This chapter provides a general overview of Tumpisa Shoshone grammar, including its general typological characteristics (section 2.1), simple sentence structures (2.2), and basic elaborations of simple sentences (2.3).

2.1 TYPOLOGY

2.1.1 Morphological Characteristics

Tumpisa Shoshone is a synthetic language primarily using agglutination to form words. Affixation occurs throughout the major word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs). Suffixation is more common than prefixation in all areas of the morphology, whether inflectional or derivational, prefixation being developed only in verbs. Compounding is common in the major word classes, especially in nouns where compounds may be composed of several roots plus affixes.

Verbs display the greatest degree of synthesis. Affixation prevails, but noun incorporation and compounding are common. A verb may have up to three prefixes and five or six suffixes. Verbal affixes indicate categories such as aspect, tense, mood, and voice, but they may also express adverbial and nominal notions.

Affixes themselves may be compounds. Many are formed by agglutinating several affixes together, and then the
resulting string takes on a separate function and different meaning from the sum of the constituent affixes. The examples below illustrate the degree of synthesis possible by both affixation and compounding.

SYNTHETIC MORPHOLOGY VIA AFFIXATION AND COMPOUNDING

kahnipaimmipuhantun V 'used to dwell'
< kahni N 'house', -p'ai incpr V 'have', -mmi hab sfx, -ppuhantun past sfx < -ppuh pp, -kan stv, -tun prp

napittatahangkuhantun V 'having the dress pulled up for'
< na- pmpr, pi" instr prfx 'with butt', -tataha instr V 'pull dress up', -ngkun cat, -kan stv, -tun prp

naiwekipituihantun V 'woo, visit lover'
< na(w)i- N 'girl', weeki" pi V 'enter', pituh Aux 'arrive', -ih iterative sfx, -kan stv, -tun prp

tukummahannitunganna V 'tell to cook'
< tu- aps prfx, ku" 'with heat', ma- 'with hands', hannih V 'do, make, prepare', tunga Aux 'tell to', -nna general aspect sfx

petsuttaisuwammisu V 'wanted to take completely (to)'
< petsu" V 'take (someone)', -tain cmplt sfx, suwah Aux 'want', -mmi intentional sfx, -sun purposive sfx

Kwinawennangkwatun Numu N 'Northern / Western Shoshone'
< kwinawen- N 'north', nangkwa pp 'in the direction of, -wards', -tun sfx, numu N 'Shoshone, people'
pahontükinnümpü N 'ashtray'
< pahon- N 'tobacco', tükü" V 'put', -nnümpü nom instr

yookontukkupittsi N 'valley bobcat'
< yookon- N 'valley', tukkupittsi N 'wildcat' (< tukku N 'wildcat', -pi class sfx, -ttsi dim)

sape'esün Adv 'that time, then'
< sa- dem-loc 'there out of sight', -pe'e Post 'time', -sün Adv sfx

noohakapan Adv 'someplace, anyplace'
< noo Adv dubitative, haka Q 'what, something', pan Post 'on'

Internal symbolic changes are also used in word formation, primarily in verbs. In verbs, distinctions between categories such as singular versus plural and normal versus durative are often marked with consonantal and vocalic changes within the root, as seen in the examples below.

**Internal Symbolic Changes**

mi'a sg, mi'a" pl Vi 'go'
paha" sg Vi and instr V, pakiah pl Vi, -pakiih pl instr V 'split in half'
pikkwan sg Vi and instr V, pikwaa pl Vi, -pikwaii pl instr V 'shatter'
nuwi normal, nümii dur sg Vi 'walk around'
hapi" normal, hapi dur sg Vi 'lie (down)'

Reduplication is also a word-forming technique occasionally employed to distinguish number in verbs and to indicate plurality or distributiveness in nouns. Usually the initial syllable is reduplicated, but as the third example
below illustrates, on rare occasions a medial or final syllable is reduplicated.

**REDUPLICATION**

mi'a sg, mimi'a dl, mi'a" pl Vi 'go'

wunu" sg, wuwunu dl Vi 'stand'

potsosø sg, potsotsosø pl Vi 'drip'

tangummù sg 'man'; tattangungku dl, tattangummù pl N 'men'

Suppletion is not uncommon in verbs, where it is used to distinguish number in many of the most frequently occurring verbs. One or two nouns also employ suppletion as a device to mark number distinctions.

**SUPPLETION**

ika" sg, weeki" dl-pl Vi 'enter'

katú" sg-dl, yuki dl, nuupaïh / yuunaah pl Vi 'sit'

pakkah sg-dl, wasu" pl Vt 'kill'

to'eh sg, toto'eh dl, kua" pl Vi 'emerge'

tuki" sg-dl, taha" dl-pl Vt 'put'

-tukwan sg, -paih pl instr V 'hit'

üppüih sg-dl, okkoih dl-pl Vi '(go to) sleep'

yütsü" sg-dl, yotì" pl Vi 'fly'

wa'ippu sg 'woman'; huuppiangku dl, huuppiammù pl N 'women'

2.1.2 Word Order Characteristics

Túmpisa Shoshone displays most of the typological characteristics of a verb-final language. The grammatical features typically correlated with verb-final languages are listed and exemplified below. Many of these features are
discussed in detail elsewhere in this work, in which case cross-references are given in parentheses.¹

**VERB-FINAL GRAMMATICAL FEATURES IN TUMPISA SHOSHONE**

Object + Verb (2.2):

(1) Atu kapaaayu sakka tangummi tangummutih.
    that horse that-0 man-0 kicked
    'That horse kicked that man.'

Noun + Postposition (chapter 5):

(2) Satu punnang kahni kattu u petsüttaisuwamisù
    that his own house to her take-wanted
    tawintung kuppantü.
    cave inside

    'He wanted to take her to his own house inside a cave.'

Verb + Auxiliary (chapters 3 and 8):

(3) Tammu piiya hipittükintu'ih. < hipi"-tük-in-tu'ih
    we(inc) beer drink-start-will < drink-start-will
    'We'll start to drink beer.'

Genitive + Noun (chapters 4 and 5):

(4) Nummi appu we'e napuni satu.
    our(exc) father like look that
    'That one looks like our father.'
Adjective + Noun (chapter 6):

(5) Nū yuhupitta wa'ippūa punikkappūhantū.  
    I fat-O woman-O saw  
    'I saw the fat woman.'

