LINGUISTICS
Volume 115

Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Grammar

Jon P. Dayley

TÜMPISA (PANAMINT) SHOSHONE GRAMMAR

This one
ZFHC-G9N-4KXO
Copyrighted materia

Mamie Boland

Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Grammar

Jon P. Dayley

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Berkeley • Los Angeles • Oxford

Copyrighted materia

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

Editorial Board: Margaret Langdon, Johanna Nichols,
Paul Schachter, William Shipley, Sandra Thompson

Volume 115

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, LTD.
OXFORD, ENGLAND

ISBN: 0-520-09752-1
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER: 89-5164

©1989 BY THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dayley, Jon P. (Jon Philip)
Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone grammar / Jon P. Dayley.
p. cm. — (University of California publications in linguistics; v. 115)
Bibliography: p.
ISBN 0-520-09752-1 (alk. paper)
1. Panamint language—Grammar. I. Title. II. Series.
PM2115.D39 1989
497'.45—dc20 89-5164

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984. ♾ ™

Copyrighted material

To Mamie Boland,
who lived with a pure heart

Copyrighted materia

Contents

Acknowledgments, x
Abbreviations, xi
Map of the Numic Speaking Area, xiii
Map of the Tümpisa Shoshone Area, xiv

1 Introduction 1

2 Language Typology and Basic Sentence Structure 10
2.1 Typology 10
2.1.1 Morphological Characteristics 10
2.1.2 Word Order Characteristics 13
2.1.3 Case Marking Characteristics 26
2.2 Simple Sentence Structure 27
2.2.1 Linking and Existential Sentences 27
2.2.2 Intransitive Sentences 34
2.2.3 Transitive Sentences 38
2.2.4 Noun Incorporation 40
2.3 Basic Sentence Elaborations 41
2.3.1 Negatives 42
2.3.2 Interrogatives 44
2.3.3 Imperatives 48
2.3.4 Passives and Antipassives 50

3 Verbs and Verb Phrases 53
3.1 Verb Structure 53
3.1.1 Aspect, Tense, and Mode 55
3.1.2 Directional Suffixes 64
3.1.3 Adverbial Suffixes 68
3.1.4 Number Marking 72
3.1.5 Auxiliary Verbs 80
3.1.6 Subordinating Suffixes 87
3.2 Verb Derivation 88
3.2.1 Valence and Voice Changes 89
3.2.1.1 Noun Root Incorporation 90
3.2.1.2 Instrumental Prefixes 92
3.2.1.3 Passives, Mediopassives, Reflexives, and Reciprocals 104
3.2.1.4 Absolutive Antipassives 111

Copyrighted material

3.2.1.5 Causatives and Applicatives 112
3.2.1.6 Jussives 119
3.2.2 Unsystematic Verb Derivation 120
3.3 Nonfinite Forms 122
3.3.1 The Infinitive 122
3.3.2 Present and Past Participles 123
3.4 Verb Phrases 125

4 Pronominals 129
4.1 Personal Pronouns 129
4.2 Reflexive Pronouns 133
4.3 Demonstratives 135
4.4 Interrogative Pronouns 147
4.5 Indefinite Pronouns 152
4.6 Relative Pronouns 157
4.7 Quantifiers 159
4.8 Numbers 161

5 Nouns, Noun Phrases, and Postpositions 175
5.1 Core Relations: Subject and Object 176
5.2 Peripheral Relations: Applicative and Possessive 182
5.3 Oblique Relations and Postpositions 190
5.4 Locative, Temporal and Other Postpositions 201
5.5 Number Marking and Noun Declensions 216
5.6 Absolutive (or Classificatory) Suffixes 224
5.7 Noun Derivation and Compounding 233
5.8 Names 245
5.9 Noun Phrases 248

6 Adjectives and Adjective Phrases 262
6.1 Absolutive Suffixes 262
6.2 Modification 272
6.3 Adjectives as Nouns and Heads of NPs 275
6.4 Predicate Adjectives and Adjectival Verbs 277
6.5 Adjective Phrases 284
6.6 Comparatives 289

7 Adverbs and Particles 298
7.1 Time and Aspect 299
7.2 Place Adverbs 303
7.3 Manner Adverbs 308
7.4 Modals 312
7.5 Delimiters 315
7.6 Intensifiers 316
7.7 Emphatics 318
7.8 Negative, Affirmative, and Interrogative Particles 320
7.9 Interjections and Greetings 325

8 Coordination and Subordination 331
8.1 Coordination 331
8.1.1 Parataxis (Asyndetic Coordination) 331

Copyrighted material

8.1.2 Syndetic Coordination 337
8.2 Subordination 344
8.2.1 Adverbial Clauses 347
8.2.2 Relative (Adjectival) Clauses 357
8.2.3 Complement Clauses 374

9 Phonology 387
9.1 Phonological Segments and Syllabic Structure 387
9.2 Phonetic Processes 400
9.2.1 Vowels 400
9.2.1.1 Vowel Devoicing 400
9.2.1.2 Vowel Nasalization 401
9.2.1.3 Lowering of o 402
9.2.1.4 i Dropping 402
9.2.2 Consonants 403
9.2.2.1 Resonant Devoicing 403
9.2.2.2 Simple Oral Occlusive Voicing 404
9.2.2.3 Palatalization of Sibilants and Nasals 404
9.2.2.4 Simple Occlusive and Nasal Softening (= Spirantization) 406
9.2.2.5 Geminate Consonants 410
9.2.2.6 Velar Occlusive Fronting 411
9.2.2.7 Consonant Allophone Charts 411
9.3 Phonological Processes 411
9.3.1 Delabialization and Rounding 411
9.3.2 Lowering of i and u 414
9.3.3 Vowel Harmony 414
9.3.4 Velar Labialization 416
9.3.5 Volatile Glottals 417
9.3.6 Final Glottal Stop Plus Echo Vowel 418
9.3.7 Final Consonantal Segments 420
9.4 Stress Patterns 435
9.5 Contractions 443

10 Texts 447
10.1 Püetüsü Nümmü Sunni Nukwimmippühantü 448
"How We Lived Long Ago"
10.2 Isam Petümmü 455
"Coyote's Daughters"
10.3 Tammü Tüpanna Yaakwantu'ih 463
"We'll Go Get Pinenuts"
10.4 Sümüttü Nawipi Isapungku Mai Nuwimmippühantü 468
"One Girl Who Went Around With a Dog"
10.5 Sümüttü Wa'ippü Pahamittsi Mai Katümminna 471
"One Woman Who Stayed With a Bear"
10.6 Conversation 474

Appendix: Basic Vocabulary List, 505
References, 515

Copyrighted material

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my appreciation to several people and institutions for their support in making this monograph possible. I thank:

-- Johanna Nichols, Josephine Jones, and Marjorie Hughes, who read preliminary drafts and made insightful comments and criticisms;

-- The Survey of California and Other Indian Languages at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Research Center at Boise State University, both of which provided funds for field research in the Death Valley area;

-- Members of the Tümpisa Shoshone Tribe, who shared their language and time with me;

-- Members of my family, Victoria, Lucas, Nicolas, and Veronica, whose love and patience kept me going.

Copyrighted material

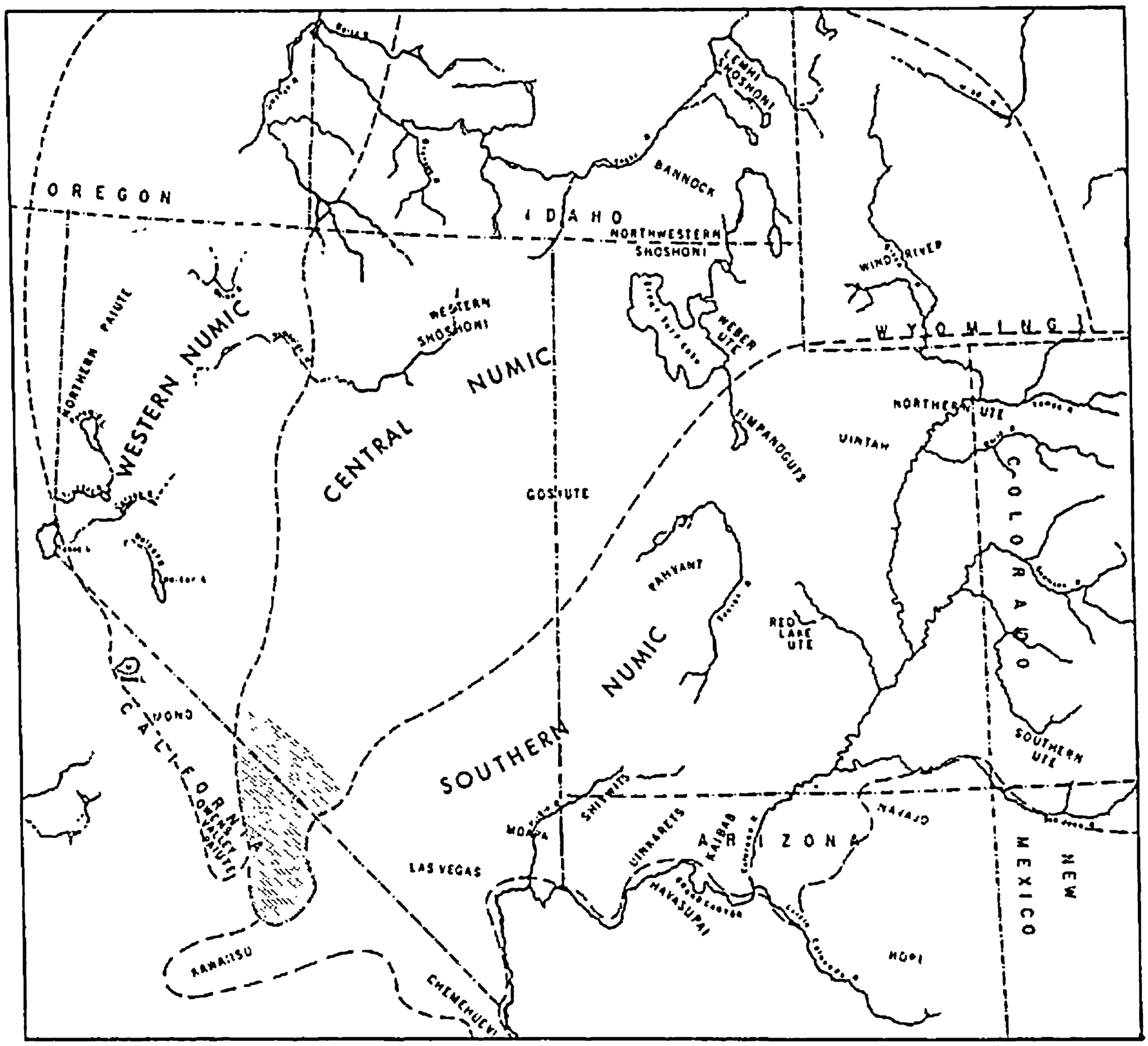
Abbreviations

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

Copyrighted materia

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)
oblg	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
rflx	reflexive
S	subject
sfx	suffix
sg	singular
Sp	Spanish
stv	stative suffix
sub	subordinate (marker)
subj	subjective
top	toponym
V	verb
V	vowel
Vi	intransitive verb
vl	voiceless
VP	verb phrase
Vt	transitive verb
ws	woman speaking
≈	varies with
#	word boundary

Copyrighted materia

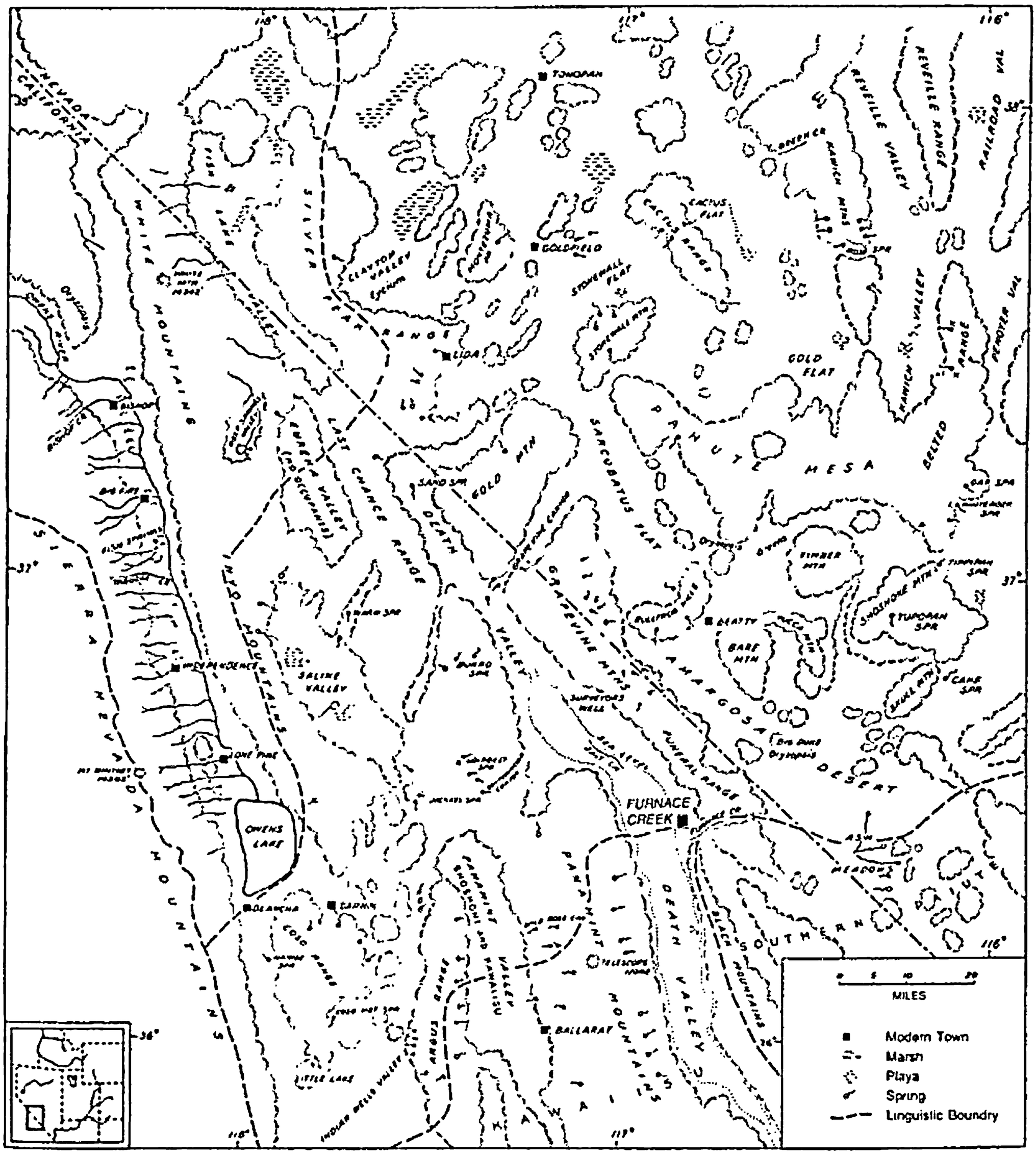


THE NUMIC SPEAKING AREA

The Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone area is shaded

(after Fowler and Fowler 1971)

Copyrighted materia



THE TÜMPISA (PANAMINT) SHOSHONE AREA

(after Steward 1938)

Copyrighted material

1

INTRODUCTION

This monograph is an introductory descriptive grammar of Tümpisa 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]

Tümpisa 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

Copyrighted material

UTO-AZTECAN FAMILY

Northern Division

NUMIC

Central Numic

Panamint (= Tümpisa Shoshone), Shoshone, Comanche

Western Numic

Mono, Northern Paiute (= Paviotso)

Southern Numic

Kawaiisu, Chemehuevi-Southern Paiute, Ute

Tubatulabal isolate

TAKIC

Serrano-Kitanemuk

Cupan

Luiseño-Juaneño, Gabrielino-Fernandiño,

Cupeño, Cahuilla

Hopi isolate

Southern Division

SONORAN

Corachol

Cora, Huichol

Tarahumaran

Tarahumara, Guarijio

Tepiman

Pima-Papago, Pima Bajo

Northern Tepehuan, Southern Tepehuan-Tepecano

Opatan

Opata-Jova, Eudeve-Heve

Mayo-Yaqui isolate

Tubar isolate

AZTECAN

Pochutec

Nahua-Pipil

Copyrighted material

the Conquest there were Aztecan speakers as far south as Nicaragua, and an Aztecan 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

Copyrighted material

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 5-6000 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

Copyrighted material

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 Tümpisa Shoshone, the dialect of Panamint spoken

Copyrighted material

in and around Death Valley, California, and all of the examples given are from the Tümpisa dialect. Nearly all of the lexical material in the Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Dictionary (Dayley 1989) is also from the 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.[2] 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 Tümpisa 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 Tümpisa" is the native word for Death Valley. It literally means 'rock ochre', since the word is a compound formed with the root tün- (as in the noun tümpi), meaning 'rock', and pisa" '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. Tümpisa" is often used with the general locative postposition ka, forming Tümpisakka 'in/at/to Death Valley', and frequently the latter form is nominalized with the suffix -tün, forming Tümpisakkatün. All three forms -- Tümpisa", Tümpisakka, and

Copyrighted materia

Tümpisakkatün -- are used to refer to Death Valley. People from Death Valley are called Tümpisattsi.

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 nümü. Sosoni may be used either in reference to the language or to a Shoshone (= Panamint) Indian. Nümü 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 Tümpisa Shoshone, the people speaking Shoshone proper are called (Sosoniammü) Kwinawen Nangkwatün Nümü, 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

Copyrighted material

offensive, to locals, Indian or non-Indian, I have opted not to use it.

The linguistic and anthropological literature on the Tümpisa 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

Copyrighted material

The organization of this grammar is as follows: Chapter 2 provides an overall summary of Tümpisa 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.

Copyrighted material

2

LANGUAGE TYPOLOGY AND BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

This chapter provides a general overview of Tümpisa 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

Tümpisa 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

Copyrighted materia

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

kahnipaimmippühantün V 'used to dwell'
< kahni N 'house', -pa'in incorp V 'have', -mmi hab sfx, -ppühantün past sfx < -ppüh pp, -kan stv, -tün prp

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

naiwekipitüihantün V 'woo, visit lover'
< na(w)i- N 'girl', weeki" pl V 'enter', pitüh Aux 'arrive', -ih iterative sfx, -kan stv, -tün prp

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

petsüttaisuwammisü V 'wanted to take completely (to)'
< petsü" V 'take (someone)', -tain cmplt sfx, suwah Aux 'want', -mmi intentional sfx, -sün purposive sfx

Kwinawennangkwatün Nümü N 'Northern / Western Shoshone'
< kwinawen- N 'north', nangkwa pp 'in the direction of, -wards', -tün sfx, nümü N 'Shoshone, people'

Copyrighted material

pahontükinnümmpü N 'ashtray'
< pahon- N 'tobacco', tüki" V 'put', -nnümpü nom instr

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

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

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

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

INTERNAL SYMBOLIC CHANGES

mi'a sg, mi'a" pl Vi 'go'
paha" sg Vi and instr V, pakiah pl Vi, -pakiih pl instr V 'split in half'
pikkwan sg Vi and instr V, pikwaa pl Vi, -pikwai pl instr V 'shatter'
nuwi normal, nümmi 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

Copyrighted materia

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

REDUPLICATION

mi'a sg, mimi'a dl, mi'a" pl Vi 'go'
wünü" sg, wüwünü dl Vi 'stand'
potso" sg, potsotso pl Vi 'drip'
tangummü sg 'man'; tattangungku dl, tattangummü 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'
katü" sg-dl, yükwi dl, nuupaih / yuunaah pl Vi 'sit'
pakkah sg-dl, wasü" pl Vt 'kill'
to'eh sg, toto'eh dl, küa" pl Vi 'emerge'
tüki" sg-dl, taha" dl-pl Vt 'put'
-tükwan sg, -paih pl instr V 'hit'
üppüih sg-dl, okkoih dl-pl Vi '(go to) sleep'
yütsü" sg-dl, yoti" pl Vi 'fly'
wa'ippü sg 'woman'; hüüppiangku dl, hüüppiammü pl N 'women'

2.1.2 Word Order Characteristics

Tümpisa 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

Copyrighted material

discussed in detail elsewhere in this work, in which case cross-references are given in parentheses.[1]

VERB-FINAL GRAMMATICAL FEATURES IN TÜMPISA SHOSHONE

Object + Verb (2.2):

(1) Atü kapaayu sakka tangummi tangummuttih.
that horse that-O man-O kicked
'That horse kicked that man.'

Noun + Postposition (chapter 5):

(2) Satü pünnang kahni kattu u petsüttaisuwammisü
that his own house to her take-wanted

tawintüng kuppantü.
cave inside

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

Verb + Auxiliary (chapters 3 and 8):

(3) Tammü 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) Nümmi appü wa'e napuni satü.
our(exc) father like look that
'That one looks like our father.'

Copyrighted materia

Adjective + Noun (chapter 6):

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

Standard + Marker of Comparison (chapter 6):

(6) Nüü yuhupi üng kawi; üü pasampüttsi.
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 pasampüttsi. '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

Copyrighted material

Suffixation Predominating Over Prefixation
(See examples in 2.1.1.)

Simple Syllables (chapter 9)

Despite the fact that Tümpisa 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 atü 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'iwantüm punikkappühantü nüü.
man-O being mean-O saw I
'I saw the mean man.'

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

(14) Tangummü [akka nü pusikwanna] tühüyanna u
man that-O I know deer-O it

kuttihantü.
shoot-stv
'The man that I know was shooting the deer.'

Complement clauses may follow main clauses (see chapter 8); e.g.:

Copyrighted material

(15) Nü sukka nasuntama [tammü hipittaippühantü].
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, Tümpisa 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]

Copyrighted material

TRANSITIVE WORD ORDERS

S O V	S IO V O	S Oblq O V
S O V O	S O V IO O	S Oblq V
S O V S	O IO V S	S Oblq V S
S O V O S	O V IO	Oblq V
O V	O IO V	IO Oblq V O
O V O	IO O V	S Oblq S V Oblq
O V S	IO O V O	S Oblq O V Oblq
O V S O		O V Oblq
O S O V		V Oblq
S V O		
S V		
V S O		
V		

INTRANSITIVE WORD ORDERS

S V	S Oblq V	S V Oblq	Oblq V
S V S	S Oblq V S Oblq	S V Oblq S	Oblq V S
V S		V Oblq	Oblq V Oblq
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.

Copyrighted materia

FREQUENT TRANSITIVE ORDERS

S O Vt	= 29	= 22%
O Vt	= 45	= 34%
O Vt S	= 16	= 12%
O Vt IO	= 6	= 4%
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

S Vi	= 92	= 60%
S Vi S	= 5	= 3%
Vi S	= 23	= 15%
Vi	= 33	= 21%
Total	153	= 100%

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

ALL CLAUSES

S before V	= 148	= 52%
S after V	= 52	= 18%
V w/o S	= 96	= 33%

Copyrighted material

INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES		TRANSITIVE CLAUSES	
S before Vi	= 92 = 63%	S before Vt	= 51 = 38%
S after Vi	= 28 = 18%	S after Vt	= 24 = 18%
Vi w/o S	= 33 = 21%	Vt w/o S	= 63 = 47%

(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 = O, indirect = IO, and oblique = Oblq).

OBJECT ORDERS

O before Vt	= 117 = 87%	IO before Vt	= 9 = 56%
O after Vt	= 19 = 14%	IO after Vt	= 7 = 44%
Vt w/o O	= 10 = 7%	IO before O	= 5 = 31%
Vt w/o O and w/o Obliq	= 4 = 3%	IO after O	= 11 = 69%

OBLIQUE ORDERS

Oblq before V = 26 = 65%
Oblq after V = 14 = 35%

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%).

Copyrighted material

Second, about a fifth of the time (18%) in all kinds of clauses, subjects follow verbs.

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

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

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

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

Copyrighted material

TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

SUBJECT =	S O Vt (= 29)	O Vt (= 45)	O Vt S (= 16)	O Vt IO (= 6)
Old Topic Given Info	10 = 34%	44 = 98%	10 = 63%	6 = 100%
New Topic Given Info	3 = 10%		1 = 6%	
New Topic Old Info	6 = 21%		3 = 19%	
New Topic New Info	10 = 34%		2 = 12%	
Old Topic New Info				
Nontopic		1 = 2%		

INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

SUBJECT =	S Vi (= 92)	S Vi S (= 5)	Vi S (= 23)	Vi (= 33)
Old Topic Given Info	41 = 45%	3 = 60%	17 = 74%	27 = 82%
New Topic Given Info	8 = 9%		5 = 22%	
New Topic Old Info	18 = 19%	1 = 20%	1 = 4%	
New Topic New Info	13 = 14%			
Old Topic New Info	2 = 2%	1 = 20%		
Nontopic	10 = 11%			6 = 18%

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

(16) Toya ma apa supe'e u hanninna; u üanna.
mountain on there that time it do it plant
'There in the mountains he did it; he planted it.'

Copyrighted materia

Similarly, in 17 from the "Girl and Dog" story, the notional subject is a continuing topic, in this case the girl.

(17) U mai nuwitü noohompe, u tsangkannuwitü.
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) Ütüinna küttaa sapettü, ütüintü.
be hot really there be hot-hab
'It's really hot there, it's hot.'

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

(19) Kee tüpappühpa'e tammü.
not pinenut-have we(inc)
'We don't have any pinenuts.'

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

(20) Kammanna sutü. 'She was sick.'
be sick that

Copyrighted material

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'ippüa ukkwah hakapangkuh sampe kwüümmaa utü
woman-O when where some caught that

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

ma nootünga.
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.

Copyrighted materia

(22) Nia pihyakaingkünna 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 Tümpisa 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) Hipittsittsi nümmi natümuingküppühantü püesü
old woman us told story long ago

sape'esü ukkwah:
that time when

(24) Sümüttü nawipi isapungku mai nuwimmippühantü.
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

Copyrighted material

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

2.1.3 Case Marking Characteristics

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

Copyrighted material

INTRANSITIVE

tiyaih	'die'	sg subject		ko'i" ≈ tsüüwah	'die'	pl subject
yakai"	'cry'	sg subject		namo'ih	'cry'		pl subject

TRANSITIVE

yaa"	'carry'	sg object		hima"	'carry'	pl object
pakkah	'kill'	sg object		wasü"	'kill'	pl object

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 Tümpisa 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 Tümpisa 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

Copyrighted material

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 niam petü. 'That's my daughter then.'
that then my daughter

(26) Nümmi appü utü. 'That's our father.'
our(exc) father that

(27) Tsawüntü tangummü miikkwa. 'He's a good man now.'
good man now

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

(28) Nüü tsukuppüttsi naappühantü.
I old man be-prf
'I have gotten to be an old man.'

(29) Tammi appü naammaa satü wihnu.
our(inc) father was that then
'That was our father then.'

Copyrighted materia

(30) Nüü tamminoitaippüh naatühantü yüwikka okkwah.
I tired be-will evening when
'I'll be tired when it's evening.'

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 iampü 'wild' is plural, since the optional plural enclitic -hammü is appended to it. The number enclitics are used on predicate adjectives to emphasize number, especially with human or animate subjects. However, number marking on predicate adjectives is not obligatory, as 31 illustrates. In 31 the predicate is surrounded by different parts of the subject; this is an instance of pronoun copy, as discussed above at the end of section 2.1.2.

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

(32) Nawittsittsiammü iampü-hammü.
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 naa". In 34, the tense is present, but naa" is used to carry the stative suffix -kan, which implies that the clouds are not permanently red, but only for a certain period (as at sunset).

(34) Paküünappüh angkapi naakka. 'The clouds are red.'
cloud red be-stv

Copyrighted material

(35) Nü tsomampü naappühantü. 'I used to be stingy.'
I stingy was

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(42) Nian appü naappühantü sukkuh tütüaimmi sukkuh
my father was there working there

üattüah ka.
ranch at

'My father was there working on a ranch.'

Copyrighted material

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 Tümpisa 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) Süümootü sutümmü. Um petümmü süümootü.
ten those his daughters ten
'There are ten of them. There are ten of his daughters.'

Copyrighted material

The sentences in 45-48 are examples of similar existential constructions.

(45) Noohakaittü wainnih sakkuppüh.
all kinds wine there
'There are all kinds of wine there.'

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

(47) Nü appü naappühantü utü, nümmü sümüsü niam
my father was that we(exc) all my

patsinümü.
OlSi Indian
'There was my father, and all of us, [me and] my older Indian sisters [= parallel cousins].'

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

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

Copyrighted material

LINKING VERBS

naa" 'be'
katü" sg, yükwi dl, nuupaih ≈ yuunaah pl 'sit, stay, be positioned'
wünü" sg, wüwünü dl, toppangih ≈ tattsaho pl 'stand'
hapi" sg, kwapi" dl, kopittükih 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 kattü um pui ma.
fly sit(dur) his eye on
'The fly is (sitting) on his eye.'

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

(51) Satümmü tattangummü nanaompü tattsahonna.
those men scattered stand(pl)
'Those men are (standing) scattered around.'

(52) Tangummü paappüh wünütü.
man tall stand-hab
'The man is tall.'

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

(53) Tüttsüppüh kwana. 'It smells funny.'
funny smell

Copyrighted materia

(54) Satü isapungku ni napunni.
that dog like look(dur)
'He looks like a dog.'

2.2.2 Intransitive Sentences

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

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

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

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

(57) Nü toyapim ma nuwitü tünaa notoppahe.
I mountain on walk around down climb
'I walked around the mountain and climbed down.'

Copyrighted materia

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" ≈ tsüüwah pl 'die', nahna" 'grow (of animates)', süa" 'grow (of plants)', and üppüih sg and okkoih pl 'go to sleep', as well as enviromental verbs like üma" ≈ üngwa" 'rain' and taha'ah 'snow'.

(58) Isapaippü takuttiyaitaihwappühantü.
Coyote thirst-die-cmplt-cmplt-past
'Coyote died of thirst.'

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

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

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

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

(62) Tommo naakkiha. 'It's getting (to be) winter.'
winter be-hither

Copyrighted material

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

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).

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

(65) Tümuhu nawüttamammi'a.
rope be tightened-go
'The rope is getting tight(ened).'

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

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

Intransitive verbs expressing states are those like kammah 'be sick, hurt, ache', tuupükkan 'be angry', üitsü'in 'be cold', and ütüin 'be hot'. Some examples follow.

(67) Satü noohompe tuupükkatü. 'He's always angry.'
that always be angry

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

(69) Piiya kütaappüh üitsü'inna.
beer really be cold
'The beer is really cold.'

Copyrighted material

The linking verbs discussed and exemplified in the previous section are also, of course, stative intransitives.

Many intransitive verbs in Tümpisa 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, katü" 'sit (down)' is stative when used as a linking verb (e.g., 49), but is active in 70.

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

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

(71) Satungku sekkuh üppüihantü.
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) Nüü nuwakkwantu'ih. 'I'll move away.'
I move-away-will

(73) Tümpitta punikkappühantü nü nuwaku.
rock-O saw I move-sub
'I saw the rock move.'

Copyrighted material

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', ütüingkün 'heat', koitsoih 'wash', ma'oh 'push away', pakkah sg and wasü" pl 'kill', saawah 'boil', tangummuttih 'kick', tsikka'ah sg and tsikkopiih pl 'cut flexible obj', tso'i 'pick, gather', tsokweh 'smash', and yaa" sg and hima" pl 'carry'. A few of these are exemplified in 74-78, and others in 1, 12, 16 and 21-24.

(74) Tangummü kunnai hannikoppühantü toya mantünna.
man fire-wood-O got mountain on
'The man got firewood in the mountains.'

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

(76) Hüüppiammü 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 tühüyanna wasüppühantü.
that three deer-O killed
'He killed three deer.'

Copyrighted materia

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) Nootünga 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 ütüingkümminna.
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.

Copyrighted material

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 teewingkün 'tell', uttuh 'give', nangkawih 'talk to, speak to', niingkün ≈ yüingkün 'tell, say to', and many others productively formed with the applicative suffix -ngkün (see 3.2.1.5).

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

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

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

2.2.4 Noun Incorporation

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

(89) Satü so'oppüh paani'amitu'ih.
that much bread-make-will
'She'll make a lot of bread.'

Copyrighted material

(90) Tangummü tuppapitünna pampipa'ippühantü.
man black-O hair-have-past
'The man had black hair (i.e., before it got gray).'

The verb yükwi" ≈ 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 yükwi" ≈ yukwi" are specific and referential, and they are inflected for objective case, as in 92.

(91) Satümmü kawayükwitü. 'They rat-hunt.'
those rat-go after

(92) Satümmü kawai yükwitü. '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).

Copyrighted materia

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 -tün (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 tamangkantü.
here not tooth-characterized by
'He's missing a tooth here.'

(94) Nootünga kee tiyaisippüh.
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) Nootünga ke kimmasintu'ih.
probably not come-neg-will
'He probably won't come back.'

(96) Ke nü üitsü'immitü. 'I wouldn't be cold.'
not I be cold-hab

Copyrighted materia

In 97-102, the examples are all transitive clauses of various kinds.

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

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

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

(100) Nü sümmi ün niingküppühantü kee so'o
I that you-O told not much
hipikkantü wainniha.
drink-stv-hab wine-O

'I told you not to drink so much wine.'

(101) Ke tüpappühpa'e tammü, ke tüpannaappühpa'e.
not pinenut-have we(inc) not pinenut-own-have
'We don't have pinenuts, we don't have any pinenuts of our own.'

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

(102) Keesüsü nü tünaaka apposi.
not yet I taste apple
'I haven't tasted the apple yet.'

Copyrighted material

(103) Satü kesü tunokkontü.
that not yet aps-roast
'She's still not roasting [something] yet.'

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

(104) Üü kee tokwi 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 muiyaitaippühantü, nü keehinna
I got drunk-cmplt I not anything-O
sumpanaippühantü.
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.

Copyrighted material

(108) Usü ha tokwi? 'Is that right?'
that Q right

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

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

(111) Epi ha üm 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) Satü ha wünnü? 'Is he standing?'
that Q stand(dur)

(114) Üü 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(dl) Q crow-O saw
'Did you two see the crow?'

(116) Nü ha ma manti tükkatu'ih?
I Q it part-O eat-will
'Can I eat part of it?'

Copyrighted material

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 sampe wüükkanna 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.

Tümpisa 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

Copyrighted material

built on the general question word haka 'what, who, how, where' (e.g., hakatün '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 satü? 'What's that?'
what that

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

(120) Hakami natüpinniahantü (Mitükkaano)?
what be called English
'What's it called (in English)?'

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

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

(123) Hinna punikka satümmü?
what look at those
'What are they looking at?'

Copyrighted material

(124) Hakatü nü tottükwaihantü utü? 'Who hit me?'
who me hit that

(125) Hakka kuttimmaa sutü? 'Who did he shoot?'
whom shot that

2.3.3 Imperatives

In imperative constructions, the second person pronouns are normally omitted. The verb is either the simple bare stem without aspect and tense suffixes, or it consists of the stem plus one of the directional suffixes such as -kin ≈ -kkin ≈ -hin 'hither', -kwan ≈ -kkwan ≈ -hwan 'away', -kon ≈ -kkon ≈ -hon 'moving randomly' (see 3.1.2). In dual and plural imperatives the number enclitics, -ongku dl and -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

Copyrighted material

(128) a. Ma himakki! 'Bring them!'
it bring(pl O)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(131) a. Ma mi'akwa! 'Go away!'
it go away

Copyrighted material

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 tüpuni, 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 Tümpisa Shoshone, passives are used to discuss transitive activities when the speaker, for some reason, does not want to mention the agent. Passive sentences can never contain the agent of the activity. Passive sentences are marked by the prefix na- (≈ no-)[3] on the verb (e.g., 134-136). The basically transitive verb becomes intransitive with the passive prefix na-. The patient (or goal) is the subject of the passive sentence.

Copyrighted materia

(134) Nümmü sape namiangkütaippühantü.
we(exc) there were sent
'We were sent there.'

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

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

(136) Püe tammin tüpanna nayaappüh.
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 tü- (≈ tu-)[4] on the verb, as in 137-139. In antipassive sentences, normally transitive verbs with the prefix tü- 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) Satü tangummü tumo'ikattü.
that man aps-write-sit(dur)
'The man is sitting writing [something].'

(138) Nüü tüsaawaha. 'I'm boiling [something].'
I aps-boil-stv

(139) Satü kesü tunokkontü.
that not yet aps-roast
'She's still not roasting [something] yet.'

Copyrighted material

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).

Copyrighted material

3

VERBS AND VERB PHRASES

Tümpisa 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:

