6

ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVE PHRASES

In many ways adjectives in Túmpisí Shoshone are closely associated with nouns. They take absolutive suffixes like nouns (6.1), they modify nouns (6.2), and sometimes they function as the heads of noun phrases (6.3). They are also inflected for case in agreement with head nouns (6.2). On the other hand, like verbs, adjectives may function as predicates (6.4), and they are freely derived from verbs as participles (6.1). However, unlike both nouns and verbs, adjectives may be used in comparative constructions (6.6), as well as in adjective phrases (6.5) that have special characteristics not exactly like either noun phrases or verb phrases.1

6.1 ABSOLUTIVE SUFFIXES

Adjectives have several absolutive suffixes which are similar in form to those found on many nouns (see 5.6). Nearly all adjectives take one or the other of these suffixes, which are given below.

ADJECTIVE ABSOLUTIVE SUFFIXES

-\pi(n) -pū -ppū -tūn -ttsi
-pitūn -ppūtūn

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-Pitūn and -ppūtūn are compound suffixes formed with -tūn preceded by -pl and -ppūh, respectively; in prenominal modification, the -tūn component may be dropped. Any of the absolutive suffixes may additionally be followed by diminutive -ttsi.

The absolutive suffixes used on adjectives are more stable than those on nouns; they only drop when adjectives form compounds with following stems. Most compounds of this sort are composed of adjectives modifying following noun stems, but in some cases the stems are not nouns; e.g.:

piakuitstsun 'buffalo'
< pia(ppūtūn) 'big', kuitstsun 'buffalo'
piatūkkah 'feast' Vi
< pia(ppūtūn) 'big', tūkkah 'eat'
piasika 'crotch (on body)'
< pia(ppūtūn) 'big', sikah 'crotch'
puhitūkkappūh 'watercress'
< puh(i)pitūn) 'blue and green', tūkkappūh 'food'
sūkūng kamman 'taste sour'
< sūkūng(pitūn) 'sour', kamman 'taste'
tosakkahni 'tent'
< tosa"(pitūn) 'white', kahni 'house'
tupppappangwittsi 'blackfish in springs in Death Valley'
< tupppap(pitūn) 'black', pangwī 'fish'
ūkūnūmū 'youth'
< ūkū(pitūn) 'young, new', numū 'person'
woontangummu 'jealous man'
< woon(pettsi) 'jealous', tangummu 'man'
yu'itsikuppittsi 'salamander'
< yu'i(pitūn) 'soft', tsukuppū(tttsi) 'old man' (?)

When adjectives are in prenominal position modifying nouns, they do not normally lose their absolutive suffixes (see 6.1). And frequently, even when they form compounds with
When the suffixes are dropped, the adjectives are felt to be more closely tied to the following stems, both phonologically and semantically. Compounds without absolutive suffixes on the adjectives are usually more idiomatic, while those with absolutive suffixes tend to be more descriptive.

A number of adjectives occurring with each of the absolutive suffixes are exemplified below. It is noteworthy that -pitun is used almost exclusively on color terms.

- pe (-pea_obj)
  woompe(ttsi) 'jealous'

- pi(n) (-pitta = -pia_obj)
  küttaampi = küttaampü 'hard'
  muhwapi(ttsi) 'bitter'
  mutsipin = mutsippuh 'sharp-pointed'
  no'api 'pregnant'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pihiapi</td>
<td>'weak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samampi(ttsi)</td>
<td>'raw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukumpi(ttsi)</td>
<td>'sour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukupi(ttsi)</td>
<td>'new, young, fresh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu'ipi(ttsi)</td>
<td>'soft, flexible, flabby'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **-pitun** (-pitunna obj)
  - angkapitun | 'red' |
  - esumpitun  | 'gray' |
  - humpitun   | 'orange' |
  - ontumpitun | 'yellowish brown' |
  - puhpitun   | 'blue and green' |
  - sakwaapitun| 'green' |
  - sukumpitun | 'yellow' |
  - tosapitun  | 'white' |
  - tuppapitun | 'black' |
  - pattsipitun| 'smooth, glossy' |

- **-pü** (-püa obj)
  - iampü  | 'wild' |
  - kuttaampi ≈ kuttaampu | 'hard' |
  - naisapü  | 'horny, sexually aroused' |
  - napihyaapü | 'lazy' |
  - nanachpü | 'scattered, dispersed' |
  - puetumpu  | 'old, worn' |
  - pasampu(ttsi) | 'skinny' |
  - tsomampu  | 'stingy' |

- **-ppuh** (-ppuhə obj)
  - kumappuh ≈ kumattsi | 'sharp-edged' |
  - mutsipuh ≈ mutsipin | 'sharp-pointed' |
  - pungkuppeppuh | 'out of, used up, all gone' |
  - ooppuh  | 'strong' |
  - ottotootaippuh | 'moldy' |
  - so'oppuh ≈ so'oppütun | 'plenty; much, many' |
  - tammappuh ≈ tamattsi | 'crazy' |
tukkwappuh 'deep'
tuuppuh ≈ tuuppüppuhš 'mean, cruel'
tuttsaappuh 'dirty'
tütsüppuhš ≈ tütsüppüppuhš 'funny, ugly, strange'
yottsokkwappuhš 'soft, flexible, crumbly'
≈ yottsokkwattsi

-ppüttun (-ppüttünna ≈ -ppüti obj)
   pa'apptün ≈ pa'appuhš 'tall'
   piappptün ≈ piantün 'big'
   piawükipptün 'wide'
   küpütapptün 'long'
   so'oppüttün ≈ so'oppuhš 'plenty; much, many'
   tuhunappptün 'thick'

