COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION

Up to this point I have been discussing words, phrases, and simple sentences, but have avoided mentioning more complex syntactic constructions. This chapter is about sentences composed of more than one clause. Section 8.1 is on the coordination of clauses and phrases, and section 8.2 on the subordination of one clause to another.

8.1 COORDINATION

Coordination is the connection or conjoining of two or more grammatical elements of the same type in order to form a larger constituent of the same kind. For example, two or more sentences may be conjoined to form a larger sentence; similarly, noun phrases may be conjoined, forming larger noun phrases, and verb phrases may be connected to form larger verb phrases. Normally, constituents of different kinds are not conjoined. Coordination may take place without any conjunctions (8.1.1), or it may be overtly marked by coordinating conjunctions (see 8.1.2).

8.1.1 Parataxis (Asyndetic Coordination)

Conjoining constituents without the use of coordinating conjunctions is called parataxis or, sometimes, asyndetic coordination. It is typical in Tümpis Shoshone when whole sentences or clauses are conjoined (e.g., 1-10).
(1) Nüü isapaippüa punikkappühantü, nü kammuttsia
I coyote-0 saw I jackrabbit-0
punikkappühantü.
saw
'I saw a coyote, (and) I saw a jackrabbit.'

(2) Nüü nukkwintüm pa'a mi'appühantü,
I train on went
nü yûtsûtüm pa'a mi'appühantü.
I plane on went
'I have ridden on a train, (and) I have ridden on a plane.'

(3) Tammü ningwûnnû, tammû hupiatüki,
we(inc) talk(pl)(dur) we sing
tammû pîiya hipitu'ih, tammû neeyangwitu'ih.
we beer drink-will we play handgame-will
'We are talking, we are singing, we'll drink beer,
(and) we'll play handgame.'

(4) Nüü nû summo'a tsakkwayuppaitu'ih, nû
I my clothes take off(pl)-will I
wûmmanniyuntu'ih.
be naked-will
'I'll take off my clothes, (and) I'll be naked.'
(5) Tangumū nū tsitoohippūhantu, nūū supe'e hapikku. man me pushed I then fell
'The man pushed me, (and) then I fell.'

(6) Nūū muiyaitaippūhantu, nū keehinna
I got drunk-cmplt I nothing-O
sumpanaippūhantu. knew
'I got completely drunk, (and) I didn't know anything.'

(7) Setū kuttaappūh muiyaippūh, setū ûppūtaippūh. this really drunk this asleep-cmplt
'This one's really drunk; he's completely asleep.'

(8) Nū sekka ukwikka, tsao kwannukkinna.
I this-O smell good smell
'I smelled this, (and) it smells good.'

(9) Pūesū sepe'esū nūmmū pungkupaimmippūhantu,
long ago that time we(exc) horse-have-used to
nūmmū putisih pungkupaimmippūhantu.
we(exc) donkey pet-have-used to
'Long ago at that time we used to have horses,
(and) we used to have donkeys.'

(10) "Noo mi'a antappu, noo mi'a, kee kahni ka
should go else(where) should go not house at
katūkkantū!" mii u yüingkünna.
stay quot him tell
"You should go elsewhere, you should go, (and) don't stay around the house!" he told him.

Despite the fact that there are no coordinating conjunctions connecting them, clauses which are conjoined paratactically are easily distinguished from a series of sentences. When sentences occur in a string (unconjoined), the end of each one is marked by falling intonation and usually a short pause of about a second, or even longer if there is a change of topic. Intonation remains even on conjoined clauses until the end of the last conjunct, and little or no pause occurs between the coordinated clauses.\(^1\)

In statements like those in 1-10, asyndetic coordination has essentially the same semantic function as the English conjunction 'and'. However, in questions composed of clauses coordinated asyndetically, alternatives are implied, much like clauses connected with exclusive 'or' in English.

(11) Ūmmi ha petü sutü, pünnahapi asu petü?
your Q daughter that wife's that is daughter
'Is she your daughter, (or) is it that she's your wife's daughter?'

(12) Sammatü ha yuwaintü, üitsü'intü
that particular Q be warm be cold
kee yuwaintü?
not be warm

'Is that particular one warm, or is he cold, not warm?'

The coordination of verbs, stative predicates, and whole verb phrases is almost exclusively accomplished by means of parataxis. For example, in 13-22, verb phrases of varying complexity are coordinated: in 13 a predicate adjective and a
stative verb, in 14 a predicate noun phrase and a predicate adjective, in 15-16 two verbs, in 17 three object-incorporating verbs, and in 18-22 a number of other kinds of more complex verb phrases.

(13) Nuu tamminoippuh Utuinna. 'I'm tired and hot.'
    I tired be hot

(14) Satu tutsuppulu Numiu tuuppuppuh.
    that bad Indian cruel
    'That one's a bad Indian and cruel (too).'

(15) Nuu hipikkammanna hapinnumi.
    I drink-be sick lie-around
    'I have a hangover and am lying around.'

(16) Nuu nammikkuwippuhantuh puninnuippuhantuh.
    I walked-moving saw-moving
    'I walked around and looked around.'

(17) Nuu kapaayupa'e isapungkupa'e nattu pungkupa'e.
    I horse-have dog-have cat pet-have
    'I have horse, have a dog, and have a cat.'

(18) Tsao nasungkwa'atuh petsunna.
    good feel yell
    'He's feeling good and yelling.'

(19) Noowitsa noong katu u pantu nangkawih.
    hopefully awhile sit it about talk
    'Hopefully, he'll sit awhile and talk about it.'

(20) Tangumnu kunnanna tokkopiinna u wukkatungkunna.
    man firewood-O chop(pl) it stack
    'The man is chopping firewood and stacking it.'
(21) Nummū supe'e tūpanna hannitū sakkuhontū, we(exc) that tīme pinenut-ō gather-hab thereabouts

tūpanna tūkkatū tūpanna nomo'enna.
pinenut-ō eat-hab pinenut-ō pick

'We used to gather pinenuts thereabouts, used to eat pinenuts and pick pinenuts.'

(22) Nummū sukkwa tūkkatū, u tusukkwantū, tūkkatū. we(exc) that-ō eat-hab it smash-hab eat-hab

'We used to eat that, smash (it) and eat it.'

Occasionally, noun phrases are also coordinated paratactically, as 'Tony and John' in 23, the birds in 24, and 'this one and her uncle' in 25. More typically, however, noun phrases are conjoined with conjunctions (see 8.1.2).

(23) Toni Tsanu nummi taanoo'ippuhantu.
	Tony John us(exc) visit-go around

'Tony and John came around, visiting us.'

(24) Sūmūsū mia'ommū atū himpū antsaapanappūh, atū all go-pl that some flicker that

taakki, tukopoyo'ittsi; sūmūsū kasattsikantū crow kingbird all bird

mia'ommū.
go-pl

'Everyone went, that flicker, that crow, and kingbird; all the birds went.'
(25) Hipittsittsi utū mi'a taamiammaa u kammannuha old lady that go visit-go her was sick-sub

okkwah, u kappinnangkwa katū ukkwah sutungku when it outside sit when those two

kee teewingkünna etū un natapu. not tell this her uncle

'An old lady went and visited her [= girl] when she [= girl] was sick, and when she [= old lady] was sitting outside, those two, this one [= girl] and her uncle, wouldn't tell her [= old lady] about it.'

Even interrogatives may be coordinated without conjunctions, as in 26.

(26) Himpe hakapayuntu'ih?
when be where-will
'When and where would it be?'

8.1.2 Syndetic Coordination

**Syndetic coordination** is the joining of two or more constituents of the same kind with coordinating conjunctions. The coordinating conjunctions that I have recorded are listed below. The kinds of constituents conjoined by each conjunction are indicated to the right of their translations.

**COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Constituents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma'e ~ ma'i</td>
<td>'and, with'</td>
<td>NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n (... ma'e)</td>
<td>'and'</td>
<td>NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunga ~ tungwa</td>
<td>'and, but, also, either' clauses, NPs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunga... ma'e</td>
<td>'and'</td>
<td>NPs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sunaasu  
'and also'  
VPs
wihnu  
'(and/so) then'  
clauses,  
discourse

Ma'e (≈ mali) is the comitative postposition as well as a conjunction (see section 5.3). These two closely related functions and meanings are not always separable (e.g., 27 and 28). However, semantics and discourse context often make clear which interpretation is most likely. For example, in 29 and 30 the comitative interpretation is highly unlikely, if not impossible, and in 31 it is precluded altogether. As far as I know, ma'e is only used with noun phrases.

(27) Nūu tangumū ma'e wasūwūkkikwantu'ih.
I man and/with hunt-going to
'The man and I are going to hunt.'
= 'I'm going to hunt with the man.'

(28) Nūu wa'ippū ma'e mi'akoppuhantu.
I woman and/with went around
'The woman and I went around.'
= 'I went around with the woman.'

(29) Nūu mūattsia punikkappuhantū tatsiumpim ma'e.
I moon-O saw star and
'I could see the moon and stars.'

(30) Nūmmū tuhuya yūkwikwantu'ih wasuppim ma'e.
we(exc) deer get-going to mt. sheep and
'We're going to get deer and mountain sheep.'
(31) Nūmmū sapettū namiangkūtaippūhantu,  
we(exc) there were sent  

wahattū niam pūanūmū ma'ē nū namiangkūppūhantu  
two my cousins and I were sent  
sapettū natiingwakkatu.  
there school-to  

'We were sent there, my two cousins and I were sent  
there to school.'

The conjunction n has been borrowed from the short form  
of English 'and'; it is used to conjoin noun phrases, as in  
32-34. Sometimes n is used along with ma'ē (e.g., 34); in  
this regard, n and ma'ē surround the conjunct noun phrase.

(32) Antsi n Tepi taona ka mi'akwa.  
Angie and Debbie town to went  
'Angie and Debbie went to town.'

(33) Aputtu, Tseekki, n Noitu wainniha hipimminna.  
Albert Jake and Lloyd wine-o drink-hab  
'Albert, Jake, and Lloyd always drink wine.'

(34) Antsi n Tepi ma'i miakoppūhantu.  
Angie and Debbie with went around  
'Angie and Debbie went around.'

Perhaps the most commonly used coordinating conjunction  
is tūngu. It conjoins either whole clauses, as in 35-39, or  
noun phrases, as in 40-45. Although the more usual meanings  
of tūngu are 'and' or 'also', it may also mean 'but', given a  
contrastive context like that in 37.
(35) Nüü isapaippua punikkappühantü tunga
  I coyote-O saw and
  kammuttsia punikkappühantü nüü.
  jackrabbit-O saw I

  'I saw a coyote, and I saw a jackrabbit.'

(36) Nüü nüetünna nangkahappühantü tunga umatünna
  I wind-O heard and rain-O
  nangkahappühantü üppühantukwa.
  heard sleep-stv-sub

  'I heard the wind, and I heard the rain when I was sleeping.'

(37) Kee sumpanaitsimmaa sammatü tunga
    not knew that particular one but
    mi'akwantu'ippühantü nangkatü Palinna ma'i.
    go-fut-past hear-sub Pauline with

    'That particular one didn't know, but she could have gone with Pauline if she had heard.'

(38) Etü utummin pia u punikka setü, sumüttü naipi
    this their mother it see this one girl
    tunga u punikka supe epa ke tamangkantu ekkih.
    and it see there here not tooth-have here

    'This one, their mother, saw it, and one girl saw it that he didn't have a tooth here.'
Sentences 38 and 39 are taken from the "Coyote's Daughters" story in chapter 10. They both illustrate the fact that **tunga** doesn't necessarily have to occur exactly between the clauses it joins. In 38 it appears after the subject of the second clause, and in 39 it appears after the object and verb of the second clause, but before the subject.

The sentences in 40-42, containing conjoined noun phrases, also illustrate some facts about **tunga** and word order. When joining two noun phrases, **tunga** may appear either before or after the second one. For example, in 40 **tunga** appears before the second noun phrase, while in 41 it appears after the second one. When there are more than two conjuncts, as in 42, **tunga** usually appears between each of them.²

(40) Nūu isapaippūa punikkappūhantū tunga kammuuttsi(a). 
I coyote-0 saw and jackrabbit(-O) 
'I saw a coyote and a jackrabbit.'

(41) Sutū tūhūya kuttippūhantū pahamittsi(a) tunga. 
that deer shot bear(-O) and 
'He shot a deer and a bear.'

(42) Apūttū tunga Noitū tunga Tseekki sutūmmū 
Albert and Lloyd and Jake those 
wainnīha hipimminna. 
wine-O drink-hab
'Albert and Lloyd and Jake, they always drink wine.'

When object noun phrases are conjoined, the second conjunct normally follows the verb, as in 40-41 and 43-45, probably because of the nature of conjunction reduction. Conjoined object constructions seem to be formed by reducing whole conjoined clauses directly. For example, 40 is a reduced form of 35, and 45 is a reduced version of 36. The second verb phrase is omitted in each case. The object conjuncts after the verb need not be in the objective case, however, as the case markers in parentheses in 40-41 indicate.

When tunga is used to coordinate noun phrases, it is often paired with ma'ë. As seen in 43-45, tunga and ma'ë surround the last noun phrase conjunct.

(43) Nummû tûhûya yûkwikwantu'ih tunga wasûppim ma'ë. we(exc) deer get-going to and mt. sheep with 'We're going to get deer and mountain sheep.'

(44) Nûû múattsia punikkappuhantû tunga tatsuumpim ma'ë. I moon-O saw and star with 'I could see the moon and stars.'

(45) Nûû nûetûnna nangkahappuhantû tunga umatûm ma'ë I wind-O heard and rain with üppûihantukwa. sleep-stv-sub

'I heard the wind and rain when I was sleeping.'

The only coordinating conjunction used to join verb phrases is sūnaasū. As noted above (8.1), typically verbs and verb phrases are coordinated without the use of conjunctions.
COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION

(46) Tupitsi yuhukantu sutu pliantu kunasasu tu'uppuh. really fat that big and also mean 'He's really fat, big and also mean.'

(47) Sutu pasampu tühütsi nümüakantu kunasuu that skinny little body-have and also kee ookantu. not strong [= weak]

'He's skinny, has a little body, and is also weak.'

The conjuncts of the coordinated construction need not be adjacent to each other. For example, in 46 the subject sutu intervenes between one of the coordinated verb phrases and the other two.

Although wihnu '(and/so) then' is normally used to connect ideas in discourse, not syntactic constituents per se, a number of examples have been recorded where it seems that wihnu is used as a clausal conjunction, as in 48-49.

(48) Tangummú tühýa pakkappühantu, sutu wihnu man deer killed that then tiyaihwappühantu. died

'The man killed the deer, so then it died.'

(49) Sope katümminna sutu, wihnu u ma'i üppühantu. there stay that then him with sleep

'There she stayed, and then she slept with him.'

For examples of wihnu in its more normal function as a discourse connective, and for examples of other discourse
connectives like *senu* 'therefore, after all', see the texts in chapter 10.

### 8.2 SUBORDINATION

Subordination is the embedding of one sentence (or clause) in another, larger one, usually called the superordinate sentence (or clause). If the superordinate clause itself is not further embedded in a still larger one, then it is called the main clause. Subordinate (= embedded) clauses may function in a variety of ways: they may serve as adverbials in adverbial clauses (see 8.2.1); they may modify nouns in relative or adjectival clauses (see 8.2.2), and they may function in much the same way as noun phrases in complement clauses (see 8.2.3).

Like most other Uto-Aztecan languages, Tumpisa Shoshone distinguishes between subordinate clauses with identical (subject) reference and those with switch (subject) reference. In identical reference, the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause; or, in the case of relative clauses, the subject of the relative clause is the same as the referent of the noun phrase in the superordinate clause being modified by the relative clause. The subject does not overtly appear in the subordinate clause, since it is coreferential with the subject or modified noun phrase of the superordinate clause.  

