

Topics in Shmuwich Grammar

An Interim Grammar of Barbareño Chumash

by Richard B. Applegate, Ph.D.

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Introduction

Ancient history

My lifelong love of the Chumash languages began in 1968, when I was a 23-year-old graduate student at UC Berkeley. For a year or so I had free access to a storeroom packed with some of John P. Harrington's voluminous manuscript materials on Barbareño, Inezeño and Ventureño Chumash — now known as Shmuwich, Samala and Mitsqanaqa'n to native students of these languages.

I used to stuff a bunch of papers into my backpack and take them home to work on over the weekend. Almost 50 years later these same manuscripts are now under lock and key at the Smithsonian and you can only examine them with latex gloves under supervision. On the other hand, they're now available online as well. All it takes is internet access and some patience and you too can view the original Harrington manuscript material.

During those intervening 50 years, a few linguists have worked on Shmuwich/Barbareño and written descriptions of various aspects of it. Madison Beeler wrote a 40-page sketch of the language. Suzanne Wash and Tsuyoshi Ono wrote dissertations of very focused aspects of Shmuwich grammar, including grammatical sketches or overviews. My intent is to write something that native students of Shmuwich will find of immediate use.

Recent history

This volume began as an annotated write-up of

- notes I've prepared on various topics in Shmuwich grammar that students of the language might have questions about,
- material that came up during meetings with language students in 2012 and 2013, and again in 2016 and 2017, much more thoroughly written up than in class, and
- grammatical material that I added to the 2015 integrated dictionary.

At some point I realized that it would make more sense to compile a beginning-to-end grammatical description of the language, including the system of numbered sections and subsections to make organizing and cross-referencing easier.

I have no particular theoretical orientation to support in writing this volume. I just want to make the information available to language students as clearly as possible. This involves a certain amount of technical terminology, but I've tried to define any terms that a non-linguist might find daunting.

A Note on format

Ono and Wash present every example sentence in a four-line format with

- the Shmuwich as spoken (sometimes in fine phonetic detail),
- the element-by-element break-down of the Shmuwich,
- a short-hand translation of every element, and
- a running English translation.

Here's part of example (333) from page 103 of Wash's dissertation.

hu lyahya [^] '	hu l'amqilihi·k'e [^] n	hi sa'maxi [^] č
hu=l =yah-ya' -'	hu=l =' am-qili-hik'en	hi s-am-'axič
RM=ART=R arrow-EM	RM=ART=NM=IDF=HAB -use	DF=3-IDF-have.war
The arrows,	the ones they (the people) used to use for waging war	

This layout is immensely helpful to the reader. For the writer it's a formatting nightmare that takes a lot of time and makes the document much longer.

I have taken the easy way out. Here you'll find example sentences with an element-by-element break-down of the Shmuwich plus an English translation, sometimes with a literal translation as well.

hu l-yah-ya' hu l-'am-qili-hik'en hi s-am-'axič

“the arrows that they [indefinite] use for making war”

You're on your own figuring out the individual elements. There are repeated common items here like the remote particle **hu**, the article **l-**, the indefinite marker **am-**, and the reduplicated form **yah-ya'** “arrows.” Hopefully this grammar gives you the tools to decipher such a sentence, including enough exposure to the repeated elements that they become familiar.

Some cautions to keep in mind

- These topics are arranged by subject, so they don't show up in the progressive basic-to-advanced order that you would expect in a class or tutorial.
- The topics discussed here are not all of equal importance and they are not necessarily covered to the same degree of detail. Some of these topics are quite advanced.
- A few topics are fleshed out with examples from Samala where I think that Samala and Shmuwich are probably similar or identical in structure. I labeled all the places where the keynote is “probably” or “maybe” rather than “I know this is how it works.”
- Some headings are marked TBA because more discussion is in order. There are various notes to myself to “fixx” some issue — “fixx” is great for doing a word search.
- Minor details like breaking up words with hyphens, treatment of final glottal stop with reduplicated nouns, and applying sibilant harmony retroactively are not consistent.

- Some of the vocabulary in this volume does not appear in the 2015 Integrated Dictionary of Shmuwich.
- This grammar is long overdue, and I feel that writing it is still premature, since I'm so far from having examined and digested the available materials. For example, I haven't listened to all of Beeler's recordings of Mary Yee's narratives. I haven't gone through all of Wash's manuscript dictionary or every word of her 569-page dissertation.
- I take full responsibility for any and all errors — typos, copy and paste errors, lapses in proof reading, misreadings of the data, and my interpretation and explanations of insights by Wash and Ono.

Why is it unfinished?

I'm a recovering perfectionist. Needless to say, I feel a HUGE temptation to keep going, find more examples, get a deeper understanding, tidy up the pagination. This has been the direction and momentum of my Titanic as a linguist for decades.

This document has been a labor of love. The flipside is that I've been obsessing on the material for months now and I feel I'm running out of time. My body is telling me loudly that it won't tolerate the hours at the keyboard that "finishing" would take, so I've chosen to release an incomplete draft now rather than wait who knows how long for the "complete" writeup.

There's more. Over the last month my inner voice has told me clearly that working on this grammar is OK but operating in mental overdrive is not. I'm tired of waking up at 3:00 a.m. with an insight to add to Chapter Eight. Deeper still, it's too easy to let focusing on this grammar keep me moored to what's familiar and comfortable to my ego/mind and NOT allow the internal spaciousness for my next step.

I set myself a deadline of getting it into a reasonably printable form by the end of May and I'm only a few days late. The intent isn't to FINISH it, but to get it into a shape that I'm willing for the rest of the world to see. As my Coast Miwok mentor Catherine Callaghan used to say, "the perfect is the enemy of the good." I'd much rather that earnest students of Shmuwich have a "good" grammar right now than a "perfect" one some time far in the future.

Hence the title "Topics in Shmuwich Grammar" rather than something more comprehensive like "Shmuwich Grammar."

So here it is — flawed, incomplete, and nonetheless very useful.

Richard Applegate
June 6, 2017

Sources

Published sources

- Madison S. Beeler's 1970 *Topics in Barbareño Chumash Grammar*, which includes both a dictionary and a grammatical discussion with example sentences;
- Marianne Mithun's 1977 *The Regression of Sibilant Harmony Through the Life of Barbareño Chumash*;
- Tsuyoshi Ono's 1996 dissertation *Information Flow and Grammatical Structure in Barbareño Chumash*;
- Suzanne Wash's 1999 *Relative Clauses and Appositive Clauses in Barbareño Chumash*;
- Wash's 1999 *On the Structure and Function of Relative Clauses in Barbareño Chumash*;
- Wash's 2001 dissertation *Adverbial Clauses in Barbareño Chumash Narrative Discourse* — a treasure trove of sentences, vocabulary, and grammatical information;
- Kenneth W. Whistler's 1980 *Interim Dictionary of Barbareño Chumash*, which includes a number of Samala Chumash equivalents;

Other sources are unpublished, although now the original Harrington notes are available online and are in the public domain.

- an incomplete manuscript draft of a dictionary by Wash,
- points that emerged from listening to and transcribing some of the Mary Yee recordings, especially a few of her narratives,
- a few references directly to the Harrington notes,
- my unpublished notes on Chumash speech ethnography (made available in 2008), which include material from Beeler's unpublished notebooks,

Acknowledgements

Many people helped to make this volume possible.

- I acknowledge John Peabody Harrington and Madison S. Beeler for their invaluable work in recording and preserving the language.
- I acknowledge Kenneth W. Whistler and Suzanne Wash for their extensive work with the original materials. In particular I honor Suzanne Wash for her meticulously detailed descriptions of the language and her deep insights into it.
- Above all I honor the speakers of Shmuwich which shared their knowledge of the language with Harrington and Beeler, for their patience and generosity, with deep appreciation to Mary De Soto Yee for her invaluable gift to us all.
- And I thank students of Shmuwich for their interest and engagement over the years, for challenging me and for giving me the joy of seeing them “get it,” in particular Steve Villa and Deborah Sanchez.

1 — The Sound Pattern of Shmuwich

This discussion of the Shmuwich sound system goes into detail on certain topics, but several other topics are yet to be covered here. Covered are

- the sound inventory of Shmuwich — see [1.1](#)
- topics with vowels, including phonetic details of the /i/ sound — see [1.2](#)
- where the accent goes in Shmuwich words — see [1.3](#)
 - š–tipaw–páwil “he/she is talking” — second syllable from the end
 - muhú “owl” — final syllable after H
 - soxyóp “to wash” — marked accent on the final syllable
- an introduction to glottal stop — see [1.4](#)
 - ne’ne “maternal grandmother”
 - lu–na’n > lu’nan “to grow” — with lu– “of growing”
 - s–’anč’um > š’anč’um “his/her money” s–’ikimin > s’ikimin “it’s new”
- raised H and aspiration — see [1.5](#)
 - š–č^ho “it is good” — inherent aspiration
 - k–kuti > k^huti “I see” — double–consonant aspiration
- sibilant harmony — see [1.6](#)
 - su–anš’in > šanš’in “to feed”
 - su–uquštáy > šuquštáy “to light up, illuminate”
- topics with liquids — see [1.7](#)
 - to’w “smoke”
 - s–am–’ip > sa’mip “they [indefinite] say” — from s–am– “they” + ’ip “to say”
- the q/x alternation — see [1.8](#)
 - ’eneq ~ ’enex–iwaš “woman” ~ “old woman”
 - snaq’il ~ snax’il “flint”
- dropping H in the connector hi — see [1.9](#)
 - stasin hi he’ p^ho’ “your cheeks are red”
 - > štasin i he p^ho’ actual pronunciation
- generational differences in the language — see [1.10](#)
 - older speakers* *Mary Yee*
 - šipitiš šipitiš “acorn mush”
 - taniw taniw “child, offspring, little one”
 - cweq–cweq’ cweq–weq’ “quantities of grass” — cweq

1.1 The Sound inventory of Shmuwich

The Vowels of Shmuwich

Shmuwich has six vowels, arranged in a neatly symmetrical pattern.

	front	mid	back
high	i	ɨ	u
low	e	a	o

The following section — [1.2](#) — discusses the vowels in more detail.

The Consonants of Shmuwich

The system of consonants is considerably more complex, but also quite symmetrical.

Following sections go into the details and definitions of topics such as glottalized consonants — [1.4](#), aspirated consonants — [1.5](#), and liquids — [1.7](#).

stop consonants

plain	p	t	k	q	
glottalized	p'	t'	k'	q'	'
aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	k ^h	q ^h	

affricates

plain	c	č
glottalized	c'	č'
aspirated	c ^h	č ^h

fricatives

plain	s	š	x
glottalized	s'	š'	x'
aspirated	s ^h	š ^h	

sonorants

plain nasals	m	n
glottalized	'm	'n
plain lateral	l	
glottalized	'l	
plain semivowels	w	y
glottalized	'w	'y

See section [1.4.1](#) on alternate ways of writing glottal stop and glottalized consonants.

This introduction doesn't go into the phonetic details of these sounds. You can hear them in Beeler's recordings of Mary Yee, including in the Lexique Pro dictionary that matches the Integrated Dictionary.

1.2 Vowels

1.2.1 The Pattern of Shmuwich vowels

Shmuwich has six vowels. They fall into a tidy grid with two important distinctions:

- “high” versus “low” vowels — depending on how far you open your jaw as you pronounce them. The dentist has you say “ah” to get a better view.
- “front, “mid” and “back” vowels — depending on how far forward or back in the mouth you create the vowel sound.

	front	mid	back
high	i	ɨ	u
low	e	a	o

This vowel chart is more than an exercise in organization; it helps in understanding a number of sound patterns and sound rules in Shmuwich.

Cardinal vowels

There’s a hierarchy or pecking order in Shmuwich vowels. The three vowels at the points of an imaginary triangle are high i and u plus low a.

	front	mid	back
high	i	ɨ	u
low	e	a	o

These three cardinal vowels are subject to fewer constraints than the other three. The cardinal vowel i has the fewest constraints of the three cardinal vowels.

Shmuwich has many prefixes and suffixes. The vowels of prefixes and suffixes sometimes change depending on the vowel(s) of the root word. However, when prefixes and suffixes show up before or after roots with cardinal vowels, it turns out that prefixes and suffixes contain only cardinal vowels — with the sole exception of e- “negative.”

ni- “transitive”	su- “causing”	maq- “with a line/cord”
pil- “through the air”	nu- “along with”	aqta- “in the air”
qili- “habitually”	yul- “by heat”	tal- “with the hand”
-’i’ “instrument”	-mu’ “place where”	-waš “past”

Many prefixes and suffixes include some combination of cardinal vowels.

tani- “a little bit; please”	uti- “of a blow; starting out”
axi- “repetitive action”	maquti- “of jerking/yanking”
-iwaš “ex, former, defunct”	-iyuw “us, you two/all”

1.2.2 Low vowel harmony

LOW VOWEL HARMONY — Defined

“Low vowel harmony” is means that low vowels — **e**, **a** and **o** — in adjacent syllables match or “harmonize” under certain conditions.

Inherent low vowel harmony

The three low vowels **e**, **a** and **o** follow a strict pattern within root words that can’t be broken down. Low vowels in adjacent syllables always match — they’re in harmony. You’ve probably noticed this pattern; it’s a very distinctive feature of the language.

'eneq	“woman”	'ašk'a'	“coyote”	tomol	“boat, canoe”
expeč	“to sing”	'a'way	“moon”	moloq	“long ago”
lek'en	“to sit”	makal	“bat (animal)”	kok'o	“father”

Low vowel harmony as a process

Low vowel harmony is a process when you look at how the vowels of prefixes change depending on the vowel of the following root word. Prefixes fall into three main groups.

- **outer prefixes** — These prefixes are furthest from the verb root and their meanings are quite consistent and easy to identify. See section [9.3.1](#) for details in outer prefixes.
- **middle prefixes** — These prefixes show up closer to the verb root. Their meanings are still consistent and easy to identify. See section [9.3.2](#).
- **inner prefixes** — these prefixes show up closest to the verb root and are more likely to create idiomatic compounds where it can be hard to see how the combination of that particular prefix and root means what it means. See section [9.3.3](#) for a detailed discussion of inner prefixes.

Many prefixes contain the cardinal low vowel **a**. Outer and middle prefixes keep this vowel as **a**, even if the next syllable contains a low vowel. Examples are outer prefixes **'al-** “agentive” and **sa'-** “future.”

'alalexpeč	“a singer”	— from 'al- reduplicated + expeč
ksa'oyonin	“I’ll help you”	— from k-sa'- 'oyon-in

Inner prefixes with the cardinal low vowel **a**, on the other hand, generally show the vowel becoming harmonic with a following **e** or **o**.

Here are examples with **xal-** “through the air.”

xal-apit	“to fly up”	— from apit “to go up, climb up”
xal-mik'in	“to fly far”	— from mik'in “to go far,” from mik “far”
xelek'en	“(bird) to perch”	— from xal- + lek'en “to sit”

Here are examples with **aqta-/axta-**, also “through the air” and “of air in motion.”

axtak^hit	“(wind) to blow”	— from =k^hit bound root “re approaching”
extelew	“north wind to blow”	— from elew “to go down”
oqtop'ow	“(arrow) to veer off”	— from p'ow “to bend”

Here are examples with **aq-**/**ax-**, sometimes “with the mouth.”

axkla'	“to shell acorns with the teeth”	— from kla' “to break”
axtap	“to eat raw”	— from tap “to enter”
oxloq	“to bite a hole in”	— from loq “to be perforated”

Here are examples with **wala-**, sometimes “with the body” or “of a bulky object.”

welelek'en	“to sit down heavily”	— from lek'en “to sit”
weletepet	“to roll (on one’s back)”	— from tepet “to roll”
wolonowon	“(person) to stand up”	— from nowon “to stand”

Low vowel harmony only applies across adjacent syllables. If a high vowel **i** or **u** intervenes between the low vowel of a prefix and the low vowel of a root, the vowel of the prefix stays low **a**. The prefixes cited below are **wala-** as noted above, plus **wati-** “of disintegration or abrasion” and **maquti-** “of jerking/yanking.”

walakino'moy	“(person) to roll over	— from kino'moy “to turn over
watik'ot	“to break open (on its own)”	— from k'ot “to break (on its own)”
maqutiseqen	“to yank/jerk away from”	— from seqen “to remove, take away “

NOTE: Just about all of these examples of low vowel harmony in verb prefixes are idiomatic compounds which you would not put together on your own; you buy them pre-assembled off the shelf. In other words, knowing about this aspect of low vowel harmony helps you break words down by meaning, but you don’t need to apply the sound rule on your own.

1.2.3 Reverse vowel harmony as a process

A few suffixes show “reverse vowel harmony,” which goes by “high” versus “low” vowels. The main one you need to know is **-šaš**/**-šiš** “reflexive, oneself” and “each other,” since you might want to add this suffix to various verbs on the fly — not as part of a memorized vocabulary item. See section **8.3.1** on **-šaš**/**-šiš**.

This suffix shows up as **-šaš** with a low vowel and **-šiš** with a high vowel. Low-vowel **-šaš** follows a verb with a high vowel in the previous syllable and high-vowel **-šiš** follows a verb with a low vowel in the previous syllable — hence the term “reverse vowel harmony.”

-šaš	qilikšaš	“to take care of oneself”
	aqsisinšaš	“to insult each other”
	kutišaš	“to see oneself” or “see each other”
-šiš	aqšwalawšiš	“to love each other” or “love oneself”
	itaqšiš	“to listen to each other”
	eqwelšiš	“to turn into, become” — literally “make oneself [into]”
	šeqwelšiš hi l-xɪp	“it turns into stone”
		— literally “makes itself stone”

1.2.4 Pronunciation of /i/ — phonetic details

A question came up in class about the pronunciation of the Shmuwich sound written *i*. Depending on the context, it's pronounced like

- English “ee” in “teen” — technically called a “tense” vowel
- English “ih” in “tin” — technically called a “lax” vowel
- and something in between these two extremes

It's hard for a speaker of English to pronounce the intermediate *i* sound, so this discussion focuses on tense “ee” and lax “ih,” which more or less match English pronunciation.

Determining factors include

(1) whether the vowel is in an open or a closed syllable:

- open syllables end in vowels — e.g. **ku**, **sa**, **ku-ti**, **pa-k'a**, **ta-xa-ma**
- closed syllables end in consonants — e.g. **xus**, **tip**, **an-tik**, **al-pat**, **ex-peč**

(2) whether a closed syllable ends in the sounds **t** and **n** (and maybe **m**) and **x/q**; *i* before these sounds in a closed syllable is pronounced as lax “ih” whether it's stressed or not.

- closed syllable with **t** and **n** (and maybe **m**) and **x/q**

a'win	“to boil”	—	“ <u>winn</u> ”	yin-c'i	“to be hot”	—	“ <u>yinn</u> ”
'in-ta-p^hi	“cove, inlet”	—	“ <u>inn</u> ”	'a-kim-pi	“while, during”	—	“ <u>kimm</u> ” (maybe)
a-pit	“to go up”	—	“ <u>pitt</u> ”	'o-yo-nit	“help me”	—	“ <u>nitt</u> ”
iq-may	“to cover”	—	“ <u>ick</u> ”	ix-may	“to flood”	—	“ <u>ixx</u> ”
- closed syllables with other consonants have something closer to tense “ee.”

tip	“salt”	—	“ <u>teep</u> ”	sip-le'	“to be tired”	—	“ <u>see</u> ”
ip-šel	“to be ripe”	—	“ <u>eep</u> ”	'al-wil	“there exists”	—	“ <u>will</u> ”

NOTE: a closed syllable immediately followed by the connector **hi** with the **h** dropped can act like an open syllable:

stasin	“it is red”	sta-sin	— <u>closed</u> , pronounced “sinn”
stasin hi he' p^ho'	“your cheeks are red”	sta-si-ni	— <u>open</u> , pronounced “see nee”

(3) if there is a palatal consonant **š** or **č** before or after the vowel, *i* is more like tense “ee.”
e.g. **kič**, **kwič**, **an-šin**, **ši-pi-tiš**, **an-ti-kič**, **'iš-ko'm**, **tiš-le'**, **ap-šik**

1.2.5 Alternation of /i/ and /i̥/

Beeler comments that “/i̥/” alternates frequently with /i/, under unspecified conditions” (page 11). The only example he gives is this one.

mik'in ~ **mik'in̥** “to go far, go far away” — from **mik** “far” + **-vn** “verb marker”

A different kind of example of this alternation is the generational difference between Mary Yee and her grandmother — discussed in section 1.1 — in words such as

šipitiš ~ **šipitiš̥** “acorn mush” — according to Luisa Ignacio and Mary Yee
liyik ~ **liyik̥** “middle, between”

1.3 The Accent

The accent on Shmuwich words generally goes on the second syllable from the end, but the situation is a bit more complex.

1.3.1 Accent after H and consonants with raised H

When the last syllable of the word starts with **h** or a consonant with raised H, accent that last syllable. As you can hear in the recordings, this final accent may not be especially strong, but you can definitely hear the difference between accent on the last syllable versus second to last.

This accent is not written because it's predictable.

muhu	“horned owl”	muhuw	“beach, shore”
kuhu	“who knows?”	tuhuy	“rain, to rain”
saxk^hit	“wind”	'intap^hi	“bay, inlet, estero”
'ik^hu	“but, however”	is^huy	“to mean, be a sign that”

1.3.2 Marked Accent

The accent occasionally goes on the last syllable of the word. Again, this accent may not be particularly strong but it is noticeable. This accent is written because it's not predictable.

alaqwá'y	“to be able to”	'anaqipnás	“to be beautiful”
'ašk'a'	“coyote”	'anaqpúw	“wildcat”
mexwé'	“to grind, whet”	'anisó'	“seagull”
uquštáy	“to be bright”	saximumacét	“man's name”
wotoklóp	“to be prone”	ušpák	“to gather”

When such words show up with a one-syllable suffix, you can drop the accent because now the accent is on the second-to-last-syllable like regular words — see (3) below.

k-alaqwá'y-waš	>	kalaqwaywaš	“I was able [to do something]”
s-uquštáy-waš	>	šuquštaywaš	“it was bright”

Note: We listened to a recording of **'iškó'm** “two” in class and all agreed that the accent seemed to be on the first rather than the second syllable.

1.3.3 Default accent on the second syllable from the end

Otherwise, accent the second syllable from the end. This accent is not written because it's predictable. Here are one-word examples.

'a'laluš'eš	“badger” — “the digger”.	'enekeye'ye	“horned toad”
k'ip'í	“now”	k'iyak'u	“maybe”
milimol	“north, Tulare country”	naxalyikiš	ceremonial enclosure
naya'nay	“razor clam”	nunašiš	“beast, supernatural being”
pulak'ak	“acorn woodpecker”	šipitiš	“acorn mush”

The accent goes on the second syllable from the end in verbs as well. As you add various suffixes to the verb, the accent keeps moving further from the beginning of the word. The accent marks in these examples are just for clarity; they don't need to be written.

kítaq	“I hear [something]”
kitáqin	“I hear you”
kitaqínwaš	“I heard you”
šlék'en	“he/she is sitting”
šlek'énpí	“he/she is sitting on [something]”
šlek'enpíyít	“he/she is sitting on me”
šlek'enpiyítwaš	“he/she is sitting on me”

1.3.4 Tones or pitches with **kê**, etc.

Shmuwich also includes a few tone or pitch contours. Beeler briefly describes “intonation” in Shmuwich, without giving examples.

At least three pitch contours may be recognized: a) a rising curve, marked \lrcorner , appearing (infrequently) on words expressing assent or agreement; b) a curve, rising and then falling, marked $\hat{}$, on words expressing surprise, interrogation or astonishment; c) a falling curve, marked $\`$, hitherto identified on the final syllables of nouns with initial (distributive) reduplication. (page 7)

Of these three patterns, only Beeler's second category — marked with the circumflex accent $\hat{}$ — shows up in the dictionaries. Samala language students use the informal term “E with a hat” to describe the circumflex accent in a few particles like the “yes/no” question particle **hê**, the Samala equivalent of Shmuwich **k'ê**.

The Wheeler dictionary gives several examples of particles with the rising-and-falling circumflex accent $\hat{}$. They are in the separate list of particles on pages 43–45.

In Mary Yee's recordings, particles with this accent often give the impression that the high or rising part of the intonation goes on the particle, while the falling accent goes on the following syllable. The following syllable starts off higher than it would otherwise. Listen to the sound clips of the following phrases to hear how this sounds.

'a'yi kê he'?	“who is this?”
malâ'me 'a'yi	“anyone, anybody”
kenû ksa'aktina'?	“why should I come?”
'uwû 'me piyč'o?	“are you all well?”

1.4 An Introduction to glottal stop

STOP — Defined

A “stop” is a consonant that involves completely stopping or blocking the flow of air through the vocal tract. A stop sound like P blocks the air flow by shutting the lips. A stop like K blocks the flow by shutting the lips or raising the back of the tongue against the palate.

GLOTTAL STOP — Defined

“Glottal stop” is a stop made even deeper in the vocal tract. It’s the sound you make when you shut the “glottis” or vocal cords. The symbol for it in the International Phonetic Alphabet is ʔ, a symbol rather like a question mark minus the period.

Glottal stop may sound exotic, since we don’t recognize it as a sound in English. On the other hand, glottal stop definitely shows up in English, so you already have some facility with it. Hopefully seeing it laid out this way will help demystify the subject.

Here are some environments in which speakers of American English use glottal stop.

- in exclamations like oh–oh and unh–uh “no” — actually ʔoh–ʔoh and ʔunh–ʔuh.
- in words where T comes before another consonant, either within a word or when two words come together. We write T and tend to “hear” T, but the actual pronunciation is a glottal stop. Here’s a very rough phonetic transcription of the spoken English.

<i>spelled</i>	<i>spoken</i>	<i>spelled</i>	<i>spoken</i>
“kitten”	kiʔn	“right now”	rayʔ naw
“lightning”	layʔning	“don’t wait”	donʔ weyt
“motley”	maʔli	“you got me”	yu gaʔ mi

- in words that begin with a vowel, at least when they’re pronounced in isolation.

<i>spelled</i>	<i>spoken</i>	<i>spelled</i>	<i>spoken</i>
“ouch”	ʔawch	“inside”	ʔinsayd

- optionally in words that begin with a vowel when they follow some other word. The version with glottal stop is more emphatic.

<i>spelled</i>	<i>no glottal stop</i>	<i>with glottal stop and emphatic</i>
“go in”	go in	go ʔin
“fell over”	fel ovr	fel ʔovr
“in or out”	ʔin or awt	ʔin or ʔawt ~ ʔin ʔor ʔawt

Glottal stop shows up constantly in Shmuwich. All of the consonants of Shmuwich except for h can be accompanied by glottal stop. A glottal stop is made deep in the throat — at the vocal cords — so it’s quite possible to pronounce another sound at the same time.

GLOTTALIZED CONSONANT — Defined

A consonant is “glottalized” when it is pronounced with a glottal stop. For many words this is an inherent part of the word — the consonant always shows up with a glottal stop. This is usually after the consonant, as in t’amay “to forget,” but the glottal stop may show up before the consonant, as in na’n “to go.”

Analyzing and writing occurrences of glottal stop and sequences of a consonant with glottal stop presents challenges.

1.4.1 Writing glottal stop — then and now

Recent writings on Shmuwich are largely computer-based and generally write glottal stop as a separate element because this is so much easier to type and format. There are two main ways to show glottal stop here.

- In online material — such as in emails, texts, or using the search box of a PDF, the easiest way to show a glottal stop with a plain apostrophe — 'ik^hu “but” and 'itⁱ “here.”
- In printed material, glottal stop is most distinctive as a curly close quote as in 'ik^hu and 'itⁱ.

Word processors like Word tend to convert this symbol into an open quote as ‘ik^hu and ‘itⁱ. I have a strong preference for close-quote 'ik^hu and 'itⁱ because it has a closer resemblance to the actual phonetic symbol for glottal stop — ?.

I use a special symbol that’s identical to the curly close quote; Word doesn’t mess with it. The character code for this symbol is 02BC in Unicode hex format. I’ve set it up in my computer as a macro with Alt-hyphen, so it’s very easy to access.

Earlier writings tended to indicate glottal stop in one of two ways.

- Glottal stop by itself, for example at the beginning of a word, is written with a symbol like a question mark minus the period. You can see this in 'ik^hu “but” and 'itⁱ “here” on the right.
- Glottal stop in conjunction with another consonant is written as a superscript, a symbol like a curly close quote written above the consonant. It’s easy to see the glottal stop superimposed over most letters, but it’s harder to see with t and k and l, as you can see in these lines from Wash 1999, page 5.

```
?ikhu ?iti
but here
<But here
```

(9) Comet; Text 25 line 1 (JPH 1986: Rl. 59, Fr. 217)

```
hahku s-iša-tasin hi-ho?-l-tehleq'eč hu-l-?aqiwo
if 3-kind.of-be.red CN-DIS-ART-tail.having RM-ART-star
'If a comet looks red or has a reddish color,'
```

(10) Tulareño Yokuts Indians; Text 117 line 13 (JPH 1986: Rl. 59, Fr. 597)

```
?ikhu ?iti spanayiw hu-sxamin ..
but here edge RM-ocean
<But here, on the coast, [they consumed a lot of salt]>.
```

When I cite these lines in this volume and in the Integrated Dictionary, you’ll see them reformatted with a linear sequence of glottal stop and consonant.

```
hak'u s-iša-tasin hi ho' l-te'leq'eč hu l-'aqiwo “if a comet [“tailed star”] is reddish”
'ikhu 'iti s-pana'yiw hu sxa'min “but here at the edge of the ocean”
```

1.4.2 Inherently glottalized consonants

Many words include one or more consonants with an inherent glottal stop; the glottal stop is part of the word and always shows up unless some sound rule deletes it.

1) **With liquids** — the class of sounds that includes **m, n, l, w** and **y**

LIQUID or SONORANT — Defined

A “liquid” is a sound that is produced with a smooth, continuous flow of air through the vocal tract. The pronunciation of such sounds — like **m** — can be prolonged in a way that “harder” sounds like **T** or **K** can’t. “Sonorant” is another term for the liquid sounds, but “liquid” is more self-explanatory.

The closure of glottal stop comes before liquids in the middle of words and at the end as well. The articulation of the two sounds can actually be simultaneous, but it sounds like glottal stop comes before the liquid. So the **’** symbol comes before the liquid.

mo’ moy	“Datura”	tuké’ m	“mountain lion”
ne’ ne	“maternal grandmother”	po’ n	“tree, wood, stick”
’ u’ lam	“creek, stream”	aqli’ l	“to show, be visible”
to’ wič	“to be/go fast”	to’ w	“smoke”
’ a’ yi	“who, someone”	ša’ y	“daughter”

2) **With fricatives** — the class of sounds that includes **s, š** and **x**

FRICATIVE — Defined

A “fricative” is a sound that’s made by forcing air through some narrowing of the vocal tract, so that there’s friction or turbulence.

The closure of glottal stop can be pretty much simultaneous with fricatives, although the release of the glottal stop sounds like it comes after the fricative at the beginning and in the middle of the word. So the **’** symbol comes after the fricative here.

as’ ay	“to hang something”	’ as’ u’ l	“smelt” (fish species)
uš’ e	“to dig”	tiš’ i’ lil	“red ant”
x’ ox	“heron”	six’ on	“brodiaea, blue dicks (a food plant)”

At the end of the word, the closure of glottal stop sounds like it comes before the fricative. So the **’** symbol comes before the liquid.

wo’ s	“tassel”	xa’ x	“a big one”
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3) **With other consonants**

Two remaining classes of sounds are

- **p, t, k** and **q** — known as “stops,” as discussed above
- **c** [“ts”] and **č** [“ch”] — which are stops with a fricative component. In fact, Harrington wrote these sound as “**ts**” and “**tš**.” Later linguists generally write them with single symbols as **c** and **č** because they act like single units rather than consonant clusters, especially where reduplication is concerned.

The technical term “obstruent” covers **p**, **t**, **k** and **q** plus **c** and **č**. And the term “affricate” covers **c** and **č**, but this document avoids both terms as unnecessarily technical.

With this class of sounds, the closure of glottal stop can be pretty much simultaneous but the release of the glottal stop sounds like it comes after the consonant, wherever in the word it may occur.

p’ow	“to be bent”	’ap’ič	“to refuse”
t’o	“mussel”	wot’	“chief”
c’ic’i	“to be sharp”	’atuc’	“carrying net with a ringed mouth”
č’a’min	“to know”	xinč’i	“to be bad, ugly”
k’e	“and”	ušk’ál	“to be strong”
q’a’	“to choke”	qaq’	“raven”

1.4.3 Glottal stop plus a consonant becoming a single unit

In Shmuwich, almost all nouns that begin with a vowel also have a glottal stop in front of that vowel.

’ap	“house”	’oqwo’n	“head, hair”
’alč^hum	“money, bead money”	’e’lew	“tongue”

With verbs, it’s rarer for the word to begin with a sequence of glottal stop plus a vowel, but there are still plenty of examples.

’ap’ič	“to refuse”	’ikimin	“to be new”
’oyon	“to help someone	’uw	“to eat”

Adding various prefixes to these words — see section 2.2 — often involves bringing a consonant in direct contact with the glottal stop. The resulting sequence is pronounced as a single unit, just like consonants with inherent glottal stop as discussed above.

k-’ap	>	k’ap	“my house”	k-’ap’ič	>	k’ap’ič	“I refuse”
p-’oqwo’n	>	p’oqwo’n	“your head/hair”	p-’uw	>	p’uw	“you eat [it]”
s-’anč^hum	>	š’anč^hum	“his/her money”	s-’ikimin	>	s’ikimin	“it’s new”

NOTE: There’s one very important environment in which consonants and glottal stop are not treated as a single unit when they come together. When CVC reduplication creates a sequence of liquid plus glottal stop, they remain separate. See section 3.7.4 for reduplication with nouns and 7.10 for reduplication with verbs.

’alqap + R	>	’al’alqap’	“mortars”
s-iwon + R	>	siw’iwon	“it sounds, is calling”

1.4.4 “Moveable” glottal stop

In words with inherent glottal stop, especially when these words show up themselves, glottal stop stays where it “belongs.” Here are a few examples with the verb root **na’n** ~ **na’** “to go,” both by itself and in compounds of some prefix plus **na’n**.

'al-e-wil-waš hi s-na’n-it “I didn’t care”

— literally “it wasn’t something [that] goes to me”

axna’n “to flow, to glide; to go rapidly, to dart around” — with **aq-/ax-** “quickly”

maqna’n “to run straight (of boards)” — with **maq-** “of a line/cord”

However, glottal stop sometimes moves around — usually toward the front of the word. Most over compounds with **na’n** ~ **na’** show the glottal stop systematically moving forward.

akti-na’n > **akti’na** “to come, to come this way” — with **akti-** “of coming”

lu-na’n > **lu’nan** “to grow” — with **lu-** “of growing”

nu-na’n > **nu’na** “to bring, take along” — with **nu-** “along with”

pil-na’n > **pi’nan** “to hop” — with **pil-** “through the air”

Incidentally, glottal stop doesn’t move forward in **axna’n** and **maqna’n** above because **n** can’t be glottalized after another consonant.

Often glottal stop moves forward when the first consonant of the syllable that it ends it is a liquid between two vowels. Here are examples with

- a verb prefix with a liquid plus a verb root with a glottalized liquid

ta’luliš “to pinch, tweeze” — from **tal-** “with the hand” + **u’liš** “to grab, seize”

- the noun marker **-mu’** (see section 12.1.8)

'axuta’mu “breakfast” — from **axut’a** “to eat breakfast” + **-mu’**

'aqspa’mu “cigarette” — from **aqspa’** “to smoke a cigar/cigarette” + **-mu’**

nana’mu “kind, type, sort” — from **na’n** “to go” + **-mu’**

- CVC reduplication in nouns, which ordinarily adds a glottal stop at the end of the noun (see section 3.7.5), as in

paxpaxat’ “whales” — from **paxat** “whale”

The final glottal stop moves forward with liquids at the beginning of the last syllable.

'aqiwo + R > **'aq’aqi’wo** “stars”

nono + R > **nohno’no** “grandfathers”

pakuwaš + R > **pakpaku’waš** “old men”

taniw + R > **tantan’iw** “children, offspring”

Needless to say, moveable glottal stop complicates the process of writing completed words with hyphens separating the elements. It’s not really accurate to break **ta’luliš** down as ***ta’l-uliš** and writing **tal-u’liš** totally ignores the movement of the glottal stop.

1.4.5 “Sporadic” glottal stop

Sometimes a word with no inherent glottalization shows up with glottal stop in certain compounds or derivatives. This is called “sporadic” glottal stop.

- mik'in ~ mik'in** “to go far” — with **mik** “far” + **-vn** “verb marker”
suqili'wax “to strain (through a strainer)” — from **su-** “causing” + **qil-/qili-** “of water” + **wax** “to leak”
nuša'lakti'na “to haul, bring a massive object” — from **nu-** “along with” + **ša-** “of moving” + **akti'na** “to come”

Certain derivative endings that turn verbs into nouns (see section 12.1) sometimes add sporadic glottalization to the syllable before them, especially when a liquid is involved.

- 'ušk'a'liš** “strength” — from **ušk'al** “to be strong” + **-vš** “noun marker”
'iwo'nuš “sound” — from **iwon** “to sound” + **-vš** “noun marker”
'ičkuč'há'š “defense” — from **'ičkuč** “to defend” + **-šaš** “noun marker”
monuš'há'š “painting, image” — from **monus** “to paint” + **-šaš** “noun marker”

Here is an example where a verb base **-xoy-** “re moving/flying” shows up glottalized in one compound but not in another.

- pilxo'yin** “to jump over” — with **pil-** “through the air” + **-xoy-** + **-vn** “verb marker”
xoyoyon “to fly” — from **-xoy-** + **-vn** “verb marker” with middle reduplication

As with moveable glottal stop in the section above, the appearance of sporadic glottal stop complicates the process of writing finished words broken down with hyphens.

1.4.6 A Minor issue with writing glottal stop

Occasionally two glottal stops show up together as a Shmuwich word is assembled. They are reduced to a single glottal stop in speech.

- k-sa'-'uw** “I will eat [it]”

As long as the words are written with hyphens separating the elements, it makes sense show both glottal stops. If you were write the sentence above without hyphens, then you have to drop drop one of the glottal stops.

- ksa'u** “I will eat [it]” — NOT ***ksa''uw**

On the other hand, across word boundaries both glottal stop stay in the written form.

- 'ašk'á' 'i š-u'liš** “Coyote seizes [it]”

In actual connected speech, the sentence above would be run together as

- 'ašk'á'išu'liš**

but not written run together.

1.5 Raised H and Aspiration

ASPIRATION — Defined

The term “aspiration” refers to the puff of breath that marks consonants written with “raised H,” such as k^h and s^h . Such sequences are called “aspirated consonants.” The puff of breath marks them as distinct from the “plain” version of the same consonant, which lacks that extra puff of breath.

1.5.1 How Aspiration shows up in English

Before discussing how aspiration works in Shmuwich, it’s important to understand how it works in English too — most students of Shmuwich are learning the language based on knowing English as a first language. Unfortunately, the sound patterns of English likely to produce a lot of confusion around hearing and producing aspiration in Shmuwich.

Section 1.4 on glottalization mentions a set of consonants called “stops,” which in English include P, T and K plus CH (which is a stop with a fricative). For ease of discussion, let’s just call this series “stops.” Here’s how they show up in various positions in the word.

- At the beginning of the word, English stop consonants are automatically aspirated in front of a stressed vowel unless they follow S in the same word. Here are some examples written in very rough phonetics but with a raised H to indicate aspiration. You can feel the aspiration if you hold your hand a few inches from your mouth.

“pit”	p^h it	“tick”	t^h ik	“chew”	č <u>u</u>	“kit”	k^h it
“spit”	spit	“stick”	stik	—		“skit”	skit

Note that an S in the previous word doesn’t count.

“this pit”	this p^h it	“this tick”	this t^h ik
“the spit”	the spit	“the stick”	the stik

A stop at the beginning of the word is aspirated even if the following vowel is unstressed.

“today”	t^h uh-dáy	“pretend”	p^h ruh- t^h end
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- In the middle of the word, English stops are generally aspirated before stressed vowels and unaspirated before unstressed vowels.

“depend”	duh- p^h énd	“declare”	duh- k^h lér
“skimpy”	skímpi	“kicking”	k^h iking

Unaspirated before unstressed vowels can apply within the phrase as well.

“stop it”	stap it	“a kick off”	uh k^h ik of
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English also has sequences of a stop plus H in compound words. This is not just a stop with aspiration, but a stop with a full H sound after it. These are easy to hear.

“uphill”	“crack house”	and “grasshopper”
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The basic situation in English is that English sound patterns actually train your ear to ignore aspiration most of the time.

1.5.2 Aspiration in Shmuwich

The pattern of aspiration in Shmuwich is completely different from that of English. In Shmuwich, aspiration doesn't depend on conditions like stressed vowels. A consonant is either aspirated or not. Unaspirated consonants are unaspirated in all environments and aspirated consonants are aspirated.

Smuwich allows the following aspirated consonants.

p^h	t^h	c^h	č^h	k^h	q^h
		s^h	š^h		

The remaining consonants —the liquids **m n l w y** plus **h x ' — do not show up with raised H. Deciphering the symbols for aspirated consonants can be tricky. For example, c^h and s^h are not the same as English CH and SH. English words with roughly equivalent sounds include “waits here” for c^h and “grasshopper” for s^h.**

Shmuwich — as well as Samala and Mitsqanaqa'n — are unusual among the world's languages because both **s** and **š** can also show up aspirated — as **s^h** and **š^h** in words such as **s^ha** “a tooth, someone's tooth” and **uš^ho'** “to let, allow. The need to maintain a clear distinction among these four — **s**, **s^h**, **š** and **š^h** — is one of the main reasons for writing **š** with a special symbol rather than using the English sequence SH.

Aspirated consonants are much easier for speakers of English to hear when they are not the first sound in the word or phrase — for example, following the connector **hi**. Try adding the stop consonant at the end of the **hi** syllable and then start the next syllable with a strong **h**.

<i>written</i>		<i>try saying</i>
hi k^huti	“I see [something]”	hik h^uti
hi p^hu	“your hand”	hip h^u

On the other hand, don't overdo it. I have heard beginning students attempt **k^huti** “I see” as something like ***k^hahuti**, with the **k** and **h** separated but with aspiration on the **k** because it's English default aspiration.

1.5.3 Inherent aspiration

There is a fairly small group of words which include some aspirated consonant as part of the root of the word. Here are many of them.

'a'nip^hey	“cliff swallow”	'is^huy	“to mean, signify”
aq^hay	“to be in some location”	'olq^hoš	“otter”
aq^hina'	“to be grateful”	q^hapq^hap	“to be thin”
č^ho	“to be good”	tak^huy	“to take along”
č^ho'	“to stop, quit”	tis^hit	“wren”
č^humaš	“islander”	uš^ho'	“to let, allow”
c'iq^hi'y	“snake”	ušq^hal	“to be open”
'ik^hu	“but, however”	yuq^han	“to lie on one's back”

1.5.4 Double-consonant aspiration

It's much more common for aspirated consonants to show up as a result of a sound rule that's quite common. When two identical consonants shows up next to each other, the double consonant becomes a single aspirated consonant. There are various conditions where this is likely to happen. The examples below have the connector **hi** in front of them to make it easier to practice/hear aspiration.

Double consonants from person markers

Most of the time — or at least when you're first learning the language — double consonants result come about when one of the person markers **k-** “I,” **p-** “you” and **s-** “he, she, it” is added to an element that already starts with **k**, **p** or **s**.

hi k-kok'o	>	hi k^hok'o	“my father”
hi k-kuti	>	hi k^huti	“I see [something]”
hi p-pu	>	hi p^hu	“your hand, arm”
hi p-pintap	>	hi p^hintap	“you jump in”
hi s-sa	>	hi s^ha	“his/her/its tooth”
hi s-si'nay	>	hi s^hi'nay	“he/she puts/places [something]”

When **k-** shows up in front of **q** and when **s-** shows up in front of **š**, the first consonant shifts to match the second consonant and there's another source of double consonants.

hi k-qalantiš	>	hi q^halantiš	“my belt”
hi k-qilik	>	hi q^hilik	“I take care of [something]”
hi s-ša'y	>	hi š^ha'y	“his/her daughter”
hi s-šo'n	>	hi š^ho'n	“it is bitter”

Double consonants from number markers

The number marker **iš-** may show up in front of an element that begins with **s** or **š**, with sibilant harmony ensuring that this results in a double consonant.

s-iš-si'nay	>	sis^hi'nay	“the two of them put [it], place [it]”
s-iš-su'nan	>	sis^hu'nan	“the two of them continue, keep going”
s-iš-ša'y	>	šiš^ha'y	“their daughter, the daughter of the two of them”
s-iš-šumawiš	>	šiš^humawiš	“the two of them are well, healthy”

Double consonants from other sources

Double consonants can also come about as a result of various other elements coming together.

The suffix **-pi** “on, onto/into” may show up after a verb that ends in **p**.

hu-l-intap-pi	>	hul'intap^hi	“cover, inlet” — “where water comes in”
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Reduplication can also give rise to double consonants.

ktut + Redup	>	ktut^hut'	“spiders”
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1.6 Sibilant harmony

SIBILANT — Defined

The term “sibilant” refers to sounds like **S** and **Š**. These sounds are a subset of fricatives as discussed above in section 1.4.2; **s** and **š** have a much “sharper” sound than **x**, the other Shmuwich fricative. The related sounds **c/ts** and **č/ch** also include a sibilant component.

1.6.1 Writing sibilants

There’s no one right way to write the sibilants of Shmuwich. Harrington wrote **c** as **ts** and **č** as **tš**, since phonetically these sound are a **T** followed by **s** or **š**. There are good reasons to follow Harrington’s example with **ts** and **tš** and equally good reasons to treat **ts** and **tš** as single units **c** and **č**. These notes, the integrated dictionary and Lexique Pro use **c** and **č**.

1.6.2 The Grid of sibilants

Shmuwich sibilants fall into two groups, depending on how the sibilant part of the sound is articulated.

	plain	sibilant
	sibilant	with T
hissing	s	c [ts]
hushing	š [sh]	č [ch]

The “hushing” sibilants **š** and **č** are written with a wedge, while “hissing” sibilants **s** and **c** are written with the basic letter.

1.6.3 Sibilant harmony within unitary words

Within unitary words — words which can’t be broken down into smaller units — all the sibilants in a word match by being hissing or hushing, plain or wedged. This pattern is called “sibilant harmony.” There are lots of examples.

s/c harmony		š/č harmony	
'osos	“heel”	č^humaš	“Santa Cruz islander”
'ac'is	“beard, whisker”	č'alayaš	“path, trail, road”
sq'oyis	“kelp, seaweed”	ičič	“younger sibling”
sto'yoc	“soap root”	šuš	“fur”
yasis	“poison oak”	č'ič'i	“child”
=sisin	re “anger, insult”	šoxš	“down feathers”

1.6.4 Sibilant harmony as a process

In an older stage of the language — as spoken by Mary Yee’s mother and grandmother — sibilant harmony also operated across all the elements of longer words. This is also true of Samala/Inezeño and Mitsqanaqa'n/Ventureño.

The principle is easy to state: **the last sibilant wins.**

When the elements of a word are all in place, the last sibilant determines whether sibilants earlier in the word are hissing or hushing. There are two patterns, depending on whether the last sibilant adds wedges to the other sibilants in the word or takes them away.

As it turns out, sibilant harmony was more likely to apply completely across the word in casual connected speech; it was more likely to be ignored in slow speech, especially dictation. Harrington commented on this process in Ventureño.

“The assimilation [i.e. sibilant harmony] is moreover less thorough with some speakers than with others. Especially in slow speech and when detached words are furnished it is apt to be absent.

Linguist Marianne Mithun provides this Harrington quote from 1928 in her 1977 article *The Regression of Sibilant Harmony Through the Life of Barbareño Chumash*.

Hushing sibilant harmony

By far the more common pattern with sibilant harmony is that the last sibilant adds wedges to the other sibilants. There are two main reasons for this.

- (1) Among the most common prefixes is the third-person marker **s-**. It becomes **š-** when there’s a wedged sibilant later in the word, which occurs quite often.

s-’anč^hum	>	š’anč^hum	“his/her money”
s-ašiw-it	>	šašiwit	“he/she speaks to me”
s-axšiš-in	>	šaxšišin	“he/she calls/invites you”
s-iy-aqšan	>	šiyaqšan	“they die, are dead”

Another example, with **su-** “causing” becoming harmonic with a following wedged sibilant.

su-anšin	>	šanšin	“to feed”
su-uquštáy	>	šuquštáy	“to light up. illuminate”

- (2) Of the suffixes in Shmuwich with sibilants, all but one are wedged sibilants, so wedging is by far the most common effect of sibilant harmony.

’ac’is-vš	>	’ač’išiš	“clam species” — used for tweezing ’ac’is “whiskers”
ackaw-vš	>	’ačkawiš	“error, mistake”
s-’o’-vč	>	š’oč’	“it is wet”
k-esqen-š	>	kešqeč	“I ask” — no object specified
s-kuti-waš	>	škutiwaš	“he/she/it saw/looked at”

Hissing sibilant harmony

The third-person object marker **-us** is the only suffix with a hissing sibilant. It removes the wedges from sibilants earlier in the word.

k-ašiw-us	>	kasiwus	“I talk to him/her”
k-isti'-us	>	kistilus	“I find [it] for him/her”

Hissing sibilants affect sibilants in earlier prefixes.

k-iš-su-tap	>	kis^hutap	“we two are putting [it] in”
kê p-iš-'ip-us?	>	kê pis'ipus?	“are you two saying [it] to him/her?”

Back and forth

The last sibilant wins, so any of the examples of hissing sibilant above could be reversed by add a hushing suffix such as **-waš** “past tense.”

k-isti'-us-waš	>	kištilušwaš	“I found [it] for him/her”
k-iš-su-tap-waš	>	kiš^hutapwaš	“we two put [it] in”
kê p-iš-'ip-us-waš?	>	kê piš'ipušwaš?	“did you two say [it] to him/her?”

Undoing sibilant harmony

For some reason Mary Yee stopped applying sibilant harmony to whole words, so it seldom shows up in the recordings and transcriptions of her speech. The examples that do show up are cases where a word that breaks down into smaller elements gets treated as if it were a single unit. Some of these words have alternate forms without sibilant harmony.

Here are a few examples.

su-anšin	>	šanšin ~ sanšin	“to feed [someone]”
sip-vš	>	šipiš ~ sipiš	“load carried on the back”
s-išaw-i	>	šišawi ~ sišawi	“summer”

Otherwise, dictionary entries and example phrases based on Beeler’s sessions with Mary Yee do not show sibilant harmony. It does show up in teaching materials.

Sibilant harmony in the older Shmuwich materials

A quick spot check through the online notes of Harrington’s interviews with Mary Yee’s mother Lucretia García and her grandmother Luisa Ignacio show many examples of sibilant harmony. The examples below all show the most common form of sibilant harmony, in which the third-person marker **s-** becomes **š** because **š** or **č** show up later in the word.

šikšepšul	“it is frosty” — 20:0070 SA
šiša'w	“it is hot” — the sun — 22:0039
šiqipš hel mitipin	“the door is closed” — 22:0041
ka šmiš hel'eneq	“this woman is crying” — 22:0047
moq'e šaqšan	“he/she/it is already dead” — 22:0077

Mithun's article *The Regression of Sibilant Harmony Through the Life of Barbareño Chumash* explored this topic in more detail. Mithun concludes that sibilant harmony was "quite systematic" in the speech of Luisa Ignacio and "pervasive but not invariant" in the speech of Luisa Ignacio.

Teaching Sibilant harmony

It's fairly easy to acquire the habit of applying sibilant harmony to Shmuwich words, at least words in which the sibilants are only one syllable away from each other, such as

s-anšin	>	šanšin	"he/she eats"
s-aqšan	>	šaqšan	"he/she/it is dead"

Applying sibilant harmony across two or more syllables take more practice, but the Samala students learned to do this and took pride in this particular aspect of their language.

s-iy-'ip-waš	>	šiy'ipwaš	"they said"
š-kuti-waš	>	škutiwaš	"he/she/it saw/looked at [something]"

The teaching materials and language instruction have supported reinstating sibilant harmony, with students seem to accept. There is more support for reinstating sibilant harmony than for reinstating the L/N rule with l- and 'al- as discussed above.

1.7 Liquids — m n l w y

Liquids are a class of sounds that all behave alike in some important ways. Section 1.4.2 on glottalized consonants gave an introduction to liquids.

- 1) Glottal stop comes before liquids within single words which don't break down into smaller units. This is true in the middle of words and at the end as well.

mo'moy	“Datura”	tuké'm	“mountain lion”
ne'ne	“maternal grandmother”	po'n	“tree, wood, stick”
'u'lam	“creek, stream”	aqli'l	“to show, be visible”
to'wič	“to be/go fast”	to'w	“smoke”
'a'yi	“who, someone”	ša'y	“daughter”

- 2) Liquids are whispered at the end of the word or in front of consonants, maybe just lightly. This is more noticeable with **l**, **w** and **y**, especially after glottal stop at the end of the word. Listen carefully to the sound clips in Lexique Pro for the words below.

ipšel	“to be ripe, cooked”	'e'l	“necklace”
šow	“tobacco”	to'w	“smoke”
eqpey	“to resemble”	ša'y	“daughter”

- 3) When two identical liquids show up one after the other, pronounce them both. Two identical liquids in a row don't follow the raised H rule that applies to consonants like **k** and **p** and **s/š**, as discussed below — section 1.5.

So while **k-k** becomes **k^h** in **k-kok'o** > **k^hok'o** “my father,” the identical liquids stay in

k'uwwaš	“I ate it” — k-'uw-waš
siyyahyá'	“their arrows” — s-iy-ya' + Redup
sammonus	“they paint it” — s-am-mon-us

1.7.1 The “Flip” rule with liquids and glottal stop

Under most conditions, a sequence of a liquid and glottal stop “flips” — switches to glottal stop plus liquid for easier pronunciation.

s-am-'ip	>	sa'mip	“they [indefinite] say” — from s-am- “they” + 'ip “to say”
ilok'in-'i'	>	'i'loki'ni'	“hatchet” — from ilok'in “to chop” + -'i' “instrument”
wil-'i'	>	wi'li'	“harpoon” — from wil “to shoot” + -'i' “instrument”
qew + Redup	>	qewqe'w	“seed beaters” — reduplicated qew with final glottalization
axmay-'	>	'axma'y	“debt” — from axmay “to owe” + -' “noun marker”

NOTE: The flip rule does not apply when reduplication brings about a sequence of liquid plus glottal stop. This happens with the reduplication of words that begin with glottal stop plus a vowel followed by a liquid.

'en'eneq'	“women”	'am'amut'e'y	“sisters”
'ol'olq^ho'š	“sea otters”	'uw'uwa'š	“pipes”

However, the reduplicated agent **'a'la-** does show the flip rule in operation.

1.7.2 The L/N Shift — a sound rule with L

Under certain conditions, L becomes N when it comes right before the sounds **t**, **c**, **s**, **č** and **š**. What do these sounds all have in common? They are pronounced with the tip of the tongue, if it helps to know this. There are many examples of this rule in operation.

According to Beeler's sketch (page 10), this process applied across the board, including to the article **l-** and the common verb prefix **'al-** or **'a'lal-**. His examples include:

ho' štik hu n-šup “the top of the mountain” — from **hu l-šup** “the [remote] mountain”
'a'lantipawilš “talker, one who talks a lot” — **'a'lal-** + **tipawil** “to talk”

Harrington records Yee's grandmother as saying

'it'i n-šup “this world” — for **'it'i l-šup**
s-wil hi 'awini n-sku'mu 'it'i n-šup “there are four direction in this world”

The shift of L to N was very likely true of an earlier generation of speakers, but the material from Mary Yee does not reflect this process with either **l-** or **'a'lal-** except for a few rare examples. Yee probably stopped applying this sound rule in her speech, just as she also stopped applying the sibilant harmony rule discussed shortly.

The shift of L to N for **l-** and **'a'lal-** hardly shows up in Yee's material or in the Shmuwich teaching materials so far, and language students haven't practiced this shift, so it's probably best not to try to reinstate it.

On the other hand, there are many examples of the shift of L to N in items of Shmuwich vocabulary that are more fixed — items which you use “as in,” so to speak. Here are some examples to use “off the shelf” — its easiest just to learn them “as is.”

'anč^hum “money, shell bead money” — probably “what has value,” from **'al-**
 + **=č^hum** base re “of value” — see **č^humaš** “islander,” noted for
 manufacturing shell money
'antap “ritual initiate” — literally “one who enters” the ceremonial enclosure,
 from **'al-** + **tap** “to enter”

Other “as-is” examples involve more complex aspects of Shmuwich grammar, such as various common verb prefixes that end with L and the compounds they form with verb roots.

- from **tal-** “with the hand”
 - tente'y** “to touch”; from **tal-** + **=te'y** root re “touching”
 - tanc'imimin** “to squeeze”; from **tal-** + **=c'imimin** “to squeeze, purse”
 - tansix** “to hold tightly, to squeeze”; from **tal-** + **=six** “being tight, doing firmly”
- from **pil-** “through the air”
 - pintap** “to jump in”; from **pil-** + **tap** “to enter”
- from **yul-** “with heat”
 - yuntasin** “to be red hot, bright red; to blush”; from **yul-** + **tasin** “to be red”

Mary Yee kept the shift of L to N in these words, probably because she felt these items as close enough to single units that she didn't think to undo the L/N shift.

1.8 The q/x alternation

Many words show an alternation between **q** and **x** in different forms of the word. There is no known pattern to this alternation, but it shows up on occasion. The most familiar examples are probably the pairs

'eneq	“woman”	noqš	“head”
'enex-iwaš	“old woman”	noxš	“nose, beak, prow”

The word **sqip** “pit, stone (in fruit)” this word may well include **s-** + a form of **xip** “stone” with the **q/x** alternation. Beeler (page 11) links **qo'** “pet” and **xopoy** “to play.”

Sometimes a single word has alternate forms, such as

snaq'il ~ **snax'il** “flint”

Other examples involve certain verb prefixes, which show up with **q** in front of some verbs and with **x** in front of other verbs. A good example is the prefix **aq-/ax-**, which sometimes means “with the mouth or teeth.” See section 9.3.3 on “the **q/x** alternation with inner prefixes.”

aqti'	to fill up, be full (from eating); from aq- + =ti' “of encountering” — i.e. to eat to one's limit
axkla'	to shell acorns with the teeth; from aq-/ax- + kla' “to break”
axtap	to put in the mouth; to eat raw; from aq-/ax- + tap “to enter”
axtatan	to chew; from aq-/ax- + =tatan — bound verb root “repeated blows”
oxloq	to bite a hole into; from aq-/ax- + loq “to be perforated”

This discussion is just to alert you to the possibility of the **q/x** alternation, not to explain why or when it occurs. Samala and Mitsqanaqa'n/Ventureño show similar patterns; this alternation probably represents a very old stratum of the ancestral Central Chumash language.

1.9 Dropping H in the connector hi, etc.

A few very common elements all begin with **h** — most notably the connector **hi**, but also the demonstratives **he'**, **ho'** and **hu**.

1.9.1 When H drops out

The **h** of these words often drops out when

- **h** follows a word that ends in a consonant, including glottal stop,
- **h** and the word it follows are part of the same phrase, and
- the phrase is pronounced at conversational speed — i.e. not slowly and deliberately.

The recorded narratives often show this process; you can hear these sentences in the Lexique Pro dictionary (in the entry under the main word on the right).

stasin hi he' p^ho'	“your cheeks are red” — under tasin “to be red”
hi 'alapay hi l-xax hi l-xip	“on top of a big rock” — under 'alapay “over, above”
hi s^hutap hi ho' s'ik	“he sticks his mouth in, into it” — under sutap “to put in”
'alaqšwalaw hi no'no stipawpawil	“he/she really loves to talk” — under aqšwalaw

Sometimes a single sentence treats **hi** both ways, perhaps because it includes two phrases.

sakti'anšin hi ho' s'ap hi x'ox “he comes to eat at Heron’s house”

Mary Yee pauses after **sakti'anšin** “he comes to eat” and then pronounces the initial **h** of the remaining phrase, but she drops the **h** after **s'ap** because it all part of the same phrase.

1.9.2 Writing H anyway

I have made a point of writing the **h** at all times while reminding students that it’s OK and even proper to drop it under certain circumstances — especially at conversational speed.

As I have mentioned in a number of Shmuwich sessions, I tried the opposite approach in teaching Samala and it backfired. I taught writing connectors, etc. without **h** when they follow consonants and keeping **h** when they follow vowels.

s'ip i 'ašk'á'	“Coyote says”
skuti hi 'ašk'á'	“Coyote sees [him/her/it]” or “he/she/it sees Coyote”

This works fine when you say the words of the sentence as a sequence of connected sounds — in fluent or at least proficient speech.

The problem arises when students pronounce the words one at a time — either with very new students wrapping their tongues around a string of unfamiliar sounds or with students at almost any level assembling a phrase on the fly during a class or practice session. In that case, you might need to pronounce an **h** that you could drop if speaking faster.

If you see the phrase **s'ip i 'ašk'á'** written without an **h**, there’s a strong likelihood that you’ll add a glottal stop if you say the words slowly or one at a time — ***s'ip 'i 'ašk'á'**.

Writing the word with an **h** consistently is a good reminder that it belongs there — at least at certain speech tempos.

1.10 Generational differences in the language

There are noticeable changes in the sound pattern of Shmuwich over the course of perhaps sixty years, as spoken by Luisa Ignacio, her daughter Lucretia García, and her daughter Mary Yee. Harrington began working with Luisa Ignacio in 1912 or 1913, when she was nearly 80 years old. He worked with Lucretia García between 1928 and 1931. He worked with Mary Yee from 1952 until his death in 1961. Linguist Madison S. Beeler worked with Mary Yee from 1954 until her death in 1965.

- **Sibilant Harmony**

Sibilant harmony — discussed in detail in section 1.6 — is a distinctive feature of the Central Chumash languages, including Shmuwich/Barbareño, Samala/Inezeño and Mitsqanaqa'n/Ventureño.

There is documented evidence that Mary Yee's mother and grandmother regularly applied sibilant harmony, while Yee herself tended to drop it. See section 1.6.4.

- **Barred l and plain l — /ɬ/ and /l/**

Beeler comments that “/ɬ/” alternates frequently with /l/, under unspecified conditions” (page 11). Beeler mostly means unexplained alternations such as these.

niw	“to dance”	niw-iš	“a song, dance”
mik	“far”	ili-mik'in	“tide to ebb”

There are also many examples of words which Mary Yee pronounced with /l/ but her grandmother pronounced with /ɬ/. There are probably more examples of this which I just haven't seen yet.

<i>Luisa Ignacio</i>	<i>Mary Yee</i>	
šipitiš	šipitiš	“acorn mush”
čti'n	čti'n	“dog”
liyik	liyik	“middle, between”
nunašiš	nunašiš	“beast, animal, devil”
kikš	kikš	“oneself”
š-naxyit	š-naxyit	“morning”
taniw	taniw	“child, offspring, little one”

- **The shift of /l/ and /n/**

Beeler notes (page 10) that /l/ becomes /n/ when it comes right before the sounds t, c, s, č and š. His examples include:

ho' š-tik hu n-šup “the top of the mountain” — from **hu l-šup** “the [remote] mountain”
'a'lantipawilš “talker, one who talks a lot” — **'a'lal-** + **tipawil** “to talk”

This was very likely true of an earlier generation of speakers, but the material from Mary Yee does not reflect this process with the article l- or 'a'lal- except for these few rare examples.

- **CVC reduplication with consonant clusters**

Suzanne Wash, in her work *Productive Reduplication in Barbareño Chumash*, 1995, cites examples of CVC reduplication with initial consonant clusters. On pages 163 and 164 she shows how earlier speakers included the full consonant clusters in both CVC sequences, but Mary Yee generally reduced the second occurrence of the clusters.

<i>older speakers</i>	<i>Mary Yee</i>	
cweq-cweq'	cweq-weq'	“quantities of grass” — cweq
čtin-čti'n	čtin-ti'n	“dogs”
stap-stapa'n	stap-tapa'n	“round tules”

2 — Bottom-Line Basics

There are a few topics that come up over and over as you study Shmuwich, so this chapter deals with them right away. They include:

- the principle of “most important item first”
- the concepts of prefix, root and suffix
- person–number markers
- particles, including the connector **hi**
- sentences without verbs

2.1 Word order and “most important item first”

An overarching principle of Shmuwich word order is “put the most important item first.”

This principle plays out in various areas. These remarks apply to neutral or unmarked word order, not the word order of special constructions.

Verb first in the sentence

The basic sentence starts with the verb. The verb tells you what the action is or what state or condition is under discussion. Then the sentence spells out who or what is performing this action or experiencing the state.

s–alpat “[someone/something] is running” — the most important fact
s–alpat hi l–wi “the deer is running” — “[something] is running” and then “a deer, that’s what’s running”

s–iš–we’ “[two] are sleeping” — the most important fact
s–iš–we’ hi l–č’ič’i–wun “the two kids are sleeping” — “[two] are sleeping” and then “children, they are the ones sleeping”

Possessed item first in possessive phrases

In possessive phrases — see section 3.9 — the item under discussion comes first, then the phrase spells out who or what possesses this item.

s–kuti hi s–’ap “he/she sees someone’s house” — the most important fact
s–kuti hi s–’ap hi ’ašk’á’ “he/she sees Coyote’s house” — “he/she sees a house” and then “Coyote, that’s whose house it is”

Subject markers before object markers in the verb

In the verb, you indicate the subject first — see section 2.5 — this is the person or thing performing the action of the verb, or perhaps experiencing some state or condition. Then the verb may indicate the object of the verb as a suffix; this is the person or thing undergoing the action or perhaps benefitting from it.

k–itaq–wun “I hear them” — “I” as subject, “hear” as the action, and then “them” as who or what is the object of the act of hearing

2.2 Prefix, root and suffix — Introduction

PREFIX — Defined

A “prefix” is an element which is placed before the root of a word and changes the meaning of the root in some way. Prefixes show up in front of — “pre-” — the word they modify, and they are “stuck” to it — “fixed.” In English, for example, the prefix “un-” added to the root “happy” creates “unhappy.” Prefixes don’t show up by themselves as separate words.

Shmuwich relies heavily on prefixes to add to the meaning of roots, especially with verbs. Verbs can include multiple prefixes in front of a root, such as these examples with the root **kuti** “to see, look.”

k-iy-kuti	“we see [something]”
k-iy-e-kuti	“we don’t see [anything]”
k-iy-axi-kuti	“we take a look at [it], happen to see [it]”
k-iy-nu-kuti	“we habitually look for [something]”

ROOT — Defined

A “root” is the core of the word, the foundation that all other parts are added to or built upon. Noun roots hardly ever show up without some prefix, but verbs in a command form can show up as a bare root.

p-kuti	“you see [something], look at [something]”
kuti	“look!” — command form as the bare root

Verb roots are often the core of families of related words, with various prefixes added to modify the basic meaning of the root. Here are examples of prefixes with the root **kitwo’n** “to emerge, come out, go out.”

axkitwo’n	“to run outside, emerge from quickly”; from aq-/ax- “quickly” + kitwo’n
nukitwo’n	“to bring out, come out with/carrying”; from nu- “along with” + kitwo’n
pilkitwo’n	“to jump out”; from pil- “through the air” + kitwo’n
sukitwo’n	“to take out; from su- “causing” + kitwo’n
wayikitwo’n	“to walk out, come out slowly”; from wayi- “slowly” + kitwo’n
xantapakitwo’n	“to stagger out”; from xantapa- “of staggering” + kitwo’n

SUFFIX — Defined

A “suffix” is the opposite of a prefix. Like a prefix, it is “fixed” to another word, but it comes after the word. Suffixes never show up by themselves, only in combination with some noun or verb. Shmuwich has many prefixes, but far fewer suffixes. Here are a few examples of suffixes with the root **itaq** “to hear.”

k-itaq-in	“I hear you”
k-itaq-wun	“I hear them”
k-itaq-in-waš	“I heard you”

2.3 Person markers — Introduction

You can't get past first base speaking Shmuwich without knowing the "person markers." They show up in one form or another just about every time you use a verb and they show up quite often with nouns too. Discussing person markers involves several grammatical concepts that require some explanation.

PERSON MARKER — Defined

"Person markers" in Shmuwich are prefixes that come before nouns and verbs to tell you about who or what is involved, such as "I" and "my" or "you" and "your." The concept of person is based on a three-way distinction that's common to all languages.

FIRST PERSON — Defined

"First person" refers to the person who is speaking.

- k-antik** "my soul, spirit" — belonging to the person speaking
- k-itaq** "I hear [it]" — action done by the person speaking

SECOND PERSON — Defined

"Second person" refers to the person who is being spoken to.

- p-antik** "your soul, spirit" — belonging to the person being spoken to, one person in this case
- p-itaq** "you hear [it]" — action done by the person being spoken to

THIRD PERSON — Defined

"Third person" refers to the person who is being spoken about.

- s-antik** "his/her soul, spirit" — belonging to the person or thing being spoken about
- s-itaq** "he/she/it hears" — action done by the person or thing being spoken about

<i>person</i>	<i>person marker</i>	<i>English equivalent</i>	Person markers
<i>first</i>	k-	"I," "my"	
<i>second</i>	p-	"you, your"	
<i>third</i>	s-	"he/his," "she/her," "it/its"	

2.4 Number markers — Introduction

Number markers work with the person markers discussed above.

NUMBER — Defined

The grammatical concept of “number” spells out how many people or things are involved in the action. Number in Shmuwich includes “singular,” “dual” and “plural.”

SINGULAR — Defined

The “singular” generally means one person or thing, whether talking about nouns or as the subject of the verb.

- hi k-’ap** “my house” — both “my” and “house” are singular in this expression
- hi k-iy-’ap** “our house” — “house” is singular here, while the person marker is specified as plural

DUAL — Defined

The grammatical concept of “dual” refers to two, as the term implies. Shmuwich is often very precise about this; “dual” is exactly two. Later chapters discuss certain situations in which the Shmuwich plural can mean “two or more” just as in English, but this paragraph discusses the “number markers” — where dual is quite distinct from plural.

PLURAL — Defined

In English, “plural” means “two or more.” In Shmuwich the plural takes on a different meaning when you realize that it’s distinct from the “dual,” so with number markers the plural is “three or more.”



NUMBER MARKER — Defined

In Shmuwich, “number markers” are prefixes that spell out number when you’re dealing with more than one.

- iš-** “dual — exactly two”
- iy-** “plural — three or more”

Number markers combine with person markers. The number markers come right after person markers, as discussed below.

2.5 Person–number markers — Introduction

The person markers and number markers combine in a very tidy and logical three–way grid to spell out the various possibilities with person and number.

	<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>first person</i>	k- “I” ~ “my”	k-iš- “we two” ~ “our”	k-iy- “we” ~ “our”
<i>second person</i>	p- “you” ~ “your”	p-iš- “you two” ~ “your”	p-iy- “you all” ~ “your”
<i>third person</i>	s- “he, she, it” ~ “his, her, its”	s-iš- “they two, the two of” > šiš- ~ them” ~ “their”	s-iy- “they” ~ “their”

When person–number markers show up in front of nouns they are possessive; in front of verbs they mark the subject of the verb.

POSSESSIVE or POSSESSIVE MARKER— Defined

A possessive marker is a prefix that shows up in front of nouns. Possessive markers indicate a relationship of possession in a broad sense. This can include ownership and various of other kinds of relationships, such one’s body parts, kin, community, and such abstract items as names, ideas and customs.

k-ti	“my name”	k-iy-’ap^ha’niš	“our town, village”
p-sa	“your tooth”	p-iš-xo’ni	“your mother” — said to two people
s-p’iw	“its value, cost”	s-iy-aqliw	“their language”

SUBJECT — Defined

The “subject” of a verb tells you who or what is doing the action that the verb describes. The full definition of “subject” is a more complex, but this is a decent working definition for now.

The subject of a verb can marked just with a person–number marker. Shmuwich uses the same set of person–number markers to indicate possession with nouns and the subject with verbs.

k-tap	“I enter, go in”	k-iy-tap	“we enter, go in”
p-anšin	“you are eating”	p-iš-tipawil	“you two are talking”
s-tasin	“it is red”	s-iy-’ip	“they say”

The subject of the verb can also be a noun, but the verb itself still needs a person–number marker. The chapter on basics with the verb discusses this in more detail.

s-tasin hi l-xip	“the stone is red”
s-iy-’ip hi l-kuh-ku’ hi ’akim	“they people say so”

2.6 Particles

PARTICLE — Defined

A “particle” is a short word which stands by itself. You don’t modify it by adding anything to it like prefixes such as the person markers **k-**, **p-** and **s-**.

There are various parts of speech such as nouns and verbs, to name the two main ones that have come up so far. “Particle” isn’t a part of speech in the same sense; it’s more a description of the form of the word. As a very rough rule of thumb, if a word isn’t a noun or a verb or a name or a number or a question word like **kik’i** “what,” it’s probably a particle.

There are lots of particles in Shmuwich and it’s important to understand the concept of particle. Here are three important particles that show quite often. All of them are discussed in more detail later, but here is a brief introduction to them. See Chapter Six for a detailed discussion of particles.

2.6.1 ka “equal sign” — introduction

This particle introduces links the two elements of an equation and introduces single nouns in very simple sentences without verbs.

he’	ka	l-qaši	“this [is] an abalone”
	ka	l-qaši	“it’s an abalone”
	ka	Lisa	“it’s Lisa”

2.6.2 kê “yes/no” question — introduction

This particle turns a statement into a “yes/no” question, the kind of question you can answer with a simple “yes” or “no.” With verbs comes right before the word you’re questioning. It also shows up with question words.

kê	pkuti?	“do you see it? are you looking at it?”
kê	šč’a’min?	“does he/she know?”
kik’i	kê he’?	“what’s this?”
’a’yi	kê he’ l-’hi’y?	“who is this man?”

2.6.3 The Connector hi — introduction

CONNECTOR — Defined

A “connector” or “connective particle” “connects” a word to the word(s) in front of it. Shmuwich words often show up with the connector **hi** in front of them when they’re not the first word in the phrase. This particle **hi** doesn’t have a “meaning,” just a function.

k-itaq-waš	hi	šč-ti	“I heard his/her/its name”
šč-noxš	hi	l-yuxnuc	“the beak of the hummingbird”
k-e-kuti	hi	kɪp’ɪ	“I don’t see it now”
s-kuti	hi	Tim	“Tim sees it, Tim is looking”
nuk’a	kê	Lisa?	“where is Lisa?”

2.7 Sentences without verbs

A sentence in Shmuwich doesn't necessarily have to have a verb. There are sentences where some form the English verb "to be" is implied but not stated, so the sentence lacks a verb. Such sentences follow two main patterns; they use

- the particle **ka**, or
- question words.

There is a contrast between constructions with **ka** and **'alwil**, which this section also covers.

2.7.1 Using **ka** "equal sign" to introduce a single noun — "ka A"

In the simplest possible version of the sentence without a verb, you use **ka** to introduce a single noun. This construction can be translated as "it is a..." You can think of this as the "equal sign" use of **ka**, but **ka** does not mean "is" in Shmuwich.

