Cupeño nouns can be defined morphologically as the class of words that occurs with non-possessed noun suffixes (NPN) -t, -l, -ly, -sh, and/or possessed-noun suffixes (PSD) -‘a, -ki, -ki’a, and/or the plural suffix -m. However, since some nouns do not take one or more of these suffixes, and there is even a small group of nouns that is not attested with any of them, this formal definition requires qualification.

Some nouns do not occur with PSD suffixes, and must be possessed indirectly, being modified by a possessed classifier noun. For instance, nouns referring to animals, such as awal "dog", must appear with the possessed classifier noun -qsh "pet"; many other nouns, such as pit "road", require the possessed classifier -mīxan "possession." While most such nouns do appear at least with NPN suffixes, a small class of nouns in the indigenous vocabulary, mainly names of small animals such as lizards (e.g. mulyak, chalaka) and insects (e.g. kelyivuy), do not have NPN suffixes, nor do they appear with PSD suffixes, since they require the possessed classifier -qsh. In addition, most Spanish loan words do not have NPN suffixes. However, all of these nouns do occur with the plural suffix.

A few nouns, such as names for trees and other plants like avgxet "cottonwood" and mipily "milkweed", do not occur with the plural suffix. However, all of these accept NPN suffixes.

Even when the formal definition of nouns is made fairly inclusive, as above, a problem remains. For a class of "inalienable" nouns, including many kin terms and body parts, it is very difficult to elicit forms with NPN suffixes (although not impossible; rare instances do occur). Such nouns usually occur in possessed forms only. Some of these nouns, including many of the most common body-part terms and kin terms, do not appear with possessed-noun suffixes. Furthermore, possessed body part nouns do not appear with the plural suffix -m. All of these nouns do appear with a set of possessive PN prefixes, shown in Table 5.2 in 5.1.4 below. However, since these prefixes are identical to the PN subject prefixes on past-tense verbs, these nouns are superficially indistinguishable from past-tense verbs in the -0 thematic class (see 4.2.1). For instance, ne-qwa "my-mother's.father" is identical phonologically with ne-qwa "I-ate". However, such possessed-state noun constructions do not accept past imperfective suffixes -qal, -wen and
so may be formally distinguished from verbs. That is, we encounter *ne-kwa-qal "I was eating", but not *ne-kwa-qal where *kwa is "mother's father".

The distribution in nominal constructions of the various inflectional elements are shown in Table 5.1.

**Table 5.1.** The order of inflectional elements in nominal constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1  2  3  4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessed State</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>NPN -t, -l, -sh</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Possessive State</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN-</td>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>PSD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1. **Nouns and their Possession States**

Cupeño nouns exhibit two major formal states, non-possessed and possessed. Each state has its own morphology and patterns of co-occurrence with the various subclasses of nouns.

5.1.1 **Non-possessed Nouns with NPN Suffixes**

The NPN suffixes are a conservative feature of Uto-Aztecan nouns, that can be reconstructed to the proto-language. Sapir (1931) called them "absolutive" suffixes. Since Cupeño has an "absolutive" case, contrasting with an ergative case, in the second-position PN clitics, this term should be avoided as a label for the Cupeño NPN suffixes. Since throughout Uto-Aztecan there is a contrast between non-possessed
nouns with NPN suffixes, and possessed nouns without these suffixes, the term "non-possessed noun suffix" (NPN) should be transparent to comparativists.

A single NPN suffix is reconstructed for Proto-Uto-Aztecan: *-ta. In the Takic languages like Cupeño, this suffix appears in three synchronically distinct reflexes: -t, -l/ly, and -sh. In Proto-Northern Uto-Aztecan and perhaps in Proto-Takic, -l/ly and -sh were probably predictable variants of -t, conditioned by the phonological shape of the noun stem. However, whatever phonological features triggered the lenition of -t to -l/ly, or the appearance of -sh instead of either of these, have been lost, and these two NPN suffixes should be considered as lexical properties of their nouns in Cupeño. -ly and -l are almost entirely in complementary distribution, with -ly nearly always appearing after /l/, -l elsewhere. There are only three exceptional words, kaamalyim "Orion's Belt" (attested only in this plural form), kavaly "the Kavaly lineage, a member of the Kavaly lineage", and wisaly "a kind of duck".

The situation with -sh is more complicated. Almost all primary nouns in -sh end in -ish, suggesting that the -i is a factor in determining the presence of this suffix. I suspect that most -sh nouns are deverbal (several, for instance, end in -pi-sh, a known deverbalizing derivation, and there are many derived nouns like qwa'i-sh "food" (from kwa, "to eat"). The -i may be a residue of i- ablaut with this suffix (see the discussion of a- and i- ablauting suffixes in Chapter 2, Section 4.2). Jacobs (1975) considers the derivation suffix to include the vowel, with the structure -ish. Only two primary nouns in -sh have a final /al/; these are yepa-sh "valley, plain, place without trees" and mekwash "flea". Since words for insects often lack NPN suffixes, mekwash is probably a noun root that simply ends in -sh. However, this -sh is treated by speakers as if it were an NPN suffix, being lost when the noun is possessed, e.g. ne-mekwa-ki- 'a "my flea(s)". Similarly, we encounter yepa-yka "to the valley", with -sh lost before the locative as if it were an NPN suffix. The noun lymu'ush "measles" shows /u/, but this is almost certainly due to vowel harmony, which is fairly productive in unstressed affixal vowels where the root vowel is /u/ (see Chapter 2.4.1).

However, there is one large set of derived nouns ending in -sh that do not have /i/ with the suffix. Deverbal nouns in -ve'a-sh "agentive" and -la'a-sh ~ -lya'a-sh "instrumental" do not show -i before -sh. Furthermore, since there are nouns that take -t and, of course, -ly that also have i as their final vowel, -sh as well must be considered a lexical property of the noun, whether from derivation or as a primary property.
The Cupeño corpus includes 338 "primary" nouns – that is, nouns that are not transparently deverbal -- with NPN suffixes. The distribution of the suffixes among the nouns is as follows: 114 exhibit –t, 133 have –l ~ -ly, and 91 have –sh. There is no semantic difference among the classes of nouns, nor is there any phonological difference. Examples of nouns of each type are shown below.

(1) Primary nouns with –t
   a. avaxa-t "cottonwood tree"
   b. ela-t "skirt"
   c. hunwe-t "bear"
   d. kere-t "wild goose"
   e. ni-t "pregnant woman"
   f. tami-t "sun, day"

   The example in (1c), hunwet, includes the augmentative suffix -we-t. This suffix always exhibits the NPN suffix -t. In contrast, the diminutive is always -ma-l with NPN -l, as seen in (2b) chaymal "a kind of basket" and (2e), kiimal "boy."

(2) Primary nouns with –l ~ -ly
   a. ayu-l "poison oak"
   b. chayma-l "a kind of basket"
   c. hu-l "arrowhead"
   d. isi-ly "coyote"
   e. kiima-l "boy"
   f. pa-l "water"

(3) Primary nouns with –sh
   a. ichi-sh "pipe"
   b. ki-sh "house"
c. lumu’u-sh "measles" (also lumu’i-ly)
d. mekwa-sh "flea"
e. mevlaxpi-sh "plant sp."
f. naxni-sh "man"
g. qingi-sh "squirrel"

The noun in (3e), mevlaxpish "plant sp." (probably Baccharis spp., cf. Gaughen 2001:86), is probably a derived noun with -pish, the future relativizer, which always has the -sh NPN. However, no related verb is attested in the corpus.

5.1.2. Non-possessed Nouns Which Occur Without NPN Suffixes

Two types of nouns occur in the non-possessed state without NPN suffixes: a series of animal names, and most Spanish loan words.

5.1.2.1 Nouns Without NPN Suffixes

Spanish loan nouns and a fixed class of nouns in native vocabulary, made up almost entirely of names of minor animals, including insects, birds, and reptiles, along with one plant name (interestingly, it is the name for the striking and conspicuous California Poppy, *Eschscholtzia californica*), never occur with NPN suffixes. Several of these nouns are obviously sound-symbolic or otherwise expressive. All 15 members of this class are listed in (4).

(4) Autochthonous nouns that lack NPN suffixes in the non-possessed state

a. chalaka "horned lizard"

b. chikaylaxpi "cane"

c. chexemin "the Pleiades"

b. kelyiyuy "ant lion"
e. *kusagam chip* "junco (a kind of bird)"

f. *maxcha'a* "California Poppy"

g. *malaxa* "Insect sp."

h. *mulyak* "lizard sp."

i. *paxa'a* "red racer snake"

j. *pichikiri* "blue jay"

k. *qegene* "gopher snake"

l. *sekikwina* "swallow (bird)"

m. *ssylmsgylim* "cricket"

n. *siyewe* "baby quails"

o. *$he$he'nim* "yellow jacket"

Three more insect names may belong in this class: *tiltytily* "cricket", *wa'wal* "yellowjacket" and *xwalxwal* "a type of small spider." However, their final consonants, -ly and -l, could be an NPN suffixes.

### 5.1.2.2. Spanish Loan Nouns

Spanish loan nouns do not have NPN suffixes. The stressed vowel in Spanish is quite long in the Cupeño words. Final vowels especially tend to raise; thus Spanish final /o/ often appears as Cupeño /u/, and Spanish final /e/ as Cupeño /i/. However, many Cupeño speakers, including Roscinda Nolasquez, were bilingual in Spanish and sometimes pronounced these words as in Spanish. Some examples are seen in (5):

(5) a. *aanyu* "year" (Spanish año)

b. *chanagati* "red-winged blackbird" (Spanish chanate)

c. *dargangxa* "orange" (Spanish naranja)

d. *gaatu* "cat" (Spanish gato)

e. *tooru* "bull" (Spanish toro)

f. *yelgavi* "key" (Spanish la llave)
Some Spanish loans end in final consonants, such as veri\textit{ily} "barrel" (Spanish \textit{barril}), waantis "gloves" (Spanish \textit{guantes}). The coincidental resemblance of the final consonant of \textit{veri\textit{ily}} to the \textit{NPN} suffix -\textit{ly} would seem to invite deletion of that consonant in the possessed state. However, this does not happen; the possessed form of \textit{veri\textit{ily}} is either \textit{PN-\textit{veri\textit{ily}}-ki} "\textit{PN-barrel-PSD}" or \textit{PN-mixan \textit{veri\textit{ily}}} "\textit{PN-possession barrel}".

5.1.3. So-called Inalienable Nouns

"Inalienable" is the traditional designation for a class of nouns which speakers strongly prefer to use in the possessed state, with possessive prefixes (and some have PSD suffixes as well). These nouns include mainly kin terms and body parts. While it is difficult to elicit such nouns with an \textit{NPN} suffix, there are sporadic attestations of inalienables in the non-possessed state, with the \textit{NPN} suffixes, both in my own materials from the 1960's and in Faye's corpus from the 1920's. An example is seen in (6). \textit{yu}$_a$ "hair, head", normally appears only in the possessed state, with possessive prefixes, e.g. \textit{nu}-\textit{yu} "1S-hair". In (6), however, Roscinda Nolasquez was telling a story with a scene where birds gather nesting materials, and was able to imagine non-possessed hair that does not belong to anybody and is not attached to anyone's head. She uttered \textit{yu}$_a$ in the non-possessed state, with the \textit{NPN} suffix -\textit{l}.

