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 Tūmpisa 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., tutiingwəm 'teach'). Semantically, indirect objects are dative and benefactive participants. A few transitive verbs must have an indirect object (e.g., uttuθ '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) Atū tangummū muiyaippūh. 'That man is drunk.'
(2) Niam mo'o kammanna. 'My hand is sore.'
(3) Piammuttsi ukū nuwinnūmmi. 'The baby is moving now.'
(4) Satū wa'ippū tūpattsia kusangwaenna. 'That woman is roasting pine nuts (in a basket).'
(5) Hipittsittsi u nangkaha. 'The old lady could hear it.'
(6) Wihi nia tsikka'ahwa. 'The knife cut me.'
(7) Tsawuntūn tangummū miikkwa sutū. '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

-\(a\)  -\(i\)  -\(tta\)  -\(nna\)  \(\emptyset\)

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 -\(qi(n)\), 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 (\approx) toyapia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huuppin</td>
<td>huuppitta (\approx) huuppia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wisipin</td>
<td>wisipitta (\approx) wisapia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woapin</td>
<td>woapitta (\approx) woapia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hupapin</td>
<td>hupapitta (\approx) hupapia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And -\(tta\) is used on a few nouns without -\(pi(n)\), such as wihi 'knife' in 9.

(8) Wa'ippu hupapitta utüingkünna.
    woman soup-O heat
    'The woman is heating the soup.'

(9) Nüü nu wiitta kümawitu'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

NOMINATIVE | OBJECTIVE
---|---

tsakwatan | tsakwatanna | 'chuckwalla'
pton | potonna | 'cane, staff'
kwasu'un | kwasu'unna | 'dress'
puyün | puyünna | 'duck'
tawintün | tawintünna | 'hole, cave'
kunna" | kunnanna ≈ kunni | 'fire(wood)'
tüpa | tüpanna | 'pinenut'
tuhuya | tuhüya(nna) | 'deer'

(10) Nünum kwasu'un(na) tumüuppühuantü.  
we(exc) dress-0 bought  
'We bought a dress.'

(11) Nüu pai tühüyanna wasüppühuantü.  
I three deer-0 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 a, o, u, or ü (except those ending with an absolutive suffix such as -pü). When -i follows a, the two vowels usually contract to g; and when -i follows ü, y, or o, the ü, y, or o usually drop; e.g.:

NOMINATIVE | OBJECTIVE
---|---
wosa | wosai ≈ wose | 'carrying basket'
püta | pütaï ≈ püte | 'arm'
wiki | wikai ≈ wike | 'blanket'
nümü | nümì | 'person, Indian'
tangummü | tangummì | 'man'
pungku | pungki | 'pet, horse'
somo | somì | 'lungs'
mo'o | mo'i | 'hand'
(12) Kapaayu atü tangumi tangummuttih.
    horse that man-O kick
    'Tha__ horse kicked the man.'

(13) Nü mo'i punikkappuhantu satu. 'He saw my hand.'
    my hand-O saw that

Nouns ending in tün may take either -nna or -i as
objective case markers (no matter what their ultimate source,
past participial -tün, characterizing -kantün, or lexical);
e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINATIVE</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etün</td>
<td>etünna = eti 'gun, bow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayantün</td>
<td>wayantünna = wayanti 'fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yutsütün</td>
<td>yutsütünna = yutsuti 'airplane'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhakantün</td>
<td>puhakantünna = puhakanti 'shaman'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(14) Nü puhakantünna punikkappuhantu.
     FormBuilder
    'I shaman-O saw
    I saw the shaman.'

The suffix -a 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 -ppüh,
instrumental -nnumpü, and agentive -ttü (see 5.7). It is
also used on nouns ending in å, 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'ippu</td>
<td>wa'ippua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuinquppu</td>
<td>tuinquppua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakuünappuh</td>
<td>pakuünappüha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katünumpu</td>
<td>katünumpua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nükattu</td>
<td>nükattua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūnu</td>
<td>kūnua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appo'o</td>
<td>appo'oa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paanni</td>
<td>paannia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keesu</td>
<td>keesua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'baby'  'squirrel'  'woman'  'boy'  'cloud'  'chair'  'dancer'  'father's father'  'cup'  'bread'  'cheese'

(15) Satū piammüttsia pitsingkünna.
    that baby-O nurse
    'She's nursing the baby.'

(16) Nū wa'ippua nangkaha; sutū hupiatüki.
    I woman-O hear that sing
    'I hear the woman; she's singing.'

(17) Tammū tuinquppua eti uttupühantü.
    we(inc) boy-O gun-O gave
    'We gave the boy a gun.'

(18) Tammū tuinquppua uttupühantü.
    we(inc) boy-O gave
    'We gave [it] to the boy.'

(19) Nū katünumpua maappainna.
    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'
паакка 'cow'
pangwi 'fish'
kappotta 'coat'
huuwatta 'boat'
nühakka 'basket'

(20) Satu pünnang 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 kwüppühantü. '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'', tüttingwa '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. Tammū tuinuppūa eti uttuppuhantu.
we(inc) boy-O gun-O gave
'We gave the boy a gun.'

b. Tammū eti tuinuppūa uttuppuhantu.
we(inc) gun-O boy-O gave
'We gave a gun to the boy.'

(24) a. Tangummū utū Tonia pīiya tūmeninna.
man that Tony-O beer sell
'That man is selling Tony beer.'

b. Tangummū utū pīiya Tonia tūmeninna.
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, -ngkūn (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'ippu piammuttsia kohnottsia maappaingkunna.
   woman baby-O cradle-O make-cat
   'The woman is making the baby a cradle.'

   b. Wa'ippu kohnottsia piammuttsia maappaingkünna.
      woman cradle-O baby-O make-cat
      'The woman is making a cradle for the baby.'

   c. Wa'ippu kohnottsia maappa'inna.
      woman cradle-O make
      'The woman is making a cradle.'

(26) a. Nüü Antsia kwasu'unna tümüüngküppühantü.
     I Angie-O dress-O bought-cat
     'I bought Angie a dress.'

   b. Nüü kwasu'unna Antsia tümüüngküppühantü.
      I dress-O Angie-O bought-cat
      'I bought a dress for Angie.'

   c. Nüü kwasu'unna tümüüppühantü.
      I dress-O bought
      'I bought a dress.'

(27) a. Wa'ippu tangummi tüpan na tukummahanningkünna.
    woman man-O pinenut-O cook-cat
    'The woman is cooking the man pinenuts.'

   b. Wa'ippu tüpan na tangummi tukummahanningkunna.
      woman pinenut-O man-O cook-cat
      'The woman is cooking pinenuts for the man.'

   c. Wa'ippu tüpan na 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', tūtiinowa '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'ippū kohnottsia maappaintsunna piammuttsi(a).
woman cradle-O make-cat baby(-O)
'The woman is making a cradle for the baby.'

(29) Nūu kwasu'unna tumuungkuppuhantu Antsu(a).
I dress-O bought-cat Angie(-O)
'I bought a dress for Angie.'