Ordinary nouns by themselves show up with the article **l-** introducing them. The article doesn't necessarily translate as definite "the" or indefinite "a/an." It's easier to think of the article as saying "heads-up, a noun is next."

ka l-xus	"it's a bear"	ka l-po'n	"it's a stick"
ka l-qaši	"it's an abalone"	ka l-'elewese	"it's a starfish"

The article **l-** does not show up when **ka** introduces

(1) nouns with possessive markers

ka k-hik	"it's mine"	ka s-wop	"it's his/her son"
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(2) proper nouns — the names of people and places — and independent pronouns.

ka Lisa	"it's Lisa"	ka šalawa	"it's [the town of] Shalawa"
ka no'	"it's me"	ka kiškī'	"it's the two of us"

The connector **hi** does not show up in front of these nouns, although they are not in initial position in the sentence.

2.7.2 Using **ka** to link two elements — "A ka B"

You can also link two elements together with **ka**. Again, in the English translation some form of "to be" is implied. You can think of this construction as "A = B" or "A **ka** B." The elements you link with **ka** could be nouns or demonstratives. As with the simpler "**ka** A" construction, the connector **hi** does not show up in front of these nouns.

(1) Here **ka** equates two nouns.

Maliya	ka	š-ti	"Maria [is] her name"
k-ša'y	ka	Lisa	"my daughter [is] Lisa"
Yanana'lit	ka	l-wot'	"Yanana'lit [is] chief, [is] the chief"
Fido	ka	čt'i'n	"Fido [is] a dog"

These nouns could also go in the opposite order, at least the sentences that use names.

š-ti	ka	Maliya	“her name [is] Maria”
Lisa	ka	k-ša’y	“Lisa [is] my daughter”

(2) Here **ka** equates a noun and a pronoun, also in either order, at least with names.

no’	ka	l-wot’	“I [am] the chief”
no’	ka	Lisa	“I [am] Lisa”
Lisa	ka	no’	<i>ditto</i> — but emphasizing the name

(3) Here **ka** equates nouns and demonstratives like “this” and “that.” The demonstrative comes first.

he’	ka	l-qaši	“this is an abalone”
ho’	ka	k-wop	“that’s my son”
ho’wun	ka	k-wop-wop’	“these are my sons”

2.7.3 The Negative with ka

The negative particle **sê** makes **ka** constructions negative. This particle comes right before **ka**, wherever it happens to go in the sentence.

sê	ka	l-qaši	“it’s not an abalone”	
sê	ka	Lisa	“it’s not Lisa”	
he’	sê	ka	l-qaši	“this [is] not an abalone”
no’	sê	ka	Lisa	“I [am] not Lisa”

2.7.4 Tenses with ka

This information is conjectural, but the **ka** construction could probably take tense markers. The past tense would probably add **-iwaš** to the noun, not to **ka**, although this could imply that the noun is dead or defunct, not necessarily that the equation was in the past.

ka	l-qaši-hiwaš	“it was an abalone” — i.e. a former abalone	
Maliya	ka	š-ti-hiwaš	“Maria was her name” — i.e. her former name
Yanana’lit	ka	l-wot’-iwaš	“Yanana’lit was the chief” — i.e. the former chief

The future would probably add the future prefix **sa’-** in front of the noun, either after the article **l-** or after a possessive marker like **k-** “my.”

pi’	ka	l-sa’-wot’	“you will be chief” — i.e. “you [are] a future chief”
	ka	k-sa’-hik	“it will be mine” — i.e. “[it is] something that will be mine”
Maliya	ka	s-sa’-ti	“Maria will be her name” — i.e. “[is] her future name”
> Maliya	ka	s ^h a’ti	

2.7.5 Questions without verbs

Question words also show up in simple sentences without verbs. The question word shows up first; the question particle **kê** usually follows the question word, but not always. The most common form of this construction uses demonstratives as the item being questioned.

'a'yi kê he'?	“who [is] this?”
kik'i kê ho'?	“what [is] that?”
nuk'a kê ho'wun?	“where [are] those?”

The item being questioned can also be a noun or pronoun, although this pattern is less common with question words. The noun or pronoun after **kê** does not take the connector **hi**. As with **ka**, there is no article with the noun if it's a pronoun, a proper noun, or it has a possessive marker.

'a'yi kê he' p-ič'antik?	“who [is] your friend?” ~ “who [is] this friend of yours”
kik'i kê š-ti?	“what [is] his/her name?”
nuk'a kê p-ša'y	“where [is] your daughter?”
nuk'a kê Lisa?	“where [is] Lisa?”

Otherwise the article **I-** introduces the noun.

'a'yi kê ho' I-'hi'y?	“who is that man?”
nuk'a kê I-'uwu'mu?	“where [is] the food?”

2.7.6 ka contrasted with 'al-wil

The word **'al-wil** “something that exists” shows up in a construction which sounds quite similar to the **ka** construction — in English translation.

Sentences with “**ka A**” state what something is.

ka I-šipitiš	“it's acorn mush” — in case you were wondering
ka I-'o'	“it's water” — in case you thought it was something else

Sentences with **'al-wil** state that something is present and/or available.

'al-wil hi I-šipitiš	“there's acorn much” — it's around and available
'al-wil hi I-'o'	“there's water”

Strictly speaking **'al-wil** is based on the verb **wil** “to be, exist,” so this is not really a sentence without a verb. In fact, **'al-wil** can show up with various verbal trappings that are easier to deal with than tenses in **ka** constructions.

'al-e-wil hi I-'o'	“there is no water” — it's not present or available
'al-sa'-wil hi I-'o'	“there will be water” — at something point it will be present

Sentences with **'al-wil** plus a noun with a possessive marker translate with some form of English “have.” This topic is discussed in detail later.

'al-wil hi k-ša'y	“I have a daughter”
	— literally “something that exists [is] my daughter”

3 — Basic Topics with Nouns

This chapter covers

- person markers and number markers as possessives — see 3.1 through 3.4
 - k-wop** “my son”
 - k-iš-wop** “our son, the son of the two of us”
- the article l- — see 3.4
 - s-aqmil hi l-'o'** “he/she/it drinks water” — translated as “indefinite”
 - k-č'a'min hi l-'ih'y** “I know the man” — translated as “definite” with “the”
- the concept of the “noun phrase” — a noun with augments that turn a one-word noun into a “noun phrase” with multiple parts, as detailed below — see 3.5
 - š-expeč hi he' l-'eneq** “this woman is singing” — with a demonstrative
 - k-č'a'min hi š-ti hi l-'ih'y** “I know the man’s name” — with a possessive phrase
 - s-kuyam-us-wun hi Lisa k'e s-wop** “he/she is waiting for Lisa and her son”
— with a series of nouns linked with **k'e** “and”
- demonstratives “this” and “that” with nouns — see 3.6
 - 'iqip hi he' l-mitip'in** “close this door” ~ “close the door” (the one nearby)
 - ho' s-qo'** “that dog/pet of his/hers
 - hu l-masix** “those three (supernatural beings)” — remote
- marking the plural with nouns — see 3.7
 - 'eneq ~ 'en'eneq'** “woman” ~ “women”
 - 'i'wu ~ 'iwuwun** “companion” ~ “companions”
- quantifiers with nouns — see 3.8
 - masix hi l-xus** “three bears”
 - li'ya hi ho' l-'ap-'ap^ha'niš** “every village”
- possessive phrases — see 3.9
 - hi s-wop he' l-'ih'y** “this man’s son”
 - hi ho' s-'ap hi x'ox** “Heron’s house”

3.1 Person markers with nouns

Person markers **k-**, **p-** and **s-** are explained in detail in section 2.2.

Another term for person markers with nouns is “possessive marker” — one of the prefixes that tell you who or what “possesses” the noun.

- k-** “my” — the person speaking — “*first person*”
- p-** “your” — the *one* person you’re speaking to — “*second person*”
- s-** “his, her or its” — who or what you’re speaking about — “*third person*”

The notion of “possession” is a broad one. A possessive marker can spell out

- who or what owns or possesses the noun or is perhaps temporarily using it
 - k-’ap** “my house” — whether I own or rent or just live there with my parents
 - s-’iwĭ** “his/er knife”
- who or what stands in some relationship to the noun, including kin and body parts
 - p-ne’ne** “your maternal grandmother”
 - s-pu** “his/her hand” or “its paw”
 - s-pana’yi’w** “its edge” — maybe of the sea or a circle

Here are some nouns with the person markers:

k-ya’	“my arrow”	k-wop	“my son
p-ya’	“your arrow”	p-wop	“your son”
s-ya’	“his/her arrow”	s-wop	“his/her son”
k-ič’antik	“my friend”	k-tĭq	“my eye, face”
p-ič’antik	“your friend”	p-tĭq	“your eye, face”
š-ič’antik	“his/her friend”	š-tĭq	“his/her eye, face”

3.1.1 Sound rules with person markers

Sometimes a sound changes when it comes right before or after another sound. Here are a few examples from English:

- people write “have to” but say “hafta” in colloquial speech
- the sequence of “do” plus “not” becomes “don’t” in colloquial speech, and then “don’t” plus “you” is pronounced “doncha” in rapid colloquial speech.

Four sound rules govern what happens when you add a person marker to a noun. These rules are described again in the chapter on verbs — 7.2.2. It’s important to learn these sound changes right away so that you develop the habit of applying them automatically, without having to think about it.

1) Third-person **s-** becomes **š-** right before the sounds with **t**, **n** and **l** in the noun.

s-ti	>	šti	“his/her/its name”
s-ni	>	šni	“his/her/its neck”
s-liyik	>	š-liyik	“its middle”

- 2) Third-person **s-** becomes **š-** through the operation of sibilant harmony, when the “hushing” sounds **š** or **č** show up later in the word.

s-’aqšiw > **š’aqšiw** “his/her/its belly, guts”
s-ič’antik > **šič’antik** “his/her friend”

Sometimes, either of these first two rules could apply. You may change **s-** to **š-** because the noun starts with **t**, **n** and **l** and because there’s a **š** or **č** sound later on in the word.

s-noqš > **šnoqš** “his/her/its head”
s-tišlé’ > **štišlé’** “his/her paddle”

- 3) The double-consonant rule turns a sequence of two identical consonants into a single aspirated consonant written with a raised H. It’s easier to hear and say these sounds when a vowel comes before them, so these examples include the connector **hi**.

hi k-kok’o > **hi k^hok’o** “my father”
hi p-pu > **hi p^hu** “your hand, arm”
hi s-sa > **hi s^ha** “his/her/its tooth”

When **k-** shows up in front of **q** and when **s-** shows up in front of **š**, the first consonant shifts to match the second consonant — another source of double consonants.

hi k-qo’ > **hi q^ho’** “my pet”
hi s-ša’y > **hi š^ha’y** “his/her daughter”

- 4) Stuck-in **-i-** When a person marker shows up in front of a word that starts with a consonant cluster, a stuck-in **-i-** shows up to prevent a sequence of three consonants.

k-šti’wal > **kišti’wal** “my carrying net” — **šti’wal** “a carrying net”
s-ski’nit > **siskī’nit** “his/her rope” — **ski’nit** “rope”
p-kwaltu > **pikwaltu** “your room” — **kwaltu** “room” — from Spanish cuarto

3.2 Number markers with nouns

Shmuwich augments the person markers **k-**, **p-** and **s-** with the number markers **iš-** “dual — two” and **iy-** “plural — three or more.” Shmuwich is careful to distinguish the **dual** — exactly two — from the plural. Here are examples of nouns with dual possessive markers.

k-iš-wop “our son” — the son of the two of us
p-iš-wop “your son” — the son of you two
š-iš-wop “their son” — the son of the two of them

Notice that English has no easy way to translate dual possessives. Shmuwich spells this out in a very tidy way, while English ignores it and you have to figure it out from context.

The plural marker is **iy-** “three or more.” Here are nouns with plural possessive markers.

k-iy-kok’o “our father”
p-iy-kok’o “your father”
s-iy-kok’o “their father”

English “our” and “their” spell out plural, but “your” is completely ambiguous for number.

3.2.1 Clarifying dual versus plural — with illustrations

It's important to understand that “singular” ~ “dual” ~ “plural” with possessives refers to the number people who are doing the possessing, **NOT** the number of items they possess.

Possessive markers are precise in this regard — they distinguish singular versus dual versus plural. Possessed nouns, on the other hand, only distinguish singular versus a plural like the English plural, where reduplicated **qohqo'** means “two or more pets.”

- **Singular** — one possessor, various numbers of possessed items
- **Dual** — two possessors, various numbers of possessed items
- **Plural** — three or more possessors, various numbers of possessed items

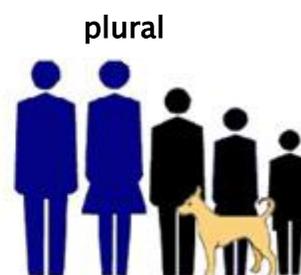
Here are illustrations for the various combinations of possessive markers with singular versus plural nouns.



k-qo' > q^ho' "my pet"
 p-qo' "your pet"
 s-qo' "his pet"



k-iš-qo' "our pet"
 p-iš-qo' "your pet"
 š-iš-qo' "their pet"



k-iy-qo' "our pet"
 p-iy-qo' "your pet"
 s-iy-qo' "their pet"



k-qo' + Redup
 > q^hohqo' "my pets"
 p-qoh-qo' "your pets"
 s-qoh-qo' "his pets"



k-iš-qoh-qo' "our pets"
 p-iš-qoh-qo' "your pets"
 š-iš-qoh-qo' "their pets"



k-iy-qoh-qo' "our pets"
 p-iy-qoh-qo' "your pets"
 s-iy-qoh-qo' "their pets"

Notice that the colloquial English equivalent of the dual versus plural is generally the same in both cases. English relies entirely on context here; people don't say *"their two pet" or *"the two of them's pet" or *"those two guys' pet."

In Shmuwich a couple would say k-iš-wop "our son" using the dual "our"; the English translation would be also be "our son"; no one would say *"the two of us's son."

3.2.2 Sound rules with the number markers

Various sound rules can operate when you add the number markers to a person marker. All are extensions of the same rules you saw for person markers by themselves — see 3.1.1. Two of these rules apply only to dual *iš-*; one applies to plural *iy-* as well.

- 1) Sibilant harmony — Dual *iš-* can become *s-* through the operation of sibilant harmony, when the “hissing” sounds *s* or *c* show up later in the word.

s-ič'antik > *šič'antik* “his/her friend”
s-'aqši'w > *š'aqši'w* “his/her/its belly, guts”
s-'anč'um > *š'anč'um* “his/her money”

Sibilant harmony also affects the sequence *s-iš-* “they two,” which becomes *šiš-* (unless there’s a “hissing” *s* or *c* later in the word).

- 2) Double consonant rule — Dual *iš-* right in front of a noun that begins with *s* or *š* triggers the double consonant rule; it operates to turn this sequence into *s^h* or *š^h*.

iš-s... > *is^h...* *k-iš-sa* > *kiš^ha* “our teeth” — the two of us
iš-š... > *iš^h...* *k-iš-ša'y* > *kiš^ha'y* “our daughter” — said by a couple

The double consonant rule can also apply along with sibilant harmony due to a sibilant later in the word.

k-iš-saqicwe' > *kiš^haqicwe'* “our [dual] arrow straightener”
k-iš-šipitiš > *kiš^hipitiš* “our [dual] acorn mush”

- 3) Stuck-in *-i-* — A consonant cluster at the beginning of the noun can trigger a stuck-in *-i-* between *iš-* and the consonant cluster.

k-iy-kwaltu > *kiyikwaltu* “our room”
s-iy-sxilemet > *siyisxilemet* “their headband packstraps”

Whispered *y* — This is a rule for pronunciation rather than a sound rule but it’s worth repeating. When *iy-* comes in front of a consonant, the *y* is whispered. Listen carefully for the difference between *iš-* and whispered *iy-* in the Mary Yee recordings and then practice pronouncing the two number markers as distinctly different.

3.3 Obligatory possessive markers

Certain classes of nouns always show up with some possessive marker, such as kin terms. You can't just say "mother"; it's almost always "someone's mother." This is definitely the situation in Samala and Ventureño; it's very likely true in Shmuwich as well, at least in the speech of the generations before Mary Yee.

The technical term for this is "inalienable possession," in the sense of "they can't take it away from you."

- body parts — including parts of plants

pu	"hand, arm"	'oqwo'n	"head, hair"
tu'	"ear, shell"	noxš	"nose, beak, prow of boat"
qap	"feather, leaf"	'a'min	"body, flesh, meat (of)"
sa	"tooth"	xil	"fat, oil"

- kin terms

xo'ni	"mother"	ku'na	"niece, nephew"
taniw	"child, offspring"	to'	"brother-in-law"
ič'ič	"younger sibling"	'u'nu	"grandchild"

- many possessions like tools, regalia and clothing

'ičk'i'	man's loincloth	suwayan	"earring"
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- nouns that describe the parts or aspects of an object

tik	"tip, point"
tīpiq'	"base, butt end, source"

- nouns that are considered central to one's being or identity

ahaš	"soul, spirit"	antik	"emotional heart"
ti	"name"	'atišwin	"medicine, magic or supernatural power; dream helper, spirit helper; talisman"

3.3.1 Patterns with obligatory possessive markers

Here is some of the fall-out of this pattern.

- These words don't show up with the article *l-* in front of them, only with some possessive marker.

hi p-ti	"your name"	hi š-tu'	"one's ear, one's shell"
NOT *hi l-ti	"a name"	NOT *hi l-tu'	"an ear, a shell"

- When you talk about one of these items with no particular possessor in mind, you still add the third-person singular marker *s-*, understood in an indefinite sense.

s-eqpey-us hi š-tiq	"[that cloud] resembles a face" — literally "one's face"
k-išti' hi š-tu' hi l-muhuw	"I find a shell on the beach" — literally "its shell"
š-tak^huy hi s-qap	"he/she is holding a feather" — literally "its feather"
s-axtatan hi s-se > hi s^he	"[the dog] is chewing on a bone" — "its bone"
su-kwe'y hi s-xil	"pour the oil" — literally "its oil, fat"

The chapter on advanced topics with nouns covers two more complex constructions based on expressions like **s-qap** “one’s feather” and “no particular possessor.”

hi k-is-qap hi slo’w “my eagle feather” — see section 4.4

hi l-qo’nuš “a pet” — see section 4.3.1

- Many nouns show up with the third-person singular marker **s-** acting almost like a part of the noun.

s-s^ha > **s^ha** “stone tip” on an arrow — literally “its tooth”

š-tik “the tip, the point”

š-tipiq’ “the butt, the base”

š-loq “a hole” — literally “it’s hole”

Some nouns only show up with this initial **s-**.

hi s^hol “bark (of a tree)” — very likely originally “its bark”

- Some of the words on this list start with a vowel but no glottal stop; a person-number marker always shows up to keep that vowel being the first sound in the word.

’al-č^ho hi š-ahaš “he/she has a good heart/soul”

ka š-e-č^ho hi s-antik “he/she is not happy” — literally “his/her spirit is not good”

Other nouns that sound to an English ear like they start with a vowel actually start with a glottal stop, which stays even when you add a person-number marker.

hi k-’anč^hum “my money” **hi k-’asas** “my chin”

hi s-’ap “his/her/its house” **hi š-’aniš** “his/her paternal uncle”

- The words for “child” sort out as

taniw “child, offspring, young” — only with a possessive marker

hi š-taniw hi l-xus “the young of the bear”

č’ič’i “child” — with no possessive marker

š-miš hi l-č’ič’i “the child is crying”

tupmekč “child” — with no possessive marker

3.3.2 Obligatory possessive markers in direct address

For nouns like kin terms that require some possessive marker, you use a possessive markers even in direct address. In English you talk about your mother as “my mother” but address her as “mother.” In Shmuwich you say to her **k-xo’ni** “my mother.”

he, k-xo’ni’ “yes, my mother”

haku, k-ališxey “hello, my cousin”

k-ne’ne mo’moy, k-’al-aktik hi l-čtaniw hi p-’axpi’lil

“my grandmother **mo’moy**, I’ve come to get a little of your root”

3.4 The Article I- with nouns

ARTICLE — Defined

In English and many other languages, such as Spanish, “articles” show up with nouns to indicate whether they are “definite” or “indefinite.” The term “definite” means that the article indicates a noun which has already been mentioned.

definite	<i>the man</i>	<i>el hombre</i>
	<i>the apple</i>	<i>la manzana</i>
indefinite	<i>a man</i>	<i>un hombre</i>
	<i>an apple</i>	<i>una manzana</i>

Shmuwich has an article that goes with nouns, but it does not distinguish between definite “the” and indefinite “a/an.” The Shmuwich article I- is more like a noun marker; it just says “heads up, this is a noun.”

The article shows up in front of nouns under certain conditions.

(1) It appears with nouns which do **NOT** have possessive markers.

s-we’ hi l-č’ič’i	“a/the child is sleeping” — no possessive, so use the article
s-we’ hi k-ktaniw	“my child is sleeping” — possessive, so no article
s-axšiš hi l-katu	“she calls a/the cat”
s-axšiš hi s-katu	“she calls her cat”

(2) It does **NOT** appear with “proper nouns” — the names of people and places as well as animals as characters in traditional tales.

ka s-’ip-waš hi Maliya	“Maria said...” — a name
k-’ip-us hi Lisa	“I said to Lisa...”
s-uxnik’ hi l-kniy	“the fox ran away” — any fox
s-uxnik’ hi kniy	“Fox ran away” — Fox as a name

3.4.1 Sound rule with I-

The article is optional in front of nouns that begin with consonant clusters, but it’s almost always dropped here. Examples of I- in front of a consonant cluster are rare.

hi l-čtaniw hi s-’axpi’lil	“a little of its root” — with I- before čtaniw
hi čtaniw hi s-’axpi’lil	<i>ditto</i> — <u>both</u> forms show up
hu l-cweq	“the grass”
hi ho’ stapan	“round tule” — NOT *hi ho’ l-stapan
hi ho’ sxa’min	“the ocean” — NOT * hi ho’ l-sxa’min

3.4.2 Writing the article

The article is written in front of the noun with a hyphen to set it off. This is clearer than writing the article directly in front of the noun or setting it off as a separate word.

hi l-ku “a person, the person”
 NOT *hi lku
 NOT *hi l ku

When the noun begins with a sequence of glottal stop plus a vowel, the l- of the article “combines” with the glottal stop into a sound which includes the l- and the glottal stop pronounced at the same time. Beeler’s grammatical sketch writes these two sounds as an L with a glottal stop above it.

Obviously it’s more practical to write the l- in front of the glottal stop.

hi l-’eneq “a/the woman” — pronounced almost hi’leneq
 hi l-’o’ “some/the water” — pronounced almost hi’lo’
 hu l-’aqiwo “a/the star” — pronounced almost hu’laqiwo

Be aware that some of the older teaching materials write the l- and the glottal stop “flipped.” This practice indicates that the l- and the glottal stop are “combined,” but it interrupts the basic shape of the word. It’s easy to recognize the core element ’eneq in hi l-’eneq, but hi ’leneq is harder to process.

3.4.3 No article with “s- nouns”

There are many expressions which translate as nouns in English but have the structure of a simple verb in Shmuwich. A cover term for such words is “s- nouns.”

s-**apiyiw** “red-hot coal” — almost certainly a verb “it is red hot,” especially given the verb prefix **api-** “of heat”
 s-**axk^hit** “wind” and “[wind] is blowing”
 s-**icq’í** “cloud” and “it is cloudy/overcast”
 s-**ikmen** “wave(s), surf” and “[waves] are breaking”
 š-**iliyamš** “full moon” and “it is full”
 š-**loq** “hole” and “it is perforated, has a hole in it”
 s-**naq’il** ~ s-**nax’il** “flint” and “it is upright” — perhaps based on some belief about flint
 s-**oxk’on** “thunder” and “it thunders”
 š-**tipoyoxon** “whirlwind” and “it whirls”
 s-**welen** “earthquake” and “it shakes, there is an earthquake”
 s-**wey** “gap” (e.g. in a boat’s hull) and “to gap, be open”

Some of these are expressions of time.

s-**ax-ulkuw** “early morning” — literally “it is early in the morning”
 s-**iqsin** “noon” and “it is noon”
 š-**išawi** “summer” — literally “it is summer”

š-naxyit	“morning” — literally “it is morning” as well as s-uni-naxyit
s-qapuni	“spring” — literally “it leaf out” — see s-qap “leaf, feather”
s-ulkuw	“night” — literally “it is night”
s-uti-tapin	“twilight” and “it is twilight, well into the evening”
s-wayin	“winter” — literally “it is winter”

Even though the literal translation of **s-** nouns is a verb expression like “it is winter,” these items truly function as nouns and verbs in Shmuwich, depending on the context. As nouns they show up with the various demonstratives such as **he’** “this,” **ho’** “that” and **hu** “remote,” but the article **I-** that prefaces nouns does not show up with these expressions.

There’s no article because the **s-** falls right into the person-number marker slot for nouns. Nouns with a person-number marker never show up with the article.

k-uniyiw hi I-’iwi	“I need a knife”
k-uniyiw hi k-’iwi	“I need my knife”
hi I-qo’nuš	“a pet” — a pet with no reference to ownership, so use the article
hi s-qo’	“his/her pet” — shows a possessive marker, so don’t use the article

Here are examples of **s-** nouns in sentences, with **s-** superceding the article **I-**.

s-iy-eqwel hi s-axk^hit	“[shamans] make wind”
s-kut-kuti hi ho’ s-ikmen	“he/she watches the waves/surf”
hi I-aximay hi s-iqc’i’	“a black cloud”
p-kut’a hu s-uni-naxyit	“you get up in the morning”
s-axwiwik hu š-išawi	“it dries up in the summer”
s-iy-niw hi he’ s-ulkuw	“they are dancing tonight, this night”
hi ka li’ya hu swayin ’i s-iy-’al-iškín	“all winter long they have [it] stored”

3.5 The “Noun Phrase”

So far we discussed possessives and the article, which are both written as prefixed to the noun so that you have just one single word. It’s quite common to augment the noun with additional elements that are written as separate words. The sequence of these elements and the noun itself is called a “noun phrase.” Elements of the noun phrase can include

- demonstratives “this” and “that” — see 3.6
 'iqip hi he' l-mitip'in “close this door” ~ “close the door” (the one nearby)
- marking the plural with nouns (although this doesn’t change the number of words) — see 3.7
 č'ič'i ~ č'ič'i-wun “child” ~ “children”
 'eneq ~ 'en-'eneq' “woman” ~ “women”
- quantifiers with nouns — see 3.8
 li'ya hi l-kuh-ku' “all the people”
 masix hi l-xus “three bears”
- possessive phrases — see 3.9
 hi ho' s-'ap hi x'ox “Heron’s house”

Chapter Four on “Advanced Topics with Nouns” discusses additional constructions that may show up as part of the noun phrase.

- “adjectival nouns” — see 4.7
 hi l-xa'x hi l-sikmen “a/the big wave” — literally “a big one, a wave”
 hi l-c'oyni hi l-'ap^ha'niš “the other town/village”
- noun compounds of content/composition — see 4.8
 suwayan-iš hi l-qaši “abalone earrings” — literally “earrings, abalone”
 s-hi'laq' hi l-po'n “a wooden handle” — literally “handle, wood”
- “descriptives” and “modifiers” with nouns — see 4.9
 s-yinc'i hi l-xip “the rock is hot”
 hi l-yinc'i hi l-xip “the hot rock” — literally “one that is hot, a rock”

3.6 Demonstratives with nouns

DEMONSTRATIVE — Defined

A demonstrative “demonstrates” — it points to an object, making a distinction of “this” nearby and “that” further away — in English. Demonstratives are somewhat more complex in Shmuwich. Four distinct elements act as demonstratives in Shmuwich.

he'	“this” — near the speaker
ho'	“that” — further from the speaker
hu	“that” — remote in time or space, not visible to the speaker
'it'i	“this one here” — this is 'it'i “here” used as a demonstrative

3.6.1 he' and ho' “this” and “that”

The two main demonstratives are **he'** “this” and **ho'** “that.” They can show up by themselves, including being marked with the plural suffix **-wun**, and they can also show up with a noun.

- **he'** and **ho'** by themselves

'a'yi kê he'?	“who [is] this?”
sukitwó'n hi he'	“take this thing out!”
nuk'a kê ho'?	“where [is] that?”

- **he'** and **ho'** by themselves with the plural marker **-wun**

k-iy-aqnič^ho he'-wun	“we like these”
k-išti'-waš ho'-wun	“I found those”
s-iš-qitiwič he'-wun	“these two are entertained, amused”

- **he'** and **ho'** with a following noun

'a'yi kê he' l-'ih'y?	“who [is] this man?”
nuk'a kê ho' l-č'ič'i?	“where [is] that child?”
s-akti-'anšin hi ho' s'ap hi x'ox	“he comes to eat at Heron’s house”

- **he'** and **ho'** with a following noun marked as plural

he' l-kaw-kawayu'	“these horses”
s-iy-suxni-'ap-wun hi ho' l-pax-paxat'	“[the swordfish] chase those whales ashore”
š-iy-e-tap-waš hi he' l-'am-'amelikanu'	“these Americans came in [to this area]”

Sometimes **he'** “this” refers to a noun which isn’t necessarily close to the speaker, but rather is the topic under discussion.

s-iliyam-š hi he' l-'a'way	“the moon is full, this moon is full”
ka s-napay-li'l hi he' nipolomol	“he goes up the mountain, climbs this mountain”
he' l-kaw-kawayu' 'i 'me s-aq'uti-'iwawan-wun hi he' l-c'ic'i hu l-selku	“horses, barbed wire always cuts them”
	— literally “these horses, this sharp fence always cuts them”

3.6.2 hu “remote from the speaker”

The demonstrative **hu** follows a different pattern. It indicates something remote in time or space, not visible to the speaker. Unlike **he'** “this” and **ho'** “that,” **hu** does not stand alone in the sense “that thing far away” and it has no plural form.

This particle can show up in front of nouns and numbers, almost always without the connector **hi**.

s-iwon hu soxk'on	“thunder sounds” (no I- with s- noun s-oxk'on)
s-xonon-it hu k^hawayu	“he stole my horse from me”
p-su-xe'lelen ka'neč hu l-toltiya	“you flatten it like a tortilla”
hu l-mol-moloq-i'waš hu l-kuh-ku'	“the ancient people, long-ago people”
s-am-'a'win 'me ka'neč hu l-'iško'm hi l-'ola	“they boil it about two hours”
s-uti-wayan hu l-'atuc'	“the carrying net is hanging up” — closing formula to a story

This particle may show up in front of the second member of noun phrases, including noun phrases that start with **he'** or **ho'**. As you might expect, examples with nearby **he'** are much less common than with **ho'**, which is already somewhat remote.

he' l-'alapay hu k-šepešle'	“my upper lip”
ho' s-panayi'w hu sxa'min	“the edge of the ocean”
hi ho' l-mišup hu l-po'n	“the bottom board” — a canoe component
hi ho' l-te'leqeč hu l-'aqiwo...	“a comet...” — literally “a tailed star”
ho' l-liyik hu l-'ap 'i s-iy-aqtip	“in the middle of the house [the old-time people] build the fire”

This particle has other uses that have nothing to do with nouns and demonstratives.

p-kut'a hu s-uni-naxyit	“you get up in the morning” — literally “as it is morning”
s-am-qantuč-waš hu moloq...	“they believed long ago [that...]”

It also shows up in more complex expressions, such as **'akimpi hu ho'wo** “before/when”

'akimpi hu ho'wo s-iy-e-tap-waš hi he' l-'am-'amelikanu'	“when these Americans had not yet come in [to this area]”
---	---

3.6.3 'it'i “this one here”

This is the adverb **'it'i** “here” used as a demonstrative. Like **hu**, it follows a different pattern than the main demonstratives **he'** and **ho'**. It is different from **he'** and **ho'** in that it does not show up by itself as a demonstrative, or at least I haven't seen examples of it used this way. In the following sentence, **'it'i** is an adverb “here” rather than a demonstrative.

k-išti'-waš hi 'it'i	“I found [it] here”
-----------------------------	---------------------

Here is **'it'i** used as a demonstrative in the sense of “this one here.” The connector **hi** introduces the sequence of **'it'i** plus noun.

s-kumi hi 'it'i l-'ap^ha'niš	“he comes to town here, come to this town”
s-kili-we' hi 'it'i l-č'ič'i	“this child here is sleepy”

3.6.4 Demonstratives with possessives

When a demonstrative occurs with a noun, the noun often has to have a possessive marker as well. Possessives don't mix easily with demonstratives in English, so the translation generally suppresses the demonstrative. An alternative translation uses "this X of one's," as in "this child of Lisa's."

hi he' k-taniw	"my child" (nearby) ~ "this child of mine"
s-tasin hi he' p^ho'	"your cheeks are red" or "these cheeks of yours are red"
'al-e-wil hi s-'axiyep hi he' p-yuxpač^hiš	"this sickness of yours has no remedy"
hi ho' s-^qo'	"his/her pet" or "that pet of his/hers"
ka s-nix'olon ho' s-ac'is	"he plucks his whisker(s)" — "those whiskers of his"
s-am-saketeqen hi ski'nit hu š-loq	"they pass the cord through the hole" — literally "the rope [through] its hole"
ka'neč hu s-'uqušta'yiš hi l-wela	"like the light of a candle" — literally "like it's light, a candle"
'it'i hi s-te'm hi ho' s-pu	"here on the palm of his hand" — literally "the palm of that hand of his"

Some of the examples above include possessive phrases, which are discussed in detail in section 3.9. Possessive phrases with demonstratives are common, but they don't translate easily into English without dropping the demonstrative.

he' s'ap he' l-'ih^hy	"this man's house" — literally "this house of this man"
s-akti-'anšin hi ho' s'ap hi x'ox	"he comes to eat at Heron's house" — literally "that house of his, Heron"

3.6.5 Additional topics with demonstratives

Multiple demonstratives in the same sentence

It's fairly common to see sentences in which more than one noun is marked with a demonstrative. This works in Shmuwich, but the English translation sounds awkward and generally suppresses one or the other of the demonstratives.

- sentences with two nouns both marked with **he'** or **ho'**. Here is an example with two occurrences of **he'**.

he' s'ap he' l-'ih^hy 'i sixut	"this man's house burned" — literally "this house of this man burned"
---	--

Examples with two occurrences of **ho'** are more common.

s-axyuten hi ma'm hi ho' s-'ik hi ho' l-po'n	"[Haphap] sucks the tree into his mouth" — literally "that tree into that mouth of his"
š-ta'luliš-in hi ho' l-c'ic'i-pi ho' š-tu'-iwaš	"he pinches it with the sharp part of the [clam] shell" — literally "with that sharp part of that shell"

'it'i hi s-te'm ho' s-pu 'i s-u'liš hi ho' snaq'il

“here on the palm of his hand he holds the flint”

— literally “[in] that hand of his he holds that flint”

- sentences with both **he'** and **ho'**.

ka š-nowon-waš hi l-wint'i'y hi he' mitip'in hi ho' s-'ap

“an ash tree stood outside his house”

— literally “this door of that house”

he' l-meča 'i 'al-axšiš hi ho' s-xil “the wick summons the oil”

— literally “this wick summons that oil”

he' l-iy-'alap-milimol 'i s-iy-qili-hik hi l-'atišwič'iš hi ho' s-iy-ya'

“the Tulareños used to apply poison to their arrows”

— literally “these Tulareños applied to those arrows of theirs”

- sentences with **he'** or **ho'** plus remote **hu**. Nearby **he'** can occur with remote **hu**.

he' s-iy-'aqli'w hu l-'inyu “the language of the Indians”

— literally “this language of theirs, remote Indian”

s-iy-ipxey hi he' l-tip hu l-'alušpawat hi ho' s-iy-'uwu'mu

“they add the salt of the ashes to their food”

— literally “this salt of those [remote] ashes to that food of theirs”

Remote **hu** is more common with **ho'**.

ho' s-panayi'w hu sxa'min

“the edge of the ocean” — literally “that edge of the remote ocean”

ho' l-liyik hu l-'ap 'i s-iy-aqtip

“in the middle of the house they build the fire”

— literally “that middle [of] the remote house”

The Connector **hi** with demonstratives

The connector **hi** introduces a sequence of **he'** and **ho'** plus a noun.

k-sa'-nik'ot hi he' l-po'n

“I'll break this stick”

ka s-napay-li'l hi he' nipolomol

“he goes up the mountain, climbs this mountain”

s-akti-'anšin hi ho' s'ap hi x'ox

“he comes to eat at Heron's house”

s-iy-suxni-'ap-wun hi ho' l-pax-paxat'

“[the swordfish] chase those whales ashore”

The only situation in which **hi** does not show up is when the question marker **kê** comes right before **he'** or **ho'**.

'a'yi kê he' l-'ih'i'y?

“who [is] this man?”

The particle **hi** also introduces a sequence of **'it'i** plus noun.

s-kumi hi 'it'i l-'ap^ha'niš “he comes to town here, come to this town”

s-kili-we' hi 'it'i l-č'ič'i “this child here is sleepy”

The remote demonstrative *hu* doesn't act like the other demonstratives, including that it doesn't take the connector *hi*.

s-xonon-it hu k^hawayu	“he stole my horse from me”
hu l-mol-moloq-i'waš hu l-kuh-ku'	“the ancient people, long-ago people”

Demonstratives with the article

When one of the demonstratives shows up with a noun, the article *l-* shows up with the noun — as long as there is no possessive marker. The connector *hi* introduces this sequence. “The this” and “the that” don't work in English, but the article in Shmuwich is more just a noun marker, so it occurs freely with demonstratives.

he' — “this one nearby or under discussion”

kitaq hi he' l-'ihⁱ'y	“I hear this man”
---	-------------------

iqip hi he' l-mitip'in	“close this door” ~ “close the door” (the one nearby)”
-------------------------------	--

ho' — “that one”

hi ka sxuwil hi ho' l-pakuwaš	“and then that old man gets mad”
--------------------------------------	----------------------------------

s-iy-ax-kitwo'n hi ho' l-tiptip'	“they suddenly emerge from the brush/chaparral”
---	---

hu — “that one remote in space or time”

s-iwon hu s-oxk'on	“thunder sounds”
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p-su-xe'lelen ka'neč hu l-toltiya	“you flatten it like a tortilla”
--	----------------------------------

'it'i — “this one here”

s-kumi hi 'it'i l-'ap^ha'niš	“he comes to town here, come to this town”
---	--

Translating demonstratives with the article

Fairly often the article takes precedence on the English translation and the demonstrative is suppressed in translation.

ka s-'ap-waš hi ho' l-paxat	“a whale was beached, washed ashore”
------------------------------------	--------------------------------------

s-iy-ax-kitwo'n hi ho' l-tiptip'	“they suddenly emerge from the brush/chaparral
---	--

s-iy-suxni-'ap-wun hi ho' l-pax-paxat'	
---	--

“[the swordfish] chase those whales ashore”

he' l-meča 'i 'al-axšiš hi ho' s-xil	“the wick summons the oil” — literally “this wick summons that oil
---	--

It's especially true that the demonstrative is suppressed in translation in possessive phrases, as noted above in [3.6.4](#).

3.7.2 Reduplicated plurals — CVC reduplication

The great majority of nouns that are marked as plural show up with some form of reduplication, following regular patterns plus one very common irregular forms

'ih'i'y ~ 'ih'iyi'y “man” ~ “men” — compare Samala **'ih'iyhi'y**

The term “CVC reduplication” is short for Consonant – Vowel – Consonant reduplication, since this is by far the most common pattern of plural reduplication. There are several patterns of CVC reduplication, based on the structure of the word to be reduplicated.

Here are a couple of terms to make it easier to talk about reduplication.

- The “CVC sequence” is the CVC sequence added in front of the noun.
- The “base noun” is the underlying noun, which the CVC sequence goes in front of.

<i>redup'd seq</i>	<i>base noun</i>	<i>completed word</i>	
xip-	xip-'	xipxip'	“stones”
'al-	'alqap-'	'al'alqap'	“mortars”
tom-	tomol-'	tomto'mol	“boats”
pax-	paxat-'	paxpaxat'	“whales”

NOTE: CVC reduplication is also very common with verbs, as discussed in section 7.10.

k-sut-sutap	“I keep putting [something] in” — from su-tap “to put in”
s-kut-kuti-wun	“he/she/it is watching them” — from kuti “to see”
mok'e s-k'il-k'il-pakuwaš	“he's already getting a little old” — from k'il-pakuwaš “to be a bit old”

3.7.3 “Distributive plural”

Suzanne Wash notes — I need to find the exact quote here — that the reduplicated plural can also have a “distributive” meaning, in the sense of items distributed or scattered here and there as opposed to a collection of the same items.

In that case, a basic unreduplicated form would imply a collection and a reduplicated form would imply distributed or scattered items. As a hypothetical example, perhaps an item such as **'ixpaniš** “acorn” could be reduplicated as **'ix'ixpa'niš** in the sense of “acorns scattered here and there,” but I have not seen this form.

Here is a different kind of example — **'uwu'mu** “food” is reduplicated to mean either “food here and there” or “quantities of food” as Wash translates it.

k'e l-'-am-eleyep-pi-waš hi-s-am-sa'-us-'ismo'n hi l-'uw-'uwu'mu'
 “[trails] and on which they traveled to gather (quantities of) food”

This topic of “collective” versus “distributive” plural needs additional research and examples.

3.7.4 Patterns of CVC reduplication with nouns

All patterns of CVC reduplication add a glottal stop to the end of the reduplicated word, although this glottal stop moves one syllable ahead under certain conditions (as discussed on the following section on sound rules with CVC reduplication).

1) Basic CVC reduplication

With nouns that start with a sequence of CVC, that first CVC sequence is prefixed to the noun. Glottal stop with a following vowel counts as the first consonant here.

'a'way + R	>	'aw'a'wa'y	"months"
'onyoko + R	>	'on'onyoko'	"sharks"
takak + R	>	taktakak'	"quail"
yuxnuc + R	>	yuxyuxnuc'	"hummingbirds"

Notice that glottal stop shows up one syllable early in these words.

pakuwaš + R	>	pakpaku'waš	"old men"
taxama + R	>	taxtaxa'ma	"skunks"
tomol + R	>	tomto'mol	"boats"

With short words, CVC reduplication may mean reduplicating the entire word. The two examples of kin terms here require a possessive marker in context, such as **kwopwop'** "my sons" and **sm̩sm̩'s** "his/her in-laws."

wop + R	>	wopwop'	"sons"	m̩s + R	>	m̩sm̩'s	"in-laws"
šup + R	>	šupšup'	"years"	xus + R	>	xusxu's	"bears"
še'w + R	>	šewše'w	"barn owls"	x̩p + R	>	x̩px̩p'	"rocks, stones"

2) CVC reduplication with consonant clusters

With nouns that start with a consonant cluster, such as **slo'w** "eagle," Beeler says that the initial CVC sequence includes both consonants, but the first consonant of the cluster is usually dropped in the base noun.

čt'i'n + R	>	čt'inti'n	"dogs"
štayit + R	>	štaytayit'	"willows"
slo'w + R	>	slowslo'w ~ slowlo'w	"eagles"
pša'n + R	>	pšanpša'n ~ pšanša'n	"bay trees"
ktut + R	>	ktut ^h ut'	"spiders" — from ktut-tut-'

Beeler says (page 17) that Mary Yee preferred the full form **pšošpšo's** in the example below.

pšoš + R	>	pšošpšo's ~ pšoš ^h o's	"gopher snakes"
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Wash notes that earlier speakers included the full consonant clusters in both CVC sequences, but Mary Yee generally reduced the second occurrence of the clusters.

<i>older speakers</i>	<i>Mary Yee</i>	
cweq-cweq'	cweq-weq'	"quantities of grass" — cweq
čtin-čt'i'n	čtin-ti'n	"dogs"
stap-stapa'n	stap-tapa'n	"round tules"

3) Reduplication with CV(′) words

With nouns that consist of one syllable of the shape CV(′) — a consonant and a vowel, with a possible final glottal stop — CVC reduplication adds an **h** after the reduplicated sequence. This maintains the CVC pattern and rhythm.

CV		CV′	
ku + R	>	kuhku′	“people”
nɪ + R	>	nɪhnɪ′	“fires”
tʰo + R	>	tʰohtʰo′	“mussels”
ʼa + R	>	ʼahʼa′	“crows”
ma + R	>	mahma′	“jackrabbits”
ya + R	>	yahya′	“arrows”

4) Reduplication with CV–CV(′) words

Nouns that look like duplications of a single CV(′) sequence follow the CV pattern described above and add an **h** after the reduplicated sequence.

kikʼi + R	>	kihkihʼi′	“things”	kikič + R	>	kihkikič′	“relatives”
kokʼo + R	>	kohkokʼo′	“farthers”	nono + R	>	nohnoʼno	“grandfathers”
tatʼa + R	>	tahtatʼa′	“maternal uncles”				

5) Reduplication on the final syllable

Beeler says that the reduplication of **ʼihɪʼy** “man” is unique.

ʼihɪʼy + R > **ʼihɪyɪʼy** “men”

The Samala equivalent is slightly different — **ʼihɪyhiʼy** “men.” Samala has several other words that follow this pattern of CVC reduplication on the final syllable. Most of these Samala words refer to types of people.

Samala	ʼeneq + R	>	ʼeneqneq′	“women”
Samala	ʼanaqčan + R	>	ʼanaqčančaʼn	“old women, female elders”
Samala	ʼanaxʼi + R	>	ʼanaxʼixʼi	“old men, male elders”

Either these are innovations in Samala or Shmuwich retains only **ʼihɪyɪʼy** to represent this pattern.

6) Reduplication of inherently reduplicated sequences

There are many nouns that are inherently reduplicated. The CVC reduplication of these words follows the usual rules, so that sometimes you find a triple repetition of a CVC sequence.

kopkop + R	>	kopkopkop′	“toads”
wuluʼwul + R	>	wulwuluʼwuʼl	“lobsters, crayfish”

3.7.5 Sound rules for CVC reduplication with nouns

Various sound rules come into play when

- the second consonant of the reduplicated sequence meets the first consonant of the base noun, and
- a final glottal stop is added to the base noun.

Keep these two terms in mind in the following discussion of the sound rules involved.

- The “CVC sequence” is the CVC sequence added in front of the noun.
- The “base noun” is the underlying noun, which the CVC sequence goes in front of.

NOTE: See section 7.10; the discussion of CVC reduplication with verbs presents almost identical sound rules from a slightly different angle.

1) Dropping glottal stop and raised H — in the CVC sequence

When the second consonant of the CVC sequence is a glottalized consonant or an aspirated consonant with raised H, glottal stop and raised H drop out in front of the first consonant of the base noun. This is part of a larger rule that glottalized and aspirated consonants do not show up with any consonant after them in the same word.

waq'aq' + R + ' >	waqwaq'aq'	“frogs”
č'ip'ik + R + ' >	č'ipč'ip'ik'	“beavers”
'ap^ha'niš + R + ' >	'ap'ap^ha'ni'š	“towns, villages, nations”
c'iq^hi'y + R + ' >	c'iqc'iq^hi'y	“snakes”

The second consonant of the base noun may be a liquid with glottal stop. The glottal stop is written before the liquid, but together they count as a single unit and the liquid is preserved in the CVC sequence — minus the glottal stop.

ku'na + R + ' >	kunku'na'	“nieces, nephews” — NOT *ku'ku'na'
še'w + R + ' >	šewše'w	“barn owls” — NOT *še'še'w
'u'lam + R + ' >	'ul'u'la'm	“creeks, streams” — NOT *'u'u'la'm

2) Reduplication with identical liquids — in the CVC sequence

The two consonants of the CVC sequence may be identical liquids.

nunašiš + R >	nuhnunašiš	“animals, beasts, supernatural beings”
nana'mu + R >	nahnana'mu	“kinds, sorts, types”
mo'moy + R >	mohmo'mo'y	“many Datura plants”
wa'waw + R >	wahwa'wa'w	“geese”
yo'y + R >	yohyo'y	“sparrows”

At first glance this pattern seems to match that of reduplicated CV(') noun stems such as **kukku'** “people” and **yahya'** “arrows” — item 3 above. As it turns out, this is a reflection of the sound rule that whispers liquids at the end of a syllable (see section 1.7 for details).

So the **h** in **nuhnunašiš** is a way of representing a whispered **n**. This spelling is more likely to help students pronounce the word correctly than if it were written ***nunnunašiš**.

3) Shifting glottal stop forward with liquids

The base word may include a liquid — one of the sounds **m**, **n**, **l**, **w** and **y** — between the last two vowels at the end of the word. In that case, the glottal stop that ordinarily comes at the end of the word with CVC reduplication in nouns usually shifts one syllable ahead and shows up before the liquid — see the discussion of the “flip rule” below.

Here are some words that end with a sequence of vowel, liquid and vowel. The glottal stop shows up in front of the liquid.

'aqiwo + R	>	'aq'aqi'wo	“stars”
kawayu + R	>	kawkawa'yu	“horses”
nono + R	>	nohno'no	“grandfathers”
taxama + R	>	taxtaxa'ma	“skunks”

The glottal stop does not shift when a liquid is not between two vowels, so the shift does not apply to words like **monsow** “weasel” or **yuxnuc** “hummingbird.”

Here are words with some consonant after the sequence of vowel, liquid and vowel. The glottal stop still shows up in front of the liquid between the last two vowels.

'akayiš + R	>	'ak'aka'yiš	“beds” — non–possessed form (see 4.3.1)
c'inowon + R	>	c'inc'ino'won	“hills”
pakuwaš + R	>	pakpaku'waš	“old men”
nipolomol + R	>	nipnipolo'mol	“mountains”
q'emen + R	>	q'emq'e'men	“mice”
qowoč + R	>	qowqo'woč	“salmon”
taniw + R	>	tantan'iw	“children, offspring”
xellex + R	>	xelxel'ex	“hawks, prairie falcons”

4) The “flip rule” with liquids — end of the word

The base word may end in a liquid — again **m**, **n**, **l**, **w** and **y** — and the sound rule above didn't apply because there's no liquid between two vowels. So the glottal stop stays at the end of the word. However, the glottal stop switches places with the liquid and shows up in front of the liquid instead of at the very end of the word. Section 1.7.1 covers the “flip rule.”

lewlew + R	>	lewlewle'w	“multiple lewlew ” — a kind of supernatural being
q'oy + R	>	q'oyq'o'y	“olivella shells”
'a'nip^hey + R	>	'an'a'nip^he'y	“cliff swallows”

The “flip rule” does not apply to a sequence of liquid plus glottal stop that comes about after CVC reduplication.

'alqap + R	>	'al'alqap'	“mortars” — NOT *'a'lalqap'
'amut'ey + R	>	'am'amut'e'y	“sisters”— NOT *'a'mamut'e'y

5) The “flip rule” with fricatives — end of the word

When the base noun ends in a fricative — one of the sounds **s**, **š** and **x** — another form of the “flip rule” applies. The glottal stop switches places with the fricative and shows up in front of it. The kin terms here would require some person marker.

mɨs + R	>	mɨsmɨ's	“in-laws”
xus + R	>	xusxu's	“bears”
'olq^hoš + R	>	'ol'olq^ho's	“sea otters”
štexex + R	>	štextexe'x	“rivers”

This “flip rule” with fricatives applies only at the end of the word. It does not apply to a sequence of fricative plus glottal stop that comes about after CVC reduplication

'as + R	>	'as'a's	“seats” — NOT *'a'sasa's
'ašk'á' + R	>	'aš'ašk'a'	“coyotes” — NOT *'a'šašk'a'
'ixpaniš + R	>	'ix'ixpa'niš	“acorns scattered around” — NOT *'i'ixpa'niš

3.7.6 When NOT to use the plural

The discussion of **-wun** plurals and CVC plurals (sections 3.7.1 and 3.7.2) tells you how to make a noun into a plural form. But there's another side to this — when to use the plural and when not to. Shmuwich uses the plural much less than English does.

English almost always insists on using the plural, except for a few expressions like “several deer” and “a netful of fish.” Shmuwich is much more relaxed about marking nouns as plural. Below are the contexts in which the plural is implied rather than marked.

No Plural with paired body parts

With paired body parts, Shmuwich just implies that you're dealing with the plural. Not only that, Shmuwich also uses a singular person-number marker **s-** with the verb here, so you have to figure out from context if the singular or plural is intended.

š-'oč' hi s-'ɨ'l	“his foot/feet are wet”
š-nuyič hi p-pu > hi p^hu	“your hands are dirty”
s-'ɨhɨy hi š-tu' hi l-ma'	“the rabbit's ears are long”
s-tasin hi he' p-po > p^ho'	“your cheeks are red”
s-tasin hi p-šepešle' hi no'no	“your lips are very red”
hi s-xap hi l-wɨ	“the deer's horn(s)”

This applies to paired items of clothing and adornment like shoes and earrings too. Notice that these words could refer to a single member of the pair, such as “an earring” versus “[pair of] earrings.”

hi p-suwayan	“your earring(s)”
k-aqnič^ho hi p-suwayan	“I like your earring(s)”
hi s^hapatu hi p-ša'y	“your daughter's shoe(s)” — sapatu “shoe”
'al-e-wil hi s^hapatu hi p-ša'y	“your daughter has no shoe(s)”

No Plural with multiple body parts

Shmuwich also implies the plural with multiple body parts, such as teeth, fingers, bones, feathers, leaves, etc. Just as with paired body parts, Shmuwich uses a singular verb here.

hi s-qap hi l-po'n	“the leaf/leaves of the tree”
s-pilwey hi siqap hi l-po'n	“the leaf/leaves of the tree is/are falling”
hi s-qap hi l-'a'	“the feather(s) of the crow”
s-aximay hi s-qap hi l-'a'	“the crow feather is black” <u>or</u> “the crow’s feathers are black”
hi s-sa > s ^h a hi l-xus	“the bear’s tooth/teeth”
s-'ihiy hi s ^h a hi l-xus	“the bear tooth is long” <u>or</u> “the bear’s teeth are long”
hi s-se > s ^h e hi l-wi	“the bone(s) of the deer”
k-iy-nik'ot hi s ^h e hi l-wi	“we break the deer bone(s)”

No Plural with sets/collections

Shmuwich also implies the plural with items that can be considered a collection, food items like acorns or beans, or beads, or words or garments — they show up in the singular.

š-ušpák hi l-'ixpaniš hi l-'eneq	“the woman gathers acorns”
ma s-'axwi' hi p-wop	“your son’s garment(s), your son’s clothes/clothing”
š-nuyič hi s-'axwi' hi p-wop	“your son’s clothes are dirty”
hi s-'aqli'w hi slo'w	“Eagle’s language; Eagle’s word(s)”
kê p-itaxsin hi s-'aqli'w hi slo'w?	“do you understand Eagle’s language/word(s)?”

Sometimes a collection of items can trigger a plural person-number marker **s-iy-** “they” in the verb, but the noun for that item shows up in the singular. This whole topic needs more research.

s-iy-pili-qlaw hi l-piliholi hi mišup	“the beans fell on the floor”
s-iy-šup ^h uč hi he' l-piliholi	“the beans are dirty, full of dirt”

No Plural with numbers and quantifiers — most of the time

Most of the time Shmuwich works on the premise that the number or quantifier tells you that the noun is plural, so that marking the noun too as plural is redundant. Also see section [5.5.4](#) on “Marking the plural with quantifiers and numbers.”

Here are a few examples of quantifiers with nouns which are not marked as plural. Notice that they are all nouns describing things rather than animals or people.

yitipak'a hi l-'aqiwo	“seven stars”
'al-'iško'm hi s-nana'mu hi l-po'n...	“there are two kinds of trees...”
s-am-'a'win 'me ka'neč hu l-'iško'm hi l-'ola	“they boil it about two hours”
masix hi l-'ališaw hi s-iy-su'owus	“they fast for three days”
p-aqmil 'me ka'neč hu l-masix hi l-kučal	“you drink about three spoonfuls” — literally “three spoons”

On the other hand, there are examples of nouns marked as plural after quantifiers. Most of these nouns describe people or animals.

hi l-'ihĩ' hi l-kuhku' "many people, a lot of people"

hi l-'ihĩ' hi l-'iyihĩ'y "many men, a lot of men"

ho 'alikon hi 'me ka'neč hu l-yitipak'a-waš hi k-iy-wak-wak'a'

"there at Indian Orchard we had about five cows"

This observation brings up the concept of "high-plural" nouns — as described next.

3.7.7 "High-plural" nouns

This is a feature of Samala which may also appear in Shmuwich; the evidence is not conclusive as of yet.

HIGH-PLURAL NOUNS — Defined

In Samala, there is a class of nouns that always — or at least almost always — show up marked as plural whenever they are plural. We coined the term "high-plural" noun for them because of the high probability that they are specifically marked as plural even though the rest of the sentence already makes this clear.

Here are Samala examples showing the difference between a regular noun and a high-plural noun in four contexts where the grammar spells out the plural. The regular noun is **xus** "bear" and the high-plural noun is **'ihĩ'y** "man."

- after a number or quantifier

Samala **masix ha xus** "three bears"

Samala **masix ha 'ihĩy-hĩ'y** "three men"

- as the subject of a verb marked with **s-iy-** "they" to spell out a plural subject

Samala **s-iy-alpat ha xus** "the bears are running"

Samala **s-iy-alpat ha 'ihĩy-hĩ'y** "three men are running"

- as the object of a verb marked with **-wun** to spell out a plural object

Samala **s-kuti-wun ha xus** "he/she/it sees the bears"

Samala **s-kuti-wun ha 'ihĩy-hĩ'y** "we see the men"

- as the possessor in a possessive phrase marked with plural **s-iy-** "their"

Samala **ma š-i-sixwa'y ha xus** "the claws of the bears"

Samala **ma s-i-tal-ta'lik' ha 'ihĩy-hĩ'y** "the men's wives"

High-plural nouns in Samala include

- men, women, children, spouses, elders, friends, companions, etc.
- kin terms
- tribe names
- some "adjectival" nouns like **nox** "a big one," **kice'** "a little one," **c'oyini** "another one," **k'u'me** "poor thing," etc.
- demonstratives and pronouns — very much as in Shmuwich

This pattern may show up in Shmuwich too. It took a sizeable body of text to find clear examples of it in Samala. As with **-wun** plurals, please be on the lookout for them as you study the available Shmuwich materials.

Examples supporting what seem to be high-plural nouns

The narratives present many examples that seem to support the notion of high-plural nouns in Shmuwich.

This example is a complex sentence that includes two high-plural nouns — **ku** “person” and **'elye'wun** “swordfish” as a supernaturally powerful being that would almost certainly be a high-plural noun.

he' l-paxat he' l-'iy-supilnapay-waš hi ho' l-'el-'elye'wu'n

“the whale that the swordfish [plural] threw up on shore”

'i ka s-iy-hik hi ho' l-kuh-ku' “belongs to the people”

ho' l-ka-s-iy-hik hi ho' s-pana'y'i'w hi ho' sxa'min

“whose property is that stretch of ocean”

Counter-examples

On the other hand, many nouns in Mary Yee’s speech show up marked as plural which in Samala are not high-plural. For example, most nouns are plural after **'ihĩ'** “many,” including non-human nouns which would definitely not be high-plural nouns in Samala.

hi ka š-ušpak-in-wun hi l-'ihĩ' hi s-'aw-'awux'a'

“and she picks up lots of needles with [it — i.e. a magnet]”

And here is an example in which **xa'x** “a big one” shows up in its reduplicated form **xaxa'x**, since it’s plural to match the implied plural of **s-iy-ič'alayaš** “their trails.”

s-e-wil-waš hi l-xaxa'x hi s-iy-ič'alayaš “they didn’t have wide trails”

— literally “big ones, their trail(s)”

It remains to be seen how Mary Yee’s mother and grandmother handled this issue, given other generational shifts in the language. See section **1.10** on this topic.

3.8 Quantifiers with nouns

QUANTIFIER — Defined

A “quantifier” tells you something about quantity — how many of something there is; it “quantifies” the noun. Quantifiers are a set of vocabulary that includes numbers and words such as **li’ya** “all” and **’ih̄i’** “many.” Numbers describe an exact quantity and quantifiers like **’ih̄i’** describe a relative quantity.

Both kinds of quantifiers with nouns follow the same pattern. The noun follows the quantifier, introduced by the connector **hi** or sometimes remote **hu**.

How quantifiers show up depends on where in the sentence they come.

- If the quantifier is the first word in the sentence — as the result of “fronting” (see section 11.1) — the quantifier shows up by itself with no connector before it and no article **l-**. Below are examples of quantifiers and then numbers as quantifiers in first position.

li’ya hi ho’ l-’ap-’ap^ha’niš... “every village [had one or two sweatshouses]”

’ih̄i’-waš hi l-kuh-ku’ hi l-sini’we-wun-waš

“he killed a lot of people” — literally “former many the people whom he killed”

pak’a s-ulkuw hi s-iy-ic^hitana’nan hi s-iy-awiš “they spent all night fixing it”

— literally “one [whole] night they are diligent [as] they fix it”

masix hi l-’ališaw hi s-iy-su’owus hi ma’li s-iy-aqmil hi sxa’min

“[for] three days they fast after they drink sea water”

- If the quantifier is not the first word in the sentence, it usually shows up with the article **l-** and some form of connector — either **hi** or **hu**. Below are examples of quantifiers and then numbers as quantifiers in first position.

s-iy-lek’en hi ’akim hi li’ya hu š-išawi “they [two] live/stay there every summer”

s-iy-akti’na hi l-’ih̄i’ hi l-’ih̄iyi’y “many men, a lot of men are approaching”

s-am-’a’win ’me ka’neč hu l-’iško’m hi l-’ola “they boil it about two hours”

p-aqmil ’me ka’neč hu l-masix hi l-kučal “you drink about three spoonfuls”

— literally “three spoons”

Possessive markers with nouns and quantifiers

In English, a possessive pronoun goes in front of any sequence of quantifier and noun.

“all my relations”

“her three sons”

Shmuwich attaches any possessive marker to the noun as usual.

li’ya hi k-kih-kikič’ > **li’ya hi k^hihkikič’** “all my relations”

masix hi he’ s-wop “her three sons” — “these three sons of hers”

3.9 Possessive phrases

“Possessive phrases” are sequences such as

s-’ap hi x’ox “Heron’s house”
 s-iy-iš-’išna’ni’š hi k-iy-noh-nonoč-waš “the customs of our ancestors”

3.9.1 Some definitions with possessive phrases

Talking about possessive phrases involves a few definitions for clarity.

POSSESSIVE PHRASE — Defined

A “possessive phrase” spells out who or what possesses a noun or stands in some relationship to it, such as with kin terms. A possessive phrase

- begins with a noun which shows a possessive marker, the “possessed” noun
 - s-’ap “his/her house”
 - s-kok’o “his/her father”
- ends with a noun which expands on the possessive marker, the “possessor” noun, answering the question “whose house?” or “whose father?”
 - s-’ap hi x’ox “Heron’s house” — literally “his house, Heron”
 - s-kok’o hi Lisa “Lisa’s father” — literally “her father, Lisa”

POSSESSED NOUN — Defined

The first noun, with the possessive marker, is the “possessed” noun. The person–number marker in front of the possessed noun is short–hand for the person and number of the “possessor” noun that follows.

s-’ap “some third–person party’s house” — next you’ll learn that it’s Heron whose house it is
 s-iy-iš-’išna’ni’š “some plural third–person’s customs” i.e. “their customs” — next you’ll learn it’s “our ancestors” whose customs are meant

POSSESSOR NOUN — Defined

The “possessor” is the person or thing spelled out in the second half of a possessive phrase. The possessor “owns” or stands in some relationship to the first noun, the “possessed” noun.

<i>possessed</i>	<i>possessor</i>	
s-’ap	hi x’ox	“Heron’s house”
s-iy-iš-’išna’ni’š	hi k-iy-noh-nonoč-waš	“the customs of our ancestors”

This construction follows the general Shmuwich pattern of putting the most important item first — see section 10.3. So in possessive phrases, the item under discussion comes first, then the phrase spells out who or what possesses this item or is in some relationship to it. For example, “what are we talking about?” s-’ap “someone’s house.” Then “whose house?” s-’ap hi x’ox “the house of Heron.”

3.9.2 Person–number markers with possessive phrases

The majority of possessive phrases have the third–person singular person marker **s-** as their possessive marker. Here are examples of third–person singular possessives.

hi s–qap hi l–monuš	“the leaf/leaves of mugwort”
hi s–sa > hi s ^h a hi l–xus	“a bear’s tooth, teeth”
hi s–’axpi’lil hi l–mo’moy	“the root of Datura”
hi s–’a’min hi l–’axtayuxaš	“the fruit/flesh of the islay”
hi s–qo’ hi l–’eneq	“the woman’s dog”
hi s–noqš–iwaš hi l–’al–aqšan	“the skull of a dead person”

Here are some examples of third–person singular possessives in context.

s–mon–us hi l–xip hi s–’eqweleš hi l–ku	“he paints on a rock <u>the image of a person</u> ”
ka s–uquštay, ’me ka’neč hu s–’uqušta’yiš hi l–wela	“it is bright, just like <u>the light of a candle</u> ”
k–sutaqwá’y hi l–’a’yi hi s–mitip’in hi l–’ap	“I surprise someone at <u>the door of the house</u> ”

However, the possessive marker can also be the third–person dual and plural sequences **š–iš–** and **s–iy–**, which both translate as “their” in English, but are quite distinct in Shmuwich. See section 3.9.4 for an illustration of this situation. Here are examples with dual **š–iš–** “their, belonging to the two of them.”

š–iš–kok’o hi l–č’ič’iwun	“the father of the two children”
š–iš–’ap hi k–’al–’ališxe’y	“my cousins’ house, the house of my two cousins”

Here are examples with plural **š–iy–** “their, three or more.”

s–iy–kok’o hi l–č’ič’iwun	“the childrens’ father, father of the [three+] children”
s–iy–’ap hi k–’al–’ališxe’y	“my cousins’ house, the house of my [three+] cousins”

3.9.3 Possessive phrases with a possessive on the second noun

When you start talking about real–life relationships, possessive phrases can get even more complex. The second noun can show up with a person–number marker too, and this person–number marker can be any of the **k–**, **p–**, **s–** and **iš–/iy–** combinations. A couple of examples of this showed up in the previous section.

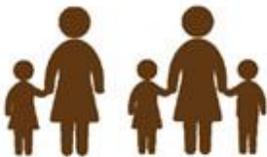
š–iš–’ap hi k–’al–’ališxe’y	“my cousins” house, the house of my two cousins”
s–iy–’ap hi k–’al–’ališxe’y	“my cousins” house, the house of my [three+] cousins”

Here are a few more examples.

s–ič’antik hi k–ša’y	“my daughter’s friend”
k–iš–č’a’min hi s–’uni’wi’ hi p–wop	“we two know your son’s wife”
k–aqnič ^h o hi s–’uni’wi’ hi p–iš–tata’	“I like your [two] uncle’s wife”
s–’anaqipnas hi s–’e’l hi p–ša’y	“your daughter’s necklace is beautiful”

3.9.4 Clarifying number with possessive phrases

Here are illustrations for some of combinations of possessive and number markers. Pay particular attention to the dual versus plural possessives.



š-tan-ta'niw hi l-'eneq
“the woman’s children”

š-iš-tan-ta'niw hi l-'en-'eneq'
“the two women’s children”

s-iy-tan-ta'niw hi l-'en-'eneq'
“the women’s children”

As mentioned above, English is sketchy about such matters, while Shmuwich is much more precise regarding person–number markers in possessive phrases.

3.9.5 Demonstratives with possessive phrases

Examples of possessive phrases from the narratives and other sources often include the demonstratives **he'** “this,” **ho'** “that” and **hu** “remote.” Sometimes the demonstrative shows up with just one noun and sometimes it shows up with both. This is a stylistic device that you will probably notice but not try to emulate on your own.

- Demonstrative just with the possessed noun.

s-iy-xonon-us hi ho' s-'anč^hum hi l-'ih^hy “they steal the man’s money from him”

s-akti-'anšin hi ho' s'ap hi x'ox “he comes to eat at Heron’s house”

— literally “that house of his, Heron”

s-am-hik'en hi ho' l-mišup hi s-qap hi l-monuš

“they use the lower leaves of the mugwort”

- Demonstrative just with the possessor noun, which is less common than on the possessed noun.

he' l-'el-'elye'wu'n 'i ka s-is-kuh-ku' hi he' sxa'min

“the swordfish are the people of the sea”

'it'i hi s-te'm ho' s-pu 'i s-u'liš hi ho' snaq'il “here on the palm of his hand he

holds the flint” — literally “that hand of his”

- Demonstratives with both nouns — matching demonstratives

s-iy-monus hi ho' s-tik hi ho' l-ya' “and they spread it on the tip of the arrow”

'it'i s-ali-wašlik hi ho' s-tik hi ho' l-meča “here the tip of the wick sticks out”

ho' s-tipiq' hi ho' s-i-č'alayaš hi san malku “the base of San Marcos Road”

— literally “its road, San Marcos”

- Demonstratives with both nouns — different demonstratives

ho' s-panayi'w hu sxa'min “the edge of the ocean”

s-e-'anamiki-waš hi ho' s-'a'min hu l-wi “the carcass of the deer did not last long”

s-iy-ipxey hi he' l-tip hu l-'alušpawat hi ho' s-iy-'uwu'mu “they add the salt of the ashes to their food” — literally “this salt of those [remote] ashes”

3.9.6 Independent pronouns in possessive phrases

The person–number markers **k-**, **p-** and **s-** plus **iš-** and **iy-** are all prefixes and they have to be attached to some word — generally a noun or verb. However, there are forms equivalent to the person–number markers which are separate words; they are called “independent pronouns” — as discussed in detail in section 5.2.

In the context of possessive phrases, independent pronouns can emphasize the possessor — in a way which a person–number marker can’t. In these emphatic possessive constructions, the independent pronoun comes second and the matching person–number marker shows up as a prefix on the first noun.

Here are examples of the first– and second–person independent pronouns in emphatic possessive phrases.

hi k-ša’y	“my daughter”
hi k-ša’y hi no’	“MY daughter”
hi k-iš-ša’y > hi kiš ^h a’y	“our daughter” — of the two of us
hi kiš ^h a’y hi k-iš-ki’	“OUR daughter” — of the two of us
hi k-iy-aqli’w	“our language”
hi k-iy-aqli’w hi k-iy-ki’	“OUR language”
hi p-wop	“your son”
hi p-wop hi pi’	“YOUR son”
hi p-iš-wop	“your son” — of the two of you
hi p-iš-wop hi p-iš-ki’	“YOUR son” — of the two of you
hi p-iy-aqli’w	“your language”
hi p-iy-aqli’w hi k-iy-ki’	“YOUR language”

There are no third–person independent pronouns — or rather, the items that sometimes function as third–person independent pronouns all have other uses as well — see section 5.2.2. Here are a few examples of these items used for emphasis in possessive phrases.

hi s-’ap	“his/her house”
hi s-’ap hi kam	“ <u>that person’s</u> house”
hi š-iš-’ap	“their house” — two people
hi š-iš-’ap hi he’wun	“ <u>these [two] people’s</u> house”
hi s-wop	“his/her son”
hi ho’ s-wop hi kikš	“his own son, her own son”

3.9.7 Possessive phrase ambiguity

Two nouns after a verb could be the subject and object, but if the first noun has an *s-* possessive marker, these same two nouns could also be a possessive phrase.



š-u'liš hi s-pu hi l-'ih'i'y

If you hear **hi s-pu hi l-'ih'i'y** as subject and object, you would interpret this sentence as “the man takes her hand.”

- the object — what’s being taken — is **hi s-pu** “her hand”
- and the subject — who’s taking it — is **hi l-'ih'i'y** “the man.”

If you hear **hi s-pu hi l-'ih'i'y** as a possessive phrase, you would interpret it as “she takes the man's hand.”

- the subject — who's taking it — is “the girl” (implied by *s-* but not spelled out) and she takes the man's hand
- the object — what's being taken — is **hi s-pu hi l-'ih'i'y** “the man's hand.”

POSSESSIVE PHRASE AMBIGUITY — Defined

“Possessive phrase ambiguity” refers to a situation in which a sequence of nouns after a verb can be interpreted either as a possessive phrase or as some other sequence — usually an object noun and a subject noun. It might help to see the two interpretations laid out to show the relationships.

š-u'liš hi s-pu hi l-'ih'i'y “she holds — the man's hand”

š-u'liš hi s-pu hi l-'ih'i'y “he holds — her hand — the man [does]”

Here are a few other examples. In all of these, the second noun could either be spelling out who or what possesses the first noun or it could be the subject of the verb.

š-išti' hi s-yawi hi k-'uni'wi “my spouse finds his/her key”

or “he/she finds my spouse’s key”

š-na'nan hi s-'ap hi l-wot' “the chief goes to his house”

or “he/she goes to the chief’s house”

s-kuti hi s-kok'i hi Lisa “Lisa sees his/her father”

or “he/she sees Lisa’s father”

Here is an example with the object marker *-us* “to him/her,” which is discussed in sections 8.2.5 and following. The pattern of ambiguity is the same here; the only difference is that you also mark the object on the verb with the suffix *-us*.

s-'oyon-us hi s-kok'o hi l-'ih'i'y “the man helps his father”

or “he/she helps the man’s father”

4 — Advanced Topics with Nouns

This chapter covers several additional constructions with nouns. These constructions

- add various prefixes or suffixes to the noun, while keeping it as one word, or
- add additional words, making for a longer noun phrase — see section 3.5 on the “noun phrase”

The topics covered here include

- No connector **hi** with a noun — see 4.1
 - moloq hi š-aqšan hi pali ’okip’hi** “Father O’Keefe died long ago”
 - k-iy-tin-us p’up’u** “we call him **P’up’u**”
- person markers with a series of possessed nouns — see 4.2
 - hi p-xo’ni k’e p-kok’o** “your mother and your father”
- possessed and non-possessed nouns — see 4.3
 - ahaš** “[one’s] soul, spirit” — possessed
 - ’al-č’ho hi š-ahaš** “he/she has a good heart”
 - ’ahašiš** “ghost, spirit” — non-possessed
 - k-e-xunušpi hi l-’ahašiš** “I’m not afraid of a ghost”
- secondary possession with **is-** — see 4.4
 - hi s-qap hi slo’w** “the eagle feather” — the bird’s own feather
 - hi k-is-qap hi slo’w** “my eagle feather” — not part of my own body
- special possession with **is-** — see 4.5
 - k-iy-is-wot’** “our chief” — and also “our Lord” in a Catholic context
- marking nouns for tense — see 4.6
 - hi p-sa’-’atišwin** “your future spirit helper”
 - hi k-ič’antik-iwaš** “my former friend” — from **ič’antik** “friend” + **-iwaš**
- “adjectival nouns” — nouns translated as adjectives — see 4.7
 - š-u’liš hi l-xa’x** “he/she/it grabs/catches a big one”
- “descriptives” and modifiers with nouns — see 4.9
 - hl l-yinc’i hi l-xip** “a hot rock”
 - hi l-c’oyc’oyini’ hi l-č’ič’i-wun** “the other children”
- noun compounds — see 4.8
 - s-hi’laq’ hi l-po’n** “a wooden handle” — literally “handle, wood”
- possessive phrases with independent pronouns — see 4.9
 - neutral **hi k-’ap** “my house”
 - emphatic **hi k-’ap hi no’** “MY house”
- **’alap-** “inhabitant of” — see 4.10
 - ’alapakswa’** “person from **kaswa’** “La Cienguita, near Mission Santa Barbara”

4.1 NO connector hi with a noun

There are certain situations where you don't use the connector **hi** to introduce a noun, usually involving names.

