

A Survey of the Uto-Aztecan Language Luiseño

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Introduction

Luiseño is spoken by about some tens of people in a south-west to north-east region midway between Los Angeles and San Diego, California. The speakers have no name for themselves nor for their language. Hyde, a native speaker, calls the language 'Indian' in her textbook [lit.ref. 1], and the tribe is called Luiseño after the then mission at San Luis Rey de Francia.

Luiseño belongs to the Takic branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family. There are no other well-known languages in the same branch, but well-known other Uto-Aztecan languages are Paiute, Shoshoni, Hopi and Aztec, the last with about 1 million speakers in Mexico. All Uto-Aztecan languages are so closely related that the relationship is obvious to the layman; Luiseño and Hopi may differ no more than English and German.

There is considerable historical material on Luiseño. An early grammar was written around 1840 by a native Luiseño neophyte, Pablo Tac, who had travelled to Rome, Italy, where he worked on the grammar until his death at the early age of 19. A very extensive grammar was composed around 1900 by Philip S. Sparkman, an English storekeeper near Rincón, Calif. The examples from this grammar were verified in 1909 by A. Kroeber [lit.ref. 2], who published the results in 1960(!).

General structure

Luiseño is relatively simple as American languages go. It has no tone/pitch, no ergativity and no incorporation, and is vaguely reminiscent of Latin, to which it is certainly more similar structurally than to Navaho, for example.* It has a moderately large and moderately irregular set of inflections for nouns, adjectives and verbs, and has a fairly straightforward sentence structure. It has no gender distinction, not even for the personal pronouns: *wunaal* = *he, she, it*. Like Latin and Russian, it has no equivalent of 'the' or 'a': *hunwut* = *the bear, a bear*. It distinguishes between singular and plural, though: *hunwutum* = *the bears, bears*.

A sample sentence is (from Hyde):

<i>Xwanita po-na 'aamo-quš;</i> Juanita (his/her)-father hunt-(progressive-past)	- Juanita's father went hunting;
<i>wunaal 'aamo-kat polooov,</i> he hunt-er good	- he was a good hunter,
<i>pi weh-chum-i toošachit-um-i yawa'na.</i> and two-plural-object rabbit-plural-object caught-(punctual-past)	- and caught two rabbits.

A characteristic feature of Luiseño is the strict distinction between animate and inanimate nouns; different declensions and even different sets of endings are available for each. Another is the use of sentence-identifying particles. These particles (small words) repeat the subject, verb tense and possibly some other information about the sentence. An example is *noo-n-il 'aamo-quš* = *I-I-(progressive-past) hunt-(progressive-past)* = *I was hunting*, in which the *-n-* repeats the subject and the *-il* predicts the verb ending *-quš*. Sentence particles are explained in a separate section below.

Phonetic features

Luiseño has five vowel sounds, a, e, i, o and u, each pronounced as in Spanish or Italian. In addition, each vowel can be short or long; long vowels are written twice: aa to uu (but see below). Some Luiseño do not distinguish between short unstressed e and i, and pronounce a very short in-between vowel; the same applies to short unstressed o and u.

Most of the Luiseño consonants are pronounced more or less as in English: ch, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, sh, t, v, w and y. The sh and ch are variants of the same phoneme: sh is used before consonants and at word end

*) This is not to imply that there is some real relationship between Luiseño and Latin. Structural similarity is no proof nor even an indication of relationship; Quechua (Bolivia???) and Hungarian (Central Europe) are structurally very similar and it is obvious that no close relationship can exist between these languages.

and *ch* before vowels. In addition, Luiseño has six sounds that require some explanation:

