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>Gender</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td>nu ≈ nüü</td>
<td>nia ≈ nü</td>
<td>nian ≈ nú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nia</td>
<td>nian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ü ≈ üü₂</td>
<td>ümmi ≈ ün</td>
<td>ümmin ≈ ün</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ma ≈ u ≈ a</td>
<td>man ≈ un ≈ an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc</td>
<td>nungku hu ≈ nühu-₁</td>
<td>nuhin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st inc</td>
<td>tangku tahi ≈ tahu-</td>
<td>tahin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>mungku muhi ≈ muhu-</td>
<td>muhin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc</td>
<td>nummu mummi mummin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st inc</td>
<td>tammu tammi tammin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd mummu mummi mummin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></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(d1) go(dl)-going to

2. Muhu wakantu kimmanna. 'He's coming towards you two.'
   you(d1) towards come
(3) Satu muhi tottukwapuhantu.
   that you(dl)-O hit
   'He hit you two.'

(4) Mummi 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 tangummutthi.
   our(dl) horse us(dl) kick
   'Our horse kicked us two.'

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

(10) Natittsipi tah wuttukwapuhantu.
    girl us(dl) hit
    'The girl hit us two.'

(11) Tahim piya 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>nia himpu ≈ nian nimpu 'mine'</td>
<td>nuhi himpu ≈ nuhin nimpu 'ours, his and mine'</td>
<td>númmi himpu ≈ númmim nimpu 'ours, theirs and mine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2nd   | ummi himpu ≈ ummin nimpu ≈ ūnim nimpu 'yours' | tahi himpu ≈ tahin nimpu 'ours, yours and mine' | tammi himpu ≈ tammin nimpu 'ours, yours and mine'
| 3rd rflx | panna himpu ≈ pannan nimpu 'his/her own' | puhi himpu ≈ puhin nimpu 'their own' | pummi himpu ≈ pummin nimpu 'their own'
| Dem   | suka himpu ≈ sukkan nimpu 'that one's' | sutuhi himpu ≈ sutuhin nimpu 'those two's' | sutümmi himpu ≈ sutümmin nimpu 'those ones' |
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 -sün. However, in the singular first and second persons there are also alternate reflexives built on the respective possessive personal pronouns plus taka 'self' plus -sün. 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 -sün. The dual and plural objective forms also take -sün (without taka), but the possessives have neither.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reflexive Pronouns</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>nuusun ≈ nutakasun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>uusun ≈ untakasun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>puntakasun</td>
<td>pun ≈ punnan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></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>
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<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>mungkusun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>pungkusun</td>
<td>puhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc</td>
<td>nummusun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st inc</td>
<td>tammusun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>muumusun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>puumusun</td>
<td>puumin</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) Nuúsū nawúngweninna. 'I hang myself.'
   myself pmpr-hang

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

(14) Tangkusū napuniyúkwi.
   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 puntakasu 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.
PRONOMINALS

(17) Wa'ippū pitsingkūnna pūnnam piammuttsi.
woman nurse her own baby
'The woman is nursing her (own) baby.'

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

(19) Tokowa pūnnang kwayingkūnna pippokoanna.
snake its own skin drop
'The snake is shedding its (own) skin.'

(20) Supe'esū sutummū u petsunnwimmaa wa'ippūa
that time those her took walking woman-O
pūnnan nanūmū. Pūmming kahni ka u
her own relatives their own house to her
petsippūh no'api naammaa sutū u piū 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 g- and one without g-. Generally speaking, the bases without g- 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEMONSTRATIVE-LOCATIVE BASES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obviative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Demonstrative Stem Formatives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subjective</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-tū</td>
<td>-kka</td>
<td>-kkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-tungku</td>
<td>-tuhi</td>
<td>-tuhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></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 ū 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>Case</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subjective</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>(s)itū</td>
<td>(s)ikka</td>
<td>(s)ikan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)etu</td>
<td>(s)ekka</td>
<td>(s)ekkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)atū</td>
<td>(s)akka</td>
<td>(s)akan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)utū</td>
<td>(s)ukka</td>
<td>(s)ukkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>matū</td>
<td>makka</td>
<td>makkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td>(s)itungku</td>
<td>(s)ituhi</td>
<td>(s)ituhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)setungku</td>
<td>(s)setuh</td>
<td>(s)setuhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)atungku</td>
<td>(s)atuhi</td>
<td>(s)atuhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)utungku</td>
<td>(s)utuhi</td>
<td>(s)utuhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>matungku</td>
<td>matuhi</td>
<td>matuhin</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 ū 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.
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 utū 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 setū is used as a given information determiner with the 'old man', which is another reference to Coyote.