4.1.1 No hi with introductions

There's no connector **hi** where a name follows and expands on the previous word and could actually be a replacement for it.

k-ič'antik P'up'u	“my friend P'up'u ” — not * k-ič'antik hi P'up'u
p-ha'wa Sally	“your aunt Sally” — a maternal aunt — p^ha'wa
pali 'okip^hi	“Father O'Keefe
hi l-kayi xeyli	“Haley Street” — literally “the street Haley”

A coined term to describe this construction is “introductory phrase,” since the noun “friend” or “aunt” introduces the following name. The technical term for this construction is “appositive.” You could say that the name is an appositive to the noun “friend” or “aunt” or that the name is in “apposition” to the noun.

Here are these same introductory phrases in full sentences.

p-e'-anti' hi k-ič'antik P'up'u	“you haven't met my friend P'up'u ”
š-ašiw-it hi p-ha'wa Sally	“your aunt Sally is talking with me”
moloq hi š-aqšan hi pali 'okip^hi	“Father O'Keefe died long ago”

4.1.2 No hi introducing direct quotes

In a similar vein, there is no connector **hi** following verbs such as **'ip** “to say” or **tin** “to name someone [something]” in certain constructions.

- in direct quotes in which the quoted material is a name

tin	“to name someone, give a name” < ti “name”
k-iy-tin-us p'up'u	“we call him P'up'u ” — NOT * k-iy-tin-us hi p'up'u
- in direct quotes in which the quoted material is a word other than a verb phrase

'ip	“to say”
s-'ip haku	“he/she said haku ” — NOT * s-'ip hi haku

Here is a conjectural example of this construction without **hi**.

s-exlelen sê	“he/she shouts “no!”
---------------------	----------------------

In any other context, **hi** introduces the content of the speech act.

k-'ip hi p-ti	“I say your name”
s-'ip hi s-e-mixixin	“he says he's not hungry, she says she's not hungry”

4.2 Person markers with a series of possessed nouns

A series of possessed nouns in Shmuwich all include the possessive marker. In English you can say “my eyes and ears,” leaving out the “my” that would go with “ears” if you said “my ears” by itself. In Shmuwich, you include the person marker with each noun, especially when it’s a noun with an obligatory possessive marker like kin terms and body parts.

Notice in the examples below that body part terms don’t show up as plural — the plural is only implied (see section 3.7.4 on the implied plural).

k-tiq k’e k-tu’ “my eyes and my ears”
p-tiq k’e p- tu’ “your eyes and your ears”
š-tiq k’e š- tu’ “his/her eyes and his/her ears”

Here are additional examples.

k-su-kut’a hi k-’ax k’e hi k-yah-ya’ “I pick up my bow and my arrows”
tiyep-us-wun hi p-xo’ni k’e hi p-kok’o “tell your mother and your father”
s-’e’l k’e s-suwayan > s’e’l k’e s^huwayan “her necklace and her earring(s)”

This is true of a series of verbs too. Each verb in a Shmuwich phrase, unless it’s a command, requires its own person–number marker.

k-iy-expeč k’e k-iy-niw “we sing and we dance”
š-nowon k’e s-kuyam “he stops and he waits, she stops and she waits”

4.3 Possessed and non–possessed nouns

Many common nouns show up only with some possessive person–number marker, as discussed in 3.3. Nouns that follow this pattern include

- body parts — including parts of plants

pu	“hand, arm”	'oqwo'n	“head, hair”
qap	“feather, leaf”	'a'min	“body, flesh, meat (of)”

- kin terms

xo'ni	“mother”	ku'na	“niece, nephew”
taniw	“child, offspring”	'u'nu	“grandchild”

- many possessions like tools, regalia and clothing

ičk'i'	man's loincloth	suwayan	“earring”
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- nouns that describe the parts or aspects of an object

tik	“tip, point”
tipiq'	“base, butt end, source”

- nouns that are considered central to one's being or identity

ti	“name”	ahaš	“soul, spirit”
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NOTE: **taniw** “child, offspring” always shows up with a possessive marker, while two other words for child never have a possessive marker. If you're going to talk about a child or young in relation to someone, use **taniw** with a possessive marker.

k-axšiš hi k-taniw	“I call my child”
kê p-axšiš hi ho' l-č'ič'i?	“are you calling that child?”
š-miš hi l-tupmekč	“a child is crying”

4.3.1 The Non–possessed suffix –vš

The entries in the dictionary also include several “non–possessed” forms. These are nouns which ordinarily show up with a possessive marker but as specifically marked as “non–possessed” with the suffix –vš — not belonging to anyone in particular. This suffix is written with a V to indicate that its vowel can show up as –aš, –eš, –iš and –uš. It follows the same sound rules as –vš “result” — see section 12.1.4.

In a couple of the examples, the suffix shows up as –nvš after nouns with end with vowels or vowel plus glottal stop. This is probably the relic of a final consonant which was lost except a suffix that begins with a vowel — as is the case with some nouns in Samala, including **qo'nuš** “pet,” which exactly matches the situation in Shmuwich.

ahaš	“[one's] soul, spirit”
'al-č'o hi š-ahaš	“he/she has a good heart”
'ahašiš	“ghost, spirit” — non–possessed
k-e'-axunušpi hi l-'ahašiš	“I'm not afraid of a ghost”

'akay	“[one’s] bed” k–yuq^han hi k–'akay “I’m lying in my bed on my back”
'akayiš	“bed, rack” — non–possessed š–utišiš hi l–'akayiš hi no'no “this bed is very hard”
isawus	“one’s sweat” spilwututun hi sisawus “his sweat is dripping”
'isawus^haš	“sweat” — non–possessed š–uqš hi l–'isawus^haš hi he' l–kamisa “this shirt smells of sweat”
kok'o	“[one’s] father” k–kok'o > k^hok'o “my father”
koko'nuš	“father” — non–possessed, also used for “priest” koh–koko'nuš “a group of fathers” — priests
qo'	“[one’s] pet” k–šanšin hi q^ho' “I feed my pet”
qo'nuš	“pet” — non–possessed 'išpi'wečmu' hi l–qo'nuš “a pet store” — selling place of pet(s)
xo'ni	“mother” s–kuyam–it hi k–xo'ni “my mother is waiting for me”
xoni'náš	“mother” — non–possessed ho' ka l–xoni'náš “that one is a mother” — i.e. a bear with cubs

4.3.2 Non–possessed forms suggested by Samala

There are many more non–possessed forms in Samala; this is very likely also be true in Shmuwich, except that they haven’t been attested yet. An example from Samala that may correspond in Shmuwich is

suwayan	“[one’s] earring” s–anaqipnás hi p–suwayan “your earrings are beautiful”
suwayaniš	“earring” — non–possessed k–išti' hi l–suwayaniš hi l–pisu “I found an earring on the floor”

Such possessed and non–possessed pairs in Samala cover much the same semantic territory as the set of nouns with obligatory possessive markers, including some kin, tools and personal possessions, and body products. It’s quite likely that the possessed and non–possessed pair below also shows up in Shmuwich.

oxšol ~ 'oxšoluš	“[one’s] urine” ~ “urine” — non–possessed
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4.3.3 Uncertainty with non-possessed forms

There is conflicting evidence on non-possessed forms in Shmuwich. The following pair looks straightforward.

s-wil hi k-woyon “I have a braid” — possessed form of woyon
woyonuš “a braid” — non-possessed

However, there is also a phrase with a possessive marker on **woyonuš**, where one would expect the possessed form **woyon**.

s-woyonuš 'i lyawlu “the Devil’s braids” — a reference to a horse’s tangled mane

In Samala there is a possessed / non-possessed pair

Samala **'atišwin** “talisman, spirit helper, supernatural power”
 Samala **'atišwiniš** ditto — non-possessed

One would expect the same thing in Shmuwich, but in one Shmuwich narrative **'atišwin** shows up without a possessive marker and without **-vš**.

hi l-ka-č^ho hi l-'atišwin hi xelex “the best spirit helper is prairie falcon”

4.4 Secondary possession with is-

Beeler writes “A prefix **is-** appears in several nouns with meaning of ‘something that is temporarily in the possession of, or associated with, not inalienably possessed.’” Beeler calls this prefix a “marker of alienable possession,” but “secondary possession” is a more self-explanatory term.

For example, , **qap** “leaf, feather” is a body part term which always requires some possessive marker, so **s-qap** is “its feather,” with the implication that this feather is an organic part of some creature’s body.

hi s-qap hi slo'w “the eagle feather” — the bird’s own feather

To talk about someone else in relation to that feather, use the secondary possessive marker **is-** to spell this out.

hi k-is-qap hi slo'w “my eagle feather” — not part of my own body

Here are additional examples of the secondary possessive based on body-part terms.

hi s^ha hi l-xus “the bear’s tooth” — the bear’s own tooth < **s-sa**
hi k-i-s^ha hi l-xus “my bear tooth” — not part of my own body
hi s^he hi l-wi “the deer’s bone” — the deer’s own bone < **s-se**
hi s-i-s^he hi čti'n “the dog’s bone” — not of the dog’s own body < **s-is-se**
hi š-tumun hi l-'onoq “the buzzard’s egg” — the buzzard’s own egg
hi k-iš-tumun hi l-'onoq “my buzzard egg” — not part of my own body

Beeler also gives an example with a Spanish loan word **tutanu** “marrow,” from tuétano.

hi k-tutanu “my marrow” — in my own bones
hi k-is-tutanu “my marrow” — in a bone which I happen to be eating

4.5 Special possession with is-

A few nouns only show up with **is-** when they are possessed. For example, **wot'** “chief” can show up by itself, as in

š-as^hunan-š > **šaš^hunač hi l-wot'** “the chief is in charge”

However, when you want to use **wot'** with a possessive marker, the word requires **is-**.

k-iy-is-wot' “our chief” — and also “our Lord” in a Catholic context

A few other words that seem to require **is-** with possessives include the following.

isku guest; from **iš-** + **ku** “person”

iš^huš pubic hair; from **is-** + **šuš** — one's own fur

iswot' chief — when a possessive marker shows up; from **is-** + **wot'** “chief”

isxa'min “the Santa Barbara channel”; from **is-** + **sxa'min** “ocean”

s-wil hi sxa'min hi l-ka šti-hiwaš ho' k-iy-is-sxa'min

“there is an [area of] ocean whose former name was ‘our ocean’”

Shmuwuch students have been using the coined term **iš-nono** for “grandfather” in the sense of “collective and respected grandfather,” as in this line from a prayer

k-iy-iš-nono hi 'alapay — from “our Grandfather up above”

4.6 Marking nouns for tense

Shmuwich nouns can be marked for tense.

4.6.1 sa'– as “the future noun”

The future–tense marker with verbs comes after person–number markers and negative e–.

s–iy–sa'–qilik “they will take care of it”

p–e–sa'–uš^haw–wun “you won't miss them”

The future–tense marker can also be used with nouns, where the translation is something like “future” noun or noun “to be.”

hi l–sa'–xoni'naš “the mother–to–be” — xoni'naš “non–possessed mother”

hi l–sa'–'ap “the house–to–be, the future house” — e.g. said by an architect drawing up plans

When the noun has person–number markers, sa'– follows them.

hi p–sa'–'atišwin “your future spirit helper”

hi s–sa'– xaxi'š > hi s^ha'–xaxi'š “its future size, the size it's going to be”

4.6.2 –iwaš as “the former noun”

The past–tense marker with verbs is –waš. The form that shows up with nouns is –iwaš, or –hiwaš after a vowel. Translations of –iwaš range between “ex–,” “former,” “defunct” and “dead/late.” The most likely translation depends on the context.

š–t'alik–iwaš “his ex–girlfriend” and possibly “his ex–wife” or “his late wife”

k–ič'antik–iwaš “my former friend” and “one who used to be my friend,” including “my late friend”

'ap–iwaš “a broken down old house” or “[one's] former dwelling”

kikič–iwaš “[one's] late relative; from kikič “relative”

nuk'a–hiwaš “the former site/location (of something)”

s–iy–kep–kep–mu?–iwaš “their bathing places(of long ago)”

Some nouns with –iwaš take on a specialized meaning, especially body parts.

š–'a'min–iwaš “corpse, dead body” — from s– “his/her” + 'a'min “body, flesh”

ku–hiwaš “corpse, dead body” —from ku “person”

noqš–iwaš “skull” — from noqš “head”

pu–hiwaš “withered hand” — from pu “hand”

A word for “skeleton” might be based on s^he “bone” or s^hes^he' “bones” plus –iwaš.

hi s^hes^he'iwaš hi l–wī “a deer skeleton”

A special term uses –iwaš plus the q/x alternation (see section 1.8).

'enex–iwaš “old woman” — from 'eneq “woman” + –iwaš “old, ex–” with q/x alternation

4.7 “Adjectival nouns” — nouns translated as adjectives

An “adjectival noun” is a noun in Shmuwich but in English it has a translation like an “adjective” — descriptive words like “good” or “red” or “strong” are called “adjectives” in English. In Shmuwich “good” and “red” and “strong” are verbs of states and conditions, so the Shmuwich equivalents are **č^ho** “to be good,” **tasin** “to be red” and **ušk'al** “to be strong.” Adjectival nouns are different; they are nouns at heart, not verbs. There are several common adjectival nouns.

hi l-xa'x	“a big one”
hi čtaniw	“a little one, a little piece, a little bit” — from taniw with č- as a noun marker
hi l-c'oyni	“another one, the other one”
hi l-k'u'me	“a poor one, unfortunate one”
hi l-'akay	“the same one”
hi l-č^ho'o'	“a good one”

These words feel like adjectives to a speaker of English, but they are nouns in Shmuwich. For example, **xa'x** may sound like an adjective if you think of it meaning “big,” but it's a noun that means “a big one.” Here are some important things to keep in mind about adjectival nouns.

4.7.1 The Plural with adjectival nouns

Most of the adjectival nouns show CVC reduplication (see section 3.7.2) in the plural.

hi l-xaxa'x	“big ones” — this reduplication is slightly irregular; the expected *xahxa'x would be hard to say
hi l-čtantani'w	“little ones”
hi l-c'oyc'oyni'	“the others” — also shows up as c'oyniwun
hi l-k'umk'u'me'	“poor ones, unfortunate ones”

The plurals of **'akay** and **č^ho'o'** haven't shown up in the materials that I've seen. They might be as follows.

hi l-'ak-'aka'y	“the same ones” — conjectural
hi l-č^hoh-č^ho'o'	“good ones” — conjectural

4.7.2 The Article l- with adjectival nouns

Adjectival nouns show up with the article l-; you often find them standing alone as full nouns in their own right.

š-u'liš hi l-xa'x	“he/she/it grabs/catches a big one”
s-mixixin hi čtaniw	“the little one is hungry” — i.e. a child
k-'uw hi l-c'oyni	“I eat another one, eat the other one”
š-miš hi l-k'u'me	“the poor thing is crying”
s-'ip-it hi l-'akay	“he/she said the same thing to me”
s-qulumow hi l-č'o'o'	“he/she picks a good one”

However, there are applications for some of these words that do not include the article. For example, 'akay also means “how much,” in which case it shows up without l-.

kê p-č'a'min hi 'akay hi p-al-sa'-a'win? “do you know how much to boil”

And č'o'o' without the article means “well, in a good way.”

š-expeč hi č'o'o' “he/she sings well”

By the way, the opposite of hi č'o'o' as “well” follows a different pattern. The verb xinč'i “to be bad, ugly” seems to form an s- adverb — see 6.4.2 on s- adverbs. There is an alternative construction with 'al-xinč'i “something that is bad.”

no'no s-xinč'i hi k-iy-'nan “we had bad luck” — literally “very badly we go”
 pa 'al-xinč'i-waş hi s-xalas hi ho' s-mit “evidently her back healed badly”

4.x.3 No person-number markers with adjectival nouns

Don't let the English translation of adjectival nouns fool you. You've already learned lots of verbs of states and conditions like ipšel “to be ripe, cooked” and ušk'al “to be strong”; these verbs constantly show up with person-number markers.

š-ipšel hi l-'ixpaniš	“the acorns are ripe” — but phrased in the singular
š-ušk'al hi l-'ih'y	“the man is strong”

On the other hand, you don't add person-number markers to adjectival nouns because these words are nouns rather than verbs. If you want to describe something with one of the qualities that adjectival nouns cover, you can do it using a sentence without a verb.

xa'x hi l-qaši	“the abalone is big” — literally “a big one [is] the abalone”
NOT *s-xa'x hi l-qaši	
čtaniw hi k-wop	“my son is small” — literally “a small one [is] my son”
NOT *š-taniw hi k-wop	

4.7.4 Verb equivalents of adjectival nouns

Adjectival nouns sometimes do have verb equivalents, which you can use when you'd like to add a person-number marker.

- **xax'in** “to be big, wide” — from **xa'x** + **-vn** “verb marker”
 - s-xax'in hi š-te'm** “his feet are big/wide” — literally “his sole”
 - xax'in hi paskalan** “open wide!” — i.e. “do it big [as] you open your mouth”
- **č^ho** “to be good”
 - ka š-č^ho hi k-i-čt'i'n** “my dog is good” — using the verb
 - ka l-č^ho'o' hi k-i-čt'i'n** “my dog is a good one” — using a sentence without a verb
- **k'u'me** “to be poor, unfortunate” — maybe. The Samala equivalent can be both an adjectival noun and a verb; this may be true of Shmuwich as well.
 - s-iy-k'u'me hi ho'-wun** “those people are poor, unfortunate” — Samala usage

For the other adjectival nouns, it's best to use a sentence without a verb to set up the equivalent of these items as verbs of state/condition.

s-iwa-wil hi 'me 'akay ho' l-'ih'i'y “sometimes [it is] the same man”

4.7.5 Adjectival nouns with other nouns

You can add an adjectival noun to some other noun to make a noun compound, as discussed in more detail in 4.8. So you can say things like

hi l-xa'x “a/the big one”
hi l-xa'x hi l-qaši “a/the big abalone” — literally “a big one, an abalone”
hi l-xa'x hi l-sikmen “a/the big wave” — literally “a big one, a wave”
s-e-wil-waš hi l-xaxa'x hi s-iy-ič'alayaš “they didn't have wide trails”
 — literally “big ones, their trail(s)”

Just as with numbers and quantifiers, any person-number marker stays with the main noun and the adjectival noun shows up by itself.

hi l-xa'x “the big one”
hi l-xa'x hi k-i-čt'i'n “my big dog” — distinguishing the big one from the small one
hi l-c'oyni “the other one”
hi l-c'oyni hi l-'ap^ha'niš “the other town/village”
hi l-k'u'me “the poor one, the poor thing”
hi l-k'u'me hi k-taniw “my poor child”

4.8 Noun Compounds of content/composition

English strings two nouns together in compounds like “abalone earrings” or “acorn meal.” With compounds such as this,

- the first noun spells out the content or composition of the item, and
- the second noun spells out what the item in question is.

With the examples above, “abalone earrings” are “earrings made of abalone” and “acorn meal” is “meal made from acorns.”

Shmuwich handles such compounds in the opposite order.

- the first noun spells out what the item in question is — “earrings” or “meal,” and
- the second noun spells out what the item is made of — “abalone” or “acorn(s).”

Here are Shmuwich equivalents of the examples above.

suwayan-iš hi l-qaši “abalone earrings” — literally “earrings, abalone”
'iwex-eš hi l-'ixpaniš “acorn meal” — literally “meal, acorn”

Shmuwich mentions the most important item first and then spells out what it is. So the word order may be the opposite of English.

Here are some compounds that show up in the Shmuwich materials.

hi l-'iwexeš hi l-kalni “hamburger, ground meat” — literally “ground stuff, meat”
ho-l-'a'winaš hu-l-mo'moy “decoction of Datura” — literally “tea, Datura”
hi l-wot' hi l-'inyu “the Indian chief, the Indian leader” — literally “chief, Indian”

Here are some made-up compounds that you could use in conversation or lessons.

suwayaniš hi l-qaši “abalone earrings” — literally “earrings, abalone”
s-hi'laq' hi l-po'n “a wooden handle” — literally “handle, wood”
k-'ax hi l-kwe' “my bow of toyon” — literally “bow, toyon”
č'omš hi stapan “a cradle [made of] tule” — literally “cradle, tule”

4.9 “Descriptives” and “modifiers” with nouns

English puts various descriptive elements and modifiers in front of nouns.

some coffee	hot water	running water
black coffee	other examples	most people
this coffee	grown people	big feet

Shmuwich does the same with various elements that come before the main noun.

- With quantifiers — see 3.8 and 5.5

hi l-’apišti’ l-’ališaw “a few days
li’ya k-kih-kikič’ > li’ya k^hihkikič’
“all my relations”

masix hi l-’ališaw “three days”
sku’mu l-’ola “four hours”

- With “adjectival nouns” — see 4.7

hi l-xa’x “a/the big one”
hi l-xa’x hi l-qaši “a/the big abalone” — literally “a big one, an abalone”
hi l-xa’x hi l-sikmen “a/the big wave” — literally “a big one, a wave”
hi l-c’oyni “the other one”
hi l-c’oyni hi l-’ap^ha’niš “the other town/village”

- With relative clauses derived from verbs — see 11.4. These are verbal constructions which translation as “adjectives” in English. The relative marker l- — which also doubles as the article with nouns — creates relative clauses.

s-yinc’i hi l-xip “the rock is hot”
hi l-yinc’i hi l-xip “the hot rock” — literally “one that is hot, a rock”
s-iy-’olxonin hi l-ku “people are grown/adult”
hi l-’iy-’olxonin hi l-ku “grown people” — “the ones who are grown”

A significant exception to this general pattern is a noun–noun compound, as discussed above in 4.8, at least in English translation.

suwayaniš hi l-qaši “abalone earrings” — literally “earrings, abalone”
s-hi’laq’ hi l-po’n “a wooden handle” — literally “handle, wood”

In the translations of the examples above, “abalone” and “wooden” sound like modifiers that tell you what the earrings and handle are made of. In Shmuwich, the first word in each of these phrases is the main noun and the second noun spells out secondary information about that main noun.

4.10 'alap– “inhabitant of”

The prefix **'alap–** “inhabitant of” goes with the names of towns and regions to create a term for a person from that locale. It’s Shmuwich equivalent of English expressions such as “New Yorker” or “San Franciscan” for people from New York or San Francisco.

This prefix includes the agent marker **'al–** (see sections [7.14.2](#) and [12.1.2](#)) plus **'ap** “house,” as in “one whose house/home is such–and–such a place.” Occasionally it shows up as **'a'lap–**, which further strengthens the connection with **'ap**.

'alap–'alaxulapu	“person from Santa Ynez, 'Alaxulapu ; Inezeño”
'alap–kaswa'	“person from Kaswa' “La Cienguita, near Mission Santa Barbara” This is the general term for Shmuwich/Barbareño in Samala.
'alap–micqanaqa'n	“Ventureño, person from Ventura/ Micqanaqa'n ”
'alap–milimol	“Yokuts, Tulareño, people from the Tulare country” — milimol “north country”
'anapníc'	“Tongva — Fernandeño and Gabrielino, “easterner(s)” maybe from 'alap– + a shortened form of 'alaplíš “east” with consonant symbolism

The plural of an **'alap–** noun makes it clear that the word is based on an expression meaning “one who lives/dwells.” The plural is not **–wun** or the usual CVC reduplication, but a relative construction with **l–'iy–** “those who” — see sections [11.4.3](#) on relative constructions and their plurals. So **hi l–'iy–'alap–** means “the ones who live [in/at].”

'alap–milimol	“Yokuts, Tulareño” — person from the north, mountains
hi l–'iy–'alap–milimol	“the Tulareños” — literally “the ones who live in the north”
'alap–sanmikél	“Migueleño” — person from San Miguel
hi l–'iy–'alap– sanmikél	“the Migueleños” — literally “the ones who live at/on San Miguel”

5 — Pronouns, Demonstratives, Quantifiers and Question Words

This chapter covers

- question words — see [5.1](#)
 - 'a'yi** “who” and “someone, somebody”
 - kik'i** “what” and “something”
- independent pronouns — see [5.2](#)
 - no'** “I/me”
 - pi'** “you” — one person
- emphatic pronouns — see [5.3](#)
 - nokš** “I myself”
 - pikš** “you yourself”
 - kikš** “oneself, he himself, she herself”
- demonstratives — see [5.4](#)
 - he'** “this one”
 - he'wun** “these”
- quantifiers — see [5.5](#)
 - li'ya** “all, every”
 - 'ih'i'** “many, much” or “a lot of, lots of”
- numbers— see [5.6](#)
 - masix hi l-'aqiwo** “three stars”
 - sku'mu hi l-'ališaw** “four days”

5.1 Question words

There are several question words. Three of them — 'a'yi “who,” kik'i “what” and nuk'a “where” — are most important and show up the most. Sometimes they show up in content question and sometimes they act like nouns.

kik'i kê he'?	“what's this?”
s-e-'uw hi l-kik'i	“he/she/it doesn't eat anything”

5.1.1 Question words in questions

It turns out that there are remarkably few examples of the basic question words being used in questions, as opposed to other constructions such as being used as nouns. Here are some topics with question words used as questions.

- Question words as questions always show up first in the sentence.
- The “yes/no” question particle kê sometimes show up in content questions.
- The first- and second-person relative marker al- or perhaps the stative marker 'al- often shows up in verbs following question words.

This is an interesting point because some of the question words in Samala routinely show up with verbs that are marked as relative.

Samala	taka' ha p-al-aktina'?	“where are you coming from? — literally “where [is] what you come from?”
Shmuwich	nuk'a kê p-al-aktinali?	“where are you from? from where do you come? — literally “where [is] what you come from?”

The “Big three” — 'a'yi “who,” kik'i “what” and nuk'a “where”

Here is a listing of the question words in questions, starting with the big three — 'a'yi “who,” kik'i “what” and nuk'a “where.” These three behave a lot alike — just as they do in Samala — and hopefully examples of each can help fill in the blanks spots for the others.

- kik'i “what”

kik'i kê he'?	“what's this?”
kik'i hi l-kumu'li?	“what time is it? — literally “what has it gotten to?”

Here is an unexplained use of kik'i.

wa 'iy-'al-e-ku, 'i k'ay-kik'i kimini?	“if they aren't people, what are they then?”
--	--

It's unclear whether kik'i as the subject or object of a regular verb would show up with kê or not. Has anyone seen examples of one pattern or the other?

kik'i p-išti'-waš?	“what did you find?”
or kik'i kê p-išti'-waš?	<i>ditto</i>
kik'i s-akteqen-in?	“what happened to you?”
or kik'i kê s-akteqen-in?	<i>ditto</i>

- 'a'yi “who”

'a'yi kê he'?	“who [is] this?”
'a'yi kê he' l-'ih'y?	“who is this man?”
'imî 'a'yi s-'ap 'i he' / he' l-'ap?	“whose house is this?”
'a'yi kê kam hu l-tipawil?	“who is that [person] talking?”
'a'yi kê pi' ču 'me s e-sa' takti-l-in?	“who are you that he won't beat you up?”

It's unclear whether 'a'yi as the subject or object of a regular verb would show up with kê or not.

'a'yi p-kuti-waş?	“who did you see?”
<u>or</u> 'a'yi kê p-kuti-waş?	<i>ditto</i>
'a'yi š-išti' he'-wun?	“who found these?”
<u>or</u> 'a'yi kê š-išti' he'-wun?	<i>ditto</i>

- nuk'a “where”

nuk'a kê?	“where?” — as a truncated question
nuk'a kê 'al-wil hu l-mitip'in?	“where is the door?”
nuk'a kê p-'al-na'n-waş?	“where did you go?”
nuk'a kê p-'al-lek'en?	“where do you live?”
nuk'a kê p-'al-ik ^h it hi he'?	“where did you get this?”

All of these examples of **nuk'a** show it with kê following. They also all show stative 'al- (see section 7.14.2 on 'al- “stative”). It's not clear from these examples whether they just happen to be stative or whether **nuk'a** calls for an 'al- form of the verb.

nuk'a k-iy-sa'-uniyw?	“where shall we look for [it]?”
<u>or</u> nuk'a k-iy-'al-sa'-uniyw?	<i>ditto</i>

Minor question words

There are also some minor question words, which are much less well attested than the “big three.” There's no indication that the yes/no question particle **kê** shows up with them in questions.

- 'ašnim “when”

This word shows up in the dictionaries, but there are no examples of it as a question word in the Shmuwich materials that I have seen so far.

However, it's clear that 'ašnim is not used as a conjunction in the sense of “tell me when you see it.” True conjunctions such as **na**, **ma'li** and **wa** accomplish this. Here are conjunctural examples of 'ašnim in questions.

'ašnim hi š-nik'oy hi Lisa?	“when did Lisa return?”
'ašim hi p-kuti-wun?	“when did you see them?”
'ašnim hi š-u'liš hi 'ašk'á'?	“when did Coyote grab it?” or “when did [someone] grab Coyote?”

This word could be used in an embedding when you are questioning the time frame; see section 11.3 on embeddings.

k-e-č'a'min hi 'ašnim hi š-nik'oy hi Lisa “I don't know when Lisa returned”

- **'a** “how, in what manner” — style

The use of this particle is still unclear, with very few examples. None of them show **'a** in initial position in a question; so far there is just one example in any kind of question.

'imî 'a s-'ip hi š-ti hi he' l-'akteqen? “what's the name of the one who passed by?”
— literally “I wonder, how does one say the name...?”

Here are examples of **'a** in relative clauses — see 11.4 on relative clauses — and one of them is truncated.

k-e-č'amin 'a “I don't know how [one says it]” — answer to above

'me k-'al-č'amin hi 'a k-sa'-ne “I know what to do”
— literally “I know how I will do/act.”

Here are a couple of conjectural questions with **'a**.

'a p-eqwel-waš hi he'? “how did you make this?”

'a š-išti'-wun-waš? “how did he/she find them?”

- **kenû** “why”

kenû k-sa'-aktina'? “why should I come?”

kenû 'me k-iy-sa'-seqen? “why should we remove it?”

kenû 'me k-sa'-xu'wil? “why would I be mad?”

- **'akay** “how much” — quantity

So far two examples of **'akay** have turned up in a form approaching a question.

kê p-č'a'min hi 'akay hi p-sa'-seqen? “do you know how much to remove?”
— literally “how much you will remove”

k'e 'al-uniyiw hi p-sa'-č'a'min hi 'akay hi p-al-sa'-a'win
“and you have to know how much to boil” — literally “how much you will boil”

Presumably these questions could be pruned down to their basic form:

'akay hi p-sa'-seqen? “how much will you remove?”

'akay hi p-al-sa'-a'win? “how much will you boil?”

Here are a few more conjectural questions with **'akay**. If a noun follows — as in “how much wood” — does it follow **'akay** into initial position in the question?

'akay hi l-po'n hi p-uniyiw? “how much wood do you need?”

'akay hi čtan-ta'niw hi s-unilek'en? “how many pieces are left?”

5.1.2 Question words as nouns

The “big three” question words also show up as nouns, in which case they nearly always follow the verb. As it turns out, these words show up as nouns more often than they do as questions. As nouns, **kik’i** and **’a’yi** show up the article **l-** in front of them, but **nuk’a** apparently does not.

- **kik’i** “something, anything”
 - kišti’ hi l-kik’i** “I find something”
 - s-e-tiši-kum-us-waš hi l-kik’i** “the poor thing doesn’t get anything”
— literally “does not come to him, poor thing, anything”
- **’a’yi** “someone, anyone”
 - s-e-kuti hi l-’a’yi** “she didn’t see anyone”
 - ču ’me ma’li s-wil hi l-’a’yi hi l-oxoxon...**
“and as soon as there is someone who has a cough...”
- **nuk’a** “place, somewhere, anywhere”
 - š-wil-waš hi nuk-nuk’a’ hi l-’am-aq^hu-xilimik^hin hi ho’ l-č’alayaš**
“there were places where they had worn the trail deep”
 - ...ču kanu ’e-sa’-nono’ hi s-su-q^hapq^háp hi nuk’a**
“in order not to make it [too] thin anywhere”
 - s-am-eleyep-waš hi s-am-sa’-na’n hi nuk-nuk’a’**
“they traveled along [the trail] to go places [in the future]”

Some examples of **nuk’a** add the relative construction **l-...-pi** “where [something happens]” to the verb. See section 11.4.9 on **l-...-pi**.

- na s-am-na’n hi nuk’a hi l-xinč’i-pi** “when they go into a place where it is bad”
- s-iy-e-qili-si’nay-wun hi nuk’a l-sa’-wil-pi-wun hi ho’ l-’a’way**
“they never put them [mussels] someplace where the moon would be on them”

In addition, **’akay** can be a question word or a noun in the sense of “the same one, that same one.” This is not the same natural extension of meaning as with “who” ~ “someone” or “what” ~ “something.”

- ka ’akay hi he’ sa’-’ip-in hi kik’i hi p-sa’-’atišwin**
“that is the same one that will tell you what your spirit helper will be”

Here is **’akay** with a noun after it in the sense of “that same one.”

- s-iwa-wil hi ’me ’akay ho’ l-’ih’iy** “sometimes [it is] the same man”

The sequence **’me ’akay** means “exactly, the very one, the very thing” — with **’me** “emphatic.”

- ’me ’akay hi k-al-uniyw** “the very thing I’m looking for” — conjunctural

5.1.3 Question words with **malâ'me** “any” — TBA

The element from **malâ'me** “any” shows up in combination with the “big three” question words. It is an emphatic version of “any,” not in the vague sense of “someone, anyone,” but specifically “any whatsoever.”

- **malâ'me 'a'yi** “anyone” — in the sense of “any one whatsoever”

no'no' iy-'al-aqc'ipi-waš hi mala'me 'a'yi hi l-taxšan

“they were very much against anyone who was slender”

- **malâ'me kik'i** “anything, anything whatsoever”

p-iy-e-kuy hi l-malâ'me kik'i hi l-'ikš-iyuw hi l-ka'neč hi ho' l-'ih'i'y

“don't take anything that a man like that offers you”

This example shows **malâ'me kik'i** with a following noun, so the sequence clearly acts as a quantifier here.

no'no' 'al-xinč'i hi s-am-niwon hi l-mala'me kik'i l-'uwu'mu

“it's very bad to throw away any food”

- **malâ'me nuk'a** “anywhere, anyplace, anyplace whatsoever”

li'ya hi 'it'i 'i 'ih'i'-waš hi l-č'alayaš malâ'me nuk'a

“all around here there were trails everywhere” — literally “trails anywhere”

5.2 Independent pronouns

An “independent pronoun” is a pronoun like “I/me” or “you” or “he/she” which stands alone as a separate word rather than as a prefix or suffix attached to the verb. Independent pronouns add emphasis in a way that the person–number prefixes can’t.

5.2.1 First– and second–person independent pronouns

These pronouns follow a systematic pattern in the dual and plural.

	<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>1st person</i>	no’	kiški’ ~ kiški’	kiyki’ ~ kiyki’	“I, me”	“we two, us”	“we, us”
<i>2nd person</i>	pi’	piški’ ~ piški’	piyki’ ~ piyki’	“you”	“you two”	“you all”

The usual person–number markers show up, followed by an element **-ki’**, which sometimes shows up as **-ki’**, according to Beeler. Only the forms with **-ki’** show up in the materials which I have seen. In Samala, this element **-ki’** is the base of **kikš** “oneself,” from **ki’-kš**. This is almost certainly true in Shmuwich too, but the Shmuwich version of this word is **kikš**, so the connection isn’t as obvious.

5.2.2 Third–person independent pronouns

There are no unique third–person independent pronouns. Samala uses **kay** “he, she” as an independent pronoun, but nothing similar shows up in Shmuwich.

According to Beeler, various demonstratives are used as independent forms in the third person (p. 14). These demonstratives don’t have distinct singular, dual and plural forms like the true independent pronouns in the first and second person; they distinguish only singular versus non–singular as marked with **-wun**.

he’	~	he’-wun	“this one”	~	“these”
ho’	~	ho’-wun	“that one”	~	“those”
kam	~	kam-wun	“that person”	~	“those people”
kikš	~	kikš-wun	“he himself, she herself”	~	“they themselves”

In the material that I have seen, the plural demonstratives **he’-wun** “these” and **ho’-wun** “those” are more likely to refer to people — “these people” and “those people” — than the singular demonstratives **he’** and **ho’**.

’iwa-tani-niw ču š-iš-qitiwič he’-wun “please dance a little so that these two are entertained”

š-iy-axšiš-in ho’-wun “those people are calling you”

Here are examples of **kam** “that one, that person” in sentences.

kam ’i s-wil hi s-’ax “that guy has a gun” — “that one, exists his gun/bow”

š-e-č’a’min hi kam “HE doesn’t know” ~ “THAT ONE doesn’t know”

’a’yi kê kam hu l-tipawil? “who is that [person who is] talking?”

kam-wun ’i s-wil hi s-iy-yah-ya’ “those guys have arrows” — literally “[as for] those guys, exist their arrows”

It's clear that **kam** is not exclusively a pronoun; **kam** also shows up in the sense of “there,” along with **'akim**. It's may well be that one of these words is “there not far away” and the other is “there at a greater distance.”

kam nowon-la	“go and stand over there”
š-iš-lek'en hi 'akim	“they [two] live there, stay there”
hi 'me ka 'akim hi s-neč	“and so/thus it is done” — “amen” as line from Mary Yee's translation of the Lord's Prayer

See the discussion of **kikš** (section 5.2) for more detail on **kikš** and **kikš-wun**.

The Connector **hi** with independent pronouns

Independent pronouns and their third-person counterparts show up with the connector **hi** when they are not initial in the phrase — provided the question marker **kê** doesn't show up right in front of them.

k-e-č'a'min hi no'	“I don't know”
š-tipawil ka'neč hi piyk'	“he/she talks like you all”
š-iy-axšiš-in ho'-wun	“those people are calling you”
š-e-č'a'min hi kam	“HE doesn't know”
s-iy-eqwel hi kikš-wun	“they make [it] themselves”

5.2.3 When a person marker just won't do

Sometimes independent pronouns show up in situations where you just can't use a person-number marker. For example, **ka'neč** “like” has to be followed by a separate word.

hi l-ku ka'neč hi no'	“a person like me”
'a'yi ka'neč hi pi'	“someone like you”

Situations that may require independent pronouns include:

- after various particles, such as **ka'neč** “like,” **'me kikš** “only” and **wa'yi** “too, also”

š-tipawil ka'neč hi kiyk'	“he/she talks like us”
'me kikš hi kišk'	“only the two of us”
wa'yi hi no'	“me too, I too”
- after prepositions — see sections 6.7 and 10.10 on prepositions

š-nowon hi 'alapay hi no'	“he/she is standing above me, over me”
s-akti'na hi nipolk'oy hi kiyk'	“he/she is coming up behind us”
k-iš-lek'en hi mišup hi pi'	“the two of us live below you”
- in sentences without verbs, where “to be” is only implied, often with question words

no' ka pič'antik	“I [am] your friend”
pi' ka šič'antik	“you [are] his/her friend”
ka šmuwič hi kiyk'	“we're Shmuwich”
nuk'a kê pišk'?	“where are you two?”

no' hi he'	"it's me!" — in answer to "who's there" when someone comes to the door, literally "this [is] me"
'a'yi kê kam?	"who [is] that person?"

5.2.4 Independent pronouns for emphasis

You can also use independent pronouns for emphasis. There's no easy way to emphasize a person–number marker attached to a noun or verb, so independent pronouns are added to augment the person–number marker. As you can see, independent pronouns have to match person–number markers in both person and number.

Emphasizing the subject of a verb

The independent pronoun can emphasize the subject of a verb, but the person–number marker still shows up as a prefix on the verb. Notice that italic type is the convention for indicating emphasis or tone of voice in the English translation

k-expeč	"I sing"	k-iš-expeč	"we two sing"
k-expeč hi no'	" <u>I</u> sing"	k-iš-expeč hi kišk'	"WE TWO sing"
p-expeč	"you sing"	p-iy-expeč	"you all sing"
p-expeč hi pi'	"YOU sing"	p-iy-expeč hi piki'	"YOU ALL sing"
š-expeč	"you sing"	piyexpeč	"you all sing"
š-expeč hi pi'	"YOU sing"	piyexpeč hi piki'	"YOU ALL sing"

Emphasizing the possessor

The independent pronouns can also emphasize the possessor with possessive phrases. The possessive prefix shows up even when you include the independent pronoun.

hi k-ša'y	"my daughter"
hi k-ša'y hi no'	"MY daughter"
hi k-iš-ša'y > hi kis ^h a'y	"our daughter (the two of us)"
hi k-iš ^h a'y hi k-iš-ki'	"OUR daughter"
hi p-'ap	"your house"
hi p-'ap hi pi'	"YOUR house"
hi s-wop	"his/her son"
hi s-wop hi kam	" <u>that person's</u> son"

Emphasizing the object of a verb

The independent pronouns can also emphasize the object of a verb, but the object marker still shows up as a suffix to the verb.

pitaqit	“you hear me”
pitaqit hi no’	“you hear ME”
santilin	“he/she/it meets you”
santilin hi pi’	“he/she/it meets YOU”
pesqeniyuw	“you ask us”
pesqeniyuw hi kiškĭ’ / kiykĭ’	“you ask US” — dual or plural
kiyesqeniyuw	“we ask you” — dual or plural
kiysqeniyuw hi piškĭ’ / piykĭ’	“we ask YOU TWO” — “we ask YOU ALL”

5.2.5 Third-person considerations

You can emphasize a third-person object too. With third-person objects, remember the difference between **-us** verbs and verbs which don’t take **-us**.

no -us	kaqnič^ho	“I like him/her/it”
	kaqnič^ho hi kam	“I like <u>that person</u> ”
	sikuti	“they see him/her/it”
	sikuti hi he’	“they see <u>this one</u> ”
with -us	kiyesqenus	“we ask him/her”
	kiyesqenus hi kam	“we ask <u>that person</u> ”

Here are examples with plural objects.

no -us	kaqnič^howun	“I like them”
	kaqnič^howun hi kamwu’n	“he/she/it sees THEM” — dual or plural
	skutiwun	“he/she/it sees them”
	skutiwun hi he’wun	“he/she/it sees THESE” — dual or plural
with -us	kiyesqenuswun	“we ask them”
	kiyesqenuswun hi kamwu’n	“we ask <u>those people</u> ”— dual or plural

5.3 Emphatic pronouns *nokš*, *pikš* and *kikš*

There is a set of emphatic pronouns — all singular — which end in *-kš*.

- *nokš* “I myself” — from *no*’ “I, me” + *-kš*
nokš hi keqwel “I made it myself”
- *pikš* “you yourself” — from *pi*’ “you (singular)” + *-kš*
pikš hi p-išti’ “you find it yourself”
- *kikš* “oneself, by oneself, to be alone, on one’s own, to be one’s own”
 — from *-ki*’ ~ *-ki*’ “marker for independent pronouns” + *-kš*

5.3.1 The full set of emphatic pronouns

The list above presents the three main emphatic pronouns. There are also dual and plural forms. The information is skimpy here, but it looks as if the dual and plural forms of *nokš* and *pikš* are regular independent pronouns — see 5.2.1 on first- and second-person independent pronoun. The plural of *kikš* is definitely *kikš-wun* “they themselves.”

	<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>first</i>	<i>nokš</i> “I myself”	<i>k-iš-ki</i> ’ “we two ourselves”	<i>k-iy-ki</i> ’ “we ourselves”
<i>second</i>	<i>pikš</i> “you yourself”	<i>p-iš-ki</i> ’	<i>p-iy-ki</i> ’
<i>third</i>	<i>kikš</i> “he himself, “she herself”		<i>kikš-wun</i> “they themselves, dual and plural”

5.3.2 Where the emphatic pronouns go

These emphatic pronouns show up either as first element in the phrase or following the verb. They are more emphatic in first position.

<i>nokš hi keqwel</i>	“I made it MYSELF”
<i>keqwel hi nokš</i>	“I made it myself”
<i>pikš hi p-išti</i> ’ <i>hi l-’as</i>	“you find a seat YOURSELF”
<i>p-išti</i> ’ <i>hi l-’as hi pikš</i>	“you find a seat yourself”
<i>kikš hi s-kut-kuti-wun</i>	“he was watching them HIMSELF”
<i>s-kut-kuti-wun hi kikš</i>	“he was watching them himself”

5.3.3 *kikš* “oneself”

This word can emphasize a third-person subject which is not spelled out.

<i>kikš hi s-ewel</i>	“one makes it oneself”
<i>k’e kikš wa’yi</i> ’ <i>i s-ewel-waš hi l-č’alayaš</i>	“and she herself made a trail”

It may also appear along with a third-person subject.

<i>s-tiyep-it hi kikš hi l-pakuwaš</i>	“the old man told me himself”
--	-------------------------------

It can also emphasize third-person possession. It follows the possessed noun and comes before the possessor noun if one shows up.

ho' s-qo' hi kikš	“her own dog”
ho' s-qo' hi kikš hi l-'eneq	“the woman's own dog”
ka s^haq'utipey hi ho' s-wop hi kikš	“he poisoned his own son”
ka s^haq'utipey hi ho' s-wop hi kikš hi l-pakuwaš	“the old man poisoned his own son”

Sometimes **kikš** means something like “that very one,” as in these examples.

'akim hi s-qili-nes-waš hi kikš “That [is] how HE did [it]”

hi ka s-uniyw-waš hi s-am-sini'we hi kikš ho' l-xus “then they had to kill the bear

This word also shows up as a verb root, with a verb prefix in front of it. Samala has several verb compounds based with **kikš**; Shmuwich may have more than this one.

In the example below **kikš** supplies the sense of “by oneself” and a second verb spells out the action. This is a paired verb construction — see section 7.12 on paired verbs.

ka s-qili-kikš hi s-iloq'in-waš ho' l-po'n “he used to chop wood himself”
 — literally “he habitually did it himself, he chopped wood”

5.4 Demonstratives

5.4.1 Demonstratives with nouns — reviewed

Section 3.6.1 describes the demonstratives **he'** “this” and **ho'** “that” as they appear with nouns. When **he'** or **ho'** occur with a noun, the article **l-** shows up with the noun — as long as there is no possessive marker. If the article takes precedence on the English translation, “this” is may be suppressed in translation.

'iqip hi he' l-mitip'in “close this door” ~ “close the door” (the one nearby)
kitaq hi he' l-'ih'y “I hear this man” ~ “I hear the man” (the one nearby)
no'no' 'al-c'ic'i hi he' l-kla-waš “this broken edge is very sharp” ~ “the broken edge...”

When a demonstrative shows up with a plural noun, the plural is marked on the noun and the demonstrative shows up in its basic form.

s-iy-suxni-'ap-wun hi ho' l-pax-paxat'
 “[the swordfish] chase those whales ashore
š-iy-e-tap-waš hi he' l-'am-'amelikanu'
 “these Americans had not come in [to this area yet]”

5.4.2 Demonstratives by themselves

The demonstratives **he'** “this” and **ho'** “that” can also show by themselves, with no noun following. The noun is implied in context but is not stated.

It looks like demonstratives without nouns show up with **hi**, at least most of the time. Here are a few examples from the narratives showing **hi he'** and no noun.

'al-k-ič^haxi hi he' “this is my enemy”
sukitwón hi he' “take this thing out!”
'al-xinč'i hi he' “this is a bad one” — literally “one that's bad, this”
k-e'-aqšwalaw hi he' hi ma'm hi 'it'i l-'ap “I don't like this inside the house!”
hi ka paqmil hi he' “and then you drink this”
lokresiya 'i hu s-tapin ču s-qili'-aqmil hi he'
 “Lucrecia would be late/stay late(?) in order to drink this”

An example of no **hi** with **he'** might be due to fronting in a sentence with no verb; the **'i** in front of **he'** here is a topic-marking particle (see section 11.1).

'imî 'a'yi s-'ap 'i he'? “[I wonder] whose house is this?”

5.4.3 Demonstratives in the plural

When **he'** and **ho'** are marked for plural with **-wun**, the connector **hi** does not show up.

'a k-iy-nes kê hi k-iy-awiš he'-wun? “how do we fix these?”
'iwa-tani-niw ču s-iš-qitiwič he'-wun
 “please dance a little so that these two are amused”
s-iy-axšiš-in ho'-wun “those people are calling you”
k-iy-č'a'min hi s-iy-segen ho'-wun “we know that they removed those”

5.5 Quantifiers and Numbers

A “quantifier” tells you something about quantity — how many of something there is; it “quantifies” the noun. Quantifiers are a set of vocabulary that includes numbers and words such as **li’ya** “all” and **’ihĩ** “many.” Numbers describe an exact quantity and quantifiers like **’ihĩ** describe a relative quantity.

The discussion below treats quantifiers and numbers separately, but the following subsections deal with quantifiers and numbers together, since they follow identical patterns regarding the use of the article **l-** and the connector **hi**.

5.5.1 Quantifiers listed

Here are the Shmuwich quantifiers.

- **li’ya** “all, every”
 - li’ya s-iy-eqpey-šteš** “they all look alike” — literally “they all resemble each other”
 - li’ya hi ho’ l-’ap-’ap^ha’niš...** “every village [had one or two sweathouses]”
 - li’ya k-kih-kikič** > **li’ya k^hihkikič** “all my relations”
- **’ihĩ** “many, much” or “a lot of, lots of”
 - ’ihĩ hi l-wil** “there’s a lot” — literally “a lot [is] what is”
 - s-kuti hi l-’ihĩ’ l-’ap-’ap’** “she saw a lot of houses”
 - ’ihĩ’ i s-qapiš, hi wa ’al-wil hi s-’anč^hum**
“he buys a lot [of it], if he has the money”
- **’apišti** “a few, some, several”
 - ’meka ’apišti’ hi l-semana** “every few weeks”
 - s-iy-iškihin-wun hi l-’apišti’ l-’ališaw** “they keep them a few days”
 - s-am-miy-wun hi l-’apišti’ hi l-skĩn-skĩnit’ ču s-am-eqwel hi l-meča**
“they twist together several strings to make a wick”
- **čtaniw** “a little of, some of” — from **s-/č-** “noun marker” + **taniw** “to be small”
 - yik-it hi čtaniw** “give me a little!”
 - s-am-’a’win hi ’me čtaniw hi s-’axpi’lil hi l-mal**
“they boil just a little of the root of the mallow, a piece of the root”
 - k-’al-akti-’axu’mew-in hi čtaniw hi p-’axpi’lil**
“I’ve come to beg of you a little/a piece of your root”
- **mâla’me** “any, whatever, somehow”

Wash cites **malâ’me** as a quantifier, but so far there are no examples of this word by itself. It shows up paired with a question word in various expressions, including expressions where you might expect to see the plain quantifier by itself.

 - malâ’me ’a’yi** “anyone” — with **’a’yi** “who, someone”
 - no’no’ iy-’al-aqc’ipi-waš hi malâ’me ’a’yi hi l-taxšan**
“they were very much against anyone who was slender”

malâ'me kik'i “anything” — with **kik'i** “what, something”

no'no' 'al-xinč'i hi s-am-niwon hi l-malâ'me kik'i l-'uwu'mu

“it's very bad to throw away any food”

malâ'me nuk'a “anywhere, anyplace” — with **nuk'a** “where, somewhere”

he' 'i ka s-'is^huy hi mala'me nuk'a l-'ap hi s-tap-šiš hi 'me ka s-am-aqnič^ho-pi

“this is a sign that any house she visited in they would welcome her right away”

The two examples above are both interesting because they show a sequence of **malâ'me** plus a question word treated as a unit quantifier “any” modifying some noun. Note that one example shows the article **l-** with **malâ'me** and the other doesn't.

hi l-malâ'me kik'i l-'uwu'mu “any food” — literally “anything food”

hi mala'me nuk'a l-'ap “any house” — literally “anywhere house”

5.5.2 Numbers listed

Here are the numbers in Shmuwich.

1 pak'a	5 yitipak'a	9 spa'	13 k'elpak'a / tilesi
2 'iškó'm	6 yitiškó'm	10 k'eleškó'm	14 — / katolsi
3 masix	7 yitimasix	11 t'ilu / 'onsi	15 k'elmasix / kinsi
4 sku'mu	8 malawa	12 masixesku'mu	16 spet'a or spet'a'

There's a disagreement between the Beeler and Whistler dictionaries. Beeler gives **k'eleškó'm** as “ten” (page 14) and Whistler translates **k'eleškó'm** as both “ten” and “fourteen” (page 15). This term literally means “and two”; you can see how it might seem to fit into the blank spot for “fourteen” as “two past twelve.” However, Wash's manuscript dictionary confirms **k'eleškó'm** as “ten.”

Some of the numbers in the teens have Spanish equivalents. Wash's manuscript dictionary includes Harrington's comment “Luisa could never remember the numerals between 12 and 16. The Indians were abandoning their language little by little.” Harrington was referring to Mary Yee's grandmother Luisa Ignacio, who worked with him beginning in 1912 or 1913.

	<i>native</i>	<i>Spanish</i>
11	t'ilu	'onsi — Spanish once
13	k'elpak'a	tilesi — Spanish trece
14	—	katolsi — Spanish catorce
15	k'elmasix	kinsi — Spanish quince

According to Beeler, **t'ilu** “thirteen” was replaced by Spanish **'onsi** because **t'ilu** was uncomfortably close to **ti'li** “vagina.”

A note on *spet'a'* “sixteen”

The original Chumash numeral system was based on four and sixteen — “quaternary” as Beeler calls it. Four is the equivalent of ten in this system and sixteen, as four times four, is more the equivalent of a hundred — not numerically but in terms of being a basic unit.

I have not seen a reduplicated form of *spet'a' ~ spet'a'*, but I’m the lookout for it because the Samala equivalent *pet'a* can be reduplicated. Here are a couple of sentences from the Samala narratives show how this word is used to denote a unit.

Samala *p'et'a' na p'et'a' ha s-pi'w ha tik'otuš* “the broadband costs sixteens and sixteens”

Samala *šiwilš'ič ha siwatiwey ha p'et-p'et'a'* “gambling they lose many sixteens”

In the old days a higher number like 35 would probably have been expressed as *'iško'm hi spet'a k'e masix* “two sixteens and three,” but now counting in Shmuwich goes by units of ten, so 35 is *masix hi l-k'eleško'm k'e yitipak'a'* “three tens and five.”

Another conjectural example is 50. The old expression would probably have been *masix hi spet'a k'e 'iško'm* “three sixteens and two,” but in the current decimal system 50 is *yitipak'a hi l-k'eleško'm* “five tens.”

5.5.3 Quantifiers and numbers by themselves

Quantifiers can show up by themselves; there is no noun following the quantifier but some noun is implied in context. If the quantifier is the first word in the phrase, it stands by itself; the connector *hi* introduces a quantifier when it’s not initial in the phrase.

Here are examples with various quantifiers.

- *li'ya* “all”
 - 'al-uniyiw hi p-sa'-exen hi li'ya* “you will have to finish it all, eat it all”
 - li'ya s-iy-eqpey-šteš* “they all look alike”
 - literally “they all resemble each other,” speaking of toads
- *'ih'* “many, a lot”
 - 'ih' 'i s-qapiš, hi wa 'al-wil hi s-'anč^hum* “he buys a lot [of it], if he has the money”
- *'apišti'* “a few, some, several”
 - k-iy-sa'-kuy 'me ma'li 'apišti'* “we’ll only take a few” — conjectural
- *čtaniw* “a little of, some of”
 - yik-it hi čtaniw* “give me a little!”
- *masix* “three”
 - masix k-al-uniyiw* “I need three” ~ “three [is] what I need” — conjectural
 - ka k-silik^hit hi masix* “I count three” — conjectural

5.5.4 Quantifiers and numbers with nouns

When a quantifier shows up in front of a noun,

- put the connector **hi** in front of the noun — it's not the first word in the sentence, and
- put the article **l-** right in front of the noun unless it has a possessive marker.

How you deal with the quantifier depends on where in the sentence it shows up.

- If the quantifier is the first word in the sentence — as the result of “fronting” (see section 11.1) — the quantifier shows up by itself with no connector before it and no article **l-**.

li'ya hi ho' l-'ap-'ap^ha'niš... “every village [had one or two sweatshouses]”

'ih^h'-waš hi l-kuh-ku' hi l-sini'we-wun-waš

“he killed a lot of people” — literally “former many the people whom he killed”

- If the quantifier is not the first word in the sentence, it usually shows up with the article **l-** and some form of connector — usually **hi** but occasionally **hu**.

s-iy-lek'en hi 'akim hi li'ya hu š-išawi “they [two] live there, stay there every summer”

s-iy-akti'na hi l-'ih^h' hi l-'ih^hiy'y “many men, a lot of men are approaching”

hi ka š-ušpak-in-wun hi l-'ih^h' hi s'aw'awuxa'

“and she picks up lots of needles [with it]”

k-'al-akti-'axu'mew-in hi čtaniw hi p-'axpi'lil

“I've come to beg of you a little/a piece of your root”

Here is an example with remote **hu** introducing the quantifier.

p-aqmil 'me ka'neč hu l-masix hi l-kučal

“you drink about three spoonfuls” — literally “three spoons”

5.5.5 Marking the plural with quantifiers and numbers

When a quantifier shows up in front of a noun, in theory only “high-plural” nouns are also marked as plural — see 3.7.4 on “high-plural nouns.” For most nouns, Shmuwich works on the premise that the number tells you right off the bat that the noun is plural, so you don't add the redundant information on the noun as well that it's plural. Here are a few of many examples of quantifiers with nouns which are not marked as plural.

yitipak'a hi l-'aqiwo “seven stars”

'al-'iško'm hi s-nan'mu hi l-po'n... “there are two kinds of trees [that resemble...]”

s-am-'a'win 'me ka'neč hu l-'iško'm hi l-'ola “they boil it about two hours”

masix hi l-'ališaw hi s-iy-su'owus hi ma'li s-iy-aqmil hi sxa'min

“they fast for three days after they drink sea water”

p-aqmil 'me ka'neč hu l-masix hi l-kučal “you drink about three spoonfuls”

— literally “three spoons”

'me ka'neč hu sku'mu l-'ola ču ka s-pu'n ho' l-leči

“the milk is curdled in about four hours”

masixesku'mu l-pesu hi s-p'iw hi l-pak'a l-kwelda

“[for] 12 dollars a cord [the wood] sells”

'me ka'neč hu l-yitipak'a hi l-piyé hi s-yuxwowo'naš “about five pie [feet] tall”

he' l-sakapeyoti 'i 'me ka'neč hu l-k'eleškó'm hi l-pulgala hi s-yuxwowo'naš

“the sakapeyoti [a plant species] is about ten inches [pulgada] high”

kinsi hi l-minutu hi s-akteqen hi las diyés “it is a quarter past 10:00”

— literally “[by] fifteen minutes it passes ten”

li'ya hi 'it'i 'i 'ihí'-waš hi l-č'alayaš malâ'me nuk'a

“all around here there were many trails everywhere” — literally “anywhere”

On the other hand, there are a few examples of nouns being marked as plural after quantifiers. Most of these nouns describe people or animals.

hi l-'ihí' hi l-kuh-ku' “many people, a lot of people”

hi l-'ihí' hi l-'ihiyí'y “many men, a lot of men”

ho 'alikon hi 'me ka'neč hu l-yitipak'a-waš hi k-iy-wak-wak'a'

“there at Indian Orchard we had about five cows”

However, some of these plural nouns describe inanimate objects which you might expect would not be marked for plural after a quantifier.

s-kuti hi l-'ihí' l-'ap'ap' “she saw a lot of houses” — Ono 32, p. 25

hi ka š-ušpak-in-wun hi l-'ihí' hi s'aw-'awuxa'

“and she picks up lots of needles” — Ono 25a, p. 104

It's entirely possible that this is another example of Mary Yee's speech shifting various native patterns, such as suppressing sibilant harmony.

5.5.6 no'no “very (much)” versus 'ihí' “much, many, a lot”

The two Shmuwich words **no'no** and **'ihí'** can be confusing because of their English translations overlap; language students seem to be more familiar with **no'no**.

The difference between the two is that **'ihí'** goes with nouns and tells you “how many” or “how much.” The English translation of **'ihí'** is generally “many” or “a lot” or “lots.”

hi l-'ihí' hi l-kuh-ku' “many people, a lot of people” — Ono 32, p. 60

hi l-'ihí' hi l-'ihiyí'y “many men, a lot of men” — Ono 19, p. 19

skuti hi l-'ihí' l-'ap-'ap' “she saw a lot of houses” — Ono 32, p. 25

hi ka š-ušpak-in-wun hi l-'ihí' hi s'aw-'awuxa'

“and she picks up lots of needles” — Ono 25a, p. 104

li'ya hi 'it'i 'i 'ihí'-waš hi l-č'alayaš malâ'me nuk'a

“all around here there were many trails everywhere” — Wash 123a, p. 55

Notice that in most of these examples (all but the last one), the article **-l-** shows up in front of **'ihí'** and the noun with it is marked for plural.

With a mass noun like “food” or “water,” **'ihĩ'** would translate as “much” or “a lot of,” but I didn't spot any examples right away. Here's a hypothetical example,

s-'uw hi l-'ihĩ' hi l-'uwumu' “he eats much food, a lot of food” — conjectural

On the other hand, **no'no** goes with verbs and tells you “to what degree.” The translation of **no'no** can switch between “very,” “very much” and “a lot,” depending on the verb. With a verb of condition, “very” is the easiest translation.

'ik^hu no'no s-axt'atax “but it's very cold” — Ono 4, p. 74

no'no p-it'min “you are very scared” — Ono 56, p. 34

ho' l-čwi'w 'i no'no š-aqnik'ulš hi he' š-'iwo'nuš

“the bird is very sad [in] his sound” — Ono 16f, p 91

na no'no p-yinc'i 'i 'aleč^ho ...

“when you are very hot it is not good ...” — Ono 26, p 105

With a verb of action, “a lot” is the easiest translation of **no'no**, or sometimes “really” or “very much.”

š-iy-expeč hi no'no “they sing a lot” — Ono 51, p. 32

no'no 'iy-'alaqc'ipi-waš “they really despise it” — Wash 146, p 71

no'no 'al-am-qili-xunušpi “they are very much afraid of it” — Ono 15f, p. 89

Here's a verb of action **saxtawasin** “to speak clearly/plainly” where “very” works with the English translation because the translation includes an adverb “clearly/plainly.”

no'no s^haxtawasin “he speaks very plainly” — Ono 15d, p 88

As for the pattern of **no'no**, it can be initial in the sentence.

no'no s^haxtawasin “he speaks very plainly” — Ono 15d, p 88

It can show up right after a conjunction like **'ik^hu** “but” or **na** “when.”

'ik^hu no'no s-axt'atax “but it's very cold” — Ono 4, p. 74

na no'no p-yinc'i 'i 'al-e-č^ho ...

“when you are very hot it is not good ...” — Ono 26, p 105

Otherwise the connector **hi** introduces **no'no**.

š-iy-expeč hi no'no “they sing a lot” — Ono 51, p. 32

ho' l-čwi'w 'i no'no š-aqnik'ulš hi he' š-'iwo'nuš

“the bird is very sad [in] his sound” — Ono 16f, p 91

There are a few more examples of both **'ihĩ'** and **no'no** in the Shmuwich materials, but they are more complex.

5.5.7 Telling time — TBA

Wash’s manuscript dictionary gives several examples of expressions of time. They involve Spanish versions of some of the numbers and also Spanish expressions such as *las diez* — literally “the ten [hours].”

kinse hi l–minutu hi s–akteqen hi las diyés “it is a quarter past 10:00”
— literally “[by] fifteen minutes it passes ten”

yitipak’a hi l–minutu hi s–akteqen hi las diyés “it is 10:05” — literally “five minutes has passed the ten” (using a Spanish number format)

kinsi hi l–minutu hi s–akteqen hi las diyés “it is a quarter past 10:00”
— literally “[by] fifteen minutes it passes ten”

Here is the first of the sentences above reworked with native **k’eleškó’m** instead of Spanish *las diez*.

kinsi hi l–minutu hi s–akteqen hi k’eleškó’m “it is a quarter past 10:00”
— literally “[by] fifteen minutes it passes ten”

k’eleškó’m hi l–’ola “it is 10 o’clock” — literally “ten hours”

k’eleškó’m hi l–kumulu “it is 10 o’clock” — literally “ten [is] what arrives”

k’eleškó’m k’e s’awin–waš “it is 10:30” — literally “ten and a half”

yitipak’a hi l–minutu ču s^ha’ las ’onsi “it is five minutes to 11:00”
— literally “five minutes so that it will be the eleven” (using a Spanish number format)

5.5.8 Numbers as verb roots

Numbers can show up with verb prefixes, meaning that the number essentially functions as a verb root. Examples with the first three or four numbers are by far the most common here, with the notable exception that **’iškó’m** “two” is almost always replaced by the bound root **=tun** “re being two, in two parts.”

- **axi–** “to do X number of times”

axipak’a “to do one time, happen one time” — with **pak’a** “one”

axi’iškó’m “twice” — with **’iškó’m** “two”

s–axi–’iškó’m hu l–’ališaw “twice a day”

axitun “to do twice, happen twice” — with **=tun** “of two, being two”

aximasix “to do three times” — with **masix** “three”

axisku’mu “to do four times” — with **sku’mu** “four”

- **kal–/qal–** “of cutting or dividing” This prefix shows up as **kal–** and **qal–**, sometimes as **ka–/qa–**, but it’s **ka–** here with numbers. Ordinarily **qal–** means “of tying.”

katun “to cut into two pieces” — with **=tun** “of two, being two”

kamasix “to cut into three pieces” — with **masix** “three”

kasku’mu “to cut into four pieces” — with **sku’mu** “four”

Here are additional examples based on the bound root =**tun**.

maqutitun	“to break something in two” — with maquti- “uncertain meaning”
tantuč	“to take a double handful” — with tal- “with the hand” + -š “no object specified”
tipatun	“to interrupt, to butt in on” — with tipa- “uncertain meaning”
wantun	“to ride double” — with wal- “uncertain meaning”
waštun	“to be folded, be doubled” — with waš- “with the hand”

5.5.9 Ordinal numbers with **-pi**

The suffix **-pi** ordinarily indicates “on/onto” or “place where” — see sections 8.1 and 11.4.8 for more information on **-pi**. With numbers this suffix creates ordinal numbers, as in “second,” “third,” etc. — i.e. numbers indicating a item’s place in a sequence.

To be more precise, the relative expression **l- ... -pi** “where [something happens]” brackets a number to create the ordinal expression. So for example, **hi l-’iškóm-pi** “the second one” probably means literally “where it is two.”

hi l-’iškom-pi	“the second one” — with ’iškóm “two”
hu l-’iškom-pi hu s-am-’axič hu l-x’a’x’	“World War II” — literally “the second one, they [indefinite] fight, the great one”
hi l-masix-pi	the third one” — with masix “three”
s-’ip hi l-masix-pi hu l-pakuwaš...	“the third old man says...” — a conjectural example
hi l-sku’mu-pi	the fourth one” — with sku’mu “four”
hu l-sku’mu-pi hu l-’ališaw ’i š-aqšan	“[on] the fourth day he died” — a conjectural example

The word for “first” follows an entirely different pattern. It is **sutikim** “first, at first,” which is a verbal expression meaning **s-uti-kim** “it is first.” There are examples of **sutikim** used as an adverb.

s-iwa-šo’n hi s-uti-kim	“it is bitter at first”
p-s-ipyototon hi ho’ l-’o’ ka s-uti-kim	“you boil the water first”

There is one example of **sutikim** used more like an ordinal number.

’al-č’a’min-waš hi kikš	“he didn’t know that he himself
ka s-uti-kim hi l-’am-sa’-sili-sini’we	would be the first that they would want to kill”

It’s not at all clear how this word might be used in an expression such as “the first people,” where it directly modifies a noun. It might stay the same, with no article because it begins with the person marker **s-**, or possibly the **s-** would be replaced by the relative marker **l-** (see section 11.4.2). Here are conjectural examples showing both possibilities.

hi s-uti-kim hu l-kuh-ku’	“the first people”
or hi l-’iy-uti-kim hu l-kuh-ku’	<i>ditto</i>

6 — Particles, Adverbs and Prepositions — TBA

FIXX — This entire chapter is currently a rough sketch with some sections fleshed out.

Topics covered include

- introduction to particles — see 6.1
- grammatical particles — see 6.2
 - ka “predicative”
 - kê “question particle”
 - 'me “emphatic” and the many idiomatic sequences with 'me
- conjunctions as particles — see 6.3
 - k'e “and”
 - ka'neč “as, like”
- adverbs as particles — see 6.4
 - adverbs of time and place
 - adverbs of degree
 - adverbs of manner/style
 - adverbs of probability
- exclamations and interjections as particles — see 6.6
 - keti “my, oh my”
 - keti no'no hi p-'an-t'amay “my, how forgetful you are!”
- prepositions as particles — see 6.7
 - ma'm “inside of, within”
 - mišup “down, under, below”

A Caveat regarding this chapter

This chapter is the least finished section of this volume. Fortunately, language students also have access to Suzanne Wash's 2001 dissertation *Adverbial Clauses in Barbareño Chumash Narrative Discourse*. It is a treasure trove of sentences, vocabulary, and grammatical information.

6.1 Introduction to particles

PARTICLE — Defined

A “particle” is a short word which stands by itself. You don’t modify it by adding anything to it like person–number markers or suffixes.

There are various parts of speech in Shmuwich such as nouns and verbs, to name the two main ones that have come up so far. “Particle” isn’t a part of speech in the same sense; it’s more a description of the form of the word.

As a very rough rule of thumb, if a word is short and it isn’t a noun or a verb or a name or a demonstrative or a number or a question word like **kik’i** “what,” it’s probably a particle.

A Caveat regarding particles

The discussion of particles in this chapter is much broader than just stand-alone items like the adverbial particle **kɪp’ɪ** “now” or the question particle **kê**. There are classes of particles that perform certain functions, but many of the words that also perform these functions are more complex constructions. It feels more important to discuss the function than the mere fact of a word being short and simple enough to qualify as a particle.

You will see particles and more complex expressions discussed together under such headings as

- adverbs of time

kɪp’ɪ “now” — a true particle

s-axi-pak’a “once, one time” and “it happens once” or “one does [it] once”
— from **s-** “it” + **axi-** “of repetition” + **pak’a** “one”

- adverbs of degree (as a rough heading)

no’no “very much, to a large degree” — a true particle

’me kikš “only” — from **’me** “emphatic” + **kikš** “oneself,” in the sense of “just oneself” can do something, no one else

- prepositions as particles

ma’m “inside of, within” — a true particle

alitɪq “in front of” — from **ali-** “preposition” + **tɪq** “eye, face”

Particles with additional material

As a rule of thumb a particle is a short word which stands by itself. However, the Shmuwich material includes many examples of words that act like single-unit particles in one environment and then show up reduplicated or with some prefix or suffix in another environment. For example, most of the time **ka’neč** “like” stands by itself, and then suddenly it shows up with the trappings of a verb.

’al-wot’ wa’yi ka’neč hi no’ “he too is a leader like me” — a particle here

me ’al-ka’neč-waš hi kɪp’ɪ “it was just like nowadays” — more like a verb here

6.2 Grammatical particles

Some particles have strictly grammatical functions.

6.2.1 ka “Predicative” and “emphatic”

This is an emphatic particle with verbs and an “equal sign” with nouns. This particle is very common in Shmuwich. It has several uses, especially in sentences without verbs.

ka “equal sign” as ka A

The simplest ka construction uses ka to introduce a single noun — the “ka A” construction. Here ka acts like an equal sign; the translation is something like “it’s A” or “it’s an A.”

ka Maliya “it’s Maria” — maybe at the door or on the phone

ka k-hik “it’s mine,” “it’s my possession”

kik’i kê ho’? — ka l-qaši “what’s that?” — “it’s an abalone”

Some placenames consist of ka plus a noun, written as a single word.

kaswa’ village at La Cienguita, near Mission Santa Barbara — “at the tule” (swa’)

kaštayit village at Gaviota — “at the willows” (štayit ~ štayit)

ka “equal sign” as A ka B

The particle ka can also link two nouns like an equal sign: the “A ka B” construction.

he’ ka k-ša’y “this [is] my daughter”

no’ ka p-ič’antik “I [am] your friend”

xwan ka š-ti ~ š-ti ka xwan “Juan [is] his name” ~ “his name [is] Juan”

One of these nouns can be a verbal expression that’s made into a noun with l-, al- or ’al-. See section 11.4 on “nominalization” and section 11.5 on the “cleft sentence” construction.

k-sunuw-us hi l-po’n “I hit [it] with a stick”

> po’n ka k-al-sunuw-us “a stick is what I hit him with”

ka “emphatic with verbs”

The particle ka adds emphasis when it shows up in front of a verb.

ka s-tič maliya “she is called Maria”

ka š-č’o hi s-antik “he/she is happy” — literally “his/her spirit is good”

ka s^haq’utipey hi ho’ s-wop hi kikš “he poisoned his own son”

This use of ka is particularly common in a series of verbs in a narrative, where ka emphasizes actions that are deemed more significant than others.

ka in idiomatic sequences

This particle shows up with other particles in various idiomatic sequences, particularly with conjunctions, as listed below.

6.2.2 'me “emphatic”

This particle shows up very commonly in combination with some other particle, but it also shows up quite often by itself. It adds emphasis to the word that it follows.

- Here are examples of 'me in front of a verb; the translation may be “quite” or “just” in English.

'me s-uquštay “it is quite bright”

'me s-iy-axipak'a hi s-iy-qili-'aqmil he' l-mo'moy
“they drink **mo'moy**/Datura just once”

- Here is 'me adding emphasis to a quantifier.

'me li'ya hu l-qili-nah-na'n-pi-waš “all the places one used to go to”

- Here is 'me adding emphasis to another particle.

ka s-uquštay, 'me ka'neč hu s-'uqušta'yiš hi l-wela
“it is bright, just like the light of a candle”

'me with other particles

In combination with other particles, 'me often adds some idiomatic twist that you wouldn't expect from the sum of the parts. Some of these sequences are from the Whisler dictionary, with no example sentences.

'me 'akay “exactly, the very one, the very thing” — with 'akay — “the very one”
'me 'akay hi k-al-uniyiw “the very thing I'm looking for” — conjunctural

'me hu “because, as a result of, since”
s-iy-k'il-ixey hi l-'uwu'mu ču kanu 'me hu l-'uw hi he' 'i 'me ka
s-sa'-ic^haqyanin-us-pi “they sprinkle ['a'yip'] on food so that as a
result of eating this one would fall in love right away”

'meka “each, every; soon” — This expression may have come from the
particles 'me + ka, but it's treated as a unit and written as one word.
See hi 'me ka “and right away...” where 'me and ka are distinct.

'meka pak'a 'i s-nalapay hi he' s-woču'š “each one boasts his
wealth” or perhaps “shows off his wealth”

'me ka'neč “for instance, for example; just as” — with ka'neč “like; about,
approximately”
'me ka'neč hu s-am-hik'en hu l-'iwi, š-ta'luliš-in hi ho' l-c'ic'i-pi
ho' š-tu'-iwaš “just as one uses a knife, he pinches it with the
sharp part of the [clam] shell”

'me kanti'me “all the same...”