Standard + Marker of Comparison (chapter 6):

(6) Nūū yuhupi ung kawi; uu pasampūttsi.  
    I fat you more than you skinny  
    'I'm fatter than you; you're skinny.'

Relative Clause + Noun (chapter 8):

(7) [Niam pusikwanna] tsawūn tangumū satū.  
    my knowing good man that  
    'The good man [I know] is that one.'

Intensifier + Adjective (chapters 6 and 7):

(8) Nū kenumūni pasampūttsi.  'I'm really skinny.'  
    I really skinny

Complement Clause + Main Clause (chapter 8):

(9) Nū [mi'akwantu'immi] suwakka.  
    I go-will-sub think about  
    'I’m thinking about [going].'  

Case Inflections (chapters 4 and 5):

(10) Tangumū nia pusikwa.  'The man knows me.'  
     man me know

(11) Nūū tangummi pusikwa.  'I know the man.'  
     I man-O know
Suffixation Predominating Over Prefixation
(See examples in 2.1.1.)

Simple Syllables (chapter 9)

Despite the fact that Tumpisa Shoshone displays many typical verb-final characteristics, it is by no means a rigid verb-final language. So, for example, objects sometimes come after verbs:

(12) Kapaayu atū sakka tangummuttiḥ isapungku.
    horse that that-O kicked dog
    'That horse kicked that one, the dog.'

Adjectives, especially participial adjectives, may occur after nouns (see chapter 6); e.g.:

(13) Tangumi nati'iwantūm punikkappūnantū nūū.
    man-O being mean-O saw I
    'I saw the mean man.'

Relative clauses commonly occur after nouns (see chapter 8); e.g.:

(14) Tangūmmū [akka nu pusikwanna] tūhūyanna u
    man that-O I know deer-O it
    kuttihantū.
    shoot-stv

    'The man that I know was shooting the deer.'

Complement clauses may follow main clauses (see chapter 8); e.g.:
And prefixation is important, although not to the degree that suffixation is (e.g., see the voice and instrumental prefixes discussed in 3.2.1).

In fact, Tumpisa Shoshone has flexible word order. For the most part, word order is not used as a semantic-syntactic device to distinguish different syntactic relations like subject and object, or different semantic participants like agent and patient (as word order is used, for example, in a rigid word order language like English). Rather, different word orders perform different pragmatic functions in discourse.

To get some idea of the flexibility of word order, some word order possibilities and their statistical frequencies are presented, after which some of the primary functions of different word orders are mentioned. The five narrative texts in chapter 10, for example, contain 287 clauses with the following different word orders for 134 transitive clauses and 153 intransitive clauses.\(^2\)
## Transitive Word Orders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S O V</th>
<th>S IO V O</th>
<th>S Oblq O V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S O V O</td>
<td>S O V IO O</td>
<td>S Oblq V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S O V S</td>
<td>O IO V S</td>
<td>S Oblq V S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S O V O S</td>
<td>O V IO</td>
<td>Oblq V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O V</td>
<td>O IO V</td>
<td>IO Oblq V O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O V O</td>
<td>IO O V</td>
<td>S Oblq S V Oblq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O V S</td>
<td>IO O V O</td>
<td>S Oblq O V Oblq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O V SO</td>
<td>S Oblq V Oblq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O S O V</td>
<td>S Oblq V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V O</td>
<td>S Oblq V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V</td>
<td>S Oblq V S Oblq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V S</td>
<td>V Oblq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Intransitive Word Orders

| S V | S Oblq V |
| S V S | S Oblq S Oblq V S |
| V S | V Oblq |

Clearly, then, word order is flexible. However, the list of orders above is somewhat misleading, in that all of the orders do not occur with the same degree of frequency. Some are common, others are rare, while still other are moderately common. In fact, of the more than two dozen different transitive orders, only five occur in the texts more than five times each.
FREQUENT TRANSITIVE ORDERS

\[
\begin{align*}
S \; \circ \; Vt &= 29 = 22\% \\
O \; Vt &= 45 = 34\% \\
O \; Vt \; S &= 16 = 12\% \\
O \; Vt \; IO &= 6 = 4\% \\
\text{Total} &= 96 = 72\% \\
\end{align*}
\]

of 134 Vt clauses

The relative frequency of intransitive orders is given below. (N.B. Oblique arguments have been disregarded here.)

INTRANSITIVE ORDERS

\[
\begin{align*}
S \; Vi &= 92 = 60\% \\
S \; Vi \; S &= 5 = 3\% \\
Vi \; S &= 23 = 15\% \\
Vi &= 33 = 21\% \\
\text{Total} &= 153 = 100\% \\
\end{align*}
\]

The figures below indicate the frequencies of the possible orders of subjects relative to verbs.

ALL CLAUSES

\[
\begin{align*}
S \; \text{before} \; V &= 148 = 52\% \\
S \; \text{after} \; V &= 52 = 18\% \\
V \; \text{w/o} \; S &= 96 = 33\% \\
\end{align*}
\]
(The totals immediately above are higher than the total number of clauses, and the sum of the percentages is higher than 100%. This is because four clauses have subjects before and after verbs.)

The following figures show the frequencies of the possible orders of objects relative to verbs (direct = 0, indirect = IO, and oblique = Oblq).

**OBJECT ORDERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Transitive Clauses</th>
<th>Intransitive Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 before vt</td>
<td>117 = 87%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 after vt</td>
<td>19 = 14%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vt w/o 0</td>
<td>10 = 7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vt w/o 0 and w/o Oblq</td>
<td>4 = 3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO before vt</td>
<td>9 = 56%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO after vt</td>
<td>7 = 44%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO before 0</td>
<td>5 = 31%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO after 0</td>
<td>11 = 69%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**OBLIQUE ORDERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Transitive Clauses</th>
<th>Intransitive Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oblq before v</td>
<td>26 = 65%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblq after v</td>
<td>14 = 35%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblq before vi</td>
<td>17 = 62%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblq after vi</td>
<td>10 = 38%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblq before vt</td>
<td>10 = 71%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblq after vt</td>
<td>4 = 29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can now make a number of observations from the figures above on word order frequencies. First, considering all types of clauses, subjects occur before verbs half the time. But the frequency of subjects before verbs is much higher in intransitive clauses (63%) than in transitive clauses (38%).
Second, about a fifth of the time (18%) in all kinds of clauses, subjects follow verbs.

