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

1. 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.

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\(^1\)The 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.
INTRODUCTION

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 Dittemore, 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-
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 katcinas (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
publication in the interim. (In the temporary absence of full grammatical
discussion, an index of roots has been included in the belief that read-
ners 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 su-
ervised 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 \texttt{expex}, which is now freely avail-
able. 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 rel-
atively 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 under-
standing 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 remark-
able 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 op-
posed ‘-’ 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 scantly attested for us to be
sure of their proper treatment. Such cases are discussed immediately af-
ter the sentence in which they occur, or, where they concern *hapax* or *dis legomena*, are indicated with a superscripted question mark (²).

The only aspects of the orthography to which we draw attention are the use of ʃ for capital ʃ 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)’, 2p 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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INTRODUCTION

V. ABBREVIATIONS

1 first person
2 second person
3 third person

bas basic (nominal suffix, in contrast to inv)
both ‘both ... and’ (tentative, dis legomenon)
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 na (significance not yet determined)
eg neg negative
ns nonsingular (i.e., d, p, i, even when i is numerically singular)
nv nonverbal
once ‘once upon a time’ (story opening)
p plural
pass passive
punct punctual (past tense)
prg progressive
prs present tense
prt particle (see tą, tà in index)
pst past tense
ptcp participle
quot quotative
rel relative (nominal, not locative or temporal; see n and sub)
INTRODUCTION

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


A FIGHT WITH THE NAVAJOS


Wí málitqwinwá–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’eliam-nin-ba núj- tæi t’ai- nin
once Navajo-inv-by right here-village person-inv
‘i- k’ú- liem-be- van.
3t-sheep-rob- pass-pnct

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

The passive k’úaliembevan ‘were robbed of sheep’ agrees only with the victim of the theft, t’aiin ‘people’, not with the stolen object, k’ú ‘sheep’. (Similarly, TH100 qwa-va te-kwík’úa-liem-be-van ‘he stole my money’ takes intransitive 1s, not dative :1s:3s, agreement: he–by 1s-money-steal-pass-pnct.) Consequently, liem 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’ú ‘sheep’ and kwík’úa are not (typical) incorporated objects.

(1·2) Nathú’-ai ’i- khé- khi’i-pa- ’in ‘i- na- t’ai- t’ára-k’r- ba- k,
hills– loc 3i-watch-wait-pst-rel.ns 3i:3s-na-hear-bring-pnct-sub
‘i- p’úan- firú- va- k, ’iu- wíri- van t’ai- nin.
3t-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 firú ‘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-firú-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
A FIGHT WITH THE NAVAJOS

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 0- kan- ’ákilá-mį-van Khá’a Patrisu- ’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) 0- ’Úbe- mí- ei 0- we- ’ākilá- ’am-mį- n-’ap,
    3s-tell.pass-prg-pst 3s:3s.neg-rent- do- prg-n-loc
    0- p’iénlaiti-hwe- hi- n-’ap, hiri’a 0- kįr- ba- ’į
    3s:3s-in half- take-fut-n-loc whatever 3s:3s-bring-pnct-rel
    ‘in- wimi- hi- 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’iénlaiti ‘in half’ and hwehin’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’iénlaiti-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 0- kan- hwé- van khum- ’ą́t.*
    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’eki- 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 :3i:3s. The result, ’inwamba-k, would mean ‘when he arrived to them’, that is, his fellow fighters or the Navajos.
A FIGHT WITH THE NAVAJOS

(1.8) 
\[ T'e\'li\'ém-nin \ 'iu- khwier-wôrî- mi- ei \ 'im- 'ú- phier-k \]
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) 
\[ Khá'a Násu wím'a 0- hum- fân- i- van, \]
Señor Ignacio one 3s:3s-chase-go out-caus-pnct
\[ 'a- 'upíy- 'u- 'ír- 'í- pa- 'i fu- táwin 0- wa- 'i. \]
:3s:3s-little girldim-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'upíy'u and 'ír'ípa'i into one word.

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

(1.10) 
\[ T'sá- idat wísi T'e\'li\'ém-nin- ba 0- thám- huvé- mi- ei; \]
behind-loc two Navajo-inv-by 3s-bows and arrows?-chase.pass-prg-pst
\[ 0- nát'awi-wá- ba- k 'im- nát'awi-tfáu- va- k \]
3s:3s-gun- take out-pnct-sub :3i:3s-gun- pretend-pnct-sub
\[ T'e\'li\'ém- nin 'in-mákwi-ván. \]
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 tya 'arrow' and hwír 'bow'. So, the exact meaning of thám, for which TH's translation suggests 'bows and arrows', is unclear.

(1.11) 
\[ Huvá tq 0- T'eliép- ká- mj- pâ- n-'ai, \]
then prt 3s:3s-Navajo-overtake-prg-pst-n-loc
\[ 'au- nát'awi- 'ám-bá- k 0- 'upíy- 'u- sóar- í- van. \]
(3s?):3s:3p-gun- do- pnct-sub 3s:3s-little girldim-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 kómipán'ai into one word; 'upíy'u and sóarívan likewise.
A FIGHT WITH THE NAVAJOS

The verb 'auną́́t'awi'ą́̂mbá–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:3v). 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 'uną́́t'awi'ą́̂mbá–k ‘when he shot’, which is comparable with 4·6 ‘uną́́t'awi'ą́̂mban.

(1·12) Hujúei Khá’a Ná́su 0- łow- méitin, 0- T’eliép- ’u- fiĕr- ban, then Señor Ignacio 3s-get down-pTCP 3s:3s-Navajo-DIM-catch-pNCT
       hų́- nák’ai- khwir 0- tf’áat-tí- van, cedar-thicket-through 3s:3s-enter-CAUS-pNCT
       0- fiei-k’uá-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 hų́nák’aihwir ‘into the cedar thicket’ and 0-tf’áativan ‘he took her’ (hų́nák’aihwirtf’sattivan in the original)

(1·13) Tq 0- fiei-k’uá-va– k khum–’át 0- mą́kwí-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) 0- Wei-wán- ba– k Nąłe 0- náį́́w’i-ábé- ban T’ełiép- ide– vá
       3s-just-come-pNCT-sub Nale 3s-gun- do.PASS-pNCT Navajo-bas–by
       khéťfu– va p’apua- p’íneła– 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.’

       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 NAJÉN

(1.16) Nále júap’a– ’áitin 0- firú-mi– k be- ’ieni- van,
Nale a little while–after 3s-yell–PRG–SUB 3s:RX-get up–PNCT
laphá- ki 0- 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- phóa- ban.
this :3s:3s-forehead–swell–PNCT
‘His forehead swelled up about this much (gesture).’

(1.18) T’elieem-nin hujut(’)at ’i- piów-kire- ’ái ba wir’a fimba
Navajo–INV many 3i–dead–lie–P–PST–STAT and some all
’iu- khwier–wiri– van.
3i:3p–flee–go out–PNCT
‘Of the Najéen, many (a number, a part) were lying dead, and all the
others (some) had fled.’
Correcting werí to wóri, in line with 1.18, 2.20 and other examples (see index of
roots).

