Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Grammar

Jon P. Dayley
Boise State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.boisestate.edu/fac_books

Part of the Linguistic Anthropology Commons, and the Other Languages, Societies, and Cultures Commons

Recommended Citation

Jon P. Dayley, Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Grammar. ©1989 by the Regents of the University of California. Published by the University of California Press. Please see Albertsons Library catalog for physical copy: https://boisestate.on.worldcat.org/v2/oclc/20012389
Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Grammar

Jon P. Dayley

University of California Press
TÜMPIA (PANAMINT) SHOSHONE GRAMMAR
To Mamie Boland,
who lived with a pure heart
2 Language Typology and Basic Sentence Structure
   2.1 Typology
      2.1.1 Morphological Characteristics
      2.1.2 Word Order Characteristics
      2.1.3 Case Marking Characteristics
   2.2 Simple Sentence Structure
      2.2.1 Linking and Existential Sentences
      2.2.2 Intransitive Sentences
      2.2.3 Transitive Sentences
      2.2.4 Noun Incorporation
   2.3 Basic Sentence Elaborations
      2.3.1 Negatives
      2.3.2 Interrogatives
      2.3.3 Imperatives
      2.3.4 Passives and Antipassives

3 Verbs and Verb Phrases
   3.1 Verb Structure
      3.1.1 Aspect, Tense, and Mode
      3.1.2 Directional Suffixes
      3.1.3 Adverbial Suffixes
      3.1.4 Number Marking
      3.1.5 Auxiliary Verbs
      3.1.6 Subordinating Suffixes
   3.2 Verb Derivation
      3.2.1 Valence and Voice Changes
         3.2.1.1 Noun Root Incorporation
         3.2.1.2 Instrumental Prefixes
         3.2.1.3 Passives, Mediopassives, Reflexives, and Reciprocals
         3.2.1.4 Absolutive Antipassives
Acknowledgments

I would like to express my appreciation to several people and institutions for their support in making this monograph possible. I thank:

-- Johanna Nichols, Josephine Jones, and Marjorie Hughes, who read preliminary drafts and made insightful comments and criticisms;

-- The Survey of California and Other Indian Languages at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Research Center at Boise State University, both of which provided funds for field research in the Death Valley area;

-- Members of the Tumpisa Shoshone Tribe, who shared their language and time with me;

-- Members of my family, Victoria, Lucas, Nicolas, and Veronica, whose love and patience kept me going.
Abbreviations

absol  absolutive
act  active
Adj  adjective
Adv  adverb
agt  agent
aps  antipassive
Aux  auxiliary verb
C  consonant
cat  causative, applicative and transitivizing suffix
cf  compare
cmplt  completive aspect
comb  combining form
Con  conjunction
Dem  demonstrative
dim  diminutive, affectionate suffix
dl  dual
dur  durative
DV  Death Valley
emph  emphatic
Eng  English
exc  exclusive
ext  existential
form  formative
greet  greeting
hab  habitual aspect suffix
imprf  imperfective
inc  inclusive
incorp  incorporating
indef  indefinite
inf  infinitive
instr  instrumental
Intrj  interjection
IO  indirect object
lit  literal(ly)
irreg  irregular
Loc  locative
med-pass  medio-passive
ms  man speaking
N  noun

xi
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new</td>
<td>new information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>object and direct object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obj</td>
<td>object(ive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oblig</td>
<td>obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td>old information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat</td>
<td>patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pmpr</td>
<td>passive, mediopassive, reflexive prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post</td>
<td>postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp</td>
<td>past participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prf</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prfx</td>
<td>prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prn</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prp</td>
<td>present participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>interrogative or question morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quant</td>
<td>quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quot</td>
<td>quotative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recip</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel</td>
<td>relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rfix</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sfx</td>
<td>suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stv</td>
<td>stative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub</td>
<td>subordinate (marker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subj</td>
<td>subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top</td>
<td>toponym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>verb phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ws</td>
<td>woman speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>varies with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>word boundary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE NUMIC SPEAKING AREA

The Túmpisa (Panamint) Shoshone area is shaded

(after Fowler and Fowler 1971)
THE TÜMPISA (PANAMINT) SHOSHONE AREA

(after Steward 1938)
INTRODUCTION

This monograph is an introductory descriptive grammar of Tümpisa Shoshone, meant to provide both layman and specialist with a basic understanding of how the language works as a linguistic system. In this sense, it is intended to be a "nuts and bolts" grammar with lots of examples illustrating the most important grammatical elements and processes in the language.1

Tümpisa Shoshone is a dialect of the language most often called Panamint in the technical literature (e.g., Freeze and Iannucci 1979, Henshaw 1883, Kroeber 1939, Lamb 1958a and 1964, McLaughlin 1987, Miller 1984). The language is also known as Panamint Shoshone (Fowler and Fowler 1971, Merriam 1904, Miller et al. 1971), Koso (= Coso) or Koso Shoshone (Kroeber 1925, Lamb 1958a), and simply Shoshone (Steward 1938). Panamint and two other closely related languages, Shoshone proper and Comanche, comprise the Central Numic branch of the Numic subfamily of the northern division of the Uto-Aztecan family of American Indian languages (see Lamb 1964, Miller 1984, Kaufman and Campbell 1981). Speakers of Uto-Aztecan languages occupied more territory in aboriginal America than any other group. More than 30 Uto-Aztecan languages were spoken over a vast area stretching from the Salmon River in central Idaho south through the Great Basin and peripheral areas into the Southwest and through northern and central Mexico. Colonies of Aztecan speakers were also scattered further south into Central America. At the time of
# UTO-AZTECAN FAMILY

## Northern Division

### NUMIC
- **Central Numic**
  - Panamint (= Tümpisa Shoshone), Shoshone, Comanche
- **Western Numic**
  - Mono, Northern Paiute (= Paviotso)
- **Southern Numic**
  - Kawaiisu, Chemehuevi-Southern Paiute, Ute

**Tubatulabal isolate**

### TAKIC
- Serrano-Kitanemuk
- Cupan
  - Luiseño-Juaneño, Gabrielino-Fernandiño, Cupeno, Cahuilla

**Hopi isolate**

## Southern Division

### SONORAN
- Corachol
  - Cora, Huichol
- Tarahumaran
  - Tarahumara, Guarijio
- Tepiman
  - Pima-Papago, Pima Bajo
  - Northern Tepehuan, Southern Tepehuan-Tepecano
- Opata
  - Opata-Jova, Eudeve-Heve

**Mayo-Yaqui isolate**

**Tubar isolate**

## AZTECAN
- Pochutec
- Nahua-Pipil
the Conquest there were Aztecan speakers as far south as Nicaragua, and an Aztecan language called Pipil is still spoken today in El Salvador. The Uto-Aztecan family has a time depth of over 5000 years; its divisions are outlined below (after Kaufman and Campbell 1981).

The Numic subfamily of Uto-Aztecan is a well defined group having a time depth of over 2000 years (according to lexico-statistic methods of dating; see Hale 1958-59, Lamb 1958a, Miller 1984). Numic is comprised of three branches, each with two or three closely related languages which split up about 1000 years ago. Speakers of Numic languages occupied the Great Basin and peripheral regions such as the Snake River Plain and the Colorado Plateau (see maps). The three branches of Numic fan out into the Great Basin and adjacent areas from southeastern California, with Mono, Panamint, and Kawaiisu confined to the extreme southwestern portion of the area. This area, between the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada and Death Valley, is thought to be the homeland of people speaking Proto-Numic (see Lamb 1958a, Fowler 1972b, Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982). The other languages in the Numic subfamily cover large territories to the north and east of the apex in southeastern California. Comanche is the only Numic language spoken in an area not contiguous to territory of the other languages. Speakers of Comanche were formerly Shoshone who broke off the main group and adopted a Great Plains lifeway just before Europeans arrived in the area. Today, many live in Oklahoma.

In aboriginal times, Panamint was spoken by small bands of Indian people living a hunting and gathering lifeway in the valleys, deserts, and mountain ranges east of the Sierra Nevada in what is today southeastern California and southwestern Nevada. Panamint territory included the southern end of Eureka Valley, Saline Valley and the eastern slopes of the Inyo Mountains, the southern end of Owens Valley around Owens Lake, the Little Lake area and the Coso Range, Indian Wells Valley and the Argus Range, northern
Panamint Valley and the Panamint Mountains, the Last Chance Range, northern and central Death Valley, the Grapevine Mountains and Funeral Range, the Amargosa Desert and area around Beatty, Nevada.

These people followed a transhumance lifeway, mostly residing in the lower and warmer valleys and desert areas in the winter and moving to cooler higher elevations of the mountains in summer, when the valleys become unbearably hot. To a large extent, they followed this migratory pattern well into the present century (see section 10.1). During much of the year, individual families wandered independently foraging for food, with men mostly hunting game and women mostly gathering and preparing plant foods. Communal activities primarily involved several families coming together to harvest and prepare pinenuts in the fall, for rabbit or antelope drives, and often several families wintered together in the same village. Whenever a number of families were together, there were festivities such as recounting folktales, dancing, singing, and gambling, especially playing handgame (= stickgame). Perhaps the most important social event of the year was the fall festival after the pinenut harvest. Outside of the immediate family, the most important political ties were among families that wintered together, but these ties were not binding, since the same families did not always winter together year after year.

The Panamints lived in some of the harshest country in the Americas. Many of the valleys are hot, arid, lower Sonoran desert. Arid conditions lessen somewhat as one moves higher, but nearly the entire area below 5,600 feet elevation is characterized by desert conditions. And Death Valley is one of the hottest and driest places on earth.

Like hunters and gatherers everywhere, the Panamints knew their environment extremely well. They knew the locations of all the springs in the area, whether they were permanent or temporary, or when the water could be found below the surface and at what depths, and they knew if the
water was sweet, brackish but palatable, or poisonous. They exploited virtually all of the animal and plant resources in the area. Big game like mountain sheep, antelope, and deer were hunted, and so were small game such as cottontails, jackrabbits, pikas, various squirrels, chipmunks, and desert rats, many kinds of birds and waterfowl, lizards (especially chuckwalla), and edible insects and grubs. Hundreds of different kinds of plants were utilized (see Fowler 1972a). Pinenuts, mesquite beans, and seeds of Indian ricegrass were the most important staples, but all kinds of wild edible seeds, berries, roots, and tubers were harvested. Hundreds of plants were also used for medicinal purposes, and some, such as jimson weed, as intoxicants. Plants were also used in making various kinds of implements such as sinew-backed juniper bows, willow and cane arrows with greasewood frontal shafts, wild hemp string, reed flutes, willow and sumac baskets, etc., as well as brush houses and mud-covered, brush-framed sweat houses. The Panamints produced some of the finest and most delicate basketry in the Americas.

There never were many Panamints. Kroeber (1925:590) estimates that the country they occupied never would have supported more than 500 people; that figure is with a population density of 2.11 people per square kilometer, which is thought to be the maximum, given the technology and lifeway of the Panamints (1939:137). Kroeber notes that "In 1883 an estimate [of the Panamint population] was 150; in 1891, less than 100; a recent one [1925], between 100 and 150" (1925:590). In 1973 I made a rough count of 35 to 40 people who could speak the language fluently and used it daily. In 1988, there were less than half a dozen people who could speak the language fluently, and they were in their 80s, 90s, and 100s. A few more still had a passive, though not fluent, knowledge of the language. Clearly, the Panamint Shoshone language is on the brink of extinction.

The grammatical description in this monograph is based entirely on Tumpisa Shoshone, the dialect of Panamint spoken
in and around Death Valley, California, and all of the examples given are from the Tumpisa dialect. Nearly all of the lexical material in the Tumpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Dictionary (Dayley 1989) is also from the this dialect. Between 1971 and 1973, I spent three summers and several shorter periods in the winters doing linguistic fieldwork with speakers from the Furnace Creek area of Death Valley. I also worked very briefly with the last speaker from Saline Valley and with one of the last from the Darwin area, but the material I collected from them was not in any way different from the Death Valley material. In 1988, I made a month-long field trip to check material in the grammar; at that time, I worked with one person from Furnace Creek and another from Beatty, Nevada.

In earlier times, people from different valleys, even people from different villages within the same valley, spoke somewhat different dialects of Panamint. In recent years, however, the Tumpisa dialect has predominated, since more people from Death Valley continued to use the language on a day-to-day basis than did people from other areas. As far as I can tell, of the handful of speakers left today, only one is not from Death Valley; she is from Beatty. I should note, however, that the Beatty dialect is the most distinct, having many characteristics of Shoshone proper not found in other varieties of Panamint to the west of Beatty.

The term "Tumpisa" is the native word for Death Valley. It literally means 'rock ochre', since the word is a compound formed with the root tūn- (as in the noun tümpi), meaning 'rock', and pīsa" 'red ochre'. Thus, Death Valley is named after an important source of red ochre found in Golden Canyon a little southeast of present-day Furnace Creek. Tumpisa" is often used with the general locative postposition ka, forming Tumpisakka 'in/at/to Death Valley', and frequently the latter form is nominalized with the suffix -tūn, forming Tumpisakkatūn. All three forms -- Tumpisa", Tumpisakka, and
Tümpisaakitun -- are used to refer to Death Valley. People from Death Valley are called Tümpeesatti.

Except in this introduction, the term "Panamint" is not used in this grammar at all. Panamint is a technical term used only by linguists and anthropologists. Neither the Indians themselves nor non-Indians in the area use the word. In English, Indian and non-Indian alike call the people and their language Shoshone. When speaking their own language, people refer to it either as sosonî or númu. Sosonî may be used either in reference to the language or to a Shoshone (= Panamint) Indian. Númu has several related meanings. It not only refers to the language, but it is also the generic word for 'person' or 'people'. It is also used in a more specific sense to mean 'Indian' as opposed to a non-Indian; and it may be used still more specifically to mean 'Shoshone (= Panamint)', as opposed to other kinds of people. When speaking English, the Indians use the term 'Nevada Shoshone' to refer to what linguists and anthropologists would call Shoshone proper, in reference to either the people or the language. The 'Nevada Shoshone' are said to speak a different language, although one recognized to be very closely related to 'Shoshone (= Panamint)'. It is said that if one goes to live in Nevada, it only takes a few weeks to make the adjustments necessary to speak the other language. In Tumpisa Shoshone, the people speaking Shoshone proper are called (Sosoniammu) Kwinawen Nangkwatun Númu, literally '(Shoshone) people towards the north'.

To both Indians and non-Indians living in the area, the term Panamint seems strange as a linguistic or cultural designation, since to them it could logically only refer to people from Panamint Valley or to the variety of 'Shoshone' that Panamint Valley Indians spoke. But since there haven't been any Indians from Panamint Valley for some time, the term does not make sense, and certainly does not make sense as a designation for people from Death Valley or other places in the area. Since the term seems ridiculous, even somewhat
offensive, to locals, Indian or non-Indian, I have opted not to use it.

The linguistic and anthropological literature on the Tumpisa Shoshone is sparse. The most important anthropological works remain Kroeber (1925:589-592) and Steward (1938:70-93), but Kerr (1980) also has a good deal of information. Two early sources are Colville (1892) and Nelson (1891). Early linguistic sources are Henshaw (1883) and Merriam (1902 and 1904). The only substantial linguistic source to date is McLaughlin's (1983) work based on the Beatty dialect. For discussions of Numic and Uto-Aztecan, see Kaufman and Campbell (1981), Lamb (1958a and 1964), Langacker (1977), Miller (1964, 1966, 1967, and 1984), Nichols (1973), Sapir (1913-14 and 1915), Steele (1979), Voegelin, Voegelin, and Hale (1962), and Whorf (1939). Grammars and dictionaries on other Numic languages are Canonge (1958) on Comanche; Crapo (1976) and Miller (1972 and 1975) on Shoshone; Givon (1980) on Ute; Sapir (1930 and 1931) on Southern Paiute; Lamb (1958b and 1958c) on Mono; and Nichols (1973) and Liljeblad (1967) on Northern Paiute. Some shorter works on Shoshone may be found in Dayley (1970, 1986a, and 1986b) and McLaughlin (1982a, 1982b, and 1983). D'Azevedo et al. (1964) and Sturtevant and D'Azevedo (1986) should be consulted for background information on the Numic area in general.

For a summary of the archaeology in the area with relevant primary bibliographic sources, see Warren and Crabtree (1986). They suggest that there has been cultural continuity in Death Valley for the last three major archaeological periods, going back some 4000 years:

Shoshonean Period (= Death Valley IV)
A.D. 1220 to contact

Saratoga Springs Period (= Death Valley III)
A.D. 500-1200

Gypsum Period (= Death Valley II)
2000 B.C.-A.D. 500
The organization of this grammar is as follows: Chapter 2 provides an overall summary of Tömpisa Shoshone grammar and characterizes it typologically. Chapter 3 contains a detailed discussion of verbs. Chapters 4–6 are on constituents that occur in or involve noun phrases (i.e., pronominals, nouns, postpositions, and adjectives). Chapter 7 is on uninflected words such as adverbs, grammatical particles, and interjections. Chapter 8 introduces the major kinds of sentences composed of more than one clause, either by coordination or by subordination. Chapter 9 is on the phonology; specialists may wish to read chapter 9 first, or at least right after chapter 2. Chapter 10 contains texts illustrating the language in normal discourse; the first five texts are narratives, the sixth a long conversation.

Notes to Introduction

1. Because this publication is not aimed only at specialists in linguistics or the Uto-Aztecan languages, technical terms are occasionally defined, especially if they are not accessible in common dictionaries.

2. My primary native language consultant was Mamie Boland, to whom this volume is dedicated, but I also elicited material from a number of her relatives and others from Furnace Creek. These people normally resided in the Indian village at Furnace Creek in the winter months, although they would move to higher elevations, like Lone Pine, in the summer, in traditional transhumance fashion. The father of Mamie and her several sisters owned the water rights to Furnace Creek earlier in this century, but the people have since lost these rights to the U.S. Park Service.
This chapter provides a general overview of Tumpisa Shoshone grammar, including its general typological characteristics (section 2.1), simple sentence structures (2.2), and basic elaborations of simple sentences (2.3).

2.1 TYPOLOGY

2.1.1 Morphological Characteristics

Tumpisa Shoshone is a synthetic language primarily using agglutination to form words. Affixation occurs throughout the major word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs). Suffixation is more common than prefixation in all areas of the morphology, whether inflectional or derivational, prefixation being developed only in verbs. Compounding is common in the major word classes, especially in nouns where compounds may be composed of several roots plus affixes.

Verbs display the greatest degree of synthesis. Affixation prevails, but noun incorporation and compounding are common. A verb may have up to three prefixes and five or six suffixes. Verbal affixes indicate categories such as aspect, tense, mood, and voice, but they may also express adverbial and nominal notions.

Affixes themselves may be compounds. Many are formed by agglutinating several affixes together, and then the
resulting string takes on a separate function and different meaning from the sum of the constituent affixes. The examples below illustrate the degree of synthesis possible by both affixation and compounding.

SYNTHETIC MORPHOLOGY VIA AFFIXATION AND COMPOUNDING

kahnipaimmippuhantun V 'used to dwell'
< kahni N 'house', -pa'in incorp V 'have', -mmi hab sfx, -ppuhantun past sfx < -ppuh pp, -kan stv, -tun prp

napittatahangkühantun V 'having the dress pulled up for'
< na- pmpr, pi" instr prfx 'with butt', -tataha instr V 'pull dress up', -ngkün cat, -kan stv, -tun prp

naiwekipitüihantün V 'woo, visit lover'
< na(w)i- N 'girl', weeki" pi V 'enter', pituh Aux 'arrive', -ih iterative sfx, -kan stv, -tun prp

tukummahannitunganna V 'tell to cook'
< tu- aps prfx, ku"- 'with heat', ma- 'with hands', hannih V 'do, make, prepare', tunga Aux 'tell to', -nna general aspect sfx

petsüttaisuwammsu V 'wanted to take completely (to)'
< petsu" V 'take (someone)', -tain cmlpt sfx, suwah Aux 'want', -mmi intentional sfx, -sün purposive sfx

Kwinawennangkwatūn Numū N 'Northern / Western Shoshone'
< kwinawen- N 'north', nangkwa pp 'in the direction of, -wards', -tun sfx, numū N 'Shoshone, people'
pahontúkinnúmmpu N 'ashtray'
< pahon- N 'tobacco', tükü" V 'put', -nnúmpu nom
instr

yookontukkupittsi N 'valley bobcat'
< yookon- N 'valley', tukkupittsi N 'wildcat' (<
tukku N 'wildcat', -pi class sfx, -ttsi dim)

sape'esün Adv 'that time, then'
< sa- dem-loc 'there out of sight', -pe'e Post
'time', -sün Adv sfx

noohakapan Adv 'someplace, anyplace'
< noo Adv dubitative, haka Q 'what, something', pan
Post 'on'

Internal symbolic changes are also used in word
formation, primarily in verbs. In verbs, distinctions
between categories such as singular versus plural and normal
versus durative are often marked with consonantal and vocalic
changes within the root, as seen in the examples below.

INTERNAL SYMBOLIC CHANGES

mi'a sg, mi'a" pl Vi 'go'
paha" sg Vi and instr V, pakiah pl Vi, -pakiih pl
instr V 'split in half'
pikkwan sg Vi and instr V, pikwaa pl Vi, -pikwai pl
instr V 'shatter'
nuwi normal, núñmi dur sg Vi 'walk around'
hapi" normal, hapii dur sg Vi 'lie (down)'

Reduplication is also a word-forming technique
occasionally employed to distinguish number in verbs and to
indicate plurality or distributiveness in nouns. Usually the
initial syllable is reduplicated, but as the third example
below illustrates, on rare occasions a medial or final syllable is reduplicated.

**REPLICATION**

mi'a sg, mimi'a dl, mi'a'' pl Vi 'go'
wűnű'' sg, wūnū'' dl Vi 'stand'
potsə'' sg, potsotsə pl Vi 'drip'
tangummū sg 'man'; tattangungku dl, tattangummū pl N 'men'

**SUPPLETION**

ika'' sg, weeki'' dl-pl Vi 'enter'
katū'' sg-dl, yukwi dl, nuupaih / yuunaah pl Vi 'sit'
pakkah sg-dl, wasū'' pl Vt 'kill'
to'eh sg, toto'eh dl, kūa'' pl Vi 'emerge'
tuki'' sg-dl, taha'' dl-pl Vt 'put'
-tukwaŋ sg, -paih pl instr V 'hit'
ūppūiŋ sg-dl, okkoiŋ dl-pl Vi '(go to) sleep'
yūtsū'' sg-dl, yoti'' pl Vi 'fly'
wa'ippū sg 'woman'; huuppiangku dl, huuppiammū pl N 'women'

### 2.1.2 Word Order Characteristics

Tümüspa Shoshone displays most of the typological characteristics of a **verb-final language**. The grammatical features typically correlated with verb-final languages are listed and exemplified below. Many of these features are
discussed in detail elsewhere in this work, in which case cross-references are given in parentheses.1

VERB-FINAL GRAMMATICAL FEATURES IN TUMPISA SHOSHONE

Object + Verb (2.2):

(1) Atū kapaayu sakka tangummi tangummuttih.
    that horse that-O man-O kicked
    'That horse kicked that man.'

Noun + Postposition (chapter 5):

(2) Satū pūnnang kahni kattu u petsūtaisuwamisū
    that his own house to her take-wanted
    tawintūŋ kuppantu.
    cave inside
    'He wanted to take her to his own house inside a cave.'

Verb + Auxiliary (chapters 3 and 8):

(3) Tammū piiya hipittūkintu'ih. < hipi'-tūkin-tu'ih
    we(inc) beer drink-start-will < drink-start-will
    'We'll start to drink beer.'

Genitive + Noun (chapters 4 and 5):

(4) Nummi appū wa'e napuni satu.
    our(exc) father like look that
    'That one looks like our father.'
Adjective + Noun (chapter 6):

(5) Nu yuhupitta wa'ippua punikkappuhantu.
    I fat-O woman-O saw
    'I saw the fat woman.'

Standard + Marker of Comparison (chapter 6):

(6) Nu yuhupi ung kawi; uu pasamputtsi.
    I fat you more than you skinny
    'I'm fatter than you; you're skinny.'

Relative Clause + Noun (chapter 8):

(7) [Niam pusikwanna] tsawun tangummu satu.
    my knowing good man that
    'The good man [I know] is that one.'

Intensifier + Adjective (chapters 6 and 7):

(8) Nu kenumuni pasamputtsi. 'I'm really skinny.'
    I really skinny

Complement Clause + Main Clause (chapter 8):

(9) Nu [mi'akwantu'immi] suwakka.
    I go-will-sub think about
    'I'm thinking about [going].'

Case Inflections (chapters 4 and 5):

(10) Tangummu nia pusikwa. 'The man knows me.'
    man me know

(11) Nuu tangummi pusikwa. 'I know the man.'
    I man-O know
Suffixation Predominating Over Prefixation
(See examples in 2.1.1.)

Simple Syllables (chapter 9)

Despite the fact that Tumpisa Shoshone displays many typical verb-final characteristics, it is by no means a rigid verb-final language. So, for example, objects sometimes come after verbs:

(12) Kapaayu atū sakka tangummuttiq isapungku.
    horse  that that-0 kicked  dog
    'That horse kicked that one, the dog.'

Adjectives, especially participial adjectives, may occur after nouns (see chapter 6); e.g.:

(13) Tangummi nati'iwantūm punikkappūhantū nūū.
    man-0  being mean-0 saw  I
    'I saw the mean man.'

Relative clauses commonly occur after nouns (see chapter 8); e.g.:

(14) Tangumū [akka nū pusikwanna] tūhūyanna u
    man  that-0 I know  deer-0  it
    kuttihantū.
    shoot-stv

    'The man that I know was shooting the deer.'

Complement clauses may follow main clauses (see chapter 8); e.g.:
(15) Nu sukka nasuntama [tammu hipittaippuhantu].
I that-O remember we(inc) got drunk
'I remember that we got drunk.'

And prefixation is important, although not to the degree that suffixation is (e.g., see the voice and instrumental prefixes discussed in 3.2.1).

In fact, Tumpisa Shoshone has flexible word order. For the most part, word order is not used as a semantic-syntactic device to distinguish different syntactic relations like subject and object, or different semantic participants like agent and patient (as word order is used, for example, in a rigid word order language like English). Rather, different word orders perform different pragmatic functions in discourse.

To get some idea of the flexibility of word order, some word order possibilities and their statistical frequencies are presented, after which some of the primary functions of different word orders are mentioned. The five narrative texts in chapter 10, for example, contain 287 clauses with the following different word orders for 134 transitive clauses and 153 intransitive clauses.²
### Transitive Word Orders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>Soblq OV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>Soblq V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOVS</td>
<td>Soblq VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOVOS</td>
<td>O V IO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVS</td>
<td>IO O V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSOV</td>
<td>Soblq O V Oblq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>Soblq V Oblq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Intransitive Word Orders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Soblq V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVS</td>
<td>Soblq VS Oblq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>V Oblq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clearly, then, word order is flexible. However, the list of orders above is somewhat misleading, in that all of the orders do not occur with the same degree of frequency. Some are common, others are rare, while still other are moderately common. In fact, of the more than two dozen different transitive orders, only five occur in the texts more than five times each.
**FREQUENT TRANSITIVE ORDERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S O Vt</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Vt</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Vt S</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Vt IO</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of 134 Vt clauses

The relative frequency of intransitive orders is given below. (N.B. Oblique arguments have been disregarded here.)

**INTRANSITIVE ORDERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S Vi</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Vi S</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vi S</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures below indicate the frequencies of the possible orders of subjects relative to verbs.

**ALL CLAUSES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S before V</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S after V</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V w/o S</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Position</th>
<th>Intransitive Clauses</th>
<th>Transitive Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before Vi</td>
<td>S before Vi = 92 = 63%</td>
<td>S before Vt = 51 = 38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S after Vi = 28 = 18%</td>
<td>S after Vt = 24 = 18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vi w/o S = 33 = 21%</td>
<td>Vt w/o S = 63 = 47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The totals immediately above are higher than the total number of clauses, and the sum of the percentages is higher than 100%. This is because four clauses have subjects before and after verbs.

The following figures show the frequencies of the possible orders of objects relative to verbs (direct = 0, indirect = IO, and oblique = Obliq).

OBJECT ORDERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object Position</th>
<th>Intransitive Clauses</th>
<th>Transitive Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before Vt</td>
<td>0 before Vt = 117 = 87%</td>
<td>IO before Vt = 9 = 56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 after Vt = 19 = 14%</td>
<td>IO after Vt = 7 = 44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vt w/o 0 = 10 = 7%</td>
<td>IO before 0 = 5 = 31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vt w/o 0 and w/o Obliq = 4 = 3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OBLIQUE ORDERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oblique Position</th>
<th>Intransitive Clauses</th>
<th>Transitive Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before V</td>
<td>Oblq before V = 26 = 65%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oblq after V = 14 = 35%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before Vi</td>
<td>Oblq before Vi = 17 = 62%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oblq before Vt = 10 = 71%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After Vi</td>
<td>Oblq after Vi = 10 = 38%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oblq after Vt = 4 = 29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can now make a number of observations from the figures above on word order frequencies. First, considering all types of clauses, subjects occur before verbs half the time. But the frequency of subjects before verbs is much higher in intransitive clauses (63%) than in transitive clauses (38%).
Second, about a fifth of the time (18%) in all kinds of clauses, subjects follow verbs.

Third, looking at all clauses together, one-third occur without overt subjects, although transitive clauses (47%) lack overt subjects over twice as often as intransitive clauses (21%). Overt direct objects are omitted less frequently than subjects, but still a significant number of clauses (10%) occur without them. In fact, ellipsis of direct arguments like subject and object is characteristic of Tumpisa Shoshone, despite the fact that there is no other person-marking in the sentence.

Fourth, direct objects occur before verbs overwhelmingly (87%) more frequently than after them (14%), but subjects (18%), indirect objects (44%), and oblique arguments (35%) occur relatively frequently after verbs, though less often than before them. Thus, even though Tumpisa Shoshone cannot accurately be labeled a "verb-final language," it certainly can be called an OV language, or one in which the direct object normally occurs before the verb, even if other constituents commonly follow it. Actually, the majority of direct objects that follow verbs are object complement clauses. Only rarely do simple noun phrase direct objects follow verbs, and then usually as afterthoughts.

Finally, direct arguments, such as subjects and objects, are often repeated in the same clause. Usually a repetition is a presumptive or resumptive pronoun copy of the argument, most often a pronominal demonstrative cross-referencing a third-person argument. The demonstrative does not necessarily form part of the same noun phrase as the argument it cross-references; it is like an independent but repeated argument (see examples 12 and 31, and chapters 4 and 5).

Some of these observations reveal more when considered together with discourse notions having to do with new, given, and old information and discourse topic.
First of all, the data above reveal that clauses without overt subjects are those where the elliptical subject is a continuing topic. Nearly all clauses which do not have an overt subject are those with a notional subject that is the old topic and given information (e.g., 16-17 below). Thus, in 16 from the "Pinenuts" text, no overt subject appears, but the subject of the two clauses of 16 is understood to be Flicker, a short-term topic mentioned overtly in the preceding sentence.

(16) Toya ma apa supe'e u hanninna; u üanna.  
mountain on there that time it do it plant  
'There in the mountains he did it: he planted it.'
Similarly, in 17 from the "Girl and Dog" story, the notional subject is a continuing topic, in this case the girl.

(17) U mai nuwitu nohompe, u tsangkannuwitū.
him with walk always him lead walking
'She walked around with him always, leading him.'

The only exceptions to elliptical subjects being topics are in clauses without topics of any kind (nontopics). These are mostly meteorological and background clauses as in 18, where, for example, English would have a dummy expletive 'it'.

(18) Ūtuinna kūttāa sapettū, ūtuuintū.
be hot really there be hot-hab
'It's really hot there, it's hot.'

Subjects generally follow verbs when they are given or old information, whether or not they are a continuing topic or a new topic. But most typically, a subject following a verb is a continuing topic (i.e., old topic and given information), as in 19 from the first paragraph of the "Pinenut" story, where the subject 'we' is both given and topic.

(19) Kee tūppūhpā'e tamū.
not pinenut-have we(inc)
'We don't have any pinenuts.'

And also in 20 with an intransitive predicate, the pronominal demonstrative subject is given information and discourse topic. This example is from the "Girl and Dog" text, and the demonstrative refers to the girl.

(20) Kammanna sutū. 'She was sick.'
be sick that
However, there are a number of cases in transitive clauses where subjects follow their verbs when they are new information. These clauses with OVS word order are much like the passives in English used when the semantic patient is also the topic of the discourse. Tümpisa Shoshone has a passive voice (see sections 2.3.4 and 3.2.1.3), but agents may never be expressed in passive constructions. Thus, one function of OVS word order is to indicate that the patient (or object) is discourse topic. An excellent example of this is seen in 21 taken from the "Woman and Bear" text. This is the introductory sentence in the narrative (so the subject could not possibly be old or given information), yet it has OVS order. The woman is the overall topic of the entire story, but in this sentence she is a patient being kidnapped by the bear, which sets the scenario for the rest of the story.

(21) Wa'ippua ukkwah hakapangkuh sampe kwuummaa utu
    woman-O when where some caught that

    pahamittsi utu hakamaanna u nuwiku toya
    bear that someplace her walk-when mountain

    ma nootunga.
    on maybe

'A woman got caught by a bear somewhere, probably when she was walking someplace in the mountains.'

Not infrequently, OVS order is also used when the object is first or second person and the subject is inanimate (as in 22). This is similar to the situation in 21 in that first and second persons are virtually always more prominent in the discourse environment than inanimate objects.
(22) Nia piyaka'ngkuna huuppi.
    me make itch bush
'The bush made me itch.'

Subjects may precede verbs in virtually all informational and topical possibilities, despite the fact that other orders are more typically used in some particular situations, as discussed above. Thus, it seems that subject-before-verb order is the most generalized order, relative to orders with subjects following verbs or with subject ellipsis. This probably indicates that subject-before-verb order is the most basic or at least the most neutral order in Tumpisa Shoshone. And it seems virtually obligatory for (overt) subjects to precede verbs when they are new information and also new topic, as in 23-24, the first two sentences in the "Girl and Dog" story.

(23) Hipittsittsi nümü natümüngkúppuhantu puesu
    old woman us told story long ago
    sape'esü ukwah:
    that time when

(24) Sümüttu nawipi isapungku mai nuwi'möppuhantu.
    one girl dog with went around

'An old woman told us a story from a long time ago: One girl went around with a dog.'

The first sentence, 23, is setting the scene for the whole story and the old lady is a transitory topic. The second sentence, 24, sets the plot and introduces the main topic, the girl.

The discourse functions of intransitive and transitive clauses differ in important ways. Intransitive clauses are used far more often than transitive clauses as presentatives
to introduce participants into the discourse. While 60% of intransitive clauses occur with (overt) preverbal subjects, only 48% of transitive clauses do. As discussed above, preverbal subject position is where new participants are typically introduced. On the other hand, transitive clauses are used far more often than intransitive clauses to predicate something about a continuing topic. Nearly half (46%) of all transitive clauses occur without an overt subject, and another 18% have subjects following verbs. Clauses with elliptical or postverbal subjects most typically are used with continuing topics. Some 64% of transitive clauses typify continuing topic organization, while only 21% of intransitive clauses occur without overt subjects. This 21%, combined with the 18% that have postverbal subjects, amounts to only 39%, substantially lower than the 64% for transitive clauses.

2.1.3 Case Marking Characteristics

Tümpisa Shoshone displays typical nominative-accusative case marking throughout its case marking system (see chapters 4 and 5), since both intransitive and transitive subjects are marked for case in one manner while transitive objects have different case marking. However, characteristics of an ergative-absolutive system show up in number marking on verbs. Many intransitive verb stems differ with respect to the number of their subjects, while many transitive verb stems differ with respect to the number of their objects, not their subjects (see section 3.1.4). Thus, to a certain degree transitive objects and intransitive subjects are treated alike as absolutes governing number agreement in verbs; e.g.:
2.2 SIMPLE SENTENCE STRUCTURE

The next few paragraphs describe the basic types of simple sentences. The term simple sentence here means a clause which is active, declarative, affirmative, and independent (i.e., not subordinate). The primary kinds of simple sentences in Tumpisa Shoshone are linking (or copular), existential, intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive. Usually, only the obligatory constituents are mentioned for each type of simple sentence, but a number of other elements are always optional possibilities in each kind of sentence (e.g., adverbials, postpositional phrases, conjunct phrases and clauses, and subordinate clauses). More complex types of sentences are discussed in chapter 8, and the details of various sentential constituents are presented in chapters 3 through 7.

2.2.1 Linking and Existential Sentences

Linking and existential sentences are grammatically similar in Tumpisa Shoshone, so they are discussed together here. Both types of sentences are stative and typically occur with the stative verb naa" 'be', which is the copula par excellence in the language. Naa" may be used in all tenses and aspects of linking and existential sentences, but typically it is omitted in the simple present or narrative
present. *Naa*" is used in the present, however, whenever the speaker wishes to communicate subtleties of aspect with the aspectual suffixes on the verb.

**Linking sentences** minimally consist of a subject and a predicate complement, with or without the copula *naa*. A coreferential relationship always obtains between the subject and the predicate complement. The complement may be a predicate noun (or NP), a predicate adjective (or Adj phrase), or a predicate adverbial. In any case, the predicate complement is said of, or 'linked' to, the subject. The sentences in 25-30 have noun-phrase predicate complements. The examples in 25-27 are in the present, so there is no copula. In 27 no overt subject appears, although it is understood (as 'he').

(25) Satü wihnu niam petü. 'That's my daughter then.'
    that then my daughter

(26) Nummi appü utü. 'That's our father.'
    our(exc) father that

(27) Tsawüntü tangummi miikkwa. 'He's a good man now.'
    good man now

The examples in 28-30 are not in the present, so *naa*" is used.

(28) Nüü tsukuppüttsi naappühantü.
    I old man be-prf
    'I have gotten to be an old man.'

(29) Tammi appü naammaa satü wihnu.
    our(inc) father was that then
    'That was our father then.'
Examples of linking sentences with predicate adjectives are given in 31-36. Predicate adjectives may agree in number with their subjects. For example, in 32 the predicate iampü 'wild' is plural, since the optional plural enclitic -hammu is appended to it. The number enclitics are used on predicate adjectives to emphasize number, especially with human or animate subjects. However, number marking on predicate adjectives is not obligatory, as 31 illustrates. In 31 the predicate is surrounded by different parts of the subject; this is an instance of pronoun copy, as discussed above at the end of section 2.1.2.

(31) So'oppütä angkapitü satümü. many red those 'A lot of them are red.'

(32) Nawittsittsiammü iampü-hammü. girls wild-pl 'The girls are wild.'

(33) Tammumü tammappü. 'The man is crazy.' man crazy

The sentences in 34-36 contain examples of predicate adjectives used with the copula naa". In 34, the tense is present, but naa" is used to carry the stative suffix -kan, which implies that the clouds are not permanently red, but only for a certain period (as at sunset).

(34) Pakünappü angkapi naakkä. 'The clouds are red.' cloud red be-stv
(35) Nü tsomampü naappühantü. 'I used to be stingy.'
I stingy was

(36) Tangummü tammappüh naatu'ih.
man crazy be-will
'The man'll be crazy.'

The most typical kinds of linking sentences with adverbial complements are those with locative predicate adverbs or locative postpositional (adverbial) phrases, as exemplified in 37-42.

(37) Taamü ūtūintüng ka. 'We're in the heat.'
we(inc) heat at

(38) Paa pakatūngannūmpū kuppā.
water kettle in
'The water is in the kettle.'

(39) Satū sape. 'She is there somewhere.'
that thereabouts

(40) Nummu sakkū naaśminna tattsawani.
we(exc) there be-hab summertime
'We were there in the summertime.'

(41) Nūu sekkih naappühantü. 'I was here.'
I here was

(42) Nian appū naappühantü sukkuh tūtūaimi sukkuh
my father was there working there
ūattūah ka.
ranch at

'My father was there working on a ranch.'
Predicate adverbs may be other kinds as well. For example, (43) contains a manner predicate adverb, telling how the string is, rather than where it is.

(43) *Wisipi annakkapa naattaippuh.*
string all together be-cmplt
'The string is all together.'

Superficially, existential sentences in Tumpisa Shoshone are much like linking sentences. They too consist minimally of a subject noun phrase and predicate complement such as a predicate adjective, a predicate noun (or NP), or predicate adverbial. However, existential sentences express different meanings than linking sentences. In linking sentences, some state or condition about the subject is being predicated, either that the subject is a particular entity (equating), or that it has certain qualities or attributes, or that it is located somewhere. In existential sentences, the actual existence of a subject of such and such a nature is being predicated. If the existence of an entity with certain specific qualities or conditions is being predicated, then the qualities or conditions syntactically occur as a predicate complement and the noun phrase denoting the entity is the subject of the sentence, just like in linking sentences. So, for example, in the first sentence of (44), 'ten' is the predicate complement, and 'those' is the subject; the sentence literally says 'those are ten'. In the second sentence of (44), 'ten' is again the predicate complement, while 'his daughters' is the subject; this sentence literally says 'his daughters are ten'.

(44) *Süümootu sutümmü. Um petümmü süümootü.*
ten those his daughters ten
'There are ten of them. There are ten of his daughters.'
The sentences in 45-48 are examples of similar existential constructions.

(45) Noohakaittu wainnih sakkuppū.  
    all kinds wine there
    'There are all kinds of wine there.'

(46) Sepe isapungkun tuammūttsi.  
    here dog's baby
    'Here there are dog's babies.'

(47) Nū appū naappūhantū utū, númmū sumusū niam  
    my father was that we(exc) all my
    patsinūmū.  
    Olsi Indian
    'There was my father, and all of us, [me and] my
    older Indian sisters [= parallel cousins].'

(48) Nia samoppū naapūhantū wahattū.  
    my sibling was two
    'There were two of my siblings (of the opposite
    sex).'

The linking verb naa" is more or less semantically empty (like 'be' in English). A number of other linking verbs have more semantic content.
LINKING VERBS

naa" 'be'
katü" sg, yükwı dl, nuupaih ≈ yuunaah pl 'sit, stay, be positioned'
wünü" sg, wwójünü dl, toppangih ≈ tattsaho pl 'stand'
hapi" sg, kwapi" dl, kopittükhung pl 'lie, be prone'
kamman 'taste'
kwana" 'smell'
napunih 'look, appear'

The position-linking verbs may have locative complements (e.g., 49), manner adverbial complements (e.g., 50), and adjective complements (e.g., 51 and 52).

(49) Angipi kattu urn pui ri. 
fly sit(dur) his eye on 
'The fly is (sitting) on his eye.'

(50) Kahni antappu hoppu. 
house askew lie(dur) 
'The house is (lying) on its side.'

(51) Satummu tattangummu nanaompu tattsahonna. 
those men scattered stand(pl) 
'Those men are (standing) scattered around.'

(52) Tangummu paappu wünütu. 
man tall stand-hab 
'The man is tall.'

While the others normally have adjective or manner adverbial complements (e.g., 53 and 54).

(53) Tüttsüp pükhwa. 'It smells funny.'
funny smell
(54) Satū isapungku ni napunni.
that dog like look(dur)
'He looks like a dog.'

2.2.2 Intransitive Sentences

Intransitive sentences always occur with an intransitive verb. And they also have no more than a single direct participant, the subject, which may be omitted if it is given information (see 2.1.2 above). Semantically, intransitive verbs may be either actions whose subjects are agents, or processes and states whose subjects are patients. A few intransitives, mostly those denoting meteorological or environmental phenomena, do not have subjects at all, either overt or implied; however, even these often occur with a 'dummy' elliptical subject, especially setū 'this around here'.

Active intransitive verbs denote activities performed by agents such as tutuai 'work', hupiatuki 'sing', nukkwi sg and nutaan pl 'run', nükka 'dance', nuwi sg and ningka pl 'walk around; live', notopahe' 'climb'. Intransitive sentences with action verbs are exemplified in 55-57.

(55) Nu tamminoipitükwa nu tutuaitu.
I be tired-arrive I work
'I get tired when I work.'

(56) Satū tsao nukkatu; uu kee tsao nukkatu.
that well dance you not well dance
'He dances well; you don't dance well.'

(57) Nu toyapim ma nuwitū tunaa notoppahe.
I mountain on walk around down climb
'I walked around the mountain and climbed down.'
Process intransitive verbs are those which indicate that a patient is undergoing a change from one state or condition to another. Some typical process verbs are, for example, kotto'eh 'boil', tiyaih sg and ko'i" ≈ tsuuwah pl 'die', nahna" 'grow (of animates)', sua" 'grow (of plants)', and uppuih sg and okkoih pl 'go to sleep', as well as enviromental verbs like umah ≈ ungwa" 'rain' and taha'ah 'snow'.

(58) Isapaippu takuttiyaitaiwappuhantu. 'Coyote died of thirst.'

(59) Piammüttsi nahnanna. 'The baby is growing.'

(60) Setü taha'ahwantu'ih. 'It's going to snow.'

As discussed in the previous section (2.2.1), the copula naa" is normally a stative verb in linking sentences, but it can also function as a process verb in inchoative constructions. In these inchoative constructions, naa" is used with either the auxiliary mi'a 'go' (e.g., 61), the directional suffix -kin ≈ -kkin 'hither' (e.g., 62), or the inceptive aspect suffix -wiah (e.g., 63). With these it forms the inchoative verbs: naammi'a, naakkin, naawiah, all meaning 'become' or 'get' into a particular state or condition.

(61) Tatsa naammi'a. 'It's getting (to be) summer.'

(62) Tommo naakkiha. 'It's getting (to be) winter.'
In addition, -\textit{wiah} and the auxiliary verbs \textit{mi'a} 'go' and \textit{pitu(h)} 'arrive at (a state)' may be used to form inchoative process verbs from other verbs, especially stative intransitive verbs (e.g., 55, 64, and 65).

(64) Kotssappi ūtūwiah. 'The soup is getting hot.'

\begin{tabular}{ll}
soup & be hot-inceptive \\
\end{tabular}

(65) Tūmu hu nāwūt tamm mà\textit{i'a}.  

\begin{tabular}{ll}
rope & be tightened-go \\
\end{tabular}

'The rope is getting tight(ened).'

Also, \textit{mi'a} is sometimes used by itself as an inchoative process verb (e.g., 66).

(66) Tukwanni \textit{mi'a}. 'It's getting dark.'

\begin{tabular}{ll}
dark & go \\
\end{tabular}

Intransitive verbs expressing states are those like \textit{kammah} 'be sick, hurt, ache', \textit{tuupukkan} 'be angry', \textit{ūtsü'ìn} 'be cold', and \textit{ūtūin} 'be hot'. Some examples follow.

(67) Satū nōho mpe tuūp kant. 'He's always angry.'

\begin{tabular}{ll}
that always & be angry \\
\end{tabular}

(68) Nīn tāsi kūt tši kammanna. 'My toe hurts.'

\begin{tabular}{ll}
my toe & hurt \\
\end{tabular}

(69) Pīyā kūtsappū ūtsū'ìnna. 'The beer is really cold.'

\begin{tabular}{ll}
beer really & be cold \\
\end{tabular}
The linking verbs discussed and exemplified in the previous section are also, of course, stative intransitives.

Many intransitive verbs in Tumpisa Shoshone are not inherently (or at least not rigidly) active, process, or stative. Rather, they may function in one or the other of these semantic categories, depending on the discourse context and the verbal suffixes that are appended to them. For example, *katu* 'sit (down)' is stative when used as a linking verb (e.g., 49), but is active in 70.

(70) Satü katųkwantu'ih. 'He's going to go sit down.'

that sit-go to-will

And, *uppuin* sg '(go to) sleep' is normally a process verb but may easily function as a stative verb as well, with the addition of the stative suffix -kan ≈ -kkan ≈ -han, as in 71.

(71) Satungku sekkuh uppuihantu. 'Those two are sleeping here.'

Nuwa" 'move' may be interpreted as active if its subject is a human or animal (e.g., 72), but as process if its subject is inanimate (e.g., 73).

(72) Nuü nuwakkwantu'ih. 'I'll move away.'

I move-away-will

(73) Tumpitta punikkappuhantu nu nuwaku. 'I saw the rock move.'

'I saw the rock move.'
2.2.3 Transitive Sentences

Simple transitive sentences minimally contain a transitive verb and two participants (or arguments), the subject (typically an agent) and the object (typically a patient). Thus, some transitive activities are expressed with verbs like: hannih 'do, make, prepare, fix, get', ūtūŋkùn 'heat', koitsolo 'wash', ma'oh 'push away', pakkah sg and wasū pl 'kill', saawah 'boil', tangummüttih 'kick', tsikka'ah sg and tsikkopiih pl 'cut flexible obj', tso'i 'pick, gather', tsokweh 'smash', and yaa2 sg and hima pl 'carry'. A few of these are exemplified in 74-78, and others in 1, 12, 16 and 21-24.

(74) Tangummü kunnai hannikoppuhantë toya mantünna.
    man fire- got mountain on
    wood-O

    'The man got firewood in the mountains.'

(75) Wa'ippü tukkuapitta saawanna.
    woman meat-O boil

    'The woman is boiling the meat.'

(76) Hūuppiammü tūpana tso'ikwantu'ih.
    women pinenut-O pick-going to

    'The women are going to pick pinenuts.'

(77) Patümü piiya himakkintu'ih.
    buyer beer carry-hither-will

    'The liquor buyer'll bring the beer.'

(78) Sutü pai tūhuyanna wasüppühantë.
    that three deer-O killed

    'He killed three deer.'
Some transitive verbs with nonagent subjects are nangkah 'hear', nasuntamah 'remember', nasuwatsi" 'forget', puni" 'see', pusikwa 'know', sumpanai 'know', and masungkwa'ah "nasungkwai" 'feel, touch (with hand)'.

(79) Nüü u sumpanai. 'I know it.'
I it know

(80) Nüü nü tuattsia nasuntamanna. 'I remember my son.'
I my son-O remember

(81) Satu tsao u pusikwatu, sumusu noohinna pusikwatu. that well it know all anything know
'He knows it well, he knows everything.'

(82) Nootunga sutu u nangkahammaa. hopefully that it heard
'Hopefully, he heard it.'

(83) U punikkappuhantu setu. 'This one saw it.'
it saw this

Some transitive sentences have inanimate nonvolitional subjects, which nevertheless may be powerful agents.

(84) Piiya tammi muiyaingkühwantu'ih. beer us intoxicate-going to
'The beer's going to make us drunk.'

(85) Tapettsi nia ütingkümmına. sun me heat
'The sun makes me hot [lit: heats me].'
Direct and indirect objects are not distinguished grammatically in Tumpisa Shoshone either by case marking or by word order. Semantically they are distinct in that the direct object is the patient (or most patient-like), and the indirect object is the goal towards which the activity is directed, or the beneficiary of the activity, or the recipient of the patient via the activity. Some two-object or ditransitive verbs are teewingkun 'tell', uttuh 'give', nangkawih 'talk to, speak to', niingkun \(\approx\) yuingkun 'tell, say to', and many others productively formed with the applicative suffix -ngkun (see 3.2.1.5).

(86) Tuinuppû tammi eti uttupûhantû.
    boy us(inc) gun-O gave
    'The boy gave us a gun.'

(87) Müû sukkwa ma teewingkûntu'ih.
    I that-O him will tell
    'I'll tell him that.'

(88) Antsia tumûungkûppûhantû nuû kwasû'unna.
    Angie-O bought for I dress-O
    'I bought Angie a dress.'

2.2.4 Noun Incorporation

Incorporation of single noun objects into the verb is highly productive, especially with certain verbs. Two verbs, -pa'in \(\approx\) -pa'en 'have' and -'amih 'make, build', require that their noun objects be incorporated, as illustrated in 89-90.

(89) Satû so'oppûh paani'amitu'ih.
    that much bread-make-will
    'She'll make a lot of bread.'
(90)  Tangummu tuppapitünna pampipa'ippühantū.
     man    black-0    hair-have-past
     'The man had black hair (i.e., before it got gray).'

The verb yukwi" = yukwi" 'do, get, go after' is often used with incorporated noun objects, but its objects are not obligatorily incorporated. When its objects are incorporated, as in 91, they are unspecific and nonreferential, and therefore they are uninflected for objective case. On the other hand, unincorporated objects with yukwi" = yukwi" are specific and referential, and they are inflected for objective case, as in 92.

(91)  Satummu kawayukwitū.  'They rat-hunt.'
     those    rat-go after

(92)  Satummu kawai yukwitū.  'They go after some rats.'
     those    rat-o go after

Incorporated objects may be specific and quite referential, as is the case in 90 and probably also in 89. However, specific and referential incorporated objects seem to be restricted to verbs like those illustrated in 89-90, which obligatorily incorporate their objects.

More is said about noun incorporation in the next chapter on verbs, especially in section 3.2.1.1 and in the discussion of instrumental prefixes in section 3.2.1.2.

2.3 BASIC SENTENCE ELABORATIONS

The basic sentence elaborations discussed in this section are negatives (2.3.1), interrogatives (2.3.2), imperatives (2.3.3), and passive and antipassive voices (2.3.4).
2.3.1 Negatives

Basic negation is expressed with the negative adverbial particle ke(e) 'no, not', which has a long vowel under stress or emphasis, but which often has a short vowel when unstressed. Kee may be used to negate whole clauses or main constituents within clauses. When negating the entire clause, kee usually comes first or second in the clause, as in the sentences in 93-101. Verbs in negative clauses most commonly take the general negative suffix -sin ≈ -tsin (e.g., 94, 95 and 97) or habitual suffix -tun (e.g., 96 and 100), but they may also occur with other suffixes (e.g., 98), or without suffixes (e.g., 99 and 101).

(93) Ekkih ke tazangkantu.
      here not tooth-characterized by
      'He's missing a tooth here.'

(94) Nootunga kee tiyaisippuh.
      probably not dead-neg-pp
      'He probably is not dead.'

The sentences in 93-94 are examples of negation in clauses with nonverbal predicates, 93 having a predicate noun and 94 having a predicate (participial) adjective. In 95-96 and 103, the sentences are intransitive: 95 and 103 are active intransitives, and 96 is a stative intransitive.

(95) Nootunga ke kimmasintu'ih.
      probably not come-neg-will
      'He probably won't come back.'

(96) Ke nu üitsü'izmitu. 'I wouldn't be cold.'
      not I be cold-hab
In 97-102, the examples are all transitive clauses of various kinds.

(97) Tangumū kee tammi punnisi.
man not us(inc) see-neg
'The man doesn't see us.'

(98) Nūu kee sakka tsao suwangkünna.
I not that-O well like/love
'I don't like that / don't love her.'

(99) Hakatū mi'akommaa, nūu kee sumpanai.
someone went I not know
'Someone left, but I don't know (who).'

(100) Nū sūmni ūn niingküppühantū kee so'o
I that you-O told not much
hipikkantū wainniha.
drink-stv-hab wine-O
'I told you not to drink so much wine.'

(101) Ke tupappūhpă'e tamū, ke tupannaappūhpă'e.
not pinenut-have we(inc) not pinenut-own-have
'We don't have pinenuts, we don't have any pinenuts of our own.'

Keesū(sū), 'not yet', derived from kee, is the only other clausal negative adverb (e.g., 102-103).

(102) Keesūsū nū tūnanka apposi.
not yet I taste apple
'I haven't tasted the apple yet.'
(103) Satū kesū tunokkontu.
'that not yet aps-roast
'She's still not roasting [something] yet.'

When kee negates one particular constituent in a clause, it comes immediately before the constituent it negates, as in 104-107.

(104) Üü kee tokwi yūkkwi. 'You're doing it wrong.'
you not right do(dur)

(105) Satū tsaō hupiatūkī, nūū pūū kee tsaō hupiatūkī.
'that well sing I emph not well sing
'He sings well, but I myself sing not very well.'

(106) Nūū muiyaitaippūhantu, nū keehinna
I got drunk-cmplt I not anything-O

sumpanaippūhantu.

knew
'I got completely drunk, and I knew nothing.'

(107) Keehii nanangkanna. 'Nothing is making noise.'
nothing make noise

As 106 and 107 indicate, kee often forms loose compounds with constituents that it frequently occurs with. In fact, a fair number of words are derived from kee.

2.3.2 Interrogatives

General yes/no questions are typically formed with the interrogative adverbial particle ha, which is normally appended as an enclitic to the first word in the interrogative clause, as in 108-116. Examples in 108-111 are interrogative linking sentences.
(108) Usu ha tokwi? 'Is that right?'
that Q right

(109) Ūu ha kūtīyaippūh? 'Are you (too) hot?'
you Q heat-dead [= be too hot]

(110) Usu ha kahni? 'Is that a house?'
that Q house

(111) Epī ha ūm pinnangkwa?
here Q you behind
'Is it/he here behind you?'

The examples in 112-114 are intransitive interrogatives.

(112) Tukkuapi ha pūe pasawi'ah?
meat Q soon get dry
'Is the meat getting dry soon?'

(113) Satū ha wūnū? 'Is he standing?'
that Q stand(dur)

(114) Ūu ha mukuatukattū? 'Are you sitting thinking?'
you Q think-sit(dur)

And the examples in 115-116 are transitive interrogatives.

(115) Mungku ha kaakkia punikkammaa?
you(d1) Q crow-O saw
'Did you two see the crow?'

(116) Nu ha ma manti tūkkatu'ih?
I Q it part-O eat-will
'Can I eat part of it?'
Many yes/no questions, however, are not marked with ha, but rather with rising intonation and no other grammatical marking. These grammatically unmarked yes/no questions are rhetorical questions, usually requesting confirmation essentially like grammatically unmarked questions in English (cf. Did he go? vs. He went?). Speakers use rhetorical questions frequently in conversations to make sure they are understanding other participants. For example in 117, the two rhetorical questions by MK are made to make sure she is understanding MB's remarks.

(117) MB: Hakapa'a saa pe wükkan na sutu wihnu
somewhere work that then
hakapaamaana.
someplace
'He was working someplace then somewhere.'
MK: Kuhmattsi?
husband
'The husband?'
MB: Reemmani. [= husband]
Raymond
'[Yes,] Raymond.'
MK: Mainni?
mine
'[In a] mine?'
MB: Haa'a.
yes
'Yes.'

The mini-conversation in 117 is a fragment of a much longer conversation (in 10.6) which contains dozens of grammatically unmarked rhetorical questions like those above. The reader may wish to peruse the longer conversation for more examples.

Tumpisa Shoshone has approximately two dozen question words; they are listed in section 4.4 and discussed and exemplified in detail there. Most of the interrogatives are
built on the general question word *haka* 'what, who, how, where' (e.g., *hakatün* 'who', *hakka* 'whom', *hakami* 'how, what [of something said]'; *hakapan* 'where', *hakattuh* 'where', *hakanni* 'how, what way', etc.), or *hii* = *hin- 'what' (e.g., *hinna* obj 'what', *himpa* 'how', *himpe* 'when', etc.). No doubt both *haka* and *hii* are also etymologically related to the yes/no question particle *ha* as well.

Interrogative sentences with question words display fronting of the questioned constituent, since the question word inevitably occurs first in the sentence. If the subject of the sentence is not itself questioned, it usually occurs at the end of the sentence (most likely because it is given information). Other than the question word itself, interrogatives are not further marked. A few examples are given below in 118-125.

(118) *Hii satū?* 'What's that?'
what that

(119) *Hakapa ümming kahni?* 'Where's your house?'
where your house

(120) *Hakami natupinniahantu (Mitükkaano)?* 'What's it called (in English)?'
what be called English

(121) *Haka nasungkwa'anna uu?* 'How are you feeling?'
how feel you

(122) *Hakanni yukwinna uu?* 'What are you doing?'
what way do you

(123) *Hinna punikka satūmmū?* 'What are they looking at?'
what look at those
In imperative constructions, the second person pronouns are normally omitted. The verb is either the simple bare stem without aspect and tense suffixes, or it consists of the stem plus one of the directional suffixes such as -kin ≈ -kkin ≈ -hin 'hither', -kwan ≈ -kkwan ≈ -hwan 'away', -kon ≈ -kkon ≈ -hon 'moving randomly' (see 3.1.2). In dual and plural imperatives the number enclitics, -ongku dl and -ommu pl, are obligatorily appended to the verb (e.g., 126b-c, 128b-c, 129b-c, 131b-c, and 132b-c). With transitive imperatives, if the object is given information and therefore pronominalized, the pronoun must be ma 'it' (e.g., 128-130), although an additional pronoun copy may also be used (e.g., 129a).

(126) a. Eti nü yaakki! 'Bring me the gun!'  
gun-O me bring

b. Eti nü yaakki-ongku!  
gun-O me bring-dl  
"Bring me the gun, you two!"

c. Eti nü yaakki-ommu!  
gun-O me bring-pl  
"Bring me the gun, you all!"

(127) Pai hipi! ≈ Hipippai! 'Drink the water!'  
water-O drink  
drink-water-O
(128) a. Ma himakki! 'Bring them!'
    it bring(pl 0)

    b. Ma himakki-ongku! 'Bring them, you two!'
    it bring(pl 0)-dl

    c. Ma himakki-ommù! 'You all, bring them!'
    it bring(pl 0)-pl

(129) a. Ma puni akka! 'Look at that!'
    it see that-O

    b. Ma puni-ongku! 'Look at it, you two!'
    it see-dl

    c. Ma puni-ommù! 'Look at it, you all!'
    it see-pl

(130) a. Ma kuttih! 'Shoot it!'
    it shoot

    b. Ma Kutti-ongku! 'Shoot it, you two!'
    it shoot-dl

    c. Ma Kutti-ommù! 'Shoot it, you all!'
    it shoot-pl

Interestingly enough, ma is also normally used with imperative intransitive verbs as well (e.g., 131-133), even though it is not obligatory with them as it is with transitives.

(131) a. Ma mi'akwa! 'Go away!'
    it go away
b. Ma mimi'akwa-ongku! 'Go away, you two!'  
it go(dl) away-dl

c. Ma mi'akkwa-ommü! 'Go away, you all!'  
it go(pl) away-pl

(132) a. Ma kimmaki! 'Come here!'  
it come hither

b. Ma kikimmaki-ongku! 'Come here, you two!'  
it come(dl) hither-dl

c. Ma kimmahi-ommü! 'Come here, you all!'  
it come(pl) hither-pl

(133) Ma tüpuni, tammü miakkwantu'ih!  
it wake up we(inc) go away-will  
'Wake up so we can go!'

2.3.4 Passives and Antipassives

Passives and antipassives are discussed in detail in the next chapter (3.2.1.3 and 3.2.1.4), so they are only briefly illustrated here. Both passive and antipassive sentences are means for discussing a basically transitive activity without mentioning one of the necessary participants in the activity, agent or patient (or experiencer or goal). In Tumpisa Shoshone, passives are used to discuss transitive activities when the speaker, for some reason, does not want to mention the agent. Passive sentences can never contain the agent of the activity. Passive sentences are marked by the prefix na- (= no-)³ on the verb (e.g., 134-136). The basically transitive verb becomes intransitive with the passive prefix na-. The patient (or goal) is the subject of the passive sentence.
(134) Nummu sape namiangkūtaippūhantū.  
we(exc) there were sent  
'We were sent there.'

(135) Tukopoyo'ittsi pahannai ipantu napakkataihwa.  
kingbird down here was killed  
'Kingbird was killed down here.'

However, if the patient is inanimate, it normally retains objective case marking just as if it were the object of a transitive sentence (e.g., 136).

(136) Pue tammin tūpanna nayaappūh.  
already our(inc) pinenut-O be-taken-pp  
'Our pinenuts have already been taken.'

Antipassive sentences are the obverse of passives; they are used in situations when the speaker does not want to mention the object (i.e., patient or goal) of a transitive activity. Antipassives are marked with the prefix tū- (= tu-) on the verb, as in 137-139. In antipassive sentences, normally transitive verbs with the prefix tū- become morphologically intransitive. The subject of an antipassive verb is the agent, and the verb does not take an object, although an unspecific object is implied.

(137) Satū tangummu tumo'ikattū.  
that man aps-write-sit(dur)  
'The man is sitting writing [something].'  

(138) Nūu tūsaawaha. 'I'm boiling [something].'  
I aps-boil-stv

(139) Satū kesū tunokkontū.  
that not yet aps-roast  
'She's still not roasting [something] yet.'
Notes to Chapter 2

1. The items in the list of word order correlates here may be found in Greenberg 1963, Lehmann 1978, and Mallinson and Blake 1981.

2. The word order possibilities and statistical frequencies presented in the next few paragraphs include data only from the narratives in 10.1-10.5, not from the conversation in 10.6. The material in the conversation has been omitted because, being a normal conversation, it has many sentence fragments, interruptions, cases where one speaker finishes the other's sentences, cases where one speaker changes topics in the middle of the other's turn, and so on. All of these things make it difficult, if not impossible, to delineate accurately where one clause begins and the other ends, or even if one is dealing with a clause or sentence. The narratives are much less fragmented, and clausal delineation poses no real problem.

3. The variant no- is due to vowel harmony with round vowels in the following syllable (see section 9.3.3).

4. The variant tu- is due to vowel harmony with round vowels in the following syllable (see section 9.3.3).
Tumpisa Shoshone verbs are the most complex word class in the language. At the outset, it should be noted that verbs have a number of phonological peculiarities that distinguish them from other word classes; these are discussed later on in section 9.3.7.

3.1 VERB STRUCTURE

Typically, verbs in the language are inflected with suffixes for aspect, tense, or mode. Many verbs are also inflected for number (singular, dual, and plural) with suffixes, stem-internal changes, or alternating suppletive roots. Verbs may also contain suffixes marking direction and other adverbial notions. Most voice and other valence categories are marked on verbs with prefixes, but in one case with a suffix. Many verbs contain instrumental prefixes which incorporate nominal notions of the instrument with which an activity is performed. Some verbs also incorporate whole noun roots, usually functioning as objects. Most auxiliary verbs are also incorporated into the (main) verb word. These auxiliaries are appended after main verb stems and form compounds with them. In subordinate clauses, verbs may also have a terminal subordinating suffix (not shown in the formula below; see 3.1.6 and chapter 8). There is no person marking on verbs. The structure of a verb is approximately the following:
The only obligatory element in the verb word is the verb root or stem itself. Any given verb may have one or more of the other possibilities. A given verb may actually be even more complex than the above formula indicates, because there are several positions for adverbial suffixes and at least two for aspect and tense suffixes.

To a large extent the distinction between 'inflection' and 'derivation' within the verb complex is fuzzy or perhaps not even relevant. On the one hand, some things like the aspect and tense suffixes are clearly inflectional, and some things like the set of affixes used to form new verb stems are clearly derivational. On the other hand, a number of the elements in the formula above have characteristics of both inflectional and derivational morphemes. Thus, for example, the directional and adverbial suffixes can be added like inflections to virtually any verb to add nuances of meaning, but they add much more contentive meaning than is typical of inflections. In fact, quite a number of combinations of verb stem plus adverbial or directional suffixes have become lexicalized as new verb words distinct from the stems themselves. Similarly, many verb stems require an instrumental prefix much like an inflection, but the instrumental prefixes are much too contentive to be considered purely inflectional.

It is virtually impossible to give a 'verb paradigm' in the traditional sense. The possibilities are simply too great. There are over a dozen aspect and tense suffixes, a dozen adverbial and directional suffixes, nearly a score of instrumental prefixes, and so on. Any given verb has the potential of assuming hundreds and thousands of different
forms. The only restrictions are those imposed by semantic incongruity in context—which, given the right context, may mean no restrictions at all.

Verb formation is extremely productive, whether or not one views the productivity from the perspective of inflection or derivation.

3.1.1 Aspect, Tense, and Mode

Most finite verbs occur with at least one aspect, tense, or mode suffix. However, the three categories are not always clearly distinguished from one another, since they are often conflated to some degree in a given suffix. Aspect, tense, and mode suffixes occur in two general groups: Those in the first group normally occur finally in the verb word; they are called final suffixes. Those in the second group may occur finally, but frequently occur immediately before one of the final suffixes; these are called prefinal suffixes. Both groups are listed below with definitions; the final and prefinal suffixes are then exemplified in order of occurrence in the lists and, when appropriate, comments are made about particular suffixes.

**FINAL ASPECT, TENSE AND MODE SUFFIXES**

- kwan ≈ -kkwan ≈ -hwan  momentaneous completive
- nna  general aspect and tense
- nnuhi  indefinite future
- ppuh  perfective (and pp)
- tun  habitual and general imperfective (and prp)
- tu'ih ≈ -to'ih ≈ -to'eh  simple future 'will'
- kwantu'ih ≈ -kkwantu'ih ≈ -hwantu'ih  intentional future
- mmaahwan  cessative 'just finished'
- ppantun ≈ -ppantun  past tense and perfective aspect

**FINAL ASPECT, TENSE AND MODE SUFFIXES**
-tuhantun ≈ -tu’ihantun  obligative future 'must, have to'

PREFINAL ASPECT, TENSE, AND MODE SUFFIXES

-’ih    iterative and durative
-mmaah  past
-mmi    iterative, habitual, durative
-nnuh   simulactive completive
-wiah ≈ -wi’ah inchoative 'get, become; start to'
-yun    continuative

The momentaneous completive suffix -kwan ≈ -kkwan ≈ -hwan is a metaphorical extension of the homophonous directional suffix meaning 'away' (see 3.1.2 below). It indicates an activity taking place all at once and quickly (cf. prefinal simulactive completive -nnuh). The three different variants are due to effects of preceding final segments (see section 9.3.7).

(1) Nū pippatto’e-kwa.  'I fell on my butt.'
    I with butt-fall-cmplt

(2) Tukwiikkwa setū.  'The fire went out.'
    go out(fire)-cmplt this

(3) Pūkkappūh pi-kkwahwa.  'The glass shattered.'
    glass      shatter-cmplt

The general aspect and tense suffix -nna is by far the most common aspect and tense suffix. It covers both present and past tenses as well as narrative present. It is rather neutral with regard to aspect, but always seems to imply some duration to the designated event. It (or a homophonous suffix) also forms verbal nouns or infinitives (see 3.3.1).
(4) Nümmü sukkuh naamminna.
   We(exc) there be-dur-general
   'We are/were there in the winter.'

(5) Nü nu pantsa puhaainna. 'I'm looking for my shoe.'
   I my shoe look for-gen

The indefinite future suffix -nuh implies that the occurrence of the activity in the future is not a certainty. It may be a compound form from -nunah simulfactive completive and -hi dubitative.

(6) Nü imaa ko'epittuhunnahi.
   I tommorrow return-arrive-fut
   'I'll (probably) be back tommorrow.'

(7) Nümmü supe'e sanappim ma u tsappo'ongkunnuhì.
   we then pitch with him cover head-fut
   'Then we'll cover his head with pitch.'

The perfective suffix -puh (or one etymologically related to it) also forms past participial adjectives (see 3.3.2). In addition, there is also a homophonous absolutive noun suffix and a homophonous noun derivational suffix. In subordinate clauses, -puh usually has the form -puhì (see 8.2).

(8) Nüu tsukupputtsi naappuì.
   I old man be-prf
   'I am/have gotten to be an old man.'

(9) Nü sukkwa nasuntama tühuya napakkahwappuì.
   I that-O remember deer was killed-cmplt-prf
   'I remember that the deer got killed.'
The habitual and general imperfective suffix -tun (or one etymologically related to it) also forms present participles (see 3.3.2). There is also a common homophonous noun derivational suffix.

(10) Nummũ sukkwa tükktu, u tusukkwantu tükktu.
    we(exc) that-O eat-hab it smash-hab eat-hab
    'We eat that, smash it and eat it.'

(11) Nu ke u punitu. 'I don't see it.'
    I not it see-imprf

The simple future -tu'ih et al. is ultimately an extended usage of the intransitive verb to'eh sg 'emerge'. The several variant forms apparently are in free variation, but the first listed is the most common. Its meaning and function is essentially like that of 'will' in English, in that it can be a rather neutral future, or it can imply promise to some degree. -Tu'ih is also used in compound with other suffixes (i.e., -kwantu'ih and -tuhihantun: see below).

(12) Hakatsu u yaatu'ih wihnu?
    who it get-will then

    -- "Nuu naatu’ih," mii yukkwi.
    I be-will quot say

    'Who'll get it then?
    -- "I'll be (the one)," he said.'

The intentional future -kwantu'ih et al. is essentially like the 'be going to' future in English, indicating that the event is already somehow underway, either with respect to intent or prior cause. It is a compound from the directional -kwan ≈ -kkwan ≈ -hwan 'away', and -tu'ih simple future.
(13) Nû wasûwûkki kwantu'ih. 'I'm going hunting.'
I hunt-fut

(14) Satû nian tamanna tsöppu li kwantu'ih.
that my tooth pull(pl)-fut
'He's going to pull my teeth.'

The cessative aspect suffix -mmaahwan is a compound from
-mmaah past and -kwan ~ -hwan momentaneous completive. It is
often used along with the adverbs pue 'just, already, soon'
or ükûttsi(ttsi) 'a little while ago'.

(15) Satû pue nangkawimmaahwa.
that just talk-cessative
'He just finished talking.'

(16) Sutû ükûttsi a pakkamaahwa.
that little while ago it kill-cessative
'He just finished killing it a little while ago.'

The past tense and perfective suffix -ppuhantun is the
most common past tense and perfective marker. It is used
essentially like the simple past tense in English, but it is
also often used where English would require the perfective.
It is a compound suffix from -ppuh prf, -kan ~ -han stv, and
-tun prp. The variant -ppantun is a contracted form mainly
used by younger speakers.

(17) Nûû sakka takkamappuhantu. 'I took care of him.'
I that-O take care of-past

(18) Kunna tukwippuhantû. 'The fire has gone out.'
fire go out-prf
The obligative future suffixes -tühantün and -tu'ihantün indicate future obligation or inevitability. They are compounds from -tun imprf or -tu'ih future, -kan ~ -han stv, and -tun prp. There is also a variant -tüantün, contracted from -tühantün.

(19) Nuu ma kwüüntühantü. 'I have to marry her.'
     I   her marry-oblg

(20) Üitsü'intühantü setü. 'It'll be cold.'
     be cold-oblg   this

(21) Ma tükkatu'ihantü satü. 'He must eat it.'
     it eat-oblg   that

The iterative and durative suffix -'ih is often used in combination with the continuative Aux nooh or the 'in motion' Aux nai. Look at 22-23 as well as 111-113.

(22) Nuu Tonia taanoo'ikwantu'ih.
     I   Tony-O visit-go along-dur-fut
     'I'm going to go along and visit Tony.'

(23) Tunaa nüü tuupükka'ippühantü.
     extremely I   get mad-dur-past
     'I got extremely angry [and stayed that way].' 

The past tense suffix -mmaah seems to imply a past activity which either lasted for a while or had some lasting effect. It is also commonly used in questions about past activities. In this regard, -mmaah is more common than -ppühantün, although the latter is much more common in declaratives.
(24) Setu umammaa; setu sokopi potso'inha; nűu ke this rain-past this ground be wet I not sakka sumpanai; nűu küttaappu'uppuitaimmaa. that-O know I really sleep-cmplt-past

'It rained; this ground is wet; I didn't know it; I fell completely asleep.'

(25) Hakatu mi'appuha naammaa? 'Who was it that went?'
who go-sub be-past

The aspect suffix -mmi can indicate habitual, iterative, and durative activities. See the example in 4 as well as those below in 26-28.

(26) Sape'esu tühuyanna kuttismitu. long ago deer shoot-hab-hab
'They used to shoot deer.'

(27) Tamü tattsihoimminna. we(inc) with feet-slip-iterative-sfx
'We are slipping around.'

(28) Kee nu uitsu'immitu. 'I wasn't cold.' not I be cold-dur-imprf

The simulfactive completive aspect marker -nnuh indicates an activity that takes place all at once but not necessarily quickly (cf. momentaneous completive -kwan et al. above).

(29) Nu u takkupannuppühantu. I it with foot-break-cmplt-past
'I broke it with my foot.'
The inchoative suffix -"wih" ≈ -"wi'ah" denotes a state or process coming into being, but may also indicate the start of an action. It is used essentially like the inchoative Aux -"mmi'a" and may be related to it etymologically (see 3.1.5).

(31) Tukkuapi ha pue pasawi'ah?
meat Q already be dry-start
'Is the meat starting to get dry?'

(32) Pue wasuwukkiwi'ahwantu'ih.
already hunt-start-fut
He's going to start to hunt.'

(33) Nuü tuupükkiwa'i'a. 'I'm getting mad.'
I be mad-get

Continuative -"yun" describes an event that endures continuously.