(21) Isapaippū utū... un appū miattaimmaa.
Coyote that its father went-cmplt
= their
'That Coyote, their father, went away.'

(22) Setū atammani miattaisū summi yükwitū puū!
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) Sutümmu supe' esu wihnu u wüttühhilhantü sutümmu.
those that time then him wait for those
'Then at that time they waited for him.'

(24) Supe'e wihnu tuittsi pitüsu tuittsi pitü
that time then young man arrive young man arrive
utümmu ka wihnu sümmü tuittsi.
those at then one young man

'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 etü being repeated
several times both as a determiner and as a pronoun, and then
with setü being used as still another pronoun, all in
reference to the old lady, the girls' mother. The use of etü
in the beginning is to reintroduce the mother (even though
she had been mentioned some lines back); the use of setü at
the end of the clause shows she is now old information and a
continuing topic.

(25) Etü etü wihnu hipittsi etü etü utummin pia
this this then old woman this this those's mother

u punikka setü, sümmü naipi tunga u punikka...
it see this one girl also it see

'This one then, this old lady, this one, this one
their mother, saw it, and also one girl saw it...'

In 26, a couple of lines further on, the mother is again
referenced with setü while the girl is referred to with satu.
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 atu tangummi (akka) tangummuthih.
horse that man-O that-O kick
'That horse kicked the man.'

(28) Atu kapaayu sakka tangummuthih.
that horse that-O kick
'That horse kicked that (one).'

(29) Satu sakka isapungku tangummuthih.
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) Satu u tangummuthih.
that it kick
'That one kicked it.'

(31) Satu sakka tangummuthih.
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) *Satù akka isapungku tangummuttih.
that that-O dog kick

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

(33) *Atu 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'ippu tüpanna tangummi tukummahanningkünna. 
woman pinenut-O man-O cook-for
'The/a woman cooked pinenuts for the/a man.'

(35) Satù sakka u tukummahanningkünna. 
that that-O him cook-for
'She cooked that for him.'

(36) Satù sukkwa ukka tukummahanningkünna. 
that that-O that-O cook-for = him
'She cooked that for him.'
(37) Satu sakka atammi tukummahanningkunna.
    that those-0 cook-for
    'She cooked that for them.'

(38) *Satu sakka sakka tukummahanningkunna.

(39) *Atu akka akka tukummahanningkuna.

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/that is (the one that)'

-nni 'way, like' manner adverbial proform

(s)inni 'this way, like this (right here)'
(s)enni 'this way, like this'
(s)anni 'that way, like that'
(s)unni 'that way, like that (not visible)'

-ittun '(special) kind'

Subjective Obj and Poss

(s)iittun (s)iittunna 'this special kind right here'
(s)eittun (s)eittunna 'this special kind'
(s)aittun (s)aittunna 'that special kind'
(s)uittun (s)uittunna 'that special kind invisible'

-mmatun 'this/that particular one, that very one'

Subjective Objective Possessive

sammatun sammakka sammakan
≈ summatun ≈ summakka ≈ summakan

The two special demonstrative formatives -nni (≈ nì) 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 the one who is coming to woo you all, the young man.'
(41) Isa appu esu naisapu.
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) Esu nahim pungku. 'This is our pet.'
this our(dl) pet

(44) Asu hipikahni. 'That's a bar.'
that is bar

(45) Usu un natukanna tunga 'ohyo' niyakantu.
that is its being eaten and plant sp be called
'That's an edible, and it's called ohyo.'

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 nukwa" 'do', yukwa" = yukwa" '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 nukwa" (e.g., sinni + nukwa" > sinnukwa" 'do this way'; senni + nukwa" > sennukwa" 'do this way'; sanni + nukwa" > sannukwa" 'do that way'; sunni + nukwa" > sunnukwa" 'do that way').

(46) Uu ha sennukwikkatu?
you Q this way-do-sit
'What are you sitting doing?'
(47) Nüü sennukwikatū tumō'ikatū.  
'I'm doing this (way), sitting writing.'

(48) Kawa sunnukkwė enni utummi ma'ommīnna.  
'The rat was doing that (way), pushing them away like this.'