Third, looking at all clauses together, one-third occur without overt subjects, although transitive clauses (47%) lack overt subjects over twice as often as intransitive clauses (21%). Overt direct objects are omitted less frequently than subjects, but still a significant number of clauses (10%) occur without them. In fact, ellipsis of direct arguments like subject and object is characteristic of Tümpisa Shoshone, despite the fact that there is no other person-marking in the sentence.

Fourth, direct objects occur before verbs overwhelmingly (87%) more frequently than after them (14%), but subjects (18%), indirect objects (44%), and oblique arguments (35%) occur relatively frequently after verbs, though less often than before them. Thus, even though Tümpisa Shoshone cannot accurately be labeled a "verb-final language," it certainly can be called an OV language, or one in which the direct object normally occurs before the verb, even if other constituents commonly follow it. Actually, the majority of direct objects that follow verbs are object complement clauses. Only rarely do simple noun phrase direct objects follow verbs, and then usually as afterthoughts.

Finally, direct arguments, such as subjects and objects, are often repeated in the same clause. Usually a repetition is a presumptive or resumptive pronoun copy of the argument, most often a pronominal demonstrative cross-referencing a third-person argument. The demonstrative does not necessarily form part of the same noun phrase as the argument it cross-references; it is like an independent but repeated argument (see examples 12 and 31, and chapters 4 and 5).

Some of these observations reveal more when considered together with discourse notions having to do with new, given, and old information and discourse topic.
### Transitive Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>S O Vt</th>
<th>O Vt</th>
<th>O Vt S</th>
<th>O Vt IO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(= 29)</td>
<td>(= 45)</td>
<td>(= 16)</td>
<td>(= 6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Topic Given Info</td>
<td>10 = 34%</td>
<td>44 = 98%</td>
<td>10 = 63%</td>
<td>6 = 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Topic Given Info</td>
<td>3 = 10%</td>
<td>1 = 6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Topic Old Info</td>
<td>6 = 21%</td>
<td>3 = 19%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Topic New Info</td>
<td>10 = 34%</td>
<td>2 = 12%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Topic New Info</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontopic</td>
<td>1 = 2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Intransitive Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>S VI</th>
<th>S VI S</th>
<th>VI S</th>
<th>VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(= 92)</td>
<td>(= 5)</td>
<td>(= 21)</td>
<td>(= 31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Topic Given Info</td>
<td>41 = 45%</td>
<td>3 = 60%</td>
<td>17 = 74%</td>
<td>27 = 82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Topic Given Info</td>
<td>8 = 9%</td>
<td>5 = 22%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Topic Old Info</td>
<td>18 = 19%</td>
<td>1 = 20%</td>
<td>1 = 4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Topic New Info</td>
<td>13 = 14%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Topic New Info</td>
<td>2 = 2%</td>
<td>1 = 20%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontopic</td>
<td>10 = 11%</td>
<td>6 = 18%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First of all, the data above reveal that clauses without overt subjects are those where the elliptical subject is a continuing topic. Nearly all clauses which do not have an overt subject are those with a notional subject that is the old topic and given information (e.g., 16-17 below). Thus, in 16 from the "Pinenuts" text, no overt subject appears, but the subject of the two clauses of 16 is understood to be Flicker, a short-term topic mentioned overtly in the preceding sentence.

(16) Toya ma apa supe'e u hanninna; u ûanna. mountain on there that time it do it plant 'There in the mountains he did it: he planted it.'
Similarly, in 17 from the "Girl and Dog" story, the notional subject is a continuing topic, in this case the girl.

(17) U mai nuwitu noohompe, u tsangkannuwaitu.

him with walk always him lead walking
'She walked around with him always, leading him.'

The only exceptions to elliptical subjects being topics are in clauses without topics of any kind (nontopics). These are mostly meteorological and background clauses as in 18, where, for example, English would have a dummy expletive 'it'.

(18) Utuinna kuttaa sapettu, utuintu.

be hot really there be hot-hab
'It's really hot there, it's hot.'

Subjects generally follow verbs when they are given or old information, whether or not they are a continuing topic or a new topic. But most typically, a subject following a verb is a continuing topic (i.e., old topic and given information), as in 19 from the first paragraph of the "Pinenut" story, where the subject 'we' is both given and topic.

(19) Kee tūppūhpē tammū.

not pinenut-have we(inc)
'We don't have any pinenuts.'

And also in 20 with an intransitive predicate, the pronominal demonstrative subject is given information and discourse topic. This example is from the "Girl and Dog" text, and the demonstrative refers to the girl.

(20) Kamanna sutū. 'She was sick.'

be sick that
However, there are a number of cases in transitive clauses where subjects follow their verbs when they are new information. These clauses with OVS word order are much like the passives in English used when the semantic patient is also the topic of the discourse. Tümpisa Shoshone has a passive voice (see sections 2.3.4 and 3.2.1.3), but agents may never be expressed in passive constructions. Thus, one function of OVS word order is to indicate that the patient (or object) is discourse topic. An excellent example of this is seen in 21 taken from the "Woman and Bear" text. This is the introductory sentence in the narrative (so the subject could not possibly be old or given information), yet it has OVS order. The woman is the overall topic of the entire story, but in this sentence she is a patient being kidnapped by the bear, which sets the scenario for the rest of the story.

(21) Wa'ippůa ukkwah hakapangkuh sampe kwůummaa utů woman-0 when where some caught that

pahamittsi utů hakamaanna u nuwiku toya bear that someplace her walk-when mountain

ma nootůŋga.
on maybe

' A woman got caught by a bear somewhere, probably when she was walking someplace in the mountains.'

Not infrequently, OVS order is also used when the object is first or second person and the subject is inanimate (as in 22). This is similar to the situation in 21 in that first and second persons are virtually always more prominent in the discourse environment than inanimate objects.
Subjects may precede verbs in virtually all informational and topical possibilities, despite the fact that other orders are more typically used in some particular situations, as discussed above. Thus, it seems that subject-before-verb order is the most generalized order, relative to orders with subjects following verbs or with subject ellipsis. This probably indicates that subject-before-verb order is the most basic or at least the most neutral order in Tumpisa Shoshone. And it seems virtually obligatory for (overt) subjects to precede verbs when they are new information and also new topic, as in 23–24, the first two sentences in the "Girl and Dog" story.

