
Tiwa Tales

From the work of Carobeth Tucker Harrington

by

Daniel Harbour
Melisa Rinaldi
Malcolm Skene
Lara Tinay

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Chapter I

Introduction

by Daniel Harbour

I. LOST AND FOUND

In June and September of 1918, Carobeth Tucker Harrington (later Carobeth Laird, but from 1916 to 1922 the wife of J.P. Harrington) undertook a linguistic and anthropological study in the pueblo of Isleta, New Mexico. The results were of the highest quality yet fell into near total obscurity. The three manuscripts she submitted to the Bureau of American Ethnology (Tucker Harrington 1920a–c)¹ never saw publication and were eventually archived with her then husband’s voluminous papers. Only one linguistic study I am aware of (Laylin 1988) made significant use of them. Otherwise, her work was lost to linguistics.

This was highly regrettable. Information about Southwestern members of the Kiowa-Tanoan family has been scant, for cultural reasons. And, although the field was eventually privileged to see several high quality studies of Tanoan languages (see Harbour 2011, Sutton 2014 for overviews), I have little doubt that the discipline as a whole would have advanced faster than it did, and perhaps further than it has, if Tucker Harrington had had her due impact a century ago.

¹The typescript of Tucker Harrington 1920c lacks author attribution and a date. J.P. Harrington’s notes and a citation in Tucker Harrington 1920a confirm its authorship however. Harrington’s notes are from 1919, but a separate sheet accompanying the typescript reads “[W]ashington D.C. March 4th 1920”, from which I tentatively conclude that the 1919 copy that Harrington read was an earlier, if quite complete, draft.

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My search for her work has been convoluted, to say the least. After first becoming aware of it, I tried to track it down via the references in Laylin's dissertation, but these were insufficient for me to locate copies. Numerous library searches in the UK and US, spread sporadically over several years, returned nothing, and baffled librarians referred me repeatedly (but wrongly) to the annals of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Nor could Dr Laylin, now the potter Laura Nichols, find her copies.

I would have thought the materials lost, had Laurel Watkins not at some point found in her collection some poorly printed pages that seemed to fit the description of Tucker Harrington's texts. Watkins later recalled receiving them at a workshop at the University of New Mexico and suggested I contact the library there. Some phone calls led me to Nancy Brown-Martinez, who generously undertook a search of her own, which pointed to the Smithsonian. Maggie Dittmore, an archivist, directed me to the National Anthropological Archives, where Rose Chou and Daisy Njoku were able to locate Tucker Harrington's work in *John P. Harrington Papers 1907-1959 (some earlier), Box 837, Folder 1* (see also *John P. Harrington Papers microfilms: Part 4 – Southwest, Reel 690530-36, frames 0397–1015*). Needless to say, I am sincerely grateful to all of them.

Since then, a project of digital archiving has made this collection more accessible, a fact that I discovered only when the current project was well advanced. A simple web search now leads to an online repository of these, and other, valuable materials, achieving in seconds what took me several years. (A search for *John Peabody Harrington papers: Southwest, 1907-1957, reel 36* leads to the subcollection *Isleta / Isleta del Sur / Piro, 1909–1910, 1918–1920, 1946–1947*, which houses Tucker Harrington's typescripts and notes. See p59 for the url current at the time of writing.)

With Carobeth Tucker Harrington's work on Tiwa thus returned to the public domain, a reanalysis of the rare information it contains is both timely and appropriate. And, in drawing attention to these materials, I hope not only to offer lasting service to linguistics, but to recognise an intellectual pioneer and one of the earliest women working in our field.

I do not know the state of vitality of Tiwa within Isleta today. However, it is to be hoped that the present materials will be of use to the descendants and community of the speakers—Felicitas Jiron, Luis Abeita, and María Chihuihui—with whom Tucker Harrington worked. With such nonlinguist readers in mind, each text is presented in three formats: unbroken Tiwa, followed by an English translation, and then a morpheme-

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by-morpheme interlinear gloss. Paragraph breaks are not included in the originals and those below are our own.

II. NAMES PERSONAL AND LINGUISTIC

I have chosen to treat “Tucker Harrington” as a double-barrelled but unhyphenated name. Although she was married to J.P. Harrington at the time they were written, none of her three typescripts bears the name “Carobeth Harrington”. On the coversheet of the work that is the primary focus below (1920a), the author appears under her maiden name of “Carobeth Tucker”. Discernible beneath a layer of corrective fluid on the second sheet of that typescript is the name “Carobeth Tucker Harrington”, which also appears on her 1920b study. (The 1920c study has no attribution of authorship; see note 1.)

To cite her works as “Harrington 1920a–c” therefore seems not to do justice to Tucker Harrington’s own sense of identity. Moreover, if the purpose of the current study is, in part, to carve out an identity for Tucker Harrington as a figure within linguistics, then calling her simply “Harrington” risks seeing her vanish into the shadows of exhusband’s enormous legacy. Hence, the decision to talk of “Tucker Harrington”.

The other name that warrants comment is that of the “Isleta language”, as the title of the 1920a study terms it. The current publication aims, amongst other ends, to emphasise the relevance of Tucker Harrington’s work to the field’s longstanding interest in Southern Tiwa agreement and incorporation (*e.g.*, Allen, Frantz, Gardiner, and Perlmutter 1990, Rosen 1990, Baker 1996, Heck and Richards 2010). Tucker Harrington herself uses the term “Tiwa” in the title of her anthropological study of katchinas (1920c). Consequently, we refer chiefly to “Tiwa”, or “Isletan Tiwa”, below.

III. CURRENT AND FUTURE PUBLICATIONS

The current set of texts is intended to serve as a steppingstone to a larger grammatical description of Isletan Tiwa based on all three of Tucker Harrington’s works. That project is already well advanced, with studies of noun class, incorporation, agreement, and other verbal morphology in various states of completion. However, the texts themselves form a relatively complete and informative whole and so make sense as a standalone

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publication in the interim. (In the temporary absence of full grammatical discussion, an index of roots has been included in the belief that readers seeking particular grammatical constructions will be aided in finding them by scanning for roots that they are likely to contain.)

The texts reached their current form via a research practicum that I supervised for three linguistics Masters students at Queen Mary, University of London, in the spring of 2013. The students, Melisa Rinaldi, Malcolm Skene, and Lara Tinay, are listed alphabetically as coauthors above.

We began by typing up all the texts in an extremely useful, bespoke variant of John Frampton's \LaTeX package `expex`, which is now freely available. Tucker Harrington accompanied each text with either an informal word-by-word translation into English or a free translation into English or Spanish (the preamble of each text gives specifics). These made it relatively easy to recognise a good quantity of the lexical roots. We then spent many hours, both separately and as a group, homing in on the many grammatical affixes with which Tiwa nouns and verbs are adorned. For this, Tucker Harrington's grammatical notes were extremely useful.

The array of distinctions that emerges is so systematic that we feel quite confident in the accuracy of the analysis. And, even if our understanding developed somewhat independently of Tucker Harrington's (as we initially disregarded the nontextual part of her work for reasons of tractability), it must be emphasised that her notes strongly suggest that she had a very firm grasp of Tiwa grammar, and one that is quite remarkable given her at most two-month acquaintance with the language.

IV. ORTHOGRAPHY AND NOTATION

Great care has been taken to preserve the details of Tucker Harrington's typescript, down to diacritics and punctuation, though, needless to say, we cannot guarantee complete faithfulness. Parentheses in the text (a rarity) are Tucker Harrington's and en-dashes (–) represent her hyphens (as opposed '-' for hyphens that we have added). Our alterations and corrections are not indicated in the text itself but are discussed in the notes following each numbered example. Such discussion uses "TH" as an abbreviation for "Tucker Harrington". Where "TH" is followed by a number, reference is made to pages in Tucker Harrington 1920a.

Naturally, some roots and affixes are too scantily attested for us to be sure of their proper treatment. Such cases are discussed immediately af-

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ter the sentence in which they occur, or, where they concern *hapax* or *dislegomena*, are indicated with a superscripted question mark (?).

The only aspects of the orthography to which we draw attention are the use of *f* for capital *f* and the distinction between hook and subscripted comma. This comma occurs only under *u*, leading to the rather subtle distinction, which we initially missed, between *u* and *u*. A passing comment leads us to believe that the latter represented a lowered *u*, close to *o*, as opposed to the former, which represents nasality, as per convention. See the preamble to the Index of Roots (p51) for other brief orthographic comments.

The list of abbreviations used in the texts is shown on the following page. In addition to these, we adopt the following conventions for the representation of verbal agreement:

- x:y:z* ditransitives (agent *x*, indirect object *y*, direct object *z*)
- x:z* transitives (agent *x*, object *z*)
- z* unaccusatives (internal argument *z*)
- :y:z* experiencer unaccusatives (applicative *y*, internal argument *z*)

For instance, 1s:2s:3s would be used in ‘I gave you it’, 1D:3I in ‘we two saw them (animate) or it (inanimate)’, 2D in ‘you two came’, and :2I:3s in ‘he went to you all’. Observe in this last example that second person plural, being animate, is represented as 2I, not 2P, which is incoherent according to the current notation.

Finally, as this publication will be incorporated into the fuller grammatical treatment based on Tucker Harrington’s other work, we encourage readers to contact us with any manner of comment or correction.

D. A. H.
London
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V. ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
BAS	basic (nominal suffix, in contrast to INV)
BOTH ²	'both ... and' (tentative, <i>dis legomenon</i>)
CAUS	causative
D	dual
DIM	diminutive
FAR	far-distance demonstrative
FREQ	frequentative, characteristic
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
I	inverse (verbal agreement; for nouns, see INV)
IMM	immediate
IMP	imperative
INAN	inanimate
INTR	intransitive
INV	inverse (nominal suffix, denoting NS animate, S inanimate)
LOC	locative
MID	mid-distance demonstrative
N	subordinator (primarily locative, but also temporal)
NA	morpheme <i>na</i> (significance not yet determined)
NEG	negative
NS	nonsingular (<i>i.e.</i> , D, P, I, even when I is numerically singular)
NV	nonverbal
ONCE	'once upon a time' (story opening)
P	plural
PASS	passive
PNCT	punctual (past tense)
PRG	progressive
PRS	present tense
PRT	particle (see <i>tq</i> , <i>tq̇</i> in index)
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
QUOT	quotative
REL	relative (nominal, not locative or temporal; see N and SUB)

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RX	reflexive
s	singular
STAT	stative
SUB	subordinator (primarily temporal, but also locative)

Chapter 1

A Fight with the Navajos

In the original, this text is presented with approximate word-by-word translation into English. We have changed ‘Navaho’ to ‘Navajo’ throughout, as per official tribal usage.

1. TIWA

Wibá'a T'eliemninba nújtæi t'áinin 'ik'úaliembevan. Nathú-'ai 'ikhékhí'ípa'in 'inqt'arakǵrbak, 'ip'úansíruvak, 'iuwárvan t'áinin.

Khá'a Násu 'ekánwepá. Pierú-'ai kan'álkilámivan Khá'a Patrísu 'ai. 'Úbemiéi we'alkilá'ammj'n'ap, p'iénłaitihwehín'ap, hirí'a kǵrba'i 'inwímihín'ap. Hubá kanhwévan khum-'át.

T'eliémnin-'át 'iwamba-k 'iut'ekíban; T'eliémnin 'iukhwierwárimiei 'im'úphierk liowran-'an kámpu-'átti.

Khá'a Násu wjm'a humsǵnivan, 'a'upj'u'ir'ípa'i futáwin wa'i. T'áaidat wísi T'eliémnin-ba thámhuvémiei; nqt'awiwáiba-k 'imnqt'awitf'áuva-k T'eliémnin 'inmákwíván. Huvá tq T'eliépkámj'pán'ai, 'aunqt'awi'qmbá-k 'upj'u'usáarívan. Hujúei Khá'a Násu łowméitin, T'eliép'usǵerban, húnqk'aikhwir tf'á-attiván, sieik'uhím'ai. Tq sieik'uvava-k khum-'át mákwíván.

Weiwánba-k Nqle nqt'awi'ábéban T'eliépide-vá khétsu-va p'apuap'íneta-k. Kanide-'atti sáarvá-k, "Hesús," nq'qmban. Nqle júap'a-'áitin sirúmi-k be'ienivan, łapháki túmiei: "Cuando me tiras, tira me bien." Jai 'ap'apúapháaban.

T'eliemnin huju(')at 'ipiówkire'ái ba wír'a fimba 'iukhwierwárvan. Hujúei 'ibik'úatqiva-k Khá'a Násu húnqk'aikhwier kant'ékiván 'akúr'usieikúeipán-'at. Waití wámban 'akúr'u'ir'ij-k túmí-k: "'Údéi tiwáwiévan júde-'áiti."

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Waití wamba-k Khá'a Patrísu'ai mįvan hirí'a kǎqrba'í inwímihím'ai. Khá'a Patrísu tųmiéi: "Áwǎ wientįwitátipǎar kur'úde bekhúmnin'ap." Khá'a Nǎsu-ba 'ųbemíei: "Héikwe'i, witįwitáti nǎ benwiéik'a tǎ káweváhi." Hujúei wíetsevan witįwitáti, wítad Kha'a Patrísu 'akur'utiųtseva-k. P'ip'ahwévan mísatú-at, Pétra-m khǎįvan.

Wį mǎlitqwinwá-k 'apiowvan.

2. TRANSLATION

Once here in the village the people were robbed of sheep by the Navajos. When the watchmen at the hills came with the news, when they gave the war-whoop, the people came out.

Señor Ignacio did not have a horse. In a hurry he went to rent a horse from Señor Patricio. He told him that he would not rent it but that he should take it in half: the two of them would divide up whatever he brought back. Then he took the horse to the battle.

When they arrived at the Navajos, they started to fight; the Navajos came out on the run with their children and women from the camp.

Señor Ignacio chased one out, whose little girl, a seven year old, was on horseback. There were two Navajos right behind him and he was being chased and shot at with bows and arrows; when he drew his gun and pretended that he was going to shoot, the two Navajos turned back. Then, where he was overtaking the other Navajo, he shot at him and he dropped the little girl. Then Señor Ignacio got down from his horse, caught the little Navajo, took her into the cedar thicket to lay her down tied up. When he had tied and laid her down, he returned to the fight.

Just as he got there, Nale was shot by a Navajo with a little round pebble in the middle of the forehead. When he fell from the horse, Ignacio cried out "Jesus". Shortly after he yelled out, Nale got up, and said in Mexican: "When you shoot me, shoot me well." His forehead swelled up about this much (gesture).

Of the Navajos, many were lying dead, and all the others had fled. Then when they had gathered all the sheep Señor Ignacio spurred his horse toward the cedar thicket where he had the little captive tied up. From there he returned with the little captive sitting behind him saying: "I almost lost my life for this one."

When he returned from there he went to Señor Patricio in order for them to divide up whatever he had brought back. Señor Patricio said:

“She is worth four hundred dollars this little slave.” He was told by Señor Ignacio: “All right, give me two hundred now and she will be yours.” Then two hundred was given and the little slave was left to Señor Patricio alone. He took her to the church to be baptised and christened her Petra.

When she was sixteen years old she died on him.

3. INTERLINEARISATION

- (1.1) *Wibá'a T'etiēm-nin-ba núj- tæi t'ái- nin*
 once Navajo-INV-by right here-village person-INV
'i- k'úá- íēm-be- van.
 3I-sheep-rob- PASS-PNCT

‘Once here in the village the people were robbed of sheep by the Navajos.’