Copyrighted materia

GENERAL VERB STRUCTURE

```
Voice + Instr + V-STEM + Aux + Adv + Dir + Adv + Aux + Aspect
        Noun                                          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

Copyrighted material

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

-kwan ≈ -kkwan ≈ -hwan momentaneous completive
-nna general aspect and tense
-nnuhi indefinite future
-ppüh perfective (and pp)
-tün habitual and general imperfective (and prp)
-tu'ih ≈ -to'ih ≈ -to'eh simple future 'will'
-kwantu'ih ≈ -kkwantu'ih ≈ -hwantu'ih intentional future
-mmaahwan cessative 'just finished'
-ppühantün ≈ -ppantün past tense and perfective aspect

Copyrighted material

-tühantün ≈ -tu'ihantün obligative future 'must, have to'

PREFINAL ASPECT, TENSE, AND MODE SUFFIXES

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

The momentaneous completive suffix -kwan ≈ -kkwan ≈ -hwan is a metaphorical extention 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 simulfactive completive -nnuh). The three different variants are due to effects of preceding final segments (see section 9.3.7).

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

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

(3) Püikkappüh 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).

Copyrighted material

(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 simulfactive completive and -hi dubitative.

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

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

The perfective suffix -ppüh (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, -ppüh usually has the form -ppüha (see 8.2).

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

(9) Nü sukkwa nasuntama tühüya napakkahwappüh.
I that-O remember deer was killed-cmplt-prf
'I remember that the deer got killed.'

Copyrighted material

The habitual and general imperfective suffix -tün (or one etymologically related to it) also forms present participles (see 3.3.2). There is also a common homophonous noun derivational suffix.

(10) Nümmü 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 -tuhihantün; see below).

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

-- "Nüü naatu'ih," mii yukkwi.
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.

Copyrighted material

(13) Nü wasüwükkikwantu'ih. 'I'm going hunting.'
I hunt-fut

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

The cessative aspect suffix -mmaahwan 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) Satü püe nangkawimmaahwa.
that just talk-cessative
'He just finished talking.'

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

The past tense and perfective suffix -ppühantün 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 -ppüh prf, -kan ≈ -han stv, and -tün prp. The variant -ppantün is a contracted form mainly used by younger speakers.

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

(18) Kunna tukwippühantü. 'The fire has gone out.'
fire go out-prf

Copyrighted material

The obligative future suffixes -tühantün and -tu'ihantün indicate future obligation or inevitability. They are compounds from -tün imprf or -tu'ih future, -kan ≈ -han stv, and -tün prp. There is also a variant -tüantün, contracted from -tühantün.

(19) Nüü ma kwüüntühantü. 'I have to marry her.'
I her marry-oblg

(20) Üitsü'intühantü setü. 'It'll be cold.'
be cold-oblg this

(21) Ma tükkatu'ihantü satü. 'He must eat it.'
it eat-oblg 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) Nüü Tonia taanoo'ikwantu'ih.
I Tony-O visit-go along-dur-fut
'I'm going to go along and visit Tony.'

(23) Tunaa nüü tuupükka'ippühantü.
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 -ppühantün, although the latter is much more common in declaratives.

Copyrighted material

(24) Setü ümammaa; setü sokopi potso'inna; nüü ke
this rain-past this ground be wet I not

sakka sumpanai; nüü küttaappüh üppüitaimmaa.
that-O know I really sleep-cmplt-past

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

(25) Hakatü mi'appüha 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'esü tühüyanna kuttimmitü.
long ago deer shoot-hab-hab
'They used to shoot deer.'

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

(28) Kee nü üitsü'immitü. 'I wasn't cold.'
not I be cold-dur-imprf

The simulfactive 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) Nü u takküpannuppühantü.
I it with foot-break-cmplt-past
'I broke it with my foot.'

Copyrighted material

(30) Piammüttsi tütakainnuh. '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 wasüwükkiwi'ahwantu'ih.
already hunt-start-fut
He's going to start to hunt.'

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

Continuative -yun describes an event that endures continuously.

(34) Nümmü üküsü ukkwah supe'e tommo
we(exc) after while that time winter

üitsü'iyuntu'ih, nümmü supe'e mia ntünaa
be cold-cont-will we(exc) that time go down

Death Valley katü ütüintü katü.
to heat to

'Then after while it would be cold in the winter,
and we would go down to Death Valley to the heat.'

Copyrighted material

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

Normal			Durative
hapi"	sg	'lie (down)'	happi
katü"	sg	'sit'	kattü
mukuatu		'think'	mukuattu
nuwi	sg	'walk around'	nümmi
puni"		'see'	punni
pusikwa		'know'	pusikkwa
wünü"	sg	'stand'	wünnü
yake"	sg	'cry'	yakke
yükwi		'say'	yükkwi

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 nümmi, the durative of nuwi" (< earlier *nümi).

(35) Tümpi kattü 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.

Copyrighted material

(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

Copyrighted materia

unaffected by final features and so have invariant forms. Example sentences of each of the directionals follow.

(38) Nümmü piiya himakihantü.
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) Patümmu 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 yütsükomminna.
that time crow fly-around-dur
'Then crow was flying all around.'

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

(44) Nüü etümpa'etü püü, nü wasüwükkikwaippüh,
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.'

Copyrighted material

(45) Nü hipikwantu'ih. 'I'll go and drink.'
I drink-go and-will

(46) Nü kapaayu kwüükwantu'ih.
I horse catch-go and-will
'I'll go catch the horse.'

(47) Nü tsao nasungkwa'anna piiya hipikkwasü.
I good feel beer drink-go doing-sub
'I feel good when I go drinking.'

(48) Nüü ma kwüükkwantu'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) Nü süngkiakwantu'ih.
I stagger-go and-will
-away-
'I'll go and stagger.' vs. 'I'll stagger away.'

(50) Satü 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 ≈ -kkwan ≈ -hwan also functions as a final suffix marking

Copyrighted materia

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) Tammü ningkakkiningkakwantu'ih.
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 ütüiki. 'The soup is getting hot.'
soup be hot-get

(54) Tsao nasungkwa'akinna satü.
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) Satü nangkawikonna.
that speak-dur-sfx
'He's going to speak awhile.'

(56) Tatsa nümmü nuupaikommaa nümmin Noompai ka.
summer we(exc) stay-dur-past our Lone Pine at
'In the summer we stayed in our Lone Pine.'

Copyrighted material

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).

Copyrighted materia

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 ≈ -tsin	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 -ppüh to indicate states that have been reached unequivocably, as in 59.

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

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

(59) Satümmü tsüüwataippüh.
those die(pl)-cmplt-pp
'They are absolutely dead.'

Copyrighted material

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

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

(62) Satümmü pokoakkuntu'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) Mümmü u mantünna kwüühi.
you all him part-of marry-dubitative
'One of you might marry him.'

Copyrighted materia

(65) Hii satü hapikkuhihantü atü?
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) Nü kee nümükahantü wünnü.
I not move-stv-stv-imprf stand(dur)
'I'm standing still, not moving.'

(67) Satü katükkantüka hupiatüki.
that sit-stv-imprf-sub sing
'She is singing while sitting.'

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

(69) Nü üm punikiha. 'I'll come to see you.'
I you see-come to-stv

(70) Nüü sakka takkamammüiha.
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., nümükan 'move in position' in 66 is from nümü 'move (about)'; see 3.2.2). As noted in 3.1.1, it is also used to form compound suffixes such as -ppühantün past and -tühantün obligative.

Copyrighted material

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 punisihoppühantü satü.
not it see-neg-def-past that
'He surely didn't see it.'

(72) Satungku kee teewingkütsinna.
those(dl) not tell-neg-general
'Those two didn't tell (her).'

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! 'Don't talk!'
not talk-def-future

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

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

Copyrighted materia

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, kopittükih 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)'

katü" Vi sg-dl, yükwi dl, nuupaih ≈ yuunaah pl 'sit, stay'

nangkawih V sg-dl, ningwünü" pl-dl 'talk'

nukkwi Vi sg, nunukkwi dl, nutaan pl 'run'

nuwi (nümmi) Vi sg-dl, ningka ≈ yingka pl-dl 'walk around'

pahe" Vi sg-dl, pokoah pl-dl 'fall (down)'

pakkah Vt sg-dl, wasü" pl 'kill'

-siiwa instr Vt sg, situi pl 'scratch'

Copyrighted material

takkuna"(kkun) ≈ tangwi Vt sg, toppotsiki pl
'throw away'
-tia instr Vt sg, -we'i pl 'empty, dump out'
tiyaih Vi sg-dl, tsüüwah ≈ ko'i" pl 'die'
to'eh Vi sg, toto'eh dl, küa" pl 'emerge'
tüki" Vt sg-dl, taha" pl-dl 'put, locate, situate'
-tükwan instr V sg, -paih pl 'hit'
-tsi'ah instr V sg, -so'eh pl 'pinch, occlude'
üppüih Vi sg-dl, okko'ih pl-dl '(go to) sleep'
wünü" Vi sg, wüwünü dl, toppangih ≈ tattsaho pl
'stand'
yaa" Vt sg-dl, hima" pl-dl 'carry'
yakai" Vi sg-dl, namo'ih pl-dl 'cry'
yütsü" 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'
kümi" Vi/instr V sg, kümippihami pl 'tighten'
mi'a Vi sg, mimi'a dl, mi'a" pl 'go'
pikkwan Vi sg, pikwaa pl, -pikwai pl instr 'shatter'
pitüh ≈ pittuhun Vi sg-dl, pippittuhun dl, pitükkan pl
'arrive'
potso" Vi sg, potsotso pl 'drip'
waya" ≈ wayan Vi sg, wawayonoo" pl 'burn'

Still other verbs cross-reference number with the verb plural suffixes -ppaih ≈ -ppeh, or -iih and -iah, as in the examples below. Both -iih and -iah replace the final vowel in the verb stem. Some of the verbs below display stem-internal changes as well as suffixation.

Copyrighted materia

VERBS WITH PLURAL SUFFIXES

annih Vi sg, anniah Vi pl, -annippeh V instr pl
'fall'
küppah ≈ küpah Vi sg, küpiah Vi pl, -küpiih pl instr
'break rigid object'
-küünah V instr sg, -küüniih pl 'cover, put on top of'
kwayah Vi/instr sg, kwayuppaih pl 'loosen'
-munuh Vt instr sg, -munuppaih pl 'turn'
-nguna" Vt instr sg, -nguniih pl 'put away, place'
paha" Vi sg, pakiah Vi pl; -pakiih 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 ≈ -pokoah 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, tawiih pl 'be/make a hole'
tisikwa Vt sg, tisikwiih pl 'put in a slot'
-tümah Vtv instr sg, -tümiih pl 'close'
-tüpü(a)h Vt instr sg, -tüpüppaih pl 'undo, release'
-tütüa Vt instr sg, -tütüppaih 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,

Copyrighted material

while -iih and -ppaih ≈ -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. Wahattü kaakki(angku) yakainna ≈ namo'inna.
two crow(-dl) cry(sg) cry(pl)
'Two crows are squawking.'

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

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

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

c. Satümmü küakki. 'They are coming out.'
those emerge(pl)-hither

(79) a. Patümmu piiya yaakkintu'ih.
liquor buyer beer carry-hither-will
'The liquor buyer'll bring a beer.'

Copyrighted materia

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

(80) a. Nümmü piiya yaakkintu'ih sümüttüttsia.
we(exc) beer carry-hither-will only one-O
'We'll bring just one beer.'

b. Nümmü so'oppütünna piiya
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., piiya 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. Nü u tsappahekku. 'I dropped it.'
I it drop-result

Copyrighted material

b. Nü u tsoppokoakku. 'I dropped them.'
I it drop(pl O)-result

(82) a. Nü ma takküünanna.
I it with rock-cover
'I covered it with rock.'

b. Nü ma takküüniinna.
I it with rock-cover(pl O)
'I covered them with rock.'

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 pikwaa 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 wükka'ah means 'chop (a flexible object) in two', but its plural stem wükkopiih means either 'chop (flexible objects)' or 'chop (a flexible object) into pieces'. Similarly, singular transitive wüppikkwan means to 'break, shatter (a hard object) in two', but its plural wüppikwaih 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

Copyrighted materia

with the two enclitics -ungku ≈ -ongku dl and -ummü ≈ -ommü 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-ommü! '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-ummü! '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-ummü! 'Bring them, you all!'
it carry(pl O)-hither-pl

Copyrighted material

(85) Sümüsü mia-ommü atü himpü antsaapanappüh, atü
all go-pl that some flicker that

kaakki, tukopoyo'ittsi, sümüsü kasattsikantü
crow kingbird all bird

mia-ommü.
go-pl

'Everyone went, that flicker, that crow, and kingbird; all of the birds went.'

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.

Copyrighted material

AUXILIARY VERBS

Aux1

hapi" 'prone, lying'
< hapi" Vi sg 'lie (down)'

katüh sg-dl, yükwi dl, yingka ≈ nuupaih pl 'sitting; alone, separately; awhile; be doing situated'
< katü" 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'

-mmüih 'unable to, can't'
< müih Vt 'be unable to, fail to do'

naah ≈ naa 'continuously, duratively'
< naa" 'be'

nooh 'continuatively in motion'
< noo" Vt 'carry on back'

nukkwi 'running, fast'
< nukkwi(n) Vi sg 'run'

pitü ≈ -mpitü ≈ pittuhu 'arriving, becoming; completely' < pitüh ≈ pittuhun Vi sg 'arrive'

tükin 'begin to, start to'
< tüki" Vt sg 'put'

tünga 'tell to, have do'
< ?

wünü 'standing, upright; awhile'
< wünü" Vi sg 'stand, stay, stop'

Copyrighted material

Aux2

mi'ah ≈ -mmi'a 'get, become; about to do'
< mi'a Vi sg, mi'a" pl 'go'

naih ≈ nai'ih 'in motion'
< ? naa" 'be' + -ih iterative

nuwi ≈ nüwi sg, -nnümmi dur, ningka pl 'walking around; continuously' < nuwi sg, ningka ≈ yingka Vi pl 'walk around, live'

suwan 'want to, need to, feel like'
< suwa" Vt '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) Kammahapitü sutü. 'She is laid up sick.'
be sick-lie that

(87) Üü hakami suwakkatü?
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) Sutü nü taakimmappühantü.
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.'

Copyrighted material

(91) Nüü imaa ko'epittuhunnuhi.
I tomorrow return-arrive-fut
'I'll be back tomorrow.'

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

(93) Nü sakka takkamammüiha.
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 sukkwa wüttühiimmüiha.
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 tsainnaanai'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.'

Copyrighted material

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) Nü nukkwintüm pa'a katünoohonto'eh.
I train on sit-continuative-definite-fut
in motion
'I'll get to ride on a train.'

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

(100) Tangku nuinnukkwikomminna.
we(dl inc) play-run-definite-iterative
'We two were running around playing.'

(101) Nüü tümpitta himappittuhuppühantü.
I rock-O carry(pl)-arrive-past
'I brought the rocks.'

(102) Nü u makapitükoppühantü.
I him feed-arrive-definite-past
'I came to feed him.'

(103) Nümü tükkatükintu'ih.
people eat-start-will
'People are about to start to eat.'

(104) Nü piiya hipisü tsao nasungkwa'atükintu'ih.
I beer drink-sub good feel-begin-will
'When I drink beer, I'll begin to feel good.'

(105) Nü hipittünganna ü. 'You told me to drink.'
me drink-tell-sfx you

Copyrighted materia

(106) Um pia u tükkatünganna.
her mother her eat-tell-sfx
'Her mother told her to eat.'

(107) Nüü Tümpisakkatünna puningwünnü.
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 pünna summo'a noonnai'inna.
that her own clothes carry on back-in motion
'She's carrying her own clothes around on her back.'

(112) Nü piapü pai katünnai'inna.
I mare on sit-in motion
'I'm riding on the mare.'

(113) Piammüttsi 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.'

Copyrighted material

The auxiliaries may also follow themselves when they occur both as main verbs and auxiliaries, as in 115.

(115) Nü nümmikkinuwippühantü puninnuwippühantü.
I walk-hither-walk-past see-walk-past
'I walked all around and looked all around.'

(116) Nüü tipingasuwaha noohinnattsia.
I ask-want-stv something-O
'I want to ask something.'

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

(118) Pünnang kahni kattu u petsüttaisuwammisü.
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, -mmüih, suwan, tükin, and tünga, behave like predicates superordinate to the verbs to which they are appended (see 8.2.3 on object-complement clauses). Tünga 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

Copyrighted materia

-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.

Copyrighted material

SUBORDINATING SUFFIXES

-ka ≈ -ha temporal 'when, after'
(different subject in obj or poss case)
-ku contemporative 'when, while'
(different subject in obj case)
-kwa temporal 'when, after'
(different subject in obj case)
-mmi intentional
(identical subject)
-nna infinitive
(identical subject, or no notional subject)
-ppüh past participle and perfective
(identical subject or different subject in poss case)
-sin ≈ tsin sequential
(identical subject)
-sü ≈ -tsü resultive 'because, when, still'
(identical subject)
-tün present participle and habitual
(identical subject)
-tukwah conditional 'if' and temporal 'when'
(identical subject)

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.

Copyrighted material

3.2.1 Valence and Voice Changes

Nearly all verbs in Tümpisa Shoshone are unequivocably 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 post-positions). A small number of verbs, however, are both intransitive and transitive, and therefore they optionally may or may not take an object (e.g., tükkah 'eat', tukummahannih 'cook', and wasüwükki '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. Obversely, 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.

Copyrighted material

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'
yükwi" ≈ 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) Satü huu'etüaminna. 'He's making a bow.'
that bow-make

Copyrighted material

(120) Satü niang kahni'amippüh.
that my house-make-prf
'He has built my house.'

(121) Nü sakwaapitünna puipa'e.
I green-O eye-have
'I have green eyes.'

(122) Üü tsawintünna tükkappihnaappa'e.
you good-O food-have alienably
'You have some good food.'

(123) Nümmü so'oppüh putisih pungkupaimmippühantü.
we(exc) many burro pet-have-hab-past
'We used to have many burro pets.'

(124) Nü kammuyukwitü ma ma'e.
I rabbit-hunt him with
'I rabbit-hunt with him.'

(125) Nü wasüppia yukwikwantu'ih.
I mt sheep-O get-go to-fut
'I'm going to go get the mountain sheep.'

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.

Copyrighted material

EXAMPLES OF SPORADIC INCORPORATION

kiikuttih Vt 'jab with the elbow'
< ma-kii-ppüh 'elbow' + kuttih 'shoot'
mitükkaannangkawih V 'speak English'
< mitükkaano 'English, white man' + nangkawih 'speak'
nampunih Vt 'track'
< nam(pe) 'foot(print)' + puni" 'see'
namo'okoitsoih Vi 'wash hands'
< na- reflexive + mo'o 'hand' + koitsoih 'wash'
pao'okwe" Vi 'bleed'
< pao"(ppi) 'blood' + okwe" 'flow'
siiyatükingkün Vt 'saddle (a horse)'
< siiya 'saddle' + tüki" 'put' -ngkün cat
takkanto'eh Vi 'ejaculate'
< takkan 'sperm' + to'eh 'emerge'
tünto'eh Vi 'climb up'
< tüm(pin) 'rock' + to'eh 'emerge'
tümpahe" Vi 'fall down'
< tüm(pin) '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

Copyrighted material

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

ku"- ≈ ko"-	'with heat or fire'
< UA *kuh	'fire' (cf. kunna" 'fire(wood)')
kotto'eh	Vi 'boil'
kottoon	Vt 'make a fire'
kuppüah	Vi 'cook'
kusangwe	Vt 'roast'
kuttiyaih	Vi sg
kuttsüüwah ≈ kukko'ih	pl 'die from heat, be too hot'

kü"- ≈ ku"-	'with the teeth or mouth'
< UA *kü'i	'bite'
kosope	Vt 'lick'
künnoo(nnai'ih)	Vt 'carry (along) in the mouth'
küttsi'ah	Vt sg 'bite' (kuso'eh pl)
kütsohi	Vt 'chew'

Copyrighted material

ma- ≈ mo-	'with the hand'
< UA *maa	'hand' (cf. mo'o 'hand')
mapah	Vi 'crawl'
masakkah	Vt 'snap/break with hand' (masakiih pl)
masutuhi	Vt 'rub with hand'
matükih	Vt 'slap hand down on'
mokose"	Vt 'smash, mash, knead'

mu- ≈ mo-	'with the nose'
< UA *mu-pi	'nose' (cf. mupin 'nose')
motamangkün	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'
niingkün	Vt 'say, tell'
nimma'i	Vt 'talk to/with'
nippoosi	Vt 'boss around'
nittüühai	Vt 'talk endearingly to'

pa- ≈ po-	'(with or pertaining to) water'
< UA *paa	'water' (cf. paa 'water')
paaka	Vt 'give drink to'
pakatüh	Vi 'be a body of water'
pakwi"	Vi 'swell'
patümüüh	Vt 'buy drinks'
poto'ih	Vi 'be a spring'

Copyrighted materia

pi"-	'with the butt or behind'
< UA *pih	'back'
pingonokwi	Vi 'buck (as a horse)'
pippattaih	Vi 'fall on butt' (pippatappaih pl)
pippahe"	Vt 'drop; shed; have baby' (pippokoah pl)
pisoto"	Vt 'pull, drag'
pittatah(an)	Vi 'pull dress up; bare one's butt'

sü"-	'with or from cold'
< UA *süp	'cold'
sükka'ah	Vi 'break from cold (flexible object)' (sükkopiah pl)
sükküppah	Vi 'break from cold (rigid object)' (sükküpiah pl)
sünnünnüki	Vi 'shiver, shake'
süttiyaih	Vi 'die from cold; be cold'
süttsüüwah	Vi pl 'die from cold; be cold'

sun-	'with the mind, by feelings or sensing'
< UA *suuna 'heart' or *suuwah 'notice, believe'	
(cf. suwa" 'want, feel')	
nasuntamah	Vt med-pass 'remember'
nasuwatsi"	Vt med-pass 'forget'
sumpanai	Vt 'know'
suwa"	Vt 'feel, want, think'
suwaih	Vt 'think about'

ta"- ≈ to"-	'with the foot'
< UA *tannah	'foot'
tasiiwah	Vt 'scratch with feet/claws' (tasitui pl)
tasu'ukuttih	Vt 'kick'
tattükih	Vi 'step'
tattsikohi"	Vi 'slip (on one's feet)'
tokkotsa"	Vt 'smash by stepping on'

Copyrighted material

ta"- ≈ to"- 'with a hard rock-like instrument'

< ? UA *tün 'rock' (cf. tümpe 'rock')

tangwi ≈ takkuna" Vt 'throw' (toppotsiki pl)

tappikkwan Vt 'break (hard object)' (tappikwai pl)

tasakkah Vt 'crack, break' (tasakkiih pl)

tasingwe 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' (tottawiih pl)

tottükwan Vt 'hit' (toppaih pl)

tsa"- ≈ tso"- 'by grasping in the hand'

< Numic *tsa'i" 'grasp, hold' cf. tsai" ≈ tse"
'grasp, hold'

tsakkümi" Vt 'tighten' (tsakkümippihami pl)

tsakkwinu Vt 'wind, reel in'

tsannuwan Vt 'lift'

tsotto'eh Vt 'take out' (tsakküah ≈ tsappu'e pl)

tsonnopah Vt 'tear out/down' (tsonnopiih pl)

tsi"- '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'
(tsippaih pl)

tsittsukwih Vt 'point'

Copyrighted materia

tso-	'with the head'
< UA *cohngi	'head' (cf. tsoppippüh 'head')
tsokottih	Vt 'bump head on; break with head'
tsonuwan	Vi 'lift the head'

wü"- ≈ wo"-	'with an (elongated) instrument' generic	
< ? UA *wüpaa	'whip' (cf. wü'a" 'penis')	
wüsommah ≈ wosommah	Vt 'bend'	(wüsomiih ≈ wosomiih pl)
wü'annih	Vt 'knock over'	(wü'annippeh pl)
wüppaha"	Vt 'split'	(wüppakiih pl)
wüttükwan	Vt 'hit'	(wüppaih pl)
wüttompokkah	Vt 'fasten'	(wüttompokwiih pl)

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 intrumental 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	Vt sg 'bite in two, break with the teeth'
muka'ah	Vt sg 'break with the nose'
pikka'ah	Vt sg 'break with the butt'
sükka'ah	Vi sg 'break from cold'
takka'ah	Vt sg 'chop with a rock-like instrument'
tsakka'ah	Vt sg 'break by pulling apart'
tsikka'ah	Vt sg 'cut'
wükka'ah	Vt sg 'chop'

Copyrighted material

küppah Vi sg 'break (of rigid object)'
kukküppah Vi sg 'break from heat'
kükküppah Vt sg 'break with the teeth'
maküppah Vt sg 'break with the hand'
pikküppah Vt sg 'break with the butt'
sükküppah Vi sg 'break from cold'
takküppah Vt sg 'break with the foot'
tsakküppah Vt sg 'break by grasping in the hand'
wükküppah Vt sg 'break with something'

-küünah Vt sg instr 'cover, be on top of'
maküünah Vt sg 'cover, be on top of'
pikküünah Vt sg 'sit on top of'
takküünah Vt sg 'cover with rock, put rock on top of'
tsikküünah Vt sg 'put pointed object on top of'
wükküünah Vt sg 'cover with something'

-kwa'ah V instr 'feel'[1]
nasungkwa'ah Vt 'feel (internally)' (< na- med-pass)
küsungkwa'ah ≈ kusungkwa'ah Vt 'taste'
masungkwa'ah Vt 'feel with the hand'
musungkwa'ah Vt 'feel with the nose'
pisungkwa'ah Vt 'feel with the butt'
tasungkwa'ah Vt 'feel with the foot'
wüsungkwa'ah ≈ wosungkwa'ah 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)'
tsakkwayah Vt sg 'take off by grasping'
tsikkwayah Vt sg 'touch with something pointed'
wükkwayah Vt sg 'touch with the body'

Copyrighted materia

paha"	Vi sg 'split in half'
tappaha"	Vt sg 'split with a rock'
tsappaha"	Vt sg 'split by pulling apart'
tsippaha"	Vt sg 'split with something sharp'
wüppaha"	Vt sg 'split with something'

-sukwih	V instr 'penetrate with, put in a hole'
masukwih	Vt 'penetrate with hand, put hand in a hole'
musukwih	Vt 'penetrate with nose, put nose in a hole'
pisukwih	Vt 'put butt in a hole'
tasukwih	Vt 'penetrate with foot, put foot in a hole'
wüsukwih	Vt 'penetrate with, put something in a hole'

-tamah	V instr sg 'secure'	
nasuntamah	Vt 'remember'	(< na- med-pass)
mutamangkün	Vt 'bridle'	(< -ngkün cat)
tsattamah	Vt sg 'tie'	
wüttamah	Vt sg 'tie tight, secure'	

to'eh ≈ to'ih	Vi sg 'emerge, come up/out'
kotto'eh	Vi sg 'boil, be really hot'
moto'eh	Vi sg 'vomit'
poto'ih ≈ pato'ih	Vi sg 'be a spring'
tsatto'eh ≈ tsotto'eh	Vt sg 'take out'

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 tukummahannih 'cook' (< tü- aps, ku"- 'with heat' + ma- 'with the hands', hannih 'do, fix') and tasüttiyaih 'freeze the feet' (< ta"- 'with feet', sü"- '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

Copyrighted material

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 etyma are not found in contemporary Tümpisa Shoshone, if known at all (e.g., kü"-, ma-, pi"-, sü"-, ta"-, to"-, tsi"-, 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., yükwi" '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 tangappüh 'knee' (-ppüh 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; tangatookatü 'kneel' < too ? + katü" 'sit'; tangatookuttih 'fall on knees' < too ? +

Copyrighted material

kuttih 'shoot'; tangappuhakatü 'pray kneeling' < puha 'supernatural power' + katü" '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., patümüüh 'buy drinks' < tümüüh '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 Tümpisa (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 wü"- are used in forming over 50 different words each. Others are not so productive; for example, sü"- 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.

Copyrighted material

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)'
-kotsa"		'smash (with vertical motion)'
-kuna" ≈ -ngwi	(-potsiki pl)	'throw'
-küpiih pl (cf. küpiah Vi)		'break rigid object'
-küünah	(-küüniih pl)	'cover, be on top of'
-kwa'ah ≈ -kwai"		'touch, feel'
-munuh(ih)	(-munuppeh pl)	'turn (around or over)'
-nopah	(-nopiih pl)	'pull out, tear down'
-ngunah	(-nguniih pl)	'place, set, locate'
-pakiih pl (cf. paha" sg, pakiah Vi pl)		'split'
-patah	(-patiih pl)	'spread out'
-patta'ih	(-patappaih pl)	'slap, flop against'
-patsanah	(-patsaniih pl)	'fasten'
-pihwa	(-pihwai pl)	'break (soft object)'
-pikwai pl (cf. pikwaa Vi pl)		'shatter, break (rigid object)'
-pokoah ≈ -pokkohin	(-pokoppaih pl)	'violate'
-sakkah	(-sakiih pl)	'crack, snap'
-siiwah	(-situi ≈ -sutuhi pl)	'scratch, rub'
-somiih pl (cf. sommah sg, somiah Vi pl)		'bend'
-sone		'sweep, comb'
-sukwih		'put in a hole'
-su'ukuttih		'kick'
-tamah	(-tamiih pl)	'secure'
-tia	(-we'i pl)	'discard, dump out'
-tükwan	(-paih pl)	'hit'
-tümah	(-tümiih pl)	'close'
-tüpüah	(-tüpüppaih pl)	'undo, release, open'
-tütüa	(-tütüppaih pl)	'tear, cut (fabric)'
-tompokkah	(-tompokwiih pl)	'fasten'

Copyrighted material

-tomponah	(-tomponiih pl)	'wrap or put in a rag'
-tsakwah	(-tsakwiih pl)	'kill by...'
-tsi'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, küpiah Vi pl 'break (of rigid object)' > -küpiih pl instr V (küppah Vi sg); kopiah Vi pl 'break (of flexible object)' > -kopiih pl instr V (ka'ah Vi sg); and pakiah Vi pl > -pakiih pl instr V (paha" Vi 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. Nü o tottsokwenna.
I it rock-smash
'I smashed it (with some rock-like instrument).'

b. Nü tümpim ma o tottsokwenna.
I rock with it rock-smash
'I smashed it with the rock.'

c. Nü nü pampi ma o tottsokwenna.
I my head with it rock-smash
'I smashed it with my head.'

Copyrighted material

(127) a. Nü sakka masungkwa'anna.
I that-O hand-feel
'I'm feeling him (with my hand).'

b. Nü sakka nü 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 patümüüngküppühantü.
Sam us(inc) drink-buy for-past
'Sam bought us something to drink.'

b. Sam piiya tammi patümüüngküppühantü.
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

Copyrighted materia

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) Nümmü sapettü namiangkütaippühantü.
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 napunihappühantü.
we(dl exc) car in be seen-past
'We two were seen in the car.'

(132) Püe tammin tüpanna nayaappüh.
already our(inc) pinenut-O be taken-prf
'Our pinenuts have already been taken.'

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

b. Nü nateewingkünna. 'I was told (something).'
I be told-cat

c. Nü sukkwa teewitu'ih. [=active of a]
I that-O tell about-will
'I'll tell about that.'

Copyrighted material

d. Nü sukkwa ma teewingküppühantu.[=active of b]
I that-O him told
'I told him that.'

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

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

c. Tükkappia natümeninna. '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.

Copyrighted materia

MEDIOPASSIVE VERBS

nahona Vi 'be nothing'
< ?

nakuttapinaih Vi 'be light(ed)'
< ku"- 'with heat' + tape 'sun' + naih 'do'

nakütsasa Vi 'be bad'
< ?

nanangkah ≈ naangkah Vi 'be noise'
< nangkah Vt 'hear'

naniyah(an) Vi 'be named, be called'
< niya 'name' + -kan stv

napakatüh Vi 'be flooded'
< pakatüh Vi 'be a body of water'

napunih Vi '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'

nasuwaih Vi and Vt 'be ashamed (of)'
< suwaih Vt 'think about'

nasuwatsi" Vt 'forget'
< sun- 'with mind' + watsi" Vi 'be lost, hidden'

natiingwa" ≈ natütiingwa" Vi and Vt 'learn, study'
< tütiingwa" Vt 'teach'

natüpinniahan Vi 'be named, called'
< tüpinnia(han) Vt 'name, call'

natsattümah Vi 'close, be closed'
< tsattümah Vt 'close'

natsittoonnai'ih Vi 'use a cane'
< tsi"- 'with pointed instr' + too" ? + nai'ih
'in motion'

na'üma ≈ na'üngwa Vi 'be rained on'
< üma" ≈ üngwa" Vi 'rain'

Copyrighted material

nawakanaa" Vi 'be married'
< wakan 'by, toward (someone)' naa" 'be'
nawüttümah Vi 'close, be closed'
< wüttümah 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) Tüwüttümappüh nawüttümawi'ah.
door close-inchoative
'The door is closing.'

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

(137) Nümmi appü wa'i napunni satü.
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).

Copyrighted materia

(138) a. Nüüsü napunikka. 'I see myself.'
myself pmpr-see-stv

b. Üüsü napunikka. 'You see yourself.'
yourself pmpr-see-stv

c. Püntakasü napunikka. 'He sees himself.'
self pmpr-see-stv

d. Satü püntakasü napunikka.
that self pmpr-see-stv
'That one sees himself.'

e. Tammüsü napunni.
ourselves(inc) pmpr-see(dur)
'We all see ourselves.'

f. Nümmüsü napunikkappühantü.
ourselves(exc) pmpr-see-stv-past
'We saw ourselves.'

g. Mümmüsü napunikka.
yourselves pmpr-see-stv
'You all see yourselves.'

h. Pümmüsü napunikka. 'They see themselves.'
themselves pmpr-see-stv

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

Copyrighted material

or reciprocal, as in 139. But as 140 illustrates, the semantics of the sentence usually makes one interpretation or the other paramount.

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

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

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

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

(140) Satungku napitüngkünna.
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. Tammü(sü) annappuninuupaiha.
we(ourselves inc) recip-see-sit-stv
'We all are sitting looking at each other.'

Copyrighted material

b. Nümmü(sü) annappuniha.
we(ourselves exc) recip-see-stv
'We are looking at each other.'

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

(142) Satümmü annappitüngkünna.
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- + nümü 'people' > nanümü 'relative'; anna"- + man 'with' > annamman 'together'; see the word formation sections in other chapters).

3.2.1.4 Absolutive Antipassives

Tümpisa 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- (≈ tu-), 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 tüwasünnuwi.
that aps-kill(pl)-walk around
'He is going around killing [things].'

(144) Nü tüsaawaha. 'I'm boiling [something].'
I aps-boil-stv

Copyrighted material

(145) Nü tumo'ikattü. 'I'm sitting writing.'
I aps-write-sit(dur)

(146) Nü tukoitsoitu'ih, nü takkottükitu'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- + puni" 'see'), and a few have then been reanalyzed as transitives (e.g., tukummahannih Vi and Vt 'cook' < tü- aps + ku"- '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 -ngkün, which is used to increase the valence of a given verb by one. When -ngkün 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 -ngkün. 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 -ngkün from intransitives; a list of some of them follows.

Copyrighted materia

CAUSATIVES FROM INTRANSITIVES

hapingkün 'fell, make fall'
< hapi" sg 'lie'
hipittaingkün 'make drunk, intoxicate'
< hipittain 'get drunk'
hüttsawüngkün 'cool'
< hüttsawün 'be cool'
kammangkün 'make sick'
< kammah 'be sick, sore, ache'
kuppüangkün Vt 'cook'
< kuppüah Vi 'cook'
kotto'engkün Vt 'boil'
< kotto'eh Vi 'boil'
kwitasu'ungkün 'make fart'
< kwitasu'u" 'fart, break wind'
mi'angkün 'send, make go'
< mi'a 'go'
muiyaingkün 'intoxicate, make drunk'
< muiyai 'become intoxicated, get drunk'
pitsingkün 'nurse, breastfeed'
< pitsi 'suckle'
potso'ingkün 'make wet'
< potso'in 'be wet'
siingkün 'make urinate'
< sii" 'urinate'
sünnünnükingkün 'shake, make shiver'
< sünnünnüki 'shiver'
tammayaingkün 'drive crazy, make (go) crazy'
< tammayain 'be crazy'
tamminoingkün 'tire, make tired'
< tamminoi 'be tired'
üitsü'ingkün 'cool, make cold'
< üitsü'in 'be cold'
üppüingkün 'make sleep(y)'
< üppüih '(go to) sleep'

Copyrighted materia

ütüingkün 'heat'
< ütüin 'be hot'
watsingkütain 'lose'
< watsi" 'be lost, missing' + -tain cmplt
wükkatüngkün 'stack, pile up'
< wükkatüh 'be a pile'
yuhupükkangkün 'fatten, make fat'
< yuhupükkan 'get fat'

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

(147) Tsao ü siingkütü tuttumpi.
really you make pee-hab ephedra
'Ephedra really makes you pee.'

(148) Wa'ippü 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 nü hipippüh nü kammangkütaihwa.
beer I drink-prf me make sick-cmplt-cmplt
'The beer I drank has made me absolutely sick.'

Besides forming causatives from instransitive 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.

Copyrighted material

TRANSITIVES FROM INTRANSITIVES

kimmangkün 'come after, chase'
< kimma 'come'
kuttsükü̈ingkün 'fry'
< kuttsükü̈i 'sizzle'
mi'angkün 'go after, chase'
< mi'a 'go'
natümuingkün 'tell a story to'
< natümui Vi 'tell a story'
nuingkün Vt 'play (at)'
< nui" Vi 'play'
paitsüngkün 'holler at, yell at'
< paitsü" ≈ petsü" 'holler, yell'
tükümmüingkün 'translate for, interpret for'
< tükümmüi 'talk, each using one's own language'
tsahapingkün 'lay down, put in bed'
< tsa"- 'by grasping' + hapi" sg 'lie (down)'
tsawününgkün 'stand up, set upright'
< tsa"- 'by grasping' + wünü" sg 'stand'

The suffix -ngkün 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 -ngkün 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

Copyrighted material

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) Sümüttü nia sümmi teewingküppühantü.
one me something told-cat-past
'Someone told me something.'

(152) Nüü sukkwa ma teewingküntu'ih.
I that him tell-cat-will
'I'll tell him that.'

(153) Nü ün teewingkünna.
I you tell-cat-sfx
'I'm telling you (something).'

(154) Utümmi sümmi yüingkünna, pünnam pii tsa
those-O something said to their own mom emph

sümmi yüingkünna, 'Tammi appü naammaa
something said to our(inc) father was

satü wihnu.'
that then

'She said to them, their own mom said, "That was our father then."'

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

(156) Samma piiya tahi patümüüngküppühantü.
Sam beer us(dl inc) liquor-buy-cat-past
'Sam bought us two some beer.

Copyrighted material

(157) Tangummü nia wasüppia pakkangkükoppühantü.
man me mt sheep kill-cat-around-past
'The man killed a mountain sheep for me.'

(158) Satü sakka akka pakkangkükoppühantü.
that that-O that-O kill-cat-around-past
= he = that = her
'He killed that for her.'

(159) Nia sunni nukwingküppühantü sutü.
me that way do-cat-past that
'He did that (way) for me.'

(160) Nü sekka senni yukwingküppühantü.
I this-O this way do-cat-past
'I did this (way) for him.'

(161) Wa'ippü pünnang kuhmattsia wasüwükkingkünna.
woman her own husband-O hunt-cat-sfx
'The woman is hunting for her own husband.'

(162) Tangummü pünnam pünnahapittsia
man his own wife-O

tukummahanningkünna.
cook-cat-sfx

'The man is cooking for his own wife.'

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.

Copyrighted material

LEXICALIZED APPLICATIVES

hanningkün 'help, do for'
< hannih 'do, fix'
motamangkün 'bridle (a horse)'
< mu- 'with nose' + -tamah 'secure, tie'
niingkün 'tell'
< ni"- 'with words' -i- ?
nukwingkün 'tell, say to'
< nukwi" 'say'
nukwingkün 'do for'
< nukwi" 'do'
puningkün 'show to; look at'
< puni" 'see'
suwangkün 'feel about, have feelings about'
< suwa" 'feel, want, think'
teewingkün 'tell'
< teewi 'tell about, talk about, point'
yukwingkün 'do for'
< yükwi" ≈ yukwi" 'do'
yükwingkün ≈ yüingkün 'tell, say to'
< yükwi" 'say'

(163) Nüü sakka tüttsüppüh suwangkünna.
I that-O ugly feel about
'I hate her.'

(164) Nüü üm puningkükwantu'ih tüpanna.
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 -ngkün much like causatives from intransitives discussed earlier. However, it is not known whether or not the process of forming causatives from transitives with -ngkün is productive. The only examples recorded are given in 165-166.

Copyrighted material

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

(166) Nü hipingkünna üü. 'You made me drink.'
me drink-cat-sfx you

3.2.1.6 Jussives

Causative-like constructions from transitive verbs are usually formed with the jussive auxiliary verb tünga 'tell to, order to' (see 3.1.5), which may be used with intransitive verbs as well. Like other auxiliaries, tünga is appended to the main verb stem, but like the suffix -ngkün 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 tünga 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 tünga in fact must have human or talking subjects and objects that presumably understand language.

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

(168) Nü hipittünganna üü.
me drink-tell-sfx you
'You told me to drink.'

(169) Wa'ippü pünnang kuhmattsia wasüwükkitünganna.
woman her own husband-O hunt-tell-sfx
'The woman told her husband to hunt.'

Copyrighted material

(170) Tangummü pünnam pünnahapittsia
man his own wife-O

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

(171) Nü ma mi'atüngappühantü.
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 -ngkün and the jussive auxiliary tünga.

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'
küttai	'be hard, tough'	< küttaan 'tough'
niingkün	'tell'	< ni"- 'with words', -ngkün cat
nasoo'ih	'be a movie'	< na- pmpr, Eng show
nühai	'make baskets'	< nüha(kka) 'basket'
ohii"	'cough'	< ohi- 'cough'

Copyrighted material

paho'in 'smoke (tobacco)' < pahon 'tobacco'
tütakaih 'be born' < tü- aps + taka 'self'

-kain ≈ -kaih ≈ -kai" general verbalizer; semiproductive

pihyakai" 'itch' < pihya 'weak'
posiakaih 'delouse' < posia 'louse'
sumakkain 'breathe' < suma"- 'breath'
tooyakain 'be thunder' < toya- 'mountain'
woongkwain 'be jealous' < woon- 'jealous'

-kan ≈ -kkan ≈ -han stative; semiproductive

nümükan 'move' < nümü 'person'
tusukkwan 'smash' < tusu" 'grind'
tümpunihan 'watch' < tün- 'rock', puni" 'see'
tükikkan (tahakkan pl) 'keep' < tüki" (taha" pl) 'put'
yunnukkan 'keep' < yunnu" sg 'put'

-pükkan involuntary stative; semiproductive

kammahpükkan 'be/get sick' < kammah 'be sick'
no'apükkan 'be/get pregnant' < no'a- 'pregnant'
pakantuupükkan 'have/get an erection' < pakan 'penis'
tuupükkan 'be/get angry' < tuu- 'mean'
wüattuupükkan 'have/get an erection' < wüa" 'penis'
yuhupükkan 'get fat' < yuhu- 'fat'

-tu ?; unproductive

kuhmatu 'acquire a husband' < kuhma 'husband'
mukuatu 'think' < mukua 'mind'
pünnahapitu 'acquire a wife' < pünnahapi 'wife'
tuammütu 'bear offspring' < tuammü 'offspring'

Copyrighted materia

-wih general verbalizer; semiproductive

hukkuntüwi	'be dusty'	< hukkun 'dust'
isa'awih	'lie, deceive'	< isan 'lie' + -'a ?
kümawih	'sharpen'	< küma- 'sharp'
nangkawih	'talk'	< nangkah 'hear'
nühakkawih	'make baskets'	< nühakka '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'
wümmanniyun	'be naked'	< wümmanni- 'naked'

3.3 NONFINITE FORMS

Virtually all Tümpisa 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,

Copyrighted materia

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 tütüainna '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) Nüü 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 -tün (obj -tünna ≈ -ti), and the past participle formed with the suffix -ppüh (obj -ppüha). 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 nüaitünna nangkappühantü tünga ümatü ma'i.
I blowing-O heard and rain(ing) with
'I heard the wind and rain.'

(175) Wayantünna punikka nü.
burning-O see I
'I see the fire [=burning].'

Copyrighted material

(176) Nü neeyangwitünna punikka.
I handgame-playing-O see
'I see handgame-playing.'

(177) Tammü neeyangwippühantü tukwanni
we(inc) play handgame-past night

piiya hipitü.
beer drinking

'We played handgame last night, drinking beer.'

(178) Tangummü pa'appüh wünütü nia pusikwa.
man tall standing me know
'The tall man knows me.'

(179) Nüü tangummi pa'appüh wünütünna pusikwa.
I man-O tall standing-O know
'I know the tall man.'

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

(180) Tüpattsi kuppüataippüh.
pinenut cook-cmplt-pp
'The pinenuts are cooked.'

(181) Nüü tamminoippüh. 'I'm tired.'
I tire-pp

Copyrighted materia

(182) Setü tsukuppüttsi küttaappüh muiyaippüh,
this old man really drunk

setü üppüitaippüh.
this sleep-cmplt-pp
'The old man is really drunk; he's completely asleep.'

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

(184) Nüü tsiatiyaippüh nü tükkatu'ih.
I starve-pp I eat-will
'When I'm starved, I'll eat.'

(185) Wa'ippüang kuukkippüha nümmü tükkanna tüpanna.
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 -tün and the perfect aspect suffix -ppüh (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

Copyrighted material

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 <u>püü</u> and -<u>nnu'u</u> always follow the verb when modifying it. Both are emphatic markers, but <u>püü</u> often marks contrastiveness as well as simple emphasis.

(186) Setü otammanni miattaisü sümmi yükwitü püü!
this old man went away that saying emph
'This old man went away saying that!'

(187) Nüü naaiyangwitüki-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

Copyrighted materia

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 püü.

(188) Setü utuku püü ümannuh. 'It was just raining!'
this just emph rained

Some are intensifiers, like küttaappüh in 189.

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

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

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

(191) Püesüsü pünnanni nümmi nukkwippüha
long ago which way us do-past-sub

nüü 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 makakomminna sopetti.
her feed-around-iterative there abouts-emph
'He would feed her around there.'

Copyrighted material

And finally, some indicate manner, like yawüsü and tsao in 193-194.

(193) Nüü yawüsü miakwantu'ih.
I quickly go away-will
'I'll quickly go away.'

(194) Nüü kee sakka tsao suwangküna.
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 kenümüni 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) Nüü kenümüni pasampüttsi.
I really skinny
'I'm really skinny.'

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

(197) Tsawüntü tangummü 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.

Copyrighted materia

4

PRONOMINALS

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.

Copyrighted materia

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Singular	Subjective	Objective	Possessive
1st	nü ≈ nüü	nia ≈ nü	nian ≈ nü
2nd	ü ≈ üü[1]	ümmi ≈ ün	ümmin ≈ ün
3rd		ma ≈ u ≈ a	man ≈ un ≈ an
Dual			
1st exc	nungku	nuhi ≈ nuhu-[1]	nuhin
1st inc	tangku	tahi ≈ tahu-	tahin
2nd	mungku	muhi ≈ muhu-	muhin
Plural			
1st exc	nümmü	nümmi	nümmin
1st inc	tammü	tammi	tammin
2nd	mümmü	mümmi	mümmin

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 u 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 wakantü kimmanna.
you(dl) towards come
'He's coming towards you two.'

Copyrighted materia

(3) Satü muhi tottükwappühantü.
that you(dl)-O hit
'He hit you two.'

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

(5) Nüü mümmi mappatappaikwantu'ih.
I you(pl)-O slap-going to
'I'm going to slap you all.'

(6) Mümmi appüti utü sutü!
your(pl) father-emph that that
'That's you-all's father!'

(7) Nungku atammupi kuppa napunippühantü.
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 nanangkahappühantü.
we(dl) girl-O heard
'We two heard the girl.'

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

(11) Tahim piiya tsumataippüh.
our(dl) beer all gone
'Our beer is all gone.'

Copyrighted material

Possessive pronominal constructions used as heads of noun phrases and as predicate nominals are formed with the possessive case personal pronouns plus himpü (himpüa obj) 'something, thing, stuff', which is both an indefinite pronoun and noun. Himpü 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 -n is optional, although preferred, on the possessive case forms preceding himpü. When -n is present, then the initial h of himpü is replaced with n (as a regular phonological process; see 9.3.7).

NOMINAL AND PREDICATIVE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

Singular			
1st	nia	himpü ≈ nian himpü	'mine'
2nd	ümmi	himpü ≈ ümmin nimpü ≈ ün nimpü	'yours'
3rd rflx	pünna	himpü ≈ pünnan nimpü	'his/her own'
Dem	sukka	himpü ≈ sukkan nimpü	'that one's'
Dual			
1st exc	nuhi	himpü ≈ nuhin nimpü	'ours, his and mine'
1st inc	tahi	himpü ≈ tahin nimpü	'ours, yours and mine'
2nd	muhi	himpü ≈ muhin nimpü	'the two of yours'
3rd rflx	puhi	himpü ≈ puhin nimpü	'their own'
Dem	sutuhi	himpü ≈ sutuhin nimpü	'those two's'
Plural			
1st exc	nümmi	himpü ≈ nümmin nimpü	'ours, theirs and mine'
1st inc	tammi	himpü ≈ tammin nimpü	'ours, yours and mine'
2nd	mümmi	himpü ≈ mümmin nimpü	'yours, you-all's'
3rd rflx	pümmi	himpü ≈ pümmin nimpü	'their own'
Dem	sutümmi	himpü ≈ sutümmin nimpü	'those ones''

Copyrighted material

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

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

	Objective	Possessive
Singular		
1st	nüüsün ≈ nütakasün	
2nd	üüsün ≈ üntakasün	
3rd	püntakasün	pün ≈ pünnan
Dual		
1st exc	nungkusün	
1st inc	tangkusün	
2nd	mungkusün	
3rd	pungkusün	puhin
Plural		
1st exc	nümmüsün	
1st inc	tammüsün	
2nd	mümmüsün	
3rd	pümmüsün	pümmin

The objective reflexive pronouns are used in reflexive clauses where the subject does something to itself. They are

Copyrighted material

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) Nüüsü nawüngweninna. 'I hang myself.'
myself pmpr-hang

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

(14) Tangkusü napuniyükwi.
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 püntakasü 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.

Copyrighted materia

(17) Wa'ippü pitsingkünna pünnam piammüttsi.
woman nurse her own baby
'The woman is nursing her (own) baby.'

(18) Um piammüttsi pünnam pia pitsitu'ih.
her baby its own mother suckle-will
'The baby'll suckle its (own) mother.'

(19) Tokowa pünnang kwayingkünna pippokoanna.
snake its own skin drop
'The snake is shedding its (own) skin.'

(20) Supe'esü sutummü u petsünnuwimmaa wa'ippüa
that time those her took walking woman-O

pünnan nanümü. Pümming kahni ka u
her own relatives their own house to her

petsüppüh no'api naammaa sutü u püü wa'ippü!
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 s- and one without s-. Generally speaking, the bases without s- are used to introduce new (or indefinite and not given) information into the discourse, or they are used to

Copyrighted materia

indicate that a given discourse participant is not the topic, whether or not it is new or given information. The bases with s- are used to signal given or definite information. Aside from the paired bases, the Dem/Loc base ma- indicates given or definite information like the bases in s-, but it is neutral with respect to relative distance, covering all or any of the area indicated by the s- bases. The forms in s- and ma- are used to track topics in discourse, so they are called proximate demonstrative bases. Even though the forms without s- or 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

Obviative	Proximate	
i	si-	'(this) right here'
e	se-	'(this) here nearby'
a	sa-	'(that) there visible'
u	su-	'(that) there not visible'
	ma-	'(this/that) here/there'

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

Copyrighted materia

DEMONSTRATIVE STEM FORMATIVES

	Subjective	Objective	Possessive
Singular	-tü	-kka	-kkan
Dual	-tungku	-tuhi ≈ -tuhu-	-tuhin
Plural	-tümmü ≈ -tummü	-tümmi ≈ -tummi	-tümmin ≈ -tummin

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.[2] The alternate plural stem formatives with plain u instead of ü are optional forms due to vowel harmony used only after (s)u-. 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	
	singular		
(s)itü	(s)ikka	(s)ikkan	'this (one) right here'
(s)etü	(s)ekka	(s)ekkan	'this (one) nearby'
(s)atü	(s)akka	(s)akkan	'that (one) visible'
(s)utü	(s)ukka	(s)ukkan	'that (one) not visible'
matü	makka	makkan	'this, that, he, she, it'
	dual		
(s)itungku	(s)ituhi	(s)ituhin	'these two right here'
(s)etungku	(s)etuhi	(s)etuhin	'these two nearby'
(s)atungku	(s)atuhi	(s)atuhin	'those two visible'
(s)utungku	(s)utuhi	(s)utuhin	'those two not visible'
matungku	matuhi	matuhin	'those, these, they two'

Copyrighted materia

	plural		
(s)itümmü	(s)itümmi	(s)itümmin	'these right here'
(s)etümmü	(s)etümmi	(s)etümmin	'these nearby'
(s)atümmü	(s)atümmi	(s)atümmin	'those visible'
(s)utümmü	(s)utümmi	(s)utümmin	'those not visible'
≈(s)utummü	≈(s)utummi	≈(s)utummin	
matümmü	matümmi	matümmin	'these, those, they'

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

Copyrighted materia

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 Tümpisa Shoshone demonstratives in context.

In 21 obviative utü is used as a determiner introducing 'Coyote' as new information.[3] 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 setü is used as a given information determiner with the 'old man', which is another reference to Coyote.

(21) Isapaippü utü... un appü miattaimmaa.
Coyote that its father went-cmplt
= their
'That Coyote, their father, went away.'

(22) Setü atammani miattaisü sümmi 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 sutümmü 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 utümmü. Utümmü 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 utümmü indicates that the girls are no longer the topic, at least not for the moment; rather, the young man is.

Copyrighted materia

(23) Sutümmü supe'esü wihnu u wüttühiihantü sutümmü.
those that time then him wait for those
'Then at that time they waited for him.'

(24) Supe'e wihnu tuittsi pitüsü tuittsi pitü
that time then young man arrive young man arrive

utümmü ka wihnu sümüttü 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 <u>etü</u> being repeated several times both as a determiner and as a pronoun, and then with <u>setü</u> being used as still another pronoun, all in reference to the old lady, the girls' mother. The use of <u>etü</u> in the beginning is to reintroduce the mother (even though she had been mentioned some lines back); the use of <u>setü</u> at the end of the clause shows she is now old information and a continuing topic.

(25) Etü etü wihnu hipittsi etü etü utummin pia
this this then old woman this this those's mother

u punikka setü, sümüttü naipi tünga 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 <u>setü</u> while the girl is referred to with <u>satü</u>.

Copyrighted materia

(26) U punikka setü. U punikka tünga satü.
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 atü tangummi (akka) tangummuttih.
horse that man-O that-O kick
'That horse kicked the man.'

(28) Atü kapaayu sakka tangummuttih.
that horse that-O kick
'That horse kicked that (one).'

(29) Satü sakka isapungku tangummuttih.
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) Satü u tangummuttih.
that it kick
'That one kicked it.'

(31) Satü sakka tangummuttih.
that that-O kick
'That one kicked that one.'

Copyrighted materia

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) *Satü akka isapungku tangummuttih.
that that-O dog kick

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

(33) *Atü 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'ippü tüpanna tangummi tukummahanningkünna.
woman pinenut-O man-O cook-for
'The/a woman cooked pinenuts for the/a man.'

(35) Satü sakka u tukummahanningkünna.
that that-O him cook-for
'She cooked that for him.'

(36) Satü sukkwa ukka tukummahanningkünna.
that that-O that-O cook-for
= him
'She cooked that for him.'

Copyrighted materia

(37) Satü sakka atammi tukummahanningkünna.
that that-O those-O cook-for
'She cooked that for them.'

(38) *Satü sakka sakka tukummahanningkünna.

(39) *Atü akka akka tukummahanningküna.

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

-sün 'is the one that' clefting and existential

isün	'this right here is (the one that)'
esün	'this is (the one that)'
asün	'that is (the one that)'
usün ≈ usun	'that is (the one not visible that)'
masün	'this/that is (the one that)'

Copyrighted materia

-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)'

-ittün '(special) kind'

Subjective	Obj and Poss	
(s)iittün	(s)iittünna	'this special kind right here'
(s)eittün	(s)eittünna	'this special kind'
(s)aittün	(s)aittünna	'that special kind'
(s)uittün	(s)uittünna	'that special kind invisible'

-mmatün 'this/that particular one, that very one'

Subjective	Objective	Possessive
sammatün	sammakka	sammakkan
≈ sümmatün	≈ sümmakka	≈ sümmakkan

The two special demonstrative formatives -nni (≈ ni) and -ittün are also used in building interrogatives, namely, hakani 'how' and hakaittün 'what kind' (see 4.4).

The demonstratives built on -sün 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 s-. That they do not occur with proximate s- 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) Esü mümmi naiwekipitüihantü tuittsi.
this is you all woo-arrive young man
'This is the one who is coming to woo you all, the young man.'

Copyrighted materia

(41) Isa appü esü naisapü.
coyote father this is horny
'This coyote father is the one who is horny.'

(42) Usu ha kahni? 'Is that a house?'
that is Q house

(43) Esü nahim pungku. 'This is our pet.'
this our(dl) pet

(44) Asü hipikkahni. 'That's a bar.'
that is bar

(45) Usü un natükkanna tünga 'ohyo' niyakantü.
that is its being eaten and plant sp be called
'That's an edible, and it's called ohyo.'
[= a plant]

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', yükwi" ≈ yukwi" '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?'

Copyrighted materia

(47) Nüü sennukwikkatü tumo'ikatü.
I this way-do-sit write-sit
'I'm doing this (way), sitting writing.'

(48) Kawa sunnukkwi 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 -ittünna > -ittün), so that objective forms become indistinguishable from subjective ones (e.g., 51; cf. 52; see section 9.5 on contractions).

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

(51) Nümmü suittün tükkamminna.
we(exc) that kind-O eat-iterative
'We used to eat that (special) kind.'

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

(53) Eittüm ma piappütü isapungku police dog.
this kind with big dog
'It is with this special kind of big dog, a police dog.'

Copyrighted materia

The demonstrative indicating 'that particular one, that very one' has two different synonymous forms, sammatü used in Death Valley and further west, and sümmatü used in Nevada. It does not have different forms indicating relative degrees of distance. Apparently it is built on the proximate demonstrative matü with the addition of sa"- (? proximate 'that, there') or sü"- (?). 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 petü sümmatü naakkimmaah sutü?
your Q daughter that particular got to be that
'[How] did that particular one get to be your daughter?'

(55) Sümmatü ha yuwaintü, üitsü'intü kee yuwaintü?
that one Q be warm be cold not be warm
'Is that particular one warm, or cold, not warm?'

(56) Sammatü niam püa. 'That very one is my cousin.'
that very 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

Copyrighted materia

question particle ha. The question words that have been recorded are listed below.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

haka	'who(m), what, how, where'
hakatün	'who' subj human
hakka	'whom' obj human
hakkan	'whose' poss human
hakahontün	'where from'
hakaittün	'what kind, which kind'
hakami	'what/how (of something said or thought)'
hakani	'how, what way, what manner'
hakaniyun	'how is (it), how are (you)'
hakanukwitün	'why'
hakapan ≈ hakapa'an	'where'
hakapai	'where from'
hakapantün	'where from, where at'
hakapangkuh	'where'
hakapayuntün	'where to, where at'
hakattuh	'through where'
hii	'what' subj nonhuman
hinna	'what' obj nonhuman
hiiyamma	'what kind (is it), what's happening'
hiiyasün	'what kind (is it)'
himpan	'how'
himpakan(tün)	'how much, how many; how big, what size'
himpakantünna	'how much, how many' obj
himpe	'when'

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

Copyrighted materia

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, hakapayuntün is based on hakapan, which has been verbalized with -yun and then nominalized with the noun-forming suffix -tün. 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 sutü? 'Where is it?'
where that

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

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

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

(61) Hakatüm mi'akommaa? 'Who went?'
who went

Copyrighted materia

(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 yukwitu'ih? 'What'll I do?'
I what way do-will

(68) Hakanukwitü ko'ennuwimmaa sutü?
why return-walk around that
'Why did he come back?'

Copyrighted material

(69) Hakanukwitü nia tüpingkünna 'nü tukkwa',
why me ask about me under

nia niingkünna üü?
me say you
'Why did you ask me about 'under me' (you said to me)?'

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

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

(72) Hakapantü satü? ≈ Satü hakapantü?
where from that that where from
'Where's he from?'

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

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

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

(76) Hii (satü) hapekku? 'What (was it that) fell?'
what that fell

Copyrighted material

(77) Hinna hapingkukku satü? 'What did he make fall?'
what-O make fall that

(78) Hiiyamma satü?
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) Himpakantünna tuammütu sutü.
how many-O give birth that
'How many did she give birth to?'

(82) Himpe u kuttimmaa (satü)?
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) Üü hakami suwakkatü?
you what think-sit
'What're you sitting thinking about?'

(84) Kee hakami suwakkatü.
not what think-sit
'(I)'m not sitting thinking about anything.'

Copyrighted materia

(85) Haka usun takasü nia nasuntamanna.
what that's all me remember-sub
'That's all of what I remember.'

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

hakatü sampe	'someone, somebody, anyone, anybody'
hakka sampe obj	'someone, somebody, anyone, anybody'
hakaittü sampe	'some kind, any kind'
hakamaanna ≈ hakapamaanna	'someplace, somewhere'
hakapa'a sampe	'someplace, somewhere'
hakapangkuh sampe	'someplace, somewhere'
hakattuh sampe	'someplace, somewhere'
hii sampe	'something, anything, some/any kind'
hinna sampe obj	'something, anything, some/any kind'
himpü (-a obj)	'something'
himpüka"	'someplace'
keehakatün	'no one, nobody'
keehakka obj	'no one, nobody'
keehii(ppüh)	'nothing, no one; there is/are no'
keehinna obj	'nothing, no one'
keehimpü (-a obj)	'nothing, none'
nahona	'be nothing'
nahonappüh(ppüh)	'nothing'
noohakatün	'someone, anyone, everyone, whoever'
noohakka obj	'someone, anyone, everyone, who(m)ever'
noohakaittün	'whatever kind, all kinds, any kind'
noohakami	'some/anything (said/perceived)'

Copyrighted material

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'
sümmi	'something (said or thought); thus'
sümüttün	'someone; one'

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

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

(87) Hakatü sampe nü tottükwappühantü.
somebody me hit
'Somebody hit me.'

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

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

(90) Wa'ippüa ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwüümmaa utü
woman-O that-O some where caught that
pahamittsi utü hakamaanna u nuwiku toya ma
bear that someplace her walk mountain on

nootünga.
probably

Copyrighted materia

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

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

(92) Hinna sampe kuttinna satü.
something-O shoot that
'He shot something.'

(93) Nümmü himpüa saawatu'ih.
we(exc) something-O boil-will
'Let's boil something.'

(94) Tammü tüpanna yaakwantu'ih
we pinenut-O will go get
epetti himpükatti!
here abouts-emph someplace-emph

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

(95) Keehiippüh tsoapittsi. 'There are no ghosts.'
nothing ghost

(96) Sutü piappütü kuttippühantü tühüya
that big shot deer
nüü keehinna kuttinna.
I nothing-O shoot

'He shot a big deer; I shot nothing.'

Copyrighted material

(97) Nahona wihnu tüttsüppüh u suwangkünna.
be nothing then bad her feel [= dislike]
'He doesn't like her for nothing then.'

(98) Nahonappüh sutü. 'That's nothing.'
nothing that

(99) Tuwittsia noohakatü u mantünna kwüühi.
young man-O someone him part of marry
'Someone'll marry the young man.'

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

(101) Kaakki utümmü noohii sümüsü miatü.
crow those whatever all go
'Crow and all of those whatever went.'

(102) Nüü sakka noohinna tüpinningkünna.
I that-O something-O ask
'I asked him something.'

(103) Nüü nuwattaintu'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 sümüttün, 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.

Copyrighted materia

(104) Noohimpe sutü yahinna.
all time that laugh
'He laughs all the time.' = 'He always laughs.'

For example, as an indefinite pronoun, sümmi 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. Sümmi commonly contracts with yükkwi 'say' forming sümmükwi 'say something/thus' (e.g., 107).

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

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

(107) "Nümmi appü wa'e," sümmükkwi [= sümmi yükkwi].
our father like thus-say thus say(dur)
'"He's like our father," thus she said.'

The primary function of sümüttün 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) Sümüttü nia sümmi teewingküppühantü.
(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

Copyrighted materia

number with the head noun in the matrix clause (see section 8.2.2 on relative clauses).

(109) Wa'ippüa nüü pusikwa [akka nühakkawütünna].
woman-O I know that-O make basket-O
'I know the woman who is making baskets.'

(110) Wa'ippü nia pusikwatü [utü hupiatükitü utü].
woman me know that sing that
'The woman who is singing knows me.'

(111) Isapaippü [utü un appü] miattaimmaa.
Coyote that its father went-cmplt
= their
'Coyote, who is their father, went away.'

The base of the third person reflexive pronoun pün(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) Nüü ü pünnan ni nanangkawi ümmi
I you-O which way talk you-O

tütiingwanna.
teach

'I'm teaching you how [= which way] to talk.'

(113) Püm ma nü tütsikkopii'ippüh ma nüü
what with me cut-sub with I

watsingkü.
lose

'I lost what I was cutting with.'

Copyrighted material

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

hüüttsittsi	(-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'
sümüsü		'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'
pahittüttsi	(-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) Satü nü kawiki tükkatü, nüü püü
that me more eat I emph
hüüttsittsia tükkatü.
little bit-O eat

'He eats more than I; I just eat a little.'

Copyrighted materia

(115) So'oppütü yotinnoonna.
many fly(pl)-in motion
'Many are flying around.'

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

(117) Sümüsü nia punikkappühantü.
all me saw
'All [of them] saw me.'

(118) Nü sümüsü yungwünna.
I all swallow
'I'm swallowing all [of it/them].'

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

(120) Sümütüwasi tükkappühantü.
all together ate
All [of them] ate together.

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

(122) Nü wümmi yokosuwanna.
I all-O screw-want
'I want to screw [them] all.'

Copyrighted materia

4.8 NUMBERS

Numbers in Tümpisa 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)tün. The free forms are inflected for case: -(t)tün subj, -(t)tünna obj and poss, or -(t)ti obj, and -(t)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.

DIGIT NUMBERS

	Base	Free Form	Ordinal
1	sümü	sümüttün	sümün ≈ üküpinaatün
2	waha	wahattün	wahan
3	pahi ≈ pai	pahittün ≈ paittün	pahin ≈ pain
4	wattsüwi ≈ watsü	wattsüwitün	wattsüwin
5	manüki ≈ maniki	manükitün ≈ manikitün	manükin ≈ manikin
6	naapai ≈ nahapai	naapaitün	naapain
7	taattsüwi	taattsüwitün	taattsüwin
8	woosüwi	woosüwitün	woosüwin
9	wanikki ≈ wanükki	wanikkitün ≈ wanükkitün	wanikkin ≈ wanükkin
10	süümoo	süümootün ≈ süümooyüntün ≈ süümoono	süümoonon

Copyrighted materia

The base sũümoo 'ten' is a contracted compound formed from sümü 'one [complete set]' plus mo'o 'hand'. It has three different free forms built on either -tün, -no, or -yüntün. The form with -tün is most typically used as a pronominal or quantifier, the form with -no is typically used in counting, and the form with -yüntün is used in phrases forming the 'teens' (i.e., 11 through 19).

TEENS

11	(süümooyüntü) sümüttüm ma to'engkünna
12	(süümooyüntü) wahattüm ma to'engkünna
13	(süümooyüntü) pahittüm ma to'engkünna
14	(süümooyüntü) wattsüwitüm ma to'engkünna
15	(süümooyüntü) manükitüm ma to'engkünna
16	(süümooyüntü) naapaitüm ma to'engkünna
17	(süümooyüntü) taattsüwitüm ma to'engkünna
18	(süümooyüntü) woosüwitüm ma to'engkünna
19	(süümooyüntü) wanükkitüm ma to'engkünna

The teens are actually clauses with süümooyüntün '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'engkünna 'come up for' (< to'eh 'come up' + -ngkün 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.

Copyrighted materia

DECIMAL NUMBERS

10	süümootün	≈ süümooyüntün	≈ süümoono
20	wahamootün	≈ wahamooyüntün	≈ wahamoono
30	pahimootün	≈ pahimooyüntün	≈ pahimoono
40	watsümootün	≈ watsümooyüntün	≈ watsümoono
50	manükimootün	≈ manükimooyüntün	≈ manükimoono
60	naapaimootün	≈ naapaimooyüntün	≈ naapaimoono
70	taattsüwimootün	≈ taattsüwimooyüntün	≈ taattsüwimoono
80	woosüwimootün	≈ woosüwimooyüntün	≈ woosüwimoono
90	wanükkimootün	≈ wanükkimooyüntün	≈ wanükkimoono

Ordinals of the decimals are formed by adding final -n to the forms in -no (e.g., wahamoonon '20th', pahimoonon '30th', etc.).

The numbers between even decimals are formed like the teens with the postposition ma and the verb to'engkünna. But in place of süümooyüntün 'ten', the other decimal numbers are used. The decimal forms ending in -yüntün 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 wahamooyüntü sümüttüm ma to'engkünna
22 wahamooyüntü wahattüm ma to'engkünna
23 wahamooyüntü pahittüm ma to'engkünna
24 wahamooyüntü wattsüwitüm ma to'engkünna
25 wahamooyüntü manükitüm ma to'engkünna
26 wahamooyüntü naapaitüm ma to'engkünna
27 wahamooyüntü taattsüwitüm ma to'engkünna
28 wahamooyüntü woosüwitüm ma to'engkünna
29 wahamooyüntü wanükkitüm ma to'engkünna

Copyrighted materia

31 pahimooyüntü sümüttüm ma to'engkünna
etc.
41 watsümooyüntü sümüttüm ma to'engkünna
etc.
51 manükimooyüntu sümüttüm ma to'engkünna
etc.
61 naapaimooyüntü sümüttüm ma to'engkünna
etc.
71 taattsüwimooyüntü sümüttüm ma to'engkünna
etc.
81 woosüwimooyüntü sümüttüm ma to'engkünna
etc.
91 wanükkimooyüntü sümüttüm ma to'engkünna
etc.

Even-hundred numbers are compounds formed with the digit bases plus seentu, from Spanish ciento.

HUNDREDS

100 sümüseentu
200 wahaseentu
300 pahiseentu
400 wattsüwiseentu
500 manükiseentu
600 nahapaiseentu ≈ naapaiseentu
700 taattsüwiseentu
800 woosüwiseentu
900 wanükkiseentu

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

Copyrighted material

besides digits and even decimals, follow naatu exactly as they are.

INTERHUNDREDS

101 sümüseentu naatu sümüttüm ma to'engkünna
102 sümüseentu naatu wahattüm ma to'engkünna
etc.
110 sümüseentu naatu süümootüm ma to'engkünna
111 sümüseentu naatu süümooyüntü sümüttüm ma to'engkünna
etc.
120 sümüseentu naatu wahamootüm ma to'engkünna
121 sümüseentu naatu wahamooyüntü sümüttüm 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) Sümüttü nawipi isapungku mai nuwimmippühantü.
one girl dog with would go around
'One girl used to go around with a dog.'

(124) Satümmü sümü tommo yingkappühantü.
those one year stayed(pl)
'They stayed one year.'

Copyrighted material

(125) Wahattü niam püanümü ma'e nü
two my cousin-Indian with = and I

namiangküppühantü sapetti natiingwa kkatu.
were sent there school to

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

(126) Nümmü katüyingkappühantü Noompai
we(exc) stay-stay(pl)-past Lone Pine

waha müattsi.
two months

'We stayed in Lone Pine two months.

(127) Sutü pai tühüyanna wasüppühantü.
that three deer-O killed
'He killed three deer.'

(128) Himpakantün tattangummü mi'akkommaa?
how many men went away

-- Manikitü (tattangummü) mi'akoppühantü.
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) Sümüttü kee u kuttisi, sümüttü u kutti.
one not it shoot one it shoot
'[This] one didn't shoot it, [that] one shot it.'

Copyrighted materia

(130) Satü sümütti kuttippühantü. 'He shot one.'
that one-O shot

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

(132) Wahattü pittuhungkwa, sümüttü üm punikka.
two arrived one you see
'Two arrived, one saw you.'

(133) Nü süümootünna punikkappühantü.
I ten-O saw
'I saw ten [of them].'

(134) Nü manükitünna 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., sümü 'once', waha 'twice', pahi 'thrice'), as in 135-136.

(135) Nü sümü u punippühantü.
I once it saw
'I saw it [just] once.'

(136) Satü pahi tükkahwa.
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)tün are used both as quantifiers and

Copyrighted material

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 pospositional 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 matü or utü. The whole construction thus means 'the sun/clock is at X' or 'it's X o'clock'.

1 TO 10 O'CLOCK

Sümüttüng ka naanna (matu tapettsi).	'It's 1 o'clock.'
Wahattüng ka naanna (matü tapettsi).	'It's 2 o'clock.'
Paittüng ka naanna (matü tapettsi).	'It's 3 o'clock.'
Wattsüwitüng ka naanna (matü tapettsi).	'It's 4 o'clock.'
Manükitüng ka naanna (matü tapettsi).	'It's 5 o'clock.'
Naapaitüng ka naanna (matü tapettsi).	'It's 6 o'clock.'
Taattüwitüng ka naanna (matü tapettsi).	'It's 7 o'clock.'
Woosüwitüng ka naanna (matü tapettsi).	'It's 8 o'clock.'
Wanükitüng ka naanna (matü tapettsi).	'It's 9 o'clock.'
Süümootüng ka naanna (matü tapettsi).	'It's 10 o'clock.'

11 AND 12 O' CLOCK

Sümüttüm ma to'engkühwa (matü tapettsi).	'It's 11 o'clock.'
Wahattüm ma to'engkühwa (utü 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'engkün, usually in

Copyrighted material

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 himpakantün 'how much' and with any of the verbs naa" 'be', naawi 'be time', or katü" 'sit'.

WHAT TIME IS IT?

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

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

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

Himpakantüng ka naawinna (tapettsi utü)?
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 ponaah '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.

Copyrighted material

HALF PAST THE HOUR

Sümüttünna ponaahwa utü 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 ükü 'already' preceding the verb; i.e.:

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

Wahattünna ükü 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').

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

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

Copyrighted material

Hourly time expressions can be embedded in other sentences, but then the verbs naa" or to'engkün must take the subordinating temporal suffix -ku, as in 137-138.

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

(138) Himpakantün (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 nawünükka ≈ nawününna 'weekday' (< na- pmpr, wünü" 'stand' sg, -kan stv ≈ -nna infinitive).

WEEKDAYS[6]

sümün nawünükka	'1st weekday = Monday'
wahan nawünükka	'2nd weekday = Tuesday'
pahin nawünükka	'3rd weekday = Wednesday'
wattsüwin nawünükka	'4th weekday = Thursday'
manükin nawünükka	'5th weekday = Friday'

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

Copyrighted material

MONTHS

sümüm müattsi	'1st month = January'
waham müattsi	'2nd month = February'
pahim müattsi	'3rd month = March'
wattsüwim müattsi	'4th month = April'
manükim müattsi	'5th month = May'
naapaim müattsi	'6th month = June'
taattsüwim müattsi	'7th month = July'
woosüwim müattsi	'8th month = August'
wanükkim müattsi	'9th month = September'
süümoonom müattsi	'10th month = October'
sümüttüm ma to'engkünna müattsi	'11th month = November'
wahattüm ma to'engkünna müattsi	'12th month = December'

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

DOLLARS

$1	sümüppeesu	$6	naapaippeesu
$2	wahappeesu	$7	taattsüwippeesu
$3	pahippeesu	$8	woosü(wi)ppeesu
$4	wattsü(wi)ppeesu	$9	wanükkippeesu
$5	manükippeesu	$10	süümoonoppeesu

(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 -ttsi (-ttsia obj), forming quantifiers

Copyrighted materia

meaning 'only n' (e.g., sümüttüttsi 'only one', wahattüttsi 'only two', etc.).

(141) Sutü sümüttüttsia pantsapa'e.
that one-only-O shoe-have
'He has only one shoe.'

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

(143) Sutü pahittüttsia kwasu'umpa'e.
that three-only-O dress-have
'She has only three dresses.'

Notes to Chapter 4

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

2. There are only a few exceptions to this statement. For example, the personal pronoun nü '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 -n 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 -tün plus objective -a > -tünna. The possessive cases of these forms are identical with their objective cases.

3. Sentence 21 is actually ambiguous, since utü 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 -h is not

Copyrighted material

lost before the s 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
                OR
Un Tsumatün   'Saturday'
     < un 'its' tsumatün 'end, all gone'
Nakatükkan   'Sunday'
     < na- pmpr, katü" 'sit', -kab stv
```

