Luiseno, a Structural Analysis II: Morpho-Syntax

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LUISEÑO, A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS II: MORPHO-SYNTAX*

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2.1.1.0. Minimum free forms are discussed below as Nominals, (**2.1.1.1.**), Pronominals (**2.1.1.2**), Adjectivals (**2.1.1.3**), Cardinal directions (**2.1.1.4**), and Adverbs (**2.1.1.5**).

2.1.1.1. IC's (immediate constituents) of nominals (nouns and nominalized verbs) follow.

1) Root, generally a bound form of one or two syllables requiring at least one affix, e.g., /-nátʃăn-/ *food*.

2) Prefixes (possessives), derived from personal pronouns. Vowel mutation appears to be the result of lack of stress.

/nʊ-/ *my*, e.g., /nʊnatʃăn/ *my food*.

/ʊ-/ *your*—singular possessor.

/pʊ-/ *his, her, its*.

/tʃʊmʔ/ *our*.

/ʊmʔ/ *your*—plural.

/pʊmʔ/ *their*.

/a-/ *one's*—indefinite possessor.

The plural possessives incorporate the plural marker, /-ʊm/.

3) Suffixes (noun class markers), hereafter referred to as CM's—see Appendix 1. The following are listed in order of numerical representation.

/-ɪ/, e.g., /natʃănɪʃ/ *food*; used with nominalized verbs, some geographical terms,

foods, artifacts, animals, insects, humans with unusual qualities, etc.

/-mal/, e.g., /amájamal/ *boy, youth*; used mostly as a diminutive.

/-wʊt/, e.g., /alwʊt/ *crow*; used mostly in an augmentive, agentive, disparaging, or antepathetic sense.

/-ʊt/, e.g., /palʊkʊt/ *skunk*; no clear tendencies.

/-la/, e.g., /eŋla/ *salt*; non-human, except for /pula/ *witch doctor*, also used with the days of the week and many mass nouns concerning nature, etc.

/-al/, e.g., /panaʔal/ *yucca*; no clear tendencies.

/-l/, e.g. /qasɪl/ *white sage*; no clear tendencies.
Belongs possibly to the /-al/, /-la/ group.

/-at/, e.g., /aváxat/ *cottonwood*; used mostly with objects, substances, plants, insects, or animals, that come into contact with humans as food, tools, materials, pests, etc.

/-ɪt/, e.g., /jujɪt/ *snow*; perhaps in the same class as /-at/.

/-ka/, e.g., /aláwaka/ *buzzard*; used mostly with undesirable presences (pests and parasites).

/-ɪ/ or /-Vj/, e.g., /kamarɪwrɪ/ *dragonfly*; used mostly with flying or volatile things.

/-mɪ/, e.g., /sawmɪ/ *Valley Center*; used with place names.

/-na/, e.g, /pɔsɪʔkana/ *sow thistle*; used with certain plants.

/-a/, e.g., /mɛʔaʃ/ *yellow rattlesnake*; used with certain animals.

/-tʃa/, e.g., /qawitʃa/ *hill*; no clear tendencies.

/-kat/, e.g., /teŋalkat/ *doctor*; an agentive, denoting persons with special skills.

A minority of nouns have no such markers and are thus termed 'classless'.

2.1.1.1.2. Combinations of IC's are given below.

1) The use of possessive prefixes with or without CM's, and vice versa, as a function of degree of possession.

First order inseparable possessions (parts of the body, relatives). Prefixes are required, and CM's are not used, e.g., /nʊma/ *my hand*, /nʊʃŋakɪ/ *my wife*.

Second order acquired inanimate possessions (the conventional personal effects, material or abstract, such as food, materials, implements, dances, songs, language, etc). When possessive prefixes are used, CM's are not, e.g., /nʊnatʃăn/ *my food*, but /natʃănɪʃ/ *food*; /nʊpɛllax/ *my dance*, but /pɛllaxɪʃ/ *a dance*.

Third order animate, or otherwise independent, possessions (live animals, acquisitions that are not reshaped or otherwise modified, unattainable but imagined possessions). Possessive prefixes are usually not used with the noun itself but with an accompanying generic noun which retains its CM, e.g., /nʊʔaʃ ɛhɛŋmal/ *my bird*, literally *my animal bird*, /nʊpaw wanɪʃ/ *my stream*, literally *my water stream*, /nʊmix tula/ *my charcoal*, literally *my thing charcoal*. Note that /nʊʔaʃ/ by itself means *my horse*, i.e., the most commonly possessed animal, but that, in case of ambiguity, it is referred to as /nʊʔaʃ kaβajɔ/. A few nouns in this group, *ash, snow, smoke, moon*, etc., exceptionally take possessive prefixes while retaining their CM's, e.g., /nʊkumɪt/ *my smoke*.

2) Possessive prefixes plus nouns to designate various relationships.

/pʊʔɛʃ/ *with you, accompanying you.*

/póʔeman/ *behind you, later than you.*

/pʊmkɪla/ *in front of you*—syncopated form of /pʊ + mɔkɪla/.

/pʊkwan/ *destined for you.*

2.1.1.2.1. Personal pronoun IC's are here listed in three possible forms in the order (1) construct forms, (2) plural marker, (3) absolutive-nominative suffix. /nɔ- / *I, me*, (none), /-n-/ in present and future tenses (sometimes omitted); /ɔ-/ *you*, singular, (none), /-m/; /pɔ-/ *he, him, she, it*, (none), (none); /tʃamʔ-/ *we, us*, (none), /-tʃa/ in present and future tenses; /ɔm-/ *you*, plural, /-óm/, (none); /pɔm-/ *they, them*, /-óm/, (none).

2.1.1.2.2. Demstratives are here listed in two forms in the order (1) construct forms, (2) absolutive-nominative forms. /ɪvi-/ *this*, near speaker, /ɪvɪʔ/; /ɔnɔ-/ *this*, near auditor, /ónɔʔ/; /wʊna-/ *that*, yonder, /wʊnal/; /pʊnɛ-/ *that*, uncertain location, /pɔ/.

2.1.1.2.3.0. Numerals are here given in five possible forms in the order: cardinal, plural, distributive, adverbial, ordinal. *1* /sʊpól/, (none), /sʊspʊl/(-ʊm), /sʊplɪʃ/, /aŋájɪ/; *2* /wɛh/, /wɛhtʃʊm/, /wɛwɪh/ (-tʃʊm), /wɛhkʊn/, /pʊwɛhla/; *3* /páhaj/, /patʃʊm/, /pavax/(-tʃʊm), /pakʊn/, /pʊpahɪla/; *4* /wasaʔ/, /wasaʔʊm/, /wasaʔ/ (-tʃʊm), /wasaʔkʊn/, /pʊsaʔɪla/; *5* /mahár/, /maharʊm/, /mamhar/(-tʃʊm), /maharkʊn/, /pʊmharɪla/.

Distributive numerals are usually translated,'. . . each', adverbial numerals by '. . . times'. A number of suffixes are involved in the preceding lists: a) the plural marker /-ʊm/, b) the hypothetical enclitic /-kʊn/, to be described later, c) the possessive prefix /-pʊ/, d) the CM /-la/. Finally, /-aj/ is dropped from /páhaj/ for the construct form.

2.1.1.2.3.1. Days of the week (given at this point because they involve ordinal numbers) are: /lunɪs/ *Monday*, from Spanish; /pʊwɛhla/ *Tuesday*; /pʊpahɪla/ *Wednesday*; /pʊsaʔɪla/ *Thursday*; /pʊmharɪla/ *Friday*; /savaðɔ/ *Saturday*, from Spanish; /misɪŋa/ *Sunday*—Spanish 'misa' plus locative suffix.

2.1.1.3. IC's of adjectivals are:

1) Root, a noun, verb, or entity of unknown origin.

2) CM's (with noun roots).

3) Aspect markers, hereafter referred to as AM's. /-muʃ/ *having-, full of-, covered with-*, etc., used only with noun roots, e.g., /ataxmʊʃ/ *pregnant*.

/-kawıʃ/, sometimes /-kʊtıʃ/, of-, belonging to-, e.g., /waxamkawıʃ/ of yesterday, /pɪtəkʊtɪʃ/ of now.

/-vıʃ/ lacking-, without-, -less, e.g., /ataxvıʃ/ empty.

/-qaʔıʃ/ lacking-, without-, -less, e.g., /pʊkʊŋqaʔıʃ/ husbandless.

/-mal/ rather-, e.g., /kapakpamal/ rather short, rather low.

/-kat/ having-, being-, -y, e.g., /jukat/ hairy.

/-kut/ -able, e.g., /tʃɪpkut/ breakable, almost never used with reduplicated forms.