The passive *k'úáliēmbevan* ‘were robbed of sheep’ agrees only with the victim of the theft, *t'áinin* ‘people’, not with the stolen object, *k'úá* ‘sheep’. (Similarly, TH100 *qwa-va te-kwíkya-íēm-be-van* ‘he stole my money’ takes intransitive 1s, not dative :1s:3s, agreement: he-by 1s-money-steal-PASS-PNCT.) Consequently, *íēm* is most conveniently thought of as ‘rob’, for which the passive is ‘the people were robbed’. If it meant ‘steal’, then the passive would be ‘the sheep were stolen’, and ‘people’ would be an experiencer, resulting in the prefix :3I:3I *im(im)-* (‘to the people were robbed the sheep’). Interestingly, then, because they do not agree, *k'úá* ‘sheep’ and *kwíkya* are not (typical) incorporated objects.

- (1.2) *Nathú-'ai 'i- khé- khi'í-pa- 'in 'i- nq- t'ára-kâr- ba- k,*
 hills- LOC 3I-watch-wait-PST-REL.NS 3I:3S-NA-hear-bring-PNCT-SUB
'i- p'úan- síru- va- k, 'iu- wári- van t'ái- nin.
 3I-enemy-shout-PNCT-SUB 3I:3P-go out-PNCT people-INV

‘When the watchmen at the hills came with the news, when they gave the war-whoop, the people came out.’

The prefix *'i* is ambiguous between intransitive 3I and transitive 3I:3s. Nonetheless, we can tell *síru* ‘shout’ takes the intransitive prefix—rather than transitive 3I:3s, with 3s being either a dummy object or referring to the incorporate *p'úan* ‘enemy’—because TH9 gives the unambiguous intransitive first singular form *te-síru-van* ‘I shouted’ (1SG-shout-PNCT).

TH14 writes: “They used to set up a watch at *nathú'ai* and take turns about watching day after day for Navahoes. Then when the Navahoes were seen to do anything (e.g. to steal sheep) the lookout would come through the village and give

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the ‘Navaho warhoop’—this was a certain cry that they used just for this one thing—‘just like a firebell,’ inf. comments. Nescit how to give this warhoop.”

- (1.3) *Kha’á Násu ’e- kán- we-pá.*
 Señor Ignacio :3s:3s.NEG-horse-be-PST
 ‘Señor Ignacio did not have a horse.’

- (1.4) *Pierú- ’ai Ø- kan- ’áلكilá-mj-van Khá’a Patrísu- ’ai.*
 hurry-LOC 3s-horse-rent- go-PNCT Señor Patricio-LOC
 ‘In a hurry he went to rent a horse from Señor Patricio.’

- (1.5) *Ø- ’Úbe- mí- ei Ø- we- ’alkilá-’am-mj- n-’ap,*
 3s-tell.PASS-PRG-PST 3s:3s-NEG-rent- do- PRG-N-LOC
Ø- p’iéntaiti-hwe- hí- n-’ap, hirí’a Ø- kár- ba- ’i
 3s:3s-in half- take-FUT-N-LOC whatever 3s:3s-bring-PNCT-REL
’in- wími- hí- n-’ap.
 3D:3s-divide-FUT-N-LOC

‘He told him that he would not rent it but that he should take it in half: the two of them would divide up whatever he brought back.’

Combined *p’iéntaiti* ‘in half’ and *hwehín’ap* ‘he should take it’ into one word. One can tell from examples in which the agreement prefix is nonnull, such as TH10 *ka-kán-p’iéntaiti-hwé-van* ‘I took your horse in half’ (1s:2s:3s-horse-half-take-PNCT), that these are part of one complex verb.

- (1.6) *Hubá Ø- kan- hwé- van khum-’át.*
 then 3s:3s-horse-take-PNCT battle-LOC
 ‘Then he took the horse to the battle.’

- (1.7) *T’eliém-nin-’át ’i- wam- ba- k ’iu- t’ekí- ban;*
 Navajo-INV-LOC 3I-COME-PNCT-SUB 3I:3P-touch-PNCT
 ‘When they arrived at the Navajos, they started to fight;’

We have changed the translation of *’iwamba-k* from ‘when he arrived’ (which should be *wamba-k* with a zero prefix for third singular) to ‘when they arrived’ (for which the prefix *’i 3i* is appropriate). Alternatively, to maintain a third singular translation, one could change the prefix to *’im :3r:3s*. The result, *’imwamba-k*, would mean ‘when he arrived to them’, that is, his fellow fighters or the Navajos.

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- (1.8) *T'eliém-nin 'iu- khwíer-wári- mi- ei 'im- 'ú- phier-k*
 Navajo-INV 3I:3P-RUN- go OUT-PRG-PST :3I:3I-child-join- SUB
liowra- n- 'an kámpu-'átti.
 woman-INV-with camp- LOC
 'The Navajos came out on the run with their children and women from the camp.'

- (1.9) *Khá'a Nq̄su wím'a Ø- hum- f̄án- i- van,*
 Señor Ignacio one 3s:3s-chase-go out-CAUS-PNCT
'a- 'up̄īy- 'u- 'ír- 'i- pa- 'i fu- t̄áwin Ø- wa-'i.
 :3s:3s-little girl-DIM-back-sit-PST-REL seven-year 3s-be-REL
 'Señor Ignacio chased one out, whose little girl, a seven year old, was on horseback.'

Combined *'a'up̄īy'u* and *'ír̄pa'i* into one word.

In the original, there is a fullstop after *humf̄ánivan*. We have combined the two sentences to avoid having one consisting only of two relative clauses, *'A'up̄īy'u'ír̄pa'i* 'Whose girl was sitting on horseback' (or 'A girl who was on horseback for him') and *fut̄áwin wa'i* 'who was seven years old'.

- (1.10) *Tá'a- idat wisi T'eliém-nin-ba Ø- th̄ám- huvé- mi- ei;*
 behind-LOC two Navajo-INV-by 3s-bows and arrows?-chase.PASS-PRG-PST
Ø- n̄át'awi-w̄ai- ba- k 'im- n̄át'awi-tf̄áu- va- k
 3s:3s-gun- take out-PNCT-SUB :3I:3s-gun- pretend-PNCT-SUB
T'eliém- nin 'in-m̄ákwi-ván.
 the Navajo-INV 3D-return-PNCT

'There were two Navajos right behind him and he was being chased and shot at with bows and arrows; when he drew his gun and pretended that he was going to shoot, the [two] Navajos turned back.'

TH111 gives *h̄ya* 'arrow' and *hwír* 'bow'. So, the exact meaning of *th̄ám*, for which TH's translation suggests 'bows and arrows', is unclear.

- (1.11) *Huvá tq Ø- T'eliép- k̄- m̄j- pá- n-'ai,*
 then PRT 3s:3s-Navajo-overtake-PRG-PST-N-LOC
'au- n̄át'awi-'qm-bá- k Ø- 'up̄īy- 'u- s̄ar- í- van.
 (3s?):3s:3P-gun- do- PNCT-SUB 3s:3s-little girl-DIM-fall.S-CAUS-PNCT
 'Then, where he was overtaking the [other] Navajo, he fired his gun and he dropped the little girl.'

Combined *T'eliép* and *k̄m̄j̄pán'ai* into one word; *'up̄īy'u* and *s̄arivan* likewise.

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The verb *'aunq̄t'awi'q̄mbá-k*, which TH glosses as 'when he shot at him' is the only transitive root (*'am* 'do') to appear unpassivised with a dative prefix (*'au* :3s:3P). Given all other examples, we would expect a passive comparable to 1·14. An alternative would be to change the prefix from *'au* to *'u* 3s:3P, giving *'unq̄t'awi'q̄mbá-k* 'when he shot', which is comparable with 4·6 *'unq̄t'awi'amban*.

- (1·12) *Hujúei Khá'a Nq̄su* Ø- *l̄əow-* *méitin,* Ø- *T'eliép-* *'u-* *ſ̄ɛr-* *ban,*
 then Señor Ignacio 3s-get down-PTCP 3s:3s-Navajo-DIM-catch-PNCT
h̄y- *nq̄k'ai-* *khwir* Ø- *tʃ'áat-ti-* *van,*
 cedar-thicket-through 3s:3s-enter-CAUS-PNCT
 Ø- *ſ̄iei-k'ya-hí-* *m'ai.*
 3s:3s-tie-lay- FUT-for

'Then Señor Ignacio got down from his horse, caught the little Navajo, took her into the cedar thicket to lay her down tied up.'

Space inserted between *h̄ynq̄k'aikhwir* 'into the cedar thicket' and Ø-*tʃ'áattivan* 'he took her' (*h̄ynq̄k'aikhwirtʃ'áattivan* in the original)

- (1·13) *Tq* Ø- *ſ̄iei-k'ya-va-* *k* *khum-*'át Ø- *m̄qkwí-van.*
 PRT 3s:3s-tie-lay- PNCT-SUB fight- LOC 3s-return-PNCT

'When he had tied and laid her down, he returned to the fight.'

Khum 'fight' looks like a deverbal noun formed from *hum* 'chase' (1·9, 1·10), via the consonant ablaut of *h* to *kh* found with deverbalization in other Kiowa-Tanoan languages (Harrington 1928, Hale 1962, Watkins 1984).

- (1·14) Ø- *Wei-wán-* *ba-* *k* *Nq̄le* Ø- *nq̄t'awi-'ábé-* *ban* *T'eliép-* *ide-* *vá*
 3s-just-come-PNCT-SUB Nale 3s-gun- do.PASS-PNCT Navajo-BAS-by
khét̄ſu- *va* *p'apua-* *p'ineta-* *k.*
 little round pebble-by forehead-middle-LOC

'Just as he got there, Nale was shot by a Navajo with a little round pebble in the middle of the forehead.'

- (1·15) *Kan-* *ide-* 'atti Ø- *s̄əar-* *vá-* *k,* "Hesús," Ø- *nq̄-* 'ám-ban.
 horse-BAS-LOC 3s-fall.s-PNCT-SUB Jesús 3s-cry-do- PNCT
 'When he fell from the horse, he (*i.e.*, Ignacio) cried out "Jesus".'

TH14 writes: "In a battle when see[ing] someone shot and falling over dead or dying it was customary to yell: 'Jesus.' Hence use in text."

A FIGHT WITH THE NAVAJOS

- (1·16) *Nqłé júap'a- 'áitin Ø- firú-mi- k be- 'ieni- van,*
 Nale a little while-after 3s-yell-PRG-SUB 3s:RX-get up-PNCT
łaphá- ki Ø- tú- mi- ei: "Cuando me tiras, tira me bien."
 Mexican-in 3s-say-PRG-PST SPANISH
 'Shortly after he (Ignacio) yelled out, Nale got up, and said in Mexican:
 "When you shoot me, shoot me well."

- (1·17) *Jai 'a- p'apúa- pháa- ban.*
 this :3s:3s-forehead-swell-PNCT
 'His forehead swelled up about this much (gesture).'

- (1·18) *T'eliem-nin huju(')at 'i- piów-kire- 'ái ba wír'a jímba*
 Navajo-INV many 3I-dead-lie.P-PST.STAT and some all
'iu- khwier-wəri- van.
 3I:3P-flee- go out-PNCT
 'Of the Navajos, many (a number, a part) were lying dead, and all the
 others (some) had fled.'

Correcting *wəri* to *wəri*, in line with 1·18, 2·20 and other examples (see index of roots).

- (1·19) *Hujuéi 'ibi- k'úa- tçi- va- k Kha'a Nq̄su*
 then 3I:3I-sheep-gather-PNCT-SUB Señor Ignacio
hų- nq̄'ai- khwier Ø- kan- t'eki- ván
 cedar-thicket-toward 3s:3s-horse-knock-PNCT
'a- kúr- 'u- fiei-kúei-pá- n-'at.
 :3s:3s-captive-DIM-tie-lie.S-PST-N-LOC
 'Then when they had gathered all the sheep Señor Ignacio spurred his
 horse toward the cedar thicket where he had the little captive tied up.'

Space inserted between *hųnq̄'aikhwier* 'toward the cedar thicket' and *kant'ékiván* 'he spurred the horse' (*hųnq̄'aikhwierkant'ékiván* in the original).

TH translates *hųnq̄'aikhwier* here as 'toward the cedar thicket', but 1·12 *hųnq̄'aikhwir* as 'through the thicket'. It is unclear whether, therefore, to regard *khwier* and *khwir* as separate lexemes, 'toward' and 'through' respectively, or as alternants of a single lexeme with broader meaning, *khwier*, *khwir* 'through, toward'. We have opted for the latter, noting the apparent tendency for vowel epenthesis before syllable-final *r*, as in 2·10 *wí^er* 'swift' and 2·17 *łáp'^ar* 'separate', and the all but identical variation between the two attested forms of 'flee, run', *khwier* and *khwir*.

- (1.20) *Wai- tí Ø- wám- ban 'a- kúr- 'u- 'ír- 'iŋ-k*
 that.FAR-LOC 3s-come-PNCT :3s:3s-captive-DIM-back-sit-SUB
Ø- tų- mí- k: “’Ūdėi ti- wá- wié- van jú- de- 'áiti.”
 3s-say-PRG-SUB almost 1s:3s-life-give-PNCT this-BAS-LOC
 ‘From there he returned with the little captive sitting behind him saying:
 “I almost lost my life for this one.”’

We assume that the engma of *'iŋ* is phonologically excrement from *i-k* ‘sit-SUB’. The alternative is to posit an underlying nasal here. If so, it must be *n*, as this is the only source of surface *ŋ* in the texts and notes. But there is no reason to posit an underlying *n* here: the only morphemic *n* recorded is the locative subordinator, which has no place here: we have seen no cases of one subordinator (*k*) subordinating another (*n*).

- (1.21) *Wai- tí Ø- wam- ba- k Khá'a Patrísu- 'ai Ø- mǰ-van*
 that.FAR-LOC 3s-come-PNCT-SUB Señor Patricio-LOC 3s-go-PNCT
hiri'a Ø- kǰqr- ba- 'i in- wími- hí- m'ai.
 whatever 3s:3s-bring-PNCT-REL 3D:3s-divide-FUT-for
 ‘When he returned from there he went to Señor Patricio in order for them
 to divide up whatever he had brought back.’

- (1.22) *Khá'a Patrísu Ø- tų- mi- éi: “’Āwǰ wien-tǰwitáti- pǰar*
 Señor Patricio 3s-say-PRG-PST she four-hundred-dollars
kur- 'ú- de be- khúm- nin-'ap.”
 captive-DIM-BAS 3s:RX-worth-N- LOC
 ‘Señor Patricio said: “She is worth four hundred dollars this little slave.”’

- (1.23) *Khá'a Nǰsu- ba Ø- 'úbe- mí- ei: “Héikwe'i, wi- tǰwitáti nǰ*
 Señor Ignacio-by 3s-tell.PASS-PRG-PST all right two-hundred 1
ben- wié- i- k'a tǰ ká- we-vá- hi.”
 2s:1s:3s-give-IMP-IMM PRT :2s:3s-be-STAT-FUT
 ‘He was told by Señor Ignacio: “All right, give me two hundred now and
 she will be yours.”’

- (1.24) *Hujúei Ø- wíe- tfe- van wi- tǰwitáti, wítad Kha'a Patrísu*
 then 3s-give-PASS-PNCT two-hundred alone Señor Patricio
'a- kur- 'u- tǰ- tfe- va- k.
 :3s:3s-captive-DIM-leave-PASS-PNCT-SUB
 ‘Then two hundred was given and the little slave was left to Señor Patricio
 alone.’

We have changed the translation from ‘he was given the two hundred’ to ‘the two hundred was given’, in light of the zero agreement on *wíetfevan* ‘was given’. In 1·23, *benwiéik’a* ‘give it to me now’ agrees, via the prefix *ben*, with the second singular agent, first singular recipient, and third singular object ‘money’: it is not agentless ‘in :1s:3s, benefactiveless ‘a 2s:3s, or themeless *bei* 2s:1s. By contrast, *wíetfevan* agrees with just one third singular argument: if it agreed with both the recipient and object, the prefix would be ‘a :3s:3s, as in the next clause of the same sentence.

