

**Carrier Grammar
Sketch
Stuart Lake Dialect**

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1 Nouns.....	7
1.1 Plurals.....	7
1.2 Possession.....	7
1.3 Vocatives.....	12
1.4 Suffixes.....	12
2 Postpositions.....	12
3 Numbers.....	13
4 Adjectives.....	13
5 Pronouns.....	14
6 Verbs.....	15
6.1 Forms.....	15
6.2 Structure.....	17
6.4 Valence Prefixes.....	18
6.5 The D-Effect.....	21
6.6 TS-Softening.....	22
6.7 The in-Imperfective.....	22
6.8 The S-Perfective.....	23
6.9 Formation of the Future.....	23
6.10 Formation of the Optative.....	24
6.12 Alternate 1p Marker.....	26
6.13 Nominalizing Suffixes.....	26
6.14 Negatives.....	26
6.15 Stem Variation.....	28
7 Syntax.....	29
7.1 Word Order.....	29
7.2 Number Agreement.....	31
7.3 Shape Agreement.....	32
7.4 Classificatory Verbs.....	33
7.5 Scope of Negation.....	34
7.6 Comparison.....	35
7.7 Questions.....	35
7.8 Disjoint Reference.....	37
7.9 Relative Clauses.....	37
8 Constructions.....	38
8.1 Be Unable To.....	38
8.2 Have To.....	39
8.3 Help.....	39
8.4 Lest.....	39

8.5 Like to/Dislike to.....	40
8.6 Say That.....	40
8.7 So That.....	41
8.8 Tell to.....	41
8.9 Think That.....	41
8.10 Try to.....	42
8.11 Want to.....	42
8.12 Wonder.....	43
9 Phonological Rules.....	43
9.1 WH-Unrounding.....	43
9.2 WH-I Fusion.....	43
9.3 W-Movement.....	44
9.4 UH-Contraction.....	44
10 Writing System.....	45
11 Terminology & Abbreviations.....	47

This booklet contains the most basic and important facts of Carrier grammar, including most of those likely to be covered in the first two years of university-level courses. It explains how words are put together to form sentences, what the different forms of words are used for, and how words are constructed from smaller pieces.

The sketch is intended to be a concise presentation, easy to carry around and consult whenever a question arises. It therefore does not explain the concepts involved as verbosely as a textbook might. It is intended in the first instance as a reference for students who are taking or have taken courses in which these ideas are explained. Nonetheless, an attempt is made to make it accessible to those who have not taken such courses. For example, the glossary defines a number of technical terms and the abbreviations used for them.

The booklet is designed to be printed pocket-sized so that it can easily be carried around, which necessitates the use of small type. Larger versions using larger type can be made available if there is demand for them.

1 Nouns

1.1 Plurals

Only nouns referring to people and dogs have plurals. The regular plural suffix is *-ne*: *dune* “man”, *dunene* “men”. Most kinship terms have plurals in *-ke*: *'uloo* “mother”, *'ulooke* “mothers”. The main irregular plurals are:

Meaning	Singular	Plural
chief	dayi	dayikene
dog	lhi	lhike
wife	'at	'atkoo
woman	ts'eke	ts'ekoo
young man	chilh	chilke
young woman	t'et	t'edukoo

1.2 Possession

Possession is marked by prefixes: *bat* “mitts”, *sbat* “my mitts”. One set is used for nouns beginning with a consonant other than glottal stop, the second for those beginning with a glottal stop, and the third for nouns beginning with a vowel. *'at* “wife” and *'aih* “snowshoes” take the first set even though they begin with glottal stop. Class 1 nouns beginning with *m*, *n*, or *h* take the 2s prefix *nyu*, e.g. *nyumusdoos* “your cow”; those beginning with *b* take the 2s prefix *m*.

Some nouns, mostly nouns of a single syllable, have a different stem when possessed than when unpossessed.

1.2.1 Prefixes

Class 1

1s	s	1dp	ne
2s	n	2dp	noh
3s	oo	3dp	bu
djr	yu	pdjr	hi
ref	du	areal	whu
ind	'u		

Class 2

1s	se	1dp	neye
2s	nye	2dp	nohye
3s	be	3dp	bube
djr	ye	pdjr	huye
ref	dude	areal	whe
ind	'e		

Class 3

1s	s	1dp	ney
2s	ny	2dp	nohy
3s	b	3dp	bub
djr	y	pdjr	huy
ref	dud	areal	wh
ind	'		

Class 1 - duchun “wood”

1s	sduchun	1dp	neduchun
2s	nduchun	2dp	nohduchun
3s	ooduchun	3dp	buduchun
djr	yuduchun	pdjr	hiduchun
ref	duduchun	areal	whuduchun
ind	'uduchun		

Class 2 - 'oosa' “pail”

1s	se'oosa'	1dp	neye'oosa'
2s	nye'oosa'	2dp	nohye'oosa'
3s	be'oosa'	3dp	bube'oosa'
djr	ye'oosa'	pdjr	hiye'oosa'
ref	dude'oosa'	areal	whe'oosa'
ind	'e'oosa'		

Class 3 - oozi “name”

1s	soozi'	1p	neyoozi'
2s	nyoozi'	2p	nohyoozi'
3s	boozi'	3p	buboozi'
djr	yoozi'	pdjr	huyoozi'
ref	dudoozi'	areal	hoozi'
ind	'oozi'		

1.2.2 Possessive Categories

1s	my
1dp	our (2+)
2s	your (1)
2dp	your (2+)
3s	his/her/its
3dp	their
djr	his/her/its
pdjr	his/her/its
ref	his/her/its/their own
are	it (areal)'s
ind	someone's

For the difference among the 3s, djr, pdjr, and ref, see **Syntax-Disjoint Reference**.

