

**TUNICA**

**By**

**MARY R. HAAS**



**I U N I U A**

**BY**

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The Tunica <sup>1</sup> were always a comparatively small tribe of Indians but today their numbers are reduced to a mere handful living near Marksville, Louisiana. Of these there is only one individual, Sesotrie Youchigant (born c. 1870), who speaks the language with any degree of fluency. He also speaks Louisiana French and English, the former more readily than the latter. While there are a few other Indians who know some isolated words and phrases of Tunica, none of them is familiar enough with the language to converse with Youchigant. In fact Youchigant has had no occasion to converse in Tunica since the death of his mother in 1915, and, even before her death, he preferred to speak French to her although she always spoke Tunica to him.

Tunica was probably in a more or less decadent state even two or three generations ago. The reasons for this are obvious. Near the end of the nineteenth century the Indian village near Marksville was inhabited by remnants of at least three rapidly dying tribes: Tunica, Ofo,<sup>2</sup> and Avoyelles.<sup>3</sup> To add to the linguistic confusion there were Biloxi<sup>4</sup> and Choctaw Indians living nearby and the various groups frequently danced and played ball together. Since the language of each of these tribes (except the Choctaw) was known to only a few individuals, intertribal communication was possible only through the medium of the Mobilian jargon <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a presentation of what is known of the history and ethnology of the Tunica, see John R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico* (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 43, 1911), pp. 306-337.

Swanton has also published a sketch of the Tunica language (see *The Tunica Language*, International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 2, pp. 1-39), based on the notes of Albert S. Gatschet and some additional notes of his own. Gatschet's notes were recorded in 1886 and contain many of the phonetic inaccuracies commonly made at that time. His material is particularly weak in that he failed to record glottal stops. Hence a better understanding of the phonetics of the language coupled with the great amount of new grammatical and text material obtained from Youchigant has contributed much toward making possible a fuller and more adequate analysis of the language.

<sup>2</sup> See James Owen Dorsey and John R. Swanton, *A Dictionary of the Biloxi and Ofo Languages* (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 47, 1912), p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-274.

<sup>4</sup> Dorsey and Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 9. The Ofo, Avoyelles, and Biloxi tribes are now extinct.

That Tunica has been remembered somewhat longer than the other languages of the vicinity is a matter of accident. At present it serves no sociological function whatsoever and when a language has reached that stage it is to all intents and purposes a dead language. Hence it is to be assumed that what Youchigant recalls of Tunica is at best a mere remnant of what the language must have been when many speakers used it as their only means of communication. Indeed, I often had the feeling that the Tunica grooves in Youchigant's memory might be compared to the grooves in a phonograph record; for he could repeat what he had heard but was unable to make up new expressions of his own accord. He himself is keenly aware of his deficiencies and often expressed his regret that he so seldom heeded his mother when she reprimanded him for speaking French instead of Tunica. He is also conscious of the fact that his polylingualism interferes with his ability to recall Tunica.<sup>1</sup>

Youchigant's comments with respect to the speech of the "old people" deserve some attention. He himself always spoke very rapidly as if he might be in danger of forgetting the words if he did not utter them as fast as possible. But in contrast to his own manner of speaking he says that "the old people sitting around the fire telling stories always talked slow, slow." In addition he often commented on the fact that the old people "spoke more plain."

In spite of the obvious deficiencies in Youchigant's command of the language, I think it is safe to say that I obtained as much linguistic information from him as it is possible to obtain. While it cannot be denied that there are certain lacunae in this material, most of these are to be interpreted as lacunae in his knowledge of the language. Although the grammatical analysis of a dying language presents for this reason many problems and difficulties, I have made every attempt to present the grammar of Tunica in the same way that I would present that of a living language.

Most of the illustrative material quoted in the chapters on morphology and syntax is taken from my book *Tunica Texts*.<sup>2</sup> The source is given in parentheses immediately after the Tunica example. The text number reference is separated from the paragraph letter reference by means of a colon, e.g., 4A:c, which is to be

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, to put it in his own words: "It's not good you learn too much language [= too many languages]. It broke your language. You can't speak plain."

THIS GRAMMAR IS A REVISION AND AN ENLARGEMENT OF MY DISSERTATION entitled *A Grammar of the Tunica Language*, which was presented to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1935. The field work which served as the basis for the dissertation was financed by the Committee on Research in American Native Languages. After the preparation of the dissertation the work on Tunica was temporarily laid aside until the summer of 1938 when the Committee furnished me a special appropriation for the preparation of *Tunica Texts*. After the texts were prepared the desirability of enlarging and revising the original draft of the grammar became apparent and in the summer of 1939 the Committee furnished me another grant for the purpose of accomplishing this task. My sincerest thanks are due to all of the members of the Committee and particularly to Professor Franz Boas for his unflinching encouragement and inspiration.

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Eufaula, Okla.

July, 1940

# CHAPTER I: PHONOLOGY

## 1. PHONETICS

### 1.1 GENERAL REMARKS

Because of sweeping external sandhi phenomena, the smallest phonetic group of Tunica is the phrase, which may contain a single word or several words. Phrases are always set off from other phrases by pauses and are also characterized by special intonational or melodic features. On the other hand, words occurring within the same phrase form a unit. They are not set off from each other by pauses nor by any other special characteristics of a phonetic nature.

Every phrase, every word, and every syllable must begin in a single consonant but may end in a vowel, a consonant, or a cluster of two consonants. Hence vowels are never clustered and clusters of more than three consonants do not occur. A phrase or a word may have one or more stressed syllables but these are never consecutive.

### 1.2 THE PHONEMES

All of the unit phonemes, the syllabic phonemes, and the phrasal phonemes are listed immediately below. Their discussion is provided in sections 1.3 to 1.6 inclusive. In the table of consonants (p. 5) phonemes occurring only in a few isolated words (of foreign or probably foreign origin) are followed by an asterisk, e.g., *b\**. Note also that the term "stop" as used here includes the affricate *č* as well as the simple stops.

#### 1.21 THE UNIT PHONEMES

Vowels:

	Unrounded		Rounded	
	Front	Mixed	Back	
High-close	<i>i</i>			<i>u</i>
Mid-close		<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	
Low		<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>a</i>

## Consonants:

	Bila- bial	Labio- dental	Alveo- lar	Palatal	Mid- palatal	Glottal
<b>STOPS</b>						
Voiceless	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Voiced	<i>b*</i>		<i>d*</i>		<i>g*</i>	
<b>CONTINUANTS</b>						
Voiceless spirants		<i>f*</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>h</i>
Semivowels	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>			
Lateral			<i>l</i>			
Trill			<i>r</i>			

## 1.22 THE SYLLABIC PHONEMES

On the dynamic level, there are two types of syllables, stressed and unstressed. The former are orthographically distinguished from the latter by having an acute sign (´) placed after their vowel, e.g., *ha'raku* "he sings."

## 1.23 THE PHRASAL PHONEMES

The vowel of the ultima, or, in certain instances, the vowel of the penultima, of the last word in every phrase is subjected to one of the following phrase-final melodies:

(1) High, orthographically indicated by an acute sign (´) placed over the vowel,<sup>1</sup> e.g., *ha'rakú* "he sings."

(2) Low, indicated by a grave sign (`), e.g., *ha'rako`nì* "he would sing, they say."

(3) Rising, indicated by an inverted circumflex (˘), e.g., *ʔi'-mapǎn* "I, too."

(4) Falling, indicated by a circumflex (^), e.g., *šu'čʔikî* "Shoot!"

(5) Falling-rising, indicated by a circumflex plus an inverted circumflex (~), e.g., *hōn* "Yes."

In case the ultimate vowel is *u* preceded by *k* or *hk*, the low and rising melodies may be placed, if desired, on the penultimate vowel, e.g., *to'niku* "the man," *la'hontōhku* "very early"; in this event the *u* is unvoiced. The remaining melodies are placed

<sup>1</sup> Note that the diacritics indicating the melodies are placed over the vowel while the one indicating stress is placed after the vowel.

on the ultimate vowel without exception, e.g., *pi'takú* "he walks."<sup>1</sup>

### 1.3 DISCUSSION OF THE VOWELS

#### 1.31 DISTRIBUTION AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Vowels occur after and between consonants but not after other vowels. They may not initiate the syllable. Although *i*, *a*, and *u* occur freely in all positions, the remaining vowels are relatively rare except in stressed syllables. Occurrences in word-final position of vowels other than *i*, *a*, or *u* are also rare. Moreover, vowels in general are rare in phrase-final position for reasons that are made clear in the section on pause forms (2.4), but when they do occur here they are accompanied by a strong aspiration, e.g., *lɔ'takú* "he runs."

All vowels are normally short but those occurring in stressed syllables are somewhat lengthened, particularly if such syllables are open. Vowels occurring before *n* in the same syllable are nasalized, e.g., *yu'nka* "rope"; *ʔi'mapən* "I, too" (pause form). All vowels are fully voiced in all positions with but one exception: In phrase-final position an *u* preceded by *k* or *hk* is unvoiced in the event that the phrase-final melody is placed on the penultimate vowel (1.23).

#### 1.32 DESCRIPTION

*i* is a somewhat close high front vowel (cf. *ee* in Eng. *meek*), e.g., *ti'tihki* "bayou," *ši'hkali* "stone."

*e* is a somewhat close mid front vowel (cf. *a* in Eng. *make*), e.g., *me'li* "black," *ta'sle* "beautiful."

*ɛ* is a low vowel, slightly closer than the *a* of Eng. *mat* but not so close as the *e* of Eng. *met*, e.g., *ne'ra* "ghost," *mi'lʔɛhɛ* "not red."

*a* is a low mixed vowel (cf. *a* in Eng. *father*), e.g., *ma'ka* "grease," *ha'rahkʔa'ra* "she is singing."

*ɔ* is a rounded<sup>2</sup> low back vowel but not quite so low as *a* in Eng. *all*, e.g., *čɔ'ha* "chief," *la'pʔɔhɔ* "not good."

*o* is a rounded somewhat close mid back vowel (cf. *o* in Eng. *rope*), e.g., *mo'lu* "full," *ta'poluhkiku* "the bottle."

*u* is a rounded somewhat close high back vowel (cf. *ue* in Eng. *sue*), e.g., *pu'na* "ball," *ču'huku* "he spits."

<sup>1</sup> In *Tunica Texts* I have marked not only the phrase-final melodies but have employed commas and periods as well, depending on whether the phrase comes in the middle or at the end of the sentence.

<sup>2</sup> The rounding of *ɔ*, *o*, and *u* is more "inward" than "outward," i.e., the protrusion of the lips is slight.

## 1.4 DISCUSSION OF THE CONSONANTS

## 1.41 DISTRIBUTION

Consonants occur most frequently before and between vowels, e.g., *ʔuya'nasitε'ni* "they spoke to him, it is said," but they also occur after vowels and before, between, and after consonants, e.g., *ru'statʔε* "sheep," *wi'skʔohku* "robin." While all consonants <sup>1</sup> may occur between vowels, the occurrence of ʔ in this position is less common than that of other consonants.

Every syllable, every word, and every phrase must begin in a single consonant. In word- or phrase-medial position clusters of two or three (never more) consonants occur freely but the double clusters are more common than the triple. In phrase-final position not more than two consecutive consonants are permitted.

## 1.42 MEDIAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS

1.421 Most instances of word- or phrase-medial double consonant clusters come under one of the following rules: (1) ʔ may be preceded by any consonant except itself, e.g., *ʔu'rʔutʔa* "if he whoops," *ka'sʔεhε* "not true," *ču'hʔuhki* "he spat," and clusters of this type are very common. (2) Any voiceless stop may be preceded by any continuant except *y*, *w*, or *m*, e.g., *wi'sta* "sweet," *wi'ska* "gun," *ha'hka* "corn," *ma'nku* "four," *ši'lka* "blackbird," *ta'rkuku* "the tree," the most common of such combinations being *h* plus a voiceless stop, as in *ha'hka*. (3) Any consonant may be preceded by *n*, including *n* itself, e.g., *yu'nka* "rope," *ʔu'nsa* "they are coming," *ʔunna'siku* "he leads them."

We also find that *š* occurs rather often before other consonants, as in such sporadic cases as *ʔa'hkišse'ma* "the rest," *ʔušni'yʔɔki* "he got lonesome," *ta'sle* "beautiful," *ʔušru'ka* "he is afraid," in addition to those instances which come under the first two rules above. Still other types of double clusters occur but these are likewise sporadic, e.g., *ʔe'kša* "pine," *ko'tyuki* "hominy," *te'swayu* "her vulva," *ti'rwaši* "claw, nail." A very rare type of cluster is found in *ro'ptini* "cotton," an abbreviated variant of *ro'puhtini*.

Note also the following negative rules with reference to the combining of consonants: (1) No consonant except *n* may be preceded by itself. (2) With the sole exception of *ro'ptini* (var. of *ro'puhtini*) no voiceless stop except ʔ may be preceded by another voiceless stop.

1.422 Most cases of word- or phrase-medial triple consonant clusters fall under one of the two following rules: (1) A permissible

<sup>1</sup> General rules given for consonants do not apply to *f* nor to the voiced stops, as these phonemes are of rare occurrence (see 1.21).

double cluster composed of a continuant plus a voiceless stop may be followed by *ʔ*, e.g., *ta'wištʔεku* "the Mississippi," *pi'tahkʔu'na* "he is walking." (2) Any permissible double cluster (except one whose prior member is *n*) may be preceded by *n*, e.g., *ʔinšʔε'pa* "we are happy," *ʔunšru'ka* "they are afraid." A sporadic triple cluster occurs in the borrowed word *ʔi'ngrasa* "Englishman, American" (see 1.443).

### 1.43 PHRASE-FINAL CONSONANTS AND CLUSTERS

Instances of consonants in phrase-final position are common but *p*, *k*, *ʔ*, *s*, *y*, *w*, and *h* do not occur here. The most widely used single final consonant is *n* (see 2.43, rules 4 and 5). Occurrences of double consonant clusters in this position are also found but they usually consist of a continuant (except *y*, *w*, or *m*) plus a voiceless stop, e.g., *ta'wiši ha'yɨht* "on the water."

### 1.44 DESCRIPTION OF THE CONSONANTS

1.441 The voiceless stops and affricate *p*, *t*, *k*, and *č* are fortis and moderately aspirated in all positions except before *ʔ* where they are unaspirated. In *te'titʔε* "highway," for instance, the first and second *t*'s are aspirated while the third is not. Moreover, since the aspiration tends to be stronger when the stop initiates a stressed syllable and weaker when it does not, the first *t* is more strongly aspirated than the second.

*p* is a bilabial stop (cf. *p* in Eng. *pit*), e.g., *pa'hpahkana* "pileated woodpecker." *t* is a linguo-alveolar stop (cf. *t* in Eng. *tell*), e.g., *ti'tihtʔε* "river." *č* is a blade-cacuminal affricate, similar to *ch* in Eng. *check* but differing from it in that it is articulated by placing the blade of the tongue just back of the alveolar ridge, e.g., *ču'hčuhina* "red-headed woodpecker." *k* is a mid-palatal stop (cf. *c* in Eng. *can*), e.g., *ko'hku* "turtle."

1.442 The glottal stop, *ʔ*, always consists of a strong glottal closure, e.g., *ʔawa'čʔinakʔahča* "we shall fight each other."

1.443 The voiced stops *b*, *d*, and *g* are always lenis. *b* is bilabial (cf. *b* in Eng. *back*); *d* is linguo-alveolar (cf. *d* in Eng. *deep*); *g* is mid-palatal (cf. *g* in Eng. *go*). These stops are of extremely limited occurrence, each of them appearing in not more than two or three stems, e.g., *ʔa'libama* "Alabama Indian"; *ʔɔ'ndetiši* "milk"; *di'su sa'hku* "dime" (*di'su* < French *dix sous* followed by the Tunica numeral *sa'hku* "one"); *ʔi'gači* "my mother"; *ʔi'ngrasa* "Englishman, American" (< Spanish *inglés, inglesa*, with unexplained substitution of *r* for *l*).<sup>1</sup> Some of these words are obviously

<sup>1</sup> But perhaps the Tunica borrowed the word from a Spanish dialect in which *r* replaces *l*.



of foreign origin and it may be that ultimately all of them will be found to be of such origin.

1.444 The labio-dental voiceless spirant *f* is fortis and is limited in occurrence to the one stem *ka'fi* "coffee" (< French *café*).

The voiceless sibilants *s* and *š* are fortis in all positions. Both are much more strongly hissed than the corresponding sounds of English (i.e., than *s* as in *sell* and *sh* as in *shell*). Tunica *s* is a blade-alveolar, e.g., *so'su* "muscadine," while *š* is a blade-cacuminal (cf. the remarks concerning its corresponding affricate *č* in 1.441), e.g., *ši'htuna* "dark."

The voiceless spirant *h* is usually an aspiration (cf. *h* in Eng. *hat*) but it occurs in several varieties ranging from a strongly spirantal sound approaching *x* to a very weak aspiration or even, in allegro speech, hiatus. Note the following varieties: (1) Before a voiceless stop *h* approaches *x*, e.g., *ha'hka* "corn." (2) Before *ʔ* it is a moderately strong aspiration followed by a quick whispered vowel of the same timber as the immediately preceding vowel, e.g., *wa'hʔuhki* "he cried." (3) In word-initial position it is a moderately strong aspiration, e.g., *haka'lʔuhki* "he stood up," and the same variety occurs at the beginning of any stressed syllable (initial or medial) and at the beginning of a phrase-final syllable, e.g., *ha'li* "land," *ʔihi'yʔɔki* "I woke up," *ʔahâ* "No!" (4) In intervocalic position at the beginning of an unstressed syllable it varies between a weak aspiration and hiatus; in lento speech it is usually the former while in allegro speech it is often the latter, e.g., *ʔi'lištahahki* "only two."

1.445 The bilabial and palatal semivowels *w* and *y* are always voiced, e.g., *wi'ši* "water," *yu'pahta* "cold."

1.446 The bilabial nasal *m* is likewise always voiced, e.g., *mi'li* "red." The linguo-alveolar nasal *n*, on the other hand, occurs in two varieties, voiced and voiceless. The voiced variety occurs before and between vowels and before *ʔ*, e.g., *ni'ni* "fish," *ʔu-runʔu'hki* "he whooped." The voiceless variety occurs before all consonants except *ʔ* and in phrase-final position. The vowel immediately preceding it is strongly nasalized (1.31), e.g., *si'nku* "five," *ʔunšru'ka* "they are afraid," *wi'yǎn* "are you going?"

1.447 The linguo-alveolar lateral and trill *l* and *r* are like *n* in that they occur in two varieties, voiced and voiceless. Their voiced varieties occur before and between vowels and before *ʔ* and voiced continuants, e.g., *la'pu* "good," *mi'li* "red," *ka'lʔura* "he stood," *ro'wa* "white," *he'ri* "canoe," *ha'rʔuhki* "he sang," *ti'r-waši* "claw, nail." Their voiceless varieties<sup>1</sup> occur before all

<sup>1</sup> The voiceless variety of Tunica *l* is simply a voiceless lateral and produces a quite different acoustic effect from the voiceless spirantal *l* (*l̥*) which is so common in the nearby Muskogean languages.

voiceless consonants except *ʔ* and in phrase-final position, e.g., *ši'lka* "blackbird," *ši'hkāl* "stone" (apocopated < *ši'hkali*); *ta'r-kuku* "the tree," *ši'kūr* "knife" (apocopated < *ši'kuri*).

### 1.5 DISCUSSION OF STRESS

Stressed syllables are differentiated from unstressed syllables on the basis of the force with which they are uttered, the former being uttered with greater force than the latter. Stressed syllables may also be uttered on a somewhat higher pitch than that employed with unstressed syllables but this is not an essential point of difference. There are, however, circumstances under which a stressed syllable will tend to be uttered on a higher pitch than that used with other syllables, stressed or unstressed. These circumstances depend on the position of the stressed syllable within the phrase and are discussed in the following section.

### 1.6 DISCUSSION OF THE PHRASE-FINAL MELODIES

In this section are presented the norms for the various types of phrasal pitch contours.<sup>1</sup> It is found that the first stressed syllable of a phrase will ordinarily be pitched slightly higher than all succeeding syllables except (1) the ultima when the high or falling melodies are used and (2) the last stressed syllable when the low or rising melodies are used. Thus the contour of any given phrase is determined largely by the type of phrase-final melody used. The following contours occur:

(1) When the high melody is used the ultima is pitched roughly a minor third higher than the penultima. The first stressed syllable is normally a major second higher than any of the succeeding syllables except the ultima. All intervening syllables (stressed or unstressed) are ordinarily uttered on a monotone. If there are any unstressed syllables preceding the first stressed syllable, they will have about the same pitch as these intervening syllables. Example: *ta'čiyak ʔura'pʔikʔahčá* (4A:r)<sup>2</sup> "You will kill the squirrel."

<sup>1</sup> The material presented here was obtained in two ways: (1) from tonal notes made directly from the dictation of the informant and (2) from somewhat more detailed tonal notes based on phonograph recordings of Tunica speech. The phonograph recordings, however, are not of the best quality and some words are too blurred for identification. Hence the sort of detailed study that I had hoped to make was not possible on the basis of these recordings. However, since the results obtained from direct dictation are in close agreement with those obtained from the phonographic study, it seems reasonable to suppose that the description presented here is sufficiently accurate to serve the general purpose for which it is intended.

<sup>2</sup> Text reference, see explanation on pp. 2-3.

Here *ta'*- is roughly a major second higher than any succeeding syllable except *-čá* which in turn is roughly a minor third higher than any preceding syllable except *ta'*-. The intervening syllables (including the stressed *-ra'p-*) are uttered on a monotone.

(2) When the falling melody is used the ultima starts about a minor third higher than the penultima and then slides quickly downward about a perfect fourth or fifth. In other respects the contour of this type of phrase is like that of one having a high melody. Example: *ʔa'hkiš ma'rʔiki* (4A:bg) "Go back!"

(3) When the low melody is used the ultima is pitched about a perfect fourth or fifth lower than the last stressed syllable which in turn is pitched about a minor third higher than the immediately preceding syllables. Any unstressed syllables coming between the last stressed syllable and the ultima have the same pitch as the latter. The first stressed syllable (unless it is also the last stressed syllable) is ordinarily pitched a major second higher than any succeeding syllable except the last stressed syllable. The intervening syllables are monotonous. Example: *ʔu'riš ma'rʔuwa'nì* (7A:c) "He went back home, they say."

(4) When the rising melody is used the ultima starts about a perfect fourth or fifth lower than the last stressed syllable and then slides quickly upward about a minor third. In all other respects (including the pitch of the last stressed syllable) the contour of this type of phrase is like that of one having the low melody. Example: *l'ta wiwa'năn* (16:h) "Do you want to run?"

(5) The falling-rising melody consists of a quick drop of a perfect fourth or so followed by a quick rise of a minor third. This melody occurs only with the one monosyllabic word *hōn* "Yes."

## 2. PHONOMECHANICS

### 2.1 GENERAL REMARKS

On the phonemic level the smallest phonetic group is the phrase. On the phonomechanical (phonological) level, however, it is possible to distinguish between the word and the phrase on the basis of certain differences between internal sandhi (phonomechanical changes operating when grammatical elements are combined into words) and external sandhi (phonomechanical changes operating when words are combined into phrases).

### 2.2 INTERNAL SANDHI

#### 2.21 PHONOMECHANICAL PROCESSES

The phonomechanical processes employed in internal sandhi are vocalic contraction, vocalic assimilation, vocalic syncope,

consonantic syncope, haplogy, and stress losses and shifts. These are discussed in detail in the following sections.

## 2.22 VOCALIC CONTRACTION

2.221 Of the two types of situations requiring vocalic contraction the first occurs when a grammatical element ending in a vowel is combined with a grammatical element beginning in a vowel. In this case the following contractions take place: (1)  $i + e > e$ , (2)  $u + e > o$ , (3)  $i, e, \text{ or } \varepsilon + a > \varepsilon$ , (4)  $u$  or  $\varepsilon + a > \varepsilon$ ,<sup>1</sup> (5)  $a + a > a$ . Examples:

- ʔe'rusa* I know < *ʔi-*, 1s pref., + *-e'rusa* to know (1)  
*ʔo'rusa* he knows < *ʔu-*, 3MS pref., + *-e'rusa* (2)  
*mi'e'ni* it is red, they say<sup>2</sup> < *mi'li* red + *-a'ni*, quot. postf. (3)  
*tašle'ni* it is beautiful < *ta'šle* + *-a'ni* (3)  
*lu'pítehe'ni* she did not die < *lu'pítehe* + *-a'ni* (3)  
*mo'ni* it is full < *mo'lu* + *-a'ni* (4)  
*mo'lʔho'ni* it is not full < *mo'lʔho* + *-a'ni* (4)  
*nara'ni* it is a snake < *na'ra* + *-a'ni* (5)

2.222 In the second type of situation requiring vocalic contraction we find that if a suffix or postfix beginning in *h* plus a vowel is attached to a polysyllabic stem ending in a vowel, the *h* is lost and the vowels thus coming together contract as follows: (1)  $i + a > \varepsilon$ , (2)  $u + a > \varepsilon$ , (3)  $a + a > a$ , (4)  $i, a, \text{ or } u + i > i$ . Examples:

- ʔu'wet* he, on his part < *ʔu'wi* he + *-hat* on . . . 's part (1)  
*ta'narakət* the snake, on its part < *ta'naraku* the snake + *-hat* (2)  
*ʔu'nimat* we, on our part < *ʔu'nima* we + *-hat* (3)  
*ʔa'milawihč* when he was about to go < *ʔa'mi* to go + *-hila-*  
to be about to + *-wi*, 3MS endg., + *-hč* when (4)  
*lʔtilawihč* when he was about to run < *lʔta* to run + *-hila-*  
+ *-wi* + *-hč* (4)  
*sa'kilawihč* when he was about to eat < *sa'ku* to eat + *-hila-*  
+ *-wi* + *-hč* (4)

After a monosyllabic stem, on the other hand, the *h* is not lost and contraction cannot occur, e.g., *ma'hat* "you, on your part" < *ma'* "you" + *-hat*.

## 2.23 VOCALIC ASSIMILATION

2.231 Of the two types of situations requiring vocalic assimilation the first occurs when a suffix, postfix, or auxiliary verb be-

<sup>1</sup> Instances of  $o + a$  do not happen to occur.

<sup>2</sup> To conserve space the quotative postfix, which always means "they say, it is said," is usually not translated in connection with the examples wherein it appears hereinafter.

ginning in  $\text{ʔ}$  is added to a stem or word ending in a vowel. In this event the vowel following the  $\text{ʔ}$  assimilates to the preceding vowel which in turn is syncopated unless it stands at the end of a monosyllabic stem (see 2.241). The following assimilations occur: (1) *a* after *i* or *e* >  $\epsilon$ , (2) *a* after *o* or *u* >  $\text{ɔ}$ .<sup>1</sup> Examples:

*mi'lʔehε* not red < *mi'li* red + *-ʔaha* not (1)  
*me'ʔeki* she searched < *me'* to search + *ʔa'ki* she did (1)  
*po'ʔɔki* she looked < *po'* to look + *ʔa'ki* (2)  
*mo'lʔɔhɔ* not full < *mo'lu* full + *-ʔaha* (2)

Note particularly that these assimilations occur only with suffixes, postfixes, and auxiliary verbs. When two stems are juxtaposed, assimilation does not occur, e.g., *tina'ʂʔamʔuhkε'nì* (3A:a) "Taking her (with him) he went (home)," wherein the stems *na'ʂi* "to take . . . along" and *ʔa'mi* "to go" are juxtaposed without assimilation.

2.232 In the second type of situation requiring vocalic assimilation it is found that whenever the first vowel of an *aha* or *ehe* group changes its quality by contraction with or assimilation to a preceding vowel, the second vowel assumes the identical quality of the first. Examples:

*tε'hεyaku* her brother < *ti-*, 3FS pref., + *-a'haya* sibling of the opposite sex + *-ku*, MS suff.  
*ka'ʂʔehε* not true < *ka'ʂi* true + *-ʔaha* not  
*ʔɔ'hɔyahčì* his sister < *ʔu-*, 3MS pref., + *-a'haya* + *-hčì*, FS suff.  
*la'pʔɔhɔ* not good < *la'pu* good + *-ʔaha*  
*ʔo'hokumaku* his younger brother < *ʔu-* + *-e'hekuma* younger brother of a man (?)<sup>2</sup> + *-ku*

Moreover, in certain grammatical situations an infix is inserted after the first vowel of an *aha* or *ehe* group without preventing the assimilation of the second vowel, e.g., *ʔɔ'nhɔyahčì* their sister < *ʔu-n-*, 3MD pref., + *-a'haya* + *-hčì*.

## 2.24 VOCALIC SYNCOPE

2.241 In the process of combining grammatical elements into words a vowel which would come to stand before  $\text{ʔ}$  is ordinarily

<sup>1</sup> In any other similar circumstances assimilation cannot occur. Thus *a* after *a* remains *a*; *i* after *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, or *u* remains *i*; *u* after *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, or *u* remains *u*;  $\text{ɔ}$  after *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, or *u* remains  $\text{ɔ}$ . No other successions of vowels separated by  $\text{ʔ}$  are found.

<sup>2</sup> The informant rarely uses this word and is somewhat uncertain as to its precise meaning.

syncopated unless it stands at the end of a monosyllabic stem or prefix.<sup>1</sup> Examples:

*ʔa'kʔuhki* he entered < *ʔa'ka* to enter + *ʔu'hki* he did  
*ʔa'mʔehkini* I went < *ʔa'mi* to go + *ʔa'hkini* I did  
*la'pʔɔhɔ* not good < *la'pu* good + *-ʔaha* not

But note the lack of syncopation in the case of monosyllabic elements:

*po'ʔuhki* he looked < *po'* to look + *ʔu'hki*  
*ta'ʔeru* laughter < *ta'-*, agentive pref., + *ʔe'ru* to laugh

In addition to the regular exceptions just noted, there are a few irregular cases in which vocalic syncopation does not occur before *ʔ*, as in *tɔ'mahkaʔɔ'staku* (1) "the blue alligator" where we should expect to find *\*tɔ'mahkʔɔ'staku*.<sup>2</sup>

2.242 Another common type of vocalic syncopation is found under the following circumstances: When a stem ending in *hki*, *ši*, *ni*, *li*, or *ri* comes to stand before a grammatical element beginning in a consonant, the *i* may be syncopated unless its stem has a stressed penult. Examples:<sup>3</sup>

*ti'tihtʔε* river < *ti'tihki* bayou + *-tʔε*, augmentative suff.  
*no'kušnu'hči* female bear < *no'kuši* bear + *nu'hči* female  
*ʔɔ'skačē'hkintʔε* large pot < *ʔɔ'skačē'hkini* pot + *-tʔε*, aug. suff.  
*ta'haranči* the fiddle < *ta'harani* fiddle + *-hči*, FS suff.  
*ta'halta* on the ground < *ta'hali* the ground + *-hta* on  
*ši'kurpʔaha* no knife < *ši'kuri* knife + *-pʔaha* no

This type of syncopation, though of very wide occurrence, is not obligatory and hence *ʔɔ'skačē'hkinitʔε*, for example, is just as acceptable as *ʔɔ'skačē'hkintʔε*.

2.243 Sporadic cases of vocalic syncopation occur under the following circumstances: (1) Some stems ending in *ni* will syncopate the *i* even though the penult is stressed. Such cases are mostly confined to the stem *ʔo'ni* "person," as in *ʔo'nrowa* "white person," *ʔo'nmeli* "negro," *ʔo'nmahoni* "Indian." (2) Certain stems ending in *hku* will syncopate the *u*, particularly secondary noun stems derived by means of the diminutive suffix *-to'hku*, as in *ta'satosi'nima* "the puppies," based on *sa'tohku*. (3) Stems ending in a liquid or a nasal plus a vowel occasionally syncopate the vowel

<sup>1</sup> Most monosyllabic prefixes have a special form to be used before elements beginning in *ʔ*.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that cases like this are errors, possibly errors induced by analogy. For example, in the same brief text in which the above form occurs we find the form *tɔ'mahkami'liku* "the red alligator." Since the final vowel of *tɔ'mahka* cannot be syncopated in the latter word, it is possibly true that this fact has influenced its retention in *tɔ'mahkaʔɔ'staku*.

<sup>3</sup> Some of the examples quoted here and elsewhere in 2.242, 2.243, and 2.244 involve consonantic as well as vocalic syncopation; see 2.25.

when coming to stand before another stem or an auxiliary verb. Such instances are, however, exceedingly rare and seem to be confined to careless or allegro speech, as in *hε'rpohk<sup>2</sup>una'ni* (4A:aw) "he watched," based on the stems *hε'ra* "to watch" and *po'* "to look"; *ma'rhōtutīhč* (4B:d) "when she finished clearing (the table)," based on *ma'ru* "to pick up" and *ho'tu* "to finish"; *ši'mhīhki* "you (FS) played," based on *ši'mi* "to play."

2.244 There are a few noun stems beginning in a continuant which usually syncopate the vowel of their first syllable when they are preceded by the articular prefix *ta'*-. This type of syncopation is undoubtedly archaic and occurs with a very limited number of noun stems, most of which have alternative non-syncopated forms which may be used in the same circumstances. However, the syncopated forms are usually preferred to the non-syncopated ones.<sup>1</sup> Note the following cases:

*ta'rku* the tree, stick, wood < *ta'*- + *r(i)'hku* tree, stick, wood <sup>2</sup>  
*ta'hka* the corn < *ta'*- + *h(a)'hka* corn  
*ta'luni* the field < *ta'*- + *h(a)'luni* field  
*ta'l<sup>2</sup>ukini* the village, town < *ta'*- + *h(a)'l<sup>2</sup>ukini* village, town  
*ta'l<sup>2</sup>upiši* the mud < *ta'*- + *h(a)'l<sup>2</sup>upiši* mud  
*ta'st<sup>2</sup>ε* the horse < *ta'*- + *s(a)'t<sup>2</sup>ε* horse  
*ta'stohku* the puppy < *ta'*- + *s(a)'tohku* puppy

Composite noun stems having one of the above stems as their first member may also appear in syncopated form after *ta'*-, e.g.,

*ta'rkuya'honi* the limb < *ta'*- + *r(i)'hkuya'honi* limb  
*ta'rkuwo'hku* the box < *ta'*- + *r(i)'hkuwo'hku* box  
*ta'hkawi'sta* the sweet corn < *ta'*- + *h(a)'hkawi'sta* sweet corn  
*ta'hkapu'ri* the mush < *ta'*- + *h(a)'hkapu'ri* mush

Non-syncopated forms of all these words (i.e., forms like *ta'rihku*, *ta'hahku*, etc.) also occur though very rarely. Note also that since this type of syncope is archaic, most noun stems do not employ it even though they may begin in a continuant, e.g., *ta'hahčū* "the sand" < *ta'*- + *ha'hčū* "sand."

## 2.25 CONSONANTIC SYNCOPE

2.251 An *h* which would come to stand between a continuant and a voiceless stop is dropped. Examples:

*ʔinta't<sup>2</sup>ε* our brother < *ʔi-n-*, 1D pref., + *-hta't<sup>2</sup>ε* brother  
*ʔu'ruhtanč* when I whoop < *ʔu'ruhta'n(i)* I whoop + *-hč* when

<sup>1</sup> The latter are probably to be interpreted as reformations induced by the analogy of the large number of noun stems which have no syncopated forms. Hence the use of the non-syncopated forms of stems which also have syncopated forms is comparable to the English situation wherein "oxes" is used in substandard speech for "oxen."

<sup>2</sup> In this and succeeding examples a syncopated vowel is placed in parentheses.

*ta'haranči* the fiddle < *ta'haran(i)* the fiddle + *-hči*, FS suff.  
*ta'halta* on the ground < *ta'hal(i)* the ground + *-hta* on  
*ʔa'martaʔan* if I measure < *ʔa'mar(i)* to measure + *-htaʔan*  
 if I cause  
*ta'rku* the tree, stick, wood < *ta'-* + *r(i)'hku*  
*ta'hka* the corn < *ta'-* + *h(a)'hka*  
*ta'hkapu'ri* the mush < *ta'-* + *h(a)'hkapu'ri*

There are two exceptions to this rule in the case of the two homonymous stems *ri'hkɔra* meaning "table" and "wagon," respectively. These drop the *r* and retain the *h* when preceded by the articular prefix giving the articularized form *ta'hkɔra* for both stems.

2.252 A *k* which would come to stand between an *h* and a voiceless stop is dropped. Examples:

*ti'tihtʔɛ* river < *ti'tihk(i)* bayou + *-tʔɛ*, aug. suff.  
*ya'ruhto'hku* hatchet < *ya'ruhk(i)* ax + *-to'hku*, dim. suff.  
*yu'sahka'yi* yellow catfish < *yu'sahk(i)* catfish + *ka'yi* yellow  
*ʔihiti'ra* my cloth < *ʔihk-*, 1s pref., + *ti'ra* cloth

2.253 An *hk* group which would come to stand before a continuant other than *h* is dropped. Examples:

*ʔa'sume'li* Easter day < *ʔa'suhk(i)* day + *me'li* black  
*ta'kosusi'nima* the crawfish < *ta'-* + *ko'suhk(i)* crawfish + *-si'nima*, FD-P suff.  
*ʔusa'tʔɛ* his horse < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *sa'tʔɛ* horse

2.254 In the case of an *hk* group which would come to stand before *h* two different procedures are followed: (1) When a prefix ending in *hk* comes to stand before a stem beginning in *h*, the *hk* is dropped as before all other continuants, as in

*ʔuha'lʔɛki* she sent him < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *ha'lʔɛki* she sent  
*ʔihɔ'sani* my vine < *ʔihk-*, 1s pref., + *hɔ'sani* vine

(2) When a theme ending in *hk* comes to stand before an auxiliary verb beginning in *h*, the *hk* is retained and the *h* is dropped, as in

*yu'kihke'ra* you are cooking < *yu'kihk-* to be cooking + *he'ra*  
 you (FS) are . . . -ing

But there are two irregular examples found when a stem ending in *hk* is followed by another stem beginning in *h*. In one case the *hk* is dropped and the *h* is retained, viz., *ti'suhɔ'hka* "window" < *ti'suhk(i)* "door" + *hɔ'hka* "opening." In the other case the *hk* is retained and the *h* is dropped, viz., *ʔa'yimuhke'ri* "steamboat" < *ʔa'yimu'hk(i)* "smoke, steam" + *he'ri* "boat." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Due to the paucity of examples in which a stem ending in *hk* comes to stand before another stem beginning in *h*, it is not possible to ascertain why there are two different types of treatment under what seem to be identical circumstances.



2.255 The articular prefix *ta'*-<sup>1</sup> takes the form *t*- before stems beginning in *ʔ* and the *ʔ* in turn is regularly syncopated.<sup>2</sup> Examples:

*to'niku* the man < *t*- + *ʔo'ni* person + *-ku*, MS suff.  
*to'mahkaku* the alligator < *t*- + *ʔo'mahka* alligator + *-ku*  
*ti'yuše'laku* the opossum < *t*- + *ʔi'yuše'la* opossum + *-ku*

2.256 When *š* would come to stand before another *š*, one of them is dropped. This rule applies in the case of stems ending in *ši* in circumstances which permit the syncopation of the *i* (2.242), e.g.,

*no'kuši'* male bear < *no'kuš(i)* bear + *ši'* male  
*ka'paši'* rooster < *ka'paš(i)* chicken + *ši'*

## 2.26 HAPLOLOGY

Although instances of haplology are not common, the process is found under the following circumstances: (1) When the last syllable of the prior member of a composite noun stem consists of *k* plus a vowel, this syllable is dropped if the second member begins in *k*,<sup>3</sup> e.g.,

*te'raško'ta* cabbage < *te'raški* leaf + *ko'ta* whitish, grayish  
*ha'hkiri* cornmeal < *ha'hka* corn + *ki'ri* ground  
*ri'hkora* table < *ri'hku* wood + *ko'ra* disc-shaped  
*ri'hkora* wagon, composed of the same elements as the above  
 except that here the meaning implied is "that which is  
 characterized by having disc-shaped wood, i.e., wheels"

(2) Noun stems beginning in *t* usually omit the articular prefix *ta'*- by haplology, e.g.,

*ti'tihtʔeku* the river < *ti'tihtʔε* river + *-ku*, MS suff.  
*t'rahkiku* the ice < *t'rahki* ice + *-ku*

But analogical reformations containing *ta'*- also occur, as in the case of *ta'tihtʔeku* and *ta'trahkiku* which may be used in place of

<sup>1</sup> This prefix is not to be confused with the agentive prefix *ta'*-. The latter always appears in the form *ta'*- including the cases wherein it is used before a stem beginning in *ʔ*, e.g., *ta'ʔeru* "laugher."

<sup>2</sup> In rare cases we find analogical reformations in which *ta'*- rather than *t*- is used before stems beginning in *ʔ*, e.g., *ta'ʔučehkato'nayihči* (10:g) "Old Toad Woman." A similar slip occurred with the word *to'sinlu'piku* (15:b) "Whooping Crane" which was originally dictated in the form *ta'ʔosinlu'piku*; the informant later corrected himself voluntarily.

<sup>3</sup> This type of haplology is sporadic and, as far as I have been able to ascertain, does not occur except in the examples given below. In similar circumstances other composites are formed without haplology, e.g., *ha'hkako'pu* "parched meal." Moreover, the composite stem *ha'hkiri* "cornmeal" sometimes occurs in non-haplogized form, viz., *ha'hkaki'ri*.

the above forms. On the other hand, proper nouns beginning in *t* never take *ta'*-, e.g.,

*ta'hč<sup>?</sup>ihč<sup>i</sup>* the Sun < *ta'hč<sup>?</sup>i* + *-hč<sup>i</sup>*, FS suff.  
*ti'šlinahč<sup>i</sup>* the Stone Witch < *ti'šlina* + *-hč<sup>i</sup>*

Likewise, agentive noun stems (derived by means of the agentive prefix *ta'*-) may never take the articular prefix, e.g.,

*ta'haranč<sup>i</sup>* the fiddle < *ta'harani* fiddle + *-hč<sup>i</sup>*  
*ta'haraku* the singer < *ta'hara* singer + *-ku*

(3) There are a very few sporadic cases of distant haplogy, viz., *ta'hkato'muku* (5A:a) for *ta'hkata'tomuku* (found in 5B:a) "the mortar" and *ta'yanišne'raku* (43E) for *ta'yanišya'neraku* "the ocean bull (mythical)."

## 2.27 STRESS LOSSES AND SHIFTS

2.271 All free stems and most bound stems have an intrinsic primosyllabic stress, while the remaining bound stems have an intrinsic pre-primosyllabic stress, i.e., a stress which is placed on whatever prefix is attached to the stem, e.g., *'-ki* "maternal uncle,"<sup>1</sup> as in *ʔu'kiku* "his maternal uncle." All stems, then, have an intrinsic stress. In addition, a few monosyllabic prefixes and a few polysyllabic (but not monosyllabic) suffixes and postfixes have an intrinsic primosyllabic stress. When grammatical elements are put together to form words, their intrinsic stresses are retained wherever possible, but since two stressed syllables may not occur consecutively (1.1), certain accommodations (consisting of stress losses and shifts) are necessary when two intrinsically stressed syllables occur in juxtaposition. These are discussed in the following paragraphs.

2.272 When a monosyllabic or syncopated disyllabic stem is followed by another element having an intrinsic stress, the latter loses its stress, e.g.,

*po'ʔki* she looked < *po'* to look + *ʔa'ki* she did  
*ha'rʔaki* she sang < *ha'ra* to sing + *ʔa'ki*  
*po'kati* she looks < *po'* + *-ka'ti*, 3FS ending  
*ʔuna'šʔamʔu'hki* he took him and went < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref.,  
 + *na'ši* to take . . . + *ʔa'mi* to go + *ʔu'hki* he did

2.273 When a stem is combined with a stressed monosyllabic prefix, the stem loses its stress, e.g.,

*ta'naraku* the snake < *ta'*-, art. pref., + *na'ra* snake + *-ku*, MS suff.  
*ta'wišihč<sup>i</sup>* the water < *ta'*- + *wi'ši* water + *-hč<sup>i</sup>*, FS suff.  
*ta'hara* singer < *ta'*-, agentive pref., + *ha'ra* to sing

<sup>1</sup> Stems having a pre-primosyllabic stress are indicated as such by having the stress diacritic placed in front of the stem, as in this example.

In contrast note *ʔuna'raku* "his snake" (< *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *na'ra* + *-ku*) wherein *na'ra* retains its intrinsic stress because the prefix lacks such stress.

2.274 When a monosyllabic noun stem is preceded by a stressless monosyllabic prefix, the stress of the stem shifts to the prefix whenever the stem is followed by a monosyllabic suffix, a stressed polysyllabic suffix, or another stem, e.g.,

*ti'riši* to her house < *tihk-*, 3FS pref., + *ri'* house + *-ši* to  
*ʔu'saku* his dog < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *sa'* dog + *-ku*, MS suff.  
*ʔu'sasi'nima* his dogs < *ʔuhk-* + *sa'* + *-si'nima*, FD-P suff.  
*ʔu'yata'hkiši* his deerskin < *ʔuhk-* + *ya'* deer + *ta'hkiši* skin

Monosyllabic verb stems, in contrast to noun stems, retain their primosyllabic stress under such circumstances, e.g., *ʔuhpo'wi* "he saw him" (< *ʔuhk-* + *po'* "to see . . ." + *-wi*, 3MS endg.).