In switch reference, the subject of the subordinate clause is not the same as the subject or modified noun phrase of the superordinate clause (although in some cases the two may partially overlap in reference), so the subject overtly appears in the subordinate clause, but with special marking. Subjects of switch reference clauses are not in the subjective case; rather, they are in either the objective or possessive case. Compare the examples in 50-51: the sentences in 50a and 51a contain subordinate clauses with identical reference,
while the sentences in 50b and 51b contain subordinate clauses with switch reference.4

(50) a. Noohakatū nia toppaippuhantū [hipittaisu].
   somebody me knocked around be drunk-sub
   'Somebody knocked me around, while (he was) drunk.'

   b. Noohakatū nia toppaippuhantū [nia hipittaiha].
      somebody me knocked around me be drunk-sub
      'Somebody knocked me around when I was drunk.'

(51) a. Nüü kapaayu punikkappuhantū [tukkakatutū
      I horse saw eat-sit-sub
      ukkwah].
      when
   'I saw the horse when (I was) sitting eating.'

   b. Nüü kapaayu punikkappuhantū [u tukkaku].
      I horse saw it-o eat-sub
      'I saw the horse (when it was) eating.'

The subordinate clauses in 50a and 51a contain no overt subjects, since they are the same as the subjects of the main clause in each case. In 50a the subject of the subordinate clause is understood to be coreferential with noohakatū, and in 51a the subject of the subordinate clause is understood to be coreferential with nüü. The subordinate clauses in 50b and 51b have overt subjects, nia in 50b and 1 in 51b, but they are in the objective case.

Subordination is typically marked with suffixes on the verb of the subordinate clause (e.g., -su in 50a, -ha in 50b, -tū in 51a, and -ku in 51b), and only rarely with subordinating conjunctions or complementizers. The set of
subordinating suffixes is given below. Most of the suffixes are normally used only in identical reference or switch reference clauses, but not in both. Which kind of clause each suffix occurs in is indicated in the list. A few have different kinds of subject reference in different kinds of subordinate clauses. With switch reference markers, the case of the subordinate clause subject is indicated.

**SUBORDINATING VERB SUFFIXES**

- **-ka** ≈ **-kka** ≈ **-ha** temporal 'when, after'
  (switch ref, subj in obj or poss case)
- **-ku** contemporative 'when, while'
  (switch ref, subj in obj case)
- **-kwa** temporal 'when, after'
  (switch ref, subj in obj case)
- **-mmi** intentional
  (identical and switch ref)
- **-nni** infinitive
  (switch ref in relative clauses with subj in poss case; identical ref in others)
- **-ppūh** past participle
  (switch ref, subj in poss case)
- **-sin** ≈ **tsin** sequential
  (identical ref)
- **-sū** ≈ **-tsū** resultive 'as a result of, from'
  (identical ref)
- **-tūn** present participle
  (switch reference in complement clauses with subj in obj case; identical ref in others)
- **-tukwa** conditional 'if' and temporal 'when'
  (identical ref)

Usually, subordinating suffixes are used in lieu of the final suffixes (3.1.1), but occasionally they follow them. In some cases the subordinating suffixes are identical with final
suffixes (e.g., -nna, -ppüh, -tun), but as subordinators their meanings may differ somewhat, and of course their functions are different. In general, subordinate verbs display less suffixation with aspect, tense, mode, and adverbial suffixes than do main verbs (see sections 3.1.1 through 3.1.3).

8.2.1 Adverbial Clauses

Several of the suffixes above are used in time adverbial clauses. Both of the switch reference suffixes -ka (~-kka ~-ha) and -kwa mark clauses in which the activity of the subordinate clause begins before that of the superordinate clause, although it may continue on and be simultaneous with the superordinate activity. How the two suffixes differ in meaning or function is not clear. Compare the examples in 52 and 53, which have subordinate clauses in -ka ~-ha, with those in 54-57, which have subordinate clauses in -kwa. Examples 25 and 50b also have clauses with -ha (~-ka).

(52) Nümmü [tatsa naakkiha] nümmü supe toya
we(exc) summer get-sub we there mountain

mantu mi'a.
to go

'When [= after] it gets summer, we go there to the mountains.'

(53) Sukkwa tüttüsppüh suwangkünna [tsüattamappüa
that-O bad feel [= dislike] cop-O

pittuhungka] wihnu.
arrive-sub then

'She didn't like that when the cop came, then.'
(54) Nūu satuhi nangkaha [hupiatūkikwa].
I those(d1)-O hear-stv sing-sub
'I hear those two singing.'

(55) Nūu tūhūynanna u pakkappūhantū [u tūkkawūnūkwa].
I deer-O it killed it eat-stand-sub
'I killed the deer as it was standing eating.'

(56) Tangumū tūhūya kuttih [u nukwikwa].
man deer shoot it-O run-sub
'The man shot the deer as it was running.'

(57) Hipittsittsi summi yūkkwi, "[Utummi pitūkkangkwa]
old lady thus say(dur) those-O arrive-sub
pūe tammin tūpanna nayaatu’ippūh.”
already our pinenut-O be taken-will-perf
'The old lady says, "After they arrive, our
pinenuts will already have been taken."'

The switch reference suffix -ku marks time clauses in
which the activity is simultaneous with that of the main verb.
Frequently, time clauses in -ku are also marked with ukkwah
'when' (e.g., 60), apparently the only subordinating
conjunction. Ukkwah is also used in main clauses, but it
means 'then' rather than 'when' (see texts in chapter 10).

(58) [Umaku] tammū kahni kuppa weekikkwantu’ih.
rain-sub we-inc house in enter(pl)-going to
'When it rains, we're going to go in the house.'

(59) Puhakantūn puuhawinna [üng kammaku].
shaman cure you-O be sick-sub
'The shaman cures you when you're sick.'
(60) U petsingkünna ümatünna u petsingkünna sukkwa
it holler at rain-0 it holler at that-0
[nümü miaku ukkwah], [ütüingku ukkwah].
us(exc) go-sub when be hot-sub when

'He hollered at the rain, he hollered at it when we were going, when it was hot.'

(61) Wa'ippúa ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwüümmaa
woman-0 that-0 somewhere caught
utu pahamittsi utu [hakamaanna u nuwiku
that bear that someplace her wander-sub
toya ma] nootunga.
mountain on maybe

'A bear caught a woman somewhere, maybe when she was wandering in the mountains someplace.'

As the examples in 52-61 illustrate, time clauses may be embedded at the beginning (e.g., 57 and 58) or end (e.g., 54-56 and 59-61) of the superordinate clause, or even in the middle (e.g., 52 and 53). This freedom of position is typical of adverbial clauses in general.

The identical reference suffix -sin ~ -tsin marks subordinate clauses whose activity happens in sequence before that of the main clause. Usually some sort of loosely defined causal relationship between the activities in the two clauses is implied.

(62) Uu upenisu tsao naakkwappuhantu [nanattusu'uwasi].
you quickly well became self-medicate-sub

'You got well quickly after medicating yourself.'
(63) Kapayu himping ko’inna [tokowai ti’iwahwatsi].
The horse backed up, as it was afraid of a snake.

(64) Nüü [ohipitta kwuusi] ohiinna.
I cough when [after] I catch a cold.

(65) [Tütsëppüh u nangkasuwängkünnsi]
setü wiñnu yakaimmà.
'She then cried, as she didn't like hearing it.'

The present participle suffix -tun forms time (participial) clauses with identical reference whose activities normally begin prior to the activity of the main clause and then overlap with it. Identical reference time clauses formed with -tun seem to carry much the same meaning and perform the same function as switch reference clauses formed with -ka (~ -kka ~ -hä). Examine the sentences in 66-69 and 71.

(66) Nüü [toyapim ma nuwitü] tünna notoppahe.
I mountain on roaming down climb
'Walking around on the mountain, I climbed down.'

