# TONKAWA AN INDIAN LANGUAGE OF TEXAS BY HARRY HOIJER



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#### INTRODUCTION.

The Tonkawa appear to have been an important and warlike tribe living in central Texas during most of the 18th and 19th centuries. From the scanty accounts of their culture which have come down to us through mission and governmental reports, they were a nomadic people living on the buffalo. Their myths and stories, of which I have collected about thirty, give indications of their dependence upon buffalo and deer, and, insofar as this sort of evidence is reliable, indicate a Plains type of culture. A more complete account of their culture — or, rather, of what little is known of their ethnological relations — may be found in the Handbook of the American Indian, B. A. E. Bulletin 30, part 2, under the heading "Tonkawa".

The name "Tonkawa" is supposed by Gatschet to be derived from a Waco word tonkawéya meaning "they will stay together." I am unable to verify or disprove this etymology. The Tonkawa call themselves didjganwa didj, which may be translated as "the

people."

Powell, in his linguistic classification, considered that the Tonkawa language formed an independent linguistic stock, i. e., was unrelated to any other American Indian language. Certain lesser tribes — the Yojuane, Mayeye, and Ervipianne — were certainly associated in culture and may have spoken languages related to Tonkawa. I have not had access to the material extant on these languages. Certain other small tribes, notably the Sana (sometimes written Zana and Chana), situated between the Tonkawa and the Coahuiltecan speaking groups, may also have spoken a language related to Tonkawa. Only fragmentary material on Sana is extant. Relationship between Tonkawa and the Coahuiltecan languages has been postulated: the difficulty of proving any such relationship lies in the scarcity of material on the Coahuiltecan languages, a difficulty that cannot, unfortunately, be remedied since these languages are now extinct.

The language groups mentioned above are probably the closest to Tonkawa. There is also a possibility that it is very distantly related to languages of the so-called Hokan group. I have not had the opportunity of making an adequate investigation of this possibility. So far as this work is concerned, then, it will be necessary to consider Tonkawa as an independent language: as one for which no cognates have been proven.

Tonkawa is now spoken by only six persons — all of them past middle age. There are approximately forty Tonkawa (including mixed bloods) who are living at present in the vicinity of Tonkawa, Oklahoma. The language is not being learned by any of the younger people and, with the death of the present speakers, will become extinct.

The following account of the language is based upon about 360 manuscript pages of text with accompanying grammatical forms. All of this material was obtained from one informant, John Rush Buffalo, who has the reputation among his people of being the best of their story tellers. Most of this information was gathered during the summer of 1928: additional material being obtained in the winter of 1928 and on two subsequent visits. The work was financed by the Committee on Linguistic Research in American Indian Languages, and I am grateful to the members of that Committee — Dr. Franz Boas, Dr. Edward Sapir, and Dr. Leonard Bloomfield — for their interest and cooperation. Dr. John R. Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology very kindly sent me his copy of the Tonkawa material collected by A. S. Gatschet in 18841. The kinship terminology included in this paper was collected by Dr. Alexander Lesser of Columbia University. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Sapir for his careful reading of the manuscript and the constructive criticisms he has unfailingly supplied.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Sixth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. XXXIII.

## CHAPTER I. PHONOLOGY (2—19)

### 2. Introductory.

The Tonkawa word is composed of two major units or sets of units. The first of these is the theme or invariable portion of the word form. These rarely stand alone but are completed in meaning by several affixes which amplify the meaning of the theme and serve to relate it to other words in the sentence. There is never any difficulty in distinguishing theme and affix: the technique binding them together is prevailingly agglutinative. Thus, in the following forms:

yamx-o'c ge-imax-o' yamx-a'ha'a I paint his face he paints my face I shall paint his face

the theme is yamx- or -imax- and the affixes, -o'c first person singular present tense, declarative mode; ge- first person object pronoun; -o' third person singular present tense, declarative mode; and  $-a \cdot ha$ 'a first person singular, intentive mode.

The theme in this particular case is disyllabic as are the vast majority of verb and noun themes of Tonkawa. It is evident, too, that it changes in form according to its position in the verb: e. g. contrast yamx- of the first example with -imax- of the second. This alternation in phonetic form illustrates the most far-reaching phonetic law in Tonkawa — that of vocalic elision by which every other element in the theme (this rule does not apply to affixes) is "reduced", i. e., either loses its vowel altogether or has its vowel shortened. It follows, then, that themes are built up, phonetically at least, of smaller units which we shall call "elements." These elements are, roughly speaking, of two types: simple elements, composed of consonant plus vowel, and complex elements, composed of consonant plus vowel plus consonant. Furthermore, these elements vary in form according to their position in the word — the odd numbered elements having a "full" form and the even numbered elements being "reduced" in form. The details of this phonetic law must come later (cf. 5); the matter is mentioned here in order to illustrate the fact that the phonology of Tonkawa is best considered, not as directly affecting the individual phoneme, but as affecting combinations of such phonemes or elements. In other words, the basic word building unit (phonologically considered) is not the individual sound but the element.

As mentioned above, this peculiar alternation of elements is true only of the theme. Affixes do not vary their form no matter what position they hold in the word. Phonologically, then, there are three types of element: simple theme elements, complex theme elements and affixed elements — the first two sub-classes contrasting with the last in phonetic treatment. Affixes fall also into two divisions: those identical with a single element and those composed of two or more elements. Disyllabic affixes are not separable, however, and must be treated as units.

Returning now to the word, we find it composed of several element groups rather loosely bound together. The elements of any one of these groups form a firmly knit unit — one that is rarely (in the case of themes) or never (for affixes) separable. It appears likely that themes represent the oldest of these structures; in fact, as we shall see later (cf. 13) they are "petrified" formations. It is not now possible to form new themes on the analogy of the old — words in the language that can definitely be said to be new are invariably compounds of older themes. Nor is it possible to vary the essential structure of the theme except in a few rare cases.

We shall then, consider the phonetic laws of Tonkawa as they apply directly to the three types of word building elements and how, in this indirect way, they affect the individual phoneme.

#### 3. The Vowel.

Tonkawa recognizes both short and long vowels as basic phonemes. In some cases, it can be shown that long vowels result from certain contractions (cf. 9—13); in others, contractions cannot be demonstrated. In the same way, the diphthongs listed below are basic — i. e., while in many cases diphthongs can be proven to result from contractions, other unanalyzable word forms also contain diphthongs.

Vowels		Dipht	hongs
Short	Long	-i	-u
a	$a^{\bullet}$	aį	au
e	$e^{\cdot}$	ei	$e \dot{u}$
i	$i^{\boldsymbol{\cdot}}$	<del>-</del>	
0	0*	oi	ou

The vowels have the following values:

a	as in German 'mann'.	a as in English 'father'.
e	as in English 'let'.	e as in German 'weh'
	as in English 'hit'.	i as in English 'bead'.
0	as in German 'voll'.	o' as in German 'Sohn'.

The diphthongs are all falling diphthongs; i. e., the second vowel is subordinate to the first. In all cases, there is a slight length to the first vowel giving the diphthongs a full two morae length.

The vowel e, preceding an element with a vowel a or o takes on the quality of the vowel following. Examples:

ga-'adcaw-o'I revive (ge-'adcaw-o')ha-'adnayew-o'they love each other (he-'adnayewo')no'oc-o'cI wipe his nose (ne'oc-o'c)ho'oxaw-o'cI steal it (he'oxaw-o'c)nonco: yaw-o'cI ferry it (nenco: yaw-o'c)

The vowel o, coming directly before an element beginning with a vowel or h, becomes w.

yagoyagw-an
yadxoyadxw-an
necnaxonadj-dam'axan-necnaxw-an
hec'agohec'agw-an

to fetch water
bucket, container (-an noun forming suffix)
to fill pipe; prepare for smoking
pipe
to cause to ripen
cricket, he who causes pecans to ripen
to shave oneself
razor

#### 4. The Consonant.

The consonantal scheme has the rather unique feature of glottalized nasals, spirants, sibilants and laterals. These glottalized consonants, as well as the glottalized stops, appear almost exclusively as initial consonants of complex elements (cf. 13). The question of their being basic consonants is, therefore, contingent upon the structure of the complex element. As will be shown later, the complex element is not always susceptible to closer analysis: for this reason and because of the rarer cases of the occurrence of glottalized consonants in unanalyzable forms, these consonants have been listed as on a par with the others. The bilabial stop bnever appears in the glottalized form even when it is the initial of a complex element comparable to those requiring a glottalized initial consonant. A unique feature is the glottalized gw', in which the glottal stop affects not the stop but its labialization. This feature is, however, congruent with the rest of the system: in all cases the glottal closure survives the oral closure and, when the nasals, spirants, sibilants, and laterals are glottalized, the glottal stop always follows.

	•						
	Sto	ps	Nas	als		Spirants	
	V. L. Media	$\frac{\mathrm{Glott.}}{\mathrm{Stops}}$	Voiced	Glott.	V. L.	Voiced	Glott.
Labial	b		m	m'		w	w'
Dental	d	t	n	n,	_	_	
Sibilant	—	_	_	_	c		c
Palatal	_	-				y	y'
Guttural	g	k'	_	_	x	_	x'
Labial							
Gutturals	gw	gw'	_	_	xw	—	xw'
Faucal	-	,	_	_	h	_	

Lateral: l; glottalized lateral: l'

Affricative: dj; glottalized affricative: t'c

The voiceless media (b, d, g, gw) are pronounced in a manner about halfway between the corresponding English surds and sonants; somewhat as the b, d, and g of the central German dialects. They occur in all positions — initially, medially, and finally. In the final position, g becomes the surd -k.

co·bgo'cI swell upco·bak nadjgo'cI swell up and dieyax'ago'cI shovel ityax'ak do·xo'cI shovel it all up

The sibilant c is the sh of English 'ship' with a forward articulation: sh pronounced halfway between English s and sh. It occurs in all positions. x, xw, vary in pronunciation between the guttural and palatal. Before or after back vowels (a, o,), they are guttural; before or after the front vowels (e, i,), they assume the palatal pronunciation of the ch of German 'ich'.

dj varies with dz. It is approximated in pronunciation by the j of English 'judge'. In the final position it is entirely unvoiced, -tc.

t'caxw yabetc thread yabdjo'c I sew it ben'ats spring ben'atc spring

h, w, y, l, m, and n are pronounced as in English. -h-, in the medial position is usually absorbed by the preceding element (cf. 8). The semi-vowels w and y, in the final position, become -u and -i, respectively.

'e'eyawo'c I work
'e'eyau do:xo'c I finish working
yaxoyo'c I hunt it
yaxoi ciliwo'c I go about hunting

# A. THEME ELEMENTS (5—13)

# 5. Full and Reduced Forms: Vocalic Elision.

Before entering upon the explanation of vocalic elision — the most important single phonetic alternation affecting the theme — it will be necessary to define more accurately the various types of theme elements. We have already called attention to the fact that there are two main types — the simple and the complex. The simple element is composed of consonant plus vowel; the complex element, generally built up of consonant plus vowel plus consonant, has several types. In the following list of types of theme elements, C is to be read as any consonant and V as any vowel. The lower

case letters refer to specific consonants and vowels and a period after a letter indicates length.

 $\begin{array}{cccc} Simple: & CV \\ Complex: CVw & CVy \\ & CV \\ \hline & CVC & CV \cdot C \\ & C'V & C'V \cdot C \\ \hline & C'VC & C'V \cdot C \\ \end{array}$ 

The first two types of complex element (CVw and CVy) may, under certain conditions, appear in the form  $Co^{\cdot}$  (cf. 10). They are found only in the final theme position; i.e., directly before the first suffix position. The others, for the most part, occur only in positions other than the final though there are a few cases of a type CVC element in the last position. In the examples that follow, the complex elements are set in black faced type.

```
nahawa- (naho'-)
                             to ask about...
'e'eyawa- ('e'eyo'-)
                             to work, to do...
'oigawa- ('oigo'-)
                             to put... in an enclosed space
xal'oya- (xal'o'-)
                             to cut...
danxoya- (danxo'-)
                             to take from...
wa·na-
                             to fall, pitch forward
\dot{x}a·la-
                             to be cold, chilled
ma·ga-
                             to cry, weep
                             one person goes off
ha·na-
                             to pull (sinew) from (meat)
calge-
xeidje
                             to rub tr.
m'aye-
                             to set fire to...
c'ago-
                             to scrape...
c'e'da-
                             to cut, knife...
                            to miss (e.g. a mark in shooting)
xw'e·la-
k'am'e-
                             to bend around (e. g. bend soft metal
                                 into a bracelet)
c'e'l'e-
                            to scratch (e.g. a match)
```

The criterion for the distinction between simple and complex elements is the law of vocalic elision. According to this rule, simple elements vary in form according to their position in the word. Those elements in odd numbered positions (i. e., first, third, fifth, etc.) have the full form (CV), and those in even numbered positions are reduced  $(C \cdot)$ . Complex elements of types  $CV \cdot, CV \cdot C, C'V \cdot$ , and  $C'V \cdot C$ , in the even numbered position, reduce the length of their vowels, becoming CV, CVC, C'V, C'VC, respectively. The complex elements CVw and CVy have the same form in both positions even when they have contracted to  $Co \cdot$ . The remaining types (CVC, C'V, C'V), and (C'V) have the same form in both positions. In the following paragraphs the law will be considered in its application to each type of element and examples of its workings will be given.

## A. THE SIMPLE ELEMENT (6-8)

## 6. The Simple Element.

The simple element has been defined as consonant plus short vowel. It has three forms depending upon its position in the word. In the full form, it appears as CV, in the reduced form as C, and when in the final position it takes the form C. It will be noted that, in the reduced form, the consonant is lengthened compensatively for the loss of the vowel. If the consonant happens to be m, n, or l, this lengthening gives it a syllabic quality. The final form of this element will be discussed in detail in the following paragraph — certain other changes occur which do not directly concern us here.

$$ya-d-c(a)-o$$
'c I stab him

ya-, being in the first position, has the full form; -d-, in the second position, has been reduced from da; -c(a)-, in the third position, should have the full form but, being followed by the theme affix -o- merges with it to form -co- and the full form is not evident. The word as it actually appears is, then,  $yad \cdot co$  'I stab him'.

Here, ya- is reduplicated and the repeated portion, in the second position, is reduced: -da-, in the third position has the full form; -c-, in the fourth position, is reduced from ca but again merges with the following -o- affix to form -co-, obscuring its actual form. The word: yaidaco'c. It is necessary to note here that other theme suffixes besides -o- have certain effects upon the final element of the theme obscuring its real form. These will be discussed in sections 15 to 18.

$$ge-i -da-c -o'$$
 he stabs me

Here the theme affix ge- has been added, causing the first element of the theme (but the second with reference to the word) to have the reduced form (from ya) and the others to take forms suitable to their positions in the word.

$$ge-ya-i$$
 - $da-c$  - $o$ ' he stabs me repeatedly

Here, ge- is added as in the previous example but, since a reduplicated element has the same form in both even and odd positions, there is no change. Other examples:

ya-m-x(a)-o'c	I paint his face
ge- $i$ - $ma$ - $x$ - $o$ '	he paints my face
ne-d-l(e)-o'c	I lick him (with tongue)
ge-n -da-l -o'	he licks me
ya-l-b(a)-o'c	I stick it (in the ground)
we-i -la-b -o'c	I stick them (in the ground)

When reduplicated, simple elements have either the form CVC or CVCV. The former is the one we should expect to find. It is possible that those elements reduplicating according to the latter pattern (CVCV) are older complex elements of the type CV (which, in the reduplicated form, becomes CVCV; cf. 11) which have lost all characteristics of that class except the reduplicated form. Another explanation would ascribe such forms to analogy with complex elements of the type CV. No proof can be adduced for either theory.

```
'ego'c I give it to him
'e'ego'c rep.

gwedo'c I carry him in my arms
gwegwedawo'c rep.

djexo'c I turn him loose; loosen him
djedjexo'c rep.

gomo'c I have it in my mouth; suck it
gogomo'c rep.
```

For this verb there is some doubt as to the status of the element go. Note the following:

```
wo-g-m(o)-o'c I have them in my mouth wo-go-m -o'c I have them in my mouth
```

In the first example the element -go- is elided as it should be if it is a simple element. But the second example can also be used. This fact, taken in connection with the reduplicated form of the element, lends a certain weight to the theory that -go- is a complex element of the type CV which has lost the vocalic length of the full form and is treated in some cases as a simple element. Doublets of this type are very rare.

```
dobo'c
                           I cut it
    dodobo'c
naulo'c
                           I spread it out (e. g. a blanket)
    nawewelo'c
                           rep.
                           I hit him
yagbo'c
    yagagbo'c
                           rep.
                           I slap him
yabxo'c
    yababxo'c
                           rep.
                           I kick him
yagwo'c
     yaigawo'c
                           rep.
yabdjo'c
                           I sew it
    yaibedjo'c
                           rep.
djoxno'c
                           I sleep
    djodjxa yewo'
                          several sleep together
```

It appears, from this list of examples, that, with some exceptions, reduplications of the form CVCV occur most often when the element is the first of the theme and that the other type of reduplication is confined to second position elements. This fact is born out by the mass of my material: only one element, the ya- as illustrated in yagwa- to kick, consistently taking the reduplicated

form CVC in the first position. A contradiction, however, to the notion that the type of reduplication may be dependent upon the position of the element is that the reduplicated form of either type is consistent no matter how the position of the element may change. Thus, in the following examples:

dodobo'cI cut it (rep)gedodobo'he cuts me (rep)yababxo'cI slap him (rep)geibabxo'he slaps me (rep)nawewelo'cI spread it (rep)wenwewelo'cI spread them (rep)

the reduplicated element has the same form in both even and odd numbered positions.

## 7. The Simple Element in Final Position.

Simple elements in final position always have the reduced form regardless of whether the position is even or odd in number. The final form of the element differs from the reduced form in that the consonant is not lengthened. By 'final position' is meant either absolute or relative final: in most cases, theme elements can only be relatively final since it is necessary to complete a form by means of formal suffixes.

no-w-o'cI lose (gambling)nou do xo'cI lose allhe-i -la-b -o'cI standhe-i -la-b hadjxo'cI stand up, arise

In the above examples, the final elements happen also to be in even numbered positions. If, however, the final element is in odd position, the penult is even and should have the reduced form. But, because of the rule acquiring the final element to be reduced no matter what its position is with reference to the word, the penult re-inserts its vowel — takes the full form. Thus:

no-d-x(a)-o'c I hoe it no-do-x

Here, -do- is in the second position but -xa, which has the third position, is reduced because final, causing -do- to re-insert its vowel and take the full form. Other examples:

ya-b-di(e)-o'c I sew it t'caxw ya-be-tc thread no-d -c(a)-o' several persons stand ha'ago'n no-do-c a group of men standing na-xw-di-o'cI rattle it rattle na-xwe-tcbi-l-w-o'c I round it, shape it bi-la-u didi biscuit (didj like, as)

xa-dj -ya-w -o'c xa-djo-i 'a-c -ya-w -o c 'a-co-i I have gonorrhea gonorrhea I am pregnant pregnant

### 8. Total Elision of Simple Elements.

Three kinds of simple elements, those with initial consonant h-, y-, or '-, are elided completely under certain circumstances. Since the factors governing such elision vary for the three element types concerned, they must be considered separately.

#### h- as Initial Consonant.

Simple elements with h- as the initial consonant — unless in the first position of the word or followed by certain theme affixes — are absorbed to the vowel of the preceding element. Thus:

'e·-da'-we'c
'e·-dah(a)-a·dono'c
nec-'e·-dah(a)- a·we'

I come here
I will come here

he makes you come here

In the first example, -daha- has contracted to  $-da\cdot$ ; in the second and third examples, the addition of the theme suffixes for the future tense and second person pronoun object respectively has caused a long vowel to follow -ha- whereupon it cannot contract with the preceding element -da-. Note, in the last two examples, that -ha-, being in the fourth position, should have the reduced form but that the theme suffixes following obscure the issue. Other examples follow:

ha-i-x-o'cga'-yo-x-o' I ride it he rides me

Notice here that the initial ha- of the theme contracts with the theme affix ge- me, and that the resulting contracting element has a long vowel, compensating for the loss of the element.

ha-b-l-othey attack him ga·-bi-l -o' they attack me ha-i-w-o'c I buy it, him ga-ya-w-ohe buys me he-b-dj-oseveral fall xe-ba-dj-oseveral fall from a distance he-u-l-o'c I catch him ge·-we-l -o' he catches me we-we-l-o'c I catch them

# y- as Initial Consonant.

Simple elements with initial consonant y- usually follow the regular rule — appearing as CV in the full form and C in the reduced

form. There are, however, a few examples of such an element being completely elided.

```
      ya-m -g -o'c
      I call him

      ge·-ma-g -o' or ge-i -ma-g -o'
      he calls me

      we·-ma-g -o'c or we-i -ma-g -o'c
      I call them

      hengwa·-n -o'c
      I run away

      hengwai-xa·x -o'c
      I arrive running

      ga-'a·x-'e·no'
      I am thirsty (cont.)

      ga-'a·x-'ey-o'
      I am thirsty
```

Examples of this type of elision are not common: the above list is practically exhaustive.

#### '- as Initial Consonant.

There are only two examples of elements of this type in the even numbered position. In these two cases, the element is completely elided and the vowel of the preceding element is lengthened compensatively.

'e-g -o'c	I give it to him
ge- $g$ - $o$ '	he gives it to me
we- $g$ - $o$ ' $c$	I give it to them

In the above examples, the glottal stop of the reduced element probably merges with, or drops out before, the following stop consonant.

There is reason to believe that the two themes go back to the same source,  $ya\cdot dje$ - (\*  $ya\cdot a\cdot dje$ -) being the simple form, having elided the second element completely. In the second example, the prefix he- (and the suffix -wa) have been added, reducing the first element of the theme and allowing the second to appear. Curiously enough, however, the element  $ya\cdot$ - of  $ya\cdot dje$ - is no longer felt as  $ya\cdot a$ - but follows the elision pattern of a type CV element (cf. 11). Thus:

$$ya \cdot -dj \cdot o'c$$
 I see him he sees me

## B. COMPLEX ELEMENTS (9—13)

#### 9. General Remarks.

We have already listed the types of complex elements and given examples of them (cf. 5). They may be regrouped as follows:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \mathrm{CVw} \ (\mathrm{Co} \cdot) & \mathrm{CV} \cdot & \mathrm{C'V} \\ \mathrm{CVy} \ (\mathrm{Co} \cdot) & \mathrm{C'V} \cdot & \mathrm{CVC} \\ & \mathrm{CV} \cdot \mathrm{C} & \mathrm{C'VC} \\ & \mathrm{C'V} \cdot \mathrm{C} \end{array}$$

In the first column will be found those elements having two forms, the uncontracted, CVw, CVy, and the contracted, Co in both cases. Neither form is affected by the position of the element in the word. The elements in the second column are those having a long vowel in the full form (i. e., when the element is in the odd numbered position) and a short vowel in the reduced form. The elements of the third column do not vary in form at all.

# 10. Complex Elements: Types: CVw, CVy.

These elements appear in the contracted form (Co·), unless:

- a. followed by an element beginning with a vowel or the consonant h.
- b. in final position.
- c. reduplicated.

The form of the element may, then, be summarized in the following table:

Condition a.	CVw	CVy
Condition b.	CVu	$\operatorname{CVi}$
Condition c.	CVCVw	CVCVy
All others	Co.	Co.

## Examples:

	_
'e'eyaw -o'c	I work
'e'eyo'-no'c	I am working
'e'eyaw -a'dono'c	I will work
'e'eyaw -a·ha'a	I shall work
'e'eyau do'x -o'c	I finish working
yagew'-o'c or yago'-o'	c I transform it
yagew'a-no'c or yago'	-ono'c I am transforming it
yagegew'-ano'c	rep.

In this verb, the alternation between the form CVw and Co is clearly shown since both are possible. Note, however, that the reduplicated form has no variant.

nedjbaw-o'c	I touch him
ge-ndjebaw-o'	he touches me
ge-ndjebo· -no'	he is touching me
nedjbo: -no'c	I am touching him

Notice, in the preceding example, that the variation in the position of the contracted element -bo- does not have any effect upon its form.

xal'oy -o'c	I cut him
xal'o' -no'c	I am cutting him
gexal'o ·- no	he is cutting me
xal'oy -a'we'c	I cut you
xal'oy'-a'ha'a	I shall cut him

I take it from him danxoy -o'c I am taking it from him danxo'-no'c danxo:-kla having taken it from him danxoy -a·we'c I take it from you danxoy -a·kla having taken it from you  $da^{\cdot,e} - noc$ I am married da 'ey -e'no'c I marry you da·'e·-kwife, husband ga'a'x'ey - o'I am thirsty  $ga'a\cdot x'e\cdot -no'$ cont.  $`a\cdot x`ey - e\cdot we`$ you are thirsty

## 11. Complex Elements with Long Vowels.

These, as has been said, have two forms: the full form appearing in the odd numbered positions in the word and the reduced form (i. e., the element is reduced when its vowel is shortened) in the even numbered positions.

Full	Reduced	Reduplicated
CV	$\mathbf{CV}$	CVCV
C'V.	C'V	C'VC'V
$CV \cdot C$	CVC	CVCVC
$C'V\cdot C$	C'VC	C'VC'VC

Final forms cannot be given for these elements because they do not appear except in the first position of the theme. It will be noted too, that the vowels are shortened in the reduplicated forms. Examples follow:

CV. ba·di -o'c I pile it, stack them we-badj -o'c I pile them  $na^{*}d - o^{*}c$ I step on it ge-nad -o' he steps on me nanad -o'c rep. $ba\cdot b - o\cdot c$ I set it down we-bab -o'c I set them down xa·m-o'cI defeat him he defeats me ge-xam-o' yadj -o'c I see him ge-yadj -o' he sees me several look at it he-yayadje-wo'  $ga \cdot n - o \cdot c$ I throw it away I throw it to a distance xa-gan -o'c

I kill him

ya·lo·n-o'cge-yalo·n -o'

he kills me wan -o'c

ge-wan -o' ge-wawan -o' I fall, pitch forward I stumble and fall (invol.)

marg -o'c mamaga-no'c

I cry, weep rep.

C'V'

c'e'd -o'c ge-c'ed -o' c'ec'ed -o'c I cut him he cuts me rep.

xw'e·l'-o'cge-xw'el'-o'

I miss (e. g. mark in shooting) he misses me

 $x'e\cdot b - o'c$ ge-x'eb -o' x'ex'eb -o'c I pull it out he pulls me out rep.

y'a'di-o' ge-i'adj -o' he-y'ay'adj -o' he vomits I vomit rep.

t'com -o' ge-t'com -o' t'cot'coma-no'

he closes his eyes I close my eyes several are closing their eyes

 $CV \cdot C$ 

 $ga \cdot lw - o \cdot c$ 

I gamble

dio·l'-o'c ge-djol'-o' djodjol'-o'

I defecate I defecate (invol.) several defecate

co·bg -o' ge-cobg -o' cocobg -o'c

he swells up I swell up rep.

ge·cxay -o'

it is evening

 $C'V\cdot C$ 

m'e'dn -o' ge-m'edn-o' lightning strikes him lightning strikes me

c'e'l'-o'c we-c'el'-o'c

I scratch it (e. g. a match) I scratch them (several matches)

t'ca·bx -o'c we-t'cabx -o'c I put up a bed I put up several beds  $m'e \cdot ln \cdot o'$  it shines, burns, glows  $ge \cdot m'eln \cdot o'$  I shine, glow  $m'e \cdot idj \cdot o'$  he urinates  $ge \cdot m'eidj \cdot o'$  I urinate  $he \cdot m'em'eidj \cdot o'c$  rep.  $c'e \cdot djx \cdot o'$  he is satisfied, has has enough  $ge \cdot c'edjx \cdot o'$  I am satisfied

## 12. Complex Elements with Short Vowels.

Complex elements of this type — i. e., C'V, CVC, C'VC — do not alter in form according to their position in the word. They appear generally in the first theme position.

Full or Reduced	Reduplicated
C'V	C'VC'V
CVC	CVCVC
C'VC	C'VC'VC

Examples of themes containing such elements follow:

C'VI set fire to it m'ay - o'che sets fire to me ge-m'ay -o' I scrape it c'aq - o'cI scrape them we-c'ag -o'c y'odi -o'c I pinch him qe-i'odi -o' he pinches me y'oy'odjo-no'c I am pinching him (rep) x'el'-o'c I sharpen it we-x'el'-o' I sharpen them I am sharpening it (rep) x'el'e-no'cx'en - o'cI sweep it we-x'en -o'c I sweep them x'ex'en-o'crep.I scratch him x'ac'aq - o'che-x'ac'ag -o'c I scratch myself CVC

calg-o'cI pull (e. g., sinew from meat)we-calg -o'cI pull them outcacalge-no'crep. cont.xeidj -o'cI rub himge-xeidj -o'he rubs mexexeidj -o'crep.

doi'-o'c I moisten, wet it ge-doi'-o' he wets me

'oigaw - o'cI put it in an enclosed space wo-'oigaw -o'c I put them in an enclosed space

'encaw -o'c I am jealous of him ge-'encaw -o' he is jealous of me

dol'aw -o'c I knead it we-dol'aw -o'c I knead them dodol'aw -o'c rep.

xadljew-o' he is angry ge-xadjlew -o' I am angry ge-xaxadilew -o' I am very angry

ge-xacdew -o' I am alone xacdew -o' he is alone

ga-'andjew -o' I awake 'andjew -o' he awakes

C'VC

k'am - o'cI bend it in a circle we-k'am-o'cI bend them in a circle k'ak'am - o'crep.

x'ax'ai - o'cI laugh ge-x'ax'ai-o'I laugh (invol.)

ge-c'edxwan -o' I choke c'edxwan -o' he chokes

c'egwdjaw -o' he is wrinkled ge-c'egwdjaw -o' I am wrinkled

# 13. Remarks on the Phonetic Structure of the Complex Element.

It will be seen from the preceding paragraphs that the complex element is, formally, comparable to the simple element. In other words, it responds to the law of alternating forms as a unit rather than as a combination of separate simple elements. There is reason to believe, however, that these units are older combinations perhaps of elements comparable to the extant simple elements. One of these reasons is found in the structure of one type of complex element — i. e., CVw, which may also appear in the form Co. The following examples will make this clear.

> naday -o'c I choose it he-n dadayaw -o' several choose it he-n dadayo -no' several are choosing it

In this example, an element -w has clearly been added to the simple element -ya-, forming the complex element -yaw-, -yo-.

doxwn -o'c I smell, sniff it I smell it (i. e., there is a smell about) doxwnaw -o'c

Here, too, a simple element -na- has been transformed into a complex element naw-, -no'-.

com'ax -o'c I skin it he-ncocom'axaw -o' several skin it he-ncocom'axo'-no' cont. gwed -o'c I carry him (in arms) gwegwedaw -o'c gwegwedo· -no'c rep. cont. nadj -o'c I bite him nanadjew -o'c rep. rep. cont. nanadjo: -no'c I touch it, press it nod -o'c nonodaw -o'c nonodo: -no'c rep. cont.

These examples, and there are many others, show clearly, I think, that at least one of the complex elements may be regarded as a combination of simple element and suffix — or, as a combination of two simple elements. The combination once made, however, is

treated as a unit: i. e., CV + CV = Co is not comparable to the

ordinary combination of two simple elements.

This, of course, applies directly to only one type of the complex element. No such demonstration is possible with the others. But it is possible that other complex elements were, at one time, formed in some such manner. As evidence that processes of this sort have not entirely ceased functioning in the language, we may cite those combinations of simple elements mentioned in section 8 where, it will be remembered, the complete elision of an element was accomanied by the compensatory lengthening of the vowel of the element ppreceding. Assuming, then, that such processes as are now extant in the language may have contributed to the formation of complex elements, we can divide the latter into two groups — those composed of two parts and those built up of three component parts.

 $\begin{array}{l} {\rm CV}\cdot < {\rm CV} + {\rm CV} \\ {\rm C'V}\cdot < {\rm C'V} + {\rm CV} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} {\rm These\ formed\ by\ the\ complete\ elision\ of\ the\ section\ of\ the\ section\ of\ the\ section\ section\ section\ s.} \end{array} \right.$ 

 $\begin{array}{l} {\rm CV \cdot C} \ < \ {\rm CV} \ + \ {\rm CV} \ + \ {\rm CV} \ + \ {\rm CV} \ \\ {\rm C'V \cdot C} \ < \ {\rm C'V} \ + \ {\rm CV} \ + \ {\rm CV} \ \\ \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} {\rm These \ \ formed \ \ by \ \ the \ \ elision \ \ of \ \ the \ \ } \\ {\rm second \ \ unit \ \ and \ \ the \ \ vowel \ \ of \ \ the \ \ } \\ {\rm third \ unit.} \end{array} \right.$ 

CVw and CVy are, of course, special cases of the type CV and serve to give weight to our speculations concerning their structure. Elements of the type C'V, CVC, and C'VC may either be examples

of elements further reduced from types C'V',  $CV\cdot C$ , and  $C'V\cdot C$ , respectively, or may be considered as in the same category as type CVw.

This theory cannot, however, be proved. It must be regarded simply as a speculation based upon certain phonological processes which may have had, at one time, a wider function. The theory, carried to its logical conclusion, would indicate that, at one time, the basic phonemic elements of Tonkawa were of two general types: the simple element, and certain suffixes functioning to amplify the meaning of the simple element. These then combined to form theme elements of two sorts, simple and complex. With the passage of time, these phonologic processes became inoperative: themes were no longer formed in this manner and came to be felt as indivisible units.

### B. AFFIXED ELEMENTS (14-18)

#### 14. Prefixed Elements.

These are generally of four types: CV, CVC, CV, CV. The first is the most common and, when added directly to a theme, causes its elements to reverse their forms (i. e., those which had the full form are reduced and those reduced become full). Examples:

yamx -o'c ge-i max -o' we-i max-o'c	I paint his face he paints my face I paint their faces
ga·n -o'c xa-gan -o'c	I throw it away I throw it to a distance
caxw -o'c ya-cxaw -o'c	I am frightened I scare him; cause him to be frightened

As a general rule, when prefixes of this type are preceded by other single element prefixes, they do not elide their vowels. Thus:

xa-gan -o'c we-xa-gan-o'c	I throw it to a distance I throw them to a distance
ya-cxaw -o'c ge-ya-cxaw -o' we-ya-cxaw-o'c	I scare him he scares me I scare them

However, the pronoun object for the first person plural, which is a combination of ge-me, and we-plural object, results in the form geu-, the vowel of the second element being elided. Whether or not ge-would behave similarly cannot be determined since it is never preceded by a single element prefix.

Prefixes of type CVC do not cause theme elements to reverse their forms.

yamx -o'c I paint his face

nec-yamx -o'c I cause him to paint his face

ge-nec-yamx -o' he causes me to paint my face we-nec-yamx -o'c I cause them to paint their faces

It will be noticed, from the last two examples, that the prefix nec- does not change form when preceded by a single element prefix. Another prefix of the type CVC, dac-, does, however, alter its form.

 $\begin{array}{cccc} dac\text{-}edjn \text{ -}o\text{'}c & & \text{I lie down with him} \\ ge\text{-}dc\text{-}edjn \text{ -}o\text{'}ga & & \text{you lie down with me} \\ we\text{-}dc\text{-}edjn \text{ -}o\text{'}c & & \text{I lie down with them} \end{array}$ 

Before themes of certain sorts, this prefix appears as daca-

daca-dan -o'c I go off with him ge-dca-dano' he goes off with me

daca-yadjox'o-no'c I live with him ge-dca-yadjox'o-no' he lives with me

daca-co·yan -o'c I swim off with him we-dca-co·yan -o'c I swim off with them

Finally, in other circumstances, the prefix takes the form da:-.

da·-he·cogyaw -o'c I fight with him ge-d -e·cogyaw -o' he fights with me

da-hegda-w-o'c I play with him ge-d-egda-w-o' he plays with me

da:-he:banew -o'c I discuss it with him ge-d -e:banew -o' he discusses it with me

da-gon -o'c I search for him ge-d -gon -o' he searches for me

This variation in form is not regular: i. e., there seem to be no definite rules governing it. It may be that daca- is the regular form, and dac- and da- are variants produced by phonetic decay. In many cases, any of the three may be used.

The fourth type of prefix,  $-CV \cdot C$ -, is illustrated by the following:

hec-'eg -o'c I ask for it ('eg- to give)

we'c-'eg -o'c I ask for them

hec-gwadj -o' he likes it ge'c-gwadj -o' I like it we'c-gwadj -o' they like it

In these examples, it appears that the pronoun objects, ge- and we-have combined with the prefix hec- resulting in ge·c- and we·c-, respectively.

#### 15. Suffixed Elements: General Remarks.

There are many more theme suffixes than prefixes and their phonology is a little more complex. There are three classes of theme suffixes: those made up of a single element; those containing an element which is contracted to -o- under certain conditions; and those built up of more than one element. It will be impossible and unnecessary to consider in detail every theme suffix. Type suffixes will be discussed in the phonology and the detailed treatment for individual suffixes will be given when their morphology is discussed.

# 16. Suffixes made up of a Single Element.

These are simple in form and easily disposed of. When in the final position they elide their vowels unless preceded by an element containing a long vowel. Thus:

 $ya \cdot dj$  -o-'-c I see him  $ya \cdot dj$  -o-'-ga you see him

Here, in the first example, the suffix -ce, being in the final position, has elided its vowel. The suffix -ga, though also in the final position, retains its vowel because of the preceding long vowel. Other cases in which the final element retains its vowels are:

 $egin{array}{lll} hoxolo\cdot go & & ext{shell} \ dan\ ca\cdot le & & ext{chicken hawk} \ ga\cdot la & & ext{mouth} \ co\cdot na & & ext{duck} \ \end{array}$ 

# 17. Suffixes with a Contracted Element.

The declarative -we- suffix; the -we- of the plural subject suffix -wec'-; and the -we- of the future tense suffix -a·dewa- become -o-except under the following conditions:

a) When preceded by a long vowel;

b) When the vowel of -we- is lengthened by a following element.

These suffixes appear, then, in the following forms:

	-we-	-wec'-	-a dewa-
Under (a)	-we-	- $wec$ '-	_
Under (b)	-wa·-		$-a$ dewa $\cdot$ -
Contracted	-O-	-o°c'-	-a·do-

Examples:

 $ya \cdot dje \cdot we \cdot c$  I see you  $ya \cdot djo \cdot c$  I see him

ya·dje·wec'o'c we see you
ya·djo·c'o'c we see him
ya·dja·dewa·no'c I will see you
ya·dja·dono'c I will see him

These examples illustrate each of the three suffixes in the contracted and uncontracted forms.

## 18. Suffixes Containing more than One Element.

These suffixes are peculiar in that they all have a definite effect upon the preceding element. If the preceding element happens to be a theme element, the addition of the suffix usually obscures its form. There are three types of suffixes.

The first of these types includes only one suffix — that denoting the second person object pronoun. It is unique in that it is always elided and is expressed by simply lengthening the vowel of the preceding element. When the preceding element is of the theme, it is lengthened whether in the even or odd numbered position. Thus:

ya·dje·we'c I see you

Here -dje- is in the third position and should have the full form — its length is due to the addition of the unknown element for the second person pronoun object.

yagwa·we'c I kick you

In this example, -gwa-- is in the second position and should have the reduced form. That it is long indicates that the second person pronoun object causes the vowel of the preceding element both to remain and be lengthened. That the vowel belongs to the preceding element and not to the pronoun object can be seen by the fact that the long vowel is -a-- in this example and -e-- in the preceding one. Other examples:

'adnawa'we'c I like you
'adnawa'no'c I am liking you
nadje'we'c I bite you

'ei-camxe'we'c I break your head

'ei-wecmaxe'we'c I break your (plural) heads

A second class of suffixes — including those for the dual and plural subject — simply cause the vowel of the preceding element to remain. When the preceding element is of the theme — its form is thereby obscured.

necgabanec'o'c we two shut it

-ba- is in the fourth position and should have the reduced form were it not for the dual subject suffix -nec'- following.

hengamenec'o'c we two elench our fists

-me- is also in the fourth position but full because of the following suffix. Note, too, that the vowel is -a- in the preceding example and

-e- in this one, indicating that it belongs to the preceding theme element rather than to the suffix -nec'-.

ma·ganec'o'c

we two weep

-ga-, in the third position, is full both for that reason and by reason of the -nec'- following.

As was seen in section 17, the plural subject suffix -wec'-, unless preceded by a long vowel, always contracted to -o·c'-. The long -o·- of this contraction is due to the fact that -wec'- also causes the retention of the vowel of the preceding element.