2.275 When a word which has a stressed penult is combined with a stressed disyllabic postfix beginning in a vowel, the word loses its penultimate stress, e.g.,

*mile'ni* it is red < *mi'li* red + *-a'ni*, quot. postf.  
*niko'ni* he says < *ni'ku* he says + *-a'ni*  
*lo'takata'ni* they run < *lo'taka'ta* they run + *-a'ni*

2.276 When a disyllabic word with a stressed penult has a prefix in front of it, the stress of its penult will shift to the prefix as soon as the word is combined with a stressed disyllabic postfix beginning in a vowel, e.g.,

*te'mile'ni* it is red all about < *te-* all about + *mi'li* + *-a'ni*  
*ʔu'niko'ni* he says to him < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *ni'ku* + *-a'ni*

## 2.3 EXTERNAL SANDHI

### 2.31 GENERAL REMARKS

The phonomechanical processes of external sandhi are applied when words are combined into phrases, or, more specifically, when one word is followed by another within the same phrase. The processes employed are vocalic apocope, consonantic apocope, amalgamation, and stress losses.

### 2.32 VOCALIC APOCOPE

2.321 A word undergoes vocalic apocope when occurring before another word beginning in *ʔ* under the following circum-

stances: (1) If the prior word does not have a stressed penult, e.g.,<sup>1</sup>

*tu'wak(u) ?u'wakə'nì.* (20:e) The owl hooted.

*ka'nahk(u) ?unpi'ratik?ahča'nì.* (8A:b) They would turn into something.

(2) If the prior word has a stressed penult but the following word does not have a stressed first syllable, e.g.,

*?u'w(i) ?one'nì.* (6A:a) He was a person.

*ka'k(u) ?ihpo'?uhkì.* (33:a) Someone has seen me.

*sa'hk(u) ?uhta'p?εkε'nì.* (7B:c) She caught one.

Note that unlike the similar rule operating in internal sandhi (2.231, 2.241), vocalic assimilation does not accompany the operation of this rule in external sandhi, e.g., *?o'n(i) ?asa'nì.* (4B:c) "A person was coming."

Note also the following circumstances under which vocalic apocope cannot occur before *?*: (1) When the final vowel of the prior word is itself preceded by *?*, e.g.,

*po'lunt?ε ?i'lín* (42B) two thousand

(2) When the prior word has a stressed penult and the following word has a stressed first syllable, e.g.,

*sa'hku ?u'hkiškän* (29:e) although there is one

*?uši'ra ?a'hkihtàn* (4B:bz) behind his back

There are, however, two irregular words having a stressed penult which are always apocopated before *?* whether or not the following word has a stressed first syllable. These are *hi'hči* "here, there," as in *hi(')hč(i) ?u'k?εra'nì.* (22c:e) "they remained there," and *ka'ta* "where," as in *ka(')t(a) ?a'rähč* (10:e) "where it lies."

2.322 Vocalic apocope also occurs in the case of words ending in a continuant plus a voiceless stop plus *i* or *u* and in the case of words ending in a continuant plus *i* (except when these have a stressed penult). Many such cases are accompanied by consonantic apocope (2.33). While this type of vocalic apocope is not obligatory it is very common, e.g.,<sup>2</sup>

*ta'l?ukin(č)(i) ka(')t(a) ?a'rähč* (10:e) where the town lies

*ta'wiši(hč)(i) wi'čihk?ara'nì.* (5A:b) The water was rising.

*?u'kina(hk)(u) wi'katε'nì.* (19:b) It sounded like his uncle.

*no'kuš(i) ka'l?ura'nì.* (20:b) A bear stood.

*tš'škače'hkin(i) ki'čün* (7B:g) in the pot

*ta'nehtal(i) ki'čün* (4B:e) in the bed

*?a'mar(i) po'htuwihč* (4A:z) when he had cut enough

<sup>1</sup> In the examples quoted here the apocopated vowel is placed in parentheses. In case a stress loss (2.35) is induced the stress sign is likewise placed in parentheses. In pronouncing the examples the elements placed in parentheses are to be omitted.

<sup>2</sup> In the following examples apocopated consonants (2.33) are placed in separate parentheses.

2.323 In addition to the above types of vocalic apocope the word *hi'hči* "here, there" and various words ending in the diminutive suffix *-to'hku* usually undergo vocalic apocope even though their penult may be stressed, e.g.,

*hi'()*(*hč*)(*i*) *ya'k<sup>?</sup>uhkε'nì.* (22B:a) He came there.  
*la'honto'()*(*hk*)(*u*) *na'ratāhč* (12:a) when they got up very early

### 2.33 CONSONANTIC APOCOPE

2.331 When words vocally apocopated according to the rules given in 2.322 and 2.323 would come to end in a consonant group composed of a continuant plus a voiceless stop, they undergo consonantic apocope according to the following rules: (1) A voiceless stop which would stand between *h* and another voiceless stop is dropped, e.g.,

*hi'štahah(k)*(*i*) *ka'lina'ara'nì.* (20:i) They were still standing.  
*hi'kuwanah(k)*(*u*) *pi'takɔ'nì.* (42D) He walks like a panther.

(2) A voiceless stop preceded by any continuant except *h* is dropped before another consonant, e.g.,

*ta'l<sup>?</sup>ukin(č)*(*i*) *ka'()**t(a)* *ʔa'rahč* (10:e) where the town lies  
*ʔuhɔ'san(č)*(*i*) *nε'l<sup>?</sup>utāhč* (4B:u) when he rolled his vines

(3) A consonant group consisting of *h* plus a voiceless stop is dropped before a continuant, e.g.,

*ta'hali(hč)*(*i*) *he'kina'nì.* (4A:bj) The land was far away.  
*hi'štaha(hk)*(*i*) *wi'čihk<sup>?</sup>ara'nì.* (5B:e) It was still rising.  
*ʔu'kina(hk)*(*u*) *wi'kate'nì.* (19:b) It sounded like his uncle.

But in a few sporadic cases an *hk* group is retained before *h*, e.g., *ti'tihk(i)* *ho'tūn* (21:e) "the end of the bayou." Exceptions occurring in the case of amalgamations are given in 2.34.

2.332 Under rule (3) above it is provided that a consonant group containing *h* plus a voiceless stop is dropped before a continuant. On the analogy of this regular rule we find that there are a few cases wherein such a consonant group is likewise dropped before a voiceless stop even though according to rule (2) the *h* should be retained,<sup>1</sup> e.g.,

*ta'la(hč)*(*i*) *po'htukɔ'nì.* (4A:z) He cut some cane.  
*te'čarate'raški(hč)*(*i*) *ču'tāhč* (36A:a) when they took the palmetto leaves. Contrast with *te'čarate'raškihč*, *ču'tāhč* (36A:b) wherein the *hč* group is retained in phrase-final position.

<sup>1</sup> Instances of this sort are probably irregular. They usually involve (on the morphological plane) the complete omission of the feminine singular gender-suffix (4.841) and it is difficult to determine whether this omission is the result of a somewhat sweeping type of external sandhi or whether a morphological error is involved. But note that the complete omission of the feminine singular gender-suffix is also induced by the operation of rules (2) and (3) above.

## 2.34 AMALGAMATION

In a few instances words beginning in *h* lose the *h* when preceded by a vocally apocopated word. Since every Tunica word must begin in a consonant, instances of this sort are considered amalgamations. Examples:

- ta'rihkuya'hona'yih̄t* (4B:au) on the limb < *ta'rihkuya'hon(i)*  
the limb + *(h)a'yih̄t(a)* on, upon  
*ta'hala'yih̄t* (5B:g) on the ground < *ta'hal(i)* the ground  
+ *(h)a'yih̄t(a)*  
*ta'hkɔra'yih̄tàn* (11A:d) on the table < *ta'hkɔra* the table  
+ *(h)a'yih̄ta*  
*ta'htayih̄t* (42F) on the prairie < *ta'h̄ta* the prairie + *(h)a'-yih̄t(a)*  
*ka'nahkewa'nän.* (11B:g) What do you want? < *ka'nahk(u)*  
what + *(h)ewa'nan* do you want?  
*kato'tün* (4B:az) everywhere < *ka(')t(a)* where + *(h)o'tu* all,  
every  
*hi'hčaka'liwan* (4A:b) in order to stop there < *hi'hč(i)* there  
+ *(h)aka'liwan* in order to stop

In addition we have one amalgamated word which never occurs in non-amalgamated form, viz., *ta'hkala'yih̄ta* (e.g., in 4B:bk) "on the bank, shore" < *ta'hkal-* "the bank, shore" + *(h)a'yih̄ta*. Except for this one word amalgamations are probably to be considered as characteristic only of careless or allegro speech. They would seem to result from a habit comparable to the English one known as "running one's words together."

## 2.35 STRESS LOSSES

As in the case of the word, two stressed syllables may not occur consecutively within the phrase. Hence when an irregularly apocopated word (2.321) having a stressed penult is placed before a word having a primosyllabic stress, the first word loses its penultimate stress, e.g.,

- hi(')hč(i) ʔu'kʔɛra'nì.* (22c:e) They remained there.  
*tɔ'kate'kahăku, ka(')t(a) ʔu'năhč* (4A:p) where the orphan boy  
stayed

On the other hand, if the second word does not have a primosyllabic stress, the first word will retain the stress on its penult, e.g.,

- ʔu'w(i) ʔonɛ'nì.* (6A:a) He was a person.  
*ʔo'n(i) ʔasa'nì.* (4B:c) A person was coming.

It will be noted that the rule given for stress losses in external sandhi is the reverse of the rule for such losses in internal sandhi (2.272).

## 2.4 PAUSE FORMS

## 2.41 GENERAL REMARKS

When words occur in phrase-final position special forms known as pause forms are employed. Pause forms have a phrase-final melody on their ultima, or, in those cases where it is permitted (1.6), on their penultima, and many pause forms are indicated only by means of their melody. Others, however, require some sort of phonetic increment in addition to their melody.

All examples of Tunica words quoted in this grammar are pause forms when their phrase-final melody is indicated (e.g., *ha'rakatí* "she sings"; *ta'ruštáku* "Rabbit"; *ka'tǎn* "where") while examples quoted without a melody are context forms (e.g., *ha'raka'ti* "she sings"; *ta'ruštaku* "Rabbit"; *ka'ta* "where").

## 2.42 STRESS LOSSES AND SHIFTS REQUIRED BY PAUSE FORMS

2.421 Since all of the phrase-final melodies preclude a stress on the ultima of the words with which they are used, special incremental pause forms are constructed for words which would otherwise have a stress on their ultima (2.43, rule 5).

2.422 In the case of words which take the rising and low phrase-final melodies on their penultima (1.6), their penultimate stress, if any, is lost, e.g.,

*l'ḥkatōḥku* (9:i) a basket < *l'ḥkato'ḥku*  
*t'kašīku* (4B:ad) the boy < *t'kašī'ku*

2.423 The high and falling phrase-final melodies, which must always be placed on the ultima, induce the loss of a penultimate stress, e.g.,

*ʔasá* (4B:ao) she is coming < *ʔa'sa*  
*l'takaní* (16:b) I (can) run < *l'taka'ni*  
*poʔǎn* (4A:ax) look! < *po'ʔo* you FS look + -n, imperative postf.

But in the case of a trisyllabic word having a penultimate stress and a prefix in its first syllable, the stress will shift to the prefix, e.g.,

*ho'pokú* he looks out < *hopo'ku*  
*ʔu'waná* (13:k) he wants < *ʔuwa'na*

On the other hand, if such a word is preceded by a monosyllabic or apocopated disyllabic word in the same phrase, this shift cannot occur. The preceding word has an inherent stress which takes precedence over the non-inherent stress (because resulting from shifting) of such words as *ʔi'waná* "I want." Note the following contrasting pair of examples:

*l't ʔiwaná.* (16:i) I want to run.  
*ka'na ya'ʔikʔihč, ʔi'waná.* (14A:q) I want you to do something.

## 2.43 RULES FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF PAUSE FORMS

The rules given below take care of the construction of all types of pause forms. It is to be remembered throughout that each of these rules may be accompanied by stress losses and shifts in accordance with the rules just given.

(1) Predicative words ending in vowels are set off as pause forms by the use of the appropriate phrase-final melody, e.g.,

*ti'riš ʔa'hkiná, ʔu'niko'nè.* (16:m) "I am ahead," he told him.  
*tiya'hpá, ni'katé'nè.* (3A:b) She said she was hungry.  
*wi'yakî.* (14B:p) Go!

(2) All words ending in a consonant (whether predicative words or not) are likewise set off as pause forms only by the use of a melody, e.g.,

*ta'nisarahčēt* (16:q) the young woman, on her part  
*hi'nahkʔhčāt* (3B:d) therefore  
*ha'ratihč* (3B:c) when she sang  
*lɔ'ta wiwa'năn.* (16:h) Do you want to run?  
*ya'kʔihčân.* (14A:h) You must come.

In addition, many words ordinarily ending in vowels may, if it is so desired, undergo apocope in phrase-final position. Most of such words are those which lack a penultimate stress and end in a continuant plus *i* or in a continuant plus a voiceless stop plus *i*. In addition, the postpositions *ma'yihta* "to, on the other side of"; *ʔa'hkihta* "behind"; *ha'yihta* "on, upon, onto"; and *ha'luhta* "under, beneath" are frequently apocopated in phrase-final position. Such vocally apocopated words are treated like other words ending in a consonant, e.g.,

*si'nriš* (4A:az) to their home < *si'nriši*  
*ʔa'mār* (21:d) enough < *ʔa'mari*  
*te'čarahč* (36A:c) the palmetto < *te'čarahči*  
*hi'stahāhk* (22B:j) still < *hi'stahahki*  
*ma'yih̄t* (4A:bd) to the other side of, across < *ma'yihta*  
*ha'yih̄t* (7B:b) on < *ha'yihta*

(3) With the exception of predicative words, all words ending in *k* or *hk* plus *u* may be set off as pause forms by having the rising or low phrase-final melodies placed on their penultima (1.6) with the consequent unvoicing of the *u*, e.g.,

*tɔ'mahkăku* (14A:k) the alligator  
*ta'yoroniku* (22A:a) the Tunica  
*la'hontöhku* (9:g) very early

This method of indicating pause forms of such words is, however, not obligatory; they may also have pause forms built according to the rule given immediately below.



(4) With the exception of predicative words, all words ending in a vowel build their pause forms by means of an incremental *-n* plus the appropriate phrase-final melody. However, non-apocopated words having a stressed ultima require a special type of increment (rule 5 below) before they can take the nasal increment. The following examples illustrate words requiring the nasal increment only:

*ha'tikǎn* (4A:at) again < *ha'tika*  
*sa'hkǔn* (4A:ax) one < *sa'hku*  
*ta'čah̄tase'màn* (31:b) the Choctaw < *ta'čah̄tase'ma*

Under rule (2) it was noted that certain words are often apocopated in phrase-final position; such words also occur in non-apocopated form and in this case take the nasal increment, e.g.,

*ma'yih̄tàn* (25:a) on the other side of

Words coming under rule (3) above may also have alternative pause forms in which the nasal increment is added, e.g.,

*ta'ruštakǔn* (14A:j) Rabbit < *ta'ruštaku*; contrast with *ta'ruštǎku* (14A:j) coming under rule (3)

(5) Non-apocopated words having a stressed ultima and ending in a vowel construct special pause forms characterized by an incremental syllable consisting of *ʔ* plus a vowel having the identical quality of the preceding vowel. This incremental syllable then takes the nasal increment and a phrase-final melody. The words affected by this rule consist of monosyllabic stems or composite stems ending in a monosyllabic stem. Note the following chart:

Context Form	Pause Form
<i>ri'</i> house	<i>ri'ʔin; ri'ʔin</i>
<i>ke'</i> wasp	<i>ke'ʔěn<sup>1</sup></i>
<i>ma'</i> you (MS)	<i>ma'ʔǎn</i>
<i>ru'</i> hickory	<i>ru'ʔǔn</i>
<i>la'spiri'</i> bank (< money-house)	<i>la'spiri'ʔin</i>
<i>ʔa'rupo'</i> dream	<i>ʔa'rupo'ʔǎn</i>

In one or two isolated instances (as against dozens of correct instances) the monosyllabic word *ma'* "you (MS)" occurs in phrase-final position without an incremental syllable. In this case it takes the nasal increment and a phrase-final melody but loses its stress.

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of the word for "house," the remaining words may also take either the rising or the low melodies.

## CHAPTER II: MORPHOLOGY

### 3. GENERAL REMARKS ON STRUCTURE

3.1 The Tunica language is mildly synthetic in structure. In its technique of synthesis it is for the most part agglutinative though it also employs a limited amount of fusion. A number of morphological processes are used: juxtaposition, affixation (prefixation, infixation, and suffixation), reduplication, and suppletion. Of these, prefixation and suffixation, particularly the latter, are exploited to a much greater extent than are the other processes.

3.2 The structural elements of the word are a stem and one or more affixes. Stems may be primary or secondary. Secondary stems are built up by means of the formational techniques of affixation (i.e., the addition of an affix to a primary stem) and juxtaposition (i.e., the placing together of two primary stems). In either case the result is a new stem whose meaning is particularized from the sum of the meanings of the component elements. Once such a new stem has been formed, it may serve as the basis for new formations in the same way that a primary stem does.

Affixes are of two main types, derivational and syntactic. Derivational affixes, as indicated above, are added to primary stems to make secondary stems. Syntactic affixes are best subdivided into the inflective type and the non-inflective type. Inflective affixes are always appended to stems while non-inflective affixes may be appended only to formally complete words. Once the necessary inflective affixes are appended to a stem, the result is a word which is, by means of these affixes, fully defined as to its relation to other words within a phrase or sentence. Such affixes are employed extensively for purposes of inflection and define person, number, gender, possession, aspect, and, in one instance, modality. Non-inflective affixes consist of the preverbs and the postfixes. The former indicate direction of movement while the latter express a wider range of notions, including coordination, subordination, tense, and additional types of modality.

3.3 The word-classes of Tunica, which have been worked out on the basis of syntactic as well as inflectional considerations, are as follows: the independent personal pronouns, nouns, the interrogative-indefinite pronouns, quantificatives, postpositions,

adjectives, comparatives, adverbs, the auxiliary verbs, active verbs, static verbs, sentence connectives, and exclamatives and imitatives. The inflected classes are the independent personal pronouns, nouns, and the three classes of verbs. The remaining word-classes, which some might prefer to group together as non-inflected particles, are distinguished here because of definitive differences in syntactic usage (see section 10).

## 4. INFLECTION

### 4.1 GENERAL REMARKS

Inflection is accomplished almost exclusively by means of syntactic affixes of the inflective type. However, suppletion and reduplication are employed in the inflection of the auxiliary verbs and the periphrastic inflection of active verbs is accomplished by juxtaposition with auxiliary verbs.

The primary paradigmatic categories of the verb consist of the semelfactive, habitual, and repetitive aspects, and the conditional mode. Each of these categories comprises a separate paradigm and the inflectional categories of each paradigm consist of person, number, and gender. On the other hand, the expression of the future tense and of several types of modes (including an alternative method of expressing the conditional) is accomplished by means of postfixes (i.e., syntactic affixes of the non-inflective type) but does not function as a part of the inflectional system of verbs as such.

Two paradigms of personal pronouns are distinguished, the dependent and the independent. The inflectional categories employed by both are the same as those of verbal paradigms, namely, person, number, and gender.

The primary categories of the noun are the indeterminative and the determinative. The latter is further subdivided into three case-categories, the definitive, the non-definitive, and the locative. It is noteworthy that whereas the gender and number of a noun are of primary importance on the syntactic level, these are not explicitly defined on the morphological level except in the definitive case.

It will now be pertinent to further describe the inflectional categories of person, number, and gender. There are three persons (first, second, and third), three numbers (singular, dual, and plural), and two genders (masculine and feminine). Number distinctions are made in all three persons. Gender distinctions, however, are made in the second and third persons but not in the first. The independent personal pronouns and all of the types of

personal pronominal affixes used with nouns and verbs are thus inflected for the following fifteen forms:

Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1	1	1
2 <sub>M</sub>	2 <sub>M</sub>	2 <sub>M</sub>
2 <sub>F</sub>	2 <sub>F</sub>	2 <sub>F</sub>
3 <sub>M</sub>	3 <sub>M</sub>	3 <sub>M</sub>
3 <sub>F</sub>	3 <sub>F</sub>	3 <sub>F</sub>

All of the paradigms provided in the following sections are arranged in the order shown in the above table.

## 4.2 PRONOMINAL INFLECTION

### 4.21 THE PERSONAL PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

4.211 The personal pronominal prefixes occur in two related sets, the inalienable and the alienable. In the paradigmatic table given below the inalienable form of each prefix is given first and the alienable form follows it. With the exception of the third person masculine forms, the dual and plural forms fall together.

	Sg.	Du.	Du. and Pl.	Pl.
1	<i>?i-</i> ; <i>?ihk-</i>		<i>?i-n-</i> ; <i>?ink-</i>	
2 <sub>M</sub>	<i>wi-</i> ; <i>wihk-</i>		<i>wi-n-</i> ; <i>wink-</i>	
2 <sub>F</sub>	{ <i>hi-</i> ; <i>hihk-</i> <i>he-</i> ; <i>hehk-</i>		{ <i>hi-n-</i> ; <i>hink-</i> <i>he-n-</i> ; <i>henk-</i>	
3 <sub>M</sub>	<i>?u-</i> ; <i>?uhk-</i>	<i>?u-n-</i> ; <i>?unk-</i>		<i>si-</i> ; <i>sikh-</i>
3 <sub>F</sub>	<i>ti-</i> ; <i>tihk-</i>		<i>si-n-</i> ; <i>sink-</i>	

The alienable forms are made from the inalienable forms by the addition of an element *-hk-* which, according to a regular phonomechanical rule (2.251), appears as *-k-* after prefixes ending in *-n-*. The 1<sub>D-P</sub>, 2<sub>MD-P</sub>, 2<sub>FD-P</sub>, and 3<sub>MD</sub> forms are composed of the corresponding singular forms plus the dual infix *-n-*. The 3<sub>FD-P</sub> form appears to be related to the 3<sub>MP</sub> form in exactly the same manner.

4.212 The inalienable prefixes are used with two sets of bound stems, possessed noun stems (4.83) and static verb stems (4.7); these stems in turn may not occur without these prefixes, e.g.,

*?o'siku* his father < *?u-* + *-e'si* father + *-ku*, MS suff.  
*wiwa'na* you want < *wi-* + *-wa'na* to want

The dual inalienable prefixes are listed with the dual infix *-n-* set off by hyphens to indicate that when these prefixes are attached to bound stems beginning in a vowel (with the sole exception of *-e'rusa* "to know"; see 4.722) the initial vowel of the stem contracts with the prefix vowel (2.221) and the infix is then inserted between the initial vowel and the following consonant, e.g., *?o'nsiku* "their father" < *?u-n-* + *-e'si* + *-ku*.

4.213 The alienable prefixes are used with free stems. They denote possession with noun stems (4.83) and objectivity with active verb stems (4.56), e.g.,

*ʔuhkʔi'yutʔεku* his hog < *ʔuhk-* + *ʔi'yutʔε* hog + *-ku*  
*ʔihkʔε'hʔuhki* he kicked me < *ʔihk-* + *ʔε'hʔuhki* he kicked

Note also that in the operation of the phonomechanical rules of consonantic syncope (2.25) the element *-hk-* of these prefixes is, in the proper circumstances, reduced to *-h-* or lost entirely, e.g.,

*ʔiht'i'rahči* my cloth < *ʔihk-* + *ti'ra* cloth + *-hči*, FS suff.  
*tisa'tʔεku* her horse < *tihk-* + *sa'tʔε* horse + *-ku*

In addition there are occasional analogical instances in which the element *-hk-* is lost before stems beginning in voiceless stops; thus *ʔipo'ʔuhki* in place of the more correct *ʔihpo'ʔuhki* "he saw me" < *ʔihk-* + *po'ʔuhki* "he saw."

## 4.22 THE INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

4.221 In the paradigm of the independent personal pronouns, provided below, all of the dual and plural forms except the third person masculine fall together.

	Sg.	Du.	Du. and Pl.	Pl.
1	<i>ʔi'ma</i>		<i>ʔi'nima</i>	
2M	<i>ma'</i>		<i>wi'nima</i>	
2F	<i>hε'ma</i>		<i>hi'nima</i>	
3M	<i>ʔu'wi</i>	<i>ʔu'nima</i>		<i>se'ma</i>
3F	<i>ti'hči</i>		<i>si'nima</i>	

All of the forms except 2MS, 3MS, and 3FS are based on a stem *\*-ma* or *\*-a'ma* to which the inalienable pronominal prefixes are attached, e.g., *ʔi'ma* < *ʔi-*, 1s pref., + *\*-ma*. The stem *\*-a'ma* occurs only in *hε'ma* (2FS) and *se'ma* (3MP). The dual infix of this paradigm is *-ni-* in place of the *-n-* characteristic of the pronominal prefixes, e.g., *ʔi'nima* < *ʔini-*, in place of *ʔi-n-*, 1D-P pref., + *\*-ma*. The forms *ʔu'wi* (3MS) and *ti'hči* (3FS) appear to contain their corresponding pronominal prefixes, *ʔu-* and *ti-*, respectively, but further analysis is unfruitful. The form *ma'* (2MS) is anomalous unless by chance it is the bare stem *\*(-)ma*.

4.222 For a discussion of the uses to which these pronouns are put, see 10.12.

## 4.3 GENERAL REMARKS ON VERB INFLECTION

### 4.31 THE PARADIGMATIC CATEGORIES

4.311 The primary paradigmatic categories of the verb are the semelfactive, habitual, and repetitive aspects and the condi-

tional mode. Since the Tunica categories may be either present or past, depending on context, whereas English translations must be made in terms of tense, the following paragraphs are designed to elucidate the specific connotations of the Tunica categories, particularly with regard to their rendition into English.

4.312 The semelfactive aspect is punctual. In translation it is usually rendered by the English simple past tense, or, occasionally, by the past perfect tense, e.g.,

*howe'sawe'nì.* (14A:j) He jumped out.  
*ha'tikǎn, ya'kawihč* (14A:k) when he had come again

4.313 The habitual aspect is either a seriated punctual or a linear aspect, i.e., it implies either that the action is habitually performed or that it is in a state of progress. If the present tense and the habitual aspect are contextually implied, the English rendition may employ the simple present tense (as in "he runs every day") or an expression like "do, does . . ." (as in "how do you run?"). If the past tense and the habitual aspect are implied, the English rendition may use the simple past tense (as in "he ran every day") or an expression like "would . . ." (as in "when he got cold he would run"). If the present tense and the progressive aspect are implied, the English rendition may employ the present progressive (as in "he is running") while if the past tense and the progressive aspect are implied, it may use the past progressive (as in "he was running"). Examples:

*sinsa'kukǎ'nì.* (15:g) He eats them.  
*ka'na ya'ǎhč, sa'kukǎn.* (14B:r) How do you eat?  
*ri'hkǎrǎn, ma'sukata'nì.* (36A:d) They made tables.  
*to'nìšise'mǎn, we'rahkǎanta'nì.* (35A:b) The men would hunt.  
*siya'nakaní.* (22A:h) I am speaking to them.  
*ya'nale'pikhǎuta'nì.* (2:a) He was speaking.

4.314 The repetitive aspect is either a true repetitive or a usitative. When the present tense is contextually implied, it may be translated by expressions like "always . . .-s"; "continues to . . ."; "keeps . . .-ing." If the past tense is implied it may be rendered by such expressions as "used to . . ."; "always . . .-ed"; "continued to . . ."; "kept, would keep . . .-ing." Examples:

*ǎu'ǎusǎ.* (10:h) He always comes.  
*ǎu'ǎuna'nì.* (3A:d) He continues to dwell.  
*ta'wakǎku, ǎu'ǎuhke'nì.* (4A:a) There used to be a commander.  
*ǎu'ǎuwa'nì.* (42i) He kept going.  
*sa'kǎu'ǎuwa'nì.* (42D) He would keep moving back and forth.

4.315 The conditional mode needs little explanation. It is usually rendered by the English conjunction "if" plus the given verbal idea, e.g.,

*wihkʔa'marta'ʔānč* (14B:b) if I measure you  
*ʔawa'čʔinʔāhč* (8B:b) if we fight each other

4.316 In addition to the primary categories just described there are certain secondary verbal categories. Since the latter are the exclusive property of active verbs and occur only in periphrastic inflection, they are discussed in 4.532 and 4.533.

#### 4.32 THE THREE CLASSES OF VERBS

On the basis of certain fundamental differences in method of inflection Tunica distinguishes three classes of verbs: auxiliary, active, and static.

The auxiliary verbs have the following unique characteristics: (1) All of them exhibit the same general types of irregularities in inflection, namely, that certain forms are inflected like non-inchoative static verbs, others like non-causative active verbs in the semelfactive aspect, while still others are unanalyzable. (2) Certain of these irregularities are occasioned by the use of suppletion, a process not used by any other word-class of the language. (3) Reduplication is regularly employed in the formation of their repetitive paradigms, and, like suppletion, is not used elsewhere in the language. (4) All of these verbs are employed in the periphrastic inflection of active verbs although all but one of them may also be used independently.

The characteristics of active verbs, which fall into two inflectional categories (non-causative and causative), are as follows: (1) Non-causatives are inflected (a) by suffixation, as exhibited in the use of the semelfactive, habitual, and conditional sets of endings, or (b) by juxtaposition, as exhibited in periphrastic constructions involving the auxiliary verbs. (2) Causatives are normally inflected only by juxtaposition. (3) Both types of verbs are inflected for object by means of the alienable pronominal prefixes.

Static verbs exhibit the following inflectional traits: (1) Their non-inchoative forms are constructed by means of the inalienable pronominal prefixes which function on the grammatical level as objects, on the interpretive level as subjects. (2) Their inchoative forms are constructed by the use of certain active verb inflectional elements but at the same time retain the inalienable pronominal prefixes in the function just described.

## 4.4 THE INFLECTION OF THE AUXILIARY VERBS

## 4.41 GENERAL REMARKS

The primary paradigmatic categories of these verbs are the semelfactive and repetitive aspects and the conditional mode. Each verb has a separate paradigm for each of these notions except that the causative auxiliary lacks a repetitive paradigm. The basic paradigm in every case is the semelfactive one and the other two paradigms are formed from this basic one according to the regular rules provided in 4.43 and 4.44.

For convenience, each auxiliary verb except *la'ka* (an anomalous plural verb) is referred to by its third person singular masculine semelfactive form, that being, as a rule, the least ambiguous form. The complete list of auxiliary verbs follows:

- ?u'hki* he is, was; he exists, existed; he lives, lived (is, was alive)
- ?u'ra* he lies, lay; he is, was lying; he is, was situated (of that whose normal position is conceived to be a lying one)
- ?u'na* he sits, sat; he is, was sitting; he lives, lived (dwells, dwelt); he camps, camped; he is, was living, dwelling, camping; he stays, stayed; he remains, remained; he is, was situated (of that whose normal position is conceived to be a sitting or squatting one)
- ?u'sa* he comes, came; he is, was coming
- ?u'wa* he goes, went; he is, was going
- ?u'ta* he causes, caused
- la'ka* they live, lived (dwell, dwelt); they are, were living, dwelling (an anomalous 3M-FP verb)

All of these verbs except *-?u'ta* are used independently as well as in the periphrastic inflection of active verbs. In their independent usage they make no distinction between the semelfactive and habitual aspects; the semelfactive paradigm is used for both. The definitions given above cover the semantic range of their independent usage; the ideological complexities involved when they are employed in periphrasis are discussed in 4.53.

## 4.42 THE SEMELFACTIVE PARADIGMS

4.421 Paradigm of *?u'hki* he is, was; he exists, existed

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1	<i>?a'hkini</i>	<i>?i'niikki</i>	<i>?o'n?iti</i>
2M	<i>wi'hki</i>	<i>wi'niikki</i>	<i>?o'nawi'ti</i>
2F	<i>hi'hki; he'hki</i>	<i>hi'niikki; he'niikki</i>	<i>?o'nahi'ti; ?o'nahe'ti</i>
3M	<i>?u'hki</i>	<i>?u'niikki</i>	<i>?o'nta</i>
3F	<i>?a'ki</i>	<i>si'niikki</i>	<i>?o'nasi'ti</i>

*Analysis.* All of the sg. and du. forms, except 1s and 3Fs, are based on a stem *\*-hki* to which the appropriate inal. pron. prefixes are attached. The du. infix used is *-ni-*, as in the case of the indep. pers. pronouns, instead of the *-n-* characteristic of the pron. pre-



fixes. The form *ʔa'hkini* (1s) is based on a stem \**ʔa'hki-*, apparently related to \**-hki*, this fact being the more likely since the 1s stems of four other aux. verbs are related to their more usual stems in the same way. The person and number of the 1s form are indicated by the ending *-ni* which is the 1s ending of all aux. verbs as well as the regular 1s ending of the semelfactive paradigm of the act. verb (4.521). The form *ʔa'ki* (3FS) is suppletive and anomalous. The pl. forms of this paradigm are based on a suppletive act. verb stem \**ʔo'na-* (used only here) and the various persons are indicated by the regular pl. endings of the semelfactive paradigm of the act. verb (4.521). The form *ʔo'nta* (3MP) is irregularly reduced < \**ʔo'nata*.

4.422 Paradigm of *ʔu'ra* he lies, lay

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1	<i>ʔa'rani</i>	<i>ʔi'rana</i>	
2M	<i>wi'ra</i>	<i>wi'rana</i>	
2F	<i>he'ra</i>	<i>he'rana</i>	
3M	<i>ʔu'ra</i>	<i>ʔu'rana</i>	<i>na'ʔara</i>
3F	<i>ʔa'ra</i>	<i>si'rana</i>	<i>na'ʔara</i>

Metathesized dual forms, involving the reversal of the last two consonants, are occasionally used, e.g., *ʔi'nara*, etc.

This paradigm is defective in that the plural forms for 1, 2M, and 2F are wanting. Possibly the corresponding dual forms could be used to supply the lack. Note also that the 3M and 3F plural forms are not differentiated. The paradigm of *ʔu'na* (4.423) exhibits these same peculiarities.

*Analysis.* All of the sg. forms except 1, 2F, and 3F and all of the du. forms except 2F are based on a stem \**-ra*, the persons being indicated by the appropriate inal. pron. prefixes. The form *ʔa'rani* (1s) is based on a related stem \**ʔa'ra-* plus the 1s ending *-ni*, while the form *ʔa'ra* (3FS) is possibly this same stem minus affixes. The forms *he'ra* (2FS) and *he'rana* (2FD) are based on still another related stem \**-a'ra*, the person and gender being indicated by the appropriate pron. prefix. The du. sign is a suffixed *-na* (or, in the case of the alternative metathesized forms, an infix *-na-*). This same du. element is also used by *ʔu'na* (4.423) and *ʔu'wa* (4.425). The pl. form *na'ʔara* (3M-F) is suppletive and is based on the act. verb stem *na'* "to lie down" (regularly used outside of this paradigm) plus the bare stem \**-ʔara*. The pl. form of *ʔu'na* is analogous.

4.423 Paradigm of *ʔu'na* he sits, sat; he dwells, dwelt

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1	<i>ʔa'nani</i>	<i>ʔi'nana</i>	
2M	<i>wi'na</i>	<i>wi'nana</i>	
2F	<i>he'na</i>	<i>he'nana</i>	
3M	<i>ʔu'na</i>	<i>ʔu'nana</i>	<i>ʔu'kʔera</i>
3F	<i>ʔa'ci</i>	<i>si'nana</i>	<i>ʔu'kʔera</i>

Like the paradigm of *ʔu'ra* this paradigm lacks the plural forms for 1, 2<sub>M</sub>, and 2<sub>F</sub> while the 3<sub>MP</sub> and 3<sub>FP</sub> forms are again not differentiated. Perhaps the corresponding dual forms could be used in place of the missing plural forms.

*Analysis.* All of the sg. forms except 1, 2<sub>F</sub>, and 3<sub>F</sub>, and all of the du. forms except 2<sub>F</sub> are based on a stem *\*-na*, the persons being indicated by the appropriate pron. prefixes. The form *ʔa'nani* (1s) is based on a related stem *\*ʔa'na-* plus the 1s ending *-ni*. The forms *he'na* (2<sub>FS</sub>) and *he'nana* (2<sub>FD</sub>) are based on still another related stem *\*-a'na*, the person and gender being indicated by the appropriate pron. prefix. The form *ʔa'či* (3<sub>FS</sub>) is suppletive and anomalous. The du. sign is a suffixed (or infix) *-na*. The pl. form *ʔu'kʔera* (3<sub>M-F</sub>) is suppletive and based on the act. verb stem *ʔu'ki* "to sit down" (regularly used outside of this paradigm) plus the bare stem *\*-ʔara* (cf. the construction of the pl. form of *ʔu'ra*, 4.422).

4.424 Paradigm of *ʔu'sa* he comes, came

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1	<i>ʔa'sani</i>	<i>ʔi'nasa, ʔi'nsa</i>	<i>ʔi'tani</i>
2 <sub>M</sub>	<i>wi'sa</i>	<i>wi'nasa, wi'nsa</i>	<i>wi'tani</i>
2 <sub>F</sub>	<i>he'sa</i>	<i>he'nasa, he'nsa</i>	<i>he'tani</i>
3 <sub>M</sub>	<i>ʔu'sa</i>	<i>ʔu'nasa, ʔu'nsa</i>	<i>ʔa'tani</i>
3 <sub>F</sub>	<i>ʔa'sa</i>	<i>si'nasa, si'nsa</i>	<i>si'tani</i>

*Analysis.* All of the sg. forms except 1, 2<sub>F</sub>, and 3<sub>F</sub> and all of the du. forms except 2<sub>F</sub> are based on a stem *\*-sa*, the persons being indicated by the appropriate pron. prefixes. The form *ʔa'sani* (1s) is based on a related stem *\*ʔa'sa-* plus the 1s ending *-ni*, while the form *ʔa'sa* (3<sub>FS</sub>) is perhaps the same stem minus affixes. The forms *he'sa* (2<sub>FS</sub>) and *he'nasa, he'nsa* (2<sub>FD</sub>) are based on still another related stem *\*-a'sa*. The du. sign is either an infix *-na-* (as in *ʔi'nasa*) or the regular infix *-n-* (as in the alternative form *ʔi'nsa*) belonging to the paradigm of the pron. prefixes. All of the pl. forms except 2<sub>F</sub> and 3<sub>M</sub> are based on a suppletive stem *\*-tani*, the persons being indicated by the appropriate du. pron. prefixes minus the du. infix. The form *he'tani* (2<sub>FP</sub>) is based on a related stem *\*-a'tani* while the form *ʔa'tani* (3<sub>MP</sub>) is apparently based on still another related stem *ʔa'tani* used without affixes; cf. *ʔa'taši*, 3<sub>MP</sub> of *ʔu'wa* (4.425).

4.425 Paradigm of *ʔu'wa* he goes, went

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1	<i>ʔa'ni</i>	<i>ʔi'yana</i>	<i>ʔi'taši</i>
2 <sub>M</sub>	<i>wi'ya</i>	<i>wi'yana</i>	<i>wi'taši</i>
2 <sub>F</sub>	<i>he'ya</i>	<i>he'yana</i>	<i>he'taši</i>
3 <sub>M</sub>	<i>ʔu'wa</i>	<i>ʔu'wana</i>	<i>ʔa'taši</i>
3 <sub>F</sub>	<i>ʔa'ta</i>	<i>si'yana</i>	<i>si'taši</i>

*Analysis.* All of the sg. forms except 1, 2F, and 3F and all of the du. forms except 2F are based on a stem *\*-ya* (used after prefixes ending in *i*) or *\*-wa* (used after prefixes ending in *u*), the persons being indicated by the appropriate pron. prefixes. The form *ʔa'ni* (1s) is based on a stem *\*ʔa-* (possibly related to *\*-ya* and *\*-wa*) plus the 1s ending *-ni*. The forms *he'ya* (2FS) and *he'yana* (2FD) are based on a stem *\*-a'ya* (obviously related to *\*-ya*), the person being indicated by the appropriate pron. prefix. The form *ʔa'ta* (3FS), which is suppletive and anomalous, is homonymous with the 3FS form of the causative aux. *-ʔu'ta* (4.426). The du. sign is a suffixed *-na*. All of the pl. forms except 2F and 3M are based on a suppletive stem *\*'-taši*, the persons being indicated by prefixes identical with the du. pron. prefixes minus the du. infix. The form *he'taši* (2FP) is based on a related stem *\*-a'taši* while the 3MP form *ʔa'taši* is apparently based on still another related stem *ʔa'taši* used without affixes; cf. *ʔa'tani*, 3MP of *ʔu'sa* (4.424).

4.426 Paradigm of *-ʔu'ta* he causes, caused

	Sg.	Du.	Du. and Pl.	Pl.
1	{ <i>-hta'ni</i> (smlf.) <i>-ʔa'tani</i> (hab.)		<i>-ʔi'nta</i>	
2M	<i>-wi'ta</i>		<i>-wi'nta</i>	
2F	<i>-he'ta</i>		<i>-he'nta</i>	
3M	<i>-ʔu'ta</i>	<i>-ʔu'nta</i>		<i>-ʔa'nta</i>
3F	<i>-ʔa'ta</i>		<i>-si'nta</i>	

*Analysis.* Aside from the 1s, 2FS, 3FS, 2FD-P, and 3MP forms, all of the forms of this paradigm are based on a stem *\*'-ta*. The different persons are indicated by the appropriate pron. prefixes and the regular du. infix *-n-* is used in the du. forms. The 1s smlf. form *-hta'ni* is based on a related stem *\*-hta'-* plus the 1s ending *-ni*, while the 1s hab. form *ʔa'tani* is built up in a similar manner except that it uses a different, though related, stem *\*-ʔa'ta-*. The forms *-he'ta* (2FS) and *-he'nta* (2FD-P) are based on still another related stem *\*-a'ta*. The 3FS form appears to be the bare stem *-ʔa'ta* while the 3MP form *-ʔa'nta* appears to contain the stem *\*'-ta* but is otherwise unanalyzable.

The forms of this paradigm are never used independently but are employed only in the inflection of causative active verb stems (4.54). Of the two 1s forms *-hta'ni* is used only in causative semelfactive paradigms while *-ʔa'tani* is used only in causative habitual paradigms. All other forms of *-ʔu'ta* are to be classified as semelfactives.

4.427 The anomalous verb *la'ka*

The verb *la'ka* is anomalous in that it is exclusively a third person masculine and feminine plural verb meaning "they live, lived; they dwell, dwelt; they are, were living, dwelling." It is

rarely used in text material and in all such instances of its occurrence it functions as a feminine plural verb. In non-text material the informant occasionally used the verb as a masculine plural. This verb is classed with the auxiliary verbs because, like them, it has a repetitive form made by reduplication (4.43).

#### 4.43 THE REPETITIVE PARADIGMS

As has been mentioned, the causative auxiliary (4.426) lacks a repetitive paradigm. The formation of the repetitive paradigms of the remaining auxiliaries is accomplished by reduplication which is applied to their inflected semelfactive forms in accordance with the following rules:

(1) With the exception of the plural forms of  $ʔu'ra$  and  $ʔu'na$ , the first consonant and vowel of the semelfactive form is repeated with the consequent shifting of the stress to the reduplicated element, e.g.,

- $ʔa'ʔaki$  she used to exist (reduplicated <  $ʔa'ki$ , 4.421)  
 $wi'wisa$  you keep, kept coming (rdpl. <  $wi'sa$ , 4.424)  
 $si'sitaši$  they keep, kept going (rdpl. <  $si'taši$ , 4.425)  
 $la'laka$  they used to live, dwell (rdpl. <  $la'ka$ , 4.427)

(2) The repetitive forms of  $na'ʔara$  (plural of  $ʔu'ra$ ) and  $ʔu'k-ʔera$  (plural of  $ʔu'na$ ) are made by repeating the first consonant and vowel of the element  $-ʔara$ , giving the forms  $na'ʔaʔara$  "they used to lie" and  $ʔu'kʔεʔera$  "they used to sit, dwell," respectively.

#### 4.44 THE CONDITIONAL PARADIGMS

The rules for the formation of the conditional paradigms of the auxiliary verbs are as follows:

(1) With the exception of the 1s forms, the fusional conditional forms are made by inserting the conditional infix  $-ʔ-$  between the last consonant and vowel of the corresponding semelfactive forms, e.g.,

- $wi'hkʔi$  if you exist (semelfactive form  $wi'hki$ , 4.421)  
 $ʔu'rʔa$  if he lies (smlf.  $ʔu'ra$ , 4.422)  
 $ʔi'tanʔi$  if we come (smlf.  $ʔi'tani$ , 4.424)  
 $-ʔa'ntʔa$  if they cause (smlf.  $-ʔa'nta$ , 4.426)

(2) The 1s fusional conditional form of  $ʔu'wa$  follows the rule just given and is accordingly  $ʔa'nʔi$  "if I go" (smlf.  $ʔa'ni$ , 4.425). The 1s form of  $-ʔu'ta$  takes a special conditional infix  $-ʔa-$  (cf. 4.523) which is inserted before the ending  $-ni$  (always apocopated to  $-n$  in this case) giving  $-hta'ʔan$  "if I cause" (smlf.  $-hta'ni$ , 4.426). The 1s fusional conditionals for the remaining auxiliaries do not occur in the available material. Non-fusional forms for them may, however, be formed according to the following rule.

(3) Alternative non-fusional conditionals for all of the auxiliaries may be constructed by the addition of the conditional postfix  $-k^?i$  (9.33, no. 13) to their semelfactive forms. Such alternative forms are used just as often as the fusional forms; hence a form like  $wi'yak^?i$  "if you go" ( $< wi'ya$ , 2MS smlf. of  $?u'wa$ , +  $-k^?i$ ) occurs just as frequently as its equivalent fusional form  $wi'y^?a$ .

