Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Grammar

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Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Grammar

Jon P. Dayley
TÜMPISA (PANAMINT) SHOSHONE GRAMMAR
Tümpisa (Panamint)
Shoshone Grammar

Jon P. Dayley
To Mamie Boland,
who lived with a pure heart
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-- Members of my family, Victoria, Lucas, Nicolas, and Veronica, whose love and patience kept me going.
Abbreviations

absol  absolutive
act   active
Adj   adjective
Adv   adverb
agt   agent
aps   antipassive
Aux   auxiliary verb
C    consonant
cat   causative, applicative and transitivizing suffix
cf   compare
cmplt completive aspect
comb combining form
Con   conjunction
Dem   demonstrative
dim   diminutive, affectionate suffix
dl   dual
dur   durative
DV    Death Valley
emph emphatic
Eng   English
exc   exclusive
exst  existential
form  formative
greet greeting
hab   habitual aspect suffix
imprf imperfective
inc   inclusive
incorp incorporating
indef indefinite
inf   infinitive
instr instrumental
Intrj interjection
IO    indirect object
lit   literal(ly)
irreg irregular
Loc   locative
med-pass medio-passive
ms    man speaking
N     noun
N  nasal
name  proper name
neg  negative
new  new information
No  number
nom  nominalizer
NP  noun phrase
O  object and direct object
obj  object(ive)
oblig  obligative
old  old information
pass  passive
pat  patient
pl  plural
pmpr  passive, mediopassive, reflexive prefix
poss  possessive
Post  postposition
pp  past participle
prf  perfective
prfx  prefix
prn  pronoun
prp  present participle
Q  interrogative or question morpheme
Quant  quantifier
quot  quotative
recip  reciprocal
rel  relative
refl  reflexive
S  subject
sfx  suffix
sg  singular
Sp  Spanish
stv  stative suffix
sub  subordinate (marker)
subj  subjective
top  toponym
V  verb
VI  intransitive verb
vi  voiceless
VP  verb phrase
Vt  transitive verb
ws  woman speaking
w  varies with
#  word boundary
THE NUMIC SPEAKING AREA

The Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone area is shaded

(after Fowler and Fowler 1971)
THE TÜMPI SA (PANAMINT) SHOSHONE AREA

(after Steward 1938)
INTRODUCTION

This monograph is an introductory descriptive grammar of Tŭmpis Shoshone, meant to provide both layman and specialist with a basic understanding of how the language works as a linguistic system. In this sense, it is intended to be a "nuts and bolts" grammar with lots of examples illustrating the most important grammatical elements and processes in the language.1

Tŭmpis Shoshone is a dialect of the language most often called Panamint in the technical literature (e.g., Freeze and Iannucci 1979, Henshaw 1883, Kroeber 1939, Lamb 1958a and 1964, McLaughlin 1987, Miller 1984). The language is also known as Panamint Shoshone (Fowler and Fowler 1971, Merriam 1904, Miller et al. 1971), Koso (= Coso) or Koso Shoshone (Kroeber 1925, Lamb 1958a), and simply Shoshone (Steward 1938). Panamint and two other closely related languages, Shoshone proper and Comanche, comprise the Central Numic branch of the Numic subfamily of the northern division of the Uto-Aztecan family of American Indian languages (see Lamb 1964, Miller 1984, Kaufman and Campbell 1981). Speakers of Uto-Aztecan languages occupied more territory in aboriginal America than any other group. More than 30 Uto-Aztecan languages were spoken over a vast area stretching from the Salmon River in central Idaho south through the Great Basin and peripheral areas into the Southwest and through northern and central Mexico. Colonies of Aztecan speakers were also scattered further south into Central America. At the time of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern Division</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NUMIC</strong></td>
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<td>Central Numic</td>
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<td>Panamint (= Tumpisa Shoshone), Shoshone, Comanche</td>
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<td>Western Numic</td>
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<td>Mono, Northern Paiute (= Paviotso)</td>
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<td>Southern Numic</td>
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<td>Kawaiisu, Chemehuevi-Southern Paiute, Ute</td>
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<td>Tubatulabal isolate</td>
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<td><strong>TAKIC</strong></td>
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<td>Hopi isolate</td>
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<td><strong>Southern Division</strong></td>
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<td><strong>SONORAN</strong></td>
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<td>Corachol</td>
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<td>Cora, Huichol</td>
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<td>Tarahumara, Guarijio</td>
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<td>Tepiman</td>
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<td>Pima-Papago, Pima Bajo</td>
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<td>Northern Tepehuan, Southern Tepehuan-Tepecano</td>
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<td>Opatan</td>
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<td>Opata-Jova, Eudeve-Heve</td>
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<td>Mayo-Yaqui isolate</td>
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<td>Tubar isolate</td>
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<td><strong>AZTECAN</strong></td>
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<td>Pochutec</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nahua-Pipil</td>
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the Conquest there were Aztec speakers as far south as Nicaragua, and an Aztec language called Pipil is still spoken today in El Salvador. The Uto-Aztecan family has a time depth of over 5000 years; its divisions are outlined below (after Kaufman and Campbell 1981).

The Numic subfamily of Uto-Aztecan is a well defined group having a time depth of over 2000 years (according to lexico-statistic methods of dating; see Hale 1958-59, Lamb 1958a, Miller 1984). Numic is comprised of three branches, each with two or three closely related languages which split up about 1000 years ago. Speakers of Numic languages occupied the Great Basin and peripheral regions such as the Snake River Plain and the Colorado Plateau (see maps). The three branches of Numic fan out into the Great Basin and adjacent areas from southeastern California, with Mono, Panamint, and Kawaiisu confined to the extreme southwestern portion of the area. This area, between the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada and Death Valley, is thought to be the homeland of people speaking Proto-Numic (see Lamb 1958a, Fowler 1972b, Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982). The other languages in the Numic subfamily cover large territories to the north and east of the apex in southeastern California. Comanche is the only Numic language spoken in an area not contiguous to territory of the other languages. Speakers of Comanche were formerly Shoshone who broke off the main group and adopted a Great Plains lifeway just before Europeans arrived in the area. Today, many live in Oklahoma.

In aboriginal times, Panamint was spoken by small bands of Indian people living a hunting and gathering lifeway in the valleys, deserts, and mountain ranges east of the Sierra Nevada in what is today southeastern California and southwestern Nevada. Panamint territory included the southern end of Eureka Valley, Saline Valley and the eastern slopes of the Inyo Mountains, the southern end of Owens Valley around Owens Lake, the Little Lake area and the Coso Range, Indian Wells Valley and the Argus Range, northern
Panamint Valley and the Panamint Mountains, the Last Chance Range, northern and central Death Valley, the Grapevine Mountains and Funeral Range, the Amargosa Desert and area around Beatty, Nevada.

These people followed a transhumance lifeway, mostly residing in the lower and warmer valleys and desert areas in the winter and moving to cooler higher elevations of the mountains in summer, when the valleys become unbearably hot. To a large extent, they followed this migratory pattern well into the present century (see section 10.1). During much of the year, individual families wandered independently foraging for food, with men mostly hunting game and women mostly gathering and preparing plant foods. Communal activities primarily involved several families coming together to harvest and prepare pinenuts in the fall, for rabbit or antelope drives, and often several families wintered together in the same village. Whenever a number of families were together, there were festivities such as recounting folktales, dancing, singing, and gambling, especially playing handgame (= stickgame). Perhaps the most important social event of the year was the fall festival after the pinenut harvest. Outside of the immediate family, the most important political ties were among families that wintered together, but these ties were not binding, since the same families did not always winter together year after year.

The Panamints lived in some of the harshest country in the Americas. Many of the valleys are hot, arid, lower Sonoran desert. Arid conditions lessen somewhat as one moves higher, but nearly the entire area below 5,600 feet elevation is characterized by desert conditions. And Death Valley is one of the hottest and driest places on earth.

Like hunters and gatherers everywhere, the Panamints knew their environment extremely well. They knew the locations of all the springs in the area, whether they were permanent or temporary, or when the water could be found below the surface and at what depths, and they knew if the
water was sweet, brackish but palatable, or poisonous. They exploited virtually all of the animal and plant resources in the area. Big game like mountain sheep, antelope, and deer were hunted, and so were small game such as cottontails, jackrabbits, pikas, various squirrels, chipmunks, and desert rats, many kinds of birds and waterfowl, lizards (especially chuckwalla), and edible insects and grubs. Hundreds of different kinds of plants were utilized (see Fowler 1972a). Pinenuts, mesquite beans, and seeds of Indian ricegrass were the most important staples, but all kinds of wild edible seeds, berries, roots, and tubers were harvested. Hundreds of plants were also used for medicinal purposes, and some, such as jimson weed, as intoxicants. Plants were also used in making various kinds of implements such as sinew-backed juniper bows, willow and cane arrows with greasewood frontal shafts, wild hemp string, reed flutes, willow and sumac baskets, etc., as well as brush houses and mud-covered, brush-framed sweat houses. The Panamints produced some of the finest and most delicate basketry in the Americas.

There never were many Panamints. Kroeber (1925:590) estimates that the country they occupied never would have supported more than 500 people; that figure is with a population density of 2.11 people per square kilometer, which is thought to be the maximum, given the technology and lifeway of the Panamints (1939:137). Kroeber notes that "In 1883 an estimate [of the Panamint population] was 150; in 1891, less than 100; a recent one [1925], between 100 and 150" (1925:590). In 1973 I made a rough count of 35 to 40 people who could speak the language fluently and used it daily. In 1988, there were less than half a dozen people who could speak the language fluently, and they were in their 80s, 90s, and 100s. A few more still had a passive, though not fluent, knowledge of the language. Clearly, the Panamint Shoshone language is on the brink of extinction.

The grammatical description in this monograph is based entirely on Tumpisa Shoshone, the dialect of Panamint spoken
in and around Death Valley, California, and all of the examples given are from the Tumpisa dialect. Nearly all of the lexical material in the Tumpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Dictionary (Dayley 1989) is also from this dialect. Between 1971 and 1973, I spent three summers and several shorter periods in the winters doing linguistic fieldwork with speakers from the Furnace Creek area of Death Valley. I also worked very briefly with the last speaker from Saline Valley and with one of the last from the Darwin area, but the material I collected from them was not in any way different from the Death Valley material. In 1988, I made a month-long field trip to check material in the grammar; at that time, I worked with one person from Furnace Creek and another from Beatty, Nevada.

In earlier times, people from different valleys, even people from different villages within the same valley, spoke somewhat different dialects of Panamint. In recent years, however, the Tumpisa dialect has predominated, since more people from Death Valley continued to use the language on a day-to-day basis than did people from other areas. As far as I can tell, of the handful of speakers left today, only one is not from Death Valley; she is from Beatty. I should note, however, that the Beatty dialect is the most distinct, having many characteristics of Shoshone proper not found in other varieties of Panamint to the west of Beatty.

The term Tumpisa' is the native word for Death Valley. It literally means 'rock ochre', since the word is a compound formed with the root tünk- (as in the noun tünk), meaning 'rock', and pisak' 'red ochre'. Thus, Death Valley is named after an important source of red ochre found in Golden Canyon a little southeast of present-day Furnace Creek. Tumpisa' is often used with the general locative postposition ka, forming Tumpisakka 'in/at/to Death Valley', and frequently the latter form is nominalized with the suffix -tünk, forming Tumpisakkatünk. All three forms -- Tumpisa', Tumpisakka, and
Tümpisakkatun — are used to refer to Death Valley. People from Death Valley are called Tümpisatse.

Except in this introduction, the term "Panamint" is not used in this grammar at all. Panamint is a technical term used only by linguists and anthropologists. Neither the Indians themselves nor non-Indians in the area use the word. In English, Indian and non-Indian alike call the people and their language Shoshone. When speaking their own language, people refer to it either as sosoni or númu. Sosoni may be used either in reference to the language or to a Shoshone (= Panamint) Indian. Númu has several related meanings. It not only refers to the language, but it is also the generic word for 'person' or 'people'. It is also used in a more specific sense to mean 'Indian' as opposed to a non-Indian; and it may be used still more specifically to mean 'Shoshone (= Panamint)', as opposed to other kinds of people. When speaking English, the Indians use the term 'Nevada Shoshone' to refer to what linguists and anthropologists would call Shoshone proper, in reference to either the people or the language. The 'Nevada Shoshone' are said to speak a different language, although one recognized to be very closely related to 'Shoshone (= Panamint)'. It is said that if one goes to live in Nevada, it only takes a few weeks to make the adjustments necessary to speak the other language. In Tümpis Shoshone, the people speaking Shoshone proper are called (Sosoniammi) Kwinawen Nangkatun Númu, literally '(Shoshone) people towards the north'.

To both Indians and non-Indians living in the area, the term Panamint seems strange as a linguistic or cultural designation, since to them it could logically only refer to people from Panamint Valley or to the variety of 'Shoshone' that Panamint Valley Indians spoke. But since there haven't been any Indians from Panamint Valley for some time, the term does not make sense, and certainly does not make sense as a designation for people from Death Valley or other places in the area. Since the term seems ridiculous, even somewhat
offensive, to locals, Indian or non-Indian, I have opted not to use it.

The linguistic and anthropological literature on the Tûmpisa Shoshone is sparse. The most important anthropological works remain Kroeber (1925:589-592) and Steward (1938:70-93), but Kerr (1980) also has a good deal of information. Two early sources are Colville (1892) and Nelson (1891). Early linguistic sources are Henshaw (1883) and Merriam (1902 and 1904). The only substantial linguistic source to date is McLaughlin's (1983) work based on the Beatty dialect. For discussions of Numic and Uto-Aztecan, see Kaufman and Campbell (1981), Lamb (1958a and 1964), Langacker (1977), Miller (1964, 1966, 1967, and 1984), Nichols (1973), Sapir (1913-14 and 1915), Steele (1979), Voegelin, Voegelin, and Hale (1962), and Whorf (1939). Grammars and dictionaries on other Numic languages are Canonge (1958) on Comanche; Crapo (1976) and Miller (1972 and 1975) on Shoshone; Givón (1980) on Ute; Sapir (1930 and 1931) on Southern Paiute; Lamb (1958b and 1958c) on Mono; and Nichols (1973) and Liljeblad (1967) on Northern Paiute. Some shorter works on Shoshone may be found in Dayley (1970, 1986a, and 1986b) and McLaughlin (1982a, 1982b, and 1983). D'Azevedo et al. (1964) and Sturtevant and D'Azevedo (1986) should be consulted for background information on the Numic area in general.

For a summary of the archaeology in the area with relevant primary bibliographic sources, see Warren and Crabtree (1986). They suggest that there has been cultural continuity in Death Valley for the last three major archaeological periods, going back some 4000 years:

Shoshonean Period (= Death Valley IV)
A.D. 1220 to contact

Saratoga Springs Period (= Death Valley III)
A.D. 500-1200

Gypsum Period (= Death Valley II)
2000 B.C.-A.D. 500
The organization of this grammar is as follows: Chapter 2 provides an overall summary of Tumpisa Shoshone grammar and characterizes it typologically. Chapter 3 contains a detailed discussion of verbs. Chapters 4-6 are on constituents that occur in or involve noun phrases (i.e., pronominals, nouns, postpositions, and adjectives). Chapter 7 is on uninflected words such as adverbs, grammatical particles, and interjections. Chapter 8 introduces the major kinds of sentences composed of more than one clause, either by coordination or by subordination. Chapter 9 is on the phonology; specialists may wish to read chapter 9 first, or at least right after chapter 2. Chapter 10 contains texts illustrating the language in normal discourse; the first five texts are narratives, the sixth a long conversation.

Notes to Introduction

1. Because this publication is not aimed only at specialists in linguistics or the Uto-Aztecan languages, technical terms are occasionally defined, especially if they are not accessible in common dictionaries.

2. My primary native language consultant was Mamie Boland, to whom this volume is dedicated, but I also elicited material from a number of her relatives and others from Furnace Creek. These people normally resided in the Indian village at Furnace Creek in the winter months, although they would move to higher elevations, like Lone Pine, in the summer, in traditional transhumance fashion. The father of Mamie and her several sisters owned the water rights to Furnace Creek earlier in this century, but the people have since lost these rights to the U.S. Park Service.
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

kahnipainmippuhantun V 'used to dwell'
< kahni N 'house', -pa'in incorp 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'
pahontükinnümmpü N 'ashtray'
    < pahon- N 'tobacco', tükü" V 'put', -nnümmpü nom instr

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

sape'esun 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, -paki`ih pl instr V 'split in half'
pikkwan sg Vi and instr V, pikwaa pl Vi, -pikwa`i pl instr V 'shatter'
uwi normal, nümüi dur sg Vi 'walk around'
hapi" normal, happi 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
TYPOLOGY AND BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

below illustrates, on rare occasions a medial or final syllable is reduplicated.

**REDUPLICATION**

mi' a sg, mimi'a dl, mi'a' pl Vi 'go'
wuu'n' sg, wuwunu dl Vi 'stand'
potsosu sg, potso dl pl Vi 'drip'
tangummu sg 'man'; tattungku dl, tattangummu pl N 'men'

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

**SUPPLETION**

ika" sg, weeki" dl-pl Vi 'enter'
katu" sg-dl, yuki dl, nuupaih / yuunaah pl Vi 'sit'
pakka' sg-dl, wasu" pl Vt 'kill'
to'eh sg, toto'eh dl, kua" pl Vi 'emerge'
tuki" sg-dl, tahaa dl-pl Vt 'put'
-tukwann sg, -pah pl instr V 'hit'
uppuih sg-dl, okkoih dl-pl Vi '(go to) sleep'
yutsu" sg-dl, yoti" pl Vi 'fly'
wa'ippu sg 'woman'; huuppiangku dl, huuppiammu pl N 'women'

2.1.2 Word Order Characteristics

Tumpisa 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 kapayu sakka tangummi tangummuttih.
that horse that-O man-O kicked
'That horse kicked that man.'

Noun + Postposition (chapter 5):

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

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

Verb + Auxiliary (chapters 3 and 8):

(3) Tammi piiya hipittükintu'ih. < hipi"-tükin-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 wa'e napuni satu.
our(exc) father like look that
'That one looks like our father.'
Adjective + Noun (chapter 6):

(5) Nü yuhupitta wa'ippua punikkappühantü.
    I fat-O woman-O saw
    'I saw the fat woman.'

Standard + Marker of Comparison (chapter 6):

(6) Nüü yuhupi üng kawi; üü pasampüuttsi.
    I fat you more than you skinny
    'I'm fatter than you; you're skinny.'

Relative Clause + Noun (chapter 8):

(7) [Niam pusikwanna] tsawün tangummü satü.
    my knowing good man that
    'The good man [I know] is that one.'

Intensifier + Adjective (chapters 6 and 7):

(8) Nü kenümüni pasampüüttsi. 'I'm really skinny.'
    I really skinny

Complement Clause + Main Clause (chapter 8):

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

Case Inflections (chapters 4 and 5):

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

(11) Nüü 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 atũ sakka tangummuttih 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) Tangummi nati'iwantũ puunikappuhantũ nũ.  
man-O being mean-O saw I  
'I saw the mean man.'

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

(14) Tangumu [akka nũ pusikwanna] tũyũyanna u  
man that-O I know deer-O it  
kuttihantũ.  
shoot-stv  
'The man that I know was shooting the deer.'

Complement clauses may follow main clauses (see chapter 8); e.g.:
(15) Nu sukka nasuntama [tammû hipittalppûhantû].
I that-O remember we(inc) got drunk
'I remember that we got drunk.'

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

S O V  
S O V O  
S O V S  
O V O  
O V S  
O V S O  
O S O V  
S V O  
S V  
V S O  
V

INTRANSITIVE WORD ORDERS

S V  
S V S  
V S  
V

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S O Vt</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Vt</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Vt S</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Vt IO</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 96 = 72% of 134 Vt clauses

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

INTRANSITIVE ORDERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S V1</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V1 S</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V1 S</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 153 = 100%

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

ALL CLAUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S before V</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S after V</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V w/o S</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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>Order</th>
<th>Direct 0</th>
<th>Indirect IO</th>
<th>Oblique Oblq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before Vt</td>
<td>117  87%</td>
<td>9  56%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After Vt</td>
<td>19  14%</td>
<td>5  31%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vt w/o O</td>
<td>10  7%</td>
<td>4  22%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vt w/o O and w/o Oblq</td>
<td>4  3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**OBLIQUE ORDERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Oblique Oblq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before V</td>
<td>26  65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After V</td>
<td>14  35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Oblq before Vi = 17  62%  
Oblq before Vt = 10  71%  
Oblq after Vi = 10  38%   
Oblq after Vt = 4  29%

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 T懋isa 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 T懋isa 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.
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 hannina; 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 tsangkannuwitů.  
   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) Ûtuûna küttäa sapettů, Ûtuûntů.  
    be hot really there be hot-hab  
    'It's really hot there, it's hot.'

Subjests 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 "Pine nut" story, where the subject 'we' is both given and topic.

(19) Kee tüppühpä'e tammů.  
    not pine nut-have we (inc)  
    'We don't have any pine nuts.'

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 sutů. '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'ippua ukkwah hakapangkuh sampe kwuummaa utū woman-O when where some caught that

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

ma nootunga. 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.
(22) Nia pihyakaìngkùnna huuppi.
me make itch bush
'The bush made me itch.'

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.

(23) Hipittsit{l} nummi natumuínkùppùntu puesu
old woman us told story long ago
sape'esu ukkwah:
that time when

(24) Sumutt{u} nawi{p}i isapungku mai nuwìmmìppùntu.
one girl dog with went around

'An old woman told us a story from a long time ago: One girl went around with a dog.'

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

Tūmpisa 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.:
Intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Grammatical Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiyaih</td>
<td>'die'</td>
<td>sg subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko'i</td>
<td>'die'</td>
<td>pI subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsuuwah</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>tsuuwah 'die' pI subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakai'</td>
<td>'cry'</td>
<td>sg subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namo'ih</td>
<td>'cry'</td>
<td>pl subject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Grammatical Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaa&quot;</td>
<td>'carry'</td>
<td>sg object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hima&quot;</td>
<td>'carry'</td>
<td>pl object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakkah</td>
<td>'kill'</td>
<td>sg object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wasu&quot;</td>
<td>'kill'</td>
<td>pl object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 naa". 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) Satü wihnu ni’am petü. 'That's my daughter then.'

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

(27) Tsawũtuu tangum mii’kwa. 'He's a good man now.'

The examples in 28-30 are not in the present, so naa" is used.

(28) Nüü tsukuppûttsi naappûhantû.

(29) Tammi appū naammaw satû wihnu.
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 \textit{iampu} 'wild' is plural, since the optional plural enclitic \textit{-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 angkapitu satummu.  
many red those  
'A lot of them are red.'

(32) Nawittsittsiammu iampu-hammu.  
girls wild-pl  
'The girls are wild.'

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

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

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

(36) Tangummü tammappūh 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) Taamū útūïntūng ka. 'We're in the heat.'
    we(inc) heat at

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

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

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

(41) Nüu sekkih naapppühantü. 'I was here.'
    I here was

(42) Nian appū naappühantü sukkuh tütūaimmi sukkuh
    my father was there working there
    üattūah 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 naattaippüh.
    string all together be-cmplt
    'The string is all together.'

Superficially, existential sentences in Tûmpisâ 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 petümü süümootù.
    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) Noohakaittū 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) Nū appū naappūhantū utū, númmū sumusū niam
my father was that we(exc) all my
patsinūmū. Olsi Indian
'There was my father, and all of us, [me and] my
older Indian sisters [= parallel cousins].'

(48) Nia samoppū naapūhantū wahattū.
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'
katu" sg, yu'kw d, nuupaih = yuunaah pl 'sit, stay, be positioned'
wunu" sg, wuwunu d, toppangih = tattsah d 'stand'
hapi" sg, kwapi" d, kopittukih 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 um pui ma.
fly sit(dur) his eye on
'The fly is (sitting) on his eye.'

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

(51) Satummu tattangummu nanaomp p tattsahonna.
those men scattered stand(pl)
'Those men are (standing) scattered around.'

(52) Tangummu paapuh wunutu.
man tall stand-hab
'The man is tall.'

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

(53) Tuttsupp kwaana. 'It smells funny.'
funny smell
(54) Satā 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 setú 'this around here'.

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

(55) Nu tamminoipitukwa nu tutuaitu.
I be tired-arrive I work
'I get tired when I work.'

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

(57) Nu toyapim ma nuwitū tunaa notopaha.
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" ≈ tsuu̯wah pl 'die', nahna" 'grow (of animates)', sua" 'grow (of plants)', and uppu̯ih sg and okkoih pl 'go to sleep', as well as enviromental verbs like uma" ≈ ungwa" 'rain' and taha'ah 'snow'.

(58) Isapaippú takuttiyaitaihwappuhantu.  
Coyote thirst-die-cmplt-cmplt-past  
'Coyote died of thirst.'

(59) Piammútttsi nahanna. 'The baby is growing.'  
baby grow

(60) Setú 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 naakkihä. 'It's getting (to be) winter.'  
winter be-hither
In addition, -wiah and the auxiliary verbs mi'a 'go' and pitü(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).

(63) Nu tsao naawiah. 'I'm getting well.'
    well be-inceptive

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', uitsu'in 'be cold', and ütsü'in 'be hot'. Some examples follow.

(67) Satu noohompe tuupukkat. 'He's always angry.'
    that always be angry

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

(69) Piiya kutsappü ütsü'inja. 
    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, *katù* 'sit (down)' is stative when used as a linking verb (e.g., 49), but is active in 70.

(70) Satù katûkwantu'ih. 'He's going to go sit down.'

that sit-go to-will

And, *úppün* 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 sekkuhuppühantu. 

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) Nű nuwakkwantu'ih. 'I'll move away.'

I move-away-will

(73) Tumpitta punikkappühantu nű 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', ütümün 'heat', koitsoih 'wash', ma'oh 'push away', pakkah sg and wasu" pl 'kill', saawah 'boil', tangummuttih 'kick', tsikka'ah sg and tsikkoplih pl 'cut flexible obj', tso'i 'pick, gather', tsokweh 'smash', and yaa' sg and hma' pl 'carry'. A few of these are exemplified in 74-78, and others in 1, 12, 16 and 21-24.

(74) Tangummu kunnai hanihkoppuhantu toya mantünna.  
man fire- got mountain on  
wood-0 
'The man got firewood in the mountains.'

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

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

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

(78) Sutü pai tühuyanna wasüppuhantu.  
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 & masungkwai" 'feel, touch (with hand)'.

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

(80) Nüü nü tuattsia 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 nangkahammaa.
    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'ih.
    beer us intoxicate-going to
    'The beer's going to make us drunk.'

(85) Tapettsi nia ütingkümminja.
    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 Tümpisa 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 teewingkūn 'tell', uttuh 'give', nangkawih 'talk to, speak to', niingkūn ≈ yūngkūn 'tell, say to', and many others productively formed with the applicative suffix -ngkūn (see 3.2.1.5).

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

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

(88) Antsia tumūungkūppūhantū 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'īn (~ -pa'en) 'have' and -'amih 'make, build', require that their noun objects be incorporated, as illustrated in 89-90.

(89) Satū so'oppūh paanī'amitu'ih.
     that much bread-make-will
     'She'll make a lot of bread.'
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.

(91) Satummu kawayukwitu. 'They rat-hunt.'
    those rat-go after

(92) Satummu kawai yukwitu. '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 -sin ≈ -tsin (e.g., 94, 95 and 97) or habitual suffix -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 tazangkantu.
    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 kimmasintu'ih.
    probably not come-neg-will
    'He probably won't come back.'

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

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

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

(99) Hakatù mi'akommaa, nüü kee sumpanai.
someone went I not know 'Someone left, but I don't know (who).'</n
(100) Nü sümmi ün niingkuppahantü kee so'o
I that you-O told not much
hliikkantü wainniha.
drink-stv-hab wine-O
'I told you not to drink so much wine.'

(101) Ke tüppappuhpa'e tammë, ke tüppannaappuhpa'e.
not pinenut-have we(inc) not pinenut-own-have
'We don't have pinenuts, we don't have any pinenuts of our own.'

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

(102) Keesusu nü tünanka apposi.
not yet I taste apple
'I haven't tasted the apple 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 yükkwi. 'You're doing it wrong.'

you not right do(dur)

(105) Satü tsao hupiatüki, nüü püü kee tsao hupiatüki.

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) Usū ha tokwi? 'Is that right?'
that Q right

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

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

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

The examples in 112-114 are intransitive interrogatives.

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

(113) Satti ha wünmu? 'Is he standing?'
that Q stand(dur)

(114) Ûû ha mukuatukattü? '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-0 saw
'Did you two see the crow?'

(116) Nû ha ma manti tükkatü'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 saepe wükkanna sutü 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', *hakanni* '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 satū?**  'What's that?'
what that

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

(120) **Hakami natūpinniahantū (Mitūkkaano)?**
what be called English
'What's it called (in English)?'

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

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

(123) **Hinna punikka satūmmū?**
what look at those
'What are they looking at?'
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 ≈ -kon 'moving randomly' (see 3.1.2). In dual and plural imperatives the number enclitics, -ongku dl and -ommü 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 nü yaakki! 'Bring me the gun!' gun-O me bring

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

c. Eti nü yaakki-ommü! 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-ommû! '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-ommû! '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-ommû! '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 mi'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 tüpunü, tammü 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 Tumpisa 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 no-(≈ na-) 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  
'Ve 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 nayappuh.  
already our/inc 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 tu- (= tu-) on the verb, as in 137-139. In antipassive sentences, normally transitive verbs with the prefix tu- 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 aps-boil-stv  
'I'm boiling [something].'  

(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).
3

VERBS AND VERB PHRASES

Tumpisa Shoshone verbs are the most complex word class in the language. At the outset, it should be noted that verbs have a number of phonological peculiarities that distinguish them from other word classes; these are discussed later on in section 9.3.7.

3.1 VERB STRUCTURE

Typically, verbs in the language are inflected with suffixes for aspect, tense, or mode. Many verbs are also inflected for number (singular, dual, and plural) with suffixes, stem-internal changes, or alternating suppletive roots. Verbs may also contain suffixes marking direction and other adverbial notions. Most voice and other valence categories are marked on verbs with prefixes, but in one case with a suffix. Many verbs contain instrumental prefixes which incorporate nominal notions of the instrument with which an activity is performed. Some verbs also incorporate whole noun roots, usually functioning as objects. Most auxiliary verbs are also incorporated into the (main) verb word. These auxiliaries are appended after main verb stems and form compounds with them. In subordinate clauses, verbs may also have a terminal subordinating suffix (not shown in the formula below; see 3.1.6 and chapter 8). There is no person marking on verbs. The structure of a verb is approximately the following:
GENERAL VERB STRUCTURE

Voice + Instr + V-STEM + Aux + Adv + Dir + Adv + Aux + Aspect Tense
<- Prefixes -> ROOTS <----- Suffixes ---->-

The only obligatory element in the verb word is the verb root or stem itself. Any given verb may have one or more of the other possibilities. A given verb may actually be even more complex than the above formula indicates, because there are several positions for adverbial suffixes and at least two for aspect and tense suffixes.

To a large extent the distinction between 'inflection' and 'derivation' within the verb complex is fuzzy or perhaps not even relevant. On the one hand, some things like the aspect and tense suffixes are clearly inflectional, and some things like the set of affixes used to form new verb stems are clearly derivational. On the other hand, a number of the elements in the formula above have characteristics of both inflectional and derivational morphemes. Thus, for example, the directional and adverbial suffixes can be added like inflections to virtually any verb to add nuances of meaning, but they add much more contentive meaning than is typical of inflections. In fact, quite a number of combinations of verb stem plus adverbial or directional suffixes have become lexicalized as new verb words distinct from the stems themselves. Similarly, many verb stems require an instrumental prefix much like an inflection, but the instrumental prefixes are much too contentive to be considered purely inflectional.

It is virtually impossible to give a 'verb paradigm' in the traditional sense. The possibilities are simply too great. There are over a dozen aspect and tense suffixes, a dozen adverbial and directional suffixes, nearly a score of instrumental prefixes, and so on. Any given verb has the potential of assuming hundreds and thousands of different
forms. The only restrictions are those imposed by semantic incongruity in context—which, given the right context, may mean no restrictions at all.

Verb formation is extremely productive, whether or not one views the productivity from the perspective of inflection or derivation.

3.1.1 Aspect, Tense, and Mode

Most finite verbs occur with at least one aspect, tense, or mode suffix. However, the three categories are not always clearly distinguished from one another, since they are often conflated to some degree in a given suffix. Aspect, tense, and mode suffixes occur in two general groups: Those in the first group normally occur finally in the verb word; they are called final suffixes. Those in the second group may occur finally, but frequently occur immediately before one of the final suffixes; these are called prefinal suffixes. Both groups are listed below with definitions; the final and prefinal suffixes are then exemplified in order of occurrence in the lists and, when appropriate, comments are made about particular suffixes.

FINAL ASPECT, TENSE AND MODE SUFFIXES

-\( -\text{kwan} \) \( \approx -\text{kkwan} \approx -\text{hwan} \) momentaneous completive
-\( -\text{nna} \) general aspect and tense
-\( -\text{nnuhi} \) indefinite future
-\( -\text{ppu\text{h}} \) perfective (and pp)
-\( -\text{tun} \) habitual and general imperfective (and prp)
-\( -\text{tu'ih} \approx -\text{to'ih} \approx -\text{to'eh} \) simple future 'will'
-\( -\text{kwantu'ih} \approx -\text{kkwantu'ih} \approx -\text{hwantu'ih} \) intentional future
-\( -\text{mmaahwan} \) cessative 'just finished'
-\( -\text{ppu\text{h}antun} \approx -\text{ppantun} \) past tense and perfective aspect
-tuhantun ~ -tu'ihantun  obligative future 'must, have to'

PREFINAL ASPECT, TENSE, AND MODE SUFFIXES

-'ih  iterative and durative
-mmaah  past
-mmi  iterative, habitual, durative
-nnuh  simulactive completive
-wiah ~ -wi'ah  inchoative 'get, become; start to'
-yun  continuative

The momentaneous completive suffix -kwan ~ -kkwan ~ -hwan is a metaphorical extension of the homophonous directional suffix meaning 'away' (see 3.1.2 below). It indicates an activity taking place all at once and quickly (cf. prefinal simulactive completive -nnuh). The three different variants are due to effects of preceding final segments (see section 9.3.7).

(1) Nū pippatto'ekwa. 'I fell on my butt.'
I with butt-fall-cmplt

(2) Tukwiikkwa setū. 'The fire went out.'
go out(fire)-cmplt this

(3) Pūikkapptih pikkwahwa. 'The glass shattered.'
glass  shatter-cmplt

The general aspect and tense suffix -nna is by far the most common aspect and tense suffix. It covers both present and past tenses as well as narrative present. It is rather neutral with regard to aspect, but always seems to imply some duration to the designated event. It (or a homophonous suffix) also forms verbal nouns or infinitives (see 3.3.1).
(4) Nümmü sukkuh naamminna.  
we(exc) there be-dur-general  
'We are/were there in the winter.'

(5) Nü nü pantsa puhainna. 'I'm looking for my shoe.'  
I my shoe look for-gen

The indefinite future suffix -nnuhi implies that the occurrence of the activity in the future is not a certainty. It may be a compound form from -nnuh simultactive completive and -hi dubitative.

(6) Nü imaa ko'epittuhunnuhi.  
I tommorrow return-arrive-fut  
'I'll (probably) be back tommorrow.'

(7) Nümmü supe'ene sanappim ma u tsappo'ongkunnuhi.  
we then pitch with him cover head-fut  
'Then we'll cover his head with pitch.'

The perfective suffix -ppuh (or one etymologically related to it) also forms past participial adjectives (see 3.3.2). In addition, there is also a homophonous absolutive noun suffix and a homophonous noun derivational suffix. In subordinate clauses, -ppuh usually has the form -ppuha (see 8.2).

(8) Nüü tsukupputtsi naappuh.  
I old man be-prf  
'I am/have gotten to be an old man.'

(9) Nü sukkwa nasuntama tühüya napakkahwappuh.  
I that-O remember deer was killed-cmplt-prf  
'I remember that the deer got killed.'
The habitual and general imperfective suffix -tun (or one etymologically related to it) also forms present participles (see 3.3.2). There is also a common homophonous noun derivational suffix.

(10) Nummu sukkwa tükkatü, u tusukkwantü tükkatü.  
    we(exc) that-O eat-hab it smash-hab eat-hab  
    'We eat that, smash it and eat it.'

(11) Nü ke u punitü. 'I don't see it.'  
    I not it see-imprf

The simple future -tu'ih et al. is ultimately an extended usage of the intransitive verb to'eh sg 'emerge'. The several variant forms apparently are in free variation, but the first listed is the most common. Its meaning and function is essentially like that of 'will' in English, in that it can be a rather neutral future, or it can imply promise to some degree. -Tu'ih is also used in compound with other suffixes (i.e., -kwantu'ih and -tu'ihantun: see below).

(12) Hakatü u yaatu'ih wihnu?  
    who it get-will then

    -- "Nüü naatu'ih," mii yukkwí.  
    I be-will quot say

    'Who'll get it then?  
    -- "I'll be (the one)," he said.'

The intentional future -kwantu'ih et al. is essentially like the 'be going to' future in English, indicating that the event is already somehow underway, either with respect to intent or prior cause. It is a compound from the directional -kwan = -kkwan = -hwan 'away', and -tu'ih simple future.
(13) Nü waswęwükikwantu’ih. 'I'm going hunting.'
   I hunt-fut

(14) Satu nian tamanna tsonnopikwantu’ih.
   that my tooth pull(pl)-fut
   'He's going to pull my teeth.'

The cessative aspect suffix -mmaahwān is a compound from -mmaah past and -kwan ≈ -hwan momentaneous completive. It is often used along with the adverbs püe 'just, already, soon' or üküttsi(ttsi) 'a little while ago'.

(15) Satu püe nangkwimmahwā.
   that just talk-cessative
   'He just finished talking.'

(16) Sutu üküttsi a pakkazmaahwā.
   that little while ago it kill-cessative
   'He just finished killing it a little while ago.'

The past tense and perfective suffix -ppuhantu is the most common past tense and perfective marker. It is used essentially like the simple past tense in English, but it is also often used where English would require the perfective. It is a compound suffix from -ppuh prf, -kan ≈ -han stv, and -tun prp. The variant -ppantūn is a contracted form mainly used by younger speakers.

(17) Nüü sakka takkamappuhantü. 'I took care of him.'
   I that-O take care of-past

(18) Kunna tukwippühantü. 'The fire has gone out.'
   fire go out-prf
The obligative future suffixes -tuhantun and -tu'ihantun indicate future obligation or inevitability. They are compounds from -tun imprf or -tu'ih future, -kan & -han stv, and -tun prp. There is also a variant -tuantun, contracted from -tuhantun.

(19) Nuu ma kwuuntuhantu. 'I have to marry her.'
I her marry-obl

(20) Üitsü'intoshu'antun setu. 'It'll be cold.'
be cold-obl this

(21) Ma tükkatu'ihantu satu. 'He must eat it.'
it eat-obl that

The iterative and durative suffix -'ih is often used in combination with the continuative Aux nooh or the 'in motion' Aux nai. Look at 22-23 as well as 111-113.

(22) Nuu Tonia taanoo'ikwantu'ih.
I Tony-O visit-go along-dur-fut
'I'm going to go along and visit Tony.'

(23) Tunaa nuu tuupükka'ippuhantu.
extremely I get mad-dur-past
'I got extremely angry [and stayed that way].'

The past tense suffix -mmaah seems to imply a past activity which either lasted for a while or had some lasting effect. It is also commonly used in questions about past activities. In this regard, -mmaah is more common than -ppuhantun, although the latter is much more common in declaratives.
(24) Setū umammaa; setū sokopi potso' inna; nū ke this rain-past this ground be wet I not
sakka sumpanai; nū kūttaappūh uppūtaimmaa.
that-O know I really sleep-cmplt-past

'It rained; this ground is wet; I didn't know it;
I fell completely asleep.'

(25) Hakatū mi' appūha naammaa? 'Who was it that went?' who go-sub be-past

The aspect suffix -mmi can indicate habitual, iterative, and durative activities. See the example in 4 as well as those below in 26-28.

(26) Sape'esū tūhuyanna kuttismitū. long ago deer shoot-hab-hab
'They used to shoot deer.'

(27) Tammū tatatsikohimminna.
we(inc) with feet-slip-iterative-sfx
'We are slipping around.'

(28) Kee nū ūitsū'immitū. 'I wasn't cold.'
not I be cold-dur-imprf

The simulactive completive aspect marker -nnuh indicates an activity that takes place all at once but not necessarily quickly (cf. momentaneous completive -kwan et al. above).

(29) Nū u takkūpanuppūhantū.
I it with foot-break-cmplt-past
'I broke it with my foot.'
(30) Piarnmuttsi tutakainnuh. 'The baby was born.'
    baby be born-cmplt

The inchoative suffix -wiah ~ -wi'ah denotes a state or process coming into being, but may also indicate the start of an action. It is used essentially like the inchoative Aux -mmi'a and may be related to it etymologically (see 3.1.5).

(31) Tukkuapi ha püe pasawi'ah?
    meat Q already be dry-start
    'Is the meat starting to get dry?'

(32) Püe wasuwükkiwi'ahwantu'ih.
    already hunt-start-fut
    He's going to start to hunt.'

(33) Nüü tuupükkiwi'a. 'I'm getting mad.'
    I be mad-get

Continuative -yun describes an event that endures continuously.

(34) Nümü ükusü ukkwah supe'e tommo
    we(exc) after while that time winter
    üitsü'iyyuntu'ih, nümü supe'e mia ntūnaa
    be cold-cont-will we(exc) that time go down

Death Valley katū utuintū katū.
    to heat to

'Then after while it would be cold in the winter, and we would go down to Death Valley to the heat.'
A number of common verbs indicate **durative** aspect with a technique different from suffixation. In these verbs, duration is marked with a stem-internal change in which the last intervocalic single consonant in the stem is geminated. This means of marking durative aspect is limited, therefore, to verbs which have a single intervocalic and geminatable consonant. Some of the verbs with durative forms are listed below, and then they are followed by a few sentence examples.

### SOME VERBS WITH DURATIVE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Durative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hapi&quot; sg 'lie (down)'</td>
<td>happi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katu&quot; sg 'sit'</td>
<td>kattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukuatu 'think'</td>
<td>mukuattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuwi sg 'walk around'</td>
<td>nummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puni&quot; 'see'</td>
<td>punni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusikwa 'know'</td>
<td>pusikkwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunu&quot; sg 'stand'</td>
<td>wnnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yake&quot; sg 'cry'</td>
<td>yakke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yukwi 'say'</td>
<td>ykkwi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With only one exception, verbs in the durative aspect do not take other aspect or tense suffixes. In fact, they do not take any other suffixes at all. The only exception to this statement is *nummi*, the durative of *nuwi"* (< earlier *numi*).

(35) Tumpi kattu paa kuppa.

`rock sit(dur) water in`

'The rock is sitting in the water.'

(36) Kaakki naangka yakke.

`crow make noise cry(dur)`

'The crow is making noise crying.'
(37) Piammüttsi nümmikkinümmi.
baby walk(dur)-hither-walk(dur) inceptive
'The baby is (just now) walking around.'

Before leaving the aspect, tense, and mode inflections, I should note that the categories of aspect and mode are indicated in other ways as well. For example, some directional suffixes (section 3.1.2), some adverbial suffixes (3.1.3), and some auxiliary verbs (3.1.4) may also indicate aspectual and modal notions. However, these cases do not seem to be part of the inflectional system per se.

3.1.2 Directional Suffixes

One important group of suffixes is the directionals. Directional suffixes are deictic markers indicating the direction of movement of the subject of the verb to which they are affixed. The movement is relative either to the speaker or to the current topic in the discourse. The directionals are listed below.

DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES

-kin 'come to do, come and do, come do'
-kin ~ -kkin ~ -hin 'hither; come doing, come while doing'
-kon 'around, here and there; moving randomly'
-kwai 'around; moving about'
-kwan 'go to do, go and do, go do'
-kwan ~ -kkwan ~ -hwan 'away; go doing, do while going'

The variations in form of the 'hither' and 'away' directionals are due to the effects of final segments (see section 9.3.7). The other directional suffixes are
unaffected by final features and so have invariant forms. Example sentences of each of the directionals follow.

(38) Nümü piiya himakihantu.
we(exc) beer carry(pl)-come to-stv-imprf
'We are coming to get some beers.'

(39) Sümüttüsü ma tükkakintu'ih.
one it eat-come and-will
'One will come and eat it.'

(40) Patümü piiya himakkintu'ih.
liquor buyer beer carry(pl)-hither-will
'The liquor buyer'll bring some beers.'

(41) Tuittsi sepa'a pitühi.
young man here arrive-hither
'A young man is coming around here.'

(42) Supe'e kaakki yütsükminna.
that time crow fly-around-dur
'Then crow was flying all around.'

(43) Satü sakka u pakkangkükouphantu.
that that-O him kill for-around-past
'He went around killing that for him.'

(44) Nüü etümpa'etü püü, nü wasüwükkiwüppüh,
I gun-have emph I hunt-around-prf
nü kee etümpa'e püü.
I not gun-have emph

'If I had a gun, I'd be hunting around, but I don't have a gun.'
(45) Nu hipikwantu’ih. 'I'll go and drink.'  
   I drink-go and-will

(46) Nu kapaayu kwüukwantu’ih.  
   I horse catch-go and-will  
   'I'll go catch the horse.'

(47) Nu tsao nasungkwa'anna piya hipikkwasu.  
   I good feel beer drink-go doing-sub  
   'I feel good when I go drinking.'

(48) Nuü ma kwüukkwantu’ih.  
   I it catch-away-will  
   'I'm going away catching it.'

On verbs which have no final features, there is potential ambiguity between -kin 'come and do' and -kin 'hither' and between -kwan 'go and do' and -kwan 'away'. This ambiguity is seen, for example, with the verb in 49-50, which has no final features.

(49) Nu süngkiakwantu’ih.  
   I stagger-go and-will  
   -away-  
   'I'll go and stagger.' vs. 'I'll stagger away.'

(50) Satu süngkiakinna.  
   that stagger-come and-sfx  
   -hither-  
   'He is coming to stagger.' vs.  
   'He's coming staggering.'

The meanings of some of the directional suffixes have been metaphorically extended, and therefore their functions have been extended as well. As already mentioned, -kwan \(\rightarrow\) -kkwan \(\rightarrow\) -hwan also functions as a final suffix marking
momentaneous completive aspect (e.g., 57). Similarly, -kin ~ -kkin ~ -hin also functions as an aspect marker, though not as a final suffix. Its aspectual meaning is repetitive or durative (i.e., 'around and around' or 'over and over'), as in 51-52.

(51) Tammū ningkakkingakwantu'ilh.
    we(inc) walk(pl)-dur-walk-fut
    'We're going to walk all around.'

(52) Tsao kwanakkinna.
    good smell-dur-sfx
    'It smells good / keeps smelling good.'

The directional -kin is used as an inchoative or inceptive marker, meaning something like 'start to, get to, come to', as in 53-54.

(53) Kuttsappi útúiki. 'The soup is getting hot.'
    soup be hot-get

(54) Tsao nasungkwa'akinna satu.
    good feel-start-sfx that
    'He's starting to feel good.'

The directional -kon also has aspectual function; it indicates a repetitive or durative activity, as in 55-56.

(55) Satu nangkawikonna.
    that speak-dur-sfx
    'He's going to speak awhile.'

(56) Tatsa númũ nuupaikomma númmin Noompai ka.
    summer we(exc) stay-dur-past our Lone Pine at
    'In the summer we stayed in our Lone Pine.'
In this regard, -kon is probably also the etymological source of the certaintive adverbial suffix -kon ≈ -kkon ≈ -hon, discussed in the next section.

3.1.3 Adverbial Suffixes

Several important suffixes indicate various kinds of adverbial, aspectual, and modal notions. These suffixes occur in several position classes after the verb stem (or after the first auxiliary, if there is one) and before the prefinal and final suffixes. The positions of the adverbial suffixes relative to the verb stem, auxiliaries, directionals, and (pre)final aspect and tense suffixes are shown in the formula below, which is a detailed emendation of the postverb part of the one given at the beginning of this chapter.

RELATIVE POSITIONS OF ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

STEM + Aux1 + Adv1 + Dir + Adv2 + Adv3 + Aux2 + Adv4 + Aspect Tense

The suffixes occurring in each adverbial position follow. The variants in form are due to the effects of final segments (see section 9.3.7).
Adverbial Suffixes in 1st Position:

-tain ≈ -ttain absolute completive
-kku resultive

Adverbial Suffix in 2nd Position:

-hi dubitative 'might, may'

Adverbial Suffixes in 3rd Position:

-kan ≈ -kkan ≈ -han stative
-sin ≈ -tain negative

Adverbial Suffix in 4th Position:

-kon ≈ -kkon ≈ -hon certaintive, definitive

The completive suffix -tain indicates an activity that is or will be done completely and absolutely, as in 57-59. It is also often used in conjunction with the past participle suffix -ppuh to indicate states that have been reached unequivocally, as in 59.

(57) Piiya nū hipippuh nū kammangkütaihwa.
    beer I drink-prf me make sick-cmplt-cmplt
    'The beer I drank made me completely sick.'

(58) Tammu kahni tsannuhittaintu'ih.
    we(inc) house tear down-cmplt-will
    'We'll tear the house completely down.'

(59) Satummu tsuuwataippuh.
    those die(pl)-cmplt-pp
    'They are absolutely dead.'
The resultive suffix -kkun describes an activity that must logically result from some prior action, force, cause, etc. The prior event need not be explicitly stated, and in fact its existence is most often simply implied, as in 60-62 and 65.

(60) Un nampe antappu katükku.
    your foot askew sit-resultative
    'Your foot is twisted somehow.'

(61) Piiya nü üppüngkükkummi'a.
    beer me sleep-make-result-get
    'The beer is making me get sleepy somehow.'

(62) Satümü pokoaakkuntu'ih.
    those fall(pl)-result-will
    'They'll fall off (for some reason).'

The dubitative suffix -hi signifies an activity that is either unreal or only a potentiality. It is also used on the verb naa" to form the modal adverb naahi 'might'.

(63) Nüü atammupipain tukwah, Pisippüh ka
    I car-have if Bishop to
    mi'akwahippüh.
    go-away-dubitative-prf
    'If I had a car, I'd go to Bishop.'

(64) Münstu u mantünna kwüühi.
    you all him part-of marry-dubitative
    'One of you might marry him.'
(65) Hii satũ hapikkuhantũ atũ?
what that fall-result-dubitative-stv-imprf that
'What was it that fell down?'

The stative suffix -kan ≈ -kkan ≈ -han indicates the
state resulting from the inception of the activity denoted by
the verb stem. Consequently, it also always indicates
duration.

(66) Nũ kee numukahantũ wunnũ.
I not move-stv-stv-imprf stand(dur)
'I'm standing still, not moving.'

(67) Satũ katükkantũka hupiatũki.
that sit-stv-imprf-sub sing
'She is singing while sitting.'

(68) Sohipümũ kahni mo'eki naakka.
cottonwood house around be-stv
'The cottonwoods surround the house.'

(69) Nũ ūm punikiha. 'I'll come to see you.'
I you see-come to-stv

(70) Nũũ sakka takkamammũha.
I that-O take care of-can't-stv
'I can't take care of him.'

The stative suffix is extremely common, and aside from its
adverbial function it is also frequently used in forming new
verbs (e.g., numukan 'move in position' in 66 is from numũ
'move (about)'; see 3.2.2). As noted in 3.1.1, it is also
used to form compound suffixes such as -ppuhantũn past and
-tuhantũn obligative.
I have already mentioned the negative suffix -sin = -tsin in the last chapter (2.3.1). It is used in negative sentences with kee.

(71) Kee u punishoppuhantu satu.  
not it see-neg-def-past that  
'He surely didn't see it.'

(72) Satungku kee teewingkutsinna.  
those(dl) not tell-neg-general  
'Those two didn't tell (her).'</n

The certaintive suffix -kon = -kkon = -hon denotes an activity that happened or is happening or ought to happen most definitely, as in 71 and 73-76.

(73) Nü witsa koyahomminna.  
my calf have cramp-def-dur-general  
'My calf really has a cramp!'

(74) Sutü üküttsi mi'akoppüh.  
that little while ago go-def-prf  
'He has just now gone for sure.'

(75) Ke nangkawihontu'ih!  
not talk-def-future  
'Don't talk!'

(76) Nü tsotahekkoppühantu.  
I choke-def-past  
'I was really choking.'

3.1.4 Number Marking

Many verbs in Tümpisa Shoshone are inflected for number on an ergative pattern. Thus, many intransitive verbs cross-reference the number of their subjects, and many transitive verbs cross-reference the number of their objects. The
language also has means for marking number on verbs in an accusative way, discussed later on in this section, but obligatory number inflection on verbs is based on the ergative system.

Most verbs cross-reference only two numbers, singular and plural, but a number of common intransitive verbs are inflected for dual as well as singular and plural. Several different techniques are employed for marking number on verbs. Many of the most common verbs, both intransitive and transitive, show complete stem suppletion in the singular and plural. However, marking dual number with stem suppletion is rare. Most commonly, if distinct dual forms of the verb exist, they are marked by reduplicating the first syllable of the singular stem. Usually, however, either the singular or plural stem, or both, are used in the dual. Most of the suppletive verbs are listed below with dual forms if they exist. (N.B. Forms with a preceding dash are instrumental verb stems requiring an instrumental prefix; see 3.2.1.2.)

SUPPLETIVE VERBS

hapi" Vi sg, kwopi" ≈ kopi" dl, kopittukih pl 'lie(down)'
ika" Vi sg-dl, weeki" pl-dl 'enter, go down'
ka'ah Vi sg, kopiah pl; -kopiih instr V pl 'break (flexible object)'
katu" Vi sg-dl, yukwi dl, nuupaah ≈ yuunaah pl 'sit, stay'
nangkawih V sg-dl, ningwunu" pl-dl 'talk'
nukkwi Vi sg, nunukwi dl, nutaan pl 'run'
uwi (nummi) Vi sg-dl, ningka ≈ yingka pl-dl 'walk around'
pahe" Vi sg-dl, pokoah pl-dl 'fall (down)'
pakkah Vt sg-dl, wasu" pl 'kill'
-siiwa instr Vt sg, situi pl 'scratch'
takkuna"(kkun) ≈ tangwi Vt sg, toppotsiki pl 'throw away'
-tūkwed instr Vt sg, -we'1 pl 'empty, dump out'
tiyaih Vi sg-dl, tsūwah ≈ ko'i" pl 'die'
to'eh Vi sg, toto'eh dl, kūa" pl 'emerge'
tuki" Vi sg-dl, taha" pl-dl 'put, locate, situate'
-tūkhach instr V sg, -pāih pl 'hit'
-ām'ah instr V sg, -sō'eh pl 'pinch, occlude'
ūppūi Vi sg-dl, okko'oh pl-dl '(go to) sleep'
wūnū Vi sg, wuwūnū dl, toppangīh ≈ tattsaḥo pl 'stand'
yaa" Vi sg-dl, hima" pl-dl 'carry'
yakai" Vi sg-dl, namo'ih pl-dl 'cry'
yūtsū" Vi sg-dl, yoti" pl 'fly, jump'

Aside from suppletion, many verbs cross-reference number with internal stem changes. Some of these verbs are listed below.

INTERNAL STEM-CHANGING VERBS

kimma Vi sg, kikimma dl, kimmah pl 'come'
ko'eh Vi sg-pl, koko'eh dl 'return, come back'
kūni" Vi/instr V sg, kūmippihani pl 'tighten'
mi'a Vi sg, mimi'a dl, mīa" pl 'go'
pikkwan Vi sg, pikwāa pl, -pikwai pl instr 'shatter'
pitūn ≈ plittūnūh Vi sg-dl, pippittūnūh dl, pitūkkan pl 'arrive'
po'tso Vi sg, po'tso pl 'drip'
waya" ≈ wayan Vi sg, wawayonoo" pl 'burn'

Still other verbs cross-reference number with the verb plural suffixes -ppaih = -pēh, or -iāh and -iāh, as in the examples below. Both -iāh and -iāh replace the final vowel in the verb stem. Some of the verbs below display stem-internal changes as well as suffixation.
VERBS WITH PLURAL SUFFIXES

annih Vi sg, anniah Vi pl, -annippeh V instr pl
'fall'

kuppah ~ kupah Vi sg, kupiah Vi pl, -küpii pl instr
'break rigid object'

-küünah V instr sg, -küüniih pl 'cover, put on top of'

kawayah Vi/instr sg, kawayuppaih pl 'loosen'

-munuh Vt instr sg, -munupaih pl 'turn'

-nguna" Vt instr sg, -ngunih pl 'put away, place'

-paha" Vi sg, pakih Vi pl, -pakih pl instr
'split in half'

-patah Vt instr sg, -patiih pl 'spread out'

-pattaih Vt instr sg, -patappaih pl 'slam down'

-pattsanah Vt instr sg, -pattsaniih pl 'fasten'

-pokkohi ~ -pokoh Vt instr sg, -pokoppaih pl 'violate'

sakkah Vi/instr sg, sakiih pl 'crack, snap'

sommah Vi sg, somiah pl, -somiih pl instr 'bend'

-tamah V instr sg, -tamiih pl 'secure, tie tight'

tawin Vi/instr sg, tawih pl 'be/make a hole'

tisikwa Vt sg, tisikwiih pl 'put in a slot'

-tůmah Vtv instr sg, -tůmiih pl 'close'

-túp(a)ih Vt instr sg, -tůp appaih pl 'undo, release'

-tútua Vt instr sg, -tůtuappaih pl 'tear (fabric)'

-tompokkah Vt instr sg, -tompokwiih pl 'fasten'

-tomponah Vt instr sg, -tomponiih pl 'wrap'

-tsakwah Vt instr sg, -tsakwiih pl 'kill by...'

-tsokwah Vt instr sg, -tsokwiih pl 'tie'

-yuna" Vt sg, yuniih pl 'put away, place'

Sometimes the different plural suffixes are used in
different ways on a given verb. For example, -iah marks the
plural intransitive of annih, but -ppeh marks the plural
instrumental stem; similarly, -iah marks the plural
intransitive of sommah, but -iih marks the plural
instrumental stem. -iah tends to mark plural intransitives,
while -iḥ and -ppaiḥ = -ppeh tend to mark the plural of (instrumental) transitives, but this tendency is not without exception. Basically, the different forms of a verb cross-referencing number are not predictable; they simply must be memorized. Whether or not a given verb cross-references number at all in any way is not even predictable.

The sentence examples in 77-82 further illustrate number cross-referencing on verbs.

(77) a. Kaakki yakainna. 'The crow is squawking.'
   crow  cry

   b. Wahattu kaakki(angku) yakainna = namo'inna.
      two  crow(-dl)  cry(sg)  cry(pl)
      'Two crows are squawking.'

   c. So'oppütu kaakki(ammu) namo'enna.
      many  crow(-pl)  cry(pl)
      'Many crows are squawking.'

(78) a. Satu to'ehi.  'That is coming out.'
    that  emerge-hither

   b. Satungku toto'ehi.
      those(dl)  emerge(dl)-hither
      'Those two are coming out.'

   c. Satummu kūakki.  'They are coming out,'
      those  emerge(pl)-hither

(79) a. Patummu piliya yaakkintu'ih.
    liquor buyer  beer  carry-hither-will
    'The liquor buyer'll bring a beer.'
b. Patūmmu piyā himakkintu'ih.
liquor buyer beer carry(pl O)-hither-will
'The buyer'll bring some beers.'

(80) a. Nūmmū piyā yaakkintu'ih sumuttuttsia.
we(exc) beer carry-hither-will only one-O
'We'll bring just one beer.'

b. Nūmmū so'oppūtnna piyā
we(exc) much-O beer himakkintu'ih.
carry(pl O)-hither-will

'We'll bring a lot of beers.'

It should be clear from the examples above that verbs do not simply cross-reference number, but in fact they commonly are the only number reference in the sentence. In other words, 'cross-referencing' here does not mean that verbs are plural (or dual) if their subjects or objects are overtly marked plural (or dual). Verbs are marked for plurality (or duality) depending on reference or meaning, and are not dependent on overt marking of number on their subjects or objects. In fact, inanimate and nonhuman animate nouns are often not marked for number at all (e.g., piyā above). But verbs must reference number, at least if they have different forms in the plural or dual, whether suppletive, internal stem-changing, or suffixed. Number marking on verbs is not an agreement or concord system then, but rather a referencing system. The examples in 81-82 further illustrate this point.

(81) a. Nū u tsappahekku. 'I dropped it.'
    I it drop-result
Another interesting fact with regard to this number marking system is that many plural verb stems are somewhat ambiguous, at least in one sense. They may either indicate that the activity occurs with a number of different participants or that the activity occurs with one participant but with plural results. For example, the singular intransitive verb *pikkwan* means for a hard subject to 'break, shatter in two', but its plural form *pikwa* can mean either for a plural number of subjects to 'break, shatter' or for one subject to 'shatter into pieces'. Likewise, singular intransitive *ka'ah* means for a flexible subject to 'break in two', but its (suppletive) plural stem *kopiah* can mean either 'break' of more than one flexible subject or 'break into pieces' of one flexible subject. The plural stems of many transitive verbs work in a similar fashion, but with respect to their objects, not subjects. For example, the singular transitive stem *wukka'ah* means 'chop (a flexible object) in two', but its plural stem *wukkopiih* means either 'chop (flexible objects)' or 'chop (a flexible object) into pieces'. Similarly, singular transitive *wuppikwan* means to 'break, shatter (a hard object) in two', but its plural *wuppikwaih* can mean either to 'break (hard objects)' or to 'break (a hard object) into pieces'.

Aside from the ergative number-marking system just described, verbs may also mark number in an accusative way...
with the two enclitics -ungku \(\approx\) -ongku dl and -ommu \(\approx\) -ommu pl. These two enclitics mark the number of subjects, whether intransitive or transitive. Their use is obligatory on imperative verbs in the dual and plural (e.g., 83-84 below and examples 126 and 128-132 in chapter 2). But, they are occasionally used on nonimperatives to emphasize the number of the subject, as in 85.

