

Survey of Shoshone Grammar with Reference to Eastern Shoshone

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National Science Foundation,
Documenting Endangered Languages Grant no. 0854517

2012

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Introduction

This document is a survey of Shoshone grammar. This survey is done with particular reference to Eastern Shoshone, spoken in and around the Wind River Reservation in central Wyoming. The Eastern Shoshone speech community has four main dialects, with two sub-dialects. Each of these four varieties has a slightly different pre-reservation history, and they have remained the defining property of different residential areas on the Wind River Reservation.

Shoshone is related to other Numic languages (Timbisha, Comanche; Ute, Southern Paiute, Chemeheuvi, Kawaiisu; Mono, Northern Paiute, Bannock). The Numic languages are a subfamily of the Uto-Aztecan language family which stretched historically from the Utes south to the Aztecs in Mexico (hence the name). I will sometimes refer to Numic and Uto-Aztecan.

This survey was done as part of archival research on Eastern Shoshone. Thanks are due to the National Science Foundation, Documenting Endangered Languages for the work which was done under Grant no. 0854517. Although there are dialect differences obvious in the Eastern Shoshone archival materials cited, no details are available on each of the four (possibly five; J. Washakie, p.c.) varieties of Eastern Shoshone, so there is no specific treatment of these in this survey.

The goal of the survey is to present the main features and some details (where documented in the written or archival literature) of the Shoshone language. The long-term goal is to produce a comprehensive grammar of Eastern Shoshone, possibly multilectal.

The grammar has been written so that anyone with a general education may use it. Technical terms are defined as they occur; eventually, in the Eastern Shoshone grammar, an index will allow readers to look up a term they don't remember. At the same, the main features of any language's grammar are explained as they occur so that a reader can understand without having to take a course in linguistics.

The main sources on Eastern Shoshone (mostly archival) are valuable for examples, and some observations. The following are the source abbreviations used in this survey grammar of the main sources:

C	Crum and Dayley (1995);
G	Gould and Loether (2002);
M	Miller (1972);
M2	Miller (1996);
S	St. Clair (1901);
SG	Shimkin (n.d.).

The grammatical work of Shimkin (n.d.; 1949a, 1949b) is preliminary, and sometimes his analysis is mistaken; a good example of the latter are his "articles" which he writes as noun prefixes that are actually a part of a preceding word. The grammatical sketch, text and morpheme list published by Shimkin (1949a, 1949b) are duplicated in his manuscript grammar sketch (Shimkin n.d.). Because of this duplication, and because the manuscript includes more material, only the Shimkin manuscript grammar is cited in this survey grammar.

The manuscript grammar of St. Clair (no relation of the St. Clair family of the Wind River Reservation; St. Clair n.d.) exists in several forms. The St. Clair version used here is one that was edited by Franza Boas with the view of publication.

Other examples are drawn from Tidzumps' thesaurus (Tidzump 1970) and her text (Tidzump n.d.). Examples are also drawn from St. Clair's texts (St. Clair 1901). The best description of the phonology of one dialect of Eastern Shoshone is in Tidzump and Kosin (1967A, B). Some examples are drawn from Northern Shoshone (Gould and Loether 2002), Central/Gosoiute Shoshone (Miller 1972, 1996; Crum and Miller 1987), and Western Shoshone (Crum and Dailey 1995).

A number of conventions are followed when giving Shoshone examples. When a Shoshone word is cited in English text, it appears with bold and italic type. When a Shoshone example is given in a table, it appears in italic. When a Shoshone form is cited in a more abstract analysis, the form is given in brackets: /baa/, 'water'. The same word would appear as *baa* in a table, and as ***baa*** when appearing in English text.

The sources of Shoshone words and sentences in the grammar is given in parentheses following the form cited. The source abbreviation is given followed by the page number of that work. For example, (M2 708), means Miller (1996), page 708.

When glossing (translating) Shoshone examples word by word, several conventions are used. Shoshone forms cited as examples in table have a column labelled "Gloss" giving the meaning of the Shoshone form. Where a Shoshone term appears in English text, the Shoshone form is given in bold and italic, followed by a comma and the English translation: "so the word ***baa***, 'water' has a long vowel."

When the cited Shoshone form is a sentence (not in a table), the example sentence is indented with the Shoshone sentence is bold and italic, followed by an English translation.

Sur waipe rênapeha vuika. That woman sees the man.

The following are the works cited throughout this survey of Shoshone grammar.

Crum, Beverly and Jon P. Dayley. 1995. *Western Shoshoni Grammar*. Boise, Idaho: Boise State University.

_____ and Wick R. Miller. 1987. *How to Read and Write Shoshoni*. Salt Lake: University of Utah, Linguistics Department.

Gould, Drusilla and Christophger Loether. 2002. *An Introduction to the Shoshoni Language: Dammnen Daigwape*. Salt Lake: University of Salt Lake Press.

Miller, Wick R. 1972. *Newe Natekwinapphe: Shoshoni Stories and Dictionary*. Salt Lake: University of Utah Press.

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Shimkin, D. B. n.d. [before 1949]. "Wind River Shoshone Grammatical Forms." Ms.

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St. Clair, Harry Hull. n.d. [Shoshone Grammar]. Ms., National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

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Tidzump, Malinda. n.d. *The Old Woman and Her Pig*. Fort Washakie, WY: privately duplicated.

_____. 1970. *Shoshone Thesaurus*. Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota.

_____ and Wesley Kosin. 1967a. Suggested Shoshone Alphabet Symbols, Number One. Fort Washakie, WY: Private publication.

_____ and _____. 1967b. Suggested Shoshone Alphabet Symbols, Number Two. Fort Washakie, WY: Private publication.

1. The Alphabet, Spelling Changes, and Final Vowel Dropping

The Shoshone sound system is complex. There are several ways of writing Shoshone that have been developed over the years. The one used here is basically the system developed for Eastern Shoshone by Malinda Tidzump, working with Wesley Kosin, with some changes.

There are two other major systems for writing Shoshone: the Miller system (Miller 1972; Crum and Miller 1987), and the Idaho State system (Gould and Loether 2002). The Miller system is very abstract, and requires the user to calculate the actual sounds being read or pronounced. The Idaho State system is less abstract, but requires the user to still calculate some of the values of the letters it uses.

Shoshone has a complex system of consonants (see the section of **final features**, section 1.3, below). By writing the language's actual spelling/pronunciation changes, it is easier for language learners and speakers learning to read and write Shoshone. By writing the changes, as the Tidzump system does, it also means that learners and readers must know how the changes work, since a word may be written several ways.

Because the Tidzump system is from the Wind River Shoshone community, it is also appropriate to use it for writing Eastern Shoshone. There are actually three different Tidzump-Kosin systems (Tidzump n.d, 1970; Tidzump and Kosin 1967a, 1967b). The one used here is the one used in Tidzump (1970), with slight changes.

1.1 The Alphabet

The alphabet is given below, with Shoshone keywords. Notice that some sounds in Shoshone are written with two letters from the Roman alphabet; such double letters are called **digraphs**. The letters and digraphs of an alphabet represent two major kinds of sounds: **vowels** and **consonants**. Vowels are made by holding the vocal tract in a single, steady position while making sound. Consonants are produced by movement between steady states (vowels).

The English sounds are approximate, and for some letters and digraphs, there is no English (near) equivalent. These are discussed after the alphabet listing. The double vowels are long vowels; they take slightly longer to say than the short vowels. Compare the short vs. long vowels by saying the English words aloud. Some words end in -, 'H, or -N; these are **final features** (1.3), and are not directly relevant to the alphabet listing.

Letter	Shoshone Example	English Sound
<i>a</i>	<i>ape</i> , father <i>sape</i> , stomach	father
<i>aa</i>	<i>aaN</i> , horn/antler <i>yaa''</i> , take it	sawed
<i>b</i>	<i>baa</i> , water	<i>bog</i>
<i>ch</i>	<i>bivichi</i> , really big <i>mumbich</i> , owl	<i>chop</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>davê</i> , sun/day	<i>dog</i>

dz	<i>dzaaN</i> , good/well	adze, adds
e	<i>ege</i> , now	mutt
ee	<i>EEKIRA'a</i> , oh!	mud
ê	<i>êkuN</i> , tongue	bet
êê	<i>dêêshe</i> , brother-in-law	bed
f	<i>dekafu'int</i> , be eating <i>dakafi</i> , snow	fog (made with both lips)
g	<i>gahni</i> , house <i>bagaN</i> , arrow	go
gw	<i>gwase"</i> , to cook <i>ogwê</i> , river/creek/flow	iguana
h	<i>hani</i> , to do	hog
hm	<i>guhmaN</i> , male	(see below)
hn	<i>gahni</i> , house <i>ohna</i> , baby/infant	(see below)
hw	<i>dahwi</i> , to throw	what
hy	<i>wi'hyuN</i> , needle	(see below)
i	<i>dzi</i> , with a point instrument	beet
ii	<i>dziina</i> , potato	bead
j	<i>ijape</i> , coyote <i>diviji</i> , really/certain(ly)	eject
k	<i>manaki</i> , to measure <i>dakafi</i> , snow	skate (no puff of air after k)
kw	<i>eng kwehe</i> , your wife <i>êkung kwitsê</i> , stick out tongue	awkward
m	<i>maga</i> , to feed	sum
mb	<i>nambe</i> , foot	stamp
mw	<i>damwi</i> , younger brother	some way (approximate)
n	<i>nahaN</i> , become/do	can
nd	<i>magande</i> , some (of) <i>ondeN</i> , brown	stand
ngk	<i>nangka</i> , to hear <i>êngkavi</i> , red	tanker
ny	<i>bainyaN</i> , wasp	canyon (approximate)
o	<i>oha</i> , yellow <i>onafi</i> , salt <i>omoN</i> , leg	rote

oo	<i>noofi</i> , hill	rode
p	<i>sape</i> , stomach <i>beepiN</i> , blood	spate (no puff of air after p)
r	<i>ara</i> , uncle <i>haviro'i</i> , will lie down <i>newereka</i> , cannibal/monster	rider (tap tongue against palate)
s	<i>sakuH</i> , over there <i>gasa</i> , wing	sun
sh	<i>bêsheN</i> , already <i>bishipe</i> , rotten	shun
t	<i>gutuvi</i> , coal(s) <i>gutiH</i> , to shoot <i>we tamaH</i> , to tie up	state (no puff of air after t)
ts	<i>datsewi-</i> , seven	bats
u	<i>duku</i> , mountain sheep/meat	root
uu	<i>yuu"</i> , fat/warm/quiet <i>yuupe</i> , fat one	rude
v	<i>baavi</i> , older brother <i>buuv</i> , sound of a hummingbird	vat (made with both lips)
w	<i>wihiN</i> , knife <i>suwa</i> , to think	wife
x	<i>suwaixi</i> , to think of <i>wêhangkuxu</i> , scorched <i>yaixi</i> , to enter	(see below)
xw	<i>wenixwai</i> , wander around <i>gotoixwa</i> , boiled	(see below)
y	<i>yehne</i> , porcupine <i>oyok</i> , all (objective)	yes
z	<i>baaziH</i> , older sister <i>daziumbi</i> , star	ooze

The following consonants require some comment.

hm	make an h and follow it with an m , so say: hhhhhh man ;
hn	make an h and follow it with an n , so say: hhhhhh no ;
hy	make an h and follow it with a y , so say: hhhhhh yes ;
x	like the ch in the German word ich ; to make this sound, form an English k , and then hold the k in place and force air through the mouth;
xw	make the sound of x plus a w;
g	this letter really write two sounds in Shoshone: (a) the letter in English go ;

	(b) in the middle of a word, g is the same sound as x , but with the vocal chords vibrating;
gw	this letter represents two sounds in Shoshone: (a) the gw sound in igu ana at the beginning of words; (b) the same sound as xw with the vocal chords vibrating.

Most of the sounds of Shoshone have close or near equivalents in English. The sounds (letters, digraphs) above are the ones that require special attention.

Note that **f** and **v** are made by vibrating both lips together. In English, **f** and **v** are made by vibrating the upper teeth against the lower lip.

In the middle of a word, **p**, **t**, and **k** are held longer than their English counterparts in the middle of a word:

dakafi, snow sounds like: *dakkafi*;
sape, stomach sounds like *sappe*;
gutiH, to shoot sounds like *guttiH*.

The medial consonants /**p t k**/ (called medial because they usually occur in the middle of a word) are called **geminate** ("twin") consonants, because it is as if there were two consonants instead of one. One of the final features is **geminating** (symbolized by " at the end of a word), which means that if the following word or suffix begins with /**b d dz g gw**/, the twin (geminate) consonant appears:

b becomes p;
d becomes t;
dz becomes ts;
g becomes k;
gw becomes kw.

There is more on final features in the next section of this chapter.

There are also clusters of vowels (diphthongs). These include the following.

ai	wa ipe, woman yag ai , to cry	ai isle
ei	ei N, long time eizi N, cold	e plus i
eê	deê , little beê chux, morning	e plus ê
eai	neai , wind	e plus a plus i
oi	boi nyoN, tallow	boi l

<i>ui</i>	duivichi, boy	<i>u</i> plus <i>i</i>
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The basic words (roots) of Shoshone are CVCV (C for consonant; V for vowel), where the first vowel may be a short or long vowel, or a diphthong. Diphthongs usually do not occur in the second syllable.

1.2 Classes of Shoshone Letters

The consonants of Shoshone are belong to several groups which share some feature of pronunciation in common. These include include consonants that begin a word (prefix, or suffix), or which come in the middle of a root or word (between vowels).

There are two main criteria for grouping most of the Shoshone consonants: **hard** vs. **soft**, and **voiced** vs. **voiceless**. Hard consonants stop the air flow through the vocal tract, while soft consonants are made with some air flow but also some friction at some point in the mouth. In making voiced consonants, the vocal cords vibrate, while in making voiceless consonants they do not.

The hard consonants (voiced and voiceless) are given below.

Type	When Used
<i>Hard Voiced:</i> b d dz g gw	Beginning of a word, root, prefix, or suffix.
<i>Hard voiceless:</i> p t ts k kw	Between vowels (but after the final feature of gemination: "-").
<i>Hard nasalized:</i> mb nd nj/nz ngk ngkw	Between vowels (but after the final feature of nasalization: "-N").

The soft consonants are the following.

Type	When Used
<i>Soft Voiced:</i> v r z ġ ġw	Between vowels.
<i>Soft voiceless:</i> f r z x xw	Between vowels (but after the final feature of aspiration: "-H).")

In practical writing, the letters <ġ> and <ġw> are written simply as <g> and <gw>, because they can only occur in the middle of a word or between vowels across word boundaries. The tap <r> becomes voiceless after the final feature of aspiration (-H).

The consonants *m* and *n* are called nasal consonants because when they are made, the air stream goes through the nose instead of the mouth. When *m* and *n* occur in the middle of a word, they *sometimes* change to nasalized *w* and *y* respectively, but not all of the time. Try making a *w* and a *y*, forcing the air stream through your nose; these are nasalized *w* and *y*. These may be written as <*mw*> and <*ny*> when they occur in the middle of a root.

The main differences that divide Shoshone consonants (hard, soft, nasalized) have to do with the final features, talked about in the next section.

1.3 Final Features: Spelling Changes

Final features (gemination; nasalization; aspiration) are consonants that a Shoshone word may end in, and that only appear if the word is followed by another word or a suffix. When the word is said alone, the final feature consonant does not appear. Although these "ghost" consonants do not always appear, they must be listed in the dictionary, and written (and pronounced) when they are realized. Final features are typical of Shoshone and other Numic languages.

The final feature of **gemination** means the "process of twins," so its symbol is the double quote sign at the end of a root, suffix, or word (-"). The geminate consonants take about twice as long as their English equivalents; this is why they are called geminate.

The geminate consonants (*p t ts k kw*) follow a word that has the final feature of gemination. Most of the instrumental verb clitics (11.2.2), which are written separately because they do not get main stress (so they are not part of the verb), have the final feature of gemination. One of these is *ge''*, 'by means of teeth' and another is *we''*, 'by hitting or with a tool'.

<i>ge kaa,</i>	chew/bite
<i>we kumba,</i>	kill by beating
<i>we kwizaixu,</i>	lash (with a whip/rope)
<i>we togwê,</i>	kill by blows
<i>we tsiruwaH,</i>	peel with a knife

Geminate consonants also may occur when a suffix follows a word with the final feature of gemination. Here this is illustrated with the suffix **-ba'i**, to have.

<i>dua''</i> , son	<i>dua-pa'i</i> , have a son
<i>huu''</i> , wood	<i>huu-pa'i</i> , have wood
<i>gwehe''</i> , wife	<i>gwehe-pa'i</i> , have a wife
<i>deva''</i> , pine nuts	<i>deva-pa'i</i> , have pine nuts

Geminate consonants may also appear in the middle of a root word, for example: *suka*, 'there'.

The final feature of **nasalization** is written by a final -N which symbolizes the nasal consonants that may appear because of this final feature. This may occur within a word (by the addition of a suffix) or across words. Some roots have nasalized consonants in the middle.

The following shows the feature of nasalization with the suffix *-ba'i*, to have.

<i>dzooN</i> , beads	<i>dzoom-ba'i</i> , have beads
<i>neweN</i> , person/Indian	<i>newem-ba'i</i> , there are Indians
<i>bagaN</i> , arrow	<i>bagam-ba'i</i> , have arrows

A final nasalizing feature may occur at the end of a word as well. This is illustrated with the word *eN*, your (singular).

<i>em bia</i> ,	your mother (<i>bia</i>)
<i>en dua</i> ,	your son (<i>dua</i>)
<i>en zo</i> ,	your great grandparent (<i>dzoH</i>)
<i>eng kaku</i> ,	your maternal grandmother (<i>gakuH</i>)
<i>eng kwehe</i> ,	your wife (<i>gwehe</i>)

The final feature of nasalization is also the way of making the possessive case in Shoshone (3.2).

The sign of the final feature of **aspiration** ("drawing a breath") is a final -H. When a word ends in the final feature of aspiration, the following word or suffix begins with an aspirated consonant.

<i>buiH</i> , eye	<i>bui-fa'i</i> , have eye(s)
<i>hainjeH</i> , friend	<i>hainje-fa'i</i> , have a friends
<i>dzoH</i> , great grandparent	<i>dzo-fa'i</i> , have great a great grandparent

For some reason, verbs in Northern, Central, and Eastern Shoshone end in a vowel and never have a final feature (M2 697). However, there is a small set of verb suffixes that have geminate and aspirated forms. Verbs take one or the other of these.

<i>-kwa</i> ~ <i>-xwa</i> ,	momentive (11.1.2)
<i>-ka</i> ~ <i>-xa</i> ,	resultative (11.1.2)
<i>-kandeN</i> ~ <i>-xandeN</i> ,	stative (11.1.2)
<i>-peni</i> ~ <i>-feni</i> ,	repetitive (11.1.2)
<i>-tai</i> ~ <i>-rai</i> ,	'finally/completely' (11.2.1)
<i>-teki</i> ~ <i>-reki</i> ,	'start to' (11.1.3)

hivi-peni, sipping (*hivi*, to drink)

deka-feni, nibbling (*deka*, to eat)

So, in the dictionary and vocabulary lists, it must be indicated which of the two kinds of ending a given verb takes. The best way to do this is to show each verb with the frequentive which can occur with all verbs, and by putting a geminate sing (") after the verbs that take the geminate suffix.

1.4 Other Sound Changes: Palatization, Nasal Vowels, Pausals, and Glottal Drop

There are four other kinds of pronunciation changes that may happen in Shoshone. These are **palatization**, **vowel nasalization**, and **pausal** forms and **glottal dropping**. All of these changes may be written, but only the results of palatization are usually written with the Tidzump alphabet.

Palatization is making a consonant towards the palate in the mouth. The following consonants change into a palatal consonant when they follow the vowels *ê* or *i*.

Non-Palatal	Palatal
<i>d</i>	<i>ch</i>
<i>dz</i>	<i>j</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>sh</i>

<i>bichi,</i>	breast
<i>hivijo,</i>	old woman
<i>bêsheN,</i>	already

Across languages, when vowels are next to a nasal consonant, they often become **nasal vowels** (with the air stream going through the nose, rather than the mouth). Compare the following English words:

tea vs. team;
key vs. keen;
key vs. king.

Now say each word, while gently pinching your nose so that the nostrils are shut. When you say these words aloud, you will notice that not only will the nasal consonants (*m n ng*) buzz, but the vowel in front of them will buzz as well. These vowels are nasalized; in English, vowels on either side of a nasal consonant are nasalized, and because this process is predictable, it is not necessary to write vowel nasalization in English.

In Eastern Shoshone, this also occurs.

<i>mê</i>	so, thus
<i>domoH</i>	winter chk
<i>nambe</i>	foot chk
<i>nangka</i>	to hear chk
<i>naniha</i>	name
<i>seme</i>	one chk
<i>senavi</i>	quaking aspen chk
<i>wenye</i>	to stand (singular) chk
<i>yehne</i>	porcupine chk

<i>bogombe</i>	berry chk
<i>damwi</i>	younger brother chk
<i>bavin damwi</i>	the older brother's younger brother chk
<i>dameN</i>	we chk
<i>damem bavi</i>	our older brother chk
<i>damwa</i>	tooth chk
<i>bagaN</i>	arrow chk
<i>bagana</i>	arrow (objective case) chk

There are several environments in which nasalization in Shoshone could occur:

- before or after a nasal consonant that is geminate (*m n ng*);
- before or after a nasal consonant that is not geminate (*mw ny*);
- after a final nasalizing feature;
- before a consonant cluster created by a nasalizing feature (*mb nd ngk*).

Vowels in Shoshone are nasalized before nasal consonants and sometimes after then (C 241). Some words, like *mê*, seem to always be marked in some sources (Shimkin), so it may be that some speakers nasalize vowels in some words or contexts, while other speakers do not.

The first vowel of the word *ha'a*, 'yes' is often nasal: [*hə'a*]. However, there is no word of the shape *ha'a* that has no nasal vowel and means something other than 'yes'; in other words, the nasal vowel is not used to contrast meaning in a different word. There are perhaps several others in the small class of words having nasal vowels without an adjacent nasal consonant.

Pausal forms are pronunciations of words where a glottal stop is inserted in the last syllable of a word. This process is common in northern Uto-Aztecan languages (and apparently absent in southern Uto-Aztecan languages). The process is especially common in Numic languages, the Uto-Aztecan subfamily to which Shoshone belongs.

Gould and Loether mention pausal forms in Northern (Fort Hall) Shoshone (G 56, 28-29). For example, /hina/, what may be pronounced as [*hi'na*] or [*hina*]. This may vary from speaker to speaker, and the same speaker vary between both forms.

In Northern Shoshone, the vowel before the inserted glottal stop becomes long. If the vowel before the inserted glottal stop is already long, it is not lengthened. A nasal consonant in the last syllable of a word (*m n* vs. *mw ny*) blocks this lengthening.

<i>sohovi</i> , tree	<i>sohoo'vi</i> (pausal)
<i>goovê</i> , face	<i>goo'vê</i> (pausal)
<i>hina</i> , what	<i>hi'na</i> (pausal; not <i>hii'na</i>)
<i>damwi</i> , younger brother	<i>da'mwi</i> (pausal)

Pausal forms are used in slow careful speech, and do not occur in faster, fluent speech (G 28).

In Eastern Shoshone, another pattern has been recorded (Tidzump and Kosin 1967a, 1967b). In this pausal form, the glottal stop is inserted at the end of a word, and then the final vowel is repeated.

<i>ne</i> , I	<i>ne'e</i> (pausal)
<i>ape</i> , father	<i>ape'e</i> (pausal; G would be: <i>aa'pe</i>)
<i>waipe</i> , woman	<i>waipe'e</i> (pausal; G would be: <i>waii'pe</i> or <i>wai'pe</i>)
<i>gê</i> , not	<i>gê'ê</i> , no
<i>mo'o</i> , hand	(wanting ?; G gives: <i>mo'</i> with a final glottal stop)

In the first three examples above, the pausal forms given by Tidzump and Kosin differ from those made according to the Northern Shoshone pattern. It remains to be seen if the Northern pattern occurs in Eastern Shoshone. In the two words *gê* (not) and *gê'ê* (no), the pausal form creates a difference in meaning. In the word for 'hand', the pausal form is the regular form of the word.

Glottal stops that are in the middle of a word may be dropped in fast speech. For example, *mi'a*, 'go' may become *mia* in fast speech.

1.5 Final Vowel Dropping

In Eastern Shoshone, the final vowel of a word may be dropped. This means that any final feature attached to the vowel is also dropped. Final vowel dropping does not affect main stress (it still occurs on the first syllable). If the consonants /b d g gw/ are left at the end of a word, they devoice to /p t k kw/.

There are two main contexts where final vowel dropping happens. One is in the formation of new words.

<i>bamp</i>	head
<i>bambi</i>	hair (of head)
<i>demp</i>	mouth
<i>dembê</i>	rock
<i>gasa</i>	wing
<i>gasagant</i>	bird (lit. wing-haver)

For some speakers, it is reported (Shimkin, Tidzump) that both *bampi* means 'head' or 'head hair', and that *bamp* is a variant. More work is needed on this issue.

The other situation for final vowel dropping is at the end of of an utterance.

<i>Gê</i>	<i>man dzunipe-ha</i>	<i>gegwêyagan-t.</i>
not	their bone(s)-Obj	touch-Ger
Don't touch their bones (S, Coyote Goes Visiting).		

Final vowel dropping at the end of utterances is frequent in many of the world's languages.

1.6 The Phonemes of Shoshone

The **phonemes** of a language are the minimal sound units of a language's sound system, the building blocks for syllables and words. When two sounds contrast (make a difference in meaning), they are phonemes. Consider English *bid* and *bit*: the difference in meaning is created because of the presence of /d/ vs. /t/. The **minimal pair** *bid* and *bit* proves that /d/ and /t/ are phonemes of English.

If two similar sounds are not in direct contrast, they may be **allophones** (variants) of the same phoneme. Since some Shoshone consonants only appear after each of the final features, it can be proposed that the Shoshone consonants are grouped into a smaller number of consonant phonemes. The ways these assumed basic phonemes vary is called **morphophonemics**.

Shoshone could be written from the phonemic point of view, or from a morphophonemic point of view.

There have been two major trends in spelling systems used for the Shoshone language during the last fifty years. One trend, exemplified by the Miller system, is phonemic, from the point of view noted just above. Another, developed by Malinda Tidzump with the guidance of Wesley Kosin, is broadly phonetic. Gould and Loether created a system that is mostly phonetic, but not completely so. They noted that the phonemic orthographies

had not been popular among Shoshoni speakers, because they were too phonemic (i.e., they reflected an abstract level of the language and did not look the way there are pronounced, at least not to the literate English speaker's eye) (Gould and Loether 2002:10).

The system used here for the Wind River (Eastern) Shoshone dictionary database and survey grammar is completely phonetic, from the point of view of the Miller system, and more phonetic than the Gould/Loether system. There are several reasons for this:

- younger people dominant in English have a hard time learning the Miller system;
- the proposed phonetic system is based on Tidzump, using as many English spelling conventions as possible to make it easy to learn;
- there are minimal pairs disproving the Miller system;
- final features must be dealt with by any system, and a phonetic system will help non-speakers (as well as speakers) understand how this system works.

Minimal Pairs on the “Phonetic Level”

There are two sorts of data that show that the phonetic system of writing Shoshone (Tidzump and the one proposed here) is actually phonemic: (a) minimal pairs and near-minimal pairs that contrast medial nasal consonants with medial nasal consonants with off-glides; and (b) medial voiced versus voiceless consonants that form durative verb forms (11.1.12)

Below is representative data of minimal pairs and near-minimal pairs involving medial nasal consonants with off-glides.

gwinya	'raptor'	gwiya	'startled'
hunyaN	'badger'	huna-	'menses'
sanya"-	'sap'	sa'ana	'yonder'
yunya"	'carry/take'	yunaH	'scoop/dip'

These data points show that /ny/ contrasts with /n/ medially, as well as with /y/.