## 4.5 THE INFLECTION OF ACTIVE VERBS

### 4.51 GENERAL REMARKS

4.511 Active verb stems fall into two main categories, the non-causative and the causative, each of which has its own special characteristics of inflection. While there are a number of cases in which it is not possible to make a distinction between the two types of stems except on the formal level, the terminology "non-causative" vs. "causative" is based on the following circumstance: Any non-causative intransitive stem may be transitivized by being transferred from the non-causative to the causative category. Thus, to mention only one of numerous examples, we find that  $ha'pa$  has the function of an intransitive stem meaning "to stop, cease" when it undergoes non-causative inflection but assumes the function of a transitive stem meaning "to cause . . . to stop, cease" when it undergoes causative inflection. (Other instances in which a given stem may be inflected in both categories with a similar difference in meaning are provided in 5.212.)

In contrast to those cases in which there is a clearcut semantic distinction between the non-causative and causative categories, it is found that some stems are always inflected in the causative category even though their meanings do not reflect the notion of causativity. Some of these are transitive, e.g.,  $wi'sa$  .c. (read:  $wi'sa$ , causative verb stem) "to tease . . .,"  $ši'hka$  .c. "to help, aid . . .," while others are intransitive, e.g.,  $?u'ru$  .c. "to whoop, shout,"  $wi'ra$  .c. "to count."

4.512 The chief differences in inflection between the non-causative and causative categories may be summarized as follows: (1) In the case of non-causative verbs inflection for pronominal subject is accomplished by suffixation or by juxtaposition. Suffixation is utilized when the semelfactive, habitual, and conditional sets of inflectional endings are employed. Juxtaposition is used in periphrasis which consists in placing the stem of a non-causative verb in front of an inflected form of any auxiliary except the causative. (2) In the case of causative verbs, on the other hand, inflection for pronominal subject is normally accomplished only by juxtaposition. Their semelfactive, habitual, and conditional para-

digms require the use of the causative auxiliary but other types of periphrastic inflection (involving the use of the other auxiliaries) are also possible provided certain special formational rules are applied.

4.513 The distinction between non-causative and causative verbs is maintained only in the type of subjective inflection each uses; in objective inflection (4.56) the two types fall together. Note also that unlike the stems of auxiliary and static verbs, the stems of active verbs (both non-causative and causative) may be used independently; in this usage they are infinitives.

#### 4.52 THE INFLECTIONAL ENDINGS OF NON-CAUSATIVE ACTIVE VERBS

##### 4.521 The Semelfactive Set

The following endings may be appended to any non-causative active verb stem to form its semelfactive paradigm:

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1	-ni	-ʔi'na	-ʔi'ti
2M	-ʔi	-wi'na	-wi'ti
2F	-ʔa	-hi'na; -he'na	-hi'ti; -he'ti
3M	-wi	-ʔu'na	-ta
3F	-ti	-si'na	-si'ti

All of the sg. endings and the 3MP ending *-ta* are unanalyzable. The du. forms appear to be related to the du. inal. prefixes except that the du. element used here is the suffix *-na*. The pl. forms (except *-ta*) are built up like the du. forms except that the du. suffix *-na* is replaced by a pl. suffix *-ti*.

##### 4.522 The Habitual Set

The following endings may be appended to any non-causative verb stem to form its habitual paradigm:

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1	-ka'ni	-hkʔi'na	-hkʔi'ti
2M	-ki	-wi'na	-wi'ti
2F	-ka	-hi'na; -he'na	-hi'ti; -he'ti
3M	-ku	-hkʔu'na	-ka'ta
3F	-ka'ti	-si'na	-si'ti

It will be noted that certain of the habitual endings are identical with the semelfactive endings, viz., 2MD, 2FD, 3FD, 2MP, 2FP, and 3FP. This is explained in the following paragraph.

There is obviously an historical connection between the two paradigms. Except in the case of the identical forms, the habitual endings are built up of an element *-ka-*, *-k-*, or *-hk-* followed by the

semelfactive endings. This element is probably connected with the habitual thematic suffix *-hk-* (discussed in 5.213). It appears in the form *-ka-* before monosyllabic semelfactive endings other than those beginning in  $\text{?}$ , the form *-ku* (3MS) being contracted < *\*-ka'wi*. Before monosyllabic endings beginning in  $\text{?}$  the element appears in the form *-k-* with the consequent loss of the  $\text{?}$ . Before disyllabic endings beginning in  $\text{?}$ , the element appears in the form *-hk-*, but before disyllabic endings beginning in other consonants, the element does not appear at all; hence the identical forms in the two paradigms. Since all of the disyllabic endings beginning in consonants other than  $\text{?}$  begin in a continuant, the non-appearance of *-hk-* is to be ascribed to the regular phonomechanical rule providing for the syncopation of an *hk* group before a continuant (2.253, 2.254).

#### 4.523 The Conditional Set

The conditional endings may be appended to any non-causative active verb stem to form its conditional paradigm. These endings are based on the semelfactive endings in much the same way that the conditional paradigms of auxiliary verbs are based on their semelfactive paradigms (4.44). Note the following rules:

(1) With the exception of the 1s, 2MS, and 2FS forms, the conditional endings are formed by inserting the conditional infix *-ʔ-* between the last consonant and vowel of the semelfactive endings, e.g.,

*-wʔi*, 3MS cond. endg. (*-wi*, 3MS smlf. endg.)  
*-ʔi'nʔa*, 1D cond. endg. (*-ʔi'na*, 1D smlf. endg.)  
*-si'tʔi*, 3FP cond. endg. (*-si'ti*, 3FP smlf. endg.)

(2) The 1s conditional ending *-ʔan* consists of a special conditional infix *-ʔa-* plus the semelfactive ending *-ni* which is always apocopated to *-n* in this case.

(3) The 2MS and 2FS forms, which are *-ʔikʔi* and *-ʔakʔi*, respectively, consist of their corresponding semelfactive endings plus the conditional postfix *-kʔi*.

Note also that with the exception of the 2MS and 2FS forms (whose only conditionals are non-fusional) there are alternative non-fusional conditionals for the rest of the forms. These consist of the semelfactive endings plus the conditional postfix *-kʔi* and may be used in place of any of the fusional endings described under the first two rules above. In contrast to what is true of the conditionals of auxiliary verbs, however, the fusional forms are used much more widely than are the equivalent non-fusional forms.

#### 4.53 THE PERIPHRASTIC INFLECTION OF NON-CAUSATIVE ACTIVE VERBS

4.531 In the periphrastic inflection of non-causative active verbs any auxiliary except the causative may be employed. In such a case the auxiliary follows the active verb stem and the two are combined according to the regular rules of assimilation (2.23) and syncope (2.24). The auxiliary undergoes its normal inflection and the pronominal subject of the complex is indicated by the auxiliary. In their independent usage auxiliaries cannot appear in the habitual aspect (4.41). In their periphrastic usage, however, this aspect is expressed by placing a semelfactive form of the auxiliary after a habitual theme (< an active verb stem + the habitual thematic suffix *-hk-*, 5.213). This rule applies in the case of all of the auxiliaries except *ʔu'hki* which, on its part, is never used with a habitual theme.

When the auxiliaries are used in periphrastic inflection their primary meanings are largely obscured. Certain ones of them are used to express the secondary verbal categories which include the past tense (4.532) and the immutable and mutable duratives (4.533). These categories are secondary for two reasons, (1) they are not obligatory and (2) they cannot be expressed without the inclusion of one of the primary categories. The special function of each auxiliary when it is used in periphrasis is discussed in the following sections.

4.532 The auxiliary *ʔu'hki* "he is, was" (4.421) is regularly employed to express the notion of priority in time. It covers the simple past, the present perfect, and the past perfect tenses of English. Examples:

- ʔuni'wihki*. (4A:v) you told him < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *ni'* to tell + *wi'hki*, 2MS smlf.  
*ya'kʔahkini*. (7B:e) I have come < *ya'ka* to come + *ʔa'hkini*, 1s smlf.  
*ka'ta ya'kʔakihč* (9:m) whence she had come; *ya'kʔakihč* < *ya'ka* + *ʔa'ki*, 3FS smlf., + *-hč*, subord. postf.  
*ču'ʔuʔuhke'ni*. (42I) he always took < *ču'* to take + *ʔu'ʔuhki*, 3MS repet., + *-a'ni*, quot. postf.  
*ra'pawi'hkʔihč* (19:c) if you have killed < *ra'pa* to kill + *wi'hk-ʔi*, 2MS cond., + *-hč*

4.533 The positional auxiliaries, *ʔu'ra* "he lies, lay" (4.422) and *ʔu'na* "he sits, sat" (4.423), are used periphrastically to express two types of duratives, the immutable and the mutable. In expressing the immutable durative either of the positionals may be added to an unextended active verb stem or to any theme except the habitual. In expressing the mutable durative, on the other hand, either of the positionals must be added to a habitual theme.



In English translations it is sometimes difficult to render adequately the subtle distinction between the two types of duratives. Both may be rendered by the English present or past progressive. For example, a sentence like “the man is standing” requires the Tunica immutable durative while a sentence like “the man is running” requires the Tunica mutable durative. However, the immutable durative may also be rendered by the English simple present or past, as in “the man stands, stood,” or by such an expression as “remains (or stays), remained (or stayed) doing . . .” The mutable durative, on the other hand, is preferably rendered by the present or past progressive.

Examples of immutable duratives:

- te'tín, ho'n<sup>2</sup>ora'nì, ta'nahta ha'lùht.* (4A:aw) There was a path going down under the bank; *ho'n<sup>2</sup>ora'ni* she lay in a going down position < *ho'nu* to go down + *<sup>2</sup>a'ra*, 3FS smlf., + *-a'ni*, quot. postf.
- ka'tán, . . . ti'tiht<sup>2</sup>ε hopi'<sup>2</sup>uràhč* (12:a) where a river came out . . .; *hopi'<sup>2</sup>uràhč* he lay in a coming out position < *ho-. . .pi'* to get out + *<sup>2</sup>u'ra*, 3MS smlf., + *-hč*, subord. postf.
- la'tìhč, he'r<sup>2</sup>unana'nì.* (9:d) At night they kept watch (or more lit., remained watching); *he'r<sup>2</sup>unana'ni* < *he'ra* to watch + *<sup>2</sup>u'nana*, 3MD smlf., + *-a'ni*

Examples of mutable duratives:

- l<sup>2</sup>tahk<sup>2</sup>u'rana'nì.* (13:aa) They were running < *l<sup>2</sup>ta* to run + *-hk-*, habitual suff., + *<sup>2</sup>u'rana*, 3MD smlf., + *-a'ni*
- ta'wišihč, hi'štaha wi'čihk<sup>2</sup>ara'nì.* (5B:e) The water was still rising; *wi'čihk<sup>2</sup>ara'ni* < *wi'či* to move up, rise + *-hk-* + *<sup>2</sup>a'ra*, 3FS smlf., + *-a'ni*
- sa'kuhk<sup>2</sup>una'nì.* (4A:e) he sat eating < *sa'ku* to eat + *-hk-* + *<sup>2</sup>u'na*, 3MS smlf., + *-a'ni*
- pi'tahk<sup>2</sup>u'<sup>2</sup>una'nì.* (42I) He kept on walking < *pi'ta* to walk + *-hk-* + *<sup>2</sup>u'<sup>2</sup>una*, 3MS repet., + *-a'ni*. (Repetitive examples are rare.)

It should be noted that whether one uses *<sup>2</sup>u'ra* or *<sup>2</sup>u'na* in expressing the durative is largely a matter of idiom. However, it has been possible to work out certain rules of positional classification which govern the choice of auxiliary in a great many instances, particularly with respect to such contrasts as that found in *pi'tahk<sup>2</sup>ara'nì* (18:b) “she was walking along” (employing *<sup>2</sup>u'ra*<sup>1</sup>) as against *pi'tahk<sup>2</sup>una'nì* (14A:r) “he was walking along” (employing *<sup>2</sup>u'na*). These rules are provided in section 8.3.

4.534 The auxiliary verbs *<sup>2</sup>u'sa* “he comes, came” (4.424) and *<sup>2</sup>u'wa* “he goes, went” (4.425) tend to retain their literal meanings

<sup>1</sup> I.e., an inflected form of *<sup>2</sup>u'ra*, in this case the 3FS smlf.

in periphrastic inflection. They are widely used with active verb stems connoting movement from one place to another and in this usage express the notion of hitherward and thitherward direction respectively, e.g.,

Stem	Used with <i>ʔu'sa</i>	Used with <i>ʔu'wa</i>
<i>ʔa'ka</i> to get in	<i>ʔa'kʔusa</i> he came in	<i>ʔa'kʔuwa</i> he went in
<i>ho-. . pi'</i> to get out	<i>hopi'ʔusa</i> he came out	<i>hopi'ʔuwa</i> he went out
<i>ho'nu</i> to get down	<i>ho'nʔusa</i> he came down	<i>ho'nʔuwa</i> he went down
<i>wi'či</i> to move up	<i>wi'čʔusa</i> he came up	<i>wi'čʔuwa</i> he went up
<i>pa'nu</i> to move past	<i>pa'nʔusa</i> he came past	<i>pa'nʔuwa</i> he went past

In addition to the type of usage illustrated above, *ʔu'sa* and *ʔu'wa* are also commonly used with other types of active verb stems and carry the meaning "he comes, came while . . .-ing" and "he goes, went while . . .-ing," respectively, e.g.,

*ha'rahkʔusa'nì.* (10:h) he was coming singing < *ha'ra* to sing  
+ *-hk-* + *ʔu'sa*, 3MS smlf., + *-a'ni*  
*ʔuso'lʔuwa'nì.* (20:a) He was creeping up on it (or more lit.,  
went creeping up on it) < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *so'li* to  
creep up on . . . + *ʔu'wa*, 3MS smlf., + *-a'ni*

4.535 While there are no text examples of the periphrastic use of *la'ka* (4.427), there is a non-text example in which its repetitive form is used periphrastically, viz., *wa'kala'laka* "they used to command." Here *la'laka* replaces the 3MP repetitive form of *ʔu'hki* (4.421 and 4.43) as is evidenced by the following form given in the same paradigm: *wa'kʔoʔnʔiti* "we used to command."

#### 4.54 THE INFLECTION OF CAUSATIVE ACTIVE VERBS

4.541 The inflection of causative verb stems is normally periphrastic. Their semelfactive, habitual, and conditional paradigms require the use of the causative auxiliary. Other types of periphrastic inflection (involving the use of the other auxiliaries) are also possible with causative stems provided they are extended by means of the causative thematic suffix *-n* (5.212). The infinitive form of a causative verb is likewise extended by *-n* or its variant *-ni*. Note that the causative auxiliary and the causative suffix are mutually exclusive although no causative verb form is correctly inflected unless one or the other of these elements is employed.

In the following sections a causative stem is indicated by the device illustrated in *ʔu'ki*. . c., which is to be read *ʔu'ki*, causative verb stem.

4.542 The rules for the construction of the normal semelfactive, habitual, and conditional paradigms of causative verbs are as follows:

(1) The semelfactive paradigm consists of a causative stem plus the semelfactive forms of the causative auxiliary (4.426), e.g.,

*ʔuhkʔu'kʔutǎhč* (4A:o) when he had put him (lit., caused him to sit) < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *ʔu'ki*. .c. to cause . . . to sit (hence, "to put, place, set . . .") + *-ʔu'ta*, 3MS smlf., + *-hč*, subord. postf.

*ʔuhpi'husi'ntakʔahča* (4B:ax) they would hide him (lit., cause him to hide) < *ʔuhk-* + *pi'hu*. .c. to cause . . . to hide (hence, "to hide . . .") + *-si'nta*, 3FD-P smlf., + *-kʔahča*, fut. postf.

(2) The habitual paradigm consists of a causative habitual theme (< a caus. stem + the hab. suff. *-hk-*) plus the semelfactive forms of the causative auxiliary, e.g.,

*tihki'pahkʔuta'nì*. (43c) he is marrying her off (lit., causing her to marry) < *tihk-*, 3FS pref., + *ki'pa*. .c. to cause . . . to marry (hence, "to marry . . . off") + *-hk-* + *-ʔu'ta*, 3MS smlf., + *-a'ni*, quot. postf.

*tih'i'yahkʔata'nì*. (4B:ba) she would wake her up (lit., cause her to awake) < *tihk-* + *hi'ya*. .c. to cause . . . to awake (hence, "to wake . . . up") + *-hk-* + *-ʔa'ta*, 3FS smlf., + *-a'ni*

(3) The conditional paradigm consists of a causative stem plus the conditional forms of the causative auxiliary (4.44), e.g.,

*ʔuhka'liwi'tʔǎhč* (7A:e) if you place it (lit., cause it to stand) < *ʔuhk-* + *ka'li*. .c. to cause . . . to stand (hence, "to put, place, stand . . .") + *-wi'tʔa*, 2MS cond., + *-hč*

4.543 In a very few abnormal instances the semelfactive paradigm of a causative verb is derived from a causative theme (caus. stem + caus. suff. *-n*) plus the semelfactive inflectional endings normally used only with non-causative stems (4.521),<sup>1</sup> e.g.,

*ʔuhpi'hunsi'nakʔahča* (4A:ba) they would hide him (lit., cause him to hide) < *ʔuhk-* + *pi'hu*. .c. to hide . . . + *-n* + *-si'na*, 3FD smlf. endg., + *-kʔahča*, fut. postf.

*tiyʔ'lansi'tihč* (4B:aq) when they turned her loose (lit., caused her to get loose) < *tihk-* + *yʔ'la*. .c. to cause . . . to get loose (hence, "to turn . . . loose") + *-n* + *-si'ti*, 3FP smlf. endg., + *-hč*

But in different tellings of the same myth the informant uses the correct forms of both of the above cases, viz.,

*ʔuhpi'husi'ntakʔahča* (4B:ax) < *ʔuhk-* + *pi'hu*. .c. + *-si'nta*, 3FD-P of the caus. aux., + *-kʔahča*

*tiyʔ'lasì'ntǎhč* (4A:at) < *tihk-* + *yʔ'la*. .c. + *-si'nta* + *-hč*

<sup>1</sup> Instances of the type illustrated here are undoubtedly analogical. Throughout the whole of the texts they do not occur over a dozen times as against more than two hundred cases of regular causative semelfactive inflection in accordance with rule (1) above.

4.544 When the non-causative auxiliaries are used with causative verb stems, their special meanings are the same as when they are used with non-causative stems (4.53). The following formational rules apply under these circumstances:

(1) To form the semelfactive, repetitive, or conditional paradigms a causative theme (caus. stem + caus. suff. *-n*) is placed in front of the appropriate form of the given non-causative auxiliary, e.g.,

*sinha'panʔuhke'nì.* (19:j) he has stopped them (lit., caused them to stop) < *sink-*, 3FD-P pref., + *ha'pa* .c. to cause . . . to stop (hence, "to stop . . .") + *-n* + *ʔu'hki*, 3MS smlf., + *-a'ni* (cf. 4.532)

*ʔuhta'kanʔu'rana'nì.* (7B:c) they were chasing it < *ʔuhk-* + *ta'ka* .c. to chase . . . + *-n* + *ʔu'rana*, 3MD smlf., + *-a'ni* (cf. 4.533)

*ha'ranʔuna'nì.* (15:d) he played (lit., caused it to sing) < *ha'-ra* .c. to cause . . . to sing (hence, "to play an instrument") + *-n* + *ʔu'na*, 3MS smlf., + *-a'ni* (cf. 4.533)

*we'ranʔu'ʔuwa'nì.* (11A:a) he used to go hunting < *we'ra* .c. to hunt + *-n* + *ʔu'ʔuwa*, 3MS repet., + *-a'ni* (cf. 4.534)

*we'ranʔi'yanʔähč* (4B:w) if we go hunting < *we'ra* .c. + *-n* + *ʔi'yanʔa*, 1D cond., + *-hč* (cf. 4.534)

(2) To form a habitual paradigm involving the employment of a non-causative auxiliary, double periphrasis is sometimes used. Thus a causative habitual theme (caus. stem + hab. suff. *-hk-*) may be followed by a semelfactive form of the causative auxiliary which in turn may be followed by a semelfactive form of a non-causative auxiliary. Both auxiliaries are inflected in the same person, gender, and number. The following illustrate all the types of examples that occur:

*pa'kahkʔu'tʔuna'nì.* (4A:d) he was replying < *pa'ka* .c. to reply + *-hk-* + *-ʔu'ta*, 3MS smlf., + *ʔu'na*, 3MS smlf., + *-a'ni*

*ʔu'ruhkʔu'tʔusa'nì.* (8A:e) he was whooping as he came < *ʔu'-ru* .c. to whoop + *-hk-* + *-ʔu'ta* + *ʔu'sa*, 3MS smlf., + *-a'ni*

*ʔu'ruhkʔu'tʔuwa'nì.* (8B:d) He was whooping as he went < *ʔu'-ru* .c. + *-hk-* + *-ʔu'ta* + *ʔu'wa*, 3MS smlf., + *-a'ni*

There is also one text example in which the second auxiliary is in the repetitive aspect, viz.,

*ʔu'ruhkʔu'tʔuʔuwa'nì.* (8A:f) He keeps whooping as he goes < *ʔu'ru* .c. + *-hk-* + *-ʔu'ta* + *ʔu'ʔuwa*, 3MS repet., + *-a'ni*

Although examples of double periphrasis are rare, the following rule apparently governs its use: Whenever it is desired to use the habitual suffix *-hk-* with a causative stem, it is necessary to employ the causative auxiliary <sup>1</sup> and then if it is desired to express an addi-

<sup>1</sup> Because the causative suffix and the habitual suffix may not both be appended to the same stem (5.213).

tional notion normally indicated by a non-causative auxiliary, the latter auxiliary may follow the causative one, as in the examples quoted above. The paucity of examples of double periphrasis seems to be caused by a certain reluctance on the part of the informant to use the process. Thus it turns out that causative stems usually exhibit no difference between the immutable and the mutable duratives (4.532). Since the mutable durative requires the use of the habitual suffix, its occurrence with causative stems would call for double periphrasis. But because of the informant's tendency to avoid the process an immutable durative is often found where one would expect a mutable durative, as in *pa'kan<sup>2</sup>una'nì* (4B:d) "he was replying," used in place of the more correct *pa'kahk<sup>2</sup>u't<sup>2</sup>una'nì* (4A:d). At other times the informant tries to get around the situation by using an incorrect form involving the use of the habitual suffix and the complete omission of any element indicative of causativity, e.g., *ku'hpahk<sup>2</sup>u'rana'nì* (10:d) as against *ku'hpan<sup>2</sup>u'rana'nì* (4A:aj) "they were feathering (arrows)," and *čo'luhk<sup>2</sup>una'nì* (5A:a) as against *čo'lun<sup>2</sup>una'nì* (5A:b) "it was dripping (down)." It seems likely that both alternatives for each example are incorrectly used in place of forms involving double periphrasis, viz., *\*ku'hpahk<sup>2</sup>u'nt<sup>2</sup>urana'nì* and *\*čo'luhk<sup>2</sup>u't<sup>2</sup>una'nì*, respectively.

4.545 The following synopsis of 3MS subjective forms shows the principal differences in inflection between the non-causative and causative categories. The prefix *tihk-*, occurring with the causative examples, is the 3Fs alienable pronominal prefix used as direct object (4.56).

	Non-Causative	Causative
Stem	<i>l'ta</i>	<i>l'ta . . c.</i>
Infin.	<i>l'ta</i> to run	<i>tilb'tani</i> to make her run
Smlf.	<i>l'tawi</i> he ran	<i>tilb't<sup>2</sup>uta</i> he made her run
Hab.	<i>l'taku</i> he runs	<i>tilb'tahk<sup>2</sup>u'ta</i> he makes her run
Cond.	<i>l'taw<sup>2</sup>i</i> if he runs	<i>tilb't<sup>2</sup>ut<sup>2</sup>a</i> if he makes her run
Past	<i>l't<sup>2</sup>uhki</i> he has run	<i>tilb'tan<sup>2</sup>u'hki</i> he has made her run
Smlf. with <i><sup>2</sup>u'wa</i>	<i>l't<sup>2</sup>uwa</i> he went running	<i>tilb'tan<sup>2</sup>u'wa</i> he went making her run
Hab. with <i><sup>2</sup>u'wa</i>	<i>l'tahk<sup>2</sup>u'wa</i> he was going running	<i>tilb'tahk<sup>2</sup>u't<sup>2</sup>uwa</i> he was going making her run

#### 4.55 THE NEGATIVE PARADIGMS OF ACTIVE VERBS

The negative paradigms of active verbs are formed by means of the negative postfixes *-aha* (9.34, no. 16) and *-k<sup>2</sup>aha* (9.34, no. 17). On the formal level both of these postfixes must be added to the non-periphrastic semelfactive paradigms of non-causative verbs (4.521) or to the regular semelfactive paradigms of causative

verbs (4.542, rule 1). However, on the functional level the element *-aha* is used to form what may be called the negative semelfactive paradigm of active verbs while the element *-k<sup>2</sup>aha* is used to form what may be called the negative habitual paradigm of active verbs. The following synopsis illustrates the difference between the positive and negative forms of these verbs.

	Positive	Negative
Smlf. non-caus.	<i>l<sup>2</sup>tawi</i> he ran	<i>l<sup>2</sup>tawehε</i> he did not run
Smlf. caus.	<i>til<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>uta</i> he made her run	<i>til<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>utaha</i> he did not make her run
Hab. non-caus.	<i>l<sup>2</sup>taku</i> he runs	<i>l<sup>2</sup>tawik<sup>2</sup>aha</i> he does not run
Hab. caus.	<i>til<sup>2</sup>tahk<sup>2</sup>u'ta</i> he makes her run	<i>til<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>utak<sup>2</sup>aha</i> he does not make her run

Note that *l<sup>2</sup>tawehε* "he did not run" is < *l<sup>2</sup>tawi* + *-aha* while *l<sup>2</sup>tawik<sup>2</sup>aha* "he does not run" is < *l<sup>2</sup>tawi* + *-k<sup>2</sup>aha*. Further examples of the negative semelfactive and habitual forms of active verbs are given in 9.34.

#### 4.56 THE OBJECTIVE INFLECTION OF ACTIVE VERBS

4.561 Objective inflection, in which both non-causative and causative verbs are treated alike, is accomplished by means of the alienable pronominal prefixes or the reciprocal prefix. Examples of the use of the alienable pronominal prefixes (4.21) as objects of transitive verbs are as follows:

- ʔihpe'k<sup>2</sup>ɔntá*. (14A:l) they hit me < *ʔihk-*, 1s pref., + *pe'k-ʔɔnta* they hit  
*ʔuhta'kan<sup>2</sup>akε'nì*. (14A:u) she chased him < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *ta'kan<sup>2</sup>a'ki* she chased + *-a'nì*, quot. postf.  
*sinsa'kutehε'nì*. (4A:l) She did not eat them < *sink-*, 3FD-P pref., + *sa'kuti* she ate + *-aha*, neg. postf., + *-a'nì*

Tunica recognizes no formal difference between direct and indirect objects of transitive verbs. In the case of a transitive verb which seems (from the English viewpoint) to require both a direct and an indirect object, we find that pronominal reference is made only to the latter, e.g.,

- tiyu'w<sup>2</sup>ak<sup>2</sup>ihč* (11A:d) if you give (this) to her < *tihk-*, 3FS pref., + *yu'w<sup>2</sup>ak<sup>2</sup>i* if you give + *-hč*, subord. postf.  
*na'rān, ʔihču'yak<sup>2</sup>ik<sup>2</sup>ihč* (14B:a) if you bring me a snake; *ʔihču'yak<sup>2</sup>ik<sup>2</sup>ihč* < *ʔihk-*, 1s pref., + *ču'yak<sup>2</sup>ik<sup>2</sup>i* if you bring + *-hč*  
*ta'schapōku, timi'r<sup>2</sup>utāhč* (4A:bc) when he flashed the mirror before her; *timi'r<sup>2</sup>utahč* < *tihk-*, 3FS pref., + *timi'r<sup>2</sup>uta* he flashed + *-hč*

4.562 The reciprocal prefix appears as *ʔak-* before stems beginning in *ʔ* and as *ʔa-* before all other stems, e.g.,

*ʔakʔε'hʔunihki*. (non-text)<sup>1</sup> They kicked each other < *ʔak-*  
 + *ʔε'hʔunihki* they kicked \*  
*ʔawi'rahkʔunta'nì*. (27) They questioned each other < *ʔa-*  
 + *wi'rahkʔu'nta* they questioned + *-a'ni*  
*ta'sihkal ʔahi'rutāhč* (37:d) when they rubbed the stones together; *ʔahi'rutahč* < *ʔa-* + *hi'ruta* they rubbed + *-hč*

## 4.6 THE SUB-CLASSES OF THE ACTIVE VERB

### 4.61 GENERAL REMARKS

Active verbs (both non-causative and causative) fall into four sub-classes: intransitive, transitive, impersonal, and transimpersonal. While none of these sub-classes makes use of any special inflectional elements, each of them (except the transitive) is restricted in a different way as to which of the total number of inflectional elements it may use. Thus intransitives are inflected only for pronominal subject while transitives normally undergo additional inflection for pronominal object. Impersonals differ from intransitives in that they may be inflected only for a third person feminine pronominal subject. Transimpersonals are like impersonals in inflection for subject but undergo further inflection for pronominal object. Hence impersonals are to intransitives as transimpersonals are to transitives.

### 4.62 INTRANSITIVES

Intransitives may be inflected only for pronominal subject and the rules for the subjective inflection of active verbs already given (4.52 to 4.54) take care of all that need be said concerning the inflection of this sub-class. A special sub-group of intransitives is discussed in the next section.

### 4.63 LIMITED INTRANSITIVES OR PERSONIFICATIVES

There are two types of limited intransitives which may be referred to as masculine and feminine personificatives, respectively. The former may be inflected only for a 3MS pronominal subject, the latter only for a 3FS pronominal subject. With respect to their limited subjective inflection, personificatives resemble impersonals. There is, however, an important distinction between the two types of verbs: Whereas the subjective element of personificatives refers to a realistic entity (as shown below) which may be substantivally expressed within the sentence, the subjective element of impersonals refers to a non-realistic or nameless entity

<sup>1</sup> There seem to be no text examples in which this prefix occurs before a stem beginning in *ʔ*.

which can never be substantivally expressed within the sentence.

Masculine personificatives comprise verbs referring to certain weather manifestations thought to be controlled by the Thunder Being (personified as a man; see texts 4A and 4B). The following stems come in this category: *ya'lu* . . c. "to hail"; *mi'ra* . . c. "to lighten"; *mō'ča* . . c. "to drizzle"; *mo'hti* . . c. or *mo'htu* . . c. "to snow"; *sa'pi* " (rain) to beat down"; *sa'či* "to rain"; *la'ka* "to frost"; *ra'hi* . . c. "to thunder"; *ša'hu* "(rain) to patter." Note that a form like *ra'hin<sup>?</sup>u'hki* "it has thundered" (< *ra'hi* . . c. + *-n* + *u'hki*, 3MS) carries the implication that "he (the Thunder Being) has thundered."

Feminine personificatives comprise (1) verbs referring to the changes of the moon (personified as a "granny") and (2) verbs referring to the diurnal periods controlled by the sun (personified as a young woman; see texts 3A, 3B, and 3c). The verbs referring to the changes of the moon are *wε'ka* "to wane" and *hε'mu* "to wax" (no text examples). The verbs referring to the diurnal periods are: *se'hi* "(the sun) to rise," hence, "to get to be day, morning"; *t'ha* . . c. "(the sun) to pass the meridian," hence, "to get to be afternoon"; *la'* "(the sun) to set," hence, "to get to be night," e.g.,

*se'hitihč* (15:f) when day came < when she (the sun) had risen  
*t'h<sup>?</sup>atāhč* (19:a) in the afternoon < when she had passed the  
 meridian  
*la'tihč* (4A:ar) when night came < when she had set

Note particularly that *se'hitihč* is often used in place of such English adverbial expressions as "in the morning" (9:f), "tomorrow" (11A:a), "the next day" (9:d) while *la'tihč* is similarly often used in place of "at night" (8B:c) and "after dark" (19:b).

#### 4.64 TRANSITIVES

Transitives are normally inflected for pronominal object as well as for pronominal subject. Inflection for pronominal subject is the same as for intransitives while inflection for pronominal object is accomplished by the use of the alienable pronominal prefixes or the reciprocal prefix (4.56). It should be noted that a number of stems may be used as either transitives or intransitives depending on whether they occur with or without expressed pronominal object, e.g.,

*u<sup>?</sup>ya'nakate'nì*. (4A:d) she spoke to him; *ya'nakate'nì*. (5A:c)  
 she spoke  
*u<sup>?</sup>hpe'k<sup>?</sup>ik<sup>?</sup>ihč* (13:g) if you beat him; *pe'k<sup>?</sup>ik<sup>?</sup>ihč* (13:s) if you  
 rap  
*tihpa'kahk<sup>?</sup>uta'nì*. (4A:g) he answered her; *pa'kahk<sup>?</sup>uta'nì*.  
 (4A:d) he replied



In other cases, however, intransitive stems may not be used transitively unless they have been causativized (see 5.212).

#### 4.65 IMPERSONALS

Impersonals may be inflected only for a 3FS subject. This implies an impersonal or nameless agent which may never be substantivally expressed within the sentence. The more important impersonal stems are: *ya'* "to become, get, turn; to be done, made, formed"; *yu'ka* "to reach (e.g., a certain length of time)"; *wi'* "to sound"; *pi'ra* "to turn, get to be"; *ho'tu* "to be ended, finished; to come to an end, be all." Examples:

- ši'htuna ya'tihč* (4A:ar) when it got dark; *ya'tihč* < *ya'* + *-ti*, 3FS smlf. endg., + *-hč*, subord. postf.  
*hi'na ya'katí.* (41A:a) It goes like that < it is done like that; *ya'kati* < *ya'* + *-ka'ti*, 3FS hab. endg.  
*ti'hika ta'yihkūn, yu'katihč* (12:d) when seven years had passed < when it reached seven years; *yu'katihč* < *yu'ka* + *-ti* + *-hč*  
*ʔu'kina wi'katē'nì.* (19:b) It sounded like his uncle; *wi'katē'ni* < *wi'* + *-ka'ti* + *-a'ni*, quot. postf.  
*ʔa'šu ma'nku pi'ratihč* (8A:c) four days later; (8A:b) in four days < when it turned four days; *pi'ratihč* < *pi'ra* + *-ti* + *-hč*  
*ho'tukatí.* (41A:a) That's all < it is finished; *ho'tuka'ti* < *ho'tu* + *-ka'ti*

A few of the above stems are also used as intransitives, e.g., *ya'* "to do, commit"; *yu'ka* "to arrive, get there, reach one's destination"; *ho'tu* "to finish, complete." Others, however, may not be used intransitively unless they have been causativized (5.212), e.g., *wi'* . . c. "to listen"; *pi'ra* . . c. "to transform oneself."

#### 4.66 TRANSIMPERSONALS

Transimpersonals are like impersonals in that their subjective inflection is limited to 3FS forms. In addition they must be inflected for pronominal object by means of the alienable pronominal prefixes (4.56) though they may never take the reciprocal prefix. The 3FS subjective element implies an impersonal or nameless agent which is conceived of as acting upon the pronominal subject. In some cases we find that impersonal stems are also used as transimpersonals, e.g.,

- ka'nahkšt, heya'ʔakīn.* (4A:u) what has happened to you? < what has it done to you? *heya'ʔakin* < *hehk-*, 2FS pref., + *ya'* + *ʔa'ki*, 3FS smlf. of *ʔu'hki*, + *-n*, interrog. postf.  
*ʔu'witahk ʔuya'ʔake'nì.* (4A:h) he was by himself < it had done to him (that he was) by himself; *ʔuya'ʔake'ni* < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *ya'* + *ʔa'ki* + *-a'ni*

- ʔi'matahk ʔiyu'kʔaki*. (29:e) I am all alone < it has reached me (that I am) by myself; *ʔiyu'kʔaki* < *ʔihk-*, 1s pref., + *yu'ka* + *ʔa'ki*
- ya'ʔän, ʔuhpi'ratikʔahča'nì*. (6A:a) he would turn into a deer < it would turn him into a deer; *ʔuhpi'ratikʔahča'ni* < *ʔuhk-* + *pi'ra* + *-ti* + *-kʔahča*, fut. postf., + *-a'ni*
- se'mapän, siho'tʔəke'nì*. (26) They have also become extinct < it has finished them, too; *siho'tʔəke'ni* < *sihk-*, 3MP pref., + *ho'tu* + *ʔa'ki* + *-a'ni*

In at least one case we have a transitive stem used as a transimpersonal and here we have what amounts to a true passive construction, viz.,

- ʔuwe'nitištukʔəhə'nì*. (43B:a) he cannot be found < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *we'ni* to find + *-ti* + *-štukʔəhə* cannot, postf., + *-a'ni*

But in a different context this same construction could mean "she cannot find him."

In addition to the types of transimpersonals discussed above there is evidence that stems denoting involuntary action (e.g., "to breathe"; "to cough") were formerly used as transimpersonals. The more usual procedure now is to treat such stems as intransitives. Note the following pairs of words given by the informant as equivalents:

Transimpersonal		Intransitive
<i>ʔihe'hakatí</i>	or	<i>he'hakaní</i> I am breathing
<i>ʔihkʔu'hukatí</i>	or	<i>ʔu'hukaní</i> I am coughing
<i>ʔihkʔo'wikatí</i>	or	<i>ʔo'wikaní</i> I am sweating
<i>ʔule'hukatí</i>	or	<i>le'hukú</i> he is panting

In addition, there is one stem denoting an involuntary action which is always transimpersonal, viz., *hi'yu* "to wake up," as in *ʔihi'yʔəki* (30) "I woke up."

## 4.7 THE INFLECTION OF STATIC VERBS

### 4.71 GENERAL REMARKS

Static verb stems are inflected for person, gender, and number by means of the inalienable pronominal prefixes and may not be used without them (see 4.721 and 4.731). Hence they may not be used as infinitives and in this respect differ markedly from active verb stems (4.513). Another difference between the two types of stems is found in the fact that whereas active verb stems must begin in one but only one consonant, static verb stems may begin in a vowel, a single consonant, or two consonants.

Although static verb stems are limited in number (there being in all not more than thirty of them in the available material), the

types of ideas they express deserve attention and may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) an emotional state, e.g., *-ya'ri* "to be ashamed"; *-ya'si* "to be angry"; *-wa'na* "to want, wish, be willing"; *-šru'ka* "to be afraid, scared, frightened"; *-šʔε'pa* "to be happy, glad, pleased"; *-he'kani* "to be excited, distraught."

(2) a physical state, e.g., *-ya'hpa* "to be hungry"; *-pi'htunt* "to be intoxicated"; *-si'pi* "to be cold, chilly (of an animate only)"; *-si'hu* "to be dry, thirsty"; *-re'kani* "to be tipsy, partially intoxicated"; *-što'hku* "to be tired, fatigued, lazy"; *-ha'yi* "to be old."

(3) a mental state, e.g., *-e'rusa* "to know"; *-špi'tu-* (inchoative only; 4.73) "to forget."

(4) possession, e.g., *-e'htini* "to own, possess"; *-la'ka* "to have"; *-hkʔa'ra* "to have"; *-hkʔa'ha* (suppletive neg. of *-hkʔa'ra*) "not to have."

(5) and one unclassified stem *-hkʔa'ʔaki* meaning "to be remaining, left, left over."

It will be noted at once that a number of the stems which express an emotional or a physical state resemble adjectives on the semantic level. On the inflectional level, however, they are quite distinct from adjectives. Whereas static verb stems, as mentioned above, must be inflected by means of the inalienable pronominal prefixes, adjectives are never permitted to undergo this or any other type of inflection (3.3). Note the following contrasting pair of examples:

*ti'hči ti'yaši.* She is angry. (*ti'hči*, indep. pers. pron., "she"; *tiya'si* "she is angry" < *ti-*, 3FS inal. pref., + *-ya'si*, static verb stem, "to be angry")  
*ti'hči lapú.* She is good. (*ti'hči* "she"; *la'pu*, adjective, "good")

#### 4.72 NON-INCHOATIVE FORMS

4.721 The non-inchoative forms of static verbs consist of the inalienable pronominal prefixes (4.21) plus the given stem. All of the stems except *-e'rusa* "to know" are inflected regularly by means of these prefixes, e.g.,

*ʔi'šʔεpá.* (4A:d) I am glad < *ʔi-*, 1s pref., + *-šʔε'pa* to be glad  
*ti'yahpa'nì.* (3B:b) she was hungry < *ti-*, 3FS pref., + *-ya'hpa*  
to be hungry + *-a'ni*, quot. postf.  
*ʔi'lñ,* *ʔunkʔa'ʔake'nì.* (9:p) Two were left; *ʔunkʔa'ʔake'nì*  
< *ʔu-n-*, 3MD pref., + *-hkʔa'ʔaki* to be left + *-a'ni*

Note that grammatically speaking the prefixes must be con-

strued as objects (see 4.732) even though they may usually be rendered as subjects in English translations (as above).

4.722 The stem *-e'rusa* "to know" forms its dual in an irregular manner. Unlike other static verb stems it has a special dual stem *-e'runasa* formed from *-e'rusa* by the insertion of a dual infix *-na-* between its second vowel and the following consonant. The dual stem is used for the 1D-P, 2MD-P, 2FD-P, 3MD, and 3FD-P forms of its paradigm and the infix *-n-* belonging to the inalienable prefixes is then omitted, e.g., *ʔe'runasá* "we know" (< *ʔi-*, in place of *ʔi-n-*, 1D-P pref., + *-e'runasa*). The simple stem *-e'rusa*, on the other hand, is used for all of the singular forms and for the 3MP form, e.g., *ʔo'rusa* "he knows" (< *ʔu-*, 3MS pref., + *-e'rusa*); *se'rusa* "they know" (< *si-*, 3MP pref., + *-e'rusa*).

#### 4.73 INCHOATIVE FORMS

4.731 Most static verbs may also have special inchoative forms which contain not only an inalienable prefix but also a 3FS subjective element, i.e., either a 3FS inflectional ending (normally attached to active verb stems, 4.52) or the 3FS form of the auxiliary verb *ʔu'hki* (4.421). The use of one of these 3FS forms adds an inchoative significance to the static verb complex, e.g.,

*ʔuya'hpatihč* (42I) when he got hungry < *ʔu-*, 3MS pref., + *-ya'hpa* to be hungry + *-ti*, 3FS smlf. endg., + *-hč*, subord. postf.

*ʔuya'šʔεkε'nì.* (4B:r) he got angry < *ʔu-* + *-ya'ši* to be angry + *ʔa'ki*, 3FS smlf. of *ʔu'hki*, + *-a'nì*, quot. postf.

*sinšto'hkʔεkε'nì.* (4A:ay) They got tired < *si-n-*, 3FD-P pref., + *-što'hku* to be tired + *ʔa'ki* + *-a'nì*

4.732 Inasmuch as the inchoative forms of static verbs contain an element which must be construed as the grammatical subject, we have in this fact justification for our assumption that the inalienable pronominal prefixes function as grammatical objects when used with static verbs (4.721). Attention should also be called to the fact that the inchoative forms of static verbs are constructed in a manner comparable to the construction of transimpersonal active verbs (4.66). The difference between the two types of verbs lies in the fact that whereas transimpersonal verbs cannot be used without an expressed 3FS subject, most inchoative static verb forms have corresponding non-inchoative forms in which no expressed grammatical subject is required. However, two static verb stems, *-šni'yu-* "to get lonesome" and *-špi'tu-* "to forget," form exceptions to this rule. Although they may occur only in inchoative constructions, they are classed as static stems rather than as transimpersonal stems on the basis of their phonetic structure. It will be noted that they begin in two consonants

whereas active verb stems (including transimpersonals) invariably begin in only one consonant. Moreover, the first consonant in both cases is *š* and, as is shown later (5.32), probably represents an archaic derivative prefix *\*-š(i)-* which may have served the function of converting active stems into static stems.

#### 4.74 NEGATIVE FORMS

The negative non-inchoative forms are built up by adding the negative postfix *-ʔaha* (9.34, no. 18) to the positive forms, e.g.,

*ʔiya'šʔehé*. I am not angry < *ʔiya'ši* I am angry + *-ʔaha*  
*ʔušʔε'pʔaha'ni*. (4B:w) he was not pleased < *ʔušʔε'pa* he is,  
 was pleased + *-ʔaha* + *-a'ni*, quot. postf.

The negative inchoative forms, on the other hand, are constructed like the negative forms of active verbs (4.55), e.g.,

*ʔuya'šitché*. He did not get angry < *ʔuya'šiti* he got angry  
 + *-aha*  
*ʔuya'šitikʔahá*. He does not get angry < *ʔuya'šiti* + *-kʔaha*

The reason for this is to be found in the fact that the positive inchoative forms of static verbs are constructed by the use of elements normally employed by active verbs (4.731).

### 4.8 NOUN INFLECTION

#### 4.81 GENERAL REMARKS

The primary categories of the noun are the indeterminative and the determinative. The indeterminative category consists of the simple uninflected noun stem which may serve as either a singular or a plural, e.g., *ru'šta* "a rabbit; rabbits." The determinative category, on the other hand, is marked by the use of the determining prefixes, i.e., either the articular prefix (4.82) or the pronominal prefixes (denoting possession with nouns; 4.83). In addition the determinative category is subdivided into three case categories: the definitive, the non-definitive, and the locative.<sup>1</sup> The first of these is called the definitive because it requires the use of the gender-number suffixes (4.841) and is the only category in which the gender and number of a noun are explicitly defined.<sup>2</sup> The non-definitive case makes use of no inflectional suffixes whatsoever and may be construed as either a singular or a plural depending on context. The locative case is expressed by one of three locative suffixes (4.85) and, like the non-definitive case, may be construed as either a singular or a plural depending on context.

