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THE TUNICA LANGUAGE 1

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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'Artaguette, 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 2.

The Tunica are the only tribe of the Tuni-

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.

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^{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" 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; a as u in but; \ddot{a} as in hat; \ddot{e} as a in fate; e as in met; \ddot{i} as in pique; i as in PIN; \ddot{o} as in note; o about as in not; \ddot{u} as in RULE; u as in PUT; u, u slighted 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 2 . This, however, can not now be determined.

a is sometimes changed to \bar{o} or a when it occurs after another \bar{o} or \bar{u} and even when the latter has been suppressed. Thus we have ha'pani, I finish, but sag'hō'pani, I finish eating; pōhō'pa, let me see!; -ha, negative suffix, la'pū, good, la'pōho, 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; ha'xsa, to saw; he'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 consonantvowel-consonant-vowel stems which we shall show to be a marked feature of Tunica. The other clusters of consonants occuring 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; ka'cka, a SPRAIN; kī'rka, A MOLLUSK (see above); o'nte, father; onte'tic, MILK; pū'rki, SOFT, BRITTLE; pū'ska, TO SWELL; ra'cki, LEAF; si'nkū, five; stū'xsū, eye, ctū'ka, to be able; tă'cpa, AT ONE SIDE; u'rkū, HANDLE; wi'sta, SWEET; wī'cka, GUN, BOW; yū'nka, CORD; e'kca, pine; lapwiya'mū, a small variety of beaver; rū'cta, RABBIT; skala'xk, A POST; staka'li, PENIS; sta'yi, BODY; cka, FOOT; cki, POS-TERIORS; ctax, FACE; cte'lūac, SLIME, SPITTLE, FOAM; cūgmī'li, forehead; ta'racpa, shoul-DER-BLADE; tī'rwac, CLAW, nail, yū'kmoxkū, GRASS; ōke'cta, LEFT; Okcambe, A MAN'S NAME;

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

^{2.} See BBAE 68.

o'ntala, a LIE; kă'ckani, to SPRAIN; cka, BUT, ALTHOUGH; also two stems of uncertain meaning in cra and cta. The following have three consonants: ō'xcta, blue or green; ta'xclē (also ta'xcelē), BEAUTIFUL; hăpa'xcka, SOFT-SHELLED TURTLE; la'xspi, METAL, MONEY; cī'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, tch, 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 juxtapositon 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'xcūk, DAY; ē'rūk, NECK; î-ū'wic, CICADA; ka'pac, CHICKEN; ken, HAND; kō'xsūk, CRAWFISH; kú'mac, STONE; kūn, NOISE; la'kac, HAIR; la'lak, WOODCOCK; luk, TONGUE; mu'xtūl, swamp; nic, breast; o'xkal, pocket; ō'nīr, HORN; ōntē'tic, MILK; pa'hal, SOLE OF FOOT; pic, MUD; rowac, sassafras; sa'lak, THORN; ska'laxk, post; cī'kūr, knife; ci'xkal, ROCK; ctax, face; cte'lūac, foam, spittle; cū'lik, pumpkin; tcal, thigh; tcik, belly; tci'nak, knee; ta'xkic, skin; ta'yic, blood; ti'xcūk, door; tī'rwac, claw, nail; tī'tik, bayou; tū'win, the road-runner, also the plover; u'xcik, a spoon, shell; watō'tūk, the little blue heron; wi'lūk, elm; ya'nic, buffalo; yūn, intestines; a'mar, to pretend; ha'xpar, to lie; hē'kūx, to mix; hē'kūnic, corner; hi'ran, remedy; pū'yūx, to shake; tā'kar, to one side; tē'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

Sound.	Verb.	Noun.
w	36	10
h	33	33
p	33	11
1	2 9	15
k	28	29
r	28	14
m	26	8
y	2 4	26
S	2 4	24
t	22	40
c	21	35
tc	16.	23
n	12	23
a, ă	9	16
ē, e	6	10
ū, u	4	9
ī, i	3	6
Ō, O	O	15

Total no. cases 354

Last Consonant in Verbal and Nominal Stems

Sound.	Verb.	Noun.
r	59	42
k	55	83
p	53	ΙΙ
t	28	20
tc	22	20
h	20	ΙΙ
1	19	30
n	16	35
S	15	14
y	15	13
m	I 2	16
С	10	30
W	_ 9	4
Total no. c	cases 333	

Terminal Vowel in Verbal and Nominal Stems

Sound.	Verb.	Noun.
a	139	150
ī, i, ē, e	97	113
ū, u, ō, o	_94	67
Total no. case	es <u>330</u>	

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 occurence 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 wnearly 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 land 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 occurences with verbs. We then find that *n* occurs only one-half as often, and *c* onethird 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 e under those in e. We then find that e 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), cimu (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; mēlīmē'līta, MANY BLACK
PERSONS OF THINGS

mī'lī, red; mīlīmī'līta, many red persons or THINGS tolū, round; tolūtolūta, many round THINGS saxku, one; saksa'xku, some persons ī'lī, two; īlī'lī, two by two ē'nixku, THREE; enē'nixkutax, THREE BY li'xtca, WET; li'lixtca, WET IN PLACES hī'pū, to dance; hī'hīpū ōonta', they have DANCED MANY TIMES ko'ra, to drink; ko'kora (pl.) kūtcaka'ni, I AM CRUSHING; kūkū'tcakani, 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 sī'hū, to dry; sīsī'hūni, i have just dried tca'ri, TO MEW; ta mī'nū sin tcatca'rixkona'siti, THE CATS MEW ya'xpa, to follow; ayaxpa'yaxpanta', they GO IN SINGLE FILE ro'xpa, near, beside; aroxparoxpa'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 cūī'tci, то shoot; ha-acūcū'ītcun, 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:

sõksõxkana', the swallow-tailed hawk tcī'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

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

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2d pers. (fem.) hin-, hi- -hina, -hini, -hin
3d pers. (masc.). ūn-, ū-
                             -una, -uni
3d pers. (fem.) sin-, si-
                             -sina, -sini, -sin
                  Plural
                  in-, i-
                             -iti
1st person
2d pers. (masc.) win-, wi- -witi
2d pers. (fem.) hin-, hi-
                            -hiti
3d pers. (masc.) sik-, si-
                             -ta
3d pers. (fem.) sin-, si-
                             -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 \bar{u} , but \bar{u} is wanting in the plural. In the plural subjective form it has perhaps been dropped, the original having been $-\bar{u}ta$, or $-\bar{u}ti$, 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.

7

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 cīha'yita, THE OLD PEOPLE
ō'ni ni'xsara, THE BOY; ō'ni nixsa'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'ta ikrōxpa'nta sin, THESE THINGS NEARER
ME
The two last contain strictly nominal plural

The two last contain strictly nominal plural signs as well.

The independent personal pronouns, with two exceptions, are formed by using a connective or suffixed particle -ma to be considered more at length in another place. They are as follows:

Singular

1st personi'ma2d personma (masc.)hā'ma (fem.)3d personū'wi (masc.)ti'xtc (fem.)

Dual

Ist personi'nima2d personwi'nima (masc.)hi'nima (fem.)3d personū'nima (masc.)si'nima (fem.)

