The words grouped together as adverbs are the most diverse and heterogeneous category in Tumpisa Shoshone, as they are in most languages. There are many different kinds of adverbs, but they all seem to have two characteristics in common: (1) they normally are uninflected; and (2) they function as modifiers. Typically adverbs modify verbs and other kinds of predicates, but some modify adjectives as well as other adverbs, and some modify entire sentences or clauses. Different types are distinguished by the various kinds of adverbial notions they express. Adverbs may express notions of time and aspect (7.1), place or location (7.2), manner or process (7.3), and mood or attitude (7.4). There are also adverbs that delimit (7.5), intensify (7.6), and emphasize (7.7). Adverbs are also used to indicate negation, affirmation, and interrogation (7.8).

Of course, adverbial notions are typically expressed by adverbs, but in addition they may also be expressed by nouns functioning as adverbials, especially nouns indicating time or place. Postpositional phrases also productively express adverbial notions, and so do several kinds of subordinate clauses (see 5.3 and 5.4 on postpositional phrases and 8.2.1 on adverbial clauses). Little adverbial words are often referred to grammatically as particles (e.g., "the negative particle"). Interjections, though not technically adverbs, are also discussed in this chapter (section 7.9).
7.1 TIME AND ASPECT

A good many adverbs express notions of time. Some indicate when something happens (e.g., kuntu 'yesterday'); others indicate temporal notions in conjunction with aspecural notions, such as frequency (e.g., noohimpe 'always') and duration (e.g., noon 'awhile'). Even though there are quite a few time adverbs, the subclass seems to be closed, novel temporal notions being productively expressed primarily by time adverbial clauses (see 8.2.1). A number of time adverbs end in one of the three adverbial suffixes: -sū, -ni, and -wani.

**TIME ADVERBS**

- awisū: 'later'
- imaa ≈ nimaa: 'tomorrow, morning'
- imaaasū: 'early in the morning'
- imaa yuwicka: 'tomorrow night'
- keesū(sū): 'not yet'
- kükkuntu(sū): 'day before yesterday'
- kuntu(sū): 'yesterday'
- kuntu tukwakka(sū): 'last night'
- miikkwa ≈ miikkwa: 'now, today'
- munangkwa: 'last year, year before'
- noohimpe ≈ noohompe: 'always'
- noon ≈ nuun: 'awhile' durative
- pinnangkasu imaa: 'day after tomorrow'
- pinnasu: 'again, some more' repetitive
- pue: 'already, soon, now, ready, about to'
- pue sū(sū) ≈ puetusū: 'long ago'
- tahma: '(in the) spring'
- tahmani: 'in the springtime'
- tape: '(in the) day'
- tapeni: 'at noon, in the afternoon'
- tapewani: 'in the daytime'
tatsa  'in the) summer'
tatsawani  'in the summertime'
tommo  '(in the/for a) winter;
(for a) year'
tommono  '(for a) year'
tomowani  'in the wintertime'
tukwanni  '(at) night, last night; in the dark'
= tukwawani
ukwapasū  'once in a while, sometimes'
ukkwa  'at the time of; when, if'
upenisū  'right away; too quickly'
ūkū(sū)  'already, now, after while'
ūkusū ukkwa  'after while, a little later'
ūkūttsi(ttsi)  'a little while ago'
yūpāni  '(in the) fall, autumn'
yūwikka  '(in the) evening, tonight'

A number of example sentences with time adverbs are given in 1-12. Time adverbs typically occur either at the end of the sentence (e.g., 2, 4, and 5), or in second position after the first word in the sentence, which is usually the subject or some other adverbial (e.g., 1, 6, 8, 9, and 12). Second and final positions are the more neutral positions for time adverbs. When they appear initially (e.g., 3, 7, 10, and 11), they are emphatic or contrastive.

(1) Nū ima ko'epittunnui.
I tomorrow return-arrive-will
'I'll be back tomorrow.'

(2) Nūu tuupūkkappūhantū kuntu ukkwah.
I was angry yesterday when
'I was mad (when it was) yesterday.'
(3) Miikka annappa u wükkatünkütü'ih.
    now each other-on it stack-will
    'Now I'll stack them on top of each other.'

(4) Tammu piiya hipinna miikka.
    we(inc) beer drink now
    'We're drinking beer now.'

(5) Nummu sakkuh kahnikantü tatsawani.
    we(exc) there dwell in the summertime
    'We live there in the summertime.'

(6) Nummu tommo sukkwuh kahnikantü.
    we(exc) winter there dwell
    'We live there in the winter.'

(7) Noohimpe Pisippüh ka mi'atü sutü.
    always Bishop to go that
    'He always goes to Bishop.'