'me kikš “only” — with kikš “oneself,” in the sense of “just oneself” can do
something, no one else

'me kikš hi x'ox k-al-aqway-waš hi s^hutap hi ho s-'ik
“only Heron is able to stick his mouth in”

'me ma'li	“only, as soon as” — with ma'li “when, after” hu l-mol-moloq-i'waš hu l-'in-'inyu' 'i 'me ma'li hu s-iy-n̄ hi ho' l-'ap ka s-iy-šūqušta'yiš-waš “the old-time Indians had only firelight in the house” — literally “the old-time Indians, only their fire in the house was their light” p-sipyototon hi ho' l-'o' ka s-uti-kim, ču 'me ma'li s-ipyototon... “you boil the water first, and as soon as it boils...”
'me pšumawiš?	“how are you?” — “are you well?”
'me siša meči	“almost always” — with s-iša “almost, halfway, partly” + meči “always”
'me siša pak'a	“almost the same as...” — with s-iša “almost, halfway” + pak'a “one”
ču ka ('me)	“so that..., in order to...”
ču maštiču 'me	“and at last”
hâ 'me	“yes, yes indeed” — a more emphatic affirmation — with hâ “yes” + 'me
hak'u 'me	“if; whether”
hi 'me ka	“and pretty soon...; and right away...”
k'a 'me	“but instead...; rather...”
k'a 'me kikš hi hak'u	“unless...”
k'u 'me	“lest, so that X doesn't happen/isn't the case” — with k'u “lest”
maštiču 'me	“at last”
pâ 'me	“probably” pâ 'me kik'i hi l-'unimuš hi he' k-'ayapis “it's probably something that my heart senses” — e.g. when something bad is going to happen
setani'me	“not even, not even a little” — with s-e “not” + tani “a little” s-e-tani-'me p-kut'a hi p-sa'-oxšo'l “you don't even get up to pee”

6.2.3 The Connector **hi** — TBA

FIXX — For now see the introduction to **hi** in section 2.6.3 and section 4.10 on when not to use **hi** with nouns.

6.2.4 The Question particle **kê** — TBA

FIXX — For now see the introduction to **kê** in 2.6.2 and section 5.1.1 on **kê** with question words in content questions.

6.2.5 The Topic marker **'i** — TBA

FIXX — For now see section 11.1.1.

6.2.6 “Hortative” particles

HORTATIVE — Defined

“Hortative” refers to “exhorting” or urging someone into some activity. There are a few particles with hortative force.

'apí “let’s” — hortative

This particle is used in first-person commands (“hortative”). It shows up with **k-** “I” as well as **kiš-** and **kiy-** “we.”

'apí k-iwa-kutil “let me go and take a look at it”

'apí k-iš-qwel hi s-'as hi l-'a'yi “let’s make a seat for somebody!” — let’s the two of us

'apí k-iwa-'iš-'išmax hi l-xip “let me just throw a few rocks”

k'u'wa “let’s” (hortative) and “hopefully”

This particle seems to have the addition meaning of “ought to.” It may include **k'u** “lest, so that not.”

k'u'wa s-tani-'akti'na “hopefully at least he’ll come!”

k'u'wa p-qili-'itaq-us-wun “you should have heard them, ought to have heard them”

— not in the sense of lapsing in some duty but more “too bad you didn’t hear them.”

6.2.7 Holding space for more grammatical particles — TBA

FIXX — There is a great deal more that could be said on this topic.

6.3 Conjunctions as particles

CONJUNCTION — Defined

A “conjunction” is a word that “conjoin” two or more words or clauses.

6.3.1 Simple conjunctions “and,” “or” and “like”

There is a small inventory of simple conjunctions that operate within a single phrase, although most of the items discussed here can also link two clauses.

k’e “and”

This is the simplest and most common of the conjunctions. It typically links nouns within the phrase, but can link other items as well, such as prepositions.

hi p-xo’ni k’e p-kok’o	“your mother and your father”
s-uš’itap hi s-xil k’e l-’i’lil	“he mixes grease and red ochre”
k-su-kut’a hi k-’ax k’e hi k-yah-ya’	“I pick up my bow and my arrows”
k’e ’al-wil hi wa’yi hi l-c’oy-c’oyini’ hi l-nuh-nunaši’š k’e l-čwiw-čwi’w...	“there were other animals and birds...”
s-axi-pak’a hi s-iš-alpat hi kopkop k’e ’ašk’á’	“once Toad and Coyote ran ~ raced”

This word can link other items as well, such as prepositions.

s-ušlawil-pi hi s-xil mitip’in k’e ma’m	“he rubs the oil on it inside and out”
	— Shmuwich says “outside and inside”

You can also link multiple nouns with k’e.

hu l-masix hu l-’iy-’al-ič’antik-ič-waš, xelex k’e qaq’ k’e ’ašk’á’	“those three who were friended, Hawk and Raven and Coyote”
kim ka s-su-q ^h apq ^h ap hi ho’ s-xol-xolo’x k’e ho’ s-titi hi ho’ stuk	“then he makes thin the sides and the bottom of the wooden bowl”

Of course k’e can also link entire clauses; here it is a phrase-level conjunction.

s-iy-su-tap hi l-’ihiyi’y l hi l-’o’	k’e s-iy-uštap
“the men put [the boat] in the water	and <u>they</u> row”

wa’yi “too, also”

k’e s-mixixin-waš wa’yi	“and he was hungry too”
k’e s-am-aqmil he’ sxa’min wa’yi	“they also drank salt water, sea water”
k’aykê ’al-wot’ wa’yi ka’neč hi no’	“because he too is a leader like me”

hamú “or” ~ “or else”

Wash cites hamú and Whistler cites ha’mu. The only example of this word in context shows it linking two nouns within a phrase. It’s probably not a phrase-level conjunction as well.

’a’latišwič’i’š hi he’ l-’a’yip’ hamú ’a’latišwin?	“is ’a’yip’ a poison or a talisman?”
--	--------------------------------------

k'e hak'u "or"

This sequence is idiomatic. By itself **hak'u** is a phrase-level conjunction that means “if, whether” but with **k'e** “and” it means “or.” Here is a straightforward example.

'me s-iy-k'il-ıpxey hi l-'a'yip' hi ho' l-kapé k'e hak'u hi l-'me-c'oyni hi l-'uwu'mu
“they sprinkle 'a'yip' in coffee or in some other food”

In this example, you can see **hak'u** by itself as “if, whether” and with **k'e** as “or.” Technically **k'e hak'u** is linking two phrases here, since it links two verbs, so it is also a phrase-level conjunction.

'me 'al-e-wil hi hak'u s-yinc'i k'e hak'u s-axt'atax
“it makes no difference whether it is hot or it is cold.”

ka'neč “like” ~ “as”

This word is probably from **ka** “emphatic particle” + **neč** “to be like, to resemble,” with no person marker. In the sense of “like” or “as,” **ka'neč** introduces nouns and pronouns within a single phrase. The particles **hi** or **hu** follow it.

'al-wot' wa'yi ka'neč hi no' “he too is a leader like me”
s-iy-aqšwalaw hi s-iy-kuti hi l-'a'yi ka'neč hi kikš-wun
“they like to see someone like themselves”
s-am-uš'ex hi mišup ka'neč hu l-'akayiš “they spread it on the ground like a bed”

This word as **ka'neč hu** can also show up linking two nouns in a sentence without a verb. The particle 'i may or may not introduce it here.

he' l-kaletela 'i ke'neč hu l-xa'x hi l-kalesa “the carretela is like a large buggy”
he' l-qwelqwé'l ka'neč hu štapan, no'no' sixut
“cottonwood is like tule; it burns easily/quickly”

Here is **ka'neč** with 'al- “agentive/stative” and -waš to indicate past tense in a sentence without a verb. It's acting more like a verb than a particle here.

'me 'al-ka'neč-waš hi k'ip'i “it was just like nowadays”
xwan petinčel 'i 'al-ka'neč-waš “John Pettinger was such a one”
— literally “[was] one who was like [so]”

Here is **ka'neč hu** in the sense of “about, approximately.”

s-am-'a'win 'me ka'neč hu l-'iško'm hi l-'ola “they boil it about two hours”
p-aqmil 'me ka'neč hu l-masix hi l-kučal “you drink about three spoonfuls”
— literally “three spoons”

Phrase-level conjunctions

Phrase-level conjunctions join entire phrases. English examples are “when” and “but,” as in

Call me when you get a chance.

I'd like to go but I'm too busy.

Section 11.2 discusses phrase-level conjunctions in detail.

6.4 Adverbs as particles

Many adverbs are clearly particles. They are short words that don't break down into smaller units. On the other hand, there are also many expressions that function as adverbs but have a more complex break-down.

6.4.1 A Note on adverbs and adverbial considerations

English has many adverbs

Here are some English examples of adverbs.

She sang loudly	“loudly” modifies the verb “sang,” indicating manner or style
We found it here	“here” modifies the verb phrase “left it,” indicating place
I drove yesterday	“yesterday” modifies the verb “drove,” indicating time
He seldom misses	“seldom” modifies the verb “misses,” indicating frequency
He probably did it	“probably” modifies the verb phrase “did it,” indicating certainty

These adverbs all modify the verb in some way. Shmuwich approaches modifying the verb from multiple angles. It uses

- true adverbs — short words that don't break down any further

kɪp'i	“now”
'it'i	“here”
- “s- adverbs” — verbs with the person marker **s-** used in an adverbial sense

s-axi-pak'a	“once, happening once” and “it happens one time”
s-iwa-wil	“sometimes” — from iwa- “for a while” + wil “to be, exist”
- derived adverbs — based on other elements

š-iša	“almost, kind of, halfway, partly” — This word includes the third-person marker s- and the prefix iša- “partly, halfway” but no verb root
--------------	---
- verbal prefixes to modify the verb

api-	“quickly”
aq'uti-	“always”
wayi-	“slowly”
- paired verbs — a verb with an adverbial force modifies a main verb

šutowič	“to do quickly”
axpap	“to talk loudly” <u>and</u> “to do something loudly”
wakapi	“slowly, gently”

Note two different ways to express “slowly” in these examples, one with **wakapi** as a verb and one with **wayi-** as a verb prefix.

kopkop 'i s-wak-wakapi hi s-pin-pi'nan “Toad is hopping very slowly”
hi 'iy-al-way-wayi-akteqen hi ho' s-'ap hi taxama
 “they are slowly passing by Skunk's house.”

6.4.2 One-word adverbs — adverbial particles — TBA

Here is a listing of adverbs that don't break down into smaller units.

'akim	“there, in that place; so, thus”	mok'e	“already
ho'wo	“still, yet”	moloq	“a long time ago; for a long time”
'it'i	“here”	no'no'	“very, very much, a lot”
k+p'†	“now”	'inu	“in reality, really; my!”
meči ~ 'meči	“always”	q'uwa	“hopefully”

6.4.3 s- adverbs

A number of expressions are essentially verbs used in an adverbial sense. These words start with the third-person subject marker **s-** and include verbs or compounds of some prefix plus a verb root.

s-axi-pak'a “once, happening once” and “it happens one time”

Before going into more detail on **s-** adverbs, it's worth noting that this construction parallels expressions with **s-** and a verb which are used as nouns — called **s- nouns**. See section 3.4.3 on **s-** nouns; here are a few examples.

s-axk^hit	“wind” and “[wind] is blowing”
s-ikmen	“wave(s), surf” and “[waves] are breaking
š-išawi	“summer” — literally “it is summer”
š-loq	“hole” and “it is perforated, has a hole in it”

Translating s- adverbs

The translations of **s-** adverbs as adverbs is fairly straightforward. Their translations as verbs is more problematic, partly because as verbs they don't always show the person marker **s-**. The translation could be something impersonal such as

s-axi-pak'a “it happens one time [that...]”

The translation with **s-** could also be more personal.

s-axi-pak'a “he/she does something once”

The form of the word as a verb could also take a different person-number marker, for example in a paired verb construction.

s-axi-pak'a hi s-esqen-it “he/she asks me once” — literally “he/she does it once,
he/she asks me”

p-axi-pak'a hi p-esqen-it “you ask me once” — literally “you do it once,
you ask me”

A listing of s- adverbs

This list starts with the adverbs based on **axi-** “number of times” with numbers.

- **s-axi-pak’a** “once” and “it happens once, one does it once”
s-axi-pak’a hi s-iš-alpat hi kopkop k’e ’ašk’á
 “once Toad and Coyote ran ~ raced”
- **s-axi-tun** “twice” and “it happens twice, one does it twice”
s-esqen-it hi s-axi-tun “he asks me twice”
 — literally “he asks me, he does it twice”
- **s-axi-masix** “three times” and “it happens three times, one does it three times”
s-axi-masix hi s-esqen-it “he/she asks me three times”
 — literally “does it three times, asks me”

Here are additional s- adverbs.

- **s-axi-’ihí’** “often” — from **axi-** + **’ihí’** “to be/happen much”
s-axi-’ihí’ hi s-e-sackaw hi l-kik’i
 “often he does not succeed in anything”
- **s-iwa-wil** “sometimes” — from **iwa-** “for a while” + **wil** “to be, exist”
s-iwa-wil hi k-iy-ušpák hi l-’ihí’ “sometimes we gather a lot”
 “he never came back here”
- **s-e-maštiču** “never” — from **s-e-** “it does not” + **mašti(ču)** “happen”
s-e-maštiču-waš hi s-kuwayap-waš hi ’it’i
 “he never came back here”
- **s-xinč’i** “badly” — from **xinč’i** “to be bad, ugly”
no’no s-xinč’i hi k-iy-’nan “we had bad luck”
 — literally “it is very badly we go”

6.5 A listing of adverbs by Type

This is a very rough listing of adverbs by type. They all need at one example sentence.

Adverbs of time and place

Many of these expressions are s- adverbs, as discussed above in section [6.4.2](#).

Adverbs of time

ho’wo	“still, yet”
kíp’í	“now”
meči ~ ’meči	“always”
mok’e	“already; no longer, not any more” (with negative verb)
moloq	“a long time ago; for a long time”
kštápin	“yesterday, last evening” — this is a shortened form of ka + š-tápin — literally “it is evening”

Adverbs of time with s-

saxi'ihí'	“often”
saxipak'a	“once upon a time, it happened once upon a time”
semaštiču	“never”
siša mīk	“for quite some time, for quite a while”
suninaxyit	“in the morning”
suštala	“finally”
sutikim	“first, at first”
siwawil	“sometimes”

Adverbs of place

'akim	“there, in that place, in that way; so, thus”
'it'i	“here”

Adverbs of degree

č^ho'o'	“well, in a good way”
maliwaš	“the most” — superlative according to Ono but not at all clear in usage xaymi 'i maliwaš ka 'al-uxwa'lihi'y-waš hi li'ya hi l-'in-'inyú' “Jaime was the bravest of all the Indians”
no'no	“very, very much, a lot, to a large degree”
setani'me	“not even, not even a little” — from s- “third person” + e- “negative” + tani- “a little” + 'me
tičpi	“completely” — This word shows up in context (Ono p. 88); it's translated as an adverb, but it takes -l- as if it's a verb or nominalization. s-am-'ip he' l-muhú 'i hu l-tičpi s^huwa-'inyu “they say that the owl talks just like the Indians” — literally “completely sounds Indian” (suwa-'inyu)

Adverbs of style/manner

'akim	“in that way; so, thus, there, in that place”
malâ'me 'a ... ne	“somehow, in some way/manner”
pak'a	“same, equally” hi s-iy-tipawil-aš 'i 'me pak'a “their speech [is] the same”

Adverbs of probability

čak'u kê	“it could be that..” čak'u kê 'al-eqwel-šiš hi l-xus “maybe he turned into a bear” čak'u kê hi 'me 'al-nan-waš hi he' milimol “he could have gone to the Tulare country”
'inu	“in reality, really; my!” 'ay 'inu k-tani-we' wû “oh, I really slept for a little while!”

kalpas	“certainly, surely” ’me kikš hi hak’u s-xinč’i-waš hi l-ku, ’i kalpas ’inu may k-xunušpi “only if it is [the spirit of] a bad person, then certainly I should truly be afraid of it”
kanti’me	“all the same”
k’iyak’u	“maybe”
q’uwa	“hopefully”

6.6 Exclamations — TBA

Here is a list of exclamations.

’aw	“exclamation of acknowledgement”
’ay	“ouch, ow!”
hâ	“yes”
hâ ’me	“yes, yes indeed” — a more emphatic affirmation
haku	“hello, greetings” (a conventional greeting)
how	“exclamation when song ends”
ho’wi	“come here!”
’î	“yes”
’imî	“my!, how...!, I wonder..., it must have been...!”
’i’yi	“go on!, alright!”
keti	“my!, oh my! how!” keti, no’no’ s-xinč’i “my, how ugly it is!” keti, no’no hi p-e-malkič hi pi’ “my, how messy/untidy you are!”
kuhu	“who knows?”
k’u’wa	“hortatory (let’s); hopefully”
pe pe pe pe pe	“blah blah blah, yada yada yada” — sound of people chattering
sê	“no”
’uwû	“I wonder [if...]” ’uwû k-eqpey-us? “do I look like her? I wonder if I look like her” ’uwû ’me ’a p-neč? “how are you? how are you doing?”
wa	“hortatory particle”
wali²	“hortatory particle?”
wayawa’ye	exclamation (meaning unclear)
wo’i	“exclamation of disagreement”
wo’o’í’e’	“exclamation of disagreement”
ya	exclamation — meaning unclear
yu	exclamation

6.7 Prepositions as particles

PREPOSITION — Defined

A “preposition” is a word that indicates a relationship to some noun in space or time, such as “to town,” “in the house,” “at the river,” “about your letter,” “with my sister,” “until Monday,” “for three days,” etc. There are dozens of prepositions in English. The technical term “preposition” refers to something “positioned” in front — “pre-” — since prepositions come before the noun in English — and Shmuwich too.

English uses prepositions a lot; Shmuwich doesn’t. For example, notice how Shmuwich expresses these various phrases that all use the preposition “for” in English.

k-nu-’nan- <u>in</u>	“I bring it <u>for you</u> , to you”
s-kuyam- <u>us</u>	“he/she waits <u>for him/her</u> ”
s-uniyiw	“he/she looks <u>for it</u> ”
š-lek’en hi masix hi l-’ališaw	“he/she stays <u>for</u> three days”

If someone asks you how to say “for” in Shmuwich, you’d have to ask how they want to use it in the sentence. Section 6.7.6 at the end of this discussion of prepositions cites many Shmuwich verbs that act as equivalents to English prepositions.

6.7.1 Prepositional Phrases — Prepositions with nouns after them

PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE — Defined

A “prepositional phrase” is a preposition with a noun after it, a noun which the preposition governs. The connector **hi** introduces both the noun and the preposition — as long as it is not the first element of the phrase.

k-išti’ hi mišup hi l-xip	“I find it under a rock”
k-iy-lek’en hi liyik hi l-’ap ^h a’niš	“we live in the middle of town”
š-nowon hi ’alapay hi l-’ixtí’š	“he’s standing up on the roof, on top of the roof”
s-išti’ hi ma’m hi l-meš	“he/she finds it inside the sack”
š-iš-nowon hi mitip’in hi l-’ap	“they two stand outside the house”
kna’n hi mipolk’o’y hi k’ap	“I go in back of my house”

There are exceptions to the observation that the connector **hi** introduces prepositions when they’re not the first element in the sentence, but the pattern of the exceptions is not clear.

6.7.2 Issues with prepositions

The situation with prepositions is fairly complex.

- Only a few words are inherently prepositions, such as **ma'm** “inside.”
- Basic prepositions usually have secondary meanings as nouns. For example, **'alapay** “up, above, over” can also mean “sky.”
- Other prepositions require possessive markers that match the person and number of the noun they govern, as described below.
- A preposition can be a noun with the prefix **ali-**, also requiring possessive markers.

A Caveat with this discussion

A few prepositions are well attested in the materials I've seen, such as **'alapay** “up, above” and **mišup** “down, under.” However, some of them show up only a few times and these few examples sometimes contradict each other. So in the discussion that follows, I've tried to balance consistency with accuracy, given the holes in the data.

6.7.3 Basic prepositions

Basic prepositions are introduced by the connector **hi** when they're not first in the sentence; they show up without the article **l-**. Inherent prepositions can also be used as nouns or descriptive terms, in which case they do take the article **l-**.

- **'alapay** “above, over, up; on top, on the surface of” — and as a noun “sky, heaven, ceiling” — from **'al-** “agent” + **=apay** “up, above” — literally “that which is above”

s-kuti hi 'alapay hi l-'ap	“he/she sees [it] over the house”
he' it'i 'alapay he' p-tiq	“here, above your eye”
š-nowon hi 'alapay hi no'	“he/she is standing above me, over me”
s-uš'ex-š hi 'alapay hi l-xa'x hi l-xip	“he spreads it on top of a big rock”
ka s-nu-xal-apit-iy hi 'alapay hi ho' l-po'n	

“[Red-tailed Hawk] flew up into the tree with it”

This word shows up with the article **l-** when it's used in a compound in the sense of “upper” rather than as a preposition.

he' l-'alapay hu k-šepešle' “my upper lip” — literally “this upper one, my lip”

- **liyik** “in the middle, among, between” — and as a noun “middle, center”
The examples of **liyik** as a preposition and noun are sparse and inconsistent regarding **hi** and **l-**.

š-lo'min hi liyik	“it is soft in the middle”
s-qunumak hi liyik hi l-xip-xip'	“it hides among the rocks”
ho' l-liyik hu l-'ap 'i s-iy-aqtip	“in the middle of the house they build the fire”
ka 'ih'i-waš hi l-č'ala'yaš mala'me nuk'a, 'i 'meka liy-li'yik hi l-'ap-'ap'a'ni'š	

“there were a lot of trails everywhere, each one between villages”

This word shows up with the article *l-* when it's used as a noun or in a compound in the sense of “middle, central” rather than as a preposition.

mok'e š-liyik hi s-ulkúw “it is already midnight — the middle of the night”
ho' l-liyik ho' l-po'n “the middle board” — literally “this middle one, a board”

- **ma'm** “inside, into” — apparently not also used as a noun

ma'm 'al-lek'en he' “this one is inside, stays inside”
s-kuyam hi ma'm hu l-'ap “he/she is waiting inside the house”
s-tap-li'l hi ma'm hi l-tiyenta “he/she goes into a store”
š-nah-na'nan hi l-'a'yi hi ma'm ho' l-'ap “someone walks around inside the house”
k-e'-aqšwalaw hi he' hi ma'm hi 'it'i l-'ap “I don't like this inside the house!”
s-ušlawil-pi hi s-xil mitip'in k'e ma'm “he rubs the oil on it inside and out”
 — Shmuwich says “outside and inside”

NOTE: **ma'm** does not equal English “in” in locational phrases, where “in” is only implied in Shmuwich. See section 10.8 on locational phrases.

šlek'en hi mikiw “he/she lives/stays in Dos Pueblos” — **mikiw**

Similarly, many verbs of motion and directed action include “in” or “into” as part of their meaning, so **ma'm** would not be used here either.

k-su-tap hi l-meš “I put [it] into the sack”
ka s-pintap hi l-'axt'atax hi l-'o' “he jumps into cold water”
p-su-tap-wun ho'-p^hu hi ho' l-walde “you put your hands into the bucket”

No examples of **ma'm** as a noun have turned up yet. In Samala, **ma'm** has the same meaning as a preposition as in Shmuwich. It's also used in the sense of “building” as opposed to “house.” A coined Samala term is

Sam **ma ma'm ha 'ap^haniš** “tribal hall,” literally “building of the tribe/nation”

- **mišup** “below, floor, down, under, low” — and as a noun “ground, bottom, foundation” — from **mi-** “re location” + **šup** “earth”

The examples of **mišup** as a preposition have no article *l-*, even though in translation some of them come across as “on the ground.”

s-we' hi mišup hi l-'akayiš “[the cat] is asleep under the bed”
k-iš-lek'en hi mišup hi pi' “the two of us live below you” — in the floor below you
s-wel-weletepet hi mišup “he's rolling on the ground”
s-iy-piliqlaw hi l-piliholi hi mišup “the beans fell on the floor” — **mišup** as a noun
š-am-uš'ex hi mišup ka'neč hu l-'akayiš “they spread it on the ground like a bed”

This word shows up with the article *l-* when it's used in a compound in the sense of “lower” rather than as a preposition.

he' l-mišup hu k-šepešle' “my lower lip” — literally “this lower one, my lip”
s-am-hik'en hi ho' l-mišup hi s-qap hi l-monuš “they use the lower leaves of the mugwort”

- **mitip'in** “outside” — and as a noun “door, outside, exterior”
 - moq'e s-kitwon he' mitip'in “he/she has already gone out”
 - he' mitip'in 'iy-al-xop-xopoy ho' l-č'ič'i'-wun “the children are playing outside”
 - ka š-nowon-waš hi l-wint'i'y hi he' mitip'in hi ho' s-'ap
“an ash tree stood outside his house”
 - ho' mitip'in hi ho' s-'ulukop^ho'winaš hi xšo
“the outside of the burl of a sycamore tree”
 - s-ušlawilpi hi s-xil mitip'in k'e ma'm “he rubs the oil on it inside and out”
— note that Shmuwich says “outside and inside”

This word shows up with the article l- when it's used as the noun “door” or in a compound in the sense of “outside, outer” rather than as a preposition.

- 'ušq^hal-it hi l-mitip'in “open the door for me!”
- hi l-mitip'in hi l-tokoy “the outer circle/ring”
- **mut'ey** “near, close to” — and as a verb **mut'ey -us** “to be near, to get near”
 - na s-iwon hi l-'ašk'á' hi mut'ey ho' l-'ap... “when a coyote howls near a house...”
 - s-iy-kek mut'ey hi ho' l-qu'lalam “they grow near the creek”
 - k'e s-wil-waš hi l-wint'i'y hi mut'ey hi ho' s-mitip'in hi ho' s-'ap
“and there was an ashtree near the door of his house”

Here are examples of **mut'ey** as a verb.

- na s-iy-mut'ey-in “when they get near you”
- ma'li š-iy-mut'ey-šiš “as soon as they get near each other”
- s-k'il-k'ili-mut'ey-us hi ho' s-'ik “he brings it closer and closer to his mouth”
- **nipolk'oy** “in back of, behind” — and as a noun **nipolk'oy** seems to mean “the back, back part, rear.” This word probably includes **olk'oy** “to go around.”
 - š-quluwašlik hi ho' l-nipolk'oy hu l-'ap “he/she peeks in the back of the house”
 - s-akti'na hi nipolk'oy hi kiyki' “he/she is coming up behind us”

This word shows up with the article l- or a possessive marker when it's used as the noun “back, rear” or in a compound in the sense of “back, rear” rather than as a preposition.

- hi ho' š-nipolk'oy “the back (of the house)”
- hi l-nipolk'oy hi l-'as “the back seat” — coined term

6.7.4 Prepositions with possessive markers

One preposition has a basic meaning as a noun and secondarily acts as a preposition, while keeping its noun status.

- **'aqši'w** “gut, stomach; belly, abdomen” and as a preposition “underneath, underside”
ho' s-'aqši'w hi l-xus “the bear’s belly” — as a noun

As a preposition, **'aqši'w** in the sense of “underneath” is the head of a possessive phrase and it requires a person–number marker.

mala'me nuk'a s-iy-aktina'li li'ya ho' s-'aqši'w hi l-po'n s-iy-'o'wow s-iy-waxan
 “anywhere [the buzzards] come to, all underneath the tree their droppings are white”

The person–number marker matches the number of the following noun.

ho' s-'aqši'w hi l-po'n “underneath the tree” — singular
ho' s-iy-'aqši'w hi l-pōn-po'n “underneath the trees” — plural with **-iy**

Prepositions with **ali-**

So far only one example of a preposition with **ali-** has shown up; there are probably others.

- **alitiq** “front, in front of” from **ali-** “preposition” + **tīq** “eye, face.”

This expression translates in English as the prepositional phrase “in front of,” which is followed by some noun (e.g. “in front of the woman”). Shmuwich adds a possessive marker to **alitiq** matching the person and number of the following noun, exactly like a possessive phrase — see section 3.9 on possessive phrases.

hi s-ali-tīq hi l-'eneq “in front of the woman” — roughly “in her face, the woman”
hi š-iš-ali-tīq hi l-'en-'eneq' “in front of the two women”
 — roughly “in their [dual] faces, the women”
hi s-iy-ali-tīq hi l-'en-'eneq' “in front of the women”
 — roughly “in their faces, the women”

It’s also possible to drop the noun or pronoun and let the possessive marker do all the work of spelling out person and number.

hi s-ali-tīq “in front of him/her/it” — roughly “in one’s face”
s-am-si'nay-us hi l-mow hi ho'-s-ali-tīq “they put some honey in front of him”
hi š-iš-ali-tīq “in front of the two of them”
hi s-iy-ali-tīq “in front of them”

Here are examples with first- and second-person possessives. You could add an independent pronoun for emphasis here — see section 5.2 on independent pronouns.

š-nowon hi k-ali-tīq “he/she is standing in front of me”
š-nowon hi k-ali-tīq hi no' “he/she is standing in front of ME”
š-nowon hi p-ali-tīq “he/she is standing in front of you”
š-nowon hi p-ali-tīq hi pi' “he/she is standing in front of YOU”

Other prepositions with ali-

In Samala, **ali-** combines with a number of nouns to create prepositions with possessive markers. These are listed below in case something similar shows up in Shmuwich.

- Samala body part terms as the base of the **ali-** construction

ali-xolox	“[at] the side of, next to, beside” — xolox “rib, side”
ali-’oqwo’n	“[at] the head of” — ’oqwo’n “head”
ali-tik	“[at] the tip of, top of” — tik “tip”
ali-tix	“before, in the presence of, in front of” — tix “eye, face”
ali-tipiq’	“[at] the base, foot of” — tipiq’ “base, bottom”
ali-s-’i’l	“[at/toward] the foot of” — ’i’l “foot, leg” + s- “third-person marker”
- Samala directional terms as the base of the **ali-** construction

ali-kuyu’w	“[to/at] the right of” — kuyu’w “right, right hand”
ali-ka’wač	“[to/at] the left of” — ka’wač “left, left hand”
ali-’alapiš	“[at/to] the east of” — ’alapiš “east”
ali-’alawax	“[at/to] the west of” — ’alawax “west”
ali-’ayuxkuy	“[at/to] the north of” — ’ayuxkuy “north”
ali-muhuw	“[at/to] the south of” — muhuw “south”

6.7.5 Derived prepositions with l- and ’al-

A couple of constructions that look a lot like prepositions — at least in effect — use various forms of nominalization. They are

- **hi l-hik’en** “with, using” — literally “[it is] what one uses”
- **’al-nu’na** “from, from a point of origin” — literally “[it is] what/where one comes from”

There may well be others that I haven’t spotted.

hi l-hik’en “with, using”

There a couple of examples of **hi l-hik’en** “what one uses” acting somewhat like the preposition “with.”

š^hoxš hi l-’am-hik’en hi s-am-tal’uliš-wun “they handle [the red ants] with down”
s-qili-su-wele-tepet-wun hi ho cweq-cweq’, po’n hi l-hik’en
 “she used to roll them (prickly pears) in grass, using a stick”
 — **po’n hi l-hik’en** — literally “a stick [is] what she uses”

This construction is different from a regular preposition on multiple counts.

- It is based on the verb **hik’en** “to use.” Of the regular prepositions, only **mut’ey** “near, close to” has a direct relationship with a verb as “to be near, to get near.”
- It uses the **l-** “relative” prefix — see section 11.4.2 — while regular prepositions do not use the article **l-**.
- It comes after the noun that it governs, rather than before as prepositions do.

The Samala equivalent is **kahik’en** — from **ka al-hik’en** “[it is] what one uses.”

In Samala we coined a few more prepositions along these lines, with the intent of having a more convenient way of expressing prepositional relationships.

kaliwiš	“with, accompanying” — from ka al-iwiš “[it is] who one accompanies”
kanuhik	“for, on behalf of” — from ka-al-nu-hik “[it is] who one acts on behalf of”
kawašlik	“from, departing from” — from ka al-wašlik “[it is] what one comes from”
kawil	“with, having” — from ka al-wil “[it is] what one has” — equivalent to the Shmuwich 'al-wil construction, see section 7.14.4

'al-nu'na “from”

Consider this sentence.

s-wil-waš hi l-'iti 'al-nu'na-waš hi l-'inyu “there was an Indian who came from here”
— more literally “there was a one who came from here, an Indian”

This construction could be just a stative form with **'al-** (see section **7.14**), as in **'al-nu'na** “one who habitually is from.” However, like the construction with **hi l-hik'en** discussed above, **'al-nu'na** comes after the word that it governs, rather than before as prepositions do.

hi l-'iti 'al-nu'na — literally “here one-who-comes-from”
NOT *'al-nu'na hi 'iti “one who comes from here

Might **'al-nu'na** also show up as **hi l-nu'na**, parallel to **hi l-hik'en**? There's no way to know.

6.7.6 Verbs with prepositional meanings in Shmuwich

The relationships that English expresses with prepositions often show up very differently in Shmuwich, sometimes as verbs. Here are some verbs with meanings a lot like English prepositions. Often they show up in paired verb constructions (see section **7.12**) where their main function is to add a sense of direction or location to the verb that describes the main action. Here are a couple of examples of paired verb constructions creating the Shmuwich equivalent of an English prepositional phrase.

k-lek'en hi k-iwiš hi k-ša'y “I'm sitting with my daughter”
— literally “I am sitting [as] I accompany/am with my daughter”

k-supap'i'n hi k-wašlik hi s-'ap hi Lisa “I drive from Lisa's house”
— literally “I drive [as] I depart from Lisa's house”

However much these constructions may look like English prepositions, they are verbs and they show up with person-number markers.

NOTE: The Shmuwich verbs below are not the only way to say the English preposition given on the right as an equivalent.

tap “to go in, come in, enter” — English preposition “in”
k-tap hi k-supap'i' “I go into my car, enter my car”
š-alpat hi š-tap hi Tim “Tim runs in” —

kitwon “to go out, come out, emerge [from]” — English preposition “out”
s-kitwon hi l-katu “the cat goes out”
k-alpat hi k'itwon hi l-'ap “I run out of the house”

- wašlik** “to come from, show up [from]” — English preposition “from”
k-iy-wašlik hi syuxtun “we’re from **Syuxtun**, come from **Syuxtun**”
k-supap’i’n hi k-wašlik hi s-’ap hi Lisa “I drive from Lisa’s house”
- nu’na** “to come from, be from” — English preposition “from”
k-iy-nu’na hi syuxtun “we’re from **Syuxtun**, come from **Syuxtun**”
- uxnik’** “to escape, run away (from)” — English preposition “away (from)”
k-iy-uxnik’-us hi l-xus “we get away from the bear”
s-xa’nan hi s-uxnik’ hi l-’a’ “the crow flies away (from something)”
- iwiš** “to be with, to go with, accompany” — English preposition “with”
 This verb is discussed in detail in the sections on paired verbs and “with”
 — see [7.12](#) and [6.7.6](#).
s-iwiš hi l-’ih’i’y “she accompanies the man” or “the man is with him/her”
k-lek’en hi k-iwiš hi k-ša’y “I’m sitting with my daughter”
- mut’ey** “to be near (to), come near (to)” — English “near, close to”
 This word also shows up as a preposition with no person–number marker.
 As a rule of thumb, use the verb **mute’y** when there’s no other verb in the
 phrase and use the preposition **mute’y** if there’s another verb.
 Here’s **mute’y** as a verb.
s-mut’ey-it hi p-ičti’n “your dog is near me, close to me”
k-iy-mut’ey-us hi štexex “we are close to the river”
 Here are examples of **mut’ey** as a preposition with some other verb.
š-nowon hi mut’ey hi Lisa “he/she is standing near Lisa”
k-e-č’a’min hi l-’ih’i’y hi mut’ey hi l-ni “I don’t know the man near the fire”

Here are some additional verbs with prepositional meaning.

- mes** “to cross, go/come across” — English prepositions “across, over”
s-alpat hi s-mes hi l-č’alayaš “he runs across the street”
- napay** “to go up a slope or incline” — English preposition “up”
k-iy-napay hi l-c’inowon “we go up the hill”
- apit** “to go up vertically, to climb” — English preposition “up”
s-apit hi l-po’n “he/she/it climbs a tree, goes up a tree”
- elew** “to go down a slope or incline” — English preposition “down”
s-ew hi l-c’inowon “he/she goes down the hill”

7 — Basic Topics with Verbs

This chapter covers the following basic topics:

- some basic understandings with verbs — see section 7.1
 - s-alpat** “he/she/it runs” — an action verb
 - s-aximay** “it is dark, black” — verb of state/condition
- person and number markers with verbs — see section 7.2
 - k-itaq** “I hear [it]”
 - k-iš-itaq** “the two of us hear [it]”
- commands — see section 7.3
 - nowon** “stop!”
 - p-iš-e-kuyam-it** “don’t wait for me, you two!”
- the negative with **e-** — see section 7.4
 - k-e-kuti** “I don’t see [it]”
- “yes/no” questions with **kê** — see section 7.5
 - kê pkuti?** “do you hear it?”
- the future tense with **sa-**’ — see section 7.6
 - k-sa’-kuyam** “I will wait”
 - k-e-sa’-kuyam** “I won’t wait”
- the past tense with **-waš** — see section 7.7
 - k-iy-kiyam-waš** “we waited”
- object markers — a simplified overview — see section 7.8
 - s-kuti-wun** “he/she/it sees them”
- a menu for assembling verbs — see section 7.9
- CVC reduplication with verbs — see section 7.10
 - s-kut-kuti** “he/she/it is looking, watching”
 - s-wak-wakapi hi s-pin-pi’nan** “[Toad] is hopping slowly”
- “causatives” with **su-** — see section 7.11
 - su-tap** “to insert, cause to go in, put [something] into” — from **tap** “to enter”
- paired verbs — see section 7.12
 - k-šuwāštun hi k-malkič** “I fold it carefully”
- helping verbs — see section 7.13
 - k-sa’-xiwiwaš hi k-niw** “I will try to dance”
- ’alwil constructions — the equivalent of “to have” — see section 7.14
 - ’al-wil hi k-ša’y** “I have a daughter”
 - ’al-e-wil ho-s-’ap** “he/she had no house” — “doesn’t have a house”

7.1 Some basic understandings with verbs

7.1.1 Action verbs and verbs of state/condition

The simplest definition of a verb is that it's an action word like “run,” “see” or “take.”

Verbs can also describe

- mental activity and internal states like “think” and “fear/be afraid,”
- states and conditions like “to be red” and “to be difficult,” and
- state of existence like “to be/exist” and “to seem.”

wil “to be, to exist” **neč** “to be like, to resemble”

Shmuwich treats states and conditions as verbs, such as **aximay** “to be black” and **m̄ix̄ix̄in** “to be hungry.” You probably think of these as adjectives in English, but in Shmuwich you put person markers in front of them just like any other verb.

k-m̄ix̄ix̄in “I am hungry”
p-m̄ix̄ix̄in “you are hungry”
s-m̄ix̄ix̄in “he/she/it is hungry”
s-aximay “it is black, dark in color”

You wouldn't say “he hungries” in English, although the more old-fashioned expression “he hungers” captures the spirit of Shmuwich exactly. Whatever you do, don't just open the dictionary and see that **wil** is “to be” and **m̄ix̄ix̄in** is “hungry” and then slap together ***swil m̄ix̄ix̄in** for “he is hungry.”

7.1.2 Gender

“Gender” refers to a grammatical distinction between masculine and feminine (as in Spanish) or male versus female versus neutral (as in English). Shmuwich distinguishes gender in noun pairs such as **'ih̄i'y** and **'eneq** “man/male” and “woman/female,” but Shmuwich does not distinguish gender with the person marker **s-**.

In the Shmuwich phrases in these lessons, you'll sometimes see **s-** translated as “his/her” or sometimes as “his” or “her” or “its” — this is just for convenience and variety in the English translation, not because Shmuwich specifies gender here.

Sometimes it's obvious that **s-** refers to neutral “it.”

s-aq̄išin-š > **šaq̄išič** “it is ground fine”
š-sa-ač > **š^hahač** “it [an arrow] has a stone tip” — literally “it is toothed”

Most of the time, the translation of third-person **s-** completely depends on the context.

s-u'liš “he [the man] grabs it” or “she [the woman] grabs it”
or “it [the coyote] grabs it”

7.1.3 Verbs which take objects and those that don't

Shmuwich — like English — makes a distinction between verbs that generally show up with objects versus those which do not take objects.

with an object	axsil	“to bite [something]”	eqwel	“to make [something]”
	kuti	“to see, look at [something]”	išti'	“to find [something]”
	u'liš	“to grab, seize [something]”	'uw	“to eat [something]”
no object	alpat	“to run”	aqšan	“to die, be dead”
	miš	“to cry, weep”	lo'min	“to be soft”
	yuxpan	“to be sick, ill”	towič	“to be fast, go fast”

The technical terms for these two types of verbs are

- “transitive” — the action “transits” to some person or thing, so the verb takes an object
- “intransitive” — the focus is on the action rather than who or what the action affects; it does not transit to any object.

In the dictionary, a non-technical expression for intransitive is sometimes “on its own,” as in “happening on its own.”

Here are couple of Shmuwich examples of transitive and intransitive forms of the same verb.

intransitive	ipyototon	“to boil [on its own]”	šeqeč	“to be bare, stripped”
transitive	sipyototon	“to boil [something]”	seqen	“to remove, take away”

7.1.4 Implied object “it”

With most Shmuwich verbs which take objects, an indefinite object “it” or “something” is implied even though no noun is spelled out. These verbs are understood to imply some object, while English prefers to spell out the object.

kê p-kuti hi Tim?	“do you see Tim?”
k-e-kuti	“I don't see [him]”
kê p-axšiš hi Lisa?	“did you call/invite Lisa?”
k-axšiš	“I called/invited [her]”
kê p-aqniwus hi l-kapé	“do you want [some] coffee?”
p-e'-aqniwus	“I don't want [any]”

However, many verbs do spell out a third-person object, which is **-us** “him, her” or plural **-us-wun** “them.” These verbs include

- the class of **-us** verbs, as described in sections [8.2.6](#) and [8.2.8](#), which are specifically marked for a third-person object, and

k-'oyon-us	“I help him, I help her, I help it”
kê p-qantun-us-wun?	“do you obey them?”
- verbs which take “indirect objects,” as described in section [8.2.5](#), which are also specifically marked for a third-person object.

k-išti'-us > kistilus	“I find [something] for him, for her, for it”
kê p-eqwel-us-wun?	“do you make [something] for them?”

7.2 Person and number markers with verbs

Person–number markers with verbs work very much as they do with nouns (as discussed in 2.3 and 2.4). There is the same three–way system of three persons and three numbers. These items have different translations with verbs than with nouns, but students get used to this very quickly. For example, first–person singular **k–** translates as “my” with a noun and “I” with a verb, as in **k–wop** “my son” and **k–’ip** “I say, I think.”

In addition, the number system with verbs includes one more number marker, indefinite **am–** as discussed below.

7.2.1 Person markers with verbs

One of the person markers **k–**, **p–** or **s–** shows up in front of a verb to tell you who or what is the subject of the verb. Depending on the verb, the subject

- performs the action that the verb describes
 - k–expeč** “I am singing”
 - p–aqniwil** “you are thinking”
- experiences the state/condition that the verb describes
 - s–c’ic’i** “it is sharp”
 - s–mixixin** “he/she/it is hungry”

The person markers with verbs are

- k–** “I” — the person speaking, called “first person”
- p–** “you” — the one person you’re speaking to, called “second person”
- s–** “he, she or it” — who or what you’re speaking about, called “third person”

It’s important to become thoroughly familiar with **k–**, **p–** and **s–**, because you can’t get to first base learning Shmuwich until you know them by heart. Here are examples of verbs with these three person markers.

k–itaq	“I hear”	k–aqmil	“I drink
p–itaq	“you hear”	p–aqmil	“you drink”
s–itaq	“he/she/it hears”	s–aqmil	“he/she/it drinks”
k–alpat	“I run”	k–expeč	“I sing”
p–alpat	“you run”	p–expeč	“you sing”
s–alpat	“he/she/it runs”	š–expeč	“he/she sings”

Person markers with a series of verbs

In English you can say “I drink and eat,” leaving out the “I” that would go with “eat” if you said “I eat” by itself. In Shmuwich, you include the person marker with each verb.

k–anšin k’e k–aqmil	“I eat and I drink”
p–lek’en k’e p–itaq	“you sit and you listen”
š–lek’en k’e s–kuyam	“he/she sits and he/she waits”

7.2.2 Sound rules with person markers

Four basic sound rules govern what happens when you add a person marker to a verb. These rules are described in the introductory chapter and in the chapter on nouns, so the discussion here is more review than detailed explanation.

- 1) Third-person **s-** becomes **š-** when it comes right before the sounds with **t**, **n** and **l** in the verb — or some prefix on the verb.

s-tap	>	štap	“he/she/it enters, goes in”
s-nowon	>	šnowon	“he/she/it stands, is standing”
s-lek'en	>	šlek'en	“he/she/it sits, is sitting”

- 2) Third-person **s-** becomes **š-** through the operation of sibilant harmony, when the “hushing” sounds **š** or **č** show up later in the word.

s-'oč'	>	š'oč'	“he/she/it is wet”
s-expeč	>	šexpeč	“he/she sings”
s-ašiw-it	>	šašiwit	“he/she talks to me”

- 3) The double-consonant rule turns a sequence of two identical consonants into a single aspirated consonant written with a raised H. It's easier to hear and say these sounds when a vowel comes before them, so these examples include the connector **hi**.

hi k-kuti	>	hi k^huti	“I see [something]”
hi k-kep'	>	hi k^hep'	“I bathe”
hi p-paš	>	hi p^haš	“you vomit”
hi p-pintap	>	hi p^hintap	“you jump in”
hi s-si'nay	>	hi s^hi'nay	“he/she puts/places [something]”
hi s-saqnip	>	hi s^haqnip	“he/she answers”

When **k-** shows up in front of **q** and when **s-** shows up in front of **š**, the first consonant shifts to match the second consonant and there's another source of double consonants.

hi k-qilik	>	hi q^hilik	“I take care of [something]”
hi k-qulpen	>	hi q^hulpen	“I'm peeling [it]”
hi s-šo'n	>	hi š^ho'n	“it is bitter”
hi s-šukuyoč	>	hi š^hukuyoč	“he/she expects [it]”

- 4) Stuck-in **-i-** When a person markers shows up in front of a word which starts with a consonant cluster, a stuck-in **-i-** shows up to prevent a sequence of three consonants. With most verbs, the stuck-in **-i-** might just look like part of the verb, but stuck-in **-i-** definitely shows up when nouns that begin with consonant clusters are turned into verbs with the verb-forming suffixes **-vč** and **-vn** (discussed in detail in [12.2.1](#) and [12.2.2](#)).

step			“flea”
step-vč	>	šstepuč	“to have fleas, be flea-ridden”
s-step-vč	>	šišstepuč	“it has fleas, is flea-ridden”

š-tik		“tip, point” — literally “its tip, its point”
š-tik-vn	> štik^hin	“to go ahead, go before, be first”
k-tik-vn	> kištik^hin	“I go first, go ahead” — this verb never shows up without the stuck-in -i-, so it appears as ištik^hin in the dictionary.

7.2.3 Dual iš- with person markers

Shmuwich augments the person markers **k-**, **p-** and **s-** with the number markers **iš-** “dual — two” and **iy-** “plural — three or more.” With verbs, Shmuwich is careful to distinguish the **dual** — exactly two — from the plural. Here are examples of verbs with dual subjects.

k-iš-expeč	“the two of us sing”	k-iš-ča'min	“the two of us know”
p-iš-expeč	“the two of you sing”	p-iš-ča'min	“the two of you know”
s-iš-expeč	“the two of them sing”	s-iš-ča'min	“the two of them know”

7.2.4 Plural iy- with person markers

The plural marker is **iy-** “three or more.” Here are verbs with plural subjects:

k-iy-expeč	“we sing”	k-iy-itaq	“we hear, listen”
p-iy-expeč	“you all sing”	p-iy-itaq	“you all hear, listen”
š-iy-expeč	“they sing”	s-iy-itaq	“they hear, listen”

When **iy-** comes before any consonant, including glottal stop, it's whispered. Listen carefully for the difference between **iš-** and whispered **iy-** in the Mary Yee recordings and practice pronouncing the two number markers as distinctly different.

k-iš-kuti	“the two of us see”	k-iy-kuti	“we see”
p-iš-č'a'min	“you two know”	p-iy-č'a'min	“you all know”
s-iš-tap	“the two of them come in”	s-iy-tap	“they come in”

7.2.5 Illustrations to clarify singular, dual and plural

It always helps to see a picture, so here are images to give you a visual of the three numbers — singular, dual and plural.



k-alpat	“I’m running”
p-alpat	“you’re running”
s-alpat	“he/she/it is running”



k-iš-alpat	“we’re running, the two of us are running”
p-iš-alpat	“you’re running, you two are running”
š-iš-alpat	“they are running, the two of them are running”



k-iy-alpat	“we’re running”
p-iy-alpat	“you’re running, you all are running”
s-iy-alpat	“they are running”

7.3 Commands

Commands drop the person marker **p-** “you” that indicates the subject. This is exactly the same as in English.

p-kuti	“you look, watch”	p-nowon	“you stand” and “you stop”
kuti	“look! watch!”	nowon	“stop!”

Some verbs start with a vowel; you know this because there’s no glottal stop between the person marker and the vowel of the verb. When you drop the person marker **p-**, a glottal stop shows up in front of any vowel that ends up at the beginning of the word.

p-itaq	“you listen”	p-alpat	“you run”
'itaq	“listen!”	'alpat	“run!”

If the verb includes a number marker, keep it even though you drop the person marker **p-**. Dropping **p-** leaves the dual and plural markers **iš-** and **iy-** at the beginning of the word, so glottal stop shows up in front of them. Commands in the dual and plural are tricky for speakers of English to learn, since English commands rarely spell out number.

p-iš-kuti	“you two look, watch”	p-iy-nowon	“you all stand” and “you all stop”
'iš-kuti	“look, you two!”	'iy-nowon	“stop, you all!”
p-iš-itaq	“you two listen”	p-iy-alpat	“you all run”
'iš-itaq	“listen, you two!”	'iy-alpat	“run, you all!”

Negative commands

Negative commands keep the person marker **p-** before the negative marker **e-** (see [7.4](#) below). Such a command looks just like a statement, but has the intonation of a command.

p-e-miš	“don’t cry!”
p-iš-e-kuyam-it	“don’t wait for me, you two!”
p-iy-e-nowon	“don’t stop, you all!”

7.4 The Negative with **-e-**

To make a verb negative, add **-e-** between the person-number marker and the verb itself.

k-e-kuti	“I don’t see [it]”
p-iš-e-kikikš	“you two are not alone”
š-iy-e-č^ho	“they’re not good”

If a vowel comes right after **-e-**, separate the two vowels with a glottal stop:

k-e'-anšin	“I’m not eating”
p-e'-itaq	“you’re not listening, you don’t hear”
s-e'-ipšel	“it’s not ripe/cooked”

The word for “no” — **sê** — includes the negative marker.

sê, k-e-kuti-wun	“no, I don’t see them”
sê, ke s-e-'inu	“no, it’s not so, not true”

7.5 “Yes/no” questions with kê

A “yes/no” question is one that you can answer with a simple “yes” or “no.” You can make a statement into a yes/no question by adding the question marker **kê** in front of the verb.

You’ve already seen **kê** in two questions where its special raised intonation is quite clear:

kik’i kê he’? “what’s this?”
 ’a’yi kê he’? “who’s this?”

Here **kê** makes statements into yes/no questions; it comes right before the verb. The raised intonation of **kê** seems to jump over to the first syllable of the verb, but it’s still written **kê**.

pitaq “you hear it”
 kê pkuti? “do you hear it?”
 šč’a’min “he/she knows”
 kê šč’a’min? “does he/she know?”

Here’s a handy chart that lays out statements and questions and making them negative, using **p-itaq** “you hear it” as the starting point, but you could use any combination of verb plus person marker here.

	<i>statement</i>	<i>question</i>
<i>positive</i>	p-itaq “you hear it”	kê p-itaq? “do you hear it?”
<i>negative</i>	p-e’-itaq “you don’t hear it”	kê p-e’-itaq? “don’t you hear it?”

7.6 The Future tense with sa’-

To shift a verb into the future tense, add the prefix **sa’-** between the person-number marker and the verb itself.

k-sa’-’ip-us “I will say [it] to him/her”
 s-sa’-kuti-wun > s^ha’kutiwun “he/she will see them”
 s-’ip, ‘kîp’î ka k-ša’-anšin” “he said, ‘now I will eat””
 k-sa’-xîwiwaš hi k-nîw “I will try to dance”
 k-iy-sa’-lek’en “we will sit, stay”
 k-iš-sa’-na’n > kis^ha’na’n “I will try to dance”

Wash’s dictionary notes that the glottal stop of **sa’-** sometimes drops out. Presumably this would happen in casual speech when the following element begins with a vowel.

k-sa’-kitwon > ksa’kitwon ~ ksakitwon “I will go out”
 s-iy-sa’-č^ho > šiyša’č^ho ~ šiyšač^ho “they will be good”

As mentioned in section 4.6.1, the future marker can also show up prefixed to nouns.

hi l-sa’-xoni’naš “the mother-to-be” — xoni’naš “non-possessed mother”
 hi s-sa’- xaxi’š > hi s^ha’-xaxi’š “its future size, the size it’s going to be”

There is an interesting example of **sa'**– used without a verb or noun. Here it shows up in an expression of time in front of **las 'onsi**, from Spanish *las once* “eleven o’clock.”

yitipak'a hi l–minutu ču s^ha' las 'onsi “it is five minutes to 11:00” — **s–sa' > s^ha'**
— literally “five minutes so that it will be the eleven” (using a Spanish number format)

7.6.1 Sequence of future and negative

The negative marker **–e–** comes before **sa'**–. Both of these prefixes show up after the person–number markers and **'al–** and before the verb root and other verb prefixes.

'al–e–sa'–lek'en “one who will not live/stay”
p–e–sa'–tiyep–us “you will not tell/show him/her”

7.7 The Past tense with **–waš**

This is the past–tense marker with verbs. According to Beeler, **–waš** is used “to express completed action, past time, action or state of long duration, etc.” Here are some examples of verbs with **–waš**, translated as “past tense” here for clarity

s–m̄ix̄ix̄in–waš wa'yi “he was hungry too”
s–iy–aq^hay–waš hi syuxtun “they were at Syuxtun”
k–iy–u'liš–waš “we held it, grabbed it”
p–iš–kuti–waš hi l–n̄i “you two saw the fire, watched the fire”
p–iy–e'–itaq–waš “you all didn't hear, weren't listening”
š–miš–waš hi l–č'ič'i “the child cried, was crying”
s–wil–waš hi l–'al–'atišwin–ič hi l–tič xusé
“there was a magically powerful one named José”

The past–tense marker **–waš** and the future marker **sa'**– can occur together, in the sense of “was going to” or “was about to.”

'i ka l–'iy–sa'–uw–waš “they were the ones who were going to eat it”
'i 'al–sa'–aqšan–waš hi l–pakuwaš “the old man was about to die”

It turns out that **–waš** means either “past tense” or an action or condition of long duration — it's been going on for a while. English is very particular about marking verbs as past tense versus present or future, but it's often vague about letting you know an action or condition was of long duration.

As a result you'll probably end up thinking of **–waš** as meaning past tense rather than long duration. Bowing to the natural tendency of English speakers to think of Shmuwich **–waš** this way, these pages stick to the “past tense” meaning of **–waš**.

Shmuwich doesn't use **–waš** to mark past tense nearly as much as English does. For example, in a narrative of past events, only a few verbs show up with **–waš**, and even then these verbs probably refer to duration rather than past tense. For example, the story of Fox and Heron starts right off with a verb that lacks **–waš**.

x'ox 'i s–axšiš hi kniy ču s–akt–anšin hi ho' s–'ap hi x'ox
“Heron invites Fox to come eat at Heron's house”

Sound rules with **-waš**

- 1) This suffix can trigger sibilant harmony when it shows up with a verb. Notice the effect that **-waš** can have on prefixes and roots, even across more than one syllable.

k-'eqcu-waš > **k'eqčuwaš** “I sneezed”
s-iqip-waš > **šiqipwaš** “he/she closed it”
s-meymey-waš > **šmeymeywaš** “it was soft/tender”

- 2) When **-waš** shows up after a consonant that has a glottal stop, such as **uxník'** “to escape, get away,” the glottal stop drops out. This is part of a more general sound rule that a glottalized consonant loses its glottalization when another consonant follows.

k-uxník'-waš > **kuxnikwaš** “I got away, escaped”
s-kep'-waš > **škepwaš** “he/she bathed”

This rule also applies to liquids at the end of the verb when they have a glottal stop in front of them.

s-na'n-waš > **šnanwaš** “he/she/it went”
k-tente'y-waš > **ktenteywaš** “I touched [it]”

7.8 Object suffixes — a simplified preview

Shmuwich uses suffixes for meanings such as “me,” “us” and “them.” These are called “object suffixes” because they indicate the object of the verb. The topic of object suffixes is quite complex — especially when you look at distinctions such as direct and indirect objects. Section 8.2 discusses the object suffixes in full detail, including sound rules.

- direct objects — see section 8.2.4

k-tente’y hi l-xip “I touch the rock”
s-iy-sini’we-wun “they kill them”

- indirect objects — see section 8.2.5

s-’ip-us hi l-’eneq “he/she says to the woman”
p-ašiw-it “you talk to me”
k-tiyep-us hi l-’ih’i’y hi k-ti “I tell the man my name” ~ “I tell my name to the man”

However, it would be helpful at this point to give a simple overview of object markers with direct objects.

The system of object markers is simpler than the system of person–number markers for the subject of the verb. It only recognizes “singular” and “non-singular” — which in this case means “two or more” just as in English. It’s not as tidy as the person–number markers.

	singular		non-singular
first person:	-it	“me”	-iyuw “us”
second person:	-in	“you”	-iyuw “you two/you all”
third person:	—	“him/her/it”	-wun “them”

Here are examples of how the system works, using various verbs that take direct objects.

aqnip	s-aqnip-it	“he/she answers me”
itaq	k-itaq-in	“I hear you”
č’a’min	k-č’a’min-iyuw	“I know you (two or more)”
ta’may	p-ta’may-iyuw	“you forget us, about us”
kuti	s-kuti-wun	“he/she sees them
u’liš	š-u’liš-wun	“he/she/it grabs/seizes them”

When there’s no object marker after a verb which can take a direct object, an indefinite object “it” or “something” is implied. Here are examples with and without an object noun spelled out.

k-u’liš hi l-po’n	“I grab the stick”
k-u’liš	“I grab it”
s-aqmil hi l-o’	“he/she/it drinks water”
s-aqmil	“he drinks it, drinks some” “she drinks,” etc.
s-iy-kuti hi l-xus	“they see a bear”
s-iy-kuti	“they see it”

7.9 The Menu for assembling a verb — Prefix position classes

Many elements can go into assembling a verb in Shmuwich. A one-word verb in Shmuwich can translate as a whole sentence in English.

Here's a menu of the elements that the lessons have covered so far (and there are more). Think of it like the menu in a Chinese restaurant when you order family style: chose one item from column A, one item from column B, and so on until you have the meal of your choice — or until you've assembled a verb that expresses the thought of your choice.

person marker	number marker	negative	future tense	verb root	object marker	past tense
k-	—			kuti	-it	
p-	iš-	e-	sa'-	itaq	-in	-waš
s-	iy-			č'a'min	-us	
	am-			alpat	-iyuw	
				aximay	-wun	
				mixixin		
				aqšan		
				<i>etc.</i>		

In this menu, you have to select a person marker and a verb root; everything else is optional. Here are some examples in the column format showing how various elements go together.

k-		itaq		-waš	"I heard"
p-	iy-	uštap			"you all row"
s-	e-	č'a'min	-it		"he/she doesn't know me"
s-	iš-	mixixin			"they [two] are hungry"
k-	iy-	sa'-	tap		"we will go in"

Here's a way to think of this that might help. Keep the menu concept in mind. You walk into the restaurant and look at the menu. The server will tell you that the minimum order is a main dish (the verb root) and an appetizer (the person marker).

Quite a few verbs get away with this minimum order:

k-		uštap	“I paddle”
p-		aqmil	“you drink [something]”
s-		aqiwiwin	“he/she/it swims”

If you want to make the meal more interesting — and informative — you can add extras from the other columns, such as a number marker:

k-	iy-	uštap	“we paddle”
s-	am-	tipawil	“they [indefinite] talk”

or a object marker:

k-	iy-	č’a’min	-in	“we know you”
p-		č’a’min	-iyuw	“you know us”

or the negative marker:

k-	iy-	e-	itaq	-in	“we don’t hear you”
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the future marker:

p-	e-	sa’-	kuti	“you won’t see it”
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the past marker:

p-		kuti	-waš	“you saw it”
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You can pile on several elements:

p-	e-	kuti	-wun	-waš	“you didn’t see them
p-	e-	sa’-	itaq	-wun	“you will not hear them”

On occasion you can order almost everything on the menu,

k-	iy-	e-	sa’	tap	“we won’t go in”
p-	iš-	e-	u’liš	-wun	-waš “you two didn’t grab them”

But you can’t order two items from the same column, such as two person markers or two object markers. The server will say, “sorry, but that order doesn’t make any sense. Please pick one item per column!”

7.10 Reduplication with verbs

The most common form of reduplication with verbs is “CVC reduplication,” which is short for Consonant – Vowel – Consonant reduplication.

s-kut-kuti-wun	“he/she/it is watching them”
kê p-it-’itaq-it?	“are you listening to me?”
mok’e s-k’il-k’il-pakuwaš	“he’s already getting a little old”
hi ’iy-al-way-wayi-akti-eqen	“they who are slowly passing by”

There are also rarer and more complex forms of reduplication, such as

kowokowon	“to be tilted or leaning”
kowowon	“to be/become tilted, to be lying on one’s side”
s-welen	“earthquake” and “there is an earthquake” — literally “it shakes”
welwelen	“to be swaying”

These patterns are discussed later in this section — [7.10.5](#).

7.10.1 CVC reduplication with verbs — range of meanings

CVC reduplication with verbs has multiple meanings, just as it does with nouns (see section [3.7.2](#) for reduplicated nouns). These meanings overlap, such as between repeated versus ongoing action, so it’s not always possible to pin down a particular example of reduplication as carrying such-and-such a meaning.

NOTE: For the sake of simplicity, the examples in this subsection don’t show the internal breakdown of verbs, such as **wi-klá’** “to break up,” but section [7.10.2](#) below does so.

- repeated action — This is a one-time action repeated multiple times.

s-iw-’iwon hi l-muhu	“an owl is hooting”
k-wik-wikla’	“I’m breaking it up with blows”
s-pin-pinowon hi l-kawayu	“the horse is rearing, keeps rearing”
- action involving multiple objects — This means repeated action also; there are also verb suffixes that indicate multiple objects (see sections [8.2](#) and [8.4.4](#)).

k-suk-sukitwo’n hi l-kih-kik’i’	“I keep taking things out [of the bag]”
k-suk-sukut’a-wun-waš	“I was picking them up”
- ongoing action — Beeler says that this construction was “regularly translated by the informant with the English progressive in -ing.” (p. 31).

s-kut-kuti-wun	“he/she/it is watching them”
s^huk-sukwey hi s-tuhuy	“the rain keeps pouring down”
mok’e s-k’il-k’il-pakuwaš	“he’s already getting a little old”
- intense action — This can be intense or an equivalent of “very” as in “very slowly” in the example below.

š-tuh-tuhuy	“it’s raining hard” or “it’s raining a lot”
kopkop ’i ’me s-wak-wakapi hi s-pin-pi’nan	“Toad is hopping very slowly”

7.10.2 Where CVC reduplication with verbs goes

The examples above make CVC reduplication with verbs look straightforward by ignoring the internal structure of the verbs. Compounds of verb prefix plus verb root are very common — as discussed in sections 9.2, 9.3 and 9.4 — but reduplication generally treats verb compounds as single units just like verb roots.

The CVC sequence subject to reduplication can be

- the verb root — as a single unit that doesn't break down any further

s-kut-kuti-wun	“he/she/it is watching them” — kuti “to see”
s-wak-wakapi	“he/she is going/acting very slowly — wakapi “to be slow”
k-iš-qup-qupuš hi l-'o'	“we two are dipping up water” — qupuš “to drip”
s-iy-šal-šalpan hi l-'actik hi snaq'il	“they prick repeatedly with a pointed flint” — šalpan “to prick, pierce”
- the prefix in a compound of verb prefix plus verb root — Here the prefix itself is at least a CVC sequence or longer.

mok'e s-k'il-k'il-pakuwaš	“he's already getting a little old”
s-wel-wele-tepet hi l-kawayu	“the horse is rolling on its back”
s-aq-'aqni-wil hi l-kik'i	“he/she is thinking of something”
s-am-maq-maquiti-tun-wun hi l-yah-ya'	“they break the arrows in two”
- a combination of a shorter prefix plus part of the following verb root — This pattern takes the CV of the prefix and the second C of CVC is the first consonant of the root, so in effect it scrambles the boundaries of the underlying compound.

s-pin-pinowon	“it's rearing up” — pi(l)-nowon “to rear”
k-sut-sutap	“I keep putting something in” — su-tap “to insert”
š-nut-tap	“he/she is taking multiple items in” — nu-tap “to take in”
k-wik-wikla'	“I'm breaking it up with blows — wi-kla' “to break with blows”
- a pair of prefixes plus verb root — Here reduplication stays entirely on the prefixes because they make up the first CVC sequence of the compound. This is particularly common with compounds that include **su-** “causing” — see section 7.11 on **su-**.

s-iy-suw-suwesmes	“they criss-cross [it]” — from su-was-mes > suwesmes “to make criss-cross”
s-am-sal-salaqwá'y	“they [indefinite] are fixing [it]” — from su- + alaqwá'y “be able to,” based on al- “uncertain meaning” + aqwá'y “hit the mark”

An Irregular CVC reduplication with tipawil

The verb **tipawil** “to talk, speak” routinely shows up with CVC reduplication on the second syllable. This is a notable exception to the general rule.

s-tipawil + R > **štipawpawil** “he/she is talking a lot” — NOT *štipawil

There may well be other verbs that follow this same pattern, but I haven't seen them.

Reduplication and “outer” prefixes

The discussion above says that CVC reduplication treats verb compounds and basic verb roots the same. However, the term “verb compound” refers to compounds with a particular type of verb prefix — “middle” and “inner” prefixes (see sections 9.3.2 and 9.3.3). This specifically excludes “outer” prefixes, which happen to be the very prefixes that you’re the most familiar with at this point.

CVC reduplication skips over outer prefixes (see section 9.3.1 on “outer prefixes”), so it routinely ignores

- the vowel of number markers **iy-**, **iš-** and **am-** — see section 7.2
 - k-iy-kuti** + R > **kiykutkuti** “we are watching [it]” — NOT *kiykiykuti
 - k-iš-kuti** + R > **kiškutkuti** “we two are watching [it]” — NOT *kiškiškuti
 - s-am-anšin** + R > **šaman’anšin** “they [indefinite] are eating” — NOT *šamšamanšin
- the negative marker **e-**
 - s-e-pitap** + R > **sepitpitap** “it’s not falling in” — NOT *sepsepitap
- the future marker **sa’-**
 - k-sa’-wi-kla’** + R > **ksa’wikwikla’** “I’ll break it up with blows” — NOT *ksa’sa’wikla’
- the relative marker **al-** with first- and second-person subjects — see section 11.4.6
 - hi k-al-kuti** + R > **hi kalkutkuti** “what I am watching” — NOT *hi kalkalkuti
 - hi p-al-seqen** + R > **hi palseqseqen** “what you’re removing”
— NOT *hi palpalseqen

A Note of writing verbs with CVC reduplication

The convention for writing reduplicated sequences with hyphens is straightforward with sequences such **s-kut-kuti** “he/she/it is watching/looking.” It’s a bit more problematic with sequences that

- insert glottal stop before a verb that begins with a vowel,
 - kê p-itaq-it** + R > **kê p-it-’itaq-it?** “are you listening to me?”
- break up verb prefixes, or
 - hi ’iy-al-way-wayi-akti-eqen** “they who are slowly passing by”
- run various consonants together.
 - s-suk-sukwey** + R > **s^huk-sukwey** “it’s pouring down”

7.10.3 Sound rules with CVC reduplication in verbs

Various sound rules come into play here. They are mostly the same as the sound rules for CVC reduplication with nouns — see section 3.7.5. The difference is that there is no final glottal stop with verbs the way there is with nouns.

verb **s-kuti** + R > **skutkuti** “he/she/it is watching”
 noun **hi l-ku** + R > **hi l-kuhku'** “the people”

1) Stuck-in glottal stop with initial vowels

When a verb — or a verb prefix — begins with a vowel, the first CVC sequence includes whatever consonant happens to show up in front of that vowel. This consonant could be a person-number marker or even the relative marker **l-** (see section 11.4.2).

The second CVC sequence does not bring that consonant along, but inserts a glottal stop in front of the vowel as the first **C** of the CVC sequence. Examples of this pattern don't look very tidy when broken up with hyphens.

k-iy-aqni-č^ho + R > **k-iy-aq-'aqni-č^ho** “we like [it] a lot”
p-itaq + R > **p-it-'itaq** “you are listening”
s-eqmelew + R > **s-eq-'eqmelew** “he's licking [it]”
hi k-al-it'imin + R > **hi k-al-it-'it'imin** “what I'm really afraid of”

NOTE: A small number of verbs begin with a sequence of glottal stop plus a vowel, rather than a plain vowel and no glottal stop. For such verbs, the glottal stop counts as the first consonant of the CVC sequence and nothing special happens.

k-'iwīn + R > **k-'iw-'iwīn** “I'm cutting [it/multiple objects] with a knife”
s-iy-'axič + R > **š-iy-'ax-'axič** “they are fighting”

2) No “flip rule” with glottal stop and liquids

CVC reduplication sometimes creates sequences of a liquid — the sounds **m**, **n**, **l**, **w** and **y** — and a glottal stop. There is a general sound rule that “flips” a sequence of a liquid and glottal stop within words; see section 1.7.1 for the “flip rule.”

s-am-'ip > **sa'mip** “they [indefinite] say” — from **s-am-** “they” + **'ip** “to say”
wil-'i' > **wi'li'** “harpoon” — from **wil** “to shoot” + **-'i'** “instrument”
axmay-' > **'axma'y** “debt” — from **axmay** “to owe” + **-'** “noun marker”
qew + Redup > **qewqe'w** “seed beaters” — reduplicated **qew** with final glottalization

The flip rule does not apply when CVC reduplication brings about a sequence of liquid plus glottal stop. This happens with the reduplication of words that begin with a vowel followed by a liquid and stuck-in glottal stop appears.

k-alpat + R > **kal'alpat** “I am running” — NOT ***ka'lalpat**
p-iy-anšin + R > **piyan'anšin** “you all are eating” — NOT ***piya'našin**
s-iwon + R > **siw'iwon** “it sounds, is calling” — NOT ***si'wiwon**

3) Dropping glottal stop and raised H — in the CVC sequence

When the second consonant of the CVC sequence is a glottalized consonant or an aspirated consonant with raised H, glottal stop and raised H drop out in front of the first consonant of the base noun. This is part of a larger rule that glottalized and aspirated consonants do not show up with any consonant after them in the same word.

k-nik'ot	+ R >	kniknik'ot	“I am breaking [it]”
s-aq'uw-š	+ R >	šaqšaq'uwš	“it is very itchy”
s-kut'a	+ R >	skutkut'a	“he/she is getting up, gets up a lot”
s-tak^huy	+ R >	štaktak^huy	“he/she keeps holding, holds much”
s-aq^hina'	+ R >	saqsaq^hina'	“he/she is very grateful”
s-wip^hen	+ R >	swipwip^hen	“he is shaving wood with a hatchet”

The second consonant of the CVC sequence may be a liquid with glottal stop. The glottal stop is written before the liquid, but together they count as a single unit and the liquid is preserved in the CVC sequence — minus the glottal stop.

s-pi'nan	+ R >	spinpi'nan	“it is hopping” — NOT *spi'pi'nan
s-iy-lu'nan	+ R >	siylunlu'nan	“they are growing” — NOT *siylu'lu'nan
s-lo'min	+ R >	šlomlo'min	“it is very soft” — NOT *šlo'lo'min

4) Glottalized consonants and consonants with raised H — first in the CVC sequence

Sometimes sequences of glottalized consonants or consonants with raised H arise as the first consonant of the first CVC sequence. You could call these “secondary” glottalized consonants and “secondary” consonants with raised H.

This happens under three circumstances.

- A person marker **k-**, **p-** or **s-** shows up in front of a verb that begins with glottal stop plus some vowel.

k-'iwin	>	k^hiwin	“I cut [it] with a knife”
p-'e'leč	>	p^he'leč	“you are wearing a necklace”
s-'uquštu'	>	š'uquštu'	“he/she is deaf”

- A person marker **k-**, **p-** or **s-** shows up in front of a verb that begins with the same consonant.

k-kitwo'n	>	k^hitwo'n	“I come out, emerge”
p-pintap	>	p^hintap	“you jump in, fall in”
s-si'nay	>	s^hi'nay	“he/she places [it], puts [it]”

- A person marker **k-**, **p-** or **s-** shows up in front of a verb that begins with **h**.

k-hik	>	k^hik	“I apply [it], put [it] on”
p-hik'en	>	p^hik'en	“you use [it]”
s-hikwin	>	s^hikwin	“he/she drops/throws down [a load]”

When such a sequence is reduplicated, the secondary feature shows up in the first CVC sequence but it is not reduplicated.

k-’iwɪn	+ R >	k’iw’iwɪn	“I am cutting [it] with a knife”
p-’e’leč	+ R >	p’el’e’leč	“you are wearing many necklaces”
s-’uquštu’	+ R >	š’uq’uquštu’	“he/she is very deaf”
k-kitwo’n	+ R >	k’itkitwo’n	“I am coming out, emerging”
p-pintap	+ R >	p’inpintap	“you’re jumping in, falling in”
s-si’nay	+ R >	s’insi’nay	“he/she keeps placing [it], puts [many]”
k-hik	+ R >	k’ikhik	“I am applying [it], applying a lot”
p-hik’en	+ R >	p’ikhik’en	“you’re using [it], you keep using [it]”
s-hikwin	+ R >	s’ikhikwin	“he/she is dropping [multiple loads]”

7.10.4 Other patterns of reduplication with verbs

There are two additional patterns of reduplication with verbs. The basic root underlying these reduplicated forms may not show up by itself.

- “Two-syllable” reduplication reduplicates two syllables of the underlying verb root, including everything but the final consonant.

s-welen	“earthquake” and “there is an earthquake” — literally “it shakes”
s-welewelen	“it is swaying” — with two-syllable reduplication

- “Middle reduplication” reduplicates the middle consonant, along with a vowel that matches the other vowels in the root.

kowowon	“to be/become tilted, to be lying on one’s side” — middle
kowokowon	“to be tilted or leaning” — alternative two-syllable reduplicated form

Examples of these patterns are fairly rare. They sometimes match Samala forms, which indicates that they may well date from an older stratum of the language. In other words, these patterns are no longer productive but are preserved in a few idiomatic expressions.

Here are more examples; these two are two-syllable reduplication.

s-quti-woyowoyoč	“it is very crooked” — from woyoč “to be crooked”
s-oxnowonowon	“a flame is burning” — two-syllable from the base ox-nowon , which does not appear in its simple form

Here is another example of middle reduplication.

