

## THE TUNICA LANGUAGE <sup>1</sup>

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### INTRODUCTION

The Tunica language was anciently spoken by a tribe of the same name living, at the close of the seventeenth century, on the lower course of Yazoo river about twenty miles from its mouth. The word is from a native root, *uni* or *oni*, meaning person, the equivalent of Latin *homo*, but they called their tribe *Yoron*, a word of uncertain origin. From a statement by the French officer, Diron d'Artaguet, we know that another tribe known as *Tiou*, living associated with the Natchez, spoke the same language and shared the same customs, and there is strong circumstantial evidence that two other tribes on the lower Yazoo, the *Yazoo* and *Koroa*, spoke dialects which were at least closely related. According to Le Page du Pratz, a fourth tribe, the *Grigra*, which also lived with the Natchez, shared with those enumerated the phonetic peculiarity of *r* and hence we may assume they were also of this group. Most of the evidence on which this relationship has been established has been given by the writer in Bulletin 43 of the Bureau of American Ethnology to which the reader is referred, as also for an account of the history of each of the tribes mentioned <sup>2</sup>.

The Tunica are the only tribe of the Tunica

can stock from which actual linguistic material has been preserved. A remnant of them still occupies a small reservation just south of the town of Marksville, La. The great body of Tunica material upon which the present sketch is based was collected by the late Dr. A. S. Gatschet between October and December, 1886, at Lecompte, La., from an Indian of the Marksville band named William Ely Johnson. In 1907, 1908, and 1910 the writer paid visits to the band and went over Dr. Gatschet's material. Perhaps owing to the fact that he was able to communicate with these Indians in French, this work by Dr. Gatschet seems to have been exceptionally well done, and the writer was able to add little to it except in the way of verification. He also collected a few texts, but with hardly as much success as Dr. Gatschet, since there are no Tunica men of sufficient intelligence to make good interpreters, and the language itself is fast falling into disuse. Probably not more than half a dozen use it with anything approaching fluency. The writer feels that particular credit is due to Dr. Gatschet for the manner in which he recorded and elucidated the structure of this particular language, in many respects one of the most peculiar spoken in the Gulf area. He made it the subject of papers before scientific bodies from time to time, but these contain nothing but the barest outlines.

1. Published by permission of the Smithsonian Institution.

2. BBAE 43 : 33-35; 306-306; also cf. Journ. Am. Ling., vol. I, p. 48.

## PHONETICS

The signs employed to represent Tunica sounds must be considered merely as approximations to the original phonetics. While more careful recording might introduce some improvement it is probable that many of the ancient peculiarities have been lost in the breaking down of the language. The signs have been made to conform as nearly as possible to those recommended in the Report of the Committee of the American Anthropological Association on the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages"<sup>1</sup> as "the simpler system," the second alternative being adopted in the representation of vowels. The following are the vowel signs actually employed:

*a* as in FATHER; *d* as *u* in BUT; *ã* as in HAT; *ē* as *a* in FATE; *e* as in MET; *i* as in PIQUE; *i* as in PIN; *ō* as in NOTE; *o* about as in NOT; *ū* as in RULE; *u* as in PUT; *u* slightly in enunciation; nasalized vowels with a hook beneath.

The following are used for consonant signs:

*b*, *d*, *g*, *p*, *t*, *k*, *m*, *s*, *l*, *n*, *h*, *w*, and *y*, approximately as in English; *r*, a velar *r*; *c* like English *sh*; *tc* like English *ch* or *tch*; *dj* like English *j* in JUNE; *x* a palatal spirant.

' marks a pause generally due to the dropping of a phonetic element, which is frequently *u*.

The language contains no *f* or *v*. There is some reason to think that *b*, *d*, *g*, and *dj*, which are not heard as often as the corresponding surds, stand for a class of medials and that *p*, *t*, *k*, and *tc* were aspirates corresponding to them. Something of this kind is still preserved in Chitimacha which I believe to be related to the language under consideration<sup>2</sup>. This, however, can not now be determined.

1. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, no. 6. Washington, D. C., 1916.

2. See BBAE 68.

*a* is sometimes changed to *ō* or *ū* when it occurs after another *ō* or *ū* and even when the latter has been suppressed. Thus we have *ha'pani*, I FINISH, but *sag'hō'pani*, I FINISH EATING; *pōhō'pə*, LET ME SEE!; *-ha*, negative suffix, *la'pū*, GOOD, *la'pōhō*, NOT GOOD; *yū'rū*, LONG, *yū'rōhō*, NOT LONG.

Final vowels are frequently dropped in composition but with the exception of some such obvious alterations no further phonetic changes of consequence are revealed by the material at hand.

Tunica is a strikingly vocalic language and by far the most common form of syllable consists of a single vowel followed by a single consonant. Almost the only exception to this is where we find a consonant followed by a vowel which is in turn followed by a spirant, as *ha'xka*, CORN; *hā'xsa*, TO SAW; *hē'xpū*, TO CLIMB; *ka'xci*, REAL; *nū'xti*, TO ROCK; *sū'xsū*, MUSCADINE; *ya'xpa*, HUNGRY. In some of these cases it appears that the *x* is intended for *r*, and there is reason to think that many such forms are simple contractions of the consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel stems which we shall show to be a marked feature of Tunica. The other clusters of consonants occurring in unresolvable stems or words are so few that a practically complete list may be given. The following consist of two consonants: *ē'ckū*, STORM; *kā'cka*, a SPRAIN; *kī'rka*, A MOLLUSK (see above); *ō'nte*, FATHER; *ōntē'tic*, MILK; *pū'rki*, SOFT, BRITTLE; *pū'ska*, TO SWELL; *ra'cki*, LEAF; *si'nkū*, FIVE; *stū'xsū*, EYE, *ctū'ka*, TO BE ABLE; *tā'cpa*, AT ONE SIDE; *u'rkū*, HANDLE; *wi'sta*, SWEET; *wi'cka*, GUN, BOW; *yū'nka*, CORD; *ē'kca*, PINE; *lāpwiya'mū*, a small variety of beaver; *rū'cta*, RABBIT; *skala'xk*, A POST; *staka'li*, PENIS; *sta'yī*, BODY; *cka*, FOOT; *cki*, POSTERiors; *ctax*, FACE; *ctē'lūac*, SLIME, SPITTLE, FOAM; *cūgmī'li*, FOREHEAD; *ta'racpa*, SHOULDER-BLADE; *tī'rwac*, CLAW, nail, *yū'kmoxkū*, GRASS; *ōke'cta*, LEFT; *Okcambe*, A MAN'S NAME;

óntala, A LIE; ká'ckani, TO SPRAIN; cką, BUT, ALTHOUGH; also two stems of uncertain meaning in cra and cta. The following have three consonants: ó'xcta, BLUE OR GREEN; ta'xclē (also ta'xcelē), BEAUTIFUL; hápa'xcka, SOFT-SHELLED TURTLE; la'xspi, METAL, MONEY; cí'lxka, BLACK-BIRD; u'xcpa, WHITE OAK; (I'ngrasa, ENGLISH). This list does not include clusters due to the juxtaposition of stems and affixes or from foreign words, and an examination of the linguistic material shows the following "accidental" combinations or juxtapositions of this kind to occur: *mp, ph, pw, tk, lp, lt, th, nm, nt, nd, nl, nr, ns, ntc, nk, nh, rt, rs, rk, rh, rw, st, sk, sp* (in Ispą, a Spaniard), *cp, ct, cn, cr, ck, tcb, djh, kp, km, kw, kt, kl, kn, kr, ks, kc, ktc, ky, kh, gm, gl, gr, gw, gy, xst, xct, xck, xkp*. Theoretically the combinations are probably limited only by the possible juxtapositions of Tunica consonants. On the other hand there is reason to suspect that some of the clusters which occur in seemingly unresolvable stems have been brought about by the juxtaposition of originally independent elements. I have mentioned what I believe to be one set of stems of the kind already. Another, which I shall discuss more at length farther on, consists of those words with an initial consonant cluster of which the first element is *s* or *c*. This embraces practically all of those words beginning with a cluster of consonants. As might have been anticipated, the number of words and stems ending in a consonant is also very small, and usually this consonant is an *l, n, c, r, or k*. The following is an almost complete list: a'xkal, BANK, BEACH; a'xcük, DAY; é'rük, NECK; i-ü'wic, CICADA; ka'pac, CHICKEN; ken, HAND; kó'xsük, CRAWFISH; kü'mac, STONE; kün, NOISE; la'kac, HAIR; la'lak, WOODCOCK; lük, TONGUE; mu'xtül, SWAMP; nic, BREAST; ó'xkal, POCKET; ó'nír, HORN; ónté'tic, MILK; pa'hal, SOLE OF FOOT; pic, MUD; ró'wac, SASSAFRAS; sálak, THORN; ska'laxk, POST; cí'kür, KNIFE; cí'xkal,

ROCK; ctax, FACE; cté'lüac, FOAM, SPITTLE; cú'lik, PUMPKIN; tcal, THIGH; tcik, BELLY; tci'nak, KNEE; ta'xkic, SKIN; ta'yic, BLOOD; tí'xcük, DOOR; tí'rwac, CLAW, NAIL; tí'tik, BAYOU; tú'win, THE ROAD-RUNNER, also the PLOVER; u'xcik, A SPOON, SHELL; wató'rük, THE LITTLE BLUE HERON; wílük, ELM; ya'nic, BUFFALO; yün, INTESTINES; a'mar, TO PRETEND; ha'xpar, TO LIE; hē'kūx, TO MIX; hē'kūnic, CORNER; hí'ran, REMEDY; pū'yūx, TO SHAKE; tá'kar, TO ONE SIDE; té'pin, JOINT; tūil, BENT; ū'rūx, TO WHINNEY. In many of these cases we have good reason to suspect that a weak final vowel has been omitted.

While syllables are typically of the consonant-vowel type stems are more often disyllabic, usually of composition *cvcv*, but often *cvccv*. This is plainly shown by the following table exhibiting the results of an analysis of about 350 stems, and unresolvable words:

cvcv	295
cvccv	128
vcv	29
cv	22
vccv	13
cvv	9
cvc	8

The remainder were longer unresolvable forms of varying composition which need not be considered. It should be added that in the combinations of two consonants in the above list the first is usually *x*, though in a few cases *s, c, or r*.

In this connection a comparative analysis of nominal and verb stems will be found interesting and valuable. Adjective stems will be classed with verb stems for this purpose. In making the comparison I have selected the initial sound, the terminal vowel, and the last consonant whether terminal or not. Granted a given phon-

etic structure and the same phonetics we ought *a priori* to expect that, unless some disturbing factor has entered into the equation, the same sound will be used approximately as often in verbs as in nouns, in the same situation.

The accompanying tables shows the results of this examination. It is to be noted that, since the number of nominal stems was somewhat smaller than the number of verbal stems, the figures in the nominal column have been artificially increased in each case in due proportion so that they could be compared directly with the figures in the verbal column.

INITIAL SOUNDS IN VERBAL AND  
NOMINAL STEMS

<i>Sound.</i>	<i>Verb.</i>	<i>Noun.</i>
w	36	10
h	33	33
p	33	11
l	29	15
k	28	29
r	28	14
m	26	8
y	24	26
s	24	24
t	22	40
c	21	35
tc	16	23
n	12	23
a, ä	9	16
ē, e	6	10
ū, u	4	9
ī, i	3	6
ō, o	0	15
Total no. cases 354		

LAST CONSONANT IN VERBAL AND  
NOMINAL STEMS

<i>Sound.</i>	<i>Verb.</i>	<i>Noun.</i>
r	59	42
k	55	83
p	53	11
t	28	20
tc	22	20
h	20	11
l	19	30
n	16	35
s	15	14
y	15	13
m	12	16
c	10	30
w	9	4
Total no. cases 333		

TERMINAL VOWEL IN VERBAL AND  
NOMINAL STEMS

<i>Sound.</i>	<i>Verb.</i>	<i>Noun.</i>
a	139	150
ī, i, ē, e	97	113
ū, u, ō, o	94	67
Total no. cases 330		

On consulting these tables we find conformity with the expected in some respects and striking differences in others. On comparing the relative frequency of initial sounds we find that stems in *h*, *k*, *y*, *s*, and *tc*, occur with about the same frequency among both nouns and verbs. While stems with initial *c* are more frequent among nouns than among verbs this may very probably be accounted for by the occurrence of a prefix already alluded to and to be later discussed. On the other hand there are distinctly more nominal stems with initial vowels — particularly initial *o* — and initial *n* and *t*. Vowels are initial in nouns twice as

often as with verbs, and *n* and *t* are initial sounds nearly twice as often. To counterbalance this *l* and *r* are initial sounds in verbs twice as often as in nouns and *m*, *p*, and *w* nearly three times as often. It is possible that initial *t* may occur more frequently with nouns because the stem, as I have recorded it, contains some form of the article *ta*, but I have no explanation of any kind for the other facts noted, particularly as Tunica prefixes are comparatively few. The preponderance of labials as initial sounds in verbs is particularly striking. Consideration of the last consonant, usually the last phonetic in the stem but one, is important because Tunica is a suffixing language, and it is quite possible that many of the disyllabic stems may prove to be compounds, although of course there is no necessity that such should be the case. On analyzing the facts contained in this table we find that *tc*, *h*, *s*, *y*, *m*, and *w* occur in about equal proportions in this situation in both nouns and verbs, or else they occur so sparingly that no attention need be paid to them. *k*, *r*, *n*, *l*, and *c* occur a disproportionately large number of times in nominal stems, *k* in one-fourth of the cases, *r* in one-eighth, *n* in more than one-tenth, and *l* and *c* in one eleventh. In verb stems the leading sounds are *r*, *k*, and *p*, which occur in about one-sixth of the cases examined. The number of occurrences of *n*, and *c* with nouns does not have much significance by itself, but gains such significance when we compare them with the occurrences with verbs. We then find that *n* occurs only one-half as often, and *c* one-third as often among verbs. The *c* cases, as also the *l* cases, include several in which these sounds are final, and I believe that they indicate the presence of suffixes, or structural complexity in the noun itself. In the same way the preponderance of *n*'s seems to be due to a suffix *-na*, probably identical with a noun-forming suffix to be considered later. The prominence

of *p*, *r*, and *k*, with verbs, and of *k*, and *r* with nouns is due, I believe, to the presence of certain suffixes to be explained later. We shall find the use of *p* five times as often with verbs as with nouns to be full of significance. In considering the final vowels it is convenient to class the few forms in *e* under those in *i* and the few forms in *o* under those in *u*. We then find that *u* appears to be used decidedly oftener with nouns than with verbs. This may also be attributed to a suffix though I do not know that such a suffix can be isolated with certainty.

### THE VERB

The general nature of the verb stem has already been outlined. Apparently the care with which plurality is indicated by affixes has prevented a considerable employment of distinct stems for singular and plural. A careful examination seems to show but four cases of the kind, all of them except one auxiliary verbs. They are: TO GO, singular a, plural ci; TO BE, singular a, plural on; TO CAUSE, singular ta, plural an or in; TO EAT, saku (to eat one thing), cimú (to eat several kinds of food). I have only one example of this last which is doubtful, especially since singular, dual, and plural pronominal affixes are all used with saku. In the two first cases the dual stems are identical with those employed in the singular.

Reduplication is a feature of Tunica as it is of most of the other southeastern languages. Where the verb or adjective stem consists of but one syllable the entire syllable is duplicated, where it consists of two syllables the duplication is sometimes complete, sometimes confined to the first syllable. The following are all of the examples which my material affords:

ra, HARD; ra'ra, HARD THINGS  
 mē'lī, BLACK; mēlimē'lita, MANY BLACK  
 PERSONS OR THINGS

mí'li, RED ; mílimí'lita, MANY RED PERSONS  
OR THINGS  
tō'lū, ROUND ; tōlūtō'lūta, MANY ROUND  
THINGS  
saxk<sup>a</sup>, ONE ; saksaxku, SOME PERSONS  
í'li, TWO ; ílí'li, TWO BY TWO  
é'nixku, THREE ; ené'nixkutax, THREE BY  
THREE  
lí'xtca, WET ; lí'lixtca, WET IN PLACES  
hí'pū, TO DANCE ; hí'hipū oōnta', THEY HAVE  
DANCED MANY TIMES  
kō'ra, TO DRINK ; kō'kōra (pl.)  
kūtca'ni, I AM CRUSHING ; kūkūtca'ni, I  
AM CRUSHING MANY TIMES  
pa'xka, DRESSED UP FINELY ; paxpa'xka (pl.)  
pa'ta, TO FALL ; papa'ta aa'xkini, I HAVE  
FALLEN MANY TIMES  
sa'ku, TO EAT ; sa'saguk(a) a'axkini, I AM IN  
THE HABIT OF EATING  
sí'hū, TO DRY ; sí'hūni, I HAVE JUST DRIED  
THEM  
tca'ri, TO MEW ; ta mí'nū sin tcatca'rixkona-  
siti, THE CATS MEW  
ya'xpa, TO FOLLOW ; yaxpa'yaxpanta', THEY  
GO IN SINGLE FILE  
rō'xpa, NEAR, BESIDE ; arōxparōxpa'nta a'taci,  
THEY GO TOGETHER OR NEAR EACH OTHER  
kō'mū, ROOF-SHAPED ; kōmūkō'mūta (pl.)  
hō'tū, ALL ; hōtūhō'tūgi, or hōthō'tūgi,  
COMPLETELY FINISHED  
cū'itci, TO SHOOT ; ha-acūcū'itcun, NAME OF  
A WILD APPLE (seems to mean « shooting  
up »).

The two following, although nouns should evidently be inserted here. The reduplication which they contain is evidently due to the fact that they are from verbal stems though the originals are not otherwise in use :

sōksōxkana', THE SWALLOW-TAILED HAWK  
tci'ktcīri, THE CAROLINA WREN

The verb complex consists normally of a single stem, one or two prefixes, and usually a much larger number of suffixes, but sometimes there is an auxiliary in addition to the main stem, and sometimes we find two, or rarely three, principal stems.

