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SEX-DENOTING NOUNS IN AMERICAN LANGUAGES.

BY

ALBERT S. GATSCHET,

OF THE U. S. BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY, WASHINGTON.

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III. — *Sex-denoting Nouns in American Languages.*

By ALBERT S. GATSCHET,

OF THE U. S. BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE most cursory consideration of the things in nature teaches us the fact, that there are *living* and *lifeless* objects in the world around us, that is, beings which spontaneously show signs of inward life, and objects deprived of the signs of life or appearing to be so. To reach such a degree of mental apperception our race had to pass through a long period of training and experience, and among rude and primitive nations the human mind has not reached this stage of logical perfection; much less can this be said of the intelligence of the primordial man of many thousand years ago. The primordial man easily confounded *action, motion, variation, and change* with *life*, this being a natural consequence of the animism which then pervaded all human understanding. Man at that remote period also confounded cause and effect with sequence in time, and both errors were the fruitful agencies which produced that wonderful maze of religious ideas, myths, and superstitions which are now being published in the literature of folk-lore. Objects like the wind, lightning, dew, or fog could then be regarded as animate as well as pearls, precious stones, and flowers, although we would now laugh at the idea that there is life in them. But primeval ideas like these still survive in the *gender* of some languages, part of which are spoken by the most cultured nations.

But besides the above another distinction was received into the noun and other parts of speech. Man and the higher animals, as quadrupeds and birds, were known to be divided in two sexes, and an intimation of these was expressed in the grammatic forms of some languages. In the Aryan languages the majority of the lower animals and plants were also given a grammatic sex, but most other objects of nature were relegated into what is now called the neuter gender. In other languages, mainly of the agglutinative type, these were relegated into a large class of "inanimates." The large majority of all languages which are distinguishing gender in the noun, know of *two* genders only, and a number of tongues in all parts of the world know

nothing of any gender- or sex-distinction whatever,¹ some of these, as Neopersian, Lettish and English, having lost them in course of time.

The personal pronoun is that part of speech in which the masculine sex is *at first* distinguished from the feminine by separate words or grammatic signs. From the personal pronoun this distinction gradually invades the possessive, reflective, demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronoun. Sex may be made distinct in the pronoun of one, but not of another dialect of the same linguistic family, a fact which I have observed in the Kalapuya family of Northwestern Oregon. Sex-distinction also exists in the third persons of the pronouns in some Iroquois dialects, but not in the Cherokee language, which is related to them. In Iroquois dialects the distinction between *he* and *she* extends to persons only, not to any of the animals. In the Timucua, once spoken in the Floridian peninsula, *o*, *oqe* is *he*, *ya she*; but sex does not appear to be marked in any other manner in this language, which is so extremely rich in pronominal and verbal forms.

From the personal and possessive pronoun sex-distinction passes into the *verb*, which in agglutinative languages is nothing but a modified noun. In the verb sex-distinction is less frequent than in the pronoun. Of American languages some Iroquois dialects have it in the third persons of the singular, dual and plural of the pronoun only; in the eastern hemisphere the languages which present this feature most conspicuously are those of the Semitic stock.

Distinction of sex in the noun.

The noun proper or substantive and the adjective are the parts of speech in which sex-denoting affixes are most unfrequently met with. The majority of all tongues will resort to separate terms to indicate sex in human beings and animals, and place them in apposition to the noun either before or after it. In Maya dialects these sex-apposites have been ground down so as to represent mere prefixes; *ah-* designates the male, but in fact means *proprietor*, *possessor*; *ish-*, *sh-* represents the female sex, and originally referred to the reproduction of the species. Thus in the Maya of Yucatan *mehen* is *son*, *ish-mehen* *daughter*; *Ah-Pech* *man* called *Pech*, *Ish-Pech* *woman* called *Pech*. To designate the sex of animals, this language uses other

¹ To avoid misapprehension, I call henceforth *gender* the categories of the animate and inanimate, *sex* those of the masculine and feminine.

terms: shibil-coh *male puma*, shibil signifying *male*. The Quiché language, closely related to Maya, furnishes such examples as: 'Tzi-quin, nom. pr. masc. "Bird" — Sh-'Tziquin, name of his wife; zu *flute*, ah-zu *musician*; achih-mun *male slave*, ishok-mun *female slave*, achih meaning *male* and ishok *woman*.