šušolyoq’oyoq’on	“to shake up well” — probably with su-/sus- “causing” and possibly a variant of =yoxon “re whirling, spinning”
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7.11 The “causative” with su– “causing to”

CAUSATIVE — Defined

The grammatical term “causative” is a technical way of saying “causing to do or be.” It might help to show a few causative constructions in English.

“the stick is straight” — basic concept “to be straight”

“I straighten the stick” — causative “make straight, cause to be straight”

“are you familiar with it?” — basic concept “to be familiar with”

“I’ll familiarize you with it” — causative “make familiar with, cause to be familiar”

It’s rare for English to mark plain and causative verbs as clearly as in “straight — straighten” and “familiar — familiarize.” English may even use completely different words in pairs of plain and causative verbs that Shmuwich recognizes, like “eat — feed” or “go in — put in, insert.”

7.11.1 Basic plain and causative pairs

Shmuwich is careful in expressing causation, while English is usually fairly casual about it. Unfortunately that means that the notion of “causative” may not be immediately obvious to speakers of English, so here are a few clear examples in Shmuwich.

The Shmuwich causative marker is the prefix **su-**. It shows up between person/number markers and the rest of the verb.

s-tap hi k-pu	“my hand goes in” [into e.g. a sack, a crevice, a cupboard]
k-su-tap hi k-pu hi l-meš	“I put my hand in the bag” — literally “I cause it to go in, my hand, [into] the bag”
p-anšin	“you eat”
k-su-anšin-in > kšanšinin	“I feed you” — literally “I cause you to eat”
s-kitwon hi l-čti’n	“the dog goes out”
k-su-kitwon hi l-čti’n	“I put the dog out” — literally “I cause it to go out, the dog”
s-kilamu hi l-’ihī’y	“the man is foolish”
k-su-kilamu hi l-’ihī’y	“I trick the man, fool the man” — literally “I cause him to be fooled/foolish, the man”
š-lukumel hi l-ya’	“the arrow is straight”
k-su-lukumel hi l-ya’	“I straighten the arrow” — literally “I cause it to be straight, the arrow”
k-towič	“I go fast”
k-šū-towič	“I hurry, I do [it] in a hurry” — literally “I make [it] fast”

This discussion will help you recognize causatives and see how the plain and causative forms of verbs are related.

7.11.2 Sound rules with su-

Two sound rules operate with **su-**.

- 1) **su-** is reduced to **s-** when the verb starts with a vowel.

p-aqmil	“you drink”
k-su-aqmil-in > kšaqmilin	“I give you [something] to drink” — literally “I cause you to drink”
s-ixut hi l-po'n	“the wood is burning”
k-su-ixut > ksixut hi l-po'n	“I burn the wood” — literally “I cause to burn, the wood”
s-iwon hi l-tiwalu'lay	“the flute sounds”
k-su-iwon > ksiwon hi l-tiwalu'lay	“I play the flute” — literally “I cause it to sound”

- 2) Sibilant harmony operates on **su-** when the verb root includes **š** or/and **č**. Mary Yee tended to drop sibilant harmony, but she kept it in certain common causatives that probably felt almost like units to a native speaker.

p-anšin	“you eat”
k-su-anšin-in > kšanšinin	“I feed you” — literally “I cause you to eat”
š-towič	“he/she it is fast, goes fast”
s-su-towič > š^hutowič	“he/she hurries” — literally “makes [it] fast”
š-utipše' hi l-po'n	“the tree falls over”
k-su-utipše' > kšutipše'	“I fell [the tree]” — literally “I cause it to fall over”

7.11.3 Alternate forms of su-

The caustive marker **su-** has two alternate forms, which are considerably less common and also unpredictable.

- **si-**

simantí'	“to lasso, entangle” — with mantí' “to be trapped”
sitil	“to mention” — with ti-l “to name” — i.e. bring up the name of
sit'ow	“to smudge, cleanse with sage smoke” — with to'w “smoke”
siyinc'i	“to heat (something)” — with yinc'i “to be hot”

- **sus-**

susit'imin	“to frighten” — with it'imin “to fear”
sutaxšiqin	“to scare” — with taxšiq' “to scare” + -vn “verb marker”
šušitaxmayš	“to boast, show off” — with itaxmay “to be amazed” + -š “no object specified” or “multiple objects”

7.11.4 Multiple object nouns with causatives

Notice this pair of verbs, one plain and the other causative:

kitwon “to come out, emerge, exit”

su-kitwon “take out, cause to go out, come out”

Here’s an example of **su-kitwon** in a sentence. Suppose you’re talking about taking your necklace out of the buckskin bag you keep it in — the **meš**.

k-su-kitwon “I take it out” — literally “I cause it to come out”

k-su-kitwon hi k-’e’l “I take out my necklace” — literally “I cause my necklace to come out”

There are two items here, the necklace and the bag. The sentence above mentions one of them in “I take out my necklace.” You could also mention the other item or both after the causative verb here.

k-su-kitwon hi l-meš “I take out the bag” or “I take [it] out of the bag”

k-su-kitwon hi k-’e’l hi l-meš “I take my necklace out of the bag” — literally “I cause to come out my necklace [from] the bag”

Chapter 10 goes into more detail on multiple nouns after the verb.

7.12 Paired verbs

PAIRED VERB — Defined

A “paired verb” construction uses two verbs with identical person–number markers. Both verbs refer to the same subject and they show up together in a single clause.

The main verb spells out what the action is and the other verb describes or modifies the action by telling you how it is being done. These two verbs can show up in either order, with a slight change in meaning.

<i>main verb</i>	hi	<i>descriptive verb</i>	<u>or</u>	<i>descriptive verb</i>	hi	<i>main verb</i>
k-š<u>u</u>waštun	hi	k-malkič		k-malkič	hi	k-š<u>u</u>waštun
“I fold it		[I do so] carefully”		“I carefully		fold it”

Here are the same two verbs with a different person–number marker.

p-š<u>u</u>waštun	hi	p-malkič		p-malkič	hi	p-š<u>u</u>waštun
“you fold it		[you do so] carefully”		“you carefully		fold it”

NOTE: Any verb can be the main verb here; only certain verbs work as the descriptive word. But not every occurrence of the descriptive verb is part of a paired verb construction; these verbs have multiple meanings which can include an application in a paired verb.

7.12.1 Paired verbs listed

This listing of paired verbs is obviously incomplete, since it’s based just on the examples that have come to light so far. Additional examples will be added as they show up.

The range of meanings with descriptive verbs includes

- the tempo and timing of the action

kimiy	“to repeat, do [something] again”
ka s-esqen-it hi s-kimiy	“she asks me again”
	— literally “she asks me, she does it again”
šuto’wič	“to be fast/quick” <u>and</u> “to do something fast/quickly”
p-šuto’wič hi p-aqiwⁱwin	“you swim fast”
uxniwiwin	“to hurry” <u>and</u> “to do something in a hurry”
s-iy-uxniwiwin hi š-iy-šuhúč	“they hurry to get ready”
wakapi	“to be slow” <u>and</u> “to do something slowly”
s-wak-wakapi hi s-pin-pi’nan	“[Toad] is hopping slowly”

- the style or manner of the action

axpap	“to talk loudly” <u>and</u> “to do something loudly”
š-iy-expeč hi s-iy-axpap	“they sing loudly”
ic^hitana’nan	“to be diligent, work steadily”
pak’a s-ulkuw hi s-iy-ic^hitana’nan hi s-iy-awiš	“they spent all night fixing it” — literally “one [whole] night they are diligent [as] they fix it”

- qili-kikš** “to do something by oneself habitually/customarily”
ka s-qili-kikš hi s-iloq’in ho’ l-po’n “he chops wood himself”
 — literally “he habitually does it himself, he chops wood”
- salaqwá’y** “to fix, fasten, secure” and “to do something securely”
s-iy-salaqwá’y hi s-iy-xa’limol hi ho’ l-tupmekč “they wrap the child
 securely” — literally “they do it securely, they wrap the child”
- uš’išmoč** “to gather together, come together” and “to do something together”
s-iy-uš’išmoč hi s-iy-xopoy “they play together” — literally “they
 are together [as] they play”
- yuxleleq** “to tiptoe”
s-yuxleleq hi š-nah-na’nan “he goes tiptoeing around” —
 — “he tiptoes as he goes”
- the attitude or emotion of the subject
- k’umuye** “to be comfortable”
š-lek’en hi s-k’umuye hi l-pakuwaš “the old man rests comfortably”
- malkič** “to be neat, tidy, careful” and “to do something carefully”
k-šuwāštun hi k-malkič “I fold it carefully”
- xu’wil** “to be angry” and “to do something in an angry manner”
s-saqnip > s^haqnip hi s-xu’wil “he/she replies angrily”

There are also verbs of location, direction and accompaniment that can fall into a pattern very much like paired verbs.

- š-alpat hi š-tap hi Tim** “Tim runs in”
k-lek’en hi k-iwiš hi Lisa “I’m sitting with Lisa”
k-supap’i’n hi k-wašlĭk hi s-’ap hi Lisa “I drive from Lisa’s house”

I’m confident that more examples of descriptive verbs in paired verb constructions will show up, such as “to do/be contentedly” or “to do in an offhanded/slapdash manner.”

There are other verbs which could be interpreted as the descriptive member of a paired verb construction but are listed as helping verbs — see section 7.13 below.

- s-yinix hi s-sa’-tipawpawil** “he is very eager to talk [in the future]”

If this example showed up reworked as it is below, then it would qualify as a paired verb construction. But these reworked versions are conjectural.

- s-yinix hi š-tipawpawil** “he is eager to talk, eager about talking”
š-tipawpawil hi s-yinix “he talks eagerly”

The bottom line — be aware that there’s a very fine line between paired verbs and helping verbs. In this section and the next section (7.13) it’s often a judgment call whether to call a particular verb

- a “descriptive verb” in a paired verb construction, or
- a helping verb

7.12.2 Translating paired verbs

The literal translation of paired verbs is awkward in English, but they work just fine in Shmuwich. Here are a couple of paired verb sentences broken down.

k-šūwaštun hi k-malkič “I fold it carefully”

Here the first verb describes the main action “I fold [something]” and the second verb could be translated as “I am neat/careful [about it]” or “I do [it] neatly, carefully.”

k-lek'en hi k-iwiš hi Lisa “I’m sitting with Lisa”

Again the first verb describes the main action “I am sitting” and the second verb is “I am with [someone].”

These examples have the main verb first. You can twist the English translation here into something that works better by reversing the two verbs and adding “as” between them.

k-šūwaštun hi k-malkič “I am careful [as] I fold [it]” = “I fold it carefully”

k-lek'en hi k-iwiš hi Lisa “I am with Lisa [as] I sit” = “I’m sitting with Lisa”

7.12.3 The order of paired verbs

The main verb doesn’t necessarily come first; it can also follow the verb that describes how the action takes place. In Samala, putting the descriptive verb first makes it more emphatic. This is probably true in Shmuwich too. Here are some of the examples above showing both word orders.

p-aqiwiwin hi p-šuto'wič “you swim fast”

p-šuto'wič hi p-aqiwiwin “you swim fast” or “you’re fast as you swim”

k-šūwaštun hi k-malkič “I fold it carefully”

k-malkič hi k-šūwaštun “I fold it carefully” or “I’m careful as I fold it”

The topic of word order in the sentence when nouns are involved comes up in Chapter 8, but here some details for fine-tuning paired verbs with nouns.

The subject of both verbs is the same. If you end up spelling out the subject with a noun, the noun generally follows the two verbs.

š-šuto'wič hi s-xalas hi ho' l-'iwawa'niš “the cut heals quickly”

s-xinč'i hi š-awiš hi 'ašk'á' “Coyote fixes/repairs it badly”

If the main verb has an object noun that depends on it, the object noun follows the main verb and sticks with it. This puts the descriptive verb first in the paired verb sequence.

k-šuto'wič hi k-silik^hit hi l-'anč^hum “I count the money quickly”
or “I make it quick as I count the money”

k-malkič hi k-šūwaštun hi l-kamisa “I fold the shirt carefully”
or “I’m careful as I fold the shirt”

In the earlier example about sitting with someone, the verb that we’re calling “descriptive” here has an object noun — **k-iwiš hi Lisa** “I am with Lisa, accompany Lisa” — and the sentence flows better with it second.

k-lek'en hi k-iwiš hi Lisa “I’m sitting with Lisa”

7.12.4 Grammatical points with paired verbs

In Samala any additional grammatical information with the paired verb — such as tense or negation — goes on whichever verb ends up first in the paired verb sequence.

If this holds true in Shmuwich, it would apply to verb prefixes such as

- e- “negative” — with conjectural examples
 - p-e’-aqiwiwin hi p-šuto’wič “you don’t swim fast” or “you’re not swimming fast”
 - p-e-šuto’wič hi p-aqiwiwin “you don’t swim fast” or “you’re not fast as you swim”
- sa’- “future” — with conjectural examples
 - k-ša’-šuwāštun hi k-malkič “I will fold it carefully”
 - k-ša’-malkič hi k-šuwāštun “I will fold it carefully” or “I’ll be careful as I fold it”
- ’al- “stative” — see section 7.14.2 — with an actual example following this pattern
 - ’al-xinč’i-waš hi s-xalas hi ho’ s-mīt “her back healed badly”

This also applies to suffixes such as -waš “past,” as seen in the previous example.

’al-xinč’i-waš hi s-xalas hi ho’ s-mīt “her back healed badly”

However, there are examples from the narratives in which these grammatical embellishments go on the second verb.

ka s-qili-kikš hi s-iloq’in-waš ho’ l-po’n “he used to chop wood himself”
 — literally “he habitually did it himself, he chopped wood”

7.13 Helping verbs

Helping verbs sound a lot like paired verbs (see section 7.12) at first glance, but there are some differences between these two patterns.

HELPING VERB — Defined

Helping verbs add various kinds of information about the main action of the sentence. Helping verbs can spell out

- the time frame of the action — “I start going” or “I quit going”
- the actor’s attitude toward the action — “I like to dance”
- preparation or ability to do the action — “I’m ready to go” or “I know how to swim”
- obligation to do the action — “I have to go” or “I should take care of it”

As with paired verbs (7.12), you see the same person–number markers on a sequence of helping verb and the main verb that spells out what the action is. The connector **hi** links the two verbs. Here are a few examples of helping verbs in Shmuwich.

<i>helping verb</i>	hi	<i>main verb</i>	
k–suna’n	hi	k–uniyiw	“I keep looking for it”
kê p–šuhuč	hi	p–talawaxač?	“are you ready to work?”
no’no s–yinx	hi	s–sa’–tipawpawil	“he is eager to talk [in the future]”

Out of context some of the examples sentences below could also be interpreted as embeddings (see 11.3 on embedding). Specifically, when the person–number markers are third–person, they don’t necessarily refer to the same subjects.

š–’a’latiš	hi	s–kuti–wun	“he/she hopes to see them”
			— helping verb because the two subjects are identical
š–’a’latiš	hi	s–kuti–wun	“he/she hopes that [<u>someone else</u>] sees them”
			— embedding verb because the subject of “hope” is <u>not</u> the same as the subject of “see”

7.13.1 Helping verbs listed

Here are Shmuwich helping verbs. They can cover:

- the time frame of the action

sunu’na	“to begin to do something”
s–su–nu’na hi š–n+ <i>w</i>	> s ^h unu’na hi šn+ <i>w</i> “he/she begins to dance”
- the actor’s attitude toward the action

su’nan	“to continue, keep doing something”
k–suna’n hi k–uniyiw	“I keep looking for it”
- obligation to do the action

nowon	“to stop/quit doing something”
š–nowon hi š–tipawil	“he/she stops talking”

- the intensity of the action
 - k'ili-na'n** “to do something more and more, become more and more”
s-k'il-k'ili-na'n hi s-su-mut'ey-us-wun
 “he puts it closer and closer to them”
 - uxniwiwin** “to hurry to do something”
ka s-iy-uxniwiwin hi š-iy-šuhúč “they hurry to get ready”
- the actor's attitude toward the action
 - 'a'latiš** “to hope to do something” — or maybe this is **'al-'atiš**
š-'a'latiš hi s-kuti-wun “he/she hopes to see them”
 - 'ap'ič** “to refuse/be reluctant to do something”
k-'ap'ič hi k-tiyep-us-wun “I refuse to tell them, am reluctant to”
 - aqc'ipi** “to hate to do something”
k-aqc'ipi hi k-itaq “I hate to hear it”
 - aqšwalaw** “to like/love to do something”
š-aqšwalaw hi š-anšin “he/she loves to eat”
 - yinix** “to be eager to do something”
no'no' s-yinix hi š-tipawpawil “he is very eager to talk”
- preparation or ability to do the action
 - alaqway** “to be able to do something”
s-iy-e'-alaqwa'y hi š-iy-išti' “they can't find it”
 - č'a'min** “to know how to do something”
š-č'a'min hi š-niw “he/she knows how to dance”
 - isquluklá'** “to have time to do”
k-isquluklá' hi k-ašiw-in “I have time to talk with you”
 - itpen** “to remember to do something”
k-itpen hi k-axšiš-wun “I remember to call them”
 - šuhuč** “to be ready/prepared to do something”
kê p-šuhuč hi p-talawaxač? “are you ready to work?”
 - ta'may** “to forget to do something”
k-ta'may hi k-axšiš-wun “I forget to call them”
 - xíwiwaš** “to try to do something”
k-sa'-xíwiwaš hi k-niw “I will try to dance”

I'm confident that more examples of helping verbs will show up, such as “to plan/intend to,” “to pretend to,” etc.

7.13.2 Grammatical points with helping verbs

Unlike paired verbs, it's not OK to switch the order of a helping verb and the main verb. At least no examples of this switch have shown up.

k-suna'n hi k-uniyiw “I keep looking for it”

NOT ***k-uniyiw hi k-suna'n** “I keep looking for it” — with the helping verb second

In Samala any additional grammatical information — such as tense or negation — goes on the helping verb. The Shmuwich examples don't always agree with Samala on this point. Some of the Shmuwich examples below are conjectural — and are tagged as such.

- **e-** “negative”

k-e-šuhuč hi k-na'n “I'm not ready to go” — conjectural

- **sa'-** “future” — there are two

k-sa'-xiwiwaš hi k-niw “I will try to dance”

However, there are a couple of examples with **sa'-** on the second verb

k-'a'latiš hi k-sa'-we' wa s-ulkuw “I hope to sleep tonight”

no'no' s-yinix hi s-sa'-tipawpawil “he is very eager to talk (in the future)”

- **'al-** “stative” — see section 7.14.2

k-'al-'ap'ič hi k-nowon hi k-aqspá “I refuse to stop smoking [as a custom]”
— a conjectural example

This observation may also apply to suffixes such as **-waš** “past.”

xxx need an example

7.13.3 'al- with helping verbs

The verb **uniyiw** “to have to, need to” looks like it should be listed among the helping verbs, but it routinely shows up with **'al-** “stative,” where it translates as “it is necessary that.” Technically this is not a standard helping verb construction because the two verbs do not have the same person-number marker.

'al-uniyiw hi k-iš-tap “we two have to go in, need to go in”

'al-uniyiw hi-p-ša'-č'a'min hi-'akay “you have to know how much [you will boil]”

'al-uniyiw hi š-iš-kuyam “the two of them have to wait”

The second-person example with **p-ša'-č'a'min** “you will know” indicates that tense isn't necessarily marked on the helping verb in this **'al-uniyiw** construction.

7.13.4 More complex helping verb constructions

There are a few idiomatic constructions that could act as the equivalent of helping verbs.

- Here's the idiom **ka š-č^ho hi —antik** “to be happy,” literally “one’s soul/spirit is good.”
ka š-č^ho ha k-antik “I am happy” — literally “my soul/spirit is good”

Here is this idiom as a helping verb.

ka š-č^ho hi k-antik hi k-'oyon-iyuw “I’m happy to help you all/you two”
 — literally “my soul/spirit is good that I help you”

ka š-č^ho hi s-antik hi s-kuti hi s-'u'nu “he/she is happy to see his/her grandchild”
 — literally “his/her soul/spirit is good that he/she sees...”

- The idiom **eqwel hi —kilamu** “to fool around, clown around” has the structure of a helping verb.

p^hlolentinu 'i s-qili-'eqwél hi s-kilamu “Florentino used to clown around”

- Another idiomatic expression which could be used as a helping verb is **e-su-kik'i** “to do something effortlessly, to make nothing of doing X.” It is based on the negative **e-** and **su-kik'i** “to make something [of it].”

Here is this expression as it usually appears.

p-e-su-kik'i “you do [it] effortlessly, you think nothing [of it]”
hi 'me ka s-am-e-su-kik'i “and they don't think anything [of it]”

Here are conjectural examples of **e-su-kik'i** in helping verb constructions.

p-e-su-kik'i hi p-su-kut'a “you lift [it] effortlessly, you think nothing picking [it] up”
hi 'me ka s-am-e-su-kik'i hi s-am-sini'we hi l-ku
 “and they don't think anything of killing a person”

An alternative interpretation of this construction with **e-su-kik'i** is that it’s actually a paired verb construction, since it has an adverbial flavor in translation — “effortlessly” — and it requires identical person–number markers on both verbs. See section [7.12](#) on paired verbs.

7.14 Expressions with 'al- and 'al-wil

The prefix 'al- has many uses. It shows up in a reduplicated form 'a'lal- to create “agentive” nouns, nouns that indicate the person who is performing the action of the verb.

- 'a'lal-uštap “a rower, paddler” — literally “one who rows/paddles” — uštap
- 'a'lal-niw “a dancer” — literally “one who dances” — niw
- 'a'lal-tipawil “a talker” — literally “one who talks” — tipawil
- > 'a'lantipawil

This prefix shows up in other constructions as well, as discussed below.

7.14.1 The Basics with 'al-

This element is a verb prefix, based on 'al- “agent” (see section 12.1.2). More specifically, it is an “outer” prefix (see section 9.3.1) which comes toward the very front of any string of prefixes on the verb.

This prefix has several specialized uses. With the first and second persons, this form of 'al- shows up right after person-number markers.

- k-'al-'ip > k-'a'lip... “I think...” with a person marker k-
— literally “I [am] one who thinks...”
- 'me k-'al-č'a'min hi 'a k-sa'-ne “I know what to do”
— literally “I am one who knows how I will do/act”
- k-ne'né, k-'al-akti-'axu'mew-in hi l-čtaniw hi p-'axpi'lil
“Grandmother, I have come to beg of you a piece of your root”
— addressed to Grandmother **Mo'moy**
- kik'i ké p-'a'lip? “what do you think” — literally “what are you one who thinks”

Here is 'al- with dual and plural number markers.

- k-iš-'al-'ip > kiš'a'lip... “we two think...”
- k-iy-'al-'ip > kiy'a'lip... “we think...”

This prefix does not occur with the third-person marker s-, so third-person forms of this construction begin with plain 'al- or a number marker plus 'al-.

- 'a'lip hi k-ič'antik... “my friend thinks” — literally “my friend [is] one who thinks...”
- iš-'al-'ip > 'iš'a'lip “they two think” — iš- “dual” + 'al-
- iy-'al-'ip > 'iy'a'lip “they think” — iy- “plural” + 'al-
- no'no' 'iy-'al-aqc'ipi-waš hi mala'me 'a'yi hi l-taxšan
“they were very much against anyone who was slender”

This prefix has multiple functions with overlapping meanings.

7.14.2 'al- as “stative”

This prefix with a verb can indicate a state or condition which is habitual or of long duration. Wash calls this use “stative.”

- k-'ip hi l-kik'i** “I think of something” — the plain form implies a single act of thinking
k-'al-'ip hi he' “I think this” ~ “this is what I think habitually or ongoingly”
s-kuti-wun “he/she sees them” — the plain form implies a single act of seeing
'al-kuti-wun “he/she sees them” ~ “he/she is the one who sees them habitually or ongoingly”

In some ways this construction is the equivalent of an “A = B” sentence without a verb (see section 2.7). To illustrate, here's a very simple sentence without a verb.

- no' hi he'** “it's me!” — literally “I this one,” in answer to “who's there?” when someone comes to the door

Here is the same “A = B” construction with 'al- + verb as the first element.

- 'al-xinč'i hi he'** “this is a bad one” — literally “one that's bad, this”

Here are more complex examples.

- 'al-č^ho hi š-ahaš** “he has a good heart” — literally “a good one, his heart”
'al-xinč'i-waš hi 'ašk'á' “Coyote was bad” — literally “a bad one past, Coyote”
he' l-meča 'i 'al-axšiš hi ho' s-xil “this wick summons the oil”
 — literally “this wick [is] what summons the oil”
may 'al-šuywač^hiš hi he' p-ti “may your name be sacred” — “hallowed be thy name”
 — literally “may it be a sacred one, this name of yours”

Sometimes “stative” simply seems to mean “an ongoing possibility,” as in

- 'al-sa'-aqšan-waš hi l-pakuwaš** “the old man was about to die”
 — literally “one who will die [is] the old man”
ka s-is^huy hi p-'al-sa'-maniwoč “it is a sign that you will miscarry”
 — literally “it signifies [that] you are one who will miscarry”

7.14.3 'al- with helping verbs

According to Ono (p. 39), three verbs commonly show up with 'al- when they act as helping verbs or introduce a clause: **wil** “to exist,” **č^ho** “to be good,” and **uniyiw** “to have to.” This seems to be another special case of the “stative.” See section 7.13 on helping verbs.

- 'al-wil hi k-'iwī** “I have a knife” — literally “it's one that exists, my knife”
'al-e-č^ho hi p-ašiw-us hi ho' “it's not good for you to talk to that [person]”
 — literally “it's a not-good thing [that] you talk to him”
'al-uniyiw hi k-lek'en hi 'it'i “I have to stay here” — literally “it's something necessary, [that] I stay here”

7.14.4 'al-wil constructions as “to have”

Shmuwich doesn't have one word that corresponds neatly to “have” in English,” as in “I have a daughter” or “she has a necklace.”

Shmuwich uses the expression 'al-wil “something that exists” plus the possessed form of the noun to say “have” in this sense. So to say “she has a necklace” you'd say

'al-wil hi s-'e'l literally “something that is [is] his/her necklace”

The literal translation of this expression is obviously rather awkward but it's important to understand it in Shmuwich terms rather than English.

'al-wil hi k-ša'y “I have a daughter”

'al-wil hi p-tomol “you have a boat”

'al-wil hi s-'ap “he/she has a house”

The negative of this expression is 'al-e-wil “something that doesn't exist.”

'al-e-wil hi k-ša'y “I don't have a daughter”

'al-e-wil hi p-tomol “you don't have a boat”

'al-e-wil hi s-'ap “he/she has no house” — “doesn't have a house”

The past and future of 'al-wil constructions match other verb forms.

'al-sa'-wil hi p-ič'ič “you will have a younger sibling” — i.e. a baby brother/sister

'al-wil-waš hi s-kawayu “he/she had a horse”

'al-e-wil-waš hi s-kawayu “he/she didn't have a horse”

When the possessive marker on the noun following 'al-wil is third-person s-, š-iš- or s-iy-, you can add another noun to spell out who or what the person-number marker refers to.

This creates a possessive phrase after 'al-wil. See section 3.9 on possessive phrases.

'al-e-wil hi s-'uwu'mu hi 'ašk'á' “Coyote has no food”
— “doesn't exist the food of Coyote”

'al-e-wil hi š-iš-'uwu'mu hi k-tan-ta'niw “my [two] children have no food”
— doesn't exist their food, my children

'al-e-wil hi s-iy-xo'ni hi l-č'ič'iwun “the [three+] children have no mother”
— “doesn't exist their mother, the kids”

7.14.5 'al- with nouns

This prefix also shows up in front of nouns in a construction that translates “it is a/the X.”

he' l-qayas 'i 'al-po'n	“the elder [is] a tree”
'al-'iškó'm hi s-nana'mu hi l-po'n...	“there are two kinds of trees [that resemble...]”
'al-sku'mu	“there are four [of them]”
'al-ho'-s-'axpili'l ka l-iy-qili-hik'en	“it was the root that they used to use”
na 'al-sa'-'eneq hi s-taniw...	“if her baby is going to be a girl...” — literally “if/when one-to-be-female her child...”
'meči 'al-malawa-waš hi l-tiš'í'lil hi l-'am-su-aqliwin	“it was always eight [in number] the red ants that they had one swallow [as a cure]”

This construction is distinctly different from the more common “A ka B” construction which often links two nouns. See section [2.7.2](#).

Maliya	ka	š-ti	“Maria [is] her name”
k-ša'y	ka	Lisa	“my daughter [is] Lisa”

These nouns could also go in the opposite order, at least the sentences that use names.

š-ti	ka	Maliya	“her name [is] Maria”
Lisa	ka	k-ša'y	“Lisa [is] my daughter”

8 — Advanced Topics with Verbs — Suffixes

This chapter covers a number of topics. They aren't necessarily more advanced than some of the topics in Chapter 7 on basic topics with verbs, but including them would have made the introductory chapter even longer.

- verbs with **-pi** “on” or “at” — see **8.1**
 š-lek'en-pi hi l-lamesa “he/she is sitting on the table”
- object markers and direct objects — see **8.2**
 kê p-itaq-it? “do you hear me”
 s-kuti-wun “he/she/it sees them, looks at them”
- object markers and indirect objects — see **8.2**
 k-tiyep-in hi k-ti “I tell you my name” ~ “I tell my name to you”
 k-seqen-us hi l-'iwı “I take the knife away from him”
- impersonal verbs — see **8.2.10**
 s-kum-it hi l-'ikšaš “I receive a gift” — literally “a gift comes to me”
 s-e-kum-us hi l-kik'i “he/she doesn't get anything”
 — literally “something does not come to him/her”
- reciprocal and reflexive **-šaš** and **-naš** — “oneself” and “each other” — see **8.3**
 'iy-qilik-šaš “take care of yourselves!”
 š-iš-išmax-niš hi l-xıp “they two are throwing rocks at each other”
- **-š** in the object suffix slot, “passive” and “no object specified” — see **8.4**
 š-aqsik-š hi l-tomol “the boat is tied” — passive
 š-qilalyik-š “it is an omen” — no object specified
- verbs with **-n** and **-č** — see **8.5**
 k-expen-us “I sing to him/her, for him/her”
 k-expen-š > kexpeč “I sing” — just the activity, to no one in particular
- minor verb suffixes — see **8.6**
 kam nowon-la “go and stand over there” — **-la** — see **8.6.1**
 s-kep-li'l “he/she goes to bathe” — **-li'l** — see **8.6.2**
 s-esqen-it-pi “he/she asks me right away” — **-pi** — see **8.6.3**
 k-si'nay-iy hi l-c'oyni “I place yet another one” — **-iy** — see **8.6.4**
 s-xıwi-has “he tells lies again and again” — **-(h)as** — see **8.6.5**
 s-iy-salaqwa'y-in hi ski'nıt “they fasten [it] with a cord” — **-in** — see **8.6.6**

8.1 –pi “on” or “at”

A common verb suffix is **-pi**, rough translated “on, at.” You have to “get” **-pi** on its own terms; it’s an idiomatic Shmuwich construction which does not work at all like English. Wash calls this suffix “applicative,” meaning that the action of the verb is “applied to or onto” some object. You could also call **-pi** a “locativizing suffix,” since it creates “locative” phrases that spell out “where” the action of the verb happens or is focused.

Typically, adding **-pi** to a verb focuses the action as taking place on some object, while the same verb without **-pi** focuses more on the mere fact that the action is happening.

Here are two sentences with **lek’en** “to sit, stay.” One of them uses plain **lek’en** and the other uses **-pi**, which focuses the action in a way that plain **lek’en** doesn’t.

š-**lek’en** hi l-lamesa “he/she sits [at] the table”

š-**lek’en-pi** hi l-lamesa “he/she is sitting on the table”

The example with plain **lek’en** uses a loose “location phrase” (see section 10.8), which implies that the action takes place in the expected location and manner — sitting “at” the table. The example with **lek’en-pi** focuses the action to sitting “on” the table.

By way of disclosure, this discussion draws on translated Samala examples. Not enough clear Shmuwich examples of **-pi** have turned up yet, but the two languages handle **-pi** almost identically and it seems safe to enhance the discussion with Samala examples.

8.1.1 The Range of meanings of –pi “on” or “at”

There are various meanings for this suffix.

- The action in question can be concretely physical and is being “applied” to some particular object.

k-oqmol	“I spit”
k-oqmol-pi hi l-mišup	“I spit on the ground”
p-’anuč	“you’re bleeding”
p-’anuč-pi ha p-kamisa	“you get blood on your shirt, bleed on your shirt”
š- lek’en	“he/she is sitting”
š- lek’en-pi hi l-lamesa	“he/she is sitting <u>on</u> the table”
š-oxšol hi čti’n	“the dog pees” — someplace or other
š-oxšol-pi hi l-po’n	“[the dog] pees <u>on</u> a tree”
k-pux-wun hi l-’a’lilimuw	“I string/pierce the fish” — e.g. together on a line
k-pux-pi hi l-po’n	“I string [something] <u>on</u> a stick”
s-wayan hi l-’aqiwo	“the star is hanging (on the Christmas tree)”
s-wayan-pi hi l-po’n	“it is hanging in/on the tree”
k-uš’ak hi l-meš	“I empty out the sack”
k-uš’ak-pi hi l-pi’s	“I empty [something] out <u>onto</u> the plate, platter”

k-eleyep	“I travel, go along”
k-eleyep-pi > keleyep ^{hi} hi l-č'alayaš	“I go along the trail”
k-šu-šonowon hi l-'o'	“I am spashing water”
k-šu-šonowon-pi-wun hi l-'o'	“I am spashing water on them”

- The action in question can also be a mental state or attitude.

k-axšik'in	“I am envious/resentful”
k-axšik'in-pi hi l-'eneq	“I am envious/resentful of the woman”

Here is a Samala example of this process.

Samala	š-unexmeš	“he/she gives up, loses hope”
Samala	š-unexmeš-pi	“he/she gives up on [it], loses hope for [it]”

8.1.2 -pi versus “location phrases”

To focus this discussion of **-pi** better, it's important remember the concept of “location nouns” — see section 10.8. Location nouns are added loosely to the verb to indicate where the action takes place, without any word that corresponds to English “at” or “in” or “on.” For example, you can add a location noun after **lek'en** “to sit, stay” in the following senses:

š-lek'en hi l-lamesa	“he/she sits [at] the table”
š-lek'en hi s-'ap	“he/she stays [at] home, [at] his/her house”
š-lek'en hi l-'ap ^{ha} 'niš	“he/she stays [in] town, lives [in] town”

Here are two sentences with **lek'en** that differ only by having **-pi** or not. Notice how the one with **-pi** focuses the action in a way that plain **lek'en** doesn't.

š-lek'en hi l-lamesa	“he/she sits [at] the table”
š-lek'en-pi hi l-lamesa	“he/she is sitting <u>on</u> the table”

Here are two sentences with **yutoxkón** “to kneel.” Notice how the one with **-pi** focuses the action in a way that plain **lek'en** doesn't.

k-yutoxkón	“I'm kneeling”
k-yutoxkon hi stapan	“I'm kneeling at/on a mat” — e.g. just sitting
k-yutoxkon-pi hi stapan	“I'm kneeling <u>on</u> the mat” — e.g. while rolling it up

8.1.3 Verbs that require -pi

Some verbs only show up with **-pi**; the form without **-pi** is not attested. Such verbs fall into two groups.

- The verb shows up only with **-pi**; there is no known corresponding form without **-pi**. The most common example of this pattern is **uti-kuyupi** “to get to be one's turn, the turn passes to one,” which is an impersonal verb (see section 8.2.10).

s-uti-kuyupi-y-it hi no'	“it's MY turn” — literally “the turn comes to me”
s-uti-kuyupi hi Lisa	“it's Lisa's turn” — NOT *sutikuyupiyus hi Lisa
s-uti-kuyupi-wun	“it's their turn”

The root of this verb is **kuyu(pi)**, based on other compounds with different prefixes, such as **aqni-kuyupi** “to pay attention to,” from **aqni-** “of mental activity” + **=kuyupi**. Other examples include

aqc’ipi “to hate, despise”
xunušpi “to fear, be afraid of [something]”

- The verb shows up with **-pi**, but it has related forms without **-pi** which show that **-pi** is not an inherent part of the verb root.

aq-kum-pi “to blame on, attribute to” — from **aq-** + **kum** “to arrive, come to”
kumel-pi “to be separate” — see **kumelštaš** “separation, distance apart,” from **kumel(pi)** “to be separate” + **-štaš** “noun marker”
qala-wil-pi “to tie to, tie together” — from **qal-** “of tying” + **wil** “to be, exist”
ušla-wil-pi “to rub” — from **ušla-** “with the hand” + **wil** “to be, exist”
wil-pi “to be located at; to direct at; to squirt at/on” — from **wil** “to be, exist”
xal-pi “to assault, jump someone, to run after” — see **pilxá’l** “to throw through the air (e.g. in an attack or struggle),” from **pil-** “through the air” + **xal**

Many verbs in Samala require **-pi**; no doubt additional Shmuwich examples will show up.

8.1.4 Object markers and other suffixes with **-pi**

The suffix **-pi** in the sense of “on” or “at” comes right after the verb root. Other suffixes follow it. In practice, this means object suffixes and the past-tense marker **-waš**.

Object markers with **-pi**

If an object marker suffix shows up with the verb, it comes after **-pi**. A stuck-in **-y-** appears before object markers that start with vowels.

s-uti-kuyupi-y-it “it is my turn, the turn comes to me”
s-uti-kuyupi-y-in “it is your turn, the turn comes to you”
s-uti-kuyupi-y-iyuw “it is our turn, the turn comes to us” — first person
or “it is your turn” — second-person plural
s-uti-kuyupi-wun “it is their turn, the turn comes to them”
k-šu-šonowon-pi hi l-o’ “I am spashing water on [someone/something]”
k-šu-šonowon-pi-wun hi l-o’ “I am spashing water on them”

Verbs with **-pi** are not **-us** verbs (see section 8.2.8 on **-us** verbs). A verb with **-pi** and no other object suffix implies a third-person singular object. The sentence may spell out the object with a full noun.

s-uti-kuyupi “it is his/her turn, the turn comes to him/her”
s-uti-kuyupi hi Lisa “it is Lisa’s turn, the turn comes to Lisa”
’ip-us hi Lisa, s-uti-kuyupi “tell Lisa, it’s her turn”
š-oxšol-pi hi l-po’n “[the dog] pees on the tree”
š-oxšol-pi hi čti’n “the dog pees on [it]”

-waš “past tense” with -pi

The past-tense suffix **-waš** also follows **-pi**.

š-**lek'en-pi-waš** “he/she was sitting on [it]”
 š-**lek'en-pi-waš** hi l-**lamesa** “he/she was sitting on the table”

The tense marker also comes after any object suffix that may show up after **-pi**.

k-**šu-šonowon-pi-wun** hi l-**'o'** “I am spashing water on them”
 k-**šu-šonowon-pi-wun-waš** hi l-**'o'** “I spashed water on them”

8.1.5 Ordinal numbers with -pi

There is an idiomatic use of **-pi** with numbers to create “ordinal” numbers such as “second,” “third,” and “fourth,” etc. This topic is also covered in section **5.5.8** on numbers.

hi l-**'iškom-pi** hi l-**'aqli'w** “the second word”
 hi l-**masix-pi** hi l-**'al-išaw** “the third day”
 hi **sku'mu-pi** hi l-**monuš^ha'š** “the fourth image/figure”

This construction is probably a special case of verbs with the relative marker **l-** plus **-pi** as discussed in the next section — **8.1.6** — so that the literal meaning of **hi l-'iškom-pi** “second” is probably something like “where it is two.”

These three numbers are the only ones attested in the earlier dictionaries, but it would be easy to coin additional numbers on this same pattern.

hi l-**k'eleškom-pi** “the tenth one”
 hi **spet'a-pi** “the sixteenth one”

8.1.6 Relative phrases with I-...-pi

This construction is based on a verb but can also act like a noun. It is a combination of the relative marker I- (see section 11.4.2) plus -pi and it is discussed in more detail in section 11.4.9.

Here are simple examples of the I-...-pi construction, where in translation it looks a lot like a noun.

- hi l-'ik-'ikmen-pi** “the surf-zone” — literally “where the surf breaks”
 — from **ikmen** “waves to break” + Redup
s-iy-akteqen hi l-'ik-'ikmen-pi “they pass through the surf zone”
- hi l-nexelew-pi** “steep slope, steep place” — literally “where it goes down”
 — from **nexelew** “to go down”
k-napay-li'l hi ho' l-nexelew-pi “I climb up that steep place”
- hi l-intap-pi** > **hi l-'intap^{hi}** “cove, inlet” — literally “where the water comes in”
 — from **il-tap** > **in-tap** “water to enter”
s-iy-aqiw^win hi l-'intap^{hi} “they swim in the cove”

Here is an example of an I-...-pi construction with a quantifier, where it looks very much like a noun.

- ka s-axumew-us-wun ho' l-sku'mu hi l-'aktina'-pi hi sax-sax^hit'**
 “she calls upon the four places where the winds come from”

This construction looks a lot more like a verb when it includes some noun as subject or object of the verb with -pi. In the example below, **hi l-'o'** “the water” is the subject of the verb **li'yon** “to be deep.”

- hi l-li'yon-pi hi l-'o'** “a deep place in the water, where the water is deep”
 — **li'yon** “to be deep”
s-iy-kep-waş hi l-li'yon-pi hi l-'o'
 “they bathed in a deep place in the water”

In the example below, **hi l-č'alayaš** “the road” is the object of the verb **salaqwa'y** “to fix.”

- he' l-č'ič'i'-wun 'i s-iy-qili-kuy hi l-woqo hi ho' l-'am-sal-salaqway-pi hi l-č'alayaš**
 “the children use to take asphalt from where they were fixing the road”

8.2 Object markers

You've already seen nouns as objects of the verb, usually following the verb. The object is the person or thing that the action of the verb works on.

k-u'liš hi l-po'n "I grab a stick"
 š-išti' hi l-'iwī "he/she finds a knife"

Section 10.6 covers the topic of object nouns in detail.

OBJECT MARKER — Defined

"Object markers" are suffixes added to the verb to spell out the "object" of the verb. Object markers are the Shmuwich equivalent of English personal pronouns like "me," "you," "him," "her," "us" and "them." Here are examples of the basic object markers.

s-itaq-it "he/she/it hears me"
 k-č'a'min-in "I know you" (one person)
 s-itaq-iyuw "he/she/it hears us" and "... hears you (two or more)"
 s-kuti-wun "he/she/it sees them, looks at them"

The topic of object markers is more complicated than these examples show. Right off the bat there's a major distinction between "direct objects" and "indirect objects." The examples above all show direct object markers, which are more straightforward than indirect object markers.

8.2.1 Direct and indirect objects reviewed

It's important to understand the difference between "direct object" and "indirect object."

- **Direct object** — The direct object is the person or thing that the action applies to or operates on. Here are the examples from the introductory paragraph again.

s-itaq-it "he/she/it hears me"
 k-č'a'min-in "I know you" (one person)
 s-itaq-iyuw "he/she/it hears us" and "... hears you (two or more)"
 s-kuti-wun "he/she/it sees them, looks at them"

- **Indirect object** — The indirect object is the person or thing that the action benefits or goes toward.

s-'ip-us "he/she says to him/her"
 p-ašiw-it "you talk to me"
 k-tiyep-in hi k-ti "I tell you my name" ~ "I tell my name to you"
 p-yik-iyuw hi l-'ančhum "you give us the money"

The indirect object can also be the person or thing the action takes something away from.

s-xonon-it hu k^hawayu "he stole my horse from me" — from k-kawayu "my horse"
 k-seqen-us hi l-'iwī "I take the knife away from him"

Object markers show up on the verb whether or not an object noun is spelled out. In other words, object markers take priority and the object noun is optional.

k-itaq-wun hi l-č'ič'i'-wun “I hear the children” — literally “I hear them, the children”

k-itaq-wun “I hear them”

but **k-itaq hi l-č'ič'i'-wun** “I hear the children” — not wrong, but not recommended

This pattern is exactly parallel to the pattern of person-number markers and subject nouns. Person-number marker show up on the verb whether or not a subject noun is spelled out.

s-iy-xopoy “they are playing”

s-iy-xopoy hi l-č'ič'i'-wun “the children are playing”

— literally “they are playing, the children”

8.2.2 Direct and indirect object marker suffixes

There are two sets of object markers, depending on whether they apply to direct or indirect objects. The chart below presents both sets for comparison, but the discussion will treat first direct objects (section 8.2.4) and then indirect objects (section 8.2.5).

	direct object endings		indirect object endings	
	singular	non-singular	singular	non-singular
1st person	-it “me”	-iyuw “us”	-it “to/for me”	-iyuw “to/for us”
2nd person	-in “you”	-iyuw you two/your”	-in “to/for you”	-iyuw “to/for you two/you all”
3rd person	— “him, her, it” “his/her/its”	-wun “them”	-us “to/for him,” her/it”	-us-wun “to/for them”

The system isn't as tidy as with the three-way set of person and number markers you've learned so far (see sections 3.1 and 3.2 and 7.2).

A few points are obvious as soon as you look at this pattern compared to the tidy pattern of **k-**, **p-** and **s-** plus **iš-** and **iy-** that you already know, which is completely regular.

- There's no distinction between singular, dual and plural here, just between singular and what you might call non-singular — two or more.
- **-iyuw** does double duty for first-person “us” and second-person “you (dual and plural).”
- The two sets of endings are almost identical — except for how they handle the third-person and the suffix **-us**.
- There's no object marker for third-person singular in the direct object set, even when a third-person singular object is clearly intended. In other words, there's no exact Shmuwich equivalent of “him” and “her” in the sentences below; it's just implied.

kê p-kuti hi Tim? “do you see Tim?”

k-e-kuti “I don't see [him]”

kê p-axšiš hi Lisa? “did you call/invite Lisa?”

k-axšiš “I called/invited [her]”

8.2.3 Sound rules and the object markers

Certain sequences of sounds change as a result of an object marker coming after a verb, so here are the sound rules that describe these changes.

1) Stuck-in -y- and -w-

If the verb ends in the vowel i (not i plus glottal stop) and the object marker marker starts with a vowel, stick -y- between the i and the vowel of the object marker.

k-kuti-iyuw	>	k ^h utiyuw	“I see you (plural)”
s-kuti-it	>	skutiyit	“he/she sees me”
p-e-xunušpi-it	>	pexunušpiyit	“you are not afraid of me”
s-iy-xunušpi-in	>	šiyxunušpiyin	“they are afraid of you”

If the verb ends in the vowel u (not u plus glottal stop) and the object marker marker starts with a vowel, stick -w- between the u and the vowel of the object marker:

k-sukilamu-in	>	ksukilamuwin	“I fool you, trick you” — literally “I make you foolish”
s-sukilamu-it	>	s ^h ukilamuwit	“he/she fools me, tricks me”
p-suku-it	>	psukuwit	“you respect me”
s-suku-iyuw	>	s ^h ukuwiyuw	“he/she respects us” or “...respects you two/you all”

Sometimes the element-by-element breakdown of Shmuwich words doesn't show the starting sequence and the final output with the > arrow as in the examples above. In that case I have written stuck-in -y- and -w- with hyphens on both sides for clarity.

s-uti-kuyupi-y-it	“it is my turn, the turn comes to me”
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2) Stuck-in -l- between vowels

If the verb ends in any other vowel (than i or u) and the object marker marker starts with a vowel, stick -l- between the two vowels.

ka s-č ^h o-it	>	ka šč ^h olit	“it goes well for me”
ka s-č ^h o-us	>	ka sc ^h olus	“it goes well for him/her”
s-sa'-sini'we-in	>	s ^h a'sini'welin	“he/she/it will kill you”
k-akti-nu'na-us	>	kaktinu'nalus	“I bring [something] for/to him/her

3) Stuck-in -l- between vowel + glottal stop + vowel

If the verb ends in any vowel plus glottal stop and the object marker marker starts with a vowel, drop the glottal stop and add a stuck-in -l- between the two vowels.

č ^h o'-iyuw	>	č ^h oliyuw	“stop us, prevent us [from ...]!”
s-išti'-it	>	šištilit hi k-'e'l	“he/she finds my [lost] necklace for me”
s-uš'e'-us	>	sus'elus hi l-'oxwó'n	“[the dog] digs for/after a gopher
uš ^h o'-it hi k-kuti	>	'uš ^h olit hi k ^h uti	“let me see!” — literally “allow me, I see”
s-iy-sapanti'-us	>	siyanpantilus hi l-mow	“they quickly put sugar [in front of the bear]”

4) Dropping glottal stop before another consonant

If the verb ends in a glottalized consonant, the glottal stop drops out before **-wun**, since no consonant can be glottalized immediately before another consonant.

k-uxnik'-wun > **kuxnikwun** “I escape/get away from them”

s-su-kep'-wun > **s^hukepwun** “he/she bathes them” — e.g. the kids at bedtime

This sound rule shows up elsewhere, as you've seen with reduplicated plurals:

wot' + R > **wotwot'** “chiefs”

k-ša'y + R > **kšayša'y** “my daughters”

8.2.4 Direct object markers in action

DIRECT OBJECT — Defined

The “direct object” is the person or thing that the action is directed toward or which the action directly affects. The endings on these verbs come from the direct object set, which do not include **-us** or the sequence **-us-wun**.

- With verbs of physical action and manipulation it's obvious that the action of the verb directly affects the object.

p-e-tent'ey-it “don't you touch me”

k-u'liš-in “I grab you”

k-šanšin-iyuw “I feed you (two or more)”

p-sa'-nik'ot-wun “you'll break them”

k-iy-kuy-wun “we take them”

- It's less obvious with other verbs, such as verbs of perception. For example, when someone “sees” you across the room you're not necessarily affected and you may not even be aware of it, but **kuti** “to see” is a verb that takes a direct object.

k-iy-itaq-in “we hear you (singular)”

k-iš-kuti-wun “the two of us see them”

k-silik^hit-wun “I count them”

š-č'a'min-iyuw “he/she knows us” or “you (two or more)”

kê p-aqnic^ho-wun? “do you like them?”

Remember, there's no marker for the third-person singular, although you need something for it in English translation. This missing third-person singular marker would translate as “him” or “her” or “it,” depending on the context.

kê p-kuti hi Tim? “do you see Tim?”

k-e-kuti “I don't see [him]”

kê p-axšiš hi Lisa? “did you call/invite Lisa?”

î, k-axšiš “yes, I called/invited [her]”

p-e-nik'ot hi l-'uwaš “don't break the stone pipe!”

k-e-sa'-nik'ot “I won't break [it]”

See section **10.6** for more information on nouns as direct objects.

8.2.5 Indirect object markers in action

INDIRECT OBJECT — Defined

The “indirect object” is the person — less often the thing — who is affected indirectly by the action of the verb. The endings on these verbs come from the indirect object set, which includes **-us** and the sequence **-us-wun**.

- The indirect object may benefit from the action of the verb, perhaps as the recipient of some action on the direct object.

k-yik-in hi l-'uwaš “I give you the stone pipe” — i.e. give it to you
k-tiyep-us hi k-ti “I tell him/her my name” — i.e. tell it to him/her
p-expen-iyuw “you sing for us, to us”
s-ispī'weč-it hi šti'wal “he/she sells me a carrying net” — i.e. sells it to me
s-išti'-us-wun

> **sistiluswun hi l-yawi** “he/she finds them a key” — i.e. finds it for them

- The indirect object may also lose out as a result of the action of the verb, when the range of meaning of the verb covers “taking away from,” including stealing and cutting off, etc. In that case the translation usually includes “from.”

s-xonon-it hu k^hawayu “he stole my horse from me” — from **k-kawayu** “my horse”
k-seqen-us hi l-'iwi “I take the knife away from him”
s-am-t'iloq-us hi š-te'leq “they cut off its tail from it” — speaking of a lamb

- The indirect object may also indicate someone/something that the action is avoiding.

s-uxnik'-us hi l-tuk'é'm “[the deer] runs away from the mountain lion”
s-iy-qunumak-us hi s-iy-xo'ni “they are hiding from their mother”

See section [10.6](#) for more information on nouns as indirect objects.

No difference in the first and second person

It very important to realize that there's no distinction between direct and indirect objects with first- and second-person object markers. This includes

-it “me” or “to/for me”
-in “you” or “to/for you”
-iyuw “us” and “you two/all” or “to/for us” and “to/for you two/all”

So out of context you may not be able to tell whether one of these endings is a direct or indirect object. Here are examples where either reading could work.

s-kuyam-it “he/she expects me” or “he/she is waiting for me”
s-as^hunan-in “he/she sends you [on an errand]” or “he/she sends [it] to you”
p-išti'-iyuw
 > **pištilyuw** “you find us [in the crowd]” or “you find [something] for us”

Here are examples where common sense makes it clear that one reading is more likely than the other.

- k-ašyan-in** “I buy [something] for you” — more likely than “I buy you”
p-eqwel-iyuw “you make [something] for us” — more likely than “you makes us”
p-seqen-it “you take [something] away from me” — more likely than “you remove me”
s-xonon-it “he/she stole [something] from me” — more likely than “he/she stole me”

8.2.6 Types of verbs that take indirect objects

Indirect objects typically show up with certain classes of verbs. The classes listed here are not mutually exclusive.

- verbs of communication — the person to whom the communication is addressed shows up as an indirect object

- ašiw** “to talk to/with someone”
p-e’-ašiw-us-wun hi ho’-wun “don’t talk to those people”
- esqen** “to ask someone [something]”
kik’i kê p-esqen-us? “what did you ask him”
- saq^hala’lan** “to cry out to someone, shout, yell at”
s-iy-e-tipawil ’iye’me p-saq^hala’lan-us-wun
 “they don’t talk even though you holler at them”
- saqutina’n** “to tell someone a story”
k-saqutina’n-us-wun hi l-č’ič’i’-wun “I tell the kids a story”
- suweyep** “to bid someone goodbye”
k-suweyep-us hi k-ič’antik “I say goodbye to my friend”
- tiyep** “to tell someone [something], tell about, to show, to teach, to report”
k-sa’-tiyep-us hi k-ič’antik “I will tell my friend”
- tikuy** “to talk about someone”
k-iy-tikuy-us hi l-’a’yi “we’re talking about someone”

- verbs of interaction — the person at the other end of the interaction is cast as an indirect object

- as^hunan** “to command, to order, to send someone to do something”
k-as^hunan-us hi l-’ih’iy hi š-nukumi “I order the man to bring it back”
- ištik^hin** “to go ahead, before (in time or space)”
k-ištik^hin-us hi ho’ l-’ih’iy “I go ahead of that man”
- ni’wi’len** “to force/compell someone to act, make someone do against one’s will”
s-am-ni’wi’len-in hi p-’uw “they make you eat it”
- ušqal** “to open [something] to/for someone”
’ušq^hal-it hi l-mitip’in “open the door for me!”
- yik** “to give [something] to someone”
yik-us hi l-c’oyni hi l-ku “give it to someone else”

- verbs of transaction and giving — the person at the other end of the transaction is cast as an indirect object

ašyán “to buy [something] for someone”
š-ašyan-it-waš hi l-’aq’utapiniš “he/she bought me dinner”

axmay “to owe [something] to someone”
k-e’-axmay-in hi l-kik’i “I don’t owe you anything”

yik “to give [something] to someone”
s-e-yik-it hi l-kik’i “they don’t give me anything”

- verbs of removing and taking away — the person who loses something is cast as an indirect object

seqen “to take [something] away from someone”
k-seqen-us hi l-’iwī “I take the knife away from him”

qunumak “to hide [something] from someone”
s-iy-qunumak-us hi s-iy-xo’ni “they are hiding from their mother”

t’iloq “to cut [something] off of/from something/someone”
s-am-t’iloq-us hi š-te’leq “they cut off its tail from it” — e.g. a lamb

uxnik’ “to run away from, to escape”
s-uxnik’-us hi l-tuk’é’m “[the deer] runs away from the mountain lion”

xonon “to steal [something] from someone”
s-xonon-it hi k-’alč^hum “he steals my money from me”

- Certain verbs routinely show up with indirect object markers even though the English translation doesn’t call for an indirect object. You have to take these verbs on their own terms in Shmuwich. For convenience they are called “-us verbs” here — see section 8.2.8.

axiyep “to cure, heal someone”
k-axiyep-us hi l-č’ič’i “I heal the child”

axlap “to cast a spell on” and “to bless” in a Christian context
s-axlap-us hi š-ič^haxi “he casts a spell on his enemy”

niwatap “to sneak up on someone, to approach stealthily”
s-niwatap-us-wun hi ’ašk’á’ “Coyote sneaks up on them”

’oyon “to help someone”
’oyon-it hi k-tap “help me in, help me to enter”

qantun “to obey/heed someone”
’ik^hu ’ašk’á’ hi s-e-qantun-us “but Coyote doesn’t obey him”

selyep “to take advantage of someone”
s-elyep-us hi makal “[Coyote] takes advantage of Bat”

tin “to name someone [something]”
s-am-tin-us xwan “they name him Juan”

8.2.7 Direct and indirect objects contrasted

Here are several common verbs which sometimes take indirect objects. The two columns below show the likely translation of the verb with a direct object versus the likely translation with an indirect object. Notice that the column for direct objects shows no object marker for implied “it” or “something,” while column for indirect objects shows **-us** spelling out “to/for him/her.” The following section on **-us** verbs (8.2.8) covers this topic in more detail.

	direct object only		indirect object
as^hunan	“to send [something]”	as^hunan-us	“to send [something] to him/her”
ašyán	“to buy [something]”	asyan-us	“to buy [something] for him/her”
eqwel	“to make [something]”	eqwel-us	“to make [something] for him/her”
išti’	“to find [something]”	isti-l-us	“to find [something] for him/her”
kuyam	“to expect [something]”	kuyam-us	“to wait for him/her/it”
seqen	“to remove [something]”	seqen-us	“to take [it] away from him/her”
si’nay	“to place/put [something]”	si’nay-us	“to set [something] out for him/her”
xonon	“to steal [something]”	xonon-us	“to steal [something] from him/her”

8.2.8 -us verbs

Suzanne Wash discusses what she calls the “applicative” suffix **-us** on pages 50 and 51 of her dissertation. She gives examples such as:

’eqwe’lus	“make it for him!”
’ipus	“to say [something] to someone”
siyaktinunaluswun	“they bring [something] for them”

Wash says that “this applicative often occurs as part of verb stems whose meanings include third-person goals and beneficiaries.” This statement is true, but it’s potentially misleading because Wash doesn’t give examples of these same verbs with some object marker other than **-us**.

When you add any other object marker other than **-us**, such as **-it** “me” or **-in** “you (singular),” you don’t add it in addition to -us but instead of -us. So you get:

k-’ip-in	“I say to you”
s-eqwel-it	“he/she makes [something] for me”
s-iy-akti-nuna-l-iyuw	“they bring [something] for us, for you (two or more)”

Notice the difference between these two sentences with **eqwel** “to make,” one using **-us**.

k-eqwel hi l-’ax	“I make a bow”
k-eqwel-us hi k-wop hi s-’ax	“I make a bow for my son”

In the Whistler dictionary you can see a number of entries that deal with **-us** verbs, but not necessarily in a clear and consistent way. Notice the different styles of these entries.

ašyan	“to buy [something]”
asyanus	“to buy [something] for someone”
expeč	“to sing”
expenus	“to sing to someone”
huqpey(us)	“to adorn, decorate, add ornamentation to”
'ip	“to talk, to speak, to say; to think that...”
'ipus	“to say to”
itaq	“to hear”
itaqus	“to listen to someone, to hear someone”
ixip	“to be finished, to finish [something]”
ixipus	“to beat (in a competition)”
tiyep(us)	“to tell, tell about, to report”
yikus	“to give”

These are verbs which take **-us** if the object is third person, but they do not show up with **-us** when there's a different object marker, such as **-it** “(to/for) me,” or **-in** “(to/for) you.” Here are some of these verbs, with and without an object marker.

p-ašyan hi l-'e'l	“you buy a necklace
p-ašyan-it hi l-'e'l	“you buy <u>me</u> a necklace”
s-iy-sa'-ixip	“they will win”
s-iy-sa'-ixip-iyuw	“they will beat <u>us</u> ” or “... beat <u>you</u> (two or more)”

A few of these verbs show up with the suffix **-š** when there's no object marker. This suffix means “no object specified” or “no one in particular” — as discussed below in section [8.4.2](#).

s-expen-š > šexpeč	“he/she sings” — to no one in particular
s-expen-it	“he/she sings <u>to me</u> ”
s-tiyep-š > štiyepš	“he/she teaches, advises” — to no one in particular
s-tiyep-in	“he/she teaches/advises <u>you</u> ”
s-talawaxan-š > štalawaxač	“he/she works” — to no one in particular
s-talawaxan-us-wun	“he/she works <u>for them</u> ”

In the Integrated Shmuwich dictionary I have chosen to write **-us** separately after the verbs that use it to mark third-person objects. The underlining below indicates which part of the English translation refers to **-us**.

ašyan -us	“to buy [something] <u>for someone</u> ”
expen -us	“to sing <u>to/for someone</u> ”
'ip -us	“to say <u>to someone</u> ”

itaq -us	“to listen <u>to someone</u> , to hear <u>someone</u> ”
ixip -us	“to beat <u>someone</u> (in a competition)”
'oyon -us	“to help <u>someone</u> ”
tiyep -us	“to tell <u>someone</u> [about something], to report [something] <u>to someone</u> ”
yik -us	“to give [something] <u>to someone</u> ”

Notice how **-us** can trigger sibilant harmony — including that it keeps **s** from becoming **š** in front of **t**, **n** or **l** as **s** usually does.

k-ašyan-us	> kasyanus	“I buy [something] for him/her”
ka s-č^ho-us	> ka sc^holus	“it goes well for him/her”
s-tiyep-us		“he/she tells him/her” — NOT *š ^t iyepus
s-nu'na-us	> snu'nalus	“he/she brings to him/her” — NOT *š ⁿ u'nalus

8.2.9 Idiomatic -us verbs

Some verbs require what might be called an “idiomatic” use of **-us** as a marked third-person singular object. This is idiomatic only from the point of view of English, but the term helps as a reminder. For example, **'oyon** “to help someone,” requires **-us**, even though to an English ear “help” takes a direct object rather than indirect.

k-'oyon-us	“I help him/her”
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Other examples of idiomatic **-us** verbs include

esqen -us	“to ask someone”
qon -us	“to laugh at someone”
qantun -us	“to obey someone”
ni'wi'len -us	“to force someone (to do something)”

In a few cases, using **-us** with a third-person object gives a verb a different meaning than the plain verb of the verb.

itaq	“to hear”
	pitaq hi l-'eneq “you hear the woman”
itaq -us	“to listen to someone”
	pitaqus hi l-'eneq “you listen to the woman”
tap	“to enter”
	k-iy-tap hi l-'ap “we enter the house”
tap -us	“to visit someone” — literally “to come in on one”
	k-iy-tap-us hi l-pakuwaš “we visit the old man”

With first- and second-person objects, you have to rely on context.

s-e-itaq-in	“he/she doesn't hear you” <u>or</u> “he/she isn't listening to you”
p-iy-tap-iyuw	“you visit us” <u>or</u> “you enter us” — the second much less likely

Watch out for entries in the Whistler dictionary where verbs are listed with **-us** like it's part of the word. Except for the combination **-us-wun**, you would never have **-us** plus another object marker.

8.2.10 Impersonal verbs

IMPERSONAL VERB — Defined

An “impersonal verb” describes an event in an indirect way. The person or being that experiences the action of the verb is expressed as the indirect object of the verb, while the subject is impersonal *s-* “it.”

One of the best examples — and one of the most common — is the verb **kum ~ kumi** “to arrive, to come to, to go to; to be approaching.” This can be a regular verb.

s-kumi hi 'it'i l-'ap^ha'niš “he comes to town here, come to this town”

s-ali-kum-us hi l-'ihⁱ'y “she is near the man”

When **kum** is an impersonal verb, the person-number marker is always plain *s-* and the object marker with the shorter form **kum** indicates who or what the action applies to.

s-kum-us “he/she gets/receives it” — “it comes to him/her”

s-kum-us hi Lisa hi š-ikšaš “Lisa gets a gift” — “a gift comes to Lisa”

s-e-kum-us hi l-kik'i “he/she doesn't get anything”
— literally “something does not come to him/her”

Here are examples of impersonal **kum** with the other object markers.

s-kum-it hi l-'ikšaš “I receive a gift” — literally “a gift comes to me”

kik'i kê s-kum-in? “what did you get?” — literally “what comes to you?”

Here is a listing of known impersonal verbs in Shmuwich. Samala has a couple of dozen of these, so there are probably additional impersonal verbs which have yet to be found.

- **hik (-us)** “to happen to one, to be affected by”
kik'i kê s-hik-in? “what happened to you?”
s-e-hik-it hi l-yasis “poison oak doesn't affect me”
s^hik-us hi l-'ihⁱ'y “it affects the man”
- **itoxkolon (-us)** “one's heart to jump, give a thump” — the person whose heart thumps is expressed with an indirect object marker
s-itoxkolon-it “my heart suddenly gives a thump”
s-itoxkolon-us hi l-'eneq “the woman's heart suddenly gives a thump”
- **kum (-us)** “to get, receive” — literally “something comes to one”
s-e-kum-us hi l-kik'i “he doesn't get anything” — “nothing comes to him”
s-kum-it hi k-ikšaš “I get a gift/present” — “my present comes to me”
- **na'n (-us)** “to matter to one, to care about” — literally “to go to one.”

The person to whom something matters is expressed with an indirect object marker.

The only attested example — the last example sentence below — also uses **'al-wil** “it is something [that] is,” but I have added a couple of simpler examples.

'al-wil hi š-na'n-it hi 'a'yi hi s-kuti “I care who sees it” — literally “it is something that goes to me, who sees [it]”

'al-e-wil hi s-na'n-it hi hak'u s-iy-lek'en "I don't care if they stay" — literally "it's not something that goes to me if they stay"

'al-e-wil-waš hi s-na'n-us-wun hi hak'u s-iksepšun-waš "they didn't care if it was frosty" — literally "it wasn't something that went to them if it was frosty"

- oq'yo'yon (-us) "to have birth pains, labor pains"
s-qo'yo'yonus hi l-'eneq "the woman is having labor pains"
- qilalyik (-us) "to be an omen to someone"
s-qilalyik-us hi s-itaq hi s-am-sitil hi he' s-ti
"it's an omen to him that he heard his name mentioned"
- utikuy (-us) "to come to one, fall to one (as one's lot/share)" — from uti- "starting out" + kuy "to hold, grasp"
he' ka l-'utikuy-in "this is what you get" — literally "this is what falls to you"
s-'ikó' k'e s-kiw ka l-'utikuy-us-wun "the thighs and breast [of the chicken] is what comes to them" — i.e. "is what they get"
- utikuyupi "to get to be one's turn, the turn passes to one" — from uti- "starting out" + a bound root =kuyupi

Most impersonal verbs take the indirect object marker **-us** for third-person singular objects, but this verb shows up without **-us** when the object is "him," "her" or "it." So **utikuyupi** is an impersonal verb that takes the set of direct object markers.

s-utikuyupi-y-it hi no' "it's MY turn" — literally "the turn comes to me"

s-utikuyupi hi Lisa "it's Lisa's turn" — literally "the turn comes to Lisa"
— NOT *sutikuyupiyus

s-utikuyupi-wun "it's their turn" — literally "the turn comes to them"

8.3 Reflexive and reciprocal — “oneself” ~ “each other”

Three minor verb suffixes also show up in the object marker slot, expressing the concepts of

- “oneself” or “reflexive” — literally “bending back” on oneself
- “each other” or “reciprocal” — back and forth between the participants in the action

These suffixes show “reverse vowel harmony,” a process which is easier to explain after the presentation of the first suffix **-šaš** ~ **-šiš** “oneself” ~ “each other.”

8.3.1 **-šaš** ~ **-šiš** “oneself” ~ “each other”

This suffix shows up in the object marker slot. The translation varies between reflexive “oneself” and reciprocal “each other.” “Oneself” here means “acting on oneself, with oneself as object” here; for the meaning of “by oneself” see the discussion below.

- š-qilik-šaš** “he takes care of himself, she takes care of herself” — acting on oneself
s-qilik hi kikš “he takes care of it himself, she takes care of it myself”
 — acting by oneself

This suffix shows “reverse vowel harmony.”

REVERSE VOWEL HARMONY — Defined

“Reverse vowel harmony” is a form of vowel harmony. Section 1.2.2 discusses low vowel harmony, a process by which low vowels **a**, **e** and **o** become more like each other. With reverse vowel harmony, vowels become less like each other.

- If the last vowel of the verb is a high vowel **i**, **ɨ** or **u**, the suffix shows up with a low vowel as **-šaš**.

- k-kuti-šaš** > **k^hutišaš** “I see myself (in the mirror)” — after high **i**
'iy-qilik-šaš “take care of yourselves!” — after high **i**
š-iy-šu-šonowon-pi-šaš hi l-'o' “they splash water on each other” — after high **i**
s-iy-aqsisin-šaš hi ho' l-sul-sululalu' “the soldiers insult each other” — after high **i**
k-iš-tipatun-šaš “the two of us interrupt each other” — after high **u**

- If the last vowel of the verb is a low vowel **a**, **e** or **o**, the suffix shows up with a high vowel as **-šiš**.

- š-xalam-šiš** “he wraps himself up, she wraps herself up” — after low **a**
š-iy-išmax-šiš hi l-xip-xip' “they throw rocks at each other” — after low **a**
š-eqwel-šiš hi l-xip “it turns into stone” — literally “makes itself stone” — after low **e**
š-iy-xonon-šiš “they steal from each other” — after low **o**

The Samala equivalent **-šaši** / **-šiši** means only “oneself.” It shows reverse vowel harmony along exactly the same lines.

Wash’s manuscript includes the entry

- š-iy-išmax-štiš** “they throw [stones] at each other”

Wash cites a note by Harrington “on rehearing she prefers –šiš” — “she” meaning Mary Yee. It looks as if Harrington may have recorded Yee saying š-iy-išmax-štiš but when he read it back to her she expressed a preference for š-iy-išmax-šiš.

–šaš ~ –šiš as a noun marker

This same suffix also shows up as a noun marker, turning verbs into noun that are often abstract — see section 12.1.10. It shows the same pattern of reverse vowel harmony as a noun marker.

'atišwič ^h iš	“poison (noun)” — from 'atišwin “talismán, spirit helper, spirit power”
'ičkuč ^h áš	“defense” — from 'ičkuč “to defend”
monuš ^h aš	“painting, image” — from monus “to paint”
yuxpač ^h iš	“disease, sickness; affliction” — from yuxpan “to be sick”

Reflexive versus “by oneself”

In English, reflexives are also used in the sense of “by oneself,” as in “never mind, I’ll do it myself.” Shmuwich reflexives only refer to acting on oneself. The Shmuwich equivalent of “by oneself” uses the emphatic pronouns nokš “I myself,” pikš “you yourself” and kikš “oneself,” etc., as discussed in section 5.2.

k-witwit-šaš	“I fan myself”
k-witwit hi nokš	“I fan [it] myself”
kuti-šaš	“look at yourself!” — in the mirror
kuti hi pikš	“look at [it] yourself”
š-qilik-šaš	“he takes care of himself, she takes care of herself” — acting <u>on</u> self
s-qilik hi kikš	“he takes care of it himself, she takes care of it my herself” — acting <u>by</u> self

8.3.2 –naš ~ –niš “each other”

This suffix is considerably less common than –šaš ~ –šiš. Only three clear examples have turned up. They are all reciprocal “each other.” This suffix shows reverse vowel harmony too. The form –naš with a low vowel a shows up after a high vowel, i in this case.

š-iš-apu’liš-naš	“the two of them quickly grab each other”
š-iš-u’liš-naš hi ho’ š-iš-wač-wač’a’x	“the two of them grasp each other’s arms”

The form –niš with a high vowel † shows up after a low vowel, a in this case.

š-iš-išmax-niš hi l-x†p	“they two are throwing rocks at each other”
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The Samala equivalent –naš / –niš means only “each other.” It shows reverse vowel harmony along exactly the same lines.

8.3.3 –štaš ~ –štiš “each other”

This suffix is considerably less common than –šaš ~ –šiš. Only two clear examples have turned up. They are both reciprocal “each other.” This suffix sometimes shows a form of reverse vowel harmony, but with too few examples to determine the pattern definitely.

- s-iy-tiyep-štaš hi... “they tell each other that...”
 li’ya s-iy-eqpey-šteš “they all look alike” — literally “they all resemble each other”

There are two other examples of this suffix and both of them indicate that –šaš ~ –šiš is either an alternative or the preferred alternative.

- s-iy-aqsisin-štaš “they insult each other”
 s-iy-aqsisin-šaš hi ho’ l-sul-sululalu’ “the soldiers insult each other”

As noted above in the discussion of –šaš ~ –šiš, Wash’s manuscript includes the entry

- š-iy-išmax-štiš “they throw [stones] at each other”

Harrington wrote “on rehearing she prefers –šiš,” meaning Mary Yee. Perhaps Harrington recorded Yee saying š-iy-išmax-štiš but when he read it back to her she expressed a preference for š-iy-išmax-šiš.

–štaš ~ –štiš as a noun marker

Like –šaš ~ –šiš, this suffix also shows up as a noun marker, turning verbs into noun that are often abstract. It shows the same pattern of reverse vowel harmony as a noun marker.

- kumelštaš “separation, distance apart” — from kumel(pi) “to be separate”
 siyinc’ištaš “heat” — from siyinc’i “to heat” — also siyinc’išaš “heat”
 towičtaš “speed” — from towič “to be fast”

8.3.4 A Recommendation

Since Mary Yee expressed a preference for –šaš ~ –šiš over –štaš ~ –štiš at least in the sense of “each other,” I would recommend using –šaš ~ –šiš here.

There are two similar suffixes –šaš ~ –šiš “oneself/each other” and –naš ~ –niš “each other.” The more common –šaš ~ –šiš can mean both “oneself” and “each other.” Most of the time there’s probably not much chance of confusing these two meanings.

- qilik-šaš “take care of yourself”
 — can’t be “each other” because the subject is singular
 š-eqwel-šiš hi l-xip “it turns into stone” — literally “makes itself stone”
 — can’t be “each other” because the subject is singular
 š-iy-išmax-štiš “they throw [stones] at each other”
 — unlikely to mean “throw at themselves”

In case the semantics of a sentence are such that it's ambiguous whether **-šaš ~ -šiš** is “oneself” or “each other” and it makes a real difference, I suggest using **-šaš ~ -šiš** for “oneself” and **-naš ~ -niš** for “each other.”

š-iš-'oyon-šiš		“the two of them help themselves”
š-iš-'oyon-niš		“the two of them help each other”
š-iš-sini'we-šiš	> šiš^hini'wešiš	“the two of them kill themselves”
š-iš-sini'we-niš	> šiš^hini'weniš	“the two of them kill each other”

8.4 –š in the object suffix slot — multiple meanings

In Samala the suffix –š has three meanings, and this may be true in Shmuwich too although there are fewer clear examples. Possible meanings include

- no object specified, action directed to no one in particular
- passive voice, with focus on the state of an object after the action is performed
- multiple objects

In both Shmuwich and Samala, the examples overlap, so that it's sometimes hard to tell which meaning of –š is intended. For example, the verb **seqen** “to remove, take away from” has the form **šeqeč** when you add –š, with two different meanings.