- ' The 'glottal stop'. This is the 'break' in the middle of the English exclamation 'Oh'oh!' and the London pronunciation of 'water' as wo'a. It occurs as the first sound of words that seem to start with a vowel, and can occur at the end of a word: 'aw' = *to live*.
- ng Pronounced as the *ng* in the E. *singer* (not as in *finger*). It can also occur at the beginning of a word: *ngoooyax* = *to wake up*.
- q A k-like sound made further back in the throat; this is the Arabic *qof*.
- ʂ A retroflex *s*. It can be produced as follows. Start by saying the *ir* in *bird* in American pronunciation (with retracted tongue). Now stop saying the *ir* and, without moving mouth, tongue or jaw, say an *s*. The dull *s* you are now producing is close to the Luiseño *ʂ*.
- th This is the voiced *th* in the English *this*, not the voiceless *th* in *think*.
- x Pronounced as the *ch* in Scottish *loch*.

The difference between voiced and voiceless consonants plays no role in the language: there are no *b*, *d* or *g* to contrast with *p*, *t* and *k*, and there is no *f* to contrast with *v*, nor is there a *z*, although there is an *s*.

Stress can almost always be predicted, as it falls normally on the first syllable of the stem of a word: *pɔ-nā* = *her-father*, ' *āamo-quʂ* = *was hunt-ing*. But since one has to know the word to know what its stem is, stress is indicated by underlining in all multi-syllable Luiseño words.

In this survey we use the Hyde orthography for Luiseño. It makes the different written forms of a word more similar by using three phonetic rules:

1. A stressed vowel is pronounced short when it is followed by two consonants, regardless whether it is written single or double. Example: *ʂuuktumi* = *deer (plural, object)* is pronounced *ʂuʔktumi* but written with a double *u* since the dictionary form *ʂuukat* = *deer (singular)* is pronounced with a long *u*.
2. A stressed vowel is pronounced long when it is followed by one consonant and one vowel, regardless whether it is written single or double. Example: We write *huula* = *arrow* with a double *u* since the possession form *nohuu* = *my arrow* is pronounced with a long *u*, but we write *yula* = *hair*, which is pronounced with a long *u* because of the given rule, since the possession form *noyu* = *my hair* is pronounced with a short *u*. This is comparable to German writing *Pferd* = *horse* with a *d* at the ending in spite of the pronunciation *pfeert*, since the plural *Pferde* = *horses* is pronounced with a *d*: *pfeerde*.
3. A stressed short vowel at the end of a word is always followed in the pronunciation by a glottal stop ' ; this glottal stop is not written. Example: although *noyu* = *my hair* is pronounced *noyu'*, we do not write the ' , since the dictionary form *yula* has no glottal stop.

Example of the combined rules:

Written form	meaning	pronounced	rule
<i>ki<u>ch</u>a</i>	house (subject)	<i>ki<u>i</u>cha</i>	Rule 2, since <i>ch</i> is a single consonant
<i>kish</i>	house (object)	<i>kish</i>	regular
<i>noki<u>i</u></i>	my house (subject)	<i>noki'</i>	Rule 3

We see that in spite of the different pronunciations, the orthography shows clearly that the invariable stem of the word is *ki*.

Nouns

Most of the inanimate nouns end in *-cha*, *-ta* or *-la*, and most of the animate nouns end in *-sh*, *-t* or *-l*, although there are many exceptions to this classification. Note that again *ch* before a vowel corresponds to *sh* at word end. The above endings are real endings and drop off in other forms, as we have seen in the above example, in which *kicha* = *house* loses its ending *-cha* in *nokii* = *my house*.