(34) Nummû ükusû ukkwah supe'e tommo
we(exc) after while that time winter
üitsü'iyuntu'ih, nummû supe'e mia ntunaa
be cold-cont-will we(exc) that time go down

Death Valley katû utüintû katû.
to heat to

'Then after while it would be cold in the winter, and we would go down to Death Valley to the heat.'
A number of common verbs indicate **durative** aspect with a technique different from suffixation. In these verbs, duration is marked with a stem-internal change in which the last intervocalic single consonant in the stem is geminated. This means of marking durative aspect is limited, therefore, to verbs which have a single intervocalic and geminatable consonant. Some of the verbs with durative forms are listed below, and then they are followed by a few sentence examples.

**SOME VERBS WITH DURATIVE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Durative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hapi&quot; sg 'lie (down)'</td>
<td>happi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katu&quot; sg 'sit'</td>
<td>kattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukuatu 'think'</td>
<td>mukuattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuwi sg 'walk around'</td>
<td>nummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puni&quot; 'see'</td>
<td>punni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusikwa 'know'</td>
<td>pusikkwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunu&quot; sg 'stand'</td>
<td>wunnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yake&quot; sg 'cry'</td>
<td>yakke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yukwi 'say'</td>
<td>yuukwi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With only one exception, verbs in the durative aspect do not take other aspect or tense suffixes. In fact, they do not take any other suffixes at all. The only exception to this statement is nummi, the durative of nuwi" (< earlier *numi).

(35) Tumpi kattu paa kuppa. rock sit(dur) water in 'The rock is sitting in the water.'

(36) Kaakki naangka yakke. crow make noise cry(dur) 'The crow is making noise crying.'
Before leaving the aspect, tense, and mode inflections, I should note that the categories of aspect and mode are indicated in other ways as well. For example, some directional suffixes (section 3.1.2), some adverbial suffixes (3.1.3), and some auxiliary verbs (3.1.4) may also indicate aspectual and modal notions. However, these cases do not seem to be part of the inflectional system per se.

3.1.2 Directional Suffixes

One important group of suffixes is the directionals. Directional suffixes are deictic markers indicating the direction of movement of the subject of the verb to which they are affixed. The movement is relative either to the speaker or to the current topic in the discourse. The directionals are listed below.

DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES

-kin 'come to do, come and do, come do'
-kin ~ -kkin ~ -hin 'hither; come doing, come while doing'
-kon 'around, here and there; moving randomly'
-kwai 'around; moving about'
-kwan 'go to do, go and do, go do'
-kwan ~ -kkwan ~ -hwan 'away; go doing, do while going'

The variations in form of the 'hither' and 'away' directionals are due to the effects of final segments (see section 9.3.7). The other directional suffixes are
unaffected by final features and so have invariant forms. Example sentences of each of the directionals follow.

(38) Nummu piya himakihantu.
we(exc) beer carry(pl)-come to-stv-imprf
'We are coming to get some beers.'

(39) Sumuttusu ma tükkakintu'ih.
one it eat-come and-will
'One will come and eat it.'

(40) Patümmu piya himakkintu'ih.
liquor buyer beer carry(pl)-hither-will
'The liquor buyer'll bring some beers.'

(41) Tuittsi sepa'a pitühi.
young man here arrive-hither
'A young man is coming around here.'

(42) Supe'e kaakki yütsükminna.
that time crow fly-around-dur
'Then crow was flying all around.'

(43) Satü sakka u pakkangkükoppuhantu.
that that-O him kill for-around-past
'He went around killing that for him.'

(44) Nüü etümpa'etü püü, nü wasüwükkiwaippuh,
I gun-have emph I hunt-around-prf
nü kee etümpa'e püü.
I not gun-have emph
'If I had a gun, I'd be hunting around, but I don't have a gun.'
(45) Nu hipikwantu'ih.  'I'll go and drink.'  
I drink-go and-will

(46) Nu kapaayu kw'uukwantu'ih.  
I horse catch-go and-will  
'I'll go catch the horse.'

(47) Nu tsao nasungkwa'anna piliya hipikkwasu.  
I good feel beer drink-go doing-sub  
'I feel good when I go drinking.'

(48) Nuü ma kw'uukkwantu'ih.  
I it catch-away-will  
'I'm going away catching it.'

On verbs which have no final features, there is potential ambiguity between -kin 'come and do' and -kin 'hither' and between -kwan 'go and do' and -kwan 'away'. This ambiguity is seen, for example, with the verb in 49-50, which has no final features.

(49) Nu sungkiakwantu'ih.  
I stagger-go and-will  
-away-  
'I'll go and stagger.' vs. 'I'll stagger away.'

(50) Satu sungkiakinna.  
that stagger-come and-sfx  
-hither-  
'He is coming to stagger.' vs.  
'He's coming staggering.'

The meanings of some of the directional suffixes have been metaphorically extended, and therefore their functions have been extended as well. As already mentioned, -kwan = -kkwan = -hwan also functions as a final suffix marking
momentaneous completive aspect (e.g., 57). Similarly, -kin \approx -kkin \approx -hin also functions as an aspect marker, though not as a final suffix. Its aspectual meaning is repetitive or durative (i.e., 'around and around' or 'over and over'), as in 51-52.

(51) Tammù ningakkingakwantu'ilh.
    we(inc) walk(pl)-dur-walk-fut
    'We're going to walk all around.'

(52) Tsao kwanakkinna.
    good smell-dur-sfx
    'It smells good / keeps smelling good.'

The directional -kin is used as an inchoative or inceptive marker, meaning something like 'start to, get to, come to', as in 53-54.

(53) Kuttsappi utüiki. 'The soup is getting hot.'
    soup be hot-get

(54) Tsao nasungkwa'akinna satù.
    good feel-start-sfx that
    'He's starting to feel good.'

The directional -kon also has aspectual function; it indicates a repetitive or durative activity, as in 55-56.

(55) Satù nangkawikonna.
    that speak-dur-sfx
    'He's going to speak awhile.'

(56) Tatsa núm'mù nuupaikommaa núm'min Noompai ka.
    summer we(exc) stay-dur-past our Lone Pine at
    'In the summer we stayed in our Lone Pine.'
In this regard, -kon is probably also the etymological source of the certaintive adverbial suffix -kon ≈ -kkon ≈ -hon, discussed in the next section.

3.1.3 Adverbial Suffixes

Several important suffixes indicate various kinds of adverbial, aspectual, and modal notions. These suffixes occur in several position classes after the verb stem (or after the first auxiliary, if there is one) and before the prefinal and final suffixes. The positions of the adverbial suffixes relative to the verb stem, auxiliaries, directionals, and (pre)final aspect and tense suffixes are shown in the formula below, which is a detailed emendation of the postverb part of the one given at the beginning of this chapter.

RELATIVE POSITIONS OF ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

STEM + Aux1 + Adv1 + Dir + Adv2 + Adv3 + Aux2 + Adv4 + Aspect
Tense

The suffixes occurring in each adverbial position follow. The variants in form are due to the effects of final segments (see section 9.3.7).
Adverbial Suffixes in 1st Position:

-\text{tain} \approx -\text{ttain} \text{ absolute completive}
-\text{kku} \text{ resultive}

Adverbial Suffix in 2nd Position:

-\text{hi} \text{ dubitative 'might, may'}

Adverbial Suffixes in 3rd Position:

-\text{kan} \approx -\text{kkan} \approx -\text{han} \text{ stative}
-\text{sin} \approx -\text{tain} \text{ negative}

Adverbial Suffix in 4th Position:

-\text{kon} \approx -\text{kkon} \approx -\text{hon} \text{ certaintive, definitive}

The completive suffix \text{-tain} indicates an activity that is or will be done completely and absolutely, as in 57-59. It is also often used in conjunction with the past participle suffix \text{-ppuh} to indicate states that have been reached unequivocably, as in 59.

(57) \text{Piiya nǔ hipippuh nǔ kammangkūtaihwa.}
\text{beer I drink-prf me make sick-cmplt-cmplt}
'The beer I drank made me completely sick.'

(58) \text{Tammu kahni tsanunhittaintu'ih.}
\text{we(inc) house tear down-cmplt-will}
'We'll tear the house completely down.'

(59) \text{Satummu tsuwwataippuh.}
\text{those die(pl)-cmplt-pp}
'They are absolutely dead.'
The resultive suffix -\textit{kkun} describes an activity that must logically result from some prior action, force, cause, etc. The prior event need not be explicitly stated, and in fact its existence is most often simply implied, as in 60-62 and 65.

(60) Un nampe antappu katükkü.  
your foot askew sit-resultative  
'Your foot is twisted somehow.'

(61) Piïya nü üppüngkükkummi'ai.  
beer me sleep-make-result-get  
'The beer is making me get sleepy somehow.'

(62) Satümmü pokoakkuntu'ih.  
those fall(pl)-result-will  
'They'll fall off (for some reason).'

The dubitative suffix -\textit{hi} signifies an activity that is either unreal or only a potentiality. It is also used on the verb naa" to form the modal adverb naahi 'might'.

(63) Nüü atammupipain tukwah, Pisippüh ka  
I car-have if Bishop to  
mi'akwahippüh.  
go-away-dubitative-prf  
'If I had a car, I'd go to Bishop.'

(64) Mümümü u mantünna kwühii.  
you all him part-of marry-dubitative  
'One of you might marry him.'
The stative suffix -kan ≈ -kkan ≈ -han indicates the state resulting from the inception of the activity denoted by the verb stem. Consequently, it also always indicates duration.

(65) Hii satū hapīkkuhantū satū?
what that fall-result-dubitative-stv-imprf that
'What was it that fell down?'

(66) Nu kee numūkahantū wūnnū.
I not move-stv-stv-imprf stand(dur)
'I'm standing still, not moving.'

(67) Satū katūkkantūka hupiatūki.
that sit-stv-imprf-sub sing
'She is singing while sitting.'

(68) Sohopimpū kahni mo'eki naakka.
cottonwood house around be-stv
'The cottonwoods surround the house.'

(69) Nu ūm punikiha. 'I'll come to see you.'
I you see-come to-stv

(70) Nuū sakka takkamammūha.
I that-O take care of-can't-stv
'I can't take care of him.'

The stative suffix is extremely common, and aside from its adverbial function it is also frequently used in forming new verbs (e.g., numūkankan 'move in position' in 66 is from numū 'move (about)'; see 3.2.2). As noted in 3.1.1, it is also used to form compound suffixes such as -ppūhantūn past and -tuhantūn obligatory.
I have already mentioned the negative suffix *-sin* in the last chapter (2.3.1). It is used in negative sentences with *kee*.

(71) Kee u punisihoppuhantu satu.  
not it see-neg-def-past that  
'He surely didn't see it.'

(72) Satungku kee teewingkutsinna.  
those(dl) not tell-neg-general  
'Those two didn't tell (her).'

The certaintive suffix *-kon* ~ *-kkon* ~ *-hon* denotes an activity that happened or is happening or ought to happen most definitely, as in 71 and 73-76.

(73) Nu witsa koyahomminna.  
my calf have cramp-def-dur-general  
'My calf really has a cramp!'

(74) Sutu üküttsi mi'akoppuh.  
that little while ago go-def-prf  
'He has just now gone for sure.'

(75) Ke nangkawihontu'ih! 'Don't talk!'  
not talk-def-future

(76) Nu tsotahekkoppuhantu. 'I was really choking.'  
I choke-def-past

3.1.4 Number Marking

Many verbs in Tūmpis Shoshone are inflected for number on an ergative pattern. Thus, many intransitive verbs cross-reference the number of their subjects, and many transitive verbs cross-reference the number of their objects. The
language also has means for marking number on verbs in an accusative way, discussed later on in this section, but obligatory number inflection on verbs is based on the ergative system.

Most verbs cross-reference only two numbers, singular and plural, but a number of common intransitive verbs are inflected for dual as well as singular and plural. Several different techniques are employed for marking number on verbs. Many of the most common verbs, both intransitive and transitive, show complete stem suppletion in the singular and plural. However, marking dual number with stem suppletion is rare. Most commonly, if distinct dual forms of the verb exist, they are marked by reduplicating the first syllable of the singular stem. Usually, however, either the singular or plural stem, or both, are used in the dual. Most of the suppletive verbs are listed below with dual forms if they exist. (N.B. Forms with a preceding dash are instrumental verb stems requiring an instrumental prefix; see 3.2.1.2.)

**SUPPLETIVE VERBS**

hapi" Vi sg, kwopi" ≈ kopi" dl, kopittuh pl
'throw down')

ika" Vi sg-dl, weeki" pl-dl 'enter, go down'

ka'ah Vi sg, kopiah pl; -kopiih instr V pl
'break (flexible object)

katu" Vi sg-dl, yukwi dl, nuupaih ≈ yuunaah pl
'sit, stay'

nangkawi V sg-dl, ningwunu" pl-dl 'talk'

nukkwi Vi sg, nunukki dl, nutaan pl 'run'

nuwi (nummi) Vi sg-dl, ningka ≈ yingka pl-dl
'walk around'

pahe" Vi sg-dl, pokoah pl-dl 'fall (down)

pakkah Vt sg-dl, wasü" pl 'kill'

-siiwa instr Vt sg, situi pl 'scratch'
takkuna" (kkun) ≈ tangwi Vt sg, toppotsiki pl
'throw away'
-tia instr Vt sg, -we'i pl 'empty, dump out'
tiyaih Vi sg-dl, tsuwah ≈ ko'i" pl 'die'
to'eh Vi sg, toto'eh dl, kúa" pl 'emerge'
tuki" Vt sg-dl, taha" pl-dl 'put, locate, situate'
-tukwan instr V sg, -pái̯h pl 'hit'
-tski'ah instr V sg, -so'eh pl 'pinch, occlude'
üppüih Vi sg-dl, okko'ih pl-dl '(go to) sleep'
wümü" Vi sg, wuwumü dl, toppangih ≈ tattsaho pl
'stand'
yaa" Vt sg-dl, hima" pl-dl 'carry'
yakai" Vi sg-dl, namo'ih pl-dl 'cry'
yütsü" Vi sg-dl, yoti" pl 'fly, jump'

Aside from suppletion, many verbs cross-reference number
with internal stem changes. Some of these verbs are listed
below.

INTERNAL STEM-CHANGING VERBS

kimma Vi sg, kikimma dl, kimmah pl 'come'
ko'eh Vi sg-pl, koko'eh dl 'return, come back'
kümü" Vi/instr V sg, kümíppihani pl 'tighten'
mí'a Vi sg, mimi'a dl, mí'a" pl 'go'
pikkwan Vi sg, pikwaa pl, -pikwai pl instr 'shatter'
pitüh ≈ pitüthun Vl sg-dl, pippitühun dl, pitükkan pl
'arrive'
potsö" Vi sg, potsotsö pl 'drip'
waya" ≈ wayan Vi sg, wawayonoo" pl 'burn'

Still other verbs cross-reference number with the verb
plural suffixes -ppái̯h = -pëeh, or -iíh and -iah, as in the
examples below. Both -iíh and -iah replace the final vowel
in the verb stem. Some of the verbs below display
stem-internal changes as well as suffixation.
VERBS WITH PLURAL SUFFIXES

annih Vi sg, anniah Vi pl, -annippeh V instr pl 'fall'

kúppah ≈ kúpah Vi sg, kúpiah Vi pl, -kúpiih pl instr 'break rigid object'

-kúúnah V instr sg, -kúuniih pl 'cover, put on top of'
kwayah Vi/instr sg, kwayuppaih pl 'loosen'

-munuh Vt instr sg, -munuppaih pl 'turn'

-nguna" Vt instr sg, -nguniih pl 'put away, place'
paha" Vi sg, pakiah Vi pl: -pakiih pl instr 'split in half'

-patah Vt instr sg, -patiih pl 'spread out'

-pattaih Vt instr sg, -patappaih pl 'slam down'

-patssanah Vt instr sg, -patssaniih pl 'fasten'

-pokkohi ≈ -pokoh Vt instr sg, -pokoppaih pl 'violate'
sakkah Vi/instr sg, sakiih pl 'crack, snap'

-somnah Vi sg, somiah pl, -somiih pl instr 'bend'

-tamah Vt instr sg, -tamiih pl 'secure, tie tight'
tawin Vi/instr sg, tawiih pl 'be/make a hole'

tisikwa Vt sg, tisikwiih pl 'put in a slot'

-túnah Vtv instr sg, -tümiih pl 'close'

-túp(a)h Vt instr sg, -túppaih pl 'undo, release'

-tútua Vt instr sg, -tútupaih pl 'tear (fabric)'

-tomppokkah Vt instr sg, -tomppokwiih pl 'fasten'

-tomponah Vt instr sg, -tomponiih pl 'wrap'

-tsakwah Vt instr sg, -tsakwiih pl 'kill by...'

-tsokwah Vt instr sg, -tsokwihih pl 'tie'

-yuna" Vt sg, yuniih pl 'put away, place'

Sometimes the different plural suffixes are used in different ways on a given verb. For example, -iah marks the plural intransitive of annih, but -ppee marks the plural instrumental stem; similarly, -iah marks the plural intransitive of sommah, but -iih marks the plural instrumental stem. -iah tends to mark plural intransitives,
while -iih and -ppaih ≈ -ppeh tend to mark the plural of (instrumental) transitives, but this tendency is not without exception. Basically, the different forms of a verb cross-referencing number are not predictable; they simply must be memorized. Whether or not a given verb cross-references number at all in any way is not even predictable.

The sentence examples in 77–82 further illustrate number cross-referencing on verbs.

(77) a. Kaakki yakainna. 'The crow is squawking.'
    crow cry

   b. Wahattu kaakki(angku) yakainna = namo'inna.
       two crow(-dl) cry(sg) cry(pl)
       'Two crows are squawking.'

   c. So'opputu kaakki(ammu) namo'enna.
       many crow(-pl) cry(pl)
       'Many crows are squawking.'

(78) a. Satu to'ehi. 'That is coming out.'
    that emerge-hither

   b. Satungku toto'ehi.
       those(dl) emerge(dl)-hither
       'Those two are coming out.'

   c. Satummu kuakki. 'They are coming out.'
       those emerge(pl)-hither

(79) a. Patummu piliya yaakkintu'ih.
    liquor buyer beer carry-hither-will
    'The liquor buyer'll bring a beer.'
b. Patummu piiya himakkintu'ih.
   liquor buyer beer carry(pl O)-hither-will
   'The buyer'll bring some beers.'

(80) a. Nummu piiya yaakkintu'ih sumuttutsia.
   we(exc) beer carry-hither-will only one-O
   'We'll bring just one beer.'

b. Nummu so'oppütünna piiya
   we(exc) much-O beer himakkintu'ih.
   carry(pl O)-hither-will
   'We'll bring a lot of beers.'

It should be clear from the examples above that verbs do
not simply cross-reference number, but in fact they commonly
are the only number reference in the sentence. In other
words, 'cross-referencing' here does not mean that verbs are
plural (or dual) if their subjects or objects are overtly
marked plural (or dual). Verbs are marked for plurality (or
duality) depending on reference or meaning, and are not
dependent on overt marking of number on their subjects or
objects. In fact, inanimate and nonhuman animate nouns are
often not marked for number at all (e.g., piiya above). But
verbs must reference number, at least if they have different
forms in the plural or dual, whether suppletive, internal
stem-changing, or suffixed. Number marking on verbs is not
an agreement or concord system then, but rather a referencing
system. The examples in 81-82 further illustrate this point.

(81) a. Nū u tsappahekku. 'I dropped it.'
    I it drop-result
b. Nu u tsooppokoakku. 'I dropped them.'
I it drop(pl 0)-result

§2 a. Nu ma takkuunanna.
I it with rock-cover
'I covered it with rock.'

b. Nu ma takkuuniinna.
I it with rock-cover(pl 0)
'I covered them with rock.'

Another interesting fact with regard to this number marking system is that many plural verb stems are somewhat ambiguous, at least in one sense. They may either indicate that the activity occurs with a number of different participants or that the activity occurs with one participant but with plural results. For example, the singular intransitive verb pikkwan means for a hard subject to 'break, shatter in two', but its plural form pikwaa can mean either for a plural number of subjects to 'break, shatter' or for one subject to 'shatter into pieces'. Likewise, singular intransitive ka'ah means for a flexible subject to 'break in two', but its (suppletive) plural stem kopiah can mean either 'break' of more than one flexible subject or 'break into pieces' of one flexible subject. The plural stems of many transitive verbs work in a similar fashion, but with respect to their objects, not subjects. For example, the singular transitive stem wukka'ah means 'chop (a flexible object) in two', but its plural stem wukkopiih means either 'chop (flexible objects)' or 'chop (a flexible object) into pieces'. Similarly, singular transitive wuppikkwan means to 'break, shatter (a hard object) in two', but its plural wuppikwaih can mean either to 'break (hard objects)' or to 'break (a hard object) into pieces'.

Aside from the ergative number-marking system just described, verbs may also mark number in an accusative way
with the two enclitics -ungku \equiv -ongku\ dl and -ommu \equiv -ommu\ pl. These two enclitics mark the number of subjects, whether intransitive or transitive. Their use is obligatory on imperative verbs in the dual and plural (e.g., 83-84 below and examples 126 and 128-132 in chapter 2). But, they are occasionally used on nonimperatives to emphasize the number of the subject, as in 85.

(83) a. Ma miakwa! 'Go away!'
   it go away

b. Ma mimiakwa-ongku! 'Go away, you two!'
   it go(dl) away-dl

c. Ma miakkwa-ommu! 'Go away, you all!'
   it go(pl) away-pl

(84) a. Ma yaakki! 'Bring it!'
   it carry-hither

b. Ma yaakki-ungku! 'Bring it, you two!'
   it carry-hither-dl

c. Ma yaakki-ummu! 'Bring it, you all!'
   it carry-hither-pl

d. Ma himakki! 'Bring them!'
   it carry(pl O)-hither

e. Ma himaki-ungku! 'Bring them, you two!'
   it carry(pl O)-hither-dl

f. Ma himaki-ummu! 'Bring them, you all!'
   it carry(pl O)-hither-pl
(85) Sümüsü mia-ommü atü himpü antsaapanappüh, atü all go-pl that some flicker that kaakki, tukopoyo'ittsi, sümüsü kasattsikantü crow kingbird all bird mia-ommü.
go-pl

'Everyone went, that flicker, that crow, and kingbird; all of the birds went.'

3.1.5 Auxiliary Verbs

In Tümpisa Shoshone, a distinct set of verbs commonly follow other verb stems and form compounds with them. The verbs in this set add various kinds of adverbial and aspectual notions to the meanings of the verb stems which they follow and are in compound with. I will refer to these verbs as auxiliaries (or auxiliary verbs). The auxiliary verbs occur in two different position classes after the main verb. Most of the auxiliaries occur immediately after the main verb stem before any of the adverbial, directional, or aspect and tense suffixes. Another smaller group of auxiliaries occurs after the directional suffixes and after most of the adverbial suffixes but before at least one adverbial suffix and before any of the prefinal and final aspect and tense suffixes. The auxiliaries in the first group are indicated as 'Aux1', and those in the second group as 'Aux2' in the formula called 'Relative Position of Adverbial Suffixes' at the beginning of section 3.1.3.

Most of the auxiliaries also function as main verbs, although their meanings are usually somewhat different as auxiliaries than as main verbs, and there are usually minor phonological differences as well.
AUXILIARY VERBS

Aux1

hapi" 'prone, lying'
< hapi" Vi sg 'lie (down)'
katuh sg-dl, yuuki dl, yingka ≈ nuupaih pl 'sitting; alone, separately; awhile; be doing situated'
< katu" Vi 'sit'
kimma 'coming'
< kimma Vi sg 'come'
ko'eh 'returning, going backward'
< ko'eh Vi 'return, go back, come back'
kuhnakku'n '(start) running'
< kuhnakku'n Vi 'start to run, go forward'
-mmuih 'unable to, can't'
< muih Vt 'be unable to, fail to do'
naah ≈ naa "continuously, duratively''
< naa" 'be'
nooh 'continuously in motion'
< noo" Vt 'carry on back'
nukkwi 'running, fast'
< nukkwi(n) Vi sg 'run'
pitū ≈ -pitū ≈ pittuhu 'arriving, becoming; completely' < pitūh ≈ pittuhun Vi sg 'arrive'
tukin 'begin to, start to'
< tuki" Vi sg 'put'
tunga 'tell to, have do'
< ?
wunu 'standing, upright; awhile'
< wunu" Vi sg 'stand, stay, stop'
Aux2

mi'ah = -mmi'a 'get, become; about to do'
< mi'a Vl sg, mi'a pl 'go'

naih = nai'ih 'in motion'
< ? naa" 'be' + -ih iterative

nuwi ≈ nüwi sg, -nümüm dur, ningka pl 'walking around; continuously'
< nüwi sg, ningka ≈ yingka

Vi pl 'walk around, live'

suwan 'want to, need to, feel like'
< suwa" Vt 'think, feel, want'

One to several example sentences of each of the auxiliaries are given in 86-118, in the order that they appear in the lists above.

(86) Kammahapitū sutū. 'She is laid up sick.'
be sick-lie that

(87) Üü hakami suwakkatū?
you what think-sit
'What are you sitting thinking about?'

(88) Tangkusū napuniyükwi.
ourselves(dl) each other-see-sit(dl)
'You and I are sitting looking at each other.'

(89) Sutū nū taakimmappūhantū.
that me visit-come-past
'He came visiting me.'

(90) Patūmmu piya yaakko'ehwantu'ih.
liqur buyer beer carry-return-fut
'The liquor buyer is going to get beer.'
(91) Nüü imaa ko'epittuhunnuhi.
I tomorrow return-arrive-fut
'I'll be back tomorrow.'

(92) Nüü watsikkuhnakku.
I hide-running
'I'm running and hiding.'

(93) Nü sakka takkamammühi.
I that-O take care of-can't-stv
'I can't take care of him.'

(94) Keesua tükkasü kwitammühi.
cheese-O eat-sub shit-can't
'I can't shit because I ate some cheese.'

(95) Nü sukkwa wüttühiimmühi.
I that-O wait for-fail to-stv
'I waited for him, but he failed to show up.'
[lit: I'm unable to wait for him.]

Auxiliaries of the first and second positions are not
infrequently used together following the same main verb, as
in 96.

(96) Satü pai tsainnaanai'ih.
that water-O hold-continuative-in motion
'She's carrying water.'

Even auxiliaries of the same position class may be used
together, as 97.

(97) Nüü nü pantsa tsainnaawännü.
I my shoe hold-dur-stand(dur)
'I'm standing holding my shoe.'
When auxiliaries function as main verbs, they may be followed by other auxiliaries, as in 98 and 114 below (and 87 and 91 above).

(98) Nu nukkwintum pa'a katunooohonto'eh.
    I train on sit-continuative-definite-fut in motion
    'I'll get to ride on a train.'

(99) Satu tukuttinnoohinna.
    that aps-shoot-continuative-hither-sfx in motion
    'He's coming along shooting [things].'  

(100) Tangku nuinnukkwikomminna.
    we(dl inc) play-run-definite-iterative
    'We two were running around playing.'

(101) Nuu tumpitta himappittuhuppuhantu.
    I rock-O carry(pl)-arrive-past
    'I brought the rocks.'

(102) Nu u makapitukoppuhantu.
    I him feed-arrive-definite-past
    'I came to feed him.'

(103) Numu tukketukintu'ih.
    people eat-start-will
    'People are about to start to eat.'

(104) Nu piiya hipisu tsao nasungkwa'atukintu'ih.
    I beer drink-sub good feel-begin-will
    'When I drink beer, I'll begin to feel good.'

(105) Nu hipittunganna u. 'You told me to drink.'
    me drink-tell-sfx you
(106) Um pia u tükkatünganna.
   her mother her eat-tell-sfx
   'Her mother told her to eat.'

(107) Nüü Tümpisakkatünna puningwünnu.
   I Death Valley-0 see-stand(dur)
   'I'm standing looking at Death Valley.'

(108) Satu tühüya u pakkappühantü u tükkawünükwa.
   that deer it killed it eat-stand-sub
   'He killed the deer as it was standing eating.'

(109) Nüü tsao naammi'a.
   'I'm getting well.'
   I well be-get

(110) Nü siikkwammi'a.
   'I'm about to go pee.'
   I pee-away-go

(111) Satu punna summo'a noonna'inna.
   that her own clothes carry on back-in motion
   'She's carrying her own clothes around on her back.'

(112) Nü piapu pai katünnai'inna.
   I mare on sit-in motion
   'I'm riding on the mare.'

(113) Piammuttsi kuntu mapanai'ippühantü.
   baby yesterday crawl-in motion-past
   'Yesterday the baby was crawling around.'

(114) Sutu u kappinnangkwatü katünnuwitü.
   that it outside-direction sit-walk around
   'She was sitting around outside.'
The auxiliaries may also follow themselves when they occur both as main verbs and auxiliaries, as in 115.

(115) Nu nummikkinuwippuhantu puninnuwippuhantu.
I walk-hither-walk-past see-walk-past
'I walked all around and looked all around.'

(116) Nuu tipingasuwha noohinnattsia.
I ask-want-stv something-O
'I want to ask something.'

(117) Nuu kee mi'asuwasit. 'I don't want to go.'
I not go-want-neg

(118) Punnang kahni kattu u petsuttaisuwammisit.
his own house to her take-cmplt-want-sfx
'He wanted to take her to his own house for good.'

As the preceding examples indicate, most auxiliaries generally function like adverbials and aspect, tense, and mode markers. They function much like the verb suffixes discussed in preceding sections (3.1.1, 3.1.2, and 3.1.3), modifying the main verb and adding semantic subtlety to the basic notion denoted by the main verb stem. However, four auxiliary verbs, -mmuih, suwan, tukin, and tunga, behave like predicates superordinate to the verbs to which they are appended (see 8.2.3 on object-complement clauses). Tunga also changes the basic argument structure of the verb complex in which it occurs (see 3.2.1.6 on jussives).

There is more than a functionally parallel relationship between the auxiliaries and verb suffixes. Clearly, some of the suffixes were auxiliaries at an earlier stage in the language. For example, the intransitive verb to'eh 'emerge' is the etymological source of the final future suffix -tu'ih ~ -to'eh, and the directional suffixes -kin 'come to do' and
-kin ≈ -kkin ≈ -hin 'hither' are both etymologically related to the intransitive and auxiliary verb kimma 'come'. No doubt other suffixes have their origins in auxiliaries that have now been lost. In any event, it seems that there is a development from verb to auxiliary, and then at least in some cases the auxiliary begins to float towards the end of the word, eventually becoming a suffix. It is quite possible that auxiliaries in the second position class (Aux2) are further along in this process than those in the first position class (Aux1).

3.1.6 Subordinating Suffixes

Subordinating suffixes occur in the last or final position on the subordinate verb, after any other suffixes or auxiliaries. Their function is to mark various kinds of subordinate clauses, which are discussed and exemplified in detail in chapter 8. Because a whole chapter is devoted to subordinate clauses later on, I merely list the subordinate suffixes here, without giving examples. However, to recognize and better understand subordinate clauses in examples given before chapter 8, the reader should be aware of two factors which are important in subordinate constructions: (1) whether the subject of the subordinate clause is identical with or different from the subject of the main clause, and (2) which case the subordinate subject is in. Usually, when the subordinate subject is the same as that of the main clause, no overt subordinate subject occurs in the clause; it is simply understood to be coreferential with that of the main verb. On the other hand, if the subordinate subject is different from the subject of the main verb, then it must overtly appear as some sort of noun phrase (e.g., noun, pronoun, or demonstrative) and is usually in either the objective or the possessive case. These factors are indicated for each subordinate suffix below. Also, functional names and translations are given for each suffix.
SUBORDINATING SUFFIXES

-ka
-ka = -ha temporal 'when, after'
(different subject in obj or poss case)

-ku
-ku contemporative 'when, while'
(different subject in obj case)

-kwa
-kwa temporal 'when, after'
(different subject in obj case)

-mm
-mm intentional
(identical subject)

-nna
-nna infinitive
(identical subject, or no notional subject)

-ppüh
-ppüh past participle and perfective
(identical subject or different subject in poss case)

-sin = tsin sequential
(identical subject)

-su = -tsū resultive 'because, when, still'
(identical subject)

-tūn
-tūn present participle and habitual
(identical subject)

-tukwah
-tukwah conditional 'if' and temporal 'when'
(identical subject)

3.2 VERB DERIVATION

This section deals primarily with the formation of new verbs, but it also is a continuation of the discussion of verb structure. In the first part (3.2.1) of this section on verb derivation, I discuss the systematic formation of new verbs from existing verbs via various kinds of voice and valence changes. In the second part (3.2.2), I discuss less systematic means for forming verbs from whatever word class.
3.2.1 Valence and Voice Changes

Nearly all verbs in Tumpisa Shoshone are unequivocably either intransitive or transitive. This means, for intransitive verbs, that they may take only a single core (or direct) participant, a subject (see 2.2.2 on intransitive sentences). For transitive verbs, it means that they must take two core participants, a subject and an object. A few verbs are basically ditransitive, and so they take three core participants, a subject, a direct object, and an indirect object. Other noun phrase participants are normally marked with postpositions because they are not direct or core participants; rather, they are oblique or peripheral participants (see chapter 5 on noun phrases and postpositions). A small number of verbs, however, are both intransitive and transitive, and therefore they optionally may or may not take an object (e.g., tukkan 'eat', tukummahannih 'cook', and wasuwukki 'hunt').

It is possible to change the valence of a given verb, but changes of this sort nearly always result in some formal marking, usually special affixation. When the valence of a verb is changed, a new related verb is derived. For example, if the valence of a transitive verb is decreased by one, then the result is a derived intransitive verb. Obversely, if the valence of an intransitive verb is increased by one, then a derived transitive verb is formed. Regular and systematic valence changes involving transitive verbs are traditionally called voice changes. By changing the voice of a verb, speakers alter the basic relationship between a transitive verb and its two direct participants, the subject and object. Motivation for voice changes ultimately reside in the discourse situation. For example, speakers may wish to discuss transitive activities without mentioning agents (or experiencers), or they may wish to discuss transitive activities without mentioning patients.
3.2.1.1 Noun Root Incorporation

A number of verbs regularly incorporate noun roots directly into the verb word itself. The incorporated noun root immediately precedes the verb root, and semantically it is most commonly the object. Verbs which do this on a regular basis are listed below.

REGULARLY INCORPORATING VERBS

- 'amih 'make, build'
- naappa'in ≈ naappa'en 'have, possess alienably'
- pa'in ≈ pa'en 'have, possess'
- tuah 'create, engender, make'
- yukwi" ≈ yukwi" 'do, go after, gather, get'

Those verbs above marked with a preceding dash must incorporate their object nouns. Their incorporated object nouns may or may not be specific and referential, but they are never marked for case (see 119-123). However, when the incorporated object noun has modifiers, such as an adjective, then the (unincorporated) adjective may be marked for objective case (e.g., 121-122 below and 90 in chapter 2, but cf. 123). On the other hand, the verbs above without a preceding dash may or may not incorporate nouns. When the noun is incorporated, it is unspecific or generic and is never marked for case (e.g., 124 below and 91 in chapter 2). But when it is not incorporated, it is specific and takes objective case marking (e.g., 125 below and 92 in chapter 2).

(119) Satū huu'etüaminna. 'He's making a bow,' that bow-make
(120) Satü niang kahni'amippüh.
that my house-make-prf
'He has built my house.'

(121) Nü sakwaapitünna puipa'e.
I green-o eye-have
'I have green eyes.'

(122) Üü tsawintünna tükkappihnaappa'e.
you good-o food-have alienably
'You have some good food.'

(123) Nümmü so'oppüh putisih pungkupaimppühantü.
we(exc) many burro pet-have-hab-past
'We used to have many burro pets.'

(124) Nü kammuyukwitü ma ma'e.
I rabbit-hunt him with
'I rabbit-hunt with him.'

(125) Nü wasüppia yukwikwantu'ih.
I Mt sheep-O get-go to-fut
'I'm going to go get the mountain sheep.'

Aside from the verbs listed above, which regularly incorporate nouns, a number of other verbs exist which have incorporated noun roots, but incorporation in these verbs seems to be sporadic and unproductive.
EXAMPLES OF SPORADIC INCORPORATION

kiikuttih vt 'jab with the elbow'
< ma-ki-puh 'elbow' + kuttih 'shoot'
mitükkaannangkawih V 'speak English'
< mitükkaano 'English, white man' + nangkawih 'speak'
nampunih vt 'track'
< nam(pe) 'foot(print)' + puni' 'see'
namo'okoitsoih Vi 'wash hands'
< na- reflexive + mo'o 'hand' + koitsoih 'wash'
pao'okwe' Vi 'bleed'
< pao(ppi) 'blood' + okwe' 'flow'
siityatükingkün vt 'saddle (a horse)'
< siiya 'saddle' + tuki' 'put' -ngkun cat
takkanto'eh Vi 'ejaculate'
< takkan 'sperm' + to'eh 'emerge'
tünto'eh Vi 'climb up'
< tum(ppi) 'rock' + to'eh 'emerge'
tümpahe' Vi 'fall down'
< tümp(ppi) 'rock' + pahe' 'fall'

These verbs could be viewed simply as noun root plus verb root compounds, but the ordering of the component roots and the process itself are reminiscent of productive noun root incorporation discussed above, as well as the incorporation of instruments with prefixes discussed next.

3.2.1.2 Instrumental Prefixes

The most productive and systematic incorporation of nominal notions within verbs occurs with a set of nearly 20 instrumental prefixes. These prefixes typically indicate the instrument with which a transitive activity is done, but sometimes they indicate the manner of the activity, and sometimes, especially with intransitive verbs, they may
indicate the source or causal factor of an activity. The latter situation is rare, however, because usually when an instrumental prefix is used on an intransitive verb stem, the derived stem becomes transitive. Instrumental prefixes are also found on a good many noun stems, but their use with nouns does not seem to be productive, or at least not nearly as productive as their use on verbs. All of the instrumental prefixes are monosyllabic, and historically most of them are attenuated forms of Numic or Uto-Aztecan noun roots, although one or two of them come from other sources such as verbs. The instrumental prefixes are listed below together with some example verbs formed with them. The etymon of each prefix is provided if known. The Uto-Aztecan etyma are from Kaufman and Campbell (1981); the forms to be compared in parentheses are contemporary related words in Tümpisa Shoshone. The variations in forms of the instrumental prefixes are due to vowel harmony with following vowels (see section 9.3.3).

**INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku&quot;-  ≈ ko&quot;-</td>
<td>'with heat or fire'</td>
<td>&lt; UA *kuh 'fire' (cf. kunna&quot; 'fire(wood)')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kotto'eh Vt 'boil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kottoon Vt 'make a fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kuppuah Vt 'cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kusangwe Vt 'roast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kuttiyaih Vt sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kuttsüüwah = kukko'ih pl 'die from heat, be too hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku&quot;-  ≈ ku&quot;-</td>
<td>'with the teeth or mouth'</td>
<td>&lt; UA *kú'i 'bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kosope Vt 'lick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>künnoo(nnai'ih) Vt 'carry (along) in the mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>küttsi'ah Vt sg 'bite' (kuso'eh pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kütsohi Vt 'chew'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ma- ~ mo- 'with the hand'
< UA *maa 'hand' (cf. mo'o 'hand')
mapah Vi 'crawl'
masakkah Vt 'snap/break with hand' (masakiih pl)
masutuh Vi 'rub with hand'
matukih Vt 'slap hand down on'
mokose" Vt 'smash, mash, knead'

mu- ~ mo- 'with the nose'
< UA *mu-pl 'nose' (cf. mupin 'nose')
motamangkun Vt 'bridle (a horse)'
moto'ih Vi 'vomit'
mukwayah Vt 'touch with nose'
mungwai Vt 'kiss and hug, neck with'
musungkwai" Vt 'feel with nose'

ni"- 'with words; by talking'
(cf. niya ~ niha 'name')
nanikkoih Vi pl 'laugh together'
nihattatukwi Vi 'joke'
ningkun Vt 'say, tell'
nimma'i Vt 'talk to/with'
nippoosi Vt 'boss around'
nittuuhai Vt 'talk endearingly to'

pa- ~ po- '(with or pertaining to) water'
< UA *paa 'water' (cf. paa 'water')
paaka Vt 'give drink to'
pakatuh Vi 'be a body of water'
pakwi" Vi 'swell'
patumuuh Vt 'buy drinks'
poto'ih Vi 'be a spring'
pi"- 'with the butt or behind'
< UA *pih 'back'
pingonokwi Vi 'buck (as a horse)'
pippattaih Vi 'fall on butt' (pippatappaih pl)
pippahe" vt 'drop; shed; have baby' (pippokoah pl)
pisoto" vt 'pull, drag'
pittatahan Vi 'pull dress up; bare one's butt'

sü"- 'with or from cold'
< UA *süp 'cold'
sükka'ah Vi 'break from cold (flexible object)'
(sükkopiah pl)
sükkuppah Vi 'break from cold (rigid object)'
(sükkapiah pl)
sunnunnuki Vi 'shiver, shake'
süttyaih Vi 'die from cold; be cold'
süttsüwah Vi pl 'die from cold; be cold'

sun- 'with the mind, by feelings or sensing'
< UA *suuna 'heart' or *suuwah 'notice, believe'
(cf. suwa" 'want, feel')
nasuntamah Vt med-pass 'remember'
nasuwatsi" Vt med-pass 'forget'
suppanai Vt 'know'
suwa" Vt 'feel, want, think'
suwałih Vt 'think about'

ta"- ≈ to"- 'with the foot'
< UA *tannah 'foot'
tasiiwah Vt 'scratch with feet/claws' (tasitui pl)
tasu'ukuttih Vt 'kick'
tattukih Vi 'step'
tattsikohi" Vi 'slip (on one's feet)'
tokkotsa" Vt 'smash by stepping on'
ta"- ≈ to"- 'with a hard rock-like instrument'
< ? UA *tūn 'rock' (cf. tumpe 'rock')
tangwi ≈ takkuna" Vt 'throw' (toppotsiki pl)
toppikkwai Vt 'break (hard object)' (toppikkwai pl)
tasakki Vt 'crack, break' (tasakkih pl)
tasangwe Vt 'shell, crack (nuts)'
tappiaki Vt 'hit' (tappiakh pl)

to"= 'with the fist, by violent motion'
< ?
toppoakoah ≈ toppokkohi Vt sg, toppokkoppaih pl 'rape'
toseaki Vt 'spur'
tosommi Vt 'bend' (tosommih ≈ tosommih pl)
tottawin Vt 'punch holes in' (tottawinh pl)
toppikkwai Vt 'hit' (tappiakh pl)

tsas"- ≈ ts"- 'by grasping in the hand'
< Numic *tsa'i" 'grasp, hold' cf. tsai" ≈ tse" 'grasp, hold'
tsasakki " Vt 'tighten' (tsasakkih pl)
tsasakkih Vt 'wind, reel in'
tsasakkin Vt 'lift'
tosatoki Vt 'take out' (tosatoki ≈ tsappu'eh pl)
tosanopah Vt 'tear out/down' (tosanopaih pl)

tsak"- 'with a sharp or pointed instrument'
< ?
tsikkittsiah Vt 'lock (with a key)'
tsikkkwini' Vt 'screw'
tsittawin Vt 'pierce'
tsittu"kwai Vt 'hit with sharp/pointed instrument'
(tsipaih pl)
tsittsukwih Vt 'point'
VERBS

tso- 'with the head'
< UA *cohngi 'head' (cf. tsoppippuh 'head')
tsokottih VI 'bump head on; break with head'
tsonuwan VI 'lift the head'

wu"- = wo"- 'with an (elongated) instrument' generic
< ? UA *wupaa 'whip' (cf. wu"a" 'penis')
wusommah = wosommah VI 'bend' (wusomiih = wosomih pl)
wü'annih VI 'knock over' (wu"'annippeh pl)
wüppaha" VI 'split' (wu"ppakih pl)
wütükwan VI 'hit' (wu"ppaih pl)
wütompoikkah VI 'fasten' (wu"ttompoikkiih pl)

The instrumental prefixes are used productively with many verb stems. The limits to productivity seem primarily due to semantic incompatibility rather than to any grammatical factors. Many verb stems cannot be used at all without at least one instrumental prefix appended to them. Those verb stems which must have an instrumental prefix are called instrumental verbs. Some examples are given below of derived verbs formed with instrumental prefixes and a number of verb roots. The verb roots preceded by a dash are instrumental verbs which must have an instrumental prefix.

ka'ah VI sg 'break (of flexible object)'
kukka'ah VI sg 'break from heat'
kükka'ah VI sg 'bite in two, break with the teeth'
muka'ah VI sg 'break with the nose'
pikka'ah VI sg 'break with the butt'
sükka'ah VI sg 'break from cold'
takka'ah VI sg 'chop with a rock-like instrument'
tsakka'ah VI sg 'break by pulling apart'
tsikkka'ah VI sg 'cut'
wükka'ah VI sg 'chop'
küppah vi sg 'break (of rigid object)'
kuküppah vi sg 'break from heat'
maküppah vt sg 'break with the teeth'
pükküppah vt sg 'break with the butt'
sükküppah vi sg 'break from cold'
taküppah vt sg 'break with the foot'
tsakküppah vt sg 'break by grasping in the hand'
wükküppah vt sg 'break with something'

-küünah vt sg instr 'cover, be on top of'
maküünah vt sg 'cover, be on top of'
pikkuünah vt sg 'sit on top of'
takküünah vt sg 'cover with rock, put rock on top of'
tsikküünah vt sg 'put pointed object on top of'
wükküünah vt sg 'cover with something'

-kwa'ah V instr 'feel'
nasungkwa'ah vt 'feel (internally)' (< na- med-pass)
masungkwa'ah vt 'feel with the hand'
masungkwa'ah vt 'feel with the hand'
pisungkwa'ah vt 'feel with the butt'
tasungkwa'ah vt 'feel with the foot'

wüsungkwa'ah = wosungkwa'ah vt 'feel with something'

kwayah vi sg 'be loose, loosen'; instr V 'take off; touch'
mukwayah vt sg 'touch with nose'
makwayah vt sg 'touch with hand'
pikckwayah vt sg 'take off of butt (as a skirt)'
takckwayah vt sg 'take off of feet (as shoes)'
tsakkwayah vt sg 'take off by grasping'
tsikkwayah vt sg 'touch with something pointed'
wükkwayah vt sg 'touch with the body'
verbs

paha" Vi sg 'split in half'
tappaha" Vt sg 'split with a rock'
tsamppaha" Vt sg 'split by pulling apart'
tsiippaha" Vt sg 'split with something sharp'
wüppaha" Vt sg 'split with something'

-tamah V instr sg 'secure'
nasuntamah Vt 'remember' (< na- med-pass)
mutamangkun Vt 'bridle' (< -ngkun cat)
tsattamah Vt sg 'tie'
wüttamah Vt sg 'tie tight, secure'

to'eh = to'ih Vi sg 'emerge, come up/out'
kotto'eh Vi sg 'boil, be really hot'
moto'eh Vi sg 'vomit'
poto'ih = pato'ih Vi sg 'be a spring'
tsatto'eh = tsotto'eh Vt sg 'take out'

Occasionally more than one instrumental prefix is used in the same word, as the forms above built on -kwa'ah attest (e.g., masungkwa'ah < ma- 'with the hand' + sun- 'with the mind'), and as do tukumahannih 'cook' (< tu-aps, ku- 'with heat' + ma- 'with the hands', hannih 'do, fix') and tasuttiiyah 'freeze the feet' (< ta"- 'with feet', su"- 'with cold', tiyaih 'die').

The use of instrumental prefixes and the incorporation of noun roots (discussed in the previous section, 3.2.1.1) share a number of characteristics. In both cases nominal notions are incorporated into the verb word, and in both
cases the incorporated nominal morphemes immediately precede the verb root or stem and follow any voice prefixes (discussed in the next two sections, 3.2.1.3 and 3.2.1.4). However, even though instrumental prefixes and incorporated noun roots are similar, there are some important differences. First, the instrumental prefixes are just that—prefixes, not roots. In many cases they are attenuated or atrophied forms of roots, but they are never identical with the roots from which they come. And in some cases, their ultimate etyma are not found in contemporary Tumpisa Shoshone, if known at all (e.g., kū“-, ma-, pi“-, sū“-, ta“-, to“-, tsi“-, etc.).

Second, the semantics of the instrumental prefixes is to a large degree consistent. They are almost always peripheral arguments in the clause (i.e., not direct arguments), most typically instruments, or if not, then causal sources, or manners of doing something. Semantically, incorporated noun roots are haphazard and unpredictable, except with a very small set of verbs which either require incorporated nouns (e.g., -pa‘in 'have') or incorporate nonreferential unspecific noun roots (e.g., yūkwi“ 'do, go get'). In these cases the incorporated nouns are patients, but instrumental prefixes almost never signify patients. Finally, the use of the instrumental prefixes is productive. If there is a need, and if no semantic incompatibility would result, then, generally speaking, one can make up forms at will. The incorporation of nouns does not seem to be productive, except with that very restricted set of verbs, mentioned above, requiring incorporated patients or incorporating unspecific patients.

On the other hand, a few cases seem to fit both kinds of incorporation. For example, tanga(~)-, the root found in tangappuh 'knee' (~ppuh N absol), also occurs incorporated into a handful of verbs with meanings consistent with instrumental prefixes (e.g., tangummutti 'kick' < ma 'with' + kuttih 'shoot' via contraction; tangatookatu 'kneel' < too? + katū“ 'sit'; tangatookuttih 'fall on knees' < too? +
kuttih ‘shoot’; tangappuhakatu ‘pray kneeling’ < puha
’supernatural power’ + katu’ ‘sit’). Perhaps tanga- is on
its way to becoming an instrumental prefix.

Of all the instrumental prefixes, pa- (< paa ‘water!’)
acts most like an incorporated noun, at least semantically,
since it not infrequently marks the patient (e.g., patumuuh
‘buy drinks’ < tumuuh ‘buy’; ponoo ‘fetch water’ < noo”
‘carry on the back’). Nevertheless, even though the line
between instrumental prefixes and incorporated nouns is not
absolute, the distinction still seems to be an important one
in the grammar.

To get a good sense of the productivity of the
instrumental prefixes, the reader should consult the Tumpisa
(Panamint) Shoshone Dictionary (Dayley 1989), looking at the
words that follow each instrumental prefix and that have the
same first consonant and vowel. Many of these words are
derived with the instrumental prefixes. Of course there will
be other derivatives from the instrumental prefixes as well,
but in other parts of the dictionary because they begin with
other prefixes or because of vowel harmony (see section
9.3.3). Here, it will suffice to say that some of the
prefixes are very productive; for example, tsa”- and wu”- are
used in forming over 50 different words each. Others are not
so productive; for example, su”- occurs in only about 10
words, and nil”- and sun- in about 15.

As noted above, a fairly large number of (instrumental)
verbs require instrumental prefixes and may not be used alone
without at least one of them. A partial list of the most
important of these follow.
-kaka  (-kikappaih pl)  'tear, rip'
-kitso'o  (-kitsoppeh pl)  'smash'
-kontonah  (-kontoniih pl)  'wrap up'
-kopiah pl (cf. kopiah Vi)  'break flexible object'
-kose"  'smash (with horizontal motion)'
-kotsa"  'smash (with vertical motion)'
-kuna"  ≈ -ngwi  (-potsiki pl)  'throw'
-kupiah pl (cf. kupiah Vi)  'break rigid object'
-kuuniih pl  'cover, be on top of'
-kwa'ah  ≈ -kwai"  'touch, feel'
-munuppih pl  'pull out, tear down'
-munuppeh pl  'place, set, locate'
-pakah pl (cf. pahaih sg, pakah Vi pl)  'split'
-patah  (-patiih pl)  'spread out'
-patappaih pl  'slap, flop against'
-patsaniih pl  'fasten'
-pihwai pl  'break (soft object)'
-pikwa pl (cf. pikwaa Vi pl)  'shatter, break (rigid object)'
-pokkah ≈ -pokkohin  (-pokkoppaih pl)  'violate'
-sakkah  (-sakiih pl)  'crack, snap'
-situih  (-situhi pl)  'scratch, rub'
-somiih pl (cf. sommah sg, somiah Vi pl)  'bend'
-sone  'sweep, comb'
-sukwih  'put in a hole'
-su'ukuttih  'kick'
-tama'ah  (-tamiih pl)  'secure'
-tia  (-we'ii pl)  'discard, dump out'
-tukwaih  (-pahih pl)  'hit'
-tumah  (-tumiih pl)  'close'
-tupuppih pl  'undo, release, open'
-tutua  (-tutuppih pl)  'tear, cut (fabric)'
-tomppkah  (-tomppkiih pl)  'fasten'
VERBS

- tomponah (-tomponih pl) 'wrap or put in a rag'
- tsakwah (-tsakwihih pl) 'kill by...'
- ts'iah (-so'eh pl) 'pinch, occlude'
- tsokwah (-tsokwihih pl) 'tie a knot, stitch'
- tsokweh 'smash by pounding'

A few basically intransitive plural verbs have special stems when instrumental prefixes are used on them; for example, kūpiah Vi pl 'break (of rigid object)' > -kūpihih pl instr V (kuppah Vi sg); ko'iah Vi pl 'break (of flexible object)' > -ko'iihih pl instr V (ka'ah Vi sg); and paki'ah Vi pl > -pakihih pl instr V (pahi'ah Vi sg).

Clauses having verbs with instrumental prefixes may or may not have postpositional phrases in ma 'with' containing overt instrumental nouns (or noun phrases). When overt instrumental nouns occur, they are specific and referential, as in 126b-c and 127b. But, when they do not occur, there is no specificity implied about the instrument, as in 126a and 127a.

(126) a. Nu o tottsokwenna.
   I it rock-smash
   'I smashed it (with some rock-like instrument).'

   b. Nu tūmpim ma o tottsokwenna.
      I rock with it rock-smash
      'I smashed it with the rock.'

   c. Nu nū pampi ma o tottsokwenna.
      I my head with it rock-smash
      'I smashed it with my head.'
The situation is similar in those few cases where instrumental prefixes actually designate the patient or object, as in (128). If an overt object noun appears, then it is specific (e.g., 128b); if not, then it is not specific (e.g., 128a).

(128) a. Sam tammi patümüungkuppühantü.
   Sam us(inc) drink-buy for-past
   'Sam bought us something to drink.'

   b. Sam piiya tammi patümüungkuppühantü.
   Sam beer us(inc) drink-buy for-past
   'Sam bought us some beer.'

3.2.1.3 Passives, Mediopassives, Reflexives and Reciprocals

In Tümpisa Shoshone, the function of the passive voice is to remove agents from the discussion of normally transitive activities. That is, it is a means for talking about transitive activities without having to mention the agent. Passive sentences in the language may never contain an agent, although an indefinite agent is implied. Verbs in the passive voice are productively formed from transitive verbs with the important prefix na- (e.g., 129-134). The subject of a passive verb in na- is typically the patient, or what would be the direct object in a normal active transitive sentence. But the subject of a passive sentence may also be
the dative participant or what would be the indirect object of a ditransitive verb (e.g., in 133b). Whenever the subject of a passive sentence is animate, it is always in the nominative case (e.g., 129-131 and 133a-b). On the other hand, when the subject of a passive sentence is inanimate (e.g., 132 and 134), it is frequently in the accusative case, just as it would be in an active transitive clause.

(129) Nummū sapettū namiangkūtaippūhantu.
    we(exc) there be sent-past
    'We were sent there.'

(130) Tukopoyo'oittsi pahannai ipantu napakkataihwa.
    kingbird down here be killed-cmplt
    'Kingbird was killed down here.'

(131) Nungku atammupi kuppa napunihappūhantu.
    we(dl exc) car in be seen-past
    'We two were seen in the car.'

(132) Püe tammin tūpanu nayaappūh.
    already our(inc) pinenut-O be taken-prf
    'Our pine nuts have already been taken.'

(133) a. Nū nateewinna.  'I was talked about.'
    I be told about

b. Nū nateewingkunna.  'I was told (something).'
    I be told-cat

c. Nū sukkwa teewitu'ih.  [=active of a]
    I that-O tell about-will
    'I'll tell about that.'
d. Nu sukkwa ma teewingküppühantu. [=active of b]
   I that-O him told
   'I told him that.'

(134) a. Sohopitta namo'ihanna. 'Land is drawn.'
   land-O be drawn-stv = 'map'

b. Wisikkia natümeninna. 'Whiskey is sold.'
   whiskey-O be sold = 'liquor store'

c. Tükappia natümeninna. 'Food is sold.'
   food-O be sold = 'grocery store'

Whereas the function of the passive voice is to remove the
agent from the discussion of a transitive activity, the
function of the mediopassive voice is to discuss an event in
a way which explicitly denies the involvement of an
initiating agent. The mediopassive is a means for indicating
that the event is not prototypically transitive because no
agent is involved, even if under other circumstances a
similar activity might be initiated by an agent. Like the
passive, the mediopassive is also marked with the prefix na-.
Events, especially processes or states, that are typically
marked as mediopassive are those in which the subject of the
verb may be the source of energy of the event but is not
actively initiating it. A number of mediopassive verbs are
listed below. Some mediopassive verbs are intransitive,
taking only a subject, semantically either a patient or
experiencer; while others are grammatically transitive,
taking an experiencer subject and some sort of mental
phenomenon as object.
VERBS 107

MEDIOPASSIVE VERBS

nahona vi 'be nothing'
< ?
nakuttapiniaih vi 'be light(ed)'
< ku"- 'with heat' + tape 'sun' + naih 'do'
nakutsasa vi 'be bad'
< ?
nanangkah ≈ nanangkah vi 'be noise'
< nangkah vt 'hear'
naniyah(an) vi 'be named, be called'
< niya 'name' + -kan stv
napakatuwh vi 'be flooded'
< pakatuwh vi 'be a body of water'
napunih vi 'appear, look'
< puni" vt 'see, look at'
nasungkwa'ah vt 'feel (internally)'
< sun- 'with mind' + -kwa'ah intro vt 'feel'
nasuntamah vt 'remember'
< sun- 'with mind' + -tamah intro vt 'secure, tie'
nasuwaih vi and vt 'be ashamed (of)'
< suwaih vt 'think about'
nasuwatsi" vt 'forget'
< sun- 'with mind' + watsi" vi 'be lost, hidden'
natiliingwai ≈ natutiliingwai vi and vt 'learn, study'
< tutiliingwai vt 'teach'
natupinniahan vi 'be named, called'
< tupinnia(han) vt 'name, call'
natstattumah vi 'close, be closed'
< tsattumah vt 'close'
natsitoonnai" wh vi 'use a cane'
< tsi"- 'with pointed instr' + too" ? + nai" wh 'in motion'
na'uma ≈ na'ungwa vi 'be rained on'
< uma" ≈ ungwa" vi 'rain'
nawakanaa" Vi 'be married'
< wakan 'by, toward (someone)' naa" 'be'
nawuttumah Vi 'close, be closed'
< wütumah Vt 'close'
nopusawih Vi 'dream'
< ?

The examples above are lexicalized mediopassive verbs; they are not spur-of-the-moment formations. The formation of mediopassive verbs is not as regular or productive as the formation of passives, but it is clear from the examples above that the process has been at least semiprotective during the language's history. Some sentence examples of mediopassives are given below.

(135) Tüwütümappüh nawütümawi'ah.
       door     close-inchoative
     'The door is closing.'

(136) Kahni tümpe natsattawiha. 'The door is open.'
       house mouth open-stv
       = door

(137) Nummi appü wa'i napunni satu.
       our(exc) father like look(dur) that
     'He looks like our father.'

The prefix na- is also used in the formation of reflexives. Reflexive clauses are those in which the subject is coreferential to the object. Reflexive clauses are formed with na- prefixed to a transitive verb stem, as with passives, but reflexive clauses require in addition the presence of a reflexive pronoun (see 4.2).
Subject pronouns are usually not used in reflexive constructions with first and second persons. In the third person, subject pronouns or noun phrases may be used (e.g., 138d), but are often omitted if they are given information (e.g., 138c and h).

Na- is also used to indicate reciprocals where two or more individuals do something to each other. Actually, in the dual number, na- ambiguously indicates either reflexive
or reciprocal, as in 139. But as 140 illustrates, the semantics of the sentence usually makes one interpretation or the other paramount.

(139) a. Tangkusù napunihappühantü.
    ourselves(dl inc) pmpr-stv-past
    'You and I saw ourselves/each other.'

b. Nungkusù napunnih.
    ourselves(dl exc) pmpr-see(dur)
    'We two see ourselves/each other.'

c. Mungkusù napunnih.
    yourselves(dl) pmpr-see(dur)
    'You two see yourselves/each other.'

d. Satungku pungkutakasù napuniha.
    those(dl) themselves(dl) pmpr-see-stv
    'Those two see themselves/each other.'

(140) Satungku napitühünkäna.
    those(dl) recip-fight
    'Those two are fighting each other.'
    (*themselves)

Plural reciprocals, however, are unambiguously marked with the plural reciprocal prefix anna"- 'each other', as illustrated in 141-142. In reciprocals based on anna"-, apparently either subjective or reflexive pronouns are appropriate.

(141) a. Tammû(sû) annappuninuupaiha.
    we(ourselves inc) recip-see-sit-stv
    'We all are sitting looking at each other.'
b. Nummu(su) annappuniha.
   we(ourselves exc) recip-see-stv
   'We are looking at each other.'

c. Mummusu annappunni.
   you all recip-see(dur)
   'You all are looking at each other.'

(142) Satumm annappitungkunna.
   those recip-fight
   'They are fighting each other.'

Both na- and anna- are used in the formation of many words, not just verbs (e.g., na- + numu 'people' > nanumu 'relative'; anna- + man 'with' > annamman 'together'; see the word formation sections in other chapters).

3.2.1.4 Absolutive Antipassives

Tumpisa Shoshone has a productive absolutive antipassive voice that makes possible the discussion of transitive activities without mentioning direct objects (or patients). The antipassive is formed with the prefix tû- (~ tu-), which is affixed to transitive verbs, making them derived active intransitives with agent subjects. Even though antipassive clauses with verbs in tû- normally do not take direct objects, indefinite and unspecific objects are implied.

(143) Satu tuwasunnuwi.
   that aps-kill(pl)-walk around
   'He is going around killing [things].' 

(144) Nu tusawaha.   'I'm boiling [something].'
   I aps-boil-stv
(145) Nū tumo'ikattū. 'I'm sitting writing.'
I aps-write-sit(dur)

(146) Nū tukoitoitu'ih, nū takkottükitu'ih.
I aps-wash-will I aps-scrub-will
'I'll wash, and I'll scrub.'

A number of verbs formed with tū- have become lexicalized (e.g., tūpunih Vi 'wake up' < tū- + puni' 'see'), and a few have then been reanalyzed as transitives (e.g., tukummahannih Vi and Vt 'cook' < tū- aps + ku'- 'with heat' + ma- 'with hands' + hannih 'do, prepare').

3.2.1.5 Causatives and Applicatives

A very important valence-changing affix in Tümpisa Shoshone is the suffix -ngkun, which is used to increase the valence of a given verb by one. When -ngkun is used on intransitive verbs, it transitivizes them, typically forming causatives of them. Normally, the subjects of the intransitive stems become the objects of the transitive causatives formed with -ngkun. Thus, the causatives formed from stative or process intransitives generally mean that some agent or force causes (makes, gets, has, forces) a patient to change states or to undergo the process denoted by the verb stem. And similarly, the causatives formed from active intransitives mean that an agent causes (makes, gets, has) someone or something to do the action denoted by the active verb stem. There are literally hundreds of causative verbs formed with -ngkun from intransitives; a list of some of them follows.
CAUSATIVES FROM INTRANSITIVES

hapingkun 'fell, make fall'
< hapi" sg 'lie'
hipittaingkun 'make drunk, intoxicate'
< hipittain 'get drunk'
hüttasawungkun 'cool'
< hüttasawün 'be cool'
kammangkun 'make sick'
< kammah 'be sick, sore, ache'
kuppüangkun Vt 'cook'
< kuppüah Vi 'cook'
kotto'engkun Vt 'boil'
< kotto'eh Vi 'boil'
kwitasu'ungkun 'make fart'
< kwitasu'u" 'fart, break wind'
mi'angkun 'send, make go'
< mi'a 'go'
muiyaingkun 'intoxicate, make drunk'
< muiyai 'become intoxicated, get drunk'
pitsingkun 'nurse, breastfeed'
< pitsi 'suckle'
potso'ingkun 'make wet'
< potso'in 'be wet'
siingkun 'make urinate'
< sii" 'urinate'
sünününükingkun 'shake, make shiver'
< sünününüki 'shiver'
tammayaingkun 'drive crazy, make (go) crazy'
< tammayain 'be crazy'
tamminoingkun 'tire, make tired'
< tammino’i 'be tired'
uitsü'ingkun 'cool, make cold'
< uitsü'in 'be cold'
üppüingkun 'make sleep(y)'
< üppüih '(go to) sleep'
ütüingkün 'heat'
  < ütül 'be hot'

watsingkütain 'lose'
  < watsi" 'be lost, missing' + -tain cplt

wükkatüngkün 'stack, pile up'
  < wükkatuh 'be a pile'

yuhupükkan 'fatten, make fat'
  < yuhupükken 'get fat'

A number of examples of causative verbs used in complete sentences are given below.

(147) Tsao ú siingkütü tuttumpi.
    really you make pee-hab ephedra
    'Ephedra really makes you pee.'

(148) Wa'ippu kottsappia utuingkünna.
    woman soup-O heat
    'The woman is heating the soup.'

(149) Wainnih noohakka tammiyaingkünna.
    wine everybody-o make crazy
    'Wine makes everybody go crazy.'

(150) Piiya nu hipippuh nu kammangkutaihwa.
    beer I drink-prf me make sick-cmpl-cmplt
    'The beer I drank has made me absolutely sick.'

Besides forming causatives from intransitive verbs, -ngkün is also used to form other kinds of transitive verbs from intransitives, but in a much less regular and systematic way. A few of these are listed below.
TRANSITIVES FROM INTRANSITIVES

kimmangkun 'come after, chase'
  < kimm 'come'
kuttsüküningkun 'fry'
  < kuttsüküi 'sizzle'
mi'angkun 'go after, chase'
  < mi'a 'go'
natümuingkun 'tell a story to'
  < natümui Vt 'tell a story'
uuingkun Vt 'play (at)'
  < nui Vt 'play'
paitsüngkun 'holler at, yell at'
  < paitsü 'holler, yell'
tükümüningkun 'translate for, interpret for'
  < tükümüi 'talk, each using one's own language'
tsahapingkun 'lay down, put in bed'
  < tsä'- 'by grasping' + hapi' sg 'lie (down)'
tsawünungkun 'stand up, set upright'
  < tsä'- 'by grasping' + wünü' sg 'stand'

The suffix -ngkun is not only used on intransitive verbs to increase valence, but is also used on transitive verbs to form what have been traditionally called applicatives in studies of Uto-Aztecan languages (see Andrews 1975). Applicatives are transitive verbs which have had their valence increased by one, such that they take three core participants (i.e., subject, direct object, and indirect object) rather than just two (i.e., subject and direct object), as is normal for transitive verbs. What -ngkun does to transitive verbs is like a voice change that makes ditransitives of simple transitives. In the simplest terms, it makes it possible for a simple transitive to take an indirect object as a core participant, as well as a direct object. Semantically, the indirect object is typically either a dative participant (e.g., 151-154) or a benefactive
participant (e.g., 155-162). Thus, the indirect object is usually either the recipient of the direct object (= patient) or goal of the action denoted by the verb or somehow benefits from the action.

(151) Sümütü nia sümı teewingküppühantü.
    one me something told-cat-past
    'Someone told me something.'

(152) Nü sukkwa ma teewingkùntu'ih.
    I that him tell-cat-will
    'I'll tell him that.'

(153) Nü ún teewingkùnna.
    I you tell-cat-sfx
    'I'm telling you (something).'</n
(154) Utümı sümı yüngı́kùnna, pünnam pii tsa
    those-O something said to their own mom emph
    sümı yüngı́kùnna, 'Tammi appü naamaa
    something said to our(inc) father was
    satü wihnu.'
    that then
    'She said to them, their own mom said, "That was our father then."'

(155) Antsia tumüngküppühantü nü kwasu'unna.
    Angie-O buy-cat-past I dress-O
    'I bought Angie a dress.'

(156) Samma piiya tahi patümüngküppühantü.
    Sam beer us(dl inc) liquor-buy-cat-past
    'Sam bought us two some beer.'
The process of forming benefactives from transitive verbs is completely productive, and in fact it is obligatory whenever a benefactive participant is involved in the action. On the other hand, aside from the many productively formed spur-of-the-moment applicatives, many applicatives have been lexicalized. Some of these are listed below, with sentence examples following in 163-164.
LEXICALIZED APPLICATIVES

hanningkun 'help, do for'
  < hannahih 'do, fix'
motamangkun 'bridle (a horse)'
  < mu- 'with nose' + -tamah 'secure, tie'
niingkun 'tell'
  < ni"- 'with words' -i- ?
nukwingkun 'tell, say to'
  < nukwi" 'say'
nukwingkun 'do for'
  < nukwi" 'do'
puningkun 'show to: look at'
  < puni" 'see'
suwangkun 'feel about, have feelings about'
  < suwa" 'feel, want, think'
teewingkun 'tell'
  < teewi 'tell about, talk about, point'
yukwingkun 'do for'
  < yukwi" = yukiwi" 'do'
yukwingkun = yuigungkun 'tell, say to'
  < yuki" 'say'

(163) Nùù sakka tuttsúppuh suwangkünna.
   I that-O ugly feel about
   'I hate her.'

(164) Nùù úm puningkúkwantu'ih tüpanna.
   I you show-going to pinenut-O
   'I'm going to (go) show you the pinenuts.'

There are a few causatives formed from transitives with
-ngkun much like causatives from intransitives discussed earlier. However, it is not known whether or not the process of forming causatives from transitives with -ngkun is productive. The only examples recorded are given in 165-166.
3.2.1.6 Jussives

Causative-like constructions from transitive verbs are usually formed with the jussive auxiliary verb tunga 'tell to, order to' (see 3.1.5), which may be used with intransitive verbs as well. Like other auxiliaries, tunga is appended to the main verb stem, but like the suffix -ngkun it changes the valence of the verb complex in which it occurs, as illustrated in 167-171. The subject of the clause in which jussive tunga appears is the person doing the ordering, and the object is the person being told to do what is denoted by the main verb stem. Constructions with tunga in fact must have human or talking subjects and objects that presumably understand language.

(167) Um pia u tükkatunganna.
her mother her eat-tell-sfx
'Her mother told her to eat.'

(168) Nü hipittunganna üü.
me drink-tell-sfx you
'You told me to drink.'

(169) Wa'ippu pünnang kuhmattsia wasuwükkitunganna.
woman her own husband-O hunt-tell-sfx
'The woman told her husband to hunt.'
(170) Tangummu punnam punnahapittsia man his own wife-O
tukummahannitunganna.
cook-tell-sfx
'The man told his wife to cook.'

(171) Nu ma mi'atungappuhantu. I him go-tell-past
'I told him to go.'

The reader may wish to compare 167-168 with 165-166, and 169-170 with 161-162, to see the differing effects of the causative and benefactive suffix -ngünk and the jussive auxiliary tünüa.

3.2.2 Unsystematic Verb Derivation

Aside from the verb-forming and valence-changing processes discussed in the previous section (3.2.1), a number of suffixes are used to form verbs, but on a much less productive and systematic basis. The most important derivational suffixes forming verbs are listed below, along with some examples of derivations. Glosses indicating function and notes on productivity are provided when known.

VERB-DERIVING SUFFIXES

-(')i ~ -ih ~ -in ~ -i” general verbalizer; productive
hüppai 'be shady' < hüppa 'shade'
küttai 'be hard, tough' < küttaan 'tough'
niingkün 'tell' < ni”- 'with words', -ngünk cat
nasoo'ih 'be a movie' < na- pmpr, Eng show
nühai 'make baskets' < nüh(a)kka 'basket'
ohii” 'cough' < ohī- 'cough'
paho'in 'smoke (tobacco)' < pahon 'tobacco'
tütakaih 'be born' < tü- aps + taka 'self'

-kain ≈ -kaih ≈ -kai" general verbalizer;
semiproductive
pihyakai" 'itch' < pihya 'weak'
possalaih 'delouse' < posia 'louse'
sumakkaih 'breathe' < suma"- 'breath'
tooyakaih 'be thunder' < toya- 'mountain'
woongkwain 'be jealous' < woon- 'jealous'

-kaih -kkan -han stative; semiproductive
numukan 'move' < númú 'person'
tusukkwain 'smash' < tusu" 'grind'
tümpunihan 'watch' < tüń- 'rock', puni" 'see'
tuikkan (tahakkain pl) 'keep' < tuki" (taha" pl) 'put'
yunnukkan 'keep' < yunnu" sg 'put'

-pukkan involuntary stative; semiproductive
kammaphukkan 'be/get sick' < kammah 'be sick'
no'apukkan 'be/get pregnant' < no'a- 'pregnant'
pakantuupukkan 'have/get an erection' < pakan 'penis'
tuupukkan 'be/get angry' < tuu- 'mean'
waattuupukkan 'have/get an erection' < wuā" 'penis'
yuhupukkan 'get fat' < yuhu- 'fat'

-tu ?; unproductive
kuhmatu 'acquire a husband' < kuhma 'husband'
mukatu 'think' < mukua 'mind'
punnahapitu 'acquire a wife' < punnahapi 'wife'
tuammutu 'bear offspring' < tuammu 'offspring'
-wih general verbalizer; semiproductive

hukkuntūwi 'be dusty' < hukkun 'dust'
isa'awih 'lie, deceive' < isan 'lie' + -'a?
kumawih 'sharpen' < kūma- 'sharp'
nangkawih 'talk' < nangkah 'hear'
nuhakkawih 'make baskets' < nuhakka 'basket'
pangkuwih 'swim with head under water' < paa 'water'?

-yai(n) ?: unproductive
muiyai 'become intoxicated' < mui- 'jimson weed'
tammayain 'get crazy' < tamma 'crazy'

-yun general verbalizer; productive (?)

hakanniyun 'be how' < hakanni 'how'
napakayun 'be in halves' < napakan 'half'
pangwyun 'fish' vt < pangwi 'fish'
wümmaniyun 'be naked' < wümmani- 'naked'

3.3 NONFINITE FORMS

Virtually all Tumpisa Shoshone verbs have several nonfinite deverbal forms. They are distinguished from finite forms in that they do not take the full range of verbal suffixes (see 3.1.1) such as the adverbial suffixes or prefinal and final aspect, tense, and mode suffixes; they function as members of other word classes, and they are used in certain kinds of subordinate clauses (discussed later on in chapter 8). The position of the nonfinite suffixes is immediately after the verb stem.

3.3.1 The Infinitive

Verbal nouns are formed with the suffix -nna. Verbal nouns in -nna function much like infinitives or gerunds and will be called infinitives in this work. The infinitive suffix is homophonous with the general aspect suffix -nna,
but infinitives are easily distinguished, since they function as nouns, not verbs, and they normally have no adverbial, aspect, tense, or mode suffixes. The two example sentences below contain infinitives in -nna: they are tutuainna 'to work/working' in 172 and hipinna 'to drink/drinking' in 173. Both sentences also have finite verbs in aspectual -nna as well.

(172) Tütüainna nü tamminoingkünna.
     working me make tired
     'Working makes me tired.'

(173) Nū hipinna tsao suwangkünna.
     I to drink really like
     'I really like to drink.'

3.3.2 Present and Past Participles

There are two participles: the present participle formed with the suffix -tun (obj -tunna ~ -tj), and the past participle formed with the suffix -ppuh (obj -ppuha). The participles may function either as adjectives or as nouns. For example, in 174-176 the present participles function as nouns; whereas in 177-179 the present participles function as deverbal participial adjectives in subordinate clauses.

(174) Nū nüaitunna nangkappühantü tùnga umatu ma'i.
     I blowing-O heard and rain(ing) with
     'I heard the wind and rain.'

(175) Wayantünna punikka nu.
     burning-O see I
     'I see the fire [=burning].'
(176) Nu neeyangwitunna punikka.
I handgame-playing-O see
'I see handgame-playing.'

(177) Tammu neeyangwippuhantu tukwanni
we/inc play handgame-past night

piiya hipitu.
beer drinking

'We played handgame last night, drinking beer.'

(178) Tangummu pa'appuh wunutu nia pusikwa.
man tall standing me know
'The tall man knows me.'

(179) Nuu tangummi pa'appuh wunutunna pusikwa.
I man-O tall standing-O know
'I know the tall man.'

Past participles in -ppuh commonly are used in conjunction with the adverbial completive suffix -tain (i.e., -taippuh). Past participles typically function as predicate adjectives (e.g., 180-182) or as deverbal participial adjectives in subordinate clauses (e.g., 183-185).

(180) Tupattsi kuppataippuh.
pinenut cook-cmplt-pp
'The pinenuts are cooked.'

(181) Nuu tamminoippuh. 'I'm tired.'
I tire-pp
(182) Setū tsukuppüttai küttaappüh muiyaippüh,
this old man really drunk
setū uppuitaippüh.
this sleep-cmplt-pp
'The old man is really drunk; he's completely asleep.'