1.2.3 Inalienable Possession

Some nouns are *inalienably possessed*: they must either be part of a compound or be marked for possession. These include the body parts and kinship terms, plus a few others, e.g. -*k'oh* “tracks”. When it is not desired to specify the possessor, the indefinite possessive form is used, e.g. '*uk'oh* “something's tracks”. Alienable possession of inalienably possessed nouns is marked by adding the Class 2 prefixes to the indefinite form, e.g. *ootsung* “it's flesh”, '*utsung*

“meat”, *be'utsung* “his meat”.

1.2.4 Common Stem-changing Nouns

Meaning	Unpossessed	Possessed Stem
axe	tsetselh	tsetsel
belt	se	ze
bread	lhes	les
child	ts'oodun	zki
children	ts'oodune	zkeh
clock	sadzi	zadzi
dog	lhi	luk
egg	khez	ghez
fishnet	lhembilh	lembil
knife	lhuztih	luzti'
load	khelh	ghel
money	sooniya	zooniya
rope	tl'oolh	tl'ool
song	shun	yun
thorn	whus	wus
urine	lhuz	luz
word	khuni	ghuni

1.3 Vocatives

Kinship terms referring to older relatives have a *vocative*, which has the same form as the indefinite possessed form.

1.4 Suffixes

Nouns may be derived from other nouns by adding one of several suffixes.

cho	big	batcho	big mitts
yaz	small	batyaz	small mitts
ch'ul	torn, worn	batch'ul	old, worn out mitts
jut	old, rotten	batjut	old, rotten mitts

Note: when *-yaz* is added to the name of an animal, it usually refers to the young, e.g. *lhiyaz* “puppy”. Some nouns formed with these suffixes have an idiosyncratic meaning instead of, or in addition to, the transparent meaning. For example, though it can mean “small person, dwarf”, **duneyaz** usually means “boy”.

2 Postpositions

Most postpositions cannot follow pronouns but are inflected for their object, e.g. *sba* “for me”. These forms are very similar to those of possessed nouns, but there is an additional *reciprocal* form marked by the prefix *lh-*.

1s	sba	1dp	neba
2s	mba	2dp	nohba
3s	ooba	3dp	buba
djr	yuba	pdjr	hiba

ref	duba	areal	huba
ind	'uba	rec	lhba

3 Numbers

There are five sets of numbers used to count items of different types.

	Generic	Human	Times	Locative	Abstract
1	'ilho	'ilhoghun	'ilhoh	'ilhoghun	'ilhoh
2	nanki	nane	nat	nadun	nawh
3	ta	tane	tat	tadun	tawh
4	dunghi	dine	dit	didun	diwh
5	kwulai'	kwulane	kwulat	kwuladun	kwulawh
6	lhk'uta	lhk'utane	lhk'utat	lhk'utadun	lhk'utawh
7	lhtak'ant'i	lhtak'ant'ine	lhtak'ant'it	lhtak'ant'idun	lhtak'ant'iwh
8	lhk'udunghi	lhk'udine	lhk'utdit	lhk'udidun	lhk'utdiwh
9	'ilho hooloh	'ilho hoolohne	'ilho hooloh	'ilho hoolodun	'ilho hooloh
10	whunizyai	whunizyane	whunizyat	whunizyadun	whunizyawh

The decades are formed by combining the multiplicative form of a number with “ten”. Larger numbers are formed by adding decades with the conjunction 'on'at “plus”. For example, 234 [human] is *nat whunizyat whunizyai 'on'at tat whunizyai 'on'at dine* [(2 * 10 * 10) + (3 * 10) + 4].

4 Adjectives

Carrier has no words that behave like English adjectives. It

has many words that describe things and modify nouns, but they are verbs. The structure of the sentences *ludi lhki* “the tea is sweet” and *t'et nudaih* “the young woman is dancing” is the same: Noun Verb. When such words modify a noun, they are part of a relative clause: *ludi lhki-i* “the tea which is sweet” = “the sweet tea”, *t'et nudaih-un* “the young woman who is dancing”.

There are just a handful adjectives that modify nouns. These include the demonstratives and “other” (*'uyoo*, *'uyoon*, *'uyoon-ne*), e.g. *'uyoon ts'eke* “the other woman”.

5 Pronouns

Independent

	SG	PL
1	si	wheni
2	nyun	nohni
3 human	'en	'enne
3 non-human	'i	

Intensive

	SG	PL
1	sich'oh	whenich'oh
2	nyunch'oh	nohnich'oh
3	dich'oh	

Demonstrative

	NON-HUMAN	HUMAN SG.	HUMAN PL.
near speaker	ndi	ndun	ndun-ne
near addressee	nyoo	nyoon	nyoon-ne
away from both	nghun-i	nghun-un	nghun-ne
far away from both	yoo'un-i	yoo'un-un	yoo'un-ne

6 Verbs

6.1 Forms

Carrier verbs are marked for their subject. Here is the Imperfective Affirmative of “to sing”.

	SG	DU	PL
1	usjun	ijun	ts'ujun
2	injun	uhjun	uhjun
3	ujun	hujun	hujun

This verb is typical in that dual and plural forms are different only in the first person. “to sit” has nine different forms:

	SG	DU	PL
1	<u>s</u> usda	<u>s</u> ike	ts'udilh <u>t</u> s'i

2	sinda	suhke	dilh <u>ts</u> 'i
3	usda	huz <u>ke</u>	hudilh <u>ts</u> 'i

These mean: **1s** “I am sitting”, **1d** “the two of us are sitting”, **1p** “the three or more of us are sitting”, **2s** “you (one person) are sitting”, **2d** “you two are sitting”, **2p** “you (three or more) are sitting”, **3s** “(s)he is sitting”, **3d** “the two of them are sitting”, **3p** “they (three or more) are sitting”.