/-at/ -ed, -en, etc., participial adjectives having strong reference to the action of the verb which is responsible for the condition in question, e.g., /pɾõıvıõõat/ all broken up, usually used with duplicated forms (repeated thematic vowel and final consonant).

/-ax/ -ed, -en, etc., participial adjectives connoting contemplation of resulting condition rather than cause, e.g., /axévax/ pimply, with a rash.

/-ıʃ/ -colored, -shaped, -textured, -smelling, -tasting, -looking, -behaving, etc., e.g., /makʊmkıʃ/ round, usually with reduplication in the root.

2.1.1.4.0. Cardinal directions in the dative case are: /təmamık/ North—refers to inhabitants. /kwimık/ East—Cahuilla; /kitʃamık/ South—Diegueño; /pajómık/ West.

2.1.1.4.1. Other declined forms in a completely declined example are: /təmamkamal/ people from the north; /təmamkəŋı/ from the north; /təmamkəŋwıʃ/ of the north; /təmamkawıʃ/ adjectival; /təmamkəŋax/ the language of the north.

2.1.1.5. Many adverbs take case endings, according to their etymology and function, but so sporadically and irregularly that all of their forms will be given individually in the lexicon.

2.1.2.1. Suffixes of case inflection are given below.

/ø/ nominative, e.g., /kʊlawʊt mʊllıq/ the wood is burning.

/-ı/ accusative, e.g., /nən kʊlawtı tʃʊjjıq/ I am burning the wood.

/-ık/ dative, e.g., /kʊlawjık/ to-, onto the wood.

/-ŋı/, /-ŋaj/ (former preferred) ablative, e.g., /kʊlawŋı/ out of the wood.

/-ŋa/ locative, e.g., /kʊlawŋa/ in-, on the wood.

/-ŋawıʃ/ genitive, e.g, /kʊlawŋawıʃ/ from the wood.

/-tal/ instrumental, e.g., /kʊlawtal/ with [by using] the wood.

/-măn/ conjunctive, e.g., /kʊlawmăn/ with [accompanying] the wood.

2.1.2.2. Case suffixes as a determining factor for the inclusion or exclusion of CMs are discussed below.

(1) Animate nouns: When CM's are used, they generally occur in all cases, e.g., /hʊnwʊt/ bear, /hʊnwʊtı/, /hʊnwʊtık/, /hʊnwʊtŋı/, /hʊnwʊtŋa/, /hʊnwʊtŋawıʃ/, /hʊnwʊtal/, /hʊnwʊtmăn/.

(2) Inanimate nouns: When CM's are used, they occur only in the nominative and accusative cases, e.g., /ʃamʊt/ grass, /ʃamʊtı/, /ʃamjık/, /ʃamŋı/, /ʃamŋa/, /ʃamŋawıʃ/, /ʃamtal/, /ʃammăn/.

(3) Verbal derivatives: CM's occur only in the nominative case, e.g., /pɛllaxıʃ/ dance, /pɛllaxı/, /pɛllaxık/, /pɛllaxŋı/, /pɛllaxŋa/, /pallaxŋawıʃ/, /pɛllaxtal/, /pɛllaxmăn/.

2.1.2.3. Examples of various word classes in declension are given below.

1) Adjectives: /pələv/ good, /pələvı/, /pələvık/, /pələvŋı/, /pələvŋa/, /pələvŋıʃ/, /pələvıtal/, /pələvımăn/.

2) Personal pronouns: /nən/ I, /nɛj/, /nɛjk/, /nəŋı/, /nəŋa/, /nəŋawıʃ/, /nətal/, /nəmăn/, and /nətʊ/. For use exclusively with personal pronouns, there is an additional case which could be labeled 'approximative,' and which differs in meaning from the locative in that the object or being in question is not in actual physical contact with whatever is designated by /nətʊ/, /pətʊ/, etc., e.g., /ɛheŋmal wilaq ɛtʃı anəʔ pətʊ/ the bird is flying above the coyote.

3) Demonstratives: /wʊnal/ that one, /wʊnalı/, /wʊnalık/, /wʊnalŋı/, /wʊ-

TABLE 1

LUISEÑO CONJUGATIONS

Verb types:	Thematic elements and preterite-, remote pret. suffixes								Tense suffixes and pl. markers
	/-ɪ-/	/-ax-/	/-a-/	/-C/	/-V/	/-a-/ redup.	/-V/ redup.	Stem. redup.	
Tenses									
Imperative	/-ɪ/	/-ax/	/-a/	/-Ø/	/-O/	/-a/	/-O/	/-ax/	/-O/, /-jʊm/
Present usitative	/-ɪ/	/-ax/	/-a/	/-O/	/-O/	/-a/	/-O/	/-a/	/-ma/
Present aorist	/-ɪ/	/-a/	/-a/	/-O/	/-O/	/-a/	/-O/	/-a/	/-q(a)/, /-wʊn/
Preterite suffix	/-ax/	/-a/	/-ax/	/-ax/	/-ax/	redup.	redup.	/-a/	/-O/
Remote pret. sfx.	/-jax/	/-ja/	/-ja/	/-ja/	/-jax/	/-ax/	/-ja/	/-ja/	/-O/
Past usitative	/-ɪ/	/-a/	/-a/	/-ʊ/	/-ʊ/	/-a/	/-a/	/-a/	/-k/
Recent progressive	/-ɪ/	/-a/	/-a/	/-O/	/-O/	/-a/	/-O/	/-a/	/-qat/, /watʊm/
Past progressive	/-ɪ/	/-ax/	/-a/	/-O/	/-O/	/-a/	/-O/	/-a/	/-mʊk/
Remote past prog.	/-ɪ/	/-a/	/-a/	/-O/	/-O/	/-a/	/-O/	/-a/	/-qʊʃ/
Future prog.	/-ɪ/	/-a/, /-ax/	/-a/	/-O/	/-O/	/-a/	/-O/	/-a/	/-man/
Future definite	/-ɪ/	/-ax/	/-a/	/-O/	/-O/	/-a/	/-O/	/-a/	/-lʊt/, /katʊm/
Future indefinite	/-ɪ/	/-a/	/-a/	/-a/	/-a/	/-a/	/-a/	/-a/	/-n/
Nominal	/-ɪ/	/-ax/	/-O/	/-O/	/-O/	/-O/	/-O/	/-O/	/-ɪʃ/

Exception: /-ax/-type; pl. imper. suff. = /-ʊm/; pr. aorist pl. suffix = /-an/.

nalŋa/, /wʊnalŋawɪʃ/, /wʊnatal/, /wʊna-
mǎn/.

4) Numerals: /mahar/ *five*, /maharmɪ/—
note the plural marker /-m/, /maharɪk/,
/maharŋɪ/, /maharŋa/, /maharŋawɪʃ/,
/mahartal/, /maharmǎn/.

5) Interrogatives: /mɪtʃat/ *which one?*,
/mɪtʃaj/, mɪtʃik/ or /mɪtʃajk/, /mɪtʃaɲi/,
/mɪtʃaŋa/, /mɪtʃaŋawɪʃ/, /mɪtʃatal/, /mɪt-
ʃamǎn/.

2.2.0. The regular verbs of Luiseño fall
into several categories—see Table 1—on the
basis of: (a) the choice of thematic elements
in various tenses, or, in the absence of
these elements, whether the root ends in a
vowel or a consonant, and (b) their preterite
and remote preterite morphemes. Two ad-
ditional conjugations emerge as a result of
reduplication in the preterite, one made up of
roots ending almost exclusively in /a/ and
reduplicating the initial consonant (when
present) and vowel of the tonic syllable, and
one made up of roots ending almost exclu-
sively in consonants or semi-consonants and
reduplicating only the tonic vowel with only
a glottal stop intervening between the two.
The two conjugations /-ɪ-/ and /-ax-/

contrast. The first is almost exclusively
transitive or causative, while the second is
intransitive. Verbs that can be used both
transitively and intransitively shift from one
conjugation to the other simply by changing
thematic elements, e.g., /hajɪʔ/ *move
[it]*:/hajʔax/ *move [over]*, /pellɪʔ/ *kick [it]*:
/pɪllʔax/ *dance*.

/-a-/ verbs are mostly intransitive and de-
note characteristically human actions, at-
titudes, and conditions, e.g., /wɪʔɛqla/
doubt, /hamója/ *be shy, be ashamed*. It is
possible to consider this as a sub-group of the
/-ax/ conjugation.

/-C/ verbs are mostly intransitive and de-
note human actions, e.g., /naʔjawʊn/ *sus-
pect*, /pivan/ *throw rocks*.

/-V/ verbs are also mostly intransitive
and denote human actions, e.g., /pɛʔ/ *eat
acorn gruel*, /tɔʔ/ *borrow*.