(30) Wa'ippū tupanna tukummahanninokunna 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 -nna, 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 wünńu satu.
    stick's other side stand that
    'She's standing on the other side of the stick.'

(32) Nü toyapittan nana mantu miakwantu'ih.
    I mountain's top on go-going to
    'I'm going to go on top of the mountain.'

(33) Nü püyünna pühi punikkappuhantü.
    I duck's pelt-O saw
    'I saw the duck's pelt.'

(34) Nü tsakwatanna papia punikka.
    I chuckwalla's O1Br-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 mūttūah naa. 'It's an Indian's ranch.'
   Indian's ranch be

(37) Antsi atamaupian tūmpe ka wunnū.
   Angie car's door at stand
   'Angie is standing at the door of the car.'

(38) Wa'ippūang kuukippūha númmū tūkkanna tūpanna.
   woman's cooked-O we(exc) eat pinenut-O
   'We're eating the woman's cooked pinenuts.'
   [= the pinenuts the woman cooked]

(39) Hūttsawūnnūmpū kahnin tüpiinga kattū.
   refrigerator house's middle sit
   'The refrigerator is sitting in the middle of
   the house.'

(40) Satū paakkam pampi tukkua 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 ün 'your', and the demonstrative sakkan 'that one's', before himpū 'stuff', wika 'blanket', yantu 'roasting basket', and appū 'father'.

EFFECTS OF -N BEFORE H, W, V, AND VOWELS

\[-n + h > h\] or \[-n + h > n n\]

- nia himpū ≈ nian nimpu 'my stuff'
- ü himpū ≈ ün nimpu 'your stuff'
- sakka himpū ≈ sakkan nimpu 'that one's stuff'

\[-n + w > w\] or \[-n + w > ng w\]

- nia wika ≈ niang wika 'my blanket'
- ü 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'
- ü yantu ≈ ün nantu 'your roasting basket'
- sakka yantu ≈ sakkan nantu 'that one's r. basket'

\[-n + v > v\] or \[-n + v > n n v\]

- nia appū ≈ nian nappū 'my father'
- ü 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 wüa 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 wannettsu naa.  'It's my comb.'  
my comb be

e. Niang wasüppi 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 wuappū. *niang wuappū
   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 innuntükkanna satū.
    your horse  pet-O steal       that
    'He stole your horse (from you).'</n
(44) Satūmū tammim putisiha innuntükkanna atūmmū
    those  our(inc) burro-O steal  those
    mitükkaano.
    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
sentence. 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.:

wa'ippu ma'e 'with the woman'

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.:

```
tangummu u wakantu 'from the man'
man him from
```