<sup>1</sup> The syntactic functions of these cases are described in section 10.11.

<sup>2</sup> The rules for the gender-number classification of nouns are provided in section 8.1.

## 4.82 THE ARTICULAR PREFIX

4.821 The articular prefix, which is used as a determining prefix, usually has the force of a definite article but in some contexts it is equivalent to English "some." It regularly appears in the form *ta'*- before all stems except those beginning in *ʔ* or in *t*. Before stems beginning in *ʔ* it appears in the form *t*- with the consequent syncopation of the *ʔ* (see 2.255). Before stems beginning in *t* it is usually haploglogically omitted (2.26) though it may sometimes be analogically restored. Examples:

- ta'čohăku* (21:e) the chief < *ta'*- + *čohă* chief + *-ku*, MS suff.  
*ta'nakase'măn* (20:f) the warriors, or (in another instance in the same paragraph) some warriors < *ta'*- + *na'ka* warrior + *-se'ma*, MP suff.  
*tə'mahkăku* (14A:f) the alligator < *t*- + *ʔə'mahka* alligator + *-ku*  
*ta'lăhč* (4A:z) some cane < *t*- + *ʔa'la* reed, cane + *-hč(i)*, FS suff.  
*te'ti ha'yihta* (33:a) on the road; *te'ti* the road < *te'ti* road; note the absence of the art. pref.  
*ta'trahkăku* (5B:a) the ice < *ta'*- + *tə'rahki* ice + *-ku*; the form *tə'rahkăku* could also be used here

Some noun stems undergo a change in form when preceded by the articular prefix, e.g., *ta'rkuku* "the tree" (< *ta'*- + *ri'hku* "tree" + *-ku*). This is discussed in 2.244 and 2.251.

4.822 Proper nouns, with the exception of those whose stems begin in *t*, cannot be used without the articular prefix. Those whose stems begin in *t* omit the prefix for the reason given above but they nevertheless configurate as determinatives. Proper nouns include place names and names of mythical characters, e.g.,

- ta'wištʔε* the Mississippi < *ta'*- + *wi'š(i)tʔε* big water  
*ta'wišmi'li* Red River < *ta'*- + *wi'š(i)mi'li* red water  
*ta'luntitihki* Bayou des Glaise < *ta'*- + (*ha'*)*luntitihki* field-bayou  
*ti'niko'wi* the Clawed Witch (no known etymology)  
*ti'šlina* the Stone Witch (no known etymology)

Names of animals are also used as proper nouns when the animals occur as characters in myths or tales, e.g., *ta'ruštăku* (14A:b) "Rabbit" < *ta'*- + *ru'šta* "rabbit" + *-ku*.

4.823 There are a very few inherently determinative nouns, i.e., nouns which are used in the determinative category without taking a determining prefix. Two of these are derived from the static verb stem *-ha'yi* "to be old" (4.71) and are respectively *ʔuha'yi* "the old man" (< "he is old") and *tihă'yi* "the old woman" (< "she is old"). A third is *ʔuha'yimi'štihki* "the oldest, older one" (< *ʔuha'yi* + *mi'štihki* "more").

There are three proper nouns referring to "the Lord" which are also inherently determinative. The first of these is *ʔuha'yi* (already mentioned) which has the meaning "the Old Man," i.e., "the Lord." A more common term, however, is *ʔuha'yiši* "the One Above" (possibly < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *ha'yiši* "above," and hence probably more or less equivalent to "His Aboveness"). As the third term, we have *ha'yiši* which is probably a simplified form of *ʔuha'yiši*.

In a few instances postpositions (5.61) are used as nouns and these, too, are inherently determinative, e.g.,

- ʔa'hkišiku* (9:p) the one in the rear < *ʔa'hkiši* back of, in the rear of + *-ku*, MS suff.  
*ʔa'hkihtaku* (9:o) the one in the rear, or, the one behind < *ʔa'hkihta* behind + *-ku*  
*ti'rišiku* (4A:bf) the first one, or, the one in front < *ti'riši* in front of + *-ku*

#### 4.83 THE USE OF THE PRONOMINAL PREFIXES WITH NOUNS

When used with nouns the pronominal prefixes (4.21) configure as determining prefixes and, as such, exclude the occurrence of the articular prefix with the same stem. They may be attached to any noun stem to denote its possessor. There are, however, a special group of stems, known as inalienably possessed noun stems, which cannot be used without a pronominal prefix. Stems of this type include:

(1) kinship terms, e.g., *-e'si* "father"; *'-gači* "mother"; *'-ki* "maternal uncle"; *-a'haya* "sibling of the opposite sex"; *-a'nčayi* "wife"; *-ša'yi* "husband."

(2) body-part terms, e.g., *-e'sini* "head"; *-e'neri* "horns"; *-e'rukki* "neck"; *'-lu* "tongue"; *-e'yu* "arm"; *-a'htari* "wing"; *'-hkeni* "hand"; *-a'ška* "foot"; *-a'stayi* "body."

(3) the miscellaneous terms *-e'htiwa'hkuni* "breechcloth"; *-e'htira* "clothing"; *-e'tisa* "name."

Inalienably possessed nouns take the inalienable prefixes while all other nouns take the alienable prefixes. Examples of inalienably possessed nouns are:

- ʔe'siku* (29) my father < *ʔi-* + *-e'si* + *-ku*, MS suff.  
*ʔo'hoyăhč* (7A:c) his sister < *ʔu-* + *-a'haya* + *-hč(i)*, FS suff.  
*ʔo'sin ha'yiht* (13:h) over his head; *ʔo'sin(i)* < *ʔu-* + *-e'sini*

Examples of alienably possessed nouns are:

- ʔihkʔo'nise'măn* (25:b) my people < *ʔihk-*, 1s pref., + *ʔo'ni* person + *-se'ma*, MP suff.  
*ti'sasi'nimăn* (4B:ap) her dogs < *tihk-*, 3FS pref., + *sa'* dog + *-si'nima*, FD-P suff.

## 4.84 THE GENDER-NUMBER SUFFIXES

4.841 The gender-number suffixes may be used only in the definitive case of the determinative category (4.81). This means that whenever a noun stem is used with one of these suffixes it will also take a determining prefix (4.82 and 4.83).

The paradigm of the gender-number suffixes is as follows:

	Sg.	Du.	Du. and Pl.	Pl.
M	- <i>ku</i> , - <i>ku'hu</i>	- <i>ʔu'nima</i>		- <i>se'ma</i> , - <i>sem</i>
F	- <i>hči</i> , - <i>hči'hi</i>		- <i>si'nima</i> , - <i>sin</i>	

The same feminine form (-*si'nima* or -*sin*) is used both as a dual and as a plural. Note also that the dual and plural suffixes are related to the independent personal pronouns *ʔu'nima* (3MD), *si'nima* (never \**sin*; 3FD-P), and *se'ma* (never \**sem*; 3MP), respectively (see 4.221). The function of the suffixes is, however, quite distinct from that of the pronouns.

The alternative forms -*sin* (for -*si'nima*, FD-P) and -*sem* (for -*se'ma*, MP) are irregularly apocopated atonic forms. The alternative forms -*ku'hu* (for -*ku*, MS) and -*hči'hi* (for -*hči*, FS), on the other hand, seem to have a special implication (see 4.842).

Examples of these suffixes (exclusive of the forms -*ku'hu* and -*hči'hi*) are as follows:

- ta'čohăku* (5B:c) the chief < *ta'*- + *čohă* + -*ku*  
*ta'nisarăhč* (7A:b) the girl < *ta'*- + *ni'sara* young person  
 + -*hč(i)*  
*tihkʔ'katohkʔu'nimăn* (4B:ab) her children < *tihk-*, 3FS pref.,  
 + *ʔ'kato'hku* + -*ʔu'nima*  
*ti'sasi'nimăn* (4B:ap) her dogs < *tihk-* + *sa'* + -*si'nima*  
*ta'yorumʔahasin* (4A:ar) the beasts < *ta'*- + *yo'rumʔaha* + -*sin*  
*to'nišise'măn* (35A:b) the men < *ta'*- + *ʔo'niši'* + -*se'ma*  
*wihkʔo'nisēm* (22A:j) your people < *wihk-*, 2MS pref., + *ʔo'ni*  
 + -*sem*

4.842 The alternative singular forms -*ku'hu* (M) and -*hči'hi* (F) are used very rarely in the texts, but on the basis of what few examples there are, it seems likely that they carry the implication of selectivity. Hence, *to'niku'hu* may mean "it is the man who" as opposed to *to'niku* which means simply "the man." Examples:

- ʔi'kiku'hăn*, *ʔiha'lʔuhki*. (4A:ad) my uncle has sent me, or better, it is my uncle who has sent me  
*ti'gačihči'hăn*, *ʔasa'nè*. (13:ak) it was her mother who was coming

4.843 In addition to their use with nouns we find that any of the gender-number suffixes may be added to an inflected verb form to convert it into a relative clause. In some cases the noun is fol-



lowed by the appropriate gender-suffix and in addition the verb of the relative clause is followed by the same suffix, e.g.,

*to'nise'măn, ta'herit<sup>?</sup>ε ki'čün, <sup>?</sup>u'k<sup>?</sup>εrase'măn* (5A:d) the people who were in the boat; *to'nise'ma* the people < *t-* + *<sup>?</sup>o'ni* + *-se'ma*; *<sup>?</sup>u'k<sup>?</sup>εrase'ma* who were sitting < *<sup>?</sup>u'k<sup>?</sup>εra* they were sitting + *-se'ma*

In other cases, however, only the verb of the relative clause takes a gender-number suffix, such suffix being omitted from the noun, e.g.,

*to'ni hi'p<sup>?</sup>ontase'măn* (5B:e) the people who had been dancing; *hi'p<sup>?</sup>ontase'ma* who had been dancing < *hi'p<sup>?</sup>onta* they had been dancing + *-se'ma*

Since the less than two dozen examples of this usage are about evenly divided between the two procedures, it is not possible to determine which is correct.

#### 4.85 THE LOCATIVE SUFFIXES

4.851 There are three locative suffixes used in the formation of the locative case (4.81). All nouns in this case also take a determining prefix (4.82 and 4.83). The gender-number suffixes and the locative suffixes are mutually exclusive but the number of a noun in the locative case may be singular or plural depending on context. In addition to their use with nouns the locative suffixes are widely used in forming postpositions and adverbs from postpositional stems (5.61 and 5.62) and in forming demonstrative adverbs from demonstrative stems (5.7).

4.852 The most widely used locative suffix is *-ši* (generally apocopated to *-š*; see 2.322). This suffix is used as a general locatizer having the meaning "at, to." From the English point of view it is occasionally best rendered by "in, into" or "on, over." In the Tunica idiom, however, the meaning remains "at, to" and it is not possible to substitute the postpositions *ki'ču* "in, into" or *ha'yih̄ta* "on, onto, over" for the suffix in such cases. Examples:

*<sup>?</sup>u'riš <sup>?</sup>una'nì.* (7B:d) He stayed at home < at his house; *<sup>?</sup>u'riš(i)* < *<sup>?</sup>uhk-*, 3MS pref., + *ri'* house + *-ši*  
*ha'tikăn, ma'r<sup>?</sup>ota'nì, ta'yanerâš.* (7B:j) she went back to the ocean; *ta'yanaerâš(i)* < *ta'-* + *ya'nera* ocean + *-ši*  
*<sup>?</sup>u'štahpuš ču'h<sup>?</sup>uhke'nì.* (9:f) he spat in his face < at his face; *<sup>?</sup>u'štahpuš(i)* < *<sup>?</sup>u-*, 3MS pref., + *'-štahpu* face + *-ši*  
*ta'luntitihkiš <sup>?</sup>u'<sup>?</sup>una'nì.* (non-text) He used to live on Bayou des Glaise; *ta'luntitihkiš(i)* < *ta'luntitihki* Bayou des Glaise + *-ši*  
*l'ohkatōhku, te'yuš ku'n<sup>?</sup>ara'nì.* (9:i) She had a basket hooked over her arm; *te'yuš(i)* < *ti-*, 3FS pref., + *-e'yu* arm + *-ši*

An additional use of *-ši* is discussed in 4.855.

4.853 The second of the locative suffixes is *-štihki* (prob. < *-ši* "at, to" + a bound element *-tihki*) meaning "toward, in the direction of." It is rarely used except with the names of the directions, e.g.,

*ta'sap<sup>?</sup>araštihk* (22B:c) to the west < *ta'*- + *sa'p<sup>?</sup>ara* west + *-štihki*

4.854 The last of the locative suffixes is *-hta* "on, onto." It is rarely used except with *ta'hali* "the ground," e.g.,

*ta'haltān, ču'h<sup>?</sup>uhke'nì.* (4A:az) he spat on the ground; *ta'halta* < *ta'*- + *ha'l(i)* ground, land + *-hta*

In the available material it also occurs in one other expression, viz.,

*si'luhtān, siya'nakanì.* (22A:h) I am speaking to them in their (own) language; *si'luhta* < *si-*, 3MP pref., + *'-lu* tongue; language + *-hta*

4.855 In addition to its use with nouns *-ši* is sometimes attached to an inflected verb form in order to convert it into a locative clause. There are no instances in which the other locative suffixes are used in a similar manner. Examples:

*ti'tiht<sup>?</sup>ēn, ?u'rāš, ya'k<sup>?</sup>unāhč* (13:ak) when they came to a river < a river to (where) it lay; *?u'raš(i)* < *?u'ra* he lay + *-ši*

*ma'r<sup>?</sup>uwa'nì, ?uha'yik ?u'nāš.* (14A:v) He returned to (the place where) the Old Man was < to (where) the Old Man sat, lived; *?u'naš(i)* < *?u'na* he sat, lived + *-ši*

*ta'st<sup>?</sup>ēku, ka'l<sup>?</sup>uraš yu'kawihč* (13:h) when he came up to the horse < to (where) the horse stood; *ka'l<sup>?</sup>uraš(i)* < *ka'l-?ura* he stood + *-ši*

It should be noted that locative clauses built up with *-ši* are freely interchangeable with "where" clauses employing the interrogative-indefinite adverb *ka'ta* (7.46) in place of *-ši*, e.g.,

*ka'tān, ti'tiht<sup>?</sup>ēn, ?u'rāhč* (22c:c) where a river lay. (Contrast with the first example above.)

## 5. STEM FORMATION

### 5.1 FORMATIONAL TECHNIQUES

The formational techniques employed in building secondary stems are prefixation, suffixation, juxtaposition, and implicit process. Of these the process of juxtaposition is used far more widely than are the other processes. Suffixation is next in importance and after that implicit process. Prefixation is used so rarely that we find it occurring only in the formation of agentive noun stems and in the formation of a few adverbs.

## 5.2 ACTIVE VERB STEMS

## 5.21 THE THEMATIC SUFFIXES

5.211 The thematic suffixes may be added to an active verb stem to form an extended stem or a theme. These suffixes fall into two classes, the restricted and the non-restricted. When the former type is used the resultant theme may be inflected only periphrastically, but when the latter type is employed the resultant theme may be inflected in all of the ways in which a non-causative active verb stem may be inflected (4.52 and 4.53).

5.212 The use of the causative suffix *-n* in the inflection of causative active verb stems has already been discussed (4.543) and it will be noted in that discussion that this suffix is restricted. In addition to its use in inflected forms we find that its variant *-ni*<sup>1</sup> is used in causative infinitives (e.g., *ʔu'runi* "to whoop") and in agentive noun stems derived from causative stems (e.g., *ta'harani* "fiddle"; see 5.44).<sup>2</sup> There are a number of inherently causative active verb stems in Tunica but in addition the process of causativization may be used in forming transitives from intransitives and in forming either intransitives or transitives from impersonals or transimpersonals.<sup>3</sup> Examples:

Causativized Stems	Basic Stems
<i>wo'ru</i> . . c. tr. to show, teach . . .	<i>wo'ru</i> intr. to learn
<i>pi'hu</i> . . c. tr. to hide . . .	<i>pi'hu</i> intr. to hide oneself
<i>le'</i> . . c. tr. to lose . . .	<i>le'</i> intr. to disappear
<i>ka'li</i> . . c. tr. to place, put, stand . . . ; to create . . .	<i>ka'li</i> intr. to stand
<i>ha'ra</i> . . c. tr. to play . . . (an instrument)	<i>ha'ra</i> intr. to sing
<i>wi'</i> . . c. intr. to listen; tr. to hear . . .	<i>wi'</i> imp. to sound
<i>hi'yu</i> . . c. tr. to wake . . . up	<i>hi'yu</i> trsimp. to awaken
<i>pi'ra</i> . . c. intr. to turn oneself into; tr. to turn . . . into	<i>pi'ra</i> imp. to turn, get to be; trsimp. to turn into, be- come

In addition to the types of causativization illustrated above we find that any non-causative intransitive stem may be causativized and thus become a transitive stem having the meaning "to cause . . . to . . .," e.g., *lo'ta* . . c. "to cause . . . to run" < *lo'ta* "to run."

<sup>1</sup> The form *-n* rather than *-ni* is set up for inflected forms because of the fact that following vowels undergo no assimilation, e.g., *ʔu'runʔa'ki* "she whooped."

<sup>2</sup> By entering into such forms as these the causative suffix differs from all other thematic suffixes for they must be followed by inflectional elements.

<sup>3</sup> The abbreviations used in this list are as follows: c., causative; intr., intransitive; tr., transitive; imp., impersonal; trsimp., transimpersonal.

5.213 The habitual thematic suffix *-hk-*<sup>1</sup> is restricted. It is used only to form a habitual theme of an active verb stem when it is desired to express the habitual aspect in periphrastic inflection (4.531; 4.542, rule 2; 4.544, rule 2). Although the causative suffix and the habitual suffix are mutually exclusive, a causative stem may form a habitual theme in the same way as a non-causative stem but in this event the causative nature of the verb is indicated by the use of the causative auxiliary (4.542, rule 2; 4.544, rule 2). Examples of the habitual suffix:

*hi'puhk<sup>?</sup>ura'nì.* (14B:h) he was dancing; based on *hi'puhk-*  
 < *hi'pu* to dance + *-hk-*  
*pa'kahk<sup>?</sup>uta'nì.* (4A:d) he was replying; based on *pa'kahk-*  
 < *pa'ka*. .c. to reply + *-hk-*

5.214 The thematic suffix *-tahk-* "constantly, always, all the time" is restricted in use not only to verbs undergoing periphrastic inflection but is further restricted in that the auxiliary used in periphrasis must be in the repetitive aspect (4.43), e.g.,

*<sup>?</sup>ame'katahk<sup>?</sup>u'<sup>?</sup>unana'nì.* (11B:a) They were constantly quarreling; based on *mē'katahk-* < *mē'ka* to quarrel with  
 + *-tahk-*  
*<sup>?</sup>uši'hkantahk<sup>?</sup>u'<sup>?</sup>uhke'nì.* (24:a) they have always helped them; based on *ši'hkantahk-* < *ši'hka*. .c. to help + *-n,*  
 caus. suff., + *-tahk-*

5.215 The thematic suffix *-hapa-* "already" is non-restricted. It is undoubtedly related to the active verb stem *ha'pa* "to stop, quit, cease, finish" but must be classed as a suffix (1) because it is atonic and (2) because it loses the *h* and undergoes contraction with the preceding vowel when attached to non-monosyllabic stems (see 2.222). The difference between the two elements is nevertheless largely formal and the suffix may often be translated more literally by means of the expressions "having stopped, quit, ceased, finished." Examples:

*na'hap<sup>?</sup>ake'nì.* (4B:e) she had already gone to bed < *lain*  
 down; based on *na'hapa-* < *na'* to lie down + *-hapa-*  
*<sup>?</sup>a'mep<sup>?</sup>ake'nì.* (4B:as) she had already gone; based on *<sup>?</sup>a'mepa-*  
 < *<sup>?</sup>a'mi* to go + *-hapa-*  
*sa'map<sup>?</sup>u'tähč* (11B:d) when he had finished cooking; based on  
*sa'mapa-* < *sa'ma*. .c. to cook + *-hapa-*

5.216 The thematic suffix *-hila-* "being about to, almost, nearly" is likewise non-restricted. It is possibly related to the ac-

<sup>1</sup> The probable connection of the habitual suffix *-hk-* with the element *-hk-* and suppletive forms *-ka-* and *-k-* used in the habitual paradigm of non-causative verbs is discussed in 4.522.

tive verb stem *hi'la* "to move" but is formally a suffix for the same reasons as those given for *-hapa-* above. Examples:

- la'hilatihč* (4A:b) when it was nearly night < when (the sun) was about to set; based on *la'hila-* < *la'* (the sun) to set + *-hila-*  
*ʔuhta'pilatihč* (4A:j) when she was about to catch him; based on *ta'pila-* < *ta'pi* to catch, take hold of + *-hila-*

5.217 The thematic suffix *-po-* is non-restricted but it is used so rarely that it has not been possible to assign a clearcut meaning to it. Tentatively, a meaning "to try to . . ., tried . . .-ing" has been assumed for it. It may be related to the active verb stem *po'* "to look, see" but differs from it formally in being atonic. Examples:

- si'nken ta'pipokɔ'nì.* (13:y) he tried taking hold of their hands; *ta'pipokɔ'ni* based on *ta'pipo-* < *ta'pi* to take hold of + *-po-*  
*hena'siponikʔahčá.* (4A:ca) I shall try to take you; based on *na'sipo-* < *na'si* to lead, take along + *-po-*

5.218 In only two cases has it been possible to find instances wherein more than one thematic suffix is attached to the same stem. In both cases the causative suffix *-n* (5.212) is involved as the prior element. It is followed once by *-tahk-* (5.214) and once by *-hapa-* (5.215):

- ʔuši'hkantahkʔu'ʔuhke'nì.* (24:a) they have always helped them; based on *ši'hkantahk-* < *ši'hka.* .c. to help + *-n* + *-tahk-*  
*ʔu'runapʔa'hkint.* (non-text) I have already whooped; based on *ʔu'runap-* < *ʔu'ru.* .c. to whoop + *-n* + *-hapa-*

5.219 It has been mentioned that *-hapa-* "already" (5.215) is probably related to the active verb stem *ha'pa* "to stop, quit, cease, finish," that *-hila-* "being about to, almost, nearly" (5.216) is possibly related to *hi'la* "to move," and that *-po-* "to try to . . ., tried . . .-ing" (5.217) may be related to *po'* "to look, see." In section 5.23 it is shown that two or more active verb stems may be linked together, sometimes resulting in a specialization of meaning and sometimes not. In all probability it is through this process of linking that the stems *ha'pa*, *hi'la*, and *po'* have been worn down to atonic suffixes with specialized meaning (5.231). It is, however, impossible to postulate a similar origin for the remaining thematic suffixes. Here again, then, we have a distinction between the restricted and the non-restricted suffixes, for it is only in the case of the latter that we find a relationship to active verb stems.

## 5.22 THE PURPOSIVE SUFFIX

The purposive suffix *-wan* "in order to . . ." is added to non-causative or causative infinitives (4.51 and 4.541). The resultant form may be inflected for pronominal object (4.56) but not for pronominal subject, e.g.,

- ʔu'kiwan ya'kʔahkiní.* (12:e) I have come to stay; *ʔu'kiwan* < *ʔu'ki* to sit, dwell, stay + *-wan*  
*na'rawan ʔa'm ʔuwana'nì.* (15:f) he wanted to leave in order to fly; *na'rawan* < *na'ra* to fly + *-wan*  
*mu'čusina'nì, ʔuhta'piwàn.* (4A:ay) they were diving in order to catch him; *ʔuhta'piwan* < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *ta'pi* to catch + *-wan*

As is illustrated in the above examples a purposive form may be freely used as the complement of any verb. In addition it is often used as the complement of an active verb form built on the stem *ya'* "to do, make, commit" giving a somewhat idiomatic construction having the meaning "to try to, intend to, start to" (< the literal meaning "to do in order to"), e.g.,

- ta'stʔekün, ʔuhke'hčawan yak's'nì.* (13:h) the horse was trying to bite him; *ʔuhke'hčawan* < *ʔuhk-* + *ke'hča* to bite + *-wan*  
*ra'puwan ya'wihč* (42F) when he intended to sleep; *ra'puwan* < *ra'pu* to sleep + *-wan*  
*l'tawan ya'tihč* (9:j) when she starts to run; *l'tawan* < *l'ta* to run + *-wan*

## 5.23 THE LINKING OF ACTIVE VERB STEMS

5.231 Two or more active verb stems having the same logical subject are often linked together, the subjective inflection being provided in connection with the last stem only. In all cases this linkage constitutes a copulative construction<sup>1</sup> comparable to the copulative noun stem plus noun stem composites discussed in 5.433.

The events expressed by the different stems may be simultaneous or consecutive. If simultaneous, the stems may occur in any order, e.g.,

- ha'rahi'putihč* (3B:d) when she sang and danced; based on *ha'ra* to sing + *hi'pu* to dance  
*tira'pape'kʔuhke'nì.* (9:l) He hit her and killed her; based on *ra'pa* to kill + *pe'ka* to hit; note that since the events are simultaneous it is not necessary to place *pe'ka* first  
*kpa'tamu'čʔuhke'nì.* (16:l) he dived and fell in; based on *pa'ta* to fall + *mu'ču* to dive; contrast with *kimu'čupa'-tawe'nì* (16:m) wherein the order of the stems is reversed.

<sup>1</sup> See Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (New York, 1933), p. 235.

On the other hand, if the events expressed are consecutive, the stems occur in the logical order of the sequence of the events, e.g.,

*haka'liya'nʔake'nì.* (5B:d) She stood up and spoke; based on  
*ka'li* to stand + *ya'na* to speak  
*na'raya'kapo'wiħč* (5B:a) when he got up and came and looked;  
 based on *na'ra* to get up + *ya'ka* to come + *po'* to look

There are, moreover, a few stems which, by virtue of the fact that they express an event which must logically succeed the other events in the linkage, always take final position. The most widely used of these are *ho'tu* "to finish, complete, end" and *ha'pa* "to stop, quit, cease," e.g.,

*yu'kiho'tusi'tihč* (13:v) when they had finished cooking; based  
 on *yu'ki* to cook + *ho'tu*  
*wa'haha'pawihč* (6A:b) when he quit weeping; based on *wa'ha*  
 to weep + *ha'pa*

In connection with the last example note that it must have been from such occurrences as these that the atonic thematic suffix *-hapa-* (see 5.219) was developed.

5.232 In case an intransitive stem is linked with a transitive stem the pronominal prefix may be placed in front of either stem, though it will ordinarily be placed in front of the transitive stem, e.g.,

*ya'kʔiwa'čʔuhki.* (4A:v) he came and fought me; based on  
*ya'ka* to come + *wa'či* to fight, to which the 1s pref.  
*ʔihk-* is attached  
*ʔuwe'sata'pʔehkiní.* (30) I jumped and caught him; based on  
*wɛ'sa* to jump + *ta'pi* to catch, the 3MS pref. *ʔuhk-* being  
 placed before the intr. stem *wɛ'sa*

In case two transitive stems having the same logical object are linked the pronominal prefix is used only with the first of them, e.g.,

*ʔušu'čira'pʔikʔihč* (4B:m) if you shoot him and kill him; based  
 on *šu'či* to shoot + *ra'pa* to kill, the 3MS pref. *ʔuhk-* serving  
 as the obj. of both  
*tira'pape'kʔuhke'nì.* (9:l) He hit her and killed her; based on  
*ra'pa* + *pɛ'ka* to hit, the 3FS pref. *tihk-* serving as the  
 obj. of both

5.233 There are a few cases in which the linkage of active verb stems results in a specialization of meaning and some of these have become stereotyped or petrified in combination. The following cases are the most important:

(1) *ču'* "to take" + *ya'ka* "to come" (or rarely, *ya'ka* + *ču'*) has the specialized meaning "to bring to," as in *na'răn*, *ʔihču'-yakʔikʔihč* (14B:a) "if you bring me a snake."

(2) *hu'či*, of unknown meaning, + *la'mi*, perhaps "to soften" (cf. 5.5) has the meaning "to tan (hide)," as in *hu'čila'mihk<sup>2</sup>ura'nì* (21:a) "he was tanning (hides)."

(3) *ri'hču* + *to'wi* or *to'wi* . . c.<sup>1</sup> has the specialized meaning "to tie," as in *ka'tăn, <sup>2</sup>uri'hčuto'w<sup>2</sup>entăhč* (20:e) "where they tied him." But the informant would also use either stem alone with the same meaning, as in *wiri'hč<sup>2</sup>ŋnč* (14A:d) "if I tie you" and *ka'tăn, <sup>2</sup>uhto'w<sup>2</sup>entăhč* (20:h), the exact equivalent of the example of the combined form just given.

(4) A bound stem *le'pi* . . c. is used only in combinations wherein it is preceded by (or rarely, followed by) the stems *ya'na* "to speak, speak to" or *wi'ra* . . c. "to question, ask a question of." It has not been possible to detect any clearcut difference in meaning between *ya'na* or *wi'ra* . . c. used alone and either of them used in combination with *le'pi* . . c. Examples are *<sup>2</sup>uya'nale'pihk<sup>2</sup>ata'nì* (13:q) "she was speaking to him"; *wi'rale'pihk<sup>2</sup>ata'nì* (non-text) "she was asking a question." Compare these with the following words of respectively identical meanings: *<sup>2</sup>uya'nakats'nì* (13:k) and *wi'rahk<sup>2</sup>ata'nì* (13:aa).

(5) *<sup>2</sup>a'ru*, a bound stem of unknown meaning, + *po'* "to look" has the meaning "to dream," as in *<sup>2</sup>a'rupo'hk<sup>2</sup>a'ranì* (30) "I lay dreaming."

(6) *se'ha*, of unknown meaning, + *po'* has the meaning "to examine, make an examination," as in *se'hapo'hk<sup>2</sup>urana'nì* (25:c) "they were examining." The combination also occurs in the agentive noun stem (5.44) *ta'schapo'* "mirror" (< "examiner").

(7) *pa'ri* + *nε'hka* has the meaning "to copulate, have sexual intercourse" (no text examples). Though the informant would also use either stem alone with the same meaning, the combination was preferred.

5.234 This process of linking active verb stems is one of the most interesting features of Tunica. The few examples given in the preceding paragraphs are scarcely sufficient to make clear the frequency with which the process is employed; for an understanding of this, the reader is referred to "Tunica Texts." By means of these linkings we have in Tunica the possibility of a sort of morphological telescoping whereby it becomes unnecessary to repeat the subjective element with each stem and, in the case of transitive verbs having the same object, we have a further telescoping whereby it becomes unnecessary to repeat the objective element with each stem. Such forms have a stylistic conciseness and vividness that is unfortunately often lost in the English translations. Another feature deserving mention in this connection is that vir-

<sup>1</sup> This stem is sometimes used as a causative, sometimes as a non-causative, with no difference in meaning.



tually synonymous stems are sometimes linked in order to make more vivid the picture that is being portrayed, e.g., *ti'šlinǎhč*, *ta'yorončo'hak* *ʔuhkʔo'nise'mǎn*, *na'mu ri'kin sihko'hčusa'kukate'ni* (4B:k) "The Stone Witch was devouring and eating too many of the Tunica chief's people" wherein *sihko'hčusa'kukate'ni* is based on *ko'hču* "to devour" + *sa'ku* "to eat."

### 5.3 STATIC VERB STEMS

5.31 In one instance it has been found that the thematic suffix *-hapa-* (5.215) is added to an inchoativized static verb form (4.73), viz.,

*ʔuya'šepʔake'ni*. (4B:br) he was already angry < had already got angry; based on *-ya'šepa-* < *-ya'ši* to be angry + *-hapa-*

On the basis of this single example it is not possible to determine whether such formations are legitimate or not. If they are, it seems likely that they would require the verb to be of inchoative form since *-hapa-* must be followed by an inflectional element.

5.32 What remains to be said about the formation of static verb stems is concerned with petrified or non-productive formatives. We find that there are a few static verb stems beginning in two consonants and that in most cases the first of these is *š*. In addition, a few of such stems appear to be related to certain active verb stems, and, on the strength of this observation, it is assumed that we have here an archaic prefix *\*-š(i)-* which may at one time have served the function of deriving static verb stems from active verb stems. Note the following cases:

*-šni'yu-* to be lonesome; possibly related to the act. verb stem *ni'yu* intr. to think  
*-špi'tu-* to get lost; possibly related to *pi'tu* trsimp. to get lost  
*-šru'ka* to be afraid, scared, frightened; possibly related to *ru'ka* . c. tr. to frighten, scare

For other stems beginning in *š* plus a consonant no connections with active verb stems have been found. The prefix is set up as *\*-š(i)-* rather than as *\*-š-* because of such stems as *-šʔε'pa* "to be happy" which may be derived from *\*-ši-* + *\*-ʔa'pa*, the trace of the *i* being preserved in the presumably assimilated vowel *ε*. Note also *-šʔε'lama* "to be helpless" which may be < *\*-ši-* + *\*-ʔa'lama*.

### 5.4 NOUN STEMS

#### 5.41 GENERAL REMARKS

Secondary noun stems are of four main types: (1) those formed by adding one of two derivative suffixes to a primary stem, 5.42;

(2) those formed by the juxtaposition of two primary stems, 5.43; (3) agentives, 5.44; and (4) those derived by implicit process, 5.45. It should also be noted that once a given type of secondary stem has been formed it may in its turn serve as the basis for building other stems in the same way that a primary stem may (5.46).

#### 5.42 THE DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES

Two derivative suffixes, the augmentative and the diminutive, are used in deriving noun stems from noun stems. The use of the augmentative suffix  $-t^{\text{?}}\epsilon$  may be illustrated by the following examples:

$sa't^{\text{?}}\epsilon$  horse <  $sa'$  dog +  $-t^{\text{?}}\epsilon$  large  
 $ru'\acute{s}tat^{\text{?}}\epsilon$  sheep <  $ru'\acute{s}ta$  rabbit +  $-t^{\text{?}}\epsilon$   
 $ti'tiht^{\text{?}}\epsilon$  river <  $ti'tihki$  bayou, stream +  $-t^{\text{?}}\epsilon$

The diminutive suffix appears in the form  $-to'hku$  in all situations except before the MS suffix  $-ku$ ; in the latter situation it appears in the form  $-to'ho-$ , e.g.,  $ta'kuwato'hoku$  "the bird" <  $ta'-$ , art. pref., +  $ku'wato'ho-$  "bird" +  $-ku$ , MS suff. Examples of diminutive derivation are:

$ku'wato'hku$ ,  $-to'ho-$  bird <  $ku'wa$  duck +  $-to'hku$ ,  $-to'ho-$   
 $sa'tohku$ ,  $-to'ho-$  puppy <  $sa'$  dog +  $-to'hku$ ,  $-to'ho-$   
 $ni'nito'hku$ ,  $-to'ho-$  minnow <  $ni'ni$  fish +  $-to'hku$ ,  $-to'ho-$   
 $ya'ruhto'hku$ ,  $-to'ho-$  hatchet <  $ya'ruhki$  ax +  $-to'hku$ ,  $-to'ho-$

#### 5.43 COMPOSITE STEMS

5.431 Composite noun stems are formed by juxtaposition and are of two main types: (1) those composed of a noun stem plus an adjective stem and (2) those composed of a noun stem plus a noun stem.

5.432 Noun stem plus adjective stem composites fall into two classes: generic and characteristic. The former are endocentric, the latter exocentric.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Generic composites are built up of a noun stem having a generic significance followed by an adjective stem which descriptively limits the application of the noun stem to which it is attached, e. g.,

$na'rame'li$  congo snake <  $na'ra$  snake +  $me'li$  black  
 $^{\text{?}}o'nrowa$  white person <  $^{\text{?}}o'ni$  person +  $ro'wa$  white  
 $wi'\acute{s}iru'wina$  whisky <  $wi'\acute{s}i$  water, liquid +  $ru'wina$  hot

(2) Characteristic noun stem plus adjective stem composites are built up of a noun stem which signifies a part of the entity to

<sup>1</sup> Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-6.

which the composite refers followed by an adjective which describes the part. This gives a composite meaning "one who, that which is characterized by having . . .," e.g.,

- ʔo'škayɔ'ta* (kind of) fern < *ʔo'ška* root + *yo'ta* rotten; hence, that which is characterized by having rotten roots  
*ʔo'škame'li* (kind of) wild potato < *ʔo'ška* + *me'li* black; hence, that which is characterized by having black roots  
*te'raško'ta* cabbage < *te'raški* leaf + *ko'ta* grayish, whitish; hence that which is characterized by having whitish leaves

5.433 Noun stem plus noun stem composites likewise fall into two classes: determinate and copulative.

(1) In the case of determinate noun stem plus noun stem composites the determining element, as a general rule, has the prior position, e.g.,

- yi'šihɔ'sani* (kind of) vine < *yi'ši* raccoon + *ho'sani* vine; hence lit., raccoon-vine  
*ʔa'lako'hku* terrapin < *ʔa'la* reed, cane + *ko'hku* turtle; hence lit., cane-turtle  
*ta'lunti'tihki*, proper n., Bayou des Glaise < *ta'-*, art. pref., + *ha'luni* field + *ti'tihki* bayou; hence lit., the field-bayou

In contrast to the above type of examples (of which there are dozens) there are a very few determinate composites in which the determining element comes last. At least one of these admits of free transposition, viz., *na'ruri'hku* or *ri'hkuna'ruhki* "pestle." In the first form, *na'ruri'hku* (< *na'ruhki* "mortar" + *ri'hku* "stick"), the determining element comes first. The second form, *ri'hkuna'ruhki*, is composed of the same elements transposed so that the determining element comes last. One might argue that the second form is an error but for the fact that the informant feels there is no real difference between them.

(2) In copulative noun stem plus noun stem composites the elements are coordinate, the whole having the meaning "he who, that which is a . . . and a . . .," e.g.,

- yo'ronč'ha* Tunica chief < *yo'roni* Tunica + *č'ha* chief; hence, he who is a Tunica and a chief  
*ku'wata'puhč'u* nighthawk < *ku'wa* duck + *ta'puhč'u* discharger of wind; hence, that which is a duck (or bird) and a discharger of wind  
*ʔa'lata'wuči* whistle < *ʔa'la* reed, cane + *ta'wuči* whistler; hence, that which is a reed and a whistler

5.434 Certain composites contain bound stems and if such stems occur in second position it is not possible to determine whether they are adjectival or nominal stems. A number of bound

stems occur only in one composite and in such cases the meaning is usually unknown. A few examples are:

- ʔi'yušɛ'la* opossum < *ʔi'yu-* + *-šɛ'la*; cf. *ʔi'yutʔɛ* hog < *ʔi'yu-*  
+ *-tʔɛ*, aug. suff.  
*šilaka'lu* spider < *šil* worm, insect + *-ka'lu*, meaning un-  
known  
*ri'hkuya'honi* limb of a tree < *ri'hku* tree, stick, wood + *-ya'-*  
*honi*, meaning unknown  
*ti'rasa'ni* handkerchief < *ti'ra* cloth + *-sa'ni*, meaning un-  
known

#### 5.44 AGENTIVES

5.441 Agentive noun stems are formed from active verb stems by means of the agentive prefix *ta'*-, not to be confused with the articular prefix *ta'*-, *t-* (4.821). The agentive prefix, unlike the articular prefix, always appears in the form *ta'*-, even before stems beginning in *ʔ*, e.g., *ta'ʔeru* "laughter" < *ta'*- + *ʔe'ru* "to laugh." Other examples of the use of this prefix are:

- ta'hiru* file < *ta'*- + *hi'ru* to rub  
*ta'hara* singer < *ta'*- + *ha'ra* to sing  
*ta'hipu* dancer < *ta'*- + *hi'pu* to dance

Agentives formed from causative stems have the causative suffix *-ni* (5.212), e.g.,

- ta'harani* fiddle < *ta'*- + *ha'ra* . . c. to play (an instrument)  
*ta'makini* plow < *ta'*- + *ma'ki* . . c. to plow

5.442 Agentives frequently occur as second members of noun stem plus noun stem composites. Note the following points with respect to this usage: (1) If the second member is an intransitive agentive (i.e., an agentive < an intransitive stem), the composite is copulative, e.g.,

- ʔa'lata'wuči* whistle < a reed and a whistler  
*ʔa'lata'šuru* blow-gun < a reed and a blower

(2) If the second member is a transitive agentive to which the first member stands in objective relation, the composite is determinate, e.g.,

- ni'nita'ʔeri* fish-hawk < fish-lifter  
*na'kata'watani* (kind of) insect < warrior-concealer

(3) But if the second member is a transitive agentive to which the first member does not stand in objective relation, the composite is copulative, e.g.,

- ri'hkuta'tomu* pestle < a stick and a pounder  
*ri'hkuta'peka* war-club < a stick and a beater

## 5.45 MISCELLANEOUS NOMINAL DERIVATIVES

There are a few noun stems derived by implicit process from stems belonging to another word-class. In addition, there are instances in which noun stems of one category (specifically, non-possessed noun stems) are derived from noun stems of another category (specifically, possessed noun stems).

Noun stems derived from adjective stems by implicit process include the following:

- ni'sara* young person < *ni'sara* young (which may represent a special kind of abbreviation of the composite *?o'nini'sara* young person)  
*to'stohku*, *to'stoho-* little one < *to'stohku* small (related in some way to the diminutive suffix *-to'hku*, *-to'ho-*, 5.42, and resembling it in having a special form *to'stoho-* to be used before the ms suff. *-ku*)

Noun stems derived from active verb stems by implicit process include the following:

- hi'pu* dance < *hi'pu* to dance  
*ha'ra* song < *ha'ra* to sing  
*ka'na* step, pace < *ka'na* to step, step over  
*ko'la* flower < *ko'la* to bloom  
*?u'ču* breast < *?u'ču* to suckle

As has already been shown, two inherently determinative nouns are derived from the static verb stem *-ha'yi* (4.71). These are *?uha'yi* "the old man" (< "he is old") and *tihai'yi* "the old woman" (< "she is old"); see 4.823.

Most interesting of all cases of implicit process, however, are those in which inalienably possessed nouns used with the 3MS pronominal prefix have come to be independent (i.e., non-possessed) nouns by virtue of specialization as to meaning, e.g.,

- ?o'ska* root < *?u-*, 3MS pref., + *-a'ska* foot  
*?o'sint?ε* big knot on a tree < *?u-* + *-e'sint?ε* big head  
*?o'sinlu'pi* whooping crane < *?o'sini* + *lu'pi* dead (characteristic composite); *?o'sini* < *?u-* + *-e'sini* head

## 5.46 NOUN STEMS OF COMPLEX FORMATION

As would be expected, some of the composite stems of Tunica have as one or each of their members a noun stem which is itself a secondary stem formed by one or the other of the formational techniques already discussed. Note that no composite or other type of secondary stem may have more than two immediate members though either or both of these may be secondary. For example, *?o'nrowaka'si* "Frenchman" is not to be analyzed as *?o'ni* + *rowa* + *ka'si*. Instead, it must first be broken up into

*ʔo'nrɔwa* "white person" + *ka'si* "real, original"<sup>1</sup> and then the first element *ʔo'nrɔwa* can be broken up into *ʔo'ni* "person" + *rɔ'wa* "white." Other instances of complex formations are the following:

- ʔo'nmelemi'li* mulatto < *ʔo'nmeli* negro + *mi'li* red; *ʔo'n-meli* < *ʔo'ni* + *me'li* black  
*yi'tʔewi'sta* sweet potato < *yi'tʔε* potato + *wi'sta* sweet; *yi'tʔε* < *yi'* wild potato + *-tʔε*, aug. suff.  
*yi'mohkuna'mitʔε* large (variety of) stinkweed < *yi'mohkuna'mi* stinkweed + *-tʔε*; *yi'mohkuna'mi* < *yi'mohku* herb, weed + *na'mi* stinking  
*ku'watomli'li* cardinal < *ku'wato'hku* bird + *mi'li* red; *ku'wato'hku* < *ku'wa* duck + *-to'hku*, dim. suff.  
*ta'ltari'hki* strong runner < *ta'lta* runner + *ri'hki* strong; *ta'lta* < *ta'*-, agentive pref., + *l'ta* to run  
*ʔe'hkunata'saku* whippoorwill < *ʔe'hkuna* mosquito + *ta'saku* eater; *ta'saku* < *ta'*- + *sa'ku* to eat  
*ʔɔ'skame'li* (kind of) wild potato < *ʔɔ'ska* root + *me'li* black; *ʔɔ'ska*, specialization < *ʔu-*, 3MS pref., + *-a'ska* foot

#### 5.47 ABBREVIATION OF SECONDARY NOUN STEMS

Once they have been introduced into the context certain secondary noun stems may thereafter, at the discretion of the narrator, be abbreviated. This is particularly true in the case of augmentativized stems and of determinate or copulative composites, e.g.,

- tɔ'skače'hkintʔεku* (7A:e) the kettle < *t-*, art. pref., + *ʔɔ'skače'hkintʔε* + *-ku*, MS suff.; *ʔɔ'skače'hkintʔε* < *ʔɔ'skače'hkini* pot + *-tʔε*, aug. suff. This form may be abbreviated to *tɔ'skače'hkiniku* (as later on in 7A:e) by dropping the aug. suff.  
*tu'wata'siwatʔεku* (10:a) the owl-mammoth (mythical being) < *t-* + *ʔu'wata'siwatʔε* + *-ku*; *ʔu'wata'siwatʔε* < *ʔu'wa* hoot owl + *ta'siwatʔε* mammoth. This form may be abbreviated to *tu'wata'siwaku* (as in 10:h) by dropping the aug. suff. of the second member of the composite. It may be further abbreviated to *ta'siwaku* (as in 10:h) by omitting the first member of the composite.  
*ta'lako'hkuku* (18:b) Terrapin < *t-* + *ʔa'lako'hku* terrapin + *-ku*; *ʔa'lako'hku* < *ʔa'la* cane + *ko'hku* turtle. This form may be abbreviated to *ta'kohkuku* (as in 18:d) by omitting the first member of the composite.