The second data set that shows the Tidzump system is phonemic are pairs involving root and durative forms of verbs.

wenyeH	'stand (sing.)'	weneH	'stands (dur.)'
havi	'lie down (sing.)'	hapi	'lie down (dur.)'
maga"	'feeds (nomic)'	maka"	is/was feeding for a while

Following the axiom, "once a phoneme – always a phoneme," the Tidzump system is phonemic. An additional argument can be made from the final features. Any writing system must deal with them (write phonetically), so why not have a completely phonetic system? The Tidzump system (as proposed here) simply spells the consonant changes.

en dembai	'your rock'
em bungku	'your horse'
em mo'o	'your head'
eng kahni	'your house'
eng kwinya	'your raptor'

Although some level of abstraction is needed to write the language, this one allows the user/learner to have a grip on what is actually pronounced. This is how the same words look in the Miller system.

en tembai
em punku
em mo'o
en kahni
en kwina

The Miller system requires the reader or learner to make the mental calculations for how these words actually sound.

The Celtic languages of the British Isles have many initial consonant changes, just like Shoshone. Since Celtic languages have been written (from about 900 A.D.), the consonant changes have been written. Irish, Welsh, and Scots Gaelic all evolved phonetic spellings for their consonant variation. They did not resort to an abstract spelling solution.

English has variation of consonant spelling, as in the data below.

- knife → knives
- wife → wives
- goose → geese
- mouse → mice

Shoshone people, using the Tidzump system, and knowing English spelling as their primary way of writing, would find it more familiar and easier to use the Tidzump system rather than the Miller system.

Thus, there are three systems that have been created to write Shoshone that range in degree of abstraction: the Miller system, the Fort Hall system, and the Tidzump system. Because Shoshone people have had trouble learning the abstract system (Miller), the solution must be sought in a phonetic system. The Fort Hall system retains some of Miller's abstraction, while the Tidzump system does not.

Because the Tidzump system is also associated with Wind River, it makes sense to use it to write Eastern Shoshone. Because it is broadly phonetic, it is the easiest to learn.

2. Stress and Root Shapes

There are several other topics about the Shoshone sound system that are also important. This includes where the **main stress** of a word falls, and how words are made up (if they are more than a single **root**).

2.1 Stress and Inherently Unstressed Words

Stress means that one syllable of a word is louder than the others. Shoshone, like English, has one syllable that is the loudest part of the word; this is called the **main stress**. Stress is marked with an **acute accent** mark.

bláckboard	vs. bláck bóard
bláckbird	vs. bláck bírd

Thus, main stress in English defines what a word is. This is the same in Shoshone.

<i>bía</i>	big
<i>bía íjape</i>	wolf (big coyote)

Since stress is mostly predictable in Shoshone, it is not written in most words.

In English and Shoshone, the basic part of a word is called the **root**. The basic shape of a Shoshone root is CVCV, where C stands for a consonant and V stands for a vowel. The first vowel of a root may be long or short (or a diphthong), but the second vowel may only be a short vowel.

<i>gwasu</i>	dress, shirt
<i>gaapi</i>	coffee (from English)
<i>daivu</i>	Whiteman

Shoshone words are either single roots, or a root plus a suffix (a **derivation**), or a combination of two roots (**compounds**). In compounds, the first member may be shortened (see "Shortening" and "Compounds" below). Very rarely, part of a word or the whole word may be doubled ("Reduplication," below). In compounds with shortened forms as first members in reduplicated forms, the placement of stress needs to be studied.

Inherently unstressed words (called **clitics**) are short, mostly single-syllable words that come in front of a verb. They include the following:

object markers:	(13.2.1.3);
<i>dza</i>	good/well (human actor; 12.3.1.2);
<i>da</i>	indefinite subject marker (8.1.1);
<i>deN</i>	indefinite object marker (8.1.2);
instrumental prefixes:	on verbs (11.2.2).

The particle *gê*, 'not' is also inherently unstressed, but it may occur not only in front of verbs, but also in front of other elements in the simple sentence. Inherently unstressed words in are written as separate words, with the following word getting the next main stress.

Secondary stress in Shoshone occurs on alternate syllables after the main stress. Secondary stress is marked with a falling accent. The occurrence of secondary stress indicates the presence of a long word in Shoshone. Shimkin gives the following example.

Gója-wè-pshu-ràn-t[en] dámwi
 head-INS-drag-ing-one younger.brother
 'Head Dragging One's younger brother'

Secondary stress is quite common in verbs, place names, and personal names.

Shoshone has the basic word order of: Subject + Object + Verb (CR). In stories, there may be a main stress on the last syllable of a verb. Recall that main stress never falls on a second syllable. This device serves to highlight that part of a story. It may also be related to the intonation used for commands. This tactic may be called **emphatic** or **sentence** stress.

Gimak ne wagant, ukan dame vêkáro'i! Being with me, there we'll
 attack! (SG)

Suk hugavit, soongk nahán. Of that aspen, get much
 (SG).

If a suffix follows a verb with emphatic stress, the stress remains on the verb, and does not shift to the suffix.

2.2 Shortening

Shortening a root word (also called **truncation**) is common in Shoshone. Some high-frequency nouns have short forms which are always used in combination with another word (M2 711).

ba, baN water (from *baa*)
da, daa day/sun (from *daavê*)
ga" house (from *ganhi*)

These are common in Eastern Shoshone. In the dictionary, these forms are called **combining forms** (abbreviated as *comb.*) NOTE that combining forms may a final feature (nasalizing, geminating) or no final feature.

2.3 Compounds

Compounds are words made up of two or more roots. "Compounding [in Shoshone] is not an uncommon process " (M2 711). Most compounds are nouns.

<i>dugu kwasu</i>	mountain sheep dress (Sh)
<i>bêngkwi azu</i>	fish hook (Sh)

When the first member of a compound has an absolutive suffix (3.1), the suffix is dropped (M2 711).

<i>huu-pe</i>	wood/stick
<i>huu'êri</i>	bow (stick-bow)
<i>dugum-baN</i>	sky
<i>dugummuhu</i>	sky door

Compounds with verbs are of three sorts:

- instrumental verbs (11.2.2);
- 'die' verbs (11,2,1,1);
- secondary verbs (11.2.1).

2.4 Doubling (Reduplication)

In Shoshone, doubling a syllable or an entire word (also known as **reduplication**) is not common: "reduplication is a productive process in most Uto-Aztecan languages, but not in Shoshone" (M2 705). When a root is completely doubled, this is called **total stem reduplication**. When only a syllable (or part of a syllable) is doubled, it is called **partial reduplication**.

The meaning of reduplication in Shoshone is either number (more than one entity; with nouns), intensive, or repeated or distributed meaning (with verbs).

Only a few nouns show partial reduplication that creates a special dual and/or plural forms (forms that are used for dual or plural).

<i>hivijo</i>	old woman
<i>hihivijo-neweH</i>	two old women
<i>hihivijo-nee</i>	old women
<i>dzugupeH</i>	old man (SG)
<i>dzutsugu'e</i>	old men

The consonants involved in reduplication may change, as in 'old man'. Because reduplication is so infrequent in Shoshone, the exact nature of these consonant changes remains to be researched.

With verbs, partial reduplication indicates a repeated or distributed meaning.

<i>U mandu sisii-wene.</i>	S/he stood urinating on her/him repeatedly (M2 705).
<i>O'ogwê-yu.</i>	It's flowing everywhere (M2 705).

The place of main stress on such reduplications in Eastern Shoshone needs to be checked, as well as the ways of marking distributed action in general. Another thing that needs to be documented is the relation of the various repetitive verbs suffixes and this device.

Total stem reduplication is reported for Eastern Shoshone (SG 12) Shimkin states that this device indicates an intensive, repeated action ("interative intensive").

<i>u we tegw[a]</i>	he hit him (SG 12)
<i>we tegwa we tegw</i>	he stumbled (SG 12)

The placement of stress on such usages needs to be checked. Perhaps total stem reduplication in verbs is a device used in storytelling.

2.5 Intonation

The study of the overall pitch contour (melody) of the simple sentence in Shoshone remains to be studied. The melody or pitch contour that is placed over a simple sentence is called **intonation**. Compare the following sentences in English.

Bill read the paper.	statement: slow, falling intonation
Bill read the paper?	question: rising intonation
Bill, read the paper!	command: sudden falling intonation

Intonation in English is used to change the meaning of sentences. All languages have intonation patterns, and this is an area of Shoshone grammar for which very little information exists. There are several examples that may show intonation. In the following example, there is stress on the last syllable of the verb (which is usually that last word in a Shoshone simple sentence).

<i>Suk hugavit soongk nahán.</i>	Of that aspen, get much (SG).
----------------------------------	-------------------------------

In this sentence, there is sentence final stress, and with a strong stress at the end, it is likely there is/was also a rising intonation. The sentence is a command, so perhaps commands in Shoshone are marked by final syllable stress with a rising intonation.

Intonation in Eastern Shoshone remains to be studied. It could vary by dialect, as there are at least four major dialects in the speech community.

3. Nouns

A **noun** is a word that indicates a person, place, or thing. This traditional definition is useful, but it is the way a noun is used in a simple sentence in Shoshone that shows a word's status as a noun.

Shoshone nouns are marked by suffixes for three different cases: **subjective**, **objective**, and **possessive**. A "case" is a category that shows the function of a noun in a simple sentence. Typically, a noun in the subjective case is the **subject** (the do-er of the action); a noun in the objective case is the **object** (the "do-ee" or noun affected by the action specified), and a noun in the possessive case is the possessor of another noun (ex. in "the man's cat" in English, the -'s marks the noun "man" as the possessor or owner of a cat). The possessive case in Shoshone is completely predictable, just as it is in English.

Shoshone nouns also mark number: **singular**, **dual**, and **plural**. In English, nouns mark singular (no suffix or ending) and plural ('(e)s, -en as in boys, lunches, and children). Shoshone nouns also show singular with no suffix and plural with a suffix.

In Shoshone, there is also dual number. This category means two of a particular person, animal, or thing. In Shoshone, dual and plural number are typically used only for nouns referring to people and animals.

Shoshone nouns that are dual or plural also mark the case distinctions. Instead of having a case suffix plus a dual or plural suffix, the dual and plural suffixes have objective and possessive forms.

Shoshone nouns are inherently **animate** (living) or **inanimate** (not alive). Animate nouns include nouns referring to humans, supernatural entities, and animals. Inanimate nouns refer to non-living things and plants. Number marking on Shoshone nouns depends on whether the noun is animate (marks dual and plural), or whether the noun is inanimate (no number marking with number suffixes).

An additional feature of Shoshone nouns are **absolute** suffixes. Absolute suffixes mean "I am a noun" (simply show the word is a noun), and each absolute has an objective and possessive case form. Not all nouns in Shoshone end in an absolute suffix.

Derivation refers to ways of creating nouns. This may be done by **derivational** suffixes, or by **compounding** two roots.

3.1 Absolute Suffixes

As stated above, an absolute suffix is a suffix that simply indicates a noun is a noun (C 45-49; M2 708). Absolute suffixes are common in Uto-Aztecan languages, but the absolute suffixes of Shoshone and its Numic relatives mostly do not match those of other Uto-Aztecan languages. The following are the absolute suffixes of Shoshone.

Form	Example	Meaning
<i>-beH</i>	<i>dziam-beH</i> , rose hip	common; vague in meaning
<i>-peH</i>	<i>sa-peH</i> , belly	common; vague in meaning
<i>-pe</i>	<i>dzugu-pe</i> , old man	with a few nouns referring to people
<i>-biN</i>	<i>daka-fiN</i> , snow	common; with body parts, plants, natural phenomena
<i>-mbiH</i>	(see to right)	with 4 nouns; distinguishes fruit from the plant <i>doongkisa-peH</i> , chokecherry <i>doona-mbeH</i> , chokecherry berry
<i>-bitsiH</i>	<i>dzo'a-vitsiH</i> , monster	with a few nouns, most referring to fearsome beings
<i>-tsiH</i>	<i>mogo-tsiH</i> , bag	diminutive (litte); "almost entirely animals, especially smaller one and bugs" (M2 708

The suffixes *-beH*, *-peH*, and *-pe* are variants of each other. All three are historically related to the perfective ending on verbs (11.1.2; 3.4).

Absolutives in Uto-Aztec languages may drop in three situations: (a) in compounds;] (b) when possessed (M2 708), and (c) with a postposition. When the first member of a compound has an absolutive suffix, the suffix is dropped (M2 711).

<i>huu-pe</i>	wood/stick
<i>huu'êri</i>	bow (stick-bow)
<i>dugum-baN</i>	sky
<i>dugum-muhyu</i>	sky door

An absolutive often drops when a postposition (chapter 10) follows.

<i>sogo-peH</i>	earth/land
<i>sogo ruka</i>	under the earth

3.2 Case Marking on Nouns

Case marking refers to the way a noun, adjective, numeral, or quantifier is marked (with a suffix in Shoshone) to show how it is used in a sentence. There are three cases in Shoshone: **subjective**, **objective**, and **possessive**.

3.2.1 Case Suffixes on Nouns

In Shoshone, the subjective case suffix is **zero**; this means that there is no special suffix for the subjective case. The objective case is predictable for the most part (M 19; C 45-49). However, there are a few exceptions, so the objective form of a noun is marked in the dictionary following the main entry.

Subj.	Obj.	Example	Example (in Obj.)
<i>-a, -e, -o, -u</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>baa</i> , water <i>behe</i> , hide/skin <i>boho</i> , sagebrush <i>bungku</i> , horse	<i>bai, bê</i> <i>behei</i> <i>bohoi</i> <i>bungkui</i>
<i>-i, -ai, -ê</i>	zero or <i>-a</i>	<i>gahni</i> , house	<i>gahni</i>
<i>-H</i>	<i>-ha</i>	<i>buiH</i> , eye	<i>buiha</i>
<i>-N</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>bagaN</i> , arrow	<i>bagana</i>
<i>-biN</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>huupiN</i> , stick/wood	<i>huupita</i>
<i>-deN</i>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>nekareN</i> , dancer	<i>nekareti</i>

When nouns ending in *-a*, the combination of /a/ and /i/ may become /ê/; so, /baa/, water in the objective is /baa-i/ which may be either /bai/ or /bê/. (A longer vowel shortens when *-a* or *-i* follows.)

The possessive case is formed by adding the final feature *-N* to a noun's objective form. This can be easily seen in a possessive phrase (CR).

Example in Obj.	Example in Poss.
<i>bai</i> , water <i>bê</i> , water <i>behei</i> , hide/skin <i>bohoi</i> , sagebrush <i>bungkui</i> , horse	<i>baiN</i> <i>bêN</i> <i>beheiN</i> <i>bohoiN</i> <i>bungkuin</i>
<i>gahni</i> , house	<i>gahniN</i>
<i>buiha</i> , eye	<i>buihaN</i>
<i>bagana</i> , arrow	<i>baganaN</i>
<i>huupita</i> , stick/wood	<i>huupitaN</i>
<i>nekareti</i> , dancer	<i>nekaretiN</i>

As mentioned, the dual and plural suffixes have their own objective and possessive forms; these are given in the section below on **number** (3.3).

When the objective case suffix *-i* is added to some nouns, the case suffix may replace the final vowel of the root (C 46).

Subj.	Obj.	Poss.
<i>noyo</i> , egg	<i>noyi</i>	<i>noyoN</i>
<i>newe</i> , person	<i>newi</i>	<i>neweN</i>
<i>mo'o</i> , hand	<i>mo'i</i>	<i>mo'oN</i>
<i>duku</i> , body/meat	<i>duki</i> or <i>duki</i>	<i>dukuN</i>
<i>bungku</i> , horse	<i>bungki</i> or <i>bungkui</i>	<i>bungkuN</i>

Note that possessive in these cases is made from the subjective case form and not the objective.

Some nouns have irregular objective forms.

Noun	Objective
<i>dei</i> , partner	<i>dia</i>

It remains to be studied how the possessive forms of these are made, as well as how the dual and plural forms of them are made.

3.1.2 The Use of Cases

The use of cases extends beyond the subject, object, and possessor uses mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. Recall the subject case is so-named because the subject of a simple sentence is in this case (which is zero, no suffix).

Dênape mia'yu. (A) man is coming. *chk*

A noun in the objective case is typically the direct object of a simple sentence.

Sur waipe rênape vuika. That woman sees (the) man. *chk*

A noun in the possessive case is typically the possessor of another noun.

dênapeng kahni (the) man's house *chk*

However, there are other uses of cases as well. In the table below, an example follows the use, or the reader is referred to another part of the grammar.

Case	Use
Subjective	1. subject
	2. predicate noun (12.3.4)
	3. object of an imperative (13.2)
	4. object of a postposition (12.2.2) <i>Sure roya garu mia'nu.</i> S/he went to the mountains (M2 708).
	5. generic object (below)
	6. 'in the capacity of' (below)
Objective	1. direct object (12.1)
	2. indirect object (12.1)
	3. subject of a verb with the suffixes <i>-gu</i> , <i>-kaN</i> , <i>-xangkeN</i> (14.2.1)
	4. 'out of' (12.3.4) <i>Ne rembita gahninaiyu.</i> I am making a house out of rocks (M2 707)

	5. with a verb ending with the suffix <i>-pefaandeN</i> , 'because' (14.2.1)
Possessive	1. possessor noun (12.2.1)
	2. with same-subject relative clauses (15.1)
	3. with possessive absolute (xxx)

A **generic object** (meaning the entire class referred to by a noun) is in the subject case (SG 22; M2 707): "a noun, uninflected for number and case, can be used as an object, to indicate an indefinite, numberless entity" (M2 707).

<i>de ho'i</i>	to hunt (SG)
<i>bêngkwi ho'i</i>	to fish (SG)
<i>daavu ho'i</i>	to hunt cottontail rabbits (SG)
<i>Ene wija ravu reka.</i>	You should eat rabbit. (M2 707).
<i>Ene wija ravuna reka.</i>	You should eat a rabbit (M2 707).

This usage is not **noun incorporation** (where a noun is compounded with a verb), because in real noun incorporation, verb prefixes that may/must occur before the incorporated noun plus verb.

There is also the use of a noun in subject case with the meaning "as a(n) Noun" as shown below.

<i>Ne hivijo reyênuhi.</i>	I might die as an old woman. (SG).
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This use of subjective case is related to a predicate noun, but occurs with a verb; here, it is simply glossed as 'in the capacity of'.

3.3 Number on Nouns

The following are the suffixes for non-singular **number** (dual, plural) on nouns (M 19-20; M2 707).

Case	Dual	Plural
Subjective	<i>-neweH</i>	<i>-neeN</i>
Objective	<i>-nehi, -nihi</i>	<i>-nii</i>
Possessive	<i>-neheN</i>	<i>-neeN</i>

Like singular nouns, the possessive case is always formed by adding the nasalizing final feature as the possessive suffix. Shimkin notes that in Eastern Shoshone, the dual suffix may be *-nux* (ex., *geno-nux*, the two grandfathers). The intonation of nouns with plural forms should be checked for the interaction of stress on the first syllable, and a long vowel in the last (across languages, long vowels tend to attract stress).

Not all nouns are marked for dual or plural: "number is obligatory for human nouns [nouns that refer to people], optional for nonhuman **animate** nouns [nouns that refer to animals], and is used with **inanimate** nouns [nouns referring to things that are not alive] only to personify them"

(M2 707). This means that inanimate nouns can only show number with a numeral or quantifier.

<i>Sur watsuwi gahniva'i.</i>	S/he has four houses. chk
<i>Sur soong kahniva'i.</i>	S/he has many houses. chk

What about plants? Nouns referring to plants do not take dual or plural suffixes, but may show number with numerals or **quantifiers** (word that indicate indefinite amounts).

<i>Suk hugavit soongk nahán.</i>	Of that aspen, get much (SG).
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Shimkin noted a collective number in Eastern Shoshone (SG). A **collective** noun indicates an indefinite number of entities ('some X'). Below are Shimkin's examples.

<i>ogwê</i>	river/creek
<i>ogwê-t</i>	rivers
<i>newe</i>	human
<i>newe-t</i>	humanity

This usage is probably from the verbal suffix *-deN*, which with nouns means 'it is an (particular noun)'. Recall that final vowel dropping is common in Eastern Shoshone, and if the *-eN* of this verb suffix is dropped, the *-d* changes to *-t*. Thus, Shimkin's collective perhaps mean 'being river(s)' and 'being human'. However, this could be an established usage in Eastern Shoshone, in which case the origin of this collective usage is from a noun plus the verb suffix *-deN*.

A handful of nouns have special dual and/or plural forms (forms that are used for dual or plural). Some nouns double the first syllable to form a dual/plural stem (reduplication).

<i>hivijo</i>	old woman
<i>hihivijo-neweH</i>	two old women
<i>hihivijo-nee</i>	old women
<i>dzugupeH</i>	old man (SG)
<i>dzutsugu'e</i>	old men

Other nouns use a different word (different stem) as the stem for dual/plural. This is called **suppletion**. Suppletion is rare in Shoshone.

<i>du'iape</i>	boy
<i>bihia-nux/-neweH</i>	two boys (SG)
<i>bihia-nee</i>	boys
<i>gwinya</i>	raptor, large bird (SG)
<i>gugwa</i>	raptors
<i>gwinya garer</i>	butte (lit. large bird seat; SG)
<i>gugwai yegwit</i>	buttes

Nouns that have special forms for dual and plural all (both?) refer to animate (living) nouns. Some occur with the dual or plural suffixes, other not.

3.4 Noun Derivation

New nouns may be made by adding various suffixes to nouns that already exist (C 60; G 118).

Suffix	Meaning	Example	Gloss
- <i>tsi</i>	diminutive ('little')	<i>damwi-tsi</i>	little younger brother (<i>dawi</i> , younger brother)
- <i>kandēN</i>	characterized by	<i>huvia-kandēN</i>	singer, composer (<i>huvia</i> , song)
- <i>wopiH</i>	1. agentive ('-er')	<i>neka-wopiH</i>	dancer (<i>neka</i> , to dance)
	2. superlative	<i>dzaa-wopiH</i>	(the) best (<i>dzaaN</i> , good)
- <i>deN</i>	agentive ('-er')	<i>nekareN</i>	dancer (<i>neka</i> , to dance)
- <i>gwapi</i>	agentive ('-er')	<i>devoo-gwapi</i>	writer (<i>devooH</i> , to mark/write)
- <i>nombeH</i>	instrumental	<i>de vuhai-nombeH</i>	binoculars (<i>de vuhai</i> , look for)
- <i>na</i>	act of doing	<i>hivi-na</i>	drinking (<i>hivi</i> , to drink)
- <i>peH</i>	result of verb	<i>wêya-peH</i>	fire (<i>wêha</i> , to burn)
- <i>wep</i> , - <i>wap</i>	dear person (often facetious)	<i>bem bavi-wap</i>	his own dear older brother (SG 17)

There is variation in the agentive ('-er') suffixes across Shoshone dialects. Most derived nouns come from verbs.

Shimkin notes a number of derivational forms specific to Eastern Shoshone (SG 12). These are the result of final vowel dropping (1.5).

Suffix	From	Examples	Gloss
- <i>t</i>	- <i>deN</i>	<i>duhuvukaki-t</i> <i>dê'oivi-t</i>	an angry one (<i>duhuvuka</i> , angry) illness (<i>dê'oi</i> , be sick)
- <i>r</i>	- <i>deN</i>	<i>gare-r</i> <i>miape-r</i>	a seat (<i>gare</i> , to sit) a goal (<i>miape</i> , [direction])
- <i>p</i>	- <i>ppeH</i>	<i>deka-p</i>	food (<i>deka</i> , to eat)

After final vowel dropping happened, the final stop consonants devoiced to -*p* and -*t*.

For nouns that end in a consonant (formed by final vowel dropping), it appears that the objective form is simply the noun without any ending.

Sur we' oyok sik gasagant u nekw.
 he now all this winged one it said

So he said it to all of these winged ones (Shimkin, War With the Mosquitos).

Notice that the objective case is marked by two forms: *oyok*, which is the objective form of 'all' and *sik*, 'this' which is also an objective form. So, it appears that when nouns made by final vowel dropping are used in a simple sentence, it is possible to mark objective case (and probably also possessive case) with a word that modifies the noun.

The suffix *-deN* has different forms for number and case (G 118).

Gloss	Suffix (Subj.)	Obj.
singular	<i>-deN</i>	<i>-di</i>
dual	<i>-dehwe</i>	<i>-dehi</i>
plural	<i>-dee</i>	<i>-dei</i>

nekareN dancer
nekarehwe two dancers
nekaree' dancers

Another way of creating nouns is by **compounding** (putting two roots together to make a new word; C 67). Nouns from compounding follow the following formulas: noun + noun; adjective + noun; noun + verb.

bungku gahni barn (lit. horse house)
ondem baa whiskey (lit. brown water)
gwinya garer butte (lit. raptor seat)
hivi tsugu drunkard (lit. drink[ing] old man)

Noun-noun compounds and verb-noun compounds are often found in place names.

4. Adjectives

Adjectives are words that describe quality, condition, color, size; adjectives name a state of being, rather than things that exist (nouns). In Shoshone, most adjectives add suffixes for case and number, just like nouns do. A handful of adjectives do not change for case or number.

4.1 Use of Adjectives

As a descriptive word, adjectives may be placed in front of a noun (**modify** the noun), or they may be used as a **predicate** (12.3.2).

Sure reêren dua yahaikinde. chk
Dem small child be.laughing
'That small child is laughing.'

Sare reêri rua-'a za naki-na (C131).
she small.Obj child-Obj well lead-TA
'She was leading a small child.'

U ege ohna riviji reêre (C 131).
her new baby really small
'Her new baby (is) very small.'

NOTE that when an adjective is used in place of a verb (as a predicate) there is no form of 'to be' (is, was, etc.) equivalent in the Shoshone sentence.

An adjective may also be used in place of a noun, meaning 'that one who/that'.

Sure reêre mi'a-'yu. chk
Dem small.one come-TA
'The small one is coming.'

Ne uka reêri wazingka-na (C 131).
I that.Obj small.Obj lose-TA
'I lost the small one.'

This latter use (adjective with no noun) is used in contexts where the implied by the adjective is already known.

4.2 Types of Adjectives and Unchangeable Adjectives

Adjectives in Shoshone are of two general types: (a) single words that are put in front of nouns to describe them; and (b) words with suffixes that are typical of nouns that fulfill the uses of adjectives outlined above.

There are a few adjectives that are unchangeable (C 137). They include the following.

<i>anda</i>	different
<i>are</i>	deep
<i>atsa</i>	bad, nasty [chk for ES]
<i>bia</i>	big
<i>biha</i>	sweet
<i>dê'oi"</i>	sick
<i>dia, dea</i>	frightening
<i>ege</i>	new
<i>idzi</i>	sour
<i>nariaN</i>	extreme, dangerous, serious
<i>segeN</i>	sour (M) [chk for ES]

Most unchangeable adjectives have no final feature. It seems that unchangeable adjectives only modify nouns; it remains to be checked if they can serve as predicates (without any other marking) or whether they can stand alone.

4.3 Derivation and Absolutes in Adjectives

Most adjectives in Shoshone end in a suffix that is added to an adjective root, or to a verb. Most of these suffixes are the same as absolutive suffixes that are added to nouns.

Suffix	Obj.	Examples
<i>-beH</i>	<i>-beha</i>	<i>deonafeH</i> , lazy (deonaH-l, lazy) <i>ondembeH</i> , stingy
<i>-peH</i>	<i>-peha</i>	<i>bishipeH</i> , rotten <i>saapeH</i> , boiled <i>yuupeH</i> , fat
<i>-bitsiH</i>	<i>-bitsiha</i>	<i>egevitsiH</i> , fresh/young <i>dzivitsiH</i> , big <i>dzuguvitsiH</i> , old
<i>-deN</i>	<i>-di</i>	<i>ogwêreN</i> , flowing <i>deêreN</i> , small/little
<i>-kandeN</i>	<i>-kandi chk</i>	<i>dotsakandeN</i> , dirty <i>noaxandeN</i> , pregnant <i>suvêxandeN</i> , enough

-tsi	-tsia	<i>enetsi</i> , weird (C 133) <i>degitsi</i> , skinny (C 133)
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Adjectives in compounds lose their suffix.

<i>êshi wihî</i>	silver (<i>êshimbireN</i> , gray)
<i>bishi gwana</i>	stink (smell rotten; <i>bishipeH</i> , rotten)

Nouns also lose their absolutive suffixes or derivational suffixes in compounds.

4.4 Color Adjectives

Adjectives that refer to color all end in the suffix *-bireN* (objective form: *-biri*), containing the element *-bi-*.