-tün (-tünna ≈ -ti obj)
   piantün ≈ piappptün 'big'
   nat'i'iwantün(pü) 'mean, rough; difficult, dangerous'
   soontün 'much, many'
   túnantün(pü) 'straight'
   tsawüntün 'good, nice'
   wümmanittün 'naked'

-tttsi (-ttsiai)
   kümattsi ≈ kümappuhš 'sharp-edged'
   mukuțsi 'diamond-shaped'
   pa'attsii(ttsi) 'short (in height)'
   tüütttsii(ttsi) 'little, small'
   tü(t)üütttsii(ttsi) 'little, small'
   tüüititsii(ttsi) 'little, small'
   tüütttsii(ttsi) 'tiny'
   toppotttsii(ttsi) 'short (in length)'
   tama(ttsi) ≈ tammappuhš 'crazy'
   tatütsii(ttsi) 'thin (of things)'
   tsiwoottsi 'narrow'
Only a few adjectives occur without absolutive suffixes. Those that have been recorded are listed below.

- **yottsokkwatssí** 'soft, flexible, crumbly'
- **yottsokkwappuh**

- **hippatta** 'flat'
- **nakútsasa** 'bad'
- **pihyaa = pihnaa** 'sweet'
- **tokwi"** 'right, correct'
- **wúki = wükkin** 'circular'

Etymologically related to absolutive -tun and -ppuh are the two homophonous participial suffixes -tun, present participle (prp), and -ppuh, past participle (pp), which productively form adjectives directly from verbs (see 3.3.2). Past participial -ppuh is often used along with the completive suffix -tain forming -taippuh. There is a slight semantic distinction between past participles with and without -tain: those with -tain generally emphasize the completeness, finality, or totality of the condition resulting from the activity indicated by the verb stem, whereas forms without -tain simply indicate the resulting condition. For example, there are two past participles from the intransitive verb **tuasu** 'freeze': **tuasuppuh**, meaning 'frozen', and **tuasitaippuh**, meaning 'frozen solid; paralyzed'. There are hundreds of participles—potentially as many as there are verbs—but past participles seem to be used much more frequently than present participles, and thus I have recorded many more of them.
PAST PARTICIPLES IN -PPUH AND -TAIPPUH

hannattaippuh 'grown'
  < hanna" Vi 'grow'
heyokotaippuh 'loose'
  < heyoko Vi 'loosen'
hipittaippuh 'drunk'
  < hipi" Vt 'drink'
ka'ataippuh sg, kopialtaippuh pl 'broken'
  < ka'ah sg, kopiah pl Vi 'break (flexible object)'
kammataippuh 'gravely ill'
  < kammah Vi 'be sick, ill'
kotsattaippuh 'bashed in'
  < kotsa" Vi 'get bashed in'
kuppüataippuh 'cooked, done (of food cooking)'
  < kuppüah Vi 'cook (of food)'
kuttapinaippuh 'lit, lighted'
  < kuttapinaih Vi 'be light'
kümittalippuh 'tight'
  < küm" Vi 'tighten'
küpataippuh sg, küpialtaippuh pl 'broken'
  < kü(p)ah sg, küpiah pl Vi 'break (rigid object)'
kwasu(ttal)ppuh 'ripe(ned)'
  < kwasu" Vi 'ripen'
mi'attaippuh 'gone, left'
  < mi'a("") Vi 'go, leave'
muiyai(tai)ppuh 'drunk, intoxicated'
  < muiyai Vi 'get drunk, intoxicated'
nakwaattaippuh 'beaten, lost'
  < na- pmpr, kwaa" Vt 'beat'
napuhaataippuh 'bewitched'
  < na- pmpr, puhaah Vt 'bewitch, hex'
natsattama(tai)ppuh sg, natsatamii(tai)ppuh pl
'tied tight'
  < na- pmpr, tsattamah sg, tsattamih pl Vt
'tie tight'
ADJECTIVES 269

natsattawi(tai)ppuh 'open(ed)'
   < na- pmpr, tsattawin Vt 'open'
natsattumai(tai)ppuh sg, natsattumii(tai)ppuh pl 'closed, locked up'
   < na- pmpr, tsattawin Vt 'close'
nawusomma(tai)ppuh sg, nawusommi(tai)ppuh pl 'bent'
   < na- pmpr, wusomma sg, wusomi pl Vt 'bend'
noppitsahataippuh 'bent, crooked'
   < noppitsah(an) Vt 'bend'
okwai(tta)ppuh 'washed out'
   < okwai Vt 'flow'
paha(tta)ppuh sg, pakiataippuh pl 'split'
   < paha sg, pakiah pl Vt 'split'
pakwittaippuh 'swollen'
   < pakwi Vt 'swell'
pasattaippuh 'dried up'
   < pasa Vt 'dry'
pikkwataippuh sg, pikwaataippuh pl 'shattered'
   < pikkwan sg, pikwaa pl Vt 'shatter'
pisittaippuh 'rotten'
   < nisi Vt 'rot'
somma(tai)ppuh sg, somia(tai)ppuh pl 'bent'
   < sommah sg, somiah pl Vt 'bend'
suattaippuh 'grown (of plants)'
   < sua Vt 'grow'
takuttiyaippuh sg, takuttsuwaippuh ≈ takukko'ippuh pl 'thirsty'
   < takuttiyah sg, takuttsuwa ≈ takukko'i pl Vt 'be thirsty'
tamminoi(tai)ppuh 'tired'
   < tammino Vt 'be tired'
tiyai(tai)ppuh sg, tsuwwataippuh ≈ ko'ittaippuh pl 'dead'
   < tiyaih sg, tsuwwah ≈ ko'i pl Vt 'die'
to'etaippuh sg, toto'etaippuh pl, kuattaippuh pl 'out, up'
   < to'eh sg, kúa pl Vt 'emerge, go/come out, up'
tuataippuh 'painted, tattooed'
< tua(kah) Vt 'paint, tattoo'
tuppkekutaippuh 'full'
< tuppke Vt 'be full'
tupunitaippuh 'awake'
< tupunih Vt 'wake up'
tutakaippuh 'born'
< tutakaiah Vt 'be born'
tsutamaippuh 'all gone'
< tsumah Vt 'be all gone'
uttuappuh 'wounded, grazed'
< utuah Vt 'wound, graze'
uppuitaippuh sg, okko'itaippuh pl 'sound asleep'
< uppuih sg, okko'ih pl Vt 'sleep'