(1.19) Hujuí ’ibi- k’úa- tzi- va– k Kha’a Násu
then 3i:3t–sheep–gather–PNCT–SUB Señor Ignacio
hú- nák’ái- khwier 0- kan- t’éki- ván
cedar–thicket–toward 3s:3s–horse–knock–PNCT
’a- kúr- ’u- feei-kúei-pá- n’at.
‘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 hú- nák’ái-khwier ‘toward the cedar thicket’ and kant’ékiván
‘he spurred the horse’ (húnąk’aikhwierkant’ékiván in the original).

TH translates húnumpya’akhir here as ‘toward the cedar thicket’, but 1.12 húnumpya’akhir
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 wír ‘swift’ and 2.17 łáp’a’ór ‘separate’, and the all but
identical variation between the two attested forms of ‘flee, run’, khwier and khwir.
A FIGHT WITH THE NAVAJOS

(1·20) Wai-tí 0- wám-ban 'a- kúr- 'u- 'ir- 'iŋ-k  
that.far-loc 3s-come-pnct :3s:3s-captive-dim-back-sit-sub  
0- ty- mí- k: “'Udéi 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 excrescent 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 0- wam-ba- k Khá’a Patrísu- 'ai 0- mí- van  
that.far-loc 3s-come-pnct-sub Señor Patricio-loc 3s-go-pnct  
hiri'a 0- kəₜə- ba- 'i in- wími- hi- 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 0- ty- mi- éi: “'Áwá wien-tjwítáti- pəar  
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 Násu- ba 0- 'úbe- mí- éi: “Héikwe'i, wi- tjwítáti nq  
Señor Ignacio-by 3s-tell.pass-prg-pst all right two-hundred l  
ben- wié- i- k’a tə 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 0- wie- tfe- van wi- tjwítáti, witad Khá’a Patrísu  
then 3s-give-pass-pnct two-hundred alone Señor Patricio  
'a- kur- 'u- tiy- 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 *wîtfevan* 'was given'. In 1.23, *benwîëik'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, *wîtfevan* 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 *wîe* 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 *tîytfe* as ‘be owned’, but this makes it surprising that *Kha’a Pat­trisu* 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-’i ˛* ‘keep’, *tíw-’e* ‘be kept’ is attested.)

(1.25) [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) [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


Wivá’a wim’a joiide šatšiemik T’aliówrathqavan ’a’éwa’uphierk. Jede ’éwa’u-ide wi’t’ai t’amin–’áiti thurim. Šauti makhwivák nakátfawievan khiénndad t’akavédve velocwinivan wienthówe’i jimbba t’aiinin ’ísóqinhin’av. “Wim’a ’éwa’ú-ide t’iemiın’áv t’ámnin–’an. Huvá ’ínavéawa ’ísóqinhin’av.”

Wienthówe’i jimbba tcei’ide ’uphier liowphier şaphier ’ísóqívan. ’Ivít’athq-van bitšu ’i’tévèvan jep’ñóqá’amhin’av wèjva’i ’i’éwa’úsíqhërin’avtin.

T’aliówra’ide ’áñåkatfavan. Hûva ’éwa’u’úmívan beéláp’sèrhin–’av. Tq t’aminin ’inakhwirpëj’amban. ’Itšè’rewımik p’uárt’itım T’aliówra’ide ’éwa’u-’úmìwe:

“Nq jan kinwàrìhi tòtàn’au. Huvá ’ínfumìen’an nàtš’ák kake’i khwimbàhi fèrn’ai. Huvá ’ásímìet’phier ’akúeitfæhi, huvá kàk’iva ’ásíqìrehi.”

Huvá–vá hûn nàpú’ívan.
THE BIG-HEAD BOY

Tą kahį́kieim.

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 0- nątse-’wai; huvá wisi
once somewhere 3s-town-be-stat then two
P’i-łb-’u’-n 3d-live-pst.stat
head-big-child-inv ‘Once upon a time, there was a town where two Big-Head children lived.’

The typescript reads P’i-ơ’unin. We assume that this is a typo for P’ilb’ū’unin, on the basis of P’ilb’upi’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 big-head boy
typo may have arisen if the l part of l was faint in an early manu- or typescript, with the crossbar then being misread as a hyphen.

With this correction, the original reads wiši P’ilb’ú’unin thɔ’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 wiši ‘u’un in’u̱wavan ‘two children (‘u’u-n child-inv) were born (‘in-’uwa-van 3d-be born-pnct). We assume that TH misparsed the sequence -inv 3d- (-n ‘in-) as a single morpheme -nin and we have altered the text to accord with the sequence in wiši ‘u’un in’u̱wavan ‘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’i- lo- ‘upiি-’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 θ- ’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 nq ték’u̱vān ‘yo parí’ and nq 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 θ- hwé- tse- van.
3- elder brother-bv 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 hwé’tsevan ‘she was taken’ (pq’aihwé’tsevan 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 ’insóawe’i ‘my husband’). There is not sufficient information to determine whether be possessors must be singular.
THE BIG-HEAD BOY

(2·5) Huvá 3s-child-lay-punct ‘Then she had her child.’

(2·6) Wiwai be-papá-va 3s-bring-pas-punct pueblo again 3s-elder-brother-by 3s:3s-baby-abandon-punct plain-loc ‘She was brought again by her elder brother to the pueblo; she left the baby on the plain.’

(2·7) Huvá wim’a T’a- liówra- ‘ide 3s:3s-baby-find-punct ‘An Antelope woman found the child.’

(2·8) Huvá ‘awá 3s:3s-raise-punct ‘Then she raised him.’

(2·9) Wiwá’a wim’a 3s:3s-s-hunt-punct-prg-sub ‘While going about hunting, a hunter came across the Antelope woman with her little boy.’

(2·10) Je- that.mid-bas young man-dim-join- sub 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) fa-áuti 3s-return-punct-sub 3s:3s-news-give-punct at once people-judge-bas 3s:rx-say-stand up-punct four-day-be-rel all people-inv 3s-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 'iufwərihin'av ‘que van a cazar’ “is better than 'ifọʃənhus'hav” in this text. The difference is the verb root: wəri ‘go out’ (with a dummy plural object, hence 3i:3p agreement), as opposed to ṣən (no dummy object, hence 3i agreement), which seems to focus more on process than initiation.

(2.12) “Wim’a ’ówa- ’ú- ’ide 0· tʃie- mɨ- n-’av t’a- mnin-’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- fiér- hi- n-’av.”
then 1-NA-want-PRS.PRG 1:3s-catch-FUT-N-LOC
“Then we want to catch him.”

(2.14) Wien-thó- we-’i jɪmba tseɪ- ’ide ’u- phier liow- phier
four- day-be-REL all pueblo-BAS child-join woman-join
sɔa- phier ’i- fɔ- mɨ- van.
husband-join 3i-hunt-go-PNCT
‘In four days, the whole pueblo, children, wives and husbands went to hunt.’