In this construction, occasionally the noun follows the pronoun and postposition instead of preceding them, as in

```
u wakantu tangummu 'from the man'
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'ippu 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'
tukwatatsi '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) Nüü nu mo'o ma pisottonna.
I my hand with it behind-pull
'I'm pulling it with my hand.'

(46) Nummu sannappim ma u tsappo'ongkûnmuhi.
we(exc) pitch with him cover head-will
'We'll cover him, his head, with pitch.'

(47) Satu wihim ma u wûsipenna lokkopua.
that knife with it long instr-scrape locust-o
'He's scraping the locust tree with a knife.'

(48) Nü huuppi ma a tsakkûnna.
I stick with it grasping-break
'I'm breaking it with a stick (by grasping).' 

(49) Nüü sokopitta hotanna psanna ma.
I ground-O dig shovel with
'I'm digging the ground with a shovel.'
You it violently-smash your head with 'You’re smashing it with your head.'

The sentences in 45-50 also illustrate another important point about Tumpisa 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.

(51) Satú ohipim ma natí'iwantúmpù kammanna.
    that cold from mean be sick
    '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 tunga 'and, also'.
(52) Setūmmim pia ma'i mi'a.
these one's mother with go
'(They) go with their mother.'

(53) Nū nū pūnnahapttsi ma'i napitūngkūmminn.
I my wife with right-hab
'I fight a lot with my wife.'

(54) Nū tsukuttsi mai nangkawippūhantu.
I old man with talked
'I talked with an old man.'

(55) Pūe sūmūttum mai mi'a.'
ready one with go
'He's ready to go with one.'

(56) Sūmūttu navipí isapungku mai nuwimmippūhantu.
one girl dog with go around-hab-past
'One girl would go around with a dog.'

(57) "Nū kammu-yukwitū ma mai," yukwippūhantu.
I rabbit-go after him with said
"I would go after rabbits with him," she said.

(58) Nū tsao yuwa hapītu 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) Wahattū niam puanūmu ma'e nū
two my cousin-people and I
namiangkūppūhantu sapettu natiingwakkatu.
be-sent there school-to
'Two of my cousins and I were sent there to
school.'

(60) Nūu nuaitunna nangkappuhantū tunga ūmatūm ma'e.
I wind-0 heard also rain and
'I heard the wind and also the rain.'

There are two similative postpositions, ni (~ -nnī on
dem-loc bases) and wa'ī, which have slightly different
meanings. Ni emphasizes similarity, whereas wa'ī emphasizes
identity or virtual identity. Compare the examples in 61-63
and 64-66.

(61) Tammū isa ni nanangkasuwangkunna.
we(inc) coyote like sound
'We sound like coyotes.'

(62) Üū ponniattsi ni kwitasuukkwanna.
you skunk like fart-smell
'You fart (smelling) like a skunk.'

(63) Nū isapungku ni tukkanna.
I dog like eat
'I eat like a dog.'

(64) Nūmmī appū utū; nūmmī appū wa'ī
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) "Nümä appü wa'i," supe'e sümä 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) Satiimmii hipitun ni yükkwi.
those drinking like do-dur
'They seem to be drinking.'
[lit: 'They're doing drinking-like. ']

(68) Nüü muiyiwa'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 ≈ pantün) is used to indicate the topic of thought (e.g., 70) or conversation (e.g., 71).

(70) Wa'ippu pa'a tuupükkuántu.
woman about be mad
'He's mad about a woman.'

(71) Nookwisü noong katü u pantün 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) Nüü Samma u wakantunna mukuattu.
    I Sam him about-O think
    'I'm thinking about Sam.'

(73) Nü kapaayu tümüuppühantü tangummü u wakantu.
    I horse bought man him from
    'I bought a horse from the man.'

(74) Nü Antsia kwasu'unna tümüungkuppühantü 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* ≈ *pantun*) 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, tukkwattsì, is derived from the locative tukkwæn 'under, below'. Sometimes it is preceded by the potential adverbial particle noo (e.g., 81), and it governs the objective case.

(80) Nùù sohopimpua ma tukkwattsì wùnnù.
I cottonwood-O it less than stand-dur
'I stand less than the cottonwood.'
[= I am shorter than the cottonwood.]

(81) Nìa üù noo tukkwattsì wùnnù.
me you potential less than stand-dur
'You stand less (i.e., are shorter) than me.'

Comparatives are discussed in more detail in chapter 6 on adjectives.
The partitive postposition mantūn 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 mantūn also means 'related to' or 'relative of'.

(82) Nū 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) Nū ma mantūnna tūkkahi? 'May I eat part of it?' I it part of-0 eat-dub

(85) Ma manti tūkkakiummū!
it part of-0 eat-pl
'You all come and eat some of it!'

(86) "Mūmmū wihnu sukkwa mūmmū u mantūnna you all then that-0 you all him relative of-0 kwūūhikwa, tuittsia noohakatū u marry-dub-sub young man-0 someone him mantūnna kwūūhi," mii yükkwi.
relative of-0 marry-dub quot say

'"You might marry that one then, someone (of you) might marry him," he said.'

[Here u mantūnna kwūū is an idiom meaning literally 'take for a relative', i.e., 'marry'.]
The partitive mantûn (like topical wakantûn) has objective case forms, either mantûnna 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) Nûu Sosoni nangkawi u pakattsi.  
I Shoshone speak it bit of  
'I speak a little bit of Shoshone.'

(88) Tútakaippûh pû paka naaku pia tûkkanna.  
birth his own date of be big eating  
'It's his birthday party.'

5.4 LOCATIVE, TEMPORAL AND OTHER POSTPOSITIONS

Tûmpisa 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

-hontun about, off, away from specified location
-i moving within the specified location
-ku towards the specified location
-tun towards and through the specified location
-tun nominalizing the entire post phrase

The adjunct -tun is no doubt an extension in function of the fully productive postposition tun 'through'. The function or meaning of the adjunct -tun is perhaps the most problematic. The meanings of postpositions with -tun seem to be exactly the same as those of the basic forms of postpositions without it. What -tun 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., -tunna ~ -ti; see examples 72, 84-86, and 92). -Tun is certainly related to the nominalizing and present participle suffix -tun (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ka(&quot;&quot;&quot;)</th>
<th>'at, to, in'</th>
<th>general locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kahontun</td>
<td>'away from (being at, in)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katun ≈ kattun</td>
<td>'towards (being at, in)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katun ≈ kattun</td>
<td>'at, to, in'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapa</td>
<td>'inside of, among'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapai</td>
<td>'inside, among (in motion)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 tukkwans
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 sutū nia hanningkukoppūhantū.  

*He did something in town for me.*

(90) Satū kimmakinna pasakūng kahontū  

'there is coming from the bridge away from us to come.'

(91) Nū niang kahni kattu mi'ami'a.  

'I'm going along towards my house.'

(92) Nū Tūmpisakkatūnna punikka.  

'I'm looking at Death Valley.'

(93) Tūmpisakkatū kūttaa ātūinna mii.  

'In Death Valley it's really hot, they say.'

(94) Wisipitta an netūm ma tūkinna.  

'He's putting a string on his bow.'

(95) Nū sohopimpū mahontū pahekku.  

'I fell out of the cottonwood.'
(96) Toya(pim) manma i miakwantu'ī tūnaa.
mountain from on-moving go-going to down
'I'm going to go down from the mountain.'

(97) Nū kahni mangku wūnnū.
I house near stand
'I'm standing near the house.'

(98) Hüuppiaammū toya mantu mī'a tūpanna tso'ikwasi.
women mtn through go pinenut-O pick-sub
'The women are going up through the mountains to pick pinenuts.'

(99) Nūū ümmī toya mantū petsūkkwantu'ih.