PRESENT PARTICIPLES IN -TUN

katutun 'sitting'
< katü" sg Vt 'sit'
napunitun 'appearing, looking'
< napunih Vt med-pass 'appear, look'
nati'iwantun 'mean, tough'
< na- pmpr, ti'iwan 'be afraid'
noppitsahantun 'bent, crooked'
< noppitsahan Vt 'bend'
nuetun = nuaitun 'blowing'
< nüe" Vt 'blow'
nükka(n)tun 'dancing'
< nükkan Vt 'dance'
okvetun 'flowing'
< okwe" Vt 'flow'
suätun 'growing (of plants)'
< suä" Vt 'grow'
ti'iwantun 'scared, afraid'
< ti'iwan Vt 'be afraid'
tunangkatun 'hearing'
  < tu- aps, nangkah 'hear'
wayantun 'burning'
  < wayan Vi 'burn'
numutun 'standing'
  < wunu" sg Vi 'stand'
yuwaintun 'warm'
  < yuwain Vi 'be warm'

Aside from the participial suffixes used to form adjectives from verbs, the absolutive suffixes are also occasionally used to form adjectives from other word classes, although apparently not in any fully productive way; e.g.:

pa'attsi(ttsi) 'short'
  < pa'an Adv and Post 'up, high, above', -ttsi
pa'appu(ttsi) = pa'appuh 'tall'
  < pa'an Adv and Post 'up, high, above',
     -p(ttu)n = -ppuh
pasampu(ttsi) 'skinny'
  < pasa" Vi 'dry', -m- ?, -pü, -ttsi
tukkwappuh 'deep'
  < tukkwan Post 'under, below'

In addition, adjectives (as well as nouns) are productively formed with the characterizing suffix -kantun. -Kantun may be added to noun stems, forming adjectives generally meaning 'typically having', or 'characterized by', whatever the noun stem refers to. Occasionally -kantun is even added to other adjective stems, forming new adjectives with essentially the same meaning as the original adjective stems (see below). Negative adjectives are formed by preposing the negative particle ke(g) 'not, no, un-' before adjectives built with -kantun. A few lexicalized adjectives formed with -kantun are given below.
ADJECTIVES IN CHARACTERIZING -KANTUN

kahnikantun 'dwelling, living'
  < kahni 'house'
iangkantun 'wild'
  < lan(pu) 'wild'
nihakantun = niyakantun 'named, called'
  < niha = niya 'name'
ke(e) iangkantun 'tame, not wild'
  < lan(pu) 'wild'
ke mukuakantun 'mute, retarded, not smart'
  < mukua 'mind'
ke(e) puikantun 'blind'
  < pui 'eye'
ke(e) tamangkantun 'missing a tooth'
  < taman 'tooth'
kuhmakantun 'married (of a woman)'
  < kuhma 'husband'
mukuakantun 'intelligent, smart'
  < mukua 'mind'
punnahapikantun 'married (of a man)'
  < punnahapi 'wife'
yattsukkantun 'collapsed, deflated'
  < yattsu '?'
yuhukantun 'fat'
  < yuhu(pin) 'fat, grease'

-Kantun is an extremely productive suffix used to form spur-of-the-moment adjectives (and nouns), many of which are not lexicalized, but simply formed and discarded at will in context.

6.2 MODIFICATION

One of the primary functions of adjectives is to modify nouns. When adjectives modify nouns they normally precede
ADJECTIVES

them in the noun phrase, and they agree with their head nouns in case (see section 5.9 on the structure of NPs). Examples of modifying adjectives agreeing with following nominative head nouns are given in 1-3.

(1) Tsawūn(tūn) tangumū utuu tiyaitaippūh. 
good man just dead
'The good man has just died.'

(2) Sakwaapītū kahni. 'It's a green house.'
green house

(3) Yuhu(pl) wa'ippū miattaippūh. 
fat woman gone
'The fat woman has gone.'

In 1 and 3, the absolutive suffixes may optionally be omitted without any appreciable change in meaning.

The examples in 4-7 contain modifying adjectives agreeing with following accusative head nouns (also see the examples in 203-205 of section 5.9).

(4) Nu tuhūttsitsīa sohopīmpū tsonnopīnna. 
I little-O cottonwood-O pull up (pl)
'I'm pulling up little cottonwoods.'

(5) Sakwaapītūnna kahni punikka nuū. 
green-O house see I
'I see a green house.'

(6) Nuū yuhupitta wa'ippūa punikkappūhantū. 
I fat-O woman-O saw
'I saw the fat woman.'
(7) Nū nia tūtiittsia ohmaattsia nasuntamanna.
I my little-O baby-O remember
'I remember my little baby.'