(6) \textit{Maq-pe'-men-wen=ku'ut peta'am-ismivi-y \textit{yu}-l.}

\textit{GATHER-3PL-INPL-PIPL=REP ALL-O SOMETHING-O HAIR-NPN.}

"It is said they were gathering all kinds of hair." (Linnets 006).

Furthermore, for some inalienables, there are denominal verbs that suggest the form of the \textit{NPN} suffix. Examples are seen in (7):

(7)

a. \textit{kuung-lu} "to get married, of a woman" (cf. –\textit{kuung} "husband")

b. \textit{ye-lu} "to become a mother" (cf. –\textit{ye}, "mother")
Since where the NPN suffix is known, the denominalizing suffix (-tu, -lu ~ -lyu, -chu) always has the same initial consonant, as discussed in 7.4.2, we can assume that the non-possessed forms of the above nouns, should a discourse-pragmatic context where these could occur be identified, would be kuunga-l and ye-l.

Some inalienable roots are attested in the non-possessed state in certain specialized meanings. For instance, the word for "eye" is inalienable –push-. The word for "seed," almost certainly the same root, is easily elicited as puchi-ly, in the non-possessed state with a NPN suffix. "Woman's child" is inalienable –na'aqwa, but Roscinda Nolasquez twice, on different weeks in elicitation, produced suqat na'aqwa-l, literally, "deer woman's child" in response to a request for the word for "fawn," where suqat pe-ng'aqwa "deer 3S-woman's child" would have been expected.

On the very first day that I elicited materials from her, on June 12, 1962, Roscinda Nolasquez produced a number of supposedly "inalienable" nouns in the non-possessed state with NPN suffixes. For instance, she uttered ewe-l "blood" in response to the English stimulus word, rather than pe-'e dw "3S-blood", which she later preferred. We know that the NPN suffix that she offered here is appropriate, since we encounter ew-lu "to initiate a girl", a denominal verb having reference to the onset of menstruation and hence formed on the root ew "blood". Also elicited on the same day were tewe-l "name" instead of the more usual e-tew-'a "2S-name-PSD", ti'ily "bone", pl. ti'lyem (1.59 121) instead of pe-ti'iy "3S-bone", eyeweket "chin" (1.77) instead of pe-'eyewek-'a "3S-chin-PSD", naqal "ear", pl. naqlem (1.83) instead of pe-na-q-'a "3S-ear-PSD", espiygvet "sister-in-law", and agipiyyget "in-law". Exactly the same thing happened to Faye; the Bancroft Library field notes include many early elicitations of "inalienable" nouns with NPN suffixes, including panily "testicles", pt'ily "feather", sii'at "nest", sily "urine", Shululy "fingernail", Shewanavel "anus", we'el "penis", wichily "feces, manure", wikily "wing", wily "tallow (fat)" and xuchily "ankle".

For these reasons, we should characterize "inalienability" in Cupeño as a semantic or discourse-pragmatic tendency, not as a morphological class. So-called inalienable nouns can indeed appear in the non-possessed state, but contexts where this is appropriate are infrequent. For nouns referring to body parts and kin terms, speakers generally presuppose a default scenario that assumes a possessor, except under special circumstances such as the awkward first day of elicitation (where the consultants may be trying to
help the linguist by avoiding the morphological complexity of possessed-state forms), or a narrative context that favors a non-possessed construal.

The existence of the inalienable nouns also make clear that the notional idea of "possession" is not always appropriate, even when the formal apparatus of the possessed state is present. For instance, the root -tax "human body" appears only in possessed-state formations like ne-tax-wi "1S-body-PSD", "my body", with a non-productive PSD suffix, and a-tax-a "INDEF-body-PSD", literally, "someone's body," with a non-productive possessive prefix. However, this form means "person". There is no evidence that any notional possession is at stake, even though formally the word is a possessed-state noun. Another illustrative case is the name of one of the three founding Cupeño patrilineages, "Blacktooth", which appears as pem-tama tulnikish "3PL-tooth black" or, tellingly, as pe-tama tulnikish "3S-tooth black." There is no evidence that the "Blacktooths" were thought to have black teeth. However, the noun tama, "tooth" conventionally appears in the possessed state.

5.1.4 Possessed-state Nouns and Possessive Affixes

All possessed-state nouns appear with the nominative PN prefix set. The prefixes of this set are shown in Table 5.2. Although they encode possessor, not subject, they are identical to the subject PN markers that appear with past-tense verbs, discussed in 4.2.1. One set of deverbal nouns shows that the formal identity between the PN prefixes encoding the possessor and those encoding PN of subject in the past tense runs quite deep. In instrumental nouns derived with -la'a-sh - ly'a-sh from -in and -yax class verbs, the PN element encoding the possessor always appears following the root. For example, we see pa-l im-ne-la'a "my bucket" (WATER dip-1S-INST.NOM), not *pal ne-?im-la'a. This parallels the position of PN subject markers after the verb root in the past tense of the -in and -yax thematic classes (see 4.2.1).

The plural prefixes in the second and third person can be considered as complex forms that include a root encoding person plus the plural suffix -m. However, for simplicity's sake, the plural prefixes are treated in examples throughout the grammar as monomorphemic. Recall from 2.2.2 that these prefixes take primary stress when they appear with stressless roots, when the construction is otherwise uninflected except for a PSD suffix.
Table 5.2 Possessive Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERSON</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>chem-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>em-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pe-</td>
<td>pem-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns in the possessed state in Cupeño fall into four classes with reference to possession. In addition, there is a fifth class, a set of nouns that never appear in the possessed state, but can be notionally "possessed" by appearing in construction with possessive classifier nouns -ash "possessed animal, pet" and -mixan "possessed inanimate object".

The four possession classes are as follows: 1)nouns which appear in the possessed state with no PSD suffix; 2)nouns which appear with the PSD suffix –'a; 3)nouns which appear with the PSD suffix –ki; 4)nouns which appear with both PSD suffixes in the sequence –ki-'a. Finally, a few nouns have rare and unproductive suffixes which can be identified as PSD suffixes because of cognates in other languages.

5.1.4.1 Unmodified Stem Possessed-state Nouns

Both "alienable" and "inalienable" nouns fall into this class. Examples of "alienable" nouns of this type are shown in (8). This list includes several body-part and kin-term nouns that are usually thought of as "inalienable", but that are attested in the Cupeño corpus with a NPN suffix.

(8) a. ale'e-t "louse" -'ale'e
    b. achi-ly "cow" -ash "pet"
    c. alxave-ly "cord, bowstring" -alxave
    d. ayi-ly "tortoise" -'ay "tortoise-shell rattle"
e. ewe-l "blood" -'ew
f. ilyepa-l "bedrock mortar" -'ilyepa
g. ivi-sh "awl" -'iv
h. kava'ma-l "olla" -kava'ma
i. kelve'e-t "acorn gruel" -kelve'e
j. ki-sh "house" -ki
k. kuni-ly "sack" -kun
l. ku-t "fire" -ku
m. kutapi-sh "bow" -kutapi
n. memelki-ly "word" -memelki
o. meniqi-sh "mesquite beans" -meniqi
p. na'aqua-l "woman's child" -na'aqua "woman's child"
q. nawily'a-t "body louse" -nawily'a
r. nee'e-t "basket" -nee'e
s. pa'anaxpi-sh "club" -pa'anaxpi
t. pelqi-sh "hide" -pelqi
u. pi'i-sh "pipe" -pi' (also -pi'ki'a)
v. pi-ly "milk" -pi
w. puchi-ly "eye, seed" -push
x. se'evi-sh "basket grass" -se'ev
y. seyi-ly "basket grass" -sey (also –sey-ki)
z. si'ayi-sh "cracked acorns" -si'ay
aa. ti'i-ly "bone" -ti'i
bb. tivi'ma' "basket" -tivi'ma
cc. uwe'e-t "Yucca sp." -uwe'e
dd. wewelpi-ly "shadow" -wewelpi
ee. wi-ly "fat, lard, grease" -wi
ff. xaku-t "carrying strap" -xaku
Also in this category are all deverbal instrumental nominalizations in -la'a-sh ~ -lya'a-sh. In these constructions, the position of the PN marker depends on the verb class that is the source of the noun. If the verb is a 0 class verb, the PN marker precedes the verb root, as in (9a, b). If the verb is from the -in or -yax classes, the PN marker appears immediately before -la'a ~ -lya'a, following the root, as seen in (9c, d):

(9)  a. ne-pə-la'a "my whiskey" (from pa "to drink")
     b. ne-a$ha-la'a "my petticoat" (from a$ha "to get dressed"
     c. chaway-chem-yaxa-la'a "our ladder" (from chaway-yax "to climb")
     d. chel-ne-la'a "my scissors" (from chel-in "to snip, cut")

The list of inalienable nouns -- that is, nouns that are rarely or never attested with an NPN suffix -- with unsuffixed stems is substantial; there are 79 such nouns. The inventory includes 22 stressless roots. These nouns include many kin terms and body parts. Examples are shown in (10).

(10)  a. –'ami "waist"
      b. –kum "father's brother"
      c. –ma "hand"
      d. – muku "beak" (cf. -mu,s "nose")
      e. –nanaxwi "center"
      f. –piwilye "great grandmother"
      g. –taxwi "body"
      h. –xutaxwi "back"

It is likely that the increment –wi seen in (10e, g, h) is etymologically from a Uto-Aztecan possessed suffix *-wV. However, this element is not productive in Cupeño, and appears on only a few nouns.
5.1.4.2. Nouns with Possessed-noun Suffix –'a

The possessed-noun (PSD) suffix –'a is a highly productive nominalizing suffix with verb themes. Deverbal nouns in -'a are discussed in 8.2. However, it also appears with a number of primary nouns – that is, nouns for which I cannot identify a corresponding verb stem. Primary nouns that take the suffix –'a include both alienable and inalienable nouns. Among the primary alienable nouns (that is, nouns that are attested with the NPN suffix), there are 11 examples attested with -'a. These are shown in (11).

(11)  a. eyeweke-t "chin" -'eyewek-’a
     b. ika-t "net" -'ik-’a
     c. piva-t "tobacco" -piy-’a
     d. saana-t "pitch" -saan-’a
     e. iwye-l "spines" -'iwye-’a
     f. waqa-l "spear" -waq-’a
     g. ichi-sh "pipe" -'ich-’a (also –iṣh)

There are 39 primary "inalienable" nouns recorded with the possessive suffix –’a. These include some kin terms and body parts that have no obvious deverbal origin. Some examples are seen in (12).