(8) Nummu noohompe sukkwuh kahnikantü.
    we(exc) always there dwell
    'We always live there.'

(9) Noowitsa noong katü u pantü nangkawih.
    hopefully awhile sit it about talk
    'Hopefully, he'll sit and talk about it awhile.'

(10) Pinnasu Tonia pittuhunnuha tammu hipittainna.
     again Tony-O return-sub we(inc) get drunk
     'If Tony comes back again, we'll get drunk.'

(11) Pue tukwanni naakinna.
     already dark get
     'It's already getting dark.'
Time adverb proforms are pronominal adverbs that may substitute for more specific time adverbial expressions. The proforms are composed of one of the demonstrative-locative bases su- or sa- (see 4.3) plus the postposition -pe'e 'time', which is only used with the demonstrative-locative bases, not on nouns or pronouns. The time proforms may also take one of the adverbial suffixes -sū or -nā.

TIME PROFORMS

-pe'e(sū) ≈ -pe'eni 'time'
supe'e(sū) ≈ supe'eni 'that time; then'
sape'e(sū) ≈ supe'eni 'that time long ago; then'

The proforms apparently occur in the same positions as regular time adverbs, and they are often used along with them.

(13) Supe'esū sutūmmū wihnu kawai yukwikwa.
that time those then rat-O go after
'Then that time they went after rats.'

(14) Nūmmū na'ungwatai supe'e wihnu.
we be rained on that time then
'We were rained on that time then.'

(15) Pūesū sape'esū nūmū pungkupaimmippuhantu.
long ago that time we(exc) horse-used to have
'Long ago at that time we used to have horses.'
(16) Nian nappu naappuhantu sukkwuh tutuaimmi sukkwuh
my father was there working there
üattūah ka, sape'esū ukkwah.
ranch at that time long ago at the time of

'My father was there working on a ranch at that
time long ago.'

7.2 PLACE ADVERBS

The most typical means in Tumpisa for expressing
adverbial notions of place are locative postpositional phrases
(see 5.4). However, a number of place adverbs also express
location, often along with direction. The postposition
nangkwa 'toward' is used semiproductively to form place
adverbs, somewhat like the suffix -ward(s) in English (e.g.,
tapenangkwa 'eastward' < tape 'sun').

PLACE ADVERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
<td>'in sight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antappu</td>
<td>'elsewhere'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kappinnangkwa(tün)</td>
<td>'outside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwinaweppuh</td>
<td>'(to the) north'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwinawennangkwa(tün)</td>
<td>'northward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maanangkwatün</td>
<td>'on the other side'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manakwappuh</td>
<td>'far away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'an</td>
<td>'up, high'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| pahannai              | 'down (towards place thought of)'
| pange                 | 'up, high'                   |
| pittannangkwa         | 'southward'                  |
| pittannai             | 'southward'                  |
| pittappu              | '(to the) south'            |
| pittsu'unangkwa       | 'straight downward, nadiral' |
| tapenangkwa           | 'eastward'                   |
Place adverbs, like time adverbs, may occur initially in the sentence (e.g., 17) or in second position (18-20), or after the verb, though not necessarily in final position (cf. 21-22). When both time and place adverbs occur in the same clause, the place adverbs are normally positioned closer to the verb than the time adverbs (see 6, 8, 16, and 21).

(17) Kappinnangkwatu katunnuwitu hipittsittsi.
outside sit-around old lady
'The old lady sat around outside.'

(18) Isapappu pange miatu u tu takuttiyaitaihwa.
Coyote up going it through thirst-died
'Coyote going up through there died of thirst.'

(19) Nuu tupiinga happi. 'I'm lying in the middle.'
I middle lie-dur

(20) Paliina unai puu tosuwe'e!
Pauline this way emph face
'Pauline, face this way!'

(21) Supe'e u yaakkii pahannai sutu wihnu.
that time it bring down that then
'That time he brought it down then.'

(22) Sohopimpu ma nuu katu tu notoppaha ntunaa.
cottonwood on I sitting climb down
'I was sitting on the cottonwood and climbed down.'
(23) Noo mi'a antappu noo mi'a, kee kahni ka
should go elsewhere should go not house at
katükkantû!
sit-stv

'You should go elsewhere, you ought to go, and
don't sit by the house!' 

Several different place adverb proforms may substitute
for specific place adverbs or locative postpositional phrases.
Place adverb proforms are composed of one of the
demonstrative-locative bases plus one of four different
locative postpositional stems.