Adjectives, especially participles, may follow head nouns, but in such cases they are usually predicates of relative clauses rather than simple adjectival modifiers (see section 8.2.2).

(8) Tangumμ̂ paappūh wūnūtū nia pusikwa.
man tall standing me know
'The man who is tall (standing) knows me.'

(9) Tangumμ̂ tammappūh miattaippūh.
man crazy left
'The man who is crazy left.'

(10) Nūu tangumμ̂ paappūh wūnūtūnna pusikwa.
I man-O tall standing-O know
'I know the man who is tall (standing).'

(11) Nūu kunnai wayantūnna punikka.
I wood-O burning-O see
'I see the wood burning.'

(12) Wa'ipp̂ pūnnan tūpūnna tso'ippūha tukummahannih.
woman her own pinenut-O picked-O cook
'The woman is cooking the pinenuts she picked.'

When adjectives modify nouns that are obligatorily incorporated into verbs like -pa'in 'have' and -naappa'in 'have alienably', the adjectives are not incorporated along with the head noun. Rather, they remain in the noun phrase outside the verb and are in the objective case, even though their head nouns have been removed from the noun phrase and therefore are not inflected for case.
(13) Nūū sakwaapitūnna kahnipa'ippūhantū.
   I  green-O  house-had
   'I had a green house.'

(14) Tangummū tosapitūnna pampippūhpa'intūantū.
   man  white-O  hair-have-will
   'The man'll have white hair.'

(15) Nū tsawūntūnna tükkapplhaappa'e.
   I  good-O  groceries-have
   'I have some good groceries.'

Nouns may function like adjectives modifying following head nouns. Modifying nouns, like adjectives, also agree with their heads.

(16) Nūū tuhuyanna piapūa punikkappūhantū.
   I  deer-O  mother-O saw
   'I saw a doe (i.e., deer mother).' 

(17) Nū pūyunna pūh punikkappūhantū.
   I  duck-O  pelt-O saw
   'I saw a duck pelt.'

6.3 ADJECTIVES AS NOUNS AND HEADS OF NPS

A number of adjectives, especially participles, function not only as adjectives but also as nouns; their function in a given sentence is of course determined by context. Some of the forms in both word classes are listed below (also see 5.7).
ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS

kumappuh ≈ kumattsi "sharp-edged; edge"
mutsipin ≈ mutsipih "sharp-pointed; point"
tuttsaappuh "dirty; dirt"
yuhupin "fat, grease"

PARTICIPLES AND NOUNS

kwitappuh "shit" < kwita" Vi 'shit'
okwetun 'flowing; creek' < okwe" Vi 'flow'
nuetun ≈ nuaitun 'blowing; wind' < nue" Vi 'blow'
nukka(n)tun 'dancing; dance' < nukkan Vi 'dance'
siippuh 'urinated; urine' < sii" Vi 'urine'
suittun 'growing; plant' < sua" Vi 'grow'
unmatun ≈ ungwatun 'rain(ing)' < uma" ≈ ungwa" Vi 'rain'
wayantun 'burning; fire' < wayan Vi 'burn'
yuutsutun 'flying; plane' < yuutsu" sg Vi 'fly'

For example, compare how yuhupin is used as an adjective in 18 and as a noun in 19, and how wayantun is used as a present participle in 20 and a noun in 21.

(18) Nü yuhupitta wa'ippua pusikwa.
I fat-O woman know
'I know the fat woman.'

(19) Wa'ippu pappasia tukummahannih yuhuping kuppa.
woman potato-O cook grease in
'The woman is cooking potatoes in grease.'

(20) Kahni wayantünna punikka nüü.
house burning-O see I
'I see the house burning.'
(21) Nu wayantung ka mi'atü. 'I go to the fire.'
    I fire to go

The forms listed above are completely lexicalized both as adjectives and as nouns. But in fact, all adjectives in Túmpisá Shoshone can function as heads of noun phrases—much like, for example, adjectives in Spanish. Thus in 22–25, piappütün, tütüttsittsi, tsomampü, and tammappüh are all adjectival heads of the noun phrases they are in.

(22) Sátu piappütí kuttippühantü, núü keehinna kuttinna.
    that big-O shot I nothing-O shoot
    'He shot a big one, I shot nothing.'

(23) Sátu piantünna tühüya kuttippühantü,
    that big-O deer shot
    núü puü tütüttsittsia kuttippühantü.
    I emph small-O shot
    'He shot a big deer; I myself shot a small one.'

(24) Nu tsomampúa punikka. 'I see the stingy one.'
    I stingy-O see

(25) Nu ma pusikwa tammappüh sammatü.
    I him know crazy that particular
    'I know him, that particular crazy one.'

6.4 PREDICATE ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVAL VERBS

Besides functioning as noun modifiers, the other important function of adjectives is to act as predicates complementing the subject. In the present tense, adjectives may function alone as stative predicates without the need of any sort of linking verb. However, in other tenses, such as
the past and future, a linking verb must be used. The linking verb par excellence is \( \text{naa} \) 'be'. \( \text{Naa} \) is the unmarked, semantically neutral, linking verb, but there are others as well, e.g., \( \text{wunu} \) sg 'stand', \( \text{katu} \) sg 'sit', \( \text{hapi} \) sg 'lie', \( \text{kamman} \) 'taste', \( \text{kwanan} \) 'smell', and \( \text{nappuh} \) 'look, appear' (see section 2.2.1). Although linking verbs are not obligatory in the present tense, \( \text{naa} \) or another linking verb may optionally be used to carry verb suffixes indicating aspectual and adverbial notions aside from, or in addition to, simple stativeness.