<i>aavireN</i>	pale (C 135)
<i>bavumbireN</i>	clear, transparent (C135)
<i>buhivireN</i>	blue, green
<i>dosavireN</i>	white
<i>deuhuvireN</i>	black
<i>êkwivireN</i>	purple, smokey colored
<i>êngkavireN</i>	red
<i>êngka'êvi</i>	pink (G83)
<i>êshimbireN</i>	gray
<i>êvehivireN</i>	whitish gray, bluish white, blue
<i>ohapireN</i>	yellow
<i>ondembireN</i>	brown

The color adjectives are often used to name horses (C 136). Certain color roots are compounded with two nouns: *bia*, 'mare' and *guha*, 'gelding' (despite the literal meaning 'male').

<i>aavia</i>	pale mare
<i>êngkakuha</i>	red gelding
<i>êshembia</i>	gray mare
<i>ohakuha</i>	light chestnut gelding
<i>ondembia</i>	brown mare
<i>duukuha</i>	black gelding

This usage needs to be checked for Eastern Shoshone, and also the usage for 'color of' plus 'stallion'.

4.5 Case and Number in Adjectives

Adjectives that have suffixes also have objective form (and therefore, logically, possessive form). Needed here are examples of adjectives in possessive case.

A number of adjectives has special dual and plural forms (C 137-138; G 101). These are formed by reduplication, and most have the dual and plural endings for nouns.

Gloss	Sing.	Dual	Plural
big	biapereN	biviapereweH	biviapereeN
little	deêreN	deêreweH	dereêreeN
lazy	gwi'ambeH	gwikwi'ambehneweH	gwikwi'ambehneeN
fat	yuhupeH	yuyuhupehneweH	yuyuhupehneeN
yellow	ohaviren	o'ohavireweH	o'ohavireeN
big	bi'achi	biviachineweH	biviachi

The objective and possessive forms are like those of nouns.

Since dual and plural nouns can only be used to refer to people and animals, this is probably also true of dual and plural forms of the colors. It also remains to know if the process of making dual and plural forms of adjectives is productive, or whether only some adjectives have them. It also remains to know how number is marked with adjectives that modify or refer to inanimate nouns and nouns referring to plants.

4.6 Special Uses of Adjectives

Some adjectives are typically used with particular verbs that match them in meaning.

4.6.1 Adjectives of Stature

Adjectives that describe stature such as *geveraN*, 'tall' and *gevireN*, 'short' usually occur with the verb for 'stand' (C 131f).

Ung kuhmambe gevera wene-re (C 131f).
 her husband tall stand-TA
 'Her husband is tall.'

This implies that other stance verbs ('lie', 'be sitting') might also be used with the appropriate adjectives, and this is a matter to be checked.

4.6.1 Adjectives of Perception and Feeling

Adjectives that refer to conditions perceived by the senses of taste, sight, hearing, of smelling are used with matching verbs (C137; G 116).

Adjectives that refer to they way something tastes appear with the verb *gamana*, 'taste like'.

Adjectives denoting appearance are usually followed by *navuindeN*, 'appear/look a certain way'. Similar is the use of the verb *nanangkwsuwangka*, 'sound a certain way'. Another verb that attracts adjectives is *gwanaH*, 'smell a certain way'. What about adjectives of touch?

Surem baa biha gamana. chk
 Dem water sweet taste
 'Tjhe water tastes sweet.'

Suren doyahavi dza navuinde. chk
 Dem mountain.range good appear-TA
 'That mountain range is beautiful.'

Suren dênape re'oi napuni. chk
 Dem man sick looks.like
 'That man looks sick.'

Mareen niwenena gê dogwê nanangkasuwangka-na. chk
 their saying not right/correct sound.like-TA
 'What they are saying doesn't sound right.'

Hina bishi gwana-feni? chk
 what rotten smell-TA
 'What smells rotten?'

Adjectives referring to emotional states are used with the verb *suwaN*, 'feel a certain way'.

Sureen duruaneen dêche suwa-na. chk
 thoise children bad feel-TA
 'The children are sad.'

Adjectives of liking and disliking occur with the verb *suwangka*, 'consider/look upon'.

Ne dakafi-ta dzaa suwangke-na. chk
 I snow-Obj good consider-TA
 'I like snow.'

Ne dêche dakafi-ta suwangke-na. chk
 I bad snow-Obj consider-TA
 'I don't like snow.'

To indicate disliking, there are two different negative forms. In one of the patterns, the relevant

word order is:

Ne gaapi-'a dzaang kesungka. (G)
I coffe-Obj good taste
'I don't like coffee.'

Ne dêche gaapi-'a gesunka. (G)
I bad coffee-Obj taste
'I don't like coffee.'

A more common way to express a dislike is to use an appropriate verb (C 116).

Ne gê gaapi-'a hivi-re. chk
I not coffee-Obj drink-TA
'I don't usually drink coffee.'

Ne gê dosa tekape-ha reka-re. chk
I not bread-Obj eat-TA
'I don't usually eat bread.'

4.7 Comparative and Superlative

In English, one can state that a noun has more of a quality (**comparative**, because it is compared to something) or a noun can be claimed to have the most of a quality compared to a set of similar nouns (**superlative**). The English comparative is marked by *-er* (on nouns one or two syllables long) or *more* (nouns three syllables or longer). In English, superlatives are marked by *-est* and *most*.

In Shoshone, the suffix **-wopiH**,m added to an adjective used as a predicate, may create a comparative or superlative meaning. The noun or pronoun before **-wopiH** is in the possessive case.

dzaa-wopiH, better/the best (C 143)
bia-wopiH, bigger/the biggest (C 143)

Sure nemen naria-wopi (C 143).
s/he us strong-more/most
'S/he is the greatest of us.'

Sure mavehem bia-wopi (C 143).
s/he two big-more/most
'S/he is the bigger of the two.'

In comparing size and stature, in Shoshone two entities (coded as a noun or pronoun) may be compared as 'more than', 'same as', or 'less than'. The entity being compared is followed by one of the following postpositions.

magupaN, more than, taaler or bigger than

ga'wi(gi), more than, taller than

haiyani, more than

mayanyi/mahyani, more than

pigaseN, as ... as, same as

ina, lesser than, shorter or smaller than

Sur waipe suren naifi magupa wene-re. chk
 Dem woman Dem girl more.than stand-TA

'That woman is taller than that girl.'

Ne vêre sure waipe vigase wene-re. chk
 my duaghter Dem woman as stand-TA

'My daughter is as tall as that woman.'

Ne vazi ne ina wene-re. chk
 my older.sister me less.than stand-TA

'My older sister is shorter than me.'

With verbs of perception or sensory verbs, the two entities being compared are stated, followed by an adverb of comparison, and then an adjective and verb.

Ire ukam mayanyi dzaang kamana. chk
 this that.Obj more.than good taste

'This one tastes better than that one.'

Shimkin noted an indefinite comparison (SG 21). These are made by using *gwetsi* or the empahtic suffix *seN*.

getaaN, strong

getaangk kwetsi, somewhat harder

dzaande, be good

dzaandeseN, very good

In order to make superlatives in Shoshone, the pattern using the postpositions is used. The noun before the postposition is plural.

Sure uree haiyanyi zunipe (C144).

s/he them more.than strong

'S/he is stronger than them.'

5. Numerals and Quantifiers

Numerals and **quantifiers** (words that sepecificy indefinite quantities), like adjectives, may be used to modify a noun, may be used in place of a noun that is already known, or may be used as a predicate.

5.1 Numerals

A numeral may be used to modify a noun, as a predicate, or to replace a noun already known.

Waharewe *newe-newe* *sutun* *nunuki-gi-na..chk*
two people-dl Loc ride-Dir-TA
'Two people went riding by.'

Navê *wahati* *rurua-gande. chk*
each two.Obj children-have
'They each have two children.'

Waharewe *davê* *naape* *vire-pe. chk*
two day after arrive-TA
'S/he arrived two days ago.'

Bungku *wahatewe-s. chk.*
horse two-TA
'There are two horses.'

Waharewen *domo-xande. chk*
two winter/year-have
'S/he is two years old./

When a numeral is used as a predicate, Eastern Shoshone has a special predicate form made with the emphatic clitic =*seN*. When used with 'have', only the numeral base is used.

5.2 Basic Numerals

The basic numerals for Eastern Shoshone are given below. Objective forms are in parentheses.

Gloss	Adjective Form	Predicate Form	Base
one	<i>seme (semeka)</i>	<i>semeseN</i>	<i>seme-</i>
two	<i>waharewe (wahati)</i>	<i>wahateweN</i>	<i>waha-</i>
three	<i>bahaiten (bahaiti)</i>	<i>bahaiteseN</i>	<i>bahai-</i>
four	<i>watsewiteN (watsewiti)</i>	<i>watsewiteseN</i>	<i>watsewi-</i>
five	<i>manaigiteN (manaigiti)</i>	<i>manaigiteseN</i>	<i>manaigi-</i>
six	<i>naafaiten (naafaiti)</i>	<i>naafaiteseN</i>	<i>naafai-</i>
seven	<i>datsewiteN (datsewiti)</i>	<i>datsewiteseN</i>	<i>datsewi-</i>
eight	<i>nawaitsewiteN (nawaitsewiti)</i>	<i>nawaitsewiteseN</i>	<i>nawaitsewi-</i>
nine	<i>semwo mweminhandeN (semwo mwemihandi)</i>	<i>semwo mwemihandeseN</i>	<i>sewemi</i>
ten	<i>semworeN (semwoti)</i>	<i>semworeseN</i>	<i>semwo-</i>

These forms differ somewhat with other Shoshone dialects (G 98; c 38).

5.3 Teens, Decades, Hundreds, Thousands

The teens in Shoshone are made with this formula: *semwore* ___ *man do'êgendeN*. which means 'with ___ emerging'. This pattern is typical of Western (C 38), Central (M2), and Northern (G 98) Shoshone. The forms below are reported by Shimkin in early fieldnotes, and modified slightly in spelling.

Gloss	Form
eleven	<i>seme mando'êxendeN</i>
twelve	<i>wate mando'êxendeN</i>
thirteen	<i>baite mando'êxendeN</i>
fourteen	<i>watsewi mando'êxendeN</i>
fifteen	<i>manaigi mando'êxendeN</i>
sixteen	<i>naafai mando'êxendeN</i>
seventeen	<i>datsewi mando'êxendeN</i>
eighteen	<i>nawaitsewi mando'êxendeN</i>
nineteen	<i>sewemi mando'êxendeN chk</i>

The following forms are based on the formula: *semwore* ___ *ro'êngkendeN*, '___ emerging', a slightly different ending to the first formula. This pattern is given by Tidzump for 'eleven' and the other numerals are built on this pattern.

Gloss	Form
eleven	<i>semwore seme ro'êngkend[eN]</i>
twelve	<i>semwore waha ro'êngkend[eN] chk</i>
thirteen	<i>semwore bahai waha ro'êngkend[eN] chk</i>
fourteen	<i>semwore watsewi waha ro'êngkend[eN] chk</i>
fifteen	<i>semwore manaigi waha ro'êngkend[eN] chk</i>
sixteen	<i>semwore naafai waha ro'êngkend[eN] chk</i>
seventeen	<i>semwore datsewi waha ro'êngkend[eN] chk</i>
eighteen	<i>semwore nawaitsewiwaha ro'êngkend[eN] chk</i>
nineteen	<i>semwore sewemi ro'êngkend[eN]</i>

These forms suggest that there is variation within Eastern Shoshone on this point. Tidzump also gives predicate forms of the teens (*semwore semero'êngkendes[eN]*, 'eleven [predicate]'), so this usage also needs to be checked.

The decades below are those given by written sources for Eastern Shoshone (T, Sh).

Gloss	Form
twenty	<i>wahamworeN</i>
thirty	<i>bahê semano</i>
forty	<i>watse semano</i>
fifty	<i>manaigi semano</i>
sixty	<i>naafai semano</i>
seventy	<i>datsewi semano</i>
eighty	<i>nawaitsewi semano</i>
ninety	<i>sewemi semano</i>

In Western Shoshone (C 38), there are combining forms that are used in counting between decades: *wahamaa seme*, 'twenty one'. This should be checked for Eastern Shoshone. The decades vary slightly in each dialect (comparison of Central, Northern, and Western forms). The rest of the numeral is made like the teens (C 381 Western Shoshone): *wahamaayende seme mando'égandeN*, 'twenty one'.

Tidzump gives a predicate form for 'twenty' (*wahamwores[eN]*), extending to interdecade counting: *wahamwore semaro'êngkeres*, 21 (quantity) (T). Examples are needed of this usage.

The word for 'hundred' is literally "big ten" (*bia semareN*; C39; G 100).

Gloss	Form
two hundred	<i>waha bia semareN chk</i>
three hundred	<i>bahai bia semareN chk</i>
four hundred	<i>watsewi bia semareN chk</i>
five hundred	<i>manaigi bia semareN chk</i>
six hundred	<i>naafai bia semareN chk</i>
seven hundred	<i>datsewi bia semareN chk</i>
eight hundred	<i>nawaitsewi bia semareN chk</i>
nine hundred	<i>sewemi bia semareN chk</i>

Examples are needed, and to check for predicate forms in Eastern Shoshone (as opposed to the adjective/noun forms).

A form for 'thousand' is given by Shimkin and Tidzump for Eastern Shoshone: *semam biamwo sewore[N]*. Research is needed to provide Eastern Shoshone data for these numerals and example of their usage.

5.4 Ordinal Numerals

There are two forms given for 'first' in Eastern Shoshone written sources.

<i>ha'igena,</i>	first (Sh)
<i>haiyegen,</i>	first (S)

There are no terms listed for 'second', 'third' and higher, and these are also wanting in the published material on Shoshone. Surely these concepts exist; it remains to list them and show their use.

5.5 Special Uses of Numerals: Telling Time, Prices, Age

Asking and stating the costs of items in Northern Shoshone (G 103) use the following terms:

<i>wanarevoopeH,</i>	dollar
<i>u sengkwêviN,</i>	fifty cents
<i>dubiichi,</i>	quarter

Ishe himbaiga naninagê-re? (G103)

it.is how.much cost-TA

'How much does this cost?'

Seme wanarevoope naninagê-re, u sengkwaivim ma'ê.

one dollar cost-TA it fifty.cents with

'It costs a dollar and fifty cents.'

U *sengkwaivi* *naninagê-re,* *duviichi* *ma'ê.*
it fifty.cents cost-TA quarter with
'It costs seventy five cents/'

This area needs to be documented for Eastern Shoshone.

Telling time in Northern Shoshone (G 139-140) uses the formula: ___ *davê goonipe nahaa'iyu*, 'becoming ___ gone around in the day'. This pattern is used with two o'clock through eight o'clock, and with ten o'clock. (The numerals have been adjusted for Eastern Shoshone.)

Gloss	Form
two o'clock	<i>wahan davê goonipe nahaa'iyu</i>
three o'clock	<i>bahain davê goonipe nahaa'iyu</i>
four o'clock	<i>watsewin davê goonipe nahaa'iyu</i>
five o'clock	<i>manaigin davê goonipe nahaa'iyu</i>
six o'clock	<i>naafain davê goonipe nahaa'iyu</i>
seven o'clock	<i>datswein davê goonipe nahaa'iyu</i>
eight o'clock	<i>nawaitsewi davê goonipe nahaa'iyu</i>
ten o'clock	<i>semwanon davê goonipe nahaa'iyu</i>

The forms for the other possibilities are slightly irregular.

Gloss	Form
one o'clock a.m.	<i>dogwê dugani do'êhwa, seme ga nahaa'iyu</i>
one o'clock p.m.	<i>seme'an davê goonipe ga nahaa'iyu</i>
nine o'clock a.m.	<i>semwano wemihyan davê goonipe nahaa'iyu beêchuxu</i>
nine o'clock p.m.	<i>semwano wemihyan davê goonipe nahaa'iyu</i>
eleven o'clock a.m.	<i>dogwê davê'yiti wepire, sewen davê goonipe</i>
eleven o'clock p.m.	<i>dogê duganita wepire, sewen davê goonipe</i>
noon	<i>dogwê davê'yi</i>
midnight	<i>dogwê dugani</i>

The verbs *nahaa'iyu*, becoming may be dropped in all of the above.

When a time is stated without *beêchuxu*, morning following it is assumed to be p.m.; for a.m., the word *beêchuxu* follows the time expression.

Hingka *davê* *nahha-'iyu*
how.much day become-TA
'What time is it?'

Nawaitsewi *davê* *goonipe* *nahaa'iyu.*
 eight day gone.around becoming
 'It's eight p.m.'

Nawaitsewi *davê* *goonipe* *nahaa'iyu* *beêchuxu.*
 eight day gone.around becoming morning
 'It's eight a.m.'

This needs to be checked for Eastern Shoshon.

Giving ages is done in terms of winters. The Eastern Shoshone word for 'year' is literally winter: *domoH*. Roberts gives **manigin domo**, five years (Rob). To state how old someone is, one says the person 'has ___ winters/years'.

Sure *naafain* *domo-zande* (M2 710).
 Dem six winter-have
 'S/he is six years old.'

5.6 Adverbs Derived from Numerals

It is common in Uto-Aztecan languages for the following sort of adverbs to be derived from the common numeral bases.

once,	<i>sem</i> (SG)
twice,	<i>wawaha</i> (S)
three times	?
in one place,	?
in two places,	?
in three places,	?
one by one,	?
two by two,	?
three by three,	?

This has not been documented in the published material on Shoshone, and is likely to exist in Eastern and other Shoshone varieites.

5.7 Quantifiers

Quantifiers may modify nouns: the quantifier precedes the noun and agrees with it in case.

Sur *soongk* *bungku-va'i. chk*
s/he many.Obj horse-have
'S/he has many horses.'

Soodem *bungku* *nuraa. chk*
many horse run.Pl
'Many horses are running.'

A quantifier may also be used as a predicate.

Bungku *soonde.*
horse (be).many
'There are many horses.'

Dame *Newe-nee* *oyendes.*
we.Pl.Inc Indian-Pl be.all
'We are all Indians.'

Note that the emphatic clitic *seN* may be added to a quantifier predicate, as with nouns.

A quantifier may also be used as a noun, if the noun is already known from context or previous discourse.

Suk *sukavi-t,* *soongk* *nahán (SG).*
that.Obj aspen-Obj much.Obj get
'Of that aspen, get much.'

Soonden *nuraa. chk*
many run.Pl
'Many are running.'

Soonden *durua-nee* *gendu* *siki. (C 41)*
many children-Pl yesterday here
'There (were) many children here yesterday.'

The following quantifiers are common in Shoshone.

Gloss	Form	Objective Form
many, much	<i>soondeN</i>	<i>soongk</i>
all	<i>oyondeN</i>	<i>oyok(o)</i>
lots of, much	<i>dukumbai, dukuN</i>	
a few	<i>he'ereN, he'e</i>	<i>he'eti</i>
very few	<i>he'eretsi</i>	<i>he'eretsia</i>
a little bit	<i>mavairesti</i>	<i>mavaretsia</i>
certain ones (pl. only)	<i>seseme</i>	<i>sesemea</i>

These forms need to be checked for Eastern Shoshone, and some of the objective forms supplied. Also, there should be examples of all forms, including objective forms.

6. Pronouns

Pronouns are words that replace nouns, such as 'we', 'you', and 'they'. In Shoshone there is a set of personal pronouns, there are demonstrative pronouns (7.1), and some of the indefinites (8.2) are pronouns.

The term **first person** refers to pronouns that refer to 'I' or 'we', or any of their grammatical forms. The first person is so-called because it is the **person** talking. Second person refers to 'you' in its various forms in a language, and is called "second person" its the person addressed. **Third person** refers to 'he', 'she', 'it', and 'they' in their various forms; these pronouns are called "third person" because these pronouns refer to the person or thing being talked about.

6.1 Personal Pronouns

In Shoshone, there are pronouns that correspond to *I*, *we*, *you*, *he*, *she*, *it*, and *they* (and their objective and possessive forms). The table below gives forms from the sources for Eastern Shoshone.

Gloss	Subjective	Objective	Possessive
I	ne	ne	neN
you (sing.)	eN, eneN	emi, eN	eN
s/he, it	(wanting)	ma/u	maN/uN
we two (inclusive)	dauhw	dahi	dahaN
we two (exclusive)	nehw	nehi	neheN
you two	mehe	mehi	meheN
we (inclusive)	dame	dami	dameN
we (exclusive)	neme	nemi	nemeN
you (pl.)	meme	memi	memeN

The first person pronouns in Shoshone have an inclusive/exclusive distinction. **Inclusive** first person pronouns (dual and plural) include the speaker and the person addressed ('you and I'), while exclusive first person pronouns (dual and plural) exclude the person addressed ('I and somebody else, but not you').

Dauhw *hagani* *nanaha-yu?* (S)
 1.DI (i) where be-TA
 'Where are the two of us?'

Suree dahi sumbanai-nu. (S)

Dem.Pl us.Dl (i) know-TA

'They recognized the two of us.'

Dame[n] diviji Ape dami neme-nai-p. (S)

our.Pl (i) real father us.Pl (i) human-make-TA

'Our own Father created us.'

Meme egechi ne nangka-hundu. (S)

you.Pl now me hear-TA

'Now you will hear me.'

The short form of 'I' can be used as a clitic (separate but stressless word) placed as the second element in a clause. Note that it codes the subject of the simple sentence.

Saree-'a ruhuvi-ti ne vuika. (C 131)

dog-Obj black-Obj I see

'I see a black dog that is black.'

This usage needs to be better documented; could it extend to other personal pronouns? The following that are a single syllable long are the most likely.

Gloss	Possible Clitic
I	ne
you (sing.)	eN
we (incl.)	da
we (excl.)	ne
you (nonsingular.)	me

The set is not complete; some distinctions are not made (dual vs. pl. with 'we' and 'you (nonsingular)', and *ne* is ambiguous. More information is needed about this.

The third person pronouns in Shoshone are actually demonstratives (7.1), although *sureN*, 'that (near)' is the one most often used in narratives, and may be considered a default for talking about someone or something not present in a speaking context. There are two pronouns that may refer to third person in the objective and possessive; *ma*, which refers to nouns near and *u*, which refers to nouns that are out of sight. These two pronouns are addressed below (6.2).

Only demonstratives may be used to code a third person reference in the subjective case.

6.2 *ma* and *u*

The pronouns *ma* and *u* are used in the objective and possessive cases. They may refer to singular, dual, or plural nouns (C 18; M2 712).

These two pronouns are stressless. With verbs the objective forms go immediately in front of the verb (with the first syllable of the verb getting main stress). With nouns, the possessive forms go immediately in front of the noun (with the first syllable of the noun getting main stress).

Suren *dênape* *ma* *vuika. chk*
Dem man Pro see

'The man sees her/him/it/them (up close).'

Suren *dênape* *gê* *u* *vuika. chk*
Dem man not Pro see

'The man does not see her/him/it/them (because the object is out of sight).'

Sur *ijape* *man* *dekapeh-a* *reka-pe. chk*
Dem coyote Pro food-Obj eat-TA

'The coyote ate her/his/their food (in sight).'

Sur *ijape* *un* *dekapeh-a* *reka-pe. chk*
Dem coyote Pro food-Obj eat-TA

'The coyote ate her/his/their food (the food is out of sight).'

These two may also be used with postpositions.

Suren *dênape* *ma* *garu* *mi'a-'iyu. chk*
Dem man Pro toward go-TA

'That man is going toward her/him/it/them.'

Ijape *u* *garu* *mi'a-'iyu. chk*
Coyote Pro toward go-TA

'Coyote was going toward her/him/it/them (out of sight).'

The pronoun *ma* is used in several postpositions as a part of the word.

managkwa, on the other side of
manai, in front of
mahoi, around

Sakan doyam mahoi vo'ê havi-pe. chk
 Loc mountain around road lie-TA
 'There was a road around the mountain there.'

6.3 Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns have the sense of 'self' or 'own' as a part of their meaning. For example, *himself* and *his own* are reflexive pronouns in the English sentences *he cut him self* and *he used his own car*. The Shoshone equivalent of these pronouns includes that basic personal pronouns (or the base *beN*), plus the emphatic clitic *seN*.

Sur du'ivichi ma huupi-t yaa-kw. (SG)
 Dem youth his stick-Obj take-TA
 'The youth took his (another's) stick.'

Sur du'ivichi ve huupi-t yaa-kw. (SG)
 Dem youth his stick-Obj take-TA
 'The youth took his own stick.'

The reflexive pronouns are given below; note that there are reflexive pronouns for third person.

Gloss	Reflexive
I	<i>neseN</i>
you (sing.)	<i>eseN, emeseN</i>
s/he, it	<i>beN, beseN</i>
we two (incl.)	<i>dahaseN</i>
we two (excl.)	<i>neheseN</i>
you two	<i>meheseN</i>
they two	<i>beweH, beweseN</i>
we (incl.)	<i>dameseN</i>
we (excl.)	<i>nemeseN</i>
you (pl.)	<i>memeseN</i>
they	<i>bemeN, bemeseN</i>

Ne nesen namahoiranu. (C 21)
 I myself hurt-TA
 'I hurt myself.'

Ne nesen nagari suwahani-yu. C 21
 I myself about think-TA
 'I think about myself.'

The reflexive pronouns are only used in the objective and possessive cases. How, then, does one state a reflexive idea as a subject (ex., 'I myself will do it' or 'I did it myself')?

There is a verb prefix (*na-* varying with *nee-*) which among its uses marks the idea of reflexive action on a verb (12.3.1.1). Sentences with reflexive verbs marked with *na-* "usually contain a reflexive pronoun" (C 120).

Ne nesen na-mahoiranu. (C120)
 I myself Ref-hurt-TA
 'I hurt myself.'

Soren dênape besen nee-sivi-nu. (C121)
 Dem man himself Ref-shave-TA
 'That man shaved himself.'

There are other uses of the verb prefix *na-* (12.3.1.1).

6.4 The Pronouns *beN*, *beweH*, and *bemeN*

The pronoun *beN* (*beweH*, dual; *bemeN*, plural) has several uses in Shoshone. One is as the reflexive form of third person pronouns. A second use is to mark third person dual and plural subjects (with or without the noun they refer to). A third use is for dual and plural second person subjects with imperatives ('you'; 13.2).

The use of *beN* and its forms as third person reflexives uses the following forms, drawn from written sources (M 20; C 21).

Gloss	Subj., Obj., Poss.	Subn. Obj.
he/she/it	beN	beni, bei
they two	beweH	behi
they	bemeN	bemi

The third column above has special forms of *beN* that are used in subordinate clauses (16.3.4).

Surem ben daga ma hani-pe. chk
 Dem Ref alone it do-TA
 'S/he did it by herself/himself.'

Surem besen weesivê-pe. chk
 Dem Ref shave-TA
 'He shaved himself.'

Surem beng kahni naremwa-pe. chk
 Dem Ref house.Obj sell-TA
 'S/he sold her/his own house.'

Surewem bewesen daga ma hani-pe. chk
 Dem.Dl Ref.Dl alone it do-TA
 'The two of them did it on their own.'

Surewem beweseng weesivê-pe. chk
 Dem.Dl Ref.Dl shave-TA
 'The two of them shaved themselves.'

Surewem beweseng kahni naremwa-pe. chk
 Dem.Dl Ref.Dl house.Obj sell-TA
 'The two of them sold their own house.'

Suree bemesen daga ma hani-pe. chk
 Dem.Pl Ref.Dl alone it do-TA
 'They did it on their own/by themselves.'

Suree bemeseng weesivê-pe. chk
 Dem.Pl Ref.Pl shave-TA
 'They shaved themselves.'

Suree bemeseng kahni naremwa-pe. chk
 Dem.Pl Ref.Pl house.Obj sell-TA
 'They sold their house.'

The use of forms of *beN* with reference to a subject is as an emphatic, and this is often (always?) in conjunction with a clitic (see the next section below).

A second use of the dual and plural forms of *beN* is to realize 'they two' and 'they' with or as subjects without the noun referred to. When used alone, they usually come after the verb. If the noun referred to is present, *beweH* or *bemeN* may come before or after the verb, but not in front of the noun that is the subject.

Mimia-xum bewe. (M2 704)

leave.Dl-TA Pro.Dl

'The two of them left.'

Sekirem bemeng keya-te. chk

out.of.there Pro.Pl emerge.Pl-TA

'They are coming out.'

Dênape-nee reka-yu veme. (M2 704)

man-Pl eat-TA Pro.Pl

'The men, they ate.'

Dênape-nee suka vemen deka-yu (M2 704)

man-Pl Dem.Obj Pro.Pl eat-TA

'The men ate that.' (or is it: 'the men, they ate that', 'that is what the men ate', 'it was the men who ate that' ?)