Most verbs come in four main forms:

the **imperfective**, which is roughly like the English present tense

the **perfective**, which is roughly like the English past tense

the **future**, which indicates that something is going to happen

the **optative**, which expresses uncertainty

The optative has many uses. By itself it is used to make suggestions and to say that something may happen. It is also used in various constructions. The optative followed by *ait'oh* expresses impossibility, e.g. *oosjun' ait'oh* “I can't sing”. It is also used in the complement of “want”, e.g. *nosbe' hukwa'nuszun* “I want to go swimming”.

The forms of “to sing” with 1p subject are:

IA	ts'ujun	we are singing
PA	ts'ijun'	we sang
FA	uztijun	we are going to sing
OA	ts'oojun	let's sing OR we may sing

Each affirmative form has a corresponding negative form. For example:

IN	lhts'usjun	we are not singing
PN	lhts'ijun	we did not sing
FN	lhts'utisjun	we are not going to sing
ON	lhts'oosjun	let's not sing

Transitive verbs can also be marked for their object. For example, we have forms like *nasudibo'* "she kissed me", *nanyudibo'* "she kissed you (1)", and *naidibo'* "she kissed him". The form with no object marker, *nadibo'*, is not a sentence by itself; it must be preceded by a noun phrase that indicates who or what was kissed:

tsalhhs'ul	nadibo'
baby	she kissed

She kissed a baby

If we don't want to add an object noun phrase we have to use the *unspecified object marker*, which is the glottal stop before the /d/.
na'dibo'

She kissed someone

The eight categories: imperfective, perfective, future, and optative, affirmative and negative, are collectively referred to as the tense/mood/aspect/negation categories, or TMAN.

6.2 Structure

Verbs consist of a *stem*, a possibly null *valence prefix*, and further prefixes divided into two zones.

Disjunct Zone	Conjunct Zone	Valence	Stem
---------------	---------------	---------	------

The conjunct zone consists of 12 positions:

Obj	Con	S _o	WH _q	D _q	N _q	S _q	In	Neg	Mod	Asp	S _i
12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

12	Obj	Object
11	Con	Conative
10	S _o	Outer Subject
9	WH _q	WH-Qualifier
8	D _q	D-Qualifier
7	N _q	N-Qualifier
6	S _q	S-Qualifier
5	In	Inchoative
4	Neg	Negative
3	Mod	Mode
2	Asp	Aspect
1	S _i	Inner Subject

6.3

6.4 *Valence Prefixes*

The valence prefix, if any, immediately precedes the verb stem.

6.4.1 **Sample Paradigms**

0-valence - to have

	SG	DU	PL
1	ust'i	it'i	ts'ut'i
2	int'i	uht'i	uht'i
3	ut'i	hut'i	hut'i

lh-valence - to dry

	SG	DU	PL
1	usgi	ilgi	ts'ulhgi
2	ilhgi	ulhgi	ulhgi
3	ulhgi	hulhgi	hulhgi

l-valence - to be pregnant

	SG	DU	PL
1	uzchan	ilchan	ts'ulchan
2	ilchan	ulhchan	ulhchan
3	ulchan	hulchan	hulchan

d-valence - to drink

	SG	DU	PL
1	usnai	itnai	ts'utnai
2	intnai	utnai	utnai
3	utnai	hutnai	hutnai

6.4.2 Underlying Subject Prefixes

	SG	DU	PL
1	s	id	ts'
2	in	h	h
3	(V)	h(V)	h(V)

The 1p subject marker *ts'/z* also serves as the indefinite subject meaning "one", e.g. *ts'u_zda* "one sits".

6.4.3 Inner and Outer Subject Markers

The inner subject markers 1s, 2s, 1d, and 2dp appear immediately before the valence prefix in position 1. The outer subject markers 1p and 3dp appear in position 10, preceding the qualifier prefixes. For example:

to dance

	SG	DU	PL
1	nusdaih	n ⁱ daih	ts'unudaih
2	n ⁱ ndaih	nu ^h daih	nu ^h daih
3	nudaih	h ^u nudaih	h ^u nudaih

6.4.4 Subject/Valence Prefix Rules

l-valence rules

1s	s + l → z
2s	n + l → l

1d	$d + l \rightarrow l$
2dp	$h + l \rightarrow lh$

lh-valence rules

1s	$s + lh \rightarrow s$
2s	$n + lh \rightarrow lh$
1d	$d + lh \rightarrow l$
2dp	$h + lh \rightarrow lh$

d-valence rules

1s	$s + d \rightarrow s$
2s	$n + d \rightarrow nt$
1d	$d + d \rightarrow t$
2dp	$h + d \rightarrow t$

6.5 The D-Effect

The D-Effect describes what happens when the /d/ at the end of the 1d subject marker or the d-valence prefix combine with a following consonant. If there is no D-Effect, the /d/ disappears.