The first sentence, 23, is setting the scene for the whole story and the old lady is a transitory topic. The second sentence, 24, sets the plot and introduces the main topic, the girl.

The discourse functions of intransitive and transitive clauses differ in important ways. Intransitive clauses are used far more often than transitive clauses as presentatives.
to introduce participants into the discourse. While 60% of intransitive clauses occur with (overt) preverbal subjects, only 48% of transitive clauses do. As discussed above, preverbal subject position is where new participants are typically introduced. On the other hand, transitive clauses are used far more often than intransitive clauses to predicate something about a continuing topic. Nearly half (46%) of all transitive clauses occur without an overt subject, and another 18% have subjects following verbs. Clauses with elliptical or postverbal subjects most typically are used with continuing topics. Some 64% of transitive clauses typify continuing topic organization, while only 21% of intransitive clauses occur without overt subjects. This 21%, combined with the 18% that have postverbal subjects, amounts to only 39%, substantially lower than the 64% for transitive clauses.

2.1.3 Case Marking Characteristics

Tümpisa Shoshone displays typical nominative-accusative case marking throughout its case marking system (see chapters 4 and 5), since both intransitive and transitive subjects are marked for case in one manner while transitive objects have different case marking. However, characteristics of an ergative-absolutive system show up in number marking on verbs. Many intransitive verb stems differ with respect to the number of their subjects, while many transitive verb stems differ with respect to the number of their objects, not their subjects (see section 3.1.4). Thus, to a certain degree transitive objects and intransitive subjects are treated alike as absolutes governing number agreement in verbs; e.g.:
2.2 SIMPLE SENTENCE STRUCTURE

The next few paragraphs describe the basic types of simple sentences. The term simple sentence here means a clause which is active, declarative, affirmative, and independent (i.e., not subordinate). The primary kinds of simple sentences in Tumpisa Shoshone are linking (or copular), existential, intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive. Usually, only the obligatory constituents are mentioned for each type of simple sentence, but a number of other elements are always optional possibilities in each kind of sentence (e.g., adverbials, postpositional phrases, conjunct phrases and clauses, and subordinate clauses). More complex types of sentences are discussed in chapter 8, and the details of various sentential constituents are presented in chapters 3 through 7.

2.2.1 Linking and Existential Sentences

Linking and existential sentences are grammatically similar in Tumpisa Shoshone, so they are discussed together here. Both types of sentences are stative and typically occur with the stative verb naa" 'be', which is the copula par excellence in the language. Naa" may be used in all tenses and aspects of linking and existential sentences, but typically it is omitted in the simple present or narrative
present. *Naa* is used in the present, however, whenever the speaker wishes to communicate subtleties of aspect with the aspectual suffixes on the verb.

Linking sentences minimally consist of a subject and a predicate complement, with or without the copula *nāa*. A coreferential relationship always obtains between the subject and the predicate complement. The complement may be a predicate noun (or NP), a predicate adjective (or Adj phrase), or a predicate adverbial. In any case, the predicate complement is said of, or 'linked' to, the subject. The sentences in 25-30 have noun-phrase predicate complements. The examples in 25-27 are in the present, so there is no copula. In 27 no overt subject appears, although it is understood (as 'he').

(25) Satū wihnu niam petū. 'That's my daughter then.'
that then my daughter

(26) Nummi appū utū. 'That's our father.'
our(exc) father that

(27) Tsawūntū tangummū miikkwa. 'He's a good man now.'
good man now

The examples in 28-30 are not in the present, so *nāa* is used.

(28) Nūū tsukuppūttsi naappūhantū.
I old man be-prf
'I have gotten to be an old man.'

(29) Tammi appū naammaa satū wihnu.
our(inc) father was that then
'That was our father then.'
Examples of linking sentences with predicate adjectives are given in 31–36. Predicate adjectives may agree in number with their subjects. For example, in 32 the predicate iampu ‘wild’ is plural, since the optional plural enclitic -hammu is appended to it. The number enclitics are used on predicate adjectives to emphasize number, especially with human or animate subjects. However, number marking on predicate adjectives is not obligatory, as 31 illustrates. In 31 the predicate is surrounded by different parts of the subject; this is an instance of pronoun copy, as discussed above at the end of section 2.1.2.

(31) So'oppütü angkapitü satummü.
    many red those
    'A lot of them are red.'

(32) Nawittsittsiammü iampu-hammü.
    girls wild-pl
    'The girls are wild.'

(33) Tangummü tamnappüh. 'The man is crazy.'
    man crazy

The sentences in 34–36 contain examples of predicate adjectives used with the copula naa". In 34, the tense is present, but naa" is used to carry the stative suffix -kan, which implies that the clouds are not permanently red, but only for a certain period (as at sunset).

(34) Pakünappüh angkapi naakka. 'The clouds are red.'
    cloud red be-stv
(35) Nü tsomampu naappühantü. 'I used to be stingy.'
I stingy was

(36) Tangummü tammappüh naatu'ih.
man crazy be-will
'The man'll be crazy.'

The most typical kinds of linking sentences with
adverbial complements are those with locative predicate
adverbs or locative postpositional (adverbial) phrases, as
exemplified in 37–42.

(37) Taamü ütüintüng ka. 'We're in the heat.'
we(inc) heat at

(38) Paa pakatüngannümppu kuppa.
water kettle in
'The water is in the kettle.'

(39) Satü sape. 'She is there somewhere.'
that thereabouts

(40) Nummu sakkhu naamminna tatsawani.
we(exc) there be-hab summertime
'We were there in the summertime.'

(41) Nüü sekkih naappühantü. 'I was here.'
I here was

(42) Nian appu naappühantü sukkhu tütüaimmi sukkhu
my father was there working there
üattüah ka.
ranch at

'My father was there working on a ranch.'
Predicate adverbs may be other kinds as well. For example, (43) contains a manner predicate adverb, telling how the string is, rather than where it is.

(43) Wisipi annakkapa naattaippuh.
    string all together be-cmplt
    'The string is all together.'