We hypothesise that the agreeing argument is ‘the two hundred’, as the obvious alternatives seem less plausible given what we find elsewhere (that :3s:3s ‘a has been elided or that *wíe* may optionally fail to agree with its patient and instead treat the recipient as a direct object). The explicit remention of Señor Patricio in the next clause, and the concomitant indirect-cum-direct-object agreement ‘a, might be taken in favour of viewing him as absent for the clause containing ‘was given’.

TH’s translates *tíytsfe* as ‘be owned’, but this makes it surprising that *Kha’a Patrisu* agrees with the verb as a dative (a passivised agent would bear *ba* ‘by’ and would not agree) and that *kur-’u* ‘little captive’ is incorporated (a passivised object would bear *de* BAS and be free). Consequently, we prefer the gloss ‘be left’ for which a dative syntax is more natural (*x* was left to *y*); this also fits better with 7·6. (We have not seen an active counterpart to this root, but TH records the overtly causative/passive pair *tíw-ǰ* ‘keep’, *tíw-ε* ‘be kept’ is attested.)

- (1·25) \emptyset - P’i- p’a- hwé- van mísatú-’at, Pétra-m \emptyset - khqǰ- van.
 3s:3s-head-water-take-PNCT church-LOC Petra-QUOT 3s:3s-name-PNCT
 ‘He took her to the church to be baptised and christened her Petra.’
- (1·26) Wǰ- mǰti-tǰwin-wá-k ‘a- piow-van.
 teen-six- year- be-SUB :3s:3s-die- PNCT
 ‘When she was sixteen years old she died on him.’

Chapter 2

The Big-Head Boy

In the original, this text is presented with approximate word-by-word translation into English. The title is followed by the comment “(Based on Gatschet)”. This may be a reference to Gatschet 1891. TH’s original title is *The Large-Headed Boy*, but she translates the two subsequent occurrences in 2·1–2·2 as ‘Big-Head children/girl’. We have changed the title to accord with the latter and have retained her capitalisation of these epithets.

1. TIWA

Kamentsú jow’a nq̄t̄æiwe’ai; huvá wisi P’ít̄á’ú’un ’inthá’ai. P’ít̄á’upiu’ude ’a’u-khwím̄ban. Juowin’a ’énapa ’uk’uahipan’ad. Bepapá–va huva p̄q̄’ai hwét̄sevan. Huvá ’uk’úavan. Wiwai bepapá–va m̄át̄sevan t̄æi, ’u’um̄á̄s̄ȳvan p̄q̄’ai. Huvá wím’a T’aliówra’ide ’u’úthq̄v̄án. Huvá ’áw̄q̄ ’əuk’əmivan.

Wivá’a wim’a s̄á’ide s̄ət̄fiémik T’aliówrathq̄van ’a’əwa’uphierk. Jede ’əwa’u-ide wí^{er}’ai t’amnin–’aití thurim. s̄áuti makhwivák nakát̄sawíevan khiéndad t’aikavéde vet̄úwinivan wíentháwe’i s̄imba t’áinin ’is̄f̄sq̄nhin’av: “Wím’a ’əwa’ú-ide t̄fiem̄j̄n’áv t’amnin–’an. Huvá ’inavéawa ’is̄j̄érhin’av.”

Wíentháwe’i s̄imba t̄æi’ide ’uphier kíowphier s̄əaphier ’is̄m̄j̄van. ’Ivít’athq̄van bít̄su ’i’uvévan jep̄it’ah̄ar’amhin’av w̄éj̄va’i ’i’əwa’úf̄j̄erhin’avtin.

T’aliówra’ide ’anákat̄savan. Húva ’əwa’u’úm̄j̄van beél̄p’ə^arhín–’av. T̄q̄ t’amnin ’inakhwíerp̄j̄’amban. ’It̄á^arwemik p’uárt’itím T’aliówra’ide ’əwa’u-’úm̄j̄we:

“Nq̄ jan kinw̄ríhi t̄t̄án’au. Huvá ’ins̄um̄ien’an nq̄t̄á̄k kake’i khwimbáhi f̄érn’ai. Huvá ’as̄úm̄iei–phier ’akúeit̄sehí, huvá kaké’iva ’as̄j̄érehi.”

Huvá–vá h̄yn n̄áp̄ú^avan.

THE BIG-HEAD BOY

Tq kahwǰkieim.

2. TRANSLATION

Once upon a time, there was a town where two Big-Head children lived. The Big-Head girl was pregnant. She didn't have anywhere to give birth. Then she was taken to the plains by her elder brother. Then she had her child. She was brought again by her elder brother to the pueblo; she left the baby on the plain. An Antelope woman found the child. Then she raised him.

While going about hunting, a hunter came across the Antelope woman with her little boy. That boy was swifter than the antelopes. When he returned from the hunt, he at once gave notice to the cacique that in four days, all the people should go out to hunt: "A boy walks among the antelopes. Then we want to catch him."

In four days, the whole pueblo, children, wives and husbands went to hunt. They found the antelopes, but they had been told not to hurt the antelopes, only to catch the boy.

The Antelope woman knew. She told the boy not to separate from her. Then the antelope began to run. While they were running in a ring Antelope woman tells the boy:

"We are now going to start out to the northeast. Then as we pass by the line, your mother will be standing to the left. Then as you pass, you will fall down, then you will be caught by your mother."

Then it happened thus.

Now you have a tail.

3. INTERLINEARISATION

- (2.1) *Kamentfú jow'a Ø- nqtæi-we-'ai; huvá wisi*
 ONCE somewhere 3s-town- be-STAT then two
P'í- łə- 'ú'u- n 'in-thə- 'ai.
 head-big-child-INV 3D-live-PST.STAT

'Once upon a time, there was a town where two Big-Head children lived.'

The typescript reads *P'í-ə'ú'unin*. We assume that this is a typo for *P'ílə'ú'unin*, on the basis of *P'ílə'upiú'ude* in 2.2 and the fact that TH uses word-internal hyphens in the texts only before suffixes like *va* 'by' (e.g., 2.3) and across line breaks. The

typo may have arisen if the *l* part of *l̄* was faint in an early manu- or typescript, with the crossbar then being misread as a hyphen.

With this correction, the original reads *wisi P'ílə'ú'unin thá'ai*, with the inverse suffix *nin*. This is surprising for two reasons. First, the verb lacks an agreement prefix, when we would expect *'in* 3D. Second, the inverse suffix attested for *'u'u* 'baby, child' is plain *n*, as in TH37 *wisi 'u'un 'in'uwavan* 'two children (*'u'u-n* child-INV) were born (*'in-'uwa-van* 3D-be born-PNCT)'. We assume that TH mis-parsed the sequence -INV 3D- (*-n 'in-*) as a single morpheme *-nin* and we have altered the text to accord with the sequence in *wisi 'u'un 'in'uwavan* 'two children were born'. (Inverse *-nin* does occur for some nouns; e.g., *t'ai-nin* 'person-INV', and TH51 *kur-nin* 'captive-INV'.)

- (2.2) *P'í- lə- 'upiú-'u- de 'a- 'u- khwím-ban.*
 head-big-girl- DIM-BAS :3s:3s-child-stand- PNCT
 'The Big-Head girl was pregnant.'
- (2.3) *Juowin'a 'é- na- pa Ø- 'u- k'ua-hi- pa- n-'ad.*
 nowhere :3s:3s.NEG-have place-PST 3s-child-lay- FUT-PST-N-LOC
 'She didn't have anywhere to give birth.'

A zero prefix is ambiguous between intransitive 3s and transitive 3s:3s. It is glossed intransitively here on the basis of TH200 *nə ték'uavan* 'yo parí' and *nə ték'uahípán'ad* 'when I was going to have a child', which use intransitive *té* 1s, not transitive *ti* 1s:3s. We assume, then, that *'u* 'child' in the text (which is absent from the examples just given) is not an incorporated object but a compounded noun. (A less likely alternative are that these verbs are transitive with a dummy plural object, hence using the prefixes *té* 1s:3P and *'u* 3s:3P, in which case there is no *'u* 'child' in 2.3. However, plural agreement, implying an indeterminate, nonspecific object, would be surprising here.)

- (2.4) *Be-papá- va huva pq- 'ai Ø- hwé- tfe- van.*
 3- elder brother-by then plain-LOC 3s-take-PASS-PNCT
 'Then she was taken to the plains by her elder brother.'

Space inserted between *pq'ai* 'to the plains' and *hwétfevan* 'she was taken' (*pq'aihwétfevan* in the original).

Be is glossed as a possessive prefix on the basis of examples like TH97 *besáa* 'her husband' and the comment "Cannot use *-we'i* in third person" (in contrast to first person *'insáawe'i* 'my husband'). There is not sufficient information to determine whether *be* possessors must be singular.

THE BIG-HEAD BOY

- (2.5) *Huvá* Ø- 'u- *k'úa-van*.
 then 3s-child-lay- PNCT
 'Then she had her child.'
- (2.6) *Wiwai be-papá- va* Ø- *má- tfe- van tæi*,
 again 3- elder brother-by 3s-bring-PASS-PNCT pueblo
 Ø- 'u'- *máfsu- van pá- 'ai*.
 3s:3s-baby-abandon-PNCT plain-LOC
 'She was brought again by her elder brother to the pueblo; she left the baby on the plain.'
- (2.7) *Huvá wím'a T'a- liówra- 'ide* Ø- 'u'- *thq- ván*.
 then one antelope-woman-BAS 3s:3s-baby-find-PNCT
 'An Antelope woman found the child.'
- (2.8) *Huvá 'áwá* Ø- 'auk'*ámi-van*.
 then 3s 3s:3s-raise- PNCT
 'Then she raised him.'
- (2.9) *Wivá'a wim'a fə- 'ide* Ø- *fə- tfié- mi- k*
 once one hunter-BAS 3s-hunt-walk-PRG-SUB
 Ø- *T'a- liówra- thq- van 'a- 'əwa- 'u- phier-k*.
 3s:3s-antelope-woman-find-PNCT :3s:3s-young man-DIM-join- SUB
 'While going about hunting, a hunter came across the Antelope woman with her little boy.'
- (2.10) *Je- de 'əwa- 'u- ide* Ø- *wí^r- 'ai t'a- mnin- 'aití*
 that.MID-BAS young man-DIM-BAS 3s-swift-PST.STAT antelope-INV- LOC
thurim.
 more
 'That boy was swifter than the antelopes.'
- (2.11) *fə- áuti* Ø- *makhwi-vá- k* Ø- *nakátfa-wíe- van khiéndad*
 hunt-LOC 3s-return- PNCT-SUB 3s:3s-news- give-PNCT at once
t'ai- kavé- de ve- tú- wini- van wíen-thá- we-'i fímba
 people-judge-BAS 3s:RX-say-stand up-PNCT four-day-be-REL all
t'ái- nin 'i- fə- fən- hi- n-'av:
 people-INV 3I-hunting-go out-FUT-N-LOC
 'When he returned from the hunt, he at once gave notice to the cacique that in four days, all the people should go out to hunt.'

TH203 notes that *'iufəwərihin'av* 'que van a cazar' "is better than *'ifəfqnhin'av*" in this text. The difference is the verb root: *wəri* 'go out' (with a dummy plural object, hence 3I:3P agreement), as opposed to *fqn* (no dummy object, hence 3I agreement), which seems to focus more on process than initiation.

- (2.12) *Wim'a 'əwa- 'ú- 'ide Ø- tʃie- mǝ- n-'áv t'a- mnín-'an.*
 one young man-DIM-BAS 3S-walk-PRG-N-LOC antelope-INV- with
 "A boy walks among the antelopes.'
- (2.13) *Huvá 'i- na- véaw-a 'i- ʃǝr- hi- n-'av."*
 then 1I-NA-want-PRS.PRG 1I:3S-catch-FUT-N-LOC
 "Then we want to catch him."
- (2.14) *Wien-thá- we-'i ʃimba tæi- 'ide 'u- phier líow- phier*
 four- day-be-REL all pueblo-BAS child-join woman-join
sǝa- phier 'i- ʃǝ- mǝ-van.
 husband-join 3I-hunt-go-PNCT
 'In four days, the whole pueblo, children, wives and husbands went to hunt.'
- (2.15) *'Ivi- t'a- thq- van bítfu 'i- 'uvé van*
 3I:3I-antelope-find-PNCT but 3I-tell.PASS-PNCT
j- e- pǝ- t'a- háar-'am-hi- n-'av wǝjva'i
 3I:3S-NEG-deer-antelope-hurt-do- FUT-N-LOC only
'i- 'əwa- 'ú- ʃǝr- hi- n-'av- tin.
 3I:3S-young man-DIM-catch-FUT-N-LOC-only
 'They found the antelopes, but they had been told not to hurt the antelopes, only to (try and) catch the boy.'

TH's translation of *jepit'ahǝ^ar'amhin'av* as '[they were] not to hurt the antelopes' does not explain contribution of *pǝ*. It is glossed as 'deer' because TH203 writes "When asked to explain the *-pǝ-* in this word, inf. said that inf. thought it meant 'deer'". Corroborating, we have TH80 *pǝ'u'ide* 'little deer' and TH82 *pǝtua* 'venison' (*tua* 'meat'). However, it is rare for TH to say that something is her consultant's opinion, suggesting, perhaps, that she does not fully endorse this parse. Certainly, *-pǝ-t'a-* ('deer-antelope') is surprising semantically (with its apparent redundancy) and striking as an incorporate (as a compound, though it is not unique in this regard). However, no other parses suggest themselves to us.

THE BIG-HEAD BOY

- (2·16) *T'a- liówra- 'ide 'a- nákatfa- van.*
 antelope-woman-BAS :3s:3s-be known-PNCT
 'The Antelope woman knew.'
- (2·17) *Húva Ø- 'ówa- 'u- 'úmí-van be- é- láp'ə^ar- hí- n-'av.*
 then 3s:3s-young man-DIM-tell- PNCT 3s:RX-NEG-separate-FUT-N-LOC
 'She told the boy not to separate from her.'

Láp'ə^ar 'separate' appears to be a compound built on *p'ə^ar* 'lose'; *láp*, however, is unidentified.

- (2·18) *Tq t'a- mnín 'i- na-khwier-pə̀j- 'am-ban.*
 PRT antelope-INV 3I:3S-NA-RUN- begin-do- PNCT
 'Then the antelope began to run.'
- (2·19) *'I- tə^arwe-mi- k p'uárt'itím T'a- liówra- 'ide*
 3I-run- PRG-SUB in a ring antelope-woman-BAS
Ø- 'ówa- 'u- 'úmí-we:
 3s:3s-young man-DIM-tell- PRS.PRG
 'While they were running in a ring Antelope woman tells the boy:'

In the original, 2·18 and 2·19 are one sentence separated by a comma. We have split them because there is no connective joining them in the Tiwa.

- (2·20) *"Nq jan kin- wəri- hi tətán'au.*
 1 now 1D:3P-start out-FUT northeast
 "'We are now going to start out to the northeast.'
- (2·21) *"Huvá 'in- fú- mie-n-'an nqtə-'ák ka- ke- 'i*
 then 1D(:3s)-pass by-PRG-N-with line-LOC :2s:3s-mother-REL
Ø- khwim-bá- hi férn'ai.
 3s-stand- STAT-FUT left.LOC
 "'Then as we pass by the line, your mother will be standing to the [left].'

The original word-by-word translation treats *férn'ai* as 'to the right'. However, TH96 gives 'left' as *fernai* and 'right' as *thānai* respectively, corroborating with *feride* 'left-handed person'. TH116 repeats the same information; with further corroboration on TH122, TH146. So, we have amended the translation.