(83) a. Ma miakwa! 'Go away!'  
    it go away  

b. Ma mimiakwa-ongku! 'Go away, you two!'  
    it go(dl) away-dl  

c. Ma miakkwa-ommu! 'Go away, you all!'  
    it go(pl) away-pl  

(84) a. Ma yaakki! 'Bring it!'  
    it carry-hither  

b. Ma yaakki-ungku! 'Bring it, you two!'  
    it carry-hither-dl  

c. Ma yaakki-ummu! 'Bring it, you all!'  
    it carry-hither-pl  

d. Ma himakki! 'Bring them!'  
    it carry(pl O)-hither  

e. Ma himakki-ungku! 'Bring them, you two!'  
    it carry(pl O)-hither-dl  

f. Ma himakki-ummu! 'Bring them, you all!'  
    it carry(pl O)-hither-pl
3.1.5 Auxiliary Verbs

In Tümpisa Shoshone, a distinct set of verbs commonly follow other verb stems and form compounds with them. The verbs in this set add various kinds of adverbial and aspectual notions to the meanings of the verb stems which they follow and are in compound with. I will refer to these verbs as auxiliaries (or auxiliary verbs). The auxiliary verbs occur in two different position classes after the main verb. Most of the auxiliaries occur immediately after the main verb stem before any of the adverbial, directional, or aspect and tense suffixes. Another smaller group of auxiliaries occurs after the directional suffixes and after most of the adverbial suffixes but before at least one adverbial suffix and before any of the prefinal and final aspect and tense suffixes. The auxiliaries in the first group are indicated as 'Aux1', and those in the second group as 'Aux2' in the formula called 'Relative Position of Adverbial Suffixes' at the beginning of section 3.1.3.

Most of the auxiliaries also function as main verbs, although their meanings are usually somewhat different as auxiliaries than as main verbs, and there are usually minor phonological differences as well.
AUXILIARY VERBS

Aux1

hapi" 'prone, lying'
< hapi" Vi sg 'lie (down)'
katuh sg-dl, yukwi dl, yingka ≈ nuupaih pl 'sitting; alone, separately; awhile; be doing situated'
< katu" Vi 'sit'
kimma 'coming'
< kimma Vi sg 'come'
ko'eh 'returning, going backward'
< ko'eh Vi 'return, go back, come back'
kuhnakkun ' (start) running'
< kuhnakkun Vi 'start to run, go forward'
-muih 'unable to, can't'
< muih Vt 'be unable to, fail to do'
naah ≈ naa 'continuously, duratively'
< naa" 'be'
nook 'continuatively in motion'
< noo" Vt 'carry on back'
nukwi 'running, fast'
< nukwi(n) Vi sg 'run'
pitū ≈ -pitu ≈ pittuhu 'arriving, becoming; completely'
< pitūh ≈ pittuhun Vi sg 'arrive'
tukin 'begin to, start to'
< tuki" Vt sg 'put'
tunga 'tell to, have do'
< ?
wunu 'standing, upright; awhile'
< wunu" Vi sg 'stand, stay, stop'
Aux2

mi'ah = -mni'a 'get, become; about to do'
< mi'a VI sg, mi'a' pl 'go'

naih = na'il'ih 'in motion'
< ? naa" 'be' + -ih iterative

nuwi = nuwi sg, -nnümi dur, ningka pl 'walking around; continuously'
< nuwi sg, ningka ≈ yingka VI pl 'walk around, live'

suwan 'want to, need to, feel like'
< suwa" VI 'think, feel, want'

One to several example sentences of each of the auxiliaries are given in 86-118, in the order that they appear in the lists above.

(86) Kammahapitu sutu. 'She is laid up sick.'
be sick-lie that

(87) Üü hakami suwakkatu?
you what think-sit
'What are you sitting thinking about?'

(88) Tangkusü napuniyükwi.
ourselves(dl) each other-see-sit(dl)
'You and I are sitting looking at each other.'

(89) Sutu nü taakimmappuhantu.
that me visit-come-past
'He came visiting me.'

(90) Patümmu piiya yaakko'ehwantu'ih.
liquor buyer beer carry-return-fut
'The liquor buyer is going to get beer.'
(91) Nüü imaa ko'epittuhunnuhi.
I tomorrow return-arrive-fut
'I'll be back tomorrow.'

(92) Nüü watiskuhhaakku.
I hide-running
'I'm running and hiding.'

(93) Nü sakka takkamamüiha.
I that-O take care of-can't-stv
'I can't take care of him.'

(94) Keesua tükkasü kwitammüiha.
cheese-O eat-sub shit-can't
'I can't shit because I ate some cheese.'

(95) Nü sukka wütühiimmüiha.
I that-O wait for-fail to-stv
'I waited for him, but he failed to show up.'
[lit: I'm unable to wait for him.]

Auxiliaries of the first and second positions are not infrequently used together following the same main verb, as in 96.

(96) Satü pai tsainnaaani'ih.
that water-O hold-continuative-in motion
'She's carrying water.'

Even auxiliaries of the same position class may be used together, as 97.

(97) Nüü nü pantsa tsainnaawünnü.
I my shoe hold-dur-stand(dur)
'I'm standing holding my shoe.'
When auxiliaries function as main verbs, they may be followed by other auxiliaries, as in 98 and 114 below (and 87 and 91 above).

(98) Nuukwintum pa’a katūnoohonto’eh.
I train on sit-continuative-definite-fut
in motion
'I'll get to ride on a train.'

(99) Satū tukuttinnoohinna.
that aps-shoot-continuative-hither-sfx
in motion
'He's coming along shooting [things].'

(100) Tangku nuinnukwikomminna.
we(d)l inc) play-run-definite-iterative
'We two were running around playing.'

(101) Nuū tūmpitta himappittuhuppūhantū.
I rock-O carry(pl)-arrive-past
'I brought the rocks.'

(102) Nu u makapitükoppūhantū.
I him feed-arrive-definite-past
'I came to feed him.'

(103) Numū tükkatükontu’ih.
people eat-start-will
'People are about to start to eat.'

(104) Nu piiiya hipisū tsao nasungkwa’atükintu’ih.
I beer drink-sub good feel-begin-will
'When I drink beer, I'll begin to feel good.'

(105) Nu hipittūnganna ū. 'You told me to drink.'
me drink-tell-sfx you
(106) Um pia u tükkatünganna.  
her mother her eat-tell-sfx  
'Her mother told her to eat.'

(107) Nüü Tümpisakkatünna puningwünnu.  
I Death Valley-o see-stand(dur)  
'I'm standing looking at Death Valley.'

(108) Satü tühüya u pakkappühantü u tükkawünükwa.  
that deer it killed it eat-stand-sub  
'He killed the deer as it was standing eating.'

(109) Nüü tsao naammi'a.  'I'm getting well.'  
I well be-get

(110) Nü siikkwammi'a.  'I'm about to go pee.'  
I pee-away-go

(111) Satü punna summo'a noonnai'innna.  
that her own clothes carry on back-in motion  
'She's carrying her own clothes around on her back.'

(112) Nü piapü pai katünna'i'innna.  
I mare on sit-in motion  
'I'm riding on the mare.'

(113) Piammuttsi küntu mapanai'ippühantü.  
baby yesterday crawl-in motion-past  
'Yesterday the baby was crawling around.'

(114) Sutü u kappinnangkwatü katünnuwitü.  
that it outside-direction sit-walk around  
'She was sitting around outside.'
The auxiliaries may also follow themselves when they occur both as main verbs and auxiliaries, as in 115.

(115) Nu nummikkinuwippuhantu puninnuwippuhantu.
     I walk-hither-walk-past see-walk-past
     'I walked all around and looked all around.'

(116) Nuu tipingasuwha noochinnattsia.
     I ask-want-stv something-O
     'I want to ask something.'

(117) Nuu kee mi'asuwatsi. 'I don't want to go.'
     I not go-want-neg

(118) Punnang kahni kattu u petsuttaisuwammisu.
     his own house to her take-cmplt-want-sfx
     'He wanted to take her to his own house for good.'

As the preceding examples indicate, most auxiliaries generally function like adverbials and aspect, tense, and mode markers. They function much like the verb suffixes discussed in preceding sections (3.1.1, 3.1.2, and 3.1.3), modifying the main verb and adding semantic subtlety to the basic notion denoted by the main verb stem. However, four auxiliary verbs, -mmuih, suwan, tukin, and tunga, behave like predicates superordinate to the verbs to which they are appended (see 8.2.3 on object-complement clauses). Tunga also changes the basic argument structure of the verb complex in which it occurs (see 3.2.1.6 on jussives).

There is more than a functionally parallel relationship between the auxiliaries and verb suffixes. Clearly, some of the suffixes were auxiliaries at an earlier stage in the language. For example, the intransitive verb to'eh 'emerge' is the etymological source of the final future suffix -tu'ih ~ -to'eh, and the directional suffixes -kin 'come to do' and
-kin ~ -kkin ~ -hin 'hither' are both etymologically related to the intransitive and auxiliary verb kimma 'come'. No doubt other suffixes have their origins in auxiliaries that have now been lost. In any event, it seems that there is a development from verb to auxiliary, and then at least in some cases the auxiliary begins to float towards the end of the word, eventually becoming a suffix. It is quite possible that auxiliaries in the second position class (Aux2) are further along in this process than those in the first position class (Aux1).

3.1.6 Subordinating Suffixes

Subordinating suffixes occur in the last or final position on the subordinate verb, after any other suffixes or auxiliaries. Their function is to mark various kinds of subordinate clauses, which are discussed and exemplified in detail in chapter 8. Because a whole chapter is devoted to subordinate clauses later on, I merely list the subordinate suffixes here, without giving examples. However, to recognize and better understand subordinate clauses in examples given before chapter 8, the reader should be aware of two factors which are important in subordinate constructions: (1) whether the subject of the subordinate clause is identical with or different from the subject of the main clause, and (2) which case the subordinate subject is in. Usually, when the subordinate subject is the same as that of the main clause, no overt subordinate subject occurs in the clause; it is simply understood to be coreferential with that of the main verb. On the other hand, if the subordinate subject is different from the subject of the main verb, then it must overtly appear as some sort of noun phrase (e.g., noun, pronoun, or demonstrative) and is usually in either the objective or the possessive case. These factors are indicated for each subordinate suffix below. Also, functional names and translations are given for each suffix.
3.2 VERB DERIVATION

This section deals primarily with the formation of new verbs, but it also is a continuation of the discussion of verb structure. In the first part (3.2.1) of this section on verb derivation, I discuss the systematic formation of new verbs from existing verbs via various kinds of voice and valence changes. In the second part (3.2.2), I discuss less systematic means for forming verbs from whatever word class.
3.2.1 Valence and Voice Changes

Nearly all verbs in Tumpisa Shoshone are unequivocally either intransitive or transitive. This means, for intransitive verbs, that they may take only a single core (or direct) participant, a subject (see 2.2.2 on intransitive sentences). For transitive verbs, it means that they must take two core participants, a subject and an object. A few verbs are basically ditransitive, and so they take three core participants, a subject, a direct object, and an indirect object. Other noun phrase participants are normally marked with postpositions because they are not direct or core participants; rather, they are oblique or peripheral participants (see chapter 5 on noun phrases and postpositions). A small number of verbs, however, are both intransitive and transitive, and therefore they optionally may or may not take an object (e.g., tukkah 'eat', tukumtaxannih 'cook', and wasuwukki 'hunt').

It is possible to change the valence of a given verb, but changes of this sort nearly always result in some formal marking, usually special affixation. When the valence of a verb is changed, a new related verb is derived. For example, if the valence of a transitive verb is decreased by one, then the result is a derived intransitive verb. Conversely, if the valence of an intransitive verb is increased by one, then a derived transitive verb is formed. Regular and systematic valence changes involving transitive verbs are traditionally called voice changes. By changing the voice of a verb, speakers alter the basic relationship between a transitive verb and its two direct participants, the subject and object. Motivation for voice changes ultimately reside in the discourse situation. For example, speakers may wish to discuss transitive activities without mentioning agents (or experiencers), or they may wish to discuss transitive activities without mentioning patients.
3.2.1.1 Noun Root Incorporation

A number of verbs regularly incorporate noun roots directly into the verb word itself. The incorporated noun root immediately precedes the verb root, and semantically it is most commonly the object. Verbs which do this on a regular basis are listed below.

**REGULARLY INCORPORATING VERBS**

- 'amih 'make, build'
- naappa'in ≈ naappa'en 'have, possess alienably'
- pa'in ≈ pa'en 'have, possess'
- tuah 'create, engender, make'
- yukwi" ≈ yukwi" 'do, go after, gather, get'

Those verbs above marked with a preceding dash must incorporate their object nouns. Their incorporated object nouns may or may not be specific and referential, but they are never marked for case (see 119-123). However, when the incorporated object noun has modifiers, such as an adjective, then the (unincorporated) adjective may be marked for objective case (e.g., 121-122 below and 90 in chapter 2, but cf. 123). On the other hand, the verbs above without a preceding dash may or may not incorporate nouns. When the noun is incorporated, it is unspecific or generic and is never marked for case (e.g., 124 below and 91 in chapter 2). But when it is not incorporated, it is specific and takes objective case marking (e.g., 125 below and 92 in chapter 2).

(119) Satu huu'etuaminna. 'He's making a bow.'
that bow-make
Aside from the verbs listed above, which regularly incorporate nouns, a number of other verbs exist which have incorporated noun roots, but incorporation in these verbs seems to be sporadic and unproductive.
EXAMPLES OF SPORADIC INCORPORATION

kiikuttih vt 'jab with the elbow'
< ma- kii-ppuh 'elbow' + kuttih 'shoot'
mitukkaannangkawih v 'speak English'
< mitükkaano 'English, white man' + nangkawih
'speak'
nampunih vt 'track'
< nam(pe) 'foot(print)' + puni' 'see'
namo'okitoihoi vi 'wash hands'
< na- reflexive + mo'o 'hand' + koitsoih 'wash'
pao'okwe' vi 'bleed'
< pao'(ppi) 'blood' + okwe' 'flow'
siilyatükingkun vt 'saddle (a horse)'
< siiya 'saddle' + tuki' 'put' -ngkun cat
takkanto'eh vi 'ejaculate'
< takkan 'sperm' + to'eh 'emerge'
tünto'eh vi 'climb up'
< tum(ppin) 'rock' + to'eh 'emerge'
tümpahe' vi 'fall down'
< tüm(ppin) 'rock' + pahe' 'fall'

These verbs could be viewed simply as noun root plus verb root compounds, but the ordering of the component roots and the process itself are reminiscent of productive noun root incorporation discussed above, as well as the incorporation of instruments with prefixes discussed next.

3.2.1.2 Instrumental Prefixes

The most productive and systematic incorporation of nominal notions within verbs occurs with a set of nearly 20 instrumental prefixes. These prefixes typically indicate the instrument with which a transitive activity is done, but sometimes they indicate the manner of the activity, and sometimes, especially with intransitive verbs, they may
indicate the source or causal factor of an activity. The latter situation is rare, however, because usually when an instrumental prefix is used on an intransitive verb stem, the derived stem becomes transitive. Instrumental prefixes are also found on a good many noun stems, but their use with nouns does not seem to be productive, or at least not nearly as productive as their use on verbs. All of the instrumental prefixes are monosyllabic, and historically most of them are attenuated forms of Numic or Uto-Aztecan noun roots, although one or two of them come from other sources such as verbs. The instrumental prefixes are listed below together with some example verbs formed with them. The etymon of each prefix is provided if known. The Uto-Aztecan etyma are from Kaufman and Campbell (1981); the forms to be compared in parentheses are contemporary related words in Tümpisa Shoshone. The variations in forms of the instrumental prefixes are due to vowel harmony with following vowels (see section 9.3.3).

### INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Example Verb(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku&quot;-</td>
<td>'with heat or fire'</td>
<td>&lt; UA *kuh</td>
<td>fire (cf. kunna&quot; 'fire(wood)')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko&quot;-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kotto'eh Vi 'boil'</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kottoon Vt 'make a fire'</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kuppuah Vi 'cook'</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kusangwe Vt 'roast'</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kuttiyaih Vi sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kuttsüüwah = kukko'ih pl 'die from heat, be too hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku&quot;-</td>
<td>'with the teeth or mouth'</td>
<td>&lt; UA *kù'i</td>
<td>'bite'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kosope Vt 'lick'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>küunno(nnai'ih) Vt 'carry (along) in the mouth'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>küttsi'ah Vt sg 'bite'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(kuso'eh pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kütsohi Vt 'chew'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ma- ≈ mo- 'with the hand'
< UA *maa 'hand' (cf. mo'o 'hand')
mapah Vi 'crawl'
masakkah Vt 'snap/break with hand' (masakkiih pl)
masutuh Vt 'rub with hand'
matukih Vt 'slap hand down on'
mokose" Vt 'smash, mash, knead'

mu- ≈ mo- 'with the nose'
< UA *mu-pl 'nose' (cf. mupin 'nose')
motamangkun Vt 'bridle (a horse)'
moto'ih Vi 'vomit'
mukwayah Vt 'touch with nose'
mungwai Vt 'kiss and hug, neck with'
musungkwai" Vt 'feel with nose'

ni"- 'with words; by talking'
(cf. niya = niha 'name')
nanikkoih Vi pl 'laugh together'
nihattatukwi Vi 'joke'
nilingkun Vt 'say, tell'
nimma'i Vt 'talk to/with'
nippoosi Vt 'boss around'
nittuuhai Vt 'talk endearingly to'

pa- ≈ po- '(with or pertaining to) water'
< UA *paa 'water' (cf. paa 'water')
paka Vt 'give drink to'
pakatuh Vi 'be a body of water'
pakwi" Vi 'swell'
patumuh Vt 'buy drinks'
poto'ih Vi 'be a spring'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PI &quot;-&quot;</th>
<th>'with the butt or behind'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; UA *pih</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pingoñokiwi</td>
<td>Vi 'buck (as a horse)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pippattaïh</td>
<td>Vi 'fall on butt' (pippatappaih pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pippahe&quot;</td>
<td>Vt 'drop; shed; have baby' (pippokoah pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisoto&quot;</td>
<td>Vt 'pull, drag'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pittatah(an)</td>
<td>Vi 'pull dress up; bare one's butt'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SU &quot;-&quot;</th>
<th>'with or from cold'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; UA *süp</td>
<td>'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sükka'ah</td>
<td>Vi 'break from cold (flexible object)' (sükkopiah pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sükkuppah</td>
<td>Vi 'break from cold (rigid object)' (sükkupiah pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suununnũki</td>
<td>Vi 'shiver, shake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suutiyaïh</td>
<td>Vi 'die from cold; be cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suuttsuüwah</td>
<td>Vi pl 'die from cold; be cold'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUN-</th>
<th>'with the mind, by feelings or sensing'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; UA *suuna 'heart' or *suuwah 'notice, believe' (cf. suwa&quot; 'want, feel')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasuntamah</td>
<td>Vt med-pass 'remember'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasuwatsi&quot;</td>
<td>Vt med-pass 'forget'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumpanai</td>
<td>Vt 'know'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suwa&quot;</td>
<td>Vt 'feel, want, think'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suwaih</td>
<td>Vt 'think about'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TA &quot;-&quot; \ TO &quot;-&quot;</th>
<th>'with the foot'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; UA *tannah</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasiiwah</td>
<td>Vt 'scratch with feet/claws' (tasitiui pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasu'ukuttih</td>
<td>Vt 'kick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tattũkĩh</td>
<td>Vi 'step'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatstsikoha&quot;</td>
<td>Vi 'slip (on one's feet)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokkotsa&quot;</td>
<td>Vt 'smash by stepping on'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ta"- ~ to"- 'with a hard rock-like instrument'
< ? UA *tün 'rock' (cf. tumpe 'rock')
tangwi ~ takkuna" vt 'throw'
toppotsiki pl
toppikkwan vt 'break (hard object)' (tappikwai pl)
tasakkih vt 'crack, break' (tasakkih pl)
tasikngwe vt 'shell, crack (nuts)'
tattükwan vt 'hit' (tappaih pl)

to"- 'with the fist, by violent motion'
< ?
toppokoah ~ toppokkohi vt sg, toppokoppaih pl 'rape'
toseaki vt 'spur'
tosommah vt 'bend' (tosomiih ~ tosomiah pl)
tottawin vt 'punch holes in' (tottawih pl)
tottükwan vt 'hit' (tappaih pl)

tsa"- ~ tsö"- 'by grasping in the hand'
< Numic *tsa'ì'n 'grasp, hold' cf. tsai" ~ tse" 'grasp, hold'
tsakkmì" vt 'tighten' (tsakkùmíppihamì pl)
tsakkwinu vt 'wind, reel in'
tsannuwan vt 'lift'
tsotto'eh vt 'take out' (tsakkuah ~ tsappu'e pl)
tsonnopah vt 'tear out/down' (tsonnopiih pl)

tsì"- 'with a sharp or pointed instrument'
< ?
tsikkittsih vt 'lock (with a key)'
tsikkwinu'i vt 'screw'
tsittawin vt 'pierce'
tsittükwan vt 'hit with sharp/pointed instrument'
(tsipaih pl)
tsittsukwih vt 'point'
VERBS

The instrumental prefixes are used productively with many verb stems. The limits to productivity seem primarily due to semantic incompatibility rather than to any grammatical factors. Many verb stems cannot be used at all without at least one instrumental prefix appended to them. Those verb stems which must have an instrumental prefix are called instrumental verbs. Some examples are given below of derived verbs formed with instrumental prefixes and a number of verb roots. The verb roots preceded by a dash are instrumental verbs which must have an instrumental prefix.

ka'ah  Vi sg 'break (of flexible object)'
kukka'ah  Vi sg 'break from heat'
kükka'ah  Vi sg 'bite in two, break with the teeth'
muka'ah  Vi sg 'break with the nose'
pikka'ah  Vi sg 'break with the butt'
sükka'ah  Vi sg 'break from cold'
takka'ah  Vi sg 'chop with a rock-like instrument'
tsakka'ah  Vi sg 'break by pulling apart'
tsikka'ah  Vi sg 'cut'
wükka'ah  Vi sg 'chop'
kükäppah  Vi sg 'break (of rigid object)'
kukkükäppah Vi sg 'break from heat'
makükäppah  Vt sg 'break with the teeth'
pikükäppah  Vt sg 'break with the butt'
sükükäppah  Vi sg 'break from cold'
takükäppah  Vt sg 'break with the foot'
tsäkkükäppah Vt sg 'break by grasping in the hand'
wükkükäppah Vt sg 'break with something'

-künävah  Vt sg instr 'cover, be on top of'
makünävah Vt sg 'cover, be on top of'
pikkünävah  Vt sg 'sit on top of'
takßünävah Vt sg 'cover with rock, put rock on top of'
tsükkünävah Vt sg 'put pointed object on top of'
wükkünävah Vt sg 'cover with something'

-kwa'ävah  V instr 'feel'
nasungkwa'äh Vt 'feel (internally)'; (< na- med-pass)
kusungkwa'äh  Vt 'taste'
musungkwa'äh Vt 'feel with the hand'
pisungkwa'äh Vt 'feel with the butt'
tasungkwa'äh Vt 'feel with the foot'
wüüsungkwa'äh = wosungkwa'äh Vt 'feel with something'

kwayah  Vi sg 'be loose, loosen'; instr V 'take off, touch'
mukwayah Vt sg 'touch with nose'
makwayah  Vt sg 'touch with hand'
pikkwayah  Vt sg 'take off of butt (as a skirt)'
takkwayah  Vt sg 'take off of feet (as shoes)'
tsäkkwayah Vt sg 'take off by grasping'
tsükkwayah Vt sg 'touch with something pointed'
wükkwayah Vt sg 'touch with the body'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERBS</th>
<th>99</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{VERBS}</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paha&quot;</td>
<td>Vi sg 'split in half'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tappaha&quot;</td>
<td>Vt sg 'split with a rock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsappaha&quot;</td>
<td>Vt sg 'split by pulling apart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsippaha&quot;</td>
<td>Vt sg 'split with something sharp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wüppaha&quot;</td>
<td>Vt sg 'split with something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{--sukwi} V instr 'penetrate with, put in a hole'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masukwi</td>
<td>Vt 'penetrate with hand, put hand in a hole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musukwi</td>
<td>Vt 'penetrate with nose, put nose in a hole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisukwi</td>
<td>Vt 'put butt in a hole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasukwi</td>
<td>Vt 'penetrate with foot, put foot in a hole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wüsukwi</td>
<td>Vt 'penetrate with, put something in a hole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{--tamah} V instr sg 'secure'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasuntamah</td>
<td>Vt 'remember' (&lt; na- med-pass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutamangkün</td>
<td>Vt 'bridle' (&lt; -ngkün cat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsattamah</td>
<td>Vt sg 'tie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wüttamah</td>
<td>Vt sg 'tie tight, secure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{to'eh ~ to'ih} Vi sg 'emerge, come up/out'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotto'eh</td>
<td>Vi sg 'boil, be really hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moto'eh</td>
<td>Vi sg 'vomit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poto'ih ~ pato'ih</td>
<td>Vi sg 'be a spring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsatto'eh ~ tsotto'eh</td>
<td>Vt sg 'take out'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occasionally more than one instrumental prefix is used in the same word, as the forms above built on -kwa'ah attest (e.g., masungkwa'ah < ma- 'with the hand' + sun- 'with the mind'), and as do tukumahanni < tu-aps, ku- 'with heat' + ma- 'with the hands', hannih 'do, fix') and tasuttiyaih 'freeze the feet' (< ta- 'with feet', su- 'with cold', tiyaih 'die').

The use of instrumental prefixes and the incorporation of noun roots (discussed in the previous section, 3.2.1.1) share a number of characteristics. In both cases nominal notions are incorporated into the verb word, and in both
cases the incorporated nominal morphemes immediately precede the verb root or stem and follow any voice prefixes (discussed in the next two sections, 3.2.1.3 and 3.2.1.4). However, even though instrumental prefixes and incorporated noun roots are similar, there are some important differences. First, the instrumental prefixes are just that—prefixes, not roots. In many cases they are attenuated or atrophied forms of roots, but they are never identical with the roots from which they come. And in some cases, their ultimate etymology are not found in contemporary Tumpisa Shoshone, if known at all (e.g., kū"-, ma-, pi"-, su"-, ta"-, to"-, tsī"-, etc.). Second, the semantics of the instrumental prefixes is to a large degree consistent. They are almost always peripheral arguments in the clause (i.e., not direct arguments), most typically instruments, or if not, then causal sources, or manners of doing something. Semantically, incorporated noun roots are haphazard and unpredictable, except with a very small set of verbs which either require incorporated nouns (e.g., -pa'in 'have') or incorporate nonreferential unspecific noun roots (e.g., yūkwi" 'do, go get'). In these cases the incorporated nouns are patients, but instrumental prefixes almost never signify patients. Finally, the use of the instrumental prefixes is productive. If there is a need, and if no semantic incompatibility would result, then, generally speaking, one can make up forms at will. The incorporation of nouns does not seem to be productive, except with that very restricted set of verbs, mentioned above, requiring incorporated patients or incorporating unspecific patients.

On the other hand, a few cases seem to fit both kinds of incorporation. For example, tanga(")-, the root found in tangappuh 'knee' (-ppuh N absol), also occurs incorporated into a handful of verbs with meanings consistent with instrumental prefixes (e.g., tangummutti 'kick' < ma 'with' + kuttih 'shoot' via contraction; tangatookatu 'kneel' < too? + katū" 'sit'; tangatookuttih 'fall on knees' < too? +
kuttih 'shoot'; tangappuhakatu 'pray kneeling' < puha 'supernatural power' + katu" 'sit'). Perhaps tanga- is on its way to becoming an instrumental prefix.

Of all the instrumental prefixes, pa- (< paa 'water') acts most like an incorporated noun, at least semantically, since it not infrequently marks the patient (e.g., patumuuh 'buy drinks' < tumuuh 'buy'; ponoo 'fetch water' < noo" 'carry on the back'). Nevertheless, even though the line between instrumental prefixes and incorporated nouns is not absolute, the distinction still seems to be an important one in the grammar.

To get a good sense of the productivity of the instrumental prefixes, the reader should consult the Tumpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Dictionary (Dayley 1989), looking at the words that follow each instrumental prefix and that have the same first consonant and vowel. Many of these words are derived with the instrumental prefixes. Of course there will be other derivatives from the instrumental prefixes as well, but in other parts of the dictionary because they begin with other prefixes or because of vowel harmony (see section 9.3.3). Here, it will suffice to say that some of the prefixes are very productive; for example, tsa"- and wu"- are used in forming over 50 different words each. Others are not so productive; for example, gu"- occurs in only about 10 words, and ni"- and sun- in about 15.

As noted above, a fairly large number of (instrumental) verbs require instrumental prefixes and may not be used alone without at least one of them. A partial list of the most important of these follow.
SOME INSTRUMENTAL VERBS

- kaka (-kikappaih pl) 'tear, rip'
- kitso'o (-kitsoppeh pl) 'smash'
- kontonah (-kontoniih pl) 'wrap up'
- kopiih pl (cf. kopiah Vi) 'break flexible object'
- kose" 'smash (with horizontal motion)'
- kota" 'smash (with vertical motion)'
- kuna" ≈ -ngwi (-potsiki pl) 'throw'
- kūpiih pl (cf. kūplah Vi) 'break rigid object'
- kūnunah (-kūniih pl) 'cover, be on top of'
- kwa'ah ≈ -kwai" 'touch, feel'
- munuh(ih) (-munuppeh pl) 'turn (around or over)'
- nophah (-nophi pl) 'pull out, tear down'
- ngunah (-nguniih pl) 'place, set, locate'
- pakliih pl (cf. paha" sg, pakiah Vi pl) 'split'
- patah (-patiih pl) 'spread out'
- patta'ih (-patappaih pl) 'slap, flop against'
- patsanah (-patsaniih pl) 'fasten'
- pihwah (-pihwai pl) 'break (soft object)'
- pikwai pl (cf. pikwaa Vi pl) 'shatter, break (rigid object)'
- pokohah ≈ -pokkohin (-pokkappaih pl) 'violate'
- sakkah (-sakiih pl) 'crack, snap'
- siiwah (-sitiu ≈ -sutuhi pl) 'scratch, rub'
- somiih pl (cf. sommah sg, somiah Vi pl) 'bend'
- sone 'sweep, comb'
- sukwhin 'put in a hole'
- su'ukuttih 'kick'
- tamah (-tamiih pl) 'secure'
- tia (-we'ih pl) 'discard, dump out'
- tūkwan (-taih pl) 'hit'
- tumah (-tümiih pl) 'close'
- tupuah (-tupuppaih pl) 'undo, release, open'
- tūtua (-tūtuppaih pl) 'tear, cut (fabric)'
- tompokkah (-tompokwiih pl) 'fasten'
VERBS

- tomponah (-tomponiih pl) 'wrap or put in a rag'
- tsakwah (-tsakwiih pl) 'kill by...'
- ts'ah (-so'eh pl) 'pinch, occlude'
- tsokwah (-tsokwiih pl) 'tie a knot, stitch'
- tsokweh 'smash by pounding'

A few basically intransitive plural verbs have special stems when instrumental prefixes are used on them; for example, kúpiā Ví pl 'break (of rigid object)' > -kúpiih pl instr V (kuppah Ví sg); kópiā Ví pl 'break (of flexible object)' > -kópiih pl instr V (ka'ah Ví sg); and pakiah Ví pl > -pakiih pl instr V (paha' Ví sg).

Clauses having verbs with instrumental prefixes may or may not have postpositional phrases in ma 'with' containing overt instrumental nouns (or noun phrases). When overt instrumental nouns occur, they are specific and referential, as in 126b-c and 127b. But, when they do not occur, there is no specificity implied about the instrument, as in 126a and 127a.

(126) a. Nú o tottsokwenna.
   I it rock-smash
   'I smashed it (with some rock-like instrument).'

   b. Nú tumpim ma o tottsokwenna.
   I rock with it rock-smash
   'I smashed it with the rock.'

   c. Nú nû pampi ma o tottsokwenna.
   I my head with it rock-smash
   'I smashed it with my head.'
(127) a. Nu sakka masungkwa'anna. 
   I that-O hand-feel
   'I'm feeling him (with my hand).'

   b. Nu sakka nu mo'o ma masungkwa'anna 
   I that-O my hand with hand-feel
   'I'm feeling him with my hand.'

The situation is similar in those few cases where instrumental prefixes actually designate the patient or object, as in 128. If an overt object noun appears, then it is specific (e.g., 128b); if not, then it is not specific (e.g., 128a).

(128) a. Sam tammi patumungkuppahantu. 
   Sam us(inc) drink-buy for-past
   'Sam bought us something to drink.'

   b. Sam piiya tammi patumungkuppahantu. 
   Sam beer us(inc) drink-buy for-past
   'Sam bought us some beer.'

3.2.1.3 Passives, Mediopassives, Reflexives and Reciprocals

In Tümpisa Shoshone, the function of the passive voice is to remove agents from the discussion of normally transitive activities. That is, it is a means for talking about transitive activities without having to mention the agent. Passive sentences in the language may never contain an agent, although an indefinite agent is implied. Verbs in the passive voice are productively formed from transitive verbs with the important prefix na- (e.g., 129-134). The subject of a passive verb in na- is typically the patient, or what would be the direct object in a normal active transitive sentence. But the subject of a passive sentence may also be
the dative participant or what would be the indirect object of a ditransitive verb (e.g., in 133b). Whenever the subject of a passive sentence is animate, it is always in the nominative case (e.g., 129-131 and 133a-b). On the other hand, when the subject of a passive sentence is inanimate (e.g., 132 and 134), it is frequently in the accusative case, just as it would be in an active transitive clause.

(129) Nummù sapettu namiangkätaiipühantù.
    we(exc) there be sent-past
    'We were sent there.'

(130) Tukopoyo'oittsi pahannai ipantu napakkataihwa.
    kingbird down here be killed-cmplt
    'Kingbird was killed down here.'

(131) Nungku atammupi kuppa napunihappühantil.
    we(dl exc) car in be seen-past
    'We two were seen in the car.'

(132) Pue tammin tūpanna nayaappuh.
    already our(inc) pinenut-O be taken-prf
    'Our pinenuts have already been taken.'

(133) a. Nû nateewinna.  'I was talked about.'
    I be told about

b. Nû nateewingkunna.  'I was told (something).'  
    I be told-cat

c. Nû sukkwa teewitu'ih.  [=active of a]
    I that-O tell about-will
    'I'll tell about that.'
d. Nū sukkwa ma teewingkūppūhantu. [=active of b]
   I that-0 him told
   'I told him that.'

(134) a. Sohopitta namo'ihanna. 'Land is drawn.'
    land-O be drawn-stv = 'map'

b. Wisikkia natūmeninna. 'Whiskey is sold.'
    whiskey-O be sold = 'liquor store'

c. Tūkkappia natūmeninna. 'Food is sold.'
    food-O be sold = 'grocery store'

Whereas the function of the passive voice is to remove
the agent from the discussion of a transitive activity, the
function of the mediopassive voice is to discuss an event in
a way which explicitly denies the involvement of an
initiating agent. The mediopassive is a means for indicating
that the event is not prototypically transitive because no
agent is involved, even if under other circumstances a
similar activity might be initiated by an agent. Like the
passive, the mediopassive is also marked with the prefix na-. Events, especially processes or states, that are typically
marked as mediopassive are those in which the subject of the
verb may be the source of energy of the event but is not
actively initiating it. A number of mediopassive verbs are
listed below. Some mediopassive verbs are intransitive,
taking only a subject, semantically either a patient or
experiencer; while others are grammatically transitive,
taking an experiencer subject and some sort of mental
phenomenon as object.
MEDIOPASSIVE VERBS

nahona Vü 'be nothing'
< ?
nakuttapinaih Vü 'be light(ed)'
< ku"- 'with heat' + tape 'sun' + naih 'do'
nakūtsasa Vü 'be bad'
< ?
nanangkah ≈ naangkah Vü 'be noise'
< nangkah Vt 'hear'
naniyah(an) Vü 'be named, be called'
< niya 'name' + -kan stv
napakatūh Vü 'be flooded'
< pakatūh Vü 'be a body of water'
napunih Vü 'appear, look'
< puni" Vt 'see, look at'
nasungkwa'ah Vt 'feel (internally)'
< sun- 'with mind' + -kwa'ah instr V 'feel'
nasuntamah Vt 'remember'
< sun- 'with mind' + -tamah instr V 'secure, tie'
nasuwa'ah Vü and Vt 'be ashamed (of)'
< suwa'ah Vt 'think about'
nasuwa'si" Vt 'forget'
< sun- 'with mind' + watsi" Vü 'be lost, hidden'
natiiingwa" ≈ natui'ingwa" Vü and Vt 'learn, study'
< tu'ingwa" Vt 'teach'
natūpinniahan Vü 'be named, called'
< tūpinnia(han) Vt 'name, call'
natsattumah Vü 'close, be closed'
< tsattumah Vt 'close'
natsittooonnai'ih Vü 'use a cane'
< tsii"- 'with pointed instr' + too" ? + nai'ih 'in motion'
na'uma ≈ na'tungwa Vü 'be rained on'
< uma" ≈ ūngwa" Vü 'rain'
nawakanaa" Vi 'be married'
< wakan 'by, toward (someone)' naa" 'be'
nawuttumah Vi 'close, be closed'
< wuttumah Vt 'close'
nopusawih Vi 'dream'
< ?

The examples above are lexicalized mediopassive verbs; they are not spur-of-the-moment formations. The formation of mediopassive verbs is not as regular or productive as the formation of passives, but it is clear from the examples above that the process has been at least semiproductive during the language's history. Some sentence examples of mediopassives are given below.

(135) Tüwuttumappüh nawuttumawi'ah.
  door close-inchoative
  'The door is closing.'

(136) Kahni tümpe natsattawiha. 'The door is open.'
  house mouth open-stv
  = door

(137) Nummi appü wa'i napunni satu.
  our(exc) father like look(dur) that
  'He looks like our father.'

The prefix na- is also used in the formation of reflexives. Reflexive clauses are those in which the subject is coreferential to the object. Reflexive clauses are formed with na- prefixed to a transitive verb stem, as with passives, but reflexive clauses require in addition the presence of a reflexive pronoun (see 4.2).
Subject pronouns are usually not used in reflexive constructions with first and second persons. In the third person, subject pronouns or noun phrases may be used (e.g., 138d), but are often omitted if they are given information (e.g., 138c and h).

Na- is also used to indicate *reciprocals* where two or more individuals do something to each other. Actually, in the dual number, na- ambiguously indicates either reflexive
or reciprocal, as in 139. But as 140 illustrates, the semantics of the sentence usually makes one interpretation or the other paramount.

(139) a. Tangkusū napunihappuhantū.
    ourselves(dl inc) pmpr-stv-past
    'You and I saw ourselves/each other.'

b. Nungkusū napunnih.
    ourselves(dl exc) pmpr-see(dur)
    'We two see ourselves/each other.'

c. Mungkusū napunnih.
    yourselves(dl) pmpr-see(dur)
    'You two see yourselves/each other.'

d. Satungku pungkutakasū napuniha.
    those(dl) themselves(dl) pmpr-see-stv
    'Those two see themselves/each other.'

(140) Satungku napitungkünna.
    those(dl) recip-fight
    'Those two are fighting each other.'
    (*themselves)

Plural reciprocals, however, are unambiguously marked with the plural reciprocal prefix anna"- 'each other', as illustrated in 141-142. In reciprocals based on anna"-, apparently either subjective or reflexive pronouns are appropriate.

(141) a. Tammū(sū) annappuninuupaiha.
    we(ourselves inc) recip-see-sit-stv
    'We all are sitting looking at each other.'
b. Nüümü(su) annappuniha.
   we(ourselves exc) recip-see-stv
   'We are looking at each other.'

c. Mümüsü annappunni.
   you all recip-see(dur)
   'You all are looking at each other.'

(142) Satümü annappitüngküna.
    those recip-fight
    'They are fighting each other.'

Both na- and anna"- are used in the formation of many words, not just verbs (e.g., na- + nüümü 'people' > nanümü 'relative'; anna"- + man 'with' > annamman 'together'; see the word formation sections in other chapters).

3.2.1.4 Absolutive Antipassives

Tümiska Shoshone has a productive absolutive antipassive voice that makes possible the discussion of transitive activities without mentioning direct objects (or patients). The antipassive is formed with the prefix tü- (~ ty-), which is affixed to transitive verbs, making them derived active intransitives with agent subjects. Even though antipassive clauses with verbs in tü- normally do not take direct objects, indefinite and unspecific objects are implied.

(143) Satü tuwasunnuwi.
    that aps-kill(pl)-walk around
    'He is going around killing [things].'

(144) Nü tüsaawahá.  'I'm boiling [something].'
    I aps-boil-stv
Nu tumo'ikattu. 'I'm sitting writing.'
I aps-write-sit(dur)

Nu tukoitsoitu'ih, nu takkottukturitu'ih.
I aps-wash-will I aps-scrub-will
'I'll wash, and I'll scrub.'

A number of verbs formed with tü- have become lexicalized (e.g., tüpunih vi 'wake up' < tü- + punih 'see'), and a few have then been reanalyzed as transitives (e.g., tukummahannih vi and vt 'cook' < tü- aps + ku' tü- 'with heat' + ma- 'with hands' + hannih 'do, prepare').

3.2.1.5 Causatives and Applicatives

A very important valence-changing affix in Tümpisa Shoshone is the suffix -ngkun, which is used to increase the valence of a given verb by one. When -ngkun is used on intransitive verbs, it transitivizes them, typically forming causatives of them. Normally, the subjects of the intransitive stems become the objects of the transitive causatives formed with -ngkun. Thus, the causatives formed from stative or process intransitives generally mean that some agent or force causes (makes, gets, has, forces) a patient to change states or to undergo the process denoted by the verb stem. And similarly, the causatives formed from active intransitives mean that an agent causes (makes, gets, has) someone or something to do the action denoted by the active verb stem. There are literally hundreds of causative verbs formed with -ngkun from intransitives; a list of some of them follows.
CAUSATIVES FROM INTRANSITIVES

hapìngkùn 'fell, make fall'
  < hapì' sg 'lie'
hipittasingkùn 'make drunk, intoxicate'
  < hipittain 'get drunk'
hùttsawìngkùn 'cool'
  < hùttsawùn 'be cool'
kammangkùn 'make sick'
  < kammah 'be sick, sore, ache'
kuppuangkùn vt 'cook'
  < kuppùah Vi 'cook'
kotto'engkùn vt 'boil'
  < kotto'eh Vi 'boil'
kwitasu'ungkùn 'make fart'
  < kwitasu'u' 'fart, break wind'
mi'angkùn 'send, make go'
  < mi'a 'go'
muiyaingkùn 'intoxicate, make drunk'
  < muiyai 'become intoxicated, get drunk'
pitsingkùn 'nurse, breastfeed'
  < pitsi 'suckle'
potto'ingkùn 'make wet'
  < potto'in 'be wet'
siìngkùn 'make urinate'
  < siì' 'urinate'
sùnnùnngìngkùn 'shake, make shiver'
  < sùnnùnnúkì 'shiver'
tammayaingkùn 'drive crazy, make (go) crazy'
  < tammayaìn 'be crazy'
tamminoìngkùn 'tire, make tired'
  < tamminoi 'be tired'
uitsù'ingkùn 'cool, make cold'
  < uitsù'in 'be cold'
uppùngkùn 'make sleep(y)'
  < uppùiìh '(go to) sleep'
ütüingkün 'heat'
< ütūi 'be hot'
watsingkütain 'lose'
< watsi" 'be lost, missing' + -tain cmplt
wükkatungkün 'stack, pile up'
< wükkatuh 'be a pile'
yuhupükkaŋkün 'fatten, make fat'
< yuhupükkan 'get fat'

A number of examples of causative verbs used in complete sentences are given below.

(147) Tsao ú siingkūtū tutumpi.
really you make pee-hab ephedra
'Ephedra really makes you pee.'

(148) Wa'ippu kottsappia ütüingkünna.
woman soup-O heat
'The woman is heating the soup.'

(149) Wainnih noohakka tammiyaingkünna.
wine everybody-O make crazy
'Wine makes everybody go crazy.'

(150) Piiya nū hipippūh nū kammangkūtaihwa.
beer I drink-prf me make sick-cmplt-cmplt
'The beer I drank has made me absolutely sick.'

Besides forming causatives from intransitive verbs, -ngkün is also used to form other kinds of transitive verbs from intransitives, but in a much less regular and systematic way. A few of these are listed below.
The suffix -ngkun is not only used on intransitive verbs to increase valence, but is also used on transitive verbs to form what have been traditionally called applicatives in studies of Uto-Aztecan languages (see Andrews 1975). Applicatives are transitive verbs which have had their valence increased by one, such that they take three core participants (i.e., subject, direct object, and indirect object) rather than just two (i.e., subject and direct object), as is normal for transitive verbs. What -ngkun does to transitive verbs is like a voice change that makes ditransitives of simple transitives. In the simplest terms, it makes it possible for a simple transitive to take an indirect object as a core participant, as well as a direct object. Semantically, the indirect object is typically either a dative participant (e.g., 151-154) or a benefactive.
participant (e.g., 155-162). Thus, the indirect object is usually either the recipient of the direct object (= patient) or goal of the action denoted by the verb or somehow benefits from the action.

(151) Sūmūttū nia sūmmi teewingküppūhantū.  
one me something told-cat-past  
'Someone told me something.'

(152) Nū sūkkwa ma teewingküntu’ih.  
I that him tell-cat-will  
'I'll tell him that.'

(153) Nū ún teewingkünna.  
I you tell-cat-sfx  
'I'm telling you (something).'</n
(154) Utūmmi sūmmi yüngkünna, pūnnam pii tsa  
those-O something said to their own mom emph  
summi yüngkünna, 'Tammi appū naamnaaa  
something said to our(inc) father was  
satū wihnu.'  
that then  
'She said to them, their own mom said, "That was our father then."'

(155) Antsia tumūungküppūhantū nū kwasu'unna.  
Angie-O buy-cat-past I dress-O  
'I bought Angie a dress.'

(156) Samma piiya tahi patūmmūngküppūhantū.  
Sam beer us(dl inc) liquor-buy-cat-past  
'Sam bought us two some beer.'
The process of forming benefactives from transitive verbs is completely productive, and in fact it is obligatory whenever a benefactive participant is involved in the action. On the other hand, aside from the many productively formed spur-of-the-moment applicatives, many applicatives have been lexicalized. Some of these are listed below, with sentence examples following in 163-164.
hanningkun 'help, do for'
  < hannahih 'do, fix'
motamangkun 'bridle (a horse)'
  < mu- 'with nose' + -tamah 'secure, tie'
niingkun 'tell'
  < ni"- 'with words' -i- ?
nukwingkun 'tell, say to'
  < nukwi" 'say'
nukwingkun 'do for'
  < nukwi" 'do'
puningkun 'show to: look at'
  < puni" 'see'
suwangkun 'feel about, have feelings about'
  < suwa" 'feel, want, think'
teewingkun 'tell'
  < teewi 'tell about, talk about, point'
yukwingkun 'do for'
  < yukwi" = yukwi" 'do'
yukwingkun ≈ yuingkun 'tell, say to'
  < yukwi" 'say'

(163) Nūü sakka tuttsūppūh suwangkūnna.
    I that-O ugly feel about
    'I hate her.'

(164) Nūü ūm puningkūkwantu'ih tupanna.
    I you show-going to pinenut-O
    'I'm going to (go) show you the pinenuts.'

There are a few causatives formed from transitives with -ngkun much like causatives from intransitives discussed earlier. However, it is not known whether or not the process of forming causatives from transitives with -ngkun is productive. The only examples recorded are given in 165-166.
3.2.1.6 Jussives

Causative-like constructions from transitive verbs are usually formed with the jussive auxiliary verb tunga 'tell to, order to' (see 3.1.5), which may be used with intransitive verbs as well. Like other auxiliaries, tunga is appended to the main verb stem, but like the suffix -ngkun it changes the valence of the verb complex in which it occurs, as illustrated in 167-171. The subject of the clause in which jussive tunga appears is the person doing the ordering, and the object is the person being told to do what is denoted by the main verb stem. Constructions with tunga in fact must have human or talking subjects and objects that presumably understand language.

165) Um pia u tükangkunna.
   her mother her eat-cat-sfx [= feed]
   'Her mother fed her.'

166) Nu hipingkunna uu. 'You made me drink.'
    me drink-cat-sfx you

167) Um pia u tükkatunganna.
    her mother her eat-tell-sfx
    'Her mother told her to eat.'

168) Nu hipittunganna uu.
    me drink-tell-sfx you
    'You told me to drink.'

169) Wa'ippu punnang kuhmattsia wasuwükkitunganna.
    woman her own husband-O hunt-tell-sfx
    'The woman told her husband to hunt.'
(170) Tanguummū pūnnam pūnnahaplitstsia
man his own wife-O

tukummahannitūnganna.
cook-tell-sfx
'The man told his wife to cook.'

(171) Nu ma mi'atūngappūhantū.
I him go-tell-past
'I told him to go.'

The reader may wish to compare 167-168 with 165-166, and 169-170 with 161-162, to see the differing effects of the causative and benefactive suffix -ngkūn and the jussive auxiliary tūnga.

3.2.2 Unsystematic Verb Derivation

Aside from the verb-forming and valence-changing processes discussed in the previous section (3.2.1), a number of suffixes are used to form verbs, but on a much less productive and systematic basis. The most important derivational suffixes forming verbs are listed below, along with some examples of derivations. Glosses indicating function and notes on productivity are provided when known.

**VERB-DERIVING SUFFIXES**

-(')i ≈ -ih ≈ -in ≈ -i" general verbalizer; productive
  hüppai 'be shady' < hüppa 'shade'
  kūttai 'be hard, tough' < kūttaan 'tough'
  niingkūn 'tell' < ni"- 'with words', -ngkūn cat
  nasoo'ih 'be a movie' < na- pmpr, Eng show
  nūhai 'make baskets' < nūha(kka) 'basket'
  ohii" 'cough' < ohii- 'cough'
paho'in 'smoke (tobacco)' < pahon 'tobacco'
tutakaih 'be born' < tū- aps + taka 'self'

-kain ≈ -kaih ≈ -kai" general verbalizer:
semiproductive
pihyakaih 'itch' < pihya 'weak'
poslakaih 'delouse' < posia 'louse'
sumakkaih 'breathe' < suma"- 'breath'
tooyakaih 'be thunder' < toya- 'mountain'
woongkwaih 'be jealous' < woon- 'jealous'

-kan ≈ -kkan ≈ -han stative; semiproductive
numukkan 'move' < nūmū 'person'
tusukkwan 'smash' < tusu" 'grind'
tūmpunihan 'watch' < tūn- 'rock', puni" 'see'
tūkikkan (tahakkkan pl) 'keep' < tūki" [taha" pl] 'put'
yunnukkan 'keep' < yunnu" sg 'put'

-pukkan involuntary stative; semiproductive
kammahpukkan 'be/get sick' < kammah 'be sick'
no'apukkan 'be/get pregnant' < no'a- 'pregnant'
pakantuupukkan 'have/get an erection' < pakan 'penis'
tuupukkan 'be/get angry' < tuu- 'mean'
wuattuupukkan 'have/get an erection' < wuā" 'penis'
yuhupukkan 'get fat' < yuhu- 'fat'

-tu ?; unproductive
kuhmatu 'acquire a husband' < kuhma 'husband'
mukatu 'think' < mukua 'mind'
pūnnahapitu 'acquire a wife' < pūnnahapi 'wife'
tuammutu 'bear offspring' < tuammū 'offspring'
### -wih general verbalizer: semiproductive

- **hukkuntüwi** 'be dusty' < hukkun 'dust'
- **isa’awih** 'lie, deceive' < isan 'lie' + -‘a ?
- **kümawih** 'sharpen' < kümä- 'sharp'
- **nangkawih** 'talk' < nangkah 'hear'
- **nūhakkawih** 'make baskets' < nūhakka 'basket'
- **pangkuwih** 'swim with head under water' < paa 'water' ?

### -yai(n) ?: unproductive

- **muiyai** 'become intoxicated' < mui- 'jimson weed'
- **tammayain** 'get crazy' < tamma 'crazy'

### -yun general verbalizer: productive (?)

- **hakanniyun** 'be how' < hakanni 'how'
- **napakayun** 'be in halves' < napakan 'half'
- **pangwiyun** 'fish' vt < pangwi 'fish'
- **wūmmanniyun** 'be naked' < wūmmanni- 'naked'

## 3.3 NONFINITE FORMS

Virtually all Túmpisa Shoshone verbs have several nonfinite deverbal forms. They are distinguished from finite forms in that they do not take the full range of verbal suffixes (see 3.1.1) such as the adverbial suffixes or prefinal and final aspect, tense, and mode suffixes; they function as members of other word classes, and they are used in certain kinds of subordinate clauses (discussed later on in chapter 8). The position of the nonfinite suffixes is immediately after the verb stem.

### 3.3.1 The Infinitive

Verbal nouns are formed with the suffix -nna. Verbal nouns in -nna function much like infinitives or gerunds and will be called infinitives in this work. The infinitive suffix is homophonous with the general aspect suffix -nna,
but infinitives are easily distinguished, since they function as nouns, not verbs, and they normally have no adverbial, aspect, tense, or mode suffixes. The two example sentences below contain infinitives in -nna; they are tutuainna 'to work/working' in 172 and hipinna 'to drink/drinking' in 173. Both sentences also have finite verbs in aspectual -nna as well.

(172) Tütüainna nü tamminoingkünna.
working me make tired
'Working makes me tired.'

(173) Nüu hipinna tsao suwangkünna.
I to drink really like
'I really like to drink.'

3.3.2 Present and Past Participles

There are two participles: the present participle formed with the suffix -tun (obj -tunna ~ -ti), and the past participle formed with the suffix -ppuh (obj -ppuha). The participles may function either as adjectives or as nouns. For example, in 174-176 the present participles function as nouns; whereas in 177-179 the present participles function as deverbal participial adjectives in subordinate clauses.

(174) Nü nuaitunna nangkappuhantü tunga umatü ma'i.
I blowing-O heard and rain(ing) with
'I heard the wind and rain.'

(175) Wayantünna punikka nu.
burning-O see I
'I see the fire [=burning].'
(176) Nu neeyangwitunna punikka.  
'I see handgame-playing.'

(177) Tammu neeyangwippuhantu tukwanni piiya hipitū. 
'We played handgame last night, drinking beer.'

(178) Tangummu pa'apppuh wūnutū nia pusikwa. 
'The tall man knows me.'

(179) Nuu tangummi pa'apppuh wūnutunna pusikwa. 
'I know the tall man.'

Past participles in -ppuh commonly are used in conjunction with the adverbial completive suffix -tain (i.e., -taippuh). Past participles typically function as predicate adjectives (e.g., 180-182) or as deverbal participial adjectives in subordinate clauses (e.g., 183-185).

(180) Tupatti kuppūataippuh. 
'pinenut cook-cmplt-pp' 
'The pinenuts are cooked.'

(181) Nuu tamminoippuh. 'I'm tired.'
I tire-pp
(182) Setū tsukuppūttai küttaappūh muiyaippūh,
this old man really drunk

setū uppuitaippūh.
this sleep-cmplt-pp

'The old man is really drunk; he's completely asleep.'

(183) Tūhūya ung kuttippūh tiyaitaihwa.
deer his shoot-pp died
'The deer he shot died.'

(184) Nuû tsiatinyaippūh nū tükkatu'ih.
I starve-pp I eat-will
'When I'm starved, I'll eat.'

(185) Wa'ippuang kuukippuha nummu tükkanan tūpanna.
woman's cook-pp-O we-exc eat pinenut-o
'We're eating the woman's cooked pinenuts
[i.e., the pinenuts the woman cooked].'

The present participle suffix and the past participle suffix are homophonous, respectively, with the habitual aspect suffix -tūn and the perfect aspect suffix -ppūh (see 3.1.1). The participles and finite forms are distinguished, of course, in function, but also in that the participles do not occur with other verbal suffixes (except -tain).

3.4 VERB PHRASES

As discussed and amply exemplified in section 2.2 of the previous chapter, the predicate or verb phrase in Tümpisa Shoshone may contain as its head constituent either a verb or a predicate complement such as a predicate noun (or NP), a predicate adjective (or Adj phrase), or a predicate
adverbial. A verb may be intransitive, either stative, process, or active, or it may be transitive or ditransitive. As should be apparent from the discussion throughout earlier sections of this chapter, the real complexity of the verb phrase occurs within the verb word itself. The verb phrase outside of the verb is not particularly complex, since the verb may contain, aside from the verb root or stem, morphemes indicating aspect, tense, mode, direction, voice, instrument, and various other adverbial and nominal notions, as well as compounded auxiliaries. Nevertheless, the verb may be modified by various kinds of adverbs and postpositional phrases, which are discussed in detail later on (see chapter 5 on postpositions and chapter 7 on adverbs).

What is covered in chapters 2, 5, and 7 is not repeated in this section. Rather, I simply illustrate how the verb is modified within the verb phrase. Nearly all verb modifiers normally occur before the verb, although they may also occur after it. Only the two enclitic particles puũ and -nuu'u always follow the verb when modifying it. Both are emphatic markers, but puũ often marks contrastiveness as well as simple emphasis.

(186) Setũ otammanni miattaisü sümni yuukwitũ puũ!
this old man went away that saying emph
'This old man went away saying that!'

(187) Nuu naaiyangwituki-nnu'u.
I play handgame-start-emph
'I'm starting to play handgame!'

Other verb modifiers seem to have considerable freedom in terms of their positioning. They either occur immediately before the verb (e.g., 194) or second in the sentence after the subject (e.g., 188 and 193), but sometimes they are sentence-initial (as in 189-191), and somewhat less frequently they follow the verb (as in 191-192 and 196). It
should be stated, however, that the restrictions on the positioning of modifiers of the verb are simply not known.

In terms of function, some are delimiters, such as utuku in 188, which is itself further modified by emphatic puu.

(188) Setu utuku puu umannuh. 'It was just raining!'
    this just emph rained

Some are intensifiers, like küuttaappuh in 189.

(189) Küuttaappuh nüenna. 'It's really blowing.'
    really blow

Others, such as noohimpe in 190, indicate aspectual notions; while still others, like puessu(sū) and miikkwa in 191, denote time.

(190) Noohimpe sutu yahinna. 'He always laughs.'
    always that laugh

(191) Puesusu punnanni nummi nukkippuha
    long ago which way us do-past-sub
    nüu sukkwa teewitu'ih miikkwa.
    I that tell-will now
    'Now I will tell the way that we did (things) long ago.'

Some, like sope" in 192, indicate place.

(192) U makakominna sopetti.
    her feed-around-iterative there abouts-emph
    'He would feed her around there.'
And finally, some indicate manner, like *yawúsú* and *tsao* in 193–194.

(193) Nūú *yawúsú miakwantú'ih.*
I quickly go away-will
'I'll quickly go away.'

(194) Nūú kee sakka *tsao suwangkúna.*
I not that-O well like
'I don't like that [that] well.'

All of the examples given so far have been with verbs as head of the verb phrase, but of course nonverbal predicates may have modifiers as well. For example, the intensifier *kenúmnú* modifies the predicate adjective in 195, the emphatic -*nnu'u* modifies the predicate adjective in 196, and the time adverb *miikkwa* modifies the predicate noun phrase in 197.

(195) Nūú *kenúmnú pasampútsí.*
I really skinny
'I'm really skinny.'

(196) Nūú *pihyapi-nnu'u! 'I'm really weak!*'
I weak-emph

(197) Tsawúntū *tangumú miikkwa.*
good man now
'He's a good man now.'

Note to Chapter 3

1. This verb stem and the one exemplified next are either etymologically related or there has been some contamination between them.
This chapter presents all of the minor word classes that can function as pronominals. Pronominals are words that are capable of substituting for entire noun phrases (see chapter 5 on NPs). The pronominals include personal pronouns (4.1), reflexive pronouns (4.2), demonstratives (4.3), interrogatives (4.4), indefinite pronouns (4.5), quantifiers (4.6), and numbers (4.7).

4.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns distinguish the categories of person, number, case, and exclusive-inclusiveness. There are three persons: first, second, and third; three numbers: singular, dual, and plural; and three cases: subjective (= nominative), objective (= accusative and dative), and possessive (= genitive). The first persons dual and plural are either exclusive, indicating the speaker and other(s) but not the addressee, or inclusive, indicating the speaker and the addressee. Third person pronouns are deficient in that there are only forms in the objective and possessive singular and none in the subjective nor in the dual and plural numbers. Demonstratives function where third person pronouns might otherwise be used (see 4.3). However, the third person singular pronouns may sometimes have plural reference, especially if their referents are inanimate or if there would be no potential ambiguity in context.
### Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
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<tr>
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<td>ü ≈ üũ</td>
<td>ümmi ≈ ūn</td>
<td>ümmin ≈ ūn</td>
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<tr>
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<td>man ≈ ūn ≈ an</td>
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**Dual**

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<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>mungku</td>
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**Plural**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>mummü</td>
<td>mummi</td>
<td>mummi</td>
<td>mummin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alternate forms with long vowels in the first and second persons singular are emphatic or contrastive. The dual objective alternates marked with a following dash are used in combination with certain postpositions. The third person singular pronouns are etymologically related to demonstrative bases, and their demonstrative flavor may not be entirely absent. The different alternates seem to be largely interchangeable; there is a tendency to use the ma forms for humans and the ū forms for nonhumans, but this certainly is not a hard and fast rule. A number of sentence examples of pronouns not occurring frequently elsewhere in this monograph are given below.

(1) Mungku mimi'akwantu'ih. 'You two are going away.'
    you(dl) go(dl)-going to

(2) Muhu wakantu kimanna.
    you(dl) towards come
    'He's coming towards you two.'
(3) Satu muhi tottukwuppuhantu.
    that you(dl)-O hit
    'He hit you two.'

(4) Mummu tuittsa taotahi noohakapa'angkuh.
    you(pl) young man-O find someplace
    'You all are going to find a young man someplace.'

(5) Nuu mummi mappatappaiwantu'ih.
    I you(pl)-O slap-going to
    'I'm going to slap you all.'

(6) Mummi apputi utu sutu:
    your(pl) father-emph that that
    'That's you-all's father!'

(7) Nungku atammupi kuppa napunippuhantu.
    we(dl) car in were seen
    'We two were seen in the car.'

(8) Nuhim pungku nuhi tangummuttih.
    our(dl) horse us(dl) kick
    'Our horse kicked us two.'

(9) Tangku nawittsipia nanangkahappuhantu.
    we(dl) girl-O heard
    'We two heard the girl.'

(10) Nawittsipi tahi wuttukwuppuhantu.
    girl us(dl) hit
    'The girl hit us two.'