But this is agglutination only; affixes like these are not real, inseparable grammatic marks to designate sex, but only terms used in forming compound nouns, just as we say *she-fox* for *vixen*. However, we find in several not sex-denoting American languages instances of metaphoric appellations of inanimate things referring to sexual distinction. They show how deeply engrafted in the human mind is the tendency towards animism. Thus the Caddo name for Mississippi river is Báhat sássin *Mother of rivers*, for sássin means *mother* as well as *wife*, and the name shows that that river is here symbolized as the "receiver of many rivers." In the Maskoki languages *thumb* is "mother of fingers"; in Creek íngi ítchki, in Chikasa ílbak-íshke, in Hitchiti ílb-iki, the literal rendering of all these terms being "of one's fingers their mother."

Sex-denoting affixes.

What seems to be a genuine sex-denoting affix to the noun appears in one of the South-American linguistic families of the northern part of that continent. This stock is commonly designated as *Carib*, but since this name has been used in an exceedingly vague and indistinct manner, it is preferable to call the dialects in which sex-denoting affixes have been studied, by their special names.

Copying from Fr. Müller, *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, II, p. 324, the dialects in which this feature is observed are the Arowak and the Goajira, sex being indicated in adjectives and participles as well as in substantives. In *Arowak* we have:

boy basabanti; *girl* basabantu.

little boy basabanti-kan; *little girl* basabantu-kan.

a good man üsati; *a good woman* üsatu.

loving (man) kansiti; *loving* (woman) kansitu.

dying (man) ahuduti; *dying* (woman) ahudutu.

child (male) elonti; *child* (female) elontu.

In the *Goajira* language, spoken north of the Gulf of Maracaibo, the -i of the masculine answers to a feminine in -e, as follows:

merchant oikari; fem. oikare.

fisherman apüshaxori; fem. apüshaxore.

good anashi ; fem. anase.

dead autushi ; fem. autuse.

little morsashi ; fem. morsase.

sorry, trist, maχuaintshi ; fem. maχuainre.

The language of the Kalinago or *Caribs of the West Indies* or Antillian islands is surviving upon a few islands only ; it is related to both dialects above mentioned, and shows the same sex-denoting suffixes as observed in Arowak (Müller, *ibid.* p. 339) :

a beautiful man iropoⁿti ; *a beautiful woman* irupatu.

beloved (man) kiⁿshiⁿti ; *beloved (woman)* kiⁿshiⁿtu.

murderer aparuti ; *murderess* aparutu.

I do not have the works of Father Breton before me, who is the chief authority upon this insular language ; but from the extracts in L. Adam, *Examen Grammatical*, p. 7 (1878), it appears that the personal and the possessive pronouns also differed according to the sex of the one speaking in the third person : l-iem *he does*, t-iem *she does* ; l-aku *his eye*, t-aku *her eye*. Moreover, the females among themselves spoke another language than the men, and though both languages were called *Caribbean*, Fr. Müller regards them as radically distinct from each other.¹

The *Taensa* people, the existence of which is recorded in the annals from 1680 to 1812, lived between Vicksburg and Natchez City on the west side of the Mississippi river, near the Tonikas, and about 1714 removed to Mobile Bay. The grammar, vocabulary and poetic collection of the Taensa language, which was published in Paris in 1882, has been attacked in regard to its authenticity, and since the arguments brought forward against it have not convinced many scientists,² I shall make mention of the curious system of sex-distinction which the grammar contains. This distinction occurs in the pronouns and in the substantive. The pronouns with sex-forms are *thou* wi, fem. wiâ ; *he* su, *she* suâ ; *ye* wig, fem. wiâg ; *they* sug, fem. suâg. The interrogative pronoun wekmâr, fem. wekmârâ *who ?* the emphatic and expletive forms of the personal pronoun all bear the marks of sex-distinction. When a masculine form corresponds to a feminine substantive, the ending of the latter is -â ; and this in some instances passes over into the adjective when this is used attributively.

¹ Cf. also Ober, Fred. A., *Camps in the Caribbees*. Boston, 1880, pp. 100-103.

² Dr. D. G. Brinton, in *American Antiquarian*, 1885, pp. 108-113; 275, 276; A. S. Gatschet, in *Revue de Linguistique* of Paris, 1888, pp. 199-208, and several articles written by Lucien Adam and Julien Vinson.

