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#### KARANKAWA LINGUISTIC MATERIALS

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Abstract: In this paper I present the available materials on the diverse dialectal forms of the extinct Karankawa language of coastal Texas in the form of an English-Karankawa vocabulary, together with the attested sentence and text material, a transcription of an alleged Karankawa vocabulary, data on Karankawa personal names, and observations on the use of Karankawa data in Greenberg 1987.

# Introduction.

The purpose of this work is simple and unambitious, namely to make available in compact and usable form the body of known material on the various forms of the speech of the Karankawa Indians of coastal Texas, who have been extinct since the last of their number were slaughtered by Mexican soldiers and Texas Rangers on Padre Island in October 1858. Swanton (1940) published five of the six main sources in a Karankawa-English vocabulary, but his edition shows a number of misreadings, and he omitted the most extensive vocabulary, that collected by Rafael Chowell in 1828-1829, whose existence had already been known for twenty-five years, and which Landar published (with some errors) in 1968.

It should be pointed out at once that our records of Karankawa show the language to have exhibited a very high degree of internal diversity, although I feel that there are enough reconsitutable forms (maybe forty-five) to allow one to regard the data as belonging to forms of speech which were originally a single language.

As far as is possible, I have worked with transcriptions or reproductions of the original vocabularies themselves (in the case of the Talon and Chowell vocabularies), or with early copies (for the Béranger vocabulary), while I have relied on the printed version of Gatschet's materials, which he presumably saw through the press. In other words, this work contains data which are as authentic and as accurate as I was able to make them. I have preserved the original transcriptions of the Karankawa forms and of their French or Spanish glosses throughout, but I have also attempted to provide a (pseudo-)

phonemic transcription of the Karankawa forms, leaning heavily on the clues about pronunciation furnished by the spelling of the Karankawa words, especially in the original French and Spanish sources.

This work is based on my 1991 University of Bradford MPhil, 'Karankawa: An Indian Language of Coastal Texas', to which the interested reader is referred for further information on the sociolinguistic background, extensive dialectal variations within the corpus, and philological matters touching upon I have felt it best topresent the forms in an Karankawa. English-Karankawa vocabulary because of problems disambiguating (and thus alphabetizing!) manuscript forms of certain words in the Chowell, Talon and Béranger vocabularies. My conscious model has been the treatment of Esselen by Shaul, Turner and Collins (1984). I have also included the Karankawa phrases and sentences (mostly from Alice Williams Oliver's memories of apparently xenolectal Karankawa). I have also provided notes on Karankawa personal names, the purportedly Karankawa vocabulary of Guy M. Bryan, and the use of Karankawa data in Joseph H. Greenberg's 'Language in the Americas' (Stanford UP, 1987). The paper ends with a bibliography of works referred to in the text and other relevant works on the subject.

For further information on Karankawa culture, the reader is referred to Gatschet (1891), Schaedel (1949), Newcomb (1961), Wolff (1969), and to Salinas (1990) for information about South Texan tribes generally.

I would like to thank John Gree, Robert Rankin, John Koontz, LeRoy Johnson, David Costa, Carl Masthay, Ives Goddard, Rudolph Troike and John E. McLaughlin for their contribution to this work. None of them are responsible for any errors within it.

# Phonetic Key

This serves two purposes:

- 1) as a guide to the transcriptional practice of the bracketed forms in the vocabulary
- 2) as a conversion table in respect to the alphabet used in transcribing Gatschet's material throughout this work. Gatschet used a modification of the Bureau of [American] Ethnology alphabet as laid down in Powell 1880. He did make

some concessions to English usage in Gatschet 1891, such as the employment of <sh ch dsh> for Powell's <c tc dj>, which in American Phonemic are /š č Ĭ/.

The following transcription system is biunique. Use of this key will enable the reader to convert from my admittedly ad hoc spelling to the original transcription used by Gatschet. I have in no way adjusted or modified the forms used by Gatschet, even though I think, for example, that his use of doubled consonants is a carry-over from English orthographic usage (the practice occurs in other of his fieldnotes, such as those for Molala), which has no counterpart in reality and that on the other evidence that we have, we cannot be sure that Karankawa had geminate consonants. I also suspect that he overspecified vocalic detail at least in respect to length, though since the rest of the Karankawa material was recorded by francophone or hispanophone observers, whose languages lack phonemic vowel length, we cannot be sure on this point.

I have not bracketed Gatschet's phonetic forms thus [ ], as I have done with the other materials. The reason is simple: the other forms represent my attempt to divine what the recorders thought they heard, in the light of their orthographic usage and the contemporary phonology of their matrix languages (these are not reconstructed or reconstituted forms: it may be that the recorders were wildly inaccurate in their assignation of glosses, interpretation of sounds, and so on). Thus I have taken into account such factors as the greater amount of retention of final consonants, and the differing realisation of -ille in seventeenth and eighteenth-century French, rather than simply relving on modern-day pronunciation.

With these other forms I am attempting to guess how a contemporary reader of the vocabulary might have pronounced these words, bearing in mind that the recorders used their native French or Spanish orthographies with few modifications, and left so few overt clues to their transcriptional practices, and that a number of their forms are in any case difficult to decipher and the copies which we have may represent the original field-recordings. In the case of Gatschet's materials, we know what he thought he heard, because he had a semi-phonetic alphabet with which to record his auditory impressions.

It should be emphasised that the only elements of Karankawa which are even vaguely reliable from a phonological standpoint are those which have been reconstituted on the basis of corroboration from more than one source, and which are marked as: R /lams/. For all Gatschet's precision and the attempts of his main consultant at accurate pronunciation, he was not working with native speakers, and phonological cruces should not stand or fall on his evidence alone.

#### Consonants

Most of these are as in the IPA system, thus [p] is /p/. The symbol [x] represents a voiceless velar fricative, the so-called German Ach-Laut. In the following remarks, 'G' refers to Gatschet's usage in Gatschet 1891.

[j]	G:	<y>:</y>	/j/ (palatal continuant)
[M]	G:	<m>:</m>	/m/ (voiceless /m/)
[x̂]	G:	<x>:</x>	/ç/ palatovelar fricative
[x]	G:	<x>:</x>	/x/ velar fricative
(')	G:	<->:	/⅔/ glottal stop.

(<'> is also used in Gatschet: O to represent absence of vowel in [n'] 'I' and [m'] 'you', that is, /n#/ and /m#/: <n' čá áwa> = /n ča áwa/).

[H] is an archigrapheme standing for the unknown and putative value of written <h> in the French and Spanish sources: either /h/ /'/ or /Ø/. Similarly, /VN/ in the francophone sources can be read as / $\tilde{V}$ / or /Vn/.

In the phoneticised forms of Spanish recordings, the voiced obstruents have been written as stops: <b d g> for the sake of convenience, rather than as voiced fricatives. Chowell's starred <ch>, here <ĉh>, is /š/; his <ĝn> may be /η/.

#### Vowels

The five vowels [i e a o u] have the values assigned to the in IPA. Length is denoted by doubling [ii ee aa oo uu]. [ë] represents schwa. In Gatschet's work [ä] represents the openmid centralised vowel, written here as /ā/, while [â], occurring ony in the word for <u>crane</u>, represents a low-mid back vowel. [î] occurs in a couple of words in Gatschet's records; he does not explain it, but it was evidently /ii/ (David Costa, personal communication, November 1991).

Because I have used ['] for the glottal stop, in order to ensure the biuniqueness of this representation of Gatschet's spelling, I have employed the symbol [E] between consonants

where Gatschet writes <'>, that is, zero, or maybe subphonemic /ë/, thus [glosEn] = G: <glos'n>. Nasal vowels in the transcription are  $[\tilde{a} \in \tilde{o} \ \tilde{u} \ \tilde{ce}]$ .

#### Stress

Stress is marked with ['] on the vowel, or first vowel of a group except where evidence suggests that the second vowel is to be stressed. I have not marked stress on phonemicised forms of French words, since it is not possible to reconstruct this. In transcriptions of Spanish forms, I have followed Spanish stress rules. Stress in Gatschet's material is irregular, there being no one syllable which customarily receives stress, and thus is probably the best source of evidence about stress placement in Karankawa.

I have preserved the original orthography of the French and Spanish glosses of the Karankawa forms, even in instances where it diverges from modern usage, such as Spanish <ayre> for 'aire', French <cest adire> for 'c'est à dire'.

# Provisional Phonology of Karankawa

It should be pointed out that this is extremely tentative.

The provisional phonemic inventory of Karankawa might be posited as: /p t ts č k kw b d q s š x kl ql i w i m n h '/ for consonants, /i e a o u ii ee aa oo uu/ for vowels, and free stress, with a syllabic canon of (C) V(:) (C) (C). Problematic issues include the nature of /kl gl/ (possibly voiceless and voiced laterals affricates [ $\frac{1}{2}\lambda$ ], although no sources records them as such), the relationship between /ts s š č/, the question of the nature of the sounds reconstructed as /b d g/ (a voicedvoiceless distinction in stops is not an areal feature of this part of Texas, although Coahuilteco and Tonkawa have a voiceless glottalized/unglottalized distinction), the status of other phones, such as /n / (hinted at by Chowell) or /T M/ (the latter = voiceless /m/; these attested by Gatschet), the nature of the sound underlying the <j> of French transcriptions (here transcribed as /ž/), and whether or not /ë/ was phonemic or an allophonic reduced form of one or more vowels.

# Some Remarks on Morphosyntax.

All we have on which to base a model of Karankawa morphosyntax are a few sentences, a couple of short translated

texts rendered into a xenolectal and essentially flexionless Karankawa, which was certainly not the way in which the Karankawas themselves spoke, and the evidence of some compound words. Essentially we know next to nothing about Karankawa inflectional and derivational morphology and can only conjecture about its syntax.

To judge from these fragments, Karankawa was an SOV language, with secondary SVO word-order (about 2/3 versus 1/3 of the sentences being SOV). The verb in a subordinate clause always came last (for example in Mrs Oliver's version of 'I want to shoot deer', which is literally 'I want deer shoot').

Affixes (such as the feminine marker /-nen/) seem usually to have followed the noun (see Coyote 1, for example), though otherwise the general order seems to have been Modifier + Head (for instance in Chowell's word for HAT, vide supra). To judge from Mrs Oliver's material, the negative particle preceded the verb.

There may have been pronominal subject or object prefixes on the verb (see Chowell's version of 'I don't want you', in the sentences), and there may have been personal prefixes on nouns (a number of which are attested with forms of a prefix /emi-/), but we cannot be sure of the correct interpretation and assignment of meaning to these forms. Similarly, a few nouns are attested in two or more forms, one of which is often characterised by the affix /-n/, which is also absent in other recordings of the same stem, but we do not know what - if any - significance this affix had, nor do we known anything about possible noun pluralisation. Furthermore, we have no data on which to base observations about whether Karankawa was prepositional or postpositional.

To sum up, Karankawa was a verb-final language, which does not appear to have been, in respect to structure, particularly divergent from other languages in the area.

# English-Karankawa Vocabulary; introduction

This vocabulary, arranged according to English glosses, contains the whole of the lexical material. Its purpose is historical and comparative: it provides etymologies for the minority of items whose origins can be discovered, and through the use of cross-referencing it compares different reflexes for the same gloss in different vocabularies, as well as divergent meanings of the same stem as attested in different sources.

The structure of an entry is explained below.

The lemma or gloss under which an entry is indexed is in CAPITALS; since there is a considerable amount of cross-referencing in this vocabulary, this had been done to make things easier for the reader. If the same gloss has more than one reflex, these are distinguished thus: HOUSE.1; HOUSE. 2.

After the gloss comes the reconstituted form, when such is available, thus: R /teš/. Following this are citation forms from the sources, enclosed in <acute brackets>; the sources recorded by French- and Spanish-speakers are also phonologically explicated in [square brackets], thus: T <tech>[teš]. Spanish-matrix forms from Chowell also have stress indicated according to Spanish stress rules. The phonetic key is explained above in the Introduction. Letters that are difficult to read in the manuscripts and which may have been misread are indicated by underlines.