Copyrighted materia

5

NOUNS, NOUN PHRASES, AND POSTPOSITIONS

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

Copyrighted materia

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 Tümpisa 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 puni" '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., tütiingwa" 'teach'). Semantically, indirect objects are dative and benefactive participants. A few transitive verbs must have an indirect object (e.g., uttuh 'give') but need not have a direct object, even though one is implied (e.g., 17 and 18).

Copyrighted materia

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) Atü tangummü muiyaippüh. 'That man is drunk.'
that man drunk

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

(3) Piammüttsi ükü nuwinnümmi.
baby now move-move
'The baby is moving now.'

(4) Satü wa'ippü tüpattsia kusangwenna.
that woman pinenut-O roast (in a basket)
'That woman is roasting pinenuts (in a basket).'

(5) Hipittsittsi u nangkaha.
old lady it hear-stv
'The old lady could hear it.'

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

(7) Tsawüntün tangummü miikkwa sutü.
good man now that
'He's a good man now.'

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

Copyrighted materia

OBJECTIVE CASE SUFFIXES

-a -i -tta -nna ø

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.:

NOMINATIVE	OBJECTIVE	
mupin	mupitta	'nose'
tümpi	tümpitta	'rock'
sokopin	sokopitta	'earth'
toyapi(n)	toyapitta ≈ toyapia	'mountain'
huuppin	huuppitta ≈ huuppia	'stick, bush'
wisipin	wisipitta ≈ wisipia	'thread'
woapin	woapitta ≈ woapia	'worm'
hupapin	hupapitta ≈ hupapia	'soup'

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

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

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

The form -nna is used after nouns ending in n, unless 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 -n; e.g.:

Copyrighted materia

NOMINATIVE	OBJECTIVE	
tsakwatan	tsakwatanna	'chuckwalla'
poton	potonna	'cane, staff'
kwasu'un	kwasu'unna	'dress'
püyün	püyünna	'duck'
tawintün	tawintünna	'hole, cave'
kunna"	kunnanna ≈ kunni	'fire(wood)'
tüpa	tüpanna	'pinenut'
tühüya	tühüya(nna)	'deer'

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

(11) Nüü pai tühüyanna wasüppühantü.
I three deer-O 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 e; 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	pütai ≈ püte	'arm'
wika	wikai ≈ wike	'blanket'
nümü	nümi	'person, Indian'
tangummü	tangummi	'man'
pungku	pungki	'pet, horse'
somo	somi	'lungs'
mo'o	mo'i	'hand'

Copyrighted materia

(12) Kapaayu atü tangummi tangummuttih.
horse that man-O kick
'That horse kicked the man.'

(13) Nü mo'i punikkappühantü satü. 'He saw my hand.'
my hand-O saw that

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

NOMINATIVE	OBJECTIVE	
etün	etünna ≈ eti	'gun, bow'
wayantün	wayantünna ≈ wayanti	'fire'
yütsütün	yütsütünna ≈ yütsüti	'airplane'
puhakantün	puhakantünna ≈ puhakanti	'shaman'

(14) Nü puhakantünna punikkappühantü.
≈ puhakanti
I shaman-O 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 -pü, and some ending in absolutive -pe; and it occurs on nouns formed with and ending in past participial and absolutive -ppüh, instrumental -nnümpü, and agentive -ttü (see 5.7). It is also used on nouns ending in h, a front vowel, the diphthong ai, and on many other nouns; e.g.:

Copyrighted materia

NOMINATIVE	OBJECTIVE	
piammüttsi	piammüttsia	'baby'
küümpe	küümpea	'squirrel'
wa'ippü	wa'ippüa	'woman'
tuinuppü	tuinuppüa	'boy'
paküünappüh	paküünappüha	'cloud'
katünnümpü	katünnümpüa	'chair'
nükkattü	nükkattüa	'dancer'
künu	künua	'father's father'
appo'o	appo'oa	'cup'
paanni	paannia	'bread'
keesu	keesua	'cheese'

(15) Satü piammüttsia pitsingkünna.
that baby-O nurse
'She's nursing the baby.'

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

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

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

(19) Nü katünnümpüa maappa'inna.
I chair-O make
'I'm making a chair.'

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.:

Copyrighted materia

NOM and OBJ

kahni	'house'
nampe	'foot'
tape	'sun'
tümpe	'mouth'
paakka	'cow'
pangwi	'fish'
kappotta	'coat'
huuwatta	'boat'
nühakka	'basket'

(20) Satü pünnang kahni punikka.
that own house see
'He sees his own house.'

(21) Nü ün nampe punikka. 'I see your foot.'
I your foot see

(22) Nü pangwi kwüüppühantü. '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', tütiingwa '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,

Copyrighted material

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

b. Tammü eti tuinuppüa 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).

Copyrighted material

(25) a. Wa'ippü piammüttsia kohnottsia maappaingkünna.
woman baby-O cradle-O make-cat
'The woman is making the baby a cradle.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

c. Wa'ippü tüpanna tukummahanninna.
woman pinenut-O cook
'The woman is cooking pinenuts.'

Copyrighted material

Only a few verbs allow indirect objects in the sentence without having -ngkün suffixed to them (e.g., maka" 'give; feed', nangkawih 'talk to', tümenih 'sell', tütiingwa 'teach', uttuh 'give').[2]

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'ippü kohnottsia maappaingkünna piammüttsi(a).
woman cradle-O make-cat baby(-O)
'The woman is making a cradle for the baby.'

(29) Nüü kwasu'unna tümüüngküppühantü Antsi(a).
I dress-O bought-cat Angie(-O)
'I bought a dress for Angie.'

(30) Wa'ippü tüpanna tukummahanningkünna 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.:

Copyrighted material

NOMINATIVE	OBJECTIVE	POSSESSIVE	
mupin	mupitta	mupittan	'nose'
tümpi	tümpitta	tümpittan	'rock'
püyün	püyünna	püyünna	'duck'
tsakwatan	tsakwatanna	tsakwatanna	'chuckwalla'
nümü	nümi	nümin	'person'
tangummü	tangummi	tangummin	'man'
piammüttsi	piammüttsia	piammüttsian	'baby'
wa'ippü	wa'ippüa	wa'ippüan	'woman'
kahni	kahni	kahnin	'house'
nampe	nampe	nampen	'foot'

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 wünnü satü.
stick's other side stand that
'She's standing on the other side of the stick.'

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

(33) Nü püyünna pühi punikkappühantü.
I duck's pelt-O saw
'I saw the duck's pelt.'

(34) Nü 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.'

Copyrighted material

(36) Nümin nüattüah naa. 'It's an Indian's ranch.'
Indian's ranch be

(37) Antsi atammupian tümpe ka wünnü.
Angie car's door at stand
'Angie is standing at the door of the car.'

(38) Wa'ippüang kuukkippüha nümmü tükkanna tüpanna.
woman's cooked-O we(exc) eat pinenut-O
'We're eating the woman's cooked pinenuts.'
[= the pinenuts the woman cooked]

(39) Hüttsawünnümpü kahnin tüpiinga kattü.
refrigerator house's middle sit
'The refrigerator is sitting in the middle of the house.'

(40) Satü 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 ün 'your', and the demonstrative sakkan 'that one's', before himpü 'stuff', wika 'blanket', yantu 'roasting basket', and appü 'father'.[3]

Copyrighted material

EFFECTS OF -N BEFORE H, W, Y, AND VOWELS

-n + h > h	or	-n + h > n n	
nia himpü	≈	nian nimpü	'my stuff'
ü himpü	≈	ün nimpü	'your stuff'
sakka himpü	≈	sakkan nimpü	'that one's stuff'
-n + w > w	or	-n + w > ng w	
nia wika	≈	niang wika	'my blanket'
ü wika	≈	üng wika	'your blanket'
sakka wika	≈	sakkang wika	'that one's blanket'
-n + y > y	or	-n + y > n n	
nia yantu	≈	nian nantu	'my roasting basket'
ü yantu	≈	ün nantu	'your roasting basket'
sakka yantu	≈	sakkan nantu	'that one's r. basket'
-n + V > V	or	-n + V > n nV	
nia appü	≈	nian nappü	'my father'
ü appü	≈	ün nappü	'your father'
sakka appü	≈	sakkan nappü	'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".

Copyrighted material

(41) a. Nian nuhu [< yuhu] naa.
my fat be
'It's my fat/grease [not of my body].'

b. Niang wüa 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 wannettsu naa. 'It's my comb.'
my comb be

e. Niang wasüppi pungku.
my mountain sheep pet
'It's my mountain sheep (pet).'

f. Nian nütsütü [< yütsütün] pungku.
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].'

Copyrighted materia

b. Nia wüappü. *niang wüappü
my penis
'[It's] my penis.' [said by a man]

c. Niang 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) Üng kapaayu pungki innüntükkanna satü.
your horse pet-O steal that
'He stole your horse (from you).'

(44) Satümmü tammim putisiha innüntükkanna atümmü
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 Tümpisa 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

Copyrighted material

sentence. The nouns or noun phrases and the postpositions following them are in syntactic constructions called postpositional phrases.

Tümpisa 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'ippü 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.:

tangummü u wakantü 'from the man'
man him from

In this construction, occasionally the noun follows the pronoun and postposition instead of preceding them, as in

u wakantü tangummü '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.:

Copyrighted materia

wa'ippü 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.:

tangummü u wakantü --> u wakantü '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 ≈ pantün 'about'
	wakantün 'about'
Source:	wakan(tün) 'from'

Copyrighted materia

Comparative:	kawi ≈ kawiki ≈ kawikitün 'more...than'
	wakakwa 'more...than'
	tukwattsi 'less...than
Partitive:	mantün '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) Nüü nü mo'o ma ma pisotonna.
I my hand with it behind-pull
'I'm pulling it with my hand.'

(46) Nümmü sannappim ma u tsappo'ongkünnuhi.
we(exc) pitch with him cover head-will
'We'll cover him, his head, with pitch.'

(47) Satü wihim ma u wüsipenna lokkopüa.
that knife with it long instr-scrape locust-O
'He's scraping the locust tree with a knife.'

(48) Nü huuppi ma a tsakküpanna.
I stick with it grasping-break
'I'm breaking it with a stick (by grasping).'

(49) Nüü sokopitta hotanna paanna ma.
I ground-O dig shovel with
'I'm digging the ground with a shovel.'

Copyrighted materia

(50) Üü o tottsokwenna ũm 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 wü"- 'with a (long) instrument' refer to the same entity as the instrumental noun wihi 'knife' in the oblique post-positional 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) Satü ohipim ma nati'iwantümpü 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 tünga 'and, also'.

Copyrighted materia

(52) Setümmim pia ma'i mi'a.
these one's mother with go
'(They) go with their mother.'

(53) Nüü nü pünnahapittsi ma'i napitüngkümminna.
I my wife with fight-hab
'I fight a lot with my wife.'

(54) Nü tsukuttsi mai nangkawippühantu.
I old man with talked
'I talked with an old man.'

(55) Püe sümüttüm mai mi'a.'
ready one with go
'He's ready to go with one.'

(56) Sümüttü nawipi isapungku mai nuwimmippühantü.
one girl dog with go around-hab-past
'One girl would go around with a dog.'

(57) "Nü kammu-yukwitü ma mai," yukwippühantü.
I rabbit-go after him with said
'"I would go after rabbits with him," she said.'

(58) Nü tsao yuwa hapitü u ma'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 püanümü ma'e nü
two my cousin-people and I

namiangküppühantü sapettü natiingwakkatu.
be-sent there school-to

Copyrighted materia

'Two of my cousins and I were sent there to school.'

(60) Nüü nüaitünna nangkappühantü tünga ümatüm 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) Tammü isa ni nanangkasuwangkünna.
we(inc) coyote like sound
'We sound like coyotes.'

(62) Üü ponniattsi ni kwitasuukkwanna.
you skunk like fart-smell
'You fart (smelling) like a skunk.'

(63) Nü isapungku ni tükkanna.
I dog like eat
'I eat like a dog.'

(64) Nümmi appü utü; nümmi appü wa'i
our(exc) father that our(exc) father just like

napunni satü.
look that

'That one's our father; he looks just like our father.'

Copyrighted materia

(65) "Nümmi appü wa'i," supe'e sümmi yükkwi.
our father just like that time that say
'"He is just like our father," she said then.'

(66) Kahni wa'etü. 'It's the same as the house.'
house like-nom

Both ni and wa'i can be used with verbs, unlike any other postpositions. With verbs they both indicate modal notions of indefiniteness.

(67) Satümmü hipitün ni yükkwi.
those drinking like do-dur
'They seem to be drinking.'
[lit: 'They're doing drinking-like.']

(68) Nüü muiyaiwa'e naahi.
I get drunk-like might
'I might get drunk-like.'

(69) Nü kwitasuuwa'e. 'I might fart.'
I fart-like

The postposition pan (≈ pa'an ≈ pantün) is used to indicate the topic of thought (e.g., 70) or conversation (e.g., 71).

(70) Wa'ippü pa'a tuupükkantü.
woman about be mad
'He's mad about a woman.'

(71) Nookwisü noong katü u pantün nangkawih.
hopefully awhile sit it about talk
'Hopefully, she'll sit and talk about it awhile.'

Copyrighted materia

The postposition wakantün 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 wakantün may only be human. When wakantün indicates a topic, as in 72, it has an objective case form, wakantünna, 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 wakantünna mukuattu.
I Sam him about-O think
'I'm thinking about Sam.'

(73) Nü kapaayu tümüüppühantü tangummü u wakantü.
I horse bought man him from
'I bought a horse from the man.'

(74) Nü Antsia kwasu'unna tümüüngküppühantü wa'ippü I
Angie-O dress-O bought-cat woman

u wakantü.
her from

'I bought a dress for Angie from the woman.'

Both wakantün and pan (≈ pa'an ≈ pantün) 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 ≈ kawikitün) exemplified in 75-77 and wakakwa in 78-79. The latter form is no doubt related to wakantün, 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).

Copyrighted material

(75) Nüü yuhupi üng kawi; üü pasampüttsi.
I fat you-O more than you skinny
'I'm fatter than you; you're skinny.'

(76) Satü nü kawiki tükkatü.
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 yuhupi ü wakakwa. 'I'm fatter than you.'
I fat you more than

(79) Satü nü wakakwa küttaa yuhupi.
that me more than really fat
'She's a lot fatter than me.'

The lesser comparative postposition, tukkwattsi, 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 sohopimpüa ma tukkwattsi wünnü.
I cottonwood-O it less than stand-dur
'I stand less than the cottonwood.'
[= I am shorter than the cottonwood.]

(81) Nia üü noo tukkwattsi wünnü.
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.

Copyrighted materia

The partitive postposition mantün 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 mantün also means 'related to' or 'relative of'.

(82) Nü mantü satü.
me relative of that
'She is my relation. = She's a relative of mine.'

(83) Ma mantü nüü.
her relative of I
'I am her relation. = I am a relative of hers.'

(84) Nü ma mantünna tükkahi? 'May I eat part of it?'
I it part of-O eat-dub

(85) Ma manti tükkakiummü!
it part of-O eat-pl
'You all come and eat some of it!'

(86) "Mümmü wihnu sukkwa mümmü u mantünna
you all then that-O you all him relative of-O

kwüühikwa, tuittsia noohakatü u
marry-dub-sub young man-O someone him

mantünna kwüühi," 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 mantünna kwüüh is an idiom meaning literally 'take for a relative', i.e., 'marry'.]

Copyrighted material

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) Nüü Sosoni nangkawi u pakattsi.
I Shoshone speak it bit of
'I speak a little bit of Shoshone.'

(88) Tütakaippüh pü paka naaku pia tükkanna.
birth his own date of be big eating
'It's his birthday party.'

5.4 LOCATIVE, TEMPORAL AND OTHER POSTPOSITIONS

Tümpisa 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.

Copyrighted materia

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 -tün 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 -tün (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
kahontün	'away from (being at, in)'
katun ≈ kattun	'towards (being at, in)'
katün ≈ kattün	'at, to, in'
kapa	'inside of, among'
kapai	'inside, among (in motion)'

Copyrighted materia

kuppan	'in, inside, within'
kuppahontün	'from inside, out of'
kuppai	'into and through, in and moving'
kuppantun	'into and through'
kuppantün	'in, inside, within'

man	'on, in, against' surface locative
mahontün	'off from, away from (being on)'
mannai	'from (moving)'
mangku	'close to, near (being on, at)'
mantun	'towards (being in contact with)'
mantün	'on, in, around'

pan ≈ pa'an	'on, on top of; about'
pai	'on top of, from (in motion)'
pangku ≈ pa'angku	'towards on (top of)'
pantun ≈ pa'antun	'through an area'
pantün ≈ pa'antün	'on, about'

tukkwan	'under, below, beneath'
tukkwahontün	'out from under'
tukkwai	'under moving'
tukkwantun	'under and through'
tukkwantün	'under, below, beneath'
tukkwattsi	'less...than'

wakan	'towards, by, near (an animate)'
wakantun	'towards (an animate)'
wakantün	'towards, near, staying with; about; from'
wakakwa	'more...than'

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

Copyrighted material

in 100-104. In addition, most of the forms of kuppan are given in 109-112, and those of wakan in 113-117.

(89) Taona ka sutü nia hanningkükoppühantü.
town in that me do for-past
'He did something in town for me.'

(90) Satü kimmakinna pasaküng kahontü
that come bridge away from

tammü kattü kimmakinna.
us to come

'He is coming off the bridge, coming to us.'

(91) Nüü niang kahni kattu mi'ami'a.
I my house towards go along
'I'm going along towards my house.'

(92) Nüü Tümpisakkatünna punikka.
I Death Valley-at-O see
'I'm looking at Death Valley.'

(93) Tümpisakkatü küttaa ütüinna mii.
Death Valley-at really be hot quote
'In Death Valley it's really hot, they say.'

(94) Wisipitta an netüm ma tükinna.
string-O his bow on put
'He's putting a string on his bow.'

(95) Nü sohopimpü mahontü pahekku.
I cottonwood off from fell
'I fell out of the cottonwood.'

Copyrighted material

(96) Toya(pim) mannai miakwantu'i tünaa.
mountain from on-moving go-going to down
'I'm going to go down from the mountain.'

(97) Nü kahni mangku wünnü.
I house near stand
'I'm standing near the house.'

(98) Hüüppiammü toya mantu mi'a tüpanna tso'ikwasi.
women mtn through go pinenut-O pick-sub
'The women are going up through the mountains to pick pinenuts.'

(99) Nüü ümmi toya mantü petsükkwantu'ih.
I you-O mountain on take-going to
'I'm going to take you around in the mountains.'

(100) Nümming kateetta tukkwa nümmü weekinnümmi.
our(exc) wagon under we(exc) go in(pl)-around
'We went in under our wagon.'

(101) Tammü tupoon ka tükkanna hüppa katü
we(inc) desert in eat shade in

lokko u tukkwahontü.
locust it under

'We're eating in the desert in the shade under the locust tree.'

(102) Nüü pasakün tukkwai miamia.
I bridge under-moving go along
'I went along under the bridge.'

Copyrighted materia

(103) Satü pasakün tukkwantu miamia.
that bridge under-through go along
'He went under the bridge and on through it.'

(104) Mümmi tukkwantü pahittünna.
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

Copyrighted material

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) Satü sohopimpü u mangku kattü.
that cottonwood it near sit-dur
'He's sitting near the cottonwood.'

(106) Atü tangummü akka kapaayu u pa miamia.
that man that-O horse it on go along
'That 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

Copyrighted materia

(108) Angipi u kapa kattü.
fly it inside of sit-dur
'A fly is sitting in it.'

(109) Nü ma kuppa ma tükitu'ih.
I it in it put-will
'I'll put it in it.'

(110) Satü u kuppai mi'ami'a.
that it in-moving go along
'He went into and through it.'

(111) Nüü ma kuppantu u wüttiataippüh.
I it into it dumped-cmplt
'I've dumped it all out into it.'

(112) U kuppanti epetti sutü!
her inside of-emph here-emph that
'That was <u>inside</u> 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) Satümmü nü [≈ nia] waka nuupaikintu'ih.
those me [≈ me] towards stay(pl)-come to-will
'They're coming to stay with me.'

(114) Nü üng wakantü miakwantu'ih.
I you towards go-fut
'I'm going to go towards you.'

Copyrighted material

(115) Tahi [≈ Tangku] wakantu kimmakinna.
us(dl) [≈ we(dl)] towards come-hither
'Someone's coming towards us two.'

(116) Utuhi [≈ Utungku] wakantü miamia.
those(dl)-O [≈ those(dl)] towards go along
'Someone's going towards those two.'

(117) Nü utümmi [≈ utümmü] 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(tün)	'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)
mokkopeka	'in front of'	(poss)
< mu"- 'nose', kope 'face', ka 'at'		
nai(sü)	'towards, in the general direction of'	
nangkwa	'beside, direction of'	

Copyrighted materia

pinnaitün	'on the side of, beside'	(obj)
< pi"-	'behind', nai 'direction of', -tün prp	
pinnangkwa	'behind, in back of; last'	(obj)
< pi"-	'behind', nangkwa 'direction'	
tükünaa	'close to, near'	
< tükü"	'put', naa" 'be' (?)	
tümpeka	'in front of'	
< tümpe	'mouth, door', ka 'at'	
tüpiinga	'in the middle of, between'	(poss)
tun	'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 -ppüh or -tün; e.g.:

kappinnangkwatün	N and Adv	'outside'
maanangkwatün	N and Adv	'(on the) other side'
manakwappüh	N and Adv	'great distance; far away'
tükünaattsittsi	Adv	'close, nearby'
tüpiinga	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 occuriing in sets. Thus, several of the other postpositions, namely kawi, mo'eki, pinnaitün, 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

Copyrighted material

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 pinnaitü wünnü.
Angie car-O beside stand-dur
'Angie's standing beside the car.'

(120) Nü wopitta kawaki tattükwahwa.
I log-O over stepped
'I stepped over the log.'

(121) Nü kütaatanna u kawi yütsükkwa.
I fence-O it over jumped
'I jumped over the fence.'

(122) Atammupia u pinnangkwa wünnü satü.
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

Copyrighted materia

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 wünnü.
Angie car's other side stand-dur
'Angie is standing on the other side of the car.'

(125) Hüttsawünnümpü kahnin tüpiinga kattü.
refrigerator house's middle sit-dur
'The refrigerator is sitting in the middle of the house.'

(126) Antsi atammupia om mokkopeka wünnü.
Angie car's its front stand-dur
'Angie's standing in front of the car.'

(127) Satü um maanangkwa wünnü.
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

Copyrighted materia

environments which would indicate whether they govern nominative or objective case nouns, however.

(129) Üü nü tükünaa wünnü.
you me near stand-dur
'You're standing near me.'

(130) Antsi ma tümpeka kahni wünnü.
Angie it front-in house stand-dur
'Angie is standing in front of the house.'

(131) Nü nai nüekkinna setü.
me towards blow this
'The wind's blowing in my direction.'

(132) Hüttsawünnümpü kahni nangkwa kattü.
refrigerator house beside sit-dur
'The refrigerator is sitting beside the house.'

(133) Tupoon tu nümmikkinnümmi 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

Copyrighted materia

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
(s)ikkih, (s)ekkih, (s)akkuh, (s)ukkuh
-naanangkwa 'on this/that side of'
inaanangkwa, anaanangkwa, unaanangkwa
-nni 'way, manner' general manner < ni(n) 'like'
(s)inni, (s)enni, (s)anni, (s)unni, hakanni
pan ≈ pa'an 'here/there' < pan ≈ pa'an 'on'
(s)ipan ≈ (s)ipa'an, (s)sepan ≈ (s)epa'an
(s)apan ≈ (s)apa'an, (s)upan ≈ (s)upa'an
-papi (?) general locative
epapi 'here', isapapi 'here'
-pe" 'here/there (in a loosely defined area)'
(s)ipi", (s)epi", (s)ape", (s)upe"
-pe'e(sü) ≈ -pe'enni 'time, then' general temporal
sape'e(sü) ≈ sape'enni, supe'e(sü) ≈ supe'enni
-ttun 'through X area' < tun
(s)ittun, (s)ettun, (s)attun, (s)uttun
wa'e(sü) 'same as, the same way as'
siwa'e, sewa'e, sawa'e, suwa'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

Copyrighted material

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:

DEM/LOC-POST			PRONOUN + POST	
sunni	'that way'	vs.	u ni	'like him'
supan	'there'	vs.	u pan	'on it'
suttun	'through there'	vs.	u tun	'through it'

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) Nü tumo'innümpü sikkih itü.
my pen here this
'This is my pen here.'

(136) Antsi enangkwa kattü.
Angie this-beside sit-dur
'Angie's sitting beside this.'

(137) Tammü inaanangkwa nuupaih.
we(inc) this-side sit
'We're sitting on this side.'

(138) Süüpi kahni unaanangkwa wünnü.
willow house that-side of stand
'The willow stands on that side of the house.'

(139) Nia sunni nukwingküppühantü sutü.
me that-way did-cat that
'He did that (way) for me.'

Copyrighted material

(140) Toni sepa naappühantü. 'Tony was here.'
Tony here was

(141) Ütüinna küttaa sapetti ütüinna!
be hot really there-emph be hot
'It's hot, it's really hot there!'

(142) Supe'esü sutümmü wihnu u wüttühihantü.
that time those then him wait for
'Then at that time they waited for him.'

5.5 NUMBER MARKING AND NOUN DECLENSIONS

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 nüü naangkan ningwünü.
man-O hear I make noise talk(pl)
'I hear the men making noise talking.'

(144) Satümmü tammim putisiha innüntükkanna
those our burro-O steal

atümmü mitükkaano.
those white man

'They stole our burro(s), those white men.'

Copyrighted materia

(145) Satümmü mitükkaano wümminniyumminna.
those white man be naked-hab
'Those white people go around naked.'

(146) Nü atümmin nümi pusikwa naaiyangwitünna.
I those-O Indian-O know play handgame-O
'I know those Indians playing handgame.'

(147) Nü tümo'innümpü itümmü sikkih.
my pen these here
'These are my pens here.'

(148) Waha tsukuppüttsi yükkwi.
two old man sit(dl)
'Two old men are sitting [there].'

(149) Nü tümo'innümpü itungku sikkih.
my pen these(dl) here
'These two here are my pens.'

(150) Hakaittü kapaayu satungku?
what kind horse those(dl)
'What kind of horses are those two?'

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.

Copyrighted materia

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

	Nominative	Objective	Possessive
dual	-angku	-ahi	-ahin
	≈ -ngku	≈ -hi	≈ -hin
	≈ -mungku	≈ -muhi	≈ -muhin
plural	-ammü	-ammi	-ammin
	≈ -mmü	≈ -mmi	≈ -mmin

The variants without a are used after nouns ending in either a or ü (e.g., tua" 'son' and petü" '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 a. Terms for (at least some) relatives often form plurals by compounding with nümü 'people' rather than with the suffixes given above. For example, patsi 'older sister' plus nümü forms patsinümü '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.

Copyrighted material

REGULAR NOUN DECLENSIONS

	Nominative	Objective	Possessive
		'old woman'	
sg	hipittsittsi	hipittsittsia	hipittsittsian
dl	hipittsittsiangku	hipittsittsiahi	hipittsittsiahin
pl	hipittsittsiammü	hipittsittsiammi	hipittsittsiammin
		'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	pahamittsiahi	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'

Copyrighted materia

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

	Nominative	Objective	Possessive
		'son'	
sg	tua"	tuai	tuain
dl	tuangku	tuahi	tuahin
	≈ tuammungku	≈ tuammuhi	≈ tuammuhin
pl	tuttuammü	tuttuammi	tuttuammin
		'daughter'	
sg	petü"	peti	petin
dl	petüngku	petühi	petühin
	≈ petümmungku	≈ petümmuhi	≈ petümmuhin
pl	peppetümmü	peppetümmi	peppetümmin
	≈ petümmü	≈ petümmi	≈ petümmin
		'man'	
sg	tangummü	tangummi	tangummin
dl	tattangungku	tattanguhi	tattanguhin
	≈ tangummüangku	≈ tangummüahi	≈ tangummüahin
pl	tattangummü	tattangummi	tattangummin
	≈ tangummüammü	≈ 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 *tattangummüammü). A number of other nouns with reduplicated duals or plurals follow (but in incomplete declensions, with only the nominative forms given).

Copyrighted materia

	'older brother'	'older sister'	'aunt, MoSi'
sg	papi	patsi	tokkwapü
dl	pappapiangku ≈ papiangku	patsiangku	tottokkwapüangku ≈ tokkwapüangku
pl	papiammü ≈ papinümü	pappatsiammü ≈ patsinümü	tottokkwapüammü ≈ tokkwapüammü

One suppletive declension has been recorded with different stems in the singular and nonsingular.

SUPPLETIVE DECLENSION

	Nominative	Objective 'woman'	Possessive
sg	wa'ippü	wa'ippüa	wa'ippüan
dl	hüüppiangku	hüüppiahi	hüüppiahin
pl	hüüppiammü	hüüppiammi	hüüppiammin

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) Atümmü tattangummü yuhupi.
those men fat
'Those men are fat.'

Copyrighted materia

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

(155) Nawittsittsiammü iampühammü.
girls wild-pl
'The girls all are wild.'

(156) Kehimpa'i tuittsittsiammü.
there aren't boys
'There aren't any boys [around].'

(157) Hüüppiammü kahni kuppantü tukummahanni.
women house in cook
'The women are cooking in the house.'

(158) Süümootü satümmü, um petümmü süümootü.
ten those his daughters ten
'There were ten of them, there were ten of his daughters.'

(159) So'oppütü hukwappiammü.
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 nüü naangkan ningwünnü.
men-O hear-stv I make noise talk(pl)
'I hear the men making noise talking.'

(161) Hüüppiammi takküso'ehwa üü.
women-O pinched you
'You pinched the women.'

Copyrighted material

(162) Nü tasimüüttsiammi punikka.
I piss ants-O see
'I see some piss ants.'

(163) Um petümmi sümmi yükkwi.
her daughters-O that say
'She said that to her daughters.'

Dual nouns in the nominative are exemplified in 164-168.

(164) Hipittsittsiangku yükkwi.
old women-dl sit(dl)
'Two old women are sitting [there].'

(165) Pahamittsiangku koppi. 'Two bears are lying.'
bear-dl lie(dl)

(166) Atungku tattangungku yuhupi.
those(dl) men-dl fat
'Those two men are fat.'

(167) Nawittsittsiangku iampühangku.
girl-dl wild-dl
'The two girls are both wild.'

(168) Satungku wawatangku nü küso'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 hipittsittsiahi punikka.
I old women(dl)-O see
'I see two old women.'

Copyrighted materia

(170) Nü 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 Tümpisa Shoshone, they mark different noun classes. The noun suffixes in Tümpisa Shoshone that fit into this group are:

-pi(n) -pe -pü -ppü -ppüh -ttsi

In contemporary Tümpisa 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 -pi(n) and -ttsi usually disappear before postpositions.

Copyrighted material

-Pe and -pü 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'	>	nümmi soko	'our land'
noyopin	'egg'	>	un noyo	'its egg'
wüappüh	'penis'	>	u wüa"	'his penis'
anappi	'peak'	>	toyapin nana"	'mountain peak'
tukkuattsi	'meat'	>	un tukkua	'its meat'
≈ tukkuapi				
yuhupi	'fat, grease'	>	nia yuhu	'my fat, grease'
		>	ün nuhu	'your fat, grease'

The absolutive suffixes don't always drop, however, as is attested by examples like the following:

nampe	'foot'	>	ün nampe	'your foot'
kwaimpü	'back'	>	üng kwaimpü	'your back'
wüappüh	'penis'	>	u wüappüh	'his penis'
naippü	'parent-in-law'	>	nian naippü	'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'etün	'bow, atlatl'	< etün	'bow, gun'
huukk(w)ohnon	'cradle basket'	< kohnon	'cradle'
huuppakampotsa	'arrow'	< pakampotsa	'projectile'
huuppihyaapin	'sugar cane'	< pihyaapin	'sugar'

Copyrighted materia

```
süüpin (süü-)     'willow, wicker'
  süühüppa        'willow shade house' < hüppa   'shade'
  süü'ongo(ttsi) 'wicker cooking basket'
     < ongo(ttsi)  'cooking basket'
  süü'osa(ttsi)   'wicker water jug'
     < osa(ttsi)  'water jug'
  süüpihyaapin   'willow sap sugar'  < pihyaapin  'sugar'
  süütakkan      'basket knife'  < takkan(pin) 'obsidian'
  süüsanappittsi 'bluebird'          < sanappin  'pitch'
  süütsappo'o    'basket hat'        < tsappo'o  'hat'

toyapi(n) (toya-) 'mountain'
  toyakatü        'hill'           < katü"  'sit'
  toyatukkupittsi 'mountain lion'
     < tukupittsi  'wildcat'
  Toya Hipingküppüh ≈ Hipingkün Toya  'Flower Mountain
     Song' < hipingkün 'flower'
  toyatsukunümüttsi  'guardian of the mountain'
     < tsuku(ppü) 'old man', nümü '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'
  Tümpisa"        'Death Valley'      < pisa"  'red ochre'

nampe (nan-)      'foot'
  nampunih        'track'             < puni"  'see'

tangappüh (tanga"-)  'knee'
  tangappuhakatü 'kneel praying'
     < puha 'supernatural power', katü"  'sit'
  tangatookatü    'kneel'          < too- ?, katü"  'sit'
```

Copyrighted material

kwaimpü (kwain-) 'back' + tsuhnippüh (tsuhni-) 'bone'
> kwaintsuhni 'backbone'

Examples above like süütakkan, Toya Hipingküppüh ≈ Hipingkün 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 tümpe 'mouth' and tümpin 'rock' with those above.

tümpe tüngkampi 'lip' < tüngkampi 'edge'
tümpe muttüngkampi 'upper lip' < mu(")- 'nose'
tümpi hüwannümpü 'dead fall trap' < hüwannümpü 'trap'
Tümping Wosa 'Ubehebe Crater' < wosa 'carrying basket'

The sentences in 171-173 illustrate the loss of absolutive suffixes before postpositions.

(171) Tammü tupoon ka tükkanna lokko u tukkwhontü.
we(inc) desert in eat locust it under
[=tupoompi] [=lokopü]
'We're eating in the desert under the locust tree.'

(172) Hüüppiammü toya mantu mi'a tüpannatso'ikwa.
women toyapi through go pinenut pick
toyapittsi
mountain
'The women are going through the mountains to pick pinenuts.'

(173) Yookon tu mi'ami'a satü.
valley through go along that
[=yookompi]
'He's going through the valley.'

Copyrighted materia

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) Nüü süüpim mantü tsokottihwa.
I willow on head-bump
'I bumped my head on the willow tree.'

(175) Satü 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 ≈ pin (-pitta ≈ -pia obj)

angapi	'fly'	pohopin	'sagebrush'
hukwappi	'cane'	sohopimpü	'cottonwood'
hunuppin	'ravine'	sokopin	'ground'
hupapin	'soup, gruel'	süüpün	'willow'
huuppin	'stick'	tammupi	'sinew'
hünapi	'cliff rose'	tatsiumpi	'star'
kammapin	'illness'	toyapin	'mountain'
kottsappi	'soup, gravy'	tukkuapin	'meat'
mupin	'nose'	tukumpanapin	'sky'
nattusu'umpi	'medicine'	tukupi	'sand dune'
nawittsipi	'girl'	tümpin	'rock'
nawipi	'teenage girl'	üappi	'crops'
neeyangwippi	'handgame'	üngapi	'roadrunner'
ohipin	'cold'	wasüppi	'mtn sheep'
oompin	'pebbles'	woapin	'worm'
pahompin	'tobacco'	wongkopin	'pine'

Copyrighted material

paoppi	'blood'	yuhupin	'fat'
pihyaapin	'sugar'	yookompin	'valley'

-pe (-pea obj)

kappe	'bed'	tape(ttsi)	'sun'
kope	'face'	tope	'thigh'
kümpe	'squirrel'	tümpe	'rock'
nampe	'foot'	yüppe	'fox'
pokkotoppe	'red-winged blackbird'		

-pü (-püa obj)

awattampü	'rib'	piapü	'female'
isampü	'liar'	piusipü	'eyebrow'
kwaimpü	'back'	pütapü	'arm'
lokopü	'locust tree'	sohopimpü	'cottonwood'
mutsupü(ttsi)	'beak'	samompü	'sibling'
nattsiapü	'provisions'	soopüttsi	'cheeks'
nawüttamampü	'door'	tsiampü	'hips'
nihattapü	'joker'	tsomampü	'skinflint'
ohpimpü	'mesquite tree'	usu'umpü	'kindling'

-ppü (-ppüa obj)

appü	'father'	tuinuppü	'boy'
isapaippü	'Coyote'	tsukuppü	'old man'
naippü	'parent-in-law'	wa'ippü	'woman'
samoppü	'sibling'	yuhupippü	'fatso'

-ppüh (-ppüha obj)

appeppüh	'tears'	pomappüh	'grass'
kuttusippüh	'smut'	sumappüh	'breath'
kukkwiippisippüh	'riflings'	kukkwiippüh	'smoke'
makkippüh	'elbow'	tappisanappüh	'socks'
maniikappüh	'ring'	to'ippüh	'tule'
muippüh	'jimson weed'	tüppisippüh	'trash'
nonopippüh	'wikiup'	pampippüh	'hair'
nungkwappüh	'leg'	tsiampippüh	'wild rose'

Copyrighted materia

pakappüh	'penis'	tsooppüh	'shoulder'
pühüppüh	'fur'	tsoppippüh	'hair'
püikkappüh	'glass'	wikappüh	'blanket'

-ttsi (-ttsia obj)

akküttsi	'sunflower seeds'	ekupi(ttsi)	'cactus'
hipittsi(ttsi)	'old woman'	kammu(ttsi)	'jackrabbit'
kahümpüttsi	'mesquite seeds'	omapi(ttsi)	'salt'
nawittsipi	'girl'	müa(ttsi)	'moon'
nawittsi(ttsi)	'little girl'	paa(ttsi)	'water'
ohmaattsi(ttsi)	'baby'	heewi(ttsi)	'dove'
pahamittsi	'bear'	hongopi(ttsi)	'flour'
piammüttsi	'baby'	mutsupü(ttsi)	'beak'
takkaakattsi	'valley quail'	nuipi(ttsi)	'doll'
tuammüttsi	'baby'	tukkupittsi	'wildcat'
tuittsi(ttsi)	'young man'	tape(ttsi)	'sun'

Only two of the absolutive suffixes have any semantic content: -ttsi and -ppü. 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 -ppü 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, -ppü is used to indicate distance or lack of empathy with the referent of the human noun that it is

Copyrighted materia

suffixed to if the human noun normally does not take -ppü. For example, in the conversation in section 10.6, -ppü 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 -ppüh 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 -ppüh are not derived from verbs at all and are noun stems.