Plural

1st person i'nima 2d person wi'nima (masc.) hi'nima (fem.) 3d person să'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:

 $t\bar{o}'r\bar{o}a$ să'ma wiă'ntaxtca, the white people they are going to understand;

ehū'kūmak sa'ma yanatakaha', му вкотнек тнеу до нот speak (tunica)

o'ni lu'pūi ta Tū'nixka i'nima ra'pū sa'xku ūktcū'ukixkiti, we the tunica keep a dead person one day

ontcha'i si'nima ō'xkūtāk ū'nima hō'tū ya'kata, the two women and his two children all came there

It is perhaps for this reason that the plural forms sa'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 ū'nima is sometimes employed in the same manner. Examples :

e'ti să'ma hō'tū, all my kinsfolk tō'ni mī să'ma, those men down there tō'ni mī ū'nima, those two men down there

ta Tca'xta sa'ma siktcō'ha taxk kuxpanō'nta, THE CHIEFS OF THE CHOCTAW ARE ASSEM-. BLED

hē sa'ma, these male persons or creatures hē sin, these female persons or creatures wa'ntaha, ō'ni sa'ma, the ancient indians or men

tō'ni să'ma le'he, These same men ukū'ni să'ma, HIS MEN ta mī'nū si'nima, THE CATS ta ya'nic si'nima, THE COWS i'nita si'nima, MY LARGE TEETH ōntca'i si'n(ima), THESE WOMEN ta ha'lūkini hē'sin tī'katak, THESE VILLAGES ARE LARGE

ta'xkū ō'racki lō'pa, A FROZEN LEAF; ta'xkū ō'racki sin lō'pa, FROZEN LEAVES tcū'la sin ta'kă'ta, The Dens of Foxes tōn hē'ū'nima, These Two Men; tōn ē'nixku să'ma, These Three Men

ta kúa'túk sin wahaksi'ti, the birds sing ti'ksa sin, her dogs

ta ya'xci sin, FEMALE MALADIES

ri'xku ō'racki sō'pun, A WITHERED LEAF; ta'xku ō'racki sin sō'pun, WITHERED LEAVES ta'hal atapă'ra, THE LAND IS LEVEL; ta'xkū sin atapă'ra, THE TREES ARE IN A PLAIN ta'xlin rō'yya A WHYTE HAND i ta'xlin cin

ta'xkin rō'wa, a white hand; ta'xkin sin rō'wata, many white hands

hă'ta ikrōxpa'nta sin, THESE THINGS NEARER

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'witą, himself; ma'ta, thyself (m.); hă'mata, thyself (f.); ū'mata, their 2 selves; ti'xta herself.

In addition to ta 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 nīyū, nīyūka'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 pī'tohata, do not lose yourself!, in which the common reflexive ta seems to be used, though in an unusual situation, and the verb icpī' tōki, I forget. Unfortunately I have but one example of the first form. This may also explain the first syllable of cīri, to smell, since rī'na signifies PERFUME, and ri'ci NOSE. The expression used for a virgin is nu'xtci te' tinī yū'ra, a WOMAN WITH A HARD OR FIRM HEART, and this suggests that o'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, ticli'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, viζ., [ix kiō'hū, [мΥ] моυтн; [ix kūgmī'li, [мΥ] 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'yi, [MY] BODY; [ix]stu'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; lūe'tca, EAR; na'xka, CHEEK, naxka'ri, JAW; ī'tca, FLESH; ni, тоотн. 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; ahō'nūna, they 2 saluted each other; a'raha-inaxtca i'nima, we 2 are going to paint each other; a'sax'nisina, they 2 bet with each other; a'saxk i'anan, come together! (saxk = one); a-ähina', 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 $y\bar{u}$ -, 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 hawa'xsakani, I AM SPRINGING UP ha'kale'xkini, I HAVE STOOD UP $l\bar{u}'$ pōni, i look down $l\bar{u}'$ patani, I FALL DOWN lū'tcūhūni, i spit down lūtco'lūkatani, i am making water drip DOWN kipo'ti, she sees within ta'ūc kiwă'xsan, i jump into the water hōwī'yani, to throw outside i'lū hō'la'wakani, I AM PULLING MY TONGUE hoūklo-xsaka, I AM DRAWING OUT Ta'-ūc mī'lī hōpăre'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:

ăhaho tūxkini, I HAVE KICKED REPEATEDLY, i. e., all the time

kă'xtca-taxk-aa'xkini, I HAVE THE HABIT OF BITING.

kō'xsō-taxk ike'logi, I HAVE THE HABIT OF SCRATCHING

lūp-hōl-o'nta, they are all dead muxt'hō'titi, one has wrapped him all up mū'tcū-ma'nku-pī'ranta, they finish plunging four times

mūtc' $h\bar{o}'t\bar{u}$ ta, they all finished the plunge signi $h\bar{o}'t\bar{u}$ i, he says to all of them sim' $h\bar{o}t\bar{u}$ ti', she scratched (her face) all over

watc' $h\bar{o}'t\bar{u}$ ti, she pulled out all wi'xku- $h\bar{o}'$ titi, we scratch him all over a-i w $\bar{o}h\bar{o}'t\bar{u}$ ni, i finish making the fire ya $h\bar{o}t\bar{o}'$ ki, it has made us all like that ya'na-lē'pi-hō'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.) on (plural), TO BE; ta (sing.) in or an (plural), TO CAUSE; ana (sing.)? (plural), TO SIT; ara (sing.)? (plural), TO REMAIN; axsa (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, 1 GO wī'a, you (m.) go hē'ya, you (f.) go $\bar{\mathrm{u}}'$ a, HE GOES a'ta, she goes i'ana, we 2 go wī'ana, you 2(m.) go hī'ana, you 2 (f.) go ū'ana, they 2 (m.) go sī'ana, THEY 2(f.) GO ī'taci, į'taci, we go wī'taci, you (m.) go hī'taci, you (f.) go a'taci, THEY (m.) GO sī'taci, THEY (f.) GO

axkī'ni, I AM wī'xki, you (m.) are hī'xki, you (f.) ARE ū'xki, HE IS a'ki, she is i'nixki, WE 2 ARE

ū'nixki, тнеу 2 (m.) ū'xsa, не сомеs

ARE

si'nixki, THEY 2 (f.) ARE ō'niti, WE ARE ō'nawiti, you (m.) ARE ō'nahiti, you (f. pl.) ARE o'nta, they (m.) are o'nasiti, they (f.) are

ta'ni, I CAUSE wī'ta, you (m.) cause ū'ta, HE CAUSES a'ta, SHE CAUSES a'nta, or i'nta, THEY CAUSE

ana'ni, 1 sit wī'na, you (m.) sit ū'na, HE SAT

a'rani, I AM LYING DOWN ū'ra, HE IS LYING DOWN a'ra, she is lying down

wi'nixki, you 2 (m.) a'xsani, I come (I AM ON THE WAY) hi'nixki, you 2(f.) are wī'xsa, you (m.) come

a'xsa, SHE COMES.