TH glosses 2·21 *fú* as 'pass by' but 2·22 *fú* as 'pass'. It is impossible to tell from the prefixes involved (first dual and third singular, respectively) whether agreement for this verb is intransitive or transitive-with-a-singular-object, the object being

either ‘line’ or a dummy. We have retained TH’s variation and have glossed the prefixes ambiguously, as 1D(:3s) and 3s(:3s).

- (2·22) “*Huvá* ‘a- *fú-* *mí- ei-* *phier* ‘a- *kúei-* *tfe-* *hí,* *huvá*
 then 2s(:3s)-pass by-PRG-PST-join 2s-fell[?].S-PASS-FUT then
ka- *ké-* ‘i- *va* ‘a- *fiére-* *hi.*”
 :2s:3s-mother-REL-by 2s-catch.PASS-FUT

“‘Then as you pass, you will fall down, then you will be caught by your mother.’

The original word-by-word translation treats *‘afúmiéi-phier* as ‘as we pass’. However, the agreement prefix ‘a’ is 2s, as in the immediately subsequent verb *‘akúeitfehi* ‘you will fall down’, rather than ‘i 1i. So, we have amended translation. (On ‘pass’ versus ‘pass by’, see the comment on 2·21.)

TH translates *kúeitfe* as ‘fall down’. However, the root *kúei* occurs in isolation as stative ‘lie.s’ (1·19). Only in exceptional cases (e.g., 1·24) does *tfe* fail to signal a synchronic passive. So, we hypothesise that *kúei* has an unattested causative alternant, of which *kúeitfe* is the passive. (Kiowa presents probably cognate forms: transitive *k’u* ‘lay.P’, derived stative *k’ul* ‘lie.P’, and derived detransitive *k’uygyá* ‘fall.P’; Watkins 1984.) Treating *kúeitfe* as passive brings it into line with *fiére* ‘catch-PASS’ in the next clause. We gloss the verb as ‘fell’ but retain a superscript question mark (and TH’s translation), indicating that this is all somewhat tentative in the absence of fuller evidence.

- (2·23) *Huvá-vá* *hyn* \emptyset - *nápú^a-* *van.*
 then- and thus 3s-happen-PNCT
 ‘Then it happened thus.’
- (2·24) *Tq* *ka-* *hwí-kiei-* *m.*
 PRT :2s:3s-tail-have.S-PRS.STAT
 ‘Now you have a tail.’

Chapter 3

The Katcina Doll Cork

In the original, this text is presented with approximate word-by-word translation into English. The same text appears in Tucker Harrington 1920c, also with word-by-word translation. Excepting several small differences, the details of which are given following the relevant glossed sentences below, the two versions are identical in all but two regards: the latter omits acutes and hyphens. The indication of nasalisation by means of a hook and the use of schwa indicates that the typewriter on which the report was written was specialised for linguistics; and use of *ś* for *f* all but proves the presence acute key. As a result, it seems that Tucker Harrington omitted tone marking as a matter of choice. She may have judged such information (as well as that indicated by the occasional hyphen) to be too linguistic a concern for a more anthropological audience. Removal of some allophonic variation supports this view (see 3·1 on *b~v*, 3·6 on *d~t*, and 3·8 on *bm~m*). However, one cannot discount that tone was not indicated in part because it had not yet been wholly understood.

The 1920c does not capitalise the term ‘katcina’, in contrast to the 1920a version. We follow the former, which, being a study wholly devoted to kalcinas, carries more weight.

1. TIWA

'Akhe Hwána wibá'a 'abínuwe'ai wenábeowmipá Bartúlu sųh'í.

Wibá'a 'up'akháiwəribak Bartúlu tənám tʃ'əatpan. Huvá wip'á baríl'ai 'itapuntái'ai k'atfina'úde-va. Tapunwáimiéitjın bínusųván.

'Akhe Hwána wáiti tʃ'əadpak húvemíei: "Men, tənám 'abínusųtʃ'əatpan."

THE KATCINA DOLL CORK

“Teétsʼəatpám,” túmiei.
 “Pitu k’átfina’úde maqhəribm?”
 Huva túmiei: “Bitfu herí k’átfinán ’ibemáqhərikik.”

2. TRANSLATION

Señora Juana once had some wine she didn’t want Bartolo to drink.

Once when she went out to get water, Bartolo went inside. There was a barrel with a cork with a little kalcina on it. Uncorking it, he drank the wine.

When Señora Juana came back in again, he was told: “Well, you came in and drank the wine.”

“I didn’t go in,” he said.

“How is it that the little kalcina is turned around?”

Then he said: “But, as is known, kalcinas turn around.”

3. INTERLINEARISATION

(3.1) ’Akhe Hwána wibá’a ’a- bínu- we-’ái
 Señora Juana once :3s:3s-wine-be- PST.STAT
 Ø- we- nq-beow-mi- pá Bartúlu Ø- sɣ- hɣ- ’i.
 3S-NEG-NA-want-PRG-PNCT Bartolo 3S:3S-drink-FUT-REL

‘Señora Juana once had some wine she didn’t want Bartolo to drink.’

The original has *bínuwe’ái* ‘had some wine’, with no overt agreement prefix. However, all other instances of *we* ‘have’ take prefixes indicating both possessor and possessum, all of which are nonzero. We assume that the appropriate prefix here, *’a* :3s:3s, has been elided with the vowels of the preceding word *wibá’a* ‘once’.

Supporting evidence comes from the 1920c version of the text. There, *b* and *v* are in almost perfectly complementary distribution (a strong tendency also in the current version), suggesting that they are allophones: *b* occurs word-initially and *v*, word-internally. The only word-initial *v* occurs in the verb under discussion, written there as *vinuwe’ái*. If we posit the elided prefix *’a*, then this *v* is word-internal and, hence, in conformity with an allophonic relationship. (This evidence is supportive not definitive because, ironically, the only instance of word-internal *b* occurs with an homophonous prefix in the equivalent of 3.6, *’abinusɣts’əatpan* ‘you came in to drink wine’.)

- (3.2) *Wibá'a 'u- p'a- khái- wəri- ba- k Bartúlu təanəm*
 once 3s:3P-water-get.NV-go out-PNCT-SUB Bartolo inside
 Ø- tʃʌt-pan.
 3s-enter-PNCT
 'Once when she went out to get water, Bartolo went inside.'
- (3.3) *Huvá wip'á baríl- 'ai 'i- tapun-tái- 'ai*
 then one.INV barrel-LOC 3I-cork- be in-PST.STAT
 k'atfina-'ú- de- va.
 kalcina-DIM-BAS-and
 'There was a barrel with a cork with a little kalcina on it.'
- (3.4) Ø- *Tapun-wái- miéitj̄n Ø- bínu- s̄- ván.*
 3s:3s-cork- take off-PTCP 3s:3s-wine-drink-PNCT
 'Uncorking it, he drank the wine.'

The zero prefix on *tapunwáimiéitj̄n* is surprising, as TH19 *bi-tápun-wái-van* 'I took the cork out' (1s:3I-cork-take out-PNCT) shows that singular *tapun* 'cork' takes inverse agreement. Therefore, we would expect the prefix 'i 3s:3I. We propose that *tapun* is compounded with *wái* to mean 'uncork' and that the direct object refers to the wine which triggers 3s agreement. ('Barrel', the other thing that might be uncorked, we suspect is also inverse-marked in the singular, as suggested by the form *wip'a*, not *wim'a*, for 'one' in 3.3; so it is not a possible trigger for zero agreement.) (Or *miéitj̄n* may suppress agreement, though that is unlikely if the suffix is a variant of *méinin*, which occurs with full agreement in 5.14.)

- (3.5) *'Akhe Hwána wáití Ø- tʃʌd-pa- k Ø- húve- mí- ei:*
 Señora Juana again 3s-enter-PNCT-SUB 3s-tell.PASS-PRG-PST
 'When Señora Juana came back in again, he was told:'

The *h* in *húvemíei* is odd. *Húve* is attested as the passive of 'chase' in 1.10. But 'chase' is not a plausible translation here (unless it has an idiomatic meaning, as in 'go after [someone, with an accusation], attack verbally'). An alternative is that we read glottal stop (ʔ) for *h*, giving *'úvemíei* 'he was being told' (see 4.17). Comparable uses are found in 1.5, 5.7, but with nasal *ɥ*. Either way, TH's translation must be changed from active '[she] said' to passive 'he was told' or similar. With the suggested change, Bartolo is the agent or subject-by-passive of all the verbs in which he is engaged from the point where he enters the house until he delivers his punchline. The change therefore offers better narrative cohesion.

In the 1920c version, the *d* of *tʃʌdpak* appears devoiced as *tʃʌtpak*, in accord with 3.6 *'abínusɥtʃʌtpan*.

- (3.6) “Men, *təanám* ’a- *bínu- sų-* *tʃəat-pan.*”
 well inside 2s-wine-drink-enter-PNCT
 “‘Well, you came in and drank the wine.’”

Combined *’abínu* and *sųtʃəatpan* into one word.

- (3.7) “Te-é- *tʃəat-pá-* *m,*” \emptyset - *tų-* *mi-* *ei.*
 1s-NEG-enter-PNCT-QUOT 3s-say-PRG-PST
 “‘I didn’t go in,’ he said.’

- (3.8) “Pitu *k’átfina-’ú-* *de* \emptyset - *mąkhəri-* *bm?*”
 how kadcina-DIM-BAS 3s-turn around-PRS.STAT
 “‘How is it that the little kadcina is turned around?’”

The present stative *m* admits *bm* as a variant (in the 1920c version, the verb in this sentence appears as *mąkhərim*). It is found also in TH138 *bewáimətʃebm* ‘it crawls’ and, with parentheses, in TH53 *p’akháta* ‘ise(b)m ‘the stars are already out, lit. the stars are standing’. Homorganic stop–nasal sequences are found also for dentals, in nouns: TH75 *p’apíedn* ‘(two or more) ducks’, TH75 *súrdnin* ‘(two or more) bluejays’, TH85 *’iephúdn* ‘black corn’.

- (3.9) *Huva* \emptyset - *tų-* *mi-* *ei:*
 then 3s-say-PRG-PST
 ‘Then he said:’

- (3.10) “*Bitfu heri k’átfiná-n* ’ibe- *mąkhəri-* *ki-* *k.*”
 but known kadcina-INV 3I:RX-turn around-HAB-SUB
 “‘But, as is known, kadcinas turn around.’”

TH notes that the punch line “refer[s] to the custom they [kadcinas] have of turning around in the dance”.

The final *k* makes this response not a full sentence but a subordinate clause, on our analysis. Ordinarily, *k* signals temporal subordination, but, in this case, it probably has a meaning closer to ‘because’: TH140 writes that *nə’íkípák* ‘because it used to shake’ “Means about the same as” the same verb with *’iva* ‘because’ in place of *k*, *nə’íkípá’iva*. So, the sentence might be more accurately, though less idiomatically, translated as, ‘But, because, you know, kadcinas turn around’. A sentence of apparently similar structure is TH179 *Bitfu hínu nə’an* ‘at’awienhik ‘I am going to make you listen to me’: it too begins with *bitfu*, ends with subordinating *k*, and is translated into English as a full sentence.

Chapter 4

How the Katcinas Came to Isleta

This is the only text in the current collection that was not included in Tucker Harrington 1920a. It occurs as an endnote to the 1920c anthropological report on katcinas. In the original, it is presented with an approximate word-by-word translation into English. Both the Tiwa and its gloss use the term *k'atsina* 'katcina' to refer sometimes to people, the katcina adherents, and sometimes to the artefacts integral to their practice. We follow this dual use.

Like the 1920c version of *The Katcina Doll Cork*, the current text lacks tone marking (p17) and uses *ś* for *f*; it also replaces *y* with *j*. We retain *ś* and *y* below but use *f* and *j* for the purposes of indexing.

1. TIWA

Bier'ai kha'ade k'atsinan'ai wenqhuva'i wiva'a Pawatə'apti Bier'ai mɨvan. Huva hwiri k'atsinan'atti ts'upi'ai 'imɨvan mɨr'ak 'ahiowsəarehim'ai. Bitsu p'ekhvir weśyva. Mɨrk'ieikhwir mɨvan. Mɨrk'ied wierivak 'imɨvan 'ikhwirmik. Huva 'unq'awi'amban. Huva wim'a 'arumiei khwirmik. Pɨmɨvak kwei'ai 'amkhy-thəmk. Hiow'ak 'ithəban. Yeti Bier'ai mɨvan.

Thəbek wati 'i'ɨvan yua'a 'iwek. Tə weekueipa. Huva 'ivi'əhumban mɨrk'əakkhin. 'Thiowthəvan 'asəarehipa'i śumik. Yeti Pawatə'ap 'imɨvan 'i'ɨmihim'ai p'qininnɨ 'iwe'ai'um. Huva tɨvan p'qinin'a 'iwepa'in hutehim'ai k'atsinan'ai wenqhuwimipa'iva. Huyuei kha'adeva 'i'ɨvevan hɨn'ikhu 'iunq'ammin'ak hi-nqhuwihim'ai k'atsinan'ai.

K'atsinan 'iməawevak 'inqthənɨmɨvan. Nəphj'at 'imɨmɨk Śiehwi'p'ap 'iwambak 'iveśievak hi'aveva'i, 'itɨvak 'imk'atsinaphierk 'ithəmɨmin'ap, hwila-

HOW KATCINAS CAME TO ISLETA

*wedeva t'aikqvede 'yvemie' imęnqıhweyuhin'ap. Tq 'ivethatıwıvan Śiehwip-
'ap.*

2. TRANSLATION

At Laguna, once, a medicine man who did not believe in the katcinas was going there from Paguache. Then eight of the katcinas went ahead to the cliff to throw a rock down on him. But he did not pass along the trail. He went along the cliff top. When he went up on top of the cliff, he saw them as they were running. Then he shot with his rifle. Then one cried out as he was running. When he went to see, he was lying with his leg broken. He had broken it on a rock. From there, he went to Laguna.

The next day, several people came from there. But he was no longer lying there. Then they tracked them also to the edge of the cliff. They found the stone that would have been dropped on him as he passed. From there, they went to Paguache for the man with the broken leg to tell them who they who had tried to kill the medicine man were. Then he told them by whomever they were that he would have been killed because he did not believe in the katcinas. Then they were told by the medicine man that they acted in this way to make them believe in the katcinas. Because the katcinas were shamed, they went in search of a home.

On their way to Sandia, when they arrived at Isleta and told what had been done to them and when they said they were going to live somewhere with their katcinas, the war captain said to the cacique not to let them go. And they stayed living at Isleta.

3. INTERLINEARISATION

- (4.1) *Bier- 'ai kha'a- de k'atsına-n- 'ai we-nqhu- va- 'i wiva'a*
Laguna-LOC father-BAS katcina-INV-LOC 3S- believe-PST-REL once
Pawatə- 'apti Bier- 'ai Ø- mı-van.
Paguache-LOC Laguna-LOC 3S-go-PNCT

'At Laguna, once, a medicine man who did not believe in the katcinas was going there from Paguache.'

The repetition of *Bier'ai* 'at/to Laguna' makes the sentence hard to translate. A literal rendering is rather cumbersome in English ('At Laguna, a medicine man ... was once going from Paguache to Laguna'). Presumably, the initial mention

serves to highlight that Laguna is the locus of the events that unfold following the attempted killing.