### THE PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL AFFIXES

The most remarkable feature of Tunica is the prominence given to the expression of sex. This occurs in both nouns and verbs but is most marked in the verbs. There are distinct masculine and feminine prefixes not only in the third person singular as with us but in the second and third persons of all three numbers—singular, dual and plural—and almost complete sets for both subjective and objective relations. The objective forms are always prefixed; the subjective forms are suffixed except when they are used with auxiliaries with which they are prefixed in all numbers and persons except the first person singular, and the plural of two of the forms. The following table gives a complete list of these affixes :

#### PRONOMINAL AFFIXES

	<i>Singular</i>	
	<i>Objective</i>	<i>Subjective</i>
1st pers.	ik-, i-	-ni, -n, (nasalized vowel)
2d pers. (masc.)	wik-, wi-	-wi (or-i)
2d pers. (fem.)	hik-, hi-	-he (or -e, -a, or -o)
3d pers. (masc.)	ūk-, ū-	-wi, -ūi, -ū
3d pers. (indef.)	—	-iti
3d pers. (fem.)	tik-	-ti, -ta
	<i>Dual</i>	
1st pers.	in-, i-	-ina
2d pers. (masc.)	win-, wj-	-wina, -wini, -win

2d pers. (fem.)	hin-, hj-	-hina, -hini, -hin
3d pers. (masc.)	ün-, ū-	-una, -uni
3d pers. (fem.)	sin-, sj-	-sina, -sini, -sin
<i>Plural</i>		
1st person	in-, j-	-iti
2d pers. (masc.)	win-, wj-	-witi
2d pers. (fem.)	hin-, hj-	-hiti
3d pers. (masc.)	sik-, si-	-ta
3d pers. (fem.)	şin-, sj-	-siti

When examined closely this complicated system is seen to be built up from a very small number of roots. In the first place the dual is distinguished by the use of an *n*, and the plural by a *t*. This latter appears, it is true, only in the subjective forms, but its absence from the objective forms may be explained by the fact that, with one exception, they are identical with the corresponding forms of the dual and may be supposed to have been adopted from them. The exception noted is the form for the third person masculine, and this is remarkable as containing a *k*, which would otherwise appear to be a sign of the objective series in the singular. This sign *k*, is wanting in the subjective series, but it is possible that it has been dropped off for harmonic reasons or because the subjective pronouns require no particular mark to distinguish them. The root sound of forms in the first person except perhaps the subjective singular is plainly *i*. The sign of the second person masculine in all numbers appears consistently as *wi*; and *hi*, or some near approach to it, as the sign of the second person feminine. The third person masculine in the singular and dual is indicated by *ū*, but *ū* is wanting in the plural. In the plural subjective form it has perhaps been dropped, the original having been *-ūta*, or *-ūti*, instead of *-ta*. The third person plural masculine is quite irregular, combining a syllable otherwise used only for feminine forms in the dual and plural with the *k* characteristic of the

singular objectives. The root used in the feminine singular is *ti*, apparently unrelated to the *si* sign which we find in the dual and plural forms of that gender. These divergencies must be the result of an evolution which it is now impossible to reconstruct.

The objective prefixes are also used as possessives.

Besides employing an indefinite singular in the subjective *-iti*, as given in the above table, there is a marked tendency to use the masculine plural suffix for the indefinite or the passive. The corresponding feminine form seems to be wanting. Examples:

rixk' hă'xsanta, A SAWED PIECE OF WOOD  
 ima't ikō'xsōnta, I AM SCRATCHED, THEY  
 HAVE SCRATCHED ME  
 ahē'kinta, IT IS MIXED, THEY MIX  
 ka'ntū ūktō'm-ō'nta, A THING POUNDED BY  
 SOME ONE  
 wa'tcikata, BATTLE, THEY ARE FIGHTING

It also adds the plural idea to nouns in many cases, where the latter are followed by an adjective. A few examples have already been given when treating of reduplication. The following may be added:

ō'ni cihā'yita, THE OLD PEOPLE  
 ō'ni ni'xsara, THE BOY; ō'ni nixsā'rata, THE  
 YOUNG PEOPLE  
 ō'n ōnta'la, A LIAR; ō'n ōnta'lata, LIARS.  
 i'ni rū'xkita, FRONT TEETH  
 ta'xkin rō'wa, A WHITE HAND; ta'xkin sin  
 rō'wata, MANY WHITE HANDS  
 hă'tq̄ ikrō'xpā'nta sin, THESE THINGS NEARER  
 ME

The two last contain strictly nominal plural signs as well.

The independent personal pronouns, with two exceptions, are formed by using a connec-

tive or suffixed particle *-ma* to be considered more at length in another place. They are as follows :

<i>Singular</i>		
1st person		i'ma
2d person	ma (masc.)	hã'ma (fem.)
3d person	ũ'wi (masc.)	ti'xtc (fem.)
<i>Dual</i>		
1st person		i'nima
2d person	wi'nima (masc.)	hi'nima (fem.)
3d person	ũ'nima (masc.)	si'nima (fem.)
<i>Plural</i>		
1st person		i'nima
2d person	wi'nima (masc.)	hi'nima (fem.)
3d person	sã'ma (masc.)	si'nima (fem.)

These independent forms, when employed at all, appear in addition to the pronominal affixes. Their principal function is to reinforce the noun to which they refer, when they are placed immediately after such noun. Examples :

tõ'rõa sã'ma wiã'ntaxtcã, THE WHITE PEOPLE  
THEY ARE GOING TO UNDERSTAND ;  
ehũ'kũmak sã'ma yanatakaha', MY BROTHERS  
THEY DO NOT SPEAK (TUNICA)  
õ'ni lũ'pũi ta Tũ'nixka i'nima ra'pũ sa'xku  
ũktcũ'ukixkiti, WE THE TUNICA KEEP A DEAD  
PERSON ONE DAY  
ontcha'i si'nima õ'xkũtẽk ũ'nima hõ'tũ ya'-  
kata, THE TWO WOMEN AND HIS TWO CHILD-  
REN ALL CAME THERE

It is perhaps for this reason that the plural forms sã'ma and si'nima are sometimes used like plural suffixes to nouns. When si'nima is employed in this manner it is usually contracted to *sin*, and this contracted form appears occasionally after nouns usually considered masculine. It is possible, therefore, that sin was in process of becoming a true plural suffix to nouns without regard to gender. The

dual ũ'nima is sometimes employed in the same manner. Examples :

e'ti sã'ma hõ'tũ, ALL MY KINSFOLK  
tõ'ni mĩ sã'ma, THOSE MEN DOWN THERE  
tõ'ni mĩ ũ'nima, THOSE TWO MEN DOWN  
THERE  
ta Tca'xta sã'ma siktcõ'ha taxk kuxpanõ'nta,  
THE CHIEFS OF THE CHOCTAW ARE ASSEM-  
BLED  
hẽ sã'ma, THESE MALE PERSONS OR CREATURES  
hẽ sin, THESE FEMALE PERSONS OR CREATURES  
wa'ntaha, õ'ni sã'ma, THE ANCIENT INDIANS  
OR MEN  
tõ'ni sã'ma le'he, THESE SAME MEN  
ukũ'ni sã'ma, HIS MEN  
ta mĩ'nũ si'nima, THE CATS  
ta ya'nic si'nima, THE COWS  
i'nita si'nima, MY LARGE TEETH  
õntca'i si'n(ima), THESE WOMEN  
ta ha'lũkini hẽ'sin ti'katak, THESE VILLAGES  
ARE LARGE  
ta'xkũ õ'racki lõ'pa, A FROZEN LEAF ; ta'xkũ  
õ'racki sin lõ'pa, FROZEN LEAVES  
tcũ'la sin ta'kã'tã, THE DENS OF FOXES  
tõn hẽ'ũ'nima, THESE TWO MEN ; tõn e'nixku  
sã'ma, THESE THREE MEN  
ta kũa'tũk sin wahaksi'ti, THE BIRDS SING  
ti'ksa sin, HER DOGS  
ta ya'xci sin, FEMALE MALADIES  
ri'xku õ'racki sõ'pun, A WITHERED LEAF ;  
ta'xku õ'racki sin sõ'pun, WITHERED LEAVES  
ta'hal atapã'ra, THE LAND IS LEVEL ; ta'xkũ  
sin atapã'ra, THE TREES ARE IN A PLAIN  
ta'xkin rõ'wa, A WHITE HAND ; ta'xkin sin  
rõ'wata, MANY WHITE HANDS  
hã'tã ikrõxpã'nta sin, THESE THINGS NEARER  
ME

Reflexive personal pronouns are made by suffixing *ta* to the independent forms given, or by placing it after them, for perhaps *ta* should be considered as an independent word.



Examples: *ū'witq*, HIMSELF; *ma'tq*, THYSELF (m.); *hā'mataq*, THYSELF (f.); *q̄'mataq*, THEIR 2 SELVES; *tī'xtq* HERSELF.

In addition to *tq* there is a suggestion of another reflexive, *c*-, incorporated in the verb which is of interest because it is identical in form with reflexives found in both Natchez and Chitimacha. The existence of such a prefix can not be asserted with positiveness, but it is indicated by a considerable body of evidence. Very likely it became atrophied in later times. The evidence for this is as follows.

The stem of the verb meaning to think is *niyū*, *niyūka'ni*, I THINK, but *icni'yūki* appears with the sense "I recollect," "I remember," "I reflect." In this latter the objective pronominal prefix is used in place of the subjective pronominal suffix, but a *c* appears between it and the stem which is not accounted for. This is, however, the kind of verb in which a reflexive is likely to appear. Again we find a word *pi'tōhataq*, DO NOT LOSE YOURSELF!, in which the common reflexive *tq* seems to be used, though in an unusual situation, and the verb *icpi'tōki*, I FORGET. Unfortunately I have but one example of the first form. This may also explain the first syllable of *cāri*, TO SMELL, since *rī'na* signifies PERFUME, and *ri'ci* NOSE. The expression used for A VIRGIN is *nu'xtci te'tini yū'ra*, A WOMAN WITH A HARD OR FIRM HEART, and this suggests that *ō'ni ūcra'*, A MAN WHO CAN KEEP HIS OWN COUNCIL AND NOT TELL THINGS TO EVERYONE, A DISCREET MAN, may mean literally "a man his hardness" or "a man his firmness," *c* being this same prefix. Another example is the word for witch, *tici'naxtc*, which means "always renewing herself" and is said to be formed from *lina* meaning "indestructible." The initial sound in *ctū(ka)*, TO BE ABLE may be the same prefix. It is to be noted that most of the best examples are presented where there is very close personal ownership, especially in connection with mental processes, and this

adds great importance to the fact that a number of names for parts of the body begin with two consonants of which the first is the one in question. Thus *[i']cka*, is [MY] FOOT; *[i']cki*, [MY] BACKSIDES; *[i]cta'xpuc*, [MY] FACE; and to these may perhaps be added *ctē'lūac*, which signifies SPITTLE, SLIME, FOAM, etc. Moreover the words meaning mouth and forehead also begin with *c*, *vič*, *[ix]ciō'hū*, [MY] MOUTH; *[ix]cūgmī'li*, [MY] FOREHEAD. If the names of body parts beginning with *s* be added to these we have still more: *[ō'x]sa*, [HIS] TAIL; *[e'x]sini*, [MY] HEAD; *staka'li*, PENIS; *[e]sta'yī*, [MY] BODY; *[ix]stū'xsū*, [MY] EYE; *sū*, A WOMAN'S GENITALS. More importance is to be attached to those words beginning in *s* followed by another consonant than to the others, because, as I have stated in a previous section, this particular feature constitutes an exception in the structure of Tunica words. Body parts without initial *s* or *c* are: *ri'ci*, NOSE; *ke'ni*, HAND; *tu'ka*, SHOULDER; *ta'yic*, BLOOD; *yū*, ARM; *la'kac*, HAIR; *lūk*, TONGUE; *lūē'tca*, EAR; *na'xka*, CHEEK; *naxka'ri*, JAW; *ī'tca*, FLESH; *ni*, TOOTH. While the exceptions are therefore numerous more body-part words begin with *s* and *c* than would be expected under the ordinary workings of chance.

Reciprocity is indicated by a verbal prefix *a*-. Examples: *aki'xtina*, WE 2 PINCH EACH OTHER; *akō'xsina*, WE 2 SCRATCH EACH OTHER; *a'kahata*, THEY REJOIN EACH OTHER; *ahē'nūna*, THEY 2 SALUTED EACH OTHER; *a'raha-inaxtca i'nima*, WE 2 ARE GOING TO PAINT EACH OTHER; *asa'nisina*, THEY 2 BET WITH EACH OTHER; *a'saxk i'anan*, COME TOGETHER! (*saxk* = one); *a-āhina'*, WE 2 KICK EACH OTHER.

## LOCATIVE PREFIXES

Aside from the objective pronominal prefixes and the reciprocal the only prefixes in Tunica are the locatives *ha*-, UP; *lō*- or *lū*-, DOWN;

ki-, INTO, IN; hō-, hū-, OUT OF, OUTSIDE OF. These are either contracted from or combined into the independent adverbs or postpositions ha'ixta or ha'ic, ha'lūta or ha'lūc, ki'tcu, or ki'tcuta, and hō'waxta. The endings -ta and -c are locative suffixes after nouns and demonstratives to be treated more at length presently.

At one time it appeared to the writer that two other locative prefixes must be added to the above, ya-, toward speaker and yū-, away from speaker, but further examination showed that these occurred only as prefixes to one verb, or as parts of two independent verbs, a point not yet determined. It was also discovered that the stems yaka and yūka are inseparable and the pronominal objects stand before them whereas the true locatives always precede the pronominal prefixes. Following are examples of the use of these prefixes :

*hōya'na-antc*, I WILL SPEAK OUT FREELY  
*ha'pōni*, I LOOK UP  
*hawā'xsakani*, I AM SPRINGING UP  
*ha'kale'xkini*, I HAVE STOOD UP  
*lū'pōni*, I LOOK DOWN  
*lū'patani*, I FALL DOWN  
*lū'tcūhūni*, I SPIT DOWN  
*lūtcō'lūkātani*, I AM MAKING WATER DRIP  
 DOWN  
*kipō'ti*, SHE SEES WITHIN  
*ta'ūc kiwā'xsan*, I JUMP INTO THE WATER  
*hōwī'yani*, TO THROW OUTSIDE  
*i'lū hō'la'wakani*, I AM PULLING MY TONGUE  
 OUT  
*hōūklō-xsakq*, I AM DRAWING OUT  
*Ta'-ūc mī'li hōpāre'kati*, RED RIVER IS OVER-  
 OVERFLOWING

### INFIXATION

Apparent infixation occurs in a single verb, e'rusa, TO KNOW. In the singular the accompa-

nying pronominal elements are all prefixed, the verb being considered intransitive, but in the dual and plural they are incorporated into the verb itself. Thus we find *ō'rūsaha*, *he* DOES NOT KNOW, but *erūnasa'ha*, *we* DO NOT KNOW.

### SUFFIXES

Although Tunica is rather a suffixing than a prefixing language the actual number of suffixes is not large. It includes a number of adjective suffixes — comprising, so far as my information goes, the numerals, *hō'tu*, ALL, the distributive suffix *taxk*, five auxiliaries, the continuative, the perfect, the pronominal subjects already treated, the future, the negative, the suffix -ki, the suffix -xtc, and the suffix -ni.

### THE ADJECTIVE SUFFIXES

These have just been enumerated. They are always placed immediately after the principal stem. Examples :

*āhabō'taxkini*, I HAVE KICKED REPEATEDLY, i.  
 e., all the time  
*kā'xtca-taxk-aa'xkini*, I HAVE THE HABIT OF  
 BITING.  
*kō'xsō-taxk ike'logi*, I HAVE THE HABIT OF  
 SCRATCHING  
*lūp-hōi-ō'nta*, THEY ARE ALL DEAD  
*muxt'hō'titi*, ONE HAS WRAPPED HIM ALL UP  
*mū'tcū-ma'nku-pi'ranta*, THEY FINISH PLUNG-  
 ING FOUR TIMES  
*mūt'hō'tūta*, THEY ALL FINISHED THE PLUNGE  
*signihō'tūi*, HE SAYS TO ALL OF THEM  
*sim'hō'tūti*, SHE SCRATCHED (HER FACE) ALL  
 OVER  
*wat'hō'tūti*, SHE PULLED OUT ALL  
*wi'xku-hō'titi*, WE SCRATCH HIM ALL OVER  
*a-i wōhō'tūni*, I FINISH MAKING THE FIRE  
*iyahō'ō'ki*, IT HAS MADE US ALL LIKE THAT

ya'na-lé'pi-hó'titi, WE ALL DELIVER A DIS-COURSE.

### THE AUXILIARIES

Since the auxiliaries may be used independently they might be considered when we come to treat of the compounding of verb stems, but they have become so closely bound up in the verb complex that it is best to consider them as parts of it. Furthermore these auxiliaries exhibit two peculiarities which set them distinctly apart from all other verbs. The first of these is the fact that, as already stated, with one possible exception, the auxiliaries are the only verbs which have different stems for singular and plural. The second is the anomalous position of the pronouns when used with them. The auxiliaries are; a (sing.) *ci* (plural), TO GO; a (sing.) *ōn* (plural), TO BE; *ta* (sing.) in or an (plural), TO CAUSE; *ana* (sing.)? (plural), TO SIT; *ara* (sing.)? (plural), TO REMAIN; *āksa* (sing.)? (plural), TO COME. Defective material prevents me from telling whether the last three auxiliaries enumerated have separate plural stems or not, and similarly the plural stem of the auxiliary to cause is known only by examples of the third person plural masculine. There are also anomalies in the use of the two remaining plural stems since the pronominal affixes always precede *ci* but follow *on*. In this particular *in* or *an* agrees with the latter.

There is still one more anomaly, connected with the auxiliary to be, which I do not feel sure that I have explained correctly. I present my solution as the best I can give with the material at hand.

Since each of the verbs to go and to be has the same stem in the singular it would appear that considerable confusion might arise between them. This is avoided, however, by the fact that the former is almost always accompanied

by the perfect suffix *-xki* or *-ki*. The association of the two is so intimate that it has at times seemed doubtful to the writer whether the stem was not rather *axki* or *aki*. However, there appear to be enough cases of the independent use of *a* and *ki* to justify the conclusion to which I have arrived. It is probably for this reason that the auxiliary frequently appears with the force of English « to have ». Why the perfect suffix has not been added to *on* is still left unexplained. Following are the cases of the use of these auxiliaries independently, as recorded by Doctor Gatschet and myself:

a'ni, I GO	si'nixki, THEY 2 (f.) ARE
wi'a, YOU (m.) GO	ō'niti, WE ARE
he'ya, YOU (f.) GO	ō'nawiti, YOU (m.) ARE
ū'a, HE GOES	ō'nahiti, YOU (f. pl.) ARE
a'ta, SHE GOES	ō'nta, THEY (m.) ARE
i'ana, WE 2 GO	ō'nasiti, THEY (f.) ARE
wi'ana, YOU 2 (m.) GO	
hi'ana, YOU 2 (f.) GO	ta'ni, I CAUSE
ū'ara, THEY 2 (m.) GO	wi'ta, YOU (m.) CAUSE
si'ana, THEY 2 (f.) GO	ū'ta, HE CAUSES
i'taci, i'taci, WE GO	a'ta, SHE CAUSES
wi'taci, YOU (m.) GO	a'nta, or i'nta, THEY
hi'taci, YOU (f.) GO	CAUSE
a'taci, THEY (m.) GO	
si'taci, THEY (f.) GO	ana'ni, I SIT
	wi'na, YOU (m.) SIT
	ū'na, HE SAT
axki'ni, I AM	
wi'xki, YOU (m.) ARE	
hi'xki, YOU (f.) ARE	a'ranj, I AM LYING DOWN
ū'xki, HE IS	ū'ra, HE IS LYING DOWN
a'ki, SHE IS	a'ra, SHE IS LYING DOWN
i'nixki, WE 2 ARE	
wi'nixki, YOU 2 (m.) ARE	a'xsani, I COME (I AM
	ON THE WAY)
hi'nixki, YOU 2 (f.) ARE	wi'xsa, YOU (m.) COME
ū'nixki, THEY 2 (m.) ARE	ū'xsa, HE COMES
	a'xsa, SHE COMES.