Superficially, existential sentences in Tümpis Shoshone are much like linking sentences. They too consist minimally of a subject noun phrase and predicate complement such as a predicate adjective, a predicate noun (or NP), or predicate adverbial. However, existential sentences express different meanings than linking sentences. In linking sentences, some state or condition about the subject is being predicated, either that the subject is a particular entity (equating), or that it has certain qualities or attributes, or that it is located somewhere. In existential sentences, the actual existence of a subject of such and such a nature is being predicated. If the existence of an entity with certain specific qualities or conditions is being predicated, then the qualities or conditions syntactically occur as a predicate complement and the noun phrase denoting the entity is the subject of the sentence, just like in linking sentences. So, for example, in the first sentence of (44), 'ten' is the predicate complement, and 'those' is the subject; the sentence literally says 'those are ten'. In the second sentence of (44), 'ten' is again the predicate complement, while 'his daughters' is the subject; this sentence literally says 'his daughters are ten'.

(44) Süümootu sutümmü. Um petümmü süümootü.
    ten those his daughters ten
    'There are ten of them. There are ten of his daughters.'
The sentences in 45-48 are examples of similar existential constructions.

(45) Noohakaittu wainnih sakkuppuh.
    all kinds wine there
    'There are all kinds of wine there.'

(46) Sepe isapungkun tuammüttsi.
    here dog's baby
    'Here there are dog's babies.'

(47) Nü appü naappuhantü utu, númmü sumusü niam patsinümü.
    my father was that we(exc) all my
    OLSi Indian
    'There was my father, and all of us, [me and] my
    older Indian sisters [= parallel cousins].' 

(48) Nia samoppü naapuhantü wahattü.
    my sibling was two
    'There were two of my siblings (of the opposite sex).'

The linking verb naa" is more or less semantically empty (like 'be' in English). A number of other linking verbs have more semantic content.
LINKING VERBS

naa" 'be'
katū" sg, yükwì dl, nuupaih = yuunaah pl 'sit, stay, be positioned'

wunu" sg, wùwunu dl, toppangìh = tattsahìo pl 'stand'
hapi" sg, kwapi" dl, kopittùkhì pl 'lie, be prone'
kamman 'taste'
kwana" 'smell'
napunih 'look, appear'

The position-linking verbs may have locative complements (e.g., 49), manner adverbial complements (e.g., 50), and adjective complements (e.g., 51 and 52).

(49) Angipi kattu urn pui nàh. 
fly sit(dur) his eye on
'The fly is (sitting) on his eye.'

(50) Kahni antappu hampi.
house askew lie(dur)
'The house is (lying) on its side.'

(51) Satùmmu tattangummu nanaompì tatssahonna.
those men scattered stand(pl)
'Those men are (standing) scattered around.'

(52) Tangummu paappù wùnutù.
man tall stand-hab
'The man is tall.'

While the others normally have adjective or manner adverbial complements (e.g., 53 and 54).

(53) Tùttsùppù kwana. 'It smells funny.'
funny smell
(54) Satü isapungku ni napunni.
that dog like look(dur)
'He looks like a dog.'

2.2.2 Intransitive Sentences

Intransitive sentences always occur with an intransitive verb. And they also have no more than a single direct participant, the subject, which may be omitted if it is given information (see 2.1.2 above). Semantically, intransitive verbs may be either actions whose subjects are agents, or processes and states whose subjects are patients. A few intransitives, mostly those denoting meteorological or environmental phenomena, do not have subjects at all, either overt or implied; however, even these often occur with a 'dummy' elliptical subject, especially setü 'this around here'.

Active intransitive verbs denote activities performed by agents such as tutuai 'work', hupiatuki 'sing', nukki sg and nutaan pl 'run', nükka 'dance', nuwi sg and ningka pl 'walk around; live', notopahe 'climb'. Intransitive sentences with action verbs are exemplified in 55-57.

(55) Nü tamminoipitükwa nü tutuai. I be tired-arrive I work 'I get tired when I work.'

(56) Satü tsao nükkatu; uu kee tsao nükkatu. that well dance you not well dance 'He dances well; you don't dance well.'

(57) Nü toyapim ma nuwitü tunaa notopahe. I mountain on walk around down climb 'I walked around the mountain and climbed down.'
Process intransitive verbs are those which indicate that a patient is undergoing a change from one state or condition to another. Some typical process verbs are, for example, kotto'eh 'boil', tiyaih sg and ko'i≈ts uuwah pl 'die', nahna≈'grow (of animates)', sua≈'grow (of plants)', and uppuih sg and okkoih pl 'go to sleep', as well as environmental verbs like uma≈ängwa≈'rain' and taha'ah 'snow'.

(58) Isapaippu takuttiyaitawappuhantu.
Coyote thirst-die-cmplt-cmplt-past 'Coyote died of thirst.'

(59) Piammuttsi nahnanna. 'The baby is growing.'
baby grow

(60) Setü taha'ahwantu'ih. 'It's going to snow.'
this snow-going to

As discussed in the previous section (2.2.1), the copula naa≈ is normally a stative verb in linking sentences, but it can also function as a process verb in inchoative constructions. In these inchoative constructions, naa≈ is used with either the auxiliary mi'a 'go' (e.g., 61), the directional suffix -kin≈-kkin 'hither' (e.g., 62), or the inceptive aspect suffix -wiah (e.g., 63). With these it forms the inchoative verbs: naammi'a, naakkin, naawiah, all meaning 'become' or 'get' into a particular state or condition.

(61) Tatsa naammi'a. 'It's getting (to be) summer.'
summer be-go

(62) Tommo naakkiha. 'It's getting (to be) winter.'
winter be-hither
In addition, -wiah and the auxiliary verbs mi'a 'go' and pitū(h) 'arrive at (a state)' may be used to form inchoative process verbs from other verbs, especially stative intransitive verbs (e.g., 55, 64, and 65).

(64) Kottsappi ūtūwiah. 'The soup is getting hot.'
    soup   be hot-inceptive

(65) Tūmuhu nawūttamaml'i'a.
    rope   be tightened-go
    'The rope is getting tight(ened).'

Also, mi'a is sometimes used by itself as an inchoative process verb (e.g., 66).

(66) Tukwanni mi'a. 'It's getting dark.'
    dark   go

Intransitive verbs expressing states are those like kammah 'be sick, hurt, ache', tuupukkan 'be angry', ütsu'in 'be cold', and ütuin 'be hot'. Some examples follow.