/-a-/ verbs, reduplicating type, denote
mostly human actions, many of which in-
volve specific nouns, and have roots of at
least two syllables, derived from these nouns,
e.g., /pápaʃka/ *made pashkish*, /kɪktʃa/
built house[s], /kʊkkʊŋla/ *took a husband*.

Tonic vowel reduplicating verbs mostly

denote natural phenomena, e.g., /jʊʔʊj/ *it snowed*, intransitive human actions, e.g., /pɪsaʔaŋ/ *went [outside] to the toilet*, and procuring materials, e.g., /kʊlaʔaw/ *got firewood*—the latter have noun roots and take /-ŋɪ/ as their imperative suffix.

Stem reduplicating verbs denote mostly animal or human conditions, e.g., /ŋɪnaŋnax/ *be sorry*, /pápavtʃax/ *be thirsty*—these have no preterites—or actions that take place automatically, e.g., /xarájax/ *snore*, /kʊpʊʔax/ *sleep [informally]*. This can be considered a sub-group of the /-a-/ conjugation.

In the conjugation models below no inflection for person is provided, and only a few tenses have plural forms.

/-ɪ-/ -conjugation:
Imperative /óvɪʔ/, /óvɪʔjʊm/ *give*
Present usitative /óvɪʔma/ *[I] always give*
Present aorist /óvɪʔq(a)/ *[I'm] giving, just gave*, /óvɪʔwʊn/ *[we are] giving, just gave*
Preterite /óvʔax/ *[I] gave*
Remote preterite /óvʔjax/ *[I] gave [long ago]*
Past usitative /óvɪʔk/ *[I] used to give*
Recent progressive /óvɪʔqat/ *[I was] just giving*
Past progressive /óvɪʔmʊk/ *[I was] giving*
Remote past prog. /óvɪʔqʊʃ/ *[I was] giving [long ago]*
Future progressive /óvɪʔman/ *[I] will be giving*
Future definite /óvɪʔlʊt/ *[I] will give*, /óvɪʔktʊm/ *[we] will give*
Future indefinite /óvɪʔn/ *[I] will give [sometime]*
Nominal /óvɪʃ/ *a gift*
/-ax-/ and /-a-/ conjugations, *dance, choke*, respectively:
Imperative /pɛllʔax, -ʊm/, /mónaka, -jʊm/
Present usitative /pɛllʔaxma/, /mónakama/
Present aorist /pɛllʔaq(a), pɛllʔan/, /mónakaq(a), mónakawʊn/
Preterite /pɛllaʔ/, /mónakax/
Remote preterite /pɛllʔja/, /mónakja/
Past usitative /pɛllʔak/, /mónakak/
Recent progressive /pɛllʔaqat/, /mónaqat/

Past progressive /pɛllʔaxmʊk/, /mónakamʊk/
Remote past prog. /pɛllʔaqʊʃ/, /mónakaqʊʃ/
Future progressive /pɛllʔaman, pɛllʔaxman/, /mónakaman/
Future definite /pɛllʔaxlʊt, pɛllʔaxkatʊm/, /mónakalʊt, mónakaktʊm/
Future indefinite /pɛllʔan/, /mónakan/
Nominal /pɛllʔaxɪʃ/, /mónakɪʃ/
/-C/ and /-V/ conjugations, *believe, borrow*, respectively:
Imperative /ɔhɔʔvan, -jʊm/, /tɔʔ, -jʊm/
Present usitative /ɔhɔʔvanma/, /tɔʔma/
Present aorist /ɔhɔʔvanq(a), ɔhɔʔvanwʊn/, /tɔʔq(a), tɔʔwʊn/
Preterite /ɔhɔʔvanax/, /tɔʔax/
Remote preterite /ɔhɔʔvanja/, /tɔʔjax/
Past usitative /ɔhɔʔvanʊk/, /tɔʔʊk/
Recent progressive /ɔhɔʔvanqat/, /tɔʔqat/
Past progressive /ɔhɔʔvanmʊk/, /tɔʔmʊk/
Remote past prog. /ɔhɔʔvanqʊʃ/, /tɔʔqʊʃ/
Future progressive /ɔhɔʔvanman/, /tɔʔman/
Future definite /ɔhɔʔvanan/, /tɔʔan/
Future indefinite /ɔhɔʔvanlʊt, ɔhɔʔvankatʊm/, /tɔʔlʊt, tɔʔkatʊm/
Nominal /ɔhɔʔvanɪʃ/, /tɔʔɪʃ/
Preterite reduplicating conjugations, *make tortillas*, (/-a-/-type), *knock down acorns* (/-C/-type), respectively:
Imperative /ʃawja, -jʊm/, /mawʔ, -jʊm/
Present usitative /ʃawkama/, /mawʔma/
Present aorist /ʃawkaq(a), ʃawkawʊn/, /mawʔq(a), mawʔwʊn/
Preterite /ʃáʃawka/, /máʔaw/
Remote preterite /ʃawkax/, /mawʔja/
Past usitative /ʃawkak/, /mawʊk/
Recent progressive /ʃawkaqat/, /mawʔqat/
Past progressive /ʃawkamʊk/, /mawʔmʊk/
Remote past prog. /ʃawkaqʊʃ/, /mawʔqʊʃ/
Future progressive /ʃawkaman/, /mawʔman/
Future definite /ʃawkalʊt, ʃawkaktʊm/, /mawʔlʊt, mawʔkatʊm/
Future indefinite /ʃawkan/, /mawʔan/
Nominal /ʃawkɪʃ/, /mawʔɪʃ/

Stem reduplicating conjugations, *be unable to swallow*:

Imperative /ŋɪná ʔax/

Present usitative /ŋiná ʔaxma/

Present aorist /ŋiná ʔq(a), ŋɪnan/

Preterite /ŋɪná ʔa/

Remote preterite /ŋɪná ʔja/

Past usitative /ŋɪná ʔak/

Recent progressive /ŋɪná ʔaqat/

Past progressive /ŋɪná ʔxmʊk/

Remote past progressive /ŋɪná ʔaqʊʃ/

Future progressive /ŋɪná ʔaman, ŋɪná ʔ-axman/

Future definite /ŋɪná ʔaxlʊt, ŋɪná ʔaxkatʊm

Future indefinite /ŋɪná ʔan/

Nominal /ŋɪná ʔaxɪʃ/

2.2.1. Object relationship markers have a number of functions: Some indicate whether the verb has a singular or plural object, or none at all, in which case they can be pronominal—the object noun(s) and pronoun(s) may be omitted—and some indicate how the action impinges on the object, whether the verb is directly transitive or merely causative. These are readily identified by the fact that when they are appended to verbs, they all cause a shift of stress to the second syllable, with the exception of /-ni ʔɪ-/ which causes the third syllable to be stressed.

/-ɪ-/ usually transitive, sometimes causative, e.g., /lɔvi ʔɪ/ *make it, do it*:/lɔvɪq/ *is right, is correct.*

/-ax-/ usually intransitive, e.g., /qarí ʔax/ *rise [sun, moon, etc.]*:/qar ʔax/ *fall.*

/-nɪ/ usually transitive, e.g., /ajannɪ/ *take it*:/ajɪ ʔ/ *get, procure*

/-ni ʔɪ-/ causative, e.g., /ʃaqani ʔɪ/ *warm it*:/ʃaqqɪq/ *it's hot.*

/-na-/ denotes plurality of object, e.g., /mʊja ʔna/ *fill them*:/mʊjɪ ʔ/ *fill it.* This marker is suffixed to the /-ax-/ stem.

/-lɪ-/ causative, e.g., /nɪmɛllɪ/ *double [it] up*:/nɛmmɪ/ *bend [it].*

/-pɪ-/ causative, e.g., /kɛjappɪ/ *push [it] over, knock [it] down*:/kɛjjaq/ *falls over.*

/-tɪ-/ meaning uncertain.

2.2.2. Some of the following adverbial and modal suffixes are obviously compounds, but they are used, as given, as single entities.

/-aj-/ departure accompanying action, *go and do* or vice versa. This is suffixed to the verb root, e.g., /nɔnpɔ samsajn/ *I will go and buy*:/nɔnpɔ samsan/ *I will buy.*

/-xami-/ obligative, e.g., /nɛttʃxami pɔj/ *make him pay.*

/-kɪxa-/ obligating, e.g., /nɔn pɔj pɛlkɪxaq/ *I made him kick it once*, added to the verb root.

/-kɪxani-/ obligating repeatedly, e.g., /nɔn pɔj pɛlkɪxanɪk/ *I made him kick it many times.*

/-la-/ *go and do*, e.g., /wɔkla/ *go and cut*:/wɔkkɪ/ *cut*, does not stipulate that a finished product shall be brought back—see /-ŋi-/ below.