Singular

Animate nouns have two forms, one generally used as a subject (marked *-(S)* in this text) and the other in other situations; we shall call the latter form the 'object form' (marked *-(O)*), although it is also used for other purposes. The usage is similar to English 'I' being used exclusively as a subject, whereas 'me' is used as an object and after prepositions: 'with me'. The object form is made by adding *-i* to nouns ending in a consonant and *-y* to those ending in a vowel:

- 'awaal - the dog-(S)
- 'awaali - the dog-(O)

For inanimate nouns, the situation is more complicated. Inanimate nouns have six forms, which might be called 'cases', depending on your definition; in addition to that, the object form is normally not formed by adding *-i* but by dropping the final vowel if they have one (that is, if they end in *-cha*, *-ta* or *-la*), or by not changing at all, if they have no final vowel. The regular declension endings and the regular declension for inanimate

nouns ending in -cha are:

Regular ending	Example word	Meaning
-(cha/ta/la)	k <u>i</u> cha	- the house-(S)
-(sh/t/l)	kish	- the house-(O)
-yk	kiyk	- for/to the house
-nga	ki <u>n</u> ga	- in/on/at the house
-ngat	ki <u>n</u> gay	- from the house
-tal	ki <u>c</u> hal	- with/by means of the/a house

Many words, however, are slightly irregular, and although dozens of additional rules exist which can make the irregularities disappear, good Luiseño word lists give the subject form, the object form and one of the other forms for each noun.

The relations 'for/to', 'in/on/at' and 'from' for animate nouns are formed with pronouns (explained below): Xwanita poyk = *Juanita her-for = for Juanita*.

Relations other than 'for/to', 'in/on/at', 'from' and 'with', for which English uses prepositions, are expressed using the above forms of special nouns that express those relations. For example, 'next to John' is rendered as Xwaan-i po-haylo-nga = *John-(O) his-side-at = at John's side*; likewise no-haylo-nga = *my-side-at = next to me*. For inanimate objects, which cannot really possess something, the location ending is repeated on the noun: kinga poguunga = *house-in its-heart-in = inside the house*.

Although subject and object are generally used in the same way as I and me in English, this is not always the case. An example of a use of the difference between the subject and the object form that has no equivalent in English is: cho'on temet-i = *all/every day-(O) = every day* versus cho'on temet = *all/every day-(S) = all day*.

Plural

The regular plural of nouns is formed by adding -um, or -m after vowels, regardless of animicity: 'awaalum = *(the) dogs*, kicham = *(the) houses* (long i), Some other ways of forming a plural exist, especially those using reduplication: nawitmal = *girl*, nanatmalum = *girls* (long a).

The object ending -i is added regularly to the plural form of animate nouns:

'awaalum - the dogs-(S)
'awaalumi - the dogs-(O)

but for inanimate nouns plurality is normally only expressed in the subject form; for all other forms the singular is used instead of the plural:

kicham - the houses-(S)
kish - the houses-(O)
kiyk - for the houses
kinga - in the houses
kingay - from the houses
kichal - with the houses

Adjectives and adverbs

Adjectives are declined just like (animate) nouns:

hunwut paapavish - a thirsty bear-(S)
hunwuti paapavichi - a thirsty bear-(O)
hunwutum paapavichum - thirsty bears-(S)
hunwutumi paapavichumi - thirsty bears-(O)

They can come before or after the noun they modify: gatu yot = yot gatu = *a big cat* (gatu is borrowed from Spanish). Yot = *big* has a different plural: momkatum (but it still ends in -um): gatum momkatum = *big cats*. They get animate endings even with inanimate nouns: yoti kish = *a big house-(O)*, and also get the other case endings: yongay kingay = *from the big house*.

Adverbs are made by taking the object form of an adjective: alaxwush = *bad*, alaxwuchi = *badly*.

Pronouns

The pronouns exist in the five forms shown in Figure ???. The ending -nga = *in, on, at* is not used with pronouns; instead there is an ending -to = *with, in*. The meaning of the ending -tal/-chal = *by means of* ... does not lend itself to be used with pronouns: 'by means of me' is not a reasonable thing to say, and the

corresponding forms do not exist. The acceptable form ‘by means of it’ is rendered as ‘auuntal, which derives from a stronger word for ‘it’: ‘auun = it, itself.