C ₂	Result	1d	3s	Gloss
'	t'	it'alh	u'alh	eat
gh	g	igoh	ughoh	string
l	dl	nidlat	nulat	float around

C ₂	Result	1d	3s	Gloss
lh	l	ilgi	ulhgi	drv
n	tn	hootnih	whunih	be awake
w	gw	igwus	uwus	be ticklish
y	i	hijih	huyih	shout
z	dz	nidzoot	nuzoot	skate around
z	dz	nidzun	ninzun	think

6.6 TS-Softening

When the verb stem begins with /ts/ and the first person singular subject marker /s/ immediately precedes it, the /t/ is lost. Some speakers do not do this in careful speech.

u-s-tsi' → ussi' "I am bad"

6.7 The *in*-Imperfective

Many stative verbs are conjugated in the imperfective like the perfectives of active verbs. A common pattern is the *in*-imperfective, in which the prefix /in/ appears in position 1 if there is no inner subject marker. It takes the form /in/ if it is preceded by a conjunct prefix. If not, it is realized as /n/.

to be tall

	SG	DU	PL
1	usyiz	ijiz	ts'iniz
2	iniz	uhyiz	uhyiz
3	nyiz	hinyiz	hinyiz

6.8 The S-Perfective

The perfective marker is z in position 6 if preceded by a conjunct prefix, otherwise s.

go around in a boat [PA]

	SG	DU	PL
1	nu <u>s</u> u <u>s</u> ki	nu <u>s</u> i <u>s</u> ki	nuts'u <u>s</u> z <u>s</u> ki
2	nu <u>s</u> i <u>s</u> ki	nu <u>s</u> uh <u>s</u> ki	nu <u>s</u> uh <u>s</u> ki
3	nu <u>s</u> u <u>s</u> ki	nuhuz <u>s</u> ki	nuhuz <u>s</u> ki

s fuses with valence *l* and valence *lh* to yield *lh*, e.g. *nulhgaih* “he ran around”, cf. *nusilgaih* “you ran around”.

6.9 Formation of the Future

For most verbs the position 2 vowel that marks the future tense is *i* except in the 2s and 1d, where it fuses with the initial *i* of the subject marker into *a*. For a minority of verbs, the future marker is *a* no matter what the subject.

i-future - to do

	SG	DU	PL
1	'ut <u>i</u> st'elh	'utat'elh	'uzt <u>i</u> t'elh
2	'utant'elh	'ut <u>i</u> ht'elh	'ut <u>i</u> ht'elh
3	'ut <u>i</u> t'elh	'ot <u>i</u> t'elh	'ot <u>i</u> t'elh

a-future - to buy

	SG	DU	PL
1	ootaskulh	ootakulh	ts'ootakulh
2	ootankulh	ootahkulh	ootahkulh
3	ootakulh	hootakulh	hootakulh

6.10 Formation of the Optative

Similarly, for most verbs the optative marker is *oo*, except in the 2s and 1d where it fuses with the initial *i* of the subject marker into *o*.

oo-optative - to do

	SG	DU	PL
1	'oost'en'	'ot'en'	'uts'oost'en'
2	'ont'en'	'ooht'en'	'ooht'en'
3	'oot'en'	'uhoot'en'	'uhoot'en'

It becomes *o* when it is immediately preceded by a disjunct prefix that ends in a consonant.

go around in a boat

	SG	DU	PL
1	noske'	noke'	nuts'ooke'
2	nonke'	nohke'	nohke'
3	noke'	nuhooke'	nuhooke'

This does not happen following a disjunct prefix ending in

a vowel.

to go back by boat

	sg	du	pl
1	naoske'	naoke'	nats'ooke'
2	naonke'	naoohke'	naoohke'
3	naooke'	nahooke'	nahooke'

A consonant-final conjunct prefix has no effect.

to eat [n-class object]

	SG	DU	PL
1	noos'alh	not'alh	ts'unoo'alh
2	non'alh	nooh'alh	nooh'alh
3	noo'alh	hunoo'alh	hunoo'alh

For a minority of verbs the optative marker is *o* no matter what the subject.

o-optative - to take

	SG	DU	PL
1	oschoot	olchoot	ts'olchoot
2	olhchoot	olhchoot	olhchoot
3	olhchoot	holhchoot	holhchoot

6.11

6.12 Alternate 1p Marker

The 1p subject marker *ts'* is optionally replaced with *z* if the *z* can be made syllable-final. For example, we may say *uztijun* instead of *ts'utijun* “we are going to sing”.

However, *zoojun* is not a possible variant of *ts'oojun* “let's sing” since there is no way to make the *z* syllable-final. For this reason, the *z* variant never occurs immediately before the stem. For example, *uzjun* is not a possible variant of *ts'ujun* “we are singing”.

6.13 Nominalizing Suffixes

human singular	un
human plural	ne
location	un
other non-human	i

These are used to derive nouns from verbs, e.g. *hodulh'eh* “he is teaching” *hodulh'eh-un* “teacher” or “school”, *hodulh'eh-ne* “teachers”, *hodulh'eh-i* “teaching machine”. They are also added to the verb of a relative clause, where they agree with the head, e.g. *t'et mai oonuyin-un* “the young woman who is picking berries”.

6.14 Negatives

The Perfective Negative is made with the disjunct prefix *lh* and the conjunct prefix *i*. The conjunct negative prefix appears only when there is no inner subject marker.

to sing [PN]

	SG	DU	PL
1	lhusjun	lhijun	lhts'ijun
2	lhinjun	lhuhjun	lhuhjun
3	lhijun	lhuhijun	lhuhijun

The Imperfective Negative is made with the disjunct prefix *lh* and the conjunct prefix *s/z*. The conjunct prefix is *s* when there is no inner subject, *z* when there is. The result of combining negative *s/z* with the valence prefixes *l* and *lh* is in both cases *lh*.

to sing [IN]

	SG	DU	PL
1	lhuzusjun	lhuzijun	lhts'usjun
2	lhuzinjun	lhuzuhjun	lhuzuhjun
3	lhusjun	lhuhsjun	lhuhsjun

The Future Negative and the Optative Negative are made by combining the same negative markers as in the Imperfective Negative with the future and optative prefixes used in the affirmative.

to sing [FN]

	SG	DU	PL
1	lhtuzisjun	lhtuzajun	lhts'utisjun
2	lhtuzanjun	lhtuzihjun	lhtuzihjun
3	lhtisjun	lhotisjun	lhotisjun

to sing [ON]

	SG	DU	PL
1	lhuzoosjun	lhuzojun	lhts'oosjun
2	lhuzonjun	lhuzoohjun	lhuzoohjun
3	lhoosjun	lhuhoosjun	lhuhoosjun

When there is no inner subject marker, the order of the conjunct negative prefix and the optative/future vowel is reversed. That is why we have 3sFN *lhotisjun* rather than **lhotusijun* and 3sON *lhoosjun* rather than **lhusoojun*.