The terminals -ao, -a-u indicate inanimate things, but nouns in -ao, -a-u are regarded as of the feminine sex.

Tonika.

The only sex-denoting language which I have had the opportunity to study on the spot is the Tonika or Túniχka of Eastern Louisiana, discovered by me in the autumn of 1886. It proved to be a language heretofore unknown to science, and by its strange peculiarities deserves to be carefully studied and compared with other languages, especially with those spoken in its nearest vicinity: the Ná'htchi, Shetimasha, Atákapa and the sundry dialects of the wide-stretching Maskóki family.

In the pronoun, verb and noun this southern tongue distinguishes two sexes, the masculine and feminine; inanimate things belong either to one or the other of the two, and abstract nouns are chiefly or exclusively of the feminine class. If an inanimate order ever existed, it has been merged into the above two, as in the modern Romance languages the neuter has merged into the masculine.

In the noun the *male sex* is made distinct in the singular by the prefix uk- (u-), or by the suffix -ku (-k^u, -χku, -χk, -k); in the plural by the prefix sik-, sig-, or by the suffixed pronoun sä'ⁿ, sä'ma, hé säma. The *female sex* has a distinguishing mark in the prefix tik- (tí'h-, tig-, ti-, t-) or in the suffix -ktchi (-χtchi, -χtch, -ktch, -kts, -'htchi, -tch, -ts) in the singular number, while in the plural it has sin, siⁿ, si, hé sin, hé sinma, placed either before or after the noun to which they belong.

All these affixes are either pronouns or of pronominal origin. They are frequently omitted where we expect to find them, and the masculine affixes much more so than those of the opposite sex.

A partial list of PRONOUNS is as follows:

héku, hék^u *this one, this*; fem. héktchi, hé'htch; pl. hé säⁿ; hé sin. héku and héktchi may also refer to inanimate things.

Personal pronoun:

- 1 sg. íma *I*; emphatic í'mataⁿ *myself*.
- 2 sg. ma *thou* (masc.) hä'ma (fem.); emphatic mátaⁿ, hä'mataⁿ.
- 3 sg. úwi *he*, tí'htchi *she*; emphatic úwitaⁿ, tí'htchitaⁿ.

1 pl. *ínima* *we*; emphatic *ínimataⁿ* *ourselves*.

2 pl. *wínima* *ye* (masc.), *hínima* (fem.); emphatic *wínimataⁿ*, *hínimataⁿ*.

3 pl. *säⁿma*, *säⁿ* *they* (masc.), *sínima*, *síⁿ* (fem.); emphatic *säⁿmataⁿ*, fem. *sínimataⁿ*.

Possessive pronoun :

lúk *tongue*, *ta lúk* *the tongue, a tongue, tongue*.

1 sg. *íluk* *my tongue*.

2 sg. *wíluk* *thy tongue*, fem. *híluk*.

3 sg. *úluk* *his tongue*, fem. *tíluk* *her tongue*.

1 pl. *íⁿluk* *our tongues*.

2 pl. *wíⁿluk* *your tongues*, fem. *híⁿluk*.

3 pl. *síluk* *their tongues*, fem. *síⁿluk*.

The word *ri* *house*, provided with possessive prefixes, runs as follows :

1 sg. *ígri* *my house*; 2 sg. *wígri*, f. *hígri*; 3 sg. *úgri*, f. *tígri*.

1 pl. *ihëri* *our house*; 2 pl. *wihëri*, f. *hihëri*; 3 pl. *sígri*, f. *sí'hri*.

When *ri* *house*, which is of the feminine gender, stands in the plural, it becomes *ri-sin* *houses*, lit. "house-these" or "house-they," and the "conjugation" proceeds as follows :

1 sg. *ígrisin* or *ta rí'htinsin* *my houses*.

2 sg. *wígrisin* *thy houses*, fem. *hígrisin*.

3 sg. *úgrisin* *his houses*, *tígrisin* *her houses*.

1 pl. *ihërisin* *our houses*.

2 pl. *wí'hrisin* *your houses*, fem. *hí'hërisin*.

3 pl. *sígrisin* *their houses*, fem. *sí'hrisin*; or *tá n'tchi sín sí'hri*, lit. "the-women-their-houses."