(12)  a. –'is-’a "tears"
     b. –kanym-’a "younger brother"
     c. –kwal-’a "armpit, side"
     d. –neng-’a "tongue"
     e. –siiy-’a "nest"
     f. –Shul-’a "nails, claws"
Among primary nouns suffixed with –'a there are a small number that always occur prefixed with pe-"3s", and probably constitute frozen possessed forms. These are seen in (13):

(13) a. pe$henex-'a "rainbow" (also pe$henex'i; cf. $he "to bloom")
b. pe'aw-'a "mountain" (possibly related to –'aw "horn", although "on the mountain" is pe'aw-t-ika while "on the horn" is pe-'aw-ika.)

A small group of frozen possessed forms suffixed with PSD -'a always occur with a-, an indefinite third-person possessor that is not productive in Cupeño. Examples appear in (14)

(14) a. a-tax-'a "person" (cf. –taxwi "body")
b. a-yuy-'a "snow, ice" (cf. yuy "be cold")

Finally, a small group of nouns appears with an apparent possessed-noun suffix –'i instead of –'a. Jacobs (1975) notes that in Cahuilla there is an alternation between –'i and –'a suffixes on verbs and on nominalized forms. This alternation is not productive in Cupeño, but is only sporadically attested. Two of these nouns, (15 c,d), are frozen forms with a- analogous to those in (14).

(15) a. weki-ly "flight feather" -wek-'i
b. mimxel "customs, ways", -mimx-'i
c. mingkish "being a certain kind, color, etc.", -minyik-'i "some kind of relative"
d. mukwilleye'sh "sore", -myk-'i (1.43)
e. a-wegwen-'i "rain"
f. a-tuyi-'i "hail"
g. pe-$henex-'i "rainbow" (also pe$henex-'a)
h. pe-tevxaa-'i "difficult" (from tevxaa "to work", cf. tevxaa'il "job")
In the case of roots ending in consonants, both the -'a and -'i PSD suffixes lose the glottal stop when further suffixed with -i "object case", or with the plural suffix -m.

(16) a. pe-wek-i-y "his flight feather (object case)"
   b. pem-'e-l-a-y "their skirts (object case)"
   c. pem-si'y-a-m "their nests"
   d. ne-al-g-a-m "my head lice"
   e. ne-piv-a-m "my cigarettes"

However, if the root ends in a vowel, the glottal stop is not lost. This generalization covers all possessed-state nouns in -ki-'a. Examples are seen in (17).

(17) a. ne-chiyu-'a-m "my earrings"
   b. ne-chi-'a-y "my gathering (object case)"
   c. ne-'i ki-'a-m "my carrying nets"
   d. ne-sa'wa'-i-m "my nits"
   e. ne-paxa-ki-'a-m "my cradles"

In the case of stressless roots, the object case suffix attracts the stress, which then falls on the vowel of the PSD suffix. Note that if the vowel of the stressless root is /u/, the vowel of the PSD suffix may acquire u-coloring when stressed, as in (18a). The object case of -neng-'a "tongue", however, has /i/, not expected /a/, seen in (18b).

(18) a. ne-$hul-u-y "my fingernail(s) (object case)"
   b. ne-neng-i-y "my tongue (object case)"
   c. ne-waq-a-y "my shoe (object case)"
As noted in some of the examples above, noun stems occasionally appear attested in more than one class. Examples are seen in (19).

(19)  
   a. *huy-a-l* "arrow" -*huy*/ -*huy-*'a  
   b. *ichi-sh* "pipe" -*i*sh -*i*ch-*a

5.1.4.3. Nouns with Possessed Suffix –*ki*

The PSD suffix –*ki* is attached to a base that includes the NPN suffix. Many nouns possessed with –*ki* also appear (without -*ki*) with the classifier noun –*mi*'an. Nouns with –*ki* are "alienable" nouns. Indeed, if we are to define a formal "alienable" class, this would consist of nouns that appear with –*ki*, -*ki*’a, -*mi*’an, -*’ash* (the latter two being the possessive classifiers for non-animals and animals respectively). "Inalienable" nouns appear in the first two classes, with the possessed-noun suffix –’a, or with unmodified stem. Note that the semantic class does not correspond to the morphological class. The unmodified stem class includes not only the body parts and kin terms, but also nouns like –*ku*’a (*ku*-t) "fire" and -*ki*’a (*ki*-sh) "house".

Nouns that are attested with –*ki* are listed in (20).

(20)  
   a. –*wi*’qwlet-ki "live oak acorns"  
   b. –*chqymal-ki* "round basket" (or –*mi*’an *chqymal*)  
   c. –*kwqinily-ki* "white oak acorns"  
   d. –*lyevar’imal-ki* "large flat basket"  
   e. –*meldiily-ki* "apron"  
   f. –*suul-ki* "deer grass"  
   g. –*niqish-ki* "wild gourds"  
   h. –*chalq-l-ki* "bark"  
   i. –*wepi-sh-ki* "brush"  
   j. –*puki-ly-ki* "door"  
   k. –*ku’u-t-ki* "elderberry"
l. -wekî-ki "feather" (also -weki-ki-'a, belonging to a person, not to the original bird, the latter case being -wek-’i (as in (14a))

m. –maawa-l-ki "palm tree"

Almost all Spanish loan words for items that can be possessed (that is, not including names for animals) take –ki, which is suffixed directly to the stem. One exception is tewâya "towel", which forms the possessed form –tewaa-ki. Only one or two Spanish loans are attested as unmodified stems with PN prefixes, e.g. –faldiya "skirt, petticoat". Examples of Spanish loans with –ki are seen in (21).

(21)  
a.-fyegesta-ki "fiesta"

b.-msgdis-ki "stockings"

c.-adaobi-ki "adobe bricks"

d. –servegsa-ki "beer"

e. –yegavvi-ki "key"

f. –veriyly-ki "barrel"

5.1.4.4. Nouns with Possessive Suffixes –ki-'a

-ki and –’a each appear independently as PSD suffixes. However, a few nouns appear with both suffixes when they are in the possessed state. These are listed in (22). Note that in this case, where both –ki and –’a appear, the NPN suffix is not present, and –ki is suffixed directly to the noun stem. Interestingly, except for –qish-ki-’a "money" and –sey-ki-’a "seyily basket grass", two-syllable noun stems with -ki-’a are all stressed on the second syllable. The form -sey-ki-’a suggests a possible origin for the suffix -ki. The noun seyily refers to a basket grass, probably Juncus sp. The verb sey-ki means "to gather seyily." Thus the -ki may originate as a suffix meaning something like "to acquire something by human action". A possibly similar case, -pa-w "possessed water" parallel to pa-w "to get water", is discussed below in 5.2.4.5.
(22) a. *mela-ki-'a"metate"
   b. –pa-ki-'a"water" (and note also –pa-w-vi"juice"; where –w may be from PUA *-wa
      possessive suffix)
   c. –pexa-ki-'a"cradleboard"
   c. –qiš-k-i-'a"money"
   d. –sev-a-ki-'a"grass"
   e. –sey-ki-'a"basker grass" (also –sey-ki, -sey)
   f. –tema-ki-'a"ground, land"
   g. –mekwa-ki-'a"flea"
   h. –wek-i-ki-'a"feather" (belonging to a person, not to the original bird)
   i. –pi'-ki-'a"pipe"
   j. –kaw-i-ki-'a"rock"
   k. –si'i-ki-'a"tules"
   l. –seqep-i-ki-'a"my seqepish grass"

5.1.4.5. Nouns with Rare and Unproductive PSD suffixes

A few nouns exhibit the rare PSD suffixes -wi, -w(-vi). Examples include -paw "water" and -pawvi "juice, urine, springs of water". The root is pa "water". Note that the same element appears in the derived verb pa-w "to get water". For -xutaxwi "back", the root can be seen in the relational noun -xuta- "behind". -taxwi "body" has the root tax, seen in atax'a "person" with PSD suffix -'a. These elements, which are not productive in Cupeño, exhibit cognates elsewhere in Uto-Aztecan, as in the -w possessed suffix of Nahuatl, cf. kone:-tl "child", no-kone:-w "my child".

5.1.4.6. Nouns Requiring Classifier Possessed Nouns –mixan, -'ash

With the exception of the Spanish loan nouns, the nouns that are attested with the possessive suffixes –ki and –ki-'a form a semantic class that includes much of the inventory of basic property for which a
traditional Cupeño person would have enjoyed usufruct priority or even genuine ownership (we know very little about the pre-contact system of property, so the exact nature of the rights of ownership or use cannot be detailed). However, the language is sufficiently flexible to admit the expression of new forms of possession. Items that are not included in the traditional inventory of basic property can be mentioned as possessions, but their nouns require a special possessive construction, where the notionally-possessed noun appears in the non-possessed state. The notionally-possessed noun follows and modifies a possessed classifier noun, which appears in the possessed state, bearing a prefix encoding PN of the possessor. For inanimates, this possessed classifier is –\(\text{mi\text{x}an}\) "possession." For animals, it is –\(\text{\'a\text{sh}}\), usually translated as "pet." Human nouns, except for kin terms and the form –\(\text{p\text{e}w}\) "friend", cannot be possessed; presumably it would be possible to express the possession of a human being by classifying the noun with the appropriate kin term or with a form like –\(\text{p\text{e}w}\) "friend."

Examples of inanimate nouns possessed with –\(\text{mi\text{x}an}\) are seen in (23).

(23)

a. –\(\text{mi\text{x}an wi\text{-}ly}\) "possession, lard"

b. –\(\text{mi\text{x}an ng\text{-}t\text{-}em}\) "possession, tuna cactus plants"

c. –\(\text{mi\text{x}an lo\text{\text{-}oti}\) "possession, elotes (fresh corn on the cob)” (also \(\text{lo\text{\text{-}oti\text{-ki}}\))

d. –\(\text{mi\text{x}an pe\text{\$he\text{\text{-}e)}\) "possession, flowers”}

e. –\(\text{mi\text{x}an suqat pe\text{\text{-}aw\text{\text{-}a)\) "possession, antler (deer its horn)”}

f. –\(\text{mi\text{x}an pe\text{\text{-}ma ma\text{\text{-}la\text{\text{-}l)\) "possession, mano de metate”}

g. –\(\text{mi\text{x}an na\text{\text{-}teme\text{\text{-}la\text{\text{-}ash)\) "possession, datura plant”}

h. –\(\text{mi\text{x}an en\text{\text{-}flee\text{\text{-}r)\) "possession, brooch”}

i. –\(\text{mi\text{x}an n\text{\text{-}emxe\text{-}t)\) "possession, gift”

j. –\(\text{mi\text{x}an h\text{\text{-}xa\text{-}l)\) "possession, sand”

Note that in (23f) the phrase "mano de metate" (the grinding stone used with the metate), \(\text{pe\text{-}ma malal} \ "3\text{S}\)-hand metate” does not have the expected GN order. This example may be simply a mistake on the part of the speaker.
While the item possessed follows the classifier noun (GN order) when the two elements form a nominal construction, if the classifier noun is in apposition as a predicate noun, it usually follows the item possessed, as in the sentences in (24). Note that (24a) provides an example of an ergative-case clitic encoding PN of the possessor.