6.15 Stem Variation

Verbs may have different stems in different tenses, moods, aspects, and negation forms. For example, here are forms of “go around by boat” with the stem and prefixes separated:

TMAN	Prefix String	Stem	Gloss
IA	nus	ke	I am going around in a boat
IN	nulhuzus	koh	I am not going around in a boat
PA	nu <u>s</u> us	ki	I went around in a boat
PN	nulhus	kel	I did not go around in a boat
FA	nutis	kelh	I will go around in a boat
FN	nulhtuzis	kel	I will not go around in a boat

OA	nos	ke'	I may go around in a boat
ON	nulhuzoos	ke'	I may not go around in a boat

7 Syntax

7.1 Word Order

The object precedes the verb.

The subject precedes the object.

Postpositions follow their noun phrase.

Chilh	duloo	ba	goh	<u>suloo</u> h
boy	his mom	for	rabbit	snared _{3s}
SUBJECT	NP	P	OBJECT	VERB
A boy snared a rabbit for his mother.				

Demonstratives precede the head noun.

Ndi	bun	cha	dulcho	<u>ustun</u>
this	lake	too	all over	it is frozen
This lake too is frozen all over.				

Numbers precede the noun phrase.

Tane	duneyaz	chuntuz	whelandil
three	boy	into the woods	they went
Three boys went into the woods.			

Subordinate clauses precede the higher verb.

'Utsoo	ludi	oosnai'	sulhni
--------	------	---------	--------

grandma	tea	drink _{1s-OA}	she told me
Grandma told me to drink tea.			

Khunai ghunline	si	duni	<u>s</u> usch'i	hunin <u>z</u> un.
game wardens	I	moose	I shot	they think
The game wardens think I shot a moose.				

The particles *cha* “also” and *za* “only” immediately follow the phrase they apply to.

Mali	cha	ludi	utnai
Mary	too	tea	drink _{3s}
Mary [as well as someone else] is drinking tea.			

Mali	ludi	cha	utnai
Mary	tea	too	drink _{3s}
Mary is drinking tea [as well as something else].			

These particles precede postpositions.

Malin	cha	ba	de'olhdzeh
Marlene	too	for	pour _{2s}
Pour for Marlene too.			

Conjunctions follow their clause.

Duts <u>i</u> gha'	diny <u>i</u> z	'et huwa	nayulh'ool
--------------------	-----------------	----------	------------

hair _{REF}	it-is-long	because	braiding _{3S-DIR}
She is braiding her hair because it is so long.			

7.2 Number Agreement

Verbs agree with the number of the subject in two ways:

- a) For all verbs, the choice of subject marker prefix depends on the number of the subject. This is illustrated by the paradigm of “to sing” on page 15. For example, we say *ujun* if we are talking about one person, *hujun* if we are talking about more than one.
- b) For a few verbs, the choice of verb itself depends on the number of the subject. This is illustrated by the paradigm of the verb “to sit” on page 15. It is made up of three different verbs: “for one to sit” (stem *-da*), “for two to sit” (stem *-ke*), and “for three or more to sit” (stem *-t ǵ*). The subject markers of such verbs also reflect the number of the subject.

The two kinds of number agreement differ in what kind of subjects they are about. Dual and plural subject marker prefixes are used with dual and plural “human” subjects but not with “non-human” subjects. Dogs count as “human”, as do animals portrayed as acting like people. Speakers vary in how they handle other pets and domestic animals. On the other hand, whether or not the subject is human is irrelevant to the choice of the verb itself. For example, in:

K'az <u>ba</u>	yus	k'ut	dilh <u>ts</u> 'i.
ptarmigan	snow	on	sit-3
The ptarmigan are sitting on the snow.			

we have the verb “for three or more to sit” since we are talking about several ptarmigan but not the 3dp subject marker since ptarmigan are not human. If we were talking about people sitting on the snow, the verb would be *hudilht ṣi*.

Nouns that have a plural form may nonetheless be used in the singular if plurality is clear from the verb. In *dune hincha* “the men are big” the non-plural *dune* is acceptable in place of the plural *dunene* because the verb *hincha* clearly has a third person duo-plural subject.