It is probable that the missing forms in *ta*, *ana*, *ara*, and *āksa* would be like those of the

auxiliary to be, but we do not know the plural stems of *ana*, *ara*, and *äxsa*. The fact that the auxiliary « to be » usually occurs combined with the perfect as *axki* suggests a possibility that *ana*, *ara*, and *äxsa* may be similar combinations with suffixes *-na*, *-ra*, and *-sa* or *-xsa*, but this can neither be proved nor disproved on the basis of the material available. The above list contains one or two anomalies. In the dual of the verb « to go » is an unexplained vowel *a* probably merely euphonic, as is perhaps the vowel in the third person plural masculine which carries the accent. The feminine forms in the third person singular are all irregular. Instead of *ta'a* we have *a'ta*, and instead of *ta'ki*, *ta'ta*, *ta'ra* and *ta'xsa*; *a'ki*, *a'ta*, *a'ra*, and *a'xsa*, the first consonant having seemingly been dropped.

Examples of the use of these auxiliaries with other verbs will be found throughout this sketch, as also in the following list:

a, ci, TO GO :

saa'kua, HE WENT ACROSS ;  
 sikna'xcüwa, HE LED OR BROUGHT THEM  
 küa'tük na'rwa, A BIRD FLIES  
 ka'ctik hö'tü pitaku'a, HE GOES WALKING  
 ABOUT IN ZIGZAGS  
 yü'nka me'rkü nä'lua ü'witä, A SPOOL ROLL-  
 ING OF ITSELF  
 sjtaci'ka'xtca, THEY (f.) WILL GO AWAY  
 ta wä'ran i'taci ya ta ra'pa, THEY GO HUNTING  
 TO KILL DEER

a, ön, TO BE :

a'yi iktö'xkū a'ki, I HAVE GOTTEN TIRED  
 tö'lūka, cylindrical, « IT IS ROUND »  
 ta ö'nika, BEING THE PEOPLE  
 ti'ka, BEING BIG  
 la'spi kö'djū tē'nina'xki', I HAVE RUNG A BELL  
 pū'na i'kaha, I DO NOT HAVE A BALL  
 a'mar sa'goxkini, I HAVE EATEN ENOUGH  
 sagō'niti, WE HAVE EATEN  
 ana, to sit : wahakū'na, HE SAT WEEPING

ta mi'nūku hi'xku palawa'naū'na, THE CAT  
 IS SEATED WISHING TO CATCH THE MOUSE  
 ara, TO REMAIN, TO LIE :

hapelō'rani, I AM LYING FLAT ON MY BELLY  
 na'ra lüpū'ra, A DEAD SERPENT LIES THERE  
 ya'na lē'pin kalū'ra, HE STANDS SPEAKING  
 hära-ükä'ra, THEY ARE THERE TO WATCH  
 yäm irakū'ra, HE IS TO WEAR FINE CLOTHING  
 apa'rū kü'ra, CLOUDS COME.

ta, an or in, to cause :

pi'rata'ni, I HAVE FINISHED IT  
 wi'rakātani, I COUNT  
 ka'hatani, I PAY  
 kälixka'tani, I PLANT, « I MAKE STAND »  
 la'xpan ü'kitani, I PUT IN SPOTS  
 ö'ni hä'xsakūta, A PERSON WHO SAWS  
 haxpa'rwita, THOU HAST LIED  
 püyū'xkatani, I AM SHAKING SOMETHING (as a  
 tree)

i'lun tcū'rūwita, YOU WILL ROLL TWO ROLLERS  
 la'pūta, HE HAS LANDED  
 pi'raxkanta, THEY CAUSE TO BE COMPLETED  
 ükkörinta, THEY MAKE HIM DRINK

ä'xsa, TO COME :

ä'xsatca, YOU WILL COME  
 la'ü ä'xsa, EVENING IS COMING  
 se'he-wi'tc-ä'xsa, BEFORE DAY, SUN COMES UP

The verb « to go » has one additional peculiarity in that its infinitive form is *a'mi* (to go) instead of *a'ni*.

In addition to the auxiliary « to be » there is an independent verb of similar significance of which a word might be said. This has been recorded by Doctor Gatschet and myself as *axtca*, *axtci*, or *aitca*. In some of the examples possession appears to be indicated, but this is probably only a special use. The following are all of the examples that have so far come to my notice :

se'oxta hi'kic axtca'ni, BEADS WERE IN IT  
 ö'ni ri a'xtca, THERE WAS A PERSON'S HOUSE  
 enacia'kawe ri ta'clē a'xtca, WHEN HE BROUGHT  
 ME THERE WAS A FINE HOUSE THERE

laspi'ku ika'xtca, I HAVE MONEY  
 la'spi tika'xtca, SHE HAS MONEY  
 ikhaxtci', GIVE ME SOME OF IT !, LET ME HAVE  
 IT !  
 ta halu'kinic a'nita, la'xspi i'kaxtci, I WOULD  
 GO TO TOWN IF I HAD MONEY  
 ta halu'kinic a'ta lehe', la'xspi tixkaxtci'xtc,  
 SHE WOULD GO TO TOWN IF SHE HAD MONEY  
 on ha'itcu ta'lukin he'kunic ai'tcani, AN OLD  
 PERSON (FEMALE) LIVED IN A CORNER OF  
 THE VILLAGE  
 ha'lukin aitca'ni, IT WAS A VILLAGE  
 arusarq'hte a'xtca naxciakakani, SHE LED  
 THEM TO A BIG CLUMP OF BRIARS THAT WAS  
 THERE.

Before leaving the subject of auxiliaries reference must be made to indications of the existence, or former existence, of two other suffixes which seem to belong to this class. From the data at hand it would appear either that these affixes were very closely bound to the stem or else that they were in process of losing their independence. One of them is *-pa*, with a causative significance, the other, *-u*, of more uncertain meaning. As the cases in which these appear are few each will be fully discussed by itself.

In opening my argument for the — at least former, — existence of a *p-* suffix with verbs let me first recall the comparative analysis of verbal and nominal stems given some pages back according to which verb stems in which the last consonant was *p* were found to be five times as numerous as the corresponding nominal stems. This is full of significance when taken in conjunction with the proportions maintained by other sounds. We have more specific evidence, however. The stem ra'xki signifies TO BE CLOSED, SOMETHING TIGHT, ra'xpa, TO ENCLOSE, TO CATCH BY ENCLOSING, and ra'xpu, A COVERING, A COAT ; we also find stems ko'xpa, TO SURROUND, TO ENCLOSE, and

ku'xpa, TO COLLECT, TO GATHER, as if the element *pa* were essential to the thought in each. La'hi, means TO BURN, as in igla'hek, I BURN MYSELF, and la'xpa has a similar meaning, as ila'xpakati, SHE IS BURNING ME ; ici'o'ho igla'xpati, I BURN MY MOUTH, « she or it is burning my mouth. » Ta'ka means TO RUN AFTER, TO PURSUE ; ta'pa, TO CATCH, TO GRASP, and ta'xpa, TO TOUCH. Again ka'ntuk utcukani means I AM SUCKING SOMETHING ; tucupaka'ni, I AM SUCKING OUT (applied only to a doctor sucking blood from a wound, perhaps with the significance « I am causing blood to be drawn out »). The following forms found with the verb « to be a chief » seem also to contain this suffix : tco'ha pia'xkjtq, I HAVE BEEN CHIEF (and am such no longer) ; tco'ha pi'nika'xtca, I SHALL BE CHIEF ; o'ni tco'ha u'xki pi-u'xki, A MAN WHO HAS BEEN CHIEF ; tco'ha pi, BE CHIEF ! ; jtc'o'ha pi-i, BE OUR CHIEF ! ; tco'ha ipiã, BE OUR CHIEFTAINNESS ! ; wi'nima i'li tco'ha impi'witi, BE OUR CHIEFS ! ; wi'nima tco'ha pi'witi, BE CHIEFS ! ; hi'nima tco'ha pi'hiti, BE CHIEFTAINNESSES ! These forms are at least remarkable since the usual imperative sign is *-k* or *-ki*. Other cases, though not so clear, may be cited, as follows :

le'xkini, I POUR INTO, le'xpi, TO ENCLOSE, TO SHUT IN ; li'xpü, A BUTTON, A BLISTER ; kaxtc, TO BITE, ka'xpü, TO NIP OR CUT (as with scissors), also the stem of the word for TONGS (cf. ka'xti, TO BUTTON, TO LOCK ; ki'xti, TO PINCH) ; si'hü, DRY, as iksi'hü, I AM DRY, so'pü, TO WITHER OR DRY UP, as in ri'xku o'racki so'pün, A LEAF WITHERED BY DRYNESS ; ci'kür, KNIFE, ci'xkal, ROCK and FLINT, ci'xpü, TO PRICK, TO POINT.

The case for *u* is not so strong, partly because it is frequently difficult to tell whether we are dealing with this suffix or the sign of the third person masculine. As with the suffix just considered it is indicated by the fact that it appears strikingly oftener as a terminal sound to nouns than to verbs. This might be supposed to

indicate a nominal suffix but in fact the meaning which must be assigned to it as indicating something stationary, of long continuance, would tend to its frequent use as a noun-forming suffix. Such a view is suggested by the usage of similar suffixes in Chitimacha and the Muskhogean languages, and in fact the existence of such a suffix in those tongues lends additional support to the otherwise indicated presence of a similar suffix in this language. More evidence is contained in the following examples: *la'ki*, IT IS NIGHT, *la'u*, AT NIGHT; *Ta'uc mi'li yara'kati*, THE RED RIVER IS FALLING (« the Red river she is falling »), *Ta'uc mi'li ya'rata*, THE RED RIVER IS LOW; *urō'tkatā*, I AM NAILING SOMETHING, *yū'xki ta rō'tūni*, A NAIL; *mā'ra, me'ra*, CYLINDRICAL, A ROLLER, *yū'nka me'rkū*, A SPOOL OF THREAD, *ta'rkū me'rkuniku*, A WOODEN BARREL; *sa'pi*, A WAVE, *sa'piku*, THERE ARE WAVES; *hintō'wā'ran*, LET US GO WALKING TO HUNT!, *a'i axkala'i ta hi'nu*, LOCOMOTIVE, « the walking thing that produces fire. » Possibly this suffix is identical with the stem of the verb *ū'ki*, TO SIT, TO REMAIN, TO BE PLACED the second syllable of which may be in reality a perfect suffix to be noted presently. If so, however, the association of *u* and *ki* has become almost inseparable, and the same perfect suffix is used over again with it, as *ū'kūxki*, HE REMAINED, HE HAD BEEN SEATED.

#### THE CONTINUATIVE SUFFIX.

This is *-ka* or *-k*; its use is sufficiently illustrated by the following examples:

*aka'ni*, I AM GOING  
*e'rikani*, I AM LIFTING  
*pō'kani*, I AM SEEING  
*ūkimaka'ni*, I AM PUSHING HIM  
*lē'kati*, THE SETTING SUN  
*irū'kati*, IT (fem.) IS FLAPPING

*ikkā'xtcakata*, THEY ARE BITING ME  
*tōmūksi'na*, THEY 2 WERE POUNDING  
*ū'witā maxsikū'ta*, HE IS TURNING HIMSELF.

The regular position of this suffix is just before the pronoun or the auxiliary, but when followed by the future or negative suffixes it follows them. Examples: *sagunika'xtca*, « I WILL BE EATING »; *sa'gwinaga'xtca*, « YOU 2 (m.) WILL BE EATING »; *tcō'ha ūwiya'takaxtca*, HE WILL BE CHIEF; *hē sa'kuni ctū'kaha*, I CAN NOT EAT THAT; *wa'hantakaha*, THEY DO NOT LIGHT UP, THEY ARE NOT BRIGHT; *kōri'nakaha*, WE 2 DO NOT DRINK.

#### THE PERFECT.

As already stated this is *-ki* or *-xki*. Its intimate connection with the auxiliary *a*, TO BE, has been dwelt upon, and examples of that usage have been given. The following appear to be cases in which this suffix is connected directly with the principal verb stem; although the weak character of the auxiliary stem renders it somewhat uncertain:

*ūkna'meki*, HE SMELLS BAD  
*ō'ni ikpi'rakitani*, I AM BECOME A MAN  
*ō'ni mītcē'nixku taxk a'mar ya'ki*, THEY MAKE EXACTLY THIRTY PEOPLE IN ALL  
*nu'xtci tikya'xciki*, AN ANGRY WOMAN, « a woman she is angry »  
*lē'xtoki*, EXPLODED  
*iklē'eki*, I HAVE LOST (IN GAMBLING)  
*ikwi'xtāki*, I AM SWOLLEN  
*ō'ka cō'waki*, PREGNANT (ō'ka = child)  
*ikya'ki*, IT IS NECESSARY FOR ME  
*icpī'toki*, I FORGET  
*nu'xtci ō'ka ra'xkoki*, THE WOMAN HAS BORNE A CHILD.

*-ki* may itself be compound since we find

several instances of the use of a final *-i* without a consonant but with a meaning similar to that of *-ki*. The cases of this kind are as follows :

utce'xka we'xsakai, THE FROG JUMPS, perhaps  
 « the frog has been jumping »  
 ha'-i, THEY ACT (this form is somewhat  
 questionable)  
 ya'-i, TO DO, TO MAKE, MADE  
 te'luk yia'-i, NOISE (HAS BEEN) MADE  
 Henri ta'-ūc a'kawitq̄ wō'yū ōrsa'ha-i, HENRY  
 WOULD HAVE BEEN DROWNED IN THE WATER  
 HAD HE NOT KNOWN HOW TO SWIM  
 ha'xtci ckq̄ ūkǎ'xtci-i, HAS HE BITTEN SOMEONE ?

The next two examples suggest a contrast between *i* and *a* :

ūkí'ni, PLACED ; rī ūkí'na, AN INHABITANT OF  
 THE HOUSE, A PERSON SETTLED IN THE HOUSE  
 í'nūxki, I WIPE OR CLEAN ; ta'xkin ta nū'xka,  
 A SKIN WIPER.

Strengthened by these and such a parallel as the following ; pi'hukani, I AM CONCEALING MYSELF, pihuxkíni, I AM CONCEALED, I am inclined to see a contrast between *a* and *i* or *ka* and *ki*, which, if proved, would bring Tunica, in this particular, in line with Choctaw. The contrast between *ka* and *ki* is not marked in the material as it stands but this may be accounted for by the fact that *ka* is almost always suffixed to the principal stem while *ki* is more often attached to the auxiliary to be. However it is possible that the examples given above are imperfect forms in *ki*, intended either for the perfect suffix or for a modal suffix to be presently considered.

### THE FUTURE SUFFIX

Futurity is denoted by *-tca*, or *-xtca*.  
 Examples :

a-antca', I WILL GO  
 há'xsaxtca, YOU (f. s.) WILL COME  
 lá'ti ya'kanikaxtca, I WILL COME THIS EVEN-  
 ING  
 hōka'linikaxtca, I WILL SET IT FORTH  
 kōranika'xtca-a'ha, I WILL NOT DRINK  
 lūpikaxtca', YOU ARE GOING TO DIE  
 ūn mākateka'xtca, THEY WILL GIVE A PERSON  
 BAD LUCK  
 maru'-yū'kakixtc, WHEN WILL YOU RETURN ?  
 nīyū'nikaxtci'a, I WILL REFLECT  
 ikpōta'xtca', THEY WILL SEE ME  
 hikrapanika'xtca, I WILL KILL YOU  
 saguwí'tixtciq̄, YOU (m. pl.) WILL EAT

### THE NEGATIVE SUFFIX

Negation is indicated by *-ha* (*-ho* when the preceding vowel is *o* or *u*). Examples :

lō'tani ctū'kaha, I CAN NOT RUN FAST  
 kōrī'nakaha, WE 2 DO NOT DRINK  
 sikwa'naha, THEY DO NOT WISH  
 la'pōhō, NOT GOOD  
 la'maha, NOT CURING  
 yū'rōhō, NOT LONG  
 ninehā', I DO NOT SAY  
 pū'taha, THEY DO NOT SEE  
 rī'xkiha, FEEBLE, NOT STRONG  
 sa'maha, NOT RIPE  
 hinaxkō'hō, IT IS NOT LIKE THAT  
 la'xpaha, NOT COVERED, BARE

*-ha* after a verb stem *pa* gives the sense of « nothing, none at all, none ». Examples :

í'ma ka'naxku paha', NOTHING IS THE MATTER  
 WITH ME  
 é'cku sa'tci pa'ha, THERE IS NO RAIN  
 ō'katūk pa'ha, THERE ARE NO CHILDREN  
 wā'han pa'ha, THERE IS NO MORE BRIGHTNESS  
 a'ria sō'lū la'maha, ka'hq̄ pa'ha, IF I AM TREAT-  
 ED AND NOT CURED THERE IS NO PAYMENT

The sense of never or ever is conveyed by an adverb or particle placed after the word containing *-ha*. Examples:

la'tika a'ha wa'ka, THE NIGHT WILL NEVER  
COME, OR IT WILL NEVER BE NIGHT  
tūn hē'ku ya'kawī'kaha wa'ka, THIS MAN  
WILL NEVER COME OR ATTEND  
wa'xkawī'kaha wa'ka, INDESTRUCTIBLE

### THE SUFFIX *-ki*

Imperative and interrogative forms usually take a terminal suffix *-ki* (or *-k*). While it is possible that the two usages may be distinct, indicating two distinct suffixes the weight of evidence is quite opposed to such an interpretation. Following are examples :

melakā' ya'kik-hēxtc, CHILD, COME HERE !  
melakā' yakawī'tik-hē'xtc, CHILDREN, COME  
HERE !  
mictigū'yak, (pl.) mictiwī'tacik, GO AWAY !,  
SCAT !  
pī'ik, pīk, GO OUT !  
kac yū'kati yaki'k, WHEN WILL YOU COME ?  
kāhia'ti h̄j wa'lik, WHY DO YOU CRY ?  
kak h̄jhi'-a-ūk, WHO HAS DONE THAT ?  
ō'nitiki, YOU (pl.) STAY there !  
a'xkiniki, LET ME BE THERE !  
wixki'ki (m.), he'xkiki (f.), YOU CAN BE  
THERE  
ū'xkiki (m.), a'xkiki (f.), HE CAN BE THERE,  
SHE CAN BE THERE  
ūni'xkiki, LET THEM STAY THERE !  
sinixki'ki, LET THEM (f.) STAY THERE !  
ka'hia'ina ūkna'xcinixkiki, HOW CAN WE KEEP  
HIM FOR US 2 ?

There is still another use to which this suffix is put, or perhaps there is another suffix of identical form and position. This is in the sense of English « if » where it performs the

function of a subordinate conjunction. Examples :

i'nixkiki, IF WE 2 WERE THERE  
ta'lūn ta'ba la'pūki, kan hō'tū ma'xkaha, IF  
THE HARVEST OF THE PLANTATION IS GOOD  
THINGS WILL BE CHEAP  
yakanika'xtcaki, a'hq tuk ya'kanika'xtca, IF I  
COME I WILL COME IN THE MORNING  
ka-atī'ra tcū'kūki, IF HE IS ABLE TO TAKE AS  
MANY  
wikya'yixtāta wikwa'naki, I WILL SAVE YOU  
IF YOU WISH

Perhaps one of the examples given previously, ha'xtci ckā ūkāxtci' -i, HAS HE BITTEN SOMEONE ? should be placed here, as also the following : ha'tikani yū'i, GIVE ME MORE !, although the *k* is wanting.

It is not impossible that this suffix, instead of being identical with that found in imperatives and interrogatives, is merely another use of the perfect though in that case we must assume that it may be employed twice in the same form.