It is probable that the missing forms in ta, ana, ara, and axsa would be like those of the auxiliary to be, but we do not know the plural stems of ana, ara, and axsa. The fact that the auxiliary « to be » usually occurs combined with the perfect as axki suggests a possibility that ana, ara, and axsa 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'xcūwa, HE LED OR BROUGHT THEM kūa'tūk na'rwa, A BIRD FLIES ka'ctik hō'tū pitakū'a, HE GOES WALKING ABOUT IN ZIGZAGS yū'nka me'rkū nă'lua ū'witą, A spool roll-ING OF ITSELF sįtacika'xtca, THEY (f.) WILL GO AWAY ta wa'ran i'taci ya ta ra'pa, THEY GO HUNTING TO KILL DEER a, on, to be: a'yi ikto'xku a'ki, I have gotten tired tō'lūka, cylindrical, « IT IS ROUND » ta o'nika, being the people tī'ka, BEING BIG la'spi kō'djū tē'ninaxki', I HAVE RUNG A BELL pū'na i'kaha, I DO NOT HAVE A BALL a'mar sa'goxkini, I HAVE EATEN ENOUGH sag $\bar{o}'n$ iti, WE HAVE EATEN ana, to sit: wahakū'na, HE SAT WEEPING

ta mī'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 lūpū'ra, a dead serpent lies there ya'na lē'pin kalū'ra, he stands speaking hăra-ūkă'ra, they are there to watch yăm irakū'ra, he is to wear fine clothing apa'rū kū'ra, clouds come.

ta, an or in, to cause:
pi'rata'ni, I have finished it
wi'rakatani, I count
ka'hatani, I pay
kalixka'tani, I plant, « I make stand »
la'xpan ū'kitani, I put in spots
ō'ni ha'xsakūta, A person who saws
haxpa'rwita, thou hast lied
pūyū'xkatani, I am shaking something (as a
tree)
ī'lun toū'rūvita, you whi polit two politers

ī'lun tcū'rūwita, you will roll two rollers la'pūta, he has landed pi'raxkanta, they cause to be completed ūkkorinta, they make him drink

ă'xsa, to come: $\ddot{a}'xsatca$, you will come la'ū $\ddot{a}'xsa$, evening is coming se'he-wi'tc- $\ddot{a}'xsa$, 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 o'ni rī *a'xtca*, there was a person's house enacia'kawe rī ta'çlē *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 halū'kinic a'nita, la'xspi i'kaxtci, i would
go to town if i had money
ta halū'kinic a'ta lehe', la'xspi tixkaxtci'xtc,

ta halū'kinic a'ta lehe', la'xspi tixkaxtci'xtc, she would go to town if she had money on ha'itcu ta'lūkin he'kūnic ai'tcani, an old person (female) lived in a corner of the village

ha'lukin aitcä'ni, it was a village ărūsarą'hąte a'xtca naxciąkąkä'ni, 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 $k\bar{o}'xpa$, 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; icio'ho igla'xpati, I BURN MY MOUTH, « she or it is burning my mouth. » Ta'ka means to RUN AFTER, TO PURSUE; $ta'p\check{a}$, TO CATCH, TO GRASP, and $t\check{a}'xpa$, то тоисн. Again ka'ntūk ū'tcukani means I AM SUCKING SOMETHING; tcūxpaka'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'xkita, i have been chief (and am such no longer); tco ha pī'nika'xtca, I SHALL BE CHIEF; ō'ni tcō'ha ū'xki pi-ū'xki, A MAN WHO HAS BEEN CHIEF; tco ha pī, BE CHIEF!; įtco ha $p\bar{\imath}-\bar{\imath}$, BE OUR CHIEF!; $tc\bar{o}'ha$ $ipi\check{a}$, BE OUR CHIEF-TAINESS!; wi'nima ī'li tco'ha impī'witi, BE OUR CHIEFS!; wi'nima tco'ha pī'witi, BE CHIEFS!; hi'nima tcō'ha pī'hiti, BE CHIEFTAINESSES! 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'xpū, a button, a blister; kāxtc, to bite, kā'xpū, 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); sī'hū, dry, as iksī'hū, i am dry, sō'pū, to wither or dry up, as in ri'xku ō'racki sō'pūn, a leaf withered by dryness; ci'kūr, knife, ci'xkal, rock and flint, ci'xpū, to prick, to point.

The case for u is not so strong, partly because it is frequently difficult to tell wether 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'ū, at night; Ta'úc mī'lī yara'kati, the Red river is falling (« the Red river she is falling »), Ta'-ūc mī'lī ya'ratā, the Red River is Low; ūro'tkata, I AM NAILING SOMETHING, yū'xki ta ro'tūni, a nail; mă'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; hinto warran, LET US GO WALKING TO HUNT!, a'i axkala'i ta hi'nu, LOCO-MOTIVE, « 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 $\bar{u}'k\bar{u}xki$, 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 ikka xtcakata, they are biting me tōmūksi'na, they 2 were pounding ū'wita 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'kawita wō'yū ōrsa'ha-i, henry
would have been drowned in the water
had he not known how to swim
ha'xtci cka ūka'xtci-i, has he bitten someone?

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

 $\tilde{\mathbf{u}}$ k $\tilde{\mathbf{i}}'$ ni, placed; $\tilde{\mathbf{r}}$ ī $\tilde{\mathbf{u}}$ k $\tilde{\mathbf{i}}'$ na, an inhabitant of the house, a person settled in the house $\tilde{\mathbf{i}}'$ n $\tilde{\mathbf{u}}$ xki, $\tilde{\mathbf{i}}$ wipe of Clean; $\tilde{\mathbf{t}}$ a'xkin ta $\tilde{\mathbf{u}}$ 0'xka, a skin wiper.

Strengthened by these and such a parallel as the following; pi'hukani, I AM CONCEALING MYSELF, pihuxkini, 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
hă'xsaxtca, YOU (f. s.) WILL COME
la'ti ya'kanikaxtca, I WILL COME THIS EVENING
hōka'linikaxtca, I WILL SET IT FORTH
kōranika'xtca-a'ha, I WILL NOT DRINK
lūpikaxtca', YOU ARE GOING TO DIE
ūn măkateka'xtca, THEY WILL GIVE A PERSON
BAD LUCK
maru'-yū'kakixtc, WHEN WILL YOU RETURN?
nīyū'nikaxtcī'a, I WILL REFLECT
ikpōta'xtca', THEY WILL SEE ME
hikrapanika'xtca, I WILL KILL YOU
saguwī'tixtcia, 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 ninehă', I do not say pū'taha, they do not see ri'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:

i'ma ka'naxku *paha*', nothing is the matter with me

e'cku sa'tci pa'ha, there is no rain ō'katūk 'pa'ha, there are no children wa'han pa'ha, there is no more brightness a'ria sō'lū la'maha, ka'ha pa'ha, if i am treated 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:

melaką' ya'kik-hēxtc, CHILD, COME HERE! melaką' yakawi'tik-he'xtc, CHILDREN, COME HERE! mictigu'yak, (pl.) mictiwi'tacik, GO AWAY!, SCAT! $p\bar{i}'ik$, $p\bar{i}k$, go out! kac yū'kati yaki'k, when will you come? kähia'ti hị wa'lik, WHY DO YOU CRY? kak hihi'-a- $\bar{u}k$, who has done that? ō'nitiki, you (pl.) STAY there! a'xkiniki, LET ME BE THERE! wixkī'ki (m.), he'xkīki (f.), you can be THERE $\bar{\mathbf{u}}'\mathbf{x}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{i}k\mathbf{i}$ (m.), $\mathbf{a}'\mathbf{x}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{i}k\mathbf{i}$ (f.), HE CAN BE THERE, SHE CAN BE THERE uni'xkiki, LET THEM STAY THERE! sinixki'ki, let them (f.) stay there! kahia'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'ho 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'yixtatca wikwa'naki, I WILL SAVE YOU IF YOU WISH