/-mɔna-/ a verbal derivative signifying action in progress, e.g., /nɔn hɛl ʔaxmɔna/ *I'm going along singing*—the informant felt that this would be better translated into Spanish as *voy cantando.*

/-ŋi-/, a verbal derivative signifying *go and come back with the finished product*, e.g., /kʊlawŋɪ/ *get wood*, /aʃŋɪ/ *go take a bath.*

/-vɪtʃa-/ desiderative, e.g., /nɔn hatɪ ʔ-axvɪtʃaq/ *I want to go.*

/-vʊta-/ potential, capacitative, e.g., /nɔp nʊplatʃɪvʊtaq/ *I can learn.*

/-xa-/, /-max-/ benefactive, e.g., /tɛŋalxaq/ *he is doctoring himself.* /-max-/ has been observed only with personal pronouns in the accusative case, e.g., /nɛjmax/ *for me, for myself.*

/-xani-/ obligative, e.g., /samsaxani pɔj/ *make him buy*—very seldom used.

2.2.3. Co-ordinating suffixes shown when the action takes place with relation to the main verb.

/-vɪ-/ places the action of the dependent clause before the time of the main verb, e.g., /ʃɔwɔ ʔqʊʃ pɔjk nʊ ʔɔvi ʔvɪ/ *[he] was afraid I had given it to him.*

/-pɪ-/ places the action of the dependant clause afterwards, e.g., /ʃɔwɔqʊʃ pɔjk

nʊʔɔvɪʔpɪ/ [he] was afraid I was going to give it to him.

/-qala-/ makes the two verbs relate to simultaneous acts or states, e.g., /pʊʃun lɔvɪman pɔjk nʊʔɔvɪʔqala/ [he] will be happy when I give it to him.

2.2.4. A number of Luiseño verbs have four characteristic root forms as a result of reduplication. The first two are disyllabic, one whose stressed vowel is checked by a double consonant and is consequently short, and one whose stressed vowel is free and followed by a single consonant and consequently long. The other two are reduplicated to tetrasyllabic forms, one a proparoxytone and the other a paroxytone, the stressed vowel in each case followed by a double consonant. The disyllabic form with the short vowel and double consonant indicates that the action is accomplished in one stroke, with one decisive gesture, or on one object. With a long vowel and a single consonant, it indicates that the action is accomplished with several or many careful gestures (strokes), more slowly, or else simultaneously (at least in the same sitting) upon a number of objects. The proparoxytone indicates that the action is repeated carefully or performed carefully and successively on a number of objects. Finally, the paroxytone indicates frenzied or aimless repetition of the act in question. Occasionally, the various forms of a given verb have radically different meanings.

Examples:

/hakkax/ take a breath, yawn, /hakax/ take a deep breath, yawn deeply, /hakah-hakax/ pant, yawn repeatedly, /hakahakkax/ pant desperately.

/jʊttʃɪk/ dip in water, /jutʃɪk/ soak in water, /jʊtʃʊjjʊtʃɪk/ soak repeatedly, /jʊtʃʊjʊttʃɪk/ dip repeatedly.

/kwattax/ get up, /kwatax/ look back, /kwatakkwatax/ look carefully all around, /kwatakwattax/ look around excitedly or nervously.

/lʊkkɪ/ dent [it], bend [it], /lukɪ/ dent-, bend [it] carefully, /lʊkʊllʊkɪ/ dent [it] all

over [like a hammered finish], /lʊkʊlʊkkɪ/ spoil [it] by denting or bending it all over.

/nakkɪ/ slam [it] shut, /nakɪ/ shut [it] silently or carefully, /nakannakɪ/ close everything up silently or carefully, /nakanakkɪ/ slam [everything] shut.

/pɪðˈðɪ/ break [it], /piðɪ/ break a lot [all at once], /pɪðɪvvɪðɪ/ break [them] all up carefully, /pɪðɪvɪðˈðɪ/ go on a breaking rampage.

/tʃɔrrɪʔ/ cut [with one stroke], /tʃɔrɪʔ/ saw through [it] carefully, /tʃɔrottʃɔrɪ/ cut many, /tʃɔrotʃɔrrɪ/ chop carelessly, cut firewood.

/tʃarrɪʔ/ tear with one gesture, /tʃarɪʔ/ tear many all at once, /tʃarattʃarɪ/ tear one after another carefully, /tʃaratʃarrɪ/ tear many furiously.

/tʃʊŋŋɪ/ kiss, /tʃuŋɪ/ suck, /tʃʊŋʊttʃʊŋɪ/ kiss affectionately all over, /tʃʊŋʊtʃʊŋŋɪ/ kiss frenziedly all over.

2.3. Enclitic particles are: /-ø/ prosaic, e.g., /nɛjk/ to me; /-ʊp/, intensive, e.g., /nɛjkʊp/; /-pɪl/, /-mɪl/, asseverative, e.g., /nɛjkpɪl/; /-sʊ/, /-ʃʊ/, interrogative, e.g., /nɛjksʊ/; /-ʃɪl/, probable, attributive, e.g., /nɛjkʃɪl/; /-kʊn/, dubitative, attributive, e.g., /nɛjkkʊn/; /-ta/, intensive, observed only in /qajta/ no!

2.4.1. Plurality may be marked by suffixation. The base form is posited as /-ʊm/, with the following as allomorphs: /-m/, /-wʊn/, /-jʊm/, /-óm/. It occurs after all parts of speech described earlier. It is appended to the CM, when one is used; the case suffix follows, e.g. /hʊn-/ + /-wʊt-/ + /-ʊm/ + /-ɪ/ = /hʊnwʊtmɪ/ acc. of bear. Examples of plural suffix:

Nouns: /atáx/, /atáxʊm/ person, people.

Demonstratives: /ɪvˈí/, /ɪvˈím/ this, these.

Personal pronouns: /pɔm/, /pɔmóm/ he, she; they.

Adjectives: /hɪtʃɪkat/, /hɪtʃɪktʊm/ troublesome.

Verbs: /tawʔax/, /tawʔaxʊm/ sit down.

2.4.2. Plurality may also be marked by reduplication. A number of words reduplicate elements in their roots in the plural and take the plural suffix as well, e.g.,

Nouns: (a few humans only) /ʃʊŋal/, /ʃuʃŋalʊm/ *woman, women*; /nɛʃmal/, /nɛnıʃlʊm/ *old woman, old women*; /pula/, /pupʊlam/ *medicine man, -men*.

Adjectives: /pɔlóv/, /pɔplıvʊm/ *good, well*.

Numerals: /sʊpól/, /sʊspʊlʊm/ *one each*.

3.1.0. Possessive prefix changes are vowel mutation and shift of stress.

/nʊ-/ + /j-/ = /nıj/, e.g., /nıjɔʔ/ *my mother*.

/pʊ-/ + /qasıv/ = /pıqsıv/ *its tail*.

/nʊ-/ + /tɔma/ = /nɔtma/ *my mouth*.

/nʊ-/ + /ʃʊlat/ = /nóʃla/ *my claw, -hoof, -nail*, etc.—see below.

/nʊ-/ + /kawıʔ/ = /nɔwkı/ *my wing*, etc.—see below.

3.1.1. The changes noted above apparently follow, more or less, through all persons. Two were checked in their entirety: /nóʃla/, /óʃla/, /púʃla/, /tʃómʔʃala/, /ómʔʃala/, /púmʔʃala/; /nɔwkı/, /ɔwkı/, /pɔwkı/, /tʃómʔɔwkı/, /ómʔpɔwkı/, /púmʔpɔwkı/.

3.2. Noun root changes due to prefixation consist of syncope of pre-tonic initial vowel of noun after prefixes ending in /-V/, e.g., /nʊ-/ + /kʊlaw/ = /nʊklaw/ *my bone*, /nʊ-/ + /ʃawámı/ = /nʊʃwamı/ *my daughter*. But, /nʊ-/ + /patkılatal/ = /nʊpatkılıtal/ *with my gun*, /pʊmʔ/ + /ʃawamı/ = pʊmʔʃawamı/ *their daughter*.

3.3. Case marker changes due to suffixation are given below.

/ʃ/ + /V/ = /tʃV/, e.g., /jʊŋavıʃ/ + /ı/ = /jʊŋavıtʃı/ *condor*; exception, /mɛʔqaʃʊm/ *snake*.

/k/ + /V/ + /t/ = /kt/, e.g., /ʃʊkat/ + /-ʊm/ = /ʃʊktʊm/ *deer*.

/q/ + /V/ + /t/ = /qt/, e.g., /tɔʃıqat/ + /-ʊm/ = /tóʃıqtʊm/ *rabbits*.

/íʃ/ declension, inanimate + case = /-i/ + case, except when /ʃ/ (of CM) is retained, e.g., /wanik/, but /wanıʃtal/.