(183) Tūhūya ung kutippüh tiyaitaihwa.
deer his shoot-pp died
'The deer he shot died.'

(184) Nūū tsiatiyaippüh nū tūkkatu'ih.
I starve-pp I eat-will
'When I'm starved, I'll eat.'

(185) Wa'ippüang kuukippüha nūmmū tūkkanna tūpanna.
woman's cook-pp-o we-exc eat pinenut-o
'We're eating the woman's cooked pinenuts
[i.e., the pinenuts the woman cooked].'

The present participle suffix and the past participle suffix are homophonous, respectively, with the habitual aspect suffix -tun and the perfect aspect suffix -ppüh (see 3.1.1). The participles and finite forms are distinguished, of course, in function, but also in that the participles do not occur with other verbal suffixes (except -tain).

3.4 VERB PHRASES

As discussed and amply exemplified in section 2.2 of the previous chapter, the predicate or verb phrase in Túmpisa Shoshone may contain as its head constituent either a verb or a predicate complement such as a predicate noun (or NP), a predicate adjective (or Adj phrase), or a predicate
adverbial. A verb may be intransitive, either stative, process, or active, or it may be transitive or ditransitive. As should be apparent from the discussion throughout earlier sections of this chapter, the real complexity of the verb phrase occurs within the verb word itself. The verb phrase outside of the verb is not particularly complex, since the verb may contain, aside from the verb root or stem, morphemes indicating aspect, tense, mode, direction, voice, instrument, and various other adverbial and nominal notions, as well as compounded auxiliaries. Nevertheless, the verb may be modified by various kinds of adverbs and postpositional phrases, which are discussed in detail later on (see chapter 5 on postpositions and chapter 7 on adverbs).

What is covered in chapters 2, 5, and 7 is not repeated in this section. Rather, I simply illustrate how the verb is modified within the verb phrase. Nearly all verb modifiers normally occur before the verb, although they may also occur after it. Only the two enclitic particles puu and -nnu'u always follow the verb when modifying it. Both are emphatic markers, but puu often marks contrastiveness as well as simple emphasis.

(186) Setu otammanni miattaisü süm mi yu kwi tu puu!
    this old man went away that saying emph
    'This old man went away saying that!'

(187) Nüu naaiyangwitüki-nnu'u.
    I play handgame-start-emph
    'I'm starting to play handgame!'

Other verb modifiers seem to have considerable freedom in terms of their positioning. They either occur immediately before the verb (e.g., 194) or second in the sentence after the subject (e.g., 188 and 193), but sometimes they are sentence-initial (as in 189-191), and somewhat less frequently they follow the verb (as in 191-192 and 196). It
should be stated, however, that the restrictions on the positioning of modifiers of the verb are simply not known.

In terms of function, some are delimiters, such as *utuku* in 188, which is itself further modified by emphatic *puu*.

\[(188)\] Setu utuku puu umannuh. ‘It was just raining!’

Some are intensifiers, like *kuttaappuh* in 189.

\[(189)\] Kuttaappuh nuenna. ‘It’s really blowing.’

Others, such as *noohimpe* in 190, indicate aspectual notions; while still others, like *puesu(suu)* and *miikkwa* in 191, denote time.

\[(190)\] Noohimpe sutu yahinna. ‘He always laughs.’

\[(191)\] Puesusu punnanni nummi nukkwippuha long ago which way us do-past-sub nuu sukkwa teewitu’ih miikkwa.

‘Now I will tell the way that we did (things) long ago.’

Some, like *sope* in 192, indicate place.

\[(192)\] U makakomminna sopetti. her feed-around-iterative there abouts-emph ‘He would feed her around there.’
And finally, some indicate manner, like *yawusü* and *tsao* in 193-194.

(193) Nūū yawusü miakwantu'ih.
    I quickly go away-will
    'I'll quickly go away.'

(194) Nūū kee sakka tsao suwangkūna.
    I not that-O well like
    'I don't like that [that] well.'

All of the examples given so far have been with verbs as head of the verb phrase, but of course nonverbal predicates may have modifiers as well. For example, the intensifier *kenūmūnī* modifies the predicate adjective in 195, the emphatic -nnu'u modifies the predicate adjective in 196, and the time adverb *miikkwa* modifies the predicate noun phrase in 197.

(195) Nūū kenūmūnī pasampūttsī.
    I really skinny
    'I'm really skinny.'

(196) Nūū pihyapi-nnu'u! 'I'm really weak!' 
    I weak-emph

(197) Tsawūntū tangūmu miikkwa.
    good man now
    'He's a good man now.'

Note to Chapter 3

1. This verb stem and the one exemplified next are either etymologically related or there has been some contamination between them.
This chapter presents all of the minor word classes that can function as pronominals. Pronominals are words that are capable of substituting for entire noun phrases (see chapter 5 on NPs). The pronominals include personal pronouns (4.1), reflexive pronouns (4.2), demonstratives (4.3), interrogatives (4.4), indefinite pronouns (4.5), quantifiers (4.6), and numbers (4.7).

4.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns distinguish the categories of person, number, case, and exclusive-inclusiveness. There are three persons: first, second, and third; three numbers: singular, dual, and plural; and three cases: subjective (= nominative), objective (= accusative and dative), and possessive (= genitive). The first persons dual and plural are either exclusive, indicating the speaker and other(s) but not the addressee, or inclusive, indicating the speaker and the addressee. Third person pronouns are deficient in that there are only forms in the objective and possessive singular and none in the subjective nor in the dual and plural numbers. Demonstratives function where third person pronouns might otherwise be used (see 4.3). However, the third person singular pronouns may sometimes have plural reference, especially if their referents are inanimate or if there would be no potential ambiguity in context.
### Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>nu ≈ nüü</td>
<td>nia ≈ nü</td>
<td>nian ≈ nü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ü ≈ üü₁</td>
<td>ümmi ≈ ün</td>
<td>ümmmin ≈ ün</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>rna</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>ununin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc</td>
<td>nungku</td>
<td>nuhu ≈ nuhu⁻¹</td>
<td>nuhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st inc</td>
<td>tangku</td>
<td>tahi ≈ tahu⁻¹</td>
<td>tahin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>mungku</td>
<td>muhi ≈ muhu⁻¹</td>
<td>muhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc</td>
<td>numму</td>
<td>nummi</td>
<td>nummin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st inc</td>
<td>tammу</td>
<td>tammi</td>
<td>tammin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>múмму</td>
<td>múmmi</td>
<td>múmmin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alternate forms with long vowels in the first and second persons singular are emphatic or contrastive. The dual objective alternates marked with a following dash are used in combination with certain postpositions. The third person singular pronouns are etymologically related to demonstrative bases, and their demonstrative flavor may not be entirely absent. The different alternates seem to be largely interchangeable; there is a tendency to use the `ma` forms for humans and the `y` forms for nonhumans, but this certainly is not a hard and fast rule. A number of sentence examples of pronouns not occurring frequently elsewhere in this monograph are given below.

1. Mungku mimi'akwantu'ih. 'You two are going away.'
   you(dl) go(dl)-going to

2. Muhu wakantu kimmanna. 'He's coming towards you two.'
   you(dl) towards come
(3) Satu muhi tottukwappuhantu.
that you(dl)-O hit
'He hit you two.'

(4) Mummu tuittsia taotahi noohakapa'angkuh.
you(pl) young man-O find someplace
'You all are going to find a young man someplace.'

(5) Nuu mummi mappatappaikwantu'ih.
I you(pl)-O slap-going to
'I'm going to slap you all.'

(6) Mummi apputi utu sutu:
your(pl) father-emph that that
'That's you-all's father!'

(7) Nungku atammupi kuppa napunippuhantu.
we(dl) car in were seen
'We two were seen in the car.'

(8) Nuhim pungku nuhi tangummutih.
our(dl) horse us(dl) kick
'Our horse kicked us two.'

(9) Tangku nawittsipia nanangkahappuhantu.
we(dl) girl-O heard
'We two heard the girl.'

(10) Nawittsipi tahi wuttaukwappuhantu.
girl us(dl) hit
'The girl hit us two.'

(11) Tahim piiya tsumataippuh.
our(dl) beer all gone
'Our beer is all gone.'
Possessive pronominal constructions used as heads of noun phrases and as predicate nominals are formed with the possessive case personal pronouns plus himpu (himpua obj) 'something, thing, stuff', which is both an indefinite pronoun and noun. Himpu can also be used in this function with third person reflexives (4.2) and with demonstratives (4.3). These forms are listed below (even though the reflexives and demonstratives are discussed in the next two sections). The presence of final -ŋ is optional, although preferred, on the possessive case forms preceding himpu. When -ŋ is present, then the initial h of himpu is replaced with n (as a regular phonological process; see 9.3.7).

**NOMINAL AND PREDICATIVE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS**

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>nia himpu ≈ nian nimpu</td>
<td>'mine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ummi himpu ≈ ummin himpu ≈ un nimpu</td>
<td>'yours'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd rflx</td>
<td>punnan himpu ≈ punnan himpu</td>
<td>'his/her own'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem</td>
<td>sukka himpu ≈ sukkan himpu</td>
<td>'that one's'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dual**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st exc</td>
<td>nuhi himpu ≈ nuhin himpu</td>
<td>'ours, his and mine'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st inc</td>
<td>tahin himpu</td>
<td>tahin himpu ≈ tahin himpu</td>
<td>'ours, yours and mine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>mui himpu ≈ muhin himpu</td>
<td>'the two of yours'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd rflx</td>
<td>puhin himpu</td>
<td>puhin himpu</td>
<td>'their own'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem</td>
<td>sutuhin himpu</td>
<td>sutuhin himpu</td>
<td>'those two's'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st exc</td>
<td>nummi himpu ≈ nummin himpu</td>
<td>'ours, theirs and mine'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st inc</td>
<td>tammin himpu</td>
<td>tammin himpu</td>
<td>'ours, yours and mine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>mummi himpu ≈ mummin himpu</td>
<td>'yours, you-all's'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd rflx</td>
<td>pummin himpu</td>
<td>pummin himpu</td>
<td>'their own'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem</td>
<td>sutummim himpu</td>
<td>sutummim himpu</td>
<td>'those ones'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

The first and second person reflexive pronouns are built up from the respective subjective personal pronouns with the addition of the reflexive suffix -sun. However, in the singular first and second persons there are also alternate reflexives built on the respective possessive personal pronouns plus taka 'self' plus -sun. The third person reflexive pronouns are all based on the reflexive root pün, which has singular, dual, and plural forms, each with both objective and possessive cases. In the singular objective, pün is followed by taka and then -sun. The dual and plural objective forms also take -sun (without taka), but the possessives have neither.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>núusun ≈ nútakasun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ūusun ≈ ūntakasun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>pūntakasun</td>
<td>pūn ≈ pūnnan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc</td>
<td>nungkusun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st inc</td>
<td>tangkusun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>mungkusun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>pungkusun</td>
<td>puhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc</td>
<td>númmusun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st inc</td>
<td>tammusun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>númmusun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>púmmusun</td>
<td>púmmín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The objective reflexive pronouns are used in reflexive clauses where the subject does something to itself. They are
also used in dual reciprocal clauses and may optionally be used in plural reciprocal clauses. The reader might wish to look again at the discussion of reflexive and reciprocal clauses containing verbs in na-, in section 3.2.1.3 of the last chapter; note especially example sentences 138-142.

(12) Nūsusū nawūngweninna. 'I hang myself.'
    myself pmpr-hang

(13) Nūtakasū napunni. 'I see myself.'
    myself pmpr-see

(14) Tangkusū napuniyūkwi.
    our(dl)selves pmpr-see-stand
    'We two are standing looking at each other.'

(15) Tammū(sū) annappuniha.
    we(ourselves) recip-see-stv
    'We are looking at each other.'

Objective reflexives are also used sometimes to emphasize the fact that an activity occurs by itself without the intervention of some outside force. In this case, the reflexives may be used with root intransitive verbs (i.e., not just those intransitives formed with na-).

(16) Satū puntakasū pikwaanna.
    that itself break(pl)
    'That's breaking up into pieces by itself.'

The third person reflexives in the possessive case are used when the object is possessed or owned by the subject, as opposed to anyone else.
(17) Wa'ippū pitsingkunna pünnam piammütsi.  
woman nurse her own baby  
'The woman is nursing her (own) baby.'

(18) Um piammütsi pünnam pia pitsitu'ih.  
her baby its own mother suckle-will  
'The baby'll suckle its (own) mother.'

(19) Tokowa pünnang kwayingkunna pippokoanna.  
snake its own skin drop  
'The snake is shedding its (own) skin.'

(20) Supe'esū sutummu u petsünnuwimmaa wa'ippūa  
that time those her took walking woman-O  
pünnan nanümū. Pümming kahni ka u  
her own relatives their own house to her  
petsüppūh no'api naammaa sutū u piüu wa'ippū!  
take-perf pregnant was that it emph woman  
'Then they, her own relatives, took her away. They took her to their own house, and the woman was pregnant!'

4.3. DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives are formed with two primary parts, a demonstrative/locative base and a demonstrative stem formative. The Dem/Loc bases are etymologically related to the third person singular objective pronouns (4.1), and they indicate relative distance whether spatial, temporal, or psychological. Most of the bases come in two forms, one with initial ~- and one without ~-. Generally speaking, the bases without ~- are used to introduce new (or indefinite and not given) information into the discourse, or they are used to
indicate that a given discourse participant is not the topic, whether or not it is new or given information. The bases with $g$- are used to signal given or definite information. Aside from the paired bases, the Dem/Loc base $ma$- indicates given or definite information like the bases in $g$-, but it is neutral with respect to relative distance, covering all or any of the area indicated by the $g$- bases. The forms in $g$- and $ma$- are used to track topics in discourse, so they are called proximate demonstrative bases. Even though the forms without $g$- or $ma$- may be used to introduce new discourse topics, they are never used to track continuing topics, so they are called obviative demonstrative bases. The obviative bases may be used with given information nouns to explicitly mark them as nontopics. The Dem/Loc bases are not only used in the formation of demonstratives but also with postpositions (see chapter 5) and with various adverbial formatives (see chapter 7).

DEMONSTRATIVE-LOCATIVE BASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obviative</th>
<th>Proximate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>si-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>se-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>sa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>su-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>'(this) right here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'(this) here nearby'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'(that) there visible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'(that) there not visible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'(this/that) here/there'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The demonstrative stem formatives have different forms for three numbers and three cases.
DEMOMINATIONALS

DEMONSTRATIVE STEM FORMATIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>-kkk</td>
<td>-kkkk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objective</td>
<td>-tungku</td>
<td>-tuhi ≈ -tuhu-</td>
<td>-tuhi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>-tummu</td>
<td>-tummi ≈ -tummi</td>
<td>-tummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>-tungku</td>
<td>-tuhi</td>
<td>-tuhi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objective</td>
<td>-tummu ≈</td>
<td>-tummi</td>
<td>-tummin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>-tummu</td>
<td>-tummi</td>
<td>-tummin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possessive case forms are built on the objective case forms with the addition of final -n. This is typical of the possessive case throughout the language. The alternate plural stem formatives with plain y instead of ŋ are optional forms due to vowel harmony used only after (g)u-. The alternate dual form -tuhu- is used only with following postpositions (see chapter 5).

All of the Dem/Loc bases combine with all of the demonstrative stem formatives, resulting in the sets of demonstratives given above.

DEMONSTRATIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s)itu</td>
<td>(s)ikk</td>
<td>(s)ikkann</td>
<td>'this (one) right here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s)etu</td>
<td>(s)ekkk</td>
<td>(s)ekkan</td>
<td>'this (one) nearby'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s)atu</td>
<td>(s)akkk</td>
<td>(s)akkkan</td>
<td>'that (one) visible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s)utu</td>
<td>(s)ukkk</td>
<td>(s)ukkan</td>
<td>'that (one) not visible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matu</td>
<td>makkk</td>
<td>makkan</td>
<td>'this, that, he, she, it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s)itungku</td>
<td>(s)ituhi</td>
<td>(s)ituhi-</td>
<td>'these two right here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s)setungku</td>
<td>(s)etuhi</td>
<td>(s)etuhi-</td>
<td>'these two nearby'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s)atungku</td>
<td>(s)atuhhi</td>
<td>(s)atuhin</td>
<td>'those two visible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s)utungku</td>
<td>(s)utuhhi</td>
<td>(s)utuhin</td>
<td>'those two not visible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matungku</td>
<td>matuhki</td>
<td>matuhin</td>
<td>'those, these, they two'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
plural

(s)itūmμ (s)itūmμi (s)itūmμin 'these right here'
(s)etūmμ (s)etūmμi (s)etūmμin 'these nearby'
(s)atūmμ (s)atūmμi (s)atūmμin 'those visible'
(s)utūmμ (s)utūmμi (s)utūmμin 'those not visible'
≈(s)utūmμ (≈(s)utūmμi (≈(s)utūmμin 'these, those, they'
matūmμ (matūmμi matūmμin 'these, those, they'

The demonstratives function both as determiners in noun phrases with head nouns and as pronouns substituting for nouns (or whole NPs). As determiners, they may occur either before or after head nouns; and even though they have demonstrative force, they are often used much like the articles in English. The obviative demonstratives tend to be used more often as determiners than the proximate demonstratives. The proximate demonstratives tend to function more often as third person anaphoric pronouns. The reason for this seems to be that, since the obviative forms introduce new information, they nearly always occur with a head noun, unless they are being used deictically. On the other hand, the proximate demonstratives indicate given information, so full noun phrases with a head noun are much less likely to be used with them. Nevertheless, both kinds of demonstratives can be used in either function. The demonstratives are also commonly used as pronoun copies so that within the same clause the same demonstrative may function as a determiner with a head noun and as a pronoun referring to the referent of the noun (e.g., 25 below and 144, 190, and 191 in chapter 5). Or one demonstrative may function as a determiner with a head noun and another one may function as a pronoun copy having the same reference as the head noun (e.g., 20 and 25).

In the interlinear word-for-word translations, the demonstratives are simply translated as 'this', 'that', 'these', or 'those', even though they carry more information than the four English demonstratives. In the figurative
translations, the demonstratives may be translated with any of the English demonstratives with or without following 'one' (i.e., 'this one', 'that one'), with the definite article 'the', or with third person pronouns like 'he', 'she', 'it', 'they', etc., all depending on what is appropriate given the demands of English and the function of the Túmpisa Shoshone demonstratives in context.

In 21 obviative ùtu is used as a determiner introducing 'Coyote' as new information. This is the first sentence in the text "Coyote's Daughters" in chapter 10. Sentence 22 occurs a few lines later in the same text, and proximate setù is used as a given information determiner with the 'old man', which is another reference to Coyote.

(21) Isapaippù utu... un appù miattaaimmaa.
    Coyote that its father went-cmplt
    = their
    'That Coyote, their father, went away.'

(22) Setù atammani miattaaisu sümüm yûkisütu pû! this old man went-cmplt thus saying emph
    'This old man went away saying that!'

In 23, a few lines later on in the same text, proximate sutummu functions as a demonstrative pronoun referring to Coyote's daughters, who have already been mentioned and who are the topic for the time being. They are waiting for some young man that Coyote had told them about. In 24, a couple of lines later, the young man arrives with ('at') the girls, here referred to with obviative utummu. Utummu here does not indicate new information, since the girls have been very much a part of the story up to this point. The use of obviative utummu indicates that the girls are no longer the topic, at least not for the moment; rather, the young man is.
(23) Sutūmmū supe'esū wihnu u wūttūhilhantū sutūmmū.
"Then at that time they waited for him."

(24) Supe'e wihnu tuittsi pitūsu tuittsi pitū
"Then at that time then young man arrive young man arrive
utūmmū ka wihnu sūmūttū tuittsi.
"At that time then a young man arrived, one young man arrived with them then."

The sentences in 25-26 are still from the "Coyote's Daughters" text, but a little further on. In 25, the pronoun copy phenomenon is amply illustrated, with etū being repeated several times both as a determiner and as a pronoun, and then with setū being used as still another pronoun, all in reference to the old lady, the girls' mother. The use of etū in the beginning is to reintroduce the mother (even though she had been mentioned some lines back); the use of setū at the end of the clause shows she is now old information and a continuing topic.

(25) Etū etū wihnu hipittsi etū etū utummin pia
"This one then, this old lady, this one, this one their mother, saw it, and also one girl saw it..."
(26) U punikka setū. U punikka tunga satū.
    it see this it see also that
    'This one saw it. Also, that one saw it.'

There are a number of noteworthy tendencies as well as restrictions in the use of the demonstratives in transitive clauses with both a third person subject and a third person object. First, there is a strong tendency not to use demonstratives with both the subject and object if both are full noun phrases with head nouns. So, the version in 27 without akka is preferred.

(27) Kapaayu atū tangummi (akka) tangummuttih.
    horse that man-O that-O kick
    'That horse kicked the man.'

(28) Atū kapaayu sakka tangummuttih.
    that horse that-O kick
    'That horse kicked that (one).'

(29) Satū sakka isapungku tangummuttih.
    that that-O dog kick
    'That one kicked that dog.'

Also, if both subject and object are given information, then it is preferred that the object be indicated with a third person objective pronoun rather than with a demonstrative. Thus, 30 is preferable to 31.

(30) Satū u tangummuttih.
    that it kick
    'That one kicked it.'

(31) Satū sakka tangummuttih.
    that that-O kick
    'That one kicked that one.'
Furthermore, if a proximate demonstrative is used as a pronoun subject, then the object cannot have an obviative demonstrative. For example, compare ungrammatical 32 with grammatical 29.

(32) *Satü akka isapungku tangummuttih.
    that that-O dog kick

Two obviative pronouns are also ungrammatical (e.g., 33).

(33) *Atü akka tangummuttih.
    that that-O kick

In ditransitive clauses with both direct and indirect objects given information and in the third person, then the indirect object must be indicated either with a third person pronoun or with an obviative demonstrative. The indirect object cannot be indicated with a proximate demonstrative; compare grammatical 35-37 with ungrammatical 38. Actually, when both objects are given information, then it is preferable to indicate the indirect object with a third person pronoun. So, 35 is better than 36.

(34) Wa'ippü tupanna tangummi tukumahanningkunna.
    woman pinenut-O man-O cook-for
    'The/a woman cooked pinenuts for the/a man.'

(35) Satü sakka u tukumahanningkunna.
    that that-O him cook-for
    'She cooked that for him.'

(36) Satü sukkwa ukka tukumahanningkunna.
    that that-O that-O cook-for
    = him
    'She cooked that for him.'
Not all of the restrictions noted above are transparent. However, it seems clear that there is a tendency to avoid stacking up demonstratives of the same kind. Thus, having more than two participants marked proximate or obviative in the same clause is avoided, ruling out 38 and 39. Sentences 33 and 39 are probably ruled out on the grounds that they would be discourse contradictions. That is, they would imply two or three given information nontopics in the same clause as direct participants, or that all participants are new information.

Aside from the regular demonstratives that I have been discussing up to this point, several special demonstratives use the same set of Dem/Loc bases but are built with different stem formatives, each indicating a special function. The special demonstratives that have been recorded are listed below.

**SPECIAL DEMONSTRATIVES**

- **-sun** 'is the one that' clefting and existential
  - isun 'this right here is (the one that)'
  - esun 'this is (the one that)'
  - asun 'that is (the one that)'
  - usun ≅ usun 'that is (the one not visible that)'
  - masun 'this/these is (the one that)'
The two special demonstrative formatives -nni (= nį) and -ittun are also used in building interrogatives, namely, hakani 'how' and hakaittun 'what kind' (see 4.4). The demonstratives built on -gün are used to cleft nominal constituents, as in 40-41 (see chapter 8), and they are also used to provide existential definitions, as in 42-45. They do not display case distinctions, occurring only in the subjective case, and they apparently only occur in obviative form, never with proximate s-. That they do not occur with proximate s- is probably due to the fact that one of their primary functions is to introduce new (existential) information (but not to track continuing topics).

(40) Esu mummi naiwekipitüihantu tuittsi.
    this is you all woo-arrive young man
    'This is the one who is coming to woo you all, the young man.'
(41) Isa appū esū naisapū.
coyote father this is horny
'This coyote father is the one who is horny.'

(42) Usu ha kahni? 'Is that a house?'
that is Q house

(43) Esū nahim pungku. 'This is our pet.'
this our(dl) pet

(44) Asū hipikkahni. 'That's a bar.'
that is bar

(45) Usū un natūkkanna tūnga 'ohyo' niyakantū.
that is its being eaten and plant sp be called
'That's an edible, and it's called ohyo.'
[= a plant]

The manner (adverbial) demonstratives built on -nni are used to indicate the way something is done. They may be used with most active verbs, but they are obligatory with a few verbs such as nukwi" 'do', yukwi" = yukwi" 'do; get, go after', and ma'oh 'push away'. With the two 'do' verbs, the manner demonstratives reference the activity performed, which may also be explicitly stated in an object complement clause (e.g., 47 and 48). The manner demonstratives often contract with nukwi" (e.g., sinni +nukwi" > sinnukwi" 'do this way'; senni + nukwi" > sennukwi" 'do this way'; sanni + nukwi" > sannukwi" 'do that way'; sunni + nukwi" > sunnukwi" 'do that way').

(46) Uū ha sennukwikkatū?
you Q this way-do-sit
'What are you sitting doing?'
(47) Nuu sennukwikatu tumo’ikatu.  
I this way-do-sit write-sit  
'I'm doing this (way), sitting writing.'

(48) Kawa sunnukkwi enni utummi ma’omminna.  
rat that way-do this way those-O push away  
'The rat was doing that (way), pushing them away like this.'

(49) Satu nia sunni yukwingkuppühantü.  
that me that way did for  
'He did that (way) for me.'

The demonstratives indicating 'special kind' distinguish subjective and objective cases, but often the objective endings are contracted (i.e., obj -ittänna > -ittun), so that objective forms become indistinguishable from subjective ones (e.g., 51; cf. 52; see section 9.5 on contractions).

(50) Usun takasu suittun natükkanna.  
that self that kind be eaten  
= that's all  
'That's all of that kind that is eaten.'

(51) Nummu suittun tükamminna.  
we(exc) that kind-O eat-iterative  
'We used to eat that (special) kind.'

(52) Nuu iittünna tsao suwangkünna.  
I this kind-O well feel about [=like]  
'I like this special kind here.'

(53) Eittüm ma piappüü isapungku police dog.  
this kind with big dog  
'It is with this special kind of big dog, a police dog.'
The demonstrative indicating 'that particular one, that very one' has two different synonymous forms, sammatu used in Death Valley and further west, and summatu used in Nevada. It does not have different forms indicating relative degrees of distance. Apparently it is built on the proximate demonstrative matu with the addition of sa"- (? proximate 'that, there') or su"- (?). Its function seems to be to indicate explicitly that there is not a change in the primary discourse topic, even though there might otherwise be at that particular point in the discourse.

(54) Ûmmi ha petû summatu naakkimmaah sutu? your Q daughter that particular got to be that '
['How] did that particular one get to be your daughter?'

(55) Summatu ha yuwaintu, ûitsû'intû kee yuwaintu? that one Q be warm be cold not be warm 'Is that particular one warm, or cold, not warm?'

(56) Sammatu niam pûa. 'That very one is my cousin.' that very my cousin

Obviously, the Tûmîsa demonstrative system is quite complex, and it certainly warrants a good deal more study.

4.4 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Question words function as interrogative pronouns, substituting not only for core participants such as subjects and objects but also for more peripheral constituents such as possessives and locative, temporal, manner, and purposive adverbials. Most of the interrogative pronouns are built on one of the two interrogative bases haka 'what, how, where' or hii ≈ hîn- 'what' (hîn- is a combining form). Both of these interrogative bases are etymologically related to the yes/no
question particle ha. The question words that have been recorded are listed below.

### INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haka</td>
<td>'who(m), what, how, where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakatun</td>
<td>'who' subj human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakka</td>
<td>'whom' obj human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakkan</td>
<td>'whose' poss human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakahontun</td>
<td>'where from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakaittun</td>
<td>'what kind, which kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakami</td>
<td>'what/how (of something said or thought)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakani</td>
<td>'how, what way, what manner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakaniyun</td>
<td>'how is (it), how are (you)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakanukwitun</td>
<td>'why'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapan = hakapan'</td>
<td>'where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapai</td>
<td>'where from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapantun</td>
<td>'where from, where at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapangkuh</td>
<td>'where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapayuntun</td>
<td>'where to, where at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakattuh</td>
<td>'through where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hii</td>
<td>'what' subj nonhuman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinna</td>
<td>'what' obj nonhuman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiiyama</td>
<td>'what kind (is it), what's happening'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiyasun</td>
<td>'what kind (is it)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpan</td>
<td>'how'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpakantun</td>
<td>'how much, how many; how big, what size'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpakantunna</td>
<td>'how much, how many' obj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpe</td>
<td>'when'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apparently question words may be formed, at least semiproductively, with haka plus a postposition. This process has given rise to hakani from Post ni 'like, way, in
the manner of', hakattuh from Post tun ≈ -ttuh 'through', and several others built on Post pan ≈ pa'an 'on, at' (e.g., hakapan, hakapai, hakapangkuh, etc.). Once formed, interrogatives may then undergo further derivational processes. For example, hakaniyun is technically a verb formed from hakani with the verbalizing suffix -yun. Still further derivation is possible; for example, hakapayuntun is based on hakapan, which has been verbalized with -yun and then nominalized with the noun-forming suffix -tun. No doubt there are other interrogatives, or at least potential interrogatives, that have not been recorded.

As discussed in section 2.3.2 on interrogative sentences, question words are normally fronted to the beginning of an interrogative sentence; and the subject, if it isn't being questioned itself, typically occurs finally after the verb. However, question words may occur second in the sentence after the subject if it occurs preverbally, and they may also occur before the subject if it occurs preverbally (cf. different orders in 66 and 67). Let's look at some interrogative sentences.

(57) Haka sutu? 'Where is it?'
    where that

(58) Haka napunni sutu?
    what/how look that
    'What does that look like? / How does that look?'

(59) Haka ma'e sutu? 'Who was he with?
    whom with that

(60) Hakatu a tsappihwammaa? 'Who broke it?'
    who it broke

(61) Hakatum mi'akommaa? 'Who went?'
    who went
(62) Hakka punikka ū? 'Who(m) did you see?'
   whom see you

(63) Hakkang kapaayu pungku itū?
   whose horse pet this
   'Whose horse is this?'

(64) Hakaittu wainnih (naammaa) satū?
   what kind wine was that
   'What kind of wine is (was) that?'

(65) Hakaittu kapaayu satūmmū?
   what kind horse those
   'What kind of horses are those?'

(66) a. Hakami yukwitū'ih tammū? 'What'll we say?'
    what say-will we

   b. Tammū hakami yukwitū'ih? 'What'll we say?'
      we what say-will

   c. Hakami tammū yukwitū'ih? 'What'll we say?'
      what we say-will

(67) a. Hakani yukwinna ūū? 'What'll you do?'
    what way do-will you

   b. Nūū hakani yukwitū'ih? 'What'll I do?'
      I what way do-will

(68) Hakanukwitu kO'ennuwimmaa sutū?
   why return-walk around that
   'Why did he come back?'
(69)  Hakanukwitù nía tûpingkùnna 'nù tûkâwà',
why me ask about me under
nía niingkùnna üï?
me say you

'Why did you ask me about 'under me' (you said to me)?'

(70)  Hakapà satù? 'Where is he?'
where that

(71)  Hakapà ümìng kahni? 'Where's your house?'
where your house

(72)  Hakapantù satù? ≈ Satù hakapantù?
where from that that where from
'Where's he from?'

(73)  Hakapantù u kuttïmâa? 'Where'd he shoot him?'
where him shot

(74)  Hakapai pittuhuntù?
where from return
'Where's he returning from?'

(75)  Hakapayuntu u siikwantu'ih?
where to you pee-go to
'Where're you going to go pee?'

(76)  Hîi (satù) hapekku? 'What (was it that) fell?'
what that fell
(77) Hinna hapingkukku satu? 'What did he make fall?'
what-O make fall that

(78) Hiiyamma satu? what kind that
'What kind is it? / What kind [of person] is he/she?'

(79) Himpakantü tattangummü? 'How many men are there?'
how many men

(80) Himpakantü namokku? 'How much money is there?'
how much money

(81) Himpakantünna tuammütu sufü.
how many-O give birth that
'How many did she give birth to?'

(82) Himpe u kuttimmäa (satu)? when him shot that
'When did he shoot him?'

4.5 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

The interrogative pronouns discussed in the preceding section may also function as indefinite pronouns as in 84 and 85 (cf. 83).

(83) Ùú hakami suwakkatu?
you what think-sit
'What're you sitting thinking about?'

(84) Kee hakami suwakkatu.
not what think-sit
'(I)'m not sitting thinking about anything.'
More typically, however, indefinite pronouns are formed with one of the two indefinite adverbial particles: noo, a proclitic, and sampe, an enclitic,4 or with the negative proclitic particle kee 'not'. In all but a few cases, these three particles are appended to interrogative pronouns to form indefinite pronouns.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

hakatū sampe 'someone, somebody, anyone, anybody'
hakka sampe obj 'someone, somebody, anyone, anybody'
hakaittū sampe 'some kind, any kind'
hakamaanna ≈ hakapamaanna 'someplace, somewhere'
hakapa'a sampe 'someplace, somewhere'
hakapangkuh sampe 'someplace, somewhere'
hakattuh sampe 'someplace, somewhere'
hi sampe 'something, anything, some/any kind'
hinna sampe obj 'something, anything, some/any kind'
himpū (-a obj) 'something'
himpūka" 'someplace'
keehakatūn 'no one, nobody'
keehakkka obj 'no one, nobody'
keehii(ppūh) 'nothing, no one; there is/are no'
keehinna obj 'nothing, no one'
keehimpū (-a obj) 'nothing, none'
nahona 'be nothing'
nahonappūh(ppūh) 'nothing'
noohakatūn 'someone, anyone, everyone, whoever'
noohakkka obj 'someone, anyone, everyone, who(m)ever'
noohakaittūn 'whatever kind, all kinds, any kind'
noohakami 'some/anything (said/perceived)'
noohakapan 'somewhere, anywhere, wherever'
noohakapangkuh 'somewhere, anywhere, wherever'
noohakattuh 'somewhere, anywhere, wherever'
noohi 'something, anything, whatever'
noohinna 'something, anything, whatever' obj
noohimpe = noohompe 'all the time, any time; always'
sümümi 'something (said or thought); thus'
sümüttün 'someone; one'

Many of the indefinite pronouns are illustrated in the sentence examples that follow.

(86) Hakatü sampe kizmakinna. 'Someone is coming.'
    someone come-hither

(87) Hakatü sampe nü tottükwapppuhantu.
    somebody me hit
    'Somebody hit me.'

(88) Nüü hakka sampe tottükwapppuhantu.
    I somebody-O hit
    'I hit somebody.'

(89) Hakaittu sampe pungku. 'It's some kind of pet.'
    some kind pet

(90) Wa'ippua ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwüümmaa utü
    woman-O that-O some where caught that
    pahamittsi utü hakamaanna u nuwiku toya ma
    bear that someplace her walk mountain on

nootüngta.
probably
'A woman got caught by a bear somewhere, probably when she was walking someplace in the mountains.

(91) Nū pui kuppa epe hii sampe.
my eye in here something
'There's something here in my eye.'

(92) Hinna sampe kuttinna satū.
something-O shoot that
'He shot something.'

(93) Nūmmū hinpūa saawatu'ih.
we(exc) something-O boil-will
'Let's boil something.'

(94) Tammū tūpanna yaakwantu'ih
we pinenut-O will go get
epetti himpūkattī!
here abouts-emph someplace-emph
'We'll go get pinenuts around here someplace!'

(95) Keehipūh tsopittsi. 'There are no ghosts.'
nothing ghost

(96) Sutū piapputū kuttippuhantū tūhūya
that big shot deer
nū keehinna kuttinna.
I nothing-O shoot

'He shot a big deer; I shot nothing.'
(97) Nahona wihnu tuttsüppūh u suwangkūnna.
be nothing then bad her feel [= dislike]
'He doesn't like her for nothing then.'

(98) Nahonappūh sutū. 'That's nothing.'
nothing that

(99) Tuwittsia noohakatū u mantūnna kwūhi.
young man-O someone him part of marry
'Someone'll marry the young man.'

(100) Wainnih noohakka tammayaingkūnna.
wine everybody-O make go crazy
'Wine makes everybody go crazy.'

(101) Kaakki utūmmū noohli sūmūsū miatū.
crow those whatever all go
'Crow and all of those whatever went.'

(102) Nuū sakka noohinna tūpinningkūnna.
I that-O something-O ask
'I asked him something.'

(103) Nuū nuwattaaintu'ih noohakattuuh.
I move-cmpt-will somewhere
'I'll move [residence] somewhere.'

The last three words in the indefinite pronoun list above, noohimpe ~ noohompe, summi, and sumuttun, deserve special mention since they each function not only as indefinite pronouns but also as members of other word classes as well. Noohimpe ~ noohompe and summi also function as adverbs (see chapter 7). Or perhaps better stated, their meanings and uses encompass both indefinite pronominal functions as well as adverbial functions.
(104) Noohimpe sutu yahinna.
all time that laugh
'He laughs all the time.' = 'He always laughs.'

For example, as an indefinite pronoun, summi is not particularly specific as in 105, 106, and 108, but when it is used as an adverb meaning 'thus' its reference is quite specific, as seen in 107. Summi commonly contracts with yükkwï 'say' forming sümükki 'say something/thus' (e.g., 107).

(105) Nu sümü yükkwï. 'I said something.'
I something say(dur)

(106) Nu sümü suwainna.
I something think about
'I'm thinking about something [to do].' 

(107) "Nummu appu wa'e," sümükki [= sümü yükkwï].
our father like thus-say thus say(dur)
'"He's like our father," thus she said.'

The primary function of sümüttun is as the number 'one' (see 4.8), but it is also frequently used as a specific but indefinite pronoun meaning '(a certain) someone'.

(108) Sümüttu nia sümü teewingküppühantu.
(some)one me something told
'Someone told me something.'

4.6 RELATIVE PRONOUNS

The obviative demonstratives discussed in 4.3 also function as relative pronouns (e.g., in 109-111). When functioning as relative pronouns, they agree in case and
number with the head noun in the matrix clause (see section 8.2.2 on relative clauses).

(109) Wa'ippua nuu pusikwa [akka nūhakkawütünna). woman-O I know that-O make basket-O 'I know the woman who is making baskets.'

(110) Wa'ippu nia pusikwatū [utū hupiatūkitū utū]. woman me know that sing that 'The woman who is singing knows me.'

(111) Isapaippu [utū un appū] miatta i mmaa. Coyote that its father went-cmplt = their 'Coyote, who is their father, went away.'

The base of the third person reflexive pronoun pūn(nan) is also used as a relative pronoun, but only in oblique postpositional relative clauses as seen in 112-113 (see section 8.2.2).

(112) Nūu ü pūnnan ni nanangkawi ümmi I you-O which way talk you-O tütiiingwanna. teach 'I'm teaching you how [= which way] to talk.'

(113) Pūm ma nū tütiskopiil'ippūh ma nū what with me cut-sub with I watsingkū. lose 'I lost what I was cutting with.'
4.7 QUANTIFIERS

A handful of quantifiers not only function attributively, quantifying head nouns within noun phrases, but also as pronominal heads of noun phrases. Their attributive functions are discussed in the next chapter (see 5.9). Here, I simply list the quantifiers and provide sentence examples of some of them being used as pronominals.

QUANTIFIERS

hüütsitssi (-a obj) 'little (bit), small amount, few'
soontün (-a ≈ -ti obj) 'many, much, a lot, lots'
so'oppüh(tün) (-a obj) 'many, much, a lot, lots'
sümüsü 'all, every(body), every(one)'
sümüütwäsi 'all together'
süüpantün (-a obj) 'some group, band, gang of'
wümü (-i obj) 'all, every(one), every(body)'
sümüütüttsi (-a obj) 'only one'
wahattüttsi (-a obj) 'only two'
pihitüttsi (-a obj) 'only three'

Most of the quantifiers display case distinctions, but not all of them, for sümüsü and sümüütwäsi are invariable.

(114) Satü nú kawiki tükkatü, núü püü that me more eat I emph

hüütsitsitsia tükkatü.
little bit-0 eat

'He eats more than I; I just eat a little.'
(115) So'oppütü yotinnoonna.
many fly(pl)-in motion
'Many are flying around.'

(116) Nü so'oppütünna hotanna.
I many-O dig
'I'm digging a lot [of them].'

(117) Sumüsü nia punikkappühantu.
all me saw
'All [of them] saw me.'

(118) Nü sumüsü yungwünna.
I all swallow
'I'm swallowing all [of it/them].' 

(119) Sumütuwasi ningwunutu'ih.
all together talk(pl)-will
'All [of them] will talk together.'

(120) Sumütuwasi tükappühantu.
all together ate
All [of them] ate together.

(121) Wümü nia yokosuwanna.
all me screw-want
'All [of them] want to screw me.'

(122) Nü wümü yokosuwanna.
I all-O screw-want
'I want to screw [them] all.'
4.8 NUMBERS

Numbers in Tumpisa Shoshone conform to a classical decimal system. The numbers from 1 to 9 have distinct roots or bases which are not used alone in isolation, as free forms, but only in phrases and compounds. In order to be used as free forms, the bases must occur with the absolutive suffix -(t)un. The free forms are inflected for case: -(t)un subj, -(t)una obj and poss, or -(t)ti obj, and -(t)tin pass. The numbers from 1 to 10 have special ordinals formed with final -n, which is no doubt related to possessive case -n. The number 'one' has a suppletive ordinal form as well as the expected form. The free form numbers can have both cardinal as well as ordinal function, although the former function is certainly the most typical for free forms. Let's look at the first ten numbers.

### DIGIT NUMBERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Free Form</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sumū</td>
<td>sumuttun</td>
<td>sumun ≈ ükupinaatun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wah</td>
<td>wahattun</td>
<td>wahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pahi ≈ pai</td>
<td>pahittun ≈ paittun</td>
<td>pahi ≈ pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 wattsuwi ≈ watsū</td>
<td>watsuwitun</td>
<td>watsűwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 manuki</td>
<td>manukitun</td>
<td>manukin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>≈ maniki</td>
<td>≈ manikitun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 naapai</td>
<td>naapaltun</td>
<td>naapain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 taattsuwi</td>
<td>taattsuwitun</td>
<td>taattsűwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 woosuwi</td>
<td>woosuwitun</td>
<td>woosűwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 wanikki</td>
<td>wanikkitun</td>
<td>wanikkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>≈ wanukki</td>
<td>≈ wanukkitun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 süumoo</td>
<td>süumooyuntun</td>
<td>süümoonon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>≈ süumoono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The base suumo 'ten' is a contracted compound formed from sumu 'one [complete set]' plus mo'o 'hand'. It has three different free forms built on either -tun, -no, or -yuntun. The form with -tun is most typically used as a pronominal or quantifier, the form with -no is typically used in counting, and the form with -yuntun is used in phrases forming the 'teens' (i.e., 11 through 19).

TEENS

11 (suumooyuntu) sumuttum ma to'engkunna
12 (suumooyuntu) wahattum ma to'engkunna
13 (suumooyuntu) pahittum ma to'engkunna
14 (suumooyuntu) wattsuwitum ma to'engkunna
15 (suumooyuntu) manukitum ma to'engkunna
16 (suumooyuntu) naapaitum ma to'engkunna
17 (suumooyuntu) taattsuwitum ma to'engkunna
18 (suumooyuntu) woosuwitum ma to'engkunna
19 (suumooyuntu) wanukkitum ma to'engkunna

The teens are actually clauses with suumooyuntun 'ten' as subject, although it can be optionally omitted. After it, the numbers from 1 to 9 occur in a postpositional phrase with ma 'with', which in turn is followed by the verb to'engkunna 'come up for' (< to'eh 'come up' + -ngkun cat + -nna general aspect). For example, 'eleven' literally means something like 'ten is coming up with one for [something]', and 'twelve' literally means 'ten is coming up with two for [something]', and so on. The 'teens' do not have separate cardinal and ordinal forms.

The rest of the even decimal numbers are compounds like 'ten' formed with the digit bases plus moo, and then one of the absolutive suffixes.
DECIMAL NUMBERS

10 süümooyuntün ≈ süümooyuntün ≈ süünnoono
20 wahamootün ≈ wahamoooyuntün ≈ wahamooono
30 pahimoootün ≈ pahimooyuntün ≈ pahimoono
40 watsümootün ≈ watsümoooyuntün ≈ watsümooono
50 manukimootün ≈ manukimooyuntün ≈ manukimoono
60 naapaimootün ≈ naapaimooyuntün ≈ naapaimooono
70 taattsuwimooyuntün ≈ taattsuwimooyuntün ≈ taattsuwimoono
80 woosuwimooyuntün ≈ woosuwimooyuntün ≈ woosuwimoono
90 wanukkimooyuntün ≈ wanukkimooyuntün ≈ wanukkimoono

Ordinals of the decimals are formed by adding final -n to the forms in -no (e.g., wahamoonon '20th', pahimoonoon '30th', etc.).

The numbers between even decimals are formed like the teens with the postposition ma and the verb to'engkunna. But in place of suumooyuntün 'ten', the other decimal numbers are used. The decimal forms ending in -yuntün are preferred, but those ending in -no may also be used. There are no separate cardinal and ordinal forms with these numbers.

INTER-DECIMALS

21 wahamoooyuntǔ sümūtǔm ma to'engkünna
22 wahamoooyuntǔ wahattǔm ma to'engkünna
23 wahamoooyuntǔ pahittǔm ma to'engkünna
24 wahamoooyuntǔ wattssūwitǔm ma to'engkünna
25 wahamoooyuntǔ manukitǔm ma to'engkünna
26 wahamoooyuntǔ naapaitǔm ma to'engkünna
27 wahamoooyuntǔ taattsūwitǔm ma to'engkünna
28 wahamoooyuntǔ woosūwitǔm ma to'engkünna
29 wahamoooyuntǔ wanukkītǔm ma to'engkünna
31 pahimooyuntu sümüttüm mə to'engkünna 
etc.
41 watsümooyuntu sümüttüm mə to'engkünna 
etc.
51 manükimooyuntu sümüttüm mə to'engkünna 
etc.
61 naapaimooyuntu sümüttüm mə to'engkünna 
etc.
71 taattsuwimooyuntu sümüttüm mə to'engkünna 
etc.
81 woosuwimooyuntu sümüttüm mə to'engkünna 
etc.
91 wanükkiimooyuntu sümüttüm mə to'engkünna 
etc.

Even-hundred numbers are compounds formed with the digit bases plus seentu, from Spanish ciento.

HUNDREDS

100 sümüseentu
200 wahaseentu
300 pahiseentu
400 wattsuwiseentu
500 manükiseentu
600 nahapaiseentu = naapaiseentu
700 taatssuíseentu
800 woosuíseentu
900 wanükkiiseentu

Numbers between even hundreds are formed with one of the hundred numbers plus naatu, a special form of naa" 'be' used only in numbers. Digits and even decimal numbers between hundreds follow naatu in their absolutive forms in -(t)tüŋ, and then they are followed by mə to'engkünna. Other numbers,
Besides digits and even decimals, follow naatu exactly as they are.

**INTERHUNDREDS**

101 sümüseentu naatu sümüttüm ma to'engkürna
102 sümüseentu naatu wahättüm ma to'engkürna
   etc.
110 sümüseentu naatu sümüootüm ma to'engkürna
111 sümüseentu naatu sümüooyüntü sümüttüm ma to'engkürna
   etc.
120 sümüseentu naatu wahamootüm ma to'engkürna
121 sümüseentu naatu wahamoooyüntü sümüttüm ma to'engkürna
   etc.

As far as I was able to discern in the field, numbers above 999 are not used, and so I was unable to elicit numbers for 1000 or higher.

Numbers have several different functions in the language. Obviously, they are used in counting. They are also used as quantifiers of head nouns in noun phrases (e.g., 123-128). In this regard, they may be either cardinal or ordinal.

(123) Sümüttü nawipi isapungku mai nuwimmippühantü.
one girl dog with would go around
'One girl used to go around with a dog.'

(124) Satümü sümü tommo yingkappühantü.
those one year stayed(pl)
'They stayed one year.'
(125) Wahattu niam pu'anumu = ma'e nü
two my cousin-Indian with = and I

namiangkuppuhantu sapetti natiiingwa kkatu.
were sent there school to

"My two Indian cousins and I were sent there to school."

(126) Nummu katuyingkappuhantu Noompai
we(exc) stay-stay(pl)-past Lone Pine

waha muattsi.
two months

"We stayed in Lone Pine two months."

(127) Sutu pai tuhuyanna wasuppuhantu.
that three deer-O killed

"He killed three deer."

(128) Himpakantun tattangummu = mi'akkommaa?
how many men went away

-- Manikitu (tattangummu) = mi'akoppuhantu.
five men went away

"How many men went away?"
-- Five (men) went away."

The numbers are also used as (numeral) pronominal heads of noun phrases (e.g., 129-134).

(129) Sumuttu kee u kuttisi, sumuttu u kuttii.
one not it shoot one it shoot

"[This] one didn't shoot it, [that] one shot it."
(130) Satų sūmūti kuttippūhantū. 'He shot one.'
that one-0 shot

(131) Pūe sūmūtūm mai mi'a.
ready one with go
'He's ready to go with one [of you].'

(132) Wahattū pittuhungkwa, sūmūtū um punikka.
two arrived one you see
'Two arrived, one saw you.'

(133) Nu sūmūootūna punikkapūhantū.
I ten-0 saw
'I saw ten [of them].'

(134) Nu manūkitūna yaannainna.
I five-0 carry
'I'm carrying five [of them].'

In addition, the numbers are also used as adverbs indicating the number of times an event occurs (e.g., sūmū 'once', waha 'twice', pahi 'thrice'), as in 135-136.

(135) Nu sūmū u punippūhantū.
I once it saw
'I saw it [just] once.'

(136) Satū pahi tūkkāhwa.
that thrice ate
'He ate three times.'

All of the functions of the numbers have been recorded for the digits and even decimals, but not for the interdecimals and interhundreds. The latter have only been recorded as cardinals in counting and as ordinals. The absolutive forms in -(t)tūn are used both as quantifiers and
as pronominals. The bases are used as quantifiers and adverbs, but not as pronominals.

The numbers are also used in several special constructions. Thus, for example, they are used in forming hourly time expressions. The hours from 1 to 10 are expressed in sentences that contain the absolutive numbers in a postpositional phrase with ka 'at, to'. The postpositional phrase is then followed by the verb naak 'be', which in turn is optionally followed by the subject of the clause tapettsi 'sun, clock' occurring with a demonstrative such as matu or utu. The whole construction thus means 'the sun/clock is at X' or 'it's X o'clock'.

### 1 TO 10 O'CLOCK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Full Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sumuttung ka naanna (matu tapettsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wahattung ka naanna (matu tapettsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Paittung ka naanna (matu tapettsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wattsuwitung ka naanna (matu tapettsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Manukitung ka naanna (matu tapettsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Naapaitung ka naanna (matu tapettsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Taattuwitung ka naanna (matu tapettsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Woosuwitung ka naanna (matu tapettsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Wanukitung ka naanna (matu tapettsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Suumootung ka naanna (matu tapettsi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 11 AND 12 O'CLOCK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Full Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sumuttum ma to'engkühwa (matu tapettsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Wahattum ma to'engkühwa (utu tapettsi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Constructions slightly different from those for 1 through 10 o'clock are used for 11 and 12 o'clock. These constructions are sentences containing the absolutive forms of the numbers 11 and 12 in postpositional phrases with ma 'with'. The verb in these sentences is to'engküh, usually in
the momentaneous completive aspect (i.e., ko'engkühwa). Then the verb is optionally followed by the subject tapettsi.

Questions about hourly time are asked with either of the interrogatives hakapa'an 'where' or himpakantun 'how much' and with any of the verbs naa" 'be', naawi 'be time', or katü" 'sit'.

WHAT TIME IS IT?

Hakapa'a naa utü tapettsi?
where be that sun/clock
'Where is the sun/clock?'

Hakapa'a kattü tape utü?
where sit-dur sun/clock that
'Where does the sun/clock sit?'

Himpakantung ka naa tapettsi utü?
how much at be sun/clock that
'How much is the sun/clock at?'

Himpakantung ka naawinna (tapettsi utü)?
how much at be time sun/clock that
'How much is that sun/clock at?'

To indicate that it is half past the hour, the transitive verb ponaah 'pass' is used in the momentaneous completive (i.e., ponaahwa). A number in absolutive form indicating the hour is the object of the verb, and tape is subject.
HALF PAST THE HOUR

Sūmūttūna ponaahwa utū tapettsi.
one-O pass-cmplt that sun/clock
'The clock has passed one.' = 'It's one-thirty.'

Wahatūnna ponaahwa utū tapettsi.
two-O pass-cmplt that sun/clock
'The clock has passed two.' = 'It's two-thirty.'

To indicate that it is only a little past the hour (as opposed to half past), the same construction is used, but with ŭkū 'already' preceding the verb; i.e.:

Sūmūtūnna ŭkū ponaahwa utū tapettsi.
one-O already pass-cmplt that sun/clock
'It's a little past one.'

Wahattūnna ŭkū ponaahwa utū tapettsi.
two-O already pass-cmplt that sun/clock
'It's a little past two.'

To indicate that it is approaching the hour, the construction is the same as that described above for time on the hour, except that the inchoative auxiliary mi'a 'get, go' is used with the verb (e.g., naa' 'be' + mi'a > naa(m)mi'a 'get to be').

Sūmūttūng ka naami'a utū tapettsi.
one at be-get that sun/clock
'It's getting to be one o'clock.'

Wahattūng ka naami'a utū tapettsi.
two at be-get that sun/clock
'It's getting to be two o'clock.'
Hourly time expressions can be embedded in other sentences, but then the verbs naa" or to'engkun must take the subordinating temporal suffix -ku, as in 137-138.

(137) Wahattung ka naaku tangku tutuaimmi.  
two at be-when we(dl inc) work  
'\text{We work when it's two o'\text{clock} [= at two o'\text{clock}].}'

(138) Himpakantun (ka) naaku miakomaah?  
how much at be-when go  
'\text{What time was it that he went?}'

The ordinal numbers form phrasal compounds for the weekdays which are built on nawunukka = nawununna 'weekday' (< na- pmpr, wunu' 'stand' sg, -kan stv = -nna infinitive).

\text{WEEKDAYS}^b  
sümün nawunukka \quad '1st weekday = Monday'  
wahan nawunukka \quad '2nd weekday = Tuesday'  
lahin nawunukka \quad '3rd weekday = Wednesday'  
watssüwin nawunukka \quad '4th weekday = Thursday'  
manukin nawunukka \quad '5th weekday = Friday'

In a manner similar to that in forming the weekdays, the ordinals are used with mua(ttsi) 'month, moon' to designate the twelve months, which are not otherwise named as far as is known.
MONTHS

sūmūm muattsi '1st month = January'
waham muattsi '2nd month = February'
paḥim muattsi '3rd month = March'
wattsūwim muattsi '4th month = April'
manūkim muattsi '5th month = May'
nanapaiμ muattsi '6th month = June'
taatstsūwim muattsi '7th month = July'
woosūwim muattsi '8th month = August'
wanūkkim muattsi '9th month = September'
sūūmoonom muattsi '10th month = October'
sūmuṭtūm ma to'engkünna muattsi '11th month = November'
wahattum ma to'engkünna muattsi '12th month = December'

Compounds meaning 'X dollars' are formed with the number bases and the bound root -ppeesu (< Spanish peso).

DOLLARS

$1 sūmūppeesu
$2 wahappeesu
$3 pahippeesu
$4 wattsū(wi)ppeesu
$5 manūkkippeesu
$6 nanapiapeesu
$7 taattsūwippeesu
$8 woosū(wi)ppeesu
$9 wanūkkippeesu
$10 sūūmoonoppeesu

(139) Kwasu' u himpaka tokwinna? dress how much cost
'How much does the dress cost?'

(140) Wahappeesu tokwinna. 'It costs two dollars.' two dollars cost

Finally, the absolutive numbers may be used with the diminutive suffix -ttai (-ttai obj), forming quantifiers
meaning 'only n' (e.g., sumuttutsi 'only one', wahattutsi 'only two', etc.).

(141) Sutu sumuttutsia pantsapa'e.
    that one-only-O shoe-have
    'He has only one shoe.'

(142) Wahattutsia paanni maappainna satu.
    only two-O bread make that
    'She is making only two loaves of bread.'

(143) Sutu pahittutsia kwasu'unpa'e.
    that three-only-O dress-have
    'She has only three dresses.'

Notes to Chapter 4

1. In Nevada, the form umμu is occasionally heard for second-person singular subjective under influence from Shoshone proper, but this form is obsolete and not used in Tumpisa Shoshone.

2. There are only a few exceptions to this statement. For example, the personal pronoun nū 'I, me, my', when used as a possessive, does not end in -ŋ. Also, nouns ending in -nna in the objective case do not take final -ŋ in the possessive. Nouns of this sort may be from any source, e.g., from the infinitive suffix -nna or from present participial and noun-forming -tun plus objective -a > -tunna. The possessive cases of these forms are identical with their objective cases.

3. Sentence 21 is actually ambiguous, since utū may be interpreted here either as a simple demonstrative or as a relative (demonstrative) pronoun. The relative interpretation is seen in example 111 in 4.6.

4. Even though sampe forms semantic and lexical compounds with preceding interrogative pronouns to build indefinite pronouns, it is written as a separate word because of phonological factors. For example, final feature -ŋ is not
lost before the g of sampe (e.g., hakattuh sampe), as it would be if were part of the same phonological word (see section 9.3.7).

5. Saturday and Sunday are formed in completely unrelated ways; e.g.:

Piasatüti 'Saturday'  
< pia 'big', Eng Saturday

OR

Un Tsumatün 'Saturday'  
< un 'its' tsumatün 'end, all gone'

Nakatüukkan 'Sunday'  
< na- pmpr, katû' 'sit', -kab stv
This chapter is primarily about nouns and noun phrases (NPs), noun phrases being one or more constituents functioning together in the same way as single nouns. The first part of the chapter (5.1-4) is about case marking or how syntactic relations and semantic roles of nouns and noun phrases are indicated. Number marking is discussed in the second part (5.5). The third part (5.6-5.8) is on the formation of nouns through derivation and compounding. Finally, the last section (5.9) presents a detailed discussion of the complexity of whole noun phrases.

Postpositions are discussed in detail in sections 5.3 and 5.4; they are intimately involved with nouns and noun phrases, indicating their semantic roles in sentences.

The function of nouns and noun phrases is to express participants (or arguments) in discourse. Nouns and noun phrases are always in syntactic relations and always play semantic roles. With respect to syntactic relations, a given noun or noun phrase may be a subject, a direct or indirect object, an object of postposition, or a predicate noun (or predicate NP). In terms of semantic roles, nouns and noun phrases may be agents, experiencers, patients, datives, benefactives, instruments, sources, comitatives, locatives, and so on. Syntactic relations and semantic roles are marked either directly by suffixes on nouns and other constituents in the noun phrase, and by postpositions, or indirectly by affixation on verbs. Participants in the discourse may have
various functions; for example, they may be themes, primary topics, secondary topics, and contrastive, emphatic, or background information, and so on. These functions are expressed by syntactic relations, word order, and deixis, together with other paralinguistic or nonlinguistic phenomena such as loudness of voice, facial expressions, gestures, and so on.¹

5.1 CORE RELATIONS: SUBJECT AND OBJECT

The syntactic relations of subject and object are at the heart of Túmpisa Shoshone sentences. Virtually all sentences have a subject, either overt or implied; the only exceptions are some sentences with meteorological or environmental predicates. Semantically, subjects of stative predicates are patients (e.g., 1 and 7); while those of intransitive verbs are either agents (e.g., 3) or patients (e.g., 2). Subjects of transitive verbs may be agents (e.g., 4), experiencers (e.g., 5), or rarely, instruments (e.g., 6). All transitive sentences have an object, again, either overt or implied. The vast majority of transitive verbs have direct objects which are patients (e.g., 4 and 8-9). However, the degree of patienthood (i.e., being directly affected by the action of the verb) varies. Thus, a transitive verb like pakkah sg 'kill' always has a direct object that is a patient, but a verb like puni" 'see' has a direct object that is not a true patient in that it isn't necessarily affected at all by being seen.

A number of verbs are basically ditransitive and must have two objects, both a direct object and an indirect object (e.g., tutiingwa" 'teach'). Semantically, indirect objects are dative and benefactive participants. A few transitive verbs must have an indirect object (e.g., uttuh 'give') but need not have a direct object, even though one is implied (e.g., 17 and 18).
The core syntactic relations of subject and object are indicated directly on nouns. Subjective nouns are in the nominative case and unmarked; they have the same form as the bare stem of the noun (e.g., 1-6). Predicate nouns are also in the nominative case (e.g., 7).

(1) Atü tangummü muiyaippüh. 'That man is drunk.'
   that man drunk

(2) Niam mo'o kammanna. 'My hand is sore.'
   my hand be sore

(3) Piammuttsi ükü nuwinnümü.
   baby now move-move
   'The baby is moving now.'

(4) Satü wa'ippü tüpattsia kusangwenna.
   that woman pinenut-O roast (in a basket)
   'That woman is roasting pinenuts (in a basket).'

(5) Hipittsittsi u nangkaha.
   old lady it hear-stv
   'The old lady could hear it.'

(6) Wihi nia tsikka'ahwa. 'The knife cut me.'
   knife me cut-cmplt

(7) Tsawüntün tangummü miikkwa sutü.
   good man now that
   'He's a good man now.'

Object nouns, whether direct or indirect, normally have an objective case suffix which may take one of five different forms.
OBJECTIVE CASE SUFFIXES

-a  -i  -tta  -nna  Ø

Which suffix form a given noun takes is predictable to some degree, but not entirely. Thus, -tta is used on nouns ending in the absolutive suffix -pi(n), but many of these nouns may also take -a instead; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINATIVE</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mupin</td>
<td>mupitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tümpi</td>
<td>tümpitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokopin</td>
<td>sokopitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toyapi(n)</td>
<td>toyapitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huuppin</td>
<td>huuppitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wisipin</td>
<td>wisipitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woapin</td>
<td>woapitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hupapin</td>
<td>hupapitta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And -tta is used on a few nouns without -pi(n), such as wihi 'knife' in 9.

(8)  Wa'ippū hupapitta utüingkūnna.
    woman  soup-O  heat
    'The woman is heating the soup.'

(9)  Nūū nū wiitta kūmawitu'ih.
    I  my  knife-O  sharpen-will
    'I'll sharpen my knife.'

The form -nna is used after nouns ending in n, unless n is part of the absolutive suffix (as -pin above; see section 5.6 on classificatory suffixes). But -nna is also used on a few nouns not ending in -n; e.g.:
Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINATIVE</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsakwatan</td>
<td>tsakwatanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poton</td>
<td>potonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwasu'un</td>
<td>kwasu'unna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puyun</td>
<td>puyunna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawintun</td>
<td>tawintunna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunna&quot;</td>
<td>kunnanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupa</td>
<td>tupanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuhuya</td>
<td>tuhuya(nna)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) Nümmü kwasu'un(na) tǔmūuppūhantū.
    we(exc) dress-O bought
    'We bought a dress.'

(11) Nūu pai tǔhuyanna wasūpūhantū.
    I three deer-O killed(pl)
    'I killed three deer.'

In rapid speech, objective -nna is sometimes contracted to -n, as indicated by the parentheses in 10.

The objective case form -i most commonly occurs on nouns ending in a back vowel æ, œ, ü, or ū (except those ending with an absolutive suffix such as -pū). When -i follows æ, the two vowels usually contract to g; and when -i follows ū, ū, or œ, the ū, ū, or œ usually drop; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINATIVE</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wosa</td>
<td>wosai ≈ wose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūta</td>
<td>pūta ≈ pūte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wika</td>
<td>wikai ≈ wike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūmū</td>
<td>nūmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangummu</td>
<td>tangummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pungku</td>
<td>pungki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somo</td>
<td>somi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'o</td>
<td>mo'i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(12) Kapaayu atū tangummi tangummuttih.
horse that man-O kick
'The horse kicked the man.'

(13) Nū mo'i punikkappühantū satū. 'He saw my hand.'
my hand-O saw that

Nouns ending in tun may take either -nna or -i as objective case markers (no matter what their ultimate source, past participial -tun, characterizing -kantūn, or lexical); e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINATIVE</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etūn</td>
<td>etūnna ≈ eti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayantūn</td>
<td>wayantūnna ≈ wayanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yūtsūtūn</td>
<td>yūtsūtūnna ≈ yūtsūti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhakantūn</td>
<td>puhakantūnna ≈ puhakanti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(14) Nū puhakantūnna punikkappühantū.
≈ puhakanti
I shaman-O saw
'I saw the shaman.'

The suffix -ą is by far the most common objective case marker, and it seems to be the one being generalized, taking over territory previously held by other forms. It occurs after nouns ending in diminutive -ttsi, absolutive -pu, and some ending in absolutive -pe; and it occurs on nouns formed with and ending in past participial and absolutive -ppūh, instrumental -nnūmpū, and agentive -ttū (see 5.7). It is also used on nouns ending in ā, a front vowel, the diphthong ai, and on many other nouns; e.g.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINATIVE</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>piammüttsi</td>
<td>piammüttsia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>küümpe</td>
<td>küümpea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'ippü</td>
<td>wa'ippüa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuinuppü</td>
<td>tuinuppüa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paküünappüha</td>
<td>paküünappüha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katünnümüüa</td>
<td>katünnümüüa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nükkaattüa</td>
<td>nükkaattüüa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>küünü</td>
<td>küünüa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appo'oa</td>
<td>appo'oa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paannii</td>
<td>paannii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keesu</td>
<td>keesua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(15) Satü piammüttsia pitsingkünna.  
that baby-O nurse  
'She's nursing the baby.'

(16) Nü wa'ippüa nangkaha; sutü hupiatüüi.  
I woman-O hear that sing  
'I hear the woman; she's singing.'

(17) Tammü tuinuppüa eti uttuppühantü.  
we(inc) boy-O gun-O gave  
'We gave the boy a gun.'

(18) Tammü tuinuppüa uttuppühantü.  
we(inc) boy-O gave  
'We gave [it] to the boy.'

(19) Nü katünnümüüa maappa'innå.  
I chair-O make  
'I'm making a chair.'

There are also many nouns, especially nonhuman nouns, that are unmarked in the objective case, so the nominative and objective forms are the same; e.g.:
NOM and OBJ
kahni 'house'
nampe 'foot'
tape 'sun'
tümpe 'mouth'
paakka 'cow'
pangwi 'fish'
kappotta 'coat'
huuwatta 'boat'
nuhakka 'basket'

(20) Satu punnang kahni punikka.
that own house see
'He sees his own house.'

(21) Nu un nampe punikka. 'I see your foot.'
I your foot see

(22) Nu pangwi kwuuppuhantu. 'I caught a fish.'
I fish caught

5.2 PERIPHERAL RELATIONS: APPLICATIVE AND POSSESSIVE

Subject and object relations, discussed in the preceding section, are core relations, because they are obligatory for virtually all transitive verbs and are intimately tied to the notions expressed by transitive verbs. On the other hand, for the vast majority of verbs the indirect object relation is optional, and therefore peripheral rather than core, despite the fact that a few verbs in Tümpisa Shoshone require an indirect object (e.g., maka" 'give; feed', tutiingwa 'teach', uttuh 'give').

Semantically, indirect objects express dative or benefactive participants. They are usually human or animate participants that are involved in the activity, benefiting from it or receiving the patient by virtue of the activity,
but they do not initiate or perform the activity as, for example, agents do.

Indirect object nouns are inflected exactly like direct object nouns. In terms of case marking on the nouns themselves there is no distinction between direct and indirect objects. Nor is the distinction made by word order; e.g.:

(23) a. Tammü tuinuppüa eti uttupühantü.
    we(inc) boy-O gun-O gave
    'We gave the boy a gun.'

b. Tammü eti tuinuppüa uttupühantü.
    we(inc) gun-O boy-O gave
    'We gave a gun to the boy.'

(24) a. Tangummü utü Tonia piiya tümeninna.
    man that Tony-O beer sell
    'That man is selling Tony beer.'

b. Tangummü utü piiya Tonia tümeninna.
    man that beer Tony-O sell
    'That man is selling beer to Tony.'

The differences in word order in 23a-b and 24a-b above and 25a-b, 26a-b, and 27a-b below have discourse function as the translations indicate, but they do not change the basic semantics of the sentences.

Normally, indirect objects are indicated by objective case marking on the nouns (or NPs) together with the applicative suffix, -ngkun (cat), on the verb. Compare 25a-b, 26a-b, and 27a-b with 25c, 26c, and 27c, respectively (see also section 3.2.1.5).
(25) a. Wa’ippü piammuttsia kohnottsia maappaingkünna.
woman baby-O cradle-O make-cat
'The woman is making the baby a cradle.'

b. Wa’ippü kohnottsia piammuttsia maappaingkünna.
woman cradle-O baby-O make-cat
'The woman is making a cradle for the baby.'

c. Wa’ippü kohnottsia maappa'inna.
woman cradle-O make
'The woman is making a cradle.'

I Angie-O dress-O bought-cat
'I bought Angie a dress.'

b. Nüü kwasu'unna Antsia tumuungküppühantu.
I dress-O Angie-O bought-cat
'I bought a dress for Angie.'

c. Nüü kwasu'unna tumuüppühantu.
I dress-O bought
'I bought a dress.'

(27) a. Wa’ippü tangummi tüpanna tukummahanningkünna.
woman man-O pinenut-O cook-cat
'The woman is cooking the man pinenuts.'

b. Wa’ippü tüpanna tangummi tukummahanningkünna.
woman pinenut-O man-O cook-cat
'The woman is cooking pinenuts for the man.'

c. Wa’ippü tüpanna tukummahanninna.
woman pinenut-O cook
'The woman is cooking pinenuts.'
Only a few verbs allow indirect objects in the sentence without having -ngkun suffixed to them (e.g., maka 'give; feed', nangkawih 'talk to', tumenih 'sell', tütiingwa 'teach', uttuh 'give').

Normally indirect objects occur before the verb, but they may also appear after the verb. Interestingly enough, when they follow the verb they are frequently in the nominative case, not the objective case. Compare the examples in 28, 29, and 30 with those in 25, 26, and 27, respectively.

(28) Wa'ippu kohnottsia maappaingkunna piammuttsi(a).
    woman cradle-O make-cat baby(-O)
    'The woman is making a cradle for the baby.'

(29) Nuu kwasu'unna tümüungküppühantü Antsi(a).
    I dress-O bought-cat Angie(-o)
    'I bought a dress for Angie.'

(30) Wa'ippu tūpanna tukummahanningkunna tangumrnu.
    woman pinenut-O cook-cat man
    'The woman is cooking pinenuts for the man.'

Another important peripheral relation is the possessive. The possessive indicates a relationship between two participants, typically that of possession or ownership, but also that of a part to a whole and that of origin. The possessive case is usually formed by adding -n to the objective case stem. There is only one exception to this rule: forms ending in nna, whether from objective -nna or from infinitive -mna, do not take possessive -n; rather, the possessive case is the same as the objective; e.g.:
Nouns in the possessive case (i.e., possessor nouns) normally precede nouns expressing the entities possessed, as the examples in 31-40 indicate.

(31) Huuppittam maanangkwa wūnnū satū.  
     stick's other side stand that  
     'She's standing on the other side of the stick.'

(32) Nū toyapittan nana mantū miakwant'ūih.  
     I mountain's top on going to  
     'I'm going to go on top of the mountain.'

(33) Nū pūyūnna pūhi punikkappūhantū.  
     I duck's pelt-O saw  
     'I saw the duck's pelt.'

(34) Nū tsakwatanna papia punikka.  
     I chuckwalla's OlBr-O see  
     'I see chuckwalla's older brother.'  
     [= gila monster]

(35) Tangumming kahni wayanna.  
     man's house burn  
     'The man's house is burning.'
(36) Numin múattúah naa. ‘It’s an Indian’s ranch.’
Indian’s ranch  be

(37) Antsi atamaupiaian tumpé ka wunnú.
Angie car’s  door  at  stand
‘Angie is standing at the door of the car.’

(38) Wa’ippúang kuukkipphà númmú tükkanà tūpanna.
woman’s  cooked-O  we(exc)  eat  pinenut-O
‘We’re eating the woman’s cooked pinenuts.’
[= the pinenuts the woman cooked]

(39) Hútsawunnúmpú kahnin tűpiinga kattú.
refrigerator  house’s  middle  sit
‘The refrigerator is sitting in the middle of
the house.’

(40) Satú pakkam pampi tukkaa tsikkopiinna.
that cow’s  head  meat  cut(pl)
‘He’s cutting the meat of the cow’s head.’

Possessive case -n has noteworthy alternating effects
when the following possessed words begin with h, w, y, or a
vowel (V). Either possessive -n disappears or it remains.
But if it stays, then it also geminates and replaces h and y,
or simply geminates before a vowel. Compare the varying
effects of -n at the end of the possessive pronouns nian ‘my’
and ún ‘your’, and the demonstrative sakkan ‘that one’s’,
before himpú ‘stuff’, wika ‘blanket’, yantu ‘roasting
basket’, and appú ‘father’. 3
**EFFECTS OF -n BEFORE H, W, V, AND VOWELS**

-\( n + h > h \) or \( n + h > n n \)

-\( nia\) himpu ≈ nian nimpú 'my stuff'
-\( ù\) himpu ≈ ün nimpú 'your stuff'
-\( sakka\) himpu ≈ sakkan nimpú 'that one's stuff'

-\( n + w > w \) or \( n + w > ng w \)

-\( nia\) wika ≈ niang wika 'my blanket'
-\( ù\) wika ≈ üng wika 'your blanket'
-\( sakka\) wika ≈ sakkang wika 'that one's blanket'

-\( n + y > y \) or \( n + y > n n \)

-\( nia\) yantu ≈ nian nantu 'my roasting basket'
-\( ù\) yantu ≈ ün nantu 'your roasting basket'
-\( sakka\) yantu ≈ sakkan nantu 'that one's r. basket'

-\( n + V > V \) or \( n + V > n nV \)

-\( nia\) appū ≈ nian nappū 'my father'
-\( ù\) appū ≈ ün nappū 'your father'
-\( sakka\) appū ≈ sakkan nappū 'that one's father'

Usually whether or not possessive -n remains is optional; but when possession or ownership is being asserted of alienable things, it is apparently obligatory that -n not disappear. Ownership of something is asserted by using a possessive noun or pronominal followed by the noun indicating the item owned, and then the construction ends with the copula naa" 'be'; or if the thing owned is an animal or vehicle, the predicate is usually the noun pungku 'pet' instead of naa".
my fat be  
'It's my fat/grease [not of my body].'

b. Niang wūa naa.  
my penis be  
'It's my penis.'  
[said by a woman of her man's penis]

c. Niang witsa naa.  
my leg be  
'It's my lower leg [of some animal].'

d. Niang wannetsu naa. 'It's my comb.'  
my comb be

e. Niang wasūppi pungku.  
my mountain sheep pet  
'It's my mountain sheep (pet).'

my airplane pet  
'It's my airplane (pet).'

Assertion of possession of inalienable things is done without naa" or pungku, with simply the possessive noun or pronoun followed by the possessed noun. But in this case, whether or not -n stays is optional, as long as the possessed noun does not take a classificatory suffix (e.g., 42c).

However, if the noun does take a classificatory suffix, then -n must drop (e.g., 42a-b). Compare 42a-c with 41a-c, respectively.

(42) a. Nia yuhupi.  
*nian nuhupi  
my fat  
'[It's] my fat [of my body].'
b. Nia wūappū. *niang wūappū
   my penis
   '[It's] my penis.' [said by a man]

   my leg my leg
   '[It's] my lower leg.'

Note the interesting semantic contrast between 41b and 42b. The possessive case is used to express the malefactive semantic role (as opposed to benefactive). In other words, it marks the participant from whom something is stolen or taken.

(43) Ung kapaayu pungki innuntúkkanna satu.
    your horse pet-O steal that
    'He stole your horse (from you).'

(44) Satūmmu tammim putisiha innuntúkkanna atūmmu
    those our(inc) burro-O steal those
    mitūkkaano.
    white person

    'Those white men stole our burros (from us).'

5.3 OBLIQUE RELATIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

A number of grammatical relations involve nouns and noun phrases expressing participants that are not dependent on or tied to the semantics of verbs and are always optional constituents in sentences. Traditionally, these are called oblique relations, and they are indicated with postpositions in Tumpisa Shoshone. Postpositions are a type of adposition (like prepositions) which follow nouns or noun phrases and relate them in some way to other constituents in the
The nouns or noun phrases and the postpositions following them are in syntactic constructions called postpositional phrases.