Perhaps one of the examples given previously, ha'xtci cka ŭkăxtcī'-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'xkatanih igia' gi ha'xtci, 1 AM OBLIGED TO

tōn' in hō'tū lū'pitik į́hia'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 tcūpīxtca', 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 exprest by the principal clause. Examples:

i'ma yatc ūka'ūxki, I CAUSING, HE HAS KICKED hi'hiatītc hi'ta ce'lama ikpō'kati, THAT IS WHY I FIND MYSELF SO SAD ū'naxtc ticlī'naktc hia'kati, while he was SITTING THERE THE SORCERESS ARRIVED wī'-ūtaxtc nu'xtc ī'lī tō'mūksina, listening HE HEARD 2 WOMEN POUNDING lo'tataxtc, while they were running hī'awixtc, HE HAVING DONE THIS la'xspiku ikaxtci'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. wi'tc-ami ha'patixtc, it having gone up INTO THE AIR AND DISAPPEARED i'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 yaho'tūtaxtc, THEY DOING ALL re'-axkini i'katcik lü'pitixtc tī'hika mī'tcūsaxk hååc, my mother having been dead NOW FOR TEN YEARS BEFORE I GREW UP. sa'patăhă'kixtci yū'kmōxku kō'ta pō'xtinta mą úkko'rinta mą, when the fever is NOT ALLAYED, THEY BOIL GOAT-WEED AND MAKE HIM DRINK IT ra'-u hō'pataxtc a'i ta'wehan ū'kita, when

THEY HAVE FINISHED BURYING IT, THEY

hịhia'tixtc la'ū ta hă'ra să'ma nă'ra ta hă'ra

PUT A FIRE THERE TO LIGHT IT

hinu'kikata, that done, those who have watched at night prepare to watch for the ghosts

hjhia'tahakixtc ta-na'ra la'haha sa'ma ta niriwa'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, ma and cka 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:

wī'rani, to count
pū'ni, to see
ra'xkini, something tight
sa'man, cooked (sa'ma, to cook)
aci'xkani, helping each other
tcū'rūni, something cylindrical, a roll
wirūkā'tani, the act of dwelling, settlement
hē'kūni, sweet water, « (water and sugar)
mixed »
ka'ntūk ri'xsan, everything spotted, « what
is spotted »

ri'xk' e'lū ri'pin, trees having plenty of fruit

yū'xki tcō'rani, « a twisted nail, » a screw tī'ra si'hutani, a drying-cloth

ōntē'tic ran, « HARD MILK, » CHEESE

yű'kmöxku rö'küna, « 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 precedes the verb or adjective. Examples:

ta wa'xkuni, a breechclout ka'fe ta kī'rini, a coffee-mill ha'xka ta kī'rini, a grist-mill ri'xku tcē'xki ta nuxtī'ni, a rocking-chair ta'xtcik ta pō ta sō'wīn, the swinging (of the pendulum) of a clock

 $t\bar{t}'ra\ la\ tc\bar{e}'xkin$, « 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

ni'ni ta ē'ri a fishhawk, « A lifter of fishes »

é'rū, to laugh ; ta ē'rū, the laugh hă'ra, to watch ; ta hă'ra să'ma, the watchmen

ho'xka, to bore, a hole; ta ho'xka, the boring

hūa, to bathe; esta'i la hū'a, the washing of my body

i'ra, to dress; tī'ra (ta i'ra), clothing kā'xpu, to nip; ta kā'xpuni, scissors, « nippers »; a-i ta kā'xpu, firetongs

ka'xti, to button of to lock; ta ka'xti, a key

ka'rū, to crack; kō'xsūki ta ka'rū, « crawfish cracker, » the black-capped night heron

kế'ri, to cut or to notch; yūkmō'xku ta kế'ri, « a grass-cutter, » a scythe

 $k\bar{o}'$ xpa, to surround, to enclose; $t\bar{\imath}'$ ra $t\bar{\imath}'$ c \bar{u} ta $k\bar{o}'$ 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 saku, my food; kūī, to paddle, ta kūī, a paddle, a fin, ūk ta kūī, 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 lī'xpu, «A wooden stopper » : lī'xpu tūxk, little buttons or blisters

lū'pi, to die ; na'ra lūpū'ra, a dead serpent.

mu'xki, to smoke-dry; a-i 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; ō'ni ūxcka pi'tūxki, trail of a person, « person his foot it has gone »

wī'xci tictē'nīr ra, steam, « hard water vapor »

nu'xtci tetinī'yū ra, virgin, « woman with a strong heart »

ra'xku, to bear a child; ōka 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'nan ra'ukani, I cross and put it down ka'na 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' wăhăn-ūkikata', that is why they put a lighted fire there hē'rūni ha'piti, we finish steaming kiwi'yo-wa'yati, she wanted to throw him away wī'ran yūkanaxki', I give an account ayaxpa'nda 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

ă'hataxk ikē'logi, I KICK HABITUALLY

ap'-hō-ūgū'yani, I REMOVE THE COVER AND THROW IT AWAY

ya'ka we'rusa, can you come ? do you know to come ?

wō'yū ōrsa'ha-i, if he had not known kow to swim

e'rusa igiahi'lgi, I BEGIN TO KNOW

e'rusa iya'ti, I REMEMBER

Ō'rsa ūgia'gi, HE HAD RECOGNIZED (HER HOUSE)

ta ni'xsara taxk'hō'tū hē'xpū ō'rusa, THIS BOY IS ABLE OF 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

wī'xci kō'ra iksî'hū, I AM VERY THIRSTY

wī'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-hī'pū pō ikwa'na, 1 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

i'xcăpa 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

hē să'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:

ing
ă'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 axtca'ni, i know it is that

wī'xci a'ka lū'pini, I KILL MYSELF BY DROWN-

e'rusa axtca'ni, I KNOW IT IS THAT
he'xpū witcū'wi, HE CLIMBED UP ON THIS
yū'ka yakaxki'ni, I WENT AND I RETURNED
mar' ya'kata, THEY CAME BACK
kăxtc amarta'antani, I PRETEND TO BITE

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

wi'tci ka'liwi, he got up and remained standing

pi'ta wi'tcăni, Walking I GO UP (ON A LADDER)

sa'gu ha'xparkata, I PRETEND TO EAT sa'gu ama'rkata, I THREATEN TO EAT sa'ni pa'laxkini, I HAVE WON A BET aci'xka-tī'nita, THEY ASSEMBLE TO DINE kan kōra ma'xsikatani I AM TURNING SOMETHING AROUND

na'mi ciri'kati, that smells bad na'ra ka'liwi, he (bird) flies and stands on a limb

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

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

ta kūa'k¹ ma'tcūi wō'yū ū'watą 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

ŭkra'pa-wa'nyati, she tried (or wished) to kill him

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

iya'xpa cka saki-wa'naha, although i am hungry i do not desire to eat

ma'xcū-pi'ra 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 mī'nūku hi'xku palawa'na-ū'na, THE CAT IS SEATED WISHING TO CATCH THE MOUSE

ūcă'mi-wąya'wi, не wants to play hēk^u ū'ksagi ctū'xkaha, you are not able to

eat this ūktcū-ūki'xkiti, one takes it and sits down

uktcu-uki 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 YO EACH OTHER

ūktaphē'ni, to salute him by shaking hands

wa'xkig tcūpīxtca', you will break off and carry outside

wo'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, OF HE IS THROUGH ha'pata, THEY FINISH

sag'hō'pati, SHE FINISHED EATING

sag'hō'pnawiti, you (m. pl.) HAVE FINISHED

cim-ha'pata, THEY FINISH PLAYING

sikya'na-le'pin-ha'pawi, HE FINISHED SPEAK-ING TO THEM

a-i wū'hōpa, 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

ikahahi'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 »

pī'am hāpū'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-wī'xci-ma'tateha, she did not draw