(49) Satū nia sunni yukwingkūpūhantū.  
'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 -ittūnna > -ittūn), so that objective forms become indistinguishable from subjective ones (e.g., 51; cf. 52; see section 9.5 on contractions).

(50) Usun takasū suittūn natūkkānna.  
'That's all of that kind that is eaten.'

(51) Nummū suittūn tükkmīnna.  
'We used to eat that (special) kind.'

(52) Nüü iittūnna tsao suwangkūnna.  
'I like this special kind here.'

(53) Eittūm ma piappūtū isapungku police 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, ûitsu'intu 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 Tûmpisa 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 ≈ hin- 'what' (hin- 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>hakatün</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>hakahontün</td>
<td>'where from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakaittün</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>hakanukwitün</td>
<td>'why'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapan ≈ hakapa'an</td>
<td>'where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapai</td>
<td>'where from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapantün</td>
<td>'where from, where at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapangkuh</td>
<td>'where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapayuntün</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>hiiyasun</td>
<td>'what kind (is it), what's happening'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiiyasun</td>
<td>'what kind (is it)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpan</td>
<td>'how'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpakan(tün)</td>
<td>'how much, how many; how big, what size'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpakan(tünna)</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 sutū? 'Where is it?'
where that

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

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

(60) Haka tu a tsappihwammah? 'Who broke it?'
who it broke

(61) Haka tu m'akommah? '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) Hakaittū kapaayu satūmmū?
what kind horse those
'What kind of horses are those?'

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

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

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

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

b. Nūu hakani yukwitu'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 nia tūpingkunna 'nù tukkwa',
why me ask about me under
nia niingkunna üû?
me say you

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

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

(71) Hakapa ümmeing 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 kuttimmaa? 'Where'd he shoot him?'
where him shot

(74) Hakapai pittuhuntu?
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) Hii (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) Himpakantu tattangummü? 'How many men are there?' how many men

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

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

(82) Himpe u kuttimmua (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) Üü 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, 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'
- hii 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'
- noohakами 'some/anything (said/perceived)"
noohakapan ‘somewhere, anywhere, wherever'
noohakapangkuh ‘somewhere, anywhere, wherever'
noohakattuh ‘somewhere, anywhere, wherever'
noohii ‘something, anything, whatever'
noohinna ‘something, anything, whatever' obj
noohimpe ≈ noohompe 'all the time, any time; always'
sümni ‘something (said or thought); thus'
sümüttün ‘someone; one'

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

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

(87) Hakatü sampe nú tottükwapppuhantü.
somebody me hit
'Somebody hit me.'

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

(89) Hakaittü 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
pahamitzsi utü hakamaanna u nuwiku toya ma
bear that someplace her walk mountain on
nootünga.
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 himpūa saawatu'ih.  
we(exc) something-O boil-will  
'Let's boil something.'

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

(95) Keehiippūh tsoapittsi.  'There are no ghosts.'  
nothing ghost

(96) Sutu piapputu kuttippühantu tūhüya  
that big shot deer  
nū keehinna kuttinna.  
I nothing-O shoot  
'He shot a big deer; I shot nothing.'
(97) Nahona wihnu tüttüpúppu u suwangkunna.  
be nothing then bad her feel [= dislike]  
'He doesn't like her for nothing then.'

(98) Nahonappúh sutú. 'That's nothing.'  
nothing that

(99) Tuwitssia noohakatú u mantúnna kwüùhi.  
young man-O someone him part of marry  
'Someone'll marry the young man.'

(100) Wainnih noohakka tammayaingkunna.  
wine everybody-O make go crazy  
'Wine makes everybody go crazy.'

(101) Kaakki utümü noohli sümusû miátú.  
crow those whatever all go  
'Crow and all of those whatever went.'

(102) Nuü sakka noohinna tüpinningkunna.  
I that-O something-O ask  
'I asked him something.'

(103) Nuü nuwattaingtu'ih noohakattuh.  
I move-cmpt-will somewhere  
'I'll move [residence] somewhere.'

The last three words in the indefinite pronoun list above, noohimpe ~ noohompe, sümmí, 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 sümmí 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.
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 yûkki 'say' forming sùmmùkki 'say something/thus' (e.g., 107).

Nu sùmmi yûkki. 'I said something.'
I something say(dur)

(106) Nu sùmmi suwainna.
I something think about
'I'm thinking about something [to do].' 