Note particularly that the only type of composites that may be abbreviated are noun stem plus noun stem composites. Hence

<sup>1</sup> The French were the first white people known to the Tunica. Hence when it was learned that there are different nationalities of white people, the French were called "original white people."

even though the first member is dropped there is still a noun stem left in the abbreviated form.

## 5.5 ADJECTIVE STEMS

Derivation is of relatively minor importance in the formation of adjective stems, most of which are primary. However, a few adjective stems are derived from active verb stems by implicit process, e.g.,

*yo'ta* rotten < *yo'ta* to rot  
*yo'la* empty, abandoned, deserted < *yo'la* to abandon, desert  
*wa'li* so-called < *wa'li* to call  
*ko'sa* stripped < *ko'sa* to scratch, scrape, strip  
*lu'pi* dead < *lu'pi* to die

A few other adjective stems appear to be related in various ways to active verb stems but instances of each type are rare and none of the types is productive. One type would seem to be derived by means of a suffix *\*-hta*, e.g.,

*li'kahta* shining, shiny < *li'ka* to shine + *\*-hta*  
*la'mihta* soft, mushy, possibly < *la'mi*, which may mean to soften, + *\*-hta*; *la'mi* occurs only in the combination *hu'či* + *la'mi* to tan hide (5.233, no. 2)  
*hi'lahta* happy, possibly < *hi'la* to move, tremble, quiver + *\*-hta*  
*ri'yuhtha* burny, pungent, possibly < *ri'yu* to parch + *\*-hta*

Note also that the stem *ru'kaya* "dangerous" is possibly derived from a stem *\*ru'ka-* + a suffix *\*-ya*, *\*ru'ka-* probably being related to *ru'ka* . . c. "to scare, frighten" and to *-šru'ka* "to be scared, frightened."

## 5.6 POSTPOSITIONAL STEMS

### 5.61 FORMATION OF POSTPOSITIONS

All of the postpositions are fundamentally locative in meaning and the majority of them are derived by means of one or the other of two of the locative suffixes: *-hta* "on" and *-ši* "at, to" (4.85). Several postpositions go in pairs, that is, from one stem are formed two postpositions, one with *-hta*, the other with *-ši*. The following pairs occur:

Stems	Formations with <i>-hta</i>	Formations with <i>-ši</i>
<i>ha'yi-</i> top part	<i>ha'yihta</i> on, onto, over	<i>ha'yiši</i> above
<i>ha'lu-</i> under part	<i>ha'luhta</i> under	<i>ha'luši</i> below, beneath
<i>ʔa'hki-</i> back part	<i>ʔa'hkihta</i> in back of, behind	<i>ʔa'hkiši</i> behind, at the rear of

Two additional postpositions are formed with *-hta* but lack mates with *-ši*, viz.,

*ma'yihhta* on, to the other side of; across < *ma'yi-* one or the other side + *-hta*; cf. *ma'yisa'hku* on, to one side (5.62)  
*ro'hpant* close to, near, beside < *ro'hpan*, adv., near, close + *-hta*, always apocopated in this case to *-ht*<sup>1</sup>

Contrariwise, three other postpositions are formed with *-ši* but lack mates with *-hta*, viz.,

*ti'riši* in front of < *ti'ri-* front part + *-ši*  
*ho'waši* outside of < *ho'wa-* outer part + *-ši*  
*ho'tuši* at the end, edge of < *ho'tu* end, edge + *-ši*

Of these, *ho'waši* is obviously connected in some way with the preverb *ho-* "out, out of" (9.21, no. 3); possibly *ho-* is a contraction of *ho'wa-*. Furthermore, the stem used in *ho'tuši* is related to the quantificative *ho'tu* "all" and to the active verb stem *ho'tu* "to finish."

There now remains only one postposition, namely *ki'ču* "in, into, inside of," which also appears in the irregularly apocopated atonic form *kič*. It is related in some way to the preverb *ki-* "in, into" (9.21, no. 2) but it is not possible to do more than point out the connection.

#### 5.62 FORMATION OF LOCATIVE ADVERBS

All of the postpositions formed with the suffix *-ši* are also used as locative adverbs and it may be that such usage is their primary one. On the syntactic level they are considered postpositions when they govern a substantive and as adverbs when they are used alone. The following locative adverbs are such: *ha'yiši* "above"; *ha'luši* "below, beneath"; *ʔa'hkiši* "behind, at the rear"; *ti'riši* "in front, ahead"; *ho'waši* "outdoors, outside"; *ho'tuši* "at the end, edge."

There are a few locative adverbs based on the stem *ma'yi-* (cf. the postposition *ma'yihhta* "on, to the other side of; across"), viz.,

*ma'yito'ru* sidewise, crosswise < *ma'yi-* one or the other side + *-to'ru*, meaning unknown  
*ma'yisa'hku* on, to one side < *ma'yi-* + *sa'hku* one  
*ma'yisa'hu* on, to the other side, left side < *ma'yi-* + *sa'hu* other

The locative adverb *ha'yiške'ra* "backwards, on one's back, in supine position" is of uncertain etymology but may contain the adverb *ha'yiši* "above." The remaining locative adverbs are discussed in sections 5.7 and 5.8.

<sup>1</sup> However, a confusion has arisen between the postposition *ro'hpant* and the adverb *ro'hpan* so that the latter word is also often used as a postposition.



## 5.7 DEMONSTRATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE-INDEFINITE STEMS

5.71 The demonstrative stem *hi'*- means "this, that; here, there." It is used with postpositions and as the basis for certain demonstrative adverbs. Forms containing *hi'*- followed by a postposition are comparable to such archaic English adverbs as "therein," "thereunder," "thereon," and the like, e.g.,

*hi'kiču* therein, in there < *hi'*- + *ki'ču* in, into  
*hi'haluhta* thereunder, under there < *hi'*- + *ha'luhta* under  
*hi'hayihtha* thereon, on there < *hi'*- + *ha'yihta* on, onto, over  
*hi'tiriši* in front of there < *hi'*- + *ti'riši* in front of  
*hi'rohpan*, *hi'rohpan* near there < *hi'*- + *ro'hpan*, *ro'hpan* close,  
 near

In addition to its use with postpositions we find that *hi'*- is used as the basis for the following miscellaneous adverbs:

*hi'hči* here, there; at this, that place < *hi'*- + *-hči*, a suff. occurring only in this word and in the temporal adverb *ha'hči*; 5.73  
*hi'štihki* this, that way; in this, that direction; farther < *hi'*- + *-štihki* in the direction of, toward (loc. suff., 4.85); cf. *mi'štihki*, 5.72  
*hi'ši* to this, that place; over there < *hi'*- + *-ši* at, to (loc. suff., 4.85); cf. *mi'ši*, 5.72  
*hi'huni* over there (said to be more or less equivalent to *hi'ši*) < *hi'*- + *-huni*, suff. occurring only in this word and in *mi'huni*, 5.72  
*hi'štahakki* still, yet, ever < *hi'*- + *-štahakki* only (postf. normally used with numerals; 9.35, no. 25)  
*hi'nahku* thus; in this, that way, manner < *hi'*- + *-nahku* like, resembling (postf., 9.35, no. 23); cf. *ka'nahku*, 5.75

From the demonstrative adverb *hi'nahku* (listed immediately above) are derived the following sentence connectives:

*hi'nahkuhč* and so, then, now, after that < *hi'nahku* + *-hč*, subord. postf. (9.32, no. 4)  
*hinya'tihč* and so, then, now, after that; an amalgamation < *hi'na(hku)* *ya'tihč* when it got to be thus (< *ya'* imp. to get to be + *-ti*, 3FS smlf. endg., + *-hč*)  
*hi'nahkuškan* in spite of this, that; nevertheless, notwithstanding < *hi'nahku* + *-škan* although (postf., 9.32, no. 3); hence lit., although it was like that  
*hi'nahk<sup>2</sup>ahčat* therefore; for this, that reason < *hi'nahku* + *-<sup>2</sup>ahčat*, element of unknown meaning occurring only here

5.72 The demonstrative stem *mi'*- meaning "yonder" is used as the basis for the following demonstrative adverbs:

*mi'štihki* yonder, in yonder direction; farther < *mi'*- + *-štihki* in the direction of, toward; cf. *hi'štihki*, 5.71  
*mi'štih<sup>o</sup>hku* a little farther < *mi'štihk(i)* + *-to'hku*, dim. suff. (see 5.82)

*mi'ši* yonder, way over there < *mi'*- + *-ši* at, to; cf. *hi'ši*, 5.71  
*mi'huni* yonder, way over there (said to be equivalent to *mi'ši*)  
 < *mi'*- + *-huni*; cf. *hi'huni*, 5.71

5.73 The demonstrative stem *ha'*- occurs only in one temporal adverb, viz., *ha'hči* "now, at this time" < *ha'*- + *-hči*; cf. *hi'hči*, 5.71.

5.74 The demonstrative stem *he'*- occurs in the two following temporal adverbs:

*he'lawu* tonight < *he'*- + *la'wu* night  
*he'εš* today < *he'*- + *-εš*, doubtless reduced < *εa'suhki* day;  
 cf. *ka'εš*, 5.75

5.75 The interrogative-indefinite stem *ka'*- has the meaning "what, any, some." It is used in the formation of two interrogative-indefinite pronouns and of two interrogative-indefinite adverbs, viz.,

*ka'ku* who, someone, anyone (interrog.-indef. pron.) < *ka'*- + *-ku*, MS suff.<sup>1</sup>  
*ka'nahku* what, something, anything (interrog.-indef. pron.)  
 < *ka'*- + *-nahku* like, resembling; cf. *hi'nahku*, 5.71  
*ka'εš* when, sometime, anytime (interrog.-indef. adv.) < *ka'*- + *-εš*, reduced < *εa'suhki* day; cf. *he'εš*, 5.74  
*ka'ta* where, somewhere, anywhere (interrog.-indef. adv.) < *ka'*- + *-ta*, suff. of unknown meaning occurring only here

## 5.8 MISCELLANEOUS POSTPOSITIONS AND ADVERBS

5.81 There are a few miscellaneous postpositions and adverbs formed by means of a prefix *εa-* which is possibly related to the reciprocal prefix (4.56), e.g.,

*εama'yisa'hku* on both sides, on each side; on all sides, every which way; in opposite directions, in all directions (adv.)  
 < *εa-* + *ma'yisa'hku* on, to one side (5.62)  
*εate'pi* together, side by side (adv.) < *εa-* + *-te'pi*, meaning unknown  
*εate'hkala* in the middle of, in between (postp.); in the middle, in between; evenly (adv.) < *εa-* + *te'hkala* mid (adj.)  
*εate'hpuni* halfway; in half (adv.) < *εa-* + *te'hpuni* half (adj.)  
*εa'sahku* (perhaps read: *εasa'hku*) all together, in a bunch (adv.) < *εa-* + *sa'hku* one

5.82 A few adverbs contain the diminutive suffix *-to'hku*.

<sup>1</sup> Although it is possible that similar pronouns could also be formed by means of the other gender-number suffixes (4.841), the informant knew and used only the form given here.

While some of these may be used either with or without *-to'hku*, others have become petrified in the diminutivized form, e.g.,

- mi'štihto'hku* a little farther < *mi'štihk(i)* yonder, in yonder direction; farther (5.72) + *-to'hku*  
*la'honto'hku* very early < *la'honi* early + *-to'hku*  
*ro'manto'hku* slowly, hesitatingly < *ro'man(i)* heavy, adj., + *-to'hku*  
*mo'yuto'hku* stealthily, quietly < *mo'yu-*, of unknown meaning, + *-to'hku*

5.83 There are two adverbs of similar meaning based on a bound stem *ha'ti-*, viz., *ha'tika* "again, once more" (< *ha'ti-* + *-ka*, meaning unknown) and *ha't'ena* "again, once more, also" (< *ha'ti-* + *-?ana*, meaning unknown).

## 5.9 NUMERALS

5.91 The fundamental numerals are listed below.

### Primary Numerals

1. *sa'hku*
2. *?i'li*
3. *?e'nihku*
4. *ma'nku*
5. *si'nku*
6. *ma'sahki*
7. *ta'yihku*
8. *ti'sihku*
9. *to'hkusa'hku*

### The Decades

10. *mi'ču sa'hku*
20. *mi'ču ?i'li*
- Etc.

### The Thousands

1000. *po'lunt?ε sa'hku*
2000. *po'lunt?ε ?i'li*
- Etc.

### The 'Teens

11. *mi'ču sa'hteya sa'hku*
12. *mi'ču sa'htey ?i'li*
13. *mi'ču sa'htey ?e'nihku*
14. *mi'ču sa'hteya ma'nku*
15. *mi'ču sa'hteya si'nku*
16. *mi'ču sa'hteya ma'sahki*
17. *mi'ču sa'hteya ta'yihku*
18. *mi'ču sa'hteya ti'sihku*
19. *mi'ču sa'hteya to'hkusa'hku*

### The Hundreds

100. *po'lun sa'hku*
200. *po'lun ?i'li*
- Etc.

### The Millions

- 1,000,000. *po'lunt?ε tiha'yi sa'hku*
- 2,000,000. *po'lunt?ε tiha'yi ?i'li*
- Etc.

5.92 The numerals from one to eight inclusive are unanalyzable beyond the fact that many of them appear to contain a special suffix *\*-hku*, viz., *sa'hku*, *?e'nihku*, *ma'nku*, *si'nku*, *ta'yihku*, and *ti'sihku*. Although the similarity between Tunica *si'nku* and Mexican Spanish *cinco* is striking, it is not certain that the Tunica term is a borrowing, particularly since the latter is one of the numerals which appear to contain a suffix *\*-hku*. The term *to'hkusa'hku* "nine" seems to be < *\*to'hku-*, meaning unknown, + *sa'hku* "one" and may originally have had some such meaning as "one lacking."

The stems *mi'ču* "ten," *po'lun* "hundred," *po'lunt?ε* "thousand," and the composite *po'lunt?ε tiha'yi* "million" must be fol-

lowed by another numeral defining the number of tens, hundreds, thousands, or millions involved.

The 'teens are based on *mi'çu sa'hku* "one ten" to which is added an element *-teya*, presumably having some such meaning as "plus." This gives us *mi'çu sa'hteya* which must in its turn be followed by another numeral defining the number of digits added. Terms for "twenty plus . . .," "thirty plus . . .," and so on, are formed in a similar manner, and these must also be followed by another numeral defining the number of digits added, e.g., *mi'çu ?i'liteya sa'hku* "twenty-one"; *mi'çu ?e'nihteya sa'hku* "thirty-one."

5.93 The stem *po'lun* "hundred" is also used as a general term for "measure" and hence may also be interpreted "mile, acre, etc." in the appropriate context, e.g., *po'lun ta'yihkūn*, *ka'nakō'ni*. (13:aa) "He would step seven miles." The term *po'lunt?ε* "thousand" is < *po'lun* + *-t?ε*, aug. suff., and hence means "big hundred." The term *po'lunt?ε tiha'yi* "million" means literally "big hundred (who is) old," the word *tiha'yi* "she is old" being < *ti-*, 3Fs pref., + *-ha'yi* "to be old." The informant occasionally used the adjective *ha'yi* "old" in place of the form *tiha'yi*, giving the alternative expression *po'lunt?εha'yi* "old big hundred."

5.94 Before concluding the section on numerals certain other words require mention: (1) Terms referring to given amounts of money, e.g., *di'su* "dime," *tε'skalahki* "a bit," and *la'spit?ε* "a dollar," are like numerals in that they must be followed by a numeral defining the number of dimes, bits, dollars involved. (2) The postposition and adverb *ti'riši* "in front of; ahead" is also used with the meaning "first," in its adverbial, not its ordinal, sense. (3) The special form *?a'm?ilta* "both" seems to contain the numeral *?i'li* "two" but further analysis is not possible.

## 6. BORROWED WORDS AND IDIOMS

### 6.1 GENERAL REMARKS

Foreign influences upon Tunica, though not numerous, are reflected in three ways: in direct borrowings (6.2), in translation borrowings (6.3), and in borrowed idioms, i.e., translations of phrases of idiomatic meaning (6.4). Aside from names of tribes and peoples, most of the direct borrowings are taken from French. The number of such borrowings is surprisingly small considering the long contact between the Tunica and the French. Some translation borrowings are taken from French and some from English,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There may be more translation borrowings from the French than I have found because I seldom recorded the French rendition of Tunica words except in cases where the informant had difficulty in providing an English rendition or where he volunteered a French rendition in addition to the English one.

while all of the borrowed idioms seem to be from English.<sup>1</sup> The words and idioms discussed in this section are not intended to be exhaustive but have been selected to illustrate the types of foreign influences that are found.

## 6.2 DIRECT BORROWINGS

6.21 The following direct borrowings are taken from French: *ti'ni* intr. "to dine" < *dîner*; *te'šu* .c. intr. "to eat breakfast" < *déjeuner*; *su'hpi* intr. "to eat supper" < *souper*; *ka'fi* "coffee" < *café*; *te'ni* intr. "to ring" < *tinter*; *ko'ti* intr. "to knit" < *tricoter*; *di'su*, as in *di'su sa'hku* "one dime," < *dix sous*; *sa'mdi* "Saturday" < *samedi*. The following points with respect to these borrowings deserve notice:

(1) Since all free stems of Tunica have an intrinsic primosyllabic stress (2.271), all direct borrowings also have such a stress (see words quoted immediately above).

(2) The French phoneme [e] is borrowed as Tunica *e* only when it occurs in a syllable which must be stressed in Tunica, e.g., the first vowel of *te'šu* .c. < *déjeuner*. If it occurs in a syllable which must be unstressed in Tunica, it is borrowed as *i*, e.g., the final vowels in *ti'ni* < *dîner*; *su'hpi* < *souper*; *ka'fi* < *café*; *te'ni* < *tinter*; *ko'ti* < *tricoter*. This is explained by the fact that Tunica tends to avoid all vowels except *i*, *a*, and *u* in unstressed syllables (1.31).

(3) The French vowel of the first syllable of *tinter* is higher than the Tunica phoneme  $\epsilon$ ; hence it is borrowed as *e*, as in *te'ni*.

(4) In some cases French voiced stops are borrowed as voiceless stops in Tunica, e.g., *ti'ni* < *dîner*; *te'šu* .c. < *déjeuner*. In other cases they are borrowed as voiced stops, e.g., *di'su* < *dix sous*; *sa'mdi* < *samedi*. Since Tunica voiced stops are limited phonemes (1.443) occurring only in words of foreign or probably foreign origin, those cases in which voiceless stops replace voiced stops were undoubtedly borrowed earlier than those cases in which voiced stops are found.<sup>2</sup>

(5) The French voiced spirant [ʒ], as in *déjeuner*, is replaced by the corresponding Tunica voiceless spirant š, as in *te'šu* .c.

(6) The word *ka'fi* < *café* is the only Tunica word in which the sound *f* occurs.

<sup>1</sup> This may also be due to the fact that French renditions were seldom recorded.

<sup>2</sup> In other words, as the Tunica came to be more familiar with French, came, as a matter of fact, to be Tunica and French bilinguals, they attained proficiency in pronouncing voiced stops whereas in the early stages of French contact they lacked this proficiency.

(7) A point of especial interest is that the final syllable of *déjeuner* was reinterpreted by the Tunica to be the causative suffix *-ni* (5.212); hence the borrowed verb stem *te'su*. .c. is conjugated as a causative verb throughout, even though parts of the conjugation employ the causative auxiliary instead of the causative suffix, e.g., *te'sʔuta* "he ate breakfast."

(8) The reasons for the dropping of the second *t* of *tinter*, giving Tunica *te'ni*, and for the addition of a sound *h* to *souper*, giving Tunica *su'hpi*, are at present obscure.

6.22 The Tunica word *hu'raka* "hurricane" is probably from Spanish *huracán*, though it may be from French *ouragan*. In either event the final *n* was reinterpreted by the Tunica to be the pausal increment and was therefore dropped in context form.

6.23 Tunica names of tribes and peoples are often of foreign origin. Foreign names of Indian tribes were probably taken from the Mobilian jargon, e.g., *či'kasa* "Chickasaw" (cf. Choc. *čikasa*); *ča'hta* "Choctaw" (cf. Choc. *čahta*); *ku'sati* "Koasati" (cf. Koasati *kowassa-ti*); *ʔa'libama* (cf. Choc. *albamo*); *hu'ma* "Houma Indian" (cf. Choc. *homma* "red"). The Tunica word *ʔi'spani* "Spaniard" may also have been borrowed from the jargon though the word was probably borrowed by the jargon from Spanish. The Tunica word *ʔi'ngrasa* "Englishman, American" was probably borrowed from Spanish *inglés, inglesa*, possibly from a Spanish dialect which substitutes *r* for *l*. The Tunica word *ša'wana* "Chinese" is from French *chinois* with metathesis.

### 6.3 TRANSLATION BORROWINGS

Translation borrowings are composite words translated from composite words or from phrases of specialized meaning. The following composites illustrate translation borrowings from French:

*wi'šika'paši* rail < *wi'ši* water + *ka'paši* chicken < Fr. *poule d'eau*  
*ʔa'laku'wato'hku* brown thrasher < *ʔa'la* cane + *ku'wato'hku* bird < Fr. *oiseau des cannes*  
*hə'sanme'li* blackjack vine < *hə'sani* vine + *me'li* black < Fr. *liane noire*  
*ka'pašʔ'ška* (kind of) string figure < *ka'paši* chicken + *ʔ'ška* his foot < Fr. *patte de poule*

The following illustrate translation borrowings from English:

*yi'tʔewi'sta* sweet potato < *yi'tʔε* potato + *wi'sta* sweet  
*ne'htalši'la* bedbug < *ne'htali* bed + *ši'la* bug  
*či'yami'li* red squirrel < *či'ya* squirrel + *mi'li* red

## 6.4 BORROWED IDIOMS

In some instances we find that whole phrases of idiomatic meaning have been translated from English into Tunica. Note the following:

(1) *ta'yi ma'su* "to make the fire," as in *ta'yi ma's<sup>?</sup>uhke'nì* (4A:aj) "he made the fire." A more correct Tunica construction is found in *ta'yi wo'<sup>?</sup>uhke'nì* (4B:ae) "he built the fire."

(2) *ni'hkiri'pu yu'wa* "to give a ball," as in *ni'hkiri'pu yu'w-<sup>?</sup>uhke'nì* (15:a) "he gave a ball." The verb stem *yu'wa* normally means "to give to. . . ." A more correct construction is found in *ni'hkiri'pün, ya'hk<sup>?</sup>araní* (14A:f) "I am giving a ball," lit., "I am making a ball," wherein the verb stem *ya'* "to do, make, commit" is used in place of *yu'wa* in the former construction.

(3) *ši'htuna ki'ču* (19:c) "in the dark." Elsewhere the word *ši'htuna* is used exclusively as an adjective; hence this phrase is undoubtedly an attempt to translate the common English expression "in the dark."

(4) *ta'nehtali ma'su* "to make the bed," as in *ta'nehtal ma'sutìhč* (4A:g) "when she had made the bed." The verb stem *ma'su* normally means "to make" in the sense of "to build, construct."

(5) *ta'hkora ma'ri* "to clear the table," as in *ta'hkora ma'-rihk<sup>?</sup>ara'nì* (4B:d) "she was clearing the table." Elsewhere *ma'ri* means "to pick up."

(6) *te'tit<sup>?</sup>ehči ču'* "to take the highway," as in *te'tit<sup>?</sup>ěhč, ču'-<sup>?</sup>uhke'nì* (13:d) "he took the highway." The stem *ču'* normally means "to take" in the sense of "to take up, take hold of."

(7) *yo'yani yu'wa* "to give . . . work," as in *yo'yan wiyu'-wanik<sup>?</sup>ahčá* (13:j) "I shall give you work." See remarks concerning *yu'wa* under ex. no. 2 above.

It will be noted that in some cases these borrowed idioms are replacing Tunica idioms (e.g., nos. 1 and 2), whereas in other cases they represent attempts to render English expressions for which there is no Tunica equivalent (nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7).

## CHAPTER III: SYNTAX

### 7. THE SENTENCE AND ITS PARTS

#### 7.1 PHONEMIC DEMARCATIONS

The predicative word of every main clause will have one of four of the phrase-final melodies (1.23).<sup>1</sup> In the indicative mode it will have the high melody, in the quotative mode the low melody, in the interrogative mode the rising melody, and in the imperative mode the falling melody, e.g.,

- ʔu'kiwan ya'kʔahkini.* (12:e) I have come to stay.  
*ta'rku kič ʔa'kʔuwa'nì.* (6B:c) He went off into the woods, it is said.  
*l'ta wiwa'năn.* (16:h) Do you want to run?  
*ʔuyʔ'lawi'tikî.* (25:g) Let it loose!

All other phrase-final words (including predicative words of other than main clauses) will have the rising melody if they stand in sentence-medial position or the low melody if they stand in sentence-final position, e.g.,

- yu'kawihč, se'hitehe'nì, hi'stahàhk.* (3B:a) When he got there, it was not yet daylight, it is said.  
*se'măn, ʔa'tane'nì, ka'tăn, ʔu'kika'tàhč.* (9:b) They came, it is said, (to the place) where they camped.

All words occurring in phrase-final position appear as pause forms in accordance with the rules given in 2.43. Words occurring in phrase-medial position appear as context forms and undergo changes, when necessary, in accordance with the rules of external sandhi (2.3).

#### 7.2 SUMMARY REMARKS ON SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE

The word-classes of Tunica are as follows: independent personal pronouns, nouns, interrogative-indefinite pronouns, quantificatives, postpositions, adjectives, comparatives, adverbs, auxiliary verbs, active verbs, static verbs, sentence connectives, and exclamatives and imitatives. These word-classes or special combinations thereof (i.e., phrases or clauses) may serve in one or more of the following syntactic functions: as predicative words, as independent subjects, as independent objects, as subject or object modifiers, as predicate modifiers, as predicate complements, and

<sup>1</sup> There are five phrase-final melodies in all but the fifth is used only with one monosyllabic exclamative word (10.7).



as sentence connectives. A word, phrase, or clause serving in one of these functions is known as a syntactic element of a larger clause or of a sentence.

Syntactic elements are built up into clauses which may be divided into two principal types: main and subordinate. The latter are further subdivided into four functional types: dependent, complementary, relative, and adverbial.

The various types of clauses are built up into three main types of sentences: simple, compound, and complex. Simple sentences differ from main clauses only in that they stand alone. Compound sentences are rare but contain two or more main clauses. Complex sentences, on the other hand, are very common and consist of a main clause and one or more of the various types of subordinate clauses.

This brief summary is intended to elucidate the terminology used in the immediately following sections (7.3 to 7.5) in which is presented a more detailed discussion of syntax in reverse order, viz., sentences, clauses, and syntactic elements. The syntactic uses of the various word-classes are discussed in section 10.

### 7.3 TYPES OF SENTENCES

7.31 Simple sentences must contain one but only one predicative word and they may contain this word alone. In addition they may contain any one of the other syntactic elements or any combination of these. Examples:<sup>1</sup>

- (PW) *pi'tahk<sup>?</sup>una'nì*. (9:g) He was walking along, it is said.  
 (IS) *to'kate'kahăku*, (PW) *tiya'nak<sup>?</sup>ni*. (4A:q) The orphan boy spoke to her, it is said.  
 (IO) *se'măn*, (PW) *siya'n<sup>?</sup>uhke'nì*. (9:n) He spoke to them, it is said.  
 (IS) *ha'yišiku*, (IO) *to'năku*, (PW) *uhka'lin<sup>?</sup>uhke'nì*. (6c:a) The One Above created man, it is said.  
 (PM) *ho'wăș*, (PW) *hopi'<sup>?</sup>εke'nì*. (11B:g) She went outdoors, it is said.  
 (SC) *hi'nahkühč*, (PM) *hi'stahăhk*, (IS) *ta'wakăku*, (PW) *ya'nale'-pikk<sup>?</sup>uta'nì*. (2:b) Now the commander was still speaking, it is said.

7.32 Compound sentences consist of two or more main clauses each of which is constructed according to the rules given for the construction of a simple sentence. In most types of compound

<sup>1</sup> In the presentation of syntactic analyses the following abbreviations are used for the various syntactic elements: PW, predicative word; IS, independent subject; IO, independent object; SM, subject modifier; OM, object modifier; PM, predicate modifier; PC, predicate complement; SC, sentence connective. These abbreviations are placed in parentheses before the word to which they refer.

sentences the predicative word of all but the last clause takes the coordinating postfix *-man* "and" (9.32), e.g.,<sup>1</sup>

(PW:MC-1) *ha'ratimǎn*, (PW:MC-2) *hi'pʔɔke'nì*. (3A:b) She sang and danced, it is said.

In a few cases, however, a compound sentence may be built up by juxtaposition (parataxis), e.g.,

(IO:MC-1) *ʔu'wět*, (PC:MC-1) *ši'm* (PW:MC-1) *ʔuwa'nǎ*, (IO:MC-2) *ti'hčēt*, (PC:MC-2) *ši'mi* (PW:MC-2) *tiwa'nʔaha'nì*. (7A:f) He, on his part, wanted to play; she, on her part, did not wish to play, it is said.

7.33 Complex sentences consist of a main clause and one or more of the four types of subordinate clauses, viz., dependent, complementary, relative, or adverbial, e.g.,

(PW:DC) *ha'ratihč*, (PW:MC) *hi'pʔɔke'nì*. (3B:c) When she sang, she danced, it is said.

(PM:CC) *hihč* (PW:CC) *ʔa'kawik*, (PW:MC) *ʔu'nikɔ'nì*. (19:h) He told him, it is said, to go in there < that he should go in there.

(IS:MC) *sɛ'mǎn*, (PW:MC) *ʔa'tane'nì*, (PM:AC) *ka'tǎn*, (PW:AC) *ʔu'kika'táhč*. (9:b) They came, it is said, (to the place) where they camped.

## 7.4 TYPES OF CLAUSES

7.41 Clauses are of two principal types, main and subordinate. In addition it is necessary to distinguish four types of subordinate clauses: dependent, complementary, relative, and adverbial. Note also that dependent clauses may be subordinate only to the main clause whereas complementary, relative, and adverbial clauses may be subordinate to the main clause or to a dependent clause.

7.42 Main clauses are constructed like simple sentences (7.31) and differ from them only in that they are a part of a compound or complex sentence, e.g.,

(PW:MC-1) *ʔuya'nale'pikkʔa'tamǎn*, (PW:MC-2) *ʔuso'likate'nì*. (9:l) She was speaking to him and creeping up on him, it is said.

(PW:DC) *tiya'nawihč*, (PW:MC) *haka'lʔεke'nì*. (4B:bm) When he spoke to her, she stopped, it is said.

7.43 Dependent clauses are constructed like main clauses but in addition their predicative word contains a subordinating postfix. For example, in the sentence quoted immediately above *tiya'*-

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used for the various types of clauses: mc, main clause; dc, dependent clause; cc, complementary clause; rc, relative clause; ac, adverbial clause. In addition a numeral following a hyphen indicates that it is the first, second, third, etc., main clause, dependent clause, etc.

*nawihč* "when he spoke to her" is < *tiya'nawi* "he spoke to her" + *-hč*, subordinating postfix (9.32, no. 4). Other types of subordinating postfixes are discussed and illustrated in 9.32.

7.44 Complementary clauses may be (1) clauses of direct or indirect discourse or (2) "what" or "where" clauses.

Clauses of direct discourse may be constructed like simple sentences or like complex sentences but in addition they are subordinated to a main or dependent clause by hypotaxis. The predicative word of the clause which they complement is usually built upon the active verb stem *ni'* "to say; to say to, tell," though in rare instances it is built upon the stem *pa'ka* . . c. "to answer, reply; to reply to" or upon the stem *wi'ra* . . c. "to ask; to question, ask a question of," e.g.,

- (PW:CC) *ʔa'ništukʔohó*, (PW:MC) *ʔu'nikó'nì*. (14A:l) "I can't go," he told him, it is said.  
 (IS:MC) *ta'narǎku*, (PW:CC) *ʔiri'hčʔikîn*, (PW:MC) *nikó'nì*. (14B:e) "Tie me!" said the snake, it is said.

Clauses of indirect discourse attach the future subjunctive postfix *-k* (9.33, no. 15) to their predicative word when future events are implied, but in other respects they are like clauses of direct discourse, e.g.,

- (PW:CC) *ho'nuwík*, (PW:MC) *ʔuni'sina'nì*. (4A:az) They told him, it is said, to come down < that he should come down.  
 (PW:CC) *wé'ranʔu'wǎk*, (PW:MC) *nikó'nì*. (20:a) He said, it is said, that he was going hunting.

When past events are implied clauses of indirect discourse can be distinguished from clauses of direct discourse only by context, e.g.,

- (IO:CC) *ta'hal* (PW:CC) *wé'nʔontǎ*, (PW:MC) *ʔuni'kata'nì*. (22B:e) They had found the land, they told him, it is said.

"What" clauses are introduced by the interrogative-indefinite pronoun *ka'nahku* (5.75). The predicative word of the clause which they complement is frequently built on the static verb stem *-e'rusa* "to know," e.g.,

- (PC:CC) *ka'na* (PW:CC) *ya'tikʔahčǎ*, (PW:MC) *te'rusʔaha'nì*. (18:b) She did not know, it is said, what she would do.

"Where" clauses are introduced by the interrogative-indefinite adverb *ka'ta* (5.75), e.g.,

- (PW:MC) *ʔuwo'ruhkʔata'nì*, (PM:CC) *ka'tǎn*, (IS:CC) *te'hkusi'nimǎn*, (PW:CC) *ʔu'kʔerǎhč*. (18:e) She showed him, it is said, where her babies were.

Other types of "where" clauses are adverbial (see 7.46).

7.45 Relative clauses are used as independent subject or object modifiers. Their predicative word is set off by having a gender-number suffix which is in agreement with the gender and number of the independent subject or object referred to (4.843), e.g.,

(IS:MC) *to'nise'mǎn*, (PM:RC)<sup>1</sup> *ta'heritʔε ki'čün*, (PW:RC) *ʔu'k-ʔεrase'mǎn*, (PW:MC) *hopo'kata'nì*. (5A:d) The people who were in the boat were looking out, it is said.

7.46 Adverbial clauses are "where" clauses or locative clauses. These may modify the predicative word of either a main or a dependent clause. "Where" clauses contain the interrogative-indefinite adverb *ka'ta* (5.75) which may introduce the clause or else be placed immediately before the verb. Such clauses also have the subordinating postfix *-hč* attached to their verb, e.g.,

(IS:MC) *se'mǎn*, (PW:MC) *ʔa'tane'nì*, (PM:AC) *ka'tǎn*, (PW:AC) *ʔu'kika'táhč*. (9:b) They came, it is said, (to the place) where they camped.

(IS:AC) *ti'slinǎhč*, (PM:AC) *kat* (PW:AC) *ʔa'čihč*, (PM:DC) *hi* (PW:DC) *yu'katáhč* (4B:k) when they got (to the place) where the Stone Witch lived

Locative clauses are distinguished by having the locative suffix *-ši* "at, to" attached to their predicative word (4.855), e.g.,

(IS:AC) *ta'stʔěku*, (PW:AC) *ka'lʔuraš* (PW:DC) *yu'kawihč* (13:h) when he came up to the horse < to (where) the horse stood

## 7.5 THE SYNTACTIC ELEMENTS OF THE CLAUSE

### 7.51 GENERAL REMARKS

The syntactic elements of the clause are as follows: a predicative word, an independent subject, an independent object, a subject or object modifier, a predicate modifier, a predicate complement, and a sentence connective. Every clause (except one consisting of a quantificative, 10.21, or an exclamative or imitative, 10.7) must have a predicative word and may consist only of this word. In addition to a predicative word a clause may contain any of the remaining syntactic elements (except a subject or object modifier) or any combination of these (including a subject or object modifier when the modified element is also present). In most cases the syntactic elements are words, but subject or object modifiers and predicate complements are words or clauses, while predicate modifiers are words, phrases, or clauses.

<sup>1</sup> In this case the predicate modifier consists of two words comprising a postpositional phrase (10:3).

## 7.52 THE PREDICATIVE WORD

The predicative word may be an independent personal pronoun, a noun, an interrogative-indefinite pronoun, a quantificative, an adjective, or any one of the three classes of verbs, e.g.,

- ʔu'wʔehé* (19:e) it is not he (< *ʔu'wi*, 3MS pron., + *-ʔaha*, neg. postf.)  
*nara'nì.* (25:g) It was a snake, it is said. (< *na'ra* snake + *-a'nì*, quot. postf.)  
*ka'nahkupʔahá.* (7A:d) There is nothing. (< *ka'nahku*, interrog.-indef. pron., what, something, anything + *-pʔaha*, neg. postf., no)  
*hihč ʔa'marì.* (14B:y) That's enough. (*ʔa'mari*, quantif., enough)  
*ta'wišmi'líku, ti'kʔaha'nì.* (28) Red River was not big, it is said. (*ti'kʔaha'ni* < *ti'ka*, adj., big + *-ʔaha* + *-a'nì*)  
*ʔu'wín, hɔ'waš ʔuna'nì.* (4A:d) He was sitting outside, it is said. (*ʔuna'ni* < *ʔu'na*, aux. vb., + *-a'nì*)  
*pi'tahkʔuna'nì.* (9:g) He was walking along, it is said. (< *pi'tahkʔu'na*, act. vb., + *-a'nì*)  
*ʔu'yašé'nì.* (4B:w) He was angry, it is said. (< *ʔuya'si*, st. vb., + *-a'nì*)

## 7.53 THE INDEPENDENT SUBJECT

The independent subject (i.e., a word used as subject as opposed to the subjective pronominal element of the verb) may be an independent personal pronoun, a noun, an interrogative-indefinite pronoun, or a quantificative, e.g.,

- ʔu'wín, ʔe'rukɔ'nì.* (4A:az) He was laughing, it is said. (*ʔu'wi*, 3MS pron.)  
*tɔ'katé'kaháku, tiya'nakɔ'nì.* (4A:q) The orphan boy spoke to her, it is said. (*tɔ'katé'kahaku*, noun)  
*ka'k ʔihpo'ʔuhkí.* (33:a) Someone has seen me. (*ka'ku*, interrog.-indef. pron.)  
*sa'hkún, ya'nʔuhké'nì.* (5A:b) One (of them) spoke, it is said. (*sa'hku*, quantif.)

## 7.54 THE INDEPENDENT OBJECT

The independent object (i.e., a word used as object as opposed to the objective pronominal element of the verb) may likewise be an independent personal pronoun, a noun, an interrogative-indefinite pronoun, or a quantificative, e.g.,

- se'mán, siya'nʔuhké'nì.* (9:n) He spoke to them, it is said. (*se'ma*, 3MP pron.)  
*ta'čiyak ʔura'pʔuhké'nì.* (4A:r) He killed the squirrel, it is said. (*ta'čiyaku*, noun)  
*ka'nahkún, yu'kihké'răn.* (4A:bp) Are you cooking anything? (*ka'nahku*, interrog.-indef. pron.)  
*sa'hk ʔuhta'pʔeké'nì.* (7B:c) She caught one, it is said. (*sa'hku*, quantif.)

## 7.55 THE SUBJECT OR OBJECT MODIFIER

Subject or object modifiers are quantificatives or relative clauses. Examples of quantificatives in this function are:

- ʔu'sa sa'hkŭn, wa'hakɔ'nì.* (19:g) One (of) his dogs yelped.  
 (*sa'hku*, quantif., modifying *ʔu'sa*, indep. subj.)  
*ʔɔ'kašì'tohk ʔi'lŭn, ʔunra'nʔakɛ'nì.* (10:c) She raised two boys.  
 (*ʔi'li*, quantif., modifying *ʔɔ'kašì'tohku*, indep. obj.)

For illustration of relative clauses in this function see 7.45 and 4.843. When adjectives are used with nouns functioning as subjects or objects, they are incorporated into the noun complex; see 10.41. In some cases quantificatives are also so incorporated (10.21) and in still other cases they stand in apposition to the noun (7.591).

## 7.56 THE PREDICATE MODIFIER

Predicate modifiers may be words, phrases, or clauses. Words used in this way are adjectives, comparatives, adverbs, and locative nouns. Phrases and clauses used in this way are always adverbial.

Adjectives are used as modifiers of noun predicative words, e.g.,

- te'čăku, ku'wa lapɔ'nì.* (43A:b) The crow woodpecker is a good bird, it is said. (*lapɔ'ni* < *la'pu* good + *-a'ni*, modifying the noun *ku'wa* bird)

Comparatives are used as modifiers of adjective, quantificative, and static verb predicative words, e.g.,

- ta'nisarăhč, ta'šle panɔ'nì.* (3A:a) The girl was very beautiful, it is said. (*panɔ'ni* < *pa'nu* very + *-a'ni*, modifying the adj. *ta'šle* beautiful)  
*se'măn, na'mu ri'kinɛ'nì.* (29:c) They were too many, it is said. (*ri'kinɛ'ni* < *ri'kini* too + *-a'ni*, modifying the quantif. *na'mu* many)  
*sinšru'ka panɔ'nì.* (18:b) They were greatly frightened, it is said. (*panɔ'ni* < *pa'nu* very, greatly + *-a'ni*, modifying the st. vb. *sinšru'ka*)

Adverbs and locative nouns are used as modifiers of auxiliary and active verb predicatives, e.g.,

- hi'štahahk ʔawa'čina'ʔara'nì.* (22A:1) They were still fighting together, it is said. (*hi'štahahki* still, adv., modifying the act. vb. *ʔawa'čina'ʔara'ni*)  
*ʔu'riš ʔata'nì.* (4A:ae) She went to his house, it is said. (*ʔu'riši* to his house, loc. noun modifying the aux. vb. *ʔata'ni*)

Adverbial phrases and clauses are likewise used as modifiers of

auxiliary or active verb predicatives. Adverbial phrases consist of a substantive governed by a postposition, e.g.,

*ta' rku ki' čün, ?a' k? uwa' ni.* (6A:c) He went off into the woods, it is said. (*ta' rku* the woods + *ki' ču* in, into, adv. phrase modifying the act. vb. *?a' k? uwa' ni*)

Adverbial clauses are “where” clauses or locative clauses. Their use as predicate modifiers is illustrated in 7.46.

### 7.57 THE PREDICATE COMPLEMENT

Predicate complements complete the sense of the predicate and may be either words or clauses. Words used in this way are independent personal pronouns, nouns, interrogative-indefinite pronouns, quantificatives, adjectives, and active verb infinitives.

Independent personal pronouns, nouns, and interrogative-indefinite pronouns are used as complements of static verb predicatives or of impersonal or transimpersonal active verb predicatives, e.g.,

*?u' wñ, ?ušpi' t? oke' ni, ti' hčn.* (13:an) He forgot her, it is said. (*ti' hči*, 3FS pron., complement of the st. vb. *?ušpi' t? oke' ni*)  
*ti' hika ta' yihkñ, yu' katihč* (12:d) when seven years had passed < when it reached seven years (*ti' hika* year + *ta' yihku* seven, complement of the imp. act. vb. *yu' katihč*)  
*?u' wñ, ni' mǎn, ?uhpi' r? ake' ni.* (9:p) He turned into a horned owl, it is said < it turned him into a horned owl, it is said. (*ni' ma* a horned owl, complement of the trsimp. act. vb. *?uhpi' r? ake' ni*)

Quantificatives are used as complements of static verb predicatives, e.g.,

*sa' hkuñ, wiwa' nak? ihč* (13:w) if you want one (*sa' hku* one, complement of the st. vb. *wiwa' nak? ihč*)

Adjectives are used as complements of impersonal active verb predicatives, e.g.,

*mi' li ya' kate' ni.* (36B:c) It would turn red, it is said. (*mi' li* red, complement of the imp. act. vb. *ya' kate' ni*)

Active verb infinitives are used as complements of static verb predicatives when the implied subject of the infinitive is the same as the logical subject (grammatical object) of the static verb, e.g.,

*l' t ?iwaná.* (16:i) I want to run. (*l' ta* to run, act. vb. infin., complement of *?iwa' na*)

Contrariwise, conditional clauses are used as complements of static verb predicatives when the subject of the clause is not the same as the logical subject (grammatical object) of the static verb, e.g.,

*ta'yimuhke'rihč, ?ima'š?ik?ihč, ?i'waná.* (13:1) I want you to make me a steamboat. (*ta'yimuhke'rihči* the steamboat + *?ima'š?ik?ihč* if you make for me, cond. clause used as complement of *?iwa'na*)

Other types of complementary clauses are illustrated in 7.44.