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; a'ya, FLY; e'kca, pine; wī'xci, water; e'ra, tobacco; ha'xka, corn; hal, ground, LAND; ha'xku, CYPRESS; hī'ki, PARTRIDGE; hī'kua, PANTHER; hi'xku, mouse; hō'xsa, a vine; ī'yi, potato; ī'yū, PIG; kē, BEE; ki, MATERNAL UNCLE; kī'wa, WEA-SEL; ko'la, FLOWER; kū'a, BIRD; la'ka, FROST; lue'tca, EAR; lūk, TONGUE; mū'tci, BREAD; ni, TOOTH; na'ra, SNAKE; nīc, BREAST; Ō'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: akawa'ha, squash bug; e'xkuna, MOSQUITO; ē'luna, POKEWEED; e'rūxsa, BRAMBLE; ha'xtaka, linden; ha'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 » e'cku-ra'hini, THUNDER, « storm-noise »

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

ri'xku hi'rani, cottonwood, « medicine tree » kă'xpuni, scissors, « nippers » (from kă'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: ē'rini, I RAISE UP, ta ē'ri, A LIFTER; e'rukani, I AM LAUGHING, ta e'ru, THE LAUGH; hā'xsakatani, I AM SAWING, ta hā'xsa, A SAW; hā'hani, I BREATHE, ta hā'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; İspa', a Spaniard; ka'fe, coffee; ska'lak, a half dollar (Fr. escalin); pi'kayon, dime (picayune); tē'cuni, breakfast (Fr. dejeuner); tī'ni, dinner (Fr. dîner). 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, Choctow, and Cherokee), nō'kuci, black bear (almost identical in Creek and Hitchiti), ni'ni, fish (the same in Choctaw).

Onomatopoetic 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; sē'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 $-k^u$, feminine -tc, -xtc, -ktc, as: $ik\bar{o}'nteku$, my father; $uk\bar{o}'maxka'ku$, his alligator; $sik\bar{o}'nik^u$, their people; ika'-tcitc, my mother; ta $t\bar{i}'raktc$, the clothing; dixka'xtca, his liver; $h\bar{o}'xtciku$, a lame man; $h\bar{o}'xtcixtc$, 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 incomplete. 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 woodtick, 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 witcă'mi waya'wi, he wished to as-

ūkna'c ămuyakakä'ni, she came to where he sat

ta na'ra ha'lukinic wī'a lū'pik, go to the country of the snakes to die!

ŭ'kric yŭ'ka-pō-ho'pa, i am going to his house to see him

ta'xkuc, into the woods

ta halu'kinic 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, $vi\chi$: kac, when; hihiati'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'xkixtca, 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 hai'nata ta ni'ni mū'tcūsitä'ni, the fish were Jumping about in the open water

ci'xpar le'tū sa'mati nirwă'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 să'-inta, THE NEXT DAY hiatī'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:

ka ha'lukinictik wi'ya; into what villages are you going?

Ta'ūc mī'līctik ani', I AM GOING TOWARD RED RIVER

tī'tikictik ya'kaxkini, I HAVE COME FROM THE BAYOU

ka'xtatik, from which bank of the river? kari'ctik ha'xsak, come toward me!

pīkati'*ctik* ū'wa, he went toward the rising sun

a'xkictik lä'wani i'lū, I PULL MY TONGUE BACK-WARD

ta kū'mac nu'xta*tik*, 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

-ta, or -ta. The connection of this particle with what goes before is much looser than is the case with those suffixes whichhave 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'xpatą, with his hoe
Johnī'ku ikta'ma ū'xsa le'he ya'xcăhă-ixtc,
John Would come with me if he were
NOT SICK
mō'kūkani ta mō'kūxta, i sweep with A

ci'kur ta, with a knife ci'xkal ta, with a stone ci'xkal ă'hăta, without a stone ū'xkita, while, during, « while he is » nōritū'xku ta, with a gimlet ya'xci wī'ra ta, while thou art sick ikpi'ragita, the day that i was born

BROOM

la'u saku'nita, ikia'xpagi, i would have eaten yesterday if i had been hungry He'nri ta'ūc a'kawi ta 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 $t\bar{u}$, which appears with the masculine and feminine endings in the forms $t\bar{u}k$, $t\bar{u}'xku$, $t\bar{u}'xkutc$, $t\bar{u}'h\bar{u}ku$, $t\bar{u}$ h $\bar{u}'ktc$, 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:

δ'katū, Little Children
i'xkin tūhū'ku, the Little finger
i'katcikte tū'hūkte, my maternal aunt, « my little mother »
kū'atū, A Little bird
ta nō'ritū, the gimlet, « the little auger » ri ī'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 he (or ha) hi, and mi.

 $H\bar{e}$ is the nearest Tunica equivalent to English a this, and hi to a 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 a down there, a below, or a 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:

*h*ēku, THIS MALE PERSON

hēktc, hēxtc, this female person hē sin, THESE FEMALE PERSONS hē sa'ma, these male persons hat, near, very near ūhăt, HIM HERE be'xtc ikyo'lawi, here he leaves me hă'ta ikrō'xpanta sin, these things nearer hă'ntūk, THIS IS LITTLE a-i ha'tū, THIS LITTLE FIRE hi'ctik, Standing up over Yonder kan ō'ni bi wi'kni-ū'xki, what person has TOLD YOU THAT? hi'ntak ihia-aki', WE ARE THERE binūkika'ta, THEY REMAIN THERE hi'naxk, LIKE THAT ta mī'nūku hi'xku hăr(a)ū'na, THE CAT THAT-ONE IS SEATED TO WATCH THE MOUSE. ta mī'nū a'hixtc ta'xsaku, THE CAT OR THE hic eraxki'ni, where I was reared hi'atama, IT IS THUS bi'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 to'ni miku ta'ri wa'nanuxki-ku u'ni la'haha panu', THE MAN WHO HAS BURNED THE HOUSE DOWN THERE IS A CRIMINAL tō'ni *mi* să'ma, those men down there to'ni mi u'nima, those two men down there mi'hun, mi'huni, down there, far (more than a mile)

mix na'mu, right there is a plenty
ta rū'xtcū mi sin sa'ma, those persimmons
are ripe
ta kū'mac mi'xtatik, on the other side of
the stone
tō'ni mic ūxki'-ku pō'xkiti tcī'ctaha, the man
below is still visible
tō'ni mi'ta pan ūā'-ku, the man who passes

mi'ctik u'yak, GO AWAY!, SCAT!
mi'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! ka', kan, what ?, something ka'ntūk, something ka'ku, kaku, wно ? (m.) kakū'wi, то wном? ka'kuk?, from whom? ka'xtati(k), whence? From which? ka'xta, FROM WHAT PLACE? kat a'xtca, where this was ka'xtaku, belonging to which ka'ak, ANYTHING ka'naxku, something, « like an indefinite ka'xctik ta'naha, going everywhere mixed ka'tantūk, somewhere kaxt ho'tū, in all directions kanaxku'hu hiati', sometimes ka'xtctc, which (fem. person) kanaku'paha, WITHOUT ANYTHING ka'xckuta, HOW MANY TIMES?

ka'ku ūk są, whose is this dog?

ka-atī'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 $kq't\bar{u}$, something, ka'ku $t\bar{u}$, someone, and hō' $t\bar{u}$, 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)

ů'xcůxsu *ma'-i*saxk lä'xtca, blind of one eye

ama'yi, on each (bank)

ama'-i i'li, 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: mī'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 *ta* 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'hăhă.