The symbols used to denote the attestation of the forms are:

- T: Vocabulary of the brothers Jean-Baptiste and Pierre Talon, dictated to M. de Boissieu at Morlaix in Brittany in 1689, comprising words learned while the Talon brothers had been captives of the Karankawas around 1686, and originally glossed in French; this is taken from Villers du Terrage and Rivet (1929) and informed by the readings in Troike (1987);;
- B: Jean Béranger's vocabulary, 1720-1721, collected near Matagorda Bay, glossed in French; this is taken from Villiers du Terrage and Rivet (1919);
- C: Vocabulary most probably collected by the Mexican geologist Rafael Chowell, 1828-1829, somewhere in southern Texas or possibly at Laredo in the state of Coahuila, Mexico, glossed in Spanish; this is taken from Landar 1968, which has been crosschecked with a xerox from microfilm of the original vocabulary in Berlandier and Chowell 1828-1829;
- S: Material gathered from Old Simon, a Tonkawa, in September 1884 at Fort Griffin, Shackleford County, Texas, by Albert Samuel Gatschet, glossed in English; this was first published in German in Gatschet (1886), and the present reading is taken from Gatschet (1891);
- W: Material gathered by Gatschet from the blind Tonkawa woman, Sallie Washington, also in September 1884

(she had once lived with a Karankawa man); this material is glossed in English; the sources for this are the same as those for the previous item;

O: Material gathered from Mrs Alice Williams Oliver at Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1888-89 by A. S. Gatschet, glossed in English; also from Gatschet (1891), with dual pagination, here preserved, first the page-number of the work as a separate publication, then the (higher) page-number of the monograph as part of a volume.

Other forms are identified by their collector's or source name spelt out, eg, Grasmeyer, or Schaedel 1949, Gursky 1963.

An attempt is made to deal with all attestations of one stem under one lemma. Consequently, there are some cross-references, thus <u>Blanket</u> refers one to <u>Clothing. 2</u>, where C's gloss 'frasada' (poncho) for <lams> is discused with other attestations of the stem in its senses of 'sail, clothings, trousers'.

English-Karankawa Vocabulary.

ABOUT TO, GOING TO, INTEND TO: G; <cápn>. Gatschet (1891: 78/ 142) claims its derivation from <cá> 'to see'.

ACORN: B; <calache> [kalaš] 'gland de chêne'

AFTER A WHILE, AT PRESENT, SOON: G: < messús, mësus, mEsús >

AIR: C: <lun> [lun] 'ayre'

ALLIGATOR. 1: S: <hókso>

ALLIGATOR. 2: C: <oñase> [onjáse] 'cayman'. Note that both forms resemble Timucua /honoso/ 'crocodile', which Crawford 1988 connects with the widespread Southeastern loanword for 'buffalo', /jánasa/ etc (see Taylor 1976 for further details). It is possible that the two Karankawa words are related to each other and thence related to /honóso/ or a similar form, though this is only speculation.

ALWAYS, ALL THE TIME: O: < mušawáta >

AND, 1: 0: <a>

AND. 2: 0: <tenno> Note: both these link nominal phrases, see the sentences for details.

ANGRY, I AM VERY ANGRY: S: <napé-nai naxerúaxa pára > , where <napé > = 'l'

ANKLE: C: <iclea> [ikléa] 'tobillo'; cf. HEEL

ARM. 1: B: < se-imahaha > [së-imaHaHa] 'bras' (specifically upper arm?)

ARM. 2: C: <laaje> (la'áxe) 'todo el brazo' (the entire arm)

ARM. 3: C: < chig-mia > [šíg-mia] 'brazo'

FOREARM: B: < se-chotan > [së-šotã] 'bras du coude à l'épaule' (arm from elbow to shoulder)

UPPER ARM: C: < chajegual > , maybe < chasegual > [šaxewál], [šasewál] 'la parte superior del brazo'.

ARROW R /demóo - demúu/: T: <demo> [dēmo] 'flesche' (sic); B: <quechila-demoux> 'balle de mousquet' (ball for musket) [këšila-dëmu] = METAL + ARROW; O: <dëmóo'a>

ASHES: B: <ahona> [aHona] 'cendre'

AXE: B: <quialn > [kian] 'hache' (axe), also 'pickaxe'

BACK OF HAND: C: <cuama> [kwáma] 'la parte superior de la mano'

BAD: O: <čúta> 'bad, dangerous, obnoxious' <áM čúta> is 'octopus'.

BARREL: O: <bul>
 búudel>. Loanword from Spanish <u>barril</u>.

BASIN: B: <coje eun> [kožœ, ? kožõ] 'gamelle'

BEADS (GLASS): B: <qujahin> [küžaHē], or probably <quiahin> [kiaHē] 'verroterie'

BEANS, PEAS: B: <coudeche> [kudeš] 'fèves, pois'

- A BEAR: O: < ŏs, óoss> < Spanish oso (Gatschet writes the first form with a breve over the < o>, the only instance in his materials.)
- BELL: C: <selabaya> [selabája] 'campana'. ? Contains 'metal' root /sel šel/.
  - BELLY. 1: B: <a-louc> [a-luk] 'ventre, estomac'
- BELLY. 2: C: <coog> [ko'óg] 'varriga' (sic) (belly, bowels). John E. McLaughlin points out the similarity in meaning and shape of Comanche /koe/.
- BIG, GREAT, TALL. 1 R /konã kunẽ/; T <counin> [kunẽ] 'grand'; B: <caa conam> [kaa konã] 'barrique' (cask) BIG. 2: Ö: <ja'án>
- BIRD. 1 R /kóots..., kúut..., kúud.../; T <tecotsen> [tëkotsē] 'un autre oyseau ord're (ordinaire)', listed after <balséhé> 'eagle' (q.v.); cf. B: <coutsen> [kutsē] 'alouette' (lark); O: <kódn, kútn. kúdn> 'bird',also 'hen'. Note the Louisiana Siouan language Biloxi /kúudësk/ "bird" (Dorsey and Swanton 1912: 216), although several tribes separated the Biloxis and the Karankawas.
- BIRD. 2: C: <cooĉho> [ko'óšo] 'pájaro', cf. C: <cuĉhhí> [kuš-Hí] 'pies de pájaro' (bird's feet), <cooĉhcam> [kó'oškám] 'pluma' (feather). Perhaps related to BIRD. 1, as an example of dialectal divergence. But note T: <cocho> [kóšo] 'calf': could the meaning of BIRD. 2 be 'young of animal, fledgling'?
- BISON. 1 R /teš..., tes..., tets.../; T: <tech> [teš] 'boeuf'. <tech-nen> [teš-nē] 'vache' (cow); O: <tets'oa> 'cow, cattle, beef' (the only word containing a glottalised continuant recorded for Karankawa) this last may represent a phonological dialectal isogloss. The stem occurs in C: <tech-lo-disa> [teš-lo-dísa] 'pig', but a form <tech> for 'bison' is not attested in C.
  - BISON. 2: B: < didotte > [didot] 'boeuf'
- BISON. 3 R /tik..., tek.../: S: <tikëmai>. cf. B: <teque-dolan> [tekë-dolā] 'cvorne de boeuf' (animal horn). Unlikely to be connected with BISON. 1.
- BISON. 4: C: <dola-lá> [dola-lá] 'cibolo', <dola-jay> [dola-xaj] 'cuero de cibolo' (bison hide)

- BLACK. 1: S: < má>
- BLACK. 2: 0: <pal>. Speaker was unsure of this form.
- BLANKET: see CLOTHING. 2.
- BLOOD: C: <techandelman> [tešandélman] 'sangre'; cf C: <techi> 'flesh'.
- BLUE: O: <tsóol>. Perhaps borrowed from Nahuatl texotli /tešo'tli/ 'ditto'? Possibly from Spanish azul note Comecrudo /pajasul/ 'blue' from that source.
- BOARD: B: <couaham> [kwaHā] 'planche'. Perhaps related to T: <cohal> 'bois'?
- BOAT. 1 /..waa../: B: <ouahahim> [? waHē] 'pirogue' (dugout canoe); O: <awáan> 'boat'. John McLaughlin points out Numic resemblants in Comanche /waaH/ 'cedar', and Panamint /waa-/ 'piñon pine'.
  - BOAT. 2: B: <elouchoun > [?? elušū] 'navire' (ship)
- BOAT. 3: C: <tualagle> [tualágle] 'buque'. Widespread South Texas loanword? Compare Comecrudo /(pakwa)tataple/ 'canoe'.
- BODY: C: <quismata<u>mac</u>> <? -<u>mai</u>> [kismatamák, máj] 'todo el cuerpo'
- BONE: C: <techedall> [tešedalj] 'hueso', cf. C: <techi> 'flesh', and THIGH.
- BOW. 1: T: <crouin > [krue] 'arc', maybe <crouine > [kruin]. According to LeRoy Johnson this is a loan from Cotoname <karua > 'arrow', also recorded in the unpublished collection of South Texan vocabularies assembled by Berlandier and Chowell before 1830.
- BOW. 2: O: <gá'i>. Maybe also B: <ca ay> in PISTOL, though this may be the word for STONE, ROCK, or another root. It is just possible that T: <crouin> is an attempt to represent a word beginning with a velar fricative, such as Comecrudo /xái/ 'wood', /xái pataple/ 'bow', in which case it could be a diffused word in southern Texas.
- BOWL R /koko koku.../; B: <coq> [kok] 'écuelle, seau'. Cf. FIREPOT, KETTLE. BOY. 1 R /kloohs gloos/; T:

<colohs> [kolohs] 'garçon', C: <clox> [klo(h)s] 'muchacho';
O: <glosEn, glo-ëssën>

BOY. 2 also YOUNGSTER: S: <úši níktam> 'little man'. According to LeRoy Johnson (personal communication) this is Tonkawa, but I have been unable to segment it.

BRANDY, WINE, ALCOHOL: B: <clebeu> for <cleben> [klebē] 'vin'; C: liban> [líban] 'aguardiente'; O: <labá-i> 'whiskey'. This word for alcohol is a loan from Lipan Apache, where it is a stative verb meaning 'it is grey', referring to the colour of the local intoxicant tezguino or tiswin, which the Apaches used to sell to other Indians in Texas, and this is cognate with other Apachean and Athapaskan words, such as Navajo /txó-lbáí/ 'tiswin' (water+grey). (See Goddard 1979: 383).

A BRAVE, A WARRIOR R /tešV.../: T: <techoyou> [tešweju. tešoju] 'homme'; C: <techigua> [teší(g)wa] 'valiente'. Probably derived from the word for FLESH; the connection with BISON. 1, if any,is uncertain (totemism?). It provides evidence that the initial letter in Chowell's handwriting which resembles a modern English cursive J is to be read as <T>. Landar's English gloss 'brave' is a term which is offensive to American Indians.

BREAD. 1: C: <cuama-maya> [kwama-maja] 'el pan', <cuam-pá> [kwampá] 'tortilla'; O: <kwiamója> 'bread'. The words are derived from the root for MAIZE; meaning of <-maja> and <-pá> unknown.

BREAD. 2: B: <cocam> [kokā] 'pain frais' (fresh bread). Presumably related to the word for BOWL

BREAK, TO: O: <táhama>

BREAST. 1: 0: <kanín, kenín, kënín>;
0: <ka/ënín-ma> = MOTHER. This word for 'breast' is a widely-diffused loanword, originating in Cotoname and spreading also to Comecrudo and Karankawa.

BREAST. 2: C: <al> [al] 'pecho'

BREAST. 3: C: <even> [ebém] 'los pechos de la mujer'. It is tempting to see this in the manuscript as an emendation for a form originally resembling BREAST. 1, but this is not the case. The original manuscript <E> has had a curve added to make it resemble <C>; the <v> is just a short

rightward stroke.