(2.15) ’Iví- t’a- thq- van bɨtʃu ’i- ’uyé van
3i:3i-antelope-find-PNCT but 3i-tell.PASS-PNCT
j- e- pju- t’a- hɔar-’am-hi- n-’av wɛjvai
3i:3s-NEG-deer-antelope-hurt-do- FUT-N-LOC only
’i- ’ōwa- ’ú- fiér- 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 jepi’hɔ’r’amhin’av as ‘[they were] not to hurt the antelopes’ does not explain contribution of pi. It is glossed as ‘deer’ because TH203 writes “When asked to explain the -pi- in this word, inf. said that inf. thought it meant ‘deer’”. Corroborating, we have TH80 pju’u’ide ‘little deer’ and TH82 pɨ tua ‘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, -pi-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.
(2.16) \( T'a- \) líóra-'ide \( 'a- \) nákatfa-van. 
antelope-woman-bas :3s:3s-be known-pnct
'The Antelope woman knew.'

(2.17) Húva \( \emptyset- \) 'ówa-'u-'úmjí-van be- \( é- \) láp'sr- hi- 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'sr 'separate' appears to be a compound built on p'sr 'lose'; ló, however, is unidentified.

(2.18) Ṭa \( t'a- \) mnín \( 'i- \) na-khwíer-páj- 'am-ban. 
prt antelope-inv 3i:3s-na-run- begin-do- pnct
'Then the antelope began to run.'

(2.19) 'I-tó'rwe-mi- k p'uárt'ítím \( T'a- \) líóra- 'ide 
3i-run- prg-sub in a ring antelope-woman-bas
\( \emptyset- \) 'ówa- 'u- 'úmjí-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- wari- hi τótn'au. 
1 now 1p:3p-start out-fut northeast
“We are now going to start out to the northeast.’

(2.21) “Huvá 'in- fú- mie-n-'an náta-ák ka- ke- 'i 
then 1d(:3s)-pass by-prg-n-with line-loc :2s:3s-mother-rel
\( \emptyset- \) 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 thanai 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- mi- ei- phier ’a- kúei- tfe- hi, huvá then 2s(:3s)-pass by-prg-pst-join 2s-fell·s-pass-fut then
ka- ké- ’i- va ’a- fíere- 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 ’ašúmiéi-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 11. 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’ur ‘lay.p’, derived stative k’ul ‘lie.p’, and derived detransitive k’uggyá ‘fall.p’; Watkins 1984.) Treating kúeitfe as passive brings it into line with fíer-e ‘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 0- nápúa- van.
then- and thus 3s-happen-pnct
‘Then it happened thus.’

(2·24) Tq ka- hwj-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 š for ŋ 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 katcinas, carries more weight.

1. Tiwa

'Ákhe Hwána wibá’a 'abínuswe’ái wenąbeowmipá Bartúlu syh’i.
Wibá’a ’up’akháiwöríbak Bartúlu təanám tʃ’atpan. Huvá wip’á baríl’ai itapuntái’ai k’atsina’úde–va. Tapunwóiniétín bínumúván.
'Ákhe Hwána wáití tʃ’adpak húvemíe: “Men, təanám ‘abínusútʃ’atpan.”
THE KATCINA DOLL CORK

"Teét'atápáñ, tůmiej. "Pitu k'átsíí'úde mághwóibm?" Huvu tůmiej: "Bitȟu herí k'átsínán 'íbemághwpíkik."

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 katsina 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 katcina is turned around?"

Then he said: "But, as is known, katcinas turn around."

3. Interlinearisation

(3·1) 'Akhe Hwána wibá'a 'a- bínu- we'-ái
Señora Juana once :3s:3s-wine-be-pst.stat
∅- we- ná-beow-mi- pá Bartúlu ∅- su- hí- 'i.
3s-NEG-NA-want-prg-punct 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 vinuwé'ai. 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, 'abinusúts'satpan ‘you came in to drank wine'.)
(3-2) *Wibá’a ’u- p’a- Kháí- wórí- ba- k Bartúlu təxánám*  
    once 3s:3r-water-get.NV-go out-PNCT-SUB Bartolo inside  
    ‘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 3l-cork- be in-PST.PTCL  
    katókia-’ú- de- va.  
    ‘There was a barrel with a cork with a little kacina on it.’

(3-4) *∅- Tapun-wói- miéitín 0- bínu- sy- ván.*  
    3s:3s-cork- take off-PTCP 3s:3s-wine-drink-PNCT  
    ‘Uncorking it, he drank the wine.’

The zero prefix on tapunweimiéitín is surprising, as TH19  
bi-təpun-wói-ván ‘I took  
the cork out’ (1s:3l-cork-take out-PNCT) shows that singular  
tapun ‘cork’ takes inverse agreement. Therefore, we would expect the prefix ’i 3s:3l. We propose that  
tapun is compounded with wói 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 agree- 
ment.) (Or miéitín may suppress agreement, though that is unlikely if the suffix  
is a variant of míinin, which occurs with full agreement in 5-14.)

(3-5) *’Akhe Hwána wáití ∅- tf’əad-pa- k ∅- hüve- 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 hüvemiei is odd. Hüve 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 (’) for h, giving ’úvemiei ‘he was being told’ (see 4-17). Com- 
parable uses are found in 1-5, 5-7, but with nasal y. 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 tf’əadpak appears devoiced as tʃ’əatpak, in accord  
with 3-6 ’abínusutf’əatpan.
"Men, təanám 'a-bínú-sų- tʃəat-pan."

well inside 2s-wine-drink-enter-PNCT

"Well, you came in and drank the wine."

Combined ʼabín and suʃʃatpan into one word.

"Te-é- tʃəat-pá- m, ʔo- tų- mį- ei.

1s-NEG-enter-PNCT-QUOT 3s-say-PRG-PST

"I didn't go in," he said.

"Pitu kátsína-ú- de ʔo- mąkhɔri- bm?"

how katsina-DIM-BAS 3s-turn around-PRS.STAT

"How is it that the little katsina is turned around?"

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

"Huva ʔo- tų- mį- ei:

then 3s-say-PRG-PST

'Then he said:'

"Bitʃu herí kátsíná-n ʼibe- mąkhɔri- ki- k."

but known katsina-INV 3ERX-turn around-HAB-SUB

"But, as is known, katsinas turn around."

TH notes that the punch line "refer[s] to the custom they [katsinas] 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 nąʃkipąk 'because it used to shake' "Means about the same as" the same verb with ʼiva 'because' in place of k, nąʃkipá'iva. So, the sentence might be more accurately, though less idiomatically, translated as, 'But, because, you know, katsinas turn around'. A sentence of apparently similar structure is TH179 Bitʃu hínu nq'án ʼat'awienhik 'I am going to make you listen to me': it too begins with bitʃu, 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'atşina ‘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 ş for f; it also replaces y with j. We retain ş and y below but use f and j for the purposes of indexing.

1. Tiwa


Thəbek wati 'i'jvan yu'a 'iwek. Tą weekueipa. Huva 'ivi'ełumban mjrk'əkkhin. 'Thiowthqvan 'asəarehipa'i šumik. Yeti Pawa(to)'ap 'imjvan 'i'yumihim'ai p'əqinəy ywe'ai'um. Huva tyvvan p'əqinəa 'iwepa'in hutehim'ai katsisna'ai wenghuwimipa'iva. Huuyeı kha'adeva 'i'yvevan hın'ikhu 'iunq'ammin'ak hınghuwihim'ai katsisna'ai.