(11) Tahim piiya tsuntaippuh.
    our(dl) beer all gone
    'Our beer is all gone.'
Possessive pronominal constructions used as heads of noun phrases and as predicate nominals are formed with the possessive case personal pronouns plus *himpū* (*himpua* obj) 'something, thing, stuff', which is both an indefinite pronoun and noun. *Himpū* can also be used in this function with third person reflexives (4.2) and with demonstratives (4.3). These forms are listed below (even though the reflexives and demonstratives are discussed in the next two sections). The presence of final -ŋ is optional, although preferred, on the possessive case forms preceding *himpū*. When -ŋ is present, then the initial ḥ of *himpū* is replaced with ř (as a regular phonological process; see 9.3.7).

### NOMINAL AND PREDICATIVE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

**Singular**

1st

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<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<tr>
<td>nia himpū = nian nimpu</td>
<td>'mine'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ummi himpū = ummin nimpu</td>
<td>'yours'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2nd

<table>
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<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>punna himpū</td>
<td>'his/her own'</td>
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3rd rflx

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>punnan himpū</td>
<td>'his/her own'</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Dem

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sukkahimpū</td>
<td>'that one's'</td>
<td></td>
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### Dual

1st exc

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nuhi himpū = nuhin nimpu</td>
<td>'ours, his and mine'</td>
<td></td>
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1st inc

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tahihimpū = tahin nimpu</td>
<td>'ours, yours and mine'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2nd

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mui himpū = muhin nimpu</td>
<td>'the two of yours'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3rd rflx

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>puhihimpū = puhin nimpu</td>
<td>'their own'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sutuhi himpū</td>
<td>'those two's'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural

1st exc

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nummi himpū = nummin nimpu</td>
<td>'ours, theirs and mine'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st inc

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tammi himpū = tammin nimpu</td>
<td>'ours, yours and mine'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2nd

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mummi himpū = mummin nimpu</td>
<td>'yours, you-all's'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3rd rflx

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pümmi himpū = pümnin nimpu</td>
<td>'their own'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sutümmi himpū</td>
<td>'those ones'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

The first and second person reflexive pronouns are built up from the respective subjective personal pronouns with the addition of the reflexive suffix -sun. However, in the singular first and second persons there are also alternate reflexives built on the respective possessive personal pronouns plus taka 'self' plus -sun. The third person reflexive pronouns are all based on the reflexive root pun, which has singular, dual, and plural forms, each with both objective and possessive cases. In the singular objective, pun is followed by taka and then -sun. The dual and plural objective forms also take -sun (without taka), but the possessives have neither.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>nuusun ≈ nutasun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>uusun ≈ utasun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>puntakasun</td>
<td>pun ≈ punnan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual

| 1st exc | nungkusun |
| 1st inc | tangkusun |
| 2nd     | mungkusun |
| 3rd     | pungkusun | puhin |

Plural

| 1st exc | nummusun |
| 1st inc | tammusun |
| 2nd     | mummusun |
| 3rd     | pummusun | pummmin |

The objective reflexive pronouns are used in reflexive clauses where the subject does something to itself. They are
also used in dual reciprocal clauses and may optionally be used in plural reciprocal clauses. The reader might wish to look again at the discussion of reflexive and reciprocal clauses containing verbs in na-, in section 3.2.1.3 of the last chapter; note especially example sentences 138-142.

(12) Nuusu nawungweninna. 'I hang myself.'
    myself pmpr-hang

(13) Nutakasu napunni. 'I see myself.'
    myself pmpr-see

(14) Tangkusü napuniyükwì.
    our(dl)selves pmpr-see-stand
    'We two are standing looking at each other.'

(15) Tammü(sü) annappuniha.
    we(ourselves) recip-see-stv
    'We are looking at each other.'

Objective reflexives are also used sometimes to emphasize the fact that an activity occurs by itself without the intervention of some outside force. In this case, the reflexives may be used with root intransitive verbs (i.e., not just those intransitives formed with na-).

(16) Satü pùntakasü pikwaanna.
    that itself break(pl)
    'That's breaking up into pieces by itself.'

The third person reflexives in the possessive case are used when the object is possessed or owned by the subject, as opposed to anyone else.
(17) Wa'ippū pitsingkunna pūnnam piammütsi.
woman nurse her own baby
'The woman is nursing her (own) baby.'

(18) Ūm piammütsi pūnnam pia pitsitu'ih.
her baby its own mother suckle-will
'The baby'll suckle its (own) mother.'

(19) Tokowa pūnnang kwayingkunna pippokoanna.
snake its own skin drop
'The snake is shedding its (own) skin.'

(20) Supe'esū sutumμu u petsūnnuwimmaa wa'ippūa
that time those her took walking woman-O
pūnnan nanumu. Pūmming kahni ka u
her own relatives their own house to her
petsūppūh no'api naamμa sutū u piū wa'ippū!
take-perf pregnant was that it emph woman
'Then they, her own relatives, took her away.
They took her to their own house, and the woman
was pregnant!'

4.3. DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives are formed with two primary parts, a
demonstrative/locative base and a demonstrative stem
formative. The Dem/Loc bases are etymologically related to
the third person singular objective pronouns (4.1), and they
indicate relative distance whether spatial, temporal, or
psychological. Most of the bases come in two forms, one with
initial ~- and one without ~-. Generally speaking, the bases
without ~- are used to introduce new (or indefinite and not
given) information into the discourse, or they are used to
indicate that a given discourse participant is not the topic, whether or not it is new or given information. The bases with $g$- are used to signal given or definite information. Aside from the paired bases, the Dem/Loc base $\text{ma-}$ indicates given or definite information like the bases in $g$-, but it is neutral with respect to relative distance, covering all or any of the area indicated by the $g$- bases. The forms in $g$- and $\text{ma-}$ are used to track topics in discourse, so they are called proximate demonstrative bases. Even though the forms without $g$- or $\text{ma-}$ may be used to introduce new discourse topics, they are never used to track continuing topics, so they are called obviative demonstrative bases. The obviative bases may be used with given information nouns to explicitly mark them as nontopics. The Dem/Loc bases are not only used in the formation of demonstratives but also with postpositions (see chapter 5) and with various adverbial formatives (see chapter 7).

**DEMONSTRATIVE-LOCATIVE BASES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obviative</th>
<th>Proximate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>$\text{si-}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>$\text{se-}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>$\text{sa-}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>$\text{su-}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{ma-}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The demonstrative stem formatives have different forms for three numbers and three cases.
DEMONSTRATIVE STEM FORMATIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>-kka</td>
<td>-kkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-tungku</td>
<td>-tuhi ≈ -tuhin</td>
<td>-tuhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-tummu ≈ -tummi</td>
<td>-tummin</td>
<td>-tummin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possessive case forms are built on the objective case forms with the addition of final -n. This is typical of the possessive case throughout the language. The alternate plural stem formatives with plain ū instead of ū are optional forms due to vowel harmony used only after (g)y-. The alternate dual form -tuhu- is used only with following postpositions (see chapter 5).

All of the Dem/Loc bases combine with all of the demonstrative stem formatives, resulting in the sets of demonstratives given above.

DEMONSTRATIVES

Subjective, Objective, Possessive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>(s)itu</td>
<td>(s)ikka</td>
<td>(s)ikkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)etu</td>
<td>(s)ekka</td>
<td>(s)ekkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)atü</td>
<td>(s)akka</td>
<td>(s)akkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)utü</td>
<td>(s)ukka</td>
<td>(s)ukkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>matü</td>
<td>makka</td>
<td>makkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>(s)itungku</td>
<td>(s)ituhi</td>
<td>(s)ituhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)setungku</td>
<td>(s)setuhin</td>
<td>(s)setuhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)atungku</td>
<td>(s)atuhin</td>
<td>(s)atuhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s)utungku</td>
<td>(s)utuhin</td>
<td>(s)utuhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>matungku</td>
<td>matuhi</td>
<td>matuhin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The demonstratives function both as determiners in noun phrases with head nouns and as pronouns substituting for nouns (or whole NPs). As determiners, they may occur either before or after head nouns; and even though they have demonstrative force, they are often used much like the articles in English. The obviative demonstratives tend to be used more often as determiners than the proximate demonstratives. The proximate demonstratives tend to function more often as third person anaphoric pronouns. The reason for this seems to be that, since the obviative forms introduce new information, they nearly always occur with a head noun, unless they are being used deictically. On the other hand, the proximate demonstratives indicate given information, so full noun phrases with a head noun are much less likely to be used with them. Nevertheless, both kinds of demonstratives can be used in either function. The demonstratives are also commonly used as pronoun copies so that within the same clause the same demonstrative may function as a determiner with a head noun and as a pronoun referring to the referent of the noun (e.g., 25 below and 144, 190, and 191 in chapter 5). Or one demonstrative may function as a determiner with a head noun and another one may function as a pronoun copy having the same reference as the head noun (e.g., 20 and 25).

In the interlinear word-for-word translations, the demonstratives are simply translated as 'this', 'that', 'these', or 'those', even though they carry more information than the four English demonstratives. In the figurative
translations, the demonstratives may be translated with any of the English demonstratives with or without following 'one' (i.e., 'this one', 'that one'), with the definite article 'the', or with third person pronouns like 'he', 'she', 'it', 'they', etc., all depending on what is appropriate given the demands of English and the function of the Túmpisá Shoshone demonstratives in context.

In 21 obviative utú is used as a determiner introducing 'Coyote' as new information. This is the first sentence in the text "Coyote's Daughters" in chapter 10. Sentence 22 occurs a few lines later in the same text, and proximate setú is used as a given information determiner with the 'old man', which is another reference to Coyote.

(21) Isapaippu utú... un appu miattaimmaa.
    Coyote that its father went-cmplt
    = their
    'That Coyote, their father, went away.'

(22) Setú atammani miattaisu sümü yükwitü püü!
    this old man went-cmplt thus saying emph
    'This old man went away saying that!'

In 23, a few lines later on in the same text, proximate sutummu functions as a demonstrative pronoun referring to Coyote's daughters, who have already been mentioned and who are the topic for the time being. They are waiting for some young man that Coyote had told them about. In 24, a couple of lines later, the young man arrives with ('at') the girls, here referred to with obviative utummu. Utummu here does not indicate new information, since the girls have been very much a part of the story up to this point. The use of obviative utummu indicates that the girls are no longer the topic, at least not for the moment; rather, the young man is.
(23) Sutúmmū supe'esū wihnu u wütūhílantu sutúmmū.  
those that time then him wait for those  
'Then at that time they waited for him.'

(24) Supe'e wihnu tuittsi pitūsū tuittsi pitū  
that time then young man arrive young man arrive  
utúmmū ka wihnu sümüttū tuittsi.  
those at then one young man  
'At that time then a young man arrived, one young man arrived with them then.'

The sentences in 25-26 are still from the "Coyote's Daughters" text, but a little further on. In 25, the pronoun copy phenomenon is amply illustrated, with etū being repeated several times both as a determiner and as a pronoun, and then with setū being used as still another pronoun, all in reference to the old lady, the girls' mother. The use of etū in the beginning is to reintroduce the mother (even though she had been mentioned some lines back); the use of setū at the end of the clause shows she is now old information and a continuing topic.

(25) Etū etū wihnu hipittsi etū etū utummin pia  
this this then old woman this this those's mother  
u punikka setū, sümüttū naipi tùnga u punikka...  
it see this one girl also it see  
'This one then, this old lady, this one, this one their mother, saw it, and also one girl saw it...'

In 26, a couple of lines further on, the mother is again referenced with setū while the girl is referred to with satū.
(26) U punikka setu. U punikka tunga satu.
   it see this it see also that
   'This one saw it. Also, that one saw it.'

There are a number of noteworthy tendencies as well as restrictions in the use of the demonstratives in transitive clauses with both a third person subject and a third person object. First, there is a strong tendency not to use demonstratives with both the subject and object if both are full noun phrases with head nouns. So, the version in 27 without akka is preferred.

(27) Kapaayu atu tangummi (akka) tangummuttihi.
    horse that man-O that-O kick
    'That horse kicked the man.'

(28) Atu kapaayu sakka tangummuttihi.
    that horse that-O kick
    'That horse kicked that (one).'</n
(29) Satu sakka isapungku tangummuttihi.
    that that-O dog kick
    'That one kicked that dog.'

Also, if both subject and object are given information, then it is preferred that the object be indicated with a third person objective pronoun rather than with a demonstrative. Thus, 30 is preferable to 31.

(30) Satu u tangummuttihi.
    that it kick
    'That one kicked it.'

(31) Satu sakka tangummuttihi.
    that that-O kick
    'That one kicked that one.'
Furthermore, if a proximate demonstrative is used as a pronoun subject, then the object cannot have an obviative demonstrative. For example, compare ungrammatical 32 with grammatical 29.

(32) *Satù akka isapungku tangummuttih.
   that that-O dog kick

Two obviative pronouns are also ungrammatical (e.g., 33).

(33) *Atù akka tangummuttih.
   that that-O kick

In ditransitive clauses with both direct and indirect objects given information and in the third person, then the indirect object must be indicated either with a third person pronoun or with an obviative demonstrative. The indirect object cannot be indicated with a proximate demonstrative; compare grammatical 35-37 with ungrammatical 38. Actually, when both objects are given information, then it is preferable to indicate the indirect object with a third person pronoun. So, 35 is better than 36.

(34) Wa'ippu tüpanna tangummi tukumahanningkünna.
    woman pinenut-O man-O cook-for
    'The/a woman cooked pinenuts for the/a man.'

(35) Satù sakka u tukumahanningkünna.
    that that-O him cook-for
    'She cooked that for him.'

(36) Satù sukkwa ukka tukumahanningkünna.
    that that-O that-O cook-for
    = him
    'She cooked that for him.'
(37) Satù sakka atammi tukummaharningkunna.  
    that that-O those-O cook-for  
    'She cooked that for them.'

(38) *Satù sakka sakka tukummaharningkunna.

(39) *Atù akka akka tukummaharningkùna.

Not all of the restrictions noted above are transparent. However, it seems clear that there is a tendency to avoid stacking up demonstratives of the same kind. Thus, having more than two participants marked proximate or obviative in the same clause is avoided, ruling out 38 and 39. Sentences 33 and 39 are probably ruled out on the grounds that they would be discourse contradictions. That is, they would imply two or three given information nontopics in the same clause as direct participants, or that all participants are new information.

Aside from the regular demonstratives that I have been discussing up to this point, several special demonstratives use the same set of Dem/Loc bases but are built with different stem formatives, each indicating a special function. The special demonstratives that have been recorded are listed below.

**SPECIAL DEMONSTRATIVES**

- sun 'is the one that' clefting and existential  
  isun 'this right here is (the one that)'  
  esun 'this is (the one that)'  
  asun 'that is (the one that)'  
  usun ≈ usun 'that is (the one not visible that)'  
  masun 'this/that is (the one that)'
-nni 'way, like' manner adverbial proform
(s)inni 'this way, like this (right here)'
(s)enni 'this way, like this'
(s)anni 'that way, like that'
(s)unni 'that way, like that (not visible)'

-ittun '(special) kind'
Subjective Obj and Poss
(s)ittun (s)ittun 'this special kind right here'
(s)eittun (s)eittun 'this special kind'
(s)aittun (s)aittun 'that special kind'
(s)uittun (s)uittun 'that special kind invisible'

-mmatun 'this/that particular one, that very one'
Subjective Objective Possessive
sammatun sammakka sammakkan
≈ sümmatun ≈ sümmakka ≈ sümakkakan

The two special demonstrative formatives -nni (= ññ) and
-ittun are also used in building interrogatives, namely,
hakani 'how' and hakajittun 'what kind' (see 4.4).
The demonstratives built on -ṣun are used to cleft
nominal constituents, as in 40-41 (see chapter 8), and they
are also used to provide existential definitions, as in 42-45. They do not display case distinctions, occurring only in
the subjective case, and they apparently only occur in
obviative form, never with proximate ṣ-. That they do not
occur with proximate ṣ- is probably due to the fact that one
of their primary functions is to introduce new (existential)
information (but not to track continuing topics).

(40) Esu múmmi naïwekipitüihantu tuítsi.
this is you all woo-arrive young man
'This is the one who is coming to woo you all,
the young man.'
The manner (adverbial) demonstratives built on -nni are used to indicate the way something is done. They may be used with most active verbs, but they are obligatory with a few verbs such as nukwi" 'do', yukwi" = yukiwi" 'do; get, go after', and ma'oh 'push away'. With the two 'do' verbs, the manner demonstratives reference the activity performed, which may also be explicitly stated in an object complement clause (e.g., 47 and 48). The manner demonstratives often contract with nukwi" (e.g., sinni + nukwi" > sinnukwi" 'do this way'; senni + nukwi" > sennukwi" 'do this way'; sanni + nukwi" > sannukwi" 'do that way'; sunni + nukwi" > sunnukwi" 'do that way').

(46) Üü ha sennukwikkatü?
    you Q this way-do-sit
    'What are you sitting doing?'
(47) Nuu sennukwikatü tumo'ikatü.  
I this way-do-sit write-sit  
'I'm doing this (way), sitting writing.'

(48) Kawa sunukkwi enni utummi ma'omminna.  
rat that way-do this way those-O push away  
'The rat was doing that (way), pushing them away like this.'

(49) Satü nia sunni yukwingküppühantü.  
that me that way did for  
'He did that (way) for me.'

The demonstratives indicating 'special kind' distinguish subjective and objective cases, but often the objective endings are contracted (i.e., obj -ittüna > -ittün), so that objective forms become indistinguishable from subjective ones (e.g., 51; cf. 52; see section 9.5 on contractions).

(50) Usun takasu suittun natükkanna.  
that self that kind be eaten  
= that's all  
'That's all of that kind that is eaten.'

(51) Nummü suittün tükka'mminna.  
we(exc) that kind-O eat-iterative  
'We used to eat that (special) kind.'

(52) Nuu iittünna tsao suwangkunna.  
I this kind-O well feel about [=like]  
'I like this special kind here.'

(53) Eittüm ma piappüü isapungku police dog.  
this kind with big dog  
'It is with this special kind of big dog, a police dog.'
The demonstrative indicating 'that particular one, that very one' has two different synonymous forms, *sammatu* used in Death Valley and further west, and *summatu* used in Nevada. It does not have different forms indicating relative degrees of distance. Apparently it is built on the proximate demonstrative *matu* with the addition of *sa"-* (? proximate 'that, there') or *su"-* (?). Its function seems to be to indicate explicitly that there is not a change in the primary discourse topic, even though there might otherwise be at that particular point in the discourse.

(54) Ümmi ha petu summatu naakkimmaah sutu? (How] did that particular one get to be your daughter?"

(55) Sūmsatu ha yuwaintu, ūitsu'intu kee yuwaintu? 'Is that particular one warm, or cold, not warm?'

(56) Sammatu niam púa. 'That very one is my cousin.'

Obviously, the Tümpisa demonstrative system is quite complex, and it certainly warrants a good deal more study.

4.4 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Question words function as interrogative pronouns, substituting not only for core participants such as subjects and objects but also for more peripheral constituents such as possessives and locative, temporal, manner, and purposive adverbials. Most of the interrogative pronouns are built on one of the two interrogative bases *haka* 'what, how, where' or *hii* ≈ *hin-* 'what' (*hin-* is a combining form). Both of these interrogative bases are etymologically related to the yes/no
question particle ha. The question words that have been recorded are listed below.

**INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haka</td>
<td>'who(m), what, how, where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakatun</td>
<td>'who' subj human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakka</td>
<td>'whom' obj human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakkan</td>
<td>'whose' poss human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakahontun</td>
<td>'where from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakaittun</td>
<td>'what kind, which kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakami</td>
<td>'what/how (of something said or thought)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakaninya</td>
<td>'how, what way, what manner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakaniyun</td>
<td>'how is (it), how are (you)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakanukwitun</td>
<td>'why'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapan = hakapa'an</td>
<td>'where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapa'i</td>
<td>'where from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapantun</td>
<td>'where from, where at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapangkuh</td>
<td>'where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapayuntun</td>
<td>'where to, where at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakattuh</td>
<td>'through where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hil</td>
<td>'what' subj nonhuman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinna</td>
<td>'what' obj nonhuman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiiyamma</td>
<td>'what kind (is it), what's happening'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiiyasun</td>
<td>'what kind (is it)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpan</td>
<td>'how'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpakan(tun)</td>
<td>'how much, how many; how big, what size'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpakanuntun</td>
<td>'how much, how many' obj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpe</td>
<td>'when'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apparently question words may be formed, at least semiproductively, with haka plus a postposition. This process has given rise to hakani from Post ni 'like, way, in
the manner of', *hakattuh* from Post *tun* ≈ -ttuh 'through', and several others built on Post *pan* ≈ *pa'an* 'on, at' (e.g., *hakapan*, *hakapai*, *hakapangkuh*, etc.). Once formed, interrogatives may then undergo further derivational processes. For example, *hakaniyun* is technically a verb formed from *hakani* with the verbalizing suffix -yun. Still further derivation is possible; for example, *hakapayuntun* is based on *hakapan*, which has been verbalized with -yun and then nominalized with the noun-forming suffix -tun. No doubt there are other interrogatives, or at least potential interrogatives, that have not been recorded.

As discussed in section 2.3.2 on interrogative sentences, question words are normally fronted to the beginning of an interrogative sentence; and the subject, if it isn't being questioned itself, typically occurs finally after the verb. However, question words may occur second in the sentence after the subject if it occurs preverbally, and they may also occur before the subject if it occurs preverbally (cf. different orders in 66 and 67). Let's look at some interrogative sentences.

(57) Haka sutu? 'Where is it?'
where that

(58) Haka napunni satu?
what/how look that
'What does that look like? / How does that look?'

(59) Haka ma'e sutu? 'Who was he with?
whom with that

(60) Hakatū a tsappihwammaa? 'Who broke it?'
who it broke

(61) Hakatūm mi'akommaa? 'Who went?'
who went
(62) Hakka punikka ü? 'Who(m) did you see?'
whom see you

(63) Hakkang kapaayu pungku itü?
whose horse pet this
'Whose horse is this?'

(64) Hakaittü wainnih (naammaa) satü?
what kind wine was that
'What kind of wine is (was) that?'

(65) Hakaittü kapaayu satümmü?
what kind horse those
'What kind of horses are those?'

(66) a. Hakami yükwitu'ih tammü? 'What'll we say?'
what say-will we

b. Tammü hakami yükwitu'ih? 'What'll we say?'
we what say-will

c. Hakami tammü yükwitu'ih? 'What'll we say?'
what we say-will

(67) a. Hakani yukwinna üü? 'What'll you do?'
what way do-will you

b. Nüü hakani yükwitu'ih? 'What'll I do?'
I what way do-will

(68) Hakanukwitu ko'ennuwimmaa sutü?
why return-walk around that
'Why did he come back?'
(69) Hakanukwitü nia tüpingkünna 'nù tukkwa',
why me ask about me under
nia niingkünna üu?
me say you

'Why did you ask me about 'under me' (you said to me)?'

(70) Hakapa satū? 'Where is he?'
where that

(71) Hakapa ümzing kahni? 'Where's your house?'
where your house

(72) Hakapantū satū? ≈ Satū hakapantū?
where from that that where from
'Where's he from?'

(73) Hakapantū u kuttimmaa? 'Where'd he shoot him?'
where him shot

(74) Hakapai pittuhuntu?
where from return
'Where's he returning from?'

(75) Hakapayuntu u siikwantu'ih?
where to you pee-go to
'Where're you going to go pee?'

(76) Hii (satū) hapekku? 'What (was it that) fell?'
what that fell
(77) Hinna hapingkukku satu? 'What did he make fall?'
what-0 make fall that

(78) Hiiyamma satu?
what kind that
'What kind is it? / What kind [of person] is he/she?'

(79) Himpakantü tattangummü? 'How many men are there?'
how many men

(80) Himpakantü namokku? 'How much money is there?'
how much money

(81) Himpakantänna tuammütu sutu.
how many-O give birth that
'How many did she give birth to?'

(82) Himpe u kuttimmaa (satu)?
when him shot that
'When did he shoot him?'

4.5 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

The interrogative pronouns discussed in the preceding section may also function as indefinite pronouns as in 84 and 85 (cf. 83).

(83) Üu hakami suwakkatų?
you what think-sit
'What're you sitting thinking about?'

(84) Kee hakami suwakkatų.
not what think-sit
'(I)'m not sitting thinking about anything.'
More typically, however, indefinite pronouns are formed with one of the two indefinite adverbial particles: noo, a proclitic, and sampe, an enclitic, \(^4\) or with the negative proclitic particle kee 'not'. In all but a few cases, these three particles are appended to interrogative pronouns to form indefinite pronouns.

**INDEFINITE PRONOUNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hakatū sampe</td>
<td>'someone, somebody, anyone, anybody'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakka sampe obj</td>
<td>'someone, somebody, anyone, anybody'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakaittu sampe</td>
<td>'some kind, any kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakamaanna ≈ hakapamaanna</td>
<td>'someplace, somewhere'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapa'a sampe</td>
<td>'someplace, somewhere'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakapangkuh sampe</td>
<td>'someplace, somewhere'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakattuh sampe</td>
<td>'someplace, somewhere'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hii sampe</td>
<td>'something, anything, some/any kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinna sampe obj</td>
<td>'something, anything, some/any kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpu (-a obj)</td>
<td>'something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himpūka”</td>
<td>'someplace'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keehakatūn</td>
<td>'no one, nobody'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keehakka obj</td>
<td>'no one, nobody'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keehhii(ppūh)</td>
<td>'nothing, no one; there is/are no'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keehhinna obj</td>
<td>'nothing, no one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keehimpū (-a obj)</td>
<td>'nothing, none'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahona</td>
<td>'be nothing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahonappūh(ppūh)</td>
<td>'nothing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noohakatūn</td>
<td>'someone, anyone, everyone, whoever'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noohakka obj</td>
<td>'someone, anyone, everyone, who(m)ever'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noohakaittūn</td>
<td>'whatever kind, all kinds, any kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noohakami</td>
<td>'some/anything (said/perceived)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
noohakapan  'somewhere, anywhere, wherever'
noohakapangkuh  'somewhere, anywhere, wherever'
noohakattuh  'somewhere, anywhere, wherever'
noohii  'something, anything, whatever'
noohinna  'something, anything, whatever' obj
noohimpe ≈ noohompe 'all the time, any time; always' obj
sümmi  'something (said or thought); thus'
sumuttun  'someone; one'

Many of the indefinite pronouns are illustrated in the sentence examples that follow.

(86) Hakatu sampe kimmakinna. 'Someone is coming.'
    someone come-hither

(87) Hakatū sampe nū tottūkwappūhantū.  
    somebody me hit
    'Somebody hit me.'

(88) Nüü hakka sampe tottūkwappūhantū. 
    I somebody-O hit
    'I hit somebody.'

(89) Hakaittū sampe pungku. 'It's some kind of pet.' 
    some kind pet

(90) Wa'ippuwa ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwūmmaa utū 
    woman-O that-O some where caught that
    pahamittsi utū hakamaanna u nuwiku toya ma
    bear that someplace her walk mountain on
    nootūngsa.
    probably
'A woman got caught by a bear somewhere, probably when she was walking someplace in the mountains.

(91) Nû pui kuppa epe hîi sampe.
my eye in here something
'There's something here in my eye.'

(92) Hinna sampe kuttinna satû.
something-0 shoot that
'He shot something.'

(93) Nummû himpûa saawatu'ih.
we(exc) something-0 boil-will
'Let's boil something.'

(94) Tammû tüpanna yaakwantu'ih
we pinenut-0 will go get

epetti himpûkattî!
here abouts-emph someplace-emph

'We'll go get pinenuts around here someplace!'

(95) Keehippûh tsoapittsî. 'There are no ghosts.'
nothing ghost

(96) Suitu piapputu kuttippûhantû túhûya
that big shot deer

nû keehinna kuttinna.
I nothing-0 shoot

'He shot a big deer; I shot nothing.'
(97) Nahona wihnu tuttsüppu u suwangkunna.
    be nothing then bad her feel [= dislike]
    'He doesn't like her for nothing then.'

(98) Nahonappuh sutu. 'That's nothing.'

(99) Tuwitssia noohakatu u mantünna kwühi.
    young man-O someone him part of marry
    'Someone'll marry the young man.'

(100) Wainnih noohakka tammaryaingkunna.
    wine everybody-O make go crazy
    'Wine makes everybody go crazy.'

(101) Kaakki utümmü noohlisi sümusü miatu. 
    crow those whatever all go
    'Crow and all of those whatever went.'

(102) Nuü sakka noohinna tüpinningkunna.
    I that-O something-O ask
    'I asked him something.'

(103) Nuü nuwattaaintu'ih noohakattuh. 
    I move-cmpt-will somewhere
    'I'll move [residence] somewhere.'

The last three words in the indefinite pronoun list above, noohimpe ~ noohompe, sümmi, and sümüttun, deserve special mention since they each function not only as indefinite pronouns but also as members of other word classes as well. Noohimpe ~ noohompe and sümmi also function as adverbs (see chapter 7). Or perhaps better stated, their meanings and uses encompass both indefinite pronominal functions as well as adverbial functions.
(104) Noohimpe sutu yahinna.
all time that laugh
'He laughs all the time.' = 'He always laughs.'

For example, as an indefinite pronoun, *summi* is not particularly specific as in 105, 106, and 108, but when it is used as an adverb meaning 'thus' its reference is quite specific, as seen in 107. *Summi* commonly contracts with *yükki* 'say' forming *sumükwi* 'say something/thus' (e.g., 107).

(105) Nü summi yükkwi. 'I said something.'
I something say(dur)

(106) Nü summi suwainna.
I something think about
'I'm thinking about something [to do].' 

(107) "Nummi appu wa'e," sumükkwī [= summi yükkwi].
our father like thus-say thus say(dur)
"'He's like our father," thus she said.'

The primary function of *sumuttun* is as the number 'one' (see 4.8), but it is also frequently used as a specific but indefinite pronoun meaning '(a certain) someone'.

(108) Sumuttu nia summi teewingküppühantu.
(some)one me something told
'Someone told me something.'

4.6 RELATIVE PRONOUNS

The obviative demonstratives discussed in 4.3 also function as relative pronouns (e.g., in 109-111). When functioning as relative pronouns, they agree in case and
number with the head noun in the matrix clause (see section 8.2.2 on relative clauses).

(109) Wa'ippu a nū pusikwa [akka nūhakkwutūnna].
woman-O I know that-O make basket-O
'I know the woman who is making baskets.'

(110) Wa'ippu nia pusikwatu [utū hupiatukítu utū].
woman me know that sing that
'The woman who is singing knows me.'

(111) Isapaippu [utū un appū] miattaímmaa.
Coyote that its father went-cmplt
= their
'Coyote, who is their father, went away.'

The base of the third person reflexive pronoun pūn(nan) is also used as a relative pronoun, but only in oblique postpositional relative clauses as seen in 112-113 (see section 8.2.2).

(112) Nūū ü pūnnan ni nanangkawi ummī
tūtīingwanna.
I you-O which way talk you-O
teach
'I'm teaching you how [= which way] to talk.'

(113) Pūm ma nū tūtsikkopīippu h ma nū
watsingkū.
what with me cut-sub with I
lose
'I lost what I was cutting with.'
4.7 QUANTIFIERS

A handful of quantifiers not only function attributively, quantifying head nouns within noun phrases, but also as pronominal heads of noun phrases. Their attributive functions are discussed in the next chapter (see 5.9). Here, I simply list the quantifiers and provide sentence examples of some of them being used as pronominals.

QUANTIFIERS

hüütsittsi (-a obj) 'little (bit), small amount, few'
soontün (-a ≈ -ti obj) 'many, much, a lot, lots'
so'oppüh(tün) (-a obj) 'many, much, a lot, lots'
sümusü 'all, every(body), every(one)'
sümütüwasi 'all together'
süüpantün (-a obj) 'some group, band, gang of'
wümmü (-i obj) 'all, every(one), every(body)'
sümüttüttsi (-a obj) 'only one'
wahattüttsi (-a obj) 'only two'
phittütttsi (-a obj) 'only three'
etc.
etc.

Most of the quantifiers display case distinctions, but not all of them, for sümüsü and sümütüwasi are invariable.

(114) Satu nú kawiki tükkatu, nüü püü
that me more eat I emph

hüütsittsia tükkatu.
little bit-o eat

'He eats more than I; I just eat a little.'
(115) So'opputū yotinnoonna.
many fly(pl)-in motion
'Many are flying around.'

(116) Nū so'oppūṭūnna hotanna.
I many-O dig
'I'm digging a lot [of them].' 

(117) Sumūsū nia punīkkappūhantū.
all me saw
'All [of them] saw me.'

(118) Nū sumūsū yungwūnna.
I all swallow
'I'm swallowing all [of it/them].'

(119) Sumūtuwasī ningwunūtu'ih.
all together talk(pl)-will 
'All [of them] will talk together.'

(120) Sumūtuwasī tūkkappūhantū.
all together ate 
All [of them] ate together.

(121) Wūmmū nia yokosuwanna.
all me screw-want
'All [of them] want to screw me.'

(122) Nū wūmmi yokosuwanna.
I all-O screw-want
'I want to screw [them] all.'
Numbers in Tumpisa Shoshone conform to a classical decimal system. The numbers from 1 to 9 have distinct roots or bases which are not used alone in isolation, as free forms, but only in phrases and compounds. In order to be used as free forms, the bases must occur with the absolutive suffix -(t)\text{tun}. The free forms are inflected for case: -(t)\text{tun} subj, -(t)\text{tunna} obj and poss, or -(t)\text{ti} obj, and -(t)\text{tin} poss. The numbers from 1 to 10 have special ordinals formed with final -n, which is no doubt related to possessive case -n. The number 'one' has a suppletive ordinal form as well as the expected form. The free form numbers can have both cardinal as well as ordinal function, although the former function is certainly the most typical for free forms. Let’s look at the first ten numbers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Free Form</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sumu</td>
<td>sumuttun</td>
<td>sumun ≈ ükupinaatun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wah</td>
<td>wahattun</td>
<td>wahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahi ≈ pai</td>
<td>pahittun ≈ paittun</td>
<td>pahin ≈ pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wattsuwí</td>
<td>wattsuwitun</td>
<td>wattsuwín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manúki</td>
<td>manukitun</td>
<td>manúkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ maniki</td>
<td>≈ manikitun</td>
<td>≈ maníkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naapai ≈ nahapai</td>
<td>naapaitun</td>
<td>naapain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taattsuwí</td>
<td>taattsuwitun</td>
<td>taattsuwín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woosuwi</td>
<td>woosuwitun</td>
<td>woosuwín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waníkki</td>
<td>waníkkitun</td>
<td>waníkkín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ wanúkki</td>
<td>≈ wanúkkitun</td>
<td>≈ wanúkkín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>süúmoo</td>
<td>süúmoootun ≈ süúmooyíntun</td>
<td>süúmoono</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The base suumoo 'ten' is a contracted compound formed from sumu 'one [complete set]' plus mo'o 'hand'. It has three different free forms built on either -tun, -no, or -yuntun. The form with -tun is most typically used as a pronominal or quantifier, the form with -no is typically used in counting, and the form with -yuntun is used in phrases forming the 'teens' (i.e., 11 through 19).

TEENS

11 (suumooyuntu) sümüttum ma to'engkunna
12 (suumooyuntu) wahattum ma to'engkunna
13 (suumooyuntu) pahittum ma to'engkunna
14 (suumooyuntu) wattsuwitum ma to'engkunna
15 (suumooyuntu) manukitum ma to'engkunna
16 (suumooyuntu) naapaitum ma to'engkunna
17 (suumooyuntu) taattsuwitum ma to'engkunna
18 (suumooyuntu) woosuwitum ma to'engkunna
19 (suumooyuntu) wanukkitum ma to'engkunna

The teens are actually clauses with suumooyuntun 'ten' as subject, although it can be optionally omitted. After it, the numbers from 1 to 9 occur in a postpositional phrase with ma 'with', which in turn is followed by the verb to'engkunna 'come up for' (< to'eh 'come up' + -ngkun cat + -nna general aspect). For example, 'eleven' literally means something like 'ten is coming up with one for [something]', and 'twelve' literally means 'ten is coming up with two for [something]', and so on. The 'teens' do not have separate cardinal and ordinal forms.

The rest of the even decimal numbers are compounds like 'ten' formed with the digit bases plus moo, and then one of the absolutive suffixes.
Ordinals of the decimals are formed by adding final -n to the forms in -no (e.g., wahamoono '20th', pahimoono '30th', etc.).

The numbers between even decimals are formed like the teens with the postposition ma and the verb to'engkunna. But in place of suumooyuntun 'ten', the other decimal numbers are used. The decimal forms ending in -yuntun are preferred, but those ending in -no may also be used. There are no separate cardinal and ordinal forms with these numbers.

**INTER-DECIMALS**

21 wahamoooyuntun suumitto ma to'engkunna
22 wahamoooyuntun wahattum ma to'engkunna
23 wahamoooyuntun pahittum ma to'engkunna
24 wahamoooyuntun watsuwitum ma to'engkunna
25 wahamoooyuntun manukitum ma to'engkunna
26 wahamoooyuntun naapaitum ma to'engkunna
27 wahamoooyuntun taattsuwitum ma to'engkunna
28 wahamoooyuntun woosuwitum ma to'engkunna
29 wahamoooyuntun wanukkitum ma to'engkunna
Even-hundred numbers are compounds formed with the digit bases plus seentu, from Spanish ciento.

HUNDREDS

100  sumuseentu
200  wahaseentu
300  pahiseentu
400  watsuwiseentu
500  manukiseentu
600  nahapaiseentu = naapaiseentu
700  taattsuwiseentu
800  woosuwiseentu
900  wanukkiseentu

Numbers between even hundreds are formed with one of the hundred numbers plus naatu, a special form of ñaa" 'be' used only in numbers. Digits and even decimal numbers between hundreds follow naatu in their absolutive forms in -(t)tun, and then they are followed by ma to'engkünna. Other numbers,
besides digits and even decimals, follow naatu exactly as they are.

**INTERHUNDREDS**

101 sümüseentu naatu sümüssüm ma to'engkünna
102 sümüseentu naatu wahättüm ma to'engkünna etc.
110 sümüseentu naatu suümoootüm ma to'engkünna
111 sümüseentu naatu suümoooyüntü sümüssüm ma to'engkünna etc.
120 sümüseentu naatu wahamoootüm ma to'engkünna
121 sümüseentu naatu wahamoooyüntü sümüssüm ma to'engkünna etc.

As far as I was able to discern in the field, numbers above 999 are not used, and so I was unable to elicit numbers for 1000 or higher.

Numbers have several different functions in the language. Obviously, they are used in counting. They are also used as quantifiers of head nouns in noun phrases (e.g., 123-128). In this regard, they may be either cardinal or ordinal.

(123) Sümüssüm nuwipi isapungku mai nuwimmippühantü. one girl dog with would go around

'One girl used to go around with a dog.'

(124) Satümmü sümü tommoo yingkappühantü. those one year stayed(pl)

'They stayed one year.'
(125) Wahattu niam puanumu ma'e nu
two my cousin-Indian with = and I
namiangkuppuhantu sapetti natiingwa kkatu.
were sent there school to

'My two Indian cousins and I were sent there to school.'

(126) Nummu katuyingkappuhantu Noompai
we(exc) stay-stay(pl)-past Lone Pine
waha muattsi.
two months

'We stayed in Lone Pine two months.

(127) Sutu pai tuhuyanna wasuppuhantu.
that three deer-O killed
'He killed three deer.'

(128) Himpakantun tattangummu mi'akkommaa?
how many men went away

-- Manikutu (tattangummu) mi'akoppuhantu.
five men went away

'How many men went away?
-- Five (men) went away.'

The numbers are also used as (numeral) pronominal heads of noun phrases (e.g., 129-134).

(129) Sumuttu kee u kuttisi, sumuttu u kutti.
one not it shoot one it shoot

'[This] one didn't shoot it, [that] one shot it.'
(130) Satu sumutti kuttippuhantu. 'He shot one.'
that one-O shot

(131) Pue sumuttum mai mi'a.
ready one with go
'He's ready to go with one [of you].'

(132) Wahattu pittuhungkwa, sumuttu um punikka.
two arrived one you see
'Two arrived, one saw you.'

(133) Nu sumootunna punikkappuhantu.
I ten-O saw
'I saw ten [of them].'

(134) Nu manukitunna yaannainna.
I five-O carry
'I'm carrying five [of them].'

In addition, the numbers are also used as adverbs indicating the number of times an event occurs (e.g., sumu 'once', waha 'twice', pahi 'thrice'), as in 135-136.

(135) Nu sumu u punippuhantu.
I once it saw
'I saw it [just] once.'

(136) Satu pahi tukkahwa.
that thrice ate
'He ate three times.'

All of the functions of the numbers have been recorded for the digits and even decimals, but not for the interdecimals and interhundreds. The latter have only been recorded as cardinals in counting and as ordinals. The absolutive forms in -(t)tun are used both as quantifiers and
as pronominals. The bases are used as quantifiers and adverbs, but not as pronominals.

The numbers are also used in several special constructions. Thus, for example, they are used in forming hourly time expressions. The hours from 1 to 10 are expressed in sentences that contain the absolutive numbers in a postpositional phrase with ka 'at, to'. The postpositional phrase is then followed by the verb naa" 'be', which in turn is optionally followed by the subject of the clause tapettsi 'sun, clock' occurring with a demonstrative such as matû or utu. The whole construction thus means 'the sun/clock is at X' or 'it's X o'clock'.

1 TO 10 O'CLOCK

Sûmût tung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 1 o'clock.'
Wahattung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 2 o'clock.'
Paittung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 3 o'clock.'
Wattsûwitung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 4 o'clock.'
Manûkitung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 5 o'clock.'
Naapaittung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 6 o'clock.'
Taattuwitung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 7 o'clock.'
Woosûwitung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 8 o'clock.'
Wanûkitung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 9 o'clock.'
Sûûmootung ka naanna (matû tapettsi). 'It's 10 o'clock.'

11 AND 12 O'CLOCK

Sûmût tum ma to'Engkühwa (matû tapettsi). 'It's 11 o'clock.'
Wahattum ma to'Engkühwa (utu tapettsi). 'It's 12 o'clock.'

Constructions slightly different from those for 1 through 10 o'clock are used for 11 and 12 o'clock. These constructions are sentences containing the absolutive forms of the numbers 11 and 12 in postpositional phrases with ma 'with'. The verb in these sentences is to'Engkûn, usually in
the momentaneous completive aspect (i.e., *to'engkühwa*). Then
the verb is optionally followed by the subject *tapettsi*.

Questions about hourly time are asked with either of the
interrogatives *hakapa'an* 'where' or *himpakantun* 'how much'
and with any of the verbs *naa* 'be', *naawi* 'be time', or
*katū* 'sit'.

**WHAT TIME IS IT?**

Hakapa'a naa utū tapettsi?
where be that sun/clock
'Where is the sun/clock?'

Hakapa'a kattū tape utū?
where sit-dur sun/clock that
'Where does the sun/clock sit?'

Himpakantung ka naa tapettsi utū?
how much at be sun/clock that
'How much is the sun/clock at?'

Himpakantung ka naawinna (tapettsi utū)?
how much at be time sun/clock that
'How much is that sun/clock at?'

To indicate that it is half past the hour, the
transitive verb *ponah* 'pass' is used in the momentaneous
completive (i.e., *ponaahwa*). A number in absolutive form
indicating the hour is the object of the verb, and *tape* is
subject.
HALF PAST THE HOUR

Siimittiinna ponaahwa utii tapettsi.
one-O pass-cmplt that sun/clock
'The clock has passed one.' = 'It's one-thirty.'

Wahatünna ponaahwa utü tapettsi.
two-O pass-cmplt that sun/clock
'The clock has passed two.' = 'It's two-thirty.'

To indicate that it is only a little past the hour (as opposed to half past), the same construction is used, but with üku 'already' preceding the verb; i.e.:

Siimuttunna üku ponaahwa utü tapettsi.
one-O already pass-cmplt that sun/clock
'It's a little past one.'

Wahattünna üku ponaahwa utü tapettsi.
two-O already pass-cmplt that sun/clock
'It's a little past two.'

To indicate that it is approaching the hour, the construction is the same as that described above for time on the hour, except that the inchoative auxiliary mi'a 'get, go' is used with the verb (e.g., naa' 'be' + mi'a > naa(m)mi'a 'get to be').

Sümüttung ka naami'a utü tapettsi.
one at be-get that sun/clock
'It's getting to be one o'clock.'

Wahattung ka naami'a utü tapettsi.
two at be-get that sun/clock
'It's getting to be two o'clock.'
Hourly time expressions can be embedded in other sentences, but then the verbs naa" or to'engkun must take the subordinating temporal suffix -ku, as in 137-138.

(137) Wahattung ka naaku tangku tutuaimmi.
    two at be-when we(dl inc) work
  'We work when it's two o'clock [= at two o'clock].'

(138) Himpakantun (ka) naaku miakommaah?
    how much at be-when go
  'What time was it that he went?'

The ordinal numbers form phrasal compounds for the weekdays which are built on nawunukka ꞌ nawununna 'weekday' (< na- pmpr, wunu" 'stand' sg, -kan stv ꞌ -nna infinitive).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Weekday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sümün nawunükka</td>
<td>'1st weekday = Monday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahan nawunükka</td>
<td>'2nd weekday = Tuesday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahin nawunükka</td>
<td>'3rd weekday = Wednesday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wattsüwin nawunükka</td>
<td>'4th weekday = Thursday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manükin nawunükka</td>
<td>'5th weekday = Friday'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a manner similar to that in forming the weekdays, the ordinals are used with mua(ttsi) ꞌ month, moon' to designate the twelve months, which are not otherwise named as far as is known.
MONTHS

sumum muattsi '1st month = January'
waham muattsi '2nd month = February'
pahim muattsi '3rd month = March'
wattsußuim muattsi '4th month = April'
manukim muattsi '5th month = May'
nanapaim muattsi '6th month = June'
taatssußuim muattsi '7th month = July'
woosüßuim muattsi '8th month = August'
wanukkim muattsi '9th month = September'
süumoonom muattsi '10th month = October'
sümüttuum ma to'engkünna muattsi '11th month = November'
wahattum ma to'engkünna muattsi '12th month = December'

Compounds meaning 'X dollars' are formed with the number bases and the bound root -ppeesu (< Spanish peso).

DOLLARS

$1 sumuppeesu $6 naapaippeesu
$2 wahappeesu $7 taattsuwippeesu
$3 pahippeesu $8 woosu(wi)ppeesu
$4 wattsu(wi)ppeesu $9 wanukkippeesu
$5 manukippeesu $10 süumoonoppeesu

(139) Kwasu'u himpaka tokwinna?
dress how much cost
'How much does the dress cost?'

(140) Wahappeesu tokwinna. 'It costs two dollars.'
two dollars cost

Finally, the absolutive numbers may be used with the diminutive suffix -ttai (-ttai obj), forming quantifiers
meaning 'only n' (e.g., suumuuttsi 'only one', wahattuttsi 'only two', etc.).

(141) Sutu suumuuttsisia pantsapa’e.
that one-only-O shoe-have
'He has only one shoe.'

(142) Wahattuttsisia paanni maappainna satu.
only two-O bread make that
'She is making only two loaves of bread.'

(143) Sutu pahittuttsisia kwasu’unpa’e.
that three-only-O dress-have
'She has only three dresses.'

Notes to Chapter 4

1. In Nevada, the form ummu is occasionally heard for second­
person singular subjective under influence from Shoshone
proper, but this form is obsolete and not used in Tünkisa
Shoshone.

2. There are only a few exceptions to this statement. For
example, the personal pronoun nú ‘I, me, my’, when used as a
possessive, does not end in -n. Also, nouns ending in -nna in
the objective case do not take final -ŋ in the possessive.
Nouns of this sort may be from any source, e.g., from the
infinitive suffix -nna or from present participial and noun­
forming -tun plus objective -a > -tunna. The possessive cases
of these forms are identical with their objective cases.

3. Sentence 21 is actually ambiguous, since utu may be
interpreted here either as a simple demonstrative or as a
relative (demonstrative) pronoun. The relative interpretation
is seen in example 111 in 4.6.

4. Even though sampe forms semantic and lexical compounds
with preceding interrogative pronouns to build indefinite
pronouns, it is written as a separate word because of
phonological factors. For example, final feature -ŋ is not
lost before the g of sampe (e.g., hakattuh sampe), as it would be it if were part of the same phonological word (see section 9.3.7).

5. Saturday and Sunday are formed in completely unrelated ways; e.g.:

Piasatütei 'Saturday'
< pia 'big', Eng Saturday

UN Tsumatün 'Saturday'
< un 'its' tsumatün 'end, all gone'

Nakatükkan 'Sunday'
< na- pmar, katü" 'sit', -kab stv
This chapter is primarily about nouns and noun phrases (NPs), noun phrases being one or more constituents functioning together in the same way as single nouns. The first part of the chapter (5.1-4) is about case marking or how syntactic relations and semantic roles of nouns and noun phrases are indicated. Number marking is discussed in the second part (5.5). The third part (5.6-5.8) is on the formation of nouns through derivation and compounding. Finally, the last section (5.9) presents a detailed discussion of the complexity of whole noun phrases. Postpositions are discussed in detail in sections 5.3 and 5.4; they are intimately involved with nouns and noun phrases, indicating their semantic roles in sentences.

The function of nouns and noun phrases is to express participants (or arguments) in discourse. Nouns and noun phrases are always in syntactic relations and always play semantic roles. With respect to syntactic relations, a given noun or noun phrase may be a subject, a direct or indirect object, an object of postposition, or a predicate noun (or predicate NP). In terms of semantic roles, nouns and noun phrases may be agents, experiencers, patients, datives, benefactives, instruments, sources, comitatives, locatives, and so on. Syntactic relations and semantic roles are marked either directly by suffixes on nouns and other constituents in the noun phrase, and by postpositions, or indirectly by affixation on verbs. Participants in the discourse may have
various functions; for example, they may be themes, primary topics, secondary topics, and contrastive, emphatic, or background information, and so on. These functions are expressed by syntactic relations, word order, and deixis, together with other paralinguistic or nonlinguistic phenomena such as loudness of voice, facial expressions, gestures, and so on.¹

5.1 CORE RELATIONS: SUBJECT AND OBJECT

The syntactic relations of subject and object are at the heart of Tumpisa Shoshone sentences. Virtually all sentences have a subject, either overt or implied; the only exceptions are some sentences with meteorological or environmental predicates. Semantically, subjects of stative predicates are patients (e.g., 1 and 7); while those of intransitive verbs are either agents (e.g., 3) or patients (e.g., 2). Subjects of transitive verbs may be agents (e.g., 4), experiencers (e.g., 5), or rarely, instruments (e.g., 6). All transitive sentences have an object, again, either overt or implied. The vast majority of transitive verbs have direct objects which are patients (e.g., 4 and 8-9). However, the degree of patienthood (i.e., being directly affected by the action of the verb) varies. Thus, a transitive verb like pakkah sg 'kill' always has a direct object that is a patient, but a verb like pumi" 'see' has a direct object that is not a true patient in that it isn't necessarily affected at all by being seen.

A number of verbs are basically ditransitive and must have two objects, both a direct object and an indirect object (e.g., tuttingwa' 'teach'). Semantically, indirect objects are dative and benefactive participants. A few transitive verbs must have an indirect object (e.g., uttah 'give') but need not have a direct object, even though one is implied (e.g., 17 and 18).
The core syntactic relations of subject and object are indicated directly on nouns. Subjective nouns are in the nominative case and unmarked; they have the same form as the bare stem of the noun (e.g., 1-6). Predicate nouns are also in the nominative case (e.g., 7).

(1) Atū tangummū muiyaippūh. 'That man is drunk.'

(2) Niam mo'o kammanna. 'My hand is sore.'

(3) Piammūttsi ükū nuwinnūmmi.

(4) Satū wa'ippū tüpattsia kusangwenna.

(5) Hipittsittsi u nangkaha.

(6) Wihi nia tsikka'ahwa. 'The knife cut me.'

(7) Tsawuntūn tangummū miikkwa sutū.

Object nouns, whether direct or indirect, normally have an objective case suffix which may take one of five different forms.
OBJECTIVE CASE SUFFIXES

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

Which suffix form a given noun takes is predictable to some degree, but not entirely. Thus, -\(tta\) is used on nouns ending in the absolutive suffix -\(pi(n)\), but many of these nouns may also take -\(a\) instead; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINATIVE</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mupin</td>
<td>mupitta</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumpi</td>
<td>tumpitta</td>
<td>'rock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokopin</td>
<td>sokopitta</td>
<td>'earth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toyapi(n)</td>
<td>toyapitta (\approx) toyapia</td>
<td>'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huuppin</td>
<td>huuppitta (\approx) huuppia</td>
<td>'stick, bush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wisipin</td>
<td>wisipitta (\approx) wisipia</td>
<td>'thread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woapin</td>
<td>woapitta (\approx) woapia</td>
<td>'worm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hupapin</td>
<td>hupapitta (\approx) hupapia</td>
<td>'soup'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(9) Nūu nu wiitta kümawitu'ih.
    I my knife-O sharpen-will
    'I'll sharpen my knife.'

The form -\(nna\) is used after nouns ending in \(\bar{n}\), unless \(\bar{n}\) is part of the absolutive suffix (as -\(pin\) above; see section 5.6 on classificatory suffixes). But -\(nna\) is also used on a few nouns not ending in -\(\bar{n}\); e.g.:
NOUNS

NOMINATIVE  OBJECTIVE

tsakwatan  tsakwatanna 'chuckwalla'
poton  potonna 'cane, staff'
kwasu'un  kwasu'unna 'dress'
puyün  puyünna 'duck'
tawintün  tawintünna 'hole, cave'
kunna  kunnanna = kunni 'fire(wood)'
tüpa  tüpana 'pinenut'
tühüya  tühüya(nna) 'deer'

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

(11) Nüü pai tutuayan wasüppühantü.
I three deer-0 killed(pl)
'I killed three deer.'

In rapid speech, objective -nna is sometimes contracted to -n, as indicated by the parentheses in 10.

The objective case form -i most commonly occurs on nouns ending in a back vowel a, o, u, or ü (except those ending with an absolutive suffix such as -pü). When -i follows a, the two vowels usually contract to a; and when -i follows ü, u, or o, the ü, u, or o usually drop; e.g.:

NOMINATIVE  OBJECTIVE

wosa  wosai ≈ wose 'carrying basket'
püta  pütaí ≈ püte 'arm'
wikä  wikai ≈ wike 'blanket'
nümü  nümí 'person, Indian'
tangümümü  tangümümi 'man'
pungku  pungki 'pet, horse'
samo  somi 'lungs'
mo'o  mo'i 'hand'
(12) Kapaayu atū tangummi tangummuttih.
    horse that man-0 kick
    'Tha horse kicked the man.'

(13) Nu mo'i punikkappuhantu satu. 'He saw my hand.'
    my hand-0 saw that

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINATIVE</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etüń</td>
<td>etünna ≡ eti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayantün</td>
<td>wayantünna ≡ wayanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yutsütün</td>
<td>yutsütünna ≡ yutsuti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhakantün</td>
<td>puhakantünna ≡ puhakanti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(14) Nu puhakantünna punikkappuhantu.
    ≡ puhakanti
    I shaman-0 saw
    'I saw the shaman.'

The suffix -a is by far the most common objective case marker, and it seems to be the one being generalized, taking over territory previously held by other forms. It occurs after nouns ending in diminutive -ttsi, absolutive -pu, and some ending in absolutive -pe; and it occurs on nouns formed with and ending in past participial and absolutive -ppuh, instrumental -nmüpu, and agentive -ttu (see 5.7). It is also used on nouns ending in a, a front vowel, the diphthong ai, and on many other nouns; e.g.:
There are also many nouns, especially nonhuman nouns, that are unmarked in the objective case, so the nominative and objective forms are the same; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINATIVE</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>piammüttsi</td>
<td>piammüttsia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kümpe</td>
<td>kümpea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'ippu</td>
<td>wa'ippua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuinuppua</td>
<td>tuinuppua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakuünappuha</td>
<td>pakuünappuha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katünnümpüa</td>
<td>katünümpüa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nükkattua</td>
<td>nükkattua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>künua</td>
<td>künua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appo'o</td>
<td>appo'oa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>päännia</td>
<td>päännia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keesua</td>
<td>keesua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(15) Satu piammüttsia pittingkunna.
    that baby-O nurse
    'She's nursing the baby.'

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

(17) Tammu tuinuppua eti uttuppühantü.
    we(inc) boy-O gun-O gave
    'We gave the boy a gun.'

(18) Tammu tuinuppua uttuppühantü.
    we(inc) boy-O gave
    'We gave [it] to the boy.'

(19) Nuu katünümpüa maappa'inninga.
    I chair-O make
    'I'm making a chair.'
NOM and OBJ
kahni  'house'
nampe 'foot'
tape  'sun'
tümpe 'mouth'
paakka 'cow'
pangwi 'fish'
kappotta 'coat'
huuwatta 'boat'
nühakka 'basket'

(20) Satu punnang kahni punikka.
    that own house see
    'He sees his own house.'

(21) Nu un nampe punikka. 'I see your foot.'
    I your foot see

(22) Nu pangwi kwuppuhantu. 'I caught a fish.'
    I fish caught

5.2 PERIPHERAL RELATIONS: APPLICATIVE AND POSSESSIVE

Subject and object relations, discussed in the preceding section, are core relations, because they are obligatory for virtually all transitive verbs and are intimately tied to the notions expressed by transitive verbs. On the other hand, for the vast majority of verbs the indirect object relation is optional, and therefore peripheral rather than core, despite the fact that a few verbs in Tümpisa Shoshone require an indirect object (e.g., maka" 'give; feed', tütíngwa 'teach', uttuh 'give').

Semantically, indirect objects express dative or benefactive participants. They are usually human or animate participants that are involved in the activity, benefiting from it or receiving the patient by virtue of the activity,
but they do not initiate or perform the activity as, for example, agents do.

Indirect object nouns are inflected exactly like direct object nouns. In terms of case marking on the nouns themselves there is no distinction between direct and indirect objects. Nor is the distinction made by word order; e.g.:

(23) a. Tammü tuinuppúa eti uttuppühantü.
    we(inc) boy-O gun-O gave
    'We gave the boy a gun.'

    b. Tammü eti tuinuppúa uttuppühantü.
    we(inc) gun-O boy-O gave
    'We gave a gun to the boy.'

(24) a. Tangummü utü Tonia piiya tümeninna.
    man that Tony-O beer sell
    'That man is selling Tony beer.'

    b. Tangummü utü piiya Tonia tümeninna.
    man that beer Tony-O sell
    'That man is selling beer to Tony.'

The differences in word order in 23a-b and 24a-b above and 25a-b, 26a-b, and 27a-b below have discourse function as the translations indicate, but they do not change the basic semantics of the sentences.

Normally, indirect objects are indicated by objective case marking on the nouns (or NPs) together with the applicative suffix, -ngkün (cat), on the verb. Compare 25a-b, 26a-b, and 27a-b with 25c, 26c, and 27c, respectively (see also section 3.2.1.5).
(25) a. Wa'ippu piammuttsia kohnottsia maappaingkünna.
woman baby-O cradle-O make-cat
'The woman is making the baby a cradle.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

b. Wa'ippu tūpanna tangummi tukummahanningkünna.
woman pinenut-O man-O cook-cat
'The woman is cooking pinenuts for the man.'

c. Wa'ippu tūpanna tukummahanninna.
woman pinenut-O cook
'The woman is cooking pinenuts.'
Only a few verbs allow indirect objects in the sentence without having -ngkun suffixed to them (e.g., maka 'give; feed', nangkawih 'talk to', tümenih 'sell', tütiinowih 'teach', uttuh 'give').

Normally indirect objects occur before the verb, but they may also appear after the verb. Interestingly enough, when they follow the verb they are frequently in the nominative case, not the objective case. Compare the examples in 28, 29, and 30 with those in 25, 26, and 27, respectively.

(28) Wa’ippu kohnottsi maappainngkünna piammüttsi(a).
woman cradle-O make-cat baby(-O)
'The woman is making a cradle for the baby.'

(29) Nuu kwasu’unna tumuungkuppuhantu Antsi(a).
I dress-O bought-cat Angie(-o)
'I bought a dress for Angie.'

(30) Wa’ippu tukumahanninngkünna tangummü.
woman pinenut-O cook-cat man
'The woman is cooking pinenuts for the man.'

Another important peripheral relation is the possessive. The possessive indicates a relationship between two participants, typically that of possession or ownership, but also that of a part to a whole and that of origin. The possessive case is usually formed by adding -n to the objective case stem. There is only one exception to this rule: forms ending in nna, whether from objective -nna or from infinitive -nna, do not take possessive -n; rather, the possessive case is the same as the objective; e.g.:
Nouns in the possessive case (i.e., possessor nouns) normally precede nouns expressing the entities possessed, as the examples in 31-40 indicate.

(31) Huuppittam maanangkwa wūnnū satū.
    stick's other side stand that
    'She's standing on the other side of the stick.'

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

(33) Nū pūyūnna pūhi punikkappuhantu.
    I duck's pelt-O saw
    'I saw the duck's pelt.'

(34) Nū tsakwatanna papia punikka.
    I chuckwalla's OlBr-O see
    'I see chuckwalla's older brother.'
    [= gila monster]

(35) Tangumming kahni wayanna.
    man's house burn
    'The man's house is burning.'
NOUNS

(36) Numin mūtūūah naa. 'It's an Indian's ranch.'
Indian's ranch be

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

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

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

(40) Satū paakkam pampi tukkua tsikkopiinna.
that cow's head meat cut(pl)
'He's cutting the meat of the cow's head.'

Possessive case -n has noteworthy alternating effects when the following possessed words begin with h, w, y, or a vowel (V). Either possessive -n disappears or it remains. But if it stays, then it also geminates and replaces h and y, or simply geminates before a vowel. Compare the varying effects of -n at the end of the possessive pronouns nian 'my' and ūn 'your', and the demonstrative sakkan 'that one's', before himpū 'stuff', wika 'blanket', yantu 'roasting basket', and appū 'father'.
EFFECTS OF -N BEFORE H, W, V, AND VOWELS

\(-n + h > h\) or \(-n + h > n\ n\)

nia himpü ≈ nian himpü 'my stuff'
ú himpü ≈ ün himpü 'your stuff'
sakka himpü ≈ sakkan himpü 'that one's stuff'

\(-n + w > w\) or \(-n + w > ng\ w\)

nia wika ≈ niang wika 'my blanket'
ú wika ≈ üng wika 'your blanket'
sakka wika ≈ sakkang wika 'that one's blanket'

\(-n + y > y\) or \(-n + y > n\ n\)

nia yantu ≈ nian yantu 'my roasting basket'
ú yantu ≈ ün yantu 'your roasting basket'
sakka yantu ≈ sakkan yantu 'that one's r. basket'

\(-n + v > v\) or \(-n + v > n\ nV\)

nia appū ≈ nian appū 'my father'
ú appū ≈ ün appū 'your father'
sakka appū ≈ sakkan appū 'that one's father'

Usually whether or not possessive -n remains is optional; but when possession or ownership is being asserted of alienable things, it is apparently obligatory that -n not disappear. Ownership of something is asserted by using a possessive noun or pronominal followed by the noun indicating the item owned, and then the construction ends with the copula naa" 'be'; or if the thing owned is an animal or vehicle, the predicate is usually the noun pungku 'pet' instead of naa".
   my fat be
   'It's my fat/grease [not of my body].'

b. Niang wúa naa.
   my penis be
   'It's my penis.'
   [said by a woman of her man's penis]

c. Niang witsa naa.
   my leg be
   'It's my lower leg [of some animal].'

d. Niang wannetsu naa. 'It's my comb.'
   my comb be

e. Niang wasüppi pungku.
   my mountain sheep pet
   'It's my mountain sheep (pet).'

   my airplane pet
   'It's my airplane (pet).'