(24)  a. axwe-sh=ne wi’a-t ne-mi’xan

ODEM-NPN=LSERG LIVE.OAK-NPN 1S-POSSESSION

"That live oak tree is mine" (1 64)

b. e-t wi-ly ne-mi’xan

DDEM-NPN LARD-NPN 1S-POSSESSION

"That lard is mine" (1 74)

c. axwe-sh pe’ag’á che’-mi’xan

ODEM-NPN MOUNTAIN 1PL-POSSESSION

"That mountain is ours"

The same generalizations apply to the use of –’ash "pet." The possession of any animal can be expressed with this classifier noun. In its "default" meaning –’ash refers to cattle; the NPN form, achi-ly, means "cow, cattle." The only animals that can be possessed directly are lice (ala’a-t, -’ala’a "head louse", nawily’a-t, -nawilya "body louse", sa’wa-t, -sa’wa-’a "nits") and fleas (mekwa-sh, -mekwa-ki-’a). Faye does record examples of the word "eagle" in the unmodified stem class: ne-’a$hwe "my eagle" (he also records ne-’a$he-’i).

(25)  a. –’ash awa-l "possessed animal, dog"

b. –’ash ayi-ly "possessed animal, desert tortoise"

c. –’ash gaatu "possessed animal, cat"

d. –’ash kavaayu "possessed animal, horse"
A possessed form for the noun in (25b) does exist, but the form, -\textit{gy}, means "tortoise-shell rattle."

5.2. Pluralization

There are two major types of pluralization in Cupeño. A small group of nouns, nearly all of them designating human beings, forms plurals with reduplication. Most nouns form plurals by adding the suffix –\textit{m} or, for a few nouns, –\textit{nim}. Some nouns do not occur with plural suffixes.

5.2.1. Reduplicative plurals and distributives

Only eighteen Cupeño nouns are attested with reduplicated plurals (as opposed to distributives). Nine appear suffixed with –\textit{m} along with the reduplication. All but four of these nouns designate human beings. These are listed in (26). (Hill and Hill 2000 propose that this distinction between a marked class of nouns that pluralizes with reduplication and an unmarked class that pluralizes with suffixation can be reconstructed for Proto-Uto-Aztecan). In some of these plurals there are changes in addition to the reduplication. In the plural of (26b) \textit{kiimal} "boy" with plural \textit{kikitam} the derivational element –\textit{ma} seen in the singular (almost certainly a diminutive) is lost. In (26c) an element –\textit{ka}, otherwise unattested derivationally, disappears when \textit{nawikat} is pluralized as \textit{nanwitam}. In (26d), "old man", the denominalizing suffix –\textit{chu} is lost in \textit{naxavelim} from \textit{naxanchu'vel} (a nominalization of \textit{naxan}-\textit{chu} "to grow old, of males", in its own turn from \textit{naxan}- "man"). However, denominalizing –\textit{lyu} is retained in (26h), "old woman". In (26i) we see lenition of /\textit{p}/ to /\textit{v}/ in the base, and presumably weakening of the unstressed /\textit{u}/. In (26k) we see the reduplication on the second syllable of the noun (which is derived from the verb \textit{we}l "to mature"). Note that a new member has been added to this set, the Spanish loan in (26a), from a text collected by P.-L. Faye in 1920. Apparently the "human" category distinction underlying this marked plural formation remained active in this penultimate generation of speakers.
Nouns attested with reduplicated plurals and plural suffix

a. *iinyo* "Indian"  
   pl. *i-iinyo-om*

b. *kiima-l* "boy"  
   pl. *ki-ki-t-am*

c. *nawika-t* "woman"  
   pl. *na-nwi-t-am*

d. *naxanchu've-l* "old man"  
   pl. *na-nxa-ve-l-im*

e. *naxani-sh* "man"  
   pl. *na-nxa-ch-im*

f. *ne-t* "chief"  
   pl. *ne-n-t-em*

g. *ni-t* "pregnant woman"  
   pl. *ni-n-t-em*

h. *nishlyuve-l* "old woman"  
   pl. *ni-nishlyuve-l-im*

i. *pave-l* "deer priest"  
   pl. *pa-pave-l-im* (cf. *pavyut* "ceremonial staff")

j. *puu-l* "doctor"  
   pl. *pu-vu-l-im*

k. *pishweli-sh* "young man"  
   pl. *pishwe-weli-ch-im*

l. *eye-t* "thief"  
   pl. *e-ye-t-im*

An irregular plural, *nawishma-l* "girl" with plural *nishma-li-m*, is associated with this group but is not reduplicated. It appears to have the formative *na-* (like *nawikat* "woman", *naxanish* "man") in the singular, but the female-specific formative *ni-* (like *nit* "pregnant woman" and *nishlyuvel* "old woman") in the plural.

A few nouns form reduplicative plurals without the suffix. For (27b), the possessed plural is not reduplicated but uses -nim: *kav'amanim* (seen in (35r)). In the case of (27c), a term for a ceremony that appears only in this reduplicated version, this may be a distributive from a verb *haxmen* or *haxm-in*; I have not encountered a singular and the verb is not attested.

Nouns attested with reduplicative plurals without plural suffix

a. *heluma-l* "old, ragged clothes"  
   pl. *hely-luma-l*

b. *kavg'ma-l* "olla, pot"  
   pl. *ka-kva'nal*

c. (unattested)  
   pl. *She-$haxmenily* "burning of goods" (1. 59)
d. $hev'i-t "Mexican"  pl. $ha-$hev'i-t (also, $hv'i-ti-m)

e. seqepi-sh "mushroom"  pl. se-seqepi-sh (may be a distributive, given growth habits;
also seqepi-chi-m; note that stress on this noun is also
sometimes on the final syllable, as in -seqepi-ki'a)

f. mixe-l "way, custom"  pl. mimxe-l "ways, customs"

While such examples are sparsely attested in my materials, reduplication to mark distributives of
nouns was probably a productive strategy for speakers. Examples are seen in (28). Most of these involve
numerals, where they are most commonly attested.

(28)  a. ki-'aw "at the house"  ki-ki'aw "from house to house"

   b. suplewit "one"  susuplewet "each one"; susuplewetim "one by one"

   c. wichiw "four"  wichiwchi-m-i "four each"

   d. pah "three"  pa-va-s-ch-im "in threes, three each"

There are occasional examples of distributives with -VC reduplication. Helulmal "old raggedy clothes",
listed with the examples in (27), may be of this type. Another example is seen in (29) where fleas are quite
sensibly imagined as distributed over several people rather than in a single place belonging to those people.

(29)  pe'-mekwa-kwi'a-m "their fleas" (mekwa-sh "flea"); this is slightly irregular and may result from
syllable haplology from mekwa-kwa-ki'-a-m)

Faye recorded two plurals in his field notes for "house": axweksh kikish "those houses", and axwechim
kichim. He follows the latter with a question mark; Roscinda Nolasquez did not challenge kichim. I
suspect that the reduplicated plural, ki-kish, is a distributive, which is, in fact, the usual scenario for plural
houses. Faye also recorded kish met'ish "many houses", with no plural at all, the most usual treatment of
inanimate nouns.
5.2.2. Plural Suffixation

The vast majority of Cupeño nouns form plurals by adding –m. The suffix follows the NPN suffix in the case of non-possessed nouns. In the case of possessed nouns, the plural –m is suffixed directly to the stem. Some examples are seen in (30). By convention I have associated the vowel, which is sometimes epenthetic and sometimes original (see the discussion in 2.2.3), with the plural suffix.

(30). a. ane-t "red ant" pl. an-t-am "ants"
b. kaxa-l "quail" pl. kaxa-l-im "quails"
c. ku’a-l "fly" pl. ku’-l-am
d. maawa-l "palm tree" pl. maawa-l-im
e. ika-t "carrying net" pl. ik-t-am
f. sewe-t "rattlesnake" pl. sew-t-am
g. ki-sh "house" pl. ki-ch-im (also ki-kish)
h. su’i-sh "jackrabbit" pl. su’-ch-am
i. tenedoor "fork" pl. tenedoor-im

Spanish loan nouns and autocthonous vowel-final nouns add a glottal stop and an echo vowel before the plural suffix –m.

(31) a. aanyu "year" pl. aanyu’-um
    b. chanagti "red-winged blackbird" pl. changati’-im
c. daraangxa "orange" pl. daraangxa’-am
d. gaatu "cat" pl. gaatu’-um
e. tooru "bull" pl. tooru’-um
f. yelaavi "key" pl. yelaavi’-im

Most native-vocabulary vowel-final nouns exhibit the same behavior:
(32) a. *chalaka* "horned lizard" pl. *chalaka*-am  
b. *siyewe* "baby quail" pl. *siyewe*-em  
d. *qeqene* "gopher snake" pl. *qeqene*-em  
e. *sekwikwina* "swallow" pl. *sekwikwina*-am (4. 35.132)

If the vowel-final noun already has a glottal stop and echo vowel in the singular, then the plural suffix -m is added to the stem without any additional glottal stop increment:

(33) a. *paxa’a* "red racer snake" pl. *paxa’a*-m  
b. *mexcha’a* "poppy" pl. *mexcha’a*-m

In contrast, vowel-final possessed nouns do not add glottal stop and echo vowel, e.g.

(34) a. *ne-kaytu* "my enemy" pl. *ne-kaytu*-m  
b. *ne-qa* "my paternal grandparent" pl. *ne-qa*-m "my paternal grandparents"

A few nouns form plurals with a special suffix –nim. These are mainly nouns that end in –ma, the diminutive suffix, but include a few additional nouns and also the quantifiers *pet’a*’ama "all" and *awisma* "a little." These are listed in (35).

(35) a. *pet’a*’ama "all" pl. *pet’a*’anim or *pet’a*’amanim  
b. *awisma* "a few, a little" pl *awisma*’anim  
c. ‘-asisma *woman’s niece" pl. ‘-asisma*’anim  
d. -kañima "younger brother" pl. -kañima*’anim  
e. -kumu*ma "nephew" pl. -kumu*’anim  
f. -kwama "man’s daughter’s child" pl. -kwama*’anim  
g. -mati*ma "man’s niece or nephew” pl. -mati*’anim
h. -matisma "woman's nephew" pl. -matismanim
i. -naminkwa "male in-law" pl. -naminkwanim
j. -na'aqwa "woman's child" pl. -na'aqwanim
k. -nukma "cousin" pl. -nukmanim
l. -pa$hma "older brother" pl. -pa$hsmanim
m. -qama "son's child" pl. -qamanim
n. -$huma "woman's daughter's child" pl. -$humanim
o. -$hungma "man's daughter" pl. -$hungmanim
p. -taqma "daughter-in-law" pl. -tagmanim
q. -ye$hma "aunt" pl. -ye$hmanim
r. kava$'ma "pot -PSD" pl. - kava$'manim

A few nouns always appear with the plural suffix; these are seen in (36).