The numeral system is as follows:

saxk, saxku		I
ī′lī		2
ē'nixku		
mą′ku		4
sį′ku		· ·
ma'xsaxk		3 4 5 6
ta-i′xku		
ti'xsixku		7 8
tů′xkusaxk		9
mī'tcu sax		10
	mī'tcusată'sa	11
•	ī'tcu saxk tăyī'lī	12
mi teusaxk	tăye'nixku	13
»	tă'yamạku	14
>>	tă'yasiku	15
»	tăyamaxsak	16
))	tăyatai'xku	17
»	tăyatixsiku	18
»	tăyatū'ksaxk	19
mī'tc-ī'lī	-	20
mī′tc-ī′lī t à	i′yasaxk	2 I

mī'tc-ī'lī tă'yīlī (etc.)	22
mī'tc-ē'nixku	30
mī'tce ma'nku	40
mī'tc sį'ku	50
mī'tce ma'xsaxk	60
mī'tce ta'-ixku (or ta'-iku)	70
mī'tce ti'xsixku	80
mī'tce tù'kūsaxk	90
pō'lūn	100
» ī'lī (etc.)	200
pō'lūn tikha'yi	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. » Ta'ya means « in surplusage, » « 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 expresed by means of a separate word ya'xki : ī'lī ya'xki secondly, TWICE; ē'nixku ya'xki, THIRDLY, THREE TIMES; mą'ku ya'xki, fourthly, four times ; sį'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'līlī, TWO BY TWO; ēnē'nixkutaxk, THREE BY THREE; ma'nkutaxk, FOUR BY FOUR; si'kutaxk, FIVE BY FIVE; ma'xsataxk, 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, we 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'ınar, enough and no more kă'xtca-taxk-a-a'kini, i have the habit of biting la'xpăhă taxk, barefoot ri taxcle-e' ta'xki, many beautiful houses mī'nū ha'-ixku taxk, other cats ă'hataxk ike'logi, i kick habitually hi'naxkutaxk, always wī'ci taxk, nothing but water ō'ni ka'xcu siciōhō' hiatī'ra taxk, as many mouths as men

BLED.
rō'xpanta taxk, all round
ta ni'ri-wăka sin tī'mura ha'-ixta taxki', the
CEMETERIES ARE ENTIRELY ON HILLS
sā'ma taxki', they alone

ta Tca'xta să'ma siktcō'ha taxk kuxpanōnta',
THE CHIEFS OF THE CHOCTAW ARE ASSEM-

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

 $\tilde{\mathbf{u}}'\mathbf{w}\mathbf{i}$ taxk, he alone.

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'tăna, 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-lōtaka'ni, slowly she got out and ran away

tcī'ctaha, yet, still, as in : tcīctaha'k pō'kati, she still sees, she is still looking, she is yet looking

wăhā'tāhā, often, each time or moment, as: wăhā'tāhā ūki'xtatco', 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

tă'ya, overflowing, in surplussage, beyond, more, as in : tīhīka' mītcīlī' tā'ya tū'xkusa, nine years more than twenty, 29; mī'tcu saxk tā'yamāku, 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-sa-hō'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'xkixtca, 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 : $ha'l\bar{u}c$ a'mi, going down; ta kū'mac $ha'l\bar{u}xta$, under the stone;

ha'lūhūn 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'aku, THE MAN WHO GOES BEFORE YOU; Tō'niku hi'ta ū'-aku 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 $r\bar{u}'xkic$, on this side of the stone; i'ni $r\bar{u}'xkita$, front teeth

tī'ric (or ti'ri), forward, in front of, ahead, as : $t\bar{\imath}'ric$ wī'ya, go forward!, na'kawatci $t\bar{\imath}'ric$ 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: $ta k\bar{u}'mac$ ka'rixta, ON THIS SIDE OF THE STONE; $t\tilde{a}'kar$

ya'ka, I BEND TO ONE SIDE; ta'kara'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 *hēki'na*, what is the distance?

The following I class as intensive adverbs: lē'yū, straight, directly, only, alone, as: tī'ra le'yū, a straight strip of cloth; hale'yuta, straight up; le'yūta a'ni, i go straight up; a'ha le'yūta, not at all alone(?). Perhaps this is related to the next

le'hi, le'he, indeed, very, just, as: wica'ri le'hi, thou hast indeed time; wō'rū le'he ma'lexkini, i have learned thoroughly; ū'ni na'mū le'he, very many men; ta ī'ra ni'xsa le'hi, a brand new garment; ci'xkal ra le'hi, a very hard stone; hi'naxku le'hi, just like that

pą, too, also, although, each, every. This is also used as a conjunction. Examples: tcō'ha pa, the chief also; sehixtă'pa, every day; la'xtă pa, every night; ya'xci pa wikta'ma anika'xtca, although i am sick i will go with you; ya'xci ikya'gax pa, 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 *pa* as a connective is *naxk* or naxku, like, as, as if. Examples:

ya'xci naxk, seemingly sick hina'xku, like this

hé'ku naxk, like this person
ci'xkal naxk, like a stone
ti'ka ri naxk, large as a house
lū'pūxki naxkų' he is as if dead
ta'yiku hō'nuxki naxk wiya'kati, do you
think that the fire is extinct?, that
the fire is extinct 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 ta, pa, and naxk. This leaves for consideration, as in a primary sense connective words, only ma or ma and cka. 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'ama'kani, she put it on and she went away

nī'ti-ma hakali'ti, she spoke thus and raised herself up

tikcū'itciwi-ma hawa'xa-tikū'kiwi, he shot his arrow, and sprang up and sat upon it

ka'lūra-ma mi'rūta, he stood up and caused it to flash

yū'kàti-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'ta pō'xtinta-ma ūkkō'rinta-ma, hij'atic ūkōwikati' they boil goatweed and make him drink of it so that he perspires a'xpūta-mą sią'ta-mą, they bathe and clean themselves

hō'piwi-ma wiana'wi-ma, не саме оuт and spoke то нім (as follows)

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

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yana'wi-ma, HE SAID ----
yana'ti-ma, SHE SAID ----
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The dominant feeling appears to be expressed by the words « and then, » as:

lūhōnūi'-ma, he descended (from the tree)

tikna'xciwi-ma, 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 hiatī'ma, « 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'tī-ma 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.

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

i'ma ya'xci *cka* wikta'ma anika'xtca, although I am sick I will go with you ūca'pa si'nima pa sica'pa hi'naxku *cka* sinkatci'tc sica'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, wнол! (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 он!

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

te'wali, hurry up!