A few examples seem to indicate that there is another suffixed connective in *-k* but the correctness of these is somewhat in doubt. The examples are :

a'nik ikya'ki, IT IS NECESSARY FOR ME TO  
LEAVE  
sikci'xkatani'k igia'gi ha'xtci, I AM OBLIGED TO  
AID THEM  
tōn' in hō'tū lū'piti'k ĩhia'gi, IT IS NECESSARY  
FOR US ALL TO DIE  
yū'paxta sikta'pitiki sikwa'naha, THEY DO NOT  
WISH THEM TO CATCH COLD  
wa'xkig tcūpīxtcā', YOU WILL BREAK OFF AND  
CARRY OUTSIDE

### THE SUFFIX *-xtc*

A suffix *-tc* or *-xtc* is used like the preceding



to connect a subordinate clause with its principal clause. It is also sometimes translated by English « if » and may be used in conjunction with *-ki*. Its nearest English equivalent, however, appears to be infinitive forms in *-ing*. It indicates that the action in the clause to which it is attached took place, or is taking place, at the same time as that expressed by the principal clause. Examples :

*í'ma yaꞥc ũka'ũxki*, I CAUSING, HE HAS KICKED HIM  
*hĭ'hiatitc hĭ'ta ce'lama ikpō'kati*, THAT IS WHY I FIND MYSELF SO SAD  
*ũ'naxtc ticlĭ'naktc hia'kati*, WHILE HE WAS SITTING THERE THE SORCERESS ARRIVED  
*wĭ'ũtaxtc nu'xtc ĭ'lĭ tō'mũksina*, LISTENING HE HEARD 2 WOMEN POUNDING  
*lō'tataxtc*, WHILE THEY WERE RUNNING  
*hĭ'awixtc*, HE HAVING DONE THIS  
*la'xspik<sup>u</sup> ikaxtcĭ'xtc*, IF I HAVE MONEY, I HAVING MONEY  
*ta ha'lukinic a'talehe'*, *la'xspi tixka'xtcixtc*, IF SHE HAD MONEY SHE WOULD GO TO TOWN.  
*wĭ'tc-ami hā'patixtc*, IT HAVING GONE UP INTO THE AIR AND DISAPPEARED  
*ĭ'gatcik lū'pitixtc*, MY MOTHER BEING DEAD  
*la'pū-ya'taha-ixtc*, IF HE IS NOT CURED  
*a'kikixtc* IF IT EXISTS, IF IT IS, IT BEING  
*ō'ni ma'hōn ha'ixkutc a'ha*, (among) THE INDIANS THERE NOT BEING ANOTHER  
*yahō'tũtaxtc*, THEY DOING ALL  
*re'-axkini ĭ'katick lū'pitixtc ti'hika mĭ'tcũ-saxk hāc*, MY MOTHER HAVING BEEN DEAD NOW FOR TEN YEARS BEFORE I GREW UP.  
*sa'patāhā'kixtcĭ yu'kmōxku kō'ta pō'xtinta mḗ ũkkō'rinta mḗ*, WHEN THE FEVER IS NOT ALLAYED, THEY BOIL GOAT-WEED AND MAKE HIM DRINK IT  
*ra'-u hō'pataxtc a'ĭ ta'wehan ũ'kita*, WHEN THEY HAVE FINISHED BURYING IT, THEY PUT A FIRE THERE TO LIGHT IT  
*hĭhia'tixtc la'ũ ta hā'ra sá'ma nā'ra ta hā'ra*

*hinũ'kikata*, THAT DONE, THOSE WHO HAVE WATCHED AT NIGHT PREPARE TO WATCH FOR THE GHOSTS

*hĭhia'tahakixtc ta-nā'ra lā'hāhā sá'ma ta niriwā'hac hiya'takixtc*, IF THEY DID NOT DO THAT THE EVIL GHOSTS MIGHT COME TO THE CEMETERY.

In this connection mention should be made of the coordinate conjunctions, *mḗ* and *ckḗ* which, especially the former, are evidently more closely connected with the preceding than with the following clause. Thus in Tunica thought they evidently tend to an association with the subordinating verbal suffixes. They will be considered more at length when we take up the conjunctions.

#### THE SUFFIX *-ni* (or *-n*)

This is always placed after verbs or adjectives. It may be broadly defined as a noun-forming suffix though it sometimes seems to have the force of « to » in English infinitives, and sometimes that of the *-ed* of the past participle. Frequently it is used in the formation of a new noun out of a noun followed by a verb. It appears particularly often in names of instruments. Examples :

*wĭ'rani*, TO COUNT

*pū'ni*, TO SEE

*ra'xkini*, SOMETHING TIGHT

*sa'man*, COOKED (*sa'ma*, TO COOK)

*aci'xkani*, HELPING EACH OTHER

*tcũ'rũni*, SOMETHING CYLINDRICAL, A ROLL

*wirũkātani*, THE ACT OF DWELLING, SETTLEMENT

*hē'kũni*, SWEET WATER, « (WATER AND SUGAR) MIXED »

*ka'ntũk rĭ'xsan*, EVERYTHING SPOTTED, « WHAT IS SPOTTED »

ri'xk' ē'lū ri'pin, TREES HAVING PLENTY OF  
FRUIT

yū'xki tcō'rani, « A TWISTED NAIL, » A SCREW  
tī'ra sī'hutani, A DRYING-CLOTH

ōntē'tic ran, « HARD MILK, » CHEESE

yū'kmōxku rō'kūna, « BURNING HERB, »  
NETTLE

ē'cku sa'tci kō'rini, « AN ASSEMBLAGE OF RAIN  
STORMS », A TEMPEST

Very often the article *ta* is used in connection  
with this suffix, in which case it always pre-  
cedes the verb or adjective. Examples :

*ta wa'xkuni*, A BREECHCLOUT

*ka'fe ta ki'rini*, A COFFEE-MILL

*ha'xka ta ki'rini*, A GRIST-MILL

*ri'xku tcē'xki ta nuxtī'ni*, A ROCKING-CHAIR

*ta'xtcik ta pō ta sō'win*, THE SWINGING (of  
the pendulum) OF A CLOCK

*tī'ra ta tcē'xkin*, « PUT ON THE CLOTHES, »  
STARCH

*sa ya ta taka'n*, A DOG FOR HUNTING DEER

#### OTHER METHODS OF FORMING NOUNS FROM VERBS

Nouns are frequently formed from verbs or  
phrases similar to the above by the use of the  
article *ta*, the suffix *-ni* not being employed.  
Examples.

*ta a'mar ta pō'xtū*, A TAILOR, « ONE WHO  
CUTS TO THE MEASURE »

*cu'xtci*, TO SEW ; *yū'nka ta cu'xtci ē'pū*,  
DOUBLE SEWING THREAD

*ē'ri*, TO RAISE ; *ta ē'ri*, A LIFTER, ONE WHO  
RAISES

*nī'ni ta ē'ri* A FISHHAWK, « A LIFTER OF  
FISHES »

*ē'rū*, TO LAUGH ; *ta ē'rū*, THE LAUGH

*hā'ra*, TO WATCH ; *ta hā'ra sā'ma*, THE  
WATCHMEN

*hō'xka*, TO BORE, A HOLE ; *ta hō'xka*, THE  
BORING

*hū'a*, TO BATHE ; *esta'ī ta hū'a*, THE WASHING  
OF MY BODY

*ī'ra*, TO DRESS ; *tī'ra (ta ī'ra)*, CLOTHING

*kā'xpu*, TO NIP ; *ta kā'xpuni*, SCISSORS, « NIP-  
PERS » ; *a-ī ta kā'xpu*, FIRETONGS

*ka'xti*, TO BUTTON OR TO LOCK ; *ta ka'xti*, A  
KEY

*ka'rū*, TO CRACK ; *kō'xsūki ta ka'rū*, « CRAW-  
FISH CRACKER, » THE BLACK-CAPPED NIGHT  
HERON

*kē'ri*, TO CUT OR TO NOTCH ; *yū'kmō'xku ta*  
*kē'ri*, « A GRASS-CUTTER, » A SCYTHE

*kō'xpa*, TO SURROUND, TO ENCLOSE ; *tī'ra tī'cū*  
*ta kō'xpa*, CURTAIN

*kō'ra*, TO DRINK ; *wī'ci ta kō'ra*, A SOFT DRINK,  
« A WATER DRINK »

When a noun formed from a verb stem by  
the use of *ta* takes the possessive prefix the  
latter usually precedes *ta*, as : *saku*, TO EAT, *ta*  
*saku*, FOOD, *ik ta sakū*, MY FOOD ; *kūi*, TO  
PADDLE, *ta kūi*, A PADDLE, A FIN, *ūk ta kūi*, HIS  
FIN.

There is one case in which an infinitive form  
has *ta* before the objective prefix but following  
the locative prefix : *ki ta ū'krau* (something)  
to put him in.

Finally many nouns are formed from verbs  
without the use of an affix or the article *ta*.  
Examples :

*la'xpi*, TO COVER, TO PUT ON ; *cka la'xpi*, A  
SHOE, A MOCCASIN, « THE FOOT COVERED »

*lē'xpi*, TO ENCLOSE, TO STOP ; *ri'xku li'xpu*,  
« A WOODEN STOPPER » : *li'xpu tū'xk*, LITTLE  
BUTTONS OR BLISTERS

*lū'pi*, TO DIE ; *na'ra lūpū'ra*, A DEAD SER-  
PENT.

*mu'xki*, TO SMOKE-DRY ; *a-ī mux-hē'ri tcō'ha*  
*tū*, A STEAMBOAT CAPTAIN, « THE LITTLE  
CHIEF OF A FIRE-SMOKE-BOAT »

pa'xsa, TO SPLIT ; ri'xku pa'xsa, LONG SHINGLES, STAKES ; « SPLIT WOOD »  
 pi'ta, TO WALK ; o'ni ū xcka pi'tuxki, TRAIL OF A PERSON, « PERSON HIS FOOT IT HAS GONE »  
 wi'xci tictē'nir ra, STEAM, « HARD WATER VAPOR »  
 nu'xtci tetini'yū ra, VIRGIN, « WOMAN WITH A STRONG HEART »  
 ra'xku, TO BEAR A CHILD ; oka tūk a'saxk ra'xku, TWINS, « CHILDREN BORNE TOGETHER »  
 ru'pū, TO SLEEP ; aru'pū, A DREAM, « ACCOMPANYING SLEEP »  
 sa'pa tcō'ra, A WHIP ; sa'pa, TO WHIP

### COMBINATION OF VERB STEMS

While more than two verb stems are seldom used in the same complex, two occur together frequently. Sometimes the first of these carries the noun-forming or participial suffix *-ni* above described, as in the following cases :

ka'nān ra'ukani, I CROSS AND PUT IT DOWN  
 ka'nā ka'lini, THE CROSS SET UP  
 ku'xpan-ūka'ra, ASSEMBLED THEY GO THERE  
 hē sa'guni ctū'kaha, I CAN NOT EAT THAT  
 lō'tani ctū'kaha, I CAN NOT RUN  
 hi'nak a-i' wāhān-ūkikata', THAT IS WHY THEY PUT A LIGHTED FIRE THERE  
 hē'rūni ha'piti, WE FINISH STEAMING  
 kiwī'yq-wā'yati, SHE WANTED TO THROW HIM AWAY  
 wi'ran yūkanaxki', I GIVE AN ACCOUNT  
 ayaxpa'ndā ūwa'na, TRAVELING NEAR TOGETHER THEY GO

This suffix is by no means necessary, however. Where it is not employed the stems may sometimes be merely juxtaposed loosely, one or both having affixes of their own, as

ā'hataxk ikē'logi, I KICK HABITUALLY  
 ap'hō-ūgū'yani, I REMOVE THE COVER AND THROW IT AWAY  
 ya'ka wē'rusā, CAN YOU COME ? DO YOU KNOW TO COME ?  
 wō'yū ōrsa'ha-i, IF HE HAD NOT KNOWN HOW TO SWIM  
 e'rusa igiahi'lgi, I BEGIN TO KNOW  
 e'rusa iya'ti, I REMEMBER  
 ōrsa ūgia'gi, HE HAD RECOGNIZED (HER HOUSE)  
 ta ni'xsara taxk'hō'tū hē'xpū ō'rusa, THIS BOY IS ABLE OR KNOWS HOW TO CLIMB ALL TREES  
 a'xcuk yū'rū saxk hi'nuxki sa'koha, HE HAS WALKED A WHOLE DAY WITHOUT EATING  
 kō'xso taxk ikē'logi, I HAVE THE HABIT OF SCRATCHING  
 wi'xci kō'ra iksi'hū, I AM VERY THIRSTY  
 wi'xci kō'r' ikwa'na, I WANT TO DRINK SOME WATER  
 yū'ka lūpa'takati, SHE CAME AND FELL BACK MANY TIMES  
 yū'ka pa'tati, SHE FELL AS SHE WENT, GOING SHE FELL  
 nixker-hi'pū pō ikwa'na, I AM GOING (or wish) TO SEE A DANCE  
 sag' ikwa'na, I DESIRE TO EAT  
 sag' ikya'xpa, I AM HUNGRY  
 sa'ra seru'saha, THEY DID NOT KNOW HOW TO PRAY  
 i'xcāpa cimika'ni, I AM GLAD AND I PLAY  
 lō'ta e'rusa, I DO NOT KNOW HOW TO RUN.  
 lō'ta ra e'rusa, I DO NOT KNOW HOW TO RUN HARD  
 hē sā'ma lō'tata ctū'xkaha, THESE MEN WERE NOT ABLE TO RUN

In the following cases the apparent union is closer since no affixes occur between the two stems, but there is probably little difference from the native point of view :

wí'xci a'ka lú'pini, I KILL MYSELF BY DROWN-  
ING

ã'xsa ya'kati, SHE CAME TOWARD HIM

a'mar pū'ni, I MEASURE IN ORDER TO SEE,  
MEASURING I SEE

a'mar sa'goxkini, I HAVE EATEN ENOUGH

ē'pū ra'u, TO BEND AND PLACE

e'rusa axta'ni, I KNOW IT IS THAT

hē'xpū witecū'wi, HE CLIMBED UP ON THIS

yū'ka yakaxki'ni, I WENT AND I RETURNED

mar' ya'kata, THEY CAME BACK

kāxtc amarta'antani, I PRETEND TO BITE

na'ra ka'lexkini, I RISE FROM A LYING POSI-  
TION

wi'tci ka'liwi, HE GOT UP AND REMAINED STAND-  
ING

pi'ta wi'tcāni, WALKING I GO UP (ON A  
LADDER)

sa'gu ha'xparkatā, I PRETEND TO EAT

sa'gu ama'rkata, I THREATEN TO EAT

sa'ni pa'laxkini, I HAVE WON A BET

aci'xka-ti'nita, THEY ASSEMBLE TO DINE

kan kōra ma'xsikatani I AM TURNING SOME-  
THING AROUND

na'mi ciri'kati, THAT SMELLS BAD

na'ra ka'liwi, HE (BIRD) FLIES AND STANDS ON  
A LIMB

ta pā'ha-sa waha' lōti'nūka, THE WOLF RAN  
AROUND HOWLING

a'mar waxkika'xtca, YOU WILL BREAK OFF  
ENOUGH

ta kūa'k<sup>u</sup> ma'tcūi wō'yū ū'watā THE DUCK  
PLUNGES IN GOING SWIMMING

In most of these examples the first verb stem has no suffixes and it is frequently used like a prefixed adverb. In the following cases the union is more intimate, taking on the appearance of a regular incorporation. This is often marked by the fact that the objective pronominal prefix is placed before the first stem and the subjective pronominal suffix after the last. These examples shade into forms consisting of

a main stem and auxiliary such as have been treated above, but the second stem not infrequently has a true auxiliary in addition. Examples :

tcō'haku kan iktcūha'lūki, THE CHIEF HAS  
SENT ME TO GET SOMETHING

ūkra'pa-wa'nyati, SHE TRIED (OR WISHED) TO  
KILL HIM

hikra'pa-wa'nyawi, HE WISHES TO KILL YOU  
(f.)

iya'xpa ckā saki-wa'naha, ALTHOUGH I AM  
HUNGRY I DO NOT DESIRE TO EAT

ma'xcū-pi'rā a'xkini, I HAVE FINISHED DOING  
SOMETHING

ma'ri-aka'ni, I RETURN

ma'ri-aka'ta, THEY CAME BACK

maru' -yū'kakixtc, WHEN WILL YOU RETURN ?

mū'tcū-ma'nku-pi'ranta, THEY FINISHED  
PLUNGING FOUR TIMES

ta mi'nūku hi'xku palawa'na-ū'na, THE CAT  
IS SEATED WISHING TO CATCH THE MOUSE

ūcā'mi-wāya'wi, HE WANTS TO PLAY

hēk<sup>u</sup> ū'ksagi ctū'xkaha, YOU ARE NOT ABLE TO  
EAT THIS

ūktcū-ūki'xkiti, ONE TAKES IT AND SITS DOWN  
tcū-ūka'ni, I SIT WATCHING

ūktcū'yūkani, I CARRY HIM TO SOMEONE

ata'p'hēnū'nixki, GRASPING (HANDS) THEY  
SAID GOOD DAY TO EACH OTHER

ūktaphē'ni, TO SALUTE HIM BY SHAKING  
HANDS

wa'xkig tcūpixtcā', YOU WILL BREAK OFF AND  
CARRY OUTSIDE

wō'rū le'he ma'lexkini, I HAVE LEARNED  
THOROUGHLY

ūgra'pa-ya'yiti, SHE ALMOST KILLED HIM, SHE  
ESCAPED KILLING HIM

The verbs hapa, TO FINISH and hila, TO BEGIN, occur so often as verb stems in the second position that they suggest terminative and inchoative suffixes in the making, the indepen-

dent character of the latter in particular being almost obscured. Examples :

*ha'pawi*, HE IS FINISHED, OR HE IS THROUGH  
*ha'pata*, THEY FINISH  
*sag'hō'pati*, SHE FINISHED EATING  
*sag'hō'pnawiti*, YOU (m. pl.) HAVE FINISHED  
 EATING  
*cim-ha'pata*, THEY FINISH PLAYING  
*sikya'na-lē'pin-ha'pawi*, HE FINISHED SPEAK-  
 ING TO THEM  
*a-i wū'hō'pg*, LET ME FINISH MAKING A FIRE  
*am-hi'laxkini*, I HAVE BEGUN TO GO  
*ta ha'ra hari'laxkini*, I HAVE BEGUN TO SING  
 A SONG  
*rō'pina hi'na-hila'xkini*, I HAVE BEGUN TO  
 write  
*ta'xkur ūktcali'laxkini*, I HAVE BEGUN TO  
 SPLIT A RAIL  
*ha'ūki-hila'xkini*, I HAVE STARTED TO SIT  
 DOWN  
*ikahabi'lata*, THEY BEGIN TO PAY ME

Three verb stems occur in the following examples :

*witc-ami-wa-ya'wi*, HE WISHED TO ASCEND,  
 « ASCENDING TO GO WANTING HE DID »  
*ūksa'gu-wa-ya'kati*, SHE TRIED TO EAT HIM,  
 « WANTING TO EAT HIM WAS WHAT SHE  
 WAS DOING »  
*pi'am häpū'xki*, HE WENT AND GOT OUT,  
 « GOING OUT TO GO FINISHED HE HAD »  
*ma'ta-wa'na-yaka'ti*, SHE CAME TO GET  
 WATER, « TO DRAW WATER WANTING SHE  
 CAME HITHERWARD »  
*na'ra-ka'li-wa-ya'wi*, HE TRIED TO STAND UP,  
 « FROM LYING TO STAND WANTING HE DID »

The third of these consists, however, of two principal stems, each followed by an auxiliary, the former ending in what is perhaps a form of the suffix-*ni*.