K'atşinan 'i'məawevak 'iŋətənumjvan. Nəpji'at 'iŋjmyk Šiehwip'ap 'i-wambak 'ivešievak hi'aveva'i, 'itsuval 'imk'atšinaphierk 'ithəmjmin'ap, hwila-
HOW KATCINAS CAME TO ISLETA

wedeva t'aiqvede 'ųvemiei 'imęnapįhweyuhin'ap. Tq 'ivethätjwįvan 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
criff 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'aṭšina-n- 'ai we-nqhu- va- 'i wiva'a
Laguna-LOC father-BAS katcina-INV-LOC 3s-believe-PST-REL once
Pawatza- 'apti Bier-'ai 0- mj-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’atsínə-n ’atti t’s’upi-’ai ’i-.mi-van mjı-’ak*
then eight katcina-INV-LOC ahead-LOC 3i-go-PNCT cliff-LOC
’a- hiow- saar- e- hi- m’ai.
:3s:3s-stone-fall.S-Caus.Pass-Fut-for
‘Then eight of the katcinas went ahead to the cliff to throw a rock down on him.’

(4·3) *Bitšu p’ę- khwir we- šu- va.*
but trail-along 3s.NEG-pass-PNCT
‘But he did not pass along the trail.’

(4·4) *Mı́r-k’ie-ka tłw’- mi-van.*
cave-top- along 3s-go-PNCT
‘He went along the cliff top.’

(4·5) *Mı́r-k’ie-ɡo 3s-wieri- va- k ’i- my-van ’i- khwir-mi- k.*
cave-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 tə’qwa wierivan ‘he went up’, which is followed by the comment “Apparently no idea of hitherward or thitherward direction here”.

(4·6) *Huva ’u- náta-wi’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 0- ’aru-mi- ei 0- 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.
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(4·8) 0- Py- mj-va- k kuei'-aï 'am- khy-tho- 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- tha- ban.
stone-loc 3s:3i-break-pnct
‘He had broken it on a rock.’

(4·10) Ye- ti Bier- 'ai 0- 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 kàmpu-átti ‘from the camp’, 2·11 fsàuti ‘from the hunt’, and 6·8 'amtaìwe'inàti ‘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) Thòbek wa- ti 'i- 'i- 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 'amjivan ‘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 waiti, see index, is a variant of wati).

This phrase yua’a ‘iwek ‘the several they were’, following ’i’ivan ‘they came’, is somewhat surprising (the simpler yua’a ‘i’ivan ‘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-dàw-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 empha-
sis, 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 agree-
ment 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- $\epsilon$- $hum$- 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 in-
serted a fullstop. Our reasons are as given after 4·7.

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

(4.14) $'i$- hiow- tha- $van$ 'a- $szar$- 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) $Ye$- $ti$ $Pawata$- 'ap $'i$- $mj$-van $'i$- $'um$-hi- $m'ai$ $p'ajin$ny$\$
  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 $Pawata$'ap for consistency with the opening
and closing sentences, where all place names are capitalised.
TH glosses 'i’ymihi’m’ai as ‘in order to tell them’. In context as an English translation, this makes it sounds 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 ∅- tu- van p’ajin’in’a ’i- we-pa- ‘in
then 3s-say-PNCT whoever 3i-be-PST.STAT-REL.NS
∅- hu- te- hi- m’ai k’atśina-n- ’ai we- nąhu- 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 katinias.’

TH glosses both 4·15 p’ajininnu and 4·16 p’ajin’in’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’ajininnu as interrogative ‘who’ and 4·16 p’ajin’in’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’ajin’in’a iwepa’in ‘they who were there’, but no ba ‘by’ to link them together. We would have expected p’ajin’in’a iwepa’inba if the relative clause is internally headed, or p’ajin’in’a iwepa’in if externally headed (though we have not seen p’ajin’in’a so suffixed, as its occurrences are few).

On ‘believe’, see the next sentence.

(4·17) Huyuei kha’a- de- va ’i- ’yve- van hji’n’iku
then father-BAS-by 3i-tell-PASS-PNCT in this way
’iu- ną- ’am-mi- n’ak hi-nąhu- wi- hi- m’ai
3i:3p-NA-do- PRG-N-LOC 3i-believe-CAUS.PASS-FUT-for
k’atśina-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 katinias.’
The initial h of hinhuwihim’ai replaces the expected glottal stop, ’inhuwihim’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, wenguva’i ‘who did not believe’ suggests that the root ‘believe’ is simply nahu, as reflected in the glossing of that sentence. In 4·16 wenguwimipa’iva and 4·17 hinhuwihim’ai, the root appears in an augmented form, nahuwi, which strongly resembles a causative. Consistent with this, TH glosses hinhuwihim’ai as ‘to make them believe’ (wenguwimipa’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 katcina 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 nahuwi as nahu-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˛-we˛ ‘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 wenguwimipa’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- məa- we- va- k ’i- nəthə- nə- mə- van. katcina-INV 3t-shame-CASUSS-PNCT-PNCT-SUB 3t-house-search.NV-go-PNCT ‘Because the katcinas 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 tináməpehi 'I am going to be ashamed' (ti-ná-mə-pə-hi 1s:3s-na-shame-make-fut) and kewenáma 'you have no shame' (kew-e-ná-mə:2s:3p-NEG-NA-shame), which show that mə(a) is an independent root.

The gloss nyu 'search.nv' is a contextually plausible guess based on the cognates in Kiowa (dón 'search', tó 'search.nv') and San Juan Tewa (tůwə 'search.nv').

(4·19) Nąphi- at 'i- mj- mj- k Šiehwip- ap 'i- wam- ba- k
Sandia-LOC 3i-go-PRG-SUB Isleta- LOC 3i-arrive-PNCT-SUB
'ive- šie- 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- tho- mj-mi- n- ap, hwilawe- de- va
3i:3i-katcina-join- SUB 3i-live-go-PRG-N-LOC war captain-BAS-by
t'ai- kave- de 0- 'yve- mi- ei 'im- e- na-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 'ituvak. 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, 'u'vemeki 'he told'.

Two aspects of the verb 'allow' require comment. First, 'imenapjweyuhin'ap 'he should not allow them to leave' is glossed with a singular object, 'im:3s: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: tanapjwejuvan 'I allowed him to go' (ta-na-pj-weju-va 1s:3s:3s-na-go.NV-allow-PNCT); kénapiwejuhi 'I will not allow you to go' (k-é-na-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 'inéŋhwewevu timyhi 'i 'I was not allowed to see him' ('in-é-na-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
expected argument structure when a third person agent, the cacique, acts for a third person dative, the katcinas.

(4·20) \( Tq \ 'ive- thw- jw- i\ van \ Ŝiehwip-'ap. \)

\( \text{PRT} \ 3i:RX\text{-live-stay-caus-pnct} \ \text{Isleta-LOC} \)

‘And they stayed living at Isleta.’
Chapter 5

How the Three Children Entered sihuowphun

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; pp 42–44) 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 (pp 38–41).

1. Tiwa

Náthó’ai wim’a ñiow’úde thó’ai. Pátsua ’ám’u’uthó’ai, wim’a ’upiŋ’üde’an wisi ’ówa’un’an.