In following up a portion of the personal inflection of the *verb*, similar pronominal elements are found to occur.

Present tense of ságu TO EAT, declarative form :

1 sg. *ságukani* *I am eating*.

2 sg. *ságuki*; fem. *ságuka*.

3 sg. *sagukúna*, *ságuku*; fem. *sagúkati*.

indef. *sagúkiti* *somebody is eating*.

1 du. *sagináⁿ* *we two are eating*.

2 du. *saguwínaⁿ*; fem. *saguhínaⁿ*.

3 du. *sagu-únaⁿ*; fem. *sagusínaⁿ*.

1 pl. ságitiⁿ and ságiti *we are eating.*

2 pl. sagúwiti ; fem. sagúhiti.

3 pl. sagúkiti ; fem. sagúsi.

Although there is a dual in the verb, I have been unable to obtain a dual for the pronoun and substantive differing from the plural.

Now let us see how these different signs of sex are applied in the Tonika sentence. Let us consider them separately, beginning with the :

Masculine.

kuá túχk^u óshka tádashara *the claws of a little bird* ; kuá being masc., túχku or túχk^u, túχk *little*, is of the same sex.

héku náχk *like this man, or like this thing.*

ikontéku lúpui wéran a-áchkinta *my father-he (ikonté-ku) died, while I was hunting.*

kán hari'a ta ríχku (or táχku, abbr.) ? *how tall is this tree ?*

táyani-shi-k^u ríχti míshti tá sá-tek^u ukpéri *the buffalo is stronger than the horse* ; lit. "cattle-male-he strong more the horse-he him surpasses" : uk- is the masc. object-particle of the singular, referring here to the horse.

tóni sik'háyi hihá-iχta lúp hót' ónta *The old people in this village are all dead* ; lit. "people those-old in-there dead all are" ; sik-being an instance of the masculine plural.

Feminine.

óka núχtchi tú *little girl* ; lit. "child-woman-small" ; tú *little* need not take the fem. ending (tú'htchi) here, for the sex is already pointed at by núχtchi.

táχkuri héktch imé'htini *this fence is mine (táχkuri fence).*

tá yúnka'htch (or tá yúnka) titik ma-itóru ā'ra *a rope is crossing the creek* ; lit. "the rope creek across is lying" ; if yúnka was masc., the verb would be ū'ra.

rá-achkini î'gatchik lúpiti'htch *I grew up when my mother was dead.*

ígatchiktch tí'htch, Béluksi núχtchi, iknaχshä'ki *my mother, a Beluxi woman, brought me (here).* In these two examples tí'htch is added reverentially to the term *my mother* (î'gatchi).

ta tíraktch irúkati húriwi *the cloth (or sheet) floats in the wind* ; lit. "the-she-cloth-she floats-she wind-in," íra *cloth* being preceded and followed by feminine affixes.

ta riχkéku (or tárkeku, táχkuk) háriā tári'tch atápära *the tree is as tall as the house*; lit. "the tree tall the house-she equals."

táχkuk háriā, tígri kä'ha *the tree is lower than the house*; lit. "the tree tall, she-house is-not."

táχtchiksh tí'hkorak(i) *full moon*; lit. "luminary she-round."

lá-u táχtchiksh ríkěhä, áχshukun táχtchiksh tikamíshti *the moon is smaller than the sun*; lit. "night-luminary great-not, day-luminary her surpasses."

tá-ushi rómana míshtik, ta mákak tikpéri *water is heavier than oil*; lit. "water (for ta wí'hshi) heavy more, the oil her surpasses."

ta wíshäna máχkina míshti hótu siⁿpéri *this lake is deeper than all others*; lit. "the lake deep more all them (fem.) surpasses."

yakanikáχtcha kí, láhoⁿ tuk yakanikáχtcha *if I come, I come early*. Láhoⁿ tuk "small morning" gives *no* indication of the feminine gender of láhon, láhoni.

ta héri'htchi tchúima *he seizes the canoe*.

táru hésin ra (or rata) *these nuts are hard*.

ta niriwä'ka sin *the cemeteries*.

hé sin hótu tíksa tchóhaki *she led all these dogs*; tíksa *female dog*, hé sin *these* (fem. pl.), hótu *all*.