- **seqen–š** > **šeqeč** “to get undressed” is –š “no object specified”
- **seqen–š** > **šeqeč** “to be stripped, bereft” is –š “passive”

No matter what –š means when you add it to a particular verb, it always goes in the same place and follows the same sound rules.

8.4.1 Sound rule with n and n + –š > č — –n/–č verbs

A common sound rule makes a change to verbs that end in –n when you add –š. The sequence of –n plus –š becomes č. This sound rule operates no matter what sense of –š is intended. It can have the effect of making related verbs look quite different, especially after sibilant harmony operates (see section 1.6.4), so that you see some dramatic alternations.

k–expen–us		“I sing to him/her, for him/her”
k–expen–š	> kexpeč	“I sing” — just the activity, to no one in particular
k–as ^h unan–us		“I order/command him”
k–as ^h unan–š	> kaš ^h unač	“I’m in command” < “I order + no object specified”
s–seqen–us	> s ^h eqenus	“someone takes [something] away from him/her/it”
s–seqen–š	> š ^h eqeč	“he/she/it is stripped, he/she gets undressed”
s–qantun–us		“someone heeds/obeys him/her”
s–qantun–š	> šqantuč	“he/she believes”

8.4.2 –š “no object specified”

Many verbs — especially verbs of communication and interaction — require some object marker suffix that indicates who the action is directed to. This suffix shifts the focus to just the action and rather than who it might be directed toward.

Some verbs that routinely show up either with an object marker or with –š in this sense. The form with –š sometimes seems to refer to action performed on oneself.

tiyep–it	“to tell, show, advise me”
tiyep–š	“to tell, show, advise no one in particular” — no object specified
qunumak–us	“to hide from someone”
qunumak–š	“to hide, get into hiding” — to hide oneself

qilalyik-us	“to be an omen to someone”
qilalyik-š	“to be an omen” — no object specified
tikik-in	“to comb you, comb your hair”
tikik-š	“to comb, be combing one’s own hair” — to comb oneself

The sound rule discussed above — changing **-n + -š** to **-č** applies to many verbs in the sense of “no object specified.” This can create dramatic alterations in the form of the verb.

s-esqen-it		“he/she asks me”
s-esqen-š	> šešqeč	“he/she asks a question” — just the activity
k-expen-us		“I sing to him/her, for him/her”
k-expen-š	> kexpeč	“I sing” — just the activity, to no one in particular
k-as^hunan-us		“I order/command him”
k-as^hunan-š	> kaš^hunač	“I’m in command” < “I order + no object specified”
k-’oyon-us		“I help him/her”
s-’oyon-š	> š’oyoč	“he/she helps out” — <u>without saying who is helped</u>
s-seqen-us	> s^heqenus	“someone takes [something] away from him/her/it”
s-seqen-š	> š^heqeč	“he/she gets undressed” — no object specified

The borrowed verb **talawaxač/talawaxan** “to work” — from Spanish *trabajar* — has been reorganized to follow the **-n/-č** pattern.

k-talawaxan-us-wun	“I work for them”
k-talawaxan-š	> ktalawaxač “I work, I’m at work” — <u>without saying who for</u>

Possible examples of **-š** “no object specified”

Some verbs look as if they might be reflecting the **-n/-č** alternation or just plain **-š**, but without evidence this is just conjecture. Here are some possible examples.

- The verb **ti’walaqšmulš** “to cover oneself completely” could be the **-š** form of **ti’walaqšmul** “to cover something completely,” since the root here is **aqšmul**.

p-to’on-pi k’e p-ti’walaqšmul-š	“you lie down right away and you cover up (blanket to beneath nose)”
p-ti’walaqšmul-us-wun	“you cover them completely up” — conjectural

8.4.3 –š “passive”

“Passive” focuses on the state of an object after the action is performed, without necessarily saying who or what did it. Here are a few English examples.

basic / active with object	passive form
“the men made <u>a canoe</u> ”	“ <u>a canoe</u> was made”
“we open <u>it</u> ”	“ <u>it</u> is opened” or just “it is open”
“she wrote <u>a message</u> ”	“ <u>a message</u> was written”
“they will take measures”	“measures will be taken”

Don’t equate “passive” with “past tense.” In English the passive sounds a lot like the past tense, since with most English verbs you add “-ed” to form both. The last example above clearly shows a passive in the future tense. In Smuwich passive is –š and the past tense is –waš and they are quite distinct.

You can also use s–am “they indefinite” as an equivalent to the passive. See section 7.2.5 for more details on this topic.

s–am–aqsik	hi l–tomol	“they tie the boat” <u>or</u> “the boat is tied”
š–aqsik–š	hi l–tomol	“the boat is tied”

Here are clear examples of passive –š in Shmuwich. A few verbs show some shift of meaning between the plain form and the form with –š.

mon	“to mark or paint <u>something</u> ” — see monušmu’ “paint, medicine”
	smonus “he/she paints, spreads something on it, writes on it”
mon–š > moč	“to be colored” — having been painted
	šmoč “it is colored” <u>or</u> “its color”
aq’uw	“to bite <u>something</u> ”
aq’uw–š	“to itch” — having been bitten”
iliyam	“to fill <u>something</u> ”
iliyam–š	“to be full” — having been filled”
iqip	“to close <u>something</u> ”
iqip–š	“to be closed” — having been closed”
seqen	“to remove, take away”
seqen–š > šeqeč	“to be stripped, naked, bereft” — having been taken away [from]”
ušqal	“to open something”
ušqal–š	“to be open” — having been opened”
ušuyep	“to be strange, different; to change (on its own)”
ušuyep–š	“to be different — having been changed”
us’ismon	“to gather something”
us’ismon–š > uš’išmoč	“to be gathered” — maybe also “gather a lot,” see below for the sense of –š as “multiple objects”

Possible –š passives

Some verbs look as if they might be reflecting the –n/–č alternation or just plain –š, but without evidence this is just conjecture.

- **qitiwič** “to be amused, entertained” could be the –č form of a verb **qitiwin** “to amuse, entertain” in a sentence such as
 s-qitiwin-us-wun “he/she amuses/entertains them”
- **saxmak–š** “to be pregnant” could be the passive –š form of a verb which also includes
 saxmak-us “to impregnate, get someone pregnant”

8.4.4 –š “multiple objects”

According to Beeler, –š sometimes means “with multiple objects.”

k-’al-suk-sukek-š “I’m planting [multiple plants]”

hi ka š-uxš’ex-š hi li’ya hi ’alapay hi xa’x hi l-xip

“and he pours [something] in quantity all on top of a big rock”

This use of the suffix can show up with an object noun following. The object noun is grammatically singular in these examples, although the plural is clearly intended.

k-’al-soxyop-š he’ l-kamisa “I’m washing the shirts”

k-iy-way-wayi-qulumow-š hi l-piliholi “we carefully/slowly clean the beans”

The object noun is marked as plural with reduplication in this example.

š-iš-kla’-š hi l-xip-xip’ “the two of them were breaking the rocks”

8.4.5 Idiomatic shifts with –š

Occasionally there is an idiomatic shift of meaning between the basic form of a verb and the form with –š. In other words, there is a bigger difference in meaning between the two forms than simply a passive or a “no-object-specified” form.

aq’uw “to bite”

aq’uwš “to itch”

mon “to mark, paint”

moč “to be colored, painted”

qantun “to heed, obey”

qantuč “to believe”

seqen “to remove”

šeqeč “to be stripped, undressed, bereft of”

susitaxmay — not attested, but it would mean “to amaze”

šušitaxmayš “to boast, brag; to show off” — from **sus-** “causing” + **itaxmay** “to be amazed”

woyon “to braid” and “to twist”

woyoč “to be crooked, twisted”

8.5 -n/-č Verbs

It's very common to see verbs with two different forms. One form ends with **-n** and always shows up with some object marker like **-it** "me" or **-us** "to/for him/her."

The other form ends with **-č** and never shows up with an object marker. In fact, the **-č** at the end of the verb comes from the **-n** at the end of the verb plus the suffix **-š** that sometimes means "no object specified."

The sections above present multiple examples of such verbs and discussed them. A few of them are listed here by way of review.

k-expen-us		"I sing to him/her, for him/her"
k-expen-š	> kexpeč	"I sing" — just the activity, to no one in particular
k-'oyon-us		"I help him/her"
s-'oyon-š	> š'oyoč	"he/she helps out" — <u>without saying who is helped</u>
s-seqen-us	> s^heqenus	"someone takes [something] away from him/her/it"
s-seqen-š	> š^heqeč	"he/she is naked, gets undressed" — no object specified
k-talawaxan-us-wun		"I work for them"
k-talawaxan-š	> ktalawaxač	"I work, I'm at work" — <u>without saying who for</u>

More examples of this pattern

saxanp'in	"to catch fish" — including say what kind or how many
saxanpič	"to fish, go fishing" — no object specified

8.5.1 Agent with -š

Adding the agent prefix **'a'lal-** "one who does the action," you often use the form of the verb that ends in **-š**. With **-n/-č** verbs this means the **-č** form.

'a'lal-expen-š	> 'a'lalexpeč	"singer"
'a'lal-esqen-š	> 'a'lalešqeč	"questioner, who asks [many] questions"
'a'lal-axipen-š	> 'a'lalaxipeč	"carpenter, woodworker"
'a'lal-sax'anpin-š	> 'a'lalsax'anpič	"fisherman"
'a'lal-'oyon-š	> 'a'la'oyoč	"helper"

Other verbs show up with **-š** for the **'a'lal-** form. It's the suffix **-š** that either means "no object specified" or perhaps "much, a lot" here.

'a'lal-axiyep-š	"healer, doctor" < axiyep "to cure"
'a'lal-sitaqnip-š	"interpeter" < sitaqnip "to interpret"
'a'lal-uš'e-š	"badger" < uš'e "to dig" — "the one that digs, digs a lot"
'a'lantipawilš	"gossiper, big talker" < tipawil "to talk"
'a'lal-wayap-š	"trader" < wayap "to trade"

Here is an example where the unreduplicated form **'al-** shows up, also with **-š**.

'al-suku-š	"a polite person" < suku "to respect" — just 'al rather than 'a'lal- here
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However, there are multiple examples of agents with **'al-** and **'a'lal-** that do not include **-š**.

'a'la'les	weaver; from 'a'lal- “agent” + 'es “to weave”
'a'lal-eqwel	“maker of ...”
'a'lal-niw	“dancer”
'a'lal-uštap	“paddler, rower”
'al-suku-š	“a polite person” < suku “to respect” — just 'al rather than 'a'lal- here
'a'lal-xo	“thief” < a shortened form of xonon “to steal”

8.6 Other minor verb suffixes

There are a few additional minor verb suffixes.

8.6.1 –la “go and do (something)”

This suffix only seems to show up with command forms.

'ap'iš-la	“go gather firewood”
'aqtip-la	“go and make a fire!”
'i'lok'in-la l-po'n	“go chop the wood!”
kam nowon-la	“go and stand over there”
sax'anpič-la	“go fish!”

8.6.2 –li ~ –li'l directed action, “to that place”

This suffix may be the form of –la “go and do X” that shows up with forms of the verb that are not commands. It is not nearly as common as you might expect. It often shows up with **tap** “to enter,” but **tap** frequently shows up without –li'l too.

s-iy-tap-li'l	“they go in there”
hi ka ho s-'ap š-nukum-li	“and so he took it there to his house”
s-tap-li'l hi ma'm hi l-tiyenta	“he/she goes into a store”

Here are examples of **tap** or some compound of **tap** without –li'l when an object noun is stated or implied.

s-uš'itap hi s-xil k'e l-'i'lil	“he mixes grease and red ochre”
ka s-pintap hi l-'axt'atax hi l-'o'	“he jumps into cold water”

Here are other verbs with –li'l.

axkuyli	“to head for, depart for” — from aq-/ax- + kuy “to hold, take”
kep-li'l	“to go bathe” — from kep' “to bathe”
kumu'li	“to reach, arrive; to be timely, in season” — from kum “to arrive”
tap-li'l	“to go into” — from tap “to enter”
nutap-li'l	“to take in, to go into with” — from nu- “along with” + tap “enter”
s-qili-nutap-li'l hi s-xoy hi ma'm ho' sxa'min	“he used to take his circular fishnet [with him] into the ocean”

8.6.3 –iy “again, another time, more, some more”

This suffix sometimes shows up as –i rather than –iy, and sometimes it has an initial glottal stop. There is no apparent pattern to this alternation.

ka s–eqwel–iy “he/she makes [it] again”
s^hi’nay–iy hi l–c’oyni “he places yet another one” — from **s–si’nay** “puts, places”
hi m’e ka s–tap–li’l–iy hi ma’m “he would come in inside again”

There is an idiomatic verb with –iy.

antiki “to recover, to get well” — from **antik** “life, spirit”
’uqme ka s–an–’antik–i “and at last he started to get well [again]”

This suffix also combines with a few expressions of time to mean “the one after next.”

wa s–akti–naxyit–’iy “day after tomorrow”
 — literally “when it comes to be morning again”
wa s–akti–šup–’iy “year after next” — literally “when it comes to be a year again”

8.6.4 –as “repetitive action, over and over”

This suffix is sometimes translated as “over and over again,” but in some of the examples it just seems to be an alternative for of –iy “again.”

p^hlōlentinu ’i meči s–qili–’ip–as “Florentino always said again and again”
hi ka s–uš^howun–as “and he leaves them behind over and over”

When the verb ends in a vowel, stuck-in –h– shows up before –as.

s–xiwi–has “he tells lies again and again, lies repeatedly”

Here is an example where –as just seems to mean plain “again,” unless this sentence refers to repeated stopping and starting.

hi ka s–iwa–nowon–as “and then it would stop again”

This suffix also shows up with the relational noun **c’oyni** “another” as **c’oyni–has** “yet another.”

hi ka k’il ho’ ’a s^hin–si’nay–as hi l–c’oyni–has
 “then a little further on he puts yet others”

8.6.5 -pi “right away”

This suffix **-pi** is distinctly different from the **-pi** “on, at” which was discussed in an earlier section — **8.1**. This use of **-pi** shows up as the last element in the string of verb suffixes, including any object markers (see sections **7.8** and **8.2**).

psupintap^hi hi l-’o’ “you throw it in the water right away” — from **su-pil-tap-pi**
hi ’me ka s-aktina-pi ho’ l-pali hi ’akim “and right away the padre came over there”
hi ’me ka s-’uw-pi hi l-welus hi s-ax-tap “and right away he ate some watercress raw
hi ’me ka s-eq-’eqmelew-pi hi li’ya hi ho’ l-šipitiš hi kniy
 “and right away Fox licks up all the mush”

Here are examples where this use of **-pi** follows an object marker.

s-esqen-it-pi “he/she asks me right away”
s-’ip-us-pi hi ’ašk’á’... “he immediately says to Coyote...”
s-ic^haqya’nin-us-pi “he falls in love with her right away”

This is the exact opposite of how object markers behave with **-pi** “on, at” — they follow **-pi** in the sense of “on, at.”

p-šu-šonowon-pi-y-it hi l-’o’ “you are spashing water on me”

8.6.6 –in “instrumental”

INSTRUMENTAL — Defined

The term “instrumental” refers to the instrument or means by which the action of the verb is accomplished. English translations of instrumental usages include “with,” “by,” “by means of” and “using.”

The instrumental suffix –in is added at the end of the verb to indicate that the following noun or noun phrase is the instrument or source material by which the action of the verb is accomplished.

Here are examples where –in refers to the instrument; the English translation is generally “with” or perhaps “by means of.”

s-iy-salaqwa’y-in hi ski’nit “they fasten [it] with a cord”
s-iy-niloq-in hi he’ l-’awuxa “they pierce [it] with a needle”

Here are examples where –in refers to the source material; the English translation is generally “from” or “out of.”

s-am-’es-in hi stapan “they weave it out of tule”
s-eqwe’l-in hi l-xšo’ hi l-stuk “he makes a bowl out of sycamore (wood)”
 — literally “he makes from sycamore a bowl”

When there is more than one noun after the verb, the noun that –in governs comes directly after the verb and the other noun follows.

s-am-su-lo’m-in hi l-kal hi l-mays “they soften corn with lime”
 — literally “they make soft with lime the corn”
s-am-eqwel-wun-in hi l-q’o’y hi l-’iško’m hi š-nana’mu hi l-’anč^hum
 “they make from olivella two kinds of bead money”
s-iy-su-tip-in hi ho’ l-’alušpawat hi ho’ s-iy-’uwu’mu
 “they salt their food with those ashes” — literally “salt with the ashes their food”

9 — Advanced Topics with Verbs — Roots and Prefixes

This chapter is still in a somewhat rough form. Some of the lists of prefixes are just copied in from Lexique Pro and still need examples of tyo compounds. FIXX

Topics covered include

- roots and “bound” roots — see 9.1
- the verb prefix system — see 9.2
- prefix position classes — see 9.3
- outer prefixes — see 9.3.1
- middle prefixes — see 9.3.2
- inner prefixes — see 9.3.3
- multiple prefixes — see 9.3.4
- types of verb prefixes — see 9.4

COMPOUND — Defined

In the context verb roots and verb prefixes, a “compound” is a sequence of a prefix and a root which creates a new “word” combining the meanings of the individual parts. Some compounds take on a distinct meaning of their own.

A more precise definition spells out that a verb root plus a prefix such as person–number markers or the negative or future don’t count as a compound. These prefixes just add grammatical information.

š–tap	“he/she/it enters, comes in”
s–e–tap	“he/she/it does not enter, does not come in”

The prefix in a compound adds semantic information and shifts the meaning the root. So the prefixes below form true compounds with the verb root, in this case **tap** “to enter.”

aqtipa–tap	“breeze to blow into” — with aqtipa– “of air, wind”
ax–tap	“to put in the mouth; to eat raw” — with ax– “with the mouth”
k’ili–tap	“to enter rapidly, rush in” — with k’ili– “quickly”
pin–tap	“to jump in” — with pil– “through the air”
su–tap	“to put into” — with su– “causing”
uš’i–tap	“to mix in, mix with” — with uš’i– “of joining, being together”

9.1 Roots and “bound roots”

Most verb roots can stand by themselves — or at least by themselves with a person-number marker. But there are some very common verb roots that never show up except in some compound with a verb prefix.

These are written with an equal sign here and in the dictionary to indicate that they don’t stand by themselves. But they are not suffixes, which is why they’re not written with a plain hyphen in front of them.

Notice that bound verb roots follow exactly the same syllabic patterns as the regular verb roots that show up freely by themselves with just a person-number marker.

9.1.1 Some common bound roots

For many bound roots, the common core of meaning can be a bit vague. Some common bound roots — meaning they occur with at least a few prefixes — include the following.

=k ^h it	“of coming near or bringing near”
=lok’in	“of cutting”
=pen	“of stripping off, being bare or stripped”
=qen	“of using up or running out of something”
=smon	“of gathering, joining”
=six	“of being tight, doing firmly”
=suy	“of pouring, sprinkling”
=tun	“of being two, two acting together”
=waq	“of bursting”

[FIXX](#) — Pending completion of this volume, see the “Verb Classes” tab in [Lexique Pro](#) and look under “Bound verb roots.”

9.1.2 Rare bound roots

It’s quite common to come across verb compounds in which there is obviously a prefix plus some bound root that occurs in only two or two compounds, but the bound root shows some common core of meaning in these compounds.

=ku’mu	bound verb root re “re measuring, calculating”
nusutiku’mu	“to reckon, figure out, calculate” — from nu- “along with” + su- “causing” + uti- “starting out” + =ku’mu — idiomatic
saqku’mu	“to measure” — this word includes =ku’mu and a combination of prefixes, perhaps su- + aq-
=pox’in	bound root re “knocking, banging sound”
ipox’in	“to knock,” probably with emphasis on the sound rather than the blow; from i- “uncertain meaning” + =pox’in
ponopox’in	“bang, to make the sound of a gun going off” — from pana- “re loud sounds” + =pox’in

=wut	bound root re” dripping”
piliwut	(single drop) to drip; from pil- / pili- “through the air” + =wut
pilwututun	to drip (continuously); from pil- “through the air” + =wut + middle reduplication + -vn “verb marker”
waštiwututun	“to flow in droplets” — with wašti- “of flowing, pouring”

9.1.3 Unique bound roots with obvious prefixes

Quite often compounds show up in which the prefix has an obvious meaning and the remainder of the verb is what’s called a “unique bound root,” meaning that it occurs only once — at least in the body of Shmuwich materials that we’ve seen so far. At any point a new vocabulary item could show up that proves this bound root is not unique after all.

It’s easy to find examples of these with common transparent prefixes.

- With the prefix **qil-**/**qili-** “of vision”
 - =pištin** unique bound root
 - qilipištin** “to open the eyes” — with **qili-** + **=pištin**
- With the prefix **tal-** “with the hand”
 - =te’y** unique bound root
 - tente’y** “to touch (with the hand)” with **tal-** + **=te’y**
- With the prefix **uxma-** “of washing”
 - =la’yik** unique bound root
 - uxmala’yik** “to purge” — from **uxma-** + **=la’yik**
- With the prefix **aqni-/axni-** “of mental activity”
 - =k’ul** unique bound root
 - saqnikul-š** “to be sad,” with **aqni-** + **=k’ul-š**
- With the prefix **tipa-** “of intrusion”
 - =yoxon** unique bound root
 - tipoyoxon** “to spin, whirl” — with **tipa-** + **=yoxon** — this root shows up in several compounds in Samala
- With the prefix **yul-** “of fire or heat”
 - =mun** unique bound root
 - yulumun** “to be warm,” **yul-** + **=mun**
- With the prefix **aq’u-/ax’u-** “of meals and eating”
 - =t’a** unique bound root
 - aq’uta’** “to breakfast, eat breakfast,” with **aq’u** + **=ta’**
- With the prefix **xunti-** “of sewing”
 - =piš** unique bound root
 - xuntipiš** “to sew” — with **xunti-** + **=piš**

9.2 Introduction to the verb prefix system

Shmuwich has a very elaborate system of verb prefixes above and beyond the person–number markers and negative **e-** or future **sa'-** .

As noted above, the term “compound” describes a combination of some prefix plus a verb root, which could include items such as **su-tap** “to put in, cause to go in” or **xili-wayan** “to float” — literally “to hang in the water.”

Shmuwich has nearly a hundred different elements that function as prefixes to verbs. They range from very common prefixes with a clear and consistent meaning, such as **su-** “causative, causing,” to rare elements with no clear-cut meaning. Here are the topics covered in this section.

- “productive” versus “non-productive” prefixes, where productive prefixes are used freely with a wide range of verbs,
- “transparent” versus “opaque,” where transparent prefixes have clear and distinct meanings while opaque prefixes are harder to define,
- idiomatic fusion of a prefix and root into a unit that doesn’t equal the sum of its parts.

8.2.1 Issues of Transparent versus Opaque prefixes

TRANSPARENT versus OPAQUE — Defined

A prefix is “transparent” when it’s clear what the prefix means and it almost always means the same thing. Not all prefixes are transparent. This concept of transparency also applies to root and suffixes in Shmuwich.

Here are examples of transparent prefixes in English.

un-	undo, untie, unleash, unsettle, unfriendly, unlikely
mis-	misfire, misfit, misplace, misalign, mispronounce
re-	redo, retread, rewire, retake, remodel, recondition

When a new word enters the vocabulary — such as “to boot” a computer, why not add a transparent prefix to it?

“Try rebooting your computer to see if the problem goes away.”

The opposite of transparent is “opaque,” where the meaning of the prefix is not clear. English has a set of opaque prefixes in words borrowed from Latin, such as “per-,” which shows up in just a few set compounds.

per-	perceive, pertain, perplex, perform
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A native speaker of English can’t say what “per-” means in “perceive” or how “per” differs from “con-” in “conceive.” You might recognize these elements as prefixes, but the typical native speakers simply accepts “perceive” and “conceive” as words in their own right.

The situation is similar in Shmuwich, but much more complex and nuanced. The dictionary has many entries defined as “prefix of uncertain meaning.”

9.2.2 Issues of Productive versus non-productive prefixes

PRODUCTIVE — Defined

A prefix is “productive” if you can add it to a verb and be confident that a native speaker would recognize the combination.

As you can see from even the few English examples in the section above, transparent prefixes are likely to be productive and vice versa. Less transparent prefixes are often less productive; they don’t show up as often. The same is true in Shmuwich.

NON-PRODUCTIVE — Defined

A “non-productive” prefix may show up with just a few verb roots. For example, the prefix **c’i-** shows up in just two compounds so far, both with very common verb roots.

c’i-nowon “hill” — based on **nowon** “to stand,” but a noun instead of a verb
naq-c’i-wayan “to squat” — with **naq-** “uncertain meaning here” + **wayan** “to hang”

Another “non-productive” prefix is **ulu-**, which shows up in three compounds.

ul-eqpey “to follow, to be behind” — with **eqpey** “to stick to”
ul-iqip “to plug up, stop up” — with **iqip** “to close, shut”
ulu-peč “to chip flint, knap flint” — with **=pen** bound root “re stripping off, being bare or stripped”

9.2.3 Transparent versus idiomatic or lexicalized compounds

In theory a compound of prefix and verb root is equal to the sum of its parts. Often it’s immediately obvious what the compound means. Here are some transparent compounds, involving transparent prefixes, although not all of these prefixes are productive.

aqiwa-mišup “to swim down” — from **aqiwa-** “of swimming” + **mišup** “[to go] down”
k’ili-tap “to enter rapidly, rush in” — from **k’ili-** “quickly” + **tap** “to enter”
oxl-oq “to bite a hole into” — from **aq-/ax-** “with the mouth” + **loq** “to be perforated”
kina-nik’oy “to come back to life, to revive (on one’s own)” — from **kina-** “of dying” + **nik’oy** “to return”
yun-teqpey “to stick to by heat” — from **yul-** “of heat” + **teqpey** “to stick, be stuck”

LEXICALIZED COMPOUND — Defined

The technical term “lexicalize” is based on the concept of a “lexical item,” which is an item found in a lexicon or dictionary. To describe a compound as “lexicalized” is a fancy way of saying that it acts more like a single word than a sequence of elements with distinct meanings. This term looks daunting, but it’s a handy short-hand way to describe a compound that acts as a single “lexical item,” or unit of meaning.

The English compound “understand” is lexicalized in that its meaning is altogether different from the parts “under” and “stand.”

IDIOMATIC COMPOUNDS — Defined

A compound of prefix and verb root is considered “idiomatic” when it does not equal the sum of its parts. The English compound “understand” is idiomatic in that its meaning is altogether different from the parts “under” and “stand.”

The two terms “lexicalized compound” and “idiomatic compound” are not identical. They are two different ways to talk about what happens with a system as complex as that of the Shmuwich verb.

Compounds range between completely transparent to completely opaque and lexicalized/idiomatic, with a broad middle range. This section starts with a listing of some transparent compounds; below are some lexicalized or idiomatic compounds that don't equal the sum of their parts.

- api-nu'na** “to start from, to depart from” — from **api-** “quickly” + **nu'na** “to bring, take”
- ax-kʰit** “wind to blow” — from **aq-/ax-** “uncertain meaning here” + **=kʰit** “of approaching”
- naqti-kuy** “to move over” — from **naqti-** “uncertain meaning here” + **kuy** “to contain”
- pal-wayap-š** “to be crossed (like an X)” — from **pal-** “uncertain meaning here” + **wayap** “to trade, exchange” + **-š** “no object specified”
- saq-ku'mu** “to measure” — This word includes a bound root **=kumu** “re measuring, calculating” and a combination of prefixes, perhaps **su-** + **aq-**
- saquti-na'n** “to tell a story” — perhaps from **su-** “causing” + **aquti-** “uncertain meaning here” + **na'n** “to go”
- wati-wey** “to lose (a game/competition)” — from **wati-** “uncertain meaning here” + **wey** “to gap, be open”
- yin-c'i** “to be hot” — from **yul-** “of heat” with a vowel shift + **c'i** “to be sharp”

The Middle ground

A great many compounds fall into the middle ground between transparent and idiomatic. For example, **xili-wayan** “to float” is literally “to hang in the water.” As soon as you realize what the parts mean, you say “sure, that makes sense,” but it's probably not the first thing you would have thought of if someone asked you to come up with a word for “float.”

9.3 Prefix position classes with verbs

PREFIX POSITION CLASS — Defined

“Prefix position class” refers to the sequence that verb prefixes follow when you add them to a verb root. The prefixes discussed chapter 6 on basic topics with verbs always show up in a certain order, called “prefix position classes.” You can think of prefix position classes as like the menu of a Chinese restaurant where you choose one appetizer, one vegetable dish, noodles or rice (steamed or fried), one meat entrée (beef, pork or chicken), one dessert, etc. Just one item from each column, please.

In very general terms, when it comes to prefix position classes for verbs, the options are outer, middle and inner prefixes.

OUTER PREFIX — Defined

“Outer prefixes” show up furthest from the verb root. Their meanings are quite consistent and easy to identify. They are entirely grammatical.

MIDDLE PREFIX — Defined

“Middle prefixes” show up closer to the verb root. Their meanings are also consistent and easy to identify.

INNER PREFIX — Defined

Prefixes that show up closest to the verb root are called “inner prefixes.” Sometimes inner prefixes are so closely bound to the verb root that you may not realize for a while that they are prefixes — until you see other examples of them, such as the **tel-** of **tente’y** “to touch,” which turns out to mean “with the hand.” But **tel-/tal-** is not very productive; it shows up in eight compounds attested so far; there are a couple of dozen examples in Samala.

Layers of prefixes

It’s quite common to see verb compounds with multiple layers of prefixes: two or even three or more — not counting person-number markers, which are outer prefixes.

maxsukitwo’n “to pull a line out [of the water]”

maq-/max-	“of a line”
su-	“causing”
kitwo’n	“to come out”

maxsuleqpey “to trail a line behind one [on the water]”

maq-/max-	“of a line”
su-	“causing”
ulu-	“uncertain meaning here” — uleqpey “to follow”
aq-/ax-	“uncertain meaning here” — eqpey “re sticking”
=pey	bound root “re sticking to”

oxwotlk'oy “to whirl, revolve quickly”

aq-/ax-

“quickly”

wati-

“unknown meaning here”

al-

“unknown meaning here” — **olk'oy** “to go around”

=k'oy

bound root “re going around, returning”

suweletepet “to roll something”

su-

“causing”

wala-

“of a bulky object”

tepet

“to roll”

You don't just pile on verb prefixes willy-nilly; there's a definite order to how you assemble a verb with multiple prefixes. There are outer, middle and inner prefixes.

Terms like “inner” and “outer” prefixes can be misleading. Some of the most common prefixes — like person-number markers — are outer prefixes, but they still show up right in front of the verb root if there's no middle or inner prefix. It's possible to have a string of two or three inner prefixes in front of the verb root, but any outer prefix comes before them.

Outer prefixes have a definite grammatical meaning and they keep this meaning no matter what verb root they show up with. Inner prefixes are more tightly bound with the verb root, often to the point that native speakers began to consider the combination of prefix plus root as a single unit of meaning.

Here are a few English examples of prefix plus root that we tend to think of a single unit, even though we recognize the components.

understand — from under- + stand

mistake — from mis- + take

forgive — from for- + give

You might be tempted to say “hey, they just happen to resemble simpler words like ‘stand’ and ‘take.’” But remember, the roots of these English compounds follow exactly the same patterns with past tenses, so it's clear that they really are compounds.

stand ~ stood

understand ~ understood

take ~ took

mistake ~ mistook

give ~ gave

forgive ~ forgave

As a speaker of English, you can recognize the parts “under” and “stand,” but when you say “understand” it feels like a single unit in terms of the meaning. The situation was similar for speakers of Shmuwich.

9.3.1 Outer prefixes

Outer prefixes are furthest from the verb root. They include the person–number markers and a few prefixes which come immediately after them. They have clear and distinct grammatical meanings and a very precise order relative to one another.

person markers	k-	“I”
	p-	“you”
	s-	“he/she/it”
number markers	iš-	“dual”
	iy-	“plural”
	am-	“indef”
relative/nominal	l-	“the one that...”
negation	e-	“not”
tense	sa’-	“future”

Outer prefixes do not show low–vowel harmony with the following verb root or prefix, as discussed in detail in [9.3.3](#).

The Order of outer prefixes

With regular person–number markers and first– and second–person relatives, the sequence of prefixes is

person	number			
k- “first person”	iš- “dual”	al- “relative”	e- “negative”	sa’- “future”
p- “second person”	iy- “plural”			
s- “third person”	am- “indefinite”			

With the relative marker **l-**, the sequence of prefixes is

relative	number		
l-	iš- “dual”	e- “negative”	sa’- “future”
	iy- “plural”		
	am- “indefinite”		

9.3.2 Middle prefixes

Middle prefixes include the items which come immediately after person–number markers. They are transparent and have the same meaning with just about any verb, usually some grammatical function. Middle prefixes do not show low–vowel harmony with the following verb root or prefix, as discussed in detail in 9.3.3.

Here are the more common middle prefixes.

- akti-** “coming, coming to do”
akti-’na “to come” — from **na’n** “to go”
ka s-akti-’anšin hi kniy hi ho’ s’ap hi x’ox
 “Fox comes to eat at Heron’s house”
- ali-** “ongoing action”
aliyutoxkón “to be kneeling” — from **yutoxkón** “to kneel”
alixiliwon “to be crouching, to be crouched” — from **xiliwon** “to crouch”
- iša-** “semi, kind of, partway, somewhat, almost”
k-’al-iša-wulaču “I’m a little drunk, somewhat drunk”
pak’a ’i š-iša-toqošloq’ “one is kind of round, roundish”
- iwa-** “for a little while, momentarily”
k-iwa-’nan “I’m going for a while” — a leave-taking formula
hi ka ’akim s-iwa-lek’en “and he stays there a while”
- k’il/k’ili-** “a little bit, partially”
mok’e s-k’il-k’il-pakuwaš “he’s already getting a little old”
s-am-k’il-su-wotolk’oy “they turn [it] around a little”
- k’ili-** “rapidly, quickly”
k’ili-tap “to rush in” — from **tap** “to enter”
k’ili-xal-pi “to attack” — from **xal** “re assaulting” + **-pi** “on, at”
- ni-** “transitive” — marking a verb as taking an object
ni-k’ot “to break something” — from **k’ot** “to break on its own”
napay “to go up, ascend something” — from **=apay** “re going up”
naqšán “to be sick from something” — from **aqšan** “to die, be dead”
- nu-** “along with” — “concomitative” in technical terms — and “as a result of”
nu-kitwón “to bring/take something out” — from **kitwón** “to go out”
nu-’akti’na “to bring” — from **akti-na’n** “to come”
nu-’ušk’al “to nourish, be nourishing” — from **ušk’al** “to be strong”
nu-yuxpan “to be sick from” — from **yuxpan** “to be sick”
- qili-** “habitually, ever, at any time”
s-qili-’aqspa-waš “he used to smoke”
k-e-qili-kuti ho’ “I’ve never seen that”
s-qili-su-wele-tepet-wun “she used to roll them”

sili-	“wanting to” — “desiderative” in technical terms
	k-e-sili-'uw he' “I don't want to eat this”
	kê p-sili-tiyep-us? “what do you want to tell/show him/her?”
	sili-kuy-ič “to be materialistic, interested in getting things” — from kuy “to take” + -ič
su-	“causing”
	su-tap “to insert, put in” — from tap “to go in”
	šanšin “to feed” — from anšin “to eat”
	su-wele-tepet “to roll something” — from wele-tepet “to roll”
tani-	“a little bit” and by extension as politeness “please”
	'iwa-tani-niw “please dance a little”
	p-e-tani-nowon “please don't stop!”
	š-iš-tani-kuyam-it “the two of them wait for me a little bit”
wali-	“now, first, first off; of immediately impending action”
	k-sa'-wali-aqtip “I will first make a fire”
	s-am-wali-seqen “first they remove [it]”
wati-	“in passing, at the same time”
	k'e s-wati-su-xil-uč “and at the same time he oils it”
	k-iy-qili-wati-niw-niwiy-wun “we would pick them in passing, at the same time”

The Order of middle prefixes

Sorting out the relative order of prefixes depends on finding examples of two of them with the same verb, of course. It's much easier to list examples of two middle prefixes than to come up with an overarching sequence for them.

k-iwa-tani-niw	“I dance a little”
s-iy-qili-wali-'iša-s-axwiwîk	“they first semi-dry [it] customarily” s-axwiwîk from su-axwiwîk “cause to dry”
s-qili-su-wele-tepet-wun	“she used to roll them”
s-tani-'ali-'aqšmul	“he has hardly made a sound”

The discussion below addresses the possibility that there is no one overarching sequence.

Inconsistencies in the order of middle prefixes

There are major challenges to determining the relative order of middle prefixes.

- 1) Some compounds with middle prefixes are lexicalized or idiomatic, so they tend to act as if they were single units. This complicates the effort to sort out their relative order. An excellent example of this indeterminacy is the set below, all based on **na'n** “to go.”

akti'na	“to come, to come this way, to come over”
nu'na	“to bring, to take, take along; to take away with; to be/come from”
nu'akti'na	“to bring”
aktinu'na	“to bring, come bringing”

Both of the possible sequences of **akti-** “coming” and **nu-** “taking along” show up here, not to mention that no clear distinction in meaning shows up here.

Another example is the compound **akteqen** “to pass, pass by, happen,” which is based on middle **akti-** “coming” and **eqen** “to be away, gone.” As expected, there is no low-vowel harmony with **akti-** here; compare the Samala equivalent **eqteqen**, which is lexicalized. Here’s a verb in which middle **wayi-** “slowly” is added to **akteqen** very much as if the compound were a single lexicalized unit.

hi 'iy-al-way-wayi-akti-eqen hi ho' s-'ap hi taxama

they are slowly passing by Skunk’s house.

- 2) Some combinations of prefixes seem to have their own private agreement. The most striking examples of this involve compounds with middle **su-** “causing” and inner **maq-/max-** “of a line, cord.” On its own, **maq-/max-** is a well-behaved inner prefix that shows low-vowel harmony — as discussed below in [9.3.3](#).

maq-wayan “to be swinging” — with **wayan** “to hang”

max-na'n “to expand” — with **na'n** “to go” — partially lexicalized

mex-keken “to spread out” — with **kek-vn** “to grow”

In combination with **su-** “causing,” which is normally an outer prefix, **maq-/max-** comes before **su-**.

max-sik^hit “to pull” — with **su-** “causing” + **=k^hit** “of approaching”

max-suč'eq “to have rheumatism” — from **č'eq** “to split”

max-sunapay “to pull up on a line” — with **napay** “to go up”

max-suwelelen “to drag (a log or stick)” — from **welelen** “to shake/sway”

And just to keep you on the alert, the two suffixes follow the opposite order in

su-max-mišup “to pull down” — with **mišup** “down”

su-maq-tap “to push a line/cord into” — with **tap** “to enter” — the underlying compound **maqtap** has not yet shown up

9.3.3 Inner prefixes

Inner prefixes show up closest to the verb root. They show the greatest variation in both form and meaning. Sometimes there are only a handful of examples of a particular inner prefix and they may not necessarily all share a common core of meaning. On the other hand, a good many of the inner prefixes are quite common and are quite well defined.

The sound pattern of inner prefixes includes some distinct alternations.

Low-vowel harmony with inner prefixes

Low-vowel harmony is a feature of inner prefixes with an inherent low vowel. The basic form of the prefix shows up as **a** when the next syllable includes **a** or a high vowel **i**, **ɨ** or **u**. When the next syllable includes low **e** or **o**, the low vowel of the prefix shifts to match it. The next syllable can be either the first syllable of the verb root or another prefix in front of the verb root.

- 1) A good example in front of low vowels is **aqta-**/**axta-**, a verb prefix with multiple meanings, including “of wind blowing, air moving.”
 - a** **axta-wayan** “to be cool” — from **aqta-**/**axta-** + **wayan** “to hang”
 - e** **ext-ew** “north wind to blow” — from **aqta-**/**axta-** + **ew** “to go down”
 - o** **oqto-p’ow** “projectile to veer off” — from **aqta-**/**axta-** + **p’ow** “to be bent”
- 2) It’s hard to find clear examples with all six vowels in the following syllable, but a decent example is **wala-** “of a bulky object, with the whole body,” and “fast, suddenly.” This prefix shows up as **wala-** before **a** and high vowels in the following syllable.

- i** **wala-kino’moy** “(person) to roll over” — with **kino’moy** “to turn over”
- wala-pintap** “to dive” — with **pil-tap** “to go in through the air”
- wala-qinem** “to turn the head and look” — with **qinem** “to look back”
- ɨ** **wala-yixkʰit** “to wake up suddenly” — with **yixkʰit** “to be awake”
- u** **wala-yutoxkón** “to kneel (as in church)” — with **yutoxkón** “to kneel”

Here **wala-** becomes harmonic with a following low vowel **e** or **o**.

- e** **wele-tepet** “to roll over with one’s whole body” — with **tepet** “to roll”
- o** **wolo-nowon** “to stand up, to rise” (said of people, probably with implication of getting up from lying or sitting) — with **nowon** “to stand”

- 3) Another example is **taya-** “by stepping/kicking” and “having to do with rain or vertical action.” This prefix shows up as **taya-** before **a** and high vowels in the following syllable.
 - a** **taya-’nan** “to walk” — with **na’n** “to go”
 - i** **taya-šnipit** “to step, step on” — with **ašnipit** “to step on”
 - taya-tikay** “to kick” — with **tikay** “to be on top of”
 - u** **taya-xululun** “to rain hard, (rain) to pour” — with **xululun** — reduplicated form of **xul-** “re heavy”

Here **taya-** becomes harmonic with a following low vowel **e** or **o**.

e	teye-kep'	“to shower” — coined from taya- + kep' “to bathe”
o	toyo-k'ot	“to break with the foot/feet” — with k'ot “to break”
	toyo-no'won	“to go rest” — with nowon “to stand/stop”

Restrictions on low-vowel harmony with inner prefixes

A high vowel **i** or **u** in the second syllable of an inner prefix blocks the operation of low-vowel harmony any further toward the front of the word. An excellent example of this process is **aqtipa-/axtipa-** “of wind blowing, air moving.” The third vowel of this prefix becomes harmonic but the first vowel is insulated by the **i** of the second vowel.

aqtipa-tap	“breeze to blow into” — with tap “to enter”
axtipo-lpok'in	“to inflate (something)” — with =p'ok “of swelling” + -vn “verb marker”
axtip'o-nowon	“to be dusty, dust to blow in the wind” — with nowon “to stand”

Another example is **aqiwa-** “of swimming,” which shows the same pattern.

aqiwa-mišup	“to swim down” — with mišup “down”
aqiwa-napay	“to swim up” — with napay “to go up”
aqiwe-mes	“to swim across” — with mes “to cross”

Two-syllable prefixes with **a** in the first syllable and high **i** or **u** in the second syllable do not show low-vowel harmony. Such prefixes include

aqni-	“of mental activity”
aq'u-/ax'u-	“of meals and eating”
maquti-/maxuti-	“of jerking, yanking”
wali-	“first off, of immediately impending action”
wayi-	“slowly”

No low-vowel harmony with outer prefixes

Low-vowel harmony does not operate with outer prefixes which include the low vowel **a**. Here **a** stays **a** even when the following vowel is low **e** or **o**.

al-	“relative” with first and second person
hi k-al-eqwel	“what I make”
hi p-al-toaqson	“what you take a pinch of”
'al-/a'lal-	“agent”
'al-olk'oy	“dolphin” — literally “one that goes around”
'a'lal-expeč	“a singer, one who sings”
am-	“indefinite”
s-am-xonon	“they [indefinite] steal [it], it is stolen”

Possible low-vowel harmony with middle prefixes

Low-vowel harmony generally does not operate with middle prefixes which include the low vowel **a**. Here **a** stays **a** even when the following vowel is low **e** or **o**.

- akti-** “coming, coming to do”
 - akteqen** “to pass by, pass through” — from **eqen** “to be away, gone”
- api-** “quickly”
 - apexen** “to gobble up, bolt food” — from **exen** “to be away, gone”
- iša-** “partly, somewhat”
 - iša-toqošloq’** “to be kind of round, roundish”
- iwa-** “for a little while, momentarily”
 - iwa-lek’en** “to stay for a while”

On the other hand, there’s at least one compound where **api-** “quickly” does show low vowel harmony.

- epeqmelew** “to lap up” — from **eqmelew** “to lick”

By the way, the Samala equivalent of Shmuwich **akteqen** “to pass by, pass through” does show vowel harmony. It’s possible that the prefix here has been reinterpreted as **aqta-**.

- Samala **eqteqen** “to to pass by, pass through, happen”

The pil-/pili- alternation with inner prefixes

Many inner prefixes have variant forms with one syllable and sometimes a second syllable echoing the vowel of the first syllable. An excellent example is **pil-** and **pili-** “in/through the air.” The shorter variant shows up in front of a following vowel, sometimes with loss of the L, but otherwise there is no discernable pattern to which variant shows up. Here are 18 verb compounds with **pil-**/**pili-**.

pilimes	“to jump across” — with mes “to cross”
piliqlaw	“to fall (of hail, etc.), to drop, to precipitate” — with qlaw “to descend, come down”
piliwut	“(single drop) to drip” — with =wut “of dripping”
pilkitwo’n	“to jump out” — with kitwon “to come out”
pilkut’a	“to jump up (from lying or sitting)” — with kut’a “to arise, get up”
pilwayan	“to drool” — with wayan “to hang”
pilwey	“to fall over, to fall down” — with wey “to gap, be open”
pilwututun	“to drip (continuously)” — with =wut “of dripping” + middle reduplication + -vn “verb marker”
pilxá’l	“to throw through the air (e.g. during an attack or struggle)” — with xal “re assaulting”
pilxo’yin	“to jump over” — with -xoy- “moving/flying” + -vn “verb marker”
pi’nán	“to hop” — with na’n “to go”
pinowon	“to jump, to jump up” — with nowon “to stand”
pintap	“to jump in” — with tap “to enter”
pintikay	“to strike from above” — with tikay “to be on top of”
pinu’na	“to fall from” — with nu’na “to bring”
supilelew	“to throw down” — from su- “causing” + pil- + elew “to go down”
supilikš-	“to throw to one” — from su- “causing” + pil- + -kš- “re giving”
supinapay	“to throw up (in an upwards direction)” — from su- “causing” + pil- + napay “to go up”

One prefix shows an alternation of **i** and **u** along these same lines. This is **qil-/qili-** “of vision,” which also shows up as **qul-/qulu-**. Samala shows the same pattern for this prefix, plus a few others.

quluwašlik	“to peek in” — with wašlik “to appear, show up”
qunt’aw	“lightning to flash” — with =t’aw — bound root re “to flash, be dazzling”
xulusu’mu	“to aim at” — with a bound root =su’mu of uncertain meaning

The q/x alternation with inner prefixes

The q/x alternation operates among some inner prefixes, so that a given prefix shows **q** with some verb roots and **x** with other roots, with no particular pattern to when **q** shows up versus **x**. See section 1.8 on the q/x alternation.

Many inner prefixes show the q/x alternation, but on the other hand, a number of inner prefixes always show up with **q** or with **x**, with no alternation. Inner prefixes which do not show this alternation include

- aqiwa-** “of swimming”
- uxmal-** “of washing/cleaning”
- xal-** “of flying, moving through the air” —
- xunti-** “of sewing”

It’s noteworthy that **xal-** “of flying, moving through the air” shows only **x**, while **qal-/xal-** “of tying” shows the q/x alternation.

An excellent example of the q/x alternation is a pair of prefixes with identical forms, including the **pil-/pili-** alternation discussed above, but with distinctly different meanings.

- qil-/qili-/xil-/xili-** “of water”
- qil-/qili-/xil-/xili-** “of vision”

1) **qil-qili-** “through the action of water”

- qilkum** “to soak, to get soaked through; to be sodden, soggy, waterlogged” — with **kum** “to arrive”
- q’inc’i’** “to drown” — with =**c’i** “to be sharp”
- suqi’lam ~ suq’ilam** “to soak (something); this word includes **su-** “causing” and **qil-**, but the root doesn’t show up by itself
- suqili’wax** “to strain (through a strainer)” — with **su-** “causing” + **wax** “to leak”
- suqilpe’lewel** “to soak something overnight; this word includes **su-** “causing” + **qil-**, but the root doesn’t show up by itself
- xilimik’+n** “to be deep” — with **mik** “far” + **-vn** “verb marker”
- xiliwayan** “to float (in water)” — with **wayan** “to hang”
- xiliwok’o’y** “[sediment] to settle” — with =**wok’oy** unique bound root
- xi’nan** “to float away, wash away (on its own)” — with **na’n** “to go”
- xilnapay** “to drift” — with **napay** “to go up”

2) **qil-/qili-** “of vision” — In Samala this prefix also shows up as **qul-/qulu-**, which is the case with a few compounds in Shmuwich.

- qilipištín** to open the eyes; this word may include **qili-** and a unique bound root
- qilmay** to wink; this word may include **qil-** + a bound root =**may** “re overwhelmed?”
- qintum** to close the eyes; this word may include **qil-**

qunt'aw	“lightning to flash” — with = t'aw — bound verb root re “to flash, to be dazzling”
xilisisin	“to belittle” — perhaps from qil-/xil- + = sisin — bound root of uncertain meaning, but see aqsisin “to insult, call someone names”
xinsukutan	“to forgive, parden; treat with forbearance(?)” — possibly from qil-/xil- + su-kut'a “to pick up, lift” — in the sense of seeing someone in a way that lifts them up.
xulusu'mu	“to aim at” — with qul-/xul- + = su'mu bound root of unknown meaning

Restrictions on the q/x alternation with prefixes

Middle prefixes do not show the q/x alternation. A middle prefix such as **qili-** “habitually” only shows up as **qili-**. The inner prefix **qil-/qili-/xil-/xili-** “of water” sometimes sounds exactly the same as **qili-** “habitually.”

Multiple alternations

Many prefixes show multiple alternations, such as low-vowel harmony and the q/x alternation or the q/x alternation and the **pil-/pili-** alternation.

A prefix such as **qil-/qili-** and **xil-/xili-** “of water” shows both alternations.

9.3.4 Examples of multiple prefixes

Here are a few examples of verbs with multiple prefixes, broken down by position class. It's clear as you peruse these examples that certain combinations of prefix and root are closer than others, such as **s-axwiwɨk** “to dry something” in (3) and **xili-mɨkʰɨn** “to be deep” in (6).

- 1) **š-nu-xal-apit hi 'alapay hi l-po'n** “he flies up into the tree with it”
 - s-** “third person” — outer
 - nu-** “along with, having” — middle
 - xal-** “of flying” — inner
 - apit** “to go up” — verb root
- 2) **k-al-sa'-wali-aqtɨp'** “I will first make a fire”
 - k-** “first person” — outer
 - al-** “stative?” — outer” — as in “I am one who will do...”
 - sa'-** “future” — outer
 - wali-** “first” — middle
 - aqtɨp'** “to make a fire” — verb root
- 3) **s-iy-qili-wali-'iša-saxwiwɨk hi ho' stapan** “they first semi-dry the round tule”
 - s-** “third person” — outer
 - iy-** “plural” — outer”
 - qili-** “habitually, customarily” — middle
 - wali-** “first” — middle
 - iša-** “partially, part-way” — middle
 - su-** “causing” — middle — **saxwiwɨk** “to dry something”
 - axwiwɨk** “to be dry” — verb root
- 4) **k-iy-qili-wati-niw-niwiy-wun hi l xɨh-xɨ'** “we pick prickly pear fruits in passing”
 - k-** “first person” — outer
 - iy-** “plural” — outer”
 - qili-** “habitually, customarily” — middle
 - wati-** “in passing” — middle
 - niwiy** “to pick, pluck” — verb root
 - wun** “plural object”
- 5) **s-wil-waš hi nuk-nuk'a' hi l-'am-aqʰu-xilimɨkʰɨn hi ho' l-č'alayaš**
 “there were places where they had worn the trail deep”
 - l-** “relative marker” — outer
 - am-** “indefinite” — outer”
 - aqʰu-** “of traveling” — middle
 - qil-/qili-** “of water” — inner — **xilimɨkʰɨn** “to be deep”
 - mɨkʰɨn** “to be far” — verb root from **mɨk** “far” + **-vn** “verb marker”

9.4 Types of verb prefixes

Verb prefixes cover a wide range of meanings. Here are the major categories.

By the way, this list doesn't say anything about how productive and/or transparent these prefixes might be. [FIXX, not all prefixes are in these lists.](#)

9.4.1 Grammatical prefixes

These prefixes have some specific grammatical function. Most of them are discussed in detail earlier. The items in this list are a combination of outer and middle prefixes.

- l-** “that which, one who” — relative marker —
- e-** “not” — negative marker —
- ni-** “action directed toward some object” — transitive —
 - napay** “to go up, to ascend, climb (a slope)” — from **ni-** + **apay** “up”
 - nik'ot** “to break (something)” — from **ni-** + **k'ot** “to break on its own”
- nu-** “action involving carrying or taking along with”
 - nu'na** “to bring, take along” — from **nu-** + **na'n** “to go”
 - nitap** “to bring in, take in” — from **nu-** + **tap** “to enter”
- sa'-** “future tense”
- sili-** “wanting to” — desiderative —
- su-** “causing” — causative, causing to be, do or happen —
- si-** alternative form of **su-** “causative” with certain verbs
- sus-** alternative form of **su-** “causative” with certain verbs

- ali-** “action in progress, ongoing,” like English “was going” versus “went” — but much less common in Shmuwich than English -ing. It indicates that an action which usually takes just a moment is ongoing. Please don't use **ali-** as a go-to for translating “to be” plus an “-ing” form.
 - ali-nowon** “to be vertical” — with **nowon** “to stand”
 - ali-lek'en** “to be sitting, staying longterm” — with **lek'en** “to sit, stay”
 - ali-kowowon** “to be slanting” — **kowowon** “to slant, lying on one's side”
 - ali-mexkeken** “to be spread out” — with **mexkeken** “to spread”
 - s-ali-mexkeken hi l-pali** “the priest is [standing with his arms] spread”

NOTE: Here's an example of **ali-** and CVC reduplication.

ču x'ox 'i 'me s-ali-kut-kuti “...while Heron is just watching”

9.4.2 Spatial — direction

[FIXX](#) — Pending completion of this volume, see the “Categories” tab in [Lexique Pro](#) and look under “Verb Prefixes.”

- akti-** “coming toward”
- taya-** “upright, vertically” *and* “having to do with rain”

9.4.3 Adverbial — the manner in which an action is done

FIXX — Pending completion of this volume, see the “Categories” tab in Lexique Pro and look under “Verb Prefixes.”

api-	“quickly”
aq’uti-	“always”
	s-iy-aq’uti-šup ^h uč “they are always dirty” — šup-vč
iša-	“partly, partially, somewhat”
	k-’al-iša-wulaču “I’m a little drunk, somewhat drunk”
iwa-	“for a moment”
k’ili-	“quickly, rapidly”
tiši-	“with difficulty”
uštala-	“at last, finally, have to”
wayi-	“slowly”

9.4.4 Instrumental — the means by which an action is done

Instrumental prefixes spell out by means or instrument by which the action is done. There is a good deal of overlap among instrumental prefixes.

FIXX — Pending completion of this volume, see the “Categories” tab in Lexique Pro and look under “Verb Prefixes.”

aq-/ax-	“with the mouth” — and also “quickly”
aq ^h u-	“of traveling, passing”
aqulu-	“with/involving a long thin object”
il-/ili-	“by water”
mal-	“of birth and pregnancy”
maq-/max-	“with a line or cord”
maquti-	“of jerking, yanking”
qil-/qili-	“by water”
suwa-	“of sounding”
	s-am-’ip he’ l-muhú ’i hu l-tičpi s ^h uwa-’inyu
	“they say that the owl talks just like the Indians” — suwa-’inyu)
tal-	“with or by the hand”
taya-	“through the action of rain”
uš-	“taking out or using up,” sometimes to “action involving the hand”
uš’i-	“of joining, mixing”
ušla-	“with the hand”
wala-	“with the whole body” or “of a bulky object”
waš-	“with the hand”
xal-	“of flying, moving through the air”
yul-	“by or with fire or heat”

9.3.5 Action — prefixes corresponding in verbs in English

Action prefixes qualify the verb as taking place by means of some action, such as “tying,” “hearing,” or “washing.” In addition to these prefixes, there is also a verb with the same meaning, and it often includes the prefix.

FIXX — Pending completion of this volume, see the “Categories” tab in Lexique Pro and look under “Verb Prefixes.”

aputi-	“of flowing” — see axna’n “to flow” and possibly aputina’n “to flow”
aqiwa-	“of swimming” — see aqiwiwin “to swim”
aqni-/axni-	“of mental activity, thinking” — see aqniwil “to think”
aq’u-/ax’u-	“of eating” — see ’uw and anšin “to eat”
itax-	“of hearing or report” — see itaq “to hear, listen” as an independent verb
kina-	“of dying” — see aqšan “to die, be dead”
lu-	“of growth, growing” — see lu’nan “to grow” (said of people)
qal-/xal-	“of tying” — see aqsik “to bind, tie up” and aqantuk “to tie, bind”
qil-/qili-	“of vision, seeing” — see kuti “to see”
uxma-	“of washing” — see soxyóp “to wash”
wašti-	“of pouring or flowing” — see xxx
xunti-	“of sewing” — see xuntipiš “to sew”

The prefix **uxwal-** “of resembling, being/looking like” is unusual in that it turns a noun into a verb with no additional verb marker needed (i.e. no **-vn** or **-vč** — see **12.2.1** and **12.2.2**).

s-uxwal-katu hi s-’eqweleš	“it resembles a cat in its form” — katu “cat”
uxwa’lihi’y	“to be brave” — literally “to be like a man” — ’ihī’y
xaymi ’i maliwaš ka ’al-uxwa’lihi’y-waš hi li’ya hi l-’in-’inyu’	“Jaime was the bravest of all the Indians”

9.3.6 Multiple meanings of prefixes

It's quite common for a given prefix to have more than one meaning. Here are some of the more obvious examples.

- **aq-/ax-**

“quickly”

- axna'n** “to flow, to glide; to go rapidly, dart around” — with **na'n** “to go”
- axtatan** “to chew” — with =tatan — bound verb root “repeated blows”
- exleleyep** “to travel quickly, dart along” — probably from **aq-/ax-** + **eleyep** “to travel” — with an inexplicable stuck-in -l-

oxwotolk'oy “to whirl, revolve quickly” — with **wotolk'oy** “to wind around
“with the mouth or teeth”

- axtap** to put in the mouth; to eat raw; from ax- + tap “to enter”
- axtatan** to chew; from ax- + =tatan — bound verb root “repeated blows”
- oxloq** to bite a hole into; from aq-/ax- + loq “to be perforated”

- **aqi-/axi-**

“repetitive action”

- aqi-pen** “to work wood with a sharp tool” — with =pen “to strip off”
- axi-tun** “to do twice, happen twice” — with =tun “of two, being two”
- axi-masix** “to do three times” — with **masix** “three”

“to happen to, to stop to do something” — unless this is two senses

s-axi-'ip hi 'ašk'á'... “Coyote just happens to say...”

k-iy-axi-'ašiw-us hi l-pakuwaš “we stop to talk to the old man

pá he' nipolomol 'al-axi-'aqšan “maybe he happened to die in the mountains”

“from time to time”

axisaqku'mu “to measure from time to time” — with **saqku'mu** “to measure”

- **k'il-/k'ili-**

“a bit, little in amount or intensity”

- k'il-tuhuy** “to rain a little” — with **tuhuy** “to rain”
- k'il-pakuwaš** “to be getting a bit old” — with **pakuwaš** “old man”
- k'il-su-wotolk'oy** “to turn something around a little” — with **su-** “causing”
+ **wati-** “uncertain meaning here” + **olk'oy** “to go around”

“quickly”

- k'ili-tap** “to rush in” — with **tap** “to enter”
- k'ili-napay** “to run up, go up quickly” — with **napay** “to go up”

“to happen more and more, increase in intensity”

- k'ili-na'n** “to do something more and more” — with **na'n** “to go”
- k'ili-mut'ey** “to bring something closer and closer” — with **mut'ey** “to be close”

- **su-**

“causing”

su-tap “to insert, put in” — with **tap** “to enter”

su-eqen > **seqen** “to remove” — with **eqen** “to be off/gone”

“to add or apply some noun”

su-tip “to salt, add salt [to food]” — with **tip** “salt”

“to do like some noun” — this is a Samala pattern which may appear in Shmuwich

su-’ašk’á’ “to play dead, play possum” — **’ašk’á’** “Coyote” — “to play Coyote”

su-’im̄ “to play mute, to use sign language” — **’im̄** “to be dumb, mute”

- **uti-**

“starting out”

sutaqwa’y “to surprise, come across unexpectedly” — probably from **su-** “causing” + **uti-** + **aqwá’y** “to hit the mark”

utinowon “to stand up, get to one's feet” — with **nowon** “to stand”

“of a blow or fall”

utišnoqš “to fall on one's head” — with **š-noqš** “one's head”

utišt̄iq “to fall on one's face” — with **s-t̄iq** “one's eye, face”

utišt̄it̄in “to fall on one's butt” — with **š-t̄it̄** “one's butt” + **-vn** “verb marker”

- **wati-**

“of abrasion, disintegration, or falling apart”

wati-k’ot “to break apart (on its own)” — with **k’ot** “to break”

wati-ple’ “to disappear” — with **ple’** “to disappear; to die, perish”

wati-tun “to split in two” — with **=tun** bound root “re being two”

“in passing” or “at the same time” and it’s productive in this sense

wati-’olxo’ “to steal something in passing” — with **’olxo’** “to steal”

wati-niwiy “to pick/pluck in passing” — with **niwiy** “to pick, pluck”

9.3.7 Multiple prefixes for the same meanings

A number of prefixes seem to have more or less the same meaning, at least in some compounds.

- Here are four different prefixes that all mean “quickly” at least part of the time.
 - api-** “quickly”
 - aq-/ax-** “quickly” or “with the mouth/teeth”
 - k’il-/k’ili-** “quickly” or “a little bit” or “more and more”
 - uti-** “quickly, suddenly, starting an action” or “of a fall, blow”
- Here are prefixes that mean “with or involving the hand” at least part of the time.
 - tak-** “with the hand”
 - tal-** “with or by the hand”
 - waš-** “with the hand”
 - uš-** “taking out or using up,” sometimes to “action involving the hand”
 - ušla-** “with the hand”
- Here are prefixes that mean “by fire, heat” at least part of the time.
 - uq-/ux-** sometimes “of fire”
 - yul-** “with or by fire or heat”
- Here are prefixes that mean “in or through the air” at least part of the time.
 - aqta-/axta-** “through the air” or “of wind”
 - aqtipa-/axtipa-** “blowing, inflating, or action in the air”
 - pil-/pili-** “through or in the air”
 - xal-** “through the air”

9.3.8 Prefixes of uncertain meaning

al- ²	verb prefix of uncertain meaning in some compounds
aqtapa-/axtapa-	verb prefix of uncertain meaning
aquti-	verb prefix of uncertain meaning
c’i-	verb prefix of uncertain meaning
naq-/nax-	verb prefix of uncertain meaning
naqti-/naxti-	verb prefix of uncertain meaning
niwa-	verb prefix of uncertain meaning
pal-	verb prefix of uncertain meaning
ta-	verb prefix of uncertain meaning in few compounds
tipa-	uncertain meaning, although in a couple of compounds it seems to mean “intruding” and in a couple of others it seems to refer to speech
tiwa-	verb prefix of uncertain meaning, although it may mean “around”
ulu-	verb prefix of uncertain meaning
wal-	verb prefix of uncertain meaning
yuq-/yux-	verb prefix of uncertain meaning

10 — Word Order in the Simple Sentence

10.1 Introduction to word order

WORD ORDER — Defined

“Word order” is the sequence that words follow, especially the sequence of words in a full sentence. Notice the sequence of nouns after the verb in these sentences.

k-yik-us hi k-ša'y hi s-'e'l “I give my daughter a necklace”
 š-išti' hi l-'iwɪ hi l-č'ič'i “the child finds a knife”
 š-išti' hi l-č'ič'i hi l-č'alayaš “the child finds [it] on the path”

SIMPLE SENTENCE — Defined

A “simple” sentence is a sentence which contains just one clause. This generally means just one verb, but sentences with paired verbs are also simple sentences with just one clause which happens to contain a paired verb.

s-alpat hi š-towič “he/she/it runs fast” — literally “runs, does it fast”
 k-qilik-wun hi k-malkič “I care for them carefully” — literally “I care for, I do it carefully”

This chapter discusses the following elements of the simple sentence, not necessarily in the order in which they are likely to occur.

- adverbs

kɪp'ɪ ka k-sa'-anšin “now I will eat”
 k'iyak'u 'al-uniwiš hi he' l-'eneq “maybe he married this woman”

- subject nouns

š-iy-uštap hi l-'ihɪyɪ'y “the men are paddling”

- direct object nouns

k-iš-kuti hi masix hi l-xus “we [two] see three bears”

- indirect object nouns

k-yik-us hi k-ša'y “I give [it] to my daughter”

- location phrases

š-išti' hi l-č'ič'i hi l-č'alayaš “the child finds [it] on the path”

- time phrases

š-lek'en hi masix hi l-'ališaw “he/she stays three days”

- prepositional phrases

s-uš'ex-š hi 'alapay hi l-xa'x hi l-xɪp “he spreads it on top of a big rock”

- ambiguity — sentences in which the sequence of words could be interpreted in more than one way

s-kuti hi s-wop hi Lisa “Lisa sees her son”
or “he/she/it sees Lisa's son”

10.2 Word order with Adverbs and adverbial particles qqq

Section 6.4 covers adverbs as particles. Adverbial expressions modify the verb in some way, adding information about the time frame, location, style/manner or probability of the action. Here are a few English examples for background. Some adverbs in English can show up before or after the verb, such as “already.”

I saw that movie already.

I already saw that movie.

With more complex verbal constructions, the adverb can actually fit into the sequence of a verb and some additional element.

I’ve seen that movie already.

I’m taking that precaution already.

I’ve already seen that movie.

I’m already taking that precaution.

Other adverbs don’t work in the slot before the verb or between two verbal elements.

I have waited here an hour.

NOT *I have here waited an hour.

The situation in Shmuwich is similar. Adverbs can show up before or after the verb; where they go in the sentence depends on

- the adverb itself
- the structure of the rest of the sentence.

As a rule of thumb, it’s probably best to check an adverb in the dictionary in hopes of finding an example sentence. Unfortunately a good number of adverbs and adverbial expressions don’t have example sentences to illustrate them.

10.2.1 Adverbs that typically come before the noun

Certain adverbs and adverbial expressions almost always show up in front of the verb. Some of these example sentences also include a conjunction, which introduces the entire clause and so of course comes before the adverb that comes before the verb.

- **'inu** “truly, really, indeed”

hi mal'i 'inu hi s-iy-xu'wil “when they were really angry”

'inu s-oqt'oqš-waš “how laborious it really was!”

'inu s-iy-qili-xin-xinč'i hi l-'aq-'aqli'w hi-l-'iy-hik'en-wun

“the words that they used were bad”

- **mok'e** “already” is an excellent example of this pattern

mok'e k-iy-anšin “we’ve already eaten”

mok'e s-k'il-k'il-pakuwaš “he’s already getting a little old”

mok'e s-iy-e-tap-it “they no longer visit me, they don’t visit me any more”

- **no'no** “very, very much, a lot” also come before the verb

'ik^hu no'no s-axt'atax “but it's very cold”

no'no s-it'min “he is very scared”

In the example below, **no'no** comes before the verb even though another element has been “fronted” as well — moved to first position in the phrase (see section 11.1).

ho' l-čwi'w 'i no'no š-aqnik'ulš hi he' š-'iwo'nuš “the bird is very sad [in] his sound”

- **ho'wo** “still”

ho'wo s-e-pe'y “it's not in bloom yet”

'akimpi hu ho'wo 'al-tupmekč hi luwisa... “when Luisa was still a girl...”

ho'wo he' milimol 'al-wil hi ho' l-'eneq “the woman was still in the Tulare country”

- **s-iwa-wil** “sometimes”

s-iwa-wil hi s-eqwel hi ka'neč hu 'al-epeqwel

“sometimes [the ocean] goes as if lapping”

s-iwa-wil hi ho' s-ahaš 'i s-exleleyep hi li'ya hi nuk-nuk'a'...

“sometimes the spirit darts along to all the places [where the person went in life]”

In the example above, **s-iwa-wil** comes before the verb and the noun **hi ho' s-ahaš** “that spirit” has been fronted to come before the verb. The fronted noun follows **s-iwa-wil**.

10.2.2 Adverbs that typically come after the verb

Certain adverbs almost always show up after the verb. Here are a few examples. These adverbs also follow any subject or object nouns that may come after the verb.

- **moloq** “a long time ago; for a long time.”

s-am-qantuč-waš hu moloq... “they believed long ago [that...]”

'awelyente ka-l-'am-aqmil-waš hu l-moloq “brandy [is] what they drank long ago”

- **s-uti-kim** “first, at first”

s-iwa-šo'n hi s-uti-kim “it is bitter for a moment at first”

p-sipyototon hi ho' l-'o' ka s-uti-kim “you boil the water first”

- **wa'yi** “too, also”

k'e s-mixixin-waš wa'yi “and he was hungry too”

k'e s-am-aqmil he' sxa'min wa'yi “they also drank salt water, sea water”

When **wa'yi** modifies a noun or pronoun, it goes with the noun rather than the verb.

Two of these three examples show it following the noun/pronoun.

k'aykê 'al-wot' wa'yi ka'neč hi no' “because he too is a leader like me”

k'e kikš wa'yi 'i s-eqwel-waš hi l-č'alayaš “and she herself also made a trail”

k'e 'al-wil hi wa'yi hi l-c'oy-c'oyni' hi l-nuh-nunašiš k'e l-čwiw-čwi'w hi l-'iy-'al-č'o-waš hi s-am-atišwin “there were also other animals and birds which were good for them to have as spirit helpers”

“Time phrases” tend to follow the verb, including following just about every other element that might come after the verb. See section 10.11 on time phrases.

kê p-aqnič^ho hi l-kapé hu s-uninaxyit? “do you like coffee [in] the morning?”

s-iy-soxyop hi ho' s-iy-sa li'ya hu š-naxyit “they wash their teeth every morning”

10.2.3 Adverbs that occupy both positions

Here are examples of some adverbs that seem to show up both before or after the verb.

- **kip'í** “now, nowadays, today”

kip'í ka k-sa'-anšin “now I will eat”

'me 'al-ka'neč-waš hi kip'í... “it was just like nowadays...”

- **'akim** “there, in that place, in that way; so, thus”

'akim hi s-qili-nes-waš hi kikš “that is the way he did [it]”

š-iš-lek'en hi 'akim “they [two] live there, stay there”

hi 'me ka 'akim hi s-neč “and so/thus it is done” — “amen” as line from Mary Yee’s translation of the Lord’s Prayer

- **'it'i** “here”

'it'i s-ali-wašlik hi ho' s-tik hi ho' l-meča “the tip of the wick sticks out here”

'it'i hi s-te'm ho' s-pu 'i s-u'liš hi ho' snaq'il “here on the palm of his hand he holds the flint” — literally “that hand of his”

s-e-mašticu-waš hi s-kuwayap-waš hi 'it'i “he never came back here”

10.2.4 Factors that can cause an adverb to follow the verb

Certain conditions may cause the adverb to follow the verb rather than come before it.

- Adverbial expressions with a more complex structure tend to show up in front of the verb. This includes most “s- adverbs” — see section 6.4.2.

s-e-mašticu-waš hi s-kuwayap-waš hi 'it'i “he never came back here”

s-e-tani-'me s-am-išti-waš hi ho' s-'a'min-iwaš “they didn’t even find his body”

mala'me 'a s-iy-ne hi s-iy-nu'nan “they bring it somehow”

— literally “somehow they do it that they bring it”

- The verb includes a helping verb construction, so the adverb follows both verbs.

'al-uniyiw hi k-lek'en hi 'it'i “I have to stay here” — literally “it’s something necessary, [that] I stay here”

- The phrase includes an adverb which gravitates to first position, in which case another adverb is more likely to follow the verb. Consider the two examples below; **'it'i** “here” comes first when it’s the only adverb.

'it'i s-ali-wašlik hi ho' s-tik hi ho' l-meča “the tip of the wick sticks out here”

When there’s a more complex adverb already in first position, **'it'i** follows the verb.

s-e-mašticu-waš hi s-kuwayap-waš hi 'it'i “he never came back here”

There are probably additional factors involved here.

10.3 Basic word order with noun phrases

This section describes basic word order when you have a verb and also add various nouns to spell out a subject, an object, an instrument, a time or location, perhaps with an adverb thrown in. You'll never see a sentence with all of these elements in it, but this is their relative order they tend to go in when they do show up. The element in question is underlined in the English translation.

- **Verb** — Right away say what's happening. What's the action going on? What's the state or condition you're talking about?
 - k-kuti > k^huti "I see [it]" — what's the ac?
 - s-tasin "it is red" — what's the state/condition?
- **Indirect object** — Right after the verb, say who or what the action of the verb benefits (or perhaps affects negatively).
 - k-yik-us hi k-ša'y "I give [it] to my daughter"
 - k-seqen-us hi l-č'ič'i "I took it away from the child"
- **Direct Object** — Then say who or what the verb is directly acting on.
 - s-kuti hi štexex "he/she sees the river"
 - k-yik-us hi l-'uwu'mu "I give [to someone] food"
- **Subject** — If there's a subject noun spelled out, put it after the combination of the verb plus object and/or indirect object.
 - šišti' hi l-'iwā hi l-č'ič'i "the child finds a knife"
 - s-yik-us hi k-ša'y hi Lisa "Lisa gives [it] to my daughter"
- **Instrumental phrase** — An instrumental phrase spells out the means by which the action is accomplished. This phrase may just rely on context to say "instrument" or it may use the instrumental suffix -in on the verb, in which case the instrumental phrase comes right after the verb.
 - s-iy-salaqwa'y-in hi ski'nit "they fasten [it] with a cord"
 - s-am-'es-in hi stapan "they weave it out of tule"
 - s-eqwe'l-in hi l-xšo' hi l-stuk "he makes a bowl out of sycamore (wood)"
- **Location phrase** — After the subject, add any noun or phrase that spells out where the action takes place. Generally no Shmuwich word translates as "in," "on" or "at"; the position of the noun toward the end of the phrase is enough to suggest location.
 - š-išti' hi l-'iwā hi l-č'alayaš "he/she finds a knife on the path"
 - š-išti' hi l-č'ič'i hi l-č'alayaš "the child finds [it] on the path"
 - s-iy-aqtip hi ho' l-liyik hu l-'ap "they build the fire in the middle of the house"

- **Time phrase** — After any location phrase, add any noun any noun or phrase that spells out when the action takes place. Generally no Shmuwich word translates as “in,” “on” or “for”; this is implied by the word order.