My material contains two cases of nominal incorporation, *viz* :

*Tik-wi'xci-ma'tateha*, SHE DID NOT DRAW  
*water*  
*Sik-ōni-rau ha'ixku le'hi*, THEY INTER *people*  
 VERY QUEERLY

## NOUNS

The phonetic character of nominal stems has already been treated, along with various methods of forming nouns from verbs. As in all languages we find certain nouns which can not be explained or interpreted, i.e., nouns which are simple stems. Such are : *a-i*, FIRE ; *a'la*, CANE ; *a'lū*, FIELD, PLANTATION ; *ā'ya*, FLY ; *ē'ka*, PINE ; *wi'xci*, WATER ; *e'ra*, TOBACCO ; *ha'xka*, CORN ; *hal*, GROUND, LAND ; *ha'xku*, CYPRESS ; *hi'ki*, PARTRIDGE ; *hi'kua*, PANTHER ; *hi'xku*, MOUSE ; *hō'xsa*, A VINE ; *i'yi*, POTATO ; *i'yū*, PIG ; *kē*, BEE ; *ki*, MATERNAL UNCLE ; *ki'wa*, WEASEL ; *ko'la*, FLOWER ; *kū'a*, BIRD ; *la'ka*, FROST ; *lu'e'tca*, EAR ; *lūk*, TONGUE ; *mū'tci*, BREAD ; *ni*, TOOTH ; *na'ra*, SNAKE ; *nīc*, BREAST ; *o'ka*, CHILD ; *ri*, HOUSE.

There are longer forms, such as those in *-ka* and *-na*, which we may suspect of being recently compounded but of this there is no present proof. Such are : *ākawa'ha*, SQUASH BUG ; *ē'xkuna*, MOSQUITO ; *ē'luna*, POKEWEEED ; *e'rūxsa*, BRAMBLE ; *ha'xtaka*, LINDEN ; *hā'paxcka*, SOFT-SHELL TURTLE ; *hē'muli*, COVERING, LINING.

Finally there are nouns which we know to have been formed from verbs in one of the ways already indicated, as :

*ē'xkuna ta yū'runi*, WHIP-POOR-WILL, « the long mosquito »  
*sa-ta yū'kmōxku ē'lu*, OATS, « seed of horse grass »  
*ni'ni ta pa'la*, KINGFISHER, « fish catcher »  
*ē'cku-ra'hini*, THUNDER, « storm-noise »

hě'ri ta sa'kani, FERRY, « boat for crossing »  
rō'hina, PAPER from ō'rōa hī'na « something  
white to mark on »

ri'xku hī'rani, COTTONWOOD, « medicine tree »  
kā'xpuni, SCISSORS, « nippers » (from kā'xpu)  
ri pō'kuni, ROOF, « house covering »

Most of these are formed by the use of *-ni*, the article *ta*, or by both together, but a full statement of the devices employed would require a recapitulation of the syntax of a large part of the language. Frequently the same stem may be employed as verb or noun indifferently, depending on the affixes or particles which accompany it. Thus we have :  
é'rini, I RAISE UP, ta é'ri, A LIFTER ; é'rukani, I AM LAUGHING, ta é'ru, THE LAUGH ; hă'xsakatani, I AM SAWING, ta hă'xsą, A SAW ; hă'hani, I BREATHE, ta hă'ha, THE BREATH ; ha'rani, I SING, ta ha'ra, A SONG ; ikō'wikati, IT IS CAUSING ME TO PERSPIRE, tac ō'wi, THE SWEAT.

The following European words occur : Ingra'sa, ENGLISH ; Ispą', A SPANIARD ; ka'fe, COFFEE ; ska'lak, A HALF DOLLAR (Fr. escalin) ; pi'kayon, DIME (picayune) ; te'cuni, BREAKFAST (Fr. déjeuner) ; ti'ni, DINNER (Fr. diner). A few words occur so similar to those in neighboring languages that we must assume borrowing although it may be impossible to say who were the borrowers. These are : ya'nic, BISON (practically identical in all of the Southeastern languages), tcū'la, FOX (the same in Creek, Choctaw, and Cherokee), nō'kuci, BLACK BEAR (almost identical in Creek and Hitchiti), ni'ni, FISH (the same in Choctaw).

Onomatopoeic words and expressions do not appear to be common. The following are probably of this character : ă'xka, CROW ; hă'ha, BREATH ; mī'nū, CAT ; sé'pa, TO LAP (like a dog) ; tcūhū, TO SPIT ; tō'mū, TO POUND (?) ; ū'hūna, TO COUGH ; ū'rux, TO WHINNEY LIKE A HORSE ; ū'runa, BULLFROG.

The article *ta* appears before true noun stems

as well as before verb stems made into nouns : ta ō'ni, THE PERSON ; ta sa, THE DOG ; ta hal, THE GROUND.

As already explained possession is indicated by prefixing the objective pronominal affixes to the nominal stem.

The only other modification in nouns is the use of suffixes to indicate masculine and feminine, — masculine *-ku* or *-ku*, feminine *-ic*, *-xtc*, *-kic*, as : ikō'nteku, MY FATHER ; ūkō'maxka'ku, HIS ALLIGATOR ; sikō'niku, THEIR PEOPLE ; ika'tcic, MY MOTHER ; ta tī'rakic, THE CLOTHING ; ōlixka'xtca, HIS LIVER ; hō'xtciku, A LAME MAN ; hō'xtcixic, A LAME WOMAN.

There is evidence that sexuality has not in Tunica become a matter of grammar as in some European languages, at least not for animate beings. Inanimate objects must have been classed into masculine and feminine since it was necessary to refer to them, in the verb, by either a masculine or a feminine particle, and I have in fact a sex classification of many such objects although it is incompletè. I confess a frank doubt regarding the rigidity of the system, but it now appears to be impossible to settle the matter beyond question.

The gender of all of the nouns in the Tunica vocabulary collected by Gatschet is not given, and in many cases the gender given has not been carefully established. Nevertheless, a study of the gender of those nouns whose classification has been obtained is interesting. If reliance may be placed upon it the *idea* of sexuality was more important than sexuality as a grammatical process. Thus such words as male, father and nephew are male ; woman, mother, and sister-in-law female ; while the sex of the words for person, parent, child, grandparent, and for brother-in-law and sister-in-law where these are reciprocal, changes with a change in the sex of the person to whom the term is applied. The words for dog and cat take the masculine or feminine suffix according to the

sex of the dog or cat mentioned, and there is every reason to believe that this indicates a general rule. At the same time most of the animal names recorded by Gatschet are given as of one sex or the other, rabbit, turtle dove, beaver, alligator, humming-bird, pig, opossum, cardinal bird, fox, otter, elk being masculine and weasel feminine. We may begin to suspect formal gender, however, in the case of the wood-tick, flea, centipede, ant, gaspigou, bedbug, turtle, crawfish, chameleon, lizard, and certain other small animals and insects which appear as masculine. The fact that none of these smaller creatures is given as feminine, along with the further fact that the generic terms fish, shellfish, or bivalve, bird, and animal also appear as masculine may have significance regarding the classification of lower organisms. There is some evidence that the gender of the parts of the body varied with the sex of the person mentioned. At least I have the words for breast, leg, arm, and apparently toe and finger given as both masculine and feminine, though the others are divided, the calf of the leg, nose, eye, hip, thigh, hand, wrist, hair, tooth, heart, navel, knee, bone and shoulder-blade being masculine, the liver, bile, spleen or milt, lungs, flesh, head and sole of foot feminine. The sexual organs are classed as might be expected, and the word for milk is, very naturally, feminine. I find the general word meaning skin or bark given as feminine but the word for deerhide, compounded from it, as masculine. Among inanimate objects the wind, dew, a knife, and fence appear as both masculine and feminine. There may be an error in each case, or in the case of knife, a man's knife and a woman's knife may be referred to respectively. The following inanimate objects and abstractions are classed as masculine: house-post, rock, comb, noise of thunder, winter, hoe, clothes-brush, brick, a switch, shovel, plow, garters, faucet, back of chair, shore or cliff, roof, bottle, hole, metal or

money, water-hole, pillow, chimney, mirror, door, hillock, bayou, handle, hat, ax, ax-handle, and feather; and the following as feminine: floor, truth, gloves, darkness, midnight, night, morning, store, west, east, house, the heat, north, afternoon, water, bow, medicine, an escalin (or half-dollar), poison, noon, forenoon, summer or year, star, meat, cord, the cold, and the names of diseases. In the vegetable world bean, gourd, melon, cabbage, tree, mulberry tree, nut, persimmon, acacia, dogwood, vine (liana), potato (all kinds), peach tree, flower, cottonwood, apple, white oak, and grass are masculine; sassafras, pin oak, grain or seed, lima beans, vegetables, the harvest, and a plantation are feminine. The only points that come out from this at all clearly are the facts that diseases, the seasons of the year, and the divisions of the day are feminine. A closer study of the texts would perhaps add a few entries to the above lists.

#### LOCATIVE SUFFIXES

The existence of locative verbal prefixes has already been commented upon, and connectives showing space relations and similar to our prepositions, although actually they are postpositions, exist in Tunica. But in addition to these there are three or four locative signs which are affixed so closely to the preceding noun that they may best be regarded as suffixes. They occur also after demonstratives, and adverbs or postpositions indicating location. They are the following:

-c, or -ic. The nearest English equivalent to this suffix appears to be « to. » Position as the result of motion appears to be indicated. Examples:

ha'yic witcá'mi wáya'wi, HE WISHED TO ASCEND

ūkna'c āmuyakakā'ni, SHE CAME TO WHERE  
HE SAT  
ta na'ra ha'lukini'c wī'a lū'pik, GO TO THE  
COUNTRY OF THE SNAKES TO DIE!  
ū'kric yū'ka-pō-ho'pā, I AM GOING TO HIS  
HOUSE TO SEE HIM  
ta'xkuc, INTO THE WOODS  
ta halu'kini'c a'nita, I WOULD GO TO TOWN

This particular meaning is not so apparent, however, in all cases, and when employed with demonstratives or to form connectives the suffix often has a temporal significance, viz : kac, when ; h̄hiati'c, then.

-ta. This is probably nearest to English at, representing the static condition corresponding to the above. It is often difficult to distinguish the exact line of demarcation between these two suffixes and no doubt usage had made it vague among the Tunica themselves. Examples :

ta'hal ha'-ixta hē'xkixtcā, YOU WILL REMAIN  
ON THE EARTH  
hō'xka ki'tcuta ta tō'raxta tcōluhūna'ni, THE  
ICE (melting) WAS DROPPING INTO THE HOLE  
hē'rixta sa'kūna, THEY 2 CROSSED IN A CANOE  
wī'xci ha'nata ta nī'ni mū'tcūsitā'ni, THE FISH  
WERE JUMPING ABOUT IN THE OPEN WATER  
ci'xpar lē'tū sa'mati nirwā'kata tūhō'! RIPE,  
TENDER BEANS MUST BE THROWN ON THE  
CEMETERY!  
ta e'yū la'pūxta ra-ū', TO PUT ON THE RIGHT  
SIDE  
rō'xpanta, SIDE OF, NEAR  
sā'-inta, THE NEXT DAY  
hiati'rata, JUST SO FAR.

-tik. This indicates « in the direction of » and may be translated sometimes by « toward » and sometimes by « from, » for in itself it appears not to indicate whether the motion is away from or toward. It occurs in the great majority of cases after one of the two preceding suffixes. Examples :

kā ha'lukini'ctik wī'ya, INTO WHAT VILLAGES  
ARE YOU GOING ?  
Ta'ūc mī'lic'ctik ani', I AM GOING TOWARD RED  
RIVER  
tī'tikic'ctik ya'kaxkini, I HAVE COME FROM THE  
BAYOU  
ka'xtatik, FROM WHICH BANK OF THE RIVER ?  
kari'ctik hā'xsak, COME TOWARD ME !  
pikati'ctik ū'wa, HE WENT TOWARD THE  
RISING SUN  
a'xkic'ctik lā'wani i'lū, I PULL MY TONGUE BACK-  
WARD  
ta kū'mac nu'xtatik, ON THE OTHER SIDE OF  
THE STONE  
ha'tik, TO THIS PLACE OR DIRECTION  
hixtati'k, or hi'xctik, ON THAT SIDE OR IN THAT  
DIRECTION

-tā, or -ta. The connection of this particle with what goes before is much looser than is the case with those suffixes which have just been considered, but it can not be classed altogether separately. When it appears after a noun it is plainly the equivalent of English « with, » but sometimes it is employed as a connective after a subordinate clause when it may be rendered by « while, » « during, » « in the manner of, » « if. » Examples :

ūxcira'xpatā, WITH HIS HOE  
Johni'ku iktā'ma ū'xsa le'he ya'xcāhā-ixtc,  
JOHN WOULD COME WITH ME IF HE WERE  
NOT SICK  
mō'kūkani ta mō'kūxtā, I SWEEP WITH A  
BROOM  
ci'kur tā, WITH A KNIFE  
ci'xkal tā, WITH A STONE  
ci'xkal ā'hātā, WITHOUT A STONE  
ū'xkitā, WHILE, DURING, « while he is »  
nōritū'xku tā, WITH A GIMLET  
ya'xci wī'ra tā, WHILE THOU ART SICK  
ikpi'ragitā, THE DAY THAT I WAS BORN



la'u saku'nitq, ikia'xpagi, I WOULD HAVE EATEN  
 YESTERDAY IF I HAD BEEN HUNGRY  
 He'nri ta'uc a'kawi tq wō'yū ōrsa'ha, HENRY  
 WOULD HAVE BEEN DROWNED IN THE WATER  
 IF HE HAD NOT KNOWN HOW TO SWIM.

### THE DIMINUTIVE

The diminutive sign is *tū*, which appears with the masculine and feminine endings in the forms *tūk*, *tū'xku*, *tū'xkutc*, *tū'hūku*, *tū hū'ktc*, etc. It should perhaps be regarded as an independent adjective, but is frequently united so closely with a preceding noun, that it might be noticed here. Examples are :

ō'katū, LITTLE CHILDREN  
 i'xkin *tūhū'ku*, THE LITTLE FINGER  
 i'katcikt *tū'hūktc*, MY MATERNAL AUNT, « my  
 little mother »  
 kū'atū, A LITTLE BIRD  
 ta nō'ritū, THE GIMLET, « the little auger »  
 ri i'li *tū*, ONLY TWO HOUSES  
*tū'xkusaxk*, NINE, « less one » (saxk = one)

The two last illustrate derivative uses of this adjective, of which, however, there are few examples.

### DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives are not greatly developed. The principal are *hē* (or *hā*) *hi*, and *mi*.

*Hē* is the nearest Tunica equivalent to English « this, » and *hi* to « that, » but the exact difference between *mi* and the two others is not plain. Upon the whole *mi* would seem to apply to objects more distant than either of the others and perhaps things which are less definite or are invisible. Informants translate it as « down there, » « below, » or « yonder. » These demonstrative forms take the suffixes indicating gender, the locative suffixes, the diminutive,

and the two former at least appear with the noun-forming suffix *-ni*, usually abbreviated to *-n* or a nasalization of the preceding vowel, and the participial *-xtc*. *hi* is often closely united with the verb stem *ya*, of which it appears as the object, and the adjective *naxku* to form conjunctions introducing sentences or clauses. Examples :

*hēku*, THIS MALE PERSON  
*hēktc*, *hēxic*, THIS FEMALE PERSON  
*hē sin*, THESE FEMALE PERSONS  
*hē sá'ma*, THESE MALE PERSONS  
*hāt*, near, VERY NEAR  
*ūhāt*, HIM HERE  
*hē'xtc* *ikyō'lawi*, HERE HE LEAVES ME  
*hā'tq* *ikrō'xpanta sin*, THESE THINGS NEARER  
 ME  
*hā'ntūk*, THIS IS LITTLE  
 a-i *hā'tū*, THIS LITTLE FIRE  
*hi'ctik*, STANDING UP OVER YONDER  
 kan ō'ni *hī wí'kni-ū'xki*, WHAT PERSON HAS  
 TOLD YOU THAT ?  
*hi'ntak* *jhia-aki'*, WE ARE THERE  
*hinūkika'ta*, THEY REMAIN THERE  
*hi'naxk*, LIKE THAT  
 ta *mí'nūku* *hi'xku* *hār(a)ū'na*, THE CAT THAT-  
 ONE IS SEATED TO WATCH THE MOUSE.  
 ta *mí'nū* *a'hixtc* *ta'xsaku*, THE CAT OR THE  
 DOG  
*hic* *eraxki'ni*, WHERE I WAS REARED  
*hi'atama*, IT IS THUS  
*hi'xtatik*, WITH THAT, « toward that » (?)  
*hi'ani*, I GO THERE  
*hi-aweha*, HE DID NOT GO THERE  
*hiana'wi*, HE WENT THERE TO LIE DOWN  
 tō'ni *mik<sup>a</sup>* *ta'ri* *wa'nānūxki-ku* *ū'ni* *lā'hāhā*  
*panu'*, THE MAN WHO HAS BURNED THE  
 HOUSE DOWN THERE IS A CRIMINAL  
 tō'ni *mi* *sá'ma*, THOSE MEN DOWN THERE  
 tō'ni *mi* *ū'nima*, THOSE TWO MEN DOWN THERE  
*mí'hun*, *mí'huni*, DOWN THERE, FAR (more  
 than a mile)

*mix* ná'mu, RIGHT THERE IS A PLENTY  
 ta rú'xtcū *mi* sin sá'ma, THOSE PERSIMMONS  
 ARE RIPE  
 ta kú'mac *mí'*xtatik, ON THE OTHER SIDE OF  
 THE STONE  
 tō'ni *mic* ūxki' -ku pō'xkiti tcí'ctaha, THE MAN  
 BELOW IS STILL VISIBLE  
 tō'ni *mí'*ta pan ūá'-ku, THE MAN WHO PASSES  
 THERE  
*mí'*ctik u'yak, GO AWAY!, SCAT!  
*mí'*ctik, MORE (used in forming comparatives  
 and superlatives)

Closely related to the above is an indefinite *ka* employed as the root of all of the Tunica interrogatives, and indefinites, which are usually formed by adding to this the locatives and other suffixes employed with *he*, *hi*, and *mi*. Examples :

*kat*, *ka'ta*, WHERE?, TO WHAT PLACE?  
*kac*, WHEN?, also said to mean IT IS SO!,  
 and YOU THERE!  
*kq'*, *kan*, WHAT?, SOMETHING  
*ka'ntük*, SOMETHING  
*ka'ku*, *kak<sup>u</sup>*, WHO? (m.)  
*kakū'wi*, TO WHOM?  
*ka'kuk?*, FROM WHOM?  
*ka'xtati(k)*, WHENCE? FROM WHICH?  
*ka'xta*, FROM WHAT PLACE?  
*kat a'xtca*, WHERE THIS WAS  
*ka'xtak<sup>u</sup>*, BELONGING TO WHICH  
*kq'ak*, ANYTHING  
*ka'naxku*, SOMETHING, « like an indefinite  
 thing ».  
*ka'xctik tá'naha*, GOING EVERYWHERE MIXED  
*ka'tantük*, SOMEWHERE  
*kaxt hō'tū*, IN ALL DIRECTIONS  
*kanaxku'hy hiati'*, SOMETIMES  
*ka'xtctc*, WHICH (fem. person)  
*kanaku'paha*, WITHOUT ANYTHING  
*ka'xckuta*, HOW MANY TIMES?  
*ka'ku ūk sɔ*, WHOSE IS THIS DOG?