I you-O mountain on take-going to
'I'm going to take you around in the mountains.'

(100) Nūmmīng kateetta tukkwa nūmmū weekinnūmī.
our(exc) wagon under we(exc) go in(pl)-around
'We went in under our wagon.'

(101) Tammū tupoon ka tukkanna hüppa katū
we(inc) desert in eat shade in
lokko u tukkwahontū.
locust it under
'We're eating in the desert in the shade under the locust tree.'

(102) Nūū pasakūn tukkwai miamia.
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 schopimpū 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) Nú ma kuppa ma túkitu'ih.
I it in it put-will
'I'll put it in it.'

(110) Satū u kuppai mì'ami'a.
that it in-moving go along
'He went into and through it.'

(111) Nūū ma kuppantu u wüttiataippuh.
I it into it dumped-cmplt
'I've dumped it all out into it.'

(112) U kuppanti épetti sutū!
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) Satūmū nū [≈ nia] waka nuupaikintu'ih.
those me [≈ me] towards stay(pl)-come to-will
'They're coming to stay with me.'

(114) Nū ūng wakantu 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)
kokkopeka 'in front of' (poss)
< mu"- 'nose', kope 'face', ka 'at'
nai(su) 'towards, in the general direction of'
nangkwa 'beside, direction of'
pinnaitun 'on the side of, beside' (obj)
< pi"- 'behind', na! 'direction of', -tun prp

pinnangkwa 'behind, in back of; last' (obj)
< pi"- 'behind', nangkwa 'direction'

tukunaa 'close to, near'
< tuku" 'put', naa" 'be' (?)

tümpeka 'in front of'
< tumpe 'mouth, door', ka 'at'

tüpiinga 'in the middle of, between' (poss)
tun 'through, throughout'

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'
tükünaatssitsi 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, mo'eki, pinnaitun, 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) Nü suūpitta mo'eki miakomminna.
I willow-O around go along
'I'm going around the willow.'

(119) Antsi atammupia pinnaitu wünnu.
Angie car-O beside stand-dur
'Angie's standing beside the car.'

(120) Nü wopitta kawaki tattükawahwa.
I log-O over stepped
'I stepped over the log.'

(121) Nü kutaatanna u kawi yutsükka.
I fence-O it over jumped
'I jumped over the fence.'

(122) Atammupia u pinnangkwa wünnu satu.
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, maanangkwa, 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) Hūtsawūnnūmpū kahnnīn tūpiinga kattū.  
    refrigerator house's middle sit-dur  
    'The refrigerator is sitting in the middle of the house.'

(126) Antsi atammupia om 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 mokkopeka happī.  
    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) Ŭū nu tükūnaa wūnnū.
   you me near stand-dur
   'You're standing near me.'

(130) Antsi ma tūmpeka kahni wūnnū.
   Angie it front-in house stand-dur
   'Angie is standing in front of the house.'

(131) Nu nai nüekkinna setū.
   me towards blow this
   'The wind's blowing in my direction.'

(132) Hüttswūnnūmpū kahni nangkwa kattū.
   refrigerator house beside sit-dur
   'The refrigerator is sitting beside the house.'

(133) Tupoon tu nūmmikknūmmi satū.
   desert through walk around that
   'She's walking around through the desert.'

(134) Isapaippū pange miatū 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.

**POSTPOSITIONS SUFFixed to DEM/LOC BASES FORMing ADVERBS**

- **-kkuh** 'here/there' general locative
  
  - (s)ikkih, (s)ekkih, (s)akkuh, (s)ukkuh

- **-naanangkwa** 'on this/those side of'
  
  - (s)inni, (s)enni, (s)anni, (s)unni, hakanni

- **-nni** 'way, manner' general manner < ni(n) 'like'
  
  - (s)inni, (s)enni, (s)anni, (s)unni, hakanni

- **-pan** 'here/there' < pan ≈ pa'an 'on'
  
  - (s)pan ≈ (s)ipa'an, (s)sepan ≈ (s)epa'an
  - (s)apan ≈ (s)apa'an, (s)apan ≈ (s)upa'an

- **-papi (?)** general locative
  
  - (s)ipan ≈ (s)ipa'an, (s)sepan ≈ (s)epa'an

- **-pe"** 'here/there (in a loosely defined area)'
  
  - (s)ipi", (s)epi", (s)ape", (s)upe"

- **-pe'e(su) ≈ -pe'enni** 'time, then' general temporal
  
  - (s)apane'su ≈ (s)apane'enni, supe'e(su) ≈ supe'enni

- **-ttun** 'through X area' < tun
  
  - (s)ittun, (s)ettun, (s)attun, (s)uttun

- **wa'e(su) 'same as, the same way as'**
  
  - (s)wa'e, sewa'e, sava'e, suwa'e

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) Nū tumo’innumpū sikkhih itū.  
my pen here this  
'This is my pen here.'

(136) Antsi enangkwa kattu.  
Angie this-beside sit-dur  
'Angie's sitting beside this.'

(137) Tammu inaanangkwa nuupaih.  
we(inc) this-side sit  
'We're sitting on this side.'

(138) Süüpi kahni unaanangkwa wūnnū.  
willow house that-side of stand  
The willow stands on that side of the house.'

(139) Nia sunni nukwingkūppūnantu sutū.  
me that-way did-cat that  
'He did that (way) for me.'
(140) Toni sepa naappühantü. 'Tony was here.'
Tony here was

(141) òtū'ìnna küttas meqettì òtū'ìnna!
be hot really there-emph be hot
'It's hot, it's really hot there!'

(142) Supe'ësù sutümì wihnu ù wùttühihantü.
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) Tangümì nangkaha núu naangkan ningwënì.
man-0 hear I make noise talk(pl)
'I hear the men making noise talking.'

(144) Satümì tamim putišìha inünükëkkana
those our burro-0 steal
atümì mitükkaano.
those white man
'They stole our burro(s), those white men.'
(145) Satümü mitükkaano wümminiyümminna.
    those white man be naked-hab
    'Those white people go around naked.'

(146) Nü atümmin númi pusikwa maaiyangwitünna.
    I those-O Indian-O know play handgame-O
    'I know those Indians playing handgame.'

(147) Nü tümo'innumpü itümü sikkih.
    my pen these here
    'These are my pens here.'

(148) Waha tsukuppüttsi yükkiwi.
    two old man sit(dl)
    'Two old men are sitting [there].' 

(149) Nü tümo'innumpü itungku sikkih.
    my pen these(dl) here
    'These two here are my pens.'

(150) Hakaittü kapaayu satungku?
    what kind horse those(dl)
    'What kind of horses are those two?'

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>-ammü</td>
<td>-ammi</td>
<td>-ammin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>≈ -mmü</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 tuinuppu '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 patsinünumü '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.
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.

REPLICATIVE NOUN DECLENSIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'son'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg tua&quot;</td>
<td>tuai</td>
<td>tuain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl tuangku</td>
<td>tuahi</td>
<td>tuahn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ tuammungku</td>
<td>≈ tuammuhi</td>
<td>≈ tuammuhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl tuttuammû</td>
<td>tuttuammi</td>
<td>tuttuammín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'daughter'</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg petû&quot;</td>
<td>peti</td>
<td>petín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl petungku</td>
<td>petühi</td>
<td>petühin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ petümmungku</td>
<td>≈ petümmuhi</td>
<td>≈ petümmuhín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl peppetümmû</td>
<td>peppetümmi</td>
<td>peppetümmín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ petümmû</td>
<td>≈ petümmi</td>
<td>≈ petümmín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'man'</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg tangummû</td>
<td>tangummi</td>
<td>tangummin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl tattangungku</td>
<td>tattanguhi</td>
<td>tattanguhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ tangummuangku</td>
<td>≈ tangummuahi</td>
<td>≈ tangummuahín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl tattangummu</td>
<td>tattangummi</td>
<td>tattangummin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ tangummuammû</td>