-Ppüh 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'en 'have' or -kantün 'having, characterized by', and then normally has -ppüh suffixed to it.

(176) Nüü keehiippühpa'e. 'I have nothing.'
I nothing-suf-have

(177) Nüü kee piammüppühkantü. 'I am childless.'
I not child-suf-characterized by

(178) Ke tüpappühpa'e tammü kee tüpannaappühpa'e.
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.:

Copyrighted materia

kuhmappü	'male'	<	kuhma	'husband'
neeyangwippi	'handgame'	<	neeyangwi	'play handgame'
nükkappi	'dance' (N)	<	nükka(n)	'dance' (Vi)
ohpimpü	'mesquite tree'	<	ohpin	'mesquite bean'
piapü	'female'	<	pia	'mother'
pampippüh	'hair'	<	pampi	'head, hair'
tsomampü	'skinflint'	<	tsoman	'stingy'
yütsütüppüh	'jet airplane'	<	yütsütün	'airplane'

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'
sohopimpü	'cottonwood'

Also, occasionally the same noun stem may take different absolutive suffixes; e.g.:

samompü ≈ samoppüh	'sibling of opposite sex'
tsiappüh ≈ tsiampü	'wild rose'
nawüttümappüh ≈ nawüttümampü	'door'
pittuuttsi ≈ pittuuppüh	'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.:

Copyrighted materia

atapu('u)	'mother's brother'	cf. atapupin absol
nammi('i)	'younger sister'	cf. nammittsi 'YoSi'
papi('i)	'older brother'	
patsi('i)	'older sister'	cf. patsinümü 'OlSis'
petü('ü)	'daughter'	cf. petü"
tami('i)	'younger brother'	cf. tamittsi 'YoBr'
tümmu('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'

kasattsikantün	'bird'
< kasattsi	'wing'
kwitasuuppükantün	'farter'
< kwitasuuppüh	'fart'
mukuakantün	'sage, learned one'
< mukua	'mind'

Copyrighted material

mukuttsikantün 'Delphinus constellation'
< mukuttsi 'diamond-shaped'
nattusu'ungkantün 'doctor, herbalist'
< nattusu'un 'medicine, herbs'
natüakahantü 'clown'
< na- pmpr, tüakah 'put face paint on'
potongkantün 'policeman'
< poton 'club'
puhakantün 'shaman, medicine man/woman'
< puha 'supernatural power'
saiyakantün 'screen'
< saiya (?)
tapakantün 'stud'
< tapa(ppüh) 'testicles'
wüakkantün 'gelding'
< wüa"(ppüh) 'penis'

-nna (Ø obj) infinitive and gerund 'to X, Xing'

nampuninna 'footprints, tracks'
< nampunih V 'track'
namuihanna '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'
kuppüanna 'to cook, cooking'
< kuppüah Vi 'cook'
tütüainna 'work, working'
< tütüai Vi 'work'
tükkanna 'to eat, eating, meal'
< tükkah 'eat'
pusikwanna 'to know, knowing'
< pusikwa 'know'

Copyrighted materia

-nnümpü (-nnümpüa obj) instrument

hüwannümpü 'trap'
< hüwa" Vt 'trap'
katünnümpü 'seat, chair'
< katü" Vi sg 'sit'
kottoonnümpü 'stove, hearth'
< kotoo 'make a fire'
kukkwiinnümpü 'chimney'
< kukkwii(ppü) 'smoke'
kusuuppetsünnümpü 'whistle'
< kusuuppetsü Vi 'whistle, blow a whistle'
kütannümpü 'scissors'
< kütah 'cut with scissors'
naannümpü 'tool, instrument'
< naa" Vi 'be' [formerly meaning: 'do']
napuninnümpü 'mirror; gun sights'
< na- pmpr, puni" 'see'
patsennaannümpü 'bucket, water container'
< patsennaah ≈ patsainaah 'fetch water'
saawannümpü 'boiling pot'
< saawah Vt 'boil'
sumakkainnümpü 'gill'
< sumakkain 'breathe'
tukuttakkingkünnümpü 'dynamite'
< tü- aps, kuttakkingkün 'blast'
tukuttinnümpü 'firearm'
< tü- aps, kuttih 'shoot'
tumo'innümpü 'pen, pencil, writing instrument; camera'
< tü- aps, mo'ih Vt 'write, draw, sketch, paint'
tükkannümpü 'dinner table'
< tükkah 'eat'
tüwüttiannümpü 'garbage can'
< tü- aps, wüttia Vt 'dump out, spill'
tsaannümpü 'binoculars'
< ?

Copyrighted materia

wüppo'okwinnümpü 'drum'
< wüppo'okwi 'beat a drum'
yükwinnümpü ≈ yukwinnümpü 'tool, instrument'
< yükwi" ≈ yukwi" 'do'

-ppüh (-ppüha obj) nominalizer and past participle

kwitappüh 'shit'
< kwita" Vi 'shit'
kwitasuuppüh 'fart'
< kwitasuu" Vi 'fart'
nawüsiiwappüh 'scab, scratch, cut'
< na- pmpr, wüsiiwah Vt 'scratch'
nawüttümappüh 'door'
< na- pmpr, wüttümah 'close'
paküünappüh 'cloud'
< paa 'water', -küünah V instr 'cover'
patüasü(tai)ppüh 'ice'
< paa 'water', tüasü 'freeze', -tain cmplt
siippüh 'urine'
< sii" Vi 'urinate'
tappattsanappüh 'button'
< tappattsanah 'fasten'
tiyaitaippüh 'corpse'
< tiyaih 'die', -tain cmplt
tümenippüh 'store'
< tümenih 'sell'
wükküünappüh 'fog'
< wükküünah Vt 'cover'

-tün (-tünna ≈ -ti obj) nominalizer and present participle

nukkwintün 'train'
< nukkwi(n) 'run, race'
nüetün 'wind'
< nüe" ≈ nüai" Vi 'blow (of wind)'

Copyrighted materia

nükkantün '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'
ümatün ≈ üngwatün 'rain'
< üma" ≈ üngwa" Vi 'rain'
ütüintün 'heat, hot place'
< ütüin Vi 'be hot'
wayantün 'fire, burning'
< waya" Vi 'burn'
wükkatütün 'pile'
< wükkatü Vi 'be a pile'
yütsütün 'airplane'
< yütsü" Vi sg 'fly'

-ttü (-ttüa obj) agentive 'one who Xs'

hipittü 'drinker, drunkard'
< hipi" V 'drink'
hupiatükittü 'singer'
< hupiatüki 'sing'
nangkawittü 'speaker, talker'
< nangkawih 'speak, talk'
nükkattü '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'
tütüaittü 'worker'
< tütüai Vi 'work'

Copyrighted material

tumo'ittü ≈ tümo'ittü 'writer, artist, photographer'
< tü- aps, mo'ih Vt 'write, draw, sketch, paint'
wasüwükkittü 'hunter'
< wasüwükki V pl 'hunt'
yükwittü ≈ yukwittü 'doer'
< yükwi" ≈ yukwi" 'do'

-ttüah (-ttüai obj) locative 'place for Xing'

hipittüah 'drinking place, watering hole'
< hipi" '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'
< puni" V 'see'
siittüah 'urinal'
< sii" Vi 'urinate'
tükkattüah 'eating place'
< tükkah 'eat'
tükittüah 'storage place'
< tüki" Vt 'put'
üattüah 'ranch, farm'
< üah Vt 'plant, sow'
üppüittüah 'sleeping place'
< üppüih Vi 'sleep'

Copyrighted material

-tsi (-tsia obj) 'people of X area'

Tümpisattsi	'Death Valley people'
< Tümpisa"	'Death Valley'
Haüttantsi	'Indian Ranch people'
< Haüttan	'Indian Ranch'
Kaikottantsi	'Panamint Mountains people, especially those from Telescope Peak area'
< Kaikottin	'Panamint Mountains'
Ko'ontsi	'Saline Valley people'
< Ko'on(gkatün)	'Saline Valley'
Muattantsi	'Coso Hot Springs people'
< Muattan(gka)	'Coso Hot Springs'
Pakatsoatsi	'Monaches'
< ?	
Payuttsi	'Southern Paiutes, Kawaiisus'
< ?	

-ttsi (-ttsia obj) diminutive, affectionate

huu'etüttsi	'slingshot'
< huu'etün	'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'
tuattsi	'little son'
< tua"	'son'

Copyrighted materia

As can be seen from the examples above, -kantün, -tsi, and -ttsi are normally affixed to nouns forming new nouns, while -nnümpü, -ttü, -ttüah, and of course -nna, -ppüh, and -tün 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 -nnümpü, -ttü, and -ttüah are affixed to transitive verb stems, they are often intransitivized first with one of the voice-changing prefixes, tü- aps or na- pmpr (e.g., namuihanna 'picture, drawing, writing', tümo'ittü 'writer, artist' and tümo'innümpü 'pen, pencil' < namuih / tümo'ih Vi < mo'ih Vt 'write, draw').

Compounding is an important, highly productive word-forming process in Tümpisa 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.

Copyrighted materia

NOUN COMPOUNDS

Noun + Noun

Atsappaa 'Bad Water Springs in Death Valley'
< atsa" 'bitter', paa 'water, spring'

isahuuppin 'arrow weed; Devil's Haystack in Death Valley' < isa 'coyote', huuppin 'stick, bush'

isam papi ≈ isapaippü(am) papi 'wolf'
< isam ≈ isapaippü(am) 'Coyote('s)', papi 'older brother'

kammu wikappüh 'rabbit(skin) blanket'
< kammu 'jackrabbit', wika(ppüh) 'blanket'

kooppe saawannümpü 'coffeepot'
< kooppe 'coffee', saawannümpü 'boiling pot'

kukkwiikkahni 'chimney'
< kukkwii" 'smoke', kahni 'house, structure'

kukkwiippisippüh 'soot, smut, riflings'
< kukkwii" 'smoke', pisippüh 'rot(ten)'

mitükkaano wiwiittsi 'house sparrow'
< mitükkaano 'white man', wiwiittsi 'finch'

mo'intsoko 'wrist'
< mo'in 'hand's', tsoko 'connection'

nattusu'ungkahni 'hospital'
< nattusu'un(pi) 'medicine', kahni 'house'

nottsokowa'ipü 'umbilical cord'
< na- pmpr, tsoko 'connection', wa'i(ppü) 'woman', -pü

pangwi tsangkuttsi 'fish hook'
< pangwi 'fish', tsangkuttsi 'hook'

patühüya 'moose, elk'
< paa 'water', tühüya 'deer'

pahonto'i 'smoking pipe'
< pahon(pin) 'tobacco', to'i 'pipe'

pahontükinnümpü 'ashtray'
< pahon(pin) 'tobacco', tükkinnümpü 'putter'

Copyrighted materia

süüpihyaapin 'willow sap sugar'
< süü(pin) 'willow', pihyaapin 'sugar'
tupoontukkupittsi 'desert bobcat'
< tupoon(pi) 'desert', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'
toyatukkupittsi 'mountain lion'
< toya(pin) 'mountain', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'
tukuwüappüh '[Coyote's] sky penis'
< tuku(pin) 'sky, space', wüappüh 'penis'
Tüpa Nükkappin 'Pinenut Dance'
< tüpa 'pinenut', nükkappin 'dance'
wahappihyaapin 'piñon sap sugar'
< waha"(pin) 'piñon pine', pihyaapin 'sugar'
yookontukkupittsi 'valley bobcat'
< yookon(pin) 'valley', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'

Adjective + Noun

piappütü etün 'cannon'
< piappütü 'big', etün 'gun, bow'
piappütü tokompi 'barrel'
< piappütün 'big', tokompi 'metal, can'
piasika 'crotch'
< pia 'big', sika 'fork, crotch'
saman tuhuuppin 'raw sticks (in handgame)'
< saman 'raw', tuhuuppin 'counter stick'
so'oppütü pangwitsangkuttsi 'gig fish hook'
< so'oppütü 'many', pangwitsangkuttsi 'fish hook'
tosapi tükinnümpü 'white bones (in handgame)'
< tosapi 'white', tükinnümpü 'putter'
tuppapitü tükinnümpü 'stripped bone (in handgame)'
< tuppapitü 'black', tükinnümpü 'putter'
tühüttsi(ttsi) toyapittsi 'hill'
< tühüttsi(ttsi) 'little', toyapi(ttsi) 'mountain'

Copyrighted materia

Noun + Verb(al)

Mukuattün Nükkanna 'War Dance'
< mukuattün 'mind', nükkanna 'dance(ing)'
mupin tawinna 'nostril'
< mupin 'nose', tawinna 'to be an opening, hole'
paa okwenna 'river'
< paa 'water', okwenna 'flowing'
tape punikkatün '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 ≈ hipittsukuppü 'drunkard'
< hipi" 'drink', tsuku 'old man',
-ttsi ≈ -ppü absol
noyokowa'ippü 'whore'
< noyoko" 'screwed', wa'ippü 'woman'
nükkakahni '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'
kuppüataippüh huuppin 'cooked sticks (in handgame)'
< kuppüataippüh 'cooked', huuppin 'stick'

Copyrighted materia

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

Haüttangkatün Nookompi 'Panamint Valley'
< Haüttan 'Warm Springs and Indian Ranch area',
katün 'in', yookompi 'valley'
Kuinawen Nangkwatün Nümü 'Northern/Western Shoshone'
< kuinawen 'north', nangkwatün 'direction of',
nümü 'people'
piasika katü pühü 'pubic hair'
< piasika 'crotch', katün 'in', pühü 'hair'

Adv + Verbal

imaa tükkanna ≈ imaa tükkatün 'breakfast'
< imaa 'morning', tükkanna ≈ tükkatün 'eating'
tape(ni) tükkanna ≈ tape(ni) tükkatün 'lunch'
< tape(ni) 'day(time)', tükkanna ≈ tükkatün 'eating'
yüwittükkanna ≈ yüwittükkatün 'dinner'
< yüwi" 'evening', tükkanna ≈ tükkatün '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., Mukuattün Nükkanna 'War

Copyrighted material

Dance', literally 'Mind Dance'); (2) a noun functioning as the logical subject of the verb or verbal noun (e.g., toyahapitün 'mountain range', literally 'mountain lying'); and (3) a noun functioning as the logical object of the verb or verbal (e.g., tape punikkatün '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., hipittsukuttsi '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., piasika katü pühü '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 tükkanna 'breakfast', literally meaning 'morning eating').

5.8 NAMES

Very few aboriginal personal names are used or even remembered by contemporary Tümpisa Shoshone speakers. The few that I was able to elicit are listed below.

Copyrighted materia

SOME ABORIGINAL MEN'S NAMES

Aattako 'Potato Bug'
Angitsuku 'Fly Man'
< angi(pi) 'fly', tsuku(ppü) 'old man'
Hapittsuku 'Lying Down Man'
< hapi" 'lie', tsuku(ppü) 'old man'
Küpütatsuku 'Tall Man'
< küpüta 'tall, long', tsuku(ppü) 'old man'
Pawoko 'Frog'
Sokotsuku 'Earth Man'
< sokopin 'earth, land', tsuku(ppü) 'old man'
Tsoangkaaya'a (?)

SOME ABORIGINAL WOMEN'S NAMES

Hipipayuni 'Flower' (?)
< hipi(ngkün) 'bloom'
Kwasikantün 'Having a Tail'
< kwasi 'tail', -kantün 'characterized by'
Naipi 'Girl'
Pa'atami 'Upside Down'
Sayatsayaa'a (?) [translated as: 'Sacajawea']
Siatoni'i (?)
Süata'a 'Growing' (?)
< süa" '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 Küpütatsuku 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 Kwasikantün was given her name because when she was born she had a lot of hair in the small of her back.

Copyrighted material

Much more commonly in recent times, people have been given English names, usually with minor phonological adjustments making them conform more closely to Tümpisa Shoshone phonology, especially syllabic structure and low-level phonetics (see chapter 9).

SOME MEN'S NAMES ADOPTED FROM ENGLISH

Apüttü	'Albert'
Tseekki	'Jake'
Koopü	'Grover'
Neti	'Ned'
Noitü	'Lloyd'
Reemmani	'Raymond'
Samma	'Sam'
Tanan	'Donald'
Toni	'Tony'

SOME WOMEN'S NAMES ADOPTED FROM ENGLISH

Ani	'Ann(ie)'
Antsi	'Angie'
Iipü	'Eve'
Memmi	'Mamie'
Neetiinna	'Nadine'
Paapüttsi	'Babs'
Paliinna	'Pauline'
Rotsi	'Rosie'
Ruhtü	'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' > Paapüttsi)

Copyrighted materia

or dropping consonants (e.g 'Albert' > Apüttü); (c) lengthening at least some stressed vowels (e.g., 'Eve' > Iipü). 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, rs are borrowed as is, and ls are also usually adopted without change, although sometimes they are replaced with ns.

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 -ppü 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 Tümpisa 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).

Copyrighted materia

POSSIBLE HEADS OF NPS

$$\text{NP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{lll} (\ldots) & \text{Noun} & (\ldots) \\ & \text{Pronoun} & (\text{Quant}) \\ (\ldots) & \text{Demonstrative} & \\ & \text{Numeral} & \\ & \text{Quantifier} & \\ & \text{Adjective} & \end{array} \right\}$$

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) Nümmü soontü miatü.
we(exc) many go-hab
'Many of us would go.'

(180) Nüü sümüsü matümmi tsittüpunitu'ih.
I all them wake up-will
'I'll wake all of them up.'

(181) [Ütüintü] 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.

Copyrighted materia

(182) Tammappüh miattaippüh.
crazy left
'The crazy one left.'

(183) Satü piantünna tühüya kuttippühantü;
that big-O deer shot

nüü püü tütüttsittsia kuttippühantü.
I emph little-obj shot

'He shot a big deer; I myself shot a little one.'

(184) Wihnupittsi pisittaippüha tükkanna.
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) Nü [ko'ehintu'immi] suwakka.
I return-hither-will-sub plan on
'I plan on coming back.'

(186) [Un tükkatu'iha] puhaikwasü sukkwa
her eat-will-O look for that-O
sutü wa'ippüa.
that woman-O

'He went out looking for something for her to eat, something for that woman.'

Copyrighted material

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 + 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 utü mi'a taamiammaa
old lady that go visited
u kammannuha okkwah.
her was sick-sub when

'That old lady went and visited (her) when she was sick.'

Copyrighted materia

(188) Tsokonetaippüh isapaippü isan
had scratched coyote coyote's

tuammüttsi utümmü.
baby those
'Coyote's, those babies of coyote, had been scratching.'

(189) Wa'ippüa ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwüümmaa
woman-O that-O where some caught

utü pahamittsi utū 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 kammanna 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.

Copyrighted materia

(192) [Niam pusikwanna] satü [paappüh wünütü]
my knowing that tall standing

tangummü utuku.
man only
'It's only the tall (standing) man that I know.'

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

(194) Tangummü [atü naaiyangwitü] atü nia
man that playing handgame that me

pusikwatü.
know
'That man who is playing handgame knows me.'

(195) Piiya [nian nipinna] nia üppüingkühwantu'ih.
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 immediatly preceding head nouns (e.g., 197-198).

(196) Nü nia tütiittsia ohmaattsia nasuntamanna.
I my little-O baby-O remember
'I remember my little baby.'

Copyrighted materia

(197) Wahattü niam püanümü ma'e nü namiangüppühantü
two my cousins with I were sent
=and

sapettü.
there

'Two of my cousins and I were sent there.'

(198) Nü so'oppütü nia summo'a tappisikunataintu'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) Piammüttsi sümüttü yakainna.
baby one cry
'One baby is crying.'

(200) Kapaayu wahattü nuwinna.
horse two walk
'Two horses are walking around.'

(201) Sepe isapungku tuammüttsi 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

Copyrighted materia

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 sümüttünna 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 tümpitta toppotsikippühantü satü.
many-O rock-O threw out(pl) that
'She threw out a lot of rocks.'

(206) Wa'ippü wahattünna paanni maappa'itu'ih.
woman two-O bread make
'The woman'll make two loaves of bread.'

(207) Wa'ippü pünnan tüpü(nna) [tso'ippüha]
woman her own pinenut(-O) pick-sub-O

tukummahanni.
cook

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

Copyrighted materia

(208) Wa'ippüa nüü pusikwa [akka nühakkawitünna].
woman-O I know that-O make basket-sub-O
'I know the woman making baskets.'

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) Nüü wahattü tühüyanna pakkappühantü.
I two deer-O killed
'I killed two deer.'

(210) Nüü mannikitü tühüyanna wasüppühantü.
I five deer-O killed(pl)
'I killed five deer.'

(211) Satü so'oppütü piiya tsattüpüppainna.
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 Tümpisa 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

Copyrighted material

221) 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) Ohipim ma nati'iwantünna tiyaitaihwa satü.
cold from mean-O died that
'He died from a mean cold.'

(213) Mümmi tukkwantü 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 samoppü and the numeral wahattü 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, nümmü!

(214) Nia samoppü naappühantü wahattü.
my sibling were two
'There were my two brothers.'

(215) Nüü tümpitta yaakkintu'i sümüttüttsia.
I rock-O bring-will one only
'I'll bring just one rock.'

(216) Nümmü pahi nümmü tommo yingkappühantü sape.
we(exc) three we winter stayed there
'We stayed there three winters.'

Copyrighted materia

(217) Tuittsi pitü utümmi ka wihnu sümüttü
young man arrive those-O at then one

tuittsi.
young man

'A young man is arriving with them then, one young man.'

In 217, the numeral sümüttü 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 Tümpisa Shoshone discourse style. The repetition of nümmü 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 etü in 218. But usually the various reccurrences of NPs referring to the same entity expand and develop the reference. For example, in 218, aside from the repetitions of etü, 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 setü, indicating that she is now an established topic, at least for the moment.

Copyrighted material

(218) Etü etü wihnu hipittsi etü etü utummim pia
this this then old lady this this their mother

u punikka setü.
it see this

'This one, this old lady then, their mother, she saw it.'

(219) Supe'esü sutummü u petsünnuwimmaa wa'ipüa
that time those her take-moving woman-O

pünnan nanümü.
her own relatives

'Then they, her own relatives, took her, the woman, away.'

(220) Sutü wihnu u ma'e üppüihantü pahamittsia.
that then him with sleep-stv-hab bear-O
'And then she would sleep with him, the bear.'

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.

Copyrighted materia

(221) Sümüsü mia'ommü atü himpü antsaapanappüh,
all go-pl that some flicker

atü kaakki, tukopoyo'ittsi, sümüsü
that crow kingbird all

kasattsikantü mia'ommü.
bird go-pl

'Everyone went, that flicker, that crow,
kingbird, all the birds went.'

(222) U kappinnangkwa katü ukkwah sutungku kee
it outside of sit when those two not

teewingkütsinna etü 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 Givón (1984), Foley and Van Valin (1984), or Chafe (1970).

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 -n, but the result is the same with -n on nouns as well. The reader should consult chapter 9 on phonology to understand the general properties of final segments like n.

Copyrighted materia

4. Postpositions are written unattached to the nouns that they follow unless the noun ends in the geminating segment -", in which case the postposition is suffixed to the noun, cf.

kahni pa	'on the house'	pasaküm pa	'on the bridge'
house on		bridge on	
un tuappa	'on his son'	[< tua" + pa]	
his son-on		son on	

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 Tümpisakka for words to be written like tuap pa or tua ppa because each of these two possibilities goes against Tümpisakka 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.

Copyrighted materia

6

ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVE PHRASES

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.[1]

6.1 ABSOLUTIVE SUFFIXES

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

ADJECTIVE ABSOLUTIVE SUFFIXES

-pi(n)	-pü -pitün	-ppüh	-tün -ppütün	-ttsi

Copyrighted materia

-Pitün and -ppütün are compound suffixes formed with -tün preceded by -pi and -ppüh, respectively; in prenominal modification, the -tün 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.:

```
piakuittsun              'buffalo'
     < pia(ppütün)       'big', kuittsun 'buffalo'
piatükkah                'feast' Vi
     < pia(ppütün)       'big', tükkah 'eat'
piasika                  'crotch (on body)'
     < pia(ppütün)       'big', sika 'crotch'
puhitükkappüh            'watercress'
     < puhi(pitün)       'blue and green', tükkappüh 'food'
süküng kamman            'taste sour'
     < sükün(pitün)      'sour', kamman 'taste'
tosakkahni               'tent'
     < tosa"(pitün)      'white', kahni 'house'
tuppapangwittsi     'blackfish in springs in Death Valley'
     < tuppa(pitün)      'black', pangwi 'fish'
ükünümü                  'youth'
     < ükü(pittsi)       'young, new', nümü 'person'
woontangummü             'jealous man'
     < woon(pettsi)      'jealous', tangummü 'man'
yu'itsikuppittsi         'salamander'
     < yu'i(pittsi)      'soft', tsukuppü(ttsi) 'old man' (?)
```

When adjectives are in prenominal position modifying nouns, they do not normally lose their absolutive suffixes (see 6.1). And frequently, even when they form compounds with

Copyrighted materia

following nouns, the absolutive suffixes are not dropped; e.g.:

mutsipin taman 'incisor tooth'
< mutsipin 'sharp-pointed', taman 'tooth'
piappütü etün 'cannon'
< piappütün 'big', etün 'gun'
piappütü tokompi 'barrel'
< piappütün 'big', tokompi 'iron, tin can'
piappütü tütattükwannümpü 'sledgehammer'
< piappütün 'big', tütattükwannümpü 'hammer'
tosapi noyopi(ttsi) 'eggwhite'
< tosapi(tün) 'white', noyopi(ttsi) 'egg'
tuppapitü tükinnümpü 'striped bone in handgame'
< tuppapitün 'black', tükinnümpü 'putter'
tühüttsi toyapittsi 'hill'
< tühüttsi '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 ≈ mutsippüh 'sharp-pointed'
no'api 'pregnant'

Copyrighted material

pihyapi	'weak'
samampi(ttsi)	'raw'
sükümpi(ttsi)	'sour'
üküpi(ttsi)	'new, young, fresh'
yu'ipi(ttsi)	'soft, flexible, flabby'

-pitün (-pitünna obj)

angkapitün	'red'
esümpitün	'gray'
hüpümpitün	'orange'
ontümpitün	'yellowish brown'
puhipitün	'blue and green'
sakwaapitün	'green'
sükümpitün	'yellow'
tosapitün	'white'
tuppapitün	'black'
pattsipitün	'smooth, glossy'

-pü (-püa obj)

iampü	'wild'
küttaampü ≈ küttaampi	'hard'
naisapü	'horny, sexually aroused'
napihyaapü	'lazy'
nanaohpü	'scattered, dispersed'
püetümpü	'old, worn'
pasampü(ttsi)	'skinny'
tsomampü	'stingy'

-ppüh (-ppüha obj)

kümappüh ≈ kümattsi	'sharp-edged'
mutsippüh ≈ mutsipin	'sharp-pointed'
pungkuppeppüh	'out of, used up, all gone'
ooppüh	'strong'
ottotootaippüh	'moldy'
so'oppüh ≈ so'oppütün	'plenty; much, many'
tammappüh ≈ tammattsi	'crazy'

Copyrighted materia

tukkwappüh 'deep'
tuuppüh ≈ tuuppüppüh 'mean, cruel'
tuttsaappüh 'dirty'
tüttsüppüh ≈ tüttsüppütü(ppüh) 'funny, ugly, strange'
yottsokkwappüh 'soft, flexible, crumbly'
≈ yottsokkwattsi

-ppütün (-ppütünna ≈ -ppüti obj)

pa'appütün ≈ pa'appüh 'tall'
piappütün ≈ piantün 'big'
piawükippütün 'wide'
küpütappütün 'long'
so'oppütün ≈ so'oppüh 'plenty; much, many'
tuhuntappütün 'thick'

-tün (-tünna ≈ -ti obj)

piantün ≈ piappütün 'big'
nati'iwantün(pü) 'mean, rough; difficult, dangerous'
soontün 'much, many'
tunaan(tün) 'straight'
tsawüntün 'good, nice'
wümmanittün 'naked'

-ttsi (-ttsia)

kümattsi ≈ kümappüh 'sharp-edged'
mukuttsi 'diamond-shaped'
pa'attsi(ttsi) 'short (in height)'
tütüttsi(ttsi) 'little, small'
tü(h)üttsi(ttsi) 'little, small'
tütiittsi(ttsi) 'little, small'
tiittsi(ttsi) 'tiny'
toppottsi(ttsi) 'short (in length)'
tamma(ttsi) ≈ tammappüh 'crazy'
tatuttsi(ttsi) 'thin (of things)'
tsiwoottsi 'narrow'

Copyrighted material

yottsokkwattsi 'soft, flexible, crumbly'
≈ yottsokkwappüh

Only a few adjectives occur without absolutive suffixes. Those that have been recorded are listed below.

hippatta	'flat'
nakütsasa	'bad'
pihyaa ≈ pihnaa	'sweet'
tokwi"	'right, correct'
wüki ≈ wükkin	'circular'

Etymologically related to absolutive -tün and -ppüh are the two homophonous participial suffixes -tün, present participle (prp), and -ppüh, past participle (pp), which productively form adjectives directly from verbs (see 3.3.2). Past participial -ppüh is often used along with the completive suffix -tain forming -taippüh. 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 tüasü 'freeze': tüasüppüh, meaning 'frozen', and tüasütaippüh, 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.

Copyrighted materia

PAST PARTICIPLES IN -PPÜH AND -TAIPPÜH

hannattaippüh 'grown'
< hanna" Vi 'grow'
heyokotaippüh 'loose'
< heyoko Vi 'loosen'
hipittaippüh 'drunk'
< hipi" Vt 'drink'
ka'ataippüh sg, kopiataippüh pl 'broken'
< ka'ah sg, kopiah pl Vi 'break (flexible object)'
kammataippüh 'gravely ill'
< kammah Vi 'be sick, ill'
kotsattaippüh 'bashed in'
< kotsa" Vi 'get bashed in'
kuppüataippüh 'cooked, done (of food cooking)'
< kuppüah Vi 'cook (of food)'
kuttapinaippüh 'lit, lighted'
< kuttapinaih Vi 'be light'
kümittaippüh 'tight'
< kümi" Vi 'tighten'
küpataippüh sg, küpiataippüh pl 'broken'
< küp(p)ah sg, küpiah pl Vi 'break (rigid object)'
kwasü(ttai)ppüh 'ripe(ned)'
< kwasü" Vi 'ripen'
mi'attaippüh 'gone, left'
< mi'a(") Vi 'go, leave'
muiyai(tai)ppüh 'drunk, intoxicated'
< muiyai Vi 'get drunk, intoxicated'
nakwaattaippüh 'beaten, lost'
< na- pmpr, kwaa" Vt 'beat'
napuhaataippüh 'bewitched'
< na- pmpr, puhaah Vt 'bewitch, hex'
natsattama(tai)ppüh sg, natsatamii(tai)ppüh pl
'tied tight'
< na- pmpr, tsattamah sg, tsattamiih pl Vt
'tie tight'

Copyrighted materia

natsattawi(tai)ppüh 'open(ed)'
< na- pmpr, tsattawin Vt 'open'
natsattüma(tai)ppüh sg, natsattümii(tai)ppüh pl
'closed, locked up'
< na- pmpr, tsattümah Vt 'close'
nawüsomma(tai)ppüh sg, nawüsomii(tai)ppüh pl 'bent'
< na- pmpr, wüsommah sg, wüsomiih pl Vt 'bend'
noppitsahataippüh 'bent, crooked'
< noppitsah(an) Vi 'bend'
okwai(ttai)ppüh 'washed out'
< okwai" Vi 'flow'
paha(ttai)ppüh sg, pakiataippüh pl 'split'
< paha" sg, pakiah pl Vi 'split'
pakwittaippüh 'swollen'
< pakwi" Vi 'swell'
pasattaippüh 'dried up'
< pasa" Vi 'dry'
pikkwataippüh sg, pikwaataippüh pl 'shattered'
< pikkwan sg, pikwaa pl Vi 'shatter'
pisittaippüh 'rotten'
< pisi" Vi 'rot'
somma(tai)ppüh sg, somia(tai)ppüh pl 'bent'
< sommah sg, somiah pl Vi 'bend'
süattaippüh 'grown (of plants)'
< süa" Vi 'grow'
takuttiyaippüh sg, takuttsüüwappüh ≈ takukko'ippüh pl
'thirsty'
< takuttiyaih sg, takuttsüüwah ≈ takukko'ih pl Vi
'be thirsty'
tamminoi(tai)ppüh 'tired'
< tamminoi Vi 'be tired'
tiyai(tai)ppüh sg, tsüüwataippüh ≈ ko'ittaippüh pl 'dead'
< tiyaih sg, tsüüwah ≈ ko'i" pl Vi 'die'
to'etaippüh sg, toto'etaippüh dl, küattaippüh pl
'out, up'
< to'eh sg, küa" pl Vi 'emerge, go/come out, up'

Copyrighted materia

tüataippüh 'painted, tattooed'
< tüá(kah) Vt 'paint, tattoo'
tüppeküataippüh 'full'
< tüppeküa Vi 'be full'
tüpunitaippüh 'awake'
< tüpunih Vi 'wake up'
tütakaippüh 'born'
< tütakaih Vi 'be born'
tsumataippüh 'all gone'
< tsumah Vi 'be all gone'
üatuappüh 'wounded, grazed'
< üatuah Vt 'wound, graze'
üppüitaippüh sg, okko'itaippüh pl 'sound asleep'
< üppüih sg, okko'ih pl Vi 'sleep'

PRESENT PARTICIPLES IN -TÜN

katütün 'sitting'
< katü" sg Vi 'sit'
napunitün 'appearing, looking'
< napunih Vi med-pass 'appear, look'
nati'iwantün 'mean, tough'
< na- pmpr, ti'iwan 'be afraid'
noppitsahantün 'bent, crooked'
< noppitsahan Vi 'bend'
nüetün ≈ nüaitün 'blowing'
< nüe" Vi 'blow'
nükka(n)tün 'dancing'
< nükkan Vi 'dance'
okwetün 'flowing'
< okwe" Vi 'flow'
süatün 'growing (of plants)'
< süa" Vi 'grow'
ti'iwantün 'scared, afraid'
< ti'iwan Vi 'be afraid'

Copyrighted material

tünangkatün 'hearing'
< tü- aps, nangkah 'hear'
wayantün 'burning'
< wayan Vi 'burn'
wünütün 'standing'
< wünü" sg Vi 'stand'
yuwaintün 'warm'
< yuwain Vi 'be warm'

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

pa'attsi(ttsi) 'short'
< pa'an Adv and Post 'up, high, above', -ttsi
pa'appütün ≈ pa'appüh 'tall'
< pa'an Adv and Post 'up, high, above',
-ppütün ≈ -ppüh
pasampü(ttsi) 'skinny'
< pasa" Vi 'dry', -m- ?, -pü, -ttsi
tukkwappüh '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(e) 'not, no, un-' before adjectives built with -kantün. A few lexicalized adjectives formed with -kantün are given below.

Copyrighted materia

ADJECTIVES IN CHARACTERIZING -KANTÜN

kahnikantün 'dwelling, living'
< kahni 'house'
iangkantün 'wild'
< ian(pü) 'wild'
nihakantün ≈ niyakantün 'named, called'
< niha ≈ niya 'name'
ke(e) iangkantün 'tame, not wild'
< ian(pü) 'wild'
kee mukuakantün 'mute, retarded, not smart'
< mukua 'mind'
ke(e) puikantün 'blind'
< pui 'eye'
ke(e) tamangkantün 'missing a tooth'
< taman 'tooth'
kuhmakantün 'married (of a woman)'
< kuhma 'husband'
mukuakantün 'intelligent, smart'
< mukua 'mind'
pünnahapikantün 'married (of a man)'
< pünnahapi 'wife'
yattsükkantün 'collapsed, deflated'
< yattsü" (?)
yuhukantün 'fat'
< yuhu(pin) 'fat, grease'

-Kantün 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

Copyrighted materia

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) Tsawün(tün) tangummü utuu tiyaitaippüh.
good man just dead
'The good man has just died.'

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

(3) Yuhu(pi) 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 tühüttsittsia 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.'

Copyrighted materia

(7) Nü nia tütiittsia ohmaattsia nasuntamanna.
I my little-O baby-O remember
'I remember my little baby.'

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

(8) Tangummü paappüh wünütü nia pusikwa.
man tall standing me know
'The man who is tall (standing) knows me.'

(9) Tangummü tammappüh miattaippüh.
man crazy left
'The man who is crazy left.'

(10) Nüü tangummi paappüh wünütünna pusikwa.
I man-O tall standing-O know
'I know the man who is tall (standing).'

(11) Nüü kunnai wayantünna punikka.
I wood-O burning-O see
'I see the wood burning.'

(12) Wa'ippü pünnan tüpünna tso'ippüha tukummahannih.
woman her own pinenut-O picked-O cook
'The woman is cooking the pinenuts she picked.'

When adjectives modify nouns that are obligatorily incorporated into verbs like -pa'in 'have' and -naappa'in 'have alienably', the adjectives are not incorporated along with the head noun. Rather, they remain in the noun phrase outside the verb and are in the objective case, even though their head nouns have been removed from the noun phrase and therefore are not inflected for case.

Copyrighted material

(13) Nüü sakwaapitünna kahnipa'ippühantü.
I green-O house-had
'I had a green house.'

(14) Tangummü tosapitünna pampippühpa'intüantü.
man white-O hair-have-will
'The man'll have white hair.'

(15) Nü tsawüntünna tükkappihnaappa'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) Nüü tühüyanna piapüa punikkappühantü.
I deer-O mother-O saw
'I saw a doe (i.e., deer mother).'

(17) Nü püyünna pühi punikkappühantü.
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).

Copyrighted materia

ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS

kümappüh ≈ kümattsi	'sharp-edged; edge'
mutsipin ≈ mutsippüh	'sharp-pointed; point'
tuttsaappüh	'dirty; dirt'
yuhupin	'fat, grease'

PARTICIPLES AND NOUNS

kwitappüh	'shit'	< kwita" Vi 'shit'
okwetün	'flowing; creek'	< okwe" Vi 'flow'
nüetün ≈ nüaitün	'blowing; wind'	< nüe" Vi 'blow'
nükka(n)tün	'dancing; dance'	< nükkan Vi 'dance'
siippüh	'urinated; urine'	< sii" Vi 'urine'
süatün	'growing; plant'	< süa" Vi 'grow'
ümatün ≈ üngwatün	'rain(ing)'	< üma" ≈ üngwa" Vi 'rain'
wayantün	'burning; fire'	< wayan Vi 'burn'
yütsütün	'flying; plane'	< yütsü" sg Vi 'fly'

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

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

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

(20) Kahni wayantünna punikka nüü.
house burning-O see I
'I see the house burning.'

Copyrighted material

(21) Nü wayantüng 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 Tümpisa Shoshone can function as heads of noun phrases--much like, for example, adjectives in Spanish. Thus in 22-25, piappütün, tütüttsittsi, tsomampü, and tammappüh are all adjectival heads of the noun phrases they are in.

(22) Satü piappüti kuttippühantü, nüü keehinna kuttinna.
that big-O shot I nothing-O shoot
'He shot a big one, I shot nothing.'

(23) Satü piantünna tühüya kuttippühantü,
that big-O deer shot
nüü püü tütüttsittsia kuttippühantü.
I emph small-O shot

'He shot a big deer; I myself shot a small one.'

(24) Nü tsomampüa punikka. 'I see the stingy one.'
I stingy-O see

(25) Nü 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

Copyrighted materia

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., wünü" sg 'stand', katü" 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. Nüü tamma. 'I'm crazy.'
I crazy

b. Tangummü tammappüh. 'The man's crazy.'
man crazy

c. Tangummü tammappüh naappühantü.
man crazy be-past
'The man was crazy.'

d. Tangummü tammappüh naatu'ih.
man crazy be-will
'The man'll be crazy.'

e. Tangummü tammappüh naammi'a.
man crazy be-go
'The man's going crazy.'

(27) a. Yuhupi wa'ippü. 'She's a fat woman.'
fat woman

Copyrighted materia

b. Yuhupi utü. 'That one's fat.'
fat that

c. Satü sape'esü yuhupi naappühantü.
that long ago fat be-past
'She was fat long ago.'

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

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

(28) a. Üü nati'iwantü. 'You're mean.'
you mean

b. Miikka nati'iwantü satü. 'Now he is mean.'
now mean that

c. Tangummü utuu püesü nati'iwantün
man just long ago mean

naappühantü.
be-past

'The man just used to be mean.'

d. Sutü nati'iwantü naatu'ih. 'He'll be mean.'
that mean be-will

e. Miikka sutü nati'iwantü naammi'a.
now that mean be-go
'Now he's getting mean.'

Copyrighted materia

(29) a. Sakwaapitü kahni. 'It's a green house.'
green house

b. Püesü sakwaapitü naappühantü kahni matü.
long ago green be-past house that
'Long ago that house used to be green.'

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

(30) a. Nüü kee pasampüttsi. 'I'm not skinny.'
I not skinny

b. Toto pasampüttsi. '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 -hammü 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. Satü woompettsi. 'That one is jealous.'
that jealous

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

c. Satümmü woompettsi(hammü).
those jealous(-pl)
'They're (all) jealous.'

Copyrighted materia

(32) a. Atü tangummü 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. Atümmü tattangummü yuhupi(hammü).
those men fat(-pl)
'Those men are (all) fat.'

(33) a. Satü iampü. 'That one is wild.'
that wild

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

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

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

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

f. Sutummü iampü(hammü). 'They're (all) wild.'
those wild(-pl)

g. Mümmü iampü(hammü).
you all wild(-pl)
'You all are (all) wild.'

Copyrighted materia

h. Nawittsittsiammü iampü(hammü).
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
küttai 'be hard, tough' < kütaan(pü) 'hard'

-ka(n) stative
ookwan 'be strong' < oo(ppüh) '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(ppüh) 'sharp-edged'
tsawin 'be good' < tsao 'well' and tsawüntün 'good'

Copyrighted material

-yain

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; -mmi'ah inchoative; see section 3.1). Some sentences with verbalized adjectives are given in 34-41.

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

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

(36) Tsukuppüttsi (ümmi) woongkwainna.
old man you-O be jealous
'The old man is jealous (of you).'

Copyrighted materia

(37) Nüü yuhupükkanna. 'I'm getting fat.'
I get fat

(38) Nü imaa ukkwah tsawiyuppühantü.
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) Satümmü mitükkaano wümmanniyumminna.
those Caucasian be naked-hab
'Those white people go around naked.'

(41) Ün nungkwappüh 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

tataattsi(ttsi)	'little (bit)'
kenümüni	'very, really'
küttaa(ppüh)	'really, very, hard'
tüpitsi	'very, really, truly'

DELIMITER

utuku ≈ utuu	'just, only'

Copyrighted materia

NEGATIVE

ke(e) 'not, un-'

EMPHATIC

-nnu'u 'certainly, surely, truly'

DISTANCER

-ppü 'unempathetically'

CONTRASTIVE

püü 'really'

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

(42) Nüü tataattsittsi tammattsi.
I little bit crazy
'I'm a little bit crazy.'

(43) Nüü tataattsittsi tsiatiyaippüh.
I little bit hungry
'I'm a little bit hungry.'

(44) Setü küttaappüh muiyaippüh; setü üppüitaippüh.
this really drunk this asleep-cmplt
'This one's really drunk; he's sound asleep.'

(45) Küttaa tukwannitaippüh. 'It's really dark.'
really dark

(46) Nü kenümüni napihyaapü. 'I'm very lazy.'
I very lazy

(47) Nü kenümüni pasampüttsi. 'I'm very skinny.'
I very skinny

Copyrighted materia

A delimiter also precedes the head. For example, compare 1, 28c, and the two sentences in 48.

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

b. Tangummü nati'iwantün utuu tiyaitaippühantü.
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) Nü tukumpanapitta punikka, satü puhipi-nnu'u.
I sky see that blue emph
'I see the sky, and it's certainly blue.'

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

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

Distancing -ppü 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 emphathy for whoever is being discussed. As the two sentences in 52 illustrate, it may be used along with intensifiers preceding the adjective.

(52) a. Satü kenümüni yuhupippü! 'She's really fat!'
That really fat-distance

Copyrighted material

b. Satü küttaa yuhupippü! 'She's really fat!'
that really fat-distance

Contrastive <u>püü</u> is used in comparative constructions and is exemplified in 59.

Negative <u>kee</u> 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 <u>kee</u> is shortened in these negative adjectives.

NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS

ke(e)	iampü	'tame = not wild'
ke(e)	kümappüh	'dull = not sharp'
ke(e)	püttitün	'light = not heavy'
ke(e)	tokwi"	'wrong = incorrect, not right'
ke(e)	tuttsaappüh	'clean = not dirty, unclean'
ke(e)	tünangkatün	'deaf = not hearing'
ke(e)	yawüsü	'slow = not fast'

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

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

In a few cases, <u>kee</u> is used with the adjectival verb rather than with the adjective itself (e.g., <u>ke(e)</u> <u>küttai</u> 'be soft = not be hard' < <u>küttai</u> 'be hard' < <u>küttaa-ppüh</u> 'hard').

A few adjectives are almost always used with an intransitive verb of position, or at least with the participle of one. For example, <u>pa'apppü(tün)</u> 'tall' and <u>pa'attsi(ttsi)</u> 'short' are nearly always used with <u>wünü"</u> 'stand' or its present participle <u>wünütün</u> 'standing'; e.g.:

Copyrighted materia

(55) Tangummü pa'appüh wünütü.
man tall standing
'The man is tall (standing).'

(56) Satü pa'appüh wünütü naatüantü.
that tall standing be-must
'He'll be tall (standing).'

(57) Tuinuppü pa'appüh wünüwi'ah.
boy tall stand-inchoative
'The boy is getting (to stand) tall.'

(58) Tuinuppü pa'attsittsi wünütü naappühantü.
boy short standing was
'The boy used to be short (standing).'

(59) Kapaayu piappütü pa'appüh wünü;
horse big tall stand

isapungku pa'attsittsi wünütüm püü.
dog short standing emph

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

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

Copyrighted materia

(60) Tüpitsi yuhukantü sutü piantü sünaasü tu'uppüh.
truly fat that big also cruel
'He is really fat, big, and also cruel.'

(61) Sutü pasampü tühüttsi nümüakantü sünaasü
that skinny little body-have also

kee ookantü.
not strong

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

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

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

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

6.6 COMPARATIVES

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

You are fatter than I am.

Copyrighted materia

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

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

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

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

Copyrighted materia

MARKERS OF COMPARISON

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

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

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

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

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

b. Nüü piappütü ü wakakwa.
I big you-O more than
'I'm bigger than you.'

c. Nüü pasampüttsi ü wakakwa.
I skinny you-O more than
'I'm skinnier than you.'

(64) Nüü yuhupi üng kawiki; üü pasampüttsi.
I fat you-O more than you skinny
'I'm fatter than you; you're skinny.'

(65) Satü nü wakakwa küttaa yuhupi.
that me more than really fat
'He's really fatter than me.'

Copyrighted materia

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 nü wakakwa and nü 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 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 kawikitü naattüa.
dog it more than cat-O
= bigger than
'Dogs are bigger than cats.'

Copyrighted materia

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

(68) Nüü üng kawiki ümmi. 'I'm bigger than <u>you</u>.'
I you-O more than you-O

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--<u>kawi</u>(<u>kitü</u>) means not only 'more than' but also 'bigger than', and <u>tukkwattsi</u> 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 <u>naa"</u> 'be' may be used to indicate tense and aspectual notions as in 69. But, <u>wünü"</u> is also normally used in comparisons of stature as in 70-75, and <u>napunih</u> 'look, appear' is used in comparisons of appearance, as in 76.

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

(70) Nüü üng kawiki wünnü ümmi.
I you-O more than stand-dur you-O
'I stand bigger than (= taller than) <u>you</u>.'

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

(72) Satü nü kawiki wünnü.
that me more than stand-dur
'That one's taller than me.'

Copyrighted materia

(73) Nia üü nü tukkwattsi wünnü.
me you me less than stand-dur
'You stand less than (= are shorter) than me.'

(74) Nia satü nü tukkwattsi wünnü.
me that me less than stand-dur
'That one's shorter than me.'

(75) Nüü sohopimpüa ma tukkwattsi wünnü.
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

Copyrighted materia

78) are formally verbal comparatives, even if notionally more like adjectival comparatives:

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

(78) Satü sohopimpüa ma tukkwattsi wünnü.
that cottonwood-O it less than stand-dur
'That one stands less than (= is shorter than) the cottonwood.'