Eng. subj. Eng. obj.	I me	you you	he/she/it him/her/it	we us	you all you all	they them
...-(S)	n <u>oo</u>	'om	wun <u>aa</u> l	chaam	'om <u>om</u>	wun <u>aa</u> lum
...-(O)	noy	'oy	poy	cha <u>ami</u>	'om <u>oomi</u>	pop <u>oomi</u>
to/for ...	neyk	'oyk	poyk	cha <u>amik</u>	'om <u>omik</u>	po <u>omik</u>
in/with ...	no <u>oto</u>	'o <u>oto</u>	po <u>oto</u>	cha <u>amoto</u>	'om <u>omoto</u>	po <u>omoto</u>
from ...	no <u>ongay</u>	'o <u>ongay</u>	po <u>ongay</u>	cha <u>amongay</u>	'om <u>amongay</u>	po <u>amongay</u>

Figure 1 — Forms of the pronouns

Possession forms

We have already seen that possession, which is expressed in English by the possessive pronouns ‘my’, ‘your’, ‘our’, etc., is shown in Luiseño by prefixes which look somewhat like the normal pronouns:

noki - my house
 'oki - your house
 poki - his/her/its house
 chamki - our house
 'omki - your (plural) house
 pomki - their house

Object and plural endings are added normally to these forms: nokiy = *my house-(O)*, chamkim = *our houses-(S)*. The third-person forms are used to construct forms like nawitmal pona = *the-girl her-father = the girl's father*.

Again a number of small irregularities exist; for example, the word paala = *water* has the object form paal (regular) but the possession form popaaaw = *his water*. (Note that paala = *water* is related to paapavish = *thirsty (water-wanting)*, which is why the latter is written with a double a.)

These forms describe a fairly intimate ownership; if the relationship is much looser, the ending -ki is added: no-ta = *my-sinew (in my body)*, no-taki = *my-sinew (for the bow I am making)*. If, on the other hand, the relationship is very close and unbreakable, as in family relations, the forms without -ki are used, but the stand-alone word does not exist: noyo = *my mother*, but no stand-alone word for ‘mother’ exists.

Special forms are used for possessing animals; in this case words that look directly equivalent to English are used: no 'aash 'awaal = *my dog*, but the actual meaning of no 'aash is ‘my animal’, so the whole expression means literally: ‘my animal, the dog’. The object form is of course no 'aachi 'awaali = *my dog-(O)* and the plural no 'aachum 'awaalum = *my dogs-(S)*.

Verbs

There are two large groups of regular verbs, one ending in -i and the other in -ax, and a much smaller group of irregular verbs. Most of the verbs in -i are transitive (that is, they can have an object (which is also often marked by -i!)), those in -ax are mostly intransitive. They often come in pairs:

pithi - to break (something)
 pithax - to break (by itself), get cracked

The verbs in -ax lose their x before endings that start with k or q. Examples of irregular verbs are:

'aw' - to live
 paaw - to fetch water (from paala = *water*)

Verbs are not conjugated for person; that is, there are no such form changes as in ‘I am’, ‘you are’. But some forms differ for a plural subjects from those for a singular subject. Some verbs even have completely different forms for singular and plural subject:

howa - to lie down (alone)
 masa - to lie down (in a group)
 noo howaq - I am lying down
 cham masaan - we are lying down

Tenses

Rather than just distinguishing past, present and future, Luiseño has seven ‘tenses’, two of which differ for singular and plural. Since the use of the tenses is closely interwoven with the sentence particles, these are also given in the following table.

Period	Approximate translation	Sentence particle	Regular ending (sing./plural)
regularly in the past	used to ...	-	-uk
during some time in the past	was ...ing	[-il]	-quš
once in the past	...-ed	-	see text
present and recent past	is/was ...ing	-	-q/-wun
immediate future	is going to ...	-	-lut/-kutum
remote future	will ...	-po	-an
any time	[always]	-	-ma

The particle *-il* with the progressive past is optional, *-po* with the remote future is mandatory.

