew-pe-qal = ku'ut ivi-yka a-yka.*

SEE-3S-(IN)-PIS = REP      PDEM-TO LOCB-TO

he was glancing here and there, it is said. (Coyote and Flood 008)

Also in "Coyote and the Flood," we find verb-initial clauses every time Coyote actually catches anything. In fact, his success in this text with catching a whole range of animals, each one of whom taunts him before becoming a victim, is leading up to a disaster when Coyote catches a giant frog that explodes and floods the world and drowns Coyote himself. In (8) we see the "capture" clauses. In (8e), with its shift to the perfective, he catches the fatal giant frog, who is encoded in an object proclitic; third-person-singular object proclitics are optional and are most likely at narrative peak (see 12.3.2). Two discourse features motivate such verb-initial sentences. One is the prominence of the moments of capture, which are local discourse peaks. The second is parallelism; once the first such sentence has appeared, the others follow using very similar language and word order. There are many other dimensions of parallelism in this part of the text (for instance, each animal taunts Coyote with the same little chant before he catches it).

- (8) a. *Kuṣh-aan-pe-qal = ku'ut, tav-an-pe-qal = ku'ut pe-chayma-nga,*  
 TAKE-AAN-3S-PIS = REP PUT.IN-AAN-3S-PIS = REP 3S-BASKET-INL  
*waxachi-ly-i.*  
 FROG-NPN-O  
 And he grabbed him, it is said, and put him in his basket, the frog. (Coyote and Flood 007)
- b. *Tav-aan-pe-qal = ku'ut axwe-ch-i mulyak-i pe-chayma-nga.*  
 PUT.IN-AAN-3S-PIS = REP ODEM-NPN-O LIZARD-O 3S-BASKET-INL  
 He put that lizard in his basket. (Coyote and Flood 018)
- c. *Mu = ku'ut pe' aput chakw-i-nuk, wichax-pe-qal*  
 AND = REP 3SPRO ALREADY CATCH-IN-SS THROW-3S-PIS  
*pe-chayma-nga.*  
 3S-BASKET-INL  
 And it is said having caught it, he threw it in his basket. (Coyote and Flood 023)
- d. *Chakw-i-nuk = ku'ut, tav-aan-pe-qal pe-chayma-nga.*  
 CATCH-IN-SS = REP PUT.IN-AAN-3S-PIS 3S-BASKET-INL  
 Catching it, it is said, he put it in his basket. (Coyote and Flood 027)
- e. *Pi = chakw-i-nuk tav-an-pe-n = ku'ut, pu:::chi = ku'ut pe-ngīy.*  
 3SO = CATCH-IN-SS PUT.IN-AAN-3S-IN = REP WELL = REP 3S-GO.AWAY  
 Catching him, he popped him in, it is said, and so finally it is said he went off. (Coyote and Flood 032)

Imperatives are often (although not always) verb-initial, with other material following the verb. This is due to the prominence of action, as opposed to participants, in imperative constructions. There are two verb-initial imperatives in the story “Coyote and the Flood,” both with afterthought contours as birds urge him to jump from the sycamore tree in which he is trapped after the flood recedes. They are identical; one is shown in (9).

- (9) *Yal-a-', isi-ly!*  
 JUMP-YAX-IMPS COYOTE-NPN  
 Jump, Coyote! (Coyote and Flood 055)

There happen to be no examples in narrative texts of verb-initial imperatives where the material following the verb is not under an afterthought contour (see 12.1.2), so I illustrate verb initial imperatives without afterthoughts with a few elicited sentences.

- (10) a. **Wen-a-** *a-yka i'i plaata'-am!*  
 PUT.DOWN-AAAN-IMPS LOCB-TO PDEM PLATE-PL  
 Put these plates away! (2 5 621)
- b. **Wix-in-em** *kawi-sh!*  
 STEP.ON-IN-PL ROCK-NPN  
 Step on the rock! (2 25 313)
- c. **Am-in-em** *pem-eyik!*  
 THROW-IN-PL 3PL-TO  
 Throw it to them! (2 33 439)
- d. **Wey'-ax-em** *em-shuun!*  
 FALL-YAX-PL 2PL-HEART  
 Think! (2 33 422)

Verbs can receive contrastive-focus clitics when they are in sentence-initial position, as in the example in (11a) from Faye's field notes. This shows that the sentence-initial position can be used in contrasting the represented action with some other possible action, as is made clear by Faye's note given with the translation. Contrastive-focus clitics are not restricted to the very first word, as seen in (11b). However, there is no example of a contrastive-focus clitic on a verb that is in canonical clause-final position following arguments.

- (11) a. **Puy-qal=e** *aya.*  
 DINE-PRS = CF NOW  
 He can eat now (after having been unable to). (Faye 3-6-27 f 13 031)
- b. *Aya* **tem-i-qal=e.**  
 NOW CLOSE-IN-PRS = CF  
 It's cloudy now. (1 13 209)

In summary, a focus on action can result in the promotion of verbs to sentence-initial position in a variety of contexts, including narrative peak, imperative sentences, and verbs marked for contrastive focus.

**12.1.2. AFTERTHOUGHTS AND RIGHT-SHIFTING.** The second process that results in non-final verbs is that lexical arguments and adverbial and locative phrases can be right-shifted to follow the verb. It should be noted that in complex sentences, complements always follow main verbs verbs such as 'say', 'know', 'want', and 'hear'. However, in direct discourse, locutionary verbs can appear on either side of the reported speech (or be completely absent).

With phrases instead of sentential clauses, any phrasal type can follow the verb, including noun phrases in subject, object, and indirect object role, postpositional phrases, and adverbial particles. Some right-shifted material is marked by afterthought contours. In an examination of a sample of texts in the genre *silyich-in* ‘tell bedtime stories, animal stories’ consisting of about<sup>19</sup> 300 sentences, I identified 19 afterthought contours. Thirteen of the afterthought items in this sample were subjects. Only three object nouns or nominal constructions appeared under afterthought contours. The remaining three were modifiers. Full locational specifiers and locational phrases appear very rarely under afterthought contours; in a larger sample of all of Roscinda Nolasquez’s animal stories, only two appear. Adverbs behave similarly, with only two examples in all of the animal stories.

Some afterthought contours seem to involve an attempted “clarification” and are a part of the reference-tracking system. Examples are shown in (12). In (12a–c), a new item has been introduced in a non-lexical element in the sentence, which has no antecedent. These are boldfaced. In (12d) the afterthought material is completely new and simply adds local detail.

- (12) a. *Mu = ku'ut iyax-wen amay pish'amay pe' chayaw-pe-yax,*  
 AND = REP DO.LIKE-PIST JUST SUDDENLY 3SPRO GET.UP-3S-YAX  
***maxi-ly.***

DOVE-NPN

And just then suddenly she got up, Dove. (Chitmal 015)

- b. ***Pum-push = ku'ut piyama paqi-paqi-pe-ya-qal, pe-m***  
 3PL-EYE = REP ALWAYS DUP-GLARE-3S-YAX-PIS DET-PL  
***ataxa-m.***

PERSON-PL

And it is said their eyes kept glaring, [of] those people. (KP II 047)

- c. *Piyama pe-pava-'aw qay-qay-pem-yax-wen, i'i-m*  
 ALWAYS 3S-THROAT-AT DUP-HANG-3PL-YAX-PIPL PDEM-PL  
***kaw-l-am, su'-ch-am.***

WOOD.RAT-NPN-PL RABBIT-NPN-PL

They were always hanging around his neck, these wood rats, jack-rabbits. (KP II 073)

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19. I use the term “about” because it is very difficult to count T-units or clauses exactly in these rather complex texts, which include false starts, songs and magical formulas, and the like.

- d. *Mangin piyama-nga = ku'ut pe-neq, pa-l*  
 SLOWLY ALWAYS-INL = REP 3S-COME WATER-NPN  
*pe-hay-ve-ngax.*  
 3S-TIRE-SUBR-FROM  
 He kept coming slowly, along the edge of the water. (Coyote and Rabbit 018)

Other examples of afterthoughts repeat or expand on material that is already mentioned in the sentence, and so should be considered part of the “evaluation” component of narrative discourse (Labov 1972). Examples are shown in (13) where the main sentence includes a full lexical item, which is expanded in the afterthought. Note that in (13a) the introducing noun, *ataxam* ‘people’, also follows the verb. In (13b) the audience for the narration knows who *axmi'i* ‘someone’ is, but those whose speech is reported do not and have just been able to discern that the person coming is a woman. The examples in (13c,d) show that such afterthoughts can be object or locational elements.

- (13) a. *Mu = ku'ut aya pe-ve pe-men, pe-men pe'-mi'aw*  
 AND = REP THEN 3S-OVER 3S-WITH 3S-WITH 3PL-ARRIVE  
*ataxa-m, soldaadu'-um.*  
 PERSON-PL SOLDIER-PL  
 And it is said then people came upon him, soldiers. (KP II 031)
- b. *Eε, neqe-ne axmi'i chem-eyik, nawika-t.*  
 HEY COME-CUSTS SOMEBODY 1PL-TO WOMAN-NPN  
 Hey, somebody is coming to us, a woman. (KP II 057)
- c. *Mu = ku'ut pe-m pulin-ch-im-i pem-chix-in-wen, ki-kita-m-i.*  
 AND = REP DET-PL BABY-NPN-PL-O 3PL-KILL-IN-PIPL DUP-BOY-PL-O  
 And it is said they killed the children, the boys. (KP II 032)
- d. *Ne' = ne ayew-qa ne-ki-yka, Pa-l Atingve-ka.*  
 1SPRO = 1SERG WANT-PRS 1S-HOUSE-TO WATER-NPN HOT-TO  
 I want [to go to] my home, to Hot Springs. (KP II 092)

Afterthought material in Cupeño seems to play much the same role as in more familiar languages, being a device for clarification in reference tracking and expansion in evaluation. Afterthoughts are marked as “discourse-prominent” in several ways: in their separate intonation contours, in the pause that often precedes them, and in the fact that, by contributing exact specification, they implicate the importance of what is being mentioned and show a commitment to exactitude by the speaker.



More difficult to explain than afterthought constructions are examples where material that follows the verb is not set aside in a new intonation contour. Some of these are, of course, the result of promotion of the verb, as in the examples in (8–11) where object nouns and locative expressions follow verbs that have been moved to sentence-initial position. In the small sample of about 300 sentences, 20 verb-initial sentences appeared. Where the verb was not in sentence- or clause-initial position, there were 45 post-verbal elements that were not afterthoughts. Of these, the majority were locative and oblique-case constructions (15 locatives, 6 relational noun constructions) or adverbs (10 examples). Five subject nouns or nominal constructions, and 8 object nouns or nominal constructions followed verbs in these sentences. While locative, oblique-case, and adverbial expressions usually precede the verb, the right-shifted examples are fairly frequent (although, as pointed out above, they are very rare as afterthoughts). Since this is not so with subjects and objects, it is likely that the right-shifted examples are being marked for discourse prominence. They are especially likely to appear at boundaries of major structures in narrative, such as episodes or stanzas. In addition, they often participate in parallelism. An example of the first type, of a right-shifted subject at a discourse boundary, is seen in (14a). (14b) shows a right-shifted locative.

(14a,b) are the climactic sentences of the first episode in “Coyote and the Flood” where Coyote is successfully hunting (the sentences in (8) above are drawn from this episode). Coyote catches a huge grandfather frog and bites into it. As Coyote bites, water runs out of all the openings in the frog’s body and floods the world. Coyote frantically climbs up a sycamore tree, just ahead of the rising water, and ends up trapped at the top, with the water so high around him that his tail is getting wet.

- (14) a. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-nga atire tukuchi:-nga ngaq-pe-yax*  
 AND = REP ODEM-INL VERY HIGH-INL SIT.ON.TOP-3S-YAX  
*isi-ly.*

COYOTE-NPN

And way up high there perched **Coyote**. (Coyote and Flood 037)

- b. *Mu = ku'ut pe-qwash amay yush-pe-yax-wen pa = 'aw.*  
 AND = REP 3S-TAIL JUST DIP-3S-YAX-PIST WATER-AT

And it is said his tail was just soaking **in the water**. (Coyote and Flood 038)

The pragmatic role of right-shifted object nouns can be illustrated with sentences from the tale, “Coyote and the Cat.” Coyote is trying to get into a locked house where Cat has left her four kittens alone. Coyote tries five times to get in, using various disguises, and succeeds on the fifth. Each time he comes he knocks on the door. Two of the sentences where he knocks on the door have a right-shifted structure, as shown in (15).

- (15) *Mu = ku'ut ping-ping-ping-ping-pe-n puki-ly.*  
 AND = REP    DUP-DUP-DUP-KNOCK-3S-IN    DOOR-NPN  
 And he knock-knock-knock-knocked on the **door**. (Coyote and Cat 031)

(16) shows a postposed object. This is the fifth sentence in the orientation of “Coyote and the Cat.” It is the first actual characterization of action after the characters—Coyote, a mother cat and her four kittens—have been located in the sort of stock locational sentences with the verb *hiw ~ qa' ~ -qal ~ max* that open all stories in the genre *silyich-in*. The right-shifted object construction in (16) tells us that the cats will be especially important in the story.

- (16) *Mu = ku'ut pe' piyama isi-ly mi = pe-tax'ilye-qal*  
 AND = REP    3SPRO    ALWAYS    COYOTE-NPN    3PLO = 3S-WATCH-PIS  
*axwe-sh-m-i gaatu'-m-i.*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL-O    CAT-PL-O  
 And Coyote was always watching **those cats**. (Coyote and Cat 005)

In (17), we see a right-shifted relational noun construction that introduces an important component in a story in which Coyote kills and eats his daughter. He kills her with a pine stick, and his crime is revealed when Coyote’s wife hears the daughter’s ghost sing a song that goes, *Wexit'it, kelawat...* ‘Pine, stick...’, and realizes what her husband has done. Here, the right-shifting puts *kelawet pechi* ‘with a stick’ into a prominent position, setting up the following sentence that tells us that it is made of pine, about which the daughter’s ghost will later sing.

- (17) *Pe' = ku'ut axwe-ch-i pe-na'aqwa-y chakw-i-nuk pi = wet-pe-n*  
 DET = REP    ODEM-NPN-O    3S-CHILD-O    CATCH-IN-SS    3SO = HIT-3S-IN  
*kelawa-t pe-chi.*  
 STICK-NPN    3S-OBL  
 And grabbing his daughter, he hit her **with a stick**. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 028)

*Pe' = ku'ut wexit'i-t pe-miyax-wen, kelawe-t.*  
 3SPRO = REP    PINE-NPN    3S-BE-PIST    STICK-NPN  
 It was of pine, the stick. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 029)

In summary, many examples of right-shifted elements can be explained as having special discourse prominence, highlighting important points and marking structural boundaries.

**12.2. FOCUS AND FOCUSING.** Focusing is the pragmatic process that, at the level of the clause, highlights a referent, state, or event in the deictic field, making it prominent or “figured” against a ground sketched by other elements in the clause.

At least three morphological devices in Cupeño are involved in focusing. The object-case suffix *-i* has a focusing function, which is most obvious when it appears with the distal demonstrative *et* and the obviative demonstrative *axwesh* in sentence-initial position. The contrastive-focus clitic *=e* and the mirative clitic *=(a)m* are also involved in the focus system, with the contrastive-focus clitic constructing focus and the mirative clitic requiring that the item to which it is attached be in focus.

**12.2.1. FOCUSING *-i* ON DEMONSTRATIVES.** The contrastive-focus clitic *=e* and the mirative clitic *=(a)m* can appear on almost any lexical item; *=(a)m*, a second-position clitic, requires that the item be in first position in the sentence, while *=e* can appear anywhere in the sentence. The restrictions are as follows. The proximal and obviative demonstratives, *i'i* and *axwesh* respectively, do not appear with the contrastive-focus clitic. Instead, among the demonstratives, the contrastive-focus clitic appears only on *et*, the distal demonstrative that is used for referents that are established within the shared point of view of discourse participants. This is understandable in pragmatic terms. The proximal demonstrative *i'i* is inherently contrastive and does not require the additional contrast offered by *=e*. The obviative demonstrative is outside the field of immediate point of view in which contrastive focus is relevant. All three demonstratives are attested with the mirative clitic *=(a)m*. However, with distal *et* and obviative *axwesh*, *=(a)m* must be cliticized to a form that is already focused with *-i*, as seen below. Nominal constructions with distal demonstrative *et* and obviative demonstrative *axwesh* are given contrastive focus by being suffixed with the object-case suffix *-i* on the demonstrative, even when they are not objects within the sentence. These distributions of focusing elements with the demonstratives are diagrammed in Table 12.1.

TABLE 12.1. Co-occurrence of Demonstratives and Focusing Morphemes

FOCUSING MORPHEME	<i>=e</i>	<i>=(a)m</i>	<i>-i</i>
DEMONSTRATIVE			
<i>i'i</i> (PDEM)		+	
<i>e-t</i> (DDEM)	+		+
<i>e-t-i</i> (DDEM-O)		+	
<i>axwe-sh</i> (ODEM)			+
<i>axwe-ch-i</i> (ODEM-O)		+	
Other lexical items	+	+	

The special focalizing use of the *-i* suffix is attested on clause-initial (usually sentence-initial) demonstratives. In such cases the verbs are almost always present tense and usually (but not always) have a “gnomic” characterization of the element marked with *-i*. These subjects can be animate or inanimate and can be underlying objects (as in 18b). Commonly such sentences are used by consultants to translate

English cleft sentences that are offered in elicitation, even when the Cupeño clefting apparatus (discussed in 11.2.2.1) with the determiner *pe'* heading a relative clause is not present. Examples are shown below.

In (18a) *axwechi naxanish* is the subject. In (18b) *axwechi ... isily* is the underlying object of the relative clause, *pe' isily netewive* 'the coyote that I saw'. In (18c) *eti naxanish* is the subject. All of these sentences exhibit the "clefting" apparatus with the determiner.

- (18) a. *Axwe-ch-i naxani-sh pe' samsa-ve'e-sh verxqol-i.*  
 PDEM-NPN-O MAN-NPN DET BUY-AGTV-NPN BEAN-O  
 That's the man who buys the beans. (8 47 12)
- b. *Axwe-ch-i pe' isi-ly ne-tewi-ve.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O DET COYOTE-NPN 1S-SEEI-SUBR  
 That's the coyote that I saw. (8 63 176)
- c. *Et-i naxani-sh pe' pa-l im-in-ve'e-sh.*  
 DDEM-NPN-O MAN-NPN DET WATER-NPN DIP-IN-AGTV-NPN  
 He's the man who carries the water. (8 49 46)

Note that while the coyote is the underlying object in (18b), it is the surface subject. As an animate noun, if it were the surface object, the noun itself would have an object-case suffix, as in the superficially similar sentence in (19). In contrast to (19), in (18b) the object suffix on the demonstrative is not marking objecthood but focus.

- (19) *Axwe-ch-i me = m = pe nawika-t-i kwel-in.*  
 THAT-NPN-O PL-3PLERG-IRR WOMAN-NPN-O CURE-IN.F  
 They will cure that lady. (8 7 12)

The clefting apparatus with the determiner is only one context where focalizing *-i* appears. The examples in (20) show obviative demonstratives focused with *-i* in other contexts.

- (20) a. *Axwe-ch-i kavaly'ima-l.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O QUICK-NPN  
 He's fast [at running]. (11 67 140)
- b. *Axwe-ch-i pi-t atire tukuchi-'aw.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O ROAD-NPN VERY HIGH-AT  
 That road is real steep. (9 29 153)

- c. *Et-i ne-paxa-ki'a.*  
 DDEM-NPN-O 1S-CRADLE-PSD  
 That's my cradle (10 67 164)
- d. *Axwe-ch-i Navaxoo pe-memel-ki-'aw yewaywe-qa.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O NAVAJO 3S-WORD-PSD-AT SPEAK-PRS  
 That Navajo is speaking his language. (7 67 90)

Note that in these focusing constructions with *-i* there is no case agreement. As pointed out in 9.2, case agreement is required in complex nominal constructions with animate and possessed nouns. However, in the examples above we find complex nominal constructions like *axwechi naxanish*, *axwechi isily*, *eti naxanish* (in 18), and *axwechi Navaxoo* (in 20d), where the case marker appears only on the demonstrative.

In (21) we see an example of focalizing *-i* with the plural. This sentence sets up the climactic moment in the account of the creation. Coyote is able to break through the ranks of the plants and animals who are defending the cremation pyre of the dead creator and steal the god's heart, because the blue oaks, small trees with short branches, cannot stop him.

- (21) *Mu = ku'ut pe-m-em pawi-sh me = qwe = l i'i*  
 AND = REP DET-PL-PL BLUE.OAK-NPN AND-NONI-3PLABS PDEM  
*kwini-ly, pem = e = ku'ut maas akukilyi-m pe'-miyax-wen,*  
 BLACK.OAK-NPN 3PLPRO = CF = REP MORE LITTLE-PL 3PL-BE-PIPL  
*axwe-sh-m-i = ku'ut muluk me hiwen-pe'-men.*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL-O = REP FIRST AND STAND-3PL-INPL  
 And it is said those blue oaks, who are like black oaks only smaller, **those**  
 stood in front. (RN Creation 114)

The suffix *-i* also appears when the distal and obviative demonstratives take the mirative clitic. Cases of this type, from *-i = (a)m*, all show *-im*, which is of course identical to the plural of the demonstrative. However, in the cases in question, the noun in the same nominal construction is singular. The focusing element *-i* clearly has a function of bringing these distal elements within the “immediate point of view” required to use the mirative with its implication of sudden or emphatic noticing or surprise. This suggests that the mirative does not itself focus lexical items but can be used when they are in focus. However, as pointed out in 3.1.1, the mirative and the contrastive-focus clitic do not appear together. This suggests that they fill the same functional slot. Examples of the mirative cliticized on object-case focus forms are seen in (22).