Tumpisa Shoshone has several different kinds of postpositional phrase constructions depending on their internal structure. The different kinds are discussed and illustrated in detail in section 5.4. However, only two kinds of postpositional phrases typically express oblique grammatical relations. By far the most common type simply contains a noun followed by a postposition; e.g.:

\[
\text{wa'ippu ma'e 'with the woman'} \\
\text{woman with}
\]

The second type is composed of a noun followed by one of the third person singular pronouns ma, u, or a (see 4.1), which is then followed by a postposition (see examples 72-74 and 80 below). In this construction, the third person pronoun is coreferential with the preceding noun; that is, it is a pronoun copy of it; e.g.:

\[
\text{tangummu u wakantu 'from the man'} \\
\text{man him from}
\]

In this construction, occasionally the noun follows the pronoun and postposition instead of preceding them, as in

\[
\text{u wakantu tangummu 'from the man'} \\
\text{him from man}
\]

In the postpositional phrase constructions above, the nouns may be omitted if they are given information; but in the first type, a third person pronoun must be used in place of the noun; i.e.:
wa'ippū ma'e --> u ma'e 'with her'
woman with her with

In the second type of construction, the noun may simply be omitted; i.e.:

tangummu u wakantu --> u wakantu 'from him'
man him from him from

Non-third person pronouns may be used with the postpositions as well; e.g.:

nū ma'e 'with me'
me with

tahi ma'e 'with us two'
us(dl) with

Usually, the objective forms of the pronouns are used with the postpositions (see 5.4).
The postpositions expressing oblique grammatical relations are given below.4

**OBLIQUE RELATIONAL POSTPOSITIONS**

Instrumental: ma 'with'
Causative: ma 'because of, from'
Comitative: ma'i ≈ mai ≈ ma'e 'with'
Conjunctive: ma'i ≈ mai ≈ ma'e 'and'
Similative: ni (≈ -nni) 'like, as, similar to'
wa'i = wa'e 'the same as, just like'
Topical: pa'an ≈ pan ≈ pantun 'about'
wakantun 'about'
Source: wakan(tun) 'from'
Comparative: kawi = kawiki = kawikitun 'more...than'
wakakwa 'more...than'
tukwattsi 'less...than'

Partitive: mantun 'one/some/part of; related to'

Fractive: paka(ttsi) 'bit/fraction of; date of'

The sentence examples in 45-50, with the instrumental postposition ma, illustrate typical word order for oblique arguments in postpositional phrases. Most commonly, perhaps two-thirds of the time, they come after the subject but before the verb (e.g., 45-48), and about one-third of the time they follow the verb. When they precede the verb, they usually also precede the object, especially if it is a pronoun.

(45) Nūū nū mo'o ma ma pisotonna.
I my hand with it behind-pull
'I'm pulling it with my hand.'

(46) Nummu sannappim ma u tsappo'ongkūnmuhi.
we(exc) pitch with him cover head-will
'We'll cover him, his head, with pitch.'

(47) Satū wihim ma u wūsipenna lokkopūa.
that knife with it long instr-scrape locust-o
'He's scraping the locust tree with a knife.'

(48) Nū huuppi ma a tsakkupanna.
I stick with it grasping-break
'I'm breaking it with a stick (by grasping).'
You're smashing it with your head.

The sentences in 45-50 also illustrate another important point about Tümpisa Shoshone grammar. Despite the fact that many verbs have instrumental prefixes on them (see 3.2.1.2), the instrumental prefix often does not refer to the same entity as that in a postpositional phrase with an instrument. Frequently the instrumental prefix and the instrumental noun complement each other, but they each indicate different although related things. For example, in 45, the instrumental prefix pi"- 'behind' indicates the direction of movement, not the actual instrument 'hand'. In 48, the instrumental prefix tsa"- 'by grasping' indicates the manner of using the instrument 'the stick', but does not refer directly to it. Similarly, in 50, the instrumental prefix to"- 'with a violent motion' indicates the manner, not the instrument 'head'. Only in 47 does the instrumental prefix wu"- 'with a (long) instrument' refer to the same entity as the instrumental noun wihi 'knife' in the oblique postpositional phrase. But here, the reference is so general that it is almost meaningless.

The postposition ma functions not only as a marker of instruments but also of causes, as example 51 indicates.

He's sick from a mean cold.

The postposition ma'i is used to indicate accompaniment both comitatively (e.g., 52-58) and conjunctively (e.g., 59-60). In the latter case it sometimes occurs along with tùnga 'and, also'.
(52)  Setümmim pia ma'i mi'a.
these one's mother with go
'(They) go with their mother.'

(53)  Nüü nü pünnahapittti ma'i napitüngkümmminna.
  I my wife with right-hab
  'I fight a lot with my wife.'

(54)  Nü tsukuttsi mai nangkawippühantu.
  I old man with talked
  'I talked with an old man.'

(55)  Püü sümüttüm mai mi'a.'
  ready one with go
  'He's ready to go with one.'

(56)  Sümüttü nawipi isapungku mai nuwimmippühantu.
  one girl dog with go around-hab-past
  'One girl would go around with a dog.'

(57)  "Nü kammu-yukwitü ma mai," yukwippühantu.
  I rabbit-go after him with said
  '"I would go after rabbits with him," she said.'

(58)  Nü tsao yuwa hapitü u ma'e ukkwa pahamittsi.
  I good warm lie him with that-O bear
  'I would sleep nice and warm with him, that bear.'

Oblique postpositional phrases occur both before and after the verb (cf. 52-56 with 57-58 and 59 with 60).

(59)  Wahattü niam püanúmü ma'e nü
  two my cousin-people and I
  namiangküppühantu sapettü natiingwakkatu.
  be-sent there school-to
'Two of my cousins and I were sent there to school.'

(60) Nuu nuaitunna nangkappuhantu tunga umatum ma'e.
I wind-o heard also rain and
'I heard the wind and also the rain.'

There are two similitative postpositions, ni (~-nni on dem-loc bases) and wa'i, which have slightly different meanings. Ni emphasizes similarity, whereas wa'i emphasizes identity or virtual identity. Compare the examples in 61-63 and 64-66.

(61) Tammu isa ni nanangkasuwangkunna.
we(inc) coyote like sound
'We sound like coyotes.'

(62) Uu ponniattsi ni kwitasuukkwanna.
you skunk like fart-smell
'You fart (smelling) like a skunk.'

(63) Nu isapungku ni tukkanna.
I dog like eat
'I eat like a dog.'

(64) Nummi appu utu; nummi appu wa'i
our(exc) father that our(exc) father just like
napunni satu.
look that
'That one's our father; he looks just like our father.'
(65) "Nümü appū wa'i," supe'e süümü yükkwi.  
our father just like that time that say  
"He is just like our father," she said then.'

(66) Kahni wa'etü.  'It's the same as the house.'  
house like-nom

Both ni and wa'i can be used with verbs, unlike any other postpositions. With verbs they both indicate modal notions of indefiniteness.

(67) Satümü hipitun ni yükkwi.  
those drinking like do-dur  
'They seem to be drinking.'  
[lit: 'They're doing drinking-like.']

(68) Nüü muiyaiwa'e naahi.  
I get drunk-like might  
'I might get drunk-like.'

(69) Nü kwitasuuwa'e.  'I might fart.'  
I fart-like

The postposition pan (≈ pa'an ≈ pantūn) is used to indicate the topic of thought (e.g., 70) or conversation (e.g., 71).

(70) Wa'ippu pa'a tuupükkantü.  
woman about be mad  
'He's mad about a woman.'

(71) Nookwisū noong katü u pantūn nangkawih.  
hopefully awhile sit it about talk  
'Hopefully, she'll sit and talk about it awhile.'
The postposition *wakantun* functions to indicate both topics of thought or conversation (e.g., 72) and sources from which one obtains things (e.g., 73-74). The objects of *wakantun* may only be human. When *wakantun* indicates a topic, as in 72, it has an objective case form, *wakantunna*, since the topic is also the direct object of the verb. Apparently the whole postpositional phrase, noun phrase plus postposition, is nominalized.

(72) Nüu Samma u wakantunna mukuattu.
    I Sam him about-O think
    'I'm thinking about Sam.'

(73) Nü kapaayu tumuppühantü tangummü u wakantü.
    I horse bought man him from
    'I bought a horse from the man.'

(74) Nü Antsia kwasu'unna tumüungkuppühantü wa'ippü I
    Angie-O dress-O bought-cat woman
    u wakantü.
    her from
    'I bought a dress for Angie from the woman.'

Both *wakantun* and *pan* (= pa'an = pantün) are also locative postpositions, basically meaning 'towards, near (a human)' and 'on', respectively. Locative postpositions are discussed in the next section, 5.4.

There are two comparative postpositions meaning 'more...than', *kawi* (= kawiki ≈ kawikitun) exemplified in 75-77 and *wakakwa* in 78-79. The latter form is no doubt related to *wakantun*, discussed above, and it is only used with human participants. *Kawi* can be used with any kind of participant; it is also a locative postposition meaning 'over' and governs the objective case (see 5.4).
The lesser comparative postposition, tukkwat\(\text{t}\)e\(\text{i}\), is derived from the locative tukkw\(\text{a}\)\(\text{n}\) 'under, below'. Sometimes it is preceded by the potential adverbial particle noo (e.g., 81), and it governs the objective case.

(80) N̂u wara si\(\text{b}\)u ma tukkwat\(\text{t}\)si \(\text{d}\)i\(\text{n}\)n\(\text{u}\).
I \(\text{c}\)ottonwood-O \(\text{t}\) it less than \(\text{a}\)nd-dur
'I stand less than the cottonwood.'
[= I am shorter than the cottonwood.]

(81) Nia \(\text{u}\) u noo tukkwat\(\text{t}\)si \(\text{d}\)i\(\text{n}\)n\(\text{u}\).
me \(\text{f}\) you potential less than \(\text{a}\)nd-dur
'You stand less (i.e., are shorter) than me.'

Comparatives are discussed in more detail in chapter 6 on adjectives.
The partitive postposition mantún is used to indicate that something is of the same origin or part as something else. Included in the partitive semantic domain is the notion of kinship relationship (e.g., 82, 83, and 86), so that mantún also means 'related to' or 'relative of'.

(82) Nü mantū satū.
me relative of that
'She is my relation. She's a relative of mine.'

(83) Ma mantū nūū.
her relative of I
'I am her relation. = I am a relative of hers.'

(84) Nü ma mantūnna tūkkahi? 'May I eat part of it?'
I it part of-O eat-dub

(85) Ma manti tūkkakiummū!
it part of-O eat-pl
'You all come and eat some of it!'

(86) "Mūmmū wihnu sukkwa múmmū u mantūnna
you all then that-0 you all him relative of-O
kwūūhikwa, tuittsia noohakatū u
marry-dub-sub young man-O someone him
mantūnna kwūūhi," mii yükkwi.
relative of-O marry-dub quot say

'"You might marry that one then, someone (of you)
might marry him," he said.'

[Here y mantūnna kwūūh is an idiom meaning literally 'take for a relative', i.e., 'marry'.]
The partitive mantün (like topical wakantün) has objective case forms, either mantünna or manti as seen in 84–86. They are used when the partitive argument is an object of the verb.

The fractive paka(ttsi) is used to indicate that something is a little bit or fraction of something else, as in 87, and also the date, as in 88.

(87) Nuu Sosoni nangkawi u pakattsi.
I Shoshone speak it bit of
'I speak a little bit of Shoshone.'

(88) Tutakaippuh pu paka naaku pia tükkanna.
birth his own date of be big eating
'It's his birthday party.'

5.4 LOCATIVE, TEMPORAL AND OTHER POSTPOSITIONS

Tümpisa Shoshone has a large and complex set of postpositions which express various locative notions and temporal and other adverbial relations. This area of the language is by no means fully understood and needs more study, in terms of both the semantics and the more purely grammatical aspects.

One important group of locative postpositions, perhaps the most basic group, is especially interesting because it occurs in sets. Each basic postposition may have one of several different suffixes, called postposition adjuncts, affixed to it, adding subtlety to the basic postpositional meaning. The postposition adjuncts are given below with the meanings that they add to locative postpositions, as far as I presently understand them.
POSTPOSITION ADJUNCTS

-\textit{hontun} about, off, away from specified location
-\textit{i} moving within the specified location
-\textit{ku} towards the specified location
-\textit{tun} towards and through the specified location
-\textit{t\textsuperscript{\texti{u}}} nominalizing the entire post phrase

The adjunct -\textit{t\textsuperscript{\texti{u}}} is no doubt an extension in function of the fully productive postposition \textit{tun} 'through'. The function or meaning of the adjunct -\textit{t\textsuperscript{\texti{u}}} is perhaps the most problematic. The meanings of postpositions with -\textit{t\textsuperscript{\texti{u}}} seem to be exactly the same as those of the basic forms of postpositions without it. What -\textit{t\textsuperscript{\texti{u}}} seems to do, at least in some cases, is to make the entire postpositional phrase a derived compound phrasal noun (e.g., 92-93). It is also used on oblique relational postpositions and has objective case forms (i.e., -\textit{t\textsuperscript{\texti{unna}}} \approx -\textit{ti}; see examples 72, 84-86, and 92). -\textit{T\textsuperscript{\texti{u}}} is certainly related to the nominalizing and present participle suffix -\textit{t\textsuperscript{\texti{u}}} (see sections 3.3.2 and 5.7).

The locative postpositions that occur in sets with adjuncts are listed below with the various forms that have been recorded and the specific meanings of the different forms. No doubt the translations here could be refined a good deal. The basic forms of the postpositions are underlined.

**LOCATIVE POSTPOSITIONS IN SETS**

\begin{tabular}{ll}
ka(\textit{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft}) & 'at, to, in' \textsuperscript{general locative} \\
kahontun & 'away from (being at, in)'
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
katun \approx \textit{kattun} & 'towards (being at, in)'
kat\textsuperscript{\texti{un}} \approx \textit{katt\textsuperscript{\texti{un}}} & 'at, to, in'
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
kapa & 'inside of, among'
kapai & 'inside, among (in motion)'
\end{tabular}
kuppan  'in, inside, within'
kuppahontun  'from inside, out of'
kuppai  'into and through, in and moving'
kuppantun  'into and through'
kuppantun  'in, inside, within'

man  'on, in, against'  surface locative
mahontun  'off from, away from (being on)'
mannai  'from (moving)'
mangku  'close to, near (being on, at)'
mantun  'towards (being in contact with)'
mantun  'on, in, around'

pan ≈ pa'an  'on, on top of; about'
pai  'on top of, from (in motion)'
pangku ≈ pa'angku  'towards on (top of)'
pantun ≈ pa'antun  'through an area'
pantun ≈ pa'antun  'on, about'

tukkwan  'under, below, beneath'
tukkwhontun  'out from under'
tukkwai  'under moving'
tukkwantun  'under and through'
tukkwantun  'under, below, beneath'
tukkwatTS  'less...than'

wakan  'towards, by, near (an animate)'
wakantun  'towards (an animate)'
wakantun  'towards, near, staying with; about; from'
wakakwa  'more...than'

In order to give a sense of the uses of the various forms of postpositions, sentence examples are given for all of the forms of ka" in 89-93, of man in 94-99, and of tukkwan
In 100-104. In addition, most of the forms of kuppan are given in 109-112, and those of wakan in 113-117.

(89) Taona ka sütü nia hanningkukoppühantü.
    town in that me do for-past
    'He did something in town for me.'

(90) Satū kimmakinna pasaküng kahontü
    that come bridge away from

tammü kattü kimmakinna.
    us to come

    'He is coming off the bridge, coming to us.'

(91) Nüü niang kahni kattu mi'am' i'a.
    I my house towards go along
    'I'm going along towards my house.'

(92) Nüü Tümpisakkatünna punikka.
    I Death Valley-at-O see
    'I'm looking at Death Valley.'

(93) Tümpisakkatü küttaa ütüinna mii.
    Death Valley-at really be hot quote
    'In Death Valley it's really hot, they say.'

(94) Wisipitta an netüm ma tükinna.
    string-O his bow on put
    'He's putting a string on his bow.'

(95) Nü sohopimpü mahontü pahékku.
    I cottonwood off from fell
    'I fell out of the cottonwood.'
(96) Toya(pim) mannaí miakwantu'i túnaa.
mountain from on-moving go-going to down
'I'm going to go down from the mountain.'

(97) Nu kahni mangku wùnù.
I house near stand
'I'm standing near the house.'

(98) Hüüppiammü toya mantu mi'a tūpanna tso'ikwasi.
women mtn through go pinenut-O pick-sub
'The women are going up through the mountains to
pick pine nuts.'

(99) Nü ümmi toya mantu petsükkwantu'ih.
I you-O mountain on take-going to
'I'm going to take you around in the mountains.'

(100) Nüümìng kateetta tukkwa nümmü we(inc) we(exc) go in(pl)-around
'Ve went in under our wagon.'

(101) Tammü tupoon ka tukkanna hûppa katù
we(inc) desert in eat shade in
lokko u tukkwahontù.
locust it under
'We are eating in the desert in the shade under
the locust tree.'

(102) Nüü pasakùn tukkwa miàmía.
I bridge under-moving go along
'I went along under the bridge.'
(103) Satu pasakun tukkwantu miamia.
that bridge under-through go along
'He went under the bridge and on through it.'

(104) Mummi tukkwantu pahittunna.
you(pl)-O under three-O
'It's under you three.'

Note the word order in 101, with one postpositional phrase before the verb and two after it, which is typical when there is more than one postpositional phrase. Tukkwan is also used to form the lesser comparative illustrated in section 5.3, example 80-81.

As mentioned in the preceding section (5.3), there are several different postpositional phrase constructions. Perhaps the most common one is for a postposition to follow a simple noun stem, as in all of the examples in 94-103. If the noun normally takes (an omissible) absolutive or classificatory suffix (see 5.6), it may optionally be omitted (e.g., 96 and 98-99 and 101); i.e.:

1. Post Phrase --→ N(-absol) + Post

Nouns in this construction are unmarked for case (i.e., they are nominative, since nominative is unmarked), and they normally do not take demonstratives.

Another common postpositional phrase construction is with a pronoun copy. This construction is composed of a noun followed by a third person pronoun, ma, y, or a, which is coreferential with the noun, and then the pronoun is followed by the postposition (e.g., 72-74, 101 and 105-106).

2. Post Phrase --→ (Dem-O) N + 3rd Prn-O + Post
If the noun has any modifiers, such as a demonstrative, then they are in the objective case (e.g., 106), but the noun is not marked for case (i.e., it is formally nominative).

(105) Satū schoopimū u mangku kattū.
that cottonwood it near sit-dur
'He's sitting near the cottonwood.'

(106) Atū tangummū akka kapaayu u pa miamia.
that man that-O horse it on go along
'That man is going along on that horse.'

On rare occasions both the noun and the third person pronoun are each followed by a postposition—and furthermore the postpositions do not have to be the same, although they must be semantically related.

3. Post Phrase --> N + Post + Prn + Post

(107) Toya ma a pa supe'e u hanninnuh.
mountain on it on top of that time it did
'That time he did it on (top of) the mountain.'

When the referents of the nouns in the preceding constructions are old information, then the nouns are normally omitted and the postpositions simply follow the third person objective pronouns (e.g., 108-112). Postpositions may also follow other objective case personal pronouns (e.g., 104 and 113-117), so that we can generalize and say that another common postpositional phrase construction is:

4. Post Phrase --> Prn(-O) + Post
(108) Angipi u kapa kattu.  
fly it inside of sit-dur  
'A fly is sitting in it.'

(109) Nü ma kupp ma tūkitu'ih.  
I it in it put-will  
'I'll put it in it.'

(110) Satū u kuppai mi'amia.  
that it in-moving go along  
'He went into and through it.'

(111) Nüü ma kuppantu u wūttiaataippuh.  
I it into it dumped-cmplt  
'I've dumped it all out into it.'

(112) U kuppantu epetti sutu!  
her inside of-emph here-emph that  
'That was inside of her here!'

However, subjective case pronouns and demonstratives have also been recorded in postpositional phrases in the nonsingular (e.g., 115-117). Perhaps objective case forms are obligatory in the singular, but only optional in the dual and plural.

(113) Satūmnü nü [≈ nia] waka nuupaikintu'ih.  
those me [≈ me] towards stay(pl)-come to-will  
'They're coming to stay with me.'

(114) Nü üng wakantü miakwantu'ih.  
I you towards go-fut  
'I'm going to go towards you.'
Besides the locative postpositions that occur in sets, there are a dozen or so that are not used with the postpositional adjuncts. These are listed below. Some of them are multimorphemic. For example, several of them are based on the root nangkwa 'direction' plus other morphemes, some of which are not attested elsewhere. When their internal makeup is known, it is given after '<'. Many of the postpositions listed below have idiosyncratic properties which are discussed and illustrated after the list.

**OTHER LOCATIVE POSTPOSITIONS**

- kawi ≡ kawiki(tun) 'over; more...than' (obj)
- kappinnangkwa 'outside of' (poss)
  < (?) kappe 'bed' + nangkwa 'direction'
- maanangkwa 'on the other side of' (poss)
  < maa (?), nangkwa 'direction'
- manakwa 'away from' (poss)
- mo'eki 'around, surrounding, encircling' (obj)
- mokkopeka 'in front of' (poss)
  < mu"- 'nose', kope 'face', ka 'at'
- nai(su) 'towards, in the general direction of'
- nangkwa 'beside, direction of'
Several of the postpositions above are also used in other word classes, sometimes with slightly altered forms, such as with the addition of nominal -ppuh or -tun; e.g.:

- kappinnangkwatun N and Adv 'outside'
- maanangkwatun N and Adv '(on the) other side'
- manakwappuh N and Adv 'great distance; far away'
- tükunaatsittsi Adv 'close, nearby'
- tüpiinga N 'middle, center'

The nouns or noun phrases used in postpositional phrases with many of the postpositions in the list above display case marking different from that described for the nouns and noun phrases used with the postpositions occurring in sets. Thus, several of the other postpositions, namely kawi, me'eki, pinnaitün, and pinnangkwa, require that nouns used with them be in the objective case, and of course any modifiers of the nouns are in the objective case as well (e.g., 118-123 below and 80-81 in 5.3).5 Compare the form in 5 below with the construction in 1.

5. Post Phrase -- (modifier-O) N-O + (3rd Prn-O +) Post

In this construction there may also be a pronoun copy coreferential with the noun (e.g., 121-122), just as in
construction 2 above, except that the noun is in the objective case. If the referents of the nouns are old information, then they may be omitted, and the resulting construction is identical with that in construction 4 (e.g., 123).

(118) Nū suüpitta mo'e ki miakomin.  
I willow-O around go along  
'I'm going around the willow.'

(119) Antsi atammupia pinnaitu wünü.  
Angie car-O beside stand-dur  
'Angie's standing beside the car.'

(120) Nū wopitta kawaki tattükwa.  
I log-O over stepped  
'I stepped over the log.'

(121) Nū kutaatanna u kawi yutsükka.  
I fence-O it over jumped  
'I jumped over the fence.'

(122) Atammupia u pinnangkwa wünü satü.  
car-O it behind stand that  
'He is standing behind the car.'

(123) U mo'eki naakka. 'It's around it.'  
it around be-stv

Several other postpositions in the list above require that the nouns and pronouns used with them be in the possessive case, namely kappinnangkwa, manangkwa, mokkopeka, and tüpiinga (e.g., 124-128).6

6. Post Phrase --> N-poss + (3rd Prn-poss +) Post
This postpositional construction may also contain a pronoun copy, but it must be a third person possessive case pronoun coreferential with the possessive noun (e.g., 127).

(124) Antsi atammupiam maanangkwa wūnū. Angie car's other side stand-dur 'Angie is standing on the other side of the car.'

(125) Hüttswūnnūmpū kahnīn tūpīlinga kattū. refrigerator house's middle sit-dur 'The refrigerator is sitting in the middle of the house.'

(126) Antsi atammupia on mokkopeka wūnū. Angie car's its front stand-dur 'Angie's standing in front of the car.'

(127) Satū um maanangkwa wūnū. that its other side stand-dur 'She's standing on the other side of it.'

(128) Niam mokkopekā hāppi. my front-in lie-dur 'It's lying in front of me.'

As 127 illustrates (cf. 124), the possessive noun may be omitted if it is old information, as long as the third person possessive pronoun remains. Other possessive case pronouns may also be used (e.g., 128); i.e.:

7. Post Phrase --> Prn-poss + Post

Several other postpositions in the list are illustrated below. Tun and nangkwa appear in constructions like those indicated in 1-4. The others have not been recorded in
environments which would indicate whether they govern
nominative or objective case nouns, however.

(129) Öü nú tükunaa wünnu.
you me near stand-dur
'You're standing near me.'

(130) Antsi ma tümpeka kahni wünnu.
Angle it front-in house stand-dur
'Angie is standing in front of the house.'

(131) Nü nai núekkina setü.
me towards blow this
'The wind's blowing in my direction.'

(132) Hüttaswünnumpu kahni nangkwa kattu.
refrigerator house beside sit-dur
'The refrigerator is sitting beside the house.'

(133) Tupoon tu númmikkinnümü satü.
desert through walk around that
'She's walking around through the desert.'

(134) Isapaippu pange miatü u tu.
Coyote up go it through
'Coyote is going up through it.'

Still another group of postpositions is suffixed to
demonstrative and locative bases (discussed in section 4.3),
as shown in construction 8.

8. Post Phrase --> Dem/Loc base-Post

The forms derived in this construction are actually deictic
adverbs, mostly locative, but also temporal and manner. They
are listed below with the dem/loc bases that they have been recorded with.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kkuh</td>
<td>'here/there' general locative</td>
<td>(s)ikkih, (s)ekkiih, (s)akkukh, (s)ukkukh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-naanangkwa</td>
<td>'on this/that side of'</td>
<td>inaanangkwa, anaanangkwa, unaanangkwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nni</td>
<td>'way, manner' general manner</td>
<td>(s)inni, (s)enni, (s)anni, (s)unni, hakanni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan</td>
<td>'here/there'</td>
<td>pan ≈ pa'an 'here/there' &lt; pan ≈ pa'an 'on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-papi (?)</td>
<td>(?) general locative</td>
<td>epapi 'here', isapapi 'here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pe&quot;</td>
<td>'here/there (in a loosely defined area)'</td>
<td>(s)ipi&quot;, (s)epi&quot;, (s)ape&quot;, (s)upe&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pe'e(sü)</td>
<td>'time, then' general temporal</td>
<td>sape'e(sü) ≈ sape'enni, supe'e(sü) ≈ supe'enni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ttun</td>
<td>'through X area'</td>
<td>tun ≈ (s)ittun, (s)ettun, (s)attun, (s)uttun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'e(sü)</td>
<td>'same as, the same way as'</td>
<td>siwa'e, sewa'e, sawa'e, suwa'e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Postpositions suffixed to the dem/loc bases differ semantically in a significant way from the pronoun-plus-postposition constructions already discussed. Thus, a dem/loc base used with a postposition is not a pronoun copy coreferential with some noun, nor is it anaphoric for a noun or noun phrase that has been omitted because it is old information. Rather, the dem/loc bases are deictic, used simultaneously while pointing, gesturally or metaphorically, in discourse. As the reader no doubt has noticed, some of the postpositions used with the dem/loc bases have been encountered earlier and are also used with nouns and
pronouns, so we can provide examples contrasting their different functions. For example, the three postpositions ni(n) (> -nni), pan, and tun (> -ttun) all occur with the dem/loc bases and as regular postpositions with nouns or pronouns, but with differences in meaning:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEM/LOC-POST</th>
<th>PRONOUN + POST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sunni 'that way'</td>
<td>vs. u ni 'like him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supan 'there'</td>
<td>vs. u pan 'on it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suttun 'through there'</td>
<td>vs. u tun 'through it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the words formed with dem/loc bases and postpositions are adverbs, they are discussed in detail in chapter 7, but a few examples are given here in 135-142.

(135) Nu tumo'innumpu sikkih itu.
my pen here this
'This is my pen here.'

(136) Antsi enangkwa kattu.
Angie this-beside sit-dur
'Angie's sitting beside this.'

(137) Tammū inaanangkwa nuupaih.
we(inc) this-side sit
'We're sitting on this side.'

(138) Süpi kahni unaanangkwa wūnnū.
willow house that-side of stand
'The willow stands on that side of the house.'

(139) Nia sunni nukwingkūppahantū sutū.
me that-way did-cat that
'He did that (way) for me.'
(140) Toni sepa naappuhantu. 'Tony was here.'
Tony here was

(141) Útűinna küttas sepetti Útűinna!
be hot really there-emph be hot
'It's hot, it's really hot there!'

(142) Supe'eskututummu wihnu u wütðhuhuntu.
that time those then him wait for
'Then at that time they waited for him.'

5.5 NUMBER MARKING AND NOUN DECLENSIONS

Nouns may be inflected for singular, dual, and plural numbers. However, number marking directly on nouns is not obligatory by any means, and is less common than with pronouns and demonstratives (see 4.1 and 4.3). Number is often indicated on demonstratives, verbs, or predicate adjectives, rather than on the nouns themselves. For example, in the sentences in 143-147, plurality is indicated in each sentence but elsewhere, away from the nouns that refer to plural entities. Similarly, in 148-150, duality is indicated but not on the nouns with dual reference.

(143) Tangummi nangkaha núu naangkan ningwunu.
man-O hear I make noise talk(pl)
'I hear the men making noise talking.'

(144) Satûmmu tamms putišha innuntûkkanna
those our burro-O steal
atûmmu mîtûkaano.
those white man
'They stole our burro(s), those white men.'
Generally speaking, number is usually (but not always) marked on human nouns. It is optionally marked on nouns referring to higher animals, but perhaps most commonly is not marked on them. And with nouns referring to inanimate objects, lower animals, and plants, it typically is not marked at all, although I have recorded examples where it is. If this sounds as if there are no hard and fast rules, it is meant to, because as far as I can tell there are no rules, but rather tendencies only.
There are inflectional suffixes indicating number for dual and plural in the three cases: nominative, objective, and possessive. Singular number is unmarked. The suffixes are presented below.

**DUAL AND PLURAL SUFFIXES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-angku</td>
<td>-ahi</td>
<td>-ahin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>≈ -ngku</td>
<td>≈ -hi</td>
<td>≈ -hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>≈ -mungku</td>
<td>≈ -muhi</td>
<td>≈ -muhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-ammu</td>
<td>-ammi</td>
<td>-ammin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>≈ -mmu</td>
<td>≈ -mmi</td>
<td>≈ -mmin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variants without a are used after nouns ending in either a or ü (e.g., tua” 'son' and petü” 'daughter'), as long as the ü is not part of a classificatory suffix, as in tuinuppü 'boy' (see below). In the dual, the forms beginning with m may optionally be used instead of the other variants without a. Terms for (at least some) relatives often form plurals by compounding with numü 'people' rather than with the suffixes given above. For example, patsi 'older sister' plus numü forms patsinumü 'older (people) sisters', but the reduplicated plural pappatsiammu 'older sisters' also exists.

Most nouns are completely regular and simply add the suffixes above to form the dual and plural numbers. Several complete declensions of regular nouns are given below.
### Nouns

#### Regular Noun Declensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>hipittsittsi</td>
<td>hipittsittsia</td>
<td>hipittsittsian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>hipittsittsiangku</td>
<td>hipittsittsiahi</td>
<td>hipittsittsiahin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>hipittsittsiammu</td>
<td>hipittsittsiammi</td>
<td>hipittsittsiammin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 'great-grandparent; very old person'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>tso'o</td>
<td>tso'oa</td>
<td>tso'oan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>tso'orangku</td>
<td>tso'ahi</td>
<td>tso'oahin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tso'oammu</td>
<td>tso'ammi</td>
<td>tso'ammin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 'boy'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>tuinnuppu</td>
<td>tuinnuppua</td>
<td>tuinnuppuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>tuinnuppuangku</td>
<td>tuinnuppuahi</td>
<td>tuinnuppuahin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tuinnuppuammu</td>
<td>tuinnuppuaammi</td>
<td>tuinnuppuammin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 'bear'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>pahamittsi</td>
<td>pahamittsia</td>
<td>pahamittsian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>pahamittsiangku</td>
<td>pahamittsiahi</td>
<td>pahamittsiahin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>pahamittsian</td>
<td>pahamittsihin</td>
<td>pahamittsiammin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 'horse'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>kapaayu</td>
<td>kapaayua</td>
<td>kapaayuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>kapaayuangku</td>
<td>kapaayuahi</td>
<td>kapaayuahin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>kapaayuammu</td>
<td>kapaayuammi</td>
<td>kapaayuammin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of common human nouns form their dual and/or plural stems by reduplication; usually the first consonant and vowel are repeated, with the first internal consonant being geminated if it is geminable. The dual and plural suffixes are then also used on the reduplicated stems. However, which stem will be reduplicated, the dual or the plural, is not predictable. Several declensions of reduplicated forms are given below. Sometimes the 'regular'
form in the dual or plural is also used. I could not detect if there was some subtle distinction in meaning between the reduplicated and regular duals or plurals.

REDUPLICATIVE NOUN DECLENSIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'son'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg tua&quot;</td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
<td>tuai</td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d1 tuangku</td>
<td>tuangku</td>
<td>tuahî</td>
<td>tuahî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ tuammungku</td>
<td>tuammungku</td>
<td>tuammhuhi</td>
<td>tuammhuhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl tuttuammû</td>
<td>tuttuammû</td>
<td>tuttuammî</td>
<td>tuttuammî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'daughter'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg petû&quot;</td>
<td>petû&quot;</td>
<td>peti</td>
<td>peti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d1 petüngku</td>
<td>petüngku</td>
<td>petühi</td>
<td>petühi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ petümmungku</td>
<td>petümmungku</td>
<td>petümmuhi</td>
<td>petümmuhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl peppetümû</td>
<td>peppetümû</td>
<td>peppetümî</td>
<td>peppetümî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ petümmû</td>
<td>petümmû</td>
<td>petümmi</td>
<td>petümmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>petu&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'man'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg tangummû</td>
<td>tangummû</td>
<td>tangummi</td>
<td>tangummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tangummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tangummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tangummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d1 tattangungku</td>
<td>tattangungku</td>
<td>tattanguhi</td>
<td>tattanguhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tattanguhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tattanguhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tattanguhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ tangummüangku</td>
<td>tangummüangku</td>
<td>tangummüahi</td>
<td>tangummüahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tangummüahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tangummüahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tangummüahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl tattangummu</td>
<td>tattangummu</td>
<td>tattangummi</td>
<td>tattangummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tattangummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tattangummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tattangummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ tangummuammu</td>
<td>tangummuammu</td>
<td>tangummuammi</td>
<td>tangummuammi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tangummuammi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tangummuammi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tangummuammi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that in 'man' the reduplicated stems are irregular, in that the last syllable of the singular is omitted (i.e., the expected forms would be *tattangummuangku and *tattangummuammu). A number of other nouns with reduplicated duals or plurals follow (but in incomplete declensions, with only the nominative forms given).
One suppletive declension has been recorded with different stems in the singular and nonsingular.

SUPPLETIVE DECLENSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 'woman'</td>
<td>wa’ippu</td>
<td>wa’ippu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa’ippua</td>
<td>wa’ippuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d1 hüüppiangku</td>
<td>hüüppiahi</td>
<td>hüüppiahin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl hüüppiammü</td>
<td>hüüppiammi</td>
<td>hüüppiammin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since most of the example sentences in this monograph contain singular nouns, no more are illustrated here. Examples of nouns inflected for dual and plural numbers are given in sentences 151-170 below. In 151-159, plural nouns are in the nominative case.

(151) Tsukuppüttsiammų nuupai.
    old men sit(pl)
    'The old men are sitting [there].'

(152) Pahamittsiammų kopittuki.
    bears lie(pl)
    'The bears are lying down.'

(153) Atümų tattangumų yuhupi.
    those men fat
    'Those men are fat.'
(154) Himpakantū tattangummu?
how many men
'How many men are there?'

(155) Nawittsittsiammu iampūhammu.
girls wild-pl
'The girls all are wild.'

(156) Kehimpa'i tuittsittsiammu.
there aren't boys
'There aren't any boys [around].'

(157) Hüüppiammu kahni kuppantū tukummahanni.
women house in cook
'The women are cooking in the house.'

(158) Süümootū satūmmu, um petūmmu süümootū.
ten those his daughters ten
'There were ten of them, there were ten of his daughters.'

(159) So'oppütū hukwappiammu.
many canes
'There're a lot of canes.'

In 160-163, nouns are in the plural objective. 'Men' is inflected for plurality in 160, whereas in 143 it is not.

(160) Tattangummi nangkaha nūü naangken ningwūnnu.
men-O hear-stv I make noise talk(pl)
'I hear the men making noise talking.'

(161) Hüüppiammi takkūso'ehwa ūü.
women-O pinched you
'You pinched the women.'
(162) Nü tasimütttsiammi punikka.
I piss ants-O see
'I see some piss ants.'

(163) Um petümmi sümmi yükkwi.
her daughters-O that say
'She said that to her daughters.'

Dual nouns in the nominative are exemplified in 164-168.

(164) Hipittsittsiangku yükkwi.
old women-dl sit(dl)
'Two old women are sitting [there].' 

(165) Pahamittsiangku koppi. 'Two bears are lying.'
bear-dl lie(dl)

(166) Atungku tattangungku yuhupi.
those(dl) men-dl fat
'Those two men are fat.'

(167) Nawittsittsiangku iampuhangku.
girl-dl wild-dl
'The two girls are both wild.'

(168) Satungku wawatangku nü kuso'ehwa.
those(dl) mosquito-dl me bit
'Those two mosquitos bit me.'

Examples of nouns in the dual objective are are given in 169-170.

(169) Nü hipittsittsiahi punikka.
I old women(dl)-O see
'I see two old women.'
When both predicate adjectives and their subjects are inflected for plural or dual numbers, plurality and duality are being emphasized, respectively (see 155 and 167; the 'all' in 155 and the 'two' and 'both' in 167 in the figurative translations are meant to indicate number emphasis). Compare plural marking in 155 with that in 153, and dual marking in 167 with that in 166. In 153 and 166, number marking is not emphatic, since number is not indicated on the predicate adjectives.

5.6 ABSOLUTIVE (OR CLASSIFICATORY) SUFFIXES

Many Uto-Aztecan languages have a set of suffixes that are used on free or independent nouns, but are typically dropped: (a) when the nouns are possessed; (b) when they are in compounds, including nouns incorporated into verbs; and (c) when the nouns stand before postpositions (see Langacker 1977). Sometimes suffixes of this type are called absolutive suffixes because they allow the nouns to stand alone or absolutely, and sometimes they are called classificatory suffixes because in some Uto-Aztecan languages, but not particularly in Tumpisa Shoshone, they mark different noun classes. The noun suffixes in Tumpisa Shoshone that fit into this group are:

-pi(n) -pe -pu -ppu -ppuh -ttsi

In contemporary Tumpisa Shoshone, the absolutive suffixes may remain (i.e., not drop) under all of the circumstances mentioned above. Furthermore, each of the absolutive suffixes tends to behave somewhat differently. For example, typically, they all disappear in compounds, but only -pi(n) and -ttsi usually disappear before postpositions.
-Pe and -pū are only rarely dropped, which indicates that they have been (or are being) lexicalized or interpreted as part of noun roots.

Some examples of absolutive suffixes dropping under possession are given below.

sokopi 'land, earth' > númí soko 'our land'
noyopin 'egg' > un noyo 'its egg'
wuappüh 'penis' > u wúa" 'his penis'
anappi 'peak' > toyapin nana" 'mountain peak'
tukkuattsi 'meat' > un tukku 'its meat'
≡ tukkuapi

yuhupi 'fat, grease' > nia yuhu 'my fat, grease'
> un nuhu 'your fat, grease'

The absolutive suffixes don't always drop, however, as is attested by examples like the following:

nampe 'foot' > un nampe 'your foot'
kwaipū 'back' > ung kwaimpu 'your back'
wuappüh 'penis' > u wuappüh 'his penis'
aippū 'parent-in-law' > nian aippū 'my parent-in-law'

All of the absolutive suffixes commonly drop when the noun stems they are appended to form compounds with other stems. Compare the following examples.

huuppin (huu"-) 'stick, wood'
⁡huu',etūn 'bow, atlatl' < etūn 'bow, gun'
⁡huu,k(⁰)ohnon 'cradle basket' < kohnon 'cradle'
⁡huuppakampotsa 'arrow' < pakampotsa 'projectile'
⁡huuppihyaapin 'sugar cane' < pihyaapin 'sugar'
süupin (süü-) 'willow, wicker'
süühüppa 'willow shade house' < hüppa 'shade'
süü'ongo(ttsi) 'wicker cooking basket'
< ongo(ttsi) 'cooking basket'
süü'osa(ttsi) 'wicker water jug'
< osa(ttsi) 'water jug'
süüpihyaapin 'willow sap sugar' < pihyaapin 'sugar'
süutakkan 'basket knife' < takkan(pin) 'obsidian'
süüsanappittsi 'bluebird' < sanappin 'pitch'
süütsappo'o 'basket hat' < tsappo'o 'hat'
toyapi(n) (toya-) 'mountain'
toyakatü 'hill' < katü 'sit'
toyatukkupittsi 'mountain lion'
< tukupittsi 'wildcat'
Toya Hipingkuppüh = Hipingkün Toya 'Flower Mountain Song' < hipingkün 'flower'
toyatsukunümüttsi 'guardian of the mountain' 
< tsuku(ppü) 'old man', nümü 'person', -ttsi dim
tümpin (tün-) 'rock'
tüngkahi 'cave' < kahni 'house'
tünto'eh 'climb' < to'eh 'go up'
tümpunih 'watch, spy on' < puni 'see'
tümpahe" 'fall off, out of' < pahe" 'fall down'
tüngwünütün 'cliff' < wünütün 'standing'
Tümpsi" 'Death Valley' < pisa" 'red ochre'
nampe (nan-) 'foot'
nampunih 'track' < puni 'see'
tangappüh (tanga") 'knee'
tangappuhakatü 'kneel praying'
< puha 'supernatural power', katü 'sit'
tangatookatü 'kneel' < too- ? , katü 'sit'
Examples above like süutakkan, Toya Hipingküppüh ≈ Hipingkun Toya, and kwaintsuhni indicate that in compounds the absolutive suffixes may drop, whether or not the noun stems losing them are first or last in the compound construction.

Sometimes the absolutive suffixes do not drop in compounds, however. Compare the examples below based on tumpe 'mouth' and tumpin 'rock' with those above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tumpe tüngkampi</td>
<td>'lip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumpe muttüngkampi</td>
<td>'upper lip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumpi hüwannumpu</td>
<td>'dead fall trap'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sentences in 171-173 illustrate the loss of absolutive suffixes before postpositions.

(171) Tammú tupoon ka tukkanna lokko u tukkwhontü.
'Vere eating in the desert under the locust tree.'

(172) Hüüpplammú toya mantu mi'a tüpanatso'ikwa.
'The women are going through the mountains to pick pinenuts.'

(173) Yookon tu mi'ami'a satú.
'He's going through the valley.'
In 172 any of the three different forms of 'mountain' are possible in the postpositional phrase, with or without absolutive suffixes. Thus 172 and 174-175 show that the absolutive suffixes need not be dropped before postpositions.

(174) Nüü süüpim mantü tsokottihwa.
    I willow on head-bump
    'I bumped my head on the willow tree.'

(175) Satü huuppim ma u hotanna.
    that stick with it dig
    'She's digging it with a stick.'

The absolutive suffixes are given again below, along with a good many examples of nouns that they are affixed to.

ABSOLUTIVE/CLASSIFICATORY SUFFIXES

-pi = pin (-pitta = -pia obj)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tumpisa</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tumpisa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>pohopin</td>
<td>sagebrush</td>
<td>pohopin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cane</td>
<td>sohopimpü</td>
<td>cottonwood</td>
<td>sohopimpü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cane</td>
<td>sokopin</td>
<td>ground</td>
<td>sokopin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soup, gruel</td>
<td>süüpün</td>
<td>willow</td>
<td>süüpün</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stick</td>
<td>tamupi</td>
<td>sinew</td>
<td>tamupi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cliff rose</td>
<td>tatsiumpi</td>
<td>star</td>
<td>tatsiumpi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illness</td>
<td>toyapin</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>toyapin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soup, gravy</td>
<td>tukkuapin</td>
<td>meat</td>
<td>tukkuapin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>tukupı</td>
<td>sand dune</td>
<td>tukupı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teenage girl</td>
<td>üappi</td>
<td>crops</td>
<td>üappi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handgame</td>
<td>üngapi</td>
<td>roadrunner</td>
<td>üngapi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold</td>
<td>wasüppi</td>
<td>mtn sheep</td>
<td>wasüppi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pebbles</td>
<td>woapin</td>
<td>worm</td>
<td>woapin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>wongkopin</td>
<td>pine</td>
<td>wongkopin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
paoppi 'blood'  yuhupin 'fat'
pihyaapin 'sugar'  yookompin 'valley'

-kappe 'bed'  tape(ttsi) 'sun'
kope 'face'  tope 'thigh'
kümpe 'squirrel'  tümpé 'rock'
nampe 'foot'  yüppe 'fox'
pokkotoppe 'red-winged blackbird'

-awattampu 'rib'  piapü 'female'
isaampü 'liar'  plusipü 'eyebrow'
kwaismpu 'back'  pütapü 'arm'
lokayipü 'locust tree'  sohoplimpu 'cottonwood'
mutsupü(ttsi) 'beak'  samonpu 'sibling'
nattsiapü 'provisions'  soopütsi 'cheeks'
nawüttamampu 'door'  tsiampu 'hips'
nihattapü 'joker'  tsomampu 'skinflint'
ohipipü 'mesquite tree'  usu'umpu 'kindling'

-appü 'father'  tuinuppü 'boy'
isaapippü 'Coyote'  tsukuppü 'old man'
naipippü 'parent-in-law'  wa'ippu 'woman'
samoppu 'sibling'  yuhupippu 'fatso'

-nopippu 'tears'  pomappu 'grass'
kuttusippu 'smut'  sumappu 'breath'
kukkwiippisippu 'riflings'  kukkwippuh 'smoke'
makkippuh 'elbow'  tappisanappu 'socks'
manilkappu 'ring'  to'ippu 'tule'
muiipu 'jimson weed'  tüppisippu 'trash'
nonopippu 'wikiup'  pamippu 'hair'
nungkappu 'leg'  tsiampippu 'wild rose'
pakappüh 'penis' tsooppüh 'shoulder'
pühüppüh 'fur' tsoppippüh 'hair'
pükappüh 'glass' wikappüh 'blanket'

-"ttsi (-"ttsia_obj)
akkuttsi 'sunflower seeds' ekupi("ttsi) 'cactus'
hipittsi("ttsi) 'old woman' kammu("ttsi) 'jackrabbit'
kahümpütsi 'mesquite seeds' umapi("ttsi) 'salt'
nawittsiipi 'girl' mua("ttsi) 'moon'
nawittsi("ttsi) 'little girl' paa("ttsi) 'water'
olahattsii("ttsi) 'baby' heewi("ttsi) 'dove'
piammuttsi 'baby' mutsupu("ttsi) 'beak'
takkaakattsii 'valley quail' nuipi("ttsi) 'doll'
tuammuttsi 'baby' tukkupittsi 'wildcat'
tuittsi("ttsi) 'young man' tape("ttsi) 'sun'

Only two of the absolutive suffixes have any semantic content: -"ttsi and -ppü. The suffix -"ttsi is also the diminutive and affectionate. It may be used on virtually any noun in the language, or at least on any noun denoting something that one feels affinity to or affection for. In fact, it is used so commonly that it has almost lost its diminutive or affectionate meaning. In the lists above, those forms with -"ttsi in parentheses are usually used with it, but on occasion they are used without it. Those forms with -"ttsi not in parentheses are always used with it, and not uncommonly they are used with it in reduplicated form. In those forms, -"ttsi is an integral part of the word, at least as much as any of the other absolutive suffixes are, and it seems to function just like they do.

The absolutive suffix -ppü indicates a class of human nouns, which also happens to include Coyote, no doubt because of his prominence in folklore and culture history. In discourse, -ppü is used to indicate distance or lack of empathy with the referent of the human noun that it is
For example, in the conversation in section 10.6, -ppuh is frequently used on proper nouns (which normally do not take absolutive suffixes; see section 5.8) when the speaker wishes to indicate lack of empathy for, or detachment from, the noun’s referent.

The absolutive suffix -ppuh is no doubt related to the past participial and nominalizing suffix of the same form (see 3.3.2 and 5.7). But in the list above, the forms with -ppuh are not derived from verbs at all and are noun stems.

-ppuh also has a special absolutive function; it is used in negative predications of possession. That is, when asserting that one does not have something, the noun denoting the entity not possessed is incorporated into the predicate of possession, either -pa’em 'have' or -kantün 'having, characterized by', and then normally has -ppuh suffixed to it.

(176) Nüü keehippuhpahpa’e. 'I have nothing.'
I nothing-suf-have

(177) Nüü kee piammuppuhkantü. 'I am childless.'
I not child-suf-characterized by

(178) Ke tüppappuhpahpa’e tammü kee tüpanaanappuhpa’e.
not pinenut-suf-have we not pinenut-suf-have
'We don't have any pinenuts, we don't have any pinenuts of our own.'

Compare the examples in 176-178 with positive predications of possession given in 121-123 of chapter 3, section 3.2.1.1.

Sometimes the absolutive suffixes are used to form new words from others, with related but different meanings; e.g.:
As a few of the examples above illustrate, occasionally more than one absolutive suffix occurs on the same word. Some other examples of multiple suffixes on the same noun follow.

nawittsipi 'girl'
nawittsittsi 'little girl'
sohopimpfi 'cottonwood'

Also, occasionally the same noun stem may take different absolutive suffixes; e.g.:

samompü = samoppüh 'sibling of opposite sex'

psiappüh = psiampü 'wild rose'

nauittümappü = nauittümampü 'door'
pittuuttsi = pittuuppüh 'anus'

Simple noun stems which do not normally take absolutive suffixes of any kind may have a kind of "absolutive" marker anyway. Some nouns, especially kin terms, when spoken in isolation or at the end of a phrase or sentence have a following glottal stop and voiceless echo vowel that is identical with the vowel preceding the glottal stop. The glottal stop and echo vowel disappear if the noun is followed by other words in the same phrase or compound. They are clearly not an organic part of the word since they may even occur on nouns which phonemically end in a final segment (see 9.3.7); e.g.:
The glottal stop plus echo vowel phenomenon, however, is not nearly as common in Tümpisa Shoshone as in Shoshone proper (see Dayley 1970).

5.7 NOUN DERIVATION AND COMPOUNDING

A half dozen suffixes are productively used to form new nouns. They are given below with their objective case forms in parentheses, glosses characterizing their functions or meanings, and a number of example nouns formed with them. Of course, the absolutive suffixes discussed in 5.6 are occasionally also used to form new nouns, but the suffixes listed below are by far the most important noun-forming affixes. Only a fraction of the nouns formed with them are given below. Since these suffixes are completely productive, their derivatives are virtually unlimited.

PRODUCTIVE NOUN-DERIVING SUFFIXES

-kantūn (-kantūnna = -kanti obj) characterizing
'one characterized by, having, possessing'

kasattākantūn    'bird'
< kasattsi      'wing'
kwitasuupūkantūn 'farter'
< kwitasuupūh   'fart'
mukuakantūn     'sage, learned one'
< mukua         'mind'
mukuttsikantün 'Delphinus constellation'
  < mukutta 'diamond-shaped'
nattusu'ungkantün 'doctor, herbalist'
  < nattusu'un 'medicine, herbs'
natuakahantün 'clown'
  < na- pmpr. tuakah 'put face paint on'
potongkantün 'policeman'
  < poton 'club'
puhakantün 'shaman, medicine man/woman'
  < puha 'supernatural power'
saiyakantün 'screen'
  < saiya (?)
tapakantün 'stud'
  < tapa(ppüh) 'testicles'
wiiakkantün 'gelding'
  < wii(a(ppüh) 'penis'

-nna (Ø obj) infinitive and gerund 'to X, Xing'
nampuninna 'footprints, tracks'
  < nampunih V 'track'
namuihanna 'picture, drawing, photo, writing'
  < na- pmpr. mo'ih 'draw, write, sketch', -kan stv
notottsoanna 'ramrod'
  < na- pmpr. tottsoa Vt 'clean, wipe off'
hipinna 'to drink, drinking'
  < hipi" V 'drink'
kuppianna 'to cook, cooking'
  < kuppiā Vi 'cook'
tütüainna 'work, working'
  < tütüa Vi 'work'
tükkanan 'to eat, eating, meal'
  < tükkah 'eat'
pusikwanna 'to know, knowing'
  < pusikwa 'know'
-nnumpü (-nnumpua obj) instrument

hüwannumpü 'trap'
< hüwa" Vt 'trap'
katünnumpü 'seat, chair'
< katü" Vi sg 'sit'
kottoonnumpü 'stove, hearth'
< kotoo 'make a fire'
kukkwiiinnumpü 'chimney'
< kukkwii(ppu) 'smoke'
kusuuppetsunnumpü 'whistle'
< kusuuppetsu Vi 'whistle, blow a whistle'
kütannumpü 'scissors'
< kutah 'cut with scissors'
naannumpü 'tool, instrument'
< naa" Vi 'be' [formerly meaning: 'do']
napuninnumpü 'mirror; gun sights'
< na- pmpr, puni" 'see'
patsennaannumpü 'bucket, water container'
< patsennaah = patsainaah 'fetch water'
saawannumpü 'boiling pot'
< saawah Vt 'boil'
sumakkainnumpü 'gill'
< sumakkain 'breathe'
tukuttakkingkunnumpü 'dynamite'
< tü- aps, kuttakkingkun 'blast'
tukuttinnumpü 'firearm'
< tü- aps, kuttih 'shoot'
tumo'innumpü 'pen, pencil, writing instrument; camera'
< tü- aps, mo'ih Vt 'write, draw, sketch, paint'
tükkannumpü 'dinner table'
< tükkah 'eat'
tüwüttianumpü 'garbage can'
< tü- aps, wüttia Vt 'dump out, spill'
tsaannumpü 'binoculars'
< ?
wūppo'okwinumpū 'drum'
< wūppo'okwi 'beat a drum'
yūkwinumpū ≡ yūkwinumpū 'tool, instrument'
< yūkwi " ≡ yūkwi " 'do''

-ppūh (-ppuha obj) nominalizer and past participle
kwitappūh 'shit'
< kwita" Vi 'shit'
kwitasuuppūh 'fart'
< kwitasu" Vi 'fart'
nawúsiiwappūh 'scab, scratch, cut'
< na- ppr, wúsiiwah Vt 'scratch'
nawūttūmappūh 'door'
< na- ppr, wūttūmah 'close'
pakūūnappūh 'cloud'
< paa 'water', -kūñah V instr 'cover'
patūssū(tai)ppūh 'ice'
< paa 'water', tuasū 'freeze', -tain cmplt
siippūh 'urine'
< sī" Vi 'urinate'
tappattsanappūh 'button'
< tappattsanah 'fasten'
tiyaitaippūh 'corpse'
< tiyaih 'die', -tain cmplt
tūmenippūh 'store'
< tūmenih 'sell'
wūkkūūnappūh 'fog'
< wūkkūñah Vt 'cover'

-tūn (-tūna ≡ -ti obj) nominalizer and present participle
nukkwintūn 'train'
< nukkwī(n) 'run, race'
nūetūn 'wind'
< nūê" ≡ nūai" Vi 'blow (of wind)'
nůkkantun 'dance, dancing'
< nůkkan Vi 'dance'
pakatūtun 'lake'
< pakatū Vi 'be a body of water'
tawintūn 'hole, cave'
< tawin Vi 'be an opening'
ūitsū'intūn 'cold, cold place'
< ūitsū'in Vi 'be cold'
ūmatūn = ūngwatūn 'rain'
< ūma" = ūngwa" Vi 'rain'
ūtūintūn 'heat, hot place'
< ūtūin Vi 'be hot'
wayantūn 'fire, burning'
< waya" Vi 'burn'
wūkkatūtūn 'pile'
< wūkkatū Vi 'be a pile'
yūtsūtūn 'airplane'
< yūtsū" Vi sg 'fly'

-ttu (-ttua obj) agentive 'one who Xs'
hipittū 'drinker, drunkard'
< hipi" V 'drink'
hupiatūkittū 'singer'
< hupiatūki 'sing'
nangkawittū 'speaker, talker'
< nangkawih 'speak, talk'
nūkkattū 'dancer'
< nūkkan Vi 'dance'
nokoitsoittū 'bather, swimmer'
< na- pmprr, koitsoih vt 'wash, bathe'
pungkuto'ettū 'rider, horseman'
< pungku 'horse', to'eh 'go on'
pangwiyukwittū 'fisherman'
< pangwi 'fish', yukwi" V incorp 'do'
tūtūaitū 'worker'
< tūtūai Vi 'work'
tumo'ittu ≈ tūmō'ittū 'writer, artist, photographer'
< tū- aps, mo'ih Vt 'write, draw, sketch, paint'
wasuwūkkittu 'hunter'
< wasuwūkki V pl 'hunt'
yūkwittu ≈ yukwittu 'doer'
< yūkwi" ≈ yuksi" 'do'

-ttuah (-ttuai obj) locative 'place for Xing'
hipittuah 'drinking place, watering hole'
< hipi" 'drink'
kuuttuah 'burying place'
< kuui Vt 'bury'
kwitattuah 'shitting place'
< kwita" Vi 'shit'
nakuuttuah 'grave'
< na- pmpr, kuui Vt 'bury'
natūkittuah 'storage place for a specific item'
< na- pmpr, tūki" Vt 'put'
nayuunaattuah 'park'
< na- pmpr, yuunaah Vi pl 'sit, stay, camp'
punittuah 'lookout'
< puni" V 'see'
siittuah 'urinal'
< sīi" Vi 'urinate'
tükattuah 'eating place'
< tükkah 'eat'
tükittuah 'storage place'
< tūki" Vt 'put'
ūtattuah 'ranch, farm'
< uāh Vt 'plant, sow'
uppūittuah 'sleeping place'
< uppūih Vi 'sleep'
### NOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tsi</td>
<td>(-tsia obj) 'people of X area'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumpisattsi</td>
<td>'Death Valley people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; Tumpisa</td>
<td>'Death Valley'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hauttantsi</td>
<td>'Indian Ranch people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; Hauttan</td>
<td>'Indian Ranch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaikottantsi</td>
<td>'Panamint Mountains people, especially those from Telescope Peak area'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; Kaikottin</td>
<td>'Panamint Mountains'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko'ontsi</td>
<td>'Saline Valley people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; Ko'on(gkatun)</td>
<td>'Saline Valley'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muattantsi</td>
<td>'Coso Hot Springs people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; Muattan(gka)</td>
<td>'Coso Hot Springs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakatsoatsi</td>
<td>'Monaches'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payuttsi</td>
<td>'Southern Paiutes, Kawaiisu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ttsi</td>
<td>(-ttsia obj) diminutive, affectionate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huu'etuttsi</td>
<td>'slingshot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; huu'etun</td>
<td>'bow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huttsi(ttsi)</td>
<td>'grandchild, son's child (ws)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; kuttai</td>
<td>'father's mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toko(ttsi)</td>
<td>'grandchild, daughter's child (ms)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; toko</td>
<td>'mother's father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaku(ttsi)</td>
<td>'grandchild, daughter's child (ws)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; kaku</td>
<td>'mother's mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhmappütsi</td>
<td>'rooster'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; kuhmappü</td>
<td>'male'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>künu(ttsi)</td>
<td>'grandchild, son's child (ms)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; künu</td>
<td>'father's father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piapüttsi</td>
<td>'hen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; piapü</td>
<td>'female'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuatttsi</td>
<td>'little son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; tua&quot;</td>
<td>'son'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen from the examples above, -kantun, -tsi, and -ttsi are normally affixed to nouns forming new nouns, while -nnumpu, -ttu, and -ttuah are normally affixed to verbs in order to form new nouns. But all of these noun-deriving suffixes are affixed to other types of stems occasionally, although not productively. When -nnumpu, -ttu, and -ttuah are affixed to transitive verb stems, they are often intransitivized first with one of the voice-changing prefixes, tū- aps or na- ppr (e.g., namuihanna 'picture, drawing, writing', tumo'ittu 'writer, artist' and tumo'innumpu 'pen, pencil' < namuih / tumo'ih Vi < mo'ih Vt 'write, draw').

Compounding is an important, highly productive word-forming process in Tumpisa Shoshone, as in all Numic and Uto-Aztecan languages. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of lexicalized compounds in the language, and new compounds are readily formed on the spur of the moment to give names to new concepts arising in discourse. Often new compounds are used even when there may be other words for the same phenomena. My impression is that speakers who coin compounds creatively are highly respected, and that it is an essential part of using the language.

In the previous section (5.6), many compounds were illustrated in the discussion of when absolutive suffixes are typically dropped. The reader may wish to reexamine the examples there, since they are not repeated again in this section. The examples of compounds presented below are only a small sample of the range of noun compounding in the language.
Noun Compound

**Noun + Noun**

*Atsappaa 'Bad Water Springs in Death Valley'*
- *atsa* 'bitter', *paa* 'water, spring'

*isahuuppin 'arrow weed; Devil's Haystack in Death Valley'*
- *isa* 'coyote', *huuppin* 'stick, bush'

*isam papi ≈ isapaippu(am) papi 'wolf'*
- *isam* ≈ *isapaippu(am) 'Coyote('s)', *papi 'older brother'*

*Kammu wikappuh 'rabbit(skin) blanket'*
- *kammu 'jackrabbit', wika(ppuh) 'blanket'*

*Kooppe saawannumpu 'coffeepot'*
- *kooppe 'coffee', saawannumpu 'boiling pot'*

*Kukkwiiikkahni 'chimney'*
- *kukkwii* 'smoke', *kahni 'house, structure'*

*Kukkwippisippuh 'soot, smut, riflings'*
- *kukkwii* 'smoke', *pisippuh 'rot(ten)'*

*Mitukkaano wiwititsi 'house sparrow'*
- *mitukkaano 'white man', wiwititsi 'finch'*

*Moi'intsoko 'wrist'*
- *mo'in 'hand's', tsoko 'connection'*

*Nattusu'ungkahni 'hospital'*
- *nattusu'un(pi) 'medicine', kahni 'house'*

*Nottsokowa'ipu 'umbilical cord'*
- *na- pmpr, tsoko 'connection', wa'i(ppu) 'woman', -pü*

*Pangwi tsangkuttsi 'fish hook'*
- *pangwi 'fish', tsangkuttsi 'hook'*

*Patuhuya 'moose, elk'*
- *paa 'water', tühuya 'deer'*

*Pahonto'i 'smoking pipe'*
- *pahon(pin) 'tobacco', to'i 'pipe'*

*Pahontükinnumpu 'ashtray'*
- *pahon(pin) 'tobacco', tükkinnumpu 'putter'
suüpihyaapin 'willow sap sugar'
  < suü(pin) 'willow', pihyaapin 'sugar'
tupoontukkupittsi 'desert bobcat'
  < tupoon(pi) 'desert', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'
toyatukkupittsi 'mountain lion'
  < toya(pin) 'mountain', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'
tukuwuappuh ' [Coyote's] sky penis'
  < tuku(pin) 'sky, space', wuappuh 'penis'
Tüpa Nükappin 'Pinenut Dance'
  < tüpa 'pinenut', nükappin 'dance'
wahappihyaapin 'piñón sap sugar'
  < waha"(pin) 'piñón pine', pihyaapin 'sugar'
yookontukkupittsi 'valley bobcat'
  < yookon(pin) 'valley', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'

Adjective + Noun
piappütü etün 'cannon'
  < piappütü 'big', etün 'gun, bow'
piappütü tokompi 'barrel'
  < piappütün 'big', tokompi 'metal, can'
piasika 'crotch'
  < pia 'big', sika 'fork, crotch'
saman tuhuuppin 'raw sticks (in handgame)'
  < saman 'raw', tuhuuppin 'counter stick'
so‘oppütü pangwitsangkuttsi 'gig fish hook'
  < so‘oppütü 'many', pangwitsangkuttsi 'fish hook'
tosapi tükinnumpü 'white bones (in handgame)'
  < tosapi 'white', tükinnumpü 'putter'
tuppapitü tükinnumpü 'stripped bone (in handgame)'
  < tuppapitü 'black', tükinnumpü 'putter'
tuhtütsi(ttsi) toyapittsi 'hill'
  < tuhtütsi(ttsi) 'little', toyapi(ttsi) 'mountain'
Nouns

Mukuattun Nukkanä 'War Dance'
- mukuattun 'mind', nukkanä 'dance(ing)'

Mupin Tawinna 'Nostril'
- mupin 'nose', tawinna 'to be an opening, hole'

Paa Okwenna 'River'
- paa 'water', okwenna 'flowing'

Tape Punikkatun 'Bittern'
- tape 'sun', punikkatun 'looking at'

Tape(ttsi) To'ekinna 'Light, Morning'
- tape(ttsi) 'sun, day', to'ekinna 'coming up'

Toyakatü 'Hill'
- toya(pin) 'mountain', katü 'sit'

Toyahapitün 'Mountain Range'
- toya(pin), hapitün 'lying'

Tungwünütun 'Cliff'
- tün- 'rock', wünütün 'standing'

Waa'ettsia Teewitün 'Praying Mantis'
- waa'ettsia 'enemy' obj, teewitün 'pointing at'

Verbs

Hipittsukuttsi ≈ Hipittsukuppu 'Drunkard'
- hipi" 'drink', tsuku 'old man',
- ttsi ≈ -ppu absol

Noyokowa'ippu 'Whore'
- noyoko" 'screwed', wa'ippu 'woman'

Nukkanä mo'o 'Masturbating Hand'
- makina 'masturbate', mo'o 'hand'

Nukkanä Mo'o 'Masturbating Hand'
- makina 'masturbate', mo'o 'hand'

Kuppuataippuh Huuppin 'Cooked Sticks (in handgame)'
- kuppüataippüh 'cooked', huuppin 'stick'
Noun + Postposition
kwii nangkwa 'left side'
< kwii 'left', nangkwa 'direction, side (of)'
paa nangkwa 'west'
< paa 'water', nangkwa 'direction, side (of)'
tape tukkwan 'east'
< tape 'sun', tukkwan 'under'

Noun + Postposition + Noun
Hauttangkatun Nookompi 'Panamint Valley'
< Hauttan 'Warm Springs and Indian Ranch area',
    katun 'in', yookompi 'valley'
Kuinawen Nangkwatun Numu 'Northern/Western Shoshone'
< kuinawen 'north', nangkwatun 'direction of',
    numu 'people'
piasika katu puhu 'pubic hair'
< piasika 'crotch', katun 'in', puhu 'hair'

Adv + Verbal
imaa tukkanna ~ imaa tUkkatun 'breakfast'
< imaa 'morning', tukkanna ~ tukkatun 'eating'
tape(ni) tukkanna ~ tape(ni) tukkatun 'lunch'
< tape(ni) 'day(time)', tukkanna ~ tukkatun 'eating'
yuwittukkanna ~ yuwittukkatun 'dinner'
< yuwi' 'evening', tukkanna ~ tukkatun 'eating'

As the examples above indicate, noun compounds may have a number of different kinds of internal structures. Noun compounds composed of a modifier followed by a head noun are by far the most common type. The modifier is usually another noun (e.g., pahonto'i 'smoking pipe', literally 'tobacco pipe') or, perhaps a little less commonly, an adjective (e.g., saman tuhuuppin 'raw sticks [in handgame]'). Many noun compounds are composed of a noun followed by a verb or verbal noun. They are of at least three types: (1) a noun modifying a verbal noun (e.g., Mukuattun Nukkanna 'War
Dance', literally 'Mind Dance'); (2) a noun functioning as the logical subject of the verb or verbal noun (e.g., toyahapitun 'mountain range', literally 'mountain lying'); and (3) a noun functioning as the logical object of the verb or verbal (e.g., tape punikkatun 'bittern', literally 'looking at sun'). There are also a number of compounds formed with a verb or verbal noun and a following noun. All of these seem to be cases where the verb(al) acts as a modifier of the following noun (e.g., hipittaikutta 'drunkard', literally 'drink old man').

A number of noun compounds are composed of a noun plus postposition, which is then followed by another noun. In all of these, the first noun and postposition comprise a postpositional phrase which modifies the following noun (e.g., piqiska katu pùhù 'pubic hair' or literally 'hair in crotch'). The few compound nouns composed simply of a noun followed by a postposition have the same structure as actual postpositional phrases. For example, kwii nangkwa 'left side' literally means 'on the left', but it can be possessed, for example, as if it were a simple noun (e.g niang kwii nangkwa 'my left side').

In all of the compound nouns built with an adverb and a verbal noun, the adverb modifies the verbal (e.g., jima tükkan 'breakfast', literally meaning 'morning eating').

5.8 NAMES

Very few aboriginal personal names are used or even remembered by contemporary Tûmpisa Shoshone speakers. The few that I was able to elicit are listed below.
SOME ABORIGINAL MEN'S NAMES

Aattako 'Potato Bug'
Angitsuku 'Fly Man'
   < angi(pl) 'fly', tsuku(ppû) 'old man'
Hapitatsuku 'Lying Down Man'
   < hapi' 'lie', tsuku(ppû) 'old man'
Kuputatsuku 'Tall Man'
   < kuputa 'tall, long', tsuku(ppû) 'old man'
Pawoko 'Frog'
Sokotsuku 'Earth Man'
   < sokopin 'earth, land', tsuku(ppû) 'old man'
Tsoangkaaya'a (?)

SOME ABORIGINAL WOMEN'S NAMES

Hipipayuni 'Flower' (?)
   < hipi(ngkûn) 'bloom'
Kwasikantun 'Having a Tail'
   < kwasi 'tail', -kantun 'characterized by'
Naipi 'Girl'
Pa'atami 'Upside Down'
Sayatsayaa'a (?) [translated as: 'Sacajawea']
Siatoni'i (?)
Suata'a 'Growing' (?)
   < sua' 'grow (of plants)'
Yupi (?)

Obviously, it is impossible to make generalizations from 15 names, but I think it can be safely stated that at least sometimes, people were given names because of outstanding physical or behavioral characteristics. For example, the man named Kuputatsuku was quite tall, while Angitsuku is said to have been given such a name because as a young man he used to 'buzz around the girls like a fly'. It is said that Kwasikantun was given her name because when she was born she had a lot of hair in the small of her back.
Much more commonly in recent times, people have been given English names, usually with minor phonological adjustments making them conform more closely to Tumpisa Shoshone phonology, especially syllabic structure and low-level phonetics (see chapter 9).

**SOME MEN’S NAMES ADOPTED FROM ENGLISH**

- Apüttü 'Albert'
- Tseekki 'Jake'
- Koopü 'Grover'
- Neti 'Ned'
- Noitü 'Lloyd'
- Reemmani 'Raymond'
- Samma 'Sam'
- Tanan 'Donald'
- Toni 'Tony'

**SOME WOMEN’S NAMES ADOPTED FROM ENGLISH**

- Ani 'Ann(ie)'
- Antsi 'Angie'
- Iipü 'Eve'
- Memmi 'Mamie'
- Neetiinna 'Nadine'
- Paapütsi 'Babs'
- Paliinna 'Pauline'
- Rotsi 'Rosie'
- Ruhtü 'Ruth'
- Tepi 'Debbie'

The phonological adjustments include (a) adding vowels to the ends of names that terminate in consonants in English (e.g., 'Jake' > Tseekki); (b) eliminating consonant clusters by adding vowels between consonants (e.g., 'Babs' > Paapütsi)
or dropping consonants (e.g. 'Albert' > Aputtu); (c) lengthening at least some stressed vowels (e.g., 'Eve' > Iipu). But, as the examples above indicate, English names do not necessarily have to conform totally to the language's phonological system. At the beginning of words, for example, is are borrowed as is, and is are also usually adopted without change, although sometimes they are replaced with ps.

For many examples of personal names used in syntactic and discursive context, the reader should peruse the conversation in section 10.6. The classificatory suffix -ppu is often added to personal names to indicate distance or lack of empathy with the person named. The diminutive and affectionate suffix -ttsi may also be added for the opposite effect, to indicate affection or empathy.

5.9 NOUN PHRASES (NPs)

Noun phrases in Tûmpisa Shoshone can be quite complex, as in all languages. In fact, NPs are potentially infinitely complex, since they have recursive properties. The recursive power of NPs primarily stems from the fact that relative clauses can be embedded in NPs, and of course relative clauses themselves contain NPs (see 8.2.2 on relative clauses). Since each one can contain the other, there is no limit to their potential complexity. Infinite complexity, however, is a theoretical possibility that never occurs in reality. Nevertheless, NPs vary from being quite simple, comprising a single constituent to being rather complicated, containing a half dozen or so constituents.

The vast majority of NPs in the language have a head or nucleus of the NP around which there may be a number of modifying elements. Heads of noun phrases can be nouns, pronominals (discussed in chapter 4), and adjectives (discussed in chapter 6).
POSSIBLE HEADS OF NPS

\[
NP \rightarrow (\ldots) \text{Noun} (\ldots) \\
\quad \text{Pronoun (Quant)} \\
\quad (\ldots) \text{Demonstrative} \\
\quad \text{Numeral} \\
\quad \text{Quantifier} \\
\quad \text{Adjective}
\]

Only noun heads may have considerable modification. Numerals, quantifiers, and adjectives as heads have not been recorded with any modification. Pronoun and demonstrative heads normally occur without modification, but occasionally they are quantified. In this case, it is normal for a quantifier to follow a pronoun, as in 179, but precede a demonstrative, as in 180 (also see chapter 4, which is full of examples of pronominal heads of NPs). Even more rarely, demonstratives may have a relative clause, such as the one enclosed in brackets in 181.

(179) Nummū soontū miatū.
we(exc) many go-hab
'Many of us would go.'

(180) Nūu sūmūsū matūmmi tsittūpunitu'ilh.
I all them wake up-will
'I'll wake all of them up.'

(181) [Utuintū] etū kotto'enna ekkīh.
being hot this boil here
'This which is heating is boiling here.'

When adjectives are heads of NPs they function as pronominals (e.g., 182-184), much like Adj + 'one' constructions in English.
(182) Tammappūh miattaippūh.
   crazy left
   'The crazy one left.'

(183) Satū plantunna tūhūya kuttippūhantū;
   that big-O deer shot
   nūū pūū tūtūtsittsia kuttippūhantū.
   I emph little-obj shot
   'He shot a big deer; I myself shot a little one.'

(184) Wihnupittsî pisittaippūhā tūkkanna.
   buzzard rotten-O eat
   'Buzzards eat rotten stuff.'

Noun phrases may also be headless. Typically, these are embedded clauses functioning as NPs. For example, in 185 the clause enclosed in brackets functions as the object NP of the verb suwakka 'plan on', and in 186 the clause in brackets is a headless relative clause (see other examples in 8.2.3).

(185) Nū [ko'ehintu'immi] suwakka.
   I return-hither-will-sub plan on
   'I plan on coming back.'

(186) [Un tūkkatu'iha] puhaikwasū sukkwa
   her eat-will-O look for that-O
   sutū wa'ippua.
   that woman-O
   'He went out looking for something for her to eat, something for that woman.'
Noun phrases with a noun as head may have a number of constituents preceding the head noun and several following it. The relative order of constituents in a NP with a head noun is given below. Not all of the possible constituents have been recorded within the same noun phrase, but many of them have.

POSSIBLE NP CONSTITUENTS WITH A NOUN HEAD

\[ D + Q + Ps + R + A + N + Ps + \text{HEAD NOUN} + P + Q + D + R + D \]

[D = demonstrative, Q = quantifier or numeral, Ps = possessive noun or pronominal, R = relative clause, A = adjective, N = noun modifier, P = postposition]

Demonstratives, quantifiers (including numerals), and relative clauses may occur before and after the head noun. Quantifiers have been recorded only in one position or the other, but not both in the same NP. Demonstratives and relative clauses, however, may occur both before and after the head in the same NP. Typically, proximate demonstratives precede head nouns while obviative demonstratives follow them, but this is by no means obligatory. Most sentence examples in this monograph contain demonstratives; some more are given in 187-191.

(187) Hipittsitsi utū mi'a taamiammaa
old lady that go visited

u kammannuha okkwah.
her was sick-sub when

'That old lady went and visited (her) when she was sick.'
Relative clauses, whether preceding or following head nouns, are usually nonfinite, either participial or infinitival (e.g., 192-195), and they normally agree in case with their heads (see also 207-208 below). The relative clauses in 192-195 are enclosed in brackets.
(192) [Niam pusikwanna] satū [paappūh wünūtū] 
my knowing that tall standing 
tangummū utuku. 
man only 
'It's only the tall (standing) man that I know.'