*ka-atí'ra ta'-ūc yūkana'ra*, TO WHAT PLACE  
 THE WATER REACHES

Something that has the appearance of an indefinite suffix is found in such forms as *kq'tū*, SOMETHING, *ka'kutū*, SOMEONE, and *hō'tū*, ALL, but it is quite possible that we have here only a special use of the diminutive.

Another apparent indefinite is *ma*, which occurs only in the combinations *ma'hōn* or *ma'yuhūni* NOTHING, as *ū'ni ma'yuhūni*, a person who has nothing to do.

The sense of each, the one, the other, one of two, is conveyed by the use of *ma-i*, illustrated in the following examples :

*ma'-ita*, *ma'-ixta*, ON THE OTHER (BANK OF  
 THE RIVER)  
 ū'xcūxsu *ma'-isaxk* lă'xtca, BLIND OF ONE  
 EYE  
*ama'yi*, ON EACH (BANK)  
*ama'-i í'lí*, EACH ONE OF THEM  
*ci'xkal ma-itō'rō ūkhō'xkaka*, I MAKE A HOLE  
 THROUGH A STONE (« through » giving the  
 idea of from side to side)  
*ista'xpū a'ma-i*, MY TEMPLE

*Ha' -ixku*, perhaps from *he*, this, signifies other, another, as : *mí'nū ha'-ixku taxk*, OTHER CATS ; *hal ha'-ixku*, ANOTHER COUNTRY ; *ha'-ixku le'hi*, VERY DIFFERENT ; *ō'ni ma'hōn ha'-ixkutc aha'*, AMONG THE INDIANS THERE NOT BEING ANOTHER.

## THE ARTICLE

The use of the article *tā* has already been sufficiently explained and illustrated. It appears sometimes as the equivalent of the English definite article, sometimes as the equivalent of the indefinite article. It is noteworthy only from the fact that it shares with the possessive

prefixes what in Tunica is the peculiarity of standing before the noun which it qualifies.

### ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are treated like intransitive verbs and take the same affixes. When used with auxiliaries they may also take objective pronominal prefixes. It is among adjectives that we find the greatest number of cases of reduplication. When in apposition to nouns adjectives may take the suffixes indicating gender and location.

The introduction of numerals and the adjective *ho'tu*, ALL, into the verb has been spoken of above. In this language we seem to have an example of the evolution of the word for « bad » out of the negative form of the word for « good. » Good is *la'pu*, not good *la'poho*, bad *la'hähä*.

The numeral system is as follows :

<i>saxk</i> , <i>saxku</i>	1
<i>i'li</i>	2
<i>e'nixku</i>	3
<i>mə'ku</i>	4
<i>sɨ'ku</i>	5
<i>ma'xsaxk</i>	6
<i>ta-i'xku</i>	7
<i>ti'xsixku</i>	8
<i>tü'xkusaxk</i>	9
<i>mi'tcu saxk</i>	10
<i>tä'ya saxk</i> , <i>mi'tcusatä'sa</i>	11
<i>täy-i'li</i> , <i>mi'tcu saxk täy'i'li</i>	12
<i>mi'tcusaxk täy'e'nixku</i>	13
» <i>tä'yamaku</i>	14
» <i>tä'yasjku</i>	15
» <i>tä'yamaxsaxk</i>	16
» <i>tä'yatai'xk<sup>a</sup></i>	17
» <i>täyatixsik<sup>a</sup></i>	18
» <i>täyatü'ksaxk</i>	19
<i>mi'tc-i'li</i>	20
<i>mi'tc-i'li tä'yasaxk</i>	21

<i>mi'tc-i'li tä'yili</i> (etc.)	22
<i>mi'tc-e'nixku</i>	30
<i>mi'tce ma'nku</i>	40
<i>mi'tc sɨ'ku</i>	50
<i>mi'tce ma'xsaxk</i>	60
<i>mi'tce ta'-ixku</i> (or <i>ta'-iku</i> )	70
<i>mi'tce ti'xsixku</i>	80
<i>mi'tce tü'kūsaxk</i>	90
<i>pō'lün</i>	100
» <i>i'li</i> (etc.)	200
<i>pō'lün tikha'yi</i>	1000

The system is thus decimal. All of the numbers from three to nine inclusive retain traces of having been compounded. Six appears to contain the numeral one, *saxk*, which shows that it indicated something like « five plus one, » and nine appears to be formed of *saxk* preceded by the diminutive *tuxku*, the whole signifying « (ten) less one. » *Tä'ya* means « in surplussage, » « over ».

The ordinals and numeral adverbs are one and the same or expressed in one and the same manner. The equivalent for « first », is wanting in my material : the forms above « first » as far as I have recorded them, are expressed by means of a separate word *ya'xki* : *i'li ya'xki* SECONDLY, TWICE ; *e'nixku ya'xki*, THIRDLY, THREE TIMES ; *mə'ku ya'xki*, FOURTHLY, FOUR TIMES ; *sɨ'ku ya'xki*, FIFTHLY, FIVE TIMES ; *ma'xsaxk ya'xki*, SIXTHLY, SIX TIMES. Distributives are indicated by duplication between one and three and by means of *taxk* from three up. *Taxk* also appears with the duplicated form for three : *sa'ksaxku*, SOME PERSONS ; *i'lili*, TWO BY TWO ; *ēnē'nixkuta'xk*, THREE BY THREE ; *ma'nkutaxk*, FOUR BY FOUR ; *sɨ'kutaxk*, FIVE BY FIVE ; *ma'xsata'xk*, SIX BY SIX ; *ta'-ixkutaxk*, SEVEN BY SEVEN.

*Taxk* is an adjective with a general distributive sense, sometimes with the force of a plural, sometimes indicating repetition, what is habitual or usual, sometimes in the sense of « alone, » « only, » in singling out certain

persons or things. It is used with numerals in ways just indicated and as a verbal suffix. Other examples are :

- taxk* a'mar, ENOUGH AND NO MORE  
*kă'xtca-taxk-a-a'kini*, I HAVE THE HABIT OF BITING  
*la'xpähä taxk*, BAREFOOT  
*ri taxcle-e' ta'xki*, MANY BEAUTIFUL HOUSES  
*mí'nū ha'-ixku taxk*, OTHER CATS  
*ă'hataxk ike'logi*, I KICK HABITUALLY  
*hi'naxkutaxk*, ALWAYS  
*wí'ci taxk*, NOTHING BUT WATER  
*ō'ni ka'xcu siciōhō' hiati'ra taxk*, AS MANY MOUTHS AS MEN  
*ta Tca'xta sá'ma siktō'ha taxk kuxpanōnta'*, THE CHIEFS OF THE CHOCTAW ARE ASSEMBLED.  
*rō'xpanta taxk*, ALL ROUND  
*ta ní'ri-wāka sin tí'mura ha'-ixta taxki'*, THE CEMETERIES ARE ENTIRELY ON HILLS  
*sá'ma taxki'*, THEY ALONE  
*ū'wi taxk*, HE ALONE.

## ADVERBS

It will be convenient to divide adverbs into adverbs of manner and time, locative adverbs, and intensives. Of the first class I find the following :

- a'haxtc*, SOMETIMES  
*haxtc*, *ha'xtci*, AT PRESENT, NOW, JUST NOW (perhaps from *he*, this, and *a'haxtc*)  
*ha'xcupa*, FAST, as in *ha'xcupa lō'ta-e'rusa*, I CAN RUN FAST  
*ha'tcana*, SPREAD APART, SEPARATED, as in *ha'tcana kala'ran*, I STAND WITH LEGS SPREAD APART  
*ha'tāna*, AGAIN, YET, STILL (frequently contracted to *hat*, as in *hat oni pi'ronta*, AGAIN THEY BECAME HUMAN BEINGS  
*mō'yūtōx*, *mō'yutō*, SLOWLY, QUIETLY, as :

- mō'yūtō hōpītim-lōtākā'ni*, SLOWLY SHE GOT OUT AND RAN AWAY  
*tcí'ctaha*, YET, STILL, as in : *tcíctaha'k pō'kati*, SHE STILL SEES, SHE IS STILL LOOKING, SHE IS YET LOOKING  
*wähä'tähä*, OFTEN, EACH TIME OR MOMENT, as : *wähä'tähä ūki'xtatçō'*, I PINCH SOMEONE OFTEN  
*wa'ka*, NEVER, NOT EVER (spoken of in treating of the negative suffix), as in *la'tika a'ha wa'ka*, IT WILL NEVER BE NIGHT

To the above, two adverbs might be added which are used in counting in the sense of « in addition to, more than, besides ». They are

- tā'ya*, OVERFLOWING, IN SURPLUSSAGE, BEYOND, MORE, as in : *tihika' mitcīlī' tā'ya tū'xkusa*, NINE YEARS MORE THAN TWENTY, 29 ; *mī'tcu saxk tā'yamāk'*, TEN PLUS FOUR, OR TEN AND FOUR

and

- sa'hokōt*, THE OTHER, ANOTHER, IN ADDITION, as in : *saxk ma'ku sa'hokōt*, ANOTHER ONE FOUR, ONE ADDED TO FOUR ; *e'xsi-sahō'ku*, MY STEPFATHER OR MY AUNT'S HUSBAND, « my other or additional father. »

The locative adverbs are employed constantly with *-c* and *-ta* (see « Locative Suffixes » p. 23). They are used sometimes like adjectives, postpositions, or even nouns. The following occur :

- ha-i*, as in *ha'-ixta*, and *ha'-ic*, UPON, ABOVE, ON ; *ta'hal ha'-ixta he'xkixtcq*, YOU ARE GOING TO REMAIN ON THE EARTH ; *ha'-ic witca'mūxki*, UP HE ASCENDED (the locative verbal prefix *ha-* is derived from this)  
*ha'lū*, DOWN, as in : *ha'lūc a'mi*, GOING DOWN ; *ta kū'mac ha'lūxta*, UNDER THE STONE ;

*ha'lühün* ra-u, HE PUT IT LOW DOWN (the locative verbal prefix *lū-* comes from this) *hi'ta*, BEFORE, IN FRONT OF; as : *tō'ni hi'ta ū'ak<sup>u</sup>*, THE MAN WHO GOES BEFORE YOU; *Tō'nik<sup>u</sup> hi'ta ū'-ak<sup>u</sup> kan ō'tisa*, WHAT IS THE NAME OF THE MAN WHO IS PASSING? (this may, however, be from the demonstrative *hi* and *-ta*)

*ki'tcu*, IN, INTO, as in *ta'hal ki'tcu*, in the earth; *iko'xkal ki'tcu tcū-a-a'xkini*, I KEEP IN MY POCKET; *ki'tcuxta ūkta'ni*, I PLACE WITHIN (the locative verbal prefix *ki-* comes from this)

*rō'xpa*, NEAR, CLOSE TO, as in : *ta kū'mac arō'xpanta*, NEAR THE STONE; *ō'cka ta tca'ra rō'xpa*, FEATHERS ON TOES OF A FOWL, « toes around »; *arōxparōxpa'nta a'taci*, THEY GO TOGETHER; *ta arō'xpanta*, THE RIM, THE EDGE; *hā'ta ikrōxpa'nta sin*, THESE THINGS NEARER ME (in this case the final syllable may be the plural suffix, not the locative). As the examples show it may be used as a verb or a postposition.

*rū'xki*, ON THIS SIDE OF, IN FRONT OF, FORWARD OF, as : *ta ci'xkal rū'xkic*, ON THIS SIDE OF THE STONE; *i'ni rū'xkita*, FRONT TEETH

*tī'ric* (or *tī'ri*), FORWARD, IN FRONT OF, AHEAD, as : *tī'ric wī'yā*, GO FORWARD!, *na'kawatci tī'ric'ta*, CHIEF THAT MARCHES IN FRONT

*tō'rū*, ACROSS (in all the examples available used with *ma-i*), as *ma-itō'rū pō'xtū*, CUT ACROSS; *ti'xcu ma-itō'rū ra'u*, PLACED ACROSS THE DOOR, THE THRESHOLD; *wō'xsū ma-itō'rū*, SCRATCHED ACROSS OR HORIZONTALLY

Seemingly of this same series, yet having indications of being in reality a nominal stem, is the following :

*kara*, SIDE, SIDE OF, TO ONE SIDE, as : *ta kū'mac ka'rixta*, ON THIS SIDE OF THE STONE; *tā'kar*

*ya'ka*, I BEND TO ONE SIDE; *tā'kard'rani*, I AM LYING ON ONE SIDE

Less certain is the following, the cases illustrating its use indicating that it was frequently employed as a noun :

*hē'kina*, FAR, DISTANT, DISTANCE, as : *ta kū'mac hē'kina*, FAR FROM THE STONE; *hē'kina pa'nu*, VERY FAR; *hē'kinac ha'lūkin*, A DISTANT COUNTRY; *kan hē'kina*, WHAT IS THE DISTANCE?

The following I class as intensive adverbs : *lē'yū*, STRAIGHT, DIRECTLY, ONLY, ALONE, as : *tī'ra lē'yū*, A STRAIGHT STRIP OF CLOTH; *halē'yuta*, STRAIGHT UP; *lē'yūta a'ni*, I GO STRAIGHT UP; *a'ha lē'yūta*, NOT AT ALL ALONE(?). Perhaps this is related to the next

*lē'hi*, *lē'he*, INDEED, VERY, JUST, as : *wica'ri lē'hi*, THOU HAST INDEED TIME; *wō'rū lē'he ma'lexkini*, I HAVE LEARNED THOROUGHLY; *ū'ni na'mū lē'he*, VERY MANY MEN; *ta i'ra ni'xsa lē'hi*, A BRAND NEW GARMENT; *ci'xkal ra lē'hi*, A VERY HARD STONE; *hi'naxku lē'hi*, JUST LIKE THAT

*pā*, TOO, ALSO, ALTHOUGH, EACH, EVERY. This is also used as a conjunction. Examples : *tcō'ha pā*, THE CHIEF ALSO; *sehixtā'pā*, EVERY DAY; *la'xtā pā*, EVERY NIGHT; *ya'xci pā wikta'ma anika'xtca*, ALTHOUGH I AM SICK I WILL GO WITH YOU; *ya'xci ikya'gax pā*, ALTHOUGH I AM ANGRY

The sense of « almost » is sometimes conveyed by the use of the verb stem *ya'yi* in combination (see p. 32, example 7 from end).

Another adverb or postposition which may be employed like *pā* as a connective is *naxk* or *naxku*, LIKE, AS, AS IF. Examples :

*ya'xci naxk*, SEEMINGLY SICK  
*hina'xku*, LIKE THIS

hē'ku *naxk*, LIKE THIS PERSON  
 ci'xkal *naxk*, LIKE A STONE  
 ti'ka ri *naxk*, LARGE AS A HOUSE  
 lū'pūxki *naxku'* HE IS AS IF DEAD  
 ta'yiku hō'nuxki *naxk* wiya'kati, DO YOU  
 THINK THAT THE FIRE IS EXTINGUISHED?, THAT  
 THE FIRE IS EXTINGUISHED LIKE IT DO YOU  
 THINK ?

### CONNECTIVES

The part played by the suffixes *-ki* and *-xtc* in subordinating clauses has already been dwelt upon, as well as the incidental connective functions of *tq*, *pq*, and *naxk*. This leaves for consideration, as in a primary sense connective words, only *ma* or *mā* and *ckq*. We have noted already that even in the case of these, or at least the first of them, there is a marked tendency toward association with the preceding rather than with the following clause. More often, however, it approximates the use of English « and, » as in the following examples :

kiwura'oti-*ma* ōktca'amā'kani, SHE PUT IT ON  
 and SHE WENT AWAY  
 nī'ti-*ma* hakali'ti, SHE SPOKE THUS AND RAISED  
 HERSELF UP  
 tikcū'itciwi-*ma* hawā'xa-tikū'kiwi, HE SHOT  
 HIS ARROW, AND SPRANG UP AND SAT UPON  
 IT  
 ka'lūra-*mā* mi'rūta, HE STOOD UP AND CAUSED  
 IT TO FLASH  
 yū'kāti-*ma* sina'ciyū'kati, SHE WENT AND SHE  
 BROUGHT THEM BACK

However we find it after two verbs thus linked together, as :

yū'kmōxku ko'tā pō'xtinta-*mā* ūkkō'rinta-*mā*,  
 hī'atic ūkōwikati' THEY BOIL GOATWEED  
 AND MAKE HIM DRINK OF IT SO THAT HE  
 PERSPIRES

a'xpūta-*mā* siq'ta-*mā*, THEY BATHE AND CLEAN  
 THEMSELVES  
 hō'piwi-*ma* wiana'wi-*ma*, HE CAME OUT AND  
 SPOKE TO HIM (as follows)

As in the last case it is frequently used just before a quotation :

yana'wi-*ma*, HE SAID ---  
 yana'ti-*ma*, SHE SAID ---

The dominant feeling appears to be expressed by the words « and then, » as :

lūhōnūi'-*ma*, HE DESCENDED (from the tree)  
 AND THEN  
 tikna'xciwi-*mā*, HE BROUGHT HER AND THEN  
 tcūi'-*ma*, HE TOOK AND THEN  
 simhōtūti'-*ma*, SHE SCRATCHED HERSELF ALL  
 OVER AND THEN (she wept)

This attachment of the idea to the preceding word is well illustrated by its employment in the connective *hiati'mā*, « then, » which has much the same significance, but is evidently from the verb *ya* or *hia* meaning to do and signifying originally, « that being done so-and-so happened, » as : *hihia'ti-mā* ta-ūc tō'raxta kō'raxku ū'ra, THAT DONE HE DRINKS WINE WHILE LYING DOWN.

This stem has already been referred to as used in the composition of all of the independent personal pronouns except those for the third person singular masculine and feminine. See p. 8.

*Ckq* is the antithetical conjunction, equivalent to English « but. » Its tendency to hang on what precedes is shown by the fact that it may frequently be translated « although. » Examples :

i'ma ya'xci *ckq* wikta'ma anika'xtca, AL-  
 THOUGH I AM SICK I WILL GO WITH YOU

ūca'pa si'nima p̄ s̄cā'pa hi'naxku *ckā* sin-  
kacī'tc s̄cā'paha, HE AND HIS TWO (WIVES)  
WERE SATISFIED BUT THEY WERE NOT  
SATISFIED (OR PLEASED) WITH THEIR MOTHER

### INTERJECTIONS

My material contains the following interjections and exclamatory particles :

ha, WHAT? (said when a question has not been understood)

hi'ta, TAKE CARE!

hō, WHOA! (to a horse and very likely borrowed from English)

kō, kō-ō, GOOD!, WELL!, BRAVO!, HA HA! (exclamation of satisfaction)

ō!, used when one forgets something, also equivalent to English OH!

ō-ō-u'x, ALAS! (exclamation indicating fright)

tē'wali, HURRY UP!