Dênape-nee suka reka-yu veme (M2 704)

man-Pl Dem.Obj eat-TA Pro.Pl

'The men ate that.' (or is it: 'the men, they ate that', 'that is what the men ate', 'it was the men who ate that' ??)

Bemen dênape-nee suka deka-yu. (M2 704)

Pro.Pl man-Pl Dem.Obj eat-TA

(not a possible sentence; marked with a star to show this)

This usage clearly has different contexts of use, and this remains to be studied.

The third use of the dual and plural forms of *beN* is the mark the subject of commands (13.2).

Yegwi vewe! (M2 704)

sit.down.Dl Pro.Dl

'The two of you sit down!'

Ma reka veme! (M2 704)

it eat Pro.Pl

'Eat it, all of you.'

Usually, commands (imperatives; 13.2) do not have a subject with them. The usages above are emphatic in character, as when 'you' is used in commands in English (ex., *don't you even think of*

going vs. don't go).

6.5 Clitics Used With Pronouns

Shimkin gives a list of enclitics (short, stressless words that come after a word, and are pronounced with it as a single word) that occur after pronouns in his unpublished grammar sketch (SG 14-15).

Enclitic	Meaning	Example
<i>bin[V]</i>	hortatory	<i>surem bin[V]</i> , how about her/him?
<i>daga</i>	alone	<i>suren daga</i> , s/he alone
<i>dats</i>	emphative	<i>suren dats</i> , sh/e, the very one
<i>dugu</i>	emphative	<i>suren dugu</i> , s/he indeed
<i>kish</i>	maybe (interrogative)	<i>eneng-kish</i> , you, maybe?
<i>se'ots</i>	another, also (additive)	<i>bene-se ots</i> , sh/e also, another than her/him
<i>suak</i>	in turn (consecutive)	<i>ene suak</i> , you in turn
<i>want[eN]</i>	some (partitive)	<i>newe want</i> , some of us (exclusive)
<i>wich</i>	might (subjunctive)	<i>ene wich</i> , you might
<i>xasai</i>	some (indefinite)	<i>dame xasai</i> , anyone of us

7. Demonstratives

The term **demonstrative** means "showing something," and this term is used in grammar for words like *this* and *that* which show or point to which noun is meant. In English there are only four demonstratives (*this, these, that, those*), but in Shoshone there are many demonstratives. Further, there are no third person pronouns in Shoshone (other than *ma* and *u*) corresponding to *he, she, it*, and *they* (and their objective and possessive forms), and Shoshone, like most North American languages, uses demonstratives instead.

7.1 Demonstrative Types and Composition

In Shoshone, there are **presentational** demonstratives, and **declinable** demonstratives. Contrastive demonstratives begin with a vowel, and declinable demonstratives always begin with the consonant /s/. Presentational demonstratives are not declinable (have no objective or possessive forms), while declinable demonstratives do.

isheN, 'this right here is' (contrastive)
sireN, 'this right here' (declinable)

The presentational demonstratives always imply existence ('this/that is ...'), while the declinable demonstratives designate something ('this', 'that').

The contrastive demonstratives are as follows.

Form	Gloss	Prefix
<i>isheN</i>	this right here is ...	<i>i-</i>
<i>êsheN, aishen</i>	that (near here) is ...	<i>ê-, ai-</i>
<i>oseN</i>	that is ...	<i>o-</i>
<i>aseN</i>	that (yonder) is ...	<i>a-</i>
<i>useN</i>	that (invisible) is ...	<i>u-</i>

The prefixes that function as the base of these demonstratives is called a **proximal prefix**, because it approximates relative distance. Can the presentational demonstratives be used to refer to dual and plural nouns? Examples are needed.

While the contrastive demonstratives are formed with a proximal prefix plus the **indeclinable** (no objective or possessive forms) base *seN*, the declinable demonstratives begin with a prefix *s-*, followed by a proximal prefix, followed by the base *-reN*.

Form	Gloss
<i>sireN</i> ,	this right here (close enough to touch)
<i>sêreN</i> , <i>saireN</i>	this nearby (not close enough to touch)
<i>soreN</i>	that
<i>sareN</i>	that over there (within sight)
<i>sureN</i>	that (out of sight)

The pronoun *ma* covers the range of *sireN* and *sêreN*; the pronoun *u* corresponds to the range of *sureN*. There is apparently no pronoun to cover the range of *soreN* and *sareN*. The demonstratives beginning with *s-* are called **proximate** demonstratives (see the section below).

The base *-deN* may also be used with a proximal prefixes to form the **obviative** demonstratives (see the section below for their use). The base *-reN* is declined (has varying grammatical forms) as follows, shown here with the with the proximal prefix *u-*.

Number	Subj.	Obj.	Poss.
singular	<i>ureN</i>	<i>uka</i>	<i>ukaN</i>
dual	<i>ureweH</i>	<i>urehi</i>	<i>ureheN</i>
plural	<i>ureeN</i>	<i>uriiN</i>	<i>ureeN</i>

The obviative demonstratives are as follows.

Form	Gloss
<i>ireN</i> ,	this right here
<i>êreN</i> , <i>aireN</i>	this nearby
<i>oreN</i>	that
<i>areN</i>	that (yonder/over there)
<i>ureN</i>	that (out of sight)

Although these forms exist, not all of them are common. In fact, the most common of the proximate demonstratives is *sureN* and its forms; these are shown below.

Number	Subj.	Obj.	Poss.
singular	<i>sureN</i>	<i>suka</i>	<i>sukaN</i>
dual	<i>sureweH</i>	<i>surehi</i>	<i>sureheN</i>
plural	<i>sureeN</i>	<i>suriiN</i>	<i>sureeN</i>

The other proximate demonstratives decline just like *sureN*.

7.2 Use of Demonstratives

The presentational demonstratives are used to present a person, or to contrast a topic already known or being discussed.

Ishe hagade e ma'ê? (G)
this.is who you with
'Who is with you?'

Ishen niam bia. (G)
this.is my mother
'This is my mother.'

Ishe ha em bia? chk
this.is Q your mother
'Is this your mother?'

Gê, ishen niam bazi. chk
no this.is my older.sister
'No, this is my older sister.'

The proximate demonstratives (those like *sureN*) are used to establish a new topic of discourse (**new information**). The obviative demonstratives (like *ureN*) are used to track topics already mentioned (**old information**).

Sure watsewiri durua-va'i. (C 25)
Dem four.Obj children-have
'She has four children.'

Ure watsewiren durua-nee revoofoi-re. chk
her four children-Pl study.TA
'Her four children go to school.'

Ne suka sari-a gendum buika. chk
I that.Obj dog-Obju yesterday saw
'I saw that dog yesterday.'

Ne uka egetsi ravê reêshem buika. chk
I that.Obj today again saw
'I saw it again today.'

The use of the proximate form is like using the English word *the*; however, using the obviate ones is not like using the English words *a* or *an* (*I saw the dog yesterday* cannot be followed by *I saw a dog again today* if you are talking about the same dog).

It is likely that once one of the proximal prefixes is used in a discourse or text that its use will continue for the duration of the topic or episode of a narrative. Information is needed on this point, with an illustration.

7.3 The Demonstrative *maideN*

In Eastern Shoshone, there is a demonstrative *maideN*. This has not been documented for other Shoshone varieties. The examples we have come from the texts collected by Harry Hull St. Clair in 1901. This demonstrative may refer to singular, dual, or plural entities. It seems to be used only with human referents. It has an objective form (*maidi*). There is also a dual (*maideheN*, obj. *maidehi*), and a plural form (*maide'e*).

bê=she *dawe-ts* *maideng* *káru* *dorói-x[w]* (S)
 already=Emph 1.dl-? "outside of it" toward exit-CONJ
 'We are already outside of it.'

winhu *maidi* *yengka-nu-s* (St. Clair, You, Friend)
 then 3.Obj go.around (pl)-TA-and.then
 'then in the evening they two go around and' (dual referent in text)

maidehe-m *mawêgwa-'a* *hima-ró'i-nu-s* (S)
 their-Pos ring(s)-Obj take.them-TA-and.then
 (I) take out their rings and then

maide'e *so[o]ka[hni]* *ge'mar* *mawêgwá-'a* *hima* *weni-xwai-na* (S)
 their village edge ring(s)-Obj take.them stand-Dir-TA/wandering
 taking (the) rings wandering at the edge of their (pl.) village

About all that can be said is that this demonstrative ends in the final feature of nasalizing. More information is needed on this demonstrative.

7.4 Adverbs with Proximal Prefixes and Related Demonstratives

The proximal prefixes (preceded by *s-*) may be used with various bases to form **adverbs** (words that show time, manner, place, and degree/intensity). The following examples use the *si-*, t all of the other forms occur (M2 709). The bases are shown a double consonants to show that they do not change when a prefix is added.

Form	Gloss	Base
<i>sikiH</i>	here	<i>-kkiH</i>
<i>sivê, sivai</i>	then here, about this time	<i>-bêN / -baiN</i>
<i>siniH</i>	like this, look like this	<i>-nniH</i>
<i>siwaiH</i>	this way, like this	<i>-waiH</i>
<i>siafê, siafai</i>	about this much, about this time	<i>-afê / -afai</i>
<i>sivinai</i>	behind this	<i>-binai</i>
<i>sihoi</i>	around here, around this	<i>-hoi</i>
<i>sivaka</i>	this big	<i>-bagaN</i>

There are also three kinds of specialized demonstratives that are associated with this construction.

Form	Gloss	Base	Obj.
<i>siwaiteN</i>	this special kind of	<i>-wai-teN</i>	<i>siwaiti</i>
<i>sivagandeN</i>	the one this big	<i>-bagan-deN</i>	<i>sivagandi</i>
<i>sivêndeN</i>	the one right here	<i>-pên-deN</i>	<i>sivêndi</i>

Virtually nothing has been published about these specialized demonstratives.

8. Indefinites

The term **indefinite** refers to a class of words that have the same basic roots, are used both as interrogative pronouns and indefinite pronouns. **Interrogative** pronouns in English include *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, *how* and *why*; most of these begin with *wh-*. All of these have a matching **indefinite** pronoun.

Interrogative	Indefinite
who	someone
what	something
where	somewhere
when	sometime
how	somehow
why	(wanting)

The indefinites in English all begin with *some-*. In Shoshone (and most Uto-Aztecan languages), the interrogative pronouns and indefinite pronouns are identical. They have the meaning of 'who' in a sentence, and the meaning of an interrogative in a question.

Hagare suren dênapé? chk
 who Dem man
 'Who is that man?'

Ne hakai vuika. chk
 someone.Obj see
 'I see someone.'

The indefinites thus form a class of words in Shoshone that is distinct from all others.

Just as most of the indefinites in English begin with *wh-*, the Shoshone counterparts begin with *h-*. More specifically they begin with *hin-* or *hak-*. These two root shapes are typical of most Uto-Aztecan languages, and were present in the ancestor of all Uto-Aztecan languages.

One of the ways of distinguishing the meaning of an indefinite is undoubtedly intonation. The indefinite meaning would be expected to occur in **declarative** sentences (statements; 12.1), while the interrogative meaning would occur in questions (13.4). This remains to be studied.

There are two other indefinite pronouns in Shoshone: *de(N)* and *daN*. These two are used only as an indefinite object and indefinite subject, respectively.

8.1 Indefinite Subject *daN* and Indefinite Object *de(N)*

Both of these pronouns are found in most Uto-Aztecan languages. They typically come before the verb, as they do in Shoshone. In Shoshone, they are attached to the verb they precede, but are not stressed, with stress following on the first syllable of the verb.

The indefinite subject pronoun *daN* refers to a human actor, whereas the indefinite object pronoun *deN* refers to an inanimate object.

8.1.1 The Indefinite Subject Pronoun *daN*

The indefinite subject pronoun *daN* 'someone/somebody' is used in three different situations in Shoshone. One is with the verb suffix *-na*, '-ing' to use a verb as the subject of a sentence. This may also be used to make new words.

Dan dereka-na gê zaa'i. (C66)
IS steal-TA not good
'Stealing is not good.'

dam bia reka-na (C66)
IS big eat-ing
'feast'

dan de-za-yagai-na (C66)
IS IO-good-cry-TA
'piano' (lit. someone making it cry good)

In this usage, it is implied that some indefinite person is doing the action specified by the verb.

Another use of *daN* is to mark an indefinite possessor.

Êshen dan nagupe. (C 66)
this.is IS grave
'This is someone's grave.'

Yet another use of *daN* is as the subject of a **lower clause** (simple sentence; 16.1-2).

Neme suka nemi da maka-pe-ha reka-nu. (124)
we (i, Pl) that.Obj us (i, Pl) IS give.to.eat-Rel-Obj eat-TA
'We ate **that which someone gave us to eat.**'

Ne huupi-ta da wêhan-di himwa-kwa. (M2 703)
 I wood-Obj IS burning-Obj carry-TA
 'I carried the wood **for burning (for someone to burn).**'

Suren dam bêka-i ruu-kwasu. (M2 703)
 Dem IS kill-TA black-shirt
 'The one **who was killed** ([whom] **someone killed**) was a soldier.'

This usage of *daN* may easily translate as a **passive** (13.5) in English, as in the last example.

8.1.2 The Indefinite Object Pronoun *de(N)*

The indefinite object pronoun *deN* may have no final feature, or it may have the final feature of nasalizing. This variation is probably due to dialect.

The pronoun *de(N)* refers to an inanimate object; it is used with **transitive** verbs.

Ne re vêka-nu. (M2 703)
 I IO kill-TA
 'I killed something.'

Ne re goijoi-nu. (M2 703)
 I IO wash-TA
 'I washed something.'

Ne re nitoi-nu. (M2 703)
 I IO sing-TA
 'I sang something.'

The indefinite object pronoun *de(N)* turns transitive verbs into intransitive verbs (verbs that do not have a direct object).

deN may be added to some transitive verbs to make new transitive verbs (G 138). These verbs do not have a meaning that is different from what one would predict that they would mean.

dereka, to steal (*deka,* eat)
derêgwa, to read (*dêgwa,* speak)
dembuiH, to watch (*buiH,* see)

8.2 The Pronominal Indefinites

There are four indefinites that are pronouns (they can take the place of a noun). The meanings of these are: 'who/someone'; 'what/something'; 'how many'; and 'what kind of'.

The indefinite *hagareN*, 'who/someone' has singular, dual, and plural forms. Each of these forms has all three cases typical of Shoshone nouns.

Number	Subj.	Obj.	Poss.
singular	<i>hagareN</i>	<i>hakai</i>	<i>hakaN</i>
dual	<i>hagareweH</i>	<i>hagarihi</i>	<i>hagareheN</i>
plural	<i>hagareeN</i>	<i>hagarii</i>	<i>hagareeN</i>

Hagare en remazai-nu? (C 34)
 who thee help-TA
 'Who helped you?'

E hakai remazai-nu? (C 34)
 2s whom help-TA
 'Whom did you help?'

Êshe hakang kwasu'u? (C 34)
 this.is whose dress
 'Whose dress is this?'

Examples for all of these forms, as well as their indefinite ('someone' etc.) uses are needed.

The pronominal indefinite *hini*, 'what/something' has a full set of forms (number, case), just like *hagareN*, 'who/someone'.

Number	Subj.	Obj.	Poss.
singular	<i>hini</i>	<i>hina</i>	<i>hinaN</i>
dual	<i>hineweH</i>	<i>hinihi</i>	<i>hineheN</i>
plural	<i>hineeN</i>	<i>hini</i>	<i>hineeN</i>

Ishe hini?
 this.is who
 'Who is this?'

Hina ene hani-'iyu?
 what.Obj 2s do-TA
 'What are you doing?'

Hina e suwai-na? (C)
 what.Obj 2s want-TA
 'What do you want?'

Êshe hinan nanambuipe? (C)
 this.is whose track(s)
 'Whose tracks are these?'

Hinee saitum mi'a-nu? (C)
 what (Pl) through.here come/go-TA
 'What things went through here?'

Examples of the indefinite ('something') uses are needed. To what extent does the indefinite uses of these forms overlap the indefinite pronouns (above).

The pronominal indefinite *heeteN*, 'how many' has four forms (C 34-35).

Number	Subj.	Obj.
Singular	<i>heeteN</i>	<i>heeti</i>
Plural	<i>heeteeN</i>	<i>hetti</i>

Heeti mewe ra'uta-nu? (C)
 how.many 2dl find-TA
 'How many did you find?'

Heetem magupa? (C)
 how.many inside
 'How many are inside?'

Do the plural forms of this pronominal indefinite also code dual nouns?

The pronomial indefinite *hagaiteN*, 'what kind' has plural and objective forms.

Number	Subj.	Obj.
Singular	<i>hagaiteN</i>	<i>hagaiti</i>
Plural	<i>hagaiteeN</i>	<i>hagaitii</i>

Hagaiti en niigwi-na? (G 35)
 what.kind.of 2sg mean-TA
 'What kind fo you mean?'

How is this pronomial indefinite used to refer to dual nouns?

8.3 The Adverbial Indefinites

The other indefinites in Shoshone are **adverbs** (words that designate time, manner, place, degree/intensity which typically occur in front of the verb in Shoshone; C). The adverbial indefinites include the following (C33).

Form	Interogative	Indefinite
<i>hagai</i>	how	somehow, any kind
<i>hagani</i>	how, what way	however, anyhow
<i>haganiureN</i>	why	
<i>haga'ana</i>	where	somewhere, anywhere
<i>hagapuN</i>	to where	
<i>haganai</i>	from where	
<i>heetengka</i>	what time	
<i>himbê</i>	when	sometime
<i>himbêgan(deN)</i>	how many/much	

Examples are needed for the meanings given. Not all indefinite meanings are given in the sources; these need to be investigated.

There is another way of expressing the above indefinite adverbial meanings. This involves prefixing *noo-* to indefinite forms (C 37). The objective forms are given in parentheses.

noohagareN (*noohagai*), anyone/whoever
noohini (*noohina*), anything/whatever
noohimbê, anytime/whenever

The adverbial indefinite *hakaH*, 'where/somewhere' is used in the following forms that correspond to the six forms of **variable postpositions** (CR).

Form	Use	
<i>hakaH</i> ,	where at/in	with verbs of location, position, rest
<i>hakaroN</i> ,		to show diffuse location
<i>hagatuN</i> ,	to/through where	motion 'to' or 'through'
<i>hakarun</i> ,	to where	motion with an end point
<i>hakari</i> ,	where at	motion with a starting point ('from')
<i>hakaxu</i> ,	right where	specific location ('right where')

Examples of these in Eastern Shoshone are needed.

9. Adverbs

Adverbs are words that describe time, manner, place, and degree. They are often associated with verbs (action words) in the world's languages, and their name in Latin means "at the verb." In Shoshone, there are particles (single-syllable words that take no prefixes or suffixes) that have adverb-like meanings. These are referred to as **adverbial particles**.

The other adverbs of Shoshone are mostly two syllables long. They are grouped into four main groups: adverbs of time (**temporal** adverbs), adverbs of manner and degree, adverbs of place (**locative** adverbs), and adverbs of quantity ('some', 'enough'). Locative adverbs in Shoshone are mostly formed from the same **proximal prefixes** that form half of the **demonstratives** (7.1). Locative adverbs may also have temporal meanings. The proximal prefixes may also be used to form sets of manner/degree adverbs.

9.1 Adverbial Particles

Adverbial particles in Shoshone include short, often single-syllable, markers that have a general meaning of time, manner, and degree. They do not take suffixes or prefixes. They are limited to a very few in number.

There is also a small, closed class of adverbial particles that occur in front of verbs (12.3.1.2). These include that particle *dza*, 'well/effective/intended' and the **instrumental prefixes** so typical of Numic languages.

9.1.1 Modals

Modals are words that refer to relative probability ('probably', 'perhaps', 'maybe'), possibility ('might', 'could'), obligation ('should', 'ought to'), requirement ('must', 'have to'), or potential ('can', 'could'). In English, these ideas are coded with helping verbs such as those just listed in parentheses.

In Shoshone, modals are modal adverbs that go in front of the verb. Following are the modal adverbs of Shoshone (C 31) that are attested in Eastern Shoshone documents.

<i>de'e</i>	must have (S)
<i>dogwê</i>	really, truly
<i>ge</i>	must (S 87.6)
<i>gia</i>	maybe, perhaps
<i>hatu</i>	(I) wonder if that is the case
<i>hatuvich</i>	ought to (SG 14)
<i>nageza</i>	surely, really
<i>-neki</i>	must (C 90 f)
<i>noha</i>	do in vain; used to be or do
<i>noha gia</i>	doubtfully, could have, might be
<i>nuuN</i>	maybe (SG 14)

<i>suva ~ suvê</i>	maybe, possibly
<i>suvê gia</i>	perhaps, maybe
<i>sunî gia</i>	maybe so, it could be
<i>dza wija</i>	hopefully
<i>wija</i>	should; might, could

The idea of obligation ('must') appears to also be a usage of the tense-aspect makers (CR) *-i'yu* and *-hundo'i*.

<i>nikwihúndu'i,</i>	must tell (S 82.9)
<i>ne hatuvich,</i>	I ought to (SG 14)
<i>buihwái'yu,</i>	must see (S 82.8)
<i>nuu ne,</i>	maybe I SG 14)

<i>Suku</i>	<i>naa-ki-si</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>andapum</i>	<i>mi'a-kwan-neki.</i>	(C 93)
Loc	be-Dir-and.then	him	away.from	go-Dir-must	

'When you get there, you must walk away from him.'

<i>Nana</i>	<i>hina</i>	<i>yaaki-neki.</i>	(C 93)
just	anything.Obj	bring-must	

'Just bring anything (with you).'

More examples are needed of modals.

9.1.2 Specifiers

Specifier adverb particles point out a part of a simple sentence (12.1). They may limit the field of reference ('only', 'just'), specify an additional referent ('also', 'too'), or emphasize a particular referent ('X did/is' the one that'). Those attested for Eastern Shoshone include the following.

<i>bê</i>	already
<i>daga</i>	only, just; by self
<i>deas(eN)</i>	also, too; and (variant: <i>deês(eN)</i> , <i>diês(eN)</i>)
<i>duguH</i>	did, the one/thing who/that
<i>gasai</i>	anyone of (SG 14)
<i>seN</i>	the very one, exactly, right (at a specific place)
<i>weN</i>	now (at a precise point in time)

Specifiers follow the part of the simple sentence that they specify. Examples of specifiers are given in the chapter on operations on the simple sentence (13.1.3).

There is another set of words in Shoshone that specify sentence parts that have meanings corresponding to the English words like 'anywhere' or 'whoever'. In Shoshone, these words are

indefinites preceded by *noo* (8.3).

9.1.3 Intensifiers

Intensifiers are words that convey ideas like 'very' or really'. Shoshone varieties are rich in intensifiers. Those attested in Eastern Shoshone are the following.

<i>nariaN</i>	very (lit. strongly)
<i>dogwê</i>	really, exactly that way
<i>deviji</i>	very, quite
<i>deviji zaaN</i>	very, very; really very
<i>mavairesti, deigwa</i>	a little bit, only a little
<i>getaN</i>	very, really, extremely

Intensifiers precede the part of the sentence that they intensify. Examples of intensifiers are in the chapter on operations on the simple sentence (13.1.2).

9.1.4 Negative Marker

The negative marker in Shoshone is the particle *gê*, 'not'. It is put in front of the item that it negates. The negative particle may be put in front of any sentence part, not just the verb. The negative particle is related to the word for 'no': *gê'ê* (variants: *ga'a, ka'a*). Examples of negative marking are in the chapter on operations on the simple sentence (13.1.1).

9.1.5 Quotatives

There are two adverbial particles that are used to frame quotations: *mê* and *gwa'i*.

Surewe xwa'i, "Gê," mê. (C 166)
 Dem.dl Quot no Quot
 "No," the two of them said.

The particle *mê* may be used to indicate who said something.

Ijape mê u nekw. (SG 14)
 coyote Quot it say
 'Coyote said it.'

The particle *mê* may also be used to certify first-hand knowledge.

Hivijo mê suwa. (SG 14)
 old.lady Quot think
 'The old lady is thinking (something).'

Êshem mê ne damwi. (C166)
 this.is Quot my younger.brother
 'This is my younger brother.'

The particle *gwa'i* may be used to that a speaker has no direct knowledge of a condition or event (hearsay).

Usheng kwa'i un nanewe-noon naha-na.
 that.is Quot her/his relative-Pl do-TA
 'That is what her relative have done.'

These **inferential** uses of the quotatives are perhaps their original meanings.

9.2 Adverbs

Many of the adverbs of Shoshone are formed with the proximal prefixes. Other adverbs are separate roots, or separate roots modified by other adverbs.

There is a general adverb ending in Shoshone, *-ku*. This is like the English ending *-ly* (*slow, slowly*). Here is a Shoshone example: *dzaaN*, good; *dzangku*, well. The final *-u* of the Shoshone suffix often changes to *-w* in fast speech. It remains to be seen how productive this general adverb forming suffix is in Eastern Shoshone.

There is also a small, closed class of adverbial particles that occur in front of verbs (12.3.2.1). These include that particle *dza*, 'well/effective/intended' and the **instrumental prefixes** so typical of Numic languages.

There are special adverbs made from numerals: 'number of times', 'number of places', 'two-by-tso'. These are listed with numerals (11.2.2).

9.2.1 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs are adverbs of time. One series of locative adverbs (with the base *-bai* or *-bi*) may be used as temporal adverbs, at least the Central Shoshone (M 21). Most temporal adverbs, however, have independent roots and may have adverbial modifiers. The most common ones in Eastern Shoshone appear below.

<i>bêechuxu</i>	in the morning, tomorrow
<i>bêechuxuw[eN]</i>	early in the morning
<i>bêshe(N)</i>	already
<i>binangkw(a)</i>	after a while, afterward (variant: <i>binakw(a)</i>)
<i>binangkw bêechuxu</i>	day after tomorrow
<i>binangkw domoH</i>	next year chk
<i>binangkw mea</i>	next month
<i>davê</i>	during the day (variant: <i>davêmw(a)</i>)

<i>dogwê tavê</i>	noon
<i>dogwê tuugani</i>	midnight
<i>duugani</i>	at night, during the night
<i>dza navishê</i>	after a good while
<i>dzenixa</i>	for a certain amount of time
<i>ege</i>	immediately
<i>egetsi</i>	now (variants: <i>egachi, egeji</i>)
<i>egetsi duugani</i>	tonight
<i>egetsi ravê</i>	today
<i>eiN</i>	for a long time; forever
<i>genduN</i>	yesterday
<i>gêpêt(eN)</i>	in a little while
<i>gêsheN</i>	not yet
<i>gêshis(eN)</i>	almost
<i>haiga genduN</i>	day before yesterday chk
<i>haiga mea</i>	last month chk
<i>haiga romoH</i>	last year chk
<i>haiga suvê</i>	just then; formerly
<i>haigas(eN)</i>	yet
<i>nawasoiH</i>	all of the sudden, suddenly
<i>nooN</i>	then; for some time
<i>seseN</i>	yet
<i>soona</i>	often, frequently
<i>soovêsh(eN)</i>	long ago
<i>suvê</i>	then
<i>wenexia</i>	repeatedly; then
<i>wexia</i>	then
<i>wihnu</i>	then (variant: <i>wihyu</i>)
?	daily
?	nightly
<i>sesewe</i>	sometimes

Here are examples of temporal adverbs.

<i>gê</i>	<i>bêshi</i>	<i>dzenixant</i> (S)
not	already	for.a.certain.amount.of.time
'not long after'		

ein *dzenixant* (S)
 long.time for.a.certain.amount.of.time
 'forever'

Sure *ege* *mia-kw.* (SG 22)
 Dem immediately go/come-TA
 'He went immediately.'

Ege *raga* *raux* *nagVxwa-ro'i.* (SG 22)
 immediately Spec we.two (e) wrestle-TA
 'The two of us alone will wrestle immediately.'

The different adverbs for 'then' need to be disambiguated.

9.2.2 Adverbs of Manner

Adverbs of manner describe the way in which an action is/was done. Close in meaning to adverbs of manner are words that indicate degree or extent (**intensifiers**; 13.1.2). The difference between adverbs of manner and intensifiers is that intensifiers may usually precede an adverb or an adjective as a modifier, whereas adverbs of manner are independent words that precede the verb or predicate.

The adverbs of manner attested in Eastern Shoshone include the following.