Examples 26-30 illustrate several different adjectives functioning as predicates in various tenses and aspects (see also the examples in 60-61).

\[(26)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>Nu\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}u} tamma. 'I'm crazy.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Tangum\text{\text{\text{\text{m}}}\text{\text{u}}} tammappuh. 'The man's crazy.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Tangum\text{\text{\text{m}}} tammappuh naappuhantu. 'The man was crazy.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Tangum\text{\text{m}} tammappuh naatu'ih. 'The man'll be crazy.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>Tangum\text{\text{m}} tammappuh naammi'a. 'The man's going crazy.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[(27)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>Yuhupi wa'ippu. 'She's a fat woman.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Fat woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Yuhupi utù. 'That one's fat.'
   fat     that

(c. Satu sape'esù yuhupi naappuhantù. 
   that long ago fat be-past  
   'She was fat long ago.'

d. Wa'ippù yuhupi naatu'ih. 
   woman fat be-will  
   'The woman'll be fat.'

e. Wa'ippù yuhupi naammi'a. 
   woman fat be-go  
   'The woman's getting fat.'

(28) a. Üù nati'iwantù. 'You're mean.'
    you mean

b. Miikka nati'iwantù satù. 'Now he is mean.'
   now mean that

c. Tangummù utuu püesù nati'iwantün 
   man just long ago mean
      naappuhantù. 
      be-past
    'The man just used to be mean.'

d. Sutù nati'iwantù naatu'ih. 'He'll be mean.'
   that mean be-will

e. Miikka sutù nati'iwantù naammi'a. 
   now that mean be-go  
   'Now he's getting mean.'
(29)  a. Sakwaapītū kahni. 'It's a green house.'
    green house

    b. Puesū sakwaapītū naappūhantū kahni matū.  
    long ago green be-past house that  
    'Long ago that house used to be green.'

    c. Kahni sakwaapītū naatu'ih. 
    house green be-will 
    'The house'll be green.'

(30) a. Nūū kee pasampūttsi. 'I'm not skinny.' 
    I not skinny

    b. Toto pasampūttsi. 'The bull is skinny.' 
    bull skinny

Predicate adjectives need not agree in number with their subjects, but they may be optionally marked for number with the two enclitics -hammū plural and -hangku dual. When the number enclitics are used on predicate adjectives, number is emphatic. Compare the singular predicate adjectives in 31a, 32a, and 33a-c with the optionally marked duals and plurals in 31b-c, 32b-c, and 33d-h.

(31) a. Satū woompettsi. 'That one is jealous.'  
    that jealous

    b. Satunγku woompettsi(hangku).  
    those(dl) jealous(-dl) 
    'Those two are (both) jealous.'

    c. Satūmmū woompettsi(hammū). 
    those jealous(-pl) 
    'They're (all) jealous.'
ADJECTIVES

(32) a. Atu tangummu yuhupi. 'That man is fat.'
    that man fat

b. Atungku tattangungku yuhupi(hangku).
    those(dl) men-dl fat(-dl)
    'Those two men are (both) fat.'

c. Atummu tattangummu yuhupi(hammu).
    those men fat(-pl)
    'Those men are (all) fat.'

(33) a. Satu iampu. 'That one is wild.'
    that wild

b. Putisi iampu. 'The burro is wild.'
    burro wild

c. Nawittsittsi iampu. 'The girl is wild.'
    girl wild

d. Satungku iampu(hangku).
    those(dl) wild(-dl)
    'Those two are (both) wild.'

e. Nawittsittsiangku iampu(hangku).
    girls (dl) wild(-dl)
    'The girls are (both) wild.'

f. Sutummu iampu(hammu). 'They're (all) wild.'
    those wild(-pl)

g. Mummu iampu(hammu).
    you all wild(-pl)
    'You all are (all) wild.'
h. Nawittsitsiammû iampû(hammu).
  girls  wild(-pl)
  'The girls are (all) wild.'

The examples in 26-33 illustrate adjectives functioning
directly as stative predicates complementing subjects, with
and without a linking verb like naa". The language also has
means for forming verbs directly from adjectives. A number of
verbalizing suffixes may be affixed to adjectives to derive
intransitive verbs. The particular suffix used on any given
adjective to form a verb is idiomatic or unpredictable. The
suffixes that I have recorded in this function are listed
below (see also section 3.2.2).

SUFFIXES VERBALIZING ADJECTIVES

-i = -'i  _general verbalizer
küttaï 'be hard, tough' < küttaan(pû) 'hard'

-ka(n)  _static
ookwan 'be strong' < oo(ppûh) 'strong'

-kain = -kai"
pihyaaki" 'itch' < pihya(pi) 'weak'
woongkwain 'be jealous' < woon(pe) 'jealous'

-pûkkan  _involuntary state
no'apûkkan 'be pregnant' < no'a(pi) 'pregnant'
yuhupûkkan 'get fat' < yuhu(pin) 'fat'

-wih = -win  _general verbalizer
kümawih 'sharpen' < küm(ppûh) 'sharp-edged'
tsawin 'be good' < tsao 'well' and tsawûntun 'good'
ADJECTIVES

-vain

tammayain 'be crazy, stupid'
< tamma(ttsi) 'crazy, stupid'

-yun  general verbalizer

wümmaniyun 'be naked'  < wümmani"(tün) 'naked'

 tiyaih sg vi 'die'
 pasantiyaih 'be skinny'  < pasan(puttsi) 'skinny'

 tuah Vt 'engender; become'
 pihyatuah 'get, be weak'  < pihya(pi) 'weak'

The last two "suffixes" are actually intransitive verbs forming compounds with adjectives.