(67) U pakkatai satümmü [u kimmgkuntü].
him killed those him chasing
'They killed him while chasing him.'
(68) Nümü sape namiangkútaippühantü [ke nangkawitu we(exc) there were sent not speaking ukkwah], [kke mitükkaannangkawitu ukkwah].
when not English-speaking
'
We were sent there not speaking, not speaking English.'

(69) Isapaippü [pange miatü u tu] tiyaitaihwappuh, coyote up going it through died
kke paappühpa'e takuttiyaitaihwa [petsümmitü]. not water-have thirst-died hollering
'Going up through there, Coyote died; he didn't have any water; he died of thirst, hollering.'

-tukwa forms identical reference time clauses whose activities usually begin before those of the superordinate clause and then overlap with it, much like clauses in -tun. Time clauses in -tukwa seem to parallel switch reference clauses formed with -kwa. Look at the examples in 70-72 (also in 36 and 45).

(70) Hupiatükkinna setümmü [naaiyangwitukwa].
sing these play handgame-sub
'They sing when playing handgame.'

(71) [Naaiyangwitukwa] nüu nakwaattaippühantü.
play handgame-sub I lost
'When I played handgame, I lost.'
(72) Nūmmū na'ümammpühpantū [miatū ukkwha], nūmmū
we(exc) were rained on going when we
[pungku pa'a miatukwa], [putisih pa'a miatukwa].
horse on go-sub donkey on go-sub

'We were rained on while going, when we were going
on horses, and when we were going on donkeys.'

Despite the existence of the various subordinating time
adverbial suffixes, a number of time clauses have been
recorded without subordinating suffixes, although they are
marked as time clauses with ukkwha (= okkwah) 'when'. For
example, 73a and 73b are variants having the same meaning.
Both contain time clauses with finite or nonsubordinate verbs.
In 73a, even the subject sutū of the time clause is in the
subjective case. In 74, the subordinate verb does not have a
subordinating suffix or any suffix at all, but its subject
tammi is in the objective case.

(73) a. Tonia nūū nasuntama [munangkwa okkwah
Tony-O I remember last year when
sekkih nuippuhantū sutū].
here played around that

a. Tonia nūū nasuntama [okkwah sekkih
Tony-O I remember when here
nuippuhantū sekkih munangkwa okkwah].
played around here last year when

'I remember Tony when he played around here
last year.'
Conditional clauses are closely related to time clauses. Thus, switch reference conditional clauses are marked with -ka ≈ -kka ≈ -ha (e.g., 75-76), and identical reference conditional clauses are marked with -tukwa (e.g., 77-80). Conditional clauses are not always distinguishable from time clauses; for example, the subordinate clause in 75 could be interpreted as either a time clause or a conditional. Most cases, however, are made clear by the discourse context or by the affixation on the superordinate verb. Spoken in a context where the speaker had no money, 77 could only be interpreted as a conditional (but in another context it might have been interpreted to mean 'When I have money, I am drunk'). Sentences 76, 78, and 79 can only be conditional, since the superordinate verbs have the dubitative irrealis suffix -hi, forcing a conditional interpretation of the subordinate clause.

(75) [Pinnasū Tonia pittunnuha] tammū hipittainna.
    again Tony-O arrive-sub we(inc) get drunk
    'If/when Tony comes again, we'll get drunk.'

(76) [Memmia ūn tiyoitaiha pū] nū mi'ahippuh pūū!
    Mamie-O you-O send-sub emph I go-unreal emph
    'If you send Mamie away, I might go!'

(77) [Ukkwah nūū namokkupa'intukwa] hipittaippūh.
    if I money-have-sub drunk
    'If I had some money, I'd be drunk.'
In 77 and 78, the subordinating conjunction ukkwah, which is not obligatory, appears at the beginning of the conditional clauses. Ukkwah may mean 'if' only when it is at the beginning of a subordinate clause. As a marker of time clauses, it usually occurs at the end of the clause, or at both the beginning and the end, or rarely at the beginning (cf. the examples 60, 68, 72, 73, and 74).

**Result clauses** are formed with the suffix -su ~ -tsu, which always displays identical subject reference. Sentences with result clauses indicate that the activity in the superordinate clause is a result of the activity in the subordinate clause (e.g., 81-84 and 50a).
(81) Nūù tsao nosungkwa'anna [piiya hipikkwasū].
I good feel beer drink-sub
'I feel good from [= as a result of] drinking beer.'

(82) Nūù nu Namokkuna watsingkūtaimmna [hipittaisu].
I my money-O lose-cmplt-hab get drunk-sub
'I always lose my money (as a result of) getting drunk.'

(83) Huuppi [tūsūtaisū] ka'ahwa.
stick freeze-sub broke
'The stick broke from [= as a result of] freezing.'

(84) Nūù [yutsukkisu] wununnummi.
I get up-sub stand-moving around
'I got up and am standing around.'

Purpose clauses are also formed with -su (e.g., 85), but
they are more typically formed with infinitives in -nna (e.g.,
86 and 87). Some subordinate clauses marked with sequential
-si ≈ -tsi may also be interpreted as purpose clauses (e.g.,
88). Purpose clauses always have identical subject reference.

(85) Nummu ti tunga mi'apphantu tunaa
we(exc) emph also went down

[natūtingwakwasū ape himpuka].
study-go-sub there somewhere

'We also went down to study there somewhere.'

(86) Huuppiammū tukumahanni tupa [tūkkanna].
women cook pinenut to eat
'Women cook pinenuts to eat.'
Adverbial clauses indicating the manner in which something happens are marked with the present participle suffix -tun. These clauses always have identical subject reference.

(87) Nawittsipi u ma'i mi'appuhantú [túmaapütünnna].
    girl him with went to help
    'The girl went with him to help.'

(88) Hüüppiammu toya mantu mi'a [túpanna
    women mountain to go pinenut-o
tso'ikwasi].
    pick-sub

    'Women go to the mountains to pick pinenuts.'

(89) Nuü [pangwi tükkatú] pitsangihwa.
    I fish eating got stuck in throat
    'I got something stuck in my throat eating fish.'

(90) Nuü [kahni tündo'etü] pahekkwa.
    I house climbing fell
    'Climbing on the house, I fell off.'

(91) Iipüppu naappuhantú [u wa'i yukwitú].
    Eva was [= used to] her like doing
    'Eva used to do like her.'

(92) U naaketu tupoong kahontú [u ma'e nuwitú
    her mated desert in her with go around
noohimpe enni].
    always this way
'He mated her, going around with her always in the
desert this way.'

8.2.2 Relative (Adjectival) Clauses

Relative clauses modify noun phrases in much the same way as adjectives modify nouns (so they are also often called adjectival clauses). Characteristically, relative clauses notionally contain a noun phrase identical with the one they are modifying in the superordinate sentence. The identical noun phrase in the relative clause, however, is always reduced in some way, either by pronominalization or by complete omission. The pronouns which substitute for the noun phrase repeated in the relative clause are called relative pronouns. The most common relative pronouns are the obviative (new information) demonstratives in their subjective and objective forms (see section 4.3).5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATIVE PRONOUNS</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
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<td>ekka</td>
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<td></td>
<td>atū</td>
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<td></td>
<td>utūmmu</td>
<td>utūmmi</td>
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</table>

Verbs in relative clauses are nearly always marked with one of the following three subordinating suffixes, each of which has a different meaning and function.
RELATIVIZING VERB SUFFIXES

-\text{nna} (Ø Obj) \hspace{1cm} \text{infinitive}
\hspace{1cm} \text{switch reference}
\hspace{1cm} \text{present tense or simultaneous with that of main verb}

-\text{ppūh} (-\text{ppūha obj}) \hspace{1cm} \text{past participle}
\hspace{1cm} \text{switch reference}
\hspace{1cm} \text{past tense or perfect aspect}

-\text{tūn} (-\text{tūna} ≈ -\text{ti obj}) \hspace{1cm} \text{present participle}
\hspace{1cm} \text{identical reference}
\hspace{1cm} \text{present tense or simultaneous with that of main verb}

Since relative clauses modify noun phrases, they agree with them in case and to a certain extent in number. Case and number agreement are marked by the form of the relative pronoun; case agreement is also marked by the form of the subordinating suffix (objective forms of the suffixes are given in parentheses in the list above). The relative clauses in 93-101 exemplify identical reference, and those in 102-108 switch reference. In 93-96 and 102-106, the relativized noun phrases and the relative clauses modifying them are in the subjective case, while in 97-99 and 107-108 the relativized noun phrases and relative clauses modifying them are in the objective case.