PLACE PROFORMS

-kkuh ≈ -kkih 'in a defined specific area'
ikkih ≈ sikkih 'right here'
ekkih ≈ sekkih 'hereabouts'
akkuh ≈ sakkuh 'there'
uukuh ≈ sukkuh 'there yonder out of sight'

-nep ≈ -nip 'in a loosely defined area out of sight'
ipi" ≈ sipi" 'right here someplace'
epi" ≈ sepi" 'hereabouts someplace'
api" ≈ sape" 'there someplace'
upi" ≈ supe" 'there yonder someplace'

pan ≈ pa'an 'on, in, at an area'
hakapan ≈ hakapa'an 'where'
(s)ipan ≈ (s)ipa'an 'right here'
(s)epan ≈ (s)epa'an 'here'
(s)apan ≈ (s)apa'an 'there'
(s)upan ≈ (s)upa'an 'there yonder'
-ttun ≈ -ttuh (≈ tun) 'through an area'

-ittun ≈ sittun 'through here'
ettun ≈ settun 'through around here'
attn ≈ sattun 'through there'
uttun ≈ suittun 'through there yonder'

The two stems -kkuh (≈ -kkih) and -~ (≈ -~) are only used with the demonstrative-locative bases, never with nouns or pronouns. The other two, pan (≈ pa'an) and -ttun, are used with nouns and pronouns, but in the case of -ttun, a slightly different form, tun, is used with nouns and pronouns. As the reader may have noticed, the variants of -kkuh and -~ with i (i.e., -kkih and -~) are used with the demonstrative-locative bases having front vowels. Pan may occur in its other paradigmatic forms (e.g., pantun as in 26; see 5.4).

Place adverb proforms occur in the same positions as other place adverbs.

(24) Aa akkuh sakkuh wunnü.
in sight there there stand-dur
'She is standing over there in sight.'

(25) Tammu tuppanna yaakwantu'ih epetti
we(inc) pinenut-O go get-will hereabouts-emph
himpukti kwinawennangkatunna.
someplace-emph northward

'We'll go get pinenuts here someplace up north!'

(26) Tukopoyo'ittsi pahannai ipantu napakkataiwha.
kingbird down here was killed
'Kingbird was killed down here.'
(27) Sutū suttum mi'akoppūhantū.
that through there went-around
'He went around through there.'

(28) Usū supe'e ung kimmakippūh pūū,
that is that time him come-sub emph
attū ung kimmakippūh pūū.
there-through him come-sub emph
'It was then that he came, that he came through there.'

There is a certain amount of agreement between demonstrative subjects and proform place adverbs. Generally speaking, the demonstratives and proforms must agree in terms of their respective demonstrative-locative bases indicating relative distance. For example, compare the sentences in 29; 29a-d are fine, but 29e-f are thought to be odd, if not ungrammatical, because the demonstratives and adverbs have different demonstrative-locative bases.

(29) a. Sitū ikkih wūnnū.
this right here stand-dur
'This one's standing right here.'

b. Setū sekkih wūnnū.
this here stand-dur
'This one's standing here.'

c. Satū akkuh wūnnū.
that there stand-dur
'That one's standing there.'
7.3 MANNER ADVERBS

Adverbial notions of manner have to do with the way in which an activity occurs or how it happens. Tumpisa Shoshone has fairly rich grammatical mechanisms for expressing manner and related processual notions. Instrumental prefixes appended to many verbs (see 3.2.1.2 and 5.3) indicate not only the instrument used in performing an activity, but also in many cases the manner in which it is done. Postpositional phrases are common means for expressing the way in which something occurs. Those built on the two postpositions ni and wae express manner directly, and those built on ma specify the instrument (see 5.3). In addition, there are a number of manner adverbs indicating how something happens.

MANNER ADVERBS

anna" "together"
annakkapan "all together"
annamman "together, with each other"
annappan "on top of each other"
annappakangku "equally, in equal parts"
antappu "askew, different, weird, wrong; else"
attapusú "different(ly)"
himpin    'backward'
kee so'o    'not enough, insufficiently'
kee yawusu    'slowly, not fast'
kesanumu    'as intended, as planned, positively'
kūtaan ≈ kūtaappūh    'hard, very'
muppeppu    'upside down, on one's belly'
nahman    'together (dual)'
nanakapan    'intermingled'
napakangku    'in half, equally'
pa'atami    'upside down, backward, on one's back'
pinnangkwa(sū)    'last, behind'
so'o    'a lot, so much, too much, enough'
sūmmisi    'same'
sūmutūwasi    'all together'
sūngkweppūh    'on one's side'
sūūpasū    'apart, separately, set off'
toki"    'right, correct(ly), enough'
tūttsūppū(tūppū)h    'funny, strange(ly), weird(ly)'
tsoa(sū)    'well, good'
upakattsi    'only a little'
upenisū    'too quickly, right away'
yawusū    'fast, quickly, in a hurry'
wūkitukkwan    'back and forth sideways'

Adverbs of manner tend to occur immediately before the verb (e.g., 30–36 and 38–43), or immediately before the verb and a proclitic object pronoun (e.g., 37), and they seem to be more closely connected with the verb than most other adverbs.