(107) "Nùmmì appù wa'e," sùmmûkki [= sùmmi yûkki].
our father like thus-say thus say(dur)
"'He's like our father," thus she said.'

The primary function of sùmùttùn 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) Sùmùttù nìa sùmmi teewingkúppuhantu.
(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'ippū nū pusikwa [akka mūhakkawūtūnna].
woman-O I know that-0 make basket-0
'I know the woman who is making baskets.'

(110) Wa'ippū nia pusikwatū [utū hupiatūkitū utū].
woman me know that sing that
'The woman who is singing knows me.'

(111) Isapaippū [utū un appū] miattaímmaa.
Coyote that its father went-cmplt = their
'Coyote, who is their father, went away.'

The base of the third person reflexive pronoun pun(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) Nūū ū punnan ni nanangkawi ūmūm
I you-O which way talk you-O
tūtīingwanna.
teach
'I'm teaching you how [= which way] to talk.'

(113) Pūm ma nū tūtsikkōpīippū h ma nū
what with me cut-sub with I
watsingū.
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**

hüütsitsi (-a obj) 'little (bit), small amount, few'
soontün (-a ~ -ti obj) 'many, much, a lot, lots'
su'oppuh(tun) (-a obj) 'many, much, a lot, lots'
sümusü 'all, every(body), every(one)'
sümütüwası 'all together'
su'pantün (-a obj) 'some group, band, gang of'
 numérique (-i obj) 'all, every(one), every(body)'
sümüttütsi (-a obj) 'only one'
wahattütsi (-a obj) 'only two'
pahittütsi (-a obj) 'only three'
etc.
etc.

Most of the quantifiers display case distinctions, but not all of them, for **sümüsü** and **sümütüwası** are invariable.

(114) Satu nú kawiki tükkatü, núü püü
that me more eat I emph

hüütsitsias tükkatü.
little bit-o eat

'He eats more than I; I just eat a little.'
(115) So'oppūtu yotinnoonna.
many fly(pl)-in motion
'Many are flying around.'

(116) Nū so'oppūtūnna hotanna.
I many-O dig
'I'm digging a lot [of them].' 

(117) Sumūsū nia punīkkappūhantū.
al me saw
'All [of them] saw me.'

(118) Nū sumūsū yungwūnna.
I all swallow
'I'm swallowing all [of it/them].' 

(119) Sumūtūwasi ningwūnūtu'ih.
all together talk(pl)-will
'All [of them] will talk together.'

(120) Sumūtūwasi tūkkappūhantū.
all together ate
All [of them] ate together.

(121) Wūmmū nia yokosuwanna.
al me screw-want
'All [of them] want to screw me.'

(122) Nū wūmmī 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)tun. The free forms are inflected for case: -(t)tun subj, -(t)tunna obj and poss, or -(t)ti obj, and -(t)tin poss. The numbers from 1 to 10 have special ordinals formed with final -н, which is no doubt related to possessive case -н. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Free Form</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sumu</td>
<td>sumuttun</td>
<td>sumun ≈ ükupinaatun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wah</td>
<td>wahattun</td>
<td>wahān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pai ≈ pahī</td>
<td>pahittun ≈ paittun</td>
<td>pahīn ≈ pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 wattsuwi ≈ watsū</td>
<td>wattsuwitun</td>
<td>wattsūwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 manūki ≈ maniki</td>
<td>manukitun</td>
<td>≈ manukin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 naapai ≈ nahapai</td>
<td>naapaitun</td>
<td>naapain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 taattsuwi</td>
<td>taattsuwitun</td>
<td>taattsūwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 woosuwi</td>
<td>woosuwitun</td>
<td>woosūwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 wanıklıki ≈ wanıkki</td>
<td>wanikkitun</td>
<td>≈ wanikkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 süümoo</td>
<td>süümootun ≈ süümooono</td>
<td>≈ süümooono</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The base suumoo '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) watsuwitum 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 suumooyuntu '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.
PRONOMINALS

DECIMAL NUMBERS

10 süümootün  ≈ süümooyüntün  ≈ süünnoono
20 wahamootün  ≈ wahamooyüntün  ≈ wahamoono
30 pahimootün  ≈ pahimooyüntün  ≈ pahimoono
40 watsumootün  ≈ watsümooyüntün  ≈ watsümoono
50 manukimootün  ≈ manükiimooyüntün  ≈ manükipoono
60 naapaimootün  ≈ naapaimooyüntün  ≈ naapaimoono
70 taattsuwimootün  ≈ taattsüwimooyüntün  ≈ taattsüwimoono
80 woosuwimootün  ≈ woosüwiimooyüntün  ≈ woosüwiimoono
90 wanükkimootün  ≈ wanükkiimooyüntün  ≈ wanükkiimoono

Ordinals of the decimals are formed by adding final -n to the forms in -no (e.g., wahamoonoon '20th', pahimoonon '30th', etc.).