- (4.2) *Huva hwiri k'atsina-n- 'atti ts'upi- 'ai 'i- mɨ-van mɨr- 'ak*
 then eight kadcina-INV-LOC ahead-LOC 3I-go-PNCT cliff-LOC
'a- hiow- sɔar- e- hi- m'ai.
 :3s:3s-stone-fall.s-CAUS.PASS-FUT-for
 'Then eight of the kadcinas went ahead to the cliff to throw a rock down on him.'
- (4.3) *Bitsu p'ɛ- khwir we- sɨ- va.*
 but trail-along 3S.NEG-PASS-PNCT
 'But he did not pass along the trail.'
- (4.4) *Mɨr-k'iei-khwir Ø- mɨ-van.*
 cliff-top- along 3s-go-PNCT
 'He went along the cliff top.'
- (4.5) *Mɨr-k'ie-d Ø- wieri- va- k 'i- mɨ-van 'i- khwir-mi- k.*
 cliff-top-LOC 3s-go up-PNCT-SUB 3s:3I-see-PNCT 3I-run- PRG-SUB
 'When he went up on top of the cliff, he saw them as they were running.'

The translation of *wieri* as 'go up' (which the text glosses simply as 'arrive') is based on nontextual examples such as, in particular, TH153 *tq'qwq wierivan* 'he went up', which is followed by the comment "Apparently no idea of hitherward or thitherward direction here".

- (4.6) *Huva 'u- nɔt'awi-'am-ban.*
 then 3s:3P-gun- do- PNCT
 'Then he shot.'

TH's word-by-word translation specifies that he shot with a rifle. We include this in the idiomatic English translation of section 2.

- (4.7) *Huva wim'a Ø- 'aru-mi- ei Ø- khwir-mi- k.*
 then one 3S-cry- PRG-PST 3S-run- PRG-SUB
 'Then one cried out as he was running.'

In the original, 4.7–4.9 are one sentence with commas where we have inserted fullstops. There are no subordinative or connective morphemes linking the sentences, however. So, fullstops feel more natural.

- (4.8) \emptyset - *Pɥ-* *mj-va-* *k* *kuei-'ai* *'am-* *khɥ-thə-* *m-* *k.*
 3s-see.NV-go-PNCT-SUB lie.S-PST.STAT :3s:3I-leg- break-PRS.STAT-LOC
 'When he went to see, he was lying with his leg broken.'

We identify *k* as LOC (as in 1.14), not SUB, because SUB does not occur with present stative *m*. The resulting complex coda is striking.

- (4.9) *Hiow-'ak* *'i-* *thə-* *ban.*
 stone-LOC 3s:3I-break-PNCT
 'He had broken it on a rock.'

- (4.10) *Ye-* *ti* *Bier-* *'ai* \emptyset - *mj-van.*
 that.MID-LOC Laguna-LOC 3s-go-PNCT
 'From there, he went to Laguna.'

In the original, *yeti* is glossed inconsistently, as 'then this one (*i.e.*, the medicine-man)' in 4.8 but as just 'from', without a complement, in 4.15. We think that treating *yeti* as 'from there' is more plausible, being comparable with, on the one hand, *jede* 'that.BAS' and *jemba* 'that.INAN.INV' (references in index), and, on the other, the *ti* suffix of the complex locatives 1.8 *kámpu-'átti* 'from the camp', 2.11 *ǰáuti* 'from the hunt', and 6.8 *'amt'aiwe'in'áti* 'from his people'. (See also the discussion of *wati* in the next sentence.)

We have capitalised *Bier'ai* for consistency with the opening and closing sentences, where all place names are capitalised.

- (4.11) *Thəbek* *wa-* *ti* *'i-'j-* *van* *yua'a* *'i-* *we-k.*
 next day that.FAR-LOC 3I-COME-PNCT several 3I-be-SUB
 'The next day, several people came from there.'

TH glosses *wati* as 'to that one (*i.e.*, the katcina)'. But this seems unlikely given that *wati*, exceptionally for a free noun phrase, does not agree with the verb (if it did, one would expect *'am'jvan* 'they came for or to him', using *'am* :3s:3I as in 4.8). A more likely analysis is that, *wati* is to *yeti* (*jeti*) 'from there' as, say, 6.5 *wadi* 'that.INV' is to *jedi* 'that.INV'. Tucker Harrington 1920b explains that these differ in being respectively far- versus mid-distance deictics. So, *wati* means *from there* (*far*)' (we assume that *waití*, see index, is a variant of *wati*).

This phrase *yua'a 'iwek* 'the several they were', following *'i'jvan* 'they came', is somewhat surprising (the simpler *yua'a 'i'jvan* 'several came' would seem adequate). It is possible that this subordinate clause built on the verb 'be' is comparable to those of Kiowa (*e.g.*, *áugau e-dáw-gáu*, REL 3I-be-REL.INV, 'that are'), which seem to serve as markers givenness in a language lacking articles. If so,

the hearer of this text would have pragmatically to accommodate the givens to be ‘several people from Laguna’, which is reasonable under the circumstances. Nonetheless, it is mysterious why such a clause would use the ‘when, because’ subordinator *k*, rather than the relative clause marker *'in*.

- (4.12) *Tq we- e- kuei-pa.*
 PRT 3S.NEG-just-lie.S-PST
 ‘But he was no longer lying there.’

The simple negative of 4.8 *kuei'ai* ‘he was lying’ would be *wekueipa*. The additional *e* in 4.12 *weekueipa* is not expected. It could be mere phonological emphasis, in which case, we are wrong to treat it as a separate morpheme. However, there is one other morpheme that looks like negation and occurs between agreement and the verb root, namely, *(w)ei* ‘just’ (as in 1.14). It is possible that *wee* corresponds to \emptyset -NEG-JUST *we-ei*. If so, this example of cooccurrence is apparently unique within TH’s textual and nontextual corpus. This decomposition being tentative, we translate *weekueipa* as though it were *wekueipa* ‘he was not lying’.

- (4.13) *Huva 'ivi- 'e- hum- ban mjr- k'aa- k- khin.*
 then 3I:3I-foot-chase-PNCT cliff-edge-LOC-also
 ‘Then they tracked them also to the edge of the cliff.’

In the original, 4.13 and 4.14 are one sentence with a comma where we have inserted a fullstop. Our reasons are as given after 4.7.

Tucker Harrington 1920a lists *k'aa*, treated here as ‘edge’, with the meaning ‘neck’.

- (4.14) *'I- hiow- thq- van 'a- saar- e- hi- pa- 'i*
 3I:3S-stone-find-PNCT :3S:3S-fall.S-CAUS.PASS-FUT-PST-REL
 \emptyset - *su- mi- k.*
 3S-PASS-PRG-SUB
 ‘They found the stone that would have been dropped on him as he passed.’

- (4.15) *Ye- ti Pawatə- 'ap 'i- mj-van 'i- 'umi-hi- m'ai p'qininnu*
 that.MID-LOC Paguache-LOC 3I-go-PNCT 3S:3I-tell- FUT-for who
'i- we-'ai- 'um.
 3I-be- PST.STAT-QUOT

‘From there, they went to Paguache for him [the man with the broken leg] to tell them who they [who had tried to kill the medicine man] were.’

On *yeti*, see 4.10. We have capitalised *Pawatə'ap* for consistency with the opening and closing sentences, where all place names are capitalised.

TH glosses *'i'ymihim'ai* as 'in order to tell them'. In context as an English translation, this makes it sound as though the people going were the people telling (reading *'i* as 3I), which contradicts the fact that they have yet to extract the information from the man with the broken leg. So, some clarifications of these pronouns' referents have been added ('[who had tried to kill the medicine man]' is based on TH's gloss of *'iwe'ai'um* as 'was there (when they tried to kill him)', correcting, though, the discrepancy between singular 'was' and the nonsingular agreement of *'iwe'ai* 'they were').

- (4.16) *Huva* Ø- *tu- van* *p'q̄nin'a* 'i- *we-pa-* 'in
 then 3S-say-PNCT whoever 3I-be-PST.STAT-REL.NS
 Ø- *hu- te- hi- m'ai k'at̄sina-n-* 'ai *we- nq̄hu- wi- mi- pa- 'iva.*
 3S-kill-PASS-FUT-FOR katcina-INV-LOC 3S(:3S)-believe-CAUS.PASS-PRG-PST-because
 'Then he told them by whomever they were that he would have been killed because he did not believe in the katcinas.'

TH glosses both 4.15 *p'q̄ninnu* and 4.16 *p'q̄nin'a* as 'who'. We have yet to collate and investigate the composition of *wh* and related expressions in Tiwa. However, we observe that other forms ending in *(n)'a* appear to correspond to English free choice indefinites or their negated counterparts: 1.21 *hiri'a* 'whatever', 5.16 *hirin'a* 'nothing', 2.2 *jow'a* 'somewhere', 2.3 *juowin'a* 'nowhere'. We, therefore, treat 4.15 *p'q̄ninnu* as interrogative 'who' and 4.16 *p'q̄nin'a* as indefinite 'whoever', whilst leaving aside their exact morphological composition.

Apparently uniquely within the corpus, this sentence contains a passive verb, *hutehim'ai* 'in order that he be killed', and its logical subject, *p'q̄nin'a 'iwepa'in* 'they who were there', but no *ba* 'by' to link them together. We would have expected *p'q̄nin'a 'iwepa'inba* if the relative clause is internally headed, or *p'q̄nin'ava 'iwepa'in* if externally headed (though we have not seen *p'q̄nin'a* so suffixed, as its occurrences are few).

On 'believe', see the next sentence.

- (4.17) *Huyuei* *kha'a- de- va* 'i- 'yve- *van* *hjn'ikhu*
 then father-BAS-by 3I-tell.PASS-PNCT in this way
 'iu- *nq- 'am-mi- n- 'ak* *hi-nq̄hu- wi- hi- m'ai*
 3I:3P-NA-DO- PRG-N-LOC 3I-believe-CAUS.PASS-FUT-FOR
k'at̄sina-n- 'ai.
 katcina-INV-LOC

'Then they were told by the medicine man that they acted in this way to make them believe in the katcinas.'

The initial *h* of *hinqhuwihim'ai* replaces the expected glottal stop, *'inqhuwihim'ai* ('i 3I). Analysis of this verb is involved (see the next comment), but 4·19 presents another case of *hi* for 'i 3I, without additional complications: reading *hi'aveva'i* as *'i'aveva'i* 'they had been done' is entirely straightforward. See also 3·5. In consequence, we assume that *h* is a rare variant of (word-initial) '.

The verb 'believe' in this and the previous sentence is problematic in terms of a mismatch between agreement prefix and causativisation of the root. In 4·1, *wenqhuva'i* 'who did not believe' suggests that the root 'believe' is simply *nqhu*, as reflected in the glossing of that sentence. In 4·16 *wenqhuwimipa'iva* and 4·17 *hinqhuwihim'ai*, the root appears in an augmented form, *nqhuwi*, which strongly resembles a causative. Consistent with this, TH glosses *hinqhuwihim'ai* as 'to make them believe' (*wenqhuwimipa'iva* is glossed more neutrally as 'because he would not believe'). However, the agreement prefixes of the verbs does not match this transitivity.

For 'to make them believe', or rather, 'that they make them believe', we would expect *'ivi* 3I:3I. Instead, the prefix *hi* (or '*i*, see the previous comment) must represent one of 3I, 3I:3s, and 3s:3I (we leave aside the further homophones 1I, 1I:3s, 2s:3I, and 1:2s, as the text is otherwise entirely in the third person). Given that neither the kadcina adherents nor the Lagunans are singular, both 3I:3s and 3s:3I are ruled out. This leaves us with intransitive 3I agreement as the only option. In which case, we have to read *nqhuwi* as *nqhu-we* 'believe-CAUS.PASS', and we can hypothesise that this final *e* sounds higher because it follows a high vowel (and epenthetic glide). (This phantom vowel raising does not appear to affect the pair TH158 *mu-wi* 'show', *mu-wε* 'be shown', from *mu* 'see'. This could be because, having elicited the pair in succession, TH was better able to hear the difference in colouring between the two vowels; but this suggestion is tentative.)

The same problem arises for 4·16 *wenqhuwimipa'iva*. If causative, it should take the agreement prefix '*i* 3I:3s 'they [could not make] him [believe]', which, negated, would be *je*. Instead, we have *we*, which arises for just four argument combinations: 3s and 3s:3s (for which agreement is zero and the negative takes the word-initial allomorph *we*), and 3P and 3s:3P (for which agreement is '*u* and the negative takes its usual form of *e*, from which standard phonology produces *we*). Yet, if we take this verb to be a phonologically unusually passive, then the agreement prefix is expected to be 3s, the first of the four just listed. So, the root-agreement mismatch is again resolved.

- (4·18) *K'atsina-n* 'i- mɔa- we- va- k 'i- nqthə- nu- mj-van.
 kadcina- INV 3I-shame-CAUS.PASS-PNCT-SUB 3I-house-search.NV-go-PNCT
 'Because the kadcinas were shamed, they went in search of a home.'

The decomposition of *məawe* into root plus CAUS.PASS is based, first, on the similarity to other bisyllabic, *e*-final passives, and second, on examples like TH156 *tináməapehi* ‘I am going to be ashamed’ (*ti-ná-məa-pe-hi* 1s:3s-NA-shame-make-FUT) and *kewenámə* ‘you have no shame’ (*kew-e-ná-mə*:2s:3p-NEG-NA-shame), which show that *mə(a)* is an independent root.

The gloss *ny* ‘search.NV’ is a contextually plausible guess based on the cognates in Kiowa (*dón* ‘search’, *tó* ‘search.NV’) and San Juan Tewa (*tywä* ‘search.NV’).

- (4·19) *Naphj-* ‘at ‘i- *mj-mj-* *k* *Śiehwip-*‘ap ‘i- *wam-* *ba-* *k*
 Sandia-LOC 3I-go-PRG-SUB Isleta- LOC 3I-arrive-PNCT-SUB
 ‘ive- *śie-* *va-* *k* *hi-*‘ave- *va-* ‘i, ‘i- *ty-* *va-* *k*
 3I:RX-tell-PNCT-SUB 3I-do.PASS-PNCT-REL 3I-say-PNCT-SUB
 ‘im- *k’atsina-*phier-*k* ‘i- *thə-* *mj-mi-* *n-*‘ap, *hwilawe-* *de-* *va*
 3I:3I-katcina-join- SUB 3I-live-go-PRG-N-LOC war captain-BAS-by
t’ai- *kəve-* *de* Ø- ‘*yve-* *mi-* *ei* ‘im- *ε-* *nq-pj-* *hweyu-* *hi-* *n-*‘ap.
 people-judge-BAS 3s-tell.PASS-PRG-PST :3I:3S-NEG-NA-go.NV-allow.PASS-FUT-N-LOC

‘On their way to Sandia, when they arrived at Isleta and told what had been done to them [and] when they said they were going to live [somewhere] with their katcinas, the war captain said to the cacique not to let them go.’

The original treats 4·19 as two sentences, with a break between *hi’aveva’i* and *’ityvak*. However, the first “sentence” in this case consists wholly of temporal subordinate clauses (‘when they were going ...’, ‘when they arrived ...’, ‘when they told ...’). Joined together, the sentence is remarkable in concatenating four temporal subordinate clauses before reaching the main verb, *’yvemiei* ‘he told’.

Two aspects of the verb ‘allow’ require comment. First, *’imənəpīhweyuhin’ap* ‘he should not allow them to leave’ is glossed with a singular object, *’im*:3I:3s. This is based on the four examples of this verb in TH174, which clearly treat the grantee as a dative (witness the person variation in the following two examples) yet additionally have third singular object: *tanəpīwejuvan* ‘I allowed him to go’ (*ta-nq-pj-weju-van* 1s:3s:3s-NA-go.NV-allow-PNCT); *kənəpīwejuhi* ‘I will not allow you to go’ (*k-é-nq-pj-weju-hi* 1s:2s:3s-NEG-NA-go.NV-allow-FUT).