Assertion of possession of inalienable things is done
without naa" or pungku, with simply the possessive noun or
pronoun followed by the possessed noun. But in this case,
whether or not -n stays is optional, as long as the possessed
noun does not take a classificatory suffix (e.g., 42c).
However, if the noun does take a classificatory suffix, then
-n must drop (e.g., 42a-b). Compare 42a-c with 41a-c,
respectively.

(42) a. Nia yuhupi.
   *nian nuhupi
   my fat
   '[It's] my fat [of my body].'
b. *niang wūappu
   my penis
   'It's my penis.' [said by a man]

   c. Nia witsa. = Nia witsa.
      my leg my leg
      'It's my lower leg.'

Note the interesting semantic contrast between 41b and 42b.

The possessive case is used to express the malefactive semantic role (as opposed to benefactive). In other words, it marks the participant from whom something is stolen or taken.

(43) Úng kapaayu punki innuntukkanna satu.
    your horse pet-O steal
    'He stole your horse (from you).'

(44) Satûmu tamim putisiha innuntukkanna atûmû
    those our(inc) burro-O steal those
    mitükkaano.
    white person

    'Those white men stole our burros (from us).'

5.3 OBLIQUE RELATIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

A number of grammatical relations involve nouns and noun phrases expressing participants that are not dependent on or tied to the semantics of verbs and are always optional constituents in sentences. Traditionally, these are called oblique relations, and they are indicated with postpositions in Tumpisa Shoshone. Postpositions are a type of adposition (like prepositions) which follow nouns or noun phrases and relate them in some way to other constituents in the
The nouns or noun phrases and the postpositions following them are in syntactic constructions called postpositional phrases. Tumpisa Shoshone has several different kinds of postpositional phrase constructions depending on their internal structure. The different kinds are discussed and illustrated in detail in section 5.4. However, only two kinds of postpositional phrases typically express oblique grammatical relations. By far the most common type simply contains a noun followed by a postposition; e.g.:

wa'ippu ma'e 'with the woman'
woman with

The second type is composed of a noun followed by one of the third person singular pronouns ma, u, or a (see 4.1), which is then followed by a postposition (see examples 72-74 and 80 below). In this construction, the third person pronoun is coreferential with the preceding noun; that is, it is a pronoun copy of it; e.g.:

tangummu u wakantu 'from the man'
man him from

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

u wakantu tangummu 'from the man'
him from man

In the postpositional phrase constructions above, the nouns may be omitted if they are given information; but in the first type, a third person pronoun must be used in place of the noun; i.e.:
wa'ippu ma'e --> u ma'e 'with her'
woman with her with

In the second type of construction, the noun may simply be omitted; i.e.:

tangummu u wakantu --> u wakantu 'from him'
man him from him from

Nonthird person pronouns may be used with the postpositions as well; e.g.:

nü ma'e 'with me'
me with

tahi ma'e 'with us two'
us(dl) with

Usually, the objective forms of the pronouns are used with the postpositions (see 5.4). The postpositions expressing oblique grammatical relations are given below.4

**OBLIQUE RELATIONAL POSTPOSITIONS**

Instrumental: ma 'with'
Causative: ma 'because of, from'
Comitative: ma'i ≈ mai ≈ ma'e 'with'
Conjunctive: ma'i ≈ mai ≈ ma'e 'and'
Similative: ni (= -nni) 'like, as, similar to'
wa'i = wa'e 'the same as, just like'
Topical: pa'an ≈ pan ≈ pantun 'about'
wakantun 'about'
Source: wakan(tun) 'from'
Comparative:  kawi = kawiki = kwikitun 'more...than'
wakakwa 'more...than'
tukwatts 'less...than'

Partitive:  mantun 'one/some/part of; related to'

Fractive:  paka(ttsi) 'bit/fraction of; date of'

The sentence examples in 45-50, with the instrumental postposition ma, illustrate typical word order for oblique arguments in postpositional phrases. Most commonly, perhaps two-thirds of the time, they come after the subject but before the verb (e.g., 45-48), and about one-third of the time they follow the verb. When they precede the verb, they usually also precede the object, especially if it is a pronoun.

(45) Nuu nu mo'o ma pisotonna.
  I my hand with it behind-pull
  'I'm pulling it with my hand.'

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

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

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

(49) Nuu sokopitta hotanna psanna ma.
    I ground-O dig shovel with
    'I'm digging the ground with a shovel.'
(50) Üü o tottsokwennà ùm pampi ma.

you it violently-smash your head with

'You're smashing it with your head.'

The sentences in 45-50 also illustrate another important point about Tümpisa Shoshone grammar. Despite the fact that many verbs have instrumental prefixes on them (see 3.2.1.2), the instrumental prefix often does not refer to the same entity as that in a postpositional phrase with an instrument. Frequently the instrumental prefix and the instrumental noun complement each other, but they each indicate different although related things. For example, in 45, the instrumental prefix pi"- 'behind' indicates the direction of movement, not the actual instrument 'hand'. In 48, the instrumental prefix tsa"- 'by grasping' indicates the manner of using the instrument 'the stick', but does not refer directly to it. Similarly, in 50, the instrumental prefix to"- 'with a violent motion' indicates the manner, not the instrument 'head'. Only in 47 does the instrumental prefix wu"- 'with a (long) instrument' refer to the same entity as the instrumental noun wihi 'knife' in the oblique postpositional phrase. But here, the reference is so general that it is almost meaningless.

The postposition ma functions not only as a marker of instruments but also of causes, as example 51 indicates.

(51) Satù ohirim ma nati'iwantumpu kammanna.

that cold from mean be sick

'He's sick from a mean cold.'

The postposition ma'i is used to indicate accompaniment both comitatively (e.g., 52-58) and conjunctively (e.g., 59-60). In the latter case it sometimes occurs along with tônga 'and, also'.
(52) Setümüm mì a'i mì'a.
these one's mother with go
'(They) go with their mother.'

(53) Nú nú pūnahapittsi mì a'i napitungkümminna.
I my wife with fight-hab
'I fight a lot with my wife.'

(54) Nú tsukuttsi mì a i nangkawippühantu.
I old man with talked
'I talked with an old man.'

(55) Pūe sümüttü mì a'i mì'a.'
ready one with go
'He's ready to go with one.'

(56) Sümüttü nawi pi isapungku mì a nuwimmippühantu.
one girl dog with go around-hab-past
'One girl would go around with a dog.'

(57) "Nú kammu-yukwitü mì a," yukwippühantu.
I rabbit-go after him with said
"I would go after rabbits with him," she said.'

(58) Nú tsao yuwa hapitu u mì e ukkwa pahamittsi.
I good warm lie him with that-O bear
'I would sleep nice and warm with him, that bear.'

Oblique postpositional phrases occur both before and after the verb (cf. 52–56 with 57–58 and 59 with 60).

(59) Wahattü niam puănumü mì a nū
two my cousin-people and I

namiangkùppühantu sapetì tu našiingwakkatu.
be-sent there school-to
'Two of my cousins and I were sent there to school.'

(60) Nuu nuaitunna nangkappuhantu tunga umatum ma’e.  
I wind-O heard also rain and  
'I heard the wind and also the rain.'

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

(61) Tammu isa ni nanangkasuwakunna.  
we(inc) coyote like sound  
'We sound like coyotes.'

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

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

(64) Nummi appu utu; nummi appu wa’i  
our(exc) father that our(exc) father just like  
napunni satu.  
look that  
'That one's our father; he looks just like our father.'
Both *ni* and *wa'i* can be used with verbs, unlike any other postpositions. With verbs they both indicate modal notions of indefiniteness.

(67) *Satumu hipitun ni yükkwí.*
    those drinking like do-dur
    'They seem to be drinking.'
    [lit: 'They're doing drinking-like. ']

(68) *Núu muiyaiwa'e naahi.*
    I get drunk-like might
    'I might get drunk-like.'

(69) *Nú kwitasuwa'e.*
    'I might fart.'
    I fart-like

The postposition *pan* (≈ *pa'an* ≈ *pantún*) is used to indicate the topic of thought (e.g., 70) or conversation (e.g., 71).

(70) *Wa'ippú pa'a tuupukkatú.*
    woman about be mad
    'He's mad about a woman.'

(71) *Nookwisú noong katú u pantún nangkawih.*
    hopefully awhile sit it about talk
    'Hopefully, she'll sit and talk about it awhile.'
The postposition *wakantun* functions to indicate both topics of thought or conversation (e.g., 72) and sources from which one obtains things (e.g., 73-74). The objects of *wakantun* may only be human. When *wakantun* indicates a topic, as in 72, it has an objective case form, *wakantunna*, since the topic is also the direct object of the verb. Apparently the whole postpositional phrase, noun phrase plus postposition, is nominalized.

(72) Nüü Samma u wakantunna mukuattu.
    I Sam him about-O think
'I'm thinking about Sam.'

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

(74) Nü Antsia kwasu'unna tūmūngkūppūhantü wa'ippū I
    Angie-O dress-O bought-cat woman
    u wakantū.
    her from
'I bought a dress for Angie from the woman.'

Both *wakantun* and *pan* (≈ *pa'an* ≈ *pantūn*) are also locative postpositions, basically meaning 'towards, near (a human)' and 'on', respectively. Locative postpositions are discussed in the next section, 5.4.

There are two comparative postpositions meaning 'more...than', *kawi* (≈ *kawiki* ≈ *kawikitūn*) exemplified in 75-77 and *wakakwa* in 78-79. The latter form is no doubt related to *wakantun*, discussed above, and it is only used with human participants. *Kawi* can be used with any kind of participant; it is also a locative postposition meaning 'over' and governs the objective case (see 5.4).
(75) Nüü yuhuči ūng kawí; üü pasampüttści.
    I fat you-O more than you skinny
    'I'm fatter than you; you're skinny.'

(76) Satü nü kawiki tukkatü.
    that me more than eat-hab
    'He eats more than me.'

(77) Isapungku ma kawikitü naattü.
    dog it more than cat
    'Dogs are more (i.e., bigger) than cats.'

(78) Nüü yuhuči ü wakakwa. ‘I'm fatter than you.’
    I fat you more than

(79) Satü nü wakakwa küttaa yuhuči.
    that me more than really fat
    'She's a lot fatter than me.'

The lesser comparative postposition, tukkwattści, is
derived from the locative tukkwan 'under, below'. Sometimes
it is preceded by the potential adverbial particle noo (e.g.,
81), and it governs the objective case.

(80) Nüü sohopimpua ma tukkwattści wünü.
    I cottonwood-O it less than stand-dur
    'I stand less than the cottonwood.'
    [= I am shorter than the cottonwood.]

(81) Nía üü noo tukkwattści wünü.
    me you potential less than stand-dur
    'You stand less (i.e., are shorter) than me.'

Comparatives are discussed in more detail in chapter 6 on
adjectives.
The partitive postposition mantūn is used to indicate that something is of the same origin or part as something else. Included in the partitive semantic domain is the notion of kinship relationship (e.g., 82, 83, and 86), so that mantūn also means 'related to' or 'relative of'.

(82) Nū mantū satū.
me relative of that
'She is my relation. She's a relative of mine.'

(83) Ma mantū nūū.
her relative of I
'I am her relation. I am a relative of hers.'

(84) Nū ma mantünna tūkkahi? 'May I eat part of it?'
I it part of-o eat-dub

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

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

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

[Here u mantūnna kwūūh is an idiom meaning literally 'take for a relative', i.e., 'marry'.]
The partitive mantün (like topical wakantün) has objective case forms, either mantünna or manti as seen in 84-86. They are used when the partitive argument is an object of the verb.

The fractive paka(ttsi) is used to indicate that something is a little bit or fraction of something else, as in 87, and also the date, as in 88.

(87) Nūu Sosoni nangkawi u pakattsi.
    I Shoshone speak it bit of
    'I speak a little bit of Shoshone.'

(88) Tūtakaippūh pū paka naaku pia tūkkanna.
    birth his own date of be big eating
    'It's his birthday party.'

5.4 LOCATIVE, TEMPORAL AND OTHER POSTPOSITIONS

Tūnpisa Shoshone has a large and complex set of postpositions which express various locative notions and temporal and other adverbial relations. This area of the language is by no means fully understood and needs more study, in terms of both the semantics and the more purely grammatical aspects.

One important group of locative postpositions, perhaps the most basic group, is especially interesting because it occurs in sets. Each basic postposition may have one of several different suffixes, called postposition adjuncts, affixed to it, adding subtlety to the basic postpositional meaning. The postposition adjuncts are given below with the meanings that they add to locative postpositions, as far as I presently understand them.
POSTPOSITION ADJUNCTS

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

The adjunct -tun is no doubt an extension in function of the fully productive postposition tun 'through'. The function or meaning of the adjunct -tün is perhaps the most problematic. The meanings of postpositions with -tun seem to be exactly the same as those of the basic forms of postpositions without it. What -tün seems to do, at least in some cases, is to make the entire postpositional phrase a derived compound phrasal noun (e.g., 92-93). It is also used on oblique relational postpositions and has objective case forms (i.e., -tünna = -ti; see examples 72, 84-86, and 92). -Tün is certainly related to the nominalizing and present participle suffix -tun (see sections 3.3.2 and 5.7).

The locative postpositions that occur in sets with adjuncts are listed below with the various forms that have been recorded and the specific meanings of the different forms. No doubt the translations here could be refined a good deal. The basic forms of the postpositions are underlined.

LOCATIVE POSTPOSITIONS IN SETS

ka("") 'at, to, in' general locative
kahontun 'away from (being at, in)'
katun ≈ kattun 'towards (being at, in)'
katūn ≈ kattūn 'at, to, in'
kapai 'inside of, among'
kapai 'inside, among (in motion)'

In order to give a sense of the uses of the various forms of postpositions, sentence examples are given for all of the forms of ka in 89-93, of man in 94-99, and of tukkwan...
In addition, most of the forms of *kuppan* are given in 109-112, and those of *wakan* in 113-117.

(89) Taona ka sutụ nia hanningkukoppūhantū.
    town in that me do for-past
    'He did something in town for me.'

(90) Satụ kimmakinna pasakūng kahontū
    that come bridge away from
tammū kattū kimmakinna.
    us to come
    'He is coming off the bridge, coming to us.'

(91) Nūū niang kahni kattu mi'ami'a.
    I my house towards go along
    'I'm going along towards my house.'

(92) Nūū Tūmpisakkatūnna punikka.
    I Death Valley-at-o see
    'I'm looking at Death Valley.'

(93) Tūmpisakkatū kūttaa ūtūnna mii.
    Death Valley-at really be hot quote
    'In Death Valley it's really hot, they say.'

(94) Wisipitta an netūm ma tūkinna.
    string-O his bow on put
    'He's putting a string on his bow.'

(95) Nū sohopimpū mahontū pahekku.
    I cottonwood off from fell
    'I fell out of the cottonwood.'
(96) Toya(pim) manna'i miakwantu'i tunaa.
mountain from on-moving go-going to down
'I'm going to go down from the mountain.'

(97) Nu kahni mangku wunnu.
I house near stand
'I'm standing near the house.'

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

(99) Nuū ümi toya mantū petsükkwantu'ih.
I you-O mountain on take-going to
'I'm going to take you around in the mountains.'

(100) Numming kateetta tukkwa nummu weekinnūmmi.
our(exc) wagon under we(exc) go in(pl)-around
'We went in under our wagon.'

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

(102) Nuū pasakūn tukkwai miamia.
I bridge under-moving go along
'I went along under the bridge.'
(103) Satu pasakun tukkwantu miamia.
that bridge under-through go along
'He went under the bridge and on through it.'

(104) Mummi tukkwantu pahittunna.
you(pl)-O under three-O
'It's under you three.'

Note the word order in 101, with one postpositional phrase before the verb and two after it, which is typical when there is more than one postpositional phrase. Tukkwan is also used to form the lesser comparative illustrated in section 5.3, example 80-81.

As mentioned in the preceding section (5.3), there are several different postpositional phrase constructions. Perhaps the most common one is for a postposition to follow a simple noun stem, as in all of the examples in 94-103. If the noun normally takes (an omissible) absolutive or classificatory suffix (see 5.6), it may optionally be omitted (e.g., 96 and 98-99 and 101); i.e.:

1. Post Phrase --> N(-absol) + Post

Nouns in this construction are unmarked for case (i.e., they are nominative, since nominative is unmarked), and they normally do not take demonstratives.

Another common postpositional phrase construction is with a pronoun copy. This construction is composed of a noun followed by a third person pronoun, ma, u, or a, which is coreferential with the noun, and then the pronoun is followed by the postposition (e.g., 72-74, 101 and 105-106).

2. Post Phrase --> (Dem-O) N + 3rd Prn-O + Post
If the noun has any modifiers, such as a demonstrative, then they are in the objective case (e.g., 106), but the noun is not marked for case (i.e., it is formally nominative).

(105) Satu sohopimu u mangku kattu.
that cottonwood it near sit-dur
'He's sitting near the cottonwood.'

(106) Atu tangummu akka kapaayu u pa miamia.
that man that-O horse it on go along
'His man is going along on that horse.'

On rare occasions both the noun and the third person pronoun are each followed by a postposition—and furthermore the postpositions do not have to be the same, although they must be semantically related.

3. Post Phrase --> N + Post + Prn + Post

(107) Toya ma a pa supe'e u hanninnuh.
mountain on it on top of that time it did
'That time he did it on (top of) the mountain.'

When the referents of the nouns in the preceding constructions are old information, then the nouns are normally omitted and the postpositions simply follow the third person objective pronouns (e.g., 108-112). Postpositions may also follow other objective case personal pronouns (e.g., 104 and 113-117), so that we can generalize and say that another common postpositional phrase construction is:

4. Post Phrase --> Prn(-O) + Post
(108) Angipi u kapa kattū.
fly it inside of sit-dur
'A fly is sitting in it.'

(109) Nū ma kuppa ma tūkitu'ih.
I it in it put-will
'I'll put it in it.'

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

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

(112) U kuppanti epetti sutū!
her inside of-emph here-emph that
'That was inside of her here!'  

However, subjective case pronouns and demonstratives have also been recorded in postpositional phrases in the nonsingular (e.g., 115-117). Perhaps objective case forms are obligatory in the singular, but only optional in the dual and plural.

(113) Satūmmū nū [≈ ni] waka nuupaikintu'ih.
those me [≈ me] towards stay(pl)-come to-will
'They're coming to stay with me.'

(114) Nū ūng wakantu mīkwantu'ih.
I you towards go-fut
'I'm going to go towards you.'
(115) Tahi [≡ Tangku] wakantu kimmakinna. us(dl) [≡ we(dl)] towards come-hither 'Someone's coming towards us two.'

(116) Utuhi [≡ Utungku] wakantu miamia. those(dl)-O [≡ those(dl)] towards go along 'Someone's going towards those two.'

(117) Nu utummi [≡ utummu] waka miakwantu'ih. I those-O [≡ those] towards go-fut 'I'm going to go to them.'

Besides the locative postpositions that occur in sets, there are a dozen or so that are not used with the postpositional adjuncts. These are listed below. Some of them are multimorphemic. For example, several of them are based on the root nangkwa 'direction' plus other morphemes, some of which are not attested elsewhere. When their internal makeup is known, it is given after '<'. Many of the postpositions listed below have idiosyncratic properties which are discussed and illustrated after the list.

OTHER LOCATIVE POSTPOSITIONS

kawi ≡ kawiki(tun) 'over; more...than' (obj)
kappinnangkwa 'outside of' (poss)
< (?) kappe 'bed' + nangkwa 'direction'
maanangkwa 'on the other side of' (poss)
< maa (?), nangkwa 'direction'
manakwa 'away from' (poss)
mo'eki 'around, surrounding, encircling' (obj)
kokkopeka 'in front of' (poss)
< mu"- 'nose', kope 'face', ka 'at'
nai(su) 'towards, in the general direction of'
nangkwa 'beside, direction of'
pinnaitūn  'on the side of, beside' (obj)
< pi"- 'behind', nai 'direction of', -tūn prp
pinnangkwa  'behind, in back of; last' (obj)
< pi"- 'behind', nangkwa 'direction'
tūkūnāa  'close to, near'
< tūkū" 'put', nāa" 'be' (?)
tūmpēka  'in front of'
< tūmpe 'mouth, door', ka 'at'
tūpīlinga  'in the middle of, between' (poss)
tūn  'through, throughout'

Several of the postpositions above are also used in other word classes, sometimes with slightly altered forms, such as with the addition of nominal -ppūh or -tūn; e.g.:

kappinnangkwatūn  N and Adv 'outside'
maanangkwatūn  N and Adv '(on the) other side'
manakwappūh  N and Adv 'great distance; far away'
tūkūnāatsittsi  Adv 'close, nearby'
tūpīlinga  N  'middle, center'

The nouns or noun phrases used in postpositional phrases with many of the postpositions in the list above display case marking different from that described for the nouns and noun phrases used with the postpositions occurring in sets. Thus, several of the other postpositions, namely kawi, mo'eki, pinnaitūn, and pinnangkwa, require that nouns used with them be in the objective case, and of course any modifiers of the nouns are in the objective case as well (e.g., 118-123 below and 80-81 in 5.3).\(^5\) Compare the form in 5 below with the construction in 1.

5. Post Phrase --> (modifier-O) N-O + (3rd Prn-O +) Post

In this construction there may also be a pronoun copy coreferential with the noun (e.g., 121-122), just as in
construction 2 above, except that the noun is in the objective case. If the referents of the nouns are old information, then they may be omitted, and the resulting construction is identical with that in construction 4 (e.g., 123).

(118) Nü süüpitta mo'eki miakomminna.
I willow-O around go along
'I'm going around the willow.'

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

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

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

(122) Atammupia u pinnangkwa wunnu satu.
car-O it behind stand that
'He is standing behind the car.'

(123) U mo'eki naakka. 'It's around it.'
it around be-stv

Several other postpositions in the list above require that the nouns and pronouns used with them be in the possessive case, namely kappinnangkwa, maanangkwa, mokkopeka, and tüpiinga (e.g., 124-128).6

6. Post Phrase --> N-poss + (3rd Prn-poss +) Post
This postpositional construction may also contain a pronoun copy, but it must be a third person possessive case pronoun coreferential with the possessive noun (e.g., 127).

(124) Antsi atammupiam maanangkwa wünū.
    Angie car's other side stand-dur
    'Angie is standing on the other side of the car.'

(125) Hüttswünnümpū kahnin tüpiinga kattū.
    refrigerator house's middle sit-dur
    'The refrigerator is sitting in the middle of the house.'

(126) Antsi atammupia om mokkopeka wünū.
    Angie car's its front stand-dur
    'Angie's standing in front of the car.'

(127) Satū um maanangkwa wünū.
    that its other side stand-dur
    'She's standing on the other side of it.'

(128) Niam mokkopeka happi.
    my front-in lie-dur
    'It's lying in front of me.'

As 127 illustrates (cf. 124), the possessive noun may be omitted if it is old information, as long as the third person possessive pronoun remains. Other possessive case pronouns may also be used (e.g., 128); i.e.:

7. Post Phrase --> Prn-poss + Post

Several other postpositions in the list are illustrated below. Tun and nangkwa appear in constructions like those indicated in 1-4. The others have not been recorded in
environments which would indicate whether they govern nominative or objective case nouns, however.

(129) Üü nu tükünan wunnü.
   you me near stand-dur
   'You're standing near me.'

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

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

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

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

(134) Isapaippü pange miatü u tu.
   Coyote up go it through
   'Coyote is going up through it.'

Still another group of postpositions is suffixed to demonstrative and locative bases (discussed in section 4.3), as shown in construction 8.

8. Post Phrase --> Dem/Loc base-Post

The forms derived in this construction are actually deictic adverbs, mostly locative, but also temporal and manner. They
are listed below with the dem/loc bases that they have been recorded with.

**POSTPOSITIONS SUFFIXED TO DEM/LOC BASES FORMING ADVERBS**

-kkuh 'here/there' general locative
   -kkuh, (s)ekkuh, (s)akkhu, (s)ukkuh

-naanangkwa 'on this/those side of'
   naanangkwa, anaanangkwa, unaanangkwa

-nni 'way, manner' general manner < ni(n) 'like'
   -nni, (s)enni, (s)anni, (s)unni, hakanni
   pan = pa'an 'here/there' < pan = pa'an 'on'
   (s)pan = (s)ipa'an, (s)epan = (s)epa'an
   (s)apan = (s)apa'an, (s)upan = (s)upa'an

-papi (?) general locative
   -papi 'here', isapapi 'here'

-pe" 'here/there (in a loosely defined area)'
   -pe" 'here/there (in a loosely defined area)'
   -pe\(\text{e}(\text{s})\) ≈ -pe\(\text{e}\)enni 'time, then' general temporal
   -pe\(\text{e}(\text{s})\) ≈ sape\(\text{e}(\text{s})\) ≈ sape\(\text{e}\)enni, supe\(\text{e}(\text{s})\) ≈ supe\(\text{e}\)enni

-\text{tt}un 'through X area' < tun
   -\text{tt}un, (s)\text{tt}un, (s)\text{tt}un, (s)\text{tt}un

-wa'\text{e}(\text{s})u 'same as, the same way as'
   -wa'\text{e}, -sewa'\text{e}, -sawa'\text{e}, -suwa'\text{e}

Postpositions suffixed to the dem/loc bases differ semantically in a significant way from the pronoun-plus-postposition constructions already discussed. Thus, a dem/loc base used with a postposition is not a pronoun copy coreferential with some noun, nor is it anaphoric for a noun or noun phrase that has been omitted because it is old information. Rather, the dem/loc bases are deictic, used simultaneously while pointing, gesturally or metaphorically, in discourse. As the reader no doubt has noticed, some of the postpositions used with the dem/loc bases have been encountered earlier and are also used with nouns and
pronouns, so we can provide examples contrasting their different functions. For example, the three postpositions ni(n) (> -nni), pan, and tun (> -ttun) all occur with the dem/loc bases and as regular postpositions with nouns or pronouns, but with differences in meaning:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEM/LOC-POST</th>
<th>PRONOUN + POST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sunni 'that way'</td>
<td>u ni 'like him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supan 'there'</td>
<td>u pan 'on it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suttun 'through there'</td>
<td>u tun 'through it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the words formed with dem/loc bases and postpositions are adverbs, they are discussed in detail in chapter 7, but a few examples are given here in 135-142.

(135) Vu tumo'innumpu sikkhi itu.  
my pen here this  
'This is my pen here.'

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

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

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

(139) Mía sunni nukwingkuppúhantu sutu.  
me that-way did-cat that  
'He did that (way) for me.'
Nouns may be inflected for singular, dual, and plural numbers. However, number marking directly on nouns is not obligatory by any means, and is less common than with pronouns and demonstratives (see 4.1 and 4.3). Number is often indicated on demonstratives, verbs, or predicate adjectives, rather than on the nouns themselves. For example, in the sentences in 143-147, plurality is indicated in each sentence but elsewhere, away from the nouns that refer to plural entities. Similarly, in 148-150, duality is indicated but not on the nouns with dual reference.

(143) Tangummi nangkaha nü naangkan ningwunu.
man-O hear I make noise talk(pl) 'I hear the men making noise talking.'

(144) Satummu tamim putisihna inuntukkanna
those our burro-O steal
atummu mitukkaano.
those white man
'They stole our burro(s), those white men.'
Generally speaking, number is usually (but not always) marked on human nouns. It is optionally marked on nouns referring to higher animals, but perhaps most commonly is not marked on them. And with nouns referring to inanimate objects, lower animals, and plants, it typically is not marked at all, although I have recorded examples where it is. If this sounds as if there are no hard and fast rules, it is meant to, because as far as I can tell there are no rules, but rather tendencies only.
There are inflectional suffixes indicating number for dual and plural in the three cases: nominative, objective, and possessive. Singular number is unmarked. The suffixes are presented below.

### DUAL AND PLURAL SUFFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-angku</td>
<td>-ahi</td>
<td>-ahin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>≈ -ngku</td>
<td>≈ -hi</td>
<td>≈ -hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>≈ -mungku</td>
<td>≈ -mhi</td>
<td>≈ -muhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-ammü</td>
<td>-ammi</td>
<td>-ammin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>≈ -mmü</td>
<td>≈ -mmi</td>
<td>≈ -mmin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variants without a are used after nouns ending in either å or ü (e.g., tua' 'son' and petú 'daughter'), as long as the ü is not part of a classificatory suffix, as in tuinuppü 'boy' (see below). In the dual, the forms beginning with m may optionally be used instead of the other variants without å. Terms for (at least some) relatives often form plurals by compounding with numü 'people' rather than with the suffixes given above. For example, patsi 'older sister' plus numü forms patsinumü 'older (people) sisters', but the reduplicated plural pappatsiammü 'older sisters' also exists.

Most nouns are completely regular and simply add the suffixes above to form the dual and plural numbers. Several complete declensions of regular nouns are given below.
### Regular Noun Declensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'old woman'</td>
<td>'old woman'</td>
<td>'old woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg hipittsittsi</td>
<td>hipittsittsia</td>
<td>hipittsittsian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl hipittsittsiangku</td>
<td>hipittsittsiah</td>
<td>hipittsittsiahin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl hipittsittsiammu</td>
<td>hipittsittsiahmi</td>
<td>hipittsittsiammin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 'great-grandparent; very old person' |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| sg tso'o        | tso'oa          | tso'oan          |
| dl tso'oangku   | tso'ahi         | tso'oahin        |
| pl tso'oammü    | tso'ammi        | tso'ammin        |

| 'boy'            |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| sg tuinuppü      | tuinnuppüa      | tuinnuppüan      |
| dl tuinuppüangku | tuinnuppüahi    | tuinnuppüahin    |
| pl tuinuppüammü  | tuinnuppüammi   | tuinnuppüammin   |

| 'bear'           |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| sg pahamittsi    | pahamittsia     | pahamittsian     |
| dl pahamittsiangku | pahamittsiah   | pahamittsiahin   |
| pl pahamittsian  | pahamittsihin   | pahamittsiammin  |

| 'horse'          |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| sg kapaayu       | kapaayua        | kapaayuan        |
| dl kapaayuangku  | kapaayuahi      | kapaayuahin      |
| pl kapaayuammü   | kapaayuammi     | kapaayuammin     |

A number of common human nouns form their dual and/or plural stems by reduplication; usually the first consonant and vowel are repeated, with the first internal consonant being geminated if it is geminable. The dual and plural suffixes are then also used on the reduplicated stems. However, which stem will be reduplicated, the dual or the plural, is not predictable. Several declensions of reduplicated forms are given below. Sometimes the 'regular'
form in the dual or plural is also used. I could not detect if there was some subtle distinction in meaning between the reduplicated and regular duals or plurals.

**REDUPLICATIVE NOUN DECLENSIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'son'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg tua&quot;</td>
<td>tuaï</td>
<td>tuaïn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl tuangku</td>
<td>tuahi</td>
<td>tuaïhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ tuammungku</td>
<td>≈ tuammuhi</td>
<td>≈ tuammuhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl tuttuammù</td>
<td>tuttuammi</td>
<td>tuttuammin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 'daughter' |           |            |
| sg petü"   | peti      | petin      |
| dl petungku | petühi   | petühin    |
| ≈ petümungku | ≈ petümhuhi | ≈ petümhuhi |
| pl peppetümü | peppetümi | peppetümin |
| ≈ petümü  | ≈ petüm  | ≈ petüm  |

| 'man'       |           |            |
| sg tangummù | tangummi  | tangummin  |
| dl tattangungku | tattanguhi | tattanguhin |
| ≈ tangummüangku | ≈ tangummüahi | ≈ tangummüahin |
| pl tattangummù | tattangummi | tattangummin |
| ≈ tangummüammù | ≈ tangummüammi | ≈ tangummüammin |

Notice that in 'man' the reduplicated stems are irregular, in that the last syllable of the singular is omitted (i.e., the expected forms would be *tattangummüangku and *tattangummüammù). A number of other nouns with reduplicated duals or plurals follow (but in incomplete declensions, with only the nominative forms given).
One suppletive declension has been recorded with different stems in the singular and nonsingular.

### SUPPLETIVE DECLENSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'woman'</td>
<td>wa'ippü</td>
<td>wa'ippüan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa'ippua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wa'ippüan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since most of the example sentences in this monograph contain singular nouns, no more are illustrated here. Examples of nouns inflected for dual and plural numbers are given in sentences 151-170 below. In 151-159, plural nouns are in the nominative case.

(151) Tsukuppüttsiammü nuupai.
old men sit(pl)
'The old men are sitting [there].'

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

(153) Atüm Mütattangummü yuhupi.
those men fat
'Those men are fat.'
(154) Himpakantú tattangummu?
   How many men
   'How many men are there?'

(155) Nawittsittsiammu iampuhammù.
   girls wild-pl
   'The girls all are wild.'

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

(157) Hüüppiammu kahni kuppantú tukkumahanni.
   women house in cook
   'The women are cooking in the house.'

(158) Süümootù satúmmu, um petúmmu süümootù.
   ten those his daughters ten
   'There were ten of them, there were ten of his daughters.'

(159) So'oppütù hukuwappiammu.
   many canes
   'There're a lot of canes.'

In 160-163, nouns are in the plural objective. 'Men' is inflected for plurality in 160, whereas in 143 it is not.

(160) Tattangummi nangkaha núü naängkan ningwûnnù.
   men-O hear-stv I make noise talk(pl)
   'I hear the men making noise talking.'

(161) Hüüppiammi takkuso'ehwa üü.
   women-O pinched you
   'You pinched the women.'
(162) Nü tasimüüttsiammi punikka.
I piss ants-O see
'I see some piss ants.'

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

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

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

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

(166) Atungku tattangungku yuhupi.
those(dl) men-dl fat
'Those two men are fat.'

(167) Nawittsitsiiringku iampühängku.
girl-dl wild-dl
'The two girls are both wild.'

(168) Satungku wawatangku nü kuso'ehwa.
those(dl) mosquito-dl me bit
'Those two mosquitos bit me.'

Examples of nouns in the dual objective are are given in 169-170.

(169) Nü hipittsissiahi punikka.
I old women(dl)-O see
'I see two old women.'
(170) Nu tattanguhi punikka. 'I see two men.'
I men(dl)-O see

When both predicate adjectives and their subjects are inflected for plural or dual numbers, plurality and duality are being emphasized, respectively (see 155 and 167; the 'all' in 155 and the 'two' and 'both' in 167 in the figurative translations are meant to indicate number emphasis). Compare plural marking in 155 with that in 153, and dual marking in 167 with that in 166. In 153 and 166, number marking is not emphatic, since number is not indicated on the predicate adjectives.

5.6 ABSOLUTIVE (OR CLASSIFICATORY) SUFFIXES

Many Uto-Aztecan languages have a set of suffixes that are used on free or independent nouns, but are typically dropped: (a) when the nouns are possessed; (b) when they are in compounds, including nouns incorporated into verbs; and (c) when the nouns stand before postpositions (see Langacker 1977). Sometimes suffixes of this type are called absolutive suffixes because they allow the nouns to stand alone or absolutely, and sometimes they are called classificatory suffixes because in some Uto-Aztecan languages, but not particularly in Tumpisa Shoshone, they mark different noun classes. The noun suffixes in Tumpisa Shoshone that fit into this group are:

-πi(n) -pe -pū -ppū -ppūh -ttsi

In contemporary Tumpisa Shoshone, the absolutive suffixes may remain (i.e., not drop) under all of the circumstances mentioned above. Furthermore, each of the absolutive suffixes tends to behave somewhat differently. For example, typically, they all disappear in compounds, but only -πi(n) and -ttsi usually disappear before postpositions.
-Pe and -pū are only rarely dropped, which indicates that they have been (or are being) lexicalized or interpreted as part of noun roots.

Some examples of absolutive suffixes dropping under possession are given below.

- sokopi 'land, earth' > núm mi soko 'our land'
- noyopin 'egg' > un noyo 'its egg'
- wūappūh 'penis' > u wūa' 'his penis'
- anappi 'peak' > toyapin nana' 'mountain peak'
- tukkuattsi 'meat' > un tukku 'its meat'

≈ tukkuapi

- yuhupi 'fat, grease' > nia yuhu 'my fat, grease'
  > un nuhu 'your fat, grease'

The absolutive suffixes don't always drop, however, as is attested by examples like the following:

- nampe 'foot' > un nampe 'your foot'
- kwaimpu 'back' > ung kwaimpu 'your back'
- wūappūh 'penis' > u wūappūh 'his penis'
- naippū 'parent-in-law' > nian naippū 'my parent-in-law'

All of the absolutive suffixes commonly drop when the noun stems they are appended to form compounds with other stems. Compare the following examples.

- huuppin (huu"-) 'stick, wood'
  - huu'etun 'bow, atlatl' < etun 'bow, gun'
- huukk(w)ohnon 'cradle basket' < kohnon 'cradle'
- huuppakampotsa 'arrow' < pakampotsa 'projectile'
- huuppihyaapin 'sugar cane' < pihyaapin 'sugar'
suupin (suu-) 'willow, wicker'
suuhuppa 'willow shade house' < hüppa 'shade'
suü'ongo(ttsi) 'wicker cooking basket'
< ongo(ttsi) 'cooking basket'
suü'osa(ttsi) 'wicker water jug'
< osa(ttsi) 'water jug'
suüpihyaapin 'willow sap sugar' < pihyaapin 'sugar'
süutakkan 'basket knife' < takkan(pin) 'obsidian'
süusanappittsi 'bluebird' < sanappin 'pitch'
suütsappo'o 'basket hat' < tsappo'o 'hat'

toyapi(n) (toya-) 'mountain'
toyakatü 'hill' < katü" 'sit'
toyatukuppitši 'mountain lion'
< tukuppitši 'wildcat'

Toya Hipingkuuppüh = Hipingkün Toya 'Flower Mountain
Song' < hipingkün 'flower'
toyatsukunumuttsi 'guardian of the mountain'
< tsuku(ppü) 'old man', numü 'person', -ttsi dim

tümpin (tün-) 'rock'
tüngkahni 'cave' < kahni 'house'
tünto'eh 'climb' < to'eh 'go up'
tümpunih 'watch, spy on' < puni" 'see'
tümpahe" 'fall off, out of' < pahe" 'fall down'
tüngwünütün 'cliff' < wünütün 'standing'
Tümipa'sa "Death Valley' < pisa" 'red ochre'

nampe (nan-) 'foot'
namponih 'track' < puni" 'see'

tangappüh (tanga"-') 'knee'
tangappuhakatü 'knee praying'
< püha 'supernatural power', katü" 'sit'
tangatookatü 'knee' < too- ?, katü" 'sit'
Examples above like süutakkan, Toya Hipingkūppuh ≈ Hipingkūn Toya, and kwaintsuhni indicate that in compounds the absolutive suffixes may drop, whether or not the noun stems losing them are first or last in the compound construction. Sometimes the absolutive suffixes do not drop in compounds, however. Compare the examples below based on tümpé 'mouth' and tümpin 'rock' with those above.

tümpé tüngkampi 'lip' < tüngkampi 'edge'
tümpé muttüngkampi 'upper lip' < mū("")- 'nose'
tümpí huwannúmpú 'dead fall trap' < huwannúmpú 'trap'
Tumping Wosa 'Übehebe Crater' < wosa 'carrying basket'

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

(171) Tamnú tupoon ka tükkan na lokko u tukkwhontú.
we(inc) desert in eat locust it under
[=tupoompi] [=lokopú]
'We're eating in the desert under the locust tree.'

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

(173) Yookon tu mi'amí'a satú.
valley through go along that
[=yookoompi]
'He's going through the valley.'
In 172 any of the three different forms of 'mountain' are possible in the postpositional phrase, with or without absolutive suffixes. Thus 172 and 174-175 show that the absolutive suffixes need not be dropped before postpositions.

(174) Nūū süūpin mantū tsokottihwa.
     I  willow on  head-bump
     'I bumped my head on the willow tree.'

(175) Satū huuppim ma  u hotanna.
     that stick  with it  dig
     'She's digging it with a stick.'

The absolutive suffixes are given again below, along with a good many examples of nouns that they are affixed to.

ABSOLUTIVE/CLASSIFICATORY SUFFIXES

\[-pi \equiv \text{pin} \quad (\text{-pitta} \equiv \text{-pia } \text{obj})\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>-pi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angapi</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hukwappi</td>
<td>'cane'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunuppin</td>
<td>'vane'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hupapin</td>
<td>'soup, gruel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huuppin</td>
<td>'stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunapi</td>
<td>'cliff rose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kammapin</td>
<td>'illness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kottsappi</td>
<td>'soup, gravy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mupin</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nattusu'umpi</td>
<td>'medicine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawittsipi</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navipi</td>
<td>'teenage girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neeyangwippi</td>
<td>'handgame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohip i n</td>
<td>'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oompin</td>
<td>'pebbles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahompin</td>
<td>'tobacco'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

pohopin    | 'sagebrush' |
sohopimpū | 'cottonwood' |
sokopin    | 'ground'    |
sūūpin     | 'willow'    |
tamrupi    | 'sinew'     |
tatsiumpi  | 'star'      |
toyapin    | 'mountain'  |
tukkuapin  | 'meat'      |
tukumpanapin | 'sky'   |
wasūppi    | 'mtn sheep' |
wōppi      | 'worm'      |
wongkopin  | 'pine'      |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>229</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paoppi</td>
<td>'blood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihyaapin</td>
<td>'sugar'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **pe** (-pea_obj)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>229</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kappe</td>
<td>'bed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kope</td>
<td>'face'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kümpe</td>
<td>'squirrel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nampe</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokkotoppe</td>
<td>'red-winged blackbird'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **pü** (-pua_obj)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>229</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awattampu</td>
<td>'rib'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isampu</td>
<td>'liar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwaimpu</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokopu</td>
<td>'locust tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutsupu(ttsi)</td>
<td>'beak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nattsiapu</td>
<td>'provisions'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawättamampu</td>
<td>'door'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nihattapu</td>
<td>'joker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohpipu</td>
<td>'mesquite tree'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **ppü** (-ppua_obj)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>229</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>appu</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isaapppu</td>
<td>'Coyote'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naippu</td>
<td>'parent-in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samoppu</td>
<td>'sibling'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **ppüh** (-ppúha_obj)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>229</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>appeppuh</td>
<td>'tears'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuttusippuh</td>
<td>'smut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukkwilippisippuuh</td>
<td>'riflings'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makkipuh</td>
<td>'elbow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manikappuh</td>
<td>'ring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muippuuh</td>
<td>'jimson weed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonopippuuh</td>
<td>'wikiup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nungkwappuuh</td>
<td>'leg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakappuh</td>
<td>'penis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhuppuy</td>
<td>'fur'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puukappuh</td>
<td>'glass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akkuttsi</td>
<td>'sunflower seeds'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hipititsi(ttsi)</td>
<td>'old woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahumpittsi</td>
<td>'mesquite seeds'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawittsi</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navittsi(ttsi)</td>
<td>'little girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohmaattsi(ttsi)</td>
<td>'baby'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahamittsi</td>
<td>'bear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plammittsi</td>
<td>'baby'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takkaakattsi</td>
<td>'valley quail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuammuttsi</td>
<td>'baby'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuitttti(ttsi)</td>
<td>'young man'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only two of the absolutive suffixes have any semantic content: -ttsi and -pü. The suffix -ttsi is also the diminutive and affectionate. It may be used on virtually any noun in the language, or at least on any noun denoting something that one feels affinity to or affection for. In fact, it is used so commonly that it has almost lost its diminutive or affectionate meaning. In the lists above, those forms with -ttsi in parentheses are usually used with it, but on occasion they are used without it. Those forms with -ttsi not in parentheses are always used with it, and not uncommonly they are used with it in reduplicated form. In those forms, -ttsi is an integral part of the word, at least as much as any of the other absolutive suffixes are, and it seems to function just like they do.

The absolutive suffix -pü indicates a class of human nouns, which also happens to include Coyote, no doubt because of his prominence in folklore and culture history. In discourse, -pü is used to indicate distance or lack of empathy with the referent of the human noun that it is
NOUNS

suffixed to if the human noun normally does not take -pę́h. For example, in the conversation in section 10.6, -pę́h is frequently used on proper nouns (which normally do not take absolutive suffixes; see section 5.8) when the speaker wishes to indicate lack of empathy for, or detachment from, the noun's referent.

The absolutive suffix -pę́h is no doubt related to the past participial and nominalizing suffix of the same form (see 3.3.2 and 5.7). But in the list above, the forms with -pę́h are not derived from verbs at all and are noun stems.

-Pę́h also has a special absolutive function; it is used in negative predications of possession. That is, when asserting that one does not have something, the noun denoting the entity not possessed is incorporated into the predicate of possession, either -pa'ę́m 'have' or -kantúm 'having, characterized by', and then normally has -pę́h suffixed to it.

(176) Nuú keehiippę́hpę́e. 'I have nothing.'
    I nothing-suf-have

(177) Nuú kée pipamų́ppę́hkantú. 'I am childless.'
    I not child-suf-characterized by

(178) Ke tüppę́hpę́e tammü ke tüppę́npę́hpę́e.
    not pinenut-suf-have we not pinenut-suf-have
    'We don't have any pinenuts, we don't have any pinenuts of our own.'

Compare the examples in 176-178 with positive predications of possession given in 121-123 of chapter 3, section 3.2.1.1.

Sometimes the absolutive suffixes are used to form new words from others, with related but different meanings; e.g.:
As a few of the examples above illustrate, occasionally more than one absolutive suffix occurs on the same word. Some other examples of multiple suffixes on the same noun follow.

nawittsipi 'girl'
nawittsittsi 'little girl'
sohopimpfi 'cottonwood'

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

samompü ≈ samoppüh 'sibling of opposite sex'
tsiampü ≈ tsiappüh 'wild rose'
nawüttümappüh ≈ nawüttümampü 'door'
pituuuttsi ≈ pituuuppüh 'anus'

Simple noun stems which do not normally take absolutive suffixes of any kind may have a kind of "absolutive" marker anyway. Some nouns, especially kin terms, when spoken in isolation or at the end of a phrase or sentence have a following glottal stop and voiceless echo vowel that is identical with the vowel preceding the glottal stop. The glottal stop and echo vowel disappear if the noun is followed by other words in the same phrase or compound. They are clearly not an organic part of the word since they may even occur on nouns which phonemically end in a final segment (see 9.3.7); e.g.:
atapu('u)  'mother's brother'  cf. atapupin absol
nammi('i)  'younger sister'  cf. nammittsi 'YoSi'
papi('i)  'older brother'
patsi('i)  'older sister'  cf. patsinimü 'OlSi'
petü('ü)  'daughter'  cf. petü
	tami('i)  'younger brother'  cf. tamittsi 'YoBr'
tümumu('u)  'enemy'

The glottal stop plus echo vowel phenomenon, however, is not nearly as common in Tümpisa Shoshone as in Shoshone proper (see Dayley 1970).

5.7 NOUN DERIVATION AND COMPOUNDING

A half dozen suffixes are productively used to form new nouns. They are given below with their objective case forms in parentheses, glosses characterizing their functions or meanings, and a number of example nouns formed with them. Of course, the absolutive suffixes discussed in 5.6 are occasionally also used to form new nouns, but the suffixes listed below are by far the most important noun-forming affixes. Only a fraction of the nouns formed with them are given below. Since these suffixes are completely productive, their derivatives are virtually unlimited.

PRODUCTIVE NOUN-DERIVING SUFFIXES

-kantün (-kantünna = -kanti obj) characterizing
 'one characterized by, having, possessing'
kasattaikantün  'bird'
< kasattsi  'wing'
kwitasuuppukantün  'farter'
< kwitasuuppüh  'fart'
mukuaikantün  'sage, learned one'
< mukua  'mind'
mukuttsikantün 'Delphinus constellation'
< mukuttsì 'diamond-shaped'

nattusu’ungkantün 'doctor, herbalist'
< nattusu’un 'medicine, herbs'

nattuakahantün 'clown'
< na- pmpr, tiiakah 'put face paint on'

potongkantün 'policeman'
< poton 'club'

puhakantün 'shaman, medicine man/woman'
< puha 'supernatural power'

saiyakantün 'screen'
< saiya (?)

tapakantün 'stud'
< tapa(ppuh) 'testicles'

wiiakkantün 'gelding'
< wii'a(ppuh) 'penis'

-nna (Ø obj) infinitive and gerund 'to X, Xing'
nampuninna 'footprints, tracks'
< nampunih V 'track'

nasuihanna 'picture, drawing, photo, writing'
< na- pmpr, mo'ih 'draw, write, sketch', -kan stv

notottsoanna 'ramrod'
< na- pmpr, tottsoa Vt 'clean, wipe off'

hipinna 'to drink, drinking'
< hipi" V 'drink'

kuppianna 'to cook, cooking'
< kuppiah Vi 'cook'

tüüainna 'work, working'
< tüüai Vi 'work'

tükkanna 'to eat, eating, meal'
< tükkah 'eat'

pusikwanna 'to know, knowing'
< pusikwa 'know'
-nnümpündenümpü (nnümpüa.obj) instrument

hüwannümpü 'trap'
  < hüwa" Vt 'trap'
katünümpü 'seat, chair'
  < katü" Vi sg 'sit'
kottoonümpü 'stove, hearth'
  < kotoo 'make a fire'
kukkwiiñümpü 'chimney'
  < kukkwii(ppü) 'smoke'
kusuuppsünümpü 'whistle'
  < kusuuppetsü Vt 'whistle, blow a whistle'
küttüñümpü 'scissors'
  < kütah 'cut with scissors'
naañümpü 'tool, instrument'
  < naa" Vi 'be' [formerly meaning: 'do']
napuninnümpü 'mirror; gun sights'
  < na- pmpr, puni" 'see'
patsennaanümpü 'bucket, water container'
  < patsennaah = patsainaah 'fetch water'
saawnümpü 'boiling pot'
  < saawah Vt 'boil'
sümakkañümpü 'gill'
  < sümakkain 'breathe'
tukuttakkingkünümpü 'dynamite'
  < tü- aps, kuttakkingkun 'blast'
tukuttinümpü 'firearm'
  < tü- aps, kuttih 'shoot'
tuño'innümpü 'pen, pencil, writing instrument; camera'
  < tü- aps, mo'ih Vt 'write, draw, sketch, paint'
tükkanümpü 'dinner table'
  < tükkah 'eat'
tüwüttañümpü 'garbage can'
  < tü- aps, wütta Vi 'dump out, spill'
tsaañümpü 'binoculars'
  < ?
wüppo'okwinnumpu 'drum'
< wüppo'okwi 'beat a drum'
yükwinnumpu ≈ yu̯kwinnumpu 'tool, instrument'
< yu̯kwi" ≈ yu̯ki" 'do'

-ppuh (-ppuha obj) nominalizer and past participle
kwitappuh 'shit'
< kwita" vi 'shit'
kwitasuuppuh 'fart'
< kwitasuu" vi 'fart'
nawüsiivappuh 'scab, scratch, cut'
< na- pepr, wüsiiwah vt 'scratch'
nawüttümappuh 'door'
< na- pepr, wüttümah 'close'
paküünappuh 'cloud'
< paa 'water', -küünah V instr 'cover'
patüasü(tai)ppuh 'ice'
< paa 'water', tüasü 'freeze', -tain cmplt
siippuh 'urine'
< si" vi 'urinate'
tappattsanappuh 'button'
< tappattsanah 'fasten'
tiyaitaippuh 'corpse'
< tiyaih 'die', -tain cmplt
tümenippuh 'store'
< tümenih 'sell'
wükküünappuh 'fog'
< wükküünah vt 'cover'

-tun (-tunna ≈ ti obj) nominalizer and present participle
nukkwintun 'train'
< nukkwii(n) 'run, race'
nüetün 'wind'
< nüe" ≈ nüai" vi 'blow (of wind)'
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nükantün 'dance, dancing'
< nükkan Vi 'dance'
pakatütün 'lake'
< pakatü Vi 'be a body of water'
tawintün 'hole, cave'
< tawin Vi 'be an opening'
üitsü'intün 'cold, cold place'
< üitsü'in Vi 'be cold'
úmatün = üngwatün 'rain'
< uma" = üngwa" Vi 'rain'
üütün 'heat, hot place'
< üütüin Vi 'be hot'
wayantün 'fire, burning'
< waya" Vi 'burn'
wükkatütün 'pile'
< wükkatü Vi 'be a pile'
yütsütün 'airplane'
< yütsü" Vi sg 'fly'

-ttu (-ttua obj) agentive 'one who Xs'
hipittu 'drinker, drunkard'
< hipi" Vi 'drink'
hupiatüktü 'singer'
< hupiatuki 'sing'
nangkawittü 'speaker, talker'
< nangkawih 'speak, talk'
nükättü 'dancer'
< nükkan Vi 'dance'
nokoitsoittü 'bather, swimmer'
< na- pmprr, koitsoih vt 'wash, bathe'
pungkuto'ettü 'rider, horseman'
< pungku 'horse', to'eh 'go on'
pangwiyukwittü 'fisherman'
< pangwi 'fish', yukwi" V incorp 'do'
tütuaittü 'worker'
< tütuai Vi 'work'
tumo'ittu ≈ tumo'ittü 'writer, artist, photographer'
< tú- aps, mo'ih vt 'write, draw, sketch, paint'
wasuwukkittu 'hunter'
< wasuwukki v pl 'hunt'
yükwittu ≈ yükwittü 'doer'
< yükwî' ≈ yuksi' 'do'

-ttüah (-ttüai obj) locative 'place for Xing'
hipittüah 'drinking place, watering hole'
< hipî' 'drink'
kuuttüah 'burying place'
< kuu vt 'bury'
kwitattüah 'shitting place'
< kwita" vi 'shit'
nakuuttüah 'grave'
< na- pmpr, kuu vt 'bury'
natükittüah 'storage place for a specific item'
< na- pmpr, tüki" vt 'put'
nayuunaattüah 'park'
< na- pmpr, yuunaah vi pl 'sit, stay, camp'
punittüah 'lookout'
< punî' vi 'see'
siittüah 'urinal'
< siî" vi 'urinate'
tükkattüah 'eating place'
< tükkah 'eat'
tükittüah 'storage place'
< tüki" vt 'put'
ùattüah 'ranch, farm'
< ùah vt 'plant, sow'
üppuittüah 'sleeping place'
< üppüïh vi 'sleep'
Nouns 239

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

-ttsí (-ttsia obj) diminutive, affectionate
huu'etuttsi 'slingshot'
  < huu'etun 'bow'
huttsi(ttsi) 'grandchild, son's child (ws)'
  < kuttsi 'father's mother'
toko(ttsi) 'grandchild, daughter's child (ms)'
  < toko 'mother's father'
kaku(ttsi) 'grandchild, daughter's child (ws)'
  < kaku 'mother's mother'
kuhmappüttsi 'rooster'
  < kuhmappü 'male'
künu(ttsi) 'grandchild, son's child (ms)'
  < künu 'father's father'
piapüttsi 'hen'
  < piapü 'female'
tuatttsi 'little son'
  < tua 'son'
As can be seen from the examples above, -kantun, -tsi, and -tsi are normally affixed to nouns forming new nouns, while -nnumpu, -tū, -ttuah, and of course -nna, -ppuḫ, and -tun are normally affixed to verbs in order to form new nouns. But all of these noun-deriving suffixes are affixed to other types of stems occasionally, although not productively. When -nnumpu, -tū, and -ttuah are affixed to transitive verb stems, they are often intransitivized first with one of the voice-changing prefixes, tū- aps or na- pspr (e.g., namuihanna 'picture, drawing, writing', tumo'ittu 'writer, artist' and tumo'innumpu 'pen, pencil' < namuih / tumo'ih Vi < mo'ih Vt 'write, draw').

Compounding is an important, highly productive word-forming process in Tumpisa Shoshone, as in all Numic and Uto-Aztecan languages. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of lexicalized compounds in the language, and new compounds are readily formed on the spur of the moment to give names to new concepts arising in discourse. Often new compounds are used even when there may be other words for the same phenomena. My impression is that speakers who coin compounds creatively are highly respected, and that it is an essential part of using the language.

In the previous section (5.6), many compounds were illustrated in the discussion of when absolutive suffixes are typically dropped. The reader may wish to reexamine the examples there, since they are not repeated again in this section. The examples of compounds presented below are only a small sample of the range of noun compounding in the language.
Noun Compounds

Noun + Noun

Atsappaa 'Bad Water Springs in Death Valley'
  < atsa' 'bitter', paa 'water, spring'

Isahuupin 'arrow weed; Devil's Haystack in Death Valley'
  < isa' 'coyote', huupin 'stick, bush'

Isam papi ≈ isapaippu(am) papi 'wolf'
  < isam ≈ isapaippu(am) 'Coyote(’s)’,
  papi 'older brother'

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

Kooppe saawannumpu 'coffeepot'
  < kooppe 'coffee', saawannumpu 'boiling pot'

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

Kukkwiippisippuh 'soot, smut, riflings'
  < kukkwii' 'smoke', pisippuh 'rot(ten)'

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

Mo'intsoko 'wrist'
  < mo'in 'hand’s', tsoko 'connection'

Nattusu’ungkahni 'hospital'
  < nattusu‘un(pi) 'medicine', kahni 'house'

Nottsokowa’ipu 'umbilical cord'
  < na- ppmr, tsoko 'connection', wa’i(ppu)
  ’woman’, -pū

Pangwi tsangkuttsi 'fish hook'
  < pangwi 'fish', tsangkuttsi 'hook'

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

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

Pahontukinnumpu 'ashtray'
  < pahon(pin) 'tobacco’, tükkinnumpu 'putter'
suúpihyapaapin 'willow sap sugar'
  < suú(pin) 'willow', pihyapaapin 'sugar'
tupoontukkupittsi 'desert bobcat'
  < tupoon(pi) 'desert', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'
toyatukkupittsi 'mountain lion'
  < toya(pi) 'mountain', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'
tukuwuappuh 'Coyote's] sky penis'
  < tuku(pi) 'sky, space', wuappuh 'penis'
Tupa Nükappin 'Pinenut Dance'
  < tupa 'pinenut', nükappin 'dance'
waahappihyapaapin 'piñon sap sugar'
  < waah(pi) 'piñon pine', pihyapaapin 'sugar'
yookontukkupittsi 'valley bobcat'
  < yookon(pi) 'valley', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'

Adjective + Noun
piappütû etûn 'cannon'
  < piappütû 'big', etûn 'gun, bow'
piappütû tokompî 'barrel'
  < piappütûn 'big', tokompî 'metal, can'
piašika 'crotch'
  < pia 'big', sika 'fork, crotch'
saman tuhuuppin 'raw sticks (in handgame)'
  < saman 'raw', tuhuuppin 'counter stick'
so'oppütû pangwitsangkuttsi 'gig fish hook'
  < so'oppütû 'many', pangwitsangkuttsi 'fish hook'
tosapi túkinnûmpû 'white bones (in handgame)'
  < tosapi 'white', túkinnûmpû 'putter'
tuppapitû túkinnûmpû 'stripped bone (in handgame)'
  < tuppapitû 'black', túkinnûmpû 'putter'
tuhûttû(ttsi) toyapittsi 'hill'
  < tuhûttû(ttsi) 'little', toyapi(ttsi) 'mountain'
NOUNS

Noun + Verb(al)
Mukuattun Nükkan 'War Dance'
< zukuattun 'mind', nükkan 'dance(ing)'
mupin tawinna 'nostril'
< mupin 'nose', tawinna 'to be an opening, hole'
paa okwenna 'river'
< paa 'water', okwenna 'flowing'
tape punikkatun 'bittern'
< tape 'sun', punikkatün 'looking at'
tape(ttsi) to'ekinna 'light, morning'
< tape(ttsi) 'sun, day', to'ekinna 'coming up'
toyakatü 'hill'
< toya(pin) 'mountain', katü 'sit'
toyahapitün 'mountain range'
< toya(pin), hapitün 'lying'
tüngwünütün 'cliff'
< tün- 'rock', wünütün 'standing'
waa'ettsia teewitün 'praying mantis'
< waa'ettsia 'enemy' obj, teewitün 'pointing at'

Verb(al) + Noun
hipittsukuttsi ≈ hipittsukuppu 'drunkard'
< hipi" 'drink', tsuku 'old man',
- ttsi ≈ -ppu absol
noyokowa'ippu 'whore'
< noyoko" 'screwed', wa'ippu 'woman'
nükkahahni 'dance hall, ceremonial hall'
< nükka 'dance', kahni 'house, building'
Nükkapaa 'Dance Water Springs in Death Valley'
< nükka 'dance', paa 'water, spring'
makinna mo'o 'masturbating hand'
< makinna 'masturbate', mo'o 'hand'
kuppuataippuh huuppun 'cooked sticks (in handgame)'
< kuppuataippuh 'cooked', huuppun 'stick'
Noun + Postposition
kwii nangkwa 'left side'
< kwii 'left', nangkwa 'direction, side (of)'
paa nangkwa 'west'
< paa 'water', nangkwa 'direction, side (of)'
tape tukkwan 'east'
< tape 'sun', tukkwan 'under'

Noun + Postposition + Noun
Hauttangkatun Nookompi 'Panamint Valley'
< Hauttan 'Warm Springs and Indian Ranch area', katun 'in', yookompi 'valley'
Kuinawen Nangkwatun Numu 'Northern/Western Shoshone'
< kuinawen 'north', nangkwatun 'direction of', numu 'people'
piasika katu puhu 'pubic hair'
< piasika 'crotch', katun 'in', puhu 'hair'

Adv + Verbal
imaa tukkanna ~ imaa tukkatun 'breakfast'
< imaa 'morning', tukkanna ~ tukkatun 'eating'
tape(ni) tukkanna ~ tape(ni) tukkatun 'lunch'
< tape(ni) 'day(time)', tukkanna ~ tukkatun 'eating'
yuwittukkanna ~ yuwaittukkatun 'dinner'
< yuwi" 'evening', tukkanna ~ tukkatun 'eating'

As the examples above indicate, noun compounds may have a number of different kinds of internal structures. Noun compounds composed of a modifier followed by a head noun are by far the most common type. The modifier is usually another noun (e.g., pahonto'i 'smoking pipe', literally 'tobacco pipe') or, perhaps a little less commonly, an adjective (e.g., saman tuhuuppin 'raw sticks [in handgame]'). Many noun compounds are composed of a noun followed by a verb or verbal noun. They are of at least three types: (1) a noun modifying a verbal noun (e.g., Mukuattun Nukkanna 'War
Dance', literally 'Mind Dance'); (2) a noun functioning as the logical subject of the verb or verbal noun (e.g., toyahapitun 'mountain range', literally 'mountain lying'); and (3) a noun functioning as the logical object of the verb or verbal (e.g., tape punkkatun 'bittern', literally 'looking at sun'). There are also a number of compounds formed with a verb or verbal noun and a following noun. All of these seem to be cases where the verb(al) acts as a modifier of the following noun (e.g., hipittsuakkutal 'drunkard', literally 'drink old man').