BROAD-FACED MAN: C: <velóo-dulm> [beló'o dulm] 'el hombre frenton'. The <lóo> portion is 'nose'; <dulm> resembles the first part of <dalmac-cama> 'hat' and <daal> 'head'.

BRUSH: 0: <tesselénja, -lénia>. Is <tes-> connected with BISON. 1, relating to bison hair?

BUCKET: S: <koláme> 'tin bucket'.From Nahuatl comalli /komalli/ 'frying-pan'?

## **BUFFALO see BISON**

BULL: C: <chool-la> [čo'ól-la] 'toro', also <chool-nen> 'vaca' (cow) and <chool-cuain> 'becerro' (calf)
The forms under BISON. 1 (and BISON. 2 seem also to have referred to domesticated bovines, as forms such as that for MILK would suggest.

BUTTER: C: <techa> [téča] 'mantequilla' Another word connected with BISON, 1? Compare MILK.

BUTTOCK. 1: C: <mooj> [mó'ox] 'nalga'

BUTTOCK. 2 (also PODEX): C: <hacha> [Háša] 'culo'

CALF: T: <cocho > [košo] 'un veau'. According to John McLaughlin, this may be from Comanche /kuhcu/, Shoshone /kuittšu/ 'bison'. For another word for CALF, see BULL. For a possible interpretation of <cocho >, see BIRD. 2.

CALICO: O: <kádla>; <kwíss kádla> 'calico dress' , see CLOTHING.!

CALUMET, PEACE PIPE: B: < cadiolle > [kadjól] 'calumet'.

CANNON: B: <etjam> [etžã] 'canon'

CASK: B: <caa conam> [kaa konā] 'barrique'. <conam> = BIG?

CAT R /gátV/; O: <gáta>, also <gáta kwán> 'kitten'; C: <catum> [katúm] 'gato', <catum-nen> [katüm-nen] 'una gata'. Evidently a loan from Spanish gato, gata. Mobilian Jargon and Choctaw have /katos/ also from Spanish - could

this explain the voiceless initial of C's form? It is possible that it is an English loanword (the Muskogean-speaking Alabama Indians now at Livingston, Texas, just north of former Karankawa territory, use /kati/, from English). If so, then proper names apart, it is the only recorded English loan into Karankawa. As a loan, the reconstituted form has no historical depth or great validity.

CATCH, CAPTURE: O: <háitn>

CHEEK: C: <agui> [ági] 'carillo'

CHICKEN: R /ku(d)nVwVla/: C: <connuanguila> [konnuangila, konjuangila]/ 'gallo' (cockerel); <connuagnen 'gallina' (hen); O: <kútnewólja> 'hen, prairie chicken'. Gatschet translates O's form as 'BIRD + PLENTY + THERE', but C's recording rather gives the lie to this interpretation. Cognate with and presumably a derivation from BIRD. 1

CHIEF. 1: Schaedel 1949: <Tama> [táma] recorded by Fray Juan Morfi, Fray Gaspar de Solis or possibly Athanase de Mézières (Schaedel's account is unclear).

CHIEF. 2: O: <hálba>

CHILD see BOY

CHIN R /an(j)éna/: B: <em-imian hanéna > [em-imiã (h)anéna] 'menton'; C: <agnena > [agnéna] /? anjéna/ 'barba' (chin, beard). The first form contains a prefix frequently attested in B, but of uncertain meaning.

CHURCH: C: <catssé> [katsé] 'iglesia'. A puzzling form, with a post-Columbian meaning, but with no resemblance to Spanish or Latin forms, or to teopan 'God-house', the Nahuatl form employed in several Rio Grande languages, including Coahuilteco. Hardly to be derived from Latin ecclesia or Spanish iglesia. Franciscan missionaries among the Karankawas had little success, and it is odd to find such a form employed by the Karankawas.

CIGAR: C: <caje-tible > [káxe-tíble] 'cigarro'. See TOBACCO. 1 for first part.

CIGARETTE: S: <ka swénas>. Perhaps 'rolled tobacco'? The Tonkawa word for 'cigarette' is /nepaxkan-pilil/, the first element being 'tobacco' and the second meaning 'to roll' (Hoijer 1949: 24). See TOBACCO. 1 for first part of the

Karankawa word.

CIRCULAR, DISK-SHAPED, ROUND: O: <laiakum>

CLAVICLE, COLLAR BONE: C: < lem-dolmá > (iem-dolmá) 'clabicula' (sic). Connected with HEAD. 2

CLOTHING. 1: O: <kwiss> 'dress'; <kwiss kádla> 'calico dress'; also <gus-> in O: <gusgáma> 'shirt' A loanword from Comanche /kwásu'U/ (Robinson and Armagost 1990), which is common Numic and is recorded in Southern Paiute, Bannock and other Numic languages of the Great Basin. The item and name were presumably borrowed through trade.

CLOTHING. 2 R /lams/; T: <alames> [alamés] 'l'habis d'un european' (sic); B: <a-lams> [a-lams/-lãs] 'vêtement' (clothing), <em-lams> [em-lams /lãs] 'voile' (sail); C: <lams> [lams] 'fresada' (poncho, blanket). Cf. also C: <lams-santle> [lams-sántle] 'pañuelo' (handkerchief).

CLOTHING. 3 R /...kama, ...gama/; C: <cama> [kama] in: <dalmac-cama> [dalmák-káma] 'sombrero' (hat) (< head-clothing); <tenno-cama> [ténno-káma] 'pantalon' (trousers) (? hip-cloth), <chacama> [šakáma] 'camisa' (shirt). The word for SHOE is evidently derived from the same stem.

CLOUDS: C: <quapan> [kwápan] 'nubes'

COAL, LIVE: C: <alm> [alm] 'braza' (for 'brasa').

COLD R /glaj - gle/: B: <delin> [dele] 'froid'; C: <glay> [glaj] 'froid'. Swanton's phonemicised reading of [delin] for B masks what is possibly evidence for a voiced lateral fricative in Karankawa.

COME. 1 R /gá'as/: O: <gás>; W: <ká'as wána> 'come here!'

COME. 2 R /ewé'e/: W: <ewé'e> 'come! come quick!', S: <éwee> 'come!, come here!' Probably an interjection rather than a true verb.

CORD: B: <bachina > [bašina] 'corde'

COWARD: C: <techi-chi-salem> [tešišisalém] 'cobarde'; cf. FLESH,; maybe <salem> is connected with C: <saylá> 'man'.

COYOTE: C: <cuba > [kúba] 'coyote', also <cuba-nen > 'coyota'. Possibly a loanword from Cotoname or Comecrudo, cf. Cotoname <couba-ajâ > 'lion', Comecrudo <couepet > 'mountain lion' (see Goddard 1979: 378).

CRANE. 1: B: <coln > [koln ?] 'grue'
CRANE. 2: O: <këdóod >; <këdâd >. Possibly related to above? The only word which contains /â/. See Comecrudo /kol/ and Cotoname /karakór/,

CURLEW: B: <quojol> [kwožol - kwežol] 'bécasse de mer'. Cf. DUCK,

DART see METAL

DAY: 0: <bákta>

DEAD: O: < mál>

DEAR: O: < mutá>

DEER R /..dotsVn, ...dočin/; T: <tecomandotsen> [tëkomãdotsē] 'un chef ou chevreuil' ; C: <esdochin> [esdóčin] 'venado', <esdochin-nen> 'venada'; O: <dó'atn -dó'ëtn -dóotn> (also in NINE and TEN). T contains BISON. 3; variation between <t ts ch> in forms could be indicative of an isogloss.

DEERSKIN: B: <quesoul> [kësul] 'peau de chevreuil'. Cf. GUN, WOOD.

DO: O: <kosáta>; also 'to build' (a fire)
DOG R /keš - kes/; T: <quez> [kez] 'chien', also 'loup'
(wolf); B: <queche> [keš] 'chien'; C: <qüeche; qüeche-nen>
[sic; kwéše, kwéše-nen] 'perro, perra'; O: <kíss>. Also T:
<quez calbasses> [kez kalbasës] 'cochon, cest a dire, chiens
des Français' (pig; dog of the French). According to Gatschet
(1891: 44/ 108), the Karankawa dog resembled the fox or
coyote. Perhaps the word is an early loan from Chitimacha
/kiš/ 'dog'; note also Cotoname <kissa> 'fox'..

DON'T CRY, HUSH (exhortation to children): O: <ăhămmiš>

DRINK R /kwẽ - kwe/: B: <coouaen> [kuwẽ] 'boire'; O: <akwetén>

DUCK: B: <coué> [kwe] 'canard'

CANVASBACK DUCK: O: <mëda'u - medau - mëdau>

EAGLE: T: <balséhé> [balseHe] 'aigle'

EAR: C: <aig> [aig, aij] 'oreja'; also <aisoyna> [aisóina] 'oido' (sense of hearing), <aigenal > [aixenál] 'cerilla del oido' (earwax).

EARTH: ? T: <caham-quéamy> [kaHã-keami] 'les espagnols, comme a dire, - gens de terre, parce quils sont allez a eux par terre" ('the Spaniards - people of the earth, so called because they came overland while the French reached Karankawa territory by sea'). People have usually taken the <caham> portion to mean 'earth', cf. B: <cohon> 'sable sand'. There is no positive proof for the exact meaning of this phrase and no parallels by which we can establish the meaning of the elements.

TO EAT: O: <aknámas, aknámus>

EGG: O: <dáhome>; Gatschet links this with O: <dǎ> 'oyster'.

EIGHT: O: <haíkia béhema>; the two elements mean respectively TWO and FATHER.

ELBOW: C: <deeya> [de'éja] 'codo'

EYE. 1 R /le..., la.../: B: <im-lahoué> [im-lawe] 'sourcils' (eyebrows). C: <leca> [léka] 'ojo'. Cf. C: <? leguemb > [legémb] 'pestaña' (eyelash), < lecuim > [lekwim] 'pupila del ojo' (pupil of eye), < lesayma > [lesájma] 'parpado' (eyelid), <lesáyom> [lesájom] 'ceja' (eyebrow). EYE. 2: B: <emicous> [emikus - emi-kus? em-ikus?] 'oeil'

FACE: C: <tancú> [tankú] 'cara'

TO FALL: O: <amóak>

FAR OFF: 0: <njá wál> = THERE + MUCH

FATHER: O: <béhéma - béhema - béxma>. from PENIS; this word for FATHER may be a replacement for a tabooed word. Cf. also MOTHER. Also occurs in the numeral system at FIVE and EIGHT - perhaps a misremembering for <étsma> 'hand, finger'.

FEATHER. 1: B: <hamdolocq> [Hādolók] 'plumes'. Maybe includes a personal prefix on the root /dol/ also attested in TOOTH, HORN. Feathers, especially those from eagles, were trade and prestige items in the Plains culture area. FEATHER. 2 - see BIRD. 2

FEMALE R /...nen/: T: <-nen> [-ne] on BISON. 1, C: <-nen, -nem> [? -nen, -nem] on DOG, CAT, CHICKEN, TURKEY, BULL, WOLF, COYOTE, HORSE. Perhaps a bound morpheme? Note Cotoname /nan/ 'female'.

FIELD: C: <dopsa> [dópsa] 'prado'

FINGER: O: <étsma>, also 'hand'

FIRE. 1 R /kwejle/: T: <cohoille> [kwojlë, kwejlë] 'feu', B: <quoylesem> [kwoj/ejlese] 'feu'

FIRE. 2 R ? /kwášV/ (perhaps /kwaša - kwači/: C: <cuaĉha> [kwáša] 'fuego'; O: <kwáči>. The latter is also a male proper name.

FIRE. 3: S: <húmhe>

FIREPOT: T: <coko> [koko] 'pot a feu'; cf. BOWL, KETTLE, maybe also FRESH BREAD

FIRESTICKS: B: <acta demajé> [akta dëmaže] 'bois avec lequel on obtient le feu par frottement'.