(30) Nūu tosakkahni annamma yuniinna.
    I tent together put(pl)
'I'm putting (the pieces of) the tent together.'
(31) Atammupi annitaisu antappu happi.
   car  crashed-result askew  lie-dur
   'The car crashed and so is lying askew.'

(32) Na ke so'o tükkatsünna.
    I  not enough eat-neg  
    'I didn't eat enough.'

(33) Atū wa'ippu nühaikatütü tsao hupiatüki.
    that woman  making basket  well sing
    'That woman making baskets sings well.'

(34) Üü tokwi yükkiw.  'You're doing (it) right.'
    you right do-dur

(35) Huuwattattsi wükitukkwa mi'akominna.
    boat  back and forth  go-iterative
    'The boat is going back and forth sideways.'

(36) Kesanumu tامam  nanakapai naakkantu.
    as intended  we(inc)  intermingled be-stv
    'As intended, we are all intermingled.'

(37) Yawusu ma tükkahwa sutu.  'He ate it quickly.'
    quickly it ate  that

As with time and place adverbs, there are manner adverb proforms. One manner proform, summi 'thus, so, that', is used with verbs that indicate something about thinking and speaking. In fact, a number of thinking and speaking verbs nearly always occur with a manner adverbial of one form or another (e.g., yukwi' ~ yuuki' 'say', suwa' 'want, think, feel', suwaï 'think about, intend'). If a specific adverb is not overtly expressed, then summi seems to be virtually obligatory.
311 ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

(38) Sämätë nia sümìi teewingkëppûhantë.  
(some)one me thus told  
'Someone told me something.'

(39) Selë otammanìi sëttäisë sümìi yëkwëtë pëtü!  
this old man went away thus saying emph  
'This old man went away saying that!'

(40) Nëë sümìi suwàinna.  
I thus think about  
'I'm thinking about (doing) something.'

Manner proforms used with verbs other than those indicating notions of thinking and saying are composed of a demonstrative-locative base plus one of the two postpositions -nëni or wa'e(së). (-Nëni has the alternate form nì when used on nouns and pronouns.) A number of active verbs also virtually require some sort of manner adverb, or at least a manner proform (e.g., nukwi" 'do, happen', yëkwëi" ≈ yëkwëi" 'do, make, go after, get').

MANNER PROFORMS

-nëni ≈ nì 'way, like, in the manner of'  
hakanìi(yun) 'how (is it); what'  
inìì ≈ sinnìì 'this way, like this'  
enìì ≈ sennìì 'this way, like this'  
anìì ≈ sannìì 'that way, like that'  
unìì ≈ sunìì 'that way, like that'

wa'e(së) 'same as, the same way as'  
siwa'e(së) 'this very same way'  
sewa'e(së) 'this same way'  
sawa'e(së) 'that same way'  
suwa'e(së) 'that same way'
Note the commonly occurring contractions:

- \[ \text{sinni} + \text{nukwi} \rightarrow \text{sinnukwi} \] 'do like this'
- \[ \text{senni} + \text{nukwi} \rightarrow \text{sennukwi} \] 'do like this'
- \[ \text{sanni} + \text{nukwi} \rightarrow \text{sannukwi} \] 'do like that'
- \[ \text{sunni} + \text{nukwi} \rightarrow \text{sunnukwi} \] 'do like that'

(41) Kawa sunnukwi; enni utummi ma'omminna.

\[ \text{rat (like that)-do like this those-O push-iterative} \]
\[ \text{'The rat did like that; he pushed them away like this.'} \]

(42) Nia sunni nukwingkuppůhantů sutů.

\[ \text{me that way do for-past that} \]
\[ \text{'He did it (= that way) for me.'} \]

(43) Hakani yukwinna uu? --

\[ \text{how (= what) do you} \]
\[ \text{Nūū sennukwikkatū, nūū nūmū natiingwanna.} \]
\[ \text{I this way-do-sit I Indian learn} \]
\[ \text{'What are you doing?' --} \]
\[ \text{'I'm sitting doing this (way); I'm learning Indian.'} \]

(44) Siwa' e sutů yukwinna.

\[ \text{this-same way that do} \]
\[ \text{'That one's doing (it) this same way.'} \]

7.4 MODALS

Modal adverbs indicate the mood or attitude of the speaker with respect to the certainty, probability, or veracity of what is being said. Tûmpisa Shoshone expresses mood primarily with adverbs and has only a couple of modal auxiliary verbs (e.g., suwan 'want, need' and -mmúih 'can't';
see 3.1.5), although mood is also expressed by several verbal suffixes (e.g., -tuhantun obligative, -hi dubitative, and -kon certainitive; see 3.1.1 and 3.1.3). The modal adverbs that have been recorded are given below.