Thom’ahwirpid ñiow’úde utírkie. Tá húva wív’a a thóm’dak ’utírmik ’upiŋ’üde hujuikhi ’av’áj’u’arúmíe. Húva wév’áiupiéi’ammípa.


Tá ’upiŋ’üde t’óñweivan. Tá p’áj’u’irivan. Tá jéde wím’a khín khas’ýrivan. Tá huva khó’sáimeitin ’iúwóriván.

Huva pátsua ’am’díru’uthó’ai. Tá dirú’umba ’authúvémíe. Tá húva ’idíru’umikímei, ’imkhó’z’úphuaméinín. Tá huva khó’pharívák, tás ’idíru’umímíe:
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) N ámbó-’ai wím’a liow- ‘ú- de 0- ámbó-’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) Páfsua ’ám- ‘ú’u- ámbó-’ai, wím’a ’upíy- ’ú- de- ’an wisí three :3s:3i-child-live-STAT one little girl-DIM-BAS and two ’ówa- ’ú- 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) Thów’ahwirpid liow- ’ú- de ’ú- tír- kí- ei.
every day woman-DIM-BAS 3s:3p-grind-HAB-PST
‘Every day the little woman would grind. (Todos las dias la viejita estaba moliendo.)’

(5.4) Tq húv’a thóm’dak ’ú- tír- mi- k ’upíy- ’ú- de prt then once morning 3s:3p-grind-PRG-SUB little girl-DIM-BAS hujueikhí ’a- ’ájí- ’ú- ’ará- 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 mananita estaba moliendo, y su hermanito de la mujercita estaba muncho llorando.)’

Combined ’av’ájí’u and ’arúmiei into one word. (They straddle a line break but without a hyphen in the original.)
THREE CHILDREN ENTERED SIHOUPHUN

(5·5) Huva ɬ- we- v’ːi- u- piewi- ’am-mi- 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’ammipa (piewi’amipa 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-’am-mi 1s:3s-NEG-rent-do-PRG), and numerous independent occurrences of ‘am ‘do’ and mi PRG.

(5·6) Tq  huva liow- ‘u- de- va ɬ- t’ː- ’ave- van PRT then woman-DIM-bas—by 3s-scold-do.PASS-PNCT  
ɬ- we- ná-piewi- am-mi- pa- ’iva: 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’ːi- ‘u- ’iri,”  
Mielma 2s:3s-younger brother-DIM-carry on back.IMP  
ɬ- ’uve- 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’ːi’u ’iri’uveiei.

(5·8) Tq  ’upiu- ‘u- de ɬ- t’uńwei-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 ɬ- p’ai- ‘u- ’iri- van. 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)’
Combined p’qi’u and ’irivan into one word.

(5-10) Tq jé- de wìm’a khin ə- khá- ñr- 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 kháñrvan ‘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 ə- khó’-hái- meitin ’iu- wóri- 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 khó’ and háimeitin into one word.

(5-12) Huva pátśua ’am- ñr- ’u- thó- ’ai.
then three :3s:3i-chicken-dim-dwell-pst.stat
‘And they had three little hens. (Y tenían tres gallinitas.)’

(5-13) Tq ñr- ’u- m- ba ’au- thúvx- 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 huva ’i- ñr- ’u- miki-mi- ei, ’im- khó’-ñrphu má-éinin.
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 maíz.)’

Combined ’imkhó’ and ’uphuraméinin into one word.

(5-15) Tq huva ə- khó’-phará- va- k, t ’i- ñr- ’umí-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 khó’ and pharivak into one word.
THREE CHILDREN ENTERED IHIOWPHUN

(5.16) “T’a m-e- ’í- tfe, tá ma-mákhwi, tá hirin’a

prt 2i-NEG-come-IMP prt 2i- go back prt nothing

’in- é fíei- mi ma- miki-hi- ’í.”

: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 para darle a comer.”)

(5.17) T’a diru- ’u- n ’i-mákhwi-van.

prt chicken-DIM-INV 3i-return- PNC

‘Then the little hens went back. (Entonces las gallinitas se volvieron a tras.)’

(5.18) T’a húva ’áwq ø- mí-van wím’a ’a- v’áj- ’u- ’ir- ’í- k

prt then she 3s-go-PNC one :3s:3s-younger brother-DIM-back-sit-sub

húva wím’a ’aú- thúvè- 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 átras de ella.)

Combined ’av’áj’u and ’irik into one word and nasalised the last vowel, ’av’áj’u’iríjk, 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’áj’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 ’i ’a’irí ‘you carry it on your back (imp)’ and ná ti’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) T’a húva wím’a ø- fi- hiów-phun-kuei-pa- n’ad ’i- wam- ba- k,

prt then one 3s-eye-rock-black-lie.s-PST-N-LOC 3i-arrive-PNC-SUB

’i- v’áj- ’u- ’umi-mi- ei:

3s:3i-younger brother-DIM-tell- PRG-PST

‘Then they arrived where there was a black rock and she told her little
THREE CHILDREN ENTERED SIHIOWPHUN

brothers: (Y entonces ellos llegaron onde estaba una piedra negra. Les dicían 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 sihiówphun is incorporated or free, that is ∅-sihiówphunkyeipan’ad or sihiówphun ∅-kveipan’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 fìphunnin ‘Black Eyes’, “[n]ame of one of the two moieties”, the other being fiíren ‘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’ąi’u’umimiei ‘She told her brothers’ is part of the sentence in 5.20. We have moved ‘iv’ąi’u’umimiei 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) “Jy- m jy- de hiów-’av ‘i- tf’áad-hi- m,” va je- de this-N this-BAS rock-LOC 11-enter-fut-QUOT and that.MID-BAS hiów-’av ‘i- tf’áad-pan.
rock-LOC 31-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 liow- ‘u- de ∅- nakhír’e-phar- va- k, tq
prt already woman-DIM-BAS 3s-hope- finish.INTR-PNCT-SUB PRT
‘u- wóri- 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’pharvak ‘she lost hope’. The Spanish has a comma here and a sentence break after ‘uwóriyan ‘she went out’. We have followed the Spanish, avoiding a sentence consisting solely of a temporal subordinate k-clause. See 5.19, 6.5.
THREE CHILDREN ENTERED SIHIOWPHUN

(5·22) Húva 'am- tái- we-in- 'au 'ú- ḟjá-van hitfuaku
then :3s:3i-people-be-rel.ns-loc.ns 3s:3p-ask-pnct which way
'am- 'u'u- mj-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- nq-fiembe- van hiów-'av 'ám- 'u'u- tfəad-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 liów- 'u- de pie- hår- ki- tin Ø- piow-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 explana-
tion in TH’s notes as to what the rock is, but there are a few hints as to the other
worldly nature of places named fi...phun: TH50 “fihiowphun'at, placename. Lit.
at the black stone. This is the place where the man and horse turned to stone”;
TH55: “fi'aphún-'ai, mythic lake said to be at the headwaters of the Rio Grande”;
TH61 “fi'aphún-'ai, lake of the other world”. TH23 records fihiów'aput'fad as
‘name of the black stone where the children entered’.