7.3 Shape Agreement

Many verbs take prefixes that express agreement with the noun class of the absolutive argument, that is, with the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs. The prefixes are:

d	stick-like things, sounds
n	round things
wh	areal things

Examples:

dustl'us lhyul	the paper is white
tuz dulyul	the cane is white
lubrot nulyul	the ball is white
yoh whulyul	the house is white

7.4 *Classificatory Verbs*

Classificatory verbs describe the handling of particular classes of thing. Different verbs are used for different kinds of thing. For a given kind of thing, different types of handling are described by different derivatives of the same verb.

non-plural generic (chair)	sghati'alh
non-plural n-class (ball)	sghanta'alh
non-plural d-class (name)	sghaduta'alh
non-plural wh-class (house)	sghaoota'alh
plural generic (chairs)	sghatililh
plural n-class (balls)	sghantalilh
plural d-class (names)	sghadutalilh
plural wh-class (houses)	sghaootalilh
uncountable (sugar)	sghatidzih
n-class uncountable (berries)	sghantadzih
d-class uncountable (toothpicks)	sghadutadzih
long rigid (canoe)	sghatitelh
d-class long rigid (stick)	sghadutatelh
body (dog)	sghatilhtelh
open container contents (cup of tea)	sghatikalh
two-dimensional flexible (shirt)	sghatilhchus
mushy stuff (mud)	sghatitloh
liquid (water)	sghatilhdzo
hay-like (hay)	sghadutalhdzo
fluffy stuff (down)	sghantalhdo

There are four sets of classificatory verbs, illustrated below for two categories.

Type	NPD	LRO	Gloss
controlled handling	tayan'ai	tayantan	he put it into water
uncontrolled handling	tayalh'uz	tayalht'o	he threw it into water
inherent motion	talts'ut	tadankez	it fell into water
locative	uṣ'ai	uṣtan	it is located

The controlled handling and locative verbs distinguish all eleven categories, but the other two sets have fewer categories as shown below. Adjacent categories with the same colour are merged. For example, the same uncontrolled handling verb is used for the npd and coc categories.

	npd	coc	body	2df	fluid	lro	mush	hay	fluff	pdo	euo
c											
l											
u											
i											

7.5 Scope of Negation

The negative marking in negative verbs is only negates the verb itself: it does not in general extend to other parts of the sentence. For example, we can say “I don't smoke”

with just the IN verb form *lhe'zust'ut* because the object is expressed by the unspecified object marker within the verb, but if we want to say “I don't smoke tobacco”, we cannot say *dek'a lhuzust'ut*, where *lhuzust'ut* is the 1s IN with no object marker, because the object, *dek'a* “tobacco” is not part of the verb. To bring *dek'a* within the scope of negation, we have to put the negative word 'aw in front of it: 'aw *dek'a lhuzust'ut*.

7.6 Comparison

Comparison is marked by the postposition *anus* “than”.

Sanus	soo	ujun
than-me	well	she sings
She sings better than I do.		

A few verbs have a special comparative form:

Nyanus	'uldukw.
than-you (1)	he is shorter
He is shorter than you are.	

'uldukw is the comparative form corresponding to *ndukw* “he is short”.

7.7 Questions

Yes/no questions are formed by adding *eh* to the corresponding statement. Content questions are formed by putting the appropriate question word in the same place as the corresponding word would be in the answer.

Doocha	mba	nts'eda'	wheinya?
again	your dad	where-past	he-went
Now where did your dad go?			

Question words

how long a time	dawhul <u>d</u> zoh
how long ago	nts'owhuda
how many (generic)	dal <u>t</u> suk
how many (human)	dal <u>t</u> sukne
how many (n-class)	danil <u>t</u> suk
how many (d-class)	dadil <u>t</u> suk
how many (wh-class)	dawhul <u>t</u> suk
how	nts'en'a
what kind of	dant'i
what	ndai
what size	dalcho-i
what time	nts'oya
when (future)	nkede
when (past)	nkeda'
whence	nts'ezde
where	nts'e
which of a set (non-human)	k'u <u>s</u> undai
which of a set (human singular)	k'u <u>s</u> umbe
which of a set (human plural)	k'u <u>s</u> umbene

who (plural)	mbene
who (singular)	mbe
why	diha

7.8 Disjoint Reference

Third person singular object markers and possessors take on special forms if the noun is a non-subject and the subject of the clause is third person. Two NPs are *disjoint* if they share no members; they *overlap* if they share some but not all members.

singular subject same	ref
singular subject disjoint	djr
plural subject disjoint	pdjr
plural subject overlapping	3s

Examples:

- ref Za dubat 'uyinla. “Za made his own mitts.”
- djr Za yubat 'uyinla. “Za made his (somebody else's) mitts.”
- pdjr Hibat 'uyinla. “They made his mitts.” (he is not one of them)
- 3s Oobat 'uhuyinla. “They made his mitts.” (he is one of them)

7.9 Relative Clauses

In the usual type of relative clause, the head noun is followed by the modifying clause from which the copy of the head noun is deleted. The main verb of the modifying

clause takes one of four suffixes, chosen so as to agree with the head noun. These suffixes are the same as the nominalizing suffixes discussed in section 6.13 on p. 26. There is no relative pronoun like English “that”, “which”, “who”, etc.

Sus	mai	nuldilh-i	<u>s</u> usch'i.
bear	berries	he is eating-REL	I shot
I shot the bear that was eating berries.			

Here the suffix **-i** is the inanimate relativizing suffix. It agrees with the head noun “bear”.

Ts'eke	mai	nuldilh-un	sulhtus	'unt'oh.
woman	berries	she is eating-REL	my sister	she is
The woman who is eating berries is my sister.				

Here the suffix **-un** is the human singular relativizing suffix. It agrees with the head noun “woman”.

8 Constructions

8.1 *Be Unable To*

To express inability, the particle **ait'oh** is added immediately following the main verb, which must be in the optative affirmative. As in other negative sentences, the particle **'aw** is optional if only the verb is negated but is usually required if anything else is within the scope of negation, for which see section 7.5.

‘Aw	Jan	bulh	nuhoolyeh	ait’oh.
not	John	with him	she may play _{OA}	cannot
She could not play with John.				

8.2 *Have To*

“have to” and “must” are expressed using a verb more akin to “it is necessary that”, which follows a clause whose main verb must be in the optative.