FISH. 1 R /am/; C: <am> [am] 'pez' (live fish); O: <áM>. FISH. 2: B: <quyles> [kils] 'poisson'

FIVE: O: <náatsa béhema> literally ONE + FATHER (? mistake for <náatsa étsma - one + hand)

FLAGON: B: <quedica > [këdika] 'flacon'

FLOUR: O: <ámhǎtn>; <já ámhǎtn> = 'cornflour' (<já> = <jáam> 'potato')

A FLY: B: <cameje> [kamež] 'mouche' FOOT. 1 R /...eHV.../; B: <eham> [eHã] 'pied'; C: <hei-yú> [Hei-jú] 'pie'; <cuĉh-hí> [kuš-Hí] 'pies de pájaro' (feet of a bird) , <hei-yosam> [Hei-josám] 'los dedos del pie' (toes); maybe also O: <kékeja> 'foot'. An awkward set to reconstruct - if, indeed, the forms are cognate.

FOOT. 2: C: <del> [dei] 'toda la pierna'; cf. THIGH

FOOT. 3: C: <ik - ic> in <ik-dota> [ik-dota] 'talon' (heel), <iclea> [ikléa] 'tobillo' (ankle) and <ik-aal> [ik-aál] 'planta del pié' (sole of the foot). Possibly a bound morpheme.

FOREHEAD: C: < meklóo > [mekló'o] 'frente'; Cf. NOSE

FOUR: 0: <hájo hakn> 'four'; cf. TWO.

FRENCH: T: <calbasses> [kalbasës] 'français, comme qui diroit, gens venus de la Mer' ('French, that is to say, people from the sea'). This word is unanalysable. Nothing to do with Louisiana French <u>calebasse</u> 'calabash, gourd'! T: <quez calebasses> [kez kalbasës] is 'cochon' (pig) - 'French dog'.

FRIEND. 1: 0: <ahájika>. Possibly related to MAN. 2 if reading of latter is <ahax>.

FRIEND. 2: O: <amígo>. Spanish loanword into Karankawa which was replacing FRIEND. 1 in 1840's, according to Mrs Oliver.

FUCK: C: <haĉhi cooĉhe> [Háši ko'óše] ' vamos á joder?' (sic) (are we going to fuck, shall we fuck?)

One of the few genuine Karankawa sentences recorded. <cooche> could be related to O: <kosáta> 'to do'; <hachi> is presumably C: <hacha> 'rear'; the metaphor is attested in other languages, such as Vlach and Balkan dialects of European Romani and polisson colloquial English.

GET AWAY!: O: <ăhămmiš snín!>. <snín> is attested only in this phrase.

GIMLET: B: <clany> [klani] 'vrille'

GIRL: O: <káada>; also term of address by mother to daughter.

GIVE R /baHúš/; C: < bajuĉh > 'dime'; O: < báwûs >

GLASS see METAL

GLASSWARE see BEADS

GLOVE: C: <oñecadá> [onjekadá] 'guante'. Cf. ALLIGATOR. 2

- GO. 1: O: <jé>. Also see COME.
- GO. 2: O: <budáma> 'gone, past'.
- GO AWAY: W: <wána> translated as 'go away' when isolated, but as 'come here' when the phrase is <ká'as wána>
- GOD: C: <dios> [diós] 'Dios'. Loanword from Spanish. Two names of Karankawa gods according to Morfi (in Schaedel 1949) were Pichini and Mel.
- GOLD: C: < chelee-cheman > [šelé'ešéman] 'oro'. Contains widespread root for METAL.
- GOOD. 1 R /baHa/: T: <couist-baha> [kwist-baHa] 'bon, quelquechose de bon'. B: <baa> [ba'a] 'expression de contentement'. <couist> also occurs in Talon's Caddo list in word for 'good': <couhistanhat>. The second half parallels modern Caddo /ha'ahat/ 'good'; the first is a mystery. It has no parallels with 'good' in Caddo or Karankawa, and its only resemblance is to /wists'i/, the modern Caddo word for 'one', which looks like a loanword from the Dhegiha Siouan language Osage, cf. Osage /wintsi/ 'one' (other Dhegina languages, Quapaw, Kansa and Omaha-Ponca, have forms beginning with /m-/). The earlier Caddo word for 'one', \*/kawanay/, went out the mid-nineteenth century. <couhistanhat>, or /ku-wisc'-ha'ahat/, meaning presumably 'something good', does not seem to be a grammatical sequence of morphemes in Caddo.
- GOOD. 2: O: <plá> 'good, good-looking, fine, useful'. Possibly connected with Comecrudo /peléx/ 'good'. GOOD BYE, FAREWELL: O: <ačáta>; derived from \*[náyi áawa ča ta] 'I + THOU + SEE = WANT = I want to see you' as Gatschet suggests?
- GOOSE: O: <la'ak>. Probably imitative or onomatopoeic. There are similar forms throughout North America from Tunica on the Gulf Coast to Yana and Chimariko in Northern California.
- GRASS. 1: C: <quay> [kway] 'zacate'. Rafael Chowell, the collector of the list, states that he could hear no difference between this word and the one for 'horse'.
  - GRASS, 2: S: <awáčxol>..

GRINDSTONE: B: < hama > [Hama] 'meule'

TO GROW: Derived from SMALL. O: < kwáan, kwánnakwan, kwánakwan>

GUMS OF TEETH: C: <eclenemac > [eklenemák] 'encías'

GUN. 1: B: <quisoulp> [kisul?] 'fusil'; cf. WOOD, DEERSKIN. Probably a misunderstanding on Béranger's part.

GUN. 2: C: < chelacuy > [šelákuj] 'un fusile' (sic). Cf. METAL

GUN, 3 see PISTOL

GUNPOWDER R /ku/onmel/; B: <calmel> [kalmel] 'poudre à fusil', O: <kúunmil>; C: <con-mel> [konmél] 'polvoro'. An unusual amount of agreement about a term used to describe a post-Columbian item. Could [kon] be the same word as <cohon> 'sand' and the whole compound mean 'black sand, black earth'?

GUTS. 1: C:  $<\underline{t}$ aĉh> [taš] 'tripas'; <traĉh-sá> [taš-sá] 'azadura' (animal guts, chitterlings). The two terms differ clearly in their initial letters, though the first is not easy to read. One of these is probably a misrecording.

GUTS. 2: C: <coog> [ko'óg] 'varriga'. See BELLY. 2

HAIR R /ekwa - ekwe/: B: < equia aycouy > [ekia ekwi] 'les cheveux'; C: < equa > [ekwa] 'cabello', < ecun-eche > [ékun-éše] 'un solo pelo' (a single hair).

HAND. 1: C: <hooyo> [Ho'ójo] 'mano', cf.<? hooyo-am> [Ho'ójo-am] 'dedos de la mano' (fingers), <? hooymblé> [Ho'ójmblé> 'uñas' (fingernails), <ho-yal> [Ho-jál] 'palma de la mano' (palm of hand).

HAND. 2: O: <étsma> - see FINGER

HANDKERCHIEF: C: <lams-santle> [lams-sántle] 'pañuelo'. Second part unidentified; first part is CLOTHING. 2 HANDSOME, BEAUTIFUL, PRETTY R /...málV/; O: <hamála>; cf. C: <calee-malem> 'muger bonita' (pretty woman).

HAT. 1: C: <dalmac-cama> [dalmák-káma] 'sombrero'; <cama> occurs in other names of garments, while the first

element is derived from the stem for HEAD.

HAT. 2: B: <calama> [kalama] 'chapeau'. Possibly connected with the above.

HATCHET: O: <mačíta>. Loanword from Spanish machete.

TO HATE: O: < matákia >

HE (also SHE, IT, THIS, THAT): O: <tál, táll>. Probably a demonstrative rather than a true third-person pronoun.

HEAD. 1: B: <enoquea> [enokea], probably [en-okea] 'tête'

HEAD. 2: C: <daal> [da'ái] 'cabeza'; cf. <velóo-dulm> 'broad-faced' and <dalmac-cama> 'hat'.

HEALTHY: O: < klabán >

HEART: O: <láxhama - láhama>

HEAT: C: <? schoj> [? šox] 'calor'

HEEL: C: <ik-dota> [ik-dóta] 'talon'; cf. ANKLE

HERE:  $O: \langle nj\acute{a}, ni\acute{a} \rangle = THERE$ 

HIDE, SKIN: C:  $\langle \underline{d}ola-jay \rangle$  [dóla-xaj] 'cuero del cibolo' (buffalo hide) ( $\langle \underline{d}ola \rangle$  = 'buffalo')

TO HIT see TO STRIKE

HOE: C: < chelee-nagut > [? šelé'e-nagút] 'hazadón' (sic); cf. METAL

HORN. 1: B: <tequedolan> [tekëdolā] 'corne de boeuf'. For <teke> see BISON. 3; <dolon> also occurs in B: <dolonaquin> 'tooth' and possibly in B: <hamdolocq> 'feathers' - could it be a stem meaning 'protuberance'?

HORN. 2: C: <homo> [Hómo] 'cuerno'. Loanword? Cf. Comecrudo /jëmó/ and Cotoname /jómo/ 'horn'.

HORSE R /kuwáj/: T: <cauouaium> [? kawájű]; C: <cuay> [kwaj] 'caballo', also <cuay-nen> [kwaj-nen] 'yegua' (mare), <cuaanñam> [kwa'áñam] 'potrillo' (colt),

<cuaflekuen> [kwaflekwén] 'macho' (stallion); O: <kuwáji, kuwái>; S: <kwan, kwá> (kwán péka. 'white horse', <kwá má> 'black horse'; Grasmeyer has <Qwy> [kwaj]. A loanword from Spanish caballo, probably via Nahuatl cahuayo /kawájo/. T adds a note: 'Ce toutes les nations sauvages generalement l'appelle ainsy'; however, the word is not used in Tonkawa, Caddo or Atakapa (though it does occur in Caddo (Chafe n.d), and in Wichita /kawáarah/ - David Rood p.c.).

HOUSE. 1 R /káHa/: T: <cahum> [kaHœ] (Troike 1987: 294), <caham> [kaHã] (Swanton 1940: 126) 'cabane' (hut); C: <caha> [káHa] 'casa'. Rivet's derivation from Numic, cf. modern Comanche /kahnl/, is unlikely.

HOUSE. 2: O: <bá'ak>. Also BUILDING, CABIN. CAMP, HUT

HUNGRY: 0: <amél>, emphatic <améeel>

HURRY. 1: 0: <kóta, kotá>

HURRY. 2 R /xanké - xankí/; W: <xankéje>, S: <xankí>

TO HURT, INJURE: O: <kassičúwakn> (Gatschet spells it <kassidshúwakn> [kassi]úwakn], the only instance in the corpus of [j]). Derived from TO POUND, with unidentified suffix.

I, ME, MY, MINE R /na-/: O: <náji, ná'aji, ná-i, ná-î, n'>; S: <napé, napél>

INDIAN: C: <chuygnea> [šuyŋ ea] 'indio'; <chuygnea-calem> 'india' (Indian woman). Could this be the native tribal designation of the Karankawas?

IRON: C: < chelneday > [šelnedáj] 'fierro' [sic]. Another word derived from the common root for METAL

JUG: B: <cahan > [kahã] 'cruche' TO JUMP: O: <éM >

KARANKAWA?: Gursky 1963: 29 < carancagua > [karanká(g)wa] 'los que les gustan los perros' (those who like dogs), allegedly itself a Karankawa designation. If the translation is correct, it confirms Gatschet's guess in Gatschet (1891: 43-44/ 107-108) that the name <u>Karankawa</u> is from Comecrudo /klam/ 'dog' and /káwa/ 'to love'. Note T: < Clamcoëhs > 'Karankawa Indians'.

KETTLE: B: <couqujol> [kuküžol] 'chaudière', possibly <couquiol> [kukiol] 'chaudière'. Cognate with BOWL and FIREPOT.