**MODAL ADVERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hai</td>
<td>'possibly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiipinna</td>
<td>'definitely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kian</td>
<td>'might, could'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mii</td>
<td>'it is said, they say' quotative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naahi</td>
<td>'might, may' dubitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noo</td>
<td>'should, ought to' obligative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nootunga</td>
<td>'probably, maybe, perhaps'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nootunga ...kee</td>
<td>'probably not, maybe not'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noowitsa</td>
<td>'hopefully' optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinnawitsa</td>
<td>'hopefully' optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>süupa</td>
<td>'maybe, perhaps'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokwisi</td>
<td>'really, truly; right (in agreement)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witsa</td>
<td>'possibly, might, would'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quotative particle *mii* is normally used immediately following direct quotes (e.g., 45) or after generally accepted truths which people talk about (e.g., 46). The dubitative modal *naahi* always follows the verb of the clause in which it occurs (e.g., 47). The other modal adverbs typically occur in sentence or clause initial position (e.g., 23, and 48-51), but they may also occur in second position (e.g., 52-54) after the subject or other adverbials.

(45) "Tuwittsi sepa'a pitühi," mii yükkwí.
young man here arrive quote say
"A young man is arriving here," it is said, he said."
(46) Tūmpisakkatū kūttaa ụtūinna mii.  
Death Valley-at-nom really be hot quote  
'They say Death Valley is really hot.'

(47) Nūū hipitu'ihi naahi. 'I might drink.'  
I drink-will might

(48) Pinnawitsa satūmmū mi'akwasū.  
hopefully those go-away-result  
'Hopefully, they'll go away.'

(49) Nōo sitū ma tūkkappūh.  
should this it eat-perf  
'She should have eaten it.'

(50) Nootunga kee ko'esinai'ihi sutū.  
probably not return-neg-motion that  
'He probably won't come back.'

(51) Süūpa u kuttimmaa. 'Maybe he shot it.'  
maybe it shot

(52) Üū ha tokwisi üū miattaihwantu'ihi?  
you Q really you go away-going to  
'Are you really going to go away?'

(53) Hakani kiai mukuapa'i?  
what could mind-have  
'What (kind of) a mind could he have?'
(54) Hakatü witsa ma tiyoi ümatünna ekka?
who possibly it send away rain-0 this-0

-- Hakatü witsa tünahakantü ma tiyoi
whoever possibly rheumatism-have it send away

ümatünna ekka.
rain-0 this-0

'Who would possibly send the rain away?'
-- 'Whoever has rheumatism would send the rain away.' [joke]

7.5 DELIMITERS

Delimiters are adverbs that explicitly indicate the scope of what is being talked about. They may restrict the scope of what is in focus or augment it (cf. 'only' versus 'also').

DELIMITERS

nanah 'just, only'
noo 'some, any' indefinite
pinna 'aforementioned'
pinnasu 'some more; again'
sampe 'some, any' indefinite
tunga ≈ tungwa 'also, too'
utuku ≈ utuu 'only, just'

Noo and sampe always occur in compounds with other stems, either interrogative or adverbial. In these compounds, noo always precedes the other stem, while sampe always follows it (e.g., noohakatün and hakatü sampe, both meaning 'someone, anyone, whoever' < hakatün 'who'; see 4.5 on indefinite pronouns for more examples). Nanah also apparently only occurs in compounds preceding other stems (e.g., nanahapantün
'intermingled' < kapan(tun) 'among'). I haven't recorded enough examples of the other delimiters to determine with any degree of certainty their normal positions of occurrence. In the examples I have, utuku occurs immediately before the entities in the sentence that it restricts in scope, while tunga occurs after the entities it augments in scope.

stay that aforementioned stay that
'The aforementioned stayed?' -- 'He stayed.'

(56) Pinnasú tammú piiya ponookwantu'ih.
some more we(inc) beer fetch-go to
'We'll go get some more beer.'

(57) Nú tūpunippühantú, setú utuku pūu ûmanna.
I woke up this just emph rain
'I woke up, and it was just raining!'

(58) Antsippú u ma'i mi'amí'appühantú,
Angie her with went around
kee sutú tūngą pūsún tūngা? Numúppú ma'i tūngwa.
not that also already also Indian with also

'He went around with Angie, isn't that also so, also awhile back? He also was with Indians.'