The verbs derived from adjectives provide another means, even if indirect, for having adjectival predicates. In terms of their semantics, most of the adjectival verbs seem to be basically stative, but with the addition of appropriate aspectual or adverbial suffixes any of them can be made inchoative (e.g., with -kwan  ~ -kkwan  ~ -hwan momentaneous completive; -wiah inchoative; -kin  ~ -kkin  ~ -hin inchoative; -mi'ah inchoative; see section 3.1). Some sentences with verbalized adjectives are given in 34-41.

(34) Kee kuttainnummi tukkuapi.
not be tough continuative meat
'The meat's not tough.'

(35) Satu ookwantu'ih.
that be strong-will
'He'll be strong.'

(36) Tsukuppütsi (ümmi) woongkwainna.
old man you-O be jealous
'The old man is jealous (of you).'
(37) Nū yuhupūkanna. 'I'm getting fat.'
I get fat

(38) Nu imaa ukkwah tsawiyyuppuhantū. 'I was fine this morning.'
I morning when be good-continuative-past

(39) Nū tammayaihwantu'ih. 'I'm going crazy.'
I be crazy-future

(40) Satūmmū mitükkaano wūmmaniyyumminna. 'Those white people go around naked.'
those Caucasian be naked-hab

(41) Un nungkwappuh pihyatuakomminna. 'Your leg is habitually weak.'
your leg be weak-around-hab

6.5 ADJECTIVE PHRASES

Not only single adjectives but also adjective phrases may function as modifiers and predicates. Typically, adjective phrases consist of an adjective head and one or more adverbials modifying the head. The adverbials may be intensifiers, a delimiter, a negative, an emphatic, a distancer, and a contrastive.

INTENSIFIERS
  tataatsi(ttsi) 'little (bit)'
  kenùmùni 'very, really'
  kūttaa(ppūh) 'really, very, hard'
  tüpit∫i 'very, really, truly'

DELIMITER
  utuku = utuu 'just, only'
ADJECTIVES

NEGATIVE
ke(e) 'not, un-

EMPHATIC
-nnu'u 'certainly, surely, truly'

DISTANCER
-ppû 'unempathetically'

CONTRASTIVE
pûu 'really'

The four intensifiers always precede the adjective head; e.g.:  

(42) Nûu tataattsitsi tammattsi.  
    I little bit crazy  
    'I'm a little bit crazy.'

(43) Nûu tataattsitsi tsatiyasippûh.  
    I little bit hungry  
    'I'm a little bit hungry.'

(44) Setû kûttaappûh muiyaippûh; setû üppûtaippûh.  
    this really drunk this asleep-cmplt  
    'This one's really drunk; he's sound asleep.'

(45) Kûttaa tukwannitaippûh.  
    'It's really dark.'  
    really dark

(46) Nû kenûmûni napihyaapû.  
    'I'm very lazy.'  
    I very lazy

(47) Nû kenûmûni pasampûttsi.  
    'I'm very skinny.'  
    I very skinny
A delimiter also precedes the head. For example, compare 1, 28c, and the two sentences in 48.

(48) a. Tangummu utuu nati'iwantün tiyaitaippūhantū. 
    man just mean died
    'The man (who was) just mean died.'

b. Tangummū nati'iwantūn utuu tiyaitaippūhantū. 
    man mean just died
    'The mean man just died.'

Emphatic -nnu'u is an enclitic and always follows the adjective head of the phrase.

(49) Nu tukumpanapitta punikka, satu puhipi-nnu'u. 
    I sky see that blue emph
    'I see the sky, and it's certainly blue.'

(50) Nu pihyapi-nnu'u. 'I am truly weak.' 
    I weak emph

(51) Kahni pantū tuppapi-nnu'u. 
    house on-nom black emph
    'The top of the house is certainly black.'

Distancing -ppū is used in modification of human referents, and it is the same as the classificatory suffix used on human nouns to indicate distance (see 5.6 and 5.8). It indicates that the speaker has no empathy for whoever is being discussed. As the two sentences in 52 illustrate, it may be used along with intensifiers preceding the adjective.

(52) a. Satū kenūmūni yuhupippū! 'She's really fat!'
    That really fat-distance
b. Satu küttaa yuhupippu! 'She's really fat!' that really fat-distance

Contrastive püü is used in comparative constructions and is exemplified in 59.

Negative kee productively forms loosely knit phrasal compounds with adjectives. Many of them are lexicalized to one degree or another and are not unlike adjectives formed with the negative prefixes un- or in- in English. Usually the vowel of kee is shortened in these negative adjectives.

NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS
ke(e) iampu 'tame = not wild'
ke(e) kümappüh 'dull = not sharp'
ke(e) puttitün 'light = not heavy'
ke(e) tokwü 'wrong = incorrect, not right'
ke(e) tuttsaappüh 'clean = not dirty, unclean'
ke(e) tünangkatün 'deaf = not hearing'
ke(e) yawusü 'slow = not fast'

(53) Üü ke tokwi. 'You're wrong.'
you not right

(54) Üü ke tokwi yükki. 'You're doing (it) wrong.'
you not right do

In a few cases, kee is used with the adjectival verb rather than with the adjective itself (e.g., ke(g) küttaí 'be soft = not be hard' < kütta 'be hard' < kütta-ppuh 'hard').