TO KILL: O: <ahók - ahúk>

KNEE R /kla(h)s/: B: <en-clas> [en-klas] 'genou'; C: <clax> [klas - klaks] 'rodilla'.

KNIFE. 1: T: <bequecomb> [? bekëkõb - bekkõb] 'couteau'

KNIFE. 2 R /silV - šelV/; B: <cousila> [kusila] 'couteau'; C: <chela> [šéla] 'cuchillo'; O: <silekáji> 'knife'. Connected with the root for METAL, in this case perhaps influenced by Spanish <u>cuchillo</u> 'knife' - metal tools, including knives, were favoured trade items in the area as they were superior in strength and speed to local stone, obsidian and bone technology.

TO KNOW. 1: 0: <kwás - kwáss> TO KNOW. 2: S: <kúmna>. Less common than the above word, according to Mrs Oliver.

LARGE-NOSED: C: <Ióo-dulm> [Ió'o-dulm] 'narizon'; see NOSE. Possibly <dulm> is connected with <daal> 'head'

LARK: B: <coutsen> [kutsē] 'alouette'; cf. BIRD

TO LAUGH: 0: <káita - katá>

LEG. 1: B: <em-anpocq> [emãpok/ ãpox] 'jambe'

LEG. 2: C: <schemi > [šémi] 'pierna'

LEG. 3: C: <del> [del] 'toda la pierna'. See THIGH

LET US GO! (Allons!); W: <wana> = COME HERE.

TO LIE DOWN: O: <wúak> LIGHT: C: <est-day> [est-daj] 'la luz'.

LIP: C: <aggmach> [agmáš] 'labio'; cf. MOUTH

LITTLE, SMALL, YOUNG OF AN ANIMAL. 1 R /kwan - kwaan/; B: <ca ay couan> [ka aj k(u)wã] 'pistolet' (pistol - small bow); C: <cali-cuan> 'muchacha' (small woman),

<chool-cuain> 'becerro' (calf - small bull). O: <kwán, kwáan> 'small'; see also TO GROW. Gatschet rather unconvincingly derives this word from <káhawan> 'to make'.

LITTLE. 2: S: <níktam> in <úši níktam> 'boy, youngster, little man'

LONG AGO: S: <upáat>, emphatic <upáaat>

TO LOVE. 1: 0: <ka>

TO LOVE. 2: C: <qüachel> [kwašél] 'querer' ('to love' or 'to want'), <mi-qüachals> [mi-kwašáls] 'no te quiero'. Possibly cognate with FIRE. 2? Metaphorical origins of terms for 'love' are not unknown in Native American languages; Pitkin 1985 attests to 'love' in Wintu (Northern California) being derived from verb meaning 'to spin, revolve, whir'.

MAIZE, INDIAN CORN R /kwejam - kwajam/; B: <couejam> [kuežā] 'biscuit', O: <kwiáM> 'corn', <kwiamója> 'bread'; C: <cuayam> [kwajám] 'maíz', <cuama-maya> [kwáma-mája] 'pan', <cuam-pá> [kwampá] 'tortilla'.

TO MAKE: 0: <káhawan - ká'awan> 'to make, manufacture'. See also TO DO.

MAN. 1: T: <techoyou> [tëšóju], cf. BRAVE

MAN. 2 R /aha... ??/; B: <ahax - alax > [aHa(k)s - ala(k)s] 'homme' (= vir). If <ahax > is correct reading, then perhaps related to O: <ahájika > 'friend'.

MAN. 3: 0: <jámawe>. Possibly a loanword from Cotoname /jómo/ 'horn, man' (metaphorical pars pro toto!)

MAN. 4: C: <saylá> [sajlá] 'hombre' (= vir).

MAN. 5: S: <úši>, in <úši níktam> 'youngster, little man'. Can all these be words for 'man'? It is possible that some of these are personal names, misinterpreted as words for 'man'.

TO MARRY: O: <mawida>. From Spanish <u>marido</u> 'husband'; 'to marry' is <u>casarse</u>. MAST: B: <enguesoul> [engësul] 'mât'. Cf. WOOD.

MAT: B: <didaham> [didaHa] 'natte (tapis)'

MEAT: C: <techi> [téši] 'carne'. See BISON. 1

METAL R /šel..., sile.../; T: <techheillé> [? tëšéjlje] 'sabre'. B: <cousila> [kusila] 'couteau, dard, fouène, harpon' (knife, dart, harpoon, pick-axe). <cousilam> [kusilā] 'verre' (glass), <cousilea> [kusîlea - kusîlja] 'herminette' (adze), <quesila-conan> [kësila-konā] 'assiette d'étain' (tin plate); C: <ĉhela> [šéla] 'cuchillo' (knife), <ĉhelacuy> [šelákuj] 'fusile' (sic; rifle), <ĉheledanic/ ĉheledame> [šeledaník / šeledáme] 'plata' (silver), <ĉhelneday> [šelnedáj] 'fierro' [sic] (iron), <ĉhelee-cheman ?> [šelé'e-šéman] 'oro' (gold), <ĉhelee-nagut> [šelé'e-nagút] 'hazadón' [sic] (pickaxe). O: <silekáji> 'knife'. The variation in the root /šel - sil/ is probably dialectal. The B forms seem to be influenced by Spanish cuchillo 'knife'. Maybe the second half of the word for TO SEW is connected.

MILK. 1: 0: <tesnakwája>. Cf. BISON. 1

MILK. 2: C: <? schimuaim> [šimuáim] 'leche'

MOLASSES: O: <téskaus gllé'i> = SWEET WATER; see SUGAR, WATER

MOON. 1: B: <a-ouil> [a-wil] 'lune'. Perhaps cognate with second half of <dó'owal>, O's word for SUN

MOON. 2: C: <tayk> [tajk] 'luna'.

MOSQUITO: O: <gă, gáx>

MOTHER: O: <këninma, kaninma>. Meaning 'with breasts'? cf. BREAST. 1. A noa word, that is, a cover for a taboo term.

MOUNTAIN: C: <? euajadan> [ewaxádan] 'montaña'. This word is difficult to read in the manuscript. Possibly <cuajadan> [kwaxádan] or <enajadan> [enaxádan], or a form ending in <-au> [-aw]?

MOUTH R /akw..., ag.../: <emi aqouy > [emi-akwe] 'bouche'; C: <agg > [ag] 'boca'. Cf. LIP.

MUCH: O: <wól, wóll, wál, wál>. Also means MANY, POWERFUL. MUSCLE: C: <eel> [e'él] 'muzlo' [sic]. See SHOULDER. 2?

MUSIC: 0: <jóota>

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT?: A woodwind instrument called <avacasele> is mentioned by Morfi (in Schaedel 1949) as being played at sacred dances. If the word has been read correctly in the manuscript, and if it is indeed a Karankawa word, there is some resemblance between <casele> and the word for WOOD.

MUSKET BALL: B: <quechila-demoux > [këšila-dëmu] 'balle de mousquet'. Literally METAL + ARROW. An acculturation term.

NAILS (FINGER): C: <hooymblé> [Ho'ojmble] 'uñas'. See HAND. 2

NAVEL: C: <ay> [aj] 'ombligo'.

NECK R /sebe - sebi.../: B: <em-cebecq> [em-sëbek] 'cou'; C: <sebillool> [sebiljo'ol] 'pezquezo' (for 'pescuezo')

NEEDLE. 1: B: <? besehena> or <beschena> [bëšëHena, bëšéna] 'épingle' (pin). Swanton 1940: 125 reads <bescheba> [beseseba] for the word as written in the manuscript used by Villiers du Terrage and Rivet (1919), Cf. B: <beschehana> 'tatouages' (tattoo marks).

NEEDLE. 2: O: <aguija>. Loanword from Spanish <u>aguja</u> [agúxa], often [áwha] in Mexican Spanish. But maybe from French <u>aiguille</u> [egüij].

NINE: O: <háikia dóatn>. Literally TWO + DEER. An example of subtractive reckoning? Atakapa has terms meaning 'hands without two' and 'hands without one' for EIGHT and NINE.

NO, NOT R /k(w)om - k(w)oM/; O: <kúM, kóM, kóoM>; S: <kwóom, kwó'om>. Precedes the verb.

NOSE R /lóo - lúu/; B: <em-ay alouacq> [emi-aluak] 'nez'; C: <lóo> [ló'o] 'nariz', note also <meklóo> 'frente', <velóo-dulm> 'frentón'. See also middle segment of PIG. 2.

NOW: O: <ašáhak> 'now, at present'.

OAK APPLE: B: <aixquitoula> [e(k)skitula] 'pomme de chêne'.

ONE: O: <náatsa>, also occurring in FIVE and SEVEN.

OYSTER: O: <dă>

PADDLE (FOR PIROGUE): B: <em-louajem> [em-luaže] 'pagaie'.

PALATE: C: <elcon> [élkon] 'paladar'

PALM OF HAND: C: <ho-yal> [Ho-jál] 'palma de la mano'. See HAND. 1.

PAPER: B: <imetes acouam> [imëtes akwã] 'papier'. <ime> is probably a personal prefix. Is <te> connected with BISON. 1 in the sense of 'buffalo hide' (Caddo /núšt'uh/ 'paper' meant 'hide, skin' earlier last century, cf. Taylor 1963: 52). Perhaps <acouam> is connected with O: <kwá, gwá> 'to read'.

TO PASS FROM ONE SIDE TO THE OTHER R /lon/: B: <lon> [lõ] 'passer d'une côté à l'autre'; Gursky 1963: 30 <lon> 'pasar de un lado al otro'.

PEACE: C: <biase> [biáse] 'paz'.

PELICAN: B: <aucmane> [okman] 'grand gosier, pélican'

PENIS R /bax/: B: <emibacq> [emibak] 'organes génitaux masculins'. C: <baj> 'miembro biril' (sic). John McLaughlin notes a Numic resemblant in Panamint /pakan/, morphophonemically [payan] 'arrow, penis'.

PIG. 1: O: <madóna>

- PIG. 2: C: <tech-lo-disa> [teš-lo-dísa] 'puerco', cf. BISON. 1, and NOSE (or maybe STOMACH. 2). Possibly 'bison with a broad snout'. SOW: <tech-lo-nem> (for <-nen>); not glossed by C..
- PIG. 3: T: <quez calbasses> [kez kalbasës] supposed to mean 'dog of the French'.

PIG. 4: W: <tapšewá> 'hog'.

PIMENTO: B: <quesesmaille> [kesesmajl] 'piment' (the Ayer manuscript has this as reading 'pennache' i.e. pinnace, small boat)

PISTOL: B: <ca ay couan>. [ka'aj kwã] 'pistolet'. Literally 'small bow'.

PLACE ?: This relates to a pseudo-Karankawa form. Gursky 1963: 32 <tampacuas > [tampákwas] 'lugar de los pintos o tatuados', <tam > = 'lugar' (place), which is identified as being Karankawa. This is recorded as the name of a tribe. But Salinas 1990: 63 correctly claims that this form is Comecrudo: see Swanton 1940: 85 pakahuái, pakawái 'to write, tattoo'. However, despite the origin of the term, Salinas (op. cit: 146) claims that the Tampacuas did not speak Comecrudo.

PLAICE: B: <ampaje> [ãpaž] 'plaise'

PLATE: B: <quesila-conan > [kësila-konã] 'assiette d'étain' (big metal?).

PLOVER: B: <cebé> [sëbé] 'pluvier'

POTATO: O: <jáM>. Probably originally referred to a native tuber, but hardly English 'yam' or Spanish <u>ñame</u>. Also in <já ämhätn> purportedly meaning 'cornflour'. John McLaughlin suggests a parallel in Shoshone /jampa/ 'generic tuber'.

TO POUND, CRUSH: O: <kássig>. See also HURT, INJURE.

PRIEST: The eighteenth-century observer Fray Morfi (cited in Schaedel 1949) records the term < coma > [koma] to refer to priests of native religion.