The ‘once in the past’ form (‘punctual past’) is formed in many different ways. Regular verbs in *-i* lose the *-i* and add *-ax* or *-yax*; those in *-ax* lose the *-ax* and add *-’ya*. With verbs ending by themselves in *-’ax*, removing the *-ax* and adding *-’ya* leads to an interesting phenomenon, a double glottal stop:

hati’ax - to go
hati’ya - went

The punctual past of irregular verbs is often very irregular indeed. For example, the punctual past of *paaw* = *to fetch water* is *pa’aw* = *fetches water*.

The ‘present and recent past’ form designates roughly everything that has happened today. If one wants to emphasize that the action is happening at this very moment, one can add the word *pitoo* = *now*.

Examples of the use of verb forms are (with *yi’yi* = *to play* and *nawitmal* = *girl*) are given in Figure ???.

naw <u>i</u> tmal y <u>i</u> ’yik	- the girl used to play
naw <u>i</u> tmal-upil y <u>i</u> ’yiquš	- the girl was playing
nanatmalum-mil y <u>i</u> ’yiquš	- the girls were playing
naw <u>i</u> tmal-upil y <u>i</u> ’yax	- the girl played
naw <u>i</u> tmal-up y <u>i</u> ’yiq	- the girl is playing
nanatmalum-pom y <u>i</u> ’yiwun	- the girls are playing
naw <u>i</u> tmal-up y <u>i</u> ’yilut	- the girl is going to play
nanatmalum-pom y <u>i</u> ’yikutum	- the girls are going to play
naw <u>i</u> tmal-po y <u>i</u> ’yin	- the girl will play
naw <u>i</u> tmal y <u>i</u> ’yima	- the girl plays all the time
naw <u>i</u> tmal-po y <u>i</u> ’yimaan	- the girl will play all the time

Figure 2 — Examples of tenses

The present tense of the verb *miix* = *to be, to exist* is not used with adjectives in the present:

no’aash ’awaal poloov - my dog [is] good

but it is used in the other tenses:

no’aash ’awaal poloov miiquš - my dog was good
no’aash ’awaal poloov miixlowut - my dog is going to be good

(*miix* is one of the many verbs that have *-lowut* rather than *-lut* in the future. This is the kind of exceptions Luiseño abounds with.)

Infinitives

Although we have used infinitives such as *yi’yi* = *to play* as if they were words by themselves, they can actually only occur as a possession form: *noyi’yi* = *my playing*. Such forms can then be used in sentences like *noo pilachax noyi’yiy* = *I learned my-playing-(O)* = *I learned to play*. A closer combination is found with the verb *-vota* = *can*: *noo noyi’yi-votaq* = *I my-playing-can* = *I can play*.

There is also a future infinitive, ending in *-pi: noy_i'yipi* = *my going to play*. An example of its use is: *wunaal yaa noy_i'yipi* = *he ordered my-going-to-play* = *he told me to go and play*. Below we shall meet examples of the use of the past infinitive: *noy_i'yivo* = *my having played*.

A remarkable use of the infinitive is found in words that mean 'liking' or 'hating'. Taking our examples with the verb *ma 'max* = *to like*, we have

noo-up Xwaani no-ma 'max - I like John
I-it John-(O) my-liking [is]

in which the 'is' is left out, as described above. It should be pointed out that the subject of this sentence is *no-ma 'max* = *my-liking*, as shown by the sentence particle *-up*, which says that the subject is third person singular. The *noo* = *I* is there to focus the attention, as in the French *Moi, je l'aime* = *I, I like him*. A part of Steele's book [lit.ref. 3] is concerned with explaining such forms.