A few adjectives are almost always used with an intransitive verb of position, or at least with the participle of one. For example, pa'apppu(tun) 'tall' and pa'atssi(ttsi) 'short' are nearly always used with wunu 'stand' or its present participle wunütün 'standing'; e.g.:
(55) Tangumû pa'appûh wûnûtû.
man tall standing
'The man is tall (standing).'

(56) Satû pa'appûh wûnûtû naatûantû.
that tall standing be-must
'He'll be tall (standing).'

(57) Tuinuppû pa'appûh wûnûwî'ah.
boy tall stand-inchoative
'The boy is getting (to stand) tall.'

(58) Tuinuppû pa'attsittsî wûnûtû naappûhantû.
boy short standing was
'The boy used to be short (standing).'

(59) Kapaayû piappûtû pa'appûh wûnû;
horse big tall stand
isapungku pa'attsittsî wûnûtu'm puû.
dog short standing emph

'Horses are big and (stand) tall,
but dogs are short (standing).'

The number of adjectives within a given adjective phrase is potentially unlimited. As the sentence in 59 suggests, adjectives may be sequenced within the adjective phrase without limit. However, there seems to be a strong tendency not to string more than two of them in a row in modifying phrases. When more than one attribute is expressed at a time, it is usually in a predicate with conjoined predicate adjectives, as in 60–61.
ADJECTIVES

(60) Tūpitsi yuhukantu sutū plantū sunaasu tu'upūh.
truly fat that big also cruel
'He is really fat, big, and also cruel.'

(61) Sutū pasampū tuhūtsi nūmūakantu sūnāasū
that skinny little body-have also
kee ookantu.
not strong

'He's skinny, has a little body, and isn't strong either.'

Adjective phrases may, thus, consist of the following kinds of elements: one or more adjective heads, one or more adverbials (such as a delimiter, intensifier, or negative) preceding the head, then an emphatic enclitic following the head adjective, and finally a delimiter adverbial after the head.

AP --> (Adv) Adj (-emph) (Adv)

I should note that I do not know the relative order of the various kinds of adverbials within the adjective phrase, since my notes contain no examples with more than one used at the same time.

6.6 COMPARATIVES

Semantically, comparative constructions involve comparing two different propositions that share something in common, such as the same adjectival notion. For example, in the English comparative construction

You are fatter than I am.
the main clause 'you are fatter' expresses a proposition containing the notion 'fat', and the comparative clause 'than I am [fat]' expresses another proposition containing the notion 'fat'. The clauses are linked together with markers of comparison, the suffix -er on 'fatter' plus the conjunction than, which specify the standard of comparison, 'I'. In many languages, comparative clauses are often reduced in form and different from main clauses. Thus, the comparative construction above could also take any one of the following forms:

You are fatter than me.
You are fatter than I.
You are fatter than I am fat.

The forms with 'than me' and 'than I' show further reduction than the first one above (i.e., 'than I am'), and 'than I am fat' sounds somewhat strange, in that it hasn't been reduced enough. In other words, it is typical of comparative constructions in most languages for repetitious elements to be omitted or gapped, although still understood, in one clause or the other. Usually, the shared notion is gapped in the comparative clause (e.g., 'fat' in all but the last example above).

Comparative constructions in Tümpisa Shoshone also display various degrees of reduction or gapping, as well as other changes from fuller, more complete constructions. Comparative constructions are built around three different markers of comparison, all of which are formally postpositions (see 5.3 and 5.4). The objects of these postpositions express the standard of comparison.
ADJECTIVES

MARKERS OF COMPARISON

kawi(ki)(tun) 'more than, bigger than; over'
wakakwa 'more than' < waka 'towards'
tukkwattsi 'less than, littler than' < tukkwa 'under'

The first two are used in positive comparison and are nearly synonymous, at least in their comparative function; the third is used for negative or lesser comparison.

The sentence in Tumpisa Shoshone most closely paralleling the English comparative construction above would be that in 62. Other similar ones are given in 63-65.

(62) Üü yuhupi nu wakakwa. 'You're fatter than me.'
you fat me more than

(63) a. Nuu yuhupi u wakakwa.
    I fat you-O more than
    'I'm fatter than you.'

b. Nuu piapputü u wakakwa.
    I big you-O more than
    'I'm bigger than you.'

c. Nuu pasampūttsi u wakakwa.
    I skinny you-O more than
    'I'm skinnier than you.'

(64) Nuu yuhupi ung kawiki; uu pasampūttsi.
    I fat you-O more than you skinny
    'I'm fatter than you; you're skinny.'

(65) Satu nu wakakwa kūttaa yuhupi.
    that me more than really fat
    'He's really fatter than me.'
In comparative constructions involving adjectives, only one of the adjectives may appear in the sentence; that is, one of them must be gapped. It is not certain which is gapped, the one in the main clause or the one in the comparative clause; perhaps it is a moot point. However, if 62-64 and 65 (along with 81) are compared, it is clear that the adjective expressing the notion being compared can come either before or after the postpositional phrase containing the marker and standard of comparison; e.g., both yuhupi nu wakakwa and nu wakakwa yuhupi mean 'fatter than me'. Thus, if one assumes the basic construction before gapping is something like

Comparative --> Subj + Adj + Obj + Comp Post + Adj

then it would seem that either the adjective of the main clause (the 1st one) or the adjective of the comparative clause (the 2nd one) may be gapped, so long as one of them is. That is, either

Comparative --> Subj + Obj + Comp Post + Adj \[= 65 \text{ and } 81\]
or

Comparative --> Subj + Adj + Obj + Comp Post \[= 62-64\]

Constructions of the second type seem to be the most common, with apparent gapping of the adjective in the comparative clause.