The third class of suffix is always preceded by a long -a·- vowel. Added directly to the theme, this -a·- obscures the form of the final theme element. A good example of this class is the future tense suffix -a·dewa- which appears, except under the condition noted in section 17, as -a·do-.

I will see him

I will smoke

I will hit it

ya·dja·dono'c nebaxga·dono'c yala·dono'c

In all cases, the vowels is a long -a-so that it can be assumed to be part of the suffix rather than the vowel of the preceding element. Note how it interferes with the form of the final theme element in the above examples.

Within these three classes fall most of the theme suffixes of this type. There are special cases which will be explained when the morphology of these elements is discussed.

# C. SYLLABIFICATION AND ACCENT (19)

# 19. Syllabification and Accent.

Each syllable of a Tonkawa word must begin with a consonant and, if possible, be composed of consonant plus vowel plus consonant. Where there is a series of sounds of the type CVCVC, the first syllable will be CV, the second, CVC. Examples of syllabification:

ne-bax-gantobaccone-bax-go'-cI smokeyad-co'-cI stab himgei-da-co'he stabs me

If the vowel of a syllable be long, it need not be completed by a consonant.

ya·-djo'-c I see him ge-ya-djo' he sees me

ya·-be-djo'-c

I make clothes

If, however, an element containing a long vowel be followed by a consonant plus consonant, the first consonant must be included in the first syllable. Thus:

ga·l-wo'-c I gamble ba·b-no'-c I set the table

Glottalized consonants are treated as are any others in the syllabification of a word.

ha-m'am- o'-c I burn c'e'-l'o'-c I scratch it

In all of the preceding examples, it will be noted that a final consonant may comprise a syllable.

Accent in Tonkawa is evenly distributed — each syllable receives substantially the same accentuation. Occasionally, however, a slightly heavier accent may be noted for the penult. Neither syllabification nor accent seem to have any effect upon the phonology of the word nor are any morphological distinctions entirely dependent upon them.

### CHAPTER II: MORPHOLOGY (20—96)

### 20. Introductory.

The distinctive treatment accorded theme and theme affix is no less important to the study of Tonkawa structure than it is for the phonology. The theme, defined as the invariable portion of a word form, carries the concrete significance of the word — the affixes serve either to amplify (or restrict) this meaning or to relate the word to the rest of the sentence.

The theme can, then, be studied quite apart from the affix. The rules governing its structure and the elements composing it, if they could be isolated, would give information as to the "prehistory" of Tonkawa. That is, variation in theme form is not relevant to the grammar of the language. But, the theme, as it exists today, is a petrified formation and it is not easy to determine whether or not it is analyzable into smaller morphologic units. We shall see later that some themes yield to analysis and, on this evidence, it is possible to speculate upon its former structure.

Grammatical variations in Tonkawa words are accomplished chiefly by affixation. The predominant grammatical process is suffixation: the definite article, case, number, tense, mode, subordination, and aspect are all expressed by suffixes. Prefixes are used much more sparingly — there are no more than six altogether. They are more concrete in meaning than the suffixes, generally adding significance to the word rather than serving to relate it to other words in the sentence.

The degree of cohesion between theme and affix is rather slight: there is never any difficulty in breaking up a word form. In other words, agglutination is the predominant technique, although there is, in the case of a few suffixes, a tendency towards a fusional technique. Verb prefixes and the case suffixes of the noun exhibit a surprising lack of unity with and dependence on the theme. Between a noun and its case suffix may be inserted two, or even three, modifiers and there are many examples of such suffixes being quite independent of any particular theme; serving, instead, to modify whole clauses. To sum up, the variation in combinatory technique is from a very loose semi-independent type of affix to a combination of theme and affix rather firmly welded with decided dependence of affix upon theme.

To apply the classificatory notion of "parts of speech" to Tonkawa would be to do extreme violence to the spirit of the language. It is much more in accord with this feeling to divide all words into two very general classes: independent themes, i. e., those which can stand alone, and themes which must be completed in meaning by one or more affixes. These are, of course, purely formal divisions. The essential criteria of function are the affixes which may be attached to the theme in question and the position that theme may occupy in the sentence. Thus, the word,

 $xa \cdot x - ano'$  he is arriving

is composed of the theme  $xa \cdot x$ - to arrive, plus certain verbal affixes. But this complex may also take noun suffixes; thus,

xa·x-ano·-'a·la the one to arrive

where -'a·la is not an agentive or relative suffix but the regular noun suffix for the nominative singular definite case. This variation in function according to suffix and position is even more clearly illustrated by the following where the same theme — t'cel up, above — becomes either nominal, adverbial, or adjectival in function according as these criteria are varied.

t'cel-'a·y'ik ha·no' he goes to the top
t'cel ha·no' he goes upwards
na·don-t'cel-'a·y'ik he goes to the top of the mountain
ha·no'

In the first sentence, *t'cel*, used with a noun suffix is nominal in function; in the second, standing directly before the verb, it is adverbial; and, in the last, inserted between a noun and its suffix, it has adjectival significance. "Parts of speech" in Tonkawa, then, are, formally, simply two — independent themes and themes plus affixes. The former includes words which may be nominal, adjectival, pronominal, or adverbial in function; the latter, words having verbal significance and particles.

The Tonkawa sentence is dominated by the verb complex. It includes the subject and object pronouns and defines the tense, mode, and aspect of the action. It is rarely, however, that any verb is equivalent to a sentence: other words are always necessary to complete the proposition. The verb is the most complex in structure and is generally synthetic with a tendency towards a polysynthetic structure. Nouns generally take only two suffixes; the case suffixes and the definite article. Modifiers, inserted between noun and case suffix, complicate its structure: it is hardly possible, however, to regard combinations of noun and modifier as unified word complexes; they are better described as compounds.

# GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (21—24)

21. Affixation.

The prefixes are all mixed relational in character; that is, they serve both to add significance to the word and to relate it to other

words in the sentence. They are all verbal prefixes — no noun prefixes have been isolated. Three of them are pronominal objects, ge- me, we- them, and geu- us, the last being a combination of the first two (cf. 41). There are also two causative prefixes (cf. 50), and a transitivizer restricted in usage to particular themes (cf. 36). A prefix da- is used in combination with the pronominal prefixes to indicate the indirect object of an intransitive verb. Finally, there is an adverbial prefix, xa-, x- to a distance, with force. Examples follow:

I paint his face yamx - o'che paints my face qe-imax -o' I paint their faces we-imax -o'c geu-yamx -o' he paints our faces nec-yamx -o'c I cause him to paint his face I have been left alone xacdew -o'c ya-xacdew -o'c I take all but one; leave one he malew -o'c I dance da-he-malew -o'c I dance with him  $qa \cdot n - o \cdot c$ I throw it away I throw it to a distance xa-gan -o'c hedjn -o'c I lie down xe-edjn-o'cI fall down gec'adjo' his (e. g. back) is broken 'ei-gec'adjo'c I break his (back)

Suffixes are much more numerous. They, too, are predominantly mixed relational in form and, generally, those with greater concrete significance come nearer the theme than those having less concrete meaning (i. e., the more formal suffixes). Verbal suffixes are much more dependent upon the theme than are the noun suffixes. The latter, in fact, appear to have a semi-independent character as illustrated in the following examples.

```
yadjox'an -'a·lak I see the tipi
ya·djo'c
yadjox'an -gwa·lou-awa- I see the very tall, big tipi
adak-'a·lak ya·djo'c
```

In the first sentence, the formal suffix -'a·lak is attached directly to the noun yadjox'an, tipi. But, in the second the modifiers gwa·lou big, hawai tall, and hadak very are inserted between the noun and its formal suffix.

In the verb, the subject pronouns, number, mode, tense, aspect, and subordination are indicated by suffixes. The suffixes of the noun express case and the definite article: some demonstratives, too, may be regarded as noun suffixes (cf. 91).

## 22. Compounding.

Compounding is very free in Tonkawa. Almost any two verb themes may be compounded and compounds of noun and modifier are very common. In all such compounds, the second theme is subordinate to the first. Examples:

> ga·n-aidjonato throw (it) up (haidjona- to move up) to kick to death (-nadjga- to kill; yagau-nadjgacf. 33) hedai'o ·- he · cogyawto join in a fight, war (he cogyawto fight) to shoot (e.g. an arrow) into (the ground) yag-xailaba-(xailab- to stick (a pointed object) in (the ground) gwe-necdjodan pencil (gwe stick, necdjodan writing) t'caxw-yabetc thread (t'caxw cloth, yabetc sewing)

A classification of compounds according to type and more examples of them will be found in sections 36 and 85.

As will appear later, the function of theme formation has been lost in Tonkawa. All new ideas are expressed by compounding old themes: as far as I can determine, no new themes have been formed in the language for a very long time. It will appear, however, from what little can be told of theme formation, that probably composition has always been important in theme formation. Themes seem to be composed of smaller morphologic units (cf. 39); in an early stage of the language, it may have been that such smaller units were compounded to form the present themes. In the present state of the language, we find compounds in all stages of growth — those of two themes, either of which can stand alone; compounds in which only one theme has an independent existence; and, finally, those in which both themes have lost independent status. The latter are classed as compounds because they follow a definite pattern of behavior characteristic of compounds (cf. 36). More detailed material will be presented on this subject in section 36: it is only mentioned here for the purpose of showing the importance of composition as a grammatical process.

#### 23. Word Order.

The normal word order of the Tonkawa sentence is subject, object and verb. It is, however, not a necessary order since syntactic relations are sufficiently indicated by suffixes. Word order is only important in distinguishing the functions of certain modifiers. That is, the distinction between adjective and adverb depends upon the position of the form in question. If the modifier stands between

a noun and its formal suffix, it has adjectival function; if it stands directly before a verb, it has adverbial function. Examples:

 $gwa \cdot n$ -enox-la a pretty woman henox yagnano' he shoots well

ha 'ago n-gwa lo dak-la a very big man

gwa·lo·dak bandjalo' he opens his mouth very widely

# 24. Reduplication.

The grammatical processes described in the preceding sections have all related to alternations of theme with affix or theme with theme. Reduplication is the only grammatical process which varies the internal form of the theme itself. The whole theme is rarely repeated: generally only one element (i. e. phonologic element) is repeated (cf. 37). The function of reduplication is to indicate repeated action. Examples:

dobo- to cut

dodobo- to cut repeatedly

y'odjo- to pinch

y'oy'o'djo to pinch repeatedly

x'eleto sharpen (e. g. a knife) x'ex'eleto sharpen repeatedly

# A. THE VERB (25—82)

#### 25. General Remarks.

The elements making up a verb complex may be divided into three classes according to their position in the word: theme affixes, theme, and theme suffixes. The first and last of these classes are the same in function; that is, they provide for the grammatical and syntactical relations of the verb and also serve to amplify the meaning of the theme. The theme itself contains no formal elements; its meaning is the concrete, the basic one of the verb form. An example will make this clear.

ge-nec-xa-ile-nec'-o-' they two cause me to throw it to a distance

Theme: -ile-, the reduced form of yale- to throw, hit with a missile. Theme prefixes: ge- me; nec- causative; xa- with force, to a distance. Theme suffixes: -nec', dual subject; -o, declarative mode; -', third person, present tense.

There are illustrated above three verb prefixes. A complete list in the order of their appearance in the verb, is given below.

ge- first person object pronoun
we- third person plural object pronoun
geu- first person plural object pronoun
nec- causative
da- to, with
ya- causative
xa-, x- to a distance, with force

These will be discussed in detail and examples of their use given in sections 47—51.

The theme suffixes are much more numerous and express all ideas of tense, mode, person (except for the three object pronouns prefixed), and number. In general, they have the following order.

#### Theme

Negative suffix
Future tense suffix
Second person object pronoun (singular)
Number suffixes (subject only)
Continuative suffix
Tense and mode suffixes
Subjective pronouns

There are minor exceptions to this order; these details and others will be discussed in section 52.

It is apparent from this classification that our study of the Tonkawa verb will fall rather neatly into two parts: the theme, and the theme affixes. The first is to deal with the few variations undergone by verb themes and to establish, if possible, the rules governing its structure and manipulation. In the second part — the study of theme affixes — the grammatical and syntactical variations of the verb form will be discussed.

# a. THE VERB THEME (26—39)

# 26. Types of Verb Theme.

Tonkawa verb themes may be divided, roughly, into two classes—two element themes (i. e., themes composed of two phonetic elements, cf. 5), and three element themes. The latter class may be sub-divided, however, according to the character of the first position element. That is, certain elements (na-, ne-, ya-, ha-, and he-) appear consistently as the first elements in so many of these themes that they may be considered as prefixes. The themal types are,

then: two element themes, three element themes (placing here those three element themes not containing any of the above "prefixes"), na- themes, ne- themes, ya- themes, ha- themes, and he- themes. Finally, there are a number of two and three element themes which always appear with certain theme prefixes (nec-, hec-, ya-, and da-). In these cases, the theme prefixes have become so much a part of the theme that it cannot be used without them. The whole classification may, then, be summarized in the following manner.

- 1. Prefix-less Themes:
  - a. Two element themes.
  - b. Three element themes.
- 2. Themes whose first elements appear to be old prefixes.
  - a. na- themes.
  - b. ne- themes.
  - c. ya- themes.
  - d. ha- themes.
  - e. he- themes.
- 3. Themes requiring theme prefixes to complete their meanings.
  - a. ya- themes
  - b. nec-themes. (hec-themes are a sub-division of this group)
  - c. da:- themes.

## 27. The Two and Three Element Themes.

In this section we shall list examples of the two and three element themes (excluding, of course, those three element themes requiring prefixes of any sort). These will be presented in order of increasing complexity with the simplest types first. Whenever possible, three forms will be given for each theme; the full form (i. e., the theme not preceded by a theme affix), the reduced form (its form when preceded by a single element theme prefix, cf. 5), and the reduplicated form.

```
'eg-, -'ge-, 'e'eg-
                                          to give something to ... tr.
bil-, -ble-, bilil-
                                          to roll, wrap tr.
          mam-
                                          to carry, pack tr.
dob-, -dbo-, dodob-
                                          to cut tr.
nadj-, -ndje-, nanadjew-
                                          to bite tr. (cf. 45)
nod-, -ndo-, nonodaw-
                                          to touch, press tr.
gob-, -gbo-, gogob-
                                          to choke, throttle tr.
gom-, -gmo-, gogom-
                                          to have in one's mouth tr.
gwed-, -gwde-, gwegwedaw-
                                          to carry in arms tr.
xan-, -xne-, hexaxa·new-
                                          to drink tr. (cf. 45)
         wawana-
                                          to swallow tr.
yax-, -ixa-, heyaxyax-
                                          to eat tr. (cf. 45)
djex-, -djxe-, djedjex-
                                          to turn... loose tr.
```

The above is a fair sampling of the simplest form of the two element themes; i. e., those composed of two simple elements. It will be noted that, in the reduplicated form, the first theme element is oftenest the repeated one and that it has the form CVCV.

The following lists will illustrate themes in which the first element is complex.

```
'age-, -'age-,
                                            to have sexual relations with...
'ale-, -'ale-,
                                            to pull tr.
                                            to set... on (a table) tr.
ba·ba-, -baba-,
ba·djo-, -badjo-,
                                            to pile, stack tr.
ma·ga-, -maga-, mamaga-
                                            to cry, weep intr.
na·de-, -nade-, nanade-
                                            to step on . . . tr.
                                            to throw away tr.
ga·na-, -gana-,
                                            one person goes away intr.
harna-,
he·ca-, -e·ca-, he·cacana-
                                            to point, indicate tr.
                                            to grow fat intr.
xa·wa-, -xawa-,
xa·la-, -xala-,
                                            to be cold intr.
ya·dje-, -yadje-, heyayadjew-
                                            to look at, see tr.
wa·na-, -wana-, wawana-
                                            to fall, pitch forward intr.
co·la-, -cola-, cocola-
                                            to drip on . . . tr.
m'aye-, -m'aye-,
                                            to set fire to . . . tr.
x'ene-, -x'ene-, x'ex'ene-
                                            to sweep tr.
x'ele-, -x'ele-, x'ex'ele-
                                            to sharpen tr.
y'odjo-, -y'odjo-, y'oy'odjo-
                                            to pinch tr.
c'ago-, -c'ago-
                                            to scrape tr.
                                            to take \dots off tr.
x'e\cdot ba-, -x'eba-, x'ex'e\cdot ba-
                                            to miss (mark in shooting)
xw'e·la-, -xw'ela-
y'a·dje-, -y'adje-, hey'ay'adje-
                                            to vomit intr.
c'e·da-, -c'eda-, c'ec'e·da-
                                            to cut, stab tr.
                                            to close one's eyes intr.
t'co·ma-, -t'coma-, t'cot'coma-
banxo-, -banxo-, hebnono xaw-
                                            to bathe intr.
doi'o-, -doi'o-,
                                            to put \dots in water tr.
                neblele-
                                            to drill (a hole) tr.
gadwe-, -gadwe-,
                                            to give birth to tr.
xeidje-, -xeidje-, xexeidje-
                                            to rub tr.
yoxna-, -yoxna-, yuyuxa-na-
                                            to fly away intr.
                                            to pull (sinew) from (meat)
calge-, -calge-, cacalge-
                 ha djedjexa-
ha-djxa-,
                                            several ride two on a horse
co·bga-, -cobga-, cocobga-
                                            to swell up intr.
djo·l'a-, -djol'a-, djodjol'a-
                                            to defecate intr.
                                            to bend (e. g. bracelet) in a circle tr.
k'am'e-, -k'am'e-, k'ak'am'e-
               x'ax'ai'a
                                            to laugh intr.
t'cei'e-, -t'cei'e-,
                                            to be jealous of ...
m'e·dna-, -m'edna-,
                                            lightning strikes...
m'e·idja-, -m'eidja-, hem'em'eidja-
                                            to urinate
m'e·lne-, -m'elne-,
                                            to be alight, burning
c'e'djxa-, c'edjxa-,
                                            to be satisfied, have had enough
                                                 (e.g. to eat)
c'e'l'e-, -c'el'e-,
                                            to mark, scratch tr.
t'ca·bxe-, -t'ca·bxe-,
                                            to put up (a bed) tr.
```

In the above list, the first theme element has the complex form: in all the examples given, the second theme element has the simple form. The remaining examples of two element themes illustrate, first, themes composed of a simple plus a complex element, and, secondly, those having two complex elements.

```
'e'eyaw-
                                          to work, do to \dots tr.
                    ('e'eyo'-)
                    djodjxaw-
                                          to be afraid
                    (djodjxo-)
nahawa-, -n haw-,
                                          to ask ...
(naho:-) (-n ho:-)
lobaw-,
                    lolobaw-
                                          to dive
(lobo:-)
                    (lolobo:-)
na·hew-,
                                          to build a house
(na\cdot ho\cdot -)
gam'ow-, -gam'ow-,
                                          to shingle ...
(gam'o'-) (-gam'o'-)
xol'awa-, -xol'awa-, xoxol'awa-
                                          to wash \dots tr.
(xol'o'-) (-xol'o'-) (xoxol'o'-)
xal'oya-, -xal'oya-, xaxal'oya-
                                          to cut ... off
(xal'o'-) (-xal'o'-) (xaxal'o'-)
xadjyawa-, -xadjyawa-,
                                          to have gonorrhea
(xadjyo\cdot -) (-xadjyo\cdot -)
'adnawa-, -'adnawa-,
                                          to like ... tr.
('adno'-) (-'adno'-)
'acyawa-, -'acyawa-,
                                          to be pregnant
('acyo'-) (-'acyo'-)
encawa-, -'encawa-,
                                          to be jealous
('enco'-) (-'enco'-)
danxoya-, -danxoya-,
                                          to take from ... tr.
(danxo:-) (-danxo:-)
nagwdawa-, -nagwdawa-
                                          to be close to ...
(nagwdo--) (-nagwdo--)
xadjlewa-, -xadjlewa-, xaxadjlewa-
                                          to be angry
(xadjlo--) (-xadjlo--) (xaxadjlo--)
c'egwdjawa-, -c'egwdjawa-,
                                          to be wrinkled
(c'egwdjo\cdot-) (-c'egwdjo\cdot-)
```

Note that the form of the complex element in the final theme position is invariably CVw or CVy, both of which become Co under certain circumstances (cf. 10).

These, then, illustrate the two element themes. It is probably the most common of the theme types comprising perhaps one fourth

the total number of verb themes. Next in number and complexity are the themes containing three elements.

```
bidjna-, -bdjen-,to cut ... hair tr.doxwno-, -dxwan-,to smell, sniff tr.nodxo-, -ndox-,to hoe tr.nodco-, -ndoc-,several stand intr.wexwa-, -uxaw-,to grow up intr.
```

The above themes are composed of three simple elements.

The next group of three element themes are characterized by a complex first position element.

```
ban'oxo-, -ban'oxo-,
                                          to smell, scent tr.
bandjale-, -bandjale-, babandjale-
                                          to open one's mouth intr.
dol'axe-, -dol'axe-, dodol'axe-
                                          to shell corn tr.
nai'oma-, -nai'oma-,
                                          to nurse, suck tr.
gai'axe-, -gai'axe-, gagai'axe-
                                          to cut ... at joint tr.
gwan'ace-, -gwan'ace-, gwagwan'ace-
                                          to dig intr.
xem'ace-, -xem'ace-, xexem'ace-
                                          to rub tr.
com'axe-, -com'axe-, cocom'axe-
                                         to skin, flay tr.
                                          to become dark
ge·cxaya-,
xa·bdjeda-, -xa·bdjeda-,
                                          to build a fence tr.
xwengoxo-,
                                         to put on pants
m'adjxane-, -m'adjxane-,
                                          to like, love tr.
c'edxwane-, -c'edxwane-,
                                          to be choking
              x'obdiodiwa-
                                         to discharge wind
```

The first set of themes above is notable in that there appears to be a definite distinction in function between the first theme element and the second two. Compare, for example,

```
dol-'axe- to shell corn gai-'axe- to cut ... at the joint to skin
```

all having to do with cutting or breaking. Perhaps the combination -'axe- means 'to cut, break off', and the first position elements refer to the objects of the action, thus: dol- 'corn', gai- 'a joint', and com- 'a skin'. We shall refer to this analysis again in sections 35 and 36.

Finally, there are a few themes composed of two complex elements plus a simple element.

```
x'ac'age-, -x'ac'age-,
ya'lo'na-, -yalo'na-,
to kill tr.
to turn around intr.
bal'il'e-, -bal'il'e-
to rub (e. g. brains on skin) tr.
xaidelxa-
to come up (in water after a dive)
xaidibdje-, -xaidibdje-,
yalxilna-, -yalxilna-, yalalxilna-
to run away
```

These, then, are the major forms of the themes of class one — the prefix-less themes. It may be significant that reduplicated forms

rather consistently repeat only a certain one of the theme elements — generally the first. This fact gains in importance when viewed in the light of the tentative analysis made on the preceding page. Here, we noted that the second part of the theme seemed to supply the verbal connotation and the first appeared to be an incorporated object — or, at least, a class indicator (i. e., a prefix limiting the object of the verb to a certain class of noun). In the reduplicated form, this "class indicator" was the repeated element. However, there is no way of generalizing this tendency — the majority of themes cannot be analyzed in this way.

#### 28. na- Themes

The themes in this class all have an element na- in the first position. It will be seen that this is a simple element (i. e., its vowel is elided when the theme is preceded by a single element prefix) and that these themes repeat the second element of the complex in the reduplicated form.

```
nabga-, -nbag-,
nadgo-, -ndog-,
hangab-, -angaba-, hanangab-
naxdje-, -nxadj-,
naule-, -nwel-, nawewel-
                                         to roast
naule-, -nwel-,
naboxa-, -nboxa-, naboboxa-
nadaya-, -ndaya-, hendadayaw-
nahena-, -nhena-,
                                         to hunt ...
nacoxa-, -ncoxa-,
                                         to fry ...
nam'ene-, -nm'ene-,
                                         to broil ...
nac'oga-, -nc'oga-, nac'oc'oga-
nabacxa-, -nbacxa-, henbabacxa-yew-
namaiga-, -nmaiga-, namamaiga-
nak'am'e-, -nk'am'e-, nak'ak'am'e-
nac'ol'a-, -nc'ol'a-, nac'oc'ol'a-
                                         to have sores, blisters
```

```
several lie down intr.
have an erection intr.
(e. g. leech) is fastened to ...; be
    fastened to ...
to make a fire
to spread (e. g. blanket) out
to blow at ...
to choose ...; pick ... out
to squeeze ...
to play shinny
to whirl (e.g. stick, stone) about one's
to bend ... at a joint (e.g. to close a
    clasp-knife)
```

The above list, which is exhaustive, does not give any clue to either the meaning or function of na-. There are, however, three examples of theme variation involving this element.

```
na-bacxa-
                       to play shinny
ya-bacxa-
                       to run into ...; to bump .. tr.
```

It appears here that the complex -bacxa- has, in the first example, a prefix na- and, in the second, a prefix ya- (for a discussion of the ya- prefix, see 30). The difference in meaning between the two forms is not, however, sufficiently clear to define na-.

k'am'eto bend ... in a circle (e. g. to bend soft metal
into a bracelet)

na-k'am'eto bend ... at a joint; to bend a jointed
object (e. g. to close a clasp-knife).

Here, the difference in meaning is of the same character as that above: it seems, however, that na- is a derivational element serving to expand the meaning of the theme.

nec-gabato close (a door, window, etc)
han -gaba(e. g. leeches) stick, are fastened to ...; to be
stuck, caught fast (on some sticky
substance)
nec-hanan-gabato close (a door, window, etc)

to caught fastened to ...; to be
stuck caught fast (on some sticky
substance)

In this set of examples, the *nec*- of the first form is the causative theme prefix (cf. 50): the form can, then, be translated 'to cause... to be shut, closed, fastened', whereupon the meaning 'to be closed, shut, fastened' can be attributed to *-gaba-. hangaba-* is conjugated as follows:

ga·ngabo' (e. g. leeches) fasten to me; I am stuck fast, caught (by sticky substance)

hangaba·we' 2nd p.

hangabo' 3d p.

The function of ha- seems to be to establish a relationship between -n- and -gaba- (cf. 31). The form  $ga \cdot ngabo$ ' may then be analyzed as follows: g- me plus ha- to; -n- incorporated object of -gaba- to be fastened. This analysis receives support from the reduplicated form: hanangaba- several objects are fastened to...; the element -na-being repeated.

Applying this analysis to the other two examples, na-bacxa- may be analyzed: na- object of -bacxa- to strike against, bump, thus; to play shinny: whereas ya-bacxa- would simply refer to the bumping of any object. In short, the latter is universally transitive — the former transitive only within itself, i. e., has a limited transitivity. na-k'am'-e- illustrates this factor of limited transitivity even more clearly: k'am'e- applying to the bending of any object, na-k'am'e- only to jointed objects.

It is evident, of course, that this analysis is far from being a thoroughly convincing one. It is to be taken simply as a possible explanation: it is obvious that the Tonkawa theme is a very old formation and has doubtless undergone semantic changes since its elements lost their independence and that such changes have obscured the original meanings of the elements comprising the themes. However, partial analyses of this sort (and of the sort mentioned in section 27) give a strong indication that the theme must have been, at one time, a less complex unit than it is today. Further evidences of this fact will be found in the sections to follow.

### 29. ne- Themes.

The element *ne*- is similar to *na*- in phonetic structure — that is, it is a simple element — but it seems to have a different position in the verb theme. This point is illustrated by only one example:

```
na-m'ene- to broil ...
ne-n -m'ene- to roast, barbecue ...
```

but there are a number of themes similar in structure to the second form above. For none of these, however, are the primary forms (i. e., those without ne-similar to nam'ene-, above) available. nenis not to be interpreted as a reduplicated form of ne-because, as will be seen from the subjoined list, the reduplicated forms of nethemes repeat the second element of the complex.

### ne-themes.

```
to lick ...
nedle-, -ndal-, nedadal-
nedjbe-, -ndjeb-, nedjedjebaw-
                                          to put one's hand on ...
                                          to pull out, pluck (e. g. feathers)
nelde-, -nled-
negewa-, -ngewa-,
                                          to be related to ...
nexale-, -nxale-, nexaxale-
                                          to snore, bellow
nex'abe-, -nx'abe-, nex'ax'abe-
                                          to eat hackberries (the word refers
                                              to the cracking of the seeds of
                                              the berries)
ney'edje-, -ny'edje-,
                                          to milk a cow
nel'aye-, -nl'aye-, nel'al'aye-
                                          to spit ... out
nebaxge-,
                                          to smoke
nedic'e-, -ndic'e-, nedidic'e-
                                          to press ...; jab ....
negaw'e-, -ngaw'e-,
                                          to yawn
negel'e-, -ngel'e-,
                                          to drown ...
nek'am'e-, -nk'am'e-, nek'ak'am'e-
                                          to gnaw ...
```

### nen-themes

```
nendege-, -nendege-,
                                        to plug ...; stop a hole
nengoxo-, -nengoxo-,
                                        to chase ...
nenxace-, -nenxace-,
                                        to light, ignite ...
nenxale-, -nenxale-,
                                        to find ...
nenxele-, -nenxele-,
                                        to poke ... with burning stick
nencona-, -nencona-,
                                        to kiss ...
nenm'ene-, -nenm'ene-
                                        to roast ...; barbecue ...
          (From nam'ene- to broil ... over open fire)
nengo·na-, -nengo·na-
                                        to braid ...
          (From nogo- to pick, gather several objects)
nenco yawa-, -nenco yawa-
                                        to swim with a burden, ferry
          (From co yana- to swim away)
```

Note, in the above list, that the element ne-does not elide its vowel in the reduced form of the theme. This is probably because, if it did, the elision of the vowel would result in the total elision of the element — i. e., the two consonants n would come together. Such combinations are avoided in Tonkawa.

There are quite a number of test cases involving ne- but we shall see that they help very little in defining the element.

nam'eneto broil ... (e. g. fat) ... over an
open fire
ne-nm'eneto roast ...; barbecue ...

In the texts, the first of the above forms seems confined to the cooking of fatty meats over an open fire while the second refers to the roasting of any kind of meat. The distinction appears rather artificial and the evidence supporting it is scanty. It is evident, however, that *ne*- is a derivational element rather than one adding merely formal significance to the theme.

k'am'eto bend ... in a circle (e. g. to bend soft metal into a bracelet)
ne-k'am'eto gnaw ...

Here, though the forms appear, formally, to be related, the difference in meaning casts doubt upon such a connection.

nogo- to pick up, gather (several objects)
ne-ngo·na- to braid . . .

Not only has ne- been added but an element -na has also been suffixed to the theme (assuming that nogo- is the original theme). -na may be the directive element "off, away (from the speaker)" found on many verbs and giving a progressive signification to the action (cf. 34 for examples of such usages). Thus, the theme could be translated "to pick, gather together several objects progressively (i. e., off in a line)" — in other words, "to braid". ne- would, therefore, add derivational significance. The analysis is admittedly speculative.

gelne- to be drowned to drown . . .

Here we have a clear distinction between a neuter intransitive verb and an active transitive verb. It may be well to remark, however, that this is but an isolated example — no such verbal distinction is generally recognized in theme forms. Nor is it possible, in this particular case, to determine how much of this alternation has been caused by the change from -ne to -'e and how much is due to the addition of ne-. The evidence with regard to -ne, -'e alternations are few but they do indicate that -ne is a characteristic of some — not all — neuter verbs and that -'e generally appears in an active theme. The transitive signification is probably not due to ne- since it is used with transitives and intransitives. The only conclusion is that ne-cannot be defined from this set of forms.

ya-dicxene-dic'e- (e. g. a bull) butts ... to press, jab ... (with finger) In this case, too, we have an alternation of final theme elements for which there is little definition possible (cf. 35). In view of this fact, the ya-, ne- variation is not definable.

co·yanaco·yadanenco·yawato swim off, away
to swim (towards the speaker)
to swim with a burden; to ferry ...
across (e.g., to swim across holding a bundle of clothes out of the
water)

In this case, two elements have been added, ne- and -n- and the final elements of the themes are varied. -na and -da are clearly definable as directives, the former referring to direction away from the speaker, the latter to direction towards the speaker (cf. 34). -wa appears to have a durative function — or, at least, appears in a good many themes expressing repeated or long continued action (cf. 45). -n- may be the reduced form of na- and ne- is evidently the element we have been discussing. If na- is defined as an incorporated object (cf. 28), ne- would appear to establish an oblique relationship between  $-co \cdot yawa$ - and na-: thus, the complete analysis, ne-with, -n- an object,  $-co \cdot yawa$ - to swim duratively.

The application of this analysis to other *ne*- themes requires, of course, an analysis of the rest of the theme — a thing which is not always possible. Thus: *ne-gel-'e-* could be analyzed: to do to . . . by drowning — i. e., to drown... — if we were sure that -'e- could be defined as an active transitive verbalizer — an element empty of concrete significance but adding these more formal meanings to the verb. This is not always possible (cf. 34).

Our conclusions with regard to the definition of ne-, then, must be that its meaning cannot be deduced with accuracy without knowing quite a bit about the rest of the theme. This knowledge is not available for all themes: there are simply a few indications as to their structure (cf. 39). But we can suggest that ne- has to do with the relationship between theme elements — that ne- themes are three element themes in which the second and third elements are indirectly connected through ne-.

# 30. ya- Themes.

Themes having ya- as the first element are rather more numerous than either of the two preceding groups. ya- is also a simple element and has the reduplicated form yai-. This alone is unique; it will be remembered that neither na- nor ne- were reduplicated. A number of ya- themes repeat ya- in the reduplicated form; some repeat the second element of the verb complex, and, for a few themes, both types of reduplication are found. It is not possible to place ya- with

respect to ne- since they do not appear in the same themes. Nor are there any test forms to show its relative position with respect to na-.

```
yabxa-, -ibax-, yaibax- (or heibabxa-)
                                         to slap ...
                                         to call, signal ...
yamga-, -imag-,
yamxa-, -imax-
                                         to paint ... body
                                         to be frozen stiff
yadge-, -idig-
                                         to fill a pipe; prepare to smoke
yadxo-, -idox-
yadca-, -idac-, yaidac-
                                         to stab ...
                                         to defeat ... (gambling)
yanwa-, -inaw-
yagba-, -igab-, yaigab- (or yagagba-)
                                         to hit ... (on the head)
                                         to push ...
yagxe-, -igex-
yagwa-, -igaw-, yaigaw-
                                         to kick ...
                                         to dance
yagwa-, -igaw-, heigagawa-
                                         several sit down
yagdja-, -igadj-
                                         to hunt, look for ...
yaxwya-, ixwoy-, yaxwoxwoy-
yaxwdje-, -ixwedj-, yaixwedj-
                                         to hit ... with a club
                                         to put ... in one's mouth
yacna-, -ican-
yadjba-, -idjab-
                                         to crack ... (e. g. nut)
yadjdo-, -idjod-
                                         something is in one's eye
yadjxe-, -idjox-
                                         to bake, boil (solids only)
                                         to put ... on one's back
yadjga-, -idjag-, yadjadjga-
yadjle-, -idjel-
                                         to empty (a receptacle)
                                         to stand ... up; place ... erect
yalba-, -ilab-, yalalaba-
                                         to strike ... with hand or fist (not
yagona-, -igona-, yaigona-
                                              with weapon)
                                         to whistle
yagoca-, -igoca-
yagodja-, -igodja-
                                         to scream
                  yaxoxona-
                                         to pant, puff
                                         to hunt, search for ...
yaxoya-, -ixoya-, yaxoxya-
                                         to tie up; bind ...
yaweye-, -iweye-, yaweweye-
                                         to cover one's self with a blanket
yadjoxo-, -idjoxo-, yadjodjoxo-
yabaxga-, -ibaxga-,
                                         to strike fire with flint
yabacxa-, -ibacxa-
                                         to run into ...; bump ...
                                         to indulge in sapphism with ... tr.
yadal'a-, -idal'a-
                                         to make fry-bread
yadalba-, -idalba-,
yadin'e-, -idin'e-, yadidin'e-
                                         to scrape ... (a hide)
yadicxe-, idicxe-, yaidicxe-
                                         (a bull) butts ...
     (yadidicxe-)
yagew'a-, -igew'a-
                                         to transform ... (by magic)
                                         to chop ... to bits
                   yagegew'a-
                                         to make a war bonnet
yageuna-
yagel'e-, -igel'e-, yaigel'e- (yagegel'e-)
                                         to jab ... with elbow
                                         to build a tipi (vide: yadjoxo-)
yadjox'a-, '-idjox'a-, yadjodjox'a-
                                         to brush ... off
yam'ede-, -im'ede-, yaim'ede-
                                         (a steer) bellows
yam'ega-,
                                         to shovel ...
yax'age-, -ix'age-
yaw'edja-, -iw'edja-, yaiw'edja-
                                         to look for ...
     (heiw'ew'edjaw-)
yac'ene-, -ic'ene-
                                         to be cut by ...
yam'adjxa-, -im'adjxa-,
                                         to sneeze
     yam'am'adjxa-
yax'ecge-, -ix'ecge-, yax'ex'ecge-
                                         to rub one object against another; to
                                              play violin
                                         to get close to ...; catch up to ...
yane yawa-, -ine yawa-
```

There is the same difficulty with the test forms involving the ya- element as we found in the case of the other two elements: they are not sufficiently definitive. Take, for example, the following comparison:

nec-digeya-dge-, -i -digto be cold, freezing to be frozen stiff

-dige- is not used alone but, since it appears with nec-, the causative theme prefix (cf. 50), it can be defined "to freeze, chill, be cold". But the use of ya- with the same theme does not alter the meaning in a manner helpful to a definition of ya-.

ga''na'wato throw ... with the hand (e. g. to
throw a ball, stick, etc.)
ya-ga'na'wato swing (e. g. on a rope swing)

In this example, it may be seen that ya- appears to establish a relation between the other elements of the theme. If we assume the complex -'na-wa- to mean "moving through space (as if thrown)" and ga-- to refer to an act of propelling or throwing (perhaps related to ga--na-- to throw ... away, and ga--da-- to throw ... towards the speaker, where -na and -da are the directives, cf. 34), then ya-would appear to establish an instrumental relationship between the second and third elements of the theme. Thus, the whole form would have the meaning "to move through space by reason of throwing (pushing, some means of propulsion)" or, "to swing". The case is necessarily weak since we cannot offer any evidence for the meaning of the second part of the theme complex.

yaxwdjeyaxw-nadjgato strike ... with a club

Notice, in this pair of forms, that the third theme element -dje is dropped when the theme is compounded with -nadjga- to kill. That seems to imply that ya-xw- means "by means of a club" and -dje "to strike". In other words, ya- establishes an instrumental relationship between -dje "to strike" and -xwe- (the full form of -xw-) referring to a club or stick. Unfortunately, there is no further evidence for this analysis.

In conclusion, then, we are left with the feeling that ya- is a separable theme element possibly serving to establish a type of relationship between the second and third elements of the theme similar in form to that postulated for ne-, though, in neither case, have we conclusive proof.

### 31. ha- Themes.

ha- represents an element of quite a different class from any of the preceding — at least, as far as phonetic behavior is concerned. In the first place, it precedes both na- and ya- in the verb complex

and therefore, by implication, precedes *ne*-though there are no test forms illustrating its use with *ne*-themes.

hangaba
(e. g., leeches) stick, are fastened
to ...; to be stuck, caught fast
(on some sticky substance)
hanangabaseveral objects (e. g., leeches) stick
to ...; it holds several fast

These examples, quoted before in section 28, illustrate the use of ha- with a na- theme. It will be remembered that, in this case, ha-seemed to indicate an indirect relationship between na- and gaba-; that the form was tentatively analyzed as: an object (na-) is fastened (-gaba-) to (ha-)... Another curious phase of phonetic behavior may be illustrated by this verb.

hangab -o' (leech) sticks to him gangab -o' (leech) sticks to me

Notice here that the addition of the single element theme prefix ge-does not reverse the forms of the theme elements: -n-, -ga-, and -ba-have the same form in the second example as they had in the first. ha-, of course, is absorbed to the preceding prefix ge-, giving ga-(cf. 8). This behavior is characteristic of all ha- themes composed of more than three elements (including ha-). Note the following:

it is full habdjen -o' I am full; I eat or drink until ga·bdjen -o' satisfied hadxec -o'c I know him; am acquainted with ga·dxec -o' he ... me I doctor him; make him well haixoy -o'c ga·ixoy -o'  $he \dots me$ he is half starved, skinny haidjab -o' ga·idjab -o' I am ...

ha- themes having only three elements behave regularly:

habl -o' several persons attack him ga·bil -o' ... me haix -o'c I mount (a horse); ride it  $ga \cdot yox - o'$ he ... me hayoyox -o'c I ... rep. haiw -o'c I buy, sell it ga·yaw -o' he buys, sells me hawaun -o'c I carry, pack it ga·waun -o' he ... me

The above are composed of ha- plus two simple elements: below are listed the ha- themes having a complex second element.

```
ha'en -o'c
                                I brought it
gar'en -o'
                                he ... me
habax -o'
                                he looks up, raises his eyes
qa·bax -o'
                                Ι . . .
hadol -o'
                                he doesn't want it
ga·dol -o'
                                Ι . . .
haqox -o'
                                he is tired, weary
ga \cdot gox - o
                                I ...
ham'am' -o'
                                it is burning, flaming
ga·m'am'-o'
                                I ...
```

Notice, in the last list, that the reduplicated forms repeat the second element of the theme.