- (22) a. *Axwe-ch-i = m* *pe' naxani-sh wa'i-sh yaw-mi'aw-ve'e-sh.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O-MIR DET MAN-NPN MEAT-NPN CARRY-ARRIVE-AGTV-NPN  
 He's the man who always brings the meat. (10 47 13 JB)
- b. *Axwe-ch-i = m* *naxanchu've-l ne' ne-kung.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O = MIR OLD.MAN-NPN ISPRO IS-HUSBAND  
 That old man is my husband. (10 53 118)
- c. *Axwe-ch-i = m* *ami'an pe-t-'aw pa-l im-pe-n-pi atax'a.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O-MIR CLOSE 3S-PLACE-AT WATER-NPN DIP-3S-IN-SUBIRR PERSON  
 That's the closest place one can get water. (10 11 87)
- d. *E-t-i = m* *hiw-we tami-t-ika.*  
 DDEM-NPN-O-MIR STAND-PRST SUN-ACC-TO  
 He's standing in the sun. (10 61 33)

Note that the form *axwe-ch-i = m* with object case and mirative is identical to the ordinary plural of the obviative demonstrative, *axwe-ch-im*. There are no cases attested of the sequence *axwe-sh-m-i = m*, with the object-case plural form followed by the mirative. Instead, in constructions with plural demonstratives that look like they may be functionally mirative, the same form as used with the singular appears, as in (23), where two parallel elicited sentences are shown.

- (23) a. *Axwe-ch-i = m* *naxani-sh yengin-qa.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O = MIR MAN-NPN TELL.TRUTH-PRS  
 That man is telling the truth. (9 101 16)
- b. *Axwe-ch-i = m = el* *na-nxa-ch-im yengin-we.*  
 ODEM-NPN-O-MIR = 3PL DUP-MAN-NPN-PL TELL.TRUTH-PRPL  
 Those men are telling the truth. (9 101 17)

An important question is whether the focalizing manifestation of *-i* is a distinct morpheme that is simply homophonous with object-marking *-i* or whether it is a specialized function of the object-case suffix. I believe that the latter is the correct solution. The invariable clause-initial position of demonstratives marked with focalizing *-i* makes this element look a bit like part of the enclitic system, since the enclitics are almost always attached to sentence-initial words. However, the enclitics can appear on any word in any grammatical class that appears in first position in the sentence, whereas focalizing *-i* appears only on the distal and obviative demonstratives. Furthermore, as I discuss in detail below in 12.3, there are other reasons to believe that the object-case suffix plays a focusing role. The object-case suffix in its object-marking function is optional, and speakers tend to use it mainly in “discourse prominent” positions, as discussed in 12.3.2.3. A purely focalizing

function for *-i* is a natural pragmatic extension of such a preference. One interesting point that can be made in this connection is that object-marking *-i* never appears with nouns that are the objects of imperative verbs. If in fact object-marking *-i* is part of the focus system, this fact about imperative sentences can be explained as follows. Imperative verbs are themselves focused (recall that they are usually sentence-initial). Thus in an imperative sentence, the verb fills the focus slot. The presence of a second focused element is thus not only pragmatically awkward, it is syntactically impossible if we assume the analysis of focus proposed, for instance, by Kiss (1995), in which there is a single focus phrase in each sentence, where either contrastive-focus = *e*, object/focus *-i*, or imperative - 'imperative singular' or *-m* 'imperative plural' occupy the head position and the lexical items that they suffix are raised to the position of specifier of the focus phrase.

**12.2.2. CONTRASTIVE FOCUS WITH CONTRASTIVE-FOCUS CLITIC.** The second major type of focus that is morphologically marked in Cupeño is contrastive focus. Contrastive focus is very important in reference tracking in narrative. In a language where lexical nouns are used somewhat sparsely, contrastive-focus clitics on pronouns and determiners can make clear that a new actor is being foregrounded in the discourse, or that an actor who has not been active for a few clauses is returning again to center stage. In addition, the contrastive-focus clitic appears frequently on forms such as question words, as pointed out in 10.3.1, to provide heightened immediacy. I concentrate here on the reference-tracking function of contrastive-focus clitics.

Cupeño narratives usually have relatively few characters; most of the narratives in the genre *silyich-in* 'bedtime stories' have only two speaking characters. In such narratives, even when full lexical nouns are not used, the contrastive-focus clitic can be used to track who is acting. A good example is seen in the story "Coyote and the Flood." In the sentences in (24), Coyote's brother finds him lying dead (after he has been tricked into jumping out of his refuge in the sycamore tree by some murderous birds). In the sentences in (24a,b) the brother is the actor. Even though Coyote lying dead is mentioned, it is from the brother's point of view. The sentence in (24c) brings Coyote (at least, his dead body) back into the foreground.

- (24) a. *Mu = ku'ut a-yka aya pi = pe-tew = ku'ut axwa-'aw pe-qal*  
 AND = REP LOCB-TO THEN 3SO = 3S-SEE = REP ODEM-AT 3S-LIE  
*ishmi'i qaawi-sh.*  
 SOMETHING DIE-NPN  
 And it is said he saw there something lying there dead. (Coyote and Flood 063)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut a-yka hashi-pe-yax.*  
 AND = REP LOCB-TO GO-3S-YAX  
 And it is said he went there. (Coyote and Flood 064)

- c. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e pe-pa\$hma axwa-'aw pe-qal qaawi-sh.*  
 AND = REP DET = CF 3S-OLDER.BROTHER ODEM-AT 3S-LIE DIE-NPN  
 And it is said his older brother lay there dead. (Coyote and Flood 065)

The example in (25) shows the same kind of usage, a bit later in the same text. Coyote's brother is trying to bring him back to life by dancing around him and kicking him. In the first part of (25), the older brother is kicking. Then Coyote shifts to the foreground, with the contrastive-focus clitic on the noun itself.

- (25) *Chengen-pe-ya-qal = ku'ut, piyama-nga isi-ly = e pe-qal.*  
 KICK-3S-YAX-PIS = REP STILL-INL COYOTE-NPN = CF 3S-LIE  
 He was kicking, it is said; still Coyote lay there. (Coyote and Flood 071)

Contrastive-focus clitics can be used this way even when no lexical noun is present. For instance, in the story of the noisy crying *chiitmal* bird, in the beginning of the story we learn that *Chiitmal* is crying, that the other birds are angry at her, that they are telling her to be quiet. The other birds have been in the foreground, but in the sentence in (26) *Chiitmal* returns to the foreground, even though she is not named, by the contrastive-focus clitic on the pronoun.

- (26) *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e qay hi-sh pe-naqma-qal.*  
 AND = REP 3SPRO = CF NOT WHAT-NPN 3S-HEAR-PIS  
 And it is said she did not hear them. (*Chiitmal* 007)

Contrastive-focus clitics are very common on lexical pronouns, which in a language with non-lexical devices for marking person and number of arguments are in a sense inherently contrastive. However, the presence of the clitics can enhance this, as in the examples in (27). In (27a) the culture hero's mother is telling him that she cannot eat his kill, and that he should take it to the chief's house; she is observing food restrictions on the female relatives of hunters. In (27b) her brother is accusing the culture hero's mother of having said something to make her son feel bad.

- (27) a. *Qay = qwe = n ivi-y ne' = e kwa'.*  
 NOT = NONI-1SABS PDEM-O 1SPRO = CF EAT.HAB  
 I cannot eat this. (KP I 038)
- b. *E' = e = \$he = 'et = pe i'i himix.*  
 2SPRO = CF = DUB = 2SABS = IRR PDEM SAY  
 You must have said something. (KP I 035)

Sometimes the contrastive-focus clitic is used to set up a contrast rather than to introduce or re-introduce an actor. An example is shown in (28), from the story



“Coyote and the Hen.” Coyote’s shiftlessness and Hen’s industry are contrasted by telling about their houses, with Hen’s house described in (28a,b) and Coyote’s house described in (28c,d).

- (28) a. *Pe’=e = ku’ut gayiina pe-ki atire a’chimal*  
 DET = CF = REP CHICKEN 3S-HOUSE VERY PRETTY  
*pe-miyax-wen.*  
 3S-BE-PIST  
 It is said that Hen’s house was real pretty. (Coyote and Hen 004)
- b. *Pe-tew’naan-’a = ku’ut pe-~~sh~~e-’a met’i-sh pe-tew-wen.*  
 3S-PLANT-PSD = REP 3S-BLOOM-PSD MANY-NPN 3S-GROW-PIST  
 It is said many flowers grew in her garden. (Coyote and Hen 004)
- c. *Mu = ku’ut isi-ly pe’=e pe-ki atire ayxa-t*  
 AND = REP COYOTE-NPN DET = CF 3S-HOUSE VERY OLD-NPN  
*pe-miyax-wen.*  
 3S-BE-PIST  
 And it is said that Coyote’s house was real old. (Coyote and Hen 005)
- d. *Kawla-kawla’ a-sh = ku’ut pe-miyax-wen.*  
 DUP-CROOKED = REP 3S-BE-PIST  
 It was crooked, it is said. (Coyote and Hen 005)

Outside the narrative context, the contrastive-focus clitic can be used to single out one item from a number of implicit possibilities, as in the following question-and-answer pair from Faye’s field notes.

- (29) a. *Hi-ch = e wa’i-sh?*  
 WHAT-NPN = CF MEAT-NPN  
 What meat is it?
- b. *Suqa-t = e.*  
 DEER-NPN = CF  
 Venison. (Faye 2–6–27 1 001)

**12.3. MANIPULATING TRANSITIVITY IN DISCOURSE.** Hopper and Thompson (1980) suggest that transitivity, rather than being conceptualized as an absolute property linked only to the valency of the verb, can be understood in discourse-level terms as exhibiting a continuum from high transitivity, prototypically the perfective or “telic” action of a volitional actor on a highly effected object, to low transitivity, where perfectivity, volitionality, and effectedness are all reduced by various strategies. In previous chapters I have discussed a variety of morphological devices by

which transitivity and verb valency can be adjusted in Cupeño, including representation of an event in a particular thematic class in the verb, discussed in 4.1, valency-adjusting derivational suffixes in verb constructions, discussed in 7.1, and valency-changing deverbal derivations, reviewed in 8.1. In this section, I treat ways in which levels of transitivity can be adjusted along the continuum by selecting among various discourse options. These include adjusting “telicity” by the choice of perfective or imperfective verbs, adjusting transitivity by the choice to use an overt object with a transitive verb, adjusting the representation of “effectedness” of the object by the use of object proclitics and suffixes to mark objects, and adjusting the “volitionality” of the actor by the use of ergative versus absolutive PN clitics. The adjustment of telicity, by selecting between perfective and imperfective verbs, functions in Cupeño to distinguish the “main line” of narrative clauses in narrative discourse. The adjustment of effectedness, by the use of optional lexical objects, object proclitics, and object-case suffixation on inanimate lexical objects, is used by narrators to heighten plot tension. Finally, the adjustment of volitionality, by choosing between ergative and absolutive PN clitics, is represented in the narratives as having been used in interaction by speakers to make claims about agency.

**12.3.1. MANIPULATING “TELICITY” IN DISCOURSE WITH PERFECTIVE AND IMPERFECTIVE AFFIXES.** Speakers can adjust telicity in Cupeño main-clause verbs by selecting either perfective or imperfective verbs. Hopper and Thompson’s (1980) theory suggests that perfective verbs are higher on the transitivity continuum than are imperfective verbs. Examples are frequent in narrative where an English speaker might imagine that the inherent telicity or *Aktionsart* of a verb requires that it appear in the perfective, but instead it is represented in the imperfective. An example is seen in (30), where the verb *mi’aw* ‘arrive’ appears in the imperfective with the suffix *-qal*, where what is being described is a single moment of “arrival.” To make this clear, I give also the following sentence, where Coyote knocks (in the perfective) for the first time on Cat’s door, behind which her four kittens are locked up.

(30) *Hanaka yaq-pe-ya-qali, isi-ly pe-mi’aw-lu-qal,*

AGAIN BE.ABSENT-3S-YAX-DSS COYOTE-NPN 3S-ARRIVE-PIS

And when she had gone out again, Coyote came,

*puki-ly ping-ping-ping-ping-pe-n = ku’ut.*

DOOR-NPN DUP-DUP-DUP-KNOCK-3S-IN = REP

he knock-knock-knock-knocked on the door. (Coyote and Cat 019)

The reason for the somewhat peculiar imperfectivity of *pemi’awluqal* ‘he arrived’, which represents a single moment of arrival, is that the sentence in which it appears is background and scene-setting for the important moment, when Coyote

knocks on the door. The “background” nature of *pemi’awluqal* is clear also from the non-terminal intonation contour on the verb, represented by the comma in the example. We see here a sequence from the backgrounded behavior of the mother cat, represented in the different-subject-marked adverbial subordinate clause, to the middle-ground arrival of Coyote, to the foregrounded knocking on the door that initiates Coyote’s first conversation with the kittens.

The opposite effect also occurs, where a verb for which the *Aktionsart* would suggest imperfectivity instead appears in the perfective. An example is shown in (31).

- (31) *Piyama*    *pe-ki-yka*    *esh-pe-yi-ngiy,*                    *mu = ku’ut*    *pe’ = e*  
 STILL            3S-HOUSE-TO    CLIMB.STEEPLY-3S-YAX-MOTG    AND-REP            DET = CF  
*gayiina*        *a-ngax*            *nel-pe-qal.*  
 CHICKEN        LOCB-FROM        LOOK.AT-3S-PIS

He kept climbing up the hill to his house, and it is said Hen was watching from there. (Coyote and Hen 045)

The question here is why the verb *eshpeyingiy* ‘he went away climbing steeply’ is in the perfective. Note that the adverb *piyama* ‘always, still’ implies imperfectivity, as does the imperfective verb *nelpeqal* ‘she was watching’ in the following sentence. There are probably two reasons for the perfectivity. First, Coyote is now the actor in the foreground, and one of the ways of highlighting his importance is to use perfective verbs, which are higher on the Hopper and Thompson (1980) transitivity continuum than are imperfective verbs. Second is the location of the sentence in the narrative. This is the third sentence in the resolution episode of “Coyote and Hen.” Coyote has caught Hen, but she has escaped and sewed a big rock into Coyote’s bag while he slept. Coyote wakes up and picks up the sack, and then the event in sentence (31) happens. Tension is now building toward the big moment when Coyote’s wife throws the contents of the sack into her boiling pot and she and Coyote are scalded to death from the splash. Perfective verbs appear at a very high frequency in such resolution episodes. Table 12.2 shows a perfectivity profile of the main-clause verbs in “Coyote and Hen,” counted by episode. The table shows that the highest frequency of perfective verbs occurs in the resolution. The relatively lower frequency of perfective verbs in the “Hen escapes” episode has to do with the fact that much of the episode is a humorous description of Coyote getting tired in the heat, his feet hurting from his pointed shoes, his falling asleep under a rock, his mouth hanging open, with the flies buzzing around him. Hen’s efficient escape—snipping open the sack, putting in the rock, sewing up the sack, and going home—is handled in fewer sentences.

TABLE 12.2. Perfective and Imperfective Verbs in “Coyote and Hen”

EPISODE	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE
I. Orientation-Location	10	1
II. Orientation-Behavior	18	1
III. Complicating Action I: Coyote captures Hen	5	16
IV. Complicating Action II: Hen escapes	9	6
V. Resolution: Coyote and his wife are killed	3	13

In summary, we see that perfective and imperfective marking in Cupeño are associated not only with the semantic representation of “aspect” in the narrow sense defined in Chapter 4, as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie 1976:3), but also with the transitivity continuum in discourse. In this system, aspect choice is constrained by discourse focus, the foregrounding of a particular actor or action, and by the system of “plot” (Longacre 1976), the building of tension toward local peaks and final resolution. Perfective verbs are more likely when the action is foregrounded, and they are more likely in proximity to peak.

**12.3.2. MANIPULATING “EFFECTEDNESS”: OVERT OBJECTS AND OBJECT-CASE SUFFIXES.** A second dimension of discourse-shaped transitivity in Cupeño is effectedness of objects. This, of course, overlaps with telicity: a verb that has an overt object is more “telic” than a verb that does not. However, I treat all variation in the representation of objects in this section. This variation includes whether or not a notionally “transitive” verb has an overt object, either lexical or non-lexical (that is, with object proclitics), the distribution of optional object proclitics, and whether or not a lexical object is marked with an object-case suffix.

**12.3.2.1. THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF OVERT OBJECTS.** Cupeño is a “direct-marking” (Dixon 1994) language. That is, Cupeño verb roots lack inherent (or “formal”) transitivity. There are verbs in the usually transitive *-in* class, such as *haw* ‘sing’ and *tan* ‘dance’, that never take objects. By the same token, there are verbs in the usually intransitive *-yax* class, such as *qaye* ‘wash oneself’, that sometimes do appear with object nouns. Verbs of the  $\emptyset$  class are often very flexible as to whether they can appear with object nouns. I do not have enough data on most recorded verbs to be sure of their transitivity properties. However, the optionality of overt objects is clear from the examination of two high-frequency  $\emptyset$ -class notionally transitive verbs: *a’chiwin* ~ *ichaqywin* ‘make, do’ (I look here at the ‘make’ sense) and *ayew* ~ *aywi* ‘want, like’. Table 12.3 shows the occurrence of these verbs in narrative with and without overtly marked objects (*ayew* ~ *aywi*

also takes sentential complements; these are not counted). I believe that these profiles are typical; it is by no means uncommon to encounter a transitive verb in a sentence that has no object.

TABLE 12.3. Overtly Marked Objects with Two High-Frequency “Transitive” Verbs

VERB	OBJECT PROCLITIC	LEXICAL OBJECT	BOTH	NEITHER
<i>a'chiwin ~ichqaywin</i>	1	39	4	12
<i>ayew ~ aywi</i>	2	3	2	5

The examples in (32) and (33) illustrate this variation. In (32), the forms are taken from a text in which little birds are building nests. (32a) shows the verb ‘make’ with an object. (32b) shows the verb without any overt object. In (32a), the “nests” are being introduced for the first time. However, in (32b), the nests are backgrounded; all the activity of collecting the various materials is in the foreground, so ‘nests’ does not appear with *pem'a'chiwinwen* ‘they were making’.

- (32) a. *Pem-sii-y = ku'ut a'chiwi-qat-im pe'-miyax-wen.*

3PL-NEST-O = REP      MAKE-IF-PL      3PL-BE-PIPL

They were going to make their nests. (Linnets 003)

- b. *Maq-pe'-men-wen = ku'ut peta'am-i ishmivi-y yu-l,*

GATHER-3PL-INPL-PIPL = REP      ALL-O      SOMETHING-O HAIR-NPN

*traapu'-i = ku'ut maq-pe'-men-wen, kelawet,*

RAG-O = REP      GATHER-3PL-INPL-PIPL      STICK

*pem-a'chiwin-wen.*

3PL-MAKE-PIPL

They were gathering all kinds of hair, it is said, they were gathering rags, it is said, sticks; they were making [their nests]. (Linnets 006)

(33) shows the two types of sentences with the verb *ayew ~ aywi* ‘like’. In the text, (33b) precedes (33a). The unspoken object is a third-person singular, the culture hero Kisily Pewish. This is the second time that this point has been made in the narrative, and the antecedent, Kisily Pewish himself, is clear. Furthermore, third-person-singular objects are the least likely to have any overt marking. (33a) is spoken by Kisily Pewish’s mother, who is warning him against his enemies. Everything favors the overt objects in this sentence: They are second-person singular, a discourse participant of very high “subjecthood,” making the overt marking of an object with both independent pronoun and object proclitic especially likely. Also, the sentence sets up a chain of events that eventually leads to Kisily Pewish’s victory over his mother’s relatives and the founding of Cupa.

- (33) a. *Axwē-ch-im e'e-y ataxa-m qay i = 'ayew-we.*  
 ODEM-NPN-PL 2SPRO-O PERSON-PL NOT 2SO = LIKE-PRPL  
 Those people don't like you. (RN KP II 009)
- b. *Mu = ku'ut aya qay pem-'ayew-wen.*  
 AND = REP THEN NOT 3PL-LIKE-PIPL  
 And it is said they did not like him. (RN KP II 007)

**12.3.2.2. THE DISTRIBUTION OF OBJECT PROCLITICS.** The distribution of object proclitics on verbs suggests that these fulfill discourse-pragmatic functions rather than mark syntactic case. As pointed out in 4.2.3, they can appear with any verb construction. However, they are not invariably present. While first and second-person objects, and third-person-plural objects, are nearly always marked on the verb with object proclitics, the third-person-singular object proclitic *pi-* appears only occasionally in text, and its appearance is governed almost exclusively by discourse constraints. In elicited sentences or in sentences that I proposed to Roscinda Nolasquez, she usually admitted transitive verbs with or without this prefix as equally acceptable.