(193) [Niam pusikwanna] tsawūn tangummū sutū. 
my knowing good man that 
'The good man I know is that one.'

(194) Tangummū [atū naaiyangwitū] atu nia 
man that playing handgame that me 
pusikwatū. 
know 
'That man who is playing handgame knows me.'

beer my drinking me make sleep-fut 
'The beer I'm drinking is going to make me sleepy.'

Sentence 192 has two relative clauses preceding the head noun, and the first precedes the demonstrative. Much more is said on relative clauses in section 8.2.2.

Possessive nouns and pronominals typically precede any modifiers like adjectives, relative clauses, and modifying nouns, but possessive personal pronouns may also occur as proclitics immediately preceding head nouns (e.g., 197-198).

(196) Nū nia tūtilitšia ohmaattsia nasuntananna. 
I my little-O baby-O remember 
'I remember my little baby.'
(197) Wahattu niam pu’unum ma’e nü namianguppuhantu
  two my cousins with I were sent
  =and
  sapettu.
  there

'Two of my cousins and I were sent there.'

(198) Nu so'oppütu nia summo'a tappisikunataintu'ih.
  I much my clothes throw out-will
  'I'll throw out a lot of my clothes.'

Quantifiers occur before head nouns in 197 and 198, but they also commonly occur after them, as in 199-201.

(199) Piammuttsi sumuttu yakainna.
  baby one cry
  'One baby is crying.'

(200) Kapaayu wahattu nuwinna.
  horse two walk
  'Two horses are walking around.'

(201) Sepe isapungku tuammuttsi so'oppuh
  hereabouts dog baby many
  nanangka namo’e.
  make noise cry(pl)

  'Here abouts a lot of dog babies are making noise crying.'

Most constituents of the NP agree with the head noun in case. Those constituents displaying agreement include demonstratives, most quantifiers, adjectives, and relative clauses. With relative clauses, case agreement is marked by
objective case forms of subordinating suffixes on the subordinate verb, and with relative pronouns. Examples of agreement occur throughout this chapter, but since most of the NPs exemplified are nominative and therefore case marking is unmarked, agreement is not so apparent. In the examples in 202-208, the NPs are in the objective case, and so agreement is more obvious.

(202) Nū sūmūtūnna huuppitta wūsipenna.  
I one-O stick-O scrape  
'I'm scraping one stick.'

(203) Nū tūūttsisitsia sohopimpūa tsonnopiinna.  
I little-O cottonwood-O pull up(pl)  
'I'm pulling up little cottonwood trees.'

(204) Yuhupitta wa'ippūa nū pūsikwa.  
fat-O woman-O I know  
'I know the fat woman.'

(205) So'oppūtūnna tūmpitta toppotsikippūhantū satū.  
many-O rock-O threw out(pl) that  
'She threw out a lot of rocks.'

(206) Wa'ippū wahattūnna paanni māappa'itu'ih.  
woman two-O bread make  
'The woman'll make two loaves of bread.'

(207) Wa'ippū pūnnan tūpū(nna) [tso'ippūha ]  
woman her own pinenut(-O) pick-sub-O  
tukumahanni.  
cook  
'The woman is cooking the pinenuts that she picked.'
The modifiers of a head noun are normally inflected for case even if the head itself doesn't take case marking (e.g., 206-207). Note that a relative clause may be right-dislocated as in 208 (see 8.2.2).

Despite the fact that constituents modifying the heads of NPs normally agree in case with the heads, a number of examples have been recorded where there is no apparent agreement. It is not at all clear to me why this is so. Compare the examples in 209-211 with those in 202-208 (see also 198).

(209) Nūu wahattū tūhūyanna pakkappūhantū.
 I two deer-O killed
 'I killed two deer.'

(210) Nūu mannikitu tūhūyanna wasūppūhantū.
 I five deer-O killed(pl)
 'I killed five deer.'

(211) Satū so'oppūtū pīiya tūsbūpppainnā.
 that many beer open(pl)
 'He's opening lots of beers.'

It seems that if no potential ambiguity would result, case agreement may be omitted, at least with quantifiers as in 209-211.

Number agreement per se is virtually nonexistent within NPs in Tūmpisa Shoshone and is certainly not obligatory, since the nouns themselves often are not inflected for number (see section 5.5). Number is usually marked on verbs, and then if it is indicated within NPs themselves it is most commonly done with quantifiers (e.g., 200-201, 205-206, and...
and demonstratives, and only somewhat rarely with inflections on nouns.

Since postpositions normally immediately follow nouns or pronominals, any modification that would otherwise go after a noun or pronominal head follows the head plus postposition, as in 212-213.

(212) Ohipim ma nati'iwantunna tiyaitaihwá satú. 
cold from mean-0 died that
'He died from a mean cold.'

(213) Nummi tukkwantu pahittunna. 
you all-0 under three-0
'It's under you three.'

It is not uncommon for constituents of the same NP to be split up from each other, with other elements intervening between them. For example, in 214 the head noun samoppú and the numeral wahattu are separated by the verb. Similarly, in 215 a head noun and numeral are separated by the verb. In 216 the numeral pahi is separated from its head tommo by a completely different NP, nummu!

(214) Nia samoppú naappuhantú wahattú. 
my sibling were two
'There were my two brothers.'

(215) Nüü tumpitta yaakkintu'i sumuttuttsia. 
I rock-O bring-will one only
'I'll bring just one rock.'

(216) Nummu pahi nummu tommo yingkappuhantú sape. 
we(exc) three we winter stayed there
'We stayed there three winters.'
(217) Tuittsi pitū utūmmi ka wihnu sumuttu
young man arrive those-O at then one

tuittsi.
young man

'A young man is arriving with them then, one young man.'

In 217, the numeral sumuttu and its head noun tuittsi are not separated, but together they are an expansion of the subject NP, tuittsi, first occurring at the beginning of the sentence. The occurrence in the same sentence of repetitions of NPs or of slightly different NPs referring to the same entity is highly characteristic of Tumpisa Shoshone discourse style. The repetition of nummu in 216 is another example. Perhaps most typically, a full NP occurs somewhere in a sentence, and then elsewhere there are one or more pronominals referring to the same entity (e.g., 218-220 and 191). This stylistic device is typical of Uto-Aztecan languages in general and is usually called pronoun copy in the literature (see Langacker 1977, 27ff). To a certain degree the term "pronoun copy" is misleading, for it implies a kind of mechanical repetition of pronouns. Sometimes this is true, like the several repetitions of etū in 218. But usually the various reoccurrences of NPs referring to the same entity expand and develop the reference. For example, in 218, aside from the repetitions of etū, the same participant is referred to as 'old lady' and 'their mother', each adding more information to the narration, and finally she is referred to as setū, indicating that she is now an established topic, at least for the moment.
As 218-220 and 191 indicate, often a pronominal is first introduced and later on a more complete reference is given. This seems to be a device of building up or maintaining tension and interest in narrative. The so-called pronoun copy phenomenon is really a kind of apposition used to expand and supplement the description.

NPs may be conjoined with or without overt conjunctions (see section 8.1). In 197 above, a conjunction is used, but in the sentences in 221-222 none occur.
(221) Sümüsü mia'ommü atū himpü antsaapanappūh, 
all go-pl that some flicker 
atū kaakki, tukopoyo'ittsi, sümüsü 
that crow kingbird all 
kasattsikantū mia'ommū. 
bird go-pl

'Everyone went, that flicker, that crow, 
kingbird, all the birds went.'

(222) U kappinnangkwa katū ukkwah sutungku kee 
it outside of sit when those two not 
teingkutsinna etū un natapu. 
tell this her uncle

'When she [old lady] was sitting outside, 
those two, she [girl] and her uncle, didn't tell 
[her = old lady] anything.'

Notes to Chapter 5

1. These terms are being used here as in most basic grammar 
or linguistic handbooks; e.g., the reader may wish to peruse 

2. The reader may also wish to examine example 34–37 in 
chapter 4 containing pronominal direct and indirect objects.

3. Here I am using possessive-case pronouns to illustrate the 
effects of -n, but the result is the same with -n on nouns as 
well. The reader should consult chapter 9 on phonology to 
understand the general properties of final segments like n.
4. Postpositions are written unattached to the nouns that they follow unless the noun ends in the geminating segment \_II\_, in which case the postposition is suffixed to the noun, cf.  

- kahni pa 'on the house'  
- pasakum pa 'on the bridge'  
- un tuappa 'on his son'  
- tua\_pa 'on his son'  
- huu pa 'on the house'  
- pasakum pa 'on the bridge'  
- un tuappa 'on his son'  
- tua\_pa 'on his son'  

Justification for this inconsistency in orthography stems from two facts: First, phonologically, postpositions act like little words in that they are at least secondarily stressed like other particles in the language. Thus, they are written unattached sometimes. On the other hand, it would be phonologically strange in Tumpisakka for words to be written like tua\_pa or tua\_ppa because each of these two possibilities goes against Tumpisakka syllabic structure. The first would have a consonant other than \_h\_ or a nasal ending a word, and the second would have a geminate consonant beginning a word, both of which are prohibited. Thus, they are ruled out as possibilities. The solution has been, then, to live with a little inconsistency. The reader should consult chapter 9, especially section 9.3.7 on final segments.

5. The fact that these postpositions govern the objective case is indicated in the list with (obj) to the right of each one.

6. The fact that these postpositions govern the possessive case is indicated in the list with (poss) to the right of each one.
In many ways adjectives in Tūmpisa Shoshone are closely associated with nouns. They take absolutive suffixes like nouns (6.1), they modify nouns (6.2), and sometimes they function as the heads of noun phrases (6.3). They are also inflected for case in agreement with head nouns (6.2). On the other hand, like verbs, adjectives may function as predicates (6.4), and they are freely derived from verbs as participles (6.1). However, unlike both nouns and verbs, adjectives may be used in comparative constructions (6.6), as well as in adjective phrases (6.5) that have special characteristics not exactly like either noun phrases or verb phrases.1

6.1 ABSOLUTIVE SUFFIXES

Adjectives have several absolutive suffixes which are similar in form to those found on many nouns (see 5.6). Nearly all adjectives take one or the other of these suffixes, which are given below.

ADJECTIVE ABSOLUTIVE SUFFIXES

-pi(n) -pū -ppūh -tūn -ttsi
-pitūn -ppūtūn
-Pitun and -ppütün are compound suffixes formed with -tün preceded by -p1 and -ppuh, respectively; in prenominal modification, the -tün component may be dropped. Any of the absolutive suffixes may additionally be followed by diminutive -ttsi.

The absolutive suffixes used on adjectives are more stable than those on nouns; they only drop when adjectives form compounds with following stems. Most compounds of this sort are composed of adjectives modifying following noun stems, but in some cases the stems are not nouns; e.g.:

piakuittsun 'buffalo'
< pia(ppütün) 'big', kuittsun 'buffalo'
piatükkah 'feast' Vi
< pia(ppütün) 'big', tükkah 'eat'
piasika 'crotch (on body)'
< pia(ppütün) 'big', sika 'crotch'
puhiitükkappuh 'watercress'
< puhii(pitun) 'blue and green', tükkappuh 'food'
süküng kamman 'taste sour'
< sükün(pitun) 'sour', kamman 'taste'
tosakkahni 'tent'
< tosa"(pitün) 'white', kahnä 'house'
tuppapangwittsi 'blackfish in springs in Death Valley'
< tuppä(pitün) 'black', pangwi 'fish'
ükünümü 'youth'
< ükü(pittsi) 'young, new', numü 'person'
woontangümü 'jealous man'
< woon(pettsi) 'jealous', tangümü 'man'
yu'itsikapittsi 'salamander'
< yu'i(pittsi) 'soft', tsukuppittsi 'old man' (?)

When adjectives are in prenominal position modifying nouns, they do not normally lose their absolutive suffixes (see 6.1). And frequently, even when they form compounds with
following nouns, the absolutive suffixes are not dropped; e.g.:

mutsipin taman 'incisor tooth'
  < mutsipin 'sharp-pointed', taman 'tooth'
piappütün etün 'cannon'
  < piappütün 'big', etün 'gun'
piappütün tokompi 'barrel'
  < piappütün 'big', tokompi 'iron, tin can'
piappütün tütattūkwannūmpū 'sledgehammer'
  < piappütün 'big', tūtattūkwannūmpū 'hammer'
tosapi noyopi(ttsi) 'eggwhite'
  < tosapi(tūn) 'white', noyopi(ttsi) 'egg'
tuppapitūn 'striped bone in handgame'
  < tuppapitūn 'black', tūkinnūmpū 'putter'
tūhūttsi toyapittsi 'hill'
  < tūhūttsi 'little', toyapi 'mountain'

It is my impression, however, that when the suffixes are dropped the adjectives are felt to be more closely tied to the following stems, both phonologically and semantically. Compounds without absolutive suffixes on the adjectives are usually more idiomatic, while those with absolutive suffixes tend to be more descriptive.

A number of adjectives occurring with each of the absolutive suffixes are exemplified below. It is noteworthy that -pitūn is used almost exclusively on color terms.

-pe (-pea _obj)
woompe(ttsi) 'jealous'

-pi(n) (-pitta = -pia _obj)
kūttāampi = kūttāampū 'hard'
muhwapi(ttsi) 'bitter'
mutsipin = mutsippūh 'sharp-pointed'
no'api 'pregnant'
pihyapi 'weak'
samampi(ttsi) 'raw'
sükümpi(ttsi) 'sour'
úkúpi(ttsi) 'new, young, fresh'
yu'ipi(ttsi) 'soft, flexible, flabby'

-pitūn (-pitūnna obj)
angkapitūn 'red'
esūmpitūn 'gray'
hūmpitūn 'orange'
ontūmpitūn 'yellowish brown'
puhipitūn 'blue and green'
sakwaapitūn 'green'
sūkūmpitūn 'yellow'
tosapitūn 'white'
tupapitūn 'black'
pattsipitūn 'smooth, glossy'

-pū (-pūa obj)
iaspū 'wild'
kuttaampū ≈ kuttaampi 'hard'
naisapū 'horny, sexually aroused'
napihyaapū 'lazy'
nanochpū 'scattered, dispersed'
pūetumpū 'old, worn'
pasampū(ttsi) 'skinny'
tsomāpū 'stingy'

-ppūh (-ppūha obj)
kūnappū ≈ kūmattsi 'sharp-edged'
mutsippū ≈ mutsipin 'sharp-pointed'
pungkuppeppūh 'out of, used up, all gone'
ooppūh 'strong'
ottotootaippūh 'moldy'
sō'oppūh ≈ sō'oppūtūn 'plenty; much, many'
tammappūh ≈ tammattsi 'crazy'
tukkwappuh 'deep'
tuuppuh ≈ tuuppuppuh 'mean, cruel'
tuttsaappuh 'dirty'
tütsüpüph = tüttüppütpüppuh 'funny, ugly, strange'
yottsokkwappuh 'soft, flexible, crumbly'
≈ yottsokkwattsi

-ppütün (-ppütünna ≈ -ppüt j obj)
pa'appütün ≈ pa'appuh 'tall'
piappütün ≈ piantün 'big'
piawukkiiptütün 'wide'
küptütappütün 'long'
so'oppütün ≈ so'oppuh 'plenty; much, many'
tuhuntappütün 'thick'

-tün (-tünna ≈ -ti j obj)
piantün ≈ piappütün 'big'
nati'iwantün(pü) 'mean, rough; difficult, dangerous'
soontün 'much, many'
tunaan(tün) 'straight'
tsawüntün 'good, nice'
wümmanittün 'naked'

-ttsi (-ttsia)
kümattsi ≈ kümappuh 'sharp-edged'
mukuttsi 'diamond-shaped'
pa'atts(ttsi) 'short (in height)'
tütüttsi(ttsi) 'little, small'
tü(h)ütsi(ttsi) 'little, small'
tüüißi(ttsi) 'little, small'
tiittsi(ttsi) 'tiny'
toppottsi(ttsi) 'short (in length)'
tamma(ttsi) ≈ tammappuh 'crazy'
tatatstsi(ttsi) 'thin (of things)'
tsiwoottsi 'narrow'
yottsokkwattsì 'soft, flexible, crumbly'
yottsokkwappuh

Only a few adjectives occur without absolutive suffixes. Those that have been recorded are listed below.

hippatta 'flat'
nakütsasa 'bad'
pihyaa = pihnaa 'sweet'
tokwi" 'right, correct'
wuki ≈ wükkin 'circular'

Etymologically related to absolutive -tun and -ppuh are the two homophonous participial suffixes -tun, present participle (prp), and -ppuh, past participle (pp), which productively form adjectives directly from verbs (see 3.3.2). Past participial -ppuh is often used along with the completive suffix -tain forming -taippuh. There is a slight semantic distinction between past participles with and without -tain: those with -tain generally emphasize the completeness, finality, or totality of the condition resulting from the activity indicated by the verb stem, whereas forms without -tain simply indicate the resulting condition. For example, there are two past participles from the intransitive verb tuasu 'freeze': tuasuuppuh, meaning 'frozen', and tuasutaippuh, meaning 'frozen solid; paralyzed'. There are hundreds of participles—potentially as many as there are verbs—but past participles seem to be used much more frequently than present participles, and thus I have recorded many more of them.
PAST PARTICLES IN -PPÜH AND -TAIPPUH

hannattaippuh 'grown'
  < hanna" Vi 'grow'
heyokotaippuh 'loose'
  < heyoko Vi 'loosen'
hipittaippuh 'drunk'
  < hipi" Vt 'drink'
ka'ataippuh sg, kopiiataippuh pl 'broken'
  < ka'ah sg, kopiah pl Vi 'break (flexible object)'
kammataippuh 'gravely ill'
  < kammah Vi 'be sick, ill'
kotsattaippuh 'bashed in'
  < kotsa" Vi 'get bashed in'
kuppüataippuh 'cooked, done (of food cooking)'
  < kuppüah Vi 'cook (of food)'
kuttapinaippuh 'lit, lighted'
  < kuttapinalh Vi 'be light'
kümittalippuh 'tight'
  < kümii" Vi 'tighten'
kúpataippuh sg, kúpiataippuh pl 'broken'
  < kúp(p)ah sg, kúpiah pl Vi 'break (rigid object)'
kwasüttalippuh 'ripe(ned)'
  < kwasü" Vi 'ripen'
mi'attaippuh 'gone, left'
  < mi'a("i) Vi 'go, leave'
muiyai(tai)ppuh 'drunk, intoxicated'
  < muiyai Vi 'get drunk, intoxicated'
nakwattaippuh 'beaten, lost'
  < na- ppmr, kwaa" Vt 'beat'
napuhaataippuh 'bewitched'
  < na- ppmr, puhaah Vt 'bewitch, hex'
natsattama(tai)ppuh sg, natsatami(tai)ppuh pl 'tied tight'
  < na- ppmr, tsattamah sg, tsattamiih pl Vt 'tie tight'
natsattawi(tai)püh 'open(ed)'
< na- pmpr, tsattawin Vt 'open'
natsattuma(tai)püh sg, natsattumii(tai)püh pl
'closed, locked up'
< na- pmpr, tsattumah Vt 'close'
nawüssomma(tai)püh sg, nawüssomi(tai)püh pl 'bent'
< na- pmpr, wüssommah sg, wüssomi(h) Vt 'bend'
noppitsahataippüh 'bent, crooked'
< oppitsah(an) Vt 'bend'
okwai(tta)ppuh 'washed out'
< okwai" Vt 'flow'
paha(tta)ppuh sg, pakiataippüh pl 'split'
< paha" sg, pakiah pl Vt 'split'
pakkuttaippüh 'swollen'
< pakwi" Vt 'swell'
pasattaippuh 'dried up'
< pasa" Vt 'dry'
pikkwataippuh sg, pikwaataippuh pl 'shattered'
< pikkwan sg, pikwa Vt 'shatter'
pisittaippuh 'rotten'
< pisi" Vt 'rot'
somma(tai)püh sg, somia(tai)püh pl 'bent'
< sommah sg, somiah pl Vt 'bend'
süattaippuh 'grown (of plants)'
< süa" Vt 'grow'
takuttiyaippuh sg, takuttsüwappuh ≡ takukko'ippuh pl
'thirsty'
< takuttiyaih sg, takuttsüwah ≡ takukko'ih pl Vt
'be thirsty'
tammino(tai)püh 'tired'
< tammino Vt 'be tired'
tiyai(tai)püh sg, tsüwataiippuh ≡ ko'ittaippuh pl 'dead'
< tiyaih sg, tsüwah ≡ ko'i" pl Vt 'die'
to'etaippuh sg, toto'etaippuh pl 'out, up'
< to'eh sg, küa" pl Vt 'emerge, go/come out, up'
tuataippuh 'painted, tattooed'
  < tu̱a(k)ah Vt 'paint, tattoo'
tuppekuataippuh 'full'
  < tuppekua Vi 'be full'
tupunitaippuh 'awake'
  < tupunih Vi 'wake up'
tutakaippuh 'born'
  < tutakaik Vi 'be born'
tsumataippuh 'all gone'
  < tsunah Vi 'be all gone'
uatuappuh 'wounded, grazed'
  < uatuah Vt 'wound, graze'
uppuitaippuh sg, okko'itaippuh pl 'sound asleep'
  < üppu̱ihih sg, okko'ihih pl Vi 'sleep'

PRESENT PARTICIPLES IN -TUN

katutun 'sitting'
  < katu Vi 'sit'
napunitun 'appearing, looking'
  < napunih Vi med-pass 'appear, look'
nati'iwantun 'mean, tough'
  < na- pmpr, ti'iwan 'be afraid'
noppitsahantun 'bent, crooked'
  < oppitsahah Vt 'bend'
nuetun ~ nuaitun 'blowing'
  < nue Vi 'blow'
nukka(n)tun 'dancing'
  < nukkan Vi 'dance'
okwetun 'flowing'
  < okwe Vi 'flow'
suatun 'growing (of plants)'
  < su̱a Vi 'grow'
ti'iwantun 'scared, afraid'
  < ti'iwan Vi 'be afraid'
tünangkatün 'hearing'
  < tü- aps, nangkah 'hear'
wayantün 'burning'
  < wayan Vi 'burn'
wunutün 'standing'
  < wünü' sg Vi 'stand'
yuwaintün 'warm'
  < yuwain Vi 'be warm'

Aside from the participial suffixes used to form adjectives from verbs, the absolutive suffixes are also occasionally used to form adjectives from other word classes, although apparently not in any fully productive way: e.g.:

pa'atتسi(ttsi) 'short'
  < pa'an Adv and Post 'up, high, above', -ttsi
pa'апpűtün = pa'апpűh 'tall'
  < pa'an Adv and Post 'up, high, above',
   -pűtün = -pűh
pasampű(ttsi) 'skinny'
  < pasa' Vi 'dry', -m- ?, -pū, -ttsi
tukkwappűh 'deep'
  < tukkwan Post 'under, below'

In addition, adjectives (as well as nouns) are productively formed with the characterizing suffix -kantün. -Kantün may be added to noun stems, forming adjectives generally meaning 'typically having', or 'characterized by', whatever the noun stem refers to. Occasionally -kantün is even added to other adjective stems, forming new adjectives with essentially the same meaning as the original adjective stems (see below). Negative adjectives are formed by preposing the negative particle ke(g) 'not, no, un-' before adjectives built with -kantün. A few lexicalized adjectives formed with -kantün are given below.
ADJECTIVES IN CHARACTERIZING -KANTUN

kahnikantun 'dwelling, living'
< kahni 'house'
iangkantun 'wild'
< lan(pu) 'wild'
nihakantun ≈ niyakantun 'named, called'
< niha ≈ niya 'name'
ke(e) iangkantun 'tame, not wild'
< lan(pu) 'wild'
kee mukuakantun 'mute, retarded, not smart'
< mukua 'mind'
ke(e) puikantun 'blind'
< pui 'eye'
ke(e) tamangkantun 'missing a tooth'
< taman 'tooth'
kuhmakantun 'married (of a woman)'
< kuhma 'husband'
mukuakantun 'intelligent, smart'
< mukua 'mind'
pünnahapikantun 'married (of a man)'
< pünnahapi 'wife'
yattsukkantun 'collapsed, deflated'
< yattsü' (?)
yuhukantun 'fat'
< yuhu(pin) 'fat, grease'

-Kantun is an extremely productive suffix used to form spur-of-the-moment adjectives (and nouns), many of which are not lexicalized, but simply formed and discarded at will in context.

6.2 MODIFICATION

One of the primary functions of adjectives is to modify nouns. When adjectives modify nouns they normally precede
ADJECTIVES

them in the noun phrase, and they agree with their head nouns in case (see section 5.9 on the structure of NPs). Examples of modifying adjectives agreeing with following nominative head nouns are given in 1-3.

(1) Tsawün(tūn) tangummū utuu tiyaitaippūh.  
   good   man   just dead  
   'The good man has just died.'

(2) Sakwaapitū kahni.  'It's a green house.'
   green   house

(3) Yuhu(pl) wa'ippū miattaippūh.  
   fat   woman   gone  
   'The fat woman has gone.'

In 1 and 3, the absolutive suffixes may optionally be omitted without any appreciable change in meaning.

The examples in 4-7 contain modifying adjectives agreeing with following accusative head nouns (also see the examples in 203-205 of section 5.9).

(4) Nu tūhūttsittsia sohopimpūa tsonnopīlnna.  
   I little-O   cottonwood-O pull up (pl)  
   'I'm pulling up little cottonwoods.'

(5) Sakwaapitūnn a kahni punikka nūü.  
   green-O   house see   I  
   'I see a green house.'

(6) Nūü yuhupitta wa'ippūa punikkappūhantū.  
   I   fat-O   woman-O saw  
   'I saw the fat woman.'
Adjectives, especially participles, may follow head nouns, but in such cases they are usually predicates of relative clauses rather than simple adjectival modifiers (see section 8.2.2).

(8) Tangummu paappuh wunutu nia pusikwa.
man tall standing me know
'The man who is tall (standing) knows me.'

(9) Tangummu tammappuh miattaippuh.
man crazy left
'The man who is crazy left.'

(10) Nuu tangummi paappuh wunutunna pusikwa.
I man-O tall standing-O know
'I know the man who is tall (standing).'

(11) Nuu kunnai wayantunna punikka.
I wood-O burning-O see
'I see the wood burning.'

(12) Waippuh punnan tupsunna tsopiippuhah tukummahannih.
woman her own pinenut-O picked-O cook
'The woman is cooking the pinenuts she picked.'

When adjectives modify nouns that are obligatorily incorporated into verbs like -pa'in 'have' and -naappa'in 'have alienably', the adjectives are not incorporated along with the head noun. Rather, they remain in the noun phrase outside the verb and are in the objective case, even though their head nouns have been removed from the noun phrase and therefore are not inflected for case.
(13) Nüü sakwaapitunna kahnipa'ippühantü.
I green-O house-had
'I had a green house.'

(14) Tangummü tosapitunna pampippühpa'intüantü.
man white-O hair-have-will
'The man'll have white hair.'

(15) Nü tsawüntünna tükkappihnaapp'e.
I good-O groceries-have
'I have some good groceries.'

Nouns may function like adjectives modifying following head nouns. Modifying nouns, like adjectives, also agree with their heads.

(16) Nüü tuhuyanna piapüa punikkappühantü.
I deer-O mother-O saw
'I saw a doe (i.e., deer mother).' 

(17) Nü püyunna pühi punikkappühantü.
I duck-O pelt-O saw
'I saw a duck pelt.' 

6.3 ADJECTIVES AS NOUNS AND HEADS OF NPS

A number of adjectives, especially participles, function not only as adjectives but also as nouns; their function in a given sentence is of course determined by context. Some of the forms in both word classes are listed below (also see 5.7).
ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS

kumappuh ≈ kumattsi 'sharp-edged; edge'
mutsipin ≈ mutsippuh 'sharp-pointed; point'
tuttsaappuh 'dirty; dirt'
yuhupin 'fat, grease'

PARTICIPLES AND NOUNS

kwitappuh 'shit' < kwita" vi 'shit'
okwetun 'flowing; creek' < okwe" vi 'flow'
nueitun ≈ nueaitun 'blowing; wind' < nue" vi 'blow'
nukka(nt)un 'dancing; dance' < nukkan vi 'dance'
slippuh 'urinated; urine' < sii" vi 'urine'
suatun 'growing; plant' < sua" vi 'grow'
umatun ≈ unwatun 'rain(ing)' < uma" ~ unwa" vi 'rain'
wayantun 'burning; fire' < wayan vi 'burn'
yuutsutun 'flying; plane' < yuutsu" sg vi 'fly'

For example, compare how yuhupin is used as an adjective in 18 and as a noun in 19, and how wayantun is used as a present participle in 20 and a noun in 21.

(18) Nū yuhupitta wa'ippua pusikwa.
I fat-O woman know
'I know the fat woman.'

(19) Wa'ippu pappasia tukummahannih yuhuping kuppa.
woman potato-O cook grease in
'The woman is cooking potatoes in grease.'

(20) Kahni wayantunna punikka nūū.
house burning-O see I
'I see the house burning.'
ADJECTIVES

(21) Nu wayantūŋ ka mi'atū. 'I go to the fire.'
       I  fire    to go

The forms listed above are completely lexicalized both as adjectives and as nouns. But in fact, all adjectives in Tumpisa Shoshone can function as heads of noun phrases—much like, for example, adjectives in Spanish. Thus in 22–25, piappūtn, tūtūttsittsai, tsomampū, and tammappūh are all adjectival heads of the noun phrases they are in.

(22) Satū piappūti kuttippūhantū, nūū keēhinna kuttinna.
    that big-O shot   I nothing-O shoot
    'He shot a big one, I shot nothing.'

(23) Satū piantūnna tūhūya kuttippūhantū,
    that big-O deer  shot
    nūū puū tūtūttsitsia kuttippūhantū.
    I emph small-O shot

     'He shot a big deer; I myself shot a small one.'

(24) Nu tsomampūa punikka. 'I see the stingy one.'
     I stingy-O see

(25) Nu ma pusikwa tammappūh sammatū.
    I him know  crazy that particular
    'I know him, that particular crazy one.'

6.4 PREDICATE ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVAL VERBS

Besides functioning as noun modifiers, the other important function of adjectives is to act as predicates complementing the subject. In the present tense, adjectives may function alone as stative predicates without the need of any sort of linking verb. However, in other tenses, such as
the past and future, a linking verb must be used. The linking verb par excellence is naa" 'be'. Naa" is the unmarked, semantically neutral, linking verb, but there are others as well, e.g., wunu" sg 'stand', katu" sg 'sit', hapi" sg 'lie', kamman 'taste', kwana" 'smell', and napunih 'look, appear' (see section 2.2.1). Although linking verbs are not obligatory in the present tense, naa" or another linking verb may optionally be used to carry verb suffixes indicating aspectual and adverbial notions aside from, or in addition to, simple stativeness.

Examples 26-30 illustrate several different adjectives functioning as predicates in various tenses and aspects (see also the examples in 60-61).

(26) a. Nuü tamma. 'I'm crazy.'
   I crazy

b. Tangummu tammappuh. 'The man's crazy.'
   man crazy

c. Tangummu tammappuh naappühantü.
   man crazy be-past
   'The man was crazy.'

d. Tangummu tammappuh naatu'ih.
   man crazy be-will
   'The man'll be crazy.'

e. Tangummu tammappuh naammi'a.
   man crazy be-go
   'The man's going crazy.'

(27) a. Yuhupi wa'ippu. 'She's a fat woman.'
   fat woman
b. Yuhupi utū. 'That one's fat.'
   fat that

c. Satu sæp'esë yuhupi naappuhantū.
   that long ago fat be-past
   'She was fat long ago.'

d. Wa'ippū yuhupi naatu'ih.
   woman fat be-will
   'The woman'll be fat.'

e. Wa'ippū yuhupi naammi'a.
   woman fat be-go
   'The woman's getting fat.'

(28)  a. Üū nati'iwantū. 'You're mean.'
   you mean

b. Miikka nati'iwantū satū. 'Now he is mean.'
   now mean that

c. Tangummū utuu pūesū nati'iwantū
   man just long ago mean
   naappuhantū.
   be-past
   'The man just used to be mean.'

  d. Sutū nati'iwantū naatu'ih. 'He'll be mean.'
     that mean be-will

e. Miikka sutū nati'iwantū naammi'a.
   now that mean be-go
   'Now he's getting mean.'
(29) a. Sakwaapitū kahni. 'It's a green house.'
   green house

   b. Puesū sakwaapitū naappūhantū kahni matū.
   long ago green be-past house that
   'Long ago that house used to be green.'

   c. Kahni sakwaapitū naatu'ih.
   house green be-will
   'The house'll be green.'

(30) a. Nuū kee pasampūttsi. 'I'm not skinny.'
   I not skinny

   b. Toto pasampūttsi. 'The bull is skinny.'
   bull skinny

Predicate adjectives need not agree in number with their subjects, but they may be optionally marked for number with the two enclitics -hammu plural and -hangku dual. When the number enclitics are used on predicate adjectives, number is emphatic. Compare the singular predicate adjectives in 31a, 32a, and 33a-c with the optionally marked duals and plurals in 31b-c, 32b-c, and 33d-h.

(31) a. Satū woompettsi. 'That one is jealous.'
   that jealous

   b. Satungku woompettsi(hangku).
   those(dl) jealous(-dl)
   'Those two are (both) jealous.'

   c. Satūmmū woompettsi(hammū).
   those jealous(-pl)
   'They're (all) jealous.'
ADJECTIVES 281

(32) a. Atū tanyungu yuhupi. 'That man is fat.'
   that man fat

b. Atungku tanyungu yuhupi(hangku).
   those(dl) men-dl fat(-dl)
   'Those two men are (both) fat.'

c. Atümü tanyungu yuhupi(hammu).
   those men fat(-pl)
   'Those men are (all) fat.'

(33) a. Satu iampu. 'That one is wild.'
   that wild

b. Putisi iampu. 'The burro is wild.'
   burro wild

c. Nawittsittsi iampu. 'The girl is wild.'
   girl wild

d. Satungku iampu(hangku).
   those(dl) wild(-dl)
   'Those two are (both) wild.'

e. Nawittsittsiangku iampu(hangku).
   girls (dl) wild(-dl)
   'The girls are (both) wild.'

f. Sutumü iampu(hammu). 'They're (all) wild.'
   those wild(-pl)

g. Mümü iampu(hammu).
   you all wild(-pl)
   'You all are (all) wild.'
h. Nawitsittsiammu iampu(hammu).
   girls wild(-pl)
   'The girls are (all) wild.'

The examples in 26-33 illustrate adjectives functioning directly as stative predicates complementing subjects, with and without a linking verb like naa". The language also has means for forming verbs directly from adjectives. A number of verbalizing suffixes may be affixed to adjectives to derive intransitive verbs. The particular suffix used on any given adjective to form a verb is idiomatic or unpredictable. The suffixes that I have recorded in this function are listed below (see also section 3.2.2).

**SUFFIXES VERBALIZING ADJECTIVES**

- 
   i  ~ -'i  general verbalizer
   kuttai 'be hard, tough' < kutaan(pu) 'hard'

- ka(n)  stative
   ookwan 'be strong' < oo(ppu) 'strong'

- kain  ~ -kai"
   pihyakai" 'itch' < pihya(pi) 'weak'
   woongkwain 'be jealous' < woon(pe) 'jealous'

- pukkan  involuntary state
   no'apukkan 'be pregnant' < no'a(pi) 'pregnant'
   yuhupukkan 'get fat' < yuhu(pin) 'fat'

- wih  ~ -win  general verbalizer
   kumawih 'sharpen' < kuma(ppu) 'sharp-edged'
   tsawin 'be good' < tsao 'well' and tsawuntun 'good'
The last two "suffixes" are actually intransitive verbs forming compounds with adjectives.

The verbs derived from adjectives provide another means, even if indirect, for having adjectival predicates. In terms of their semantics, most of the adjectival verbs seem to be basically stative, but with the addition of appropriate aspectual or adverbial suffixes any of them can be made inchoative (e.g., with -kwan ~ -kkwan ~ -hwan momentaneous completive; -wiah inchoative; -kin ~ -kkin ~ -hin inchoative; -mmi’ah inchoative; see section 3.1). Some sentences with verbalized adjectives are given in 34-41.

(34) Kee kuttainnūmmi tukkūapi.
    not be tough continuative meat
    'The meat's not tough.'

(35) Satū ookwantu’ih. 'He'll be strong.'
    that be strong-will

(36) Tsukuppūttsi (ūmmi) woongkwainna.
    old man you-O be jealous
    'The old man is jealous (of you).'
(37) Nū yuhupūxkanna. 'I'm getting fat.'
   I get fat

(38) Nū imaa ukkwah tsawiyuppūhantū.
   I morning when be good-continuative-past
   'I was fine this morning.'

(39) Nū tammayaihwantu'ih. 'I'm going crazy.'
   I be crazy-future

(40) Satūmmū mitūkkaano wūmmanniyumminna.
   those Caucasian be naked-hab
   'Those white people go around naked.'

(41) Un nungkwappūh pihyatuakomminna.
   your leg be weak-around-hab
   'Your leg is habitually weak.'

6.5 ADJECTIVE PHRASES

Not only single adjectives but also adjective phrases may function as modifiers and predicates. Typically, adjective phrases consist of an adjective head and one or more adverbials modifying the head. The adverbials may be intensifiers, a delimiter, a negative, an emphatic, a distancer, and a contrastive.

INTENSIFIERS
   tataattsi(ttsi) 'little (bit)'
   kenūmūni 'very, really'
   kuttaapppūh 'really, very, hard'
   tüpitsi 'very, really, truly'

DELIMITER
   utuku = utuu 'just, only'
NEGATIVE
ke(e) 'not, un-'

EMPHATIC
-nnu'u 'certainly, surely, truly'

DISTANCER
-ppü 'unempathetically'

CONTRASTIVE
püü 'really'

The four intensifiers always precede the adjective head; e.g.:

(42) Näa tataattsittsi tammattsi.
I little bit crazy
'I'm a little bit crazy.'

(43) Näa tataattsittsi tsiatiysippüh.
I little bit hungry
'I'm a little bit hungry.'

(44) Setü küuttaappüh muiyaippüh; setü üppütaippüh.
this really drunk this asleep-cmplt
'This one's really drunk; he's sound asleep.'

(45) Kuttaa tukwannitaippüh. 'It's really dark.'
really dark

(46) Nä kenümüni napihyaapü. 'I'm very lazy.'
I very lazy

(47) Nä kenümüni pasampüttsi. 'I'm very skinny.'
I very skinny
A delimiter also precedes the head. For example, compare 1, 28c, and the two sentences in 48.

(48) a. Tangummū utuu nati'iwantūn tiyaitaippūhantū.
      man just mean died
      'The man (who was) just mean died.'

b. Tangummū nati'iwantūn utuu tiyaitaippūhantū.
      man mean just died
      'The mean man just died.'

Emphatic -nnu'u is an enclitic and always follows the adjective head of the phrase.

(49) Nū tukumpanapitta puunikka, satū puhipi-nnu'u.
      I sky see that blue emph
      'I see the sky, and it's certainly blue.'

(50) Nū pihyapi-nnu'u. 'I am truly weak.'
      I weak emph

(51) Kahni pantū tuppapi-nnu'u.
      house on-nom black emph
      'The top of the house is certainly black.'

Distancing -ppū is used in modification of human referents, and it is the same as the classificatory suffix used on human nouns to indicate distance (see 5.6 and 5.8). It indicates that the speaker has no empathy for whoever is being discussed. As the two sentences in 52 illustrate, it may be used along with intensifiers preceding the adjective.

(52) a. Satū kenūmūni yuhupippū! 'She's really fat!'
      That really fat-distance
b. Satū kūttaa yuhupūu! 'She's really fat!'
that really fat-distance

Contrastive pūū is used in comparative constructions and is exemplified in 59.

Negative kee productively forms loosely knit phrasal compounds with adjectives. Many of them are lexicalized to one degree or another and are not unlike adjectives formed with the negative prefixes un- or in- in English. Usually the vowel of kee is shortened in these negative adjectives.

NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS

| ke(e) iampü   | 'tame = not wild'   |
| ke(e) kūmpappūh | 'dull = not sharp' |
| ke(e) pūttitūn | 'light = not heavy' |
| ke(e) tokwī | 'wrong = incorrect, not right' |
| ke(e) tuttsaappūh | 'clean = not dirty, unclean' |
| ke(e) tūnangkatūn | 'deaf = not hearing' |
| ke(e) yawūsū | 'slow = not fast' |

(53) Üü ke tokwi. 'You're wrong.'
you not right

(54) Üü ke tokwī yūkkwi. 'You're doing (it) wrong.'
you not right do

In a few cases, kee is used with the adjectival verb rather than with the adjective itself (e.g., ke(g) kūttai 'be soft = not be hard' < kūttai 'be hard' < kūttaa-pūh 'hard').

A few adjectives are almost always used with an intransitive verb of position, or at least with the participle of one. For example, pa'āppū(tūn) 'tall' and pa'attsi(ttsi) 'short' are nearly always used with wunū 'stand' or its present participle wūnūtūn 'standing'; e.g.:
Tangummu pa'appuh wünütü.
man tall standing
'The man is tall (standing).' 

Satü pa'appuh wünütü naatuantu.
that tall standing be-must
'He'll be tall (standing).' 

Tuinuppü pa'appuh wünüwi'ah.
boy tall stand-inchoative
'The boy is getting (to stand) tall.' 

Tuinuppü pa'attsittsi wünütü naappühantu.
boy short standing was
'The boy used to be short (standing).'

Kapaayu piappütü pa'appuh wünü:
horse big tall stand
isapungku pa'attsittsi wünütüm puü.
dog short standing emph
'Horses are big and (stand) tall, 
but dogs are short (standing).'

The number of adjectives within a given adjective phrase is potentially unlimited. As the sentence in 59 suggests, adjectives may be sequenced within the adjective phrase without limit. However, there seems to be a strong tendency not to string more than two of them in a row in modifying phrases. When more than one attribute is expressed at a time, it is usually in a predicate with conjoined predicate adjectives, as in 60–61.
Adjective phrases may, thus, consist of the following kinds of elements: one or more adjective heads, one or more adverbials (such as a delimiter, intensifier, or negative) preceding the head, then an emphatic enclitic following the head adjective, and finally a delimiter adverbial after the head.

AP ---> (Adv) Adj (-emph) (Adv)

I should note that I do not know the relative order of the various kinds of adverbials within the adjective phrase, since my notes contain no examples with more than one used at the same time.

6.6 COMPARATIVES

Semantically, comparative constructions involve comparing two different propositions that share something in common, such as the same adjectival notion. For example, in the English comparative construction

You are fatter than I am.
the main clause 'you are fatter' expresses a proposition containing the notion 'fat', and the comparative clause 'than I am [fat]' expresses another proposition containing the notion 'fat'. The clauses are linked together with markers of comparison, the suffix -er on 'fatter' plus the conjunction than, which specify the standard of comparison, 'I'. In many languages, comparative clauses are often reduced in form and different from main clauses. Thus, the comparative construction above could also take any one of the following forms:

You are fatter than me.
You are fatter than I.
You are fatter than I am fat.

The forms with 'than me' and 'than I' show further reduction than the first one above (i.e., 'than I am'), and 'than I am fat' sounds somewhat strange, in that it hasn't been reduced enough. In other words, it is typical of comparative constructions in most languages for repetitious elements to be omitted or gapped, although still understood, in one clause or the other. Usually, the shared notion is gapped in the comparative clause (e.g., 'fat' in all but the last example above).

Comparative constructions in Tümpisa Shoshone also display various degrees of reduction or gapping, as well as other changes from fuller, more complete constructions. Comparative constructions are built around three different markers of comparison, all of which are formally postpositions (see 5.3 and 5.4). The objects of these postpositions express the standard of comparison.
MARKERS OF COMPARISON

kawï(ki)(tïn) 'more than, bigger than; over'
wakakwa 'more than' < waka 'towards'
tukkwatsi 'less than, littler than' < tukkwa 'under'

The first two are used in positive comparison and are nearly synonymous, at least in their comparative function; the third is used for negative or lesser comparison.

The sentence in Tumpisa Shoshone most closely paralleling the English comparative construction above would be that in 62. Other similar ones are given in 63-65.

(62) Ùú ðuhupi nú wakakwa. 'You're fatter than me.'
    you fat me more than

(63)  a. Ñú ðuhupi ñ wakakwa.
    I fat you-O more than
    'I'm fatter than you.'

   b. Ñú ðiappputù ñ wakakwa.
    I big you-O more than
    'I'm bigger than you.'

   c. Ñú ðasamputtsi ñ wakakwa.
    I skinny you-O more than
    'I'm skinnier than you.'

(64) Ñú ðuhupi ñng kawïki; ñú ðasamputtsi.
    I fat you-O more than you skinny
    'I'm fatter than you; you're skinny.'

(65) Satù nú wakakwa küttaa ðuhupi.
    that me more than really fat
    'He's really fatter than me.'
In comparative constructions involving adjectives, only one of the adjectives may appear in the sentence; that is, one of them must be gapped. It is not certain which is gapped, the one in the main clause or the one in the comparative clause; perhaps it is a moot point. However, if 62-64 and 65 (along with 81) are compared, it is clear that the adjective expressing the notion being compared can come either before or after the postpositional phrase containing the marker and standard of comparison; e.g., both yuhupi nu wakakwa and nu wakakwa yuhupi mean 'fatter than me'. Thus, if one assumes the basic construction before gapping is something like

Comparative --> Subj + Adj + Obj + Comp Post + Adj

then it would seem that either the adjective of the main clause (the 1st one) or the adjective of the comparative clause (the 2nd one) may be gapped, so long as one of them is. That is, either

Comparative --> Subj + Obj + Comp Post + Adj [= 65 and 81]  
or
Comparative --> Subj + Adj + Obj + Comp Post [= 62-64]

Constructions of the second type seem to be the most common, with apparent gapping of the adjective in the comparative clause.

Comparative constructions can be reduced even further than those above. The only constituents necessarily present are the subject of the main clause and the postpositional phrase containing the comparative marker and standard; e.g.:

(66) Isapungku ma kawikutu naattua.  
dog it more than cat-0  
'bigger than'  
'Dogs are bigger than cats.'
ADJECTIVES

(67) Kapaayu ma kawikū isapungki.
     horse it more than dog-O
     'Horses are bigger than dogs.'

(68) Nūū ūng kawiki ūmmi. 'I'm bigger than you.'
     I you-O more than you-O

Comparative constructions may be reduced to such a degree because verbs are not necessary in stative sentences, and because the comparative markers themselves are not semantically neutral. In their unmarked forms—that is, when not used with adjectives—kawī(kītu) means not only 'more than' but also 'bigger than', and tukkwattsi means not only 'less than' but also 'littler than' (see 69-75).

Verbs may also be used in comparative constructions, as in 69-76. Of course the copula naa' 'be' may be used to indicate tense and aspectual notions as in 69. But, wunu' is also normally used in comparisons of stature as in 70-75, and napunih 'look, appear' is used in comparisons of appearance, as in 76.

(69) Nūū ūng kawiki naammi'a.
     I you-O more than be-get
     'I'm getting bigger than you.'

(70) Nūū ūng kawiki wunu ūmmi.
     I you-O more than stand-dur you-O
     'I stand bigger than (= taller than) you.'

(71) Nūū ūng kawiki wunu ū wakakwa.
     I you-O more than stand-dur you more than
     'I'm taller than you.'

(72) Satū nū kawiki wunu.
     that me more than stand-dur
     'That one's taller than me.'
(73) Nia üü nu tukkwattsi wūnnū.  
me you me less than stand-dur  
'You stand less than (= are shorter) than me.'

(74) Nia satu nu tukkwattsi wūnnū.  
me that me less than stand-dur  
'That one's shorter than me.'

(75) Nūū sohopimpū ma tukkwattsi wūnnū.  
I cottonwood-O it less than stand-dur  
'I'm shorter than the cottonwood.'

(76) Nūū pa'appūh napunni  ü wakakwa.  
I tall look-dur you-O more than  
'I look taller than you.'

Note that first and second person standards of comparison may be emphasized by being repeated, as in 68, 70, 73, and 74. The repeated pronouns are often fronted, as in 73 and 74, or moved to the end of the sentence, as in 68 and 70. In fact, the entire comparative postpositional phrase may be restated, as in 71, but in this case I am not sure what is being emphasized. First and second person singular subjects of the main clauses of comparative constructions always appear in their long emphatic forms, i.e., emphatic nūū and üü, not unemphatic nū and ü (see section 4.1).

Verbal notions may also be compared. In this type of comparative construction, the verbal notions in the main clause and the comparative clause are identical, but what is actually being compared is the degree of activity. Only one verb may appear in a verbal comparative construction; that of either the main clause or the comparative clause must be gapped. Thus, the only constituents necessarily present are the subject of the main clause, the postpositional phrase containing standard and marker of comparison, and a verb. Actually, comparatives of stature with wūnnū (e.g., 70-75 and
are formally verbal comparatives, even if notionally more like adjectival comparatives:

(77) Kapaayu u kawi nukwitũ numi.
    horse him more than run-hab person-O
    'Horses run more than (= faster than) people.'

(78) Satũ sohopimpũa ma tukkwatši wurũ.
    that cottonwood-O it less than stand-dur
    'That one stands less than (= is shorter than) the cottonwood.'

(79) Satũ nũ kawiki tükkatũ; nũ pũu hũüttsišia
    that me more than eat-hab I emph little-O
    tükkatũ.
    eat-hab

    'That one eats more than me; I myself eat (only) a little.'

Superlatives are formed by making noohakka 'anyone, everyone (obj)' the standard of comparison in the comparative postpositional phrase; e.g.:

(80) Kapaayu noohakka kawiki.
    horse anyone-O more than
    'Horses are the biggest.'

(81) Satũ noohakka kawi yuhupi.
    that anyone-O more than fat
    'That one is the fattest.'
Given the examples and discussion above, it is possible to make a general statement about the basic constituent structure of comparative constructions:

Comparative Construction → Subj (Adj) (V) Obj Comp Post (Adj) (V)

In other words, a comparative construction must contain a subject of the main clause and a comparative postpositional phrase containing the marker of comparison, which is a postposition such as wakakwa, kawi(kitun), or tukkwatsti, and its object, which is the standard of comparison as well as the notional subject of the comparative clause. Within either clause there may optionally also be an adjective or verb, or both. However, in the end there can be only one adjective and one verb in the entire construction, so an adjective or verb must be gapped in one clause. Most of the possibilities stemming from this rule have already been illustrated, thus:

Subj [*] + Obj + Comp Post [*] = 66-68 and 80
Subj [*] + Obj + Comp Post + Adj [*] = 65 and 81
Subj [*] + Obj + Comp Post + V [*] = 69-75, 77-79, 82
Subj + Adj + Obj + Comp Post [*] = 62-64
Subj + Adj + V + Obj + Comp Post [*] = 76

Here [*] indicates where gapping has occurred.
Note to Chapter 6

1. Adjectival or relative clauses, which function like modifying adjectives, are discussed in chapter 8, section 8.2.2.
ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

The words grouped together as adverbs are the most diverse and heterogeneous category in Tumpisa Shoshone, as they are in most languages. There are many different kinds of adverbs, but they all seem to have two characteristics in common: (1) they normally are uninflected; and (2) they function as modifiers. Typically adverbs modify verbs and other kinds of predicates, but some modify adjectives as well as other adverbs, and some modify entire sentences or clauses. Different types are distinguished by the various kinds of adverbial notions they express. Adverbs may express notions of time and aspect (7.1), place or location (7.2), manner or process (7.3), and mood or attitude (7.4). There are also adverbs that delimit (7.5), intensify (7.6), and emphasize (7.7). Adverbs are also used to indicate negation, affirmation, and interrogation (7.8).

Of course, adverbial notions are typically expressed by adverbs, but in addition they may also be expressed by nouns functioning as adverbials, especially nouns indicating time or place. Postpositional phrases also productively express adverbial notions, and so do several kinds of subordinate clauses (see 5.3 and 5.4 on postpositional phrases and 8.2.1 on adverbial clauses). Little adverbial words are often referred to grammatically as particles (e.g., "the negative particle"). Interjections, though not technically adverbs, are also discussed in this chapter (section 7.9).
7.1 TIME AND ASPECT

A good many adverbs express notions of time. Some indicate when something happens (e.g., kuntu 'yesterday'); others indicate temporal notions in conjunction with aspeectual notions, such as frequency (e.g., noohimpe 'always') and duration (e.g., noon 'awhile'). Even though there are quite a few time adverbs, the subclass seems to be closed, novel temporal notions being productively expressed primarily by time adverbial clauses (see 8.2.1). A number of time adverbs end in one of the three adverbial suffixes: -sū, -ni, and -wani.

TIME ADVERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awisū</td>
<td>'later'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imaa ≈ nima</td>
<td>'tomorrow, morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imaaasū</td>
<td>'early in the morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imaa yuwikka</td>
<td>'tomorrow night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keesu(sū)</td>
<td>'not yet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūkkuntu(sū)</td>
<td>'day before yesterday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuntu(sū)</td>
<td>'yesterday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuntu tukwakka(sū)</td>
<td>'last night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miikka ≈ miikkwa</td>
<td>'now, today'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munangkwa</td>
<td>'last year, year before'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noohimpe ≈ nohompe</td>
<td>'always'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noon ≈ nuun</td>
<td>'awhile' durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinnangkasū imaa</td>
<td>'day after tomorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinnasū</td>
<td>'again, some more' repetitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūe</td>
<td>'already, soon, now, ready, about to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūesu(sū) ≈ pūetusu</td>
<td>'long ago'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahma</td>
<td>'(in the) spring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahmani</td>
<td>'in the springtime'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tape</td>
<td>'(in the) day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapeni</td>
<td>'at noon, in the afternoon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapewani</td>
<td>'in the daytime'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A number of example sentences with time adverbs are given in 1-12. Time adverbs typically occur either at the end of the sentence (e.g., 2, 4, and 5), or in second position after the first word in the sentence, which is usually the subject or some other adverbial (e.g., 1, 6, 8, 9, and 12). Second and final positions are the more neutral positions for time adverbs. When they appear initially (e.g., 3, 7, 10, and 11), they are emphatic or contrastive.

1. Nu imaa ko'epittunnuhi.
   I tomorrow return-arrive-will
   'I'll be back tomorrow.'

2. Nuu tuupukkappuhantü kuntu ukkwah.
   I was angry yesterday when
   'I was mad (when it was) yesterday.'
Miikka annappa u wükkatungkütu'ih. 
now each other-on it stack-will
'Now I'll stack them on top of each other.'

Tammu piiya hipinna miikka. 
we(inc) beer drink now
'We're drinking beer now.'

Nümmü sakkuh kahnikantu tatsawani. 
we(exc) there dwell in the summertime
'We live there in the summertime.'

Nümmü tommo sukkwuh kahnikantu. 
we(exc) winter there dwell
'We live there in the winter.'

Noohimpe Pisippüh ka mi'atü sutü. 
always Bishop to go that
'He always goes to Bishop.'

Nümmü noohompe sukkwuh kahnikantu. 
we(exc) always there dwell
'We always live there.'

Noowitsa noong katü u pantü nangkawih. 
hopefully awhile sit it about talk
'Hopefully, he'll sit and talk about it awhile.'

Pinnasu Tonia pittuhunnüha tammu hipittainna. 
again Tony-O return-sub we(inc) get drunk
'If Tony comes back again, we'll get drunk.'

Püe tukwanni naakinna. 
already dark get
'It's already getting dark.'
(12) Noo ukwapasu mi'a. 'Maybe he walks sometimes.' maybe sometimes walk

Time adverb proforms are pronominal adverbs that may substitute for more specific time adverbial expressions. The proforms are composed of one of the demonstrative-locative bases su- or sa- (see 4.3) plus the postposition -pe'e 'time', which is only used with the demonstrative-locative bases, not on nouns or pronouns. The time proforms may also take one of the adverbial suffixes -sù or -nì.

TIME PROFORMS¹

- pe'e(sù) ≈ - pe'eni 'time'
supe'e(sù) ≈ supe'eni 'that time; then'
sape'e(sù) ≈ supe'eni 'that time long ago; then'

The proforms apparently occur in the same positions as regular time adverbs, and they are often used along with them.

(13) Supe'esù sutümü wihnu kawai yukwikwa.
    that time those then rat-O go after
    'Then that time they went after rats.'

(14) Nummü na'ungwatai supe'e wihnu.
    we be rained on that time then
    'We were rained on that time then.'

(15) Püesü sape'esù nummü pungkupaimmippuhantu.
    long ago that time we(exc) horse-used to have
    'Long ago at that time we used to have horses.'
7.2 PLACE ADVERBS

The most typical means in Tümpisa for expressing adverbial notions of place are locative postpositional phrases (see 5.4). However, a number of place adverbs also express location, often along with direction. The postposition nangkwa 'toward' is used semiproductively to form place adverbs, somewhat like the suffix -ward(s) in English (e.g., tapenangkwa 'eastward' < tape 'sun').

PLACE ADVERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
<td>'in sight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antappu</td>
<td>'elsewhere'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kappinnangkwa(tün)</td>
<td>'outside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwinaweppuh</td>
<td>'(to the) north'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwinawennangkwa(tün)</td>
<td>'northward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maanangkwatün</td>
<td>'on the other side'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manakwappuh</td>
<td>'far away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'an</td>
<td>'up, high'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pannahai</td>
<td>'down (towards place thought of)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pange</td>
<td>'up, high'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pittannangkwa</td>
<td>'southward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pittannai</td>
<td>'southward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pittappu</td>
<td>'(to the) south'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pittsu'unangkwa</td>
<td>'straight downward, nadiralt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapenangkwa</td>
<td>'eastward'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Place adverbs, like time adverbs, may occur initially in the sentence (e.g., 17) or in second position (18-20), or after the verb, though not necessarily in final position (cf. 21-22). When both time and place adverbs occur in the same clause, the place adverbs are normally positioned closer to the verb than the time adverbs (see 6, 8, 16, and 21).

(17) Kappinnangkwatu katünnuwitü hipittsittsi.
outside sit-around old lady
'The old lady sat around outside.'

(18) Isapaippü pange miatü u tu takuttiyaitaihwa.
Coyote up going it through thirst-died
'Coyote going up through there died of thirst.'

(19) Nüü tüpiinga happi. 'I'm lying in the middle.'
I middle lie-dur

(20) Paliina unai püü toswa'ë!
Pauline this way emph face
'Pauline, face this way!' 

(21) Supe'ë u yaakki pahannai sutü wihnu.
that time it bring down that then
'That time he brought it down then.'

(22) Sohopimpü ma nüü katütü notoppahetüünaa.
cottonwood on I sitting climb down
'I was sitting on the cottonwood and climbed down.'
(23) Noo mi'a antappu noo mi'a, kee kahni ka
should go elsewhere should go not house at
katükkančů!
sit-stv

'You should go elsewhere, you ought to go, and
don't sit by the house!'

Several different place adverb proforms may substitute
for specific place adverbs or locative postpositional phrases.
Place adverb proforms are composed of one of the
demonstrative-locative bases plus one of four different
locative postpositional stems.

PLACE PROFORMS

-ḥkuh ≈ -kkih  'in a defined specific area'

ikkih ≈ sikkīh 'right here'

ekkih ≈ sekkih 'hereabouts'

akkuh ≈ sakkūh 'there'

ukkuh ≈ sukkūh 'there yonder out of sight'

-pe" ≈ -pi"  'in a loosely defined area out of sight'

ipi" ≈ sipi" 'right here someplace'

epi" ≈ sepi" 'hereabouts someplace'

ape" ≈ sape" 'there someplace'

upe" ≈ supe" 'there yonder someplace'

pa" ≈ pa'an  'on, in, at an area'

hakapan ≈ hakapa'an 'where'

(s)ipan ≈ (s)ipa'an 'right here'

(s)epan ≈ (s)epa'an 'here'

(s)apan ≈ (s)apa'an 'there'

(s)upan ≈ (s)upa'an 'there yonder'
-ttun ≈ -ttuh (≈ tun) 'through an area'

hakattuh 'where'
ittun ≈ sittun 'through here'
ettun ≈ settun 'through around here'
attun ≈ sattun 'through there'
uttun ≈ suttun 'through there yonder'

The two stems -kkuh (≈ -kkih) and -~ (≈ -~) are only used with the demonstrative-locative bases, never with nouns or pronouns. The other two, pan (≈ pa'än) and -ttun, are used with nouns and pronouns, but in the case of -ttun, a slightly different form, tun, is used with nouns and pronouns. As the reader may have noticed, the variants of -kkuh and -~ with ɪ (i.e., -kkih and -~) are used with the demonstrative-locative bases having front vowels. Pan may occur in its other paradigmatic forms (e.g., pantun as in 26; see 5.4).

Place adverb proforms occur in the same positions as other place adverbs.

(24) Aa akkuh sakkuh wùnnu.
    in sight there there stand-dur
    'She is standing over there in sight.'

(25) Tammu topanna yaakwantu'ih epetti
    we(inc) pinenut-0 go get-will hereabouts-emph
    himpükattì kwinawennangkatunna.
    someplace-emph northward
    'We'll go get pinenuts here someplace up north!'

(26) Tukopoyo'ittsi pahannai ipantu napakkataihwa.
    kingbird down here was killed
    'Kingbird was killed down here.'
(27) Sutū suttum mi'akoppuhantū. 
that through there went-around 
'He went around through there.'

(28) Usū supe'e ung kim makippūh pūū, 
that is that time him come-sub emph 
attū ung kim makippūh pūū. 
there-through him come-sub emph 
'It was then that he came, that he came through there.'

There is a certain amount of agreement between demonstrative subjects and proform place adverbs. Generally speaking, the demonstratives and proforms must agree in terms of their respective demonstrative-locative bases indicating relative distance. For example, compare the sentences in 29; 29a-d are fine, but 29e-f are thought to be odd, if not ungrammatical, because the demonstratives and adverbs have different demonstrative-locative bases.

(29) a. Sitū ikkih wünnu. 
this right here stand-dur 
'This one's standing right here.'

b. Setū sekkih wünnu. 
this here stand-dur 
'This one's standing here.'

c. Satū akkuh wünnu. 
that there stand-dur 
'That one's standing there.'
308 TÜMPSA SHOSHONE GRAMMAR

d. Sutū sukkuh wūnū.  
that yonder there yonder stand-dur  
'That one's standing there yonder.'

e. ? Satū sekkīh wūnū.  
that here stand-dur  
'That one's standing here.'

f. ? Satū ukkuh wūnū.  
that there yonder stand-dur  
'That one's standing there yonder.'

7.3 MANNER ADVERBS

MANNER ADVERBS

anna"  'together'
annakkapan  'all together'
annamman  'together, with each other'
annappan  'on top of each other'
annappakangku  'equally, in equal parts'
antappu  'askew, different, weird, wrong; else'
attapūsū  'different(ly)'
himpin 'backward'
kee so'o 'not enough, insufficiently'
kee yawusu 'slowly, not fast'
kesanumu 'as intended, as planned, positively'
kütaan ≈ kütaappuh 'hard, very'
muppeppu 'upside down, on one's belly'
nahman 'together (dual)'
nanakapan 'intermingled'
napakangku 'in half, equally'
pa'atami 'upside down, backward, on one's back'
pinnangkwa(sü) 'last, behind'
so'o 'a lot, so much, too much, enough'
sümmisi 'same'
sümütüwası 'all together'
sʊŋkweppuh 'on one's side'
sʊʊpasu 'apart, separately, set off'
tōki 'right, correct(ly), enough'
tütsüppü(tüppü)h 'funny, strange(ly), weird(ly)'
tsoa(sü) 'well, good'
upakattsi 'only a little'
upenisi 'too quickly, right away'
yawusu 'fast, quickly, in a hurry'
wükitiukkwan 'back and forth sideways'

Adverbs of manner tend to occur immediately before the verb (e.g., 30–36 and 38–43), or immediately before the verb and a proclitic object pronoun (e.g., 37), and they seem to be more closely connected with the verb than most other adverbs.

(30) Nüü tosakkahni annamma yuniinna.
I tent together put(pl)
'I'm putting (the pieces of) the tent together.'
As with time and place adverbs, there are manner adverb proforms. One manner proform, summi 'thus, so, that', is used with verbs that indicate something about thinking and speaking. In fact, a number of thinking and speaking verbs nearly always occur with a manner adverbial of one form or another (e.g., yukwi" ≈ yukwi" 'say', suwa" 'want, think, feel', suwai 'think about, intend'). If a specific adverb is not overtly expressed, then summi seems to be virtually obligatory.
(38) Sümmütü nia sümmi teewingkuppühantü.
(some)one me thus told
'Someone told me something.'

(39) Setü otammani miattaisu sümmi yükwitü püü!
this old man went away thus saying emph
'This old man went away saying that!'

(40) Nüü sümmi suwainna.
I thus think about
'I'm thinking about (doing) something.'

Manner proforms used with verbs other than those indicating notions of thinking and saying are composed of a demonstrative-locative base plus one of the two postpositions -nni or wa'e(sü). (-Nni has the alternate form ni when used on nouns and pronouns.) A number of active verbs also virtually require some sort of manner adverb, or at least a manner proform (e.g., nukwi" 'do, happen', yukwi" ≈ yukwi" 'do, make, go after, get').

**MANNER PROFORMS**

-**nni ≈ ni** 'way, like, in the manner of'
  hakani(yun) 'how (is it); what'
  inni ≈ sinni 'this way, like this'
  enni ≈ senni 'this way, like this'
  anni ≈ sanni 'that way, like that'
  unni ≈ sunni 'that way, like that'

-**wa'e(sü)** 'same as, the same way as'
  siwa'e(sü) 'this very same way'
  sewa'e(sü) 'this same way'
  sawa'e(sü) 'that same way'
  suwa'e(sü) 'that same way'
Note the commonly occurring contractions:

- sinni + nukwi" > sinnukwi" 'do like this'
- senni + nukwi" > sennukwi" 'do like this'
- sanni + nukwi" > sanukwi" 'do like that'
- sunni + nukwi" > sunukwi" 'do like that'

(41) Kawa sunnukwi; enni utummi ma'omminna.
rat like that-do like this those-O push-iterative
'The rat did like that: he pushed them away like this.'

(42) Nia sunni nukwingkuppühantū sutū.
me that way do for-past that
'He did it (= that way) for me.'

(43) Hakani yukwinna uū? --
how (= what) do you

Nūu sennukwikkatū, nūu nūmū natiingwanna.
I this way-do-sit I Indian learn

'What are you doing?' --
'I'm sitting doing this (way): I'm learning Indian.'

(44) Siwā'e sutū yukwinna.
this-same way that do
'That one's doing (it) this same way.'

7.4 MODALS

Modal adverbs indicate the mood or attitude of the speaker with respect to the certainty, probability, or veracity of what is being said. Tūmpisa Shoshone expresses mood primarily with adverbs and has only a couple of modal auxiliary verbs (e.g., suwan 'want, need' and -mmuūh 'can't';
see 3.1.5), although mood is also expressed by several verbal suffixes (e.g., -tuhantun obligative, -hi dubitative, and -kon certaintive; see 3.1.1 and 3.1.3). The modal adverbs that have been recorded are given below.

**MODAL ADVERBS**

- hai 'possibly'
- hiipinna 'definitely'
- kian 'might, could'
- mii 'it is said, they say' quotative
- naahi 'might, may' dubitative
- noo 'should, ought to' obligative
- nootunga 'probably, maybe, perhaps'
- nootunga ...kee 'probably not, maybe not'
- noowitsa 'hopefully' optative
- pinnawitsa 'hopefully' optative
- suupa 'maybe, perhaps'
- tokwisi 'really, truly; right (in agreement)'
- witsa 'possibly, might, would'

The quotative particle mii is normally used immediately following direct quotes (e.g., 45) or after generally accepted truths which people talk about (e.g., 46). The dubitative modal naahi always follows the verb of the clause in which it occurs (e.g., 47). The other modal adverbs typically occur in sentence or clause initial position (e.g., 23, and 48-51), but they may also occur in second position (e.g., 52-54) after the subject or other adverbials.

(45) "Tuwittsi sepa'a pitühi," mii yükkwi.
    young man here arrive quote say
    '"A young man is arriving here," it is said, he said.'
(46) Tūmpisakkatū kūttaa ūtūnna mii. Death Valley-at-nom really be hot quote 'They say Death Valley is really hot.'

(47) Nūū hipitu'ih naahi. 'I might drink.' I drink-will might

(48) Pinnawitsa satūmmū mi'akwasū. hopefully those go-away-result 'Hopefully, they'll go away.'

(49) Noo siti ma tūkkappūh. should this it eat-perf 'She should have eaten it.'

(50) Nootunga kee ko'esinal'ih sutū. probably not return-neg-motion that 'He probably won't come back.'

(51) Süüpā u kuttimmaa. 'Maybe he shot it.' maybe it shot

(52) Üū ha tokwisi üū miattaihwantu'ih? you Q really you go away-going to 'Are you really going to go away?'

(53) Hakani kiam mukuapa'i? what could mind-have 'What (kind of) a mind could he have?'
(54) Hakatü witsa ma tiyoi ūmatünna ekka?
who possibly it send away rain-0 this-0

-- Hakatü witsa tūnahakantü ma tiyoi
whoever possibly rheumatism-have it send away

ūmatünna ekka.
rain-0 this-0

'Who would possibly send the rain away?'
-- 'Whoever has rheumatism would send the rain away.'  [joke]

7.5 DELIMITERS

Delimiters are adverbs that explicitly indicate the scope of what is being talked about. They may restrict the scope of what is in focus or augment it (cf. 'only' versus 'also').

DELIMITERS

nanah 'just, only'
noo 'some, any' indefinite
pinna 'aforementioned'
pinnasu 'some more; again'
sampe 'some, any' indefinite
tunga ≈ tungwa 'also, too'
utuku ≈ utuu 'only, just'

Noo and sampe always occur in compounds with other stems, either interrogative or adverbial. In these compounds, noo always precedes the other stem, while sampe always follows it (e.g., noohakatün and hakatü sampe, both meaning 'someone, anyone, whoever' < hakatün 'who'; see 4.5 on indefinite pronouns for more examples). Nanah also apparently only occurs in compounds preceding other stems (e.g., nanahapantün
'intermingled' < kapan(tun) 'among'). I haven't recorded enough examples of the other delimiters to determine with any degree of certainty their normal positions of occurrence. In the examples I have, utuku occurs immediately before the entities in the sentence that it restricts in scope, while tunga occurs after the entities it augments in scope.

(55) Katütų sutų pinna? -- Katütų sutų. stay that aforementioned stay that 'The aforementioned stayed?' -- 'He stayed.'

(56) Pinnasu tammų piiya ponookwantu'ih. some more we(inc) beer fetch-go to 'We'll go get some more beer.'

(57) Nū tūpinippühantų, setū utuku pūū umanna. I woke up this just emph rain 'I woke up, and it was just raining!'

(58) Antsippu u ma'i mi'am'iappühantų, Angie her with went around kee sutų tunga pūesūn tunga? Numūppu ma'i tungwa. not that also already also Indian with also 'He went around with Angie, isn't that also so, also awhile back? He also was with Indians.'

7.6 INTENSIFIERS

Intensifiers amplify or diminish the effect of some constituent in the sentence, especially the verb or predicate.
INTENSIFIERS

kenümüni 'really, very'
kutaan ≈ kutaappuh 'really, very'
noosampe 'almost'
tataatsi(ttsi) 'a little (bit)'
tunaan 'too much, excessively, extremely'
tüpitsi 'truly, really, very'

Intensifiers tend to be positioned immediately before the verb (or stative predicate), as in 59-61. But, as 62 and 63 illustrate, they may be separated from the verb by the subject and other adverbial constituents.

(59) Nümmü na'ūma, sukkwuh nanümü kenümüni
we(exc) be rained on there relative really

na'ūmannu nümü.
be rained on we(exc)

'We were rained on, we relatives were really rained on there.'

(60) Nü küttaappuh üppükkommi.
I very sleep-result-iterative
'I'm very sleepy (for some reason).'

(61) Tataatsi nüekkinna. 'It's blowing a little.'
a little blow-hither

(62) Nü noosampe pasakung katu naaha.
I almost bridge at be-stv
'I am almost at the bridge.'
(63) Tunaa nüü tuupükka’ippühantū.
   extremely I get angry-iterative-past
   'I got extremely angry.'

(64) Sutu kūttaa yawüsū nangkawih.
    that really fast talk
    'She talks really fast.'

More examples of intensifiers are found in section 6.5 of the last chapter (e.g. 42-52).

7.7 EMPHATICS

Emphatics in Túmpisa are enclitic particles that express strong rhetorical emphasis about the constituents that they follow. They may indicate not only emphasis but also contrastiveness and insistence.

EMPHATICS

-nnu'u used with V, Adj
püü used with NP, N, Prn, Dem, clauses
ti used with N, Prn, Dem, Post
tsa used with N

How the emphatics differ from each other in meaning or function is not clear. In my data they do not all occur with the same kinds of constituents, but that may be due to a lacuna in the data. Examples of each of the emphatics are given in 65-75.

(65) Nüü ümmi wuppaihwá-nnu'u!
    I you-O slap emph
    'I'm going to slap you!'
(66) Tukumpanapi puhipi-nnu'u!  
sky blue emph  
'The sky is (really) blue!'  

(67) Tangummū utū pūū!  
man that emph  
'What about that man?' = 'And that man?'  

(68) Nūmmū pūū! 'What about us?' = 'And us?'  
we(exc) emph  

(69) Supe'e kaakki yütsükominna, usū pūū ukkwah!  
then crow fly-around that is emph time of  
'Then crow flew all around, that's how it was at that time!'  

(70) Satū sunni yukwitū naamnāa pūū!  
that that way do was emph  
'It really was that she would do (it) like that!'  

(71) Mūmmī appū ti utū satū!  
your(pl) father emph that that  
'That's you-all's father!'  

(72) U kuppan ti epe-tti sutū!  
her inside emph here-emph that  
'That was inside of her here!'  

(73) Nūmmū ti tūngā ni'appūhantu tūnaa āpe himpūka!  
we emph also went down there someplace  
'Ve also went down there someplace.'  

(74) Hakka no'apūkkangkūtai? -- Nūmī ti!  
whom impregnate-cmplt human-O emph  
'Who did he [a dog] get pregnant? -- 'A human!'
(75) Utümni sümni yüngünna punnam pii tsa,...  
them thus say to their own mother emph
'Their own mother said to them thus,...'

7.8 NEGATIVE, AFFIRMATIVE, AND INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES

Four adverbial particles have extremely important functions in the grammar of Tumpisa Shoshone, since they explicitly mark the crucial distinctions between negation, affirmation, and interrogation.

- **Kee** ≈ **Ke** general negative 'no(t), don't, didn't'
- **Haa'a** general affirmative 'yes, right'
- **Ahaa** general agreement 'uh-huh, right'
- **Ha** general interrogative

*Kee* appears in all negative clauses, with a long vowel if emphatic or a short vowel if unemphatic. *Haa'a* marks explicit affirmation of a proposition, and both *haa'a* and *ahaa* mark explicit agreement with other discourse participants. *Ha* is used in questions requiring a *haa'a* 'yes' or *kee* 'no' answer.

The general negative particle, *kee*, has already been discussed and illustrated in chapter 2 (section 2.3.1), but a little more is said about it here. When *kee* negates the entire clause, it typically occurs in second position following the subject (e.g., 76-81) or another adverbial (e.g., 82). If a constituent that normally does not occur in initial position is fronted to the beginning of the sentence, like the direct object in 83, then the negative particle appears further towards the middle of the sentence, after both the fronted constituent and the subject.

(76) Nū ke ti'iwasinna. 'I'm not afraid.'
I not be afraid-neg
(77) Nu kee mi'asuwatsi. 'I don't want to go.'
I not go-want-neg

(78) Nu kee a punisi. 'I don't see it.'
I not it see-neg

(79) Nu kee sukkwa punitu. 'I didn't see that.'
I not that-0 see-hab

(80) Tuttsappuh kee keetüttsinna.
dirt not disappear-neg
'The dirt won't come off.'

(81) Sutungku kee teewingküttsinna etū un natapu.
those(dl) not tell this her uncle
'Those two, she and her uncle, didn't tell (her).'

(82) Nootunga ke u kuttisippuh.
maybe not it shoot-neg-perf
'Maybe he didn't shoot it.'

(83) Akka tangummi nū kee tsao suwangkunna.
that-O man-O I not well feel [= like]
'That man I don't like.'

The negative particle may occur in clause-initial position under a number of circumstances. For example, when subjects are postposed to the end of the clause as in 84 and 85, kee is normally initial. When subjects have been elided, then kee stands in initial position, as in the imperative in 88, or when the subjects are old information (e.g., 89 and 90). And finally, kee occasionally occurs in initial position without any obvious reason (e.g., 86 and 87); perhaps in such cases it is emphatic.
(84) Kee namokkuppuhkantu satu.
*not money-have that*
'He doesn't have any money.'