Second, the passive of this verb appears, unusually, to involve ablaut of the initial consonant. The same effect is visible in its only other passive use, TH174 *’inənəhweveva timyhi’i* ‘I was not allowed to see him’ (*’in-é-nq-hweve-va ti-my-hi-’i*:1s:3s-NEG-NA-allow.PASS-PNCT 1s:3s-see-FUT-REL). The two examples differ in their endings, *hweyu* versus *hweve*, suggesting that the verb is in some sense complex (observe also that, in both variants, active *weju* loses its nasality). But, this complication aside, we are justified in glossing *hweyu* as passive, which is the

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expected argument structure when a third person agent, the cacique, acts for a third person dative, the kalcinas.

- (4.20) *Tq 'ive- thə- tɨw- ɨ- van Šiehwip-'ap.*
PRT 3I:RX-live-stay-CAUS-PNCT Isleta- LOC
'And they stayed living at Isleta.'

Chapter 5

How the Three Children Entered fihowphun

In the original, this text is accompanied by a translation into Spanish, which we present without alteration, as the errors suggest that either TH or her consultant was not wholly proficient in Spanish, which warrants a degree of freedom in the glossing and translation. Our translation is of the Tiwa, using the Spanish as a guide.

A striking characteristic of the text is the use of diminutives for all four characters (the old woman, little girl, and two boys), and indeed for the three chickens. This parallels the persistent use of diminutives for all five entities in *El Perrito* (the old man, old lady, dog, and two sheep; pp42–44) and may well be a genre-specific trait, relating, perhaps, to the purpose of the narratives. Diminutives are notably absent from *The Ill-Fated White Horse* (pp38–41).

1. TIWA

Nq̄thá'ai wim'a k̄iow'úde thá'ai. Pát̄sua 'ám'u'uthá'ai, wim'a 'upīy'ude'an wisi 'áwa'un'an.

Thəm'ahwírpid k̄iow'ude 'utírkiei. Tq̄ húva wiv'a'a thəmdak 'utírmik 'upīy- 'ude hujueikhi 'av'á̄j'u'arúmiei. Huva wév'á̄iupiewi'ammípa.

Tq̄ huva k̄iow'ude–va t'á̄'avevan wéná̄piewiammípa'íva: “Mienma, 'av'á̄j'u- 'iri,” 'ȳvemiei.

Tq̄ 'upīy'ude t'únweivan. Tq̄ p'q̄j'u'irivan. Tq̄ jéde wim'a khin kháf̄j̄rivan. Tq̄ huva khá'əháimeitin 'iuwá̄rivan.

Huva pát̄sua 'amdíru'uthá'ai. Tq̄ díru'umba 'authúvemiei. Tq̄ húva 'idíru- 'umikímiei, 'imkhá'ə'uph̄yaméinin. Tq̄ húva khá'əpharivak, tq̄ 'idíru'umimiei:

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“Tq me’itfe, tq mamákhwi, tq hirin’a ’inéfiemi mamíkhi’i.” Tq díru’un ’íma-khwīvan.

Tq húva ’q̄wq mīvan wīm’a ’av’q̄i’u’ír’ǰ’irik húva wīm’a ’aúthúvemiei. Tq húva wīm’a fihíowphunk̄eipan’ad ’iwambak, ’iv’q̄i’u’umímiei: “Jum j̄ude hiów’av ’itf’áadhim,” va jede hiów’av ’itf’áadpan.

Tq huva tiow’ude nq̄kh̄r^epharvak, tq ’uwárvan. Húva ’amt’áiwe’in’au ’ú-f̄i’ávan híts̄yaku ’am’u’umīvan’um’ai. Huva ’anq̄siembevan hiów’av ’ám’u’u-tf’áadpan’um. Tq tiow’ude piehárkitin piowvan.

Tq kahw̄kieim.

2. TRANSLATION

In a house, there lived a little old woman. She had three children living with her, a little girl and two little boys.

Every day the little woman would grind. And one day while she was grinding, the little brother of the little girl was crying a lot. And she was not paying attention to her little brother.

Then the old lady scolded her for not paying attention to him: “Mielma, carry your little brother on your back,” she was told.

And then the little girl became upset. Then she carried her little brother on her back. Then she took the other brother by the arm. And she took the grains of corn, then they went out.

And they had three little hens. And the little hens followed her. And then she fed the little hens, scattering the corn for them. Then she used up the corn, then she told the hens: “Don’t come, go back, I have nothing to feed you.” Then the little hens went back.

Then she went with her little brother on her back and the other following her. Then they arrived where there was a black rock and she told her little brothers: “We are going to enter into this rock”, and they entered the rock.

The old woman had no more hope and she went out (of her home). She asked her people (neighbours) for which way her children went. It was answered that the children entered the rock. Then the old woman died of sorrow.

Now you have a tail.

3. INTERLINEARISATION

- (5.1) *Nqthá-'ai wim'a liow- 'ú- de Ø- thá- 'ai.*
 house-LOC one woman-DIM-BAS 3s-live-PST.STAT
 'In a house, there lived a little old woman. (*En una casita vivía una viejita.*)'
- (5.2) *Pátfua 'ám- 'u'u- thá- 'ai, wim'a 'upiy- 'u- de- 'an wisi*
 three :3s:3I-child-live-STAT one little girl-DIM-BAS-and two
 'áwa- 'u- n- 'an.
 young man-DIM-INV-and
 'She had three children living with her, a little girl and two little boys.
 (*Tenía tres chiquitos, una mujercita y dos hombrecitos.*)'

TH writes 5.1 and 5.2 as a single sentence, without any demarcating punctuation. We have followed the Spanish translation, which reflects the absence of subordination or other linking devices in the Tiwa.

The Spanish terms the children as 'a little woman and two little men'. We do not know what the terms *mujercita* (*mujercito*, possibly a typo, in 5.4) and *hombrecito* connoted to Tiwa speakers. Our translation more literally follows the Tiwa, which uses diminutives of 'girl' and 'young man', not 'woman' and 'man'. The diminutive of 'woman' does occur, in this sentence, in fact, and its translation into Spanish is as 'little old lady'.

- (5.3) *Thəm'ahwírpíd líow- 'u- de 'u- tír- kí- ei.*
 every day woman-DIM-BAS 3s:3P-grind-HAB-PST
 'Every day the little woman would grind. (*Todos los días la viejita estaba moliendo.*)'
- (5.4) *Tq húva wiv'a'a thəmdak 'u- tír- mi- k 'upiy- 'u- de*
 PRT then once morning 3s:3P-grind-PRG-SUB little girl-DIM-BAS
 hujueikhi 'a- v'qj- 'u- 'arú-mi- ei.
 really :3s:3s-younger brother-DIM-CRY- PRG-PST
 'And one day while she was grinding, the little brother of the little girl
 was crying a lot. (*Y en una mañanita estaba moliendo, y su hermanito de la mujercito estaba mucho llorando.*)'

Combined 'av'qj'u and 'arúmiei into one word. (They straddle a line break but without a hyphen in the original.)

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- (5.5) *Huva* Ø- *wé- v'q̄i-* *u- piewi-* *'am-mí- pa.*
 then 3s:3s-NEG-younger brother-DIM-attention-do- PRG-PST
 'And she was not paying attention to her little brother. (*Y no le daba caso á su hermanito.*)'

In this sentence and 5.6, an *m* has been added to *piewi'ammípa* (*piewi'amípa* in the original), on the basis of examples like *Hi'aju huva 'i venenapiewi'ammi?* 'Why don't you pay attention to me?' [lit., 'aren't paying' *ven-e-na-piewi-'am-mi* 2s:1s:3s-NEG-NA-attention-do-PRG], TH10 *tié'alkilá'qmmj* 'I am not renting it' (*ti-é-'alkilá-'qm-mj* 1s:3s-NEG-rent-do-PRG), and numerous independent occurrences of *'am* 'do' and *mi* PRG.

- (5.6) *Tq huva liow-* *'u- de- va* Ø- *t'ǵ-* *'ave- van*
 PRT then woman-DIM-BAS-by 3s-scold-do.PASS-PNCT
 Ø- *wé- nq-piewi-* *am-mí- pa- 'íva:*
 3s:3s-NEG-NA-attention-do- PRG-PST-because
 'Then the old lady scolded her for not paying attention to him: (*Y luego la viejita lo regañó porque no le daban caso á su hermanito:*)'

See comment on previous sentence.

- (5.7) "Mienma, *'a- v'q̄i-* *'u- 'iri,*"
 Mielma 2s:3s-younger brother-DIM-carry on back.IMP
 Ø- *'yve- mi- ei.*
 3s-tell.PASS-PRG-PST
 "'Mielma, carry your little brother on your back," she was told. (*"Mielma, carga su hermanito en el lomo."*)'

The original, which lacks punctuation between the last two words, splits the agreement prefix and incorporate from the verb 'carry', then lumps that root with the following verb: *'av'q̄i'u 'iri'yvemiei.*

- (5.8) *Tq 'upíy-* *'y- de* Ø- *t'únwei-van.*
 PRT little girl-DIM-BAS 3s-upset- PNCT
 'And then the little girl became upset. (*Y luego la mujercita se enojó con tristeza.*)'

- (5.9) *Tq* Ø- *p'q̄i-* *'u- 'iri-* *van.*
 PRT 3s:3s-younger brother-DIM-carry on back-PNCT
 'Then she carried her little brother on her back. (*Y cargó su hermanito en el lomo*)'

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Combined *p'qj'u* and *'irivan* into one word.

- (5-10) *Tq jé- de wím'a khin ʔ- khá- fjr- van.*
 PRT that.MID-BAS one also 3s:3s-arm-grab-PNCT
 'Then she took the other brother by the arm. (*y luego agarró el otro su hermanito por la mano.*)'

The Spanish translation of *kháfjrvan* 'she took him by the arm' is *agarró el otro su hermanito por la mano* 'she took him by the hand'. It is unclear whether this is a loose translation or whether, idiomatically, one takes people by the arm in Tiwa. (A word for 'hand' as distinct from 'arm' in compounds as *ma*.)

- (5-11) *Tq huva ʔ- khá'ə-hái- meitin 'iu- wəri- van.*
 PRT then 3s:3s-corn-take-PTCP 3i:3p-go out-PNCT
 'And she took the grains of corn, then they went out. (*Y luego agarró el mais desgramado, pues ellos se salieron.*)'

Combined *khá'ə* and *háimeitin* into one word.

- (5-12) *Huva pátsua 'am- díru- 'u- thá- 'ai.*
 then three :3s:3i-chicken-DIM-dwell-PST.STAT
 'And they had three little hens. (*Y tenían tres gallinitas.*)'

- (5-13) *Tq díru- 'u- m- ba 'au- thúve- mi- ei.*
 PRT chicken-DIM-INV-by :3s:3p-follow.PASS-PRG-PST
 'And the little hens followed her. (*Y luego las gallinitas se salieron á tras de ella.*)'

5-12 and 5-13 are a single sentence, demarcated by a comma, in the Tiwa, but are two separate sentences in the Spanish. We have followed the latter.

- (5-14) *Tq húva 'i- díru- 'u- mikí-mi- ei, 'im- khá'ə-'uphə-méinin.*
 PRT then 3s:3i-chicken-DIM-feed-PRG-PST :3i:3s-corn-scatter-PTCP
 'And then she fed the little hens, scattering the corn for them. (*Y luego ella daba la comida a las gallinitas, les echaba maiz.*)'

Combined *'imkhá'ə* and *'uphəaméinin* into one word.

- (5-15) *Tq húva ʔ- khá'ə-phari- va- k, tq 'i- díru- 'umi-mi- ei:*
 PRT then 3s:3s-corn-use up-PNCT-SUB and 3s:3i-chicken-tell- PRG-PST
 'Then she used up the corn, then she told the hens: (*Entonces se acabó el mais. Y luego ella dijo a las gallinitas:*)'

Combined *khá'ə* and *pharivak* into one word.

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- (5-16) “Tq m-e- ’í- tfe, tq ma-mákhwi, tq hirin’a
 PRT 2I-NEG-COME-IMP PRT 2I- go back PRT nothing
 ’in- é- fiei- mi ma- míki-hi- ’i.”
 :1s:3s-NEG-have-PRG 1s:2I-feed-FUT-REL
 “‘Don’t come, go back, I have nothing to feed you.” (“No vienen, vuelven para atrás, no tengo nada par darle a comer.”)’
- (5-17) Tq díru- ’u- n ’í- makhwī-van.
 PRT chicken-DIM-INV 3I-return- PNCT
 ‘Then the little hens went back. (*Entonces las gallinitas se volvieron a tras.*)’
- (5-18) Tq húva ’áwq Ø- mī-van wim’a ’a- v’qj- ’u- ’ír- ’í- k
 PRT then she 3s-go-PNCT one :3s:3s-younger brother-DIM-back-sit-SUB
 húva wim’a ’aú- thúve- mi- ei.
 then one :3s:3P-follow.PASS-PRG-PST
 ‘Then she went with her little brother on her back and the other following her. (*Y entonces ella se fué con su hermanito en el lomo y el otro iba atrás de ella.*)’

Combined ’av’qj’u and ’írik into one word and nasalised the last vowel, ’av’qj’u’ír’ík, reasoning as follows. The prefix before ‘younger brother’ is not the possessive *be* of 2-4, 2-6, but the verbal prefix ’a. If unincorporated, ’av’qj’u would constitute the only case found of an unincorporated diminutive without either a basic suffix (e.g., 5-1–5-3) or an inverse suffix (e.g., 5-13, 5-17). So, removal of the space seems warranted. More challenging the verb root: ’iri ‘carry on back’ is transitive, given examples 5-7 and 5-9 (TH199 also gives examples like ’í ’a’iri ‘you carry it on your back (IMP)’ and nq tí’iriván ‘I carried it on my back’). Transitive ‘carry’ matches neither the agreement prefix, which is intransitive plus dative, nor (though less compellingly) the Spanish translation, which eschews ‘cargar’ used for the other two aforementioned occurrences of ’iri. A better match for the translation, the simple prepositional phrase ‘en el lomo’, is to assume that the second vowel should be nasal, creating ír-’í ‘back-sit’ as in 1-10 (which is also translated by a preposition phrase ‘on horseback with him’) and 1-20: both these occurrences also use the prefix ’a :3s:3s.

- (5-19) Tq húva wim’a Ø- fí- híow-phun-kyei-pa- n-’ad ’i- wam- ba- k,
 PRT then one 3s-eye-rock-black-lie.S-PST-N-LOC 3I-arrive-PNCT-SUB
 ’i- v’qj- ’u- ’umí-mi- ei:
 3s:3I-younger brother-DIM-tell- PRG-PST
 ‘Then they arrived where there was a black rock and she told her little

brothers: (*Y entonces ellos llegaron onde estaba una piedra negra. Les dician á sus hermanitos:*)'

TH25–26 writes of this rock: “It is way over west of Isleta—in the valley the other side of the mountains, far away. According to inf., this is also the name of Zuñi Pueblo, but the black rock where the children entered was not at Zuñi.”

There is no definitive evidence as to whether *fihíowphun* is incorporated or free, that is \emptyset -*fihíowphunkyeipan'ad* or *fihíowphun* \emptyset -*kyeipan'ad*. We have chosen the former, as in 5·12. In her notes on the story, TH25 translates *fi* as “ete”, probably a misprint for ‘eye’. (Compare: TH97 *fíphunnin* ‘Black Eyes’, “[n]ame of one of the two moieties”, the other being *fúren* ‘Squirrels’.) Her translation of 5·19 itself, however, reflects only *hiow* ‘rock’ and *phun* ‘black’: *piedra negra*. It is therefore unclear what *fi* contributes.