Optionality of the third-person-singular object proclitic also appears in Cahuilla, the closest sister language to Cupeño. The question has been treated by Seiler (1977) in his grammar of that language. Seiler treats the object-marking element in Cahuilla as a prefix and proposes semantic and syntactic constraints to predict its appearance. The first, given in (A), involves the inherent transitivity of the verb.

A. In Cahuilla, third-person-singular object is  $\emptyset$  on verbs that are always transitive but appears as *pi-* on verbs that can be either transitive or intransitive (Seiler 1977:231).

This generalization does not hold for Cupeño, where the *pi =* proclitic is common on such invariably transitive verbs as 'kill' and 'bite', as in (34).

- (34) *Mu = ku'ut axwē-ch-i hunwe-t-i pi = pe-meq.*  
 AND = REP ODEM-NPN-O BEAR-NPN-O 3SO = 3S-KILL  
 And it is said he killed that bear. (KP I 34)

Seiler's second constraint, given in (B), involves word order.

B. In Cahuilla, the appearance of the *pi-* prefix on verbs that can be either transitive or intransitive is determined by word order: "If the object noun follows [the verb]—in the sense of an afterthought—the object prefix may not appear on the verb" (Seiler 1977:231).

One problem is to determine what might be meant by “in the sense of an afterthought.” I have discussed afterthought constructions in 12.1.2 above. Recall that objects are very rare as afterthoughts. However, there are attestations where Seiler’s claim does not hold for Cupeño, even with genuine afterthought constructions, as in (35).

- (35) *Mu = ku'ut pi = pɛ-qwa, akulyi = 'e, qay ay'ani-ch-i.*  
 AND = REP    3SO = 3S-EAT    LITTLE = CF    NOT    BIG-NPN-O  
 And it is said he ate it, a little one, not a big one. (Coyote and Wolf 013)

Third-person-singular object proclitics are also well attested in cases where the object merely follows the verb, without an afterthought contour, as in (36).

- (36) *Isi-ly piyama-nga = ku'ut pi = pɛ-qwa axwɛ-ch-i waxachi-ly-i*  
 COYOTE STILL-INL = REP    3SO = 3S-EAT    ODEM-NPN-O    FROG-NPN-O  
 It is said Coyote kept eating that frog. (Coyote and Flood 033)

Cupeño has apparently split from Cahuilla in this respect, replacing the more syntactic constraints on object marking in Cahuilla with a system that is entirely part of discourse. The best predictor for whether or not a verb will appear with the third-person-singular object proclitic *pi =* is its discourse status. Perfective verbs on the main line of the narrative (Longacre 1976)—the sequenced clauses of perfective verbs, as opposed to the background and orienting imperfective verbs—usually exhibit the clitic, while background imperfective verbs—which are often transitive—and verbs in subordinate clauses, hardly ever have it. Table 12.4 includes all the transitive verbs with third-person objects (either understood or overtly encoded in lexical items) from Roscinda Nolasquez’s animal stories. I have used the animal stories throughout this discussion because they are the one genre for which the corpus includes a fairly large sample, they are recorded on audiotape so they can be checked, and they are fairly consistent in their structure. It is clear that the distribution is highly significant. By no means all main-clause perfective verbs with third-person-singular objects have *pi =*, but about two thirds of them do. In contrast, almost no imperfective or subordinate-clause verbs have *pi =*.

TABLE 12.4. Third-person-singular Object Proclitics on Verbs and Discourse Status in Animal Stories

VERB TYPE	OBJECT PROCLITIC <i>PI =</i>	
	with <i>pi =</i>	without <i>pi =</i>
Perfective	65	36
Imperfective	2	99
Subordinated	4	36

A good example of the kinds of narrative environments that favor the proclitic *pi=* occurs in the story “Coyote and Hen.” Hen goes out every day and carefully closes her door. One day she forgets to close the door and Coyote gets into her house and waits for her to come home. As the story develops, twice Hen leaves her house and remembers to lock the door. In both cases, the action is represented by an imperfective-aspect verb, *tempeqal*, with no object proclitic. (Note that this is a good example of a case where *Aktionsart* would seem to favor a perfective verb, but discourse context overrides it.)

- (37) *Mu = ku'ut puki-ly tem-pe-qal.*  
 AND = REP DOOR-NPN CLOSE-3S-PIS  
 And it is said she closed the door. (Coyote and Hen 011)

Then, on the third occasion, Hen makes the disastrous mistake of leaving the door open. Here, *pi=* appears in *pimaapen* ‘she left it’.

- (38) *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e pe-ḡhuun pilyev-pe-yax, puki-ly = ku'ut*  
 AND = REP 3SPRO = CF 3S-HEART BREAK-3S-YAX DOOR-NPN = REP  
*pi = maa-pe-n kapel-i-nuk.*  
 3SO = LEAVE-3S-IN OPEN-IN-SS  
 And it is said she forgot, she left the door, having opened it. (Coyote and Hen 019)

When Hen returns, she goes into her house and closes the door (in (39)). The act of closing the door is now represented with a perfective-aspect verb with *pi=*, *pitempen*. But it turns out that Coyote is already inside her house, and he catches her. This sentence not only has *pi=* but also has a highly marked instance of an object-case suffix on the inanimate noun *pukily* ‘door’.

- (39) *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e gayiina hanaka ya'-in, puki-ly-i*  
 AND = REP DET = CF CHICKEN AGAIN RUN-IN DOOR-NPN-O  
*pi = tem-pe-n.*  
 3SO = CLOSE-3S-IN  
 And it is said that that Hen ducked in again, she closed the door. (Hen 021)

In summary, as plot tension builds in the narrative, transitive verbs are more and more likely to have third-person-singular object proclitics, heightening transitivity by heightening the representation of “effectedness” on objects. The object proclitics are not associated with the thematic class of the verb or the presence or position in the sentence of lexically encoded objects. Instead, they are a resource that can be used to heighten the contrast in transitivity between main-line and background clauses in discourse.



**12.3.2.3. OBJECT-CASE MARKING ON LEXICALLY ENCODED OBJECTS.** In addition to the optionality of the third-person-singular object proclitic *pi=*, we find optionality in case marking with the object-case suffix *-i* on lexically encoded objects. Recall from 9.2 that animate nouns and possessed nouns are nearly always marked with object-case suffixes, as are their modifiers. In contrast, inanimate non-possessed nouns are usually not marked with object-case suffixes, although if they appear in complex nominal constructions with modifiers, the modifiers will usually have object-case marking. In a sample of all the object nouns from Roscinda Nolasquez’s animal stories, there are 43 inanimate object nouns. Of these, only 7 have object-case suffixes. (In contrast, there are 59 animate objects; 52 of these have object-case suffixes). The question that is addressed in this section is the appearance of object-case suffixes on inanimate object nouns. Again, we find that discourse context is the main predictor. I have already hinted at this point in noting that the inanimate noun *pukilyi* ‘door’ in the sentence in (39) above has an object-case suffix in a context of high transitivity and high discourse tension. It turns out that of the 7 object-case-suffixed inanimate nouns in the animal stories, 5 are in such contexts. The other 2 are Spanish loans, *rapooyu’i* ‘cabbage’ (Spanish *repollo*) and *traapu’i* ‘rags’ (Spanish *trapo*) (as is one of the “high tension” examples, the sugar in “Coyote and Cat” with which Coyote sweetens his voice to sound more like the mother cat); the example with *traapu’i* is seen in (32b) above; it is in a background, scene-setting context.

We have already seen one of the five cases of “high tension” object-case-suffixed inanimates, *pukilyi* ‘door’, in (39) above. That was Hen’s door, which she had forgotten to close. A second example involves another important door, the door behind which Cat leaves her four kittens in “Coyote and Cat.” Coyote comes five times and knocks on the door, pretending to be the mother cat. The kittens see through him until he comes up with enough ways to seem like their mother (making his voice sweet with (object-case-suffixed) sugar, dipping his paws in flour to make them white, etc.), at which point they let him in. In the first mention of the door (without *-i*), the mother cat closes it and warns her kittens not to go outside. In the next three mentions, Coyote is knocking on the door, again without *-i*. Finally, the kittens are deceived and open the door. The sentence appears in (40) and has both *-i* and *pi=*, the object proclitic on ‘open’. Note that *kapel* ‘open’ has no subject marker and is an example of an iconic use of a bare root to capture the immediacy of an action (this point was noted in 4.4.2.4.1 in the discussion of stylistic reduplication; another example is seen in (57) below).

- (40) “*Eεε! Chem-ye!*”      *pem*      *puki-ly-i = ku’ut*      *pi = kapel = ku’ut*,  
 HEY      1PL-MOTHER      3PLPRO      DOOR-NPN-O = REP      3SO = OPEN = REP  
*isi-ly*      *chulu-pe-yax = ku’ut*.  
 COYOTE-NPN      GO.IN-3S-YAX = REP

“Hey! Our mother!” they open the door, it is said, Coyote came in, it is said. (Coyote and Cat 035)

In a third example, some ducks tease Wind and make him angry. He throws down a big basket he is swinging back and forth to make wind, and the ducks fly away. Again we see full transitivity apparatus with object-case-suffixed inanimate noun and object proclitic *pi=* in the climactic sentence (in a story that really does not have much plot), in (41).

- (41) *Mu = ku'ut seve-l pe-changnew = ku'ut axwe-ch-i chayma-l-i*  
 AND = REP WIND-NPN 3S-GET.ANGRY = REP ODEM-NPN-O BASKET-NPN-O  
*pi = wet-i-lyu.*  
 3SO = HIT-IN-MOTP

And it is said Wind got mad, he threw away that basket. (Wind and Ducks 009)

In summary, in the animal stories the very rare cases of object-case suffixes on inanimate nouns seem to go together with other strategies for heightening the transitivity of sentences at plot peak. By adding object-case suffixes, the “effectedness” of the object is iconically enhanced.

Departing from the animal stories, we find other hints of discourse functions for case markings. For instance, (42) is a sequence of sentences in a recollection of the old days at Cupa, where case-marking seems to help to create contrastive focus, reminiscent of the role of object-case marking with non-object demonstratives discussed in 12.2. This example also shows that Spanish loans can appear both with and without object-case suffixes; *ariina* ‘flour’, from Spanish *harina*, in (42b) is not suffixed; *asuukar* ‘sugar’, from Spanish *azúcar*, in (42a) is.

- (42) a. *Qay hi-sh ariina chem-nengu-wen.*  
 NOT WHAT-NPN FLOUR 1PL-HAVE-PIPL  
 We did not have flour. (Warners III 030)

- b. *Asuukar-i chem-nengu-wen.*  
 SUGAR-O 1PL-HAVE-PIPL  
 We did have sugar. (Warners III 031)

The second type of departure from the usual patterns of case marking is to fail to use an object-case suffix with an animate noun. There are seven instances of this type in Roscinda Nolasquez’s animal stories, and I have been unable to correlate these instances with discourse structure. In two of the instances, the mention is of prey animals that do not figure in the story; for instance, when Cat is hunting, she sees a cottontail rabbit, and Coyote is hunting and catches a beetle. In one instance, the prey animal is a chicken that figures in the story but not as an actor, and it is mentioned in a subordinate clause. However, in one example the object-case suffix is missing from the mention of a main actor, in a main clause, in a “build to peak” incident, where *pi=* appears on the verb. In all these cases, I suspect that the missing suffix is simply due to a momentary disfluency.

**12.3.3. MANIPULATING “VOLITIONALITY”:** ADJUSTING LEVELS OF TRANSITIVITY WITH SUBJECT PN CLITICS. The manipulations of telicity and effectedness discussed above are shaped by the large-scale structure of narrative discourse: by the distinction between main-line and background scene-setting and evaluation clauses in the narrative and by the structure of “build to peak” in the plot. The manipulation of actor volitionality is involved in a different type of organization, in the assertion of agency by speakers in interaction, or, more precisely, by figures in reported speech in the narratives. One of the reasons that manipulating volitionality with PN clitics is restricted to this “interactional” environment is that PN clitics do not appear in clauses with past-tense verbs. With such verbs subject person and number are presented by PN affixes in the verb construction. Cupeño narrative main-line clauses nearly always have past perfective verbs, and background clauses have past imperfective verbs. So direct-discourse reported speech, which is often in the present tense, the immediate future, or the future, is the only site in narratives where PN clitics appear. Narrative figures are represented as selecting ergative first-person clitics with intransitive verbs where we would expect absolutive clitics, to emphasize claims of agency. In the opposite, rarer case, they are represented as selecting absolutive clitics to mitigate claims or accusations of responsibility.

In such contexts we sometimes encounter striking departures from the usual co-occurrence patterns among the second-position clitics themselves. For instance, in 3.1 and 3.1.4 I pointed out that the realis mood clitic = *'ep* is usually restricted to the past tense and does not appear with PN clitics, since these do not appear with past-tense verbs. In the sentence below we see a departure from both these generalizations. This sentence is from the climax of the story “Coyote Growing Up.” Coyote’s mother is teaching him how to hunt. She has tried to catch a duck and ended up with nothing but a mouthful of feathers. She tells Coyote that if something similarly embarrassing happens to him, he should tell any onlookers that he is praying. In the sentence she advises him to use, in (43), the realis clitic and the first-person ergative PN clitic appear together, with a present-tense intransitive verb. That is, the sentence insists on high actor volitionality in a context where in fact the actor is a victim of his own incompetence.

(43) *Me = 'e = pe ya-nash, “Ne = 'ep = ne ersaar-qa,”*

AND = 2S = IRR SAY-FIS I SPRO = R = I SERG PRAY-PRS

*ya-nash = 'e = pe.*

SAY-FIS = 2S = IRR

And you be saying, “I was praying,” you be saying. (Coyote Growing Up 036)

The opposite case is seen in (44), where we encounter a second-person absolutive clitic with realis = *'ep* and a present-tense verb. In (44) Kisily Pewish is about to accuse his own mother of betraying him to her brothers, who want to kill him. His evidence is that her feet are scratched, implying that she crossed a river in order to contact his enemies (the banks of rivers are thick with brush,

hence the scratches). He cautiously opens the matter by addressing his mother with the following sentence, in which the verb is stative, but otherwise the sentence has a full transitive apparatus including subjects and objects, although the objects are not marked with object-case suffixes.

- (44) *Me = t = 'ep amay i'i e-xuchi e' = e qay-yax-we.*  
 AND = 2SABS = R JUST PDEM 2S-FOOT 2SPRO = CF WASH-YAX-PRST  
 You must have just now gotten your feet wet. (KP I 070)

An excellent example where volitionality is adjusted by the choice of ergative clitics with intransitive sentences is found in an argument represented in the story “Fox and Cat.” Fox and Cat are arguing over who is “more of a man.” Cat asserts that he is, because he can climb trees, and utters (45a). Fox ripostes in (45b) that *he* is, because he can run fast. In each case, the combatants use ergative first-person clitics to encode subjects of intransitive verbs.

- (45) a. “*Chinga = qwe = l awa-l-im menma'a, me = qwe = ne*  
 IF = NONI = 3PLABS DOG-NPN-PL COME.HAB AND = NONI = 1SERG  
*chawaya'a,*” *pe-yax = ku'ut.*  
 CLIMB.HAB 3S-SAY = REP  
 “If dogs should come, I can climb,” he said, it is said. (Cat speaking)  
 (Fox and Cat 005)
- b. *Chinga = qwe = ne ya'-ya'a, me = qwe = p qay hax*  
 IF = NONI = 1SERG RUN.HAB AND = NONI = 3SERG NOT WHO  
*ni = namayu-lu.*  
 ISO = CATCH-MOTG.HAB  
 In such a case I can run, and nobody can catch me. (Fox speaking) (Fox  
 and Cat 008)

In summary, speakers can ratchet up transitivity for certain kinds of purposes, as when representing boasting, by using an inappropriate ergative clitic with an intransitive verb (as in (43) and (45)). Or, they can ratchet down transitivity for other kinds of purposes, as when minimizing the responsibility of an agent, as in (44).

A second site of variation with the PN clitics is whether the third-person singular is represented overtly with a PN clitic or is left unmarked. As might be expected, where third-person singular is marked, volitionality is heightened. An example is in the sentence in (46). This is from the story “Coyote Eats his Daughter.” (46a) is the reported speech of Coyote’s wife when she realizes that the voice she hears singing is that of her murdered daughter. A third-person-singular absolutive clitic = *t* appears. (46b) is the reported speech of Coyote’s wife when

she accuses her husband of the murder. Here a third-person-singular ergative clitic = *pe* appears.

- (46) a. *Aah! Me = t = e pe-pava pe' amay naqma-qa = ne!*  
 AH AND = 3SABS = CF 3S-VOICE DET JUST HEAR-PRS = 1SERG  
 Ah! It must be her voice that I hear! (Coyote Eats his Daughter 052)
- b. *I'i = she = pe aput meqa-qa.*  
 PDEM = DUB = 3SERG ALREADY KILL-PRS  
 He must have already killed her. (Coyote Eats his Daughter 055)

Another example of a third-person-singular ergative clitic appears in the story “Coyote and Juncoes.” Two juncoes are trying to kill Coyote by getting him to jump onto a sharp stick (which they can do safely, being birds). He is afraid to do it and says (47), where the inanimate stick is encoded in an ergative clitic!

- (47) *Ne' = e = qwe = p ne-ḡha'i ni = wek-i.*  
 ISPRO = CF = NONI = 3SERG 1S-BELLY ISO = CUT-IN.HAB  
 As for me, it might cut my belly. (Coyote and Juncoes 017)

As a final illustration of this point, (48) is a sentence from Roscinda Nolasquez’s telling of the account of the Creation. The creator deity is dying, and he is afraid that Coyote is bewitching him. He utters the sentence in (48). Note that in the first part of the sentence we see an example of the first-person-singular ergative being used to encode an object.

- (48) *Axwe-sh = she = qwe = p ne' = ne isi-ly = e ishmivi-y*  
 ODEM-NPN = DUB = NONI = 3SERG ISPRO = 1SERG COYOTE-NPN = CF SOMETHING-O  
*ni = ma'a, me = qwe = p ni = meqa.*  
 ISO = GIVE.HAB AND = NONI = 3SERG ISO = KILL.HAB  
 That Coyote might give me something, and he might kill me. (RN Creation 065)

In summary, the choice to represent a third-person-singular actor with a PN clitic rather than as zero can be used to heighten the volitionality of that actor, with implications of dangerousness or guilt or other forms of agency and efficacy.

It must be said that the choice of ergative versus absolutive clitics is not always clear. There is certainly a strong correlation between clitic choice and verb transitivity throughout the corpus. However, in addition to the cases noted above where marked choices are used to adjust volitionality for obvious discourse-pragmatic purposes, there are other cases where the reason for the variation is less obvious. With actions that are of relatively low transitivity, even though the object nouns may be present in the sentence, such as putting on and taking off clothing, looking

for lice, making clothing, drinking water, eating certain kinds of food such as acorn soup, chewing gum, cooking food, and the like, in elicitation sessions Roscinda Nolasquez sometimes used both types of clitics interchangeably, as in the examples in (49) and (50). (49) shows both an ergative and an absolutive first-person clitic used with the transitive verb *chashpel* ‘mend, sew two pieces of cloth together’.

(49) a. *Ne' = ne*      *ivi-y*      *chashpel-qa*      *ne'-ela-y.*  
 ISPRO = 1SERG      PDEM-O      MEND-PRS      1S-DRESS  
 I'm mending my dress. (7 105 21)

b. *Chem = esh*      *chashpel-we*      *ti'ive-l.*  
 1PLPRO = 1PLABS      MEND-PRPL      CLOTH-NPN  
 We're making a quilt. (7 105 20)

The examples in (50) show that the choice is not due to heightened volitionality of the first-person singular; sometimes it was the first-person plural that was marked in ergative case, and the singular in the absolutive. (50b) has a first-person “inclusive” with =*che* = *me* where =*me* is ergative (= *che* is invariable in the inclusive, as noted in 3.1.3).

(50) a. *Ne' = en*      *aya*      *mi = chipily-qa*      *plaata'-m-i.*  
 ISPRO = 1SABS      NOW      3PLO = BREAK-PRS      PLATE-PL-O  
 I'm breaking plates now. (2 75 06)

b. *Chem = che = me*      *aya*      *mi = chipily-we*      *ivi-m-i*  
 1PL.IND = 1PLERG = 3PLERG      NOW      3PLO = BREAK-PRPL      PDEM-PL-O  
*plaata'-m-i.*  
 PLATE-PL-O  
 We're breaking these plates now. (2 75 07)

The opposite case also occurs, where ergative clitics are used in sentences with *-yax* verbs or where no object appears; again we find Roscinda Nolasquez using the clitic series interchangeably.

(51) a. *Ne' = ne*      *pa-'aw*      *way-ya-qa.*  
 ISPRO = 1SERG      WATER-AT      SWIM-YAX-PRS  
 I'm swimming in the water. (3 35 75)

b. *Chem = esh*      *pa-'aw*      *way-yax-we.*  
 1PLPRO = 1PLABS      WATER-AT      SWIM-YAX-PRPL  
 We are swimming in the water. (3 35 76)

In elicitation, of course, we have no context that will permit us to determine—especially forty years after the fact—how Roscinda Nolasquez was construing the scenes in question. But it is clear that a certain amount of variability is permitted. This is not a system that is rigidly syntactic but one that is to some degree involved as well with the discourse-pragmatic system and with the way that the speaker chooses to construe a particular scene.