<td>≈ tangummuammì</td>
<td>≈ tangummuammín</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 *tattangummuammû). A number of other nouns with reduplicated duals or plurals follow (but in incomplete declensions, with only the nominative forms given).
NOUNS

'older brother'  'older sister'  'aunt, MoSi'
sg papi  patsi  tokkwapū
dl pappapiangku  patsiangku  tottokkwapūangku ≈ tokkwapūangku
pl papiammü  pappatsiammü  tottokkwapūammū ≈ tokkwapūammū

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>'woman'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg wa'ippū</td>
<td>wa'ippua</td>
<td>wa'ippuān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl hüuppiangku</td>
<td>hüuppiahī</td>
<td>hüuppiahin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl hüuppiammü</td>
<td>hüuppiammi</td>
<td>hüuppiammin</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) Tsukupputtsiammü nuupai.
old men        sit(pl)
'The old men are sitting [there].'

(152) Pahamittsiammü kopittuki.
bears          lie(pl)
'The bears are lying down.'

(153) Atümüm tattangummü yuhupi.
those men        fat
'Those men are fat.'
(154) Himpakantú tattangумм?  
how many men  
'How many men are there?'

(155) Nawittsittsiamмум iampухаммум.  
girls wild-pl  
'The girls all are wild.'

(156) Kehimpa'i tuittsittsiamмуму.  
there aren't boys  
'There aren't any boys [around].'  

(157) Huуппиаммум кахни kuppantу тукуммамани.  
women house in cook  
'The women are cooking in the house.'

(158) Suумооту satумму, um petумму suумооту.  
ten those his daughters ten  
'There were ten of them, there were ten of his daughters.'

(159) So'oppуто hukwapпiamмуму.  
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) Tattangумmi nangkaha нuu naангken биуngвиинну.  
men-O hear-stv I make noise talk(pl)  
'I hear the men making noise talking.'

(161) Huуппиамму takкуso'ehwa уу.  
women-O pinched you  
'You pinched the women.'
(162) Nü tasimuutsiammi punikka.
I piss ants-O see
'I see some piss ants.'

(163) Um petümmi sümmi yükküwi.
her daughters-O that say
'She said that to her daughters.'

Dual nouns in the nominative are exemplified in 164-168.

(164) Hipittsittsiangku yükküwi.
old women-dl sit(dl)
'Two old women are sitting [there].'

(165) Pahamittsiangku koppi. 'Two bears are lying.'
bear-dl lie(dl)

(166) Atungku tattungungku 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 -pū -ppū -ppūh -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' > nummi soko 'our land'
noyopin 'egg' > un noyo 'its egg'
wuappūh 'penis' > u wuā' 'his penis'
anappī 'peak' > toyapin nana" 'mountain peak'
tukkuatysi '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'
kwaimpu 'back' > ung kwaimpu 'your back'
wuappūh 'penis' > u wuappūh '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 (huū')- 'stick, wood'
huu'etun 'bow, atlatl' < etūn 'bow, gun'
huukk(w)ohnon 'cradle basket' < kohnon 'cradle'
huuppakampotsa 'arrow' < pakampotsa 'projectile'
huuppihyaapin 'sugar cane' < pihyaapin 'sugar'
süüpin (süu-) 'willow, wicker'
süühüpppa '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'
toyatukupittsi 'mountain lion'
< tukupittsi 'wildcat'
Toya Hipingkuppuh = Hipingkün Toya 'Flower Mountain Song' < hipingkün 'flower'
toyatsukunumüttsi 'guardian of the mountain'
< tsuku(ppu) 'old man', númü 'person', -ttsi 'man'
tümpin (tun-) 'rock'
tüngkahni 'cave' < kahni 'house'
tünto'eh 'climb' < to'eh 'go up'
tümpunih 'watch, spy on' < puni' 'see'
tümpahe" 'fall off, out of' < pahe" 'fall down'
tüngwunütün 'cliff' < wunütün 'standing'
Tümpisa" 'Death Valley' < pisa" 'red ochre'
nampe (nan-) 'foot'
nampunih 'track' < puni' 'see'
tanqappüh (tanga") 'knee'
tanqappuhakatü 'knee praying'
< puha 'supernatural power', katü' 'sit'
tangatookatü 'kneel' < too- ?, katü' 'sit'
kwaimpu (kwain-) 'back' + tshipip (tsuhni-) 'bone'  
> kwaintsuhni 'backbone'

Examples above like süttakkan, Toya Hipingkuppuh ≈ 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 tumpi 'rock' with those above.

tumpe tungkampi 'lip' < tungkampi 'edge'

tumpe muttungkampi 'upper lip' < mu(')−'nose'

tumpi huwannumpu 'dead fall trap' < huwannumpu 'trap'

Tumping Wosa 'Ubehebe Crater' < wosa 'carrying basket'

The sentences in 171-173 illustrate the loss of absolutive suffixes before postpositions.

(171) Tammu tupoon ka tukkanna lokko u tukkwhontu.
   we (inc) desert in eat locust it under
   [=tupompi]  [=lokopu]
   'We're eating in the desert under the locust tree.'

(172) Hüüplammu toya mantu mi'a tüpanntso'ikwa.
   women toyapi through go pinenut pick
toyapittsi
   mountain
   'The women are going through the mountains to pick pinenuts.'

(173) Yookon tu mi'ami'a satu.
   valley through go along that
   [=yookompi]
   '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) Nūu süüpin mantū tsokottihwa.
    I willow on head-bump
    'I bumped my head on the willow tree.'

(175) Satū 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-pĩ = pin (-pittã = -pĩa obj)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angapi</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hukwappi</td>
<td>'cane'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunuppinn</td>
<td>'cane'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hupapin</td>
<td>'soup, gruel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huuppinn</td>
<td>'stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunapit</td>
<td>'cliff rose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kammapi</td>
<td>'illness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kottsappi</td>
<td>'soup, gravy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mupi</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nattusu'umpi</td>
<td>'medicine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawittsipi</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navipi</td>
<td>'teenage girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neeyangwippi</td>
<td>'handgame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohipi n</td>
<td>'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oompin</td>
<td>'pebbles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahompin</td>
<td>'tobacco'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pohopin</td>
<td>'sagebrush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sohopimpu</td>
<td>'cottonwood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokopin</td>
<td>'ground'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>süüpun</td>
<td>'willow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tammupi</td>
<td>'sinew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatsuumpi</td>
<td>'star'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toyapin</td>
<td>'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukkuapin</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūmpin</td>
<td>'rock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>üappi</td>
<td>'crops'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>üngapi</td>
<td>'roadrunner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wasüppi</td>
<td>'mtn sheep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woapin</td>
<td>'worm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wongkopin</td>
<td>'pine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terms</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paoppi</td>
<td>'blood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihyaapin</td>
<td>'sugar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuhupin</td>
<td>'fat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yookompin</td>
<td>'valley'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pe_(-pea_obj)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kappe</td>
<td>'bed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tape(ttsi)</td>
<td>'sun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kope</td>