(36) a. memye-m "white person, people"
   b. chishxi-l-im "twins" (the singular is kwa$ati, a Spanish loan)

While all animate nouns can be pluralized, some inanimate nouns do not appear with plurals. These are listed in (37-39):

(37) a. aroos "rice"
   b. asegti "oil"
   c. avgena "oats"
   d. ayaxwi-sh "pus"
   e. ewe-l "blood"
   f. mi'a-t "smoke"
   g. ooru "gold"
   h. pa-l "water"
This set of nouns includes referents that are encoded as mass nouns in many languages. However, the nouns in (38) and (39) are not such obvious candidates for mass nounhood.

(38) a. hawini-ly "song"
b. hoospera "match"
c. kut siwela'a-sh "match"
d. puki-ly "door"
(39) a. chivni-sh "Yerba mansa (Amenopsis californica)"

b. kwini-ly "White oak (Quercus kelloggii), and acorns of this tree"

c. meneqi-sh "mesquite (Prosopis glandulosa), and beans of this tree"

d. pa'aqi-ly "sunflower (Helianthus annuus)"

e. pawxa-t "willow trees (Salix spp.)"

f. sichiqi-ly "nettles (Urtica dioica)"

g. teve$hì-ly "live oak (Quercus engelmannii)"

h. welaga-l "Buckwheat (Eriogonum fasciculatum)"

i. wiku-t "Sagebrush (Artemisia tridentata)"

The list in (39) contains a number of terms for trees and plants. But other terms for trees and plants do accept the plural suffix, for no obvious reason. The forms in (38) are especially peculiar. Why does the word for "match" not have a plural suffix? And on at least one occasion, Roscinda Nolasquez did not want to pluralize puckily "door" (although she did offer the plural pucklyam in the early days of elicitation). In order to solve this problem, we would probably have to turn to an analysis of prototypical cultural scenarios associated with the habit and use of these items, along the lines developed by Wierzbicka (1985) in her analysis of English pluralia tantum like "oats" and singulare tantum like "wheat". However, the type of information about cultural scenarios in English-speaking culture enjoyed by Wierzbicka is not retrievable for Cupeño, and we can only speculate as to the reasons that these nouns appear as singulare tantum.

In the case of possessed nouns, possessed body parts do not appear with plural suffixes. Thus there is no distinction in form between (40a) and (40b):

(40) a. chum-yu "our head"

b. chum-yu "our heads"
Other nouns in the possessed state, however, appear freely with the plural suffix. Plurals with the several PSD suffixes are shown in (41). Note that in the case of the suffix -'a, the glottal stop is lost before the plural suffix (and also before the object-case suffix, as shown below in (50), (53)).

(41)  

a. ne-'iɣ "my awl"

b. ne-'iɣim "my awls"

c. ne-'ɛl-'a "my skirt"

d. ne-'ɛl-a-m "my skirts"

e. ne-maakina-ki "my car"

f. ne-maakina-ki-m "my cars"

g. ne-pexa-ki/a "my cradle"

h. ne-pexa-ki-ɔ-m "my cradles"

5.3. Nouns in Locative and Oblique-case Constructions

Constructions with locative and oblique-case markers can be classified according to the formal associations between different types of elements that mark locative and oblique case, and the associated nouns. In the first type, the bare stem of the noun, without the NPN suffix but also without any possessive affixes, is suffixed with the locative or oblique-case element. In the second type, the noun stem with the NPN suffix is the base to which the locative or oblique-case marker is suffixed. In the third type, neither the noun stem or NPN-suffixed base can be suffixed with locative or oblique-case markers. Instead, the locative or oblique-case markers must appear as "relational nouns", prefixed with PN prefixes that are formally identical to the possessive and subject prefixes. In constructions with lexical nouns, these prefixes are 3S or 3PL, encoding the number of the noun that is the object of the locative element. These nouns can be marked with the
object-case suffix \(-i\), as objects of the relational noun. The factors that determine in which class a noun will appear are complex and will be discussed below. Some nouns can appear in more than one class.

The locative and oblique-case suffixes are shown in Table 5.3. They occupy the last suffix position in nominal constructions. The forms from (g) to (j) are restricted in their distribution, appearing with only a few roots, except in the formation of place names.

Table 5.3 Locative and Oblique-Case Suffixes on Nominal Constructions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>-'aw</td>
<td>&quot;at&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>-chi</td>
<td>&quot;oblique case (with (by means of), by, about, around&quot;; -ichi after plural -m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>-ika-yka</td>
<td>&quot;to, towards&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>&quot;in, in that way, at (point of arrival)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>-nga'aw</td>
<td>&quot;on, on top of&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>-ngax</td>
<td>&quot;from, because of&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>&quot;place, season&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>&quot;at&quot; (with ivly-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>-va</td>
<td>&quot;place, season&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j.</td>
<td>-'ma, -ma, -i'ma</td>
<td>&quot;place&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some locative expressions must be constructed with relational nouns. Relational nouns are prefixed with PN prefixes, which are always stressed, the relational noun behaving like a stressless root. The PN prefix encodes the object of the relational noun; if lexical nouns appear as complements in relational noun constructions, they are usually marked with object case if they are animate. Some relational nouns are clearly related to the locative suffixes in Table 5.3, while others are apparently derived from body parts. Some have no obvious origin and occur only as relational nouns. The relational nouns are shown in Table 5.4. Unless stress is marked on the relational noun, stress falls on the PN prefix.
TABLE 5.4. Relational Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Following Singular PN</th>
<th>Following Plural PN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. -men,</td>
<td>-emen &quot;with, willingly&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. -menew</td>
<td>-enew &quot;with, unwillingly&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. -vew,</td>
<td>-evew &quot;over, (bigger) than&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. -ve'aw</td>
<td>-eve'aw &quot;over, inside, on&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. -yik</td>
<td>-eyik &quot;towards&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. -yka</td>
<td>-mika &quot;behind&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. -ngax &quot;from&quot;</td>
<td>-mengax &quot;from&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With either singular or plural PN:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h. -chi &quot;by means of, about, around&quot; (attested only with pe-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. -kwalngax &quot;beside&quot; (cf. -kwal-'a &quot;armpit&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. -kwaaani &quot;for the sake of&quot; (cf. -kwaan &quot;value, worth&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. -menish &quot;attached to&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. -muchi &quot;in front of&quot; (cf. -mu &quot;nose&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. -ta &quot;place&quot; (with pe- only)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. -xutangax &quot;behind&quot; (cf. -xutaxwi &quot;back&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o. -mangax &quot;because of&quot; (always with pe-) (cf. ma,&quot;hand&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. -nga &quot;in&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q. -ngkish &quot;like&quot; (discussed in 6.3.1.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several of the relational nouns, the forms in (a-g), have different forms with singular and plural PN markers. This is almost certainly simply a phonological fact; singular PN prefixes end in vowels, plural PN markers end in -m. With the relational nouns from (a) to (e), the plural prefix has its full form, e.g. pem-emen "3PL-with (willingly)", em-eve'aw "2PL-over". With (f, g), the plural PN prefixes change their final /ml/ to /fl/ by the regular rule described in 2.5.3. before -mika, e.g. pe-yka "3S-behind", pe'-mika
"3PL-behind". This also occurs with (h), -menish, which has the same form with the singular, e.g. pe-menish "attached to it", pe'-menish "attached to them."

A final relational noun is -qi "reflexive", which has the paradigm shown in Table 5.5. The reflexive is formally distinct in that its PN prefix always exhibits the vowel /i/, resembling the object proclitics. However, stress falls on the first syllable of the prefix, as with the other relational nouns. Object proclitics are never stressed. There is no regular assimilation to the /i/ of relational nouns; we see pe-chi "with it", not *pi-chi, and pe’mika "behind them", not *pi’mika. This form is simply exceptional.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.5. -qi &quot;reflexive&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni'-qi &quot;myself&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chimi-qi &quot;ourselves&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'-qi &quot;yourself&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-qi &quot;yourselves (pl.)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi'-qi &quot;himself, herself, its self&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pimi-qi &quot;themselves&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This reflexive form is used when the object of the verb is identical to the subject, as in (41a). It can also be used as an emphatic, as in (42b, c), or to mean "one another" as in (42d).

(42) a. pimi-qi me=I=pe pem-taxwi kwa-wene

3PL-REFL AND=3PLERG=IRR 3PL-BODY EAT-FIPL

"They will eat their own bodies" (Faye Creation 11)

b. E'=e=$he='et=pe i'-qi pem-eyik tutuchi-qa

2SPRO=CF=DUB=2SABS=IR 2S-REFL 3PL-TO TELL-PRS

"You yourself must have told them." (Faye KP 163)

c. Axwe-ch-i ni'-qi kuchiyu ne-mixan

ODEM-NPN-O 1S-REFL KNIFE 1S-POSSESSION

"That's my own knife." (3 115 364)a
d. Axwe-ch-im=qwe=me tew-wene pimi-qi=qwe=l melen nga-ngang-wene
ODEM-NPN-PL=NONI=3PLERG SEE-CUST.PL 3PL-REFL=NONI=3PLABS MUCH DUP-CRY-CUSTPL

"When they see one another they weep a great deal." (Faye Images Jan 7 1921 SV 099q)

A second type of reflexive, without -qi, also appears. The sentences in (43) illustrate this case, where -taxwi "body" means "each other, one another, self," including the "emphatic" sense of "self" as in (43d), which is apparently functionally identical to the use of -qi in (42b).

(43) 

a. Qay=e kumu achi-v'et iyax-we mula'we-t-im atax-am pe-chi pem-taxwi
   NOT=CF LIKE LONG.AGO-SINCE BE.LIKE-PRST ANCESTOR-NPN-PL PERSON-PL 3S-OBL 3PL-BODY
   pem-nengu-weni-ve-y qay hish pem-nengu-wen
   3PL-HAVE-PIPL-SUBR-O NOT WHAT 3PL-HAVE-PIPL

"It is not liked the old days when the ancestors had nothing to take care of themselves with."
   (Faye Domingo Moro FN 20 012k)

b. Tami-t chay-pe-ya-qali=che=pe chem-taxwi tew
   SUN-NPN RISE-3S-YAX-DSS=1PL=IRR 1PL-BODY SEE

"Tomorrow at sunrise we shall see each other." (Faye KP 135 173)

c. Pem-taxwi=ku'ut pe'-milygw-wen
   3PL-BODY=REP 3PL-ARGUE-PIPL

"They were arguing with one another." (Creation RN 001)

c. Ne'=ep ne-taxwi ne-hiwchu-mi'aw
   1SPRO=R 1S-BODY 1S-KNOW-MOTA

"I came to know a little myself." (Faye SV 2-1-21 20 198)
5.3.1. The Distribution of Base Types with Locative and Oblique-Case Suffixes and Relational Nouns

The following types of base-suffix relationships are observed with locative and oblique-case forms: a) the noun root or stem, without the NPN suffix, accepts a locative or oblique-case suffix directly; b) the base for the locative or oblique-case suffix is the noun plus the NPN suffix; c) the noun cannot occur with locative or oblique-case suffixes and must be in construction with a relational noun. The differences between the three types are partly morphological and partly semantic, and some nouns occur in both (a) and (b) types of constructions. Category (c) includes all nouns designating human beings. Category (b) includes names for animals and plants. Category (a) includes other nouns. However, some nouns that appear in category (a) also appear in (b)-type constructions, as will be seen below.