The possibility exists that the extreme fluidity of this system may be evidence of language obsolescence.<sup>20</sup> In the early 1960s, Roscinda Nolasquez lived at Pala, where there remained a few other speakers, and she occasionally visited her relatives in other towns, but she did not use the language often. However, there is variability in the Faye materials as well, from a period at which everyone except the very youngest children spoke the language. The main difficulty with the Faye materials is that some of his transcriptions are ambiguous as to whether a transcription represents a third-person-singular ergative clitic = *pe* or a third-person-singular pronoun or determiner *pe'* because he often did not transcribe glottal stops and is unreliable on stress. However, the same kind of flexibility can be seen in Faye's materials in examples where the transcription is unambiguous. For instance, in the Faye materials we find variability with individual verbs. In (52a) we see the ergative encoding the subject of the verb 'see'. In (52b) we see the absolutive. These are two construals from different points of view of the same scene from the story of Kisily Pewish. In (52a) Kisily Pewish is speaking; in (52b) his uncles are speaking.

- (52) a. *Ne' ma'ma-qa ne-yawichi-n-pi ne-ta\$hma-nim pem-eyik*  
1SPRO WANT-PRS 1S-BRING-IN-SUBIRR 1S-MO.BRO-PL 3PL-TO  
*me = m = pe tew.*  
AND = 3PLERG = IRR SEE.F  
 I want to take it to my uncles so they will see it. (Faye KP 121 136 055)
- b. *Me = qwe = p pi = yawmu-max me = qwe = sh te'e'ew.*  
AND = NONI = 3SERG 3SO = BRING-BEN .HAB AND = NONI = 1PLABS SEE.HAB  
 And he can bring it so we can see it. (Faye KP 127 153 06a)

**12.4. THE REPORTATIVE CLITIC = KU'UT, POINT OF VIEW, AND GENRE.** In discussions of evidentials in other California languages, reportative evidentials are often characterized in categorical terms, as required on every sentence that does not represent the speaker's firsthand experience. However, in Cupeño there is considerable flexibility in the use of the reportative. The reportative clitic = *ku'ut* marks not only the evidential status of sentences but also point of view and genre. Marked usages of the reportative clitic include the absence of reportative clitics in non-firsthand sentences, and the presence of reportatives in firsthand sentences. In

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20. I thank Alexandra Aikhenvald for this suggestion.

the former case, the marked clause without the reportative metaphorically constructs the point of view of a firsthand reporter. In the latter, the marked clause with the reportative expresses doubt or uncertainty.

In the system of point of view, reportatives are used in narrative to distinguish the point of view of the narrator from the point of view of figured characters within the narrative. The representation of the point of view of figured characters can occur not only in direct-discourse reported speech but also in main-line and background narrative clauses, where it is suggested by the absence of reportative clitics. This absence constructs “immediacy,” including excitement and tension in the development of plot. In the system of genre, reportatives distinguish narratives of personal recollection from narratives that are “history” and are considered the collective property of the community, even when “history” may include the personal experience of narrators.

Variation in the use of the reportative is encountered at several levels. First, there was variation among two contexts in my elicitation from Roscinda Nolasquez. A genre that I call “performance” is represented by her speech in the audio-taped stories, which were recorded without stopping. In elicitation, I would play back these performances, stopping frequently to be sure that I had written down the sentence correctly. During these sessions, which I call “teaching” following Roscinda Nolasquez’s own choice of words, she would often tell me to write down something that was not identical to what was on the tape. Sometimes these changes were corrections (as in the removal of the hesitation form between (53a) and (53b)) or clarifications, but often they involved removing repetition (also seen in (53a) versus (53b)). One important type of change was that the number and location of reportative clitics often was different between “performance” and “teaching.”

One example of this kind of variation is seen in (53). (53a) is the performance, and (53b) is teaching. In teaching, Roscinda Nolasquez inserted a new reportative clitic in the last sentence of this series, along with other corrections and changes.

- (53) a. *Piyama = ku’ut* *pe-m, uh, peta’a-nm-i tan-pe-n aya,*  
 ALWAYS = REP DET-PL HES ALL-PL-O DANCE-3S-IN THEN  
*tan-pe-n aya; axwe-ch-i pe-chi pem-~~she~~-~~shem~~-wen = ku’ut;*  
 DANCE-3S-IN THEN ODEM-NPN-O 3S-OBL 3PL-DUP-LAUGH-PIPL = REP  
*pe’ = e sewe-t pe-changnew.*  
 DET-CF RATTLESNAKE-NPN 3S-GET.ANGRY  
 Always it is said they all—he danced, he danced then; they were laughing at him, it is said; Rattlesnake got angry. (RN Creation 006)
- b. *Piyama = ku’ut* *peta’a-nm-i tan-pe-n aya; axwe-ch-i*  
 ALWAYS = REP ALL-PL-O DANCE-3S-IN THEN ODEM-NPN-O



*pe-chi pem-she-shem-wen = ku'ut; mu = ku'ut pe' = e*  
 3S-OBL 3PL-DUP-LAUGH-PIPL = REP AND = REP DET-CF  
*sewe-t pe-changnew.*  
 RATTLESNAKE-NPN 3S-GET.ANGRY

Always it is said all he danced then, they were laughing at him, it is said, and it is said Rattlesnake got angry. (RN Creation 006)

In a second example, (54a) is the performance sentence. Roscinda Nolasquez inserted a “bridging” clitic in the “teaching” sentence, (53b). Although the reportative usually follows the first word, it can also appear at other points in the sentence. Of these the most common is the bridging reportative, where it follows the last word of a sentence, and the next sentence does not have a reportative. The bridging reportative is always within the intonation contour of the first sentence.

(54) a. *Mu = ku'ut aya pe' waxachi-ly hanaka hashi-pe-yax,*  
 AND = REP THEN DET FROG-NPN AGAIN GO-3S-YAX  
*axwa-'aw pe-ta-tax-qal ivi-yka a-yka.*  
 ODEM-AT 3S-DUP-POKE.HOLE-PIS PDEM-TO LOCB-TO

And it is said then the frog went off again, there he poked holes here and there. (RN Creation 048)

b. *Mu = ku'ut aya pe' waxachi-ly hanaka*  
 AND = REP THEN DET FROG-NPN AGAIN  
*hashi-pe-yax = ku'ut, axwa-'aw pe-ta-tax-qal ivi-yka*  
 GO-3S-YAX = REP ODEM-AT 3S-DUP-POKE.HOLE-PIS PDEM-TO  
*a-yka.*  
 LOCB-TO

And it is said then the frog went off again it is said, there he poked holes here and there. (RN Creation 048)

From this and other examples we can conclude that in “performance,” Roscinda Nolasquez often did not use reportatives in every clause. In “teaching,” she tended to insert them where they were missing.

A second kind of variation involves the difference between narrative clauses and clauses in direct-discourse reported speech. Reportatives never appear within this type of reported speech, which is, of course, a dramatization of the point of view of a figure in the narrative. (55) shows an example of this pattern, where the clauses with a locutionary verb ‘say’ exhibit a reportative clitic, but the reported speech itself does not.

(55) *Mu = ku'ut “Chemyex! I'i pe' nanvax-in-vichu-qa*  
 AND-REP BE.QUIET PDEM DET PREPARE-IN-DES-PRS

*ishmivi-y,*” *pe-yax = ku’ut.*

SOMETHING-O 3S-SAY = REP

And it is said, “Be quiet! This is something that needs to be straightened out,” he said it is said. (Chitmal 009)

The interesting cases of departure from these general patterns are those where there is no reportative clitic in a narrative clause and where this absence survives “teaching.” All of these cases are examples where the context is in the “build to peak” of an episode, often at moments of the highest tension in a narrative. An example is seen in (56). In (56), the culture hero has found an enormous footprint, which turns out to have been made by the grizzly bear that the culture hero will kill, stuff, bring back to life, and control in order to destroy his enemies. The reportative clitic is absent in the last sentence. I represent the sense of “immediacy” by shifting to the English historical present.

(56) *Mu = ku’ut aya pe-ye pe-yik pe-ya-qal,*

AND = REP THEN 3S-MOTHER 3S-TO 3S-SAY-PIS

“*Ishmi’i = she = ’ep ne’e-y ni = ’itu-qa.*”

SOMETHING = DUB = R 1SPRO-O 1SO = STEAL-PRS

And then he said to his mother it is said, “Something must be stealing from me.”

“*Ivi-’aw ham iyax-we,*” *pe-ya-qal = ku’ut.*

PDEM-AT PROBABLY BE.LIKE-PRST 3S-SAY-PIS = REP

“Here is how it looks,” he said it is said.

*Pe-’isni-qal pe-xuchi.*

3S-WRITE-PIS 3S-FOOT

He draws the outline of a footprint. (RN KP I 026)

A second example of this type, where the omission of the reportative clitic constructs immediacy by representing a shift to the point of view of a figure in the narrative, comes from Roscinda Nolasquez’s Creation account. Because the dying creator is afraid of Coyote, he has the other beings send Coyote away to get fire for his cremation pyre. They try to cremate their creator while Coyote is away. But Coyote sees the smoke from the pyre and dashes back just in time to break through the ranks of the defenders and steal the god’s heart. (57) represents the moment when he sees the smoke. The crucial sentence is in the second line, where he stands and looks and the smoke keeps rising. In this moment he realizes he has been tricked, and there is no reportative in the clause that contains the second *mu:y* (a “bridging” reportative introduces *mi’at hiwenpeyax tewanuk* ‘he stops as he sees the smoke’). Another mark of “immediacy” in this section is that rather than say

*muyaq-pe-ya-qal* 'it was rising', Roscinda Nolasquez says *mu::y*, with lengthened vowels and no inflection, as a verbal image of the rising column of smoke.

- (57) *Mu = ku'ut mixa-nuk pexa-nuk ela-pe-yax = ku'ut, mi'a-t*  
 AND = REP INDEF.Doa-SS DEF.Doa-SS TURN.HEAD-3S-YAX = REP SMOKE  
*pi = pe-tew, mu::y tukuchi-ka = ku'ut, mi'a-t hiwen-pe-yax*  
 3SO = 3S-SEE RISING HIGH-TO = REP SMOKE-NPN STOP-3S-YAX  
*tewq-nuk piyama, mu::y, pu::chi = ku'ut a-ngax men-pe-yax.*  
 SEEA-SS STILL RISING WELL = REP LOCB-FROM TURN-3S-YAX

And it is said somehow he turned his head, it is said, he saw smoke, rising high, it is said, he stops as he sees the smoke, still, rising!, well, it is said he turned back from there. (RN Creation 107–108)

The second type of marked use of the reportative clitic is when it appears in clauses that represent firsthand experience of the speaker. There are several examples in Roscinda Nolasquez's personal recollections. (58) shows one type of example. She is talking about how when she was a child she and her friends would peek inside the one-room school building at Cupa. She says that they could hear the children inside, and "They must have been reading, but to us it was just jabbering" (because at the time she did not speak English). In (58), the reportative expresses her own childish doubt about what was really going on.

- (58) *Aya a-'welve-m axwa-nga eskweela = ku'ut pem-sulul,*  
 THEN DUP-GROWN-PL ODEM-INL SCHOOL = REP 3PL-GO.IN  
*pe'-memye-lu-wen.*  
 3PL-WHITE.PERSON-VB-PIPL

Then the older kids in there, I guess they went into school, they spoke English. (Childhood 049)

Another type of marked use of the reportative clitic is seen in (59a,b), where Roscinda Nolasquez is representing what her parents told her was going to happen to her when she went from Pala to the Sherman Institute boarding school at Riverside, California. Note that "to the west" is a ritual direction; she will really go north. In these sentences, her elders are represented as using reportatives with the words for 'train' and 'streetcar', marking them as something new and alien, not something that the elders want to claim as part of their own experience, although they have seen such things (in earlier sentences, the elders say that the train is "like a house, but it has wheels," and that the streetcar is "a different kind of train").

- (59) a. *Pe' = e = ku'ut trɛɛn, me = t ewepe-ka ngiiy-qat.*  
 DET = CF = REP TRAIN AND = 2SABS WEST-TO GO.AWAY-IF  
 It's called a train, and you're going to go away to the west. (Warners I 042)
- b. *"Pe' = e = ku'ut kriitu," pem-yax-wen = 'ep.*  
 DET = CF = REP STREETCAR 3PL-SAY-PIPL = R  
 "It's called a streetcar," they said. (Warners I 050)

The distribution of reportatives is also strongly associated with genre. In the Cupeño corpus several genres are represented, apart from elicited material. These include songs of several types and four types of oral literature. Oratory is represented in the Domingo Moro New Year's Day 1920 speech, collected by Faye, and snatches of oratory are also seen in quoted speech in accounts of ceremonies in Faye's materials. The second genre is personal recollection. In personal recollection and oratory, reportative clitics are largely absent, except for utterances expressing uncertainty or the occasional bit of secondhand information, as seen above in (58) and (59). The last two genres have sentences marked with reportatives as the unmarked type. These are the genres *silyich-in* 'tell bedtime stories' and *a'alxi* 'recite history'. The genre of "bedtime stories" (Rosinda Nolasquez's term) includes stories about animals. Some of them are clearly the result of contact with European traditions; examples are "Coyote and Hen" and "Coyote and Cat." Some of the Coyote stories seem to have little in the way of European elements and include songs and magical formulas; examples are "Coyote and the Flood" and "Coyote Eats his Daughter." Some of the "bedtime stories," however, involve snatches of *a'alxily* 'history', the major texts of the creation of the world, which have been adapted for everyday use with children. Toelken (1987) has shown that all Navajo coyote stories are of that type, with multiple levels of meaning, and should be repeated discreetly if at all. We know almost nothing about Cupeño uses of oral literature, but if they were similar to other peoples in western North America and to other Uto-Aztecan peoples, the full formal performance of the creation account would have been restricted to midwinter nights and would probably have been performed only by men. However, in many communities early ethnographic work confirms that incidents and snatches of the creation text could be quoted and performed at other times, for instance by women to entertain children, and could be modified to be appropriate to those contexts. I assume that it was this tradition that licensed Rosinda Nolasquez's performance, although clearly, as early as the time of Faye's work, his women consultants were also telling the major histories such as the creation and the story of Kisily Pewish. Faye collected his major texts in midwinter in 1920–1921; there is no evidence that he tried to collect new texts in his other field season, in June, 1927. From this field season we have texts that Faye apparently wrote out in English and asked his consultants to tell, such as "The Fox and the Crow."

An excellent example of a bedtime story adaptation of a creation account motif is Roscinda Nolasquez's telling of "Coyote at the Birds' Church." This tale, where Coyote comes to the birds' church and pretends to bow and pray, but is recognized by the birds, who all fly away, originates as a part of the Creation account. Coyote threatens the dying creator Mukat, and all the other animals are trying to defend the deity. The birds are "Mukat's people," created by him as "beings who live on earth," and would have been enumerated one by one in the winter telling, just as they are in "Coyote at the Birds' Church." But in "Coyote at the Birds' Church" the episode is removed from the context of the Creation account, and the teller is free not only to be female, but to add elements that make the story secular and thus appropriate as a "bedtime story." For instance, Roscinda Nolasquez, enumerating the birds, joked that Mockingbird must have been the birds' priest, since he does a lot of foolish "jabbering" (*payepayepeyaqal*). This satirical note must have been invented at the time of the earliest encounters between the Cupeño and Catholic missionaries in the nineteenth century. Humorous asides of this type, of course, were probably part of the winter tellings as well.

At the time of my work with Roscinda Nolasquez in the early 1960s, there were three major bodies of text that she called *a'alxi* 'recite history'. The first was the Creation account, the second was the history of Kisily Pewish (or Kisily Pewik), founder of Cupa, and the third was the history of the removal of the Cupeños from Cupa to Pala in 1903. All three histories were collected by both Faye and me. The most interesting case is the last, the history of the removal, which occurred when Roscinda Nolasquez was nine years old and when Faye's consultants were full adults.

Faye's field notes do not indicate who told the short account of the expulsion from Cupa that he records in his notes from his 1920–1921 holiday field trip, which seems to have been his first visit to Pala (he may have worked at an earlier date with a consultant who came north to work with Faye's mentor Alfred L. Kroeber at the University of California, Berkeley; Carolina Nolasquez tells a story of "a man who went to the north to teach the language"; the man is not named, and I am not aware that any notes survive from these sessions, if they existed). However, in the same notebooks, Faye records sessions with Carolina Nolasquez and Salvadora Valenzuela, so it is likely that one of them told about the removal.

Faye's recording of the account of the removal exhibits the same structure and many of the same thematic elements that I encountered forty years later in Roscinda Nolasquez's telling. These include the negotiations with the government agents, the resistance of the Cupeño, the details of the journey, including each stopping place for meals or to spend the night, and accusations against the government of deceit. However, the recording includes no reportative clitics; every sentence is "firsthand." Faye had no trouble hearing reportative clitics and records them punctiliously in his transcriptions of the Creation account and the story of Kisily Pewish.

Roscinda Nolasquez told the history of the removal over three days. On the first day, she began the story as a recollection, without reportatives, with the sentence in (60).

- (60) *A-ngax aya = 'ep Kupa-ngax chimi = tay-pe'-men,*  
LOCB = FROM THEN = R CUPA-FROM IPLO = MOVE-3PL-INPL  
*chimi = wichax-pe'-men.*  
IPLO = THROW-3PL-INPL

Then from there at Cupa they moved us, they threw us out. (Warners I 001)

The first day's telling has seventy-four sentences, and in the performance includes no reportatives except those in the sentences when her parents tell her about the train and the streetcar, shown in (59). The performance includes the entire story, but many episodes are sketched rather than detailed. Interestingly, in "teaching," Roscinda Nolasquez inserts a single reportative, boldfaced in (61).

- (61) *Pawva Raanchu-nga chem-tuk. Me eve = **ku'ut** pe' wa'i-sh*  
PAUVA RANCH-INL IPL-SPEND.NIGHT AND DDEM = REP DET MEAT-NPN  
*pi = **pe'-meq** atax-m-i mi = maxi-qt-am.*  
3SO = 3S-KILL PERSON-PL-O 3PLO = GIVEI-IF-PL

We spent the night at Pauva Ranch. And there it is said they slaughtered meat to give to the people. (Warners I 015–016)

In this case, we cannot be sure whether she was just being punctilious, not having actually been present at the moment of slaughter, or whether she is beginning to think of the text as a "history" rather than a recollection. However, on the second day it is clear that she has decided to think of the text in that way. She opens the performance with the sentence in (61).

- (62) *Tuku = 'ep ivi-y ne- 'a'alxi, qay ne-tul.*  
YESTERDAY = R PDEM-O 1S-RECITE.HISTORY NOT 1S-FINISH  
 Yesterday I told this history, I did not finish. (Warners II 001)

The first fourteen sentences on the second day's telling lack reportatives. She begins to use them in the fifteenth sentence, which is about a dreadful moment that Roscinda Nolasquez witnessed, when her great-grandmother, *-piwilye*, refuses to leave and walks away into the hills. This moment of defiance has become a significant element of the account. In the teaching version, Roscinda Nolasquez added an additional reportative, the last one. I give here the teaching version.

- (63) *Mu = ku'ut*    *pe-yax*,    “*Ivi-yta = ne = pe*    *minchen*    *qaawi*,  
 AND = REP    3S-SAY    PDEM-PLACE = 1S = IRR    EVEN.IF    DIE.F  
*minchen*    *me = m = pe*    *is-ly-am*    *ni = kwa'*,”  
 EVEN.IF    AND = 3PLERG = IRR    COYOTE-NPN-PL    1SO = EAT.F  
*pe-yax = ku'ut.*    “*Aya = n*    *ngiyy-ish*,”    *pe-yax = ku'ut.*  
 3S-SAY = REP    NOW = 1SABS    GO.AWAY-NPN    3S-SAY = REP

And it is said she said, “Here I will stay even if I die, even if coyotes eat me,” it is said she said. “Now I will go away,” it is said she said. (Warners II 012–013)

Reportatives are absent for a few sentences following this episode. However, Roscinda Nolasquez again uses reportatives in almost every narrative clause verb, and on every locutionary verb (the episode includes several stretches of direct-discourse reported speech), in an important episode from sentences (028) to (034) in the narrative, where community leaders telephone Washington and make trips to San Diego with their attorney to try to block the expulsion (Hyer 2001 has a detailed account of these efforts).

Throughout the second and third day of her account of the expulsion, Roscinda Nolasquez uses many reportative clitics. She does not use them as consistently as she does in her other histories, of the Creation and the story of Kisily Pewik, or as she does in her “bedtime stories.” But they are present, and they are present in some very interesting contexts where we would not predict their use if they had an exclusively “evidential” function. For instance, in (64) she reports a universally held opinion about the perfidy of the U.S. government. The government had promised the Cupeños, who had built at Cupa masonry houses that were so sturdy that many are still standing and are used today as guest houses for the resort at Warner’s Hot Springs, that they would have good housing at Cupa. Instead, they lived in tents for two years while tiny prefabricated one-room shacks were shipped around Cape Horn to Pala. Of the prefabricated houses, Roscinda Nolasquez says (64). She puts a reportative clitic on the locutionary verb, even though she has heard many people say this and has said it herself.