(5·25) Tq ka- hwj-kiei- m.
prt :2s:3s-tail-have.s-prs.stat

'Now you have a tail. (Ya tienes una cola.)'

We assume that kah景德im 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


Huva wím’a sánide wópóvimívan. Tq húva pq’ai ‘iwambak, tq ’qwa bethierí-
van ‘amt’aiwe’in’an bitfu wêpiewi’avémipa. Sánin ‘ivik’’qhumieie. Huva júde
sánide hírikíden’a wêhumípa.

Huva t’q véwimívan ‘amt’aiwe’in’áti. Tq wimhkwir wékurvan. Huva
hi’atsú káníde ‘anqíaván akánmähvidesfevan. Huva wíedan ‘impiówvan
kan’ide’u sán’ide’u.

Huju’eikihi wadi t’aiinín ‘iveawa’ai ‘isánhwíwäímuji’i ‘inpiówva’iva ‘akân-
phierk. ‘Amt’aiwe’in—ba wë’avéikipa ‘akanwépá’iva p’athó’i harkhónk’ú’i.

Tq kahwikieim.

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.

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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 nätzéi- ai ’i- t’ai- thó- ’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 wım’a ‘one’.

(6.2) Ju- di t’ai- nin ’i- fo- phai- ’ai.
this-inv person-inv 3i-hunt-freq-pst.stat
‘These people went hunting all the time.’

(6.3) Tá wivá’a ’iu- fo- wóri- van.
prt once 3i:3p-hunt-go out-pnct
‘So, once they went out to hunt.’

(6.4) Húva wím’a səan-ide 0- wórai- mj-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 bitifu
3s:rx-join- caus-pnct :3s:3i-people-be-rel.ns-with but
0- wé- piewi- ’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) Ssoon-in ʹivi- k’q- hu- mi- ei.
man-INV 3i:3i-rabbit-kill-PRG-PST
‘The men were killing rabbits.’

(6-7) Húva jú- de ssoon-ide hirikiden’a ürnberg 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 ʹvé- wimi- van ʹam- t’ai- weʹin- ʹáti.
then PRT 3s:RX-divide-PNCT :3s:3i-people-be-REL.NS-LOC
‘Then he separated from his people.’

(6-9) Tq wimhukhwir ʹvé- 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’ (wimhukhwirékurvan in the original).

(6-10) Huva hiʹatfu ʹkan- ide ʹa- nap̄ū- van
then I don’t know horse-BAS :3s:3s-happen-PNCT
ʹa- 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 ʹim-piow-van kan- ideʹu ssoon-ideʹu.
then both 3d- die- PNCT horse-BAS-BOTH? man-BAS-BOTH?
‘Then they both died, the man and the horse.’

(6-12) Hujuʹekihi wa- di t’ai- nin ʹi- veawa- ʹai
very that.FAR-INV person-INV 3i-happy-PST.STAT
ʹi- ssoon-huwimy-mpi- ʹi ʹin-piow-va- ʹiva
3s:3s-man-hate- PRG-REL 3d-die- PNCT-because
ʹa- 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’-i’n- ba 0- wé- ’awéi- ki- pa
:3s:3i-people-be-REL.NS-by 3s-NEG-want.PASS-HAB-PST
 ’a- kan- we-pá- ’iva 0- p’athó-’i 0- harkhōn-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 harkhōn and k’ú’ì into one word, on the basis of sentences with overt agreement that show that harkhōn occurs between the agreement prefix and the verb root: TH35 te-harkhōn-piewe-veaw-a (1s-very-sad-want-pres) ‘I am very sad’; TH31 ’am-kan- we’-m i-hārkhōn-k’u-tsù-’in (:3s:3i-horse-be-pres 3i-very-good-NS-inv) ‘he has horses that are very nice’ (our translations).

(6·14) Tq ka- hwj-kiei- m.
 PRT :2s:3s-tail-have.s-PRES
 ‘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 Šihiowphun (p30).

1. Tiwa

N̓athó̱’ai wím’a łuli’úde’an lıhow’úde’an ’inthóż’ai. Huwa wím’a ’imimkhwien’u-thó̱’ai ba wisi ’imink’ua’uthóż’ai. Huwa łuli’úde wím’a k’ya’uhúvan. Withówé’i wiwai wima khín húvan. Tá huwa łuli’úde piowvan.

Tá huwa lıhow’úde witad ʔjutʃévan ’akhwien’uphierk. Tá huwa lıhow’úde khín piowvan.

Tá khwien’ude piewép’uwan ’ámłampio’owa’iva. Tá khwien’ude khín piowvan.

Tá kahwįkįime.

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) ḥuṣ-h-a’i ḥak ‘ā- de- ‘an ḥiːw- ‘ū- de- ‘an
house-LOC one old man-DIM-BAS-and old woman-DIM-BAS-and
‘in-thó- ‘ai.
3-D-live-LOC
‘In a house, there lived a little old man and a little old woman. (En una casa vivían un viejo con su viejita.)’

Space inserted between ḥak ‘ā- ‘one’ and ḥak ‘uːde ‘little old man’ (ḥak’a.ldk’uːde in the original), in line with 2.9, 2.12, 5.1, 6.4.

(7.2) ḥuṣ ḥak ‘aːm-k’hwiːn-‘u- thó- ‘ai ba wíːsi
and one :3D:3s-dog- DIM-dwell-PST.STAT also two
‘aːm-k’uː- ‘u- thó- ‘ai.
:3D:3s-sheep-DIM-dwell-PST.STAT
‘And they had a little dog and two little sheep. (Y tenían un perro y dos ovejas.)’

(7.3) ḥuṣ ḥak ‘ā- de ḥak ‘aːm 0- k’uː- ‘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 mató una oveja.)’

(7.4) Wi- thó- wé-‘i wiːwai ḥak ‘aːm k’hin 0- hú- van.
two-day-be-REL again one also 3s:3s-kill-PNCT
‘Two days later he killed the other one. (Y después de dos días mató el otro.)’

(7.5) Ti ḥuṣ ḥak ‘ā- de 0- piow- van.
pRT then old man-DIM-BAS 3s-die- PNCT
‘And then the little old man died. (Y luego se murió el viejo.)’
And then the little old woman was left alone with the little dog. (Y luego la viejita quedo solita con su perrito.)

And then the little old woman also died. (Y entonces murió la viejita tambien.)

And then the little dog became sad because its masters had died. (Y luego el perrito estaba triste porque se murió sus amos.)

Then the little dog also died. (Entonces se murió el perrito tambien.)

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 ’iwé’inum’ai. Tą húva ki’u’uthêtevan, jede wem wáde, ’j’akh ’amkrúsk’zapíkwe’i’i, jemba krusad ’amarka khyan’ai ’qwą ’amwé’in. Huva ’qwą ’amkhámwe’em ki’ánkhilwé’i konséhum’ai wé’i.*

*Matsá’dái kikha’awe’im’ai, vivitśa’am wiv’an ’ik’u’in, kikha’awe’iva ’i-bev’utśaiveva’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- niu- 'uwá- van na 'i- wé-'in- um'ai.*

last night :1t:3s-child-be born-pnct 1 1t-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'imum'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) *Tá húva ki- 'u'u- te- van, je- de Ø- we-m*

prt already :1t:3s-baby-give-pass-pnct that.mid-bas 3s-be-prs.stat

wa-de, 'i- 'akh 'am- krús- k'sapí- k'uei- 'i'i, life-bas shoulder-loc :3s:31-cross-on shoulders-lie.s-rel

je- mba krus- ad 'amarka khían- 'ai 'qwá that.mid-inan.inv cross-adv mark kingdom-loc he

'am- wé-'in.