### 7.58 THE SENTENCE CONNECTIVE

Sentence connectives are used to establish a loose conjunctive or contrastive relation between a sentence and the sentence that precedes it, e.g.,

*hinya'tihč, ?a'm?onta'nì.* (4A:1) Now they went off, it is said. (*hinya'tihč* now, then, so, after that)  
*hi'nahkũhč, tihki'p?uhke'nì.* (3B:a) Then he married her, it is said. (*hi'nahkuhč* now, then, so, after that)  
*hi'nahkuškān, ha'tikān, haka'likate'nì.* (4B:f) Nevertheless, she stood up again, it is said. (*hi'nahkuškan* nevertheless)

### 7.59 SPECIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

7.591 Quantificatives and nouns are sometimes placed in apposition to other nouns when the latter function as independent subjects or objects, e.g.,

*?uhk?o'nise'mān, ho't ?aku'hpan?uhke'nì.* (5A:b) He assembled all (of) his people, it is said < he assembled, it is said, his people, all. (*ho'tu* all, quantif. in apposition with the indep. obj. *?uhk?o'nise'ma*)  
*to'nise'mān, ?a'hkišše'ma hopi'taha'nì.* (2:b) The people who were left could not come out, it is said < the people, the ones behind, could not come out, it is said. (*?a'hkišše'ma* the ones behind, noun in apposition with the indep. subj. *to'nise'ma*)

7.592 A substantive plus the postposition which governs it forms a nexus known as a postpositional phrase; see illustrations in 7.56 and 10.3.

7.593 Still another type of nexus is found in the case of a noun functioning as possessor followed by the noun which is possessed. A possessive nexus serves in any of the syntactical functions that a noun may, e.g.,

*ta'čohak ?u'rihč, hi'yuhó'nì.* (4B:h) The chief's house was (made of) grass. (*ta'čohaku* the chief, possessor noun, + *?u'rihči* his house, alienably possessed noun, the combination serving as indep. subj.)



## 7.6 ORDER

## 7.61 ORDER OF SYNTACTIC ELEMENTS

The following rules and tendencies of word order should be noted:

Rule 1. If a sentence connective is used it precedes all of the other elements of the sentence (see examples in 7.58).

Rule 2. The predicative word of a main clause or of any of the four types of subordinate clauses tends to take clause-final position, e.g.,

- (IS) *ʔuha'yišiku'hǔn*, (IO) *ta'ruštak* (PW) *ʔuya'nʔuhke'nì*.  
 (14A:a) The One above spoke to Rabbit, it is said.  
 (PM:DC) *ta'riš* (PW:DC) *yu'kawǐhč*, (IO:MC) *ʔuha'yik* (PW:MC)  
*ʔu'yaše'nì*. (4A:aa) When he got to the house, the old  
 man was angry, it is said.

But even though there is a strong tendency to place the predicative word at the end of the sentence or clause, this order is not too rigidly adhered to. For example, certain predicate modifiers are permitted to stand after the predicative word although they are just as likely to be placed before it (rule 8 below). It should be noted, however, that this freedom is applied most frequently in the case of the predicative word of a main clause and rarely in the case of the predicative word of a subordinate clause. In addition to the possibility of placing certain types of predicate modifiers after the predicative word, we find that the independent subject may occasionally follow this word (see rule 3 below).

Rule 3. The independent subject tends to precede all other syntactic elements in the clause except the sentence connective, e.g.,

- (SC) *hinya'tǐhč*, (IS) *tu'wak* (PW) *ʔu'wakɔ'nì*. (20:e) Then the  
 owl hooted, it is said.  
 (SC) *hinya'tǐhč*, (IS) *ʔu'wǐn*, (PM) *ʔu'riš* (PW) *lɔ'tʔamʔuhke'nì*.  
 (20:f) Then he ran off and went home, it is said.

But inasmuch as the position of certain predicate modifiers is relatively free (rule 8 below), it sometimes happens that the independent subject follows a predicate modifier, e.g.,

- (SC) *hinya'tǐhč*, (PM) *la'hontǔhku*, (IS) *to'stohǔku*, (PW) *na'rawǐhč*  
 (9:g) then when the little one got up very early

Moreover, in case it is desired to give especial emphasis to the independent subject it may be placed after the predicative word. However, such order occurs but rarely, e.g.,

- (PC) *wa'č* (PW) *ʔuwa'nʔaha'nì*, (IS) *ta'yoroniku*. (22A:a) The  
 Tunica did not want to fight, it is said.

Rule 4. The independent object will normally be placed just before the predicative word. In such a case the independent object and the predicative word will often be included in the same phrase, i.e., will not be separated by phrasing. Note also that the independent object will normally follow the independent subject if both are expressed in the same clause, e.g.,

(IS) *ta'ruštáku*, (IO) *tó'mahkak* (PW) *ʔuwe'niwihč* (14A:i) when  
Rabbit found the alligator

If the independent object is expressed but the independent subject is not expressed, the independent object will then normally stand at the beginning of the clause unless a sentence connective is used, e.g.,

(IO) *ta'čhák* (PW) *ʔuya'nale'píhkʔuta'nì*. (21:f) He spoke to the  
chief, it is said.

Note, however, that this same sentence might, in the proper context, be interpreted "the chief spoke to him, it is said."

Rule 5. An adjective must always immediately follow the noun it modifies and may not be separated from it by phrasing, e.g.,

*té'čáku*, *ku'wa laps'nì*. (43A:b) The crow woodpecker is a good  
bird, it is said. (*laps'ni* < *la'pu* good + *-a'ni*, modifying  
the noun *ku'wa* bird)

Rule 6. A comparative must always immediately follow the word it modifies and may not be separated from it by phrasing, e.g.,

*yu'pahta pa'nu ya'katé'nì*. (1) It gets very cold, it is said.  
(*pa'nu* very, comp. modifying the adj. *yu'pahta* cold)  
*se'mǎn*, *na'mu ri'kiné'nì*. (29:c) They were too many, it is  
said. (*ri'kiné'ni* < *ri'kini* too + *-a'ni*, comp. modifying  
the quantif. *na'mu* many)  
*ʔi'm ʔiya'hpa panú*. (9:k) I am very hungry. (*pa'nu*, comp.  
modifying the st. vb. *ʔiya'hpa* I am hungry)

Rule 7. A postposition must always immediately follow the substantive it governs and can never be separated from it by phrasing, e.g.,

*ta'ri ki'čün*, *ʔuna'nì*. (4A:p) He was sitting in the house, it is  
said. (*ki'ču* in, into, postp. governing *ta'ri* the house)

Rule 8. Predicate modifiers of spatial location (i.e., locative nouns, locative adverbs, and postpositional phrases) usually im-

mediately precede or immediately follow the verb they modify, e.g.,

- (IS) *ʔu'wɪn*, (PM) *hɔ'waš* (PW) *ʔuna'nì*. (4A:d) He was sitting outside, it is said.  
 (PW) *howe'sʔuhke'nì*, (PM) *hɔ'wàš*. (4A:i) He jumped outside, it is said.  
 (SC) *hinya'tihč*, (IS) *ta'yǎku*, (PM) *ta'rku ki'čùn*, (PW) *ʔa'kʔuwa'nì* (6A:c) Then the deer went off into the woods, it is said.  
 (*ta'rku ki'ču*, postpositional phrase)  
 (PW) *ʔa'kʔuwa'nì*, (PM) *ta'rku ki'čùn*. (9:c) He went into the woods, it is said.

If the sentence or clause contains another predicate modifier in addition to the locative modifier, one of the modifiers may precede the predicative word while the other follows it, e.g.,

- (IS) *tɔ'mahkǎku*, (PM) *ro'mantohk* (PW) *ʔa'kʔuwa'nì*, (PM) *ta'ri ki'čùn*. (14A:o) Hesitatingly, the alligator went into the house, it is said.

On the other hand, it is equally possible to place both modifiers either before or after the predicative word, e.g.,

- (IS) *tɔ'mahkǎku*, (PM) *ha'tikǎn*, (PM) *ta'wiši ha'yíht*, (PW) *hopi'ʔuhke'nì*. (14A:k) The alligator again came out on the water, it is said.  
 (PW) *ʔa'kʔuwa'nì*, (PM) *ta'rku ki'čùn*, (PM) *la'hontòhku*. (11B:c) He went into the woods early, it is said.

Rule 9. All non-locative predicate modifiers are permitted considerable freedom as to placement. They may precede or follow the independent subject, the independent object, the predicative word, or a locative predicate modifier. They may stand at the beginning of the clause (after the sentence connective) or they may stand at the end of the clause, e.g.,

- (SC) *hinya'tihč*, (PM) *ha'tikǎn*, (PW) *ya'nakɔ'nì*. (4A:b) Now he was speaking again, it is said.  
 (IS) *ta'ruštǎku*, (PM) *ha'tikǎn*, (PW) *ʔuya'nakɔ'nì*. (14A:k) Rabbit was speaking to him again, it is said.  
 (PM) *hihč* (PW) *ʔu'kʔonta'nì*, (PM) *ha'tikǎn*. (22B:c) They settled there again, it is said.

Rule 10. A predicate complement normally immediately precedes the predicative word it complements. If an adjective is used as a predicate complement it must immediately precede the predicative word unless it is modified by a comparative. No phrasing is permitted between the adjective (or adjective plus its modifying comparative) and the predicative word, e.g.,

- (PC) *mi'li* (PW) *ya'kate'nì*. (36B:c) It would turn red, it is said.  
 (PC) *yu'pahta pa'nu* (PW) *ya'kate'nì* (1) it gets very cold, it is said

An infinitive used as a predicate complement must immediately precede the predicative word and no phrasing is permitted between the two elements, e.g.,

(PC) *l'ta* (PW) *wiwa'năn*. (16:h) Do you want to run?

A substantive used as a predicate complement of an impersonal verb must immediately precede the predicative word unless it is a noun modified by a quantificative. Sometimes the two elements are separated by phrasing, sometimes not, e.g.,

(PC) *ʔa'su sa'hkŭn*, (PW) *yu'katihč* (4A:p) one day < when it reached one day

(PC) *ʔa'su ma'nku* (PW) *pi'ratihč* (8B:b) four days later, in four days < when it turned four days

A substantive used as a predicate complement of a transimpersonal active verb or of a static verb immediately precedes (or, very rarely, immediately follows) the predicative word. Phrasing normally separates the two elements, e.g.,

(IO) *ʔu'wŭn*, (PC) *ni'măn*, (PW) *ʔuhpi'rʔake'nì*. (9:p) He turned into a horned owl, it is said < it turned him into a horned owl, it is said.

(PC) *sa'hkŭn*, (PW) *wiwa'nakʔihč* (13:w) if you want one

(IO) *ʔu'wŭn*, (PW) *ʔušpi'tʔake'nì*, (PC) *ti'hčìn*. (13:an) He forgot her, it is said.

## 7.62 ORDER OF CLAUSES

The following rules and tendencies of clause order should be noted:

Rule 1. Main clauses always take sentence-final position. Apparent exceptions in the case of complementary clauses (rule 3 below) and adverbial clauses (rule 5 below) are occasioned by the fact that such clauses complement or modify the predicative word of the main clause. Either of these two types of clauses is therefore to be construed as a clause within a clause. The sentence-final position of the main clause is illustrated in the following example:

(PW:DC-1) *ʔuso'liyu'kawihč*, (PC:DC-2) *ʔušu'čiwān* (PW:DC-2) *ya'wihč*, (IS:DC-3) *ri'hkuya'hon* (PW:DC-3) *wa'hkawihč* (PM:DC-4) *hih* (PW:DC-4) *po'wihč*, (IS:MC) *ya'ʔăn*, (PW:MC) *ka'lʔura'nì*. (20:a) When he arrived and crept up on him, when he was about to shoot him, when a limb cracked, when he looked there, a deer was standing, it is said. Or, very freely: He crept up on it, got to (it) and was about to shoot it when a limb cracked; looking (in that direction he saw) a deer.

Rule 2. All dependent clauses must precede the main clause; see the example immediately above.

Rule 3. A complementary clause must be construed as a clause within a clause but this larger clause may be either a main or a dependent clause. A complementary clause of direct or indirect discourse must immediately precede the predicative word of the main or dependent clause. If the latter clause contains an independent subject the complementary clause will follow it, e.g.,

- (PM:CC) *ka'ʔǎš*, (PW:CC) *ya'kʔikʔahčǎn*, (PW:MC) *ʔuwi'rahk-ʔata'nì*. (11B:b) "When you will come back?" she asked him.  
 (SC) *hi'nahkùhč*, (IS:MC) *to'sinlu'piku*, (PW:CC) *ya'kanikʔahčà*, (PM:CC) *he'lawǎn*, (PW:MC) *niko'nì*. (15:c) Now "I'll come tonight," said Whooping Crane, it is said.

When "what" or "where" clauses are used as predicate complements they may either precede or follow the predicative word of the main or dependent clause, e.g.,

- (PC:CC) *ka'na* (PW:CC) *ya'tikʔahčǎ*, (PW:MC) *te'rusʔaha'nì*. (18:b) She did not know what she would do, it is said.  
 (IO:MC) *ka'kupǎn*, (PW:MC) *ʔo'rusʔaha'nì*, (PC:CC) *ka'na* (PW:CC) *siyu'katikʔahčà*. (5B:c) No one knew what was going to happen to them.

Rule 4. Relative clauses, which are used as subject or object modifiers, must always immediately follow the substantive they modify, e.g.,

- (IS:RC) *to'ni* (PW:RC) *hi'pʔontase'mǎn*, (PC:MC) *ni'nʔate'hpun* (PW:MC) *sinpi'rapʔake'nì*. (5B:e) The people who had been dancing had turned into half fish, it is said.

Rule 5. Adverbial clauses are locative predicate modifiers and hence may immediately precede or immediately follow the verb they modify just as in the case of other locative predicative modifiers (rule 8 in 7.61), e.g.,

- (IS:DC) *tì'hčǎn*, (PM:AC) *ka'tǎn*, (IS:AC) *tʔkatε'kahak* (PW:AC) *ʔu'nǎhč*, (PW:DC) *ya'katihč* (4B:m) when she came (to the place) where the orphan boy was staying  
 (IS:MC) *sε'mǎn*, (PW:MC) *ʔa'tane'nì*, (PM:AC) *ka'tǎn*, (PW:AC) *ʔu'kika'tàhč*. (9:b) They came, it is said, (to the place) where they camped.

## 8. CLASSIFICATION AND AGREEMENT

### 8.1 GENDER-NUMBER CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS

8.11 On the formal level a noun must belong to one of six gender-number classes: (1) masculine singular, (2) feminine singular, (3) masculine dual, (4) feminine dual, (5) masculine plural, and (6) feminine plural. It is only when a noun is used in the definitive case (4.81) that its gender-number class is explicitly defined. In all other situations its classification is implicit. But by

means of the laws of agreement we find that every noun belongs to a given gender-number class whether this is explicitly defined or not.

In order to arrive at the rules for the determination of the gender-number classification of nouns, it is necessary to divide them into the following groups and subgroups:

Animate Human Male vs. Female	vs.	Non-human Male vs. Female	vs.	Inanimate (arbitrary; see 8.13)
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In addition one must know whether the noun is to be used in the singular, dual, or plural number-class. The singular number-class, moreover, is divided into (1) true singulars and (2) collectives.

8.12 The rules for the classification of nouns referring to animates are as follows:

(1) Nouns referring to human or non-human male animates in the singular, dual, or plural number are masculine in gender, and nouns referring to human or non-human female animates in the singular, dual, or plural number are feminine in gender, e.g.,

*to'niši'ku* (6c:b) the man < *t-*, art. pref., + *ʔo'niši'* man + *-ku*, MS suff.

*ta'yorumʔahaši'ku* (25:d) the male beast < *ta'-*, art. pref., + *yo'rumʔahaši'* male beast + *-ku*

*to'nišiʔu'nima* the (two) men < *t-* + *ʔo'niši'* + *-ʔu'nima*, MD suff.

*ta'yorumʔahašiʔu'nima* the (two) male beasts < *ta'-* + *yo'rumʔahaši'* + *-ʔu'nima*

*to'nišise'ma* (22A:l) the men < *t-* + *ʔo'niši'* + *-se'ma*, MP suff.

*ta'yorumʔahašise'ma* the male beasts < *ta'-* + *yo'rumʔahaši'* + *-se'ma*

*to'ninu'hčihči* (22B:g) the woman < *t-* + *ʔo'ninu'hči* woman + *-hči*, FS suff.

*ta'yorumʔahanu'hčihči* (25:d) the female beast < *ta'-* + *yo'rumʔahanu'hči* female beast + *-hči*

*to'ninu'hčisi'nima* the (two) women, or (35A:b) the (several) women < *t-* + *ʔo'ninu'hči* + *-si'nima*, FD-P suff.

*ta'yorumʔahanu'hčisi'nima* the (two or several) female beasts < *ta'-* + *yo'rumʔahanu'hči* + *-si'nima*

(2) Nouns referring to human (but not non-human) male and female animates in the collective, dual, or plural numbers are masculine in gender, e.g.,

*ta'yoroniku* (3c:d) the Tunica (as a tribe) < *ta'-* + *yo'roni* Tunica + *-ku*, MS suff.

*ta'nisarʔu'nima* the young people (a pair) < *ta'-* + *ni'sara* young person + *-ʔu'nima*, MD suff.

*to'nise'ma* (14B:i) the people < *t-* + *ʔo'ni* person + *-se'ma*, MP suff.

(3) Nouns referring to non-human male and female animates are masculine in the dual number but feminine in the collective and plural numbers, e.g.,

- ta'yorum<sup>?</sup>aha<sup>?</sup>i'l<sup>?</sup>unima* (25:d) the two beasts (a pair) < *ta'*- + *yo'rum<sup>?</sup>aha* beast + *<sup>?</sup>i'li* two + *-<sup>?</sup>u'nima*, MD suff.  
*<sup>?</sup>u'sahči* (42H) his dogs (as a pack) < *<sup>?</sup>uhk-*, 3MS pref., + *sa'* dog + *-hči*, FS suff.  
*ti'sasi'nima* (4B:ap) her dogs (as individuals) < *tihk-*, 3FS pref., + *sa'* + *-si'nima*, FD-P suff.

(4) Nouns referring to human animates whose sex is unknown or a matter of indifference follow rule (2) above in the collective, dual, or plural numbers but are masculine in the singular number. Similarly, nouns referring to non-human animates whose sex is unknown or a matter of indifference follow rule (3) above in the collective, dual, or plural numbers but are masculine in the singular number. Examples:

- <sup>?</sup>uhk<sup>?</sup>o'kaku* his child (but if sex is known, his boy) < *<sup>?</sup>uhk-*, 3MS pref., + *<sup>?</sup>o'ka* child + *-ku*, MS suff.  
*ta'ruštaku* the rabbit (but if sex is known, the male rabbit) < *ta'*- + *ru'šta* rabbit + *-ku*  
*te'hkunaku* the mosquito (generic) < *t-* + *<sup>?</sup>e'hkuna* mosquito + *-ku*

8.13 Most nouns referring to inanimates are inherently masculine but a few are inherently feminine. Note the following rules:

(1) Inherently masculine nouns are classified as masculine in the singular and dual numbers but as feminine in the collective and plural numbers, e.g.,

- ta'šihpariku* (7A:f) the bean < *ta'*- + *ši'hpari* bean + *-ku*, MS suff.  
*ta'šihpar<sup>?</sup>u'nima* the (two) beans < *ta'*- + *ši'hpari* + *-<sup>?</sup>u'nima*, MD suff.  
*ta'šihparči* the (mess of) beans < *ta'*- + *ši'hpari* + *-hči*, FS suff.  
*ta'šihparsinima* the beans < *ta'*- + *ši'hpari* + *-si'nima*, FD-P suff.

(2) Inherently feminine nouns are classified as feminine throughout, e.g.,

- <sup>?</sup>u'rihči* (4B:h) his house < *<sup>?</sup>uhk-*, 3MS pref., + *ri'* house + *-hči*, FS suff.  
*ta'rihči* (10:f) the houses < *ta'*- + *ri'* + *-hči*  
*ta'risinima* the (two or more) houses < *ta'*- + *ri'* + *-si'nima*, FD-P suff.  
*ta'herit<sup>?</sup>ehči* (5A:d) the large boat < *ta'*- + *he'rit<sup>?</sup>e* large boat + *-hči*  
*ta'herisinima* (22B:g) the boats < *ta'*- + *he'ri* boat + *-si'nima*

(3) In addition to inherently masculine and inherently feminine inanimates, there are a few nouns referring to continuals which are classed as inherent collectives. These have no dual or plural and are classified as feminine, e.g.,

*ta'wišihči* (5B:e) the water < *ta'*- + *wi'ši* water + *-hči*, **FS**  
suff.

*ta'makahči* (21:a) the lard < *ta'*- + *ma'ka* lard + *-hči*

8.14 It should be noted that individuation and collectivization are two convenient processes of Tunica whereby the same noun stem can refer to an integral inanimate and to a continual inanimate by a shift in formal gender-number class. When the noun refers to an integral it is placed in the masculine singular class (except in the case of the inherently feminine nouns) and when it refers to a continual it is placed in the feminine singular class. Hence by means of this shift we can obtain a number of interesting pairs like the following:

Individuated	Collectivized
<i>ta'šihpariku</i> the bean	<i>ta'šihparihči</i> the (mess of) beans
<i>ta'hkaku</i> the (grain of) corn; the corn (plant)	<i>ta'hkahči</i> the (mess of) corn
<i>te'raškiku</i> the leaf	<i>te'raškihči</i> the leaves, foliage
<i>ta'rkuku</i> the tree, stick, log	<i>ta'rkuhči</i> the wood

Moreover, it is quite possible that under the proper circumstances some of the invariable collectives could be individuated. For example, the invariable collective *wi'ši* "water" occurs in two individuated derivatives, both of which are classed as masculine singulars, viz.,

*ta'wišitʔeku* the Mississippi < the big-water  
*ta'wišmi'liku* Red River < the red-water

## 8.2 REFERENTIALS AND SUBSTITUTES

8.21 The verbs of Tunica, like those of many other American Indian languages, are notable for the number of pronominal referentials they contain. Thus auxiliary verbs and intransitive and impersonal active verbs contain a subjective referential; transitive and transimpersonal active verbs and inchoative static verbs contain an objective referential in addition to a subjective one; while non-inchoative static verbs contain only an objective referential. However, as has already been shown, the subjective referentials of impersonal and transimpersonal active verbs and of inchoative static verbs refer to a non-realistic or nameless entity which cannot be expressed by a substantival referee. Hence as far as subjective referentials go our discussion of agreement pertains only to auxiliary verbs and to intransitive and transitive active



verbs. On the other hand, the objective referentials of all verbs which employ them invariably refer to realistic entities.

The nouns of Tunica may also contain pronominal referentials but these are concerned with possession and in all cases refer to realistic entities.

All types of pronominal referentials used with verbs and nouns must agree in person, number, and gender with the substantives to which they refer. In the first and second persons only animates may be referred to but this restriction does not apply in the third person.

The independent personal pronouns are used as nominal substitutes but they must always be substituted for animates.

The gender and number of the referential or substitute are determined by classificatory rules comparable to those given in 8.1. These rules are provided in the following sections.

8.22 The following rules apply when animates are referred to or substituted for:

(1) First person referentials or pronouns refer to or are substituted for a male or a female human or non-human animate in the singular; male and female, two male, or two female human or non-human animates in the dual; several male and female, several male, or several female human or non-human animates in the plural, e.g.,

- ʔi'mǎn, ʔihpe'kawikʔahčá.* (14B:m) he will hit me (*ʔi'ma*, 1s pron. substituted for a male non-human animate; *ʔihpe'kawikʔahčá*, containing a 1s obj. ref. referring to *ʔi'ma*)
- ʔi'mǎn, ʔunta'pinikʔahčá.* (13:ai) I shall catch them (*ʔi'ma*, substituted for a female human animate; *ʔunta'pinikʔahčá*, containing a 1s subj. ref. referring to *ʔi'ma*)
- ʔuhta'pʔinʔähč* (7B:b) if we catch him (containing a 1D subj. ref. referring to a male and a female human animate)
- ʔi'nimǎn, yo'yan ya'ʔinihki.* (29:a) we worked (*ʔi'nima*, 1D-P pron. substituted for two male human animates; *ya'ʔinihki*, containing a 1D subj. ref. referring to *ʔi'nima*)
- ʔuhta'pʔinʔähč* (4B:av) if we catch him (containing a 1D subj. ref. referring, in this context, to two female human animates)
- ka'nahk ʔinyu'katikʔahčǎn* (5B:a) what will happen to us? (*ʔinyu'katikʔahčǎn*, containing a 1D-P obj. referential referring to male and female human animates)

(2) Second person and third person masculine referentials or pronouns refer to or are substituted for a male human or non-human animate in the singular; several male and female human animates in the collective; a male and a female human or non-human animate, a human and a non-human male animate, two male human or non-human animates in the dual; several male and female human (but not non-human) animates, several human and

non-human male animates, several male human or non-human animates in the plural, e.g.,

- ma'ʔán, ʔi'mana wi'hkikʔahčá.* (4B:bg) you are going to be like me (*ma'*, 2MS pron. substituted for a male human animate; *wi'hkikʔahčá*, containing a 2MS subj. ref. referring to *ma'*)
- ya'kʔihčân.* (14A:h) you must come (containing a 2MS subj. ref. referring to a male non-human animate)
- wi'nimăn, ka'ʔašpăn, ti'ka ra'winʔáhč* (10:c) some day if you grow up (*wi'nima*, 2MD-P pron. substituted for two male human animates; *ra'winʔáhč*, containing a 2MD subj. ref. referring to *wi'nima*)
- ya'yiwi'tikʔahčá.* (5A:c) you will be saved (containing a 2MP subj. ref. referring to several male and female human animates)
- wi'nimăn, ʔε'škʔutuš po'witʔihč* (9:o) if you look at my ankles (*wi'nima*, 2MD-P pron. substituted for several male human animates; *po'witʔihč*, containing a 2MP subj. ref. referring to *wi'nima*)
- ʔu'wîn, ya'kawihč* (4A:c) when he came there (*ʔu'wi*, 3MS pron. substituted for a male human animate; *ya'kawihč*, containing a 3MS subj. ref. referring to *ʔu'wi*)
- ta'stʔėku, we'sahkʔuna'nì.* (13:i) the horse was jumping (*we'sahkʔuna'nì*, containing a 3MS subj. ref. referring to *ta'st-ʔėku*, a male non-human animate)
- ta'šihkalti'nĭku, hi'hč ʔuna'nì.* (22A:e) the Avoyelles were living there (*ʔuna'nì*, containing a 3MS subj. ref. referring to *ta'šihkalti'nĭku*, a collectivity of male and female human animates)
- ʔu'nimana ya'nahkʔu'rana'nì.* (13:aa) they were talking like them (*ʔu'nimanahku*, containing *ʔu'nima*, 3MD pron. substituted for a male and a female human animate)
- lɔ'tʔunihke'nì.* (13:aa) they ran (containing a 3MD subj. ref. referring to a male and a female human animate)
- hihč ʔu'nana'nì.* (25:e) they were living there (*ʔu'nana'nì*, containing a 3MD subj. ref. referring to a male and a female non-human animate)
- lɔ'iahkʔu'nana'nì.* (19:h) they were running (containing a 3MD subj. ref. referring to a human and a non-human male animate)
- ʔara'pʔunăhč* (8B:a) when they had killed each other (containing a 3MD subj. ref. referring to two male human animates)
- ʔihkʔo'nise'măn, lu'pina'ʔará.* (25:b) my people are dying (*lu'pina'ʔara*, containing a 3MP subj. ref. referring to *ʔihkʔo'nise'ma*, several male and female human animates)
- se'măn, ʔa'tane'nì.* (9:b) they came (*se'ma*, 3MP pron. substituted for several male human animates; *ʔa'tane'nì*, containing a 3MP subj. ref. referring to *se'ma*)

(3) Second person and third person feminine referentials or pronouns refer to or are substituted for a female human or non-human animate in the singular; two female human or non-human animates in the dual; several female human or non-human ani-

mates or several male and female non-human animates in the plural. (There are no examples of a referential referring to a collectivity of male and female non-human animates; cf. 8.12, rule 3.)  
Examples:

- he'män, he'rusakatí.* (5B:c) you might (be able to) find out (*he'ma*, 2FS pron. substituted for a female human animate; *he'rusaka'ti*, containing a 2FS obj. ref. referring to *he'ma*)  
*lɔ'tʔakʔihč* (14A:r) if you run (containing a 2FS subj. ref. referring to a female non-human animate)  
*ti'hčín, ya'nakate'nì.* (4A:d) she was talking (*ti'hčí*, 3FS pron. substituted for a female human animate; *ya'nakate'ni*, containing a 3FS subj. ref. referring to *ti'hčí*)  
*pi'tahkʔara'nì.* (18:b) she was walking (containing a 3FS subj. ref. referring to a female non-human animate)  
*si'nimän, to'muha'pasi'nähč* (4A:aw) when they finished pounding corn (*si'nima*, 3FD-P pron. substituted for two female human animates; *to'muha'pasi'nahč*, containing a 3FD subj. ref. referring to *si'nima*)  
*to'ninu'hčisi'nimän, to'musite'nì.* (35A:b) the women would pound corn (*to'musite'ni*, containing a 3FP subj. ref. referring to *to'ninu'hčisi'nima*, several female human animates)  
*ta'yorumʔahasi'nimän, pa'nusi'tikʔahčá.* (4A:aq) the wild beasts will come along (*pa'nusi'tikʔahča*, containing a 3FP subj. ref. referring to *ta'yorumʔahasi'nima*, several male and female non-human animates)

8.23 The independent personal pronouns are not substituted for inanimates. Pronominal referentials, however, may refer to inanimates in the third person. The following rules apply:

(1) A third person masculine singular referential refers to a single inherently masculine inanimate, e.g.,

- ta'hkăku, ʔuhka'linʔuhke'nì.* (6c:a) he created corn (*ʔuhka'linʔuhke'ni*, containing a 3MS obj. ref. referring to *ta'hkaku*, inherently masc.)  
*ta'sihparik ʔusa'kʔikʔahčá.* (7A:g) you will eat the bean (*ʔusa'kʔikʔahča*, containing a 3MS obj. ref. referring to *ta'sihpariku*, inherently masc.)

(2) A third person feminine singular referential refers to a single inherently feminine inanimate, to a collectivity of inherently masculine inanimates (see also rule 4, below), or to an inherently collective inanimate, e.g.,

- ha'lʔukin ʔara'nì.* (10:a) there was a town (*ʔara'ni*, containing a 3FS subj. ref. referring to *ha'lʔukini*, inherently fem.)  
*ta'heritʔěhč, po'rʔokε'nì.* (5B:e) the large boat floated (*po'rʔokε'ni*, containing a 3FS subj. ref. referring to *ta'heritʔěhč*, inherently fem.)

*ta'rku wa'nahk'ara'nì.* (10:l) the wood was burning (*wa'nahk'ara'nì*, containing a 3FS subj. ref. referring to *ta'rku(hči)*, a collective of an inherently masc. noun)

*ta'wišihč, ri'čihk'ara'nì.* (5B:e) The water was rising. (*wi'čihk'ara'nì*, containing a 3FS subj. ref. referring to *ta'wišihči*, inherently collective)

(3) A third person masculine dual referential refers to two inherently masculine inanimates, e.g.,

*ta'šihparto'su ya'nahk'u'rana'nì, u'nimanàhku.* (13:ad) The beans were talking like them (*ya'nahk'u'rana'nì*, containing a 3MD subj. ref. referring to *ta'šihparto'su*, inherently masc.)

*ka'tàn, ta'rku i'lìn, unra'w'unihkihč* (10:k) where they had placed the two logs (*unra'w'unihkihč*, containing a 3MD obj. ref. referring to *ta'rku*, inherently masc.)

(4) A third person feminine plural referential refers to a plurality of inherently masculine or feminine inanimates, or, in a few instances, to a collectivity of inherently masculine or feminine inanimates, e.g.,

*ta'lasi'nimān, hi'stahah ka'lina'ara'nì.* (20:h) the arrows were still standing (*ka'lina'ara'nì*, containing a 3M-FP subj. ref. referring to *ta'lasi'nima*, sometimes masc., sometimes fem., in the singular)

*ta'ri ho'tün, ka'lina'araškān* (10:e) although all the houses are standing (*ka'lina'araškan*, containing a 3M-FP subj. ref. referring to *ta'ri*, inherently fem.)

*ta'rihč, ka'lina'ara'nì.* (10:f) the houses were standing (*ka'lina'ara'nì*, containing a 3M-FP subj. ref. referring to *ta'rihč*, collective)

*ta'mohtu pa'tasi'tihč* (14B:t) if the moss falls down (*pa'tasi'tihč*, containing a 3FP subj. ref. referring to *ta'mohtu(hči)*, a collective)

8.24 Dual referentials may refer to a dual nominal referee, two singular nominal referees, or two collective nominal referees. Similarly, plural referentials may refer to a plural nominal referee or to several singular or plural nominal referees. Moreover, in some cases plural referentials refer to a collective nominal referee or to two or more such referees. Examples:

*ta'yorum'aha'i'l'unimān, kat u'nanaħč* (25:d) where the two beasts were living (*u'nanaħč*, containing a 3MD subj. ref. referring to *ta'yorum'aha'i'l'unima*, a dual noun)

*ta'nisarate'kahaku, o'hoyahč'emān, u'unihke'nì.* (7A:a) The orphan boy and his sister used to be. (*u'unihke'nì*, containing a 3MD subj. ref. referring to *ta'nisarate'kahaku* and to *o'hoyahč'ema*, each of which is a sing. noun)

*ta'yoroniku, ta'paskaku, awa'č'unihke'nì.* (43F) The Tunica and the Pascagoula fought together. (*awa'č'unihke'nì*, containing a 3MD subj. ref. referring to *ta'yoroniku* and to *ta'paskaku*, each of which is a col. noun)

- to'nise'măn, hi'puna'ʔara'nì.* (14A:j) The people were dancing.  
(*hi'puna'ʔara'ni*, containing a 3M-FP subj. ref. referring to *to'nise'ma*, a pl. noun)
- to'nišise'măn, ha'tʔenă, to'ninu'hčisi'nimăn, hi'putăhč* (41A:a)  
when the men and the women dance (*hi'putahč*, containing a 3MP subj. ref. referring to *to'nišise'ma* and to *to'ninu'hčisi'nima*, each of which is a pl. noun)
- ti'spaniku, ta'yoronikʔmăn, ho'tŭn, sira'pʔonta'nì.* (22A:1) The Spanish and the Tunica killed all (of the Avoyelles).  
(*sira'pʔonta'ni*, containing a 3MP subj. ref. referring to *ti'spaniku* and to *ta'yoronikʔma*, each of which is a col. noun)

### 8.3 POSITIONAL AGREEMENT

8.31 In addition to their gender-number classification, the nouns of Tunica are classified on still another plane, namely, that of assumed or characteristic position. There are three of these positions: (1) *horizontal*, expressed by the auxiliary verb *ʔu'ra* "he lies," 4.422; (2) *squatting*, expressed by the auxiliary verb *ʔu'na* "he sits," 4.423; (3) *vertical*, expressed by the immutable durative active verb *ka'lʔura* "he stands" < *ka'li* "to stand" + *ʔu'ra*, 4.533. The paradigmatic forms of these three verbs are often used in situations in which English would use forms of the verb "to be," e.g., in such expressions as "there is a, the man"; "there is a, the dog"; "there is a, the tree."

8.32 Inasmuch as human and quadruped non-human animates can assume any of the positions mentioned above, their positional classification is free, e.g.,

- to'nĭku, ʔurá.* There is the man (in a lying position).  
*to'nĭku, ʔuná.* There is the man (in a sitting position).  
*to'nĭku, ka'lʔurá.* There is the man (in a standing position).  
*ta'săku, ʔurá.* There is the dog (in a lying position).  
*ta'săku, ʔuná.* There is the dog (in a sitting position).  
*ta'săku, ka'lʔurá.* There is the dog (in a standing position).

On the other hand, elongated non-human animates (e.g., fish, snakes, alligators) are always classified in the horizontal position while small, dumpy non-human animates (e.g., frogs, birds, insects) are always classified in the squatting position, e.g.,

- ta'ninĭku, ʔurá.* There is the fish < the fish is lying.  
*ta'narăku, ʔurá.* There is the snake < the snake is lying.  
*ta'mahkăku, ʔurá.* There is the alligator < the alligator is lying.  
*tu'runatʔĕku, ʔuná.* There is the bullfrog < the bullfrog is sitting.  
*tu'wăku, ʔuná.* There is the hoot owl < the hoot owl is sitting.  
*te'hkunăku, ʔuná.* There is the mosquito < the mosquito is sitting.

In contrast to animates, inanimates are always classified as either horizontal or vertical. Those whose characteristic position is a lying one (e.g., lakes, islands, rivers, towns, water, etc.) are classified as horizontals, e.g.,

*ta'wišənáhč, ʔará.* There is the lake < the lake is lying.  
*tu'huráku, kat ʔu'ráhč (22A:d)* where the island was < where  
 the island lay  
*ka'tán, ti'tihtʔən, ʔu'ráhč (22B:a)* where there is a river < where  
 a river lies  
*ha'lʔukin ʔara'nì. (10:a)* There was a town < a town was lying.  
*ta'wišihč, ʔará.* There is the water < the water is lying.

Abstract nouns are also classified as horizontals, e.g.,

*hi'nahkún, la'hon sa'hkún, ʔará, ha'tikàn. (14B:w)* Now there  
 is one morning (left for you to do it) again < now one  
 morning lies again.

There is another example of an abstract noun in 8.34.

Inanimates whose characteristic position is an erect one (e.g., houses, trees, most plants) are classified as verticals, e.g.,

*ri ɣə'lán, ka'lʔera'nì. (4B:m)* There was a deserted house < a  
 deserted house stood.  
*ʔe'kša ka'lʔurá.* There is a pine tree < a pine tree is standing.  
*ta'hkăku, ka'lʔurá.* There is the corn (plant) < the corn  
 (plant) is standing.  
*tə'škače'hkiniku, ka'lʔurá.* There is the kettle < the kettle is  
 standing.

8.33 In the above examples it is shown how the assumed or characteristic position of a noun determines the type of positional verb to be used with it. Certain other special situations also reflect the positional classification of nouns.

In the first place we find that there are three active verb stems in Tunica meaning "to place, put . . ." and the choice of stem to be used depends on the assumed or characteristic position of the noun which functions as the objective referee. These stems are as follows:

(1) *ra'wu* "to lay . . .; to place, put . . . in a horizontal position," e.g., *ta'yăku, ta'haltăn, ʔura'wʔəke'nì. (4A:d)* "She put the deer on the ground."

(2) *ʔu'ki*. . .c. "to set . . .; to place, put . . . in a squatting position," e.g., *ta'kuwato'höku, ta'haltăn, ʔuhkʔu'kinʔuhki.* "He put the bird on the ground."

(3) *ka'li*. . .c. "to stand . . .; to place, put . . . in a vertical position," e.g., *tə'škače'hkinik ʔuhka'linʔuhke'nì, ta'yi ha'yih.* (7A:e) "He placed the kettle on the fire."

8.34 There are also two expressions having the specialized

meaning "to stop, come to rest," one of which refers to a horizontal position, the other to a vertical position, viz.,

(1) *ha-. .na'* (see 9.21, no. 4) referring to the horizontal position, e.g.,

*ta'heritʔesa'hühč, hana'ʔake'nì.* (22B:c) The other boat stopped.  
*ta'nakähč, hana'tihč* (22A:m) when the war was over < when the war stopped<sup>1</sup>

(2) *ha-. .ka'li* (see 9.21, no. 4) referring to the vertical position, e.g.,

*tiya'nawihč, haka'lʔεke'nì.* (4B:bm) When he spoke to her, she stopped (i.e., in standing position).  
*ta'lähč, yu'kaka'lʔεke'nì* (4A:bj) the arrow got there and stopped (i.e., in vertical position); *yu'kaka'lʔεke'ni*, amalgamated < *yu'kahaka'lʔεke'ni*.

8.35 In the discussion devoted to the formation of active verb duratives (4.533) it was pointed out that either of the two positional auxiliaries (*ʔu'ra* "he lies" or *ʔu'na* "he sits") could be used. Although the choice of auxiliary is in certain cases apparently arbitrary, it is found to depend in large part on a combination of the features of gender and position. The following rules apply in too many cases to be considered a matter of accident:

(1) In the case of a single male animate subject whose position is free, the auxiliary *ʔu'na* is used if an erect or sitting position is implied in connection with the activity involved, whereas the auxiliary *ʔu'ra* is used if a lying position is implied in connection with the activity involved. Examples:

*pi'tahkʔuna'nì* (4A:b) he (a man) was walking along  
*ta'stʔěku, we'sahkʔuna'nì.* (13:i) The horse was jumping.  
*pa'kanʔuna'nì.* (4B:d) He (a man) replied. (From the context we know the man is in a sitting position; contrast with the next example.)  
*pa'kanʔura'nì.* (4B:e) He replied. (From the context we know that the man is in a lying position.)

(2) In the case of a single female animate subject whose position is free, the auxiliary *ʔu'ra* is used if an erect or lying position is implied in connection with the activity involved, whereas the auxiliary *ʔu'na* is used if a sitting position is implied in connection with the activity involved. Contrast with the preceding rule. Examples:

*pi'tahkʔara'nì.* (18:b) She (an opossum) was walking along.  
 (Contrast with *pi'tahkʔuna'nì*, above.) (*ʔa'ra* is the 3FS of *ʔu'ra*)  
*ti'šlína wa'čihkʔará.* (4A:i) The Stone Witch is fighting.  
*to'ninu'hčihč, ha'rahkʔač'e'nì, ta'rihkuya'hona'yihč.* (33:a) The woman sat singing on the limb. (*ʔa'či* is the 3FS of *ʔu'na*)

<sup>1</sup> The word *na'ka* "war" is an abstract noun (see 8.32).

(3) If the characteristic position of a single male or female animate subject is horizontal, the auxiliary *ʔu'ra* is used, but if the characteristic position is squatting, the auxiliary *ʔu'na* is used. Examples:

*to'mahkăku, hi'puhkʔura'nì.* (14A:k) The alligator was dancing.  
*hi'kičün, ha'rahkʔačɛ'nì.* (18:a) She (a wren) was singing in there.

(4) In the case of a single inanimate subject the auxiliary *ʔu'ra* is used, e.g.,

*ta'yihč, ʔɛ'mahkʔara'nì.* (4A:m) The fire was burning.  
*ta'wišihč, wi'čihkʔara'nì.* (5B:e) The water was rising.

(5) In the case of dual male animate subjects whose position is free, the auxiliary *ʔu'na* is used if an erect or sitting position is implied in connection with the activity involved, e.g.,

*pi'tahkʔu'nana'nì.* (10:e) They (two boys) were walking along.  
*l'tahkʔu'nana'nì.* (19:h) They (a man and a dog) were running along.

(6) In the case of dual female animate subjects or of dual male and female animate subjects whose position is free, the auxiliary *ʔu'ra* is used if an erect or lying position is implied in connection with the activity involved. Contrast with the preceding rule. Examples:

*ta'hka to'musi'rana'nì.* (4B:au) They (two girls) were pounding corn.  
*l'tahkʔu'rana'nì.* (13:aa) They (a man and a woman) were running. (Contrast with *l'tahkʔu'nana'nì*, quoted above)

(7) In the case of all types of plural animate subjects, the auxiliary *ʔu'ra* is used if an erect or lying position is implied in connection with the activity involved, whereas the auxiliary *ʔu'na* is used if a sitting position is implied in connection with the activity involved, e.g.,

*pi'tana'ʔarähč* (9:p) as they (three men) were walking  
*to'nisčɛm, hi'puna'ʔara'nì.* (14A:o) The people (men and women) were dancing.  
*ta'nisarasi'nima yu'kina'ʔara'nì.* (13:v) The girls were cooking.  
*ta'satosi'nimăn, ši'mina'ʔarâ.* (7B:b) Some puppies are playing.  
*ta'herita'l̥sa l'sahkʔu'kʔɛra'nì.* (22A:e) They (men) were pulling the oars.  
*to'nise'măn, ʔuhpo'hkʔukʔɛra'nì.* (4B:a) The people (men and women) were looking at him.

While these rules do not cover all possible types of situations, they are based on those which are illustrated in the available material. There are a few exceptions to these rules which at present cannot be explained. In particular we find that the paradigmatic



forms of the combination *ka'li* "to stand" + *ʔu'ra* "he lies" > *ka'lʔura* are used with both male and female animate subjects whereas a theoretically possible combination *ka'li* + *ʔu'na* "he sits" is never used.<sup>1</sup>

## 9. PREVERBS AND POSTFIXES

### 9.1 GENERAL REMARKS

The preverbs and postfixes are discussed in connection with syntax for two reasons, (1) because they are attached only to formally complete words, and (2) because for the most part the rules for their use are based on the syntactic classification of the words to which they are attached. Some linguists prefer to separate such elements from the words to which they are subjoined by means of hyphens. In Tunica such a device would prove impractical because several of the postfixes undergo contraction with the final vowel of the words to which they are attached (2.22), e.g., *nara'nì* "it was a snake, it is said" (< *na'ra* + *-a'ni*, quot. postf.); *ti'hčēt* "she, on her part" (< *ti'hčī* + *-hat* "on . . .'s part"); *niko'nì* "he was saying, it is said" (< *ni'ku* + *-a'ni*).

### 9.2 THE PREVERBS

9.21 The preverbs are most widely used with active verb predicative words. However, one of them (*te-* "about, all about") may also be used with a noun or adjective predicative word.

(1) *te-* "about, all about," e.g.,

*tewε'sasite'nì, ta'wiš ha'yìht.* (5B:e) They were jumping about on the water. (*tewε'sasite'ni* < *te-* + *wε'sasite'ni* they were jumping)

*ʔawa'čihkʔu'ranāhč, teha'hpaya'nì.* (4B:g) As they fought together, there was noise all about. (*teha'hpaya'ni* < *te-* + *ha'hpaya'ni* there was noise)

*te'mile'nì* (var. for *mile'nì*, 20:h) it was red all about. (< *te-* + *mile'ni* it was red)

(2) *ki-* "in, into," e.g.,

*ʔu'nir ki'ʔuhpe'kʔuhke'nì.* (14B:i) he hit him in his teeth. (*ki'ʔuhpe'kʔuhke'ni* < *ki-* + *ʔuhpe'kʔuhke'ni* he hit him)

*ʔušo'hu ki'čūn, ki'ʔuhpe'kʔuhke'nì.* (14A:j) he hit him in his mouth.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This theoretically possible combination is not to be confused with the homonymous 3MD semelfactive form *ka'lʔuna* "they two stood" < *ka'li* + *-ʔu'na*, 3MD smlf. endg.