- (64) *Qay*    *hi-sh*    *peyka'may*,    *chem-ki*    *i'i*    *yut-yut-ax-we*,  
 NOT    WHAT-NPN    STILL    1PL-HOUSE    PDEM    DUP-STAND-YAX-PRST  
*akukulyi*    *kumu*    *aveɣɣa'-am*    *pem-ki*    *yax-we*,  
 LITTLE-DUP    LIKE    BEE-PL    3PL-HOUSE    BE.LIKE-PRPL  
*pem-yax = ku'ut.*  
 3PL-SAY = REP

Still there are no houses, our houses stand there, they are as tiny as beehives, it is said they said. (Warners II 053)

On the third day's telling, Roscinda Nolasquez began with a reportative in the first sentence, (65). She is talking about the people who came with wagons to help with the removal.

- (65) *Amay ivi-ngax = ku'ut Paala-ngax ha\$hi-pem-yax.*  
 JUST PDEM-FROM = REP PALA-FROM GO-3PL-YAX  
 Just from here it is said they went from Pala. (Warners III 001)

She does not use a reportative in every sentence on this day's telling, but she does use many of them, including in recounting episodes that were certainly firsthand experiences for her. For instance, in (66) she talks about what she did when she thought, as a nine-year-old, that she might have to leave behind her beloved cat and kittens. Leroy Miranda has told me that the elders remembered that many pets were left behind in the expulsion, and grieved that they had probably starved or been eaten by coyotes. But Roscinda Nolasquez managed to get her family to help her find her cats and pack them in a box so they would not run off.

- (66) *Maas = ku'ut ne-nawvi ne-'ash-m-ichi*  
 MORE = REP 1S-FIGHT 1S-PET-PL-OBL  
 Mostly it is said I fought for my pets. (Warners III 012)

Roscinda Nolasquez's recitation of the history of the expulsion is somewhat unstable in terms of genre assignment, in that reportative clitics drop in and out, as the recitation shifts back and forth from "personal recollection" to "history." However, it seems clear that as she spoke, she was making a claim that the genre of the text should be *a'alxi* 'recite history' incorporated as part of the traditional learning of a member of the Cupeño community. By using reportative clitics, she asserts that her memories are not merely her own but are part of community knowledge, belonging to the Cupeño as a people. And in fact this is the way that her recollection is used today. At least one sentence from it—shown in (67)—has been made into a song, just as references and incidents from the Creation account and the story of Kisily Pewik can be elaborated in song.

- (67) *Peta'am-i ishmivi-y che'-mixan-i chem-tewa\$h Kupa-ngax.*  
 ALL-O SOMETHING-O IPL-POSSESSION-O IPL-LOSE CUPA-FROM  
 We lost everything we had from Cupa. (Warners I 009)

Thus Roscinda Nolasquez's account of the expulsion lives on today as *a'alxi*, as a charter for her descendants in their fight against injustice and in support of their community. Roscinda Nolasquez died on February 4, 1987. She is buried in the Indian cemetery at Warner's Hot Springs: *Kupa, Pal Atingve*.



## Appendix A: Roots Stressed on the Second Syllable or Later

The list below includes all Cupeño roots that are stressed on other than the first syllable, including nouns (shown with their NPN suffixes where known), verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and particles. I do not include non-metathesized stress-alternating verb forms that add stressed *-aan*, e.g., *u'la*, *u'laan* 'sewing' (discussed in 4.4.2.4.2). In the lists below, I note reconstructed forms from Munro (1990).

<i>amsi<u>s</u>vel</i> 'rib'	<i>-'eqapi<u>y</u>ewe</i> 'sister-in-law'
<i>ama<u>y</u></i> 'now, today, just, same'	<i>eqa<u>y</u>e'e</i> 'wild goose'
<i>amu<u>l</u></i> 'agave'; * <i>?amú:-l</i> (Munro 1990:237)	<i>esh<u>p</u>e'e</i> 'the former, the aforesaid'
<i>anu<u>k</u></i> 'thus, having done'	<i>-'eshwa<u>y</u>ve</i> 'eyelashes'
<i>apu<u>t</u></i> 'already'	<i>-'espi<u>y</u>ewe</i> 'sister-in-law'
<i>ata<u>q</u>am</i> 'gallop'	<i>eva<u>l</u>ve'et</i> 'wild rhubarb ( <i>Rumex hymenose-</i> <i>palus</i> )' (Gaughen 2001:87)
<i>ati<u>s</u>-</i> 'sneeze'	<i>ewa<u>q</u></i> 'be busy, stretch self'
<i>ava<u>x</u>at</i> 'cottonwood tree'	<i>ewe<u>p</u>e-</i> 'west'
<i>awa<u>l</u></i> 'dog'; * <i>?awá:-l</i> (Munro 1990:240. Munro observes that the final <i>-l</i> in this form may be an original root-final con- sonant that has been reanalyzed as a non-possessed suffix in Cupeño and Cahuilla.)	<i>ew<u>e</u>t'imal</i> 'pottery bowl'
<i>axí</i> 'cough' (metathesized, stress-shifted variant with <i>ixa</i> 'cough')	<i>eya<u>l</u></i> 'poison oak'; * <i>?ayá:-l</i> ~ * <i>?ayá:-la</i> (Munro 1990:245)
<i>axwa-</i> 'there' (locative base for ODEM)	<i>eya<u>l</u>mu</i> 'speak Diegueño'
<i>axwe<u>sh</u></i> 'that (ODEM)'	<i>hel<u>u</u>mal</i> 'ragged clothes'
<i>aya<u>m</u>al</i> 'raccoon'	<i>hela<u>y</u>ep</i> 'have hiccups'
<i>chala<u>k</u>a</i> 'horned lizard'	<i>henu<u>v</u>at</i> 'Mojave yucca ( <i>Yucca schidigera</i> )' (Gaughen 2001:87)
<i>Chemyu'at</i> 'God' (the first syllable may be <i>chem-</i> 'our', but <i>yu'at</i> is otherwise unattested)	<i>hi<u>q</u>sa</i> 'rest, sigh'
<i>Chepu'ish</i> 'a Cahuilla lineage name'	<i>hivi<u>s</u>iwe</i> 'it is powdery'
<i>chequ<u>l</u>y</i> 'tease, joke'	<i>icha<u>q</u>am</i> 'all right, OK'
<i>chex<u>i</u>n</i> 'drain'	<i>icha<u>q</u>aywin</i> 'do, make' (stress alternate of <i>achiwin</i> 'do, make')
<i>chikay<u>l</u>xapi</i> 'cane'	<i>icha<u>k</u>win</i> 'well, decently'
<i>chix<u>i</u>nga</i> 'just in case' (cf. <i>chinga</i> 'if')	<i>icha'í</i> 'nice, meek, tame'
<i>chiyu</i> 'wear earrings'	<i>ike<u>l</u>ish</i> 'tangled'
<i>epe<u>y</u>ewe</i> 'if'	<i>isa<u>l</u></i> 'meadowlark'; * <i>?isá:-l</i> (Munro 1990: 243)
	<i>ish<u>v</u>a-</i> 'left (handed)'
	<i>itu</i> 'steal'
	<i>ivi-</i> 'inflectional base of <i>i'í</i> 'this (PDEM)'

- katašma* ‘jaw’  
*kavaly* ‘beat fast, pound, of heart’  
*kavaly’imal* ‘quick, fast’  
*kava’mal* ‘olla’  
*kawašxa’a* ‘older brother’  
*kawiš* ‘rock’ (and *kawi-* ‘west’); \**qawi:-ča*  
 ‘mountain/rock’ (Munro 1990:243)  
*kawišish* ‘fox’  
*kaxal* ‘valley quail’; \**qaxa’-l* (Munro 1990:  
 245)  
*kaxawet* ‘mountain quail’  
*kelawet* ‘firewood’  
*keret* ‘wild goose’; \**qare’:-t* ‘goose’ (Munro  
 1990:239)  
*kevilya’ash* ‘pillow’  
*keyeykmal* ‘night hawk’  
*kicham-* ‘south’  
*kichimekulyimal* ‘cumbersome’  
*kuli’at* ‘sandpiper’  
*-kumuma* ‘nephew’ (cf. *-kums* ‘father’s old-  
 er brother’)  
*kusaqanem chiip* ‘junco, bird name’  
*kušhinvel* ‘small black ant’  
*kutangvel* ‘bumblebee’  
*kute’ve’esh* ‘fire tender’ (see also *tekwe’-*  
*ve’esh* ‘fire tender’)  
  
*-makawa* ‘elbow’ (probably includes *-mas*  
 ‘hand, arm’)  
*malal* ‘metate’ \**mala’-l* (Munro 1990:243)  
*manin* ‘fast for meat, salt’  
*-matima* ‘man’s niece’  
*-maklakma* ‘jaw’  
*maxily* ‘dove’; \**maxe’-l* (Munro 1990:240)  
*ma’nin* ‘diet, get thin’ (this is probably a  
 variant with ‘ of *manin* above)  
*mekwash* ‘flea’  
*memtu’ish* ‘wave’ (probably from *mem-*  
 ‘ocean’ + *-tu’ish* ‘having borne fruit’)  
*menmax* ‘will come’  
*-maqin’a* ‘belt’  
*meqiw* ‘chase’  
*mewiiye* ‘a song vocable’  
  
*mexacha’a* ‘California poppy’  
*milyew* ‘discuss, argue’  
*mipepe* ‘surely’  
*mivi-* inflectional base of *mi’i* ‘indefinite’  
*muhi’ish* ‘sore’  
*mukikmal* ‘bird’  
  
*natiy* ‘sit, roost, of birds’  
*nawikat* ‘woman’ (related to Munro’s  
 (1990:241) \**nawi-l* ~ \**nawi’-l*)  
*nawilyqam’a* ‘front apron made of string’  
*nawišmal* ‘girl’ (related to Munro’s (1990:  
 241) \**nawi-l* ~ \**nawi’-l*)  
*naxanchu’vel* ‘old man’ (pl. *naxavalim*)  
*naxanish* ‘man’  
*naxašwish* ‘elderly, of a male’  
*nengu* ‘have, hold, possess’  
*nimuyily* ‘November’  
  
*panaal* ‘yucca sp. (*Yucca whipplei*)’;  
 \**pana’-l* (Munro 1990:249)  
*paqawilyeve* ‘hail’  
*pavašhish* ‘damp’  
*paxa’a* ‘red racer snake’  
*paxal* ‘cradle’  
*paxi’ish* ‘party, group of lineages’  
*pešhenax’a* ‘rainbow’ (cf. *pešhe’e* ‘flower’)  
*peta’ama* ‘all’  
*pexaanet* ‘cough, cold’  
*pexaanmuqish* ‘sick with a cold’  
*peyaxat* ‘caterpillar’  
*pe’aw’a* ‘mountain’  
*pilyayka* ‘to the right’ (but *pilyawet* ‘right  
 hand’)  
*pisa* ‘rot, go sour’ (cf. *pis’ish* ‘rotten’)  
*pisa’tu* ‘make first covering in burning  
 ceremony’  
*pisekaw* ‘appear, become invisible’  
*pishwelish* ‘grown up’  
*pish’amay* ‘just then, right then’ (see *amay*)  
*Pivi’mukmal* ‘Little Ghost Month’  
*piyayax* ‘however’  
*piyaya* ‘try’

- piyu* 'pan' 'however'  
*pi'ish* 'pipe'  
*pi'ivi* 'without'  
*pi'muk* 'die'  
*pulin* 'have a child' (cf. *pulinve'esh* 'mid-wife')  
*pupu-* 'doctor (cure)' (related to *puul* from \**pú:-la* < \**pú:hu-la* 'shaman' (Munro 1990:247))  
*qashi-ly* 'sagebrush'; \**qá:sil* ~ \**qaš:l*, a "problematic" form (Munro 1990:246)  
*qewisa'ily* 'duck sp.' (related to Munro's (1990:238) \**wé:sa-l*, cf. *wisinam* 'ducks', *wisal* 'mud hen')  
*qeyul* 'fish'; \**kiyú:l* ~ \**kəyú:l* (Munro 1990:241)  
*qeyuwet* 'whale'  
*qilyiqtu'ni* 'hurt, sting'  
*qusa* 'breathe, rest'  
  
*sakwit* 'curse, whip'  
*savqal* 'grass'  
*savily* 'sycamore'; \**šivé:-la* ~ \**šavé:-la* (Munro 1990:247)  
*-sawinex'a* 'head stick'  
*sekawet* 'chipmunk'  
*sevel* 'wind'  
*sevey'et* 'yucca flowers'  
*silyich* 'tell bedtime stories'  
*silynyin* 'be dirty'  
*Sivimu'at* 'a Wildcat moiety lineage'  
*si'ay* 'crack acorns'  
*si'ish* 'tule'  
*si'qal* 'cover'  
*si'tax* 'sour'  
  
*Shemekut'a* 'Funny Face'  
*šhesily* 'spill, pour'  
*Šešhwayvelpa* 'San Ygnacio (place name)'  
*šešhxamenily* 'burning ceremony'  
*šhikiy* 'creaking sound'  
*šikik* 'creak'  
  
*šhuylyuxwanet* 'wrinkled'  
  
*taka'timal* 'tonsured priest'  
*taka'at* 'arrow point, etc.'  
*temašhexat* 'chewing tobacco'  
*tama<sub>wet</sub>* 'mockingbird' (cf. *-tama<sub>s</sub>* 'tooth, mouth')  
*teku* 'put with'  
*tekwəye* 'long ago'  
*tekwə've'esh* 'fire tender'  
*tekwin* 'count'  
*tekwis* 'go to sleep, of limb'  
*temal* 'land, earth'  
*temam-* 'north'  
*temašhišhqinily* 'varmint'  
*tepin* 'follow, track'  
*terehayat* ~ *torohayat* 'sand painting'  
*tesiw* 'play'  
*teyeyulu* 'be lonely'  
*tevely* 'sparkle, flash' (also *tevely*)  
*tewalaxat* 'white clay'  
*tewašh* 'disappear'  
*tewin* 'pick, gather'  
*tew'naan* 'plant' (possibly an *-aan*-suffixed form of *tewe(n)* 'grow, of plants')  
*te'wi'at* 'woods, brush'  
*ti'a* 'roost'  
*tily'a'ay* 'be proud, make love'  
*tukuchi-* 'up high'  
*tukumay* 'tomorrow' (cf. *tuk* 'night' and *amay* 'today')  
*tukumulu'wet* 'the day before yesterday' (cf. *tuk* 'night' and *mulu'wet* 'leader, ancestor, one who comes first')  
*tukuni* 'contribute, as in church'  
*tukupuwet* 'woodpecker'  
*tukvalpeta* 'a place name'  
  
*waqa* 'put on shoes'  
*wexwax-* 'divide' (cf. *wax* 'turn aside')  
*wepish* 'brush, hairbrush'  
*weqsa* 'rest' (cf. *waqsil* 'take a few steps at a time, like an old man')

<i>wera<u>p</u>i</i> ‘do war dance’	<i>yami<u>sh</u></i> ‘forest’; * <i>yami</i> :- <i>ča</i> (Munro 1990: 241)
<i>wes<u>h</u>ki<u>sh</u></i> ‘ashes’	<i>yengi<u>n</u></i> ‘tell the truth’
<i>wes<u>h</u>wet</i> ‘greasewood’	<i>yep<u>a</u>sh</i> ‘valley’
<i>wewa<u>sh</u></i> ‘be long’ (pl. <i>wewva<u>sh</u>ish</i> )	<i>yep<u>u</u>chi</i> ‘well!’ (possibly from Spanish <i>pucha</i> )
<i>wex<u>i</u>t’it</i> ‘pine tree’	<i>yewa<u>l</u></i> ‘salt’
<i>we’<u>n</u>in</i> ‘blunder, miss a target’	<i>yew<u>i</u>ny</i> ‘get used to, spoil’
<i>wila<u>q</u>al</i> ‘buckwheat’	<i>yew<u>i</u>sex’a</i> ‘there is enough’
<i>witu</i> ‘get fat’	<i>yung<u>a</u>vish</i> ‘buzzard’
<i>wi’<u>a</u>wlet</i> ‘live oak sp.’ (cf. <i>wi’at</i> ‘[another] live oak sp.’; * <i>wi?á-t</i> (Munro 1990: 244))	<i>yup<u>i</u>sh</i> ‘brush’
<i>wi’<u>a</u>y</i> ‘be expensive, high’	
<i>wuk<u>i</u>kmal</i> ‘bird’ (form used by Faye’s consultants; see <i>muk<u>i</u>kmal</i> )	

## Appendix B: Stressless Roots

Stressless roots that are usually attested in the possessed state are listed with left-edge hyphens.

-*ala*<sub>-s</sub> ‘louse’  
*hax*<sub>-s</sub> ‘who’  
 -*hilya*<sub>-s</sub> ‘cheek’  
 -*hinya*<sub>-s</sub> ‘saliva’  
 -*ki*<sub>-s</sub> ‘house’  
*ku*<sub>-s</sub> ‘fire’  
*kuʂh*<sub>-s</sub> ‘get, take’  
 -*kwa*<sub>-s</sub> ‘mother’s father’  
*kwa*<sub>-s</sub> ‘eat’  
 -*kwala*<sub>-s</sub> ‘armpit, side’  
 -*kwash*<sub>-s</sub> ‘tail’  
 -*ma*<sub>-s</sub> ‘hand, arm’  
*max*<sub>-s</sub> ‘give’  
*meq(a(n))*<sub>-s</sub> ‘kill a single victim’  
 -*meʂh*<sub>-s</sub> ‘father’s brother’  
 -*mex*<sub>-s</sub> ‘navel’  
 -*mu*<sub>-s</sub> ‘nose’  
 -*mush*<sub>-s</sub> ‘nipple’  
*muu*<sub>-s</sub> ‘shoot with bow’  
 -*mushu*<sub>-s</sub> ‘beard, whiskers’  
 -*muv*<sub>-s</sub> ‘snot’  
 -*na*<sub>-s</sub> ‘father’  
 -*nang*<sub>-s</sub> ‘tongue’  
*neq(e(n))*<sub>-s</sub> ‘come’  
 -*neʂh*<sub>-s</sub> ‘mother’s younger sister’

-*nyenga*<sub>-s</sub> ‘saliva’  
*ngang*<sub>-s</sub> ‘weep’  
 -*paha*<sub>-s</sub> ‘father’s sister’  
 -*pela*<sub>-s</sub> ‘leaf’  
 -*pi*<sub>-s</sub> ‘breast’  
 -*push*<sub>-s</sub> ‘eyes, face’  
 -*qa*<sub>-s</sub> ‘paternal grandrelative’  
 -*qena*<sub>-s</sub> ‘gall’  
 -*qew*<sub>-s</sub> ‘forehead’  
 -*qilya*<sub>-s</sub> ‘nape of neck’  
 -*ʂhev*<sub>-s</sub> ‘acorn hulls’  
 -*ʂhu*<sub>-s</sub> ‘mother’s mother’  
 -*ʂhula*<sub>-s</sub> ‘fingernail, claw’  
 -*tama*<sub>-s</sub> ‘mouth, teeth’  
*tav*<sub>-s</sub> ‘put down’  
 -*te*<sub>-s</sub> ‘sinew’  
*tew*<sub>-s</sub> ‘see’  
 -*tewi*<sub>-s</sub> ‘chest’  
*tuku*<sub>-s</sub> ‘carry with tumpline’  
 -*waqa*<sub>-s</sub> ‘shoe’  
*wen*<sub>-s</sub> ‘put in’  
 -*wiki*<sub>-s</sub> ‘flight feather, wing’  
*yax*<sub>-s</sub> ‘say’  
 -*ye*<sub>-s</sub> ‘mother’  
 -*yu*<sub>-s</sub> ‘head, hair’

## Appendix C: Verb Roots and Thematic Class Attestations

This appendix lists the thematic class attestations of native verb roots in the Cupeño corpus. Stress-shifted and *-aan* suffixed variants are listed; reduplicated forms are not listed unless they are the only attestation of a particular verb or if the meaning of the reduplicated form is quite specialized.