5.3.1.1. Possessed Nouns with Locative and Oblique-case Suffixes

Possessed nouns, except for kin terms (since these designate human beings, they appear only with relational nouns) always appear with locative and oblique-case markers in the first class of construction, accepting locative and oblique suffixes directly on the stem. The possessive suffix -a is lost. However, the possessive suffix -ki remains. Some examples are shown in (44). Note that with unstressed stems such as -ma, "hand" (44a) and -tama, "mouth" (44b) these suffixes attract the stress, which falls on the last vowel of the unstressed stem.

(44) a. ne-ma-’aw "in my hand" (2.13.100)
    b. ne-xuta-nga "on my back" (note absence of –wi, cf. ne-xutaxwi "my back") (2.13.117)
    c. ne-tama-chi "with my mouth" (2.37.)
    d. ne-seva-ki-’aw "on my grass"
5.3.1.2. Derived nouns with -la'á-sh ~-lya'á-sh

All deverbal nouns in –la'á-sh ~-lya'á-sh, the instrument nominalizer, fall in the first class, suffixed with locative suffixes on the unmodified stem, whether possessed or not, e.g.

(45) a. kup-la'a-sh "bed"  kup-la-'aw "on the bed"
    b. nash-la'a-sh "chair"  nash-la-'aw "on the chair"
    c. tesiw-lya'a-sh "toy"  tesiw-lya-'aw "on the toy"
    d. isni-lya'a-sh "paper"  isni-lya-'aw "on the paper"
    e. ne-iski-lya'a "my paper"  ne-'i-iski-lya-'aw "on my paper"

5.3.1.3. Nouns with accusative -t

Several quite common nouns in locative expressions exhibit an increment –t. This is probably a relic of the Proto-Uto-Aztecan accusative case marker, *-ta. Note that all of the nouns in this class are nouns with two-syllable roots that are stressed on the second syllable, which also appear with possessive suffixes –ki-a. pe'aw'a "mountain" is probably a frozen possessed-state form with PSD -'a, which is lost before the locative suffixes.

(46) a. savg-l "grass"  savg-t-'aw "on the grass"
    b. tama-l "land"  tama-t-ika "to the land"
    c. pe'aw'a "mountain"  pe'aw-t-i'aw "on the mountain"
    d. kawi-sh "rock"  kawi-t-'aw "on the rock"

Two of these nouns also appear in constructions without -t. Thus the root kawi- appears in the expressions kawi-ka "to the west", kawi-ngax "from the west", kawi-nga "in the west." The root in "west" is probably the same as the root in kawi-sh "rock", and suggests an original location for Proto-Cupan to the east of the Coast Ranges. (There is another word for "to the west", ewepeka, a ritual direction, which may
mean "toward the place of rain" (ewe\textsuperscript{\textprime}i "rain"). The root pe'aw- "mountain" appears with the -t increment in the form in (45c). There is an extra /i/ before the suffix -'aw "at, on" in that form; I have no account of it. -t is also seen in pe'aw-t-ika "toward the top of the mountain, up the mountain." However, we also find pe'aw-nga "at the mountain" (as a point of arrival), on the mountain (as location for house)

5.3.1.4. Directly-suffixed Nouns in the Non-possessed State

The situation with nouns in the non-possessed state in locative constructions is quite complex. Inanimate nouns that are not the names of plants permit the suffixation of locatives to the stem without the NPN suffix. Examples are given in (47).

(47) a. chayma-l "basket" \hspace{1cm} chayma-’aw "in the basket" \\
b. eshva\textsuperscript{e}t "left (hand)" \hspace{1cm} eshva-yka "to the left" \\
c. ewe-l "blood" \hspace{1cm} ew-nga "in the blood" (also ew-ika "in the blood" \\
d. haxa-l "sand" \hspace{1cm} haxa-’aw "on the sand", haxika "to the sand" \\
e. kelgw-\textsuperscript{a}t "wood" \hspace{1cm} kelgw-nga’aw "on the branch" \\
f. ki-\textsuperscript{sh} "house" \hspace{1cm} ki-nga "in the house" \\
g. lyevatima-l "large flat basket" \hspace{1cm} lyevatima-’aw "in the large flat basket" \\
h. meme-\textsuperscript{t} "ocean" \hspace{1cm} mem-ngax "from the ocean" \\
i nangi-\textsuperscript{sh} "war" \hspace{1cm} nangi-ka "to the war" (also nangish-nga "in the war") \\
j. nee’e-t "basket" \hspace{1cm} nee-nga "in the basket" \\
k. pa-l "water" \hspace{1cm} pa-nga "in the water", pa-ya\textsuperscript{k}a "to the water" \\
l. paxily’et "foam" \hspace{1cm} paxily’i-nga "in the foam" \\
m. pekwama-l "eating basket" \hspace{1cm} pekwama-ngax "from the eating basket" \\
n. pelyawet "right (hand)" \hspace{1cm} pelya-ya\textsuperscript{k}a "to the right" \\
o. pi-\textsuperscript{t} "road" \hspace{1cm} pi-nga "on the road" \\
p. qwa’i-\textsuperscript{sh} "food" \hspace{1cm} qwa’i-\textsuperscript{k}a "to the food" \\
q. sev\textsuperscript{e}-l "wind" \hspace{1cm} sev\textsuperscript{e}-ya\textsuperscript{k}a "to the wind", sev\textsuperscript{e}-ngax "from the wind"
r. ti'i-ly "bone" ti'i-'aw "on the bone" (but ti'i-ly-ika "to the bone")
s. ti'i-ve-l "blanket" ti'i-ve-nga "on the blanket"
t. tivi'ma-l "small basket" tivi'ma-'aw "in the basket"
u. wa'i-sh "meat" wa'i-ka "to the meat, wa'i-nga "in the meat"
v. we$hki-sh "ashes" we$hki-'aw "in the ashes", we$hki-ka "to the ashes"
w. wiwi-sh "acorn mush" wiw-nga "in the acorn mush"
x. yemi-sh "brush" yemi'-ka "to the brush", yemi-nga "in the brush"
y. yepa-sh yepa-yka "to the valley", yepa-'aw "at the valley"
z. yewa$hone-t "mud" yewa$hi-nga "in the mud"

However, some of these are also attested in the second class, with locatives suffixed to the base with the NPN suffix. Often, the meaning of the two different constructions is different. Some examples are given in (48).

(48)  a. tami-t "sun, day" tami-t-ika "in the sunlight" wih tamya-t-nga "for two days" tam-ika "east" tami-'va "winter"

b. kelawwe-t "firewood, wood" kelawwe-t-nga "onto the stick" kelaw-nga "on the wood (at cremation)" kelaw-nga'aw "on the branch (sitting as bird)"

c. lyevat'ima-l "large flat basket" lyevat'ima-l-nga'aw "on the large flat basket (e.g. fly)" lyevat'ima-'aw "in the large flat basket (e.g. acorns)"

d. pekwama-l "an eating basket" pekwama-l-nga'aw "in baskets (display of goods)" pekwama-ngax "out of the eating basket"

e. nee'e-t "basket" nee'e-t-nga'aw "in, on the basket", nee-nga "(put) in the basket"

d. ti'i-ly "bone" ti'i-ly-ika "to the bone" ti'i-'aw "on the bone"

Unfortunately, there are not enough data available to make a definitive statement about these differences. However, the most likely solution is that speakers envision slightly different scenes, with the relationship of location being more "intimate" in the case of forms with locative suffixes without the NPN
suffix, and less so when the NPN suffix is also present. In the case of (48a), to be "in sunlight", one is not literally "in the sun". Similarly, "in the moonlight" is meni-ly-ika from meni-ly "moon." In the (48b) example, the expression kelawe-t-nga'aw appears in a story where a coyote climbs awkwardly up onto a sharp stick in order to play a game with birds. These are relationships where the item located is peripheral or less intimate in relation to the location. On the other hand, the relationship between the pile of firewood and the corpse for cremation, or a branch and a bird, involve more prototypical scenarios. In the case of the examples with baskets, objects in baskets that one would normally find there, such as food, acorns and acorn flour, etc., generally take locatives without the NPN suffix. On the other hand, objects in baskets that are not prototypically associated with them, such as flies that have landed on them, or, in the case of pekwamalnga'aw in (48d), the once-a-year display of valuables in the burning ceremony, where the valuables are objects that would not usually be found in an eating basket, exhibit NPN suffixes with locatives. An example similar to this one appears in an account of the eagle ceremony, where the sacrificed eagle is wrapped in the maasivet "sacred bundle of lineage valuables." The form here is maasive-t-nga "in the sacred bundle", not maasive-nga.

If this is the correct solution (and I think it is), then to use the longer base, with the NPN suffix, is a good iconic expression of the less prototypical or more "distant" or "marginal" or "peripheral" locative relationship in comparison with the form without the NPN suffix, expressing the more prototypical and intimate relationship.

5.3.1.5 NPN Bases with Locative and Oblique-case Suffixes

Nouns that are names for plants and animals accept locative suffixes only on the base with the NPN suffix. This situation may be in part semantically motivated by the same considerations that are discussed in 5.3.1.4 above in the discussion of the examples in (48). Plants and animals are not "typical" containers, nor are their exteriors typically penetrated, nor are they typically the goals of motion. Many of the examples in (49) are attested only with -nga'aw, the longest locative suffix and the one that expresses the most superficial relationship with the object noun. Elicitation with some of the odder locations here was done by asking about the location of ku'al "a fly".
Interestingly, -nga’aw is the form used to mean "(speak) in a language." However, the formation does not use the NPN base (an abstract noun in -ily, see 8.3.4), but is formed on the theme of the verb, as in (50). "In Diegueño" is an exception; it is ayalmu-’aw.

(50)  a. memyelax-nga’aw "in English"
   b. pa’angax-nga’aw "in Cupeño"
   c. qa’ayax-nga’aw "in Luiseño"
   d. wichilax-nga’aw "in Spanish"
Plant names are not usually pluralized. However, the example in (49o) appears twice in my data, with two different locatives (it is a stereotypical way of talking about an unpleasant place to live; Kisily Pewish assigned land "in the thornbushes" to the Blacktooth lineage).

Plant names often appear with a special form which resembles a relational noun, -we la-, which may mean something like "growth" from wel "to grow, mature" (I recorded chem-we la' a "our family tree"), with a locative base pe-wela-. This form accepts locative suffixes, yielding forms like those in (51):

(51) a. avaxat pewela-'aw "under the cottonwood tree, at the base of the cottonwood tree"
    b. sevily pewela-nga "to the sycamore tree (point of arrival)"

The form pe-wela- also appears with words other than plant words, e.g.