The demonstrative particle *ta* preceding many of the nouns can best be understood when we regard it as an article corresponding in most cases to our definite article *the*, and indicative of the singular and plural number of both sexes.

These examples plainly show that there is a real sex-distinction in this language for animate beings as well as for inanimate things; that the pronoun *ku*, *k^u* is always placed *after* its noun, adjective, or pronoun to designate the masculine gender; that the more frequent *tí'h-*, *ti-*, *t-* is placed *before* it to designate the feminine, but when it appears in the shape of *tí'htch*, *-htch*, *-ksh*, *-tch* is *suffixed* to it; that in many instances the signs of either class are omitted altogether.

The point which we have to examine next is, what objects or categories of objects are assigned to the one or the other sex. For we find that the attribution of some sex to inanimate things must have started from the same mental activity which has assigned to the *sun* a male sex in the classic and a female in the Germanic languages, and to the *moon* just the reverse, although there is nothing male or female to be perceived in either of the two celestial bodies. It was the same energy of the mind which caused primitive men to produce myths by personifying the inanimate objects of nature observed

around them. The Tonika language is the more remarkable on this account, because it is the only language heretofore discovered *in America* which divides all objects of creation into two great sex-categories.

Of the *adjectives* the large majority appear to have a simple form, from which the masculine is derived by suffixing -ku, -χku, -k", the feminine by appending one of the aforementioned affixes. The adjective ní'hsara *young* forms neither of the two, as the sex is expressed by the noun accompanying this adjective or implied in it: óne ní'hsara *boy*, núχtchi ní'hsara *girl*; lit. "man young," "woman young."

We have the following instances :

tä' ⁿ <i>great, large</i>	masc. tä'ku, tä'gu	fem. tä''htchi
tú <i>small, little</i>	túχku, túχk	túχkush
kóra ⁿ <i>round</i>	kóraku	kóraktch
méli <i>black</i>	méliku	méliktchi
míli <i>red</i>	míliku	mílikktchi
rówa <i>white</i>	rówaku	rówaktchi
táχkir <i>smutty, dirty</i>	táχkirku	táχkiri'htch
máka ⁿ <i>fat</i>	makáχku	maká'htchi
ríχ'sa <i>spotted, dotted</i>	ríχ'saku	ríχ'satch

The sex of the substantive is not by any means always expressed in the adjective accompanying it, and this appears to be dictated either by the run of the sentence or be a matter of pure convenience. Thus we have tashkaráχponi (fem.) rówa *white stocking*, though t. is feminine; tíχshuma mákaⁿ *or* t. maká'htchi *fat meat*; tíχshuma sépi *lean meat*, instead of sépi'htch. Especially the sign of the masculine is frequently omitted.

Of the *Terms of relationship*, which correspond to each other in both sexes, many appear in this language with the sexual affixes appended, and are always connected with their possessive prefixes *my, his, her*, just like the parts of the human and animal body :

é'hkutuhuk *my son*, é'hkutuhuktch(i) *my daughter*.

éχkutu wálik *my step-son*, éχkutu wálikktch *my step-daughter*.

íχtchaku *my grandfather*, íχtchaktch *my grandmother*.

étuku mashíku *my father-in-law*, étuku mashí'htchi *my mother-in-law*. Thus in the formation of the degrees of relationship we perceive a close analogy with the sex-distinction in adjectives.

Terms designating *male persons*, their occupations, employments, generally show no affix designating sex, or if they do, it is -ku, -k^u. Terms descriptive of *women*, their occupations, etc., have either no affix, or tí'h-, -'htchi or some other of the above-mentioned feminine affixes.

Quadrupeds and *birds* (kúa) are of the masculine gender, unless the female sex is pointed out by a noun standing appositively. There is no word in the language corresponding exactly to our term animal, unless it should be contained in sáⁿ, which now means *dog*; sá täⁿ *horse* would then be "large animal." Examples: yánish *cattle*, yánish káχshi *buffalo*, pä'ha sáⁿ *wolf*, tchúla *fox*, yá, í-a *deer*, yátäⁿ *elk*, lit. "large deer," núχki *beaver*, rushtáⁿ *rabbit*, rushtáⁿ täⁿ *sheep*, lit. "large rabbit," iyushäla *opossum* and *woodrat*, kíwa *weasel*, íyutä *hog*, mínu *cat*, híχku *mouse*; kúa tú *bird* (lit. "small bird"), kúa tú and túχku *humming-bird*, kúa míli *cardinal*, éla, ä'la *buzzard*, yé'hta täⁿ *turkey*, shími *pigeon*; but ä'χka *crow* is represented to be a feminine.