<i>bazoki</i>	sound of dripping
<i>benendaga</i>	alone, by one's self
<i>derêxa</i>	little by little
<i>dzangku</i>	well
<i>getaaN</i>	fast, quickly
<i>nafêga</i>	evenly
<i>nahwa</i>	together
<i>navêsh(eN)</i>	like this
<i>soovêsh(eN)</i>	thus, and so forth
<i>uvitangw</i>	slowly
<i>wenexia</i>	repeatedly

In addition, there are adverbs of manner formed from proximal prefixes and the base **-ni**, 'thus/in X fashion.'

<i>sun</i>	like this, in this way/fashion
<i>saini</i>	like that, in that way/fashion
<i>soni</i>	like that, in that way/fashion
<i>sani</i>	like that, in that way/fashion
<i>sun</i>	like that, in that way/fashion

All of these may be used without the initial *s*-, which means that these adverbs of manner participate in the old/new information distinction conveyed by the *s*-; see the demonstratives for this (7.2).

Ini ma mee. (C 31)
 this.way it do
 'Do it this way.'

E wija aiwaixu ma rangkwishi. (C 31)
 you should that.way it braid
 'You should braid it exactly like this.'

The appropriate use of these forms needs to be documented for Eastern Shoshone.

There is another set of adverbs of manner that are made with the proximal prefixes and the base *-waiH* ~ *-waitreN* ~ *-waixu*, 'like X'.

like this	<i>siwaiH</i>	<i>siwaireN</i>	<i>siwaixu chk</i>
like that	<i>saiwaiH</i>	<i>saiwaireN</i>	<i>saiwaixu chk</i>
like that	<i>sowaiH</i>	<i>sowaireN</i>	<i>sowaixu chk</i>
like that	<i>sawaiH</i>	<i>sawaireN</i>	<i>sawaixu chk</i>
like that	<i>suwaiH</i>	<i>suwaireN</i>	<i>suwaixu chk</i>
exactly like this	<i>mawaiH</i>	(wanting ?)	(wanting ?)

All of these may be used without the initial *s*-, which means that these adverbs of manner participate in the old/new information distinction conveyed by the *s*-; see the demonstratives for this (7.2). The appropriate use of these forms needs to be documented for Eastern Shoshone.

The base *waiH* may be used with nouns to create an adverb of manner.

Saree wai navuni. (C 161)
 dog like appear
 'It looks like a dog.'

9.2.3 Adverbs of Quantity

Adverbs of quantity express the amount or extent of a condition of action. They are similar in meaning to **quantifiers** (5.7); the difference is that adverbs of quantity can only be used as an adverb, but quantifiers are used as pronouns or adjectives.

<i>bêsheN</i>	enough
<i>dogwê''</i>	enough
<i>suvêgas(eN)</i>	enough
<i>dee'echi</i>	a few, a little
<i>sooN</i>	much, a lot

There are also some adverbs of quantity that are formed from proximal prefixes and the base *-afai*, 'X amount' (M 21-22).

<i>siafai</i>	this much; about up to here; this time
<i>sêafai</i>	that much; about up to there; that time chk
<i>saafai</i>	that much; about up to there; that time chk
<i>soafai</i>	that much; about up to there; that time chk
<i>suafai</i>	that much; about up to there; that time chk

These adverbs also mean 'about up to here' (locative) and 'this time' (temporal).

9.2.4 Locative Adverbs

Adverbs that designate places are **locative** adverbs. In Shoshone, there are two sorts of locative adverbs: independent words and systematically derived locatives.

The adverbs of place include the following, and perhaps more.

<i>aakwênt,</i>	from far away
<i>aavi,</i>	far outside/below
<i>andanaigi,</i>	in/at a different place
<i>andanangkwa,</i>	to one side of, to a different place
<i>avête,</i>	outdoors
<i>ba'a,</i>	high up, up above
<i>ba'angkw,</i>	way up above
<i>ba'aida,</i>	above
<i>ba'anai,</i>	from above
<i>ba'and[eN],</i>	in a high place
<i>baanai,</i>	upstream

<i>barai,</i>	one one's back
<i>binaigi,</i>	behind
<i>bituseN,</i>	back (to a certain place)
<i>demaN,</i>	downwards
<i>do'iwa'i,</i>	outside
<i>dugupa,</i>	upward, uphill, toward above
<i>dugupuN,</i>	overhead
<i>ivi,</i>	outside (nearaby)
<i>maanagkw,</i>	far, far off
<i>maitengkaH,</i>	outside
<i>mangkw,</i>	on
<i>na'apa,</i>	downhill
<i>nahagu,</i>	at the center of
<i>nahai,</i>	yonder
<i>naiyafuN,</i>	downward

The locative adverbs that are derived are all made with proximal prefixes and several different locative bases. These include the following (M2; C 21-22).

<i>-kiH, -kuH</i>	locative
<i>-bai, -bi</i>	indefinite locative and temporal
<i>-ana</i>	some indefinite location
<i>-buhni, -buN</i>	over X way
<i>-tuN</i>	through X area
<i>-hoi</i>	around location
<i>-binai</i>	behind

The basic set of locatives are as follows.

<i>sikiH</i>	here
<i>sêkuH, saikuH</i>	here (but not within reach)
<i>sakuH</i>	there (near)
<i>sokuH</i>	there
<i>sukuH</i>	there (out of sight)

The initial s- may be deleted; recall that the s- or lack of it is linked to old/new information, as in demonstraives (7.2).

<i>ikiH</i>	here
<i>êkuH, aikuH</i>	here (but not within reach)
<i>akuH</i>	there (near)
<i>okuH</i>	there
<i>ukuH</i>	there (out of sight)

Iki ma zateki. (M 21)

Loc it put

'Put in here.'

Sare seseweka saku romo'ire. (C 21)

Dem sometimes Loc winter

'Sometimes s/he winters there.'

Note in the second example that the vowels in the demonstrative and locative match. Is it possible to say: *sure seseweka saku romo'ire*, where the vowels don't match? The frequency and full use of these forms has not been documented, and this would require looking at a substantial body of texts.

All of the basic locatives have different forms, depending on whether the verb they occur with is transitive or intransitive, and on whether there is motion involved (M 23.)

<i>sukuH</i>	at there (fixed location; no motion)
<i>sukuruN</i>	through there
<i>sukuri</i>	from there
<i>sukureN</i>	at there
<i>sukuxuH</i>	toward there

This series of forms is related to the major set of postpositions (Chapter 10).

Another series of locatives may also function as temporal adverbs. The series – *bai* or *-bi* may mean 'in a loosely defined place out of sight' (C 158) or, for example 'now/here' (C 21). The initial *s-* may be deleted. More examples of the temporal use of this series is needed.

<i>sivai, sivi</i>	now/here; around here (concealed)
<i>sêvai, sêvi</i>	near here (concealed)
<i>sovai, sovi</i>	around there (concealed)
<i>savai, savi</i>	around yonder (concealed)
<i>suvai, suvi</i>	around over there (concealed)

Ivi ne vimogotsi xupa na-regixa. (C 158)
 Loc my pocket in R-put
 'It's somewhere in my pocket.'

Sore êvi gahni vinangkw wene. (C 158)
 Dem Loc house behind stand
 'S/he/s standing somewhere behind the house.'

Many of the examples of this series in the literature occur without the initial *s-*, suggesting that this is the usual form (*ivi, êvi, ovi, avi, uvi*).

To indicate 'is X particular place' there is a series of locatives with the base *-'ana*, right in X' (C157).

<i>si'ana</i>	right here
<i>sai'ana</i>	right here nearby
<i>so'ana</i>	right there somewhere
<i>sa'ana</i>	right there (yonder)
<i>su'ana</i>	somewhere right there (out of sight)

Sorowe wazinu-si a'ana mimi'a-yu. (C 157)
 Dem.dl get.lost-Sub Loc go.dl-TA
 'The two of them got lost and were walking around there somewhere.'

Sore so'ana ben daga wene-nemi. (C 157)
 Dem Loc himself alone stand-around
 'He is standing there somewhere by himself.'

There is a set of adverbs based on *-buhni ~ -buN*, 'over X way'. Which form of the suffix is used in Eastern Shoshone?

<i>sivuN</i>	over this way
<i>saivuN</i>	over this way nearby
<i>sovuN</i>	over that way
<i>savuN</i>	over yonder
<i>suvuN</i>	over that way (out of sight)

Ivun dateki. C 158
 this.way step
 'Step over this way.'

Suvu urii ramaxa. chk
 this.wa them.pl drive
 'Drive them over this way.'

There is also a set of locatives based on *-duN*, 'through'.

<i>situN</i>	through this area
<i>saituN</i>	through this area nearby
<i>sotuN</i>	through over there
<i>satuN</i>	through over yonder
<i>sutuN</i>	through there (out of sight)

Aitum ma zana. (C 159)
 through.here it lead
 'Lead it through here.'

Sure atun devairi-mi'a. (C 159)
 Dem through.there plant-go
 'S/he went planting through here.'

Miller (M 21) implies another locative series with the base *-hoi*, around it X.'

<i>sihoi</i>	around it here
<i>saihoi</i>	around there (near)
<i>sohoi</i>	around there
<i>sahoi</i>	around over there
<i>suhoi</i>	around there (out of sight)

The actual forms in Eastern Shoshone is not known, and it is also not known whether or not the initial *s-* may be dropped for the old/new information contrast.

Miller (M 21) implies another locative series with the base *-binai*, behind X.'

<i>sivinai</i>	behind here
<i>saivinai</i>	behind there (near)
<i>sovinai</i>	behind there
<i>savinai</i>	behind over there
<i>suvinai</i>	behind there (out of sight)

The actual forms in Eastern Shoshone is not known; can *s-* be dropped?

Chapter 10. Postpositions

In English, there is a group of words that are attached to the front of a noun phrase (12.2) to make prepositional phrases. Prepositional phrases function as adverbials, because they state time, manner, place, and degree or extent. They are called **prepositions**, because they come before the noun, pronoun, or noun phrase they modify.

*John arrived **on Tuesday morning**.* (time)

*John arrived **to the powwow meeting**.* (place)

*John arrived **in a big hurry**.* (manner)

In Shoshone, there is a similar class of words. They are called postpositions, because they come after the noun, pronoun, or noun phrase that they modify.

Sukan daindena-ng kamuhyu ma vire-gwa. (M2 707)

Dem cave-Pos door at arrive-TA

'He came to the door of the cave.'

In the sentence above, the postposition *ma*, 'at' modifies the noun *kamuhyu*, 'door'.

Gahni gupang kunya-va'i. (M2 698)

house in firewood-have

'There is firewood in the house.'

In the sentence above, the postposition *gupaN*, 'in' modifies the noun *gahni*, 'house'.

Postposition phrases are discussed in the chapter on the simple sentence and its parts (chapter 12).

In Shoshone, postposition are neutral, or verb-sensitive. **Neutral postpositions** may occur with any verb or predicate without changing their form. **Verb-sensitive postpositions** change their form according to the type of verb they co-occur with (intransitive or transitive), and the type of motion (or lack of motion) conveyed by the verb: **static**, **dynamic**, or **bounded**.

10.1 Neutral Postpositions

Below is a list of the neutral postpositions found in Eastern Shoshone and other Shoshone varieties.

Gloss	Form
<i>ba'andeN</i>	for (concerning), about (a topic)
<i>bêhyugi</i>	next to, beside
<i>binagkw(a)</i>	behind
<i>devana</i>	at the side of
<i>deviha</i>	in the middle of
<i>ge'mwaN</i>	at the edge of, next to
<i>gewayayH</i>	behind
<i>mahoi</i>	around, near
<i>mai, ma'ê, ma'ai</i>	with (comitative)
<i>maN</i>	on the surface of; with instrumental
<i>maanangkwaxu</i>	behind (motion toward speaker)
<i>maa'nagnwkaH</i>	behind (motion away from speaker)
<i>mamanai</i>	in front of
<i>nai</i>	from (an indefinite place)
<i>naite</i>	from (a specific place)
<i>ni</i>	similar to
<i>wa'iH</i>	like
<i>wenangka</i>	in front of

Note that some neutral postpositions have the object marker *ma-* (*manangkwa*, *mamanai*, *mahoi*).

Some postpositions are quantifiers or specify size or amount (C 78). See also the section on quantifiers and comparatives.

Gloss	Form
<i>mandeN</i>	some of, part of
<i>magupaN</i>	more than
<i>ga'wi</i>	more than
<i>haiyanyi, mayany, mahyanyi</i>	more than
<i>inya</i>	less than
<i>bigaseN</i>	same as

There is a special postposition *duN*, 'with/by means of' which is used only with a special set of pronouns (M21, G).

<i>ne" duN</i> , with me	<i>daha ruN</i> , with us two	<i>damee ruN</i> , with us
	<i>nehe ruN</i> , with us two	<i>nemee ruN</i> , with us
<i>e" duN</i> , with you	<i>mehe ruN</i> , with you two	<i>memee ruN</i> , with you
<i>ma" duN</i> , with X	(wanting)	(wanting)
<i>u" duN</i> , with X	(wanting)	(wanting)

The third person forms mean "with her, him them'.

10.2 Verb-Sensitive Postpositions

There are six postpositions that add special suffixes to agree with two aspects of the verb with which they co-occur. One aspect is whether the verb is intransitive or transitive. The other factor is whether the verb indicates no motion (**static**), motion (**dynamic**), or motion within a bounded area (**bounded**). There are therefore six forms of each of the verb-sensitive postpositions.

The verb-sensitive postpositions are: the following.

<i>baN, ba'aN,</i>	on top of, above
<i>dukaN,</i>	under, beneath
<i>gaH,</i>	at, in, on
<i>gavaN,</i>	among, between, through
<i>gupaN,</i>	in, inside, within

The following are the suffixes of agreement that attach to each of the six verb-sensitive postpositions.

Form	Meaning
(zero, no suffix)	intransitive; static
<i>-deN</i>	transitive; static
<i>-i</i>	intransitive; dynamic
<i>-di</i>	transitive; dynamic
<i>-duN</i>	intransitive; bounded
<i>-gu</i>	transitive; bounded

Below are six examples that show these distinctions with *ba'aN*, 'above'.

<i>Sure</i>	<i>gapai</i>	<i>va'a</i>	<i>havi.</i>	<i>chk</i>
Dem	bed	on.top.of	be.lying	
'S/he is lying on the bed.'				

Ne gapai va'ande vuika. chk.
 1sg bed on.top.of see
 'I see it on the bed.'

Ene ha gahni va'ai dindoi? chk
 2sg Q house on.top.of climb.up
 'Did you climb on top of the house?'

Ene ha gahni va'andi vuinyei? chk
 2sg Q house on.top.of go.look
 'Did you go look on top of the house?'

Sure noofi va'andum mi'a. chk
 Dem hill on.top.of go
 'S/he went on top of the hill.'

Sure gapai va'angku u vui-kwa. (After G; chk)
 Dem bed on.top.of it see-Dir
 'S/he saw it on top of the bed.'

Typically, the dynamic forms mean 'to/toward/into' or 'from'. Typically, the bounded forms mean 'around (within)' or 'to and from'. In a sense, the suffixes are secondary postpositions the modify the meaning of the primary postpositions to which they attach.

Here are the sets of the verb-sensitive postpositions.

ga'', at/to/toward

ga''

gateN

gai

gati

gatuN

gaku

ba'aN, above/on

ba'aN

ba'andeN

ba'ai

ba'andi

ba'anduN

ba'angku

gupaN, in/inside of/within

gupaN

gupandeN

gupai

gupandi

gupanduN

gupangku

dukaN, under/beneath

dukaN

dukandeN

dukai

dukandi

dukanduN

dukangku

gavaN, among/between

gavaN

gavandeN

gavai

gavandi

gavanduN

gavangku

Chapter 11. Verbs

Verbs are words that denote action or motion. Verbs that imply only a "do-er" (actor, agent, or **subject**) are called intransitive verbs. Verbs that imply an "do-er" and a party that is acted on ("do-ee" or object) are called **transitive** verbs. Some verbs that imply a benefactee or recipient (the indirect object) are called **ditransitive** verbs because they have two objects (direct object, indirect object).

The boy walked to school. (intransitive)

The boy walked the dog to school. (transitive)

The boy gave the dog a bone. (ditransitive)

The woman talked about going. (intransitive)

The woman said that she was going. (transitive)

The woman told her daughter that she was going. (ditransitive)

The verb of a sentence is called a **predicate** which means "statement." A predicate states what the subject is doing. Most predicates in Shoshone and English are verbal predicates (the predicating element is a verb), but there are also non-verb predicates (12.3) in Shoshone.

Most languages also include verbs that express a condition or state (stative verbs) such as 'be sick' or 'be dangerous'. These are called **stative verbs**, since they name a state of being rather than an action. Stative verbs are close in meaning to adjectives (4.2). In Shoshone, there are some stative verbs (*nestikwa*, 'be sick'), and they are intransitive (state or imply only a subject). Most predicates that have a stative meaning are adjectives used as stative predicates (12.3.2).

In Shoshone, verbs are complicated, like they are in most languages. In this chapter, there are two main sections: one on how verbs are used in sentences (**inflection**) and how verbs are built up from verb roots (**derivation**). It is more important to know how to use verbs in sentences, so this is the more important topic, and it is presented first.

11.1 Verb Inflection

The categories that are marked on verbs in Shoshone include **stem inflection** (changing the shape of a verb root to indicate a category), **tense-aspect** which is indicated by a set of suffixes, and **conjunctive** suffixes. Stem inflection happens with only a few common verbs. Tense-aspect marking occurs with any verb in Shoshone. Conjunctive suffixes follow the tense-aspect suffix and link the verb to a following sentence.

11.1.1 Stem Inflection

In Shoshone, some verbs change their shape to show **number** (whether or not the subject or object is singular, dual, or plural). Marking number is not a productive category in Shoshone, and a complete list is given below of verbs that have different forms for number. There are only 29 such sets. All are frequently used.

A smaller set of verbs change their middle consonant to show **durative** aspect. **Aspect** is the way or manner in which an action is done or takes place. There are only 17 verbs that have a

durative forms. Verbs that have durative forms are common verbs.

11.1.1.1 Number in Verbs

There are 29 sets of verbs in Shoshone that indicate that the subject or direct object is singular, dual, or plural. There are three kinds of such sets of triple forms for number. In some, there are different words for singular, dual and plural (this is called **suppletion**). In some sets, dual and plural share one word, with a different word for the singular. In the third pattern, the singular and plural share a form, with a different word for the dual.

Method	Singular	Dual	Plural	Gloss
3 different stems	<i>wene''</i>	<i>dzazaki</i>	<i>dovo'i</i>	be standing
dual/plural same	<i>epei''</i>	<i>ekoiH</i>	<i>ekoiH</i>	sleep
sing./plural same	<i>mi'a</i>	<i>mimi'a</i>	<i>mi'a</i>	go/come

The dual form, when distinct, often involves doubling the first syllable. The dual form may be used with either

Intransitive verbs that inflect for number agree with the subject in number.

Saree epei.

The dog is sleeping. *chk*

Sareenewe ekoi.

The two dogs are sleeping. *chk*

Sareenee ekoi.

The dogs are sleeping. *chk*

Here is a list of the intransitive verbs that mark number (C 100-101; M). These need to be checked for Eastern Shoshone. Examples, due to length, are perhaps best put in the dictionary.

Gloss	Sing.	Dual	Pl.
be lying down	<i>havi''</i>	<i>gwavi''</i>	<i>gwavi''</i>
be sitting	<i>gare''</i>	<i>yegwi''</i>	<i>yegwi''</i>
be standing	<i>wene''</i>	<i>dzazakiH</i>	<i>dovo'iH</i>
go	<i>mi'a</i>	<i>mimi'a</i>	<i>mi'a</i>
run	<i>nuki</i>	<i>nunuki</i>	<i>nuraaN</i>
arrive	<i>bire</i>	<i>bipire</i>	<i>bire</i>
emerge	<i>do'êH</i>	<i>doro'êH</i>	<i>gea''</i>
come	<i>gima''</i>	<i>gigima</i>	<i>gima''</i>
travel/live	<i>nemi</i>	<i>yeyengka</i>	<i>yengka</i>
enter	<i>yaiH</i>	<i>yayaiH</i>	<i>wêki</i>
arise/fly	<i>yeze</i>	<i>yoyoriH</i>	<i>yoriH</i>
be sleeping	<i>epeiH</i>	<i>ekoiH</i>	<i>ekoiH</i>
cry/weep	<i>yagaiH</i>	<i>nawoiH</i>	<i>nawoiH</i>
laugh	<i>yanai</i>	<i>nayanê''</i>	<i>nanikoi</i>

talk	<i>dêgwa</i>	<i>niweneH</i>	<i>niweneH</i>
fall down	<i>aniH</i>	<i>gwambi</i>	<i>gwambi</i>
fall off	<i>bahi"</i>	<i>bavahi</i>	<i>sawe'i</i>
come and go	<i>gooninii</i>	<i>gogoniyengka</i>	<i>gogoniyengka</i>
die	<i>deyai, diyai</i>	<i>gogoiH</i>	<i>goiH</i>

On the other hand, transitive verbs with different forms for number agree in number with the object. All of the transitive verbs belong to the pattern where the dual and plural form are the same, with a different singular form.

Dênape suka sareea wetegwa. The man hit the dog. chk
Dênape surehi sareenewe wepa'i. The man hit the two dogs. chk
Dênape surii sareenii wepa'i. The man hit the dogs. chk

Here is a list of the transitive verbs that mark number. These forms need to be checked for Western Shoshone, with example sentences to go in the dictionary.

Gloss	Sing.	Dual	Pl.
break	<i>ga'aH</i>	<i>bongka'iH</i>	<i>bongka'iH</i>
kill	<i>bêkaH</i>	<i>wase"</i>	<i>wase"</i>
throw	<i>dahwi</i>	<i>dapairiH</i>	<i>dapairiH</i>
put, place	<i>degi"</i>	<i>dapuiH</i>	<i>dapuiH</i>
give	<i>utuH</i>	<i>himi</i>	<i>himi</i>
throw away	<i>witai</i>	<i>dapairirai</i>	<i>dapairirai</i>
take	<i>yaa"</i>	<i>hima"</i>	<i>hima"</i>
hit	<i>dategwaH</i>	<i>dapa'iH</i>	<i>dapa'iH</i>
hit	<i>wetegwaH</i>	<i>wepa'iH</i>	<i>wepa'iH</i>
hit	<i>dotegwaH</i>	<i>doopa'iH</i>	<i>dopa'iH</i>

11.1.1.2 Durative Aspect

The durative aspect is formed by changing the middle consonant of a verb root. Most Shoshone verb roots have the shape CVCV (where C = consonant, and V = vowel). There are 17 verbs that have one of these special durative forms. These durative verbs "indicate that the activity expressed by the verb takes place (endures) for some amount of time" (C 94).

The durative verbs usually translate into English with the helping verb *be*, with *-ing* on the main verb.

Ika *donzia* *egwi.* (C 94)
Dem flower smell
'Smell this flower.'

Saree vungku-n diyai-pe-ha ekwi-kina. (94)

dog horse-Pos die-Per-Obj smelling-TA

'The dog is sniffing the dead horse.'

Iki havi.

Loc lie.down

'Lie down here.'

Sure avi beng kapai va'a hapi. (C 94)

Dem Loc Refl bed on lying.down

'S/he's lying there on her/his bed (and been for some time).'

Here is a list of durative verbs in Shoshone. These forms need to be checked for Eastern Shoshone, with examples for the dictionary.

Gloss	Regular	Durative
smell (transitive)	<i>egwiH</i>	<i>ekwi</i>
smell (intransitive)	<i>gwanya"</i>	<i>gwana</i>
lie down (sing.)	<i>havi"</i>	<i>hapi</i>
lie down (dl./pl.)	<i>gwavi"</i>	<i>gwapi</i>
be standing (sing.)	<i>wenye"</i>	<i>wene</i>
be sitting (sing.)	<i>gare"</i>	<i>gate</i>
be sitting (dl./pl.)	<i>yegwi</i>	<i>yekwi</i>
defecate	<i>gwira"</i>	<i>gwita</i>
feed/give	<i>maga</i>	<i>maka</i>
travel/live (sing.)	<i>nemwi</i>	<i>nemi</i>
call out/go get	<i>baize"</i>	<i>baitse</i>
speak (sing.)	<i>dêgwaH</i>	<i>dêkwa</i>
cry	<i>yagai"</i>	<i>yakai</i>
say	<i>yegwi</i>	<i>yekwi</i>
arise/fly (sing.)	<i>yeze</i>	<i>yetse</i>
arise/fly (pl.)	<i>yori</i>	<i>yoti</i>

The context of use of durative forms needs to be studied. Also, what is the equivalent, if any, of the durative for the vast majority of verbs that have no special durative form?

11.1.2 Tense-Aspect Suffixes

Tense-aspect suffixes are the most important part of the verb for learners because these are the categories that appear with verbs in sentences. The idea of **tense** (time of) means the relative time an action took place (present, past, future). The term **aspect** refers to the way in which an action is performed (going on, completed). The set of Shoshone **tense-aspect** suffixes combine these two ideas.

A verb in a Shoshone sentence usually has a tense-aspect suffix. When a verb is used without one, it is usually an command or imperative (13.2).

The names for the tense-aspect categories of Shoshone vary in each of the main published grammars (C 90; M2 700; G 45). I have picked category labels that seem to best convey the meaning of each suffix as glossed in the published grammars, most often using a term that two of the three sources both use.

Term	Suffix	Meaning
habitual	<i>-deN</i>	customary action
progressive	<i>-yuN, -yu</i>	ongoing action over a period of time
repetitive	<i>-peni ~ -feni</i>	repeated or intermittent action in a short amount of time
continuative	<i>-kina, -gena</i>	reported action that happened quickly, possibly as the result of a previous action
resultative	<i>-kaN ~ -xaN</i>	result in present of a prior action
stative	<i>-kandeN ~ -xandeN</i>	characteristic action CHK
generic	<i>-na</i>	general tense; generally true
completive	<i>-nu</i>	action completed slowly
momentive	<i>-kuN ~ -xuN</i> <i>-kwaN ~ -xwaN</i>	action completed quickly, in a single instant or moment
perfective	<i>-peH</i>	action completed prior to another
pluperfective	<i>-pexa</i>	action completed long ago
future	<i>-do'i N, -du'iN</i>	definite action in the future
expectative	<i>-hiN, -nuhiN</i>	expected action in the future

The suffixes that alternate systematically are marked by the swung dash (~); see the paragraph immediately below. The other variants given (separated by commas) are dialect or individual variation.

The tense-aspect suffixes *-deN*, *-peH*, and *-gandeN* are used to create nouns from verbs (CR) and form relative clauses (3.4). *-deN* is also used negative imperatives (13.2) and is related to a set of postpositions (Chapter 10). *-gandeN* is also used to make possessive predicates (12.3.6). *-peH* or related forms occur as absolutive suffixes on nouns (3.1).

The secondary aspects markers (11.1.3), which come before the tense-aspect suffixes, only can occur if there is a tense-aspect suffix present. So, they are secondary. They are considered after this section on tense-aspect marking.

In Shoshone, most verb roots have no final feature with respect to most suffixes that may follow a verb root (M2 697). However, a handful of verb suffixes have a geminated or aspirated form, depending on whether the verb is marked for geminating or aspirating with these few suffixes only.

Category	Geminate	Aspirated
repetitive	<i>-peni</i>	<i>-feni</i>
resultative	<i>-kaN</i>	<i>-xaN</i>
momentive	<i>-kuN</i>	<i>-xuN</i>
momentive	<i>-kwaN</i>	<i>-xwaN</i>
stative	<i>-kandeN</i>	<i>-xandeN</i>

<i>hivipeni</i>	sipping
<i>gamapeni</i>	tasting
<i>dekafeni</i>	eating
<i>hanifeni</i>	doing/making

Verbs that take the geminate form of one of these suffixes are marked with the geminating mark ("): *hivi''*, 'drink' and *gama''*, 'taste'. Otherwise, verbs take the aspirated form and have no indication of final feature.

In Shoshone, tense-aspect marker of a verb may vary between negated (13.1.1) and not negated (G 46). For example, *nangkasumbaru*, 'know from hearing/understand a particular language' takes two different tense-aspect suffixes depending on whether the verb is negated or not.

<i>Sure Newi nangkasumbaruxa.</i>	S/he understands Shoshone. chk
<i>Sure Newi gê nangkasumbaruna.</i>	S/he doesn't understand Shoshone. chk

It is not known to what extent this occurs.