(79) Satü nü kawiki tükkatü; nüü püü hüüttsittsia
that me more than eat-hab I emph little-O

tükkatü.
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) Satü noohakka kawi yuhupi.
that anyone-O more than fat
'That one is the fattest.'

Copyrighted materia

(82) Kapaayu küttaa nukkwitü, noohakka kawi
horse really run-hab anyone-O more than

nukkwitü.
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(kitün), or tukkwattsi, 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 occured.

Copyrighted materia

Note to Chapter 6

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

Copyrighted materia

7

ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

The words grouped together as adverbs are the most diverse and heterogeneous category in Tümpisa 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).

Copyrighted materia

7.1 TIME AND ASPECT

A good many adverbs express notions of time. Some indicate when something happens (e.g., küntu '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

awisü	'later'
imaa ≈ nimaa	'tomorrow, morning'
imaasü	'early in the morning'
imaa yüwikka	'tomorrow night'
keesü(sü)	'not yet'
kükküntu(sü)	'day before yesterday'
küntu(sü)	'yesterday'
küntu tukwakka(sü)	'last night'
miikka ≈ miikkwa	'now, today'
munangkwa	'last year, year before'
noohimpe ≈ noohompe	'always'
noon ≈ nuun	'awhile' durative
pinnangkwasü imaa	'day after tomorrow'
pinnasü	'again, some more' repetitive
püe	'already, soon, now, ready, about to'
püesü(sü) ≈ püetüsü	'long ago'
tahma	'(in the) spring'
tahmani	'in the springtime'
tape	'(in the) day'
tapeni	'at noon, in the afternoon'
tapewani	'in the daytime'

Copyrighted materia

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'
upenisü	'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 tuupükkappühantü küntu ukkwah.
I was angry yesterday when
'I was mad (when it was) yesterday.'

Copyrighted materia

(3) Miikka annappa u wükkatüngkütu'ih.
now each other-on it stack-will
'Now I'll stack them on top of each other.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(11) Püe tukwanni naakinna.
already dark get
'It's already getting dark.'

Copyrighted materia

(12) Noo ukwapasü 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 -ni.

TIME PROFORMS[1]

-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 sutümmü wihnu kawai yukwikwa.
that time those then rat-O go after
'Then that time they went after rats.'

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

(15) Püesü sape'esü nümmü pungkupaimmippühantü.
long ago that time we(exc) horse-used to have
'Long ago at that time we used to have horses.'

Copyrighted materia

(16) Nian nappü naappühantü sukkwuh tütüaimmi sukkwuh
my father was there working there

üattüah ka, sape'esü 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 Tümpisa 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., tapenangwa 'eastward' < tape 'sun').

PLACE ADVERBS

aa	'in sight'
antappu	'elsewhere'
kappinnangkwa(tün)	'outside'
kwinaweppüh	'(to the) north'
kwinawennangkwa(tün)	'northward'
maanangkwatün	'on the other side'
manakwappüh	'far away'
pa'an	'up, high'
pahannai	'down (towards place thought of)'
pange	'up, high'
pittannangkwa	'southward'
pittannai	'southward'
pittappu	'(to the) south'
pittsu'unangkwa	'straight downward, nadiral'
tapenangkwa	'eastward'

Copyrighted materia

tape tukkwan	'(in the) east'
tukunnangkwa	'upward'
tükünaa(ttsi)(ttsi)	'nearby'
(n)tünaa	'down (away from place thought of)'
tüpiinga	'in the middle'
unai	'over here, this way'

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) Kappinnangkwatü katünnuwitü hipittsittsi.
outside sit-around old lady
'The old lady sat around outside.'

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

(19) Nüü tüpiinga happi. 'I'm lying in the middle.'
I middle lie-dur

(20) Paliina unai püü tosuwa'e!
Pauline this way emph face
'Pauline, face this way!

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

(22) Sohopimpü ma nüü katütü notoppahe ntünaa.
cottonwood on I sitting climb down
'I was sitting on the cottonwood and climbed down.'

Copyrighted materia

(23) Noo mi'a antappu noo mi'a, kee kahni ka
should go elsewhere should go not house at

katükkantü!
sit-stv

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

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

PLACE PROFORMS

-kkuh ≈ -kkih 'in a defined specific area'

ikkih ≈ sikkih 'right here'
ekkih ≈ sekkih 'hereabouts'
akkuh ≈ sakkuh 'there'
ukkuh ≈ sukkuh 'there yonder out of sight'

-pe" ≈ -pi" 'in a loosely defined area out of sight'

ipi" ≈ sipi" 'right here someplace'
epi" ≈ sepi" 'hereabouts someplace'
ape" ≈ sape" 'there someplace'
upe" ≈ supe" 'there yonder someplace'

pan ≈ pa'an 'on, in, at an area'

hakapan ≈ hakapa'an 'where'
(s)ipan ≈ (s)ipa'an 'right here'
(s)epan ≈ (s)epa'an 'here'
(s)apan ≈ (s)apa'an 'there'
(s)upan ≈ (s)upa'an 'there yonder'

Copyrighted materia

-ttun ≈ -ttuh (≈ tun) 'through an area'

hakattuh	'where'
ittun ≈ sittun	'through here'
ettun ≈ settun	'through around here'
attun ≈ sattun	'through there'
uttun ≈ suttun	'through 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 wünnü.
in sight there there stand-dur
'She is standing over there in sight.'

(25) Tammü tüpanna yaakwantu'ih epetti
we(inc) pinenut-O go get-will hereabouts-emph

himpükatti kwinawennangkatünna.
someplace-emph northward

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

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

Copyrighted materia

(27) Sutü suttum mi'akoppühantü.
that through there went-around
'He went around through there.'

(28) Usü supe'e ung kimmakippüh püü,
that is that time him come-sub emph

attu ung kimmakippüh püü.
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. Sitü ikkih wünnü.
this right here stand-dur
'This one's standing right here.'

b. Setü sekkih wünnü.
this here stand-dur
'This one's standing here.'

c. Satü akkuh wünnü.
that there stand-dur
'That one's standing there.'

Copyrighted materia

d. Sutü sukkuh wünnü.
that yonder there yonder stand-dur
'That one's standing there yonder.'

e. ? Satü sekkih wünnü.
that here stand-dur
'That one's standing here.'

f. ? Satü ukkuh wünnü.
that there yonder stand-dur
'That one's standing there yonder.'

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)'

Copyrighted material

himpin	'backward'
kee so'o	'not enough, insufficiently'
kee yawüsü	'slowly, not fast'
kesanümü	'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'
sümmisi	'same'
sümütüwasi	'all together'
süngkweppüh	'on one's side'
süüpasü	'apart, separately, set off'
tokwi"	'right, correct(ly), enough'
tüttsüppü(tüppü)h	'funny, strange(ly), weird(ly)'
tsao(sü)	'well, good'
upakattsi	'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 tosakkahni annamma yuniinna.
I tent together put(pl)
'I'm putting (the pieces of) the tent together.'

Copyrighted material

(31) Atammupi annitaisü antappu happi.
car crashed-result askew lie-dur
'The car crashed and so is lying askew.'

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

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

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

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

(36) Kesanümü tammü nanakapai naakkantü.
as intended we(inc) intermingled be-stv
'As intended, we are all intermingled.'

(37) Yawüsü ma tükkahwa sutü. 'He ate it quickly.'
quickly it ate that

As with time and place adverbs, there are manner adverb proforms. One manner proform, sümmi '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., yükwi" ≈ yukwi" 'say', suwa" 'want, think, feel', suwai 'think about, intend'). If a specific adverb is not overtly expressed, then sümmi seems to be virtually obligatory.

Copyrighted material

(38) Sümüttü nia sümmi teewingküppühantü.
(some)one me thus told
'Someone told me something.'

(39) Setü otammani miattaisü sümmi yükwitü püü!
this old man went away thus saying emph
'This old man went away saying that!'

(40) Nüü sümmi 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', yükwi" ≈ 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'

Copyrighted materia

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'omminna.
rat like that-do like this those-O push-iterative
'The rat did like that; he pushed them away like this.'

(42) Nia sunni nukwingküppühantü sutü.
me that way do for-past that
'He did it (= that way) for me.'

(43) Hakani yukwinna üü? --
how (= what) do you

Nüü sennukwikkatū, nüü nümü 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 sutü yükwinna.
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 -mmüih 'can't';

Copyrighted materia

see 3.1.5), although mood is also expressed by several verbal suffixes (e.g., -tühantün 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

hai	'possibly'
hiipinna	'definitely'
kian	'might, could'
mii	'it is said, they say' quotative
naahi	'might, may' dubitative
noo	'should, ought to' obligative
nootünga	'probably, maybe, perhaps'
nootünga ...kee	'probably not, maybe not'
noowitsa	'hopefully' optative
pinnawitsa	'hopefully' optative
süüpa	'maybe, perhaps'
tokwisi	'really, truly; right (in agreement)'
witsa	'possibly, might, would'

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

(45) "Tuwittsi sepa'a pitühi," mii yükkwi.
young man here arrive quote say
'"A young man is arriving here," it is said, he said.'

Copyrighted materia

(46) Tümpisakkatü küttaa ütüinna 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 satümmü mi'akwasü.
hopefully those go-away-result
'Hopefully, they'll go away.'

(49) Noo sitü ma tükkappüh.
should this it eat-perf
'She should have eaten it.'

(50) Nootünga kee ko'esinai'ih sutü.
probably not return-neg-motion that
'He probably won't come back.'

(51) Süüpa 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?'

Copyrighted materia

(54) Hakatü witsa ma tiyoi ümatünna ekka?
who possibly it send away rain-O this-O

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

nanah	'just, only'
noo	'some, any' indefinite
pinna	'aforementioned'
pinnasü	'some more; again'
sampe	'some, any' indefinite
tünga ≈ tüngwa	'also, too'
utuku ≈ utuu	'only, just'

Noo and sampe always occur in compounds with other stems, either interrogative or adverbial. In these compounds, noo always precedes the other stem, while sampe always follows it (e.g., noohakatün and hakatü sampe, both meaning 'someone, anyone, whoever' < hakatün 'who'; see 4.5 on indefinite pronouns for more examples). Nanah also apparently only occurs in compounds preceding other stems (e.g., nanahapantün

Copyrighted materia

'intermingled' < kapan(tün) '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 tünga occurs after the entities it augments in scope.

(55) Katütü sutü pinna? -- Katütü sutü.
stay that aforementioned stay that
'The aforementioned stayed?' -- 'He stayed.'

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

(57) Nü tüpunippühantü, setü utuku püü ümanna.
I woke up this just emph rain
'I woke up, and it was just raining!'

(58) Antsippü u ma'i mi'ami'appühantü,
Angie her with went around

kee sutü tünga püesün tünga? Nümüppü ma'i tüngwa.
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.

Copyrighted material

INTENSIFIERS

kenümüni	'really, very'
kütaan ≈ kütaappüh	'really, very'
noosampe	'almost'
tataattsi(ttsi)	'a little (bit)'
tunaan	'too much, excessively, extremely'
tüpitsi	'truly, really, very'

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

(59) Nümmü na'üma, sukkwuh nanümü kenümüni
we(exc) be rained on there relative really
na'ümanna nümmü.
be rained on we(exc)

'We were rained on, we relatives were really rained on there.'

(60) Nü küttaappüh üppüikkommi.
I very sleep-result-iterative
'I'm very sleepy (for some reason).'

(61) Tataattsi nüekkinna. 'It's blowing a little.'
a little blow-hither

(62) Nü noosampe pasaküng katü naaha.
I almost bridge at be-stv
'I am almost at the bridge.'

Copyrighted material

(63) Tunaa nüü tuupükka'ippühantü.
extremely I get angry-iterative-past
'I got extremely angry.'

(64) Sutü küttaa yawüsü nangkawih.
that really fast talk
'She talks really fast.'

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

7.7 EMPHATICS

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

EMPHATICS

-nnu'u	used with V, Adj
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 wüppaihwa-nnu'u!
I you-O slap emph
'I'm going to slap you!'

Copyrighted materia

(66) Tukumpanapi puhipi-nnu'u!
sky blue emph
'The sky is (really) blue!'

(67) Tangummü utü püü!
man that emph
'What about that man?' = 'And that man?'

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

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

(70) Satü sunni yukwitü naammaa püü!
that that way do was emph
'It really was that she would do (it) like that!'

(71) Mümmi appü ti utü satü!
your(pl) father emph that that
'That's you-all's father!'

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

(73) Nümmü ti tünga mi'appühantü tünaa ape himpüka!
we emph also went down there someplace
'We also went down there someplace.'

(74) Hakka no'apükkangkütai? -- Nümi ti!
whom impregnate-cmplt human-O emph
'Who did he [a dog] get pregnant?' -- 'A human!'

Copyrighted materia

(75) Utümmi sümmi yüingkünna pünnam pii 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 Tümpisa Shoshone, since they explicitly mark the crucial distinctions between negation, affirmation, and interrogation.

kee ≈ ke	general negative	'no(t), don't, didn't'
haa'a	general affirmative	'yes, right'
ahaa	general agreement	'uh-huh, right'
ha	general interrogative	

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

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

(76) Nü ke ti'iwasinna. 'I'm not afraid.'
I not be afraid-neg

Copyrighted material

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

(78) Nü kee a punisi. 'I don't see it.'
I not it see-neg

(79) Nü kee sukkwa punitü. 'I didn't see that.'
I not that-O see-hab

(80) Tuttsappüh kee keetüttsinna.
dirt not disappear-neg
'The dirt won't come off.'

(81) Sutungku kee teewingkütsinna etü un natapu.
those(dl) not tell this her uncle
'Those two, she and her uncle, didn't tell (her).'

(82) Nootünga ke u kuttisippüh.
maybe not it shoot-neg-perf
'Maybe he didn't shoot it.'

(83) Akka tangummi nüü kee tsao suwangkünna.
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.

Copyrighted material

(84) Kee namokkuppühkantü satü.
not money-have that
'He doesn't have any money.'

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

(86) Kee nüü naaiyangwipitta pusikwatü.
not I handgame-O 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 nangkawihontü'ih!
not so much talk-indef-fut
'Don't talk so much!'

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

(90) Nümmü sape namiangkütaippühantü
we(exc) there were sent

kee nangkawitü ukkwah kee mitükkaannangkawitü
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.'

Copyrighted material

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 -tün (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 -ppüh or by the past tense suffix -ppühantün, then of course the interpretation is completive or past (e.g., 82 and 89). Verbs in negative clauses with (declarative) habitual -tün 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 -tün, 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 Tümpisa Dictionary (Dayley 1989) under kee.

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

(92) Keehiippüh tsoapittsi.
no-thing ghost
'There are no ghosts.' = 'Ghosts are nothing.'

Copyrighted material

(93) Nü keehinna punitü. 'I saw nothing.'
I no-thing-O see

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

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

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

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

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

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

(98) Sutü ha ün tukkwa? 'Is it under you?'
that Q you under

(99) Sutü ha kahni pa'a? 'Is it on the house?'
that Q house on

Copyrighted material

(100) Üü ha ütüinna? 'Are you hot?'
you Q be hot

(101) Satümmü 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) Mümmü ha namo'okoitsoimmaa?
you(pl) Q hand-washed
'Did you all wash your hands?'

(104) Epi ha üm 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 -ppühantün, which is more common in declaratives.

7.9 INTERJECTIONS AND GREETINGS

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

INTERJECTIONS

aa ≈ oo	'Oh'
ahaa	'Uh-huh'
ataa ≈ atatata	'Ouch!'
≈ attüttüttü	'Ouch!'
aattsaa ≈ üüttsaa	'Nasty! Awful!'

Copyrighted material

awisü	'Wait!'
ee	'Eh!'
haa	'Huh?'
hüütüü	'Wow! Amazing!'
tunaan	'Too much! That's going too far!'
ünnüü	'Yuck! Disgusting! Danger! Watch out!'
yawü(sü)	'Hurry up!'

Despite the fact that they may be unconnected syntactically, many interjections are important discourse markers or signals that play an indispensable role in maintaining interaction in conversations (see 10.6).

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

GREETINGS

(105) Hakaniyu?
be how

-- Tsawinnuh.
be good

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

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

-- Nüü tsao nasungkwa'anna.
I well feel

-- Nüü tsawinnüh.
I be good

Copyrighted materia

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

(107) Tsao tüpuninna!
well wake up

-- Nüü tsao hapinnusi.
I well lay

-- Nüü tsao üppüinnusi.
I well slept

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

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

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

(110) Nüü 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!'

Copyrighted materia

(112) Tsoapittsi napittatahangkühanna, sümmi yükkwi!
ghost pmpr-behind-bare-cat-stv so say
'The ghost has her behind bared for (you),
so she says.'

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 natüpinniahantü satü?
how be called that
'What's that called?'

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

(114) a. Etü hakami natüpinnahantü?
this how be called
'What's this called?'

b. Etü "piiya" natüpinniahantü.
this beer be called
'This is called "beer".'

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

b. Coke natüpinniahantü. 'It's called "Coke".'
be called

Copyrighted materia

(116) a. Hakami natüpinniahantü <u>house</u>?
how be called
'How do they say "house"?'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(120) a. Üü hakami natüpinniahantü?
you how be called
'What're you called?'

b. Nüü <u>Jon</u> natüpinnianna. 'I'm called "Jon".'
I be called

Copyrighted materia

c. Nüü sümmi natüpinniahantü "Memmi".
I thus be called Mamie
'I'm called "Mamie".'

(121) a. Üü hakami nihakantü? 'What's your name?'
you how name-have

b. Nüü "Memmi" nihakantü. 'My name is "Mamie".'
I Mamie name-have

(122) a. Hakami naniyahantü üü? 'What are you named?'
how be named you

b. Nüü sümmi naniyahanna Jon. 'I'm named "Jon".'
I thus be named

Note to Chapter 7

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

Copyrighted material

8

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 Tümpisa Shoshone when whole sentences or clauses are conjoined (e.g., 1-10).

Copyrighted materia

(1) Nüü isapaippüa punikkappühantü, nü kammuttsia
I coyote-O saw I jackrabbit-O

punikkappühantü.
saw

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

(2) Nüü nukkwintüm pa'a mi'appühantü,
I train on went

nü yütsütüm pa'a mi'appühantü.
I plane on went

'I have ridden on a train, (and) I have ridden on a plane.'

(3) Tammü ningwünnü, tammü hupiatüki,
we(inc) talk(pl)(dur) we sing

tammü piiya hipitu'ih, tammü neeyangwitu'ih.
we beer drink-will we play handgame-will

'We are talking, we are singing, we'll drink beer, (and) we'll play handgame.'

(4) Nüü nü summo'a tsakkwayuppaitu'ih, nü
I my clothes take off(pl)-will I

wümmanniyuntu'ih.
be naked-will

'I'll take off my clothes, (and) I'll be naked.'

Copyrighted materia

(5) Tangummü nü tsitoohippühantü, nüü supe'e hapikku.
man me pushed I then fell
'The man pushed me, (and) then I fell.'

(6) Nüü muiyaitaippühantü, nü keehinna
I got drunk-cmplt I nothing-O

sumpanaippühantü.
knew

'I got completely drunk, (and) I didn't know anything.'

(7) Setü küttaappüh muiyaippüh, setü üppüitaippüh.
this really drunk this asleep-cmplt
'This one's really drunk; he's completely asleep.'

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

(9) Püesü sape'esü nümmü pungkupaimmippühantü,
long ago that time we(exc) horse-have-used to

nümmü putisih pungkupaimmippühantü.
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

katükkantü!" mii u yüingkünna.
stay quot him tell

Copyrighted material

'"You should go elsewhere, you should go, (and) don't stay around the house!" he told him.'

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

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

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

(12) Sammatü ha yuwaintü, üitsü'intü
that particular Q be warm be cold

kee yuwaintü?
not be warm

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

The coordination of verbs, stative predicates, and whole verb phrases is almost exclusively accomplished by means of parataxis. For example, in 13-22, verb phrases of varying complexity are coordinated: in 13 a predicate adjective and a

Copyrighted material

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 tamminoippüh ütüinna. 'I'm tired and hot.'
I tired be hot

(14) Satü tütsüppütü nümü tuuppüppüh.
that bad Indian cruel
'That one's a bad Indian and cruel (too).'

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

(16) Nüü nümmikkinuwippühantü puninnuwippühantü.
I walked-moving saw-moving
'I walked around and looked around.'

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

(18) Tsao nasungkwa'atü petsünna.
good feel yell
'He's feeling good and yelling.'

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

(20) Tangummü kunnanna tokkopiinna u wükkatüngkünna.
man firewood-O chop(pl) it stack
'The man is chopping firewood and stacking it.'

Copyrighted materia

(21) Nümmü supe'e tüpanna hannitü sakkuhontü,
we(exc) that time pinenut-O gather-hab thereabouts

tüpanna tükkatü tüpanna nomo'enna.
pinenut-O eat-hab pinenut-O pick

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

(22) Nümmü sukkwa tükkatü, u tusukkwantü, tükkatü.
we(exc) that-O eat-hab it smash-hab eat-hab
'We used to eat that, smash (it) and eat it.'

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

(23) Toni Tsanu nümmi taanoo'ippühantü.
Tony John us(exc) visit-go around
'Tony and John came around, visiting us.'

(24) Sümüsü mia'ommü atü himpü antsaapanappüh, atü
all go-pl that some flicker that

kaakki, tukopoyo'ittsi; sümüsü kasattsikantü
crow kingbird all bird

mia'ommü.
go-pl

'Everyone went, that flicker, that crow, and kingbird; all the birds went.'

Copyrighted materia

(25) Hipittsittsi utü mi'a taamiammaa u kammannuha
old lady that go visit-go her was sick-sub

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

kee teewingkünna etü un natapu.
not tell this her uncle

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

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

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

8.1.2 Syndetic Coordination

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

COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

ma'e ≈ ma'i	'and, with'	NPs
n (... ma'e)	'and'	NPs
tünga ≈ tüngwa	'and, but, also, either'	clauses, NPs
tünga... ma'e	'and'	NPs

Copyrighted materia

sünaasü	'and also'	VPs
wihnu	'(and/so) then'	clauses, discourse

Ma'e (≈ ma'i) 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 interpretaion 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) Nüü tangummü ma'e wasüwükkikwantu'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) Nüu wa'ippü ma'e mi'akoppühantü.
I woman and/with went around
'The woman and I went around.'
= 'I went around with the woman.'

(29) Nüü müattsia punikkappühantü tatsiumpim ma'e.
I moon-O saw star and
'I could see the moon and stars.'

(30) Nümmü tühüya yükwikwantu'ih wasüppim ma'e.
we(exc) deer get-going to mt. sheep and
'We're going to get deer and mountain sheep.'

Copyrighted material

(31) Nümmü sapettü namiangkütaippühantü,
we(exc) there were sent

wahattü niam püanümü ma'e nü namiangküppühantü
two my cousins and I were sent

sapettü 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) Apüttü, 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 miakoppühantü.
Angie and Debbie with went around
'Angie and Debbie went around.'

Perhaps the most commonly used coordinating conjunction is tünga. It conjoins either whole clauses, as in 35-39, or noun phrases, as in 40-45. Although the more usual meanings of tünga are 'and' or 'also', it may also mean 'but', given a contrastive context like that in 37.

Copyrighted materia

(35) Nüü isapaippüa punikkappühantü tünga
I coyote-O saw and

kammuttsia punikkappühantü nüü.
jackrabbit-O saw I

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

(36) Nüü nüetünna nangkahappühantü tünga ümatünna
I wind-O heard and rain-O

nangkahappühantü üppüihantukwa.
heard sleep-stv-sub

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

(37) Kee sumpanaitsimmaa sammatü tünga
not knew that particular one but

mi'akwantu'ippühantü nangkatü Palinna ma'i.
go-fut-past hear-sub Pauline with

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

(38) Etü utummin pia u punikka setü, sümüttü naipi
this their mother it see this one girl

tünga u punikka supe epa ke tamangkantü ekkih.
and it see there here not tooth-have here

'This one, their mother, saw it, and one girl saw it that he didn't have a tooth here.'

Copyrighted material

(39) Ke tamangkantü u punikka setü, u punikka
not tooth-have it see this it see

tünga satü.
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 tünga 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 tünga and word order. When joining two noun phrases, tünga may appear either before or after the second one. For example, in 40 tünga 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, tünga usually appears between each of them.[2]

(40) Nüü isapaippüa punikkappühantü tünga kammuttsi(a).
I coyote-O saw and jackrabbit(-O)
'I saw a coyote and a jackrabbit.'

(41) Sutü tühüya kuttippühantü pahamittsi(a) tünga.
that deer shot bear(-O) and
'He shot a deer and a bear.'

(42) Apüttü tünga Noitü tünga Tseekki sutümmü
Albert and Lloyd and Jake those

wainniha hipimminna.
wine-O drink-hab

Copyrighted materia

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

(43) Nümmü tühüya yükwikwantu'ih tünga wasüppim ma'e.
we(exc) deer get-going to and mt. sheep with
'We're going to get deer and mountain sheep.'

(44) Nüü müattsia punikkappühantü tünga tatsiumpim ma'e.
I moon-O saw and star with
'I could see the moon and stars.'

(45) Nüü nüetünna nangkahappühantü tünga ümatüm ma'e
I wind-O heard and rain with

üppüihantukwa.
sleep-stv-sub
'I heard the wind and rain when I was sleeping.'

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

Copyrighted material

(46) Tüpitsi yuhukantü sutü piantü sünaasü tu'uppüh.
really fat that big and also mean
'He's really fat, big and also mean.'

(47) Sutü pasampü tühüttsi nümüakantü sünaasü
that skinny little body-have and also

kee ookantü.
not strong [= weak]

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

The conjuncts of the coordinated construction need not be adjacent to each other. For example, in 46 the subject sutü 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) Tangummü tühüya pakkappühantü, sutü wihnu
man deer killed that then

tiyaihwappühantü.
died

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

(49) Sope katümminna sutü, wihnu u ma'i üppüihantü.
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

Copyrighted material

connectives like senu 'therefore, after all', see the texts in chapter 10.

8.2 SUBORDINATION

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

Like most other Uto-Aztecan languages, 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,

Copyrighted material

while the sentences in 50b and 51b contain subordinate clauses with switch reference.[4]

(50) a. Noohakatü nia toppaippühantü [hipittaisü].
somebody me knocked around be drunk-sub
'Somebody knocked me around, while (he was) drunk.'

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

(51) a. Nüü kapaayu punikkappühantü [tükkakatütü
I horse saw eat-sit-sub

ukkwah].
when
'I saw the horse when (I was) sitting eating.'

b. Nüü kapaayu punikkappühantü [u tükkaku].
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 noohakatü, 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 u in 51b, but they are in the objective case.

Subordination is typically marked with suffixes on the verb of the subordinate clause (e.g., -sü in 50a, -ha in 50b, -tü in 51a, and -ku in 51b), and only rarely with subordinating conjunctions or complementizers. The set of

Copyrighted materia

subordinating suffixes is given below. Most of the suffixes are normally used only in identical reference or switch reference clauses, but not in both. Which kind of clause each suffix occurs in is indicated in the list. A few have different kinds of subject reference in different kinds of subordinate clauses. With switch reference markers, the case of the subordinate clause subject is indicated.

SUBORDINATING VERB SUFFIXES

-ka ≈ -kka ≈ -ha temporal 'when, after'
(switch ref, subj in obj or poss case)
-ku contemporative 'when, while'
(switch ref, subj in obj case)
-kwa temporal 'when, after'
(switch ref, subj in obj case)
-mmi intentional
(identical and switch ref)
-nna infinitive
(switch ref in relative clauses with subj in poss case; identical ref in others)
-ppüh past participle
(switch ref, subj in poss case)
-sin ≈ tsin sequential
(identical ref)
-sü ≈ -tsü resultive 'as a result of, from'
(identical ref)
-tün 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

Copyrighted materia

suffixes (e.g., -nna, -ppüh, -tün), but as subordinators their meanings may differ somewhat, and of course their functions are different. In general, subordinate verbs display less suffixation with aspect, tense, mode, and adverbial suffixes than do main verbs (see sections 3.1.1 through 3.1.3).

8.2.1 Adverbial Clauses

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

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

mantu mi'a.
to go

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

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

pittuhungka] wihnu.
arrive-sub then

'She didn't like that when the cop came, then.'

Copyrighted materia

(54) Nüü satuhi nangkaha [hupiatükikwa].
I those(dl)-O hear-stv sing-sub
'I hear those two singing.'

(55) Nüü tühüyanna u pakkappühantü [u tükkawünükwa].
I deer-O it killed it eat-stand-sub
'I killed the deer as it was standing eating.'

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

(57) Hipittsittsi sümmi yükkwi, "[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) [Ümaku] tammü 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) Puhakantün puuhawinna [üng kammaku].
shaman cure you-O be sick-sub
'The shaman cures you when you're sick.'

Copyrighted materia

(60) U petsingkünna ümatünna u petsingkünna sukkwa
it holler at rain-O it holler at that-O

[nümmi miaku ukkwah], [ütüingku ukkwah].
us(exc) go-sub when be hot-sub when

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

(61) Wa'ippüa ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwüümmaa
woman-O that-O somewhere caught

utü pahamittsi utü [hakamaanna u nuwiku
that bear that someplace her wander-sub

toya ma] nootünga.
mountain on maybe

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

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

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

(62) Üü upenisü tsao naakkwappühantü [nanattusu'uwasi].
you quickly well became self-medicate-sub
'You got well quickly after medicating yourself.'

Copyrighted material

(63) Kapaayu himping ko'inna [tokowai ti'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 kwüüsi] ohiinna.
I 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 -tün 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 -tün 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] tünaa notoppahe.
I mountain on roaming down climb
'Walking around on the mountain, I climbed down.'

(67) U pakkatai satümmü [u kimmangküntü].
him killed those him chasing
'They killed him while chasing him.'

Copyrighted material

(68) Nümmü sape namiangkütaippühantü [ke nangkawitü
we(exc) there were sent not speaking

ukkwah], [kee mitükkaannnangkawitü ukkwah].
when not English-speaking when

'We were sent there not speaking, not speaking English.'

(69) Isapaippü [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 -tün. 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) Hupiatükinna 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.'

Copyrighted materia

(72) Nümmü na'ümammippühantü [miatü ukkwah], nümmü
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 nuippühantü sutü].
here played around that

a. Tonia nüü nasuntama [okkwah sekkih
Tony-O I remember when here

nuippühantü sekkih munangkwa okkwah].
played around here last year when

'I remember Tony when he played around here last year.'

Copyrighted material

(74) Nüü sunni nukwittaippühantü [tammi·
I that way did us(inc)

hipi ukkwah].
drink when

'I did that when we were drinking.'

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

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

(76) [Memmia ün tiyoitaiha püü] nüü mi'ahippüh püü!
Mamie-O you-O send-sub emph I go-unreal emph
'If you send Mamie away, I might go!'

(77) [Ukkwah nüü namokkupa'intukwa] hipittaippüh.
if I money-have-sub drunk
'If I had some money, I'd be drunk.'

Copyrighted materia

(78) [Ukkwah nüü etümpa'intukwa] nüü
if I gun-have-sub I

wasüwükkikwahippüh, nüü kee etüppühpa'e püü.
hunt-go-unreal-perf I not gun-have emph

'If I had a gun, I'd go hunting, but I don't have a gun.'

(79) [Nüü pusikwatukwa] nüü naaiyangwihippüh.
I know-sub I play handgame-unreal-perf
'If I knew how, I'd play handgame.'

(80) [Sosoni nümünangkawitukwa] nüü kee
Shoshone Indian-speak-sub I not

sennukwisippüh.
this way-do-neg-perf

'If I could speak Shoshone, I wouldn't be doing this.'

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 -sü ≈ -tsü, 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).

Copyrighted material

(81) Nüü tsao nosungkwa'anna [piiya hipikkwasü].
I good feel beer drink-sub
'I feel good from [=as a result of] drinking beer.'

(82) Nüü nü namokkunna watsingkütaimminna [hipittaisü].
I my money-O lose-cmplt-hab get drunk-sub
'I always lose my money (as a result of) getting drunk.'

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

(84) Nüü [yütsükkisü] wününnümmi.
I get up-sub stand-moving around
'I got up and am standing around.' =
'As a result of getting up, I'm standing around.'

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

(85) Nümmü ti tünga mi'appühantü tünaa
we(exc) emph also went down

[natütiingwakwasü ape himpüka].
study-go-sub there somewhere
'We also went down to study there somewhere.'

(86) Hüüppiammü tukummahanni tüpa [tükkanna].
women cook pinenut to eat
'Women cook pinenuts to eat.'

Copyrighted materia

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

(88) Hüüppiammü toya mantu mi'a [tüpanna
women mountain to go pinenut-O

tso'ikwasi].
pick-sub

'Women go to the mountains to pick pinenuts.'

Adverbial clauses indicating the manner in which something happens are marked with the present participle suffix -tün. These clauses always have identical subject reference.

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

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

(91) Iipüppü naappühantü [u wa'i yukwitü].
Eva was [= used to] her like doing
'Eva used to do like her.'

(92) U naaketü tupoong kahontü [u ma'e nuwitü
her mated desert in her with go around

noohimpe enni].
always this way

Copyrighted materia

'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]

RELATIVE PRONOUNS

	Subjective	Objective
singular	etü	ekka
	atü	akka
	utü	ukkwa
dual	etungku	etuhi
	atungku	atuhi
	utungku	utuhi
plural	etümmü	etümmi
	atümmü	atümmi
	utümmü	utümmi

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.

Copyrighted material

RELATIVIZING VERB SUFFIXES

-nna (ø Obj) infinitive
switch reference
present tense or simultaneous with that of main verb

-ppüh (-ppüha obj) past participle
switch reference
past tense or perfect aspect

-tün (-tünna ≈ -ti obj) present participle
identical reference
present tense or simultaneous with that of main verb

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

(93) Wa'ippü nia pusikwa [atü hupiatükitü].
woman me know that sing-sub
'The woman who is singing knows me.'

(94) Tangummü [nü pusikwatü] tühüyanna kuttihantü.
man me know-sub deer-O shoot-stv
'The man who knows me is shooting the deer.'

Copyrighted material

(95) Nawipi [atü nükkatü] tsao napunitü.
girl that dance-sub good look-hab
'The girl (who is) dancing is good-looking.'

(96) Patukuntu [atü paa kuppantü mi'atü] tape
reflection that water in go-sub sun

hannihamminna akkutu.
catch-hab there-through

'The reflection that was going into the water was catching the sun there.'

(97) Wa'ippüa nüü pusikwa [akka nühakkawitünna].
woman-O I know that-O make basket-sub-O
'I know the woman who is making baskets.'

(98) Wa'ippüa nüü pusikwa [akka hupiatükitünna].
woman-O I know that-O sing-sub-O
'I know the woman who's singing.'

(99) Tangummi akka nüü pusikwa [tühüyanna u
man-O that-O I know deer-O it

kuttihanti].
shoot-sub-O

'I know that man who is shooting the deer.'

(100) Nüü atümmin nümi pusikwa [naaiyangwitünna].
I those-O Indian-O know play handgame-sub-O
'I know those Indians playing handgame.'

(101) Nüü tangummi [paappüh wünütünna] pusikwa.
I man-O tall stand-sub-O know
'I know the man who stands tall.'

Copyrighted materia

(102) Wa'ippü [atü nü pusikwanna] hupiatüki utü.
woman that my know-sub sing that
'The woman that I know is singing.'

(103) Tühüya [atü tangumming kuttippüh] tiyaitaihwa.
deer that man's shoot-sub died
'The deer that the man shot died.'

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

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

(106) Wahattü naappühantü sutungku [utungku kee
two were those those not

tammin pusikwanna].
our(inc) know

'There were two of them whom we don't know.'

(107) Nümmü wasüppia tükkappühantü [wa'ippüang
we(exc) mountain sheep-O ate woman's

kuukkippüha].
cook-sub-O

'We ate the mountain sheep the woman cooked.'

(108) Wa'ippü kuukkinna wasüppia [tangummim
woman cook mountain sheep-O man's

Copyrighted material

pakkappüha].
kill-sub-O

'The woman's cooking the mountain sheep the man killed.'

On rare occasions, some verbs appear in relative clauses without one of the subordinating suffixes (e.g., 109 and 110).

(109) Wa'ippü [utü hupiatüki] nü pusikwanna.
woman that sing me know
'The woman who is singing knows me.'

(110) Hakami niyapa'i...tangummü [epin
what name-have man hereabouts

naammippühantünna ukkwa]?
be-hab-past-O that-O

'What is the name of... the man who used to be around here?'

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

As mentioned at the beginning of section 8.2, identical reference in relative clauses means that the subject of the relative clause is identical with the noun phrase being modified by the relative clause (not that it's identical with the subject of the superordinate clause). Switch reference in relative clauses means that the subject of the relative clause is different from the noun phrase being modified. Nevertheless, when a third person subject of a switch reference relative clause is the same as the subject of the superordinate sentence, it has special marking. When the switch reference subject is the same as the higher subject, it

Copyrighted materia

is marked with a third person possessive reflexive pronoun instead of with one of the obviative demonstratives (i.e., with pün(nan) sg, puhin dl, or pümmin pl; see section 4.2).

(111) Wasüppia tühannikatü [pünnang kuttippüha
mountain sheep-O butcher-sit his own shoot-sub-O

toya mantü [watsikkatühantü]].
mountain in hide-sit-stv-sub

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

(112) Wa'ippü [pünnan tüpanna tso'ippüha]
woman her own pinenut-O pick-sub-O

tukummahanninna.
cook

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

(113) Hüüppiammü tukummahanninna [pümmin tüpanna
women cook their own pinenut-O

tso'ippüha] tükkanna.
pick-sub-O to eat

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

Most of the relative clauses in the sentences in 93-110 contain relative pronouns, although 94, 99-101, 105, 107-108, and 110 do not. In most situations the relative pronouns seem to be optional (e.g., 114 and 115). I do not know if there are grammatical environments in which they are obligatory,

Copyrighted materia

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) Tühüya [(atü) sakkan kuttippüh] tiyaitaihwa.
deer (that) that's shoot-sub died
'The deer (that) that one shot died.'

(115) Paa [(utü) pakatütü] u hannihanmminna.
water (that) be pool-sub it catch-iterative
'The water that was in a pool was catching it.'

(116) Piiya [nian nipinna] nü kammangkünna.
beer my drink-sub me be sick-make
'The beer I'm drinking is making me sick.'

(117) Nümmü tüpanna tükkanna [satümming kuukkippüha].
we pinenut-O eat those's cook-sub-O
'We're eating the pinenuts they cooked.'

(118) Wasüppia nümmü tükkappühantü [tangumming
mtn sheep we(exc) ate man's

kuttippüha].
shoot-sub-O

'We ate the mountain sheep the man shot.'

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

Copyrighted materia

(e.g., 121; see 4.3 for the distinction between obviative and proximate demonstratives).

(119) Wa'ippüa nüü pusikwanna [u hupiatüki utü].
woman-O I know her sing that
'I know the woman who is singing.'

(120) Hakaittü 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 tangummü [nia pusikwatü satü]
that man me know-sub that

naaiyangwikatütü.
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 nia pusikwatü [utü hupiatükitü utü].
woman me know-hab that sing-sub that
'The woman who is singing knows me.'

Copyrighted material

(123) Tangummü [atü naaiyangwitü atü] nia
man that play handgame-sub that me

pusikwatü.
know-hab

'The man who is playing handgame knows me.'

In 119, the relative pronoun utü, 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'ippüa, even though an objective case subject, u, referring to her is used with the subordinate verb. Obviously, not all the conditions governing relative clauses are understood. What appear to be postposed relative pronouns may really be manifestations of the pronoun copy phenomena discussed in section 2.1.2.

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

(124) [Wa'ippüang kuukkippüha] nümmü tükkanna tüpanna.
woman's cook-sub-O we eat pinenut-O

'We're eating the pinenuts the woman cooked.'

(125) Wa'ippü kuukkinna [tangummim pakkappüha]
woman cook man's kill-sub-O

wasüppia.
mountain sheep-O

Copyrighted materia

'The woman is cooking the mountain sheep the man killed.'

(126) [Ütüintü] etü kotto'enna ekkih.
heat-sub this boil here
'This (which is) heating is boiling here.'

(127) [Niam pusikwanna] sutü [paappüh wünütü] tangummü
my know-sub that tall stand-sub man

utuu.
just

'It's just the tall (standing) man that I know.'

(128) [Niam pusikwanna] tsawün tangummü utü.
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 küpütappütü okongkwantü] yükkwi.
its long tongue-having do(dur)
'The one that has the long tongue will do it.'

Copyrighted material

(130) Nüü [un natükkanna] puhaikwantu'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 katütünna sukkwa]
that-O you all's house at stay-O that-O

teewingkünna sutü?
tell about that

'Is he telling about (the one) who stays in you-all's house?'

(133) Ukkwa nüü püü ma teewingküppühantü
that-O I emph him told about

[isapungkuppüan no'apükkangkütaippüha,]
dog's make pregnant-cmplt-sub-O

nümi [on no'apükkankütaippüha]
person-O its make pregnant-cmplt-sub-O

'I told him about that, about (the one) the dog got pregnant, about the person it got pregnant.'

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

(134) Hakatü [mi'appüha] naammaa?
who go-sub-O was
'Who was it that went?'

Copyrighted material

(135) Hakaniyu [un yükwippüha]?
be how its do-sub-O
'How was it done?'

(136) Hakaniyu etü [pikkopü pa'a muhin
be how this pick-up on your(dl)

kunnoonnuwippüh]?
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 tuupükkangkünna [mitükkaano ma'i
Caucasian-O get angry about Caucasian with

tammi taona ka mi'atu'ippüha].
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.'

Copyrighted materia

(138) [Umma nü tütsikkopii'ippüh] nü wihi
it-with my cut(pl)-iterative-sub my knife

küppakkuppühantü.
broke

'My knife that I was cutting with broke.'

(139) [U tukkwa nümmin nuunaahappüha] ukkwa
it under our(exc) sit(pl)-sub-O that-O

samapitta u punikka nüü.
cedar-O it see I

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

(140) Samapi utü [u tukkwa nümmin nuunaahappüh]
cedar that it under our(inc) sit(pl)-sub

küppakkuppühantü.
broke

'The cedar under which we were sitting broke.' =

(141) [U tukkwa nümmin nuunaahappüh] utü samapi
it under our(exc) sit(pl)-sub that cedar

küppakkuppühantü.
broke

'The cedar under which we were sitting broke.'

Copyrighted materia

(142) [Pün its own tukkwa under nümmin our(exc) nuunaahappüha] sit(pl)-sub-O ukkwa that-O

samapitta u punikka nüü.
cedar-O it see I
'I see the cedar under which we were sitting.'

(143) Nüü u pusikwa (sukkwa) [pünnan nin nawasüwükki].
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) [Püetüsü pünnan nin nümmin nukwippüha]
long ago its own way our-(exc) do-O

nüü 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 pün(nan) 'its own', as in 142 and 146-150, particularly in headless oblique relative clauses, as in 145-150.[6] When the head is present in the sentence (e.g., 137-144), then u 'it' is perhaps more common than pün(nan); u may also be used in headless relatives, however (e.g., 145). The difference between

Copyrighted material

oblique relative clauses with pün(nün) and those with u has not been determined yet.

(145) [Umma nü tütsikkopiippüh] küppakkuppühantü.
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) [Pün tukkwa nümmin nuunaahappüha] 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 ün 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].'

(149) [Nümmi püm pa'in naa] masü ma pa'a.
us(exc) its own on be that is it on
'Where we are is on that over there.' =
'We live over there.'

Copyrighted materia

(150) Nüü kee hakami utummi punni [püm pa'a
I 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.'

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

(151) Esü tuittsi mümmi naiwekipitühantü.
this is young man you all-O woo-arrive-must
'This is the young man who must be coming to woo you all.'

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

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

Copyrighted material

(154) Pahanai asü wahattü 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) Usü supe'e [ung kimmakippüh püü],
that is that time his come-sub emph

[attu ung kimmakippüh püü].
through there his come-sub emph

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

(156) Isü supe'e [satümmi kawai yükwitü].
this is that time those-poss rat-O go after-sub
'It was that time that they went after rats.'

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

Copyrighted materia

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 Tümpisa 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 -tün, which could be either finite or subordinating; but since the meaning is habitual, which only finite -tün has, and since the subject is in the subjective case, 157 must be finite.

(157) [Satü sunni yükwitü] naammaa püü.
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 -ppüh. Infinitival -nna is used in the present or with timeless truths (e.g., 158-163). Participial -ppüh 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

Copyrighted material

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) [Namaapüatunna] tsawinnuh.
be helped-sub be good
'To be helped is good.' = 'To help is good.'

(159) [Ün nanümi namaapüatunna] (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 namaapüatunna].
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) [Noohinna 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 tüpakkanna] kee tsawinnuh.
those's kill-sub not be good
'For them to kill is not good.'

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

(164) [Nümi utummim pakkappüh] kee tsawinnuh.
person-O those's kill-sub not be good
'For them to have killed a person is not good.'

Copyrighted materia

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

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., sutü 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.

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

(167) Nüü [sümmi yukwitu'ih] suwanna.
I thus say-will think
'I think I'll say something.'

(168) Nüü [hipikwantu'ih] suwanna.
I drink-go to-will think
'I think I'll go drink.'

(169) Nüü [tükkatu'ih] suwakka.
I eat-will think about
'I'm thinking about eating.'

Copyrighted materia

(170) Antsi [miakwantu'ih] suwakka [Tümpisakkatü].
Angie go-going to think about Death Valley-to
'Angie is thinking about going to Death Valley.'

(171) [Ke tammangkantü] 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., nasuntamah '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 [tangummü tühüyanna
I that-O remember man deer-O
pakkappühantü]
killed

'I remember that the man killed the deer.'

(173) Nüü sukkwa nasuntama [tühüya napakkahwappüh].
I that-O remember deer be killed
'I remember that the deer got killed.'

(174) Nüü sukkwa nasuntama [satümmü wasüwükkippühantü].
I that-O remember those hunted
'I remember that they hunted.'

(175) Nüü sukkwa nasuntama [tammü hipittaippühantü].
I that-O remember we(inc) got drunk
'I remember that we got drunk.'

Copyrighted materia

(176) Üü kee sumpanaisi [satü wihnu niam petü].
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) Nüü punikkappühantü [tühüya 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) Nüü wa'ippüa nangkaha [sutü (naangka)
I woman-O hear that make noise
hupiatüki].
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 tuappü un natammupia tsakküppatai]
his son his car-O wrecked
u punikka] mii yükwippühantü.
it see-stv quot said

Copyrighted material

'He said he saw his son wreck his car.'

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

(181) [Um pünnahapi naahi satü] mii yüingkünna.
his wife might that quot say to
'She$_i$ said to [us] that she$_{ii}$ might be his wife.'

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

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

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

(183) ["Nü kee yuhukunnappühpa'intü, nüü sattu
I not stove oil-have I there-through

pange mi'a,"] mii yükwippühantü Tseekki.
up go quot said Jake

'"I don't have any stove oil; I'm going up through there (to get some)," Jake said.'

Copyrighted material

(184) ["Hinna punikkatütü sapa'a üü, hinna punikkatü?"]
what hang around there you what hang around

mii yüingkünna Danan.
quot say to Don

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

(185) ["Üü paapa'i, üü pai akka hanninna,"]
you water-have you water-O that-O gather

akka mii yükwingkünna.
that-O quot say to

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

(186) ["Kee paakantü nüü,"] mii yükkwi setü.
not water-have I quot say-dur this

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

(187) ["Tüttsüppüh nüü mümmi suwangkünna
bad I you all-O feel [= dislike]

nümüppüammi,"] mii yükwikkinna sutü tsüattamappü.
Indians-O quot say that cop

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

Direct and indirect quotes are not formally distinguished except by the pronouns used in the complement clause. For example, if 179 were a direct quote, then the first un 'his' would have been nü or nian 'my' instead; also, in 180, um would have been nü or niam.

Copyrighted material

Nonfinite object complement clauses are given in 188-198. Although they more commonly occur before the superordinate verb, they may also follow it (e.g., 189a and 198; cf. 189b). Verbs in identical reference object complement clauses, like those in 188-194, are marked with infinitival -nna (e.g., 189-191), intentional -mmi (e.g., 192-194), or no suffixation at all (e.g., 188).[7]

(188) Nüü [nükka / hupiatüki] pusikwatü.
I dance sing know-hab
'I know how to dance/sing.'

(189) a. Nüü [wasüwükkinna] pusikwatü.
I hunt-sub know-hab
'I know how to hunt.'

b. Nüü pusikwatü nüü [wasüwükkinna].
I know-hab I hunt-sub
'I know how to hunt.'

(190) Nüü [sosoni nangkawinna] nüü pusikwatü.
I Shoshone speak-sub I know-hab
'I know how to speak Shoshone.'

(191) Nüü [hipinna] (nüü) tsao suwangkünna.
I drink-sub I good feel about [=like]
'I like to drink.'

(192) Nüü [tükkatu'immi] suwakka.
I eat-will-sub think about
'I'm thinking about eating.'

(193) Nüü [ma kuttihimmi] suwakka.
I it shoot-dubitative-sub think about
'I think I might shoot it.'

Copyrighted material

(194) [Kottoonnümpüttsia ma kuppa tükitu'immi]
fire burner-O it in put-will-sub

nüü suwappühantü [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 -tün (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 nüü.
I firewood burn-sub-O see I
'I see firewood burning.'

(196) [Nia miakwaha] tsao suwangküppühantü.
me go away-sub good felt [= liked]
'He liked me leaving.'
= (?) 'He liked it when I left.'

(197) Nüü [sutummi kimmammi] yükwingküppühantü.
I them come-sub told
'I told them to come.'

Copyrighted material

(198) Nüü sümmi ün niingküppühantü [kee so'o
I thus you-O told not so much

hipikkantü wainniha].
drink-stv-sub wine-O

'I told you not to drink so much wine.'

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 -mmüih 'can't', suwah 'want to', tükin 'start to', and tünga '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 tünga, display identical reference in that both the auxiliary and the preceding verb stem share the same subject.

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

(200) Nüü nü pantsa puhaimmüiha.
I my shoe look for-can't-stv
'I can't find my shoe.'