:3s:31-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 dado 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'uthstevan* ‘we were given a baby’). Part of the difficulty is that the nature of the suffix in *krús-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'wa* means ‘neck’, one might take *k'sapí* ‘on shoulders’ to be a compound. But, if so, its second element is unidentified.

(8.3) *Huva 'qwá 'am- khqm- we-m ki- 'ánkhil-wé-'i*

then he :3s:31-name-be-prs.stat :1t: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. (Y 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 ainkil to ankil.

(8·4) Ma- tfá- d’á- i ki- kha’a- we-’i- m’ai, vivi- tfá- ’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- tfaive- 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’utfaiveva’iva simply as ‘because he pleased us’, without reference to tfaive ‘command.pass’. Additionally, TH180 comments that nq tanqev’ymyvan ‘I pleased him’ is “the only way to say ‘I thanked him’”. So, ‘ibev’utfaiveva’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’ji’i, hujueikhi kana’the’i kamkhawe’i.


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**
:1:3s-father-be-rel above 2s-sit-rel very :2s:3s-powerful-rel
kam- khá- we'-in.
:2s:3s-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 meaning something like ‘by your name’.

(9.2) **Hujueikhi be- khúm- i'i, nqthó'an j 'a-lóow- 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.’

Nqthó'an is corrected from nqthó'an. The former appears consistently TH38–40. On the other hand, TH39 writes bekhummi'i, with geminate m, rather than bekhummi'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’.

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Volunteered version of Lord's Prayer

(9.3)  Nə̃thé’an  0- hunav’á-  hi- ei  jy- n  thure- d- ba
would that  3s-come to pass as desired-fut-pst  this-n  earth-loc-and
p’apuj- ’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 obser-

vation TH39–40 that nə̃thé’an hunav’āhiei  / nə̃thé’an hunav’āhiei, ‘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’ā may be morphologically complex, but we have spotted no clue as to its

composition.

(9.4)  Jan- the  ben- p’akhú-wie- i  ki- makhya- wi- ’i.
now-day 2:1:3s-bread- give-imp  :1i: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- tse  0- wé- nq- k’u- n-’ad,
:1s:3s-father-be-rel 2:1-NEG-take-imp 3s-NEG-na-good-n-loc
béi- khwirp’ead  0- 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.’

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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 ë f h hw i j k k' kh khw l m n p p' ph s s' t t' th tf tf' 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 'ánkhil comes between 'an and 'arú (just as unaccented 'ankhil would). For Ś, see s; for š, s; 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 mǐ~pǐ).
'ábe, see 'am
'áitin 'after', 1-16
'akhe 'señora', 3-1, 3-5
'alkilá, 'ákilá 'rent', 1-4, 1-5
'am, 'ám 'do'; 'ábé, aye, 'ávé
 '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
'ánhkil 'angel', 8-3
'arú, arú 'cry', 4-7, 5-4
ave, 'avé, see 'am
'áwá, 'áwá 'he, she', 1-22, 2-8, 5-18, 6-5, 8-2, 8-3
'awéi 'want', 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
baril 'barrel', 3-3
beow 'want', 3-1
bev'u 'please', 8-4
Bier- 'Laguna', 4-1, 4-10
binu 'wine', 3-1, 3-4, 3-6
bitfu, bitfu 'but', 2-15, 3-10, 4-3, 6-5
diru 'chicken', 5-12–5-15
'če 'foot', 4-13
'sukbómi 'raise', 2-8
'swá, 'swá 'young man', 2-9, 2-10, 2-12, 2-15, 2-17, 2-19, 5-2
fiel 'have', 5-16
hái 'take' (see also khái), 5-11
harkhon 'very', 6-13
hékwe'i 'all right', 1-23
heri 'known', 3-10
hór 'hurt' (variant of hór), 2-15
hór 'sick' (see also hór), 5-24
hi'atfu 'I don't know', 6-10
hini'ikhu 'in this way', 4-17
hiow, hió 'rock, stone', 4-2, 4-9, 4-14, 5-19, 5-20
hiri'a, hiri'a 'whatever', 1-5, 1-21
hirikiden'a 'nothing', 6-7
hirin'a 'nothing', 5-16
hitfyaku 'which way', 5-22
hu, hú 'cedar', 1-12, 1-19
hu, hú 'kill'; hute 'kill.pass', 4-16, 6-6, 6-7, 7-3, 7-4
hupa, see huva
hiju (')at 'many', 1-18
hijuéi, hijuéi 'then', 1-12, 1-19, 1-24, 4-17
hijueikhi, hiju'eikhi 'really, very', 5-4, 6-12, 9-1, 9-2
hum 'chase'; huve 'chase.pass', 1-9, 1-10, 4-13
hun 'thus', 2-23
hunavá 'come to pass as desired', 9-3
huva, huvá, huva (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
huve, see hum and 'umi
huyuei, see hujuei
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hwe, hwé ‘take’; hwé ‘take’, 1-5, 1-6, 1-25, 2-4, 9-5
hweju (hweyu) ‘allow.Pass’, 4-19
hwj, hwj ‘tail’, 2-24, 5-25, 6-14, 7-10
hwilawede ‘war captain’, 4-19
hwiri ‘eight’, 4-2
hwíwimy ‘hate’, 6-12

'jí ‘be’, 9-1
'jí, 'jí ‘sit’, 1-9, 1-20, 5-18, 9-2
'jí ‘come’, 4-11, 5-16
'jí ‘shoulder’, 8-2
'ieni ‘get up’, 1-16
'ir ‘back’, 1-9, 1-20, 5-18
'iri ‘carry on back’, 5-7, 5-9
'iva, 'iva ‘because (rel-by)’, 4-16, 5-6, 6-12, 6-13, 7-8

jai ‘this’, 1-17
jan ‘now’, 2-20, 9-4
jede, jède ‘that (mid)’, 2-10, 5-10, 5-20, 8-2
jembà ‘that.INAN.INV (mid)’, 8-2
jeti ‘from there (mid)’, 4-10, 4-15
jow’a ‘somewhere’, 2-1
jua’a ‘several’, 4-11
júap’a ‘a little while’, 1-16
jude, júde ‘this’, 1-20, 5-20, 6-7
jüdi ‘this.INV’, 6-2
jüm, jün ‘here’, 5-20, 9-3
juowin’a ‘nowhere’, 2-3

kamentjú ‘once (opening to story)’
[TH15, “Span. isque”], 2-1
kämpu ‘camp’, 1-8
kan, kán ‘horse’, 1-3, 1-4, 1-6, 1-15, 1-19, 6-10–6-13
kavé, kave ‘judge’, 2-11, 4-19