The native salutation was:

e'ti ma, la'pu, my friend, are you well?
And the reply:

la'pū, 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'ntu 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. p prefix	ronom. obj.	prin. stem	suf.	ontin. and perfect	auxil. p	ronom. su bj .		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	_	ka	_	ni	xtca	ki		IF I COME
	a	kaha		_		ta			_	THEY REJOIN EACH OTHER
_		kaxtca	taxk	xki	а	ni			_	I HAVE THE HABIT OF BITING
ki	ūk	ra-u	_			ni			_	I PUT INSIDE
_	ūk	kōr		_	in	ta	_			THEY MAKE HIM DRINK
_	_	kõra		ka		ni	_	ha		I DO NOT DRINK
_	_	kōra	_	ka	_	ni	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	_	xki	(a)	ini	_	ki	_	HOW SHALL WE KEEP HIM FOR US 2
_	_	nīyū		ka	_	ni	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	_	põ	_			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	_	xki	(a)	sini	_		_	THEY 2 (f.) PLACED HIM THERE
		sak'	hila	xki	(a)	wi	_			YOU (m.) HAVE BEGUN TO EAT
_	_	sak'	hōpa	xki	(a)	wi	_			YOU (m.) HAVE FINISHED EATING
	_	sak'		k a		i	xtca	ha		WILL YOU (m.) NOT EAT?
hō	ūk	sani	_	_	_	wi		_		HE WAGERED HIMSELF TO HIS
ha		ūki	(h)ila	xki	(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	_	ka	ti	ū	_	ha		HE DOES NOT UNDERTAND
		yaxca	_	_	_	_	_	ha	(i)xtc	IF HE WERE NOT SICK
_	_	yana	_	ka		ni	xtca			I WILL SPEAK
hō	ū	yana			_	ti		_	_	SHE CALLED OUT TO HIM
_	wik	yayi(x)	_	_	ta	n	tca		_	I WILL SAVE YOU
_	wį	yūa	_	ka		ni	xtca	aha		I WILL NOT GIVE TO YOU
		ya	_			wa			xtc	HE HAVING DONE THIS
_	_	lōta	_	_		ta	_	_	xtc	WHILE THEY WERE RUNNING
_	hik	rapa	_	k a		ni	xtca			I WILL KILL YOU
hō	ũk	lõxsa	_	ka	_	n	_	_	_	I AM DRAWING OUT
_	_	yaka	_	ka		ni	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 ūkna xcinixkiki, HOW SHALL WE KEEP HIM
FOR US TWO?
nīyūnika xtca, I WILL REFLECT
ūkra-usini xki, THEY (2) PLACED HIM THERE
sak hilani xki, YOU (m.) HAVE BEGUN TO EAT

ūkra-usini xki, they (2) PLACED HIM THERE sak'hilawi'xki, you (m.) have begun to eat sak'hōpawi'xki, you (m.) have finished eating

sak'ika'xtcaha, will you (m.) not eat?
haūkilaxki'ni, i start to sit down
witikaū'ha, he does not understand
yananika'xtca, i will speak
wjyūwanika'xtca aha', i will not give
to you

hikrapa*nika*′xtca, I WILL KILL YOU yaka*nika*′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: Tū'nixka ya'na icpītū'tăhă, I have not forgotten how to speak Tunica; sa'ku amarka'ta, I pretend to eat; ūkra'pa wa'nyati, she wished to kill him; wī'a lū'pik, go to die!, or go and die! They are also connected by means of the conjunction ma.

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: on hotuwianta'xtca, all men they are going to understand; ta cī'ka hūmara'ku ya'kawi, the boy who was fasting, he arrived; and also ta tcī'aku ūktcū'ti, the squirrel she took

HIM; $\delta't\bar{u}h\bar{u}k$ $\bar{u}k$ pō'wi HIS NEPHEW, HE SAW HIM; but on the other hand: $\delta'cka$ pō'xtūti, she cut its legs; ri ma'xcūtaxtc, they having built houses; $\delta'xsin$ ra'ukata, they laid his head; $tc\bar{i}'a$ ra'pa ūkha'ti, she told him, to kill a squirrel; ko'la pō'xtinta, they boil flowers; $w\bar{i}'ci$ kōrata'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 Tū'nixka să'ma na'mōhō hia'ki ha'ac, the Tunica are now few; ū'ni mītce'nixku taxk a'mar hi'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: hō'xsan kō'wini mạ'ku ūkyū'wawi, HE GAVE HIM FOUR VINES ROLLED UP; ta'ic ūktcū'xpa-iti, 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: să'ma ri ma'xcūtaxtc ătca'raxta kō'xpatac ri kū'macta they made houses out of palmettos SURROUNDED WITH CYPRESS BARK; ta Cixkaltī' niku ta'hal ki'tcu ū'kri ū'nax, the Avoyel INDIAN HAD HIS HOUSE IN THE EARTH; ke'wista ahe'kinta, IT IS MIXED WITH MEAL; ro'puxtin ro'wac ha-umoxto'tuta, 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 nă'ra să'ma nirewă'ka rō'xpanta taxk wi'ro-onta, the spirits dwell around the ceme-TERY; tīhīka'ctik ō'xsin ra'-ukata, THEY PLACE HIS HEAD TOWARD THE SOUTH; on-ukha'yi tala'ukin ha'ixta aha', THERE IS NO OLD PERSON IN THE VILLAGE ABOVE; ton ha'lukin halūc ta'úc

tă *ha'ixta* witcă'ta, the nation below on the mississipi went up.

As might have been expected demonstratives often take the place of nouns, as: hi' naxku taxk jhiahōtō'ki, it has made us all like that; ta $T\bar{u}'$ nixka sǎ'ma namōho' hia'ki hǎ'āc, the tunica are few at this time; hiha'ixta lūphōtō'nta, over there all are dead; kat(a) amū'xki, where he went; hal(a) kat(a) ūkiō'nta, here where they are; hi'naxk ha'i, thus they act.

In at least one case these have evolved into, or degenerated into, adverbial expressions and connectives introducing sentences or clauses: hina'xkupa « LIKE THAT ALSO, » IN SPITE OF THAT, NEVERTHELESS, ALL THE SAME, in hi' naxkupa 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 să'ma tcī'ctaha wi'rukata, the Tunica always have remained; ha'xcupa lō'ta-e'rusa, I can run fast; tcīctaha'k pō'kati, she isstill 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'nic, in the snake country; ta Tū'nixka a'ria, the Tunica doctor or doctors; ya'nic ō'nir tū, a little cow-horn.

Nouns are also brought into subordination to other nouns by means of the possessive prefixes Examples: $r\bar{o}'wac\ \bar{o}'cka$, sassafras its root, sassafras root; wi'kik $\bar{u}'k$ ric, to your uncle's house; \bar{o}' ni $\bar{u}k$ tē'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 ni'cara wa'nan, inflammation (or Burning) of the spleen; he'sin hō'tū, these all; tū'ni ya'xciku, the sick person; ō'ni $l\bar{u}'pi$, a dead person; ra'pū sa'xku, one day; ti'xcuma $\bar{o}'taka$, fresh meat; tī'hīka $y\bar{u}'ru$ saxk, one long year, or one whole year; ta cī'ka $h\bar{u}mara'ku$, the fasting orphan; ta tcī'a $r\bar{o}'waku$ ra'pa, the white squirrel killed; hō'xsan $k\bar{o}'wini$ ma'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: ci'xkal ra le'hi, very hard stone; ū'ni na'mū le'hi, very many men; ha'yi le'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 hihia'tic, hiya'tic, hihia'ti, or hiya'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 să'ma wia'ntaxtca, the white people they are going to understand

tū'ni sikha'yi le'ūnta să'ma ri 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'ūkixkiti, the Tunica, we keep him one day, we Tunica keep him one day
- ta păhasaku', 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 să'ma ikwixsa'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 ta, the adverb pa, and the adjective naxh 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 ma and cka. Examples of the use of these have already been given, and the following may be added:

- siwa'liwi ma la'pūta, HE CALLED THEM AND THEY LANDED
- să'laxk ō'yahūni, rixkutī'ni ōyahūni', ri'xku lī'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 ūkwi'xkiti ma ta'ic ūktcū'xpaiti ma hixte la'pū ūkya'tāhi wi'xkuhōtiti ma hira 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 ma ta'-ūctō'raxta kōraxkūū'ra, THAT HAVING BEEN DONE HE DRINKS WINE LYING DOWN

- sikwa'kawima, he commands them as follows:
- si'nima pa sică'pa hi'naxku *cka* sinka'tcitc sică'paha, they 2 were also satisfied indeed but they were not satisfied with their mother
- ka'li waya'wi ō'cka ma'ku ū'xki ta, не wished (or tried) то stand up while не was on his four feet
- pō'ku *cką* kaya'ti lapō'tsaha, he looked but what it was he did not know
- tikpōxkū'na cka tia'nawahä'ni, he looked at her but he did not speak
- timē'kata *cka* tiwē'nitaha'ni, they hunted for her but they did not find her
- tita'kąō'nikickq ayōlōlō'takä'ni, they pursued her but they gave up chasing her
- ya'xci ikya'kax pa, wikta'ma anika'xtca, although i am sick (or angry), i will go with you
- ta k $\bar{\mathrm{u}}'$ aku m $\bar{\mathrm{u}}'$ tc $\bar{\mathrm{u}}$ i w $\bar{\mathrm{o}}'$ y $\bar{\mathrm{u}}$ - $\bar{\mathrm{u}}$ watq, the duck plunges in to swim
- ya'xci wi'ra ta, 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 decidedy vocalic language with few consonantal 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. GATSCHET)

To'n 1 ha'lūc 3 ha'lūkin 2 The people of the town or nation below Ta'ūc 4 ha'ixta 5 witcătă 4 the water big (Mississipi) on they ta. 6 Sikhē'ri 7 ate 'xpitak 8 Their canoes joined end to end ascended. a 'taci. 9 Tcō'hakuro tī 'ric11 īi 'xsa.12 they went. The chief in front he came. O'tiku13 ūkwa'liwi.14 « Sa 'kinawē »15 His friend he called to him. « Let us eat, » ūknī 'wi.16 Hihia 'ti¹⁷ ūkū'ni¹8 sa'ma¹9 he said to him. Why his people these hō'tū20 siwa'liwi21 ma²² la'pūta.23 he called them all and he landed. Hi'awixtc²⁴ ta²⁵ Tcikasa'ku²⁶ kōti'ūki²⁷ After he did that a Chickasaw hominy $r\bar{o}'wa^{28}$ wo'tūxki.29 Hiya'wima3° white he gave to eat. He did so and ō'ti³¹ ka'xci32 ūyaū'xki.33 Hihia'tic34 his friend true he made him that is why ta25 Tūnixka'ku³⁵ taxt'36 ha'ixta 5 ūna'xcithe Tunica he led prairie on

wi'tcūxki.37 Hihia'wima38 ta25 Cixkalti'him up. He did that and Avoyel niku³⁹ we'nūxki.4° Ta25 Cixkaltī'niku39 he found. The Avoyel ta25 hal41 ki'tcu42 ii/kri43 ū'nax.44 the earth in his house he had. Ta25 Tū'nixka35 ō'ti31 ūkya'wi.45 The Tunica his friend he made him. Ahē'nūna.46 u'xke.47 They saluted each other their 2's hands they ũna.48 Ha'yūhūn49 ata'p'hēnū'-2 took. Above (on arm) grasping each other nixkiso. Hihia'ti¹⁷ hiatī'rası ta25 they 2 saluted. This is why since then the halū'kiniktc52 se'xtīni⁵³ sikva'ota.54 village they own they make them. Hi'atīrası Tūnixka'35 ha'lūkin² wa'lota.55 Since then Tunica village they call it. Tō'ni¹ sikha'vi⁵⁶ hōthō'tōki57 hiha'-The people old all over ixta⁵⁸ lūphōtō'nta.59 Ta25 yō'lūxktc60 there they are all dead. The language a'ki61 ni'xsara-ō'nta62 să ma19 which is there young they are they tcū-ōnta¹.63 Hat64 kat65 they keep. Here (the place) where ūkiō'nta⁶⁶ tcīctaha'k67 pō'kati.68 they are settled still one is seeing. Hihia'ti¹⁷ võ′lūk69 ka'xci7° ya'kati.71 Why story true makes. Hiatī'rası Tcikasa'ku²⁶ ta25 wī'-After this time the Chickasaw is not năhă. 72 Kat65 amū'xki73 pa⁷⁴ heard of. Where he went also ka'kupaha⁷⁵ ō'rusaha.76 Hina'xkupa⁷⁷ none he knows. Nevertheless

Tū'nixka35 ta25 să'ma19 tcī'ctaha67 wi'-Tunica always the they thev pa.80 rukata⁷⁸ namõhõ⁷⁹ Ka'ta⁸¹ remain not many although. Where yō'lūk⁶⁹ ka'xci70 mi'ctik82 a'kikixtc83 a history true if it is more erunasa'ha84 i'nima.85 Hi'naxkupa⁷⁷ not know we. Although like that yō'lūk⁶⁹ vū'rū86 a'mar⁸⁷ e'rusa.88 the story long (time) enough is known. Ta²⁵ vō′lūk⁶⁹ hēktc89 ină'hali90 The (in) our language story this kaxci⁷⁰ lapa'mar91 ya'naka92 well enough true I am relating ăha'ltą.93 in my language.

- I, 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; tă 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. Witca or witci, TO GO UP, and -ta, THEY (3d. person pronom. suffix masc.).
 - 7. sik-, their; he'ri, canoe or canoes.
- 8. a-, reciprocal prefix; $t\bar{e}'xpi$, 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. tco 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 ă'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-, нім ; nī, то say ; -wi, не.
- 17. Probably from hi or hi, the demonstrative « that, » and ya (= hia), то маке ог до. 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. ma, 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 wôtū, 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. O-, HIS; ti, FRIEND.
 - 32. Simple adjective.
- 33. й-, нім; уа, то маке; й, не, 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. \bar{u} HIM; na'xci, TO LEAD; witci, TO MOUNT; \bar{u} -, 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. we'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. u-, 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; atīra, JUST, JUST SO FAR, etc., which in turn is probably composed of the reciprocal a- and tīra related to tiric, before, in front of.
- 52. halūkin as in 2 plus the feminine nominal suffix
- 53. sex-=sik-, objective pronominal prefix, 3d person plural masc.
- 54. sik-, THEM (m.); ya, TO MAKE; 9, plural form of the auxiliary, TO BE; -ta, THEY (masc.).
- 55. wali, to call, to halloo; o, pl. form of aux. to be; -ta, they (masc.).
- 56. sik-, THEY (objective pronominal prefix of the 3d person plural masculine); hayi, OLD.
- 57. hōthōtō, 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; -ktc, feminine suffix.
- 61. a, sing. stem of the auxiliary to BE; -ki, perfect
- 62. ni'xsara, from ni'xsa, NEW, FRESH, and (perhaps) the auxiliary -ara, TO REMAIN; -on, plural stem of auxiliary TO BE; -ta, masculine plural suffix 3d person.
- 63. tcū, to take, hold, grasp; -on, plural auxiliary; -ta, they.
- 64. Probably composed of the demonstrative he or ha, 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 = -lti, 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, nounforming suffix with sense of past participle; ă, auxiliary TO BE; -hă, 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 (n° 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 a 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; -ktc feminine suffix.
- 90. ină, 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, 1.

93. ä- = 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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