A number of noun compounds are composed of a noun plus postposition, which is then followed by another noun. In all of these, the first noun and postposition comprise a postpositional phrase which modifies the following noun (e.g., piassika katu puhu 'pubic hair' or literally 'hair in crotch'). The few compound nouns composed simply of a noun followed by a postposition have the same structure as actual postpositional phrases. For example, kwii nangkwa 'left side' literally means 'on the left', but it can be possessed, for example, as if it were a simple noun (e.g. niang kwii nangkwa 'my left side').

In all of the compound nouns built with an adverb and a verbal noun, the adverb modifies the verbal (e.g., imaa tukkanna 'breakfast', literally meaning 'morning eating').

5.8 NAMES

Very few aboriginal personal names are used or even remembered by contemporary Túmpisá Shoshone speakers. The few that I was able to elicit are listed below.
SOME ABORIGINAL MEN'S NAMES

Aattako 'Potato Bug'
Angitsuku 'Fly Man'
  < angi(pi) 'fly', tsuku(ppu) 'old man'
Hapitsuku 'Lying Down Man'
  < hapi 'lie', tsuku(ppu) 'old man'
Kuputatsuku 'Tall Man'
  < kuputa 'tall, long', tsuku(ppu) 'old man'
Pawoko 'Frog'
Sokotsuku 'Earth Man'
  < sokopin 'earth, land', tsuku(ppu) 'old man'
Tsoangkaay'a (?)

SOME ABORIGINAL WOMEN'S NAMES

Hipipayuni 'Flower' (?)
  < hipi(ngkun) 'bloom'
Kwasikantun 'Having a Tail'
  < kwasi 'tail', -kantun 'characterized by'
Naipi 'Girl'
Pa'atami 'Upside Down'
Sayatsayaa'a (?) [translated as: 'Sacajawea']
Siatoni'i (?)
Suata'a 'Growing' (?)
  < sua' 'grow (of plants)'
Yupi (?)

Obviously, it is impossible to make generalizations from 15 names, but I think it can be safely stated that at least sometimes, people were given names because of outstanding physical or behavioral characteristics. For example, the man named Kuputatsuku was quite tall, while Angitsuku is said to have been given such a name because as a young man he used to 'buzz around the girls like a fly'. It is said that Kwasikantun was given her name because when she was born she had a lot of hair in the small of her back.
Much more commonly in recent times, people have been given English names, usually with minor phonological adjustments making them conform more closely to Tumpisa Shoshone phonology, especially syllabic structure and low-level phonetics (see chapter 9).

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

- Aputtu 'Albert'
- Tseekki 'Jake'
- Koopu 'Grover'
- Neti 'Ned'
- Noitu 'Lloyd'
- Reemmani 'Raymond'
- Samma 'Sam'
- Tanan 'Donald'
- Toni 'Tony'

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

- Ani 'Ann(ie)'
- Antsi 'Angie'
- Iipu 'Eve'
- Memmi 'Mamie'
- Neetiinna 'Nadine'
- Paaputtsi 'Babs'
- Paliinna 'Pauline'
- Rotsi 'Rosie'
- Ruhtu 'Ruth'
- Tepi 'Debbie'

The phonological adjustments include (a) adding vowels to the ends of names that terminate in consonants in English (e.g., 'Jake' > Tseekki); (b) eliminating consonant clusters by adding vowels between consonants (e.g., 'Babs' > Paaputtsi)
or dropping consonants (e.g. 'Albert' > Apütτu); (c) lengthening at least some stressed vowels (e.g., 'Eve' > Ḧipu). But, as the examples above indicate, English names do not necessarily have to conform totally to the language's phonological system. At the beginning of words, for example, Ḧs are borrowed as is, and Ḧs are also usually adopted without change, although sometimes they are replaced with Ḧs.

For many examples of personal names used in syntactic and discursive context, the reader should peruse the conversation in section 10.6. The classificatory suffix -ŋpu is often added to personal names to indicate distance or lack of empathy with the person named. The diminutive and affectionate suffix -ttsi may also be added for the opposite effect, to indicate affection or empathy.

5.9 NOUN PHRASES (NPs)

Noun phrases in Tūmpisa Shoshone can be quite complex, as in all languages. In fact, NPs are potentially infinitely complex, since they have recursive properties. The recursive power of NPs primarily stems from the fact that relative clauses can be embedded in NPs, and of course relative clauses themselves contain NPs (see 8.2.2 on relative clauses). Since each one can contain the other, there is no limit to their potential complexity. Infinite complexity, however, is a theoretical possibility that never occurs in reality. Nevertheless, NPs vary from being quite simple, comprising a single constituent to being rather complicated, containing a half dozen or so constituents.

The vast majority of NPs in the language have a head or nucleus of the NP around which there may be a number of modifying elements. Heads of noun phrases can be nouns, pronominals (discussed in chapter 4), and adjectives (discussed in chapter 6).
Only noun heads may have considerable modification. Numerals, quantifiers, and adjectives as heads have not been recorded with any modification. Pronoun and demonstrative heads normally occur without modification, but occasionally they are quantified. In this case, it is normal for a quantifier to follow a pronoun, as in 179, but precede a demonstrative, as in 180 (also see chapter 4, which is full of examples of pronominal heads of NPs). Even more rarely, demonstratives may have a relative clause, such as the one enclosed in brackets in 181.

(179) Nümü soontü miatü.
we(exc) many go-hab
'Many of us would go.'

(180) Nüü sümüü matümü mtittüpunitu'ih.
I all them wake up-will
'I'll wake all of them up.'

(181) [Utüüntü] etü kotto'enna ekkih.
being hot this boil here
'This which is heating is boiling here.'

When adjectives are heads of NPs they function as pronominals (e.g., 182-184), much like Adj + 'one' constructions in English.
(182) Tammappüh miattaippüh.
crazy left
'The crazy one left.'

TAMPISA SHOSHONE GRAMMAR

(183) Satu plantunna tūhuya kuttippühantū;
that big-O deer shot
nüü puu tūtūttsitssia kuttippühantū.
I emph little-obj shot

'He shot a big deer; I myself shot a little one.'

(184) Wihnupittsi pisittaippühä tükkananna.
buzzard rotten-O eat
'Buzzards eat rotten stuff.'

Noun phrases may also be headless. Typically, these are embedded clauses functioning as NPs. For example, in 185 the clause enclosed in brackets functions as the object NP of the verb suwakka 'plan on', and in 186 the clause in brackets is a headless relative clause (see other examples in 8.2.3).

(185) Nu [ko'ehintu'immi] suwakka.
I return-hither-will-sub plan on
'I plan on coming back.'

(186) [Un tükkatu'ihu] puhaisisū sukkwa
her eat-will-O look for that-O
sutū wa'ippua.
that woman-O

'He went out looking for something for her to eat, something for that woman.'
Noun phrases with a noun as head may have a number of constituents preceding the head noun and several following it. The relative order of constituents in a NP with a head noun is given below. Not all of the possible constituents have been recorded within the same noun phrase, but many of them have.

POSSIBLE NP CONSTITUENTS WITH A NOUN HEAD

\[D + Q + Ps + R + A + N + Ps + \text{HEAD NOUN} + P + Q + D + R + D\]

[D = demonstrative, \(Q\) = quantifier or numeral, \(Ps\) = possessive noun or pronominal, \(R\) = relative clause, \(A\) = adjective, \(N\) = noun modifier, \(P\) = postposition]

Demonstratives, quantifiers (including numerals), and relative clauses may occur before and after the head noun. Quantifiers have been recorded only in one position or the other, but not both in the same NP. Demonstratives and relative clauses, however, may occur both before and after the head in the same NP. Typically, proximate demonstratives precede head nouns while obviative demonstratives follow them, but this is by no means obligatory. Most sentence examples in this monograph contain demonstratives; some more are given in 187-191.

(187) Hipittsittsi utū mi'a taamiammaa
old lady that go visited

u kammunnua okkwah.
her was sick-sub when

'That old lady went and visited (her) when she was sick.'
(188) Tsokonetaippüh isapaippü isan
had scratched coyote coyote's
tuammuttsi utümmü.
baby those
'Coyote's, those babies of coyote, had been scratching.'

(189) Wa'ippüa ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwüummaa
woman-O that-O where some caught
utü pahamittsi utü u nuwiku toya
that bear that her walk-sub mountain
ma nootünga.
on maybe
'A bear caught a woman somewhere, maybe when she was walking around in the mountains.'

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

(191) Sutü kamanna sutü nawipi utü.
that be sick that girl that
'That one, that girl, she's sick.'

Relative clauses, whether preceding or following head nouns, are usually nonfinite, either participial or infinitival (e.g., 192-195), and they normally agree in case with their heads (see also 207-208 below). The relative clauses in 192-195 are enclosed in brackets.
(192) [Niam pusikwanna] satu [paappūh wūnūtū] 
my knowing that tall standing 
tangummu utuku.
man only
'It's only the tall (standing) man that I know.'

(193) [Niam pusikwanna] tsawūn tangummu sutu. 
my knowing good man that
'The good man I know is that one.'

(194) Tangummu [atu naaiyangwitū] atu nia 
man that playing handgame that me 
pusikwatu.
know
'That man who is playing handgame knows me.'

beer my drinking me make sleep-fut
'The beer I'm drinking is going to make me sleepy.'

Sentence 192 has two relative clauses preceding the head noun, and the first precedes the demonstrative. Much more is said on relative clauses in section 8.2.2.

Possessive nouns and pronominals typically precede any modifiers like adjectives, relative clauses, and modifying nouns, but possessive personal pronouns may also occur as proclitics immediately preceding head nouns (e.g., 197-198).

(196) Nū nia tūlīttsia ohmaattsia nasuntannana. 
I my little-O baby-O remember
'I remember my little baby.'
(197) Wahattu niam puñummu ma'e nü namianguppühantü
two my cousins with I were sent
-and
sapettu.
there
'Two of my cousins and I were sent there.'

(198) Nü so'oppütü nia summo'a tappisikutintu'ih.
I much my clothes throw out-will
'I'll throw out a lot of my clothes.'

Quantifiers occur before head nouns in 197 and 198, but they also commonly occur after them, as in 199-201.

(199) Piammuttsi sumuttu yakainna.
baby one cry
'One baby is crying.'

(200) Kapaayu wahattu nuwinna.
horse two walk
'Two horses are walking around.'

(201) Sepe isapungku tuammuttsi so'oppüh
hereabouts dog baby many
nanangka namo'e.
make noise cry(pl)
'Here abouts a lot of dog babies are making noise crying.'

Most constituents of the NP agree with the head noun in case. Those constituents displaying agreement include demonstratives, most quantifiers, adjectives, and relative clauses. With relative clauses, case agreement is marked by
objective case forms of subordinating suffixes on the subordinate verb, and with relative pronouns. Examples of agreement occur throughout this chapter, but since most of the NPs exemplified are nominative and therefore case marking is unmarked, agreement is not so apparent. In the examples in 202-208, the NPs are in the objective case, and so agreement is more obvious.

(202) Nü sümütünna huuppitta wüsipenna.
   I one-O stick-O scrape
   'I'm scraping one stick.'

(203) Nü tühüttsittsia sohopimpüa tsonnopiinna.
   I little-O cottonwood-O pull up(pl)
   'I'm pulling up little cottonwood trees.'

(204) Yuhupitta wa'ippüa nüü pusikwa.
   fat-O woman-O I know
   'I know the fat woman.'

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

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

(207) Wa'ippü pünnan tüpü(nna) [tso'ippuha ]
   woman her own pinenut(-O) pick-sub-O
   tukummahanni.
   cook
   'The woman is cooking the pinenuts that she picked.'
The modifiers of a head noun are normally inflected for case even if the head itself doesn't take case marking (e.g., 206-207). Note that a relative clause may be right-dislocated as in 208 (see 8.2.2).

Despite the fact that constituents modifying the heads of NPs normally agree in case with the heads, a number of examples have been recorded where there is no apparent agreement. It is not at all clear to me why this is so. Compare the examples in 209-211 with those in 202-208 (see also 198).

(209) Nūū wahattū tūhūyanna pakkappūhantū.
    I two deer-O killed
'I killed two deer.'

(210) Nūū mannikitū tūhūyanna wasüppūhantū.
    I five deer-O killed(pl)
'I killed five deer.'

(211) Satū so'oppūtū piinya tsattūpūppainna.
    that many beer open(pl)
'He's opening lots of beers.'

It seems that if no potential ambiguity would result, case agreement may be omitted, at least with quantifiers as in 209-211.

Number agreement per se is virtually nonexistent within NPs in Tumispis Shoshone and is certainly not obligatory, since the nouns themselves often are not inflected for number (see section 5.5). Number is usually marked on verbs, and then if it is indicated within NPs themselves it is most commonly done with quantifiers (e.g., 200-201, 205-206, and
and demonstratives, and only somewhat rarely with inflections on nouns.

Since postpositions normally immediately follow nouns or pronominals, any modification that would otherwise go after a noun or pronominal head follows the head plus postposition, as in 212-213.

(212) Ohipím ma nati'iwantünna tiyaitaihwá satú. cold from mean-O died that
       'He died from a mean cold.'

(213) Númmí tukkwantú pahittünna. you all-O under three-O
       'It's under you three.'

It is not uncommon for constituents of the same NP to be split up from each other, with other elements intervening between them. For example, in 214 the head noun samoppú and the numeral wahattú are separated by the verb. Similarly, in 215 a head noun and numeral are separated by the verb. In 216 the numeral pahi is separated from its head tommo by a completely different NP, númmú:

(214) Nía samoppú naappühantú wahattú. my sibling were two
       'There were my two brothers.'

(215) Núú tumpíttá yaakkintu'i sümüttüttsia. I rock-O bring-will one only
       'I'll bring just one rock.'

(216) Númmú pahi númmú tommo yingkappühantú sape. we(exc) three we winter stayed there
       'We stayed there three winters.'
Tuittsi pitū utūmni ka wihnu sūmūtū
young man arrive those-0 at then one

'tuittsi.
young man

'A young man is arriving with them then, one young man.'

In 217, the numeral sūmūtū and its head noun tuittsi are not separated, but together they are an expansion of the subject NP, tuittsi, first occurring at the beginning of the sentence. The occurrence in the same sentence of repetitions of NPs or of slightly different NPs referring to the same entity is highly characteristic of Tūmpisa Shoshone discourse style. The repetition of nūmmū in 216 is another example. Perhaps most typically, a full NP occurs somewhere in a sentence, and then elsewhere there are one or more pronominals referring to the same entity (e.g., 218-220 and 191). This stylistic device is typical of Uto-Aztecan languages in general and is usually called pronoun copy in the literature (see Langacker 1977, 27ff). To a certain degree the term "pronoun copy" is misleading, for it implies a kind of mechanical repetition of pronouns. Sometimes this is true, like the several repetitions of etū in 218. But usually the various recurrences of NPs referring to the same entity expand and develop the reference. For example, in 218, aside from the repetitions of etū, the same participant is referred to as 'old lady' and 'their mother', each adding more information to the narration, and finally she is referred to as setū, indicating that she is now an established topic, at least for the moment.
As 218-220 and 191 indicate, often a pronominal is first introduced and later on a more complete reference is given. This seems to be a device of building up or maintaining tension and interest in narrative. The so-called pronoun copy phenomenon is really a kind of apposition used to expand and supplement the description.

NPs may be conjoined with or without overt conjunctions (see section 8.1). In 197 above, a conjunction is used, but in the sentences in 221-222 none occur.
(221) Sūmūsū mia’ommū atū himpū antsaapanappūh,
           all   go-pl that some flicker
        atū kaakki, tukopoyo'ittsi, sūmūsū
           that crow  kingbird  all
        kasattsikantū mia’ommū.
           bird    go-pl

'Everyone went, that flicker, that crow,  
kingbird, all the birds went.'

(222) U kappinnangkwa katū ukkwah sutungku kee
       it outside of sit when those two not
        teewingkūtšinna etū un natapu.
        tell    this her uncle

'When she [old lady] was sitting outside,
those two, she [girl] and her uncle, didn't tell
[her = old lady] anything.'

Notes to Chapter 5

1. These terms are being used here as in most basic grammar
or linguistic handbooks; e.g., the reader may wish to peruse

2. The reader may also wish to examine example 34-37 in
chapter 4 containing pronominal direct and indirect objects.

3. Here I am using possessive-case pronouns to illustrate the
effects of -η, but the result is the same with -η on nouns as
well. The reader should consult chapter 9 on phonology to
understand the general properties of final segments like η.
4. Postpositions are written unattached to the nouns that they follow unless the noun ends in the geminating segment -"II", in which case the postposition is suffixed to the noun, cf.

- kahnì pa 'on the house'
- pasakum pa 'on the bridge'
- un tuappa 'on his son' [< tua" + pa]

Justification for this inconsistency in orthography stems from two facts: First, phonologically, postpositions act like little words in that they are at least secondarily stressed like other particles in the language. Thus, they are written unattached sometimes. On the other hand, it would be phonologically strange in Tumpisakka for words to be written like tuap pa or tua ppa because each of these two possibilities goes against Tumpisakka syllabic structure. The first would have a consonant other than h or a nasal ending a word, and the second would have a geminate consonant beginning a word, both of which are prohibited. Thus, they are ruled out as possibilities. The solution has been, then, to live with a little inconsistency. The reader should consult chapter 9, especially section 9.3.7 on final segments.

5. The fact that these postpositions govern the objective case is indicated in the list with (obj) to the right of each one.

6. The fact that these postpositions govern the possessive case is indicated in the list with (poss) to the right of each one.
In many ways adjectives in Tümpisa Shoshone are closely associated with nouns. They take absolutive suffixes like nouns (6.1), they modify nouns (6.2), and sometimes they function as the heads of noun phrases (6.3). They are also inflected for case in agreement with head nouns (6.2). On the other hand, like verbs, adjectives may function as predicates (6.4), and they are freely derived from verbs as participles (6.1). However, unlike both nouns and verbs, adjectives may be used in comparative constructions (6.6), as well as in adjective phrases (6.5) that have special characteristics not exactly like either noun phrases or verb phrases.  

6.1 ABSOLUTIVE SUFFIXES

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

ADJECTIVE ABSOLUTIVE SUFFIXES

-pi(n) -pú -ppu̞h -tú̞n -tsi
-pitú̞n -pputú̞n

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-Pitūn and -ppūtūn are compound suffixes formed with -tūn preceded by -p1 and -ppūh, respectively; in prenominal modification, the -tūn component may be dropped. Any of the absolutive suffixes may additionally be followed by diminutive -ttsi.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>piakuittsun</td>
<td>'buffalo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; pia(ppūtūn)</td>
<td>'big', kuittsun 'buffalo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piatūkkah</td>
<td>'feast', Vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; pia(ppūtūn)</td>
<td>'big', tūkkah 'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piasika</td>
<td>'crotch (on body)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; pia(ppūtūn)</td>
<td>'big', sika 'crotch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhitūkkappūh</td>
<td>'watercress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; pūhi(pitūn)</td>
<td>'blue and green', tūkkappūh 'food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sükkūng kamman</td>
<td>'taste sour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; sükkūn(pitūn)</td>
<td>'sour', kamman 'taste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tosakkahni</td>
<td>'tent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; tosa'(pitūn)</td>
<td>'white', kahni 'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuppapangwittsi</td>
<td>'blackfish in springs in Death Valley'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; tuppa(pitūn)</td>
<td>'black', pangwi 'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ükunūmū</td>
<td>'youth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; ükū(pittsi)</td>
<td>'young, new', numū 'person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woontangummū</td>
<td>'jealous man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; woon(pettsi)</td>
<td>'jealous', tangummū 'man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu'itsikuppittsi</td>
<td>'salamander'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; yu'i(pittsi)</td>
<td>'soft', tsukuppū(ttsi) 'old man' (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When adjectives are in prenominal position modifying nouns, they do not normally lose their absolutive suffixes (see 6.1). And frequently, even when they form compounds with
following nouns, the absolutive suffixes are not dropped; e.g.:

```
mutsipin taman  'incisor tooth'
  < mutsipin 'sharp-pointed', taman 'tooth'
piappüt ü etün  'cannon'
  < piappütün 'big', etün 'gun'
piappüt ü tokompi  'barrel'
  < piappütün 'big', tokompi 'iron, tin can'
piappüt ü tüttättükwanñumpü  'sledgehammer'
  < piappütün 'big', tüttättükwanñumpü 'hammer'
tosapi noyopi(ttsi)  'egg white'
  < tosapi(tün) 'white', noyopi(ttsi) 'egg'
tuppapit ü tükinnumpü  'striped bone in handgame'
  < tuppapit ün 'black', tükinnumpü 'putter'
tühüttstsi toyapit stsi 'hill'
  < tühüttstsi 'little', toyapi 'mountain'
```

It is my impression, however, that when the suffixes are dropped the adjectives are felt to be more closely tied to the following stems, both phonologically and semantically. Compounds without absolutive suffixes on the adjectives are usually more idiomatic, while those with absolutive suffixes tend to be more descriptive.

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

-**pe (-pea_obj)**

woompe(ttsi)  'jealous'

-**pi(n) (-pitta ≈ -pia_obj)**

küttaampi ≈ küttaampü  'hard'
muhwapi(ttsi)  'bitter'
mutsipin ≈ mutsippuh  'sharp-pointed'
no'api  'pregnant'
ADJECTIVES

pihyapi 'weak'
samampi(ttsi) 'raw'
sükümpi(ttsi) 'sour'
üküpi(ttsi) 'new, young, fresh'
yu'ipi(ttsi) 'soft, flexible, flabby'

-pitin (pitinna obj)
angkapitun 'red'
esümpitun 'gray'
hümpitun 'orange'
ontümpitun 'yellowish brown'
puhipitun 'blue and green'
sakwaapitun 'green'
sükümpitun 'yellow'
tosapitun 'white'
tuppapitun 'black'
pattsipitun 'smooth, glossy'

-pü (püa obj)
iaspu 'wild'
kuttaampu ≈ kuttaampi 'hard'
naisapu 'horny, sexually aroused'
napihyaapu 'lazy'
nanacrohu 'scattered, dispersed'
püetümpu 'old, worn'
pasampu(ttsi) 'skinny'
tsomampu 'stingy'

-ppuh (ppuha obj)
künappuh ≈ kümatsi 'sharp-edged'
mutsippuh ≈ mutsipin 'sharp-pointed'
pungkuppeppuh 'out of, used up, all gone'
ooppuh 'strong'
ottotootaippuh 'moldy'
sopppuh ≈ sopputun 'plenty; much, many'
tammappuh ≈ tammatsi 'crazy'
TUKKWAPPUH 'deep'
TUUPPUH ≈ TUUPPUPPUH 'mean, cruel'
TUUTSAAPPUH 'dirty'
TUUTSÚPPUH ≈ TUUTSÚPPÜTU(PPUH) 'funny, ugly, strange'
YOTTSOKKWAPPUH 'soft, flexible, crumbly'
YOTTSOKKWWATTSI

-PPUTUN (-PPUTUNNA ≈ -PPUTJ OBJ)
PA'APPUTUN ≈ PA'APPUH 'tall'
PIAPPUTUN ≈ PIANTUN 'big'
PIAWUKIPPUTUN 'wide'
KÚPTAPPUTUN 'long'
SO'OOPPUTUN ≈ SO'OOPPUH 'plenty; much, many'
TUHUNTAPPUTUN 'thick'

-TUN (-TUNNA ≈ -TI OBJ)
PIANTUN ≈ PIAPPUTUN 'big'
NATI'IWANTUN(PU) 'mean, rough; difficult, dangerous'
SOONTUN 'much, many'
TUANA(NUN) 'straight'
TSAWÜNTUN 'good, nice'
WÜMMANITTUN 'naked'

-TTSSI (-TTSSIAL)
KÚMATTSSI ≈ KÜMAPPUH 'sharp-edged'
MUKUTSSI 'diamond-shaped'
PA'ATTSI(TTSSI) 'short (in height)'
TUUTTTSSI(TTSSI) 'little, small'
TU(H)ÜTTSI(TTSSI) 'little, small'
TUUTTTSI(TTSSI) 'little, small'
TIIITSI(TTSSI) 'tiny'
TOPPOTTSSI(TTSSI) 'short (in length)'
TAMMA(TTSSI) ≈ TAMMAPPUH 'crazy'
TATUTTSI(TTSSI) 'thin (of things)'
TSIWOOTTSSI 'narrow'
Only a few adjectives occur without absolutive suffixes. Those that have been recorded are listed below.

- yottsokkwattsí 'soft, flexible, crumbly'
  = yottsokkwappuh

- Hippatta 'flat'
- Nakütsasa 'bad'
- Pihi'aa = Pihi'a 'sweet'
- Tokwi" 'right, correct'
- Wüki ≈ Wükin 'circular'

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

hannattaippuh 'grown'
< hanna" Vi 'grow'
heyokotaippuh 'loose'
< heyoko Vi 'loosen'
hipittaippuh 'drunk'
< hipi" Vt 'drink'
ka'ataippuh sg, kopialtaippuh pl 'broken'
< ka'ah sg, kopiah pl Vi 'break (flexible object)'
kammataippuh 'gravely ill'
< kammah Vi 'be sick, ill'
kotsattaippuh 'bashed in'
< kotsa" Vi 'get bashed in'
kuppüataippuh 'cooked, done (of food cooking)'
< kuppüah Vi 'cook (of food)'
kuttapinaippuh 'lit, lighted'
< kuttapinalh Vi 'be light'
kümittaippuh 'tight'
< kümii" Vi 'tighten'
küptaippuh sg, küpiataippuh pl 'broken'
< kü(p)ah sg, küpiäh pl Vi 'break (rigid object)'
kwasu(ttaip)ppuh 'ripe(ned)'
< kwasu" Vi 'ripen'
mi'attaippuh 'gone, left'
< mi'a(" Vi 'go, leave'
muiyi(tai)ppuh 'drunk, intoxicated'
< muiyai Vi 'get drunk, intoxicated'
nakwattaippuh 'beaten, lost'
< na- pmpr, kwaa" Vt 'beat'
napuhaataippuh 'bewitched'
< na- pmpr, puhaah Vt 'bewitch, hex'
natsattama(tai)ppuh sg, natsatamii(tai)ppuh pl 'tied tight'
< na- pmpr, tsattamaah sg, tsattamiih pl Vt 'tie tight'
natsattaw(tai)ppuh 'open(ed)'
< na- pmpr, tsattawin Vt 'open'
natsattuma(tai)ppuh sg, natsattumii(tai)ppuh pl 'closed, locked up'
< na- pmpr, tsattawin Vt 'close'
nawusomma(tai)ppuh sg, nawusomii(tai)ppuh pl 'bent'
< na- pmpr, wursummah sg, wursummih pl Vt 'bend'
noppitsahataippuh 'bent, crooked'
< oppitsah(an) Vt 'bent'
okwai(tta)ppuh 'washed out'
< okwai" Vt 'flow'
paha(tta)ppuh sg, pakiataippuh pl 'split'
< paha" sg, pakiah pl Vt 'split'
pakwittaiippuh 'swollen'
< pakwi" Vt 'swell'
pasattaippuh 'dried up'
< pasa" Vt 'dry'
pikkwataippuh sg, pikwataippuh pl 'shattered'
< pikkwan sg, pikwaa pl Vt 'shatter'
pisittaippuh 'rotten'
< pisi" Vt 'rot'
somma(tai)ppuh sg, somia(tai)ppuh pl 'bent'
< sommah sg, somiah pl Vt 'bend'
suattaippuh 'grown (of plants)'
< sua" Vt 'grow'
takuttiyaiippuh sg, takuttsuuwappuh ≈ takukko'ippuh pl 'thirsty'
< takuttiyah sg, takuttsuuh ≈ takukko'i'ih pl Vt 'be thirsty'
tamminoi(tai)ppuh 'tired'
< tamminoi Vt 'be tired'
tiyai(tai)ppuh sg, tsuuwataippuh ≈ ko'ittaippuh pl 'dead'
< tiyaih sg, tsuuwah ≈ ko'i'in pl Vt 'die'
to'etaippuh sg, toto'etaippuh pl 'out, up'
< to'eh sg, kua" pl Vt 'emerge, go/come out, up'
tuataippuh 'painted, tattooed'
  < tuak Vt 'paint, tattoo'

tuppekaataippuh 'full'
  < tuppekua Vi 'be full'

tupunitaippuh 'awake'
  < tupunih Vi 'wake up'

tutakaippuh 'born'
  < tutakaih Vi 'be born'

tsumataippuh 'all gone'
  < tsumah Vi 'be all gone'

tupaippuh 'wounded, grazed'
  < uatuah Vt 'wound, graze'

PRESENT PARTICIPLES IN -TUN

tutun 'sitting'
  < katu' sg vi 'sit'

napunitun 'appearing, looking'
  < napunih Vi med-pass 'appear, look'
nati'iwantun 'mean, tough'
  < na- pmpr, ti'iwan 'be afraid'
noppitsahantun 'bent, crooked'
  < noppitsahan Vi 'bend'
nuetun = nuaitun 'blowing'
  < nue' Vi 'blow'
nukka(n)tun 'dancing'
  < nukkan Vi 'dance'

okwetun 'flowing'
  < okwe' Vi 'flow'
suatun 'growing (of plants)'
  < sua' Vi 'grow'
ti'iwantun 'scared, afraid'
  < ti'iwan Vi 'be afraid'
tunangkatun 'hearing'
  < tu- aps, nangkah 'hear'
wayantun 'burning'
  < wayan VI 'burn'
wmultun 'standing'
  < wunu' sg VI 'stand'
yuwaintun 'warm'
  < yuwain VI 'be warm'

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

pa'attsil(ttsi) 'short'
  < pa'an Adv and Post 'up, high, above', -ttsi
pa'appütün ~ pa'appuh 'tall'
  < pa'an Adv and Post 'up, high, above',
    -ppütün ~ -ppuh
pasampü(ttsi) 'skinny'
  < pasa' VI 'dry', -m- ?, -pü, -ttsi
tukkwappuh 'deep'
  < tukkwan Post 'under, below'

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

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

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

6.2 MODIFICATION

One of the primary functions of adjectives is to modify nouns. When adjectives modify nouns they normally precede
them in the noun phrase, and they agree with their head nouns in case (see section 5.9 on the structure of NPs). Examples of modifying adjectives agreeing with following nominative head nouns are given in 1-3.

(1) Tsawun(tun) tangumü utuu tiyaitaippüh.
   good    man       just dead
   'The good man has just died.'

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

(3) Yuhu(pl) wa'ippü miattaippüh.
   fat      woman      gone
   'The fat woman has gone.'

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

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

(4) Nü tühüttsitsisä sohopimpüa tsonnopiinna.
   I    little-O   cottonwood-O pull up (pl)
   'I'm pulling up little cottonwoods.'

(5) Sakwaapitünna kahni punikka nüü.
   green-O    house see    I
   'I see a green house.'

(6) Nüü yuhupitta wa'ippüa punikkappühantü.
   I    fat-O   woman-O saw
   'I saw the fat woman.'
Adjectives, especially participles, may follow head nouns, but in such cases they are usually predicates of relative clauses rather than simple adjectival modifiers (see section 8.2.2).

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

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

(10) Nūu tangummi paappūh wūnutūnna pusikwa.
I man-0 tall standing-0 know
'I know the man who is tall (standing).'

(11) Nūu kunnai wayantūnna punikka.
I wood-0 burning-0 see
'I see the wood burning.'

(12) Wa'ippū pūnnan tūpūnna tso'ippūha tukummahaniih.
woman her own pinenut-0 picked-0 cook
'The woman is cooking the pinenuts she picked.'

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

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

(15) Nū tsawüntūnna tükkapppihnaappa’e.
I good-O groceries-have
'I have some good groceries.'

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

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

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

6.3 ADJECTIVES AS NOUNS AND HEADS OF NPS

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

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

PARTICIPLES AND NOUNS

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

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

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

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

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

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

(22) Satu piappüti kuttipühantü, nüü keehinna kuttinna.
That big-O shot I nothing-O shoot
'He shot a big one, I shot nothing.'

(23) Satu piandünna tuhuya kuttipühantü,
That big-O deer shot
nüü puu tutüttsitsia kuttipühantü.
I emph small-O shot
'He shot a big deer; I myself shot a small one.'

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

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

6.4 PREDICATE ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVAL VERBS

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

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

(26) a. Nū tamma. 'I'm crazy.'
   I crazy

   b. Tangummū tammappūh. 'The man's crazy.'
      man crazy

   c. Tangummū tammappūh naappūhantu.
      man crazy be-past
      'The man was crazy.'

   d. Tangummū tammappūh naatu'ih.
      man crazy be-will
      'The man'll be crazy.'

   e. Tangummū tammappūh naamm'i'a.
      man crazy be-go
      'The man's going crazy.'

(27) a. Yuhupi wa'ippū. 'She's a fat woman.'
    fat woman
b. Yuhupi utū. 'That one's fat.'
   fat that

c. Satu sape'esū yuhupi naappūhantu.
   that long ago fat be-past
   'She was fat long ago.'

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

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

(28) a. Üū nati'iwantu. 'You're mean.'
   you mean

b. Miikka nati'iwantu satū. 'Now he is mean.'
   now mean that

c. Tangummū utuu pūesū nati'iwantūn
   man just long ago mean

   naappūhantū.
   be-past

   'The man just used to be mean.'

d. Sutū nati'iwantu naatu'ih. 'He'll be mean.'
   that mean be-will

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

   c. Satummu woompettsi(hammu).
      those    jealous(-pl)
      'They're (all) jealous.'
(32) a. Atū tangummu yuhupi. 'That man is fat.'
    that man fat

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

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

(33) a. Satū iampū. 'That one is wild.'
    that wild

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

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

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

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

f. Sutummmu iampū(hammu). 'They're (all) wild.'
    those wild(-pl)

g. Mūmmu iampū(hammu).
    you all wild(-pl)
    'You all are (all) wild.'
h. Nawittsittsiammü iampû(hammu).
   girls  wild(-pl)
   'The girls are (all) wild.'

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

**SUFFIXES VERBALIZING ADJECTIVES**

- **-i ≈ -'i** general verbalizer
  - kuttai 'be hard, tough' < küttaan(pû) 'hard'

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

- **-kain ≈ -kai"**
  - pihyakai" 'itch' < pihya(pi) 'weak'
  - woongkwain 'be jealous' < woon(pe) 'jealous'

- **-pükkan** involuntary state
  - no'apükkan 'be pregnant' < no'a(pi) 'pregnant'
  - yuhupükkan 'get fat' < yuhu(pin) 'fat'

- **-wih ≈ -win** general verbalizer
  - kümawih 'sharpen' < küma(ppûh) 'sharp-edged'
  - tsawin 'be good' < tsao 'well' and tsawûntûn 'good'
ADJECTIVES 283

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

-yun general verbalizer
wümmaniyun 'be naked'  < wümmani"(tün) 'naked'
tiyaih sg vi 'die'
pasantiyaih 'be skinny'  < pasan(püttsi) 'skinny'
tuah vt 'engender; become'
pihyatuah 'get, be weak'  < pihya(pi) 'weak'

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

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

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

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

(36) Tsukuppúttsi (ümmi) woongkwainna.
old man you-O be jealous
'The old man is jealous (of you).'
(37) Nüü yuhupükxanna. 'I'm getting fat.'
I get fat

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

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

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

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

6.5 ADJECTIVE PHRASES

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

INTENSIFIERS

tataatstsi(ttsi) 'little (bit)'
kenümundi 'very, really'
kuttaa(ppuh) 'really, very, hard'
tüpitsi 'very, really, truly'

DELIMITER

utuku = utuu 'just, only'
The four intensifiers always precede the adjective head; e.g.:

(42) Nuu tataatsittsi tammattsi.  
I little bit crazy  
'I'm a little bit crazy.'

(43) Nuu tataatsittsi tsiatiyaippuh.  
I little bit hungry  
'I'm a little bit hungry.'

(44) Setu kuttaappuh muiyaippuhs setu uppultaippuh.  
this really drunk this asleep-cmplt  
'This one's really drunk; he's sound asleep.'

(45) Kuttaa tukwannitaippuh. 'It's really dark.'  
really dark

(46) Nu kenumuni napihyaapu. 'I'm very lazy.'  
I very lazy

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

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

  b. Tanguumù nati'iwantün utuu tiyaitaippuhantū.  
   man mean just died  
   'The mean man just died.'

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

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

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

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

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

(52) a. Satū kenūmūni yuhupippū! 'She's really fat!'  
That really fat-distance
Contrastive puu is used in comparative constructions and is exemplified in 59.

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

NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS
ke(e) iampu 'tame not wild'
ke(e) kümappuh 'dull not sharp'
ke(e) püttitun 'light not heavy'
ke(e) tokwi" 'wrong - incorrect, not right'
ke(e) tuttsaappuh 'clean not dirty, unclean'
ke(e) tünangkatun 'deaf not hearing'
ke(e) yawusü 'slow not fast'

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

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

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

A few adjectives are almost always used with an intransitive verb of position, or at least with the participle of one. For example, pa'apppu(tun) 'tall' and pa'attsi(ttsi) 'short' are nearly always used with wunu" 'stand' or its present participle wunutun 'standing'; e.g.:
The number of adjectives within a given adjective phrase is potentially unlimited. As the sentence in 59 suggests, adjectives may be sequenced within the adjective phrase without limit. However, there seems to be a strong tendency not to string more than two of them in a row in modifying phrases. When more than one attribute is expressed at a time, it is usually in a predicate with conjoined predicate adjectives, as in 60-61.
(60) Tūpitsi yuhukantū sutū plantū sūnaası tu'uppūh.
    truly fat that big also cruel
    'He is really fat, big, and also cruel.'

(61) Sutū pasampū tuhūttsi nūmūakantū sūnaası
    that skinny little body-have also
    kee ookantū.
    not strong

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

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

\[
\text{AP} \rightarrow \text{(Adv) Adj (-emph) (Adv)}
\]

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

6.6 COMPARATIVES

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

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

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

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

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

MARKERS OF COMPARISON

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

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

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

(62) ūū yuhupi nū wakakwa. 'You're fatter than me.'
     you fat       me more than

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

   b. ūū piapputū ū wakakwa.
     I big       you-O more than
     'I'm bigger than you.'

   c. ūū pasamputtū ū wakakwa.
     I skinny    you-O more than
     'I'm skinnier than you.'

(64) ūū yuhupi ūŋ kawiki; ūū pasamputtūsū.
     I fat      you-O more than you skinny
     'I'm fatter than you; you're skinny.'

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

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

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

Comparative --> Subj + Obj + Comp Post + Adj  \[= 65 \text{ and } 81\]
or
Comparative --> Subj + Adj + Obj + Comp Post  \[= 62-64\]

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

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

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

Verbs may also be used in comparative constructions, as in 69-76. Of course the copula naa" 'be' may be used to indicate tense and aspectual notions as in 69. But, wunnu" is also normally used in comparisons of stature as in 70-75, and napunih 'look, appear' is used in comparisons of appearance, as in 76.
(73) Nia üü nü tukkwatssi wünü.
   me you me less than stand-dur
   'You stand less than (= are shorter) than me.'

(74) Nia satü nü tukkwatssi wünü.
   me that me less than stand-dur
   'That one's shorter than me.'

(75) Nüü sohopimpüa ma tukkwatssi wünü.
   I cottonwood-O it less than stand-dur
   'I'm shorter than the cottonwood.'

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

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

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

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

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

(79) Satu nu kawiki tukkatu; nuu puu hüttsitsia
    that me more than eat-hab I emph little-O
    tukkatu.
    eat-hab

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Adjectival or relative clauses, which function like modifying adjectives, are discussed in chapter 8, section 8.2.2.
The words grouped together as adverbs are the most diverse and heterogeneous category in Tumpisa Shoshone, as they are in most languages. There are many different kinds of adverbs, but they all seem to have two characteristics in common: (1) they normally are uninflected; and (2) they function as modifiers. Typically adverbs modify verbs and other kinds of predicates, but some modify adjectives as well as other adverbs, and some modify entire sentences or clauses. Different types are distinguished by the various kinds of adverbial notions they express. Adverbs may express notions of time and aspect (7.1), place or location (7.2), manner or process (7.3), and mood or attitude (7.4). There are also adverbs that delimit (7.5), intensify (7.6), and emphasize (7.7). Adverbs are also used to indicate negation, affirmation, and interrogation (7.8).

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

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

TIME ADVERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awisü</td>
<td>'later'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imaa ≈ nima</td>
<td>'tomorrow, morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imaaasü</td>
<td>'early in the morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imaa yuwikka</td>
<td>'tomorrow night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keesü(sü)</td>
<td>'not yet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kükküntu(sü)</td>
<td>'day before yesterday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuntu(sü)</td>
<td>'yesterday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuntu tukwakka(sü)</td>
<td>'last night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miikka ≈ miikkwa</td>
<td>'now, today'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munangkwa</td>
<td>'last year, year before'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noohimpe ≈ noohompe</td>
<td>'always'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noon ≈ nuun</td>
<td>'awhile' durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinnangkwasu imaa</td>
<td>'day after tomorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinnasu</td>
<td>'again, some more' repetitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>püe</td>
<td>'already, soon, now, ready, about to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>püesü(sü) ≈ pütüsü</td>
<td>'long ago'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahma</td>
<td>'(in the) spring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahmani</td>
<td>'(in the springtime)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tape</td>
<td>'(in the) day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapeni</td>
<td>'at noon, in the afternoon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapewani</td>
<td>'in the daytime'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tatsa  'in the summer'
tatsawani  'in the summertime'
tommo  '(in the/for a) winter;  
(for a) year'
tommono  '(for a) year'
tomowani  'in the wintertime'
tukwanni  '(at) night, last night; in the dark'
tukwawani  
ukwapasü  'once in a while, sometimes'
ukkwah  'at the time of; when, if'
upenisū  'right away; too quickly'
ükü(sü)  'already, now, after while'
üküsü ukkwah  'after while, a little later'
üküttsi(ttsi)  'a little while ago'
yüpani  '(in the) fall, autumn'
yüwikka  '(in the) evening, tonight'

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

(1) Nü imaa ko'epittunnuhi.
I tomorrow return-arrive-will
'I'll be back tomorrow.'

(2) Nüü tuüpükappühantü küntu ukkwah.
I was angry yesterday when
'I was mad (when it was) yesterday.'
(3) Miikka annappa u wükkatungkütu'ih.
    now each other-on it stack-will
    'Now I'll stack them on top of each other.'

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

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

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

(7) Noohimpe Pisippuh ka mi'atu sutū.
    always Bishop to go that
    'He always goes to Bishop.'

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

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

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

(11) Pue tukwanni naakinna.
    already dark get
    'It's already getting dark.'
(12) Noo ukwapasu mi'a. 'Maybe he walks sometimes.' maybe sometimes walk

Time adverb proforms are pronominal adverbs that may substitute for more specific time adverbial expressions. The proforms are composed of one of the demonstrative-locative bases su- or sa- (see 4.3) plus the postposition -pe'e 'time', which is only used with the demonstrative-locative bases, not on nouns or pronouns. The time proforms may also take one of the adverbial suffixes -sü or -nì.

**TIME PROFORMS**

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

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

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

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

(15) Pūesü sape'esü nūmmu pungkupaimmippuhantu. long ago that time we(exc) horse-used to have 'Long ago at that time we used to have horses.'
(16) Nian nappū naappūnantu sukkwuh tūtūaimmi sukkwuh
my father was there working there
ūattūah ka, sape'esū ukkwah.
ranch at that time long ago at the time of

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

7.2 PLACE ADVERBS

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

PLACE ADVERBS

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

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

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

(19) Nūū tūpiinga happi. 'I'm lying in the middle.'
I middle lie-dur

(20) Paliina unai pūū toswa'e!
Pauline this way emph face
'Pauline, face this way!

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

(22) Sohopimpū ma nūū katūtū notoppahē ntūna.
cottonwood on I sitting climb down
'I was sitting on the cottonwood and climbed down.'
Noo mi'a antappu noo mi'a, kee kahni ka should go elsewhere should go not house at

katükkantů!
sit-stv

'You should go elsewhere, you ought to go, and
don't sit by the house!' Several different place adverb proforms may substitute for specific place adverbs or locative postpositional phrases. Place adverb proforms are composed of one of the demonstrative-locative bases plus one of four different locative postpositional stems.

### PLACE PROFORMS

\[-kkuh \approx -kkih\] 'in a defined specific area'

-ikkih ≈ sikkih 'right here'
-ekkih ≈ sekkih 'hereabouts'
-akkuh ≈ sakkuh 'there'
-ukkuh ≈ sukkuh 'there yonder out of sight'

\[-pe" \approx -pi"\] 'in a loosely defined area out of sight'

-ipi" ≈ sipi" 'right here someplace'
-epe" ≈ sepi" 'hereabouts someplace'
-ape" ≈ sape" 'there someplace'
-upe" ≈ supe" 'there yonder someplace'

\[pan \approx pa'an\] 'on, in, at an area'

-hakapan ≈ hakapa'an 'where'
-(s)ipan ≈ (s)ipa'an 'right here'
-(s)epan ≈ (s)epa'an 'here'
-(s)apan ≈ (s)apa'an 'there'
-(s)upan ≈ (s)upa'an 'there yonder'
The two stems -kkuh (= -kkih) and -pe" (= -pi") are only used with the demonstrative-locative bases, never with nouns or pronouns. The other two, pan (= pa'an) and -ttun, are used with nouns and pronouns, but in the case of -ttun, a slightly different form, tun, is used with nouns and pronouns. As the reader may have noticed, the variants of -kkuh and -pe" with i (i.e., -kkih and -pi") are used with the demonstrative-locative bases having front vowels. Pan may occur in its other paradigmatic forms (e.g., pantun as in 26; see 5.4).

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

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

(25) Tammu tupanna yaakwantu'ih epetti  
we(inc) pinenut-o go get-will hereabouts-emph
himpukatti kwinawennangkatunna.  
someplace-emph northward

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

(26) Tukopoyo'ittsi pahannai ipantu napakkatakaiwa.  
kingbird down here was killed
'kingbird was killed down here.'
There is a certain amount of agreement between demonstrative subjects and proform place adverbs. Generally speaking, the demonstratives and proforms must agree in terms of their respective demonstrative-locative bases indicating relative distance. For example, compare the sentences in 29; 29a-d are fine, but 29e-f are thought to be odd, if not ungrammatical, because the demonstratives and adverbs have different demonstrative-locative bases.

(27) Sutū suttum mi'akoppūhantū.
that through there went-around
'He went around through there.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

MANNER ADVERBS

anna" 'together'
annakkapan 'all together'
annamman 'together, with each other'
annappan 'on top of each other'
annappakangku 'equally, in equal parts'
antappu 'askew, different, weird, wrong; else'
attapüsü 'different(ly)'
ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

himpin 'backward'
kee so'o 'not enough, insufficiently'
kee yawusu 'slowly, not fast'
kesanumu 'as intended, as planned, positively'
kütaan ~ kütaappüh 'hard, very'
muppeppu 'upside down, on one’s belly'
nahman 'together (dual)'
nanakapan 'intermingled'
napakangku 'in half, equally'
pa'atami 'upside down, backward, on one’s back'
pinnangkwa(sü) 'last, behind'
so'o 'a lot, so much, too much, enough'
sümisi 'same'
sümütüwası 'all together'
sünkweppüh 'on one’s side'
süüpasü 'apart, separately, set off'
tokwi 'right, correct(ly), enough'
tüttsüppü(tüppü)h 'funny, strange(ly), weird(ly)'
tsaosü 'well, good'
upakattsı 'only a little'
upenisü 'too quickly, right away'
yawüsü 'fast, quickly, in a hurry'
wükitukkwan 'back and forth sideways'

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

(30) Nüü tosakkahi annamma yuniinna.
 I tent together put(pl)
‘I'm putting (the pieces of) the tent together.'
(31) Atammupi annitaisü antappu happi.
"The car crashed and so is lying askew."

(32) Nu ke so'o tükatsunna.
"I didn't eat enough."

(33) Atú wa'ippu nühaikatütü tsao hupiatuki.
"That woman making baskets sings well."

(34) Üü tokwi yükwi. 'You're doing (it) right.'
"You're doing (it) right."

(35) Huuwattatsi wükitukkwat m'iakomminna.
"The boat is going back and forth sideways."

(36) Kesanümü tammü nanakapai naakkantu.
"As intended, we are all intermingled."

(37) Yawusu ma tükahwa sutü. 'He ate it quickly.'
"He ate it quickly."

As with time and place adverbs, there are manner adverb proforms. One manner proform, summi 'thus, so, that', is used with verbs that indicate something about thinking and speaking. In fact, a number of thinking and speaking verbs nearly always occur with a manner adverbial of one form or another (e.g., yukwi" ≈ yukwi" 'say', suwa" 'want, think, feel', suwai 'think about, intend'). If a specific adverb is not overtly expressed, then summi seems to be virtually obligatory.
(38) Sümüttü nia sümü teewingkuppühantü.
(some)one me thus told
'Someone told me something.'

(39) Setü otammanii miattaisü sümü yükwitü puü!
this old man went away thus saying emph
'This old man went away saying that!'

(40) Nüü sümü suwainna.
I thus think about
'I'm thinking about (doing) something.'

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

MANNER PROFORMS

-nni ≈ ni ’way, like, in the manner of’
hakani(yun) ’how (is it); what’
inni ≈ sinni ’this way, like this’
enni ≈ senni ’this way, like this’
anni ≈ sanni ’that way, like that’
unni ≈ sunni ’that way, like that’

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

sinni + nukwi" > sinnukwi" 'do like this'
senni + nukwi" > sennukwi" 'do like this'
sanni + nukwi" > sannukwi" 'do like that'
sunni + nukwi" > sunnukwi" 'do like that'

(41) Kawa sunnukwi; enni utummi ma'ommminna.
    rat like that-do like this those-O push-iterative
    'The rat did like that; he pushed them away like this.'

(42) Nia sunni nukwingkuppähantů sutů.
    me that way do for-past that
    'He did it (= that way) for me.'

(43) Hakani yukwinna uú? --
    how (= what) do you
    Nūu sennukwikkatů, nūu nūmū natiingwanna.
    I this way-do-sit I Indian learn
    'What are you doing?' --
    'I'm sitting doing this (way); I'm learning Indian.'

(44) Siwa'e sutů yukwinna.
    this-same way that do
    'That one's doing (it) this same way.'

7.4 MODALS

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

**MODAL ADVERBS**

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

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

(45) "Tuwittsi sepa'a pitūhi," mii yūkkwi.  
young man here arrive quote say  
"A young man is arriving here," it is said,  
he said.'
(46) Túmpisakkatu kutta utünna mii.
Death Valley-at-nom really be hot quote
'They say Death Valley is really hot.'

(47) Nüü hipitu'ih naahi. 'I might drink.'
I drink-will might

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

(49) Noo situ ma tükkappūh.
should this it eat-perf
'She should have eaten it.'

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

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

(52) Üü ha tokwisi üü miattaihwantu'ih?
you Q really you go away-going to
'Are you really going to go away?'

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

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

ūmatünna ekka.
rain-O this-O

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

7.5 DELIMITERS

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

**DELIMITERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delimiter</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nanah</td>
<td>'just, only'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noo</td>
<td>'some, any' indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinna</td>
<td>'aforementioned'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinnasu</td>
<td>'some more; again'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sampe</td>
<td>'some, any' indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tünga ≈ tungwa</td>
<td>'also, too'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utuku ≈ utuu</td>
<td>'only, just'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(56) Pinnasu tammū piiya ponokwantu'ih.
some more we(inc) beer fetch-go to
'We'll go get some more beer.'

(57) Nu tūpunippuhantū, setū utuku pūū ūmanna.
I woke up this just emph rain
'I woke up, and it was just raining!'

(58) Antsippū u ma'i mi'ami'appuhantū,
Angie her with went around
kee sutū tūnga pūesūn tūnga? Numuppu ma'i tūngwa.
not that also already also Indian with also

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

7.6 INTENSIFIERS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kenumuni</td>
<td>'really, very'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutaan = kutaappuh</td>
<td>'really, very'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noosampe</td>
<td>'almost'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tataattsi(ttsi)</td>
<td>'a little (bit)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunaan</td>
<td>'too much, excessively, extremely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupitsi</td>
<td>'truly, really, very'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(59) Númmu na'úma, sukkuw nanumú kenumuni we(exc) be rained on there relative really
     na'úmanna nümmu.
    be rained on we(exc)

'We were rained on, we relatives were really rained on there.'

(60) Nú küttaappuh üppüikkommi.
    I very sleep-result-iterative
    'I'm very sleepy (for some reason).'  

(61) Tataattsi núekekinna. 'It's blowing a little.'
    a little blow-hither

(62) Nú noosampe pasaküng katü naaha.
    I almost bridge at be-stv
    'I am almost at the bridge.'
(63) Tunaa nüü tuupükka’ippühantü.  
*I got extremely angry.'

(64) Sutü küttaa yawüsü nangkawih.  
*She talks really fast.*

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

7.7 EMPHATICS

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

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

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

(65) Nüü ümmi wüppaihw-nnu'u!  
*I'm going to slap you!'
(66) Tukumpanapi puhipí-nnu'u!
  sky blue emph
  'The sky is (really) blue!' 

(67) Tangummu utū pūū!
  man that emph
  'What about that man?' = 'And that man?'

(68) Nūmmū pūū! 'What about us?′ = 'And us?'
  we(exc) emph

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

(70) Satū sunni yukwitū naamnaa pūū!
  that that way do was emph
  'It really was that she would do (it) like that!' 

(71) Mūmmī appū ti utū satū!
  your(pl) father emph that that
  'That's you-all's father!' 

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

(73) Nūmmū ti tunga mi'appūhantu tunaa ape himūka!
  we emph also went down there someplace
  'We also went down there someplace.' 

(74) Hakka no'apūkkangkūtai? Numī ti!
  whom impregnate-cmplt human-O emph
  'Who did he [a dog] get pregnant?' -- 'A human!'
(75) Utummi sumsí yúngkunna pùnnam pií tsa,...
    them thus say to their own mother emph
    'Their own mother said to them thus,...'

7.8 NEGATIVE, AFFIRMATIVE, AND INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kee</td>
<td>general negative</td>
<td>Nu ke ti'iwasinna. 'I'm not afraid.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haa'a</td>
<td>general affirmative</td>
<td>I am right.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahaa</td>
<td>general agreement</td>
<td>Haa'a you right.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>general interrogative</td>
<td>Haa you right?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(76) Nu ke ti'iwasinna. 'I'm not afraid.'
    I not be afraid-neg
(77) Nu kee mi'asuwatsi. 'I don't want to go.' 
I not go-want-neg

(78) Nu kee a punisi. 'I don't see it.' 
I not it see-neg

(79) Nu kee sukkwa punitu. 'I didn't see that.' 
I not that-O see-hab

(80) Tuttsappuh kee keetüttsinna. 
dirt not disappear-neg 
'The dirt won't come off.'

(81) Sutungku kee teewingkutsinna etu un natapu. 
those(dl) not tell this her uncle 
'Those two, she and her uncle, didn't tell (her).'

(82) Nootunga ke u kuttisippuh. 
maybe not it shoot-neg-perf 
'Maybe he didn't shoot it.'

(83) Akka tangummi nuu kee tsao suwangkunna. 
that-O man-O I not well feel [= like] 
'That man I don't like.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(90) Nummu sape namiangkutaippühantù
we(exc) there were sent
kee nangkawitù ukkwah kee mitükkaannangkawitù
not speak-hab when not English-speak-hab

ukkwah, himpüka püü.
when somewhere emph

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

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

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

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

(92) Keehippuh tsapittsi.
    no-thing ghost
    'There are no ghosts.' = 'Ghosts are nothing.'
The affirmative particles haa'a and ahaa apparently always occur in sentence initial position, as illustrated in 94-97.

(94) Haa'a, nū naiyangwipitta pusikwatu. 'Yes, I know (how to play) handgame.'

(95) "Haa'a," mii ningwūnū an naviammu. "Yes," her girls said.'

(96) Haa'a, nū sukkwa tūnakappūhantu. 'Yes, I tasted that.'

(97) "Ahaa," ningwūnū sutummū. '"Uh-huh," they said.'

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

(98) Sutū ha ūn tukkwa? 'Is it under you?'

(99) Sutū ha kahni pa'a? 'Is it on the house?'
(100) Úu ha útúnna? 'Are you hot?'
you Q be hot

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

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

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

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

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

7.9 INTERJECTIONS AND GREETINGS

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

INTERJECTIONS

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

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

GREETINGS

(105) Hakaniyu?
    be how

    -- Tsawinnuh.
    be good

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

(106) Hakaniyu uu? ≈ Uu hakaniyu puu?
    be how you be how emph

    -- Nuu tsao nasungkwa'anna.
    I well feel

    -- Nuu tsawinnuh.
    I be good
'How are you?'
-- 'I feel fine.'
-- 'I'm good.'
(107) Tsao tûpuninna!
well wake up
-- Nûtu tsao hapinnusi.
    I    well lay
-- Nûtu tsao üppûnnusi.
    I    well slept

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

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

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

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

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

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

(113) a. Hakami natūpinniahantū satū?
   how    be called    that
   'What's that called?'

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

(114) a. Etū hakami natūpinniahantū?
   this how    be called
   'What's this called?'

   b. Etū "piiya" natūpinniahantū.
      this beer    be called
      'This is called "beer".'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b. Nūū Jon natūpinnianna. 'I'm called "Jon".'  
I be called
c. Nūu sūmmi natūpinniahantū "Memmi".
I thus be called Mamie
'I'm called "Mamie".'

(121) a. Ūū hakami nihakantū? 'What's your name?'
you how name-have
b. Nūu "Memmi" nihakantū. 'My name is "Mamie".'
I Mamie name-have

(122) a. Hakami naniyahantū ūū? 'What are you named?'
how be named you
b. Nūu sūmmi naniyahanna Jon. 'I'm named "Jon".'
I thus be named

Note to Chapter 7

1. One might expect forms like *sipe'e and *sepe'e for 'this
time', but they do not occur. For 'this time' one could say
supe'e miikkä, literally 'that time now'.
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) Nūu isapaippūa punikkappühantū, nū kammuttsia
I coyote-O saw I jackrabbit-O

punikkappühantū.
saw

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

(2) Nūu nukkwintūm pa'a mi'applühantū,
I train on went

nū yūtsūtūm pa'a mi'applühantū.
I plane on went

'I have ridden on a train, (and) I have ridden on a plane.'

(3) Tammū ningwūnnū, tammū hupiatūki,
we(inc) talk(pl)(dur) we sing

tammū pīya hipitu'ih, tammū 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) Nūu nū summo'a tsakkwayuppaitu'ih, nū
I my clothes take off(pl)-will I

wūmmaniyuntu'ih.
be naked-will

'I'll take off my clothes, (and) I'll be naked.'
(5) Tangumù nù tsitoohippùhantù, nùù supe'e hapikku. 
man me pushed I then fell 
'The man pushed me, (and) then I fell.'

(6) Nùù muiyaitaippùhantù, nù keehinna 
I got drunk-cmplt I nothing-O 
sumpanaippùhantù. 
knew

'I got completely drunk, (and) I didn't know anything.'

(7) Setù kuttaappùh muiyaippùh, setù üppütaippùh. 
this really drunk this asleep-cmplt

'This one's really drunk; he's completely asleep.'

(8) Nù sekka ukwikka, tsao kwannakkina. 
I this-O smell good smell

'I smelled this, (and) it smells good.'

(9) Püesù sape'esù nümü pungkupaimmippùhantù, 
long ago that time we(exc) horse-have-used to

nümü putisih pungkupaimmippùhantù. 
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
katükkantù:" mii u yüngünkuna. 
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.

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) ūmī ha petū sutū, pūnnaḥapi asū petū?
your Q daughter that wife's that is daughter
'Is she your daughter, (or) is it that she's your wife's daughter?'

(12) Sammatū ha yuwaintū, ūitsū'įntū
that particular Q be warm be cold
kee yuwaintū?
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) Nüü tammoippüh Utünna. 'I'm tired and hot.'
   I tired be hot

(14) Satu tutsúppütü nümü tuuppüppüh. 'That one's a bad Indian and cruel (too).'
   that bad Indian cruel

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

(16) Nüü nummikkinuwippühantü puninnuwippühantü. 'I walked around and looked around.'
   I walked-moving saw-moving

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

(18) Tsao nasungkwa'atü petsünna. 'He's feeling good and yelling.'
   good feel yell

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

(20) Tangumü kunnanna tokkopiinna u wükkatung numérique. 'The man is chopping firewood and stacking it.'
   man firewood-O chop(pl) it stack
We used to gather pinenuts thereabouts, used to eat pinenuts and pick pinenuts.'

'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).

'Tony and John came around, visiting us.'

'Everyone went, that flicker, that crow, and kingbird; all the birds went.'
(25) Hipittsittsi utū mi'a taamiammaa u kammanuha okkwah, u kappinnangkwa katū ukkwah sutungku kee teewingkūnna etū un natapu.

An old lady went and visited her [= girl] when she 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 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

| ma'e | 'and, with' | NPs |
| n (... ma'e) | 'and' | NPs |
| tunga | 'and, but, also, either' clauses, NPs |
| tunga... ma'e | 'and' | NPs |
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) Nuu tangummu ma'e wasuwukkikwantu'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) Nuu wa'ippu ma'e mi'akoppuhantu.  
I woman and/with went around  
'The woman and I went around.'  
= 'I went around with the woman.'

(29) Nuu muaattsia punikkappuhantu tatsiumpim ma'e.  
I moon-Q saw star and  
'I could see the moon and stars.'