Copyrighted material

(201) Nüü tipingasuwaha noohinnattsia.
I ask about-want-stv something(O)-diminutive-O
'I want to ask about a little something.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(207) Wa'ippü pünnang kuhmattsia wasüwükkitünganna.
woman her own husband-O hunt-tell
'The woman's telling her husband to hunt.'

Copyrighted material

Finally, I should mention that several kinds of constructions with object complement clauses, which are very common in European languages, simply do not occur in Tümpisa Shoshone. These are constructions like:

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

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

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

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

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

Notes to Chapter 8

1. Examples of concatenated sentences are found throughout the texts in chapter 10. As with traditional punctuation convention, a period is used to mark the boundaries between concatenated sentences, the period being a visual marker of falling intonation and a pause. Paragraphs are used when in the texts there is a change of topic, usually accompanied verbally by a rather lengthy pause of up to several seconds.

Copyrighted material

2. Compare 42 with the similar sentence in 33 where n is used as the conjunction instead of tünga. N only precedes the last conjunct, thus conforming with the English constructions from whence it came.

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

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

5. Obviative demonstratives built on the demonstrative base i- 'this right here' (i.e., itü, itungku, and itümmü) 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 pün(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.

Copyrighted materia

9

PHONOLOGY

The sounds and sound patterns of Tümpisa 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 PHONOLOGICAL SEGMENTS AND SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

The simple consonantal phonemes are given below.

SIMPLE CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveol-Affricate	Palatal	Velar	Labio-Velar	Glottal
Occlusive							
oral	p	t	ts		k	kw	
glottal							'
Fricative		s					h
Nasal	m	n			ng	ngw	
Semivowel				y		w	
Lateral		(l)					

Copyrighted material

All of them (except l) occur medially between vowels, and most occur initially in the word. The two velar nasals ng and ngw and glottal stop ' are the only simple consonants that never appear in word-initial position.[1] 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.

p	
paa	'water'
papi('i)	'older brother'
yüpani	'autumn'
t	
tapettsi	'sun'
etün	'gun, bow'
tütüainna	'to work'
ts	
tsiampü	'hips'
tatsa	'summer'
pitsinna	'to suckle'
k	
kasattsikantün	'bird'
tukumpana(pin)	'sky, heaven'
sokopin	'earth, land, ground'
kw	
kwasi	'tail'
sakwaapitün	'green'
tokwi"	'right, correct, true'

Copyrighted materia

'	
po'i	'road'
mi'a	'go'
mo'o	'hand'
s	
sümüttün	'one'
tusinna	'to spit'
wisipin	'thread, string'
h	
hotanna	'to dig'
tahapi	'snow'
tühüya	'deer'
m	
müattsi	'moon'
soomattsi	'spider'
tami('i)	'younger brother'
n	
nawipin	'girl'
tününa	'root'
wihnu	'then'
ng	
tangappüh	'knee'
angipi	'fly'
hipingküntün	'flower'
ngw	
pangwi	'fish'
pongwo'aittsi	'mouse'
pasingwampi	'sand'

Copyrighted materia

w	
wika	'blanket'
wükküünappüh	'fog'
yüwikka	'evening'
y	
yahenna	'to laugh'
noyopin	'egg'
toyapi(n)	'mountain'
l	
lokkopü	'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.

FINAL CONSONANTS	
Nasalizing	n
Preaspirating	h
Geminating	"

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

Copyrighted materia

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)'
pasakün	'bridge'
topoon	'desert'
yütsütün	'airplane'
Preaspirating h	
muuppüh	'Joshua tree'
putisih	'donkey'
sukkuh	'there yonder'
ukkwah	'when'
üattüah	'ranch, farm'
wainnih	'wine'
Geminating "	
anna"	'together, each other'
petü"	'daughter'
tokwi"	'straight, correct'
tua"	'son'
Tümpisa"	'Death Valley'
wüa"	'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

Copyrighted material

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)

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveol-Affricate	Palatal	Velar	Labio-Velar
Geminate						
occlusive	pp	tt	tts		kk	kkw
nasal	mm	nn			(n)ng	
Nasal plus						
occlusive	mp	nt	nts		ngk	ngkw
nasal	mm	nn			(n)ng	
semivowel				ny ≈ nn		ngw
Preaspirate						
occlusive	hp				hk ≈ h	hkw ≈ hw
nasal	hm	hn				
semivowel				hy		hw

Geminate nasals and clusters of homoorganic nasals are indistinguisable 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 s is always phonetically geminate. Since there are no contrasts between simple and geminate ng and s, respectively, both of them are always written singly. Some examples of consonant clusters follow.

Copyrighted materia

pp

appo'o	'cup, dish, bowl'
üppüinna	'to sleep'

tt

uttunna	'to give'
nattusu'un	'medicine'

tts

pattsipitün	'smooth'
kuttsappüh	'ashes, dust'

kk

kaakki	'crow'
namokko(ttsi)	'needle'

kkw

miikkwa	'now, today'
ukkwah	'when'

mm

tommo	'winter'
kammu	'jackrabbit'

nn

onnottsi	'pine cone hook'
pünnan	'its own, his own, her own'

mp

tümpin	'rock'
nampe	'foot'

nt

ontümpitün	'(yellowish) brown'
tuhuntappütün	'thick'

Copyrighted materia

nts	
wantsi	'antelope'
antsaapana	'flicker (woodpecker)'
ngk	
nangkah	'hear'
pungku	'pet, horse'
ngkw	
aasiputungkwi(ttsi)	'butterfly'
nangkwa	'towards, in direction of'
hp	
ohpin	'mesquite bean'
tüpisihpungki	'stinkbug'
hk	
kee piammüppühkantün	'not having children'
kee nanahakaittüppühkantü	'not having anything'
hm	
kuhmattsi	'husband'
tahmani	'springtime'
hn	
kohno	'cradle'
pihnaawitün	'bee'
hw	
pihwü	'heart'
pahwa	'aunt (FaSi)'
hy	
ohyo"	'an edible plant'
pihyaapin	'sugar'

Copyrighted material

Tümpisa 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]

VOWELS

	Front	Back Unrounded	Back Rounded
High			
Short	i	ü	u
Long	ii	üü	uu
Mid			
Short	e		o
Long	ee		oo
Low			
Short		a	
Long		aa	
Diphthong			
Short	ai		
Long	aai		

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.:

<u>a</u>	
akka	'that (obj)'
awappo'i	'desert spring lizard'
pihyapi	'weak'
ha	question particle
<u>aa</u>	
ataa	'ouch'
aama	'horn'
pihyaapin	'sugar'
haa('a)	'yes'
imaa	'tomorrow, morning'

Copyrighted materia

e	
epi"	'hereabouts'
ke ≈ kee	'no, not'
kope	'face'
ee	
ee	'eh! my goodness!'
eemüa	'crazy'
peewanna	'to split down the middle'
weeputa(ttsi)	'baby chuckwalla'
i	
ikkih	'right here'
hipi"	'drink'
hipittsittsi	'old woman'
ii	
iittün	'this kind'
kwii	'left'
ohii"	'cough'
wiwii(ttsi)	'finch'
o	
okwai"	'flow'
po'o	'water tank'
toko(ttsi)	'grandfather (MoFa)'
oo	
oompin	'small water-worn pebbles'
kotoo"	'make a fire'
toopi	'wolf'
pookoo ≈ pawoko	'bullfrog'

Copyrighted material

u

u	'it, him, her'
hupia	'song'
yuhu(pin)	'fat, grease'

üü

uupasi(ttsi)	'grapes'
huuppin	'stick, wood, limb'
yuunaah ≈ nuupaih	'sit, stay, camp (pl)'

ü

ünnü(ppüh)	'danger'
üntakasün	'yourself'
sutü	'that'

üü

üüttsa	'yuck! nasty!'
tümüünna	'to buy'
ünnüü	'watch out!'

The short diphthong ai acts as a single short vowel, while the long diphthong aai functions as a simple long vowel. As in other Numic languages, these diphthongs often vary with e and ee, respectively; e.g.:

ainnattsi	≈	ennattsi	'turtle'
nühai	≈	nühe	'make baskets'
paitü"	≈	petü"	'daughter'
tsainnaah	≈	tsennaah	'carry, hold'
naaiyangwi	≈	neeyangwi	'play handgame'

However, in a few forms ai apparently never varies with e; e.g.:

Copyrighted materia

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

üi	üa	üe	≈ üai	uo
oi	oa	oe		ao
ui	ua			
	ea			
	ia			

Some examples of vowel clusters follow.

ü̲i̲

üitsü'in	'be cold'
üppüih	'sleep'

ü̲a̲

üattüah	'ranch, farm'
tüasüppüh	'frozen'
wüa"	'penis'

ü̲a̲i̲ ≈ ü̲e̲

tütüai ≈ tütüe	'work'
nüaitün ≈ nüetün	'wind'

u̲o̲

mukuoto'eh	'be dizzy, faint'

Copyrighted materia

<u>oi</u>	
ointsi	'orange'
koitsoih	'wash'
koittsi	'pig'
<u>oa</u>	
oappi	'yellow paint'
tsoapittsi	'ghost, spirit'
woapin	'worm'
<u>oe</u>	
koe	'guts'
<u>ao</u>	
nanaohpü	'scattered'
paoppi	'blood'
tsao	'good, well'
<u>ui</u>	
pui	'eye'
kuittsun	'buffalo'
muiyainna	'to become intoxicated'
<u>ua</u>	
tua"	'son'
tukkua(pin)	'meat'
mukua	'mind, soul, spirit'
<u>ea</u>	
toseaki	'spur' Vt
<u>ia</u>	
iampü	'wild'
pia	'mother'
tsiatiyaippüh	'starving, hungry'

Copyrighted materia

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.:

tününa	[t̥́n̥̈NA]	≈	[t̥́n̥̈nà]	'root'
tümpe	[t̥́mpE]	≈	[t̥́mbe]	'mouth'
mutsipi	[mṵ́ziϕI]	≈	[mṵ́ziβì]	'sharp point'
mo'o	[mṍ$^{\text{ʔ}}$O]	≈	[mṍ$^{\text{ʔ}}$o]	'hand'
kammu	[kā́M·U]	≈	[kā́m·ũ]	'jackrabbit'
piappütün	[piap·ɬR̥̈]	≈	[piap·ɬr̥̈]	'big'

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.:

namokkuttsi	[nā́w̃ō̃k·U$\not{c}$·I]	≈	[nā́w̃ō̃k·ù$\not{c}$·i]	'beads'
su'ukkuttih	[sú$^{\text{ʔ}}$uk·Ut·I]	≈	[sú$^{\text{ʔ}}$uk·ùt·I]	'kick'
pisittaippüh	[pIšIt·àip·ɪ̈]	≈	[píšit·àip·ɪ̈]	'rotten'

Copyrighted material

mi'akkinna	[mɪ́ʔak·IN·A]	≈	[mɪ́ʔak·ɪ̀n·ã]	'to go (pl)'
tühüttsittsi	[tɨ̱hɨ̱č·Ič·I]	≈	[tɨ̱hɨ̱č·ɪ̀·čI]	'small'
tüppisippüh	[tɨ̱p·IšIp·Ɨ]			'trash'

Sometimes initial unstressed short vowels are devoiced; e.g.:

isapungku	[IšáβũŋkU]	≈	[íšaβù̃ŋgu]	'dog'
ün taman	[Ɨ̱n dáw̃ã]	≈	[ɨ̱n dáw̃ã]	'your tooth'
kukkwiingwünü	[kUk·ʷíːŋwɨ̱̀n̰ɨ̱]	≈	[kuk·ʷíːŋwɨ̱̀nɨ]	'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	[úk·ʷA]			'when'
wainnih	[wáɪ̂Ñ·I]			'wine'
sikkih	[sík·I]			'right here'
tsawinnuh	[ȼáwiN·U]			'to be good'
tiyaitaippüh	[tíyaiδàip·Ɨ]			'dead'

And frequently, though not always, they are devoiced before internal h; e.g.:

mi'appühantün	[mɪ́ʔap·Ɨ̱hãndɨ̱]	≈	[mɪ̃ʔap·ɨ̱̀hãndɨ̱]	'went'
putisihpa'in	[púrišIɸàʔI]			'have a burro'
pihya:pin	[pIhyá:ɸI]	≈	[pihyá:βi]	'sugar'
tüppisihpungki	[tɨ̱p·IšIɸũŋkI]			'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.:

Copyrighted material

ümatün	[ɨ́w̃ãrɨ̀]			'rain'
tümpi	[tɨ́mbi]			'rock'
pasingwambi	[pásîŋʷə̀mbi]			'sand'
tommono	[tṍm·õNO]			'year'
tahmani	[tə́hw̃ãNI]			'springtime'
wihnu	[wīhỹū]	≈	[wīhỸU]	'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.:

püyün	[pɨ́yɨ̀]	≈	[pɨ́yɨ]	'duck'
kwasu'un	[kwásuʔù]	≈	[kwásuʔu]	'dress'

9.2.1.3 Lowering of o

Short o may be either mid [o] or lowered to [ɔ]; long oo is virtually always [ɔ:]; e.g.:

motson	[mṍzõ]	≈	[mɔ̃́zɔ̃]	'beard'
kope	[kóβe]	≈	[kɔ́βe]	'face'
woosüwitün	[wɔ́:sɨwiðɨ̀]			'eight'
süümootün	[sɨ́:w̃ɔ̀:rɨ̀]			'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 u 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.:

Copyrighted material

tukoitsoinna	[túʏoiʒòiN·A]	≈	[túʏoʒòĩN·A]	'wash' Vi
kuittsun	[kúič·U]	≈	[kúč·U]	'cow, buffalo'

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.:

wũsu'ukkuttih	[Wɨsúʔuk·ùt·I]			'kick'
musuwi	[mṹsuWI]	≈	[mṹsuwì]	'moustache'
kapaayu	[kaβá:YU]	≈	[kaβá:yù]	'horse'
nümü	[nɨ́Wɨ]	≈	[nɨ́wɨ̀]	'person'
tangummü	[tã́ŋ·ũM·ɨ]	≈	[tã́ŋ·ũm·ɨ̀]	'man'
kohno	[kɔ́hNɔ]	≈	[kɔ́hnɔ̀]	'cradle'
tommono	[tɔ́m·ɔNɔ]	≈	[tɔ́m·ɔnɔ̀]	'year'
ütüinna	[ɾɨɪ̀N·A]	≈	[ɾɨɪ̀n·a]	'to be hot'
tünga	[tɨ́Ŋ·A]	≈	[tɨ́ŋ·ã]	'and, also'
pangwi	[pã́ŋWI]	≈	[pã́ŋwi]	'fish'

Copyrighted material

9.2.2.2 Simple Oral Occlusive Voicing

Simple oral occlusives p, t, 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.:

sohopimpü	[sɔ́hɔβì̀mbɨ́]	≈	[sɔ́hɔβì̀mpǂ]	'cottonwood'
üm pampippüh	[ɨ́m bā́mbip·ǂ]			'your hair'
ütüintün	[ɾ́ɨ́ì̀ndɨ́]	≈	[ɾ́ɨ́ì̀ntǂ]	'hot (place)'
pahonto'i	[páhõ̀ndò²I]			'smoking pipe'
ün tohopi	[ɨ́n dóhoɸI]	≈	[ɨ́n dóhopI]	'your thigh'
antsaapana	[ãnʒá:βà̃nã]			'flicker'
mo'intsoko	[mṍ²ĩ̀njɔ̀ʏɔ]			'wrist'
Ko'ontsiammü	[kó²õ̀nʒìãM·I]			'Saline Valley people'
ün tsooppüh	[ɨ́n ʒó:p·ǂ]			'your shoulder'
nangkawinna	[nā́ŋgãwì̀N·A]			'to speak'
tüngkahni	[tɨ́́ŋgàhNI]			'cave'
üng kope	[ɨ́ŋ gɔ́βe]			'your face'
nasungkwa'anna	[nā́sũŋgᵂà²ãN·A]			'to feel'
üng kwaimpü	[ɨ́ŋ gᵂáĩmpǂ]			'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 n between ts and the preceding front vowel; e.g.:

Copyrighted material

wisipin	[wíšiɸI]			'thread'
pisotonna	[píšorǫ̀N·A]			'to pull'
Tümpisa"	[tɨ́mbiśA]			'Death Valley'
esümpitün	[éšɨ̈mbìθɨ̈]			'gray'
sunni suwanna	[sű́n·ĩ śúwãN·A]			'think like that'
üng witsa	[ɨ̃ŋ wíža]	≈	[ɨ̃ŋ wíčA]	'your shin'
pitsinna	[pížĩN·A]			'to suckle'
piintsi	[pí:̃nji]			'beans'
tapettsi	[táβeč·I]			'sun'
am pisittsi	[ãm bíšIč·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.:

tühüttsittsi	[tɨ̈hɨ̈č·ìč·I]			'small'
toppottsittsi	[tɔp·ɔ́č·ič·I]			'short'
tatuttsittsi	[táruč·ìč·I]	≈	[táruȼ·ìč·I]	'thin'

Occasionally, initial ts is palatalized before i or ii, although palatalization is not obligatory in this situation; e.g.:

tsiatiyaippüh	[číarìyaip·ɨ̈]	≈	[ȼíarìyaip·ɨ̈]	'starving'
tsikka'ah	[čík·aʔA]	≈	[ȼík·aʔA]	'cut'
tsippakiinna	[číp·aɣì:̃N·A]	≈	[ȼíp·aɣì:̃N·A]	'split (pl)'
tsiitsakannümpü	[čí:žàɣãn·ɨ̈mbɨ̈]			'fork'

Geminate nn is palatalized to [ñ·] after front vowels; e.g.:

innümpü	[ĺñ·ɨ̈mbɨ̈]	'thief'
senni	[sé́ñ·ĩ]	'like this'
wainnih	[wáĩñ·I]	'wine'

Copyrighted material

Single n̲ is also palatalized to [ỹ] after front vowels; examples are given with the discussion in the next section, on Softening.

9.2.2.4 Simple Occlusive 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 h̲ 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 <u>never</u> 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.

P̲, k̲, and k̲w̲ 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.:

tape(ttsi)	[táβeč·I] ≈ [táɸe] ≈ [tápe]	'sun'
yüpani	[yɨ̈βānI]	'autumn'
tahapi	[táhaɸI] ≈ [táhapI]	'snow'
hupapin	[húβaɸI] ≈ [húβapI]	'soup'
puhakantün	[púhaɣə̀ntɨ̈]	'shaman'
kimmakinna	[kḯm·ãɣỲN·A]	'to come here'
hupiatüki	[húβiàrɨ̈ɣì] ≈ [húβiàrɨ̈xI] ≈ [húβiàrɨ̈kI]	'sing'

Copyrighted material

tukwanni	[túʏʷãn·i]	'night'
yükwi(nna)	[yɨʏʷĩN·A] ≈ [yɨxʷI] ≈ [yɨkʷI]	'(to) say'

When p occurs between a vowel plus h and another vowel, the hp cluster coalesces phonetically to the voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ]; e.g.:

ohpimpü	[óɸĩmbɨ]	'mesquite tree'
tüppisihpungki	[tɨp·IšIɸũŋkI]	'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 [R] next to a voiceless vowel after nonfront vowels. Following front vowels, t is an interdental fricative, either [ð] between two voiced vowels or [θ] next to a voiceless vowel; e.g.:

poto'inna	[póroʔĩN·A]	'be a spring'
patüasüppüh	[parɨasɨp·Ɨ]	'ice'
ütüinna	[ɨrɨĩN·A]	'to be hot'
sutümmü	[súrɨM·Ɨ]	'those'
sutü	[súrɨ] ≈ [súRƗ]	'that'
pakatün	[páʏarɨ] ≈ [páʏaRƗ]	'body of water'
tsitoohin	[ȼiðó:hI]	'push'
petümmü	[péðɨM·Ɨ]	'daughters'
petü"	[péðɨ] ≈ [péθƗ]	'daughter'
nüetün	[nɨ́eðɨ] ≈ [nɨ́eθƗ]	'wind'
sitü	[siðɨ] ≈ [siθƗ]	'this'

The affricate ts is softened to a voiced lenis alveolar fricative [z] 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, ts

Copyrighted material

is alveolo-palatal [ž] and is either voiced between vowels or voiceless if next to a voiceless vowel; e.g.:

tatsiumpi	[táziu̬mbi]	'star'
potso'inna	[pózoʔÌN·A]	'to be wet'
tatsa	[táza] ≈ [tázA] ≈ [táɕA]	'summer'
motson	[mőzõ] ≈ [mőzO] ≈ [mőɕO]	'whiskers'
petsünna	[péžɨ̈N·A]	'to holler'
üm pitsi'i	[ɨ̈m bíži?I]	'your breast'
üng witsa	[ɨ̈ŋ wíža] ≈ [ɨ̈ŋ wížA] ≈ [ɨ̈ŋ wíčA]	'your shin'

The nasal m is softened to a voiced nasalized [w̃] between voiced vowels, and to a voiceless [W̃] between vowels when one is voiceless. Softening of m occurs even if h intervenes between m and the preceding vowel; e.g.:

ün tami'i	[ɨ̈n dáw̃i?I]		'your little brother'
süümootün	[sɨ́ɨ̈:w̃ɔ̀:rɨ̈]		'ten'
imaa	[ɨw̃á:]		'tomorrow'
ün taman	[ɨ̈n dáw̃ā]	≈ [ɨ̈n dáW̃A]	'your tooth'
nümü	[nɨ́w̃ɨ̈]	≈ [nɨ́W̃ɨ̈]	'person'
kuhmattsi	[kűhw̃āɕ·I]	≈ [kűhāɕ·I]	'husband'
ohmaattsi	[õhw̃á:ɕ·I]	≈ [õhá:ɕ·I]	'little baby'

As the second variants of 'husband' and 'little baby' illustrate, sometimes after h the [w̃] disappears leaving only nasalization on the surrounding vowels.

The nasal n is softened after front vowels to a nasalized [ỹ]. 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.:

Copyrighted materia

wünütün	[wɨ́nɨ́tɨ́]	'standing'
punikkan	[pṹnĩk·A]	'see, look at'
tokonetaippüh	[tɔ́ʏɔ̃nɛ̀ðaip·ɨ]	'scratched'
kahni	[kɐ́hnĩ] ≈ [kɐ́hNI]	'house'
senu	[sɛ́ỹũ]	'therefore'
wüngweninna	[wɨ́ŋwɛ̃ỹÌN·A]	'to hang'
kwinaa	[kwĩỹɐ́:]	'eagle'
wihnu	[wĩ́hỹũ] ≈ [wĩ́hʏU]	'then'
wihnumpittsi	[wĩ́hỹũmbìč·I]	'buzzard'

mii ningwünü 'it is said they said'
[mĩ́: ỹĩ́ŋwɨ́nɨ́]

sümmi nüingkünna 'thus she said to (him)'
[sɨ́m·ĩ ỹɨ́ĩŋgɨ̀N·A]

püe tukwanni naakinna 'it's already getting dark'
[pɨ́e ðúʏ^{W}ãn·ĩ ỹɐ́:ʏÌN·A]

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 [w̃], after back vowels; e.g.:

üngwatün	[ɨ́ŋwãrɨ́]	'rain'
≈ ümatün	[ɨ́w̃ãrɨ́]	
ongwapittsi	[ɔ́ŋwãβìč·I]	'salt'
≈ omapittsi	[ɔ́w̃ãβìč·I]	
songwo	[sɔ̃́ŋwɔ̃]	'lungs'
≈ somo	[sɔ̃́w̃ɔ̃]	

Otherwise, ngw shows no sign of softening between vowels but apparently is always short, not long.

Copyrighted materia

9.2.2.5 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.[5] Examples of geminate consonants occur throughout this chapter, but a few more are given below.

tüasüppüh	[tɬasɬp·ɬ]		'frozen'
üppüihan	[ɬp·ɬihA]		'sleeping'
uttunna	[ut·ű́N·A]		'to give'
kuttinna	[kut·ĺ́N·A]		'shoot'
müattsi	[mɬ́aȼ·I]		'moon'
wattsüwitün	[wáȼ·ɬwɩ̀ðɬ]		'four'
tükkanna	[tɬk·ǻN·A]		'to eat'
sakka	[sák·a]	≈ [sák·A]	'that (obj)'
sikkih	[sík·I]		'right here'
Pakkwasi	[pák·^{W}asɩ]		'Olanche, Calif.'
ukkwah	[úk·^{W}A]		'when, if'
kimmanna	[kĺ́m·ãN·A]		'to come'
nümmü	[nɬ́m·ɬ]	≈ [nɬ́M·ɬ]	'we (exc)'

As mentioned earlier, both ng and s are always phonetically long and fortis (like geminate consonants) between vowels. But, since there is no distinction between simple and geminate ng and s, 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.:

tanga	[tǻŋ·a]	'and, also'
pange	[pǻŋ·e]	'up'
angipi	[ǻŋ·ĩβi]	'fly'
posottü	[pós·ot·ɬ]	'alkali'
kasattsi	[kás·aȼ·I]	'wing'
esümpitün	[éš·ɬmbiθɬ]	'gray'

Copyrighted material

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	[ˈkéː]	'no, not'
sekkih	[séˈkˑI]	'here'
kaakki	[káːˈkˑI]	'crow'
tokwi"	[tóˈɣʷi]	'correct'
kwii	[ˈkʷíː]	'left'
kukkwiippüh	[kUˈkˑʷíːpˑɬ]	'smoke'
sakkuh	[súkˑU]	'there'
mi'akwa	[míʔaɣʷà]	'go away'
ekupittsi	[éɣuβìčˑI]	'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 looses its labialization and the a becomes a rounded vowel, either u or o; e.g.:

Copyrighted material

CONSONANT ALLOPHONES BEFORE VOICED VOWELS

	Environments				
	#___V	N___V	Nonfront V___V	Front V___V	Vh___V
p	p	b	β	β	ɸ
t	t	d	r	ð	r
ts	ȼ	z ≈ j	z	ž	z
k	k	g	ɣ	ɣ	(h)
kw	k^w	g^w	$ɣ^w$	$ɣ^w$	(h^w)
m	m	m·	w̃	w̃	hw̃
n	n	n·	n	ỹ	hn
ng	-	-	ŋ·	ŋ·	-
ngw	-	-	ŋw - w̃	ŋw - w̃	-
w	w	w	w	w	hw
y	y	y - n	y	y	hy
s	s	-	s·	š·	-
h	h	h - n	h - ø	h - ø	h
'	-	-	ʔ - ø	ʔ - ø	-
pp	-	-	p·	p·	-
tt	-	-	t·	t·	-
tts	-	-	ȼ·	č·	-
kk	-	-	k·	k·	-
kkw	-	-	k^w·	k^w·	-
mm	-	-	m·	m·	-
nn	-	-	n·	n·	-

Copyrighted materia

CONSONANT ALLOPHONES BEFORE VOICELESS VOWELS

Environments

	#___V^{vl}	N___V^{vl}	Nonfront V___V^{vl}	Front V___V^{vl}
p	p	p	ɸ ~ p	ɸ ~ p
t	t	t	R	θ
ts	ȼ	ȼ ≈ č	z ~ ȼ	ž ~ č
k	k	k	x ~ k	x ~ k
kw	k^{w}	k^{w}	x^{w} ~ k^{w}	x^{w} ~ k^{w}
m	-	M·	W	W
n	-	N·	N	Y
ng	-	-	Ŋ·	Ŋ·
ngw	-	-	ŋW ~ W	ŋW ~ W
w	W	W	W	W
y	Y	Y ~ N	Y	Y
s	s	-	s·	š·
h	h	h ~ n	h ~ ø	h ~ ø
'	-	-	ʔ ~ ø	ʔ ~ ø
pp	-	-	p·	p·
tt	-	-	t·	t·
tts	-	-	ȼ·	č·
kk	-	-	k·	k·
kkw	-	-	k^{w}·	kw·
mm	-	-	M·	M·
nn	-	-	N·	N·

Copyrighted materia

tangummü	<	tangwammü	'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'
tümuhu ≈ tümuho	'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

Copyrighted materia

syllable is u, and sometimes ü becomes o when the vowel in the next syllable is o. This particular type of vowel harmony is especially common with verb prefixes such as voice-changing na- pmpr and tü- absolutive antipassive, and instrumental prefixes kü"- 'with teeth/mouth', ma- 'with hands', ta"- 'with feet', ta"- 'with rock-like instrument', tsa"- 'by grasping', and wü"- '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 ≈ tükoitsoih 'wash' Vi
< tü- absol aps, koitsoih 'wash' Vt
tumo'ih 'write, draw' Vi
< tü- absol aps, mo'ih 'write, draw' Vt
kuso'eh ≈ küso'eh 'bite' pl
< kü"- 'with teeth/mouth', so'eh 'occlude'
kusungkwa'ah 'taste'
< kü"- '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'

Copyrighted materia

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'
< wü"- 'with an (elongated) instrument', sungkwa'ah 'feel, touch'
wummopo'ah 'cover'
< wü"- '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'

Copyrighted materia

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.:

mi'akwa	[mɪ́ʔaɣʷà]	≈	[mɪ́aɣʷà]	'go away!'
po'ittsi	[póʔič·I]	≈	[póič·I]	'path'
mo'o	[mőʔo]	≈	[mőo]	'hand'
po'attsi	[póʔaȼ·I]	≈	[póaȼ·I]	'covering'
pahompi	[páhõmbì]	≈	[páõmbì]	'tobacco'
tahapi	[táhaβi]	≈	[táaβi]	'snow'
tühüya	[tɨ́hɨ̀yà]	≈	[tɨ́ɨ̀yà]	'deer'
wahappin	[wáhap·I]	≈	[wáap·I]	'piñon tree'

Dropping of h is especially common in the two verb suffixes -tühantün ≈ -tüantün obligative future and -ppühantün ≈ -ppüantün ≈ -ppantün. In the latter case, especially in the speech of younger speakers, when the h goes, so does the preceding vowel ü, which is usually phonetically voiceless when it is unstressed and the h is present.

Copyrighted materia

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 po'i '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 -ppü; see 5.6). In this regard, the glottal stop and echo vowel seem to function much like the absolutive suffixes; e.g.:

tami	>	tami'i	[tấw̃ĩʔI]	'younger brother'
papi	>	papi'i	[páβiʔI]	'older brother'
nammi	>	nammi'i	[nấm·ĩʔI]	'younger sister'
tümmu	>	tümmu'u	[tɨ́m·ũʔU]	'enemy'
atapu	>	atapu'u	[áraβùʔU]	'mother's brother'
wa'ippü	>	wa'ippü'ü	[wáʔip·ɨ̀ʔɨ̀]	'woman'
tühüya	>	tühüya'a	[tɨ́hɨ̀yàʔA]	'deer'
petü"	>	petü'ü	[péðɨ̀ʔɨ̀]	'daughter'
tua"	>	tua'a	[túaʔA]	'son'
poton	>	poto'o	[póroʔO]	'staff, cane'
motson	>	motso'o	[mő́zoʔO]	'beard'
taman	>	tama'a	[tấw̃ãʔA]	'tooth'
wainnih	>	wainni'i	[wáĩñ·ĩʔI]	'wine'

Copyrighted materia

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	[mɐ́ʔA]	'with (instrument)'
man	>	ma'a	[mɐ̃ʔA]	'on the surface of'
tommo	>	tommo'o	[tõm·õʔO]	'(in the) winter'
tokwi"	>	tokwi'i	[tóʏ^{W}iʔI]	'right, correct(ly)'
piappütün	>	piappütü'ü	[píap·ɨrɨʔɨ̞]	'big'
hipi"	>	hipi'i	[hiβiʔI]	'drink'
tonna"	>	tonna'a	[tɔ́n·ɐ̃ʔA]	'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	>	kee'e	[ké:ʔE]	'no, not'
		≈ ke'e	[ké̞ʔE]	
haa	>	haa'a	[há:ʔA]	'yes'
tii	>	tii'i	[tí:ʔI]	'tea'
paa	>	paa'a	[pá:ʔA]	'water'
		≈ pa'a	[pɐ́ʔA]	
pia	>	pi'a	[píʔA]	'mother'
koe	>	ko'e	[kóʔE]	'guts'
tukkua	>	tukku'a	[tuk·úʔA]	'flesh, meat'
üppüih	>	üppü'i	[ɨ́p·ɨ̞ʔI]	'sleep'

Copyrighted materia

9.3.7 Final Consonantal Segments

The three segments n, h, and " 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, h causes a preceding short unstressed vowel to devoice (see examples in 9.2.1.1), and n 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 " basically causes following oral occlusives p, t, ts, k, and kw, and nasals m and n to geminate. It is lost completely in phrase-final position and before s, and the two glottals ' and h, 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] ≈ [túa?A] and [hiβi] ≈ [hiɸI], respectively; e.g.:

tua" 'son' +				
pan	'on top of'	>	tuappan	'on top of the son'
tukkwan	'under'	>	tuattukkwan	'under the son'
ma'i	'with'	>	tuam ma'i	'with the son'

Copyrighted materia

man	'on'	>	tuam man	'on the son'
-i	obj	>	tuai	'son (obj)'
-ttsi	diminutive	>	tuattsi	'little son'

hipi" 'drink' +

kahni	'house'	>	hipikkahni	'bar'
kammah	'be sick'	>	hipikkammah	'have a hangover'
tsukuppü	'old man'	>	hipittsukuppü	'drunkard'
nooh	'go along'	>	hipinnooh	'go along drinking'
tükin	'start'	>	hipittükin	'start to drink'
tünga	'tell to'	>	hipittünga	'tell to drink'
suwan	'want' Aux	>	hipisuwan	'want to drink'
happi	'lie (dur)'	>	hipihappi	'lie and drink'
-kan	stv, -tün	>	hipikkantün	'be drinking'
-kin	'hither'	>	hipikkin	'coming drinking'
-kwan	'away', cmplt	>	hipikkwan	'go drinking; drank'
-kwantu'ih	'going to'	>	hipikkwantu'ih	'going to drink'
-taippüh	cmplt, pp	>	hipittaippüh	'drunk'
-ppühantün	past	>	hipippühantün	'drank'
-nna	inf present	>	hipinna	'(to) drink'
-ngkün	cat	>	hipingkün	'make drunk'
-ttü	agentive	>	hipittü	'drinker'

Consider also the effects of the geminating segment ending the instrumental prefix tsa"- 'by grasping', which is affixed to many verb stems.

tsa"- 'by grasping' +

annih	'fall' sg	>	tsa'annih	'push over' Vt sg
hapingkün	'make lie'	>	tsahapingkün	'put in bed' Vt
ka'ah	'break' Vi sg	>	tsakka'ah	'break' Vt sg
-kopiih	'break' V pl	>	tsokkopiih	'break' Vt pl
küa"	'emerge' Vi pl	>	tsakküa"	'take out' Vt pl
kwayah	'loosen' Vi	>	tsakkwayah	'take off' Vt
kwinu	'go around' Vi	>	tsakkwinu(nnukwi)	'wind' Vt
mi'a	'go'	>	tsammia	'turn over' Vt

Copyrighted material

-nopah	'destroy'	>	tsonnopah	'tear down' Vt sg
nuwan	'move' Vi	>	tsannuwan	'lift, move' Vt
paha"	'split' Vi sg	>	tsappaha"	'split' Vt sg
pahe"	'fall off' Vi	>	tsappahe"	'drop' Vt sg
sakkah	'crack' Vi	>	tsasakkah	'break, crack' Vt
-tamah	'secure' V	>	tsattamah	'secure, tie' Vt
tawin	'be a hole' Vi	>	tsattawin	'open up' Vt
to'eh	'emerge' Vi sg	>	tsatto'eh	'take out' Vt
tüki"	'put' Vt sg	>	tsattükih	'put, place' Vt
wününgkün	'make stand' V	>	tsawününgkün	'stand up' Vt
yunah	'put' Vt sg	>	tsangunah	'put, place' Vt
yuniih	'put' Vt pl	>	tsanguniih	'put, place' Vt

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, tanguniih pl 'plant' Vt
< ta"- 'with a hard rock-like instrument',
yunah sg, yuniih pl 'put, place' Vt

kukkwiingwünü 'smoke' Vi
< kukkwii" 'smoke', wünü" 'stand'

ningwünü" 'discuss'
< ni"- 'with words', wünü" 'stand'

wüngwenih 'hang' Vt
< wü"- 'with elongated instrument', -wenih 'hang'

Sometimes, however, the geminating segment has no effect on a following w, as tsawününgkün 'stand up' (cited above) illustrates. And, sometimes the geminating segment causes a following y to become nn instead of ng; e.g.:

tsinnahi 'make laugh'
< tsi"- 'with a sharp instrument', yahi" 'laugh'

Copyrighted materia

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'ih future, -kwan + -tu'ih 'will go and do', -tün present participle and habitual, -tühantün 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'ih	>	hipikwantu'ih	'will go and drink'
-tu'ih	>	hipitu'ih	'will drink'
-tün	>	hipitün	'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)'
tükin 'start' Aux	>	siittükin	'start to pee'
-kwantu'ih 'going to'	>	siikkwantu'ih	'going to pee'
-taihwan cmplt	>	siittaihwan	'already peed'
-ppühantün past	>	siippühantün	'peed'
-kwan 'go and', -tu'ih	>	siikwantu'ih	'will go and pee'

Copyrighted material

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'
-ppühantün	past	>	tukwiippühantün 'went out'
-mmüih	'can't'	>	tukwiimmüih '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.:

n + p	>	mp
n + t	>	nt
n + ts	>	nts
n + k	>	ngk
n + kw	>	ngkw
n + m	>	mm
n + n	>	nn

Compare the manifestations of n in the following examples based on etün 'gun, bow', pasakün 'bridge', and nian 'my', which when spoken in isolation are pronounced [éðɨ̈] ≈ [éðɨ̃] ≈ [éθɨ̃], [pása ɨ̈] ≈ [pása ɨ̃] ≈ [pásaxɨ̃], and [nĩa] ≈ [nĩã], respectively.

etün 'gun, bow' +				
pan	'on top of'	>	etüm pan	'on top of gun'
tukkwan	'under'	>	etün tukkwan	'under a gun'
-kantün	'having'	>	etüngkantün	'having a gun'
ma	'with'	>	etüm ma	'with a gun'
man	'on'	>	etüm man	'on the gun'

Copyrighted materia

pasakün 'bridge' +			
pan	'on top of' >	pasaküm pan	'on a bridge'
tukkwan	'under' >	pasakün tukkwan	'under a bridge'
ka	'to, at' >	pasaküng ka	'to a bridge'

nian 'my' +			
pungku	'pet, horse' >	niam pungku	'my pet, horse'
tua"	'son' >	nian tua"	'my son'
tsuhmi(ppüh)	'bone' >	nian tsuhmi	'my bone'
kahni	'house' >	niang kahni	'my house'
kwasu'un	'dress' >	niang kwasu'un	'my dress'
mupin	'nose' >	niam mupin	'my nose'
nampe	'foot' >	nian nampe	'my foot'

When final n 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 n preceding the objective case suffix -a; e.g.:

nian 'my' +			
etün	'gun' >	nian netün	'my gun'
okwon	'tongue' >	nian nokwon	'my tongue'
appü	'father' >	nian nappü ≈ nia appü	'my father'

NOUN + -a objective case		
etün	>	etünna 'gun (obj)'
pasakün	>	pasakünna 'bridge (obj)'
kwasu'un	>	kwasu'unna 'dress (obj)'
motson	>	motsonna 'beard (obj)'
taman	>	tamanna 'tooth (obj)'
yütsütün	>	yütsütünna 'airplane (obj)

Copyrighted material

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.:

nian nimpü	≈	nia himpü	'my stuff'
ümmin nimpü	≈	ümmi himpü	'your stuff'
nian nungkwappüh	≈	nia hungkwappüh	'my leg'
ümmin nungkwappüh	≈	ümmi hungkwappüh	'your leg'
nian nuttsi	≈	nia huttsi	'my FaMo'
ümmin nuttsi	≈	ümmi huttsi	'your FaMo'

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.:

n + w > ng w OR n + w > w
n + y > n n OR n + y > y

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	'my own fat'
nian nuhu	'my fat (of an animal)'
nia witsa	'my own shin'
niang witsa	'my shin (of an animal)'

Copyrighted material

nia wüa" '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.:

nian nütsütün 'my airplane' < yütsütün 'airplane'
(*nia yütsütün)

niang waa'ettsi 'my enemy' < waa'ettsi 'enemy'
≈ nia waa'ettsi

In constructions not having to do with possession, final n is normally retained before the semivowels; e.g.:

nüü üng wüttühiiha 'I'm waiting for you'
I you-O wait-stv

üng wakantün '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:

Copyrighted material

n	+	t	>	nt	OR	n	+	t > t
n	+	n	>	nn	OR	n	+	n > n
n	+	m	>	mm	OR	n	+	m > m

n + k > h
n + kw > hw

For example, compare the effects of final n at the ends of the verbs kamman 'taste' (used with tsao 'good') and üitsü'in 'be cold' in the forms below.

tsao kamman 'taste good' +

-tu'ih 'will'	>	tsao kamma(n)tu'ih	'will taste good'
-tühantün oblig	>	tsao kammantühantün	'must taste good'
-kin 'get', -nna	>	tsao kammahinna	'get tasting good'
-ppühantün past	>	tsao kammappühantün	'tasted good'
-nna general	>	tsao kammanna	'tastes good'

üitsü'in 'be cold' +

-tün hab/prp	>	üitsü'intün	'cold, cooling'
-tu'ih 'will'	>	üitsü'i(n)tu'ih	'will be cold'
-tühantün oblig	>	üitsü'i(n)tühantün	'must be cold'
-taippüh cmplt prp	>	üitsü'itaippüh	'completely cold'
-kan stative	>	üitsü'ihan	'being cold'
-kwantu'ih 'going to'	>	üitsü'ihwantu'ih	'going to be cold'
-ku sub	>	üitsü'ingku	'when it's cold'
tükin 'start'	>	üitsü'i(n)tükin	'start to be cold'
mi'a 'get'	>	üitsü'i(m)mi'a	'be getting cold'
nasungkwa'ah 'feel'	>	üitsü'in nasungkwa'ah	'feel cold'

Also compare the effects of final n at the ends of the two verb suffixes -ngkün cat (on the verb teewi 'tell') and -tain completive (on nuwa" 'move').

Copyrighted materia

teewingkün 'tell' +			
-tu'ih	'will' >	teewingkü(n)tu'ih	'will tell'
-tühantün	oblig >	teewingkü(n)tühantün	'must tell'
nümmi	'moving' >	teewingkünnümmi	'telling along'
-kwan	cmplt >	teewingkühwan	'told'
-kwantu'ih	'going to' >	teewingkühwantu'ih	'going to tell'
-ppühantün	past >	teewingküppühantün	'told'
-mmi hab, -nna	>	teewingkümminna	'always tell'
-kwan	'go and' >	teewingkükwa	'go and tell'

nuwattain 'moved completely' +			
-tu'ih	'will' >	nuwattaintu'ih	'will move completely'
-kwan	cmplt >	nuwattaihwan	'moved completely'
-kwantu'ih	'going to' >	nuwattaihwantu'ih	'going to move'
-ppühantün	past >	nuwattaippühantün	'moved completely'
-nna	general >	nuwattainna	'moving completely'

Apparently, then, final n 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 Tümpisa Shoshone. It is viable only on forms built with the past participle, nominalizing, and absolutive suffix -ppüh, the nominalizing locative suffix -ttüah, and the locative adverbial formative -kkuh, although it is maintained on a few other forms as well (e.g. tükkappih '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

Copyrighted material

9.2.2.2). Thus, when final h precedes the oral occlusives p, t, k, and kw, they are normally realized as voiceless [ɸ], [R] or [θ], [x], and [x^w], 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 w and y. Before vowels it is normally manifested as h, although like all hs it is unstable between vowels (see 9.3.5); e.g.:

üattüah 'ranch, farm' +

ka	'at, on'	>	üattüah ka	'on a ranch'
			[ɬat·ɬa xá]	
-a	obj case	>	üattüaha	'ranch (obj)'
			[ɬat·ɬahA]	

patüasüppüh 'ice, frozen' +

pai	'around on'	>	patüasüppüh pai	'around on the ice'
			[parɬasɬp·Ɨ ɸái]	
tukkwan	'under'	>	patüasüppüh tukkwan	'under the ice'
			[parɬasɬp·Ɨ Rúk·^{w}A]	
ma	'with'	>	patüasüppüh ma	'with ice'
			[parɬasɬp·Ɨh w̃á̃]	
-a	obj case	>	patüasüppüha	'ice (obj)'
			[parɬasɬp·ƗhA]	

tükkappih 'food' +

pan	'on top'	>	tükkappih pan	'on top of the food'
			[tɬk·áp·I ɸá]	
tukkwan	'under'	>	tükkappi tukkwan	'under the food'
			[tɬk·áp·I Rúk·^{w}A]	
man	'on'	>	tükkappih man	'on the food'
			[tɬk·áp·Ih w̃á̃]	
naa"	'be'	>	tükkappihnaa"	'groceries'
			[tɬk·áp·Ihỹà̃:]	

Copyrighted material

<u>putisih</u>	<u>'burro'</u>	<u>+</u>		
pan	'on top'	>	putisih pan	'on top of a burro'
			[púrišI ɸá]	
ma'i	'with'	>	putisih ma'i	'with a burro'
			[pútišIh w̃ǎ?I]	
-a	obj case	>	putisiha	'burro (obj)'
			[púrišIhA]	
niam putisih naa"			[nǐam búrišIh ỹǎ:]	'it's my burro'
my	burro	be		

Over half of all verb stems in Tümpisa Shoshone end in final <u>h</u>, and most of the remaining verbs end in geminating <u>"</u>, although a good many end in <u>n</u>, while only a handful end in vowels (e.g., <u>kimma</u> sg 'come', <u>mi'a</u> sg 'go', <u>namo'e</u> 'pick', <u>süngkia</u> 'stagger').

Despite the fact that most verbs end in final <u>h</u>, it only manifests in the verb system when preceding the two velar stops <u>k</u> and <u>kw</u> 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 <u>h</u>, the <u>h</u> and velars merge:

h + k > h h + kw > hw

The suffixes above are then realized respectively as:

-hin	'hither'
-han	stative

Copyrighted material

-hon	certaintive
-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]

tükkah 'eat'	+		
-kwan	cmplt	> tükkahwan	'ate'
-kwantu'ih	'going to'	> tükkahwantu'ih	'going to eat'
-kon	certain	> tükkahontün	'certainly eating'
-tün	hab, prp	> tükkatün	'eating'
-tu'ih	'will'	> tükkatu'ih	'will eat'
-nna	general	> tükkanna	'eat'
-ppühantün	past	> tükkappühantün	'ate'
-ku	subord	> tükkaku	'when eating'
-kin	'come and'	> tükkakin	'come and eat'
-kwan	'go and'	> tükkakwan	'go and eat'
tükin	'start'	> tükkatükin	'start to eat'
wünü	'stand'	> tükkawünü	'stand and eat'
nuwi	'go around'	> tükkanuwi	'eating around'

yungwah 'scoop up'	+		
-kwan	cmplt	> yungwahwa	'scooped up'
-kwantu'ih	'going to'	> yungwahwantu'ih	'going to scoop'
-kwan 'go and', -tu'ih		> yungwakwantu'ih	'will go scoop'
-tu'ih	'will'	> yungwatu'ih	'will scoop'

Copyrighted materia

-nna	general	> yungwanna	'scoop up'
naih	'moving'	> yungwanaih	'scooping along'

Outside of the verb system, final h historically has had a similar aspirating effect on following velar stops k and kw. There are a few frozen lexical items displaying mergers of h plus k to h (e.g., nanahapantün 'intermingled' < nanah 'just, only' + kapan(tün) 'among', and natüakahantün 'clown' < natuakah 'have face paint on' + -kantün 'characterized by'). However, as discussed above, usually final h 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 -kantün 'having, characterized by'. Several different sets of nouns are given before both -pa'in and -kantün, one set ending in ", another ending in n, another ending in h, and still another ending in vowels.