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>aa-</i>			‘make an <i>ah</i> sound’	
<i>achiwin ~ ichaaywin</i>	‘make, do’			
<i>aleyew</i>	‘pick lice’			
<i>am</i>		‘throw, drop, discharge’	‘lose’	
<i>amichi</i>		‘leave a person’		
<i>amu ~ am’i</i>	‘hunt’			
<i>ashlyu</i>	‘have an animal, like dog, horse’			
<i>ašh</i>	‘bathe’			<i>ašh-nin</i> ‘bathe someone, baptize’
<i>ašhā ~ ašha</i>	‘wear’	‘put on’		<i>ašhā-nin ~ ašha-nin</i> ‘dress someone’
<i>ašhqetu</i>	‘menstruate’			
<i>ataam</i>			‘gallop’	
<i>ate’ate</i>			‘just sit there’	
<i>atiš</i>	‘sneeze’			
<i>awlin</i>	‘carry with tumpline’			
<i>awluk</i>	‘give out (of heart), go down (of people)’		‘go down (of sun)’	

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>ax</i>	‘eat little bits, eat mush’			
<i>axi ~ ixa</i>	‘cough’			
<i>ayew</i>	‘want, like’			
<i>aylyu</i>	‘shake a rattle’			
<i>ayulu</i>	‘see things, hallucinate’			<i>ayulu</i> ’- <i>nin</i> ‘drive crazy’
<i>ay’anchu</i>	‘make something big’			
<i>a’alxi</i>	‘recite history’			
<i>a’ayu</i>	‘watch’			
<i>chakw</i>		‘catch’	‘be caught’	
<i>chal</i>	‘shell (as nuts), husk corn’			<i>chal-nin</i> ‘make someone shell’
<i>chamel</i>		‘polish’	‘shine, glitter’	
<i>changelange</i>			‘be speckled’	
<i>changnew</i>	‘be angry’			<i>changnew-nin</i> ‘make angry’
<i>chaq</i>		‘crush, flatten’	‘lie at angle, lie on side, go deviously’	
<i>chaʃh</i>		‘polish’	‘shine’	
<i>chaʃhpel ~ chepal</i>	‘mend, quilt’		‘be patched, stick to pan’	
<i>chaʃhwi</i>	‘crawl’			
<i>chaway</i>		‘climb obj’	‘climb, get up’	
<i>chawel</i>		‘shake obj’	‘shake, be shaken’	
<i>chax</i>		‘choke’		
<i>chayaw ~ chayaw</i>		‘do woman’s dance, stand up’	‘be standing, be frightening (with <i>taxwily</i> )’	
<i>chayu</i>	‘harvest’			

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>cha'ay</i>			'rise, of sun, Christ, have indigestion (with <i>-shuun</i> )'	
<i>chek</i>		'lean obj'	'be leaning'	
<i>chel</i>		'snip, cut obj, as cloth' ( <i>chelchel</i> 'cut nails')	'be cut'	
<i>chem</i>			'be quiet'	
<i>chen</i>		'roll'	'be rolling'	
<i>cheng</i>		'kick obj'	'be kicking'	
<i>chequ<sub>ly</sub></i>	'play joke'			
<i>cheshkiy</i>	'be lame'			
<i>chex</i>	'winnow'	'clean obj'	'be clean, light, appear, change into'	
<i>chexin</i>	'drain obj, like berries'			
<i>che'luy</i>	'stand on tiptoes'			
<i>chi</i>	'pick up, gather'			
<i>chi'chi</i>	'hiss, rattle, of snake'			
<i>chilyi</i>		'shake a rattle'	'jingle'	
<i>chipi(l) ~ chipil</i>		'break obj'	<i>chipi</i> 'be broken'	
<i>chiv</i>	'taste bitter'			
<i>chiv</i>		'pick grass'	'pluck hairs, be plucked'	
<i>chix</i>	'die (pl.)'			<i>chix-nin</i> 'kill plural obj'
<i>chiyu</i>	'put on earrings'			
<i>chi'in ~ chi'in</i>		'carry in arms, lift'		
<i>chul</i>	'be deep'	'make deep'	'be deep'	



	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>chulup</i>	‘push in sg. obj’	‘go in (sg. subj)’		
<i>chumum</i>		‘suck obj, as venom’	‘be sucked’	
<i>chung</i>		‘kiss’	‘be kissed’	
<i>chup</i>		‘close eyes’	‘blink, close eyes’	
<i>chuqem</i>		‘save, leave behind’	‘remain, be left behind’	
<i>chus</i>		‘fry’	‘be fried’	<i>chus-nin</i> ‘melt obj down’
<i>chusily</i>			‘lie curled up, like dog’	
<i>chux</i>	‘melt’	‘spit’	‘be spat out’	<i>chux-nin</i> ‘render lard’
<i>ekem</i>	‘give’			
<i>el</i>	‘wear a skirt’			
<i>ela ~ e<u>l</u></i>		‘wait for’	‘turn head’	
<i>e<u>l</u>el’i</i>	‘be ugly, bad’			<i>e<u>l</u>el’ichi-nin</i> ‘spoil obj’
<i>e<u>l</u>eli’ichu</i>	‘get spoiled, go sour’			
<i>enge</i>			‘hum’	
<i>epe ~ e<u>pe</u></i>			‘ease a pack’	
<i>esh</i>			‘climb steeply, be above’	
<i>ev ~ e<u>ew</u></i>		‘hold out something’	‘hold out hand’	
<i>ew</i>			‘menstruate’	
<i>eweq</i>		‘stretch self’		
<i>ewlu</i>	‘initiate girl’			
<i>ey<u>a</u>lmu</i>	‘speak Diegueño’			
<i>e’we</i>	‘sweat’			

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>e'yew</i>		‘sneak up on obj’		
<i>ε'nis</i>	‘be smart’			
<i>hakwi</i>		‘hold head above water’		
<i>hal</i>	‘look for’			
<i>hama<u>an</u></i>	‘be ashamed’	‘upset obj’		<i>hama-nin</i> ‘embarrass, humiliate’
<i>hamush ~ hemesh</i>		‘throw overhand, aim, cover’		
<i>hash</i>	‘sweat (in sweat bath)’			
<i>ha<u>ṣ</u>hi</i>		‘go with obj’	‘go, walk’	
<i>haves<u>h</u></i>		‘stay up all night’	‘get light’	
<i>haw</i>		‘sing, enchant’		
<i>hawe</i>			‘be pimply’	
<i>hay</i>	‘reach to, end’	‘tire, finish’	<i>hayhay</i> ‘be short of breath’	
<i>helaq</i>		‘drown obj’	‘drown’	
<i>helyep</i>	‘hiccup’			
<i>hepin</i>	‘make straight lines in painting’			
<i>het</i>			‘crouch, squat’	
<i>hevel</i>		‘plough’	‘be soft’	
<i>hew</i>		‘put on top’	‘sit on a nest, high place’	
<i>hew</i>			‘fly, float, glide’	
<i>hew<u>i</u>n</i>	‘hand obj to, carry in one hand’			
<i>hewlyu</i>	‘laugh out loud’			

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>hewvaan</i> ~ <i>hewva</i>	‘hit’			
<i>hil</i>			‘drip, of water’	
<i>hin</i>	‘soothe’		‘make up after fight’	
<i>hiq</i>		‘add flavor’	‘smell, stink’	<i>hiqi-nin</i> ‘wean baby’
<i>hiqsa</i>	‘rest, come to life’		‘sigh’	
<i>hish</i>		‘sprinkle’		
<i>hivisiwe</i>	‘be powdery, thin’			
<i>hiw</i> ~ <i>qa</i> ~ <i>qal</i> ~ <i>max</i>	‘be there’			
<i>hiw</i>		‘heat’	‘be warm’	
<i>hiwchu</i>	‘know’			
<i>hiwe(n)</i>			‘stand, stop’	
<i>hix</i>	‘say’		‘say’	
<i>hiyish</i>		‘spread small objects to dry’	‘be spread out to dry’	
<i>hiimay</i>	‘donate’	‘untie, uncover, turn loose’		
<i>hi’iy</i>		‘dig up to find’		
<i>huk</i>		‘rush at, get after, scold’		
<i>hum</i>		‘spread, paint’	‘be spread, painted’	
<i>hun’i</i>		‘carry in hand’		
<i>huqapi</i>	‘scalp’			
<i>huqut</i>		‘strip off, as bark’		
<i>hush</i>	‘skin obj’	‘take off clothes, pull out of container’	‘be undressed’	
<i>huṣh</i>		‘smoke’		

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>huva</i> ~ <i>huva</i> ~ <i>huvi</i>	‘smell, sniff’			
<i>huu</i>	‘fart, spin web’			
<i>huy</i>		‘exceed obj’	‘exceed, remain, be left over’	
<i>icha<u>a</u>chu</i>	‘be good’			
<i>icha<u>a</u>ywi(n)</i> (see <i>achiwin</i> )				
<i>ikal</i>	‘knit’			
<i>ilya</i>	‘be coming in to land, of bird’			
<i>im</i>		‘dip liquid, skim’		
<i>inga</i>			‘be caught in net’	
<i>ingyu</i>	‘salt’			
<i>is</i>	‘be striped’			<i>is-nin</i> ‘write’
<i>isaxw</i>	‘sing men’s song’			
<i>islyu</i>	‘act like a coyote’			
<i>ish</i>		‘work off debt, escape’		
<i>itu</i>	‘rob’			
<i>iva</i>	‘be strong’			<i>iva’-nin</i> ‘brace obj’
<i>iva’we(n)</i>		‘depend on’		
<i>ix</i>	‘do, be’			
<i>ixa</i> (see <i>axi</i> )				
<i>ixan</i>	‘do like’			
<i>ixan</i>		‘shake, husk, take out hand’	‘twitch, flap ears, hands, wings’	
<i>ixwi</i>			‘smart, burn’	

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>iyax</i>		‘keep away from obj’	‘stay away from’	
<i>iyax</i>	‘happen, be, be like’			
<i>i’islyu</i>	‘tell lies’			
<i>kam</i>			‘lie, of water in pond, lake’	
<i>kape(l)</i>		‘open’	‘have cracks, be open’ <i>kapekape</i> ‘yawn’	
<i>kavaly</i>	‘beat fast’			
<i>kawlechu</i>	‘warp’			
<i>kelaw</i>	‘gather long obj, like wood’			
<i>kelve</i>	‘make soup’			
<i>kem</i>			‘bow, dance to personal power song’	
<i>kenechi</i>	‘make yellow’			
<i>keng</i>			‘fly away’	
<i>keng</i>			‘burn up’	
<i>kewew</i>			‘tremble’	
<i>kichu</i>	‘live in a place’			
<i>kik’is(h)we</i>	‘be absent, be out’			
<i>kilyechu</i>	‘smoothe’		<i>kilyu(l)</i> ‘slip’	
<i>kilyilu</i>	‘be slippery’			
<i>kilyisiwe</i>	‘be shiny, waxed (defective)’			
<i>kilyma</i>	‘urinate’			
<i>kin’i</i>	‘burn, be burned’			
<i>kivichi</i>	‘take away’	‘drive cattle’ <i>kiv</i> ‘send away’		
<i>kivilyu</i>	‘go after’			

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>kuli'itlyu</i>	'play London Bridge'			
<i>kulul</i>		'pull out, stretch, drag, stick out tongue'		
<i>kum</i>			'ache'	
<i>kup</i>	'sleep'			<i>kup-nin</i> 'put to bed'
<i>kupichu</i>	'be sleepy'			
<i>kuʃh</i>	'make noise'			<i>kuʃh-nin</i> 'play instrument'
<i>kuʃh<sub>-s</sub></i> ~ <i>kuʃhaan</i> ~ <i>kuʃhiy</i>	'get'			
<i>kuunglyu</i>	'get married, of woman'			
<i>kwa<sub>-s</sub></i>	'eat'	<i>kwa'in</i> 'eat a little'		
<i>kwalma</i>	'carry under arm'			
<i>kwash</i>	'be ripe'			
<i>kwatichi</i>		'make red'	<i>kwatikwati</i> 'be red'	
<i>kwani</i>		'praise, talk loudly'		
<i>kwat</i>		'wake up obj'		
<i>kwavaly</i>		'make lighter'		
<i>kwaw</i>		'invite, call obj'	'shout'	
<i>kwaavichu</i>	'take care of'			
<i>kwel</i>		'cure'	'get up, be cured'	<i>kwelkwel</i> 'beat fast, of heart'
<i>kwetelete</i>			'throw off big sparks, beat of heart'	

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>kwetet</i>		‘drain water’	‘drain, of water’	
<i>kwichichu</i>	‘get thick’			
<i>kwilyema</i>		‘lick’		
<i>kwikwey</i>			‘do somersault’	
<i>kwichish</i>			‘be hard, get hard’	
<i>kwish</i>		‘squeeze, strangle’ ( <i>kwishkwish</i> ‘haunt’)		
<i>kwit</i>			‘be foggy’	
<i>kwiv</i>	‘encircle, corral, fence in’			
<i>kwiv</i>			‘lie down’	
<i>kwiv</i>			‘whistle’	
<i>kwut</i>			‘bubble, foam’	
<i>law</i>	‘tap, flick, knock’	‘flick obj’		
<i>lepek</i>			‘kneel’	
<i>lyakwish</i>			‘go down of sun’	
<i>lyaq</i>	‘tickle’	‘tickle somebody’	<i>lyaqal</i> ‘be ticklish’	
<i>lyaw</i>		‘peck, as a woodpecker’		
<i>lyaw</i>			‘dig’	
<i>lyek</i>		‘soak obj’		
<i>lyek</i>		‘go to eat’	‘be rich’	
<i>maa(n)</i>	‘let’	‘leave alone, leave behind’		
<i>maksily</i>		‘cross legs at ankle’	‘have the legs crossed’	
<i>malakwi</i>		‘bind’		
<i>malaxw</i>		‘taste obj, approve’	<i>melaxw</i> ‘try to VERB’	

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>mameyew</i>	‘help’			
<i>mamu</i>	‘be wrapped’	‘wrap obj’		
<i>man</i>			‘roll, fall off, stumble’	
<i>ma’nin</i>	‘fast’			
<i>maq</i>		‘gather, meet, get things together’	‘be gathered, have meeting’	
<i>mav</i>		‘wash obj’s face’	‘wash own face’	
<i>max</i> (see <i>hiw</i> )				
<i>max</i> <sub>-s</sub>	‘give’			
<i>max</i>	‘grind acorns, pound’	<i>mamax</i> ‘grind obj’		
<i>mayixi</i>	‘shove hand through’ (see <i>yixi</i> )			
<i>ma’aw</i>		‘point obj. out’		
<i>ma’awnin</i>	‘point finger’			
<i>ma’ma(x)</i>	‘admire, like, be interested in’			
<i>mehuly</i>	‘smile’ (also <i>mu’me</i> )			
<i>menmax</i> (see <i>neqe(n)</i> <sub>-s</sub> )				
<i>mekw</i>		‘peek, peer’		
<i>meqwel</i>			‘curve, go around’	
<i>mel</i>		‘swallow’		
<i>mele</i>		‘grind’		
<i>melekw</i>		‘twist’		
<i>memelki</i>				<i>memelki-nin</i> ‘speak’
<i>memvelu</i>	‘speak English’			



	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>men</i>		‘change clothes, dress up’	‘turn around, turn back, change, turn into’	
<i>meneq</i>			‘fall out’	
<i>meqa(n)</i> <sub>-s</sub>	‘kill, beat up’			
<i>meqin</i>				<i>meqin-nin</i> ‘put around waist’
<i>meqiw</i>		‘chase’		
<i>met</i>		‘swallow, take communion’		
<i>meye</i>			‘squirm’	
<i>miisi</i>	‘attend mass’			
<i>miisilyu</i>	‘go to mass’			
<i>milyew</i>	‘argue’			
<i>ming</i>	‘get thin’		‘swell up’	<i>ming-nin</i> ‘make thin’
<i>mis</i>		‘stop, guard with hands’	<i>mis, mismis</i> ‘hold out hands’	
<i>mish</i>	‘suck (e.g., sugar cane, lollipop)’			
<i>mit</i>		‘dry, wipe’		
<i>mix</i>	‘do, be, happen’			
<i>miyiw</i>		‘suck, of doctor’		
<i>mi’aw</i>	‘arrive’			
<i>mi’vax</i>	‘fumigate with sage, to smoke, of fire’			<i>mi’vax-nin</i> ‘fumigate’
<i>muhan</i> ~ <i>muhaan</i>	‘shoot a bow’			
<i>muhī</i>	‘run (of eyes)’			
<i>muknen</i>	‘win’			
<i>mul</i>	‘dig, as gopher; root, as pig’			

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>mulaq</i>				
		‘spit out’		
<i>mulu</i>	‘lead, come first’			
<i>mulul</i>		‘boil obj’	<i>mulmul</i> ‘be boiling’	
<i>mumxan</i>	‘cramp, throb, buzz’			
<i>mum’etu</i>	‘hate’			
<i>muteq</i>			‘make short’	
<i>mutumuti</i>			‘be short’	
<i>muu<sub>-s</sub></i>	‘shoot obj with bow and arrow’			
<i>muutu</i>	‘hoot’			
<i>muy</i>			‘rise, of smoke, dust’	
<i>muyaq</i>		‘push out pl. obj’	‘go out pl. subj’	
<i>mu’u</i>			‘move backwards’	
<i>naaxchin</i>	‘pass, of day, feast, etc.’	‘escape, make crazy’	‘spend time, be passed by, go crazy’	
<i>nam</i>	‘race’	‘run over, cross’	‘lie across’	
<i>nameq</i>		‘meet’		
<i>nameyew</i>	‘run over obj’			
<i>nameyewlu</i>	‘overtake’			
<i>nana</i>	‘grind corn’			
<i>nanavu ~ nawvi</i>	‘fight’			
<i>nanayax ~ nayxi</i>	‘fight, quarrel’			
<i>nanvax</i>		‘smooth obj, prepare, make obj square’	‘be ready, fit, be settled’	
<i>nangeni</i>		‘pay’		

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>nanmaw</i>	‘have fit’			
<i>nanvaya</i>				<i>nanvaya-nin</i> ‘accommodate’ (see <i>nanvax</i> )
<i>nang’aw</i>	‘make image’			
<i>naq</i>		‘take down, bring down’	‘go down’	
<i>naqichi</i>		‘take down from high shelf’		
<i>naqma</i>	‘hear’			
<i>naqteme</i>	‘get drunk’			
<i>naq’achin</i>	‘listen’			
<i>nash</i>	‘sit’			<i>nash-nin</i> ‘seek revenge’
<i>nash</i>		‘swallow up, of comet’		
<i>nashqay</i>	‘seek revenge, lay for someone’			
<i>natiiy</i>	‘roost’			
<i>navya</i>				<i>navya-nin</i> ‘give omen’
<i>navye</i>	‘come!’			
<i>navyukni</i>	‘be mistaken’			
<i>naw</i>		‘be jealous, suspicious’	‘stretch, of object’	
<i>nawilyu</i>	‘grow, of girl’			
<i>nawish ~ nawshi</i>	‘keep’			
<i>nawiktu</i>	‘marry, of man’			
<i>naxachu ~ naxashwi</i>	‘age, of man’			
<i>nax’atu</i>	‘snore, snort’			
<i>na’avel</i>			‘be lucky’	

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>na'avashwi</i>	'roar' (subj is - <i>shuun</i> )			
<i>na'aw</i>		'blame'		
<i>nee</i>	'make basket' ( <i>nenex</i> )			
<i>nel</i>		'look at, read'		
<i>nemax ~ nemxwi</i>	'own, sell, give as gift'			
<i>nemin</i>	'follow'			
<i>nene</i>	'walk around, go around' (defective)			
<i>neng ~ nengaan</i>	'hide, play pion'			
<i>nengu</i>	'have, use, keep'			
<i>neqe(n)<sub>-s</sub></i>	'come' (defective)			
<i>neteng</i>	'charge, beg, ask'			
<i>nev</i>		'paint face for ceremony'		
<i>ne'anin</i>	'light fire'			
<i>ne'elu</i>	'hire'			
<i>nichu ~ nishwi</i>	'age, of woman'			
<i>nimi</i>			'go around, visit'	
<i>nimxana</i>	'betray'			
<i>nuch</i>		'crush'		'be crushed'
<i>nuchaq</i>		'crush with hand'		
<i>nuk</i>		'get'		
<i>nul</i>		'push'		
<i>ngal</i>		'strap, wrap'		
<i>ngal</i>				'go straight in (as diving into water)'

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>ngang<sub>s</sub></i>	‘cry’			<i>ngange-nin</i> ‘make cry’
<i>nganglu</i>			‘be in bath’	
<i>ngaq</i>		‘carry on head’	‘sit on top, pop out’	
<i>ngashxa</i>			‘be rough’	
<i>ngav</i>		‘sharpen edge’	‘be sharp, of edge’	
<i>ngaw</i>		‘coil rope’	‘be slimy’	
<i>ngaye</i>			‘turn head aside, shake head’	
<i>ngaylye</i>	‘twirl’			<i>ngaylye’-nin</i> ‘twirl child’
<i>ngel</i>			‘faint’	
<i>ngenge’e</i>	‘carry in arms, hold on lap’			
<i>ngelel ~ ngelelaan</i>	‘roam around, spread gossip, visit’		‘be told around, be surrounding’	
<i>ngenen</i>			‘rumble, buzz’	
<i>ngengen</i>		‘dodge’	‘run (pl. subj)’	
<i>ngennngen</i>			‘beat fast, of heart’	
<i>ngengay</i>	‘vomit’			
<i>ngengti</i>	‘split wood’	<i>ngen</i> ‘cut’		
<i>ngepepi</i>		‘drag obj’	‘be dragging’	
<i>nget</i>		‘cut straight across wide thing like skirt’	‘be cut (of bangs)’	
<i>ngey</i>	‘be dizzy, drunk, drowsy’	‘shake obj’	‘shake, as earthquake, shimmy’	
<i>ngiiy</i>	‘go away’			
<i>ngisa’</i>		‘scratch’		