(52) a. estu'afa pe-chi pe-wela-.'aw "(running) around the bottom of the stove"
    b. kawi-.'aw pe-wela-.'aw "(sleeping) under a rock"

In the case of nouns (other than human) that never have NPN suffixes, like Spanish loans, the locative and oblique suffixes can simply attach directly to the nouns. Also, any place name can appear with locative suffixes. In the case of place names with NPN suffixes, like Yuykat, the locative base includes the NPN suffix.

(53) a. lasena-'aw "on top of the cupboard"
    b. pwenti-ka "to the bridge"
    c. Oceanside-nga'aw "at Oceanside"
    d. Sandyeggu-ka "to San Diego"
    e. Yuykat-nga "at Yuykat (Soboba)"
    f. Kupa-ngax "from Cupa"
Finally, locative suffixes can appear on items other than nouns. They appear on adjectives, sometimes in "agreement" with nouns, on adverbs, and on relativized verb forms. A few examples are given in (54); these constructions are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9 for adjectives and adverbs, and in Chapter 8 for the relativized verbs.

(54)  

   a. sava-t-'aw xwavixwawi-nga'aw "on the green grass"
   b. wawam-ngax "from far away"
   c. hiwqal-i-ve-ngax "from where he lived"
   d. pah-nga'aw "in three places"
   e. wiw-nga'aw "in two places, on both sides"

5.3.2. Relational Noun Constructions

In a relational noun construction, the element that encodes location or oblique case appears as a relational noun. Such nouns require possessive PN prefixes. The noun that encodes the location is the object of the relational noun. If it is an inanimate noun it is not marked for object case, but animate nouns and pronouns are usually marked with an object-case suffix -i. Such constructions are widely attested in Uto-Aztecan languages and are characteristic of the languages of Mesoamerica (Campbell, Kaufman, and Smith-Stark 1986). All Cupeño nouns for human beings occur with locative and oblique case markers only in these relational noun constructions; that is, human nouns cannot be directly suffixed with locative or oblique-case markers, either with or without the NPN suffix. However, a number of other nouns also appear in such constructions, and the reasons for selecting a relational noun construction, as opposed to a construction with a locative or oblique-case suffix, is often unclear. I speculate again that some underlying scenarios involving the intimacy of the relationship between the oblique or locative component of the scene and the actor or undergoer component may be in operation here. I suggested that this kind of motivation may lie behind the choice between NPN-suffixed locative bases and bases without the NPN suffix discussed above in
5.3.1.5. For instance, (55c) below shows *kelawet pe-chi" with a stick." The element -chi also appears as a suffix, e.g. *ne-ma-chi" with my hand", *ne-chi" about me", *ivimichi a'welvemichi" about these elders." The case of *ne-ma-chi" with my hand" must surely rate as more prototypical than *kelawet pe-chi" with a stick", the hand being the instrumental body part *par excellence*. However, the paucity of the data mean that we cannot move beyond speculation.

As mentioned above, nouns in construction with relational nouns can be marked with the object case suffix –i~y, as seen in (55). However, they can also appear without the case marker as in (55).

(55) a. *naxan-ch-i pe-ngax*

    MAN-NPN-O 3S-FROM

    "from the man"

b. *pe-yi pe-yik*

    3S-MOTHER-O 3S-TO

    "to his mother"

(56) a. *awa-l pe-ve'aw*

    DOG-NPN 3S-OVER

    "on the dog"

b. *mi-pi-ly pe-chi*

    PLANT.SP-NPN 3S-OBL

    "with mipily"

c. *kelawa-t pe-chi*

    STICK-NPN 3S-OBL

    "with a stick"
5.4. Nouns with the Object Suffix

Any noun can appear with the object suffix –i ~ -y. The form is –i following consonants and –y following vowels. However, inanimate nouns in the non-possessed state hardly ever appear with this suffix. As reviewed in 9.2, in complex nominal constructions with non-possessed inanimate nouns, the object suffix will appear on modifiers such as adjectives or quantifiers, but almost never on the inanimate noun itself. A discussion of the discourse constraints on the appearance of the suffix is found in 12.3.2.3. The phonology of -i “object case” -- it behaves in some ways like a clitic, in that blocks epenthesis, but does not induce deletion -- is discussed in 2.2.3.2. The role of the suffix in focussing with demonstratives is reviewed in 12.2.1.

The object-case suffix is always the last suffix in the noun construction, following the plural if the plural suffix is present. Some examples are seen in (57).

(57)  a. awa-l-i "dog-object"
      b. nawiqa-t-i "woman-object"
      c. ne-qa-y "my father's.father/mother-object"
      d. pe-xa-y "her carrying strap-object"
      e. ne-mixan-m-i "my-possession-plural-object"

I briefly repeat here a few details of the phonological behavior of this suffix, which are also treated in other sections including Chapter 2. In the case of consonant-final nouns with the PSD suffix –a, when the object suffix follows this, the glottal stop is lost, as discussed in 5.1.4.2 above and exemplified again in (58):

(58)  –’ich-a "pipe-PSD"      –’ich-a-y "pipe-PSD-object"
The object suffix attracts stress in the case of stressless roots. That is, the stress will occur in the syllable that includes the object suffix. Consonant-final stressless roots add an increment –i before the object case suffix, which then appears as -y. These include the forms shown in (59):

\[(59)\]

a. –ma$h "father’s brother"  -ma$hi-y
b. –qwa$h "tail" -qwa$hi-y
c. -tew "chest" -tewi-y

The treatment of stressless roots with the possessive suffix –’a is variable. With the nouns in (60) –’a is lost, replaced by the –i increment. With those in (61), it is retained, losing its glottal stop is in the example in (58).

\[(60)\]

a. –’is-’a "tears"  -is-i-y
b. –neng-’a "tongue"  -neng-i-y
c. –nyeng-’a "saliva" -nyeng-i-y
d.-$hek-’a "shoulder"  -$hek-i-y
e. -qily-’a "nape of neck"  -qily-i-y

\[(61)\]

a. –qan-’a "gall" -qana-y
b. –$heva-’a "shells, hulls"  -$heva-y
b. –$hul-’a "nails, claws"  -$hul-uy
d. -hinya-’a "saliva"  -hinya-y

In the case of vowel-final Spanish loan nouns and native-vocabulary vowel-final nouns in the "expressive" set that includes insect names (listed in (4) in Section 2.1.2.1. above), the object-case suffix does not usually appear as -y. Instead, a glottal stop is inserted before the suffix, which appears as -i.

Recall that these nouns pluralize with glottal stop and echo vowel before the plural suffix –m, so we might wish to think of them as having underlying final glottal stops. However, their behavior with the object
case suffix is irregular. Sometimes the echo vowel is present, and the object case suffix is –y (as in 60a).
Sometimes the echo vowel is absent, and the object case suffix is –i, as in (62b, c).

(62) a. mansaana "apple"  
    mansaana'-a-y or mansaana'-i
b. taasa "cup"  
taasa'i
b. qegene "gopher snake"  
qegene'-i

We also encounter some variation in the behavior of the object case suffix with the vowel-final quantifiers petama "all" and awiisma "a little": the possible object-case forms are seen in (63).

(63) a. petama "all"  
petama'y or petama'i
b. awiisma "a little"  
aviisma'y or aiviisma'i

5.5. Noun-noun Derivation

A number of elements derive nouns from other nouns. These include diminutives, augmentatives, gentilic suffixes, and toponymic suffixes. Only the last two appear to be very productive. There are only a very few possible compound nouns; compounding is not productive.

5.5.1. Augmentatives and Diminutives

The principal derivational suffixes operating on noun stems are the augmentative –we, which takes NPN –t, and the diminutive –ma, which appears with the NPN suffix –l. The former is derived from the Uto-Aztecan word meaning "big", *we. An "ownership" suffix -we-t, homophonous with the augmentative but probably with a different historical origin, is discussed in 8.3.3. The diminutive is related to the Uto-Aztecan etymon for "woman's child", *mar. While both suffixes are quite common, neither is really productive. Instead, when Roscinda Nolasquez wished to express "bigness" or "smallness," she would use the adjectives ay'ani-sh "big" and akylyi "small".
Some examples of pairs with the augmentative are seen in (64). It is clear that the relationship in meaning between the unmarked and augmentative forms is not predictable, and the augmentative suffix is not used productively. –we-t is quite a common final syllable on nouns, for instance on a$hü-we-t "Toyon (Heteromeles arbutifolia)" (Gaughen 2001:86), huva-we-t "name of a lineage." However, in most cases there is no unmarked noun for comparison.

\[(64)\]

| a. huna-l "badger" | hun-we-t "bear" |
| b. isi-ly "coyote" | 'i$-we-t "wolf" |
| c. kaxa-l "valley quail" | kaxa-we-t "mountain quail" |
| d. tama-"mouth" | tama-we-t "mockingbird" |
| e. qeyu-l "fish" | qeyu-we-t "whale" |

Examples of the diminutive –ma are especially common in kin terms, where we find the following pairs:

\[(65)\]

| a. –kum "father's brother" | -kumu-ma "mother's brother's son" |
| b. –qa "father's parent" | -qa-ma "son's child" |
| c. –qwa "mother's father" | -qwa-ma "man's daughter's child" |
| d. –$hu "mother's mother" | -$hu-ma "daughter's child" |

While the above kin terms in (65) are clearly reciprocal pairs, with one in the ascending and one in the descending generation in relation to ego (the speaker who uses the term), there are a number of kin terms that have –ma where there is no reciprocal unsuffixed form attested, e.g.

\[(66)\]

| a. –'asis-ma "niece" |
| b. –mati-ma "nephew" |
| c. –mati$-ma "sister's child" |
| d. –nuk-ma "cousin" |
e. \textit{pun-ma} "man's son" (cf. \textit{pul\ñyi-sh} "child, baby")

f. \textit{qi-s-ma} "older sister"

g. \textit{Shu-nga-ma} "man's daughter" (cf. \textit{Shu} "mother's mother")

Another set of examples where the diminutive appears in relation to other suffixes is in the names of the months of the year. The seasons are \textit{tami'va} "winter" (literally, "day or sun season"), \textit{tashpa} "spring", \textit{tawpa} "summer", \textit{tawShenve'et} "autumn" (literally, "when there is thunder") Each season is divided into two months. The English terms for the four seasons, although they were offered by consultants (in this case Roscinda Nolasquez and her uncle James Brittain), are not really apt translations, because in addition to the months of the above seasons, there are other months. All the month names that I collected are shown in (66). Hill and Nolasquez (1973:110-112) has a more extensive discussion of the calendrical system.

