

Playing Card Names in Western Apache

Philip J. Greenfeld

International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Jul., 1971), 195-196.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0020-7071%28197107%2937%3A3%3C195%3APCNIWA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-6>

International Journal of American Linguistics is currently published by The University of Chicago Press.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/ucpress.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to creating and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



lute synonyms seem rare,⁹ I think that such a statement also reflects the once common lack of distinction between heuristics and theory. This can probably be best seen in the treatment by Nida,¹⁰ and from a procedural point of view the principle is still a safe and useful one. But from a purely theoretical point of view no reason is apparent by which, e.g. qáw and qéwqo *gull* could not be considered allomorphs of a single morpheme, except again, by the unclear distinction between a morpheme and its allomorphs or its morphophonemic composition. Even within a model which kept apart heuristics and theory as well as morphemes and their representation, there were other reasons which would point toward avoiding this analysis.¹¹

It does not seem that this type of synonymy, or perhaps any other, is explicitly incorporated in one or another of the transformational models. In a stratificational model, on the contrary, it fits easily, although I think that another type of synonymy should be added to those already recognized which will cover cases such as the one quoted for the meaning 'dog'.¹² But I do not see any reason to consider such forms as /g'ót'/ and /'ò·on/ different until the lower morphemic alternation pattern is reached. They are the same semantically, lexemically, and partly morphemically; they begin to be different only as sign patterns.

EL COLEGIO DE MÉXICO AND
INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN E INTEGRACIÓN
SOCIAL DEL ESTADO DE OAXACA

¹⁰ Morphology 2nd ed. Ann Arbor, Mich. 1949, pp. 151-63.

¹¹ See the discussion of the suffixes *-dom* and *-y* in Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics, p. 275.

¹² See the reference to Bennett in fn. 1. It is probable that Bennett does not include this type of synonymy because he excludes the occurrence in natural languages of 'complete and total synonymy' (in Lyon's terms).

PLAYING CARD NAMES IN WESTERN APACHE

PHILIP J. GREENFELD

It was with some interest that I read in IJAL for July 1968 Mary R. Haas' note on Menomini card terms and the preceding article which included data on Chipewyan card names.¹ Data collected in the summer of 1968 near Whiteriver, Arizona,² indicate a parallel series of loans in the White Mountain dialect of Western Apache, in this case from Spanish.

The Apache terms consist of names for the suits and face cards much the same as in Chipewyan. They apply to both Mexican and American decks of cards, although their primary referents are of course Mexican in origin. The terms presented here, however, were elicited with an American deck as specific referent.

Mexican type cards are still preferred by White Mountain Apaches, but are difficult to come by, even though they are still produced in Mexico. Because of this they often use very old, battered decks. The favored game today seems to be a form of *conquien* which is called ?áádił ?iizo tihé. It requires three decks to play this game, which is similar to rummy.

The suit names are as follows: báastos³ *clubs* (Sp. bastos, lit. 'clubs'), ?esbááda *spades* (Sp. espadas, lit. 'swords'), góóbas *diamonds* (Sp. copas, lit. 'cups'), and ?óódo *hearts* (Sp. oro, lit. 'gold'). This latter term is also used for 'gold'.

¹ Mary R. Haas, Notes on a Chipewyan Dialect, IJAL 34.165-75 (1968).

² These data were collected for a doctoral dissertation on White Mountain Apache phonology with support from the Doris Duke Foundation, a Comins Fellowship from the University of Arizona, and a University of Arizona Pre-Doctoral Fellowship.

³ The symbols used have approximately the same values as Hoijer's in his article on Chiricahua Apache. Harry Hoijer, Chiricahua Apache, *In* Linguistic Structures of Native America, Cornelius Osgood, ed. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, Number 6, New York (1946).

The Spanish names refer to the symbols for each of the suits found on decks of Mexican playing cards. Thus a gold coin is the symbol for the suit *oros*, a cup for *copas*, a sword for *espadas*, and a club for *bastos*.

The card names are: ?áás *ace* (Sp. as), žíí *king* (Sp. rey), sóóda *jack* (Sp. sota de valet), and žíí? *queen*. This last word is literally horse in Apache, and is either a loan translation for Spanish 'caballero' or *horseman* (the Mexican card which corresponds to the queen); or a reference to the picture on the face of the card.

One other term in this domain also seems to be borrowed, maastááda. This is the name of a card game which has a Spanish phonetic pattern. I have not, however, been able to identify the Spanish source word. It is possibly some form of the word 'bastos' or 'matar', one meaning of the latter being 'to play a card higher than'; or perhaps it is derived from 'monte', a Mexican card game played by other Indian tribes in the Southwest.

The names of specific cards are formed with the name or number of the card coming first, and the name of the suit following. For example: sóóda góóbas *jack of diamonds*, žíí? ?esbááda *queen of spades*, nakíí báástos *two of clubs*, díí?í ?óódo *four of hearts*.

The suit names function as modifiers. Normal Apache word order places numerals and other adjectivals after nouns as in žíí? nakíí *two horses*, or ?indeé hídeezń *tall man* (lit. 'man being tall').

Phonetic replacement in the borrowed terms is essentially the same as that described by Hoijer⁴ for Spanish loans in Chiricahua Apache; perhaps the most interesting of which is that Spanish /ř/ is replaced by /ž/ initially and /d/ medially.

These are the only Spanish loans used in this domain in the Whiteriver area of the reservation, but in the Cibequé area others are used. Dr. Keith Basso who has worked in that area informs me that during some

card games Apache number terms are replaced by terms such as: dóós *two*, ééés *three*, gáto *four*: from Spanish 'dos', 'tres', 'cuatro'. Since this replacement does not always occur he believes that it is influenced by socio-linguistic variables.

A very cursory check with a Navajo speaker living on the Apache reservation indicates that much of this vocabulary has also been borrowed from Spanish into Navajo, and an old vocabulary may indicate their presence in Chiricahua Apache.⁵

SAN DIEGO STATE COLLEGE

RESPONSE TO GIRARD ON
TACANAN*

MARY RITCHIE KEY

For some time I did not consider Girard's review substantial enough to answer, but since another work¹ has come out based partly on my study and identifying still another 'unclassified' language in the vast network of South American languages, I resolved to comment on the 'defects', 'errors', 'perversities', and 'failures' which Girard claims are in my book.

My study did not complete the picture of Proto-Tacanan. Disappointingly, we are no better off with Girard's. Would that he had instead put together another piece of the great puzzle, as Suárez did, rather than take so much space to deal with minor details. Or, we could have wished for a fuller picture of Proto-Tacanan, in preparation for the next step in proposing a genetic classification. Since, however, Girard seems to be completely dependent on my materials, there seems little chance of relying on him for a revised genetic classification. Worse, he apparently has no inde-

⁵ Virginia Wayland, *Apache Playing Cards*, Expedition 4:2:34-39.

* Victor Girard, review of Mary Ritchie Key, *Comparative Tacanan Phonology: with Cavineña Phonology and Notes on Pano-Tacanan Relationship* Mouton (1968), IJAL 36.73-8 (1970).

¹ Jorge A. Suárez, *Moseten and Pano-Tacanan*, AL 11.255-66 (1969).

⁴ Harry Hoijer, *Chiricahua Loan-Words From Spanish*, Lg. 15:110-115.