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>nyim</i>		‘fold obj’	‘be soft, droopy’	
<i>pa</i>	‘drink’	‘drink a little’		
<i>paa’ana</i>	‘buy’			
<i>papaviqa</i>	‘be thirsty’			
<i>pachi</i>			‘splash’	
<i>pachik</i>	‘leach acorns’			
<i>paleq</i>		‘squash obj’		
<i>palu</i>	‘be watery, thin’			
<i>papaviq(chu)</i>	‘be thirsty’			
<i>paq</i>		‘hit with object, drive nail, slap’		
<i>pa’qat</i>		‘knock aside’	<i>pa’qatpa’qat</i> ‘explode’	
<i>paqeq</i>			‘be sprained’	
<i>paqi</i>			‘glare’	
<i>pashmax</i>	‘wash clothes, etc.’			
<i>pat</i>		‘shoot’	‘be wounded’	
<i>patish</i>			‘swell up; rise, of bread’	
<i>paxqalu’</i>				<i>paxqalu’-nin</i> ‘put in first cradle’
<i>paxwel</i>			‘go through hole’	
<i>paxwit</i>			‘be blistered’	
<i>paw</i>	‘get water’			
<i>pawnax</i>	‘belong to’			
<i>pay</i>		‘eat acorn mush’		
<i>paye</i>			‘jabber’	
<i>pa’an</i>			‘speak Cupeño’	
<i>pel</i>		‘spread apart’	‘be spread apart’	

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>pelev ~ pelyev</i>				‘blow in wind’
<i>pewlyu</i>	‘accompany, be sociable’			
<i>peyexchu</i>	‘get late, of day, person’			
<i>pi ~ piv’an</i>	‘bewitch’			
<i>piching ~ piching</i>	‘get’			
<i>pikav ~ pikav</i>				‘get dark’
<i>pilyev</i>		‘break long object’		‘be broken, of long object’
<i>pina’wex</i>	‘sing enemy songs’			
<i>ping</i>		‘knock, tap on obj’		
<i>piq</i>		‘touch’		‘bump into by accident’
<i>pish</i>		‘pick up’		
<i>pishwelichu</i>	‘grow, of boy’			
<i>pis</i>	‘suck, of baby’			
<i>pisa</i>	‘rot’			
<i>pisa’tu</i>	‘display goods at burning’			
<i>pisek’alu</i>	‘appear’			
<i>piwish</i>				‘be grey, of hair’
<i>pi’muk</i>	‘die’			
<i>pi’mukchu</i>	‘turn into a ghost’			
<i>puchaq ~ puchaq</i>				‘jump’
<i>puchaqi</i>				‘have a sprain’
<i>puchiluchi</i>				‘be bumpy’
<i>puɛerkolu</i>	‘get dirty’			
<i>pulin</i>	‘bear child’	‘assist at birth’		‘be born’

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>pukev</i>		‘do whirling dance’	‘be whirling, spinning’	
<i>pulich-</i> , <i>pulish</i>		‘set free sg. obj’	‘go out, sg. subj’	
<i>pupuu</i>			‘doctor’	
<i>pupux</i>	‘drum’			
<i>pushlyu</i>	‘look like a person’			
<i>pushqapchu</i>	‘get blind’			
<i>puu</i>			‘get a doctor’	
<i>puvepuve</i>			‘be round’	
<i>puvely</i>		‘make fist’		
<i>puw</i>		‘blow on’		
<i>puwily</i>		‘put to flight, scatter as by blowing’		
<i>pux</i>		‘dash against’		
<i>puy</i>	‘dine’			<i>puy-nin</i> ‘feed’
<i>puylyu</i>				<i>puylyu-nin</i> ‘make adobe’
<i>qa ~ we</i>	‘be there’			
<i>qa ~ qal</i> (see <i>hiw</i> )				
<i>qaaw(i)</i>	‘be sick, die, sg. subj’			
<i>qach</i>			‘lose hair, shed’	
<i>qapi</i>		‘trap’		
<i>qaqaw</i>	‘get sick’			
<i>qash</i>		‘shovel into’		
<i>qashqa\$h</i>		‘make adobes’		
<i>qashily</i>		‘wink at obj’	<i>qashilyqa\$hily</i> ‘be blinking’	
<i>qawpi’a</i>	‘play ball’			
<i>qay</i>		‘hang obj’	<i>qayqay</i> ‘be hanging’	



	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>qaye</i>				‘wash self, obj’
<i>qa’ay</i>				‘speak Luiseño’
<i>qe</i>	‘bite’			
<i>qe’e</i>				‘itch’
<i>qesh</i>		‘hurt, strike, guess’	<i>qeshqesh</i>	‘be injured’
<i>qey</i>		‘pull out, as tooth, splinter; graze’		
<i>qiin’i</i>	‘plough’			
<i>qilyiqmuk</i>	‘feel hurt’			
<i>qilyiqtu</i>	‘be painful, hurt’			<i>qilyiqtu’-nin</i> ‘make painful’
<i>qinax ~ qinxax</i>	‘put on necklace’			<i>qinxax’-nin</i> ‘put around neck’
<i>qipqip</i>				‘be striped’
<i>qiw</i>		‘chase, rip’		‘burp’; <i>qiwqiw</i> ‘have hiccups’
<i>qix</i>		‘graze, pull out hair’		
<i>qusa</i>	‘rest’			
<i>sach</i>				‘sprout, grow, of seedling’
<i>sakwit</i>	‘curse, whip’			
<i>salawk ~ salakw</i>	‘scratch self’	‘scratch obj, pinch’		
<i>sam</i>				‘be dewy, fall, of dew’
<i>samsa</i>	‘buy’			
<i>saneseane</i>				‘be bushy, of tail’
<i>sawsaw</i>		‘singe’		‘be singed’
<i>sawxu</i>				‘get singed’

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>saqwemi</i>		‘chew obj’		
<i>semsem</i>			‘spasm’	
<i>set</i>		‘iron, press obj; hug (with - <i>taxwi</i> )’	‘be pressed’	
<i>sex</i>		‘burn obj’		
<i>sexinchu</i>	‘be delirious’			
<i>sexnen ~ sixnen</i>	‘cook’			
<i>seyki</i>	‘gather <i>seyily</i> ’			
<i>sichaq</i>		‘smash, squash’		
<i>sikilyi</i>			‘rattle’	
<i>silynyin</i>		‘make dirty’	‘be dirty’	
<i>sily ~ <math>\text{\textcircled{!}}</math>esily</i>		‘pour’	‘be a puddle’	
<i>silyish</i>		‘tell bedtime story’		
<i>sipat</i>		‘strip off, as bark’		
<i>siqalsiqal</i>			‘make a crackling noise’	
<i>sih</i>			‘defecate’	
<i>siv</i>		‘shave, peel’	‘be shaved’	
<i>siwe</i>		‘light obj’	‘be light’; <i>siweliwe</i> ‘sparkle’	
<i>si'al</i>	‘braid hair’			
<i>si'ay</i>	‘crack acorns’			
<i>suk</i>		‘tie knot’	‘be knotted’	
<i>sul</i>		‘tie up, bet’	‘be tied up’	
<i>sulīn ~ su'lin</i>	‘start a basket’			
<i>sulul</i>		‘put in, pl. obj’	‘go in, pl. subj’	
<i>sululi</i>		‘burn’	‘have rheumatism’	
<i>supep</i>		‘hug’		

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>suy</i>		‘sting’		
<i>suunilnin</i>			‘be nasty’	
<i>suunvi</i>	‘feel sorry for’		<i>suunvi(l)</i> ‘be pitiful’	
<i>suunvish</i>			‘be in need’	
<i>\$hane\$hane</i>			‘be bushy, fuzzy, shaggy’	
<i>\$haw</i>	‘bake bread’			
<i>\$hawe</i>			‘whisper’	
<i>\$haye</i>			‘scatter’	
<i>\$hange ~ \$henge</i>			‘be rough’	
<i>\$he</i>	‘bloom’			<i>\$he’-nin</i> ‘decorate’
<i>\$hem</i>	‘laugh’			<i>\$hem-nin</i> ‘smile at’
<i>\$henge\$henge</i>			‘grin’	
<i>\$hikik</i>			‘creak’	
<i>\$huqe\$huqe</i>			‘be wrinkled’	
<i>\$huqel</i>			‘be shriveled’	
<i>\$huva’</i>		‘rub obj’		
<i>tachew</i>			‘spring, of water; drain, of pus’	
<i>tachil</i>		‘split’ (see <i>tash</i> )	<i>tachelache</i> ‘be cracked’	
<i>tak</i>		‘make disappear’	‘disappear’	
<i>tal</i>		‘curse’		
<i>tamqush</i>	‘sunbathe’			
<i>tan</i>		‘dance’		
<i>tang</i>		‘pile’	‘be piled’	
<i>tapu</i>			‘lie on back’	
<i>taqelqe</i>			‘be speckled’	

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>tash</i>	‘crack acorns’	‘tear in strips’	‘be split’	
<i>tash</i>	‘hatch’			<i>tash-nin</i> ‘hatch obj’
<i>tashlyu</i>	‘gamble’			
<i>taṣhuq</i>		‘straighten’		
<i>tatushni</i>		‘trick, fool’		
<i>tav<sub>-s</sub> ~ tavan</i>	‘put in’		<i>tavaan</i> ‘be flat, of ground’	
<i>tax</i>		‘stick with knife, poke holes’	‘be full of holes’	
<i>taxilyu</i>	‘watch’			
<i>taximuk</i>	‘get sick from overeating’			
<i>tay</i>		‘move obj, come close to obj’	<i>taytay</i> ‘be moving from side to side, be close to’	
<i>tayul</i>			‘slide like snake’	
<i>ta’a</i>	‘sift acorn flour’			
<i>ta’ala’a</i>			‘stagger’	
<i>ta’ata’aya</i>			‘hurry someone’	
<i>tesh ~ tesh’i ~ techin</i>	‘grab’			
<i>teeching</i>	‘order, send for’			
<i>tegel</i>	‘take away from’			
<i>teku</i>	‘put with’			
<i>tekwel</i>	‘shake, brush obj off’	‘be shaking, fluttering’		
<i>tekwi ~ tekwi</i>	‘dump out, empty’			
<i>tekwin</i>	‘throw over something’			

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>tekwin</i> ~ <i>tetekwin</i>	‘count’			
<i>tekwis</i> ~ <i>tekwis̄</i>	‘go to sleep, of limb’			
<i>tem</i>	‘close obj with lid, cover’	‘be closed, cloudy’; <i>temitemi</i> ‘be thick, of brush’		
<i>teneq</i>	‘frown once (obj is ‘forehead’)’	<i>tenetene</i> ‘be frowning’		
<i>tepil</i>	‘weave’			
<i>tepin</i> ~ <i>tepin̄</i>	‘track, follow’			
<i>tesiw</i>	‘play’			
<i>teteyulu</i>	‘be lonely’			
<i>tete’ichu</i>	‘seem lonely’			
<i>tetw-</i>		‘look around’ (see <i>tew<sub>s</sub></i> )		
<i>tevel</i>	‘lay out a body’			
<i>tevelewe</i>	‘leave’			
<i>tevily</i>			‘sparkle’; <i>tevelyevily</i> ‘flash, of lightning’	
<i>tew<sub>s</sub></i>	‘see’	‘take a look, glance’; <i>tewtew</i> ‘examine’		
<i>tewan</i>		‘name’		
<i>tewax</i> ~ <i>tewxi</i>	‘get thick’			<i>tewxa-nin</i> ‘thicken’
<i>tewe(n)</i>	‘grow, of plants’			
<i>tewašh</i>	‘lose, spend, disappear, forget (with - <i>šhuun</i> )’			
<i>tewi</i> ~ <i>tewī</i>	‘select, find’			
<i>tewin̄</i> ~ <i>te’win</i>	‘gather, pick’			

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>tewlu</i>				<i>tewlu</i> '-nin 'name'
<i>tewyechu</i>	'get on toward evening, get late'			
<i>tew</i> ' <u>na</u> an	'plant plants, garden'			
<i>te</i> 'e				<i>te</i> 'e-nin 'borrow, loan'
<i>te</i> 'eyu	'dream'			
<i>tily</i> ' <u>a</u> 'a	'make love to (takes PN- <i>yik</i> ), be proud'			
<i>tim</i>		'parch'		
<i>tiniq</i> ~ <i>tinqi</i>	'roast'			
<i>ting</i>	'be hot'			<i>ting</i> -nin 'heat'
<i>ting</i> 'el	'treat, doctor'			
<i>ti</i> plye	'play the tip game'			
<i>ti</i> ' <u>a</u>	'roost'			
<i>ti</i> 'inglyu	'be enough, reach a goal'			
<i>tu</i>	'bear fruit'			
<i>tuk</i>	'pass the night'			
<i>tuku</i> ~ <i>tuku</i> ~ <i>tutkan</i>	'carry on back'			<i>tuku</i> '-nin 'pack horse, contrib- ute in church'
<i>tukul</i>		'splint'	<i>tukuluku</i> 'be sticky'	
<i>tul</i>	'finish'			
<i>tul</i>		'dye'	'be black, get tan'	<i>tul</i> -nin 'make black'
<i>tulu</i> ḡh	'grind on metate'			
<i>tuš</i> h	'grind flour'			
<i>tutung</i>	'play dolls'			
<i>tutu</i> (v)	'tell'			

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>tutuchin</i>	‘tell’ (often <i>tutuchimax</i> )			
<i>tuvuk</i>	‘make the covering, efface, rub out’			
<i>tuvyung</i>	‘ask question’ (obj is <i>ishmiviy</i> )			
<i>tuy</i>			‘roll, of wheel’; <i>tuyvetuyve</i> ‘be round’	
<i>tuyuy</i>	‘freeze’			
<i>uly’uly</i>			‘have sharp nose’	
<i>umnan</i>	‘store’			
<i>un</i>		‘teach, show’		
<i>uye’<u>u</u>ye</i>			‘wiggle shoulders, hips’	
<i>u’la ~ <u>u</u>laan</i>	‘sew’			
<i>vaaylyu</i>	‘dance’			
<i>vele</i>		‘wave to’		
<i>wa</i>	‘roast meat’			
<i>wak</i>		‘comb, sweep’		
<i>wakilye!</i>	‘go!’			
<i>wal</i>		‘dig (of person, coyote, squir- rel)’; <i>wel<u>a</u>wal</i> ‘irrigate’		
<i>wale</i>		‘shuffle feet’	‘be shuffling’	
<i>wa<u>q</u>a’</i>	‘put on shoes’			
<i>waqsil</i>			‘take short shuffling steps’	
<i>wash</i>		‘stick in a plant’	<i>wash<u>w</u>ash</i> ‘stand, of plant’	
<i>wax</i>	‘dry’			
<i>wax</i>		<i>waxwax</i> ‘divide’	‘turn aside’	

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>waxnaan</i>	'bite, of frost'			
<i>waxwax</i>		'divide'	'turn aside'	
<i>waxqay</i>		'choose'		
<i>way</i>		'wave hand'	'be swimming'	
<i>wewkan</i>	'cut up'	<i>wek</i> 'cut'; <i>wewek</i> 'cut up in slices'	'be cut up'	
<i>wel</i>	'grow, mature'			<i>wel-nin</i> 'make grow, raise'
<i>wem</i>		'carry on shoulder'		
<i>wen<sub>s</sub> ~ wenaan</i>	'put in'			
<i>wenin</i>	'miss target'			
<i>weqsa'</i>	'rest'			
<i>wera'pi</i>	'do war dance'			
<i>wet</i>		'beat, thrash'		
<i>wetilyu</i>	'hit, blow down (of wind)'			
<i>wewa<sub>h</sub>shichu</i>	'get long'			<i>wewa<sub>h</sub>shichi-nin</i> 'make long'
<i>wew</i>			'think' (with - <i>shuun</i> )	
<i>wew ~ weweni</i>	'rain'			
<i>wewva ~ wewvan ~ wewvaan</i>	'beat, hit'			
<i>wey</i>		'bow to, tear down obj'	'worry (with - <i>shuun</i> ), fall down'	
<i>wi'a ~ wi'ay ~ wi'ay</i>	<i>wi'awi'a</i> 'raise eyebrows'	'raise obj'; <i>wi'awi'a</i> 'raise eyebrows'; <i>wi'ay</i> 'be high, expensive'	<i>wi'awi'a</i> 'be raised of eye- brows'; <i>wi'ay</i> 'be high, expen- sive'	



	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>wichax</i> ~ <i>wichax</i>		‘throw, drop’	‘shed horns’	
<i>wichil</i>			‘speak Spanish’	
<i>wichu</i>	‘make string, swirl’			
<i>wily</i>	‘paint a straight line’		‘be hidden, hide’; <i>wilywily</i> ‘be striped’	
<i>wilyi</i>			‘have diarrhea’	
<i>wim</i>		‘carry over shoulder’	‘be heavy, patient (with - <i>shuun</i> )’	
<i>wisik</i> ~ <i>wisik</i>	‘scratch obj’		‘be scratched’	
<i>witu</i>	‘get fat’			<i>witu</i> - <i>nin</i> ‘make fat’
<i>wiw</i>	‘make acorn mush’			
<i>wiw</i>		‘send for obj’		
<i>wiway</i>		‘blink eyes slowly’		
<i>wix</i>		‘step on’	‘be stepped on’	
<i>xal</i>		‘rattle obj’	‘be rattling’	
<i>xalay</i>		‘clear throat’	‘be clearing throat’	
<i>xalew</i>			‘fall, sg. subj’	
<i>xavav</i>	‘crack and eat obj, like pumpkin seeds’			
<i>xayuchi</i>		‘lower window’	‘be cheap’	
<i>xee</i>	‘be windy’			
<i>xixiy</i>		‘take cathartic’	‘have diarrhea’	
<i>xuw</i>		‘pull, lead obj’		
<i>xwavichi</i>	‘make green’		<i>xwavi</i> ‘become green’	
<i>xway</i>		‘make white’	‘get white, be white’	
<i>yacheq</i>		‘weave’		

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>yal</i>			‘fly’; <i>yelyal</i> ‘be jumping’	
<i>yal</i>		‘spread out’	‘be spread’	
<i>yang</i>	‘eat with’		‘be mixed with’	
<i>yaq</i>			‘be away, absent’	
<i>yaw</i>	‘carry’			
<i>yaw</i>		‘sing’		
<i>yaw</i>			‘flood, of water’	
<i>yawichi</i>		‘take obj’		
<i>yawmu</i>	‘carry’			
<i>yax<sub>-s</sub></i>	‘say, do’			
<i>ya’</i>		‘slip in, duck in’	‘run, sg. subj’	
<i>yekwin</i>	‘be afraid’			<i>yekwini-nin</i> ‘frighten’
<i>yelyel</i>		‘make fun’		
<i>yelish</i>		‘clean’	‘be clean’	
<i>yelu</i>	‘become a mother’			
<i>yeng</i>			‘last a long time’	
<i>yenginy</i>	‘tell truth’			
<i>yev</i>		‘bury, throw dirt’	‘be buried’	
<i>yevev</i>			‘fall, pl. subj’	
<i>yewaywe</i>	‘talk’			
<i>yewin</i>	‘be used to’			<i>yewini-nin</i> ‘spoil child’
<i>yeywin</i>	‘straighten arrow’			
<i>yich</i>		‘pretend’		
<i>yixi</i>		‘force, shove under put through (obj is ‘hand’)’		

	Ø	IN	YAX	CAUSATIVE
<i>yuchin</i>	‘leach acorns’			
<i>yuk<sub>i</sub>sh</i>			‘obey, believe, pay attention to, care about, respect’	‘be valuable’
<i>yul</i>		‘gather up, as of cloth, thread, needle, insert in a bunch’	‘be punished, be prisoner’	
<i>yulul</i>			‘slide slowly’	
<i>yulu’</i>				<i>yulu’-nin</i> ‘blame’
<i>yum</i>		‘put out fire’		
<i>yuma</i>	‘put on hat’			
<i>yun</i>		‘put things together’	‘be reunited’	
<i>yush</i>		‘soak, dip in water’	‘be soaking’	
<i>yut</i>		‘build, fill’	‘grow, be full’	
<i>yutyut</i>			‘trot’	
<i>yuxash</i>	‘wash hair’			
<i>yuychi</i>				<i>yuychi-nin</i> ‘cool obj’
<i>yuyuy</i>	‘snow, be cold’			
<i>yuymuk</i>	‘be cold, of person’			
<i>yuu</i>			‘speak Cahuilla’	
<i>yu’va ~ yuva</i>			‘get worse, do the worst, go the limit’	

## Appendix D: “Coyote Eats his Daughter”

TOLD BY ROSCINDA NOLASQUEZ AT PALA, JULY 12, 1962

1. *Isi-ly = ku'ut pe-hiw-qal, me = ku'ut pe' = e pe-na'aqwa,*  
COYOTE = REP 3S-BE.THERE-PIS AND = REP 3SPRO = CF 3S-DAUGHTER  
*suli-t amay pe-hiw-qal.*  
ONE-NPN JUST 3S-BE.THERE-PIS  
 Coyote, it is said, was there, and it is said that his daughter, just one, was there.
2. *Mu = ku'ut pem-ki maqa-maqa'a-sh yut-pe-yax-wen pe'aw'a*  
AND-REP 3PL-HOUSE DUP-GATHERED-NPN STAND-3S-YAX-PIST MOUNTAIN  
*pe-wela-'aw.*  
3S-BASE-AT  
 And it is said that their stick and grass house stood at the foot of a mountain.
3. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-'aw pem-qa::l.*  
AND = REP ODEM-AT 3PL-BE.THERE  
 And there they lived.
4. *Mu = ku'ut aya isi-ly pe-yax pe-chi, qay hi::sh pem-,*  
AND = REP THEN COYOTE-NPN 3S-SAY 3S-OBL NOT WHAT-NPN 3PL-  
*pem-, pem-kwa'-i pe-weni-ve.*  
3PL- 3PL-FOOD-O 3S-BE.THEREi-SUBR  
 And then it is said Coyote said that there was not a thing to eat.
5. *Mu = ku'ut isi-ly pe-'am'i, pe-kutapi = ku'ut pu-kush.*  
AND = REP COYOTE-NPN 3S-HUNT 3S-BOW = REP 3S-TAKE  
 And Coyote hunted, it is said he took his bow.
6. *Mu = ku'ut hashi-pe-yax = ku'ut, pe-na'aqwa pe-yawichin.*  
AND = REP GO-3S-YAX = REP 3S-DAUGHTER 3S-TAKE  
 And it is said he went off, he took his daughter, it is said.
7. *Axwa-nga = ku'ut piyama-nga meqwel-pem-yax wew-yax-weni-nga.*  
ODEM-INL = REP ALWAYS-INL GO.AROUND-3PL-YAX RAIN-YAX-PISTI-INL  
 It is said they kept going around in circles there in the wash.
8. *Pe-qwashiy = ku'ut wet-wet-wet-wet-wet-wet-wet ... atqam,*  
3S-TAIL-O = REP DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-SWITCH LOPE

*ataam*, *atam* = *ku'ut*, *ya'-pe-yaxe-veneq* = *ku'ut* *piyama-nga*.