11.1.2.1 Shoshone Correspondences to Present Tense in English

In English, the present tense indicates action in the present; it also has other uses as well. No less than seven of the tense-aspect suffixes in Shoshone correspond to some use of English present tense, for the most part.

Term	Suffix	Meaning
habitual	<i>-deN</i>	customary action
progressive	<i>-yuN, -yu</i>	ongoing action over a period of time
repetitive	<i>-peni ~ -feni</i>	repeated or intermittent action in a short amount of time
continuative	<i>-kina, -gena</i>	reported action that happened quickly, possibly as the result of a previous action
resultative	<i>-kaN ~ -xaN</i>	result in present of a prior action
stative	<i>-kandeN ~ -xandeN</i>	characteristic action CHK
generic	<i>-na</i>	general tense; generally true

The habitual indicates a customary, habitual action. This suffix is also used to make relative clauses (16.3) and potential sentences (13.5).

Saree zuni hpe-ha reka-re. chk
 dog bone-Obj eat-TA
 'The dog eats a bone' (usual reaction when a bone is available).'

The progressive indicates an action that was going on for a period of time.

Saree zuni hpe-ha reka-yu. chk
 dog bone-Obj eat-TA
 'The dog is eating a bone.'

Saree zuni hpe-ha gendu reka-yu. chk
 dog bone-Obj yesterday eat-TA
 'The dog was eating a bone yesterday.'

The repetitive indicates repeated or intermittent action in a short amount of time.

Saree zuni hpe-ha reka-feni. chk
 dog bone-Obj eat-TA
 'The dog is/was nibbling at a bone (repeated action for a short time, or intermittent chewing).'

The continuative indicates an action that happened quickly, possibly as the result of a previous action.

Saree zuni hpe-ha reka-kina. chk
 dog bone-Obj eat-TA
 'The dog is eating a bone (because someone gave her/him one).'

The resultative indicates an ability that is the result of prior knowledge (G 46). It seems to be used with verbs that have something to do with some kind of ability.

Ne hainji Sosoni run dēgwa-ka. chk
 my Q Shoshone in speak-TA
 'My friend speaks Shoshone.'

Ne reigu'a Sosoni rêgwape-ha nangkasumbaru-xa. chk
 1sg a.little Shoshone language-Obj understand-TA
 'I understand a little Shoshone.'

The stative indicates a characteristic action. The stative suffix is not common with verbs, and its usage need more exploration.

Gê marehi ishanai-xant. chk
 not them.dl lie-TA
 'Don't lie to them.'

The generic states an action or condition that is generally true. This is usually cast in English with the present tense.

Saree-nee zunihpe-ha reka-na. chk
 dog-Pl bone-Obj eat-TA
 'Dogs eat bones (in general, near-universal truth).'

11.1.2.2 Shoshone Correspondences to Past Tense in English

English past tenses indicate actions or conditions in the past (before the time of speaking or reference). In Shoshone, the use of a particular past tense suffix depends on whether the action was accomplished slowly or quickly, or whether it took place prior to some other action.

Term	Suffix	Meaning
completive	-nu	action completed slowly
momentive	-kuN ~ -xuN -kwaN ~ -xwaN	action completed quickly
perfective	-peH	action completed prior to another
pluperfective	-pexa	action completed long ago

Examples of the past tense markers in Shoshone follow.

Saree *zunihpe-ha* *reka-nu. chk*
 dog bone-Obj eat-TA
 'The dog ate a bone.'

Saree *zunihpe-ha* *reka-xu. chk*
 dog bone-Obj eat-TA
 'The dog gobbled down a bone (perhaps a dog treat shaped like a bone).'

Saree *zunihpe-ha* *reka-pe. chk*
 dog bone-Obj eat-TA
 'The dog ate a bone (and then took a nap).'

Dam *Ape* *newi-nai-pexa. chk*
 our(i, pl) father people-make-TA
 'Long ago, Our Father made people.'

It is possible to contrast the completive and momentive.

Ne *sohovi-ta* *vui-nu. (G 45)*
 1sg tree-Obj see-TA
 'I saw a tree.'

Ne *sohovi-ta* *vui-kwa. (G 45)*
 1sg tree-Obj see-TA
 'I saw a tree (for an instant).'

The momentive suffix *-kwaN* ~ *-xwaN* may also be used to form a passive sentence (13.5).

11.1.2.3 Shoshone Correspondences to Future Tense in English

There are two tense-aspect suffixes that correspond to the English future tense.

Term	Suffix	Meaning
future	-do'i N, -du'iN	definite action in the future
expectative	-hiN, -nuhiN	expected action in the future

The future (or, definite future) marks an action or event that definitely will happen.

Saree *zunihpe-ha* *reka-ro'i. chk*
 dog bone-Obj eat-TA
 'The dog will eat a bone (once someone gives her/him one).'

The expectative (or, indefinite future) indicates that an action is likely to happen.

Saree zunihpe-ha reka-nuhi. chk
 dog bone-Obj eat-TA
 'The dog might eat a bone.'

The difference in meaning is seen in two nearly identical sentences.

Ne vinangkwa-sen deka-ru'i. (G45)
 1sg later-Emph eat-TA
 'I'm going to eat later.'

Ne vinagwasen deka-nuhi. (G45)
 1sg later eat-TA
 'I may eat later on.'

Surem mi'a-nuhi. (SG)
 Dem go-TA
 'S/he might go.'

11.1.2.4 Additional Tense-Aspect Suffixes

Shimkin, in his unpublished grammar sketch listed several other suffixes that appear to be tense-aspect suffixes (SG 8-9). These do not appear to be documented for other Shoshone varieties. The category labels are his.

Term	Suffix	Meaning
iterative	<i>-fu'ind[en]</i>	keeps on doing
immediative	<i>-degi</i>	has just done; this looks like the secondary verb <i>degi</i> , 'start/put, place' (CR)
conative	<i>-dawa</i>	try to do
iterative	<i>-wenexia</i>	repeated action (especially bodily functions)

Here are the examples of these that Shimkin gives.

Surem бага nai-fu'int. (SG 8)
 Dem arrow(s) make-TA
 'He keeps on making arrows.'

Sure waipe mi'a-regi. chk
 Dem woman go-TA
 'That woman just left.'

Ne u zi kena-xw. (SG 8)
 1sg him with.a.stick hold.down-TA
 'I held him down with a stick.'

Ne u zi kena-rawa-xw. (SG 8)
 1sg him with.a.stick hold.down-try-TA
 'I tried to hold him down with a stick.'

Sure ijape yogo-wenexia. (SG 8) chk
 Dem coyote copulate-TA
 'That coyote kept on copulating repeatedly.'

Mam bambi sur we tsoxwi-wenexia. (SM)
 her head.Obj Dem with.an.instrument pound.-TA
 'He pounded her head repeatedly.'

In a translation of an Apalachean folk story, Malinda Tidzump uses *wenexia* as an **inceptive** (begin to do).

Sure geeriki suka gaaki-ya vêka-wenexia. (T)
 Dem cat that.Obj rat-Obj kill-begin
 'The cat began to kill the rat.'

The use and meaning of this last suffix needs clarification.

11.1.3 Secondary Aspect Suffixes

Secondary aspect suffixes have mark aspect (way or manner an action is done), but they never occur alone. They must be used with tense-aspect marker, and so they are considered to be secondary. Some of these secondary aspects (C 96; G 115 and 137; M2 701) match or complement the tense-aspect markers, so there are combinations that are often frequent (M2 701).

Suffix	Meaning	Usually Used With
<i>-maH</i>	finish doing	with most tense-aspect markers
<i>-taiN ~ -raiN</i>	completely	<i>-peH, -nuH, -kwaN/xwaN, -du'iH, -ka/xa</i>
<i>-hVN</i>	finally and completely do	<i>-deN, -yu, -du'iH</i>
<i>-miN, -mi'i</i>	habitual; 'had been done', 'used to be doing' (M2 701)	<i>-deN, -du'iH, -na</i>
<i>-i</i>	habitual	<i>-deN, -yu</i>
<i>-ê</i>	habitual (G 137); perhaps equivalent to <i>-i</i>	
<i>-bui, -bei</i>	durative (C 96)	[<i>-deN</i>]
<i>-dama</i>	almost (C 96)	[<i>-nu</i>]
<i>-wai</i>	no possibility of (with negative marker <i>gê</i>)	<i>-wai</i>

Since *-maH*, 'finish doing' can occur with most tense-aspect markers, it might be better considered a secondary verb (11.2.1).

Recall that in Shoshone, a handful of verb suffixes have a geminated or aspirated form, depending on whether the verb is marked for geminating; this is the case of the secondary aspect suffix *-taiN ~ -raiN*: the first form is used after a geminating verb, otherwise the second variant is used.

Ne reka-ma-xwa. (M2 701)

1sg eat-finish-TA

'I finished eating.'

Nehe aramu vaan deviha wenye-rai-nu. (C 96)

our (e).dl car water.Pos middle stop-completely-TA

'Our car just completely stopped in the middle of the water.'

Ne rawene mi'a-si naa-tai-nu. (C 96)

1sg town go-and.then be-completely-TA

'I went to town and just stayed put.'

Suren dênapê gaipai gare-pui-rem mi'a-gu. (C 97)

Dem man a.little.while sit-for.a.while-TA go-TA

'That man, sitting for a little while, just left.'

Siki wenye-pei maki ne za tawin-du'i-xa. (C 97)
 Loc stand-a.while that.one.Obj 1sg open-TA-while
 'Stand there for a little, while I open it.'

Ne neepari-rama-nu. (C 97)
 1sg be.thrown-almost-TA
 'I was almost thrown by a horse.'

Gould and Loether (G 137) state that *-i*, *-mi'i*, and *-ê* are generally interchangeable. However, the habitual secondary aspects differ slightly in meaning. Gould and Loether state that "the suffix *-i* "gives an additional meaning of repetition or habitual action over a period of time" (G 115). Miller gives the meaning of *-mi'i/-miN* as 'had ben doing' or 'used to be doing'. The example he gives (M2 701) has the meaning 'from then on'.

wei- to rain
 wei'i to rain a lot or repeatedly

Ene gare ha soo wei-'i-re? (G 115)
 2sg sit Q a.lot rain-repeatedly-TA
 'Does it rain a lot where you are?'

Urem bivusi ruhveka-si viwonua-mi-na. (C 96)
 Dem stinkbug get.angry-and.then stick.up.rear-repetitive-TA
 'The stinkbug gets mad and then sticks up his rear end.'

Usen winhu reka-mi-na. (M2 701)
 that.is then eat-from.then.on-TA
 'S/he had enough to eat from then on.'

The suffix *-i* can also be used with adjectives and nouns to mean 'be such a way in general'.

dzaa'ireN, be good (C)
domo'ireN spend the winter (C)

The vowel of the suffix *-hVN* agrees with (matches) the preceding vowel (of the root verb, secondary verb, or directional suffix).

Sure siki vire-heng-kwa. (M2 701)
 Dem Loc arrive-finally-TA
 'S/he finally got here.'

More examples are needed to show the vowel harmony. Here are additional examples of vowel harmony with this suffix.

Sure *waipe* *dami* *renito'ipngka-hando'i.* (C 123)
 Dem woman us (i).pl sing-Apl-TA
 'That lady is going to sing for us.'

Suvê *gia* *imaa* *ravê-han-do'i.* C 126 *chk*
 then Quot = mayb tomorrow sun-become-SA-TA
 'So maybe tomorrow will be sunny.'

In the last example, the vowel of *-huN* agrees with *ê*, which comes from the vowel cluster *ai*; so, the agreement is with the *a* in *ai*.

Shimkin gives a form that, in terms of position, must be a secondary aspect marker. The suffix *-wai* (which must have a negative marker in the same simple sentence indicates 'no possibility of' (SG 14)

Ne *za* *gê* *haga-p* *eng* *kai'e-wai-t.*
 1sg Emph not where-Per you.sg leave-possibly-TA
 'I will never leave you.' (SG)

U *vêka-x,* *ne* *gê* *mi'a-wai.* (SG)
 him kill-Conj 1sg not go-possibly
 'If he kills (me), I won't possibly come back.'

11.1.4 Conjunctive Suffixes

The conjunctive suffixes are the very last suffixes that can appear on a verb in Shoshone. These suffixes translate as 'while/as' or 'then/after', and join the verbs of two simple sentences. They have different forms depending on whether or not the two joined sentences share a subject or not. These suffixes are described in Chapter 14.

11.2 Verb Derivation: Building Complex Verbs in Shoshone

Verbs that are more complex than a single verb root are made in several ways in Shoshone. One way is to put two verb roots together to make a new verb (**compounding**). Another way is to use one of a special set of verbs of handling with an **instrumental prefix**. A third way is to use a **derivational suffix** to derive a more complex verb.

11.2.1 Verb Compounding

There are four kinds of verb plus verb compounds. The second verb in a compound is called the **secondary verb**, because it modifies or contributes to the meaning of the first verb, which is the main verb. There are four kinds of secondary verbs: those of affliction, those of position and motion, and those of complementation.

11.2.1.1 Secondary Verbs of Affliction

There are two secondary verbs that indicate that the subject of a simple sentence is afflicted with a certain condition. These two suffixes attach to a small set of nouns, and cannot occur with all of the tense-aspect suffixes (M2 706). In many examples, there is no tense-aspect marker.

The afflictive suffix *-bêka* indicates a milder degree than the suppletive set which means 'die': *-deyai* (singular subject), *-kokoi* (dual subject), and *-koi* (plural subject). Both of the afflictive secondary verbs occur with the same set of noun roots.

<i>deeya pêkaH,</i>	be scared
<i>bohovêkaH,</i>	be hungry chk
<i>daguvêkaH,</i>	be thirsty
<i>dewoivêkaH,</i>	be sick chk
<i>duhuvêkaH,</i>	be angry
<i>maruhuvêkaH,</i>	get an erection
<i>yogovêkaH,</i>	act smart or stubborn
<i>yuhuvêkaH,</i>	be fat
<i>noavêkaH,</i>	be pregnant

This list should be checked for Eastern Shoshone, and the list should be elicited for Eastern Shoshone using the second, suppletive afflictive suffixes.

Urehe ohna ohi-veka-yu. chk
 their.dl infant cold-suffer.from-TA
 'Their baby has a cold.'

Suren diviji deeya-pêka. chk
 Dem really scared-suffer.from
 'S/he was really scared.'

Suren diviji deeya-reyai. chk
 Dem really scared-suffer.from
 'S/he was scared to death.'

11.2.1.2 Secondary Verbs of Position and Motion

Secondary verbs of position and motion are all used as independent verbs. As secondary verbs, their meaning may differ from their independent meaning. If they have special forms for dual and plural (11.1.1.1) or durative forms (11.1.1.2), these are used when the verb is used as a secondary verb.

However, all those having special dual or plural forms are intransitive. This means that all secondary verbs of position and motion agree in number with their subject (all but one have dual

and plural forms).

Form	Gloss	Dur.	Dl.	Pl.
<i>-havi</i>	in a prone position	<i>-hapi</i>	<i>-gwavi''</i> <i>-gwapi''</i> (dur.)	<i>-gwavi''</i> <i>-gwapi''</i> (dur.)
<i>-gare</i>	in a sitting position	<i>-gate</i>	<i>-yegwiH</i>	<i>-yegwiH</i>
<i>-wenye</i>	in a vertical position	<i>-wene</i>	<i>-dovo'iH</i>	<i>-dovo'iH</i>
<i>-mia</i>	1. while moving 2. go to do	(none)	<i>-mimiaH</i>	<i>-mi'a</i>
<i>-nuki</i>	1. while moving 2. go to do	(none)	<i>-nunuki</i>	<i>-nuraaN</i>
<i>-nooH</i>	while moving	(none)	(none)	(none)
<i>-nemwi</i>	while moving around	<i>-nemi</i>	<i>-nenemwi</i>	<i>-yengkaH</i>

The secondary verbs *-mia* and *-nuki* have the same basic meaning, but when *-nuki* is used, it means that the action is faster. Two of the secondary aspects resemble *-mia* and *-nuki* in meaning: *-gwaN*, 'go to do' and *-nei*, 'go to do and return'.

Miller (M2 702) notes that when a secondary verb is present, there are restrictions on the tense-aspect suffixes that may be used. Given the nature of this class of secondary verbs (being in a position, or moving around), it is not surprising that the durative forms of these verbs are used.

Suren dzugupe renito'i-hapi. (C102)

Dem old.man sing-SV

'That old man was lying down singing.'

Baa'oha andase yahaiki-hapi.

water.baby just laugh-SV

'Water Baby was just lying there laughing.'

Durua-nee suku reka-yegwi-xa. (C 102)

children-Pl Loc eat-SV-TA

'The children are sitting there eating.'

Bêchu raga ne rezakenya-gare-'i-yu. chk

evening only 1sg sew-SV-SA-TA

'I only sit and sew in the morning.'

Gwitsumungku soko roo-wene. chk

cow Loc graze-SV

'The cow is standing there grazing.'

Gwitsumungku soko roo-mia. chk

cow Loc graze-SV

'The cow is going along there grazing.'

Gwitsumungku soton doo-nuki. chk

cow Loc graze-SV

'The cow is going along there grazing hurriedly.'

Geraan dategi-noo. chk

strongly step-SV

'Step lively!'

Gwitsumungku soton doo-nemi. chk

cow Loc graze-SV

'The cow is wandering around there grazing.'

Because the basic meaning of secondary verbs is aspectual (way an action is done: ongoing while moving or in a position), it is to be expected that there would be a reduced number of tense-aspect suffixes that would co-occur with them. Most examples in the published grammars show no tense-aspect suffix, or the stative *-ka/-xa*, 'be in a state of being/doing' and translate to the present tense.

When past tense appears in the translations of example sentences with this class of secondary verbs, it is *-nu*. It is unknown if a verb compound with secondary verbs of position or motion can be used with a future tense marker.

The reduced tense-aspect marking of this class of secondary invites comparison with the tense-asepct marking of non-verb predicates (12.3.4-7) which also do not use the full complement of tense-aspect suffixes. This would reveal more detail about tense-aspect marking in Shoshone.

11.2.1.3 Secondary Verbs of Complementation

Secondary verbs of **complementation** are discussed in the chapter on complementation (Chapter 15). Basically, a complement is a joining of two simple sentences that may or may not share a subject.

He wanted to go to the store. (shared subject)

He wanted him to go to the store. (different subjects)

In addition, a **complement verb** (for example, *want*) take an entire simple sentence as its direct object. Most complement clauses in Shoshone have the complement verb as a secondary verb.

11.2.2 Instrumental Verbs

Verbs of handling, bringing, carrying, and especially: "hitting, splitting, breaking, cutting, and surfact contact" (M2 702) in Shoshone take occur with one of a set of **instrumental** markers that occur as pre-verbs before the **instrumental verbs**. As such, most instrumental verbs are transitive, but not all are. Many of them have plural forms which occur with a plural object (not a plural subject).

Not all instrumental verbs take all the instrumental markers. Some instrumental verbs take only one marker, while others are more productive. Ultimately, it is a matter for the dictionary, since not all of the logically possible pairings are conventional words. Crums and Dailey (C 105-115) give such a list for Western Shoshone, and this list needs to be checked for Eastern Shoshone.

Here are the instrumental markers used in Shoshone. Most instrumental markers in Shoshone end in a geminating final feature.

<i>ba</i>	by means of water
<i>bi</i>	with back, behind, or buttocks
<i>da''</i>	with a hard object (like a rock)
<i>da''</i>	with one's feet
<i>damiN</i>	with one's knee or foot
<i>do''</i>	with fist (violently)
<i>dza''</i>	with hand grasping, in arms
<i>dzi''</i>	with a sharp, pointed instrument
<i>dzo''</i>	with one's head
<i>ge''</i>	with mouth or beak, with one's teeth
<i>gii''</i>	with the elbow (rare)
<i>gu''</i>	with fire or heat
<i>gu''</i>	with one's head (rare)
<i>ma</i>	with an open hand
<i>mu</i>	with nose, lips, or front of face
<i>ni</i>	with the voice
<i>se''</i>	by means of cold or from the cold
<i>se''</i>	with one's foot (violently)
<i>suN</i>	with one's mind
<i>we''</i>	1. with a long instrument 2. with any instrument in general

With an instrumental verb, the instrumental marker goes in front of the verb as a pre-verb. It is not stressed unless it has two or more syllables (only one instrumental marker does). Instead, it forms a phonological word with the following verb, which has the main stress on its first syllable.

Neme saree ureen dzikina-nii ge tokwai-nu. C 116
 our (e).pl dog their.pl chicken-Obj.pl with.teeth kill-TA
 'Our dog killed their chickens.'

Ne ohna-'a we kena-nu. chk
 1sg infant-Obj with.instrument cover-TA
 'I covered the baby with a blanket.'

In addition to instrumental verbs, instrumental markers may occur with transitive verbs that have independent use without instrumental markers (M2 703). For example, the verb *yaa*, 'carry it' may occur with an instrumental marker.

Ne ma za yaa-nu. chk
 1sg it in.arms carry.it-TA
 'I carried it in my arms.'

Ijape u ge yaa-nu. chk
 coyote it with.mouth carry.it-TA
 '(The) coyote carried it in his mouth.'

It is also possible to use intransitive verbs (that are not instrumental verbs) with an instrumental marker. The intransitive verb takes the applicative suffix *-ngke* (CR), with the instrumental marker in front as a pre-verb.

Sure u za wenyengke-nu. chk
 Dem it with.hands stand-Apl-TA
 'S/he stood it up with her/his hands.'

It is possible to leave out the instrumental marker to make a resultative sentence (14.2.3).

Huuving ka'a-xwa. (M2 703)
 stick break-TA
 'The stick broke/the stick is broken.'

11.2.3 Verb Derivation by Suffix

It is also possible to make new verbs by putting suffixes after a verb root or a verb compound. There are two kinds of derivational suffixes that create new verbs: **directional suffixes** and the **applicative** suffix.

The applicative suffix belongs to a position after the verb called **Pre-Final** position. It is "pre-final" if one considers the tense-aspect suffixes (CR) to be final. However, the conjunctive suffixes (CR) come after tense-aspect as the very final verb suffixes, so the term "pre-final" really should be "pre-tense-aspect."

The other suffixes that belong in the "pre-final" position are the **secondary aspect** suffixes. These suffixes indicate **aspect** (how an action is done), but are secondary in that they can only occur with a tense-aspect suffix following. They are considered in with the tense-aspect markers because they require the presence of a tense-aspect suffix and their meanings are inflectional in nature (they mark aspect, an inflectional category).

Some verbs with directional suffixes and the applicative suffix may be conventional vocabulary items that should be listed in the dictionary. Other uses appear to be determined by context, so to some degree these suffixes are only partly derivational (in the sense that they create complex verbs that are convention words).

There are also a set of markers that could be considered to be derivational suffixes that make verb out of nouns. Here, they are taken to be independent markers that make nouns and adjectives into non-verbal predicates (12.3.2 – 6). Crum and Dailey also consider them to be "incorporating verbs" (C 125), where the noun is incorporated into the actual verb. Here, I have written the noun separately from the following verb for ease of reading.

11.2.3.1 Directional Suffixes

The **directional suffixes** indicate action going away from the speaker, coming toward the speaker, going away and back, or random motion. In narratives and reported events, it is possible that the reference point for these suffixes could be a character in the story or a person other than the speaker in a reported event. The **reference point** for the use of directional suffixes is an outstanding research need in Shoshone grammar.

Usually only one directional suffix may be used with a verb. However, occasionally two directional suffixes are used. More work is needed to determine if there are conventional combinations, and if so, what their specific meanings are.

There are four directional suffixes that the three recent published grammars recognize (G 136; C 95; M2 701). There is a fifth one recognized by the earlier Miller grammar sketch (M 17).

- <i>giN</i>	movement toward
- <i>gwaN</i>	movement away
- <i>gwai</i>	random movement
- <i>nei</i>	go to do and return; away and back again
- <i>gei</i>	here and there (M 17)

In the Central dialects (Gosiute and others), and Western Shoshone the suffix *-nei* is *-ni'i*. Miller (M 17) gives no example of *-gei*, but there must be some in his Gosiute texts. The final features of each of these directional suffixes needs to be checked for Eastern Shoshone.

Here are some examples.

Huna ne vairun nuki-gi-na. (C 95)

badger me toward run-Dir-TA

'The badger is running toward me.'

Himbê eneng ko'ê-xi-mi'i-yu? (G125)

when 2sg come/go.back-Dir-SA-TA

'When do you come back here?'

Sikirun do'i-xi. (M2 701)

toward.here emerge-Dir

'He came here toward him.'

Ne reka-gwan-do'i. (G 137)

1sg eat-DIR-TA

'I'm going somewhere to eat.'

Suku vire-gwa. (M2 701)

Loc arrive-Dir

'(They) arrived there.'

Ne reka-gwan-du'i. (G 137)

1sg eat-Dir-TA

'I'm going out to eat (return is not implied).'

Go'ê-gwan daga, Ijape! (SG 9)

come/go.back-Dir only/just coyote

'Just go back (where you came from), Coyote!'

Durua-nee atun nuraa-gwai-na. chk

children-Pl through.there run.pl-Dir-TA

'The children are running through there.'

Hina ene is[eN] waigi-d, yagai-mia-gwai-na? (SG)
 what.Obj 2sg this.is look.for-TA cry-go.Dir-TA
 'What are you looking for, as you go around crying?'

Ne ravê-reka-nei-ru'i. (G 137)
 1sg dat-eat-Dir-TA
 'Im going out to eat lunch (and will return).'

Miller (M2 701) notes that the general tense-aspect suffix *-na*, when used with the directional suffix *-giN* produces the meaning 'keep on doing'.

Sure andavasen deka-gina. chk
 Dem paying.no.attention eat.keep.on
 'Paying no attention, s/he kept on eating.'

There is also a repetitive sense of *-giN* when used with other tense-aspect suffixes as well.

Dengkênu man u za wene-ngke-gi-yu. (M2 701)
 cliff.edge on him Emph stand.Dur-Apl-Dir-TA
 '(He) kept on making him stand on the edge of the cliff.'

Shimkin notes a use of the directinal *-gwai* with the tense-asept marker *-fu'int[eN]* that means 'keep almost doing' (SG).

Ureen-g[eN] u ga'a-xwai-fu'int. (SG)
 3pl.-Ger it break-Dir-TA
 'They are the ones that almost keep breaking it.'

11.2.3.2 The Applicative Suffix

The applicative suffix makes intransitive verbs transitive. Added to transitive verbs, it creates a ditransitive verb.

The applicative suffix is *-ngke* (in other dialects: *-ngka*, *-ngku*). The meaning of the applicative is either causative (make a person or animal do the action of the verb), or else it is benefactive (someone does something for some other person, or for an animal).

Sure waipe dami renito'ipngka-hando'i. (C 123)
 Dem woman us (i).pl sing-Apl-TA
 'That lady is going to sing for us.'

Dengkênu *man* *u* *za* *wene-ngke-gi-yu.* (M2 701)
 cliff.edge on him Emph stand.Dur-Dir-TA
 '(He) kept on making him stand on the edge of the cliff.'

With ditransitive verbs made with the applicative, there are two objects (a direct object, and indirect of benefactive object). They may come in either order: direct object + indirect object, OR indirect object + direct object.

Sur *natasu-na* *naivitsi-a* *hivi-ngke-na.* (M2 704)
 Dem medicine-Obj girl-Obj drink-Apl-TA
 'S/he made the girl drink the medicine.'

Surem *bihia-nihi* *sika* *mavai-ngka-nu. chk*
 Dem boys-Obj.dl this.Obj make-Apl-TA
 'She made this for the two boys.'

Deasen *ne* *hainje-ha* *saa-ngke.* (M2 704)
 more my friend-Obj boil-Apl
 'Boil some more (meat) for my friend.'

Some verbs with the applicative suffix may be conventional vocabulary items, listable in the dictionary. Other uses may be determined by context, so the applicative suffix is only partly derivational (in the sense of making complex verbs that are convention words).

Chapter 12. The Simple Sentence and Its Parts

In Shoshone and English, the simple sentence is basically a subject (do-er) and verb (action word) or other predicate, plus any adverbs or adverbials that may be present before the verb. This basic sentence is an **intransitive** sentence because the verb does not make any sense with a direct object (the "do-ee" of the sentence).

The person is walking. (intransitive)

The person is making bread. (transitive)

A sentence that has a direct object is a **transitive** sentence. Both intransitive and transitive sentences are simple sentences. The simple sentence is the basic unit of syntax (the study of word order, and word order re-arrangement). Another term for simple sentence is **clause**.