š-lek'en hi masix hi l-'ališaw “he stays three days”

š-lek'en hi Lisa hi masix hi l-'ališaw “Lisa stays three days”

š-lek'en hi limuw hi masix hi l-'ališaw “he/she stays on Limuw for three days”

- **Prepositional phrase** — A sequence of preposition and the noun it governs generally go at the end of the sentence.

s-iwon hi l-'ašk'á' hi mut'ey ho' l-'ap “a coyote howls near the house”

s-uš'ex-š hi 'alapy hi l-xa'x hi l-xip “he spreads it on top of a big rock”

10.5 Nouns and noun phrases reviewed

The sections that follow all describe nouns in various relationships to the verb, such as subject, indirect object or location phrase. Any of these nouns can be more complex than a single noun, in which case they are called “noun phrases” — is discussed in detail in section 3.5. Here is a review of what noun phrases can include. The noun can be augmented with

- a demonstrative

š-expeč hi he' l-'eneq “this woman is singing”

p-e'-ušpák hi ho' l-'alč^hum “you didn't pick up that money”

- a possessive marker

š-expeč hi k-ič'antik “my friend is singing”

k-yik-us hi k^hok'o “I give [it] to my father”

- a number or quantifier

s-iy-iškihin-wun hi l-'apišti' l-'ališaw “they keep them a few days”

p-aqmil 'me ka'neč hu l masix hi l-kučál “you take about three spoonfuls”

- a possessive phrase

s-watiwey hi s-wop hi Lisa “Lisa's son lost [the game/contest]”

k-e-č'a'min hi š-ti hi l-'ih'i'y “I don't know the man's name”

- a series of nouns linked with k'e “and”

ka š-iš-toxš hi yowoyow k'e haphap “Yowoyow and Haphap are fighting”

s-kuyam-us-wun hi Lisa k'e s-wop “he/she is waiting for Lisa and her son”

10.5 Subject nouns and noun phrases

A Shmuwich verb with a person–number marker could be a complete sentence.

first person	k-iy itaq	“we hear [it], we are listening [to it]”
second person	p-iš-t’imoč’o	“you two are late”
third person	š-e-č^ho	“it is not good”

You can add a noun or noun phrase to the verb to spell out who or what is performing the action. In grammatical terms, this is the “subject” of the verb. The subject may be “doing” something or it may just be experiencing a state or condition. Most of the time when you spell out a subject noun, the verb shows the third–person marker **s-**.

š-expeč hi k-ič’antik	“my friend is singing” — doing the action
s-mixixin hi ho’ l-xus	“that bear is hungry” — experiencing the state

Keep the person–number marker on the verb when you spell out a subject noun.

š-e-č^ho	“it is not good”
š-e-č^ho hi he’ l-kapé	“this coffee is not good”
š-iš-toxš	“the two of them are fighting
š-iš-toxš hi yowoyow k’e haphap	“Yowoyow and Haphap are fighting”
s-iy-uštap	“they are paddling”
s-iy-uštap hi sku’mu hi l-’ihiyi’y	“the four men are paddling”

You can also spell out first- and second-person subjects for emphasis. In this case you use independent pronouns, which are discussed in detail in section 5.2. Keep the person–number marker on the verb when you spell out a subject with an independent pronoun.

k-išti’-waš	“I found [it]”	k-iy-išti’-waš	“we found [it]”
k-išti’-waš hi no’	“ <u>I</u> found [it]”	k-iy-išti’-waš hi k-iy-ki’	“WE found [it]”
p-t’imoč’o	“you’re late”	p-iš-t’imoč’o	“you two are late”
p-t’imoč’o hi pi’	“YOU are late”	p-iš-t’imoč’o hi p-iš-ki’	“YOU TWO are late”

Third–person independent pronouns are a more complex matter; see section 5.2.2 for more information.

10.6 Object Nouns — Direct and indirect

You can add a noun to the verb to spell out who or what is undergoing the action that the verb describes or is affected by the action of the verb.

k-itaq hi k-ič'antik "I hear my friend"
 kê p-ča'min hi l-'ihî'y? "do you know the man?"
 s-aqmil hi l-'o' "he/she/it drinks water"

The examples above all involve direct object nouns, but the following discussion covers both indirect and indirect objects.

10.6.1 Direct and indirect objects defined

It's important to understand the difference between "direct object" and "indirect object."

- **Direct object** — The direct object is the person or thing that the action applies to or operates on. These are made-up examples, deliberately simplified for clarity.

s-kuti hi l-'eneq "he/she sees the woman"
 k-tente'y hi l-xîp "I touch the rock"
 s-iy-sini'we hi l-xšap "they kill the rattlesnake"

- **Indirect object** — The indirect object is the person or thing that the action benefits or goes toward.

s-'ip-us hi l-'eneq "he/she says to the woman"
 p-ašiw-it "you talk to me"
 k-tiyep-us hi l-'ihî'y hi k-ti "I tell the man my name" ~ "I tell my name to the man"
 p-yik-iyuw hi l-'anč'um "you give us the money"

The indirect object can also be the person or thing the action takes something away from.

s-xonon-it hu k^hawayu "he stole my horse" — from k-kawayu "my horse"
 s-iy-xonon-us hi ho' s-'anč'um "they steal his money from him"
 k-seqen-us hi l-'iwî "I take the knife away from him"

10.6.2 Direct and indirect object markers reviewed

Direct and indirect objects are often marked on the verb with "object markers." There are two sets of these, with a lot of overlap. See section 7.8 for an overview of object markers.

	<i>direct objects</i>		<i>indirect objects</i>	
	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>first</i>	-it "me"	-iyuw "us"	-it "to/for me"	-iyuw "to/for us"
<i>second</i>	-in "you"	-iyuw "you two+"	-in "to/for you"	-iyuw "to/for you two+"
<i>third</i>	—	-wun "them"	-us "to/for him/her"	-us-wun "to/for them"

In the first- and second-person, the two sets are identical. This means you can't necessarily tell — out of context — if one of these object markers is being used as a direct object or indirect object.

Here are a few examples of this ambiguity with first- and second-person object markers.

k-as^hunan-iyuw	“I send you all [to do something]” <u>or</u> “I send [it] to you all”
k-išti’-in > kištilin	“I find you” <u>or</u> “I find [it] for you”
s-seqen-it > s^heqenit	“he/she takes me away [from some task/situation]” <u>or</u> “he/she take [it] away from me”

Third-person direct objects

A third-person singular direct object is only implied, not spelled out. This means that a verb which could take an object — such as **kuti** “to see” or **išti’** “to find” — shows up with no object marker even though English would need to add “him,” “her” or “it.” Here are pairs of example sentences that set up the context for the implied object.

kê pkuti hi l-xus?	“do you see the bear?”
k-e-kuti	“I don’t see [it]”
nuk’a kê hi l-’iwî?	“where’s the knife?”
k-umš’en	“I need [it]”
k-ša’-axšiš-waš hi Lisa	“I was going to call/invite Lisa”
k-t’amay hi k-axšiš	“I forgot to call/invite [her]”

Third-person indirect objects

A third-person indirect object is spelled out with **-us** in the singular and **-us-wun** in the dual and plural.

s-’ip-us hi ho’-l-pali hi l-’inyu	“an Indian said to the priest”
s-’ip-us hi l-’inyu	“an Indian said to him”

Keep in mind that **-us** verbs require an indirect marker even if the English translation of the verb seems to be as a direct object. See section **8.2.8** on **-us** verbs.

k-’oyon-us hi l-pakuwaš	“I help the old man”
k-’oyon-us	“I help him/her”
k-iy-tap-us-wun hi k-’al-’ališxey	“we visit my cousins”
k-iy-tap-us-wun	“we visit them”

10.6.3 Example sentences with direct and indirect object nouns

Here are made-up Shmuwich examples, kept simple for clarity. These sentences show the options for spelling out direct and indirect nouns and for leaving one or both of these nouns only implied.

It's also important to point out that not all sentences with two object nouns follow this pattern. There are exceptions, hopefully with some explanation.

With *-us* verbs

This first set of examples shows *-us* verbs, verbs which require *-us* for a third-person object. It's either problematic at best or outright incorrect to use these verbs without some object marker, although some of them allow *-š* “no object specified” — see section 8.4.2.

- | | | | | |
|----|--|-------------|---------------------------|--|
| 1) | verb | indirect | direct | |
| | k-yik-us | hi k-ša'y | hi l-'alč ^h um | “I give my daughter money” |
| | k-yik-us | | hi l-'alč ^h um | “I give him/her money” |
| | k-yik-us | hi k-ša'y | | “I give [it] to my daughter” |
| | k-yik-us | | | “I give [it] to him/her” |
| | *k-yik ~ *k-yik-š | | | “I give [it]” |
| 2) | verb | indirect | direct | |
| | p-tiyep-us | hi l-'eneq | hi p-ti | “you tell the woman your name” |
| | p-tiyep-us | | hi p-ti | “you tell him/her your name” |
| | p-tiyep-us | hi l-'eneq | | “you tell the woman” |
| | p-tiyep-us | | | “you tell him/her |
| | p-tiyep-š | | | “you tell (no object specified)” |
| 3) | verb | indirect | direct | |
| | k-ašyan-us | hi l-č'ič'i | hi čti'n | “I buy the child a dog” |
| | k-ašyan-us | | hi čti'n | “I buy a dog for him/her” |
| | k-ašyan-us | hi l-č'ič'i | | “I buy [it] for the child” |
| | k-ašyan | | hi čti'n | “I buy the dog |
| | k-ašyan | | | “I buy [it]” — this seems to be OK |
| 4) | verb | indirect | direct | |
| | k-as ^h unan-us | hi k-wop | hi l-'ikšaš | “I send my son a present” |
| | k-as ^h unan-us | | hi l-'ikšaš | “I send him/her a present” |
| | k-as ^h unan-us | hi k-wop | | “I send it to my son” <u>or</u> “I order my son” |
| | k-as ^h unan-us | | | “I send it to him/her” <u>or</u> “I order him/her” |
| | k-as ^h unan | | | “I send [it]” — not sure this is OK |
| | k-as ^h unan-š > kaš ^h unač | | | “I send [it]” — this is probably OK |

With optional –us verbs

This second set of examples shows optional –us verbs, verbs which can take –us for a third-person object, but don't require it. Here's it's quite alright to use one of these verbs without an object marker.

- | | | | | |
|----|------------|-----------|-------------|--|
| 5) | verb | indirect | direct | |
| | k-eqwel-us | hi k-wop | hi l-'ax | "I make my son a bow" |
| | k-eqwel-us | | hi l-'ax | "I make [him/her] a bow" |
| | k-eqwel-us | hi k-wop | | "I make [it] for my son" |
| | k-eqwel-us | | | "I make [it] for him/her" |
| | k-eqwel | | hi l-'ax | "I make a bow" |
| | k-eqwel | | | "I make [it]" |
| 6) | verb | indirect | direct | |
| | k-išti'-us | hi k-ša'y | hi l-'ikšaš | "I find my daughter a gift" |
| | k-išti'-us | | hi l-'ikšaš | "I find [him/her] a gift" |
| | k-išti'-us | hi k-ša'y | | "I find it for my daughter" |
| | k-išti' | hi k-ša'y | | "I find my daughter" — I was looking for her |
| | k-išti' | | | "I find [it]" <u>or</u> "I find him/her" |

There's a stuck-in –l- and sibilant harmony in **kistilus** "I find for him/her."

These next two examples are based on Samala patterns. They probably work in Shmuwich too.

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|---|
| 7) | verb | indirect | direct | |
| | k-ik ^h ɪl-us | hi k-xo'ni | hi l-kapé | "I get/fetch coffee for my mother" |
| | k-ik ^h ɪl-us | | hi l-kapé | "I get/fetch her coffee" ~ "I get coffee for her" |
| | k-ik ^h ɪl-us | hi k-xo'ni | | "I get/fetch [it] for my mother" |
| | k-ik ^h ɪl-us | | | "I get/fetch [it] for him/her" |
| | k-ik ^h ɪl | | | "I get/fetch [it]" |
| 8) | verb | indirect | direct | |
| | k-ic ^h u'mu-us | hi l-'ih ^h y | hi l-'ap | "I point out the house to the man" |
| | k-ic ^h u'mu-us | | hi l-'ap | "I point the house out to him/her" |
| | k-ic ^h u'mu-us | hi l-'ih ^h y | | "I point [it] out to the man" |
| | k-ic ^h u'mu-us | | | "I point [it] out to him/her" |
| | k-ic ^h u'mu | | | "I point to [it]" |

There's a stuck-in –l- in **kic^hu'mulus** "I point [it] out to him/her." This example is based on a Samala pattern, but it probably works in Shmuwich too.

10.6.4 Indirect objects with **-us** and **-us-wun**

These are sentences with **-us** and **-us-wun** from Wash's 2001 dissertation.

k'e s-akti-ašiw-us hi-ho'-l-ku

“and he/she comes to talk to the person”

p-saqmil-us hi-l-'eneq hi-l-'al-saxmakš

“you give it to a pregnant woman to drink”

s-mon-us hi l-xɪp hi s-'eqweleš hi l-ku

“he paints on a rock the image of a person” — i.e. “a person's form”

s-am-si'nay-us hi s-is-s^ha-s^ha'

“they put his fishhooks (into the grave) for him (the dead man)”

he'-l-kal-kaltea' hi s-am-sutap-us-wun hi-l-wey-weyes-'

“the carts were hitched up to/attached to oxen”

Here are a few examples in which the expected sequence of indirect object before direct object noun doesn't show up.

- This example breaks the pattern of indirect object before direct, probably because the indirect object to which **-us** refers is a fairly long noun phrase and putting it between the verb and the

s-su-mut'ey-us-wun ho'-s-titi hi ho'-siy-tiq hi ho'-s-ič'-ič'antik'

“(Skunk) brought his butt close to the faces of his friends”

- Here are examples with **ušq^hál** “to open,” with and without **-us**.

s-e-'ušq^hál hi he' l-mitip'in “she doesn't open the door”

luwisa 'i 'al-e-qili-'ušq^hal-us he' l-mitip'in hi l-'a'yi

“Luisa never opened the door for anyone...”

The example with two object nouns doesn't follow the expected order; it's possible that the phrase “open the door” has such a weight of habit to it that the indirect object **'a'yi** “anybody” ended up tucked in after the expected direct object **mitip'in** “door.”

10.6.5 Subject and object nouns together

Subject and object nouns — both direct and indirect objects — typically follow the verb. The object noun is more closely tied to the verb, partly because object marker suffixes might lead right into the indirect object noun, so the subject noun follows any object noun.

verb	object	subject	
š-uš'el-us	hi ho' s ^h e	hi čti'n	“the dog digs for a bone”
š-išti'	hi l-'iwł	hi l-č'ič'i'	“the child finds a knife”
s-'uw	hi l-ku	hi xšap	“a rattlesnake bites a person”
s-akti-nuna'	hi l-šipitiš	hi x'ox	“Heron brings the acorn mush”
s-akti-nut-nutikum-us	hi l-'ap	hi l-'ašk'á'	“a coyote arrives directly at a house”

With a combination of words like “find” plus “child” and “knife,” common sense would tell you that the child is the subject even if someone puts the nouns in the wrong order and says “finds child knife.” Getting the words in the right order is much more important when the combination of verb and nouns is such that either noun could be a subject or object.

verb	object	subject	
s-'uw	hi l-ku	hi xšap	“a rattlesnake bites a person”
bites [one]	person	rattlesnake	NOT “a person bites a rattlesnake”
s-'ip-us	hi ho'-l-pali	hi l-'inyu	“an Indian said to the priest”
says to him/her	priest	Indian	NOT “the priest said to an Indian”
s-tiyep-us	hi p-xo'ni	hi Lisa	“Lisa told your mother”
tells him/her	your mother	Lisa	NOT “your mother told Lisa”

In a nutshell — Use the following pattern when you're assembling a Shmuwich sentence, or when you're interpreting a Shmuwich sentence that someone else has assembled.

<u>Verb</u>	what's happening?
<u>Object</u>	who or what is the action happening to?
<u>Subject</u>	who or what is doing the action?

Here are more examples of sentences with subject and object nouns spelled out.

verb	object	subject	
s-kuti	hi čwi'w	hi l-'eneq	“the woman sees a bird”
saqmil	hi l-'o'	hi l-wł	“the deer is drinking water”
š-toqlom	hi š-taniw	hi l-'ih'y	“the man holds his child”
š-iš-u'liš	hi čti'n	hi l-č'ič'i-wun	“the two boys grab the dog”
š-iy-č'a'min	hi ho' l-'ih'y	hi l-ku	“the people know that man”

10.7 Instrumental Nouns and Phrases

INSTRUMENTAL NOUN and INSTRUMENTAL PHRASE — Defined

An “instrumental noun” is a noun that follows the verb to tell you the means by which the action takes place, with no word like “by,” “with” or “using” to spell out that it’s an instrument. An “instrumental phrase” is longer than one word.

Both examples below are instrumental phrases — but are not specifically marked as such.

ka s-iqmay-waš hi ho’ š-tiq hi l-’owow hi l-maxakiš

“she covered her face with a white cloth”

š-iy-šal-šalpan hi l-’actik hi š-naq’il hi ho’ s-’asas

“they prick with a pointed flint on one’s chin”

These two examples also show the relative positions of other nouns after the verb. In the first example, a direct object noun **š-tiq** “her face” shows up between the verb and the instrumental phrase. In the second example, **s-’asas** could be interpreted to be a location noun rather than a direct object noun — “to prick on one’s chin” rather than “to prick one’s chin.” As a location noun, it comes after the instrumental noun.

The Instrumental suffix **-in**

Most instrumental nouns follow the instrumental suffix **-in**, which is added to the verb. See section 8.6.6 on instrumental **-in**. The instrumental suffix **-in** indicates that the following noun or noun phrase is the instrument or source material by which the action of the verb is accomplished.

Here **-in** refers to the instrument; the English translation is generally “with.”

s-iy-salaqwa’y-in hi ski’nit “they fasten [it] with a cord”

Here **-in** refers to the source material; the English translation is generally “from” or “out of.”

s-am-’es-in hi stapan “they weave it out of tule”

When there is more than one noun after the verb, the noun that **-in** governs comes directly after the verb and the other noun follows. Direct objects follow in these examples.

s-eqwe’l-in hi l-xšo’ hi l-stuk “he makes a bowl out of sycamore (wood)”
— literally “he makes from sycamore a bowl”

s-am-su-lo’m-in hi l-kal hi l-mays “they soften corn with lime”
— literally “they make soft with lime the corn”

s-am-eqwel-wun-in hi q’o’y hi l-’iško’m hi š-nana’mu hi l-’anč^hum
“they make from olivella two kinds of bead money”

s-iy-su-tip-in hi ho’ l-’alušpawat hi ho’ s-iy-’uwu’mu
“they salt their food with those ashes” — literally “salt with the ashes their food”

hi ka s-am-siniwe’-lin hi he’ l-yah-ya’ hi l-’ihī’ hi l-kuh-ku’
“and with these arrows they kill many people”

10.8 Location Nouns and Phrases

LOCATION NOUN and LOCATION PHRASE — Defined

A “location noun” is a single noun that follows the verb to tell you where the action takes place, with no word like “in,” “at” or “on” to spell out where. A “location phrase” includes a location noun but is longer than one word. An example of a location noun would be **hi k-’ap** “[at] my house,” while a location phrase would be **hi s-’ap hi k-ne’ne** “[at] my grandmother’s house.”

English generally uses words like “in,” “at” and “on” to introduce a location noun or phrase. These words are called “prepositions”; this term and concept are discussed in detail in sections **6.7** and **10.10**.

Most of the time Shmuwich doesn’t bother with any special word like “in,” “at” or “on” to introduce the location noun or phrase — the relationship is only implied. This is occasionally true of English, too, for example with a simple location noun such as “let’s stay home.” The location noun is introduced by **hi** like any other noun.

10.8.1 Location nouns

Here are examples of “location nouns” as single nouns following the verb. The English translation requires some preposition which shows up in square brackets here, to indicate that it’s not part of the Shmuwich sentence.

s-aqiwuwin hi l-muhuw	“he/she swims [at] the beach”
p-iyē-xpeč hi l-maxala’miš	“you all sing [at] the fiesta/pow-wow”
k-iy-uš’išmoč hi k-’ap	“we gather [at] my house”
k-sa’-kuyam-in hi p-’ap	“I’ll wait for you [at] your house”
š-iš-nowon hi l-ša’wil	“the two of them stop/are standing [at] the shrine”
k-iš-kep’ hi l-qu’lalam	“we two bathe [in] the creek”
kê p-išti’ hi l-kik’i hi l-č’alayaš?	“did you find something [on] the path, [on] the road?”
k-lek’en hi kaswa’	“I live [in] Kaswa’ — village at La Cienguita, near the Mission Santa Barbara

10.8.2 Location phrases

The “location phrase” is longer than one word. Here are “location phrases” that expand the location noun with a possessive phrase.

k-iy-uš’išmoč hi s-’ap hi l-wot’	“we gather [at] the chief’s house”
k-iy-we’ hi š-iš-’ap hi k-’al-’ališxe’y	“we sleep [at] my cousins’ house (two cousins)”

You could even have a location phrase that has a second location noun spelling out where the first location noun is.

k-iy-uš’išmoč hi ša’wil hi mixšo	“we gather [at] the shrine at Sycamore Canyon”
š-niw hi l-maxala’miš hi syuxtun	“he/she dances [at] the fiesta [at] Syuxtun ”

10.8.3 Location nouns/phrases with other nouns in the sentence

If the sentence spells out an object noun or a subject noun, that noun comes before the location noun.

Here are examples of a subject noun or noun phrase coming before the location noun.

kišti' hi Lisa hi l-'ap ^h a'niš	"I meet Lisa [in] town"
s-iy-kuyam hi l-'en-'eneq' hi p-'ap	"the women are waiting [at] your house"
ka s-akti-'anšin hi kniy hi ho' s-'ap hi x'ox	"Fox comes to eat at Heron's house"

Here are examples of an object noun coming before the location noun.

k-iy-anti' hi l-'ih'i'y hi l-č'alayaš	"we meet the man [on] the road/trail"
š-ušpák hi l-'ixpaniš hi l-c'in-c'inowo'n	"he/she gathers acorns [in] the hills"
k-iš-qup-qupuš hi l-'o' hi ho' l-walde	"we two dip water [from] a bucket"
ka š-nu'nan hi ho' l-kayu ho' š-naxalamuw	"he takes the rooster [to] his island"

10.8.4 Location phrase ambiguity

LOCATION PHRASE AMBIGUITY — Defined

Sentences with location phrases can sometimes be ambiguous. The noun introduced by **hi** could be a regular noun like an object or a location phrase with "in," "at" or "on" implied. This situation is called "location phrase ambiguity."

You may be able to tell from the context but the language itself doesn't give you a clue.

š-išti' hi l-č'alayaš	"he/she finds the road"
or	"he/she finds [it on] the road"
k ^h uti hi štexe'x	"I see the river"
or	"I see [it at] the river"
š-aqšan hi cweq	"the grass is dead"
or	"he/she/it died in the grass, is dead in the grass"

Common sense usually tells you which of the possible interpretations is more likely.

s-'uw hi s-'ap	"she eats her house" <u>or</u> "she eats [in/at] her house"
k-iš-anti' hi 'alaxulapu	"we two meet Santa Ynez" <u>or</u> "we two meet in Santa Ynez"

With the right combination of nouns, even a sentence with two nouns after the verb might be ambiguous regarding whether the last noun is a location noun or not.

š-išti' hi l-č'ič'i' hi l-č'alayaš	"the child finds it [on] the road"
or	"he/she finds the child [on] the road"
k-iy-išti' hi l-c'oyni hi l-qu'lalam	"we find another creek"
or	"we find another one [in] the creek"

10.9 Ambiguity

When you can interpret a sentence more than one way — out of context — it's called "ambiguity." A sentence with more than one meaning is "ambiguous." There are various kinds of ambiguity in Shmuwich.

1) Subject/object ambiguity

Is the noun after a verb the subject or the object? — at least with verbs that take objects.

- s-kuti hi l-'eneq "he/she/it sees the woman" — the object, she gets seen
 s-kuti hi l-'eneq "the woman sees [him/her/it]" — the subject, she does the seeing
 or "the woman looks" — no object, but the woman is still subject

2) Possessive phrase ambiguity

There are three different ways you might interpret the sequence of nouns below — as a possessive phrase or as two nouns that just happen to be side by side and just look/sound like a possessive phrase.

- s-kuti hi s-wop hi Lisa "Lisa sees her son" *or* "Lisa sees his/her son" (someone else)
 s-kuti hi s-wop hi Lisa "he/she sees Lisa's son" — a possessive phrase
 s-kuti hi s-wop hi Lisa "Lisa's son see him/her/it" *or* "Lisa's son looks"
 — also a possessive phrase

3) Location phrase ambiguity

— it very likely works this way in Shmuwich; these sentences are based on Samala patterns using Shmuwich vocabulary.

- | <i>verb</i> | <i>object</i> | <i>location</i> | |
|-------------|---------------|-----------------|--|
| š-išti' | hi l-č'alayaš | | "he/she finds the road/trail" |
| š-išti' | | hi l-č'alayaš | "he/she finds [it] <u>on</u> the road/trail" |
| š-išti' | hi l-yawi | hi l-č'alayaš | "he/she finds the key <u>on</u> the road/trail"
— yawi "key" from Spanish <i>llave</i> |

Regarding location phrases, notice there's sometimes no explicit indication that a noun is part of a location phrase; "in" or "at" or "on" is just implied.

Here's an example I cooked up in class; it's the Samala pattern and *probably* applies in Shmuwich too, using Shmuwich words here.

- kiylek'en hi 'alaxulapu "we live in Santa Ynez"
 kiylek'en 'it'i "we live here"
 kiylek'en 'it'i hi 'alaxulapu "we live here in Santa Ynez" — *maybe*

10.10 Prepositional Phrases

Chapter Six on particles discusses prepositions in detail. This section discusses where prepositional phrases go in the sentence.

10.10.1 Prepositions reviewed

A “preposition” is a word that indicates a relationship to some noun in space or time, such as “to town,” “in the house,” “at the river,” “about your letter,” “with my sister,” “until Monday,” “for three days,” etc. There are dozens of prepositions in English. The technical term “preposition” refers to something “positioned” in front — “pre-” — since prepositions come before the noun in English — and Shmuwich too.

Shmuwich has a smaller inventory of words that function as prepositions.

Here are words which are inherently prepositions, at least in certain senses.

'alapay	“above, over, up; on top, on the surface of” — and as a <u>noun</u> “sky, heaven” — from 'al- “agent” + =apay “up, above” — i.e. “that which is above”
liyik	“in the middle, among, between” — and as a noun “middle, center”
ma'm	“inside, into” — apparently not also used as a noun
mišup	“below, floor, down, under, low” — and as a <u>noun</u> “ground, bottom, foundation” — from mi- “re location” + šup “earth”
mitip'in	“outside” — and as a noun “door, outside, exterior”
mut'ey	“near, close to” — and as a verb mut'ey -us “to be near, to get near”
nipolk'oy	“in back of, behind” — and as a <u>noun</u> nipolk'oy seems to mean “the back, back part, rear.” This word probably includes olk'oy “to go around.”

Here are words which sometimes function as prepositions, although they have other more basic meanings.

'aqšiw	“under” — and as a noun “belly, stomach, gut”
alitiq	“in front of, behind” — based on the noun tiq “eye, face”

These two require a possessive marker that matches the person and number of the noun that the preposition governs, as described in detail below in [10.10.2](#).

10.10.2 Prepositional phrases reviewed

A “prepositional phrase” is a preposition with a noun after it, a noun which the preposition governs. The connector **hi** introduces both the noun and the preposition — as long as it is not the first element of the phrase.

Here are examples of prepositional phrases following verbs.

s-uš'ex-š hi 'alapay hi l-xa'x hi l-xip	“he spreads [it] on top of a big rock”
s-qunumak hi liyik hi l-xip-xip'	“it hides among the rocks”
š-nah-na'nan hi l-'a'yi hi ma'm ho' l-'ap	“someone walks around inside the house”

s-we' hi mišup hi l-'akayiš	"[the cat] is asleep under the bed"
ka š-nowon-waš hi l-wintŕ'y hi he' mitip'in hi ho' s-'ap	"an ash tree stood outside his house"
na s-iwon hi l-'ašk'á' hi mut'ey ho' l-'ap...	"when a coyote howls near a house..."
š-quluwašlik hi ho' l-nipolk'oy hu l-'ap	"he/she peeks in the back of the house"

Prepositions with possessive markers

Two items that function as prepositions require a special construction. A possessive marker shows up in front of the preposition that matches the person and number of the noun or pronoun that the pronoun governs.

ho' s-'aqši'w hi l-po'n	"underneath the tree" — singular
ho' s-iy-'aqši'w hi l-pon-po'n	"underneath the trees" — plural with -iy
hi s-ali-tŕq hi l-'eneq	"in front of the woman" — i.e. "in her face, the woman"
hi š-iš-ali-tŕq hi l-'en-'eneq'	"in front of the two women" — roughly "in their [dual] faces, the women"

Here is an example with a first-person possessive. You could add an independent pronoun for emphasis here — see section 5.2 on independent pronouns.

š-nowon hi k-ali-tŕq	"he/she is standing in front of me"
š-nowon hi k-ali-tŕq hi no'	"he/she is standing in front of ME"

Prepositional phrase versus location phrase

Prepositional phrases are distinct from location phrases. Prepositions spell out the relationship of a noun to the verb, while location phrases leave the relationship implied. The English translation of a location phrase requires an English preposition like "in" or "at" or "on," but there is no such preposition in a Shmuwich location phrase.

location phrase	s-iy-lek'en hi l-'o'	"they live [in] the water"
prepositional phrase	s-iy-lek'en hi mišup hi l-'o'	"they live <u>under</u> the water"
location phrase	s-iy-lek'en hi l-'ap ^h a'niš	"they live [in] town"
prepositional phrase	s-iy-lek'en hi ma'm hi l-'o'	"they live <u>in</u> the town"
location phrase	k-išti'-wun hi l-č'alayaš	"I found them [on] the trail"
prepositional phrase	k-išti'-wun hi liyik hi l-č'alayaš	"I found them in the middle of the trail"

10.10.3 Where prepositional phrases go in the sentence

Prepositional phrases are similar to location phrases — they come after subject and object nouns.

Here are examples of prepositional phrases following a subject noun.

š-nah-na'nan hi l-'a'yi hi ma'm ho' l-'ap “someone walks around inside the house”
 s-we' hi l-katu hi mišup hi l-'akayiš “the cat is asleep under the bed”
 ka š-nowon-waš hi l-winti'y hi he' mitip'in hi ho' s-'ap
 “an ash tree stood outside his house”

Here are examples of prepositional phrases following an object noun.

k-ut'imay hi čti'n hi nipolk'oy he' l-'ap “I buried the dog behind the house”
 s-am-si'nay-wun hi l-šoxš hi 'alapay hi l-ša'wil
 “they placed down feathers on top of the shrine [pole]”

I haven't seen examples of prepositional phrases with location phrases. The location phrase would very likely come first because it's shorter and because it would be more difficult to process coming after the prepositional phrase. Here are a couple of conjectural examples.

k-išti'-wun hi hi l-č'alayaš mut'ey hi ho' l-qu'lalam
 “I found them [on] the trail near the creek”
 s-qil-elew hi ho' l-xip-xip' hi mišup hi l-ši
 “it fell [in] the rocks below the cliff”

It could be argued that the prepositional phrases in these made-up examples are actually modifying the location noun — “[on] the trail [that is] near the creek” rather than just “[on] the trail [and] near the creek.” This is largely moot, since the prepositional phrase follows the location noun in either case.

I haven't seen examples of prepositional phrases with time phrases — see the following section [10.11](#) on time phrases . The prepositional phrase would very likely come first because time phrases generally come at the end of the string of nouns after the verb. Here is a conjectural example.

k-iy-iškín hi ma'm hi l-'ap hu s-ulkuw “we keep [the cat] inside the house at night”

10.11 Time Nouns and Phrases

TIME NOUN and TIME PHRASE — Defined

A “time noun” is a single noun that follows the verb to tell you when the action takes place, with no word like “in,” “at” or “on” to spell out when. The “time phrase” includes a time noun but is longer than one word.

Shmuwich doesn’t bother with a special word like “in,” “at” or “on” to introduce the time noun — the relationship is only implied. This is often true of English, too, with a time noun such as “I don’t work Monday.” The time noun is introduced by **hi** like any other noun. Examples of possible time nouns include

'ališaw	“day”	šup	“year”
'a'way	“month”	'ola	“hour” — from Spanish hora

Many time nouns are also **s-** nouns, such as **s-ulkuw** “night” and “it is night” — see section **12.1.9** on “**s-** nouns.” There’s no article because the **s-** falls right into the person–number marker slot for nouns. Nouns with a person–number marker never show up with the article, as discussed in section **3.4.3**.

s-ax-ulkuw	“early morning” — literally “it is early in the morning”
s-iqsin	“noon” and “it is noon”
š-išawi	“summer” — literally “it is summer”
š-naxyit	“morning” — literally “it is morning” as well as s-uni-naxyit
s-qapuni	“spring” — literally “it leaf out” — see s-qap “leaf, feather”
s-ulkuw	“night” — literally “it is night”
s-uti-tapin	“twilight” and “it is twilight, well into the evening”
s-wayin	“winter” — literally “it is winter”

Here are examples of “time nouns” as single nouns following the verb.

k-e-aqiwīwīn hu s-wayin	“I don’t swim [in] the winter”
s-iy-nik’oy hu s-qapuni	“[the birds] return [in] the spring”
s-iy-k’uština’nan hu s-ulkuw	“they are sneaking around [at] night”
kê p-aqnič^ho hi l-kapé hu s-uninaxyit?	“do you like coffee [in] the morning?”

A time noun or phrase can also be fronted for emphasis — see section **11.1.1** on “fronting.” Both examples below show some quantifier with the time noun, so that it’s a time phrase.

li’ya hu swa’yin ’i s-iy-’al-iškín	“they store [it] all winter long”
pak’a s-ulkuw hi s-iy-ic^hitana’nan hi s-iy-awiš	“they spent all night fixing it”
— literally “one [whole] night they are diligent [as] they fix it”	

Here are examples of “time phrases” where a quantifier or demonstrative accompanies the time noun, creating a phrase.

s-am-’a’win ’me ka’neč hu l-’iško’m hi l-’ola	“they boil it about two hours”
ka s-iy-saxwīwīk hi ’iško’m hi l-’ališaw	“they dry it for two days”
s-iy-iškihin-wun hi l-’apišti’ l-’ališaw	“they keep them a few days”

k-lek'en-waş hi l-masix hi l-'a'way	“I stayed three months”
li'ya hu swa'yin 'i s-iy-'al-iškín	“they store [it] all winter long”
š-lek'en hi ho' l-pakuwaš hi l-'ihî' hi l-šup	“the old man lived many years”
s-iy-soxyop hi ho' s-iy-sa li'ya hu š-naxyit	“they wash their teeth every morning”

There's a bit of evidence that Spanish terms for days of the week — and probably by extention months too — count as proper nouns and do not take the article l-. This evidence is the single example **hu lumiku** “on Sunday” in Wash's manuscript dictionary, where Harrington wrote **hu lumiku** “Sunday” with one L rather than two as ***hu l-lumiku**.

k-anti'-waš hi Tim hu lunes	“I met Tim Monday”
s-iy-anti' hi l-'ihiyî'y hu limiku	“the men meet on Sunday(s)”

Time phrases follow object nouns.

kê p-aqnič^ho hi l-kapé hu s-uninaxyit	“do you like coffee in the morning?”
s-iy-soxyop hi ho' s-iy-sa li'ya hu š-naxyit	“they wash their teeth every morning”

Shmuwich spells out **pak'a** “one” with time nouns where English generally uses the article “a” or “an” in the sense of “one.”

moq'e s-akteqen hi pak'a hi l-'ališaw	“a day has gone by already” — i.e. “one day”
š-talawaxač hi pak'a hi l-'ola	“he/she worked an hour” — i.e. “one hour”
pak'a s-ulkuw hi s-iy-ic^hitana'nan hi s-iy-awiš	“they spent all night fixing it”
	— literally “one [whole] night they are diligent [as] they fix it”

Any noun that tells you when the action takes place can be a time noun. This is the role that the noun plays in the sentence, not something inherent to the noun. So the same noun can be a subject, an object, or a time noun — depending on how it fits into the sentence.

<i>subject</i>	s-uleqpey-us hi swa'yin hi s-qapuni	“spring follows winter”
<i>object</i>	k-aqnič^ho hi s-qapuni	“I like spring”
<i>time noun</i>	spe'y hi l-qupe hi s-qapuni	“poppies bloom in the spring”

11.1 “Fronting” and ’i

FRONTING — Defined

Typically the verb or a small number of adverb particles occupy initial position in the Shmuwich sentence. “Fronting” is the process of shifting some other element to the front of the sentence for emphasis. It’s a very common stylistic device.

11.1.1 “Fronting” with ’i

Wash calls the particle ’i a “topic marker.” It shows up most of the time when the main verb or main clause of the sentence is not in first position, which is the neutral and expected place for the verb in Shmuwich. Here are the various elements of the sentence which can be fronted.

- **Subject** — The fronted element is most often the subject of the sentence. Examples of this pattern are very common.

kam ’i s-wil hi s-’ax	“that guy has a gun”
pulak’ak ’i ka s-qon-qon	“Woodpecker is laughing”
he’ l-xus ’i no’no’ ’al’-alaqsisi’	“a bear is very quick-tempered”
ho’ l-naya’nay ’i ’me s-aqli’l hi ’al-ali-’uščal-š	“the razor clam seems to be open”
kopkop ’i ’me s-wak-wakapi hi s-pin-pi’nan	“Toad is hopping very slowly”
ču ’ašk’á’ ’i s-alpát hi s-na’n	“but on the other hand Coyote went running”
he’ l-’iy-’alap-milimol ’i s-iy-qili-hik hi l-’atišwič’iš hi ho’ s-iy-ya’	“the Tulareños used to apply poison to their arrows”

Some of these fronted subjects are augmented with items such as **kikš** “oneself” and **kimi** “even.”

k’e kikš wa’yi ’i s-eqwel-waš hi l-č’alayaš	“and she herself made a trail”
kimi čtin-ti’n ’i s-iy-e-alaqwá’y hi s-iy-yu’luqš	“not even dogs can smell it”

- **Object** — The fronted element can be the object of the sentence, although this is fairly rare.

he’ l-meča ’i s-uniyiw hi s-am-sumaqtap hi ma’m ho’ l-sewu	“the wick, they had to push it down into the lard”
he’ l-kaw-kawayu’ ’i ’me s-aq’uti-’iwawan-wun hi he’ l-c’ic’i hu l-selku,	
ču he’ l-wak-waka’ ’i s-e-’iwawan-wun	“horses, barbed wire always cuts them, but cows, it does not cut them”

- **Noun of time or location** — The fronted element can be a noun or time or location (see section 10.11). There is no word in Shmuwich that translates as “at,” “in” or “on” here.

swa’yin ’i s-am-tipay	“in the winter they dug [it] out”
he’ l-kal-kaleta’ ’i ’meči wey-weye’s hi l-’am-sutap-us-wun	“the carts, oxen were always what they hitched up to them”
’it’i hi s-te’m ho’ s-pu ’i s-u’liš hi ho’ snaq’il	“here on the palm of his hand he holds the flint” — emphasizing “palm” as the location

- **Prepositional phrase** — The fronted element can be a prepositional phrase (see sections 6.7 and 10.10). Such a construction spells out the prepositional relationship which is only implied with nouns of time and location.

ho' l-liyik hu l-'ap 'i s-iy-aqtip "in the middle of the house they build the fire"
'alapay 'i ho'wo š-uquštáy "up above/on top [the peak] is still bright [at sunset]"

- **Adverb** — The fronted element can be an adverb. This may be a true adverb or a verbal expression which acts almost like an adverb, such as s-axi-pak'a "it happens one time" which is the equivalent of English "once."

kíp'i 'i he' l-kuh-ku' 'i s-iy-sepiyál hi he' s-iy-sa "nowadays people brush their teeth"
s-axi-pak'a hi 'ašk'á' 'i s-way-wayi-na'n "once Coyote was slowly walking along"

On the other hand, there are examples of fronting in which the verb is not introduced by 'i. There's no way to know at this point what the conditions are for including 'i or leaving it out and what the difference in meaning might be. These examples without 'i are less common.

- subject noun

he' s'ap he' l-'ih'y 'i sixut "this man's house burned"

luwisa 'i 'al-e-qili-'ušq^hal-us he' l-mitip'in hi l-'a'yi "Luisa never opened the door for anyone..." — emphasizing "Luisa" as subject

he' l-waq-waq'aq' 'i pa ka l-'iy-aš^hunač hi he' l-'o' "the frogs maybe have control over the water" — emphasizing "frogs" as subject

- time phrase

masix hi l-'ališaw hi s-iy-su'owus hi ma'li s-iy-aqmil hi sxa'min

"for three days they fast after they drink sea water"

11.1.2 Multiple fronting

Fairly often two elements are fronted together, such as the subject noun and an adverb. Both of these examples have 'i.

ho'wo moloq hi ho' l-'ih'y 'i s-iy-e-qili-'axwin-eč

"yet in olden times the men [often] didn't wear clothing"

s-iwa-wil hi ho' s-ahaš 'i s-exleleyep hi li'ya hi nuk-nuk'a'...

"sometimes the spirit darts along to all the places [where the person went in life]"

11.1.3 Verbless sentences with 'i

A verbless sentence links two nouns or various other elements. Section 2.7.2 discusses the “A ka B” construction, where **ka** equates various combinations of nouns and pronouns.

Maliya	ka	š-ti	“Maria [is] her name”
š-ti	ka	Maliya	“her name [is] Maria”
k-ša'y	ka	Lisa	“my daughter [is] Lisa”
ho'	ka	k-wop	“that's my son”
ho'wun	ka	k-wop-wop'	“these are my sons”

Sometimes the particle 'i shows up in addition to **ka** in these “A ka B” constructions.

he' l-'el-'elye'wu'n 'i ka s-is-kuh-ku' hi he' sxa'min
 “the swordfish are the people of the sea”

On the other hand, sometimes 'i shows up and there's no **ka**.

li'ya hi 'it'i 'i 'ih'-waš hi l-č'alayaš malâ'me nuk'a
 “all around here there were trails everywhere”

There's no indication how these three pattern differ in meaning,

11.2 Conjunction — joining two clauses

CONJUNCTION — Defined

A “conjunction” is a word that “conjoin” two or more words or clauses. The term also refers to the process of conjoining clauses. English examples include

It was raining when we came out of the meeting.

Tell me if you’ve seen this before.

While she was there, she looked up an old friend.

Even though I was ready, I didn’t expect a question like that.

Since you’re here, talk to me for a bit.

He ran like his life depended on it.

11.2.1 Introduction to conjunctions

Talking about conjunctions requires making a distinction between two kinds of clauses.

MAIN CLAUSE — Defined

The “main clause” conveys the most important information; there is no conjunction introducing it.

SUBORDINATE CLAUSE — Defined

The “subordinate clause” is the clause which follows the conjunction; it supplies secondary information about the events of the main clause.

Here are a couple of English examples, with the conjunctions underlined.

conj. subordinate clause main clause

“While she was there, she looked up an old friend.”

main clause

conj. subordinate clause

“It was raining when we came out of the meeting.”

The main clause could stand itself, since it expresses a complete thought — “it was raining” and “she looked up an old friend.” You could stop with the main clause in the two English examples above.

A pair of clauses linked with a conjunction can show up in two possible orders.

- **Main clause first**

It was raining when we came out of the meeting.

Tell me if you’ve seen this before.

He ran like his life depended on it.

- **Subordinate clause first**

While she was there, she looked up an old friend.

Even though I was ready, I didn’t expect a question like that.

Since you’re here, talk to me for a bit.

Most of the time either order works OK in English and the basic meaning is the same, although one order versus the other adds a shade of meaning.

It was raining when we came out of the meeting.

When we came out of the meeting it was raining.

While she was there, she looked up an old friend.

She looked up an old friend while she was there.

Shmuwich also allows both of these possible orders, with the main clause first or second.

Here are a few examples of the main clause first.

s-am-'a'win hi l-wewu 'akay hu ka s-utišiš "they boil an egg until it is hard"

'ihī' hi s-qapiš, hi wa 'al-wil hi s-'ančum "he buys a lot of it, if he has the money"

'iwa-tani-niw ču š-iš-qitiwič he'-wun

"please dance a little so that these two are entertained"

11.2.2 When the main clause is second

As a rule, when the main clause follows the subordinate clause, it's almost always introduced by 'i,

na mīk hi p-uš'o' 'i s-xili-wok'oy "if you leave it for long, it settles"

na s-iy-expeč hi he' l-č'u', 'i 'al-sa'-tuhúy

"when the Western Mockingbirds sing, it is going to rain"

ma'li s-iy-'alašal-waš 'i ka s-iy-saquti'nán

"after they prayed they told bed-time stories"

ma'li s-iy-'an-'anšin he' l-'in-'inyu' 'i s-iy-e-tipawil

"when Indians are eating, they don't talk"

11.2.3 A Listing of conjunctions

Most conjunctions show up as single words, parallel to English conjunctions such as "during," "if" and "while." There are also idiomatic sequences of conjunctions in which two or more elements together take on a meaning that's often distinct from the meaning of the part, such as English "as if" or "even though."

The translations and examples don't generally give enough information to show the subtle distinctions between various conjunctions. It's also possible that some of the more complex conjunctions that include **ka** aren't really complex, but simply happen to include **ka** appended to the following verb, such as with the two examples of 'uqme "and then, pretty soon."

Wash's 2001 dissertation *Adverbial Clauses in Barbareño Chumash Narrative Discourse* is an invaluable resource here. Wash uses the term "adverbial clause" to mean subordinate clauses introduced by conjunctions and she discusses the conjunctions in great depth and detail.

Conjunctions discussed by Wash in “Adverbial Clauses...”

This section is a listing of the conjunctions that Wash discusses as separate chapters in her dissertation. The example sentences that show up with some of them are examples of the Integrated Shmuwich dictionary, not necessarily examples that Wash cites. As mentioned above, Wash covers these conjunctions in great depth.

FIXX — Add an example sentence or two to each of these.

'akay hu	“until...” k'e 'me s-iša mīk hi p-e-kut'a 'akay hu l-wa p-aqtan “and you don't get up for quite some time, until you cool off” s-am-'a'win hi l-wewu 'akay hu ka s-utišiš “they boil an egg until it is hard”
'akimpi	“during; when, while” 'me k'ip hi 'akimpi hi s-welen... “I think it was during an earthquake...” 'akimpi hu ho'wo 'al-tupmekč hi luwisa... “when Luisa was still a girl...”
ma'li	“when, after; only if...; only..., to be all that...”
hak'u	“if”
na	“if, when, in order to”
wa	“if, when”
'iye'me	“although, even if” s-iy-e-tipawil 'iye'me p-saq^halalan-us-wun “they don't talk even though you holler at them”
ču	“so that, in order to” 'iwa-tani-niw ču š-iš-qitiwič he'-wun “please dance a little so that these two are entertained”
čukanu	“so that, in order to”
k'u	“lest, so that ... not”
k'ayké	“because” s-am-sumoč-wun hi ho' l-'enxweq k'aykê 'al-ka-'išnaniš-waš “they tattooed the girls because it was the custom” s-e-wil-waš hi l-xaxa'x hi s-iy-ič'alayaš, k'aykê 'al-e-wil-waš hi s-iy-kaleta “they didn't have big [i.e. wide] wide trails, because they didn't have wagons”
'me hu	“because, since, from, in order to”
ka'neč	“like, as if”

Additional conjunctions and idiomatic sequences of conjunctions

FIXX — Add an example sentence or two to each of these.

če' ~ čel	“and; but”
če ka	“while”
če'li'nu 'l-	“but in reality”
či	“but”
ču ka ('me)	“so that..., in order to...”
ču kanu	“and that is why...; in order that...”
ču maštiču 'me	“and at last”
ču na he' sne	“and when/as he/she does so...”
hamú ~ ha'mu	“or, or else”
'i he'	“in that case”
	<p>hi ka no'no' hi p-paš-paš 'i ču wa s-e-nowon, 'i he' 'i 'al-alaqwá'y hi p-aqšan “and you vomit a lot such that if it doesn't stop, in this case it is possible for you to die”</p>
'ik ^h u	“but, however”
'ipu'we	“but instead, rather; especially”
k'a 'me	“but instead...; rather...”
k'a 'me kikš hi hak'u	“unless...”
kanti'me	“anyway, nevertheless”
kanu	“that is why”
k'ilkim	“just a little after, shortly after”
kim	“then, after”
kim ka	“and then..., after that...”
kimini	“then... , then (in that case)”
kíp'í ka	“and then...; and now...”
ma'li wa	“as soon as”
ma'li ho'wo	“while”
na speq'enwaš 'i	<p>“at last, finally; from na “when” + s-peqen-waš “it ended” + 'i — this expression is used at the beginning of the phrase</p>
pu'we	“however...”
'unu'me	“as if...; like...”
'uqme (ka)	<p>“and pretty soon...; and then...; with the result that...”</p> <p>'uqme s^hunu'na hi s-tuhuy “and then it starts to rain” 'uqme ka s-kuwayapi hi 'ašk'a' “pretty soon Coyote returned”</p>

11.2.4 The subordinate clause first or second

Theoretically the main clause could come before or after the subordinate clause that the conjunction introduces. In practice, some conjunctions do show up both before and after the main clause, but others tend to show mostly or entirely after the main clause. This section presents a few conjunctions and discusses the patterns they fall into.

ma'li “when, after, as, during”

This is one of the more common conjunctions and the examples of it in context are pretty much evenly divided between first position before the main clause and after the main clause.

- **ma'li** before the main verb — and with 'i before the main verb in most cases

ma'li s-iy-'alašal-waš 'i ka s-iy-saquti'nan
“after they prayed they told bed-time stories”

ma'li s-iy-'an-'anšin he' l-'in-'inyu' 'i s-iy-e-tipawil
“when Indians are eating, they don't talk”

ma'li mok'e s-iy-pux-wun-waš 'i ka s-iy-soxmoloc'in-wun
“once they have already strung them, then they polish them”

ču ma'li s-iy-axwiwík hi ka s-iy-apšik-wun hi l-meš
“and when they are dry they put them in a sack”
- **ma'li** after the main verb — with hi as a connector before ma'li

ka s-qilalyik-š hi ma'li s-iwon hi l-'ašk'á' “it's an omen when a coyote barks”

š-iš-ali-kut-kuti hi ma'li š-napay hi l-c'inowon
“the two of them watch him as he comes over the hill”

p-sipyototon hi ho' l-'o' ka s-uti-kim, ču 'me ma'li s-ipyototon...
“you boil the water first, and as soon as it boils...”

masix hi l-'ališaw hi s-iy-su'owus hi ma'li s-iy-aqmil hi sxa'min
“they fast for three days after they drink sea water”

na “when”

This is also one of the more common conjunctions and the examples of it in context are evenly divided between first position before the main clause and after the main clause.

- **na** before the main verb — and with 'i before the main verb

na p-aqmil he' l-mo'moy 'i p-'atišwič hi li'ya hi p-al-sa'-qum-qumpi'l
“when you drink Datura, you see/dream everything that you will experience”

na mík hi p-uš'o' 'i s-xili-wok'oy “if you leave it [standing] for long, it settles”

na c'iqhí'y hi p-'atišwin, 'i no'no p-e-su-kik'i hi p-aqiwemes hi l-'o' “if Snake is your
spirit helper, you think nothing at all of swimming across the water”

na š-iy-expeč hi he' l-č'u', 'i 'al-sa'-tuhúy
“when the Western Mockingbirds sing, it is going to rain”

- **na** after the main verb — with **hi** as a connector before **na** unless some other element comes right before it

ho' s-qap 'i 'al-č^ho hi s-am-axiyep-'en hi na p-yasis

“its leaf [angelica] is good to remedy it when you have poison oak”

hi ka s-wala-qinem hi ho' l-pakuwaš, ču na he' s-ne 'i 'me s-noqš-iwaš hi l-'al-aqšan

“the old man turns and looks, and as he does so [there is] the skull of a dead person”

ka s-api-'atikuy, ču na he' s-nes-iy, 'i mok'e s-watiple' hi l-'eneq “he gave a quick look, but when he did so again, the woman had disappeared”

'al-e-č^ho hi sam-kuy-wun hi l-t'oh-t'o' hi na s-wil-pi-wun hi l-'a'way

“it's not good to gather mussels when the moon is [shining] on them”

'akay hu “until”

So far only three examples of this sequence have shown up and they all come after the main clause. There is no connector **hi** before **'akay hu**.

s-am-'a'win hi l-wewu 'akay hu ka s-utišiš “they boil an egg until it is hard”

k'e 'me s-iša mīk hi p-e-kut'a 'akay hu l-wa p-aqtan

“and you don't get up for quite some time, until you cool off”

s-am-nišišin 'akay hu ka s-eqeč hi s-pax-pa'x

“they rub it [between the hands] until the skins come off”

k'aykê “because”

So far the examples of this sequence all seem to come after the main clause. There is no connector **hi** before **k'aykê**.

čak'u kê 'al-axi-xus, k'aykê hu l-tičpi š-mayaniš

“maybe he turned into a bear, because he completely disappeared”

š-am-sumoč-wun hi ho' l-'enxweq k'aykê 'al-ka-'išnaniš-waš

“they tattooed the girls because it was the custom”

s-yinix hi s^ha'-tipaw-pawil k'aykê paxnawi s-tani-'ali-'aqšmul “he is eager to talk

[in the future] because he had hardly made a sound for so long”

In colloquial speech, you drop “that,” but the two-part structure is still quite obvious.

“I hear <u>that</u> his grandmother is sick”	or	“I hear his grandmother is sick”
“did you say <u>that</u> your father is asleep?”	or	“did you say your father is asleep?”
“she tells us <u>that</u> the food is done”	or	“she tells us the food is done”

The bottom line with plain embeddings in English is that the two parts of the construction stay in intact with no change except optionally dropping the “that” which links them.

More complex embeddings in English

English has more complex forms of embedding that can blur the distinction between the main verb and the embedding; the two clauses are blended together. Here it helps to lay out the underlying sequence and then show what you actually say in spoken English.

1) When the subject of the main verb and the embedded verb are the same

With some English verbs, if the subject of the main verb is the same as the subject of the second verb, you have the option of regular embedding or a helping verb construction — see section 7.13 on helping verbs.

- Embeddings introduce the second verb with “that.”
- Helping verbs introduce the second verb with “to” or “-ing.” In addition, the second identical subject is deleted, so this construction blurs the embedded structure a bit. And there’s a difference in meaning in English.

In English there’s a difference in meaning between embeddings and helping verbs when the subjects of both verbs are the same. In Shmuwich, when both subjects are the same there’s no difference between the two English constructions below.

<i>embedding</i>	“I hope [that] I find it”
<i>helping verb</i>	“I hope to find it”
<i>embedding</i>	“I’m mad [that] I lost”
<i>helping verb</i>	“I’m mad about losing”
<i>embedding</i>	“I forgot [that] I took the trash out”
<i>helping verb</i>	“I forgot to take the trash out”
	“I forgot about taking the trash out”

2) When the subject of the main verb and the embedded verb are different

With some English verbs, if the subject of the main verb is different from the subject of the embedded verb, the subject of the embedded verb may show up as an object pronoun. Some verbs require “to” in front of the embedded verb.

<i>main verb</i>	<i>embedding</i>	> <i>surface string</i>
she wants	we visit her this week	> “she wants us to visit her this week”
I make	my son picks up his clothes	> “I make my son pick up his clothes”
Tim waits for me	I find it	> “Tim waits for me to find it”

Lisa found him	he is sleeping	> “Lisa found him sleeping”
Tim helps her	she finds her key	> “Tim helps her find her key”
did you tell them?	they finish it today	> “did you tell them to finish it today?”

Notice the following points about embeddings of this type in English.

- The conjunction “that” does not appear at all.
- The subject of the embedding shows up in its object form if it’s a pronoun — “I” becomes “me,” “he” becomes “him,” “she” becomes “her,” and so on.
- Some verbs add “to” in front of the verb.

You see both of these last two points in these examples from above.

“she wants us to visit her this week”

“Tim waits for me to find it”

“did you tell them to finish it Friday?”

The good news is that as a native speaker of English you already know about these more complex kinds of embedding; it would be very challenging to deal with if you were learning English as a second language. More good news is that Shmuwich handles embeddings of this type the same way it handles the simpler English embeddings.

11.3.2 What to look for with embeddings in Shmuwich

Here a few important points to keep in mind about embeddings in Shmuwich.

- The connective particle **hi** introduces the embedded sentence. Here **hi** is a conjunction rather than just a connector — but this is a fine point that doesn’t really make any practical difference.
- Main verbs — the verbs that take embeddings — tend to belong to certain semantic classes, such as verbs of perception and communication. See section 11.3.7 for listings and examples of these various types of embedding verbs.
- A great many verbs can take embeddings; this section presents the most common ones.
- A main verb plus embedding may look like a paired verb or helping verb but the underlying construction is different. Here is **č’a’min** “to know” in various roles.

plain verb k-č’a’min hi š-ti “I know his/her/its name”

helping verb k-č’a’min hi k-aqiw+iw+iñ “I know how to swim”

embedding verb k-č’a’min hi k-ša’-t’imoč’o “I know that I will be late”

embedded verb k-tiyep-us-wun hi k-e-č’a’min “I tell them I don’t know”

Here is **itpen** “to remember” in various roles.

plain verb k-itpen hi š-ti “I remember his/her/its name”

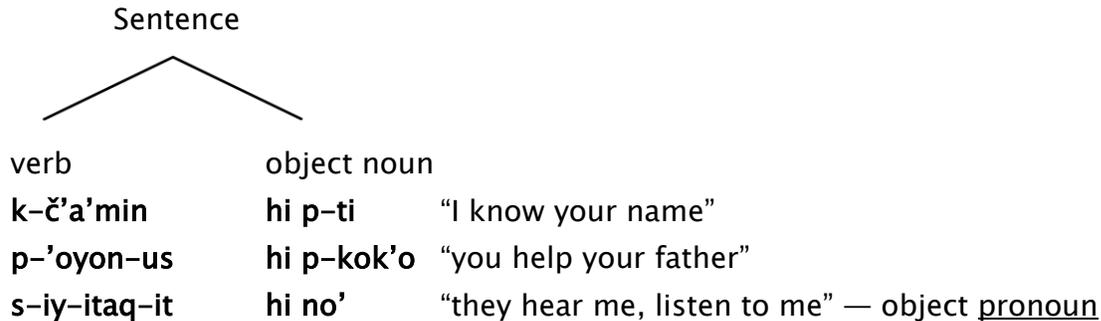
helping verb k-itpen hi k-tiyep-in “I remember to tell you”

embedding verb k-itpen hi p-tiyep-it-waš “I remember that you told/showed me”

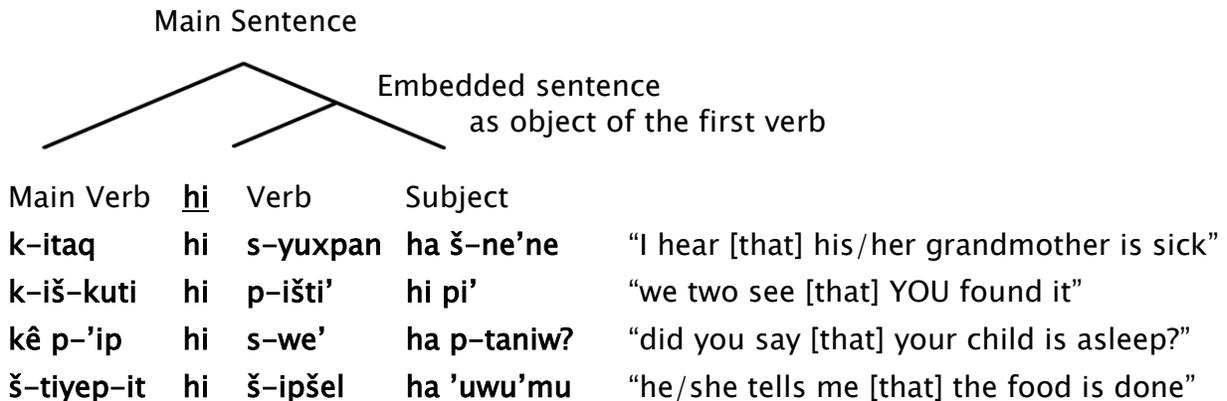
embedded verb k-tiyep-us-wun hi k-e’-itpen “I tell them I don’t remember”

11.3.3 A Schematic for Embeddings

Below is a schematic that shows the relationship of main verb and embedded verb in a different way. It's a "tree diagram" or a modified version of a more old-fashioned "sentence diagram." The first diagram below shows a typical sentence with a verb and an object noun, which is a very basic sentence pattern.



Suppose you replace the object noun with a whole sentence? You've already encountered many examples of this construction, but they feel so natural that you may not have given them any special attention. Here are a few examples; **hi** introduces the second sentence. Here **hi** is a conjunction rather than just connector.



Here are more examples, laid out without the tree diagram. First is the main sentence, then **hi**, then the embedded sentence.

<i>main verb</i>	hi	<i>embedded verb/sentence</i>
k-č'a'min	hi	p-iy-itaq-it
"I know	that	you all hear me/are listening to me"
k-itaq	hi	š-aqšan hi l-pakuwaš
"I hear	that	the old man died"
š-'ip-waš	hi	'al-sa'-akti'na
"she said	that	she was going to come"
š-am-uš^ho'	hi	s-kitwon
"they let		it go out"

11.3.4 “Linked” embeddings

LINKED EMBEDDING — Defined

The term “linked embedding” refers to an embedding in which the subject of the embedded verb is tagged onto the main verb as an object marker.

s-uš^ho-it hi k-tap > šuš^holit hi ktap “he/she let me in, let me come in”

The first-person **k-** “I” on **tap** “to enter” also shows up on the main verb as the first-person object marker **-it** “me.” This example translates literally as “he/she allows me, I enter.”

You might ask why the earlier example **š-am-uš^ho’ hi s-kitwon** “they let it go out” doesn’t have a linking object marker **-us**. This is because **uš^ho’** is a verb which takes a direct object suffix, where a third-person singular object is unmarked.

Here are other examples of linked embeddings.

'oyon-it	hi k-išti'	“help me find it”
s-kuyam-it	hi k-tipawil	“he/she waits for me to speak”
k-sa'-'oyon-in	hi p-uti-nowon	“I’ll help you up, help you stand up”
p-'ip-iyuw	hi k-iš-kuyam-in	“you tell us [two] to wait for you”
k-'ip-iyuw	hi p-iš-e-kuyam-it	“I tell you [two] not to wait for me”
k-'ip-us-wun	hi s-iy-e-kuyam-it	“I tell them not to wait for me”
p-e-uš^ho'-wun	hi s-iy-kitwon	“don’t let them out, don’t let them get out”
> pe'uš^howun		

11.3.5 Multiple embeddings

It’s possible to have multiple embeddings. Here are made-up examples, showing the progression from one embedding to two or even more.

- layer 1 below is a regular sentence
- layer 2 shows layer 1 embedded after a main verb
- layer 3 shows layer 2 embedded after yet another main verb
- layer 4 shows layer 3 embedded yet again

layer 1		s-yuxpan hi s-wop	“his/her son is sick”
layer 2		s-'ip hi Lisa	hi s-yuxpan hi s-wop
		“Lisa says	[that] her son is sick”
layer 3	k-itaq	hi s-'ip hi Lisa	hi s-yuxpan hi s-wop
	“I hear	that Lisa says	[that] her son is sick”
layer 4	k-aqniwil	hi k-itaq	hi s-'ip hi Lisa
	“I think	I heard	Lisa say
			hi s-yuxpan hi s-wop
			[that] her son is sick”

It’s unlikely to come across a sentence with three layers of embedding, but you can see how the underlying structure is fairly transparent.

11.3.6 Tense in embeddings

The tense — or implied tense — of the main verb generally carries over to the embedded verb as a default tense.

k-sa'-'oyon-us-wun hi š-iy-išti' “I'll help them find it (in the future)”

k-'oyon-uš-wun-waš hi š-iy-išti' “I helped them find it (in the past)”

It's also possible to mark the two verbs with different tenses.

k-'a'latiš hi p-išti'-waš hi p-yawi “I hope you found your key”

k-'a'latiš hi p-ša'-išti' hi p-yawi “I hope you will find your key”

k-'a'latiš-waš hi p-e-sa'-t'amay hi p-yawi

“I hoped that you wouldn't forget your key”

k-'a'latiš-waš hi p-e-t'amay-waš hi p-yawi

“I hoped that you hadn't forgotten your key”

11.3.7 A Listing of possible embedding verbs

Many different verbs can provide the framework for an embedded clause. The Shmuwich verbs that typically show up as main verbs with embeddings may be

- verbs of interaction,
- verbs of communication, or
- verbs of thought and perception.

The verbs in these lists are not the only verbs that take embeddings, just the ones that are most common. There's some overlap between these various categories. For example, **tiyep** in the sense of “to teach (someone something)” is a verb of interaction, while **tiyep** in the sense of “to tell, report some fact” is a verb of communication.

š-tiyep-iyuw hi p-iy-tipawel hi l-šmuwič “he/she teaches you all to speak Shmuwich”

š-tiyep-š hi š-iy-qutišiš hi l-mol-moloq' hi l-ku

“he/she reports/teaches that the old eople were wise”

Verbs of interaction with embeddings

'oyon -us “to help someone do something”

kê p-'oyon-it hi k-išti'? “will you help me find it?”

kuyam -us “to wait for someone do something”

s-kuyam-iyuw hi k-iy-sexen “he/she waits for us finish eating”

ni'wi'len -us “to force to, compell to, make do against one's will”

š-ni'wi'len-it hi k-tiyep-us “he forces me to tell/show him”

sukilamu “to trick/fool someone into acting”

'ašk'á' 'i s^hukilamu hi s-kitwon hi l-pistuk

“Coyote fools the ground squirrel into coming out”

tiyep -us “to show someone [that ...] and “to teach someone to do something”

s-iy-tiyep-us hi s-iy-itaxsin “they show him/her that they understand”

š-tiyep-it-waš hi k-'es “she taught me to weave”

- uš^ho'** “to let, allow, permit”
s-e-uš^ho'-it > **še'uš^holit hi k-we'** “it doesn't let me sleep”
š-uš^ho-wun hi s-iy-kitwon hi čtin-ti'n ~ čtinčti'n
 “he lets the dogs out, lets the dogs go out”

A Samala construction that might carry over into Shmuwich is eqwel “to do, make” in the sense of “to make someone do something” or “make it so that someone does something” — not to be confused with causatives like **šu-t'imoč'o** “to make someone late” — see section 7.11 on **su-** “causative.” Here is a Samala example translated into Shmuwich.

s-eqwel hi ponsiyu pilatu hi s-alaxsu'mu “Pontius Pilate made him suffer”

Verbs of communication with embeddings

- axšiš** “to invite someone to, ask someone to, summon someone to” — as a non-embedding, **axšiš** can mean “to call (to), call for”
x'ox 'i s-axšiš hi kniy ču s-akt-anšin hi ho' s-'ap hi x'ox
 “Heron invites Fox to come eat at Heron's house”
- 'ip -us** “to say [that ...]” or “to say to someone [that ...]” or “to tell someone to do something”
s-'ip hi p-akti'na “he/she says that you are coming”
k-'ip-us hi k-itaxsin “I said to him/her that I understand”
s-'ip-it hi k-na'n “he/she told me to go”
- tiyep -us** “to tell (someone) [that ...]” — this means to pass along information, not to tell someone to do something — see **'ip** for that sense of “tell”
š-tiyep-it hi š-aqšan hi l-pakuwaš
 “he/she tells me the old man died/is dead”

Verbs of thought and perception with embeddings

The bulk of verbs that take embeddings are verbs of thought and perception, including mental/emotional states.

- 'a'latiš** “to hope [that ...]”
k-'a'latiš hi p-e-t'amay hi p-yawi “I hope that you don't forget your key”
- aqnič^ho** “to like [the fact that ...]”
k-aqnič^ho hi s-e-mowon hi no'no “I like that it's not very sweet”
- aqniwus** “to want someone to do something”
kê p-aqniwus hi k-iy-saqsu'mu he'? “do you want us to learn this?”
- č'a'min** “to know [that ...]”
p-iy-č'a'min hi š-wa'wač hi l-'aqli'w “you all know [that] the language is hard”
- itaq** “to hear [that ...]”
k-itaq hi s-yuxpan hi p-ne'ne “I hear [that] your grandmother is sick”

itaxsin	“to understand [that ...]” k-itaxsin hi p-e-sili-na'n “I understand that you don't want to go”
itpen	“to remember [that ...]” k-itpen-waš hi š-iš-aktin'na hi k-mi-s-mi's “I remembered that my in-laws are coming”
kuti	“to see [that ...]” k-iy-kuti hi s-iy-suyen “we see that they are becoming/suitable”
su'inu	“to believe [that ...]” k-su'inu hi š-ša'-išti' hi l-'anč^hum “I believe that he/she will find the money”
soxnon -us	“to suspect someone of doing” or “to suspect [that...]” s-am-soxnon-us hi 'al-sa'-xonon “they suspect him of planning to steal it” — literally “they suspect him/her as one who will steal” k-iy-soxnon-in hi p-saxkla'-waš “we suspect you of messing it up” — “of having messed it up” in the past tense”
šaxilišti'	“to find out [that ...]” k-šaxilišti' hi mok'e š-anšin “I find out that he/she has already eaten”
t'amay	“to forget [that ...]” k-t'amay hi k-su-kitwon hi l-šupilxališ “I forgot to take out the trash” š-t'amay hi k-iy-ša'-iwiš “he/she forgot that we would go with him/her”
unimuš	“to be aware [that ...],” “to sense [that ...]” š-e-'unimuš hi s-iy-itaq “he/she isn't aware that they are listening” k-unimuš hi p-xuwil-it “I sense that you're mad at me”
xuwil	“to be mad/angry [that ...], to be mad/angry about [the fact that ...]” kê p-xuwil hi k-e-tiyep-in? “are you mad that I didn't tell you?”
xunušpi	“to be afraid [that ...]” k-xunušpi hi p-sa'-t'amay “I'm afraid [that] you'll forget it”

Here's the idiom **ka š-č^ho hi —antik** “to be happy” as a main verb with an embedding.

ka š-č^ho ha —antik “to be happy [that ...]”

ka š-č^ho hi k-antik hi p-iš-nik'oy “I'm happy that you two are back”

11.4 Relative clauses and nominalization

These terms describe two sides of the same coin, from different perspectives.

RELATIVE CLAUSE — Defined

A “relative clause” is a phrase that is appended to a noun and includes at least a verb and perhaps more of the trappings of a full sentence. In English, the verb or phrase is “related” to the noun with some linking element such as “who,” “that,” “which,” or “where,” as in

noun	relative clause	
“the man	<u>who</u>	danced at the pow-wow”
“the woman	<u>whom</u>	you saw yesterday” ~ “the woman you saw yesterday”
“the food	<u>that</u>	we eat” ~ “the food we eat”
“the feather	<u>which/that</u>	your son found” ~ “the feather your son found”

Constructions such as “the man who danced at the pow-wow” and “the feather which/that your son found” are called “relative clauses.” The words “who,” “that” and “which” do not ask questions here; they relate the noun to the following verb, hence the term “relative.”

RELATIVIZATION — Defined

“Relativization” is the process of appending a relative clause to a noun. Using “who,” “that” or “which” in English to link a noun to a clause in a sentence like “the man who danced at the pow-wow” is called relativization.

NOMINALIZATION — Defined

“Nominalization” is the process of turning a verb — and an adjective too — into a noun. “Nominal” is a technical term that means “pertaining to a noun.” English examples of this process with nouns are

<i>verb</i>	<i>nominal form</i>	<i>verb</i>	<i>nominal form</i>
to arrive	arrival	to decide	decision
to suffer	suffering	to retain	retention
to pave	pavement	to complete	completion
to pretend	pretense	to apply	application

Here are English examples based on adjectives.

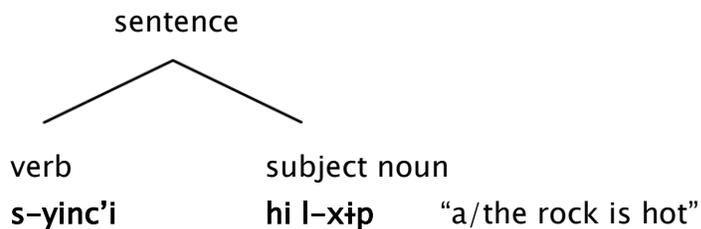
<i>adjective</i>	<i>nominal form</i>	<i>adjective</i>	<i>nominal form</i>
to be important	importance	to be beautiful	beauty
to be true	truth	to be abundant	abundance
to be strong	strength	to be weak	weakness

It’s quite common in English to turn a verb-based statement into a nominalization.

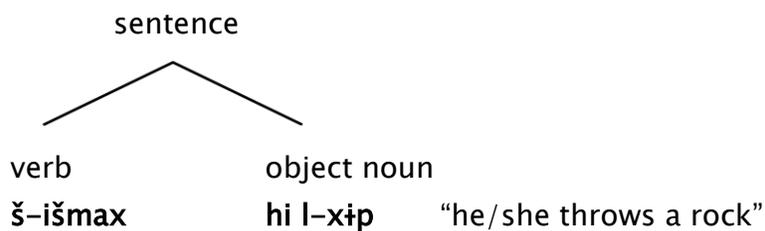
<i>verb</i>	<i>nominalization</i>
I choose the strong candidate.	my choice of the strong candidate
you support the other candidate	your support for the other candidate
he arrives late	his late arrival
the wildlife is abundant	the abundance of wildlife

11.4.1 A Schematic for relative clauses

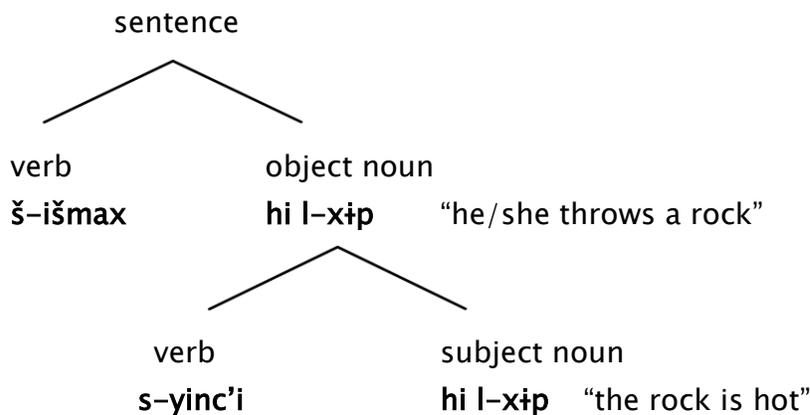
Below is a schematic that shows relative clauses in a different way. It's another “tree diagram.” The first diagram below shows a sentence with a verb and a subject noun — a very basic sentence pattern.



Suppose you take another very basic sentence pattern — a verb with an object noun that happens to match the subject noun of the sentences above.



Consider these two sentences your starting point. You can insert one of the sentences in the first pair of examples into these sentence. The hook or point of connection is that this second sentence includes the same noun as the first sentence.



This sequence requires a few operations to become “proper” Shmuwich.

- Delete the “hook” — the first occurrence of **hi l-xip** in the upper-level sentence; it's redundant because **hi l-xip** shows up again in the lower-level sentence.
- Change the person marker **s-** on the lower-level verb to **l-** “relative marker.” This shifts verb from **s-yinc'i** “it is hot” to **hi l-yinc'i** “something that is hot.”

The output of these operations is

š-išmax hi l-yinc'i hi l-xip “he throws a hot rock”
 — literally “he throws something that is hot, a rock”

The tree schematic in the section above could also be represented in a more compact way.