This variation in phonetic behavior taken in connection with the first example quoted on page 40 would seem to indicate that haplus another initial theme element of the class of na-does not elide according to the law of vocalic elision, whereas ha-attached directly to a theme does vary phonetically according to this rule. In other words, the themes of the first list seem to contain traces of other theme elements of the na-class: perhaps, at one time, there was a complete list of such elements classifying various types of object. This is, of course, only a suggestion: no further proof of such an organization can be adduced.

The test forms for ha- are more definitive than any discussed heretofore. For example:

```
yagona-<br/>ha·gona-to hit ... with the fist tr.<br/>to box intr. (ha- plus ya- > ha·-)yaxgoca-<br/>ha·xaxgoca-to follow ... tr.<br/>several go in single fileyadca-<br/>ha·daca-to stab ... tr.<br/>several stab each other; a fight with<br/>knives takes place
```

In all of these forms, the addition of ha- appears to confine the action to an object expressed within the theme: to make the action intransitive as far as the English translation is concerned. We have seen, however, that Tonkawa verbs do not fall into definitely transitive and intransitive classes: that there appears to be no consistently formal distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in Tonkawa. Rather, the question of transitivity seems bound up with the analysis of the theme. Thus, while hangaba- is transitive in the sense that it may take an object  $(ga \cdot ngabo)$  it sticks to me;  $hangaba \cdot we$  it sticks to you), the subject is limited to a certain type of object apparently once clearly defined by na-, and ha- does not affect the transitivity of the whole verb theme but expresses an

indirect relationship between the elements -n- and -gaba- of the theme. In other words, the question of the transitivity of the whole theme with regard to an object expressed by a theme affix is bound up with the relationship — direct, indirect, or instrumental between elements of the theme. I do not believe, therefore, that hais necessarily an element indicating the intransitivity of the whole theme (indeed, that point is contradicted by many of the hathemes), but that it has to do with the more important relations between elements of the theme in much the same way as ya- and neappear to serve this function. The curious and apparently contradictory facts of theme variation discussed so far can, at least speculatively, be explained by postulating two theme elements either standing in direct relationship one to another (the prefixless themes) or being indirectly related by one or other of the first position themes elements (ha-, ne-, ya- themes). It is not necessary of course, to assume that all themes have both these elements some of the prefix-less themes may be composed of only one; others, which appear transitive, may have a limited transitivity due to the inclusion within its structure of an element designating or referring to a possible object (cf. 28). This theory of theme structure cannot be proven: but, as I have said, it appears to be an hypothesis that does justice to the few test forms that exist. In the following sections, we shall find further confirmation, or, rather, further indications that this theory has some degree of validity.

### 32. he-Themes.

The element he- is on the border line between the first position theme elements which have been discussed and the theme prefixes. In fact, there is no formal difference between he- and the reflexive pronoun he- (cf. 43) except that the themes containing the theme element he- cannot be used without it. he- also does not elide its vowel when preceded by a single element prefix, a behavior characteristic of theme prefixes.

There are a great number of themes in this class — it is the second largest group of themes in Tonkawa, the largest class being the prefix-less themes. The following list is arranged in order of increasing complexity of theme form, the simplest coming first. Since these themes have no reduced forms — or, rather, since their reduced forms are the same as the full forms — only two forms will be given for each theme — the full form and the reduplicated form.

hewawahehewa- (heho:-)

to be dead, dying
to stop dying; recover (from an
illness)

hecgoseveral persons sit down hedineto lie down helneseveral things (e.g. snow) fall hexaleto be happy, glad hedjaxato lie on one's back helexato come up (in the water after a dive) hebai'a-, hebaba'y'ewto put on beads, a necklace to bend one's head hegai'e-, hegagai'ewhen'oca-, hen'on'ocato blow one's nose hel'einato peer about, look around hendadabeto dodge, shrink (as from a blow) intr. hengegxato cough hengwagwdeto smack one's lips hengawa- (hengo:-) to put (a breechcloth) on hengwa·nato run away to chew ... hendaidiahenxilca-, henxixilcato stare in astonishment, open one's eyes wide to whirl around henx'olya-, henx'ox'olyato breathe hencaxgeheglaxeto throw ... off (as a horse throws a rider) hedlawa- (hedlo-) to refuse hegdaw- (hegdo'-), hegegdawto sing heigeudaseveral come (in a body) heigwidjeto put a ring on heixaxaleto put an earring on heidicnato feel embarrassed to be lame heiwaxge-

heicaxwa-

heidjecaw- (heidjeco:-) hedjx'om'a-, hedjodjx'om'ahedjx'ol'o-, hedjodjx'ol'o-

hebaixwedehedan'ayahenengoxohecangew- (hecango:-) hedjal'ane-, hedjadjal'ane-

heidjanenxoyo-

hec'egena-, hec'ec'egena-

to be frightened

to rest

to draw one's foot back to draw one's hands back

to put on a dress

to hurry

to put on gloves to put on a shirt, coat to open one's hand

to turn suddenly (while running)

to stretch one's neck

It will be seen from the above list that he- appears to give a medio-passive significance to the theme — limiting the action to the subject. It is evident, however, that this factor does not affect the ultimate transitivity of the whole theme. For, though most of the themes are intransitive or confined to a reflexive object, one

of them (e. g., hendaidja- to chew) is transitive. It is possible here that -n- is the reduced form of -na-, the incorporated object (cf. 28), and that the verb is therefore limited in transitivity. Just to what spheres of influence these different elements are confined and how they combine to result in the present meanings, cannot, of course, be determined since we are unable to isolate the other theme elements. As was the case with ya-, ne-, and ha-, it is quite possible that the function of he- is bound up with that of the other theme elements and not with the formal relations of the whole theme to its object.

The test forms following confirm the impression that he- gives medio-passive significance to the theme.

dai'ewto be one of a group
he-dai'ewto join a group
'ei-dai'ewto place ... with a group

Here, the first theme is used only passively (i. e., I am one of a group; I am in the group; cf. 42), the second, medio-passively, and the third is transitivized by the element 'ei- (cf. 33). Other test forms follow:

he-nc'o·ido-to stretch oneself'ei-noc'o·ido-to stretch . . .he-ndidxew'a-to move about, tremble'ei-nedidxew'a-to move . . . , poke, jab . . .

It will be noted, in all the above forms, that the themes themselves (viz., -dai'ew-, -noc'o·ido-, and -nedidxew'a-) are not transitive but require the transitivizing element 'ei-. The function of he-, therefore, seems to be to direct the action to the subject. If it is the reflexive pronoun, it is evident that certain verbs can be confined — as regards transitivity — to the reflexive: that the reflexive pronoun is not functionally similar in type to the other object pronouns (cf. 41). There is a possibility here that themes requiring he-were originally simply transitive themes used exclusively with the reflexive pronoun: that, in harmony with the petrification that has affected the Tonkawa themes, this he- prefix has become an irremovable theme element and, that, in the few forms in which the theme can dispense with it, the theme is felt as intransitive. Whatever the cause, there seems to be little doubt that he- themes generally designate an action intransitive except as regards the reflexive: i. e., a medio-passive construction.

# 33. Themes Requiring Theme Prefixes.

Theme prefixes, as has been mentioned, are normally used freely. A number of themes, however, cannot be used without one or another of these prefixes: in them, the free prefix has become

indissolubly united to the theme which is no longer able to stand without it. There are four classes of such themes: ya- themes (not to be confused with the ya- themes of section 30), nec- and hec-themes, da- themes, and 'ei- themes.

## ya- themes.

The prefix ya-, which generally adds causative significance to a theme (cf. 49), is the least freely used of all the theme prefixes. nec-, the other causative (cf. 50), seems to have replaced it and is certainly used more freely. ya- causative themes differ from the ya-themes of section 30 in that the causative ya- does not elide its vowel when preceded by a single element affix and does not have a reduplicated form (these differences in addition to the functional difference).

```
xacdew - o' he is alone, by himself ya\text{-}xacdew - o'c Ileave him alone; cause him to be alone ge\text{-}ya\text{-}xacdew - o' he ... me ...
```

The above is, of course, a case in which the theme may be used without ya. Others of this type will be discussed in section 49. The following lists only those themes always appearing with the ya-causative element.

```
yadmaxe-, -yadmaxe-, yadidmaxe-
                                       to break ... (e. g., egg, melon, a
                                            fragile object)
yadxalga-, -yadxalga-, yadadxalga-
                                       to hang ... up
yadcane-, -yadcane-
                                       to think about ...
yandjadjai'a-, -yandjadjai'a-
                                       to meddle with ...
                                       to break ... (e. g. his neck)
yagl'axe-, -yagl'axe-
yagwlaxe-, -yagwlaxe-, yagwagwlaxe-
                                       to open ...; tear ... down
yaxmadje-, yaxmadje-, yaxexmadje-
                                       to break ... (e. g. stick)
yaxgoca-, -yaxgoca-
                                       to follow
yalmede-, -yalmede-
                                       to deceive ...
```

### nec- and hec- themes.

nec- is the regular causative theme prefix and may be applied to practically any verb theme (cf. 50). The themes listed below are those which cannot be used without nec-. It will be noted that, in the reduplicated forms, the prefix nec- is repeated.

```
necbedje-, -necbedje-, nececbedjaw-
necdewe- (necdo:-), -necdewe-
                                        to name ...; call .. by name
necdige-, -necdige-
                                        to be freezing
necgede-, -necgede-
                                         to count ...
                                         to close, fasten (a door, window,
necgaba-, -necgaba-, nececgaba-
                                             drawer)
necgwide-, -necgwide-, nececgwide-
                                        to tie ...; bind ...
necwal'e-
                                         to fish
necdjodo-
                                         to write
nececdioca-
                                        to use sign language
neclaxge-, -neclaxge-, nececlaxge-
                                        to cough, clear one's throat
```

hec- is also a causative but appears to give medio-passive significance as well. It may be that the prefix is a combination of heplus-c, the former cognate with the he- of section 32, and the later with the -c of nec-. In that case, one could assign active significance to ne- and perhaps equate it with the ne- of section 29. This analysis is, however, purely speculative: there is no means of proving it. There are three test forms involving the alternation of the elements.

nec-dewehec-deweto name ...; call ... by name
to give one's name; to name oneself

nec-gedehec-gegdeto be tied in score; there is a tie game
nec-gabato shut, fasten ... (door, window,
drawer)

to be knocked gasping; out of breath

## The rest of the hec- themes follow:

hec-gaba-

hec'ege-, -hec'ege-, hecec'ege
to ask for ... (probably from 'ege- to
give to ...)

hecgwadje-, -hecgwadje-,
hecyadjxe-, -hecyadjxe-,
heclomo-, -heclomoheclomo-, hececlomo
to ask for ... (probably from 'ege- to
give to ...)

to like ...
to mount ... (a horse)
to cover oneself (as with a blanket)

#### da-- themes.

The prefix da: "to, with" is found with only two themes:

da·gona-, -dgona- to look for ...
da·clew- (da·clo·-) several wander about

It is possible that the first element of the theme  $da \cdot xa$ - "to be hot, warm" may be cognate with  $da \cdot .$  In that case, -xa would mean "to be hot" and the whole theme could be translated "to be hot with..". This analysis cannot be proved. Examples of the free use of  $da \cdot .$  and the details of its phonetic structure and treatment will be found in section 48.

## 'ei-themes.

'ei- is not, properly speaking, a prefix but a theme which only exists in compounds — which can no longer be used independently. This is shown by its behavior when 'ei- themes are compounded with others, viz:

 $\begin{tabular}{llll} \hbox{$'ei$-$dil'ay$-$o'c} & I fall on him, hurting him; press him \\ & & & & with my body \\ \hbox{$'ei$-$ge$-$dil'ay$-$o'} & he ... me \\ \hbox{$da'an$-$dil'ay$-$o'} & I squeeze him, hurting him \\ \hbox{$da'an$-$ge$-$dil'ay$-$o'} & he ... me \\ \end{tabular}$ 

Notice here that 'ei- is dropped when the 'ei- theme (i.e., 'eidil'aye-) is compounded with da'ane- to pick, grasp.... Note, also, that the

pronoun object ge- is inserted between 'ei- and -dil'aye- as it is between da'an- and -dil'aye-. This treatment of the pronominal prefixes is characteristic of compounds (cf. 36).

Whatever the origin of 'ei-, it is obvious that it now adds only a transitive connotation to the theme it modifies. It is found with a good many themes, but, in most cases, is removable (cf. 36). The themes that follow cannot be used without it, except, of course, when compounded with other themes.

```
'ei-bage-
                                             to slice (meat)
'ei-bedje-, 'ei- -bdje-
                                             to drop ... (several objects)
'ei-dil'aye-, 'ei- dil'aye-
                                             to fall on ... hurting ...
'ei-nadjga-, 'ei- -ndjag-
                                             to kill ...
'ei-nedxew'a-, 'ei- -ndxew'a-,
                                             to poke, jab ...
     'ei-nedidxew a-
'ei-necexa-, 'ei- -necexa-
                                             to scare ...; start ... up
'ei-go'ndjo-, 'ei- -gondjo-
'ei-camxe-, 'ei- -cmax-, 'ei-cacamxe-
                                             to get in ... way; intercept ...
                                             to break ... head
'ei-djane-, 'ei- -djne-
                                             to drop ...
```

## 34. Final Theme Elements, 1.

In the preceding sections, we have discussed the types of verb theme from the point of view of their initial elements and have succeeded in isolating, with indifferent success, a number of such elements. There are a number of themes which can be analyzed more fully and these analyses affect principally the final elements of the theme complex. With few exceptions, the same difficulties attend these analyses as were present in the treatment of initial theme elements — they are generally isolated cases incapable of generalization.

The best defined of these final theme elements are -na and -da, meaning 'direction away from the speaker' and 'direction towards the speaker', respectively. In a number of themes, they appear as irremovable theme elements. These are listed below.

'eina-	to go away
'eida-	to come
dana-	two persons go off
na- $xcogna$ -	to scout, guide away intr.
na · $xcogda$ -	to guide this way
ga·na-	to throw away
ga· $da$ -	to throw here
ha· $na$ -	one person goes off
haunana-	to move away (i. e., move one's camp)
haunada-	to move back, here

hengwa'na- to run off hengwa'da- to come running

(This theme in compound appears without the directives: hengwaicilwe- to go about running; cilwe- to go about)

heigeunaseveral persons march off heigeudaseveral come marching to fall, pitch forward wa·nato fall backwards wa·dayoxnato fly away yoxdato come flying co·yanato swim away co yadato come swimming djeganato take a step, pace off djegadato step this way djedxanato jump away djedxadato jump this way

A third directive connotation is produced by adding the theme prefix xa (x-) to a distance, with force (cf. 51) to forms employing -da. This combination gives the meaning 'around, in a circle' to the theme.

Two of the themes 'to go' employ a suffix -xa giving the connotation of arrival at a certain point. In both cases, the themes require also the prefix xa- to a distance.

xa·xa- one person arrives at a distant point

from  $ha \cdot na$ - one person goes off; xa- plus  $ha \cdot -$ , giving  $xa \cdot -$  and the suffix -xa of arrival replacing -na off, away.

xadxa- two persons arrive at a distant point

from dana- two persons go off.

There are also a number of test forms involving these elements — themes which can stand without the elements and to which the elements may be added.

 $ba \cdot ba$ - $ba \cdot ba$ - $ba \cdot b$ -ab- $ba \cdot b$ -ab- $ba \cdot b$ -ab

```
to expectorate
nodxogo-
nodxog-na-
                              to expectorate off, away
nodxog-da-
                              to expectorate in this direction
he'dxane-
                              to talk, discourse intr.
                              to telephone, talk off
he·dxan-na-
                              to phone from there to here
he dxan-da-
heilaba-
                              to stand up
                              to stand over there
heilab-na-
heilab-da-
                              to stand here
heca-
                              to point at ...; indicate ...
                              to point over there
he·ca-na-
he·ca-da-
                              to point this way
yax'age-
                              to shovel ...
yax'ag-na-
                              to shovel ... over there
                              to shovel ... here
yax'ag-da-
ya·dje-
                              to see ...; look at ...
                              to look off
ya·dje-na-
ya·dje-da-
                              to look in this direction
                              to put ... away; hide ...
cogo-
                              to put ... away; bury ...
cog-na-
                              to put ... in this direction
cog-da-
```

Finally, there are a few themes in which the directives alternate with other final elements, -'e and -'a.

```
yacyag'e-
                             to tear ... (paper, fabric)
                             to tear ... along, be tearing ...
yacyagna-
yag'e-
                             to shoot ...
yagna-
                             to shoot off, away
                             to shoot in this direction
yagda-
yagew'a-
                             to make ...; transform ...
                             to make ... in a line; go along mak-
yagewna-
                                  ing it (as making a war bonnet)
                             to make ... towards this direction
yageuda-
djo·l'a-
                             to defecate
xa-djolda-
                             to go in a circle defecating
```

It appears likely, from these examples, that -na, -da, -e, and -a are of the same class of element (at least, they all seem to have the same position in the theme complex) — all possibly giving active significance to the verb theme. -e and -a appear to be empty of any other meaning but -na and -da add directive connotation as well. The functions of -e and -a are more clearly illustrated by the following themes.

```
hegai'e-
to bend one's head, put one's head
down
to bow one's head low; put ... down
(haglana- to go down)
```

yadin yadin'e-	scraper (noun) to scrape (a hide)
bal'il bal'il'e-	brains (noun) to smear (brains) on (skin); rub (medicine) on
negel'e- negel-nadjga- gelne-	to drown to kill by drowning (nadjga- to kill) to be drowned
hebai'a- hebai-xwede-	to put on beads, necklace to put on a dress (xwede- to clasp, enfold)
yadjoxo- yadjox'o- yadjox'aw-	to cover with blanket to build a tipi to build a tipi (no difference in meaning).

Note especially the cases in which -'e makes a verbal form of a noun form; viz., yadin-'e- to scrape... from yadin scraper, and bal'il-'e- to smear ... with brains, medicine, from bal'il brains. These alternations seem to confirm the theory that -'e serves as a verbalizer, activizing nominal themes. This fact cannot be proved from the rest of the themes concerned.

There are no conclusive test forms for the -'a element. The contrast between yadjoxo- to cover ... with blanket, yadjox'o- to build a tipi, and yadjox'aw- to build a tipi, suggests that -'a may have a function similar to that of -'e (-'o is probably -'a colored to -'o by vocalic harmony with the preceding vowel. The difference between yadjox'aw- and yadjox'o- does not come out in the meanings of the two). Since yadjoxo- means "to cover... with a blanket", yadjox'o- may be translated "to do, make a covering of blankets, skins", i. e., to build a tipi.

Another alternation worthy of notice is that between *gel-ne*-to be drowned and *ne-gel-'e-* to drown.... Here is introduced an element *-ne* which appears, in this case, to characterize a neuter theme. Only one other test form is available.

m'e'lne- (light) shines, glares; (sun) is shining m'e'ldjidjen-'e'- there is sheet lightning; lightning plays

The second form is obviously an old compound:  $m'e\cdot l$ - plus -djidjen-plus  $-'e\cdot -$ . Of these,  $-'e\cdot -$  alone is definable. It is the auxiliary verb theme to be (cf. 38).  $m'e\cdot l$ -djidjen can exist alone and is defined as a noun: sheet lightning.  $m'e\cdot l$ -, therefore, appears to be definable as a glowing, a shining, but there is no evidence for a definition of -djidjen. -ne appears to have the same function here as in the preceding example.

Finally, there are a number of verb themes formed by adding a -wa element to a noun theme. These themes seem to be of the same type as those having -'e, -'a, and -ne verbifiers. The difference, of course, lies in the fact that in most of the latter cases the noun theme back of the verb has not been retained in active usage — has lost its independent existence. For the themes we are about to list, we have, in each case, the noun themes.

'acya-wato be pregnant ben'ats spring to be spring time bendza-waday, sun, morning daxacday breaks; morning comes daxce-wanoxlulscreech owl; the hoot of an owl an owl screeches, hoots noxlul-wa $ho^{\bullet,\circ}o^{\circ}ox$ robbers, thieves ho''oxa-wato steal ... fat (noun) to be fat, corpulent xa-waxadj'an stingy to be stingy; unwilling to give xadjna-waxadjoigonorrhea xadjya-wato have gonorrhea foam (as from soap or on beer) yo'tc yo'di-wa-(water, beer) foams

The same sort of alternation between noun and verb theme may be accomplished by adding the auxiliary verb theme -we- to a noun theme. For example, calal tears, becomes calal-we- to be in tears, to weep, by the addition of the auxiliary -we-. This fact leads to the belief that -'e, -'a, -ne, -na, -da and -wa exemplify old auxiliaries which have, in the process of theme petrification, lost independent status. Any noun theme of present day Tonkawa can be verbified by one or other of the three auxiliaries still possessing independent status, -'e--, -ye--, or -we- (cf. 38). We have seen that -na and -da alternate with -'e and -'a; that -ne alternates with -'e and that -wa appears to perform essentially the same function as -'e and -'a. For these reasons, it appears likely that a good many verb themes can be explained as having been formed by the addition of a verbifier to an old noun theme. These old noun themes have gone out of existence (as nouns) probably because nouns are today formed by adding a suffix to the verb theme (cf. 75). The themes listed below are those which seem to agree formally with the test forms for -'e, -'a, -ne, and -wa above (the -na and -da themes have already

been given). There is no proof that they have been formed in this way but their very numbers add weight to our interpretation.

```
nac'ol 'a-
                              to have sores, blisters
hendidxew'a-
                              to move, tremble
hedjx'om'a-
                              to draw one's foot back
x'ax'ai'a-
                              to laugh
yadal'a-
                              to indulge in sapphism with ... tr.
                              to meddle with ...
yandjadjai'a-
                              to defecate
djo·l'a-
                              to bend ... (a jointed object)
nak'am'e-
nedic'e-
                              to press ...
nedx'ei'e-
                              to tan ... (a hide)
negaw'e-
                              to yawn
nek'am'e-
                              to gnaw
ne gwec'e-
                              (a horse) neighs
k'am'e-
                              to bend ... in a circle
yagel'e-
                              to jab ... with elbow
c'e'l'e-
                              to mark, scratch ...
t'cei'e-
                              to be jealous of ...
hagne-
                              to be dry
hawaune-
                              to carry, pack ....
haididine-
                              to fall down
ha : xeine-
                              to go off, away
  (Compare the above form with harveida- to come back)
                              to lie down
  (Compare the above form with haididjne- (to fall down)
                             to tell (a story)
'e'eyawa- ('e'eyo'-)
                              to work, do to ...
negewa-
                              to be related to ...
nenco yawa- (nenco yo -)
                             to ferry ...; swim with a burden
  (Compare: co'yana- to swim off; co'yada- to come swimming)
nexeldjwa-
                             to drag ...
go·wa-
                              to be cold
hacicwa-
                             to be stiff, sore
heicaxwa-
                             to rest
x'obdjodjwa-
                             to discharge wind
wexwa-
                             to grow up
caxwa-
                              to be scared, frightened
                              to have fits; go into a frenzy
t'co·iwa-
djodjxawa- (djodjxo:-)
                             to be afraid
```

Not all themes, however, are built up in this manner; i. e., are composed of possible old noun themes plus auxiliaries. In proof of this, there are a number of themes which, when used without affixes, have nominal or adjectival significance and are made into verbs by simply adding formal verb suffixes.

```
m'e\cdot danlightningm'e\cdot dn-lightning strikes . . .dol'audough (for making bread)dol'aw- (dol'o\cdot -)to knead . . .
```

naxwetc

naxwdjeto rattle ...; shake a rattle

nexwawinter

to be winter time nexowa-

nodoxhoe nodxoto hoe ...

nodoc(a group) standing

nodcoseveral stand; stop moving

goloxma<sup>\*</sup>dja fist

to clench fist goloxma·dja-

hat hogobagxon

to put a hat on hogobagxon-

bucking (as of a horse) holgam'adjxe

holgam'adjxe-(a horse) bucks

t'caxw yabetc thread (t'caxw cloth) yabdieto sew, stitch ...

pop corn (dol'axan corn) dol'axan yadoc

yadcoto pop

spurs yagau

to kick, spur, dance yagwa-

field yawei to plant ... yauya-

heic'ok comb

to comb oneself heic'ogo-

box, barrel ya·goxouto make a box ya·goxow-

yo'm'am rain yom'ato rain

## 35. Final Theme Elements, 2.

This section will be devoted to the presentation of a few isolated cases of theme alternation involving final elements. Some of these may be of the same type as those discussed in section 34 but, since there appears to be no way of proving them analogous, it was thought best to handle them separately.

> da'aneto pick ... (one object) up; to to have ... picked up; in one's hand da'ane-ye'da'an-geto take ... away; steal ...

da'an-dje-

to grasp, hold ...

In this case, the elements -ge and -dje are quite clearly added to an original theme da'ane- and the meaning definitely changed. These

are, however, isolated cases. From the manner in which they are added to the theme (i. e., they are added to the final form of the theme, da'an-, as contrasted to the form of the theme, da'ane-, to which the auxiliary -ye- "to be" is added) it is possible that -ge and -dje are reduced forms of old themes existing only in composition with da'an-.

hexwehexcacahe-exexca--yewa noise is heard; there is a noise to yelp, yell, give a cry several persons scream

-we is probably cognate with the auxiliary -we- to be; therefore hexmay be assumed to mean "a noise". -caca appears to be a reduplicated element since, in the third form, it appears as -ca (its length is due to the influence of the following reciprocal suffix -yew, cf. 46). -ca may, then, be an element of the type of -'e, -'a, etc., a verbalizer adding, at the same time, a momentaneous connotation. Thus, hex-caca- to (utter) sharp noises repeatedly, to yelp (as a dog). Our evidence is limited to this one form and the analysis must, therefore, be judged accordingly.

> yagoca-, -igocayagodja-, -igodja

to whistle to scream

These forms, if comparable, show a nice alternation between two elements, -ca and -dja, which appears to modify the action derivationally. No further evidence is available and even a tentative explanation is hardly possible on the basis of these two forms.

ha'dj-'ida ha'djidj-ai ha'djxaboth of them (cf. 86 for -'ida) both sides (cf. 87 for -ai) two persons ride (on a horse); several ride, two (on a horse)

This appears to be a clear case of composition:  $ha \cdot dj$ - both, two, plus -xa to ride (on a horse). An interesting comparison is found in word 'egwan-c-xau horse, which appears to be a compound of 'egwan dog, -c noun instrumental, (cf. 86), and -xau. If the -xa of -xau is cognate with the -xa above, 'egwancxau would mean, literally, "dog used for riding".

 $he \cdot bne$ - to tell ... (a story)  $ne \cdot babne$ - nep. to discuss ... nebage- to tell ...; inform ...

Here is an alternation between -ne, -newa (-no·), and -ge. he·b-, he·ba-, he·ba-, and heba- may be variations of a complex referring to speaking, talking, discussing, etc., and the final elements may be activizers of various sorts. These are only tentative analyses — no other evidence is available.

m'ayem'ai-nam'ai-daham'am'a-

to set fire to ... to set fire in a line off to set fire in a line this way to burn *intr*.

The element -ye appears to be separable from this evidence. The question is, what element takes its place in ham'am'a-?; that is, is the -'a of the second -m'a- simply a part of that element or the verbalizer -'a? The following conjugation bears on the point.

ham'am'-o' ham'am'a'-no' ham'am-do'xait burns
it is burning
to burn completely intr.

Note here the lengthening of the vowel of the second -m'a- and the fact that the glottal stop of the second -m drops out when the theme is compounded with  $-do \cdot xa$ - to do ... completely. This would imply, it seems, that ham'am'a- may be regarded as ham'am-'a-where -a' is cognate with the verbalizer -a'. If this is so, -a would also be a verbalizer.

These cases conclude our examination of the final theme elements. The evidences presented are exhaustive and admittedly weak in many instances. The only safe conclusion is that we have only indications for the partition of the verb theme and that these indications, coupled with those concerning the initial theme elements, warrant the hypothesis that the theme was, at one time, a less complex organism.

# 36. Theme Compounding.

Another factor affecting theme structure in Tonkawa may be found in the process of composition. The language of today is very fertile in compounds and it may well be that a number of themes now felt as indivisible units are old compounds, the themes of which have lost independent status. As a matter of fact, there are examples of such formations but, before discussing them, it will be necessary to examine the process of composition in general (only, of course, as it applies to verb compounds: noun and other compounds will be handled in section 85).

Verb plus verb is the predominant type of compound involving verb themes. In fact, there are only three examples of other types: ho·c-daxcew- morning dawns; to be morning, from ho·c early, before, and daxcew- day breaks; hagoxa-adak-we- to be very tired, from hagoxa- to be tired, hadak very, and -we- to be (hadak, in all likelihood, may be compounded with other themes of a character similar to hagoxa- but there are no other examples available); and, na·x-cogna- to scout, guide, reconnoitre, which seems to be composed

of the noun  $na \cdot x$  road, plus cogna- to put away, have, keep ... — the compounded theme means literally, then, "to put away, have the road", i. e., "to know the trail" or "to guide, scout".

In most compounds of verb plus verb, neither theme seems to dominate or modify the other: both appear to retain their full meanings.

Where this is not true, the first theme appears to be the dominant one, the second modifying. The following list will illustrate the type.

```
yaq-xailaba-
                                  to shoot (arrow) into the ground
       yag'e- to shoot (-'e- dropped in compounds); xailaba- to stick in the
           ground (tr.)
                                   to kill, by drowning
      negel'e- to drown; 'ei-nadjga- to kill ...
hawaune-daxga-
                                   to carry ... here
      hawaune- to carry ...; daxga- two persons arrive
                                   to kick ... away
yagau-ga·na-
       yagaw- to kick . . . ; ga·na- to throw away
                                   to join in fighting
hedai'o - he cogyawa-
      hedai'o- to join a group; he cogyawa- to fight (intr.)
                                  to wander about running
hengwai-cilwe-
      hengwana- to run off; cilwe- to wander, go gere and there
                                  several walk off weeping
hemama·go·-dana-
      hemama'go'- several weep; dana- several go off
                                   to be cut to death (by grass)
yac'en-nadjga-
       yac'en- to be cut; 'ei-nadjga- to kill ...
                                   one person comes to call ...
       yamga- to call ...; ha-da- one person comes
da'an-aidjona-
                                   to pull ... up
      da'an- to grab, take ...; haidjona- to go up
```

An interesting feature of compounded themes is that the pronominal prefixes are placed between the two themes of the compound (the normal position of the pronoun prefixes is the first position in the verb; cf. 42).

```
xicb -o'he (his sinews) are cut, brokennadj-xicb -o'cI bite him cutting a sinewnadj-ge-xicb -o'he ... menadj-we-xicb -o'cI ... themnadj-geu-xicb -o'he ... us
```

This would seem to indicate that the compound is not quite felt as a complete unity but, rather, as a combination of two independent themes.

There are a number of locative themes most of which have no independent usage but are found only in compound with either ha-one person goes (from ha-na-one person goes off) or da- two (or more) persons go (from dana- two or more persons go off).

one person goes up ha-idjonaone person comes up ha-idjodaseveral persons go up da-idionada-idjodaseveral persons come up one person goes down ha-glanaone person comes down ha-gladaseveral persons go down da-glanada-gladaseveral persons come down ha-gxonaone person goes in one person comes in ha-gxodaseveral persons go in da-gxonaseveral persons come in da-gxodaha-dxilnaone person goes out ha-dxildaone person comes out da-dxilnaseveral persons go out da-dxildaseveral persons come out ha-ixenaone person goes across ha-ixedaone person comes across da-ixenaseveral persons go across da-ixedaseveral persons come across

Only one of the above locatives has independent status: goxnaseveral persons go in, appears to be the locative theme of ha-gxonaone person goes in. These themes, it is evident, illustrate a special
type of compound: note, first, that ha- has lost the length it had
in ha-na- one person goes off; in short, the form of the first theme of
the compound has been altered. Secondly, though these themes
may be compounded with other verbs, they retain the form
illustrated above; i. e., they do not lose the ha- or da- elements even
when compounded with other themes. Thus:

yagex-aidjona-<br/>yago-daidjona-<br/>yago- to fetch waterto push it up (yagex- to push)<br/>several fetch up waterwa·n-adxilna-<br/>heigew-adxilna-<br/>heigew- several go, marchto fall out (wa·na- to fall)<br/>several went out

In short, therefore, the ha- and da- elements — though independently used — have, in these compounds, become a part of a new verb: the combination ha- plus -gxona-, for example, is not felt as a compound but as an indivisible theme.

The two themes 'ei- and dab- are also found only in compounds. 'ei- has been discussed in section 33. It was seen there that it follows the regular behavior of a compounded theme — i. e., the pronoun object comes between it and the theme to which it is attached and it is dropped when the theme it modifies is compounded with another. Thus, 'ei-xicb-o'c I bite his sinews, 'ei-ge-xicb-o' he . . . me, nadj-xicb-o'c I bite him cutting a sinew (nadj-to bite. . . ). The 'ei- themes are listed in section 33.

dab- appears in only one compound: dab-edjne- to lie on one's side from hedjne- to lie down. This compound also follows the regular pattern:

```
dab-ge-edjn -o'I lie on my sidedab-x -edjn -o'he falls on his side (x- with force)dab-ge-x -edjn -o'I fall on my side
```

dab-, then, appears to mean "to one's side, on one's side", and may be either an old locative theme or an adverb which has been "frozen" to the theme hedjne-. It will be noticed, however, that both 'ei- and dab- are less a part of the themes with which they are found then the ha- and da- elements of the locative themes.

The other secondary themes of this type are always found in the second position of the compound. The complex -aye-, for example, appears with two themes, as follows;

```
yag'e-
yag-ay -o'c

I pierce him (as with an arrow);
pierce him by shooting (with an arrow)

yag-ga-ay -o'
he ... me

yadac-ay -o'c

I pierce him (as with a spear); pierce
him by thrusting (with a spear)

yadac-ga-ay-o'
he ... me
```

The complex -aye- is not used alone: it appears only in compound with these two themes. It may be seen from the examples given that it appears to add a connotation "piercing ... through" to the themes it modifies.

-bel- is another such secondary theme. It is found only with the verb hedjne- to lie down.

```
hedja\text{-}belto lie on one's abdomen, lie face down xe\text{-}dja\text{-}belto fall flat
```

Note, here, that the final element -ne of the theme hedjne- has been dropped in the compound. This, coupled with the fact that the prefix x- with force, is added to the beginning of the form and not inserted between the two elements of the compound, makes it appear that -bel- can be construed as a final element of the type of -ne rather than as a secondary theme.

The theme  $-do \cdot xa$ - on is found with a number of themes. An example of its use appears below:

```
co\cdot la-to dripco\cdot l-do\cdot x-o'it drops, drips on himco\cdot l-ge-dox-o'it drips on me
```

-dola- in vain, is found with only one theme.

da·gona-dol -o'c da·gona-ge-dol -o'

to search for ... I search for it in vain he ... me

-yax'oidjo-, -ix'oidjo- is found with only one theme.

go·m -o'c go·m-yax'oidj -o'c go·m-we-ix'oidj -o'c I have it in my mouth
I suck it
I suck them

The meaning of this secondary theme is not very clear: it appears to modify  $go \cdot ma$ - to have ... in one's mouth, so that it refers to sucking in the sense of sucking stick candy, for example. -yabal'a-, -ibal'a-, also found with only one theme.

yago·n -oʻc yago·n-yabal' -oʻc yago·-ge-ibal' -oʻ I hit him with my fist
I knock him down with my fist
he ... me

The above compounds illustrate the use of an independent theme with one not found except in compounds. In the following two examples, neither theme can be used independently.

nebil-djan -o'c nebil-we-djn -o'c nog-xodj -o'c I make fire by friction
I make several fires by friction

nog-xodj -o'c nog-go-xdj -o' nog-wo-xdj -o'c I pull out his hair he ... my ...
I ... their ...

In both of these, the behavior of the pronominal prefixes is the only clue to the fact of their being compounds: both themes involved have lost independent status.

The complex naxadj- is found in the following series of themes.

naxadj-a·nanaxadj-a·danaxadj-dananaxadj-ic-'e·-

one person goes to visit (a friend)
one person comes to visit
two persons go to visit

naxadj-ic-'e'- to indulge in sexual play with one's sweetheart naxadj-gan-we- to be married

In the first three forms, naxadj- is compounded with ha·na- one person goes off, ha·da- one person comes, and dana- two persons go off, and seemingly adds to those themes the notion of visiting or communion with a friend. In the fourth example, naxadj- has the noun instrumental suffix -ic (cf. 86) and is coupled with the auxiliary -ie- to be, to do (cf. 38). Literally, then, the form could be translated "to do by means of a companion; to act as to a friend" — this idiomatically referring to sexual play. In the last example, naxadj- is used with a noun suffix -gan, implying ownership and the auxiliary '-we- to be. Thus, "to be possessed of a companion" is the literal translation.

nedjyaxe-, -nedjyaxe-, nedjidjyaxe- to shake out (a blanket, clothes, etc.), and nedjlegwe-, -nedjlegwe- to wash (a blanket, clothes), seem to have the complex element nedj- in common. It may be that these two verbs are old compounds but note that the pronouns come before the whole complex in each case and not between the two elements of the theme.

ha'nadjidjxileyandjidjxileyalxilnaya'ncxile-

several persons run away to run away to run away to run

In these forms, all meaning practically the same thing, we notice the element -xile- as the only complex common to all four themes. It may be that it is an old theme referring to direction which has become fused to these themes expressing running. There is, however, no way of proving this analysis.

'ei-gel'axe-, 'ei-gegel'axegai'axe-, gagai'axedol'axe-, dodol'axe-'eibac'axe-, 'ei-babac'axe-'ei-dam'axe-, 'ei-dadam'axeto smash, shatter ...
to cut ... off at a joint
to shell corn
to break, burst ... by pressure
to smash ... (glass, dishes)

In this set of themes, all have an element of the type CVC in the first position and the complex -'axe- in the second two positions. Notice, too, that there is enough similarity in meaning to postulate a relationship between them. It is quite possible that -'axe- refers to breaking in a general sense and that the first position elements refine this concept to suit the particular occasion. Thus, gai- may refer to cutting or chopping and we find it again in the theme, 'ei-gaidje-, 'ei-gagaidje- to chop...; cut... with an axe. In the same way, the other first position elements may serve to refine the meaning of the general complex -'axe- though we cannot adduce any proof of this. In short, it is a possible hypothesis that these themes are old compounds of smaller morphologic units which once had a greater variability.

To conclude, then, the evidence presented in this section has indicated that the origins of some themes at least may be due to compounds formed in an earlier period in the history of the language. In preceding sections, other material has suggested that the theme, though now indivisible, may have been, at one time, a combination of elements each having certain definite functions and I think that the indications presented in this section strengthen that hypothesis somewhat. It is evident, however, that we shall not be able to prove conclusively that such a process has occurred: that would require either historical material or comparative material from languages related to Tonkawa and both of these aids are lacking.

## 37. Theme Reduplication.

Reduplication serves two purposes in Tonkawa: first and most often, it indicates repetitive action, and, secondly, it may indicate that many persons are engaged in a particular action. Thus:

hebag -o'cI tell, inform himhebabag -o'cI inform him several timesnamaig -o'cI whirl it about my headnamamaig -o'cseveral whirl things about their heads

In rare cases, reduplication serves to intensify the act as in walabato boil (intr.), walalabato boil vigorously. Additional examples of these functions will be found in the lists below.

It is evident, from the examples given in the preceding sections, that the whole theme is very rarely repeated in the reduplicated form. Generally, only one element of the theme is repeated and, in this section, we shall attempt to classify themes according to the element repeated — coordinating this classification with our earlier classification (cf. 26) of themes according to structure.