7.6 INTENSIFIERS

Intensifiers amplify or diminish the effect of some constituent in the sentence, especially the verb or predicate.
INTENSIFIERS

kenūmuni 'really, very'
kūtaan = kūtaappuh 'really, very'
noosampe 'almost'
tataattsi(ttsi) 'a little (bit)'
tunaan 'too much, excessively, extremely'
tūpitsi 'truly, really, very'

Intensifiers tend to be positioned immediately before the verb (or stative predicate), as in 59-61. But, as 62 and 63 illustrate, they may be separated from the verb by the subject and other adverbial constituents.

(59) Nūmmū na'ūma, sukkwh na'nūmū kenūmuni
     na'nūmannā nūmmū.
     'We were rained on, we relatives were really rained
     on there.'

(60) Nū kūttaappuh uppūikkommi.
     I very sleep-result-iterative
     'I'm very sleepy (for some reason).'  

(61) Tataatstī nūekkinna. 'It's blowing a little.'
     a little blow-hither

(62) Nū noosampe pasakūng kātū naaha.
     I almost bridge at be-stv
     'I am almost at the bridge.'
(63) Tunaa nūū tuupūkkā'ippūhhantū.
     extremely I get angry-iterative-past
     'I got extremely angry.'

(64) Sutū kūttaa yawūsū nangkawih.
     that really fast talk
     'She talks really fast.'

More examples of intensifiers are found in section 6.5 of the last chapter (e.g. 42-52).

7.7 EMPHATICS

Emphatics in Tumpisa are enclitic particles that express strong rhetorical emphasis about the constituents that they follow. They may indicate not only emphasis but also contrastiveness and insistence.

EMPHATICS

-nnu'u used with V, Adj
puū used with NP, N, Prn, Dem, clauses
ti used with N, Prn, Dem, Post
tsa used with N

How the emphatics differ from each other in meaning or function is not clear. In my data they do not all occur with the same kinds of constituents, but that may be due to a lacuna in the data. Examples of each of the emphatics are given in 65-75.

(65) Nūū ummī wūppaihwā-nnu'u!
     I you-O slap emph
     'I'm going to slap you!'
(66) Tukumpanapi puhipi-nnu'u!
  sky  blue  emph
  'The sky is (really) blue!'

(67) Tangummu utu püü!
  man  that  emph
  'What about that man?' = 'And that man?'

(68) Nummu püü! 'What about us?' = 'And us?'
  we(exc)  emph

(69) Supe'e kaakki yütsükominna, usu püü ukkwah!
  then  crow  fly-around  that  is  emph  time  of
  'Then crow flew all around, that's how it
  was at that time!'

(70) Satu sunni yukwitü naamnaa püü:
  that  that  way  do  was  emph
  'It really was that she would do (it) like that!'

(71) Mümü appü ti utu satu!
  your(pl)  father  emph  that  that
  'That's you-all's father!'

(72) U kuppan ti epe-tti sutü!
  her  inside  emph  here-emph  that
  'That was inside of her here!'

(73) Nummu ti tunga mi'appühantu tunaa ape himpuka!
  we  emph  also  went  down  there  someplace
  'We also went down there someplace.'

(74) Hakka no'apükkanükütaï? Numi ti!
  whom  impregnate-cmpit  human-O  emph
  'Who did he [a dog] get pregnant?' = 'A human!'
7.8 NEGATIVE, AFFIRMATIVE, AND INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES

Four adverbial particles have extremely important functions in the grammar of Tümpisa Shoshone, since they explicitly mark the crucial distinctions between negation, affirmation, and interrogation.

- **Kee** = **Ke** general negative 'no(t), don't, didn't'
- **Haa'a** general affirmative 'yes, right'
- **Ahaa** general agreement 'uh-huh, right'
- **Ha** general interrogative

Kee appears in all negative clauses, with a long vowel if emphatic or a short vowel if unemphatic. Haa'a marks explicit affirmation of a proposition, and both haa'a and ahaa mark explicit agreement with other discourse participants. Ha is used in questions requiring a haa'a 'yes' or kee 'no' answer.

The general negative particle, kee, has already been discussed and illustrated in chapter 2 (section 2.3.1), but a little more is said about it here. When kee negates the entire clause, it typically occurs in second position following the subject (e.g., 76-81) or another adverbial (e.g., 82). If a constituent that normally does not occur in initial position is fronted to the beginning of the sentence, like the direct object in 83, then the negative particle appears further towards the middle of the sentence, after both the fronted constituent and the subject.