<i>main verb</i>	<i>object</i>	<i>relative clause</i>			
š–imax	hi l–xɪp	{s–yinc’i hi l–xɪp}	>	šišmax	hi l–yinc’i hi l–xɪp
“he throws	a rock	{the rock is hot}”	>	“he throws	a hot rock”

Here are a few more examples.

<i>main verb</i>	<i>object</i>	<i>relative clause</i>			
k–aqmil	hi l–kapé	{s–aximay hi l–kapé}	>	k–aqmil	hi l–’aximay hi l–kapé
“I drink	coffee	{the coffee is black}”	>	“I drink	black coffee”
kê p–kuti	hi k–supap’i’	{s–’ikimin hi l–supap’i’}	>	kê p–kuti	hi l–’ikimin hi k–supap’i’?
“do you see my car?		{the car is new}”	>	“do you see my new car?”	

Here are examples of relative clauses with first- and second-person subjects, which use *al-* instead of *l-* to mark the relative form of the verb.

k–eqwel hi li’ya hi k–al–aqniywus	“I do everything that I want to” — literally “I do it all, what I want”
hi l–’ixpaniš hi p–iy–al–pušpak–waš	“the acorn(s) that you all gathered”

How Shmuwich handles relative clauses partly depends on whether the verb that’s relativized has a third-person subject or a subject that’s first or second person.

11.4.2 Relative clauses with third-person *l-*

Ordinarily verbs with third-person subjects show up with the third-person marker *s-*. When a verb is relativized, the *s-* is replaced with *l-*.

NOTE: The relative marker *l-* is enough to create the relative phrase on its own. Shmuwich does not use or require a separate word that translates as “who,” “which,” “that” or “what.” The English translation includes these words only because English requires them

Here are several examples with singular subjects, showing the shift from a regular verb with *s-* to a relativized form with *l-*.

s–’atišwin–ič	“he/she is a sorcerer” — literally “has supernatural power”
hi l–’atišwin–ič	“a sorcerer” — literally “one with supernatural power”
š–ti–č Mariya	“she is called/named Maria” — no <i>hi</i> , the name is a quote
hi l–’eneq hi l–ti–č Maria	“the woman called/named Maria”
s–yinc’i hi l–xɪp	“the rock is hot”
hi l–yinc’i hi l–xɪp	“a hot rock” — “one that is hot, a rock”
š–lek’en hi l–’a’yi hi ho’ l–’ap	“someone lives in that house”
hi l–’a’yi hi l–lek’en hi ho’ l–’ap	“someone who lives in that house”
he’ l–ku ’i š–tipawil hi he’ k–iy–aqli’w	“the person speaks our language”
hi l–ku hi l–tipawil hi he’ k–iy–aqli’w	“the person who speaks our language”
hi l–’ax’ukuy ’i s–suti’ixpin hi ho’ l–šipitiš	“the container holds the mush”
hi l–’ax’ukuy hi l–suti’ixpin hi ho–l–šipitiš	“the container that holds the mush”

A Sound rule with third-person I-

If the verb or verb prefix begins with a vowel, a glottal stop shows up between the I- and the vowel. This is typical of any shift from a verb to a noun; see section 12.1 on turning verbs into nouns. It's a toss-up whether to write the glottal stop as a separate element or just stick it in front of the verb. It looks awkward written separately.

hi I-'-ušk'al hi I-'atišwič'hiš "a strong poison"

With writing the glottal stop as part of the verb, there's some danger that students may assume that the verb always starts with a glottal stop. A verb like ušk'al "to be strong" does not have an inherent initial glottal stop, while a verb like 'ikimin "to be new" does have an inherent glottal stop.

Be that as it may, I've elected to write the glottal stop right in front of the verb.

hi I-'ušk'al hi I-'atišwič'hiš "a strong poison" — literally "something strong, poison"

hi I-'ikimin hi I-supap'i "a new car" — literally "something new, a car"

Here are additional examples of this stuck-in glottal stop that goes in front of verbs or compounds of prefix plus verb that start with vowels.

- in front of a verb root that starts with a vowel

s-eqwel-waš hi hu I-tomol "he made a boat"

hi I-'eqwel-waš hi hu I-tomol "the one who made a boat"

- in front of a verb prefix that starts with a vowel

s-uti-nowon hi wakapi "he/she stands up slowly"

hi I-'uti-nowon hi wakapi "the one who stands up slowly"

s-uleqpey-it hi I-ku "a person is following me" — ulu-eqpey "to follow"

hi he'-I-ku he'-I-'uleqpey-it "the person who is following me"

Stative 'al- with third-person I-

Sometimes a verb is marked with stative 'al- (see section 7.14.2). This prefix replaces the usual third-person marker s-.

'al-aqšan hi I-ku "a person is dead"

'al-saxmak-š hi I-'eneq "a woman is pregnant"

When a verb with 'al- "stative" is made relative, the relative marker I- goes right in front of 'al- as if 'al- were simply another element of the verb. The sequence is I-'al-.

hi I-ku hi I-'al-aqšan "a dead person" — literally "a person, one who is dead"

hi I-'eneq hi I-'al-saxmak-š "a pregnant woman" — "a woman, one who is pregnant"

Here are these relative clauses in the context of a full sentence.

hi š-ti hi I-ku hi I-'al-aqšan "the name of a dead person"

p-saqmil-us hi I-'eneq hi I-'al-saxmakš

"you give it to a pregnant woman to drink"

11.4.3 Number in relative clauses with third-person l-

An ordinary verb with third-person s- may show up with various number markers.

- s-iš-tipawil “the two of them are talking”
 s-iy-tipawil “they are talking”
 s-am-tipawil “they [indefinite] are talking”

When you replace s- with relative l-, the number markers still follow the l-. However, because the number markers begin with vowels, they all show up with a stuck-in glottal stop after the relative l-.

- hi l-iš-tipawil “the two who are talking”
 hi l-iy-tipawil “the ones who are talking”
 hi l-am-tipawil “the ones [indefinite] who are talking”

Here are more examples of these patterns.

- l-iš- “the two who” or “what the two of them ...”
 hi l-iš-’ip-uš-waš “what the two of them said to him/her”
 hi ho’ l-iš-toxš “the two who are fighting”
- l-iy- “the ones who” or “what they ...”
 s-ušk’al hi l-iy-qili-’aqmil “what they used to drink was strong”
 hu l-masix hu l-iy-’al-ič’antik-ič-waš, xelex k’e qaq’ k’e ’ašk’á’
 “those three who were friended, Hawk and Raven and Coyote”

Notice that a plural subject with l-iy- shows up marked as plural too.

- he’ l-paxat he’ l-iy-supilinapay-waš hi ho’ l-el-’elye’wu’n
 “the whale, the one that the swordfish [plural] throw up [onto the shore]”
 s-iy-yinc’i hi l-xip-xip’ “the rocks are hot”
 hi l-iy-yinc’i hi l-xip-xip’ “hot rocks” — “ones that are hot, rocks”
- l-am- “that they indefinite...”
 ’it’i ’awini ka l-’am-wali-tipoloq “this side is the one they bore through first”
 hu l-yah-ya’ hu l-’am-qili-hik’en hi s-am-’axič
 “the arrows that they used for making war”

Number with stative ’al-

As mentioned above, stative ’al- may show up with relative l- in front of it.

- hi l-ku hi l-’al-aqšan “a dead person” — literally “a person, one who is dead”
 hi l-’eneq hi l-’al-saxmak-š “a pregnant woman” — “a woman, one who is pregnant”

Any number marker that shows up comes after relative l-, as discussed above, and ’al- follows the number marker.

- hi he’ l-iy-’al-’atišwin-ič “these sorcerers” — the ones with supernatural power
 li’ya hi ho’ l-’ut’imay-mu’ hi l-iy-’al-aqšan “all the burial places of the dead”

11.4.4 Interpreting relative clauses with third-person I-

You may have noticed that the translation of verbs with relative I- varies. For example, see how plural I-'iy- shows up in these two pairs of sentences.

- In these first examples, I-'iy- refers to the subject of the verb — “the ones who are doing the action of the verb.”

hi I-'iy-tipawil	“the ones who are talking”
hi š-ti hi he' I-'akteqen	“the name of the one who passes by”
hi I-'iy-'olxonin hi I-ku	“grown people” — “the ones who are grown”

- In these second examples, I-'iy- refers to the object of the verb — “what they are doing to something.”

hi I-'iy-išti' hi hu I-qu'lalam	“what they find at the creek”
s-ušk'al hi I-'iy-qili-'aqmil	“what they used to drink was strong”

So how do you know what the focus of the relative form will be?

The crucial point is the distinction between verbs that take objects and verbs that don't take objects. Here's a quick review.

Verbs that take objects versus those that don't — reviewed

Here is a quick review of verbs that take objects versus those that don't. The verbs that take objects in the examples below are cited with “something” or “someone” spelled out.

eqwel	“to do or make something”	saxwiwik	“to dry something”
išti'	“to find something”	nik'ot	“to break something”

Here are some verbs that don't take objects.

aqšan	“to die, be dead”	k'ot	“to break, be broken”
'ikimin	“to be new, young”	towič	“to be fast, quick”

Some verbs straddle these categories, depending on how they're used in the sentence; and they don't necessarily have to have an object spelled out.

<i>takes an object</i>	<i>no object</i>
kuti “to look, watch”	<u>or</u> “to see, look at, watch something/someone”
itaq “to listen”	<u>or</u> “to hear, listen to something/someone”

Does the verb take an object or not?

How you interpret and translate verbs with relative I- depends on whether the verb takes an object or not. Here are relative forms of verbs that don't take objects.

hi I-'ikimin	“a new one” — “one who is old” <i>or</i> “one that is old”
hi I-'aqšan	“a dead one” — “one who is dead” <i>or</i> “one that is dead”
hi I-'ušuyep-š	“one that is different, changed”

The only option here is to interpret these relative forms as referring to the subject of the verb, since the verb doesn't take an object.

It's different with relative forms of verbs that do take objects. These forms are potentially ambiguous because the relative form may refer to the subject or the object of the verb.

- hi l-uniyiw “one who looks for [it]” — subject
 s-ic^hitana'nan hi l-uniyiw “one who looks for it is diligent”
or “what one looks for” — object
 mok'e s-mik'in hi l-iniyiw “what ones looks for is already far away”
- hi l-'iy-č'a'min “those who know [something]” — subject
 s-iy-e-tipawil hi l-'iy-č'a'min
 “the ones who know don't talk [about it]”
or “what they know” — object
 neč'u'wa 'me k-č'a'min hi no' hi l-'iy-č'a'min hu mol-moloq hi l-ku
 “I wish I knew what the ancient people knew!”

11.4.5 No “who,” “what,” “which” or “that” with relative clauses

A good deal of the discussion later in this section is conjectural, based on too few examples. No Shmuwich word shows up to translate as “who,” “what,” “which” or “that” in relative clauses. The relative marker l- on a third-person verb is enough to convey the sense of “who,” “what,” “which” and “that.”

This is true for relative clauses which hang directly from nouns.

- š-išmax hi l-yinc'i hi l-xip “he throws a hot rock” — a rock that is hot
 hi l-'eneq hi l-'al-saxmak-š “a pregnant woman” — “a woman, one who is pregnant”

You do not add Shmuwich kik'i for “what” or 'a'yi for “who” and say

- NOT *hi l-xip hi kik'i hi l-yinc'i “a rock what/which is hot”
 NOT *hi l-'eneq hi 'a'yi hi l-'al-saxmak-š “a woman who is pregnant”

Some relative clauses don't depend on a noun but are simply forms of the verb that have been turned in a noun or noun-like construction — a “nominalization.”

- k-č'a'min hi l-'aqniwus “I know what he/she wants”
 k-č'a'min hi l-tiyep-in hi ho' “I know who told you that”

It's also true here that you do not add Shmuwich kik'i for “what” or 'a'yi for “who” in front of a relative verb and say

- NOT *k-č'a'min hi kik'i hi l-'aqniwus “I know what he/she wants”
 NOT *k-č'a'min hi 'a'yi hi l-tiyep-in hi ho' “I know who told you that”

However, sentences like the two above are OK if you interpret kik'i as “something” and 'a'yi as “someone.” Notice that l- still translates as “what” or “who” or “that” here.

- k-č'a'min hi kik'i hi l-'aqniwus “I know something that he/she wants”
 k-č'a'min hi 'a'yi hi l-tiyep-in hi ho' “I know someone who told you that”

In a sentence without a verb — see section 2.7 on sentences without verbs — there is no verb to carry the relative marker *l-* and so *kik'i* and *'a'yi do* show up as elements of the verbless sentence.

ka 'akay hi he' sa'-'ip-in hi kik'i hi p-sa'-'atišwin

“that is the one that will tell you what your spirit helper will be”
— literally “what [is] your future spirit helper”

k-e-č'a'min 'a'yi hi p-ič'antik “I don't know who [is] your friend” — conjectural

Other question words with relative clauses after them

It's unclear if the other question words might also show up with relative clauses after them. Here's one example from the Shmuwich narratives with *nuk'a* “where” and “place, somewhere. This example shows *nuk'a* used in the noun sense of “place” and the following verb shows up with relative *l-* in front of it.

'al-wil hi nuk-nuk'a' hi l-wil-pi hi l-po'n hi ka s-iy-we'-mu' hi l-'on-'onoq'

“there are places where there is a tree that is the sleeping place of buzzards”

However, relative *l-* in this example is also paired with *-pi* “on, at, where” in the relative construction *l-...-pi* “where” — see sections 8.1.6 and 11.4.9.

'al-wil hi nuk-nuk'a' hi l-wil-pi hi l-po'n...

“there are places where there is a tree...”

I haven't seen any examples yet of the other question words with clauses after them — either relative clauses with *l-* or regular clauses with the usual third-person marker *s-*. So the remarks below are strictly conjectural.

- Here is *kenû* “why” with *l-* on the verb after it in a conjectural example.

k-e-č'a'min kenû hi l-xu'wil hi ho' l-'ihî'y “I don't know why that man is angry”
or “I don't know the reason that the many is angry”

It feels like *kenû* works better with a regular verb after it here.

k-e-č'a'min kenû hi s-xu'wil hi ho' l-'ihî'y “I don't know why that man is angry”

- Here is *'ašnim* “when” with *l-* on the verb after it in a conjectural example

k-e-č'a'min 'ašnim hi l-kum-us-wun “I don't know when they received it”
— literally “when [it] came to them”

Again, it feels like *'ašnim* works better with a regular verb after it here.

k-e-č'a'min 'ašnim hi s-kum-us-wun “I don't know when they received it”
— literally “when [it] came to them”

- Here is *'akay* “how much” in conjectural examples.

k-e-č'a'min hi 'akay hi l-nu'nan-waš “I don't know how much that he/she took”

k-e-č'a'min hi 'akay hi š-nu'nan-waš “I don't know how much he/she took”

11.4.6 Relative clauses with first- and second-person al-

When the subject of a verb is first or second person, the relative marker is **al-** rather than the **l-** that shows up with third-person relative clauses. Just as with third-person relative forms, there is no Shmuwich word which translates as “who” or “what” or “that,” as discussed above in 11.4.5.

basic **k-iy-umšen hi he' k-iy-pan 'me ka 'ališaw** “we need bread every day”
relative **he' k-iy-pan hu k-iy-al-umšen 'meka 'ališaw** “our daily bread”
 — literally “our bread that we need each day” (from the Lord’s Prayer)

In the relative version of this sentence, the noun **pan** “bread” is followed by a verb with **al-** to create the relative phrase “bread that we need” — **pan k-iy-al-umšen**. The verb **umšen** “to need” is a verb that takes an object, so that its relative form **k-iy-al-umšen** is interpreted as “what/which we need” — see section 11.4.4 “Interpreting relative clauses with third-person l-.”

Here are more first- and second-person examples, also with verbs that take objects. Number marker with **k-** and **p-** comes before **al-**, as in **k-iy-al-umšen** above.

basic **k-iy-itaq hi l-muhu** “we hear an owl”
relative **hi l-muhu hi k-iy-al-itaq** “the owl [that] we hear”
basic **p-išti'-waš hi s-qap** “you found a feather”
relative **hi s-qap hi p-al-išti'** “the feather [that] you found”
basic **p-iš-uštap hi l-tomol** “you two paddle a canoe”
relative **hi l-tomol hi p-iš-al-uštap** “the canoe [that] you two paddle”

In the two examples below, **li'ya** “all, everything” stands for a noun — “all the things” — and **al-** on the following verb relates the verb to **li'ya**.

k-eqwel hi li'ya hi k-al-aqniywus “I do everything that I want to”
 — literally “I do [it] all, what I want”
 — **hi k-al-aqniywus** “what I want”

na p-aqmil he' l-mo'moy 'i p-'atišwič hi li'ya hi p-al-sa'-qum-qumpi'l
 “when you drink Datura, you see/dream everything that you will experience”
 hi p-al-sa'-qum-qumpi'l “what you will experience”

In the third person, the equivalent item for marking a verb as relative is **l-**, as shown in this paradigm cited by Wash (1999a, p. 36). You see **al-** with the first- and second-person subjects and **l-** with the third-person subject.

po'n ka k-al-sunuw-us “a stick is what I hit him with” — **k-al-** is first person
po'n ka p-al-sunuw-us “a stick is what you hit him with” — **p-al-** is second person
po'n ka l-sunuw-us “a stick is what he hit him with”
 — plain **l-** is third person, without the usual third-person marker **s-**.

First- and second-person relatives with verbs that don't take objects

The Samala narratives include a first-person relative clause based on a verb of state/condition. The Shmuwich equivalent is given below.

<i>Samala</i>	ma k-iy-al-šoyin	>	makiyašoyin	“we who are dark [in complexion]”
<i>Shmuwich</i>	k-iy-al-aximay			“we who are dark”

A verb of state/condition cannot take an object, so you have to interpret the first-person plural marker **k-iy-** “we” as the subject and focus of the relative clause — “we who are dark.” This is the opposite of **k-iy-al-umšen** “what we need,” which you interpret with **k-iy-al-** “we” focusing on the object “what we need.”

This brings up the possibility of first- and second-person relative clauses with the focus on the subject. I haven't noticed Shmuwich examples of relative clauses with verbs that don't take objects, but it ought to be OK to create such clauses based on Samala patterns. This would be an option any time the relative clause is based on a verb that doesn't take an object.

hi k-iy-al-antik-ič	“we who are alive”
hi k-iš-al-'ap^hač hi 'it'i	“the two of us who live here”
hi p-iy-al-taniw-ič	“you all who have children”
hi p-iš-al-talawaxač hi mut'ey	“you two who work nearby”

With verbs that do take objects, the Samala pattern suggests that you could interpret relative clauses both ways. The Shmuwich sentences below are conjectural.

hi k-iy-al-uštap	“we who are paddling” <u>or</u> “what we are paddling”
ka š-č^ho hi k-iy-antik hi k-iy-al-uštap	— subject
	“we who are paddling are happy, in good spirits”
s-pili-mes hi l-'o' hi he' l-tomol hi k-iy-al-uštap	— object
	“this canoe that we are paddling leaps across the water”
hi p-iy-al-talawaxan-us	“you all who work for him/her/it” <u>or</u> “who you all work for”
s-aq^hina-l-iyuw hi p-iy-al-talawaxan-us	— subject
	“he/she is grateful to you all who work for him/her”
k-e-č'a'min hi p-iy-al-talawaxan-us	— object
	“I don't know who you all work for”

Adding an object marker to the relativized verb seems to shift the interpretation toward a focus on the subject. These two examples are conjectural but seem workable.

hi k-al-su-qlaw-in	“I who gave birth to you”
hi p-iš-al-qili-tap-it	“the two of you who customarily visit me”

11.4.7 Relative clauses that depend on a noun

Earlier stages of this discussion have pointed out that Shmuwich relative clauses do not need a words such as “who” or “that” to introduce them. On the other hand, relative clauses sometimes do depend on a noun. English examples would be

- “I know the man who made this”
 “we found something that you will like”

In these sentences, “the man who made this” and “something that you will like” spell out nouns to which a relative clause is attached. Shmuwich can do the same thing.

The “Big three” question words heading a relative clause

As it turns out, relative clauses don’t have to include one of the big three question words — ‘a’yi “who,” kik’i “what” and nuk’a “where” — see section 5.1.1 on the “big three” question words. These three sometimes do show up in relative clauses, but they’re all showing up in their noun forms:

- ‘a’yi “someone”
- kik’i “something, anything”
- nuk’a “somewhere, someplace”

The three example sentences below all show up with a question word being used in its noun form. I strongly suspect that all three sentences would also work without the question word, but would have a less emphatic meaning.

no’no’ iy-’al-aqc’ipi-waš hi l-taxšan

“they were very much against one who was slender” — conjectural

or no’no’ iy-’al-aqc’ipi-waš hi mala’me ‘a’yi hi l-taxšan

“they were very much against anyone who was slender”

’iy-’al-aqšwalaw hi l-’iy-sa’-axtatan

“they liked what they could chew” — conjectural

or ’iy-’al-aqšwalaw hi l-kik’i hi l-’iy-sa’-axtatan

“they liked something that they could chew”

s-iy-e-qili-si’nay-wun hi l-sa’-wil-pi-wun ho’ l-’a’way

“they never put them where the moon[light] will be on them” — conjectural

or s-iy-e-qili-si’nay-wun hi nuk’a l-sa’-wil-pi-wun ho’ l-’a’way

“they never put them anyplace where the moon[light] will be on them”

Other nouns heading a relative clause

Here are sentences with other kinds of nouns heading the relative clause. After such a noun there is only l- as a marker for relativization, no ‘a’yi or kik’i.

s-am-xunušpi hu l-’ih’i’y hu l-’a’win hi l-’atišwič’iš

“they [indefinite] fear a man who brews poison”

hu l-yah-ya’ hu l-’am-qili-hik’en hi s-am-’axič

“the arrows that they used for making war”

s-mon-us hi l-xip hi s-'eqweleš hi l-ku hi l-sili-qut^hop

“he painted on a rock the image of the person whom he wanted to bewitch”

s-iy-salaqwa'y-in hi ski'nit hi l-'iy-suw-suwemes hi 'aw-'awini

“they secure [the child] with a cord that they criss-cross from side to side”

hi l-nuh-nunaši'š k'e l-čwiw-čwi'w hi l-iy-'al-č^ho-waš hi s-am-atišwin

“animals and birds which were good [as] spirit helpers”

NOTE: This example is also interesting because the indefinite marker **am-** shows up with a noun; it ordinarily goes only with verbs as “indefinite they.”

Complex examples of nouns heading a relative clause

As it turns out, complex example of nouns heading a relative clause are more common than the few simple examples above. These examples are mostly complex because of fronting, which seriously complicates the literal translation in English.

The example below boils down to “the ants that they made one swallow.”

'meči 'al-malawa-waš hi l-tiš'ī'īl hi l-'am-su-aqliwin “it was always eight
[in number] the red ants that they had one swallow [as a cure]”

This example boils down to “people [to who] it is not much that God gives them.”

s-wil hi l-kuh-ku-' hi l-e-'ihī' hi s-axyik-us-wun he' l-šup
“There are people that God [“the Earth”] does not give much to”
literally “there are people who it is not much that God gives to them”

11.4.8 Multiple relative clauses

Section 11.3.5 points out that you can keep embedding a phrase deeper and deeper by adding yet another main verb on the left, at the beginning of the sentence.

“I think I heard Lisa say [that] her son is sick”

It's possible to keep adding relative clauses, as a line from an old nursery rhyme shows.

“This is the dog that chased the cat that killed the rat that ate the cheese...”

Theoretically Shmuwich supports this pattern of multiple relative clauses.

hi šte'mew hi l-'uw hi l-kesu “the rat that ate the cheese”

hi l-katu hi l-sini'we hi šte'mew hi l-'uw hi l-kesu

“the cat that killed the rat that ate the cheese”

hi čti'n hi l-suxni'nān hi l-katu hi l-sini'we hi šte'mew hi l-'uw hi l-kesu

“the dog that chased cat that killed the rat that ate the cheese”

No examples of this pattern have come to my attention in the Shmuwich narratives yet, but they should be grammatically OK.

11.4.9 Relative clauses with I-...-pi “where”

This construction is based on a verb but acts more like a noun. It is a combination of the relative marker I- plus -pi, which commonly means “in, at, on” and “where” in this case.

Here are simple examples of the I-...-pi construction, where it looks a lot like a noun.

- hi I-'ik-'ikmen-pi “the surf-zone” — literally “where the surf breaks”
— from ikmen “waves to break” + Redup
s-iy-akteqen hi I-'ik-'ikmen-pi “they pass through the surf zone”
- hi I-nexelew-pi “steep slope, steep place” — literally “where it goes down”
— from nexelew “to go down”
k-napay-li'l hi ho' I-nexelew-pi “I climb up that steep place”
- hi I-intap-pi > hi I-'intap^{hi} “cove, inlet” — literally “where the water comes in”
— from il-tap > in-tap “water to enter”
s-iy-aqiw^{hi}win hi I-'intap^{hi} “they swim in the cove”

This construction looks a lot more like a verb when it includes some noun as subject or object of the verb with -pi.

- with a subject noun
 - hi I-li'yon-pi hi I-'o' “where the water is deep” — from li'yon “to be deep”
s-iy-kep-waş hi I-li'yon-pi hi I-'o' “they bathed in a deep place in the water”
s-iy-qili-na'n hi-ho' I-'iy-tal-talawaxač-pi hi I-kuh-ku'
“they used to go to where where the people were working”
ka š-iy-uš'ex-wun hi-nuk'a hi I-'al-wil-pi-wun hi-he' I-'ališaw
“they spread them in a place where the sun will be on them”
- with an object noun
 - he' I-č'ič'i-wun 'i s-iy-qili-kuy hi I-woqo hi ho' I-'am-sal-salaqway-pi hi I-č'alayaš
“the children use to take asphalt from where they were fixing the road”
— hi I-č'alayaš “the road” is the object of the verb salaqwa'y “to fix”
- with a noun in some other relationship to the verb, such as a location phrase
 - s-wil hi I-'iy-kek-pi hi ho' I-c'inowon “there is a hill where they grow”
s-axipak'a hi s-ixut hi I-'ap hi I-'iy-le'ken-pi-waş hi ho'-alamisiyón
“once a house burned that they lived in at the mission”
— hi I-'ap “a house” + hi I-'iy-lek'en-pi “in which they live”

More complex constructions with I-...-pi

Constructions with I-...-pi can sometimes be quite complex. Here are a few examples.

- s-wil hi I-'ak-'aki'm hi I-wil-pi hi s-iy-xip-xip' hi I-toh-to' ma'm hu-sxa'min
“there are places where there are mussel rocks [ou] in the water”
hi I-'iy-'aqiwanan-pi hi I-kuh-ku' “which the people swam out to”
'ihí'-waš hi I-č'al-č'ala'yaš malâ'me nuk'a “there were a lot of trails everywhere”

hi l-'am-eleyep-pi-waš hi s-am-sa'-na'n hi-nuk-nuk'a'

“on which they travelled to go to various places”

k'e l-'am-eleyep-pi-waš hi-s-am-sa'-us-'ismo'n hi l-'uw-'uwu'mu'

“and on which they traveled to go gather (quantities of) food”

Unsorted collection of additional examples

ho' l-woqonowon-pi hi-l-tip	“where a bush is growing/sprouting”
hi-ho' l-'uw-pi hi-ho' l-xšap	“the place where the rattlesnake bit”
ho' l-'am-išpiweč-pi hi-l-'aqišič hi kalni	“where they sell ground meat”
'akim hi-ho' l-'ap-pi hi-ho' l-paxat	“there at the place were the whale was beached”
na s-am-na'n hi nuk'a hi l-xinč'i-pi	“when they go into a place where it is bad”
hi l-'iy-lek'en-pi 'i s-iy-al-'alpát	“where they live, they run”
'iy-'al-aqšwalaw hi he' l-'axtawayan-pi	“they like the shade/dark/protection/shelter”
ho' l-'atikuy-pi ho' l-'ap	“where the house faces” (=east)

11.5 “Cleft Sentences”

CLEFT SENTENCE — Defined

A “cleft sentence” is a complex relativized sentence that’s based on a single clause. Some noun from the clause — generally the object noun — is shifted to the front of the clause for emphasis or focus. This noun is moved to the front of the cleft construction, followed by some form of “to be” — at least in English. The verb of the basic sentence is reduced to a relative clause.

Here are a few English examples, with two different outcomes for the cleft construction.

<i>basic sentence</i>	<i>cleft sentence pattern A</i>	<i>pattern B</i>
“I prefer the red one”	“The red one is what I prefer”	“It’s the red one that I prefer”
“You gave me a dozen”	“A dozen is what you gave me”	“It was a dozen that you gave me”
“They use the root”	“The root is what they use”	“It’s the root that they use”

Here are some Shmuwich examples of cleft sentences; they’re quite common in the narratives. A cleft sentence is an elaboration of the basic “A **ka** B” construction that links two nouns (see 2.7.2 for “A **ka** B”). In a cleft sentence, the noun that’s fronted becomes the “A” element and the relative form of the verb becomes the “B” element, with **ka** linking them.

<i>basic</i>	s–am–kuy hi ho’ spe’y hi ka s–am–a’win	“they take the flower [and] boil [it]”
<i>cleft</i>	ho’ spe’y ka l–’am–kuy hi ka s–am–a’win	“it’s the flower that they take [and] boil” — literally “the flower [is] what they take [and] boil”
<i>basic</i>	s–iy–aqmil hi he’ l–mo’moy ’me kikš hu l–’iy–olxonin hi l–ku	“only grown people drink Datura”
<i>cleft</i>	’me kikš hu l–’iy–olxonin hi l–ku ka l–’iy–aqmil hi he’ l–mo’moy	“it is only grown people who drink Datura” — literally “only grown people [are] those who drink Datura”
<i>basic</i>	meči s–iy–sukik’i–waš	“they always treasured it”
<i>cleft</i>	meči ka l–’iy–al–sukik’i–waš	“they always treasured it” — literally “always [it is] something that they treasured”
<i>basic</i>	s–iy–xop–xopy hi ho’ l–č’ič’i–wun hi mitip’in	“the children are playing outside”
<i>cleft</i>	he’ mitip’in ’iy–al–xop–xopoy ho’ l–č’ič’i–wun	“[it’s outside] that the children are playing”
<i>basic</i>	s–iy–qantuč–waš he’ l–’in–’inyu’ ’i no’no	“the Indians were very superstitious” — literally “who believed a lot”
<i>cleft</i>	he’ l–’in–’inyu’ ’i no’no ’iy–al–qantuč–waš	“the Indians [are] ones who greatly believed”
<i>basic</i>	s–am–aqmil–waš hi ’awalyente hu moloq	“they drank brandy long ago”
<i>cleft</i>	’awalyente ka l–’am–aqmil–waš hu moloq	“brandy [is] what they drank long ago”

The fronted noun often shows up in an 'al + Noun construction which means “it is an X” (see 7.14.5 for 'al + Noun constructions).

- basic* s-iy-qili-hik'en hi ho' s-'axpi'lil “they customarily use the root”
cleft 'al-ho'-s-'axpi'lil ka l-'iy-qili-hiken “it is the root that they customarily use”
basic mok'e s^hini'we-wun-waš hi l-'ih̄' hi l-kuh-ku' hi 'ašk'á'
 “Coyote has already killed many people”
cleft mok'e 'al-'ih̄' hi l-kuh-ku' hi l-sini'we-wun-waš hi 'ašk'á'
 — literally “already many people [are] the ones that Coyote killed”

11.6 A Comparative construction — “more ... than ...”

Shmuwich doesn't have the same apparatus to make comparative constructions that English does; there's no prefix or suffix for saying “more... than...” However, the material contains at least one sentence which specifically makes a comparison. Unfortunately it's a complex sentence with fronting (see section 11.1) and nominalization (see 11.4).

- hu l-yah-ya' hu l-'am-qili-hik'en hi s-am-'axič
 “the arrows that they used for making war”
 'i ka l-'iy-qlowowon-waš hi hu l-'am-hik'en hi s-sam-sa'-sini'we hi l-w̄
 were shorter than the ones they used to kill deer”

Here is this same sentence seriously shortened for simplicity — but hopefully retaining the core elements of the implied comparison. The first version keeps the nominalization “ones that are short” and the second version returns it to a regular verb “they are short.”

- he'-wun 'i ka l-'iy-qlowowon-waš ho'-wun “these are shorter than those”
 literally “these [are] ones that are short those” — conjectural
 he'-wun 'i s-iy-qlowowon-waš ho'-wun “these are shorter than those”
 literally “these are short those” — conjectural

Notice that there's nothing that corresponds to English “more” and “than,” but the comparison is clearly implied. What are the crucial elements here?

- First, the verb in a comparison would have to be a verb of state/condition with a clear polarity — **qlowowon** “to be short” versus **'ih̄iy** “to be long.”
- Second, the subject noun would ordinarily come after the verb but fronting the subject clears up the territory after the verb for the noun with the implied “than.”

Here are a few more conjectural examples showing how this pattern might work.

- hi s-'a'min 'i ka š-p'iveč hi l-pan “meat is [more] expensive [than] bread”
 hi l-'ašk'á' 'i ka š-qutišiš hi čti'n “a coyote is smart[er than] a dog”
 hi k-wop hi no' i' ka š-pakuwaš hi p-wop hi pi'

“my son is old[er than] your son” — using **pakuwaš** for “old” here is questionable

There may well be more implied comparisons in the narratives, but I haven't seen them.

12 — Derivation: Turning One Part of Speech into Another

DERIVATION — Defined

“Derivation” is the process of turning one part of speech into another, such as a verb into a noun or a noun into a verb. Here are English examples of verbs that are changed into nouns by some process or other, usually adding a suffix. These are nouns “derived” from verbs.

arrive	> arrival	tempt	> temptation
close	> closure	understand	> understanding
pave	> pavement	clear	> clearance
advise	> advice	pretend	> pretence
fly	> flight	believe	> belief

DERIVATIVE — Defined

A “derivative” is a word which comes from or is “derived” from some more basic word. Given the examples above, you could say that “arrival” is a derivative of “arrive.”

12.1 Turning verbs to nouns

There are several patterns by which verbs can be turned into nouns; they almost all involve suffixes. These patterns offer you handy ways to create new words.

12.1.1 A Sound rule with derived nouns — initial glottal stop

There’s a sound rule that applies when you change a verb into a noun. Many verbs begin with vowels rather than a sequence of vowel plus glottal stop; you know that there’s no glottal stop as part of the verb because the person–number marker goes right in front of the vowel as a single smooth sequence.

<i>basic verb</i>		<i>with person–number marker</i>	
apit	“to go up, climb up”	k–apit	“I climb up
astipil	“to be thick”	s–astipil	“it is thick”
i’lep	“to make chia mush”	p–i’lep	“you make chia mush”
is^huy	“to mean, be a sign that”	s–is^huy	“it means, signifies...”

When such a verb is made into a noun, a glottal stop automatically appears in front of the initial vowel even when a person–number marker shows up.

<i>basic verb</i>		<i>as a derived noun</i>	
k–apit	“I climb up”	hi k–’apit–’i’	“my ladder”
s–astipil	“it is thick”	hi š–’aštípilaš	“its thickness
s–i’lep	“she makes chia mush”	hi l–’i’lepeš	“chia mush”
s–is^huy	“it means, signifies...”	hi š–’iš^huy–aš	“its meaning, significance”

Another application of this sound rule showed up in the discussion of relative clauses marked with l– — see section 11.4.2. In effect, a relative clause and a nominalization count as nouns in Shmuwich, even when they have all the trappings of a verb.

When the verb or person–number marker that follows *l-* “relative” starts with a vowel, glottal stop shows up here too. I’ve elected to write the glottal stop right in front of the verb rather than as a separate element. Here’s *ušk’al* “to be strong,” which does not have an inherent initial glottal stop.

NOT **hi l-’-ušk’al hi l-’atišwič’iš* “a strong poison”
hi l-’ušk’al hi l-’atišwič’iš “a strong poison”

Here are more examples of this stuck–in glottal stop that goes in front of elements that start with vowels in relative clause and a nominalizations.

- in front of a number marker

s-iy-uleqpey “they follow [something]”
hi l-’iy-uleqpey “the ones who follow [it]”

- in front of a verb prefix

s-uti-nowon hi wakapi “he/she stands up slowly”
hi l-’uti-nowon hi wakapi “the one who stands up slowly”

- in front of a verb root

s-išti’ hi ho’ š-tu’-iwaš hi l-č’ič’i “the child finds a seashell”
ho’ š-tu’-iwaš hi l-’išti’ hi l-č’ič’i “the shell that the child found”

12.1.2 ’al– “agent” ~ “noun marker”

The technical term “agent” means “the one who performs the action.” The basic form of the agent marker in Shmuwich is the prefix *’al-*. This element sometimes shows up in its basic form and sometimes shows up reduplicated as *’a’lal-*.

The simpler form *’al-* shows up with a fairly small number of words, where it doesn’t necessarily refer to a human agent, but is more like a general noun marker. It is not particularly productive in this form.

’alapay “sky, heaven, ceiling” and “up, above, over” — from *=apay* “re above, over”
’alaqšan “a dead person” — from *aqšan* “to die, be dead”
’ališaw “sun, day” — from *išaw* “to be hot”
’alolk’oy “porpoise” — from *olk’oy* “to go around” — re circling a boat
’antap “one who enters the ritual/ceremonial enclosure” — from *tap* “to enter”
’alixut “sulphur” — from *ixut* “to burn” — literally “something that burns”
’alqlaw “newborn” — from *qlaw* “to come down, be born”
’alsuwa’yan “earring, pendant” — from *suwayan* “to hang (something)”
’alšukuš “polite person” — from *suku* “to respect” + *-š* “no object specified”
’alxapuč “horned animal, cattle” — from *xap* “horn” + *-vč* “having”

NOTE: This suffix is an exception to the sound rule about glottal stop discussed above. If the verb begins with a vowel, you add *’al-* without adding a glottal stop.

12.1.3 'a'lal- “agent” — general

This is a reduplicated form of the agent marker 'al-; it is more productive than the basic form 'al-. The reduplicated agent marker 'a'lal- is usually translated with “-er” in English; you add it to a verb to indicate the actor. It usually refers to a human actor, especially a human actor as a role, such as “dancer,” “speaker,” “singer,” etc.

Many agent nouns with 'a'lal- end with the suffix -š “multiple objects” or “no object specified,” as discussed in section 8.4.2.

'a'lalexpeč	“singer”
'a'lalnɨw	“dancer”
'a'lalaxipeč	“carpenter, wood worker” — from axipen “to work wood”
'a'laluš'eš	“badger” — from uš'e “to dig” + -š, literally “the digger”

NOTE: This suffix is also an exception to the sound rule about glottal stop discussed above. If the verb begins with a vowel, you add 'a'lal- without adding a glottal stop.

However, if the verb already begins with a glottal stop, it “flips” or changes places with the second L of 'a'lal-. See section 1.7.1 for a discussion of the “flip rule.”

'a'la'latišwinič	“one who has spirit power” — 'atišwin
'a'la'les	“weaver” — 'es “to weave”
'a'laloyoč	“helper” — from 'oyon “to help” + -š

12.1.4 -vš “result”

This suffix indicates the “result of doing the action” and sometimes “abstract quality” — The vowel of the suffix is partly determined by the last vowel of the verb

i	šipitiš	“acorn mush” < sipit “to make acorn mush”
	'aq'utapiniš	“dinner” < aq'utapin “to eat dinner”
	timoloqinaš	“traditional/old time story” < timoloqin “to talk about old times”
	'a'winaš	“tea, something boiled” < a'win “to boil something”
	'astipilaš	“thickness” < astipil “to be thick”
ɨ	nɨwiš	“dancing song” < nɨw “to dance”
	šɨpiš	“load carried on the back” < sɨp “to carry on the back”
u	'is ^h uyaš	“meaning, significance” < is^huy “to mean, be a sign that”
	'isawus ^h aš	“sweat” < išawus “to sweat”
a	xalamiš	“bundle” < xalam “to bundle something up”
	waxaniš	“feces” < waxan “to defecate”
	maxa'lamiš	“feast” < maxa'lam “to hold a feast, give a feast”
	'ušk'a'liš	“strength” < ušk'al “to be strong”
e	'eqweleš	“artifact, something made, make/stature” < eqwel “to make, do”
	'i'lepeš	“chia mush” < i'lep “to make chia mush”
o	'oxšoluš	“urine” < oxšol “to pee, urinate”
	tipoloquš	“bored hole, something w/ hole bored in it” < tipoloq “to bore hole”

12.1.5 –Ø ~ –vš “possessed and non-possessed”

There is a set of nouns with a special marker –vš for “non-possessed” — see 4.3.

ahaš	“someone’s soul, spirit” — as in š-ahaš “his/her soul/spirit”
'ahašiš	“a spirit, ghost” — unspecified as to <u>whose</u> spirit
xo'ni	“someone’s mother” — as in k-xo'ni “my mother” and p-xo'ni “your mother”
xoni'naš	“a mother” — unspecified as to <u>whose</u> mother

You could argue that the possessed form has –Ø “zero, null” as a suffix that matches or parallels the non-possessed form with –vš. This seems like an unnecessary complication. However, there is also a set of verbs which have two derived nouns, one with –Ø “zero suffix” when a possessive marker shows up and one with –vš when there’s no possessive marker. A few of the words in the –vš list above actually fall into this pattern.

isawus	“one’s sweat”	
	no'no hi s-isawus	“he’s sweating a lot”
isawus ~ 'isawus^{haš}	“sweat” — non-possessed	
	s-pil-wututun hi s-isawus	“his sweat is dripping”
	š-uqš hi l-'isawus^{haš}	“[the shirt] smells of sweat”
oxšol	“to pee, urinate”	
	ka š-oxšol-waš hi l-katu	“the cat peed”
oxšol ~ 'oxšoluš	“pee, urine, piss”	
	k-yu'luqš hi š-oxšol hi l-katu	“I smell cat pee”
	š-uqš hi l-'oxšoluš 'it'i ma'm	“it smells like urine in here”
waxan	“to defecate, shit”	
	ka s-waxan-waš hi l-kawayu	“the horse defecated” — a verb
waxan ~ waxaniš	“feces, shit” — possessed and non-possessed	
	hi s-waxan hi l-kawayu	“horse manure”
	p-e-'ašnipit hi l-waxaniš	“don’t step in the shit”

NOTE: It’s not necessarily obvious that the possessed forms without –vš are nouns. The possessive marker on the noun could also be a subject marker on a verb.

k-yu'luqš hi š-oxšol hi l-katu	“I smell cat pee” — hi š-oxšol = a noun
k-yu'luqš hi š-oxšol hi l-katu	“I smell [that] the cat peed” — hi š-oxšol = a verb

Other words that fall into this pattern in Samala probably show the same pattern in Shmuwich. Some of them bodily process and bodily products.

paš	~ pašiš	“vomit” +/- possessed — from paš “to vomit”
oxmol	~ 'oxmololuš	“spit, spittle” — from oxmol “to spit”
isaxpin	~ 'is'axpinaš	“sore, ulceration” — from isaxpin “to have a sore”
oxoxon	~ 'oxoxonuš	“a cough” — from oxoxon “to cough”

Samala also includes dozens of more general terms derived from verbs that show up in possessed and non-possessed forms as noun. I've looked for parallels in Shmuwich.

12.1.6 –' "noun marker"

Adding glottal stop at the end of a verb can change it into a noun; this pattern is less common in Shmuwich than in Samala.

'axma'y	"debt" — from axmay "to owe"
'axwi'	"clothes, garments" — from -axwi- base of words re "clothing"
'iqma'y	"cover" — from iqmay "to cover"
'ih'i'y	"man, male" — from 'ihiy "to be long/tall"
tuhu'y	"rain (noun)" — from tuhuy "to rain"

12.1.7 –'i' "instrument"

This suffix indicates the tool or instrument for performing the action of the verb.

wup'i	"whip" < wup "to whip"
'aši'wi'	"phone" — coined from ašiw "to talk to/with someone"
'apit'i'	"ladder" < apit "to go up, climb up"
'uliqip'i'	"plug, stopper" < uliqip "to plug up, stop up"
supap'i'	"car" — coined from supap "to transport, carry"

12.1.8 –mu' "place where" and "noun marker"

This suffix means "place where" and "general noun marker" Here are examples that show a clear sense of location.

'anšinmu'	"eating place" — "dining room"? — from anšin "to eat"
šanšinmu'	"restaurant" — from su-anšin "to feed"
'aqtipmu'	"fireplace" < aqtip "to make a fire"
'aqšikišmu'	"jail" < aqšik "to tie"
mesmu'	"bridge" — from mes "to cross"
'ut'imaymu'	"grave" < ut'imay "to bury, fill in a hole"
nīwmu'	"dancing ground" < nīw "to dance"

Here are examples where **-mu'** is a more general noun marker.

'uwu'mu	"food" < 'uw "to eat"
'axuta'mu	"breakfast" < axut'a "to eat breakfast"
'aqspa'mu	"cigarette" < aqspa' "to smoke a cigar/cigarette"
nana'mu	"kind, type, sort" — from na'n or na'nan "to go"
qununmu'	"occupation" < qunun "to work, do as a living"

12.1.9 s- “noun marker”

There are many expressions which translate as nouns in English but have the structure of a simple verb in Shmuwich. They are prefixed with the third-person singular marker s-.

A cover term for such words is “s- nouns.” Many of them are expressions of time.

s- apiyiw	“red-hot coal” and “it is red hot”
s- axk^hit	“wind” and “[wind] is blowing”
s- ax-ulkuw	“early morning” — literally “it is early in the morning”
s- icq’i’	“cloud” and “it is cloudy/overcast”
s- ikmen	“wave(s), surf” and “[waves] are breaking
s- iqsin	“noon” and “it is noon”
s- naq’il ~ s-nax’il	“flint” and “it is upright” — perhaps based on some belief about flint
s- pe’y	“flower” and “it blooms”
s- qapuni	“spring” — literally “it leaf out” — see s- qap “leaf, feather”
s- ulkuw	“night” — literally “it is night”
s- uti-tapin	“twilight” and “it is twilight, well into the evening”
s- wayin	“winter” — literally “it is winter”
s- welen	“earthquake” and “it shakes, there is an earthquake”
s- wey	“gap” (e.g. in a boat’s hull) and “to gap, be open”
š- iliyamš	“full moon” and “it is full”
š- išawi	“summer” — literally “it is summer”
š- loq	“hole” and “it is perforated, has a hole in it”
š- naxyit	“morning” — literally “it is morning” as well as s- uni-naxyit
š- tipoyoxon	“whirlwind” and “it whirls”

As mentioned in section 3.4.3, the article l- that prefaces nouns does not show up with these expressions. That’s because the s- falls right into the person-number marker slot for nouns and nouns with a person-number marker never show up with the article.

Here are examples of s- nouns in sentences, with s- superceding the article l-.

s- iy-eqwel hi s-axk^hit	“[shamans] make wind”
s- kut-kuti hi ho’ s-ikmen	“he/she watches the waves/surf”
s- axwiwik hu š-išawi	“it dries up in the summer”

12.1.10 –šaš ~ –šiš “noun marker”

This is a noun marker, turning verbs into noun that are often abstract. It shows a pattern of reverse vowel harmony, as discussed in detail in 8.3.1.

If the last vowel of the verb is a high vowel *i*, *ɨ* or *u*, the suffix shows up with a low vowel as –šaš; if the last vowel of the verb is a low vowel *e*, *a* or *o*, the suffix shows up with a high vowel as –šiš. When a verb ends with –*n*, the sequence of *n*–šiš becomes č^hiš.

'atišwič ^h iš	“poison (noun)” — from 'atišwin “talisman, spirit helper, spirit power,” with a shift in meaning
'ičkuč ^h a'š	“defense” — from 'ičkuč “to defend”
monuš ^h a'š	“painting, image” — from monus “to paint”
siyinc'išaš	“heat (noun)” — siyinc'i “to heat”; also siyinc'ištaš “heat”
'ušq'oyič ^h aš	“gathered shellfish” — from ušq'oyič “to gather shellfish”
yuxpač ^h iš	“disease, sickness; affliction” — from yuxpan “to be sick”

NOTE: This exact same sequence — with the same reverse vowel harmony — also shows up in the sense of “oneself” and “each other,” as discussed in 8.3.1.

š–qilik–šaš	“he takes care of himself, she takes care of herself”
š–iy–išmax–šiš hi l–xɨp–xɨp'	“they throw rocks at each other”

12.1.11 –štaš ~ –štiš “noun marker”

This is another abstract noun marker, also showing reverse vowel harmony (8.3.1).

kumelštaš	“separation, distance apart” — from kumel(pi) “to be separate”
siyinc'ištaš	“heat” — from siyinc'i “to heat” — also siyinc'išaš “heat”
towičtaš	“speed” — from towič “to be fast” + –štaš
wočtu'š	“wealth” — from wot' “chief, a rich man; to be rich”

Wash's manuscript cites three very interesting derivatives with –štaš, but only gives an example in context for one of them.

hi š–č ^h o–šta'š	“as good as, goodness” no example in context
hi s–mɨk–šta'š	“the same distance as” no example in context
hi s–iy–'ɨhi–šta'š	“the number of, the multitude of”
	k'e s–iy–e–silik ^h it–wun hi s–iy–'ɨhi–šta'š hi ho' l–tiš'ɨɨ'l
	“they do not count the manyess of the ants (as they administer them medicinally)”

NOTE: This exact same sequence — with the same reverse vowel harmony — also shows up in the sense of “oneself” and “each other,” as discussed in 8.3.3.

li'ya s–iy–eqpey–šteš	“they all look alike” — literally “they all resemble each other”
s–iy–aqsisin–šaš hi ho' l–sul–sululalu'	“the soldiers insult each other”

12.2 Turning nouns to verbs

12.2.1 -ič “having, characterized by the noun”

This suffix is very common. It generally means “having or characterized by the noun,” but sometimes means “to do something with the noun.” First are examples of the “having, characterized by” meaning.

This is a very common suffix which turns nouns into verbs. It has several related and overlapping meanings. A verb derived with -vč may well have more than one of these meanings. For some of the examples below, an assignment into any one of these narrower categories seems a bit arbitrary.

1) to have or possess the noun

- 'atišwinič** “to have spirit power, a talisman” — from **'atišwin**
- ič'antikič** “to be a friend, have a friend” — from **ič'antik** “friend”
- š^hahač** “[arrow] to have a flint tip” — from **s^ha** “its tooth”
- teleq'eč** “to have a tail” — from **teleq'** “tail”
 š-teleq'eč hu l-aqiwo “the star has a tail” — i.e. a comet
- tič** “to be named, have a name” — from **ti** “name”
- xapuč** “to have horns” — from **xap** “horn”

2) to be characterized by the noun

- p'iweč** “to be expensive, pricey” — from **p'iw** “to be valuable”
- xašuč** “to be sandy” — from **xas** “sand”

3) to have the noun on or about one's person, including wearing it

- axwin-eč** “to be dressed, dressed in, wearing” — from **axwin** base “re clothing”
- 'e'leč** “to have/wear a necklace” — from **'e'l** “necklace”

4) to act in a way involving or characteristic of the noun

- 'anuč** “to bleed, be bloody” — from **'an** “blood”
- ič'antikič** “to be a friend, have a friend” — from **ič'antik** “friend”

5) to be in relationship with the noun, especially with kin terms,

- 'uni'wi'nič** “to be married, have a spouse” — from **'uni'wi'** “spouse”

6) to be using the noun, doing something with it

- 'ap^hač** “to live at, to dwell” — from **'ap** “house”
- tomoluč** “to go by boat” — from **tomol** “boat”
- xiluč** “to oil something” — from **xil** “oil”

7) to be affected by the noun

- mo'moyič** “to be drunk, high on Datura” — from **mo'moy** “Datura”
- yašišič** “to have poison oak, a rash of poison oak” — from **yasis** “poison oak”

8) Sometimes -vč is a more general verb marker.

- išpi'weč** “to sell” — from **s-p'iw** “its cost, value”

12.2.2 –vn “verb marker”

This is a very common suffix which turns nouns into verbs. It has several related and overlapping meanings. A verb derived with –vn may well have more than one of these meanings. These derived verbs are often –us verbs — see 8.2.8 on –us verbs.

This suffix is abbreviated as –vn, where the V stands for “any vowel.” It shows up with different vowels depending partly on the last vowel of the verb.

1) to make the noun

'ap^han “to build a house” — from **'ap** “house”
s–am–'ap^han–it “they build me a house” < **s–am–'ap–vn–it**
s–ap^han–us–wun hi s–mɨs–mɨ's “he builds a house for his in-laws”

patun “to make/build a nest” — from **pat** “nest”

2) to apply or treat something with the noun

saxwin “to dress someone” — from **su–** “causing” + the base **axwi–** “re clothing”
k–saxwin–us hi k–taniw “I dress my child”

huqpeyun “to adorn, ornament” — from **huqpey** “ornament, regalia”
s–am–huqpey–un–us–wun hi s–iy–woyon–uš “they adorn their braids”

nɨhɨn “to burn something” — from **nɨ** “fire”

tikin “to put a point/tip on an arrow” — from **tik** “point, tip”
s–tik–in–us hi s–ya' “he puts a tip on his arrow”

tin “to name someone, give a name” — from **ti** “name”
s–iy–ti–n–us kopkop “they name him Toad (as a nickname)”

3) to use the noun, including putting something into it,

'axiyep'en “to use as a cure, remedy” — from **'axiyep'** “cure, remedy”

'ɨwɨn “to cut with a knife” — from **'ɨwɨ** “knife”

4) for the noun to do something characteristic of it,

'a'wayin “moon to be full” — from **'a'way** “moon”

sxa'minun “to be stormy, ocean to roar” — from **sxa'min** “ocean”

5) to be or do something characteristic of the noun, not necessarily using it

'enequn “to behave as a woman does, to ride side–saddle” < **'eneq** “woman”

mowon “to be sweet” — from **mow** “honey, sugar”

tawa'yik'in “to be flat” — from **stawa'yik'** “valley”

tɨpɨn “to be wooded, brushy” — from **tɨp** “chaparral, brush, undergrowth”

wontotin “to be yellow” — from **wontot** “oriole”

6) to do something involving the noun

pošun “to gather pine nuts” — from **poš** “pine nut(s)”

qo'n “to play with a toy, treat as a pet” — from **qo'** “pet, toy”
s–am–qo'n–us hi l–xus “they treated the bear as a pet”

- 7) This suffix can also be a generalized verb marker, especially when applied to bases rather than finished words and items other than nouns.

saxwin “to dress someone” — from **su-** “causing” + the base **axwi-** “re clothing”

mik'in ~ **mik'in** “to go far, move to some distance” — from **mik** “far”

xax'in “to be big, wide” — from **xa'x** “a big one”

Sometimes there is some idiomatic shift between the meaning of the basic noun and the derived verb.

aqliwin “to swallow” — from **'aqliw** “word, voice, language”

č'omšin “child to be spoiled, act babyish” — from **č'omš** “cradle”

ištik^hin “to go ahead of, go before” — from **š-tik** “its tip, point”

Along these lines, it's possible that **hik'en** “to use” is derived from **hik** in the sense of “one's own thing,” in the sense of “to exercise ownership [by using].”

Here is an example of a verb based on a noun which has dropped out of use in Shmuwich, but which Samala kept.

iqsin “to be noon” — see Samala **qsi** “sun,” while Shmuwich dropped **qsi** and began to use **'al-išaw** “the hot one”

12.2.3 -ič and -vn with the same noun

In section 8.5, you saw pairs of verbs that

- end in **-n** if they have an object marker, or
- end in **-č** if there is no object marker

Here are a couple of examples for review.

k-expen-us “I sing to him/her, for him/her”

k-expen-š > **kexpeč** “I sing” — just the activity, to no one in particular

s-seqen-us > **s^heqenus** “someone takes [something] away from him/her/it”

s-seqen-š > **š^heqeč** “he/she/it is stripped, naked; he/she gets undressed”

Occasionally a noun shows up with both of the verb markers **-vč** and **-vn**. The result is identical to the pattern with **-n/-č** verbs, although there are far fewer examples.

tič “to be named, have a name” < **ti**

š-tič P'up'u “he is named P'up'u”

tin “to name someone, give a name” < **ti**

k-iy-tin-us P'up'u “we call him P'up'u”

Here's a Samala example of this same pattern. These exact same vocabulary items could also be Shmuwich, but so far they haven't shown up.

Samala **išpe'yič** “to have flowers, be adorned with flowers” — from **spe'y** “flower”

š-išpe'y-ič ha k-'epsu' “my hat is flowered, has flowers on it”

Samala **išpe'yin** “to adorn with flowers”

k-ispe'y-in-us ha k-'epsu' “I adorn my hat with flowers”

12.3 Multiple layers of derivation

It's possible to have multiple layers of derivation. For example, the underlying compound **axi-yep** “to cure” shows a derived noun, which then leads to a derived verb.

axiyep	“to cure” — the root word
'axiyep	“remedy, medicine” — with initial glottal stop to make a noun
'axiyep'en	“to use as a cure, remedy” — with -vn “verb marker”

Here's another example.

'atišwin	“talisman, spirit helper, supernatural power” — the root word
'atišwin-ič	“to have spirit power, a talisman” — with -ič “verb marker”
'a'la'latišwinič	“one who has spirit power” — with 'a'lal- “agent”

12.4 Coining new words — TBA

In March of 2017 we discussed coining new words. Here is an example of a newly coined noun — and a verb derived from it. Here are two layers of derivation here.

supap	“to carry, give a ride to
supap'i'	“car” — with -i' “instrument for riding”
supap'i'n	“to drive” — with -vn “verb marker”
p-supap'i'n-it hi 'akim	“you take me there by car”

Here are a few examples of coined words in Samala, using native patterns to get around using Spanish loanwords. Actually, **ašiw** and **axt'atax** here are the Shmuwich versions of slightly different Samala words, so Shmuwich students could adopt the words below.

ašiw	“to talk to someone”
ašiw-'i' > 'aši'wi'	“phone” — “instrument for talking” — with -i' “instrument”
'aši'wi'n	“to phone someone” — with -vn “verb marker”
'aši'wi'nit wa š-naxyit	“phone me tomorrow!”
axt'atax	“to be cold”
su-axt'atax > saxt'atax	“to make something cold” — with su- “causative”
saxt'ataxmu'	“refrigerator” — instrument for making something cold or place where you make something cold — -mu' “noun marker”
si'nay hi saxt'ataxmu'	“put [it] in the refrigerator”

Additional possibilities include naming the rooms of a contemporary house. These examples all use **-mu'** in the sense of “place where.”

kepmu'	“bathroom” — from kep' “to bathe”
we'mu	“bedroom” — from we' “to sleep”
'iškinmu'	“storeroom, pantry” — from iški'n “to keep, store”

13 — Appendix

13.1 Mia's Prayer

Mia brought the text of a prayer that she had written and generously allowed us to go over it together in class (in April of 2016), since it highlights some grammatical issues that come up when you translate from English to Shmuwich. One of the main issues is that each verb needs a person–number marker, whether English spells out a subject or not.

Grandfather up above,

kiyišnono hi 'alapay — from **k-iy-is-nono hi 'alapay**

Thank you for our family.

kiyaq^hinalin hi kiykihikič' — from **k-iy-aq^hina'-in** “we are grateful to you [for]” + **hi k-iy-kikič'** + Reduplication “our relatives/kin”

Thank you for our health.

kiyaq^hinalin hi kiyšumawiš — from **k-iy-aq^hina'-in** + **k-iy-šumawiš**, not “our health” as an abstract noun as in English, but an active verb in Shmuwich — “we are grateful to you [that] we are healthy”

Thank you that each day we wake to feel the breeze in our hair

kiyaq^hinalin 'meka 'ališaw hi kiyi^xk^hit / kiykut'a hi kiyaxik' hi l-saxk^hit hi k-iy-'oqwo'n — from **k-iy-aq^hina'-in** + **'meka 'ališaw** “each day” + **hi kiyi^xk^hit / kiykut'a** “we awake/we arise” + **hi k-iy-axik'** “we feel” (the connector **hi** implies “awake/arise to feel”) + **hi l-saxk^hit** “the wind” + **hi k-iy-'oqwo'n** — this last noun “our hair” acts as a “location phrase” with “in/on/at” implied, so no preposition is necessary. You definitely would not use **hi ma'm** “in, inside of” in this context.

... and the ground beneath our feet.

... **k'e hi l-šup hi mišup hi k-iy-'i'l** — **'i'l** is far more common for “foot, leg” than various other expressions

Please give us the strength to understand each other

tanišu'ušk'aliyuw ču kiyitaxsič^haš — from **tani-su-ušk'al-iyuw** “please make us strong” + **ču** “so that” **k-iy-itaxsin-šaš** “we understand each other”

NOTE: There is a sound rule that a sequence of **n** + **š** becomes **č** or **č^h** (when a vowel follows), hence **kiyitaxsič^haš** “we understand each other.”

.. and to listen with open hearts.

... **k'e kiyitaqin hi kiy'an'antik' hi l'iyč^ho** — from **k-iy-itaq-in** “we listen using” + **k-iy-antik** + Reduplication “our hearts/spirits” +

hi l-iy-č^ho “the ones that are good” — i.e. “we listen with our good hearts/spirits” (this is a relativization with **l-** plus a verb, used to make the Shmuwich equivalent of English adjectives)

13.2 Three Shmuwich Texts

Mary Yee narrated these stories and Professor Madison Beeler recorded them in the early 1960s. Mary Yee was reading these texts and sometimes she breaks the lines in a way that wouldn't happen if she were telling the story. Occasionally it's unclear where one line ends and the next line begins.

The story of Coyote and Skunk shows up in Beeler's 1970 *Topics in Barbareño Grammar*, with both a word-by-word translation and a free translation. The other stories are among Beeler's recordings of Mary Yee; I haven't seen them in written form and I take responsibility for any errors in transcribing and translating them.

Fox and Heron is the first story that I set up in this Lexique Pro format; it has a free translation and a word-by-word translation. The other stories generally have a more free translation of each line, with occasional comments.

13.2.1 Fox and Heron

x'ox 'i s-axšiš hi kniy ču s-akt-anšin hi ho' s-'ap hi x'ox.

Heron invites Fox to come eat at Heron's house

x'ox "Heron" + 'i "topic marker" + s-axšiš "he/she invites" + hi kniy "Fox" + ču "so" + s-akti-anšin "he/she comes to eat" + hi ho s-'ap "[at] his/her house" — "at that house of his" + hi x'ox "Heron"

hi ka 'i'nu 'uq 'me ka s-akti-'anšin hi kniy hi ho' s-'ap hi x'ox.

And so then Fox really comes to eat at Heron's house.

hi + ka + 'i'nu "really, truly" + 'uq 'me ka "and then" + s-akti-anšin "he/she comes to eat" + hi ho s-'ap "[at] his/her house" + hi x'ox "Heron."

s-'ip, "kɪp'ɪ ka k-sa'-anšin,"

He says, "Now I will eat",

s-'ip "he/she says" + kɪp'ɪ "now" + ka "emphatic" + k-sa'-anšin "I will eat."

k'e s-mixixin-waş wa'yi.

and he was hungry too.

k'e "and" + s-mixixin-waş "he/she has been hungry [a while]" + wa'yi "too."

hi 'me ka s^hu-towič hi s-akti-nuna' hi l-šipitiš hi x'ox,

Right away Heron quickly brings the acorn mush,

hi 'me ka "and right away" + s-su-towič "he/she makes it fast" + hi s-akti-nu-na' "he/she brings it" + hi-l-šipitiš "the acorn mush" + hi x'ox "Heron"

'ik^hu 'ɪhiy hi šni' hi l-'ax'ukuy hi l-suti'ixpin hi ho' l-šipitiš.

but the neck of the container that holds the mush is long

'ik^hu "but" + 'ɪhiy "long" + hi s-ni' "its neck" + hi l-'ax'ukuy "container" + hi l-s-uti-'ixpin "the one that holds" ?? or "that he/she pours it into" ?? + hi ho-l-šipitiš "the mush"

'me kikš hi x'ox k-al-aqway-waš hi s^hutap hi ho' s-'ik,

Heron himself is able to stick his beak in,

'me “just” + kikš “oneself” + hi x'ox “Heron” + ka al-aqwa'y-waš “he/she is able to” + hi s-su-tap “he/she puts it in” + hi ho s-'ik “his/her mouth”

ču kniy 'i s-e-tiši-'alaqwa'y.

while poor Fox isn't able to

ču “while/as for” + kniy “Fox” + 'i “topic marker” + s-e-tiši-alaqwa'y “poor thing is not able to”

hi s^hutap hi ho' s-'ik,

stick his mouth in,

hi s-su-tap “he/she puts it in” + hi ho s-'ik “his/her mouth” — Mary Yee pauses while reading the text, but this is a continuation of the line above.

ču ka s-e-tiši-'anšin-waš.

but he doesn't eat.

ču ka “with the effect that” + s-e-tiši-anšin-waš “he/she does not eat”

s-e-tiši-kum-us-waš hi l-kik'i.

He doesn't get anything

s-e-tiši-kum-us-waš “it does not come to him/her” + hi-l-kik'i “something, anything”

hi ka s-'ip hi kniy, “'me ho 'uq k-sa-'aqwayap-us hi 'it'i.”

And so Fox says, “I will get back at him here.”

hi ka “and then” + s-'ip “he/she says” + hi kniy “Fox” + 'me ho 'uq ??? + k-sa'aqwayap-us “I will get back at him/her” ?? + hi 'it'i “here”

hi ka k'ip'ĭ hi kniy k-al-utikuyupi hi s-axšiš hi x'ox,

And now it is Fox's turn to invite Heron,

hi ka “and then” + k'ip'ĭ “now” + hi kniy “Fox” + ka al-uti-kuyupi “who the turn comes to” (from uti-kuyupi “the turn comes to one”) + hi s-axšiš “he/she invites” + hi x'ox “Heron”

ču s-akt-anšin hi ho' s-'ap hi kniy.

to come eat at Fox's house.

ču “so” + s-akti-anšin “he/she comes to” + hi ho s-'ap “his house” + hi kniy “Fox” — It's possible that the next words hi kik'i hi s^ha'ališaw also go with this line above, meaning “some day,” but the way the speaker pauses while reading the text makes this point unclear.

hi kik'i hi s^ha-'al-išaw ču 'uq 'me ka s-kumu'li ho' l-'al-išaw hi ka s-akti'na hi x'ox.

Then the day arrives that Heron comes.

hi kik'i ??? + hi s-sa-'al-išaw “next day” ?? + 'uq 'me ka “and then” + s-kumu'li “it arrives” + ho-l-'al-išaw “that day” + hi ka “and then” + s-akti-na' “he/she comes” + hi x'ox “Heron”

hi ka s-akti-nu-na' hi l-šipitiš hi kniy,

And then Fox brings the mush,

hi ka “and then” + **s-akti-nu-na'** “he/she brings” + **hi l-šipitiš** “the mush”
+ **hi kniy** “Fox”

hi ka s-uxš'exš hi li'ya hi 'alapay hi xa'x hi l-xip.

and he pours it all on top of a big rock

hi ka “and then” + **s-uxš'ex-š** “he/she pours it out” + **hi li'ya** “all”
+ **hi 'alapay** “over, on top of” + **hi xa'x** “a big one” + **hi l-xip** “rock”

hi 'me ka s-eq-'eqmelew-pi hi li'ya hi ho' l-šipitiš hi kniy,

And right away Fox licks up all the mush,

hi 'me ka “and right away” + **s-eqmelew-pi** + CVC reduplication “he/she is
licking up” + **hi li'ya** “all” + **ho' l-šipitiš** “that mush” + **hi kniy** “Fox”

ču x'ox 'i 'me s-ali-kut-kuti,

while Heron is just watching,

ču “so” + **x'ox** “Heron” + **'i** “topic marker” + **'me** “just” + **s-ali-kuti** + CVC
reduplication “he/she is looking, watching”

hik^hu s-e-'alaqway-waš hi s-'uw k'e hak'u s-anšin.

but he can't eat or dine.

hik^hu “but” + **s-e-'alaqway-waš** “he/she was not able” + **hi s-'uw** “he/she
eats” + **k'e hak'u** “or” + **s-anšin** “he/she dines”

s-'ip hi x'ox, “pâ 'al-aqwayap-it!”

Heron says, “He must have gotten back at me!”

s'ip “he/she says” + **hi x'ox** “Heron” + **pâ** “probably, must have”
+ **'al-aqwayap-it** “one who gets back at me!”

13.2.2 Coyote and Skunk

The text of this narrative appears at the beginning of Beeler's sketch of Shmuwich.

hu l-masix hu l-'iy-'al-ič'antik-ič-waš, xelex k'e qaq' k'e 'ašk'á',

Those three the ones who were friends, Hawk and Raven and Coyote,
Literally "those three, the ones who were friended..."

hi 'iy-al-way-wayi-akti-eqen hi ho' s-'ap hi taxama.

they are slowly passing by Skunk's house.

k'e s-axi-'ip hi 'ašk'á', "api k-iy-tap-li'l

And Coyote happens to say, "Let's go in

ču k-iy-axi-kuti he' l-pakuwaš he' l-'a'lal-niw."

so we see the old man, the dancer."

s-'ip hi 'ašk'á', "iš-tap!"

Coyote says, "You two go in!"

'ašk'á' 'i 'al-sili-su-sini'we-wun-waš hi taxama.

Coyote wants to make Skunk kill them.

Literally "Coyote [is] one who wants to cause one to kill them, Skunk"

hi ka s-iš-tap-li'l.

So they go in.

"iylek'en, k-ič-ič'antik'."

"You all sit, my friends."

hi ka 'ašk'á' 'i s-'ip-us hi taxama, "iwa-tani-niw

And Coyote says to Skunk, "Please dance a little

ču s-iš-qitiwič he'-wun."

so that these two are amused."

hi ka s-'ip hi taxama, "hâ 'me s-č^ho.

And Skunk says, "Yes, it is quite good.

mok'e k^hil-k^hili-pakuwaš 'ik^hu 'me k-sa'-xiwiwaš hi k-niw.

Already I'm getting a little old but I will try to dance.

'ik^hu no'no s-axt'atax,

But it's very cold,

ka k-al-sa'-wali-aqtip', kim k-sa'-xiwiwaš hi k-niw."

I will first make a fire, then I will try to dance."

kim ka s^hu-lukumel hi ho' s-te'leq,

Then he straightens his tail, — s^hulukumel from s-su-lukumel "he makes it straight"

kim ka s^hu-yunto-nowon hi ho' s-te'leq.

then he raises his tail. — s^huyuntonowon from s-su-yunto-nowon "he makes it stand up"

hi ka s^hu-’na hi s-niw,

He begins to dance, — s^hu’na from s-su’na “one begins”

kip’i ka s-ox-ox-wot-olk’oy,

now he is revolving quickly,

s-k’il-k’ili-nan hi s-su-mut’ey-us-wun ho s-titi hi ho’ s-iy-tiq hi s-ič-ič’antik’.

he puts his anus closer and closer to the faces of his friends.

Literally “he does it more and more, he puts it close his anus...”

taxama ’i s-saq^hala’lan, s-’ip, “iy-k’il-mut’ey!”

Skunk cries out, he says, “you all come close!”

k’ayke ’al-sili-wilpiy-wun-waš hi s-’atišwič^hiš.

because he wants to spray them with his poison.

hi ka qaq’ ’i s-išmax hi l-yinc’i hi l-xip

And then Raven throws a hot rock

ču ka s-k’ili-tap hi ho’ s-qupušlét.

so that it quickly enters his anus.

s-axtapa-na’nan ’me hu s-al-axsu’mu hi taxama.

Skunk is running around because he is suffering.

hi ka s-saq^hala’lan, “it’i ’i ’al-xič’i-waš hi ku!

And he cries out, “This one is a bad person!

mok’e ’al-’ih’i hi l-kuh-ku’ hi l-sini’we-wun-waš.

Already he has killed many people.

Literally “already many [are] the people whom he has killed”

hi ’me ka s-aqšan hi taxama.

Skunk dies right away.

hi ka xelex ’i s-’ip-us hi ’ašk’á’

Hawk says to Coyote,

“ho’wi hi ’it’i hi pi’ wa’yi!”

“Get over here you too!”

“kenu k-sa’-akti-na’?” s-ešqeč hi ’ašk’á’,

“Why should I come?” Coyote asks,

k’e mok’e s-’it’imin.

and already he is afraid.

“i’yi ho’wi šu-to’wič!”

“Alright, get over here quick!”

’ik^hu ’ašk’á’ hi s-e-qantun-us.

But Coyote doesn’t obey him.

hi ka xelex s-uštala-ap-uliš hi ’ašk’á’

Hawk finally grabs Coyote

hi ka s^hu-pin-tap hi ho’ l-ni.

and he throws him into the fire.

hi ka ’akim hi s-ixut.

And so he burns up.

’al-xinč’i-waš hi ’ih’i’y hi ’ašk’á’.

Coyote was a bad man.

13.2.3 The Race between Coyote and Toad

This story is only partly transcribed. This version ends in mid-story.

s-axi-pak'a hi s-iš-alpat hi kopkop k'e 'ašk'á'

“once Toad and Coyote ran ~ raced”

ču hak'u 'me 'a'yi hi l-ka-sa'-towič

“to see which one was faster”

— literally “in order whether who would be fast”

kopkop 'i 'me s-wak-wakapi hi s-pin-pi'nan hi s-na'n

“Toad was hopping very slowly as he went”

ču 'ašk'á' 'i s-alpát hi s-na'n

“but Coyote went running”

kopkop 'i 'me malaqa mok'e 'al-č'a'minwaš

“after all, Toad already knew that...”

hi li'ya 'iy-al-eqpey-ešteš hi he' l-kop-kopkop'

“all toads look alike” — literally “toads all resemble each other”

hi 'me ka s-aqniwilič hi kopkop hi s^ha'-si'nay-wun hi l-kop-kopkop' hi li'ya

hi ho' l-i-sam-axna'n-pi'l hi wa s-iš-alpát

“Toad was thinking that he would put toads all along the way that they ran”

ču kanu ho' l-ištik^hin ka s^ha'-wali-pil-kumu'li ču s-ixip-us hi 'ašk'a'

“so that he would go ahead jumping there in order to beat Coyote”

ho' l-'an-sa'-sununa'-pi hi s-am-sa'-alpat hi s^hi'nay hi l-pak'a hi l-kopkop

“where they were going to start running he put one toad”

hi ka k'il ho' s^hi'nayiy hi l-c'oyni

“then a little further on he put another” — conjectural translation of k'il ho' as “a little further on” — literally “a little there”

s^hi'nay-iy hi l-c'oyni

“he places yet another one” — s^hi'nay from s-si'nay “puts, places”

hi ka k'il ho' 'a s^hin-si'nay-as hi l-c'oyni-has

“then a little further on he put yet others”

hi 'me ka s^hu'nan hi s^hin-si'nay-wun

“and then he keeps placing them”

hi ka ho' l-'an-sa'-wala-kumpi'l s-lek'en hi kikš ču kanu kal-sa'-wali-pi'nan hi 'alapay

“then it was going to happen that he himself was sitting there [because] he had hopped up first”

ya, ka sis^hunu'na hi s-iš-alpat

“well, the two of them start running”

The line above is as far as I got in translating. Spoiler alert! — the line below shows up much later toward the end of the story.

hi ka s-watiwey hi 'ašk'á' “and Coyote lost”