(67) a. \textit{tamiva'malpa, tamiva'xishpa} "Little Winter, Big Winter"

b. \textit{tashpa'malpa, tashpa'xishpa} "Little Spring, Big Spring"

c. \textit{tawpa'malpa, tawpa'xispa} "Little Summer, Big Summer"

d. \textit{tawshrenva'mal, tawshrenva'xis} "Little Autumn, Big Autumn"

e. \textit{pivi'mukmal, pivi'muxish} "Little Ghost Month, Big Ghost Month"

f. \textit{sex'e'muymal, sex'e'muyxish} "Little Burning Month, Big Burning Month"

g. \textit{nimuymalpa, nimuyilpa} "Little November, Big November"

The element \textit{–ma} is fairly common. For instance, many words for containers include this element, and it is not clear that it is a diminutive in this context; for instance, the \textit{chaymal} basket (68a) figures in narrative as a basket that was big enough to hold prey such as jackrabbits, and is described as \textit{chaymal ay'anish} "a big basket".

(68) a. \textit{chay-ma-l} "round basket, basket cap"

b. \textit{kavu'-ma-l} "olla"
c. lyeogti'-ma-l "large flat basket"

d. pekw-qa'-ma-l "eating basket"

e. tivi'-ma-l "small basket"

A small set of forms seem likely to be diminutives, even though we have no corresponding unsuffixed nouns.

(69) a. kii-ma-l "boy"

b. chiit-ma-l "kind of bird"

c. mukik-ma-l "bird, in general"

There are, however, very few paired items. Some are seen in (70). As with the augmentative suffix –we, seen in the paired forms in (64), it is clear that the diminutive –ma is not productive in a strict sense, and the meaning of the diminutive is not always derivable from the meaning of the unsuffixed noun in a straightforward way. Particularly, since abalone shells are usually much larger than money (or than other shells, which is probably the original meaning of qichi-ly), it is surprising that the word seems to be a diminutivized version. The relevant scenario is probably that the shell money, in a smaller size, was the valuable that gave its name to state-issued currency when this found its way to the Cupeño, presumably in the late 18th or early 19th century.

(70) a. muu-t "barn owl"  muu-ma-l "screech owl"

b. nawi-ly "maiden"  nawish-ma-l "girl"

c. qichi-ly "money"  qiche'-ma-l "abalone shell"
5.5.2. Gentilic Suffix Complex –ngax-wi-sh

The suffixal complex –ngax-wi-sh, where –ngax is the locative suffix meaning "from", can be attached to place names to form ethnonyms and gentilic terms. Examples are seen in (71):

(71)  a. kupa-ngax-wi-sh "person from Cupa, Cupeño person"
    b. pa-l’aïngva-ngax-wi-sh "person from Hot Springs (Cupa), Cupeño person"
    b. mem-ngax-wi-sh "person from the ocean, White person"
    d. ivi-ngax-wi-sh "a person from here"
    e. chíchaxwe-ngax-wi-sh "a person from the south"

The suffix -wi-sh also appears without -ngax, meaning simply "a place with particular qualities." Examples are seen in (72).

(72)  a. tam-ika-wi-sh "desert ("place to the east")"
    b. tukuchi-ka-wi-sh "heaven ("place up high")"
    c. pimu petengax-wi-sh "nostril ("his nose place inside it")"

5.5.3. Toponymic and Seasonal Suffixes –pa, -va, -ma

The toponymic suffix –pa derives place names from nouns. An identical suffix means "time of" and appears with the season names tâw-pa "winter" and tâsh-pa "spring" (see (74)) and in mi-pa "when". On nouns that can have locatives attach to the unmodified stem, -pa also can appear in the same manner. On other nouns, -pa is suffixed to the base with NPN suffix. Some examples are:

(73)  a. chivni-sh-pa "place where there is chivnish, a plant"
    b. kiwe-t-pa "place where there is kiwet, a plant"
c. *nixi-sh-pa* "place where there are wild gourds"

d. *She$hwayvel-pa* "place name, no translation"

e. *welaga-l-pa* "place where there is buckwheat, Wilakal"

The single most important place name in Cupeño territory, *Kupa* "Cupa", probably is a loan word from Diegueño *haa-kupin* "water-warm" (This is a Mesa Grande (Ipay 'Aa) form from Couro and Hutcheson 1973). If the derivation were from *ku-t* "fire", we would expect the -*pa* to be suffixed to the base with NPN suffix, as in the forms in (69), yielding *kut-pa*.

The suffix -*pa* appears in the names of some seasons, as in (74). These examples show that forms with -*pa* can occur with additional locative suffixes.

(74)  
a. *tash-pa-*aw "in the spring" (also *tash-pa-*nga)  
b. *taw-pa-*aw "in the summer" (also *taw-pa-*nga)  
c. *nimuymal-pa* "Little November"  
d. *nimuyily-pa* "Big November"

The lenited variant of -*pa*, -*va*, appears where the base noun has the NPN suffix -*l* or where the base noun ends in a vowel or semivowel. The seasonal name "winter" (75d) is probably an example of a lenited variant of the -*pa* seen in the seasonal names in (74).

(75)  
a. *kele-l-va* "place where there are manzanitas"  
b. *kut'a-va* "place name, meaning unknown"  
c. *paw-va* "place name, probably from Luiseño "water place""  
d. *tami'-va* "winter" (cf. *tami-t* "day, sun")

An apparent toponymic suffix -*ma*, -'*ma*, -*i*ma appears in several place names, as shown in (76).
(76) a. ali’ma (meaning unknown, possibly "Head Louse Place?")
    b. maasi’ma "Dripping Springs" (but does not mean that; perhaps from the first part of magsive-t "sacred bundle", plus -ma)
    c. mekwash-ma "Flea Place"
    d. puyily-i’ma "Meal Place"

Some Cupeño place names are unanalyzable; some examples are shown in (77). Some of these look as if they might contain Takic formative elements, but some may be borrowed from Diegueño.

(77) a. naachukat
    b. paluqla
    c. pamat "Pauma"
    d. payi
    e. qewmal
    f. tepelkwe
    g. ushmay (perhaps involving u$ha-l "Wild rose", with diminutive?)

Many toponyms are transparent noun phrases, although they sometimes have some archaic features. Examples of such highly analyzable place names are shown in (78).

(78) a. antem pemki "Red Ants' House"
    (an-t-am pem-ki "RED-ANT-NPN-PL 3PL-HOUSE")
    b. chishxilyim pempa-wvi "Twins' urine, Twin Springs"
    (chishxi-ly-im pem-pa-w-vi "TWIN-NPN-PL 3PL-WATER-PSD-PSD"
    c. pal hilyaqal "Water was dripping, Dripping Springs"
    (pa-l hily-yax-qal "WATER-NPN DRIP-YAX-PSI")
    d. kish huukish "Attack House" (ki-sh hauk-ish "HOUSE-NPN ATTACK-NPN")
e. muumalim pemki "Screech Owl's House"

(muuma-l-im pem-ki "SCREECH,OWL-NPN-PL 3PL-HOUSE")

f. pal atingve "Warm Water"

(pa-l a-ting-ve "WATER-NPN INDEF-HEAT-SUBR")

g. teve$hily puxve "Where he dashed them against the White Oak"

(teve$h-ly pux-ve "WHITE,OAK-NPN DASH,AGAINST-SUBR")

h. su'ish peki "Rabbit's House"

(su'i-sh pe-ki "JACKRABBIT-NPN 3S-HOUSE")

i. towish peki "Towish's House"

(tewi-sh pe-ki "TOWISH-NPN 3S-HOUSE")

j. ashwet peti'a "Eagle's Nest"

(ashwe-t pe-ti'-a "EAGLE-NPN 3S-ROOST-PSD")

k. wilyaxwenet "Hidden"

(wily-yax-wen-et "HIDE-YAX-PIST-NPN")

l. yungavchim pemtykve "Buzzards' Roost"

(yungavi-sh-im pem-tuk-ve "BUZZARD-NPN-PL 3PL-SPEND,NIGHT-SUBR")

Finally, ad hoc place names can be designated by using the element pe-ta "its place" (a relational noun construction with -ta), followed by a verb bearing the agent-suppressing nominalization constructed with realis subordinator suffix –ve suffixed with NPN –l. In (79a) we do not expect the subject marker pem in pe'-muutu-weni-ve-l "3PL-HOOT-PIPLI-SUBR-NPN"; I cannot explain its presence (see 8.1.5.2 for a discussion of the regular pattern with derivations in -ve-l).

Note that the well-established and onomasticized place names in (75) above have –va, rather than –ve-l.

(79) a. peta pe'muutuwenivel "the place where they hooted"

(pe-ta pe-muutu-wen-i-ve-l "3S-PLACE 3PL-HOOT-PIPLI-SUBR-NPN"
5.5.4. Compound nouns

Compounding is not a productive process in Cupeño. Nonetheless there are a few nouns that appear to be complex, that may have originated as compounds. Several of these are kin terms, shown in (80). They are all terms for inlaws. (80a) is related to a form recorded for Gabrielino as kupiyowit "woman's parent-in-law after issue of marriage." The -ye "mother" element in (80a, b) may be teknonymous (a name given that references the person's child) and have to do with the woman's status as mother of the speakers -qa(ma) "son's child".

(80)  a. -eqapiyewe "sister-in-law", probably from a-qa "indefinite possessor's SoChi + pe-ye-we " + "3s-mother-augmentative (or "owner")"

b. -espiygwe-t "sister-in-law, brother's wife", probably including pe-ye-we again, with an unidentifiable first element -es.

c. -naminkwa "male in-law", probably including na- "male" and -minyiki "like, related",

Several terms for some of the more peripheral body parts look like they might have a compound source. These are shown in (81). The words recorded for "jaw" and "chin" look compound but no meaningful element can be identified.

(81)  a. -makawa "elbow", containing -ma "hand, arm" and an unidentifiable second part that may be from PUA *ka "hard" (Dakin and Wichmann 1995, 2000)
Two words for small animals are probably originally from compounds:

(82)  

a. *qing-pu$hi-ly* "little squirrel", cf. *qingi-sh* "squirrel"; *pu$hi-ly* may be related to *puchi-ly* "seed", but may be a different morpheme, since the second consonant is certainly different.

b. *tamg$hishqini-ly* ""varmint" (word is attested for weasel, mole, possum, snail); the first part is probably *tama* "mouth, teeth"; the last part may be related to *qingish* "squirrel"

A few names for animals show an element *pa-* meaning "large", which can be reconstructed at least for Proto-Takic (Kenneth C. Hill, personal communication):

(83)  

a. *pa$hukat* "horse", almost certainly originally "elk", cf. *sukat* "deer"

b. *pamemekat* "mole (?)" (probably related to *meet* "gopher").

Sometimes this *pa-* morpheme may mean "water", e.g. *pa$hewet* "water snake"; cf. *sewet* "rattlesnake". However, the form may also mean "large" here, since the identification of the snake is uncertain.

One word for an item of clothing is probably a compound:

(84)  

- *nawilyqam'a* "front apron made of string"; Jacobs gives *-wilyqamal*, including *nawi-ly* "maiden"

plus *qam'a*, unidentified

Finally, the number word for "five" is *nemakwngangax*, clearly *ne-ma kwaana-ngax* "my-hand value-from".