Comparative constructions can be reduced even further than those above. The only constituents necessarily present are the subject of the main clause and the postpositional phrase containing the comparative marker and standard; e.g.:

\[(66)\] Isapungku ma kawikitu naattua.  
dog it more than cat-o  
= bigger than  
'Dogs are bigger than cats.'
Comparative constructions may be reduced to such a degree because verbs are not necessary in stative sentences, and because the comparative markers themselves are not semantically neutral. In their unmarked forms—that is, when not used with adjectives—kawi(ktu) means not only 'more than' but also 'bigger than', and tukuwatti means not only 'less than' but also 'littler than' (see 69-75).

Verbs may also be used in comparative constructions, as in 69-76. Of course the copula naa" 'be' may be used to indicate tense and aspectual notions as in 69. But, wunu" is also normally used in comparisons of stature as in 70-75, and napunih 'look, appear' is used in comparisons of appearance, as in 76.

(67) Kapaayu ma kawikut isapungki.
      horse it more than dog-O
   'Horses are bigger than dogs.'

(68) Nuü üng kawiki ümmi. 'I'm bigger than you.'
      I you-O more than you-O

(69) Nuü üng kawiki naammi'a.
      I you-O more than be-get
   'I'm getting bigger than you.'

(70) Nuü üng kawiki wunnu ümmi.
      I you-O more than stand-dur you-O
   'I stand bigger than (= taller than) you.'

(71) Nuü üng kawiki wunnu ü wakakwa.
      I you-O more than stand-dur you more than
   'I'm taller than you.'

(72) Satu nü kawiki wunnu.
      that me more than stand-dur
   'That one's taller than me.'
(73) Nia üü nu tukkwatsti wunnu.
    me you me less than stand-dur
    'You stand less than (= are shorter) than me.'

(74) Nia satü nu tukkwatsti wunnu.
    me that me less than stand-dur
    'That one's shorter than me.'

(75) Nüü sohopimpüa má tukkwatsti wunnu.
    I cottonwood-O it less than stand-dur
    'I'm shorter than the cottonwood.'

(76) Nüü pa'appüh napunni ü wakakwa.
    I tall look-dur you-O more than
    'I look taller than you.'

Note that first and second person standards of comparison may be emphasized by being repeated, as in 68, 70, 73, and 74. The repeated pronouns are often fronted, as in 73 and 74, or moved to the end of the sentence, as in 68 and 70. In fact, the entire comparative postpositional phrase may be restated, as in 71, but in this case I am not sure what is being emphasized. First and second person singular subjects of the main clauses of comparative constructions always appear in their long emphatic forms, i.e., emphatic nüü and üü, not unemphatic nü and ü (see section 4.1).

Verbal notions may also be compared. In this type of comparative construction, the verbal notions in the main clause and the comparative clause are identical, but what is actually being compared is the degree of activity. Only one verb may appear in a verbal comparative construction; that of either the main clause or the comparative clause must be gapped. Thus, the only constituents necessarily present are the subject of the main clause, the postpositional phrase containing standard and marker of comparison, and a verb. Actually, comparatives of stature with wunnu" (e.g., 70-75 and
are formally verbal comparatives, even if notionally more like adjectival comparatives:

(77) Kapaayu u kawi nukwitū numi.
    horse him more than run-hab person-O
    'Horses run more than (= faster than) people.'

(78) Satu sohopimpúa ma tukkwatsti wūnnū.
    that cottonwood-O it less than stand-dur
    'That one stands less than (= is shorter than) the cottonwood.'

(79) Satū nu kawiki tükkatū; nūū pūū huūttsitsia
    that me more than eat-hab I emph little-O
    tükkatū.
    eat-hab

    'That one eats more than me; I myself eat (only) a little.'

Superlatives are formed by making noohakka 'anyone, everyone (obj)' the standard of comparison in the comparative postpositional phrase; e.g.:

(80) Kapaayu noohakka kawiki.
    horse anyone-O more than
    'Horses are the biggest.'

(81) Satu noohakka kawi yuhupi.
    that anyone-O more than fat
    'That one is the fattest.'
(82) Kapaayu kûttaa nukwitû, noohakka kawi
horse really run-hab anyone-O more than
nukwitû.
run-hab

'Horses really run, they run the most (= the fastest).'

Given the examples and discussion above, it is possible
to make a general statement about the basic constituent
structure of comparative constructions:

Comparative Construction --> Subj (Adj) (V) Obj Comp Post (Adj) (V)

In other words, a comparative construction must contain a
subject of the main clause and a comparative postpositional
phrase containing the marker of comparison, which is a
postposition such as wakakwa, kawi(kitun), or tukkwatwai, and
its object, which is the standard of comparison as well as the
notional subject of the comparative clause. Within either
clause there may optionally also be an adjective or verb, or
both. However, in the end there can be only one adjective and
one verb in the entire construction, so an adjective or verb
must be gapped in one clause. Most of the possibilities
stemming from this rule have already been illustrated, thus:

Subj [∗] + Obj + Comp Post = 66-68 and 80
Subj [∗] + Obj + Comp Post + Adj = 65 and 81
Subj [∗] + Obj + Comp Post + V = 69-75, 77-79, 82
Subj + Adj + Obj + Comp Post [∗] = 62-64
Subj + Adj + V + Obj + Comp Post [∗] = 76

Here [∗] indicates where gapping has occurred.
Note to Chapter 6

1. Adjectival or relative clauses, which function like modifying adjectives, are discussed in chapter 8, section 8.2.2.