The numbers between even decimals are formed like the teens with the postposition ma and the verb to'engkünna. But in place of suumooyuntun 'ten', the other decimal numbers are used. The decimal forms ending in -yüntün 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 wahamoooyüntu sümüttüm ma to'engkünna
22 wahamoooyüntu wahattüm ma to'engkünna
23 wahamoooyüntu pahittüm ma to'engkünna
24 wahamoooyüntu watsüwiitüm ma to'engkünna
25 wahamoooyüntu manükitüm ma to'engkünna
26 wahamoooyüntu naapaitüm ma to'engkünna
27 wahamoooyüntu taattsüwiitüm ma to'engkünna
28 wahamoooyüntu woosüwiitüm ma to'engkünna
29 wahamoooyüntu wanükkitüm ma to'engkünna
Even-hundred numbers are compounds formed with the digit bases plus seentu, from Spanish ciento.

HUNDREDS

100  sümuseentu
200  wahaseentu
300  pahiseentu
400  watsüwiseentu
500  manükiseentu
600  nahapaiseentu = naapaiseentu
700  taatstüwiseentu
800  woosüwiseentu
900  wanükkiwiseentu

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)tun, and then they are followed by ma to'engkünna. Other numbers,
besides digits and even decimals, follow naatu exactly as they are.

INTERHUNDREDS

101 sümüseuntu naatu sümättüm ma to’engkünna
102 sümüseuntu naatu wahattüm ma to’engkünna
   etc.
110 sümüseuntu naatu süümoottüm ma to’engkünna
111 sümüseuntu naatu süümooyüntü sümättüm ma to’engkünna
   etc.
120 sümüseuntu naatu wahamooottüm ma to’engkünna
121 sümüseuntu naatu wahamoooyüntü sümättüm ma to’engkünna
   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 tomмо yingkappühantü.
   those   one    year    stayed(pl)
   'They stayed one year.'
Wahattu niam puanumü ma’e nü
two my cousin-Indian with = and I

namiangkuppühantü sapetti nattingwa kkatu.
were sent there school to

'My two Indian cousins and I were sent there to school.'

Nummü Katüyingkappühantü Noompai
we(exc) stay-stay(pl)-past Lone Pine

waha múattsí.
two months

'We stayed in Lone Pine two months.'

Sutu pai tuhuyanna wasuppühantü.
that three deer-O killed

'He killed three deer.'

Himpakantün tattangumü mi’akkommaa?
how many men went away

-- Manikutü (tattangumü) mi’akoppühantü.
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).

Sumuttü kee u kuttisi, sumuttü u kutti.
one not it shoot one it shoot

'[This] one didn't shoot it, [that] one shot it.'
(130) Satū sūmūtī kuttipūhantū. 'He shot one.'
that one-O shot

(131) Pūe sūmūttūm mai mi'a.
ready one with go
'He's ready to go with one [of you].'

(132) Wahattū pittuhungkwa, sūmūttū ūm punikka.
two arrived one you see
'Two arrived, one saw you.'

(133) Nu sūmūootūnna punikkappūhantū.
I ten-O saw
'I saw ten [of them].'

(134) Nu manūkitūnna yaannainna.
I five-O 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 tūkkahwa.
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 absolute numbers in a postpositional phrase with ka 'at, to'. The postpositional phrase is then followed by the verb naa' 'be', which in turn is optionally followed by the subject of the clause tapettsi 'sun, clock' occurring with a demonstrative such as matû or utû. The whole construction thus means 'the sun/clock is at X' or 'it's X o'clock'.

**1 TO 10 O'CLOCK**

Sümmuttung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 1 o'clock.'
Wahattung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 2 o'clock.'
Paittung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 3 o'clock.'
Wattsuwitung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 4 o'clock.'
Manukitung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 5 o'clock.'
Naapaitung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 6 o'clock.'
Taattuwitung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 7 o'clock.'
Woosuwitung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 8 o'clock.'
Wanukitung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 9 o'clock.'
Süumootung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 10 o'clock.'