/-wʊt/ + /V/ = /wt/, e.g., /kʊlawʊt/ + /ı/ = /kʊlawtı/ *bone, wood*.

3.4. Personal pronoun changes due to

suffixation are /nɔ/ + /ı-/, /-ık/ = /nɛj/, /nɛjk/, respectively, *me, to me*.

3.5. Case morpheme changes due to suffixation are given below.

/V/ + /ı/ = /Vj/, e.g., /mutaj/ *owl*, /andrɛj/ acc. of *André*.

Acc. of the /-la/ declension: roots ending in /V/ take /-l/, e.g., /pal/ *water*; roots ending in /V/ take /-ıl/, e.g., /mɔjıl/ *moon*; exceptions, /ʃʊʔlaj/ *star*, /huŋal/ *wind*, /kʊt/ *fire*.

/-ık/ after /N/ (nasal C) or /-x-/, except when preceded by another /C/ = /-jık/, e.g., /ɛŋjık/ *salt*, /exjık/ *earth, soil*, but /mɛsmık/ *cloud*.

/-ık/ after /V/ = /-jk/, e.g., /kʊjk/ *fire*.

/-ŋ-/ + /-ŋ/ = /-ŋ/, e.g., /tɛlıŋ-/ + /-ŋı/ = /tɛlıŋı/ Abl. of *ask*.

The inanimate roots of /-ıʃ/ and /-ıt/ declensions, except those ending in /V/, /N/, or /-x/, take /-ı/ before Abl., Loc., Gen. (cases in /-ŋ-/), or Inst., e.g., /kʊtapıŋı/ *pipe*, /pellaxŋı/ *dance*, but /qawiŋı/ *hill*.

/V/ (atonic) + /-ŋawıʃ/ = /Vŋwıʃ/, e.g., /tómaŋwıʃ/ *thunder*, but /paŋawıʃ/ *water*.

Personal pronouns ending in /-m/ take /-ɔ-/ before genitive case suffixes, e.g., /ómɔŋwıʃ/, /pómɔŋwıʃ/.

After personal pronouns, /Vŋwıʃ/ varies freely with /Vkwıʃ/, although the form with /-ŋ-/ is preferred.

/-ıʃ/ + /-tal/ = /-ıʃtal/ (preferred) or /-ıtʃal/, e.g., /jʊŋavıtʃal/ or /jʊŋavıʃtal/ *condor*; /-íʃ/ + /-tal/ = /itʃal/ or /-ıʃtal/, e.g., /wanitʃal/ or /wanıʃtal/ *stream*.

3.6.0. Most irregular verbs are readily recognizable as belonging to one of the conjugations described in **2.2**, but they are not evenly distributed among the eight. None are noted for the /-ax/ group, only a few for the /-ı/ and /-a/ groups, most of them following more or less the patterns of the other conjugations. Several types of irregularities are noted as follows:

1) Shift of stress, e.g., /tɔwʔ/, /tɔwók/, /tɔwón/ *see, used to see, will see*. The reasons for some of these are obvious; /jaqá/ and

/jaqóʃ/ or /jaqóʃ/ *say, was saying* are thus differentiated from /jaʔq(a)/ *run, ran.*

2) Syncope, e.g., /tómavtʃa/ *become blind,* /tómavtʃax/ *was blinded,* /tómavqat/ *was blind,* /tómavmʊk/ *was blind,* etc. It is probable that in this instance at least, syncope is used to keep the verb within a certain number of syllables in various forms.

3) Assimilation, e.g., /qɛʔɛ/ *kill several—* stem reduplicating type, /qɛxxa/ preterite, *killed several,* */qɛqɛxa/ > */qɛqxa/ > /qɛxxa/.

4) Analogical forms, e.g., /ʔɔwlax/ *menstruate,* /ʔóʔɔwla/ *menstruated,* /ʔóʔɔwlja/ *menstruated* [long ago]. The irregular forms of verbs which do not take thematic elements nor inflectional suffixes of one conjugation throughout are probably also analogical, e.g., /ɔʃkax, -ʊm/ *refuse to give* belongs to the /-a-/ reduplicating type and thus would not take /-x-/ in the imperative.

5) Random and unexplained, e.g., /qwaʔ/ *eat,* /qwaxɔ/ *ate,* /qwaxɪʃ/ *eaten*—the latter is doubtless analogical.

Specific irregularities encountered to date follow.

3.6.1. /-ɪ-/ type:

/mɔttɪman/ [place] *gets muddy:* nominal /mɔtiʃ/.

/paʔɪ/ *drink water:* future indefinite /paʔan/.

/tʊvjʊŋɪ/ *ask:* present aorist /tóvjanq(a)/; past progressive /tóvjanmʊk/; remote past progressive /tóvjanqʊʃ/; future definite /tóvjanlʊt/, /tóvjankatʊm/.

3.6.2. /-ax-/ type: none.

3.6.3. /-a-/ type:

/naqma/ *be heard:* preterite /naqmáʔax/; remote preterite /naqmáʔja/—shift of stress.

/pápavtʃa-/ *be thirsty:* imperative /pápavtʃax/.

/pɛlʔla-/ *step repeatedly on:* imperative /pélɪʔla/; preterite /pélɪʔlax/; no remote preterite found; nominal /pélʔlɪʔlɪʃ/.

/pénaʔ/ *dance woman's dance:* preterite /pɛna/.

/tʃapɔmka/ *lie:* remote preterite /tʃapɔmka/—some confusion between preterite and remote preterite.

3.6.4. /C/-type:

/jax/ *say:* irregular imperative; present aorist /jaq(á)/; preterite /ja/; remote preterite /jaja/ or /jajaxa/; remote past progressive /jaqóʃ/; past usitative /jaxók/; future definite /jaxán/.

/miq-/ *be:* irregular imperative /mixma/, /mixmajʊm/; present aorist plural /mixwʊn/.

/qal-/ *be there, remain:* irregular imperative /qalʔax/ /qalʔaxwʊn/.

/kʊp-/ *sleep formally:* past usitative /kʊpók/; future definite /kʊpón/; nominal /kʊpiʃ/ *sleepiness.*

/mɔn-/ *be on one's way:* alternate present aorist /mɔná/; past usitative /mɔnʊk/; future indefinite /mɔnón/; no nominal nor imperative found.

3.6.5. /V/-type:

/jaʔ/ *run:* imperative not verified; preterite /jaʔjax/ perhaps reduplicated; remote preterite /jaʔja/; past usitative /jaʔók/; future definite /jaʔán/.

/ʃɔʔ-/ *bloom:* imperative /ʃɔʔax/, /ʃɔʔaxʊm/; preterite /ʃɔʔa/; remote preterite /ʃɔʔja/; past usitative /ʃɔʔók/; future indefinite /ʃóʔan/.

/qwaʔ/ *eat:* preterite /qwaxɔ/; remote preterite /qwaʔja/; past usitative /qwaʔók/; future indefinite /qwaʔʊn/; nominal /qwaxɪʃ/.

/pɛʔ/ *eat acorn gruel:* past usitative /pɛʔʊk/; future indefinite /pɛʔan/.

3.6.6. Most verbs in the preterite reduplicating /-a-/-type are irregular. A few regular forms are included in the following for comparison.

/ɛlkwa/ *beg:* preterite /éʔɛlkwa/.

/kitʃa/ *build house[s]:* preterite /kɪktʃa/—syncope.

/kʊŋla/ *take a husband:* preterite /kʊkkʊŋla/.

/lɔʔxa/ *make, build:* preterite /lólɔʔxa/.

/mɔkna/ *kill:* preterite /mómɔkan/.

/ɔvla/ *go and distribute:* preterite /óʔɔvla/.

/paʃka/   *cook*   *pashkish*:   preterite /pápaʃka/.

/pitʃa/   *gather up gifts*:   preterite /pipɪvtʃa/.

/puʊʃla/ *bear fruit*: preterite /pupʊʃla/,—vowel mutation.

/qwavɪtʃa/ *care for, guard*: preterite /qwaqwavtʃa/,—syncope.

/samʔsa/ *buy*: preterite /saʔsamʔsa/.

/ʃawka/ *make tortillas*: preterite /ʃáʃawka/.

/toʔma/ *possess a woman*: preterite /toʔtʊʔma/.

/toʃŋa/   *command, order*:   preterite /tottoʃŋa/.

/tʃapaʔna/ *mend*: preterite /tʃaʃpaʔna/; remote preterite /tʃapaʔnax/.

/tʃʊjʔla/   *go and burn*:   preterite /tʃʊttʃʊjla/; remote preterite /tʃʊjjɪʔlax/; nominal /tʃʊjlalɪʃ/ *fireplace*.