<sup>2</sup> Note that in this example the postposition *ki'čū* "in, into" is used in addition to the preverb *ki-* whereas in the immediately preceding example the preverb is used alone. Whether or not the use of the postposition in addition to the preverb involves a redundancy cannot be ascertained because the available examples are more or less evenly divided between the two types of treatment.

(3) *ho-* “out, out of,” e.g.,

*ta'wiš ha'yihťän, hopo'rusi'tihč* (15:g) when they float out on the water (*hopo'rusi'tihč* < *ho-* + *po'rusi'tihč* when they float)

*ta'yi r'hpän, ho'pok'ni*. (10:k) He was looking out near the fire. (*ho'pok'ni* < *ho-* + *pok'ni* he was looking)

*ho'wäš, hopo'wihč* (14A:i) when he looked outside<sup>1</sup> (*hopo'wihč* < *ho-* + *po'wihč* when he looked)

In addition to the types of cases illustrated above wherein *ho-* may be freely attached to an active verb form, there is one bound active verb stem which is not used without *ho-*, viz., *ho-. .pi'* “to get out, emerge,” e.g.,

*hopi'uhki* (4A:v) he got out

In case *ho-. .pi'* is linked with another active verb stem the preverb may precede either stem, e.g.,

*na'rahopi'eta'ni* (18:e) she flew out < she flew and got out  
*hona'rapi'uwähč* (42D) when he flew out < when he flew and got out

(4) *ha-* “up, down.” This preverb is used somewhat idiomatically and its meaning is perhaps best described as resultative as in “to stand up,” “to kneel down,” e.g.,

*hatu'hkupa'takate'ni*. (4A:h) She fell to her knees < kneeled down and fell. (< *ha-* + *tu'hkupa'takate'ni* she kneeled and fell)

*hašu'hp'ake'ni* (2:b) it closed up. (< *ha-* + *šu'hp'ake'ni* it closed)

*ha'tikän, haka'likate'ni*. (4B:f) She stood up again. (*haka'likate'ni* < *ha-* + *ka'likate'ni* she stood)

The last example illustrates the use of *ha-* with the active verb stem *ka'li* “to stand.” This same combination is frequently used with the specialized meaning “to stop” when a vertical subject (8.34) is referred to. Similarly, *ha-* is used with the active verb stem *na'* “to lie” with the specialized meaning “to stop, come to rest” when a horizontal subject (8.34) is referred to. Examples:

*haka'liwik'aha'ni*. (42I) He would not stop.

*ta'herit'esa'hühč, hana'ake'ni*. (22B:c) The other boat stopped.

9.22 With the exception of *te-* the various preverbs appear to be related to adverbs and postpositions. Thus *ki-* would seem to be related to *ki'ču* “in, into” (postp., 5.61); *ho-* would seem to be

<sup>1</sup> Note that the adverb *ho'waši* “outside, outdoors” also occurs in the sentence. Here, too, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not a redundancy is involved because both styles of expression are common.

related to *hə'waši* "outside of; outside, outdoors" (postp. and adv., 5.61 and 5.62); while *ha-* might conceivably be related either to *ha'yiši* "above" (postp. and adv., 5.61 and 5.62) or to *ha'luši* "below" (postp. and adv., 5.61 and 5.62).

### 9.3 THE POSTFIXES

#### 9.31 GENERAL REMARKS

There are some thirty odd postfixes expressing various modes, negation, the future tense, and a heterogeneous assortment of other notions. Some of these may be used with any predicative word while others are restricted in use to a single word-class. In either event they are appended only to formally complete words. In certain cases more than one postfix may be attached to the same word and in this event their order is fixed (9.37). Each postfix is a law unto itself, having its own peculiarities and restrictions as to usage. For convenience, the postfixes are classified, in so far as possible, according to the general types of notions they express.

#### 9.32 COORDINATING AND SUBORDINATING POSTFIXES

(1) *-man* "and," used as a coordinator of clauses, e.g.,

*ha'ratimǎn, hi'pʔəkε'nì.* (3A:b) She sang and danced. (*ha'rati-man* < *ha'rati* she sang + *-man*)  
*ʔuhkʔe'riwimǎn, ʔa'kʔuwa'nì, ta'rku ki'čùn* (14B:b) he carried it and went into the woods

(2) *-ʔama* "and, together with," sometimes apocopated to *-ʔam*, used as a coordinator of nouns being regularly attached to the second noun, e.g.,

*ta'nisarate'kahǎku, ʔə'həyahčʔemǎn, ʔu'ʔunihke'nì.* (7A:a) The orphan boy and his sister used to be. (*ʔə'həyahčʔema* < *ʔə'həyahčì* his sister + *-ʔama*)  
*ti'spaniku, ta'yoronikʔəmǎn, ho'tǔn, sira'pʔənta'nì.* (22A:l) The Spanish and the Tunica killed all (of the Avoyelles).  
*ta'hala'yihǎn, ta'wišihčʔema ha'yihǎ, pi'takə'nì.* (42I) he would walk on land and on water.

In the last example *-ʔama* coordinates two nouns each of which is followed by a postposition.

(3) *-škan* "although," subordinating postf. While this element is properly described as subordinating, it is usually best rendered in English by means of the coordinating conjunction "but," e.g.,

*to'nmahonse'mǎn, ʔura'pataškǎn, ʔa'šu ma'nku pi'ratihč, ha'tikǎn, ʔuhpi'rakate'nì.* (10:a) The Indians would kill him but in four days he would come to life again. (*ʔura'pataškǎn* although they killed him < *ʔura'pata* they killed him + *-škan*)

*sa'hku ʔu'hkiškān, ʔu'w ʔih̄ta'tʔste'hp̄n̄.* (29:e) I have one (relative), but he is my half-brother < although there is one, he is my half-brother.

(4) *-hč* “when, after, as, while,” subordinating postf. This element is attached to the predicative word of dependent clauses and of adverbial clauses introduced by *ka'ta* “where.” Examples:

*ta'narāku, ʔuhka'hawihč* (14B:b) when he met the snake  
(*ʔuhka'hawihč* < *ʔuhka'hawi* he met him + *-hč*)  
*la'puyān, ʔuri'hčuwihč* (14B:e) after he tied him well  
*pi'tahkʔu'nāhč* (14B:r) as he was walking along  
*ʔuh̄ta'harānč, ha'rʔutāhč* (15:d) while he played his fiddle  
*ka'tān, ʔu'nāhč* (32:b) where he lived

(5) *-hčika'si*, perhaps to be described as a causal postf. It is best rendered in English by the expression “so . . . that,” but since it is appended to dependent clauses it may mean more literally, “because so. . . .” Examples:

*ta'rīhč, hi'lakate'n̄i, ro'mančika's̄i.* (10:k) He was so heavy that the house was shaking, perhaps < because he was so heavy the house was shaking. (*ro'mančika's̄i* < *ro'mani* heavy + *-hčika's̄i*)  
*tiha'yihčika's̄l, po'tikʔaha'n̄i.* (5A:c) She was so old she was blind.

### 9.33 TENSE AND MODAL POSTFIXES

(6) *-a'ni*, quotative postf. It is used with the predicative word of a main clause unless this word is a noun modified by an adjective or an adjective or static verb modified by a comparative; in the latter event it is attached to the adjective or to the comparative, as the case may require. All statements made on hearsay (and this covers the majority of the sentences in the texts aside from those in direct discourse) are indicated by the presence of *-a'ni*, e.g.,

*ta'pahpahkanāhč, ni'sara'n̄i.* (43A:a) The pileated woodpecker was a young woman, it is said. (*ni'sara'ni* < *ni'sara* young person + *-a'ni*)  
*ni'sʔahān, ta'yak ʔo'sāhč, yuro'n̄i.* (16:a) In olden times Deer's tail was long, it is said.  
*ta'ri ki'čūn, ʔuna'n̄i.* (4A:p) He was sitting in the house, it is said.  
*pi'tahkʔuna'n̄i* (4A:b) he was walking along, it is said.  
*ta'ruštak ʔu'sʔepa'n̄i.* (14A:h) Rabbit was glad, it is said.  
*te'čāku, ku'wa lapo'n̄i.* (43A:b) The crow woodpecker is a good bird, it is said. (*lapo'ni* < *la'pu* good + *-a'ni*, modifying the predicative noun *ku'wa*)

- ti'šuhkīhč, to'sto ri'kinε'nì.* (4B:am) The doorway was too small, it is said. (*ri'kinε'ni* < *ri'kini* too + *-a'ni*, modifying the predicative adjective *to'stohku*)
- sinšru'ka panǝ'nì.* (18:b) They were greatly frightened, it is said. (*panǝ'ni* < *pa'nu* greatly, very + *-a'ni*, modifying the static verb *sinšru'ka*)

(7) *-n*, interrogative postf., used with any predicative word, e.g.,

- ka'tǎn, hε'yǎn.* (18:b) Where are you going? (*hε'yan* < *hε'ya* you F are going + *-n*)
- ka'ʔǎš, ya'kʔikʔahčǎn.* (11B:b) When will you come back?
- l'ta wiwa'nǎn.* (16:h) Do you want to run?

(8) *-n*, an imperative and exhortative postf. (homonymous with the interrog. postf.). It is used as one type of imperative and in one instance as an exhortative. Though it seems likely that there is some affective difference between *-n* and the other three imperative postfixes (nos. 9, 10, and 11, below), it has not been possible to ascertain just what the difference is. All of the imperative postfixes (with the partial exception of *-tan*, no. 11) are used only with the semelfactive forms of auxiliary or active verbs. Examples of *-n*:

- poʔin.* (7B:b) Look! (< *poʔi* you M look + *-n*)
- ʔihkʔa'marwitǎn.* (14B:c) Measure me! (< *ʔihkʔa'marwi'ta* you M measure me + *-n*)
- sa'kʔinǎn.* (4A:bh) Let us cross! (< *sa'kʔina* we cross + *-n*)

(9) *-ki*, imperative postf., used only with the semelfactive forms of auxiliary or active verbs. It occurs more frequently than the other imperative postfixes. Examples:

- wi'yakî.* (14B:p) Go! (< *wi'ya* you M go + *-ki*)
- šu'čʔikî.* (4A:r) Shoot!
- hopi'ʔikî.* (4A:w) Come out!
- ʔuyǝ'lawi'tikî.* (25:g) Let it loose!

In rare cases (perhaps incorrectly) *-ki* is followed by the imperative *-n*, e.g., *ʔiri'hčʔikîǎn* (14B:e) "Tie me!" Note also that in the first telling of Text no. 4 the form *ki'ʔumu'rʔekî* (4A:br) "Shove him in!" is employed whereas in the second telling the form *ki'ʔumu'rʔên* (4B:bt), having the same meaning, is used in the same situation. If any conclusion can be drawn from these two examples it is that the affective difference between *-ki* and *-n* is not very great.

(10) *-hčǎn*, imperative postf., used only with the semelfactive forms of auxiliary or active verbs. Since there is some reason to think that *-hčǎn* is used with a somewhat more persuasive force

than the other imperative postfixes, it is rendered as “must . . .,” e.g.,

- ya'k<sup>?</sup>ihčân*. (14A:h) You must come. (< *ya'k<sup>?</sup>i* you M come + *-hčân*)  
*ʔi'ma rə'hpan<sup>t</sup> ʔu'k<sup>?</sup>ihčân*. (14B:o) You must sit near me.  
*ta'ri ki'čün, ʔa'k<sup>?</sup>ihčân*. (14B:o) You must come into the house.  
 (Cf. the second example below under *-tan*)

(11) *-tan*, imperative postf., used with the semelfactive forms of an auxiliary or active verb in only two cases, viz.,

- hi'hčün, wi'natân*. (4A:ae) Stay here! (*wi'natan* < *wi'na* you M stay + *-tan*)  
*ta'ri ki'čün, ʔa'k<sup>?</sup>itân*. (14A:i) Come into the house!

In all other cases *-tan* is used in connection with the negative postfix *-ʔaha* (no. 17 below) with the force of a prohibitive. Prohibitive forms are not inflected; in other words, *-ʔaha* + *-tan* (in this order) are added directly to active verb infinitives, e.g.,

- ʔuhpe'k<sup>?</sup>ahatân*. (13:i) Don't beat him! (< *ʔuhpe'ka* to beat him + *-ʔaha* + *-tan*)  
*ʔu'run<sup>?</sup>ehetân*. (2:a) Do not shout! (< *ʔu'runi*, caus. infin., to shout + *-ʔaha* + *-tan*)

(12) *-k<sup>?</sup>ahča*, future postf., used only with the semelfactive forms of auxiliary and active verbs or with semelfactive inchoative forms of static verbs, e.g.,

- ʔa'nik<sup>?</sup>ahčá*. (14B:n) I'll go. (< *ʔa'ni* I go, smlf. aux. vb., + *-k<sup>?</sup>ahča*)  
*lɔ't<sup>?</sup>inak<sup>?</sup>ahčá*. (16:f) We shall run. (< *lɔ't<sup>?</sup>ina* we two run, smlf. act. vb., + *-k<sup>?</sup>ahča*)  
*ʔi'măn, wišpi'tutik<sup>?</sup>ahčá*. (13:am) You will forget me. (*wišpi'tutik<sup>?</sup>ahča* < *wišpi'tuti* you forget, smlf. inch. st. vb., + *-k<sup>?</sup>ahča*)

(13) *-k<sup>?</sup>i* or, rarely, *-ʔi* “if,” conditional postf., used with the semelfactive forms of auxiliary and active verbs and with non-inchoative forms of static verbs. Conditionals of static verbs may be formed only by means of this element. Auxiliary and active verbs, however, have conditional paradigms which may be employed in place of the conditional postfix (4.44 and 4.523). The conditional postfix (or a conditional paradigmatic form) is always followed by the subordinating postfix *-hč* (no. 4, above). Examples of *-k<sup>?</sup>i* are:

- mɔ'yuto'hkčün, wi'yak<sup>?</sup>ihč* (20:e) if you proceed stealthily  
 (*wi'yak<sup>?</sup>ihč* < *wi'ya* you M go, proceed, smlf. aux. vb., + *-k<sup>?</sup>i* + *-hč*)  
*ta'yiwɔ he'rawi'nak<sup>?</sup>ihč* (9:d) if you guard the fire (*he'rawi'nak<sup>?</sup>ihč* < *he'rawi'na* you MD guard, watch, smlf. act. vb., + *-k<sup>?</sup>i* + *-hč*)  
*he'măn, se'mi hiwa'nak<sup>?</sup>ihč* (4B:ca) if you want to come  
 (*hiwa'nak<sup>?</sup>ihč* < *hiwa'na* you F want + *-k<sup>?</sup>i* + *-hč*)

Examples of *-ʔi* are rare:

- ʔi'riš se'mi wiwa'nʔihč* (12:f) if you want to come to my home  
(*wiwa'nʔihč* < *wiwa'na* you M want + *-ʔi* + *-hč*); contrast  
with example immediately above  
*ka'kūn, hu'mara ya'wehʔihč* (1) should anyone not have fasted  
< if anyone did not fast (*ya'wehʔihč* < *ya'wi* he did, made  
+ *-aha*, neg. postf., + *-ʔi* + *-hč*)

(14) *-pan* “even if, even though, though,” concessive postf.  
used two or three times with a semelfactive form of an auxiliary  
verb, once with a habitual form of an active verb, e.g.,

- wi'yapăn* (14A:p) even if you go away (< *wi'ya* you M go,  
smlf. aux. vb., + *-pan*)  
*ʔi'mayó, ni'kupăn* (4B:ar) even if he says “It is I” (*ni'kupan*  
< *ni'ku* he says, hab. act. vb., + *-pan*)

(15) *-k*, future subjunctive, used with the semelfactive forms  
of auxiliary and active verbs. It is used only in clauses of indirect  
discourse and is attached to the predicative word of such clauses  
whenever the future tense is intended, e.g.,

- ho'nuwík, ʔuni'sina'nì.* (4A:az) They told him to come down  
< that he should come down. (*ho'nuwík* < *ho'nuwi* he  
came down + *-k*)  
*hihč ʔa'kawík, ʔu'nikó'nì.* (19:h) He told him to go in there  
< that he should go in there.  
*ʔa'su sa'hkūn, we'ranʔu'wāk, nikó'nì.* (20:a) One day he said  
he was going hunting.

If the verb of the clause of indirect discourse is negativized the  
element *-k* precedes the negative postfix *-ʔaha* (no. 18 below) and  
such cases are not to be confused with the negative postfix *-kʔaha*  
(no. 17 below), e.g.,

- hopi'wikʔahăn, ʔuni'wihkí.* (4A:v) you told him not to come  
out < that he should not come out (*hopi'wikʔaha*  
< *hopi'wi* he got out + *-k* + *-ʔaha*)

### 9.34 NEGATIVE POSTFIXES

(16) *-aha* “not,” negative postf., used only with the semelfac-  
tive forms of auxiliary and active verbs and with the semelfactive  
inchoative forms of static verbs. When used with active verbs  
(4.55) or inchoative static verbs (4.74) it forms what may be called  
their negative semelfactive paradigm. Examples:

- ʔa'čehé'nì, ti'riš* (4A:c) she was not at home < was not sitting  
at her home (*ʔa'čehé'ni* < *ʔa'či* she was sitting, smlf.  
aux. vb., + *-aha* + *-a'ni*, quot. postf.)  
*ya'kawehé'nì* (9:b) he did not come back (< *ya'kawi* he  
came back, smlf. act. vb., + *-aha* + *-a'ni*)  
*ʔuya'sítehé.* (non-text) He did not get angry. (< *ʔuya'síti* he  
got angry, smlf. inch. st. vb., + *-aha*)

(17) *-k<sup>2</sup>aha* "not," negative postf. In contrast to *-aha* (no. 16), *-k<sup>2</sup>aha* is used to build what may be called the negative habitual paradigm of active verbs (4.55) or of inchoative static verbs (4.74), even though, on the formal level, it may be attached only to their semelfactive forms. Examples:

- ta'ri ki'čün, sa'čiwik<sup>2</sup>aha'nì.* (36A:c) It would not rain in the house. (*sa'čiwik<sup>2</sup>aha'nì* < *sa'čiwì* it rained, smlf. act. vb., + *-k<sup>2</sup>aha* + *-a'nì*)  
*wè'r<sup>2</sup>utak<sup>2</sup>aha'nì.* (20:a) He would not hunt. (< *wè'r<sup>2</sup>uta* he hunted, smlf. act. vb., + *-k<sup>2</sup>aha* + *-a'nì*)  
*<sup>2</sup>uya'šitik<sup>2</sup>ahá.* (non-text) He does not get angry. (< *<sup>2</sup>uya'šiti* he got angry, smlf. inch. st. vb., + *-k<sup>2</sup>aha*)

(18) *-<sup>2</sup>aha* "not," negative postf. In *-<sup>2</sup>aha* we have a third negative postfix which is used in still other ways, viz., with non-inchoative forms of static verbs (4.74) and with independent personal pronouns, nouns, and adjectives when these are used as predicative words. Moreover, when a predicative noun is modified by an adjective or when a non-inchoative static verb or a predicative adjective is modified by a comparative, the element *-<sup>2</sup>aha* is attached to the adjective or to the comparative, as the case may require. Examples:

- <sup>2</sup>uš<sup>2</sup>ε'p<sup>2</sup>aha'nì* (4B:w) he was not pleased (< *<sup>2</sup>uš<sup>2</sup>ε'pa* he was pleased, non-inch. st. vb., + *-<sup>2</sup>aha* + *-a'nì*)  
*<sup>2</sup>u'w<sup>2</sup>εhéhé* (19:e) it is not he (< *<sup>2</sup>u'wi*, 3MS pron., + *-<sup>2</sup>aha*)  
*ka'paš<sup>2</sup>εhéhé.* (12:b) It is not a chicken. (< *ka'paši* chicken, noun, + *-<sup>2</sup>aha*)  
*ta'wišmi'līku, ti'k<sup>2</sup>aha'nì.* (28) Red River was not big. (*ti'k<sup>2</sup>aha'nì* < *ti'ka* big, adj., + *-<sup>2</sup>aha* + *-a'nì*)  
*<sup>2</sup>i'yut<sup>2</sup>εma'kǎn, la'pu pa'n<sup>2</sup>hó'nì.* (35D:c) Lard is not very good. (*pa'n<sup>2</sup>hó'nì* < *pa'nu* very, comp., + *-<sup>2</sup>aha* + *-a'nì*, modifying *la'pu* good, adj.)

In addition, *-<sup>2</sup>aha* may be added to an active verb infinitive to form a prohibitive with or without the further addition of the imperative postfix *-tan* (no. 11, above), e.g.,

- ta'la ki'čün, <sup>2</sup>a'm<sup>2</sup>εhéhé.* (4A:y) Don't go into the canebrake! (*<sup>2</sup>a'm<sup>2</sup>εhéhé* < *<sup>2</sup>a'mì* to go + *-<sup>2</sup>aha*)  
*<sup>2</sup>ira'p<sup>2</sup>ahatân.* (10:e) Do not kill me! (< *<sup>2</sup>ira'pa* to kill me + *-<sup>2</sup>aha* + *-tan*)

(19) *-p<sup>2</sup>aha* "no, not any" (< *-pa*, no. 22, + *-<sup>2</sup>aha*, no. 18), used with nouns and interrogative-indefinite pronouns when these occur as predicative words, e.g.,

- <sup>2</sup>o'nip<sup>2</sup>aha'nì.* (4A:an) There were no people. (< *<sup>2</sup>o'ni* person + *-p<sup>2</sup>aha* + *-a'nì*)  
*ka'nahkup<sup>2</sup>ahá.* (7A:d) There is nothing. (< *ka'nahku* what, something, anything + *-p<sup>2</sup>aha*)



(20) *-štukʔɔhɔ* “can’t” (< \**-štuku-* + *-ʔaha*), used only with the semelfactive forms of auxiliary and active verbs, e.g.,

- ʔa'ništukʔɔhɔ*. (14A:l) I can't go. (< *ʔa'ni* I go, smlf. aux. vb., + *-štukʔɔhɔ*)  
*lɔ'tʔištukʔɔhɔ*. (16:c) You can't run. (< *lɔ'tʔi* you M run, smlf. act. vb., + *-štukʔɔhɔ*)

### 9.35 MISCELLANEOUS POSTFIXES

(21) *-hat* “on . . .'s part,” a postf. of contrastive significance, used mostly with independent personal pronouns, nouns, and interrogative-indefinite pronouns, and with quantificatives substituted for nouns, e.g.,

- ʔu'wět, pa'kanʔuna'nì*. (4B:d) He, on his part, replied. (*ʔu'wet* < *ʔu'wi*, 3MS pron., + *-hat*)  
*ta'nisarahčēt, čo'kaye'nì*. (16:q) The young woman, on her part, was a guinea. (*ta'nisarahčēt* < *ta'nisarahči* the young woman + *-hat*)  
*sa'hkčt, ʔu'štohkɔ'nì*. (20:a) There was a certain (man who was) lazy < one, on his part, was lazy. (*sa'hkčt* < *sa'hku* one + *-hat*)

(22) *-pa* “too, also, even,” used mostly with substantives and substantive substitutes, e.g.,

- ʔu'wipăn, ʔuha'hʔuhke'nì*. (4B:aj) He cursed him, too. (*ʔu'wipa* < *ʔu'wi*, 3MS pron., + *-pa*)  
*ta'yakupăn, ʔuhka'linʔuhke'nì*. (6c:a) He created the deer, too. (*ta'yakupa* < *ta'yaku* the deer + *-pa*)

In clauses containing a negative element, *-pa* is best rendered by “even,” e.g.,

- ko'tyukipăn, sa'mʔahăn*. (22A:i) (Have you) not even cooked hominy? < Hominy, even, is it not cooked? (*ko'tyukipa* < *ko'tyuki* hominy + *-pa*)  
*ka'kupăn, ʔo'rusʔaha'nì*. (25:e) No one knew < anyone, even, did not know. (*ka'kupa* < *ka'ku* who, someone, anyone + *-pa*)  
*sa'hkupăn, yɔ'lawikʔaha'nì*. (34) They would not leave a one < even one. (*sa'hkupa* < *sa'hku* one + *-pa*)

(23) *-nahku* “like, resembling . . .,” used with substantives, e.g.,

- ma'ʔăn, ʔi'mana wi'hkikʔahčá*. (4B:bg) You are going to be like me. (*ʔi'mana(hku)* < *ʔi'ma*, 1s pron., + *-nahku*)  
*ti'šlinăhč, ʔo'ninah po'kate'nì*. (42B) The Stone Witch looked like a person. (*ʔo'ninah(ku)* < *ʔo'ni* a person + *-nahku*)

(24) *-tahki* “only, nothing but . . .,” used with substantives. When used with pronouns it may often be rendered “. . . alone; by . . .-self.” Examples:

- ʔu'witahk ʔuya'ʔakε'nì.* (7B:c) He came to be by himself.  
 (*ʔu'witahki* < *ʔu'wi*, 3MS pron., + *-tahki*)  
*ʔu'štahpüş, po'wihč, ta'hkitahke'nì* (19:f) when he looked in his face, it was nothing but bones (*ta'hkitahke'ni* < *ta'hki* bones + *-tahki* + *-a'ni*)

(25) *-štahahki* “only . . .,” used with numerals, e.g.,

- sa'hkuštahahk ʔuna'šʔuwa'nì.* (9:q) He went on leading only one. (*sa'hkuštahahki* < *sa'hku* one + *-štahahki*)

(26) *-te'pan* or, in a few cases *-hte'pan* “every . . .,” used with nouns denoting a given length of time, e.g.,

- yu'pahta pa'nu ya'kate'nì, ti'hikate'pàn* (1) it gets very cold every year. (*ti'hikate'pan* < *ti'hika* year + *-te'pan*)  
*ʔa'šuhte'pan* (25:b) every day (< *ʔa'šuhki* day + *-te'pan* or *-hte'pan*)  
*la'wute'pan* (31:a) every night (< *la'wu* night + *-te'pan*)  
*la'wuhte'pan* (10:a) every night (< *la'wu* + *-hte'pan*)  
*se'hihte'pan* (7A:a) every morning (< *se'hi* morning + *-hte'pan*)

The form *la'wuhte'pan* occurs still more frequently in a shortened form *lu htepan* (e.g., 32:b) “every night.”

(27) *-ša* “. . .-ish; almost, not quite, somewhat.” It does not occur in the texts, but in non-text examples it is used with adjectives and with non-inchoative static verb forms, e.g.,

- mi'liša* reddish; almost, not quite red (< *mi'li* red + *-ša*)  
*ʔušru'kaša* he's somewhat afraid (< *ʔušru'ka* he's afraid + *-ša*)

(28) *-štʔε* “very much” (prob. < *-ša* + *-tʔε*, aug. suff.), used with adjectives and with non-inchoative static verb forms, e.g.,

- ra'šitʔε* very hard (< *ra'* hard + *-štʔε*)  
*l't ʔiwa'naštʔé.* I want very much to run. (*ʔiwa'naštʔε* < *ʔiwa'na* I want + *-štʔε*)

(29) *-što'hku* “fairly, quite, a little bit” (prob. < *-ša* + *-to'hku*, dim. suff.), used with adjectives and adverbs, e.g.,

- ta'wišihč, ru'winašto ya'tähč* (38:b) when they make the water a little bit warm (*ru'winašto(hku)* < *ru'wina* hot, warm + *-što'hku*)  
*ro'hpanštohk ʔu'kʔikʔihč* (14A:o) if you sit quite close (*ro'hpanšto'hku* < *ro'hpan* close + *-što'hku*)

(30) *-le'he* “right, precisely,” occurring but rarely, e.g.,

- la'pule'hěn, ʔuwi'rahkʔuta'nì* (21:d) he questioned him thoroughly. (*la'pule'he* < *la'pu* good + *-le'he*)  
*hi'hčile'hěn, po'wihč* (9:h) when he looked right there (*hi'hčile'he* < *hi'hči* there + *-le'he*)

## 9.36 OBSCURE POSTFIXES

There are a few postfixes which occur only once or twice in the available material. Some of these are probably archaic and most of them are of doubtful meaning.

(31) *-we*, prob. an archaic exhortative postf., occurring in two identical examples, viz., *sa'kunawê* (22A:f, 22B:f) which the informant translated as "Let's eat!" If the first person dual is implied it should be *sa'k<sup>?</sup>inawê* and the form as dictated is apparently incorrect. In corroboration of this we find that Gatschet wrote the form as *sa'kinawe*<sup>1</sup> and, since he did not record glottal stops, we may read his form as *sa'k<sup>?</sup>inawe* < *sa'k<sup>?</sup>ina* "we eat" + *-we*.

(32) *-yo*, of no certain meaning, occurring only in the word *ʔi'mayó* (4A:ar, 4B:ap, 4B:aq, 4B:ar) with the meaning "It is I" (< *ʔi'ma*, 1s pron., + *-yo*).

(33) *-tan*, some kind of subordinating postf. In the only two instances of its occurrence it is translated once as "after" and once as "while," e.g., *ʔa'm<sup>?</sup>uhkitān* (4A:p) "after he had gone" (< *ʔa'm<sup>?</sup>uhki* "he had gone" + *-tan*); *hi'hčĭn*, *ʔu'natān* (4A:bd) "while he lived there" (*ʔu'natan* < *ʔu'na* "he lived" + *-tan*).

(34) An element *-at* (or possibly *-hat*, though apparently unrelated to no. 21) is used once with a verb form, viz., *po'nihčĕt* (30) "when I looked" (< *po'ni* "I looked" + *-hčĭ* + *-at* or *-hat*). It is assumed that *-hčĭ* may be the unapocopated form of *-hč* (no. 4 above) but it has not been possible to establish a meaning for *-at* or *-hat*; note that *po'nihč* (< *po'ni* + *-hč*) would mean "when I looked."

(35) In one case an element *-ʔaha* is used in a context which does not require a negative (see no. 18). In this case it has seemed appropriate to render the element as "indeed," viz., *ti'hč<sup>?</sup>εhĕ*, *ʔi'waná* (13:y) "It is she, indeed, (that) I want." (*ti'hč<sup>?</sup>εhĕ* < *ti'hčĭ*, 3FS pron., + *-ʔaha*). Though the same form could mean "it is not she," such a rendition would not fit the context.

## 9.37 ORDER OF THE POSTFIXES

In certain cases more than one postfix is attached to the same word and in this event their order is fixed. Note the following rules. The references are to 9.32, 9.33 and 9.34:

Rule 1. The quotative postfix *-a'ni* (no. 6) follows any other postfix which is used with the same word, e.g.,

*lu'piwik<sup>?</sup>ahčā'nì*. (42H) He will die, it is said. (< *lu'piwi*  
+ *-k<sup>?</sup>ahčā*, fut. postf., no. 12, + *-a'ni*)  
*sinsa'kutehĕ'nì*. (4A:l) She did not eat them, it is said.  
(< *sinsa'kuti* + *-aha*, neg. postf., no. 16, + *-a'ni*)

<sup>1</sup> John R. Swanton, *A Sketch of the Tunica Language*, International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 2, p. 36.

- haka'liwik<sup>?</sup>aha'ni*. (42i) He would not stop, it is said. (< *haka'liwi* + *-k<sup>?</sup>aha*, neg. postf., no. 17, + *-a'ni*)  
*o'rus<sup>?</sup>aha'ni*. (4B:aj) He did not know, it is said. (< *o'rusa* + *-<sup>?</sup>aha*, neg. postf., no. 18, + *-a'ni*)  
*o'nip<sup>?</sup>aha'ni*. (4A:an) There were no people, it is said. (< *o'ni* + *-p<sup>?</sup>aha*, neg. postf., no. 19, + *-a'ni*)  
*tihpo'wištuk<sup>?</sup>ho'ni*. (7A:c) He could not find her, it is said. (< *tihpo'wi* + *-štuk<sup>?</sup>ho*, neg. postf., no. 20, + *-a'ni*)

Rule 2. The interrogative postfix *-n* (no. 7) follows any other postfix which is used with the same word, e.g.,

- ka'š, ya'k<sup>?</sup>ik<sup>?</sup>ahčän*. (11B:b) When will you come back? (*ya'k<sup>?</sup>ik<sup>?</sup>ahčän* < *ya'k<sup>?</sup>i* + *-k<sup>?</sup>ahča*, fut. postf., no. 12, + *-n*)  
*unpo'ehän*. (13:ag) Didn't you see them? (< *unpo'ei* + *-aha*, neg. postf., no. 16, + *-n*)  
*ta'yiwē'han<sup>?</sup>š'štähč, po'ik<sup>?</sup>ahän*. (13:aj) You don't see a blue light, (do you)? (*po'ik<sup>?</sup>ahan* < *po'ei* + *-k<sup>?</sup>aha*, neg. postf., no. 17, + *-n*)

Rule 3. The imperative postfix *-tan* (no. 11) follows the negative postfix *-<sup>?</sup>aha* (no. 18) when the two are used in forming the prohibitive, e.g., *ira'p<sup>?</sup>ahatän*. (10:e) Do not kill me! (< *ira'pa* + *-<sup>?</sup>aha* + *-tan*).

Rule 4. The negative postfix *-<sup>?</sup>aha* (no. 18) follows the future subjunctive postfix *-k* (no. 15), e.g., *hopi'wik<sup>?</sup>ahän, uni'wihki*. (4A:v) You told him not to come out. (*hopi'wik<sup>?</sup>aha* < *hopi'wi* + *-k* + *-<sup>?</sup>aha*).

Rule 5. The subordinating postfix *-hč* (no. 4) follows the conditional postfix *-k<sup>?</sup>i* or *-<sup>?</sup>i* (no. 13), e.g., *wi'yak<sup>?</sup>ihč* (20:e) if you proceed (< *wi'ya* + *-k<sup>?</sup>i* + *-hč*).

Rule 6. The conditional postfix *-k<sup>?</sup>i* or *-<sup>?</sup>i* (no. 13) follows the negative postfixes *-aha* (no. 16) and *-k<sup>?</sup>aha* (no. 17), e.g.,

- ka'kün, hu'mara ya'weh<sup>?</sup>ihč* (1) should anyone not have fasted (*ya'weh<sup>?</sup>ihč* < *ya'wi* + *-aha* + *-<sup>?</sup>i* + *-hč*)  
*l'tanik<sup>?</sup>ahak<sup>?</sup>ihč* (non-text) if I don't run (< *l'tani* + *-k<sup>?</sup>aha* + *-k<sup>?</sup>i* + *-hč*)

Other combinations of postfixes may be possible but they do not occur in the available material. Note that rule no. 1 does not conflict with the other rules for the following reasons: (1) The quotative postfix may not be used in direct discourse whereas the interrogative postfix (rule 2) and the imperative postfix *-tan* (rule 3) may be used only in that way. (2) The quotative postfix may likewise not be used in indirect discourse whereas the future subjunctive postfix *-k* (rule 4) may be used only in that way. (3) The quotative postfix may further be used only in main clauses whereas the conditional postfix (rules 5 and 6) and the subordinating postfix (rule 5) may be used only in subordinate clauses.

## 10. THE SYNTACTIC USES OF THE WORD-CLASSES

## 10.1 SUBSTANTIVES

## 10.11 NOUNS

In connection with the discussion devoted to noun inflection (4.81) it is pointed out that there are two primary noun categories, the indeterminative and the determinative. In addition it is shown that the determinative category is subdivided into three case categories, the definitive, the non-definitive, and the locative. In this section it is shown how these various categories are used.

Nouns in the indeterminative category or in the definitive case of the determinative category are used in the following ways:

(1) as predicative words, e.g.,

*ʔu'w ʔonε'nì* (6c:a) he was a person (*ʔonε'nì* < *ʔo'nì* a person + *-a'nì*)  
*ʔuha'yikú.* (13:g) It is the old man.

(2) as independent subjects of predications, e.g.,

*no'kuš ka'lʔura'nì* (20:b) a bear was standing (*no'kuši* a bear)  
*to'niku ʔuya'nakɔ'nì.* (20:e) The man spoke to it. (*to'niku* the man)

(3) as independent objects of transitive and transimpersonal active verbs and of static verbs, e.g.,

*či'yǎn, ʔuwe'nʔuhke'nì* (20:a) he found a squirrel (*či'ya* a squirrel)  
*ta'naráku, ʔuhka'hawihč* (14B:b) when he met the snake (*ta'naraku* the snake)  
*ʔɔ'hɔyahčēt, no'kušta'wičín, tihpi'rʔake'nì.* (4B:cc) His sister, on her part, became a woodcock. (*ʔɔ'hɔyahčēt* his sister, on her part)  
*ta'ruštak ʔu'šʔεpa'nì.* (14A:h) Rabbit was glad. (*ta'ruštaku* Rabbit)

(4) as complements of impersonal and transimpersonal active verbs and of static verbs, e.g.,

*ti'hika ta'yihkún, yu'katihč* (12:d) when seven years had passed  
 < when it reached seven years (*ti'hika* year)  
*ta'hčʔihč, tihpi'rʔake'nì.* (3B:d) She became the Sun. (*ta'hč-ʔihči* the Sun)  
*ʔɔ'hɔyǎhč, ʔušpi'tʔake'nì.* (non-text) He forgot his sister.  
 (*ʔɔ'hɔyǎhči* his sister)

Nouns in the non-definitive case of the determinative category are often found to occur in uses no. 2 and 3 above if they are modified by a quantificative (see 10.21), e.g.,

*ʔu'sa sa'hkún, wa'hakɔ'nì* (19:g) one (of) his dogs yelped  
 (*ʔu'sa* his dog, modified by *sa'hku* one)

In addition nouns in the non-definitive case of the determinative category are used in the following way:

(5) as objects of postpositions, e.g.,

*ši'mina'ará, ta'hahču ha'yih̄t* (7B:b) they are playing on the sand (*ta'hahču* the sand, obj. of postp. *ha'yih̄ta* on)

Nouns in the locative case of the determinative category are used as follows:

(6) as modifiers of auxiliary and active verbs, e.g.,

*ʔu'riš ʔata'nì.* (4A:ae) She went to his house. (*ʔu'riši* to his house, modifier of *ʔata'ni*, aux. vb.)

*ta'haltān, ču'hʔuhke'nì* (4A:az) he spat on the ground (*ta'-haltā* on the ground, modifier of *ču'hʔuhke'nì*, act. vb.)

## 10.12 THE INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The independent personal pronouns are inflected for person, gender, and number (4.22) but do not have special forms distinguished as to the indeterminative and determinative categories as nouns do. They are used as substitutes for nouns and hence, except for the fact that they do not occur in the locative case (noun use no. 6), they may be used in all the ways that nouns are used, e.g.,

*ʔu'wʔehé* (19:e) it is not he (< *ʔu'wi*, 3MS, + *-ʔaha*, neg. postf.; predicative word)

*ʔu'w ʔone'nì* (6c:a) he was a person (*ʔu'wi*; independent subject)

*se'mān, siya'nʔuhke'nì* (9:n) he spoke to them (*se'ma*, 3MP; independent object)

*ʔi'mān, wišpi'tutikʔahčá.* (13:am) You will forget me. (*ʔi'ma*, 1s; predicate complement)

*ʔi'ma rʔhpant ʔu'kʔihčān.* (14B:o) You must sit near me. (*ʔi'ma*; obj. of the postp. *rʔhpant* near)

Other special points regarding the use of the independent personal pronouns follow:

(1) They are used as substitutes only for animate nouns and must agree with them in gender and number (see 8.22).

(2) Since all verbs contain pronominal referentials it is not necessary to employ an independent personal pronoun as independent subject or object unless there is a shift in the animate referred to. In other words, once the characters are established in the context by means of nominal referees, the independent personal pronouns are used in cases like the following:

*ka'na la'pu yu'kʔēnč, la'pu sa'kʔikʔahčá, ʔuni'kate'nì. hinya'tihč, ʔu'wīn, pa'kahkʔuta'nì. ti'hčīn, ya'nakate'nì. ʔu'wīn, pa'kahkʔu'tʔuna'nì.* (4A:d) "If I cook something good, you shall eat well (of it)," she told him. Now he replied. She was talking. He was replying. (*ʔu'wi*, 3MS; *ti'hčī*, 3FS)

Here we have a man and a woman established as the characters in the context. Each time the interest shifts from the one to the other the appropriate pronoun is used to call attention to the shift. Similar examples are the following:

- ʔi'mǎn, ti'riš na'ʔǎnč, ma'ʔǎn, ʔa'hkiš na'ʔikʔihč, la'pühč, ʔuni-kate'nì.* (4A:g) "If I lie to the front and if you lie to the back, it will be a good thing," she told him. (*ʔi'ma*, 1s; *ma'* 2MS)
- sinšto'hkʔok'e'nì.* (4A:ay) *hinya'tihč, ʔu'wǎn, ʔe'ruk'o'nì.* (4A:az) They got tired. Then he was laughing. (*ʔu'wi*, 3MS)

### 10.13 THE INTERROGATIVE-INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

The interrogative-indefinite pronouns are *ka'ku* "who, someone, anyone" and *ka'nahku* "what, something, anything." The former is a masculine singular but the latter is genderless and numberless. They are used as substitutes for nouns with the following restrictions: (1) They do not occur in the locative case, noun use no. 6, and (2) *ka'nahku* does not occur as independent subject, noun use no. 2. Note also that when *ka'nahku* occurs as independent object, the verb never takes an objective pronominal referential (see third example below). Examples:

- ka'nahkǔn.* (11A:e) What is it? (< *ka'nahku* + *-n*, interrog. postf.; predicative word)
- ka'k ʔihpo'ʔuhki.* (33:a) Someone has seen me. (*ka'ku*; indep. subj.)
- ka'na ra'pʔǎnč* (9:a) if I kill something (*ka'na(hku)*; indep. obj.)
- ka'nahk ʔunpi'ratikʔahč'a'nì* (8A:b) they would turn into something < it would turn them into something (*ka'nahku*; predicate complement)

## 10.2 QUANTIFICATIVES

10.21 Quantificatives include the numerals (5.9) and other quantifiers such as *ho'tu* "all, everything"; *na'mu* "many, much"; *ka'šku* "a few, a little bit"; *ka'škuto'hku* "several, quite a few"; *ʔa'mari* "enough."<sup>1</sup> These words are used as follows:

(1) as minimal clauses, e.g.,

- sa'hkǔn, ʔi'lǎn, ʔe'nihkǔn, ni'wǎhč* (16:l) when he said "one, two, three" (*sa'hku* one; *ʔi'li* two; *ʔe'nihku* three)

(2) as substitutes for nouns in all the ways the latter are used except no. 6 (10.11), e.g.,

- hihč ʔa'mari.* (14B:y) That's enough. (*ʔa'mari*; predicative word)
- sa'hkǔn, ya'nʔuhke'nì.* (5A:b) One spoke. (*sa'hku*; independent subject)

<sup>1</sup> The word *ʔa'mari* differs from other quantificatives in that it may also be used as a comparative (see 10.42).

*ho'tūn, sira'pʔonta'nì* (20:j) they killed them all (*ho'tu* all; independent object)  
*sa'hkūn, wiwa'nakʔihč* (13:w) if you want one (*sa'hku*; predicate complement)

(3) as modifiers of nouns, e.g.,

*ti'hika ta'yihkūn, yu'katihč* (12:d) when seven years had passed (*ta'yihku* seven, modifier of *ti'hika* year)  
*to'kate'kaha ma'nkūn, ʔu'kʔεʔera'nì.* (9:a) Once there were four orphan boys. (*ma'niku* four, modifier of *to'kate'kaha* the orphan boy)

If the quantificative modifies a noun used in the definitive case, it is usually incorporated within the noun complex, i.e., stands between the noun stem and its gender-number suffix (cf. the treatment of adjectives; 10.41), e.g.,

*ʔuhkʔo'katohkʔi'lʔunimān, ʔunya'nakʔnì.* (4A:be) He spoke to his two boys. (*ʔuhkʔo'katohkʔi'lʔunima* < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *ʔo'ko'o'hku* child + *ʔi'li* two + *-ʔu'nima*, MD suff.)

(4) as modifiers of active verbs, indicating the number of times an event takes place, e.g.,

*ta'hahku ha'yihč, ʔe'nihku pe'kawε'nì.* (13:t) he rapped on the cypress trees three times (*ʔe'nihku* three; three times)

10.22 In addition to the words mentioned above we find that the word *sa'hu* "other" is best classified as a quantificative even though it may not be employed in uses no. 1 and 4 above. When used as a noun substitute (use no. 2 above) it takes either the MS or the FS gender-number suffix depending on the gender classification of the noun for which it is substituted,<sup>1</sup> e.g.,

*sa'hūku, ti'hikaš ʔa'mʔuhke'nì.* (8A:d) The other went to the south. (*sa'huku* < *sa'hu* + *-ku*, MS suff.; substituted for a masc. noun; independent subject)  
*sa'hūhč, tiya'nakate'nì.* (4A:ax) She spoke to the other. (*sa'huhči* < *sa'hu* + *-hči*, FS suff.; substituted for a fem. noun; independent object)

The word is also used as a noun modifier (use no. 3 above) and in this event it is always incorporated within the noun complex like an adjective, e.g.,

*ta'heritʔesa'hūhč, hana'ʔake'nì.* (22B:c) The other boat stopped. (*ta'heritʔesa'huhči* < *ta'-*, art. pref., + *he'ritʔε* large boat + *sa'hu* + *-hči*)

<sup>1</sup> Whether or not *sa'hu* could also be used with the masculine and feminine dual and plural gender-number suffixes is not known but no such examples occur in the available material.