TO PUSH: O: <dán>

RAIN R /wiis/, maybe /wi'is/: C: <güis> 'llovia' [sic]; O: <wiasn>

TO READ: 0: <gwá, kwá>. The meaning is certainly post-Columbian. Possibly with original meaning 'to look at'?

RED: O: <tamójika>

RIBS: C: < guen > [gen] 'costillas'.

ROCK, STONE: C: <cay> [kaj] 'piedra'.

TO RUN: O: <tólos, tólus>. See also words for HURRY

SABRE, SWORD: T: <techheillé> [tešélje] 'sabre'. Connected with METAL.

SADDLE: C: <toyaiene > [tojajéne] 'silla ó asiento' (seat or saddle).

SAIL: B: <em-lams> [em-lams? e-las?] 'voile'. See CLOTH. 2

SALT. 1: B: <quetache > [këtaš] 'sel'

SALT. 2: Cf. <dem> [dē] in T: <comcomdem> 'sea, ocean, literally: saltwater'. Note Cotoname /da'ën/ 'salt'. <comcom> may have an Atakapa etymology, but <dem> does not.

SAND: B: <cohon> [koHō - kwō] 'sable'. See EARTH, GUNPOWDER.

TO SAY: 0: <káupn>.

SEA. 1: T: <comcomdem> [kõkõdē] 'la mer. cest a dire Eau salée' (sic); derived from WATER. 1

SEA. 2: C: <tacui > [tákwi] 'el mar'

SEA. 3 see WATER. 1

TO SEE. 1: 0: <čá, čé>. See also ABOUT TO. TO SEE. 2: C: <om> [om] 'ver'.

SEVEN: O: <háikia náatsa> Contains roots of TWO and ONE.

TO SEW: B: <tecsilea> (teksilea) 'coudre'. Perhaps connected with <tequedolan> 'horn' and maybe the root /sil/ 'metal'?

SHIRT: C: <chacama> [šakáma] 'camisa'; O: <gusgáma> 'shirt'. Both forms are partly identical, containing /káma/ CLOTHING. 2. O also contains <gua> from <kwiss>, see CLOTHING. 1

SHOE R /kamepVI/: B: <cameplan > [kamepla] 'soulier'; C: <camepel > [kamepél] 'zapato'. Possibly connected with CLOTHING. 3. Maybe an unidentified loanword; the Karankawa were known to the Tonkawa as

/kapay-yakokxon/ 'the people without moccasins'.

TO SHOOT: O: <óodn - úudn>

SHOULDER. 1: B: <em-sehota> [em-sëHota] 'épaule'. Connected with and probably identical to <sechotan> [sëšotã], or to <sehotam> [sëhotã] 'forearm'.

SHOULDER. 2: C: <eel-em> [e'él-em] 'hombro'.

SICK. 1: B: <a-eas, a-las> - as read by previous scholars, but perhaps <? a-cas> [ajás. alás, akás] 'malade'. The manuscript reading is unclear.

SICK. 2: O: <kwáčo, kwátsu>. Related to <kwáči>? See FIRE. 2

SILVER: C: < cheledame / cheledanic > . [šeledame / šeledaník] 'plata'. See METAL.

TO SIT R /hákV/; O: <hákus, hákës>; W: <háka>.

TO SIT DOWN: W: <čakwamé> 'sit down!'. Perhaps related to above, with prefix /č-/?

SIX: O: <hájo háikia>. Contains words for FOUR (in part) and TWO.

TO SLEEP. 1: B: < neianana > [nejanána] 'dormir'

TO SLEEP. 2: O:  $\langle \hat{I}M \rangle$  /fiM/. The only occurrence of  $\langle \hat{I} \rangle$  in the records.

SMOKE: O: <áanawa, ánawan>. Speaker unsure of this form.

SNAKE, SERPENT: O: <aúd>

SOLE OF FOOT see FOOT. 3 SOON see AFTER A WHILE

SOW see PIG. 3

SPANIARD see EARTH

TO SPEAK. 1: C: <aal> [a'ál] 'hablar'

TO SPEAK. 2: S: <gaxiamétët> in <upáat

gaxiamétët > 'long ago I used to speak'. This is unlikely to be Karankawa, but neither is it Tonkawa.

TO SPEAK. 3: S: < napé-nai pátsim > 'I speak, tell, converse'.

STAG: T: <tecomandotsen> [tëkomãdotsē] 'cerf ou chevreuil'. See DEER and BISON, 3

TO STAND: O: <jétso>. John McLaughlin compares Comanche /jici/ 'to fly', Panamint /jici/ 'to launch'.

STAR: C: <caguan> [ká(g)wan] 'estrella'

STOMACH. 1: B: <alouo, alouc> (a-luo, a-luk) 'ventre, estomac' = BELLY

STOMACH. 2: C: <enausa> [enáusa] 'estomago'.

TO STRIKE: 0: <gá'an>

STRONG see MUCH

TO SUCK: O: <énno>

SUGAR, SWEET: O: <téskaus>. See MOLASSES.

SUN. 1 R /klos - klon/: T: <colone, colonee [sic]> [kolon, kolone] 'soleil'; B: <clos> [klos] 'soleil'; C: <clon> [klon] 'sol'.

SUN. 2 ? R /...owVI/: O: <dó'owal>. Possibly second part is the root found in MOON in Béranger, rather than the word for 'much' or 'strong'. Many Native North American languages, for example Algonquian languages, use the same word for 'sun' and 'moon'.

TO SWIM: 0: <nótawa>

TAR: B: <couja> [kuža] 'goudron'

TATTOOINGS. 1: B: <bachénana> [bašenana] 'tatouages par piqûre'; cf. NEEDLE.

TATTOOINGS. 2: Gursky 1963: 32 lists < tampacuas > [tampákwas] 'lugar de los pintos o tatuados' (place of the painted or tattooed people) and < pacaguá > [paka(g)wá] as 'tatuado'. Tattooing was widespread among Texan tribes,

including the Karankawa; it is believed that the Talon brothers were tattooed during their captivity, and Gatschet mentions that Sallie Washington bore faint lines on her face which were relics of tattooing during her time with the Karankawas, although the designs had long since worn away. The tribes of Southern Texas were often referred to, e.g. by Swanton, as Pakawan or Paikawan.

#### TO TEAR see TO BREAK

TEN: O: <dóotn hábe>. The first element seems to be DEER; the second is unidentified and otherwise unattested. It should be noted that animal names occur in the numeral systems of nearby languages, such as Atakapa ('hog') and Chitimacha ('rabbit'), where the terms are used in expressing 'hundred'. The Chitimacha term for 'rabbit, hundred' (/puup/) has in turn been borrowed as a loanword meaning 'hundred' into Natchez, where it is of course semantically opaque.

TESTICLES: C: <en> [en] '(t)esticulos'

THERE: O: <njá, niá>, also HERE.

THIGH R /...dal - del/: B: <em-edal> [em-ëdal] 'cuisse'; cf. semantic extension in C: <del> [del] 'toda la pierna' (the whole leg).

THREE: O: <kaxáji>

TIN see PLATE

TIRED: 0: <kwa'al - kwal>

TOBACCO. 1 R /káhe/: T: <Cahé> [kaHé] 'tabac' (Swanton 1940: 126 reads <caké>), B: <a-caham> [a-kaHã] 'tabac', S: <káhe>, also <ka> in <ka swénas> 'cigarette'; C: <caje> [káxe] 'tobaco' (sic), also in <caje-tible> [káxe tíble] 'cigar'.

TOBACCO, 2: 0: <dé>

TOES see FOOT. 2

TONGUE R /len, leen/: B: <aleane > [aleán] 'langue'; C: <!en > [len] 'lengua'.

TONKAWA: S: <čankája>. Loanword from Spanish Tancahue? The Tonkawas' self-designation is different

/tickanwaatic/ 'genuine people' and unrelated.

TOOTH. 1 R /ej/: C: <?eg, ey> [eg, ej] 'diente'; O: <é>; also in <é tesselénia> 'toothbrush' (see BRUSH)

TOOTH. 2: B: <dolonaquin> [dolonake] 'dent'. First part cognate with second half of <tequedolan> COW HORN and maybe FEATHERS.2. Original meaning 'protuberance'?

## TORTILLA see BREAD

TO TOUCH: O: <čáutawal>. Gatschet thinks this is a compound <čauta + wal> (second part meaning MUCH?).

TREE. 1: C: <etsquequi> [etskéki] 'arbol'

TREE. 2: 0: <akwini>

TROUSERS: C: <? tenna-cama. [ténnakáma] 'pantalon'. Second part is widely-attested word for clothing.

TURKEY: C: <sam> [sam] 'keisolote' [sic, for Mexican Spanish guajolote], <sam-nen> [sam-nen] indicates 'female turkey, turkeyhen'.

TURTLE. 1: C: < chaube > [šáube] 'tortuga' (turtle, tortoise).

TURTLE. 2: O: <háitnlokn> 'large green turtle' (an important source of food). Possibly a misunderstanding on O's part for a phrase meaning 'catch turtles' - the second half resembles Tonkawa /'óoxoloko/ 'turtle'.

TWO: O: <háikia>. Also in SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT, NINE and possibly FOUR.

UGLY WOMAN: C: <calee-bat> (kalé'e-bat) 'muger fea'; first half means WOMAN

TO UNDERSTAND see TO KNOW. 2

UTERUS, WOMB: C: < cuape > [kwápe] 'el útero'

VEINS: C: <? acuynu> [akújnu] 'venas'.

VERMILION: B: <cadum> [kad@] 'vermillon'. An important trade article in the region.

VIRGIN: C: <tetscuem-calí> [tetskwém-kalí] 'virgen'. Apparently or religious significance (occurring as it does between words for 'God' and 'Church'). Hardly from Spanish; just possibly connected with A BRAVE, in the sense of 'woman of chiefly or heroic rank' as the Blessed Virgin Mary may have been perceived by Karankawa neophytes. The second part is the word for WOMAN.

TO WALK. 1: B: <shacq> or <sotacq> [? s-hak] or [soták] 'marcher'

TO WALK. 2: 0:  $\langle ie \rangle = TO GO$ .

WALL: B: <enguesoul> [engësul] 'mûr'. Thus misread by some, notably Swanton 1940: 127; the reading and meaning <u>mât</u> being more likely. <u>Mûr</u> is not 'wall', which is mur (< Latin <u>mūrus</u>), but 'mature, ripe' (< Latin <u>matūrus</u>).

TO WANT. 1: O: <tá>. Also CAN

TO WANT, 2 see TO LOVE, 2

WAR: C: <? maĉhé, ?? traĉhé> [mašé, trašé] 'guerra'.

WATER. 1 R /klej/; B: <clay> [klej] 'eau'; C: <clé>'el agua'; O: <gllé'i [sic], glé'>, also meaning 'sea, ocean, open waters'; also <téskaus gllé'> 'molasses', see SUGAR.

WATER. 2: T: <comcom> [kõkõ], 'eau', also <comcomdem> [kõkõdē] 'la mer'. This latter is a loanword from Atakapa, cf At. /káukau/ 'water', also Akokisa (far Western Atakapa) <cocaue> [koko] 'eau' (recorded by Béranger) and Caddo /kúuku'/ 'water' (Chafe n.d.), a loanword into Caddo which has been in use since at least the late seventeenth century: Talon records <coco> as the Caddo word for 'water' (other Caddoan languages using a stem \*/kiits-/). See Troike 1964 for details.

WATERHEN: B: <ouapa> [wapa] 'poule d'eau' TO WEEP: O: <owija>. Gatschet thinks this was probably onomatopoeic.

WHERE (INTERROGATIVE ADVERB): O: <mudá>. Postpositional, thus <kíss mudá> 'where is the dog?'