/ʊlaʔna/ *sew*: preterite /ʊlaʔan/.

3.6.6.2.0. A number of verbs have imperatives which indicate that they belong to conjugations other than the /-a-/-type but have preterites that reduplicate the initial /(C)V/ element.

3.6.6.2.1. Imperatives in /-ax/:

/oʃkax, -ʊm/ *refuse to give*: preterite /óʔoʃka/.

/owlax, -ʊm/ *menstruate*: preterite /óʔowla/; remote preterite /óʔowlja/.

/nɛntʃa, -ʊm/ *go visiting*: preterite /nɛntʃa/; remote preterite /nɛtʃa/.

3.6.6.2.2. Imperatives in /-C/:

/mʊx/ *gamble*: preterite /mumʊxa/; remote preterite /mʊʔʊx/; past usitative /mʊxók/; future definite /mʊxán/; nominal /mʊxfʃ/.

/ŋɛm/ *go away, leave*: imperative plural /ŋɛjʊm/; preterite /ŋɛŋɪ/; remote preterite /ŋɛʔjax/; past usitative /ŋɛk/; future indefinite /ŋɛn/.

/tɛŋal/ *treat for sickness or injury*: preterite /tɛtɪŋal/; remote preterite /tɛŋalax/.

/tuk-/ *camp overnight*: imperative /tukʊn, -ʊm/; preterite /tutʊk/; remote preterite /tukja/.

3.6.6.2.3. Imperative in /-ŋɪ/: /patʃxamŋɪ/ *do a washing*: preterite /paʔpatʃxam/.

3.6.6.2.4. Isolated irregularities:

/natʃăn/ *eat*: preterite /nantʃa/.

/qɛʔɛ/ *kill several*: preterite /qɛxxa/; remote preterite /qɛxja/; nominal, /qɛʔɛʃ/.

/tómavtʃa/ *become blind*: preterite /tótʊmtʃa/; remote preterite /tómavtʃax/; recent progressive /tómavqat/; past progressive /tómavmʊk/; remote past progressive /tómavqʊʃ/; past usitative /tómavtʃʊk/; future indefinite /tómavtʃʊn/; future definite /tómavlʊt/, /tómavkatʊm/; nominal /tómavɪʃ/.

3.6.7.0. Preterite reduplicating /-C/-type: Since only the tonic vowel is reduplicated in this group, problems involving consonant clusters, as encountered in /-a-/-type preterite reduplicating verbs, do not occur here, e.g.,

/jʊj/ *snow*: preterite /jʊʔʊj/.

/maw/   *knock down acorns*:   preterite /maʔaw/.

/ŋoroj/ *thunder*: preterite /ŋoroʔoj/.

/pɪsaŋa/ *go out [to the toilet]*: preterite /pɪsaʔaŋ/.

/tʃɪlʊjʔ/   *speak Spanish*:   preterite /tʃɪlʊʔʊj/.

/wiw/ *make weewish*: preterite /wiʔɪw/.

3.6.7.1. A number of verbs in this group with noun roots take /-ŋɪ/ in the imperative, but are otherwise regular, e.g.,

/aʃŋɪ/ *bathe*: preterite /aʔaʃ/; past usitative /aʃʃʊk/; future indefinite /aʃʃan/.

/halʔŋɪ/ *look for*: preterite /haʔal/.

/kʊlawʔŋɪ/   *get firewood*:   preterite /kʊlaʔaw/.

3.6.7.2. Irregular forms (preterites, although regular, are given here for comparison), e.g.,

/jawʔ/ *hold*: preterite /jaʔaw/; past usitative /jawók/; nominal /jawʔjɪʃ/.

/naʔ/ *scald*: preterite /naʔan/; remote preterite /nanja/; past usitative /naʔók/; future definite /naʔón/.

/ŋam/ *cry*: preterite /ŋaʔaŋ/; remote preterite /ŋaŋʔja/; alternate past progressive

/ŋaŋmʊk/; future definite /ŋaŋlʊt/, /ŋaŋtʊm/; nominal /ŋaŋíʃ/.

/pawʔŋı/ *get water*: preterite /paʔaw/; past usitative /pawʊn/.

/tɔwʔ/ *see*: invariable imperative; preterite /tɔʔɔw/, remote preterite /tɔwʔjax/; past usitative /tɔwók/, future definite /towún/; no nominal found.

/tʃiv-/ *be bitter*: imperative with /-ax/, /tʃivʔax/; preterite, /tʃiʔɪv/.

/ʊlaʔna/ *sew*: preterite /ʊlaʔan/; remote preterite /ʊlaʔax/.

/waʔ/ *roast over an open fire* [*any food*]: imperative with /-ax/, /waʔax/; preterite /waʔaw/.

3.6.8. Stem reduplicating type:

/tɛtɛlax/ *converse*: preterite /tɛtla/; remote preterite /tɛtlax/.

3.7.0. Adverbial reduplication (**2.2.4,** above) provides the ideal circumstances for observing certain morphophonemic changes, since in practically all instances they are the result of, or at least are influenced by, phonetic context and are independent of juncture.

3.7.1.0. Consonantal alternations are treated below. /p/ and /t/, in particular, show a relatively high degree of stability. Practically all verbs encountered in this study, beginning with one of these consonants, substitute another consonant of lesser force of articulation at the beginning of the reduplication of the tetrasyllabic forms—examples follow.

3.7.1.1. /p/ > /v/, e.g., /piðɪ/ *break*, /pɪððɪ/, pɪðɪvvɪðɪ, /pɪðɪvɪððɪ/. Other verbs following the same pattern: /pakaʔjɪ/ *separate*, /pattɪ/ *shoot*, /pɛtʃɪ/ *pour*, /pɔla/ *crack open*, /pɔnɪ/ *tie up*.

Exceptions: /pɛŋɪ/ *stone*, v.t., /pɛŋŋɪ/, /pɛŋʔpɪŋɪ/, /pɛŋɪpɛŋɪ/; /pʊnɪ/ *surround*, /pʊnnɪ/,/pʊnʔpʊnax/, no tetrasyllabic paroxytone found. It is noted that these two exceptional cases also have a vowel syncope in common—the two phenomena are perhaps related.

3.7.1.2.1. /t/ > /l/, e.g., /tapɪ/ *finish*,

/tappɪ/, /tapallapɪ/, /tapalappɪ/; also /tɔkwɪ/ *throw out*, /tutʃɪ/ *tie*.

3.7.1.2.2. /t/ > /ð/, e.g., /tikɪ/ *make a fire, light* [*a fire*]; /tɪkkɪ/, /tɪkɪððɪkɪ/, /tɪkɪðɪkkɪ/.

3.7.1.3. /q/ > /l/, e.g., *chop*—no form with tonic long vowel plus single consonant found, /qapʊttɪ/, /qapʊllʊpɪ/, /qapʊlʊppɪ/. Exception arising from the presence of /l/ in root: /qɛlɪ/ *stir*, /qɛllɪ/, /qɛlɛqqɛlɪ/, /qɛlɛqɛllɪ/.

3.7.1.4.1. /tʃ/ > /l/, e.g., /tʃipɪ/ *break*, /tʃɪppɪ/, /tʃɪpɪllɪpɪ/, /tʃɪpɪlɪppɪ/.

3.7.1.4.2. /tʃ/ > /ð/, e.g., /tʃɛvɪ/ *pick fruit*, /tʃɛvvɪ/, /tʃɪvɛððɛvɪ/, /tʃɛvɪðɛvvɪ/.

3.7.1.4.3. No changes in /tʃ/, e.g., /tʃarɪ/ *tear*, /tʃarrɪ/, /tʃarattʃarɪ/, /tʃaratʃarrɪ/. Others: /tʃɔrɪ/ *cut*, /tʃʊŋɪ/ *suck*.

3.7.1.5. /h/ > /x/—four of the five verbs found, beginning with /h/ and involving semantic reduplication, have no changes; the one exception is: /haqwɪq/ *yawn*, /haqqwɪq/, /haqwáxaqwɪq/, /haqwaxaqqwɪq/.

3.7.1.6. Other initial consonants (no changes), e.g., /jutʃɪk/, /jʊtʃʊjjʊtʃɪk/ *soak, soak repeatedly*; /kejax/,/kɪjɛkkɪjax/ *lie down, knock down one after another*; /lawɪ/, /lawallawɪ/ *dig hole*, etc.; /mɔrɪ/, /mɔrɔmmɔrɪ/ *wrap*, etc.; /nakɪ/,/nakannakɪ/ *close*, /wakɪ/, /wakawwakɪ/ *sweep, brush*; /xalɪ/, /xalaxxalɪ/ *shake*.