(93) Wa'ippū nia pusikwä [atu hupiatukitu].
woman me know that sing-sub
'\text{The woman who is singing knows me.}'

(94) Tangummu [nu pusikwatü] tūhūyanna kuttihantu.
man me know-sub deer-O shoot-stv
'\text{The man who knows me is shooting the deer.}'
(95) Nawipi [atu nūkkatū] tsao napunitu.
girl that dance-sub good look-hab
'The girl (who is) dancing is good-looking.'

(96) Patekuntu [atu paā kuppantū mi'atū] tape
reflection that water in go-sub sun
hannihamminna akkutu.
catch-hab there-through
'The reflection that was going into the water was
catching the sun there.'

(97) Wa'ippūa nūū pusikwa [akka nūhakkawitūnna].
woman-0 I know that-0 make basket-sub-0
'I know the woman who is making baskets.'

(98) Wa'ippūa nūū pusikwa [akka hupiatūkitūnna].
woman-0 I know that-0 sing-sub-0
'I know the woman who's singing.'

(99) Tangummi akka nūū pusikwa [tūhūyanna u
man-0 that-0 I know deer-0 it
kuttihanti].
shoot-sub-0
'I know that man who is shooting the deer.'

(100) Nūū atūmmin numi pusikwa [naaiyangwitūnna].
I those-0 Indian-0 know play handgame-sub-0
'I know those Indians playing handgame.'

I man-0 tall stand-sub-0 know
'I know the man who stands tall.'
(102) Wa'ippū [atū nū pusikwanna] hupiatuki utū. 
woman that my know-sub sing that 
'The woman that I know is singing.'

(103) Tuhūya [atū tangumming kuttippuh] tiyaitaihwa. 
dereer that man's shoot-sub died 
'The deer that the man shot died.'

(104) Tangummū [atū niam pusikwanna] tiyaitaihwa. 
man that my know-sub died 
'The man that I know died.'

(105) Piinya [tammin nipinna] tammi muiyaingkūnna. 
beer our(inc) drink-sub us(inc) make intoxicated 
'The beer we are drinking is making us drunk.'

(106) Wahattū naappūhantu sutungku [utungku kee 
two were those those not 
tammin pusikwanna]. 
our(inc) know 
'There were two of them whom we don't know.'

(107) Nummū wasūppia tūkkappūhantu [wa'ippūang 
we(exc) mountain sheep-O ate woman's 
kuukkippūha]. 
cook-sub-O 
'We ate the mountain sheep the woman cooked.'

(108) Wa'ippū kuukkinna wasūppia [tangummi 
woman cook mountain sheep-O man's
On rare occasions, some verbs appear in relative clauses without one of the subordinating suffixes (e.g., 109 and 110).

(109) Wa'ippu [utū hupiatuki] nū pusikwanna.
woman that sing me know
'The woman who is singing knows me.'

(110) Hakami niyapa'i...tangummü [epin
what name-have man hereabouts
naammippühantünna ukkwa]?
be-hab-past-O that-O
'What is the name of... the man who used to be
around here?'

In 110, even though there is no subordinating suffix, the
finite suffix -ppühantū has assumed the objective (or
possessive) form -ppühantünna.

As mentioned at the beginning of section 8.2, identical
reference in relative clauses means that the subject of the
relative clause is identical with the noun phrase being
modified by the relative clause (not that it's identical with
the subject of the superordinate clause). Switch reference
in relative clauses means that the subject of the relative clause
is different from the noun phrase being modified.

Nevertheless, when a third person subject of a switch
reference relative clause is the same as the subject of the
superordinate sentence, it has special marking. When the
switch reference subject is the same as the higher subject, it
is marked with a third person possessive reflexive pronoun instead of with one of the obviative demonstratives (i.e., with pun(nan) sg, puhin dl, or pümmin pl: see section 4.2).

(111) Wasúppía tühannikatü [punnaŋ kuttippuha
mountain sheep-O butcher-sit his own shoot-sub-O
toya mantü [watsikkatühantü]].
mountain in hide-sit-stv-sub

'He is sitting butchering the mountain sheep that he shot in the mountains [while he was] hiding.'

(112) Wa'ippú [punnaŋ túpanna tso'ippuha]
woman her own pinenut-O pick-sub-O
tukummahanninna.
cook

'The woman is cooking the pinenuts that she picked.'

(113) Huúppiammū tukummahanninna [pümmin túpanna
women cook their own pinenut-O
tso'ippuha] tükkanna.
pick-sub-O to eat

'The women are cooking the pinenuts they have picked to eat.'

Most of the relative clauses in the sentences in 93-110 contain relative pronouns, although 94, 99-101, 105, 107-108, and 110 do not. In most situations the relative pronouns seem to be optional (e.g., 114 and 115). I do not know if there are grammatical environments in which they are obligatory,
except with the reflexives discussed in the preceding paragraph. A few other examples of relative clauses without relative pronouns are given in 114-118.

(114) Tuhuya [(atū) sakkankutippuh] tiyaitaihwa.  
deer (that) that's shoot-sub died  
'The deer (that) that one shot died.'

(115) Paa [(utū) pakatūtū] u hannihanminna.  
water (that) be pool-sub it catch-iterative  
'The water that was in a pool was catching it.'

beer my drink-sub me be sick-make  
'The beer I'm drinking is making me sick.'

(117) Nummu tūpanna tūkkanna [satumming kuukippuh].  
we pinenut-o eat those's cook-sub-O  
'We're eating the pinenuts they cooked.'

(118) Wasuppia nummu tūkkappuhantu [tangumming mtn sheep we(exc) ate man's  
kutippuh].  
shoot-sub-O  
'We ate the mountain sheep the man shot.'

In all of the examples so far, except 110, where a relative pronoun is present it precedes the relative clause. But, as 110 and the sentences in 119-121 illustrate, the relative pronoun may also follow the relative clause, at least sometimes. Furthermore, when a relative pronoun follows the relative clause, sometimes it may be an (old information) proximate demonstrative instead of an obviative demonstrative.
(e.g., 121; see 4.3 for the distinction between obviative and proximate demonstratives).

(119) Wa'ippu:nū pusikwanna [u hupiatūki utū].
woman-0 I know her sing that
'I know the woman who is singing.'

(120) Hakaittu wainnih naappūhantu satū [küntu
what kind wine was that yesterday
ün nipippūh satū]?
your drink-sub that
'What kind of wine was that that you were drinking yesterday?'

(121) Satū tangumu [nia pusikwu satū]
that man me know-sub that
naaiyangwikatūtū.
play handgame-sit
'That man who knows me is sitting playing handgame.'

In fact, a couple of examples have been recorded where relative pronouns surround the relative clause, e.g., 122-123.

(122) Wa'ippu:nia pusikwatu [utū hupiatūkitū utū].
woman me know-hab that sing-sub that
'The woman who is singing knows me.'
In 119, the relative pronoun utû, at the end of the relative clause, is in the subjective case, and so does not even agree in case with the objective case head noun wa'ippûia, even though an objective case subject, u, referring to her is used with the subordinate verb. Obviously, not all the conditions governing relative clauses are understood. What appear to be postposed relative pronouns may really be manifestations of the pronoun copy phenomena discussed in section 2.1.2.