TO WHISTLE: O: <áksool>

WHITE: S: < péka >

#### WIDE see BIG

- WIND. 1: O: <bar>
   <br/>
   Gatschet, a verb 'it blows'. WIND. 2: B: <eta> [eta] 'le vent'
- WOLF: C: <badolú, badolú-nen> [badolú, -nen] 'lobo' (the form <badolú-nen> meaning she-wolf is not given a Spanish gloss). Apparently T: <quez>. B: <queche> 'chien' (dog) was also used for 'loup' (wolf).
- WOMAN. 1: T: <achade, ? achadée > [ašad, ašade] 'femme'
- WOMAN. 2 ? R /kad/IV/; C: <calí, calee-> [kalí, kalé'e> 'muger' [sic], also in VIRGIN, GIRL, PRETTY WOMAN, UGLY WOMAM. Maybe O: <káada> 'girl' is in some way connected.
- WOOD. 1: B: <quesoul> [kësul] 'bois' (substance), also in MAST, DEERSKIN, RIFLE)
- WOOD. 2: T: <cohal> [koHal, ? kwal] 'bois' , See BOARD?.
- TO WORK: O: <takina>. Apparently a loan from Nahuatl tequipanoa /tekipánoa/ 'to work'; many US Indian languages have loanwords for the concept 'work', usually from Spanish trabajar, occasionally from arar 'to plough', though the Nahuatl word occurs in Yaqui (Eloise Jelinek, personal communication, 1991).
- YES: O: <ië'ë, ihie'A, hié'ë, hi'iä, híë'A>. Interjection. Note also the chant at the religious festival where yaupon tea was consumed, as described by Mrs Oliver in Gatschet (1891:16/82): <Há'i-jah, há'i-jah [lento]; hai [forte], hái-jah, hái-jah, hái-jah [alto e basso, crescendo e diminuendo], hái! [fortissimo]>. YESTERDAY: O: <tuwámka>
- YOU, YOUR(S), THOU, THY, THINE. 1: O: <áawa. áwa>
- YOU. 2 ? R /VmV/; O: <m> in: <m' čá áwa?> 'how do you do?' (literally: how do you see yourself?). The parallel forms /n-/ and /m-/ for first and second person singular pronouns are widely attested in Native American languages. It is possible that the <em- emi- en-> prefix attached to a number of nouns in Béranger's vocabulary is a second person

singular possessive prefix.

YOUNGSTER see BOY. 2

# Karankawa Texts and Sentences

Below are the attested utterances - the phrases, sentences and texts - of Karankawa, mostly collected by A. S. Gatschet. Each line is followed by a gloss of the Karankawa words, indicating their relative place in the English glosses of the vocabulary. No attempt has been made to impose Standard Average European grammatical interpretations on these textlets. The English translation, as given by Gatschet, is then added. Page numbers are given, coded to both sets of page numbers in Gatschet 1891.

In the case of the few stray forms not given by Gatschet, the original translation of the Karankawa, in the matrix language, French or Spanish, is given, and this is followed by an English translation of the sentence in the matrix language.

# **Texts**

These are not original Karankawa compositions, but translations of English nursery rhymes.

1)

Gatschet 1891: 81/145: (the original orthography has been preserved; many words in this rhyme would normally have long vowels).

< Nátsa kwáan kódn hákus akwiní Tál áksol, tál áksol, ná čá Nátsa kwáan glóëssën gás, gá'i dëmo'u 'N' čápn ódn áwa, hamála kwáan kódn!'>

The original English version runs thus:

'Little cock-sparrow sat up in a tree, he whistles, he whistles and thus whistles he; a little boy came with his bow and his arrow, and said; 'I will shoot you, poor little cock-sparrow!' < Nátsa kwáan kódn hákus akwiní [One small bird sit tree]

Tál áksol, tál áksol, tál áksol, ná čá [He whistle he whistle he whistle l see]

Nátsa kwáan glóëssën gás, gá'i dëmo'u [One small boy come bow arrow]

'N' čápn ódn áwa, hamála kwáan kódn!'> [l intend shoot you pretty little bird]

2)

This fragmentary rhyme occurs on the same page as the above. It is a variant of 'Cry Baby Bunting', as Gatschet observed.

< Ăhămmiš glós'n, kóM owíya, áwa béhema gás mëssús.>

According to Gatschet, the original runs: 'Rockaby baby bunting, your father's gone a-hunting;' mother's gone to get the skin, to wrap the baby bunting in.'

< AhÁmmiš glós'n, kóM owíya, [Hush boy, not weep]

áwa béhema gás mëssús. [You father come soon]

# Sentences and Phrases.

These are taken sequentially from Gatschet 1891, in their order of first occurrence.

From Alice Williams Oliver:

[65/ 129]

<ne báwus kawá'i, ná'i dó'atn ahúk> [I give horse, I deer kill] 'Let me have the horse; I have killed a deer'

<Karánkawa kóM tá takína> [Karankawa not want work] 'The Karankawas do not like to work'

# [73/ 137]

<gaí a dëmóa ná'i>
[bow and arrow I]
'The bow and arrow are mine'

<gaí a dëmóa áwa> [bow and arrow you] 'The bow and arrow are yours'

<kóM ahájika> [not friend] 'enemy; not friend'

<ná'i jé dó'atn ahók mësús> [I go deer kill soon] 'I am starting soon to kill deer'

<kóM aknámus> [not eat] 'not eatable, or, do not eat'

# [74/ 138]

<ná'i amóak akwiní> [I fall tree] 'I fell from the tree'

<ná'i amél, ta kwiamója aknámus> [I hungry want bread eat] 'I am hungry, I want to eat bread'

<káada amóak, káada owíja> [girl fall girl weep] The girl fell and wept'

háłba mušawáta takína, ašáhak kwá'al > [chief always work now tired] 'the chief has worked continuously; now he is tired (and) wants to sleep'

<ná'i áwa báwuus> [l you give] 'l give you'

<Captain Jim áwa kosáta>
[Captain Jim you make]
'Captain Jim made it for you'

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<áwa kanínma>
      [your mother]
      'thy mother'
      <wól bá>
      [much wind]
      'strong wind'
      <gás bá'ak>
      [come house]
      'to return home'
      <br/>bákta budáma wál>
      [day gone much]
      'day long past'
      <ni báwuus tesnakwája>
      [I give milk]
      'give me milk'
      <ná'i áwa kwiamója bawúus>
      [I you bread give]
      'I give you bread'
      <hálba budáma, gás mēssus bá'ak>
      [chief gone, come soon house]
      'the chief has gone, he will return soon'
      <glósEn káada dán>
     [boy girl push]
      'the boy pushed the girl'
      <gás, glósEn!>
     [come boy]
     'come, boy!'
[75/ 139]
      <ná'i glósEn kwátso>
     [I boy ill]
      'my boy is sick'
      <téskaus gllé'i>
     [sweet water]
     'molasses'
     [ = 'sweet water']
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<ná'i kóta kuwaí háitn> [I hurry horse catch] 'I ran to catch the horse' <ná'i béhëma háitn> [I father catch] '(go and) catch up with my father!' <káada hákës bá'ak> [girl sit home] 'the girl sits in the house' <tál akwiní hamála> [that tree pretty] 'this tree is pretty' <táîM> [want sleep] 'he wants to sleep' <ná'i jé medáu ódn> [l go duck shoot] 'I am going to shoot ducks' <ná'i jé dóotn ahók> [I go deer kill] 'I am going to kill deer' <ná'i jé wól> [I go much] 'I walked considerably' <ná'i áwa ka> [I you love] 'I love you' <gás, káada!> [come girl] 'come, girl!' [76/ 140] <ná'i dëmóa káhawan> [l arrow make] 'I make arrows'

<kwannakwan akwini?>
[grow tree]
'do they grow on a tree?/ on trees?'

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<kaupn ná'i béhëma gás bá'ak>
[say ! father come house]
'tell my father to return home'

<ná'i kanínma béhëma tá káupn>
[I mother father want talk]
'my mother wants to speak to the father'

<awa kAninma klabán?> [you mother healthy] 'is your mother well?'

<ná't kwáči kosáta měssús> [I fire do soon] 'I shall soon build a fire'

<ná'i kotá bá'ak> [I hurry house] 'I am hurrying home'

áwa kwá'al! hákës! > [you tired sit] 'you are tired! sit down!'£

<gáta kwán> [cat small] 'kitten'

<ná'i kúM kwás> [I not know] 'I do not know'

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<awa kwatsu> [you ill] 'are you sick?'

# [77/141]

<głósEn aknámus kwiamója> [boy eat bread] 'the boy is eating bread' <ná'i áwa matákia> [I you hate] 'I hate you' <kíss mudá? áwan mudá?> [dog where boat where] 'where (is) the dog? where is the boat?' <n' čé áwa> [I see you] 'I see you' <në bawúus kwáči> [I give fire] 'give me fire!' <ná'i béxma> [I father] 'my father' <ná'i gai> [l bow] 'my bow' <ná'i glós**E**n> [| boy] 'my boy' <kíss nótawa> [dog swim] 'the dog is swimming' <kíss niá> [dog there] 'the dog (is) there' < wál niá> [much there] 'far off'

<ná'i čá awán njá> [I see boat there] 'I see a boat over there'

<ódn dëmóa>
[shoot arrow]
'to shoot arrows'

<madóna aknámus plá> [pig eat good] 'a pig is good to eat'

## [78/ 142]

<gás! ná'i áwa tá!> [come I you want] 'come! I want you'

<koM tá takína> [not want work] 'he does not want to work'

< glósEn ém tá wól>
{boy want jump much}
'the boy wants to jump to a distance' (or 'far out')

<glósEn tá téskaus gllé'i>
[boy want sweet water]
'the boy wants molasses'

<ná'i tá hákës> {| want sit] 'I want to sit down'

<ná'i ténno Walúpe> {I also Guadalupe} 'myself and Guadalupe'

< glósEn aknámus ténno >
[boy eat also]
'the boy eats (of it) also'

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<ná'i aknámus kwiamója téskaus glié'i>
[I eat bread sweet water]
'I am eating bread with molasses'
<Col. Robinson téts'oa ahúk>
[Colonel Robinson cow kill]
'Col. Robinson has killed a cow'
<né báwuus kwáči! tólus! tólus!>
[I give fire run run]
'give me fire! run! run!'
<n' čá áwa>
[I see you]
'I see you'
<ná'i áwan čá>
[I boat see]
'I see/ perceive a boat'
<m' čá áwa?>
[you see you]
'How do you do?' (literally 'how do you find yourself?')
<n' čápn áwa ódn>
[I intend you shoot]
'I will shoot you'
<aM čutá>
[fish dangerous]
'octopus' (= dangerous fish)
<kóM aknámus tál aM; čúta>
[not eat that fish dangerous]
'this fish (is) not eaten; (it is) bad'
<wal glléi>
[much water]
'much water'
<éM wól>
[jump much]
'to jump to a (great) distance, to take a long leap'
<wál niá>
[much here]
'far off, way yonder'
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<ná'i jé wol>
      [I go much]
      'I walked a good deal'
      <ná'i béhëma wúak, tá îM>
      [I father lie down want sleep]
      'my father lay down to sleep'
Material from Old Simon (Gatschet 1891: 79/143)
      <gaxiamëtét upáat>
      [? speak long ago]
      'long ago I used to speak [Karankawa??]'
      <kwá má>
      [horse black]
      'black horse'
      <kwán péka>
      [horse white]
      'white horse'
      < xankí, níktam! >
      [hurry young]
      'come quick, boy!'
      < napé-nai pátsim >
      [I speak]
      'I speak, tell'
      <napé-nai naxerúaxa pára>
      [I ? angry ? very]
      'I am very angry'
      <úši níktam>
      [? man young]
      'youngster, little man'
[80/ 144]
From Sallie Washington:
      <ká'as wána!>
      [come let-us-go]
      'come here!'
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#### From Rafael Chowell

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<hachi cooche>
'vamos a joder'
'let's copulate'

<mi-quachals>
'no te quiero'
'l don't like you'
(<mi-> + 'te'? <quachel> + 'querer').
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# A Note on Karankawa Personal Names

By the time that Mrs Oliver observed the remnants of the Karankawas, in the 1840s, they had adopted Spanish or English personal names, for instance José Maria, Antonio, Walúpe (= Guadalupe), Lettie, or Captain Jim, and it is understood that they changed these names frequently to suit their own tastes; it is possible that a mortuary taboo existed concerning the names of the dead, as it did with the Tonkawas (Goddard 1979: 363), but we do not know for certain. The only Karankawa-language personal name which Mrs Oliver learend of was Kwáči, a male name which may mean 'fire'.