<td>'face'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tope</td>
<td>'thigh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kümpë</td>
<td>'squirrel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tümpë</td>
<td>'rock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nampe</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yüppe</td>
<td>'fox'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokkotoppe</td>
<td>'red-winged blackbird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pu_(-pua_obj)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awattampu</td>
<td>'rib'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piapu</td>
<td>'female'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isampu</td>
<td>'liar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plusipu</td>
<td>'eyebrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwaimpu</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pütapu</td>
<td>'arm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokopu</td>
<td>'locust tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sohoplimpu</td>
<td>'cottonwood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutsupu(ttsi)</td>
<td>'beak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samospu</td>
<td>'sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nattsiapu</td>
<td>'provisions'</td>
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<tr>
<td>soopütsi</td>
<td>'cheeks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawüttamampu</td>
<td>'door'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsiampu</td>
<td>'hips'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nihattapu</td>
<td>'joker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsomampu</td>
<td>'skinflint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohpipu</td>
<td>'mesquite tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usu'umpu</td>
<td>'kindling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ppu_(-ppua_obj)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appu</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuinuppö</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isapaippu</td>
<td>'Coyote'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsukuppö</td>
<td>'old man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naippu</td>
<td>'parent-in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'ippö</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samoppu</td>
<td>'sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuhupippö</td>
<td>'fatso'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ppuh_(-ppaha_obj)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appeppu</td>
<td>'tears'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pomappu</td>
<td>'grass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuttusippu</td>
<td>'smut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumappu</td>
<td>'breath'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukkwilippisippuh</td>
<td>'riflings'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukkwilippu</td>
<td>'smoke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makkippu</td>
<td>'elbow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tappisanappu</td>
<td>'socks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manikappu</td>
<td>'ring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'ippu</td>
<td>'tule'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulippu</td>
<td>'jimson weed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tüppisippu</td>
<td>'trash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonopippu</td>
<td>'wikiup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pampippu</td>
<td>'hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nungkwappu</td>
<td>'leg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsiampippu</td>
<td>'wild rose'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pakkappüh 'penis' tsooppüh 'shoulder'
pühuppüh 'fur' tsoppippüh 'hair'
pükkappüh 'glass' wikappüh 'blanket'

- ttsi (-ttsia_obj)

akküttsi 'sunflower seeds' ekupi(ttsi) 'cactus'
hipittsi(ttsi) 'old woman' kammu(ttsi) 'jackrabbit'
kahümüttsi 'mesquite seeds' omapi(ttsi) 'salt'
nawittsipi 'girl' mun(ttsi) 'moon'
nawittsi(ttsi) 'little girl' paa(ttsi) 'water'
ohmaattsi(ttsi) 'baby' heewi(ttsi) 'dove'
pahamittsi 'bear' hongopi(ttsi) 'flour'
pammüttsi 'baby' mutsupu(ttsi) 'beak'
takkaakattsi 'valley quail' nuipi(ttsi) 'doll'
tuummüttsi 'baby' tukkupittsi 'wildcat'
tuittsi(ttsi) 'young man' tape(ttsi) 'sun'

Only two of the absolutive suffixes have any semantic content: - ttsi and - püü. 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 - püü 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, - püü is used to indicate distance or lack of empathy with the referent of the human noun that it is
suffixed to if the human noun normally does not take \(-ppü\).

For example, in the conversation in section 10.6, \(-ppü\) 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 \(-ppü\) 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 \(-ppü\) are not derived from verbs at all and are noun stems. \(-ppü\) 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'en 'have' or \(-kantûn 'having, characterized by', and then normally has \(-ppü\) suffixed to it.

(176) Nüü keehiippühpa'e. 'I have nothing.'
     I nothing-suf-have

(177) Nüü kee piammüppühkantû. 'I am childless.'
     I not child-suf-characterized by

(178) Ke tüppappühpa'e tammü ke tüppannaappühpa'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.:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Previous Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuhmappi</td>
<td>'male'</td>
<td>kuhma 'husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neeyangwippi</td>
<td>'handgame'</td>
<td>neeyangwi 'play handgame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nükkappi</td>
<td>'dance' (N)</td>
<td>nükka(n) 'dance' (Vi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohpimpü</td>
<td>'mesquite tree'</td>
<td>ohpin 'mesquite bean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piápü</td>
<td>'female'</td>
<td>pia 'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pampippüh</td>
<td>'hair'</td>
<td>pampi 'head, hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsomampü</td>
<td>'skinflint'</td>
<td>tsoman 'stingy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yütsütüppüh</td>
<td>'jet airplane'</td>
<td>yütsütün 'airplane'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'
- sohopimpü 'cottonwood'

Also, occasionally the same noun stem may take different absolutive suffixes; e.g.:

- samompü ≈ samoppüh 'sibling of opposite sex'
- tsiappüh ≈ tsiamü 'wild rose'
- nawütüümappü ≈ nawütüümampü '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

-kančun (-kančunna = -kanči obj) characterizing
'one characterized by, having, possessing'
kasattskičančun 'bird'
< kasatti 'wing'
kwitasuuppčančun 'farther'
< kwitasuuppuh 'fart'
mukačančun 'sage, learned one'
< muka 'mind'
mukuttsikantun 'Delphinus constellation'
< mukutta 'diamond-shaped'
nattusu'un'ungkantun 'doctor, herbalist'
< nattusu'un 'medicine, herbs'
natuakahantun 'clown'
< na- pmpr, tuakah 'put face paint on'
potongkantun 'policeman'
< poton 'club'
puhakantun 'shaman, medicine man/woman'
< puha 'supernatural power'
saiyakantun 'screen'
< saiya (?)
tapakantun 'stud'
< tapa(ppuh) 'testicles'
wiiakkantun 'gelding'
< wia(ppuh) 'penis'

-nda (Ø obj) infinitive and gerund 'to X, Xing'
nampuninna 'footprints, tracks'
< nampunih V 'track'
nasuhianna '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'
kuppüanna 'to cook, cooking'
< kuppüah Vi 'cook'
tütüainna 'work, working'
< tütüai Vi 'work'
tükkanna 'to eat, eating, meal'
< tükkah 'eat'
pusikwanna 'to know, knowing'
< pusikwa 'know'
-nnūmpu (-nnūmpua obj) instrument