From the examples already given, it may have become evident that relative clauses need not be positioned in immediate proximity to the head of the noun phrase they modify. Many relative clauses are right-dislocated, or positioned at the end of the sentence, often with several major constituents intervening between them and the head (e.g., 93, 97-100, 107, 111, 117-118, 119, and 122). Some relative clauses are preposed before the head of the noun phrase they modify (e.g., 124-128). I have even recorded one left-dislocated relative clause (e.g., 124).

(124) [Wa'ippuang kuukkippuha] númmu tükkanna tüpannu. 
woman's cook-sub-O we eat pinenut-O
'Ve're eating the pinenuts the woman cooked.'

(125) Wa'ippu kuukkinna [tangummim pakkappuha] 
woman cook man's kill-sub-O
wasüppia.
mountain sheep-O
"The woman is cooking the mountain sheep the man killed."

(126) [Utüintu] etu kotte'enna ekkih.
   heat-sub this boil here
   'This (which is) heating is boiling here.'

(127) [Niam pusikwanna] sutu [paappuh wünütu] tangummü
   my know-sub that tall stand-sub man
   utuu.
   just
   'It's just the tall (standing) man that I know.'

(128) [Niam pusikwanna] tsawün tangummü utu.
   my know-sub good man that
   'The good man I know is that one.'

In my data, most relative clauses follow heads of noun phrases, with the majority of these occurring immediately after the heads, but a good number are right-dislocated, and a significant number are preposed.

Headless relative clauses are embedded in superordinate noun phrases that lack head nouns. Since the head noun is missing, the relative clause itself functions as the noun phrase constituent. Several headless relative clauses are illustrated in 129-133 and more follow in the discussion below on oblique relatives (e.g., 145-150).

(129) [Ung kúputappü tıkongkwantu] yükwir.
   its long tongue-having do(dur)
   'The one that has the long tongue will do it.'
(130) Nuu [un natükkanna] puhaikwantu'ih.
I it's be eaten-sub look for-going to 'I'm going to look for something to eat.'

(131) Tsao [un nukwinna].
good his do-sub 'What he did is good.'

(132) [Ukkwa mümming kahni ka katütünna sukkwa] that-O you all's house at stay-O that-O
teewingkünna sutū? tell about that 'Is he telling about (the one) who stays in you-all's house?'

(133) Ukkwa nüü püü ma teewingkuppühantū that-O I emph him told about
[isapungkuppūan no'apükkangkütaippūha,]
dog's make pregnant-cmplt-sub-O
numi [on no'apükkankütaippūha] person-O its make pregnant-cmplt-sub-O
'I told him about that, about (the one) the dog got pregnant, about the person it got pregnant.'

Similar in function and meaning to headless relatives are relative clauses with interrogative heads, as in 134-136.

(134) Hakatū [mi'appūha] naammaa?
who go-sub-O was 'Who was it that went?'
(135) Hakaniyu [un yukwippuha]?
   be how its do-sub-O
   'How was it done?'

(136) Hakaniyu etu [pikkopū pa'a muhin
   be how this pick-up on your(dl)
   kunnoonnuwippuh]? 
   fire(wood)-haul-sub
   'What about this (firewood) that you two brought
   on the pick-up?'

Oblique relative clauses are those in an indirect relationship with the head of the noun phrase being modified. Typically, they begin with a postpositional phrase having a pronominal object, as in 138-142 and 145-150, but they may also have a noun as the object of the postposition, as in 137. The object of the postposition, whether pronoun or noun, is coreferential with the head noun of the noun phrase being modified in the higher clause.

(137) Mitükkaanoa tuupikkangkunna [mitükkaano ma'i
   Caucasian-O get angry about Caucasian with
   tammi taona ka mi'atu'ippuha].
   us(inc) town to go-will-sub-O
   'She got mad on account of the white man, the
   white man with whom we could have gone to town.'
(138) [Umaa nū tūtsikkoppii'ippūh] nū wihi it-with my cut(pl)-iterative-sub my knife küppakkuppūhantū. broke 'My knife that I was cutting with broke.'

(139) [U tukkwa nummin nuunaahappūha] ukkwa it under our(exc) sit(pl)-sub-O that-O samapitta u punikka nūū. cedar-O it see I 'I see the cedar under which we were sitting.'

(140) Samapi utū [u tukkwa nummin nuunaahappūh] cedar that it under our(inc) sit(pl)-sub küppakkuppūhantū. broke 'The cedar under which we were sitting broke.'

(141) [U tukkwa nummin nuunaahappūh] utū samapi it under our(exc) sit(pl)-sub that cedar küppakkuppūhantū. broke 'The cedar under which we were sitting broke.'
(142) [Pūn tukkwa númmín nuunaahappūha] ukkwa
its own under our(exo) sit(pl)-sub-O that-O

samapitta u punikkä núu.
cedar-O it see I

'I see the cedar under which we were sitting.'

(143) Nūu u pusikka (sukkwa) [pūnnan nin navasūükki].
I it know that-O its own way be hunted
'I know the way in which (something) is hunted.'
= 'I know how to hunt.'

(144) [Puestra pūnnan nin númmín nukwippūha]
long ago its own way our-(exo) do-O

nūu sukkwa teewitu'ih miikkwa.
I that-O tell about-will now

'Now I will tell about (that) the way in which we
used to do long ago.'

As examples 143-144 illustrate, the head of an oblique
relative clause may be semantically empty. In 143 the head is
u (and optionally sukkwa as well), while in 144 it is sukkwa.
These pronominals do not have any reference in the two
sentences. In 143, the verb in the headless relative clause
is in the passive voice, which indicates a lack of notional
subject in other kinds of subordinate clauses (see 8.2.3).

The object of the postposition in oblique relative
clauses is commonly the third person reflexive pūn(nan) 'its
own', as in 142 and 146-150, particularly in headless oblique
relative clauses, as in 145-150. When the head is present in
the sentence (e.g., 137-144), then u 'it' is perhaps more
common than pūn(nan): u may also be used in headless
relatives, however (e.g., 145). The difference between
oblique relative clauses with pūn(nun) and those with ü has not been determined yet.

(145) [Ümma nū tūtsikkopliippuh] küppakkuppuhantu.  
\[\text{it-with my cut(pl)-sub broke}\]  
'What I was cutting with broke.'

(146) [Pūm ma nū tūtsikkoppiiippuh] ma nūu  
\[\text{its own with my cut(pl)-iterative-sub with I}\]  
watsingku.  
\[\text{lose}\]  
'I lost what I was cutting with.'

(147) [Pūn tukkwa númmín nuunaahappūha] núu  
\[\text{its own under our(exc) sit(pl)-sub-O I}\]  
u punikk'a.  
\[\text{it see}\]  
'I see what we were sitting under.'

(148) Nūu ü [pūnnan ni ün nangkawih] ümmi  
\[\text{I you-O its own way your talk you-O}\]  
tūtisingwanna.  
\[\text{teach}\]  
'I am teaching you the way in which to talk  
\[=\text{how to talk}.']

(149) [Nūmmi pūm pa'in naa] mašū ma pa'a.  
\[\text{us(exc) its own on be that is it on}\]  
'Where we are is on that over there.'  
\[=\text{We live over there.}'}
I don't see them somehow, (nor) what they're sitting on.'

A construction in Tumpisa Shoshone that gives thematic prominence to major constituents is formed with the special demonstratives built on the base -sun (i.e., isun, esun, asun, usun, and masun; see section 4.3). These demonstratives are used to put major (nonverbal) constituents in focus or contrast essentially like cleft constructions in English (e.g., 151-156). The constituent following the cleft demonstrative is highlighted and the rest of the sentence is taken as given information. However, unlike the English construction, when noun phrases are put in focus with the cleft demonstratives the given information in the rest of the sentence is not put in a subordinate clause (e.g., 151-154).

(151) Esu tuittsi mümmi naiwekipituhantu.
This is young man you all-0 woo-arrive-must
'This is the young man who must be coming to woo you all.'

(152) Ümmi ha petü sutü, pünnahapi asü petü?
your Q daughter that wife's that is daughter
'Is she your daughter, or is it that she's (your) wife's daughter?'