(85) Kee mi'asinna sutu, sekkiih sutu.
*not go-neg that here that*
'He didn't go, he's here.'

(86) Kee nuu naa iyangwipitta pusikwatu.
*not I handgame-0 know-hab*
'I don't know (how to play) handgame.'

(87) Kee nuu nangka pusikwa.
*not I hear understand*
'I don't understand (what I) hear.'

(88) Kee so'o nangkawihontu'ih!
*not so much talk-indef-fut*
'Don't talk so much!'

(89) Ke u punishappuhantu. '*He) didn't see it.*
*not it see-neg-stv-past*

(90) Nummu sape namiangkutaippuhantu
*we(exc) there were sent*

    kee nangkawitu ukkah kee mitukkaannangkawitu
    *not speak-hab when not English-speak-hab*

    ukkah, himpuka puu.
    *when somewhere emph*

'We were sent there, there someplace, when (we) didn't speak, when (we) didn't speak English.'
Tense and aspect marking on verbs in negative clauses is somewhat different from that in declaratives. There is a strong tendency for verbs in negative clauses to take either the negative adverbial suffix -sin (~ -tsin) or the final habitual suffix -tun (e.g., the sentences in 76-82, 85-86, and 89-90; see 3.1.1 on tense and aspect verb suffixes and 3.1.3 on adverbial verb suffixes). Verbs with -sin (~ -tsin) alone or with -sin (~ -tsin) plus the general aspect and tense suffix -nna are interpreted as past or present imperfect, meaning that the activity denoted by the verb has not occurred yet (e.g., 76-78, 80-81, and 85). However, if -sin (~ -tsin) is followed by the perfective suffix -ppuh or by the past tense suffix -ppuhantun, then of course the interpretation is completive or past (e.g., 82 and 89). Verbs in negative clauses with (declarative) habitual -tun typically are interpreted as past tense (!) rather than habitual (e.g., 79), although they may have a habitual interpretation, given the appropriate context (e.g., 86).

Nevertheless, despite the tendency for verbs in negative clauses to take -sin (~ -tsin) or -tun, they are not obliged to do so (e.g., 87 and 88).

When kee negates a particular constituent within the clause, it occurs immediately before it, as in 91-93. In fact, in many constructions of this kind kee has been lexicalized, forming compounds with following stems (e.g., 92 and 93; see also the many compounds listed in the Tumpisa Dictionary (Dayley 1989) under kee.

(91) Satü kee nüümahontu wunnu.
  that not moving stand-dur
  'He's standing (still), not moving.'

(92) Keehiippuh tsoapittsi.
  no-thing ghost
  'There are no ghosts.' = 'Ghosts are nothing.'
The affirmative particles haa' a and ahaa apparently always occur in sentence initial position, as illustrated in 94-97.

(94) Haa'a, nüü naaiyangwipitta pusikwatü.  
yes I handgame-O know  
'Yes, I know (how to play) handgame.'

(95) "Haa'a," mii ningwünü an nawiammü.  
yes quot say(pl) her girls  
"Yes," her girls said.'

(96) Haa'a, nüü sukkwa tünakappühantü.  
yes I that-O tasted  
'Yes, I tasted that.'

uh-huh say(pl) those

The interrogative particle ha virtually always occurs in second position in the sentence, as an enclitic typically after the subject (e.g., 98-103), but also after any other constituent in initial position, such as the adverb in 104 (see other interrogative sentences containing ha in 2.3.2, 108-116).

(98) Sutü ha ún tukkwa? 'Is it under you?'  
that Q you under

(99) Sutü ha kahni pa'a? 'Is it on the house?'  
that Q house on
ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

(100) Üu ha ütünna? 'Are you hot?'
     you Q be hot

(101) Satūmmū ha taona ka míaakkwantu'ih?
     those Q town to go-will
     'Are they going to town?'

(102) Mungku ha pungki punikkammaa?
     you(dl) Q horse-O saw
     'Did you two see the horse?'

(103) Mūmmū ha namo'okoitsoimmaa?
     you(pl) Q hand-washed
     'Did you all wash your hands?'

(104) Epi ha üm pinnangkwa? 'Is it here behind you?'
     here Q you behind

In questions, the past tense suffix -mmaah is used on verbs
much more frequently than the other past tense suffix
-ppuhantun, which is more common in declaratives.

7.9 INTERJECTIONS AND GREETINGS

As their name indicates, Interjections interject or
intrude into the discourse, and they normally express emotion.
They are usually isolated syntactically from other words and
phrases that may precede or follow them.

INTERJECTIONS

aa ≈ oo       'Oh'
ahaa          'Uh-huh'
ataa ≈ atatata 'Ouch!'
≈ attūttūtū   'Ouch!'
asatsaa ≈ üūtsaa 'Nasty! Awful!'
awisu  'Wait!'
ec   'Eh!'
haa  'Huh?'
husuutuu  'Wow! Amazing!'
tunaan  'Too much! That's going too far!'
unnuu  'Yuck! Disgusting! Danger! Watch out!'
yawu(su)  'Hurry up!'

Despite the fact that they may be unconnected syntactically, many interjections are important discourse markers or signals that play an indispensable role in maintaining interaction in conversations (see 10.6).

Greetings are formulaic expressions used in stereotypical situations. They are often grammatically irregular or defective in some way. Some greetings and their respective possible responses follow.

GREETINGS

(105) Hakaniyu?
be how

-- Tsawinnuh.
be good

'How is it (going)?' = 'Hi! Hello!' 'It's o.k.'

(106) Hakaniyu uù? ≈ ūu hakaniyu puù?
be how you you be how emph

-- Nuu tsao nasungkwa'anna.
I well feel

-- Nuu tsawinnuh.
I be good
'How are you?'
-- 'I feel fine.'
-- 'I'm good.'

(107) Tsao túpuninna!
well wake up

-- Nüü tsao hapinnusi.
I well lay

-- Nüü tsao üppünnusi.
I well slept

'Wake up well!' = 'Good morning!'  
-- 'I lay well.'
-- 'I slept well.'

(108) Kattü'ihantü!
sit-dur-iterative-stv
'(Come in and) sit awhile!'  
[said when someone is approaching house]

(109) Nüü mi'akwantu'ih
I go-going to
'I'm going to go away.' = 'Goodbye.'

(110) Nüü noohimpe üm puninnuhi.
I always you-o see-will
'I'll always see you.' = 'See you (later).'

(111) Ün nangkian nuhuttsi!
your ear's fat-diminutive
'Little fat of your ear!' = 'Thank you!'
The expression for 'thank you' (111) is primarily used in Nevada, although known in Death Valley. The greeting about the ghost (112) is primarily used among men—as one might surmise.

A few other more or less formulaic expressions are given in 113-122. They are important expressions about naming and calling.

(113) a. Hakami natüppiniahantu satü?
   how be called that
   'What's that called?'

   b. "Tapettsi" natüppiniahantu.
   sun be called
   'It's called "sun".'

(114) a. Etü hakami natüppiniahantu?
   this how be called
   'What's this called?'

   b. Etü "piiya" natüppiniahantu.
   this beer be called
   'This is called "beer".'

(115) a. Hakami natüppiniahantu mitükkaano?
   how be called English
   'What's it called in English?'

   b. Coke natüppiniahantu. 'It's called "Coke".'
   be called
(116) a. Hakami natüppinniahantü house?
    how    be called
    'How do they say "house"?'

    b. "Kahni" natüppinniahantü.
        house    be called
        'It's called "house".'

(117) a. Hakami nihakantü?       'What's its name?'
    how    name-have

    b. "Mokottsi" nihakantü.  'Its name is "bag".'
        bag    name-have

(118) a. Hakami nihakantü setü?
    how    name-have this
    'What's this one's name?'

    b. "Paa" nihakantü.  'Its name is "water".'
        water    name-have

(119) a. Hakami naniyahantü?  'How is it named?'
    how    be named

    b. "Tapettsi" naniyahantü.  'It's named "sun".'
        sun    be named

(120) a. Uü hakami natüppinniahantü?
    you    how    be called
    'What're you called?'

    b. Nüü Jon natüppinnianna.  'I'm called "Jon".'
        I    be called
c. Nuu summi natupinniahantu "Memmi".
   I thus be called Mamie
   'I'm called "Mamie".'

(121) a. Uu hakami nihakantu? 'What's your name?'
    you how name-have

b. Nuu "Memmi" nihakantu. 'My name is "Mamie".'
    I Mamie name-have

(122) a. Hakami naniyahantu uu? 'What are you named?'
    how be named you

b. Nuu summi naniyahanna Jon. 'I'm named "Jon".'
    I thus be named

Note to Chapter 7

1. One might expect forms like *sipe'e and *sepe'e for 'this time', but they do not occur. For 'this time' one could say supe'e miikkâ, literally 'that time now'.
Up to this point I have been discussing words, phrases, and simple sentences, but have avoided mentioning more complex syntactic constructions. This chapter is about sentences composed of more than one clause. Section 8.1 is on the coordination of clauses and phrases, and section 8.2 on the subordination of one clause to another.

8.1 COORDINATION

Coordination is the connection or conjoining of two or more grammatical elements of the same type in order to form a larger constituent of the same kind. For example, two or more sentences may be conjoined to form a larger sentence; similarly, noun phrases may be conjoined, forming larger noun phrases, and verb phrases may be connected to form larger verb phrases. Normally, constituents of different kinds are not conjoined. Coordination may take place without any conjunctions (8.1.1), or it may be overtly marked by coordinating conjunctions (see 8.1.2).

8.1.1 Parataxis (Asyndetic Coordination)

Conjoining constituents without the use of coordinating conjunctions is called parataxis or, sometimes, asyndetic coordination. It is typical in Tumpisa Shoshone when whole sentences or clauses are conjoined (e.g., 1-10).
(1) Nüü isapaippūa punikkappuhantu, nü kammuttsia
I coyote-O saw I jackrabbit-O
punikkappuhantu.
saw
'I saw a coyote, (and) I saw a jackrabbit.'

(2) Nüü nukkwintūm pa'a mi'appuhantu,
I train on went
nū yūtsūtūm pa'a mi'appuhantu.
I plane on went
'I have ridden on a train, (and) I have ridden on a plane.'

(3) Tammū ningwūnnū, tammū hupiatūkī,
we(inc) talk(pl)(dur) we sing
tammū pīya hipitu'ih, tammū neeyangwitu'ih.
we beer drink-will we play handgame-will
'We are talking, we are singing, we'll drink beer, (and) we'll play handgame.'

(4) Nüü nū summō'a tsakkwayuppaitu'ih, nü
I my clothes take off(pl)-will I
wūmmanniyuntu'ih.
be naked-will
'I'll take off my clothes, (and) I'll be naked.'
(5) Tangumū nū tsitoohippūhantū, nū supe 'e hapikku.
man me pushed I then fell
'The man pushed me, (and) then I fell.'

(6) Nūu muiyaitaippūhantū, nū keehinna
I got drunk-cmplt I nothing-O
sumpanaippūhantū.
knew
'I got completely drunk, (and) I didn't know
anything.'

(7) Setū kuttaappū huuyaippūh, setū üppūtaippūh.
this really drunk this asleep-cmplt
'This one's really drunk; he's completely asleep.'

(8) Nū sekka ukwikka, tsao kwannakkinna.
I this-O smell good smell
'I smelled this, (and) it smells good.'

(9) Pūesū sape'esū númmū pungkupaimmippūhantū,
long ago that time we(exc) horse-have-used to
númmū putisih pungkupaimmippūhantū.
we(exc) donkey pet-have-used to
'Long ago at that time we used to have horses,
(and) we used to have donkeys.'

(10) "Noo mi'a antappu, noo mi'a, kee kahni ka
should go else(where) should go not house at
katūkkantū!" mii u yūngkūnna.
stay quot him tell
"You should go elsewhere, you should go, (and)
don't stay around the house!" he told him.

Despite the fact that there are no coordinating conjunctions connecting them, clauses which are conjoined paratactically are easily distinguished from a series of sentences. When sentences occur in a string (unconjoined), the end of each one is marked by falling intonation and usually a short pause of about a second, or even longer if there is a change of topic. Intonation remains even on conjoined clauses until the end of the last conjunct, and little or no pause occurs between the coordinated clauses.1

In statements like those in 1-10, asyndetic coordination has essentially the same semantic function as the English conjunction 'and'. However, in questions composed of clauses coordinated asyndetically, alternatives are implied, much like clauses connected with exclusive 'or' in English.

(11) ūmī ha petū sutū, pūnnahepi asū petū?
your Q daughter that wife's that is daughter
'Is she your daughter, (or) is it that she's your wife's daughter?'

(12) Sammatū ha yuwaintū, ūitsū'intū
that particular Q be warm be cold
kee yuwaintū?
not be warm

'Is that particular one warm, or is he cold, not warm?'

The coordination of verbs, stative predicates, and whole verb phrases is almost exclusively accomplished by means of parataxis. For example, in 13-22, verb phrases of varying complexity are coordinated: in 13 a predicate adjective and a
stative verb, in 14 a predicate noun phrase and a predicate adjective, in 15-16 two verbs, in 17 three object-incorporating verbs, and in 18-22 a number of other kinds of more complex verb phrases.

(13) Nüü tamminoippuh ûtûînna. 'I'm tired and hot.'
    I tired be hot

(14) Satu tûtsûppûtû númü tuuppûppûh. 'That one's a bad Indian and cruel (too).'
    that bad Indian cruel

(15) Nü hipikkamanna hapinnûmû. 'I have a hangover and am lying around.'
    I drink-be sick lie-around

(16) Nüü nûmmikkinuippûhu ûntù puninnuippûhu ûnantù. 'I walked around and looked around.'
    I walked-moving saw-moving

(17) Nüü kapaayûpa'e isapungkupa'e nattû pungkupa'e. 'I have horse, have a dog, and have a cat.'
    I horse-have dog-have cat pet-have

(18) Tsao nasungkwa'atû petsûnûna. 'He's feeling good and yelling.'
    good feel yell

(19) Noowitsa noong katû u pantù nangkawih. 'Hopefully, he'll sit awhile and talk about it.'
    hopefully awhile sit it about talk

(20) Tangumû kunnanna tokkopiinna u wükkatûngkunna. 'The man is chopping firewood and stacking it.'
    man firewood-0 chop(pl) it stack
(21) Nümmü supa'e tüpanna hannitü sakkuhontü, we(exc) that time pinenut-o gather-hab thereabouts tüpanna tükkatü tüpanna nomo'enna. pinenut-o eat-hab pinenut-o pick

'We used to gather pinenuts thereabouts, used to eat pinenuts and pick pinenuts.'

(22) Nümmü sukkwa tükkatü, u tusukkwantü, tükkatü. we(exc) that-o eat-hab it smash-hab eat-hab 'We used to eat that, smash (it) and eat it.'

Occasionally, noun phrases are also coordinated paratactically, as 'Tony and John' in 23, the birds in 24, and 'this one and her uncle' in 25. More typically, however, noun phrases are conjoined with conjunctions (see 8.1.2).

(23) Toni Tsanu nummi taanoo'ippuhantu. Tony John us(exc) visit-go around 'Tony and John came around, visiting us.'

(24) Sûmüsü mia'ommü atü himpü antsaaapanappuh, atü all go-pl that some flicker that kaakki, tukopoyo'ittsi; sûmüsü kasattsikantü crow kingbird all bird mia'ommü. go-pl

'Everyone went, that flicker, that crow, and kingbird; all the birds went.'
(25) Hipittsitssi utū mi'a taamiamaa u kammannuha
old lady that go visit-go her was sick-sub
okkwah, u kappinnangkwa katū ukkwah sutungku
when it outside sit when those two
kee teewingkūnna etū un natapu.
not tell this her uncle

'An old lady went and visited her [= girl] when she
[= girl] was sick, and when she [= old lady] was
sitting outside, those two, this one [= girl] and
her uncle, wouldn't tell her [= old lady] about
it.'

Even interrogatives may be coordinated without
conjunctions, as in 26.

(26) Himpe hakapayuntu'ih?
when be where-will
'When and where would it be?'

8.1.2 Syndetic Coordination

**Syndetic coordination** is the joining of two or more
constituents of the same kind with coordinating conjunctions.
The coordinating conjunctions that I have recorded are listed
below. The kinds of constituents conjoined by each
conjunction are indicated to the right of their translations.

**COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Constituents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma'e = ma'i</td>
<td>'and, with'</td>
<td>NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n (... ma'e)</td>
<td>'and'</td>
<td>NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunga = tungwa</td>
<td>'and, but, also, either'</td>
<td>clauses, NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunga... ma'e</td>
<td>'and'</td>
<td>NPs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ma'e (~ mali) is the comitative postposition as well as a conjunction (see section 5.3). These two closely related functions and meanings are not always separable (e.g., 27 and 28). However, semantics and discourse context often make clear which interpretation is most likely. For example, in 29 and 30 the comitative interpretation is highly unlikely, if not impossible, and in 31 it is precluded altogether. As far as I know, ma'e is only used with noun phrases.

(27) Nüü tangummü ma'e wasuwükikwantu'ih.
I man and/with hunt-going to
'The man and I are going to hunt.'

= 'I'm going to hunt with the man.'

(28) Nüü wa'ippu ma'e mi'akoppuhantu.
I woman and/with went around
'The woman and I went around.'

= 'I went around with the woman.'

(29) Nüü müattsia punikkappühantü tatslumpim ma'e.
I moon-Q saw star and
'I could see the moon and stars.'

(30) Nummu tühuya yukwikwantu'ih wasuppim ma'e.
we(exc) deer get-going to mt. sheep and
'We're going to get deer and mountain sheep.'
(31) Nūmmū sapetti namiangkūtaippūhantu,
we(exc) there were sent

wahattu niam pūnūnum ma'e nū namiangkūppūhantu
two my cousins and I were sent

sapettu natiingwakkatu.
there school-to

'Ve were sent there, my two cousins and I were sent there to school.'

The conjunction n has been borrowed from the short form of English 'and'; it is used to conjoin noun phrases, as in 32-34. Sometimes n is used along with ma'e (e.g., 34); in this regard, n and ma'e surround the conjunct noun phrase.

(32) Antsi n Tepi taona ka mi'akwa.
Angie and Debbie town to went
'Angie and Debbie went to town.'

(33) Aputtu, Tseeikkì, n Noitù wainniha hipimminna.
Albert Jake and Lloyd wine-O drink-hab
'Albert, Jake, and Lloyd always drink wine.'

(34) Antsi n Tepi ma'i miakoppūhantu.
Angie and Debbie with went around
'Angie and Debbie went around.'

Perhaps the most commonly used coordinating conjunction is tūnga. It conjoins either whole clauses, as in 35-39, or noun phrases, as in 40-45. Although the more usual meanings of tūnga are 'and' or 'also', it may also mean 'but', given a contrastive context like that in 37.
(35) Nüü isapaippua punikkappühantü túnga
I coyote-O saw and
kammuttsia punikkappühantü nüü.
jackrabbit-O saw I
'I saw a coyote, and I saw a jackrabbit.'

(36) Nüü núetünna nangkahappühantü túnga úmatünna
I wind-O heard and rain-O
nangkahappühantü üppühantukwa.
heard sleep-stv-sub
'I heard the wind, and I heard the rain when I was sleeping.'

(37) Kee sumpanaitsimmaa sammatü túnga
not knew that particular one but
mi'akwantu'ippühantü nangkatü Palinna ma'i.
go-fut-past hear-sub Pauline with
'That particular one didn't know, but she could have gone with Pauline if she had heard.'

(38) Etü utummin pia u punikka setü, sümüttü naipi
this their mother it see this one girl
tunga u punikka supe epa ke tamangkantu ekkih.
and it see there here not tooth-have here
'This one, their mother, saw it, and one girl saw it that he didn't have a tooth here.'
Sentences 38 and 39 are taken from the "Coyote's Daughters" story in chapter 10. They both illustrate the fact that tunga doesn't necessarily have to occur exactly between the clauses it conjoins. In 38 it appears after the subject of the second clause, and in 39 it appears after the object and verb of the second clause, but before the subject.

The sentences in 40-42, containing conjoined noun phrases, also illustrate some facts about tunga and word order. When joining two noun phrases, tunga may appear either before or after the second one. For example, in 40 tunga appears before the second noun phrase, while in 41 it appears after the second one. When there are more than two conjuncts, as in 42, tunga usually appears between each of them.2

(40) Nüü isapaippüä punikkappühantü tunga kammuttsi(a).  
I coyote-0 saw and jackrabbit(-0)  
'I saw a coyote and a jackrabbit.'

(41) Sutu tühüya kuttipühantü pahamittsi(a) tunga.  
that deer shot bear(-0) and  
'He shot a deer and a bear.'

(42) Apütü tunga Noltü tunga Tseekki sutümmü  
Albert and Lloyd and Jake those  
wainniha hipimminna.  
wine-0 drink-hab
'Albert and Lloyd and Jake, they always drink wine.'

When object noun phrases are conjoined, the second conjunct normally follows the verb, as in 40-41 and 43-45, probably because of the nature of conjunction reduction. Conjoined object constructions seem to be formed by reducing whole conjoined clauses directly. For example, 40 is a reduced form of 35, and 45 is a reduced version of 36. The second verb phrase is omitted in each case. The object conjuncts after the verb need not be in the objective case, however, as the case markers in parentheses in 40-41 indicate.

When tunga is used to coordinate noun phrases, it is often paired with ma'e. As seen in 43-45, tunga and ma'e surround the last noun phrase conjunct.

(43) Nummû tühuya yükwikwantu'ih tunga wasuppim ma'e.
we(exc) deer get-going to and mt. sheep with
'We're going to get deer and mountain sheep.'

(44) Nûu müattaia punikkappühantü tunga tatiumpim ma'e.
I moon-O saw and star with
'I could see the moon and stars.'

(45) Nûu nüetunna nangkahappühantü tunga umatum ma'e
I wind-O heard and rain with
uppuihantukwa.
sleep-stv-sub
'I heard the wind and rain when I was sleeping.'

The only coordinating conjunction used to join verb phrases is sünanum. As noted above (8.1), typically verbs and verb phrases are coordinated without the use of conjunctions.
(46) Tupitsi yuhukantu sutu plantu sunaasu tu'uppuh.
really fat that big and also mean
'He's really fat, big and also mean.'

(47) Sutu pasampu tühütsi nümükantu sunaasu
that skinny little body-have and also
kee ookantu.
not strong [= weak]
'He's skinny, has a little body, and is also weak.'

The conjuncts of the coordinated construction need not be adjacent to each other. For example, in 46 the subject sutu intervenes between one of the coordinated verb phrases and the other two.

Although wihnu '(and/so) then' is normally used to connect ideas in discourse, not syntactic constituents per se, a number of examples have been recorded where it seems that wihnu is used as a clausal conjunction, as in 48-49.

(48) Tangummu tühüya pakkappuhuntu, sutu wihnu
man deer killed that then
tiyaihwappuhuntu.
died
'The man killed the deer, so then it died.'

(49) Sope katünminna sutu, wihnu u ma'i üppüihantu.
there stay that then him with sleep
'There she stayed, and then she slept with him.'

For examples of wihnu in its more normal function as a discourse connective, and for examples of other discourse
connectives like *senu* 'therefore, after all', see the texts in chapter 10.

8.2 SUBORDINATION

Subordination is the embedding of one sentence (or clause) in another, larger one, usually called the superordinate sentence (or clause). If the superordinate clause itself is not further embedded in a still larger one, then it is called the main clause. Subordinate (= embedded) clauses may function in a variety of ways: they may serve as adverbials in adverbial clauses (see 8.2.1); they may modify nouns in relative or adjectival clauses (see 8.2.2), and they may function in much the same way as noun phrases in complement clauses (see 8.2.3).

Like most other Uto-Aztecan languages, Tümpisa Shoshone distinguishes between subordinate clauses with identical (subject) reference and those with switch (subject) reference. In identical reference, the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause; or, in the case of relative clauses, the subject of the relative clause is the same as the referent of the noun phrase in the superordinate clause being modified by the relative clause. The subject does not overtly appear in the subordinate clause, since it is coreferential with the subject or modified noun phrase of the superordinate clause.

In switch reference, the subject of the subordinate clause is not the same as the subject or modified noun phrase of the superordinate clause (although in some cases the two may partially overlap in reference), so the subject overtly appears in the subordinate clause, but with special marking. Subjects of switch reference clauses are not in the subjective case; rather, they are in either the objective or possessive case. Compare the examples in 50-51: the sentences in 50a and 51a contain subordinate clauses with identical reference,
while the sentences in 50b and 51b contain subordinate clauses with switch reference.4

(50) a. Noohakatu nia toppaiippušantu [hipittaisi].
somebody me knocked around be drunk-sub
'Somebody knocked me around, while (he was) drunk.'

b. Noohakatu nia toppaiippušantu [nia hipittaiha].
somebody me knocked around me be drunk-sub
'Somebody knocked me around when I was drunk.'

(51) a. Nuu kapaayu punikkappušantu [tūkkakatutu ukkwah].
I horse saw eat-sit-sub
when
'I saw the horse when (I was) sitting eating.'

b. Nuu kapaayu punikkappušantu [u tūkkaku].
I horse saw it-o eat-sub
'I saw the horse (when it was) eating.'

The subordinate clauses in 50a and 51a contain no overt subjects, since they are the same as the subjects of the main clause in each case. In 50a the subject of the subordinate clause is understood to be coreferential with noohakatu, and in 51a the subject of the subordinate clause is understood to be coreferential with nuu. The subordinate clauses in 50b and 51b have overt subjects, nia in 50b and n in 51b, but they are in the objective case.

Subordination is typically marked with suffixes on the verb of the subordinate clause (e.g., -su in 50a, -ha in 50b, -tū in 51a, and -ku in 51b), and only rarely with subordinating conjunctions or complementizers. The set of
subordinating suffixes is given below. Most of the suffixes
are normally used only in identical reference or switch
reference clauses, but not in both. Which kind of clause each
suffix occurs in is indicated in the list. A few have
different kinds of subject reference in different kinds of
subordinate clauses. With switch reference markers, the case
of the subordinate clause subject is indicated.

**SUBORDINATING VERB SUFFIXES**

-ka ≈ -kka ≈ -ha temporal 'when, after'
  (switch ref, subj in obj or poss case)
-ku contemporative 'when, while'
  (switch ref, subj in obj case)
-kwa temporal 'when, after'
  (switch ref, subj in obj case)
-mmì intentional
  (identical and switch ref)
-nna infinitive
  (switch ref in relative clauses with subj in poss
case; identical ref in others)
-ppüh past participle
  (switch ref, subj in poss case)
-sìn ≈ tsìn sequential
  (identical ref)
-sù ≈ -tsù resultive 'as a result of, from'
  (identical ref)
-tùn present participle
  (switch reference in complement clauses with subj in
obj case; identical ref in others)
-tukwa conditional 'if' and temporal 'when'
  (identical ref)

Usually, subordinating suffixes are used in lieu of the final
suffixes (3.1.1), but occasionally they follow them. In some
cases the subordinating suffixes are identical with final
suffixes (e.g., -nna, -ppuh, -tun), but as subordinators their meanings may differ somewhat, and of course their functions are different. In general, subordinate verbs display less suffixation with aspect, tense, mode, and adverbial suffixes than do main verbs (see sections 3.1.1 through 3.1.3).

8.2.1 Adverbial Clauses

Several of the suffixes above are used in time adverbial clauses. Both of the switch reference suffixes -ka (≈ -kka ≈ -ha) and -kwa mark clauses in which the activity of the subordinate clause begins before that of the superordinate clause, although it may continue on and be simultaneous with the superordinate activity. How the two suffixes differ in meaning or function is not clear. Compare the examples in 52 and 53, which have subordinate clauses in -ka ≈ -ha, with those in 54-57, which have subordinate clauses in -kwa. Examples 25 and 50b also have clauses with -ha (≈ -ka).

(52) Nümmü [tatsa naakkiha] nümmü supe toya we(exc) summer get-sub we there mountain

mantu mi'a.
to go

'When [= after] it gets summer, we go there to the mountains.'

(53) Sukkwa tüttsüppüh suwangkünna [tsüattamappüa that-O bad feel [= dislike] cop-O

pittuhungka] wihnu.
arrive-sub then

'She didn't like that when the cop came, then.'
(54) Nüü satuhī nangkaha [hupiatūki:kwa].
I those(dl)-O hear-stv sing-sub
'I hear those two singing.'

(55) Nüü tūhūyanna u pakkappūhantū [u tūkkawanū:kwa].
I deer-O it killed it eat-stand-sub
'I killed the deer as it was standing eating.'

(56) Tangumū tūhūya kuttih [u nukwikwa].
man deer shoot it-o run-sub
'The man shot the deer as it was running.'

(57) Hipittsittsi sūmmi yūkkwi, "[Utummi pitūkkangkwa]
old lady thus say(dur) those-O arrive-sub
pūe tammin tūpanna nayaatu'ippüh." already our pinenut-O be taken-will-perf
'The old lady says, "After they arrive, our pinenuts will already have been taken."'

The switch reference suffix -ku marks time clauses in which the activity is simultaneous with that of the main verb. Frequently, time clauses in -ku are also marked with ukkwa'h 'when' (e.g., 60), apparently the only subordinating conjunction. Ukkwa'h is also used in main clauses, but it means 'then' rather than 'when' (see texts in chapter 10).

(58) [Umaku] tammū kahni kuppa weekikkwantu'ih.
rain-sub we(inc) house in enter(pl)-going to
'When it rains, we're going to go in the house.'

(59) Puhakantūn puuhawanā [üng kammaku].
shaman cure you-O be sick-sub
'The shaman cures you when you're sick.'
(60) U petsingkunna ūmatūnna u petsingkunna sukkwa
    it holler at rain-O it holler at that-O

    [nūmmi miaku ukkwah], [ūtūngku ukkwah].
    us(exc) go-sub when be hot-sub when

    'He hollered at the rain, he hollered at it when
       we were going, when it was hot.'

(61) Wa'impuu ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwūmmmaa
    woman-O that-O somewhere caught

    utū pāhamittsi utū [hakamaanna u nuwiku
    that bear that someplace her wander-sub

    toya ma] nuotūnga.
    mountain on maybe

    'A bear caught a woman somewhere, maybe when
       she was wandering in the mountains someplace.'

As the examples in 52-61 illustrate, time clauses may be
embedded at the beginning (e.g., 57 and 58) or end (e.g.,
54-56 and 59-61) of the superordinate clause, or even in the
middle (e.g., 52 and 53). This freedom of position is typical
of adverbial clauses in general.

The identical reference suffix -sin = -tsin marks
subordinate clauses whose activity happens in sequence before
that of the main clause. Usually some sort of loosely defined
causal relationship between the activities in the two clauses
is implied.

(62) Uu upenisu tsao naakkwapūhantu [nanattusu'uwasi].
    you quickly well became self-medicate-sub
    'You got well quickly after medicating yourself.'
(63) Kapaayu himping ko’inna [tokowai ti’i'iwahwatsi].
horse backwards go back snake-O be afraid of-sub
'The horse backed up, as it was afraid of a snake.'

(64) Nuū [ohipitta kwūusi] ohiinna.
I cold-O catch-sub cough
'I cough when [after] I catch a cold.'

(65) [Tūtsūppūh u nangkasuwangkūnnusi]
bad it hear-feel about-sub [= dislike]
setū wihnu yakaimmaa.
this then cried
'She then cried, as she didn't like hearing it.'

The present participle suffix -tūn forms time (participial) clauses with identical reference whose activities normally begin prior to the activity of the main clause and then overlap with it. Identical reference time clauses formed with -tūn seem to carry much the same meaning and perform the same function as switch reference clauses formed with -ka (= -kka = -hā). Examine the sentences in 66-69 and 71.

(66) Nuū [toyapim ma nuwitu] tunaa notoppahe.
I mountain on roaming down climb
'Walking around on the mountain, I climbed down.'

(67) U pakkatai satūmmū [u kimмangkūntū].
him killed those him chasing
'They killed him while chasing him.'
Nummu sape namiangkutaippuhantu [ke nangkawitu we(exc) there were sent not speaking ukkwah], [kee mitukkaannangkawitu ukkwah].

when not English-speaking when

'We were sent there not speaking, not speaking English.'

Isapaippu [pange miatu u tu] tiyaitaihwappuh, coyote up going it through died
kee paappuhpare takuttiyaitaithwa [petsummiatu].
not water-have thirst-died hollering

'Going up through there, Coyote died; he didn't have any water; he died of thirst, hollering.'

Tukwa forms identical reference time clauses whose activities usually begin before those of the superordinate clause and then overlap with it, much like clauses in -tun. Time clauses in -tukwa seem to parallel switch reference clauses formed with -kwa. Look at the examples in 70-72 (also in 36 and 45).

Hupiatukinna setumm [naaiyangwitukwa].

sing these play handgame-sub
'They sing when playing handgame.'

[Naaiyangwitukwa] nuu nakwaattaippuhantu.

play handgame-sub I lost
'When I played handgame, I lost.'
(72) Nummu na‘umammippuhantu [miatu ukkwah], nummu we(exc) were rained on going when we
[pungku pa'a miatukwa], [putisih pa'a miatukwa].
horse on go-sub donkey on go-sub

'We were rained on while going, when we were going on horses, and when we were going on donkeys.'

Despite the existence of the various subordinating time adverbial suffixes, a number of time clauses have been recorded without subordinating suffixes, although they are marked as time clauses with ukkwah (= okkwah) 'when'. For example, 73a and 73b are variants having the same meaning. Both contain time clauses with finite or nonsubordinate verbs. In 73a, even the subject sutu of the time clause is in the subjective case. In 74, the subordinate verb does not have a subordinating suffix or any suffix at all, but its subject tammi is in the objective case.

(73) a. Tonia nuü nasuntama [munangkwa okkwah
Tony-O I remember last year when
sekkih nuippuhantu sutu].
here played around that

a. Tonia nuü nasuntama [okkwah sekkih
Tony-O I remember when here
nuippuhantu sekkih munangkwa okkwah].
played around here last year when

'I remember Tony when he played around here last year.'
Conditional clauses are closely related to time clauses. Thus, switch reference conditional clauses are marked with -ka \( \approx -k\text{ka} \approx -\text{ha} \) (e.g., 75-76), and identical reference conditional clauses are marked with -tukwa (e.g., 77-80). Conditional clauses are not always distinguishable from time clauses; for example, the subordinate clause in 75 could be interpreted as either a time clause or a conditional. Most cases, however, are made clear by the discourse context or by the affixation on the superordinate verb. Spoken in a context where the speaker had no money, 77 could only be interpreted as a conditional (but in another context it might have been interpreted to mean 'When I have money, I am drunk'). Sentences 76, 78, and 79 can only be conditional, since the superordinate verbs have the dubitative irrealis suffix -hi, forcing a conditional interpretation of the subordinate clause.

(75) [Pinnasu Tonia pittunnuha] tamm\(\text{u} \) hipittainna.
Again Tony-O arrive-sub we(inc) get drunk
'If/when Tony comes again, we'll get drunk.'

(76) [Memmia un tiyoitaiha pu\(\text{u} \)] nuu m\(\text{i}'ahippuh pu\(\text{u} \)!
Mamie-O you-O send-sub emph I go-unreal emph
'If you send Mamie away, I might go!'
(78) [Ukkwah nüü etumpa'intukwa] nüü
    if I gun-have-sub I

wasůwůkkikwahippuh, nüü kee etůppuhpa'e půů.
    hunt-go-unreal-perf I not gun-have emph

'If I had a gun, I'd go hunting, but I don't have a gun.'

(79) [Nüü pusikwatukwa] nüü naaiyangwihippuh.
    I know-sub I play handgame-unreal-perf

'If I knew how, I'd play handgame.'

(80) [Sosoni nůmûnangkawitukwa] nüü kee
    Shoshone Indian-speak-sub I not

sennukwisippuh.
    this way-do-neg-perf

'If I could speak Shoshone, I wouldn't be doing this.'

In 77 and 78, the subordinating conjunction ukkwah, which is not obligatory, appears at the beginning of the conditional clauses. Ukkwah may mean 'if' only when it is at the beginning of a subordinate clause. As a marker of time clauses, it usually occurs at the end of the clause, or at both the beginning and the end, or rarely at the beginning (cf. the examples 60, 68, 72, 73, and 74).

Result clauses are formed with the suffix -stu, which always displays identical subject reference. Sentences with result clauses indicate that the activity in the superordinate clause is a result of the activity in the subordinate clause (e.g., 81-84 and 50a).
(81) Nuü tsao nosungkwa'anna [piiya hipikkwasü].
I good feel beer drink-sub
'I feel good from [=as a result of] drinking beer.'

(82) Nuü nü namokkunna watsingkütaimminna [hipittaisu].
I my money-O lose-cmplt-hab get drunk-sub
'I always lose my money (as a result of) getting drunk.'

(83) Huuppi [tüssütaisu] ka'ahwa.
stick freeze-sub broke
'The stick broke from [= as a result of] freezing.'

(84) Nuü [yutsükkisü] wununnummi.
I get up-sub stand-moving around
'I got up and am standing around.'

Purpose clauses are also formed with -su (e.g., 85), but they are more typically formed with infinitives in -nna (e.g., 86 and 87). Some subordinate clauses marked with sequential -si ~ -tsi may also be interpreted as purpose clauses (e.g., 88). Purpose clauses always have identical subject reference.

(85) Nummu ti tunga mi'appuhantu tūnna
we(exc) emph also went down

[natüttingwakwasü ape himpuka].
study-go-sub there somewhere

'We also went down to study there somewhere.'

(86) Hüuppiammü tukummahanni tūpa [tükkan].
women cook pinenut to eat
'Women cook pinenuts to eat.'
Adverbial clauses indicating the manner in which something happens are marked with the present participle suffix -tun. These clauses always have identical subject reference.

(87) Nawittsipi u ma'i mi'appühantü [tümapi.i.atunna].
     girl him with went to help
     'The girl went with him to help.'

(88) Húúppiammü toya mantu mi'a [túpanna
     women mountain to go pinenut-O
     tso'ikwasi].
     pick-sub
     'Women go to the mountains to pick pinenuts.'

(89) Núú [pangwi túkkatü] pítsangihwa.
     I fish eating got stuck in throat
     'I got something stuck in my throat eating fish.'

(90) Núú [kahni túntö'etu] pahekkwa.
     I house climbing fell
     'Climbing on the house, I fell off.'

(91) Iipuppü naappühantü [u wa'i yukwitü].
     Eva was [= used to] her like doing
     'Eva used to do like her.'

(92) U naaketü tupoong kahontü [u ma'e nuwitü
     her mated desert in her with go around
     noohimpe enni].
     always this way
'He mated her, going around with her always in the desert this way.'

8.2.2 Relative (Adjectival) Clauses

Relative clauses modify noun phrases in much the same way as adjectives modify nouns (so they are also often called adjectival clauses). Characteristically, relative clauses notionally contain a noun phrase identical with the one they are modifying in the superordinate sentence. The identical noun phrase in the relative clause, however, is always reduced in some way, either by pronominalization or by complete omission. The pronouns which substitute for the noun phrase repeated in the relative clause are called relative pronouns. The most common relative pronouns are the obviative (= new information) demonstratives in their subjective and objective forms (see section 4.3).5

RELATIVE PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>etù</td>
<td>ekka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atù</td>
<td>akka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>utù</td>
<td>ukkwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>etungku</td>
<td>etuhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atungku</td>
<td>atuhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>utungku</td>
<td>utuhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>etümµù</td>
<td>etümµí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atümµù</td>
<td>atümµí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>utümµù</td>
<td>utümµí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs in relative clauses are nearly always marked with one of the following three subordinating suffixes, each of which has a different meaning and function.
Since relative clauses modify noun phrases, they agree with them in case and to a certain extent in number. Case and number agreement are marked by the form of the relative pronoun; case agreement is also marked by the form of the subordinating suffix (objective forms of the suffixes are given in parentheses in the list above). The relative clauses in 93-101 exemplify identical reference, and those in 102-108 switch reference. In 93-96 and 102-106, the relativized noun phrases and the relative clauses modifying them are in the subjective case, while in 97-99 and 107-108 the relativized noun phrases and relative clauses modifying them are in the objective case.

(93) Wa'ippu nia pusikwa [atū hupiatukitu].
woman me know that sing-sub
'The woman who is singing knows me.'

(94) Tangummū [nū pusikwatū] tūhūyanna kuttihantu.
man me know-sub deer-O shoot-stv
'The man who knows me is shooting the deer.'
(95) Nawipi [atu nükkatû] tsao napunitu.
   girl that dance-sub good look-hab
   'The girl (who is) dancing is good-looking.'

(96) Patukuntu [atu paa kuppantû mi'atû] tape
   reflection that water in go-sub sun
   hannihanminna akkutu.
   catch-hab there-through
   'The reflection that was going into the water was
catching the sun there.'

(97) Wa'ippua nuu pusikwa [akka nükakkawitûnna].
   woman-O I know that-O make basket-sub-O
   'I know the woman who is making baskets.'

(98) Wa'ippua nuu pusikwa [akka hupiatûkitûnna].
   woman-O I know that-O sing-sub-O
   'I know the woman who's singing.'

(99) Tangummi akka nuu pusikwa [tühuyanna u
   man-O that-O I know deer-O it
   kuttihantî].
   shoot-sub-O
   'I know that man who is shooting the deer.'

(100) Nuu atümmin numi pusikwa [naaiyangwitûnna].
    I those-O Indian-O know play handgame-sub-O
    'I know those Indians playing handgame.'

(101) Nuu tangummi [paappûh wûnûtûnna] pusikwa.
    I man-O tall stand-sub-O know
    'I know the man who stands tall.'
(102) Wa'ippü [atu nü pusikwanna] hupiatuki utu.
woman that my know-sub sing that
'The woman that I know is singing.'

(103) Tuhüya [atu tangumming kuttiippuh] tiyaitaihwa.
deer that man's shoot-sub died
'The deer that the man shot died.'

(104) Tangummü [atu niam pusikwanna] tiyaitaihwa.
man that my know-sub died
'The man that I know died.'

(105) Piiya [tamin nipinna] tammi muiyaiinguuna.
beer our(inc) drink-sub us(inc) make intoxicated
'The beer we are drinking is making us drunk.'

(106) Wahattü naappühantu sutungku [utungku kee
two were those those not
 tammin pusikwanna].
 our(inc) know
'There were two of them whom we don't know.'

(107) Nummü wasüppia tükkappühantu [wa'ippüang
 we(exc) mountain sheep-O ate woman's
 kuukkipüha].
 cook-sub-O
'We ate the mountain sheep the woman cooked.'

(108) Wa'ippü kuukkinna wasüppia [tangummi
 woman cook mountain sheep-O man's
pakkappüha].
kill-sub-0

'The woman's cooking the mountain sheep the man killed.'

On rare occasions, some verbs appear in relative clauses without one of the subordinating suffixes (e.g., 109 and 110).

woman that sing me know
'The woman who is singing knows me.'

(110) Hakami niyapa'i...tangummü [epin
what name-have man hereabouts
naamipühantüna ukkwa]?
be-hab-past-0 that-O

'What is the name of... the man who used to be
around here?'

In 110, even though there is no subordinating suffix, the finite suffix -ppuhantu has assumed the objective (or possessive) form -ppuhantüna.

As mentioned at the beginning of section 8.2, identical reference in relative clauses means that the subject of the relative clause is identical with the noun phrase being modified by the relative clause (not that it's identical with the subject of the superordinate clause). Switch reference in relative clauses means that the subject of the relative clause is different from the noun phrase being modified.

Nevertheless, when a third person subject of a switch reference relative clause is the same as the subject of the superordinate sentence, it has special marking. When the switch reference subject is the same as the higher subject, it
is marked with a third person possessive reflexive pronoun instead of with one of the obviative demonstratives (i.e., with pun(nan) sg, puhin dl, or pūmmin pl: see section 4.2).

(111) Wasúppia tūhanniktü [pūnnang kuttipüha
mountain sheep-O butcher-sit his own shoot-sub-O
toya mantü [watsikkatuhantü]].
mountain in hide-sit-stv-sub

'He is sitting butchering the mountain sheep that he shot in the mountains [while he was] hiding.'

(112) Wa'iippü [pūnnan tūpanna tso'iippüha]
woman her own pinenut-O pick-sub-O
tukummahaninnna.
cook

'The woman is cooking the pinenuts that she picked.'

(113) Huúppiammü tukummahaninnna [pūmmin tūpanna
women cook their own pinenut-O
tso'iippüha] tökkanna.
pick-sub-O to eat

'The women are cooking the pinenuts they have picked to eat.'

Most of the relative clauses in the sentences in 93-110 contain relative pronouns, although 94, 99-101, 105, 107-108, and 110 do not. In most situations the relative pronouns seem to be optional (e.g., 114 and 115). I do not know if there are grammatical environments in which they are obligatory,
except with the reflexives discussed in the preceding paragraph. A few other examples of relative clauses without relative pronouns are given in 114-118.

(114) Tuhuya [(atu) sakkan kuttippuh] tiyaitaihwa.
    deer (that) that's shoot-sub died
    'The deer (that) that one shot died.'

(115) Paa [(utuí) pakatüüt] u hannihanminna.
    water (that) be pool-sub it catch-iterative
    'The water that was in a pool was catching it.'

    beer my drink-sub me be sick-make
    'The beer I'm drinking is making me sick.'

(117) Nummú tüppanna tükkanna [satümning kuukippúha].
    we pinenut-o eat those's cook-sub-O
    'We're eating the pinenuts they cooked.'

(118) Wastúppia nummú tükkappúhantu [tangümning
    mtn sheep we(exc) ate man's
    kuttippúha].
    shoot-sub-O

    'We ate the mountain sheep the man shot.'

In all of the examples so far, except 110, where a relative pronoun is present it precedes the relative clause. But, as 110 and the sentences in 119-121 illustrate, the relative pronoun may also follow the relative clause, at least sometimes. Furthermore, when a relative pronoun follows the relative clause, sometimes it may be an (old information) proximate demonstrative instead of an obviative demonstrative
(e.g., 121; see 4.3 for the distinction between obviative and proximate demonstratives).

(119) Wa'ippua nuu pusikwanna [u hupiatüki utū].
woman-o I know her sing that
'I know the woman who is singing.'

(120) Hakaittu wainnih naappühantü satū [kūntu
what kind wine was that yesterday
ün nipippūh atū]? your drink-sub that
'What kind of wine was that that you were drinking yesterday?'

(121) Satū tangummu [nia pusikwatu satū]
that man me know-sub that
naaiyangwikatutū.
play handgame-sit
'That man who knows me is sitting playing handgame.'

In fact, a couple of examples have been recorded where relative pronouns surround the relative clause, e.g., 122-123.

(122) Wa'ippu nia pusikwatū [utū hupiatükitū utū].
woman me know-hab that sing-sub that
'The woman who is singing knows me.'
In 119, the relative pronoun utu, at the end of the relative clause, is in the subjective case, and so does not even agree in case with the objective case head noun wa'ippua, even though an objective case subject, y, referring to her is used with the subordinate verb. Obviously, not all the conditions governing relative clauses are understood. What appear to be postposed relative pronouns may really be manifestations of the pronoun copy phenomena discussed in section 2.1.2.

From the examples already given, it may have become evident that relative clauses need not be positioned in immediate proximity to the head of the noun phrase they modify. Many relative clauses are right-dislocated, or positioned at the end of the sentence, often with several major constituents intervening between them and the head (e.g., 93, 97-100, 107, 111, 117-118, 119, and 122). Some relative clauses are preposed before the head of the noun phrase they modify (e.g., 124-128). I have even recorded one left-dislocated relative clause (e.g., 124).

(124) [Wa'ippuang kuukkippuha] nummu tukkanna tupanna.
woman's cook-sub-O we eat pinenut-O
'We're eating the pinenuts the woman cooked.'

(125) Wa'ippu kuukkinna [tangummim pakkappuha]
woman cook man's kill-sub-O
wasüppia.
mountain sheep-O
'The woman is cooking the mountain sheep the man killed.'

(126) [Utüüntu] etü Kotto'enna ekkih.
heat-sub this boil here
'This (which is) heating is boiling here.'

(127) [Niam pusikwanna] sutü [paappuh wünüü] tangummü
my know-sub that tall stand-sub man
utuu.
just
'It's just the tall (standing) man that I know.'

(128) [Niam pusikwanna] tsawun tangummü utu.
my know-sub good man that
'The good man I know is that one.'

In my data, most relative clauses follow heads of noun phrases, with the majority of these occurring immediately after the heads, but a good number are right-dislocated, and a significant number are preposed.

Headless relative clauses are embedded in superordinate noun phrases that lack head nouns. Since the head noun is missing, the relative clause itself functions as the noun phrase constituent. Several headless relative clauses are illustrated in 129-133 and more follow in the discussion below on oblique relatives (e.g., 145-150).

(129) [Ung kűputappüü okongkwantu] yûkkwi.
its long tongue-having do(dur)
'The one that has the long tongue will do it.'
(130) Nüü [un natükkanna] puhaikwantu’ih.
    I its be eaten-sub look for-going to
    'I'm going to look for something to eat.'

(131) Tsao [un nukwinna].
    good his do-sub
    'What he did is good.'

(132) [Ukkwa mümìng kahni ka katütünna sukkwa]
    that-O you all's house at stay-O that-O
    teewingkünna sutū?
    tell about that
    'Is he telling about (the one) who stays in you-
    all's house?'

(133) Ukkwa nuu püü ma teewingkuppühantū
    that-O I emph him told about
    [isapungkuppūan no'apükkan kütäippūha,]
    dog's make pregnant-cmplt-sub-O
    númi [on no'apükkan kütäippūha]
    person-O its make pregnant-cmplt-sub-O
    'I told him about that, about (the one) the dog
    got pregnant, about the person it got pregnant.'

Similar in function and meaning to headless relatives are
relative clauses with interrogative heads, as in 134-136.

(134) Hakatū [mi'appūha] naammaa?
    who go-sub-O was
    'Who was it that went?'
Oblique relative clauses are those in an indirect relationship with the head of the noun phrase being modified. Typically, they begin with a postpositional phrase having a pronominal object, as in 138-142 and 145-150, but they may also have a noun as the object of the postposition, as in 137. The object of the postposition, whether pronoun or noun, is coreferential with the head noun of the noun phrase being modified in the higher clause.

(135) Hakaniyu [un yukwippuha]?
    be how its do-sub-O
    'How was it done?'

(136) Hakaniyu etu [pikkopu pa'a muhin
    be how this pick-up on your(dl)
    kunnoonnuwippuh]?
    fire(wood)-haul-sub

    'What about this (firewood) that you two brought
    on the pick-up?'

(137) Mitükkaanoa tuupükkaŋkünna [mitükkaano ma'i
    Caucasian-O get angry about Caucasian with
    tammi taona ka mi'atu'ippuha].
    us(inc) town to go-will-sub-O

    'She got mad on account of the white man, the
    white man with whom we could have gone to town.'
(138) [Umma nū tūtsikkopii'ippūh] nū wihi
it-with my cut(pl)-iterative-sub my knife
küppakkuppūhantū.
'broke
'My knife that I was cutting with broke.'

(139) [U tukkwa númmín nuunaa'happūha] ukkwa
it under our(exc) sit(pl)-sub-O that-O
samapitta u pun!kka núū.
cedar-O it see I
'I see the cedar under which we were sitting.'

(140) Samapi utū [u tukkwa númmín nuunaa'happūh]
cedar that it under our(inc) sit(pl)-sub
küppakkuppūhantū.
broke
'The cedar under which we were sitting broke.'

(141) [U tukkwa númmín nuunaa'happūh] utū samapi
it under our(exc) sit(pl)-sub that cedar
küppakkuppūhantū.
broke
'The cedar under which we were sitting broke.'
(142) [Pün tukkwa númmin nuunaashappūha] ukkwa
    its own under our(exo) sit(pl)-sub-O that-O
  samapitta u punikka núu.
  cedar-O it see I

'I see the cedar under which we were sitting.'

(143) Núu u pusikwa (sukkwa) [pünnan nin navasüükki].
    I it know that-O its own way be hunted
'I know the way in which (something) is hunted.'
= 'I know how to hunt.'

(144) [Püetüsü pünnan nin númmin nukwippūha]
    long ago its own way our-(exo) do-O
  núu sukkwa teewitu'ih miikkwa.
  I that-O tell about-will now

'Now I will tell about (that) the way in which we
    used to do long ago.'

As examples 143-144 illustrate, the head of an oblique
relative clause may be semantically empty. In 143 the head is
ý (and optionally sukkwa as well), while in 144 it is sukkwa.
These pronouns do not have any reference in the two
sentences. In 143, the verb in the headless relative clause
is in the passive voice, which indicates a lack of notional
subject in other kinds of subordinate clauses (see 8.2.3).

The object of the postposition in oblique relative
clauses is commonly the third person reflexive pun(nan) 'its
own', as in 142 and 146-150, particularly in headless oblique
relative clauses, as in 145-150.6 When the head is present in
the sentence (e.g., 137-144), then ý 'it' is perhaps more
common than pun(nan); ý may also be used in headless
relatives, however (e.g., 145). The difference between
oblique relative clauses with  pute (nun) and those with y has not been determined yet.

(145) [Umma nü tutsikkopilippüh] küppakkuppühantü.  
it-with my cut(pl)-sub broke  
'What I was cutting with broke.'

(146) [Püm ma nü tutsikkoppi'ippüh] ma nüü  
its own with my cut(pl)-iterative-sub with I  
watsingkü.  
lose  
'I lost what I was cutting with.'

(147) [Püm tukkwa númmin nuunaahappüh] nüü  
its own under our(exc) sit(pl)-sub-O I  
u punikka.  
it see  
'I see what we were sitting under.'

(148) Nüü ü [punna nü un nangkawah] ümmi  
I you-O its own way your talk you-O  
tütiingwanna.  
teach  
'I am teaching you the way in which to talk  
[= how to talk].'  

(149) [Númmi püm pa'in naa] masü ma pa'a.  
us(exc) its own on be that is it on  
'Where we are is on that over there.'

='We live over there.'
A construction in Tümpisa Shoshone that gives thematic prominence to major constituents is formed with the special demonstratives built on the base -sun (i.e., isun, esun, asun, usun, and masun; see section 4.3). These demonstratives are used to put major (nonverbal) constituents in focus or contrast essentially like cleft constructions in English (e.g., 151-156). The constituent following the cleft demonstrative is highlighted and the rest of the sentence is taken as given information. However, unlike the English construction, when noun phrases are put in focus with the cleft demonstratives the given information in the rest of the sentence is not put in a subordinate clause (e.g., 151-154).
(154) Pahanai asū wahattū tattungungku kikimmakinna down that is two men(dl) come(dl)
[kee tammin pusikwanna]
not our(inc) know-sub

'There are two men coming down that we don't know.' = 'It's that two men are coming down that we don't know.'

However, when constituents other than noun phrases are put in focus with the cleft demonstratives, the given information in the rest of the sentence is in a subordinate clause much like a relative clause (e.g., 155 and 156).

(155) Usū supe'e [ung kimmakippūh pūū],
that is that time his come-sub emph
[attu unū kimmakippūh pūū].
through there his come-sub emph

'It was then that he came, that he came through there!'

(156) Isū supe'e [satūmmi kawai yūkwitu).
this is that time those-poss rat-o go after-sub
'It was that time that they went after rats.'

However, these so-called cleft constructions are not exactly like the relative clauses we have been looking at. For example, the subordinate clause in 156 is marked with present participle -tūn, which in relative clauses indicates identical subject reference; and so, normally, relative clauses in -tūn have no overt subject. But in 156, the subject of the cleft clause, satūmmi, is present and obviously not identical reference. It is evident that a good deal more
work needs to be done on both cleft constructions and relative clauses.

8.2.3 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses are embedded sentences that function like noun phrases as subjects or objects in the superordinate sentence. In Tumpisa Shoshone, complement clauses may either be finite or nonfinite. In finite complement clauses, the verb has normal inflection and the subject is in the subjective case. In nonfinite clauses, the verb usually has one of the subordinating suffixes and the subject is not in the subjective case. In finite complement clauses, there are no subordinating conjunctions or other kinds of marking setting the complement clauses off.

Sentences with subject complement clauses are given in 157-165. Sentence 157 is the only example recorded with what appears to be a finite subject complement clause. The verb has the suffix -tun, which could be either finite or subordinating; but since the meaning is habitual, which only finite -tun has, and since the subject is in the subjective case, 157 must be finite.

(157) [Satụ sunni yukwitụ] naammaa pũ.  
that that-like do-hab was emph 
'It really was that she would do (it) like that.'

Other subject complement clauses in my data have either of the two subordinating suffixes, infinitival -nna or past participial -ppuh. Infinitival -nna is used in the present or with timeless truths (e.g., 158-163). Participial -ppuh is used in the past or past perfect (e.g., 164-165). Subjects of nonfinite subject complement clauses are always in the possessive case (e.g., 162-165). If there is no notional subject present, then the subordinate verb must be in the
passive voice formed with na- (e.g., 158-161; see 3.2.1.3). If the object is not present and the subordinate verb is in infinitival -nna, then the verb must be in the absolutive voice formed with tü- (e.g., 162 and 163; see 3.2.1.4).

(158) [Namaapüatunna] tsawinnuh.  
be helped-sub be good  
'To be helped is good.' = 'To help is good.'

(159) [ün nanümi namaapüatunna] (sutu) tsawinnuh.  
your relative-O be helped-sub that be good  
'For your relatives to be helped is good.' = 'Helping your relatives is good.'

(160) Sutu tsawinnuh [ün nanümi namaapüatunna].  
that be good your relative be helped-sub  
'It's good for your relatives to be helped.' = 'It's good to help your relatives.'

(161) [Noohinna napakkanna] kee tsawinnuh.  
something-O be killed-sub not be good  
'For something to be killed is not good.' = 'To kill something is not good.'

(162) [Utummim tüpakkanna] kee tsawinnuh.  
those's kill-sub not be good  
'For them to kill is not good.'

(163) Kee tsawinnuh sutu [utummim tüpakkanna].  
not be good that those's kill-sub  
'It' not good for them to kill.'

(164) [Numi utummim pakkappuh] kee tsawinnuh.  
person-O those's kill-sub not be good  
'For them to have killed a person is not good.'
Subject complement clauses most often precede the main clause verb, but they may also follow it (cf. 159 with 160, 162 with 163, and 164 with 165). A subjective demonstrative may optionally appear in the main clause as a pronoun copy coreferential with the subject complement clause (e.g., sutu in 159, 160, and 163).

Object complement clauses commonly occur in both finite and nonfinite forms, and both kinds may appear before or after the superordinate verb. Examples of finite complement clauses that appear before the superordinate verb are given in 166–171. In 166–170, the subject of the complement clause is the same as that of the superordinate verb and so is not repeated in the complement clause. In 171, from the 'Coyote's Daughters' text, the subject of the complement clause is different from that of the higher clause, but the subject doesn't appear overtly, since it is old information.

(165) Nüü [sunni nukwitu'ih] suwanna.  
I that way do-will think  
'I think I'll do that.'

I thus say-will think  
'I think I'll say something.'

I drink-go to-will think  
'I think I'll go drink.'

(169) Nüü [tükkatu'ih] suwakka.  
I eat-will think about  
'I'm thinking about eating.'
(170) Antsi [miakwantu'lh] suwakka [Tūmpisakkatū].
Angie go-going to think about Death Valley-to
'Angie is thinking about going to Death Valley.'

(171) [Ke tammangkantu] u punikka setū.
not tooth-have it see-stv this
'She saw that he didn't have a tooth.'

The complement clauses in the sentences in 172-178 are finite and occur after the superordinate verb, and they all have subjects different from the higher clause. A number of verbs (e.g., nasuntama 'remember' in 172-175) usually have an object pronominal preceding them, which is coreferential with the objective complement clause following them.

(172) Nūu sukkwa nasuntama [tangummu tūhūyanna
I that-O remember man deer-O
pakkappuhantū]
killed
'I remember that the man killed the deer.'

(173) Nūu sukkwa nasuntama [tūhūya napakkahwappūh].
I that-O remember deer be killed
'I remember that the deer got killed.'

(174) Nūu sukkwa nasuntama [satūmmu wasūwūkkippuhantū].
I that-O remember those hunted
'I remember that they hunted.'

(175) Nūu sukkwa nasuntama [tammū hipittaippuhantū].
I that-O remember we(inc) got drunk
'I remember that we got drunk.'
(176) Üü kee sumpanaisi [satü wihnu niam petü].
   you not know-neg that then my daughter
   'You didn't know then that she was my daughter.'

Other verbs (e.g., puni" 'see' in 171) may have a preceding pronominal coreferential with the complement clause, but the complement clause may precede the pronominal or follow the verb (cf. 171 and 177).

(177) Nüü punikkappühantü [tühüya napakkahwa].
   I saw deer be killed
   'I saw the deer get killed.'

Still other verbs (e.g., nangkah 'hear' in 178) have a direct object that is coreferential with the subject of the complement clause.

(178) Nüü wa'ippua nangkaha [sutü (naangka)
   I woman-O hear that make noise
   hupiatuki].
   sing

   'I hear the woman (making noise) singing.'

The sentences in 179-187 all contain object complement clauses embedded in superordinate clauses with verbs of saying or telling. In 179-182, the object complement clauses are indirect quotes. Indirect quotes nearly always precede the superordinate verb of saying or telling, and usually the verb is preceded by the quotative particle mii.

(179) [[Un tuappü un natammupia tsakküppatai]
     his son his car-O wrecked
     u punikka] mii yükwippühantü.
     it see-stv quot said
"He said he saw his son wreck his car."

(180) [Um püpuammü] mii yükwimminna.
      his cousins  quot say-iterative
      'He used to say they're his cousins.'

(181) [Um pünnahapi naahi satü] mii yüngkünna.
      his wife  might that  quot say to
      'She said to [us] that she might be his wife.'

(182) [Kunnoohwantu'ih] mii yükwippuhantu sutü.
      fire(wood)-haul-will  quot said  that
      'He said he was going to haul firewood.'

Sentence 179 contains two object complement clauses, one embedded in the main clause as object of the verb yükwippuhantu and the other embedded below that as object of the verb punikka.

The object complement clauses in 183-187 are all direct quotes. As with indirect quotes, direct quotes virtually always precede the superordinate verb, and the verb is normally preceded by quotative mii.

(183) ["Nu kee yuhkunnappuhpa'intu, nuu sattu
       I not stove oil-have           I there-through
       pange mi'a,"] mii yükwippuhantu Tseeikki.
       up go  quot said  Jake

      '"I don't have any stove oil; I'm going
      up through there (to get some)," Jake said.'
(184) ["Hinna punikkatutu sapa'a uū, hinna punikkatū?"
what hang around there you what hang around

mil yūngkünna Danan.
quot say to Don

"What are you hanging around there for, what are you hanging around for?" Don said to (him).

(185) ["Uū paapa'i, uū pai akka hanninna,"
you water-have you water-O that-O gather

akka mii yūkwıngkünna.
that-O quot say to

"You have water, you (can) gather that water," he said to that one.

(186) ["Kee paakantu nū,"] mii yūkkwi setū.
not water-have I quot say-dur this

"I don't have any water," this one was saying.

(187) ["Tuttsuppūh nū mūmī suwangkunna
bad I you all-O feel [= dislike]

nūmūppuammı,"] mii yūkwıkkınnıa sutū tsuattamappu.
Indians-O quot say that cop

"I don't like you Indians," that cop said.

Direct and indirect quotes are not formally distinguished except by the pronouns used in the complement clause. For example, if 179 were a direct quote, then the first un 'his' would have been nū or nían 'my' instead; also, in 180, um would have been nū or nían.
Nonfinite object complement clauses are given in 188-198. Although they more commonly occur before the superordinate verb, they may also follow it (e.g., 189a and 198; cf. 189b). Verbs in identical reference object complement clauses, like those in 188-194, are marked with infinitival -nna (e.g., 189-191), intentional -mmi (e.g., 192-194), or no suffixation at all (e.g., 188).  

(188) Nuu [nükka / hupiatuki] pusikwatü.  
I dance sing know-hab  
'I know how to dance/sing.' 

I hunt-sub know-hab  
'I know how to hunt.' 

b. Nuu pusikwatü nuu [wasuwükkinna].  
I know-hab I hunt-sub  
'I know how to hunt.' 

(190) Nuu [sosoni nangkawinna] nuu pusikwatü.  
I Shoshone speak-sub I know-hab  
'I know how to speak Shoshone.' 

(191) Nuu [hipinna] (nuu) tsao suwangkunna.  
I drink-sub I good feel about [=like]  
'I like to drink.' 

(192) Nuu [tükkatu’immi] suwakka.  
I eat-will-sub think about  
'I'm thinking about eating.' 

(193) Nuu [na kuttihimmi] suwakka.  
I it shoot-dubitative-sub think about  
'I think I might shoot it.'
Embedded within the object complement clause in 194 is another clause that has been thrown to the end of the entire sentence. Some switch reference object complement clauses are illustrated in 195-198. They are marked with present participial -tun (e.g., 195 and 198), intentional -mmi (e.g., 197), and apparently even temporal -ka ≈ -ha (e.g., 196), although the latter may actually be a time clause.

(194) [Kottoonnümpütsia ma kuppa tükitu'immi]  
fire burner-O it in put-will-sub  

nüü suwappühantü [u Kuppa hapimmippüh].  
I thought it in lie-iterative-sub  

'I thought I would put a fire burner in it so he could sleep in it.'

I firewood burn-sub-O see I  
'I see firewood burning.'

(196) [Nia miakwaha] tsao suwangkuppühantü.  
me go away-sub good felt [= liked]  
'He liked me leaving.'  
= (?) 'He liked it when I left.'

(197) Nüü [sutummi kimmammi] yüwingkuppühantü.  
I them come-sub told  
'I told them to come.'
(198) Nuu summi ün niingküppuhantu [kee so'o
I thus you-O told not so much
hipikkantu wainnihaj.
drink-stv-sub wine-O
'I told you not to drink so much wine.'

Auxiliary verbs are appended to preceding verb stems to
form compound verbs; then inflectional suffixes are added only
to the auxiliary (see 3.1.5). The use of certain auxiliary
verbs provides a productive mechanism by which object
complement clauses can be collapsed with superordinate clauses
to form a single clause instead of two. Some auxiliaries used
in this way are -mmuih 'can't', suwah 'want to', tükin 'start
to', and túnga 'tell to, order to'. Technically speaking, the
auxiliary in the compound would be the superordinate verb, and
the verb to which the auxiliary is appended would be the
subordinate verb. However, verb-plus-auxiliary compounds
function like single verbs, and the clauses in which they
occur function like single clauses, not like a sentence with
an embedded complement clause. All of the verb-plus-auxiliary
compounds, except túnga, display identical reference in that
both the auxiliary and the preceding verb stem share the same
subject.

(199) Tangummü tokkopiimmüiha kunna küttaampi.
man chop-can't-stv firewood hard.
'The man can't chop the firewood, it's hard.'

(200) Nuu nü pantsa puhaimmüiha.
I my shoe look for-can't-stv
'I can't find my shoe.'
(201) Nüu tipingasuwaha noohinnattsia.
   I ask about-want-stv something(O)-diminutive-O
   'I want to ask about a little something.'

(202) Hinna üü hipisuwan? 
   what(O) you drink-want
   'What do you want to drink?'

(203) Tammü piiya hipittükintu'ih.
   we(inc) beer drink-start-will
   'We'll/Let's start drinking beer.'

(204) Nüu nü pantsa puhaitüki.
   I my shoe look for-start
   'I started to look for my shoe.'

With tunga, however, the situation is different. The grammatical subject of the sentence is the notional subject of tunga. The grammatical object is both the indirect object of tunga and the notional subject of the verb stem preceding tunga.

(205) Nüu ma mi'atungappühantü.
   I him go-told
   'I told him to go.'

(206) Nüu sakka ümmi tusuwatünganna.
   I that-O you-O pay-tell
   'I'm telling him to pay you.'

(207) Wa'ippü pünning kuhmattsia wasuwükkitünganna.
   woman her own husband-O hunt-tell
   'The woman's telling her husband to hunt.'
Finally, I should mention that several kinds of constructions with object complement clauses, which are very common in European languages, simply do not occur in Tümpisa Shoshone. These are constructions like:

- I think/believe [someone does/did X]
- I hope [someone does/did X]
- I want [someone to do X]

In Tümpisa Shoshone, the notional equivalents of the first two constructions would be single clauses with adverbs, as in 208 and 209, respectively.

(208) Nootunga sutüm무 kahni kuppa naammaa.
    'Maybe they are/were in the house.'
    = 'I think/believe they are/were in the house.'

(209) Noowitsa u kuttih satu.
    'Hopefully, he'll shoot it.'
    = 'I hope he'll shoot it.'

There is no direct equivalent of the third construction; the closest would be with a verb of telling instead of wanting, as in 197-198 and 205-207. Thus, instead of saying 'I want someone to do something', one would say something like 'I told/will tell someone to do something'.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. Examples of concatenated sentences are found throughout the texts in chapter 10. As with traditional punctuation convention, a period is used to mark the boundaries between concatenated sentences, the period being a visual marker of falling intonation and a pause. Paragraphs are used when in the texts there is a change of topic, usually accompanied verbally by a rather lengthy pause of up to several seconds.
2. Compare 42 with the similar sentence in 33 where ρ is used as the conjunction instead of tünda. ρ only precedes the last conjunct, thus conforming with the English constructions from whence it came.

3. In transformational terms, the subject of the subordinate clause is omitted under EQUI-NP Deletion.

4. Subordinate clauses throughout section 8.2 are enclosed in brackets [...].

5. Obviative demonstratives built on the demonstrative base i- 'this right here' (i.e., itü, itungku, and itümmu) have not been recorded as relative pronouns. In the examples in this section, relative pronouns have been enclosed within the brackets surrounding relative clauses, since they function as pronouns in the relative clauses. However, this is somewhat misleading in that they function simultaneously as demonstratives in the superordinate clause. Thus, the demonstrative relative pronouns are a bridge between the higher and lower clauses, since they have a function in both.

6. Note that pun (nan) does not have the same function in oblique relatives as it does in direct (= nonoblique) relatives, where it indicates that the subject of a switch reference relative clause is the same as the subject of the main clause (see earlier discussion in this section).

7. Although main clause subjects may be repeated and surround identical reference object complement clauses (e.g., 189b, 190, and 191), they are not treated as constituents of the complement clauses themselves. This is in keeping with the fact that all other kinds of identical reference clauses do not have overt subjects.
The sounds and sound patterns of Túmpisa Shoshone are discussed in this chapter. The segmental phonemes are presented in 9.1, along with a discussion of the possible sequences of phonemes. Phonetic processes are presented in 9.2, and phonological (= morphophonemic) processes are discussed in 9.3. Stress patterns are given in 9.4, and some common contractions are noted in 9.5. In addition, the Appendix contains a basic vocabulary list of approximately 200 words written in both phonemic and phonetic notation. A tape of these words is on file in the Language Laboratory at the University of California, Berkeley.

### 9.1 PHONOLOGICAL SEGMENTS AND SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

The simple consonantal phonemes are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIMPLE CONSONANTS</th>
<th>Alveo-</th>
<th>Labio-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>Affricate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occlusive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oral</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

387
All of them (except \( \dot{l} \)) occur medially between vowels, and most occur initially in the word. The two velar nasals \( ng \) and \( ngw \) and glottal stop \( \dot{l} \) are the only simple consonants that never appear in word-initial position. With the exception of \( \dot{l} \), all other simple consonants appear both initially and medially. The lateral \( \dot{l} \) is a borrowing from English and only occurs initially in a couple of words. Examples of simple consonants are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paa</td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papi('i)</td>
<td>'older brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yupani</td>
<td>'old'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>'sun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapettsi</td>
<td>'sun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etün</td>
<td>'gun, bow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutüainna</td>
<td>'to work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>'hips'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsiampû</td>
<td>'hips'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatsa</td>
<td>'summer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitsinna</td>
<td>'suck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasattsikantûn</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukumpana(pin)</td>
<td>'sky, heaven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokopin</td>
<td>'earth, land, ground'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwasi</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakwaapitùn</td>
<td>'green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokwi&quot;</td>
<td>'right, correct, true'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'i</td>
<td>'road'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi'a</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'o</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumuttun</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tusinna</td>
<td>'to spit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wisipin</td>
<td>'thread, string'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotanna</td>
<td>'to dig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahapi</td>
<td>'snow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuhuya</td>
<td>'deer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>müattro</td>
<td>'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soomatrsi</td>
<td>'spider'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tami('i)</td>
<td>'younger brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náwipin</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>túnüna</td>
<td>'root'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiwnu</td>
<td>'then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangappuh</td>
<td>'knee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angipi</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hipingkuntun</td>
<td>'flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangwi</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pongwo'aittsi</td>
<td>'mouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasingwampi</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Only three consonantal segments may appear in word-final position and in final position in the underlying forms of morphemes. They are n and h, as well as an indeterminate consonantal segment written " that causes certain following consonants to geminate (see sections 9.2.2.5 and 9.3.7). The final consonants are often called final features in the literature on Numic languages (see up-to-date discussions in Nichols 1973 and McLaughlin 1987, as well as the original discussion in Sapir 1930:62-70). They are said to be nasalizing, preaspirating, and geminating, respectively.

In this monograph, the final consonants are not viewed as special "final features" of morphemes, but rather as simple consonants that are somewhat unique in that, unlike other consonants, they may end words and morphemes. They also disappear under certain conditions (e.g., in phrase-final position and before certain consonants), although they may
leave traces on surrounding segments. The final geminating segment is also unique in that it is only manifested in its effect on following consonants and never has any other realization. Final $h$ typically causes preceding short unstressed vowels to become voiceless or at least partially voiceless. Several examples of words with final consonants are given below (see 9.3 for more examples and a detailed description).

**Nasalizing n**

- *kawan* — 'rat'
- *motson* — 'beard'
- *nahman* — 'together (dl)'
- *pasakun* — 'bridge'
- *topoon* — 'desert'
- *yûtsûn* — 'airplane'

**Preaspirating h**

- *nuuppûh* — 'Joshua tree'
- *putisih* — 'donkey'
- *sukkuh* — 'there yonder'
- *ukkwah* — 'when'
- *üttûah* — 'ranch, farm'
- *wainnih* — 'wine'

**Geminating h**

- *anna* — 'together, each other'
- *petû* — 'daughter'
- *tokwi* — 'straight, correct'
- *tua* — 'son'
- *Tûmpisa* — 'Death Valley'
- *wûa* — 'penis'

Consonant clusters only occur in medial position between vowels; they never begin or end words. Consonant clusters are of three types or series: (1) geminate oral occlusives and
nasals, which are fortis consonants held long but not doubly articulated; (2) a homoorganic nasal plus an oral occlusive, another nasal, or a semivowel; and (3) h plus certain oral occlusives, nasals, or semivowels. The consonant clusters that occur are given below in each series.