(76) Nu ke ti'iwasiina. 'I'm not afraid.'
I not be afraid-neg
The negative particle may occur in clause-initial position under a number of circumstances. For example, when subjects are postposed to the end of the clause as in 84 and 85, kee is normally initial. When subjects have been elided, then kee stands in initial position, as in the imperative in 88, or when the subjects are old information (e.g., 89 and 90). And finally, kee occasionally occurs in initial position without any obvious reason (e.g., 86 and 87); perhaps in such cases it is emphatic.
(84) Kee namokkupühkantu satu.
not money-have that
'He doesn't have any money.'

(85) Kee mi'asinna sutu, sekkih sutu.
not go-neg that here that
'He didn't go, he's here.'

(86) Kee nüu naaiyangwipitta pusikwatu.
not I handgame-0 know-hab
'I don't know (how to play) handgame.'

(87) Kee nüu nangka pusikwa.
not I hear understand
'I don't understand (what I) hear.'

(88) Kee so'o nangkawihontü'ih!
not so much talk-indef-fut
'Don't talk so much!'

(89) Ke u punisihappuhantu.
'(He) didn't see it.'
not it see-neg-stv-past

(90) Nummu sape namiangkutaippuhantu
we(exc) there were sent
kee nangkawitü ukkwah kee mitükkaannangkawitü
not speak-hab when not English-speak-hab

ukkwah, himpükä puü.
when somewhere emph

'We were sent there, there someplace, when (we)
didn't speak, when (we) didn't speak English.'
Tense and aspect marking on verbs in negative clauses is somewhat different from that in declaratives. There is a strong tendency for verbs in negative clauses to take either the negative adverbial suffix -sin (~ -tsin) or the final habitual suffix -tun (e.g., the sentences in 76-82, 85-86, and 89-90; see 3.1.1 on tense and aspect verb suffixes and 3.1.3 on adverbial verb suffixes). Verbs with -sin (~ -tsin) alone or with -sin (~ -tsin) plus the general aspect and tense suffix -nna are interpreted as past or present imperfect, meaning that the activity denoted by the verb has not occurred yet (e.g., 76-78, 80-81, and 85). However, if -sin (~ -tsin) is followed by the perfective suffix -ppuh or by the past tense suffix -ppuhantun, then of course the interpretation is completive or past (e.g., 82 and 89). Verbs in negative clauses with (declarative) habitual -tun typically are interpreted as past tense (!) rather than habitual (e.g., 79), although they may have a habitual interpretation, given the appropriate context (e.g., 86).

Nevertheless, despite the tendency for verbs in negative clauses to take -sin (~ -tsin) or -tun, they are not obliged to do so (e.g., 87 and 88).

When kee negates a particular constituent within the clause, it occurs immediately before it, as in 91-93. In fact, in many constructions of this kind kee has been lexicalized, forming compounds with following stems (e.g., 92 and 93; see also the many compounds listed in the Tumpisa Dictionary (Dayley 1989) under kee.

(91) Satü kee nümükahontu wunnu.
    that not moving stand-dur
    'He's standing (still), not moving.'

(92) Keehippuh tsoapittsi.
    no-thing ghost
    'There are no ghosts.' = 'Ghosts are nothing.'
(93) Nū keehinna punitu. 'I saw nothing.'
I no-thing-o see

The affirmative particles *haa'a* and *ahaa* apparently always occur in sentence initial position, as illustrated in 94-97.

(94) Haa'a, nū naaiyangwipitta pusikwatū.
yes I handgame-O know
'Yes, I know (how to play) handgame.'

(95) "Haa'a," mii ningwūnū an nawiammu.
yes quot say(pl) her girls
"Yes," her girls said.'

(96) Haa'a, nū sukkwa tunakappuhantū.
yes I that-O tasted
'Yes, I tasted that.'

(97) "Ahaa," ningwūnū sutummu. "Uh-huh," they said.'
uh-huh say(pl) those

The interrogative particle *ha* virtually always occurs in second position in the sentence, as an enclitic typically after the subject (e.g., 98-103), but also after any other constituent in initial position, such as the adverb in 104 (see other interrogative sentences containing *ha* in 2.3.2, 108-116).

(98) Sutū ha ún tukkwa? 'Is it under you?'
that Q you under

(99) Sutū ha kahni pa'a? 'Is it on the house?'
that Q house on
(100) Ḿu Ḥa ūtūnna? 'Are you hot?'
you Q be hot

(101) Satūmmu ha taona ka miakkwantu'ih?
those Q town to go-will
'Are they going to town?'

(102) Mungku ha pungki punikkammaa?
you(dl) Q horse-O saw
'Did you two see the horse?'