(153) Süümootü; süümootü tatsiumpi, usü sutümmü.
ten ten star that is those
'There are ten; there are ten stars; it's those that're the ones [I'm talking about].'
COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION

(154) Pahanai asū wahattū tattungungku kikimmakinna
down that is two men(dl) come(dl)

[kee tammin pusikwanna]
not our(inc) know-sub

'There are two men coming down that we don't
know.' = 'It's that two men are coming down that
we don't know.'

However, when constituents other than noun phrases are put in
focus with the cleft demonstratives, the given information in
the rest of the sentence is in a subordinate clause much like
a relative clause (e.g., 155 and 156).

(155) Usū supe'e [ung kimmakippūh pūu],
that is that time his come-sub emph

[attu ung kimmakippūh pūu].
through there his come-sub emph

'It was then that he came, that he came through
there!'

(156) Isū supe'e [satūmmi kawai yükwitū].
this is that time those-poss rat-o go after-sub
'It was that time that they went after rats.'

However, these so-called cleft constructions are not exactly
like the relative clauses we have been looking at. For
example, the subordinate clause in 156 is marked with present
participial -tūn, which in relative clauses indicates
identical subject reference; and so, normally, relative
clauses in -tūn have no overt subject. But in 156, the
subject of the cleft clause, satūmmi, is present and obviously
not identical reference. It is evident that a good deal more
work needs to be done on both cleft constructions and relative clauses.

8.2.3 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses are embedded sentences that function like noun phrases as subjects or objects in the superordinate sentence. In Tumpisa Shoshone, complement clauses may either be finite or nonfinite. In finite complement clauses, the verb has normal inflection and the subject is in the subjective case. In nonfinite clauses, the verb usually has one of the subordinating suffixes and the subject is not in the subjective case. In finite complement clauses, there are no subordinating conjunctions or other kinds of marking setting the complement clauses off.

Sentences with subject complement clauses are given in 157-165. Sentence 157 is the only example recorded with what appears to be a finite subject complement clause. The verb has the suffix -tūn, which could be either finite or subordinating; but since the meaning is habitual, which only finite -tūn has, and since the subject is in the subjective case, 157 must be finite.

(157) [Satû sunni yûkwitû] naam ma pû.  
that that-like do-hab was emph  
'It really was that she would do (it) like that.'

Other subject complement clauses in my data have either of the two subordinating suffixes, infinitival -nna or past participial -ppuh. Infinitival -nna is used in the present or with timeless truths (e.g., 158-163). Participial -ppuh is used in the past or past perfect (e.g., 164-165). Subjects of nonfinite subject complement clauses are always in the possessive case (e.g., 162-165). If there is no notional subject present, then the subordinate verb must be in the
passive voice formed with na- (e.g., 158-161; see 3.2.1.3). If the object is not present and the subordinate verb is in infinitival -nna, then the verb must be in the absolutive voice formed with tu- (e.g., 162 and 163; see 3.2.1.4).

(158) [Namaapūatunna] tsawinnuh.
be helped-sub be good
'To be helped is good.' = 'To help is good.'

(159) [Un nanûmi namaapūatunna] (sutû) tsawinnuh.
your relative-O be helped-sub that be good
'For your relatives to be helped is good.'
= 'Helping your relatives is good.'

(160) Sutû tsawinnuh [un nanûmi namaapūatunna].
that be good your relative be helped-sub
'It's good for your relatives to be helped.'
= 'It's good to help your relatives.'

(161) [Noochinna napakkanna] kee tsawinnuh.
something-O be killed-sub not be good
'For something to be killed is not good.'
= 'To kill something is not good.'

(162) [Utummim tupakkanna] kee tsawinnuh.
those's kill-sub not be good
'For them to kill is not good.'

(163) Kee tsawinnuh sutû [utummim tupakkanna].
not be good that those's kill-sub
'It's not good for them to kill.'

(164) [Nûni utummim pakkappuh] kee tsawinnuh.
person-O those's kill-sub not be good
'For them to have killed a person is not good.'
Subject complement clauses most often precede the main clause verb, but they may also follow it (cf. 159 with 160, 162 with 163, and 164 with 165). A subjective demonstrative may optionally appear in the main clause as a pronoun copy coreferential with the subject complement clause (e.g., sutū in 159, 160, and 163).

Object complement clauses commonly occur in both finite and nonfinite forms, and both kinds may appear before or after the superordinate verb. Examples of finite complement clauses that appear before the superordinate verb are given in 166-171. In 166-170, the subject of the complement clause is the same as that of the superordinate verb and so is not repeated in the complement clause. In 171, from the "Coyote's Daughters" text, the subject of the complement clause is different from that of the higher clause, but the subject doesn't appear overtly, since it is old information.

165) Kee tsawinnuh (sutū) [utummim pakkappuh].
not be good that those's kill-sub
'It's not good for them to have killed him.'

166) Nūū [sunni nukwitu'ih] suwanna.
I that way do-will think
'I think I'll do that.'

I thus say-will think
'I think I'll say something.'

I drink-go to-will think
'I think I'll go drink.'

I eat-will think about
'I'm thinking about eating.'
(170) Antsi [miakwantu'ih] suwakka [Tümisakkatu].
'Angie is thinking about going to Death Valley.'

(171) [Ke tammangkantu] u punikka setū.
'She saw that he didn't have a tooth.'

The complement clauses in the sentences in 172-178 are finite and occur after the superordinate verb, and they all have subjects different from the higher clause. A number of verbs (e.g., nasuntama 'remember' in 172-175) usually have an object pronominal preceding them, which is coreferential with the objective complement clause following them.

(172) Nuū sukkwa nasuntama [tungumu tühuyanna
I that-O remember man deer-O
pakkappuhantu]
killed
'I remember that the man killed the deer.'

(173) Nuū sukkwa nasuntama [tühuya napakkahwappuh].
I that-O remember deer be killed
'I remember that the deer got killed.'

(174) Nuū sukkwa nasuntama [satümumu wasüwükkipuhantu].
I that-O remember those hunted
'I remember that they hunted.'

(175) Nuū sukkwa nasuntama [tammu hipittaippuhantu].
I that-O remember we(inc) got drunk
'I remember that we got drunk.'
(176) Ūū kee sumpanaisi [satū wihnu niam petū].
you not know-neg that then my daughter
'You didn't know then that she was my daughter.'

Other verbs (e.g., puni" 'see' in 171) may have a preceding pronominal coreferential with the complement clause, but the complement clause may precede the pronominal or follow the verb (cf. 171 and 177).

(177) Nūū punikkappühantū [tūhüya napakkahwa].
I saw deer be killed
'I saw the deer get killed.'

Still other verbs (e.g., nangkah 'hear' in 178) have a direct object that is coreferential with the subject of the complement clause.

(178) Nūū wa'ippua nangkaha [sutū (naangka) hupiatuki].
I woman-O hear that make noise sing
'I hear the woman (making noise) singing.'

The sentences in 179-187 all contain object complement clauses embedded in superordinate clauses with verbs of saying or telling. In 179-182, the object complement clauses are indirect quotes. Indirect quotes nearly always precede the superordinate verb of saying or telling, and usually the verb is preceded by the quotative particle mii.

(179) [[Un tuappū un natammupia tsakküppatai] his son his car-O wrecked
u punikka] mii yükwippühantū.
it see-stv quot said
'He said he saw his son wreck his car.'

(180) [Um püpuammü] mii yúkwímminna.
his cousins quot say-iterative
'He used to say they're his cousins.'

(181) [Um pünnahapi naahii satü] mii yu̱ngkünna.
his wife might that quot say to
'She said to [us] that she might be his wife.'

(182) [Kunnoohwantu'ih] mii yu̱kwippu̱hantü sutü.
fire(wood)-haul-will quot said that
'He said he was going to haul firewood.'

Sentence 179 contains two object complement clauses, one embedded in the main clause as object of the verb yu̱kwippu̱hantü and the other embedded below that as object of the verb punikka.