CONSONANT CLUSTER SERIES
(Intervocalic only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alveol-</th>
<th>Labio-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>Alveolar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geminate</td>
<td>occlusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal plus</td>
<td>occlusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>semivowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preaspirate</td>
<td>occlusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>semivowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Geminate nasals and clusters of homoorganic nasals are indistinguishable phonetically, although they may have different morphophonemic origins (see 9.3). The velar nasal ng is always phonetically geminate, never simple. Also, between vowels the fricative g is always phonetically geminate. Since there are no contrasts between simple and geminate ng and g, respectively, both of them are always written singly. Some examples of consonant clusters follow.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PP</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>app'o'o</td>
<td>'cup, dish, bowl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>üppüinna</td>
<td>'to sleep'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uttunna</td>
<td>'to give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nattusu'un</td>
<td>'medicine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tts</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pattsipitün</td>
<td>'smooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuttsappüh</td>
<td>'ashes, dust'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kk</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaakki</td>
<td>'crow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namokko(ttsi)</td>
<td>'needle'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kkw</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miikkwa</td>
<td>'now, today'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukkwah</td>
<td>'when'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mm</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tommo</td>
<td>'winter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kammu</td>
<td>'jackrabbit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nn</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>onnottsi</td>
<td>'pine cone hook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pünnan</td>
<td>'its own, his own, her own'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>np</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tümpin</td>
<td>'rock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nampe</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nt</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ontümpitün</td>
<td>'(yellowish) brown'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuhuntappütün</td>
<td>'thick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoshone Word</td>
<td>English Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nts</td>
<td>'antelope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wantsi</td>
<td>'flicker (woodpecker)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antsaapana</td>
<td>'pet, horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nok</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nangkah</td>
<td>'mesquite bean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pungku</td>
<td>'stinkbug'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokw</td>
<td>'butterfly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aasiputungkwittsi</td>
<td>'towards, in direction of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nangkwa</td>
<td>'not having children'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hp</td>
<td>'not having anything'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohpin</td>
<td>'husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tüpisihpungki</td>
<td>'springtime'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hk</td>
<td>'cradle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kee piammùppùhkantùn</td>
<td>'bee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kee nanahakaittùppùhkantù</td>
<td>'heart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hw</td>
<td>'aunt (FaSi)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihwù</td>
<td>'an edible plant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahwa</td>
<td>'sugar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hy</td>
<td>'springtime'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohyo&quot;</td>
<td>'husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihyaapin</td>
<td>'mesquite bean'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TUMPISA SHOSHONE GRAMMAR**
Tumpisa Shoshone has six short vowels and six long vowels; it also has a diphthong which may be short or long. Long vowels are written doubled.\textsuperscript{3}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back Unrounded</th>
<th>Back Rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>üü</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mid</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td></td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Diphthong</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>aai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All vowels may appear at the beginning of words, at the end, or medially between consonants, although long vowels at the ends of words are relatively rare; e.g.:

- A: 'that (obj)'
- Awappo‘i: 'desert spring lizard'
- Pihyapi: 'weak'
- Ha: question particle

- AA: 'ouch'
- Ataa: 'horn'
- Phyaaapin: 'sugar'
- Haa('a'): 'yes'
- Imaa: 'tomorrow, morning'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>epi&quot;</td>
<td>'hereabouts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke = kee</td>
<td>'no, not'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kope</td>
<td>'face'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
<td>'eh! my goodness!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eemua</td>
<td>'crazy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peewanna</td>
<td>'to split down the middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weeputa(ttsi)</td>
<td>'baby chuckwalla'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikihih</td>
<td>'right here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hipi&quot;</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hipittsittsi</td>
<td>'old woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>'this kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iittun</td>
<td>'left'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwii</td>
<td>'cough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiwi(ttsi)</td>
<td>'finch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okwai&quot;</td>
<td>'flow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'o</td>
<td>'water tank'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toko(ttsi)</td>
<td>'grandfather (MoFa)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oompin</td>
<td>'small water-worn pebbles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotoo&quot;</td>
<td>'make a fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toopi</td>
<td>'wolf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pooookoo = pawoko</td>
<td>'bullfrog'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The short diphthong ai acts as a single short vowel, while the long diphthong aai functions as a simple long vowel. As in other Numic languages, these diphthongs often vary with e and ee, respectively; e.g.:

- ainnattsi = ennattsi  'turtle'
- mühai = nühe  'make baskets'
- paitu” = petü”  'daughter'
- tsainnaah = tsennaah  'carry, hold'
- naaiyangwi = neeyangwi  'play handgame'

However, in a few forms ai apparently never varies with e; e.g.
isapaippū  'coyote'
simpanai  'know'
yuwaintün  'warm'

The diphthong ai acts as a single short vowel in that it is monosyllabic. Other vowel clusters in the language are bisyllabic. The vowel clusters that I have recorded are given below.

**VOWEL CLUSTERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ūi</th>
<th>ūa</th>
<th>ūe ≈ ūai</th>
<th>uo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oi</td>
<td>oa</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>ao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uí</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td>ea</td>
<td>ia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of vowel clusters follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ūi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ūitsū’īn  'be cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūppūh  'sleep'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ūa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ūattuah  'ranch, farm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tüasūppūh  'frozen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wūa  'penis'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ūai ≈ ūe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tūtuai ≈ tūtūe  'work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūaitūn ≈ nūetūn  'wind'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>uo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mukuoto’eh  'be dizzy, faint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.2 PHONETIC PROCESSES

The pronunciation of particular phonemes and processes affecting their pronunciation are detailed in this section.

9.2.1 Vowels

Vowels have the values indicated in the chart in 9.1 except as discussed in detail in this section.

9.2.1.1 Vowel Devoicing

Short unclustered vowels are devoiced in several environments. Devoicing may be either complete or partial. When it is partial, the vowel starts out voiced and then fades off voiceless.

Short unclustered vowels are usually devoiced at the ends of words in phrase-final position and when spoken in isolation. Though devoicing is the norm in this environment, the process is optional. Even potentially stressed vowels may be devoiced finally (see 9.4); e.g.:

- tunūna [tīn̪eNA] \approx [tīn̪eN̪a] 'root'
- tūmpē [tīm̪p̪ē] \approx [tīm̪be] 'mouth'
- mutsipi [mūzi̱I] \approx [mūzi̱I] 'sharp point'
- mo'o [mō'o] \approx [mō'o] 'hand'
- kammu [kām̪·U] \approx [kām̪·O] 'jackrabbit'
- piappūtun [piap̪· hr̪] \approx [piap̪· hr̪] 'big'

Short unclustered vowels are often devoiced between two voiceless consonants. Although devoicing in this environment is frequent, it does not seem to be obligatory; e.g.:

- namokkuttsi [nāwōk̪·uŋ·I] \approx [nāwōk̪·uŋ·I] 'beads'
- su'ukkuttih [sū'uk̪·ut·I] \approx [sū'uk̪·ut·I] 'kick'
- pisittaippūh [pišiṭ·āip̪·I] \approx [pišiṭ·āip̪·I] 'rotten'
mi'akkinna \[míʔak·IN·A\] \(\approx [míʔak·ín·ə]\) 'to go (pl)'
tühuttsittsi \[tʃhɪtʃ·Tʃ·I\] \(\approx [tʃhɪtʃ·tʃ·I]\) 'small'
tüppisippuñ \[tʃp·IʃIp·p\] 'trash'

Sometimes initial unstressed short vowels are devoiced; e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
isapungku \ &= \ [IʃaʃhɡkU] \ \approx \ [Iʃaʃhɡgu] \ 'dog' \\
un \ tamän \ &= \ [Iñ \ dāwā] \ \approx \ [Iñ \ dāwā] \ 'your \ tooth' \\
kukkwiingwunǔ \ &= \ [kUK·Wiŋwünź] \ \approx \ [kUK·Wiŋwünź] \ 'to \ smoke'
\end{align*}
\]

Vowels are virtually always devoiced when preceding final \(h\), whether or not they occur in a syllable that would otherwise be stressed according to the alternating stress pattern discussed in 9.4; e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
ukkwañh \ &= \ [uk·Wa] \ 'when' \\
wainnih \ &= \ [waɪn·I] \ 'wine' \\
siikkik \ &= \ [sik·I] \ 'right \ here' \\
tswiwwnih \ &= \ [ʂawUN·U] \ 'to \ be \ good' \\
tiyyaitaippuñ \ &= \ [tiyaiʃIp·p] \ 'dead'
\end{align*}
\]

And frequently, though not always, they are devoiced before internal \(h\); e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
mí'appuñhantuñ \ &= \ [míʔap·tʃhændt] \ 'went' \\
putisihpa'ın \ &= \ [pʊriʃIpaʔI] \ 'have \ a \ burro' \\
pıhya:pín \ &= \ [pIhyá:ʃI] \ 'sugar' \\
tüppisihpungki \ &= \ [tʃp·IʃIʃʊɡkI] \ 'stinkbug'
\end{align*}
\]

9.2.1.2 Vowel Nasalization

Vowels are heavily nasalized before and after nasal consonants, although nasalization is usually heavier before nasals than after them; e.g.:
Ümatun [ˈɪˌɡáɾt] 'rain'
Tumpi [ˈtɛmbi] 'rock'
Pasingwambi [pəˈsiŋwəmbi] 'sand'
Tommono [təmˈoːnu] 'year'
Tahmani [təˈhəməni] 'springtime'
Wihnu [ˈwihnu] ≈ [ˈwɪŋtu] 'then'

As the last two examples illustrate, nasalization occurs even though an h intervenes between a vowel and a nasal consonant.

A vowel may be nasalized before final n despite the fact that the n disappears in phrase-final position; e.g.:

Puyun [ˈp̪uː̯n] ≈ [ˈp̪uː̯n] 'duck'
Kwasun [kwəˈsuː̯n] ≈ [kwəsuː̯n] 'dress'

9.2.1.3 Lowering of o

Short o may be either mid [ɔ] or lowered to [ɔ]; long oo is virtually always [ɔː]; e.g.:

Motson [məˈtson] ≈ [məˈtson] 'beard'
Kope [kəˈpə] ≈ [kəˈpə] 'face'
Woosuwitun [wəʊˈsuː̯wiːt] 'eight'
Suumootun [ʃəˈmuː̯t] 'ten'

9.2.1.4 i Dropping

The vowel i is often dropped when it is the second vowel in a cluster with o or y and it precedes the affricate ts, single or geminate. Despite the fact that i is dropped phonetically, the following ts or t̪s still remains palatalized by the process described in 9.2.2.3. The fact that the i still causes palatalization indicates that it is present in underlying form and that the process is phonetic rather than phonological (= morphophonemic); e.g.:
9.2.2 Consonants

Phonetic processes relating to Tûmpísá Shoshone consonants appear at first to be rather complex in that a number of consonant phonemes are represented by a good many different allophones. However, the allophonic relationships generally are governed by several rather simple phonetic processes. The details are presented in this section.

9.2.2.1 Resonant Devoicing

The resonants ~, y, m, n, ng, and ngw are devoiced before voiceless vowels (as discussed in section 9.2.1.1). Sometimes resonants start out voiced but end up voiceless before voiceless vowels; this is especially true with geminate nasals; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wūsu'ukuttih</td>
<td>[wʉsuʔuk·út·I]</td>
<td>'kick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musuwi</td>
<td>[mʉsuWI]</td>
<td>'moustache'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapaayu</td>
<td>[kaβa:YU]</td>
<td>'horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūmū</td>
<td>[niW]]</td>
<td>'person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangummu</td>
<td>[tæŋ·wM·E]</td>
<td>'man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kohno</td>
<td>[kɔhn3]</td>
<td>'cradle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tommono</td>
<td>[tɔm·wN]</td>
<td>'year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utuinna</td>
<td>[ɾiɾiIN·A]</td>
<td>'to be hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūnɡa</td>
<td>[ɾiŋ·A]</td>
<td>'and, also'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangwi</td>
<td>[pɑŋWI]</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.2.2.2 Simple Oral Occlusive Voicing

Simple oral occlusives Ɂ, Ɂ, Ɂ, Ɂ, and Ɂ are voiced when they occur between two voiced segments such as voiced vowels and voiced resonants. Voicing typically occurs within the word, but it also occurs across word boundaries as long as the words are constituents within the same phrase. Some examples are given below, and many more are presented in section 9.2.2.4 on Softening (= Spirantizing); e.g.:

sohopimpû  [ʃhɔβimbi] ≈ [ʃhɔβǐmpf] 'cottonwood'
úm pampippûh  [ʃm bɔmbi̯pf] 'your hair'
útúñtûn  [ʃrí̯n̯d̯i] ≈ [ʃrí̯ntʃi] 'hot (place)'
pahonto'î  [ɔhɔndɔšI] 'smoking pipe'
ún tohopû ñ [ʃn dohopI] 'your thigh'
antsaapana  [ənɔ̆:bənə] 'flicker'
om'intsoko  [mɔ̆'injəŋ̊] 'wrist'
Ko'ontsiarnmu  [koipientsiamu] 'Saline Valley people'
ún tsooppûh  [ʃn ʊp'f] 'your shoulder'
nangkawîna  [nɔ̆'gawinə] 'to speak'
tûngkahî  [tɔ̆ŋgahni] 'cave'
úŋ kope  [ŋ gi̯e̯] 'your face'
nasungkwa'anna  [nɔ̆'sungwa'anna] 'to feel'
úŋ kwaimpu  [ŋ ɡwaimpf] 'your back'

It should be noted that geminate oral occlusives are never voiced.

9.2.2.3 Palatalization of Sibilants and Nasals

The sibilants Ɂ, Ɂ, and geminate Ɂ are palatalized after front vowels, whether short or long. Palatalization occurs both within the word and across word boundaries. It occurs on Ɂ even if there is an intervening Ɂ between Ɂ and the preceding front vowel; e.g.:
Wisipin [wišipj] 'thread'
Pisottonna [pišoròn'a] 'to pull'
Túmpisäh [tìmbiša] 'Death Valley'
Esùmputün [ešùmbišuf] 'gray'
Sunni suwanna [sun'i suwàn'a] 'think like that'
Úng witsa [ŋ wiša] [ŋ wiča] 'your shin'
Pitsinna [pižin'a] 'to suckle'
Plùntsi [pižini] 'beans'
Tapetttsi [tâpěč'i] 'sun'
Am pisittsi [âm bišč'i] 'its leaf'

Retrogressive palatalization also occurs. If a sibilant stands before a front vowel and another sibilant palatalized because of the front vowel preceding it, then the first sibilant is usually also palatalized; e.g.:

tùhùtttsittsi [tùhič'ič'i] 'small'
Toppottsittsi [tôp'čič'i] 'short'
Tatuttsittsi [târuč'ič'i] = [târuč'ič'i] 'thin'

Occasionally, initial ts is palatalized before ı or ii, although palatalization is not obligatory in this situation; e.g.:

tsiatiyaippu [tiariyaij] = [tiariyaij] 'starving'
Tsikka'ah [čik'a] [čik'a] 'cut'
Tsipttakinnna [čip'áiíni] = [čip'áiíni] 'split (pl)'
Tsiitsakannumpu [či:zaYan'mb:] 'fork'

Geminate nn is palatalized to [n] after front vowels; e.g.:

Innumpu [în'mb:] 'thief'
Senni [sēn'i] 'like this'
Wainnih [wāin'i] 'wine'
Single ŋ is also palatalized to [y] after front vowels; examples are given with the discussion in the next section, on Softening.

9.2.2.4 Simple Oclusive and Nasal Softening

(= Spirantization)

In general, single stopped consonants, both oral occlusives and nasals, are softened, spirantized, or unchecked between vowels. This happens whether or not there is an intervening ʰ between the preceding vowel and the (underlying) stopped consonant. The softened occlusives are also voiced between voiced segments, as discussed in 9.2.2.2; otherwise they are voiceless.

This softening process needs to be qualified and clarified in a number of ways, depending on a number of factors and the particular segments involved. First, geminate occlusives and geminate nasals are never softened between vowels. And single occlusives and nasals are not softened in phrase-initial position or after a nasal, but remain checked in these positions.

Ӏ, ʰ, and kw are voiced fricatives between voiced vowels, and usually they are voiceless fricatives when next to a voiceless vowel (such as a final voiceless vowel). However, before final voiceless vowels, sometimes they do not become fricatives and remain voiceless lenis stops; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phonemic Form</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tape(ttsi)</td>
<td>[təʃəe•I]</td>
<td>[taʃə]</td>
<td>'sun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yūpani</td>
<td>[yɪʃanɪ]</td>
<td>[yɪʃa]</td>
<td>'autumn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahapi</td>
<td>[təhɑ̃pɪ]</td>
<td>[təhɑ̃p]</td>
<td>'snow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hupapin</td>
<td>[huʃapɪ]</td>
<td>[huʃap]</td>
<td>'soup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhakantun</td>
<td>[puhɑ̃kɑ̃tɪ]</td>
<td>[puhɑ̃k]</td>
<td>'shaman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kimmakinna</td>
<td>[kɪm • ɑɪn•A]</td>
<td>[kɪm • ɑɪn]</td>
<td>'to come here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hupiatuki</td>
<td>[huʃiəɾɪ•I]</td>
<td>[huʃiəɾɪ]</td>
<td>'sing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


tukwanni [tû́wän’í] 'night'
yûkwi(nna) [yû́wIN’A] ≈ [yû́x’I] 'to say'

When $p$ occurs between a vowel plus $h$ and another vowel, the $hp$ cluster coalesces phonetically to the voiceless bilabial fricative $[$\#$]$: e.g.:

- ohpimpu [6¢imb±] 'mesquite tree'
- tuppisihpungi [tfp’IsI¢UDkI] 'stinkbug'

Following nonfront vowels, $t$ is an unchecked flap (rather than a fricative). It is a voiced flap $[r]$ between voiced vowels when it follows nonfront vowels, and a voiceless flap $[R]$ next to a voiceless vowel after nonfront vowels. Following front vowels, $t$ is an interdental fricative, either $[\delta]$ between two voiced vowels or $[\theta]$ next to a voiceless vowel; e.g.:

- poto’innna [p6ro?IN’A] 'be a spring'
- patuasúppuh [parfasj,p’!] 'ice'
- utuínna [IrifIN’A] 'to be hot'
- sutúmmú [súrfM’!] 'those'
- sutú [súrf] ≈ [súrf] 'that'
- pakatúnn [páYar]\#] ≈ [páYar]\#] 'body of water'
- tsitoohin [¢i86:hI] 'push'
- petúmmú [p6éfM’!] 'daughters'
- petú" [péé!] ≈ [p6é\#] 'daughter'
- nuétun [n6e\#] ≈ [n6e\#] 'wind'
- sitú [síé\#] ≈ [síé\#] 'this'

The affricate $ts$ is softened to a voiced lenis alveolar fricative $[z]$ between voiced vowels when the preceding vowel is nonfront. It is devoiced but remains lenis next to a voiceless vowel after nonfront vowels. After front vowels, $ts$
is alveolo-palatal [z] and is either voiced between vowels or voiceless if next to a voiceless vowel; e.g.:

- tatsiumpi [táziˈʌmbi] 'star'
- potsoˈinna [pózoˈɪnˈA] 'to be wet'
- tatsa [tæza] ≈ [tægA] = [tægA] 'summer'
- motson [mózo] ≈ [móɡO] ≈ [móɡO] 'whiskers'
- petsünna [pɛʔiˈN·A] 'to holler'
- ūm pitiˈi [i̞m biziˈi] 'your breast'
- ūng witsa [i̞ŋ wiˈza] ≈ [i̞ŋ wiˈA] ≈ [i̞ŋ wiˈA] 'your shin'

The nasal m is softened to a voiced nasalized [w] between voiced vowels, and to a voiceless [ʁ] between vowels when one is voiceless. Softening of m occurs even if h intervenes between m and the preceding vowel; e.g.:

- ūn tamiˈi [i̞n dəwiiˈI] 'your little brother'
- süuːmootun [sːːwɔːri] 'ten'
- imaː [i̞ːa:] 'tomorrow'
- ūn taman [i̞n dəwː] ≈ [i̞n dəɡA] 'your tooth'
- nũmũ [n̞wɔː] ≈ [n̞wɪ] 'person'
- kũhmattsι [kũwɔːɡˈI] ≈ [kũwɔːˈI] 'husband'
- ohmaattsι [o̞wɔːɡˈI] ≈ [o̞wɔːˈI] 'little baby'

As the second variants of 'husband' and 'little baby' illustrate, sometimes after h the [w] disappears leaving only nasalization on the surrounding vowels.

The nasal n is softened after front vowels to a nasalized [ŋ]. This softening takes place even if an h intervenes between n and the preceding front vowel. After nonfront vowels, n is not softened and remains [n]; e.g.:
wunutun  [wǐˈnii:tɬ]  'standing'
punikkan  [pʊˈniːkA]  'see, look at'
tokonetaippuh  [tʰɨˈnɛːəlɬpɬɬ]  'scratched'
kahni  [kɔːnɬ]  ≈ [kɔːnɬi]  'house'
senu  [sɛˈɲu]  'therefore'
wungweninna  [wɨŋˈweːɲɬɬA]  'to hang'
kwinna  [kwɪˈŋːiː]  'eagle'
whihnu  [wihˈiɲu]  ≈ [wihˈiɲu]  'then'
whihnumpittsi  [wihˈiɲumɬɬɬɬi]  'buzzard'
mii ningwunu  'it is said they said'
 [miː ˈiɲvɨɲɨ]
sümui nuiṅgkinu  'thus she said to (him)'
 [sɨmɬi ˈiɲɡɡɨɲɬA]
pue tukwani naakinna  'it's already getting dark'
 [pʊe ˈiɲɤɬɜɬA]

The velar nasal ng does not show any indications of softening like other medial nasals. Apparently, because ng is always geminate, never single phonetically, it doesn't soften. Labio-velar ngw, on the other hand, displays some indications of softening in that it varies with ɣ, phonetically [ɤ], after back vowels; e.g.:

"ungwatun  [ˈiŋɡwaːɾtɬ]  'rain'  
≈ umatun  [iɬˈwaːɾtɬ]
ongwapititci  [ˈiŋɡawaɬɬɬi]  'salt'
≈ omapiitci  [ˈiŋɡawaɬɬɬɬi]
songwo  [sɔˈŋɡʷo]  'lungs'
≈ sono  [sɔˈŋo]

Otherwise, ngw shows no sign of softening between vowels but apparently is always short, not long.
Geminate consonants, both oral occlusives and nasals, are very fortis and always held long but not doubly articulated. The geminate oral occlusives are also always voiceless and mildly aspirated. Examples of geminate consonants occur throughout this chapter, but a few more are given below.

- tüasuppüh [t따sип°] 'frozen'
- üppühan [ıp°сихA] 'sleeping'
- uttunna [ут°ûÑ°A] 'to give'
- kuttinna [кут°ын°A] 'shoot'
- müattsI [мIяя°I] 'moon'
- wattsüwitun [wiąя°эээяээ] 'four'
- tükkanna [тIк°ын°A] 'to eat'
- sakka [сак°а] = [сак°A] 'that (obj)'
- sikkIh [сIк°I] 'right here'
- Pakkwasi [пак°WasI] 'Olanche, Calif.'
- ukkwah [ук°ыA] 'when, if'
- kimmanna [kim°ын°A] 'to come'
- númmI = [нIм°ээ] = [нИм°ээ] 'we (exc)'

As mentioned earlier, both ng and § are always phonetically long and fortis (like geminate consonants) between vowels. But, since there is no distinction between simple and geminate ng and §, they are always written single (even in phonetic notation they are not written with the raised dot for length, except in the examples that follow); e.g.:

- tanga [тIн°а] 'and, also'
- pange [пIн°е] 'up'
- angipi [аIн°ээ] 'fly'
- posottu [пос°оt°ээ] 'alkali'
- kasattsI [кас°яэ°I] 'wing'
- esümpitun [ээ°эмбл0ээ] 'gray'
9.2.2.6 Velar Occlusive Fronting

The velar occlusives $k$ and $kw$, whether single or geminate, are fronted to prevelar position preceding front vowels. Except before front vowels, the velars are back-velar (i.e., somewhat further back than English $k$ and $g$); e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kee</td>
<td>[ké:]</td>
<td>'no, not'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekkih</td>
<td>[sékˈk·I]</td>
<td>'here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaakki</td>
<td>[kaːˈk·I]</td>
<td>'crow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokwi&quot;</td>
<td>[tóˈwi]</td>
<td>'correct'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwii</td>
<td>[ˈkwiː]</td>
<td>'left'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukkwiippūh</td>
<td>[kʊkˈwiːp·i]</td>
<td>'smoke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakkuh</td>
<td>[sukˈU]</td>
<td>'there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi'akwa</td>
<td>[miʔaκˈwa]</td>
<td>'go away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekupittsi</td>
<td>[eκuˈpiːtʃ·I]</td>
<td>'thorn'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.2.2.7 Consonant Allophone Charts

The distribution of the consonant allophones, as discussed in the preceding sections, is summarized in the charts on the following two pages.

9.3 PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

The processes affecting alternations in phonemes are discussed in this section. These processes include the deletion or insertion of phonemes, and the changing of one phoneme to another.

9.3.1 Delabialization and Rounding

When labio-velar $ngw$ is followed by $a$, it usually loses its labialization and the $a$ becomes a rounded vowel, either $u$ or $o$; e.g.:
### Consonant Allophones Before Voiced Vowels

**Environments**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>__ V</th>
<th>N__ V</th>
<th>Nonfront V__ V</th>
<th>Front V__ V</th>
<th>Vh__ V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>δ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>g'w</td>
<td>γ'w</td>
<td>γ'w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m'</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>y'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>η'</td>
<td>η'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngw</td>
<td>ngw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>η'w - η'</td>
<td>η'w - η'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td>s'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h - φ</td>
<td>h - φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp</td>
<td>pp</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>p'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tt</td>
<td>tt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tts</td>
<td>tts</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kk</td>
<td>kk</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kkw</td>
<td>kkw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k'w</td>
<td>k'w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm</td>
<td>mm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>m'</td>
<td>m'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nn</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>n'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# CONSONANT ALLOPHONES BEFORE VOICELESS VOWELS

## Environments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N_vvl</th>
<th>Nonfront</th>
<th>Front</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>φ - p</td>
<td>φ - p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>⧇ ≈ ⧈</td>
<td>z - ⧇</td>
<td>z - c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>x - k</td>
<td>x - k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>kW</td>
<td>xW - kW</td>
<td>xW - kW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ȵ</td>
<td>ȵ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ųw - ų</td>
<td>ųw - ų</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y - N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td>s'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h - n</td>
<td>h - ʰ</td>
<td>h - ʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>' - ʰ</td>
<td>' - ʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>p'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tts</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td>s'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kk</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kkw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kW'</td>
<td>kW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nn</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tangummū < tangwammū 'man'
pasingompin < pasingwampin 'sand'

This process is virtually obligatory in Death Valley, while in other areas it is apparently optional. Thus, the forms on the left above are from Death Valley, but both variants in each case occur in other areas.

9.3.2 Lowering of i and y

Short i is often lowered to e after a glottal stop. This is especially common in phrase-final position, but it seems to be optional in any position. Lowering of i also occurs after h, but in this environment lowering is not particularly common; e.g.:

ko'i(ttsi) ≈ ko'e(ttsi) "peak, point"
ma'i ≈ ma'e "with"
-pa'in ≈ -pa'en "have"
po'i(ttsi)≈ po'e(ttsi) "road, path"
to'ih ≈ to'eh "emerge"
yahinna ≈ yahenna "to laugh"

Short y is occasionally lowered to e in final position, although this seems to be rather rare and sporadic; e.g.:

namokku ≈ namokko "money"
tümuhu ≈ tümuhu "rope"
pungku ≈ pungko "pet, horse"

9.3.3 Vowel Harmony

When the vowels a and ū occur in prefixes, they usually assimilate the rounding feature of round vowels in the following syllable. Typically, a becomes o and ū becomes u, although sometimes a becomes u when the vowel in the following
syllable is y, and sometimes ū becomes o when the vowel in the
next syllable is o. This particular type of vowel harmony is
especially common with verb prefixes such as voice-changing
na- pmpr and tu- absolutive antipassive, and instrumental
prefixes kū- 'with teeth/mouth', na- 'with hands', ta'- 'with
feet', ta'- 'with rock-like instrument', tsa'- 'by grasping',
and wū'- 'with an (elongated) instrument' (see sections
3.2.1.2 through 3.2.1.4). Although the rounding process is
quite productive and certainly common, it is not entirely
obligatory. Many forms display variation, and a few seem not
to be affected by the process; e.g.:

nokoitsoih 'bathe, swim' Vi
< na- pmpr, koitsoih 'wash' Vt

nosuntamah ≈ nasuntamah 'remember'
< na- pmpr, sun- 'with mind', -tamah 'secure,
tie' V instr

tukoitsoih ≈ tukoitsoih 'wash' Vi
< tu- absol aps, koitsoih 'wash' Vt
tumo'ih 'write, draw' Vi
< tu- absol aps, so'ih 'write, draw' Vt
kuso'eh = küso'eh 'bite' pl
< kū- 'with teeth/mouth', so'eh 'occlude'
kusungkwa'ah 'taste'
< kū- 'with teeth/mouth', sungkwa'ah 'feel, touch'
mokotsa" ≈ makotsa" 'smash with hands'
< ma- 'with hands', kotsa" Vi 'get smashed in'
mokopihih 'distribute (pl)'
< ma- 'with hands', -kopihih V instr 'break
(flex obj) into pieces'
tokkotsa" 'smash with foot'
< ta"- 'with foot', kotsa" Vi 'get smashed in'
toppotsiki 'throw (pl)'
< ta"- 'with rock-like', -potsiki V instr pl
'throw'
tottompokkah 'fasten'
< ta"- 'with rock-like', -tompokkah V instr 'fasten'
tsokkopiih 'break (flex obj) into pieces'
< tsa"- 'by grasping', -kopiih V instr 'break (flex obj) into pieces'
tsokkontonah 'wrap'
< tsa"- 'by grasping', -kontonah V instr 'wrap'
wusungkwa'ah 'touch/feel with'
< wu"- 'with an (elongated) instrument', sungkwa'ah 'feel, touch'
wummopo'ah 'cover'
< wu"- 'with an (elongated) instrument', mopo'ah 'cover' < ma- 'with hands', po'a(n) N 'covering'

Aside from the vowel harmony exemplified above, sporadic vowel assimilation of other sorts occurs in a number of forms; e.g.:

maponih(an) ≈ mapunih(an) 'take aim'
< ma- 'with hands', puni" 'see', -kan stv
tsokottih 'bump'
< tsa"- 'by grasping', kuttih 'hit'
pookoo ≈ pawoko 'bullfrog'

9.3.4 Velar Labialization

Velar consonants are normally labialized after round vowels. The process is productive but does not seem to be entirely obligatory, since a number of forms display variation with and without labialization; e.g.:

ekon ≈ okwon 'tongue'
nukkwi (< *nukki) 'run'
ukkuh ≈ ukkwhuh 'there yonder'
cf. akkuh 'there'
sukkwa ≈ sukka 'that yonder (obj)'
cf. sakka 'that (obj)'

kimmanookwinna 'come along hither'
< kimmah 'come', nooh 'in motion', -kin 'come to'
tupoong kwa 'in the desert'
< tupoon 'desert', ka("') 'at, in, to'

9.3.5 Volatile Glottals

The two glottals ′ and ″ are extremely volatile between vowels. Both of them may be omitted optionally in this environment. When they are dropped, the surrounding vowels usually remain two different syllables with a distinct syllabic pulse between them. Additionally, sometimes a small amount of creaky voice is heard between the two vowels where a glottal has been omitted; e.g.:

mi'akwa [mǐʔaʔwà] ≈ [mīyâwâ] 'go away!'
p'o'ittsi [póʔieʔI] ≈ [pọieʔI] 'path'
mo'o [mọʔo] ≈ [mọo] 'hand'
p'o'attsii [póʔasʔI] ≈ [pọašI] 'covering'

pahoompî [pahömbi] ≈ [pãömbI] 'tobacco'
tahapi [təhãəI] ≈ [tãəβI] 'snow'
tuũyā [tuũyə] ≈ [tuũyə] 'deer'
wahappin [wãapʔI] ≈ [wàapʔI] 'piñon tree'

Dropping of ″ is especially common in the two verb suffixes -tûhantun ≈ -tuantun obligative future and -ppûhantun ≈ -ppuantun ≈ -ppantun. In the latter case, especially in the speech of younger speakers, when the ″ goes, so does the preceding vowel ŋ, which is usually phonetically voiceless when it is unstressed and the ″ is present.
9.3.6 Final Glottal Stop Plus Echo Vowel

A glottal stop and voiceless echo vowel are often inserted at the ends of words in phrase-final position and at the ends of words spoken in isolation. The glottal stop and echo vowel are normally not added to stems with inflectional suffixes or to stems that end in a vowel preceded by a glottal stop (e.g., not to *paw* 'road'). When the glottal stop and echo vowel are added, the final vowel of the stem is not devoiced by processes described in 9.2.1.1. The two processes, devoicing of final vowels and adding a glottal stop plus echo vowel, are in complementary distribution. They both mark the end of a phrase or a word spoken in isolation. A glottal stop and echo vowel may be added to stems that end in final consonantal segments (see 9.3.7), but the final consonants are always deleted first.

The insertion of glottal stop and echo vowel is especially common on nouns that do not have absolutive suffixes (except -ppu; see 5.6). In this regard, the glottal stop and echo vowel seem to function much like the absolutive suffixes; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Glottal Stop Plus Echo Vowel</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tami</td>
<td>tami'i</td>
<td>[tâw'i?]</td>
<td>'younger brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papi</td>
<td>papi'i</td>
<td>[pâpi?]</td>
<td>'older brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nammi</td>
<td>nammi'i</td>
<td>[nâmm'i?]</td>
<td>'younger sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tûmmu</td>
<td>tûmmu'u</td>
<td>[tûm'm'u]</td>
<td>'enemy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atapu</td>
<td>atapu'u</td>
<td>[âraBu']</td>
<td>'mother's brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'ippu</td>
<td>wa'ippu'u</td>
<td>[wa?i:p'ei?]</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tûhuya</td>
<td>tûhuya'a</td>
<td>[tûhûy'â?]</td>
<td>'deer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petü</td>
<td>petü'u</td>
<td>[peû'ê?]</td>
<td>'daughter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tua</td>
<td>tua'a</td>
<td>[túa'n']</td>
<td>'son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poton</td>
<td>poto'o</td>
<td>[pôto'o]</td>
<td>'staff, cane'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motson</td>
<td>motso'o</td>
<td>[môto'o]</td>
<td>'beard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taman</td>
<td>tama'a</td>
<td>[tâm'a']</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wainnih</td>
<td>wainni'i</td>
<td>[wâin'i?]</td>
<td>'wine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although a final glottal stop and echo vowel are most typically found on nouns, they may occur on other word classes as well; e.g.:

- ma > ma'a [máʔA] 'with (instrument)'
- man > ma'a [máʔA] 'on the surface of'
- tommo > tommo'o [tõm·ʔO] '(in the) winter'
- tokwi" > tokwi'i [tõýʔI] 'right, correct(ly)'
- piappṵ̈utun > piappṵ̈utṵ̈u [piap·ʔriʔI] 'big'
- hipi" > hipi'i [hiʔiʔI] 'drink'
- tonna" > tonna'a [tõn·ʔA] 'stab'

A glottal stop and echo vowel are rarely used on verbs, because verbs almost always have inflectional suffixes or nominal and participial forms that are used in isolation. But as the last two examples above indicate, verbs with a glottal stop and echo vowel have occasionally been recorded.

Words ending with long vowels may take a glottal stop plus echo vowel; or instead, a glottal stop may be inserted in the middle of the long vowel, breaking it into two short vowels. Nonidentical vowel clusters normally do not take a glottal stop plus echo vowel. Rather, a glottal stop is inserted between the two nonidentical vowels. In the case of both long vowels and nonidentical vowel clusters, the vowel after the inserted glottal stop is devoiced; e.g.:

- ke'e > ke'e [kéʔE] 'no, not'
- haa'a > haa'a [háʔA] 'yes'
- til'i > til'i [tiʔI] 'tea'
- paa'a > paa'a [páʔA] 'water'
- pia > pia [piʔA] 'mother'
- ko'e > ko'e [køE] 'guts'
- tukku'a > tukku'a [tuk'U] 'flesh, meat'
- üppṵ̈i > üppṵ̈i [üp'iʔI] 'sleep'
9.3.7 Final Consonantal Segments

The three segments ꞌ, ꞔ, and ꞝ are the only consonants that may end words and morphemes in their underlying forms. Because they may appear in word-final and morpheme-final position, they behave in special ways and may have special effects on other segments preceding and following them. They all disappear in phrase-final position or when the words they end are spoken in isolation, although they may leave behind residual effects. Thus, ꞌ causes a preceding short unstressed vowel to devoice (see examples in 9.2.1.1), and ꞔ may leave behind nasalization on the preceding vowel (see examples in 9.2.1.2). The final consonant segments also disappear completely before geminate consonants and other consonant clusters. Another peculiarity of the three final consonants is that they behave differently in the verb system than in all other areas of the grammar. When they end verb stems and verb suffixes, their effects are often different from their effects when they end words and morphemes in other word classes. In the next few paragraphs, the peculiarities in behavior and special effects of the final consonants are presented in detail.

The geminating final segment ꞝ basically causes following oral occlusives ꞌ, ꞔ, ꞝ, ꞝ, ꞝ, and ꞝ, and nasals ꞝ and ꞝ to geminate. It is lost completely in phrase-final position and before ꞝ, and the two glottals ꞝ and ꞝ, as well as before consonant clusters of any kind, whether geminate or nonidentical. Consider the effects on following consonants of the geminating segment ending tua" 'son' and hipi" 'drink', which, when spoken in isolation, are pronounced [tua] = [tuaʔA] and [hiβi] = [hiβI], respectively; e.g.:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{tua" 'son'} & + & \text{pan 'on top of'} \\
& > & \text{tuappan 'on top of the son'} \\
\text{tukkwan 'under'} & > & \text{tuattukkwan 'under the son'} \\
\text{ma'i 'with'} & > & \text{tuam ma'i 'with the son'}
\end{array}
\]
Consider also the effects of the geminating segment ending the instrumental prefix tsa"- 'by grasping', which is affixed to many verb stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsa&quot;- 'by grasping' +</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>annih 'fall' sg</td>
<td>tsa'annih 'push over' Vt sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hapingkun 'make lie'</td>
<td>tsahapingkun 'put in bed' Vt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ah 'break' Vi sg</td>
<td>tsakk'ah 'break' Vt sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kopiih 'break' V pl</td>
<td>tsakkopi'ih 'break' Vt pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua&quot; 'emerge' Vi pl</td>
<td>tsakkua&quot; 'take out' Vt pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwayah 'loosen' Vi</td>
<td>tsakkwayah 'take off' Vt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwinu 'go around' Vi</td>
<td>tsakkwinu(nnukwi) 'wind' Vt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi'a 'go'</td>
<td>tsa'mia 'turn over' Vt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| man 'on'               | tuam man 'on the son' |
| -i obj                 | tuai 'son (obj)' |
| -ttsi diminutive       | tuattsi 'little son' |

hil" 'drink' +

| kahni 'house'          | hipikkahni 'bar' |
| kammah 'be sick'       | hipitkammah 'have a hangover' |
| tsuukuppü 'old man'    | hipitssuukuppü 'drunkard' |
| nooh 'go along'        | hipinnoooh 'go along drinking' |
| tükü 'start'           | hipittükü 'start to drink' |
| tünna 'tell to'        | hipittünna 'tell to drink' |
| suwan 'want' Aux       | hipisuwan 'want to drink' |
| happi 'lie (dur)'      | hipihappi 'lie and drink' |
| -kan stv, -tün         | hipikkantün 'be drinking' |
| -kin 'hither'          | hipikki 'coming drinking' |
| -kwan 'away', cmplt    | hipikkwan 'go drinking'; drank' |
| -kwantu'ih 'going to'  | hipikkwantu'ih 'going to drink' |
| -taippüh cmplt, pp     | hipittaippüh 'drunk' |
| -ppühantün past        | hipippühantün 'drank' |
| -nna inf present       | hipina 'to (to) drink' |
| -ngkün cat             | hipingkün 'make drunk' |
| -ttü agentive          | hipittü 'drinker' |
nopah 'destroy' > tsonnopah 'tear down' Vt sg
nuwan 'move' Vi > tsannuwan 'lift, move' Vt
paha" 'split' Vi sg > tsappaha" 'split' Vt sg
pahe" 'fall off' Vi > tsappaha" 'drop' Vt sg
sakkah 'crack' Vi > tsasakkah 'break, crack' Vt
-tamah 'secure' V > tsattamah 'secure, tie' Vt
tawin 'be a hole' Vi > tsattawin 'open up' Vt
to'eh 'emerge' Vi sg > tsatto'eh 'take out' Vt
tuki" 'put' Vt sg > tsattukih 'put, place' Vt
wunungkun 'make stand' V > tsawunungkun 'stand up' Vt
yunah 'put' Vt sg > tsangunah 'put, place' Vt
yuniih 'put' Vt pi > tsanguniih 'put, place' Vt

As the last two examples illustrate, at least sometimes the geminating segment causes a following semivowel to become a velar nasal. Usually, ~ plus y becomes ng, and ~ plus ~ becomes ~. A few other examples of the nasalization of semivowels by the geminating segment are given below.

tangunah sg, tanguniih pl 'plant' Vt
< ta"- 'with a hard rock-like instrument',
yunah sg, yuniih pl 'put, place' Vt
kukkwiingwun "smoke' Vi
< kukkwil" 'smoke', wunun "'stand'
ningwunu" 'discuss'
< ni"- 'with words', wunun "'stand'
wungwenih 'hang' Vt
< wu"- 'with elongated instrument', -wenih 'hang'

Sometimes, however, the geminating segment has no effect on a following y, as tsawunungkun 'stand up' (cited above) illustrates. And, sometimes the geminating segment causes a following y to become nn instead of ng; e.g.:

tsinnahi 'make laugh'
< tsi"- 'with a sharp instrument', yahi" 'laugh'
Many verb stems end in geminating " (e.g., hipi" 'drink', sii" 'pee', and tukwii" 'go out [of fire]'), so that the initial consonants of a good many verb suffixes and auxiliary verbs are geminated after these stems. On the other hand, a number of verb suffixes which otherwise would seem to have initial geminatable consonants are absolutely resistant to the effects of the geminating segment. Verb suffixes that are impermeable to gemination are -kin 'come and do', -kwan 'go and do', -tu'ih future, -kwan + -tu'ih 'will go and do', -tūn present participle and habitual, -tūhantūn obligative future, and -ku subordinating. For example, note how " has no effect on the suffixes on hipi" below; compare these examples with those given above for hipi".

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hipi" } & \text{ 'drink' +} \\
-\text{kin} & > \text{hipikin} \quad \text{'come and drink'} \\
-\text{kwan} & > \text{hipikwan} \quad \text{'go and drink'} \\
-\text{kwan + -tu'ih} & > \text{hipikwantu'ih} \quad \text{'will go and drink'} \\
-\text{tu'ih} & > \text{hipitu'ih} \quad \text{'will drink'} \\
-\text{tūn} & > \text{hipitūn} \quad \text{'drinking'} \\
-\text{ku} & > \text{hipiku} \quad \text{'when drinking'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Two other verb stems ending in geminating " are given below with an array of suffixes and auxiliaries.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sii" } & \text{ 'pee, urinate' +} \\
\text{katū} & \text{'sit' Aux} > \text{siikkatū} \quad \text{'squat (peeing)'} \\
\text{tukin} & \text{'start' Aux} > \text{siittukin} \quad \text{'start to pee'} \\
-\text{kwantu'ih 'going to'} & > \text{siikkwantu'ih} \quad \text{'going to pee'} \\
-\text{taihwan cmplt} & > \text{siittaihwan} \quad \text{'already peed'} \\
-\text{ppūhantūn past} & > \text{siippūhantūn} \quad \text{'peed'} \\
-\text{kwan 'go and'}, -\text{tu'ih} & > \text{siikkwantu'ih} \quad \text{'will go and pee'}
\end{align*}
\]
Generally speaking, the final segment \( n \) is realized as a homoorganic nasal before oral occlusives \( p, t, ts, k, \) and \( kw, \) and before the two nasals \( m \) and \( n; \) i.e.:

\[
\begin{align*}
 n + p & \rightarrow mp \\
 n + t & \rightarrow nt \\
 n + ts & \rightarrow nts \\
 n + k & \rightarrow ngk \\
 n + kw & \rightarrow ngkw \\
 n + m & \rightarrow mm \\
 n + n & \rightarrow nn
\end{align*}
\]

Compare the manifestations of \( n \) in the following examples based on \( et\text{\text{"u}n} \) 'gun, bow', \( pasak\text{\text{"u}n} \) 'bridge', and \( n\text{\text{"i}a} \) 'my', which when spoken in isolation are pronounced \( [\text{\text{"e}\text{"i}}] \approx [\text{\text{"e}\text{"i}}] \approx [\text{\text{"e}\text{"i}}], [\text{\text{"a}}\text{\text{"a}}] \approx [\text{\text{"a}}\text{\text{"a}}] \approx [\text{\text{"a}}\text{\text{"a}}]), \text{and [\text{\text{"i}}\text{\text{"i}}]} \approx [\text{\text{"i}}\text{\text{"i}}], \text{respectively.}
\[
\begin{align*}
et\text{\text{"u}n} \) 'gun, bow' + & \\
 pan & 'on top of' \rightarrow et\text{\text{"u}n} pan 'on top of gun' \\
tukkwan & 'under' \rightarrow et\text{\text{"u}n} tukkwan 'under a gun' \\
-kantun & 'having' \rightarrow et\text{\text{"u}n}kantun 'having a gun' \\
ma & 'with' \rightarrow et\text{\text{"u}n} ma 'with a gun' \\
man & 'on' \rightarrow et\text{\text{"u}n} man 'on the gun'
\end{align*}
\]
pasakun 'bridge' +
pan 'on top of' > pasakun pan 'on a bridge'
tukkwan 'under' > pasakun tukkwan 'under a bridge'
ka 'to, at' > pasakun ka 'to a bridge'

nian 'my'
+pungku 'pet, horse' > nian pungku 'my pet, horse'
tua" 'son' > nian tua" 'my son'
tsuhi(ppuh) 'bone' > nian tsuhi 'my bone'
kahni 'house' > nian kahni 'my house'
kwasu'un 'dress' > nian kwasu'un 'my dress'
mupin 'nose' > nian mupin 'my nose'
nampe 'foot' > nian nampe 'my foot'

When final n appears before a vowel, it normally
geminates, although it may also drop; i.e.:

\[ n + V > n \text{n}V \quad \text{or} \quad n + V > V \]

Compare the examples below with vowel-initial noun stems
following nian and noun stems ending in n preceding the
objective case suffix -a; e.g.:

nian 'my'
+etun 'gun' > nian etun 'my gun'
okwon 'tongue' > nian okwon 'my tongue'
appi 'father' > nian appi 'my father'

NGUN + -a OBJECTIVE CASE

| etun | > etunna | 'gun (obj)' |
| pasakun | > pasakunna | 'bridge (obj)' |
| kwasu'un | > kwasu'unna | 'dress (obj)' |
| motson | > motsonna | 'beard (obj)' |
| taman | > tamanha | 'tooth (obj)' |
| yuutsun | > yuutsunna | 'airplane (obj)' |
Similarly, when final n appears before h, it may either drop or geminate replacing the h; i.e.:

\[ n + h > n \quad \text{OR} \quad n + h > h \]

E.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
nian \ nimpû & \approx nia \ himpû \quad 'my \ stuff' \\
ümmin \ nimpû & \approx ümmi \ himpû \quad 'your \ stuff' \\
nian \ nungkwappûh & \approx nia \ hungkwappûh \quad 'my \ leg' \\
ümmin \ nungkwappûh & \approx ümmi \ hungkwappûh \quad 'your \ leg' \\
nian \ nuttsi & \approx nia \ hettsi \quad 'my \ FaMo' \\
ümmin \ nuttsi & \approx ümmi \ hettsi \quad 'your \ FaMo'
\end{align*}
\]

Final n may drop before the semivowels w and y as well. Or, it may remain before them both, becoming ng before w and geminate before y replacing it; i.e.:

\[
\begin{align*}
n + w & > ng \quad \text{OR} \quad n + w > w \\
n + y & > n \quad \text{OR} \quad n + y > y
\end{align*}
\]

However, with final n as a possessive case marker on nouns and pronominals (see 5.2 and 4), before semivowels there is a semantic distinction having to do with alienability between forms where final n is retained and where it is dropped. Compare the following examples.

\[
\begin{align*}
nia \ yuhupi & \quad 'my \ own \ fat' \\
nian \ nhu & \quad 'my \ fat \ (of \ an \ animal)' \\
nia \ witsa & \quad 'my \ own \ shin' \\
niang \ witsa & \quad 'my \ shin \ (of \ an \ animal)'
\end{align*}
\]
nia wua" 'my own penis' (said by a man)
niang wuan naa" 'it's my penis' (said by a woman of her man's penis)

I have no idea why this semantic distinction should show up only before forms under possession beginning with semivowels. When there is no possibility of a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, the retention of final n seems to be the norm, but a few forms display variation; e.g.:

nia nütsütün 'my airplane' < yütsütün 'airplane'
(*nia yütsütün)
niang wa'a'ettsi 'my enemy' < wa'a'ettsi 'enemy'
= nia wa'a'ettsi

In constructions not having to do with possession, final n is normally retained before the semivowels; e.g.:

nüü ūng wüttühiha 'I'm waiting for you'
I you-O wait-stv

ūng wakantün 'towards you'
you-O towards

Quite a number of verb stems and verb suffixes end in final n, but it is realized in the verb system in very distinctive ways. At the ends of verb stems and suffixes, final n only manifests itself before t, ñ, and ì, and then only optionally (although it never appears before the completive suffix -tain). Final n does not manifest as a nasal before velars k or kw beginning following morphemes, except before the subordinating suffix -ku. Rather, before velars, final n is manifested in exactly the same way as final h (see discussion below). Thus, in the verb system only:
For example, compare the effects of final \( n \) at the ends of the verbs kamman 'taste' (used with tsao 'good') and uitsü'in 'be cold' in the forms below.

**tsao kamman 'taste good'** +
- tu'ih 'will' > tsao kamman(n)tu'ih 'will taste good'
- tühantün oblig > tsao kammantühantün 'must taste good'
- kin 'get', -nna > tsao kammahinna 'get tasting good'
- ppuhantün past > tsao kammappühantün 'tasted good'
- nna general > tsao kammanna 'tastes good'

**uitsü'in 'be cold'** +
- tünn hab/prp > uitsü'intün 'cold, cooling'
- tu'ih 'will' > uitsü'i(n)tu'ih 'will be cold'
- tühantün oblig > uitsü'i(n)tühantün 'must be cold'
- taippüh cmlpt prp > uitsü'itaippüh 'completely cold'
- kan static > uitsü'ihan 'being cold'
- kwantu'ih 'going to' > uitsü'ihwantu'ih 'going to be cold'
- ku sub > uitsü'ingku 'when it's cold'
- tükin 'start' > uitsü'i(n)tükin 'start to be cold'
- mi'a 'get' > uitsü'i(m)mi'a 'be getting cold'
- nasungkwa'ah 'feel' > uitsü'in nasungkwa'ah 'feel cold'

Also compare the effects of final \( n \) at the ends of the two verb suffixes -ngkun cat (on the verb teewi 'tell') and -tain completive (on nuwa" 'move').
Apparently, then, final r is changing to h in the verb system, at least before everything but t, n, and m.

Final preaspirating h is primarily manifested in its devoicing effects. It causes the devoicing of preceding short unclustered vowels (see 9.2.1.1), especially in word-final position. In word-medial position, vowels preceding h may be only partially devoiced. Outside of the verb system, final h is relatively rare and seems to be dying out in Tumpisa Shoshone. It is viable only on forms built with the past participle, nominalizing, and absolutive suffix -ppuh, the nominalizing locative suffix -ttuah, and the locative adverbial formative -kkuh, although it is maintained on a few other forms as well (e.g. tukkappih 'food', nangkih 'ear', putisih 'burro', nanah 'just, only').

Outside of the verb system, the primary effect that final h has on following consonants is that it usually blocks voicing of following oral occlusives, since when h precedes oral occlusives they do not stand between two voiced segments (which is the determining environment for voicing; see
Thus, when final $h$ precedes the oral occlusives $p$, $t$, $k$, and $kw$, they are normally realized as voiceless $[\phi]$, $[R]$ or $[\theta]$, $[x]$, and $[xw]$, respectively. Except for its devoicing effect on preceding vowels and blocking of voicing on following consonants, $h$ is lost before all consonants except the nasals $m$ and $n$ and the semivowels $\gamma$ and $\lambda$. Before vowels it is normally manifested as $h$, although like all $hs$ it is unstable between vowels (see 9.3.5); e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>šu'tu'ah 'ranch, farm'</th>
<th>ka 'at, on'</th>
<th>šu'tu'ah ka 'on a ranch'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a obj case</td>
<td>šu'tu'aha</td>
<td>'ranch (obj)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pa'tu'asüppuh 'ice, frozen'</th>
<th>pai 'around on'</th>
<th>pa'tu'asüppuh pai 'around on the ice'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tukkwawn 'under'</td>
<td>patu'asüppuh tukkwawn 'under the ice'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma 'with'</td>
<td>patu'asüppuh ma 'with ice'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a obj case</td>
<td>patu'asüppuhə</td>
<td>'ice (obj)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tukkappih 'food'</th>
<th>pan 'on top'</th>
<th>tukkappih pan 'on top of the food'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tukkwawn 'under'</td>
<td>tukkappi tukkwawn 'under the food'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man 'on'</td>
<td>tukkappih man 'on the food'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naa$^*$ 'be'</td>
<td>tukkappi naa$^*$ 'groceries'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[where $\gamma$ and $\lambda$ represent the semivowels $\gamma$ and $\lambda$ respectively]
putisih 'burro'

pan 'on top' > putisih pan 'on top of a burro'

ma'i 'with' > putisih ma'i 'with a burro'

-a obj case > putisiha 'burro (obj)'

niám putisih náa' [niám bùrísíh yá:] 'it’s my burro'

my burro be

Over half of all verb stems in Tümpisa Shoshone end in final h, and most of the remaining verbs end in geminating ~, although a good many end in i, while only a handful end in vowels (e.g., kimma sg 'come', mî'a sg 'go', namo’e 'pick', sungkia 'stagger').

Despite the fact that most verbs end in final h, it only manifests in the verb system when preceding the two velar stops k and kw in suffixes such as:

-kin 'hither'
-kan stative
-kon certaintive
-kwan momentaneous completive
-kwan 'away'
-kwantu'ih 'be going to' future

When such suffixes beginning with velars are appended to verbs or other verb suffixes ending in final h, the h and velars merge:

h + k > h
h + kw > hw

The suffixes above are then realized respectively as:

-hin 'hither'
-han stative
-hon
certainive
-hwan
momentaneous compleitive
-hwan
'away'
-hwantu'ih
'be going to'

Final h has absolutely no effect on other consonants, nor does it usually cause preceding vowels to be devoiced in the verb system. Furthermore, a number of suffixes beginning with velar stops are completely impermeable to the effects of final h (e.g., -kin 'come and do', -kwan 'go and do', -kwan + -tu'ih 'will go and do', -kon 'around, here and there', -ku subordinating), even though some of these suffixes appear to be virtually identical with suffixes affected by h. Compare the effects of final h on the two verbs given below with an array of suffixes.  

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{tukkah} & \text{'eat'} & \\
\hline
-kwan & cmplt & > tukkahwan 'ate' \\
-kwantu'ih & 'going to' & > tukkahwantu'ih 'going to eat' \\
-kon & certain & > tukkahontun 'certainly eating' \\
-tun & hab, prp & > tukkatun 'eating' \\
-tu'ih & 'will' & > tukkatu'ih 'will eat' \\
-nna & general & > tukkanna 'eat' \\
-ppuhantun & past & > tukkappuhantun 'ate' \\
-ku & subord & > tukkaku 'when eating' \\
-kin & 'come and' & > tukkakin 'come and eat' \\
-kwan & 'go and' & > tukkakwan 'go and eat' \\
tukkin & 'start' & > tukkatukkin 'start to eat' \\
wuni & 'stand' & > tukkwun 'stand and eat' \\
nuwi & 'go around' & > tukkanuwi 'eating around' \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
yungwah & \text{'scoop up'} & \\
\hline
-kwan & cmplt & > yungwahwa 'scooped up' \\
-kwantu'ih & 'going to' & > yungwahwantu'ih 'going to scoop' \\
-kwan 'go and', -tu'ih & > yungwakwantu'ih 'will go scoop' \\
-tu'ih & 'will' & > yungwatu'ih 'will scoop' \\
\end{array}
\]
Outside of the verb system, final \( h \) historically has had a similar aspirating effect on following velar stops \( k \) and \( kw \). There are a few frozen lexical items displaying mergers of \( h \) plus \( k \) to \( h \) (e.g., nanahapantun 'intermingled' < nanah 'just, only' + kapan(tun) 'among', and natuakahantun 'clown' < natuakah 'have face paint on' + -kantun 'characterized by'). However, as discussed above, usually final \( h \) plus velar stops do not merge in forms outside of the verb system.

In order to illustrate the contrasting effects of forms with final consonants and forms ending in vowels alone (without final consonants), a number of words are presented below built on the object noun incorporating verb -pa'in 'have' and on the noun and adjective forming suffix -kantun 'having, characterized by'. Several different sets of nouns are given before both -pa'in and -kantun, one set ending in \( ` \), another ending in \( n \), another ending in \( h \), and still another ending in vowels.

NOUN + -pa'in 'have' / -kantun 'having, characterized by'

With Nouns Ending in Geminating `'`

- tuappa'in 'have a son' < tua" 'son'
  [tuap'ąʔI]
- petūppa'in 'have a daughter' < petu" 'daughter'
  [pěsíp'ąʔI]
- kunnappa'in 'have firewood' < kunna" 'firewood'
  [kůn'ąp'ąʔI]
- tuakkantun 'having a son' < tua" 'son'
  [tuak'ąntf]
wūakkantün  'having a penis = gelding' < wūa  'penis'  
[yšak'áñtʃ]  
yatsukkantün  'deflated' < yatsū' (?)  
[yázík'áñtʃ]  

With Nouns Ending in Nasalizing n  
etūmpa'in  'have a gun' < etūn  'gun, bow'  
[ésímba'I]  
tamampa'in  'have a tooth' < taman  'tooth'  
[táº̯ámba'I]  
motsompa'in  'have a beard' < motson  'beard'  
[mózömba'I]  
tamangkantün  'having teeth' < taman  'tooth'  
[táº̯ágsángántʃ]  
nattusu'ungkantün  'doctor' < nattusu'un  'medicine'  
[nát-usū'úgáñtʃ]  

potongkantün  'having a club = cop' < poton  'club'  
[póporóngángántʃ]  

With Nouns Ending in Preaspirating ʰ  
putisihpa'in  'have a burro' < putisih  'burro'  
[púríšípʰa'I]  
patuasüppühpa'in  'have ice' < patuasüppüh  'ice'  
[párisípʰépʰa'I]  
tsoppippühpa'in  'have hair' < tsoppippüh  'hair'  
[góp'ípʰépʰa'I]
keehippuhkhantun 'having nothing'
[ké:hí:p·ixánd] < keehii(ppuh) 'nothing'

kee piammpuhkhantun 'not having children = childless'
[ké: iá:m·ip·ixántʃ] < plamm(ppuh) 'child'

kee namokkappuhkhantun 'not having money = moneyless'
[ké: yá:wók·úp·ixántʃ] < namokku(ppuh) 'money'

With Nouns Ending in a Vowel

kahnipa'in 'have a house, dwell' < kahni 'house'
[kákhní:jáʔí]

paapa'in 'have water' < paa 'water'
[pá:ʃáʔí]

pungkupa'in 'have a pet, horse' < pungku 'pet, horse'
[púŋgú:ʃáʔí]

kahnikantun 'having a house, dwelling' < kahni 'house'
[kákhní:jántʃ]

paakantun 'having water' < paa 'water'
[pá:ʃántʃ]

tapakantun 'having testicles = stud' < tapa 'testicles'
[tápa:ʃántʃ]

9.4 STRESS PATTERNS

As in other Numic languages, stress patterns in Túmpisa Shoshone are predictable and follow what Sapir (1930:39) called the law of alternating stresses. Basically, this means that every other mora is stressed, while intervening morae are weak or unstressed. A mora is any single vowel as well as the
diphthongs ai or oi. Long vowels count as two morae, as do vowel clusters of two vowels (except ai and oi); clusters of three vowels count as three morae. Counting of alternating stressed morae may begin either on the first or second mora of a word, depending on a number of factors discussed below. The first stressed mora carries the strongest or primary stress; alternating morae afterwards carry secondary stress only slightly less than the first stressed mora.

Typically, primary stress is on the first mora in the word, and every other mora afterwards is secondarily stressed. If secondary stress happens to fall on the last vowel of a word in phrase-final position, the final vowel may or may not take stress. If it does, then the final vowel is voiced; if it does not, then the final vowel is normally devoiced. The examples below illustrate this common pattern.

nattusu'ungkantun 'doctor'
[nat-Usu'unggantʃ]

kee nanomkkuppuhkantun 'not having money'
[ké: yāsök·up·xantʃ]

natupinniyaha(nna) '(to) be named'
[naráþpin·iyahA] ≈ [naráþpin·iyahān·A] ≈ [naráþpin·iyahān·A]

tukummahanningkunna 'cook for'
[tuyum·āhān·inggın·A] ≈ [tuyum·āhān·inggın·A]

tútúaimippuhantun 'used to work'
[tiriaim·ip·hántʃ] ≈ [tiriaim·ip·hántʃ]

tútúaimpuhantun 'worked'
[tiriaip·hántʃ] ≈ [tiriaip·hántʃ]

tamminoingkunna 'make tired, tire'
[tám·iýölgygN·A]
Usually, the second mora in the word (instead of the first) carries primary stress when the second syllable contains a long vowel while the first contains a short vowel; e.g.:

kukkwíippuŋ 'smoke'
[kukkwíippuŋ]

pihnaawitun 'bee'
[pihnaawitun]

pomaappuŋ 'grass, hay'
[pomaappuŋ]
As the last three examples indicate, when the second vowel is long, the placement of primary stress often varies. In many words, primary stress may be on either the first (short) vowel or on the second (long) vowel. In determining the alternating stress pattern, long vowels count as two morae. But since they are simply one long vowel, if secondary stress would fall on the last half of the long vowel, the stress is manifested on the beginning of the long vowel, not on the end. This then changes the alternating stress pattern such that the second half of the long vowel is treated as an unstressed mora, and then the following vowel becomes stressed.

When the first vowel of the word is in a prefix and the second vowel is the first vowel of the stem, the second mora frequently carries primary stress, rather than the first; e.g.:
napittatahanglekanna 'have behind bared for'
[nąśit-arahāŋgēhān-ā] ≈ [nąśit-arahāŋgēhān-N-A]

napitungkennna 'to fight'
[nąśiēŋgēN·A]

nawūttūmampū 'door'
[nawit·iˈwampē]

tūtattsokwiinna 'to sew' Vi
[tirag·oỳĩin-ā] ≈ [tirag·oỳĩin-N-A]

tūtsaikkanna 'to hold' Vi
[tizāik·AN·A]

wusuˈukkuttih 'kick'
[węsuˈuk·út·I]

This situation is especially common in verbs with voice and instrumental prefixes. However, the placement of primary stress in these cases may vary, so that in many forms with prefixes, primary stress is on the vowel of the prefix rather than on the first stem vowel; e.g.:

nasuntamahanna 'to remember'
[nąsūndawāhūN·A]

tukoitsoinna 'to wash' Vi
[tūroizōIN·A]

napakkappūh 'killed'
[nąśak·ap·ˈē] ≈ [nąśak·ap·ˈē]

naniyahanna 'to be called'
[nānįyāhān-ā] ≈ [nānįyāhāN·A]
Primary stress may be placed on the second mora in words which have a geminate stop or g after the first vowel of the root. In these cases, again, stress placement may vary, as some of the examples below indicate.

uttunna 'to give'
[ut·UN·A] ≈ [UT·UN·A]

kuttinna 'to hit'
[kut·IN·A] ≈ [KUT·IN·A]

tsiska'ah 'cut'
[šik·á?A] ≈ [šik·a?A]

nükkan na 'to dance'
[ník·ÁN·A] ≈ [ník·án·å] ≈ [ník·ÁN·A]

tükkan na 'to eat'
[tík·ÁN·A] ≈ [tik·án·å] ≈ [tik·ÁN·A]

kutsi'anna 'to bite'
[kíš·í?AN·å] ≈ [kiš·i?átÁN·A] ≈ [kiš·i?ÁN·A]

tosonenna 'to wipe'
[tösónén·å] ≈ [tösónéN·A]

masutuhinna 'to rub'
[másurúhÌN·A] ≈ [másurúhín·å] ≈ [másurúhIN·A]

toppottsittsi 'short'
[top·óč·IČ·I] ≈ [top·óč·IČ·I]

tosapituń 'white'
[tosášíø] ≈ [tosášíø]
In most compounds, alternating stress works according to the patterns described up through the first stem. Then, counting of stress alternation begins anew on the first mora of the second stem that would normally take primary stress if the second stem were not in compound. However, the first stressed mora in the second stem of a compound is usually only secondarily stressed (i.e., it does not take primary stress as it would if it were a stem not in compound); e.g.: 

- **yookontukkupittsi** 'valley bobcat'  
  \[yo:Y6nduk·u~ic·I\] < yookon(pin) 'valley', tukkupittsi 'wildcat' 
- **toyatukkupittsi** 'mountain lion'  
  \[töyarük·u~ic·I\] < toya(pin) 'mountain', tukkupittsi 'wildcat' 
- **tupoontukkupittsi** 'desert bobcat'  
  \[tuøönduk·u~ic·I\] < tupoon(pi) 'desert', tukkupittsi 'wildcat' 
- **putishpa'in** 'have a burro'  
  \[pürişIøa?I\] < putish 'burro', -pa'in 'have'
noyokowa'ippū 'whore'
[nōyōyōwa'ip'ī] = [nōyōyōwa'ip'ě]
[nōyōyōwa'ip'ī] = [nōyōyōwa'ip'ē]
< noyoko 'be screwed', wa'ippū 'woman'

nasungkwa'atükintu'ih 'will start to feel'
[nāsūngkwa'arīndu'ī] < nasungkwa'ah 'feel', tükīn 'start', -tu'ih 'will'
takkamammūihan 'can't take care of'
[tāk'ām'mīhā] = [tāk'ām'mīhā]
< takkamah 'take care of', -mūih 'can't', -kan stv
tsiatiyaippūh 'hungry, starved'
[ciariyaip.ē] < tisia 'hunger', tiyaih 'die', -ppūh pp
tungwūnutūn 'cliff'
[tūngwūnutūn] = [tūngwūnutūn]
< tūn- (tumpin) 'rock', wūnutūn 'standing'

The fact that stress alternation begins anew on the second stem in the compounds above probably indicates that they are quite transparent or nearly phrasal in nature. In a few compounds, perhaps more lexically frozen, alternating stress does not begin anew on the second stem. Rather, it works as if there were only a single stem; e.g.:

hupiatuki 'sing'
[hūpiariyī] = [hūpiariyī]
< hupia(pin) 'song', tuki" 'put'
nampuninna 'tracks, to track'
[nām'pūninN.A]
< nam(pe) 'foot, track', puninna 'to see'
9.5 CONTRACTIONS

Several contractions have been recorded. None of them seem to be obligatory, but they are common in rapid speech. Two frequent contractions are:

\[ u + u > u \quad \text{and} \quad ü + u > u \]

E.g.:

\[ u \text{ ungappa'enna} > \text{ungappa'enna} \quad '\text{spank him}' \]
\[ ü \text{ ungappa'enna} > \text{ungappa'enna} \quad '\text{spank you}' \]

\[ ušū \text{ un natūkkanna} > \text{usunnatūkkanna} \quad '\text{that is what is eaten}' \]

The objective case suffix -nna may optionally be contracted to simply n; e.g.:

\[ nūmū \text{ tūpan(na) tūkkatū} \]
\[ \text{we(exc) pinenut-O eat-hab} \quad '\text{we eat pinenuts}' \]

\[ sātu-mmū \text{ yuhukunnnan(na) natūngkanna} \]
\[ \text{those stove oil-O ask for} \quad '\text{they ask for stove oil}' \]

\[ nūu \text{ Antsia kwasu'un(na) tūmūungkūppūhantū} \]
\[ I \quad \text{Angie-O dress-O bought for} \quad 'I bought Angie a dress' \]

The contraction of -nna to n may occur whether or not the noun stem ends in the final segment n. For example, -nna is used on both tūpā 'pinenut' and yuhukunna", which do not end in n.

Some other common, more or less idiosyncratic, contractions are listed below.
Notes to Chapter 9

1. Even though glottal stop never appears phonetically at the beginning of words, McLaughlin (1987:93) claims that "all phonetically vowel-initial words begin with a /ʔ/..." He bases this claim on the fact that glottal stop "surfaces when the stem is the second member of a compound or when a vowel-final prefix is added" (p. 93). For example, a glottal stop appears when okwetun 'flowing' is preceded by paa 'water' in the compound paa'okwetun 'river'; and a glottal stop appears when the verb annih 'fall down' is preceded by the prefix wu' 'with an elongated instrument' in wu'annih 'knock over'. Despite these facts, I disagree with McLaughlin. My own view is that the glottal stop in these cases is epenthetic. It appears to maintain the separate integrity of the connected morphemes. It is important to note that both compounds with vowel-initial second stems and words with prefixes ending in a vowel appended to following vowel-initial stems are quite rare. Furthermore, there are hundreds of words that begin with vowels phonetically which never appear with an initial glottal stop. Therefore, in my view, it seems unnecessary and unmotivated to claim the existence of an abstract glottal stop on hundreds of words where it never surfaces.

2. In eastern varieties of Panamint Shoshone (i.e., from Beatty, Nevada, eastward), consonant clusters consisting of glottal stop plus a semivowel (i.e., 'w and 'y) occur between vowels in morpheme-internal position. Clusters of this sort are extremely rare, and as far as I know, they only occur in the two words below. Compare the cognate forms from Death Valley, which do not have the consonant clusters.

Beatty, Nevada Tumpisa Shoshone
wa'wata 'mosquito' wawata
pai'yuu(ttsi) 'kangaroo rat' paiyuu(ttsi)

In his dissertation, McLaughlin (1987) cites another word, noo'wi'a (sic), with a glottal plus semivowel, but this is a
misrecording of *nookwi'a 'small barrel cactus', found in both Death Valley and Beatty.

Also in the eastern varieties, the cluster *ht occurs both morpheme-internally and across morpheme boundaries. The two consonants of the cluster always merge phonetically to the voiceless fricative [θ]. Thus, in Beatty the word for 'jaw' is *ahtapu [atapu], while in Tumpisa Shoshone it is *atapu [atapu]. In Tumpisa Shoshone, the cluster of h plus t only occurs across word boundaries, never word-internally. However, [θ] occurs as an allophone of s, but only after front vowels before voiceless vowels (see 9.2.2.2 and 9.2.2.4).

Similarly, clusters of h plus the velars k and kw only occur across morpheme boundaries in Tumpisa Shoshone. Morpheme-internal clusters of h plus k and h plus kw have merged to h and hw, respectively. And generally in the verb system and in fully lexicalized words, h plus k and h plus kw normally merge to h and hw (see 9.3.5).

3. While in the phonemic orthography long vowels are written doubled (i.e., VV), in phonetic notation length is indicated with a colon following the long vowel (i.e., [V:]).

4. Voiceless vowels are written in phonetic notation with capital letters: e.g., [A], [E], [I], [O], [U], and [?] are voiceless variants of [a], [e], [i], [o], [u], and [i], respectively.

As discussed in 9.2.2.1, voiced consonants are unvoiced preceding voiceless vowels.

5. Geminate consonants are written doubled (i.e., CC) in the phonemic orthography used throughout this volume and in the Tumpisa (Panamint) Dictionary (Dayley 1989), but they are indicated in phonetic notation with a following raised dot (i.e., [C·]).

6. In order to know what final segment a verb stem (or verb suffix) ends in, whether *, n, or h, it is usually necessary to have examples of the verb with several different suffixes. Verb stems ending in geminating * are the easiest to identify, since the initial segments s, k, and kw of following suffixes such as -tain completive, -kin 'hither', -kwan 'away' and completive, and -kwantu'ih 'going to' will appear geminate (i.e., as -ttain, -kkin, -kkwan, and -kkwantu'ih).

Distinguishing between verb stems ending in n or h is somewhat more difficult, since suffixes beginning with a velar stop such as -kin 'hither', -kwan 'away' and completive, and -kwantu'ih 'going to' are manifested as -hin, -hwan, and -hwantu'ih, respectively, after both n and h. Thus, it is necessary to have examples of stems ending in n or h not only
before suffixes beginning with velars but also before suffixes beginning with t, such as -tun habitual and present participle, -tu'ih 'will', or -tuhentun obligative future. Final h disappears completely before these suffixes, but final n optionally may appear. But even if n does not appear before suffixes beginning with t, it does not mean that there is no preceding n, since the n may optionally be omitted as well. So if an n does not appear, it is necessary to attempt to elicit it in order to see if it may be present. If it cannot be present, then the stem ends in h; of course, if it can be present, then the stem ends in n.
The texts in this chapter are presented as examples of running discourse in Tumpisa Shoshone. The first five texts, in 10.1 through 10.5, are narratives related by Mamie Boland. She and I recorded, transcribed, and translated them in 1972. The first one is a historical narrative about Ms. Boland's early childhood; the other four are folktales. The sixth text, in 10.6, is part of a long conversation between Ms. Boland (MB) and her sister Mary Anne Kennedy (MK), both of whom unfortunately are now dead. The conversation was recorded at Furnace Creek in the winter of 1973, but was not transcribed and translated until 1988. I did the transcription and translation with the aid of one native language consultant from Furnace Creek and another from Beatty, Nevada. Tape recordings of the narrative texts (10.1-10.5) are on file in the Language Laboratory at the University of California, Berkeley.

All of the texts are given in three different forms, each with a distinct purpose in mind. In the first form, the texts are given only in Tumpisa Shoshone; this is to preserve the aesthetic integrity of the Tumpisa Shoshone discourse. In the second form, an idiomatic English translation of the texts is given in an attempt to capture some sense of the aesthetics in English. The third form repeats the Tumpisa Shoshone texts with word-by-word interlinear translations; this is for closer linguistic and literary analysis. In addition, within the
conversation in 10.6, divisions between major topics have been indicated.

10.1 PUETUSU NUMMU SUNNI NUMMIPUHI PAPPANTU
"HOW WE LIVED LONG AGO"

Puetsusu puunnan ni nummu nukwippuha nü sukkuwa teewitu'ih miiika. Sape'esu, nummu Death Valley ka kahnipaimmippuhaantu.


Nummu t tūnga mappuhantu tünaa natūtiingwakwasu ape himpuka. Nummu sape namiangkūtaippuhantu kee nangkavitu ukkwah kee mūtukkaannangkavitu ukkwah, himpuka puü Sherman in Stewart. Nummu sapettu namiangkūtaippuhantu, wahattu niam puanumü ma'e nü namiangkūppuhantu sapettu school natiingwakkatu apettu Navajo natiingwakka. Nummu sapehontu

Haka usun takasü nasuntamanna pünnan ni nummi nukwippüha. Oh! Nummm na’úumammippühantü mitätü ukkwah, nummi pungku pa’a miatukwa, putusih pa’a miatukwa.


Haka usun takasü ni nasuntamantü.

Idiomatic Translation
HOW WE LIVED LONG AGO

Now I will tell about the way in which we lived long ago. Then, we had houses in Death Valley. It's hot, it's really hot there. We lived around there in the winter. When it was summer, we went up there in the mountains. Long ago then, we used to have horses, and we used to have burros. We went on them then...to the mountains. We stayed there in the summer. At that time we picked pine nuts thereabouts, preparing pine nuts and eating pine nuts. We used to pick something else...a kind of seed. And also we ate something there that is called yuapi "prickly pear," which is a sweet-tasting cactus. It's really cool up there in the mountains. We used to be there in the summertime.

Then after while, when it would get cold there in the winter, we would go down there to Death Valley to the heat, when it was really warm in the winter. There was something to
eat down in Death Valley which was called ohpi "mesquite beans." We ate that, smashed it and ate it. That's all of that kind of edible. There was something else in the water that is called ohyo [a plant, sp. ?]. We used to eat that. We lived there when it was winter, we lived there (in Death Valley).

My father was there working on a ranch at that time long ago. We used to have a lot of horses, and we used to have a lot of burros. We lived there all the time.

Also, we all went down there someplace to go to school. We were sent there when we didn't speak, when we didn't speak any English, there to Sherman (School) in Stewart (California). We were sent there, two of my cousins and I were sent there to school, to a Navajo school. We spoke there, spoke English. We stayed there three years. We stayed there going to school when we didn't speak (English).

That's all of what I remember about what we used to do. Oh! We were rained on when going, while we were going on horses, while we were going on burros.

One man told the rain to come and get us wet there in the mountains, to come make us cold: "Come on, come on!" he told it. He hollered at the rain; he hollered that when we were going, when it was hot. We were rained on there, we relatives were rained on real hard. We went in under our wagons. We had wagons at that time. There was my father, and all of us, me and my older sisters. There were also my two brothers. There were many of us who went. He yelled at that rain, so we got rained on at that time then.