The *lower animals*, as amphibians, reptiles, fish, insects and mollusks, appear to be considered as of the masculine gender: kóχku *turtle*, kó'hsuki *crab*, ná-araⁿ *snake*, nā'raⁿ täⁿ *rattlesnake*, viz. "snake large," níni *fish*, ä'ya *fly*, í-unari *salmon*, ómaχka *alligator*, sutáχshu *grasshopper*, shiriχka *ant*, lúpiran *chamaeleon*, námi *louse*, shíla pä'χka *bedbug*, lit. "fat beast," kē *bee*, kē mírka, míχ'ka *wasp*, kē wísta *honey*, takírka *mollusk*, úχshik *shell*. The generic term for all the smaller animals is shíla or shíla tú, which the French Creoles call "le petit bétail," and is of the male sex. The term for *frog*, udshéχka, is said to be feminine.

Plants, trees, bushes and *weeds* are of the masculine sex also, and ríχku *tree* and *wood* is masc. as well. The term for *plant*, tápa and tápaktch, is fem. and means "what grows" or "is planted"; tapákani *I plant*. Examples of plants, all masculine, are as follows: ríχku sánu *pacan-tree*, and sánu *pacan-nut*, ú'hshpa *white oak*, ríχku kíru *peach-tree*, ráyi *mulberry-tree*, yúgmoχku *herb, grass, weed*; erá, rá *tobacco*, yítä *batate, sweet potato*, shúlik ótaka *melon*, shúχka *pumpkin*.

Of *rocks, stones* and *minerals* the following are masculine: shíχka *stone, rock, flint-stone*; háχtchu *salt*, láχspi, lá'spi *metal, iron*, náχta *bluff on a river*, etc.

The *celestial bodies* and the divisions of *time* are considered feminine by these Indians, as is also háliktch, abbrev. háli, hál *earth*, and

its derivatives, perhaps because the personified Earth is regarded as the mother of all beings.

We mention the following instances: táχtchiksh, abbr. táχtchi "luminary" and *sun*; áχshukun t. *sun*, lit. "day-luminary"; lá-u t. *moon*, lit. "night-luminary"; táχtchi tipulá *star*; láhoni *morning*, te'hkalugéki *noon*, tohónagi *afternoon*, lá-aki, lā'ki *evening*, tíhika *summer* and *year*; tíhika tú *spring*, lit. "little summer"; táχsaba *winter*, táχsaba tú *autumn*, lit. "little winter"; rúina *heat*, yúpaχta *the cold*, alutápaⁿ *harvest* also belong to the feminine order. Among the derivatives and compounds of háli *earth* we have: halúpish *mud*, háli-sáman *brick*, lit. "earth baked"; halú'hta *sole*. But the term hal-ukíni *village, district*, lit. "placed upon the earth," is masculine.

The *points of the compass* are derivatives of verbs or nouns, and all of the feminine sex: táχsapash *north*, lit. "cold"; táχtchi píka-tish *east*, tíhikash *south*, lékatish *west*, lit. "loss (of the sun)."

Some other *objects of nature* are of the feminine order also: wí'hshi *water, liquid* becomes tá-ush(i) when the article ta is placed before it: tá-ush mili *river*, lit. "red water"; háχpushi *ashes*, onté-tish *milk*, tóra *ice*, toratíni *hoarfrost*, yáχku *vegetable poison*, shíχtika *venom*, télia and télia'htch *shadow* and *soul*, also *reflection on the water*. The term yí *pain, invisible sickness* is feminine, and hence all names of diseases are of the same gender: íni yí *toothache*, e'htiníyu yí *heart disease*, táshki- rúpa *diarrhoea*. Yúri *visible sickness* is of the same sex.

Abstract nouns are all considered as of the female sex, for they are feminine adjectives made into substantives: káχshi *true* and *truth, reality*; ríχki'htch *force, strength*, from ríχki *strong*; taχkirítchi *filth*, from táχkir *dirty*; náka *war, battle* is masculine and appears to be considered as a concrete, not as an abstract noun.