The object complement clauses in 183-187 are all direct quotes. As with indirect quotes, direct quotes virtually always precede the superordinate verb, and the verb is normally preceded by quotative mii.

(183) ["Nü kee yuhukunnappu̱hpa'íntü, núš sattu
I not stove oil-have I there-through
pange mi'a,"] mii yu̱kwippu̱hantü Tseékki.
up go quot said Jake

"I don't have any stove oil; I'm going
up through there (to get some)," Jake said.'
(184) ["Hinna punikkatūtū sapa'a üü, hinna punikkatū?"]
   what hang around there you what hang around

   mii yūŋkūnna Danan.
   quot say to Don

   'What are you hanging around there for, what are you hanging around for?' Don said to (him).'

(185) ["Üü paapa'i, üü pai akka hannisna,"
   you water-have you water-0 that-0 gather

   akka mii yūkwingkūnna.
   that-0 quot say to

   'You have water, you (can) gather that water,' he said to that one.'

(186) ["Kee paakantu nuu," mii yuukwi setū.
   not water-have I quot say-dur this

   'I don't have any water,' this one was saying.'

(187) ["Tūttsūppuh nuu mūmmi suwangkūnna
   bad I you all-0 feel [= dislike]

   nūmüppūammi," mii yuwikkinna sutū tsuattamappū.
   Indians-0 quot say that cop

   'I don't like you Indians,' that cop said.'

Direct and indirect quotes are not formally distinguished except by the pronouns used in the complement clause. For example, if 179 were a direct quote, then the first un 'his' would have been nu or nian 'my' instead; also, in 180, um would have been nu or niam.
Nonfinite object complement clauses are given in 188-198. Although they more commonly occur before the superordinate verb, they may also follow it (e.g., 189a and 198; cf. 189b). Verbs in identical reference object complement clauses, like those in 188-194, are marked with infinitival -nna (e.g., 189-191), intentional -mmi (e.g., 192-194), or no suffixation at all (e.g., 188).7

    I    dance    sing    know-hab
    'I know how to dance/sing.'

    I    hunt-sub    know-hab
    'I know how to hunt.'

    b. Nū pusikwatu nū [wasūwūkkɪnna].
    I    know-hab    I    hunt-sub
    'I know how to hunt.'

(190) Nū [sosonɪ nangkawɪnna] nū pusikwatu.
    I    Shoshone    speak-sub    I    know-hab
    'I know how to speak Shoshone.'

(191) Nū [hipinna] (nū) tsao suwangkunna.
    I    drink-sub    I    good    feel    about    [=like]
    'I like to drink.'

    I    eat-will-sub    think    about
    'I'm thinking about eating.'

    I    it    shoot-dubitative-sub    think    about
    'I think I might shoot it.'
Embedded within the object complement clause in 194 is another clause that has been thrown to the end of the entire sentence.

Some switch reference object complement clauses are illustrated in 195-198. They are marked with present participial -tun (e.g., 195 and 198), intentional -mmi (e.g., 197), and apparently even temporal -ka ≈ -ha (e.g., 196), although the latter may actually be a time clause.

(194) [Kottoonnumpūtsin ma kupper tūkitu'immim]  
fire burner-O it in put-will-sub  

nuu swappuhantu [u kupper hapimmippüh].  
I thought it in lie-iterative-sub  

'I thought I would put a fire burner in it so he could sleep in it.'
Auxiliary verbs are appended to preceding verb stems to form compound verbs; then inflectional suffixes are added only to the auxiliary (see 3.1.5). The use of certain auxiliary verbs provides a productive mechanism by which object complement clauses can be collapsed with superordinate clauses to form a single clause instead of two. Some auxiliaries used in this way are -mmuih 'can’t', suwah 'want to', tükün 'start to', and tùnga 'tell to, order to'. Technically speaking, the auxiliary in the compound would be the superordinate verb, and the verb to which the auxiliary is appended would be the subordinate verb. However, verb-plus-auxiliary compounds function like single verbs, and the clauses in which they occur function like single clauses, not like a sentence with an embedded complement clause. All of the verb-plus-auxiliary compounds, except tùnga, display identical reference in that both the auxiliary and the preceding verb stem share the same subject.

(199) Tangummü tokkopiimmüihä kunna küttaampi.
man chop-can’t-stv firewood hard.
'The man can’t chop the firewood, it's hard.'

(200) Nuu nü pantsa puhaimmüihä.
I my shoe look for-can’t-stv
'I can't find my shoe.'
(201) Nüü tipingasuwa noohinnattsia.  
I ask about-want-stv something(O)-diminutive-O  
'I want to ask about a little something.'

(202) Hinna üü hipisuwanna?  
what(O) you drink-want  
'What do you want to drink?'

(203) Tammü piiya hipittũkintu'ih.  
we(inc) beer drink-start-will  
'We'll/Let's start drinking beer.'

(204) Nüü nú pantsa puhaitũki.  
I my shoe look for-start  
'I started to look for my shoe.'

With tüngu, however, the situation is different. The grammatical subject of the sentence is the notional subject of tüngu. The grammatical object is both the indirect object of tüngu and the notional subject of the verb stem preceding tüngu.

(205) Nüü ma mi'atüngappühantũ.  
I him go-told  
'I told him to go.'

(206) Nüü sakka ümni tusuwatünganna.  
I that-O you-O pay-tell  
'I'm telling him to pay you.'

(207) Wa'ippũ pũnnang kuhmatssia wasũwũkkitünganna.  
woman her own husband-O hunt-tell  
'The woman's telling her husband to hunt.'
Finally, I should mention that several kinds of constructions with object complement clauses, which are very common in European languages, simply do not occur in Tümpisa Shoshone. These are constructions like:

- I think/believe [someone does/did X]
- I hope [someone does/did X]
- I want [someone to do X]

In Tümpisa Shoshone, the notional equivalents of the first two constructions would be single clauses with adverbs, as in 208 and 209, respectively.

(208) Nootünga sutümmü kahni kuppa naammaa.
    maybe those house in were (incomp)
    'Maybe they are/were in the house.'
    = 'I think/believe they are/were in the house.'

(209) Noowitsa u kuttih satü.
    hopefully it shoot that
    'Hopefully, he'll shoot it.'
    = 'I hope he'll shoot it.'

There is no direct equivalent of the third construction; the closest would be with a verb of telling instead of wanting, as in 197-198 and 205-207. Thus, instead of saying 'I want someone to do something', one would say something like 'I told/will tell someone to do something'.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. Examples of concatenated sentences are found throughout the texts in chapter 10. As with traditional punctuation convention, a period is used to mark the boundaries between concatenated sentences, the period being a visual marker of falling intonation and a pause. Paragraphs are used when in the texts there is a change of topic, usually accompanied verbally by a rather lengthy pause of up to several seconds.
2. Compare 42 with the similar sentence in 33 where n is used as the conjunction instead of tunga. N only precedes the last conjunct, thus conforming with the English constructions from whence it came.

3. In transformational terms, the subject of the subordinate clause is omitted under EQUI-NP Deletion.

4. Subordinate clauses throughout section 8.2 are enclosed in brackets [...].

5. Obviative demonstratives built on the demonstrative base i- 'this right here' (i.e., itu, itungku, and itummu) have not been recorded as relative pronouns. In the examples in this section, relative pronouns have been enclosed within the brackets surrounding relative clauses, since they function as pronouns in the relative clauses. However, this is somewhat misleading in that they function simultaneously as demonstratives in the superordinate clause. Thus, the demonstrative relative pronouns are a bridge between the higher and lower clauses, since they have a function in both.

6. Note that pun(nan) does not have the same function in oblique relatives as it does in direct (= nonoblique) relatives, where it indicates that the subject of a switch reference relative clause is the same as the subject of the main clause (see earlier discussion in this section).

7. Although main clause subjects may be repeated and surround identical reference object complement clauses (e.g., 189b, 190, and 191), they are not treated as constituents of the complement clauses themselves. This is in keeping with the fact that all other kinds of identical reference clauses do not have overt subjects.