NOUN + -pa'in 'have' / -kantün 'having, characterized by'

With Nouns Ending in Geminating "

tuappa'in [túap·à?I]	'have a son'	< tua"	'son'
petüppa'in [péðɨp·à?I]	'have a daughter'	< petü"	'daughter'
kunnappa'in [kű́n·ãp·à?I]	'have firewood'	< kunna"	'firewood'
tuakkantün [túak·ə̀ntɪ̰]	'having a son'	< tua"	'son'

Copyrighted material

wüakkantün 'having a penis = gelding' < wüa" 'penis'
[wɬak·ànt∓]

yatsükkantün 'deflated' < yatsü" (?)
[yázɬk·ànt∓]

With Nouns Ending in Nasalizing n

etümpa'in 'have a gun' < etün 'gun, bow'
[éðɬ̃mbà?I]

tamampa'in 'have a tooth' < taman 'tooth'
[tɐ́w̃ɐ̃mbà?I]

motsompa'in 'have a beard' < motson 'beard'
[mɔ́zɔ̃mbà?I]

tamangkantün 'having teeth' < taman 'tooth'
[tɐ́w̃ɐ̃ŋgànt∓]

nattusu'ungkantün 'doctor' < nattusu'un 'medicine'
[nɐ́t·Usù?ʉ̃ŋgànt∓]

potongkantün 'having a club = cop' < poton 'club'
[pórõŋgànt∓]

With Nouns Ending in Preaspirating h

putisihpa'in 'have a burro' < putisih 'burro'
[púrišIɸà?I]

patüasüppühpa'in 'have ice' < patüasüppüh 'ice'
[parɬasɬp·∓ɸà?I]

tsoppippühpa'in 'have hair' < tsoppippüh 'hair'
[ɕóp·Ip·∓ɸà?I]

Copyrighted material

keehiippühkantün 'having nothing'
[ké:hì:p·ɪxãndɨ] < keehii(ppüh) 'nothing'

kee piammüppühkantün 'not having children = childless'
[ké: βíãm·ɨp·ɪxə̀ntɪ] < piammü(ppüh) 'child'

kee namokkuppühkantün 'not having money = moneyless'
[ké: ỹáw̃ōk·ùp·ɪxə̀ntɪ] < namokku(ppüh) 'money'

With Nouns Ending in a Vowel

kahnipa'in 'have a house, dwell' < kahni 'house'
[kə́hnîβà?I]

paapa'in 'have water' < paa 'water'
[pá:βà?I]

pungkupa'in 'have a pet, horse' < pungku 'pet, horse'
[pə́ŋguβà?I]

kahnikantün 'having a house, dwelling' < kahni 'house'
[kə́hniʏə̀ntɪ]

paakantün 'having water' < paa 'water'
[pá:ʏə̀ntɪ]

tapakantün 'having testicles = stud' < tapa 'testicles'
[táβaʏə̀ntɪ]

9.4 STRESS PATTERNS

As in other Numic languages, stress patterns in Tümpisa 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

Copyrighted materia

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'ungkantün 'doctor'
[nát·Usù?ũŋgàntɨ]

kee namokkuppühkantün 'not having money'
[ké: ỹấw̃ōk·ùp·ɨxàntɨ]

natüpinniyaha(nna) '(to) be named'
[nár̥ɨβìn·ɨyàhA] ≈ [nár̥ɨβìn·ɨyàhān·à] ≈ [nár̥ɨβìn·ɨyàhāN·A]

tukummahanningkünna 'cook for'
[túʏũm·ằhān·ìŋgɨ̄n·ằ] ≈ [túʏũm·ằhān·ìŋgɨ̄N·A]

tütüaimmippühantün 'used to work'
[tɨ́r̥ɨàîm·îp·ɨhāndɨ] ≈ [tɨ́r̥ɨàîm·îp·ɨhāntɨ]

tütüaippühantün 'worked'
[tɨ́r̥ɨàip·ɨhāntɨ] ≈ [tɨ́r̥ɨàip·āntɨ]

tamminoingkünna 'make tired, tire'
[tắm·ɨỹòɨŋgɨ̄N·A]

Copyrighted material

küpütappütün 'long'
[kɨβɨràp·ɨrɨ̀] ≈ [kɨβɨràp·ɨRɪ]

tuhuntappütün 'thick'
[túhũndàp·ɨrɨ̀] ≈ [túhũndàp·ɨRɪ]

tukumpanapin 'sky'
[túʏũmbə̀nãβi] ≈ [túʏũmbə̀nãɸI]

teewingküppühantün 'told (someone)'
[té:wɪ̀ŋgɨp·ɨhãndɨ̀] ≈ [té:wɪ̀ŋgɨp·ɨhãntɪ]

paakantün 'having water'
[pá:ʏə̀ntɪ]

taattsüwitün 'seven'
[tá:ɕ·ɨwiðɨ̀] ≈ [tá:ɕ·ɨwiθɪ]

kahnikantün 'having a house, dwelling'
[kə́hnĩʏə̀ntɪ]

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.:

kukkwiippüh 'smoke'
[kUk·ʷí:p·ɪ]

pihnaawitün 'bee'
[pĩhỹə́:wɪ̀θɪ]

pomaappüh 'grass, hay'
[põwə́:p·ɪ]

Copyrighted materia

tupoompi 'desert'
[tuβó:̃mbì] ≈ [tuβó:̃mpI]

tuttsaappüh 'dirt, dirty'
[tuɕ·á:p·ǂ]

tsitoohin 'push'
[ɕiðó:hì] ≈ [ɕiðó:hI]

tütsüünna 'to count'
[tɨzɨ́:̃n·ã] ≈ [tɨzɨ́:̃N·A] ≈ [tɨ́zɨ̀:̃N·A]

wükküünappüh 'fog'
[wɨk·ɨ́:̃nə̀̃p·ǂ] ≈ [wɨk·ɨ̀:̃nə̀̃p·ǂ]

paküünappüh 'cloud'
[paʏɨ́:̃nə̀̃p·ǂ] ≈ [páʏɨ̀:̃nə̀̃p·ǂ]

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.:

Copyrighted material

napittatahangkühanna 'have behind bared for'
[nãβít·aràhãŋgɨhãn·ã] ≈ [nãβít·aràhãŋgɨhãN·A]

napitüngkünna 'to fight'
[nãβíðɨ̀ŋgɨ̀N·A]

nawüttümampü 'door'
[nãwɨt·ɨ̃wɜ̀̃mpɪ]

tütattsokwiinna 'to sew' Vi
[tɨráȼ·oɣᵂì:n·ɜ̀] ≈ [tɨráȼ·oɣᵂì:N·A]

tütsaikkanna 'to hold' Vi
[tɨzáik·ãN·A]

wüsu'ukkuttih 'kick'
[wɪsúʔuk·ùt·I]

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'
[nɜ́sũndɜ̀̃wãhɜ̀N·A]

tukoitsoinna 'to wash' Vi
[túʏoizɔ̀ĩN·A]

napakkappüh 'killed'
[nɜ́βak·àp·ɪ] ≈ [nãβák·ap·ɪ]

naniyahanna 'to be called'
[nɜ́nîyàhãn̩·ɜ̀] ≈ [nɜ́nîyàhãN·A]

Copyrighted materia

Primary stress may be placed on the second mora in words which have a geminate stop or s 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·ű̀N·A] ≈ [út·ũN·A]

kuttinna 'to hit'
[kut·ĺ̀N·A] ≈ [kút·ĩN·A]

tsikka'ah 'cut'
[ȼik·á?A] ≈ [ȼík·a?A]

nükkanna 'to dance'
[nɨ̈k·ã́N·A] ≈ [nɨ́̈k·ãn·à] ≈ [nɨ́̈k·ãN·A]

tükkanna 'to eat'
[tɨ̈k·ã́N·A] ≈ [tɨ́̈k·ãn·à] ≈ [tɨ́̈k·ãN·A]

küttsi'anna 'to bite'
[kɨ̈ȼ·í?ãn·à] ≈ [kɨ̈ȼ·í?ãN·A] ≈ [kɨ́̈ȼ·i?à̀N·A]

tosoṅenna 'to wipe'
[tɔső̀nẽn·à] ≈ [tɔ́sõnẽ̀N·A]

masutuhinna 'to rub'
[mãsúruhĩN·A] ≈ [mã́surùhin·à] ≈ [mã́surùhĩN·A]

toppottsittsi 'short'
[tɔp·óč·ič·i] ≈ [tɔp·óč·Ič·I]

tosapitün 'white'
[tɔsáβiðɨ̈] ≈ [tɔsáβiθɪ̈]

Copyrighted materia

tuppapitün 'black'
[tup·áβiðɨ̞] ≈ [tup·áβiθǂ]

isapungku 'dog'
[Išáβũŋgù] ≈ [IšáβũŋkU] ≈ [íšaβùŋkU]

kasattsikantü 'bird'
[kasáȼ·iɣ̀ǎntǂ]

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'
[yó:ɣõndùk·uβìč·I]
< yookon(pin) 'valley', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'

toyatukkupittsi 'mountain lion'
[tóyarùk·uβìč·I]
< toya(pin) 'mountain', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'

tupoontukkupittsi 'desert bobcat'
[tuβó:̃ndùk·uβìč·I]
< tupoon(pi) 'desert', tukkupittsi 'wildcat'

putisihpa'in 'have a burro'
[púrišIɸà?I]
< putisih 'burro', -pa'in 'have'

Copyrighted materia

noyokowa'ippü 'whore'
[nǒ́yoʏ̀òwà?ip·ɨ̀] ≈ [nǒ́yoʏ̀òwà?ip·Ɨ] ≈
[nṍyóʏowà?ip·ɨ̀] ≈ [nṍyóʏowà?ip·Ɨ]
< noyoko 'be screwed', wa'ippü 'woman'

nasungkwa'atükintu'ih 'will start to feel'
[nǎ́sũŋgʷà?arɨ̀ʏĩndù?I]
< nasungkwa'ah 'feel', tükin 'start', -tu'ih 'will'

takkamammüihan 'can't take care of'
[ták·ãw̃ə̀̃m·ɨ̀ihà] ≈ [ták·ãw̃ə̀̃m·ɨ̀ihA]
< takkamah 'take care of', -mmüih 'can't', -kan stv

tsiatiyaippüh 'hungry, starved'
[číarìyaip.Ɨ]
< tsia 'hunger', tiyaih 'die', -ppüh pp

tüngwünütün 'cliff'
[tɨ́ŋgwɨ̀nɨ̂rɨ̀] ≈ [tɨ́ŋgwɨ̀nɨ̂RƗ]
< tün- (tümpin) 'rock', wünütün 'standing'

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.:

hupiatüki 'sing'
[húβiàrɨ̀ʏì] ≈ [húβiàrɨ̀xI]
< hupia(pin) 'song', tüki" 'put'

nampuninna 'tracks, to track'
[nə́̃mbũnɪ̀N.A]
< nam(pe) 'foot, track', puninna 'to see'

Copyrighted material

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 and ü + u > u

E.g.:

u ungappa'enna > ungappa'enna 'spank him'
ü ungappa'enna > ungappa'enna 'spank you'

usü un natükkanna > usunnatükkanna 'that is what is eaten'

The objective case suffix -nna may optionally be contracted to simply n; e.g.:

nümmü tüpan(na) tükkatü
we(exc) pinenut-O eat-hab
'we eat pinenuts'

satümmü yuhukunnan(na) natüngkanna
those stove oil-O ask for
'they ask for stove oil'

nüü Antsia kwasu'un(na) tümüüngküppühantü
I Angie-O dress-O bought for
'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 tüpa 'pinenut' and yuhukunna", which do not end in n.

Some other common, more or less idiosyncratic, contractions are listed below.

Copyrighted materia

nanangkah	>	naangkah	'be noise'
sümmi yükkwi	>	sümmükkwi	'say that'
sinni + nukwi"	>	sinnukwi"	'do like this'
senni + nukwi"	>	sennukwi"	'do like this'
sanni + nukwi"	>	sannukwi"	'do like that'
sunni + nukwi"	>	sunnukwi"	'do like that'

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 okwetün 'flowing' is preceded by paa 'water' in the compound paa'okwetün 'river'; and a glottal stop appears when the verb annih 'fall down' is preceded by the prefix wü"- 'with an elongated instrument' in wü'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.

Beatty, Nevada		Tümpisa Shoshone
wa'wata	'mosquito'	wawata
pai'yüü(ttsi)	'kangaroo rat'	paiyüü(ttsi)

In his dissertation, McLaughlin (1987) cites another word, noo'wi'a (sic), with a glottal plus semivowel, but this is a

Copyrighted materia

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 ahtapü [áθaβɨ̥], while in Tümpisa Shoshone it is atapü [áraβɨ̥]. In Tümpisa Shoshone, the cluster of h plus t only occurs across word boundaries, never word-internally. However, [θ] occurs as an allophone of t, 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 Tümpisa 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 [ɨ̥] are voiceless variants of [a], [e], [i], [o], [u], and [ɨ̥], 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 Tümpisa (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 " 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

Copyrighted materia

before suffixes beginning with velars but also before suffixes beginning with t, such as -tün habitual and present participle, -tu'ih 'will', or -tühantün 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.

Copyrighted material

10

TEXTS

The texts in this chapter are presented as examples of running discourse in Tümpisa 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 Tümpisa Shoshone; this is to preserve the aesthetic integrity of the Tümpisa 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 Tümpisa Shoshone texts with word-by-word interlinear translations; this is for closer linguistic and literary analysis. In addition, within the

Copyrighted materia

conversation in 10.6, divisions between major topics have been indicated.

10.1 PÜETÜSÜ NÜMMÜ SUNNI NUKWIMMIPPÜHsappANTÜ "HOW WE LIVED LONG AGO"

Püetüsü pünnan ni nümmi nukwippüha nü sukkwa teewitu'ih miikka. Sape'esü, nümmü Death Valley ka kahnipaimmippühantü.

Ütüinna küttaa sapettü ütüintü. Nümmü tommo okkwah sukkwuh kahnipainüwi. Nümmü tatsa naakkiha nümmü supe toya mantu mi'a. Püesü sape'esü, nümmü pungkupaimmippühantü, nümmü putisih pungkupaimmippühantü. Nümmü supe'e supa'a miatü nümmü...toya mantu. Nümmü sakkuh kahnikantü tatsawani. Nümmü supe'e tüpanna hannitü sakkuhontü, tüpanna tükkatü, tüpanna nomo'enna. Nümmü noohinna namo'emmippühantü pasiitanna. Tünga "yuapi" niyakantü sakkuh pihnaa kammantü aikupittsi nümmü sukkwa tükkatü. Tsao hüttsawüntü sapa'antü toya mantu. Nümmü sukkuh naamminna tatsawani.

Nümmü üküsü ukkwah supe'e tommo üitsü'iyuntu'ih, nümmü supe'e mia ntünaa Death Valley katü ütüintü katu tsao yuwaintü tommo okkwah. Sape un natükkanna tünaa Death Valley "ohpi" "ohpi" nihakantü sitü. Nümmü sukkwa tükkatü, u tusukkwantü tükkatü. Usun takasü suittü un natükkanna. Hiisampe tünga paa kuppantü sutü "ohyo" niyakantü nümmü sukkwa tükkamminna. Nümmü sukkwuh kahnikantü ukkwah tommo okkwah, nümmü sukkwuh kahnikantü.

Nian nappü naappühantü sukkwuh tütüaimmi sukkwuh üattüah ka, sape'esü ukkwah. Nümmü so'oppüh pungkupaimmippühantü, nümmü so'oppüh putisih pungkupaimmippühantü. Nümmü noohimpe sukkwuh kahnikantü nümmü.

Nümmü ti tünga miappühantü tünaa natütiingwakwasü ape himpüka. Nümmü sape namiangkütaippühantü kee nangkawitü ukkwah kee mitükkaannangkawitü ukkwah, himpüka püü Sherman in Stewart. Nümmü sapettü namiangkütaippühantü, wahattü niam püanümü ma'e nü namiangküppühantü sapettü school natiingwakkatu apettu Navajo natiingwakka. Nümmü sapehontü

Copyrighted material

nangkawi mitükkaannangkawi. Nümmü pahi nümmü tommo yingkappühantü sape. Nümmü sape natiingwayingkappühantü ke nangkawitü ukkwah.

Haka usun takasü nasuntamanna pünnan ni nümmi nukwippüha. Oh! Nümmü na'ümammippühantü miatü ukkwah, nümmi pungku pa'a miatukwa, putusih pa'a miatukwa.

Sümüttü tangummü sümmi yükkwi ümanna akkutü toya mantu nümmi potso'ingküki nümmi üitsü'ingküki nümmi: "Ma kimma! Ma kimma!" i niingkünna. U petsingkünna ümatünna, u petsingkünna sukkwa nümmi miaku ukkwah, ütüingku ukkwah. Nümmü na'üma sukkwuh nanümü kenümüni na'ümanna nümmü. Nümmin kateetta tukkwa nümmü weekinnümmi, kateettakantü naappühantü nümmü sape'eni ikkwah. Nü appü naappühantü utü, nümmü sümüsü niam patsinümü. Nia samoppü naappühantü wahattü. Nümmü soontü miatü. U petsingkünna sakka üngwatünna, nümmü na'üngwataisü supe'e wihnu.

Haka usun takasü nia 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

Copyrighted materia

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.

Copyrighted materia

Interlinear Translation

PÜETÜSÜ NÜMMÜ SUNNI NUKWIMMIPPÜHANTÜ
LONG AGO WE THAT WAY DO-USED TO

Püetüsü pünnan ni nümmi nukwippüha nü sukkwa
long ago which way us(exc) did-sub-O I that-O

teewitu'ih miikka. Sape'esü, nümmü Death Valley ka kahni-
tell-will now that time we(exc) at house-

paimmippühantü.
have-used to

Ütüinna küttaa sapettü ütüintü. Nümmü tommo okkwah
be hot really that time be hot we(exc) winter when

sukkwuh kahnipainUwi. Nümmü tatsa naakkiha nümmü supe
there house-have around we(exc) summer become we there

toya mantu mi'a. Püesü sape'esü, nümmü
mountain through go long ago that time we(exc)

pungkupaimmippühantü, nümmü putisih pungkupaimmippühantü.
horse-have-used to we(exc) burro pet-have-used to

Nümmü supe'e supa'a miatü nümmü...toya mantu.
we(exc) that time them-on go we(exc) mountain through

Nümmü sakkuh kahnikantü tatsawani. Nümmü supe'e tüpanna
we(exc) there house-having summertime we then pinenut-O

hannitü sakkuhontü, tüpanna tükkatü, tüpanna nomo'enna.
preparing thereabouts pinenut-O eating pinenut-O pick

Nümmü noohinna namo'emmippühantü pasiitanna. Tünga
we(exc) something-O pick-used to seed(?)-O and

Copyrighted materia

"yuapi" niyakantü sakkuh pihnaa kammantü aikupittsi
prickly pear name-have there sweet tasting cactus

nümmü sukkwa tükkatü. Tsao hüttsawüntü sapa'antü toya
we(exc) that-O eat really be cool there mountain
mantu. Nümmü sukkuh naamminna tatsawani.
through we(exc) there be-used to summertime

Nümmü üküsü ukkwah supe'e tommo üitsü'iyuntu'ih,
we(exc) after while that time winter be cold-would

nümmü supe'e mia ntünaa Death Valley katü ütüintü katu
we(exc) that time go down to heat towards

tsao yuwaintü tommo okkwah. Sape un natükkanna tünaa
really be warm winter when there its edible down
Death Valley "ohpi" "ohpi" nihakantü sitü.
mesquite bean mesquite bean name-having this

Nümmü sukkwa tükkatü, u tusukkwantü tükkatü. Usun takasü
we(exc) that-O eat it grind eat that's all

suittü un natükkanna. Hiisampe tünga paa kuppantü sutü
that kind its edible something also water in that

"ohyo" niyakantü nümmü sukkwa tükkamminna. Nümmü sukkwuh
plant(?) name-have we(exc) that-O eat-used to we there
kahnikantü ukkwah tommo okkwah, nümmü sukkwuh kahnikantü.
dwell when winter when we(exc) there dwell

Nian nappü naappühantü sukkwuh tütüaimmi sukkwuh
my father was there working there

Copyrighted materia

üattüah ka, sape'esü ukkwah. Nümmü so'oppüh pungku-
ranch at that time when we(exc) many horse-

paimmippühantü, nümmü so'oppüh putisih pungkupaimmippühantü.
have-used to we(exc) many burro pet-have-used to

Nümmü noohimpe sukkwuh kahnikantü nümmü.
we(exc) always there dwell we(exc)

Nümmü ti tünga miappühantü tünaa natütiingwakwasü
we(exc) emph also went down go to school

ape himpüka. Nümmü sape namiangkütaippühantü kee
there someplace we(exc) there were sent not

nangkawitü ukkwah kee mitükkaannangkawitü ukkwah, himpüka
speak when not English-speak when someplace

püü Sherman in Stewart. Nümmü sapettü namiangkütaippühantü,
emph we there were sent

wahattü niam püanümü ma'e nü namiangküppühantü sapettü
two my cousin people and I were sent there

school natiingwakkatu apettu Navajo natiingwakka. Nümmü
school-to there school-at we(exc)

sapehontü nangkawi mitükkaannangkawi. Nümmü pahi nümmü
there speak English-speak we(exc) three we(exc)

tommo yingkappühantü sape. Nümmü sape natiingwayingka-
year stayed there we there go to school-stayed

ppühantü ke nangkawitü ukkwah.
not speaking when

Copyrighted materia

Haka usun takasü nasuntamanna pünnan ni nümmi
what that's all remember which way us(exc)

nukwippüha.
did-sub-O

Oh! Nümmü na'ümammippühantü miatü ukkwah, nümmi pungku
we(exc) were rained on going when us horse

pa'a miatukwa, putusih pa'a miatukwa.
on going-when burro on going-when

Sümüttü tangummü sümmi yükkwi ümanna akkutü toya
one man thus tell-dur rain there mountain

mantu nümmi potso'ingküki nümmi üitsü'ingküki nümmi:
through us(exc) make wet-come us(exc) make cold-come us(exc)

"Ma kimma! Ma kimma!" i niingkünna. U petsingkünna
it come it come this tell it hollered at

ümatünna, u petsingkünna sukkwa nümmi miaku ukkwah, ütüingku
rain-O it hollered at that-O us go-sub when be hot

ukkwah. Nümmü na'üma sukkwuh nanümü kenümüni
when we(exc) were rained on there relative really

na'ümanna nümmü. Nümmin kateetta tukkwa nümmü weeki-
were rained on we our wagon under we(exc) went in

nnümmi, kateettakantü naappühantü nümmü sape'eni ikkwah.
around wagon-having were we(exc) that time when

Nü appü naappühantü utü, nümmü sümüsü niam patsinümü.
my father was that we all my older sisters

Copyrighted material

Nia samoppü naappühantü wahattü. Nümmü soontü miatü.
my sibling were two we(exc) many went

U petsingkünna sakka üngwatünna, nümmü na'üngwataisü
it hollered at that-O rain-O we(exc) were rained on
supe'e wihnu.
that time then

Haka usun takasü nia nasuntamantü.
what that's all me remember

10.2 ISAM PETÜMMÜ
"COYOTE'S DAUGHTERS"

Isapaippü utü...un nappü miattaimmaa; miattaimmaa hakattuh sampe sutü. "Mümmü tuittsia ta'otahi noo hakapan ukkwah isapapi...tuittsi epapi pitühi," yükkwi. "Mümmü wihnu sukkwa...mümmü mümmü...u mantünna kwüühikwa tuittsia noohakatü u mantünna kwüühi," mii yükkwi pünnam petümmi niingkünna. Sümmi niingkünna. "Tuittsi sepa'a pitütühantü," yükkwi. "Tuittsi sepa'a pitütühantü tsao napunitü." Setü otammani miattaisü sümmi yükwitü püü! Miattaisü o...o...sümmi yükkwi. "Tuittsi utü sepa'a pitütühantü mümmü mümmü u mantünna kwüütühantü," mii niingküntü pünnam petümmi ikkwah sümmi utummi niingkünna.

Sutümmü supe'esü wihnu u wüttühiihantü sutümmü. U wüttühiiha. Supe'e üküsü ukkwah pitü wihnu tuittsi, tsawün tuittsi. Tuittsi sutü, sutü Isapaippü sümmi yükwimmaasi ikkwah. "Esü mümmi naiwekipitühantü tuittsi," mii niingkünna um pia.... Tünga tünga.... Süümootü petümmü. Um petümmi sümmi yükkwi. Supe'e wihnu tuittsi pitüsü tuittsi pitü utümmü ka wihnu sümüttü tuittsi. "Esü tuittsi mümmi naiwekipitühantü," mii...mii utummi niingkünna um pia.

"Ahaa," ningwünü sutummü.

"Püe sümüttüm mai mi'a."

Copyrighted materia

Supe'esü sutummü wihnu kawai yükwikwa, kawai yükwikwa. Setümmim pia ma'i mi'a.

"Ekkih ke tamangkantü, ekkih ke tamangkantü."

Isü supe'e satümmi kawai yükwitü kawai yükwitü satümmü wihnu ekka ekka kawa....kawa.... Kawa sinnukkwi. Enni utummi ma'omminna. Etü etü wihnu hipittsi etü...etü utummim pia u punikka setü, sümüttü naipi tünga u punikka supe epa ke tamangkantü ekkih. Ke tamangkantü u punikka setü, u punikka tünga satü.

Supe'esü sümmi yükkwi, pünnam pia sümmi niingkünna isü, "Ke tamangkantü naammaa setü. Nümmi appü utü. Nümmi appü wa'i napuni satü. Nümmi appü wa'i napunitü satü," mii u niingkünna mii u niingkü pünnam pia. Um pia sümmi yükkwi. "Nümmi appü wa'i," supe'e sümmi yükkwi.

"Nahma suwanna'ongku! Nia tammi yüingkünna tammi isa ni nanangkasuwangkü miikka."

"Haa'a," mii niingkünna an nawiammü.

Süümootü sutümmü. Um petümmü süümootü. Utümmi sümmi yüingkünna, pünnam pii tsa sümmi yüingkünna, "Tammi appü naammaa satü wihnu. Ke tamangkantü ekkih. Ekkih ke tamampa'i u wa'i napuni."

Isü supe'e wihnu, isü supe'e wihnu, um pii sümmi yüingkünna utümmi, "Nümmü himpüa saawatu'i'ommü pittsa sanappi. Nümmü nümmü posiattsi posiattsi posiattsi nü u posiakainnuhi," um pii sümmi yükkwi. "U posiakainna. Nümmü supe'e wihnu sanapim ma u tsappo'ongkunnuhi. Ütüintü etü kotto'enna ekkih. Kotto'enna ekkih sanappi." Supe'e sakka u tsappo'ongkü satü. 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. Süümootü. Süümootü tatsiumpi. Usü sutümmü.

Isa appü esü naisapü.

Copyrighted materia

Idiomatic Translation
COYOTE'S DAUGHTERS

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.

Copyrighted materia

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.

Interlinear Translation

ISAM PETÜMMÜ

COYOTE'S DAUGHTERS

Isapaippü	utü...un	nappü	miattaimmaa;	miattaimmaa			
Coyote	that	their	father	went away		went away	
hakattuh	sampe	sutü.	"Mümmü	tuittsia	ta'otahi	noohakapan	
where	some	that	you all	young man-O	find-may	someplace	

Copyrighted material

ukkwah isapapi... tuittsi epapi pitühi," yükkwi. "Mümmü
when right here young man here arrive-may say-dur you all

wihnu sukkwa...mümmü mümmü...u mantünna kwüühikwa
then that-O you all you all him part of marry-might

tuittsia noohakatü u mantünna kwüühi," mii yükkwi
young man-O someone him part of marry-might quot say-dur

pünnam petümmi niingkünna. Sümmi niingkünna. "Tuittsi
his own daughters-O tell that tell young man

sepa'a pitütühantü," yükkwi. "Tuittsi sepa'a pitütühantü
here arrive-must say-dur young man here arrive-must

tsao napunitü." Setü otammani miattaisü sümmi yükwitü püü!
good look this old man went away that saying emph

Miattaisü o...o...sümmi yükkwi. "Tuittsi utü sepa'a
went away oh oh that say-dur young man that here

pitütühantü mümmü mümmü u mantünna kwüütühantü," mii
arrive-must you all you all him part of marry-must quot

niingküntü pünnam petümmi ikkwah sümmi utummi
tell his own daughters-O when that those-O

niingkünna.
tell

Sutümmü supe'esü wihnu u wüttühiihantü sutümmü. U
those that time then him wait for-stv those him

wüttühiiha. Supe'e üküsü ukkwah pitü wihnu tuittsi,
wait for-stv that time after while arrive then young man

Copyrighted materia

tsawün tuittsi. Tuittsi sutü, sutü Isapaippü sümmi
good young man young man that that Coyote that

yükwimmaasi ikkwah. "Esü mümmi
said when this is the one you all-O

naiwekipitühantü tuittsi," mii niingkünna um pia...
woo-arrive-stv young man quot say to their mother

Tünga tünga.... Süümootü petümmü. Um petümmi sümmi
and and ten daughters her daughters-O that

yükkwi. Supe'e wihnu tuittsi pitüsü tuittsi pitü
say-dur that time then young man arrived young man arrive

utümmü ka wihnu sümüttü tuittsi. "Esü tuittsi mümmi
those at then one young man this is young man you all-O

naiwekipitühantü," mii...mii utummi niingkünna um pia.
woo-arrive quot quot those-O tell their mother

"Ahaa," ningwünü sutummü.
uh-huh say those

"Püe sümüttüm mai mi'a."
ready one with go

Supe'esü sutummü wihnu kawai yükwikwa, kawai yükwikwa.
that time those then rat-O go after rat-O go after

Setümmim pia ma'i mi'a.
these one's mother with go

"Ekkih ke tamangkantü, ekkih ke tamangkantü."
here not tooth-having here not tooth-having

Copyrighted materia

Isü supe'e satümmi kawai yükwitü kawai yükwitü
this is that time those-O rat-O go after rat-O go after

satümmü wihnu ekka ekka kawa...kawa. Kawa sinnukkwi.
those then this-O this-O rat rat rat this way-do

Enni utummi ma'omminna. Etü etü wihnu hipittsi etü...
this way those-O pushed this this then old woman this

etü utummim pia u punikka setü, sümüttü naipi tünga u
this their mother it see this one girl also it

punikka supe epa ke tamangkantü ekkih. Ke tamangkantü
see there here not tooth-having here not tooth-having

u punikka setü, u punikka tünga satü.
it see this it see also that

Supe'esü sümmi yükkwi, pünnam pia sümmi niingkünna
that time that say-dur her own mother that say to

isü, "Ke tamangkantü naammaa setü. Nümmi appü utü.
thus not tooth-having was this our(exc) father that

Nümmi appü wa'i napuni satü. Nümmi appü wa'i napunitü
our(exc) father like look that our father like look-hab

satü," mii u niingkünna mii u niingkü pünnam pia. Um
that quot it say to quot it tell her own mother her

pia sümmi yükkwi. "Nümmi appü wa'i," supe'e sümmi
mother that say-dur our(exc) father like that time that

yükkwi.
say-dur

Copyrighted materia

"Nahma suwanna'ongku! Nia tammi yüingkünna tammi
together-dl think-dl me us(inc) say to us

isa ni nanangkasuwangkü miikka."
coyote like sound now

"Haa'a," mii niingkünna an nawiammü.
yes quot say to her girls

Süümootü sutümmü. Um petümmü süümootü. Utümmi sümmi
ten those her daughters ten those-O that

yüingkünna, pünnam pii-tsa sümmi yüingkünna, "Tammi
say to their own mom-emph that tell our(inc)

appü naammaa satü wihnu. Ke tamangkantü ekkih. Ekkih 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 yüingkünna utümmi, "Nümmü himpüa saawatu'i'ommü
mom that say to those-O we(exc) stuff-O boil-will-pl

pittsa sanappi. Nümmü nümmü posiattsi posiattsi posiattsi
pitch pitch we(exc) we louse louse louse

nü u posiakainnuhi," um pii sümmi yükkwi. "U
I him delouse-will their mom that say him

posiakainna. Nümmü supe'e wihnu sanapim ma u
delouse we(exc) that time then pitch with him

Copyrighted material

tsappo'ongkunnuhi. Ütüintü etü kotto'enna ekkih. Kotto'enna
cover head-will heating this boil here boil

ekkih sanappi." Supe'e sakka u tsappo'ongkü satü.
here pitch that time that-O him cover head that

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.

Süümootü. Süümootü tatsiumpi. Usü sutümmü. Isa
ten ten star that is those coyote

appü esü naisapü.
father this is the one horny

10.3 TAMMÜ TÜPANNA YAAKWANTU'IH
"WE'LL GO GET PINENUTS"

"Tammü tüpanna yaakwantu'ih," mii ningwünü'ummü, "epetti himpükatti," mii yükkwi'ummü, "kwinawennangkatünna. Ke tüpappühpa'e tammü, ke tüpannaappühpa'e toya mantü," ningwünü'ummü.

Sümüsü mia'ommü atü himpü Antsaapanappüh, atü Kaakki, Tukopoyo'ittsi, sümüsü kasattsikantü mia'ommü. Isapaippü nümü ma'i nukkwinnoo mi'a, üküsü ukkwah supe'e.

Sape pitükkangkwammaa'ummü wihnu. "Nümmü tüpanna yaakihantü," ningwününnuh. "Hakatü u yaatu'ih wihnu? -- Ung küpütappütü...okongkwantü yükkwi."

"Nü naatu'ih," mii yukkwi Antsaapanappüh. Supe'e u yaakki pahannai sutü wihnu.

Hipittsittsiammü sümme yükkwi, "Püe tammin tüpanna nayaappüh," mii ningwünü. "Püe pahannai kimmahinna'ummü potsommahinna pahannai senu tüpanna yaayingkasi ukkwah. Pahannai yotinna."

Copyrighted materia

Isapaippü etü sutummi hipittsittsiammi utummi Tukuwüappüh ma enni yukwinnoonna utumming kope katu, utummi wüppainna, naangkasuwamminna. Tüpanna nayaatu'ih ukkwah, ukkwa ti Tukuwüam ma Isapaippüppüan Tukuwüappüh. Un Tukuwüappüh sunni yükwippühantü.

Supe'e kimmatü utummü tsüümakku. Kimmatü ukkwah supe'eni tsüümanna utummü püü. Isapaippü pange miatü u tu tiyaitaihwappüha kee paappühpa'e takuttiyaitaihwa, petsümmi'atü.

U yaakki utü Antsaapanappüh u yaakki sope'e. Toya ma apa supe'e u hanninna; u üanna.

Tukopoyo'ittsi pahannai ipantu napakkataihwa. U pakkatai sutümmü u kimmangküntü. Sukkwam maanangkwatü Kaakki napakka...napakkatainnuh. U tümpi kattu u wihnu. Supe'e Kaakki yütsükomminna, 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 them 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."

Copyrighted materia

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

TAMMÜ	TÜPANNA	YAAKWANTU'IH
WE	PINENUT-O	GET-GO-WILL

"Tammü tüpanna yaakwantu'ih," mii ningwünü'ummü,
we(inc) pinenut-O get-go-will quot say(pl)-pl

"epetti himpükatti," mii yükkwi'ummü, "kwinawen-
there-emph someplace-emph quot say-pl north-

nangkatünna. Ke tüpappühpa'e tammü, ke tüpannaappühpa'e
ward not pinenut-have we(inc) not pinenut-have

toya mantü," ningwünü'ummü.
mountain on say(pl)-pl

Sümüsü mia'ommü atü himpü Antsaapanappüh, atü Kaakki,
all go-pl that some Flicker that Crow

Copyrighted materia

Tukopoyo'ittsi, sümüsü kasattsikantü mia'ommü. Isapaippü
Kingbird all bird go-pl Coyote

nümü ma'i nukkwinnoo mi'a, üküsü ukkwah supe'e.
people with run along go after while that time

Sape pitükkangkwammaa'ummü wihnu. "Nümmü tüpanna
there arrive-thither-pl then we(exc) pinenut-O

yaakihantü," ningwününnuh. "Hakatü u yaatu'ih wihnu?
get-hither said(pl) who it get-will then

-- Ung küpütappütü...okongkwantü yükkwi."
its long tongue-having do-dur

"Nü naatu'ih," mii yukkwi Antsaapanappüh. Supe'e
I will be quot say-dur Flicker that time

u yaakki pahannai sutü wihnu.
it bring down that then

Hipittsittsiammü sümme yükkwi, "Püe tammin tüpanna
old women that say-dur already our pinenut-O

nayaappüh," mii ningwünü. "Püe pahannai kimmahinna'ummü
taken quot say already down come-hither-pl

potsommahinna pahannai senu tüpanna yaayingkasi
pour(pl)-hither down after all pinenut-O get-stop(pl)-sub

ukkwah. Pahannai yotinna."
when down fly(pl)

Isapaippü etü sutummi hipittsittsiammi utummi
Coyote this those-O old ladies-O those-O

Copyrighted materia

Tukuwüappüh ma enni yukwinnoonna utumming kope katu,
Sky Penis with this-way do-moving their face at

utummi wüppainna, naangkasuwamminna. Tüpanna nayaatu'ih
those-O hit(pl) sounded like pinenut-O be taken-will

ukkwah, ukkwa ti tukuwüam ma Isapaippüppüan Tukuwüappüh.
when that-O emph Sky Penis with Coyote's Sky Penis

Un Tukuwüappüh sunni yükwippühantü.
his Sky Penis that-way did

Supe'e kimmatü utummü tsüümakku. Kimmatü ukkwah
then coming those die(pl)-result coming when

supe'eni tsüümanna utummü püü. Isapaippü pange miatü u
then die(pl) those emph Coyote up going there

tu tiyaitaihwappüha kee paappühpa'e takuttiyaitaihwa,
through died-sub not water-have thirst-died

petsümmi'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 sutümmü u kimmangküntü. Sukkwam maanangkwatü
killed those him chasing that's other side

Copyrighted material

Kaakki napakka... napakkatainnuh. U tümpi kattu u wihnu.
Crow was killed was killed it rock at it then

Supe'e Kaakki yütsükomminna, usü püü ukkwah!
that time Crow flew around that is emph when

Waanguupai toyapi tu ha!
piñon stand(pl) mountain through emph

10.4 SÜMÜTTÜ NAWIPI ISAPUNGKU MAI NUWIMMIPPÜHANTÜ "ONE GIRL WHO WENT AROUND WITH A DOG"

Hipittsittsi nümmi natümuingküppühantü püesü sape'esü ukkwah:

Sümüttü nawipi isapungku mai nuwimmippühantü. "Nü kammu yukwitü ma mai," yukwippühantü. Satü sunni yukwitü naammaa püü! U mai nuwitü noohompe u tsangkannuwitü.

Isapungkuppü sunni u yukwi wihnu. U naaketü tupoong kahontü u ma'e nuwitü noohimpe enni.

Üküsü ukkwah supe'esü sutü no'apükkahwa; üküsü ukkwah supe'esü sutü kammapükkannuh. Hipittsittsi utü mi'a taamiammaa u kammannuha okkwah, u kappinnangkwa katütü ukkwah sutungku kee teewingkütsinna etü un natapu. Kamman naammaa sutü u püü, kappinnangkwatü katünnuwitü hipittsittsi u nangkaha wihnu. "Isan tuammü naangka namo'i. Sepe isapungkun tuammüttsi. So'oppüh naangka namo'i," mii yükwippühantü sutü. U nangkaha satü.

Üküsü ukkwah supe'esü sutü wihnu...un natapu u teewingkünna wihnu üküsü ukkwah sutü kammanna sutü wihnu nawipi utü. Kammanna sutü. Kammahapitü sutü üküsü ukkwah supe'esü sutü tiyaitainnuh.... U kuppan ti epetti sutümmü, tsokonetaippüh isapaippü isan tuammüttsi utummü.

Usun takasü.

Copyrighted material

Idiomatic Translation

ONE GIRL WHO WENT AROUND WITH A DOG

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	NUWIMMIPPÜHANTÜ
ONE	GIRL	DOG	WITH	WENT AROUND

Hipittsittsi	nümmi	natümuingküppühantü	püesü
old woman	us(exc)	told story	long ago

sape'esü	ukkwah:
that time	when

Copyrighted material

Sümüttü nawipi isapungku mai nuwimmippühantü. "Nü
one girl dog with went around I

kammu yukwitü ma mai," yukwippühantü. Satü sunni
rabbit go after him with said that that way

yukwitü naammaa püü! U mai nuwitü noohompe u
do was emph him with walk always him

tsangkannuwitü.
leading-walking

Isapungkuppü sunni u yukwi 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

Üküsü ukkwah supe'esü sutü no'apükkahwa; üküsü ukkwah
after while that time that got pregnant after while

supe'esü sutü kammapükkannuh. Hipittsittsi utü mi'a
that time that got sick old woman that go

taamiammaa u kammannuha okkwah, u kappinnangkwa katütü
visit-go her got sick-sub when it outside sitting

ukkwah sutungku kee teewingkütsinna etü un natapu. Kamman
when those(dl) not tell this her uncle sick

naammaa sutü u püü, kappinnangkwatü katünnuwitü hipittsittsi
was that it emph outside sit around old lady

u nangkaha wihnu. "Isan tuammü naangka namo'i.
it hear-stv then coyote's babies make noise cry(pl)

Copyrighted material

Sepe isapungkun tuammüttsi. So'oppüh naangka
hereabouts dog's babies many make noise

namo'i," mii yükwippühantü sutü. U nangkaha satü.
cry(pl) quot said that it hear-stv that

Üküsü ukkwah supe'esü sutü wihnu...un natapu u
after while that time that then her uncle her

teewingkünna wihnu üküsü ukkwah sutü kammanna sutü wihnu
tell then after while that be sick that then

nawipi utü. Kammanna sutü. Kammahapitü sutü üküsü ukkwah
girl that be sick that be sick-lie that after while

supe'esü sutü tiyaitainnuh.... U kuppan ti epetti
that time that died her inside emph here-emph

sutümmü, tsokonetaippüh isapaippü isan tuammüttsi utummü.
those scratched up coyote's coyote's babies those

Usun takasü.
that's all

10.5 SÜMÜTTÜ WA'IPPÜ PAHAMITTSI MAI KATÜMMINNA "ONE WOMAN WHO STAYED WITH A BEAR"

Wa'ippüa ukkwa hakapangkuh sampe kwüümmaa utü pahamittsi utü hakamaana u nuwiku toya ma nootünga. Pünnang kahni kattu u petsüttaisuwammisü tawintüng kuppantü. Sope katümminna sutü wihnu u ma'i üppüihantü...pahamittsia.

Üküsü ukkwah un nanümü u puhaiko wihnu punikkammaa sutümmü pahamittsi to'ekku tawintüng kuppahantü. Un tükkatuiha puhaikwasü sukkwa sutü wa'ippüa. U makakomminna sapettü. Sukkwa sutü pinnasü miammaa sutü u makannuwisü to'ekku sutü pinnasü miamia.

Copyrighted material

Supe'esü supa'antu u pakkahwa, sutümmü u kuttimmaa püü! Supe'esü sutummü u petsünnuwimmaa wa'ippüa pünnan nanümü. Pümming kahni ka u petsüppüh no'api naammaa sutü u püü wa'ippü! "Nü tsao yuwa hapitü u ma'e ukkwa pahamittsi ape. Ke nü üitsü'immitü. Tsao nü u ma'e hapitü. Ung kahni kuppantü tsao yuwa'itükki."

Idiomatic Translation

ONE WOMAN WHO STAYED WITH A BEAR

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

SÜMÜTTÜ	WA'IPPÜ	PAHAMITTSI	MAI	KATÜMMINNA
ONE	WOMAN	BEAR	WITH	STAYED

Wa'ippüa	ukkwa	hakapangkuh	sampe	kwüümmaa	utü	
woman-O	that-O	where	some	caught	that	

pahamittsi	utü	hakamaana	u	nuwiku	toya	ma nootünga.
bear	that	someplace	her	walk-sub	mountain	on maybe

Copyrighted material

Pünnang kahni kattu u petsüttaisuwammisü tawintüng kuppantü.
his own house to her take-cmplt-want cave inside

Sope katümminna sutü wihnu u ma'i üppüihantü...pahamittsia.
there stayed that then him with slept bear-O

Üküsü ukkwah un nanümü u puhaiko wihnu punikkammaa
after while her relatives her look for then saw

sutümmü pahamittsi to'ekku tawintüng kuppahantü. Un
those bear emerge-result cave from inside her

tükkatu'iha puhaikwasü sukkwa sutü wa'ippüa. U makakominna
eat-would-O look for that-O that woman-O her feed

sapettü. Sukkwa sutü pinnasü miammaa sutü u makannuwisü
thereabouts that-O that more went that her feed

to'ekku sutü pinnasü miamia.
go out-result that more go-go

Supe'esü supa'antu u pakkahwa, sutümmü u
that time through there him killed those him

kuttimmaa püü! Supe'esü sutummü u petsünnuwimmaa wa'ippüa
shot emph that time those her took walking woman-O

pünnan nanümü. Pümming kahni ka u petsüppüh no'api
her own relatives their own house at her took-prf pregnant

naammaa sutü u püü wa'ippü! "Nü tsao yuwa hapitü u ma'e
was that it emph woman I well warm lie him with

ukkwa pahamittsi ape. Ke nü üitsü'immitü. Tsao nü
that-O bear thereabouts not I be cold-used to well I

Copyrighted materia

u ma'e hapitü. Ung kahni kuppantü tsao yuwa'itükki."
him with lie his house inside nice get warm

10.6 CONVERSATION

TOPIC I: BOILING WATER

MB: Nü paa ütüitaippüh.
MK: Ütüitaippüh.
MB: Haa'a....

TOPIC II: VENEREAL DISEASE

MB: Himpüppütü....
Aitiinnappü'ü pünnang kuhmattsia kammamakataippüh sutü.
MK: Tümpahi makatai?
MB: Tümpahi makatai kuhmanna.
MK: Sümmi ha yükwitü sutü?
MB: Hakani püü?
MK: Aattsaa!
MB: Ned sümmi teewinna; Tseekkia teewingkünna.
MK: Hakka?
MB: Ned.
MK: Neti.
MB: Ned sümmi teewinna.
MK: Aa'a.
MB: Tseekkia teewingkünna, Tseekkippü nümmi teewingkünna supa'antü.
MK: Pünnasün tümpahi makantü sutü naahi, sunni yukwitü püü sutü?
MB: Hai.
MK: Aitiinnappü sunni yukwitü püü sutü!
MB: Ahaa.
MK: Taona ka mi'akkwa?
MB: Sutummü hakattuh koonni Pisippüh kattu suttu.
MK: Sukkuh koonikomminna?

Copyrighted materia

MB: Haa'a.

MK: Haa'a. Katütü sutü pinna?

MB: Katütü sutü.

MK: Haa'a.

MB: Hakapa'antu u kwüüppüh sutü? Mitükkaannümü tümpahikantü nanahapantü.

MK: Mitükkaano sitümmü tümpahikantü? [Laughs] Kee tümpahikantü mitükkaano. Nümüppü! Nümüppü! Kee tsao namaappa'i. Mitükkaano nattusu'uwatü püü u kwüütti tümpahipitta kwüüsü, supe'esü sutü tsao naakkwa. Üü sunniyuppühantü taipo'onna ün uttuppüh; üü upenisü tsao naakkwappühantü. Nattusu'uwa.

MB: Hakapa'a sampe wüükkanna sutü wihnu hakapaamaana.

MK: Kuhmattsi?

MB: Rittsatü.

MK: Mainni?

MB: Haa'a.

MK: Haa'a. Sunni püü naatü mi'attaisü sunni yukwitü püü. Üüttsa! Hakani kia mukuapaitü? Hakami? Hakami? Iipüppü naappühantü u wa'e yukwitü.

MB: Haa'a.

MK: Utü Sosonippü sakkuh utummü kattü?

MB: [Kee] himpaitsinna.

MK: Haa?

MB: Kee himpaitsinna.

MK: Hakani naattaimmaa?

MB: Un natammupi küppakkuppüsü kee pitütsinna utü.

MK: Haa'a.

MB: Un tuappü un natammupia tsakküppatai, u punikka, mii yükwippühantü, Rittsatü ma'e.

MK: Haka ma'e sutü?

MB: Sutü.

MK: Haa?

MB: Sutü.

MK: Küppatai sutü un nimpüppüh.

MB: Haa'a.

Copyrighted material

Ukkwa mümming kahni ka katütünna sukkwa teewingkünna sutü?

MK: Ahaa.

MB: Ahaa.

MK: Supa'a pitüsi u waka naappüh naahi.

MB: Hakapa'a sampe.

MK: Nootünga taona ka.

MB: Taona ka.

MK: Un niippüammü sutümmü püü, Sittuwatüppüammü?

MB: Rittsatün nii?

MK: Sukkwasün nanümü püü?

MB: Haa'a. Um püpüammü mii yükwimminna sitü.

MK: Sutümmin nümüappü naappühantü.

MB: "Nü kee yuhukunnappühpa'intü; nüü sattu pange mi'a," mii yükwippühantü Tseekki. "U pa'an taona u pa'antü yuhukunna aittün...."

MK: Haa'a.

MB: "Nüü Ruhtüa nü natüngkanna," mii yükwippühantü. "Hinna punikkatütü sapa'a üü, hinna punikkatü," mii yiingkünna Tanam Pahpüppü.

MK: Sümmi yiingkünna?

MB: Haa'a.
"Noo mi'a antappu noo mi'a. Kee kahni ka katükkantü," mii u yiingkünna.

MK: Aattsaa! Tsao un nukwinna.

MB: Tüttsüppüh suwangküntü sutü.
"Nü kee miatüantü; nü Memmia takkamahantü. Memmia ün tiyotaiha püü, nüü mi'ahippüh püü," mii a yükwingkünna.

MK: Sümmi yükwingkünna.

MB: "Tsikküna'a nüü takkamahantü."
"Kee sakkuh katükkantü kahni ka," mii yükwikkinna.

MK: Üüttsüü!

MB: Ukkwuh ape ung katüku sümmisi yükwingkümminna, mii yükwippühantü sutü. Pange akkuh Sittuwatümmü ka katüku ukkwah, u tiyoimminna, mii yükwippühantü.

MK: Sutü?

Copyrighted material

MB: Haa'a.
MK: Sukkuh ha pitükwammaa sutummü u waka? Sutü?
MB: Hakatü?
MK: Ruhtüppü waka.
MB: Haa'a, yuhukunnanna natüngkakwasi, yuhukunnanna natüngkakwasi püü.
MK: Haa'a....

TOPIC III: THE COP

MB: Tsüattamappüa ekka ipa'antün nüü tüttsü nangkasuwangkünna. Antsi teewingkünna Baapüttsi wakantu pitükwammaatü. Um petüppü utü u ma'i nuwitü hiipinna Baapüttsi.
MK: Haa'a.
MB: Sukkwa tüttsüppüh suwangkünna tsüattamappüa pittuhungka wihnu.
MK: Hakami u yükwingkünna?
MB: "Kee u ma'i nuwitüantü," hakami mii u yükwingküppühantü sutü nawittsipippüa um petüppüa.
MK: Hakka siingkünna [= sümmi yükwingkünna]?
MB: Aniam petüppüa ukkwa.
MK: Aniam petünna ukkwa siingkünna.
MB: U waka pitükwa ung kahni kuppa tsüattamappü etü.
MK: Üünüü!
MB: "Tüttsüppüh nüü mümmi suwangkünna nümüppüammi," mii yükwikkinna.
MK: Utü tsüattamappü?
MB: Haa'a.
MK: Aattsaa!
MB: "Tuunnükammi nüü tüttsüppüh suwangkünna tünga," mii yükwikkinna.
MK: Hinnappüammi?
MB: Tuunnükappüammi.
MK: Sukkwa tünga?
MB: Ahaa. Mii yükwikkinna.

Copyrighted materia

Tüttsüppüh u nangkasuwangkünnusi setü wihnu yakaimmaa, Aniam petü etü.

MK: Sukkwah sümmi u yükwiku yakainna?

MB: "Nümüppüammü mümmü kee namokkuppühkantü, keehiippühkantü," sümmi mii yükwikkanna.

MK: Aattsaa!

MB: Hii supe'enni yakaippühantü.

MK: U nangkahantü tsüattamappü etü?

MB: Hakani tokwi püü. Tüttsüppütüppüh satü!

MK: Tüttsüppütüppüh naammaa sutü.