The native salutation was :

e'ti m̄, la'p̄y, MY FRIEND, ARE YOU WELL?

And the reply :

la'p̄ū, maha't, WELL, AND YOU?

### STRUCTURE OF WORDS

A word may now be said regarding the order in which the elements entering into nouns, demonstratives and verbs are placed.

In the noun, unless it is of immediate verbal origin, it rarely happens that two affixes occur together, in fact only two cases of the kind have come to my attention. One of these is the use of the locative *-tik* after either *-c* or *-ta*, as : *pikati'ctik* ū'wa, HE WENT TOWARD THE RISING SUN ; *ka'xtatik*, FROM WHICH (BANK OF THE RIVER)? The second is where the diminutive is an integral part of the noun, in which case it may take the suffixes indicating gender, as :

*i'xkin tūhū'ku*, THE LITTLE FINGER. Properly, however, this is only a special case of the general rule in accordance with which the suffixes indicating gender may be suffixed to the adjective depending on a noun rather than the noun itself, *yō'ta*, rotten, *ri'xku yō'taku*, a rotten tree.

*-C* and *-tik*, and *-ta* and *-tik* are combined after demonstratives as after nouns. In *ha'nta* we have apparently the suffix *-n* followed by the diminutive.

In the verb complex the locative prefix always precedes the objective pronominal prefix which in turn is immediately followed by the principal stem. The adjective suffixes follow this stem immediately as does the continuative. I have no examples of the use of the latter in conjunction with the adjective suffixes, but the perfect always follows them. In the examples at my disposal the auxiliaries follow the continuative and never take a continuative suffix themselves, but, as already explained, the auxiliary *a* occurs oftener with the perfect suffix than without it so that an impression is given that the perfect suffix occurs nearer the end of the word than does the continuative. Another apparent inversion, also explained above, is found in the use of the pronominal subjects with the auxiliaries in all persons except the first person singular, and excepting *on* and *in*, the plural forms of the auxiliaries to be and to cause. Still another irregularity, already explained, is in the position of the continuative before the future and negative suffixes which it immediately precedes, in such cases coming after the pronominal suffixes. The negative suffix and the suffix- *ki* follow the sign of the future wherever we have an opportunity to test the matter, and the infinitive suffix in *-xtc* or *-tci* is placed at the very end. *-ma* occurs, of course, at the very end. In the following table I give a number of actual examples illustrating the structure of the verb :

loc. prefix	pronom. obj.	prin. stem	adj. suf.	contin. and perfect	auxil. subj.	pronom. subj.	future	imper. and negative	inf.	English translation.
—	ūk	hērux	—	ka	ta	ni	—	—	—	I AM STEAMING IT (m. ob.)
—	ūk	hixcū	—	ka	—	ni	—	—	—	I AM PUSHING HIM INTO IT
—	—	yaka	—	<i>ka</i>	—	<i>ni</i>	xtca	ki	—	IF I COME
—	a	kaha	—	—	—	ta	—	—	—	THEY REJOIN EACH OTHER
—	—	kaxtca	taxk	<i>xki</i>	<i>a</i>	ni	—	—	—	I HAVE THE HABIT OF BITING
ki	ūk	ra-u	—	—	—	ni	—	—	—	I PUT INSIDE
—	ūk	kōr	—	—	in	ta	—	—	—	THEY MAKE HIM DRINK
—	—	kōra	—	<i>ka</i>	—	<i>ni</i>	—	ha	—	I DO NOT DRINK
—	—	kōra	—	<i>ka</i>	—	<i>ni</i>	xtca	aha	—	I WILL NOT DRINK
—	ūk	kōtcū	—	—	xki	—	ni	—	—	I HAVE CUT IT SHORTER
ha	ū	moxt(ū)	(h)ōtū	—	—	ta	—	—	—	THEY WRAPT HIM ALL UP
—	ūk	naxci	—	<i>xki</i>	(a)	<i>ini</i>	—	ki	—	HOW SHALL WE KEEP HIM FOR US 2 ?
—	—	niyū	—	<i>ka</i>	—	<i>ni</i>	xtca	—	—	I WILL REFLECT
—	—	pira	—	ki	—	—	—	—	—	IT IS ENDED
—	ik	pira	—	ki	ta	ni	—	—	—	I AM BECOME A MAN
—	ū	pō	—	k(a)	—	i	—	—	—	YOU (m.) SEE HIM
ki	—	pō	—	—	—	ti	—	—	—	SHE LOOKS UP
—	ik	pō	—	k(a)	—	ū	—	—	—	HE LOOKS TOWARD ME
—	—	pūska	—	ka	ta	ni	—	—	—	I CAUSE SOMETHING TO SWELL
—	ū	ra-u	—	ka	ta	ni	—	—	—	I CAUSE HIM TO BE BURIED
—	ūk	ra-u	—	<i>xki</i>	(a)	<i>sini</i>	—	—	—	THEY 2 (f.) PLACED HIM THERE
—	—	sak'	hila	<i>xki</i>	(a)	<i>wi</i>	—	—	—	YOU (m.) HAVE BEGUN TO EAT
—	—	sak'	hōpa	<i>xki</i>	(a)	<i>wi</i>	—	—	—	YOU (m.) HAVE FINISHED EATING
—	—	sak'	—	<i>ka</i>	—	<i>i</i>	xtca	ha	—	WILL YOU (m.) NOT EAT ?
hō	ūk	sani	—	—	—	wi	—	—	—	HE WAGERED HIMSELF TO HIM OUTSIDE
ha	—	ūki	(h)ila	<i>xki</i>	(a)	ni	—	—	—	I START TO SIT DOWN
—	—	waha	—	ka	—	—	—	—	tci	WHILE SHE WEPT
—	ik	wana	—	ki	—	—	—	—	—	I HAVE HAD DESIRE
—	sik	wana	—	—	—	—	—	ki	xtc	IF THEY WISH
—	—	wi	—	<i>ka</i>	<i>ti</i>	ū	—	ha	—	HE DOES NOT UNDERTAND
—	—	yaxca	—	—	—	—	—	ha	(i)xtc	IF HE WERE NOT SICK
—	—	yana	—	<i>ka</i>	—	<i>ni</i>	xtca	—	—	I WILL SPEAK
hō	ū	yana	—	—	—	ti	—	—	—	SHE CALLED OUT TO HIM
—	wik	yayi(x)	—	—	—	ta	n	tca	—	I WILL SAVE YOU
—	wj	yūa	—	<i>ka</i>	—	<i>ni</i>	xtca	aha	—	I WILL NOT GIVE TO YOU
—	—	ya	—	—	—	wa	—	—	xtc	HE HAVING DONE THIS
—	—	lōta	—	—	—	ta	—	—	xtc	WHILE THEY WERE RUNNING
—	hik	rapa	—	<i>ka</i>	—	<i>ni</i>	xtca	—	—	I WILL KILL YOU
hō	ūk	lōssa	—	ka	—	n	—	—	—	I AM DRAWING OUT
—	—	yaka	—	<i>ka</i>	—	<i>ni</i>	xtca	—	—	I WILL COME

The suffixes in italics are those which in actual use occur in different positions, and the sounds in parentheses are wanting in the original forms. Following is a list of the actual forms in which inversions have taken place :

yakanika'xtcaki, IF I COME  
kaxtcataxkaa'*xkini*, I HAVE THE HABIT OF BITING  
kōrani'*kaha*, I DO NOT DRINK  
kōranika'xtca'aha', I WILL NOT DRINK



ũkna'xcinixkiki, HOW SHALL WE KEEP HIM  
FOR US TWO?

nĩyũnika'xtca, I WILL REFLECT

ũkra-usini'xki, THEY (2) PLACED HIM THERE  
sak'hilawi'xki, YOU (m.) HAVE BEGUN TO EAT  
sak'hõpawi'xki, YOU (m.) HAVE FINISHED

EATING

sak'ika'xtcaha, WILL YOU (m.) NOT EAT?

haũkilaxki'ni, I START TO SIT DOWN

witikaũ'ha, HE DOES NOT UNDERSTAND

yananika'xtca, I WILL SPEAK

wjũwanika'xtca aha', I WILL NOT GIVE  
TO YOU

hikrapanika'xtca, I WILL KILL YOU

yakanika'xtca, I WILL COME

It is possible that the first vowel in the negative form AHA is the auxiliary TO BE to which the negative suffix is attached.

## STRUCTURE OF THE SENTENCE

The loose manner in which verbs are combined and juxtaposed has already been commented upon and examples have been given. Others are: Tũ'nixka ya'na icpitũ'tãhã, I HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN HOW TO SPEAK TUNICA; sa'ku amarka'tã, I PRETEND TO EAT; ũkra'pa wa'nyati, SHE WISHED TO KILL HIM; wĩ'a lũ'pik, GO TO DIE!, OR GO AND DIE! They are also connected by means of the conjunction *mã*.

When a noun is used as the subject of a verb, whether transitive or intransitive, it is referred to again by the use of the appropriate pronominal prefix or suffix, but a noun used as the object is not always represented by an objective pronominal suffix. Thus we have: õn hõ'tũwianta'xtca, ALL MEN THEY ARE GOING TO UNDERSTAND; ta cĩ'ka hũmara'ku ya'kawi, THE BOY WHO WAS FASTING, HE ARRIVED; and also ta tcĩ'aku ũktcũ'ti, THE SQUIRREL SHE TOOK

HIM; õ'tũhũk ũkpõ'wi HIS NEPHEW, HE SAW HIM; but on the other hand: õ'cka põ'xtũti, SHE CUT ITS LEGS; ri ma'xcũtaxtc, THEY HAVING BUILT HOUSES; õ'xsin ra'ukata, THEY LAID HIS HEAD; tcĩ'a ra'pa ũkha'ti, SHE TOLD HIM, TO KILL A SQUIRREL; kõ'la põ'xtinta, THEY BOIL FLOWERS; wĩ'ci kõrata'kaha, THEY DO NOT DRINK WATER.

The only apparent exception to the repetition of the subject in the verb complex by means of a pronominal affix is in one or two cases like the following: Ta Tũ'nixka sã'ma na'mõhõ hia'ki ha'ac, THE TUNICA ARE NOW FEW; ũ'ni mĩtce'nixku taxk a'mar hĩ'aki, THERE ARE EXACTLY THIRTY PEOPLE IN ALL.

Where in English there would be two objects the indirect object is usually the one treated as the direct object and indicated by a pronominal prefix, while the direct object appears as an independent substantive and is not expressed in the verb at all. Examples: hõ'xsan kõ'wini mã'ku ũkyũ'wawi, HE GAVE HIM FOUR VINES ROLLED UP; ta'ic ũktcũ'xpã-itĩ, WE DRAW THE BLOOD FROM HIM.

Still other substantives are brought into apposition with the verb by means of the locative suffixes or by postpositions. Examples: sã'ma ri ma'xcũtaxtc ãtca'raxtã kõ'xpatac ri kũ'mactã THEY MADE HOUSES OUT OF PALMETTOS SURROUNDED WITH CYPRESS BARK; ta Cixkaltĩ niku ta'hal hĩ'tcu ũ'kri ũ'nax, THE AVOYEL INDIAN HAD HIS HOUSE IN THE EARTH; kẽ'wistã ahẽ'kinta, IT IS MIXED WITH MEAL; rõ'puxtĩn rõ'wac ha-ũmoxto'tũta, THEY WRAP UP HIM (his body) IN WHITE COTTON; ta niriwa'kac ya'takixtc, THEY MIGHT COME TO THE CEMETERY; ha-i'naxcta ra-ukata', THEY BURY IN OPEN PLACES; ta nã'rã sã'mã nirewã'ka rõ'xpanta taxk wĩ'rõ-õnta, THE SPIRITS DWELL AROUND THE CEMETERY; tihĩka'ctik õ'xsin ra'-ukata, THEY PLACE HIS HEAD TOWARD THE SOUTH; õn-ũkha'yi tala'ukĩn ha'ixta aha', THERE IS NO OLD PERSON IN THE VILLAGE ABOVE; tõn ha'lukĩn halũc ta'ũc

tā *ha'ixta* witcá'ta, THE NATION BELOW ON THE MISSISSIPPI WENT UP.

As might have been expected demonstratives often take the place of nouns, as: *hi' naxku taxk* ḡhiahōtō'ki, IT HAS MADE US ALL LIKE THAT ; ta Tū'nixka sā'ma namōho' *hia'ki* hā'āc, THE TUNICA ARE FEW AT THIS TIME ; *hiha'ixta* lūphōtō'nta, OVER THERE ALL ARE DEAD ; *kat(a)* amū'xki, WHERE HE WENT ; *hat(a)* *kat(a)* ūkiō'nta, HERE WHERE THEY ARE ; *hi'naxk* ha'í, THUS THEY ACT.

In at least one case these have evolved into, or degenerated into, adverbial expressions and connectives introducing sentences or clauses : *hina'xkupā* « LIKE THAT ALSO, » IN SPITE OF THAT, NEVERTHELESS, ALL THE SAME, in *hi' naxkupā* yō'lūk yū'ru a'mar e'rusa, IN SPITE OF THAT THE STORY HAS BEEN KNOWN TO ME FOR A VERY LONG TIME.

Adverbs, like adverbial expressions of the above character, usually precede the verb, as : ta Tū'nixka sā'ma *tcictaha* wí'rukata, THE TUNICA ALWAYS HAVE REMAINED ; *ha'xcupa* lō'ta-e'rusa, I CAN RUN FAST ; *tcictaha'k* pō'kati, SHE IS STILL LOOKING. Wa'ka, NEVER, constitutes an exception, as its position is always terminal ; *la'tika* a'ha *wa'ka*, IT WILL NEVER BE NIGHT.

Nouns are compounded by simple juxtaposition, any prefixes being taken by the first of the two and any suffixes by the second, as : ta na'ra halūki'níc, IN THE SNAKE COUNTRY ; ta Tū'nixka a'ria, THE TUNICA DOCTOR OR DOCTORS ; ya'níc ō'nir tū, A LITTLE COW-HORN.

Nouns are also brought into subordination to other nouns by means of the possessive prefixes. Examples : *rō'wac* ō'cka, SASSAFRAS ITS ROOT, SASSAFRAS ROOT ; *wí'kik* ū'kríc, TO YOUR UNCLE'S HOUSE ; ō'ni ūkté'liaxtc, A PERSON HIS IMAGE.

The qualifying adjective or participle is placed after the noun or independent pronoun and takes the nominal suffixes when any such are used. Examples : *yō'lūk* *ka'xci*, A TRUE

STORY ; ta ní'cara *wa'nán*, INFLAMMATION (OR BURNING) OF THE SPLEEN ; *hē'sin* hō'tū, THESE ALL ; tū'ni *ya'xciku*, THE SICK PERSON ; ō'ni *lū'pi*, A DEAD PERSON ; ra'pū *sa'xku*, ONE DAY ; tí'xcuma ō'takā, FRESH MEAT ; tí'híka yū'ru *saxk*, ONE LONG YEAR, OR ONE WHOLE YEAR ; ta cí'ka *hūmara'ku*, THE FASTING ORPHAN ; ta tcí'a *rō'waku* ra'pa, THE WHITE SQUIRREL KILLED ; hō'xsan *kō'wini* mā'ku, FOUR LIANAS ROLLED UP.

The adjectives may have adverbs depending upon them, particularly intensives, in which case they are placed after the adjectives they qualify. Examples : *cí'xkal* ra *le'hi*, VERY HARD STONE ; ū'ni na'mū *le'hi*, VERY MANY MEN ; ha'yi *lē'yūta*, STRAIGHT UP ; yō'lūk *ka'xci* *mi'ctik*, A MORE TRUE HISTORY. In the last example *mi'ctik*, the adverb, is made up of a demonstrative *mi*, and two locative suffixes *-c* and *-tik*.

I have already mentioned introductory connectives, some of which are shown to have originated from demonstratives and postpositions used adverbially. Others are formed by combining a demonstrative with the verb stem *ya* TO DO, as *hīhia'tic*, *hīya'tic*, *hīhia'ti*, or *hīya'ti*, WHY, THAT IS WHY, THIS IS WHY, HENCE, THUS, FOR THIS DEED, THAT DONE.

As is frequently the case in English the independent personal pronoun often repeats the thought contained in the noun (or nouns) when the latter is removed from its verb by modifying elements ; but in Tunica it is commonly used to repeat that thought when the noun is not thus removed. Following are examples :

tō'rōa *sā'ma* wia'ntaxtcā, THE WHITE PEOPLE  
THEY ARE GOING TO UNDERSTAND  
tū'ni *sikha'yi* lē'ūnta *sā'ma* rí ma'xcūtaxtc,  
THE ANCIENT PEOPLE WHO HAVE DISAP-  
PEARED, THEY BUILT HOUSES  
ta'yaxc *hē'sin* hō'tū sō'lūxkiti ta'ria i'nima,  
THESE MALADIES ARE ALL TREATED BY OUR  
DOCTORS

ta Tū'nixka *i'nima* ra'pū sa'xku ūktcū'ūkix-  
 kiti, THE TUNICA, WE KEEP HIM ONE DAY,  
 WE TUNICA KEEP HIM ONE DAY  
 ta pāhasaku', ta tcumuku', ta yi'ciku' *hē'sin*  
 hō'tū ti'ksa tcō'haki, THE WOLF, THE  
 LYNX, THE RACCOON, THOSE ALL SHE LED  
 AS HER DOGS  
 e'tūkūma'c *sā'ma* ikwixsā'ta, MY PEOPLE,  
 THEY ARE MAKING FUN OF ME.

For the function performed by the suffixes *-ki*  
 and *-xtc* in subordinating sentences see page 16.

The locative suffix *tā*, the adverb *pā*, and the  
 adjective *naxk* are all sometimes employed as  
 connectives though such is not their primary  
 function. The greater number of coordinate  
 clauses are linked together by means of the  
 conjunctions *mā* and *čkā*. Examples of the  
 use of these have already been given, and the  
 following may be added:

siwa'liwi *mā* la'pūta, HE CALLED THEM AND  
 THEY LANDED  
 sā'laxk o'yahūni, rixkuti'ni o'yahūni', ri'xku  
 li'puta o'racki pō'xtinta *ma* tū'ni yaxci'ku  
 ūkō'wixkinta, THEY BOIL CLOVE-TREE  
 BRANCHES, HOLLYHOCK BRANCHES, PRICKLY  
 ASH LEAVES AND THEY SWEAT A SICK  
 PERSON IN THEM.  
 ukō'rinta *ma* yū'kmōxku hi'rani tcū'iti *ma*  
 ūkrū'pinta *ma* la'pū ya'tāhāixtc ūkwixkiti  
*ma* ta'ic ūktcū'xpaiti *mā* hixtc la'pū ūkya'-  
 tāhi wi'xkuhōtiti *ma* hirā ūkpa'xkaxkiti,  
 THEY MAKE HIM DRINK IT AND WE TAKE  
 SOME HEALING HERBS AND THEY PURGE HIM  
 AND IF HE IS NOT CURED WE SCRATCH HIM  
 AND THEY DRAW BLOOD FROM HIM AND IF HE  
 DOES NOT GET BETTER WE SCRATCH HIM ALL  
 OVER AND WE PUT A MEDICINAL PLASTER ON  
 HIM.  
 hihia'ti *mā* ta'-ūctō'raxta kōraxkūū'ra, THAT  
 HAVING BEEN DONE HE DRINKS WINE LYING  
 DOWN

sikwa'kawimā, HE COMMANDS THEM AS  
 FOLLOWS:  
 si'nima pā sjcā'pa hi'naxku *čkā* sinka'tcitic  
 sjcā'paha, THEY 2 WERE ALSO SATISFIED  
 INDEED BUT THEY WERE NOT SATISFIED  
 WITH THEIR MOTHER  
 ka'li wāya'wi o'čkā mā'ku ū'xki *tā*, HE  
 WISHED (OR TRIED) TO STAND UP WHILE HE  
 WAS ON HIS FOUR FEET  
 pō'ku *čkā* kāya'ti lapō'tsahā, HE LOOKED  
 BUT WHAT IT WAS HE DID NOT KNOW  
 tikpōxkū'na *čka* tia'nawahā'ni, HE LOOKED  
 AT HER BUT HE DID NOT SPEAK  
 timē'kata *čkā* tiwē'nitāhā'ni, THEY HUNTED  
 FOR HER BUT THEY DID NOT FIND HER  
 tita'kāō'niki *čkā* ayōlōlō'tākā'ni, THEY PURSUED  
 HER BUT THEY GAVE UP CHASING HER  
 ya'xci ikya'kax *pā*, wikta'ma anika'xtca,  
 ALTHOUGH I AM SICK (OR ANGRY), I WILL  
 GO WITH YOU  
 ta kū'aku mū'tcūi wō'yū-ūwatā, THE DUCK  
 PLUNGES IN TO SWIM  
 ya'xci wi'ra *tā*, WHILE YOU (s. m.) ARE SICK.