10.23 Like *sa'hu*, *ʔa'mʔilta* "both" is best classified as a quantitative even though it may be used only in use no. 2 above, e.g.,

*ʔa'mʔiltă*, *ʔunka'lʔutăhč* (6c:a) when he had created them both  
(*ʔa'mʔilta*, independent object)

### 10.3 POSTPOSITIONS

The postpositions (see 5.61 and 5.8) govern substantives in the formation of postpositional phrases. These are used as locative predicate modifiers, e.g.,

*ʔi'ma rʔhpant ʔu'kʔihčân*. (14B:o) You must sit near me.  
(*rʔhpant* near, governing *ʔi'ma*, 1s pron.; postp. phrase modifying *ʔu'kʔihčân*)  
*ta'halʔu'kini ki'čün*, *siha'lʔuhke'nî* (4A:k) he sent them into the town  
(*ki'ču* in, into, governing *ta'halʔu'kini* the town; postp. phrase modifying *siha'lʔuhke'nî*)

### 10.4 MODIFIERS

#### 10.41 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives may be used in the following ways:

(1) as predicative words, e.g.,

*ši'htuna'nî* (3A:a) it was dark (< *ši'htuna* dark + *-a'nî*)

(2) as modifiers of nouns used as predicative words, e.g.,

*te'čăku*, *ku'wa lapʔnî*. (43A:b) The crow woodpecker is a good bird.  
(*lapʔnî* < *la'pu* good + *-a'nî*, modifying *ku'wa* bird)

(3) as modifiers of the interrogative-indefinite pronoun *ka'nahku* "something, anything," e.g.,

*ka'na la'pu yu'kʔěňč* (4A:d) if I cook something good (*la'pu*, modifying *ka'nahku*), but this usage may be a case of idiomatic borrowing from the English expression "something good."

As would be expected, adjectives are also used as modifiers of nouns other than those used as predicative words (use no. 2 above), but in this event the adjective is incorporated in the noun complex, i.e., stands between the noun and its gender-suffix when the latter is used. Such formations are structurally identical with noun plus adjective composites (5.432), e.g.,

*tʔmahkami'liku* (1) the red alligator (< *t-*, art. pref., + *ʔʔ-mahka* alligator + *mi'li* red + *-ku*, MS suff.)  
*ta'yorumʔahawi'ratahasi'nîma* (18:a) some fearful wild beasts  
(< *ta'-* + *yo'rumʔaha* wild beast + *wi'rataha* fearful + *-si'nîma*, FD-P suff.)

There is one special adjectival form which is always used as a predicative word, viz., *la'puhč* "it is good" (< *la'pu* good + a suff. *-hč* of unknown connotation). This word is used as the equivalent of a number of English expressions, such as, "it is good"; "it will, would be good"; "it will, would be nice"; "it will, would be a good thing." It is widely used in direct quotations as the resolution for conditional or concessive clauses, e.g.,

*ʔušu'čikʔihč, la'puhč, ʔu'niko'nì.* (10:e) "If you shoot it, it will be a good thing," he told him.

*lɔ'tʔikʔihč, la'puhč, ʔu'niko'nì.* (19:f) "You had better run < if you run, it will be good," he told him.

#### 10.42 COMPARATIVES

Comparatives are limited in number, the most important being *ri'kini* "too( . . . )," *mi'stihki* "more," *pa'nu* "very, greatly, most." In addition the quantificative *ʔa'mari* "enough" is often used as a comparative and another word *le'yuta* "at all" is probably best classified in this way. These words are used as follows:

(1) as modifiers of adjectives, e.g.,

*to'nīku, ti'ka ri'kinì.* (4B:i) The man is too big. (*ri'kini*, modifying *ti'ka* big)

*ka'kupān, ti'ka mi'stihkʔehɛ'nì.* (22B:j) Neither one was taller < anyone, even, was not more big. (*mi'stihkʔehɛ'nì* < *mi'stihki* + *-ʔaha* not + *-a'ni*, modifying *ti'ka*)

*ru'wina pa'nu ya'kate'nì* (1) it gets very hot (*pa'nu*, modifying *ru'wina* hot)

*wɛ'skähč, yu'ru ʔa'marʔehɛ.* (16:c) Your legs are not long enough. (*ʔa'marʔehɛ* < *ʔa'mari* + *-ʔaha* not, modifying *yu'ru* long)

(2) as modifiers of those static verbs whose meaning permits it (specifically, those connoting an emotional, physical, or mental state but not those connoting possession; 4.71), e.g.,

*ʔuya'si panú.* (13:ac) He is very angry. (*pa'nu*, modifying *ʔuya'si*)

*ʔiya'hpa panú.* (19:c) I am very hungry.

*ʔo'rusʔaha le'yuta'nì.* (13:y) He did not know at all. (*le'yuta'nì* < *le'yuta* + *-a'ni*, modifying *ʔo'rusʔaha*)

(3) as modifiers of adverbs (in rare cases), e.g.,

*rɔ'hpan ri'kin ya'katihč* (9:l) when she came too near (*ri'kini*, modifying *rɔ'hpan* near)

(4) as modifiers of nouns (in rare cases), e.g.,

*ʔɔ'maka pans'nì.* (42G) He is very much a devil. (*pans'nì* < *pa'nu* + *-a'ni*, modifying *ʔɔ'maka* devil, sorcerer)

*ʔo'nipʔaha le'yuta'nì* (10:f) there were no people at all (*le'yuta'nì* < *le'yuta* + *-a'ni*, modifying *ʔo'nipʔaha* no people)

- (5) as modifiers of the quantificative *na'mu* "many, much," e.g.,  
*se'mǎn, na'mu ri'kinε'nì.* (29:c) They were too many. (*ri'-kinε'ni* < *ri'kini* + *-a'ni*, modifying *na'mu*)  
*to'nmahonse'mǎn, na'mu panú.* (22B:e) The Indians are very numerous < very many. (*pa'nu*, modifying *na'mu*)

### 10.43 ADVERBS

Adverbs are used as modifiers of auxiliary and active verbs, e.g.,

- ʔu'wǎn, hɔ'waš ʔuna'nì.* (4A:d) He was sitting outside. (*hɔ'waši* outside, outdoors, modifying *ʔuna'ni*, aux. vb.)  
*hi'hč ʔačē'nì.* (4A:b) She lived there. (*hi'hči* there, modifying *ʔačē'ni*, aux. vb.)  
*ha'tikǎn, ha'rʔuhke'nì.* (4A:bh) He sang again. (*ha'tika* again, modifying *ha'rʔuhke'ni*, act. vb.)  
*l'tahkʔu'rana'nì, hi'stahàhk.* (13:ak) They were still running. (*hi'stahahki* still, modifying *l'tahkʔu'rana'ni*, act. vb.)

### 10.5 VERBS

#### 10.51 AUXILIARY VERBS

Auxiliary verbs are always inflected for a subjective pronominal referential (4.41) and are always used as predicative words, e.g.,

- ha'lʔukin ʔara'nì.* (10:a) There was a town < a town lay.  
*si'riš ʔa'taše'nì* (21:c) they went home

#### 10.52 ACTIVE VERBS

Active verbs may be used in finite or infinitive forms. Finite forms are always inflected for a subjective pronominal referential (4.52 and 4.54) and are always used as predicative words. Transitive and transimpersonal verbs are inflected for an objective pronominal referential (4.56) in addition to the subjective referential. Examples:

- l'tʔištukʔɔhɔ.* (16:c) You can't run.  
*ma'rʔuwa'nì, ʔu'riš* (14B:g) he returned home.  
*ta'narǎku, ʔuhka'hawǎhč, ʔuya'nakɔ'nì.* (14B:b) When he met the snake, he spoke to him.

Infinitives are used as predicate complements. They are not inflected for a subjective pronominal referential but, in the case of transitive stems, are inflected for an objective referential. Examples:

- l't ʔiwaná.* (16:i) I want to run. (*l'ta* to run)  
*ʔuhpe'ka siwa'nʔahá.* They don't want to hit him. (*ʔuhpe'ka* to hit him)

Purposive constructions (5.22) are built upon infinitives and these, too, are used as predicate complements, e.g.,

*mu'čusina'nì, ?uhta'piwàn* (4A:ay) they were diving in order to catch him (*?uhta'piwàn* < *?uhta'pi* to catch him + *-wan* in order to)

### 10.53 STATIC VERBS

Static verbs are always inflected for an objective referential (4.72) and are always used as predicative words. In addition to the objective pronominal referential inchoative forms are also inflected for a subjective referential (4.732). Examples:

*ta'ruštak ?u'š?εpa'nì.* (14A:h) Rabbit was glad.  
*sinšto'hk?εke'nì.* (4A:ay) They got tired.

### 10.6 SENTENCE CONNECTIVES

Sentence connectives include such words as *hinya'tihč* "now, then, so, after that"; *hi'nahkuhč* "now, then, so, after that" (used interchangeably with *hinya'tihč*); *hi'nahkuškan* "nevertheless, however, in spite of this, that"; *hi'nahk?εhčat* "therefore, for this, that reason"; *ka'šile'he, ka'šlehe* "forsooth; it turned out that way"; *?a'hak?ihč* "otherwise, or, or else, or perhaps." These words are used to establish a loose conjunctive or contrastive relation between a sentence and the sentence that precedes it. Examples:

*hinya'tihč, ?u'k?εhke'nì.* (4B:b) Now he sat down.  
*hinya'tihč, te'čak ?uya'nak?nì.* (4B:ak) Then Woodpecker spoke to him.  
*hi'nahkühč, ha'tikän, ?uya'nakate'nì.* (13:k) Then she spoke to him again.  
*hi'nahkuškän, ha'tikän, haka'likate'nì.* (4B:f) But in spite of this she stood up again.  
*hi'nahkuškän, ta'šihkalti'näku, hi'hč ?una'nì.* (22A:e) However, the Avoyelles were living there.  
*hi'nahk?εhčät, ma'runištuk?εhč.* (12:b) Therefore I cannot return.  
*ka'šlehčn, yu'katihč, hopi'?unihke'nì.* (19:i) It turned out that way; when (the time) came, they got out.  
*?a'hak?ihč, ka'paši ha'rakün, ni'kate'nì. ?a'hak?ihč, sa'?än, wo'hukün, ni'kate'nì.* (12:b) "Or perhaps a rooster was crowing?" she said. "Or else a dog was barking?" she said.

In addition to its use as a sentence connective *?a'hak?ihč* is also occasionally used as a word connective, e.g.,

*wi'ran ta'yihkün, ?a'hak?ihč, ti'sihkün, yu'katihč* (19:i) in seven or eight minutes < when it gets to be seven or eight minutes (*?a'hak?ihč* used as a connective between *ta'yihku* seven and *ti'sihku* eight)

In a similar manner the adverb *ha'tʔena* "again, once more" is sometimes used as a word connective with the meaning "and," e.g.,

*to'nišise'măn, ha'tʔenă, to'ninu'hčisi'nimăn, hi'putăhč* (41A:a)  
when the men and the women dance (*ha'tʔena* used as a  
connective between *to'nišise'ma* the men and *to'ninu'hčisi'-*  
*nima* the women)

## 10.7 EXCLAMATIVES AND IMITATIVES

Exclamatives and imitatives are always used as minimal clauses, i.e., they constitute a clause by themselves. The most important exclamatives are *hôn* "yes," *ʔahâ* "no," and *dâ* "now; ready." Of these *ʔahâ* is used not only as the equivalent of English "no," but also as the equivalent of such an expression as "nothing much" in answer to a question like "what are you doing?" or as the equivalent of "nowhere (in particular)" in answer to a question like "where are you going?" Examples of exclamatives:

*ʔuhkʔə'katohk ʔula'kăn, nikɔ'nì.* (4A:bn) *hinya'tihč, hôn, ʔuni'-*  
*kate'nì.* (4A:bo) "Does he have any little children?" he  
said. "Yes," she told him.  
*hi'hčîn, he'kin ʔa'marîn, ni'kate'nì.* (4B:bv) *hinya'tihč, ʔuha'-*  
*yïku, ʔahâ, nikɔ'nì.* (4B:bw) "Is this far enough?" she said.  
"No," said the old man.  
*ha'hčêt, ka'nahkšt, heya'ʔakîn, nikɔ'nì.* (4A:u) *hinya'tihč, ʔahâ,*  
*ni'kate'nì.* (4A:v) "What has happened to you now?" he  
said. "Nothing much," she said.  
*ka'tăn, he'yăn, nikɔ'nì.* (18:b) *ʔahâ, ni'kate'nì.* (18:c) "Where  
are you going?" he said. "Nowhere," she said.  
*dâ. he'hpʔikî, nikɔ'nì.* (4A:ap) "Now! Climb (up)!" he said.

Imitatives include such words as the following:

*yuwénš*, imitating the sound of cicadas  
*čuwí*, imitating the call of the killdeer  
*penš*, imitating the call of the nighthawk  
*ku'wen, ku'wen, ku'wen, pək, pək, pək*, sounds said to be made  
by rabbits at times  
*ču · š* (42G), imitating the call of a certain kind of owl. As often  
happens in the case of imitatives, this word contains a  
non-phonemic feature, namely vocalic length.  
*ka · ·*, imitating the cry of the crow  
*pa · · m*, imitating the sound of a shotgun  
*ku · ·, ku · ·*, said to be the whoop made by a being mentioned in  
texts no. 8A and 8B  
*huiʔ ʔi · ·, huiʔ ʔi · ·* (42H), sounds made by a being said to be a  
harbinger of death. Here we have other non-phonemic  
features in addition to vocalic length, namely, a vowel  
cluster and a final glottal stop.

APPENDIX  
SAMPLE TEXT WITH GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

THE ORIGIN OF THE BEAN \*

\* This is Text no. 7A in "Tunica Texts."

a. <i>ta'nisarats'kahăku</i> ,(1) The orphan boy		<i>ʔɔ'hɔyahčʔemăn</i> ,(2) together with his sister	
<i>ʔu'ʔunihke'nì</i> .(3) they two used to be, it is said.	<i>hinya'tihč</i> ,(4) Now	<i>ta'yanera</i> (5) the ocean	<i>rɔ'hpănt</i> ,(6) near
<i>se'hihte'păn</i> ,(7) every morning	<i>yu'kʔunăhč</i> ,(8) when they two arrived,	<i>ši'mihkʔuna'nì</i> .(9) they two would play, it is said.	
<i>ta'nahta</i> (10) The bank	<i>ha'lŭht</i> ,(11) under	<i>hahčɔ'nì</i> .(12) was sand, it is said.	<i>h-hč</i> ,(13) Now
<i>ta'satosi'nimăn</i> ,(14) some puppies	<i>ta'yanera</i> (5) the ocean	<i>ki'čŭn</i> ,(15) (from) in	<i>hopi'sitihč</i> ,(16) when they emerged,
<i>ta'hahču</i> (17) the sand	<i>ha'yŭht</i> ,(18) on	<i>ya'kaši'misite'nì</i> .(19) they would come and play, it is said.	<i>h-hč</i> ,(13) Now
<i>ta'nisarăhč</i> ,(20) the girl	<i>te'hɛyakʔɔmăn</i> ,(21) together with her brother	<i>ta'satosi'nimăn</i> ,(14) the puppies	
<i>ta'piwan</i> (22) in order to catch	<i>ya'hkʔuna'nì</i> .(23) they two would do, it is said.		
b. <i>h-hč</i> ,(13) Now	<i>ʔa'šu</i> (24) day	<i>sa'hkŭn</i> ,(25) one	<i>ya'kʔunăhč</i> ,(26) when they two came,
<i>ta'satosi'nimăn</i> ,(14) the puppies	<i>hopi'sitihč</i> ,(16) when they emerged,	<i>ta'nahta</i> (10) the bank	<i>rɔ'hpan</i> (27) near
<i>ši'mina'ʔara'nì</i> ,(28) they were playing, it is said,	<i>ha'tikàn</i> .(29) again.	<i>ta'nisarăhč</i> ,(20) The girl	<i>sa'hkŭn</i> ,(25) one
<i>ʔuhta'kanʔa'kihč</i> ,(30) when she had chased him,	<i>ʔuhta'pʔekε'nì</i> .(31) she caught him, it is said.	<i>h-hč</i> ,(13) Now	<i>ta'nahta</i> (10) the bank

<i>ha'yihťän</i> , (32) on	<i>ł'tʔuwana'nì</i> . (33) they two were running, it is said.	<i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now	<i>ta'wišihč</i> (34) the water
<i>ʔasa'nì</i> . (35) she was coming, it is said.	<i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now	<i>ta'nahta</i> (10) the bank	<i>ha'yihť</i> (36) on
<i>ʔu'nasähč</i> , (37) when they two came,	<i>ta'wišihč</i> (34) the water	<i>ʔunri'kita'pʔεke'nì</i> . (38) she overtook and caught them two, it is said.	<i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now
<i>ł'kate'kahăku</i> , (39) the orphan boy	<i>ʔu'wita</i> (40) by himself	<i>wi'čʔuwa'nì</i> , (41) he climbed, it is said,	<i>ta'nahta</i> (10) the bank
<i>ha'yihť</i> . (18) onto.	<i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now	<i>ta'nisarähč</i> , (20) the girl	<i>ʔa'kʔamʔεke'nì</i> . (42) she went in and disappeared, it is said.
<i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now	<i>ł'kate'kahăku</i> , (39) the orphan boy	<i>ʔu'riš</i> (43) to his house	<i>ʔa'mʔuhke'nì</i> . (44) he went, it is said.
c. <i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now	<i>ʔu'kiku</i> , (45) his maternal uncle	<i>ʔu'riš</i> , (43) at his house	<i>ʔuhťa'mʔuna'nì</i> . (46) he lived with him, it is said.
<i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now	<i>se'hihte'păn</i> , (7) every morning	<i>ʔɔ'hɔyähč</i> , (47) his sister	<i>yu'katihpo'wan</i> (48) in order to go to find her
<i>yakɔ'nì</i> . (49) he was doing, it is said.	<i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now	<i>tihpo'wištukʔɔhɔ'nì</i> . (50) he could not find her, it is said.	<i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now
<i>ʔu'riš</i> (43) to his house	<i>ma'rʔuwa'nì</i> . (51) he went back, it is said.	<i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now	<i>se'hi</i> (52) morning
<i>ʔušpi'tʔεke'nì</i> . (53) he forgot, it is said.	<i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now	<i>ma'hon</i> (54) just	<i>ʔuna'nì</i> . (55) he was sitting, it is said,
<i>ʔu'riš</i> . (56) at his house.	<i>ʔa'šu</i> (24) Day	<i>sa'hkŭn</i> , (25) one	<i>ya'kate'nì</i> . (57) she came back, it is said.
<i>ši'hparto'su</i> (58) bean seeds	<i>ʔi'lŭn</i> , (59) two	<i>č'u'yakʔake'nì</i> . (60) she brought, it is said.	<i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now
<i>ʔuya'nale'pikhʔata'nì</i> . (61) she was speaking to him, it is said.	<i>ʔuwi'rahkʔata'nì</i> . (62) She was asking him a question, it is said.	<i>ka'na</i> (63) Anything	
<i>la'pŭn</i> , (64) good	<i>sa'kuwi'tŭn</i> , (65) do you (pl.) eat?	<i>ʔuni'kate'nì</i> . (66) she was saying to him, it is said.	

- d. *ʔahá*.(67) *ka'nahkupʔahá*,(68) *nikɔ'nì*.(69)  
 No. There is nothing, he was saying,  
 it is said.
- e. *tɔ'škače'hkintʔėku*,(70) *ta'yiwo*(71) *ha'yiht*(36)  
 The kettle the fire on
- ʔuhka'liwi'tʔăhč*,(72) *la'pŭhč*,(73) *ʔuni'katε'nì*.(66) *h-hč*,(13)  
 if you stand him, it's good, she was saying to him, it is said. Now
- tɔ'škače'hkinik*(74) *ʔuhka'linʔuhke'nì*,(75) *ta'yi*(76) *ha'yiht*.(18)  
 the kettle he stood him, it is said, the fire on.
- h-hč*,(13) *ta'šihparto'su*(77) *sa'hkŭn*,(25) *ʔuwa'hkatihč*(78)  
 Now the bean seed one when she broke him
- tɔ'škače'hkintʔε*(79) *kič*(80) *ʔuhto'hʔəke'nì*.(81) *h-hč*,(13)  
 the kettle in she threw him, it is said. Now
- ʔuya'nakate'nì*.(82) *tɔ'škače'hkiniku*,(83) *la'puyăn*,(84)  
 she was speaking to him, it is said. The kettle thoroughly
- ʔuhpɔ'htawi'tʔăhč*,(85) *sa'matʔihč*,(86) *la'puya*(87) *sa'kʔikʔahčá*,(88)  
 if you boil him, if it gets done, well you will eat,
- ʔuni'katε'nì*.(66)  
 she was saying to him, it is said.
- f. *ʔu'wět*,(89) *ši'm*(90) *ʔuwa'nă*,(91) *ti'hčět*,(92)  
 He, on his part, to play he wanted, she, on her part,
- ši'mi*(93) *tiwa'nʔaha'nì*.(94) *ʔuya'nale'pihkʔata'nì*.(61)  
 to play she did not want, it is said. She was speaking to him,  
 it is said.
- ʔi'măn*,(95) *ta'šihparik*(96) *ʔuhta'pănč*,(97) *ʔa'šu*(24)  
 I the bean when I plant him, days
- ma'nku*(98) *pi'ratihč*(99) *ʔusa'kukaní*,(100) *ni'katε'nì*.(101)  
 four when it turns I eat him, she was saying,  
 it is said.
- h-hč*,(13) *tiwi'ʔutaha'nì*.(102)  
 Now he did not hear her,  
 it is said.
- g. *h-hč*,(13) *ha'tʔenă*,(103) *ʔuya'nakate'nì*.(82) *ʔi'măn*,(95)  
 Now once more she was speaking to him, it is said. I
- ta'šihparik*(96) *ʔuhta'pănč*,(97) *ta'hčʔa*(104) *ma'nku*(98)  
 the bean when I plant him, months four



<i>pi'ratihč</i> , (99) when it turns	<i>ʔusa'kukaní</i> , (100) I eat him,	<i>ni'katε'nì</i> . (101) she was saying, it is said.	<i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now
<i>ta'sihparto'sũku</i> , (105) the bean seed	<i>wiyu'wʔānč</i> , (106) if I give to you,	<i>ʔuhta'pʔikʔihč</i> , (107) if you plant him,	
<i>ta'hčʔa</i> (104) months	<i>ma'nku</i> (98) four	<i>pi'ratihč</i> , (99) when it turns,	<i>ta'sihparik</i> (96) the bean
<i>ʔusa'kʔikʔahčá</i> , (108) you will eat him,	<i>ʔuni'katε'nì</i> . (66) she was saying to him, it is said.		
<b>h.</b> <i>h-hč</i> , (13) Now	<i>ʔuya'nale'piho'tʔtāhč</i> , (109) when she finished speaking to him,	<i>ha'tʔenǎ</i> , (103) once more	
<i>ma'rʔamʔεke'nì</i> , (110) she returned and dis- appeared, it is said,	<i>ta'yanera</i> (5) the ocean	<i>ki'čùn</i> . (15) in.	

## GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

In this analysis the following new abbreviations are used: PF = pause form (2.4) and CF = context form. Note also that PF (type 1), PF (type 2), PF (type 3), PF (type 4), and PF (type 5) are described in 2.43, rules 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively.

(1) PF (type 3) of CF *ta'nisarate'kahaku* < *ta'*, art. pref. (4.82) + *ni'sarate'kaha* "orphaned young person" + *-ku*, MS suff. (4.841); *ni'sarate'kaha* < *ni'sara* "young person" + *te'kaha* "orphaned" (noun stem plus adjective stem composite; 5.432).

(2) PF (type 4) of CF *ʔo'hoyahčema* < *ʔo'hoyahči* "his sister" + *-ʔama*, postf., "together with . . ." (9.32, no. 2); *ʔo'hoyahči* < *ʔu-*, 3MS inal. pref. (4.211), + *-a'haya* "sibling of the opposite sex" (possessed noun stem, 4.83) + *-hči*, FS suff. (4.841).

(3) PF (type 1) < *ʔu'ʔunihki* "they two used to be" + *-a'ni*, quot. postf. (9.33, no. 6); *ʔu'ʔunihki*, 3MD repet. of *ʔu'hki* (4.43).

(4) PF (type 2); sentence connective (5.71 and 10.6).

(5) CF < *ta'* (note 1) + *ya'nera* "ocean"; noun governed by the postposition *ro'hpant* (note 6).

(6) PF (type 2) of CF *ro'hpant* (5.61); postposition governing *ta'yanera* (note 5).

(7) PF (type 2) < *se'hi* "morning" + *-hte'pan*, postf., "every . . ." (9.35, no. 26).

(8) PF (type 2) < *yu'kʔuna* "they two arrived" + *-hč*, subordinating postf. (9.32, no. 4); *yu'kʔuna* < *yu'ka* "to arrive" + *-ʔu'na*, 3MD smlf. endg. (4.521).

(9) PF (type 1) < *ši'mihkʔu'na* "they two would play" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ši'mihkʔu'na* < *ši'mi* "to play" + *-hkʔu'na*, 3MD hab. endg. (4.522).

(10) CF < *ta'* (note 1) + *na'hta* "bank"; noun governed by the postposition *ha'luhta* (note 11).

(11) Apocoped PF (type 2) of CF *ha'luhta* (5.61); postposition governing *ta'nahta* (note 10).

- (12) PF (type 1) < *ha'hč'u* "sand" + *-a'ni* (note 3).
- (13) Abbreviation of *hinya'tihč* (note 4).
- (14) PF (type 4) of *ta'satosi'nima* < *ta'* (note 1) + *sa'tohku* "puppy" + *-si'nima*, FD-P suff. (4.841); *sa'tohku* < *sa'* "dog" + *-to'hku*, diminutive suff. (5.42).
- (15) PF (type 4) of CF *ki'č'u* (5.61); postposition governing *ta'yanera* (note 5).
- (16) PF (type 2) < *hopi'siti* "they emerged" + *-hč* (note 8); *hopi'siti* < *ho-. .pi'* "to emerge, get out" + *-si'ti*, 3FP smlf. endg. (4.521). For *ho-. .pi'* see 9.21, no. 3.
- (17) CF < *ta'* (note 1) + *ha'hč'u* "sand"; noun governed by the postposition *ha'yih̄ta* (note 18).
- (18) Apocopated PF (type 2) of *ha'yih̄ta* (5.61); postposition governing *ta'hahč'u* (note 17).
- (19) PF (type 1) < *ya'kaš'i'misi'ti* "they would come and play" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ya'kaš'i'misi'ti* < *ya'ka* "to come" + *š'i'mi* "to play" + *-si'ti*, 3FP hab. endg. (4.522). For the linking of *ya'ka* and *š'i'mi*, see 5.23.
- (20) Apocopated PF (type 2) of *ta'nisarahč'i* "the girl" < *ta'* (note 1) + *ni'sara* young person + *-hč'i* (note 2).
- (21) PF (type 4) of CF *te'heyakʔama* < *te'heyaku* "her brother" + *-ʔama* (note 2); *te'heyaku* < *ti-*, 3FS inal. pref. (4.211) + *-a'haya* (note 2) + *-ku* (note 1).
- (22) CF < *ta'pi* "to catch, seize, capture . . ." + *-wan*, purposive suff. (5.22). Objective referential omitted.
- (23) PF (type 1) < *ya'hkʔuna* "they two would do" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ya'hkʔuna* < *ya'* "to do, make, commit" + *-hkʔu'na* (note 9). For the use of *ya'* with a purposive construction (note 22), see 5.22.
- (24) Apocopated CF of *ʔa'suhki* "day."
- (25) PF (type 4) of *sa'hku*, numeral (5.9).
- (26) PF (type 2) < *ya'kʔuna* "they two came" + *-hč* (note 8); *ya'kʔuna* < *ya'ka* "to come" + *-ʔu'na* (note 8).
- (27) Apocopated CF of *ro'hpant* (note 6).
- (28) PF (type 1) < *š'i'mina'ʔara* "they were playing" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *š'i'mina'ʔara* < *š'i'mi* "to play" + *-hk-*, hab. thematic suff. (5.213), + *na'ʔara*, 3M-FP of *ʔu'ra* (4.422); mutable durative (4.533).
- (29) PF (type 4) of CF *ha'tika*, adverb (5.83).
- (30) PF (type 2) < *ʔuhta'kanʔa'ki* "she had chased him" + *-hč* (note 8); *ʔuhta'kanʔa'ki* < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS al. pref. (4.211), + *ta'ka. .c.* "to chase . . ." + *-n*, caus. thematic suff. (5.212), + *ʔa'ʔi*, 3FS smlf. of *ʔu'hki* (4.421). For the periphrastic use of *ʔu'hki*, see 4.532.
- (31) PF (type 1) < *ʔuhta'pʔeki* "she caught him" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ʔuhta'pʔeki* < *ʔuhk-* (note 30) + *ta'pi* (note 22) + *ʔa'ki* (note 30).
- (32) PF (type 4) of CF *ha'yih̄ta* (note 18).
- (33) PF (type 1) < *lo'tʔuwana* "they two were running" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *lo'tʔuwana* < *lo'ta* "to run" + *ʔu'wana*, 3MD smlf. of *ʔu'wa* (4.425). For the periphrastic use of *ʔu'wa*, see 4.534.
- (34) Apocopated CF of *ta'wišihč'i* < *ta'* (note 1) + *wi'ši* "water" + *-hč'i* (note 2).
- (35) PF (type 1) < *ʔa'sa* "she was coming" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ʔa'sa*, 3FS of *ʔu'sa* (4.424).
- (36) Apocopated CF of *ha'yih̄ta* (note 18).
- (37) PF (type 2) < *ʔu'nasa* "they two came" + *-hč* (note 8); *ʔu'nasa*, 3MD of *ʔu'sa* (4.424).
- (38) PF (type 1) < *ʔunri'kita'pʔeki* "she overtook and caught them two" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ʔunri'kita'pʔeki* < *ʔunk-*, 3MD al. pref. (4.211) + *ri'ki* "to over-

take . . ." + *ta'pi* (note 22) + *ʔa'ki* (note 30). For the linking of *ri'ki* and *ta'pi*, see 5.23.

(39) PF (type 3) of CF *tʔkate'kahaku* < *t-*, art. pref. (4.82), + *ʔʔkate'kaha* "orphan child" + *-ku* (note 1); *ʔʔkate'kaha* < *ʔʔka* "child" + *tʔkaha* (note 1).

(40) Apocopated CF of *ʔu'witahki* < *ʔu'wi*, 3MS indep. pers. pron. (4.221) + *-tahki*, postf. "only, nothing but . . .; . . . alone" (9.35, no. 24).

(41) PF (type 1) < *wi'čʔuwa* "he climbed" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *wi'čʔuwa* < *wi'či* "to climb, rise" + *ʔu'wa*, 3MS smlf. of *ʔu'wa* (note 33).

(42) PF (type 1) < *ʔa'kʔamʔeki* "she went in and disappeared" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ʔa'kʔamʔeki* < *ʔa'ka* "to enter, get in" + *ʔa'mi* "to go, go off, disappear" + *ʔa'ki* (note 30). For the linking of *ʔa'ka* and *ʔa'mi*, see 5.23.

(43) Apocopated CF of *ʔu'riši* < *ʔuhk-* (note 30) + *ri'* "house" + *-ši*, loc. suff. (4.85).

(44) PF (type 1) < *ʔa'mʔuhki* "he went" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ʔa'mʔuhki* < *ʔa'mi* (note 42) + *ʔu'hki*, 3MS smlf. of *ʔu'hki* (4.421).

(45) PF (type 3) of *ʔu'kiku* < *ʔu-* (note 2) + *'-ki* "maternal uncle" (possessed noun stem, 4.83) + *-ku* (note 1).

(46) PF (type 1) < *ʔuhta'mʔuna* "he lived with him" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ʔuhta'mʔuna* < *ʔuhk-* (note 30) + *ta'ma* "to live with, associate with . . ." + *ʔu'na*, 3MS smlf. of *ʔu'na* (4.423). Note that *ʔuhta'mʔuna* is an immutable durative (4.533).

(47) Apocopated PF (type 2) of CF *ʔʔhoyahči* (note 2).

(48) CF < *yu'ka* "to arrive" + *tihk-*, 3FS al. pref. (4.211) + *po'* "to see, find . . ." + *-wan* (note 22).

(49) PF (type 1) < *ya'ku* "he was doing" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ya'ku* < *ya'* (note 23) + *-ku*, 3MS hab. endg. (4.522). For the use of *ya'* with a purposive construction (note 48), see note 23.

(50) PF (type 1) < *tihpo'wi* "he found her" + *-štukʔəhə*, postf., "can't, couldn't" (9.34, no. 20), + *-a'ni* (note 3); *tihpo'wi* < *tihk-* (note 48) + *po'* (note 48) + *-wi*, 3MS smlf. endg. (4.521).

(51) PF (type 1) < *ma'rʔuwa* "he went back" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ma'rʔuwa* < *ma'ru* "to go back, return" + *ʔu'wa* (note 41).

(52) CF *se'hi* "morning."

(53) PF (type 1) < *ʔuʔpi'tʔəki* "he forgot" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ʔuʔpi'tʔəki* (inchoative st. vb., 4.73) < *ʔu-* (note 2) + *-ʔpi'tu-* "to forget" (4.71) + *ʔa'ki* (note 30).

(54) Apocopated CF of *ma'honi* "just, merely," adv.

(55) PF (type 1) < *ʔu'na* "he was sitting" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ʔu'na*, 3MS smlf. of *ʔu'na* (4.423).

(56) Apocopated PF (type 2) of *ʔu'riši* (note 43).

(57) PF (type 1) < *ya'kati* "she came back" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ya'kati* < *ya'ka* "to come, come back" + *-ti*, 3FS smlf. endg. (4.521).

(58) CF *ši'hparto'su*, composite noun stem (5.433) < *ši'hpari* "bean" + *to'su* "seed."

(59) PF (type 4) of CF *ʔi'li*, numeral (5.9).

(60) PF (type 1) < *ču'yakʔa'ki* "she brought" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ču'yakʔa'ki* < *ču'* "to take . . ." + *ya'ka* "to come" + *ʔa'ki* (note 30). The linking of *ču'* and *ya'ka* gives the specialized meaning "to bring . . ." (see 5.233, no. 1).

(61) PF (type 1) < *ʔuya'nale'pikhʔa'ta* "she was speaking to him" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ʔuya'nale'pikhʔa'ta* < *ʔuhk-* (note 30) + *ya'na* "to speak, speak to . . ." + *le'pi*. c. + *-hk-* (note 28) + *-ʔa'ta*, 3FS of caus. aux. *-ʔu'ta* (4.426). Note that *le'pi*. c. is always linked with *ya'na* or with *wi'ra*. c. "to ask, ask a question of . . ." (5.233, no. 4).

(62) PF (type 1) < *ʔuwi'rahkʔa'ta* "she was asking him a question" + *-a'ni*

(note 3); *?uwi'rahk?a'ta* < *?uhk-* (note 30) + *wi'ra*. .c. "to ask, ask a question of . . ." + *-hk-* (note 28) + *-a'ta* (note 61).

(63) Apocopated CF of *ka'nahku* "what, something, anything," interrogative-indefinite pronoun (5.75).

(64) PF (type 4) of *la'pu* "good," adj. For the use of *la'pu* with *ka'nahku* (note 63), see 10.41, no. 3.

(65) PF (type 2) < *sa'kuwi'ti* "you (MP) eat" + *-n*, interrogative postf. (9.33, no. 7); *sa'kuwi'ti* < *sa'ku* "to eat" + *-wi'ti*, 2MP hab. endg. (4.522).

(66) PF (type 1) < *?uni'kati* "she was saying to him" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *?uni'kati* < *?uhk-* (note 30) + *ni'* "to say, say to . . ." + *-ka'ti*, 3FS hab. endg. (4.522).

(67) PF (type 1), exclamative (see 10.7).

(68) PF (type 1) < *ka'nahku* (note 63) + *-p?aha* "no, not any . . ." (9.34, no. 19).

(69) PF (type 1) < *ni'ku* "he was saying" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ni'ku* < *ni'* (note 66) + *-ku* (note 49).

(70) PF (type 3) of CF *t'škač'e'hkint?eku* < *t-* (note 39) + *?škač'e'hkint?ε* "kettle" + *-ku* (note 1); *?škač'e'hkint?ε* < *?škač'e'hkini* "pot" + *-t?ε*, aug. suff. (5.42).

(71) CF < *t-* (note 39) + *?a'yiwo'* "fire."

(72) PF (type 2) < *?uhka'liwi't?a* "if you stand him" + *-hč* (note 8); *?uhka'liwi't?a* < *?uhk-* (note 30) + *ka'li*. .c. "to stand . . ." (see 8.33) + *-wi't?a*, 2MS cond. of caus. aux. *-?u'ta* (4.44).

(73) PF (type 2) < *la'pu* "good" + *-hč*, a suff. of unknown meaning. For the use of *la'puhč* as a clause of resolution after conditional or concessive clauses, see 10.41.

(74) Apocopated CF of *t'škač'e'hkiniku* < *t-* (note 39) + *?škač'e'hkini* "pot" + *-ku* (note 1). For the use of *t'škač'e'hkiniku* as an abbreviation for *t'škač'e'hkint?eku* (note 70), see 5.47.

(75) PF (type 1) < *?uhka'lin?u'hki* "he stood him" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *?uhka'lin?u'hki* < *?uhk-* (note 30) + *ka'li*. .c. (note 72) + *-n* (note 30) + *?u'hki* (note 44).

(76) CF < *t-* (note 39) + *?a'yi* "fire."

(77) CF < *ta'-* (note 1) + *ši'hparto'su* "bean seed" (note 58).

(78) PF (type 2) < *?uwa'hkati* "she broke him" + *-hč* (note 8); *?uwa'hkati* < *?uhk-* (note 30) + *wa'hka* "to break . . ." + *-ti* (note 57).

(79) CF < *t-* (note 39) + *?škač'e'hkint?ε* (note 70).

(80) Apocopated CF of *ki'č'u* (note 15).

(81) PF (type 1) < *?uhto'h?oki* "she threw him" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *?uhto'h?oki* < *?uhk-* (note 30) + *to'hu* "to throw . . ." + *?a'ki* (note 30).

(82) PF (type 1) < *?uya'naka'ti* "she was speaking to him" + *-a'ni* (note 3); *?uya'naka'ti* < *?uhk-* (note 30) + *ya'na* "to speak, speak to . . ." + *-ka'ti* (note 66). The form *?uya'nakate'ni* may be used interchangeably with *?uya'nale'pihk?ata'ni* (note 61).

(83) PF (type 3) of *t'škač'e'hkiniku* (note 74).

(84) PF (type 4) of *la'puya* "well, thoroughly," adv.

(85) PF (type 2) < *?uhp?htawi't?a* "if you boil him" + *-hč* (note 8); *?uhp?htawi't?a* < *?uhk-* (note 30) + *p?hta*. .c. "to boil . . ." + *-wi't?a* (note 72).

(86) PF (type 2) < *sa'mat?i* "if there is a getting done" (imp. act. vb., 4.65) + *-hč* (note 8); *sa'mat?i* < *sa'ma* "to get done" + *-t?i*, 3FS cond. endg. (4.523).

(87) CF of *la'puya* (note 84).

(88) PF (type 1) < *sa'k?i* "you eat" + *-k?ahča*, fut. postf. (9.33, no. 12); *sa'k?i* < *sa'ku* "to eat" + *-?i*, 2MS smf. endg. (4.521).

- (89) PF (type 2) < *ʔu'wi* (note 40) + *-hat*, postf., “on . . . ’s part” (9.35, no. 21).
- (90) Apocopated CF of *ši'mi* “to play,” infinitive.
- (91) PF (type 1) of *ʔuwa'na*, non-inchoative st. vb., < *ʔu-* (note 2) + *-wa'na* “to want” (4.71).
- (92) PF (type 2) < *ti'hči*, 3FS indep. pers. pron. (4.22), + *-hat* (note 89).
- (93) Non-apocopated CF of *ši'mi* (note 90).
- (94) PF (type 1) < *tiwa'na* “she wanted” + *-ʔaha*, neg. postf., “not” (9.34, no. 18), + *-a'ni* (note 3); *tiwa'na*, non-inchoative st. vb., < *ti-*, 3FS inal. pref. (4.211) + *-wa'na* (note 91).
- (95) PF (type 3) of CF *ʔi'ma*, 1s indep. pers. pron. (4.22).
- (96) Apocopated CF of *ta'šihpariku* < *ta'-* (note 1) + *ši'hpari* “bean” + *-ku* (note 1).
- (97) PF (type 2) < *ʔuhta'pani* “I plant” + *-hč* (note 8); *ʔuhta'pani* < *ʔuhk-* (note 30) + *ta'pa* “to plant . . .” + *-ni*, 1s smf. endg. (4.521).
- (98) CF of *ma'nku*, numeral (5.9).
- (99) PF (type 2) < *pi'rati* “it turns” (imp. act. vb., 4.65) + *-hč* (note 8); *pi'rati* < *pi'ra* “to turn” + *-ti* (note 57).
- (100) PF (type 1) of CF *ʔusa'kuka'ni* < *ʔuhk-* (note 30) + *sa'ku* “to eat, eat . . .” + *-ka'ni*, 1s hab. endg. (4.522).
- (101) PF (type 1) < *ni'kati* “she was saying” + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ni'kati* < *ni'* “to say, say to . . .” + *-ka'ti* (note 66).
- (102) PF (type 1) < *tiwi'ʔuta* “he heard her” + *-aha*, neg. postf., “not” (9.34, no. 16) + *-a'ni* (note 3); *tiwi'ʔuta* < *tihk-* (note 48) + *wi' . . c.* “to hear . . .” + *-ʔu'ta*, 3MS smf. of *-ʔu'ta* (4.426).
- (103) Irregular PF of CF *ha'tʔena*, adv. (5.83).
- (104) CF of *ta'hčʔa* “the moon; month”
- (105) PF (type 3) of *ta'šihparto'suku* < *ta'-* (note 1) + *ši'hparto'su* (note 58) + *-ku* (note 1).
- (106) PF (type 2) < *wiyu'wʔan* “if I give to you” + *-hč* (note 8); *wiyu'wʔan* < *wihk-*, 2MD al. pref. (4.211), + *yu'wa* “to give to . . .” + *-ʔan*, 1s cond. endg. (4.523).
- (107) PF (type 2) < *ʔuhta'pʔikʔi* “if you plant him” + *-hč* (note 8); *ʔuhta'pʔikʔi* < *ʔuhk-* (note 30) + *ta'pa* “to plant . . .” + *-ʔikʔi*, 2MS cond. endg. (4.523).
- (108) PF (type 1) < *ʔusa'kʔikʔahča* “you will eat him” < *ʔusa'kʔi* “you eat him” + *-kʔahča* (note 88); *ʔusa'kʔi* < *ʔuhk-* (note 30) + *sa'ku* (note 100) + *-ʔi* (note 88).
- (109) PF (type 2) < *ʔuya'nale'piho'tʔota* “she finished speaking to him” + *-hč* (note 8); *ʔuya'nale'piho'tʔota* < *ʔuhk-* (note 30) + *ya'na* (note 61) + *le'pi . . c.* (note 61) + *ho'tu* “to finish” + *-ʔa'ta* (note 61).
- (110) PF (type 1) < *ma'rʔamʔeki* “she returned and disappeared” + *-a'ni* (note 3); *ma'rʔamʔeki* < *ma'ru* “to go back, return” + *ʔa'mi* “to go, go off, disappear” + *ʔa'ki* (note 30).

## FREE TRANSLATION

a. (Once there) were an orphan boy and his sister. Every morning they would go to the edge of the ocean to play. Under the bank there was sand. Some puppies emerged from the ocean and came to play on the sand. The girl and her brother tried to catch the puppies.

b. One day when they came (there), the puppies came out to play

near the bank again. The girl chased one (of them) and caught it. The two (of them) were running toward the bank. The waves were coming (toward them). When they came to the bank, the waves reached them and caught them. Then the orphan boy climbed up onto the bank alone. The girl had gone down (into the water) and had disappeared. The orphan boy went home.

c. He lived with his maternal uncle at (the latter's) home. Every morning he went (there) and tried to find his sister. He could not find her. He went back home. One morning he forgot (to go). He was just sitting at home. One day she came back. She brought two beans. She spoke to him. She asked him a question. "Have you (pl.) anything good to eat?" she said.

d. "No. There is nothing," he said.

e. "If you place the kettle on the fire, it will be a good thing," she told him. So he placed the kettle on the fire. Then she broke one of the beans and put it in the kettle. She spoke to him. "If the kettle boils thoroughly and (the bean) gets done, you will eat well (of it)," she told him.

f. He, on his part, wanted to play (but) she did not wish to play. She spoke to him. "Four days after I plant the bean I eat it," she said. He did not hear her.

g. Then she spoke to him once more. "Four months after I plant the bean I eat it," she said.<sup>1</sup> "If I give you (this) bean and if you plant it, you will (be able to) eat it in four months," she told him.

h. When she had finished speaking, she went back and disappeared into the ocean once more.

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<sup>1</sup> Since the orphan boy wanted to play, he did not hear his sister the first time she spoke to him. The Tunica Indians believe that had he been more attentive it would be possible to raise a crop of beans in four days instead of four months.