3.7.2.0. Vowel changes are divided into 2 classes: mutation of thematic vowel in disyllabic forms, due to open or closed syllables (**3.7.2.1**) and mutation of thematic vowel as a function of stress and position (**3.7.2.2**).

3.7.2.1.1. /u/ > /ʊ/(all verbs with /u/ or /ʊ/ in 1st syllable), e.g., /jutʃɪk/ *soak*, /jʊttʃɪk/, /jʊtʃʊjjʊtʃɪk/, /jʊtʃʊjʊttʃɪk/. Others: /huʃɪ/ *smoke tobacco*, /kulɪ/ *pull out, extract*, /lukɪ/ *dent*, /murax/ *circulate*, /pʊnɪ/ *surround*.

3.7.2.1.2. /i/ > /ɪ/ (all verbs with /i/ or /ɪ/ in 1st syllable), e.g., /piðɪ/ *break*, /pɪððɪ/, /pɪðɪvvɪðɪ/, /pɪðɪvɪððɪ/. Others:

/tikɪ/ *light fire*, /tʃɪpɪ/ *break*, /witʃɪ/ *waste*.

3.7.2.2.1. /ɛ/>/ɪ/, e.g., /kɛjax/ *lie down*, /kɛjjax/, /kɪjɛkkɪjax/, /kɛjɪkɛjjax/. Others: /tʃɛvɪ/ *pick fruit*, /hɛmɪ/ *blow*. A few verbs in this group have additional unexplained irregularities, e.g., /nɪmɛllɪ/ *fold*, /nɛmmɪ/, /nɪmɛnnɪmɪ/, /nɛmɪnɛmmɪ/.

3.7.2.2.2. /ɔ/>/ʊ/ (only one verb has this change—others in /ʊ/ do not), e.g., /wɔtɪ/ *hit*, /wɔttɪ/, /wɔtɔwwʊtɪ/, /wɔtɔwʊttɪ/.

3.7.2.2.3. /ʊ/>/a/ (one case only): /tʊtʃɪ/ *tie, tangle*, /tʊttʃɪ/, /tʊtʃallatʃɪ/, /tʊtʃalattʃɪ/.

3.8. Enclitic particles exhibit the changes listed below.

/V/ + /-ʊp/ = /Vp/, e.g., /nɔp/.

/ʃ/ + /-ʊp/ = /tʃʊp/, e.g., /nɔŋawɪtʃʊp/.

/V/, /N/, or /l/ + /-sʊ/ = /-ʃʊ/, e.g., /pɔʃʊ/, /ɔmʃʊ/, /nɔtalʃʊ/.

/j/, /w/ + /-sʊ/ = /-sʊ/ or /-ʃʊ/ (free alternation), e.g., /nɛjsʊ/ or /nɛjʃʊ/, /nʊklawsʊ/ or /nʊklawʃʊ/, but /ʃ/ is preferred in such cases

/nɔn/ + /sʊ/ = /nɔʃʊn/.

/-tal/ + enclitic beginning with /C/ = /-tal/ or /-ta/ (free alternation), e.g., /tʃamtapɪl/ or /tʃamtalpɪl/.

/-ɔŋɪ/ + enclitic = /-ɔŋɪ/ or /-ɪŋɪ/ (free alternation)—N.B. that this does not apply to /-ɔ́ŋɪ/. The last two changes listed do not involve modification of the enclitics themselves but are reported here because they are the result of the suffixation of the particles in question.

3.9.1. General changes in the plural marker are:

/-V/ + /-ʊm/ = /-Vm/, e.g., /ʃula/ + /-ʊm/ = /ʃulam/.

Enclitic /-ʊp/ + /-ʊm/ = /-pʊm/, e.g., /ɔmɔ́mʊp/ + /-ʊm/ = /ɔmɔ́mpʊm/.

/-ʊm/ + /-ɪ/ (Acc. marker) = /-mɪ/, e.g., /hʊnwʊt/ + /-ʊm/ + /-ɪ/ = / hʊnwʊtmɪ/ *bears*.

3.9.2. Plural markers are not used in all case inflections with personal pronouns. With /ɔm-/ and /pɔm-/, they occur only in the Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, and Conjunctive cases where they take the primary stress from the root—see **2.1.1.2.1.**

4.1.1. Single words have the following restrictions as minimum free syntactic forms. Personal and interrogative pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, days of the week, adjectives, and interjections can all occur in isolation in any of their free morphological forms. Nouns, however, require enclitics, e.g., /ɛhɛŋmalʊp/ [*It's a*] *bird*, /ʃamŋawɪtʃʊp/ [*It's*] *from the grass*. Verbs occur in isolation only in the imperative, e.g., /tawʔax/ *Sit down.*—elsewhere, they require at least a personal subject pronoun, e.g., /nɔn tiwɪq/ *I see*. Adverbs uttered in isolation usually voice strong support of a statement just heard and require a special enclitic element /-ʔɪ/, e.g., /pɪlɛkʔɪ/ *Very!*, /aʃunʔɪ/ (expression of agreement), /qajʔɪ/ *Not at all!*—special note is made of the fact that the negative marker /qaj/ requires the enclitic /-ta/ when used in isolation in an adjectival sense, e.g., /qajta/ *No!*.

4.1.2. Minimum free constructs are usually utterances of value judgments. Two prevalent types are noted: adjective-plus-noun, and adverb-plus-adjective. Both are often preceded by exclamatory /a/; although the word order given here is the most common, the modifier can follow. Examples: /a pɪlɛk jawajwɪʃ/ *Oh, how very pretty!*, /hɪtʃɪkʊt mɔmŋaʃ/ *Ornery White Man!*.

4.1.3.0. All Luiseño utterances, even those described above, if ellipsis is admitted, can be resolved as subject-predicate constructions. The predicate is either a nominal or pronominal, e.g., /wɔnal ʃʊŋal jaʔqa/ *That woman is running*, /nɔn mɔmŋaʃ/ *I am a White Man*, and the predicate is a nominal, pronominal, adjectival, or verbial, e.g., /ɪvɪp nʊkiʃ/ *This is my house*, /ɪvɪp nɔŋawɪʃ/ *This is from me*, /wɔnal ʃamʊt

kɔnɔknɪʃ/ *That grass is green*, /nɔn mɔná/ *I'm coming*. Note that verbs are used to denote actions, temporal relations, etc., but that they are not used as mere equation markers or devices to connect subjects with their attributes, as in English 'to be' in constructions such as 'He is my brother'.

4.1.3.1. The normal order for prosaic declarations is as follows: subject, indirect object pronoun, direct object pronoun, conjugated verb, object noun, e.g., /nɔn ɔjk ɪvɪmɪ óvɪʔlʊt/ *I shall give them to you*, /nɔn óno mattɪlʊt ʃamjɪk alaxwɪʃ/ *I'm going to throw it on the bad grass*. However, any word can be emphasized by placing it in initial position, e.g., /hʊnwʊtʊp nɛj qwaʔqa/ *The bear is eating me*, /nɛjʊp hʊnwʊt qwaʔqa/ *I'm being eaten by the bear*.

4.1.3.2. Enclitic particles are appended to the first word in the utterance, e.g., /nɛjkpɪl tɪlaʔja/ *He talked to me*, /wʊnalpɪl nɛjk tɪlaʔja/ *That [fellow] talked to me*, /waxampɪl wʊnal nɛjk tɪlaʔja/ *Yesterday, that [fellow] talked to me.*

4.1.3.3. In negations the adverb /qaj/ usually occurs in initial position, except for sentence connectors, e.g., /qaj nɔ hɪʃ naqmaq/ *I don't hear anything*, but it is often preceded by the object of the verb, the only really rigid requirement apparently being that it should precede the verb, e.g., /nɛjʊp qaj maʔmaq/ *He doesn't want me*. Negative commands invariably begin with /tuʃɔ/, e.g., /tuʃɔ nɛj ɔnɔxannɪnɪk jax/

Don't say that to me!, literally, *Don't talk that way to me!*

4.1.3.4.0. Elaborative devices discussed below include apposition (**4.1.3.4.1**), modification by adjectives (**4.1.3.4.2**) and by adverbs (**4.1.3.4.3**).

4.1.3.4.1. No connectors are used in apposition, but insofar as the elements involved are permitted to take case or plural suffixes, they agree in these respects e.g., /tʃamʔ lusɛɲʊm/ *we Luiseños*, /ɔmóm nanxɛlʊm lɔvɪwʊn/ *You old men are well*. Apposition is used also to show the function of nouns which cannot take certain inflections, e.g., /wʊnal ʃʊɲal pɔjk/ *for that woman*, /wʊnal jaʔqa pʊpet pʊmkɪla/ *He is running in front of his brother*, /nʊʔaʃ ehɛɲmal/ *my bird*.