## i. Two Element Themes.

These reduplicate very consistently in the same manner: the first position element is repeated and has the repeated form CVCV—this, whatever the phonetic form of the element may be. In the following list, the reduplicated forms are to be interpreted as repetitive forms of the verb unless otherwise stated.

```
dob-, -dbo-, dodobo-
                                         to choke ...
gob-, -gbo-, gogobo-
                                         to have ... in one's mouth
gom-, -gmo-, gogomo-
djex-, -djxe-, djedjexe-
                                         to loosen
lobaw-, lolobaw-
                                         to dive
ma·ga-, -maga-, mamaga-
                                         to cry, weep
wa·na-, -wana-, wawana-
                                         to fall forwards
       (Reduplicated form: several fall forwards)
co·yana-, -coyana-, cocoyana-
                                         to swim away
       (Reduplicated form: several swim away)
co·la-, -cola-, cocola-
                                         (water) drips, runs
x'ene-, -x'ene-, x'ex'ene-
                                         to sweep ...
x'ele-, -x'ele-, x'ex'ele-
                                         to sharpen ...
y'odjo-, -y'odjo-, y'oy'odjo-
                                         to pinch ...
x'e\cdot ba-, -x'eba-, x'ex'e\cdot ba-
                                         to take ... off
c'e·da-, -c'eda-, c'ec'e·da-
                                         to cut ...
       Note, in the last two examples, that the repeated form preserves the
           length of the vowel.
xal'oya-, -xal'oya-, xaxal'oya-
                                         to cut ... off
xadjlewa-, -xadjlewa-, xaxadjlewa-
                                         to be angry
       (Reduplicated form: to be very angry)
xeidje-, xeidje-, xexeidje-
                                         to rub
xol'awa-, -xol'awa-, xoxol'awa-
                                         to wash ...
calge-, -calge-, cacalge-
                                         to pull ... out
```

There are but two exceptions to this rule — i. e., that the first element of two element themes is repeated in the reduplicated forms: bile-, -ble-, bilele- to roll, wrap ... up; and he·ca-, -e·ca-, he·caca- to point to ... These reduplicate the second element of the complex.

## ii. Three Element Themes.

These vary considerably in form. A majority of them — particularly those having a simple element in the first position — repeat the second element of the complex and the repeated element has the form CVCV.

```
naboxa-, -nboxa-, naboboxa-
                                         to blow at ...
namaiga-, -nmaiga-, namamaiga-
                                         to whirl ... about head
nak'am'e-, -nk'am'e-, nak'ak'am'e-
                                         to bend ... at a joint
naule-, -nwel-, nawewel-
                                         to spread ... out
nac'oga-, -nc'oga-, nac'oc'oga-
                                         to squeeze ...
nac'ol'a-, -nc'ol'a-, nac'oc'ol'a-
                                         to have sores, blisters
nedle-, -ndal-, nedadal-
                                         to lick ...
nedic'e-, -ndic'e-, nedidic'e-
                                         to press ...
nek'am'e-, -nk'am'e-, nek'ak'am'e-
                                         to gnaw ...
nexale-, -nxale-, nexaxale-
                                         to snore
nex'abe-, -nx'abe-, nex'ax'abe-
                                         to eat hackberries
nel'aye-, -nl'aye-, nel'al'aye-
                                         to spit ... out
haixo-, -ayoxo-, hayoyoxo-
                                         to mount (a horse)
ha·m'aga-, -a·m'aga-, ha·m'am'aga-
                                         to send for ...
hebage-, -ebage-, hebabage-
                                         to inform ...
hen'oca-, -en'oca-, hen'on'oca-
                                         to blow one's nose
hegai'e-; -egai'e-, hegagai'e-
                                         to bend one's head
walaba-,
               walalaba-
                                         to boil intr.
       (Reduplicated form: to boil vigorously)
yam'adjxa-, -im'adjxa-, yam'am'adjxa- to sneeze
yadin'e-, -idin'e-, yadidin'e-
                                         to scrape ...
yadicxe-, -idicxe-, yadidicxe-
                                         (a bull) butts
       (Reduplicated form: several (bulls) butt ...)
yagel'e-, igel'e-, yagegel'e-
                                         to jab ... with elbow
yax'ecge-, -ix'ecge-, yax'ex'ecge-
                                         to rub two objects together
yaweye-, -iweye-, yaweweye-
                                         to tie ... up
yadjoxo-, -idjoxo-, yadjodjoxo-
                                         to cover ... with blanket
yalba-, -ilab-, yalalaba-
                                         to stand ... up
```

This list, it will be noted, contains all the ne- and na- themes and quite a few ya- themes. Just as many ya- themes, however, repeat the ya- in the reduplicated form and it has the form yai-.

```
yabxa-, -ibax-, yaibax-
                                         to slap ... with hand
yadca-, -idac-, yaidac-
                                         to stab ...
yag'e-, -ig'e-, yaig'e-
                                         to shoot ...
yagba-, -igab-, yaigab-
                                         to pound ... (with hammer)
                                         to kick ...
yagwa-, -igaw-, yaigaw-
yagona-, igona-, yaigona-
                                         to hit ... with fist
yaxwdje-, -ixwedj-, yaixwedj-
                                         to hit ... with a club
                                         to hit ... with a missile
yale-, -ile-, yaile-
```

Certain three element themes repeat the second element of the complex in the reduplicated form but differ from those in the first list in that the repeated element has the form CVC. Note that this list contains three ya- themes.

```
yaxoya-, -ixoya-, yaxoxya- to hunt ...
yaxwya-, -ixwoya-, yaxwoxwya- to hunt, look for ...
yadjga-, -idjag-, yadjadjga- to put in on ... back
hegdawe-, -egdawe-, hegegdawe- to sing
```

Finally, those three element themes having a complex element of the type CVC in the first position repeat this element in the reduplicated form.

```
bandjale-, -bandjale-, babandjale-

dol'axe-, -dol'axe-, dodol'axe-

gai'axe-, -gai'axe-, gagai'axe-

gel'axe-, -gel'axe-, gegel'axe-

gwan'ace-, -gwan'ace-, gwagwan'ace-

xem'ace-, -xem'ace-, xexem'ace-

to open one's mouth

to shell corn

to cut ... at the joint

to smash, shatter ...

to dig

to rub ...
```

### iii. Miscellaneous.

There are a number of four element themes which repeat the second element (form CVC) when reduplicated.

```
nedx'ei'e-, -nedx'ei'e-, nedidx'ei'e-
                                        to tan ... (a hide)
hangaba-, -angaba-, hanangaba-
                                        (leeches) stick to ...
                                        to stretch one's neck
hec'egena-, -ec'egena-, hec'ec'egena-
yadmaxe-, -yadmaxe-, yadidmaxe-
                                        to break ...
yadxalga-, -yadxalga-, yadadxalga-
                                        to hang ... up
yagwlaxe-, -yagwlaxe-, yagwagwlaxe-
                                        to open ...
yaxmadje-, -yaxmadje-, yaxaxmadje-
                                        to break ...
yacyag'e-, -yacyag'e-, yacecyag'e-
                                        to tear, rip ...
yalxilna-, -yalxilna-, yalalxilna-
                                        to run
```

Themes having *nec-* or *hec-* as the first element repeat these elements in the form *necec-* or *hecec*, respectively, when reduplicated:

```
hec'ege-, hecec'ege-to ask for ...necgaba-, nececgaba-to shut (door, window)necgwide-, nececgwide-to tie ... up; fasten ...neclaxge-, nececlaxge-to cough, splutter, clear one's throat
```

#### iv. Conclusions.

The fact that only one element of a theme is repeated and that, in different classes of themes, varying elements are the repeated ones, seems to imply that elements of a certain type must be repeated in reduplicated forms. But, it is impossible to say whether this variation is due simply to phonetic circumstance or if it is because of the functions of the elements. There is no evidence for either position. It may be significant that first position elements

are generally repeated except when these are na-, ne-, ha-, he-, and ya- (here again an exception must be made of ya- themes which reduplicate the ya- element). In these last cases, the second position element is the one repeated. However, our evidence for theme analysis does not permit of any generalizations as to the functions of most theme elements and, though this fact of reduplication may be significant, there appears to be no way of applying it to the problem of theme structure.

## 38. Auxiliary Themes and Particles.

There are three auxiliary themes in Tonkawa, -ye:-, -e:- to be; -we- to be (as the result of having become), to become; -'ei-, -'e:- to be (in a certain place), to do. We have seen, in the discussion of final theme elements, that there may have been others but these three are the only ones now freely used — i. e., not permanently a part of any particular theme or group of themes. (cf. 34).

This theme has the form -ye·- when attached to themes which can stand alone — i. e., which need no formal suffixes to complete their meaning (themes functioning as nouns, adjectives, and adverbs) and the form -e·- when used with verb themes. Thus:

hocac-ye:
to be young (hocac young)

xalal-ye:
wixwan-ye:
to be hot, have a fever (xalal hot)

to be small (wixwan small)

to be a man (ha'ago'n man)

hedjn-e'yel-e'to be lying down (hedjne- to lie down)
to be sitting (yela- to sit down)
heilab-e'to be standing (heilaba- to stand up)
hendoc-e'several are standing (hendoc- several
stand, stop moving)

Note that the combination of active verb and the auxiliary -e-gives a static significance to the expression.

# ii. -we- to be, become.

This auxiliary is also used with themes functioning as adjectives and adverbs but differs in meaning in that it defines a static condition resulting from preceding activity. Thus, go·c'a-we- to be old, have become old, is a possible form but hocac-we- is impossible since one cannot become younger.

-we- added to noun themes has the function of verbifying those themes and the resulting verb may either be active or static. Thus:

'o'a night 'o'a-we- to be night, night falls daxacdaydaxce-we-day breaksneiganakfirstneiganak-we-to be first, to come in first (in a race)yo·tsfoamyo·dz-we-to foam, bubble

we- is not added to verb themes.

iii. -'ei-, -'e-- to be (in a certain place), to do.

This auxiliary is used with all forms as is -ye·- but differs in that the meaning of the resulting combination may be active as well as static. Thus,  $m'e\cdot ldjidjen$  sheet lightning, plus -'e·- becomes  $m'e\cdot l-djidjen$ -'e·- sheet lightning plays, flashes. The variation in form between -'ei- and -'e·- is phonetic (cf. 8).

The meaning "to be" of -'ei- emphasizes locality rather than quality as in the case of -ye-. Contrast, for example, yel-e- to be sitting, where the emphasis is on the fact of a person sitting and having been seated for a long time, with yel-'ei- to be sitting there, the emphasis being on the position of the person concerned. This difference is very neatly brought out in the following pair of text forms: heilaban-t'cel-'a-y'ik (at the top of the tree), yel-e-laklakno'o he was sitting, it is said, at the top of the tree, as contrasted with da-yel-'e-noklakno'o he was sitting there with her, it is said. In the last form no location is specified, the auxiliary placing the action.

A peculiar usage of -'ei- is illustrated in the following two themes:

yax-'ei- to be hungry (yaxa- to eat) 'a·x-'ei- to be thirsty ('a·x water)

Here the auxiliary appears to imply desire, thus: 'a·x-'ei- to want water, be thirsty, yax-'ei- to want to eat, be hungry. There are no other examples of this usage.

Tonkawa particles are all formed by the addition of various conjunctive, subordinating and participal suffixes (cf. 64) to a theme much resembling the auxiliary -'ei-.

 $e \cdot d$ then, and e - daand then e - k - lathen (being so) 'e-nik`e-no-k-lakit happened then ... e-lajust as, when, as e-no-la after (awhile), before 'e·-lga thus, in consequence of 'e-lga'akwhereupon, at that, when (it) happened 'e'-yo'ok then, at that point, upon so doing e-l'okbut, and

# 39. Summary and Conclusions.

We have now presented all the available evidence for the partition of the theme. The evidence, though scattered and largely incapable of generalization, is enough, it seems to me, to justify an hypothesis concerning the possible process involved in theme structure.

First, it is quite apparent that there are a number of first position elements sufficiently represented to indicate that they are not fortuitous similarities but are the vestiges of a once more complete list of prefixes governing the relation between the other elements of the theme. It seems likely that there are three classes of elements — or groups of elements — used in constructing themes. These are, in order of their occurrence, prefixes (such as ya-, ne-, ha-, he-, and possibly na-), stem elements, and suffixes (such as -'a, -'e, -we, -ne, etc.). Not all themes, however, have now or ever had at an earlier time all of these elements. It is more likely that a typological classification of themes can be made — somewhat as follows.

A. Themes identical with stems. This section would include such themes as mama- to carry, pack..., dobo- to cut..., 'ege- to give to ..., djexe- to loosen, untie ..., and many others. There are indications that even these simple forms can be broken up — perhaps into two units, one defining the class of the object, and the other the action itself. There is not, however, enough evidence of such partition on which to construct a tenable hypothesis.

B. Themes composed of stem and suffix. Included here would be such themes as  $ha \cdot -na$ - one person goes away,  $da \cdot na$ - two persons go away,  $wa \cdot -na$ - to fall forwards,  $ga \cdot -na$ - to throw ... away,  $x'ax'ai \cdot 'a$ - to laugh (x'ax'ai- considered a reduplicated form of a complex element x'ai-),  $m'e \cdot l$ -ne- to be alight, burning, t'cei-e- to be jealous of ..., and others.

These would seem to be old nouns or verb participals compounded with the elements we have described as verbalizers (cf. 34). In only a few cases, as was seen in section 34, can these verbalizers be definitely isolated: our hypothesis must rest on those cases and be judged accordingly.

C. Themes composed of prefix, stem, and suffix. This is, theoretically, a refinement on class B. There a direct relationship exists between stem and suffix, the latter activizing the former. Here that relationship is, theoretically again, modified by the initial element of the theme. Thus, in such a theme as ya-din-'e- to scrape ... (a hide), -din- may be an old word for the act of scraping or doing with a scraper, -'e the verbalizer, and ya- an element establishing an instrumental relationship between -din- and -'e. Therefore, the form would be translatable, literally, "to do by means of scraping" or "to scrape ... (a hide)". Or, in the verb ya-xw-dje- to strike ...

with a club, the -dje might be considered a verbalizer and -xw (the reduced form of -xwe) may refer to action with a club or possibly to the noun "club" itself. Therefore, "to do by means of clubbing" or "to strike by means of a club". This feeling for -dje as a verbalizer is strengthened by the fact that it is dropped in the compound yaxw-nadjga- to kill . . . by means of a club (-nadjga- to kill). Here, the verb -nadjga- seems to take the place of -dje, substituting a different verbal activity for that of striking.

There are other verb themes which could be brought forward on this point but these are the most illustrative and convincing. It is apparent that the evidence as a whole is not entirely convincing: we have, for example, no analogous forms with ne-, ha-, or na- to show the precise effects these elements have on the themes they appear to modify (cf. 28—32).

In conclusion, then, we can only submit the above scheme as a tentative explanation of the variations in theme form discussed in the preceding sections. It is not possible to do more with the evidence at hand. Possibly evidence from related languages, if such are still extant, will aid in clarifying the theme morphology of Tonkawa: until such evidence is available, I am convinced that only tentative hypotheses such as this one can be advanced to interpret the data.

# b. Theme affixes (40—82) (1) The Pronominal Affixes (40—46) 40. General Remarks.

Under this heading, we propose to discuss only the pronominal forms affixed to the verb. The independent personal pronouns, the demonstratives, and the interrogative pronouns will be separately treated in sections 89-92. There, also, will be discussed the possessive pronouns which are normally expressed separately. In a few relationship terms, however, the possessive pronoun is prefixed to the noun: these exceptional cases will be covered in the section on the kinship terms (cf. 93—95).

The only pronouns affixed to the verb theme, then, are those of the subjective and objective series. Both of these are, upon occasion, also expressed separately: this is done for emphasis (cf. 89—92).

The object pronouns, except for that of the second person, are prefixed and occur as the first prefixes of a verb complex. The second person pronoun object is suffixed. The subject pronouns are all suffixed and generally occur in final position. In the subjective series, the singular, dual, and plural are distinguished; the latter two by distinctive suffixes unconnected with those for the personal pronoun. Only the plural is recognized in the objective series.

The order in which the pronouns occur both with respect to each other and to the other units of the verb complex is as follows: First person singular, first person plural, or plural object pronouns—Theme Prefixes—Theme—Theme Suffixes—Second Person Object—Dual or Plural Subject—Theme Suffixes—First, second or third person subjects—Theme Suffixes (in some cases).

# 41. The Objective Series.

There is but one objective series. The indirect object is expressed by suffixing the post-position -da to the pronouns listed below (cf. 48).

Person	Singular	Plural
1	ge-	geu- (ge-we-)
2	~ * <u>-</u>	we
3	_	we-

The single element pronoun prefixes (ge-me, and we-plural object), when attached directly to the theme, upset the phonetic balance of its elements, causing reduced theme elements to become full and vice versa.

yagb -o'c	I hit him
ge-igab -o'	he hits me
we-igab -o'c	I hit them

When, however, another theme prefix has been added the pronoun prefix has no such effect.

xa-igab -o'c	I hit him with force
ge-xa-igab -o'	he hits me with force
we-xa-igab -o'c	I hit them with force

In the above examples, xa- with force, a theme prefix, has been added to the theme yagba- to hit, and has upset the balance of elements. The addition of the pronominal prefixes has, therefore, no effect upon the theme.

Only one of the pronominal prefixes (we-plural object) appears in other than the full form. In the object pronoun geu- us, it has the form -u. Whether or not the others may be reduced cannot be decided since no single elements prefix ever precedes the pronominal object. When the prefix geu- us, is attached directly to the theme, the theme elements remain unaffected due to the fact that geu- is a two element prefix.

The second person pronoun always appears as an increment of length to the vowel of the preceding element. If the preceding

element is of the theme, it is lengthened whether in the full or reduced form.

yagba·-we'c I hit you we-igaba·-we' I hit ye

Should the preceding element be of the theme and already long, due to a previous contraction, the addition of the second person pronoun will cause the contraction to resolve itself into its component parts.

nec-'e'da'-we'c I make him come nec-'e'daha'-we' he makes you come

-da--, in the first form, represents -da-ha. In the second form, the pronoun object lengthens the vowel of -ha-- forcing it to resume its identity.

Certain theme suffixes with long vowels, however, do not behave in this manner when the length for the second person object is added. In those cases, the suffixation of the second person object makes the vowel tri-moric.

yagba:gwa when he hit him, ... yagba:gwa when he hit you, ...

The position of the second person object suffix varies in relation to other theme suffixes. Normally, it follows the future tense suffix -a·do- and the order is a follows:

Theme — Fut. — 2d. pers. — Contin. — Mode — .... But when the negative suffix -abe- is added to the theme, the order becomes:

Theme — 2d pers. — Neg. — Fut. — Contin. — Mode — . . . .

# Examples:

 $ya \cdot lo \cdot n - a \cdot dono'c$  I will kill him  $ya \cdot lo \cdot n - a \cdot dewa \cdot no'c$  I will kill you

ya·lo·n -ab -a·dono'c I will not kill him ya·lo·na·b -a·dono'c I will not kill you

The second person plural object is expressed by prefixing we- in addition to the suffixed length.

we-yalo·na·we'cI kill yewe-i gaba·we'cI hit yewe-yadje·we'cI see ye

The third person object is never expressed in the singular: in the plural it is indicated by the prefix we-.

yagbo'c I hit him we-igabo'c I hit them

# 42. Pronoun Object Forms used as the Subject.

The pronoun object may also be interpreted as the subject of the action and such an interpretation gives a slightly different connotation to the verb. For example,  $t'ca \cdot b \cdot o'c$  I hide (intr.), becomes ge-t'cab-o' I hide him, where ge- is the subject and the form really means "I act as a hiding place for him, I hide him by standing before him". Or, hedjn-o'c I lie down, as contrasted with  $g-e\cdot djn-o'$  I fall down, i. e., I lie down involuntarily, stumble and fall. In general, then, the interpretation of the object as subject gives a sort of passive significance to the action: the subject being acted upon by forces beyond its control. Further examples of these alternations follow.

$hed law ext{-}o'c \ ge ext{-}d law ext{-}o'$	I refuse (active) I refuse (as when someone calls me and I indicate refusal by ignor- ing the call)
'adj-o' $c$	I sicken, become ill (active; rarely used)
ga-' $adj$ - $o$ '	I am sick (regular form)
'adje:-we'	you
$\dot{adj}$ -o'	he is
geu-'adj-o'	we are
$wa$ -'adje $\cdot$ -we'	ye are
wa-' $adj$ -o'	they are
$m'e \cdot idj$ -o' $c$	I urinate
$ge ext{-}m$ 'eidj ext{-}o'	I urinate involuntarily
yadicx-o'	(a bull) butts him
ge-idicx-o'	(a bull) butts me; I bump my head
ya·lo·n-o'c	I kill him
ge-yalo·n-o'	he kills me or I was killed
ya· $lo$ · $na$ ·- $we$ '	he kills you or you were killed
ya· $lo$ · $n$ - $o$ '	he kills him or he was killed

In the above series, there is a choice of translations and the exact meaning of the form depends upon the context in which it is used.

camoxa dak heyadje-noklakno'o it (an iron house) was looking very red (hot), it is said, camoxa dak very red; he- reflexive pronoun, cf. 43; -yadje-to see, look at ....

ha na gwa yadjox'an'a la heyadjenoklakno'o as he went on, a tipi became visible, he-reflexive pronoun; -yadje- to see, look at .... Here, the form heyadje-noklakno'o may also be translated "made itself visible, came into view".

In certain verbs, usually those defining such notions as -'adjeto be sick, this form is the regular one: the active formation being but rarely, if ever, used. Thus:

qe-xadilew-o' I am angry something (a sinew) breaks inside me ge-xicb-o' (xicb-o'c impossible) qe-dic'abx-o' I have been punctured; I bleed to death (dic'abx-o'c impossible) my (arm, legs) breaks (xamdj-o'c ge-xamdj-o' impossible) my (teeth) break (as from chewing a ge-dam'ax-o' hard object) (dam'ax-o'c impossible) I have sores, blisters ge-nc'ol-o' ga·m'am'-o'I am burning ham'am'a'-we' you ... ham'am'-o' he ... ge·waw-o' I die hewawa:-we' you ... hewaw-o' he . . .

#### 43. The Reflexive Pronoun.

The reflexive is expressed by the prefix he-which occurs in the same position as do the pronominal prefixes. It, too, has the power of upsetting the phonetic balance of the theme elements when added directly to the theme.

yamx-o'c I paint his face I paint my face I paint my face yagb-o'c I hit him he-igab-o'c I hit myself he-igab-o' you hit yourself he-igab-o' he hits himself

For the sake of emphasis, the forms ca-- I, na--you, and 'a-- he, are occasionally prefixed before the reflexive pronoun. Thus:

ca'he-ganaglano'cI, I throw myself downna'he-ganaglano'gayou, you ...'a'he-ganaglano'he, he ...geuca'he-ganaglananec'o'cwe, we ...wena'he-ganaglananec'o'gaye, ye ...

The forms ca--, na--, a--, a--, geuca--, and wena-- are probably reduced forms of the personal independent pronoun (cf. 90).

We have already discussed the possible relationship between the he- element of he- themes (cf. 32) and the reflexive pronoun. We noted that the he- element had a position probably between that of ha- and the pronominal prefixes: the he- reflexive seems to hold the same position as the rest of the pronoun prefixes. It is not possible, however, to determine the absolute position of the he- reflexive with reference to the other pronoun prefixes because the two kinds of

element do not appear in the same forms. Consequently, the only formal difference between the two elements is that the *he*- element is "frozen" to the theme while the *he*- reflexive is a movable theme prefix. Wherefore our conclusion here must be the same as in section 32: while the evidence does not disprove a relationship between the *he*- element and the *he*- reflexive, neither does it prove that the *he*- element is the reflexive pronoun "frozen" to the theme.

# 44. The Subjective Series.

The position of the subjective pronoun at the end of the verb form has rendered it peculiarly susceptible to the processes of phonetic decay. Added to this is the influence exerted upon these forms by the neighboring modal suffixes. These forces have resulted in the presence of eight distinct series of the subjective pronoun, depending upon the particular paradigm considered. The suffixes indicating number have not been affected and are the same for all the series: viz., zero for the singular, -nec'- for the dual, and -wec'-, -o·c'- for the plural. The following lists will indicate only the personal forms: it is to be understood that the dual and plural can be made up by adding the above mentioned suffixes. One exception to this rule is the third person plural in those paradigms in which it exists. These do not use the suffix -wec'-, -o·c'-, but have special forms added to the third person singular which will be listed.

Subject Pronouns is	in the	Declarative	Mode
---------------------	--------	-------------	------

Person	Immediate Present	Present	Past
1	-c	<b>-</b> c	_,
2	-n' $ei$	-ga	-ne
3	-	-	-
3 pl.	-nik	-yuk	-lok

Example: Theme -yagba- to hit, strike

		Immediate Present	Present	Past
Sg.	1	yagbanwa' $c$ '	yagbo'c	yagbo'o.'
	2	$yagbanwa \cdot n$ 'e $i$	$yagbo \cdot ga$	yagbo'oino
	3	yagbanwa'	yagbo'	yagbo'o
Du.	1	$yagbanec'enwa\cdot c'$	yagbanec'o'c	yagbanec'o'o'
	2	$yagbanec'enwa\cdot n'ei$	$yagbanec$ 'o $\cdot ga$	yagbanec'o'oino
	3	yagbanec'enwa'	yagbanec'o'	yagbanec'o'o
Pl.	1	$yagbo \hbox{-} c \hbox{'} enwa \hbox{-} c \hbox{'}$	yagbo: $c$ ' $o$ ' $c$	$yagbo \cdot c'o'o \cdot '$
	2	$yagbo \hbox{`$c'$} enwa \hbox{`$n'$} ei$	$yagbo \hbox{`c'}o \hbox{`ga}$	$yagbo \hbox{`} c\hbox{'} o\hbox{'} oino$
	3	yagbanwa'anik	yagbo'oyuk	yagbo'olok

The above table illustrates the subjective pronoun suffixes used in the various tenses of the declarative mode (cf. 55).

Following are two other series of subjective pronouns used in the potential and a certain subordinating mode (cf. 62, 66).

Person	Potential	Subordinating
1	-n' $ec$	-c-
2	-n' $ei$	<i>-yo-</i>
3	-l' $a$	- <i>l</i> -
Indef.	-k'a	

As before, the dual is formed by -nec'- and the plural by wec'- or  $-o\cdot c'$ -. No third person plural forms were obtained for these paradigms.

Example: Theme -yagba- to hit, strike

Person	Potential	Subordinating
Sg. 1	yagba'a`n'ec	yagbac'o $k$
2	yagba'a <b>·</b> n'ei	yagbayo'ok
3	yagba'ail'a	yagbal'ok
$\mathbf{Indef.}$	yagba'aik'a	
Du. 1	$yagbanec'a \cdot n'ec$	yagbanec'ec'o $k$
2	yagbanec'a:n'ei	yagbanec'eyo'ok
3	yagbanec'ail'a	yagbanec'el'ok
Pl. 1	$yagbo \cdot c'a \cdot n'ec$	$yagbo \hbox{`$c'$ec'}ok$
2	$yagbo \cdot c'a \cdot n'ei$	$yagbo \hbox{`$c'$} eyo\hbox{\'o} k$

The forms illustrated above for the potential mode are undoubtedly bound up with the modal suffix to such an extent as to make it difficult to separate the two suffixes. Considering, in the first and second persons,  $-'a \cdot n'e$ - as the modal suffix instead of simply  $-'a \cdot -$ , the pronouns would be -c and -i, respectively, analogous to other pronominal forms. However, such an analysis will not suffice in the forms for the third person and the indefinite pronoun. The indefinite pronoun form is unique with this paradigm and even here is used only for the passive forms (cf. 62).

The pronouns in the subordinating paradigm are unique in that series — the pronoun -yo- for the second person being used in no other series unless we are to consider the final -i of -n'ei as a cognate form.

The subjective pronouns appearing in another of the subordinating paradigms (cf. 67) are so bound up with the modal suffixes that it appears impossible to isolate them. This paradigm is illustrated below with the verb theme  $ya\cdot dje$ - to see, look at ...

Sg.	1	ya· $dje$ · $gwanec$
	2	ya· $dje$ · $gen$
	3	ya <sup>*</sup> dje <sup>*</sup> gwa
Du.	1	ya·djenec'e·gwanec
	2	ya·djenec'e·gen
	3	ya·djenec'e·gwa
Pl.	1	ya·djo·c'e·gwanec
	2	ya·djo·c'e·gen
	3	ya·dje·ngwa or
		ya· $djeyayagwa$

It is probable that here the tense-modal suffix is -e·gwa, and that the first and third person personal pronouns are, therefore, -nec and zero. The problem is: what sort of contraction has occurred in the second person forms where, obviously, the suffix -e·gwa plus some unknown quantity indicating the second person pronoun has resulted in the form -e·gen? And, further, the third person plural form has also been contracted in an irregular manner and, in both cases, seems to have inserted the pronoun between the theme and the tense-modal suffix. These questions cannot be answered since there are no analagous contractions elsewhere in the language.

Finally, we have series used in the -k participal forms (cf. 74), and in certain other subordinating paradigms (cf. 65). They are as follows:

Person	$-k \ Forms$	Subord. Paradigms
1	-ce-	-c-
2	-ne-	-ne -
3		<i>-l</i> -

Example: Theme -yagba- to hit, strike

Sg.	1	yagbacek	yagbacga'ak
	2	yagbanek	yagbanega'ak
	3	yagbak	yagbalga'ak
Du.	1	yagbanec'ecek	yagbanec'ecga'ak
Pl.	1	yagbo·c'ecek	$yagbo \cdot c'ecga'ak$

The forms last illustrated for the first and second persons are probably basic since, in these paradigms, which are tenseless and modeless, the pronoun was protected both from the influence of accompanying mode suffixes and the final position.

The absence of third person pronoun subjects in so many paradigms leads to the belief that there is no such person recognized in Tonkawa but that the forms given are absolutive forms idiomatically used for the third person. The presence of -l- as third person pronoun in some paradigms does not necessarily contradict this because the -l- may well be cognate with the nominative case suffix of the noun -la (cf. 86). With no comparative material available, however, such generalizations, based, as they are, on the evidence of one language, carry little weight.

# 45. Irregular Third Person Plural Forms.

In many — perhaps the majority — of the verb themes, the third person singular may also be used with a third person plural subject. Thus, necessary in the shouts, may be used in the expression, ha'ac'ida necessary in many of them shout, (ha'ac'ida many of them); ya'djeno'

he looks off, lococ'ida yayadjeno' all of them looked off (note here that the theme has the reduplicated form); he cogyawo' he fights, goes to war, he cocogyawo' several fight, go to war; hegda wo' he plays, hegegda·wo' several play; yalxilno' he runs away, yalalxilno' several run away.

Some themes, however, require a prefix he- or he- (the reason for the difference in length cannot be determined) and a suffix -wa in such plural forms. In addition, the themes have the reduplicated form.

 $he-\dots-wa$ 

yagwahe-igagawa-w-o'

yadiehe-yayadje-w-o'

com'axe-

he-cocom'axa-w-o'

nadayahe-ndadaya-w-o'

banxohe-bnonoxa-w-o'

ma·ga-

he-mama·ge-w-o'

nadehe-nana'de-w-o'

xanehe-xaxane-w-o'

yag'ehe-yayag'e-w-o' to dance several dance

to be stuck, pierced several are pierced

to skin ... several skin it

to pick out, select, choose ...

several choose it

to bathe, swim several bathe

to cry, weep several weep

to step on ... several step on it

to drink ... several drink it

to shoot ...

several shoot him

he-...-wa

nadie-

he:-nanadje-w-o'

nexale-

he-nexale-w-o'

nencona-

he·-nencona-w-o'

nex'eyehe-nex'eya-w-o'

x'ax'ai'ahe-x'ax'ai'e-w-o'

t'cei'ehe-t'cei'e-w-o'

to bite ... several bite him

to bellow, snore

several snore (here, the theme is not reduplicated)

several kiss him (no reduplication)

to be lost, ignorant several are lost

to laugh several laugh

to be jealous of ...

several are jealous of him

It is clear that this he- has no relationship with either the hereflexive or the he- theme element. In four themes, we find it
without the suffix -wa.

y'adje- to vomit

he-y'ay'adje- to vomit repeatedly

m'e'idja- to urinate

he-m'em'eidja- to be continually urinating

yaxa- to eat ... he-yaxyax-o' several eat it

lobawhe-lolobaw-o' to dive several dive

Here it seems to indicate long continued or durative action though it is difficult — and dangerous — to generalize from so few examples. -wa also appears alone in a few themes:

hebai'a- to put on beads, a necklace hebabai'e-wa- to put on several necklaces

nedjbe- to touch with hand, handle ...

nedjedjeba-wa- to ... repeatedly

doxwno- to smell, sniff ...

doxwna-wa- to smell something, there is a smell

of something in the air

nodo- to touch, press (with fingers)

nonoda-wa- to ... repeatedly

nadje- to bite ...

nanadje-wa- to bite ... repeatedly (Vide p. 15)

gwede- to carry ... in arms gwegweda-wa- to ... repeatedly

In the first of the above examples, -wa appears to be associated with plural action; in the third example, with durative action; and, in the rest, with repetitive action. The themes are reduplicated in each case; so it is difficult to determine which of the processes is responsible for the change in meaning.

It does not appear possible, therefore, to isolate the functions of each of these elements — nor, indeed, to determine why some themes should require the affix he-...-wa, and others should not.

# 46. The Reciprocal Pronoun.

The reciprocal idea is expressed by a suffix -yew, -yo and a prefix he- or he-. It seems likely that this prefix is cognate with that discussed in the preceding section: it is present in reciprocal forms probably because they involve either a dual or plural subject.

The difference in form between -yew and -yo is a phonetic alternation (cf. 17); another phonetic peculiarity of the reciprocal suffix is that it causes the vowel of the element preceding it to lengthen. Thus,

nabacxa- to play shinny he-nbabacxa·-yew-o' they play shinny with each other

Very often, too, the final theme element is dropped when the suffix for the reciprocal is added. This would seem to indicate that the reciprocal form may have the functions of a verbalizer.

For example:

 $\begin{array}{ll} \hbox{\it `encawa-} & \hbox{to be jealous of } \ldots \\ \hbox{\it $he$$'-'enca$'-yew-o'$} & \hbox{they are jealous of each other} \end{array}$ 

'adnawahe·-'adna·-yew-o' to like, love ... they love each other

djoxna- to sleep

he-djodjxa·-yew-o' they sleep together, with each other

hedadxane- to talk, discourse

he-edadxa·-yew-o' they talk among themselves, to each other

hexcaca- to scream

he:xexca:-yew-o' they scream to one another (he-hex-he:x > he:xex-)

The theme elements dropped in the above list (-wa, -ne, -na, -ca) may be final theme elements of the type discussed in sections 34 and 35 having a meaning incompatible with that of the reciprocal suffix. There is, however, no further proof of this.

# (2) Theme Prefixes (47—51)

#### 47. General Remarks.

In addition to the pronominal prefixes discussed in the preceding section, there are but four theme prefixes: the postposition da., the causative prefixes nec- and ya-, and the adverbial prefix xa-, x-, with force, to a distance.

# 48. The Postposition da- with, to

This prefix has three forms: daca-, dac-, and (the most common) da-. It has no effect upon the theme elements (being a two element prefix) but is reduced when preceded by a single element prefix. The reduced forms are -dca-, -dc-, and -da-, respectively. The reason for three forms is not entirely clear: in all probability daca-is the oldest, dac- and da-- representing more recent forms caused by phonetic decay.

daca-yelo'c
ge-dca-yelo'c
we-dca-yelo'c
dac-edjno'c
ge-dc-edjno'
da'-hedjno'c
ge-da-hedjno'
da'-nodco'c

ge-da-nodco'

I sit with him
he sits with me
I sit with them
I lie with him
he lies with me
I lie with him
he lies with me
I stand with him
he stands with me

# 49. The Causative ya-.

This is probably the older of the two causative prefixes, first, because of its limited use, and, secondly, because it is not always separable from the theme it modifies. The causative ya- differs from the theme element ya- (cf. 30) in two ways: its position is that of a theme prefix rather than of a stem prefix and it does not elide its vowel when preceded by a single element prefix. The causative ya-, when attached directly to the theme, causes the phonetic balance of its elements to be disturbed in the same manner as when the single element pronominal prefixes are added (cf. 41).

# Examples:

xamdjo'c
ya-xmadjo'c
ge-ya-xmadjo'
caxwo'c
ya-cxawo'c
ge-ya-cxawo'
'adcawo'c
ya-'adcawo'c
ge-ya-'adcawo'

I am broken, my bones are broken I break it he breaks my (bones)
I am frightened I scare him he scares me
I revive, come to life I revive him he revives me

In the above examples, ya- can be removed from the theme leaving a meaningful entity. In the following examples, ya- has become a part of the theme (cf. 33).

yalxilno'c ge-yalxilno' yadcano'c ge-yadcano' yadxo'c we-yadxo'c I run off, away
I am being run away with
I think of him
he thinks of me
I fill pipe

I fill pipe I fill pipes

#### 50. The Causative nec- and hec-.

The causative form of the verb is most commonly built up by prefixing nec. It differs from ya- in that it connotes a compulsive causative; i. e., to make, force ... to do so and so. Since it is a

two-element prefix, it does not affect the theme elements. And, it is not affected by single element prefixes preceding it. Examples:

'ego'c
nec-'ego'c
ge-nec-'ego'
'adjo'c
nec-'adjo'c
ge-nec-'adjo'

I give it to him
I cause him to give it to him
he causes me ...
I become sick
I cause him to become sick
he causes me ...

There are a few verbs in which the causative *nec*-has become a part of the theme and is not, therefore, removeable (cf. 33).

nec-laxgo'c nec-wal'o'c nec-gabo'c necec-gabo'c I clear my throat, coughI fishI close the doorI close the door repeatedly

As stated in section 33, hec- is very likely a combination of the hetheme element and -c-, the latter probably cognate with the -c of nec-. hec- is much less readily used than nec-; it is oftenest found as an essential part of the theme (cf. 33). A few examples of its free use follow:

'ego'c hec-'ego'c ge'c-'ego' we'c-'ego'c I give it to him
I ask him for it
he ... me ...
I ... them ...

Note, here, that the pronominal prefixes merge with hec-, forming  $ge\cdot c$ - and  $we\cdot c$ -. The change in meaning is curious: hec-'ego'c is literally: I cause him to give it to me, where the notion "to me" is probably due to he-;  $ge\cdot c$ 'ego he causes me to give it to him, where ge- refers to "me" and he- adds the notion "to him".

ge·c-doxwnono'

I am smelling it; it makes its smell known to me (doxwnono' I am smelling, sniffing it (active).)

ge·c-da'ano' hec-da'ana·we' da'ano'c I get, secure it you ...
I pick it up

The meaning of the example,  $ge \cdot c \cdot da'ano'$  is, literally: it causes me to pick it up, i. e., it is made possible for me to secure it, or: I am able to get it. A text form:  $ge \cdot c \cdot da'anbeno'$  I cannot reach it, having the negative suffix (cf. 53), illustrates this meaning.

# 51. The Adverbial xa, x- with force, to a distance.

This element is directly prefixed to the theme and, being a single element prefix, disturbs the phonetic balance of theme elements. When preceded by single element prefixes, it does not elide its vowel. Examples:

ha·no'c I go off

xa·no'c (xa-ha·no'c) I go off to a distance

ga·no'c I throw it away

xa-gano'c I throw it to a distance

yagbo'c I hit him

xa-igabo'c I hit him with force

ge-xa-igabo'c he ... me co·yano'c I swim off

xa-coyano'c I swim off to a distance

When prefixed to a theme having the suffix -da, hither (cf. 34), the meaning becomes: in a circle (to... to a distance and back).

xa·do'c (xa-ha·-do'c) I go in a circle

xa-gado'c I swing it (throw it in a circle)

xa-coyado'c I swim in a circle

In certain themes, it has the form x-: I have not been able to find a reason for this alternation in form.

hedjno'c I lie down

xe·djno'c I fall down; lie down with force

heilabo'c I stand up

xe·ilabo'c I stand up at a distance

hengwa·no'c I ran away xe·ngwa·no'c I ran far away

hebdjo' several fall down

xe·bdjo' several fall from a height

helexo'c I emerge (from water after a dive)

xe·lexo'c I emerge at a distance

Since the form x- is found exclusively with verbs having he- in the initial element, it may be that xa- plus he- gives xe- or that the -a of xa- drops out before he-. In neither case are there any analogous changes in the behavior of other elements.

# (3) Theme Suffixes (52—82)

#### 52. General Remarks.

All Tonkawa themes may be divided into two classes: those which have meaning when used without formal suffixes, and those which require formal suffixes to complete their meanings. Themes functioning as verbs fall largely into the latter class: the few verb themes that can stand without formal suffixes function as nouns when so used (cf. 35). In other words, all themes functioning as verbs must employ one or more formal suffixes.