The past of the above sentence is

noo-upil Xwaani no-ma 'max miiquş - I liked John
I-(it-past) John-(O) my-liking was-existing

In these forms, the infinitive acts as a real noun in that it gets a plural ending when the object is plural:

noo-pum 'awaalumi no-ma 'maxum miixkutum - I'm going to like dogs
I-they dogs-(O) my-likings are-going-to-be

in which the infinitive *no-ma 'maxum* = *my-likings* is plural, since several dogs need several likings, and the verb *miixkutum* = *are going to be* is plural because its subject, the 'likings', are plural. Note that this third person plural subject was predicted by the sentence particle *-pum*, rather than the first person singular subject that the English translation employs.

Gerunds

A gerund is a form derived from a verb that describes the circumstances in which the action of the sentence takes place. An example from English would be: 'Having finished, he went home', in which 'having finished' describes the circumstances. Luiseño has several of such forms and uses them amply. One of them ends in *-nik* and expresses something that happened *before* the action in the sentence:

'awaali tiiwinik, noo ya 'anax - when I saw the dog, I ran away
the-dog-(O) having-seen, I ran-away

Another ends in *-qal* (object *-qala*) and designates something that is still going on:

Xwaan tiiwin Mariyay po-lo 'xa-qala - John saw Mary while she was cooking
John saw Maria-(O) her-cooking-while-(O)

Agent nouns

Agent nouns are nouns, derived from verbs, which designate persons or things that do what the verb indicates. An example from English is 'dancer' from 'to dance'. Luiseño has the same possibility, *pellikat* = *dancer* from *pellax* = *to dance*, which means somebody who dances habitually or for a profession. But Luiseño has such agent nouns also for past, present and future:

pellax-mokwish - he/she who danced
PELLA-qat - he/she who dances
pellax-lut - he/she who will dance

Each of these of course comes with an object form, for example: *PELLAQATI* = *him/her who dances*; and with a plural: *PELLAQATUM* = *they who dance*. An example is (cf. French *C'était moi qui dansait*):

noo-n po pellax-mokwish - I am the one who danced
I-I he/she he/she-who-danced

These forms are used in particular to express what is expressed by relative sentences in English, as explained below.

Sentence particles

Sentence particles identify and summarize the sentence; they occur in one cluster and always find their place after the first unit in the sentence, to which they are usually attached. They are very vaguely reminiscent of the English usage of 'however', 'of course', etc., which also say something about the sentence and also come in second position (as in: 'The director, however, decided otherwise').

There are four kinds of particles, which should appear in order:

Possibly some sentence characterizer, for example:

-ʒu - question

-xu - obligation

possibly followed by a particle that indicates 'hearsay':

-kun - ..., I am told

followed by some indication of the subject, for example:

-n - I

-pum - they

possibly followed by some particle predicting the verb tense, for example:

-po - future

-ku - ... but it did not happen

If the particle cluster is present at all, it always contains the subject indication; the other items are optional. If the particle cluster is so small that it has no vowel, a vowel is just added:

Looviq-an - (Is-fine)-I = I'm fine

Many of these particles contract with their partners in the particle cluster, and Luiseño grammars contain tables of these. Full treatment of all 70 combinations that are possible, with examples, is supplied by Steele [lit.ref. 3].

Some examples are:

Noo-nil yi'yiquʒ. - I was playing.
I-(I-past) was-playing

Chaami-upil poyo moyooniquʒ. - Her mother fed us.
Us-(she-past) her-mother was-feeding

Wunaalum ʒum takwayaan 'exngay? - Will they be sick tomorrow?
They question-they be-sick-will tomorrow?

Qay ʒush yi'yin? - Won't we play?
Not question-we play-will?

Note that the last sentence contains no pronoun 'we'; the sentence particle ʒush (derived from -ʒu = *question* and -ch- = *we*) says it all.

Negation is not expressed by such a particle but by a separate word, qay = *not*:

chaam-xushpo qay tooyaxma - we must not laugh

which uses the particle -xu-sh-po = *obligation-we-future* and tooyax-ma = *laugh-anytime*. Qay also means 'no'; 'yes' is ohii.