(67) Satū noohompe tuupukkatū. 'He's always angry.'
    that always   be angry

(68) Nian tasikuttsi kammanna. 'My toe hurts.'
    my toe   hurt

(69) Piiya kütaappūh ütsu'inna.
    beer really   be cold
    'The beer is really cold.'
The linking verbs discussed and exemplified in the previous section are also, of course, stative intransitives.

Many intransitive verbs in Tumpisa Shoshone are not inherently (or at least not rigidly) active, process, or stative. Rather, they may function in one or the other of these semantic categories, depending on the discourse context and the verbal suffixes that are appended to them. For example, katú" 'sit (down)' is stative when used as a linking verb (e.g., 49), but is active in 70.

(70) Satú katúkwantu'ih. 'He's going to go sit down.'
that sit-go to-will

And, uppuin sg '(go to) sleep' is normally a process verb but may easily function as a stative verb as well, with the addition of the stative suffix -kan ≈ -kkan ≈ -han, as in 71.

(71) Satungku sekkuh uppuihantu.
those(dl) here sleep-stv
'Those two are sleeping here.'

Nuwa" 'move' may be interpreted as active if its subject is a human or animal (e.g., 72), but as process if its subject is inanimate (e.g., 73).

(72) Nü nuwakkwantu'ih. 'I'll move away.'
I move-away-will

(73) Tumpitta punikkappühantu nü nuwaku.
rock-O saw I move-sub
'I saw the rock move.'
2.2.3 Transitive Sentences

Simple transitive sentences minimally contain a transitive verb and two participants (or arguments), the subject (typically an agent) and the object (typically a patient). Thus, some transitive activities are expressed with verbs like: hannih 'do, make, prepare, fix, get', utuingkun 'heat', koitsoih 'wash', ma'oh 'push away', pakkah sg and wasū pl 'kill', saawah 'boil', tangummuttih 'kick', tsikka'ah sg and tsikkopiih pl 'cut flexible obj', tso'i 'pick, gather', tsokweh 'smash', and yaa sg and hima pl 'carry'. A few of these are exemplified in 74-78, and others in 1, 12, 16 and 21-24.

(74) Tangummu kunnai hannikoppuhantu toya mantunna.
    man fire- got mountain on
    wood-O
    'The man got firewood in the mountains.'

(75) Wa'ippu tukkuapitta saawanna.
    woman meat-O boil
    'The woman is boiling the meat.'

(76) Huuppimmu tupanna tso'ikwantu'ih.
    women pinenut-O pick-going to
    'The women are going to pick pinenuts.'

(77) Patummu piiya himakkintu'ih.
    buyer beer carry-hither-will
    'The liquor buyer'll bring the beer.'

(78) Sutu pai tühuyanna wasüppühantu.
    that three deer-O killed
    'He killed three deer.'
Some transitive verbs with nonagent subjects are nangkah 'hear', nasuntamah 'remember', nasuwatsi" 'forget', puni" 'see', pusikwa 'know', sumpanai 'know', and masungkwa'ah ~ masungkwa" 'feel, touch (with hand').

(79) Nüü u sumpanai. 'I know it.'
I it know

(80) Nüü nü tuatttsia nasuntamanna. 'I remember my son.'
I my son-O remember

(81) Satü tsao u pusikwatü, sümüsü noohinna pusikwatü.
that well it know all anything know
'He knows it well, he knows everything.'

(82) Nootunga sutü u nangkähammaa.
hopefully that it heard
'Hopefully, he heard it.'

(83) U punikkappühantü setü. 'This one saw it.'
it saw this

Some transitive sentences have inanimate nonvolitional subjects, which nevertheless may be powerful agents.

(84) Piiya tammi muiyaingkühwantu'i'h.
beer us intoxicate-going to
'The beer's going to make us drunk.'

(85) Tapettsi nia ütingkümminna.
sun me heat
'The sun makes me hot [lit: heats me].' 

Some other kinds of transitive verbs which deviate more or less from the transitive prototype are discussed in chapter 3.
Direct and indirect objects are not distinguished grammatically in Tumpisa Shoshone either by case marking or by word order. Semantically they are distinct in that the direct object is the patient (or most patient-like), and the indirect object is the goal towards which the activity is directed, or the beneficiary of the activity, or the recipient of the patient via the activity. Some two-object or ditransitive verbs are teewingkun 'tell', uttuu 'give', nangkawih 'talk to, speak to', niingkun ≈ yūngkun 'tell, say to', and many others productively formed with the applicative suffix -ngkun (see 3.2.1.5).

(86) Tuinuppu tammi eti uttuppūhantū.
    boy us(inc) gun-O gave
    'The boy gave us a gun.'

(87) Nūū sukkwa ma teewingkūntu'ih.
    I that-O him will tell
    'I'll tell him that.'

(88) Antsia tumūungkuppūhantū nuu kwasu'unna.
    Angie-O bought for I dress-O
    'I bought Angie a dress.'

2.2.4 Noun Incorporation

Incorporation of single noun objects into the verb is highly productive, especially with certain verbs. Two verbs, -pa'in (≈ -pa'en) 'have' and -'amih 'make, build', require that their noun objects be incorporated, as illustrated in 89-90.

(89) Satū so'oppūh paani'amītu'ih.
    that much bread-make-will
    'She'll make a lot of bread.'
Tangummu tuppapitūna pampipa'ippuhantu.

man  black-0  hair-have-past

'The man had black hair (i.e., before it got gray).'

The verb yukwi" = yukwi" 'do, get, go after' is often used with incorporated noun objects, but its objects are not obligatorily incorporated. When its objects are incorporated, as in 91, they are unspecific and nonreferential, and therefore they are uninflected for objective case. On the other hand, unincorporated objects with yukwi" = yukwi" are specific and referential, and they are inflected for objective case, as in 92.

Satummu kawayukwitu. 'They rat-hunt.'

those  rat-go after

Satummu kawai yukwitū. 'They go after some rats.'

those  rat-o go after

Incorporated objects may be specific and quite referential, as is the case in 90 and probably also in 89. However, specific and referential incorporated objects seem to be restricted to verbs like those illustrated in 89-90, which obligatorily incorporate their objects.

More is said about noun incorporation in the next chapter on verbs, especially in section 3.2.1.1 and in the discussion of instrumental prefixes in section 3.2.1.2.