The positions of these suffixes in the verb form vary according to certain combinations which may be summarized as follows:

- 1. Theme Negative suffix Future tense Dual or Plural Pronoun.
- 2. Theme Negative suffix Future tense Dual or Plural Continuative Mode (declarative) Tense (present or past) Pronoun Mode (interrogative).
- 3. Theme Negative Future tense Dual or plural Pronoun Mode (assertive or subordinating).
- 4. Theme Negative Dual or plural Mode (intentive, imperative, or potential) Pronoun.
- 5. Theme Negative Pronoun -k Mode (hortatory).
- 6. Theme Negative Future tense Dual or plural Continuative Pronoun -k Mode (declarative, interrogative, resultative, quotative, or subordinating).

The first of the above schemes illustrates the simplest form in which a verb may appear. This form is tense-less, except for the future, and entirely mode-less. It is used only in the first person singular, dual, and plural and to express threatening or annunciatory intention in direct discourse (cf. 54).

It is evident that the tense suffixes are of two categories, the first including only that for the future, the second those for the present and the past. These two categories are not mutually exclusive: the modes built up according to the second of the above schemes can be sub-divided into four tenses: present, past, future of the present (near future — sometime within the day), and the future of the past¹ (remote future — sometime from tomorrow on to infinity). The future suffix may also be used in other mode forms ordinarily tenseless: only the intentive, imperative, hortatory, and potential modes are completely tense-less. The future suffix used in otherwise tenseless forms generally indicates an indefinite future (some unspecified time in the future).

It appears also that there are three modal positions in the verb—the first before the pronoun, the second after the pronoun, and the third attached to a -k (participial, cf. 74) form of the verb. The declarative and interrogative modes may either be formed by suffixes attached to a -k form or by means of scheme 2. These differ in that the former connotes completed action (cf. 77). There is but one aspect suffix — that for the continuative. This may be used in all forms except the intentive, imperative, potential, and certain of the subordinating modes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> That is, the future tense suffix is employed with the suffix for the past tense. This combination functions as a distant or remote future. cf. section 55, IV.

Finally, there are two other verb suffixes not illustrated in these schemes. They are the -n suffix forming infinitives (cf. 73), and a suffix -an changing a verb to a noun (cf. 75).

# 53. The Negative Suffix.

The negative of any verb may be formed by adding the suffix -abe- directly to the theme. When, however, the verb takes the second person object, this suffix is inserted between the theme and the negative suffix (cf. 41). The order is, then, as follows:

Theme — Second Person Object — Negative — ... The initial -a- of the suffix, when added directly to the theme, obscures the form of the final theme element causing its vowel to be -a- in either the full or reduced form.

yagb-ab-o'cI do not hit himgeigab-ab-o'he does not hit meyagb-abe-no'cI am not hitting himyagb-abe-nec'o'cwe two do not hit him

When the verb takes the second person object, the vowel -a- of the suffix is lengthened.

yagba·b-o'cI do not hit youyagba·be-no'cI am not hitting youweigaba·be-no'cI am not hitting you peopleyagba·be-nec'o'cwe two do not hit you

It is probable that -abe- is an incorporated form of the adverb gabai not, nothing, though no such relationship can be proven.

# 54. The Mode-less Paradigm.

In its simplest form, this paradigm is not only modeless but tense-less as well. It is formed by adding the subject pronouns directly to the theme and is found only in the first person singular, dual, and plural.

Theme: yag'e- to shoot...

with 3d person object with 2d person object

Sg. 1 yag'e-c yag'e·-c

Du. 1 yag'e-nec'e-c yag'e·-nec'-e-c

Pl. 1 yag'-o·c'e-c yag'e·-wec'e-c

Its use is illustrated by the following text examples:

'oyuk-de'dja cogna'c I'll put you in this saek, 'oyuk saek; cogna- to put ... in. Rabbit is suggesting a hiding place to Coyote.

'egwancxau-ca'gen nenxalec I've found my horse, nenxale- to find . . . . Coyote, seeing Rabbit lying asleep by the side of the road, makes the above remark and pounces on him.

- wedadana: c I'll take you people with me, da:dana- to go off with ...; take ... off with me
- daca'eye'c I want to be with you, daca- with ...; -'ei- auxiliary, to be; sometimes used to mean, to desire (cf. 38).
- hegda wanec'ec we two want to play, hegda wa- to play. Two children, having found Coyote and thinking he is a dog, ask their parents for permission to play with him.
- xanda'e'c I want to drink, am thirsty, xane- to drink, -da subordinating suffix (cf. 71) compounded with 'e'- auxiliary (cf. 38). As a group of men are sitting about a fire, one of them announces that he is thirsty.

These examples show the usage of this form in direct discourse when the question of tense or mode is not important. An expression of fact about oneself: a desire, or announcement of intention, or a suggestion.

The form may also be used with the future tense suffix -a·do-, -a·dew- as follows:

- hedjedo'n ha'n-a'do-nec I'll go back, hedjedjo'n back, here used adverbially (cf. 87); ha'na- one person goes off. Note that the person suffix is -nec as compared with the -c of those in the preceding paradigm. I cannot account for the element -ne. The context of this statement: his wife threatens to leave Coyote if he does not stop gambling and accompany her back home: this is his answer.
- yago'n-nadjg-a'dewa'-nec I'll kill you with my fist, yago'na- to strike ... with the fist, plus -nadjga- to kill ... Note the expanded form of the future tense suffix. The variation between -a'do- and -a'dew- is phonetic (cf. 18). Coyote here is announcing his intention of killing Rabbit for the latter's pranks.
- hehei' 'a'do-nec all right, I'll do it, '- reduced form of -'ei-, auxiliary, to be, do (cf. 38).
- holau'a'lak wa'dil yamg-a'dewa'-nec this is the very last time I'll call you, holau'a'lak the last (time); wa'dil very, just, here used adverbially; yamga- to call . . .
- t'cel-'ey-a'do-nec I'll go after him, t'cel up, after, here used adverbially (cf. 87); -'ei- to go

The future tense suffix used in this way seems to connote intention or the immediate future. Compare this usage with that illustrated in section 55.

# (a) The Tense and Mode Suffixes (55—63) 55. The Declarative Mode.

The suffix for the declarative mode is an element -we which may also have the form -o under certain phonetic conditions (cf. 17). It is always used with a tense suffix: the declarative mode may, therefore, be subdivided into four tenses, the present, the past, the near future, and the remote future.

#### I. The Present Tense.

The present tense suffix is -'e and it directly follows the mode suffix -we. The paradigm is as follows.

# Theme: yagba- to hit, strike

	w	ith 3d person object	with 2d person object
Sg.	1	yagb-o'- $c$	yagba $we$ '- $c$
	2	$yagb$ -o $\cdot$ - $ga$	
	3	yagb- $o$ '	yagba'- $we$ '
Du.	1	yagba-nec'-o'- $c$	yagba·-nec'-o'-c
	2	yagba-nec'-o'-ga	
	3	yagba-nec'-o'	yagba·- $nec$ '- $o$ '
Pl.	1	$yagb$ -o $\cdot c$ '-o'- $c$	yagbawec'-o'-c
	2	yagb-oʻc'-oʻ-ga	
	3	yagb-o'o- $yuk$	yagba $we$ ' $e$ - $yuk$

The full forms of both suffixes appear in the third person plural with second person object. In all but the two third person plural forms, the tense suffix -'e has the reduced form -' and in the second person singular forms, it has been elided altogether causing the vowel preceding it to be lengthened compensatively. Note that the declarative mode suffix has the contracted form -o except when preceded by a long vowel (cf. 17).

This form defines a time between the immediate present and the past: a line in time, as it were, as opposed to a point in time. For this reason, it might just as well be termed the immediate past. The following examples from the texts will bring out its meaning.<sup>1</sup>

'egwan-wixwan-lak nenxal-o·c'-o'-c
djagau-'a·y'ik yaxacd-o·-ga
''djigwo·dak yandjidjxileu'' genw-o·-ga
nadjekla 'eiganxaidjon-o'-c
gwa·gwan-wa·'a·lak wedadaxg-o'-c
xadjlew-o'
we·y'ik da·daxg-o'
he'e·k go·c'a'ac-wa·y'ik xa·x-o'-c
gwa·n-edjodjxo·k-wa·'a·lak ya·lo·n-o'-c
geu'a·x'ey-o'
djigwo·dak yandjidjxiln-o·-ga
heigwidjan-ca·gen-'a·lak 'eiganaxein-o'-c

we found a little dog
you are near the river
"run faster", you told me
when he (the fish) bit, I pulled him up
I brought these women here
she is angry
he has brought her here
I went over there to the old people
I killed that bad woman
we are thirsty
you ran faster
I lost my ring

The continuative suffix -no may be used with this tense. It defines an action that is going on at the moment of speaking or at the moment of time referred to. In some contexts, it defines habitual or customary activity. Thus,

heigwidjan-lak da·gona-nec-n-o'-c 'heilabau'' newe-n-o'-c xadaglan-abe-nec-n-o' we two are looking for a ring
"stop!" I was telling you
they two are not getting off; are not
going to get off

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A vocabulary of all the words used in these and the examples to follow will be found in the Appendix.

do·na-no·-n-o·-ga gwa·n-na·xen-la yamga·-n-o' 'au-gak da·gona-n-o' you are prevaricating
your wife is calling you
he hunts deer (i. e., makes a living
by hunting deer)

#### II. The Near Future.

Both continuative and non-continuative forms of the present tense may be given a future sense by inserting the suffix -a·dew-a·do-. Thus:

yagb-a·dew-o'-cyagb-a·do-n-o'-c

I will strike him
I am going to strike him; will be
striking him

This tense defines a time in the near future — sometime in the day on which the remark is made. The following text examples illustrate its usage:

'awac-gak ya·lo·n-a·do-n-o'-c daxac-wa·da'ac na·'ey-a·dew-o·c-n-o'-c de·w'an dan-a·do-nec-n-o'-c yadjox'an-galak-e'e·k ha·n-a·dew-o'-c he·malew-a·dew-o·c-n-o'-c geunecdjoxn-ab-a·do-n-o' I am going to kill buffaloes we are going home this very day we two are going over there I will go to the other camp we are going to dance he will not let us sleep

#### III. The Past Tense.

The past tense of the declarative mode is formed by a suffix -'ei, having the same position as the present tense suffix. The final -i of the tense suffix appears only in the second person subject forms; in all other cases, the suffix -'ei has been reduced to-'e. The -o- color of the suffix is due to the influence of the preceding mode suffix (cf. 3). The paradigm is as follows:

Theme: yagba- to hit, strike

With 3d person object with 2d person object Sg. 1 yaqb-o'o'-' yagba:-we'e:-' 2 yagb-o'oi-no 3 yagb-o'o yagba·-we'e Du. 1 yagba-nec'-o'o'-' 2 yagba-nec'-o'oi-no 3 yagba-nec'-o'o Pl. 1 yagb-o'c'-o'o'-' yagb-o'c'-o'oi-no 2 3 yagb-o'o -log yagba:-we'e-log

This tense defines an action in the definite past, near or remote. Examples:

hedobo'a'lak ha''ac 'eiwendjaga-nec'-o'o'-'
'e'da we''icbax ya'we'd djana-nec'-o'o'-'

we two have killed many Osages and one we two tied up and left lying naxadjganw-o'o·-' heigwedjan-wa''a'lak ya'dj-o'o'-' dina-dak bax yax-o'o·-' I married
I saw that ring
I ate a long time ago; it is a long
time since I ate

The connotation of habitual or customary activity is clearly brought out in the continuative form of the past tense. Thus,

'egwancxaw-ca·gen-de·la djigeu yandjidjxile-n-o'o djoxn-abe-n-o'o·-'

naxdjan-de·lak nenxale-n-o'o'-'

'adjxaudak-e·w'an ga·lwa-n-o'o didjgan-eigak 'eg-abe-n-o'o·-'

hedju·'ax-eigak gedjodjxo·-be-n-o'o

'egwan-eigak bax yaxa-n-o'o'-'

na'a he·'bano'-n-o'o

this horse of mine is a fast runner, i. e., has always run fast in the past

I have never been asleep, I habitually do not sleep

I have been guarding this fire, I habitually guard this fire

he has been gambling up north

I have never given it to any person;
I habitually refuse to give it to
anyone

nothing has ever frightened me; I am not afraid of anything

I have been eating only dogs; I customarily eat only dogs

so it has been told; so it is customarily told

### IV. The Remote Future.

This tense form is supplied by inserting the future tense suffix n the paradigms for the past tense. Thus,

> ha·n-a·dew-oʻoʻ-ʻ ha·n-a·do-n-oʻoʻ-ʻ

I will go away I am going to go away

It defines an action to take place some time in the future beyond the present time — from tomorrow on to infinity. Unfortunately, it does not occur in any of my texts — the above forms were obtained from the informant by direct questioning. In spite of this, the form is probably valid, and the meaning given above fits nicely into the Tonkawa tense system.

#### 56. The Assertive Mode.

The suffix for the assertive has either the form -a'a (which is probably its full form) or -a (in which the second element has been totally elided, (cf. 8). This suffix may be used in three different ways, viz.,

Theme — Negative — Future tense — Dual or plural — Continuative — Assertive — Pronoun.

Theme — Negative — Continuative — Assertive.

Theme — First person pronoun — Assertive.

The paradigm according to the first of the above schemes follows:

Theme: 'ei- auxiliary to be, do

Sg. 1 '-a'-n'ec
2 '-a'-n'ei
3 '-a'a
Du. 1 'e-nec'-a'-n

Du. 1 'e-nec'-a·-n'ec 2 'e-nec'-a·-n'ei 3 'e-nec'-a'a

Pl. 1 '-o·c'-a·-n'ec 2 '-o·c'-a·-n'ei

With the continuative suffix: 'e·-n-a·-n'ec, etc.

With the future tense suffix: '-a·dew-a·-n'ec, etc.

The following examples from the texts illustrate its meaning.

ca·ya 'e·-n-a·-n'ec that's me! ca·ya independent personal pronoun (cf. 90). Four dogs are chasing a buffalo heifer who is really the wife of their owner — she calls this way to them so that they will not kill her.

do:na-n-a'a he lies!

do:na-n-a:-n'ei you lie! do:na falsely, untruely, plus n- (reduced form of ne-) to say.

de·l 'e·-n-a'a here it is! de·l here, plus -'ei- to be

"awac-a''ago'n-cax'o'n-gak da'gono'c'ou" no'-n-a'a "hunt for young buffalo bulls", he is saying

we·bag-a·dew-a·-n'ec I shall inform him

ga·n-a·do-nec'-a·-n'ec we two will throw it away, Alligator, who is matching his strength with Coyote, suggests a test.

ha·djcogonai-la daxco·l'ok da·he·cogya-wa·doyou no·-n-a'a Coyote says that he will fight with him tomorrow

xe·djwa-la heinau-gabai-'-a'a Alligator cannot be defeated, heinau- to defeat, gabai not, -'- reduced form of the auxiliary -'ei- to be

ha·djcogonai-la da·ga·lwa·dok n-a'a Coyote says he will gamble with him n- reduced form of ne- to say.

Used according to the second scheme, the theme plus the suffix for the assertive is completed in meaning by the auxiliary -'ei-. There are only two examples of this usage in the texts.

da''e'-n-a'a 'e'noklakno'o she wanted to marry him, it is said. da''e'-to marry ... plus continuative suffix -n plus the assertive. 'e'-, auxiliary, is here used to indicate desire (cf. 38) plus the continuative -no and the quotative suffix -klakno'o (cf. 81).

yax-ab-a'a 'e'-n-o'c I have certainly not eaten (freely: I am starving), yaxto eat plus -abe, negative suffix, plus the assertive.

The third usage of -a'a (i. e., theme plus first person pronoun plus assertive) is illustrated by only one example.

xa·xad ya·dje-c-a'a I'll go to see it! ya·dje- to see . . . . A young boy, having been warned to keep away from a certain camp, decides to go there anyhow.

#### 57. The Declarative-Assertive Mode.

The suffix for this mode is -nwa'a or -nwa, depending upon phonetic circumstances. This suffix appears to be a combination of a suffix -n, the declarative -we, and the assertive -a'a. The paradigm is as follows.

Theme: yagba- to hit, strike

Sg. 1 yagba-nwa·-c' 2 yagba-nwa·-n'ei 3 yagba-nwa' Du. 1 yagba-nec'e-nwa'-c' yagba-nec'e-nwa-n'ei Du. 3 yagba-nec'e-nwa' Pl. 1 yagb-o'c'e-nwa'-c' 2 yagb-o·c'e-nwa·-n'ei 3 yagba-nwa'a-nik

With the continuative suffix: yagba-no-nwa-c', etc. With the future tense suffix: yagb-a-do-nwa-c', etc.

Only in the third person plural does the full form of the suffix appear but note that the same type of contraction (-nwa:- from -nwa'a) occurs in this paradigm as in that for the assertive. Note, too, that the second person pronominal form is the same here as for the assertive. These points of similarity are the only bases for our placing this as a declarative-assertive mode. The initial -n element of the suffix cannot be isolated.

All except one of the following text examples have the future tense suffix.

gogon-wa·l'an 'ahen-'a·la 'e·-nwa·-c' 'e·yo'ok he·dobou'ila xe·badj-a·do-nwa'

'e·yo'ok lococ'ida daidjod-a·do-nwa'

I am the chief's daughter then (as you do this) the Osage will fall backwards

then (when you have done so) all of them will come up

cigd'ac yaxw-gagai'adj-adxilnano'-'a·la 'ahen-wecek-de'-lak da''-a·do-nwa' the one who cuts through to the other end (e. g., of a field of sharp grass) four times will marry this daughter of mine

'e'ye'n da'daidjon-a'dewa'-nwa'-c' then (when you have done so) I will take you up

daxco·gwa hem'ac-'a·la ya·lo·n-a·do-nwa' tomorrow the mother-in-law will kill him

yaxac'ok necwal'an geigew'-a'do-nwa' if I eat it, I will become a fish, o'c'eyo'ok cocgo'n-a'do-nwa'a-nik if you do that, they will hear of it

It appears from the above examples that this mode is used oftenest in the future tense to define an action to take place at some definite point in the future. In all of the examples the time is definitely specified either by a word like "tomorrow" or by defining it in terms of an immediately preceding or concurrent action.

# 58. The -gwa Mode.

This mode is formed by the suffix -gwa and exists only for the third person singular. There is one isolated example in the first person which may belong to this paradigm: ho'oxaw-e'gwa'ac I have stolen it! The paradigm is as follows.

Theme: nadje- to bite ... Sg. 3 nadje-gwa

With continuative suffix: nadje-no-gwa With future tense suffix: nadj-a·do-gwa

If the first person form quoted above belongs to this paradigm, the suffix may be reconstructed as -g-w-a'a and be related to the declarative-assertive suffix -n-w-a'a. But this analysis would still leave two problems unsolved: namely, what has become of the final glottal stop in the third person? (it will be remembered that the -nwa'a paradigm had -nwa' in the third person) and, what is the function of the -e-element in the first person form? It seems best, therefore, to consider the -gwa paradigm as confined to third person forms and, though surface resemblance may be to the contrary, unrelated to -nwa'a.

The meaning of -gwa forms is not easy to determine — it will appear, however, from the following examples, that it generally occurs in an exclamatory context. Thus,

'egwancxau-'a'la ha''ac heigeuda-gwa many horses are coming!

This sentence is uttered by Coyote who was sent to the top of the hill by Tiger to look for game.

gwa·lou yo·m'-a·do-no-gwa it is going to rain hard!

Rabbit, trying to escape the vengeance of Coyote, says this to distract the latter's mind.

da'he'bano'n-na'xen-ge-lak ya'lo'-no-gwa your friend has been killed ha''ago'n-ca'gen-'a'la hedjodjxo'k heigo'o-gwa 'e'd gena geix-a'do-no-gwa gedableu my husband has become mad, and I think he will eat me; help me!

gedableu hedjodjxo·k-la genengoxo-gwa help me, an evil one is chasing me! 'awac-'a·la hedoxa-gwa the meat is all gone! he·mayal'ila no·-no-gwa it is a ghost that is talking! yaxoyaxeidak no·-gwa the enemy is coming, they say! hexal'oi-ga gendje-no-gwa many ants are biting me!

# 59. The Interrogative Mode.

Any of the tense forms of the declarative mode may be made interrogative by dropping the declarative -we and adding, after the subject pronoun, a suffix -'. If, however, the form is preceded by an interrogative pronoun, this final suffix is not necessary — the form is obtained by simply dropping the declarative suffix. This is the more common form of the interrogative found in the texts.

#### I. The Present Tense.

Theme: yagba- to hit, strike

Sg. 2 yagba-'-ga-'
Du. 2 yagba-nec'e-'-ga-'
Pl. 2 yagb-o-c'e-'-qa-'

With the continuative suffix: yagba-no-'-ga-' etc. With the future tense suffix: yagb-a'do-'-ga-' etc.

The glottal stop of the present can be heard clearly in slow speech: in rapid speech, however, it tends to merge with the following -g. Text examples: (there are, unfortunately, no text examples of the future tense of this interrogative form).

yaxa-'-ga-' did you eat?

gwa·n-la wa·dedja hengwa·d-o' ya·dj-abe-'-ga-' a woman ran towards this place, you did not see her?

hedju 'ed ge bag-abe-nec'e-'-ga why didn't you tell me? (hedju 'ed why?)

hedju''ed ma'ga-no-''-ga why are you crying?

hedju'ed daclo'-nec-no-'-ga why are you two wandering about?

hedju-gak geyadje-no-'-ga what are you looking at? (hedju-what? cf. 92)

hedju: 'a'y'ik ha'na-no-'-ga to what place are you going?

hededj'ed wa'dil webdje-no-'-ga just how did you shear them? hededja 'e'-no-'-ga where have you been?

# II. The Past Tense.

Theme: yagba- to hit, strike

Sg. 2 yagb-ei-no-' Du. 2 yagba-nec'-'ei-no-'

Pl. 2 yagb-o·c'-'ei-no-'

With the continuative suffix: yagba-n-oi-no-' etc. With the future tense suffix: yagb-a'do-'oi-no-' etc.

In the singular form, the initial glottal stop of the tense suffix has been lost — in the dual and plural forms, it has merged with that of the dual and plural suffixes. Here, too, we find that the interrogative suffix is dropped when the form is preceded by an interrogative pronoun. There are only two text examples available:

hedju'axeigak hadxec-abe-n-oi-no-' have you thought of some way (to escape)?

The pronoun in this case is the indefinite: hence the final -' is necessary (cf. 92).

hedju:-gak yaxanec-n-oi-no what have you been eating? (i. e. on what do you subsist)

# III. Other Interrogative Forms.

Theme: yagba- to hit, strike

Sg. 2 yagba-ya-'a-' yagba-l-'a-'

Du. 2 yagba-nec'e-ya-'a-' 3 yagba-nec'e-l-'a-' Pl. 2 yagb-o·c'e-ya-'a-'

With the continuative suffix: yagba-no-ya-'a-' etc. With the future tense suffix:

Sg. 2 yagb-a·do-ya-'a-' or yagb-a·do-'ayagb-a·do-l-'a-'

This form is reminiscent of the assertive paradigm. It appears to have dropped the initial element of the assertive suffix preserving the final -'a. It may be, therefore, that this initial element is the assertive suffix and that -'a has to do with tense. There is still, however, the problem of the pronoun suffixes — quite different in this paradigm from what they were in the assertive. As before, we find it best to consider this form apart from the assertive, even though the resemblance is fairly close.

These forms are found rather frequently in the texts and here, too, the final -' drops off when the form is preceded by an interrogative pronoun.

hedju·-lak 'e·-ya-'a what do you want?
hedel 'e·-ya-'a where are you?
na·gw-ededj '-a·do-ya-'a now, what will you do?
hededj-'an'ok henox ya·djed ya·lo·n-a·do-ya-'a but how can you see well
enough to kill her?
hededj-'eda geudadan-a·do-'a how will you take us away?
hedju·'-a·do-l-'a what does it matter?

Finally, the *-gwa* paradigm may also take the interrogative suffix -' or be preceded by an interrogative pronoun and thus be given that connotation. Examples follow.

didjgan-'a·ga ha·xeida-gwa-' did the people come? hedju·'e·-gwa what is the matter? hedju·-la weino·-gwa who won?

#### 60. The Intentive Mode.

The intentive mode may be formed in two ways, by adding the suffix -'a-ha'a, or by means of a suffix -a-'. The difference between these two forms of the intentive is not entirely clear. It is possible that -a-' is simply a reduced form of -a-ha'a: the elements -a-- and -ha-, in accordance with the processes of phonetic contraction, so often illustrated in this language, having been contracted to -a-', and the final -a having dropped off. Whatever the formal difference may be, the text forms show that no functional distinction exists.

The intentive is used only in the first person, singular, dual, and plural. It does not take either the continuative or future tense suffix. The paradigm is as follows:

Theme: yagba- to hit, strike

	-a·ha'a	-a·'
Sg. 1	yagb- $a$ ' $ha$ ' $a$	yagb- $a$ - $,$
Du. 1	$yagba ext{-}nec' ext{-}a ext{-}ha'a$	yagba-nec'-a·'
Pl. 1	$yagb$ -o $\cdot c$ '- $a$ · $ha$ ' $a$	yagb-o·c'-a·'

Note, that when the intentive suffix is added directly to the theme, the form of the final theme element is obscured. The suffix for the second person object causes the -a- of the suffix to become extra long (i. e., three moric), for example:

yagba:ha'a I shall hit him yagba:ha a I shall hit you

# Examples from the texts:

heul-a·ha'a I shall catch him
yandjidjxil-a·ha'a I shall run
'o·'o·gwa ya·lo·n-a·ha'a tonight, I shall kill her
t'ca·mou ca·ya ya·lo·n-a·' let her go, I shall kill her
xa·xad da·dah-a·ha'a I shall go there to get her
'o·'o·gwa da·gon-o·c'·a·ha'a tonight we shall search for it
hedai'o·-he·cogyaw-a·ha'a I shall join the fight
hei'adjew-a·ha'a I intend to watch it
'a·x-gak yagoda '-a·ha'a I shall be getting some water
'e·yo'ok yalxiln-a·ha'a then I shall run away
deyei-'a·lak yax-abe-u ca·ya yax-a·' do not eat the liver, I intend to eat it
daxco·l'ok da·he·cogyaw-a·ha'a tomorrow I shall fight with him
'adjxo·n-e·w'an ga·lwen-a·ha'a I intend to gamble in the north
yela-'e·k-'a·y'ik ge·bage-u 'e·yo'ok ya·lo·n-a·' tell me where she sits, then I
shall kill her
'e·wein ca·rwa wa'an wa'dia hedin-a·' then I too shall lie down right here

'e'ye'n ca'xwa wa'an wa'dja hedjn-a' then I, too, shall lie down right here bac '-ab-a' I do not intend to stay long gedai hedjneda 'e'dah-a' I intend to return in two days

# 61. The Imperative Mode.

The imperative is formed by adding the suffix -u to the vowel of the final element of the verb form. It is not differentiated as to tense and is not used with the continuative suffix. The paradigm is as follows:

yagba-u hit him!
ge-igaba-u hit me!
yagba-nec'e-u (ye two) hit him!
yagb-o·c'o-u (ye) hit him!

Note, that when the imperative suffix is added directly to the theme, the final element of the theme must be in the full form regardless of its position. Text examples:

'andjo-u wake up
we·bage-u 'awac-a·'ago·n-cax'o·n-gak da·gon-o·c'o-u tell them (this) "(you)
hunt for young buffalo bulls"

'e·la necexwe-c-'ok ma·dan wedjxe-u when I shout, quickly turn them loose we'il nengox-o·c'o-u now, chase him!
ca·ya 'e·n-a·-n'ec gedjn-o·c'o-u it is me, let me go
dona n-a'a heul-o·c'o-u she lies, catch her
de·-lak cogo-u put this away!
hebag-abe-u do not tell him!
na·gw yaxa-u go ahead, eat!
he'e·k xe·ilaba-u stand way over there!

#### 62. The Potential Mode.

This mode is formed by adding the suffix -'a·- or -'ai- to the verb form. The suffix has the form -'a·- in the first and second persons, -'ai- in the third. The potential is not differentiated as to tense and cannot be used with the continuative suffix. The paradigm is as follows:

 $ya\cdot dj$ -'a·-n'ec I might see him ya·dj-'a·-n'ei you ... ya·dj-'ai-l'a he . . . ya·djenec'a-'a·-n'ec we two ... ya·djenec'a-'a·-n'ei ye two ... ya·djenec'a-'ai-l'a they two ... ya·djo·c'a-'a·-n'ec we ... ya·djo·c'a-'a·-n'ei ye ...  $ya \cdot dja \cdot - a \cdot - n'ec$ I might see you

The pronominal scheme used with this mode is unusual, appearing in this exact form in no other paradigm. Another unique feature of it is the indefinite third person pronounthat appears in the passive form of this paradigm. The passive is formed as usual — using the object pronoun as subject — except that an indefinite third person form is suffixed instead of the regular third person.

 $geyalo \cdot n$ -'ai-k'aI might be killed $ya \cdot lo \cdot na \cdot -'ai$ -k'ayou ... $ya \cdot lo \cdot n$ -'ai-k'ahe ... $geuya \cdot lo \cdot n$ -'ai-k'awe ... $weyalo \cdot na \cdot -'ai$ -k'aye ...

The paradigms for this mode were obtained from the informant by direct questioning: no forms of it appear in the texts.

#### 63. The Suffix -e·l.

This is another of the irregular suffixes apparently defining a mode which appears only in the third person singular, dual, and plural. It may be also be used with the future tense suffix. The paradigm:

 $ham'am-do\cdot x-e\cdot l$  let h  $ham'am-do\cdot xa-nec'-e\cdot l$  let t  $ham'am-do\cdot x-o\cdot c'-e\cdot l$  let t  $ham'am-do\cdot x-a\cdot dew-e\cdot l$  let h

let him burn up let they two ... let them ... let him be burned up

# Text examples:

'e'xadxad ganagxon-o'c'o-u ham'am-do'x-a'dew-e'l take him there, throw him in, let him be burned up

we·l'ad 'eid-e·l here he comes

 $ma\cdot dan$  'o·c'o-u yadjox'an-de·-la naw-e·l come quickly, these tipis are burning  $ha\cdot djcogonai$ -la da·'e·k-la de·l  $xa\cdot n$ -e·l there goes Coyote's wife

we''icbax xacdew-e'l (do it) once more

xa·xad hebage-u ma·dan 'e·dah-a·dew-e·l gaixoy-a·dew-e·l go tell him (to) come quickly and doctor me

From these examples, the suffix appears to characterize an exhortation or command concerning the third person. There are no other forms even remotely related and these examples are exhaustive.

# (b) The Subordinating Suffixes (64-71)

#### 64. General Remarks.

There are six subordinating suffixes all of which are attached to the theme subordinated. Three of them require the theme to be conjugated as to person and number: the others are attached to an absolute form of the theme.

# 65. The Suffix -ga'ak but, when, while, as

The verb complex to which this suffix is attached expresses the subject and object pronoun. The paradigm for the subordinated verb is as follows:

Theme:  $da \cdot yaxa$ - to feed ...

Sg. 1 da·yaxa-c-ga'ak

2 da·yaxa-ne-ga'ak

 $3 \qquad da \cdot yaxa - l - ga 'ak$ 

Du. 1 da yaxa-nec'e-c-ga'ak

2 da·yaxa-nec'e-ne-ga'ak

3 da·yaxa-nec'e-l-ga'ak

Pl. 1 da·yax-o·c'e-c-ga'ak

2 da·yax-o·c'e-ne-ga'ak

There are no examples of the use of either the continuative or the future tense suffix with this suffix. Text examples follow.

yaxaneigak da yaxa-l-ga'ak hedlo noklakno'o much food he offered her but she refused it

xal'ongak gegbayo-l-ga'ak but I have no knives

hagoxa-nec'e-l-ga'ak 'axwa gedai'a'la da'andjenecno' when they two became tired, another two held him

hegdo·-l-ga'ak damo·dak djodjomano'o while singing, shut your eyes tightly x'e·l'e-l-ga'ak ha·'ago·n-ocac-wa·l'an dja·l-'a·la hendidxo·'onoklakno'o as he filed it, that young man's testicles shook, it is said.

## 66. The Suffix -'ok when, as, if

This is the second of the subordinating suffixes requiring a conjugated theme. The paradigm is as follows:

Theme: necexwe- to shout, scream

Sg. 1 necexwe-c-'ok necexwe-yo-'ok necexwe-l-'ok Du. 1 necexwe-nec'e-c-'ok necexwe-nec'e-yo-'ok 3 necexwe-nec'e-l-'ok Pl. necexw-o'c'e-c-'ok 1 2 necexw-o·c'e-yo-'ok 3 necexwe-ye·l-'ok

There are no examples of this suffix being used with the future tense suffix or the continuative. Examples:

e·la necexw-c-'ok ma·dan wedjxeu when I shout, turn them loose quickly hedidj'a·donekye hedju·'axeiga nengox-ol-'ok what would you do if someone chased you?

daxcou-l-'ok xam'al'e'w'an gedadanau tomorrow take me to the prairie yandjidjxel-ec-'ok geyadjau as I run, you watch me

necwal'ane'e'lak yaxa-c-'ok necwal'an geigewa'donwa' when I eat that fish, I'll become a fish

da daglane-c-'ok naxdjan'eda naxdjan-a djin-'a y'ik heilabayen hedew'an'ax necexwe-l-'ok na xwa necexwe-u when I take you there, build a fire and, standing near the fire, if you hear a shout from any direction, you also shout

hededja'ax ge·cya·dje-yo-'ok ya·lo·n-a·dewa·-no'c wherever I see you, I will kill you

'awac-el'a·d-la haidjoda-l-'ok ya·lo·nanon when that buffalo comes up, let us kill him

wedaxadxa-c-'ok yaxa-nec'e-u when we have arrived, you two may eat

When the subject of both subordinated and principal clauses is the same, the suffix -'an'ok may be used. Examples:

hagxon-'an'ok hedew'an'ax 'a'beda godok-djadjxok-e'e'k hagxona-u as you go in, go straight to the middle of the room

geyadjan didc-'an'ok ya'ded geyadj-a'd-o'c'e-ne-k-djo' if they want to see me, they may come to see me

wa'anbax yax-'an'ok wa'an we'y'ik hedjne-u as soon as you have eaten, lie down right there

necwal-'an'ok "gwa·lo·daka nadje-u" n-ab-a·do-ne-k-djo" when you fish, do not say "Bite, biggest one"

# 67. The Suffix -gwa when, as

Besides requiring the theme to be conjugated for person and number, this suffix causes the final vowel of the theme to lengthen. The paradigm is as follows:

Theme:  $ya \cdot dje$ - to see ...

3 ya'dj-e'ngwa or ya'dje-yayagwa

With future tense suffix: ya'dj-a'do'-gwa-nec, etc.

The peculiarities of this conjugation are unique. First, notice the second person forms: evidently the suffix -gwa has combined with an unknown suffix for the second person pronoun, but is is entirely impossible to say where the division should be made. Note, also, the irregular third person plural. It is possible here that we have the full form of the suffix in -yagwa, the preceding -ya- pluralizing the pronoun. If this is so, it must be assumed that the -ya element of the suffix has been totally elided in all the other forms of the verb, leaving behind it only the compensatory lengthening of the vowels of the elements preceding -gwa. And, finally, there is a striking similarity between this paradigm — especially the third person form — and that discussed in section 57. It is possible that this has substantially the same meaning as the -gwa mode save that it carries a subordinating connotation as well. Text examples follow:

wa'anec hedew'an'ax wa'na-gwa-nec genecyaxa-u as soon as I fall to the side (stagger), feed me

wa'anec hagxona'-gen yalxiln-o' as soon as you went in, she ran away na'e'-gwa ha'ago'n-ocac-wa'-'a'la cax'ai-'a'xen-'a'lak da'aneklakno'o as they went off, that young man picked up his arrow, it is said

daxac-'a·la haglana·-gwa yadjox'an-wa·-y'ik xa·xaklakno'o he arrived at that camp when the sun was going down (i. e. at sundown)

gedadana-u ha·djcogonai-de·-la djoxno·-gwa take me away while this Coyote sleeps

'awac-wa'-ga heul-a'do'-gwa djagau-wixwan-'a'y'ik hengway-aglana-klakno'o as they were about to catch him, he ran down to a small river

ya'dje-yayagwa t'caw'al 'einaklakno'o as they watched, he went far away xan-do'x-a'do'-gwa hadixod yalxilnaklakno'o as they were about to finish drinking it, he, jumping up, ran away

'a·x-'a·y'ik xe·badj-a·do·-gwa ha·djcogonai-lak "we·'il ya·djen-a·we" noklakno'o as they were about to glide down on the water, they said to Coyote, "Now you may look"

#### 68. The Gerundial Suffix -'an.

This suffix is added to a constant theme, i. e., one not conjugated for person and number. Person and number are expressed by the principal verb for the two verbs. Text examples:

nex'eu-'a·lak nog-'an 'eiwendjaganaklakno'o taking the gun, he killed them, it is said

'awac-wa'-'a'la holgam'adjxe-dan-'an hewawad xe'djneklakno'o the buffalo went along bucking and fell dead

ha'n-'an me'dnaklakno'o he, going off, was struck by lightning

'awac-gak ya·lo·n-'an 'oyuk-'a·lak cigid necbedjeklakno'o 'awac-'a·lak killing the buffalo he filled four sacks with meat

'a·xwa necangwa·n-'an 'eigagaidjedanaklakno'o he, too, making (his horse) run, went along chopping it (down), it is said

'awac-wa'-'a'la ha'n-'an didjgan heigo'od that buffalo, going off, transformed himself into a man

hegdo:-'on wenecyagwanoklakno'o singing, she made them dance, it is said 'awac-'a'lak naul-'an yaxanoklakno'o cooking the meat, he ate it, it is said

### 69. The Suffix -l'ila while, when, as.

With this suffix, too, person and number are expressed by the principal verb for the two verbs. This suffix may be used with the future tense suffix but not with the continuative. It serves to relate two verbs defining actions that take place simultaneously or nearly so. Generally, it appears that the action defined by the principal verb results from that of the subordinated verb — but it is clear that both actions then continue together. Thus, in the following example,

x'ax'ai'anoklakno'o weyadje-l'ila he laughed when he looked at them

the context is as follows: a boy, seeing his uncles with shaven heads, is moved to laughter and continues to laugh as he looks at them. Examples:

cax'ai yagew-a'do-l'ila xal'o'n-gak gegbayo-l-ga'ak no'n-o'c I am saying (that I) will make arrows but have no knives

hemaya-l'ila no -no-gwa it is his ghost (it is) talking

x'ax'ai'anoklakno'o weyadje-l'ila he laughed when he looked at them

naxcogna-l'ila necwal'an-wa'-y'ik xayad hedal'onoklakno'o when they go out scouting, they go to the fish and pray

'aw-ei-gak ya·lo·na-l'ila da·yaxanoklakno'o whenever they killed many deer, they ate together, it is said

he·bano·noklakno'o didjgan-a·'ac naxdjan-lak ho·'oxaw-a·do-l'ila many people were discussing the stealing of fire, it is said

ya·dje-l'ila djedxana·donoklakno'o when he sees them, he will jump, it is said

hededj 'eye:nokye djoxn-a:dak-we-l'ila how do you behave when you are fast asleep?

#### 70. The Suffix -d.

This suffix is added to the constant theme and may be used together with the future tense suffix or the continuative. It characterizes a verb whose action immediately precedes that of the principal verb. In some cases — as in the first example below — the two actions take place together: the combination, in the example mentioned, is practically a compound verb, viz., hedjne-d ma·ga"to lie weeping". An interesting proof of the validity of such compounds is found in the following example:

ba bna-d yaxa- to set the table to eat (yaxa- to eat) ba bna-d yax-an table; that which is set for eating

where the combination is made a noun by the noun forming suffix -an. That the suffix nominalizes the whole compound and not only yaxa- is clear because the word yax-an also exists but has the meaning "food". Examples:

hedjne-d ma'ganoklakno'o he lay crying, it is said
cocgona-d xadjloklakno'o hearing it, she became angry, it is said
hewawa-d xe'djneklakno'o he fell down dead, it is said
haglana-d da'gonanoklakno'o he went down looking for him, it is said
hadjxo-d yalxilnaklakno'o jumping up, he ran away, it is said
ha'djcogonai-la cocgo'na-d xa'xaklakno'o Coyote, hearing him, came to him,
it is said

ha·djcogonai-la xadjlo·-d heulaklakno'o Coyote, being angry, seized him, it is said

'eixandj-a'do-d hagoxanecnoklakno'o just as it was about to break, they got tired (and let it go), it is said

ha nadjidjxil-xa xa-d 'awac-wa - 'a lak wenengoxoklakno'o arriving at a run, they chased those buffaloes, it is said

#### 71. The Suffix -da and.

This suffix is also added to the constant theme and may be used with future tense or continuative. Examples:

no da hengwana-gwa he said and started off

necgaba-da haxeineklakno'o he shut the door and went off, it is said ya'dje-da haidjodaklakno'o he saw it and went up, it is said

'awac-gak nogo-da wedaxadxa-da "na gw xadaglana-da yaxa-nec'e-u" no-u get some meat, take them back and tell them "Now get off and eat"

hexcaca-da yalxilnaklakno'o she screamed and ran away, it is said

gwe'-'a'lak da'ane-da han-bilna-klakno'o he took a stick and went over there, it is said

necayadji-da cilayo:noklakno'o they made him stay home, and they went hunting, it is said

necgaban-'a'lak da'an-xaidjona-da hel'ey-agxonaklakno'o he lifted up the door (of a tipi) and peeped in, it is said

# (c) Participial Suffixes (72—74)

#### 72. General Remarks.

There are two participial suffixes in Tonkawa, -n and -k. The former has been referred to as an infinitive suffix since it is added to the verb form not conjugated as to person and number. It is used, however, as a third person plural in the -k paradigms.