MB: "Hakani yükwitü mitükkaanoppü ma'i nuwikkimminna püü?" Etü sümmi u yükwingkünna wihnu. "Kee um petü," nuhi mii yükkwi sutü, "Kee um petü."

MK: Aa.

MB: Pünnahapiam petü.

MK: Nahonna wihnu tüttsüppüh 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.

MK: Suwittü püü naahi sutü. Suwittüppüh sutü sunni yükwitü, mii naahi yükwingkümminna, setümmü mitükkaanoppüammü. Nümü kee püü sunni yükwitü. Antsippü u ma'i mi'ami'appühantü 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: Pai kahnittsi u kuppa.

MK: Mitükkaano tsukuppü tukumpe kahnittsi u kuppa?

MB: Ahaa.

MK: Itü Mitükkaanoppü?

MB: Ahaa. Kuhnakkuntu'ih imaa ukkwah püü.

Copyrighted materia

MK: Sümmatü ha yuwaintü, üitsü'intü kee yuwaintü?
MB: Yuwaintü.
MK: Nüetünna kee hannihangku.
MB: Kottoonümpüttsi ma kuppa tükitu'immi nüü suwappühantü u kuppa hapimmippüh. Süttiyaitai tasüttiyaitai.
MK: Tukwanni nüü tasüttiyainnümmi....

TOPIC V: WOODCUTTING

MB: Tütsikkopiitüantü.
MK: Mümmü kee kunnappühpa'isü mungku tüngwa.
MB: Haa'a. Kunnoohwantu'ih mii yükwippühantü sutü.
MK: Hakaniyu etü pikkopü pa'a muhing kunnoonnuwippüh?
MB: Tsumataippüh.
MK: Hüüttsittsia kunnoonnookku. Kee atsa yaannaihwappüh kükküpütappüh naappühantü sutü sutü.
MB: Tütsikka'annümpüttsia yaakkwa.
MK: Haa?
MB: Tütsikka'annümpüttsia yaakkwa. Utü u yaakkwammaa.
MK: Nawittsipippü u ma'i mi'appühantü tümaapüatunna. Pusikkwannuha sümmatü. Sutü utummi wümmengküntu'ih mii yükwippühantü. "Sükkwo'i sükkwo'itsi witsa," mii utummi yükwingküppühantü.
"Nüü kee süttiyaitü kahni kuppa kottoohanü katütü u kuppa."
"Noo süttiyai napihnaapü naaku, noo süttiyai," mii u yükwingkünna imaa nüü.
Na'awaimmaasi ukkwah mii yükwingkünna. Mitükkaanoa tuupükkangkünna mitükkanno ma'i tammi taona ka mi'atu'ippüha. Nosoo'itü. Nosoo'itü.
MB: Haa'a.
MK: Supe'e man tuupükkappüha.
MB: Tukwawani nasoo'innasü.
MK: Ee?
MB: Tukwawani nasoo'immaa tünga.

Copyrighted materia

MK: Kee sumpanaitsimmaa sümmatü 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?

Copyrighted material

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?

Copyrighted materia

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?

Copyrighted materia

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!

Copyrighted materia

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.

Copyrighted material

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.

Copyrighted material

Interlinear Translation

TOPIC I: BOILING WATER

MB: Nü paa ütüitaippüh.
my water be hot-prf

MK: Ütüitaippüh.
be hot-prf

MB: Haa'a....
yes

TOPIC II: VENEREAL DISEASE

MB: Himpüppütü....
something [to talk about]

Aitiinnappü'ü pünnang kuhmattsia kammamakataippüh sutü.
Irene her own husband disease-give-prf that

MK: Tümpahi makatai?
V.D. gave

MB: Tümpahi makatai kuhmanna.
V.D. gave husband-O

MK: Sümmi ha yükwitü sutü?
so Q say that

MB: Hakani püü?
how emph

MK: Aattsaa!
nasty

Copyrighted material

MB: Ned sümmi teewinna; Tseekkia 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: Tseekkia teewingkünna, Tseekkippü nümmi teewingkünna
Jake-O tell to Jake us(exc) tell to

supa'antü.
that-about

MK: Pünnasün tümpahi makantü sutü naahi,
his own V.D. give that might

sunni yukwitü püü sutü?
that-way do emph that

MB: Hai.
unlikely

MK: Aitiinnappü sunni yukwitü püü sutü!
Irene like-that do emph that

Copyrighted materia

MB: Ahaa.
uh-uh

MK: Taona ka mi'akkwa?
town to go(pl)

MB: Sutummü hakattuh koonni Pisippüh kattu suttu.
those somewhere go Bishop towards through there

MK: Sukkuh koonikomminna?
there go-around-iterative

MB: Haa'a.
yes

MK: Haa'a. Katütü sutü pinna?
yes stay that aforementioned

MB: Katütü sutü.
stay that

MK: Haa'a.
yes

MB: Hakapa'antu u kwüüppüh sutü? Mitükkaannümü
where it caught that Caucasian-people

tümpahikantü nanahapantü.
V.D.-having intermingled among

MK: Mitükkaano sitümmü tümpahikantü? [Laughs] Kee
Caucasian these V.D.-have not

tümpahikantü mitükkaano. Nümüppü! Nümüppü! Kee
V.D.-have Caucasian Indian-emph Indian-emph not

Copyrighted material

tsao namaappa'i. Mitükkaano nattusu'uwatü püü
well self-care for Caucasian medicate emph

u kwüütti tümpahipitta kwüüsü, supe'esü sutü tsao
it catch-emph V.D.-O catch then that well

naakkwa. Üü sunniyuppühantü taipo'onna ün nuttuppüh;
get you that-way-be Caucasian-O you gave-sub

üü upenisü tsao naakkwappühantü nanattusu'uwasi.
you right away well got self-medicate

MB: Hakapa'a sampe wüükkanna 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 püü naatü mi'attaisü sunni yukwitü
yes that way emph be went away that way do

püü. Üüttsa! Hakani kia mukuapaitü? Hakami? Hakami?
emph nasty what might mind-have what what

Iipüppü naappühantü u wa'e yukwitü.
Eva was her like do

Copyrighted materia

MB: Haa'a.
yes

MK: Utü Sosonippü sakkuh utummü kattü?
that Shoshone there those at

MB: [Kee] himpaitsinna.
not be there

MK: Haa?
huh

MB: Kee himpaitsinna.
not be there

MK: Hakani naattaimmaa?
what happened

MB: Un natammupi küppakkuppüsü kee pitütsinna utü.
his car broke not return that

MK: Haa'a.
yes

MB: Un tuappü un natammupia tsakküppatai, u punikka,
his son his car wrecked it see

mii yükwippühantü, Rittsatü ma'e.
quote said Richard with

MK: Haka ma'e sutü?
whom with that

MB: Sutü.
that

Copyrighted material

MK: Haa?
huh

MB: Sutü.
that

MK: Küppatai sutü un nimpüppüh.
broke down that his possession

MB: Haa'a.
yes

Ukkwa mümming kahni ka katütünna sukkwa
that-O you-all's house at staying that-O

teewingkünna sutü?
tell to that

MK: Ahaa.
yes

MB: Ahaa.
yes

MK: Supa'a pitüsi u waka naappüh naahi.
there return him with be-prf might

MB: Hakapa'a sampe.
somewhere

MK: Nootünga taona ka.
maybe town in

MB: Taona ka.
town in

Copyrighted materia

MK: Un niippüammü sutümmü püü, Sittuwatüppüammü?
his what-relatives those emph Stewards

MB: Rittsatün nii?
Richard's what-relative

MK: Sukkwasün nanümü püü?
his relatives emph

MB: Haa'a. Um püpüammü mii yükwimminna sitü.
yes his cousins quote say-used to this

MK: Sutümmin nümüappü naappühantü.
their bodies was

MB: "Nü kee yuhukunnappühpa'intü; nüü sattu pange mi'a,"
I not stove oil-have I there up go

mii yükwippühantü Tseekki. "U pa'an taona u pa'antü
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 sapa'a üü, hinna punikkatü," mii
what hang around there you what hang around quote

yiingkünna Tanam Pahpüppü.
tell to Donald Buff

Copyrighted material

MK: Sümmi yiingkünna?
thus say to

MB: Haa'a.
yes

"Noo mi'a antappu noo mi'a. Kee kahni 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: Tüttsüppüh suwangküntü sutü.
bad think that
[= not like]

"Nü kee miatüantü; nü Memmia takkamahantü.
I not go-have to I Mamie-O take care of

Memmia ün tiyotaiha püü, nüü mi'ahippüh püü,"
Mamie-O you send away emph I go-might emph

mii a yükwingkünna.
quote him say to

MK: Sümmi yükwingkünna.
so say to

MB: "Tsikküna'a nüü takkamahantü."
chicken I take care of

"Kee sakkuh katükkantü kahni ka," mii yükwikkinna.
not there stay house at quote say

Copyrighted material

MK: Üüttsüü!
nasty

MB: Ukkwuh ape ung katüku sümmisi yükwingkümminna,
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

Copyrighted material

MK: Haa'a...
yes

TOPIC III: THE COP

MB: Tsüattamappüa ekka ipa'antün nüü tüttsü
cop-O that here I bad

nangkasuwangkünna. Antsi teewingkünna Baapüttsi wakantu
hear-feel about Angie tell about to Babsie with

pitükwammaatü. Um petüppü utü u ma'i nuwitü
arrived his daughter that her with go around

hiipinna Baapüttsi.
definitely Babsie

MK: Haa'a.
yes

MB: Sukkwa tüttsüppüh suwangkünna tsüattamappüa
that bad feel [=dislike] cop-O

pittuhungka wihnu.
arrive-sub then

MK: Hakami u yükwingkünna?
what her say to

MB: "Kee u ma'i nuwitüantü," hakami mii u
not her with go around-must what quote her

yükwingküppühantü sutü nawittsipippüa um petüppüa.
said to that girl-O his daughter-O

Copyrighted material

MK: Hakka siingkünna [= sümmi yükwingkünna]?
whom thus-say to thus say to

MB: Aniam petüppüa ukkwa.
Annie's daughter-O that-O

MK: Aniam petünna ukkwa siingkünna.
Annie's daughter-O that-O thus-say to

MB: U waka pitükwa ung kahni kuppa tsüattamappü etü.
her with arrive-thither her house in cop this

MK: Üünüü!
nasty

MB: "Tüttsüppüh nüü mümmi suwangkünna nümüppüammi,"
bad I you all-O feel [=dislike] Indians-O

mii yükwikkinna.
quote say-hither

MK: Utü tsüattamappü?
that cop

MB: Haa'a.
yes

MK: Aattsaa!
nasty

MB: "Tuunnükammi nüü tüttsüppüh suwangkünna tünga,"
Blacks-O I bad feel about [=dislike] also

mii yükwikkinna.
quot say

Copyrighted material

MK: Hinnappüammi?
which-pl-O

MB: Tuunnükappüammi.
Blacks-O

MK: Sukkwa tünga?
that-O also

MB: Ahaa. Mii yükwikkinna.
uh-uh quot say

Tüttsüppüh u nangkasuwangkünnusi setü wihnu
bad it hear-feel about [=dislike] this then

yakaimmaa, Aniam petü etü.
cried Annie's daughter this

MK: Sukkwa sümmi u yükwiku yakainna?
that-O thus him say-sub cry

MB: "Nümüppüammü mümmü kee namokkuppühkantü,
Indians you all not money-have

keehiippühkantü," sümmi mii yükwikkanna.
nothing-have thus quot say

MK: Aattsaa!
nasty

MB: Hii supe'enni yakaippühantü.
what then cried

MK: U nangkahantü tsüattamappü etü?
her hear cop this

Copyrighted material

MB: Hakani tokwi püü. Tüttsüppütüppüh satü!
somehow right emph bad that

MK: Tüttsüppütüppüh naammaa sutü.
bad was that

MB: "Hakani yükwitü mitükkaanoppü ma'i nuwikkimminna püü?"
why do white people with run around emph

Etü sümmi u yükwingkünna wihnu.
this that her say to then

"Kee um petü," nuhi mii yükkwi sutü, "Kee um
not his daughter us(dl) quot say that not his

petü."
daughter

MK: Aa.
oh

MB: Pünnahapiam petü.
wife's daughter

MK: Nahonna wihnu tüttsüppüh u suwangkünna.
be nothing then bad her feel [dislike]

"Ümmi ha petü sümmatü naakkimmaa sutü?"
your Q daughter-that one got to be that

Nati'iwantün noo sutü u nippahahi. "Ümmi ha petü
be tough must that him talk back-dub your Q daughter

sutü, pünnahapi asü petü?" mii naakki, mii tünga
that wife's that daughter quot become quot also

Copyrighted materia

nangkawi.
speak

MB: "Um Pünnahapi naahi satü," mii yiingkümmaa.
his wife might be that quot said to

MK: Ee?
eh

MB: "Um pünnahapi naahi satü," mii yiingkümmaa.
his wife might be that quot said to

MK: Suwittü püü naahi sutü. Suwittüppüh sutü
that kind emph might be that that kind that

sunni yükwitü, mii naahi yükwingkümminna,
that way do quot might be say-used to

setümmü mitükkaanoppüammü. Nümü kee püü
these white people Indian not emph

sunni yükwitü.
that way do

Antsippü u ma'i mi'ami'appühantü kee sutü .
Angie her with went around not that

tünga püesün tünga? Nümüppü ma'i tünga....
also while ago also Indian with also

Copyrighted material

TOPIC IV: WHERE THE WHITE MAN SLEEPS

MK: Hakapa sitü hapitü sipaitü kahnittsi u kuppa?
where this lie here shack it in

MB: Pai kahnittsi u kuppa.
up shack it in

MK: Mitükkaano tsukuppü tukumpe kahnittsi u kuppa?
white person old man tin shack it in

MB: Ahaa.
uh-huh

MK: Itü Mitükkaanoppü?
this white person

MB: Ahaa. Kuhnakkuntu'ih imaa ukkwah püü.
uh-huh start to run-will tomorrow when emph

MK: Sümmatü ha yuwaintü, üitsü'intü kee yuwaintü?
that particular Q be warm be cold not be warm

MB: Yuwaintü.
be warm

MK: Nüetünna kee hannihangku.
blowing not do-when

MB: Kottoonümpüttsi ma kuppa tükitu'immi nüü
fire burner-little it in put-will-intent I

suwappühantü u kuppa hapimmippüh. Süttiyaitai
thought it in lie-iterative-sub cold-die

Copyrighted material

tasüttiyaitai.
foot-cold-die

MK: Tukwanni nüü tasüttiyainnümmi....
nighttime I foot-cold-die-moving

TOPIC V: WOODCUTTING

MB: Tütsikkopiitüantü.
cut(pl)-have to

MK: Mümmü kee kunnappühpa'isü mungku tüngwa.
you all not firewood-have you(dl) also

MB: Haa'a. Kunnoohwantu'ih mii yükwippühantü sutü.
yes fire-haul-will quot said that

MK: Hakaniyu etü pikkopü pa'a muhing kunnoonnuwippüh?
be how this pick-up on your(dl) fire-haul-sub

MB: Tsumataippüh.
all gone

MK: Hüüttsittsia kunnoonnookku. Kee atsa yaannaihwappüh
little bit-O fire-haul-result not axe took

kükküpütappüh naappühantü sutü sutü.
long(pl) was that that

MB: Tütsikka'annümpüttsia yaakkwa.
saw-little-O took

MK: Haa?
huh

Copyrighted material

MB: Tütsikka'annümpüttsia yaakkwa. Utü u yaakkwammaa.
saw-little-O took that it took

MK: Nawittsipippü u ma'i mi'appühantü tümaapüatunna.
girl him with went to help

Pusikkwannuha sümmatü. Sutü utummi wümmengküntu'ih
know-will that certain that those-O feel-make-will

mii yükwippühantü. "Sükkwo'i sükkwo'itsi witsa,"
quot said cold-die(pl) cold-die(pl) should

mii utummi yükwingküppühantü.
quot those-O told

"Nüü kee süttiyaitü kahni kuppa kottoohantü
I not cold-die house in fire-start

katütü u kuppa."
sit it in

"Noo süttiyai napihnaapü naaku,
ought to cold-die lazy be-sub

noo süttiyai," mii u yükwingkünna imaa nüü.
ought to cold-die quot her tell morning I

Na'awaimmaasi ukkwah mii yükwingkünna.
refuse being lazy when quot say to

Mitükkaanoa tuupükkangkünna mitükkanno ma'i tammi
Caucasian-O get angry about Caucasian with us(inc)

taona ka mi'atu'ippüha. Nosoo'itü. Nosoo'itü.
town at go-could have-sub be movie be movie

Copyrighted materia

MB: Haa'a.
yes

MK: Supe'e man tuupükkappüha.
that time her get mad-sub

MB: Tukwawani nasoo'innasü.
at night be a movie-still

MK: Ee?
eh

MB: Tukwawani nasoo'immaa tünga.
last night be a movie-past also

MK: Kee sumpanaitsimmaa sümmatü tüngwa
not know-neg-past that particular also
mi'akwantu'ippühantü nangkatü Palinna ma'e mi'atü.
go-future-past hearing Pauline with going

Copyrighted materia

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

tukumpanapin	[túɣũmbə̀̃nãɸI] ≈ [túɣũmbə̀̃nãβì]	'sky'
tapettsi	[táβeč·I]	'sun'
müattsi	[mɬ̈aȼ·I]	'moon'
tatsiumpi	[táziʊ̀̃mbi] ≈ [táziʊ̀̃mpI]	'star'
paküünappüh	[paɣɬ̈ːnə̀̃p·ɬ] ≈ [páɣɬ̈ːnə̀̃p·ɬ]	'cloud'
wükküünappüh	[wɨ̈kːɬ̈ːnə̀̃p·ɬ] ≈ [wɬ̈k·ɬ̈ːnə̀̃p·ɬ]	'fog'
nüaitün	[nɬ̈aiθɬ]	'wind, blowing'

Copyrighted material

≈ nüetün	[nɨ́eθɨ̄]	'wind, blowing'
ümatün	[ɨ́ʷ̃ãRɨ̄]	'rain'
paa	[pá:]	'water'
poto'inna	[póroʔÌN·A]	'spring'
patüasüppüh	[parɨasɬp·ɨ̄]	'ice'
tüasüppüh	[tɨasɬp·ɨ̄]	'frozen'
tahapi	[táhaɸI]	'snow'
potso'inna	[pózoʔÌN·A]	'to be wet'
≈ potso'en	[pózoʔE]	'be wet'
sokopin	[sɔ́ɣɔɸI] ≈ [sɔ́ɣɔpI]	'ground, land'
tümpin	[tɨ́mbi] ≈ [tɨ́mpI]	'rock'
pasingwampin	[pásɪŋwə̀̃mpI]	'sand'
≈ pasingompin	[pásɪŋɔ̀̃mpI]	
omapi	[ówãɸI]	'salt'
toyapi(n)	[tóyaɸI]	'mountain'
toyakatünnaitün	[tóyaɣàrɨ̄n·ə̀iRɨ̄]	'hill'
≈ toyakatünnaih	[tóyaɣàrɨ̄n·ài]	'be a hill'
tüngkahni	[tɨ̄ŋgàhNI]	'cave'
po'i	[póʔI]	'road'
tukwanni	[túɣʷaN·I]	'night'
yüwikka	[yɬwik·A]	'evening'
imaa	[Iw̃ɐ́:]	'morning'
tatsa	[táza] ≈ [tá̤zA]	'summer'
tommo	[tɔ́̃m·ɔ̃] ≈ [tɔ́̃M·Ɔ]	'winter'
tahmani	[tɐ́̃hw̃ãNI]	'springtime'
yüpani	[yɬβänÌ] ≈ [yɬβänI]	'autumn'
tommono	[tɔ́̃m·ɔ̃NO]	'year'
pahompin	[páhɔ̃mpI]	'tobacco'
namokkuttsi	[nɐ́w̃ɔ̃k·Uɕ·I]	'beads'
kohno	[kóhNO]	'cradle'
wika	[wíɣa] ≈ [wíxA]	'blanket'
namokko	[nɐ́w̃ɔ̃k·O]	'needle'
wisipin	[wíšiɸI]	'thread'
tümuhun	[tɨ́w̃ūhU]	'rope'
≈ tümohun	[tɨ́w̃ɔ̃hU]	
etün	[éðɬ] ≈ [éθɨ̄]	'gun'

Copyrighted material

kahni	[kấhni] ≈ [kấhNI]	'house'
nawüttümappüh	[nãwɬt·ɬw̃ẳp·Ɨ]	'door'
puhakantün	[púhaɣằntƗ] ≈ [púaɣằntƗ]	'shaman, doctor'
nattusu'ungkantün	[nắt·Usù?ũŋgằndɨ]	'(pill) doctor'
kimmakinna	[kĺm·āɣỲN·A]	'to come hither'
nattusu'un	[nắt·Usù?U] ≈ [nãt·úsu?U]	'medicine'
miakkinna	[mĺak·IN·A]	'to walk, go' pl
tonto'enna	[tṍndò?ẽN·A]	'to climb up'
notoppahenna	[nṍrop·àhēN·A]	'to climb down'
wünnü	[wn̋·ɬ]	'stand (dur)'
kattü	[kát·Ɨ]	'sit (dur)'
hapinna	[háβĩN·A]	'to lie down'
üppüihan	[ɬp·ɬlhA]	'sleep'
napusawinna	[nắβusàwĩN·A]	'to dream'
≈ napusawih	[nắβusàWI]	'dream' (V)
tiyainna	[tíɣaĩN·A]	'to die'
napakkappüh	[nắβak·àp·Ɨ]	'killed'
u punikkan	[u βűnĩk·A]	'see it'
nangkah	[nắŋgah]	'hear'
ke'e	[ké?E]	'no, not'
sumpanai'i	[sűmbānằi?I]	'know'
nangkawinna	[nắŋgawỲN·A]	'to talk'
isa'awinna	[išá?awỲN·A]	'to (tell a) lie'
≈ isa'awih	[išá?aWI]	'(tell a) lie'
yahenna	[yáhēN·A]	'to laugh'
≈ yahinna	[yáhĩN·A]	
ün noppaippüh	[ɨn nṍp·aip·Ɨ]	'your tears'
≈ ün noppeppüh	[ɨn nṍp·ep·Ɨ]	
yakainna	[yáɣaĩN·A]	'to cry'
≈ yakenna	[yáɣẽN·A]	
pitaninna	[píδānỲN·A]	'to vomit'
uttunna	[ut·ű́N·A]	'to give'
≈ uttuh	[út·U]	'give'
tukoitsoinna	[túɣoiʒ̀òiN·A]	'to wash' (Vi)

Copyrighted material

pasangkünna	[pásāŋgɨ̀N·A]	'to dry' (Vt)
takkuna	[ták·ũNA]	'throw'
≈ u takkuna	[u rák·ũNA]	'throw it'
nükkanna	[nɨk·áN·A]	'to dance'
tukummahanninna	[túʏūm·àhān·ÌN·A]	'to cook'
≈ tukummahannih	[túʏūm·àhāN·I]	'cook'
kuukkinna	[kú:k·ÌNA]	'to cook'
ti'iwanna	[tíʔiwɛ̀N·A]	'to be afraid'
pakatüh	[páʏarɨ] ≈ [páʏaRɪ]	'be a body of water'
paa okwenna	[pá: óʏᵂẽN·A]	'water flowing'
tusinna	[túsîN·A]	'to spit'
tütüaingwünü	[tɬrɨàîŋwɨ̀NA]	'stand and work'
≈ tütüainna	[tɬrɨàîN·A]	'to work'
wasüwükkinna	[wásɨwɨ̃k·îN·A]	'to hunt'
≈ wasüwükki	[wásɨwɨk·I]	'hunt'
tütsüünna	[tɬzɬ̄N·A] ≈ [tɨzɬ̄N·A]	'to count'
tsikka'ah	[ȼík·aʔA]	'cut'
≈ u tsikka'anna	[u zik·áʔãN·A]	'to cut it'
hotanna	[hórãN·A]	'to dig'
kuttinna	[kut·ÍN·A]	'to shoot'
sunni suwanna	[sún·i šúwãN·A]	'to think like that'
noohakami yükwi"	[nó:hàʏãw̃Ì yɬʏᵂi] ≈ [nó:hàʏãw̃Ì yɬxᵂI]	'say something'
teewingkünna	[té:wÌŋgɨ̀N·A]	'to tell'
napitingkünna	[nãβíδîŋgɨ̀N·A]	'fight'
wüsu'ukkuttih	[wɬsúʔuk·ùt·I] ≈ [wɨsúʔuk·ùt·I]	'kick'
tangummuttih	[tɑ́ŋũm·ùt·I]	'kick'
≈ u tangummuttih	[u rɑ́ŋũm·ùt·I]	'kick it'
tükkanna	[tɨk·áN·A] ≈ [tɬk·ãN·A]	'to eat'
u küttsi'ah	[u ʏɨȼ·íʔA] ≈ [u ʏɨȼ·ía]	'bite it'

Copyrighted materia

hipinna	[híβîN·A]	'to drink'
u yungwünna	[u yű̱ŋẇ̱N·A]	'to swallow it'
pitsinna	[pížîN·A]	'to suckle'
tukkuapin	[túk·uàɸI]	'meat, flesh'
hupapin	[húβaɸI]	'soup'
yuhupin	[yúhuɸI]	'fat'
pihyaapin	[pIhyá:ɸI]	'sugar'
pisittaippüh	[pIšIt·àip·Ɨ] ≈ [píšIt·àip·Ɨ]	'rotten'
tsiatiyaippüh	[ȼiarʲyaip·Ɨ]	'hungry'
wihi	[wíhI]	'knife'
appo'o	[áp·oʔò]	'cup'
sümüttün	[sɨ́ẅ̱ît·Ɨ]	'one'
waha	[wáha]	'two'
≈ wahattün	[wáhat·Ɨ]	
pahittün	[páhit·Ɨ]	'three'
≈ paittün	[páit·Ɨ]	
wattsüwitün	[wáȼ·ɨwʲiθɪ]	'four'
manikitün	[mă̱nîɣʲiθɪ]	'five'
naapaitün	[nă̱:βàiθɪ]	'six'
taattsüwitün	[tá:ȼ·ɨwiθɪ]	'seven'
woosüwitün	[wɔ́:sɨwiθɪ]	'eight'
wanikkitün	[wă̱nik·ʲiθɪ]	'nine'
süümootün	[sɨ̈:ẅɔ̀:Rɪ]	'ten'
wahamootün	[wáhãẅɔ̀:Rɪ]	'twenty'
sümüseentu	[sɨ́ẅ̱ɨsè:ntU]	'one hundred'
pühüppüh	[pɨ́hɨp·Ɨ]	'fur'
musuwi	[mű̱suwʲi]	'mustache'
motson	[mő̱zo]	'beard, whiskers'
kupisi	[kúβisI]	'brains'
üm pui	[ɨ̈m búi]	'your eye'
patü'a	[párɨ̈ʔA]	'forehead'
nangki	[nă̱ŋkI]	'ear'
mupin	[mű̱βi] ≈ [mű̱ɸI]	'nose'
tümpe	[tɨ̱̈mpE]	'mouth'
ün nokwon	[ɨ̈n nő̱ɣᵂO]	'your tongue'

Copyrighted material

ün taman	[ɨn dɑ́w̃ɑ̃]	'your tooth'
üng kope	[ɨŋ góβe] ≈ [ɨŋ góɸE]	'your face'
üm patüntsi	[ɨm bárɨnɕI]	'your chin'
ün natapü	[ɨn nɑ́raɸɪ]	'your jaw'
üng kutan	[ɨŋ gúra]	'your neck'
ün tsooppüh	[ɨn ʐó:p·ɪ]	'your shoulder'
üm pütapü	[ɨm bɨraɸɪ]	'your arm'
üm mo'o	[ɨm mő?O]	'your hand'
ün tasitu	[ɪn dásiθU]	'your fingernail'
üng kwaimpü	[ɨŋ gʷáimpɪ]	'your back'
üm panapi	[ɨm bɑ́nɑ̃ɸI]	'your chest'
üm pitsi	[ɨm bíʐi]	'your breast'
somo	[sɔ́w̃õ]	'lungs'
üm pihwü	[ɨm bíhʷɪ]	'your heart'
nümü	[nɨ́w̃ɨ]	'liver'
≈ ün nümü	[ɨn nɨ́w̃ɨ]	'your liver'
sappüh	[sáp·ɪ]	'belly'
üng koe	[ɨŋ góe]	'your guts'
ün tsiappüh	[ɨn ʐíap·ɪ]	'your hips'
ün nungkwappüh	[ɪn nű́ŋgʷap·ɪ]	'your leg'
ün tohopi	[ɪn dóhoɸI]	'your thigh'
üng witsa	[ɨŋ wiʐA]	'your shin'
ün nampe	[ɨn nɑ́mpE]	'your foot'
ün tangappüh	[ɪn dɑ́ŋɑ̃p·ɪ]	'your knee'
tsuhmippüh	[ɕű́hw̃ip·ɪ]	'bone'
paoppi	[páop·I]	'blood'
üm po'a	[ɨm bó?a]	'your skin'
nümü	[nɨ́w̃ɨ]	'Indian, person'
mitükkaano	[mÍrɨk·à:nõ]	'white man'
nimaa	[niw̃á:]	'friend'
ün tümmu'u	[ɪn dɨ́m·ü?U]	'your enemy'
tangummü	[tɑ́ŋűM·ɪ]	'man'
wa'ippü	[wá?ip·ɪ]	'woman'
≈ wa'ippü'ü	[wá?ip·ɬ?ɪ]	
piammüttsi	[piɑ̃m·ɛ̀ɕ·I]	'baby'

Copyrighted material

natüpinniyahanna	[nár̈ɨβÌn·ɨyàhãN·A]	'to be named'
≈ natüpinniyahan	[nár̈ɨβÌn·ɨyàhA]	'be named'
naniyahanna	[nánɨyàhãN·A]	'to be named'
üm pia	[ɨ̈m bía]	'your mother'
ün nappü	[ɨ̈n náp·ɨ̈]	'your father'
atapu'u	[áraβù?U]	'uncle, mother's
≈ atapu	[áraɸU]	brother'
üm pahwa	[ɨ̈m báhᵂA]	'your aunt, father's sister'
ün tua"	[ɨ̈n dúa]	'your son'
üm petü"	[ɨ̈m béðɨ̈]	'your daughter'
≈ üm paitü"	[ɨ̈m báiðɨ̈]	
üng kuhmattsi	[ɨ̈ŋ gűhw̃ãȼ·I]	'your husband'
üm pünnahapi'i	[ɨ̈m bɨ́n·ahàβi?I]	'your wife'
≈ pünnahapi'i	[pɨ́n·ahàβi?I]	'wife'
üm papi'i	[ɨ̈m báβi?I]	'your Ol brother'
ün dami'i	[ɨ̈n dáw̃i?I]	'your Yo brother'
üm patsi'i	[ɨ̈m bázi?I]	'your Ol sister'
ün nammi'i	[ɨ̈n nám·i?I]	'your Yo sister'
hupiatüki	[húβiàrɨ̈ʏì] ≈ [húβiàrɨ̈xI]	'sing'
kammu	[kám·ū] ≈ [káM·U]	'jackrabbit'
taputtsi	[táβuȼ·I]	'cottontail'
pongwo'aittsi	[pɔ́ŋwɔ̃?àičˑI]	'mouse'
≈ pomo'aittsi	[pɔ́w̃ɔ?àičˑI]	
kapaayu	[kaβá:yu] ≈ [kaβá:YU]	'horse'
pungku	[pűŋkU]	'pet, horse'
≈ üm pungku	[ɨ̈m bűŋkU]	'your pet, horse'
isapungku	[IšáβũŋkU]	'dog'
pahamittsi	[páhãw̃Ìčˑ I]	'bear'
piakuittsun	[píaʏùičˑU]	'buffalo'
tühüya'a	[tɨ̈hɨ̈yà?A]	'deer'
wantsi	[wán̄ȼI]	'antelope'
wasüppin	[wásɨ̈pˑI]	'mountain sheep'
un naama	[ũn nǻ:w̃ã]	'its horn'
ung kwasi	[ũŋ gᵂásI]	'its tail'

Copyrighted materia

kasattsikantün	[kásaȼ·ìɣãntɪ̈] ≈ [kásaȼ·IxANtɪ̈]	'bird'
yütsünnoonna	[yɬzɨ̃n·ɔ̀:N·A]	'to fly around'
pühüttsi	[pɬhɨ̀ȼ·I]	'feather'
≈ um pühüttsi	[ŭm bɬhɨ̀ȼ·I]	'its feather(s)'
noyopin	[nɔ́́yoɸI]	'egg'
püyün	[pɬyɨ̀] ≈ [pɬyɨ̃]	'duck'
kaakki	[ká:k·I]	'crow'
pangwi	[páŋ^{W}I]	'fish'
pookoo'o	[pɔ́:ɣɔ̀:ʔɔ]	'frog'
posiattsi	[pósiàȼ·I]	'louse'
wawata	[wáwarà]	'mosquito'
pihnaawitün	[pihỹá:wìθɪ̈]	'bee'
angipi	[áŋ̀ɨɸI]	'fly'
woapittsi	[wóaβìč·I]	'worm'
sohopimpü	[sóhoβÌmpɪ̈] ≈ [sóhɔβÌmpɪ̈]	'cottonwood'
tüpa	[tɬβa]	'pinenut'
onnottsi	[ɔ́́n·ɔ̃ȼ·I]	'pinenut hook'
samapi	[sáw̃ã́ɸI]	'juniper'
süüpin	[sɬ:ɸI]	'willow'
wongkopin	[wɔ́́ŋgɔɸI]	'tall pine'
pohopin	[póhoβi] ≈ [póhoɸI]	'sagebrush'
pomaappüh	[põw̃á:p·ɪ̈]	'grass'
aikupittsi	[áiɣuβìč.I]	'cactus, thorn'
≈ ekupittsi	[éɣuβìč.I]	
am pisittsi	[Am bíšič·I]	'its leaf'
am pehettsi	[Am béheč·I]	'its seed'
hipingküppüh	[híβîŋgɬp·ɪ̈]	'flower'
tününa	[tɪ́́nɨ̀nà] ≈ [tɪ́́nɨ̀NA]	'root'
wayakku	[wáyak·U]	'burn'
kuttsappüh	[kúȼ·ap·ɪ̈]	'ashes'
kukkwiingwünü	[kUk·^{W}íːŋwɨ̀Nɪ̈]	'smoke' (Vi)
tsawinnuh	[ȼáwiN·U]	'to be good'
üküpittsi	[ɬɣɬβìč·I]	'new'
püaittümpü	[pɬait·ɨ̀mpɪ̈]	'old'

Copyrighted material

APPENDIX

piappütün	[píap·ɬRǂ]	'big'
tühüttsittsi	[tɬhɨ̂č·ìč·I] ≈ [tɬhɨ́č·Ič·I]	'small'
küpütappütün	[kɬβɨràp·ɬRǂ]	'long'
toppottsittsi	[tɔp·ɔ́č·Ič·I]	'short'
kümappüh	[kɬ́w̃ãp·ǂ]	'sharp edged'
mutsipi	[mūziβì] ≈ [mūziɸI]	'sharp pointed'
≈ mutsippüh	[mű́zip·ǂ]	
poono'o	[pɔ̃́ːnɔ̃ʔɔ]	'round'
wükkinnoo	[wɬk·in·ɔ̀ː]	'circular'
tüppeküataippüh	[tɬp·eɣɬaràip·ǂ]	'full'
tüppeküatain	[tɬp·eɣɬarài]	'be full'
tuttsaappüh	[tuɕ·áː p·ǂ]	'dirty'
ütü'in	[ɬrɨ̂ʔI]	'be hot'
üitsü'inna	[ɬiž̂ɬʔĩN·A]	'to be cold'
≈ üitsü'in	[ɬiž̂ɬʔI]	'be cold'
ke'e	[ké ʔE]	'no'
haa'a	[háːʔA]	'yes'
tuppapitün	[tup·áβiθǂ]	'black'
tosapitün	[tosáβiθǂ]	'white'
sakwaapitün	[saɣᵂáːβiθǂ]	'green'
≈ sakwaapi	[saɣᵂáːɸI]	
puhipitün	[pühiβìθǂ]	'blue and green'
≈ puipitün	[púiβìθǂ]	
angkapitün	[áŋgaβìθǂ]	'red'
sükümpitün	[sɬɣɨ̂mbìθǂ]	'yellow'
sokopin	[sɔ́ɣɔɸI] ≈ [sɔ́ɣɔpI]	'ground, land'
ontümpitün	[ɔ́ndɨ̂mbìθǂ]	'brown'
esümpitün	[éšɨ̂mbìθǂ]	'gray'
sümüsü	[sɨ́w̃ɬsǂ]	'all'
kwii mo'o	[kᵂiː w̃ɔ́ʔO]	'left hand'
tsawüm mo'o	[ɕáwɨ̂m mɔ́ʔO]	'right hand'
≈ tsaommo'o	[ɕáɔ̃m·ɔ̀ʔO]	
tokwi yükkwi	[tɔ́ɣᵂi yɬk·ᵂI]	'do right'
kee tokwi yükkwi	[ké: ðɔ̀ɣᵂi yɬk·ᵂI]	'do wrong'
manakwappüh	[mánaɣᵂàp·ǂ]	'far away'

Copyrighted material

tükünaattsi	[tɬʏɬnå:ɕ·I]	'close by, near'
paa pa hapinnuh	[pá: βá háβĩN·A]	'float, lie on water'
püttinna	[pɬt·ĩN·A]	'to be heavy'
nuwitüantüsü	[nű́wirɬãntɪsɪ]	'live; must wander'
nuinna	[nű́ĩN·A]	'to play, gamble'
pisotonna	[píšorȍN·A]	'pull'
tsitoohin	[ɕiró:hì]	'push'
≈ u tsitoohin	[u ziró:hI]	'push it'
u masutuhinna	[ũ w̃ãsúruhÌN·A]	'to rub it'
tsokoni	[ɕóʏõNI]	'scratch'
paa pakatüh	[pá: βáʏarɬ] ≈ [pá: βáʏaRɪ]	'ocean'
tütattsokwiinna	[tɬráɕ·oʏʷì:N·A]	'to sew' (Vi)
≈ tütattsokwi'ih	[tɬráɕ·oʏʷìʔI]	'sew' (Vi)
kwanakkinna	[kʷã́nãk·ÌN·A]	'to smell'
pattsipitün	[paɕ·íβiθɪ]	'smooth'
tokowa	[tóʏowà]	'snake'
u tsattawinna	[u zát·awÌN·A]	'to split it open'
tonamminna	[tő́nãm·ÌN·A]	'to stab'
≈ u tonamminna	[u rő́nãm·ÌN·A]	'to stab it'
tokwittunaantün	[tóʏʷit·ũnȁ:ntɪ]	'really straight'
u wüttamanna	[u wɬt·ã́w̃ãN·A]	'to tie it'
tosonenna	[tosónẽN·A]	'to wipe'
pakwinna	[páʏʷĩN·A]	'to swell'
tuhuntappütün	[tũhũndàp·ɪRɪ]	'thick'
≈ tuhuntappüh	[túhũndàp·ɪ]	
tatuttsittsi	[táruč·ìč·I] ≈ [táruɕ·ìč·I]	'thin'
yuwaintün	[yúwaintɪ]	'warm'
tütsaikkanna	[tɬzáik·ãN·A]	'to hold' (Vi)
≈ tsaikkanna	[ɕáik·ãN·A]	'to hold' (Vt)
yaakkwantu'ih	[yá:k·ʷȁndu?I]	'will take'

Copyrighted material

References

Andrews, J. Richard. 1975. Introduction to Classical Nahuatl. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bettinger, Robert L., and Martin A. Baumhoff. 1982. The Numic spread: Great Basin cultures in competition. American Antiquity 47.3.485-503.

Canonge, Elliott. 1958. Comanche Texts. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press and Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Chafe, Wallace F. 1976. Meaning and the Structure of Language. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Colville, Frederick V. 1892. The Panamint Indians of California. American Anthropologist 5.351-361.

Comrie, Bernard. 1981. Language Universals and Linguistic Typology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Crapo, Richley H. 1976. Big Smokey Valley Shoshoni. Publications in the Social Sciences 10. Reno: Desert Research Institute.

Dayley, Jon P. 1970. Shoshone Phonology and Morphological Sketch. Master's thesis, Idaho State University.

Copyrighted materia

_____. 1986a. Tatape Pekkappüh Sun Killer (Cottontail and the Sun): Shoshone. The Literature of Idaho: An Anthology, ed. James Maguire, pp. 13-24. Boise: Hemingway Center for Western Studies.

_____. 1986b. An ethno-historical Shoshone narrative: Püe Nümmü Nakkanna "How We Lived Long Ago". Idaho Archaeologist 9.1.3-13.

_____. 1989. Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Dictionary. UCPL 116. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Foley, William A., and Robert D. Van Valin, Jr. 1984. Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 38. London: Cambridge University Press.

Fowler, Catherine S. 1972a. Comparative Numic Ethnobiology. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh.

_____. 1972b. Some ecological clues to Proto-Numic homelands. Great Basin Cultural Ecology: A Symposium. Publications in the Social Sciences 8.105-121. Reno: Desert Research Institute.

Fowler, Don D., and Catherine S. Fowler, ed. 1971. Anthropology of the Numa: John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Numic Peoples of Western North America, 1868-1880. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology 14. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Freeze, Ray, and David E. Iannucci. 1979. Internal classification of the Numic languages of Uto-Aztecan. Amerindia 4.77-92.

Copyrighted material

Givón, Talmy. 1980. Ute Reference Grammar. Ignacio, Colorado.: Ute Press.

_____. 1984. Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction, vol. I. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963. Some universals of grammar, with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. Universals of Language, ed. J. H. Greenberg, pp. 73-113. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Hale, Kenneth. 1958. Internal diversity in Uto-Aztecan, I. IJAL 24.101-107

_____. 1959. Internal diversity in Uto-Aztecan, II. IJAL 25.114-121.

Henshaw, H. N. 1883. Vocabulary: Panamint. Bureau of American Ethnology unpublished ms. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Hopper, Paul, and Sandra Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. Language 56.251-299.

Kaufman, Terrence, and Lyle Campbell. 1981. Comparative Uto-Aztecan phonology. Unpublished ms. University of Pittsburgh.

Kerr, Mark. 1980. The Shoshoni Indians of Inyo County, California: The Kerr Manuscript. Publications in Archaeology, Ethnology, and History 15. Independence, Calif.: Ballena Press and Eastern California Museum.

Copyrighted material

Kroeber, Alfred L. 1925. Handbook of the Indians of California. BAE Bulletin 78. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. Reprinted, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953.

_____. 1939. Cultural and natural areas of native North America. U.C. Pubs. in American Archaeology and Ethnology 38. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lamb, Sydney M. 1958a. Linguistic prehistory in the Great Basin. IJAL 24.95-100.

_____. 1958b. Mono Grammar. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

_____. 1958c. Monache Dictionary. Ms. Berkeley: University of California.

_____. 1964. The classification of the Uto-Aztecan languages: a historical study. Studies in California Linguistics, UCPL 34.106-125. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1977. An Overview of Uto-Aztecan Grammar. Studies in Uto-Aztecan Grammar 1. Arlington, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Lehmann, Winfred P. 1978. Syntactic Typology: Studies in the Phenomenology of Language. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Mallinson, Graham, and Barry J. Blake. 1981. Language Typology. Amsterdam: North-Holland Press.

Copyrighted material

McLaughlin, John E. 1982a. Two or three (or four) points about adverbs and aspect in Central Numic (Uto-Aztecan). Studies in Native American Languages. Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics 7.63-89.

_____. 1982b. Directionals in Comanche. Paper read at the 21st Conference on American Indian Languages, American Anthropological Assn., Washington, D.C.

_____. 1983. From aspect to tense, or, What's -nuh in Comanche. Mid-American Linguistics Conference Papers, Lawrence, Kansas.

_____. 1987. A Phonology and Morphology of Panamint. Ph.D. dissertation, Linguistics Dept., University of Kansas.

Merriam, C. Hart. 1902. Vocabularies of North American Indians: Panamint Shoshone tribe. Unpublished ms. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture Biological Survey.

_____. 1904. Field Check Lists: Pacific Coast Region (Panamint Shoshone). Unpublished ms. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture Biological Survey.

Miller, Wick R. 1964. The Shoshonean languages of Uto-Aztecan. Studies in California Linguistics, UCPL 34.145-148. Berkeley: University of California Press.

_____. 1966. Anthropological linguistics in the Great Basin. The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin, 1964, ed. W. L. D'Azevedo et al. Publications in the Social Sciences and Humanities 1.75-112. Reno: Desert Research Institute.

Copyrighted material

_____. 1967. Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets. UCPL 48. Berkeley: University of California Press.

_____. 1970. Western Shoshoni dialects. Languages and Cultures of Western North America: Essays in Honor of Sven S. Liljeblad, ed. Earl H. Swanson, pp. 17-36. Pocatello: Idaho State University Press.

_____. 1972. Newe Natekwinappeh: Shoshoni Stories and Dictionary. University of Utah Anthropological Papers 94. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

_____. 1975. A sketch of Shoshoni grammar (Gosiute dialect). Handbook of American Indians, vol. 15: Language, ed. Ives Goddard. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

_____. 1984. The classification of the Uto-Aztecan languages based on lexical evidence. IJAL 50.1-24.

_____, James L. Tanner, and Lawrence P. Foley. 1971. A lexicostatistic study of Shoshoni dialects. Anthropological Linguistics, 13.4.142-164.

Nelson, E. W. 1891. The Panamint and Saline Valley (Cal.) Indians. American Anthropologist 4.371-372.

Nichols, Michael P. 1973. Northern Paiute historical grammar. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Sapir, Edward. 1913-14. Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a study in Uto-Aztekan, part I. Journal, Société des Americanistes de Paris 10.379-425 and 11.443-488.

Copyrighted material

_____. 1915. Southern Pauite and Nahuatl, a study in Uto-Aztecan, part II. American Anthropologist 17.98-120 and 306-328.

_____. 1930. Southern Paiute, a Shoshonean language. Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences 65.1.

_____. 1931. Southern Paiute Dictionary. Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65.3.

Steele, Susan. 1979. Uto-Aztecan: an assessment for historical and comparative linguistics. The languages of North America, ed. Lyle Campbell and Marianne Mithun, pp. 444-544. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Steward, Julian H. 1938. Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Social Groups. BAE Bulletin 120. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Stewart, Omer C. 1966. Tribal distributions and boundaries in the Great Basin. The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin: 1964, ed. W. L. D'Azevedo et al. Publications in the Social Sciences and Humanities 1.167-237. Reno: Desert Resrarch Institute.

Sturtevant, William C., and Warren D'Azevedo. 1986. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 11, Great Basin. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Copyrighted material

Voegelin, Charles F., F. M. Voegelin, and Kenneth L. Hale. 1962. Typological and comparative grammar of Uto-Aztecan, I (Phonology). IUPAL Memoir 17, supplement to IJAL 28.1.

Warren, Claude N., and Robert H. Crabtree. 1986. Prehistory of the southwestern area. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 11, Great Basin, ed. Warren L. D'Azevedo, pp.183-93. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Whorf, Benjamin L., and G. L. Trager. 1939. The relationship of Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan. American Anthropologist 37.609-624.

Copyrighted material

Other Volumes Available
University of California Publications in Linguistics

Vol. 22. Edward Sapir and Morris Swadesh. *Yana Dictionary.*
ISBN 0-520-09219-8
Vol. 72. Julian Moshinsky. *A Grammar of Southeastern Pomo.*
ISBN 0-520-09450-6
Vol. 75. James A. Matisoff. *The Grammar of Lahu.* ISBN 0-520-09467-0
Vol. 90. Haruo Aoki. *Nez Perce Texts.* ISBN 0-520-09593-6
Vol. 93. Susan Plann. *Relative Clauses in Spanish Without Overt Antecedents and Related Constructions.* ISBN 0-520-09608-8
Vol. 94. Harvey Pitkin. *Wintu Grammar.* ISBN 0-520-09612-6
Vol. 95. Harvey Pitkin. *Wintu Dictionary.* ISBN 0-520-09613-4
Vol. 98. Anuradha Saksena. *Topics in the Analysis of Causatives with an Account of Hindi Paradigms.* ISBN 0-520-09659-2
Vol. 100. James M. Crawford. *Cocopa Texts.* ISBN 0-520-09652-5
Vol. 101. Jesse O. Sawyer and Alice Schlichter. *Yuki Vocabulary.*
ISBN 0-520-09653-3
Vol. 102. Janet W. D. Dougherty. *West Futuna-Aniwa: An Introduction to a Polynesian Outlier Language.* ISBN 0-520-09657-6
Vol. 103. David John Weber. *Relativization and Nominalized Clauses in Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua.* ISBN 0-520-09666-5
Vol. 104. Haruo Aoki and Deward E. Walker, Jr. *Nez Perce Oral Narratives.*
ISBN 0-520-09693-2
Vol. 105. Catherine A. Callaghan. *Plains Miwok Dictionary.*
ISBN 0-520-09952-4
Vol. 106. Eser Emine Erguvanli. *The Function of Word Order in Turkish Grammar.*
ISBN 0-520-09955-9.
Vol. 107. Jon P. Dayley. *Tzutujil Grammar.* ISBN 0-520-09962-1
Vol. 108. Lynn Gordon. *Maricopa Morphology and Syntax.*
ISBN 0-520-09965-6
Vol. 109. David Leedom Shaul. *Topics in Nevome Syntax.*
ISBN 0-520-09964-8
Vol. 110. Catherine A. Callaghan. *Northern Sierra Miwok Dictionary.*
ISBN 0-520-09712-2
Vol. 111. James A. Matisoff. *The Dictionary of Lahu.* ISBN 0-520-09711-4
Vol. 112. David John Weber. *A Grammar of Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua.*
ISBN 0-520-09732-7
Vol. 113. Kathryn Klingebiel. *Noun + Verb Compounding in Western Romance.*
ISBN 0-520-09729-7
Vol. 114. James M. Crawford. *Cocopa Dictionary.* ISBN 0-520-09749-1
Vol. 116. Jon P. Dayley. *Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Dictionary.*
ISBN 0-520-09754-8
Vol. 117. Alice Shepherd. *Wintu Texts.* ISBN 0-520-09748-3

University of California Press
Berkeley 94720

ISBN 0-520-09752-1