LOPE LOPE = REP RUN-3S-YAXI-MOTCA = REP ALWAYS-INL

His tail it is said switch-switch-switch-switch-switch-switch-switching,  
lope, lope, loping it is said, it is said he kept coming running along.

9. *Me* = *ku'ut* *pe' = e* *pe-na'aqwa* *pe-yka* *piyama* *mangin* *pe-neq*,  
AND = REP DET = CF 3S-DAUGHTER 3S-BEHIND ALWAYS SLOWLY 3S-COME  
And it is said that his daughter kept coming along slowly behind him,

10. *Isi-ly* = *ku'ut* < breathy whisper *ela*, *ela*, *ela* > ,  
COYOTE = REP TURN.HEAD TURN.HEAD TURN.HEAD

*pe-naqa'-i* = *ku'ut* < breathy whisper

3S-EAR-O = REP

*ixan-ixan-ixan-ixan-ixan* > -*pe-qal* = *ku'ut*.

DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-TWITCH-3S-PIS = REP

with Coyote it is said turn, turn, turning his head, his ears it is said twitch-twitch-twitch-twitching it is said.

11. *Mu* = *ku'ut* *piyama-nga* *pe-neq*, *pe-neq*, *pe-neq*,  
AND = REP ALWAYS-INL 3S-COME 3S-COME 3S-COME  
*puchaq-puchaq-puchaq* = *ku'ut*, *yut-yut-yut-yut-yut-yut-pe-yax* = *ku'ut*.  
JUMP-JUMP-JUMP = REP DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-TROT-3S-YAX-REP

And it is said he kept coming, coming, coming, jump-jump-jumping it is said,  
trot-trot-trot-trot-trot-trotting, it is said.

12. *Axwa:-nga* = *ku'ut* *pe'aw-nga* *pe'-mi'aw-lu*, *mu* = *ku'ut* *axwa'-aw*  
ODEM-INL = REP MOUNTAIN-INL 3PL-ARRIVE-MOTG AND = REP ODEM-AT  
*pe-nene-wen* *piyama* *wiyika* = *ku'ut* *pe-hal-ngiy-qal*, *ishmivi-y*  
3S-GO.AROUND-PIST ALWAYS AROUND = REP 3S-LOOK.FOR-MOTG-PIS SOMETHING-O  
*pe-qwa-pi*.  
3S-EAT-SUBIRR

There it is said to the mountain they arrived, and it is said there he kept going  
around, it is said, he was going looking for something to eat.

13. *Piyama-nga* = *ku'ut* *yal*, *chak-pe-qal* *ana-t-i*.  
ALWAYS-INL = REP JUMP CATCH-3S-PIS ANT-NPN-O

It is said he kept going “Jump!”; he would catch a red ant.

14. *Mu* = *ku'ut* *piyama-nga* *pe-neq*, *pe-neq*, *pe-neq* = *ku'ut*.  
AND = REP ALWAYS-INL 3S-COME, 3S-COME, 3S-COME = REP

And it is said he kept coming, coming, coming.

15. *Axwa-nga pe'-mi'aw-lu pa-l = ku'ut axwa-'aw ka::m-pe-yax-wen.*  
 ODEM-INL 3PL-ARRIVE-MOTG WATER-NPN = REP ODEM-AT BE.LAKE-3S-YAX-PIST  
 And it is said they arrived there, water was there lying as a lake.

16. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-nga pa-l pe-pa' = ku'ut, pe' = e pe-na'aqwa*  
 AND = REP ODEM-INL WATER-NPN 3S-DRINK = REP DET = CF 3S-DAUGHTER  
*piyama-nga pe-yka pe-neq.*  
 ALWAYS-INL 3S-BEHIND 3S-COME  
 And it is said he drank water there, it is said his daughter kept coming along behind him.

17. *Ma::ngin = ku'ut piyama pe-neq.*  
 SLOWLY = REP ALWAYS 3S-COME  
 Slowly it is said she kept coming.

18. *Isi-ly = ku'ut piyama-nga puchaq-puchaq-puchaq-pe-n,*  
 COYOTE = REP ALWAYS-INL DUP-DUP-JUMP-3S-IN  
*pe-qwašhi-y = ku'ut wet-wet-wet-wet-wet-wet*  
 3S-TAIL-O = REP SWITCH-SWITCH-SWITCH-SWITCH-SWITCH-SWITCH  
 < breathy whisper *elaa-elaa-elaa* > -pe-qal,  
 DUP-DUP-TURN.HEAD-3S-PIS  
 < breathy whisper *ngaye-ngaye-ngaye-ngaye-ngaye* > -pe-qal.  
 DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-SHAKE.HEAD-3S-PIS  
 Coyote it is said kept jump-jump-jumping, his tail it is said switch-switch-switch-switch-switching, he was shake-shake-shake-shake-shaking his head.

19. *Piyama-nga = ku'ut pe-neq.*  
 ALWAYS-INL = REP 3S-COME  
 Still it is said he came.

20. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e pe-nawik-'a axwa-'aw pe-hiw-qal, sava-l = ku'ut*  
 AND = REP DET = CF 3S-WOMAN-PSD ODEM-AT 3S-BE.THERE-PIS GRASS-NPN = REP  
*peta'am-i pe-kelaw-qal, axwa-'aw pu-muchi pe-'a'chiwi-qal.*  
 ALL-O 3S-GATHER-PIS ODEM-AT 3S-FOR 3S-MAKE-PIS  
 And it is said his wife was there, all the grass for a fire it is said she was gathering, she was making something for him there.

21. *Mu = ku'ut aya pe:yexiqa pe-miyax-wen.*  
 AND = REP THEN BE.EVENING 3S-BE-PIST  
 And it is said then it was getting late.

22. *Mu = ku'ut isi-ly = e axwa-'aw qay hi:-sh pi = pe-tew.*  
 AND = REP COYOTE-NPN = CF ODEM-AT NOT WHAT-NPN 3SO = 3S-SEE  
 And it is said Coyote didn't see a thing there.
23. *Qay = ku'ut hi-sh pi = pe-tew pe-meqa-pi*  
 NOT = REP WHAT-NPN 3SO = 3S-SEE 3S-KILLA-SUBIR  
 He didn't see anything to kill.
24. *Pe' = ku'ut axwe-ch-i pe-na'aqwa-y chakw-i-nuk pi = we::t-pe-n*  
 3SPRO = REP ODEM-NPN-O 3S-DAUGHTER-O CATCH-IN-SS 3SO = HIT-3S-IN  
*kelawa-t pe-chi.*  
 STICK-NPN 3S-OBL  
 Grabbing his daughter, it is said, he hit her with a stick.
25. *Pe' = e = ku'ut wexiti-t pe-miyax-wen, kelawa-t.*  
 DET = CF = REP PINE-NPN 3S-BE-PIST STICK-NPN  
 It is said it was of pine, the stick.
26. *Mu = ku'ut aya axwe-ch-i pe-na'aqwa-y pi = pe-meq.*  
 AND = REP THEN ODEM-NPN-O 3S-DAUGHTER-O 3SO = 3S-KILL  
 And it is said then he killed that daughter of his.
27. *Mu = ku'ut aya, a-ngax aya pi = wem-pe-ngiy*  
 AND = REP THEN LOCB-FROM THEN 3SO = CARRY.ON.SHOULDER-3S-MOTG  
*pe-ki-yka = ku'ut pe-neq.*  
 3S-HOUSE-TO = REP 3S-COME  
 And it is said he went off from there carrying her over his shoulder, he was coming home, it is said.
28. *Ma::ngin = ku'ut piyama-nga pe-qwašh = ku'ut ngepe::pi-yaxe-veneq.*  
 SLOWLY = REP ALWAYS-INL 3S-TAIL = REP DRAG-YAXI-MOTCA  
 Slowly, it is said, he came along with his tail dragging.
29. *Axwa-nga = ku'ut pe-mi'aw-lu.*  
 ODEM-INL = REP 3S-ARRIVE-MOTG  
 And it is said he arrived.
30. *Pe-nawik-'a = ku'ut puk-ngax pe-hi::w-qal axwa-'aw ki-sh*  
 3S-WOMAN-PSD = REP DOOR-FROM 3S-BE.THERE-PIS ODEM-AT HOUSE-NPN  
*maqa-maqa-'aw.*  
 DUP-GATHERED-AT  
 It is said his wife was there by the door of the grass and stick house.

31. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-nga pe-mi'aw-lu.*

AND = REP ODEM-INL 3S-ARRIVE-MOTG

And it is said he arrived there.

32. *Puchi = ku'ut axwe-ch-i peta'am-i a-yka pe-pi'i ixan-pe-n.*

WELL = REP ODEM-NPN-O ALL-O LOCB-TO 3S-FUR TAKE.OFF-3S-IN

Well it is said he scraped all that fur off of her.

33. *Mu = ku'ut axwa-'aw ay'ani-sh pe-qal, pe-ta ishmivi-y*

AND = REP ODEM-AT BIG-NPN 3S-BE.THERE 3S-PLACE SOMETHING-O

*qwa'i-sh pe-'a'chiwin-pi, qwa'i-ch-i = ku'ut.*

FOOD-NPN 3S-MAKE-SUBIR FOOD-NPN-O = REP

And it is said there was a big place there for making food and the like, food, it is said.

34. *Pe-wek-pe-n axwe-ch-i pe-chi isi-ly pe-na'aqwa-y.*

3S-CUT-3S-IN ODEM-NPN-O 3S-OBL COYOTE-NPN 3S-DAUGHTER-O

He sliced up his daughter with that, did Coyote.

35. *Mu = ku'ut pe-sixnen.*

AND = REP 3S-COOK

And it is said he cooked her.

37. *Axwe-ch-i = ku'ut mul-mul-mul-mul-mul-mul-pe-qal, pe-wa'i.*

ODEM-O = REP DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-BOIL-3S-PIS 3S-MEAT

That stuff, it is said, he boil-boil-boil-boil-boil-boil-boiled it, her flesh.

38. *Mu = ku'ut anuk kwilye, pe-ma-y = ku'ut*

AND = REP THUS LICK 3S-HAND-O = REP

< whisper *ixan* > *-pe-ya-qal, pe-ma-y = ku'ut kwily, kwilye-kwilye-pe-qal*

TAKE.OUT-3S-YAX-PIS 3S-HAND-O = REP LICK DUP-LICK-3S-PIS

*pe-xuchi = ku'ut piyama.*

3S-PAW = REP ALWAYS

And it is said lick, he would go dip! his hand in and take it out, he kept lick, lick, licking his hand, his paw.

39. *Mu = ku'ut mul-pe-qal, atire xwavi-xwavi-pe-ya-qal.*

AND = REP BOIL-3S-PIS VERY DUP-GREEN-3S-YAX-PIS

And it is said he boiled it, it got real green.

40. *Mu = ku'ut aya pe' = e a-ngax pe-neq pe-na'aqwa.*

AND = REP THEN DET = CF LOCB-FROM 3S-COME 3S-DAUGHTER

And it is said then from out of there came his daughter.



41. *Mu = ku'ut pe-yax, ... aya = ku'ut pe-neq.* (Now how's that song go, now?)  
AND = REP    3S-SAY    THEN = REP    3S-COME  
 And it is said she said, uh then it is said she came. (Now how's that song go, now?)
42. < singing *Wexiti:t, kelawa:t,*  
*Wexitit sa:mat kelawat,*  
*Chilyilyiyi:>*  
 Pine, stick,  
 Pine grass stick  
 Jingle-ingle-ingle
43. *Piyama-nga = ku'ut pe-neq.*  
ALWAYS-INL = REP    3S-COME  
 It is said still she came.
44. *Ku'ut pe' = e pe-ye pe-hiw-qal axwa-'aw, puk-ngax.*  
REP    DET = CF 3S-MOTHER    3S-BE.THERE-PIS    ODEM-AT    DOOR-FROM  
 And it is said her mother was there, by the door.
45. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e pe-qinix-'a* < whisper *sikilyi-kilyi-lyi-lyi*—the beads —  
AND = REP    DET = CF 3S-NECKLACE-PSD    JINGLE-JINGLE-INGLE-INGLE  
 And it is said her necklace went jingle-jingle-ingle-ingle—the beads —
46. < singing *Wexiti:t, kelawa:t,*  
*Wexitit sa:mat kelawat,*  
*Chilyilyiyi:>*  
 Pine, stick,  
 Pine grass stick  
 Jingle-ingle-ingle
47. *Pe' = ku'ut pe-ye ela-pe-yax = ku'ut ne::l-pe-qal.*  
DET = REP    3S-MOTHER    TURN.HEAD-3S-YAX = REP    LOOK.AT-3S-PIS  
 It is said her mother turned her head, it is said, she was looking.
48. *Isi-ly = ku'ut piyama-nga axwa-'aw pe-'a'chiwi-qal, anuk = 'ep*  
COYOTE = REP    ALWAYS-INL    ODEM-AT    3S-MAKE-PIS    THUS = R  
*pe' = e piyama tema-l mu:y-pe-ya-qal.*  
DET = CF ALWAYS    DIRT-NPN    RISE-3S-YAX-PIS  
 Coyote it is said kept cooking there, the dust kept rising up like this.

49. *Pe* = *qwaʃh* = *ku'ut anuk piyama-nga ʃhane-ʃhane-pe-ya-qal*.  
 3S-TAIL = REP                      THUS              ALWAYS-INL                      DUP-BUSHY-3S-YAX-PIS  
 His tail was always all shaggy that way.
50. *Mu* = *ku'ut pe'*,    *pe' = e = ku'ut, pe' = e pi'muki-sh pe-miyax-wen*.  
 AND = REP    3SPRO,    3SPRO = CF = REP    3SPRO = CF    GHOST-NPN    3S-BE-PIST  
 And it is said she, she, she it is said was a ghost.
51. *Mu* = *ku'ut* < singing *Wexiti:t, kelawa:t*,  
*Wexitit sa:mat kelawat*,  
*Chilyilyilyi:* >  
 And it is said, Pine, stick,  
 Pine grass stick  
 Jingle-ingle-ingle
52. *Mu* = *ku'ut pe' = e pe-ye pe-ya-qal*, “*Aah! me = t = e pe-pava*  
 AND = REP    DET = CF 3S-MOTHER    3S-SAY-PIS    AH    AND = 3SABS = CF    3S-VOICE  
*pe-ma-y, naqma-qa = ne, me = ʃhe anga axwe-sh pe' anga*,”  
 3S-HAND-O    HEAR-PRS = 1SERG    AND = DUB    TRULY    ODEM-NPN    3SPRO    TRULY  
*pe-ya-qal = ku'ut*.  
 3S-SAY-PIS = REP  
 And it is said her mother said, “Ah! And it must be her, from her voice, I am hearing it, and it truly must be her,” she was saying it is said.
53. “*Pi'muk-chu'-ish*,”    *pe-yax = ku'ut*.  
 GHOST-INCH-NPN                      3S-SAY = REP  
 “She is turned into a ghost,” it is said she said.
54. < singing *Wexiti:t, kelawa:t*,  
*Wexitit sa:mat kelawat*,  
*Chilyilyilyi:* >  
 Pine, stick,  
 Pine grass stick  
 Jingle-ingle-ingle
55. “*Pu::chi*”, *pe-yax*,    “*I'i = ʃhe = pe aput meq-, meqa-qa*,  
 WELL    3S-SAY    PDEM = DUB = 3SERG    ALREADY    KILL-    KILL-PRS  
*me i'i ivi-'aw hiw-qa, nene-we*.”  
 AND PDEM    PDEM-AT BE.THERE-PRS WALK.AROUND-PRST  
 “Well,” she said, “This guy must have already killed her, and here he is, walking around.”

56. *Mu = ku'ut pe' = e aya meqwel-pe-yax axwe-ch-i, pe-ki-y*  
 AND = REP 3SPRO = CF THEN GO.AROUND-3S-YAX ODEM-NPN-O 3S-HOUSE-O  
*pe-chi.*  
 3S-OBL

And it is said then she went around her house.

57. < singing *Wexitit, kelawat,*  
*Wexitit sa:mat kelawat,*  
*Chilyilyilyi:*>  
 Pine, stick,  
 Pine grass stick  
 Jingle-ingle-ingle

58. “*Aput = en = pe ya-qa' ,” pe-yax = ku'ut, “i'i = she = pe*  
 ALREADY = 1SABS = 3SERG SAY-PRS 3S = REP PDEM = DUB = 3SERG  
*axwe-ch-i meqa-qa, me = t e' = e aya ivi-yta aya*  
 ODEM-NPN-O KILL-PRS AND = 2SABS 2SPRO = CF NOW PDEM-PLACE NOW  
*ne-ve mi'aw-qa,” pe-yax = ku'ut.*  
 1S-OVER ARRIVE-PRS 3S-SAY = REP

“Already she is speaking to me,” she said, it is said, “This guy must have killed her, and now you have come to me here,” she said it is said.

59. “*Amay = ne = pe i = sex-in.*”  
 JUST = 1S = IR 2SO = BURN-IN.F  
 “I’ll just burn you up right now.”

60. *Pu::chi = ku'ut pish'amay chayaw-pe-yax pe' isi-ly, nishlyuve-l.*  
 WELL = REP IMMEDIATELY GET.UP-3S-YAX DET COYOTE-NPN OLD.WOMAN-NPN  
 Well, it is said she stood up right away, did the coyote, the old lady.

61. *Mu = ku'ut peta'ama-y sava-l pi = maq-pe-n, peyka'may*  
 AND = REP ALL-O GRASS-NPN 3SO = GATHER-3S-IN WHILE  
*isi-ly pe-kwa'-i pe-'a'chiwi-qali.*  
 COYOTE-NPN 3S-FOOD-O 3S-MAKE-DSS

And it is said she gathered up all the grass, while Coyote was cooking his food.

62. *Mu = ku'ut pish'amay ivi-y ku-t pu-kush, mu = ku'ut peta'ama*  
 AND = REP IMMEDIATELY PDEM-O FIRE-NPN 3S-GET AND = REP ALL  
*sex-sex-sex-sex-sex-sex-sex-pe-n.*  
 DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-DUP-BURN-3S-IN

And it is said she immediately got this fire, and it is said she set-set-set-set-set-set-set all of it alight.

63. *Pu:chi = ku'ut mu:y-pe-yax, pem-ki.*

WELL = REP                      RISE-3S-YAX                      3PL-HOUSE

Well, it is said it went up in flames, their house.

64. *Mu = ku'ut < wailing “Aah! Nishlyuve:l, nishlyuve:l,*

AND = REP                                      AH                      OLD.WOMAN.VOC-NPN      OLD.WOMAN.VOC-NPN

*qay = e = pe ni = sex-in, qay = e = pe ni = sex-in!” >*

NOT = 2S = IRR                      1SO = BURN-IN.F                      NOT = 2S = IRR                      1SO = BURN-IN.F

And it is said, “Ah! Old lady, old lady, don't burn me, don't burn me!”

65. *Axwe-ch-i = ku'ut peta'ama pem-ki keng-pe-yax.*

ODEM-NPN-O = REP                      ALL                                      3PL-HOUSE                      BURN.UP-3S-YAX

And it is said that house of theirs all burned up.

66. *Mu = ku'ut isi-ly keng-pe-yax, pe-kin-ngiy, mu = ku'ut pe-qaawi.*

AND = REP                      COYOTE-NPN                      BURN.UP-3S-YAX                      3S-BURN-MOTG                      AND = REP                      3S-DIE

And Coyote burned up, he went off burning, and it is said he died.

67. That's all.

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