#### 73. The -n Suffix.

Used alone, the -n forms can be translated in two ways — as an infinitive, and as a hortatory — according to circumstances. It is also used in the third person plural of the -k paradigm: this usage will be discussed in section 74. The suffix is added to the theme plus pronoun object.

The infinitive use of the -n form is illustrated by the following:

hedlo·no'c yaxa-n I don't want to eat hedlo·no'c xana-n I don't want to drink hedlo·no'ga yagba-n you don't want to hit him

hedlo:no'c yagba:-n I don't want to hit you

hedlo:no' geigaba-n he doesn't want to hit me

babacan'e yela-n "'a·x-gak xanida 'e·c' nonoklakno'o (after) sitting a while, "I need water", he said, it is said

hedjna-n ha djcogonai-la the Coyote lying down

we'dedja'a ya'lo'na-n yax-a'do-ne-k-djo' this is the way to kill so you will (have food to) eat

hebage-u 'e·da-n tell him to come

hadxilna-n yoxnaklakno'o going out, she flew away, it is said

nex'eu-'a lak noga-n 'eiwendjaganoklakno'o taking the gun, he killed them, it is said

By far the most common use of the -n suffix is to put the verb in the hortatory mode. This form of the hortatory is only used for a definitely plural subject: the other form of the hortatory will be taken up in section 80.

da daglana-no-n let's take him down hedjodj xa yo-no-n let's go to sleep

we'-y'ik 'a'be-no-n don't go over there

t'cel de dja 'e-no-n go up here

'awac-gak ya'lo'na-u yaxa-no-n kill buffaloes, let's eat

ha·djcogonai-lak necdjoxn-abe-no-n 'o·'a-wa·dak let's not let Coyote sleep tonight

gwa·n-'a·lak ho·'oxo·-no-n let's steal his woman

haidjoda-l'ok ya·lo·na-no-n as he comes up, let's kill him

da'ane-no-n let's keep him

wa-de-dja 'e-no-n let's stay right here

Note, in all the above examples, that the -n suffix is added to the theme plus the continuative suffix -no.

Certain theme compounds are formed by putting the first theme of the compound into the infinitive form. The secondary themes used in these compounds have no independent existence. They are listed below.

# -xwo nearly, almost

yagban-xwo'c yagban-xwono'c geigaban-xwono' I nearly hit him
I am almost hitting him
he is almost hitting me

# -bil outside, another place

This theme is attached to the infinitive form of the verb it modifies. It is never used without either the suffix -na off, away, or -da towards, hither, following. Examples:

yaxan-bilno'c yaxan-bildo'c

I go there to eat
I come here to eat

'e'eyo:-dan-bilda-klakno'o

she cooked it and brought it in to

them, it is said

nogo-dan-bilna-klakno'o

she took them away, it is said

#### 74. The -k Suffix.

The -k suffix is attached to the theme plus its pronominal elements and may also be used with the future tense suffix and the continuative. The paradigm is as follows:

Theme: yagba- to hit, strike

Sg. 1

yagba-ce-k yagba-ne-k

2 yagb3 yagb

Du. 1 yagba-ec'e-ce-k2 yagba-nec'e-ne-k

3 yagba-nec'e--k

Pl. 1 yagb-o'c'e-ce-k

2 yagb-o·c'e-ne-k

 $3 \quad yagba-n$ 

With the continuative suffix: yagba-no-co-k, etc. With the future tense suffix: yagb-a'do-co-k, etc.

Note, in the third person plural, that -n replaces -k. The -n so substituted is probably cognate with the infinitive -n; i. e., the infinitive is used idiomatically in the third person plural.

-k forms may be used alone, with noun suffixes, or as bases for the modal enclitics. The last named will be discussed in the section following. The first two usages have a variety of functions, for example:

hexal'oi ha'ac 'e'nok genana'djo'nogwa there are many ants biting me, hexal'oi ants, ha'ac many, and 'e'-, auxiliary to be, plus -no con-

tinuative and the -k suffix seem to form the subject of the sentence which the verb "they are biting me" completes. Compare this with the following example:

yadjox'an-e'e'k na''e'-no-k xai-'an'ok we'bag-o'c'o-u go to camp; when you arrive, tell them, in which the -k form (na''e'-no-k) is used simply as

. a verb.

These are the only two examples of -k forms used alone. In all the others, it has some noun case suffix attached and functions either in a subordinate sense or as a verbal noun.

xa·xa-k-la "haglana-d banxo-u" noklakno'o when he arrived (or, he having arrived), they said "Go down and take a bath", it is said. In this example, one can take a choice of interpretations — translating xa·xa-k-la either as "when he arrived" or as the subject of the sentence "he, having arrived, (was told 'Go down and take a bath')". The latter is probably the better; -la, as we shall see later (cf. 86), defines the nominative case.

"gwa·lo·dak-la nadje-u" no-co-k-la nadje-k-la 'eigan-aidjo-no'c "big one, bite," I told him: when he bit I dragged him up. This example illustrates

the subordinating function of the -k form.

'e·d cax'ai-lak yalba-da t'cel-'a·y'ik yela-k-la heilaban-awa·dak heigo'oklakno'o and he set an arrow into the ground and, as he sat on top of it, it became a very tall tree, it is said

'e'gwa 'o''o'-k-la hedjnenec'eklakno'o then, night having come, they two lay

down, it is said

gwa·n-wa·-'a·la ha·na-d t'caw'al-'a·y'ik xe·ilaba-k-la yag'eklakno'o that woman going off and standing a distance away, he shot her, it is said

'awac-'a·la yax-do·xa-k-la hadjxo-d yalxilnaklakno'o the buffalo having eaten it all, he jumped up to run away, it is said

'awac-'a'la he'nex'eyo'-k-la the buffalo having lost him

The examples following are clearly cases of verbal noun forms in -k. Thus,

da·danaklakno'o he·cogyo·-k-wa·-y'ik he brought him to where they had fought, it is said

cocgo·naklakno'o hegdo·-k-wa·-'a·lak he was listening to that singing, it is said

xa·xaklakno'o he·bano·-k-wa·-y'ik he arrived at that council, it is said (he·bano·- to discuss)

madnogon dodoba-u geiwewei-k-de·-lak quickly cut these bonds of mine da'ane-da yagda-k-wa'-y'ik taking it to where they sat

'awac-da''e'-k-wa'-'a'lak that buffalo he married

hendoc-e'la-klakno'o hedjne-nec'e-k-wa'-y'ik they were standing about where those two lay, it is said

'egwancxau-'a'lak djane-k-wa'-y'ik xa'xad heuleklakno'o going to where he left his horse, he caught him, it is said

# (d) The Noun Forming Suffix (75)

# 75. The Noun Forming Suffix -an.

A great number of verb themes may take this suffix which makes them function as nouns. Examples: heilabaheilab-an to stand up, arise tree, that which stands

yagwa- to kick ..., dance

yagw-an leg, that with which one kicks or

dances

yaxa- to eat ...

yax-an food, that which is eaten

naxdje- to build a fire

naxdj-an fire

gadwe- to give birth to ...

gadw-an female animal (not human female)

na·xcogna- to guide, scout, reconnoiter

na·xcogn-an scout, guide

x'ene- to sweep x'en-an broom

c'e'·da-c'e'·d-anto cut ...
rope

hec'agohec'agw-an to shave oneself razor (cf. 3)

Many other examples could be listed — probably half the nouns of the language are formed in this way. When the verb theme has an element of the type CVw or CVy as final element, that element becomes Co and the noun suffix -n.

he·cogyawhe·cogyo·-n to fight, go to war war, war party

na hew- to build a house

na·ho·-n house

xal'oy- to cut ... knife

'e'eyaw- to work

'e'eyo'-n gabai Sunday, no work (gabai no)

Certain compounded verb themes in which the first theme takes a subordinating suffix may be made into nouns by adding this suffix to the second theme of the combination.

naule-d yaxa- to spread a cloth to eat

naule-d yax-an tablecloth; that which one spreads in

order to eat

babna-d yaxa- to set the (table) to eat

ba·bna-d yax-an table; that on which (things) are set

and eaten

yago-d xana- to dip up water to drink

yago-d xan-an dipper; that with which one dips

water to drink

dayo-d bilili-d xanadayo-d bilili-d xan-an to mix, roll (it) for smoking
a headache medicine composed of
sage mixed with tobacco and
smoked in a cigarette

# (e) The Modal Enclitics (76—82)

### 76. General Remarks.

The modal suffixes added to the -k form of the theme may, in most cases, also be added to nouns, adjectives or demonstratives. The modes so formed are the declarative, interrogative, resultative, hortatory, quotative, and certain subordinated modes.

### 77. The Declarative -au, -a·we.

The declarative formed by adding -au to the -k form of the verb differs from the ordinary declarative in that it defines a completed action. It is ordinarily tenseless but may be used with the future tense suffix. Examples:

didjan-galak-ga geu'eiweidja-k-au the enemy have caught us hedju'ax 'eye-no-k-au something has happened to you 'egwan-wixwan-la hewawa-k-au a little dog has died t'celai necgaldei 'e-k-au she has gone to the other side of the sky 'ax-ge-la hagne-k-awe the water of the (river) has dried up 'ix 'e-ne-k-au you did wrong wa'dew'an '-abe-k-au it isn't on this side naya da'hable-ne-k-au you have helped her

-au may also be added to verb themes and to nouns. In those cases, it defines a static notion. Examples:

hedjodjxo·k-la geucog-au a bad one owns us (cog- to put away)
de'l heilab-au she is standing right here
heidicnan-au she is bashful
djagau-e'e·k-au where the creek is
na·yak hel'a·d-au yours is over there (hel'a·d over there)
ca·gen gab-a·we that is not mine
we·l'ad-la yadcanan-au that's the heart (yadcanan heart)
yadalban-gwa·lou-la hedjn-au a big loaf of bread is lying there

It appears very likely that -au is a form of the auxiliary ye:-to be, which has become specialized in usage. In support of this the paradigm for ye:- in the present tense of the declarative mode is appended.

ye:-we-'-c Sg. 1 2 ye ·- we ·- ga hawe or hau Du. 1 nec-ye-we-'-c nec-ye'-we'- ga 3 nec-a'we or nec-au Pl. 1 wec-ye'-we-'-c 2 wec-ye-we-ga 3 ha weyagagw

This paradigm lists an ha-we or hau form in the third person singular which is the same as the modal enclitic described above in form, and is probably cognate with it. Note, also, the curious positions of the dual and plural subject elements which here come before the theme itself. This phenomenon is unique with this paradigm.

### 78. The Interrogatives, -ye, and -ye·lgwa.

-ye, added to the -k form of the verb, may be translated "have (you) done ..."; while -ye·lgwa means "are (you) certain of ...", or "do (you) assert that ...". Both may take the interrogative suffix -' which is dropped when the form is preceded by an interrogative pronoun. The text forms available are nearly all preceded by interrogative pronouns. Examples:

hededj '-a'do-nek-ye hedju''ax-ei-ga nengoxo-l'ok what will you do if someone chases you?

hededja yamga:-k-ye to what place were you called?

hededja ye·la-k-ye tadyaw-de·-la where did you find these sweet potatoes?

waxec 'egwan-ye'lgwa-' are you sure it's a dog?

hededj '-a·do-ne-k-ye·lgwa will you do it?

hedju 'e-no-k-ye what is the matter with you?

de-la hedju-ye what is this?

hededj '-a'do-k-ye c'e'da-l'ok what will happen if I cut it ?

xam'al-e'e-la t'caw'al-ye-' is the prairie wide?

hededj 'an'ok ya'dj-a'do-ne-k-ye ma'ga-no-ne-k-wa'-'a'lak how will you see her by that weeping of yours (how will your weeping help you to see her)?

From the above examples, we see that these forms made be added to noun, verb theme, or demonstrative, and are not confined to -k forms. It is clear, too, that neither -ye nor  $-ye \cdot lgwa$  are inherently interrogative: that connotation is supplied either by the suffix-' or the interrogative pronoun. Besides, there is one form with -ye which is not interrogative in meaning:  $bac\ gedjxwa-ne-k-ye\ I$  have slept too long. It seems likely, therefore, that -ye is cognate with the auxiliary -ye- and has lost its length when used in this particular situation. ye-l-gwa, too, is probably the auxiliary plus -l- third person suffix (for other examples of such a third person suffix, cf. 44) and the mode suffix -gwa.

# 79. The Resultative -djo'.

The suffix -djo', added to the -k form of a verb, defines an action resulting from one preceding. It may also be used with nouns: in such cases it assumes a static connotation similar to that of -au and -ye, except that preceding action is implied. Examples.

de dj '-a do-ce-k-djo' (if someone were after me), I should behave in this manner

ge·waw-ab-a·do-k-djo' (now), I will not die

geyadjan-didc'-'an'ok ya'ded geyadj-a'd-o'c'e-ne-k-djo' if they want to see me, they may come to see me

we'-didj-a'a ya'lo'na-n yax-a'do-ne-k-djo' having killed it in that manner, you will have food

cax'ai-na'xen-djo' this is your arrow (after searching for it)

ya·lo·n-o'-c . . . . xal'o·n-de·-la 'o·n-bax-djo' I killed her . . . , this knife has blood on it

we'-y'ik gec'eda-l'ok ... ge'waw-a'do-k-djo' if I am cut there ... I will die henox 'e'-ne-k-djo' you have done well holau-'a'la we'l'ad-djo' this (then) is the end (of the story)

-djo, we see from the above examples, is less generalized than the preceding enclitics: it is found oftener with -k forms. It is probable, however, that it, too, is an old auxiliary which has lost independent status and is now confined to forms such as these.

### 80. The Hortatory -'e'.

This enclitic may only be added to verbs. It is never used in conjunction with the suffix for the future tense or with the continuative suffix. Examples:

dana-ce-k-'e' let's go!

daixena-ce-k-'e let's go across!

t'celai-de:-la xawan-a:do-no-gwa geda:ble-u yagex-aidjona-ce-k-'e: the sky is going to fall; help me, let's push it up!

cax'ai-de:-l-ac yag'e-xamyo:-ce-k-'e' let's have a contest in shooting with arrows!

geda·ble-u ma·dan ya·lo·na-ce-k-'e· help me, let's kill him quickly daclo·-ce-k-'e· let's go wandering

# 81. The Quotative Suffixes, -no'o and -lakno'o.

Both of these suffixes can only be added to the verb form in -k. The first of them, -no'o, means "it is being said . . ." or "one hears that . . .". Examples:

djane-ne-k-no'o it is being said that you left her
ya·lo·na-k-no'o it is said that he killed him
we·-y'ik gwa·n-la hedjodjxo·-k-la 'eiwendjaga-no-k-no'o it is said that over
there (is) a bad woman (who) habitually kills people
'eigagaidj-a·do-k-no'o he says it will be cut

The suffix -lakno'o is used by a speaker when telling myths and indicates that the events recounted happened a long time ago. It is really a narrative form and must be added to every verb in a story except those employed in direct discourse within the story. Examples:

da yadjox'o-no-k-lakno'o he lived with her, it is said hebaixwedan-la xa xa-k-lakno'o a woman arrived, it is said "'egwan bax yaxa-n-o'o'-'" no-k-lakno'o "I eat only dogs" she said, it is said

For other examples of narrative forms cf. Chapter III, Text Analysis.

The -no'o in both suffixes is probably the third person form of the declarative past of the theme new- to say, tell. The -lak of the narrative suffix is probably cognate with the accusative suffix of the noun. Therefore, the quotative may be translated as "they have said that ...", while the narrative form would be "they told of ...".

### 82. The Subordinating Enclitics.

These are three in number: -a·lagid because, -'ai as, while, and -ladoi but, except. They may only be added to the verb form in -k and are not commonly used in the texts.

ya'dje-ce-k-a'lagid yalxiln-o' because I saw him, he ran away yalxiln-o' yagba-ne-k-a'lagid he ran away because you hit him

hadjne-k-'ai 'adcaw-o' as he lay there, he came to life hedjne-ce-k-'ai geigab-o' as I lay there, he hit me

t'caw'al dana-nac'e-k-ladoi yandjidj-xa·xa-k-lakno'o they went far off, but he ran catching up to them

hauna·dan-'a·y'ik 'e·-k-ladoi ha·'ago·n-ocac-wa·-'a·la all came to camp except that young man

# B. Themes Functioning as Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs (83—88)

#### 83. General Remarks.

We have seen, in the preceding sections, how the verb dominates the Tonkawa sentence: how, by means of its theme and affixes, it expresses and modifies the action and incorporates the subject and object pronouns within its structure. However, few sentences are complete without other words; words defining the subject and object of the action, and words modifying the verb and its subject and object. These, too may be studied in two sections: the theme and its affixes. Themes of this sort are very similar to each other formally: are, indeed, no different from the verb in formal structure save in one respect — they have meaning when used apart from their affixes, whereas the verb has full meaning only when used with its formal affixes. Formally, then, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and pronominal themes are similar and, in a good many cases, one theme

can be used in any one of the four functions. The difference in function depends upon, first, the position of the theme in the sentence and, secondly, upon the affixes it may take.

Themes functioning as nouns and personal pronouns take certain definite suffixes which define their relationship to the verb. Demonstratives may also take such suffixes and are, in addition, often found inserted between the noun and its formal suffix. Themes functioning as adjectives are invariably placed between the theme they modify (a noun functioning theme) and its formal suffix. Themes functioning as adverbs take no suffixes whatever but are placed — generally — before the verb themes they modify. In a few cases, where no confusion will result, they follow the verb theme. A Tonkawa sentence is, then, composed of a number of themes, formally alike, each possessing characteristic affixes defining its function in the sentence and its relationship to other words in the sentence and each having a more or less fixed position in the sentence. For example,

'egwan-edjodjxo·k-la ha''ago·n-gwa·lou-lak djigeu nadj-o' The bad dog severely bit a big man

In this sentence the themes are: 'egwan dog, hedjodjxo·k bad, ha·'ago·n man, gwa·lou big, djigeu severely and nadje- to bite . . . . The suffixes: -la nominative singular indefinite, -lak accusative singular indefinite, and -o' declarative present, third person singular. Neither hedjodjxo·k bad, nor gwa·lou big nor djigeu severely, function exclusively as modifiers. hedjodjxo·k-la would mean "a bad (one)" or in the phrase hedjodjxo·k nadj-o' he bites him badly, would function as an adverb; gwa·lou-la a big (one), or gwa·lou bandjal-o' he opened his mouth widely; and djigeu-la the sharp (one), or xal'o·n-djigeu-la a sharp knife.

For this reason we have found it best to consider themes functioning as nouns, adjectives, and adverbs as in the same category, omitting only the pronouns (personal, possessive, and demonstrative) because they have certain specialized functions.

#### 84. The Theme.

It will be remembered that the verb theme, though fixed and rigid in form, was in some cases analyzable into stem and stem affixes. Themes functioning as nouns, adjectives, and adverbs may also be so analyzed and, in the following lists, we have arranged these themes according to the character of their first position elements — attempting to duplicate the verb classes defined in sections 28—32. It is, of course, impossible to apply the phonetic criteria to these that were applied to the verb since these themes do

not vary their forms. In spite of this drawback, it will be interesting to note how many of these themes fall into classes resembling those of the verb.

### ya- Themes.

yax'aban	$\operatorname{spear}$
yagadzgobxan	${ m armpit}$
yagew'an	entrails
uadiax	chest

yagwdocwan yadjgaganan yadjak water-fall spike small, little

### na- Themes.

nam'e $k$	firewood	nahenan	flower
(cf. nam'e-ne- t	o broil	na' $ac$	$\operatorname{light}$
over hot	coals')	nacac	turtle
naheigac	sunflower		

### ne- Themes.

negak	vine	nel'edjxan	grapes, raisins
nedxal	tongue	neiganak	first
(cf. nedle- to lick.	?)	(compare nenganak	below)
nex' $eu$	bow, gun		

### nen- Themes.

nenxacan	firewood, me-	nengadzan	hoot-owl
	${f dicine}$	nendjoban	bear
(cf. nenxac- to	ignite?)	nenganak	first

### ha- Themes.

haiwal	blackjack (tree)	haglanan	sharp
hadjib	hole	hawai	tall
hadjidj'e'n'an	forehead	hagaida	this side
hanil	rat	hadak	very
hanga: $bou$	leech	hay on	itchy
(cf. hanga	ba- to stick to	, be attached to	?)

### ha:- Themes.

had $jon$ ' $ok$	eyebrows	· ha·'ac	many
(probably a	compound of hadjon-?	$ha \cdot naxok$	many
and	'ok hair, fur)	ha: $djin$	close, near

### he- Themes.

$hega \cdot neu$	skunk	henenwan	red paint
hem'ac	mother-in-law	heu'ax	alike, similar to
hexal'oi	ants	$hedjedjo \cdot n$	back, towards
hemaxan	chicken		the rear
hendja: $n$	pond, lake	hewil	thickly cluster-
henbagolai	owl		ed (like grapes)

hec' $au$	insignificant	henox	nice, good,
$hedjodjxo\cdot k$	bad, fearsome		pretty
(cf. hedjodjxo- to	be afraid?)	hew'a· $dan$	other side

#### he:- Themes.

he· $caxeu$	giant (a my-	$he$ $\cdot ci$ $\cdot calan$	turtle
	thological	$he \cdot nax$	easy
	character)	$he \cdot xadok$	poor, poverty
he do bou	Osage		stricken

(cf. dobo- to cut ...?; the Osage are referred to as cut-throats in the sign language)

There is, of course, no way of proving that the initial elements of the themes listed above are of the same character as those found in the verb themes. But the number of forms classifiable in this way is surprisingly large taking into consideration the fact that this class of theme comprises much less than half the number of verb themes.

Besides the above classification it is notable that these themes may also be classified according to their final elements.

#### -c Themes.

$`abancu \cdot c$	house-fly	na' $ac$	light
`awac	meat, buffalo	ha 'ac	many
'au'ic	little	yamac	lips
gelec	spotted	xe· $c$	sand
gegele'ec	spotted	lococ	all
daxac	day, sun, god		

#### -x Themes.

`a`x	water	gilix	high bank (of
ix	bad		river)
$na^*x$	road	henox	good, pretty
$ga^*x$	blind	camox	$\operatorname{red}$

### -'a Themes.

$i \cdot c \cdot a$	minnow	$go \cdot c \cdot a$	old (in years)
	(compare 'i·c'ix gar)	go· $l$ ' $a$	bird
$^{,}o\cdot^{,}a$	night		

#### -u Themes.

'au	$\operatorname{deer}$	gaxau	black, Negro
`okme`lou	pig	gwa· $lou$	big
bandjeu	bee	hec'au	little, insig-
$mo\cdot lagol`ou$	donkey		nificant
danceu	star	hobdjou	soft
yoxanan gamleu	bat	,	

#### -k Themes.

ok	hide	namek	dead tree
$`awa\cdot kt'ce\cdot k$	gum	godok	inside, room
`egak	grandmother	hadak	much
`oyuk	sack	$ha \cdot naxok$	many
`ok-ma'ik	cat	$he \cdot xadok$	poor, property-
magik	yellow	less	
maclak	white	$hedjodjxo\cdot k$	fearful, frightful
degek	brush		

### -l Themes

ma· $lol$	plum	nox lul	screech-owl
dek'al	a very hard wood	gobul	$\operatorname{round}$
nal	vagina	dangol	back of the head
ne· $l$	penis	xalal	warm
nedxal	tongue	xe· $l$	$\operatorname{seed}$
nokxol	heel		

### -i Themes

`awa`hei	Pawnee	gabai	nothing
`acoi	belly	hawai	long
hexal'oi	ant	xam' $ei$	gray-haired
makai	dun (color)	xagai	wide
dinai	old	xa· $cei$	leaf

Quite a few nouns appear with the suffix -n. In some cases, at least, it appears that these may be nouns formed from verb themes; the verb form having fallen into disuse. In other cases, the -n ending must be considered on a par with the consonantal endings listed above.

### -n Themes.

`ahan	daughter	nando'on	mountains
'e'eyon	feathers	nengadzan	hoot-owl
'egwan	$\operatorname{dog}$	nendjoban	bear
'eyei'on	war shield	$necy exemyo \cdot n$	money
'o'ayon	baby	ga· $lwan$	wagon
'o'n	blood	gogon	chief
mai'a $n$	land terrapin	$gwa\cdot n$	woman
dan	tail	$gwa\cdot gwan$	women
didjgan	people, person	x' $a$ - $don$	blue
t'oyan	$\operatorname{drum}$	ha· $djin$	near, close
$na$ $\cdot don$	mountain	henenwan	paint

A few nouns and adjectives have no apparent endings — or, rather, illustrate a miscellaneous set of endings. These are:

`exwa	buzzard	$naco\cdot nti$	Caddo
'o'o'	owl	$hoxolo\cdot go$	shell
benedixga'	Comanche	nexwa	year, winter
$me^*m$	${ m cheeks}$	gadma'adj	meadow-lark
t'a· $laba$	buckskin	ga· $la$	mouth
dodoyo'ob	spotted	gobhodj	rock lizard
	, -		

This is as much analysis as is possible for these themes end one can readily see that we have not succeeded in penetrating deeply into the structure. Quite obviously, however, there are not many differences between these themes and verb themes and, perhaps, if we could be more definite in our analysis of the verbs, the nouns and others would not be so unyielding to analysis.

There are only a very few themes having separate plural forms: plurality is normally taken care of by suffixation (cf. 86).

na don	mountain
nando'on	mountains scattered here and there — a range of mountains
gwa· $n$	woman
gwa: $gwan$	women
hocac	young
hoca'ac	young (persons)
henox	pretty
heno'ox	pretty (things, persons)
'o·n	blood
'o·'on	blood veins
gelec	$\operatorname{spotted}$
gegele'ec	spotted (referring to several)
yeiga'ai	large (referring to many objects)
0 0	

In most of these, one of the theme elements is reduplicated in the plural form. It will also be noted that this reduplication is accompanied by a "breaking" of the vowel of another theme element—i. e., the insertion, it seems, of an element composed of glottal stop plus vowel. This process is unique with these forms.

# 85. Compounded Themes.

Nouns may be compounded with adjectives, nouns, and verb themes. In all such compounds the second theme modifies the first. Examples:

# noun plus adjective:

'abancu'c-yeiga'ai horsefly; 'abancu'c fly, yeiga'ai big (referring to many objects).

<sup>&#</sup>x27;a·x-bix cider; 'a·x water, bix sweet.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;a·x-na'ac clear water; 'a·x water, na'ac light, clear.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;au-gwa·lou elk; 'au deer, gwa·lou big.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;awac-adak buffalo; 'awac meat, hadak much; the word buffalo may also be expressed by 'awac alone.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;awac-ec'au camel; hec'au little, insignificant.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;ale·n-ec'au barley; 'ale·na wheat.

mam'an-djigeu red peppers; mam'an pepper, djigeu sharp (in taste)

bandjeu-gegele'ec spotted bee (referring to a species of bee); bandjeu bee, gegele'ec spotted.

dan-gelec raccoon; dan tail; gelec spotted.

dan-maclak rabbit; maclak white.

necyexemyoʻn-magik gold; necyexemyoʻn money, magik yellow

### noun plus noun.

'a·x-ga·noc whiskey; ga·noc Mexican (probably from the Spanish, Mejicano). 'au-'ok deer hide; au deer, 'ok hide.

'awac-na'dan buffalo foot; 'awac buffalo, na'dan foot.

danceu-daxco'n morning star; danceu star, daxco'n morning, day-break. gala-yamac lips; gala mouth; yamac may also be used independently for lips. gal'ok moustache; 'ok hair, hide.

yagwan-'oyuk leggings; yagwan legs, 'oyuk sack

go·l'a-'e'eyon bird feathers; go·l'a bird, 'e'eyon feathers.

Some nouns and noun plus adjective compounds have the modifier -didj like, as, suffixed. Examples:

yelan-obdjou-didj cushioned chair; yelan chair, hobdjou soft.

necwal'an-ce'nan-didj eel; necwal'an fish, ce'nan snake.

didjgan-wa-didj Tonkawa; didjgan people; wa-the aforementioned, the particular

xa·cei-didj cabbage; xa·cei leaf.

necgaicanan-didj gunny sack; necgaicanan yucca.

The compounds so far illustrated — with the exception of the last group — have all been composed of two independent themes. Compounds built up of noun plus verb theme differ in that the last element cannot be used alone (except, of course, with appropriate formal suffixes).

'awac-n'a'n sausage; 'awac meat; -n'a'n-, a verb stem used in n'a'n-we- to be ground, mashed, and ya-n'a'n-we- to pound, mash (corn, etc.)

'egwanc-xau horse; 'egwan dog, -c, an instrumental noun suffix (cf. 86), -xauto move great distances (?).

maclak-daxco frost; maclak white, daxco -, a verb theme day breaks; morning arrives.

daxac-haglanak West; daxac day, sun, haglanak, the -k participle of haglanato go down.

daxac-haidjodak East; haidjodak, the -k participle of haidjoda- to come up, arise.

didjan-yacxaw'a quail; didjan people, yacxaw'a is evidently derived from the verb theme yacxaw- to frighten, scare. The suffix -'a may be cognate with the suffix -'a illustrated in section 84.

nebaxgan-bilil eigarette; nebaxgan tobacco, bilil- to wrap up, roll. t'caxw-yabetc thread; t'caxw cloth, fabric, yabdje- to sew.

Several compounds involve more than two themes. Some of these are illustrated below:

'au-dan-gaxau black-tailed deer; 'au deer, dan tail, gaxau black. 'i·c'a-dan-camox red-tailed minnow; 'i·c'a minnow, camox red. dan-'ok-gabai oppossum; 'ok hair, hide, gabai none, nothing.

dol'axan-ho''oxo'n-na'x Milky way; dol'axan corn, ho''oxo'n that which is stolen; na'x road.

yagwan-'oyuk-t'alaba buckskin leggings; yagwan leg, 'oyuk sack, t'alaba buckskin.

Many noun compounds involve themes which no longer exist independently and to which the informant could give no meaning.

'a·x-yaidjan kingfisher; 'a·x water.

'atc-'ix bad, cold weather; 'ix bad, ugly.

ben-'atc spring (of year). Neither of the elements of this compound can be interpreted but the second part is probably cognate with the 'atc- of 'atc'ix.

'ok-ma'ek cat; 'ok fur.

'ok-me'lou pig, hog.

'ok-xai'otc shell-fish.

dac-'ok pubic hair.

magik-'o'gitc oranges; magik yellow.

camox-'o'gitc tomatoes; camox red.

mo·la-gol'ou donkey; mo·la (from Spanish 'mula') 'mule'.

ma·lol-nedimai a species of plum; ma·lol plum.

dan-coidad squirrel; dan tail.

dan-ca·le hawk.

yagogxon-'edjewin Mescalero Apache; yagogxon shoe, mocassins. This term is said to refer to the turned up toes of Apache moccasins.

yoxanan-gamleu bat; yoxanan wings.

### 86. The Formal Suffixes of the Noun.

The noun may be followed by its adjective modifier, a demonstrative (or possessive) pronoun, or an auxiliary verb theme. In the first two cases and when the noun is used alone, it must also be followed by one or more formal suffixes. These suffixes define three concepts: 1) the definite article (-'a· for the definite, zero for the indefinite article); 2) singular and plural (-l for the singular, -g for the plural); and, 3) the relation of the noun to the verb whether nominative, accusative, dative, or instrumental. There are also certain suffixes denoting possession between two nouns and conjunction of two nouns. The suffixes align themselves as follows:

	Indef	Indefinite		Definite	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	
Nominative	-la	-ga	-' $a$ '- $la$	-'a·-ga	
Accusative	-lak	-gak	-' $a$ '- $lak$	-' $a$ '- $gak$	
Dative					
(arriving)	—		-'a·-	y' $ik$	
(towards)	—		-'a'-	w'an	
Instrumental		-ec	-' $a$ '- $lac$	-'a-gai	

### I. The Nominative and Accusative.

These two series are the most complete, having forms for singular and plural, both definite and indefinite. The plural definite forms for both cases are, however, rather rare. Text examples:

hebaixwedan-la xa xaklakno'o a young woman arrived, it is said

ha'djeogonai-la 'awac-gak ya'lo'n-'an Coyote, killing (much) meat, ...
ha'ago'n-ocac-la cax'ai-gak 'e'eyo'-no-k-lakno'o a young man was making arrows, it is said
daxac-'a'-la haglana'-gwa as the sun was setting
holau'a'-lak ya'lo'naklakno'o the last one he killed, it is said
cax'ai-'a'xen-'a'-lak da'ane-k-lakno'o he picked up his arrow, it is said
'oyuk-wa'-'a'-lak xadyau-'a'-lak necbedje-da he filled the sack with sweet
potatoes

co·na-gwa·gwan-ga -'e'-no-k-lakno'o they were duck women, it is said didjganwa·dj-ga ha·'ago·n-oca'ac-ga na·'e'-k-lakno'o (a number of) Tonkawa young men were travelling, it is said

necwal'e-no-k-lakno'o 'i·c'a-gak he fished minnows, it is said 'awac-gak ya·lo·n-a·do-n-o'-c I am going to kill buffaloes ca·ya 'e·-ce-k de·-dj 'e·-n-o'o ha·'ago·n-'a·-ga I have done as men do didjgan-'a·-ga ha·xeida-gwa-' did anyone come? ya·lo·na-k-lakno'o he·dobou-'a·-ga the Osages killed him, it is said

The definite is often interpreted as a third person possessive. Examples:

ha'ago'n-ocac-la 'egak-'a'-lak da'yadjox'o-no-k-lakno'o a young man lived with his (the) grandmother, it is said ganxaidjon-'a'-l-ac heule-nec'e-k-lakno'o they two caught it by means of their (the) horns, it is said x'a'i-'a'-lak hebage-k-lakno'o she told her mother, it is said 'egwancxau-'a'-gak we'cyadjxo'-gwa mounting their horses, ...

These noun suffixes may also be added to third person forms of the verb and, in such an event, are translated as an agentive, "the one who does so and so". Examples:

neiganak xa·xano'-'a·-la the one arriving first (xa·xa-n-o' he is arriving)
'a·x-wa·-'a·-l-cogano'-'a·-la the one owning the waters (coga-n-o' he is putting it away, he owns it)

wa'dil cogano'-'a'-la the one who owns that

ga·noc-cogano'-'a·-la yadmaxan-wa·-'a·-lak the Mexican who owned the water-melon

yaxw-gagai'adj-adxilnano'-'a'-la the one who cuts through to the other end dodobo-k-lakno'o yaweno'-'a'-lak she cut that by which he was tied (yawe-n-o' he is being tied)

Note, in the above examples, that agentive forms always require the noun suffix for the definite.

There are also a few examples of noun suffixes attached to verb themes: such constructions are generally interpreted as subordinated forms. da'ane-da ha'na-la he took it and, going off, ... (ha'na- one person goes off) cilweno-la cocgo'na-k-lakno'o while wandering about, he heard it, it is said

(cilwe- to wander about). This could also be interpreted "he wandering about heard it, it is said", where "he wandering about" is the subject of the verb.

ha·djcogonai-la hewawa-d hedjne-no-la 'adco'-k-lakno'o Coyote, lying there dead, came to life, it is said (hedjne- to lie down)

'awac-maclak-la heilab-'a'-la no-k-lakno'o a white buffalo stands (there) he said, it is said (heilab- to stand)

xa·xa-l-'ok ga·noc-la heilab-'a·-lak as he arrived, a Mexican (was) standing (there)

The suffix -lak is very often used independently or, at least, semiindependently, to set off certain word groupings. Its exact function in this connection will best be explained by a few examples. Thus, 'e·l'ok 'a·x-'a·-la x'adon·-dak ye·la-k-lakno'o lak wa·y'ik 'e·da ha 'ago n-ocac-wa - 'a - la hadjxo-k-lakno'o which, translated literally, means: but the water very blue there was lak from this then that young man arose it is said. The young man was a magician and had turned himself into a patch of intensely blue water: his wife, looking for him, could not see him but saw 'this patch of very blue water from which that young man arose'. It appears, then, that lak makes the phrase 'a·x-'a·-la x'adon·-dak ye·la-k-lakno'o "a (patch of) very blue water was lying" the object of 'e·l'ok which, as was shown in section 38, is a particle based on the auxiliary verb: to be, to do. Therefore, a free translation is "(she did not see him) but (saw) a patch of very blue water lying there from which, then, the young man arose''. hadxilna-l-'ok ha-djcogonai-la heilab-e-la-k-lakno'o lak da·dagxona-k-lakno'o when she went out Coyote was standing lak, she brought him in, it is said. Here again lak refers the phrase "Coyote was standing" to the verb "when she went out" so that, translated freely, the sentence means, "when she went out (she saw or noticed) Coyote standing (there); she brought him in, it is said".

In the examples to follow, the phrase objectified by lak will be put in parenthesis.

'e·gwa (yadjox'an-'a·-la na·don-'a·-y'ik wa·-y'ik yadjox'an-a·naxok ye·la-k-lakno'o) lak it so happening that there was a large camp below the mountain, . . .

t'caxw-'a-lak da'an-yaidjona-l-'ok (gandjeu bax ye-la-k-lakno'o) lak when she lifted up the blanket (she found) it was all worm-eaten, it is said yada-l-'ok (hedjn-e-la-k-lakno'o) lak when he came (there), (he found) him lying (there), it is said

'e'l'ok (heigwedjan-wa'-'a'-la 'acoi-'a'-y'ik hedjn-e'la-k-lakno'o) lak then it happened (that) that ring was lying in his stomach, it is said

ha dicogonai-la ha na-no-k-lakno'o 'e gwa (dan-maclak-gwa lou hedin-e la-k-lakno'o) lak Coyote was walking along, it is said, and there (was) a large Rabbit lying down

'e'l'ok (gwa'n-wa'-'a'-la gab-e'la-k-lakno'o) lak but it appeared (that) that woman was not (there)

ha'djin 'e'xadxa-l-'ok (naxdjan ye'la-k-lakno'o) lak when he brought him close to (where) the fire was, ...

'e'gwa ('awac-adak-la hedjn-e'la-k-lakno'o) lak it happened a buffalo was lying down

We note, in these examples, that, in every case, the verb of the objectified phrase (i. e., the phrase in parentheses) has compounded with is the reduced form -e·- of the auxiliary ye·- to be (cf. 38); and is, therefore, a static verb. The part of the expression in parentheses is this static verb and this totality is referred to the active verb preceding by the element lak.

#### II. The Dative Suffixes.

There are, as we have seen, two dative suffixes. The former one  $-a \cdot y \cdot ik$ , is most commonly used. It carries with it an "endpoint" notion; the concept of "(arriving) at, to, in (a certain point)". The other,  $-a \cdot w \cdot an$  (used mostly with verbs of going) implies a motion towards an indirect object. Examples:

t'cagau-'a'-y'ik wa'na-k-lakno'o he fell into the river, it is said yadjox'an-'a'-y'ik xadxa-nec'e-k-lakno'o they two arrived at the tipi, it is said

madjxanan-'a'-la ca'hal-'a'-y'ik heilaba-no-k-lakno'o his sweetheart was standing at the door, it is said

ha·dj-'a·-y'ik hagxona-k-lakno'o he (Turtle) went into the ground, it is said 'awac-wa·-'a·-lak dja·l-'a·-y'ik nadje-k-lakno'o he bit that buffalo (in) the testicles; bit that buffalo's testicles, it is said

yadxan-'a-y'ik may'an-wa-'a-lak yal-dadamaxe-k-lakno'o he threw that turtle on a stone, smashing him, it is said

dana-nec'e-k-lakno'o yadjox'an-'a'-w'an they two went towards the tipi, it is said

nando'on-'a'-w'an da'da-no-k-lakno'o he started off with her to the mountains, it is said

hemama'go'-dana-k-lakno'o yadjox'an-'a'-w'an they went off, weeping, towards their tipis, it is said

gwa·n-la hedjne-k-'a·-w'an hedjne-k-lakno'o he (made to) lie down by the side of) the woman, it is said

(Note that -'a·-w'an is used instead of -'a·-y'ik, showing that he did not actually lie down by the woman but simply started to do so and was stopped.)

na·don-'a·-lak necgaldei-'a·-w'an yag-xailaba-k-lakno'o he shot (an arrow) in the ground on the other side of the mountain, it is said

(-'a'-w'an is suffixed to the word meaning 'other side': he shot towards the other side so that the arrow would be stuck in the ground.)