There is third kind of simple sentence called a **ditransitive** sentence has two objects: a direct object, and an **indirect** object. The direct object is the entity that is affected by the action. The indirect object is the entity that benefits or potentially benefits from the action.

The person bought the house. (transitive)

The person bought the house for a homeless man. (ditransitive)

In the second sentence above, the benefactee is the noun phrase "a homeless man".

The subject, direct object, and indirect object of a simple sentence may be a noun, a pronoun, or a **noun phrase** (group of words centered around and relating to a noun).

The person is walking. (subject = noun phrase, or **NP**)

John is walking. (subject = noun)

He is walking. (subject = pronoun)

The person bought a nice house. (direct object = NP)

The person bought it. (direct object = pronoun)

The person bought a nice house for the homeless man. (indirect object = NP)

The person bought a nice house for John. (indirect object = noun)

The person bought a nice house for him. (indirect object = pronoun)

12.1 The Simple Sentence in Shoshone

In English, the basic, default word order of the simple sentence is: subject, verb, object. In Shoshone, the basic word order is: subject, object, verb.

Sur ijape sukan duku-a reka-yu.
 Dem coyote Dem.Obj meat-Obj eat-TA
 'That coyote was eating that meat.'

Ijape sukan duku-a reka-yu.
 coyote Dem.Obj meat-Obj eat-TA
 'A coyote was eating that meat.'

Sure sukan duku-a reka-yu.
 Dem Dem.Obj meat-Obj eat-TA
 'That coyote was eating that meat.'

If there is a direct object in Shoshone, the direct object may come first or the indirect object may come first.

Ne sarii-a zuhni-pe-ha utu-xwa. (M2 699)
 I dog-Obj bone-Ab-Obj give.it-TA
 'I gave (the) dog a bone.'

Ne zuhni-pe-ha sarii-a utu-xwa. (M2 699)
 bone-Ab-Obj dog-Obj give.it-TA
 'I gave a bone to (the) dog.'

It should be checked to see if the difference of word order in the two Shoshone sentences above reflects an emphasis as in these two English sentences: *I gave a bone to the dog* and *I gave the dog a bone*.

If there are adverbs, they precede the verb, with temporal adjectives before locatives.

Sure suvê u magandum mi'a-nu. (M2 699)
 Dem then him toward go-TA
 'He then went to him.'

What if there are objects? Examples are needed to show where these go with respect to adverbs. Also, where do adverbs of manner occur, or do they occur with temporal and locative adverbs?

12.1.1 Impersonal and Indefinite Sentences

It is possible to have impersonal sentences. These are sentences without a subject.

Etee-na. (M2 698)

be.hot-TA

'It's hot.'

Gahni gupang kunya-va'i. (M2 698)

house in firewood-have

'There is firewood in the house.'

Indefinite sentences are made by using the negative marker and question marker with the intonation of a statement.

Gê ha akwa yagai.

not Q unexpectedly cry

'(S/he) started to cry unexpectedly.'

More examples of these are needed. Do all such sentences have an **inceptive** ('start to do') meaning?

12.1.2 Different Placement of Sentence Parts

There seem to be at least two ways in which the fairly rigid positioning of the parts of the simple sentence in Shohsone may vary. One is the use of what appear to be subject clitics (short, presumably unstressed forms of the subject pronouns), which may appear after the object, as in the example below.

Saree-'a ruhui-iti ne vuika. (C 131)

dog-Obj be.black-Obj I see

'I see a dog that is black.'

It remains to be known if there are a full set of such subject markers, and to give examples of them.

Miller (M2 699) mentions a part of the simple sentence put at the front for "focus". He also mentions (M2 699) putting a simple sentence part at the end, "almost as an after thought." He gives no examples.

12.2 Noun Phrases

A noun phrase in Shoshone typically is a demonstrative plus other modifier plus noun.

ire rosa rakavi (C73)

Dem white snow

'this white snow'

Miller (M2 706) gives the following two formulas, noting that the second is less common. Here is pattern I.

Demonstrative + Adjective + Numeral + **Noun**

Here is pattern II.

Demonstrative + Numeral + Adjective + **Noun** (less common)

Crum and Dailey (C 74) give only the second order, noting that a possessor marker may appear before the adjective in pattern I. Presumably, the following is a correct sentence.

Suree watsewi via ne gahni rosaviru. chk

Dem.Pl two big my house(s) be.white

'My two big houses are white.'

I don't recall ever seeing a noun phrase in Shoshone with a possessor marker (like *ne*, my) and a demonstrative. The order of the noun phrase in Eastern Shoshone needs to be documented to see what the most common order is.

The adjective in the formulas above may come from a verb ending in *-deN*, '-ing' or *-peH*, '-ed'.

Sure waipe yagai-reng kê rosa-tekape-ha reka-re. chk

Dem woman cry-ing not white-food-Obj eat-TA

'The crying woman would not eat bread.'

In the example above, the word 'crying' is actually a relative clause (CR), and that is why it follows that noun that it modifies.

Both Miller (M2 706) and Crum and Dailey (C 74) agree that **quantifiers** (CR) may appear before or after the entire noun phrase.

Ne oyoku urii newe-nii nitevuin-do'i. (C 74)

I all.Obj Dem.Pl.Obj person-Pl.Obj awaken-TA

'I am going to wake up all of those people.'

Crum and Dailey do not give an example of a quantifier following a noun phrase. Presumably, the following version of the sentence above is okay.

Ne urii newe-nii oyoku nitevuin-do'i. chk

I Dem.Pl.Obj person-Pl.Obj all.Obj awaken-TA

'I am going to wake up all of those people.'

There is probably some shift or emphasis that is conveyed by these two word orders.

If a noun or noun phrase has a relative clause (16.3), the relative clause follows the noun or noun phrase, unlike other noun phrase modifiers.

12.2.1 Possessive Noun Phrases

A possessive noun phrase is made by putting a noun or noun phrase in front of the other noun. The first noun (phrase) ends with the possessive case (3.2.1) which in Shoshone is the final feature of nasalizing (1.3). The basic formula is: **Possessor** (ending with **Possessive Case**) plus **Possessed** (as a single noun).

Sukan daindena-ng kamuhyu ma vire-gwa. (M2 707)

Dem cave-Pos door at arrive-TA

'He came to the door of the cave.'

newe-nee-n devia (C 73)

Indian-Pl-Pos land

'Indians' land'

12.2.2 Postposition Phrases

A **postposition** is a Shoshone word equivalent to a preposition in English (chapter 10). These words are called **postpositions** (**after**-positioned) because they come after the noun or noun phrase they modify. A postposition phrase in Shoshone is made by putting a postposition after a noun or noun phrase.

Sukan daindena-ng kamuhyu ma vire-gwa. (M2 707)

Dem cave-Pos door at arrive-TA

'He came to the door of the cave.'

In the sentence above, the postposition *ma*, 'at' modifies the noun *kamuhyu*, 'door'.

Gahni gupang kunya-va'i. (M2 698)

house in firewood-have

'There is firewood in the house.'

In the sentence above, the postposition *gupaN*, 'in' modifies the noun *gahni*, 'house'.

12.3 Predicates

As in most languages, Shoshone has two kinds of predicates: verb predicates and non-verb predicates. Verb predicates are simply a verb, with its pre-verb modifiers and suffixes.

There are four kinds of non-verbs predicates: **stative** predicates (describe a condition), **equational** predicates (equate one noun or noun phrase with another), **existential** predicates (indicate the existence of a noun or noun phrase often in a given location), and **possessive** predicates (indicate the possession of a noun or noun phrase).

12.3.1 Verbal Predicates

Verbal predicates have two parts: a **pre-verb** (12.3.1) and a **verb** (11.1). The verb may be simple or complex (CR). Except for imperatives (commands; CR), a verb in a Shoshone sentence usually has a tense-aspect suffix, and may have a conjunctive suffix.

The pre-verb is a particle that goes immediately before the verb. There is usually only one pre-verb, and there are four kinds of pre-verb. If the pre-verb has more than two or more syllables, its first syllable gets stress, and the first syllable of the verb is also stressed. If the pre-verb is only a single syllable (most of them are), then the pre-verb has no stress and aligns with the verb to its right, with the first syllable of the verb having main stress.

The four kinds of pre-verb include: voice pre-verb, adverbial pre-verb, pronominal pre-verb, and instrumental marker; the instrumental markers are detailed in the section of building complex verbs (11.2.2).

12.3.1.1 Voice Pre-Verbs: Reflexive and Reciprocal

There are three voice markers: *na*, *nana*, and *nee*. The **reflexive** marker *na* means that the direct object of a simple sentence is also the subject (agent, actor) of the sentence. The emphatic marker *seN* is usually used after a subject pronoun.

Ne-se na mahoiranu. (C 120)
 1sg-Emph Refl hurt-TA
 'I hurt myself.'

Dawe(se) na nangka-xa. (M2 703)
 1(i).dl Refl hear-TA
 'We two hear ourselves/we two hear each other.'

Suren dênap ve-se mahoiranu. chk
 Dem man self-Emoh hurt-TA
 'That man hurt himself.'

If the subject is third person, and only a pronoun is used, the appropriate form of the reflexive pronoun *beN* is used to mark the subject. If the form of *beN* goes in front of the verb for a reflexive meaning, but after the verb for a reciprocal ('each other') meaning.

Beme-se na wase-kwa. (M2 703)
 self.pl-Emph Refl kill.pl-TA
 'They killed themselves.'

Na wase-kwa veme. (M2 703)
 Refl kill.pl-TA self.pl
 'They killed each other.'

Another way to make a reciprocal sentence is to use the maker *nana''* as the pre-verb.

Soreem beme-se suni nana mee-nu. (C 121)
 Dem.pl self.pl-Emph that.way Recip do-TA
 'They did that to each other.'

Suree naria nana temazai-re. (C 121)
 Dem-.pl really/strongly Recip help-TA
 'They really help each other.'

Dame naria nana temazai-re. (C 121)
 1pl(i) really/strongly Recip help-TA
 'We really help each other.'

The marker *nee''* can also be use for marking reflexives (object = subject).

Soren dênape be-se nee sivi-nu. (C 121)
 Dem man self-Emph Refl shave-TA
 'The man shaved himself.'

12.3.1.2 Adverbial Pre-Verbs

Three common adverbial pre-verbs: *na*, *nee*" and *dza*. The reflexive marker *nee* can mean 'almost' or de-emphasize the subject.

Suren dogoa suku nee kwintsuna-reki. (C 120)
 Dem snake Loc just coil-start
 'The snake just sat there coiled up.'

The reflexive marker *na* can also be used to de-emphasize the subject. In each sentence, the event or condition is cast as more important than the the person being talked about.

Dênape re'oi na vuni. (C 119)
 man sick Refl see
 'The man looks sick.'

Sorem ben daga na manuki-nu. (C 119)
 Dem self only Refl run.away-TA
 'He ran off by himself.'

Maree niwenye-na gê rogwê na nangka-suwangka-na.
 their.pl say.pl-TA not right Refl hear-think-TA
 'What they are saying doesn't sound right.'

The particle *dza* can mean 'good/well', but it can also function as an intensifier for the verb. This particle implies a human or animate subject.

Ne za nee sungka-na. (C 120)
 1sg good just feel-TA
 'I feel good.'

Mombíchi siki za narian-t[eN]. (SC)
 owl here well dangerous-Ger
 'A real dangerous owl is here.'

Dengkênu *man* *u* *za* *wene-ngke-gi-yu.* (M2 701)
 cliff.edge on him Emph stand.Dur-Dir-TA
 '(He) kept on making him stand on the edge of the cliff.'

The modal particles (CR) may also be seen as adverbial pre-verbs.

12.3.1.3 Pronominal Pre-Verbs

The pronominal pre-verbs include the indefinite subject marker *daN* (8.1.1), the indefinite object marker *deN* (8.1.2), the objective pronouns *u* and *ma* (6.2), and any personal pronoun (6.1) or demonstrative (CR) in the objective case used as the object of the verb (and simple sentence).

12.3.2 Non-Verb Predicates

Non-verb predicates are ones whose center or **head** (main semantic part) is a noun, adjective, or adverb. In Shoshone, non-verb predicates are made with special verb that follow a noun, adjective, or adverb. In some instances, the **incorporating verb** only appears if a tense-aspect marker is present, for example equational predicates (12.3.4) with the incorporating verb *naa*.

The nouns used with these incorporating verbs do not have case or number marking, and usually lose an absolutive suffix (3.1) if they have one. Any modifiers (demonstratives or adjectives) that go with the noun do show case and number.

From examples in the published grammars, it seems that non-verb predicates have a limited number of tense-aspect markers that appear with them: *-yu*, *-na*, *-nu*, and *do'i*. In most Uto-Aztecan languages this is the case. It is also true in Shoshone that there are a limited number of tense-aspect markers that occur with secondary verbs (11.2.1), inviting a systematic comparison.

12.3.2.1 Stative Predicates

In English, the idea of a predicate adjective is an adjective used with a form of *be*.

The house is white.

Heating this winter will be costly.

In Shoshone, the adjective is simply put in place of a verb.

Betty *tekivetsi,* *Shirley* *vina* *yuhupe.* (C 4)
 B. skinny S. however fat

'Betty is skinny, but Shirley is fat.'

I have not found an examples of adding tense to stative predicates in Shoshone: how does one say 'will be fat' or 'used to be fat'?

Miller (M2 710) notes that stative predicates may be made from nouns by adding the following endings: *-gê-yu*, 'is X' or *-roi-yu*, 'is getting X' (where X is a noun). Crum and Dailey

state that *-yuN* may be used without *-gêH* (C 146). The secondary aspect marker *-i* (CR) may be

<i>dogwê-yu</i>	be enough (C))
<i>dei-yu</i>	be small (C))
<i>bete-yu</i>	be heavy (C))
<i>barasi-gêH</i>	be sparkling (C))
<i>dosa-gêH</i>	be whitish (C))
<i>buhi-gêH</i>	be bluish (C))

Sure huva onya-geyu. chk

Dem soup salt-be

'That soup is salty.'

Sure huva onya-roiyu. chk

Dem soup salt-be.getting

'That soup is getting salty.'

It remains to be known if additional tense suffixes (CR) may be added to such sentences to produce meaning like 'will be getting salty' (if one adds some more salt).

The suffix *-yaaxaN* also creates a stative predicate.

Donzia rosa-yaaxa. (C 146)

flower white-be.an.exspace

'It's a bed of white flowers.'

It seems to indicate an expanse of the particular state; additional examples are needed.

12.3.2.2 Equational and Transitional Predicates

In English, equational predicates are made with a form of be, followed by a noun or noun phrase.

This is my friend John.

He was a very kind man.

In English, this is called a predicate noun construction.

In Shoshone, there are two kinds of equational predicates. One is a presentational predicate using a demonstrative (7.1) ending in the emphatic particle *seN*. The other is to use a noun or noun phrase in place of a verb. Note also that the equational predicate pattern is also used to form a reflexive possessive predicate (CR).

Use um bii. (C 4)

this.is her/his mother

'This is her/his mother.'

Sure nemen dëgwani.

Dem our chief

'He is our chief.'

Gould and Loether (G 32) notes that there is a stress (sentential stress?) on the first (subject) noun or noun phrase, with a hesitation between the subject and the equational predicate.

[nerága] 'my friend'

[né raga] 'I am a friend.'

It is possible to add past and future tense to equational predicates (C 5; M2 705). This is done by adding the helping verb *naa* (variant: *naha*) with a tense suffix after the predicate noun.

Êshen noha ramen devia naa-pexande. (C 5)

this.is used.to.be our land be-TA

'This used to be our land.'

Êshe sewe ravê en devia naa-ro'in-de. (C 5)

this.is some day your land be-TA-Ger

'This some day will be your land.'

Miller (M2 705) indicates that equational predicates with *naa* may be existential or have the meaning 'become.'

Sure newe suku naa-re. (M2 705)

Dem person Loc be-Ger

'There was a person there.'

Domo *naha-nu.* (M2 705)

winter be-TA

'Winter came.'

Metsam *bia* *naa-kwa.* (M2 705)

mountain.sheep female be-TA

'She turned into a mountain sheep ewe.'

Another type of equational predicate might be called a **transitional** predicate. Such a predicate uses the verb *duaH*, 'become' which follows a noun. This verb can also imply a gradual process or accumulation. It is used with a variety of tense-aspect suffixes.

Dahmani *sohovi* *segi-rua-regi-na. chk*

spring.time cottonwood leaf-become-begin-TA

'In the spring, the cottonwoods begin to get leaves.'

Suvé *gia* *imaa* *ravê-han-do'i. C 126 chk*

then Quot = maybe tomorrow sun-become-SA-TA

'So maybe tomorrow will be sunny.'

Suren *dzugupe* *uvirangku* *soo* *oyonden-dua-nu. chk*

Dem old.man slowly many possession-become-TA

'That old man slowly acquired lots of things.'

Sure *waipe* *bia ijape* *rua-nu. chk*

Dem woman wolf become-TA

'That woman changed into a wolf.'

Ne *natsowapi* *rua-suwan-de. chk*

1sg doctor become-want-TA

'I want to be a doctor.'

Additional examples are needed of this verb.

12.3.2.4 Factive Predicates

The verb *nai*, 'to make' may be used to make predicates with nouns. This noun that precedes *nai* is a direct object; there may also be a direct object.

Ne *gahni-nai-yu.* (M2 705)

I house-make-TA

'I am making a house.'

Ne *rembi-ta* *gahni-nai-yu.* (M2 705)

I rock-Obj house-make-TA

'I am making a rock house.'

Ne *suka* *rembi-ta* *gahni-nai-yu.* (M2 705)

I for.her/him rock-Obj house-make-TA

'I am making her/him a rock house.'

By not adding objective case to 'rock', it emphasizes the material used.

Ne *rembing* *gahni-nai-yu.* (M2 705)

I rock house-make-TA

'I am making a house out of rocks.'

12.3.2.5 Existential Predicates

There are three ways of making existential predicates:

- with a locative adverb (9.2.5; such as *sikiH*, 'here');
- with the verb *ba'i*, 'to have' (makes an impersonal sentence; no subject);
- with a stance verb (CR; *wene*, stand; *gare*, sit/stay/be; *havi*, be lying);
- with the suffix *-yaindeN* ~ *-yendeN*.

Gendu *soonden* *durua-nee* *siki* (C 5)

yesterday many children-Pl here

'There were many children here yesterday.'

Boseken dukande soom bêngkwi-va'i. (C 5)

bridge under many

'There are many fish under the bridge.'

Doyavi saka havi. (M2 705)

mountain.range Loc be.lying

'There are low lying mountains there.'

Êware sinavi suku. (M2 705)

like.this aspen Loc

'There were/are aspen trees there.'

Gahni yupa kanya-va'i. (M2 705)

house inside firewood-have

'There is firewood in the house.'

Miller (M 17-18) gives the suffix - *yaindeN* ~ *-yendeN* as meaning 'there is a ..., a ... takes place, it takes place (at a certain location)'. This suffix makes existential predicates with nouns and locative adverbs. No examples are given.

12.3.2.6 Possessive Predicates

Possessive predicates in Shoshone are equivalent to sentence in English using *have* plus a noun or noun phrase. There are two suffixes used for 'have' in Shoshone: *-kandeN*, 'characterized by' and *-ba'i*, 'have'. To some extent it is a matter of dialect as to which one a speaker will use, but both Gould (G 61) and Miller (M2 706) note that *-ba'i* indicates a more permanent possession, "more readily available and accessible" (G 61).

Hani vaan devihaga gahni-va'i. (G 61)

beaver water in.the.middle.of house-have

'The beaver has a house in the middle of the water.'

Ne via gahni-va'i. (M2 706)

my mother house-have

'My mother has a house.'

Ne via gahni-gande. (M2 706)

my mother house-characterized.by

'My mother rents a house.'

There is a special kind of possessive predicate that uses the reflexive marker *na*. A noun is used as the predicate, with *na* preceding it (C 120). The meaning is 'the (subject's) very own'. A presentational pronoun (7.1) is used as the subject. While the construction is formally like an equational predicate (12.3.4), the meaning and intent is of a possessive predicate.

Êshen do'nambi-han na gwinya. (C 120)

this.is chokecherry-Pos Refl bird

'This is the chokecherry's bird.'

Ishen damen na sogope. chk

this.is our.pl (i) Refl land

'This is our very own land.'

Miller (M2 706) notes a suffix *-du* that is added to a noun meaning 'get affinal kin'.

<i>gwehe-ru</i>	get a wife
<i>guhma-ru</i>	get a husband
<i>monan-du</i>	get a son-in-law

Example sentences are needed to illustrate this.

12.3.2.7 Miscellaneous Non-Verbal Predicates

There are three verbs that create non-verbal predicates, one where the center or head of the construction is a **noun** (not a verb). This last group has to do with hunting, gathering, and the weather; their hunting-gathering cultural focus certainly reflects traditional Shoshone culture.

mai, go get, gather, collect

ho'i, hunt

wei, percipitate

yaa, haunt

devam-mai, gather pine nuts

davu ho'i, hunt rabbits

bêngkwi ho'i go fishing

emwa wei, be raining

daka wei, be snowing

dzo'a ya, to haunt

Himbê-sen nemen nuha reva mai-'i-yu. chk
when-Emph we (c).pl used.to pine.nut(s) gather-SV-TA
'Long ago we used to gather pine nuts.'

Suren noha davu ho'i-'i-yu. chk
Dem used.to rabbit(s) hunt-SV-TA
'He used to go hunt cottontails.'

Duugani ha soon daka wei-nu? chk
last.night Q a.lot snow fall-TA
'Did it snow a lot last night?'

Ne oyoko memi zo'a yaa-ro'in-de. chk
1sg all.Obj you(pl).Obj ghost haunt-TA-Ger
'I will be the one haunting all of you.'

Chapter 13. Operations on the Simple Sentence

The simple sentence has the force in conversation or other language use as a statement. Statements (simple sentences) can be changed by different operations that include:

- negating, intensifying, specifying, or delimiting a part of the sentence,
- making commands (**imperatives**),
- or asking a question.

These operations on the simple sentence are sometimes also called transformations. They pertain to changes that use a simple sentence as input.

13.1 Modifying Parts of Sentences

The parts of a sentence (subject, direct object, indirect object, adverb(s), predicate) may all be modified by **particles** (short words with adverb-like meaning that do not take prefixes or suffixes, and are often a single syllable). These include **negation** (with 'not') and **intensification** (with particles for ideas like 'very'). The negative particle and the intensifiers are put in front of the part of the simple sentence they modify.

There are two other kinds of particles that may modify sentence parts. These include **specifiers** including **delimiters**. Both specifiers and delimiters are placed after the sentence part they modify.

13.1.1 Negation

In English, the negative particle *not* is placed in front of the verb or verb phrase. The Shoshone negative particle *gê* may be placed in front of a verb, but it may also be placed in front of any part of a simple sentence.

Sureeng *kê* *reka-yu.* (C11)

Dem.Pl not eat-TA

'They didn't eat.'

Sureeng *kê* *himbê* *saki* *vui-re.* (C 12)

Dem.Pl not something boat.Obj see-TA

'They saw no kind of boat.'

Sure *gê* *hagaha* *re'oi-va'i.* (M2 705)

Dem not somekind sickness-have

'S/he has no sickness/is not sick.'

Isheng gê ma veawai-re. (M2 705)

this.is not her/him annoy/bother-TA

'This is the one (that) s/he is

Are there any examples of the subject being negated?

13.1.2 Intensification

Intensifiers are words that convey ideas like 'very' or really'. Shoshone varieties are rich in intensifiers. Those attested in Eastern Shoshone are the following.

<i>nariaN</i>	very (lit. strongly)
<i>dogwê</i>	really, exactly that way
<i>deviji</i>	very, quite
<i>deviji zaan</i>	very, very; really very
<i>mavairesti, deigwa</i>	a little bit, only a little
<i>getaN</i>	very, really, extremely

Intensifiers precede the part of the sentence that they intensify.

13.1.3 Specification

Specifier adverb particles point out a part of a simple sentence (CR). They may limit the field of reference ('only', 'just'), specify an additional referent ('also', 'too'), or emphasize a particular referent ('X did/is' the one that'). Those attested for Eastern Shoshone include the following.

<i>bê</i>	already
<i>daga</i>	only, just; by self
<i>deas(eN)</i>	also, too; and (variant: <i>deês(eN)</i> , <i>diês(eN)</i>)
<i>duguH</i>	did, the one/thing who/that
<i>gasai</i>	any one of (SG 14)
<i>seN</i>	the very one, exactly, right (at a specific place)
<i>weN</i>	now (at a precise point in time)

Specifiers follow the part of the simple sentence that they specify.

dame gasai, any one of us (SG 14)

Miller (M2 713) states that two specifiers may occur after a noun or noun phrase. The specifier *dza*, 'the very one' is added to nouns.

suren za gagu. (M2 713)

Dem very.one grandmother

'the very one's grandmother'

Miller also mentions the specifier *seN*, which he states is added to other particles and adverbs, adding "no additional meaning." He also says that *seN* is added to nouns and verbs, but does not indicate a function or meaning.

13.2 Imperatives

Imperatives are commands. In Shoshone, an imperative sentence has no subject, consisting of objects (direct, indirect), an adverb, and a verb without suffixes (C 10; G 85; M2 699).

Huupim ma ma wetekwa. (C 10)

stick with it hit

'Hit it with a stick.'

Eng kwasu'u-na wewaini. (C 11)

your dres-Obj hang.up

'Hang up your dress.'

An imperative may be made more emphatic with the particle *dzu*.

Dzu ma hivi'iku. (C 10)

Emph it drink

'Drink it!'

Negative imperatives ('don't') are made by putting the negative marker in front of an imperative sentence.

Gê ma reka-re. (M2 699)

not it eat-TA

'Don't eat it.'

Gê urihi ziyagai-re

not Dem.dl.Obj make.cry-TA

'Don't make the two of them cry.'

Most negative imperatives have the tense suffix *-deN*.

If a subject is used (for emphatic purpose?), the second person dual and plural reflexive pronouns are used for this purpose.

Aiki ne gemaxa wene. (C 10)

here me next.to stand.sg

'Stand here next to me.'

Aiki vewe ne gemaxa zazaki. (C 10)

here 2.dl.Ref me next.to stand.dl

'You two stand here next to me.'

Aiki veme ne gemaxa rovo'i. (C 10)

here 2.pl.Ref me next.to stand.pl

'You all stand here next to me.'

Deasen ne hainje-ha saa-ngke. (M2 704)

more my friend-Obj boil-Apl

'Boil some more (meat) for my friend.'

The lack of a subject marker (and lack of a tense-aspect suffix on the verb) must mean a singular subject imperative (M 18). The intonation for imperatives is still another marker of imperative, which at present is unknown for any Shoshone variety.

When there are separate dual and plural forms of verbs (11.1.1.1), then these are used in imperative sentences as in the three example sentences above.

Miller (M 18) states that there is also a future imperative "marked with the suffix *-neki* (*-hê* in some dialects)." Examples of this are needed.

13.3 Hortatives

A hortative is related the idea of a command, except that the subject is first or third person. In English, a hortative begins with the particle *let* or *let's*. In Shoshone, there are two ways attested to make a hortative sentence.

One way to make a hortative in Shoshone is to use the tense-aspect suffix *-ma*.

Ne u vuika-ma (M2 704)

I it look.at-TA

'Let me look at it.'

The specifier *dza* may also form a **hortative** ('let X do'; CR).

Ne za hivi-ru'i. (M2 713)

I let drink-TA

'Let me drink.'

Additional examples of hortatives are needed (first person plural; third person singular and plural)..

13.4 Questions

As in English, there are two kinds of questions. **yes/no questions** expect a reply of 'yes' or 'no'. **Information questions** are WH-questions in English (*who, what, where, when, why*) anticipate specific information.

13.4.1 yes/no Questions

A yes/no question in Shoshone is made by putting the question particle *ha* after the first part of the sentence (usually the subject).

E ha reka-suwa-na? (C 12)

2sg Q eat-want-TA

'Do you want to eat?'

Duugani ha raka-weai-nu? (C 12)

last.night Q snow-fall-TA

'Did it snow last night?'

Alternative questions query one of two possibilities. In Shoshone, alternative questions are made by putting *ha* after the first word in the question, with *hatu*, 'I wonder' at the end.