ke ‘mother’, 2-21, 2-22
ká ‘overtake’, 1-11
k’óapí ‘on shoulders’, 8-2
käq, kär ‘bring’, 1-2, 1-5, 1-21
ki ‘for, in’, 1-16, 5-24
kiei ‘have.s’ (counterpart to kire?), 2-24, 5-25, 6-14, 7-10
kiman ‘last night’, 8-1
kire ‘lie.p (see also kiei), 1-18
konséhu ‘counsel’, 8-3
krús ‘cross’, 8-2
kùei, kùéi ‘lie.s’; kùeitse ‘fell’.s.PASS’, 2-22
kùei, kùéi ‘lie.s’; kùeitse ‘fell.s.PASS?’, 1-19, 4-8, 4-12, 5-19, 8-2
kur ‘take oneself’, 6-9
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k’íg ‘rabbit’, 6-6
k’èa ‘edge (neck)’, 4-13
k’iei ‘above, top’, 4-4, 4-5, 9-1
k’u, k’ú ‘good, pretty’, 6-13, 8-4, 9-5
k’úa, k’úa ‘sheep’, 1-1, 1-19, 7-2, 7-3
k’úa, k’úa, k’úa ‘lay’, 1-12, 1-13, 2-3, 2-5

khá ‘arm’, 5-10
khà, khàm ‘name (n)’ (see also khaj), 8-3, 9-1
khá’a, kha’a, khá’a ‘father, medicine man, señor’, 1-3, 1-4, 1-9, 1-12, 1-19, 1-21–1-24, 4-1, 4-17, 8-4, 9-1, 9-5
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khaj ‘name (v)’ (see also khq), 1-25
khqm, see khq
khè ‘watch’, 1-2
khétuf ‘little round pebble’, 1-14
kh’o ‘corn’, 5-11, 5-14, 5-15
kh’i ‘wait’, 1-2
khíndad ‘at once’, 2-11
khin, khin ‘also’, 4-13, 5-10, 7-4, 7-7, 7-9, 9-3
kh’y ‘leg’, 4-8
khyan ‘kingdom’, 8-2
khúm ‘precious, worth’, 1-22, 9-2
khum ‘battle, fight’ (see also hum), 1-6, 1-13

khwien ‘dog’, 7-2, 7-6, 7-8, 7-9
khwier, khwir ‘along, through, toward’, 1-12, 1-19, 4-3, 4-4
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khwim, khwim ‘stand’, 2-2, 2-21
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khwir’ov ‘beside’, 9-2
khwirp’ad ‘free’, 9-5

laphá ‘Mexican’, 1-16
lápá ‘separate’, 2-17
la ‘big’, 2-1, 2-2
laam ‘master’, 7-8
law ‘descend, get down’, 1-12, 9-2
liem ‘rob’, 1-1
liow, liow, liowra, liowra ‘old 
woman, wife, woman’, 1-8, 2-7, 2-9, 2-14, 2-16, 2-18, 5-1, 5-3, 5-6, 5-21, 5-24, 7-1, 7-6, 7-7
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makharí, mákhari ‘turn around’, 3-8, 3-10
makhya ‘belonging’, 9-4
máli ‘six’, 1-26
másu ‘abandon’, 2-6
mátse ‘bring.pass, 2-6
men ‘well’, 3-6
máwe ‘shame.caus.pass’, 4-18
mí, mí ‘go’ (see also pí), 1-4, 1-21, 2-14, 4-1, 4-2, 4-4, 4-8, 4-10, 4-15, 4-18, 4-19, 5-18, 5-22, 6-4
míkí, miki ‘feed’, 5-14, 5-16
mír ‘cliff’, 4-4, 4-5, 4-13
misatú ‘church’, 1-25
mú ‘see’ (see also pú), 4-5

na ‘have place’, 2-3
ná ‘I, we’, 1-23, 2-20, 8-1, 9-2
ná ‘cry’, 1-15
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nákátfa ‘be known, news’, 2-11, 2-16
nák’ai, nák’ai ‘thicket’, 1-12, 1-19
nákhir ‘hope’, 5-21
nápúa, nápú ‘happen’ (see also púa), 2-23, 6-10
Náphi ‘Sandia’, 4-19
náta ‘line’, 2-21
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nàthú ‘hills’, 1-2
navéaw ‘want’, 2-13
nju ‘child’, 8-1
nu ‘search.nv’, 4-18
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pà, pà ‘plain, valley’, 2-4, 2-6, 6-5
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páj ‘begin’, 2-18
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p’a ‘water’, 1-25, 3-2
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p’añinny ‘who’, 4-15
p’ákñi ‘bread’, 9-4
p’ápuá ‘forehead’, 1-14, 1-17
p’ápπ ‘heaven’, 9-3
p’áthó ‘white’, 6-13
p’è ‘trail’, 4-3
p’i ‘head’, 1-25, 2-1, 2-2

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p’ínela ‘middle’, 1-14
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fèrn’ai ‘to the left’, 2-21
fá, fá, fá ‘hunt’, 2-9, 2-11, 2-14, 6-2, 6-3
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fì’á ‘ask’, 5-22
fie ‘tell’, 4-19
fiehwip- ‘Isleta’, 4-19, 4-20
fiei ‘tie’, 1-12, 1-13, 1-19
fiembe ‘answer.pass’, 5-23
fiéa, fié, fi ‘catch, grab’; fiére ‘catch.pass’, 1-12, 2-13, 2-15, 2-22, 5-10
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fu ‘seven’, 1-9

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tái ‘be in’, 3-3
tapun ‘cork’, 3-3, 3-4
taqwín, taqwin ‘year’, 1-9, 1-26
t’sa ‘behind’, 1-10
taqám ‘inside’, 3-2, 3-6
t’særwe ‘run’, 2-19
tae ‘pueblo, village’ (see also nat̬e̱i), 1-1, 2-6, 2-14
t’æi ‘gather’, 1-19
tatón’au ‘northeast’, 2-20
tin ‘only’, 2-15, 5-24
t’ir ‘grind’, 5-3, 5-4
tiqté, tiqtő ‘leave.pass’; tiwê ‘keep, stay’, 1-24, 4-20, 7-6
t’iwítáti ‘hundred’, 1-22–1-24
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t’a ‘antelope’, 2-7, 2-9, 2-10, 2-12, 2-15, 2-16, 2-18, 2-19
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tham ‘bows and arrows’, 1-10
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th’a, thó ‘live’, 2-1, 4-19, 4-20, 5-1, 5-2, 5-12, 6-1, 7-1, 7-2
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th’am’tawír ‘every day’, 5-3
th’am’dak ‘(in the) morning’, 5-4
thure ‘earth’, 9-3
thurim ‘more’, 2-10
thúve ‘follow.pass’, 5-13, 5-18

tfa ‘song’ (see also tfad’ai), 8-4
tfaive ‘order.pass’, 8-4
tféd ‘walk’, 2-9, 2-12

tfad’ai ‘sing’ (see also tfa), 8-4
tf’ai ‘pretend’, 1-10
tfad, tfad, tfát ‘enter.intr’; tfát ‘bring in’, 1-12, 3-2, 3-6, 3-7, 5-20, 5-23

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‘u ‘both’, 6-11
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