(30) Nummu tuhuya yukwikwantu'ih wasuppim ma'e.  
we(exc) deer get-going to mt. sheep and  
'We're going to get deer and mountain sheep.'
COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION

(31) Nummu sapettu namiangkutaippuhantu,
we(exc) there were sent
wahattu niam puannum ma'e nü namiangkuppuhantu
two my cousins and I were sent
sapettu 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'e (e.g., 34); in this regard, n and ma'e 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 Noitü wainniha hipimminna.
Albert Jake and Lloyd wine-o drink-hab
'Albert, Jake, and Lloyd always drink wine.'

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

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

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

(36) Nūū núetūnna nangkahappühantū ĭųńgā ĭųmatūnna
I wind-O heard and rain-O
nangkahappühantū ÿppūhantukwā.
heard sleep-stv-sub

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

(37) Kee sumpanaitsimmaa sammatū ĭųńgā
not knew that particular one but
mi'akwantu'ippühantū nangkatū Pašinna 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) Étū utummin pia ĭų punikka seťū, sūmūttū naipi
this their mother it see this one girl
ńųńgā ĭų punikka supe ĭųpa ke tamangkantū ekkīh.
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.'
(39) Ke tamangkantu u punikka setu, u punikka not tooth-have it see this it see tunga satu.
and that
'This one saw that he didn't have a tooth, and that one also saw it.'

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 conjoins. 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) Nuü isapaippua punikkappuhantu tunga kammutsi(a).
I coyote-0 saw and jackrabbit(-0)
'I saw a coyote and a jackrabbit.'

(41) Sutu tuhuya kuttippuhantu pahamittsi(a) tunga.
that deer shot bear(-0) and
'He shot a deer and a bear.'

(42) Apüttu tunga Noitü tunga Tseekki sutümmü
Albert and Lloyd and Jake those
waininha hipimminna.
wine-0 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'e. As seen in 43-45, tunga and ma'e surround the last noun phrase conjunct.

\(43\) Nūmmū tūhūya yūkwikwantu'ih tunga wasuppim ma'e.  
'we(exc) deer get-going to and mt. sheep with'  
'We're going to get deer and mountain sheep.'

\(44\) Nūu múattaia punikkappuhantu tunga tatsiumpim ma'e.  
'I moon-O saw and star with'  
'I could see the moon and stars.'

\(45\) Nūu nüetünna nangkahappuhantu tunga umatum ma'e uppuihantukwa.  
'I wind-O heard and rain with sleep-stv-sub'  
'I heard the wind and rain when I was sleeping.'

The only coordinating conjunction used to join verb phrases is sunaasu. As noted above (8.1), typically verbs and verb phrases are coordinated without the use of conjunctions.
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) Tangummu tūhuyā pakkāpūhantū, sutu wihnu tiyaihwappūhantū.
man deer killed that then died
'The man killed the deer, so then it died.'

(49) Sope katūmmīnna sutu, wihnu u ma'i uppūhantū.
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 *senyu* '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, Tümpisa 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.3

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. Noohakatu nia toppaippühantu [hipittais].
    somebody me knocked around be drunk-sub
    'Somebody knocked me around, while (he was) drunk.'

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

(51) a. Nüü kapaaayu punikkappühantu [tükakakatutu]
    I horse saw eat-sit-sub
    ukkwah].
    when
    'I saw the horse when (I was) sitting eating.'

    b. Nüü kapaaayu punikkappühantu [u tükakaku].
    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 noohakatu, 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 ü 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, -tu 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)
- **-mni** intentional
  (identical and switch ref)
- **-nna** infinitive
  (switch ref in relative clauses with subj in poss case; identical ref in others)
- **-ppuh** 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 ≈ -hā) 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 ≈ -hā, with those in 54-57, which have subordinate clauses in -kwa. Examples 25 and 50b also have clauses with -hā (≈ -ka).

(52) Nummù [tatsa naakkīha] nummù 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 tuttsūppūh suwangkūnna [tsūattamappūa that=O bad feel [= dislike] cop-O

pittuhungka] wihnu.
arrive-sub then

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

(55) Nüü tühuyanna u pakkappühantü [u tükkawünükwa].
I deer-O it killed it eat-stand-sub
'I killed the deer as it was standing eating.'

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

(57) Hipittsittsi summi yukkwi, "[Utummi pitükkangkwa]
old lady thus say(dur) those-O arrive-sub
püe tammin tüpanna nayaatu'ippüh." 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] tammú 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) Puhakantun puuhawinna [üng kammaku].
shaman cure you-O be sick-sub
'The shaman cures you when you're sick.'
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) Kapaayu himping ko'innna [towai t'i'iwahwatsi].
horse backwards go back snake-O be afraid of-sub
'The horse backed up, as it was afraid of a snake.'

(64) Nüü [ohipitta kwüusi] ohiinna.
cold-O catch-sub cough
'I cough when [after] I catch a cold.'

(65) [Tütsüppüh u nangkasuwangkünnusi]
bad it hear-feel about-sub [= dislike]
setü wihnu yakaimmaa.
this then cried
'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 ~ -ha). Examine the sentences in 66-
69 and 71.

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

(67) U pakkatai satümmü [u kimangküntü].
him killed those him chasing
'They killed him while chasing him.'
(68) Nümmu sape namiangkütäippühantü [ke nangkwitu we(exc) there were sent not speaking ukkwah], [kee mitükkaannangkwitu ukkwah]. when not English-speaking when 'We were sent there not speaking, not speaking English.'

(69) Isapaippu [pange miatü u tu] tiyaitaihwappüh, coyote up going it through died kee paappühpa'e takuttiyaitaihwa [petsümmiatü]. 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] nüü nakwaattaippühantü. play handgame-sub I lost 'When I played handgame, I lost.'
Nummû na'ümammippûhantû [miatu ukkwah], nummû
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 ukkwah (= 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 sutü 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 nüü nasuntama [munangkwa okkwah
Tony-O I remember last year when
sekkih nuippuhantû sutü].
here played around that

a. Tonia nüü nasuntama [okkwah sekkih
Tony-O I remember when here
nuippuhantû 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.

(74) Nuú sunní mukwittaippúhantu [tammi
I that way did us(inc)
hipi ukkwah].
drink when
'I did that when we were drinking.'

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

(76) [Memmia un tiyoitaiha püü] nuú mi'ahippuh püü!
Mamie-O you-O send-sub emph I go-unreal emph
'If you send Mamie away, I might go!'

(77) [Ukkwah nuú namokkupa'intukwa] hipittaippüh.
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 -sū \(\approx\) -tsū, 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).
I feel good from [-as a result of] drinking beer.

'I always lose my money [as a result of] getting drunk.'

'The stick broke from [= as a result of] freezing.'

'As a result of getting up, I'm standing around.'

Purpose clauses are also formed with -si (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.

'We also went down to study there somewhere.'

'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'appühántu [tumaapi.atunna].
   girl him with went to help
   'The girl went with him to help.'

(88) Hüüppiammu toya mantu mi'a [tupanna
   women mountain to go pinenut-0
   tso'ikwasi].
   pick-sub
   'Women go to the mountains to pick pinenuts.'

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

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

(91) Ipüppu naappühantu [u wa'i yukwitu].
   Eva was [= used to] her like doing
   'Eva used to do like her.'

(92) U naaketu tupoong kahontu [u ma'e nuwitu
   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

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<tr>
<th>RELATIVE PRONOUNS</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Subjective</strong></td>
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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.
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 pusikwa [atu hupiatukitu].
woman me know that sing-sub
'The woman who is singing knows me.'

(94) Tangumū [nu pusikwatū] tūhuyanna kuttihantu.
man me know-sub deer-O shoot-stv
'The man who knows me is shooting the deer.'
(95) Nawipi [atu nükkatü] tsao napunitu.  
girl that dance-sub good look-hab  
'The girl (who is) dancing is good-looking.'

(96) Patukuntu [atu paa kuppantü mi'atü] tape  
reflection that water in go-sub sun  
hannahamminna akkutu.  
catch-hab there-through  
'The reflection that was going into the water was catching the sun there.'

(97) Wa'ippüa nuu pusikwa [akka nühakkawitünna].  
woman-O I know that-O make basket-sub-O  
'I know the woman who is making baskets.'

(98) Wa'ippüa nuu pusikwa [akka hupiatükitünna].  
woman-O I know that-O sing-sub-O  
'I know the woman who's singing.'

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

(100) Nuu atümmin numi pusikwa [naaiyangwitünna].  
I those-O Indian-O know play handgame-sub-O  
'I know those Indians playing handgame.'

I man-O tall stand-sub-O 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. deer that man's shoot-sub died 'The deer that the man shot died.'

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

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

(106) Wahattū naappūhaititu 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 wasuppia tūkkappūhaititu [wa'ippūang we(excl) mountain sheep-O ate woman's kuukkipūha]. cook-sub-O 'We ate the mountain sheep the woman cooked.'

(108) Wa'ippū kuukkinna wasuppia [tangummim 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).

woman that sing me know
'The woman who is singing knows me.'

(110) Hakami niyapa'i...tangummū [epin
what name-have man hereabouts
naammippūhantūnna ukkwaj?]
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 -ppuhantu has assumed the objective (or possessive) form -ppuhantūnna.

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 pummin pl: see section 4.2).

(111) Wasūppia tūhannikatu [punnang kuttipūha mountain sheep-O butcher-sit his own shoot-sub-O
toya mantū [watsikkatūhantū]].
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'ippū [punnan tūpanna tso'ippūha] woman her own pinenut-O pick-sub-O
tukummahanninna. cook

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

(113) Hūūppiammū tukummahanninna [pummin tūpanna women cook their own pinenut-O
tso'ippūha] tūkkanna.
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) sakkan kuttippuh] tiyaitaihwa. deer (that) that's shoot-sub died 'The deer (that) that one shot died.'

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

(116) Piiya [nian nipinna] nū kammangkunna. beer my drink-sub me be sick-make 'The beer I’m drinking is making me sick.'

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

(118)Wasuppia nummu tūkkappuhantū [tangumming mtn sheep we(exc) ate man's
kuttippu].
shoot-sub-O

'Ve 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'ippüa nüü pusikwanna [u hupiatüki utü].
woman-0 I know her sing that
'I know the woman who is singing.'

(120) Hakaïtü wainnih naappühantü satü [küntu
what kind wine was that yesterday
ün nipippüh atü]? your drink-sub that
'What kind of wine was that that you were drinking yesterday?'

(121) Satü tangumü [nia pusikwatu satü]
that man me know-sub that
naaiyangwikatüütü.
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'ippü niä pusikwätü [utü hupiañkitü utü].
woman me know-hab that sing-sub that
'The woman who is singing knows me.'
(123) Tangummű [atû naaiyangwitû atû] nia man that play handgame-sub that me pusikwatû. know-hab

'The man who is playing handgame 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'ippuûa, even though an objective case subject, Ӿ, 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] númu tükkanan tüpanna. woman's cook-sub-O we eat pinenut-O 'We're eating the pinenuts the woman cooked.'

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

(126)  [Utún-tu] etú kotto'enna ekkih.
heat-sub this boil here
'This (which is) heating is boiling here.'

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

(128)  [Niam pusikwanna] tsawūn tangummū utū. 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 kūpūtappūtū okongkantū yūkkwī. its long tongue-having do(dur) 'The one that has the long tongue will do it.'
(130) Nüü [un natůkkanna] puhaikwant'ih.
I its 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 katútûnna sukkwa]
that-0 you all's house at stay-0 that-0
teeewingkünna sutū?
tell about that
'Is he telling about (the one) who stays in you-all's house?'

(133) Ukkwa núü püü ma teewingkuppūhantū
that-0 I emph him told about
[isapungkuppūan no'apūkkangkütaippūha,]
dog's make pregnant-cmplt-sub-0
numi [on no'apūkkankütaippūha]
person-O its make pregnant-cmplt-sub-0
'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-0 was
'Who was it that went?'
(135) Hakaniyu [un yukwippuha]?
be how its do-sub-O
'How was it done?'

(136) Hakaniyu etu [pikkopü pa'a muhin
be how this pick-up on your(dl)
kunnoonnuwippuhammad?
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 tuuupakkangkünna [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) [Umma nū tūtsikkopii'ippūh] nū wihi
it-with my cut(pl)-iterative-sub my knife
küppakkuppuhantū.

broke

'My knife that I was cutting with broke.'

(139) [U tukkwa númmín nuunaahappūha] ukkwa
it under our(exc) sit(pl)-sub-O that-O
samapitta u punikka núū.
cedar-O it see I

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

(140) Samapi utū [u tukkwa númmín nuunaahappūh]
cedar that it under our(inc) sit(pl)-sub
küppakkuppuhantū.

broke

'The cedar under which we were sitting broke.'

(141) [U tukkwa númmín nuunaahappūh] utū samapi
it under our(exc) sit(pl)-sub that cedar
küppakkuppuhantū.

broke

'The cedar under which we were sitting broke.'
(142) [Pun tukkwa nummin nuunaahappuhaj ukkwa
its own under our(exo) sit(pl)-sub-O that-O
samapitta u punikka nuu.
cedar-O it see I

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

(143) Nuu u pusikwa (sukkwa) [punnan nin navasewukuji].
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) [Puetusu punnan nin nummin nukwipuhaj
long ago its own way our-(exo) do-O
nuu 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 pun(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 pun(nan); u may also be used in headless
relatives, however (e.g., 145). The difference between
oblique relative clauses with pün(nün) and those with y has not been determined yet.

(145) [Ümma nü tütsikkopliippüh] küppakkuppühántü.
    it-with my cut(pl)-sub broke
    'What I was cutting with broke.'

(146) [Püm ma nü tütsikkoppii'ippüh] ma nüü
    its own with my cut(pl)-iterative-sub with I
    watsingkü.
    lose
    'I lost what I was cutting with.'

(147) [Püm tukkwa númmi nuunaaahappüha] nüü
    its own under our(exc) sit(pl)-sub-O I
    u punikka.
    it see
    'I see what we were sitting under.'

(148) Nüü ü [pünnan ni ūn nangkawih] ümmi
    I you-O its own way your talk you-O
tütiingwanna.
    teach
    'I am teaching you the way in which to talk
    [= how to talk].'
A construction in Tümpisa 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).

(150) Nüü kee hakami utummi punni [püm pa'a] not somehow those-O see-dur its own on

utummin nuunaahanna] those's sit(pl)-sub

'I don't see them somehow, (nor) what they're sitting on.'

(151) Esu tuittsi mümni naiwekipituhantu. this is young man you all-O woo-arrive-must

'This is the young man who must be coming to woo you all.'

(152) Ümni ha petu sutu, pünahapi asu petu? your Q daughter that wife's that is daughter

'Is she your daughter, or is it that she's (your) wife's daughter?'

(153) Süümootu; süümootu tactsimpi, usu sutümü. ten ten star that is those

'There are ten; there are ten stars; it's those that're the ones [I'm talking about].'
(154) 
Pahanai asu wahattu 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) Usu 
supe'e [ung kimmakippuh puu],
that is that time his come-sub emph

[attu ung kimmakippuh puu].
through there his come-sub emph

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

(156) Isu 
supe'e [satummi kawai yukwitu].
this is that time those-poss rat-0 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 -tun, which in relative clauses indicates
identical subject reference; and so, normally, relative
clauses in -tun have no overt subject. But in 156, the
subject of the cleft clause, satummi, 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 -tun, which could be either finite or subordinating; but since the meaning is habitual, which only finite -tun has, and since the subject is in the subjective case, 157 must be finite.

(157) [Satû sunni yûkwitü] naam̈aa puû.  
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 tü- (e.g., 162 and 163; see 3.2.1.4).

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

(159) [ün nanümi namaapütunna] (sutü) tsawinnuh.
    your relative-O be helped-sub that be good
    'For your relatives to be helped is good.'
    = 'Helping your relatives is good.'

(160) Sutü tsawinnuh [ün nanümi namaapütunna].
    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 tüpakkanña] kee tsawinnuh.
    those's kill-sub not be good
    'For them to kill is not good.'

(163) Kee tsawinnuh sutü [utummin tüpakkanña].
    not be good that those's kill-sub
    'It' not good for them to kill.'

(164) [Numi utummin 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) Nūü [sunni nukwitu'ih] suwanna.
I that way do-will think
'I think I'll do that.'

(167) Nūü [summi yukwitu'ih] suwanna.
I thus say-will think
'I think I'll say something.'

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

(169) Nūü [tūkkatu'ih] suwakka.
I eat-will think about
'I'm thinking about eating.'
Antsi [miakwantu'ih] suwakka [Tümpisakkatü].
Angie go-going to think about Death Valley-to
'Angie is thinking about going to Death Valley.'

[Ke tammangkantu] u punikka setü.
not tooth-have it see-stv this
'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) Nüü sukkwa nasuntama [tangummu tühuyanna
I that-O remember man deer-O
pakkappuhantü]
killed
'I remember that the man killed the deer.'

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

(174) Nüü sukkwa nasuntama [satümmu wasüwikkippuhantü].
I that-O remember those hunted
'I remember that they hunted.'

(175) Nüü sukkwa nasuntama [tammu hipittaippuhantü].
I that-O remember we(inc) got drunk
'I remember that we got drunk.'
(176) Ūū kee sumpanaisi [satu 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 punikkappuhantu [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'iippua nangkaha [sutū (naangka)
   I woman-O hear that make noise
   hupiatuki].
   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 tsakkuppatai]
   his son his car-O wrecked
   u punikka] mii yūkwippuhantu.
   it see-stv quot said
"He said he saw his son wreck his car."

(180) 
[Urn pūpūmmū] mii yükwimmīnna.
his cousins  quot say-iterative
'He used to say they're his cousins.'

(181) 
[Urn pūnnahāpi naahi satū] mii yūŋgūnna.
his wife  might that  quot say to
'She said to [us] that she might be his wife.'

(182) 
[Kunnoohwantu'ih] mii yükwippūhantu sutū.
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 yükwippūhantu 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) 
["NU kee yuhukunnppūhpa'intū, nū sattu
I not stove oil-have  I there-through
pange mi'a,"] mii yükwippūhantu Tseeikki.
up go  quot said  Jake

"I don't have any stove oil; I'm going
up through there (to get some)," Jake 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 nū or nian 'my' instead; also, in 180, um would have been nū 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).  

(188) Nūū [nükka / hupiatuki] pusikwatų.
I dance sing know-hab
'I know how to dance/sing.'

I hunt-sub know-hab
'I know how to hunt.'
b. Nūū pusikwatų nūū [wasuūwūkinna].
I know-hab I hunt-sub
'I know how to hunt.'

(190) Nūū [sosoni nangkawinna] nūū pusikwatų.
I Shoshone speak-sub I know-hab
'I know how to speak Shoshone.'

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

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

I it shoot-dubitative-sub think about
'I think I might shoot it.'
(194) [Kottoonnümüüttsia ma kuppa tükitu'immii]
fire burner-O it in put-will-sub

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

'I thought I would put a fire burner in it so he could sleep in 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.

(195) Nüü [kunna wayantünna] punikka nuü.
I firewood burn-sub-O see I
'I see firewood burning.'

(196) [Nia miakwaha] tsao suwangkuppuhantu.
me go away-sub good felt [= liked]
'He liked me leaving.'
= (?) 'He liked it when I left.'

(197) Nüü [sutummi kimmammi] yükwingkuppuhantu.
I them come-sub told
'I told them to come.'
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', tükín 'start to', and tunga '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 tunga, display identical reference in that both the auxiliary and the preceding verb stem share the same subject.

(199) Tangummū tokkopiimmūha kunna kūuttaampi.
man chop-can't-stv firewood hard.
'The man can't chop the firewood, it's hard.'

(200) Nūū nū pantsa puhaimmmūha.
I my shoe look for-can't-stv
'I can't find my shoe.'
(201) Nuu tipingasuwaha noohinnattsia.
'I want to ask about a little something.'

(202) Hinna uu hipisuwanna?
'What do you want to drink?'

(203) Tammu piiya hipittukintu'ih.
'We'll/Let's start drinking beer.'

(204) Nuu nu pantsa puhaituki.
'I started to look for my shoe.'

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

(205) Nuu ma mi'atungappuhantü.
'I told him to go.'

(206) Nuu sakka ummi tusuwatunganna.
'I'm telling him to pay you.'

(207) Wa'ippu pümang kuhmattsia wasuwükkitunganna.
'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) Nootúnga sutúmmû kahni kuppa naammaa.
    maybe those house in were (incompl)
= 'I think/believe they are/were in the house.'

(209) Noowitsa u kuttih satû.
    hopefully it shoot that
= 'Hopefully, 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 η is used as the conjunction instead of tunga. η 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.
The sounds and sound patterns of Tumpisa Shoshone are discussed in this chapter. The segmental phonemes are presented in 9.1, along with a discussion of the possible sequences of phonemes. Phonetic processes are presented in 9.2, and phonological (= morphophonemic) processes are discussed in 9.3. Stress patterns are given in 9.4, and some common contractions are noted in 9.5. In addition, the Appendix contains a basic vocabulary list of approximately 200 words written in both phonemic and phonetic notation. A tape of these words is on file in the Language Laboratory at the University of California, Berkeley.

9.1 PHONOLITICAL SEGMENTS AND SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

The simple consonantal phonemes are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIMPLE CONSONANTS</th>
<th>Alveol-</th>
<th>Labio-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>Affricate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occlusive</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>oral</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottal</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>(l)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

387
All of them (except \( l \)) occur medially between vowels, and most occur initially in the word. The two velar nasals \( ng \) and \( ng\) and glottal stop \( l \) are the only simple consonants that never appear in word-initial position. With the exception of \( l \), all other simple consonants appear both initially and medially. The lateral \( l \) is a borrowing from English and only occurs initially in a couple of words. Examples of simple consonants are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>paa</td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>papi('i')</td>
<td>'older brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yupani</td>
<td>'autumn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tapettsi</td>
<td>'sun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etün</td>
<td>'gun, bow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tutüainna</td>
<td>'to work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsiampü</td>
<td>'hips'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tatsa</td>
<td>'summer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pitsinna</td>
<td>'to suckle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kasattsikantün</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tukumpana(pin)</td>
<td>'sky, heaven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sokopin</td>
<td>'earth, land, ground'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>kwasi</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sakwaapitün</td>
<td>'green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tokwi&quot;</td>
<td>'right, correct, true'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>po'i</td>
<td>'road'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>mi'a</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>mo'o</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>sumuttun</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>tusinna</td>
<td>'to spit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>wisipin</td>
<td>'thread, string'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>hotanna</td>
<td>'to dig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>tahapi</td>
<td>'snow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>tühuya</td>
<td>'deer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>müattsi</td>
<td>'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>soomatattsi</td>
<td>'spider'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>tami('i)</td>
<td>'younger brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>nawipin</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>tünuna</td>
<td>'root'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>wihnu</td>
<td>'then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>tangappüh</td>
<td>'knee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>angipi</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>hipingkuntün</td>
<td>'flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>pangwi</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>pongwo'aittsi</td>
<td>'mouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>pasingwampi</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
w
wika  'blanket'
wūkkūnappuh  'fog'
yuwikka  'evening'

y
yahenna  'to laugh'
noyopin  'egg'
toyapi(n)  'mountain'

l
lokkopū  'locust tree'
laimmani  'lemon'

Only three consonantal segments may appear in word-final position and in final position in the underlying forms of morphemes. They are n and h, as well as an indeterminate consonantal segment written " that causes certain following consonants to geminate (see sections 9.2.2.5 and 9.3.7). The final consonants are often called final features in the literature on Numic languages (see up-to-date discussions in Nichols 1973 and McLaughlin 1987, as well as the original discussion in Sapir 1930:62-70). They are said to be nasalizing, preaspirating, and geminating, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FINAL CONSONANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasalizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preaspirating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geminating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this monograph, the final consonants are not viewed as special "final features" of morphemes, but rather as simple consonants that are somewhat unique in that, unlike other consonants, they may end words and morphemes. They also disappear under certain conditions (e.g., in phrase-final position and before certain consonants), although they may
leave traces on surrounding segments. The final geminating segment is also unique in that it is only manifested in its effect on following consonants and never has any other realization. Final h typically causes preceding short unstressed vowels to become voiceless or at least partially voiceless. Several examples of words with final consonants are given below (see 9.3 for more examples and a detailed description).

**Nasalizing n**
- kawan 'rat'
- motson 'beard'
- nahman 'together (dl)'
- pasakun 'bridge'
- topoon 'desert'
- yütsütün 'airplane'

**Preaspirating h**
- muuppuh 'Joshua tree'
- putisih 'donkey'
- sukkuh 'there yonder'
- ukkwah 'when'
- üattüah 'ranch, farm'
- wainnih 'wine'

**Geminates**
- anna“ 'together, each other'
- petu“ 'daughter'
- tokwi“ 'straight, correct'
- tua“ 'son'
- Tümpsia“ 'Death Valley'
- wua“ 'penis'

Consonant clusters only occur in medial position between vowels; they never begin or end words. Consonant clusters are of three types or series: (1) geminate oral occlusives and
nasals, which are fortis consonants held long but not doubly articulated; (2) a homoorganic nasal plus an oral occlusive, another nasal, or a semivowel; and (3) h plus certain oral occlusives, nasals, or semivowels.² The consonant clusters that occur are given below in each series.

CONSONANT CLUSTER SERIES
(Intervocalic only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geminate</th>
<th>Alveolar-</th>
<th>Labio-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>Alveolar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occlusive</td>
<td>pp</td>
<td>tt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>mm</td>
<td>nn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal plus</td>
<td>mp</td>
<td>nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mm</td>
<td>nn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preaspirate</td>
<td>hp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>hm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Geminate nasals and clusters of homoorganic nasals are indistinguishable phonetically, although they may have different morphophonemic origins (see 9.3). The velar nasal ng is always phonetically geminate, never simple. Also, between vowels the fricative g is always phonetically geminate. Since there are no contrasts between simple and geminate ng and g, respectively, both of them are always written singly. Some examples of consonant clusters follow.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RR</th>
<th>'cup, dish, bowl'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>app'o'o</td>
<td>'to sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>üppünna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tt</th>
<th>'to give'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uttunna</td>
<td>'medicine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nattusu'un</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tts</th>
<th>'smooth'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pattsipitün</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuttsappüh</td>
<td>'ashes, dust'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kk</th>
<th>'crow'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaakki</td>
<td>'needle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namokko(ttsi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kkw</th>
<th>'now, today'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miikkwa</td>
<td>'when'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukkwah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mm</th>
<th>'winter'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tommo</td>
<td>'jackrabbit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kammu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nn</th>
<th>'pine cone hook'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>onnottsi</td>
<td>'its own, his own, her own'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pünnan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mp</th>
<th>'rock'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tümpin</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nampe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nt</th>
<th>'(yellowish) brown'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ontümpitün</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuhuntappütün</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nts
wantsi 'antelope'
antsaapana 'flicker (woodpecker)'

nok
nangkah 'hear'
pungku 'pet, horse'

nokw
aasiputungkwi(ttsi) 'butterfly'
nangkwa 'towards, in direction of'

hp
ohpin 'mesquite bean'
tüpisihpungi 'stinkbug'

hk
kee piammúppühkantün 'not having children'
kee nanahakaittúppühkantü 'not having anything'

hm
kuhmattsi 'husband'
tahmani 'springtime'

hn
kohno 'cradle'
pihnaawitün 'bee'

hw
pihwú 'heart'
pahwa 'aunt (FaSi)'

hy
ohyo" 'an edible plant'
pihyaapin 'sugar'
Tumpisa Shoshone has six short vowels and six long vowels; it also has a diphthong which may be short or long. Long vowels are written doubled.\(^3\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Unrounded</th>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>üü</td>
<td></td>
<td>uu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>aai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All vowels may appear at the beginning of words, at the end, or medially between consonants, although long vowels at the ends of words are relatively rare; e.g.:

- a
  - akka: 'that (obj)'
  - awappo'i: 'desert spring lizard'
  - pihyapi: 'weak'
  - ha: question particle

- aa
  - ataa: 'ouch'
  - aama: 'horn'
  - pihyaapin: 'sugar'
  - haa('a): 'yes'
  - imaa: 'tomorrow, morning'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>epi&quot;</td>
<td>'hereabouts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke = kee</td>
<td>'no, not'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kope</td>
<td>'face'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
<td>'eh! my goodness!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eemùa</td>
<td>'crazy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peewanna</td>
<td>'to split down the middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weeputa(ttsi)</td>
<td>'baby chuckwalla'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>'right here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hipi&quot;</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hipitstsittsi</td>
<td>'old woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>'this kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iittùn</td>
<td>'left'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwii</td>
<td>'cough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiwii(ttsi)</td>
<td>'finch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>'flow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okwai&quot;</td>
<td>'water tank'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'o</td>
<td>'grandfather (MoFa)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokoto(ttsi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oompin</td>
<td>'small water-worn pebbles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotoo&quot;</td>
<td>'make a fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toopi</td>
<td>'wolf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poookoo ≈ pawoko</td>
<td>'bullfrog'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There were no impactful remarks.
isapaippü 'coyote'
sumpanai 'know'
yuwaintün 'warm'

The diphthong ai acts as a single short vowel in that it is monosyllabic. Other vowel clusters in the language are bisyllabic. The vowel clusters that I have recorded are given below.

Vowel Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ûi</th>
<th>ûa</th>
<th>ûe ≈ ûai</th>
<th>uo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oi</td>
<td>oa</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>ao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td>ea</td>
<td>ia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of vowel clusters follow.

ûi
ûitsu'in 'be cold'
ûppüh 'sleep'

ûa
ûattuah 'ranch, farm'
tüasüppüh 'frozen'
wüa" 'penis'

ûai ≈ ûe
tütuai ≈ tüüe 'work'
nüaitün ≈ nüetün 'wind'

uo
mukuoto'eh 'be dizzy, faint'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oj</td>
<td>ointsi</td>
<td>'orange'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>koitsoih</td>
<td>'wash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>koittsi</td>
<td>'pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>og</td>
<td>oappi</td>
<td>'yellow paint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsoapititsi</td>
<td>'ghost, spirit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>woapin</td>
<td>'worm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oe</td>
<td>koe</td>
<td>'guts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao</td>
<td>nanaohpu</td>
<td>'scattered'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paoppin</td>
<td>'blood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsao</td>
<td>'good, well'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui</td>
<td>pui</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuittsun</td>
<td>'buffalo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muiyainna</td>
<td>'to become intoxicated'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua</td>
<td>tua&quot;</td>
<td>'son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tukkua(pin)</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mukua</td>
<td>'mind, soul, spirit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ea</td>
<td>toseaki</td>
<td>'spur' Vt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia</td>
<td>iampu</td>
<td>'wild'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pla</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsiatiyaippu</td>
<td>'starving, hungry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.2 PHONETIC PROCESSES

The pronunciation of particular phonemes and processes affecting their pronunciation are detailed in this section.

9.2.1 Vowels

Vowels have the values indicated in the chart in 9.1 except as discussed in detail in this section.

9.2.1.1 Vowel Devoicing

Short unclustered vowels are devoiced in several environments.\(^4\) Devoicing may be either complete or partial. When it is partial, the vowel starts out voiced and then fades off voiceless.

Short unclustered vowels are usually devoiced at the ends of words in phrase-final position and when spoken in isolation. Though devoicing is the norm in this environment, the process is optional. Even potentially stressed vowels may be devoiced finally (see 9.4); e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
tününa & \quad [\text{tín\text{\text{ä}}}NA] \approx [\text{tín\text{\text{ä}}}nå] \quad \text{\textquoteleft root\textquoteright} \\
tümpe & \quad [\text{tím\text{\text{ä}}}pE] \approx [\text{tím\text{\text{ä}}}be] \quad \text{\textquoteleft mouth\textquoteright} \\
mutsipi & \quad [\text{múziółI}] \approx [\text{múziółl}] \quad \text{\textquoteleft sharp point\textquoteright} \\
mo\'o & \quad [\text{mò\text{o}O}] \approx [\text{mò\text{o}o}] \quad \text{\textquoteleft hand\textquoteright} \\
kammu & \quad [\text{kám\text{\text{'}}U}] \approx [\text{kám\text{\text{'}}O}] \quad \text{\textquoteleft jackrabbit\textquoteright} \\
piappütün & \quad [\text{piap\text{\text{ä}}rëF}] \approx [\text{piap\text{\text{ä}}rë}] \quad \text{\textquoteleft big\textquoteright} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Short unclustered vowels are often devoiced between two voiceless consonants. Although devoicing in this environment is frequent, it does not seem to be obligatory; e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
namokkuttsi & \quad [\text{nåwòk\text{\text{é}}k\text{\text{'}}Ué\text{\text{\text{ä}}}I}] \approx [\text{nåwòk\text{\text{é}}k\text{\text{'}}Ué\text{\text{\text{ä}}}i}] \quad \text{\textquoteleft beads\textquoteright} \\
su\text{\text{á}}ukkutthih & \quad [\text{sù\text{\text{ú}}k\text{\text{ú}}k\text{\text{'}}Ué\text{\text{\text{ä}}}I}] \approx [\text{sù\text{\text{ú}}k\text{\text{ú}}k\text{\text{'}}Ué\text{\text{\text{ä}}}i}] \quad \text{\textquoteleft kick\textquoteright} \\
pisittaippuh & \quad [\text{pišiṭ\text{\text{é}}t\text{\text{á}}p\text{\text{é}}}h] \approx [\text{pišiṭ\text{\text{é}}t\text{\text{á}}p\text{\text{é}}}h] \quad \text{\textquoteleft rotten\textquoteright} \\
\end{align*}
\]
mi'akkinna \([mɪʔa:k·IN·A]\) \(\cong [mɪʔa:k·IN·a]\) 'to go (pl)'
tühukttsitti \([t̥shɪc·ɪo·I]\) \(\cong [t̥shɪc·ɪo·I]\) 'small'
tüppisippuh \([t̥p·ɪʃɪp·ˈʃ]\) 'trash'

Sometimes initial unstressed short vowels are devoiced; e.g.:
isapungku \([Ishaɛŋkʊ]\) \(\cong [Ishaɛŋgu]\) 'dog'
un taman \([ɪn dəw̃a]\) \(\cong [ɪn dəw̃a]\) 'your tooth'
kukkwíngwúnu \([kʊk·wiŋwɛɾ]\) \(\cong [kʊk·wiŋwɛɾ]\) 'to smoke'

Vowels are virtually always devoiced when preceding final \(h\), whether or not they occur in a syllable that would otherwise be stressed according to the alternating stress pattern discussed in 9.4; e.g.:

ukkwah \([ʊk·wA]\) 'when'
wainnih \([waɪn·I]\) 'wine'
sikkih \([sɪk·I]\) 'right here'
tsawinnuh \([ɬawɪn·U]\) 'to be good'
tiyyaitaippuh \([tiyaiɪ̞ap·ˈʃ]\) 'dead'

And frequently, though not always, they are devoiced before internal \(h\); e.g.:

mi'appuhantun \([mɪʔa:p·ɪ̞həndɪ̞]\) \(\cong [mɪʔa:p·ɪ̞həndɪ̞]\) 'went'
putisihpa'in \([puɾiɪʃIəp·ɪ̞]\) 'have a burro'
píhya:pin \([pɪhya·ʃɪ]\) \(\cong [pɪhya·ʃɪ]\) 'sugar'
tüppisihpungki \([t̥p·ɪʃɪŋkɪ]\) 'stinkbug'

9.2.1.2 Vowel Nasalization

Vowels are heavily nasalized before and after nasal consonants, although nasalization is usually heavier before nasals than after them; e.g.:
umatūn  [ǐ̞ːwártʃ]  'rain'
tümpī  [tʰɛmbi]  'rock'
pasingwambi  [pæsiŋwàmbi]  'sand'
tommono  [tɔm·oŋɔ]  'year'
tahmani  [təŋwənI]  'springtime'
wiñnu  [wiñyʊ]  ≈ [wiŋYu]  'then'

As the last two examples illustrate, nasalization occurs even though an h intervenes between a vowel and a nasal consonant. A vowel may be nasalized before final n despite the fact that the n disappears in phrase-final position; e.g.:

püyun  [pfyi]  ≈ [pfyː]  'duck'
kwasu'un  [kwasuʔʊʔ]  ≈ [kwasuʔʊ]  'dress'

9.2.1.3 Lowering of o

Short o may be either mid [o] or lowered to [ɔ]; long oo is virtually always [ɔː]; e.g.:

motson  [m6zɔ]  ≈ [mʒɔ]  'beard'
kope  [kɔpe]  ≈ [kʃẹ]  'face'
woosuwitun  [wɔːsʊwiːtʃ]  'eight'
suumootun  [ʃiːwɔːrɪtʃ]  'ten'

9.2.1.4 i Dropping

The vowel i is often dropped when it is the second vowel in a cluster with o or y and it precedes the affricate ts, single or geminate. Despite the fact that i is dropped phonetically, the following ts or tts still remains palatalized by the process described in 9.2.2.3. The fact that the i still causes palatalization indicates that it is present in underlying form and that the process is phonetic rather than phonological (= morphophonemic); e.g.:
9.2.2 Consonants

Phonetic processes relating to Tümpisa Shoshone consonants appear at first to be rather complex in that a number of consonant phonemes are represented by a good many different allophones. However, the allophonic relationships generally are governed by several rather simple phonetic processes. The details are presented in this section.

9.2.2.1 Resonant Devoicing

The resonants w, y, m, n, ng, and ngw are devoiced before voiceless vowels (as discussed in section 9.2.1.1). Sometimes resonants start out voiced but end up voiceless before voiceless vowels; this is especially true with geminate nasals; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tümpisa</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wusu'ukkuttih [wusu'uk·út·i]</td>
<td>'kick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musuw [musu'w]</td>
<td>[musuwl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapaayu [ka'bá:yu]</td>
<td>[ka'bá:iyu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>númu [númu]</td>
<td>[númu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangummu [tii'um·m]</td>
<td>[tii'um·m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koñno [koñno]</td>
<td>[koñno]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tommono [tomm·no]</td>
<td>[tomm·no]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utu'ina [jiri'ina]</td>
<td>[jiri'ina]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tùnga [ti'ng·a]</td>
<td>[ti'ng·a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangwi [pa'ngwi]</td>
<td>[pa'ngwi]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.2.2.2 Simple Oral Occlusive Voicing

Simple oral occlusives p, ʰ, ts, k, and kw are voiced when they occur between two voiced segments such as voiced vowels and voiced resonants. Voicing typically occurs within the word, but it also occurs across word boundaries as long as the words are constituents within the same phrase. Some examples are given below, and many more are presented in section 9.2.2.4 on Softening (= Spirantizing); e.g.:

sohopimpū [sʰɔɭbɪmbi] ≈ [sʰɔɭbɪmp] 'cottonwood'
üm pampippūh [ɪm bɑmbipʰ] 'your hair'
útúintūn [ɪɾʃɪndɪ] ≈ [ɪɾʃɪntʃ] 'hot (place)'
pahontọ'í [pɑhɔndoʔi] 'smoking pipe'
un tohopí [ɪn dɔhoʃi] ≈ [ɪn dɔhopi] 'your thigh'
antşaapana [an̥ʃəβɑnɑ] 'flicker'
om'intsoko [mɔʔinʃɤʔ] 'wrist'
ko'ontsi-ammu [koʔɔʔnaləmɨ] 'Saline Valley people'
un tsoppuh [ɪn ɡəpʰ] 'your shoulder'
nangkawinna [nɑŋgaWiN·A] 'to speak'
tʊŋkahni [tɛŋgahni] 'cave'
ʊŋ kope [ɪŋ ɡiʃe] 'your face'
nasungka'anna [nɑsʊŋgɑʔaN·A] 'to feel'
ʊŋ kwaimpu [ɪŋ ɡwaimp] 'your back'

It should be noted that geminate oral occlusives are never voiced.

9.2.2.3 Palatalization of Sibilants and Nasals

The sibilants s, ts, and geminate tts are palatalized after front vowels, whether short or long. Palatalization occurs both within the word and across word boundaries. It occurs on ts even if there is an intervening ŋ between ts and the preceding front vowel; e.g.:
Wisipin \([\text{wi} \text{s}i\text{p}i]\) 'thread'

Pisotonna \([\text{pi} \text{s}o\text{r} \text{O} \text{N}\text{A}]\) 'to pull'

Tumpisa' \([\text{ti} \text{m} \text{bi} \text{sA}]\) 'Death Valley'

Esümpitün \([\text{e} \text{s} \text{e} \text{m} \text{bi} \text{t} \text{E} \text{F}]\) 'gray'

Sunni suwanna \([\text{su} \text{n} \cdot \text{I} \text{s} \text{u} \text{w} \text{A} \text{N} \text{A}]\) 'think like that'

Una ng witsa \([\text{u} \text{n} \cdot \text{g} \text{w} \text{i} \text{zA}] \approx [\text{u} \text{n} \cdot \text{g} \text{w} \text{i} \text{CA}]\) 'your shin'

Pitsinna \([\text{pi} \text{zI} \text{N} \text{A}]\) 'to suckle'

Piintsi \([\text{pi} \text{n} \text{jI}]\) 'beans'

Tapettsi \([\text{t} \text{a} \text{p} \text{e} \text{S} \text{E} \text{C} \cdot \text{I}]\) 'sun'

Am pisittsi \([\text{a} \text{m} \text{b} \text{i} \text{S} \text{I} \text{C} \cdot \text{I}]\) 'its leaf'

Retrogressive palatalization also occurs. If a sibilant stands before a front vowel and another sibilant palatalized because of the front vowel preceding it, then the first sibilant is usually also palatalized; e.g.:

Tuhüuttaitsi \([\text{t} \text{h} \text{I} \text{c} \cdot \text{I} \text{C} \cdot \text{I} \text{C} \cdot \text{I}]\) 'small'

Toppotttsitsi \([\text{t} \text{p} \text{S} \text{C} \cdot \text{I} \text{C} \cdot \text{I} \text{C} \cdot \text{I}]\) 'short'

Tatuttsitsi \([\text{t} \text{a} \text{ru} \text{C} \cdot \text{I} \text{C} \cdot \text{I} = [\text{t} \text{a} \text{ru} \text{C} \cdot \text{I} \text{C} \cdot \text{I}]\) 'thin'

Occasionally, initial ts is palatalized before i or ii, although palatalization is not obligatory in this situation; e.g.:

Tsiaitiyaippuh \([\text{t} \text{i} \text{a} \text{r} \text{i} \text{yA} \text{P} \text{i} \text{P} \text{U}] = [\text{t} \text{i} \text{a} \text{r} \text{i} \text{yA} \text{P} \text{i} \text{P} \text{U}]\) 'starving'

Tsikka'ah \([\text{t} \text{i} \text{k} \text{a} \cdot \text{a} \text{A}] = [\text{t} \text{i} \text{k} \text{a} \cdot \text{a} \text{A}]\) 'cut'

Tsiipakkiinna \([\text{t} \text{i} \text{p} \cdot \text{a} \text{l} \text{i} \text{n} \text{A} \text{N} \text{A}] = [\text{t} \text{i} \text{p} \cdot \text{a} \text{l} \text{i} \text{n} \text{A} \text{N} \text{A}]\) 'split (pl)'

Tsitsakannumpu \([\text{t} \text{i} \text{s} \text{k} \text{a} \cdot \text{A} \text{N} \text{m} \text{P} \text{U}]\) 'fork'

Geminate nn is palatalized to [\text{n} \cdot \text{I}] after front vowels; e.g.:

Innumpu \([\text{i} \text{n} \cdot \text{m} \text{b} \text{P}]\) 'thief'

Senni \([\text{S} \text{e} \text{n} \cdot \text{I}]\) 'like this'

Wainnih \([\text{w} \text{a} \text{i} \text{n} \cdot \text{I}]\) 'wine'
Single n is also palatalized to [ŋ] after front vowels; examples are given with the discussion in the next section, on Softening.

9.2.2.4 Simple Oclusive and Nasal Softening
(= Spirantization)

In general, single stopped consonants, both oral occlusives and nasals, are softened, spirantized, or unchecked between vowels. This happens whether or not there is an intervening h between the preceding vowel and the (underlying) stopped consonant. The softened occlusives are also voiced between voiced segments, as discussed in 9.2.2.2; otherwise they are voiceless.

This softening process needs to be qualified and clarified in a number of ways, depending on a number of factors and the particular segments involved. First, geminate occlusives and geminate nasals are never softened between vowels. And single occlusives and nasals are not softened in phrase-initial position or after a nasal, but remain checked in these positions.

£, ë, and kw are voiced fricatives between voiced vowels, and usually they are voiceless fricatives when next to a voiceless vowel (such as a final voiceless vowel). However, before final voiceless vowels, sometimes they do not become fricatives and remain voiceless lenis stops; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tape(ttsi)</td>
<td>[tá̃pe̞]</td>
<td>'sun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yüpani</td>
<td>[yü̃p̪̂n̪̂]</td>
<td>'autumn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahapi</td>
<td>[tá̃ĥ̪p̪̂]</td>
<td>'snow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hupapin</td>
<td>[hü̃p̪̂p̪̂]</td>
<td>'soup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhakantun</td>
<td>[puĥ̪ãk̪̂t̪̂]</td>
<td>'shaman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kimmakinna</td>
<td>[kí̃m̪̂ãk̪̂]</td>
<td>'to come here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hupiatüki</td>
<td>[hü̃p̪̂ĩt̪̂ü̃]</td>
<td>'sing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...
tukwanni \[\text{[tûyWân-i]}\] 'night'
yûkwi(nna) \[\text{[yîyWÎNâ]}\] \(\approx\) '(to) say'
\[\text{[yîyWÎ]}\] \(\approx\) [yîkWî]

When p occurs between a vowel plus h and another vowel, the hp cluster coalesces phonetically to the voiceless bilabial fricative [\(\varnothing\)]; e.g.:

- ohpisnû \[\text{[öauxmî]}\] 'mesquite tree'
- tôppisihpungki \[\text{[tôp-ESpûŋkî]}\] 'stinkbug'

Following nonfront vowels, t is an unchecked flap (rather than a fricative). It is a voiced flap [r] between voiced vowels when it follows nonfront vowels, and a voiceless flap [\(\varnothing\)] next to a voiceless vowel after nonfront vowels. Following front vowels, t is an interdental fricative, either [\(\delta\)] between two voiced vowels or [\(\varnothing\)] next to a voiceless vowel; e.g.:

- poto'înna \[\text{[pôro'nâ]}\] 'be a spring'
- patuásuppûh \[\text{[pariásśp'î]}\] 'ice'
- utûinna \[\text{[ıpêı'nâ]}\] 'to be hot'
- sutûmu \[\text{[suırM'î]}\] 'those'
- sutû \[\text{[suır]}\] \(\approx\) [suır] 'that'
- pakatûn \[\text{[pâyârî]}\] \(\approx\) [pâyârî] 'body of water'
- tsitoochin \[\text{[gîóöhî]}\] 'push'
- petûmu \[\text{[pëëíM'î]}\] 'daughters'
- petû \[\text{[pêëî]}\] \(\approx\) [pêëî] 'daughter'
- niutûn \[\text{[nëëëî]}\] \(\approx\) [nëëëî] 'wind'
- sitû \[\text{[siëî]}\] \(\approx\) [siëî] 'this'

The affricate ts is softened to a voiced lenis alveolar fricative [\(\varnothing\)] between voiced vowels when the preceding vowel is nonfront. It is devoiced but remains lenis next to a voiceless vowel after nonfront vowels. After front vowels, t
is alveolo-palatal [z] and is either voiced between vowels or voiceless if next to a voiceless vowel; e.g.:

- **tatsiumpi** [táziúmbi] 'star'
- **potso'innna** [pózoʰIN-A] 'to be wet'
- **tatsa** [táza] = [táɡA] = [táɡA] 'summer'
- **motson** [mózo] = [móɡO] = [móɡO] 'whiskers'
- **petsünna** [péziN-A] 'to holler'
- **üm pits'i'í** [ím bižíʔI] 'your breast'
- **üm witsa** [izí wiža] = [izí wižA] = [izí wičA] 'your shin'

The nasal m is softened to a voiced nasalized [œ] between voiced vowels, and to a voiceless [ɾ] between vowels when one is voiceless. Softening of m occurs even if h intervenes between m and the preceding vowel; e.g.:

- **üm tami'i** [in dáwiʔI] 'your little brother'
- **suumootun** [š:wiʃ:ɾi] 'ten'
- **imaa** [iwa:] 'tomorrow'
- **üm taman** [in dáʔA] = [in dáɡA] 'your tooth'
- **nümü** [ńwį] = [ńwu] 'person'
- **kuhmattsi** [kůhwa:ɾ-ie] = [kůhwa:ɾ-e] 'husband'
- **ohnaattsi** [ńoʰwa:ɾ-ie] = [ńoʰwa:ɾ-e] 'little baby'

As the second variants of 'husband' and 'little baby' illustrate, sometimes after h the [œ] disappears leaving only nasalization on the surrounding vowels.

The nasal n is softened after front vowels to a nasalized [y]. This softening takes place even if an h intervenes between n and the preceding front vowel. After nonfront vowels, n is not softened and remains [n]; e.g.:
wunutun  [wí:nít:]  'standing'
punikkan  [púnik-A]  'see, look at'
tokonetaippuh  [tʃʃí:nəaip-ɪ]  'scratched'
kahni  [kâhnI]  ≈ [kâhnI]  'house'
senu  [sɛyũ]  'therefore'
wungweninna  [wɪŋwɛyɪn-ɪ]  'to hang'
kwinaa  [kwíyá:]  'eagle'
whihnu  [wihyũ]  ≈ [wihyũ]  'then'
whihnumpitssi  [wihyũmblō-ɪ]  'buzzard'
im nlingwunu  'it is said they said'
 [mí: yíŋwínũ]
sümmi nuingkunna  'thus she said to (him)'
 [sím-ɪ yíŋgũn-ɪ]
pue tukwanni naakinna  'it's already getting dark'
 [píe áwũn-ɪ yá:yũn-ɪ]

The velar nasal ng does not show any indications of softening like other medial nasals. Apparently, because ng is always geminate, never single phonetically, it doesn't soften. Labio-velar ngw, on the other hand, displays some indications of softening in that it varies with m, phonetically [w], after back vowels; e.g.:

ungwatun  [ɛŋwɔrũ]  'rain'
≈ umatun  [ɪwɔrũ]  
ongwapitssi  [ɔŋwɔsɪč-ɪ]  'salt'
≈ omapiitssi  [ɔʊsɪč-ɪ]
songwo  [sɔŋwɔ]  'lungs'
≈ somo  [sɔmɔ]

Otherwise, ngw shows no sign of softening between vowels but apparently is always short, not long.
Geminate Consonants

Geminate consonants, both oral occlusives and nasals, are very fortis and always held long but not doubly articulated. The geminate oral occlusives are also always voiceless and mildly aspirated. Examples of geminate consonants occur throughout this chapter, but a few more are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tūsāuppūh</td>
<td>[t̪tasipʰ]</td>
<td>'frozen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>üppūhan</td>
<td>[ipʰihi]</td>
<td>'sleeping'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uttunna</td>
<td>[utʰʊn]</td>
<td>'to give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuttinna</td>
<td>[kʊʰɪn]</td>
<td>'shoot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>müattsi</td>
<td>[m̩aɪ]</td>
<td>'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wattsūwitūn</td>
<td>[waɪ̆wɪl̩]</td>
<td>'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūkkanna</td>
<td>[t̪ɪkʰən]</td>
<td>'to eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakka</td>
<td>[s̪akʰa]</td>
<td>'that (obj)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikkih</td>
<td>[s̪ɪkʰ]</td>
<td>'right here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakkwasi</td>
<td>[p̪akʰ'was]</td>
<td>'Olanche, Calif.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukkwah</td>
<td>[ʊk'wa]</td>
<td>'when, if'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kimmanna</td>
<td>[kɪm̩ən]</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūmmū</td>
<td>[n̩əm̩]</td>
<td>'we (exc)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned earlier, both ng and ş are always phonetically long and fortis (like geminate consonants) between vowels. But, since there is no distinction between simple and geminate ng and ş, they are always written single (even in phonetic notation they are not written with the raised dot for length, except in the examples that follow); e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tanga</td>
<td>[t̪aŋʰa]</td>
<td>'and, also'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pange</td>
<td>[p̪aŋʰe]</td>
<td>'up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angipi</td>
<td>[ɑŋ'fli]</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posottū</td>
<td>[p̪os'otʰ]</td>
<td>'alkali'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasattsi</td>
<td>[k̪as'ʃi]</td>
<td>'wing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esümpitūn</td>
<td>[eš̪'imb̪l̩θi]</td>
<td>'gray'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.2.2.6 Velar Occlusive Fronting

The velar occlusives \( k \) and \( kw \), whether single or geminate, are fronted to prevelar position preceding front vowels. Except before front vowels, the velars are back-velar (i.e., somewhat further back than English \( k \) and \( g \)); e.g.:

- \( kee \) [ké:] 'no, not'
- \( sekkih \) [sék'ɪ] 'here'
- \( kaakki \) [kɑː:ˈkɪ] 'crow'
- \( tokwi\iota \) [tɔːˈwi] 'correct'
- \( kwii \) [kwiː] 'left'
- \( kukkwilippuh \) [kɪk'wɪːp·ɪ] 'smoke'
- \( sakkuh \) [suk'ʊ] 'there'
- \( mi'akwa \) [miʔaˈwa] 'go away'
- \( ekupittsi \) [eʔuβɪˈci] 'thorn'

9.2.2.7 Consonant Allophone Charts

The distribution of the consonant allophones, as discussed in the preceding sections, is summarized in the charts on the following two pages.

9.3 PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

The processes affecting alternations in phonemes are discussed in this section. These processes include the deletion or insertion of phonemes, and the changing of one phoneme to another.

9.3.1 Delabialization and Rounding

When labio-velar ngw is followed by a, it usually loses its labialization and the \( a \) becomes a rounded vowel, either \( u \) or \( o \); e.g.:
### Consonant Allophones Before Voiced Vowels

**Environments**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N_V</th>
<th>Nonfront V_V</th>
<th>Front V_V</th>
<th>Vh V</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>p</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>β</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>r</td>
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<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
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<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>(h)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>kw</td>
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<td>g</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>(h')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>m</td>
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<td>η</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ηw - ō</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>k</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nn</td>
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</table>
## Consonant Allophones Before Voiceless Vowels

### Environments

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>#vvl</th>
<th>Nvvl</th>
<th>Nonfront vvl</th>
<th>Front vvl</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
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<td>φ - p</td>
<td>φ - p</td>
</tr>
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<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>s</td>
<td>s ≈ ᠦ</td>
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<td>z - ᠦ</td>
</tr>
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<td>x - k</td>
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</tr>
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<td>M'</td>
<td>ʰw</td>
<td>ʰw</td>
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<td>N'</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>ʰy'</td>
<td>ʰy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ʰŋw' - ʰw</td>
<td>ʰŋw' - ʰw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y - N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td>s'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h-n</td>
<td>h - ʰs</td>
<td>h - ʰs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ʰ- ʰs</td>
<td>ʰ- ʰs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>p'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tts</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ʰt'</td>
<td>ʰt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kk</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ʰk'</td>
<td>ʰk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kkw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ʰkʰ'</td>
<td>ʰkʰ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>M'</td>
<td>M'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nn</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>N'</td>
<td>N'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tangummu < tangwammu 'man'
pasingompin < pasingwampin 'sand'

This process is virtually obligatory in Death Valley, while in
other areas it is apparently optional. Thus, the forms on the
left above are from Death Valley, but both variants in each
case occur in other areas.

9.3.2 Lowering of i and u

Short i is often lowered to e after a glottal stop. This
is especially common in phrase-final position, but it seems to
be optional in any position. Lowering of i also occurs after
h, but in this environment lowering is not particularly
common; e.g.:

ko'i(ttsi) ≈ ko'e(ttsi) 'peak, point'
ma'i ≈ ma'e 'with'
-pa'in ≈ -pa'en 'have'
po'i(ttsi) ≈ po'e(ttsi) 'road, path'
to'ih ≈ to'eh 'emerge'
yahinna ≈ yahenna 'to laugh'

Short u is occasionally lowered to o in final position,
although this seems to be rather rare and sporadic; e.g.:

namokku ≈ namokko 'money'
túmuho ≈ túmuho 'rope'
pungku ≈ pungko 'pet, horse'

9.3.3 Vowel Harmony

When the vowels a and ü occur in prefixes, they usually
assimilate the rounding feature of round vowels in the
following syllable. Typically, a becomes o and ü becomes u,
although sometimes a becomes u when the vowel in the following
syllable is \( y \), and sometimes \( ù \) becomes \( ò \) when the vowel in the next syllable is \( ò \). This particular type of vowel harmony is especially common with verb prefixes such as voice-changing \( na- \) pmpr and \( tu- \) absolutive antipassive, and instrumental prefixes \( kù- \) 'with teeth/mouth', \( ma- \) 'with hands', \( ta- \) 'with feet', \( ta- \) 'with rock-like instrument', \( tsa- \) 'by grasping', and \( wù- \) 'with an (elongated) instrument' (see sections 3.2.1.2 through 3.2.1.4). Although the rounding process is quite productive and certainly common, it is not entirely obligatory. Many forms display variation, and a few seem not to be affected by the process; e.g.:

- nokoitsoih 'bathe, swim' Vi
  \(< na-\) pmpr, koitsoih 'wash' Vt
- nosuntamah ≈ nasuntamah 'remember'
  \(< na-\) pmpr, sun- 'with mind', -tamah 'secure, tie' V instr
- tukoitsoih ≈ tukoitsoih 'wash' Vi
  \(< tu-\) absol aps, koitsoih 'wash' Vt
- tumo'ih 'write, draw' Vi
  \(< tu-\) absol aps, mo'ih 'write, draw' Vt
- kuso'ei̇h = küso'ei̇h 'bite' pl
  \(< kù-\) 'with teeth/mouth', so'ei̇h 'occlude'
- kusungkwa'ah 'taste'
  \(< kù-\) 'with teeth/mouth', sungkwa'ah 'feel, touch'
- mokotsa" ≈ makotsa 'smash with hands'
  \(< ma-\) 'with hands', kotsa" Vi 'get smashed in'
- mokopiih 'distribute (pl)'
  \(< ma-\) 'with hands', -kopiih V instr 'break (flex obj) into pieces'
- tokkotsa" 'smash with foot'
  \(< ta-\) 'with foot', kotsa" Vi 'get smashed in'
- toppotsiki 'throw (pl)'
  \(< ta-\) 'with rock-like', -potsiki V instr pl 'throw'
tottompokkah 'fasten'
< ta"- 'with rock-like', -tompokkah V instr 'fasten'

tsokkopiih 'break (flex obj) into pieces'
< tsa"- 'by grasping', -kopiih V instr 'break (flex obj) into pieces'

tsokkontonah 'wrap'
< tsa"- 'by grasping', -kontonah V instr 'wrap'

wusungkwa'ah 'touch/feel with'
< wu"- 'with an (elongated) instrument', sungkwa'ah 'feel, touch'

wummopo'ah 'cover'
< wu"- 'with an (elongated) instrument', mopo'ah 'cover' < ma- 'with hands', po'a(n) N 'covering'

Aside from the vowel harmony exemplified above, sporadic vowel assimilation of other sorts occurs in a number of forms; e.g.:

maponih(an) ≈ mapunih(an) 'take aim'
< ma- 'with hands', puni" 'see', -kan stv

tsokottih 'bump'
< tsa"- 'by grasping', kuttih 'hit'

pookoo ≈ pawoko 'bullfrog'

9.3.4 Velar Labialization

Velar consonants are normally labialized after round vowels. The process is productive but does not seem to be entirely obligatory, since a number of forms display variation with and without labialization; e.g.:

ekon ≈ okwon 'tongue'
nukkwi (< *nukki) 'run'
ukkuh ≈ ukkwuh 'there yonder'
cf. akkuh 'there'
sukkwa ≈ sukka 'that yonder (obj)'
   cf. sakka 'that (obj)'
kimmanookwinna 'come along hither'
   < kimmah 'come', nooh 'in motion', -kin 'come to'
tupoong kwa 'in the desert'
   < tupoon 'desert', ka("') 'at, in, to'

9.3.5 Volatile Glottals

The two glottals ~ and h are extremely volatile between vowels. Both of them may be omitted optionally in this environment. When they are dropped, the surrounding vowels usually remain two different syllables with a distinct syllabic pulse between them. Additionally, sometimes a small amount of creaky voice is heard between the two vowels where a glottal has been omitted; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi'skwa</td>
<td>[míʔaʔwa]</td>
<td>'go away!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'ittsi</td>
<td>[póʔićeI]</td>
<td>'path'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'o</td>
<td>[móʔo]</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'attsi</td>
<td>[póʔas'I]</td>
<td>'covering'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahompi</td>
<td>[páʔombi]</td>
<td>'tobacco'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahapi</td>
<td>[táʔapi]</td>
<td>'snow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuhuya</td>
<td>[t́hiyá]</td>
<td>'deer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahappin</td>
<td>[wáhap'I]</td>
<td>'piñon tree'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dropping of h is especially common in the two verb suffixes -tuhantun ≈ -tuantun obligative future and -ppuhantun ≈ -ppuantun ≈ -ppantun. In the latter case, especially in the speech of younger speakers, when the h goes, so does the preceding vowel ū, which is usually phonetically voiceless when it is unstressed and the h is present.
9.3.6 Final Glottal Stop Plus Echo Vowel

A glottal stop and voiceless echo vowel are often inserted at the ends of words in phrase-final position and at the ends of words spoken in isolation. The glottal stop and echo vowel are normally not added to stems with inflectional suffixes or to stems that end in a vowel preceded by a glottal stop (e.g., not to *pə'l* 'road'). When the glottal stop and echo vowel are added, the final vowel of the stem is not devoiced by processes described in 9.2.1.1. The two processes, devoicing of final vowels and adding a glottal stop plus echo vowel, are in complementary distribution. They both mark the end of a phrase or a word spoken in isolation. A glottal stop and echo vowel may be added to stems that end in final consonantal segments (see 9.3.7), but the final consonants are always deleted first.