However, some earlier Karankawa names have come down to us from ther mission records of Nuestra Señora del Refugio and San Antonio de Valera, which were operative in the late eighteenth century, and these are cited with glosses in Johnson and Campbell (1992: 201); I mention them here for the sake of completeness of the Karankawa corpus. Thus we have the female name Equivec with a meaning 'arranged hair', and a male name Delencavan, which may be related to the root for 'tooth' (?? bright teeth, filed teeth). Some names belonging to the Coco, who spoke Karankawa, are also listed; these are the female name Cacatemelo 'dark woman', Eganandan 'short haired, bald', and Elencon 'eater of earth', the two latter names being male. These names serve to confirm the identity of certain Karankawa morphemes.

# Guy M. Bryan's Karankawa Vocabulary.

Early in the course of my correspondence with David J. Costa of the University of California at Berkeley, I mentioned my work on Karankawa and other languages of the Gulf Coast, and received from him some photocopied pages from the manuscript catalogue of the National Anthropological Archives,

Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, mostly relating to Karankawa. In this listing I discovered a source which had heretofore gone unmentioned in accounts of Karankawa linguistic materials, and I wrote to the NAA to obtain a copy.

The work listed was NAA MS 4944, a Karankawa vocabulary collected by Dr. J. O. Dyer of Galveston from Guy M. Bryan, 'an old patient', presumably during the first few decades of this century; it was suspected that most of the words were Spanish. I have no supplementary information on Mr Bryan or on where he might have learned his Karankawa.

On 23 August 1991, too late for the inclusion of the material in the body of the Karankawa vocabulary in my thesis, I received copies of Dr Dyer's notes with Swanton's annotations. I reproduce the substance of the material in this appendix, as its authentricity as genuine Karankawa is dubious. The copies themselves consist of two sheets of paper: on the first is a reproduction of the typed card of Karankawa words, with xeroxes of two pages appended; these two pages list a number of Coahuilteco words glossed into English. The other sheet has xerox photocopies of two other sheets of paper, one with Tonkawa words on it and the other has written on it a dozen random Karankawa words supplied with English glosses; these words are mainly taken from Gatschet 1891, with a few from Béranger or Talon: there is no new material here, and the words selected do not correspond to those on the typed card. The text of the typed card reads as follows:

'Words recorded by Dr. J. O. Dyer of Galveston, Texas,/ from Guy M. Bryan, 'an old patient', and perhaps Karankawa:/ He thinks most of them really Spanish:

aha, water mego, friend (amigo) cawa, horse (caballo) mal, death pawdo, lost tato, farewell muha, great

Caddo words noted by Dr. Dyer:

assi, leaves bak, meat maio, a turtle copo, round tongwa, a camp Dr. Dyer says that the Karankawa called themselves/ Attapak' an'.'

As usual in Karankawa studies, these materials raise a number of questions to which answers are hard to find. The orthography of these forms is presumably a rough-and-ready one based on English spelling.

In regard to the Karankawa words, the words for 'friend' and 'horse' are Spanish loans attested in Mrs Oliver's materials, and 'horse' occurs in other vocabularies also.

The word for 'death' is recorded as <mal> 'dead' in Mrs Oliver's materials, while <tato> may be connected with her <ačáta>. I see <pawdo>

[? póodo] as a loan from some form of Spanish <u>perder</u> 'to lose'.

The word for 'water', <aha>, has Spanish <u>agua</u> added in ink, presumably by Swanton, but it may be a form of the Wanderwort for 'water' represented by more recent Tonkawa /'aax/ and found in Cotoname, later Comecrudo, Garza and Mamulique, and possibly reinforced by resemblance to Nahuatl /a-tl/ (from a Proto-Uto-Aztecan stem \*/pa-/). The word certainly does not resemble <comcom> or the word reconstituted as R /kley/.

As to <muha>, 'great', which does not resemble the other forms for 'great', /já'an/ or <counin>, I have no solution to offer.

If some elements in this list are also attested in Karankawa, I am not convinced that the list is wholly Karankawa - indeed only one term, 'death', is unambiguously Karankawa, with another possible one and three Spanish loans - and list the terms for the sake of completeness and because it has been labelled 'Karankawa'. Apart from the exceptions mentioned above, none of the surrounding languages which I have examined - Atakapa, Tonkawa, Caddo, Choctaw, Cotoname, Comecrudo - shed much light on the list.

As to the 'Caddo' words, the best that can be said is that they do not resemble the Caddo equivalents for the terms which I have been able to find. Some of them do, however, resemble Tonkawa words. The word for 'round' resembles the Tonkawa word for 'round' which Gatschet (1891: 82/ 146) gives as /kópol/ (Hoijer 1949: 33 /kopul/) and offers as an etymon for the Texan placename Kopano; there is a resemblance between Bryan's <maio> and Tonkawa /may'an/,

'land turtle' (Hoijer 1949: 13).. No parallel meaning 'meat' is available for <bak> (hardly Tonkawa /-ma'ek/ 'large cat'), while for <assi>, the nearest meaning to 'leaves' seems to be /'asoy-eylapan/ 'elmtree' (ibid.: 5).

The sense of <tongwa> as 'camp' may be an inference from the knowledge that the name for the Tonkawas (whose own name, /tickan-waatič/, meant 'genuine people [tickan]'), indeed the name which they used to refer to themselves when with other peoples, and which has passed to English and Spanish, supposedly derives from an unattested Waco (Wichita Caddoan) form tonkawéya, meaning 'they all camp together' (LeRoy Johnson, personal communication, November 1992).

As 'possibly Karankawa' terms one might append the placenames listed in Gatschet (1891: 81-82/ 145-146): Kopano, Aransas, Anaqua, Ecleto. They may be Karankawa, and they occur in former Karankawa territory, but they do not have any clear etymologies according to the Karankawa material which we have. But there again, as Gatschet points out, we also find Nahuatl, Tonkawa and Spanish placenames in the area. It is tempting to classify those naames above on historical evidence as Karankawa, when we have not a shred of linguistic evidence to support the claim; but this is not real classification, just sweeping difficult data under the carpet instead of admitting that in this case, as is so often true of the linguistics of Southern Texas, we shall probably never know its origin for sure.

# On the Use of Karankawa Data in Joseph H. Greenberg's 'Language in the Americas' (1987).

In June 1991 I was able briefly to examine Joseph H. Greenberg's controversial book <u>Language in the Americas</u> (Stanford UP, 1987). Having read a good proportion of the articles devoted to evaluating and criticising the work, I lost no opportunity in examining the Karankawa material incorporated in the book as part of Greenberg's contention that, aside from Na-Dene and Eskimo-Aleut, all the native languages of the Americas are ultimately genetically related in a huge family of several millennias' timedepth, called Amerind. I present my findings below.

# Analysis

I list below the Karankawa forms which he quotes, preserving his capital letters for glosses, and my evaluation of this analysis. They occur in two separate sections of the book: firstly, his treatment of 'Hokan', and secondly, his 'Amerind Etymological Dictionary'. Greenberg classifies Karankawa as being a separate branch in the Coahuiltecan subdivision of Hokan in the Amerind family, or to abbreviate this: Amerind C2c. I include page numbers, and the number and title of the 'cognate set' where the form is to be found.

The first set of forms comes from the section on Hokan (pp. 131-142).

- p. 133: 8 ASHES Karankawa <u>tap</u> 'earth'. Not Karankawa: Coahuilteco <u>tāp</u> (Swanton 1940: 43)
- p. 134: 15 BLACK Karankawa <u>ma</u>. Correct; recorded from Old Simon.
- p. 135: 41 DOG Karankawa <u>keš</u>. Correct, and evidently taken from Béranger (who has <queche>); but Coahuilteco <u>keš</u>, listed before the Karankawa form, should be <u>kačōwa</u>. In any case, <u>keš</u> may be a Wanderwort.
- 46 EAT Karankawa <u>ama</u> 'fish'. Wrongly spelt; Karankawa form is <u>am</u>(Chowell) or <u>aM</u> (Mrs Oliver).
- p. 139: 107 NOSE Karankawa emai 'nose'. Wrong: Béranger's form is emay alouacq, of which the second part is comparable to Chowell's lóo, while the first part is some prefix. Greenberg has segmented the form, but taken the wrong segment as the word for 'nose'. He appends this form to a set containing such words as Karok jufiv and Washo šujeb.

The second and larger set comes from Chapter 4 (181-270) entitled 'Amerind Etymological Dictionary'.

- p. 194: 37 BLACK Karankawa <u>pal</u>. Correctly cited from Mrs Oliver (who tags it with a question mark), though it may be a loanword from Comecrudo.
- p. 199: 50 BREAST Karankawa kanin. Correctly cited, and taken from Mrs Oliver; this is evidently a loanword from Cotoname, and cannot be used in historical-comparative work oriented to proving genetic relationships.

- p. 210: 79 DIE (!) Karankawa mal 'dead'. Correct; taken from Mrs Oliver.
- p. 222: 118 FLY (!), noun Karankawa <u>kamex</u>. Wrongly interpreted; Béranger's <u>camaje</u> suggests a form such as [kamež] or [kamej].
- p. 226: 128 GO (3) Karankawa <u>je</u>. Correctly cited, if  $\langle j \rangle$  is [j]; taken from Mrs Oliver.
- p. 226: 137 HAND (1) Karankawa <u>makuel</u> 'five'. No such form exists in Karankawa (where 'five' has been recorded as /náatsa béhema/; <u>makuél</u> is 'five' in Comecrudo (Swanton 1940: 80), where it is a loan from Nahuatl <u>macuilli</u>).
- p. 243: 178 MAN (2) Karankawa <u>ahaks</u>. This is an interpretation of one possible reading of a word in Béranger's vocabulary, written <ahax>, which might also be read as <alax>.
- p. 260: 248 SUN (1) Karankawa <u>auil</u> 'moon'. An interpretation of a form from Béranger, which may be either <a-ouil> or <a-ouil>.
- p. 266: 267 WHITE (2) Karankawa <u>peka</u>. Correctly spelt; a form taken from Old Simon.
- p. 269 WING Karankawa <u>hamdolak</u> 'feather'. Wrongly spelt; Béranger's form is <u>hamdolocq</u>.

At least one Karankawa form is mislabelled:

p. 142: 153 TWO 'Tonkawa' <u>haikia</u> is Karankawa; Tonkawa has <u>ketay</u> for 'two'.

#### Conclusions

It is apparent that Swanton 1940 has been Greenberg's sole source for Karankawa, and that he has not used the vocabulary in Landar 1968, much less the microfilm of the Berlandier and Chowell vocabularies.

Of Greenberg's fifteen 'Karankawa' forms, ASHES and HAND are not Karankawa at all, while the wrong portion of a form has been used in NOSE. Three forms - FISH, FLY, WING - have been wrongly spelt. The forms of MAN and MOON are

open to other interpretations. The two words for BLACK, BREAST, DIE, DOG, GO and WHITE are spelt an analysed correctly and unambiguously. However, it is possible that one word for BLACK, BREAST, and DOG, are loans into Karankawa. In addition, a Karankawa word is miscited as a Tonkawa word.

In short, of sixteen real or supposed Karankawa entries, six contain mistakes of assignment to wrong language, misspelling or inaccurate segmentation, or forms reinterpreted without explanation, practices which characterise Greenberg's book as a whole (see for example Campbell 1989). The quality of Greenberg's work on Karankawa is appreciably higher than that for other languages, but it is still poor.

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