hūwannūmpu 'trap'
  < hūwa" Vt 'trap'
katūnnūmpu 'seat, chair'
  < katū" Vi sg 'sit'
kottoonnūmpu 'stove, hearth'
  < kotoo 'make a fire'
kukkiwinnūmpu 'chimney'
  < kukkwii(ppu) 'smoke'
kusuuppetsūnnūmpu 'whistle'
  < kusuuppetsu Vi 'whistle, blow a whistle'
kūtannūmpu 'scissors'
  < kutah 'cut with scissors'
nannūmpu 'tool, instrument'
  < naa" Vi 'be' [formerly meaning: 'do']
napuninnūmpu 'mirror; gun sights'
  < na- pmpr, puni" 'see'
patsennaannūmpu 'bucket, water container'
  < patsennaah ≡ patsainah 'fetch water'
sawannūmpu 'boiling pot'
  < saawah Vt 'boil'
sumakkainnūmpu 'gill'
  < sumakkain 'breathe'
tukuttakkingkūnnūmpu 'dynamite'
  < tü- aps, kuttakkingkun 'blast'
tukuttinnūmpu 'firearm'
  < tü- aps, kuttih 'shoot'
tuno'innūmpu 'pen, pencil, writing instrument; camera'
  < tü- aps, mo'ih Vt 'write, draw, sketch, paint'
tūkkannūmpu 'dinner table'
  < tūkkah 'eat'
tūwuttiaannūmpu 'garbage can'
  < tü- aps, wūttia Vt 'dump out, spill'
tsaannūmpu 'binoculars'
  < ?
wuppo'okwinumpu 'drum'
< wuppo'okwi 'beat a drum'
yukwinumpu ≈ yukwinumpu 'tool, instrument'
< yukwi" ≈ yukwi" 'do'

-ppuḥ (-ppuḥa obj) nominalizer and past participle
kwitappuḥ 'shit'
< kwita" Vi 'shit'
kwitasuuppūḥ 'fart'
< kwitasu" Vi 'fart'
nawušiivappuḥ 'scab, scratch, cut'
< na- pspr, wüšiwiwah Vt 'scratch'
nawuštümappuḥ 'door'
< na- pspr, wüštümah 'close'
paküünappuḥ 'cloud'
< paa 'water', -küünah V instr 'cover'
patūsū(tai)ppuḥ 'ice'
< paa 'water', tūsū 'freeze', -tain cmplt
siippuḥ 'urine'
< si" Vi 'urinate'
tappattsanappuḥ 'button'
< tappattsanah 'fasten'
tiyaitaippuḥ 'corpse'
< tiyaih 'die', -tain cmplt
tümenippuḥ 'store'
< tümenih 'sell'
wükküünappuḥ 'fog'
< wükküünah Vt 'cover'

-tuņ (-tuņa ≈ -ti obj) nominalizer and present participle
nukkwintuņ 'train'
< nukkwi(n) 'run, race'
nüetuņ 'wind'
< nüe" ≈ nüai" Vi 'blow (of wind)'
NOUNS

nukkan'tun 'dance, dancing'
  < nukkan Vi 'dance'
pakatutun 'lake'
  < pakatū Vi 'be a body of water'
tawintun 'hole, cave'
  < tawin Vi 'be an opening'
üitsū'intun 'cold, cold place'
  < üitsū'in Vi 'be cold'
ümätun = üngwatun 'rain'
  < uma" = üngwa" Vi 'rain'
ütüintun 'heat, hot place'
  < ütūin Vi 'be hot'
wayantun 'fire, burning'
  < waya" Vi 'burn'
wukkatutun 'pile'
  < wukkatū Vi 'be a pile'
yütsütun 'airplane'
  < yütsū" Vi sg 'fly'

-.ttū (-ttua obj) agentive 'one who Xs'
hipittu 'drinker, drunkard'
  < hipi" V 'drink'
hupiatükittu 'singer'
  < hupiatuki 'sing'
nangkawittu 'speaker, talker'
  < nangkawih 'speak, talk'
nükattu 'dancer'
  < nukkan Vi 'dance'
nokoitoitittu 'bather, swimmer'
  < na- pmprr, koitsoih vt 'wash, bathe'
pungkuto'ettu 'rider, horseman'
  < pungku 'horse', to'eh 'go on'
pangviyukwittu 'fisherman'
  < pangwi 'fish', yukwi" V incorp 'do'
tütuaittu 'worker'
  < tütuai Vi 'work'
tumo'ittu ~ tumo'ittu 'writer, artist, photographer'
< tü- aps, mo'ih Vt 'write, draw, sketch, paint'

wasuwükkit tu ~ 'hunter'
< wasuwükki V pl 'hunt'
yükwittu ~ yukwittu 'doer'
< yükwi" ~ yükwi" 'do'

-ttuah (-ttuai obj) locative 'place for Xing'

hipittuah 'drinking place, watering hole'
< hipi" 'drink'

kuuttuah 'burying place'
< kuu Vt 'bury'

kwitattuah 'shitting place'
< kwita" Vi 'shit'

nakuuttuah 'grave'
< na- pmpr, kuu Vt 'bury'

natükittuah 'storage place for a specific item'
< na- pmpr, tüki" Vt 'put'

nayuunaattuah 'park'
< na- pmpr, yuunaah Vi pl 'sit, stay, camp'

punittuah 'lookout'
< puni" V 'see'

siittuah 'urinal'
< sii" Vi 'urinate'

tükkattuah 'eating place'
< tükkah 'eat'

tükituah 'storage place'
< tüki" Vt 'put'

üattuah 'ranch, farm'
< üah Vt 'plant, sow'

üppüittuah 'sleeping place'
< üppüih Vi 'sleep'
NOUNS

-tsi (-tsia obj) 'people of X area'
Tumpisattsi 'Death Valley people'
< Tumpisa 'Death Valley'
Hauttantsi 'Indian Ranch people'
< Hauttan 'Indian Ranch'
Kaikottantsi 'Panamint Mountains people, especially those from Telescope Peak area'
< Kaikottin 'Panamint Mountains'
Ko'ontsi 'Saline Valley people'
< Ko'on(gkatun) 'Saline Valley'
Muattantsi 'Coso Hot Springs people'
< Muattan(gka) 'Coso Hot Springs'
Pakatsoatsi 'Monaches'
< ?
Payuttsi 'Southern Paiutes, Kawaiisu'
< ?

-ttsi (-ttsia obj) diminutive, affectionate
huu'etuttsi 'slingshot'
< huu'etun 'bow'
huttsi(ttsi) 'grandchild, son's child (ws)'
< kuttai 'father's mother'
toko(ttsi) 'grandchild, daughter's child (ms)'
< toko 'mother's father'
kaku(ttsi) 'grandchild, daughter's child (ws)'
< kaku 'mother's mother'
kuhmappüttsi 'rooster'
< kuhmappü 'male'
künu(ttsi) 'grandchild, son's child (ms)'
< künu 'father's father'
piapüttsi 'hen'
< piapü 'female'
tuatssì 'little son'
< tua" 'son'
As can be seen from the examples above, -kantun, -tsi, and -ttsi are normally affixed to nouns forming new nouns, while -nnumpu, -ttu, -ttuah, and of course -nna, -ppuh, and -tun 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, tu- aps or na- ppmr (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 COMPOUNDS

**Noun + Noun**

Atsappaa 'Bad Water Springs in Death Valley'
- atsaa 'bitter', paa 'water, spring'

Isahuuppin 'arrow weed; Devil's Haystack in Death Valley'
- isa 'coyote', huuppin 'stick, bush'

Isam papi $\approx$ isapaippu (am) papi 'wolf'
- isam $\approx$ isapaippu (am) 'Coyote('s)', papi 'older brother'

Kammu wikappuh 'rabbit(skin) blanket'
- kammu 'jackrabbit', wika (ppuh) 'blanket'

Kooppe saawannumpu 'coffeepot'
- kooppe 'coffee', saawannumpu 'bolling pot'

Kukkwikkahni 'chimney'
- kukkwii 'smoke', kahni 'house, structure'

Kukkwippisippuh 'soot, smut, riflings'
- kukkwii 'smoke', pisippuh 'rot(ten)'

Mitukkaano wiwiittsi 'house sparrow'
- mitukkaano 'white man', wiwiittsi 'finch'

Mo'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', -pu

Pangwi tsangkuttsi 'fish hook'
- pangwi 'fish', tsangkuttsi 'hook'

Patuhuya 'moose, elk'
- paa 'water', tuhuya 'deer'

Pahonto'i 'smoking pipe'
- pahon (pin) 'tobacco', to'i 'pipe'

Pahontukinnumpu 'ashtray'
- pahon (pin) 'tobacco', tükkinnumpu 'putter'
suupihyaapin 'willow sap sugar'
  < suü(pin) 'willow', pihyaapin 'sugar'
tupontukkupittsi '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 Nükkappin 'Pinenut Dance'
  < tüpa 'pinenut', nükkappin 'dance'
waapppihyaapin 'piñon sap sugar'
  < waha(pin) 'piñon pine', pihyaapin 'sugar'
yookkontukkupittsi '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 tükinnumpu 'white bones (in handgame)'
  < tosapi 'white', tükinnumpu 'putter'
tuppapitü tükinnumpu 'stripped bone (in handgame)'
  < tuppapitü 'black', tükinnumpu 'putter'
tühuttsi(ttsi) toyapittsi 'hill'
  < tühuttsi(ttsi) 'little', toyapi(ttsi) 'mountain'
NOUN + Verb(al)

Mukuattun Nûkkanna 'War Dance'
< mukuattun 'mind', nûkkanna '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', punikkatün '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'
tûngwûnûtun 'cliff'
< tüń- 'rock', wûnûtün 'standing'
waa'ettsia teewitün 'praying mantis'
< waa'ettsia 'enemy' obj, teewitün 'pointing at'

Verb(al) + Noun

hipittsukuttsi ≈ hipittsukuppu 'drunkard'
< hipi' 'drink', tsuku 'old man',
-ttsi ≈ -ppu absol
noyokowa'ippu 'whore'
< noyoko' 'screwed', wa'ippu 'woman'
nûkkakahni 'dance hall, ceremonial hall'
< nûkka 'dance', kahni 'house, building'
Nûkkapaa 'Dance Water Springs in Death Valley'
< nûkka 'dance', paa 'water, spring'
makinna mo'o 'masturbating hand'
< makinna 'masturbate', mo'o 'hand'
kuppûataippûh huuppín 'cooked sticks (in handgame)'
< kuppûataippûh 'cooked', huuppín 'stick'
Noun + Postposition
kwii nangkwa 'left side'
  < kwii 'left', nangkwa 'direction, side (of)'
paa nangkwa 'west'
  < paa 'water', nangkwa 'direction, side (of)'
tape tukkan 'east'
  < tape 'sun', tukkan '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 tukkan ≈ imaa tukkatun 'breakfast'
  < imaa 'morning', tukkan ≈ tukkatun 'eating'
tape(ni) tukkan ≈ tape(ni) tukkatun 'lunch'
  < tape(ni) 'day(time)', tukkan ≈ tukkatun 'eating'
yuwi tukkan ≈ yuwi tukkatun 'dinner'