The fourth-position particle -ku = *but-it-did-not-happen* can also be used in the above phrase, with an unexpected but logical meaning:

chaam-xushpo-ku qay tooyaxma - we should not have laughed

Here, 'We must not laugh, but it did not happen that way' implies that we did laugh where we should not have done so; hence the meaning.

Syntax

Word order is free, more or less as in Latin, provided the sentence particle comes after the first unit; furthermore there is a tendency not to have the verb as the first unit (unless there is nothing else in the sentence).

There are several ways to express conditions. A way to state general truths is:

'om 'iviy paal paa'ima, pi 'om takwayaxmaan
= you this-(O) water-(O) drink-anytime, and you be-sick-anytime-will
= anytime you drink this water, you will get sick
= if you drink this water, you will get sick

The particle -xu described above can also serve:

noo-xunpo samsa, pe 'alaxwush
I-(would-I-future) buy, but bad [is]
= I would buy it, but it is bad

Obligation can also be expressed using the -xu-po particle cluster:

Ya 'ash-xupo po 'aashmi 'awaalumi kwaavichu. - The man should take care of his dogs.
Man-(would-future) his-animals-(O) dogs-(O) take-care-of

or by the use of the future infinitive:

Noo-upil nongeepi miiquş. - I had to leave.
I-(it-past) my-going-to-leave was-existing

Relative clauses

A relative clause is a subsentence that says something about a noun in the main sentence. An example from English is: 'The girl who made a tortilla for me is pretty', in which the part 'who made a tortilla for me' is the relative clause. More precisely, it is a *subjective* relative clause, since the noun in the main sentence ('the girl') is the subject of the relative clause. Subjective relative clauses about people start with 'who' (or 'that') in English. Luiseño uses agent nouns (see above) for subjective relative clauses:

Nawitmal po neyk şaawokish lovi'imokwish yawaywish
The-girl-(S) who-(S) me-for tortilla-(O) she-who-made-(S) [is] pretty
= The girl who made a tortilla for me is pretty

in which po corresponds to the English 'who'. If the noun together with the relative clause figures as an object in the main clause, the noun, the 'who' and the agent noun, all get object markers; the object form of po is poneeyi for animate nouns.

Noo 'ayaliq nawitmali poneeyi neyk şaawokish lovi'imokwichi
I know the-girl-(O) who-(O) me-for tortilla-(O) she-who-made-(O)
= I know the girl who made a tortilla for me

In objective relative clauses, the 'who' is the object, and in English takes the form 'whom' (or 'that' or is left out). Luiseño uses possession forms of infinitives to express this:

Nawitmal po no'ayalivo yawaywish miiquş
The-girl-(S) who-(S) [is] my-having-known-(S) pretty was-being
= The girl that I knew was pretty

We see that 'I' is not the subject of the relative clause as it is in English; it is rather the possessor of the infinitive. Again, if this whole form is the object in the main clause, the noun, the 'who' and the infinitive all get object markers:

'Awaal ko'yax nawitmali poneeyi no'ayalivoi
The-dog-(S) bite-(punctual-past) the-girl-(O) who-(O) [is] my-having-known-(O)
= The dog bit the girl that I knew

Of course all these forms exist for present, past and future, and, for inanimate nouns, in all other cases.

Numerals

Luiseño has only five numerals:

supul - one
weh - two
paahi - three
wasaa' - four
mahaar - five

The last of these is borrowed from the closely related language Gabrielino; Luiseño words do not normally end in -r. Descriptive phrases are used for the other numbers, for example:

noma tapaxot wehun - my-hand(s) finished both = ten

These are the stand-alone forms; when the numerals are used together with nouns, those over one get plural endings (albeit irregular ones), like all other nouns and adjectives in the language:

wehchumi tooşachitumi - two rabbits-(O)
two-plural-(O) rabbit-plural-(O)

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