#### III. Instrumental Suffixes.

These are distinguished for definite and indefinite (indefinite -ec, definite  $-a\cdot -lac$ ) and there occurs, but rarely, a plural definite form  $(-a\cdot -gai)$ . Examples:

yan'a nwan-el'a d-ac by means of this chain

ha'ago'n-la heilaba-da 'egwan-'a'-lak weile-no-k-lakno'o gwe'h-ec a man stood and threw by means of a stick at the dog (threw sticks at the dog), it is said

'e·kla 'egwan-wixwan-ec hexcaca-k-lakno'o then he (Coyote) yelped like a little dog, it is said

he·dobow-ec bidjna-k-lakno'o dagei-'a·-lak they cut his hair according to the Osage style, it is said (he·dobou Osage)

ganxaidjon-'a:-l-ac heule-nec'e-k-lakno'o they two grasped it by means of their horns, it is said

cax'ai-'a·-l-ac yag'e-d nabacxan-'a·-lak yag'e-k-lakno'o he, shooting with an arrow, shot the ball, it is said

da'andje-nec'e-k-lakno'o he'dyan-'a'-gai they two held him by means of his arms, it is said

haucecan-'a·-lak c'a·dj-'a·-gai 'oyugo-k-lakno'o he put the glowing coals in under his finger nails (carried them by means of his finger nails), it is said yadexan-gak yadjax-'a·-gai henecanangaba-da he caused the stones to stick to him by means of his chest

#### IV. Other Suffixes.

Possession between two nouns is indicated by a suffix -'an attached to the noun denoting the possessor.

hebaixwedan-ocac-wa·-l-'an x'a·i-'a·-la the young lady's mother ha·'ago·n-ocac-wa·-'a·-l-'an madjxanan-'a·-la the young man's sweetheart xal'o·n-de·-la gwa·n-'an 'o·n-bax-djo' this knife has a woman's blood on it ha·'ago·n-ocac-wa·-l-'an dja·l-'a·-la that young man's testicles

ha·djcogonai-'an da·'e·-k-la Coyote's wife

ha·djcogonai- la gwa·gwan-wa·-l-'an hexwid-lak ho·'oxo·-k-lakno'o Coyote stole a belt belonging to those women, it is said

ha·na-k-lakno'o yadjox'an-oca'ac-wa·-l-'an he went off to the camp of the young (men)

ga·noc-gogon-gwa·lou-wa·-l-'an 'ahan-'a·-lak da·'e·-k-lakno'o he married the daughter of that big Mexican chief, it is said

'awac-wa'-'a'-lak cogano'-'a'-l-'an 'o'dja-'a'-la the children of him who owned that buffalo

Conjunction is expressed by means of a suffix -'en which may either be attached directly to the nouns involved or to the noun plus nominative suffix. Examples:

heigwedjan-'en heixaxal'an-'en henenwan-'en rings and ear-rings and red paint and . . .

ha'ago'n-ocac-la-'en hebaixwedan-ocac-la-'en a young man and a young woman and . . .

dan-maclak-wa:-'a:-lak yaxa-no-n-lakno'o necwal'an-wa:-l-'en the rabbit they ate and the fish

yawe-k-lakno'o he'dyan-'a'-l-'en yagwan-'a'-l-'en they tied his arms and his legs hanil-wa'-ga 'egwan-wa'-l-'en 'okma'ek-wa'-l'-en weimaga-d those mice, calling that dog and that cat, ...

'okma'ek-la-'en 'egwan-la-'en wenecda gona-k-lakno'o he made a cat and a dog look for it, it is said

'ewac-'a·-l-'en x'a·i-'a·-l-'en "henox 'e·-ne-k-djo'' no-k-lakno'o her father and her mother said "you did well"

A suffix -'ida, -da meaning (two, three, etc.) of them may be added to numerals and other words defining quantity or number. Themes taking this suffix require no case suffix. Examples:

cigid-'ida 'e'-n-o'o-lok there are four of them

ha·dj-'ida cocoyana-nec'e-k-lakno'o both of them swam away, is is said ha·naxok-'ida weda·ho·-k-lakno'o many of them met them, it is said

ha·noxok-'ida na·'e·-k-lakno'o many of them went off, it is said

lococ-'ida daidjod-a'do-nwa' all of them will come up

gwa·gwan-ga cigid-'ida hebnono'xo'-no-k-lakno'o four women (women, four of them) were bathing, it is said

ha 'ago'n-oca'ac-'a'-la cigid-'ida da'andje-da the young men, four of them, grasped him and . . .

gedai-da da'andje-nec'e-k-lakno'o two of them had hold of him, it is said gedai-da hagoxa-nec'e-l-ga'ak when two of them got tired ...

go·c'-a·'ac-la gedai-da yadjox'an-ec-awe·lak old people, two of them, live there

hebnono 'xo '-no-k-lakno' o hebaixwedan-gabai-da they were bathing without dresses (dressed — none of them)

### 87. Themes Functioning as Modifiers.

It is only necessary here to list a number of text examples to illustrate the varying positions and functions of the themes commonly used as modifiers since, as we mentioned before, there structure is similar to that of the noun functioning themes.

# 'a·yai down, below, under

heilaban-'a'yai-wa'-y'ik hedjne-no-k-lakno'o he was lying under that tree, it is said

na·don-'a·yai-wa·-y'ik yadjox'an-a·naxok ye·la-k-lakno'o there was a big camp at the foot of that mountain, it is said

Note, here, that the complex yadjox'an-a-naxok takes no case suffix. This is because it precedes the auxiliary ye- to be, and, as such, is a part of the static verb "there is a big camp".

'a yai-wa - y'ik yela-da sitting down inside, ...

yadjox'an-'a'yai-'a'-y'ik ma'ga-no-k-lakno'o someone was weeping inside that tipi, it is said

na'e'-d na'don-'a'-lak 'a'yai-wa'-y'ik they went to the other side of the mountain

In this sentence, the theme 'a yai is separated from the noun na don and given its own noun suffix. Literally, the sentence reads "they went the mountain (accus.) to that inside". That is, "to that inside the mountain" means idiomatically "the other side of the mountain".

# ma·dan quickly

ma'dan wedjne-u turn them loose quickly ma'dan ya'lo'na-ce-k-'e' let's kill him quickly

### neiganak first, ahead of

neiganak xa·xano'-'a·-la the first one arriving neiganak xa·xa-d he, arriving first, ...

neiganak-'a-w'an xe-ngwa-na-d running along ahead of him (literally, running along to the fore)

### go·c'a old (in years)

gwa·n-go·c'a-wa·-'a·-la that old woman xa·xa-d ya·dje-c-a'a go·c'-a·'ac-wa·-y'ik I shall go to see those old (people)

### $ga \cdot x$ blind

ha·'ago·n-ga·x-la a blind man ha·'ago·n-go·c'a-didj-la ga·x-la an oldish man, a blind one

### galak other

didjan-galak-ga the enemy, other people galak-'a·-y'ik hedjne-k-lakno'o he lay down on the other (side) galak-'a·-y'ik yela-k-laknoo he sat down on the other (side)

### gabai no, not

hengwa·-cilwa-n 'a·x-gabai-e'e·-k running around (he came) to no water (i. e., dry land)

ha'ago'n-ocac-gocam-gabai-la a crazy young man

(Note the number of modifiers between the noun ha'ago'n and the formal suffix -la: hocac young, gocam senses, brains, and gabai none.) gabai 'e'-no-k-lakno'o he did not come, it is said

ha·djcogonai-la 'andjo·-k-lakno'o 'e·d gabai-lak Coyote awoke and (found) him gone, it is said

# gwa·lou big, large

dan-maclak-gwa·lou-la a big rabbit

gwa·lou heigo'o·-gwa as he became big, grew up

gwa·lo·-dak bandjale-k-lakno'o he opened his mouth very wide, it is said gwa·lo·-dak naxdje-da he built a very big fire, and . . .

(gwa·lo·-dak is compounded of the theme gwa·lou big, and hadak very: the initial element of the final theme has been absorbed to the final element of the preceding theme, cf. 8).

# ha·djin close, near

heilaban-a·djin-'a·-y'ik heilaba-da he stood close to the tree and ... yadjox'an-a·djin-'a·-y'ik xa·xa-da he came close to the camp and ... ha·djin 'e·xadxa-l-'ok when he brought him close, ... ha·djin-'a·-y'ik hengwai-xa·xa-k-lakno'o he ran arriving close (to it) it is said

# hadak very

This is generally used to intensify the meaning of a particular modifier. It has the forms: hadak,  $ha \cdot dak$  (rhetorical length), and -dak. Thus,

heilaban-awa:-dak a very tall tree (hawai tall)

go·l'a·dak eagle, big bird (go·l'a bird)

'awac-ayon'-dak-la a buffalo itching badly (hayon itching. Note here that the final consonant of the modifier hayon is lengthened compensatively for the loss of the initial element ha- of hadak.)

x'adon'-dak intensely green, intensely blue

hawa:-dak nexale-k-lakno'o he bellowed very loudly, it is said (hawai loud; compare with hawai tall)

ha·djin·-dak nagwdo·-k-lakno'o they came very close to it, it is said 'awac-adak buffalo (much meat)

gwa·n-enox-a·dak a very pretty woman

### henox pretty, good

gwa·n-enox-a·dak a very pretty woman gwa·gwan-eno'ox pretty women cax'ay-e·-gak henox yagna-n-o' I shoot these arrows well hededj-'an'ok henox ya·dje-d ya·lo·n-a·do-ya'a how can you see well enough to kill her?

### yeiga'ai big (referring to several)

ha·djcogonai-yeiga'ai-camox-ga the red wolves (the big red coyotes)
yeiga'ai-'a·-lak we·bage-k-lakno'o he informed their parents; i. e., their
big ones

#### camox red

Note the use of camox as an adjective in the first of the examples illustrating yeiga'ai.

camox-a·dak heyadje-no-k-lakno'o it (a furnace) was looking very red (hot), it is said

camox-a·dak necgal-o·c'o-u heat it red (hot)

# djigeu fast, hard

This is really an intensifier as may be seen from the examples below. It means "fast", when modifying "to race"; "badly" when modifying "to be sick", etc.

go·l'a-djigeu-yandjidjxe·xel road runner (bird who runs fast)
djigeu yandjidjxil-n-o'o·-' I have been a fast runner, have been running fast
djigwo·-dak weglaxe-no-k-lakno'o he threw them off hard, it is said
djigeu 'adje-k-lakno'o he is badly sick, it is said

# dja·djxok middle, center

yadjox'an-dja'djxok-'a'-y'ik yadjox'an-awai-'a'-y'ik gwa'lou-'a'-y'ik xa'xa-d he, arriving at a big tall tipi in the center of the camp, ...

Note the number of modifiers and the way in which they are placed. Literally, this sentence may be translated: camp-center-to tipitall-to big-one-to he, arriving. The following sentence, expressing the same modifications, does it quite differently:

yadjox'an-dja'djxok-e'e'-k yadjox'an-awai-gwa'low-e'c'-k we'-y'ik geimag-o'o (literally) camp-center-to-that tipi-tall-big-to-that to-that-place they-have-called-me.

It is clear, then, that there is considerable freedom in the arrangement of nouns and modifiers.

ha·djcogonai-la dja·djxok-'a·-y'ik co·yan-'an Coyote, swimming to the center (of the river), ...

#### 88. The Numerals and Numeral Adverbs.

### I. Cardinals:

- 1. we·'ic-bax
- 2. gedai
- 3. med'ic
- 4. cigid
- 5. gacgwa
- 6. cikwa·lau (cig- plus gwa·lau (?))
- 7. cikye'ecdau
- 8. cigidye·'ec
- 9. cik-we·'ic-xw'e·l'a
- $10. \ cik-bax$
- 20. cikbax'a la gedai
- 100. ce·ndo we·'icbax
- 1000. ce·ndo'a·la cikbax

The word for the number "one" is simply we "ic; -bax is an adverb meaning "only, just". For ten the word is simply cik. All the numbers except two, three, and five, are, then, based on the theme cik. The word for six seems to be cik plus gwa·lau; the latter resembling the adjective gwa·lou big, large. Nine is formed by compounding cik plus we "ic one, and xw'e·l'a, which resembles the theme xw'e·l- to miss (a mark in shooting). In the word for seven, the suffix is unknown; the word for eight is cigid four, plus an unknown suffix. The theme cik corresponds to nothing else in the language.

The teens are formed as follows:

cikbax-'en med'ic-'en thirteen

The suffix -'en is the conjunctive suffix for nouns which has been discussed in section 86. The word thus reads "ten and three" = "thirteen". Twenty is formed by saying two tens; thirty by three tens, etc. The word for one hundred is borrowed from the Mexican ciento.

#### II. Ordinals.

 $egin{array}{lll} neiganak & ext{first} \\ yaxgocan & ext{second} \\ medcai & ext{third} \\ cikdai & ext{fourth} \\ holau & ext{last} \\ \end{array}$ 

neiganak, yaxgocan, and holau do not fit into the series. The second is also used to mean "the next one". The words for third and fourth are, however, regular, and seem to be formed from the cardinals by adding a suffix -ai.

#### III. The Numeral Adverbs.

These are formed from the cardinals by adding a suffix -'ic.

we·'ic-'ic bax	only once
gedaya-'ac	twice
medc-' $ac$	three times
cigd-'ac	four times
gacgw-'ac	five times

Note here that the adverb forming suffix -'ic is placed between we'ic and bax of the word for "one".

### C. The Pronoun (89—92)

#### 89. General Remarks.

We have already discussed (cf. 40—46) the pronominal affixes of the verb. Here we shall treat the independent personal pronouns, the possessive pronouns (which are independently expressed), the interrogative pronouns, and the demonstratives. All of these entities are treated as noun themes and take the regular noun suffixes.

#### 90. The Personal and Possessive Pronouns.

The independent personal pronoun is used only for emphasis — normally the pronominal affixes of the verb are sufficient. Possessive forms, however, are normally expressed independently and occur after the noun possessed — between it and its formal suffixes. The pronominal scheme is as follows:

		Nominative	Accusative	Possessive
Sg.	1	ca- $ya$	ca- $cik$	ca- $gen$
Ü	2	na-ya	na- $yak$	na- $xen$
	3	'a-ye-la	$`a-ye\cdot -lak$	`a- $xen$
Du.	1	geu-ca·-ya	$geu ext{-}ca ext{-}cik$	_
	2	we- $na$ '- $ya$	we-na'-yak	_
	3	$`a ext{-}we ext{-}la$	`a-we`-lak	
Pl.	1	geu- $ca$ - $ga$	geu-ca-gak	geu-ca·-gen
	2	we- $na$ - $ga$	we-na <sup>*</sup> -gak	na-we-ne-xen
	3	$`a ext{-}we ext{-}ga$	$`a-we\cdot-gak$	`a- $u$ - $xen$

There are, then, only three personal pronouns, ca-, na-, and 'a-. The others are made up by adding certain elements to these forms

and, as may be seen in the above table, in a rather irregular manner. -ya is evidently a personal suffix for the singular and dual — note, however, that it is replaced by -ci- in the first person of the accusative and by -la in both the third person forms. The whole third person is, however, irregular and the forms listed above are rarely used. Note, also, the various ways in which duality and plurality are expressed — in the first person dual by prefixing geu- which is a verb prefix meaning "us"; in the second person dual by prefixing we-, the pronominal prefix of plurality; and in the third person by suffixing -we. The plurals are similarly modified and, in addition, take the plural case suffixes of the noun. Note, in the plural, that the first person of the accusative becomes regular. The possessive paradigm is no less irregular and I have no explanation for its complexities.

### Examples:

cax'ai-na'xen-djo' this is your arrow ca'gen gab-a'we that is not mine

cax'ai-'a·-xen-'a·-lak da'ane-k-lakno'o he picked up his arrow, it is said 'egwancxau-ca'gen nenxale-c I found my horse

deyei-'a·lak yaxabe-u ca·ya yax-a·' do not eat the liver, I intend to eat it 'ix 'e-ne-k-a·we na·ya yaxa-u you have done wrong, you eat (alone)

na ya lococ hadxece-n-o'oi-no you have learned everything

ca·cik ga·yoxo-u ride me

na ya yela eu you stay here ca ya ya lo n-a I shall kill her

ca cik na a gedjxwane-l'ila ... me, when I'm asleep, ...

na yak ge xdawa -k-la I, taking pity on you, ...

da'he'banon-na'xen-ge-la ya'lo'na-gwa your friend has been killed

"de-lak" no-k-lakno'o yagwan-'a'xen-'a'-lak "this" he said (indicating) his leg

ha'ago'n-ca'gen-'a'-la hedjodjxo'k heigo'o-gwa my husband has become wicked gwa'n-na'xen-la yanga'-n-o' your wife is calling you ge'ge-u hegdo'n-na'xen-de'-lak give me this song of yours

The personal pronouns appear also in two other connections: with a suffix -xwa also, too, and -djoc by oneself.

Sg.	1	ca- $xwa$	ca-d $joc$
	2	na- $xwa$	na-d $joc$
	3	'a- $xwa$	a- $djoc$
Pl.	1	geu- $ca$ '- $xwa$	geu-ca·-djoc
	2	we- $na$ '- $xwa$	we-na-djoc
	3	$\dot{a}$ - $wa$ - $xwa$	`a-wa-dioc

# Examples:

dja·ne-n 'a·djoc hehew-a·do-nwa' let him recover by himself

'a djoc-a nan automobile (that which goes off by itself: ha na- one person goes off)

'a·xwa gedai-'a·-la da'andje-nec'e-k-lakno'o two others also grasped him, it is said

'a'xwa necengwa'n-'an he, too, making (his horse) run, ...
na'xwa necexwe-u you shout also
'a'xwa necexwe-k-lakno'o he also shouted, it is said
na'xwa de'-lak naule-d yaxa-u you cook and eat this one also
'e'ye'n ca'xwa wa'an wa'dja hedjn-a'' then I also shall sleep right here
ca'xwa heilaban-'a'yai-de'dja '-a'ha'a I, too, shall be under this tree

#### 91. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs.

There are four demonstrative themes, each distinguishing a definite position with reference to the speaker. Thus, wa-refers to persons, places, and things which have been mentioned before: the ... aforementioned; de- to persons, places, and things in the immediate neighborhood; he-e- or he- to persons, places, and things a distance away; and, we- to persons, places, and things a greater distance away. All vary their meanings according to whether they are used alone (with appropriate case suffixes) or whether they employ certain suffixes denoting place, direction or manner. There is, then, the following configuration of forms.

Theme	Place: $-dja$	$ ext{Direction: -}l$	Manner: -dj, -didj
wa·-	wa- $dja$	_	_
de	$de$ $\cdot$ $-dja$	de:- $l$	de- $dj$
he' $e$ -	he' $e$ - $dja$	he' $e$ '- $l$	he- $dj$
we-		we-' $il$	we- $dj$ , $we$ - $didj$

Thus  $wa\cdot dja$  this particular spot aforementioned,  $de\cdot dja$  this place, and he'edja that place ( $we\cdot$ - is not used with this suffix).  $wa\cdot$ - cannot be used with the direction suffix nor with the manner suffix.  $de\cdot l$  here, in this direction,  $he'e\cdot l$  over there, that way, and  $we\cdot il$  far away, way off in that direction. The last form is irregular: I have no explanation of its structure.  $de\cdot dj$  in this manner,  $he\cdot dj$  in that manner, and,  $we\cdot dj$ ,  $we\cdot didj$  in that manner.

All of the themes, when used alone, are employed with certain noun suffixes of case. The place, direction, and manner forms may also be used with case suffixes: more often, however, they have adverbial function and, as such, require no case suffixes. The following table gives only the case forms for the four themes:

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative (to)	Dative (towards)
Sg. wa-	$wa$ -'a $\cdot la$	$wa$ -'a $\cdot lak$	wa- $y$ ' $ik$	wa·-w'an
Pl.	wa- $ga$	wa- $gak$	_	_
Sg. de	de- $la$	de- $lak$	_	de- $w$ ' $an$
Pl.	de- $ga$	de- $gak$		<del>-</del>
Sg. he'e-	he' $e$ - $la$	he'e'-lak	he' $e$ '- $k$	he'e·-w'an or he·-w'an
Pl.	he- $ga$	he- $gak$	_	-
Sg. we-	_	_	we- $y$ ' $ik$	we- $w$ ' $an$

### Examples: wa:-

ha'ago'n-ocac-wa'-'a'lak that young man aforementioned

gogon-wa:-'a·la the aforementioned chief

gwa·gwan-wa·-ga those women aforementioned

ha'ago'n-ocac-wa'-ga those young men aforementioned

nex'eu-wa'-gak those bows aforementioned

ha djcogonai-wa -gak 'eiweidje-da he caught those aforementioned wolves and ...

Many examples illustrating this demonstrative may be found in Chapter III of this paper. It will be seen that when a person or thing is mentioned for the first time in the text it will not have this demonstrative but, as soon as it is mentioned again, it must employ wa-so that the listener will know the thing one is speaking of is one mentioned before. Necessarly, of course, this demonstrative is always found with the definite article since it refers to a specific person or thing. In the plural forms, however, the element denoting the definite article seems to have been totally elided.

'awac-wa'-w'an ha'na-k-lakno'o he went off towards that buffalo aforementioned

na·don-'a·yai-wa·-y'ik yadjox'an-a·naxok ye·la-k-lakno'o below that mountain aforementioned there was a large camp, it is said

yadjox'an-a·naxok-wa·-y'ik xadxa-nec'e-k-lakno'o they two arrived at that big camp aforementioned, it is said

t'ca·bxan-wa·-y'ik hedjne-k-lakno'o he lay down on that bed aforementioned da·xadxa-k-lakno'o 'awac-wa·-y'ik she arrived with him at the buffalo aforementioned, it is said

heilaban-'a-yai-wa-y'ik hedjne-no-k-lakno'o he was lying down under that tree aforementioned, it is said

wa'an wa'-dja heilaba-u stand exactly in this place aforementioned wa'an wa'-dja hedjn-a'' I intend to lie down right here

# Examples: de:-

'ahan-we-ce-k-de'-lak da''-a'do-nwa' he will marry this daughter of mine gedadana-u ha'djcogonai-de'-la djoxno'-gwa take me away when this Coyote goes to sleep

lobau-xa·meno'-'a·lecla da·'e·-k gwa·n-de·-lak the one who wins the diving contest is (considered) married to this woman

hededj-e·la-k-ye xadyau-de·-la where did you get this sweet potato?

de-lak cogo-u put this away

de:-la doxwno:-n-o' this (thing) smells

de-la hedju-ye what is this?

de:-w'an hedjne-u lie on this side

de:-w'an dan-a:do:-nec-n-o'-c we two are going this way

de-w'an yoxan-aglana-k-lakno'o he flew down in this direction, it is said

de·-dj '-a·do-ce-k-djo' I would behave in this manner

de-dj 'e-n-o'o-' I have usually done this

hedjedjo'n de'-dj'ey-agxona-k-lakno'o he (pulled) it back in (literally: he did it in this rearwards manner)

de di heigo o k-lakno o xagai in this way he made it wide, it is said

de-l'e-n-a'a here he is

de ·- l heilab-a · we she is standing here

Examples: he'e-, he'-

genecyacna-u 'awac-e'e'-lak put that meat in my mouth

xam'al-e'e-la t'caw'al-ye-' is that prairie wide?

nek'am'an-e'e'-lak yadjel-aglana-u throw those bones in

he'e'-k go'c'a''ac-wa'-y'ik xa'x-o'-c I arrived over there at those old ones aforementioned

he'e-k gilix-bax-e'e-k ha'djin-e'e-k han-bilna-u go over there close to that high bank

Note the number of times the demonstrative is repeated: literally, "to-over-there to-that-high-bank close-to-that go-to-that-place".

he'e'-k xe'ilaba-u stand over there

t'celai-ca·xal-e'e·-k necgaldei-'a·y'ik-awe she is on the other side of that entrance to the sky

he'e-w'an yadjox'an-a'naxok-e'e'-k gwa'n-lak genecda''e'-d geimag-o'o they called me over there to that large camp to marry a woman

he-w'an gwa-n-edjodjxo-k-wa-'a-lak ya-lo-n-o'-c I killed that bad woman aforementioned over there

he-w'an ha dicogonai-yeiga ai-'ok-e-ga camox 'e-n-o'o there are many big wolves with red fur over there

daxac-aidjodak-e-w'an yelna-da he sat towards the east yandan-awai-e-w'an yelna-da he sat towards the south

daxco·-l-'ok xam'al-e·-w'an gedadana-u tomorrow, take me to that prairie ha'aqo'n-ocac-didjqanwa'dj-e'-qa hadxecan-bax 'e'-n-o'o those Tonkawa young men know everything

didiganwa dj-e-qa na xoqna-l'ila when those Tonkawa go scouting, ... didigan-galak-e'-gak ha'ac ya'lo'na-da he killed many of those enemies 'egwancxau-e'-gak ha'ac wedanxono-n-lakno'o they captured many of those horses, it is said

cax'ay-e'-gak henox yagna-n-o' he customarily shoots those arrows well didjgan-e-ga ha xeida-d nahawa -l-'ok hebag-abe-u if those people come to ask you about it, don't tell them

t'cel-e'e-dja wa·n-aidjona-k-lakno'o he is pitched into the air, it is said he'e-dja yadalban-gwa'lou-la hedjn-a'we over there, a big loaf of bread is lying heilaban-e'e-dja yadxalga:-c I'll hang you on that tree

he'e'-l na'don-e'e'-lak yandjadjay-abe-u don't meddle with that mountain over there (in that direction)

he'e'-l na'don-e'e'-k haidjon-abe-u do not go up that mountain over there

# Examples: we-

we'-y'ik geimag-o'o they called me over there we'-y'ik n-o'o ca'xwa they said I, too, (was to go) over there

we'-y'ik da'daxgex-o' he has taken him over there

we'-y'ik gec'eda-l-'ok if you cut me there, . . .

we'-y'ik 'a'benon let's not go over there

we-w'an djagau-e'e-k-a-we they are over there by that river

we'didj-a'a ya'lo'n-an killing by that method, ...

we'didi 'a'bou do not do it that way

we'didj-a'we it is that sort of thing

we'didj-lak yabacxa-d yadca-k-lakno'o running in that way, he stabbed it, it is said

we'di n-o'o like that, he said it

ca xwa we di n-o'o they said the same sort of thing to me too

we''il hawaunc-da xa'na-k-lakno'o carrying it, he went far off, it is said djagau-we'il that river far away

The theme wa-- may be compounded with de-- producing the following two forms: wa--de--w'an towards this . . . aforementioned, and wa--de--dja this place aforementioned.

wa·-de-w'an 'a·be-k-a·we it isn't on this side aforementioned wa·-de-dja ge·cdoxwno-n-o' I smell it right here wa·-de-dja 'e·-no-n let's stay right here na·ya yela'e-u wa·-de-dja you stay right here

Other compounds of this sort are probably possible: there are, however, no examples other than those above.

Finally, there are a number of demonstratives not fitting into the pattern given above. The most important of these is *ge*-which seems to have a connotation of possession. Thus,

'a·x-ge-la hagne-k-a·we the water of (the river) has dried up 'a·x water, hagne- to dry up, -a·we modal enclitic, cf. 77.

gwa·n-ge-la 'ok-'a·la ha·'ac hawe·lagw that woman of his has lots of hair. In this example there is no possessive pronoun attached to gwa·n woman but because of ge- the translation is correct.

gwa'n-wenxene-ge-la naxadiganw-o' our woman is married. Here both possessive pronoun wenxene- (cf. 90) and ge- are used but note that the suffix -xen of the possessive pronoun is not employed.

da he banon-na xen-ge-la ya lo na-gwa your friend has been killed. In this example, the complete form of the possessive pronoun and ge- both are used.

'en gwa·n-ge-la and my woman?

gwa·n-la wa·dedja haglada-k-ge-lak ya·dj-abe-ga-' you did not see my woman who ran down to this place? (literally; a-woman this-place my-she-ran-down you-did-not-see.?)

#### The other demonstratives are:

hel'a·dthat one, that one over therehega·d-gakthosewe·l'adthat one (near); it; thatwa·da'acthis particular time

# Examples:

na·yak hel'a·d-djo' you (go) over there
na·yak hel'a·d-a·we yours is over there
'awac-el'a·d-la that buffalo over there
wa'anec xa·hel'a·d-la as soon as that grease ...
hel'a·d hedai'o·-ga·lwe-n-o' he is gambling with them over there
yan'anwan-el'a·d-ac necgwid-weidjo-u tie them up with that chain over there
hebaixwedan-el'a·d-lak yamg-o·c'o-u call that woman over there

yadjox'an-ega:d-gak damou nececgaba-u close those tipis tightly

we'l'ad-lak de'dj 'e'-n-o'o'-' I have been doing this way with it
we'l'ad gwa'lo'dak-ga nadje-u here, biggest one, bite!
we'l'ad-la yadcanan-a'we that is the heart
yadjox'an-'a'la we'l'ad heyadje-no-k-lakno'o a tipi became visible there, it
is said

naxdjan-wa-y'ik we'l'ad hadxilna-k-lakno'o that one came out to the fire, it is said

we'l'ad 'eide'l here he comes

wa'da'ac daxco'-l-'ok de'-w'an ha'nabe-u today (on this very day) do not go in this direction

daxac-wa·da'ac na·'ey-a·dew-o·c-n-o'-c this very day we are going away ya·lo·n-a·dewa·-nec wa·da'ac I will surely kill you this time

### 92. The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

All the interrogative pronouns are characterized by an initial element *he*- and it is apparent that most of them have been formed by prefixing *he*- to a demonstrative theme. For example:

 $de \cdot l$ here he-delwhere? in this direction  $de^*w$ 'an he-dew'an which way, in what direction? in this manner  $de \cdot di$ how, in what way? he-dedjde·djathis place he-dedja where, in what place?

There are only three themes, hedju what ?, hedju ed why, for what reason ? (hedju what ? plus - 'ed?), and hedwan how many ?, which cannot be analyzed in this way.

hedel where is he?

hedew'an 'e'-gwa which way did she go?

hededj 'eye:-no-k-ye djoxn-a:dak-we-l'ila how do you act when you are sound asleep?

hededj '-a'do-ne-k-ye'lgwa how will you do it?

hededi '-a·do-k-ye c'e·da-l-'ok how will you act if I cut it?

hededj-'an'ok ya'dj-a'do-ne-k-ye ma'ga-no-ne-k-wa'-'a'lak how will you see her by that weeping of yours?

na gw hededj '-a doya'a now, what will you do?

hededj'e da geudadan-a do'a how can you take us home?

hededj'-a·do-ne-k-ye hedju''ax-ei-ga nengoxo'-l-'ok how will you act if someone chases you?

hededja yamga·-k-ye to what place did they call you? hededja 'e·-no-ga where have you been?

hedju-gak yaxa-nec-n-oi-no what have you two been eating?

hedju 'e no-ga what are you doing?

de·la hedju·-ye what is this?

hedju 'e-gwa what is the matter?

hedju· 'e·-ga what have you done?

hedju:-la weino:-gwa who (what person) won?

hedju-gak geyadje-no-ga what are you looking at?

hedju:-'a·y'ik ha·na-no-ga where are you going (to what place are you going?)

Note that hedju functions as a pronoun or an adverb. As a pronoun, it may take any of the case suffixes of the noun. The others, we have seen, function most often as adverbs. There are no examples illustrating the use of hedwan how many?

The indefinite pronouns are formed from the interrogatives by suffixing an element -ax. Thus,

hedju. hedju-'ax anything, anyone, something how many? hedwanseveral hedwan-'ax hededjhow, in what way? hededj-'ax some way where, in what place? hededjasomewhere hededja-'ax hedew'an which way? hedew'an-'ax some way, in any direction

### Examples:

hedju 'ax-'a gak ya lo n-abe-no-n-lakno'o they didn't kill anything, it is said hedju 'ax ge'ey-abe-n-o' nothing is wrong with me; something is not wrong with me

hedju''ax 'eye'-no-k-a'we something is wrong with you hedju''ax-ei-gak hadxec-abe-noi-no-' don't you know something?

hedwan'ax hedjne-gwa da''e'-k-lakno'o after a few days had passed, he married her, it is said

hedwan'ax hedjne-no-n-lakno'o they slept several times, it is said (i. e. several days passed)

hedwan'ax hedjne-dana-no-n-lakno'o they camped out several days, it is said

hededj'ax 'e'-gwa if there is some way, ...

hededja'ax ge·cya·dje-yo'ok ya·lo·n-a·dewa·-nec wherever I see you (if I see you somewhere), I'll kill you

wa'anec hedew'an'ax wa'na'-gwa-nec if I fall in any direction (if I stagger about). . . .

hedew'an'ax 'a beba godok-dja djxok-e'e'k hagxona-u go straight into the center of the room

The last example translated literally: "in-any-way not-going to-that-center-of-room you-go-in". The combination "not go in any direction" is idiomatic Tonkawa for "go straight".

# D. Kinship Terminology (93—95)

### 93. General Remarks.

The kinship terms listed in the following section were obtained by Dr. Alexander Lesser of Columbia University from Coachina Rush, the oldest living Tonkawa. They are presented here with his permission. I have duplicated many of the forms with my informant but, due to his ignorance of the system, my information is incomplete.

Since my orthography differs somewhat from that of Dr. Lesser, I have inserted my transcriptions in parentheses after his whenever I have duplicate forms.

### 94. The Kinship Terminology.

(These terms and uses were obtained in 1929 from Coachina Rush, reputed to be the most informed Tonkawa then alive, in the course of an afternoon's work and part of another, without the assistance of interpreters. As a result it was impossible to avoid inconsistencies and errors due to misunderstandings. The terms were sent to Dr. Hoijer in the hope that he would have an opportunity to complete and correct this record. Without such completion, it has proved impossible to overcome the inconsistencies of some usages given by Coachina Rush, so that the Tonkawa "system" can not be said to be controlled. As it now appears that this list may prove our final word on kinship usages of the Tonkawa, I have recompiled my notes so that in the following the usages given by Coachina Rush, inconsistent as a number of them are, are preserved as recorded. — A. Lesser).

### Consanguinities

Own Generation:

Siblings:

 $hi'na\ (he\cdot na')$ ;  $hin\varepsilon'^i$  voc., brother, m. s. (man speaking)  $ya'na\ (ya\cdot na')$ ; yani' voc., sister, w. s. (woman speaking)  $o'la\ (o\cdot l'a')$ ;  $ol\varepsilon'^i$  voc., sibling of opposite sex.

Relative age is expressed by the addition of "small" and "large":

hi'na wi'xwan (he·na' wixwan) younger brother hi'na kwa'lo (he·na' gwa·lou) older brother,

and similarly for "sister", and "sibling of opposite sex".

Also given:

i'xi'nai brother.

Sibling terms are used for parallel cousins.

Sibling terms are used between relatives four generations removed (great-grandparent: great-grandchild generation). Thus parents of ego's ka'ka, ka'sa, or kata' are siblings; and children of ego's ka'ka, ka'sa, kata', or tca'xwa are siblings.

Cross-Cousins:

Usages secured were inconsistent. On one occasion Coachina implied that all cross-cousins, like parallel cousins, were siblings. At other times the following usages were given:

cahau' (cahau) father's sister's daughter, w. s. ta'wa (da·'wa') father's sister's son, w. s.

na'·caki' (na·cage) mother's brother's daughter, w. s.; father's sister's son, w. s.

tsaxwa'na', saxwa'na' mother's brother's daughter, m. s.

Parent-Child Generation:

Lineal:

i'was ('ewac); ta'ta (da·da') voc., father, father's brother.

xai' (x'ai); i'sa ('eca') voc., — but both forms may be used with pronouns — mother, mother's sister.

ha.akv'n kwa'lo (ha·'ago·n gwa·lou), "old man", and

kwan kwa'lo (gwa·n gwa·lou) "old woman", may be used for father and mother respectively.

sa'txan (cadxan) son, m.s., w.s.; brother's son, m. s.; sister's son, w.s.

saha'n (cahan) daughter, m. s., w. s.; brother's daughter, m. s. wi'xwan (wixwan) "small one" is used for child.

#### Collateral:

cahau' (cahau) father's sister, m. s., w. s.

tsaxwa'na, saxwa'na, mother's brother, m. s., w. s.; sister's son, m. s.; sister's daughter (?) m. s.

ta'wa (da·'wa') mother's brother, m. s., w. s.; mother's father's sister's son, m. s.

 $oc\alpha' n$  brother's son, w. s.; mother's father's sister's son and daughter m. s., w. s. (?); mother's brother's daughter's son, w. s.

na·'cakı' (na·cage) brother's daughter, w. s.

sa' · kas (ca·gac) sister's daughter, w. s.

i'nkut (hingut) mother's brother's daughter's son, m. s.

# $Grand parent - Grand child\ Generation:$

kata' (gada'); kati' voc.; i kata axın ('egad 'a xen) 3rd. person, father's father, mother's father, m. s., w. s.; son's child, daughter's child, m. s.

ka·'sa' (gaca'); kasi'' voc., father's mother, m. s., w. s.; son's child, w. s.

ka'·ka (gaga'); kaki'' voc.; ika'·ka axın ('egak 'a·xen) 3rd. person, mother's mother, m. s., w. s.; mother's father's sister, m. s., w. s.; daughter's child, w. s. (?)

tca'·xwa daughter's child, w. s.; sister's daughter's child, w. s.; brother's daughter's child, w. s.; mother's brother's daughter's child, w. s.

Great-grandparent-Great-grandchild Generation:

Sibling terms, reciprocally.

Ascending and Descending Generations (?):

ta' · sa' great grandson's (in direct male line) child, m.s.; reciprocally, great-great-grandfather, m.s., w.s.; suggested also for relatives

related as great-great-great grandfather and great-great-grandchild, m. s.; also given as a use of this term, father's mother's father, m. s.

*i'nkut (hingut)* reciprocally, great-grandparent and great-grandchild.

 $tca' \cdot xwa$  great grandson's child, w. s.; reciprocally, great-grand-father's mother, m. s., w. s. (In view of the reciprocity between ka'ka and  $tca' \cdot xwa$  in the grandparent-grandchild generation,  $tca' \cdot xwa$  is perhaps to be interpreted as used in the fifth generation between great-great-grandmother and great-great-grandchild in the female line; while  $\iota'nkut$  (hingut) is probably the complement of ka'sa and refers to the analogous relationship in the male line — A. L.).

### Affinities.

kwan sa'kın (gwa·n ca·gen), etc.; kwa'n voc., wife, wife's sister; grandson's wife, m. s.; great grandson's wife, m. s. (The latter two uses should probably be referred to the following form of the wife term — A. L.).

ıkwan sa'kın, etc., brother's wife, m. s.

utckwan sa'kın, etc., spouse of ta'sa'.

ha.akv'n sa'kın (ha·'ago·n ca·gen), etc., husband, husband's brother; sister's husband, w. s.; son's daughter's husband, w. s.

him'as (him'ac) brother's wife, w. s.; son's wife, m. s., w. s. (this term evidently groups women of the family into which a male relative has married — A. L.).

mα'sik (macek) husband's sister; husband's sister's husband; wife's brother's wife; wife's mother.

ti'tckxan (didjgan) sister's husband, m. s.; daughter's husband, m. s.; son's daughter's husband, m. s.; (? wife's father; wife's brother?). (This term is apparently the correlative of him'as, and groups the men married into a man's family — A. L.)

saxwas son's son's wife, w. s.; daughter's son's wife, w. s. (wife of male  $tca' \cdot xwa$ ).

tca'·xwa husband's sister's son; daughter's daughter's husband, w. s. (husband of female tca'·xwa).

ka'ka (gaga'), kaki'' voc. mother's brother's wife, m. s.

'nkut (hingut) father's sister's husband, m. s., w. s.; wife's brother's son.

### Associated customs

Residence: Matrilocal.

Avoidances: Strong avoidance between a man and his wife's father and mother; son-in-law and parent-in-law each cover the face in the other's presence.