  < yuwi 'evening', tukkan ≈ 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., hipittsukuttal '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., piaskka katu pūhu '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., imaa tükkanna 'breakfast', literally meaning 'morning eating').

5.8 NAMES

Very few aboriginal personal names are used or even remembered by contemporary Tumpisa 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(ppū) 'old man'

**Hapittsuksu**  'Lying Down Man'

- hapı' 'lie', tsuku(ppū) 'old man'

**Kūpūtatsuku**  'Tall Man'

- kūputa 'tall, long', tsuku(ppū) 'old man'

**Pawoko**  'Frog'

**Sokotsuku**  'Earth Man'

- sokopin 'earth, land', tsuku(ppū) 'old man'

**Tsoangkaaya’a**  (?)

SOME ABORIGINAL WOMEN’S NAMES

**Hipipayuni**  'Flower' (?)

- hipi(ngkun) '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 Kūpūtatsuku 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>English Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aputtu</td>
<td>'Albert'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tseekki</td>
<td>'Jake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koopu</td>
<td>'Grover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neti</td>
<td>'Ned'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noitu</td>
<td>'Lloyd'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reemmani</td>
<td>'Raymond'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samma</td>
<td>'Sam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanan</td>
<td>'Donald'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toni</td>
<td>'Tony'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOME WOMEN'S NAMES ADOPTED FROM ENGLISH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>English Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ani</td>
<td>'Ann(ie)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antsi</td>
<td>'Angie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iipu</td>
<td>'Eve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memmi</td>
<td>'Mamie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neetiinna</td>
<td>'Nadine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paaputtsi</td>
<td>'Babs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paliinna</td>
<td>'Pauline'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotsi</td>
<td>'Rosie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruhtu</td>
<td>'Ruth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tepi</td>
<td>'Debbie'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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' > Paaputtsi).
or dropping consonants (e.g. 'Albert' > Apütü); (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,
v are borrowed as is, and † is also usually adopted
without change, although sometimes they are replaced with ns.

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 Tümpisa 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).
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) Nummũ soontũ miatũ.
    we(exc) many go-hab
    'Many of us would go.'

(180) Nūũ sūmūsū matūmmi tsittūpunitu'ilh.
    I all them wake up-will
    'I'll wake all of them up.'

(181) [Utünstũ] etũ kotto'enna ekkih.
    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 kuttippūhantu;  
that big-O deer shot  
nūū puū tūtūttsitsia kuttippūhantu.  
I emph little-obj shot  
'He shot a big deer; I myself shot a little one.'

(184) Wihnupittsi pisittaippūha 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] puhaiwasū 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 + 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) Hipittsittsi utű mi'a taamiammaa
old lady that go visited

u kammanuha okkwah.
hers was sick-sub when

'That old lady went and visited (her) when she was sick.'
(188) Tsokonetaippūh isapaippū isan
had scratched coyote coyote's
tuammittsi utūmmū.
baby those
'Coyote's, those babies of coyote, had been scratching.'

(189) Wa'ippūa ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwūmmmaa
woman-O that-O where some caught
utū pahamittsi utū u nuwikü toya
that bear that her walk-sub mountain
ma nootūngā.
on maybe
'A bear caught a woman somewhere, maybe when she was walking around in the mountains.'

(190) Atū niam pia nūhaikatū.
that my mother make basket-sit
'That one, my mother, is sitting making baskets.'

(191) Sutū kammanna sutū nawipi utū.
that be sick that girl that
'That one, that girl, she's 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 wūnūtū] 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.'

(195) Piiya [nian nipinna] nia ūppūngkūhwantu'ih. 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 tūtilttsia ohmaattsia nasuntananna.
I my little-O baby-O remember
'I remember my little baby.'
(197) Wahattu niam puanumu ma'e nù namianguppuhantu
  two my cousins with I were sent
  -and
  sapettu.
  there

'Two of my cousins and I were sent there.'

(198) Nù 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'oppüh
  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 sümüttünna huuppitta wüsipenna.
I one-O stick-O scrape
'I'm scraping one stick.'

(203) Nū tühütt-tsitsa sohopimpūa tsonnopiinna.
I little-O cottonwood-O pull up(pl)
'I'm pulling up little cottonwood trees.'

(204) Yuhupitta wäippūa nū pusikwa.
fat-O woman-O I know
'I know the fat woman.'

(205) So'oppūtünna tumpitta toppotskippuhantasatū.
many-O rock-O threw out(pl) that
'She threw out a lot of rocks.'

(206) Wa'ippū wahattünna paanni maappa'itu'ih.
woman two-O bread make
'The woman'll make two loaves of bread.'

(207) Wa'ippū pünna tūpū(nna) [tso'ippuha ]
woman her own pinenut(-O) pick-sub-O

'tukummahanni.
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) Nüü wahattu tuhuyanna pakkappühantü.
I two deer-O killed
'I killed two deer.'

(210) Nüü mannikitu tuhuyanna wasüppühantü.
I five deer-O killed(pl)
'I killed five deer.'

(211) Satu so'oppütü piiya tsattüpppainna.
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 Tümpisa 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) Ohipím ma nati'iwantünna tiyaitainwa satū.
cold from mean-O died that
'He died from a mean cold.'

(213) Mummi tukkwantü pahittünna.
you all-O under three-O
'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 samoppū and the numeral wahattū 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, nūmmū!

(214) Nia samoppū naappühantü wahattū.
my sibling were two
'There were my two brothers.'

(215) Nūt tumpitta yaakkint'ü sümüttöt'sia.
I rock-O bring-will one only
'I'll bring just one rock.'

(216) Nūmmū pahi nūmmū tommo yingkappühantü sape.
we(exc) three we winter stayed there
'We stayed there three winters.'
(217) Tuittsi pitū utūmī ka wihnu sūmūtū
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 sūmūtū 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 nūmmū 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 recurrences 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) Sûmûsû mia'mûmû atû himpû antsaapanappûh,
all go-pl that some flicker
atû kaakki, tukopoyo'ittsi, sûmûsû
that crow kingbird all
kasattsikantu mia'mûmû.
bird go-pl
’Everyone went, that flicker, that crow,
kingbird, all the birds went.’

(222) U kappinnangkwa katû ukkwhah sutungku kee
it outside of sit when those two not
teewingkûtsinna etû 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 -ŋ, but the result is the same with -ŋ on nouns as
well. The reader should consult chapter 9 on phonology to
understand the general properties of final segments like ŋ.
4. Postpositions are written unattached to the nouns that they follow unless the noun ends in the geminating segment -"", 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' [\textless tu\textquoteright a\textquoteright pa]
- his son-on

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 tuap 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.