**11 AND 12 O'CLOCK**

Sümmütum ma to'engkühwa (matû tapettsi). 'It's 11 o'clock.'
Wahattum ma to'engkühwa (utû tapettsi). 'It's 12 o'clock.'

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 absolute forms of the numbers 11 and 12 in postpositional phrases with ma 'with'. The verb in these sentences is to'engkün, usually in
the momentaneous completive aspect (i.e., to'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?'

Himpakantüng ka naa tapettsi utü?
how much at be sun/clock that
'How much is the sun/clock at?'

Himpakantüng 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

Sūsūtūnna ponaahwa ṭū ṭapettsi.
one-O pass-cmplt that sun/clock
'The clock has passed one.' = 'It's one-thirty.'

Wahātūnna ponaahwa ṭū ṭapettsi.
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 ùkù 'already' preceding the verb; i.e.:

Sūsūtūnna ùkù ponaahwa ṭū ṭapettsi.
one-O already pass-cmplt that sun/clock
'It's a little past one.'

Wahātūnna ùkù ponaahwa ṭū ṭapettsi.
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., nā' 'be' + mi'a > nā(m)i'a 'get to be').

Sūsūtūnna ka nāni'ná ṭū ṭapettsi.
one at be-get that sun/clock
'It's getting to be one o'clock.'

Wahātūnna ka nāni'ná ṭū ṭapettsi.
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 tutúaimmi.
    two at be-when we(dl inc) work
'We work when it's two o'clock [= at two o'clock].'

(138) Himpakantün (ka) naaku miakommaah?
how much at be-when go
'What time was it that he went?

The ordinal numbers form phrasal compounds for the weekdays which are built on nawünükka ≈ navününna 'weekday' (< na- pmpr, wünū' 'stand' sg, -kan stv ≈ -naa infinitive).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Phrasal Compound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sümün nawünükka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wahán nawünükka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pahín nawünükka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wattsüwin nawünükka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>manúkin nawünükka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WEEKDAYS

'sümün nawünükka'  '1st weekday = Monday'
wahan nawünükka    '2nd weekday = Tuesday'
pahín nawünükka    '3rd weekday = Wednesday'
wattsüwin nawünükka '4th weekday = Thursday'
manúkin nawünükka  '5th weekday = Friday'

In a manner similar to that in forming the weekdays, the ordinals are used with múa(ttsi) 'month, moon' to designate the twelve months, which are not otherwise named as far as is known.
MONTHS

sümüm muattsi '1st month = January'
waham muattsi '2nd month = February'
pahim muattsi '3rd month = March'
wattsuwim muattsi '4th month = April'
manükim muattsi '5th month = May'
naaapaim muattsi '6th month = June'
taattsuwim muattsi '7th month = July'
woosúwim muattsi '8th month = August'
wanúkkim muattsi '9th month = September'
sümównom muattsi '10th month = October'
sümüttüm 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 sümuppeesu $6 naapaippeesu
$2 wahappeesu $7 taattsuwippeesu
$3 pahippeesu $8 woosú(wi)ppeesu
$4 wattsu(wi)ppeesu $9 wanúkkippeesu
$5 manúkippeesu $10 sümównonoppeesu

(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 -ttsi (-ttscə obj), forming quantifiers
meaning 'only n' (e.g., sumuttuttsi 'only one', wahattuttsi 'only two', etc.).

(141) Sutū sumuttuttsia pantsapa'e.
that one-only-0 shoe-have
'He has only one shoe.'

(142) Wahattuttsia paanni maappainna satu.
only two-0 bread make that
'She is making only two loaves of bread.'

(143) Sutū pahittuttsia kwasu'unpa'e.
that three-only-0 dress-have
'She has only three dresses.'

Notes to Chapter 4

1. In Nevada, the form ummu is occasionally heard for second-person singular subjective under influence from Shoshone proper, but this form is obsolete and not used in Tümpisa 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 -ŋ > -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.:  

Piasatütei 'Saturday'  
< pia 'big', Eng Saturday  
OR  
Un Tsumatün 'Saturday'  
< un 'its' tsumatün 'end, all gone'  
Nakatükkan 'Sunday'  
< na- pmpr, katü" 'sit', -kab stv