The names for the *parts* of the human and animal *body* and of *plants* are about equally divided between the two sexes.

Of masculine nouns we have: íni *my tooth*, éruk *my neck*, í'hs-tuksuk *my eye*, irí'hshi *my nose*, ínishí *my breast*, é'htuka *my shoulder*, í'hkení *my hand*, i. lábu *my right hand*, lit. "good hand," eyumä'ra *my wrist*, hanímu *fist*, úyuⁿ *bowels*, ilákashi *my hair*, táχki *bone*, íshki *my posteriors*, é'hshka *my foot*, and ó'hshka *stalk* and *root of plant*, yúχtar *feather, plumage*, óχsa *tail* of animal, aχkatíni *pimple*.

Of feminine nouns there are: í'hkin tírwash *my finger-nail*, e'htiníyu *my heart*, é'hsini *my head*, itáχkishí *my skin* (and *bark* of plants),

óli'hka and ólika'htch *my liver*, tá-idsha *flesh, meat*, éyu and éyu'htch *my arm*, ópushka *lung*, tchára *toe*, túχsu *grain, seed*, rú *nut*.

Natural objects classed into the masculine order of inanimates are as follows: éshku *rain*, éshku rahíni *thunder*, tóa *snow*, hóχka *hole*, áyi, á-i *fire*, húri *wind*, ta húri ku *the wind blows*, apáru *sky* and *clear sky*; hí'hshuka *dew* appears to be of both sexes.

Manufactured objects are thought to belong to both sexes, but the number of those belonging to the feminine possibly prevails over that of the opposite sex.

Masculines are: hássäⁿ *saw*, pólu'hki *bottle*, takáχti *key*, tíra táruhi *clothes-brush*, tanáhaⁿ *back* (of chair), kún kúrini *drum*, lit. "noise to assemble," tchúhi *cushion, pillow*, áyi wotchúra *chimney*, héyutana *bed*, ta póχku *bed-cover*, kóti *lodgement*, wúχku *hat*, rí áwähan *doorway*.

Feminines are: wishkatáhi *bow*, lit. "bow with cord"; róhina *book, paper, newspaper*, etc., from rówa *white*; íra *cloth, clothing, garment*, úshik *spoon*, skálaχk *shilling*, from Span. escalino; láχspi ta éyu *beads*, hí'hturak táraⁿ *spider-web*, yúnka and yúnka'htch *rope*, rí *house, lodge*, rí káhi *floor*, rí pókuni *roof, thatch*.

Readers perusing this long list of nouns will obviously notice that some of these terms have lost such endings as -i or -u, and that others have a long and an abbreviated form used simultaneously. There are whole categories of nouns which distinctly belong to one grammatic sex only, like the names for the points of the compass, all of which are feminine exclusively, and moreover end in -sh throughout. But outside of the terminals of sex, -ku and -ktchi, with their phonologic alterations, no suffix can be found which gives an indication of sex *by itself*, as we observe it, *e.g.* with Latin *-tas* and German *-heit*.

The problem now confronts us: do we have in the Tonika language a division of nouns into an animate or vitalistic and an inanimate or non-vitalistic class, or a real sex-division into male and female nouns? To this I reply:

Had the originators of the gender-system embodied in Tonika started from the purpose of separating the objects showing life from those of the inanimate world, they would not have placed animals, plants, minerals, many objects of nature and the body's organs into the same class. Neither would they have done this, if they desired to distinguish the noble from the ignoble (whatsoever this distinction may amount to in an Indian's mind), the active from the non-active, or the organic from the inorganic, a conception which could hardly

originate in minds untrained in natural science. That the feminine sex contains, or originally embraced, only such terms which describe objects hidden within others, or not on the surface, or enclosing other objects, and abstract ideas, is a theory agreeing with many terms of the list, but not with all the facts on hand, and has therefore to be discarded.

The best we can do in our present state of knowledge is to assume that the early Tonikas started from the two sexes observed among men and animals, and found in all the other objects of nature, and in abstract ideas, some fancied analogy to males and females, and thus classified their nouns.

P D 8.8



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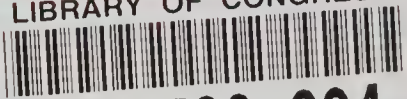
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