(103) Mummu ha namo'okoitsoimmaa?
you(pl) Q hand-washed
'Did you all wash your hands?'

(104) Epi ha ūm pinnangkwa? 'Is it here behind you?'
here Q you behind

In questions, the past tense suffix -mmaah is used on verbs much more frequently than the other past tense suffix -ppuhantun, which is more common in declaratives.

7.9 INTERJECTIONS AND GREETINGS

As their name indicates, Interjections interject or intrude into the discourse, and they normally express emotion. They are usually isolated syntactically from other words and phrases that may precede or follow them.

INTERJECTIONS

aa ≈ oo 'Oh'
ahaa 'Uh-huh'
ataa ≈ atatata 'Ouch!'
attuttuttu 'Ouch!'
aattsaa ≈ ūtttsaa 'Nasty! Awful!'
Despite the fact that they may be unconnected syntactically, many interjections are important discourse markers or signals that play an indispensable role in maintaining interaction in conversations (see 10.6).

Greetings are formulaic expressions used in stereotypical situations. They are often grammatically irregular or defective in some way. Some greetings and their respective possible responses follow.

GREETINGS

(105) Hakaniyu?
be how

-- Tsawinnuh.
be good

'How is it (going)?' = 'Hi! Hello!'
-- 'It's o.k.'

(106) Hakaniyu üü? ≈ Üü hakaniyu puü?
be how you be how emph

-- Nüü tsao nasungkwa'anna.
I well feel

-- Nüü tsawinnuh.
I be good
'How are you?'
-- 'I feel fine.'
-- 'I'm good.'

(107) Tsao tūpuninna!
well wake up

-- Nū tsao hapinnusi.
I well lay

-- Nū tsao uppūnnusi.
I well slept

'Wake up well!' = 'Good morning!'
-- 'I lay well.'
-- 'I slept well.'

(108) Kattū'ihantu!
sit-dur-iterative-stv
'(Come in and) sit awhile!'
[said when someone is approaching house]

(109) Nū mi'akwantu'ih
I go-going to
'I'm going to go away.' = 'Goodbye.'

(110) Nū noohimpe üm puninnuhi.
I always you-o see-will
'I'll always see you.' = 'See you (later).'

(111) Ün nangkian nuhuttsi!
your ear's fat-diminutive
'Little fat of your ear!' = 'Thank you!'
The expression for 'thank you' (111) is primarily used in Nevada, although known in Death Valley. The greeting about the ghost (112) is primarily used among men—as one might surmise.

A few other more or less formulaic expressions are given in 113-122. They are important expressions about naming and calling.

(113) a. Hakami natüpinniahantu satu?
   how be called that
   'What's that called?'

   b. "Tapettsi" natüpinniahantu.
   sun be called
   'It's called "sun".'

(114) a. Etu hakami natüpinniahantu?
   this how be called
   'What's this called?'

   b. Etu "piiya" natüpinniahantu.
   this beer be called
   'This is called "beer".'

(115) a. Hakami natüpinniahantu mitükkaano?
   how be called English
   'What's it called in English?'

   b. Coke natüpinniahantu. 'It's called "Coke".'
   be called
(116) a. Hakami natūpinniahantu house?
    how be called
    'How do they say "house"?'

    b. "Kahni" natūpinniahantu.
    house be called
    'It's called "house".'

(117) a. Hakami nihakantu? 'What's its name?'
    how name-have

    b. "Mokottsi" nihakantu. 'Its name is "bag".'
    bag name-have

(118) a. Hakami nihakantu setu?
    how name-have this
    'What's this one's name?'

    b. "Paa" nihakantu. 'Its name is "water".'
    water name-have

(119) a. Hakami naniyahantu? 'How is it named?'
    how be named

    b. "Tapettsi" naniyahantu. 'It's named "sun".'
    sun be named

(120) a. Uu hakami natūpinniahantu?
    you how be called
    'What're you called?'

    b. Nuu Jon natūpinnianna. 'I'm called "Jon".'
    I be called
c. Nütsumi natüpinniahantü "Memmi".
   I thus be called Mamie
   'I'm called "Mamie".'

(121) a. Üü hakami nihakantü?  'What's your name?'
    you how name-have
b. Nüt "Memmi" nihakantü.  'My name is "Mamie".'
    I Mamie name-have

(122) a. Hakami naniyahantü üü?  'What are you named?'
    how be named you
b. Nütsumi naniyahanna Jon.  'I'm named "Jon".'
    I thus be named

Note to Chapter 7

1. One might expect forms like *sipe'e and *sepe'e for 'this time', but they do not occur. For 'this time' one could say supe'e miikka, literally 'that time now'.