There is mild avoidance between a girl and her husband's

father, a certain reserve being indicated; while a girl and her husband's mother speak freely.

Joking: Those between whom any form of the spouse terms is used practise licensed familiarity; likewise those whose relationship to each other's spouse is equivalent, such as a man and his grandson. A special joking relationship is defined by the term tca'xwa: The relatives whom a woman addresses by this term she jokes familiarly with. This was the joking relationship stressed by Coachina Rush.

Levirate and Sororate: The usual sororate in which a man marries the wife's sister was general (during the life of the spouse as well as after death); the relationship was extended to include the wife's grandmother (almost certainly this reference was to the wife's mother's mother, who would call the daughter's daughter, and the daughter's daughter's husband,  $tca \cdot xwa - A$ . L.). The levirate is apparent from the usages of the term for wife.

Linguistic Notes (A. L.)

Coachina Rush used the following possessive pronouns regularly with the terms:

sa'kın (ca·gen) my na'xın (na·xen) your a'xın ('a·xen) his

Vocatives are in a number of cases distinguished by a change of final vowel, accompanied in some cases by a shift of accent. In some forms, the third person was given with the addition of an initial *i-*; these forms were used by Coachina Rush with the regular pronouns as above.

# 95. The Linguistic Form of the Kinship Term.

I was unable to duplicate any of the vocative forms obtained by Dr. Lesser. This does not, however, disprove those forms: my informant was but poorly versed in the kinship terminology. It may also be mentioned that no other nouns in the language have vocative forms.

I did, however, record the addition of "the initial i-" mentioned by Dr. Lesser for the third person forms. In my transcriptions, it appears as 'e- and my be used in other than the third person possessive.

gaga', 'egakmother's brothergada', 'egadgrandfathergaca', 'egacgrandmotherya'na', 'eyansister, w. s.he'na', 'ehenbrother, m. s.

These alternations cannot be explained. Only for the last two terms (i. e., ya·na', he·na') was there a difference in usage. The first

forms (ya·na', he·na') were used with the regular possessive and the possessives of the others were built as follows:

$`ehen-`o-cik-`a\cdot la$	my brother, m. s.
$`ehen-`o-ni-k-`a\cdot-la$	your,
'ehen-'a'a'la	his,
`ehen-`o`-nec`eci-k`-a`-la	our (two) brother
'ehen-'ew-o'c'eci-k'-a'-la	our brother

These may be analyzed as -we- to be, plus pronominal subject plus participial -k plus the noun suffix for the nominative definite. They could then be translated: the one who is ... brother.

In a few kinship terms, another type of possessive was used.

'eca'	mother
ca-' $eca$ '	my
na-' $eca$ '	your
'a- $'eca'$	his
geuca-'eca'	our mother
wena-'eca'	your (pl.)

Possessives of this type appear in no other connection.

Some terms exist with a constant possessive of the type illustrated above.

ca-dxanmy son'e'dxansonca-hanmy daughter'ahandaughter

For these terms, the possessive existed (in this form) only in the first person: other possessives were formed in the regular way using the alternates given above as bases.

# E. Interjections and Curses (96)

96. Interjections and Curses.

# I. Interjections.

There are in Tonkawa two classes of interjections, the first comprising exclamations having fairly definite meaning and the second including those expressive of emotional states. They are as follows.

'ana	look there, see it!
'a ' $gai$	no!
'al'	oh, all right!
'eyeu	all right, agreed!
'o'go	no!
na· $gw$	now, go ahead!
newei	come, hurry!
he' $e$ · $wa$	(I) don't know!
hei	yes!
hehei'	yes!
$hedjodjo\cdot k$	shut up, be still!
wa'an	wait, just a moment
wa'a $n$ - $a$ · $lecuk$	wait, just a moment
$we \cdot il$	all right, let's go!

The above are the meaningful particles: below are listed those cries indicative of emotion.

'aiye pain 'ehehehe... pain *'i 'i . . .* exertion (as one dragging a heavy object) o:disurprise, wonder surprise, astonishment he: heiya disbelief, contempt huwe·l'apain

#### II. The Curses.

All of these, except one, are meaningful words used in a profane context.

hemayan hemayan cilwan hemayan dak cilwan hemayan gadau hemayan gadau cilwan ghost!
ghost wanders!
ghosts wander!
may you give birth to a ghost!
may you give birth to a wandering
ghost!

The above increase in intensity from hemayan, a fairly mild oath, to hemayan gadau cilwan, which is the very acme of profanity. The same series may be gone through, substituting 'egwan dog, for the word "ghost"; or 'ix evil, for "ghost"; and, finally, 'idjxic, a word of no meaning. These are not so seriously taken: to swear by the ghost is the most profane.

#### APPENDIX

The following list of themes contains only those used in the examples to sections 55—92, inclusive, which are somewhat difficult to follow without this aid. Full and reduced forms of verb themes have been included only when both of them are found in the examples.

'adcaw-, ('adco-) to revive, regain consciousness 'ahen daughter  $a \cdot x$  water ' $a \cdot xen$  poss. pronoun his  $a \cdot xwa$  he, also 'au deer 'awac meat; buffalo 'awacadak buffalo ('awac meat, plus hadak very (much)) 'a·yai under, inside (a tipi), at the foot (of a mountain), below 'acoi abdomen, belly, paunch 'adjxaudak north ' $adjxo\cdot n$  north 'e'eyaw- ('e'eyo·-) to do to ...; work ...; make ...; prepare ...

'e·daha- ('e·da·-) to return, come back 'egak grandmother 'ege- to give something to ... 'egwan dog 'egwancxau horse 'e·xadxa- to arrive over there with ...; to take ... to a distance 'ewac father 'ey- ('e·-) auxil. to be, to do 'eida- to come 'eina- to go away 'ei-nadjga-, 'ei- -ndjag- to kill ... 'eigagaidje-dana- to go along chopping ... ('eigagaidje-, to chop repeatedly; dana- several go off) 'eiganxaidjona- to pull ... up

'eiganaxein- to lose ... 'eiganaidjona- to drag ... up (compare with 'eiganxaidjona- to pull ... up) 'eixamdje- to break ... (e. g., stick, tree, long object) 'eyadje- ('ei-yadje-), 'ei- -idje- to catch ..., capture ... 'ix evil, bad, ugly 'i·c'a minnow 'o·'a night 'o 'aw- ('o 'o -) night falls, to be night 'o 'a wa dak tonight  $o \cdot n$  blood *ok* hair, hide, fur 'okma'ek cat 'oyuk sack, pouch 'oyugo- to put ... inside, into an enclosure 'o·dia children babacan'e a little while banxo- to bathe bax just, only bac a while, period of time (compare with babacan'e a little while) bidi-, -bdie- to cut ..., shear ... madnogon quickly ma·dan quickly  $ma \cdot ga$ - to cry, weep mai'an land terrapin maclak white madixanan sweetheart me·dna- lightning strikes . . . da'ane- to get ..., pick ... up, take ... da'an-xaidjona- to lift . . . up (da'aneto pick ... plus xa- with force and -idjona- movement upwards a secondary theme . xaidjonamay be defined, a heavy object moves upwards.) da'andje- to hold ..., grasp ... (compare with da' ane- to get ..., pick ... up) da·'e·- to marry ....  $da \cdot e \cdot k$  spouse damou tight, tightly damodak very tightly (damou plus hadak very)  $da \cdot dana$ - to go off with ..., take ... away (dana- several go off with the postposition da- with)

da·daglana- to take ... down, to go down with ... (daglana- several go down)  $da \cdot daxga$ - to bring ... here danmaclak cottontail rabbit (dan tail, maclak white) dana- several persons go off dagei head (body part)  $da \cdot gona$ - to look for . . . , hunt for . . .  $da \cdot hable$  to help ..., assist ... da·he·bano·n friend, he to whom one tells, narrates ... (he·bano·- to narrate ...)  $da \cdot he \cdot cogyawa$   $(da \cdot he \cdot cogyo \cdot -)$ to fight with ... (he·cogyawa- to fight, go to war) daxac day, sun daxac-aidjodak east (daxac sun, plus haidjodak, -k verbal noun from haidjoda- one comes up)  $daxco \cdot qwa$  tomorrow  $daxco \cdot l$  ok tomorrow daidjoda- several come up  $da \cdot yaxa$ - to feed ..., to eat with ... (yaxa- to eat)  $da \cdot yadjox$ 'o- to live with ... daclo- to wander about together, to wander about with ... dew'an towards this (place), over there deyei liver  $de \cdot l$  here dinai old, long ago dinadak long ago (dinai plus hadak very) didjgan person, people didjganwa·didj Tonkawa ("the people") dodoba- to cut ... repeatedly doxwnaw- (doxwno-) to smell, give forth an odor na'a so, thus  $na \cdot ei$ -,  $(na \cdot e)$ - many go off nabacxan ball (used in shinny game) na·don mountain nando'on mountains scattered here and there, a range of mountains

 $na \cdot gw$  now, go ahead

something naxdie- to build a fire

naxdjan fire

noitre

nahawa- (naho-) to ask ... about

na·xcogna- to scout, guide, recon-

na·xwa you, also naw- to burn, intr. naule- to cook, roast ... nadj-, -ndje- to bite ... nengoxo- to chase .... nenxale- to guard, watch over ... nenxale- to find ... nek'am'an bone nex'eu gun, bow new- (no-), -nwe- to tell ... neiganak first, ahead of necayadje- to cause, make ... stay home (nec- causative prefix; hayadje- to stay home) necengwa·na- to make ... run; idiomatically: to run one's horse (hengwa·na- to run off) necexwe- to shout necbedje- to fill ... necgaba- to shut, close ... (door, window, etc.) necgaban door, tent flap necgaldei other side, opposite side necgwid-yadje- to bind ... securely (necgwid- to tie .., bind ... -yadje-?) necwal'e- to fish necwal'an fish necyagwa- to cause ... to dance (yagwa- to dance) necyaxa- to cause ... to eat; to feed ... (yaxa- to eat) necyacna- to put in ... mouth necdjoxna- to cause ... to sleep; put ... asleep (djoxna- to sleep) nogo- to pick ... up; take ... gab-e- to be gone, have disappeared (gab-, reduced form of gabai not, nothing plus -e--, reduced form of the auxiliary ye- to be) ganxaidjon horn (of an animal) ga·noc Mexican (< Mejicano) gaudjeu worm galak other, enemy ga·lwa- to gamble gedai two gilix bank (of a river) gilixbax high, sheer bank godok room, inside (of tipi) gogon chief  $go \cdot c'a$  old, old one  $go \cdot c'a \cdot 'ac$  old ones, old people gwa·n woman, wife gwa·gwan women

gwa·lou big, much gwe∙ stick, club

 $ha \cdot 'ago \cdot n$  male, man, husband ha·'ac (-a·'ac) many  $ham'am-do\cdot xa$ - to burn completely (ham'am'a- to burn, intr.; do·xato do completely, finish) hadxeca- to know hadxilna- one person goes out hanil mouse hanbilna- one person goes to another place  $ha \cdot na$ - one person goes off ha·naxok many, numerous  $ha \cdot nadjidjxil \cdot xa \cdot xa$  several come running (ha·nadjidjxilna- several go off;  $xa \cdot xa$ - one person arrives) hagoxa- to be tired, exhausted hagne- to dry up (of a river, well) hagxona- one person goes in haglana- one person goes down ha·xeida- to come haxeine- to go away haixoy- to doctor ...; to make ... well haidjoda- one person comes up hawaune- to carry ...; pack ... hawai, (-awai-) tall hawa·dak (-awa·dak) very tall (hawai plus hadak very) hauna·dan temporary camp haucecan ashes, glowing coals hadjxo- to arise suddenly, jump up  $ha \cdot dj$  ground, earth ha·djin (-a·djin-) close, near ha·djcogonai coyote ha·djcogonai-yeiga'ai wolves (ha·djcogonai coyote plus yeiga'ai bigones)  $he'e \cdot k$  over there hebage- to tell ...; inform ... hebaixwedan young woman, female dress hebnono · xo · - several bathe (compare with banxo- to bathe) he·banewa- (he·bano·-) to tell, narhemamago·-dana- several go off weeping (hemamago - several weep from  $ma \cdot ga$ - to weep; danaseveral go off)  $he \cdot maya \cdot$  to be a ghost hem'ac mother-in-law hedai'aw- (hedai'o-) to join a group,

to mingle with a group

hedal'ewa- (hedal'o-) to pray, preach hedew'an'ax anywhere, in any direction hededj how?, in what manner? hededja where?, in what place? hededj'ed how?, in what manner? hededja'ax any place, whatever spot hedel where? hedoxa- to be gone, disappear he·dobou Osage Indians hedlaw- (hedlo--) to refuse  $he \cdot dyan \text{ arm}$ hegbayo- to have no ...; be without ... hegdaw- (hegdo--) to sing henenwan red paint (for face painting)  $he \cdot nex'eyaw$ - ( $he \cdot nex'eyo$ --) to be in ignorance of ...; to be lost henox good, pretty, well hendidxew'e- (hendidxo'o-) to shake, quiver hendoc-e-- several are standing about (hendoc- < nodco to stop moving plus -e-- the reduced form of the auxiliary ye- to be) hengwa·da- to come running hengway-aglana- to run down (hengwa:- (hengwai-) plus haglana- one goes down) hexal'oi ants hexcaca- to scream, yelp hexwid belt, girdle hewawa- to die heule- to catch ..., grasp ... heyadje- to become visible (compare with  $ya \cdot dje$  to see ...) heidicnan bashful, embarrassed, shy heigeuda- several come (in a body) heigo'o- to become, make oneself (compare with yagew'e- to make . . . ) heigwidjan ring heixaxal'en ear-ring heilaba- to stop moving, stand heilaban tree hecyadjxo- to mount ... (e. g. a horse) hedjedjo·n back, rearwards hedju 'ax anyone, anything hedju·'ed why? hedjodjxo·k bad, wicked, fearsome hedjne- to lie down hel'a·d (-el'a·d) that one, he hel'ey-agxona- to peep, peer in (hel'eito peer, plus hagxona-one goes in)

ho·'oxaw- (ho·'oxo·-) to steal ...
hocac (-ocac-) young
holau last, finally, the end
holgam'adjxe-dana- to go along
bucking (holgam'adjxe- to buck,
pitch as a horse; dana- several go
off)

xa· fat, grease xam'al prairie

xadaglana- several descend, get off (as off a horse's back) (xa- with force plus daglana- several go down)

xan-do·xa- to finish drinking, drink all (xane- to drink; do·xa- to finish)

 $xa \cdot na$ - one person goes to a distance xagai wide

xa·xa- one person arrives at a distant point

xawana- to fall from a distance (compare with  $wa \cdot na$ - to fall forward)

xaya- several go to a distance xacdew- (xacdo·-) to be (one) left, to leave (one)

xadjlew- (xadjlo--) to be angry xal'o-n knife

xe·badje- to fall backwards

xe·ilaba- to stand, stop moving at a distance (compare with heilaba- to stand)

xe·djne- to fall (compare with hedjneto lie down) xe·djwal alligator

x'ax'ai'a- to laugh  $x'a \cdot i$  mother  $x'e \cdot l'e$ - to file ..., sharpen ...

wa'an right, exactly
wa'anec when, just as, as soon as
wa'anbax as soon as
wa'da'ac this very ...
wa'dedja this place aforementioned

wa·na- to fall, pitch forward
wa·n-aidjona- to be thrown up,
pitched up (wa·na- to fall forward
plus haidjona- one goes up)
waxec surely, certainly, (are you)

 $wa \cdot dja$  this place, here

 $wa\cdot dil$  just

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we·l'ad that one, he
wixwan small, little
yabacxa- to run against ..., bump
   into ...
yamga-, -imag- to call ...
yamxa-, -imax- to paint ... face
yadalban (loaf of) bread
yadexan stone, rock
yadmaxan watermelon
yadxalga- to hang ... up
yadca- to stab, prick ....
yadcanan heart
ya·de- several persons come
yandan-awai south (yandan wind
   plus -awai long, steady)
yandjadjay- to meddle with ...
yandjidjxilna- to run away
yan'anwan metal, chain
yagex-aidjona- to push
   (yagex- to push .. plus haidjona-
   one goes up)
yagew'e- (yago.'o-) to make, trans-
   form ...
yago- to fetch water
yag'e- to shoot ...
yag'e-xamyo- to contest with each
   other in shooting (yag'e- to
   shoot ... plus xame- to defeat
   and the reciprocal suffix -yo--)
yagba-, -igab- to hit, strike ...
yagda- several sit about
yagwan leg
yaxa-, -ixa- to eat
yaxacd- to be near ...
yaxoyaxeida- a group come to fight,
   to war
yaxwdje- to hit, strike
yaxw-gagai'adj-adxilna-
                        to
                              slash
   through to the other end (yaxw-
   from yaxwdje- to strike, plus
   gagai'adj- to cut repeatedly, plus
   hadxilna- one person goes out)
yawe- to bind ..., tie ... up
ya \cdot dje-, -yadje- to see . . . , look at . . .
ya·djan-didce- to want to see ...
   (ya\cdot dje to see ... in the in-
   finitive form, plus didce- to
   wish, desire)
yadjax chest (body part)
yadjox'an tipi, camp
yal-, -ile- to throw at ...
yal-dadamaxe- to throw ... smash-
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we'icbax one, only one

we'il now, go ahead

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ing \dots (yal- to throw \dots, plus
    -dadamaxe- to shatter, a second-
   ary theme in 'ei-dadamaxe- to
   shatter ...)
yalba-, -ilab- to set ... in the
    ground; to make ... stand erect
yalxilna- to run away
ya \cdot lo \cdot na-, -yalo \cdot na- to kill ...
yela- to sit down
yo \cdot m'a- to rain
yoxna- to fly away
camox red
ca·xal doorway, entrance
cax'ai arrow, bullet
cax'o \cdot n young
ca \cdot xwa I, also
cigid four
cigd'ac four times
cilayaw- (cilayo-) to hunt,
   hunting
cilwe- to wander about
co·na duck
cogo- to put ... away
cocoyana- several swim off
cocgo·na- to hear, listen to ...
c'a \cdot di finger-nail
c'e·da-, -c'eda- to cut ...
djane- to leave ...; to let ... go
djagau river, creek
djadjxo \cdot k center, middle
dja \cdot l testicles
djedxana- to jump away
djexe-, -djxe- to loosen ...; to turn
    ... loose
djigeu fast, sharp (functions as an
   intensifier and its meaning varies
   with the verb or noun it modifies)
djoxna- to sleep
djodjoma- several shut their eyes
djodjxaw- (djodjxo-) to be frightened
t'ca·bxan bed, sleeping place
t'ca \cdot m- to let ... go
t'caxw blanket, robe, fabric
t'caw'al far away, at a distance
t'cel up, upwards, on top
t'celai sky, heavens, place above
lobaw- (lobo--) to dive
lobau-xame- to defeat by diving
    (xame-to defeat ...)
lococ all, everyone
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lococ'ida all of them

## CHAPTER III: TEXT ANALYSIS.

Coyote and the Monster.

ha·djcogonai-la (1) ha·nanoklakno'o (2) 'e·nola na·don-'a·y'ik
Coyote was going along, it is said when to a mountain

haidjonad heilabanoklakno'o(3) / 'e·l'ok(4) na·don-wa·-'a·ascending he was standing, it is said. It happened that mountain

(1) Coyote is said to be the owner of all the earth; his permission was invoked by hunters when they invaded new hunting grounds. The word is a compound of  $ha \cdot dj$  land, surrounding country, and the verb theme cogona- to own, put away, which has apparently a suffix -i. It is possible that this final element is cognate with the -i element listed for nouns in section 84 and is to be interpreted as a noun forming suffix. There are, however, no other examples of such an alternation.

-la is the nominative indefinite singular case suffix. It is notable that, all through the texts, the word "Coyote" always takes the indefinite form of the case suffix and is never followed by the demonstrative wa:- that . . . aforementioned. No other character in the myths is described in this manner.

(2) Theme: ha:- one person moves, goes, plus -na directive suffix, off, away (cf. 34). Theme suffixes: -no continuative, -k participal suffix, and -lakno'o narrative suffix (cf. 81).

This text selection illustrates nicely the wide usage of narrative forms so characteristic in Tonkawa. Note that every verb not employed in direct discourse or having subordinate function has this suffix. The suffix indicates that the events recounted were not participated in by the raconteur but that he is repeating the story told him by others, who, in their turn, had it from some one else, etc. If the story had been the experience of the one who told it to the present teller the quotative suffix would be used (cf. 81).

- (3) "when, ascending a mountain, he was standing (there), it is said". The indirect relationship of  $na\cdot don$  mountain, to the verb haidjona- one person goes up, is expressed by  $-'a\cdot y'ik$  (cf. 86). The -d suffix of haidjona- subordinates it to the following verb heilaba-to stand. 'e·-no-la, a particle based upon the auxiliary 'e·- to be, do (cf. 38), links the first phrase with the second thus, "Coyote was going along, it is said, when it happened that he, ascending a mountain, stood (there), it is said". The continuative forms of the principal verbs add a connotation of customary activity: according to the myths, Coyote spends most of his time wandering about and intruding upon the affairs of others.
- (4) 'e·-l-'ok as it happened: 'e·-, the auxiliary, plus the third person form of the subordinating suffix -'ok (cf. 66). The particle here refers

lak(5) 'a·yai-'a·y'ik(6) yadjox'an-a·naxok ye·laklakno'o(7) aforementioned below(it) a large camp there was, it is

xa·xad holau-'a·y'ik xa·xal'ok yadjox'an-'a·yai-'a·y'ik arriving at the last as he arrived inside the tipi

ma·ganoklakno'o (8) / 'e·kla ha·djcogonai-la hagxonad (9) they were weeping, it is said. Then Coyote going in

the preceding action to that which is to come — note that all the rest of the sentence is objectified by lak (cf. 86). The sentence reads, then, "as it happened there was a large camp below that mountain lak" and the function of lak is to refer this fact to that of Coyote standing on the mountain. Freely translated, "as it happened (Coyote saw that) there was a large camp below that mountain".

(5) The demonstrative wa: that ... aforementioned, is used here because the mountain has already been mentioned: to omit the demonstrative would be to imply that the speaker was referring to

another mountain.

(6) 'a·yai here has nominal function. Compare this usage with that in line 3, page 141, where it has adjectival function (cf. 83, 87).

(7) yadjox'-an camp, tipi, is formed from the verb theme yadjox''a-

to build a tipi, by the noun forming suffix -an (cf. 75).

The combination  $yadjox'an-a\cdot naxok$  needs no case suffix since it is followed by the auxiliary verb  $ye\cdot$ - to be, and the whole is interpreted as a static verb, "to be a big camp".  $ye\cdot$ -la-k-lakno'o is the third person form of the auxiliary in the -k paradigm plus the narrative enclitic. It will be seen that this is an irregular third person form, -la- being the third person suffix (compare with the -k paradigm in section 74 and the  $ye\cdot$ - paradigm for the present tense of the declarative mode in section 77).

(8) This sentence is remarkable for the number of subordinate phrases: "Coyote, descending, arriving at that big camp aforementioned, as he arrived at the last (tipi), they were weeping, it is said, inside that tipi".

-wa:- is used with yadjox'an-a:naxok since it has been mentioned before (cf. note 5).

 $xa \cdot xa$ - one person arrives, is analyzable as xa- $ha \cdot -xa$ -; xa- (from, to) a distance;  $ha \cdot -$  one person moves, goes; -xa arrival suffix (cf. 34).

holau last, is here used as a noun. The idiom is curious: it is really the first tipi that Coyote comes to but the last with reference to the camp (i. e., a tipi on the outskirts of the camp).

 $xa\cdot xa$ -l-'ok,  $c\bar{f}$ . 66 and note 4.

Note the meaning of 'a·yai in the complex yadjox'an-'a·yai-

"hedju" 'e'gwa" (10) noklakno'o / 'e'kla gwa'n-wa'-'a'la (11)
"What is it?" he said, it is said. Then that woman aforementioned
"de'w'an yadjox'an-dana-de'-la didjgan-'a'ga gab-a'we" (12)
"this way all of this camp people there are none"
noklakno'o "hedjodjxo'k-la (13) wedoxano'o" (14) noklakshe said, it is said "an evil one has been killing them all she said, it

- (9) Three locative themes have now been illustrated in this text: ha-idjo-na- one person goes up (line 2, page 140), ha-gla-na- one person goes down (line 2, page 141), and ha-gxo-na- one person goes in. These have been discussed and listed in section 34.
- (10) hedju what? (cf. 92); 'e·-gwa, auxiliary 'e·- to be, do, plus the mode suffix -gwa (cf. 58).
- (11) gwa'n woman, -wa'- that aforementioned. The demonstrative is used because the woman was mentioned by implication in the expression, "they were weeping, it is said" in line 4, page 141.
  - (12) "there are no people in all of this camp".

de:-w'an towards this (way); de:- this, plus the dative (towards) suffix (cf. 91).

yadjox'an-dana-de:-la. The suffix or theme -dana- cannot be explained: it occurs in no other connection.

didjgan person, plus -'a·-ga, nominative definite plural case suffix. gab- is probably a reduced form of the modifier gabai no, nothing, plus -a·we, the declarative modal enclitic (cf. 77).

The meaning of the sentence is, then, "towards this direction, this is an uninhabited (people-less) camp": the speaker is probably gesturing towards the camp (her tipi being on the edge) while speaking. It is possible that -dana- is related to the verb theme dana- several go off, and that the sentence means "going off in this direction the camp is uninhabited". If so, this is a unique example of a noun plus verb compound (cf. 85).

- (13)  $hedjodjxo\cdot -k$ , probably  $hedjodjxo\cdot$  to be frightened, plus the participal suffix -k (cf. 74). The word would then mean "frightening, fearsome" rather than "evil".
- (14) we-, third person plural object, -doxa- to finish, do completely, -n-, continuative, and -o'o, third person singular of the past tense of the declarative mode. do·xa-, -doxa- is used idiomatically to mean 'to kill': ordinarily it is found compounded with other themes, thus 'e'eyau-do·xa- to finish working ('e'eyaw- to work).

<sup>&#</sup>x27;a·y'ik inside the tipi. Literally, the expression means "under the tipi". Cf. note 6. Compare the meaning of yadjox'an tipi, here with its meaning of "camp" in line 1, page 141. Probably yadjox'an-a·naxok is better interpreted as "many tipis" than as "big camp". ma·ga- to weep, -no continuative suffix.

no'o / 'e·kla ha·djcogonai-la "na·gw ma·gabou" (15) noklakno'o Coyote "well do not cry" he said, it is said is said. Then

"daxco·l'ok (16) da·he·cogyawa·ha'a" (17) noklakno'o / 'e·kla I intend to fight with him" he said, it is said.

galdei-'a·y'ik (18) hadxilnada (19)  $gwa \cdot n - wa \cdot - \dot{a} \cdot la$ that woman aforementioned to the outside went out and

"Coyote tomorrow he will fight with him he says"

noklakno'o / ''daxco'l'ok da'he'cogyawac'ok yalxilnabou'' (22) she said, it is said. ''tomorrow when I fight with him do not run away''

noklakno'o "ya·dj-gexw'elabou" (23) noklakno'o / 'e·kla' said, it is said. Then he said, it is said

<sup>(15)</sup> na·gw, interjection (cf. 96). ma·ga- to weep, -abe- negative suffix (cf. 53), and -u imperative suffix (cf. 61). Note that the final -e of the negative suffix is colored to -o by the imperative suffix -u. (16) daxco:- day breaks, -l-'ok subordinating suffix (cf. 66). "when day breaks, morning comes" idiom for "tomorrow".

<sup>(17)</sup> da-postposition, with (cf. 48), he-cogyaw- to fight (intransitive), and -a-ha'a, intentive suffix (cf. 60). he-cogyaw- is unexplainable but may be connected with cogo- to put away, and cognato own.

<sup>(18)</sup> galdei outside, plus the noun suffix for the dative. galdei may also be used adjectivally.

<sup>(19)</sup> ha-dxil-na- one person goes out, cf. note 9 and section 34.

<sup>(20)</sup> This modal form — if it is a modal form — is unique. The suffix -you appears in no other connection: here it seems to subordinate the expression "he will fight with him" to the following "he says". Thus the sentence reads, "Coxote says that he will fight with him".

<sup>(21)</sup> no:- to say, plus -n-, continuative suffix, and -a'a, assertive

<sup>(22)</sup> yalxilna- to run away, plus the negative suffix -abe and the imperative suffix -u. Note here, as in note 15, that the final -e of the negative suffix becomes -o before the -u of the imperative.

(23) One of the more interesting Tonkawa compounds: ya·dje-

to see, look, plus  $xw'e\cdot la$ - to miss (e. g. a mark when shooting). The combination is invariably found with the negative suffix and thus forms the verb "to not miss seeing ...", i. e., "to watch closely". That it is a true compound is seen here by the position of the first person pronoun ge- between the two themes (cf. 36). Note here, too, the vocalic coloring of the final vowel of the negative suffix -abe (cf. notes 15, 22).

"hehei" noklakno'o | ge·cxaya·gwa(24) djagau-'a·y'ik haglanad When night fell to the river going down "yes" she said, it is said. yaxw-gaidjed (26) degal-lak(25)gaxaunecam'am'ada (27) hard wood cutting it off black burning it djoxnaklakno'o / 'e·d ho·cdaxco·n hadjxod (28) cogodaputting it away be went to sleep, it is said. And at daybreak galdei-'a-y'ik hadxilnada daxac-aidjodak-e-w'an (29) yelnada (30) to the outside towards the east going out hawa:dak hexcacaklakno'o (31) / 'e·da yandan-awai-e·w'an (32) very loudly he howled, it is said. And towards the south

(24) ge·cxaya- night falls, plus the subordinating -gwa suffix. Note the lengthening of the final vowel of the theme (cf. 67).

<sup>(25)</sup> degal refers to a species of very hard wood which I have been unable to identify. It was used in the old days to make bows.

<sup>(26)</sup> This verb is a compound of yaxw-, from yaxwdje- to strike ... with a weapon, and gaidje- (my finger, etc.) has been chopped off, (used in a static sense only, cf. 42). Note the loss of the final element of the first theme when compounded — other material on this alternation will be found in section 39.

<sup>(27)</sup> nec-, causative prefix plus ham'am'a- to burn, (intr.). Note the use of gaxau black, as an adverb.

<sup>(28)</sup> ho·c early, plus daxco·n (formed from daxco·- day breaks, by the noun forming suffix -an, cf. 75) "morning". hadjxo- to get up, arise. Note that the compound ho·c-daxco·n has no case suffix: it functions here as an adverb.

<sup>(29)</sup> daxac sun; haidjoda-k, -k participial form of ha-idjo-da- one person comes up; -e·- demonstrative "that" (cf. 91); -w'an dative (towards) suffix. daxac-aidjodak is regularly used to refer to the east.

<sup>(30)</sup> yel- to sit down, plus the directive suffix -na off, away: thus, -yel-na- to sit towards (an object off in the distance).

<sup>(31)</sup> hexcaca- to yell, yelp, howl. hawa:dak, (excess length rhetorical) here used adverbially, a compound of hawai tall, loud, and hadak very. Note that the final -i of hawai has been elided in the compound. Note also the meaning of hawai in this context: cf. section 87 for examples of such variations in the meanings of modifiers.

<sup>(32)</sup> yandan wind; hawai long. yandan-awai long wind, is regularly used to denote the south in evident reference to the constant south wind prevailing in the American Southwest. Compare this meaning of hawai with that in note 31.

hexcacaklakno'o 'e·da 'edcin'e (33) daxac-aglanak-e·yelnada he howled, it is said again towards the sitting and holau-'a·lak hexcacaklano'o  $e\cdot da$ 'edcin'ew'an(34)the last (time) he howled, it is said and west again yelnadahexcacaklakno'o $'adjxo\cdot n - de\cdot w'an$  (35) 'e gwa towards the north sitting he howled, it is said. Then  $noho\cdot na'e\cdot kla$  (37)  $ha\cdot djcogonai\cdot la\ hedai'o\cdot kla\cdot k$  $gwa\cdot gwan-ga$  (36) women going for wood Coyote he joined them, "we·l'ad 'eide·l'" (38) noklakno'o no'o 'e-gwa'e gwa "there he comes" they said, it is said. it is said. Then hedjodjxo·k-wa·-'a·la xogoc-'a·w'an (39) camox ye·laklakno'o. that evil one aforementioned above the waist he was, it is said  $\operatorname{red}$  $e\cdot kla$  $qec'adjan-'a\cdot w'an$  (40) gaxau ye·laklakno'o below the waist he was, it is said. and black Then  $gwa \cdot gwan - wa \cdot - ga$ caxwaklakno'o (41)  $e\cdot kla$ those women aforementioned they ran away, it is said t'ca·beklakno'o / 'e·gwa wa·dil hengwa·dakla ha·djcogonai-la he hid, it is said. Then as that one came running Coyote hedjodjxo·k-wa·-'a·lak / ha·djcogonai-la da·he·cogyo·klakno'o he fought with him, it is said that evil one aforementioned.

<sup>(33)</sup> It is not clear how 'edcin'e functions in this sentence: formally, having no case suffixes, it should have adverbial function as, indeed, it does have at the end of line 2, page 287, but there is no verb following unless we connect it with the preceding particle 'e·da.

<sup>(34)</sup> daxac sun, haglana-k, -k form of ha-gla-na- one person goes down. Cf. note 29.

<sup>(35) &#</sup>x27;adj-xawa- ('adjxo·-) wind blows from the north; cold, disagreeable wind blows. The analysis of this form is not so clear: the element 'adj- appears to occur in ben-'ats spring (the meaning of ben- is unknown), and in 'adj-'ix cold, disagreeable ('ix bad). Perhaps 'adj- has reference to weather in a sense of disagreeable weather and - xawa- refers to the blowing of the wind. This analysis is purely speculative.

<sup>(36)</sup> Note the plural form of the noun gwan woman (cf. 84).

<sup>(37)</sup> noho·na'e·-to go for wood,— an unanalyzable theme. Perhaps compounded of noho·na-, which may be an old theme meaning "wood" and -'e·-, a form of the verb 'ei-na- to go off.

<sup>(38)</sup> we'l'ad he, that one (over there), cf. 91. 'ei-d- to come, plus the modal suffix -e'l, cf. 63.

<sup>(39)</sup> xogoc refers to that part of the body above the waist; -'a·w'an singular definite dative (towards) suffix.

<sup>(40)</sup> gec'adjan below the waist.

<sup>(41)</sup> caxwa- to run away, — also means 'to be frightened'.

'e gwa ha·djcogonai-yeiga'ai-'a·la ha·naxok-'ida hedjodjxo·k-Then wolves many of them that evil one -wa-'a·lakheuled da·he·cogyo·nonlakno'o (42) aforementioned catching him they were fighting with him, it is said  $e \cdot noga$ ya·lo·nanlakno'o  $hedjodjxo\cdot k-wa\cdot -'a\cdot lak$ so doing they killed him, it is said that evil one aforementioned. And na·'e·klakno'o (43) ha·djcogonai-yeiga'ai-wa·-ga  $e\cdot kla$ those wolves aforementioned they went off, it is said. ha·djcogonai-la $yadjox'an-e\cdot w'an$   $didjgan-gabai-e'e\cdot -lak$  (44) that (of) no people Coyote towards the camp "yadjox'an-ega:d-gak nececgabou" da·mou noklakno'o "those tipis shut them" tightly he said, it is said yadjox'an-wa:-'a:lak lococnececgabaklakno'o (45) / 'enik they closed, it is said. those tipis aforementioned all Then ha dj cogonai -la $de \cdot dja - 'a \cdot y'ik$ hanada yandjidjxilda'an (46) Coyote to this place going off came running " $ma \cdot dan$  'o c' ou (47) yadjox' an -de' -la  $nawe \cdot l$  (48)" noklakno'o "quick this camp is burning" he said, it is said 'e'noklakno'o  $e\cdot l$  ok gabai $e\cdot kla$ 'edcin'e  $ha \cdot nada$ but nothing happened, it is said. going off Then again

ha·djcogonai-yeiga'ai wolves, — a compound of the word for "Coyote" and that for "big" (referring to several).

ha naxok many, plus -'ida of them (cf. 86). Note, here, the separation of noun and modifier.

da·he·cogyo·-no-n-lakno'o — an example of the third person plural of the -k paradigm (cf. 74).

<sup>(42)</sup> This sentence illustrates the usual word order in Tonkawa: subject, subject modifier, object, subordinated verb, and principal verb. This order is, of course, not a necessary one since the suffixes of the words regulate most of the syntactic relations.

<sup>(43)</sup> na·'e·- several go off. This verb can only be used with a plural subject.

<sup>(44)</sup> Note separation of noun and modifiers: "towards-the-camp that-of-no-people", i. e., "towards that camp of no people".

<sup>(45)</sup> Here *lococ* all, is used as an adverb: it may also be used adjectivally (cf. 87).

<sup>(46)</sup> Note how the directive suffixes are used: "Coyote to-this-place going-off comes-running". "this place" is a literal translation: freely, it is to be interpreted "a short distance away".

<sup>(47) &#</sup>x27;-, a reduced form of 'ei- to be, do, plus  $-o \cdot c'o$  plural subject suffix and -u imperative suffix.

<sup>(48)</sup> naw- to burn, plus suffix -e'l; cf. note 38 and section 63.

yandjidxilda'an ``hedan'okocoouyadjox'an-de:-la nawe:l'' coming running "Hurry up! come! this camp is burning" / 'e·kla 'edcin'e 'e·klakno'o noklakno'o  $`e\cdot l`ok \quad gabai$ he said, it is said but nothing happened, it is said. Then again ha·nada hengwa·dan (49) "hedan"ok o.c.ouyadjox'an-de-la going off coming running "Hurry up! this camp come  $nawe \cdot l$ " noklakno'o 'e·kla gabai 'e·klakno'o /. is burning" he said, it is said but nothing happened, it is said. "hedan'ok 'o·c'ou holau-'a·lak ha·nada hengwa·dan  $e\cdot kla$ the last (time) going off coming running "Hurry up noklakno'o 'e·kla didjgan-'a·la yadjox'an-de:-la nawe:l'' this camp is burning" he said, it is said. Then ha·nadjidjxileklakno'o / (50) 'e·kla ha·djcogonai-lak $ha \cdot naxok$ they ran out, it is said. Coyote Then many necda·'e·klakno'o /  $gwa\cdot n$ -enox-lak a pretty woman they caused him to marry, it is said.

## Free Translation of Text

Coyote was going along, it is said, and while so doing, he climbed a mountain and was standing there. It happened there was a large camp below that mountain. Coyote, descending, arrived at that large camp. As he came to the last (tipi), (he heard someone) weeping inside the tipi. Coyote, entering, said, "What is the matter?"

The woman said, "All this camp off in this direction has no people

in it. An evil one has killed them all."

"Well, don't cry," said Coyote, "tomorrow I intend to fight with him (the monster)."

The woman went out and announced, "Coyote says he will fight him tomorrow."

"When I fight him tomorrow, don't run away," said Coyote, "Watch me closely."

"Yes," she said, it is said.

<sup>(49)</sup> Note that two different verbs "to come running" have been used: yandjidjxilda- and  $hengwa\cdot da$ -. There are two others:  $ya\cdot ncxil$ -to run away, and yalxilda- to come running. Except that the third of these cannot take the directive suffixes, no differences in meaning can be distinguished.

<sup>(50)</sup> ha nadjidjxile- several run away, can only be used with a plural subject. Note that ha naxok many, is here used adverbially, and that didjgan, though actually referring to many people, has the nominative definite singular suffix. Literally the sentence reads: "then person many several-ran-out-it-is-said".

That evening, (Coyote), going down to the river and cutting a (stick of) very hard wood, he burned it black, put it away and went to sleep. The next morning he arose and, going outside, he sat down facing the east and howled loudly. Sitting towards the south, he again howled; again towards the west; and, finally, he sat facing the north and howled.

When the women went for wood, Coyote joined them. Suddenly they said, "Here he comes!" And that evil one was red above the waist and black below the waist, it is said. The women ran away and Coyote hid. Just as he (the evil one) ran towards him, he fought that evil one. At that moment many wolves, catching hold of him and fighting with him, killed the evil one, it is said. And then the wolves went away.

Coyote said then to that camp of no people. "Close tightly all these tipis", and all the tipis were closed. Then Coyote went off a ways and, running back, shouted, "Come, quickly!, this camp is burning!" but nothing happened. Again he went off and, running back, shouted, "Come, quickly, this camp is burning", but (again) nothing happened. Again he went off, and, running back, shouted, "Come, quickly, this camp is burning", and nothing happened. Then the last time, he went off and, running back, shouted, "Come, quickly, this camp is burning." Then many people ran out, it is said.

Then they gave Coyote a pretty woman for his wife, it is said.