Ba'emea-feni ha, dakaweai-feni hatu? (C 12 f)

raining-TA Q snow-fall-TA wonder.if

'Is it raining or snowing?'

E ha goopi-ha suwai-na, dii-ha hatu?
 2sg Q coffee-Obj want-TA tea-Obj wonder.if
 'Do you want coffee, or tea?'

To make a negative questions, place ***gê ha*** (or ***gê hatu***) at the beginning of a question.

Gê ha newe-neem ma re'eya-na? C 12)
 not Q person-Pl it fear-TA
 'Aren't people afraid of it?'

Gê hatu sairen dênapé wooka-re? (C12)
 not wonder.if Dem man work-TA
 'Doesn't that man work?'

The question particle ***ha*** may also be used at the end of a question.

Daka wei-yu ha? (M2 699)
 snow percipitate-TA Q
 'It's snowing, isn't it?'

Em poha-nai-xwa ha? (M2 699)
 2sg.Obj cure-make-TA Q
 '(S/he) doctored you, didn't s/he?'

According to Miller (M2 699), this construction implies that the state or action being queried is true, and seeks verification from the addressee. According to Gould and Loether (G 48), this construction carries the meaning of 'yet'.

Dzoom boyogami'a ha? (G48)
 John trot.off Q
 'Has John left yet?'

Dzoon ha boyogami'a? (G 38)

John Q trot.off

'Is John leaving?'

The use and meaning of this kind of yes/no question in Eastern Shoshone remains to be known.

The intonation of all of these kinds of yes/no questions remains to be documented for Shoshone varieties.

13.4.2 Information Questions

Information questions ask for specific information ('who', 'what', 'where', 'when') instead of whether or not something is true (as in **yes/no questions**). In Shoshone, the **indefinites** (CR) are indefinite pronouns (like *someone*, *something*, *somewhere*, and *sometime* in English), but they are interrogative pronouns when used in a question.

Ne gia hagai vuika. (M2 699)

I maybe someone.Obj look.at

'I saw someone.'

Hagai em vuika? (M2 699)

whom.Obj 2sg look.at

'Who did you see?'

An important cross-language issue is if a language puts indefinites (as interrogative pronouns) at the front of an information question or not. Shoshone appears to do both.

E hagai rematsai-nu? (C 34)

2sg whom help-TA

'Whom did you help?'

Hina e suwai-na? (C 34)

what.Obj 2sg want-TA

'What do you want?'

Hina ene hani-'yu? (G 65)

what.Obj 2sg do-TA

'What are you doing?'

It appears that 'what' is fronted in a Shoshone information question, but that 'whom' is not. The sentences above are from two different dialect (the first two are Central; the third is Northern).

Presentational questions (with a presentational pronoun; 7.1) as the subject seem to require that the indefinite (as interrogative) appear in second position.

Ishe hini? (G 65)

this.is what.Subj

'What is this?'

One of the outstanding needs in describing Shoshone grammar is how intonation works with information questions, as well as with yes/no questions. One issue noted above is why some varieties of Shoshone front indefinites when used in an information question (WH-Fronting; after the indefinites in English); the usual Uto-Aztecan pattern is to not put indefinites at the beginning of the question in information questions. A related issue is whether or not WH-Fronting is a linguistic artifact imported from English.

In additions, examples are needed of all indefinites as interrogative pronouns in information questions in Eastern Shoshone.

13.5 Passive, Near-Passive, and Potential Sentences

Passive sentences are ones where the logical direct object is the sentence.

Jack ate the sandwich.

The sandwich was eaten by Jack.

As is typical in Uto-Aztecan languages, the agent (example: *by Jack*) is not expressed in a Shoshone passive sentence. Instead, the pre-verb *na*, 'reflexive' is put in front of the verb and the momentive suffix *-kwaN* ~ *-xwaN* is put on the end of the verb.

Ne rênape-ha guu-kwa. (M2 703)

1sg man-Obj bury-TA

'I buried the man.'

Dênape na guu-kwa. (M2 703)

man Refl bury-TA

'The man was buried.'

Ne baa-i hivi-kwa. chk

1sg water-Obj drink-TA

'I drank the water.'

Baa na hivi-kwa. chk

water Refl drink-TA

'The water was drunk.'

Himbê sure na regi-ro/i? chk

when Dem Refl place-TA

'When will s/he be buried?'

Iree siki na remazai vire-nu. chk

Dem.pl Loc Refl help arrive-TA

'These people came here to be helped.'

It is also possible to make a passive-like sentence by using the indefinite subject marker *daN*. The subject of such a sentence is indefinite.

Dam bêka-i. chk

Pas kill-TA

'Someone was killed.'

Nemi da kumba. (SC)

person.Obj Pas kill

'A person was killed.'

Hini-noo da wase-tai-pe. (SC)

what.Obj-ever Pas kill.pl-SA-TA

'Whatever was killed.'

These sentences, while passive in meaning, are not formally passives because the object is in objective case, not subjective case, and so they are **near-passive** sentences.

A potential sentence is one that means that the action of the verb is possible. In Shoshone, a potential sentence is made by putting the reflexive marker *na* in front of the verb, and the habitual suffix *-deN*.

Baa na hivi-te. (M2 703)

water Refl drink-TA

'The water is potable.'

Duku hapaise na reka-re. chk

meat yet/still Refl eat-TA

'The meat is still edible.'

With instrumental verbs (11.2.2), passive and potential sentences are possible.

Huuvin na za ka'a-xwa. (M2 703)

stick Refl by.hand break-TA

'The stick was broken by hand.'

For a potential sentence with an instrumental verb, the indefinite object marker *nee* replaces the instrumental marker.

Huuvi nee ka'a-re. (M2 703)

stick Refl break-TA

'The stick is breakable.'

It is possible to leave out the instrumental marker to make a resultative sentence.

Huuving ka'a-xwa. (M2 703)

stick break-TA

'The stick broke/is broken.'

Chapter 14 Conjoining Phrases and Sentences

The word conjunction means "joining" and in grammar this means joining two noun phrases together (as in English *John and Mary*), or else two simple sentences together.

14.1 Conjoining Noun Phrases

Shoshone has the equivalents of 'English *or* and *and*'. The equivalent of 'and' is *maiN* or *ma'aiN*, and the equivalent of 'or' is *noondiaN* or *nuundiaN* (M2 717). The objective form of *maiN* is *maixu* (variant: *ma'aixu*).

Ne rai main deka-yu. (M2 717)

1sg brother.in.law with/and eat-TA

'I and (my) brother-in-law are eating.'

Ne gamu-i zipi maixu wase-nu. (M2 717)

1sg jackrabbit-Obj prairie.dog-Obj and.Obj kill.them-TA

'I killed a jackrabbit and a prairie dog.'

Ne wosa-i noondia otsa-i suwai-na. (M2 717)

1sg burden.basket-Obj or water.jug-Obj

'I want a burden basket or a basketry water jug.'

Ne noondia ne appe mi'a-ro'i. chk

1sg or my father go-TA

'I or my father will go.'

Formally, the second member of conjoined noun phrases is a postposition phrase (CR).

14.2 Conjoining Simple Sentences

In Shoshone, there are two ways of joining two simple sentences together. One is by using the conjunctive verb endings. The other is by using independent words.

14.2.1 Conjunctive Verb Suffixes

There are two sets of verb suffixes that are used to conjoin simple sentences.

Gloss	Same Subject	Different Subject
as/while	-deN, -kandeN	-gu, -gangku
then, after; because	-tsiN, -siN	-ga

When the two joined sentences have the same subject, the **same-subject** suffixes are used.

Ne nuki-noon-den togoa va'an dategixu. (C 184)

1sg run-around-while snake.Obj on step.on

'While I as running, (I) stepped on a snake.'

Sure egishe nemwi-gande soondi senavi-nii maseangka-nu. (C185)

Dem now person-while many.Obj aspen-Pl.Obj plant-TA

'While/when s/he was alive, (sh/e) planted many aspens.'

The suffix *-kandeN* implies that the action was lasted longer.

The same-subject suffix for 'after/then' can also mean 'because'.

Ne ohi-veka-si, gê reka-suwa-na. (C 183)

1sg cold-suffer-after not eat-want-TA

'Because I got a cold, I don't want to eat.'

The subject of the second sentence is not expressed; it is understood to be identical with the first (expressed) subject.

The different-subject suffixes are used if the subjects of the two sentences are not identical. The subject of the sentence whose verb has the different-subject suffix is in the objective case.

Nemi rêgwa-xu, soren dzunipe epei. chk

us(i) sing-while Dem old.man sleep

'While we were talking, that old man slept.'

Durua-nii ekoi-xangku, ureem bia gwase. chk
 children-Pl.Obj sleep.Pl-as their mother cook
 'As the children slept, their mother cooked.'

The use of the suffix *-gangku* implies that the two actions are "absolutely simultaneous" (C 183).

As with the suffix *-tsiN/-si*, the different-subject suffix *-ga* can also mean 'because'.

Urehi vipire-nu-xa, nemen niwene. chk
 Dem.dl.Obj arrive-dl.-TA-after 1(i).Pl speak.dl/pl
 'After the two of them arrived, we all spoke.'

Ne vuhu-veka, ne vungku-i u rereka-xa. chk
 1sg angry-suffer my horse-Obj he.Obj steal-because
 'I got angry, because he stole my horse.'

When the different-subject suffixes are used, the sentence with the suffix may be first or second. It remains to be known what discourse function the different position has.

An additional way to make a **reason clause** (simple sentence with 'because'), is to use the pattern: verb + *-pe* + *fandeN* (M2 716).

Sure ne run duhu-veka, nia ondemba-i hivi-pe-fande.
 Dem me at angry-suffer me whiskey-Obj drink-P-because
 'She got angry at me, because of my drinking whiskey.'

Compare this with the following. The first sentence implies that the action is on-going.

Sure ne run duhu-veka, nia ondemba-i hivi-xu.
 Dem me at angry-suffer me whiskey-Obj drink-because
 'She got angry at me, because I drank whiskey.'

When the different-subject marker is used, it implies the action is not continuous.

The simple sentence with *-pe-fandeN* may also occur first.

Urem-bim beng kwehi u gova-pefande, semê u suwangke-pe.
 Dem-very.one his.own wife.Obj her hug-because said him bewitch-TA
 'Because he grabbed his wife, they say he bewitched him.'

The discourse function of this difference in positioning is not known.

14.2.2 Conditional Sentences

A conditional sentence is one that presents a condition and consequence (a sentence with 'if' and 'then'). In Shoshone, the demonstrative *uka*, 'that one' (objective case) is used for the idea of 'if' (C 186). It is usually put at the beginning of the conditional sentence to mark the condition. If the subject of the condition and consequence clauses are the same, then the 'if' clause has the same-subject suffix *-deN*.

Uka eng gê reka-re, en degi-veka-hando'i.
 if 2sg not eat-as 2sg skinny-suffer-TA
 'If you don't eat, you will get skinny.'

If the two subjects are different, then the suffix *-(gang)ku* is used on the 'if' clause, and its subject is in the objective case.

Uka gê suka renang-kangku, waipe ruhu-veka-ro'i. chk
 if not Dem.Obj behave-as woman angry-suffer
 'If sh/e does not behave, (the) woman will get angry.'

The future tense (CR) is often used in the consequent clause, but not always.

14.2.3 Resultative Sentences

Sentences that illustrate an actual or possible result are called **resultative** sentences (C 185). In Shoshone, these are made with the emphatic specifier *seN* which is put on the verb of a simple sentence to mean possible result ('while/if') or actual result ('just as'). The subject of the verb with *-seN* is in the objective case.

Suka vehe-vai-xu-se, suku u vareki-hando'i. chk
 Dem.Obj fur-have-as-Spec Loc it soak-TA
 'While it still has fur, soak it in water.'

Sorewe hina suka yegwi-pe-niku-sen da'uhum-bire-ku. chk
 Dem.dl something Dem.Obj say-TA-like-Spec find-arrive-as
 'The two of them arrived and found it just like he said it would be.'

14.2.4 Conjoining Simple Sentences with Separate Words

Conjoining two simple sentences with words (not verb suffixes) does not fit into a single pattern (C 171f.; G 115).

Gloss	Form	Placement
and	<i>deaseN</i>	after sentence
but, however	<i>binaH</i>	after first word in second sentence
but, however	<i>winhu</i>	after first word in second sentence
just, only	<i>daga</i>	after sentence
because	<i>are'uka</i>	before subject of second sentence

The word *winhu* has the basic meaning of 'then'.

Sure Newe revoo sumbanai-na, Mary rease. (C 172)
 Dem Shoshone write know-TA Mary also/too
 'S/he knows how to write Shoshone, and Mary (does) too.'

Betty regivezi, Shirely vina yuhupe. (C 173)
 Betty skinny Shirley however fat
 'Betty is skinny, but Shirley is fat.'

Sure rugu-i reka-suwan-de, ne winhu oyoko u rekaxwa.
 Dem meat-Obj eat-want-TA 1sg then all.Obj it eat up
 'S/he wanted to eat the meat, but I ate all of it up.'

Gendu gê ragawe'i, we'i raga. (G 115)
 yesterday not snow rain only/just
 'Yesterday it didn't snow, (it) just rained.'

Ung kamu hu'i-mia-pe raga, gê vire-na. (M2 716)
 his jackrabbit hunt-go-TA only/just not arrive-TA
 'Having gone hunting jackrabbit, (he) has not returned.'

The word for 'because' has forms for singular, dual, and plural:

are'uka, singular;
arehewe'uka, dual;
aree'uka, plural.

These forms agree with the subject that follows (G 115-116). chk ex

Saiki gê zaande, aree'uka raivo-nee sogope-ha su'ahêvei-re.
 Loc not good because.Pl Anglo-PL land-Obj mess.up-TA
 'It's not good around here, because the Anglos messed up the land.'

Chapter15. Complementation

Another way of joining to verb predicates together is to use a **complement clause**. A complement clause is a simple sentence whose subject may be the same as another simple clause, but whose verb is different.

John wants to go to the store.

Mary knows how to weave baskets.

In English, the verb of a complement clause is marked with *to*. In Shoshone, the complement verb (*want to, know how to, etc.*) is a secondary verb (CR) if the subject of the complement verb is the same as the other clause.

15.1 Same-Subject Complementation

Here are some common complement verbs in Shoshone, followed by same-subject examples.

Gloss	Form
<i>-degiN</i>	start to, begin
<i>-bire</i>	1. finish, complete 2. to do for a purpose (SG)
<i>-suwa</i>	1. want to 2. think that
<i>-meiH ~ -meniH</i>	be unable to
<i>-dawa</i>	can, be able to
<i>-wa'i,</i>	be able to
<i>-dea</i>	ask to
?	beg/implore
<i>-dêgwa</i>	order/command to
?	know how to
<i>-dogwê suwangke</i>	believe that

Suren dênape reka-reki. (M2 704) chk

Dem man eat-start

'That man started to eat.'

deka-mbit[e], eat for a purpose
suwa-mbi[e], think for a purpose

Ne gê mi'a-suwa-na. (C 11f)

1sg not go-want-TA

'I don't want to go.'

Waipe gê yeze-suwa-na. (C 11f)

woman not get.up-want-TA

'The woman doesn't want to get up.'

Daweh suka bendun dahang kigima-pe-ha ra'u-rawa-'i-yu.

1dl Dem.Obj through.which our(i).Dl come.Dl-TA-Obj find-can-SA-TA

'We two can find the way through which we came.'

Sure waipe rami renito'i-rea-nu. chk

Dem woman us (i),pl sing-ask-TA

'That lady asked us to sing.'

Sure urii wepagu'i-mei-nu. (C 105)

Dem them.pl split-not.able-TA

'He couldn't split them.'

Ne u vêka-mei-nu. chk

1sg it kill-not.able-TA

'I couldn't kill it.'

When a secondary verb is used that has dual/plural forms (11.1.1.1), the singular form is used when the verb is used as a secondary verb. Examples are need with complementation to show whether or not this is true with complement clauses.

15.2 Different-Subject Complementation

In English, a complement clause that has a different subject than the other clause (the **main** clause) is expressed in the objective case.

John wants him to go to the store.

Mary knows her to weave baskets.

In the first example, John and him are not the same person. In the second example, Mary and her are not the same person. In Shoshone, there are two things that set a different-subject complement apart from a same-subject complement. One is that the complement verb ends in the applicative (CR). The other is that the subject of the complement, as in English, is in the objective case.

In the first example below, there is a same-subject complement. In the second example below, there is the same sentence with a different-subject complement.

Ne reka-suwa-xa. (M2 704)

1sg eat-want-TA

'I want to eat.'

Ma reka-ro'i-ha suwa-ngke-na. (M2 704)

him eat-TA-Q want-APL-TA

'I want him to eat.'

How is the subject 'I' expressed in the second example?

Examples are needed with each of the common complement verbs with different subjects.

Dengkênu man u za wene-ngke-gi-yu. (M2 701)

cliff.edge on him Emph stand.Dur-Dir-TA

'(He) kept on making him stand on the edge of the cliff.'

Chapter 16. Nominalization and Relative Clauses

When a sentence is used as the subject or direct object of another sentence, that embedded sentence is called a **nominalized** clause (simple sentence), because it has been made into a noun. In English, nominalized clauses begin with a possessor marker or *that*.

Her loud talking bothers me.

That she talks loud bothers me.

I dislike her loud talking.

I don't like that she talks loud.

There are two Shoshone equivalents to these kind of English sentences. One has a definite subject, while a second related pattern has an indefinite subject.

16.1 Nominalized Clauses with Definite Subjects

In Shoshone, the verbs of **nominalized** clauses (clauses "made into" a noun) have the suffix **-na**. Shoshone nominalized clauses may be used as the subject of another sentence. As in English, the subject of the nominalized clause is coded with a possessor marker.

Dugama ureen niwene-na nemi nishunami. (C 195)

all.night their talk-ing us bother

'Their talking all night bothers us.'

Dzaa un re suwaxa-na zaa nemi manesungka-na. (C 195)

good her IO think.about-ing good person.Obj make.feel-TA

'Her thinking cheerfully makes a person feel good.'

When a nominalized clause is used as an object in another Shoshone sentence, the verb still ends in **-na** and the subject of the nominalized clause is coded with the appropriate form of the reflexive pronoun **beN** *6.4).

Sure ve hivi-na gê gepea-suwa-na. (C 195)

Dem his.own drink-ing not break-want-TA

'S/he doesn't want to stop her/his drinking.'

Waipe ben awe goizoi-na aza suwa-na. (C195) chk
 woman her.own dish wash-ing badly think.-TA

'The woman hates washing dishes.'

Nominalized clauses come from relative clause (CR). In the first example below, there is a relative clause. If one leaves out the head noun (the shared noun the relative clause modifies), the result is a nominalized clause.

Sure waipe gê ruku-i veni um maga-i-ha reka-re. M2 716
 Dem woman not meat-Obj to.her his give.to.eat-TA-Obj eat-TA

'That woman would not eat the meat he gave her to eat.'

Sure waipe gê veni um maga-i-ha reka-re. M2 716
 Dem woman not to.her his give.to.eat-TA-Obj eat-TA

'That woman would not eat what he gave her to eat.'

Because sentences with nominalized clauses often describe general conditions, the tense-aspect suffix *-na*, 'general tense' is often used on the verb of the sentence containing the nominalized clause. This suffix is the same as the suffix on the nominalized verb, but a different use of it. It is also possible to have a different tense-aspect suffix on the verb of the host sentence.

Dênape ben gahni remanyaki-na veatai-nu. chk
 man his.own house.Obj pay.for-ing stop-TA

'The man stopped his paying for (his) house.'

16.2 Nominalized Clauses with Indefinite Subjects

A nominalized clause may have an indefinite reference ('who', 'what') as the subject. An indefinite (CR) is not used in the nominalized clause. The subject of the nominalized clause is in possessive case, and the object of the nominalized clause is understood.

Ne vuika um vêka-pe-ha. (M2 716)
 1sg see his kill-TA-Obj

'I see what he ('his') killing.'

The object of the nominalized clause may also be expressed in the host clause.

Ne u vuika um vêka-pe-ha. (M2 716)

1sg it see his kill-TA-Obj

'I see what he killed.'

In the example above, *u* marks the object of 'his killed', and so provides a trace of the indefinite object of the nominalized clause.

?

'What he killed is a deer.' / A deer is what he killed.'				

?

'This is what he killed.'				

?

'Now I see what s/he is doing over there.'				

?

'What s/he is doing is good.'				

More examples of this kind of nominalization are needed.

16.3 Relative Clauses

A **relative clause** is a simple sentence that is used to relate (modify) a part of another sentence. The most frequent relative clauses modify/relate to the subject or object of the host sentence. The relative clauses in the English examples below are in bold.

*I know the man **who killed the deer**.*

*The man **who killed the deer** is my uncle.*

In Shoshone, relative clauses follow the noun they modify, as in English. In Shoshone, the form of a relative clause depends on whether the noun or pronoun that is in shared (**coreferential**, 'referring to both') is used as a subject or object in the relative clause.

The suffixes that mark a simple sentence as a relative clause are tense-aspect markers. The following are the most common. In the following table, the shared noun refers to the use of that noun in the relative clause.

Time Reference	Shared Noun = Subject	Shared Noun = Object
general; present	<i>-deN, -kandeN</i>	<i>-na</i>
past	<i>-pe-xandeN</i>	<i>-peH</i>
future	<i>-do'i-xanden</i>	(not attested)

When the shared noun is the subject of the relative clause, the suffix *-gandeN* allows for both past and future time reference (see the section below). Apparently, only general/present and past time reference is possible when the shared noun is a direct object in the relative clause.

16.3.1 Relative Clauses: Shared Noun is Subject of Relative

If the shared noun or pronoun is the subject of the relative clause, the relative clause ends in one of two suffixes, which as also used for tense-aspect (CR): *-deN* and *-gandeN*. Both suffixes agree in number and case with the noun they modify (M2 714-715).

-deN, '-ing'

Number	Subj.	Obj.	Poss.
singular	<i>-deN</i>	<i>-di</i>	<i>-diN, -denaN</i>
dual	<i>-deweH</i>	<i>-dihi</i>	(unattested)
plural	<i>-deeN</i>	<i>-dii</i>	(unattested)

-kandeN, 'characterized by'

Number	Subj.	Obj.	Poss.
singular	<i>-kandeN</i>	<i>-kandi</i>	<i>-kandiN</i>
dual	<i>-kandeweH</i>	<i>-kandihi</i>	(unattested)
plural	<i>-kandeeN</i>	<i>-kandii</i>	(unattested)

The forms of *-gandeN* are supplied. There is also another verb suffix that can be used as a relative clause marker: *-deheN*. Miller states that it "is used when the activity is continued for a period of time, or took place a long time ago" (M2 714), but give no examples.

Here are examples where the shared reference is the subject of the relative clause.

Ure waipe apo-na naremwaga-re siki vire-nu. chk

Dem woman apple-Obj sel-REL Loc arrive-TA

'The lady who sells apples came here.'

Suren dênape mumbiche-ha nangkape-xande re'oi-veka-yu. (c187)

Dem man owl-Obj hear-REL sick-suffer-TA

'The man who heard the owl is sick.'

When the subject of the relative clause modifies a noun in the host clause that is used as an object, the verb suffix of the relative clause matches (**agrees with**) the modified noun by having objective

case.

Soree suka zugupe-ha gê vui-ri zana-vire-nu. chk
Dem.PL Dem.Obj old.man-Obj not see-REL.Obj bring-arrive-TA
'They brought the old man who could not see.'

Ne suka rênape-ha mumbiche-ha nangka-xandi sumbanai-na. chk
1sg Dem.Obj man-Obj owl-Obj hear-REL.Obj know-TA
'I know the man who heard the owl.'

When the suffix *-kandeN* is used, a tense suffix may be placed in front of it.

Uren dênape gima-rui-xanden ne vavi. (M2 715)
Dem man come-TA-REL my older.brother
'The man who will come is my older brother.'

Ne rênape-ha reka=i-xandi vuika. (M2 715)
1sg man-Obj eat-TA-REL.Obj see
'I see the man who has already eaten.'

Dênape ne vehe-i utu-pe-xande vire-nu. (M2 715)
man me hide-Obj give-TA-REL arrive-TA
'The man who gave me the hide arrived.'

If a presentational pronoun (CR) is used, a relative clause may be used as the equivalent part of an equational sentence (CR).

Ishe wosa nian noo-i.
this.is basket my carry-TA
'This is the basket that I carried.'

The subject of the relative clause in this usage is in the possessive case.

16.3.2 Relative Clauses: Shared Noun is Object of Relative

When the shared noun or pronoun is the direct object of the relative clause, the subject of the relative clause is in the possessive case. The shared noun is expressed in the host clause and is omitted in the relative clause.

In these examples, the shared noun is the object in the relative clause, but is the subject of the host clause.

Surem bêngkwi nehen deka-na vishi-kwana-na. C 188f

Dem fish our eat-REL rotten-taste-TA

'The fish we are eating tastes rotten.'

Uren deheya senavim ma un zawaini-pe vishi-kwana-feni. C 188f

Dem deer aspen on his hang-REL rotten-smell-TA

'The deer that he hung in the aspen is smelling bad.'

In these sentences, the shared noun is the object of both the relative and host clauses.

Waipe uka roki ureen deka-ro'i-na guhani-yu. chk

woman Dem.Obj turkey.Obj their eat-TA-REL cook-TA

'The woman cooked the turkey that they are going to eat.'

Suren duinepe suka saree-a vei dan za'u-pe-ha gopa-ko'i-xu.

Dem boy Dem.Obj dog-Obj him.Refl IS give-REL-Obj carry-back-TA

'The boy carried home the dog that (they) gave him (lit. of their giving).'

It is possible to shift the relative clause in a sentence (M2 716).

Ne sipe-ha um bêka-pe-ha vuika.

1sg sheep-Obj his kill-TA-Obj see

'I see the sheep that he killed.'

Ne sipe-ha vuika um bêka-pe-ha.

1sg sheep-Obj see his kill-TA-Obj

'I see the sheep that he killed.'

Um bêka-pe-ha. ne sipe-ha vuika.
 his kill-TA-Obj 1sg sheep-Obj see

'I see the sheep that he killed.'

Is this different placement of a relative clause only possible when the shared noun is an object in the relative clause?

The different than usual position for a relative clause must have some contextual meaning (for example: 'the sheep that he killed is what I saw', 'I see the sheep which is what he killed'). It remains to document what this difference in position of relative clauses means.

16.3.3 Adverbial Relative Clauses

The shared noun may also be the object of a postposition within a relative clause. Such a relative clause functions as an adverb (9.2), because it indicates time, manner, or place. All adverbial relative clauses in Shoshone begin with the reflexive pronoun *beN*, and are followed by a postposition (chapter 10). The various forms are as follows.

Gloss	Form
where, at which, to which	<i>bengkaH</i>
through where	<i>bengkaruN</i>
when, during which	<i>bembai</i>
where, on top of which	<i>bemba'aN</i>
on which	<i>bemaN</i>
with which	<i>bema</i>
from which, from whom	<i>bemangku</i>
under which	<i>bendukaN</i>
through which	<i>bendun</i>
with whom	?
for whom	?

In some of the examples below, the adverbial relative marker can refer to a person ('with whom'). It remains to be known if all or only some of these relative markers can refer to people ('for whom', 'from whom', etc.)

Isheng kahni vengka ne havi-ru'i. M23
 this.is house wherein 1s lie.down-TA

'This is the house where I will sleep.'

Sirem bengkaru u ogwê-na. M23
 Dem through where it.Obj flow-TA

'This (is) where it flows through.'

Ne u vembai um bire-pe-ha sumbanai. M23 chk
1sg it when his arrive-TA-Obj know

'I know when he came.'

? 'I know why s/he came.'

Sireng kwa'i bema ma wene-na. C194
Dem thus on.which its stand-TA

'That is what it stands on.'

Aishe sivapim beman newe-n na-waiti'i-na. C193
that.is rabbit.brush with.which people-POS Relf-purify-TA

'That is rabbit brush with which people purify themselves.'

Usem bemangku ne vee-havi-na. C 194
he.is from.whom my

'He is the one from whom my bloodline flows.'

Ne benduka u yaixwai-ha sumbanai. M23 chk
under.what his go.down-Obj know

'I know where s/he went under.'

Daweh suka bendun dahang kigima-pe-ha ra'u-rawa-'iyu.
1dl Dem.Obj through.which our(i).DI come.DI-TA-Obj find-can-TA

'We two can find the way through which we came.'