Dakelh	k’un’a	yats’oolhduk	huba’hoont’oh
Carrier	in the manner of	we speak _{OA}	it is necessary that
We have to speak Carrier.			

8.3 *Help*

There is no verb “to help”. There is, rather, a postposition **la** “in aid of”.

Nyulhtus	la	buta’int’en!
your (1) sister	in aid of	you (1) cook
Help your sister cook!		

8.4 *Lest*

whuch’a “lest” follows a clause whose main verb is in the optative. A more colloquial translation is “so that not” but “lest” makes clear that the verb of the lower clause is affirmative.

Ooghoo	doolhjut	whuch'a	dughoo	tunagus
his teeth	it may decay _{oa}	lest	his own teeth	he cleans
He brushes his teeth so that they will not decay.				

8.5 *Like to/Dislike to*

In this construction a wh-class form of the verb “to (dis)like” follows the clause that describes what what one likes to do. The suffix **-un** is usually added to the verb of the lower clause.

Nusbe-un	hoonust'i.
I swim in a loop-UN	I like [wh-class object]
I like to swim.	

Nusbe-un	whuts'udusni
I swim in a loop-UN	I dislike [wh-class object]
I don't like to swim.	

8.6 *Say That*

The statement quoted usually precedes a form of the verb “to say”. If the verb “to say” is the third person singular perfective affirmative **ni'** “(s)he said”, its subject, the person quoted, typically follows the verb to say.

“T'acho	whet'o”	ni'	duneyaz
mallard	it flew away	he said	boy
“The mallard duck flew away,” said the boy.			

Duneyaz	“’Dugwe’!”	dutinih.
boy	okay	he will say
The boy will say “okay!”.		

8.7 So That

ha “so that” follows a clause whose main verb is in the optative.

Lhes	sto	zih	nenuskai h	ntooldoh	ha
dough	stove	beside	I put	it may rise _{OA}	so that
I put the dough beside the stove so that it will rise.					

8.8 Tell to

In this construction the verb “to tell, say” follows the lower clause. The verb of the lower clause must be in the optative mood, affirmative or negative as appropriate.

Too	dunoosch’oh	sulhni
water	I may boil _{OA}	he told me
He told me to boil water.		

Too	lhdunuzoosch’oh	sulhni.
water	I may not boil _{ON}	he told me
He told me not to boil water.		

8.9 Think That

The statement describing the thought precedes a form of “to think that”.

Nilhdukwya	natijeh	nuszun
soon	it will heal	I think that
I think it will heal soon.		

8.10 Try to

The verb “try to” is preceded by a clause whose main verb must be in the optative. There is no infinitive; the lower verb is inflected for subject.

Nuhool’elh	hukwa’hut’en.
they (3+) may swim _{oa}	they are trying to
They are trying to swim.	

8.11 Want to

In the want-to construction a wh-class form of the verb “to want” follows the clause that describes what is wanted, in which the main verb must be either future or optative.

'Osjaś	hukwa’nuszun.
I may catch (uo) _{oa}	I want [wh-class obj]
I want to catch a fish.	

Nutisbilh	hukwalhe'nuszun.
I will go swimming	I do not want [wh-class obj]
I don't want to go swimming.	

Nohbe’	hukwa’nuszun.
you (2) may swim around _{oa}	I want [wh-class obj]
I want you two to go swimming.	

8.12 Wonder

To express “wonder” subah “I wonder” is placed immediately following the question word.

Di	subah	‘unt’oh.
what?	I wonder	it is
I wonder what it is.		

Since subah means “I wonder”, to indicate that someone else wonders it is necessary to embed the “I wonder” clause under the verb “think that”.

Di	subah	‘unt’oh	nin <u>z</u> un.
what?	I wonder	it is	he thinks that
He wonders what it is.			

9 Phonological Rules

9.1 WH-Unrounding

When /wh/ immediately precedes /o/ or /oo/, it becomes /h/.

wh-oozi' → hoozi' “its (areal) name”

wh-ootaskulh → hootaskulh “I am going to buy (wh)”

9.2 WH-I Fusion

When /wh/ immediately precedes /i/, they fuse into /hoo/.

wh-in-nih → hoonih “you are awake” (cf. whusnih “I am awake”).

wh-in-tel → hoontel “it (areal) is wide (cf. dintel “it (d-class) is wide”

9.3 *W-Movement*

When *wh(u)* immediately precedes a velar or labial consonant that is not at the beginning of a verb stem, *wh* becomes *h* and, if the second consonant is velar, *w* is added to it.

wh-k'i → hukw'i “its (areal) birch trees”

wh-bat → hubat “its (areal) mitts”

wh-kaninzun → hukwa'ninzun “he wants (wh)

wh-kaih → whukaih “he is shoveling”, not hukwaih

9.4 *UH-Contraction*

/uh/ becomes /o/ if the /h/ is at the end of the syllable and does not immediately precede the verb stem. Example:

n=h-t-i-kel_h → nuhtikel_h → *notikel_h* “they are going to go around in a boat”.