## PECULIAR FEATURES OF TUNICA

Tunica differs little in its general character  
 from the other languages of the Southeast,  
 but there are a few features peculiar to it. It  
 is a decidedly vocalic language with few conso-  
 nantal clusters and exhibits a minimum number  
 of phonetic changes. In possessing a true *r* it  
 is separated from all surrounding tongues,  
 the only other languages of the area which  
 contain it being Timucua, one dialect of  
 Cherokee, and the dialects of the Siouan tribes  
 of the Carolinas. Tunica is peculiar also in that  
 the greater number of the apparent stems  
 consist of two syllables. It is a suffixing rather  
 than a prefixing language, but the total number  
 of affixes is small. Its most remarkable feature,  
 one which gives it a unique position among

American languages, is the possession of sex gender expressed in both noun and verb, and particularly distinction of gender in the second person of the verb as well as the third. The structure is in general loose, the position of the various elements in the sentence being therefore of considerable importance, but dependence on position is relieved to a considerable extent by the elaborate pronominal system.

### TUNICA TEXT

#### THE TUNICA ASCEND RED RIVER AND SETTLE AT MARKSVILLE

(RECORDED BY DR. A. S. GATSCHE)

Tó'n<sup>1</sup> ha'lūkin<sup>2</sup> ha'lūc<sup>3</sup>  
The people of the town or nation below  
Ta'ūc<sup>4</sup> tā<sup>4</sup> ha'ixta<sup>5</sup> wicā-  
the water big (Mississippi) on they  
ta.<sup>6</sup> Sikhē'ri<sup>7</sup> atē'xpitak<sup>8</sup>  
ascended. Their canoes joined end to end  
a'taci.<sup>9</sup> Tcō'hak<sup>10</sup> ti'ric<sup>11</sup> ū'xsa.<sup>12</sup>  
they went. The chief in front he came.  
O'tik<sup>13</sup> ūkwa'liwi.<sup>14</sup> « Sa'kinawē »<sup>15</sup>  
His friend he called to him. « Let us eat, »  
ūknī'wi.<sup>16</sup> Hjhia'ti<sup>17</sup> ūkū'ni<sup>18</sup> sā'ma<sup>19</sup>  
he said to him. Why his people these  
hō'tū<sup>20</sup> siwa'liwi<sup>21</sup> mā<sup>22</sup> la'pūta.<sup>23</sup>  
all he called them and he landed.  
Hi'awixtc<sup>24</sup> ta<sup>25</sup> Tcikasa'ku<sup>26</sup> kōti'ūki<sup>27</sup>  
After he did that a Chickasaw hominy  
rō'wa<sup>28</sup> wō'tūxki.<sup>29</sup> Hiya'wima<sup>30</sup>  
white he gave to eat. He did so and  
ō'ti<sup>31</sup> ka'xci<sup>32</sup> ūyaū'xki.<sup>33</sup> Hjhia'tic<sup>34</sup>  
his friend true he made him that is why  
ta<sup>25</sup> Tūnixka'ku<sup>35</sup> taxt<sup>36</sup> ha'ixta<sup>5</sup> ūna'xci-  
the Tunica prairie on he led

wi'tcūxki.<sup>37</sup> Hihia'wima<sup>38</sup> ta<sup>25</sup> Cixkaltī'-  
him up. He did that and an Avoyel  
niku<sup>39</sup> wē'nūxki.<sup>40</sup> Ta<sup>25</sup> Cixkaltī'nik<sup>43</sup>  
he found. The Avoyel  
ta<sup>25</sup> hal<sup>41</sup> ki'tcu<sup>42</sup> ū'kri<sup>43</sup> ū'nax.<sup>44</sup>  
the earth in his house he had.  
Ta<sup>25</sup> Tū'nixka<sup>35</sup> ō'ti<sup>31</sup> ūkya'wi.<sup>45</sup>  
The Tunica his friend he made him.  
Ahē'nūna.<sup>46</sup> ū'xke.<sup>47</sup> atap-  
They saluted each other their 2's hands they  
ūna.<sup>48</sup> Ha'yūhūn<sup>49</sup> ata'p'hēnū'-  
2 took. Above (on arm) grasping each other  
nixki<sup>50</sup>. Hjhia'ti<sup>17</sup> hiati'ra<sup>51</sup> ta<sup>25</sup>  
they 2 saluted. This is why since then the  
halū'kinikt<sup>52</sup> se'xtini<sup>53</sup> sikya'qta.<sup>54</sup>  
village they own they make them.  
Hi'atira<sup>51</sup> Tūnixka<sup>35</sup> ha'lūkin<sup>2</sup> wa'lqta.<sup>55</sup>  
Since then Tunica village they call it.  
Tō'ni<sup>1</sup> sikha'yi<sup>56</sup> hōthō'tōki<sup>57</sup> hiha'-  
The people old all over  
ixta<sup>38</sup> lūphōtō'nta.<sup>59</sup> Ta<sup>25</sup> yō'lūxktc<sup>60</sup>  
there they are all dead. The language  
a'ki<sup>61</sup> ni'xsara-ō'nta<sup>62</sup> sā ma<sup>19</sup>  
which is there young they are they  
tcū-ōnta'.<sup>63</sup> Hat<sup>64</sup> kat<sup>65</sup>  
they keep. Here (the place) where  
ūkiō'nta<sup>66</sup> tcictaha'k<sup>67</sup> pō'kati.<sup>68</sup>  
they are settled still one is seeing.  
Hjhia'ti<sup>17</sup> yō'lūk<sup>69</sup> ka'xci<sup>70</sup> ya'kati.<sup>71</sup>  
Why story true makes.  
Hiati'ra<sup>51</sup> ta<sup>25</sup> Tcikasa'ku<sup>26</sup> wi'-  
After this time the Chickasaw is not  
nāhā.<sup>72</sup> Kat<sup>65</sup> amū'xki<sup>73</sup> pā<sup>74</sup>  
heard of. Where he went also  
ka'kupaha<sup>75</sup> ō'rusaha.<sup>76</sup> Hina'xkupā<sup>77</sup>  
none he knows. Nevertheless

ta<sup>25</sup> Tū'nixka<sup>35</sup> sā'ma<sup>19</sup> tci'ctaha<sup>67</sup> wi'-  
 the Tunica they always they  
 rukata<sup>78</sup> namōhō<sup>79</sup> pā.<sup>80</sup> Ka'ta<sup>81</sup>  
 remain not many although. Where  
 yō'lūk<sup>69</sup> ka'xci<sup>70</sup> mi'ctik<sup>82</sup> a'kikixtc<sup>83</sup>  
 a history true more if it is  
 erunasa'ha<sup>84</sup> i'nima.<sup>85</sup> Hi'naxkupā<sup>77</sup>  
 not know we. Although like that  
 yō'lūk<sup>69</sup> yū'rū<sup>86</sup> a'mar<sup>87</sup> e'rusa.<sup>88</sup>  
 the story long (time) enough is known.  
 Ta<sup>25</sup> yō'lūk<sup>69</sup> hēktc<sup>89</sup> inā'hali<sup>90</sup>  
 The story this (in) our language  
 kaxci<sup>70</sup> lapa'mar<sup>91</sup> ya'nākq<sup>92</sup>  
 true well enough I am relating  
 āha'ltq.<sup>93</sup>  
 in my language.

1. Compounded and abbreviated from the article ta AND ō'ni or ū'ni, PEOPLE.

2. This word evidently contains the word for land or country, hal; the rest of it perhaps consists of ūki, TO PLACE, SETTLE OR SEAT, and the noun-forming suffix -n (or -ni).

3. The independent locative adverb halū plus the locative suffix -c.

4. Ta'ūc is from the article ta and wi'ci, the word for water; tā means great, the Mississippi being called « the big water. »

5. The locative adverb ha-i, which appears never to be used alone, and the locative suffix -ta.

6. Witcā or witci, TO GO UP, and -ta, THEY (3d. person pronom. suffix masc.).

7. sik-, THEIR; hē'ri, CANOE OR CANOES.

8. a-, reciprocal prefix; tē'xpi, THINGS PLACED END TO END; tak = taxk, the distributive particle.

9. A appears introduced for euphony or to carry the accent; ta, THEY (subj. affix); ci, plural stem of auxiliary TO GO.

10. tō'ha, CHIEF; -ku, masculine suffix.

11. Locative adverb; the final -c may be the locative suffix.

12. ū-, masculine suffix of the third person singular prefixed to ā'xsa, because it is an auxiliary; ū- displaces the first vowel.

13. O-, HIS; ti, FRIEND; -ku, masculine suffix.

14. ūk-, HIM (3d pers. sing. obj.); wa'li, TO CALL TO; -wi, HE (3d person sing. subj.).

15. saku, TO EAT; -ina, WE 2 (1st pers. dual); -wē, probably added in shouting.

16. ūk-, HIM; nī, TO SAY; -wi, HE.

17. Probably from hī or hi, the demonstrative « that, » and ya (= hia), TO MAKE OR DO. I do not know whether the final -ti is to be interpreted as the causative auxiliary or the indefinite subjective suffix -iti.

18. ūk-, HIS; ū'ni, PEOPLE.

19. The independent personal pronoun of the 3d person plural masculine.

20. hō'tū is probably compound (see p. 25).

21. si- (for sik-), THEM; wa'li, TO CALL; -wi, HE.

22. mā, coordinate conjunction.

23. lapa, TO LAND; ū, subjective pronominal suffix used as a prefix before ta, the causal auxiliary. It would seem as if this ought to be « they landed, » which would be lapa'nta, or something like it.

24. hi, demonstrative; ya, TO DO; -wi, HE; -xtc, infinitive suffix, « being done. »

25. Article.

26. Tcikasa, Chickasaw; -ku, masculine suffix to nouns.

27. Compounded of kōti and yūki, but the meaning of the two parts is obscure. Kū'ti ta'pa signifies VEGETABLES, and kūtitayū'ki, KITCHEN.

28. Simple stem.

29. From wōtū, TO FEED; ū-, the subjective pronominal suffix of the 3d person singular masculine prefixed to an auxiliary which, according to my interpretation, is a, TO BE, suppressed after ū; -xki, perfect suffix.

30. hi, demonstrative; ya, TO DO OR MAKE; -wi, HE; ma, the connective closely attached to preceding verb.

31. ō-, HIS; ti, FRIEND.

32. Simple adjective.

33. ū-, HIM; ya, TO MAKE; ū, HE, prefixed to auxiliary complex a-xki.

34. The same as 17 plus a final consonant which I can not explain.

35. Tūnixka, TUNICA; -ku, masculine suffix.

36. ta'xta, PRAIRIE.

37. ū- HIM; na'xci, TO LEAD; witci, TO MOUNT; ū-, HE; (a), TO BE; -xki, perfect.

38. hi, demonstrative; hia = ya, TO DO; -wi, HE; ma, conjunction.

39. ci'xkal, ROCK; tī'ni, SHARP; -ku, masculine suffix. The Avoyel tribe was called rock or flint people by their neighbors.

40. wē'n, TO FIND; ū-, HE; (a), TO BE; -xki, perfect.

41. Found in 2.

42. Locative adverb.

43. ūk-, HIS; ri, HOUSE.

44. Probably from ū-, HE and the auxiliary ana, TO SIT.

45. ūk-, HIM; ya, TO MAKE; -wi, HE.

46. a-, EACH OTHER; hēni, TO SALUTE; -ūna, THEY 2 (subjective suffix 3d person dual masculine).

47. ū-, THEIR 2, pronominal objective prefix, 3d person

dual; ke stands for ken, hand; x perhaps represents a reflexive mentioned on page 5, 8, 9.

48. a-, EACH OTHER; tapa, TO TAKE, SEIZE, GRASP; -ūna, THEY 2 (subj. pronom. suffix, 3d pers. dual).

49. ha-i, locative adverb; the composition of the rest uncertain.

50. a-, EACH; OTHER tapa, TO GRASP; hēni, TO SALUTE; ūni-, subjective pronoun 3d person dual with auxiliary (a); -xki, perfect.

51. hi, demonstrative; atira, JUST, JUST SO FAR, etc., which in turn is probably composed of the reciprocal a- and tira related to tiri, before, in front of.

52. halūkin as in 2 plus the feminine nominal suffix -kic.

53. sex- = sik-, objective pronominal prefix, 3d person plural masc.

54. sik-, THEM (m.); ya, TO MAKE; q, plural form of the auxiliary, TO BE; -ta, THEY (masc.).

55. wali, TO CALL, TO HALLOO; q, pl. form of aux. TO BE; -ta, THEY (masc.).

56. sik-, THEY (objective pronominal prefix of the 3d person plural masculine); hayi, OLD.

57. hōhōtō, duplication of hōtū, ALL; -ki perfect suffix.

58. hi, demonstrative; ha'ixta, see 5.

59. lū(pi) TO DIE; hōtū, ALL (suffixed adjective); -ōn, plural auxiliary; -ta, masc. pl. suffix 3d person.

60. yōlūk, STORY, RELATION, LANGUAGE, probably from lūk, TONGUE; -kic, feminine suffix.

61. a, sing. stem of the auxiliary TO BE; -ki, perfect suffix.

62. ni'xsara, from ni'xsa, NEW, FRESH, and (perhaps) the auxiliary -ara, TO REMAIN; -ōn, plural stem of auxiliary TO BE; -ta, masculine plural suffix 3d person.

63. tcū, TO TAKE, HOLD, GRASP; -ōn, plural auxiliary; -ta, THEY.

64. Probably composed of the demonstrative hē or hā, THIS, and the locative suffix ta contracted.

65. ka, indefinite demonstrative used as the stem of the interrogatives and indefinites; -t, contracted from the locative suffix -ta.

66. ūki, TO REMAIN OR SIT; -ōn, auxiliary; -ta pronominal subject.

67. I have not succeeded in analyzing this word, and it is uncertain whether the final -k belongs with it or not.

68. pō, TO SEE; -ka, continuative suffix; -ti = -iti, indefinite pronominal suffix of the 3d person singular.

69. See 60.

70. Unanalyzable adjective.

71. ya, TO MAKE; -ka, continuative suffix; -ti either -iti (see 68) or causative auxiliary.

72. wi, stem; the rest probably consists of -n, noun-forming suffix with sense of past participle; ā, auxiliary TO BE; -hā, negative suffix.

73. a, TO GO; -m, instead of participial suffix -n (see p. 17); -ū, personal pronominal suffix of 3d person

singular masculine, used as prefix before auxiliary; (a) auxiliary understood; -xki, perfect suffix.

74. Intensive adverb.

75. Kakū signifies « who » and appears to be formed from the indefinite ka (see 65) and the masculine suffix -ku paha seems to consist of a verb stem pa plus the negative suffix -ha. I have found no case in which pa occurs independently of -ha. The whole signifies « there is nothing, » « there are none. »

76. ō-, personal pronominal prefix, 3d person singular masculine, subject of an intransitive verb; the stem would at first sight seem to be erusa or rusa, but in the dual and plural we find that the pronouns are infixed, as erunasa'ha, WE DO NOT KNOW (no 84). This is the only verb in Tunica showing this peculiarity. -ha is the negative suffix.

77. hi, demonstrative; naxku, adjective or postposition « like »; pa adverb used as a conjunction in sense of « although ».

78. wiru, stem; -ka, continuative suffix; -ta, pronominal subject. Uki'kata could be used instead (same stem as 66).

79. namō, MANY; -hō, negative suffix, the vowel being changed from a to ō on account of the preceding ō.

80. Adverb used as in 77.

81. See kat, no. 65, of which it is the long form.

82. An adverb compounded of the demonstrative mi plus the locative suffixes -c and -tik.

83. a, auxiliary TO BE; -ki perfect suffix; -ki, subordinating suffix treated on p. 16; -xtc, infinitive suffix, see p. 16.

84. See no. 76. From the fact that -in, the plural objective pronoun of the first person is infixed we may suspect that erusa, which ordinarily appears as the stem, is compound, but there appears to be no clue to enable us to determine the origin of the two elements or which part is the true stem. -ha is the negative suffix.

85. Independent personal pronoun of the first person plural (or dual). It consists of ini, which is used as the objective prefix in verbs, and ma, which is identical with the independent conjunction.

86. Adjective; long in all senses.

87. a'mar is here employed as an adverb; it is also used as a verb stem.

88. This appears to be the simple stem without pronominal affixes, an unusual condition for any verb. Possibly, however, it is « I know », which would be expressed in the same way.

89. hē, demonstrative pronoun; -kic feminine suffix.

90. inā, possessive prefix of the 1st person plural; hali LAND, COUNTRY is here given the exceptional meaning of « language. »

91. Compounded of the adjective lapū, WELL, GOOD, and a'mar (see 87).

92. yana; stem TO TELL; -ka, continuative suffix; nasalization = -ni, I.

93. ā- = i- or ik-, MY; hal, LAND and, by derivation, language (see 90); -ta, locative suffix WITH or IN.

#### FREE TRANSLATION

The people of this nation which was below on the Mississippi came up. They went along with their canoes joined end to end. The chief was in advance. He called out to his friend. He said to him, « Let us eat. » So he called all of his people and he landed. After he had done so a Chickasaw gave him white hominy to eat. He ate it and he made him his firm friend. For that reason he led the Tunica (chief) to the (Marksville) prairie. When he arrived he found an Avoyel Indian. The Avoyel had his house in the earth. The Tunica made him his friend. They greeted each other. They grasped each other's hands. They

greeted each other by grasping each other on the upper arms. That is why they have since owned the village. Since then they have called it the Tunica village. All of the old people over there are dead. The young people keep up the language. The place where they settled may still be seen. And that proves this story to be true. After this occasion the Chickasaw is not heard of. No one knows where he went. But the Tunica have always remained here although there are not many. If there is a truer history (regarding ourselves) we do not know it. Nevertheless this story has been known for a long enough time. This story I am telling sufficiently accurately in our language, in my language.

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