In the original, the sentence ends at *'iwambak* ‘they arrived’ and *'Iv'qí'u'umímiei* ‘She told her brothers’ is part of the sentence in 5·20. We have moved *'iv'qí'u'umímiei* into the current sentence, as this avoids a sentence that consists only of a temporal subordinate *k*-clause. See also 5·21, 6·5.

- (5·20) *Ju- m jú- de hiow-'av 'i- tʃ'ád-hi- m,* *va je- de*
 this-N this-BAS rock-LOC 1I-enter-FUT-QUOT and that.MID-BAS
hiow-'av 'i- tʃ'ád-pan.
 rock-LOC 3I-enter-PNCT

“‘We are going to enter into this rock’”, and they entered the rock. (*Aquí en esta piedra vamos entrar. Y en la piedra ellos entraron.*)'

- (5·21) *Tq huva hiow- 'u- de \emptyset - nakhír^e-phar- va- k, tq*
 PRT already woman-DIM-BAS 3S-hope- finish.INTR-PNCT-SUB PRT
'u- wári- van.
 3S:3P-go out-PNCT

‘The old woman had no more hope and she went out (of her home). (*Y luego la viejita no tenía esperanza, y entonces se salió.*)’

The original treats 5·21 as two sentences, breaking at *nakhír^epharvak* ‘she lost hope’. The Spanish has a comma here and a sentence break after *'uwáriwan* ‘she went out’. We have followed the Spanish, avoiding a sentence consisting solely of a temporal subordinate *k*-clause. See 5·19, 6·5.

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- (5.22) *Húva 'am- t'ái- we-'in- 'au 'ú- ʃi'á-van híʃuaku*
 then :3s:3I-people-be-REL.NS-LOC.NS 3s:3P-ask-PNCT which way
'am- 'u'u- m̩i-van- 'um'ai.
 :3s:3I-children-go-PNCT-for
 'She asked her people (neighbours) for which way her children went. (*Y estaba á sus vecinos para saber onde se fueron sus hijitos.*)'
- (5.23) *Huva 'a- n̩q-ʃiembe- van hiów-'av 'ám- 'u'u- tʃʌad-pan- 'um.*
 then :3s:3s-NA-answer.PASS-PNCT rock-LOC :3s:3I-children-enter-PNCT-QUOT
 'It was answered that the children entered the rock. (*Y le aconteció que los muchachitos se entraron en la piedra.*)'
- (5.24) *Tq kiow- 'u- de pie- hár- ki- tin Ø- píow-van.*
 PRT woman-DIM-BAS heart-sick-for-only 3s-die- PNCT
 'Then the old woman died of sorrow. (*Y luego la viejita al fin se murió con tanto dolor (con la tristeza).*)'

It is unclear whether to decompose *kitin* into *ki* 'for' and *tin* 'only' (hence, 'she just died of sorrow'): *kitin* may have a meaning in its own right.

The old woman's grief suggests that the rock the children entered is no ordinary place (or else she would just have gone in to retrieve them). There is no explanation in TH's notes as to what the rock is, but there are a few hints as to the otherworldly nature of places named *ʃi...phun*: TH50 "*ʃihíowphun'at*, placename. Lit. at the black stone. This is the place where the man and horse turned to stone"; TH55: "*ʃip'aphún-'ai*, mythic lake said to be at the headwaters of the Rio Grande"; TH61 "*ʃip'aphún-'ai*, lake of the other world". TH23 records *ʃihíow'aputʃʌad* as 'name of the black stone where the children entered'.

- (5.25) *Tq ka- hw̩-kiei- m.*
 PRT :2s:3s-tail-have.S-PRS.STAT
 'Now you have a tail. (*Ya tienes una cola.*)'

We assume that *kah̩kieim* in the original is a typo.

Chapter 6

The Ill-Fated White Horse

In the original, this text is accompanied by an idiomatic translation into English, from which we have departed sometimes for greater flow, but generally more closely to reflect our understanding of the Tiwa.

1. TIWA

Wam'a nqtáeiai 'it'áithá'ai. J̣udi t'ainin 'iṣphai'ai. Tq̣ wivá'a 'iufəwárvan.

*Húva wim'a ṣanide ẉp̣aiṃivan. Tq̣ húva p̣q̣'ai 'iwambak, tq̣ 'q̣wq̣ bephieri-
van 'amt'aiwe'in'an bíṭfu wépiéwi'avémipa. Ṣanin 'ivik'ẓ̌q̣humiei. Húva j̣ude
ṣanide hírikiden'a wéhumipa.*

*Huva tq̣ véwimivan 'amt'aiwe'in'áti. Tq̣ wimhukhwir vékurvan. Huva
hí'aṭfu kánide 'anq̣p̣avan 'akanmahwíedṭsevan. Huva wiédan 'impíowvan
kan'ide'u ṣan'ide'u.*

*Huju'eikihi wadi t'ainin 'iveawa'ai 'iṣanhẉj̣ẉṃṃj̣'i 'inpiowva'iva 'akán-
phierk. 'Amt'aiwe'in-ba wé'awéikipa 'akanwepá'iva p'athá'i harkḥank'ú'i.*

Tq̣ kahẉj̣kieim.

2. TRANSLATION

There was a village where people lived. These people went hunting all the time. So, once they went out to hunt.

Then one man went by himself. When they reached the valley, he then joined with his people, but they didn't pay any attention to him. The men were killing rabbits. Then that man wasn't killing anything.

Then he separated from his people. Then he took himself another way. Then I don't know what happened to the horse, his horse was knocked down. Then they both died, the man and the horse.

Those people were very glad, because the man who they hated died with his horse. He was not liked by his people, because he had a horse which was white and very pretty.

Now you have a tail.

3. INTERLINEARISATION

- (6.1) *Wam'a nqtáei- ai 'i- t'ai- thá- 'ai.*
 one village-LOC 3I-people-live-PST.STAT
 'There was a village where people lived.'

Wam'a has been translated assuming it is a typo or variant of *wim'a* 'one'.

- (6.2) *Jy- di t'ai- nin 'i- fá- phai- 'ai.*
 this-INV person-INV 3I-hunt-FREQ-PST.STAT
 'These people went hunting all the time.'

- (6.3) *Tá wivá'a 'iu- fá- wári- van.*
 PRT once 3I:3P-hunt-go out-PNCT
 'So, once they went out to hunt.'

- (6.4) *Húva wim'a sáan-ide Ø- wápai- mǐ-van.*
 then one man-BAS 3s-separate-go-PNCT
 'Then one man went by himself.'

- (6.5) *Tq húva pq- 'ai 'i- wam- ba- k, tq 'qwq*
 PRT then valley-LOC 3I-arrive-PNCT-SUB PRT he
be- phier-i- van 'am- t'ai- we-'in- 'an bitfu
 3S:RX-join- CAUS-PNCT :3S:3I-people-be-REL.NS-with but
Ø- wé- píewi- 'avé- mi- pa.
 3S-NEG-attention-do.PASS-PRG-PNCT

'When they reached the valley, he then joined with his people, but they didn't pay any attention to him.'

TH has a fullstop after *'iwambak* 'they reached'. We have reduced this to a comma, to avoid having a sentence that consists only of a temporal subordinate *k*-clause. See also 5.19, 5.21.

THE ILL-FATED WHITE HORSE

TH translates *'iwambak* as 'he reached'. However, this does not match the agreement prefix, *'i* 3I. So, we have changed the translation to 'they reached'.

(6-6) *Səan-in 'ivi- k'əq- hu- mi- ei.*
 man-INV 3I:3I-rabbit-kill-PRG-PST
 'The men were killing rabbits.'

(6-7) *Húva jú- de səan-ide hírikiden'a Ø- wé- hu- mi- pa.*
 then this-BAS man-BAS nothing 3S:3S-NEG-kill-PRG-PNCT
 'Then this man wasn't killing anything.'

(6-8) *Huva tq vé- wimi- van 'am- t'ai- we-'in- 'áti.*
 then PRT 3S:RX-divide-PNCT :3S:3I-people-be-REL.NS-LOC
 'Then he separated from his people.'

(6-9) *Tq wimhukhwir vé- kur- van.*
 PRT another way 3S:RX-take oneself-PNCT
 'Then he took himself another way.'

Space inserted between *wimhukhwir* 'another way' and *vékurvan* 'he took himself' (*wimhukhwirvékurvan* in the original).

(6-10) *Huva hí'atfu kán- ide 'a- nəpə- van*
 then I don't know horse-BAS :3S:3S-happen-PNCT
'a- kan- mahwied- tfe- van.
 :3S:3S-horse-knock down-PASS-PNCT

'Then I don't know what happened to the horse, his horse was knocked down.'

(6-11) *Huva wiédan 'im-píow-van kan- 'ide-'u səan-'ide-'u.*
 then both 3D- die- PNCT horse-BAS-BOTH? man-BAS-BOTH?
 'Then they both died, the man and the horse.'

(6-12) *Huju'eikihi wa- di t'ai- nin 'i- veawa- 'ai*
 very that.FAR-INV person-INV 3I-happy-PST.STAT
'i- səan-hwɨwɨmɨ-mj- 'i 'in-píow-va- 'iva
 3I:3S-man-hate- PRG-REL 3D-die- PNCT-because
'a- kán- phier-k.
 :3S:3S-horse-join- SUB

'Those people were very glad, because the man who they hated died with his horse.'

THE ILL-FATED WHITE HORSE

- (6.13) 'Am- t'ai- we-'in- ba Ø- wé- 'awéi- ki- pa
 :3s:3I-people-be-REL.NS-by 3S-NEG-want.PASS-HAB-PST
 'a- kan- we-pá- 'iva Ø- p'athá-'i Ø- harkhən-k'ú- 'i.
 :3s:3s-horse-be-PST-because 3s-white-REL 3s-very- pretty-REL
 'He was not liked by his people, because he had a horse which was white
 and very pretty.'

Combined *harkhən* and *k'ú'i* into one word, on the basis of sentences with overt agreement that show that *harkhən* occurs between the agreement prefix and the verb root: TH35 *te-harkhən-piewe-veaw-a* (1s-very-sad-want-PRES) 'I am very sad'; TH31 *'am-kan-we-m 'i-hárhən-k'u-tfu-'in* (:3s:3I-horse-be-PRES 3I-very-good-NS-INV) 'he has horses that are very nice' (our translations).

- (6.14) Tq ka- hwǝ-kiei- m.
 PRT :2s:3s-tail-have.S-PRS.STAT
 'Now you have a tail.'

Chapter 7

El Perrito

In the original, this text, *The Little Dog*, is accompanied by a translation into Spanish, which we present without alteration, as the errors suggest that either TH or her consultant was not wholly proficient in Spanish, which warrants a degree of freedom in the glossing and translation. Our translation is of the Tiwa, using the Spanish as a guide.

For comment on the recurrent use of diminutives in this text, see the preamble to *How the Three Children Entered fhiowphun* (p30).

1. TIWA

Nqthá'ai wím'a łúli'úde'an łiow'úde'an 'inthá'ai. Huva wím'a 'imimkhwien'uthá'ai ba wísi 'imínk'ya'uthá'ai. Huva łúli'úde wím'a k'ya'uhúvan. Witháwé'i wiwai wím'a khín húvan. Tq huva łúli'úde piowvan.

Tq huva łiow'ude witad tı̄t̄sfévan 'akhwien'uphierk. Tq huva łiow'úde khin piowvan.

Tq khwien'ude piowépuavan 'ámłəampıowva'iva. Tq khwien'ude khin piowvan.

Tq kahwı̄kieim.

2. TRANSLATION

In a house, there lived a little old man and a little old woman. And they had a little dog and two little sheep. Then the little old man killed one little sheep. Two days later he killed the other one. And then the little old man died.

And then the little old woman was left alone with the little dog. And then the little old woman also died.

And then the little dog became sad because its masters had died. Then the little dog also died.

Now you have a tail.

3. INTERLINEARISATION

- (7.1) *Náthá-'ai wím'a łuli- 'ú- de- 'an łiow- 'ú- de- 'an*
house-LOC one old man-DIM-BAS-and old woman-DIM-BAS-and
'in-thá- 'ai.
3D-live-LOC

'In a house, there lived a little old man and a little old woman. (*En una casita vivían un viejo con su viejita.*)'

Space inserted between *wím'a* 'one' and *łuli'úde* 'little old man' (*wím'atuli'úde* in the original), in line with 2.9, 2.12, 5.1, 6.4.

- (7.2) *Huva wím'a 'imim-khwien-'u- thá- 'ai ba wísi*
and one :3D:3S-dog- DIM-dwell-PST.STAT also two
'imín- k'ua- 'u- thá- 'ai.
:3D:3I-sheep-DIM-dwell-PST.STAT

'And they had a little dog and two little sheep. (*Y tenían un perrito y dos ovejas.*)'

- (7.3) *Huva łuli- 'ú- de wím'a Ø- k'ua- 'u- hú- van.*
then old man-DIM-BAS one 3S:3S-sheep-DIM-kill-PNCT

'Then the little old man killed one little sheep. (*Y luego el viejo mato una oveja.*)'

- (7.4) *Wi- thá- wé-'i wiwai wím'a khín Ø- hú- van.*
two-day-be-REL again one also 3S:3S-kill-PNCT

'Two days later he killed the other one. (*Y despues de dos dias mató el otro.*)'

- (7.5) *Tq huva łuli- 'ú- de Ø- piow-van.*
PRT then old man-DIM-BAS 3S-die- PNCT

'And then the little old man died. (*Y luego se murió el viejo.*)'

EL PERRITO

- (7.6) *Tq huva liow- 'u- de witad Ø- tɿɿ- tʃé- van*
 PRT then old woman-DIM-BAS alone 3s-leave-PASS-PNCT
'a- khwien-'u- phier-k.
 :3s:3s-dog- DIM-join- SUB
 'And then the little old woman was left alone with the little dog. (*Y luego la viejita quedo solita con su perrito.*)'
- (7.7) *Tq huva liow- 'ú- de khin Ø- píow-van.*
 PRT then old woman-DIM-BAS also 3s-die- PNCT
 'And then the little old woman also died. (*Y entonces murió la viejita tambien.*)'
- (7.8) *Tq khwien-'u- de Ø- piwé-pɿa- van 'ám- ləam- píow-va- 'iva.*
 PRT dog- DIM-BAS 3s-sad- happen-PNCT :3s:3I-master-die- PNCT-because
 'And then the little dog became sad because its masters had died. (*Y luego el perrito estaba triste porque se murió sus amos.*)'
- (7.9) *Tq khwien-'u- de khin Ø- piow-van.*
 PRT dog- DIM-BAS also 3s-die- PNCT
 'Then the little dog also died. (*Entonces se murió el perrito tambien.*)'
- (7.10) *Tq ka- hwɿ-kiei- m.*
 PRT :2s:3s-tail-have.S-PRS.STAT
 'Now you have a tail. (*Ya tienes una cola.*)'

Chapter 8

El Angel del Gran Consejo

In the original, this text, *The Angel*—or more traditionally *Messenger*—of *Great Counsel*, is accompanied by a translation into Spanish, which we present without alteration, as the errors suggest that either TH or her consultant was not wholly proficient in Spanish, which warrants a degree of freedom in the glossing and translation. Our translation is of the Tiwa, using the Spanish as a guide (the two differ substantially).

1. TIWA

Kiman kinju'uwávan na 'íwé'inum'ai. Tq húva ki'u'uthətevan, jede wem wáde, 'ŷ'akh 'amkrúsk'áapíkŷei'i'i, jemba krusad 'amarka khyan'ai 'qwaq 'amwé'in. Huva 'qwaq 'amkhamwem ki'ánkhilwé'i konséhum'ai wé'i.