4.1.3.4.2. Demonstrative and numeral adjectives, in that order, precede the nouns they modify, e.g., /wʊnalʊm wɛh atáxʊm/ *Those two people [Indians]*. They rarely agree in inflection with the nouns they modify; the only case noted by this writer— and even here, it is optional—is /wʊnal(ɪ) jaʔatʃɪ jukatɪ/ *that hairy man*, Acc. Descriptive adjectives, however, usually follow, although they may precede, apparently for emphasis, the nouns they modify, and concord here depends on whether the noun is animate or inanimate. As Table 2 shows, adjectives are inflected for case only if the noun does (or at least can) take the suffixes in question, and inanimate

TABLE 2
NOUN-ADJECTIVE CONCORD

Case	Inanimate noun *grass*	Animate noun *man*
Nominative	/ʃamʊt alaxwɪʃ/ *bad grass*	/jaʔáʃ alaxwɪʃ/ *bad man*
Accusative	/ʃamʊt alaxwɪtʃɪ/ (preferred) or /ʃamʊtɪ alaxwɪtʃɪ/	/jaʔátʃɪ alaxwɪtʃɪ/
Dative	/ʃamjɪk alaxwɪk/	/jaʔáʃ alaxwɪʃ pɔjk/
Ablative	/ʃamɲɪ alaxwɪɲɪ/	/jaʔáʃ alaxwɪʃ pɔɲɪ/
Locative	/ʃamɲa alaxwɪɲa/	/jaʔáʃ alaxwɪʃ pɔɲa/
Genitive	/ʃamɲawɪʃ alaxwɪɲɪʃ/	/jaʔáʃ alaxwɪʃ pɔɲawɪʃ/
Instrumental	/ʃamtal alaxwɪtʃal/	/jaʔáʃ alaxwɪʃ pɔtal/
Conjunctive	/ʃamman alaxwɪman/	/jaʔáʃ alaxwɪʃ pɔman/
Approximative	(none)	/jaʔáʃ alaxwɪʃ pɔtʊ/

nouns can drop the accusative /-ɪ/, although their modifier is required to retain it.

4.1.3.4.3. In modification by adverbs no accord exists, and any word order is acceptable, although we have noted a preference for placing the verb at the end of short utterances and the modifier before the adverb, e.g., /pɪlɛk mahatɪ moná/ *He is walking so slowly*, or /moná pɪlɛk mahatɪ/, etc.

4.2.0. Three general types of compound constructions emerge, as follows.

4.2.1. Introductory clause plus dependent construction is used to report the content of observations, thoughts, statements, etc., e.g., /wʊnal tiwɪq tʃamˀtʃa atɪˀalaxʊm/ *That [fellow] sees [that] we are going*, /nʊʃʊnɳɪspɔˀ wʊnal pɔj qwaˀqa/ or /nɔn wɪɳeˀqa wʊnal pɔj qwaˀqa/ *I think he's eating it*, /wʊnal jaˀáʃ jaqá tʃamˀkʊnʊm atɪˀalaxʊm/ *That man said we're supposed to go.*

4.2.2. Two independent subject-predicate constructions related by a conjunction are used to show cause and result, concession, coordination, etc., e.g., /nʊʃun lɔvɪqʊʃ paˀ nɔ hɪqwajm/ *I ran because I was happy,* /ɔm nɛj qɛwwɪn paˀ nɔ ajallɪman/ *If you call, I will know,* /mɪmtʃɪpan jawajwɪʃ jaˀáʃ pɪ pʊʃnakɪ pɔj nɔllim/ *Although [he was] handsome, his wife left him,* /tʃʊmˀamapɪp miq man jawaman tʃʊmˀnátʃăn/ *We must hunt or we won't have any food.*

4.2.3.0. Objective nominalized verb clauses are used to indicate subjective contingency, much like Indo-European subjunctives. The criterion for identifying the verb forms in question as nominal is that they take possessive prefixes. They occur after main clauses of command, desire, and emotion, as follows: /nɛjpɪl nʊtɛɳalkat ja pal mʊjjɪkɪ nʊpaˀɪpɪ/ *My doctor told me to drink a lot of water,* /nɔn maˀmaq ɔj ʊplatʃɪ ʊhɛlaxpɪ/ or /—ʊhɛlahɪ/ *I want you to learn to sing,* /nɔn ʃɔwɔˀqa wʊnal pɔj pʊmɔknɪ/ *I'm afraid that [fellow] killed him.* Note that the pronouns, as well as the verbs of the dependent clauses are in the accusative case.

4.2.3.1. Temporal relation between main and dependent clauses is shown by the choice of verbal enclitics—see morphology: /-vɪ/ places the action of the dependent clause before the time of the main clause, /-pɪ/ places it afterwards, and /-qala/ makes the two verbs relate to simultaneous acts or states—see **2.2.3**—e.g., /ʃɔwɔˀqʊʃ pɔjk nʊˀovɪˀvɪ/ *He was afraid I had given [it] to him,* /ʃɔwɔˀqʊʃ pɔjk nʊovɪˀpɪ/ *He was afraid I was going to give [it] to him,* /pʊʃun lɔvɪman pɔjk nʊˀovɪˀqala/ *He will be happy when I give [it] to him.*

4.3.1. Once the subject noun or pronoun has been established, it does not have to be repeated immediately, provided it does not change, e.g., (from text), /pɪ tʃamˀ wʊnaˀ aʃʊnɳa qalʊk tʃɪˀɪk kwil tɪmɛɳa/ *We used to stay there. [We] used to pick acorns in the daytime.*

4.3.2. Sentence connectors, i.e., /pɪ paˀ/ are used at the beginning of one third to three fourths of the utterances of a connected narrative. It is possible that their semantic value does not justify their translation into English—if this is true, utterances not separated by such elements might be presumed to be connected and thus require a conjunction in the translation.

4.3.3. Our informant has been observed to repeat either whole statements or parts of statements at points coinciding roughly with topical transitions. The repetition is rarely verbatim, but usually involves a slight variation in word order or in other features, e.g., /nʊkwaˀ ɔwɔˀak sʊpól mɔmɳaʃ pɔjk pʊtóɳ dajk pʊtóɳ mɪstɔ dajk jaqóʃ/ *My grandfather used to work for a White Man called Dyke. His name was Mister Dyke.*

4.4. Examples of common propositions are given below.

Statement: /mɔjla tʃɔrat/ *The moon is round.*

Rejoinder: /ɔhó/ *Of course!.*

Command: /witaˀax/ *Stand up!.*

Request: /lɔvɪq ʊjʊmˀpɪ ɪnnɪˀpɪ/ *Your removing your hat [would be] good.*

Question: /ɔmʃɔ ajallɪq/ *Do you understand?*

Negation: /qaj nɔ hɪʃ naqmaq/ *I don't hear anything.*

Possession: /wʊnal pʊkitʃa nʊmix/ *That house is mine.*

Comparison: /wʊnalʊp nɔtʊ awɔlwʊkat/ *He is bigger than I*, literally, *Along side of me, he's grown up.*

Emphasis: /nɔnɪl lʊvɪˀax/ *I did it!*

Exclamation: /pɪlɛʃɪl wɔlla/ *How she has grown!*

Particularity: /ɪvɪp jaˀáʃ jɔɲkŭt/ *This man spoke the truth.*

Time: /nɔnmanʊpɔ tɪmɛɲa/ *I'll come at noon.*

Duration: /wʊnalʊp taqwajjaq waxamkawɪʃ/ *He has been ill since yesterday.*

Place: /wʊnalʊmpʊmpʊmˀkɪˀ waxɔ-maɲa/ or /wʊnalʊmpʊm waxɔmaɲwɪtʃʊm/ *They live at Guajome.*

Quantity: /wʊnaˀ pʊmˀmʊjjɪkʊm atáxʊm/ *There are many people there.*

Concession: /mɪmtʃɪpan jawajwɪʃ jaˀáʃ pɪ pʊʃɲakɪ pɔj nɔllim/ *Although he was handsome, his wife left him.*

Intensity: /pɪlɛk nɔ ahʊjjaxɪ mɔjjak/ *I'm very tired!*

Limitation: /wɪhmalʊp wamˀ nʊxɛx miq/ *I have only a few acorns.*

Insistence: /nʊmaˀmax nʊˀáma pɪ *mas* nʊpatkɪlatal/ *I like to hunt, especially with my gun.*

Subordination: /wɪɲɛˀwʊn nɛj nʊtqwajjaqalɪ/ *They think I'm sick.*

Opposition: /nɔp jawaq nʊpatkɪla manˀ nʊkʊttapɪ/ *I have neither bow nor gun.*

Coordination: /tʃʊmˀámapɪp miq jawaman tʃʊmˀnátʃăn/ *We must hunt or we don't eat.*