10 Writing System

'	as in <i>uh-oh</i>	'a	quicklv
a	as in <i>dot</i>	dada	illness
b	as in <i>bov</i>	bat	mittens
ch	as in <i>cheese</i>	chunih	marten
ch'	glottalized ch	ch'uluz	blister
d	as in <i>doa</i>	daget	spear
dl	same svllable	dlidada	fever
dz	same svllable	dzoot	coat
dz	fronted dz	dzulh	mountain
e	as in <i>bait</i>	'uke	foot
f	as in <i>fan</i>	lugafi	coffee
g	as in <i>gun</i>	goh	rabbit
gh	as in <i>aaargh!</i>	'ugha	hair
gw	as in <i>gwen</i>	gwada'	quarter
h	as in <i>house</i>	hoonliz	skunk
i	as in <i>see</i>	ti	road
i	as in <i>iaw</i>	ievo	bull moose
k	as in <i>kev</i>	kechub	spoon
k'	glottalized k	k'a	bullet
kh	as in <i>Bach</i>	khe	grease
kw	as in <i>queen</i>	kwun	fire

kw'	glottal kw	kw' usul	beads
l	as in lock	l atalba	varrow
lh	voiceless l	l hi	dog
m	as in mom	m usdoos	cow
n	as in nine	n oostel	wolverine
ng	as in sing	' u tsung	meat
o	as in o le	n o	north
oo	as in o ol	n oo	island
r	as in r ain	lugarat	carrots
s	as in s av	s a	sun
s	fronted s	s e	belt
sh	as in sh oe	sh un	song
t	as in t oe	t alo	salmon
t'	glottalized t	t' es	charcoal
tl	same svllable	tl entl'us	mud
tl'	glottalized tl	tl' o	grass
ts	same svllable	ts a	beaver
ts'	glottalized ts	ts' i	canoe
ts	fronted ts	t se	rock
ts'	fronted ts'	ts' al	diaper moss
u	as in u t	s us	black bear
w	as in w av	w adlaw	sandpiper
wh	voiceless w	wh udzih	cariboo

v	as in ves	va	skv
z	as in zoo	za	onlyv
z	fronted z	ooze	his mouth

11 Terminology & Abbreviations

absolute argument - the subject of an intransitive verb or object of a transitive verb

abstract – the abstract numbers are used to count things like ideas and kinds

areal - saliently 2- or 3-dimensional, that is, occupying an area or space, or an extent of time

2df - two-dimensional flexible object

coc - contents of open container

conjunct prefix - one of the prefixes occurring in the positions closer to the verb stem. Object markers are the leftmost conjunct prefixes.

demonstrative adjective – an adjective that points out a noun: “this”, “that”, etc.

disjunct prefix - one of the prefixes occurring in the positions farther from the verb stem.

djr - disjoint reference

dual - referring to exactly two

duo-plural - referring to two or more

euo - effectively uncountable objects. See *uncountable*.

first person - includes reference to the speaker. “I” and “we” forms.

generic – the category that includes everything that does not belong to some more specific category.

human - in Carrier grammar this includes spirits, dogs,

and other animals considered as sufficiently human-like.

ind - indefinite. The indefinite possessive prefix means “someone's, something's”.

inner subject marker - one of the subject marker prefixes that goes just before the valence prefix: 1s, 2s, 1d, and 2dp.

intensive pronoun - “(by) myself”, etc.

labial - a sound made with the lips close to or touching each other, or with the lower lip near the upper teeth: *b* and *m*.

locative - having to do with places. The locative classificatory verbs express where things are located.

lro - long rigid object

npd - non-plural (one or two) default objects

object - the person or thing acted upon

outer subject marker - one of the subject marker prefixes that goes near the beginning of the conjunct zone, away from the stem: 1p, 3dp

pdjr - plural disjoint reference

pdo - plural default object

plural - when used strictly, referring to three or more. In contexts where there is no contrasting *dual*, referring to two or more. See also *duo-plural*.

rec – reciprocal, e.g. “to each other”.

ref – reflexive, e.g. “his own shoes”, “he saw himself”.

root - the theoretical form underlying a set of stems, used to provide a simple way to talk about a verb. For example, we say that “go by boat” has the root *ke* although it has stems such as *ke* [IA continuous, e.g.

nuke], *kelh* [FA, e.g. *tiskelh*], *kel* [PN, e.g. *nulhikel*], and *ki* [PA, e.g. *nusuki*].

second person - includes reference to the addressee but not the speaker. “you” forms.

singular - referring to one person or thing

stative verb – a verb that describes a state as opposed to an action or event, e.g. “be good, be angry, sleep”.

stem - the last part of the verb, the same as the last syllable except in cases where a preceding /d/ combines with the stem.

stem set – the set of stems that a verb has in the various tenses, moods, aspects and negation categories.

subject - the person or thing that acts or is described

third person - refers neither to the speaker nor the addressee. “he”, “she”, “it” and “they” forms.

times – the numbers labeled times, also called “multiplicative” are used for counting how many times something happens as well as periods of time, such as months.

TMAN – tense/mood/aspect/negation, the major categories according to which verbs are conjugated. See section 6.1.

uncountable - describes a set of objects sufficiently numerous as not to be treated individually. This may be a large number, but can be as small as four. Classificatory verbs for this category are often used for large numbers of very small objects, such as grains of sand, sugar, or salt, but can be used for larger objects, such as potatoes or even boulders.

valence prefix - the prefix position immediately preceding the verb stem. The possible valence

prefixes are: 0 (none), *l*, *lh*, and *d*.

velar - a sound made with the back of the tongue near or touching the back of the roof of the mouth: *k*, *g*, *k'*, *kh*, and *gh*.

vocative - the form of a noun used to address someone, e.g. *'uba* “(hey) Dad!”.

1d	first person dual
1dp	first person duo-plural
1p	first person plural
1s	first person singular
2d	second person dual
2dp	second person duo-plural
2p	second person plural
2s	second person singular
3d	third person dual
3dp	third person duo-plural
3p	third person plural
3s	third person singular

FA	future affirmative
FN	future negative
IA	imperfective affirmative
IN	imperfective negative
OA	optative affirmative

ON	optative negative
PA	perfective affirmative
PN	perfective negative