2.3 BASIC SENTENCE ELABORATIONS

The basic sentence elaborations discussed in this section are negatives (2.3.1), interrogatives (2.3.2), imperatives (2.3.3), and passive and antipassive voices (2.3.4).
2.3.1 Negatives

Basic negation is expressed with the negative adverbial particle *ke(e)* 'no, not', which has a long vowel under stress or emphasis, but which often has a short vowel when unstressed. *Kee* may be used to negate whole clauses or main constituents within clauses. When negating the entire clause, *kee* usually comes first or second in the clause, as in the sentences in 93-101. Verbs in negative clauses most commonly take the general negative suffix \(-\text{sin} \equiv -\text{tsin}\) (e.g., 94, 95 and 97) or habitual suffix \(-\text{tun}\) (e.g., 96 and 100), but they may also occur with other suffixes (e.g., 98), or without suffixes (e.g., 99 and 101).

(93) Ekkih ke taamangkantu.
    here not tooth-characterized by
    'He's missing a tooth here.'

(94) Nootunga kee tiyaisippuh.
    probably not dead-neg-pp
    'He probably is not dead.'

The sentences in 93-94 are examples of negation in clauses with nonverbal predicates, 93 having a predicate noun and 94 having a predicate (participial) adjective. In 95-96 and 103, the sentences are intransitive: 95 and 103 are active intransitives, and 96 is a stative intransitive.

(95) Nootunga ke kimasintu'ih.
    probably not come-neg-will
    'He probably won't come back.'

(96) Ke nu üitsüismitu. 'I wouldn't be cold.'
    not I be cold-hab
In 97-102, the examples are all transitive clauses of various kinds.

(97) Tangumū kee tammi punnisi.
    man not us(inc) see-neg
    'The man doesn't see us.'

(98) Nūū kee sakka tsao suwangkunna.
    I not that-O well like/love
    'I don't like that / don't love her.'

(99) Hakatū mi'akommaa, nūū kee sumpanai.
    someone went I not know
    'Someone left, but I don't know (who).' 

(100) Nū sūmni ṭ̄n niingkūppūhantū kee so'o
    I that you-O told not much
    hlipikkantū wainniha.
    drink-stv-hab wine-O
    'I told you not to drink so much wine.'

(101) Ke tūppappūhpā'e tamū, ke tūppannaappūhpā'e.
    not pinenut-have we(inc) not pinenut-own-have
    'We don't have pinenuts, we don't have any pinenuts of our own.'

Keesū(sū), 'not yet', derived from kee, is the only other clausal negative adverb (e.g., 102-103).

(102) Keesūsū nū tūnanka apposi.
    not yet I taste apple
    'I haven't tasted the apple yet.'
(103) Satu kesu tunokkontu.
    that not yet aps-roast
    'She’s still not roasting [something] yet.'

When **kee** negates one particular constituent in a clause, it comes immediately before the constituent it negates, as in 104-107.

(104) Üü kee tokwi yükki. 'You're doing it wrong.'
you not right do(dur)

(105) Satu tsao hupiatuki, nüü püü kee tsao hupiatuki.
    that well sing I emph not well sing
    'He sings well, but I myself sing not very well.'

(106) Nüü muiyaitaippühantu, nü keehinna
    I got drunk-cmplt I not anything-O
    sumpanaippühantu.
    knew
    'I got completely drunk, and I knew nothing.'

(107) Keehii nanangkanna. 'Nothing is making noise.'
    nothing make noise

As 106 and 107 indicate, **kee** often forms loose compounds with constituents that it frequently occurs with. In fact, a fair number of words are derived from **kee**.

2.3.2 Interrogatives

General yes/no questions are typically formed with the interrogative adverbial particle **ha**, which is normally appended as an enclitic to the first word in the interrogative clause, as in 108-116. Examples in 108-111 are interrogative linking sentences.
(108) Usù ha tokwi? 'Is that right?'
that Q right

(109) Ûù ha kuttiyaippùh? 'Are you (too) hot?'
you Q heat-dead [= be too hot]

(110) Usù ha kahni? 'Is that a house?'
that Q house

(111) Epi ha ûm pinnangkwa?
here Q you behind
'Is it/he here behind you?'

The examples in 112-114 are intransitive interrogatives.

(112) Tukkuapi ha pue pasawi'ah?
meat Q soon get dry
'Is the meat getting dry soon?'

(113) Satù ha wùnmù? 'Is he standing?'
that Q stand(dur)

(114) Ûù ha mukuatukattù? 'Are you sitting thinking?'
you Q think-sit(dur)

And the examples in 115-116 are transitive interrogatives.

(115) Mungku ha kaakkia punikkammaa?
you(d1) Q crow-O saw
'Did you two see the crow?'

(116) Ñù ha ma manti tukkan tukkatu'ih?
I Q it part-O eat-will
'Can I eat part of it?'
Many yes/no questions, however, are not marked with ha, but rather with rising intonation and no other grammatical marking. These grammatically unmarked yes/no questions are rhetorical questions, usually requesting confirmation essentially like grammatically unmarked questions in English (cf. Did he go? vs. He went?). Speakers use rhetorical questions frequently in conversations to make sure they are understanding other participants. For example in (117), the two rhetorical questions by MK are made to make sure she is understanding MB's remarks.

(117) MB: Hakapa’a saepë wūkkanna sutū wihnu somewhere work that then hakapaamaana.
someplace 'He was working someplace then somewhere.'
MK: Kuhmattsi? husband 'The husband?'
MB: Reemmani. [= husband] Raymond '[Yes,] Raymond.'
MK: Mainni?
mine '[In a] mine?'
MB: Haa'a. yes 'Yes.'

The mini-conversation in (117) is a fragment of a much longer conversation (in 10.6) which contains dozens of grammatically unmarked rhetorical questions like those above. The reader may wish to peruse the longer conversation for more examples.

Tumpisa Shoshone has approximately two dozen question words; they are listed in section 4.4 and discussed and exemplified in detail there. Most of the interrogatives are
built on the general question word haka 'what, who, how, where' (e.g., hakatun 'who', hakka 'whom', hakami 'how, what [of something said]', hakapan 'where', hakattuh 'where', hakann 'how, what way', etc.), or hii ~ hin- 'what' (e.g., hinna obj 'what', himpa 'how', himpe 'when', etc.). No doubt both haka and hii are also etymologically related to the yes/no question particle ha as well.