Matfád'ái kikha'awe'im'ai, vivitfa'am wiv'an 'ik'u'in, kikha'awe'iva 'i-bev'utfaiveva'iva.

2. TRANSLATION

Last night, a child was born to us. And we have been given a son, that one is life, who bears the cross on his shoulders, that cross which is the mark of his kingdom. And his name will be the one who is our angel that is for the counsel.

Sing for our father, sing him a good song, because our father has commanded us to be pleased.

3. INTERLINEARISATION

- (8.1) *Kiman ki- nju- 'uwá- van na 'i- wé-'in- um'ai.*
 last night :1I:3S-child-be born-PNCT 1 1I-be-REL.NS-for
 'Last night, a child was born to us. (*Ha nacido un Niño para nosotros.*)'

Space inserted between *na 'we'* and *'iwe'inum'ai* 'for us who are' (*na'iwe'imum'ai* in the original, correcting also what we think is a typo, *'im*, to *'in*).

TH126 'last night' is the only translation we can find of *kiman*. It does not enjoy scriptural support, but the Tiwa text is not exactly Isaiah verbatim. Perhaps the speaker envisages the text as a report on fresh events.

- (8.2) *Tq húva ki- 'u'u- thə- te- van, je- de Ø- we-m*
 PRT already :1I:3S-baby-give-PASS-PNCT that.MID-BAS 3S-be-PRS.STAT
wá- de, 'i- 'akh 'am- krús- k'áapī- kyei-'i'i,
 life-BAS shoulder-LOC :3S:3I-CROSS-on shoulders-lie.S-REL
je- mba krus- ad 'amarka khyan- 'ai 'qwq
 that.MID-INAN.INV CROSS-ADV mark kingdom-LOC he
'am- wé-'in.
 :3S:3I-be-REL.NS

'And we have been given a son, that one is life, who bears the cross on his shoulders, that cross which is the mark of his kingdom. (*Y se nos ha dada un hijo, el cual lleva sobre sus hombros la marca de su imperio.*)'

This lengthy sentence is a challenge to translate. It consists of a number of clauses with little indication as to where each begins or ends (punctuation in the original is limited to the comma after *ki'u'uthətevan* 'we were given a baby'). Part of the difficulty is that the nature of the suffix in *krus-ad* is unknown: in its incorporated form, it is simply *krús-*; so *ad* might be an irregular inverse nominal suffix; or it might be an adverbial ending (similar to that in *witad* 'alone', *khiéndad* 'at once', and possibly, *huju'at* 'many', if this means 'in great number').

Given that 4-13 *k'əa* means 'neck', one might take *k'áapī* 'on shoulders' to be a compound. But, if so, its second element is unidentified.

- (8.3) *Huva 'qwq 'am- khəm- we-m ki- 'ánkhil-wé-'i*
 then he :3S:3I-name-be-PRS.STAT :1I:3S-angel- be-REL
konséhu-m'ai Ø- wé-'i.
 counsel-for 3S-be-REL

'And his name will be the one who is our angel that is for the counsel. (*será llamado el Angel de Gran Consejo, porque ha hecho cosas maravillosas,*)'

In the original, 8·3 and 8·4 are a single sentence, separated by a comma (as per the Spanish). The meanings suggest that these deserve to be separate sentences.

Space inserted between *konséhum'ai* 'for the counsel' and *wé'i* 'that he is' (*konséhum'aiwé'i* in the original). We have changed *'ańkhil* to *'ánkhil*.

- (8·4) *Ma- tʃá- d'á-i ki- kha'a- we-'i- m'ai, vivi- tʃa- 'am*
 2I:3S-song-act-IMP :1I:3S-father-be-REL-for 2I:3I-song-do.IMP
wiv'an 'i- k'u- 'in, ki- kha'a- we-'i- va
 one.INV 3I-good-REL.NS :1I:3S-father-be-REL-by
'i- bev'u- tʃaive- va- 'iva.
 1I-please-order.PASS-PNCT-because

'Sing for our father, sing him a good song, because our father has commanded us to be pleased. (*porque ha hecho cosas maravillosas.*)'

TH37 translates *'ibev'utʃaiveva'iva* simply as 'because he pleased us', without reference to *tʃaive* 'command.PASS'. Additionally, TH180 comments that *nq tanqev'umuvan* 'I pleased him' is "the only way to say 'I thanked him'". So, *'ibev'utʃaiveva'iva* may mean 'because we have been commanded to thank or be thankful'.

Chapter 9

Volunteered Version of Lord's Prayer

In the original, this text is accompanied by an idiomatic English translation, which is preserved below, except where noted.

1. TIWA

Kikhá'awe'i k'iei 'a'ǰ'i, hujueikhi kanqthe'i kamkhawe'in.

Hujueikhi bekhúmi'i, nqthá'an ǰ 'aǰowhieie nq'av khwir'av 'a'ǰvahim'ai. Nqthé'an hunav'áhieie ǰun thured-ba p'apǰǰ'aikhin. Janthabenp'ákhúwieie ki-makhyawi'i. 'Inkhá'awe'i beǰéhwetse wénqk'un'ad, béikhwirp'ad wénqk'un'áti.

Amen.

2. TRANSLATION

Our father sitting above, Mighty God (lit. powerful wizard), your blessed name.

Very Dear One, would that you descend and sit at my side. Your will be done on this earth as in heaven. Today give us the bread that belongs to us. My Father, lead us not where it is not good, free us from that which is not good.

Amen.

3. INTERLINEARISATION

- (9.1) *Ki- khá'a- we-'i k'iei 'a- 'j- 'i, hujueikhi ka- nqthe- 'i*
 :1I:3S-father-be-REL above 2S-sit-REL very :2S:3S-powerful-REL
kam- khq- we-'in.
 :2S:3I-name-be-REL.NS

'Our father sitting above, Mighty God (lit. powerful wizard), your blessed name.'

Space inserted between *k'iei* 'above' and *'a'j'i* 'who are sitting' (*k'iei'a'j'i* in the original).

A more literal translation, eschewing wizards, might be: 'Our Father, that you sit above, that you are very powerful, the name that is yours.' Alternatively, removing second person from the relative clauses, for a more idiomatic read in English: 'Our Father, who is sitting above, who is very powerful, whose name is.' It is unclear how the last relative clause fits in: the relative marker *'in* indicates that the clause relativises of 'name', not 'you' (for which the ending would be *'i* as in the other relative clauses), but no other verb in the clause bears matching 3i agreement. It may mean something like 'by your name'.

- (9.2) *Hujueikhi be- khúm- i'i, nqthá'an í 'a- ləow- hi- ei*
 very 3S:RX-precious-REL would that you 2S-descend-FUT-PST
nq-'av khwir'av 'a- 'j- va- hi- m'ai.
 1- LOC beside 2S-sit-STAT-FUT-FOR

'Very Dear One, would that you descend and sit at my side.'

Nqthé'an is corrected from *nqthá'an*. The former appears consistently TH38–40. On the other hand, TH39 writes *bekhummi'i*, with geminate *m*, rather than *bekhumi'i* as in the text. It is unclear what role gemination could play here, so, we have left the text unaltered.

Spaces inserted between *nq'av* 'me.LOC, us.LOC' and *khwir'av* 'beside' and *'a'jvahim'ai* 'for you to be sitting' (*nq'avkhwir'av'a'jvahim'ai* in the original). The first space is inserted on analogy with TH124 *nq'av khwier'av 'alái* 'you sit down close beside me (IMP)', assuming *khwir* in 9.2 and *khwier* in TH124 to be the same word or word class (*khwir* appears as 'through [the cedar thicket]' in 1.12). The decomposition *khwir-'av* suggests itself, as *'av* is a locative. But we leave this aside until locatives have been examined in detail.

TH translates *'a'jvahim'ai* (more or less, 'for you to sit') as 'be': 'and be at my side'.

VOLUNTEERED VERSION OF LORD'S PRAYER

- (9.3) *Nqthé'an* Ø- *hunav'á-* *hi- ei jɥ- n thure-d- ba*
 would that 3s-come to pass as desired-FUT-PST this-N earth-LOC-and
p'apɥj- 'ai- khin.
 heaven-LOC-also

'Your will be done on this earth as in heaven.'

The rather verbose translation 'come to pass as desired' is based on the observation TH39–40 that *nqthé'an hunav'áhieí* / *nqthé'an hunav'ahieí*, 'I wish it would be done as I want it to be', would be said 'when desiring something to be done or to take place', 'e.g. to a sick person who is very anxious to get up tomorrow'. *Hunav'a* may be morphologically complex, but we have spotted no clue as to its composition.

- (9.4) *Jan- thə ben- p'ākhú-wie- i ki- makhɥa- wi- 'i.*
 now-day 2:1:3s-bread- give-IMP :1:3s-belonging-be²-REL
 'Today give us the bread that belongs to us.'

The more usual form of 'be', *we*, might give rise to *wi* as an (occasional) effect of the subsequent relative mark, '*i*.'

- (9.5) 'In- *khá'a- we-'i bej- é- hwe- tʃe* Ø- *wé- nq-k'u- n-'ad,*
 :1s:3s-father-be-REL 2:1-NEG-take-IMP 3s-NEG-NA-good-N-LOC
béi- khwirp'əad Ø- *we- nq-k'u- n-'áti.*
 2:1-free.IMP 3s-NEG-NA-good-N-LOC

'My Father, lead us not where it is not good, free us from that which is not good.'

Singular '*inkhá'awe'i* 'my father' here contrasts with plural *kikhá'awe'i* 'our father' in 9.1. Technically, this raises the question of how to translate the following verbs, as the prefix *bei*~*bej* is unspecified for the number of the first person object (and second person agent). However, the same ambiguity arises for *ben* in 9.4, but the second clause of that sentence contains the unambiguously plural prefix, *ki*. We assume that this shows that all the other first persons are to be translated as plural. (Number-ambiguous *nq'av khwir'av* 'beside me/us' in 9.2 is translated as singular, given that one normally sits by one person's side.)

- (9.6) *Amen.*
 amen
 'Amen.'

Chapter 10

Index of Roots

This index lays out all lexical roots posited in glossing the preceding texts. It excludes grammatical affixes, which will be discussed separately when the texts are republished as part of a broader grammar of Isletan Tiwa. We hope that readers looking for particular grammatical constructions will be aided in finding them by scanning the index for roots that they are likely to involve. We do not provide an English-to-Tiwa index, but what follows is short enough for a reader quickly to become familiar with it.

The alphabetical order used below is:

a b d e ə f h hw i j k k' kh khw ł m n p p' ph s ʃ t t' th tʃ tʃ' u v v' w

That is, plain stops precede glottalised, which precede aspirated / spirantised, which precede labialised. So, for instance, *kha* comes after both *ke* and *ki*, not between them. Word-initial glottal stops are ignored for alphabeticalisation. Thus, both *'u* and *u* are listed under *u*. Vowel diacritics are likewise ignored, so that *'ánkhił* comes between *'an* and *'arú* (just as unaccented *'ankhil* would). For *Ś*, see *f*; for *ś*, *f*; and for *y*, *j*.

All spelling variation has been retained (e.g., *piow*, *piów*, *píow*). Where substantial (as in *ba* ~ *va*), one form has been listed as the lemma (in this case, *ba*) and the other is listed alphabetically with a reference to the first.

Wherever two forms of a root (e.g., active and passive) are attested, they are listed together. Where these would otherwise be at some alphabetic distance, referral notices are again given (e.g., passive to active, as in “*'ave*, see *'am*”). Similarly, referral notices are given between root forms linked by the well known consonant ablaut of Kiowa-Tanoan (Harrington 1928, Hale 1962, Watkins 1984; e.g., *hai* ~ *khai* and *mĭ* ~ *pĭ*).

- 'ábé*, see *'am*
'áitin 'after', 1·16
'akhe 'señora', 3·1, 3·5
'alkilá, 'áilkilá 'rent', 1·4, 1·5
'am, 'ám 'do'; *'ábé, ave, 'avé*
 'do.PASS', 1·5, 1·11, 1·14, 1·15,
 2·15, 2·18, 4·17, 4·19, 5·5, 5·6,
 6·5, 8·4
'amarka 'mark', 8·2
'an 'and', 7·1
'ánkhil 'angel', 8·3
'aru, 'arú 'cry', 4·7, 5·4
ave, 'avé, see *'am*
'qwaq, 'áwáq 'he, she', 1·22, 2·8,
 5·18, 6·5, 8·2, 8·3
'awéi 'want.PASS', 6·13

ba, va 'also, and', 1·18, 5·20, 7·2,
 9·3
ba, va, vá 'by' (see also *'iva*), 1·1,
 1·10, 1·14, 1·23, 2·22, 5·6, 5·13,
 6·13, 8·4
baríl 'barrel', 3·3
beow 'want', 3·1
bev'u 'please', 8·4
Bier- 'Laguna', 4·1, 4·10
bínu 'wine', 3·1, 3·4, 3·6
bitsfu, bítsfu 'but', 2·15, 3·10, 4·3,
 6·5

díru 'chicken', 5·12–5·15

'ę 'foot', 4·13

'əuk'ámi 'raise', 2·8
'əwa, 'əwa 'young man', 2·9, 2·10,
 2·12, 2·15, 2·17, 2·19, 5·2

fiei 'have', 5·16

hái 'take' (see also *khai*), 5·11
harkhən 'very', 6·13
héikwe'i 'all right', 1·23
heri 'known', 3·10
háar 'hurt' (variant of *hár?*), 2·15
hár 'sick' (see also *háar*), 5·24
hi'atfu 'I don't know', 6·10
hın'ikhu 'in this way', 4·17
hiow, hiów 'rock, stone', 4·2, 4·9,
 4·14, 5·19, 5·20
hiri'a, hirí'a 'whatever', 1·5, 1·21
hírikiden'a 'nothing', 6·7
hirin'a 'nothing', 5·16
hítşuaku 'which way', 5·22
hı, hú 'cedar', 1·12, 1·19
hu, hú 'kill'; *hute* 'kill.PASS', 4·16,
 6·6, 6·7, 7·3, 7·4
huba, see *huva*
huju(')at 'many', 1·18
hjuéi, hjuéi 'then', 1·12, 1·19,
 1·24, 4·17
hjuéikhi, hju'eikhi 'really, very',
 5·4, 6·12, 9·1, 9·2
hum 'chase'; *huvé* 'chase.PASS',
 1·9, 1·10, 4·13
hın 'thus', 2·23
hunav'á 'come to pass as desired',
 9·3
huva, huvá, húva (hubá) 'then',
 1·6, 1·11, 2·1, 2·4, 2·5, 2·7, 2·8,
 2·13, 2·17, 2·21–2·23, 3·3, 3·9,
 4·2, 4·6, 4·7, 4·13, 4·16, 5·4–
 5·6, 5·11, 5·12, 5·14, 5·15, 5·18,
 5·19, 5·21–5·23, 6·4, 6·5, 6·7,
 6·8, 6·10, 6·11, 7·2, 7·3, 7·5–7·7,
 8·2, 8·3
húve, see *hum* and *'umi*
huyuei, see *hjuéi*

INDEX OF ROOTS

- hwe*, *hwé* ‘take’; *hwétfe* ‘take.PASS’,
1·5, 1·6, 1·25, 2·4, 9·5
hweju (*hweyu*) ‘allow.PASS’, 4·19
hwí, *hwī* ‘tail’, 2·24, 5·25, 6·14,
7·10
hwilawede ‘war captain’, 4·19
hwiri ‘eight’, 4·2
hwíwimū ‘hate’, 6·12
- ’í* ‘be’, 9·1
’í, *’í* ‘sit’, 1·9, 1·20, 5·18, 9·2
’í ‘come’, 4·11, 5·16
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