The insertion of glottal stop and echo vowel is especially common on nouns that do not have absolutive suffixes (except *-ppu*; see 5.6). In this regard, the glottal stop and echo vowel seem to function much like the absolutive suffixes; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Glottal Stop Plus Echo Vowel</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tami</td>
<td>tami'i</td>
<td>[t̚awi?]</td>
<td>'younger brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papi</td>
<td>papi'i</td>
<td>[pahi?]</td>
<td>'older brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nammi</td>
<td>nammi'i</td>
<td>[nami?]</td>
<td>'younger sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūmmu</td>
<td>tūmmu'u</td>
<td>[t̚umu?]</td>
<td>'enemy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atapu</td>
<td>atapu'u</td>
<td>[araʔu?]</td>
<td>'mother's brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'ippu</td>
<td>wa'ippu'u</td>
<td>[waʔiʔu?]</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūhuya</td>
<td>tūhuya'</td>
<td>[t̚huyaʔ]</td>
<td>'deer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petu</td>
<td>petu'u</td>
<td>[peʔuʔ]</td>
<td>'daughter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tua</td>
<td>tua'a</td>
<td>[t̚uaʔ]</td>
<td>'son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poton</td>
<td>poto'o</td>
<td>[poʔoʔo]</td>
<td>'staff, cane'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motson</td>
<td>motso'o</td>
<td>[moʔoʔo]</td>
<td>'beard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taman</td>
<td>tama'a</td>
<td>[t̚amaʔaʔ]</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wainnih</td>
<td>wainni'i</td>
<td>[waʔiʔiʔiʔ]</td>
<td>'wine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although a final glottal stop and echo vowel are most typically found on nouns, they may occur on other word classes as well; e.g.:

- ma > ma'a [máʔA] 'with (instrument)'
- man > ma'a [máʔA] 'on the surface of'
- tommo > tommo'o [töm-öʔO] '(in the) winter'
- tokwi' > tokwi'i [töʔiʔI] 'right, correct(ly)'
- piappüü > piappüü'ú [piap·riʔuffling] 'big'
- hipi' > hipi'i [hiśiʔI] 'drink'
- tonna' > tonna'a [tön·äʔA] 'stab'

A glottal stop and echo vowel are rarely used on verbs, because verbs almost always have inflectional suffixes or nominal and participial forms that are used in isolation. But as the last two examples above indicate, verbs with a glottal stop and echo vowel have occasionally been recorded.

Words ending with long vowels may take a glottal stop plus echo vowel; or instead, a glottal stop may be inserted in the middle of the long vowel, breaking it into two short vowels. Nonidentical vowel clusters normally do not take a glottal stop plus echo vowel. Rather, a glottal stop is inserted between the two nonidentical vowels. In the case of both long vowels and nonidentical vowel clusters, the vowel after the inserted glottal stop is devoiced; e.g.:

- kee > ke'e [kéʔE] 'no, not'
- haa > haa'a [háʔA] 'yes'
- tii > tii'i [tíʔI] 'tea'
- paa > paa'a [páʔA] 'water'
- pia > pi'a [piʔA] 'mother'
- koe > ko'e [kóʔE] 'guts'
- tukku'a > tukku'a [tuk·uʔA] 'flesh, meat'
- üppü' > üppü'i [ip·iʔI] 'sleep'
9.3.7 Final Consonantal Segments

The three segments ñ, ŋ, and ñ are the only consonants that may end words and morphemes in their underlying forms. Because they may appear in word-final and morpheme-final position, they behave in special ways and may have special effects on other segments preceding and following them. They all disappear in phrase-final position or when the words they end are spoken in isolation, although they may leave behind residual effects. Thus, ŋ causes a preceding short unstressed vowel to devoice (see examples in 9.2.1.1), and ŋ may leave behind nasalization on the preceding vowel (see examples in 9.2.1.2). The final consonant segments also disappear completely before geminate consonants and other consonant clusters. Another peculiarity of the three final consonants is that they behave differently in the verb system than in all other areas of the grammar. When they end verb stems and verb suffixes, their effects are often different from their effects when they end words and morphemes in other word classes. In the next few paragraphs, the peculiarities in behavior and special effects of the final consonants are presented in detail.

The geminating final segment ñ basically causes following oral occlusives p, t, ts, k, and kw, and nasals ñ and ŋ to geminate. It is lost completely in phrase-final position and before ñ, and the two glottals ŋ and ñ, as well as before consonant clusters of any kind, whether geminate or nonidentical. Consider the effects on following consonants of the geminating segment ending tua" 'son' and hipi" 'drink', which, when spoken in isolation, are pronounced [túa] ≈ [túaʔa] and [hiʔi] ≈ [hiʔi], respectively; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tua&quot; 'son' +</th>
<th>tuappan 'on top of the son'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pan 'on top of'</td>
<td>tua'pan 'on top of the son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukkwan 'under'</td>
<td>tuattukkwan 'under the son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'i 'with'</td>
<td>tuam ma'i 'with the son'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Consider also the effects of the geminating segment ending the instrumental prefix *tsa"- 'by grasping', which is affixed to many verb stems.
As the last two examples illustrate, at least sometimes the geminating segment causes a following semivowel to become a velar nasal. Usually, " plus y becomes ng, and " plus w becomes ngw. A few other examples of the nasalization of semivowels by the geminating segment are given below.

tangunah sg, tangunihi pi 'plant' vt
< ta"- 'with a hard rock-like instrument',
yunah sg, yunihi pl 'put, place' vt
kukwiingwün 'smoke' vi
< kukkwii" 'smoke', wünü" 'stand'
ingwünü" 'discuss'
< ni"- 'with words', wünü" 'stand'
wüngwënihi 'hang' vt
< wü"- 'with elongated instrument', -wënihi 'hang'

Sometimes, however, the geminating segment has no effect on a following w, as tsawunungkün 'stand up' (cited above) illustrates. And, sometimes the geminating segment causes a following y to become nn instead of ng; e.g.:

tsi"naihi 'make laugh'
< tsi"- 'with a sharp instrument', yahi" 'laugh'
Many verb stems end in geminating " (e.g., hipi" 'drink', sii" 'pee', and tukwii" 'go out [of fire]'), so that the initial consonants of a good many verb suffixes and auxiliary verbs are geminated after these stems. On the other hand, a number of verb suffixes which otherwise would seem to have initial geminatable consonants are absolutely resistant to the effects of the geminating segment. Verb suffixes that are impermeable to gemination are -kin 'come and do', -kwan 'go and do', -tu'ihih future, -kwan + -tu'ihih 'will go and do', -tun present participle and habitual, -tuhantun obligative future, and -ku subordinating. For example, note how " has no effect on the suffixes on hipi" below; compare these examples with those given above for hipi".

hipi" 'drink' +
-kin > hipikin 'come and drink'
-kwan > hipikwan 'go and drink'
-kwan + -tu'ihih > hipikwantu'ihih 'will go and drink'
-tu'ihih > hipitu'ihih 'will drink'
-tun > hipitun 'drinking'
-ku > hipiku 'when drinking'

Two other verb stems ending in geminating " are given below with an array of suffixes and auxiliaries.

sii" 'pee, urinate' +
katü 'sit' Aux > siikkatü 'squat (peeing)'
tukin 'start' Aux > siittukin 'start to pee'
-kwantu'ihih 'going to' > siikkwantu'ihih 'going to pee'
-taihwan cmplt > siittaihwan 'already peed'
-ppuhantun past > siippuhantun 'peed'
-kwan 'go and', -tu'ihih > siikkwantu'ihih 'will go and pee'
"tukwii" 'go out (of fire)' +
  -kwan cmplt > tukwiikkwan 'went out'
  -kwantu'ih 'going to' > tukwiikkwantu'ih 'going to go out'
  -taihwan cmplt > tukwiittaihwan 'already went out'
  -tu'ih future > tukwiitu'ih 'will go out'
  -ppuhantun past > tukwiippuhantun 'went out'
  -mmuih 'can't' > tukwiimmuih 'can't go out'

Generally speaking, the final segment n is realized as a homoorganic nasal before oral occlusives p, t, ts, k, and kw, and before the two nasals m and n; i.e.:

\[
\begin{align*}
n + p & \rightarrow mp \\
n + t & \rightarrow nt \\
n + ts & \rightarrow nts \\
n + k & \rightarrow ngk \\
n + kw & \rightarrow ngkw \\
n + m & \rightarrow mm \\
n + n & \rightarrow nn \\
\end{align*}
\]

Compare the manifestations of n in the following examples based on etun 'gun, bow', pasakun 'bridge', and nian 'my', which when spoken in isolation are pronounced [ëo~] ~ [ëoi] ~ [ëor], [pasa ã] ~ [pasa ã] ~ [pasaar], and [nia] ~ [niå], respectively.

etun 'gun, bow' +
  pan 'on top of' > etun pan 'on top of gun'
  tukkwan 'under' > etun tukkwan 'under a gun'
  -kantun 'having' > etunkantun 'having a gun'
  ma 'with' > etun ma 'with a gun'
  man 'on' > etun man 'on the gun'
pasakün 'bridge' +
pan 'on top of' > pasakün pan 'on a bridge'
tukkwan 'under' > pasakün tukkwan 'under a bridge'
ka 'to, at' > pasakün ka 'to a bridge'

nian 'my' +
pungku 'pet, horse' > nian pungku 'my pet, horse'
tua" 'son' > nian tua" 'my son'
tsuhmî(ppûh) 'bone' > nian tsuhmî 'my bone'
kahni 'house' > nian kahni 'my house'
kwasu'un 'dress' > nian kwasu'un 'my dress'
mupin 'nose' > nian mupin 'my nose'
nampe 'foot' > nian nampe 'my foot'

When final ę appears before a vowel, it normally geminates, although it may also drop; i.e.:

\[ n + V > n nV \]  or  \[ n + V > V \]

Compare the examples below with vowel-initial noun stems following nian and noun stems ending in ę preceding the objective case suffix -a; e.g.:

nian 'my' +
etûn 'gun' > nian netûn 'my gun'
okwon 'tongue' > nian nokwon 'my tongue'
appû 'father' > nian nappû ≈ nia appû 'my father'

Noun + -a objective case
etûn > etûnna 'gun (obj)' 
pasakün > pasakünna 'bridge (obj)' 
kwasu'un > kwasu'unna 'dress (obj)' 
motson > motsonna 'beard (obj)' 
taman > taman na 'tooth (obj)' 
yûtsûtna > yûtsûtna 'airplane (obj)'
Similarly, when final $n$ appears before $h$, it may either drop or geminate replacing the $h$; i.e.:

$n + h > n n$ OR $n + h > h$

E.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
nian nimpù & \Rightarrow nia himpù & \text{'my stuff'} \\
ûmmin nimpù & \Rightarrow ûmi himpù & \text{'your stuff'} \\
nian nungkwappûh & \Rightarrow nia hungkwappûh & \text{'my leg'} \\
ûmmin nungkwappûh & \Rightarrow ûmi hungkwappûh & \text{'your leg'} \\
nian nuttsi & \Rightarrow nia huttsi & \text{'my FaMo'} \\
ûmmin nuttsi & \Rightarrow ûmi huttsi & \text{'your FaMo'}
\end{align*}
\]

Final $n$ may drop before the semivowels $w$ and $y$ as well. Or, it may remain before them both, becoming $ng$ before $w$ and geminate before $y$ replacing it; i.e.:

\[
\begin{align*}
n + w & > ng w \quad \text{OR} \quad n + w & > w \\
n + y & > n n \quad \text{OR} \quad n + y & > y
\end{align*}
\]

However, with final $n$ as a possessive case marker on nouns and pronominals (see 5.2 and 4), before semivowels there is a semantic distinction having to do with alienability between forms where final $n$ is retained and where it is dropped. Compare the following examples.

nia yuhupi \quad \text{'my own fat'}
nian nuhu \quad \text{'my fat (of an animal)'}
nia witsa \quad \text{'my own shin'}
nianq witsa \quad \text{'my shin (of an animal)'}
nia wua" 'my own penis' (said by a man)
niang wüan naa" 'it's my penis' (said by a woman of her man's penis)

I have no idea why this semantic distinction should show up only before forms under possession beginning with semivowels. When there is no possibility of a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, the retention of final n seems to be the norm, but a few forms display variation; e.g.:

nia nütsütün 'my airplane' < yütsütün 'airplane'
(*nia yütsütün)

niang waatettsi 'my enemy' < waatettsi 'enemy'
= nia waatettsi

In constructions not having to do with possession, final n is normally retained before the semivowels; e.g.:

nüü üng wüttühiha 'I'm waiting for you'
I you-O wait-stv

üng wakantun 'towards you'
you-O towards

Quite a number of verb stems and verb suffixes end in final n, but it is realized in the verb system in very distinctive ways. At the ends of verb stems and suffixes, final n only manifests itself before t, n, and m, and then only optionally (although it never appears before the completive suffix -tain). Final n does not manifest as a nasal before velars k or kw beginning following morphemes, except before the subordinating suffix -ku. Rather, before velars, final n is manifested in exactly the same way as final h (see discussion below). Thus, in the verb system only:
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{n + t} & \rightarrow \text{nt} \quad \text{OR} \quad \text{n + t} > \text{t} \\
\text{n + n} & \rightarrow \text{nn} \quad \text{OR} \quad \text{n + n} > \text{n} \\
\text{n + m} & > \text{nm} \quad \text{OR} \quad \text{n + m} > \text{m} \\
\text{n + k} & > \text{h} \\
\text{n + kw} & > \text{hw}
\end{align*}
\]

For example, compare the effects of final \( \eta \) at the ends of the verbs kamman 'taste' (used with tsao 'good') and ūıtsū'ın 'be cold' in the forms below.

**tsao kamman 'taste good' +**

- \( \text{-tū'} \text{ih 'will'} \) > \text{tsao kamman(t)ū'} \text{ih 'will taste good'}
- \( \text{-tūhantūn oblig} \) > \text{tsao kammantūhantūn 'must taste good'}
- \( \text{-kin 'get', -nna} \) > \text{tsao kammahinna 'get tasting good'}
- \( \text{-ppūhantūn past} \) > \text{tsao kammappūhantūn 'tasted good'}
- \( \text{-nna general} \) > \text{tsao kammanna 'tastes good'}

**ūıtsū'ın 'be cold' +**

- \( \text{-tūn hab/prp} \) > \text{ūıtsū'ın(t)ūn 'cold, cooling'}
- \( \text{-tū'} \text{ih 'will'} \) > \text{ūıtsū'ın(t)ū'} \text{ih 'will be cold'}
- \( \text{-tūhantūn oblig} \) > \text{ūıtsū'ın(t)ūhantūn 'must be cold'}
- \( \text{-taippūh cmplt prp} \) > \text{ūıtsū'ıntaippūh 'completely cold'}
- \( \text{-kan stative} \) > \text{ūıtsū'ıhan 'being cold'}
- \( \text{-kwantū'ih 'going to'} \) > \text{ūıtsū'ınwantū'ih 'going to be cold'}
- \( \text{-ku sub} \) > \text{ūıtsū'ınku 'when it's cold'}
- \( \text{tūkin 'start'} \) > \text{ūıtsū'ın(t)tūkin 'start to be cold'}
- \( \text{mi'a 'get'} \) > \text{ūıtsū'ın(m)mi'a 'be getting cold'}
- \( \text{nasungkwa'ah 'feel'} \) > \text{ūıtsū'ın nasungkwa'ah 'feel cold'}

Also compare the effects of final \( \eta \) at the ends of the two verb suffixes -ŋkun cat (on the verb teewi 'tell') and -tain completive (on nuwa' 'move').
Apparently, then, final ŋ is changing to h in the verb system, at least before everything but t, n, and m.

Final preaspirating h is primarily manifested in its devoicing effects. It causes the devoicing of preceding short unclustered vowels (see 9.2.1.1), especially in word-final position. In word-medial position, vowels preceding h may be only partially devoiced. Outside of the verb system, final h is relatively rare and seems to be dying out in Tumpisa Shoshone. It is viable only on forms built with the past participle, nominalizing, and absolutive suffix -ppuh, the nominalizing locative suffix -ttuah, and the locative adverbial formative -kkuh, although it is maintained on a few other forms as well (e.g. tukkappih 'food', nangkih 'ear', putisih 'burro', nanah 'just, only').

Outside of the verb system, the primary effect that final h has on following consonants is that it usually blocks voicing of following oral occlusives, since when h precedes oral occlusives they do not stand between two voiced segments (which is the determining environment for voicing; see
9.2.2.2). Thus, when final $h$ precedes the oral occlusives $p$, $t$, $k$, and $kw$, they are normally realized as voiceless $[¢]$, $[R]$ or $[θ]$, $[x]$, and $[xʷ]$, respectively. Except for its devoicing effect on preceding vowels and blocking of voicing on following consonants, $h$ is lost before all consonants except the nasals $m$ and $n$ and the semivowels $\gamma$ and $\eta$. Before vowels it is normally manifested as $h$, although like all hs it is unstable between vowels (see 9.3.5); e.g.:

| Uattuah 'ranch, farm' + | Ka 'at, on' | 'on a ranch' \\|----------|---------|-------------------|
| -a obj case | ūattuah 'ranch (obj)' \\|----------|---------|-------------------|

| Patuasuppūh 'ice, frozen' + | Pai 'around on' | 'around on the ice' \\|---------|---------|---------------------|
| -a obj case | Patuasuppūh (obj) \\|---------|---------|---------------------|

| Tūkkappāh 'food' + | Pan 'on top' | 'on top of the food' \\|---------|---------|----------------------|
| -a obj case | Tūkkappāh 'food (obj)' \\|---------|---------|----------------------|
Over half of all verb stems in Tumpisa Shoshone end in final /h/, and most of the remaining verbs end in geminating /h/, although a good many end in /n/, while only a handful end in vowels (e.g., kimma sg 'come', mi'a sg 'go', namo'e 'pick', sungkia 'stagger').

Despite the fact that most verbs end in final /h/, it only manifests in the verb system when preceding the two velar stops /k/ and /kw/ in suffixes such as:

-kin 'hither'
-kan stative
-kon certaintive
-kwan momentaneous completive
-kwan 'away'
-kwantu'ih 'be going to' future

When such suffixes beginning with velars are appended to verbs or other verb suffixes ending in final /h/, the /h/ and velars merge:

\[ h + k > h \quad \text{or} \quad h + kw > hw \]

The suffixes above are then realized respectively as:

-hin 'hither'
-han stative
-hon  certainive
-hwan momentaneous completive
-hwan 'away'
-hwantu'ih 'be going to'

Final h has absolutely no effect on other consonants, nor does it usually cause preceding vowels to be devoiced in the verb system. Furthermore, a number of suffixes beginning with velar stops are completely impermeable to the effects of final h (e.g., -kin 'come and do', -kwan 'go and do', -kwan + -tu'ih 'will go and do' -kon 'around, here and there', -ku subordinating), even though some of these suffixes appear to be virtually identical with suffixes affected by h. Compare the effects of final h on the two verbs given below with an array of suffixes.6

tūkkah 'eat'
-\text{kwan \ cmplt} > tūkkahwan 'ate'
-\text{kwantu'ih 'going to'} > tūkkahwantu'ih 'going to eat'
-\text{kon certain} > tūkkahtun 'certainly eating'
-\text{tun hab, prp} > tūkkatun 'eating'
-\text{tu'ih 'will'} > tūkkatu'ih 'will eat'
-\text{nna general} > tūkkanna 'eat'
-\text{ppuhantun past} > tūkkappuhantun 'ate'
-\text{ku subord} > tūkkaku 'when eating'
-\text{kin 'come and'} > tūkkakin 'come and eat'
-\text{kwan 'go and'} > tūkkakwan 'go and eat'
tūkin 'start' > tūkkatūkin 'start to eat'
wūnu 'stand' > tūkkawūnu 'stand and eat'
nuwi 'go around' > tūkkanuwi 'eating around'

yungwah 'scoop up'
-\text{kwan \ cmplt} > yungwahwa 'scooped up'
-\text{kwantu'ih 'going to'} > yungwahwantu'ih 'going to scoop'
-\text{kwan 'go and', -tu'ih} > yungwakwantu'ih 'will go scoop'
-\text{tu'ih 'will'} > yungwatu'ih 'will scoop'
Outside of the verb system, final ū historically has had a similar aspirating effect on following velar stops k and kw. There are a few frozen lexical items displaying mergers of ū plus k to ū (e.g., nanahapantūn 'intermingled' < nanah 'just, only' + kappantūn 'among', and natūakahantūn 'clown' < natūakah 'have face paint on' + -kantūn 'characterized by'). However, as discussed above, usually final ū plus velar stops do not merge in forms outside of the verb system.

In order to illustrate the contrasting effects of forms with final consonants and forms ending in vowels alone (without final consonants), a number of words are presented below built on the object noun incorporating verb -pa'in 'have' and on the noun and adjective forming suffix -kantūn 'having, characterized by'. Several different sets of nouns are given before both -pa'in and -kantūn, one set ending in ū, another ending in ni, another ending in ū, and still another ending in vowels.

**NOUN + -pa'in 'have' / -kantūn 'having, characterized by'**

**With Nouns Ending in Geminates ū**

- **tuappa'in** 'have a son' < tua" 'son'
  

- **petūppa'in** 'have a daughter' < petū" 'daughter'
  

- **kunnappa'in** 'have firewood' < kunna" 'firewood'
  

- **tuakkantūn** 'having a son' < tua" 'son'
  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>PATTERN</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuappa'in</td>
<td>-pa'in</td>
<td>have a son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petūppa'in</td>
<td>-pa'in</td>
<td>have a daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunnappa'in</td>
<td>-pa'in</td>
<td>have firewood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuakkantūn</td>
<td>-kantūn</td>
<td>having a son</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wūakkantūn  'having a penis = gelding'  < wūn  'penis'

Yatsūkkantūn  'deflated'  < yatsūn (?)

With Nouns Ending in Nasalizing n

Etūmpa'ın  'have a gun'  < etūn  'gun, bow'

Tamampa'ın  'have a tooth'  < taman  'tooth'

Motsompa'ın  'have a beard'  < motson  'beard'

Tamangkantūn  'having teeth'  < taman  'tooth'

Nattusu'ungkantūn  'doctor'  < nattusu'un  'medicine'

Potongkantūn  'having a club = cop'  < poton  'club'

With Nouns Ending in Preaspirating h

Putisihpa'ın  'have a burro'  < putisih  'burro'

Pattusuppehpā'ın  'have ice'  < pattusuppeh  'ice'

Tsoppippuhpa'ın  'have hair'  < tsoppippuh  'hair'
keehii(ppuh)kantun 'having nothing'  
[kè:hì:p·ìxàndì] < keehii(ppuh) 'nothing'

kee piammüppuhkantun 'not having children = childless'  
[kè: ñìmìtp·ìxàntì] < piammü(ppuh) 'child'

kee namokkuppuhkantun 'not having money = moneyless'  
[kè: yàòòkùp·ìxàntì] < namokku(ppuh) 'money'

With Nouns Ending in a Vowel

kahni-pa'in 'have a house, dwell' < kahni 'house'  
[kà:hni,Ba?I]

paapa'in 'have water' < paa 'water'  
[pà:Ba?I]

tpungku-pa'in 'have a pet, horse' < pungku 'pet, horse'  
[pùnggu,Ba?I]

kahnikantun 'having a house, dwelling' < kahni 'house'  
[kà:hni,Yìntì]

paakantun 'having water' < paa 'water'  
[pà:Yìntì]

tapakantun 'having testicles = testicles' < tapa 'testicles'  
[tà:pà,Yìntì]

9.4 STRESS PATTERNS

As in other Numic languages, stress patterns in Tümepis Shoshone are predictable and follow what Sapir (1930:39) called the law of alternating stresses. Basically, this means that every other mora is stressed, while intervening morae are weak or unstressed. A mora is any single vowel as well as the...
diphthongs ai or oi. Long vowels count as two morae, as do vowel clusters of two vowels (except ai and oi); clusters of three vowels count as three morae. Counting of alternating stressed morae may begin either on the first or second mora of a word, depending on a number of factors discussed below. The first stressed mora carries the strongest or primary stress; alternating morae afterwards carry secondary stress only slightly less than the first stressed mora.

Typically, primary stress is on the first mora in the word, and every other mora afterwards is secondarily stressed. If secondary stress happens to fall on the last vowel of a word in phrase-final position, the final vowel may or may not take stress. If it does, then the final vowel is voiced; if it does not, then the final vowel is normally devoiced. The examples below illustrate this common pattern.

nattusu'ungkantun  'doctor'
 [nát'usu'ʊŋgɑ̃ntʃ]

kee namokkuppuhkantun  'not having money'
 [kɛ: ɣɑ̃k'up'ʊxɑ̃ntʃ]

natupinniyaha(nna)  '(to) be named'
 [nɑ̃rɪβɪn'iyɑ̃hɑ̃] ≈ [nɑ̃rɪβɪn'iyɑ̃hɑ̃'nɑ̃] ≈ [nɑ̃rɪβɪn'iyɑ̃hɑ̃'nɑ̃'nɑ̃]

tukummahanningkunna  'cook for'
 [tʊyʊm'ɑ̃hɑ̃n'ɪŋɡɪn'ɑ̃] ≈ [tʊyʊm'ɑ̃hɑ̃n'ɪŋɡɪn'ɑ̃'nɑ̃]

tutuaimmippuhantun  'used to work'
 [tɪɾɪáim'ɪp'ɪhɑ̃n̪dɪ] ≈ [tɪɾɪáim'ɪp'ɪhɑ̃n̪dɪ'n̪] ≈ [tɪɾɪáim'ɪp'ɪhɑ̃n̪dɪ'n̪'n̪]

tutuaippuhantun  'worked'
 [tɪɾɪáip'ɪhɑ̃ntʃ] ≈ [tɪɾɪáip'ɪhɑ̃ntʃ'n̪]

tamminoingkunna  'make tired, tire'
 [tám'iŋɡʊŋɡɪn'ɑ̃]
Usually, the second mora in the word (instead of the first) carries primary stress when the second syllable contains a long vowel while the first contains a short vowel; e.g.:

- **kukkwiippuh** 'smoke'  
  [kUK·wi:po]  

- **pihnaawitun** 'bee'  
  [pih·yA:wIθ]  

- **pomaappuh** 'grass, hay'  
  [pOWA:p]
tupoompi 'desert'
[tũboǐmpI] = [tũbōimpI]

tuttsaappuh 'dirt, dirty'
[tũp̃ap̃I]

tsitoohin 'push'
[sĩõhi] = [sĩõhI]

tutsuunna 'to count'
[tutsin'아] = [tutsiN'아] = [tutsiN'아]

wukkuunappuh 'fog'
[w̃uk̃ĩñap̃I] = [w̃uk̃ĩñap̃I]

paküunappuh 'cloud'
[pẫk̃ĩñap̃I] = [pẫk̃ĩñap̃I]

As the last three examples indicate, when the second vowel is long, the placement of primary stress often varies. In many words, primary stress may be on either the first (short) vowel or on the second (long) vowel. In determining the alternating stress pattern, long vowels count as two morae. But since they are simply one long vowel, if secondary stress would fall on the last half of the long vowel, the stress is manifested on the beginning of the long vowel, not on the end. This then changes the alternating stress pattern such that the second half of the long vowel is treated as an unstressed mora, and then the following vowel becomes stressed.

When the first vowel of the word is in a prefix and the second vowel is the first vowel of the stem, the second mora frequently carries primary stress, rather than the first; e.g.:
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This situation is especially common in verbs with voice and instrumental prefixes. However, the placement of primary stress in these cases may vary, so that in many forms with prefixes, primary stress is on the vowel of the prefix rather than on the first stem vowel; e.g.:

- **nasuntamahanna** | 'to remember' |
  | [näsündåwåhån'å] |

- **tukoitsoinna** | 'to wash' Vi |
  | [tûroizòinN'å] |

- **napakkappüh** | 'killed' |
  | [nåsåk·ap·å] ≈ [nåsåk·ap·å] |

- **naniyahanna** | 'to be called' |
  | [nånìlyåhån'å] ≈ [nånìlyåhån'å] |
Primary stress may be placed on the second mora in words which have a geminate stop or g after the first vowel of the root. In these cases, again, stress placement may vary, as some of the examples below indicate.

uttunna 'to give'
[ut·6N·A] ≈ [út·ÚN·A]

kuttinna 'to hit'
[kut·ÍN·A] ≈ [kút·IN·A]

tsikka'ah 'cut'
[6ik·á?A] ≈ [6ik·a?A]

núkkanna 'to dance'
[ník·ÁN·A] ≈ [ník·án·å] ≈ [ník·AN·A]

túkkanna 'to eat'
[tík·ÁN·A] ≈ [tik·án·å] ≈ [tik·AN·A]

kúttsi'anna 'to bite'
[kí¢·i?án·å] ≈ [kí¢·i?ÁN·A] ≈ [kí¢·i?AN·A]

tosoñenna 'to wipe'
[tosōnén·å] ≈ [tósōnèN·A]

masutuhinna 'to rub'
[másuruhIN·A] ≈ [másuruhín·å] ≈ [másurúhin·A]

toppotstsittsi 'short'
[top·6c·iC·I] ≈ [top·öc·iC·I]

tosapitún 'white'
[6osápió] ≈ [6osápió]
tuppapitūn 'black'
[tup·ɑbɨ̃iŋ] ≈ [tup·ɑbɨ̃iθ̂]

isapungku 'dog'
[Ĩãbʊŋgʊ] ≈ [Ĩãbʊŋگʊ] ≈ [Ĩãbʊŋگʊ]

kasattsikantu 'bird'
[kas̩ãg̩·i�̃̃ɑ̃̃t̩̃]

In most compounds, alternating stress works according to the patterns described up through the first stem. Then, counting of stress alternation begins anew on the first mora of the second stem that would normally take primary stress if the second stem were not in compound. However, the first stressed mora in the second stem of a compound is usually only secondarily stressed (i.e., it does not take primary stress as it would if it were a stem not in compound); e.g.:

yookontukkupittsi 'valley bobcat'
[yo:Yʊ̃ndʊ̃k·ũbɪč·ɪ]  
< yookon(pin) 'valley', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'

toyatukkupittsi 'mountain lion'
[tʊ̃yarʊ̃k·ũbɪč·ɪ]  
< toya(pin) 'mountain', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'

tupoontukkupittsi 'desert bobcat'
[tũʊ̃ndʊ̃k·ũbɪč·ɪ]  
< tupoon(pi) 'desert', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'

putisihpa'in 'have a burro'
[pʊrɪ̃ʃɪ̃aʔɪ]  
< putisih 'burro', -pa'in 'have'
The fact that stress alternation begins anew on the second stem in the compounds above probably indicates that they are quite transparent or nearly phrasal in nature. In a few compounds, perhaps more lexically frozen, alternating stress does not begin anew on the second stem. Rather, it works as if there were only a single stem; e.g.:

hupiatuki  'sing'
[hupiatuki] = [hupiatuki]
  < hupia(pin) 'song', tuki 'put'

nampuninna  'tracks, to track'
[nampuninna] = [nampuninna]
  < nam(pe) 'foot, track', puninna 'to see'
9.5 CONTRACTIONS

Several contractions have been recorded. None of them seem to be obligatory, but they are common in rapid speech. Two frequent contractions are:

\[ u + u > u \quad \text{and} \quad ü + u > u \]

E.g.:

\[ u \text{ ungappa'enna } > \text{ ungappa'enna} '\text{spank him}' \]
\[ ü \text{ ungappa'enna } > \text{ ungappa'enna} '\text{spank you}' \]
\[ uṣū \text{ un natūkkanna } > \text{ usunnatūkkanna} '\text{that is what is eaten}' \]

The objective case suffix -nna may optionally be contracted to simply n: e.g.:

\[ nūmmū \text{ tūpan(na) tūkkatū} \]
\[ \text{'we eat pinenuts'} \]

\[ sātūmmū \text{ yuhukunnan(na) natūngkanna} \]
\[ \text{'they ask for stove oil'} \]

\[ nūū \text{ Antsia kwasu'un(na) tūmūungkūppuhantū} \]
\[ \text{'I bought Angie a dress'} \]

The contraction of -nna to n may occur whether or not the noun stem ends in the final segment n. For example, -nna is used on both tūpā 'pinenut' and yuhukunna", which do not end in n.

Some other common, more or less idiosyncratic, contractions are listed below.
Notes to Chapter 9

1. Even though glottal stop ~ never appears phonetically at the beginning of words, McLaughlin (1987:93) claims that "all phonetically vowel-initial words begin with a /ʔ/..." He bases this claim on the fact that glottal stop "surfaces when the stem is the second member of a compound or when a vowel-final prefix is added" (p. 93). For example, a glottal stop appears when okwetun 'flowing' is preceded by paa 'water' in the compound paa'okwetun 'river'; and a glottal stop appears when the verb annih 'fall down' is preceded by the prefix wu" 'with an elongated instrument' in wu'annih 'knock over'. Despite these facts, I disagree with McLaughlin. My own view is that the glottal stop in these cases is epenthetic. It appears to maintain the separate integrity of the connected morphemes. It is important to note that both compounds with vowel-initial second stems and words with prefixes ending in a vowel appended to following vowel-initial stems are quite rare. Furthermore, there are hundreds of words that begin with vowels phonetically which never appear with an initial glottal stop. Therefore, in my view, it seems unnecessary and unmotivated to claim the existence of an abstract glottal stop on hundreds of words where it never surfaces.

2. In eastern varieties of Panamint Shoshone (i.e., from Beatty, Nevada, eastward), consonant clusters consisting of glottal stop plus a semivowel (i.e., 'w and 'y) occur between vowels in morpheme-internal position. Clusters of this sort are extremely rare, and as far as I know, they only occur in the two words below. Compare the cognate forms from Death Valley, which do not have the consonant clusters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beatty, Nevada</th>
<th>Tumpisa Shoshone</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa'wata</td>
<td>'mosquito'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pai'yu(ttsi)</td>
<td>'kangaroo rat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his dissertation, McLaughlin (1987) cites another word, noo'wi'a (sic), with a glottal plus semivowel, but this is a
misrecording of nookwi'a 'small barrel cactus', found in both Death Valley and Beatty.

Also in the eastern varieties, the cluster ht occurs both morpheme-internally and across morpheme boundaries. The two consonants of the cluster always merge phonetically to the voiceless fricative [θ]. Thus, in Beatty the word for 'jaw' is ahtapu [aθapu], while in Tumpisa Shoshone it is atapu [aθapu]. In Tumpisa Shoshone, the cluster of h plus t only occurs across word boundaries, never word-internally. However, [θ] occurs as an allophone of h, but only after front vowels before voiceless vowels (see 9.2.2.2 and 9.2.2.4). Similarly, clusters of h plus the velars k and kw only occur across morpheme boundaries in Tumpisa Shoshone. Morpheme-internal clusters of h plus k and h plus kw have merged to h and hw, respectively. And generally in the verb system and in fully lexicalized words, h plus k and h plus kw normally merge to h and hw (see 9.3.5).

3. While in the phonemic orthography long vowels are written doubled (i.e., VV), in phonetic notation length is indicated with a colon following the long vowel (i.e., [V:]).

4. Voiceless vowels are written in phonetic notation with capital letters; e.g., [A], [E], [I], [O], [U], and [?] are voiceless variants of [a], [e], [i], [o], [u], and [i], respectively. As discussed in 9.2.2.1, voiced consonants are unvoiced preceding voiceless vowels.

5. Geminate consonants are written doubled (i.e., CC) in the phonemic orthography used throughout this volume and in the Tumpisa (Panamint) Dictionary (Dayley 1989), but they are indicated in phonetic notation with a following raised dot (i.e., [C·]).

6. In order to know what final segment a verb stem (or verb suffix) ends in, whether n, or h, it is usually necessary to have examples of the verb with several different suffixes. Verb stems ending in geminating h are the easiest to identify, since the initial segments t, k, and kw of following suffixes such as -tain completive, -kin 'hither', -kwan 'away' and completive, and -kwantu'ih 'going to' will appear geminate (i.e., as -ttain, -kkin, -kkwan, and -kkwantu'ih).

Distinguishing between verb stems ending in n or h is somewhat more difficult, since suffixes beginning with a velar stop such as -kin 'hither', -kwan 'away' and completive, and -kwantu'ih 'going to' are manifested as -hin, -hwan, and -hwantu'ih, respectively, after both n and h. Thus, it is necessary to have examples of stems ending in n or h not only
before suffixes beginning with velars but also before
suffixes beginning with t, such as -tun habitual and present
participle, -tu'łh 'will', or -tłhantun obligative future.
Final h disappears completely before these suffixes, but final
n optionally may appear. But even if n does not appear before
suffixes beginning with t, it does not mean that there is no
preceding n, since the n may optionally be omitted as well.
So if an n does not appear, it is necessary to attempt to
elicit it in order to see if it may be present. If it cannot
be present, then the stem ends in h; of course, if it can be
present, then the stem ends in n.
The texts in this chapter are presented as examples of running discourse in Tumpisa Shoshone. The first five texts, in 10.1 through 10.5, are narratives related by Mamie Boland. She and I recorded, transcribed, and translated them in 1972. The first one is a historical narrative about Ms. Boland's early childhood; the other four are folktales. The sixth text, in 10.6, is part of a long conversation between Ms. Boland (MB) and her sister Mary Anne Kennedy (MK), both of whom unfortunately are now dead. The conversation was recorded at Furnace Creek in the winter of 1973, but was not transcribed and translated until 1988. I did the transcription and translation with the aid of one native language consultant from Furnace Creek and another from Beatty, Nevada. Tape recordings of the narrative texts (10.1-10.5) are on file in the Language Laboratory at the University of California, Berkeley.

All of the texts are given in three different forms, each with a distinct purpose in mind. In the first form, the texts are given only in Tumpisa Shoshone; this is to preserve the aesthetic integrity of the Tumpisa Shoshone discourse. In the second form, an idiomatic English translation of the texts is given in an attempt to capture some sense of the aesthetics in English. The third form repeats the Tumpisa Shoshone texts with word-by-word interlinear translations; this is for closer linguistic and literary analysis. In addition, within the
conversation in 10.6, divisions between major topics have been indicated.

10.1 PUETUSU NUMMU SUNNI NUKWIMIPPUHANTU "HOW WE LIVED LONG AGO"


Númmu ti tunga niappuhántu túnnaa natúútingwakwasú ape himúuka. Númmu sape namiangkútaippuhántu kee nangkkitwítu ukkwhu kee niitúkkaanangkkitwítu ukkwhu, himúuka púu Sherman in Stewart. Númmu sapettú namiangkútaippuhántu, wahattu niam puánuum ma' n namiangkúppuhántu sapettú school natíingwakkatu apettu Navajo natíingwakka. Númmu sapehontú

Haka usun takasü nasuntamanna pünnan ni nummi nukwippüha.
Oh! Nummü na'ümammippühantü mútà ukkwah, nummi pungku pa'a miatukwa, putusih pa'a miatukwa.


Haka usun takasü ni na nasuntamantü.

Idiomatic Translation
HOW WE LIVED LONG AGO

Now I will tell about the way in which we lived long ago.

Then, we had houses in Death Valley.

It's hot, it's really hot there. We lived around there in the winter. When it was summer, we went up there in the mountains. Long ago then, we used to have horses, and we used to have burros. We went on them then...to the mountains. We stayed there in the summer. At that time we picked pinenuts thereabouts, preparing pinenuts and eating pinenuts. We used to pick something else...a kind of seed. And also we ate something there that is called yuapi "prickly pear," which is a sweet-tasting cactus. It's really cool up there in the mountains. We used to be there in the summertime.

Then after while, when it would get cold there in the winter, we would go down there to Death Valley to the heat, when it was really warm in the winter. There was something to
eat down in Death Valley which was called ohpi "mesquite beans." We ate that, smashed it and ate it. That's all of that kind of edible. There was something else in the water that is called ohyo [a plant, sp. ?]. We used to eat that. We lived there when it was winter, we lived there (in Death Valley).

My father was there working on a ranch at that time long ago. We used to have a lot of horses, and we used to have a lot of burros. We lived there all the time.

Also, we all went down there someplace to go to school. We were sent there when we didn't speak, when we didn't speak any English, there to Sherman (School) in Stewart (California). We were sent there, two of my cousins and I were sent there to school, to a Navajo school. We spoke there, spoke English. We stayed there three years. We stayed there going to school when we didn't speak (English).

That's all of what I remember about what we used to do.

Oh! We were rained on when going, while we were going on horses, while we were going on burros.

One man told the rain to come and get us wet there in the mountains, to come make us cold: "Come on, come on!" he told it. He hollered at the rain; he hollered that when we were going, when it was hot. We were rained on there, we relatives were rained on real hard. We went in under our wagons. We had wagons at that time. There was my father, and all of us, me and my older sisters. There were also my two brothers. There were many of us who went. He yelled at that rain, so we got rained on at that time then.

That's all of what I remember. That's all.
Interlinear Translation

PUETUSU NUMMU SUNNI NUKWIMPPUHANTU
LONG AGO WE THAT WAY DO-USED TO

puetusu punnan ni nummi nukwippuha nu sukkwa
long ago which way us(exc) did-sub-O I that-O

teewu'tih miikka. Sape'esu, nummu Death Valley ka kahni-
tell-will now that time we(exc) at house-

gaijimppuha tahu.

have-used to

uttinna kuttaa sapettu utuuntu. Nummu tommo okkwh
be hot really that time be hot we(exc) winter when

sukkwh kahnipainui. Nummu tatsa naakkiha nummu supe
there house-have around we(exc) summer become we there

toya mantu mi'a. Puesu sepe'esu, nummu
mountain through go long ago that time we(exc)

pungkiapimppuha tahu, nummu putisih pungkiapimppuha tahu.
horse-have-used to we(exc) burro pet-have-used to

nummu sup'e supa'a maintu nummu...toya mantu.
we(exc) that time them-on go we(exc) mountain through

nummu sakkh kahnikantu tatsawani. Nummu sup'e tupanna
we(exc) there house-having summertime we then pinenut-O

hannitu sakkwhontu, tupanna tukkatu, tupanna nomo'enna.
preparing thereabouts pinenut-O eating pinenut-O pick

nummu noohinna nomo'emppuha tahu pasiittanu. Tunga
we(exc) something-O pick-used to seed(?)-O and
"yuapi" nyakantú sakkuh pihnaa kamantú aikupittsi
prickly pear name-have there sweet tasting cactus

nummu sukkwa tükkatú. Tsao hüttsawúntú sapa'antú toya
we(exc) that-0 eat really be cool there mountain

mantú. Nummu sukkuh naaminna tatsawani.
through we(exc) there be-used to summertime

Nummu ükusú ukkah supe'e tomno úitsú'iyyuntu'ih,
we(exc) after while that time winter be cold-would

nummu supe'e mia ntunaa Death Valley katú ütíintú katu
we(exc) that time go down to heat towards
tsao yuwaintú tomno okkah. Sape un natukkanna túnaa
really be warm winter when there its edible down

Death Valley "ohpi" "ohpi" nihakantú sitú.
mesquite bean mesquite bean name-having this

Nummu sukkwa tükkatú, u tusukkwantú tükkatú. Usun takasu
we(exc) that-0 eat it grind eat that's all
suttú un natukkanna. Híisaspe tunga paa kuppantú sutú
that kind its edible something also water in that

"ohyo" nyakantú nummu sukkwa tükkamminna. Nummu sukkuw
plant(?) name-have we(exc) that-0 eat-used to we there
dwell when winter when we(exc) there dwell

kahnikantú ukkah tomno okkah, nummu sukkuw kahnikantú.
dwell when winter when we(exc) there dwell

Nian nappu naappuhantú sukkuw tüüaimmi sukkuw
my father was there working there
ūattūah ka, sape'esū ukkwah. Nummu so'ooppūh pungku-ranch at that time when we(exc) many horse-
paimmippūhantū, nummu so'ooppūh putish pungkupaimmippūhantū. have-used to we(exc) many burro pet-have-used to
Nummu noohimpe sukkwuh kahnikantu nummu. we(exc) always there dwell we(exc)

Nūmmū ti tunga miappūhantū tunaa natūtiingwakwasū we(exc) emph also went down go to school

ape himpūka. Nūmmū sape namiangkūtaippūhantū kee there someplace we(exc) there were sent not
nangkawitū ukkwah kee mitūkkaannangkavitū ukkwah, himpūka speak when not English-speak when someplace

pūū Sherman in Stewart. Nūmmū sapettū namiangkūtaippūhantū, emph we there were sent

wahattu niam puanumū ma'e nū namiangkūppūhantū sapettū two my cousin people and I were sent there

school natīingwakkatu apettū Navajo natīingwakka. Nummu school-to there school-at we(exc)
sapehontū nangkawī mitūkkaannangkawi. Nummu pahi nummu there speak English-speak we(exc) three we(exc)
tommo ŷīngkappūhantū sape. Nummu sape natīingwayingka-year stayed there we there go to school-stayed

ppūhantū ke nangkawitū ukkwah. not speaking when
Haka usun takasü nasuntamanna pünñan ni númmi
what that's all remember which way us(exc)
nukwippüha.
did-sub-O

Oh! Númmi na'úmmaggippühantü miatü ukwah, númmi pungku
we(exc) were rained on going when us horse
pa'a miatukwa, putusih pa'a miatukwa.
on going-when burro on going-when

Súmmuttü tangummü súmmi yükkwí ümanna akkutü toya
one man thus tell-dur rain there mountain
mantu númmi potso'ingkuki númmi üitsü'ingkuki númmi:
through us(exc) make wet-come us(exc) make cold-come us(exc)

"Ma kimma! Ma kimma!" i niingkunna. U petsingkunna
it come it come this tell it hollered at
ümattunna, u petsingkunna sukkwa númmi miaku ukwah, ütuüngku
rain-O it hollered at that-O us go-sub when be hot
ukwah. Númmi na'úma sukkwuh nanusu kenümüni
when we(exc) were rained on there relative really
na'úmmanna númmü. Númmín kateetta tukkwa númmü weeki-
were rained on we our wagon under we(exc) went in
nnúmmi, kateettakantü naappühantü númmü sape'eni ikkwah.
around wagon-having were we(exc) that time when

Nú appü naappühantü utü, númmü súmsu niap patsinümü.
my father was that we all my older sisters
Nia samoppu naappuhantu wahattu. Nummu soontu miatu.
my sibling were two we(exc) many went

U petsingkunna sakka ungwatunna, nummu na'ungwataisü
it hollered at that-O rain-O we(exc) were rained on

supe'e wihnu.
that time then

Haka usun takasu nia nasuntamantu.
what that's all me remember

10.2 ISAM PETÜMMÜ
"COYOTE'S DAUGHTERS"

Isapaippu utu...un nappu miattaimma; miattaimmaa
hakkattuh sanpe sutu. "Mümmu tuittsia ta'otahi noo hakapan
ukkwah isapapi...tuittsi epapi pitühi," ýükki. "Mümmu wihnu
sukkwa...ümümü mümmu...u mantünna kwühikwa tuittsia noohakatü
u mantünna kwühühi," mii ýükki pünnam petümmi niingkünna.
"Tuittsi sepa'a pitüühantu tsao napunittu." Setü otammani
miattaisü summi yükwitü püü! Miattaisü o...o...summi ýükki.
"Tuittsi utu sepa'a pitüühantu mümmu mümmu u mantünna
kwüüthantu," mii niingkünntu pünnam petümmi ikkwaah summi
utummi niingkünna.

Sutümümü supe'esü wihnu u wütthihihantu sutümümü. U
wütthihiha. Supe'e ükusü ukkwah pitü wihnu tuittsi, tsawün
tuittsi. Tuittsi sutu, sutu Isapaippu summi yükwimaasii
ikkwaah. "Esu mümmi naiwekipituhantu tuittsi," mii niingkünna
um pia.... Tunga tunga.... Sümootu petümmu. üm petümmi
summi ýükki. Supe'e wihnu tuittsi pitüsü tuittsi pitü utümümü
ka wihnu sümüttü tuittsi. "Esu tuittsi mümmi
naiwekipituhantu," mii...mii utummi niingkünna um pia.
"Ahaa," ningwünü sutümüm.
"Pue sümüttüm mai mi'a."
"Ekkih ke tamangkantù, ekkih ke tamangkantù."

Isu supe'e satümìi kawai yukwitù kawai yukwitù satümìi wihhu ekka ekka kawa....kawa.... Kawa sinnukkwì. Enni utumìi ma'ommìnna. Etù etù wihhu hipittsì etù...etù utumìim pia u punikka setù, sumuttù naìpi tunga u punikka supe' età pë ke tamangkantù ekkìh. Ke tamangkantù u punikka setù, u punikka tunga satù.


"Nahna suwanna'ongku! Nìa tamìi yùngkùnna tamìi isà ni nanangkasuwangkù miìkka."

"Haa'a," mìi niingkùnna an nawiamìi.

Suumootù suumìi. Ùm petùmìi sùmuootù. Utumìi suumìi yùngkùnna, pùnnam piì tsa suumìi yùngkùnna, "Tamì appù naamìa satù wihhu. Ke tamangkantù ekkìh. Ekkìh ke tamampa'i u wa'i napuni."

Isù supe'e wihhu, isù supe'e wihhu, ùm piì suumìi yùngkùnna utumìi, "Numìì hiimùa saawa'ù i'ommìi pittsì sanappì. Numìì numìì posiatttsi posiatttsi posiatttsi nú u posiaxainnuhi," ùm piì suumìi yùkkwi. "U posiaxainna. Numìì supe'e wihhu sanapìm ma u tsapp'o'ongkùnnuhi. Útìntu etù kottoe'enna ekkìh. Kottle'enna ekkìh sanappì. "Supe'e sakka u tsapp'o'ongkù satù. They just went up with the stars; she went up there too; the mother went up there too. That's the way there're stars over there. Yea, nine of them over there. Ten of 'em. Sùmuootù. Sùmuootù tatslumpi. Usù suumìi.

Isa appù esù naisapù.
Coyote, who was their father, was going away for good; he was going away for good somewhere. "You all might find a young man someplace around here because a young man might arrive right here," he [Coyote] said. "You all then...you all...you all could marry that young man, some one of you could marry him," he said to his own daughters; he said that. "The young man will arrive here," he said. "The young man who will arrive here is good-looking." This old man Coyote went away saying that! He went away. He went away after he said that. "That young man will arrive here, and you all have to marry him," it is said he told his own daughters; he told them that.

At that time then they waited for him. They were waiting for him. Then after a while a young man arrived, a nice young man. It was the young man just as Coyote had spoken about before. "This is the one coming to visit you all, the young man," it is said their mother said. She told her daughters that. And...and...there were ten of them. There were ten daughters. At that time then a young man arrived, one young man arrived with them then. "This is the young man who is coming to visit you all," it is said their mother told them.

"Uh-huh," they said.

"He is ready to go with one (of you)."

At that time then they all went to go after rats; they went to get rats [for food]. They went with their mother.

"He is missing a tooth here! He doesn't have a tooth here." It was at that time that they went after rats, they went after rats then...rats. The rat was doing something like this. It was pushing sticks away. [It was pushing away from its hole the sticks that they were poking at it.] Then this old lady, their mother, and also one of the girls saw then that the young man was missing a tooth here. The mother saw that he was missing a tooth, and the girl also saw it.
At that time she said, she told her own mother thus: "He is one who is missing a tooth. He's our father! He looks like our father! He looks like our father!" It is said she told her own mother that. She said that to her mother. "He is like our father," she said then.

"Let's think about it together. They are going to say to me about us that we sound like coyotes now," the mother said, [because the daughters had already slept with Coyote, since they were already betrothed to him--the young man].

"Yes," her girls said.

There were ten of them, ten of them. There were ten daughters. And their mom said to them, "That was our father then. He is missing a tooth here. Because he doesn't have a tooth here, he looks like him."

It was at that time then that their mom said to them, "Let's boil some stuff, some pitch. We'll...we'll...lice... lice...lice...I'll delouse him," their mom said. "I'll delouse him. We'll then cover his head with pitch. This heating is boiling here. The pitch is boiling here." Then she covered his head with it.

They just went up with the stars; she went up there too; the mother went up there too. That's the way there are stars over there. Yeah, nine of them over there. Ten of them. There are ten of them. There are ten stars. It's those [in the constellation Pleiades].

Coyote Father is the one who is horny.
ukkwah isapapi... tuittsi epapi pituhi," yukkwi. "Muumuu when right here young man here arrive-may say-dur you all

wihnu sukkwa...muumuu muumuu...u mantunna kwwuhikwa
then that-O you all you all him part of marry-might

tuittsia noohakatu u mantunna kwuahi," mii yukkwi
young man-O someone him part of marry-might quot say-dur

puunnam petuumni niingkunna. Summu niingkunna. "Tuittsi
his own daughters-O tell that tell young man

sepa'a pitutuhantu," yukkwi. "Tuittsi sepa'a pitutuhantu
here arrive-must say-dur young man here arrive-must

tsao napunitu." Setu otammani miattaisu summu yukwitu puu!
good look this old man went away that saying emph

miattaisu o...o...summu yukkwi. "Tuittsi utu sepa'a
went away oh oh that say-dur young man that here

pitutuhantu muumuu muumuu u mantunna kwutuhantu," mii
arrive-must you all you all him part of marry-must quot

niingkuntu puunnam petuumni ikkwah summu utumni
tell his own daughters-O when that those-O

niingkunna.
tell

Sutuummu supe'esu wihnu u wututuhihantu sutuummu. U
those that time then him wait for-stv those him

wututuhihanta. Supe'e ukusu ukkwaah pitu wihnu tuittsi,
wait for-stv that time after while arrive then young man
tsawun tuittsi. Tuittsi sutū, sutū Isapaippu summi
good young man young man that that Coyote that

yukwimmaasi ikkwah. "Esū múmmi
said when this is the one you all-O

naiwekipituhantu tuittsi," mii nlingkünna um pia...
woo-arrive-stv young man quot say to their mother

Tunga tunga.... Suumootu petummu. Um petummi sümni
and and ten daughters her daughters-O that

yukkwi. Supe'e wihnu tuittsi pitusū tuittsi pitū
say-dur that time then young man arrived young man arrive

utummu ka wihnu sümūttū tuittsi. "Esū tuittsi múmmi
those at then one young man this is young man you all-O

naiwekipituhantu," mii...mii utummi nlingkünna um pia.
woo-arrive quot quot those-O tell their mother

"Ahaa," ningwunū sutummu.
uh-huh say those

"Pue sümütūtum mai mi'a."
ready one with go

Supe'esū sutummu wihnu kawai yukwikwa, kawai yukwikwa.
that time those then rat-O go after rat-O go after

Setūmmū pia ma'i mi'a.
these one's mother with go

"Ekkih ke tamangkantū, ekkih ke tamangkantū."
here not tooth-having here not tooth-having
Isu supe'e satümì kawai yukwitù kawai yukwitù this is that time those-0 rat-0 go after rat-0 go after
satùmmù wihnu ekka ekka kawa...kawa. Kawa sinmukkwi.
those then this-0 this-0 rat rat rat this way-do

Enni utummi ma'omminna. Etù etù wihnu hipittsi etù...
this way those-0 pushed this this then old woman this

etù utummin pia u punikka setù, sümütù naipi tunga u
this their mother it see this one girl also it

punikka supe epa ke tamangkantù ekkih. Ke tamangkantù
see there here not tooth-having here not tooth-having

u punikka setù, u punikka tunga satù.
it see this it see also that

Supe'esù sümmi yükkwi, pünnam pia sümmi niingkùnna
that time that say-dur her own mother that say to

isù, "Ke tamangkantù naammaa setù. Nümì appù utù.
thus not tooth-having was this our(exc) father that

Nümì appù wa'i napuni satù. Nümì appù wa'i napunitù
our(exc) father like look that our father like look-hab

satù," mìi u niingkùnna mìi u niingkù pünnam pia. Um
that quot it say to quot it tell her own mother her

pia sümmi yükkwi. "Nümì appù wa'i," supe'e sümmi
mother that say-dur our(exc) father like that time that

yükkwì.
say-dur
"Nahma suwanna'ongku! Nia tammi yünkgünna tammi
together-dl think-dl me us(inc) say to us
isa ni nanangkasuwangku miikka."
coyote like sound now

"Haa'a," mii niingkunna an naviammu.
yes quot say to her girls

Suumootü sutümmü. Um petümmü süuموتü. Utümü sümmi
ten those her daughters ten those-O that
yünkgünna, pünnam pii-łsa sümmi yünkgünna, "Tammi
say to their own mom-emph that tell our(inc)
appü naammam satü wihnu. Ke tamangkantü ekkih. Ekkıh ke
father was that then not tooth-having here here not
tamampa'i u wa'i napuni."
tooth-have him like look

Isü supe'e wihnu, isü supe'e wihnu, um
this is that time then this is that time then their
pii sümmi yünkgünna utümmi, "Nümü himpu'a saawatu'i'ommü
mom that say to those-O we(exc) stuff-O boil-will-pl
pitssa sanappi. Nümü nümü posiattsi posiattsi posiattsi
pitch pitch we(exc) we louse louse louse
nu u posiakašnuhü, um pii sümmi yükkwi. "U
I him delouse-will their mom that say him
posiašnuhü. Nümü supe'e wihnu sanapim na u
delouse we(exc) that time then pitch with him
They just went up with the stars; she went up there too; the mother went up there too. That's the way there're stars over there. Yeah, nine of them over there. Ten of 'em.

Suumootū. Suumootū tatsiumpi. Usū sutūmmū. Isa ten ten star that is those coyote appū esū naisapū. father this is the one horny

10.3 TAMMū TŪPANNA YAAKWANTU'īH
"WE'LL GO GET PINENUTS"


Sūmūsū ma'ommū atū himpū Antsaaapanappūh, atū Kaakki, Tukopoyo'ittsi, sūmūsū kasattsikantū ma'ommū. Isapaippū númmu ma'i nukkwinno mi'a, úkusū ukkwah supe'e.


"Nū naatu'ih," mii yūkkwī Antsaaapanappūh. Supe'e u yaakki pahannai sutū wihnu.

Isapaippu etu sutummi hipittsitsiammi utummi Tukuwuappuh ma enni yukwincoonna utumming kope katu, utummi wuppainna, naangkasuwamminna. Tupanna nayaatu’ih ukkwah, ukkwa ti Tukuwuam ma Isapaippuppen Tukuwuappuh. Un Tukuwuappuh sunni yuqwippuhantü.

Supe’e kimmatu utummu tsüümakku. Kimmatu ukkwah supe’eni tsüümanna utummu püü. Isapaippu pange miatü u tu tiyaitaihwappuhu kee paaappühpä e takuttiyaitaihwu, petsüümmitätü.

U yaakki utü Antsaapanappuh u yaakki sope’e. Toya ma apa supe’e u hanninna; u üanna.

Tukopoyo’ittsi pahannai ipantu napakkataihwu. U pakkatai sutümü u kimangküstü. Sukkwan maanangkwatü Kaakki napakka...napakkatainnuh. U tümppi kattu u whnu. Supe’e Kaakki yütsükommminna, usü püü ukkwah! Waanguupai toyapi tu ha!

Idiomatic Translation
WE’LL GO GET PINENUTS

"We will go get pinenuts," it is said they said, "there someplace, northward," they said. "We don’t have any pinenuts; we don’t have any pinenuts in the mountains," they said.

Everyone went, that Flicker, that Crow, and Kingbird; all of the birds went. Coyote went running along with the people a little later then.

They arrived there then. "We are coming to get pinenuts," they said. "Who will get them then? -- The one having the long tongue will do it."

"I’ll be the one," it is said Flicker said. At that time then he got then down.

The old women [who owned the pinenuts] said, "Our pinenuts have already been taken. After all, they already came pouring down to get the pinenuts. They all flew down."
Coyote went around doing this to those old ladies with his Sky Penis in their faces; he hit them, it sounded like. When the pinenuts would be taken, it was with the Sky Penis, Coyote's Sky Penis. His Sky Penis did it.

Then those ones coming died [for some reason]. When coming then they were dying. Coyote going through there died because he didn't have any water. He died screaming of thirst.

That Flicker got the pinenuts; he brought them at that time. There in the mountains he did it; he planted them.

Kingbird was killed down there. They killed him, chasing him. On the other side, Crow was killed. It was then that he became Big Black Rock [in Death Valley]. Then when Crow flew all around, that's how it was! The piñon pines stood throughout the mountains!

Interlinear Translation

TAMMU TUPANNA YAARKWANTU'IH
WE PINENUT-O GET-GO-WILL

"Tammu tūpanna yaarkwantu'ih," mii ningwūnū'umū, we(inc) pinenut-O get-go-will quot say(pl)-pl

"epe tti himpūkattī," mii yūkkwī'umū, "kwinawen-there-emph someplace-emph quot say-pl north-

nangkatūnna. Ke tupappūhpē tammu, ke tūpannaappūhpē ward not pinenut-have we(inc) not pinenut-have

toya mantū," ningwūnū'umū. mountain on say(pl)-pl

Sumūsu mia'ommū atū himpū Antsaapanappūh, atū Kaakki, all go-pl that some Flicker that Crow
Tukopoyolittsí, sümüsú kasattsikantú mia'ommú. Isapaippú
Kingbird all bird go-pl Coyote

numú ma'i nukkwinnoo mi'a, ükusú ukkwah supe'e.
people with run along go after while that time

Sape pitükkangkwammassümú wihnu. "Nummu tupanna
there arrvive-thither-pl then we(exc) pinenut-o
yaakihantú," ningwúnunnuh. "Hakatu u yaatu'ih wihnu?
get-hither said(pl) who it get-will then

-- Ung küputappüü...okonkwantú yúkkwi."
its long tongue-having do-dur

"Nú naatu'ih," mii yúkkwi Antsaapanappuh. Supe'e
I will be quot say-dur Flicker that time

u yaakki pahannai sutú wihnu.
it bring down that then

Hipittsittsiammú sümme yúkkwi, "Púe tammin tûpanna
old women that say-dur already our pinenut-o
nayaappuh," mii ningwúnú. "Púe pahannai kimahinna'ummú
taken quot say already down come-hither-pl
potsomahinna pahannai senu tûpanna yaayingkasi
pour(pl)-hither down after all pinenut-o get-stop(pl)-sub
ukkwah. Pahannai yotinna."
when down fly(pl)

Isapaippú etu sutummi hipittsittsiammí utummi
Coyote this those-O old ladies-O those-O
Tukuwuappuh ma enni yukwinnoonna utumming kope katu, Sky Penis with this-way do-moving their face at

utummi wuppainna, naangkasuwamminna. Tupanna nayaatu'ih those-O hit(pl) sounded like pinenut-O be taken-will

ukkwah, ukkwa ti tukuwuan ma Isapaippuppuan Tukuwuappuh. when that-O emph Sky Penis with Coyote's Sky Penis

Un Tukuwuappuh sunni yukwippuhantü. his Sky Penis that-way did

Supe'e kimmatü utummi tsuumakku. Kimmatü ukkwah then coming those die(pl)-result coming when

supe'eni tsuumanna utummi puu. Isapaippu pange miatu u then die(pl) those emph Coyote up going there

tu tiyaitaihwappüha kee paappühpa'e takuttiyaitaihwä, through died-sub not water-have thirst-died

petsumi'atü. holler-going

U yaakki utü Antsaapanappüh u yaakki sope'e. it get that Flicker it bring that time

Toya ma apa supe'e u hanninna; u üanna. mountain on there that time it do it plant

Tukopoyo'ittsi pahannai ipantu napakkataihwa. U Kingbird down here was killed him

pakkatai sutuumü u kimmangkün tü. Sukkwam maanangkwatü killed those him chasing that's other side
Kaakki napakka... napakkatainnuh. U tümpi kattu u wihnu.
Crow was killed was killed it rock at it then

Supe'e Kaakki yutsükommìnna, usu püü ukkwah!
that time Crow flew around that is emph when

Waanguupaï toypi tu ha!
piñon stand(pl) mountain through emph

10.4 SUMUTTU NAWIPI ISAPUNGU MAYUWIMMIPÜHANTU
"ONE GIRL WHO WENT AROUND WITH A DOG"

Hipittsittsi nümì natümüingküppührantu püesù sape'esù ukkwah:
Sümüttu nawipi isapungku mai nuwimmipühantu. "Nü kammu
yukwitu mä mäi,\" yukwipühantu. Satu suñni yukwitu naammaa
püü! U mai nuwitü noohompe u tsangkannuwiitü.
Isapungkuppy süni u yukwi wihnu. U naakëtu tupoonug
kahontu u mä'e nuwitü noohimpe enni.
Üküsù ukkwah supe'esù sutu no'apükkahva: üküsù ukkwah
supe'esù sutu kammapiukkahnu. Hipittsittsi utu mi'a
taamiammaa u kammanuha okkwah, u kappinnangkwa katùtu ukkwah
sutungku kee teewingkutsinna etu un natapu. Kamman naammaa
sütu u püü, kappinnangkwatü katünnuwiitü hipittsittsi u
nangkaha wihnu. "Isan tuammu naangka nàmo'i. Sepe isapungku
tuammuttsi. So'oppuh naangka nàmo'i,\" mii yukwipühantu sutu.
U nangkaha sätu.
Üküsù ukkwah supe'esù sutu wihnu...un natapu u
teevingkünnna wihnu üküsù ukkwah sutu kammanna sutu wihnu
nawipi utu. Kammanaa sutu. Kammanapitü sutu üküsù ukkwah
supe'esù sutu tiyaitainnuh,... U kuppan ti epetti sutümmü,
tsokonetaippù isapaippu isan tuammuttsi utümmü.
Usun takasu.
An old woman told us a story about when it was long ago:

One girl went around with a dog. "I hunted rabbits with him," she said. She did it like that, it is so! She walked with him always, leading him around (with a rope).