Interrogative sentences with question words display fronting of the questioned constituent, since the question word inevitably occurs first in the sentence. If the subject of the sentence is not itself questioned, it usually occurs at the end of the sentence (most likely because it is given information). Other than the question word itself, interrogatives are not further marked. A few examples are given below in 118-125.

(118) Hii satu? 'What's that?'
What that

(119) Hakapa umming kahni? 'Where's your house?'
where your house

(120) Hakami natupinhahantu (Mitukkaano)? 'What's it called (in English)?'
what be called English

(121) Haka nasungka'anna uu? 'How are you feeling?'
how feel you

(122) Hakanni Yukwinna uu? 'What are you doing?'
what way do you

(123) Hinna punikka satummu? 'What are they looking at?'
what look at those
2.3.3 Imperatives

In imperative constructions, the second person pronouns are normally omitted. The verb is either the simple bare stem without aspect and tense suffixes, or it consists of the stem plus one of the directional suffixes such as -kin ≈ -kkin ≈ -hin 'hither', -kwan ≈ -kkwan ≈ -hwan 'away', -kon ≈ -kkon ≈ -hon 'moving randomly' (see 3.1.2). In dual and plural imperatives the number enclitics, -ongku dl and -ommu pl, are obligatorily appended to the verb (e.g., 126b-c, 128b-c, 129b-c, 131b-c, and 132b-c). With transitive imperatives, if the object is given information and therefore pronominalized, the pronoun must be ma 'it' (e.g., 128-130), although an additional pronoun copy may also be used (e.g., 129a).

(126)  a. Eti nu yaakki! 'Bring me the gun!'  
gun-O me bring

b. Eti nu yaakki-ongku!  
gun-O me bring-dl  
'Bring me the gun, you two!'  

c. Eti nu yaakki-ommu!  
gun-O me bring-pl  
'Bring me the gun, you all!'  

(127)  Pai hipi! ≈ Hipippai! 'Drink the water!'  
water-O drink  
drink-water-O
(128) a. Ma himakki! 'Bring them!'
   it bring(pl 0)

   b. Ma himakki-ongku! 'Bring them, you two!'
   it bring(pl 0)-dl

   c. Ma himakki-ommu! 'You all, bring them!'
   it bring(pl 0)-pl

(129) a. Ma puni akka! 'Look at that!'
   it see that-O

   b. Ma puni-ongku! 'Look at it, you two!'
   it see-dl

   c. Ma puni-ommü! 'Look at it, you all!'
   it see-pl

(130) a. Ma kuttih! 'Shoot it!'
   it shoot

   b. Ma kutti-ongku! 'Shoot it, you two!'
   it shoot-dl

   c. Ma kutti-ommü! 'Shoot it, you all!'
   it shoot-pl

Interestingly enough, ma is also normally used with imperative intransitive verbs as well (e.g., 131-133), even though it is not obligatory with them as it is with transitives.

(131) a. Ma m'i'akwa! 'Go away!'
   it go away
b. Ma mimi'akwa-ongku! 'Go away, you two!'  
   it go(dl) away-dl

c. Ma mi'akkwa-ommü! 'Go away, you all!'  
   it go(pl) away-pl

(132) a. Ma kimmaki! 'Come here!'  
   it come hither

b. Ma kikimmaki-ongku! 'Come here, you two!'  
   it come(dl) hither-dl

c. Ma kimmahi-ommü! 'Come here, you all!'  
   it come(pl) hither-pl

(133) Ma tûpuni, tammû miakkwantu'ih!  
   it wake up we/inc go away-will  
   'Wake up so we can go!'

2.3.4 Passives and Antipassives

Passives and antipassives are discussed in detail in the next chapter (3.2.1.3 and 3.2.1.4), so they are only briefly illustrated here. Both passive and antipassive sentences are means for discussing a basically transitive activity without mentioning one of the necessary participants in the activity, agent or patient (or experiencer or goal). In Tûmpisa Shoshone, passives are used to discuss transitive activities when the speaker, for some reason, does not want to mention the agent. Passive sentences can never contain the agent of the activity. Passive sentences are marked by the prefix na- (= no-)$^3$ on the verb (e.g., 134-136). The basically transitive verb becomes intransitive with the passive prefix na-. The patient (or goal) is the subject of the passive sentence.
(134) Nummu sape namiangkutaippuhantu.
    we(exc) there were sent
    'We were sent there.'

(135) Tukopoyo'ittsi pahannai ipantu napakkataihwa.
    kingbird down here was killed
    'Kingbird was killed down here.'

However, if the patient is inanimate, it normally retains
objective case marking just as if it were the object of a
transitive sentence (e.g., 136).

(136) Pue tammin tupanna nayaappuh.
    already our(incl) pinenut-O be-taken-pp
    'Our pinenuts have already been taken.'

Antipassive sentences are the obverse of passives; they
are used in situations when the speaker does not want to
mention the object (i.e., patient or goal) of a transitive
activity. Antipassives are marked with the prefix tO- (=
tu-)^4 on the verb, as in 137-139. In antipassive sentences,
normally transitive verbs with the prefix tO- become
morphologically intransitive. The subject of an antipassive
verb is the agent, and the verb does not take an object,
although an unspecific object is implied.

(137) Satu tangummu tumo'ikattu.
    that man aps-write-sit(dur)
    'The man is sitting writing [something].' 

(138) Nuu tusaawaha. 'I'm boiling [something].'
    I aps-boil-stv 

(139) Satu kesu tunokkontu.
    that not yet aps-roast 
    'She's still not roasting [something] yet.'
Notes to Chapter 2

1. The items in the list of word order correlates here may be found in Greenberg 1963, Lehmann 1978, and Mallinson and Blake 1981.

2. The word order possibilities and statistical frequencies presented in the next few paragraphs include data only from the narratives in 10.1-10.5, not from the conversation in 10.6. The material in the conversation has been omitted because, being a normal conversation, it has many sentence fragments, interruptions, cases where one speaker finishes the other’s sentences, cases where one speaker changes topics in the middle of the other’s turn, and so on. All of these things make it difficult, if not impossible, to delineate accurately where one clause begins and the other ends, or even if one is dealing with a clause or sentence. The narratives are much less fragmented, and clausal delineation poses no real problem.

3. The variant no- is due to vowel harmony with round vowels in the following syllable (see section 9.3.3).

4. The variant tu- is due to vowel harmony with round vowels in the following syllable (see section 9.3.3).