That's all of what I remember. That's all.
Interlinear Translation

PUETUSU NUMMU SUNNI NUKWIMPPUHANTU
LONG AGO WE THAT WAY DO-USED TO

Puetusu punnan ni nummi nukwippuha nu sukkwa
long ago which way us(exc) did-sub-O I that-O
teevitu'ih miikka. Sape'esu, nummu Death Valley ka kahni-
tell-will now that time we(exc) at house-
have-used to

Utuinna küttaa sapettu utūntū. Nummu tommo okkwa
be hot really that time be hot we(exc) winter when
sukkwuh kahnipainUwi. Nummu tatsa naakkiha nummu supe
there house-have around we(exc) summer become we there
toya mantu mi'a. Puesu sepe'esu, nummu
mountain through go long ago that time we(exc)
pungkupaimppuhantu, nummu putisih pungkupaimppuhantu.
horse-have-used to we(exc) burro pet-have-used to

Nummu supe'e supa'a miatü nummu...toya mantu.
we(exc) that time them-on go we(exc) mountain through
Nummu sakkuh kahnikantu tattsawani. Nummu supe'e tüpanna
we(exc) there house-having summertime we then pinenut-O
hannitu sakkuhontu, tüppanna tükkatu, tüppanna nomo'enna.
preparing thereabouts pinenut-O eating pinenut-O pick

Nummu noohinna namo'emmppuhantu pasiitanna. Tunga
we(exc) something-O pick-used to seed(?)-O and
"yuapi"  niyakantú  sakkhu  pihnaa  kamzantú  aikupittsi
prickly pear name-have there sweet tasting cactus

nummú  sukkwa  tükkatú.  Tsao  hüttsawüntú  sapa'antú  toya
we(exc)  that-0  eat  really  be  cool  there  mountain

mantú.  Nummú  sukkhu  naamminna  tatsawani.
through  we(exc)  there  be-used  to  summertime

Nummú  üküsü  ukkwa  supe'e  tomo  üitsü'iyluntù'ih,
we(exc)  after  while  that  time  winter  be  cold-would

nummú  supe'e  mia  ntünna  Death Valley  katú  ütültú  katu
we(exc)  that  time  go  down  to  heat  towards

tsao  yuwartú  tomo  okkwah.  Sape  un  natükkan  tünnaa
really  be  warm  winter  when  there  its  edible  down

Death Valley  "ghpi"  "ghpi"  nihakantú  sitú.
mesquite  bean  mesquite  bean  name-having  this

Nummú  sukkwa  tükkatú,  u  tusukkwantú  tükkatú.  Usun  takasú
we(exc)  that-0  eat  it  grind  eat  that's  all

sultú  un  natükkan.  Hiisampe  tünga  paa  kuppantú  sutú
that  kind  its  edible  something  also  water  in  that

"ghyo"  niyakantú  nummú  sukkwa  tükkaamminna.  Nummú  sukkwhu
plant(?)  name-have  we(exc)  that-0  eat-used  to  we  there

dwell  when  winter  when  we(exc)  there  dwell

kahnikantů  ukkwa  tomo  okkwah,  nummú  sukkwhu  kahnikantú.

Nian  naappü  naappuhantú  sukkwhu  tütüimmí  sukkwu
my  father  was  there  working  there
Uattuah ka, sape'esu ukkwah. Nummu so'oppuh pungku-ranch at that time when we(exc) many horse-
paimmippühantu, nummu so'oppuh putisih pungkupaimmippühantu. have-used to we(exc) many burro pet-have-used to

Nummu noohimpe sukkwa kahnikantu nummu. we(exc) always there dwell we(exc)

Nummu ti tunga miappühantu tunaa natütiingwakwasu we(exc) emph also went down go to school

Ape himpuka. Nummu sape namiangkutaippühantu kee there someplace we(exc) there were sent not

Nangkawit ukkwah kee mitükkannaangkawit ukkwah, himpuka speak when not English-speak when someplace

Püü Sherman in Stewart. Nummu sapétu namiangkútaippühantu, emph we there were sent

Wahattu niam puánümü ma'e nú namiangkuippühantu sapétu two my cousin people and I were sent there

School natütiingwakkatu apettu Navajo natütiingwakka. Nummu school-to there school-at we(exc)

Sapehontu nangkawi mitükkannaangkawi. Nummu pahi nummu there speak English-speak we(exc) three we(exc)

Tommo yin García sape. Nummu sape natütiingwakingka-year stayed there we there go to school-stayed

Püühantu ke nangkawit ukkwah. not speaking when
Haka usun takasü nasuntamanna púnnañ ni númmi
what that's all remember which way us(exc)
nukwippuha.
did-sub-O

Oh! Númmi na'úmmamippúhantú miatú ukkwh, númmi pungku
we(exc) were rained on going when us horse
pa'a miatukwa, putusih pa'a miatukwa.
on going-when burro on going-when

Súmmťatăngummmi sūmmi yūkkwi ümanna akkutú toya
one man thus tell-dur rain there mountain
mantu númmi potso'ingkuki númmi ütsū'ingkuki númmi:
through us(exc) make wet-come us(exc) make cold-come us(exc)

"Ma kimma! Ma kimma!" i niingkunna. U petsingkunna
it come it come this tell it hollered at
ümätünna, u petsingkunna sukkwa númmi miaku ukkwh, ütünkku
rain-O it hollered at that-O us go-sub when be hot

ukkwh. Númmi na'úma sukkwh naniuñ nemuñüni
when we(exc) were rained on there relative really

na'úmmanna númmu. Númmi kateetta tukkwa númmu weeki-
were rained on we our wagon under we(exc) went in

n númmi, kateettakantú naappúhantú númmu sape'eni ikkwah.
around wagon-having were we(exc) that time when

Nu appú naappúhantú utú, númmu sümsú niam patsinúmmu.
my father was that we all my older sisters
Nia samoppu naappuhantu wahattu. Nummu soontu miatu.

my sibling were two we(exc) many went

U petsingkunna sakka ŭngwatũnna, nummu na'ũngwataisũ
it hollered at that-O rain-O we(exc) were rained on

supe'e wihnu.
that time then

Haka usun takasũ nia nasuntamantu.
what that's all me remember

10.2 ISAM PETUMMU
"COYOTE'S DAUGHTERS"


"Ahaa," ningwũnũ sutūmmu.

"Pue sūmmūtn mai mi'a."
Supe’esū sutummi wihnu kawai yuwikwa, kawai yuwikwa. Setūmmim pia ma’i mi’a.

"Ekkih ke tamangkantū, ekkih ke tamangkantū."

Isū supe’e satūmmi kawai yuwikū kawai yuwikū satūmmu wihnu ekka ekka kawa....kawa.... Kawa sinnukkwi. Enni utummi ma’omminna. Ètu ètu wihnu hipittsi ètu...ètu utummir pia u punikka setū, sūmūttū naipi tunga u punikka supe epa ke tamangkantū ekkih. Ke tamangkantū u punikka setū, u punikka tunga satū.


"Nahna suwanna'ongku! Nia tammi yūngkūnna tammi isa ni nanangkasuwangkū milkkā."


Isū supe’e wihnu, isū supe’e wihnu, um pīi sūmmi yūngkūnna utūmmi, "Nūmmū himpū saawattū'ī’sumū pittsa sanappī. Nūmmū nūmmū posiatti sōsatti posiatti nū u posiakainnūhī,“ um pīi sūmmi yūkkwi. "U posiakainnā. Nūmmū supe’e wihnu sanapim ma u tsappō’ongkūnnūhī. Utūmintū ètu kotto’enna ekkih. Kotto’enna ekkih sanappī." Supe’e sakka u tsappō’ongkū satū. They just went up with the stars; she went up there too; the mother went up there too. That’s the way there’re stars over there. Yea, nine of them over there. Ten of ’em. Sūumootū. Sūumootū tattlimpi. Usū sutūmmū.

Isa appū esū naisapū.
Idiomatic Translation

COYOTE'S DAUGHTERS

Coyote, who was their father, was going away for good; he was going away for good somewhere. "You all might find a young man someplace around here because a young man might arrive right here," he [Coyote] said. "You all then...you all...you all could marry that young man, some one of you could marry him," he said to his own daughters; he said that. "The young man will arrive here," he said. "The young man who will arrive here is good-looking." This old man Coyote went away saying that! He went away. He went away after he said that. "That young man will arrive here, and you all have to marry him," it is said he told his own daughters; he told them that.

At that time then they waited for him. They were waiting for him. Then after a while a young man arrived, a nice young man. It was the young man just as Coyote had spoken about before. "This is the one coming to visit you all, the young man," it is said their mother said. She told her daughters that. And...and...there were ten of them. There were ten daughters. At that time then a young man arrived, one young man arrived with them then. "This is the young man who is coming to visit you all," it is said their mother told them.

"Uh-huh," they said.

"He is ready to go with one (of you)."
At that time then they all went to go after rats; they went to get rats [for food]. They went with their mother.

"He is missing a tooth here! He doesn't have a tooth here." It was at that time that they went after rats, they went after rats then...rats. The rat was doing something like this. It was pushing sticks away. [It was pushing away from its hole the sticks that they were poking at it.] Then this old lady, their mother, and also one of the girls saw then that the young man was missing a tooth here. The mother saw that he was missing a tooth, and the girl also saw it.
At that time she said, she told her own mother thus: "He is one who is missing a tooth. He's our father! He looks like our father! He looks like our father!" It is said she told her own mother that. She said that to her mother. "He is like our father," she said then.

"Let's think about it together. They are going to say to me about us that we sound like coyotes now," the mother said, [because the daughters had already slept with Coyote, since they were already betrothed to him—the young man].

"Yes," her girls said.

There were ten of them, ten of them. There were ten daughters. And their mom said to them, "That was our father then. He is missing a tooth here. Because he doesn't have a tooth here, he looks like him."

It was at that time then that their mom said to them, "Let's boil some stuff, some pitch. We'll...we'll...lice...lice...lice...I'll delouse him," their mom said. "I'll delouse him. We'll then cover his head with pitch. This heating is boiling here. The pitch is boiling here." Then she covered his head with it.

They just went up with the stars; she went up there too; the mother went up there too. That's the way there are stars over there. Yeah, nine of them over there. Ten of them. There are ten of them. There are ten stars. It's those [in the constellation Pleiades].

Coyote Father is the one who is horny.

Interlinear Translation

ISAM PETUMMU
COYOTE'S DAUGHTERS

Isapaippü utu...un nappu miattaimmaa; miattaimmaa
Coyote that their father went away went away
hakattuh sampe sutu. "Muumu tuittsia ta'otahi noohakapan
where some that you all young man—O find—may someplace
ukkwah isapapi... tuittsi epapi pituhi," ýükki. "Mümmü
when right here young man here arrive-may say-dur you all
wihnu sukkwa...mümmü mümmü...u mantünna kwüühikwa
then that-O you all you all him part of marry-might
tuittsia noohakatu u mantünna kwüühi," mii ýükki
young man-O someone him part of marry-might quot say-dur
pünnam petümmi niingkünna. Sümmi niingkünna. "Tuittsi
his own daughters-O tell that tell young man
sepa'a pitütühantu," ýükki. "Tuittsi sepa'a pitütühantu
here arrive-must say-dur young man here arrive-must
tsao napunitu." Setü otammani miattaisü sümmi yúkwitü püü!
good look this old man went away that saying emph
Miattaisü o...o...sümmi ýükki. "Tuittsi utü sepa'a
went away oh oh that say-dur young man that here
pitütühantu mümmü mümmü u mantünna kwütühantu," mii
arrive-must you all you all him part of marry-must quot
niingküntü pünnam petümmi ikkwah sümmi utummi
tell his own daughters-O when that those-O
niingkünna.
tell

Sümmü supe'esü wihnu u wüttühihantü sutümmü. U
those that time then him wait for-stv those him
wüttühiha. Supe'e ükusü ukkwah pitü wihnu tuittsi,
wait for-stv that time after while arrive then young man
TUMPISA SHOSHONE GRAMMAR

tsawûn tuittsi. Tuittsi sutü, sutü Isapaippu summi
good young man young man that that Coyote that

yûkwimmaasi ikkwah. "Esû mûmî
said when this is the one you all-0

naiwekipîthantu tuittsi," mî niingkûnna um pia...
woo-arrive-stv young man quot say to their mother

Tûnga tûnga.... Suûmootû petumû. Um petumû sûmî
and and ten daughters her daughters-0 that

yûkkwi. Supe'e wihnu tuittsi pitûsû tuittsi pitu
say-dur that time then young man arrived young man arrive

utumû ka wihnu sûmûttu tuittsi. "Esû tuittsi mûmî
those at then one young man this is young man you all-0

naiwekipîthantu," mî...mî utumû niingkûnna um pia.
woo-arrive quot quot those-0 tell their mother

"Ahaa," ningwûnû sutumû.
uh-huh say those

"Pûe sûmûttûn mai mî'a."
ready one with go

Supe'esû sutumû wihnu kawai yûkwîkwa, kawai yûkwîkwa.
that time those then rat-0 go after rat-0 go after

Setûmmû pîa mî'i mî'a.
these one's mother with go

"Ekkih ke tamangkántû, ekkih ke tamangkántû."
here not tooth-having here not tooth-having
Isu supe'e satümmi kawai yökwestu kawai yökwestu this is that time those-O rat-O go after rat-O go after

satümmi wihnu ekka ekka kawa...kawa. Kawa sinmukkiw. those then this-O this-O rat rat rat this way-do

Enni utummi ma'ommimna. Etu etu wihnu hipititsi etu... this way those-O pushed this this then old woman this

etu utummi pia u punikka setü, sümüttü naipi tünkga u this their mother it see this one girl also it

punikka supe epa ke tamangkantü ekkih. Ke tamangkantü see there here not tooth-having here not tooth-having

u punikka setü, u punikka tünkga satü. it see this it see also that

Supe'esü sümü yökkwı, pünnaam pia sümü niıngkunna that time that say-dur her own mother that say to

isu, "Ke tamangkantü naam ma setü. Nummı appu utu. thus not tooth-having was this our(exc) father that

Nummı appu wa'i napunı satü. Nummı appu wa'i napunıtu our(exc) father like look that our father like look-hab

satü," mii u niıngkunna mii u niıngkù pünnaam pia. Um that quot it say to quot it tell her own mother her

pia sümü yökkwı. "Nummı appu wa'i," supe'e sümü mother that say-dur our(exc) father like that time that

yökkwı.
say-dur
"Nahma suwanna'ongku! Nia tammi yüngkünna tammi together-dl think-dl me us(inc) say to us
isa ni nanangkasuwangku miikka."
coyote like sound now

"Haa'a," mii niingkünna an nawiammu. yes quot say to her girls
Suumootu sutümmü. Um petümmü süuhoodü. Utümmü sümmi ten those her daughters ten those-O that yüngkünna, pünnam piit-ssa sümmi yüngkünna, "Tammi say to their own mom-emph that tell our(inc)
appu naammaa satü wihnu. Ke tamangkantu ekkih. Ekkih ke father was that then not tooth-having here here not
tamampa'i u wa'i napuni." tooth-have him like look

Isü supe'e wihnu, isü supe'e wihnu, um this is that time then this is that time then their
pii sümmi yüngkünna utümmi, "Nüümü himpüa saawatu'i'ommü mom that say to those-O we(exc) stuff-O boil-will-pl
pittsa sanappi. Nüümü nüümü posiattsi posiattsi posiattsi pitch pitch we(exc) we louse louse louse
nü u posiaказанnuhi," um pii sümmi yükkwi. "U I him delouse-will their mom that say him
posiaказанna. Nüümü supe'e wihnu sanapim na u delouse we(exc) that time then pitch with him
They just went up with the stars; she went up there too; the mother went up there too. That's the way there're stars over there. Yeah, nine of them over there. Ten of 'em.

10.3 TAMMU TUPANNA YAAKWANTU'IH
"WE'LL GO GET PINENUTS"


Sūmūsū ma'ommu atū himpū Antsaapanappū, atū Kaakki, Tukopooyötti, sūmūsū kasattsikantu ma'ommu. Isapaippū númu ma'i nukkwinno mi'a, ukūsū ukkwah supe'e.


"Nū naatu'ih," mii yūkkwi Antsaapanappū. Supe'e u yaakki pahannai sutū wihnu.

Isapaippū etū sutummi hipittsitsiammi utummi Tukuwùappūh ma enni yukwincoonna utumming kope katu, utummi wuppainna, naangkasuwamminna. Tūpanna nayaatu'ih ukkwah, ukkwa ti Tukuwuùam ma Isapaippùppùan Tukuwùappūh. Un Tukuwùappūh sunni yùkwippùhantū.

Supe'e kimmata u tūmmu tsuumakkū. Kimmata ukkwah supe'eni tsuumannū utummu pūū. Isapaippū pange miatū u tu tiyañtaihwappūha kee paappūhpā'ē takuttiyaitaihwā, petsümì'ātū.

U yaaki utū Antsaapanappūh u yaaki sope'ē. Toya ma apa supe'ē u hanninnū; u ūanna.

Tukopoyo'īttśi pahannai ipantu napakkataihwā. U pakkatai sutūmmū u kimmangkuntū. Sukkwam maanangkwatū Kaakkī napakka...napakkatainnū. U tūmmū kattu u wihnu. Supe'ē Kaakkī yūtsūkommīnna, usū pūū ukkwah! Waanguupai toyāpi tu ha!

Idiomatic Translation

"WE'LL GO GET PINENUTS"

"We will go get pinenuts," it is said they said, "there someplace, northward," they said. "We don't have any pinenuts; we don't have any pinenuts in the mountains," they said.

Everyone went, that Flicker, that Crow, and Kingbird; all of the birds went. Coyote went running along with the people a little later then.

They arrived there then. "We are coming to get pinenuts," they said. "Who will get them then? -- The one having the long tongue will do it."

"I'll be the one," it is said Flicker said. At that time then he got them down.

The old women [who owned the pinenuts] said, "Our pinenuts have already been taken. After all, they already came pouring down to get the pinenuts. They all flew down."
Coyote went around doing this to those old ladies with his Sky Penis in their faces; he hit them, it sounded like. When the pinenuts would be taken, it was with the Sky Penis, Coyote's Sky Penis. His Sky Penis did it.

Then those ones coming died [for some reason]. When coming then they were dying. Coyote going through there died because he didn't have any water. He died screaming of thirst.

That Flicker got the pinenuts; he brought them at that time. There in the mountains he did it; he planted them.

Kingbird was killed down there. They killed him, chasing him. On the other side, Crow was killed. It was then that he became Big Black Rock [in Death Valley]. Then when Crow flew all around, that's how it was! The piñon pines stood throughout the mountains!

Interlinear Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAMMU</th>
<th>TUPANNA</th>
<th>YAARKWANTU'IH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WE</td>
<td>PINENUT-O</td>
<td>GET-GO-WILL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Tam̓m̓u t̓upanna yaaḵwantu'ih," mii ningwunú'umü, we(inc) pinenut-O get-go-will quot say(pl)-pl

"opetti himpukatti," mii yu̱kki'umü, "kwina̱new̱-there-emph someplace-emph quot say-pl north-nangkátiin na. Ke t̓uppp̓u̱hpa'e t̓amu, ke t̓upannaappu̱hpa'e ward not pinenut-have we(inc) not pinenut-have

toya mantú," ningwunú'umü. mountain on say(pl)-pl

Sum̓sum̓ sum̓um̓ atu himpü Antsaapanappu̱h, atu Kaakki, all go-pl that some Flicker that Crow
Tukopoyo'ititsi, sümüşü kasattsikantu mia'ommü. Isapaippü
Kingbird all bird go-pl Coyote

nümü ma'i nukkwinoo mi'a, üküsü ukkwah supe'e.
people with run along go after while that time

Sape pitükkankwammaa'ummü wihnu. "Nümü tüpanna
there arrive-thither-pl then we(exc) pinenut-o
yaakihantu," ningwününnuh. "Hakatü u yaatu'ih wihnu?
get-hither said(pl) who it get-will then
-- Ung küputappütü...okongkwantu yükkwi."
its long tongue-having do-dur

"Nü naatu'ih," mii yukkwi Antsaapanappuh. Supe'e
I will be quot say-dur Flicker that time

u yaakki pahannahi sutü wihnu.
it bring down that then

Hipittsittsiammü sümme yükkwi, "Püe tammin tüpanna
old women that say-dur already our pinenut-o
nayaappuh," mii ningwünü. "Püe pahannahi kimmahinna'ummü
taken quot say already down come-hither-pl
potsoommahinna pahannahi senu tüpanna yaayingkasi
pour(pl)-hither down after all pinenut-o get-stop(pl)-sub
ukkwah. Pahannahi yotinna."
when down fly(pl)

Isapaippü etu sutummi hipittsittsiammü utummi
Coyote this those-O old ladies-O those-O
Tukuwúappuh ma enni yukwinnoonna utumming kope katu, Sky Penis with this-way do-moving their face at

utummi wúppainna, naangkasuwamminna. Túppanna nayaatu'ih those-O hit(pl) sounded like pinenut-O be taken-will

ukkwah, ukkwa ti tukuwuaam ma Isapaíppúppúan Tukuwúappuh. when that-O emph Sky Penis with Coyote's Sky Penis

Un Tukuwúappuh sunni yükwippúhantú. his Sky Penis that-way did

Supe'e kimmatú utummu tsúumakku. Kimmatú ukkwah then coming those die(pl)-result coming when

supe'eni tsúumanna utummu pu. Isapaíppu pange miatu u then die(pl) those emph Coyote up going there

tu tiyaitaihwapúha kee paappúhpa'e takuttiyaitaihwa, through died-sub not water-have thirst-died

petsúmwi'atú. holler-going

U yaakki utú Antsapanappuh u yaakki sope'e. it get that Flicker it bring that time

Toya ma apa supe'e u hanninna; u úanna. mountain on there that time it do it plant

Tukopoyo'ittsi pahannai ipantu napakkataihwa. U Kingbird down here was killed him

pakkatai sutúmmu u kimnangkuntú. Sukkwam maanangkwatú killed those him chasing that's other side
Kaakki napakka... napakkatainnuh. U tümpi kattu u wihnu.
Crow was killed was killed it rock at it then

Supe'e Kaakki yutsükkomminna, usu püü ukkwah!
that time Crow flew around that is emph when

Waanguupai toyapi tu ha!
piñon stand(pl) mountain through emph

10.4 SUMÜTTÜ NAWIPI ISAPUNGU MAI NUWIMMİPPÜHANTU
"ONE GIRL WHO WENT AROUND WITH A DOG"

Hipittsittsi núümí natümüingküppühantü püesü sape'esü ukkwah:
Sümüttu navipi isapungku mai nuwimmippühantü. "Nú kammu
yukwitu ma mai," yuwwippehuwantu. Satu sunni yukwitu naammät
püü! U mai nuwitu noohome u tsangkanuwitü.
Isapungkuppu sunni u yukw wihnu. U naa ketu tuu poignant
kahontü u ma'e nuwitu noohime enni.

Ükusü ukkwah supe'esü sutü no'apükkaheva: ükusü ukkwah
supe'esü sutü kammputiukkkannuh. Hipittsittsi utu mi'a
tammamtaa u kammanna okkwahe, u kappinnangkwa kattu u ukkwah
sutungku kee teewingkutsinna tetu u natapu. Kammann naammät
sütü u püü, kappinnangkwatu kattu uukkannuwitü hipittsittsi u
nangkaha wihnu. "Isan tuammu naangka nəmo'i. Sepe isapungkun
tuammuiti. So'oppu naangka nəmo'i," mi yuwwippehuwantu sutü.
U nangkaha satü.

Ükusü ukkwah supe'esü sutü wihnu...un natapu u
teewangkunna wihnu ükusü ukkwah sutü kammanna sutü wihnu
navipu utu. Kammanna sutü. Kammahapitü sutü ükusü ukkwah
supe'esü sutü tiyaitainnuh.... U kuppen ti epetti sutümü,
tsokonetaippu isapaippu isan tuammuiti utümü.
Usun takasu.
Idiomatic Translation

ONE GIRL WHO WENT AROUND WITH A DOG

An old woman told us a story about when it was long ago:

One girl went around with a dog. "I hunted rabbits with him," she said. She did it like that, it is so! She walked with him always, leading him around (with a rope).

The dog would do it to her then. He would mate with her in the desert, going around with her this way.

When it was a little later, then she got pregnant; when it was a little later she got sick. An old lady went...went to visit her when she got sick. When the old lady was sitting outside, those two, the girl and her uncle, didn't tell anything about it. While the girl was really sick, the old lady sat around outside and then heard something. "Coyote's [i.e., dog's] babies are making noise crying. Around here there are dog's babies. Many of them are making noise crying," it is said she said. She heard it.

When it was a little later, then that one, her uncle, told the old lady about it, and then the girl was sick. She was sick. When she was laid up sick a little later, then she died.... What was inside of her there were those ones, those babies of coyote's [the dog's], coyote's babies scratching around.

That's all.

Interlinear Translation

SŬMŬTU NAWIPI ISAPUNGU MĂI NUWIMMŬPŬHANTŬ

ONE GIRL DOG WITH WENT AROUND

Hiplitsumu nummu natumuingkuppuhantu pûsû
old woman us(exc) told story long ago

sape'esû ukkwah:
that time when
Sumuttu nawipi isapungku mai nuwimmippuhantu. "Nú one girl dog with went around I
kammu yukwitii rna
rabbit go after him with said that that way
yukwitii naamaa puü! U mai nuwitü noohompe u
do was emph him with walk always him
tsangkannuwitü.
leading-walking

Isapungkuppü sunni u yukwi wihnu. U naaketü
dog that way her do then her mate with-hab
tupoong kahontü u ma'e nuwitü noohimpe enni.
desert in her with going around always this way

Ükusü ukkahw supe'esü sutü no'apükkahwa; ükusü ukkahw
after while that time that got pregnant after while
supe'esü sutü kammapükkanuuh. Hipittsitty utü mi'a
that time that got sick old woman that go
taamiammaa u kammanuha okkahw, u kappinnangkwa katütü
visit-go her got sick-sub when it outside sitting
ukkahw sutungku kee teewingkütsinna etü un natapu. Kamman
when those(dl) not tell this her uncle sick
naamaa sutü u puü, kappinnangkwatü katünnuwitü hipittsittsi
was that it emph outside sit around old lady
u nangkaha wihnu. "Isan tuammü naangka nano'ì.
it hear-stv then coyote's babies make noise cry(pl)
Sepe isapungku tummuttsi. So'oppuh naangka hereabouts dog's babies many make noise

namo'i," mii yuqwippuhantu sutu. U nangkaha sutu. cry(pl) quot said that it hear-stv that

Ukusu ukkwah supe'esu sutu wihnu...un natapu u after while that time that then her uncle her
teevingkuuna wihnu Ukusu ukkwah sutu kammanna sutu wihnu tell then after while that be sick that then

navipi utu. Kamamanna sutu. Kammahapitutu ukusu ukkwah girl that be sick that be sick-lie that after while

supe'esu sutu tiyaitainnuh... U kuppan ti epetti that time that died her inside emph here-emph

sutummu, tsokonetaippuh isapaippu isan tuammuttsi utummu. those scratched up coyote's coyote's babies those

Usun takasu.
that's all

10.5 SUMUTTU WA'IPPU PAHAMITTSI MAI KATUMMINNNA
"ONE WOMAN WHO STAYED WITH A BEAR"

Wa'ippua ukkwa hakapangku sampe kwuummaa utu pahamittsi utu hakamaana u nuwiku toya ma nootunga. Punnang kahni kattu u petsuttaiuwaamisuu tawintung kuppantu. Sope katuumminna sutu wihnu u ma'i uppuihantu...pahamittsia. 

Ukusu ukkwah un nanumuu u puhaiko wihnu punikkammaa sutuummu pahamittsi to'ekku tawintung kuppahtantu. Un tukkatuwalu puhaikwasu sukkwa sutu wa'ippua. U makakommmaa sapettu. Sukkwa sutu pinnasu miammaa sutu u makannuwisuu to'ekku sutu pinnasu miama.
Supe'esü supa'antu u pakkahwa, sutümmü u kuttimmaa püü! 
Supe'esü sutümmü u petsünnuwimmaa wa'ippüa pünnan nanümü. 
Pümming kahni ka u petsüppüh no'api nazzmaa sutü u püü wa'ippü! "Nü tsao yuwa hapitü u ma'e ukkwa pahamittsi ape. 
Ke nü ñitsu'immitü. Tsao nü u ma'e hapitü. Ung kahni 
kuppantü tsao yuwa'itükki."

**Idiomatic Translation**

**ONE WOMAN WHO STAYED WITH A BEAR**

A woman was caught by a bear somewhere, probably when she 
was walking someplace in the mountains. He wanted to take her 
for good to his own house in a cave. There she stayed, and 
then she slept with him...the bear.

A little later, when her relatives were looking around 
for her, they saw the bear come out from inside of the cave. 
He was going out to look for something for her, the woman, to 
eat. He would feed her there. He would go out more, so he 
could feed her something, he would go out more.

Then they killed him there; they really shot him! Then 
they, the woman's own relatives, took her away. After they 
had taken her to their own house, the woman was pregnant! "I 
slept nice and warm with him, that bear, there. I wasn't cold. I slept well with him. Inside his house it always gets 
nice and warm."

**Interlinear Translation**

**SUMÜTTÜ WA'IIPPU PAHAMITTSI MAI KATÜMMINNA**

**ONE WOMAN BEAR WITH STAYED**

wa'ippüa ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwuummaa utü 
woman-O that-O where some caught that 
pahamittsi utü hakamaana u nuwiku toya ma nootünga. 
bear that someplace her walk-sub mountain on maybe
Pünning kahni kattu u petsüttaisuwammisü tawintüng kuppantü.
his own house to her take-cmplt-want cave inside

Sope kutümminna sutü wihnu u ma'i üppüihantü... pahamittsia.
there stayed that then him with slept bear-O

Ukusü ukkwa h un nanümü u puhaiko wihnu punikkammaa
after while her relatives her look for then saw

sutümü pahamittsi to'ekku tawintüng kuppahantü. Un
those bear emerge-result cave from inside her
tükkatü'ihá puhaikwasu sukka sutü wa'ippüa. U makakominna
eat-would-O look for that-O that woman-O her feed

sapettü. Sukka sutü pinnasü miammaa sutü u makannuwisü
thereabouts that-O that more went that her feed
to'ekku sutü pinnasü miamia.
go out-result that more go-go

Supe'esü supa'antu u pakkahwa, sutümü u
that time through there him killed those him

kuttisaaa puu! Supe'esü sutümü u petsünnuuwimmäa wa'ippüa
shot emph that time those her took walking woman-O

pinnan nanümü. Pümming kahni ka u petsüppüh no'api
her own relatives their own house at her took-prf pregnant

naammaa sutü u puu wa'ippüä! "Nü tsao yuwa hapitisü u ma'e
was that it emph woman I well warm lie him with

ukkwa pahamittsi ape. Ke nü üitsü'ismitü. Tsao nü
that-O bear thereabouts not I be cold-used to well I
10.6 CONVERSATION

TOPIC I: BOILING WATER

MB: Nu paa ûtítaippuh.
MK: Ûtítaippuh.
MB: Haa'a....

TOPIC II: VENEREAL DISEASE

MB: Himpüppütü....
Aitiinnapp'ü pünnang kuhamattsia kammakataippuh sutu.
MK: Tümpahi makatai?
MB: Tümpahi makatai kuhmanna.
MK: Sümmi ha yükwitü sutu?
MB: Hakani püü?
MK: Aattsaai!
MB: Ned sümmi teewinna; Tseekkia teewingkünna.
MK: Hakka?
MB: Ned.
MK: Neti.
MB: Ned sümmi teewinna.
MK: Aa'ă.
MB: Tseekkia teewingkünna, Tseekkippü sümmi teewingkünna supa'antu.
MK: Pünnasun tümpahi makantü sutu naahi, sunni yükwitü püü sutu?
MB: Hai.
MK: Aitiinnappü sunni yükwitü püü sutu!
MB: Ahaa.
MK: Taona ka mi'akkwa?
MB: Sutummü hakattuh koonni Pisippuh kattu suttu.
MK: Sukkuh koonikomminna?
MB: Haa'a.
MK: Haa'a. Katütû sutû pinna?
MB: Katütû sutû.
MK: Haa'a.
MB: Hakapa'a sampe wûkkanna sutû wihnu hakapaamaana.
MK: Kuhmattsî?
MB: Rittsatû.
MK: Mainni?
MB: Haa'a.
MB: Haa'a.
MK: Ùtû Sosonippû sakkuh utumûh kattû?
MB: [Kee] hampaitsinna.
MK: Haa?
MB: Kee hampaitsinna.
MK: Hakani naattaimma?
MB: Un natammu kuppakkuppûsû kee pitûtsinna utû.
MK: Haa'a.
MB: Un tuappû un natammuia tsakkûppatai, u punikka, mii yukwippuhantû, Rittsatû ma'e.
MK: Haka ma'e sutû?
MB: Sutû.
MK: Haa?
MB: Sutû.
MK: Kuppatai sutû un nimpûppûh.
MB: Haa'a.
Ukkwa mümimg kahni ka katütünna sukkwa teewingkünna sutu?
MK: Ahaa.
MB: Ahaa.
MK: Supa'a pitüsi u waka naappüh naahi.
MB: Hakapa'a sampe.
MK: Nootünga taona ka.
MB: Taona ka.
MK: Un niippüammu sutümmu püü, Sittuwatüppüammu?
MB: Rittsatün nii?
MK: Sukkwasün naaömmü püü?
MK: Sutümmin nümüppu naappühantü.
MB: "Nü kee yuhukunnappühpa'intü; nüü sattu pange mi'a," mii yuwipühantü Tseekki. "U pa'an taona u pa'antü yuhukunna aittün...."
MK: Haa'a.
"Hinna punikkatütü sapa'a üü, hinna punikkatü," mii ylingkünna Tanam Pahpüppü.
MK: Sümü ylingkünna?
MB: Haa'a.
"Noo mi'a antappu noo mi'a. Kee kahni ka katükkantü," mii ü ylingkünna.
MK: Aattsaa! Tsao un nukwinna.
MB: Tüttsupüh suwangkünntü sutü.
"Nü kee miatüantü; nü Memmia takkamahantü. Memmia ün tiyotaiha püü, nüü mi'ahüppü püü," mii ü yuwingkünna.
MK: Sümü yuwingkünna.
MK: Üüttssüü!
MB: Ukkwuh ape ung katüku sümmisi yuwingkünmnina, mii yuwipühantü sutü. Pange akküh Sittuwatümmü ka katüku ukwhah, u tiyoimminna, mii yuwipühantü.
MK: Sutü?
MB: Haa’a.
MK: Sukkuh ha pitükwanmmaa sutummu u waka? Sutū?
MB: Hakatū?
MK: Ruhtūppū waka.
MB: Haa’a, yuhukunnanna natúngkawasi, yuhukunnanna natúngkawasi pū.
MK: Haa’a....

TOPIC III: THE COP

MB: Tsuattamappūa ekka ipa’antūn nū tūttsū nangkasuwangkūnna. Antsi teewingkūnna Baapūttsi wakantu pitükwanmaatū. Um petūppū utū u ma’i nuwitū hiipinna Baapūttsi.
MK: Haa’a.
MB: Sukkwa tuttsūppūh suwangkūnna tsuattamappūa pittuhungka wihnu.
MK: Hakami u yūkwungkūnna?
MB: "Kee u ma’i nuwitūntū," hakami mīi u yūkwungkūppūhantū sutū navittsipūppūa um petūppūa.
MK: Hakka siingkūnna [= sūmī yūkwungkūnna]?
MB: Aniam petūppūa ukkwā.
MK: Aniam petūnna ukkwā siingkūnna.
MB: U waka pitükwa ung kahni kuppa tsuattamappū etū.
MK: Ünnūū!
MK: Utū tsuattamappū?
MB: Haa’a.
MK: Aattsaa!
MK: Hinnappūammi?
MB: Tuunnūkappūammi.
MK: Sukkwa tunga?
Tuttsuppūh u nangkasuwangkūnnusi setū wihnu yakaimmaa, Aniam petū etū.
MK: Sukkwah sūmmi u yūkwiku yakainna?
MK: Aattsaas!
MB: Hīi supe'enni yakaippūhantū.
MK: U nangkahantū tsuattamappū etū?
MB: Hakani tokwi pūū. Tuttsuppūťippūh satū!
MK: Tuttsuppūťippūh naammaa sutū.
MB: "Hakani yūkwitū mitūkkaanoppū ma'i nuwikkimminna pūū?" Etū sūmmi u yūkwīngkūnnu wihnu.
"Kee um petū," nuhi mīi yūkkwi sutū, "Kee um petū."
MK: Aa.
MB: Pūnnahapiam petū.
MK: Nahonna wihnu tuttsuppūh u suwangkūnnu.
"Umīi ha petū sūmmatū naakkimmaa sutū?" Nātī'iwantūn noo sutū u nippaahi. "Umīi ha petū sutū, pūnnahapī asū petū?" mīi naakki, mīi tunga u nangkawī.
MB: "Um Pūnnahapī naahi satū," mīi yīingkūmmāa.
MK: Ee?
MB: "Um pūnnahapī naahi satū," mīi yīingkūmmāa.
MK: Suwittū pūū naahi sutū. Suwittūpūh sutū sunī yūkwītu, mīi naahi yūkwīngkūmmīnna, setūmmū mitūkkaanoppūamū. Nūmū kee pūū sunī yūkwītū. Antsippū u ma'i mi'amī'ipūhantū kee sutū tunga pūesūn tunga? Nūmūppū ma'i tūnga....

**TOPIC IV: WHERE THE WHITE MAN SLEEPS**

MK: Hākapa sitū hapītū sipaitū kahnittsi u kuppā?
MB: Pāi kahnittsi u kuppā.
MK: Mitūkkaano tsukuppū tukumpe kahnittsi u kuppā?
MB: Ahaa.
MK: Itū Mitūkkaanoppū?
MK: Sümmatū ha yuwaintū, üitsū'intū kee yuwaintū?
MB: Yuwaintū.
MK: Nüetünna kee hannahangku.
MB: Kottoonungputtsi ma koppa tūkitu'immi nū suwappuhantū u koppa hapimmippūh. Süttiyyaitai tasüttiyyaitai.
MK: Tukwanni nūu tasüttiyyainnummī....

TOPIC V: WOODCUTTING

MB: Tūtsikkoplitūantū.
MK: Mūmmu kee kunnappūhu'isū mungku tūngwa.
MK: Hakaniyu etū pikkopū pa'a muhing kunnoonnuwippūh?
MB: Tsūmataippūh.
MB: Tūtsikka'annūmpūttsia yaakkwa.
MK: Haa?
MB: Tūtsikka'annūmpūttsia yaakkwa. Utū u yaakkwammaa.
MB: Haa'a.
MK: Supe'e man tuupūkkappūhā.
MB: Tukawwani nasoo'innasu.
MK: Ee?
MB: Tukawwani nasoo'immāa tūng'a.
MK: Kee sumpanaitsimaa sümmatu tüngwa mi'akwantu'ippühantü nangkatü Palinna ma'e mi'atü.

Idiomatic Translation

**TOPIC I: BOILING WATER**

MB: My water's hot.
MK: It's hot.
MB: Yes....

**TOPIC II: VENEREAL DISEASE**

MB: Something to talk about....
Irene has infected her own husband.
MK: Gave him V.D.?
MB: She gave V.D. to her husband.
MK: Did he say so?
MB: Why?
MK: Nasty!
MB: Ned told about it; he told Jake.
MK: Who?
MB: Ned.
MK: Ned.
MB: Ned told about it; he told Jake, and Jake told us about it.
MK: He might have given his own V.D., could he do that?
MB: Unlikely.
MK: Irene is the one who did it?
MB: Uh-huh.
MK: They went to town?
MB: They went somewhere through there towards Bishop.
MK: They went all over around there?
MB: Yes.
MK: Yes. The aforementioned one [= Irene] stayed?
MB: She stayed.
MK: Yes.
MB: Where'd she catch it? White people have V.D., at least some among them.
MK: These white people have V.D.? Whites don't have V.D. Indians do! Indians do! They don't take care of themselves well. On the other hand, white people medicate what they catch, when they catch V.D., and then they get well. You were like that when a white man had given it to you; you got well right away since you medicated yourself.
MB: He was working somewhere then, someplace.
MK: The husband?
MB: Richard.
MK: [In a] mine?
MB: Yes.
MK: Yes. That's why he went away when that was happening. Nasty! What [kind of] mind could he have? What? What? She is doing like what Eva used to do [before she died].
MB: Yes.
MK: Is that Shoshone still there with them?
MB: He's not there.
MK: Huh?
MB: He's not there.
MK: What happened?
MB: His car broke down, and he didn't come back.
MK: Yes.
MB: His son wrecked his car; he saw it, someone said, with Richard.
MK: Who was he with?
MB: That one.
MK: Huh?
MB: That one.
MK: His possession broke down.
MB: Yes.
Is he telling the one who is staying in you-all's house?
MK: Yes.
MB: Yes.
MK: It might have been that he came back with him.
MB: [I don't know where, maybe] somewhere.
MK: Maybe in town.
MB: In town.
MK: What is the Stewards' relation to him?
MB: To Richard?
MK: They're his relatives?
MB: Yes. He used to say they're his cousins.
MK: It was their bodies [that carried the disease then].
MB: "I don't have any stove oil; I'm going up through there [to get some]," Jake said. "That kind of stove oil is above there, above town...."
MK: Yes.
MB: "I'll ask Ruth for [some]," he said. "What are you hanging around there for, what are you hanging around for?" said Donald Buff.
MK: He said that to (him)?
MB: Yes.
"You should go elsewhere, you should go. Don't stay at the house!" he told him.
MK: Nasty! It's good what he did.
MB: He doesn't like him.
"I don't have to go. I take care of Mamie. If you send Mamie away, then I might go," he told him.
MK: So he said.
MB: "I take care of the chickens."
"Don't stay there at the house," he said.
MK: Nasty!
MB: He used to say the same thing to him when he stayed over there, he said. When he stayed up there at the Stewards', he used to send him away too, he said.
MK: That one?
MB: Yes.
MK: Did they arrive there with her? That one?
MB: Who?
MK: With Ruth.
MB: Yes, to ask for stove oil, to ask for stove oil!
MK: Yes....

TOPIC III: THE COP

MB: I don't like what I hear about this cop here. Angie told about it going to Babsie's. His daughter was definitely going around with Babsie.
MK: Yes.
MB: She didn't like the cop going over there then.
MK: What did he say to her?
MB: "Don't go around with her," is what he told her about the girl, his daughter.
MK: Who did he say it to?
MB: To Annie's daughter.
MK: He said it to Annie's daughter!
MB: He went there into her house, this cop did.
MK: Nasty!
MB: "I don't like you all, you Indians," he said.
MK: That cop [said that]?
MB: Yes.
MK: Nasty!
MB: "I don't like Blacks either," he said.
MK: Which?
MB: Blacks.
MK: Them either.
MB: Uh-huh. He said it.
She didn't like hearing it so she cried then, Annie's daughter cried.
MK: After he said that she cried?
MB: "You Indians don't have any money, you don't have anything," he said.
MK: Nasty!
MB: That's why she cried!
MK: Did the cop hear her?
MB: Could be so.... He's bad.
MK: He has been a bad one.
MB: "Why is it that they are running around with whites?" he said to her then.
"It's not even his daughter," she told us two, "It's not his daughter."
MK: Oh.
MB: It's the wife's daughter.
MK: Then he doesn't like her for nothing.
"Since when did she become your daughter?" She should have been tough and talked back to him so. "Is it your daughter or is it your wife's daughter?" She should have become so and spoken to him.
MB: She might be his wife [i.e., the girl might sleep with him], somebody said.
MK: Eh?
MB: It might be his wife, somebody said.
MK: It might be that kind [of special relationship between stepfather and stepdaughter]. These whites might do that kind [of special relationship], it used to be said. The Indians wouldn't do that! Isn't it also so that he went around with Angie a while back. He was with Indians [too]....

TOPIC IV: WHERE THE WHITE MAN SLEEPS

MK: Where does this other one sleep around here?
MB: Up in the shack.
MK: Is the old white man in the tin shack?
MB: Uh-huh.
MK: This white man here?
MB: Uh-huh. He's going to run off tomorrow.
MK: Is that particular one warm or is he cold, not warm?
MB: He's warm.
MK: When it's not (making) blowing.
MB: I thought about putting a little fire burner in it so he could lie [= sleep] in it. [I'm] dying of the cold, [my] feet are dying of cold.

MK: At night I have been freezing my feet....

**TOPIC V: WOODCUTTING**

MB: Gotta cut firewood.

MK: You all don't have any firewood either.

MB: Yes. He said he was going to haul firewood.

MK: How about what you two hauled on the pick-up?

MB: It's all gone.

MK: He just hauled a little bit. Since he didn't take the axe, they were long [logs].

MB: He took a little saw.

MK: Huh?

MB: He took a little saw. That one took it.

MK: The little girl went with him to help. She'll learn. He'll make them feel it, he said. "Freeze! You should freeze!" he told them. "I don't freeze in the house, I sit in it burning a fire."

"You ought to freeze because you're lazy, you ought to freeze," I said to her this morning. She was saying to [me ?] when she was refusing being lazy. She got mad on account of the white man, the white man we could have gone with. There was a movie. There was a movie.

MB: Yes.

MK: That's when she got mad.

MB: At night there's still a movie.

MK: Eh?

MB: There was a movie last night too.

MK: She didn't know about it either, but she could have gone if she had heard, gone with Pauline.
Interlinear Translation

TOPIC I: BOILING WATER

MB: Nu paa üütütaippüh.
    my water be hot-prf

MK: üütütaippüh.
    be hot-prf

MB: Haa'a....
    yes

TOPIC II: VENEREAL DISEASE

MB: Himpüppütü....
    something [to talk about]

    Aitiinnappü'ü pünnerg kummattsia kammamakataippüh sutü.
    Irene her own husband disease-give-prf that

MK: Tümpahi makatai?
    V.D. gave

MB: Tümpahi makatai kuhmanna.
    V.D. gave husband-O

MK: Sümmi ha yükwitü sutü?
    so Q say that

MB: Hakani püü?
    how emph

MK: Aattsaa!
    nasty
MB: Ned sümmi teewinna; Tseekkia teeingkünna.
Ned thus tell Jake-O tell to

MK: Hakka?
who

MB: Ned.

MK: Neti.
Ned

MB: Ned sümmi teewinna.
Ned thus tell

MK: As'a.
oh

MB: Tseekkia teeingkünna, Tseekkippü nümmi teeingkünna
Jake-O tell to Jake us(exc) tell to
supa'antu.
that-about

MK: Pūnnašun tępahi makantu sutu naahi,
his own V.D. give that might
sunni yukwitu pū sutu?
that-way do emph that

MB: Hai.
unlikely

MK: Aitiinnappu sunni yukwitu pū sutu!
Irene like-that do emph that
MB: Ahaa.
    uh-uh

MK: Taona ka mi'akkwa?
town to go(pl)

MB: Sutummu hakattuh koonni Pisippuh kattu suttu.
those somewhere go Bishop towards through there

MK: Sukkuh koonikomminna?
there go-around-iterative

MB: Haa'a.
    yes

MK: Haa'a. Katütū sutū pinna?
    yes stay that aforementioned

MB: Katütū sutū.
    stay that

MK: Haa'a.
    yes

MB: Hakapa'antu u kwüppuh sutu? Mitükkaannümū
    where it caught that Caucasian-people
tümnahikantu nanahapantu.
    V.D.-having intermingled among

MK: Mitükkaano sitūmμ tumnahikantu? [Laughs] Kee
    Caucasian these V.D.-have not
tümnahikantu mitükkaano. Numüppu! Numüppu! Kee
    V.D.-have Caucasian Indian-emph Indian-emph not
tsao namaappai. Mitükkaano nattusu'uwatu püü
well self-care for Caucasian medicate emph

u kwüütį tümpshipta kwüũų, supe'esu sutų tsao
it catch-emph V.D.-O catch then that well

naakkwa. Ūu sunniyuppühantų taipo'onna ūn nuttuppuh;
get you that-way-be Caucasian-O you gave-sub

ūu upenisų tsao naakkappühantų nanattusu'uwasi.
you right away well got self-medicate

MB: Hakapa'a sampe wūkkanna sutų wihnu hakapaamaana.
somewhere work that then someplace

MK: Kuhmattsi?
husband

MB: Rittsatu.
Richard

MK: Mainni?
mine

MB: Haa'a.
yes

MK: Haa'a. Sunni püü naatų mi'attaisu sunni yukwitu
yes that way emph be went away that way do

püü. Ūūtsa! Hakani kia mukuapaitų? Hakani? Hakani?
emph nasty what might mind-have what what

Tipüppu naapuhantų u wa'e yukwitu.
Eva was her like do
MB: Haa’a.
yes

MK: Utü Sosonippü sakkuh utummü kattü?
that Shoshone there those at

MB: [Kee] himpaitsinna.
not be there

MK: Haa?
huh

MB: Kee himpaitsinna.
not be there

MK: Hakani naattaimmaa?
what happened

MB: Un natammupi küppakkuppüsü kee pitüsinna utü.
his car broke not return that

MK: Haa’a.
yes

MB: Un tuappu un natammupia tsakküppatai, u punikka,
his son his car wrecked it see

mii yükwippühantü, Rittsatü ma’e.
quote said Richard with

MK: Haka ma’e sutü?
whom with that

MB: Sutü.
that
MK: Haa?
huh

MB: Sutū.
that

MK: Küppatai sutū un nîmpūpūh.
broke down that his possession

MB: Haa'a.
yes

Ukkwa mümming kahni ka katūtūnna sukkwa
that-o you-all's house at staying that-o
teewingkūnna sutū?
tell to that

MK: Ahaa.
yes

MB: Ahaa.
yes

MK: Supa'a pitūsi u waka naappūh naahi.
there return him with be-prf might

MB: Hakapa'a sampe.
somewhere

MK: Nootunga taona ka.
maybe town in

MB: Taona ka.
town in
MK: Un niippūammū sutūmmū puu, Sittuwatūppūammū?
his what-relatives those emph Stewards

MB: Rittsatūn niī?
Richard's what-relative

MK: Sukkwasūn nanūmū puu?
his relatives emph

MB: Haa'a. Um pūpūammū mīi yükwimminna sītū.
yes his cousins quote say-used to this

MK: Sutūmmīn nūmūappū naappūhantū.
their bodies was

MB: "Nū kee yuhukunnappūhpa'intū; nūū sattu pange mī'a,"
I not stove oil-have I there up go
mīi yükwippūhantū Tseekki. "U pa'an taona u pa'antu
quote said Jake it above town it above
yuhukunna aittūn...."
stove oil that kind

MK: Haa'a.
yes

MB: "Nūū Ruhtūa nū natūngkanna, mīi yükwippūhantū.
I Ruth-O I ask for quote said
"Hinna punikkatūtū sapa'a uū, hinna punikkatū," mīi
what hang around there you what hang around quote
yiinggaunnā Tanam Pahpūppū.
tell to Donald Buff
MK: Sümmi yiingkünna? thus say to

MB: Haa'a. yes

"Noo mi'a antappu noo mi'a. Kee kahni ka should go else[where] should go not house at katükkantü," mii u yiingkünna. sit-stv quote him tell to

MK: Aattsaal Tsao un nukwinna. nasty well his doing

MB: Tütsüpüh suwangküntü sutü. bad think that [= not like]

"Nü kee miatüantü; nü Memmia takkamahantü. I not go-have to I Mamie-O take care of Memmia ün tiyotaiha püü, nüü mi'ahippüh püü," Mamie-O you send away emph I go-might emph mii a yükwingkünna. quote him say to

MK: Sümmi yükwingkünna. so say to

MB: "Tsikkuna'a nüü takkamahantü." chicken I take care of

"Kee sakkuh katükkantü kahni ka," mii yükwikkinna. not there stay house at quote say
MK: Üutsüü!
nasty

MB: Ukkwu̱h ape ungкатзу̱к sumısı̱ yûkwingkümminna, there thereabouts his stay-sub same say to-used to

mii yûkwippûhantü sutû. Pange akku̱h Sittuwatü̱mû̱ ka quote said that up there Stewards at

katçu̱k ukkwa̱h, u tiyo̱imminna, mii
stay-sub when him send away-used to quote

yûkwippûhantü.
said

MK: Sutû?
that

MB: Haa'a.
yes

MK: Sukku̱h ha pitûkwamppaa̱ sutummi u waka? Sutû?
there Q arrived-thither those her with that

MB: Hâkatû?
who

MK: Ruhtûppû waka.
Ruth with

MB: Haa'a, yuhukunnanna natüngkakwasi, yuhukunnanna
yes stove oil-O ask for-sub stove oil-O

natüngkakwasi pûû.
ask for-sub emph
MK: Haa'a...
yes

TOPIC III: THE COP

MB: Tsuattamappua ekka ipa'antun nüü tuttsü
Cop-O that here I bad

nangkasuwangkünna. Antsi teewingkünna Baapüttsi wakantu
hear-feel about Angie tell about to Babsie with

pitükwammaatü. Um petüppü utu u ma'i nuwitü
arrived his daughter that her with go around

hiipinna Baapüttsi.
definitely Babsie

MK: Haa'a.
yes

MB: Sukkwa tuttsüppüh suwangkünna tsuattamappua
that bad feel [ =dislike] cop-O

pittuhungka wihnu.
arrive-sub then

MK: Hakami u yukwingkünna?
what her say to

MB: "Kee u ma'i nuwitüantü," hakami mii u
not her with go around-must what quote her

yukwingküppühantü sutü nawitssipippüa um petüppüa.
said to that girl-O his daughter-O
MK: Hakka siingkunna [= sümmi yükwingkunna]?
whom thus-say to thus say to

MB: Aniam petüppüa ukkwa.
Annie's daughter-O that-O

MK: Aniam petünna ukkwa siingkunna.
Annie's daughter-O that-O thus-say to

MB: U waka pitükwə ung kahni kuppa tsüattamappü etü.
her with arrive-thither her house in cop this

MK: Üünūū!
nasty

MB: "Tüütsüppüh nüü múmmi suwangkunna nümüppuammi,"
bad I you all-O feel [=dislike] Indians-O

mii yükwikkinna.
quote say-hither

NK: Utü tsüattamappü?
that cop

MB: Haa'a.
yes

MK: Aattsaa!
nasty

MB: "Tuunnukammi nüü tüütsüppüh suwangkünna tunga,"
Blacks-O I bad feel about [=dislike] also

mii yükwikkinna.
quote say
MK: Hinnappüammi?
   which-pl-O

MB: Tuunnükappüammi.
    Blacks-O

MK: Sukkwa tunga?
    that-0 also

    uh-uh quot say

   Tüttsüppuh u nangkasuwangkunnusi setü wihnu
   bad it hear-feel about [-dislike] this then

   yakaimmAa, Aniam petü etü.
   cried Annie's daughter this

MK: Sukkwa sümü u yükwick yakainna?
    that-0 thus him say-sub cry

MB: "Numüppüammü mümü kee namokkuppühkantü,
    Indians you all not money-have

    keehippühkantü," sümü mii yükwickanna.
    nothing-have thus quot say

MK: Aattsaa!
    nasty

MB: Hii supe'enni yakaippühantü.
    what then cried

MK: U nangkahantü tsuattamappü etü?
    her hear cop this
MB: Hakani tokwi puü. Tüttsüppütüppuh satu! somehow right emph bad that

MK: Tüttsüppütüppuh naammah satu. bad was that

MB: "Hakani yükwitü mitükkaanoppu ma'l nuwikkiminna puü?" why do white people with run around emph

Etü summi u yükwingkunna wihnu. this that her say to then

"Kee um petu," nuhi mii yükkwi sutu, "Kee um not his daughter us(di) quot say that not his petu." daughter

MK: Aa. oh

MB: Punnahapiam petu. wife's daughter

MK: Nahonna wihnu tüttsüppuh u suwangkunna. be nothing then bad her feel [dislike]

"Ümmi ha petu summatu naakkimmaa sutu?" your Q daughter-that one got to be that

Nati'iwantün noo sutu u nippahahi. "Ümmi ha petu be tough must that his talk back-dub your Q daughter

sutu, punnahapi asu petu?" mii naakki, mii tünga that wife's that daughter quot become quot also
nangkawi. speak

MB: "Um Punnahapi naahi satu," mii yilingkummaa.
    his wife might be that quot said to

MK: Eh?
    eh

MB: "Um punnahapi naahi satu," mii yilingkummaa.
    his wife might be that quot said to

MK: Suwittu puu naahi sutu. Suwittuppuh sutu
    that kind emph might be that that kind that

    sunni yukwitu, mii naahi yuwingkumminna,
    that way do quot might be say-used to

    setummu mitukkaanoppammu. Numu kee puu
    these white people Indian not emph

    sunni yukwitu.
    that way do

    Antsippu u ma'i mi'amipuhantu kee sutu
    Angie her with went around not that

    tunga puesun tunga? Numuppu ma'i tunga....
    also while ago also Indian with also
TOPIC IV: WHERE THE WHITE MAN SLEEPS

MK: Hakapa situ hapitu sipaitu kahnittsu u kuppa?
where this lie here shack it in

MB: Pai kahnittsu u kuppa.
up shack it in

MK: Mitukkaano tsukuppü tukumpe kahnittsü u kuppa?
white person old man tin shack it in

MB: Ahaa.
uh-huh

MK: Itu Mitukkaanoppü?
this white person

uh-huh start to run-will tomorrow when emph

MK: Summatü ha yuwaintü, üitsü'intü kée yuwaintü?
that particular Q be warm be cold not be warm

MB: Yuwaintü.
be warm

MK: Nüetünna kée hannihangku.
blowing not do-when

MB: Kottoonumpüttsi ma kuppa tükitu'immi nüü
fire burner-little it in put-will-intent I

suwappuhantü u kuppa hapimmpüh. Sütìiyaitai
thought it in lie-iterative-sub cold-die
tasütiyaitai.
foot-cold-die

MK: Tukwanni nüu tasütiyainmümi....
nighttime I foot-cold-die-moving

TOPIC V: WOODCUTTING

MB: Tütsikkoipiütantu.
cut(pl)-have to

MK: Mümü kee kunnappuhpa'isü mungku tungwa.
you all not firewood-have you(dl) also

yes fire-haul-will quot said that

MK: Hakaniyu etü pikkopü pa'a muhing kunnoonnuwippuh?
be how this pick-up on your(dl) fire-haul-sub

MB: Tsumataippuh.
all gone

MK: Hüüttstitstsia kunoonnookku. Kee atsa yaannaihwappuh
little bit-0 fire-haul-result not axe took
küküpütappuh naappuhantü sutü sutü.
long(pl) was that that

MB: Tütsikka'annümpütttsia yaakkwa.
saw-little-0 took

MK: Haa?
huh
MB: Tutsikka'annúmpüttsia yaakkwa. Utú u yaakkwammaa.
    saw-little-O took that it took

MK: Nawittsipippu u ma'i mi'appühantu tumaapúatunna.
girl him with went to help

pusikkwannuha summatu. Sutu utummi wümmengkünsti'ih
    know-will that certain that those-O feel-make-will

mii yúkippühantu. "Súkkwo'i súkkwo'itsi witsa,"
    quot said cold-die(pl) cold-die(pl) should

mii utummi yúkwinguppühantu.
    quot those-O told

"Núu kee súttiyaitü kahni kuppa kottochantü
    I not cold-die house in fire-start

katútü u kuppa."
    sit it in

"Noo súttiyai napihnaapü naaku,
    ought to cold-die lazy be-sub

nóo súttiyai," mii u yúkwingkünna imaa núu.
    ought to cold-die quot her tell morning I

Na'awaimmaasi ukkwhai mii yúkwingkünna.
    refuse being lazy when quot say to

Mitükkaanoa tuupükkaangkünna mitükkanó ma'i tammi
    Caucasian-O get angry about Caucasian with us(inc)

    town at go-could have-sub be movie be movie
MB: Haa’a.
yes

MK: Supe’e man tuupükkapüha.
that time her get mad-sub

MB: Tukwawani nasoo’innasü.
at night be a movie-still

MK: Ee?
eh

MB: Tukwawani nasoo’immag tunga.
last night be a movie-past also

MK: Kee sumpanaitsimmag sümmatü tungwa
not know-neg-past that particular also

mi’akwantu’ippuhantü nangkatü Palinna ma’e mi’atü.
go-future-past hearing Pauline with going
## Appendix: Basic Vocabulary List

This appendix contains a list of basic Tümpisa Shoshone vocabulary items written in both phonemic and phonetic notation. A tape recording of the list is on file in the Language Laboratory at the University of California, Berkeley. The speaker was Mamie Boland from Furnace Creek, in Death Valley. On the tape, recorded and transcribed in 1971 by the author, an English word is usually given to elicit a more or less equivalent Tümpisa Shoshone word. Then the words are normally repeated three times in Tümpisa Shoshone. Sometimes there is variation in their pronunciation or grammatical form; when this occurs, it is indicated in the transcriptions with the symbol "\[\]".

### VOCABULARY ITEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sky</td>
<td>[tʊ́YumbānάfI]</td>
<td>tukumpanapin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>[táθec·I]</td>
<td>tapettsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>[mšαf·I]</td>
<td>müattsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>star</td>
<td>[táziʌmbi]</td>
<td>tatsiumpi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>[pa7 vậnp·E]</td>
<td>pakuunappuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fog</td>
<td>[wék·AVn’app·E]</td>
<td>wükküünappuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind, blowing</td>
<td>[mšaιθf]</td>
<td>núaitün</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

505
≈ müätün  [nieθε]  'wind, blowing'
ümätün  [iøâθε]  'rain'
paa  [paː]  'water'
poto'ìnna  [pòroʔɪn̪-A]  'spring'
pätüasúppüh  [pariašp'-ə]  'ice'
tüasúppüh  [tíašp'-ə]  'frozen'
tahapi  [tāhaφi]  'snow'
potso'ìnna  [pózoʔɪn̪-A]  'to be wet'
≈ potso'en  [pózoʔE]  'be wet'
sokopin  [sóθoφi]  ≈ [sóθopI]  'ground, land'
tümpin  [t̪̂m̪i]  ≈ [t̪̂mpI]  'rock'
pasingwampin  [pāsim̪̂w̪ampI]  'sand'
≈ pasingompin  [pāsim̪̂mpI]  'sand'
omapi  [oʊ̠ɔφi]  'salt'
toyapi(n)  [t̪̂yaφI]  'mountain'
toyakatůnnaitün  [t̪̂yaθar̪̂in̪-aɪ̠E]  'hill'
≈ toyakatūnnaih  [t̪̂yaθar̪̂in̪-i]  'be a hill'
tüŋkahi  [t̪̂ŋg̪αn̪I]  'cave'
po'i  [p̪̂o̠I]  'road'
tukwanni  [t̪̂ɯn̪-n̪]  'night'
yūwikka  [y̠u̠w̠̠ɪk-ɐ]  'evening'
ima  [ɪ̠o̠]  'morning'
tatsa  [t̪̂az̪a]  ≈ [t̪̂aɡA]  'summer'
tommo  [t̪̂m̪-φ]  ≈ [t̪̂m̪-O̠]  'winter'
tahmani  [t̪̂hW̪a:n̪I]  'springtime'
yüpani  [y̠ɪ̠p̪̠a:n̪I]  ≈ [y̠ɪ̠p̪̠aN̪I]  'autumn'
tommono  [t̪̂m̪-ΣO̠]  'year'
pahompin  [p̪̂hompI]  'tobacco'
nanokkutski  [n̪̂o̠k̪-k̪-φ-I]  'beads'
kohno  [k̪ho:N̪O̠]  'cradle'
wika  [wiYa]  ≈ [wiXA]  'blanket'
nanokko  [n̪̂o̠k̪-k̪-O̠]  'needle'
wisipin  [wiSiφI]  'thread'
tümuhun  [t̪̂ɯ̠ʊhʊ]  'rope'
≈ tumohun  [t̪̂ʊhʊ]  'rope'
etün  [ɛ̠̠s̪i]  ≈ [ɛθE]  'gun'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kahni</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawüt'tümappuh</td>
<td>'door'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhakantün</td>
<td>'shaman, doctor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nattus'u'ungkantün</td>
<td>'(pill) doctor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kimmakinna</td>
<td>'to come hither'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nattusu'un</td>
<td>'medicine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miakkinnah</td>
<td>'to walk, go' plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tontop'enna</td>
<td>'to climb up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notopphenna</td>
<td>'to climb down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wünñu</td>
<td>'stand (dur)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tontop'enna</td>
<td>'sit (dur)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hapinna</td>
<td>'to lie down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñppuíhan</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napusawinna</td>
<td>'to dream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napusawih</td>
<td>'dream' (V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiyainna</td>
<td>'to die'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napakkappuh</td>
<td>'killed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u punikkan</td>
<td>'see it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nangkah</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'ë</td>
<td>'no, not'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumpanai'i</td>
<td>'know'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nangkavinna</td>
<td>'to talk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isa'awinna</td>
<td>'to (tell a) lie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ isa'awih</td>
<td>'to (tell a) lie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yahennah</td>
<td>'to laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ yahinnah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>üñ noppaiippuh</td>
<td>'your tears'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ üñ nopppeppuh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakanah</td>
<td>'to cry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ yakenah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitaninna</td>
<td>'to vomit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uttunna</td>
<td>'to give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ uttuh</td>
<td>'give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukoitsoinna</td>
<td>'to wash' (Vi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pasangkunna [pásâŋg̪n'̪a] 'to dry' (vt)
takkuna [ták'ونa] 'throw'
≈ u takkuna [u rák'ونa] 'throw it'
nükkanña [nák'ونa] 'to dance'
tukummahannina [túŋm'ahân'ín'а] 'to cook'
≈ tukummahannih [túŋm'ahân'í] 'cook'
kuukkinna [kuːk'ín] 'to cook'
ti'iwanna [ti'iw̃n'а] 'to be afraid'
pakatūn [pák'àn] ≈ [pákàn] 'be a body of water'
paa okwenna [pāː ōp̪w̃n'а] 'water flowing'
tusinna [túsín'а] 'to spit'
tütuaingvũnũ [tirāl̪g̪w̃n̪a] 'stand and work'
≈ tütuaingna [tir̪ãín'а] 'to work'
wasůwükkinna [wásúw̃k̪'ín'а] 'to hunt'
≈ wasůwükki [wásúw̃k̪'í] 'hunt'
tūtsūnna [tús̪tí'n'а] ≈ [tús̪tí'n̪] 'to count'
tsikka'ah [giz'а] 'cut'
≈ u tsikka'anna [u zík'а'án'а] 'to cut it'
hotanna [hórã'n'а] 'to dig'
kuttinna [kút'ín'а] 'to shoot'
suni suwanna [sùnǐ sùw̃n̪'а] 'to think like that'

noohakami yúkwi' [n̪oːhãyãw̃l̪ yỳw̃l̪] ≈ [n̪oːhãyãw̃l̪ yỳx'í] 'say something'
teewingkunna [t̪eːw̃íŋg̪ín'а] 'to tell'
napitingkunna [nãbĩl̪éng̪g̪íns̪'а] 'fight'
wūsů'ukkut̪i [w̃sūw̃'uk̪út̪'í] ≈ [w̃sūw̃'uk̪út̪'í] 'kick'
tangummutt̪i [t̪âŋg̪úm'út̪'í] 'kick'
≈ u tangummutt̪i [u râŋg̪úm'út̪'í] 'kick it'
tūkkanna [t̪ãk'ãn'а] ≈ [t̪ãk'ãn'а] 'to eat'
u kūttsi'ah [u ỹ̃ã'í] ≈ [u ỹ̃ã'í] 'bite it'
APPENDIX

hipinna [hi'βIN'A] 'to drink'
u yungwúnna [u yUŋw'|N'A] 'to swallow it'
pitsinna [pi'ZIN'æ] 'to suckle'
tukkuapín [tuk'uaφI] 'meat, flesh'
hupapín [hùŋapI] 'soup'
yuhupin [yùŋuφI] 'fat'
pihyaapin [phiyaφI] 'sugar'
pisittaippuh [pi'sIt'aip'ë] 'rotten'
tsiatiyaippuh [ʃi'aɾlyaip'ë] 'hungry'
wihi [wihi] 'knife'
appo'o [ąp'oɔo] 'cup'
sümütün [ʃeʃi't'ë] 'one'
waха [waха] 'two'
= wahattün [waŋat'ë] 'three'
pahittün [paŋit'ë] 'four'
= paittün [paŋit'ë] 'five'
wattsuwìtun [waŋ'ẽtwiθi] 'six'
manikutün [maŋiθiθi] 'seven'
naapaitün [naŋ'ajaiθi] 'eight'
taattsuwìtun [taŋ'ẽtwiθi] 'nine'
woosuwìtun [woŋ'stiθiθi] 'ten'
wanikkitün [waŋiθiθi] 'twenty'
sümooentu [sẽusterityu] 'one hundred'
pühuppüh [pʰuŋp'ë] 'fur'
musuwi [mužiwi] 'mustache'
motson [mɔzo] 'beard, whiskers'
kupisi [kʊgiθi] 'brains'
ùn pui [iŋ buŋi] 'your eye'
patü'a [paɾɨʔa] 'forehead'
nangki [nan'jI] 'ear'
mupin [mʊgi] = [mʊφI] 'nose'
tümpe [timsɛ] 'mouth'
ùn nokwon [iŋ nɔn'kʊ] 'your tongue'
ün taman
ün kope

üm pęününtsí
ün natapü
ün kutan
ün tsooppü
üm pūtapü
üm mo'o
üm tasitu
üm kwaimpu
üm panapi
üm pitsí
somo
üm pihwü
nümü
= ün nümü
sappüh
ün koe
ün tsıappüh
ün nungkwappüh
ün tohopi
üm witsa
üm nampe
üm tangappüh
tshuhnipüh
paoppí
üm po'a
nümü
mitükkkaano
nimaa
üm tummu'u
tangummü
wa'ippü
= wa'ippü'ü
piammüttssi

[ɨn dāwá]
[ɨŋ gõše] n
[ɨŋ gõpë]
[ɨm bəríŋpí]
[ɨn nárapë]
[ɨŋ qũrã]
[ɨn zõ:p'ë]
[ɨm bëraŋpë]
[ɨm mō'0]
[ɨn dási0U]
[ɨŋ g²lampë]
[ɨm bánãqí]
[ɨm bízi]
[sãwô]
[ɨm bihWë]
[nãwì]
[ɨn nãêì]
[ɨŋ gõ]
[ɨn ʃiap'ë]
[ɨn ñág'sap'ë]
[ɨn dơhoʃî]
[ɨŋ wižA]
[ɨn nãmë]
[ɨn dãŋap'ë]
[pũhøip'ë]
[páop'í]
[ɨm bõ'â]
[nãwì]
[mirák'ãínõ]
[nĩwá:]n
[ɨn dɛm'õU]
[tãŋũk'ë]
[wã?ip'ë]
[wã?ip'k'ë]
[piam'įg'ì]

'your tooth'
'your face'

'your chin'
'your jaw'
'your neck'
'your shoulder'
'your arm'
'your hand'
'your fingernail'
'your back'
'your chest'
'your breast'
'lungs'
'your heart'
'liver'
'your liver'
'belly'
'your guts'
'your hips'
'your leg'
'your thigh'
'your shin'
'your foot'
'your knee'
'bone'
'blood'
'your skin'
'Indian, person'
'white man'
'friend'
'your enemy'
'man'
'woman'

'baby'
APPENDIX

natupinniyannahanna [ná̱t'í̱n•iyá̱há̱N•A] 'to be named'
≈ natupinniyahan [ná̱t'í̱n•iyá̱hA] 'be named'
naniyahanna [ná̱niyá̱há̱N•A] 'to be named'
úm pia [ím biá] 'your mother'
úm nappu [ín náp'í] 'your father'
átapu'ú [árașú?] 'uncle, mother's brother'
≈ átapu [árașU] 'your uncle, father's sister'
úm pahwa [ím bã̱hA] 'your aunt, father's sister'

úm tua" [ím dúa] 'your son'
≈ úm petü" [ím běči] 'your daughter'

≈ úm paitü" [ím báiči] 'your husband'
úm kuhmattsi [í̱g gõ̱há̱g•I] 'your wife'
≈ punnahapi'i [pín•ahá̱p•I] 'wife'
úm pünnahapi'i [pín•ahá̱p•I] 'your O childhood sibling'
≈ pünnahapi'i [pín•ahá̱p•I] 'your Yo childhood sibling'
úm dami'i [ím dó̱l•I] 'your Yo brother'
≈ úm patsi'i [ím bá̱zí•I] 'your Yo sister'
úm nammi'i [ím nám•I] 'your Yo sister'

hupiatuki [hú̱siá̱r≈i] ≈ hupiatuki [hú̱siá̱r≈i] 'your pet, horse'
kammu [kã̱m•ó] ≈ [kã̱m•U] 'jackrabbit'
taputtsi [ tá̱gu•í] 'cotton tail'
pongo'aittsi [pã̱go'at•í] 'mouse'
≈ pom'o'aittsi [pã̱go'at•í] 'mouse'
kapaayu [kašáyú] ≈ [kašáyú] 'horse'
pungku [púŋku] 'pet, horse'
≈ úm pungku [ím bã̱ŋku] 'your pet, horse'
isapungku [íšáŋku] 'dog'

pahamittsi [pahá̱m•I] 'bear'
piakuitssun [piá̱yu•í] 'buffalo'
tuhuy'a'a [tuhuyái•á] 'deer'
wantsi [wáŋ•I] 'antelope'
wassüppin [wasí•p•I] 'mountain sheep'
un naama [ún ná•wá] 'its horn'
ung kwasi [úŋ g'amsí] 'its tail'


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yoyegybi</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kasaţyantɨ</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasaţiXantɨ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yutsunnoonna</td>
<td>'to fly around'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pühüttsi</td>
<td>'feather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokum pühüttsi</td>
<td>'its feather(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noyopin</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puyun</td>
<td>'duck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaakki</td>
<td>'crow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panyi</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pookkoo'</td>
<td>'frog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posiattei</td>
<td>'louse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wawata</td>
<td>'mosquito'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihnaawitun</td>
<td>'bee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angi</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wсоритtse</td>
<td>'worm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sohopimpu</td>
<td>'cottonwood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupa</td>
<td>'pinenut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onnottsi</td>
<td>'pinenut hook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samapi</td>
<td>'juniper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suprahi</td>
<td>'willow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wongkopin</td>
<td>'tall pine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pohopin</td>
<td>'sagebrush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pomaappuh</td>
<td>'grass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aikupittsi</td>
<td>'cactus, thorn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am pisittsi</td>
<td>'its leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am pehettsi</td>
<td>'its seed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hipingkuppuh</td>
<td>'flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tëununa</td>
<td>'root'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayakku</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuttsappuh</td>
<td>'ashes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukkiwiingwunë</td>
<td>'smoke' (Vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsawinnuh</td>
<td>'to be good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úkupittsi</td>
<td>'new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>půaittümë</td>
<td>'old'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piappütün</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tühättsittsi</td>
<td>'small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūpūtappütün</td>
<td>'long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toppottsittsi</td>
<td>'short'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūmappüh</td>
<td>'sharp edged'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutsipì</td>
<td>'sharp pointed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ mutsipùh</td>
<td>'round'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poono'o</td>
<td>'full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wükkinnoo</td>
<td>'be full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūpkekūntain</td>
<td>'be dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ütsü' inna</td>
<td>'be to cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ ütsü' in</td>
<td>'be cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'ë</td>
<td>'no'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haa'a</td>
<td>'yes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuppapitun</td>
<td>'black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tosapitun</td>
<td>'white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakwapitun</td>
<td>'green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ sakwaapi</td>
<td>'blue and green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhipitun</td>
<td>'red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angkapitun</td>
<td>'yellow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sükümpitun</td>
<td>'brown'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokopin</td>
<td>'gray'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entümpitun</td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esümpitun</td>
<td>'left hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sümüsü</td>
<td>'right hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwii mo'o</td>
<td>'do right'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsawam mo'o</td>
<td>'do wrong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ tsanmo'o</td>
<td>'far away'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The translations are approximations due to the complex nature of the language.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tükünaattsi</td>
<td>'close, near'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paa pa hapinnuh</td>
<td>'float, lie on water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>püttnina</td>
<td>'to be heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuwitüantusü</td>
<td>'live; must wander'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuinna</td>
<td>'to play, gamble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisotonna</td>
<td>'pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsortohin</td>
<td>'push'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ u tsortohin</td>
<td>'push it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u masutuhinna</td>
<td>'to rub it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsokoni</td>
<td>'scratch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paa pakatüh</td>
<td>'ocean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tütattsokwínna</td>
<td>'to sew' (Vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ tütattsokw'i'h</td>
<td>'sew' (Vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwannakka</td>
<td>'to smell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pattsipitun</td>
<td>'smooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokowa</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u tsattawinna</td>
<td>'to split it open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonamminna</td>
<td>'to stab'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ u tonamminna</td>
<td>'to stab it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokwittunaantün</td>
<td>'really straight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u wütamanna</td>
<td>'to tie it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tosonenna</td>
<td>'to wipe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakwina</td>
<td>'to swell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuhuntappütün</td>
<td>'thick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ tuhuntappüh</td>
<td>'thin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatutsitssi</td>
<td>'warm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuwaintün</td>
<td>'to hold' (Vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tütṣaiikkanna</td>
<td>'to hold' (Vt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ tsaiikkanna</td>
<td>'will take'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaakkwantu'ih</td>
<td>'to hold' (Vt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


REFERENCES


REFERENCES 517


___________. 1959. Internal diversity in Uto-Aztec, II. IJAL 25.114-121.


REFERENCES


REFERENCES


REFERENCES


Other Volumes Available
University of California Publications in Linguistics

ISBN 0-520-09219-8

ISBN 0-520-09450-6