The dog would do it to her then. He would mate with her in the desert, going around with her this way.

When it was a little later, then she got pregnant; when it was a little later she got sick. An old lady went...went to visit her when she got sick. When the old lady was sitting outside, those two, the girl and her uncle, didn't tell anything about it. While the girl was really sick, the old lady sat around outside and then heard something. "Coyote's [i.e., dog's] babies are making noise crying. Around here there are dog's babies. Many of them are making noise crying," it is said she said. She heard it.

When it was a little later, then that one, her uncle, told the old lady about it, and then the girl was sick. She was sick. When she was laid up sick a little later, then she died.... What was inside of her there were those ones, those babies of coyote's [the dog's], coyote's babies scratching around.

That's all.

Interlinear Translation

SÜMÜTTÜ NAWIPI ISAPUNGKU MAI NUWIMMIPPÜHANTU
ONE GIRL DOG WITH WENT AROUND

Hipittsittsi númmi natümuinguküppühantü püesü
old woman us(exc) told story long ago

sape'esü ukkwah:
that time when
Sümüttü navipi isapungku mai nuwimmippühantü. "Nü one girl dog with went around I
kammu yukwitü ma mai," yuwwipühhantü. Satü sunni rabbit go after him with said that that way
yukwitü naamaa puü! U mai nuwitü noohompe u do was emph him with walk always him
tsangkannuwwitü.
leading-walking

Isapungkuppü sunni u yuwwi wihnu. U naaketü dog that way her do then her mate with-hab
tupoong kahontü u ma’e nuwitü noohimpe enni. desert in her with going around always this way

Ükusü ukkah supe’esü sutü no’apükkahwa; ükusü ukkah after while that time that got pregnant after while
supe’esü sutü kammapükkanuh. Hipittsittsi utü mi’a that time that got sick old woman that go
taammiaa u kammanuha okkah, u kappinnangkwa kätütü visit-go her got sick-sub when it outside sitting
ukkah sutungku kee teewingkütinsa etü un natapu. Kamman when those(dl) not tell this her uncle sick
naamaa sutü u puü, kappinnangkwätü kätünnuwwitü hipittsittsi was that it emph outside sit around old lady
u nangkaha wihnu. "Isan tuammü naangka nano’i. it hear-stv then coyote’s babies make noise cry(pl)
Sepe isapungkun tuammüttsi. So'oppüh naangka hereabouts dog's babies many make noise namo'i," mii yûkwîppûhantu sutû. U nangkaha sutû cry(pl) quot said that it hear-stv that

Uküsû ukkwah supe'esû sutû wihnu...un natapu u after while that time that then her uncle her teewingkûnna wihnu Uküsû ukkwah sutû kammanna sutû wihnu tell then after while that be sick that then
	nawipi utû. Kammanna sutû. Kammahapitû sutû uküsû ukkwah girl that be sick that be sick-lie that after while

supe'esû sutû tiyaitainnuh.... U kuppan ti epetti that time that died her inside emph here-emph sutûmû, tsokonetaippûh isapaippû isan tuammüttsi utummu. those scratched up coyote's coyote's babies those

Usun takasî.

that's all

10.5 SUMÜTTÛ WA'IPPU PAHAMITTSI MAI KATUMMINNA "ONE WOMAN WHO STAYED WITH A BEAR"

Wa'ippua ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwûëmmaa utû pahamîttsl utû hakamaana u nuwu ko toya ma nootûnga. Pûnnang kahni kattu u petsûttaisuwammisu tawintûng kuppantsû. Sope katûmmnina sutû wihnu u ma'i ûppûihantu...pahamîttslia.

Ukûsû ukkwah un nanûsû u pûhaiko wihnu punikkammaa sutûmmû pahamîttsl to'ekku tawintûng kuppahtantsû. Un tûkkatûlah pûhaikwassû sukkwa sutû wa'ippuûa. U makakommnina sapettû. Sukkwa sutû pinnasû miammmaa sutû u makannwüisû to'ekku sutû pinnasû miamia.
A woman was caught by a bear somewhere, probably when she was walking someplace in the mountains. He wanted to take her for good to his own house in a cave. There she stayed, and then she slept with him...the bear.

A little later, when her relatives were looking around for her, they saw the bear come out from inside of the cave. He was going out to look for something for her, the woman, to eat. He would feed her there. He would go out more, so he could feed her something, he would go out more.

Then they killed him there; they really shot him! Then they, the woman's own relatives, took her away. After they had taken her to their own house, the woman was pregnant! "I slept nice and warm with him, that bear, there. I wasn't cold. I slept well with him. Inside his house it always gets nice and warm."

Interlinear Translation
SUMÜTTÜ WA'IPPU PAHAMITTSI MAI KATUMMINNA
ONE WOMAN BEAR WITH STAYED

Wa'ippüa ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwüummaa utü
woman-O that-O where some caught that

pahamittsü utü hakamaana u nuwiku toya ma nootünga.
bear that someplace her walk-sub mountain on maybe
Punnang kahni kattu u petsùtaisuwammisù tawintüng kuppantù. his own house to her take-cmplt-want cave inside

Sope katùminnna sutù wihnu u ma'i üppüihantù...pahamittsia. there stayed that then him with slept bear-0

Ukùsù ukkwah un nanùmù u puhaiko wihnu punikkammaa after while her relatives her look for then saw

sutùmmù pahamittsi to'ekku tawintüng kuppahantù. Un those bear emerge-result cave from inside her
tükkatu'iha puhaikwasù sukkwa sutù wa'ippùa. U makakominna eat-would-0 look for that-0 that woman-0 her feed

sapettù. Sukkwa sutù pinnasù miamma sutù u makannuwisù thereabouts that-0 that more went that her feed
to'ekku sutù pinnasù miamia.
go out-result that more go-go

Supe'esù supa'antu u pakkahwa, sutùmmù u that time through there him killed those him
kuttimmàa puù! Supe'esù sutùmmù u petsùnnuwinmaa wa'ippùa shot emph that time those her took walking woman-0

punnnan nanùmù. Pùmming kahni ka u petsùppùh no'api her own relatives their own house at her took-prf pregnant

naammaa sutù u puù wa'ippù! "Nù tsao yuwa hapità u ma'e was that it emph woman I well warm lie him with

ukkwà pahamittsi ape. Ke nù üitsù'immitù. Tsao nù that-0 bear thereabouts not I be cold-used to well I
u ma'e hapitu. Ung kahni kuppantu tsao yuwa'itükki."

him with lie his house inside nice get warm

10.6 CONVERSATION

TOPIC I: BOILING WATER

MB: Nu paa útiltaippuh.
MK: Útiltaippuh.
MB: Haa'a....

TOPIC II: VENEREAL DISEASE

MB: Himpuuppütü....
Aitiinnapp'ü punkang kuhmattsia kammakataippuh sutü.
MK: Tumpahi makatai?
MB: Tumpahi makatai kuhmanna.
MK: Sümni ha yükwit sütü?
MB: Hakani püü?
MK: Aattsa'a!
MB: Ned sümni teewinna; Tseekkia teewingkünna.
MK: Hakka?
MB: Ned.
MK: Neti.
MB: Ned sümni teewinna.
MK: Aa'a.
MB: Tseekkia teewingkünna, Tseekkippu nümni teewingkünna supa'antu.
MK: Pünnasün tumpahi makantu sutü naahi, sunni yükwitü püü sutü?
MB: Hai.
MK: Aitiinnappu sunni yükwitü püü sutü!
MB: Ahaa.
MK: Taona ka mi'akkwa?
MB: Sutummuh hakattuh kooni Pisippu kattu suttu.
MK: Sukkuh koonikomminna?
MB: Haa'a.
MK: Haa'a. Katütü sutü pinna?
MB: Katütü sutü.
MK: Haa'a.
MB: Hakapa'a sampe wükkanna sutü wihnu hakapaamaana.
MK: Kuhmattsi?
MB: Rittsatü.
MK: Mainni?
MB: Haa'a.
MB: Haa'a.
MK: Utü Sosonippü sakkuh utumü kattü?
MB: [Kee] himpaitsinna.
MK: Haa?
MB: Kee himpaitsinna.
MK: Hakani naattaimmaa?
MB: Un natammu kuppakkuppüsü kee pitütsinna utü.
MK: Haa'a.
MB: Un tuappü un natammuia tsakküppatai, u punikka, miü yükwippühantü, Rittsatü ma'e.
MK: Haka ma'e sutü?
MB: Sutü.
MK: Haa?
MB: Sutü.
MK: Küppatai sutü un nimpüppüh.
MB: Haa'a.
Ukkwa mümning kahní ka katu tünnna sukkwa teewingkünna sutù?
MK: Ahaa.
MB: Ahaa.
MK: Supa'a pitüsi u waka naappuh naahi.
MB: Hakapa'a sampe.
MK: Nootúnga taona ka.
MB: Taona ka.
MK: Un niippammü sutümümì puü, Sittuwatúppammì?
MB: Rittsatün nìi?
MK: Sukkwasün nanümì puü?
MK: Sutümmin nümàppu naappuhamù.
MB: "Nù kee yuhukunnappùppa'ìntü; nùu sattu pange mìa,' mìi yùkwipùphùntù Tseekki. "U pa'an taona u pa'antu yuhukunna aittün....."
MK: Haa'a.
MK: Sümmì yìlingkùnna?
MB: Haa'a.
MK: Aattsáa! Tsao un nukwinna.
MK: Sümmì yùkwìngkùnna.
MK: Üùttseùù!
MB: Ukkwuh ape ung katuku sümmìi yùkwìngkùmmìna, mìi yùkwipùphùntù sutù. Pange akkuh Sittuwatúmmü ka katuku ukkah, u tiyoimminna, mìi yùkwipùphùntù.
MK: Sutù?
MB: Haa’a.
MK: Sukkuh ha pitükwaamaa sutummu u waka? Sutū?
MB: Hakatū?
MK: Ruhtüppū waka.
MB: Haa’a, yuhukunnanna natünkawkwasi, yuhukunnanna natünkawkwasi pūū.
MK: Haa’a....

TOPIC III: THE COP

MK: Haa’a.
MB: Sukkwa tuttsūppūh suwangkūnna tsuattamappūa pittuhungka wiinu.
MK: Hakami u yüwingkūnna?
MB: ”Kee u ma’i nuwitūantū,” hakami mii u yüwingkūppūhantū sutū navitssipippūa um petūppūa.
MK: Hakka siingkūnna [= sümmi yüwingkūnna]?
MB: Aniam petūppūa ukkwa.
MK: Aniam petūnna ukkwa siingkūnna.
MB: U waka pitükwa ung kahni kuppa tsuattamappū etū.
MK: Üunūū!
MB: ”Tūttsūppūh nüü mūmī suwangkūnna nūmūppūammī,” mii yüwingkūnna.
MK: Utū tsuattamappū?
MB: Haa’a.
MK: Aattsaa!
MB: ”Tuunnūkammī nüü tūttsūppūh suwangkūnna tūnga,” mii yüwingkūnna.
MK: Hinnappūammī?
MB: Tuunnūkappūammī.
MK: Sukkwa tūnga?
Tuttsuppüh u nangkasuwangkünsti setü wihnu yakaimmaa, Aniam petü etü.

MK: Sukkwah sümmi u yükwiku yakainna?

MB: "Nümüppamü mümü kee namokkuppühkantü, keehlippühkantü," sümmi mii yükwikkanna.

MK: Aattsaa!

MB: Hü süpe'enni yakaippühantü.

MK: U nangkahantü tsuùattamappü etü?

MB: Hakani tokwi püü. Tuttsuppüütuppüh satü!

MK: Tuttsuppüütuppüh naammäa sutü.

MB: "Hakani yükwitü mitükkaanoppü ma'i nuwikkimminna püü?" Etü sümmi u yükwinglykünna wihnu.

"Kee um petü," nuhi mii yükkwi sutü, "Kee um petü."

MK: Aa.

MB: Pünnahapiam petü.

MK: Nahonna wihnu tuttsüppüh u suwangkünna.

"Ümmi ha petü sümmatü naakkimmaa sutü?" Nati'iwantün noo sutü u nippaahi. "Ümmi ha petü sutü, pünnahapi asü petü?" mii naakki, mii tünga u nangkawi.

MB: "Um Pünnahapi naahi satü," mii yiingkümmaa.

MK: Ee?

MB: "Um pünnahapi naahi satü," mii yiingkümmaa.


Antsippu u ma'i mi'amiiappühantü kee sutü tünga püesün tünga? Nümüppü ma'i tünga....

TOPIC IV: WHERE THE WHITE MAN SLEEPS

MK: Hakapa sitü hapitü sipaitü kahnittsi u kuppa?

MB: Päi kahnittsi u kuppa.

MK: Mitükkaano tsukuppü tukumpe kahnittsi u kuppa?

MB: Ahaa.

MK: Itü Mitükkaanoppü?

TOPIC V: WOODCUTTING

MK: Summatu ha yuwaintu, üitsü'intü kee yuwaintu?
MB: Yuwaintu.
MK: Nüetünna kee hannihangku.
MB: Kottoonümütsi 8a kuppä tükitü'immä nüü swappüühantu ü kuppä hapimmüppüüh. Süyttiïyaitai tasüütiiyaitai.
MK: Tukwannä nüü tasüütiiyainnuümüi....

MB: Tüsükkiplitüüntüüi.
MK: Mümüü kee kunnappüühpä'isu mungku tungwa.
MK: Hakaníyu etü pikkööpä pa'a muhing kunnoonnuüüppüüh?
MB: Tsumataiüüppüüh.
MB: Tüsikka'annümüüttüütsi yaakkwa.
MK: Haa?
MB: Tüsikka'annümüüttüütsi yaakkwa. Utü ü yaakkwamaa.
"Nüü kee süütiiyaitü kahni kuppa kottoohanü katutü ü kuppä."
"Noo süütiiyai napíhnaapü naaku, noo süütiiyai," mii ü yükwingkuünna imaa nüü.
Na'aawahmaasi ukkwah mii yükwingkuünna. Mitüukkanöa tuupükängkuünna mitüükkanö ma'i tammi taona ka m'i'atuüüppüüha. Nosoo'üütiüü. Nosoo'üütiüü.
MB: Haa'a.
MK: Supe'ë man tuupükappüüha.
MB: Tukwawani nasoo'immüasu.
MK: Ee?
MB: Tukwawani nasoo'immaa tüüngä.
MK: Kee sumpanaltsimaa sümmatu tüngwa mi'akwantu'ippühantü nangkatü Palinna ma'e mi'atü.

Idiomatic Translation

TOPIC I: BOILING WATER

MB: My water's hot.
MK: It's hot.
MB: Yes....

TOPIC II: VENEREAL DISEASE

MB: Something to talk about....
   Irene has infected her own husband.
MK: Gave him V.D.?
MB: She gave V.D. to her husband.
MK: Did he say so?
MB: Why?
MK: Nasty!
MB: Ned told about it; he told Jake.
MK: Who?
MB: Ned.
MK: Ned.
MB: Ned told about it; he told Jake, and Jake told us about it.
MK: He might have given his own V.D., could he do that?
MB: Unlikely.
MK: Irene is the one who did it?
MB: Uh-huh.
MK: They went to town?
MB: They went somewhere through there towards Bishop.
MK: They went all over around there?
MB: Yes.
MK: Yes. The aforementioned one [= Irene] stayed?
MB: She stayed.
MK: Yes.
MB: Where'd she catch it? White people have V.D., at least some among them.
MK: These white people have V.D.? Whites don't have V.D. Indians do! Indians do! They don't take care of themselves well. On the other hand, white people medicate what they catch, when they catch V.D., and then they get well. You were like that when a white man had given it to you; you got well right away since you medicated yourself.
MB: He was working somewhere then, someplace.
MK: The husband?
MB: Richard.
MK: [In a] mine?
MB: Yes.
MK: Yes. That's why he went away when that was happening. Nasty! What [kind of] mind could he have? What? What? She is doing like what Eva used to do [before she died].
MB: Yes.
MK: Is that Shoshone still there with them?
MB: He's not there.
MK: Huh?
MB: He's not there.
MK: What happened?
MB: His car broke down, and he didn't come back.
MK: Yes.
MB: His son wrecked his car; he saw it, someone said, with Richard.
MK: Who was he with?
MB: That one.
MK: Huh?
MB: That one.
MK: His possession broke down.
MB: Yes.
Is he telling the one who is staying in you-all's house?
MK: Yes.
MB: Yes.
MK: It might have been that he came back with him.
MB: [I don't know where, maybe] somewhere.
MK: Maybe in town.
MB: In town.
MK: What is the Stewards' relation to him?
MB: To Richard?
MK: They're his relatives?
MB: Yes. He used to say they're his cousins.
MK: It was their bodies [that carried the disease then].
MB: "I don't have any stove oil; I'm going up through there [to get some]," Jake said. "That kind of stove oil is above there, above town...."
MK: Yes.
MB: "I'll ask Ruth for [some]," he said.
"What are you hanging around there for, what are you hanging around for?" said Donald Buff.
MK: He said that to (him)?
MB: Yes.
"You should go elsewhere, you should go. Don't stay at the house!" he told him.
MK: Nasty! It's good what he did.
MB: He doesn't like him.
"I don't have to go. I take care of Mamie. If you send Mamie away, then I might go," he told him.
MK: So he said.
MB: "I take care of the chickens."
"Don't stay there at the house," he said.
MK: Nasty!
MB: He used to say the same thing to him when he stayed over there, he said. When he stayed up there at the Stewards', he used to send him away too, he said.
MK: That one?
MB: Yes.
MK: Did they arrive there with her? That one?
MB: Who?
MK: With Ruth.
MB: Yes, to ask for stove oil, to ask for stove oil!
MK: Yes....

TOPIC III: THE COP

MB: I don't like what I hear about this cop here. Angie told about it going to Babsie's. His daughter was definitely going around with Babsie.
MK: Yes.
MB: She didn't like the cop going over there then.
MK: What did he say to her?
MB: "Don't go around with her," is what he told her about the girl, his daughter.
MK: Who did he say it to?
MB: To Annie's daughter.
MK: He said it to Annie's daughter!
MB: He went there into her house, this cop did.
MK: Nasty!
MB: "I don't like you all, you Indians," he said.
MK: That cop [said that]?
MB: Yes.
MK: Nasty!
MB: "I don't like Blacks either," he said.
MK: Which?
MB: Blacks.
MK: Them either.
MB: Uh-huh. He said it.
   She didn't like hearing it so she cried then, Annie's daughter cried.
MK: After he said that she cried?
MB: "You Indians don't have any money, you don't have anything," he said.
MK: Nasty!
MB: That's why she cried!
MK: Did the cop hear her?
MB: Could be so.... He's bad.
MK: He has been a bad one.
MB: "Why is it that they are running around with whites?" he said to her then.
    "It's not even his daughter," she told us two, "It's not his daughter."
MK: Oh.
MB: It's the wife's daughter.
MK: Then he doesn't like her for nothing.
    "Since when did she become your daughter?" She should have been tough and talked back to him so. "Is it your daughter or is it your wife's daughter?" She should have become so and spoken to him.
MB: She might be his wife [i.e., the girl might sleep with him], somebody said.
MK: Eh?
MB: It might be his wife, somebody said.
MK: It might be that kind [of special relationship between stepfather and stepdaughter]. These whites might do that kind [of special relationship], it used to be said. The Indians wouldn't do that!
    Isn't it also so that he went around with Angie a while back. He was with Indians [too]....

TOPIC IV: WHERE THE WHITE MAN SLEEPS

MK: Where does this other one sleep around here?
MB: Up in the shack.
MK: Is the old white man in the tin shack?
MB: Uh-huh.
MK: This white man here?
MB: Uh-huh. He's going to run off tomorrow.
MK: Is that particular one warm or is he cold, not warm?
MB: He's warm.
MK: When it's not (making) blowing.
MB: I thought about putting a little fire burner in it so he could lie [= sleep] in it. [I'm] dying of the cold, [my] feet are dying of cold.

MK: At night I have been freezing my feet....

**TOPIC V: WOODCUTTING**

MB: Gotta cut firewood.
MK: You all don't have any firewood either.
MB: Yes. He said he was going to haul firewood.
MK: How about what you two hauled on the pick-up?
MB: It's all gone.
MK: He just hauled a little bit. Since he didn't take the axe, they were long [logs].
MB: He took a little saw.
MK: Huh?
MB: He took a little saw. That one took it.
MK: The little girl went with him to help.
   She'll learn. He'll make them feel it, he said.
   "Freeze! You should freeze!" he told them.
   "I don't freeze in the house, I sit in it burning a fire."
   "You ought to freeze because you're lazy, you ought to freeze," I said to her this morning.
She was saying to [me ?] when she was refusing being lazy. She got mad on account of the white man, the white man we could have gone with. There was a movie. There was a movie.
MB: Yes.
MK: That's when she got mad.
MB: At night there's still a movie.
MK: Eh?
MB: There was a movie last night too.
MK: She didn't know about it either, but she could have gone if she had heard, gone with Pauline.
Interlinear Translation

**TOPIC I: BOILING WATER**

MB: Nu paa üüitaippüh.
    my water be hot-prf

MK: Üüitaippüh.
    be hot-prf

MB: Haa'a....
    yes

**TOPIC II: VENEREAL DISEASE**

MB: Himppüppütü....
    something [to talk about]

    Aitiinnappü'ü pünnang kuhmattsia kammakataippüh sutü.
    Irene her own husband disease-give-prf that

MK: Tümpha makatai?
    V.D. gave

MB: Tümpha makatai kuhmann.
    V.D. gave husband-O

MK: Sümmi ha yükwitü sutü?
    so Q say that

MB: Hakani püü?
    how emph

MK: Aattsaa!
    nasty
MB: Ned sümmi teewinna; Tsekkia teewingkünna.
   Ned thus tell Jake-O tell to

MK: Hakka?
   who

MB: Ned.

MK: Neti.
   Ned

MB: Ned sümmi teewinna.
   Ned thus tell

MK: Aa'a.
   oh

MB: Tsekkia teewingkünna, Tsekkippu númmi teewingkünna
   Jake-O tell to Jake us(exc) tell to
   supa'antü.
   that-about

MK: Pūnñasün tümpahi makantu sutü naahi, his own V.D. give that might
   sunni yukwitü puü sutü?
   that-way do emph that

MB: Hai.
   unlikely

MK: Aitiinnappu sunni yukwitü puü sutü!
   Irene like-that do emph that
MB: Ahaa.
    uh-uh

MK: Taona ka mi'akkwa?
town to go(pl)

MB: Sutummū hakattuh koonni Pisippūh kattu suttu.
    those somewhere go Bishop towards through there

MK: Sukkuh koonikomminna?
    there go-around-iterative

MB: Haa'a.
    yes

MK: Haa'a. Katūtū sutū pinna?
    yes stay that aforementioned

MB: Katūtū sutū.
    stay that

MK: Haa'a.
    yes

MB: Hakapa'antu u kwūūppūh sutū? Mitūkkaannūmū
    where it caught that Caucasian-people
    tūmpahikantū nanahapantū.
    V.D.-having intermingled among

MK: Mitūkkaano sitūmmū tūmpahikantū? [Laughs] Kee
    Caucasian these V.D.-have not
    tūmpahikantū mitūkkaano. Nūmūppū! Nūmūppū! Kee
    V.D.-have Caucasian Indian-emph Indian-emph not
tsao namaappa' i. Mitükkaano nattusu'uwatü puu
well self-care for Caucasian medicate emph

u kwütti tumphhipitta kwüsü, supe'esü sutü tsao
it catch-emph V.D.-O catch then that well

naakkwa. Üü sunniyuppühantü taipo'onna ün nattuppuh;
get you that-way-be Caucasian-O you gave-sub

üü upenisü tsao naakkappühantü nanattusu'uwasi.
you right away well got self-medicate

MB: Hakapa'a sampe wükkanna sutü wihnu hakapaamaana.
somewhere work that then someplace

MK: Kuhmattsi?
husband

MB: Rittsatü.
Richard

MK: Mainni?
mine

MB: Haa'a.
yes

MK: Haa'a. Sunni puü naatü mi'attaisü sunni yukwitü
yes that way emph be went away that way do

puü. Üüttsa! Hakani kia mukuapaitü? Hakani? Hakani?
emph nasty what might mind-have what what

Tipüppü naapühantü u wa'e yukwitü.
Eva was her like do
MB: Haa'a.
yes

MK: Utü Sosonippü makkhu utummü kattü?
that Shoshone there those at

MB: [Kee] hímáitsínna.
not be there

MK: Haa?
huh

MB: Kee hímáitsínna.
not be there

MK: Hakani naattaimmaa?
what happened

MB: Un natammüpi kúppakkuppúsü kee pítütsínna utü.
his car broke not return that

MK: Haa'a.
yes

MB: Un tuappü un natammupia tsakkúppatai, u punikka,
his son his car wrecked it see

mia yúkwíppúhántü, Ríttsäti mæ'e.
quote said Richard with

MK: Haka mæ'e sutü?
whom with that

MB: Sutü.
that
MK: Haa?
    huh

MB: Sutū.
    that

MK: Küppatai sutū un nimpūpuh.
    broke down that his possession

MB: Haa'a.
    yes

    Ukkwa mümming kahni ka katūtūnna sukkwa
    that-o you-all's house at staying that-o

    teewingkūnna sutū?
    tell to that

MK: Ahaa.
    yes

MB: Ahaa.
    yes

MK: Supa'a pitūsi u waka naappūn nashi.
    there return him with be-prf might

MB: Hakapa'a sampe.
    somewhere

MK: Nootūnega taona ka.
    maybe town in

MB: Taona ka.
    town in
MK: Un niippüammü sutümmü püü, Sittuwatüppüammü?
his what-relatives those emph Stewards

MB: Rittsatün nii?
Richard's what-relative

MK: Sukkasün nanüümü püü?
his relatives emph

MB: Haa'a. Um püpuammü mii yükwimminna sitü.
yes his cousins quote say-used to this

MK: Sutümmin nüümüappü naappühan tü.
their bodies was

MB: "Nü kee yuhukunnappühpa'intü; nüü sattu pange mii'a,"
I not stove oil-have I there up go

mii yükwippühantü Tseekki. "U pa'an taona u pa'antu
quote said Jake it above town it above

yuhukunna aittün...."
stove oil that kind

MK: Haa'a.
yes

MB: "Nüü Ruhtüa nü natüngkanna, mii yükwippühantü.
I Ruth-O I ask for quote said

"Hinna punikkatütü sap'a'ü, hinna punikkatü," mii
what hang around there you what hang around quote

yiingkünna Tanam Pahpuppü.
tell to Donald Buff
MK: Sümä yiingkünna?

thus say to

MB: Haa'a.

yes

"Noo mi'a antappu noo mi'a. Kee kahi ki ka
should go else[where] should go not house at
katükkantü," mii u yiingkünna.
sit-stv quote him tell to

MK: Aattsaa! Tsao un nukwinna.
nasty well his doing

MB: Tuttsüppuh suwangkün tu sutu.
bad think that
[= not like]

"Nü kee miatuantü; nü Memmia takkamahantü.
I not go-have to I Mamie-O take care of
Memmia ün tiyotaiha püü, nuü mi'ahippüü püü,"
Mamie-O you send away emph I go-might emph
mii a yuükwingkünna.
quote him say to

MK: Sümmi yuükwingkünna.
so say to

MB: "Tsikkuna'a nüü takkamahantü."
chicken I take care of

"Kee sakkuh katükkantü kahi ki ka," mii yuwwkinna.
not there stay house at quote say
MK: Öüttsüü!
nasty

MB: Ukkwuh ape ung katüku sümmisi yükwungkümmınna, there thereabouts his stay-sub same say to-used to
mii yükwippühantü sutü. Pange akkuh Sittuwatümmü ka
quote said that up there Stewards at
katüku ukkwah, u tiyoimminna, mii
stay-sub when him send away-used to quote
yükwippühantü.
said

MK: Sutü?
that

MB: Haa'a.
yes

MK: Sukkuh ha pitükwammaa sutummü u waka? Sutü?
there Q arrived-thither those her with that

MB: Hakatü?
who

MK: Ruhtüppü waka.
Ruth with

MB: Haa'a, yuhukunnanna natüngkakwasi, yuhukunnanna
yes stove oil-O ask for-sub stove oil-O
natüngkakwasi püü.
ask for-sub emph
MK: Haa'a... 
yes 

TOPIC III: THE COP 

MB: Tsuattamappua ekka ipa'antun nuu tuttsü 
cop-O that here I bad 
nangkasuwangkünna. Antsi teewingkünna Baapüttsi wakantu 
hear-feel about Angle tell about to Babsie with 
pitükwammaatü. Um petüppü utu u ma'i nuwitü 
arrived his daughter that her with go around 
hiipinna Baapüttsi. 
definitely Babsie 

MK: Haa'a. 
yes 

MB: Sukkwa tuttsüppüh suwangkünna tsuattamappua 
that bad feel [ =dislike] cop-O 
pittuhungka wihnu. 
arrive-sub then 

MK: Hakami u yukwingkünna? 
what her say to 

MB: "Kee u ma'i nuwitiüantü," hakami mii u 
not her with go around-must what quote her 
yukwingküppühantü sutü nawittsippüa um petüppüa. 
said to that girl-O his daughter-O
NK: Hakka siingkunna [= sümü yükwingkunna]? whom thus-say to thus say to

MB: Aniam petüppüa ukkwa.
Annie's daughter-O that-O

NK: Aniam petünna ukkwa siingkunna.
Annie's daughter-O that-O thus-say to

MB: U waka pitükwa ung kahni kuppa tsüattamappū etū.
her with arrive-thither her house in cop this

NK: Üünüü!
nasty

MB: "Tüttssüppūh nüü mümmi suwangkunna nümüppuammi," bad I you all-O feel [=dislike] Indians-O

mii yükwikkinna.
quote say-hither

NK: Utü tsüattamappū?
that cop

MB: Haa'a.
yes

NK: Aattsaa!
nasty

MB: "Tuunnükammi nüü tütttsüppūh suwangkünna tünga,"
Blacks-O I bad feel about [=dislike] also

mii yükwikkinna.
quot say
MK: Hinnappüammi?
which-pl-O

MB: Tuunnükappüammi.
Blacks-O

MK: Sukkwa tünga?
that-O also

uh-uh quot say

Tüttsüppüh u nangkasuwangkünnsi setü wihnu
bad it hear-feel about [-dislike] this then

yakaimmaa, Aniam petü etü.
cried Annie's daughter this

MK: Sukkwa sümmi u yüwiku yakainna?
that-O thus him say-sub cry

MB: "Numüppüammü mimμu kee namokkuppühkantü,
Indians you all not money-have

keehiippühkantü," summi mii yüwikkanina.
nothing-have thus quot say

MK: Aatssaa!
nasty

MB: Hii supe'enni yakaippühantü.
what then cried

MK: U nangkahantü tsüattamappü etü?
her hear cop this
MB: Hakani tokwi pū. Tüttsüppütüppūh satū!
somehow right emph bad that

MK: Tüttsüppütüppūh naammaa sutū.
bad was that

MB: "Hakani yūkwitu mitūkkaanoppū ma'i nuwikkimminna pūū?"
why do white people with run around emph

Etū summi u yūkwitingkūnna wihnu.
this that her say to then

"Kee um petū," nuhi mī yūkwi sutū, "Kee um
not his daughter us(di) quot say that not his

petū."
daughter

MK: Aa.
oh

MB: Pūnahapiam petū.
wife's daughter

MK: Nahonna wihnu tūttsüppūh u suwangkūnna.
be nothing then bad her feel [dislike]

"Ūmmi ha petū sūmmatū naakkimmaa sutū?"
your Q daughter-that one got to be that

Nati'iwantūn noo sutū u nippahahi. "Ūmmi ha petū
be tough must that him talk back-dub your Q daughter

sutū, pūnahapī asū petū?" mī naaakki, mī tūngā
that wife's that daughter quot become quot also
nangkawi.
speak

MB: "Um Pūnnahāpi naahi satū," mii yilingkūmmaa.
his wife might be that quot said to

MK: Eh?
eeh

MB: "Um pūnnahāpi naahi satū," mii yilingkūmmaa.
his wife might be that quot said to

MK: Suwittū pū naahi sutū. Suwittūppūh sutū
that kind emph might be that that kind that

sunni yūkwitū, mii naahi yūkwinkūmmīnna,
that way do quot might be say-used to

setūmmū mitükkaanoppūammū. Nūmū kee pūü
these white people Indian not emph

sunni yūkwitū.
that way do

Antsippū u ma'i mi'amī'appūhantū kee sutū
Angie her with went around not that

tūnā pūesūn tūná? Nūmūppū ma'i tūnā....
also while ago also Indian with also
TOPIC IV: WHERE THE WHITE MAN SLEEPS

MK: Hakapa sitū hapitū sipaitū kahnittsi u kuppa?
    where this lie here shack it in

MB: Pai kahnittsi u kuppa.
    up shack it in

MK: Mitükkaano tskuuppū tukumpe kahnittsi u kuppa?
    white person old man tin shack it in

MB: Ahaa.
    uh-huh

MK: Itū Mitükkaanoppū?
    this white person

    uh-huh start to run-will tomorrow when emph

MK: Sümmatū ha yuwaintū, üitsü'intū kee yuwaintū?
    that particular Q be warm be cold not be warm

MB: Yuwaintū.
    be warm

MK: Nüetünna kee hannihangku.
    blowing not do-when

MB: Kottoonümpüttsi ma kuppa tūkitu'immī nūū
    fire burner-little it in put-will-intent I
    suwappuhantū u kuppa hapimmippūh. Süttyaitai
    thought it in lie-iterative-sub cold-die
tasūttiyaitai.
foot-cold-die

MK: Tukwanni nuu tasūttiyainnūmmi....
nighttime I foot-cold-die-moving

TOPIC V: WOODCUTTING

MB: Tūtsikkipiitiuantū.
cut(pl)-have to

MK: Mūmmū kee kunnappūhpasū mungku tungwa.
you all not firewood-have you(dl) also

yes fire-haul-will quot said that

MK: Hakanīyu etū pikkopū pa'a muhing kunnoonnuwippūh?
be how this pick-up on your(dl) fire-haul-sub

MB: Tsumataippūh.
all gone

MK: Hūuttsittsuia kunnoonnookku. Kee atsa yaannaihwappūh
little bit-0 fire-haul-result not axe took
kūkkūputappūh naappūhantū sutū sutū.
long(pl) was that that

MB: Tūtsikka'anūmpūttsia yaakkwa.
saw-little-0 took

MK: Haa?
huh
Tütsikka'annumpüttsia yaakkwa. Utu u yaakkwammaa. saw-little-O took that it took

Nawittsipippu u ma'ı mi'apppuhantu tümaapütunna.  
MK: girl him with went to help

Pusikkwannuha sümmatu. Sutu utummi wümmengküntu'ih  
know-will that certain that those-O feel-make-will

mii yükkippühantu. "Sükkwo'i sükkwo'itsi witsa,"  
quot said cold-die(pl) cold-die(pl) should

mii utummi yükkwinguppühantu.  
quot those-O told

"Nüü kee süttiyaitü kahni kuppa kottochantü  
I not cold-die house in fire-start

katütü u kuppa."  
sit it in

"Noo süttiyai napinhaapu naaku,  
ought to cold-die lazy be-sub

noo süttiyai," mii u yükkwingünna isaa nüü.  
ought to cold-die quot her tell morning I

Na'awaimmaasi ukkwah mii yükkwingünna.  
refuse being lazy when quot say to

Mitükkaanoa tuupükkianggünna mitükkanoo ma'ı tammi  
Caucasian-O get angry about Caucasian with us(inc)

town at go-could have-sub be movie be movie
MB: Haa'a.
   yes

MK: Supe'e    man tuupükappüha.
    that time her get mad-sub

MB: Tukwawani nasoo'innasü.
    at night be a movie-still

MK: Ee?
    eh

MB: Tukwawani nasoo'immaa    tunga.
    last night be a movie-past also

MK: Kee sumpanaitsimmaa    sümmatü    tungwa
    not know-neg-past    that particular also

   mi'akwantu'ippühattü    nangkatü Paulinna ma'e mi'atü.
   go-future-past    hearing Pauline with going
Appendix: Basic Vocabulary List

This appendix contains a list of basic Tümpisa Shoshone vocabulary items written in both phonemic and phonetic notation. A tape recording of the list is on file in the Language Laboratory at the University of California, Berkeley. The speaker was Mamie Boland from Furnace Creek, in Death Valley. On the tape, recorded and transcribed in 1971 by the author, an English word is usually given to elicit a more or less equivalent Tümpisa Shoshone word. Then the words are normally repeated three times in Tümpisa Shoshone. Sometimes there is variation in their pronunciation or grammatical form; when this occurs, it is indicated in the transcriptions with the symbol "≈".

VOCABULARY ITEMS

tukumapanapin [tûYumbânâp] ≈ 'sky'

tapettsi [tâ§c·I] 'sun'
müattsi [mh¥·I] 'moon'
tatsiumpi [tâ§i¥·I] ≈ 'star'
paküünappüh [paY¥náp] ≈ 'cloud'
wüküünappüh [wük·¥náp] ≈ 'fog'
nûaitûn [mâaiO] 'wind, blowing'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nüetün</td>
<td>[néθeʔ]</td>
<td>'wind, blowing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umatün</td>
<td>[iθaʔeθ]</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paa</td>
<td>[pâː]</td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poto'înna</td>
<td>[pō̂rō̂ʔiθn̂:a]</td>
<td>'spring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patūasüpüh</td>
<td>[parîas̄t̄p̄eθ]</td>
<td>'ice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tüasüpüh</td>
<td>[t̄îas̄t̄p̄eθ]</td>
<td>'frozen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahapi</td>
<td>[t̄aθaθi]</td>
<td>'snow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potso'înna</td>
<td>[pō̂z̄ôʔiθn̂:a]</td>
<td>'to be wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ potso'en</td>
<td>[pō̂z̄ôʔeθ]</td>
<td>'be wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokopin</td>
<td>[soθ̄oθ̄i]</td>
<td>'ground, land'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ pasingwampin</td>
<td>[pā̂s̄îŋw̄amp̄i]</td>
<td>'rock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūmpin</td>
<td>[t̄ûm̄pi]</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toyapi(n)</td>
<td>[t̄ôȳapi]</td>
<td>'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toyakatünnaitün</td>
<td>[t̄ôyaθ̄ar̄în̂θ̄i]</td>
<td>'hill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ toyakatünnaih</td>
<td>[t̄ôyaθ̄ar̄în̂θ̄iθ̄]</td>
<td>'be a hill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūngkahni</td>
<td>[t̄îŋḡaθ̄han̄θ̄i]</td>
<td>'cave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'i</td>
<td>[p̄oʔi]</td>
<td>'road'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukwanni</td>
<td>[t̄ûθ̄ûθ̄an̄θ̄i]</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yūwikka</td>
<td>[ȳûθ̄îk̄aθ̄]</td>
<td>'evening'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imaa</td>
<td>[iθ̄aʔi]</td>
<td>'morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatsa</td>
<td>[t̄aθ̄aθ̄]</td>
<td>'summer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tommo</td>
<td>[t̄ôm̄θ̄θ̄]</td>
<td>'winter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahmani</td>
<td>[t̄aθ̄h̄aθ̄n̄θ̄i]</td>
<td>'springtime'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yūpani</td>
<td>[ȳûθ̄aθ̄n̄θ̄i]</td>
<td>'autumn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tommono</td>
<td>[t̄ôm̄θ̄θ̄n̄θ̄o]</td>
<td>'year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahompipin</td>
<td>[p̄aθ̄h̄ôθ̄m̄p̄i]</td>
<td>'tobacco'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanokkutsi</td>
<td>[n̄aθ̄ôθ̄θ̄k̄θ̄θ̄eθ̄i]</td>
<td>'beads'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kohno</td>
<td>[koθ̄h̄o]</td>
<td>'cradle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wika</td>
<td>[wiθ̄aθ̄]</td>
<td>'blanket'</td>
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<tr>
<td>nanokko</td>
<td>[n̄aθ̄ôθ̄θ̄k̄θ̄θ̄θ̄]</td>
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<td>wisipipin</td>
<td>[wiθ̄iθ̄θ̄θ̄i]</td>
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<td>tūmuhun</td>
<td>[t̄ûθ̄ôθ̄θ̄θ̄n̄θ̄u]</td>
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<tr>
<td>≈ tūmuhun</td>
<td>[t̄ûθ̄ôθ̄θ̄θ̄h̄u]</td>
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<tr>
<td>etün</td>
<td>[eθ̄i]</td>
<td>'gun'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX

kahni [káhni] ≈ [kánNI] 'house'
nawüttümappuh [náwit·tawp:] 'dooz'
puhakantün [púhayánté] 'shaman, doctor'
nattusu'ungkantün [nát·Usu[U]kándi] '(pill) doctor'
kimmakinna [kím'áYínA] 'to come hither'
nattusu'un [nát·Usu[U]] 'medicine'
miakkina [míak'IN·A] 'to walk, go pl'
tontö'enna [töndö'én·A] 'to climb up'
notoppahenna [nörop'ahéñ·A] 'to climb down'
wünnu [wín'í] 'stand (dur)'
kattu [kát'í] 'sit (dur)'
hapinna [háőIN·A] 'to lie down'
üppüihan [üp'áhA] 'sleep'
napusawinna [náŋusáwín·A] 'to dream'
≈ napašawih [náŋusáwí] 'dream' (V)
tiyanina [tiyáIN·Á] 'to die'
napakkappuh [náŋak'ap'] 'killed'
u punikkan [u pónik'Á] 'see it'
nangkah [náŋgah] 'hear'
ke'e [ké'e] 'no, not'
sumpanai'i [súmbáññí] 'to talk'
nangkavinna [náŋgyáñ·A] 'to (tell a) lie'
isa'awinna [íšáawín·A] '(tell a) lie'
≈ isa'awih [íšáawí] 'to laugh'
yahenna [yáháñ·A] 'to laugh'
yálnina [yáñIN·A] 'to wash' (Vi)
≠ un noppaippuh [ín nóp·aip'] 'your tears'
≈ un noppeppuh [ín nóp·ep'] 'to cry'
yakainna [yáráIN·A] 'to cry'
≠ yakenna [yáráñ·A] 'to vomit'
pitaninna [pišánín·A] 'to vomit'
uttunna [út·Ún·A] 'to give'
≈ uttuh [út·Ú] 'give'
tukoitsoinna [túyóoiñ·IN·A] 'to wash' (Vi)
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>pasangkünna</td>
<td>[páṣaŋg'IN'A]</td>
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<td>≈ u takkuna</td>
<td>[u rák'ONA]</td>
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<td>[ńńk'ÁN'A]</td>
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<td>tukumahanninna</td>
<td>[tıỳüm'áhän'ÍN'A]</td>
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<td>[tıỳüm'áhän'Í]</td>
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<td>[ku:k'ÍNA]</td>
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<td>ti'iwanna</td>
<td>[tí'iwëN'A]</td>
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<tr>
<td>pakatūh</td>
<td>[páYark] =</td>
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<td>paa okwenna</td>
<td>[pá: óy'UN'A]</td>
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<td>tusinna</td>
<td>[tušIN'A]</td>
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<td>tūtūaingwùnû</td>
<td>[tıräläywentNA]</td>
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<tr>
<td>≈ tūtūainna</td>
<td>[tıräIN'A]</td>
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<td>wasůwükkinna</td>
<td>[wásìwëk'ÍN'A]</td>
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<tr>
<td>≈ wasůwükki</td>
<td>[wásìwëk'I']</td>
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<td>tūtsūünna</td>
<td>[tìtìIN'A] =</td>
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<td>tsikkâ'ah</td>
<td>[grik'ÁA]</td>
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<tr>
<td>≈ u tsikkâ'anna</td>
<td>[u zík'á'áN'A]</td>
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<td>hotanna</td>
<td>[hörãN'A]</td>
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<td>kuttinna</td>
<td>[kút'ÍN'A]</td>
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<tr>
<td>sunni suwanna</td>
<td>[sün'i sùwän'Á]</td>
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<tr>
<td>noohakami yùkwi&quot;</td>
<td>[nó:хаýãəl yóy'mi] =</td>
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<tr>
<td>teewingkünna</td>
<td>[té:wiggin'Á]</td>
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<tr>
<td>napitingkünna</td>
<td>[nápiélìggín'Á]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wúsů'ükkutíh</td>
<td>[wísu'ük'út'I] =</td>
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<tr>
<td>tangummutíh</td>
<td>[tăngum'út'I]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ u tangummutíh</td>
<td>[u râŋum'út'I]</td>
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<tr>
<td>tükkanna</td>
<td>[tık'ÁN'A] ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u küttsi'ah</td>
<td>[u Yéj'í'Á] ≈</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**APPENDIX**

- 'to dry' (vt)
- 'throw'
- 'throw it'
- 'to dance'
- 'to cook'
- 'cook'
- 'to be afraid'
- 'be a body of water'
- 'water flowing'
- 'to spit'
- 'stand and work'
- 'to work'
- 'to hunt'
- 'hunt'
- 'to count'
- 'cut'
- 'to cut it'
- 'to dig'
- 'to shoot'
- 'to think like that'
- 'say something'
- 'to tell'
- 'fight'
- 'kick'
- 'kick it'
- 'to eat'
- 'bite it'
APPENDIX

hipinna [hipIN'A] 'to drink'
u yungwunna [u y'ungwIN'A] 'to swallow it'
pitsinna [piTSIN'A] 'to suckle'
tukkuapin [tük·uåFI] 'meat, flesh'
hupapin [hupapIN] 'soup'
yuhupin [yuhuFI] 'fat'
pihyaapin [pihyæ:FI] 'sugar'
pisittaippüh [piSIT·aiF'I] 'rotten'
tsiatiyaippüh [siariLyaiF'I] 'hungry'
wihi [wiHI] 'knife'
appo'o [apO'o:] 'cup'
sümütünk [sêsêt'I] 'one'
wa [wa] 'two'
= wahattünk [waHat'I] 'three'
pahitung [paHit'I] 'four'
= paittünk [paIt'I] 'five'
waatstüütünk [wåd':twI0FI] 'six'
manikitünk [måN'rI0FI] 'seven'
naapaitünk [nå:påFI] 'eight'
woosüütünk [wó:sswi0FI] 'nine'
waniikkitünk [wåNik·t0FI] 'ten'
süumootünk [sifIo:Rë] 'twenty'
wahamootünk [wåhåaw:Re] 'one hundred'
puhüppühr [pëshëp'I] 'fur'
musui [mûsuwi] 'mustache'
motson [måTo] 'beard, whiskers'
kupisi [kuBISI] 'brains'
ûm pui [ım bui] 'your eye'
patü'a [på:r'æA] 'forehead'
nangki [nåŋKI] 'ear'
mupin [mʊ̃:I] = [mʊFI] 'nose'
tümpe [tûmpE] 'mouth'
ûn nokwon [ên nóM'O] 'your tongue'
APPENDIX

'un taman'  [ɪn dákə]
'un kope'  [ɪŋ gọọə]
'un natsipsi'  [ɪŋ báriŋŋi]
'un natapu'  [ɪn náraŋŋi]
'un kutan'  [ɪŋ qura]
'un tsoppu'  [ɪn ʒi:p Ꙋ]
'un tsoppu'  [ɪŋ bɜrnaŋŋi]
'un mo'o'  [ɪŋ móŋ]
'un tasitu'  [ɪŋ dásiŋu]
'un kwampi'  [ɪŋ gwaŋmp Ꙋ]
'un panapi'  [ɪŋ bánaŋŋi]
'un pitsu'  [ɪŋ bíz Ꙋ]
'somo'  [nówó]
'un pihwü'  [ɪŋ bìh Ꙋ]
'nümü'  [nìw Ꙋ]
'sappu'  [sáp Ꙋ]
'un koe'  [ɪŋ gó]
'un tsiapu'  [ɪŋ ʒiap Ꙋ]
'un nungkwappu'  [ɪŋ náŋŋaŋmp Ꙋ]
'un tohapi'  [ɪn dóhoŋūf Ꙋ]
'un witsa'  [ɪŋ wíz Ꙋ]
'un nampe'  [ɪŋ nàmp Ꙋ]
'un tangappu'  [ɪŋ dángap Ꙋ]
'tsuhmippu'  [pùhôŋp Ꙋ]
'poopi'  [páop Ꙋ]
'un po'a'  [ɪm bóña]
'nümü'  [nìw Ꙋ]
'mitukkaano'  [mírìk Ꙋ nìnó]
'nima'  [nìwó:] 
'un tummu'u'  [ɪn dàm Ꙋ ñu]
'tangummu'  [tāŋ̂ Ꙋ Ꙋ]
'wa'ippu'  [waŋ Ꙋ Ꙋ]
'piammuttsi'  [piam Ꙋ Ꙋ]

='your tooth'
='your face'
='your chin'
='your jaw'
='your neck'
='your shoulder'
='your arm'
='your hand'
='your fingernail'
='your back'
='your chest'
='your breast'
='lungs'
='your heart'
='liver'
='your liver'
='belly'
='your guts'
='your hips'
='your leg'
='your thigh'
='your shin'
='your foot'
='your knee'
='bone'
='blood'
='your skin'
='Indian, person'
='white man'
='friend'
='your enemy'
='man'
='woman'
='baby'
<p>| natūpinniyannahna | [nárɪşiʔi·lyähâń·A] | 'to be named' |
|≈ natūpinniyahan | [nárɪşiʔi·lyähA] | 'to be named' |
| naniyahanna | [náníyahâń·A] | 'your mother' |
| úm pia | [ím biá] | 'your father' |
| ún nappu | [ín náp'í] | 'uncle, mother's brother' |
| atapu'ú | [áraʔúʔU] | 'your aunt, father's sister' |
| ≈ atapu | [áraʔU] | 'your son' |
| úm pahwa | [ím bah'á] | 'your daughter' |
| ún tua&quot; | [ím dua] | 'your husband' |
| úm petü&quot; | [ím báíí] | 'your wife' |
| ≈ úm paitü&quot; | [ím báíí] | 'your wife' |
| ung kuhmatSSI | [íŋ gōhūśá·I] | 'your Ol brother' |
| úm punnahapi'i | [ím bín·ahāšíʔI] | 'your Yo brother' |
| ≈ punnahapi'i | [pín·ahāšíʔI] | 'your Yo brother' |
| úm papi'i | [ím bášíʔI] | 'your Ol sister' |
| ún dami'i | [íŋ dámI?] | 'your Yo sister' |
| úm patsi'i | [ím báziʔI] | 'your Yo sister' |
| ún nammi'i | [ím nám·IʔI] | 'sing' |
| hupiatuki | [hušíaɾíʔI] | ≈ [hušíaɾíI] |
| kammu | [kám·U] | ≈ [kám·U] |
| taputtsi | [tábúš·I] | 'jackrabbit' |
| pongwo'aittsi | [pángwóʔäic·I] | 'cotton tail' |
| ≈ pomo'aittsi | [pálóʔäic·I] | 'mouse' |
| kapaayu | [kásaʔyú] | ≈ [kásaʔyú] |
| pungku | [púŋkú] | 'horse' |
| ≈ úm pungku | [ím búŋkú] | 'pet, horse' |
| isapungku | [íšáŋkú] | 'your pet, horse' |
| pahamittsu | [páhámíč·I] | 'dog' |
| piakuittsun | [piáʔuíč·U] | 'bear' |
| tühía'a | [tíštíʔáʔA] | 'buffalo' |
| wantsu | [wáŋšI] | 'antelope' |
| wasūppin | [wášúp·I] | 'mountain sheep' |
| un naama | [ún náːWá] | 'its horn' |
| ung kwasi | [úŋ g'ášI] | 'its tail' |</p>
<table>
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<th>Náánáa</th>
<th>Náánáa</th>
<th>Síhasi</th>
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<td>kasattsikantun</td>
<td>[kásaqɬ'ɬyántʃ] =</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
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<td>[kásaqɬ-ɬxANTʃ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>yutsünnoona</td>
<td>[yɪtsɪn-ɬb:ɬN:ɬA]</td>
<td>'to fly around'</td>
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<td>pułụttsi</td>
<td>[puhɪɬ-ɬI]</td>
<td>'feather'</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>[úm bshɬɬ-ɬI]</td>
<td>'its feather(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>[nɔyʊɬI]</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
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<td>[kɑːɬk:ɬI]</td>
<td>'crow'</td>
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<td>[pɑŋɬWɪ]</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
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<td>[poʊkʊɬ-ɬʊɬqʊ]</td>
<td>'frog'</td>
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<td>posiattei</td>
<td>[pʊsɪɬɬ-ɬɪ]</td>
<td>'louse'</td>
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<td>[wawawa]</td>
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<td>[plhŋɬɬ:ɬwʊɬʃ]</td>
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<td>angipì</td>
<td>[ɑŋɬɬɪɬI]</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
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<td>[wʊɑpɬɪɬ-ɬɪ]</td>
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<td>sohopimpù</td>
<td>[sʊhoɬɬɪmpʊ] =</td>
<td>'cottonwood'</td>
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<td>[sʊhoɬɬɪmpʊ]</td>
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<td>[tɪɬa]</td>
<td>'pinenut'</td>
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<td>onnottsi</td>
<td>[ɒn-ɬqɬ-ɬɪ]</td>
<td>'pinenut hook'</td>
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<td>[sɑɬɬ-ɬapɪ]</td>
<td>'juniper'</td>
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<tr>
<td>suupin</td>
<td>[şɬɪɬɪ]</td>
<td>'willow'</td>
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<tr>
<td>wongkopin</td>
<td>[wʊŋɡɑɬɬɪɬɪ]</td>
<td>'tall pine'</td>
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<td>[ɑɪɬɬɪɬɬɪɬ-ɬɪ]</td>
<td>'cactus, thorn'</td>
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<td>[ɛɬɪɬɪɬɪɬɪɬ-ɬɪ]</td>
<td></td>
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<td>[ɬm bɪɬɬɪɬ-ɬɪ]</td>
<td>'its leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am pehettsi</td>
<td>[ɬm bɛɬɬɛɬ-ɬɪ]</td>
<td>'its seed'</td>
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<td>hipingkuppuh</td>
<td>[hɪɬɬɪŋɡɬpɬ-ɬɪ]</td>
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<td>[tɪnɪnɬa] = [tɪnɪnɬɪɬɪ]</td>
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<td>wayakkku</td>
<td>[wɑɬɪɬk-ɬɬU]</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
</tr>
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<td>[kʊɬɬqɬ-ɬpɬ-ɬɪ]</td>
<td>'ashes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukkwiiŋwunu</td>
<td>[kʊɬ-ɬkɬιɬɬwɪɬNʃ]</td>
<td>'smoke' (Vi)</td>
</tr>
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<td>tsawinnu</td>
<td>[sɑɬɬɪNɬ-ɬU]</td>
<td>'to be good'</td>
</tr>
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<td>ükupitse</td>
<td>[ɪɬɬɪɬɬɪɬ-ɬɪ]</td>
<td>'new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punättumpù</td>
<td>[pʊalɬɬɪɬɪmpʊ]</td>
<td>'old'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>piappütün</strong></td>
<td>[píap'tʰɛ̃]</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tühätttsitsi</strong></td>
<td>[tʰéhɛc'lo'ɛɪ]</td>
<td>'small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>küputappütün</strong></td>
<td>[kʰuʃirɛp'ɬɛθ]</td>
<td>'long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>toppottsiitsi</strong></td>
<td>[top'ʃɛc'ɬɛθ]</td>
<td>'short'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kümpappuh</strong></td>
<td>[kʰuʃp'ɬɛθ]</td>
<td>'sharp edged'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mutsiipí</strong></td>
<td>[mʊziʃɪ]</td>
<td>'sharp pointed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>poono'o</strong></td>
<td>[pɔiʃɪŋo]</td>
<td>'round'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>wükkinnoco</strong></td>
<td>[wɛk'iŋɔ]</td>
<td>'circular'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tüpeküataippûh</strong></td>
<td>[tʃp'ɛʃkərɛp'ɬɛθ]</td>
<td>'full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tüpeküatain</strong></td>
<td>[tʃp'ɛʃkərɛɪ]</td>
<td>'be full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuttsaappuush</strong></td>
<td>[tʊʦ'ɛp'ɬɛθ]</td>
<td>'dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ütsü'ina</strong></td>
<td>[tʃiʃiʃɪn'ɛ]</td>
<td>'clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ütsü'in</strong></td>
<td>[tʃiʃiʃɪ]</td>
<td>'be clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ke'e</strong></td>
<td>[kɛ'ɛ]</td>
<td>'no'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>haa'a</strong></td>
<td>[hɑ'ɑ]</td>
<td>'yes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tuppapitun</strong></td>
<td>[tʊp'ɑbiθɛ]</td>
<td>'black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tosapitun</strong></td>
<td>[tʊsɑbiθɛ]</td>
<td>'white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sakwaapitun</strong></td>
<td>[sɑwɑ biθɛ]</td>
<td>'green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>puhipitun</strong></td>
<td>[pʊhɪθɛ]</td>
<td>'blue and green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>püpipitun</strong></td>
<td>[pʊiθɛ]</td>
<td>'red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>angkapitun</strong></td>
<td>[ɑŋɡaθɛ]</td>
<td>'yellow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sükümpitun</strong></td>
<td>[sʊŋəmbɛθɛ]</td>
<td>'red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sokopin</strong></td>
<td>[sɔyɔpɪ]</td>
<td>'ground, land'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ontümpitun</strong></td>
<td>[ɔntɛmbɛθɛ]</td>
<td>'brown'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>esümpitun</strong></td>
<td>[ɛsɛmbɛθɛ]</td>
<td>'gray'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sümüsü</strong></td>
<td>[sʊmʊsʊ]</td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kwii mo'o</strong></td>
<td>[kʰi mʊo]</td>
<td>'left hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tsawûm mo'o</strong></td>
<td>[tʃawʊm mʊo]</td>
<td>'right hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tokwi yûkkiwî</strong></td>
<td>[toʃwɪ yʃk'wɪ]</td>
<td>'do right'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kee tokwi yûkkiwî</strong></td>
<td>[kɛ: ʃɔywɪ ʃk'wɪ]</td>
<td>'do wrong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>manakwappuh</strong></td>
<td>[mɑnɑk'ɛpɛθ]</td>
<td>'far away'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tūkūnaattsi
paa pa hapinnuh
nüütüntusū
nuinna
pisotonna
tsoochoh
≈ u tsitoohin
u masutuhinna
tsokoni
paa pakatūh
≈ tūtattsockwī'h
≈ tūtattsockwilna
kwanakkina
pattsipitin
tokowa
u tsattawinna
≈ u tonamminna
≈ u tokwittunaantūn
u wūttamanna
tosonenna
pakwinna
tuhuntappūtūn
≈ tuhuntappūh
≈ tatuttsittsi
yuwaintūn
≈ tsuikanna
≈ tsuikanna
yaakkwantu'ih

[tārō:N:Int] ≈
[pā: ʙā hāβIN·A]
[nûvirtântis\#] [pê't·IN·A]
[nâIN·A]
[písorōN·A]
[ sûró:hî]
[u zîrō:hî]
[u ʁâsūrūhIN·A]
[gyōNI]
[pâ: ʁayârk] ≈
[tîrål·oγm·IN·A]
[kwâ:nâk·IN·A]
[pâ·joγiøi]
[tôyôwâ]
[u zât·awÎN·A]
[tônâm·IN·A]
[u rônam·IN·A]
[tôyôt·ûnâ·ntî]
[u wît·awâm·IN·A]
[tosô numérique·IN·A]
[pâyIN·A]
[tûhûndâp·ERE]
[tûhûndâp·ER]\n[târub·lc·I] ≈
[târub·lc·I]
[yûwaintî]
[tûtsaïk·âN·A]
[tûtsaïk·âN·A]
[yâk·âN·du?I]

'close by, near'
'float, lie on water'
'to be heavy'
'live; must wander'
'to play, gamble'
'pull'
'push'
'push it'
'to rub it'
'scratch'
'ocean'
'to sew' (Vi)
'sew' (Vi)
'to smell'
'smooth'
'snake'
'to split it open'
'to stab'
'to stab it'
'really straight'
'to tie it'
'to wipe'
'to swell'
'thick'
'thin'
'warm'
'to hold' (Vi)
'to hold' (Vt)
'will take'
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